GUIDE TO THE ES10 HIGHLAND SCOTS FILE

[The ES10 Highland Scots file contains specific data on the language and culture of the people of the Scottish highlands and the Hebrides. The general focus of the file is the five crofting counties in this area, Caithness, Sutherlan Ross and Cromarty, Inverness, and Argyll. The specific focus of the materials included in this file is the Isle of Lewis and Harris (actually a single island) in the Outer Hebrides in the county of Inverness. This is a generally culturally conservative area, bilingual in Scots Gaelic and English, whose economy is dependent on small farms and sheepherding, with fishing important in the islands and coastal areas. Very important on the island is the tweed industry, the home weaving of woolen cloth, which contributes a significant amount to the income of the island.

There are six sources in the file, two by anthropologists (1: Parman and 6: Ducey), one by a historian (2: Thompson), and three by geographers (3: Geddes, 4: Moisley et al., and 5: Caird et al). All of the sources are in English. 1: Parman is a study of sociocultural change in the crofting community of Shawbost in northwest Lewis, containing much information on the community, interpersonal relations, and personal histories. 2: Thompson is a general historical treatment of the Isle of Lewis and Harris, including geography, economy, agriculture, and land reforms. The treatment is more popular than scholarly, but it is a very good introduction to the island as it exists today. 3: Geddes presents a survey of the changing physical-environmental and cultural systems operating on the island from the 17th century to 1952. It contains a great deal of information on the historical geography and on the human geography of the island. 4: Moisley et al. is an extremely detailed report on the parish of Uig in western Lewis, which concentrates

on land use, agricultural practices, and the present state of the crofting system (a system of land use). 5: Caird et al. is a study of the agricultural practices and potential of the district of Park in eastern Lewis, south of the town of Stornoway, the island's capital. 6: Ducey is a study of the sociocultural effects of the severe depopulation of the Isle of Skye (Inner Hebrides). It focuses on the maintenance of cultural continuity through changes from a clan-oriented to a religion-oriented (Presbyterianism) society. The ES10 Highland Scots file is generally a good one for comparative purposes, containing a great deal of information on the geographic and economic background, less on socio-political aspects. The extensive historical depth of the file, in spite on its concentration on 20th century conditions, makes it imperative that the researcher identify the time period to which the specific information pertains before using it for comparison. Several marking decisions have been made for the file: information on croft farming or crofting has been placed in Categories 241 and 427; on the 'conjoint' or 'farm group' in Category 476; on runes used in rituals in Category 788; on the Reformation in Category 798; on clans in Category 614; on the tweed industry in Category 288; on the preparation of alkali from kelp for the glass and soap industries in Categories 824, 323, and 388; and on the Crofters Holdings Act of 1886 in Category 671. All discussions of emigration by islanders when the destination is not stated, and of nonresident members of the community, have been placed in Category 166. Information dealing with the cultural isolation of the Highland Scots from the rest of Scotland and England will be found in Category 184. The file was processed in 1974 and 1975.]

634 [131] The Outer Hebrides, a chain of islands over a hundred miles long which lie to the northwest of the Scottish mainland, are part of "Ross and Cromarty" and "Inverness," two of the seven crofting counties of Scotland (see Map A). The seven crofting counties [103] (Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland) constitute the scenically beautiful but agriculturally marginal land often referred to as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. 101 197 The word "Highland" also refers to features of social life such as crofting tenure, strong community feeling and Gaelic-speaking which are characteristic of many communities in both the Highlands and Islands as well as in cities such as Glasgow in which persons from the Highlands and Islands have settled. For example, a Gaelic speaker whose parents came from the Islands and settled in Glasgow may be called a "Glasgow Highlander." The first four crofting counties listed above have a large percentage of Gaelic speakers. In the national [162] census of 1961, 82.3% of the 32,607 inhabitants of the Outer Hebrides were Gaelic speakers.

131 133 Lewis and Harris, a single body of land which is sometimes referred to as two islands because the mountainous southern section called Harris differs markedly from the flat, northern moorland of Lewis, is the northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides (see Map B).

241 178 Crofting constitutes a dormant strategy which can be mobilized if deterioration of land has not proceeded too far, and if the skills of land use are not lost by succeeding generations who have grown up in an environment which presented them with more appealing strategies.

B. Social Marginality

166 464 1. Linguistic Distinctiveness: Social marginality began when the Highlander had to leave his place of origin and go to the cities of the south in search of [197] employment. The feature which most distinguished him was his Gaelic speech.

101 186 648 In Glasgow the common word for Highlander is "teuchter," a slang word with derogatory implications which, according to one theory, developed when Gaelic speakers coming into English-speaking cities mispronounced the word "sugar" so that it sounded like "teuchter." [829] (Glasgow Highlanders have developed their own defensive explanation: when the civilized Highlanders came down among the uneducated barbarians of the south, they came as tutors, a word which their uneducated Lowland pupils mispronounced.) According to a university student from the islands, the word was once used by the English to refer to the Scottish Lowlanders.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

PREFACE

121 IT was after the end of the First World War and the
• [101] home-coming of the men—all too few in number after heavy losses—that I first came to know Lewis-and-Harris. Later, in the years between the two World Wars and during the Second World War, I returned to study the people's heritage and survey the Island problems and, if it might be, find solutions. Work on a West Highland farm had already made me aware of the hardships and potentialities of land and sea; of the meaning of life in field and home for farm-team and family; of the reality of the Gaelic heritage—communal, bardic and religious.
121 Wider surveys made me aware of common elements
171 throughout Scotland and the North and West of the British Isles, despite the historic contrasts from the Hebrides to
[178] the Lowlands, and beyond. In the Hebrides are found an elemental simplicity of environment; an early crystallisation of culture and religion, with continuity; a recent and contemporary coming of revolutionary change. These form an interpretative chain of evidence—geographical, traditional and historical—unique in the British Isles. Hence throughout this book, from the basic maps and explanatory text to the later chapters, an interpretation of the Island and its community is linked to that of the Highlands, Scotland and the British Isles as a whole.

121 As many a Scot of crofting stock has found, when he
181 shares in the work of a glen by day—on the low ground and the hill, alone or with others of a team—and joins in the fireside talk and Gaelic song when night has fallen, he

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

121 discovers the strength of community life. And by his
[181] renewal of 'racial' experience he may rediscover sides of
his own nature untouched by an urban task or a rural
[128] holiday. Hence a book such as this inevitably, and I think
rightly, contains much that has been felt in a personal way.
Yet to offset personal limitations, there is needed objective
survey, geographical and social, applied with an open mind
and submitted to searching criticism. These two sides,
personal and impersonal, I have tried to combine.

114 The initiation of this work owes much to others, in
ways of which they were never to know: to the chieftain,
farmer and scholar, James Archibald Campbell of Barbreck,
to my brother Alasdair, to my father, Patrick Geddes, who
suggested in 1919 to the first Lord Leverhulme that
Marcel Hardy, scientist and farmer, should survey the land
in Lewis-and-Harris; to Lord Leverhulme, and to Dr.
Hardy himself, whom I then assisted. To Mr. T. B.
Macaulay, LL.D., was due the suggestion and the plea,
made ten years later, that I should bring up to date Dr.
Hardy's MS. report.

121 It was because of Dr. Macaulay's faith in the Island's
future and the aid he generously gave to experiments in the
reclamation of peat, and also because of the Islanders' own
response to his lead, that I accepted this voluntary task.
Acceptance, as it proved, was rash. Except for certain
valuable findings included under Dr. Hardy's name, a new
• [101] work had to be written. These circumstances led to the
making of the book, stretched over thirty-five years. Certain
[178] early hopes recorded here have been frustrated. On the
other hand, developments have taken place which few
could have foreseen but for their faith in the future of the
Island and its people. I trust that in this book the advan-
tages of slow growth outweigh the drawbacks, for time

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

181 some by characteristics which may seem unique. But it
[171] will interest others by features of underlying universality.
[133] These might be compared to the Archaean rock, overlain toward the south-east by a succession of younger strata, but forming their foundation.

181 In this rocky land, the roots of Island life are laid
182 bare; the rhythm of work responds to the day's weather and the cycle of the year. Yet the flowering of communal life in song and spiritual tradition may offer a fresh vision of regional, even of national, being. Indeed it is in characteristics latent in the evolution of the whole 'North and West' of the British Isles that Island life is most revealing.

131 Rising in imagination to a point above the summits of
133 the Harris hills, and viewing the British Isles from the 'far' north-west, we gain a new perspective (Fig. 1). The Island below us is now the nearest; the 'Outer' Isles,
[829] the innermost. To us now, as to the Islesmen, their Island home is no mere fringe, but a heart of Britain.

101 Thence, looking to the lands across the Minch, each
133 further from the Isles of home, there appear, in turn, three regions: (1) the rest of the Highlands and Isles; (2) the Lowlands and Uplands of Scotland; and (3) Ireland, Wales and Cornwall, and Northern England—all sculptured in rocks older than those of the Lowland or 'Plain' of England beyond. These three roughly concentric regions, from Harris to the edge of the 'Plain', may be grouped together with the intervening estuarine lowlands—not only Clydeside and the Solway but the 'firth-land' of Mersey-and-Deeside, and that of the Bristol Channel. To these, one might add the shores of an outer Minch, the *Manche* or 'English' Channel, which once linked Devon and Cornwall to Armorica. Beyond

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

101 Britain, on the horizon, the eye may descry the coasts of
133 Scandinavia, the Low Countries, France and Iberia. This far-flung regional grouping within the British Isles—which extends for 800 miles from the Shetland to the Scilly Isles—may be called 'the North and West'.

Four border-lines may be drawn to bound these regions: the hill-foot 'Highland Line', the Scottish Border, the border of Wales with the Pennine-and-Moorland-foot, and lastly, for the whole, a line drawn from the Severn to the Tees. Of these four lines (or border-tracts), the last, which divides the British Isles into two different types of landscape and life, is not the least significant. On one side lies the whole of 'the North and West', with its isles and headlands, its mountains and hills, hewn in old rock, and its firthlands, straths and marginal, hill-foot lowlands, all sculptured markedly both by rivers and ice, and heaped with glacial drift. On the other lies the 'Plain' of south-eastern England, or simply 'the South-east', of which the low scarplands of younger rocks slope smoothly down to mainly river-sculptured vales, and are bounded by smoother coasts.[1]

133 Geographically, this succession is one of complexes with
131 recurrent features of height and hollow, land and sea, rather than of sharply defined blocks; its marches are tracts of transition rather than boundary lines. But essential characters of the two zones are revealed by the main boundary

[823] [1] Strictly, the alternation of vales with wolds and downs, which characterises England south-east of the Pennines, would justify the term 'lowland'; but with our Scottish and Highland perspective, the English 'lowland' appears a 'plain', and for simplicity, the 'Plain', or simply 'the South-east', is used throughout this book. The physical and geological maps of the British Isles in an atlas may serve to illustrate this perspective; they should be viewed from the north-west by turning the map with the north-west islands towards one, and the plains of England and the Continent furthest away.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

3. *The Significance of Lewis-and-Harris*

181 The Highlands and Western Isles today, "The Land
184 of the Gael", may thus be grouped as two regions. The
361 North-west is mainly of 'township crofting' and distant
from the Lowlands—the other mainly of farming, living
101 nearer to the Lowlands and in touch with them. Through-
[197] out the North-west, Gaelic is still the common speech,
even of the children. The old community feeling is
[178] strong; it is that, indeed, which keeps the people attached
to the villages.

101 From the plains and cities of the South it is a far cry
to *Ultima Thule*, as Lewis, like Zetland, is sometimes called
131 even by its own people. Lying some twenty-five to thirty
miles across the Minch from the mainland, its nearest links
[496] with the South lie even farther away. From Stornoway
it is some seventy-five miles to Kyle of Lochalsh, the rail-
head for Inverness and North-east Scotland, and 100 miles
to Mallaig, the railhead for Fort William and Glasgow.
To reach Stornoway over the moors from the west coast
[504] townships is itself a journey. Stornoway is the Island's
only port, though passengers are put off at Tarbert, at
[177] Stockinish and at Rodel in Harris. Isolation has always
been a dominant factor in the Island's life. From pre-
[178] history through the Middle Ages to modern times, that
factor played its changing part.

178 In Lewis, conditions had changed less than elsewhere
during the last century; for example, the *New Statistical
Account* of South-west Argyll in 1830-35 reads like a
description of conditions in Lewis as they were until after
1914! Hence, as already said, the contrasts are very great
indeed in the aspect of the country, its fields and houses,
and in the number, character and ways of the people. It

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

131 Before the making of
174 roads, it was ease of sailing which united island peoples
and their territories. One can wade or drive, at low tide,
[491] over the fords that unite the Isle of Benbecula with the
two Uists, North and South: in fact, a bridge now connects
[505] Benbecula with South Uist. But only the roughest of
[491] hill tracks led through the hills of North Harris from the
'Tarbert' or Isthmus of Harris to the nearest habitation
at the head of Loch Seaforth or Loch Erisort, in the Lews.
This is a distance of some twenty miles, or a fair day's
tramp for an unloaded man, and far too much for a return
[823] journey in one day. Hence separation of territory and
name was natural. This separation no longer exists as
131 there is now a good 'bus service from Rodel via Tarbert
178 to Stornoway which links Harris with the daily Kyle to
823 Stornoway steamer. In this book, the Island, or the
494 Islanders, refers to Lewis-and-Harris with its people,
as one.

● 101 Lewis is included in Ross-shire (of which the county
town is Dingwall, north of Inverness) and Harris in
131 Inverness-shire, together with the rest of the 'Long
634 Island'. The county boundary cuts across the six-mile
isthmus north of the hills of North Harris, from the
in-reaching Loch Seaforth WNW. to Loch Resort
(Fig. 8). All the Outer Hebrides are now included in the
Parliamentary constituency of the Western Isles. Pro-
posals to unite the Island under one District Council, or
the Outer Hebrides under one County Council, are more
favourably viewed in Stornoway than in Harris or the
632 Southern Isles. Harris forms one civil parish, while Lewis
is divided into four: Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs.
[133] The Lewis parish boundaries traversing the moors are inset
[131] in Fig. 8 so that their trends can be readily grasped, and
the inhabited portions of the parishes quickly located (p. 50).

THE ENVIRONMENT

13 101 The district of Park lies in the parish of Lochs in south-east Lewis, almost cut off from the rest of Lewis and Harris by Loch Erisort to the north and Loch Seaforth to the west. The district may be divided into two regions by Loch Shell and the valley to the west: this subdivision is meaningful physically, historically and from the socio-economic point of view.

13 The northern part of Park is a low, mamillated, ice-scraped plateau at an average altitude of 250 feet and a maximum altitude of about 450 feet, developed on Lewisian gneiss, a resistant acid rock of Pre-Cambrian age. Glacial erosion has scoured the area and expanses of bare rock are everywhere apparent. Coarse drift deposits are scattered throughout the area, but are more continuous along the southern shores of Loch Erisort between Shieldernish and Caversta, and at the head of Loch Ouirn. The cool, humid oceanic climate has led to the widespread accumulation of peat, and in the interior there are extensive areas of blanket bog. The Minch coast is rugged with cliffs attaining a height of 350 feet at Kebock Head, but there are several sheltered bays and inlets around which the crofting townships cling to the steep slopes. Along the more sheltered shores of Loch Erisort cliff features are almost absent and the physical landscape is less harsh and uninviting.

The mountainous area south of Loch Shell, an eastward continuation of the North Harris hills, attains a height of 1,885 feet. Glacial erosion has had more spectacular effects than in northern Park and corries and glacially modified valleys are numerous. Southern Park is now uninhabited but during the early nineteenth century a small population was scattered round the shores of the peninsula on areas of drift deposits.

There are no climatic statistics for Park, but the Stornoway figures can reasonably be applied to northern Park. The mean annual temperature for Stornoway is 47°F. ranging from 41°F in January and February to 56°F. in July. The mean annual rainfall in Stornoway is 50 inches, with May and June the driest months, but on average there are 260 rainy days. Wind, however, is the most notable element in the climate: an average of 155 days have gusts exceeding 38 m.p.h.

Soils are thin and immature, except on isolated patches of deeper drift: vegetation is dominated by heather (calluna vulgaris) purple moor grass (molinia) and sphagnum, and there are few trees, stunted rowans being almost the only species; trees are confined to islands in lochs and cliffs inaccessible to stock.

861 The aspect of Park is thus one of desolate moorland, and the human communities are without exception distributed round the coasts; the Minch coast townships are situated on sheltered bays or inlets and it is clear that the harvest of the sea was the original attraction rather than the agricultural possibilities on steeply sloping, rocky terrain.

18 Park is the most isolated area of Lewis apart from South-west Uig. A sea-journey of only nine miles separates Lemreway in the south from Stornoway but the overland distance is 36 miles, which takes more than two hours by the daily bus service. Until 1924, there was no through-road beyond Habost although the Congested Districts Board provided a grant for the making of a road between Gravir and Cromore in 1901; in 1913 this road was extended to Garyvard. With the coming of the road, and the decline in the numbers of fishing boats, the people of Park have ceased to travel to Stornoway by sea. In terms of distance, Park is now more isolated than ever before.

101 Isolated, poor agriculturally, and without any industry, Park is a "Region of Difficulty" with
13 a rapidly declining population; basically the environment has little to offer in the twentieth
10 century.

ABSTRACT

Cultural Continuity and Population Change on the Isle of Skye

Paul Richard Ducey

121 This study is concerned with the effect of population change on the culture of the essentially peasant society of the Isle of Skye, one of the Hebrides of Scotland. Standing on the very fringe of Western Europe, this particular surviving remnant of the once widespread Celtic culture has experienced a familiar consequence of the impingement of the social and economic forces 161 of urban and industrial Western Civilization. Involvement in the process of westernization brought a rapid, accelerating increase in the size of the population. Failure to make the required cultural adjustments led to persistent depopulation. 121 From the many problems created by the swing of the population pendulum, this study singles out one of particular anthropological significance. The thesis is that population change is not necessarily a criterion of cultural discontinuity. Although one case study cannot prove this assertion, future research along similar lines in other cultures marginal to the main stream of Western Civilization may reveal a wider applicability of the [101] thesis. The material presented in the present study was collected during a year of field and library research in 1953 - 1954.

121 128 The approach to the problem is oriented toward the culture history of the Skyemen. Following a brief comparative description of the contemporary culture, an attempt is made to reconstruct

PREFACE

121 The problem which I have attempted to treat in this study concerns the question of the effect of population change, both increase and decrease, on an essentially peasant population living on the very fringe of Western Europe in one of the last remaining outposts of the Gael. My interest in this problem, stimulated to no small degree by Dr. Conrad M. Arensberg and my wife, stems from an old curiosity about the nature and function of the Highland clan system and the characteristics of a small, [101] dying remnant of a once widespread culture. My wife and I went to Scotland in June, 1953 to conduct field research on the Isle of Skye with the presupposition that the old culture had not withered and disappeared, even if it had been seriously modified by outside influences, especially those flowing in from the [101] wider society of Great Britain. We remained on the Island until March, 1954, when we turned our attention to library research and exiled Skyemen in Glasgow.

122 The research embodied in my dissertation was made possible by financial assistance from Columbia University, in the form of a William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship; from the Social Science Research Council, in the form of a Research Training Fellowship; and from the United States Educational Commission in the United Kingdom, in the form of a Fulbright Scholarship. I

121 a wider applicability of my thesis. The evidence in support of
© [101] my assertion was collected on the culture history of the Isle of Skye, a part of the area known as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

101 Since I shall frequently speak of the Highlands and Islands in the following pages, we should have a precise definition of the
[133] region (Figure 1). Geographically, the Highland boundary should be placed at the Great Highland Fault, a series of geological faults which extend across Scotland from the River Clyde to Stonehaven, south of Aberdeen. Politically and economically,
[231] however, this line has receded to the north and west. Since 1883 it has been common in Scotland to equate the Highlands and Islands with the "Seven Crofting Counties," those counties in which the
[241] predominate form of land use is the crofting system. Crofting may be defined as a system of hereditary tenure of a few acres of arable land combined with common tenure of hill grazings.
[631] These counties are: Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty,
[632] Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney, and Zetland. Out of the 163 parishes in these counties only 12 are considered non-crofting.[1]
[161] In addition to this shared socio-economic pattern, the seven counties have experienced common economic-geographical influences, a century of accelerating population growth, followed by a century of persistent depopulation.

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[1] Adam Collier, The Crofting Problem: A Social and Economic Study (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953),
[794] p. 11n. A parish in Scotland is an ecclesiastical district which until 1929 was also a civil unit with self-government in such local affairs as education, relief for the poor and infirm, and health. If the British county is thought of as analogous to an American state, the parish can be thought of as a county, but one devoid of any function.

101 The Highlands and Islands are often divided into a Western and an Eastern subregion. The Western Highlands include all of the Hebrides and, approximately, the western half of the counties of Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness, and Argyll. This leaves the remainder of the seven crofting counties, including the islands of Orkney and Shetland, to the Eastern [632] Highlands. The seventy-two parishes of the Western Highlands have been isolated by physical barriers from communication with Great Britain. Here, too, differences of race, language, and culture have continued to distinguish the people from the other Scots. With this rudimentary delimitation of the areas in mind, let us briefly review their population cycles.

161 162 When Alexander Webster, then Moderator of the Church of Scotland, compiled his enumeration of the population of Scotland in 1755, the Highlands contained 257,183 people, and the Western Highlands had a population of 114,884. In terms of percentages, the total region, 47 percent of Scotland, had 20.3 percent of Scotland's population, and the subregion, 29 percent of Scotland, had 9.1 percent of the national population. By 1831, despite chronic emigration, the population of the Western Highlands rose to 200,955 (see table 1) but there had been a decline to 8.5 percent of the national total. In 1841 the total Highland population reached a peak of 396,045, but now only 15.1 percent of the Scots were Highlanders. By 1851 depopulation had begun. The Highlanders in the West had decreased in numbers to 190,728 and those in the whole area, to 395,540. From that day to this depopulation has been continuous. Although the 1951 census is still above Webster's

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

161 count, the number of people living in the Highlands has de-
162 clined 27.8 percent to 285,667, and those in the Western Highland, 40.7 percent to 119,071. Today the Highlanders represent only 5.6 percent, and the Westerners, only 2.3 percent of the population of Scotland.

Even though depopulation in the Western Highlands has gone at a faster rate than for the Highlands as a whole, it has not been typical of the entire subregion. William Hance, an economic geographer, has recently pointed out that "the assumption has too often been made that the Islands (the Outer Hebrides) have been depopulated at the same rate as the counties to which they belong and the Highlands as a whole."[2] He clearly demonstrates the contrasting increase of population in the Outer Isles, up to 1911, and the persistent decline elsewhere in the area. Again, within the last two decades, there has been an increase in population in the developing industrial area at the western extremity of the Great Glen, while depopulation has continued in all other parts of the subregion.

● 101 The Isle of Skye, the island with which I shall be con-
161 cerned in my dissertation, cannot be regarded as typical of
162 the Highlands or of the Western subregion. I rather regard it as standing in an intermediate position, geographically, demographically, and culturally. It rises from the Sea of the Hebrides between the Outer Isles to the west and the Mainland to the east. As we have just seen, depopulation is

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[2] William A. Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation (New York: By the author, 1949), p. 18.

101 more recent to the west, and in the industrial area of the
161 Great Glen the trend is reversing itself. To the north and
162 south depopulation has been more serious. To the east the general trend has been similar to that of Skye. We need not be troubled by statistics at this time, but for convenience
[178] the population figures are given in Table 1. The Outer Hebrideans have preserved more of the social aspect of the old culture than the Skye people while the Mainlander has felt the effects of the processes of acculturation with more obvious results than the people of Skye. In short, the Highlands are not a homogeneous region. They represent a great diversity of conditions.

101 My information on the contemporary culture of the Isle
115 of Skye was provided by the residents of three communities, the villagers of Portree and the crofters of Glendale and
101 Kilmuir. Portree is a small nucleated village with a popu-
621 lation of a thousand. It is important to the study because
[368] in many ways it represents an alien way of life. Here are found the county and national government offices, staffed mainly by newcomers to Skye, which serve the whole island.
[344] Here too, are the grocery, drug, clothing, and hardware stores which depend on the people of at least, northern Skye
[344] for a large part of their trade. There are a number of craftsmen who are equally dependent on the rural population. For the most part, the members of both groups are newcomers
[368] from the Lowlands or elsewhere in the Highlands. As the
[365] terminus for the mail steamer which links Skye with the mainland, and the hub of the daily bus service which connects the rural

hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center for tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependence on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villagers participate in a number of social activities which are not tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious asceticism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each with a population of about 300. All, except the ministers and school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle and sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potatoes and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All are bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither community has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. Glendale has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch which has been divided among the small farmers. The significant differences between them are three. The Glendale people are land owners. In this respect they are rather unique in the Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, rent their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glendale is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church-goers of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social activities other than an annual meeting of the share-holders in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a club organization for the men who gather for lectures and discussions of economic problems.

114 It is only in the distant past and comparatively recent times that governmental inquiries and enactments give a glimpse into the culture. For well over a hundred years after the abolition of the clan system the British government showed no inclination to become involved in the local situation. While the American colonists rebelled because taxation without representation was no less than tyranny, the Islanders suffered in silence under the laws of the Kingdom. Two works, however, [127] do give a picture of life on Skye. These are the (Old) Statistical Account of Scotland and the New Statistical Account of Scotland.[1]

121 The conceptual scheme which has been adopted to reduce national history to culture history takes two points of departure.[2] On the one hand, there are four well defined periods marked by innovations in the economic, social, and religious aspects of the culture and varying rates of population change. On the other hand, there are the overall trends of culture and population change and the continuity of the culture. The 101 #175 dates selected to mark the beginning of each period are: 1745, 1811, 1845, and 1886. The year 1745 is the conventional date for the beginning of the modern period of Highland history. It also marks the beginning of a prolonged period of population

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[1] The Statistical Account of Scotland, ed. Sir John Sinclair (21 vols.; Edinburgh: William Creech, 1790-1799); and The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. XIV: "Inverness - Ross and Cromarty" (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845). I shall refer to these works as OSA and NSA.

[2] I am indebted to Julian Steward for the general approach which follows.

101 growth. In 1811 the first alterations in the traditional system
175 of land use were made. A religious revival was underway. The former social hierarchy had almost disappeared, and population growth accelerated. The year 1845 witnessed a cultural upheaval and a reorientation of the culture. The state church had been broken by schism. Famine was widespread. Large scale commercial farming was replacing the subsistence economy, and the population began to decline. In 1886 the government passed the first law specifically designed for the Highlands since the beginning of the modern period. Commercial farming was restricted in favor of the traditional economy. Within a few years religious schism again appeared. Population decline accelerated and the age structure began to be modified in the direction of an aging population.

Period I (1745 - 1811)

175 The failure of the "forty-five" is popularly regarded as
178 marking the end of the clan system as a social and economic
648 entity and the heralding of the beginning of the modern period of Highland history. In reality, the break with the past was not as sudden or complete as is commonly thought. The clan organization had undergone profound modification and functionally was in a state of decay before the abortive rebellion provoked the British government to administer the coup de grace. The event was only the catalyst which hastened the political and economic assimilation of the region with the Lowlands of Scotland. In retrospect, the reforms and innovations which

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

Map A

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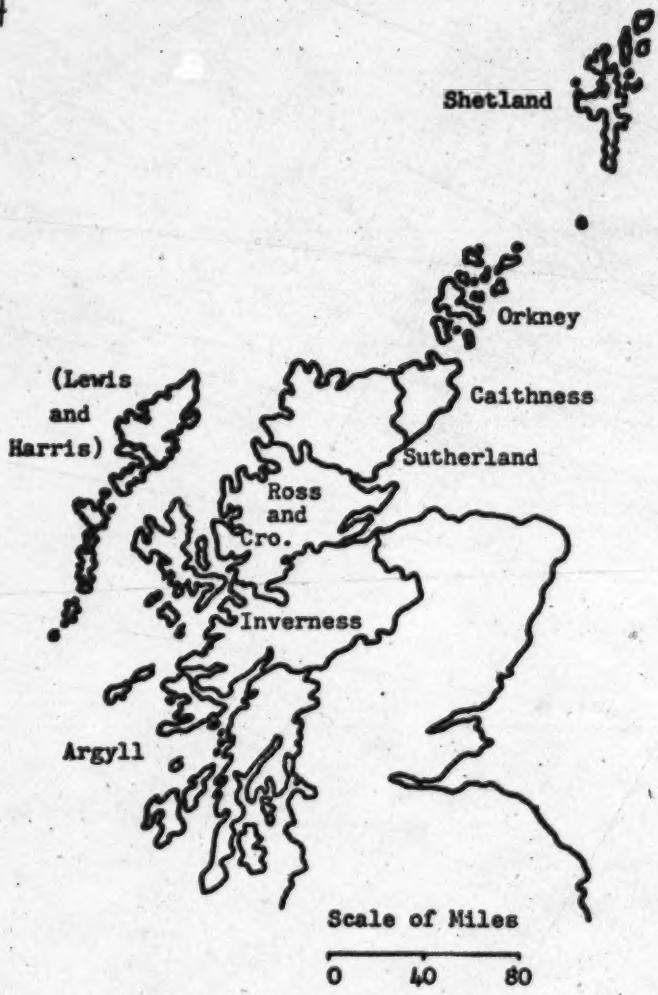
The Seven Crofting Counties of Scotland



1: Parman E-4, 5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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Map B

Lewis and Harris

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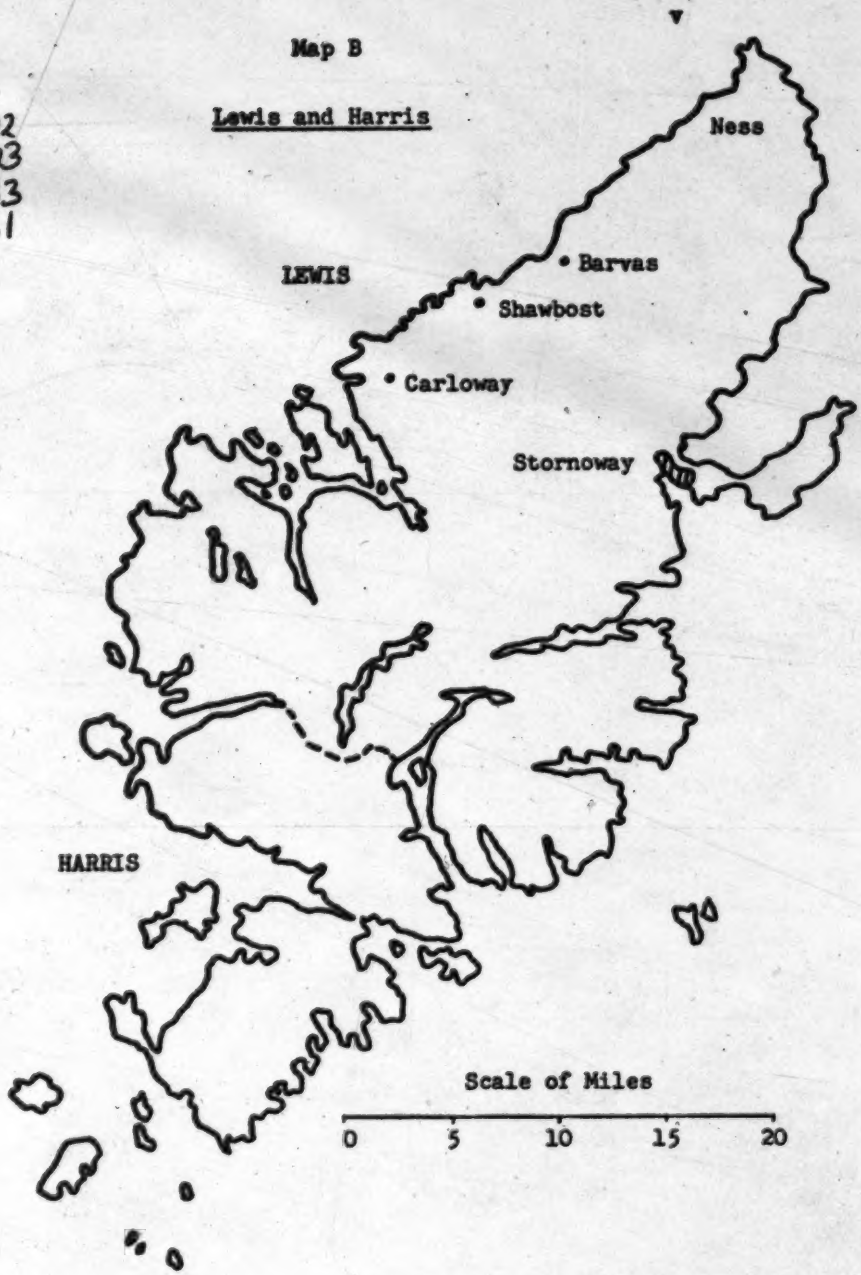

Map C

The Village of Shawbost

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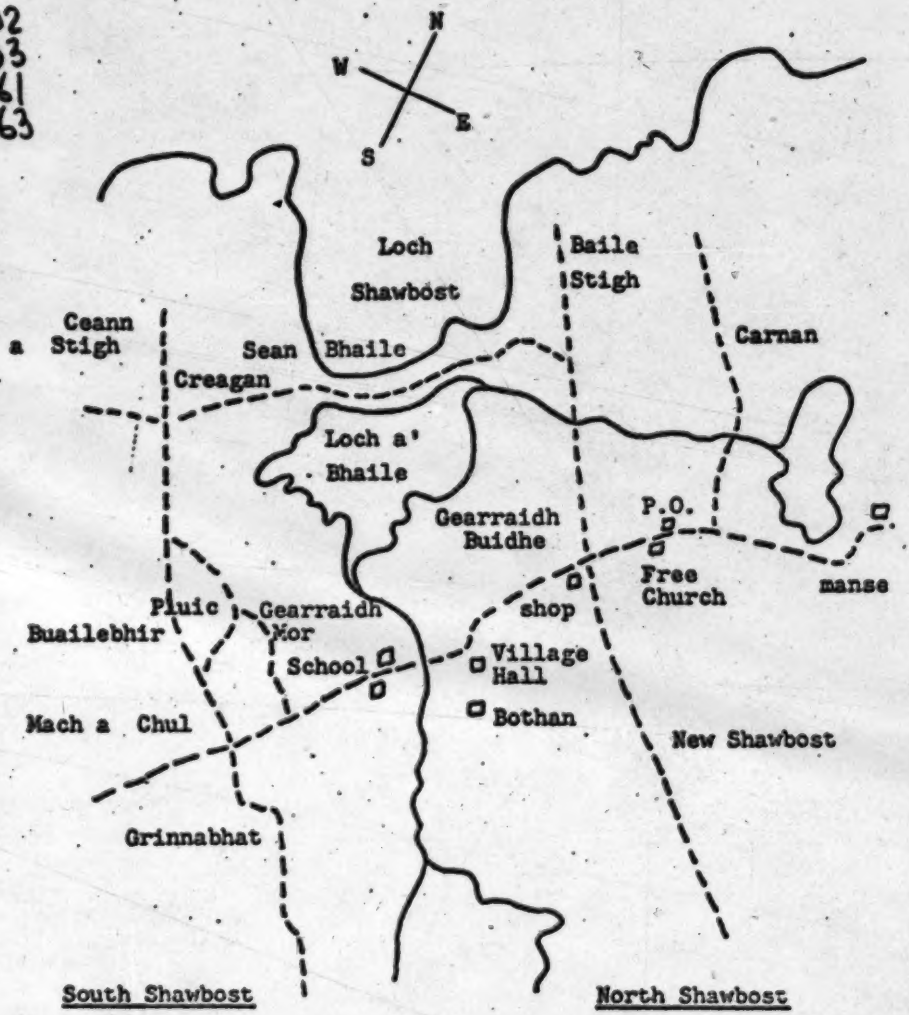

(Adapted from the Ordinance Survey Map, 1964.
Scale: roughly 3" per mile.)

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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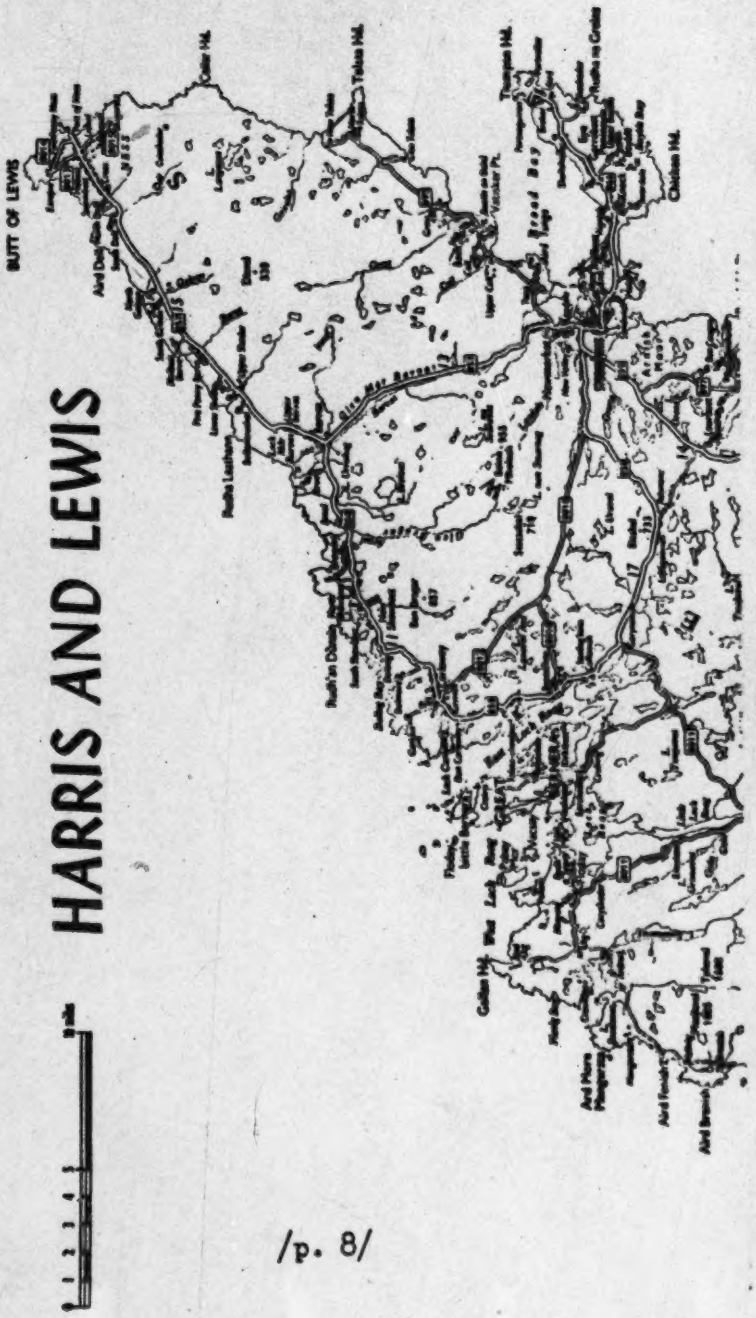

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2:: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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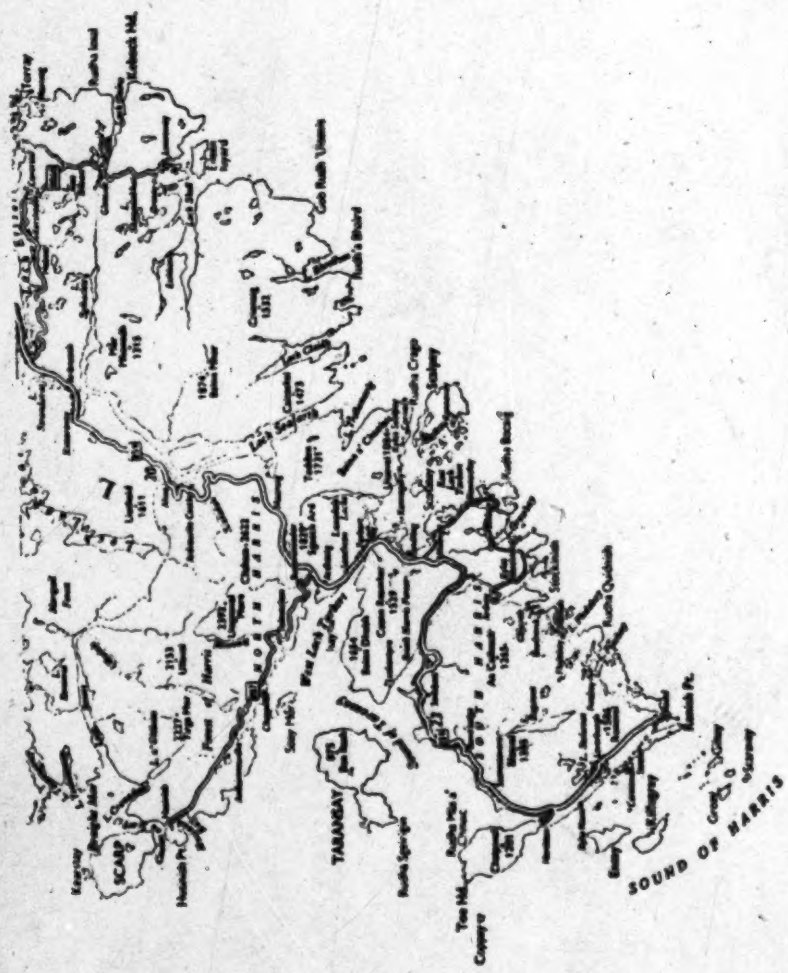

/p. 9/

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

(A) THE GEOGRAPHIC SETTING: THE BRITISH ISLES, SCOTLAND AND THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLES

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1. *A 'Heart' of the 'North and West' of Britain*

IN the 'Outer' Hebrides, commonly regarded as the most 'outlying' inhabited lands of the British Isles, are revealed not only the most ancient of British rocks, the Archaean, but probably the oldest form of communal life in Britain. This life, in present and past, will interest

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FIG. 1.—Global view of the 'Outer' Hebrides, seen as the heart of the 'North and West' of Britain.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

share their characteristics. So to gain a sense of proportion from the start, we must map the location of Scots countrymen, their numerical importance, and their types of grouping. Let us begin with the first of these three aspects, their regional location (Fig. 2).

The base map on which the data are plotted shows the boundaries dividing the hill masses of the Highlands and Southern Uplands from true 'lowland'. This hill country is mostly covered by rough pasture (left blank on the map) within which lie strips of 'Isolated Arable' with other improved land in the valleys and along the outlying coastlands (shown in black). This hill country includes the Scottish Isles, with the exception of Orkney, which falls rather into the category of 'lowland'. It is largely devoted to sheep farming and crofting, or left to grouse and deer. The lowland area from the Orkneys to the Tweed and Solway is devoted to mixed and dairy farming with lowland types of small-holding, except, of course, for 'Industrial Regions', which include most of the urban area of Scotland.

Within the 'three-mile' territorial limit from the coast lie the inshore waters, in which local fishing was once important, and might again become so; these are left white on the map (Fig. 2). By contrast to their narrow extent on the East Coast, their width is notable in the Northern Isles and on the West Coast.

The problem set in making this map is to show two different worlds, as it were: the Highland and the Lowland. The two are rarely envisaged together, and much confusion of thought and policy results. To master the map, the reader may scrutinise first one part, the Highlands (covering the other with one hand), then the other part, the Lowlands (in the same way): thus each will appear clearly in turn. Both can then be envisaged together.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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FIG. 2.—Map to show (i) the use of land and sea in and around Scotland, with special reference to the Crofting Townships Zone of the NW. Highlands and Isles, and (ii) the average size in each county of labour-teams of farms and small-holdings in the Lowlands

3; Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

182 Let us begin with the economic and the social signi-
184 ficance of the Highlands and Isles with which we are
311 concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space' is
the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown black)
[241] which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore waters,
[479] and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by line
C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or com-
[361] munities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainland
and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazing;
the line C also encloses a small area devoted to other
grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, main-
land, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill country
are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small farms
and small-holdings.

174 In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint labour-
621 team on land formed the communal units contained within
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423
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Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C .... C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black areas: strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

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Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings
(in the Lowlands)

[311] The symbols show the average number of employees per team in each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

[241] (a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm

[361] — 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
◆ 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
■ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(b) Per Full-time Small Holding

• 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

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FIG. 3.—Sketch map of selected features of structure and rock-types of NW. Scotland

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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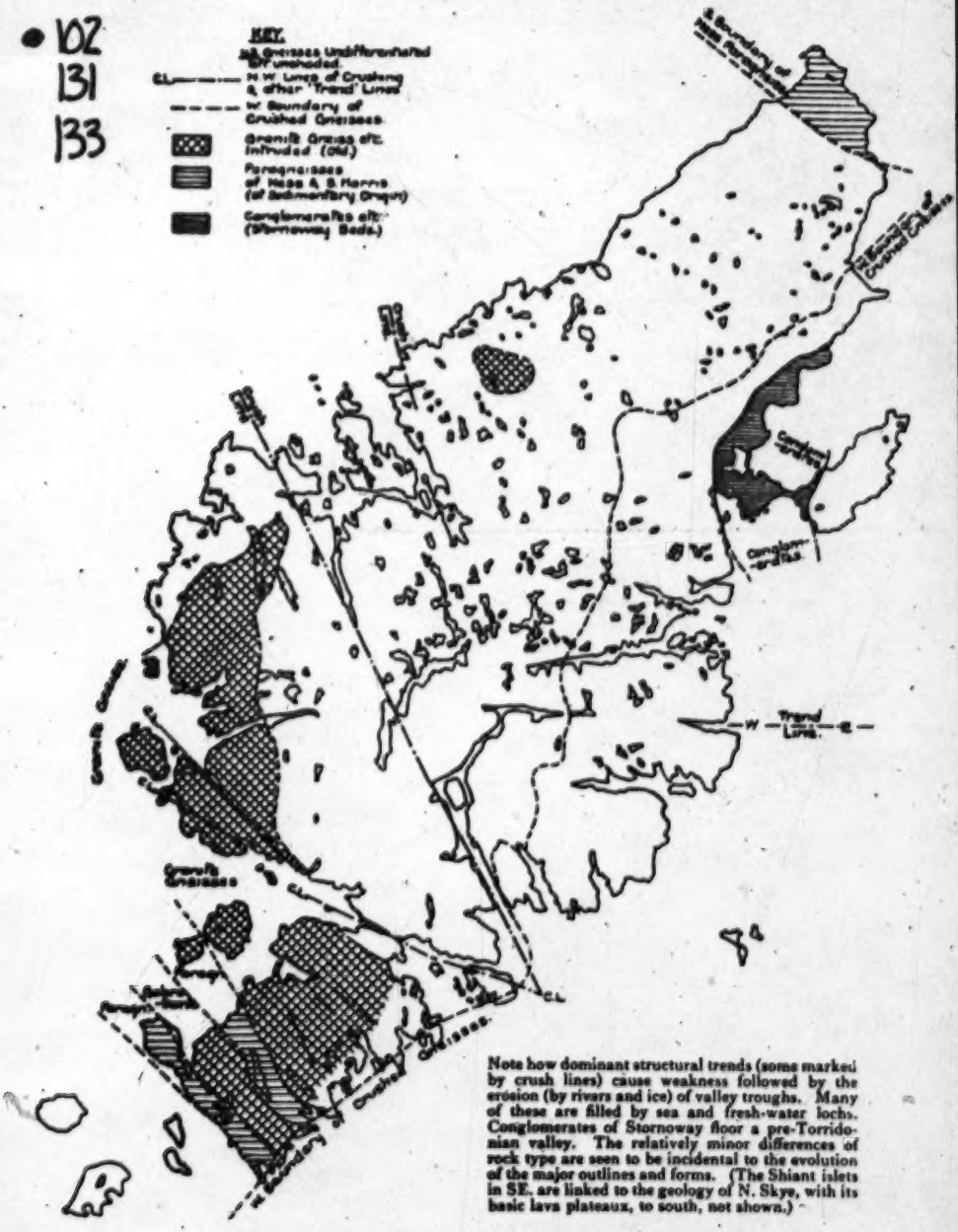

Note how dominant structural trends (some marked by crush lines) cause weakness followed by the erosion (by rivers and ice) of valley troughs. Many of these are filled by sea and fresh-water lochs. Conglomerates of Stornoway floor a pre-Torridonian valley. The relatively minor differences of rock type are seen to be incidental to the evolution of the major outlines and forms. (The Shiant islets in SE. are linked to the geology of N. Skye, with its basic lava plateaux, to south, not shown.)

FIG. 4 (*a*).—Lewis-and-Harris: Geology (after Jehu and Craig)

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3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Land above 500 feet shaded.
Cliff coasts shown by thicker line.

[137]

Note the low plateau characterising Lewis. A loch-studded, boggy plain and the heights of the Forest of N. Harris (and Uig) divide inhabited Lewis from inhabited Harris.

The truncation of capes by storm waves and the drifted bars across minor bays partly restore the generally rectilinear trends of the coast lines, fretted by sea lochs (drowned valleys).

FIG. 4 (*b*).—Lewis-and-Harris: Relief

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

feet. These marshy grass moors, with their mountain pastures above, are the adopted home of the hardy Black-

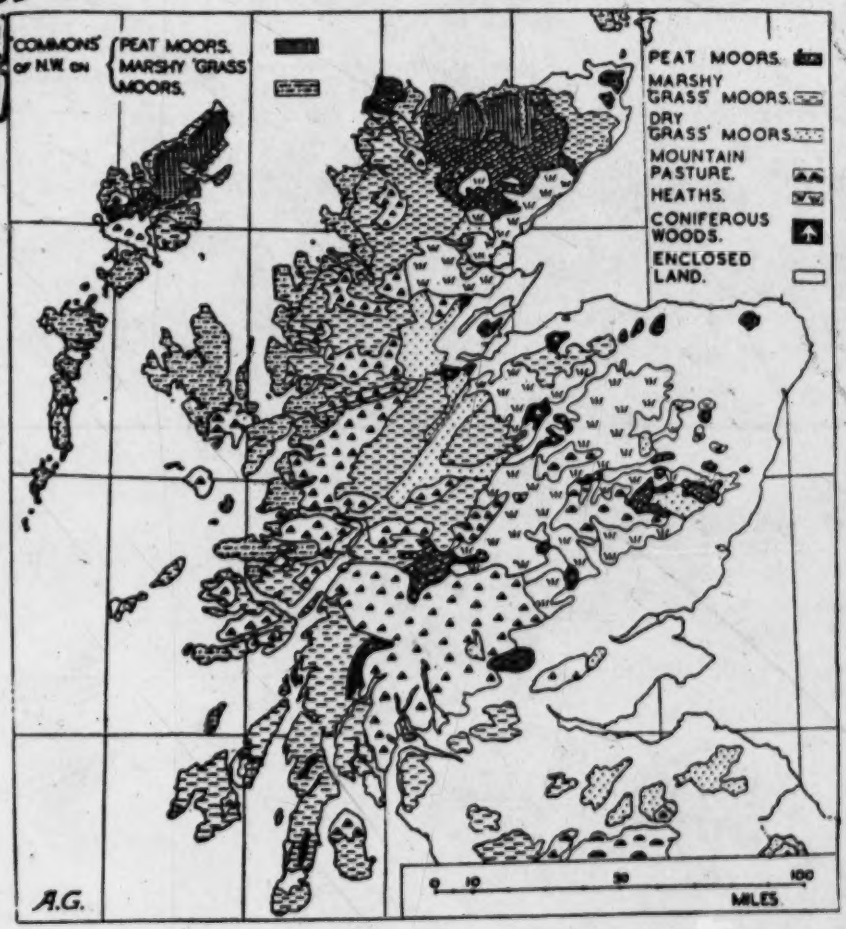

FIG. 7.—Map of vegetation-types and pastures of the Highlands and Hebrides

face sheep. Wherever in the west the slopes drop fairly steeply, good pasture grass with some heather may grow, or rather did grow until bracken overwhelmed them.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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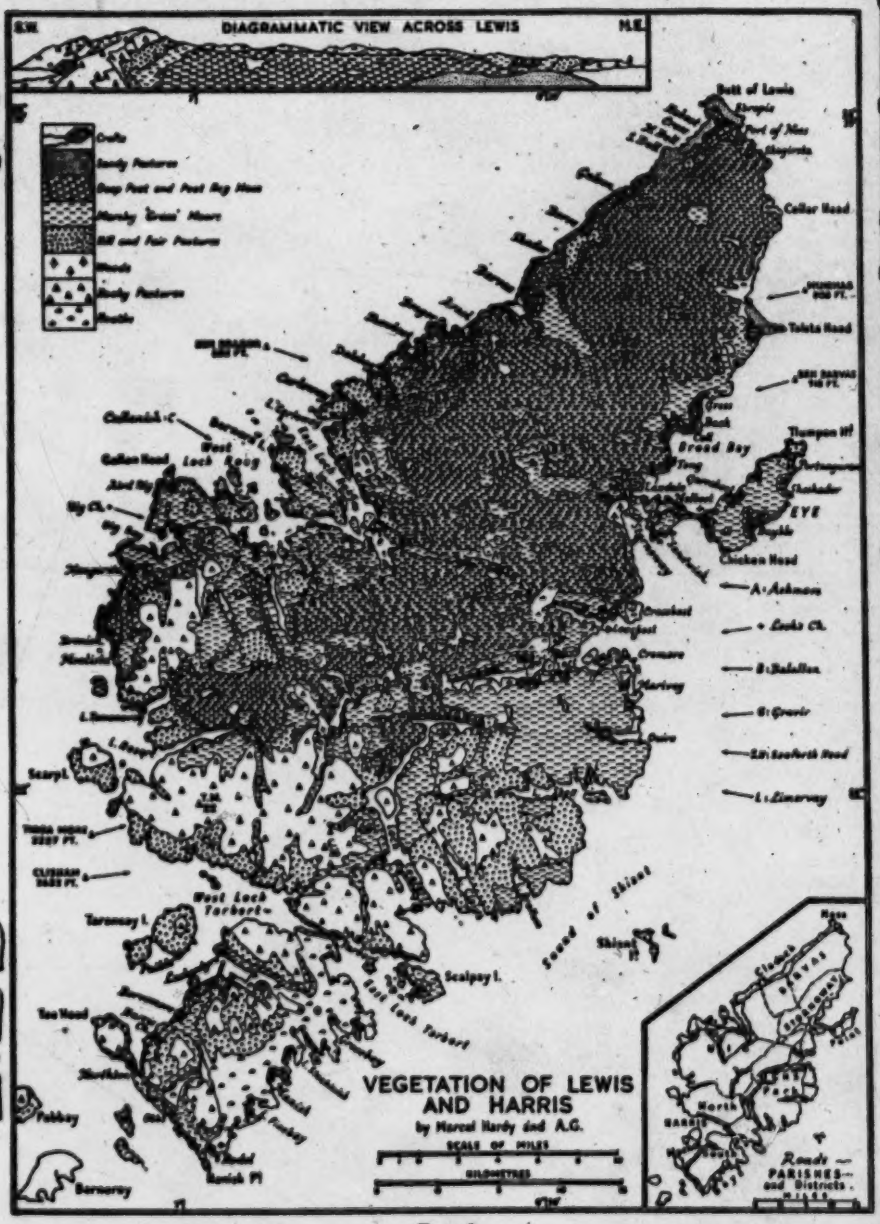

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[634] →
[491] →

FIG. 8

/p. 50/

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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FIG. 11.—Plan of Stornoway and its Development (*key opposite*).

/p. 88/

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

361 in solid black, and the third in hatching (Fig. 11). First,
174 upon the little peninsula or 'Point' which protects the
inner fishing harbour of the river there grew the nucleus
361 of the town, with its Castle upon the rocky islet now con-
226 cealed by the steamer pier. Sheltered from the waves by
the peninsula and from enemies by the Castle, MacLeod's
504 galleys and the early fishing fleet must have congregated
in the inner harbour. Protection from storm was specially
needed until, in the nineteenth century, a quay was built,
with space for marketing and handling the herring.

174 Inland from the Castle was the little church of the burgh,
361 dedicated to Saint Lennan (L). The little town can be
imagined stretching inland from the church, its dwellings
[346] built along the 'Point Street' axis, until it met the track,
road or street crossing the neck of the Point. The largest
church of Lewis proper, now in ruins, stood apart from
the burgh, at the south-west extremity of Eye Peninsula.
Until trade developed, the backs of the houses would have
been turned to the shore. To north, on the landward
side from which cattle would come, the market developed.

175 Secondly, in the seventeenth century, thatched houses
361 were strung out along Point Street and the shore for the
Gaelic settlers, the fisher- and craftsman-crofters brought
342 here to found a burgh and commercialise fishing. During

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102 *Key to Fig. 11* (opposite)

361 Buildings on John Wood's plan of 1821 are shown in black and radial
174 streets then proposed by pecked lines. Existing buildings are
shown hatched. The harbour development plan of 1946 (pecked
lines) is shown by courtesy of the Stornoway Pier and Harbour
Commission; it is now in execution.

L = site of St. Lennan's. T = former Town House. TH = Town House.
× = site of Castle. + = modern churches.

(Based on a British Admiralty chart with the permission of the Controller o, H.M. Stationery Office and of the Hydrographer of the Navy.)

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A	B	C
D	E	F

Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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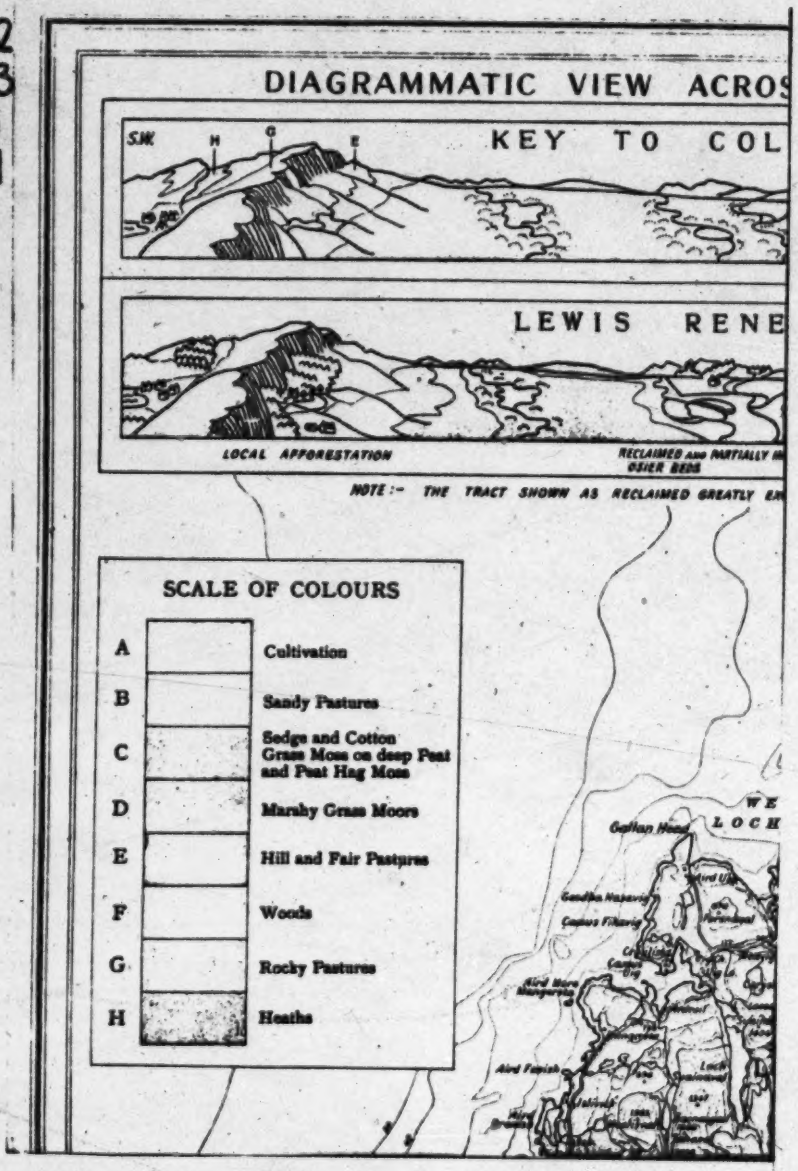

[End Map - A]

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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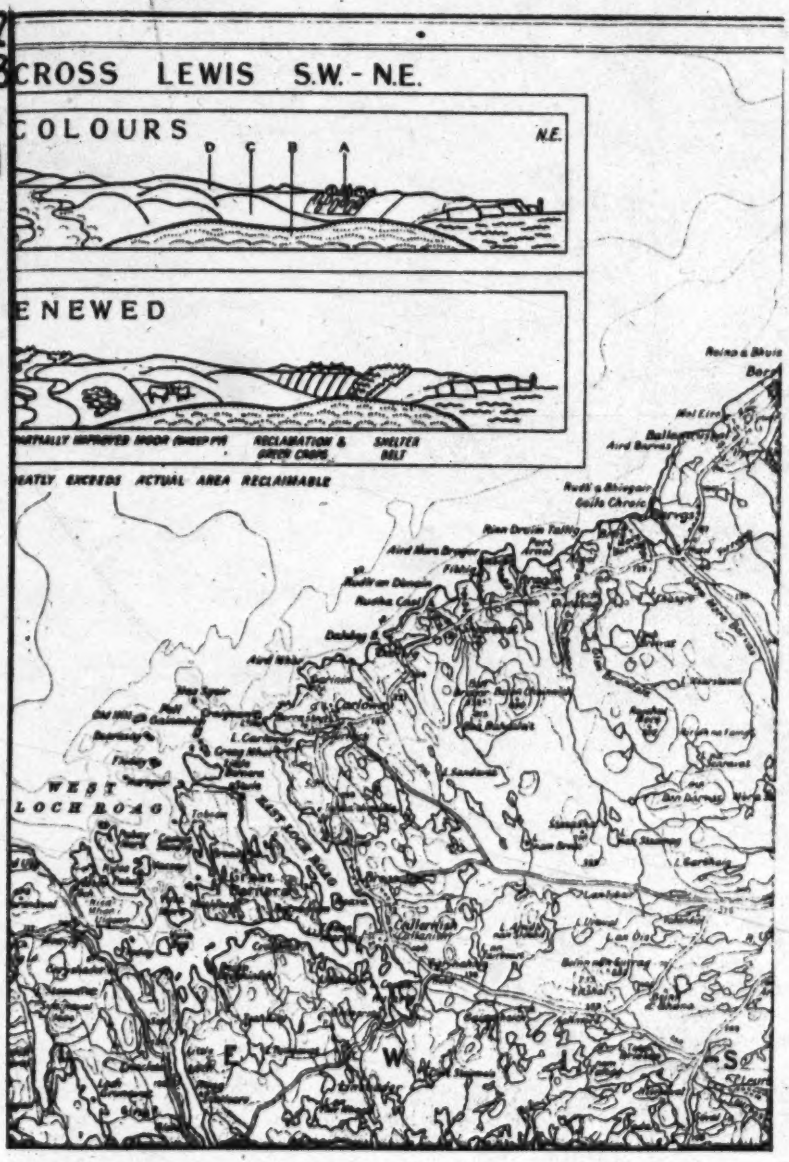
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Bayanne Pier
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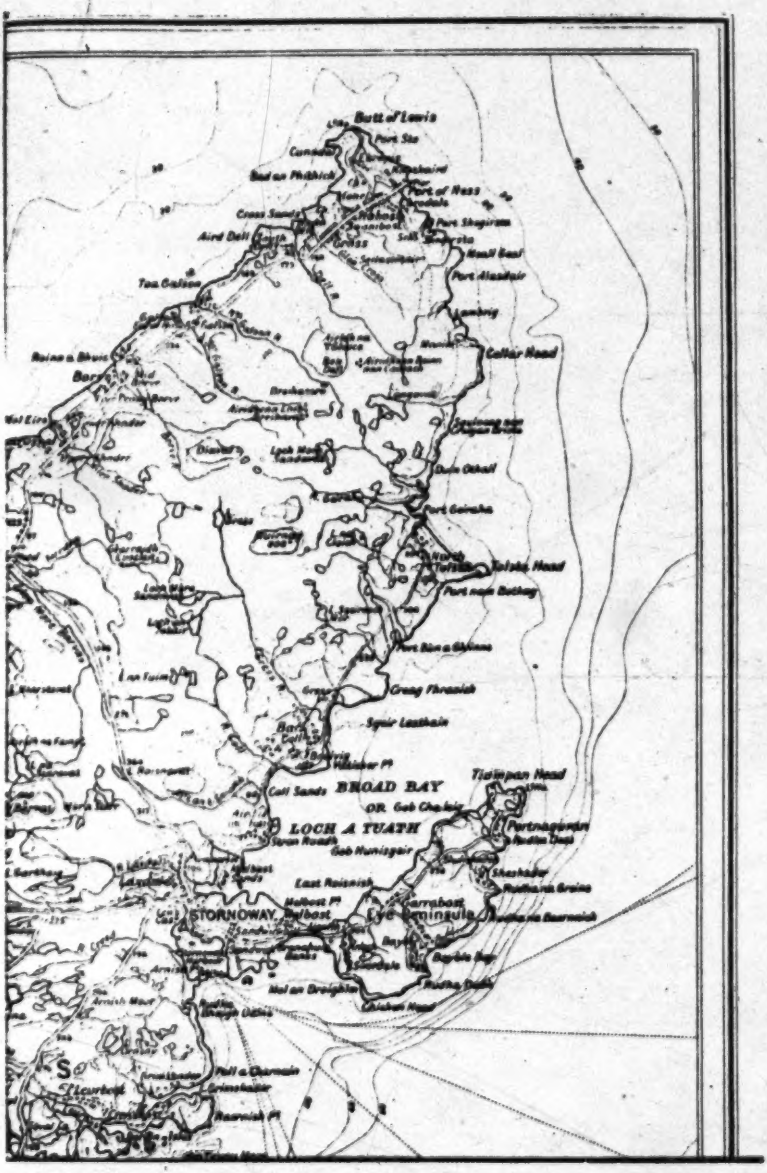
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Port Alasdair
Cellar Head
Port Coinche
Tolsta Head
Port nan Bustag
Port Sin a Gharaiss
Cruag Thrasaich
Sgair Leathain
Tiumpan Head
BROAD BAY
OR Gob Chaolais
LOCH A TUATH
Portnaguran
East Reisnish
Garrabost
Eye Peninsula
STORNOWAY
Holbost
Mol an Dreighlin
Mealbost
Ardroil
Aird Dell
Tea Cabhan
Barvas
Dinnaver
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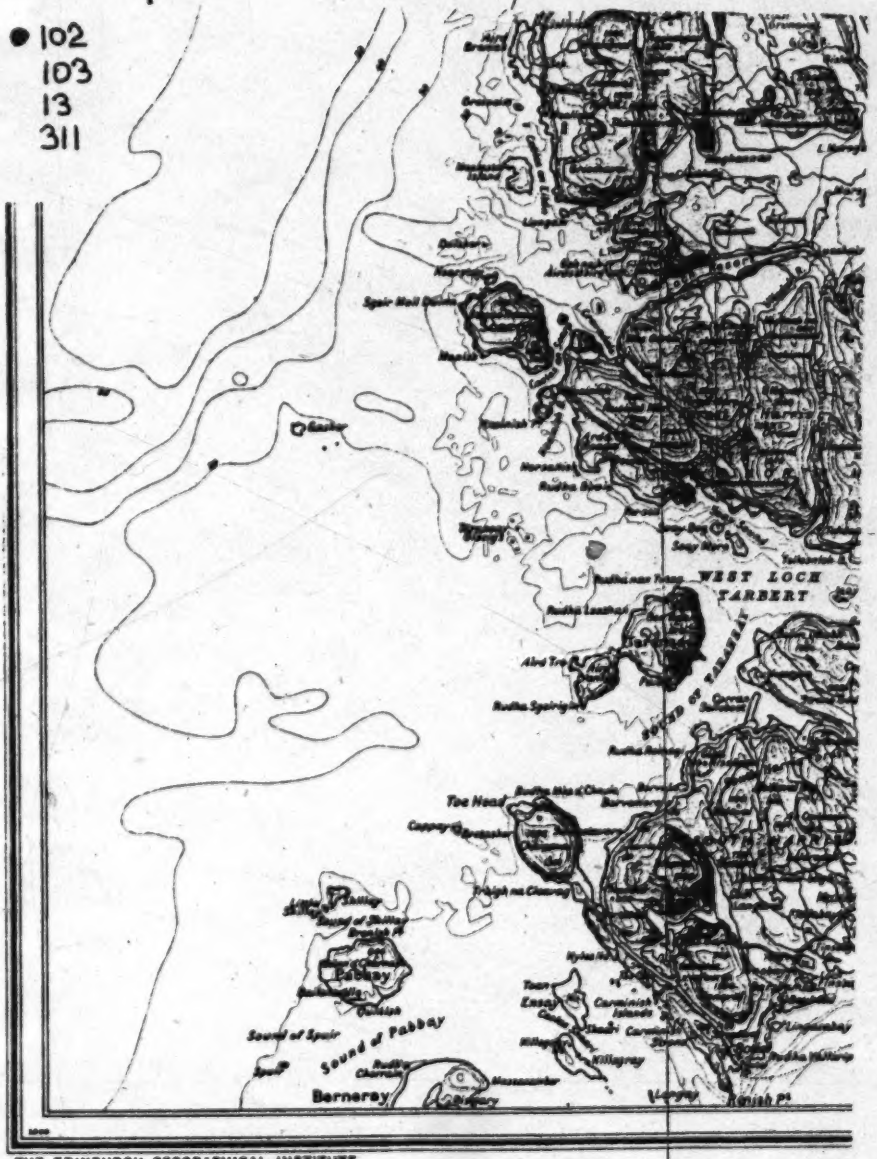

THE EDINBURGH GEOGRAPHICAL INSTITUTE

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3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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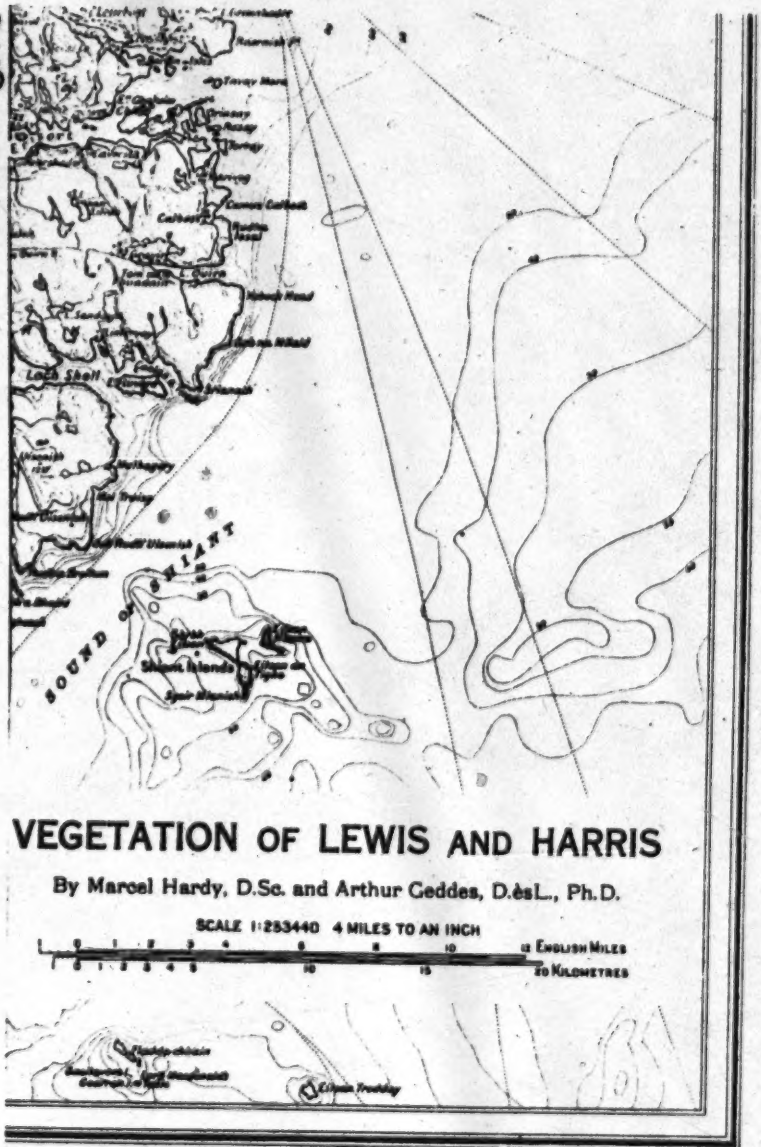

VEGETATION OF LEWIS AND HARRIS

By Marcel Hardy, D.Sc. and Arthur Geddes, D.ès L., Ph.D.

JOHN BARTHOLOMEW & SON, LTD.

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4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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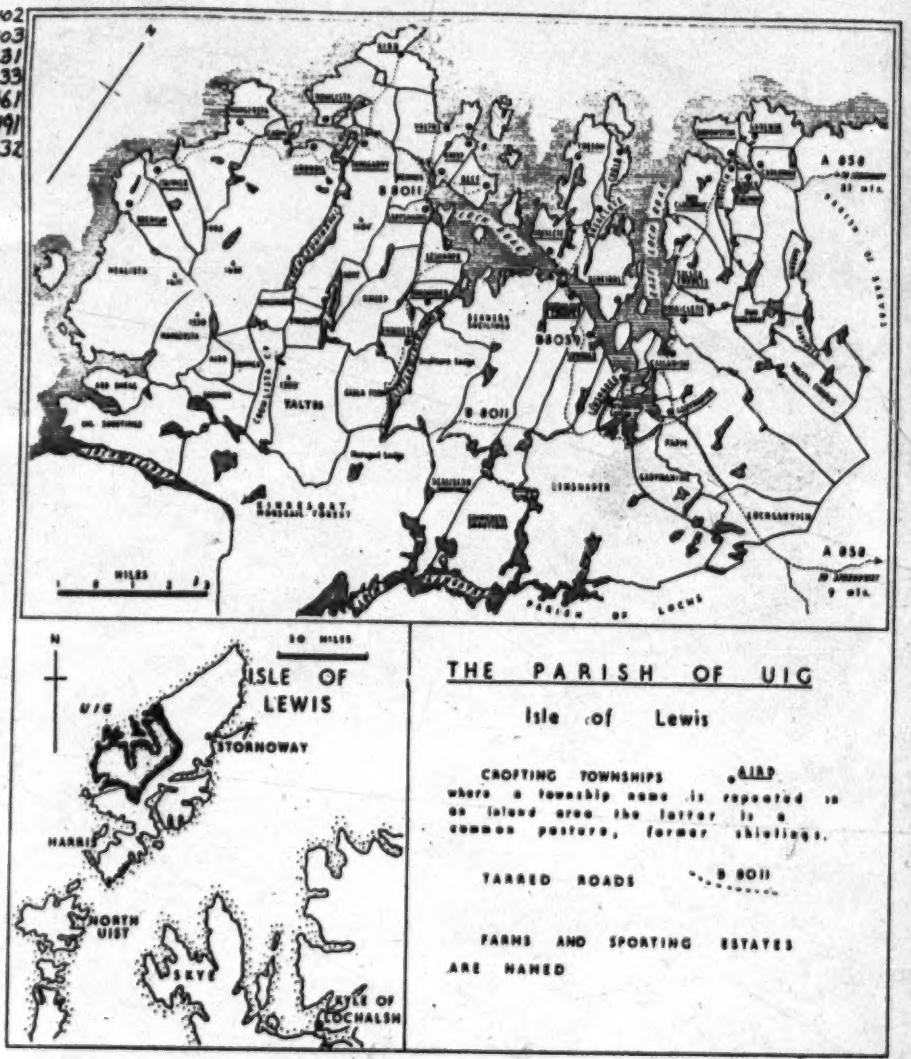

Figure 1.

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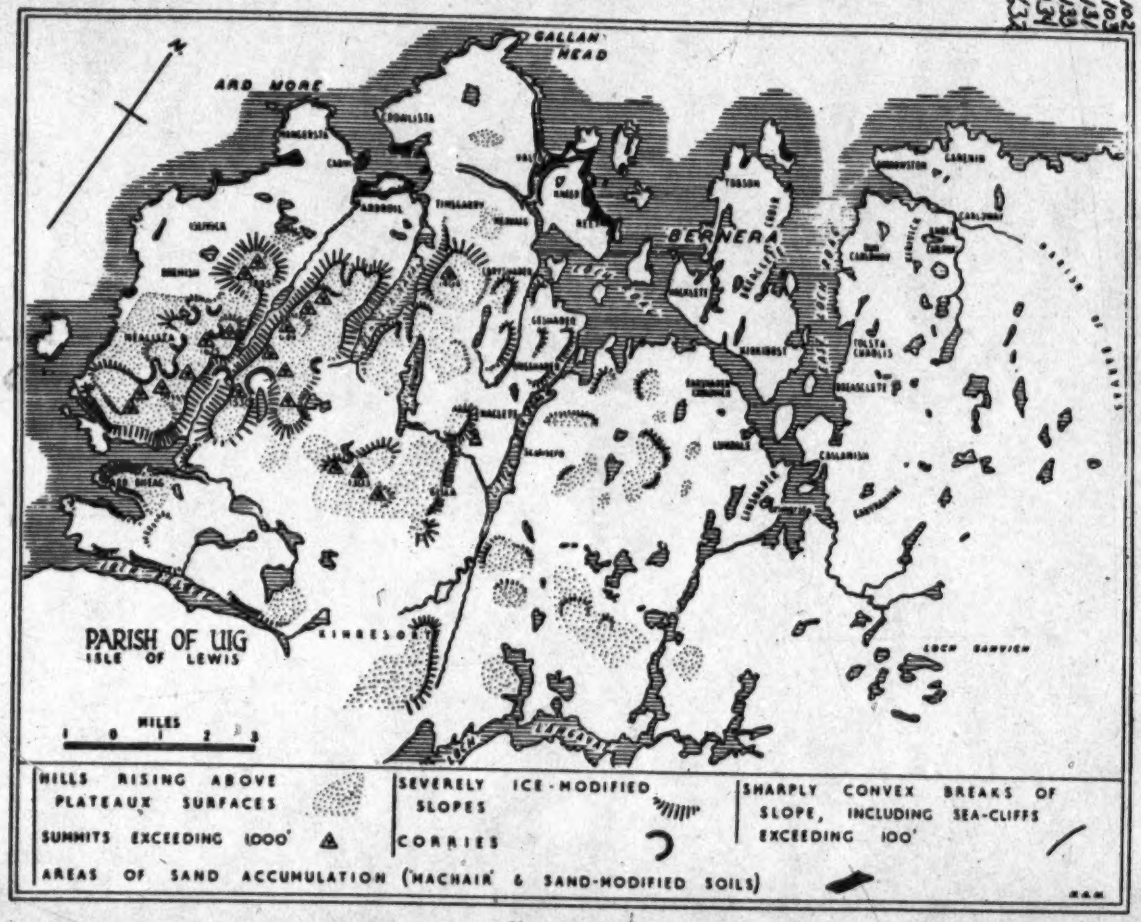
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SEVERELY ICE-MODIFIED SLOPES
CORRIES
SHARPLY CONVEX BREAKS OF SLOPE, INCLUDING SEA-CLIFFS EXCEEDING 100'
AREAS OF SAND ACCUMULATION ('MACHAIR' & SAND-MODIFIED SOILS)

Figure 2.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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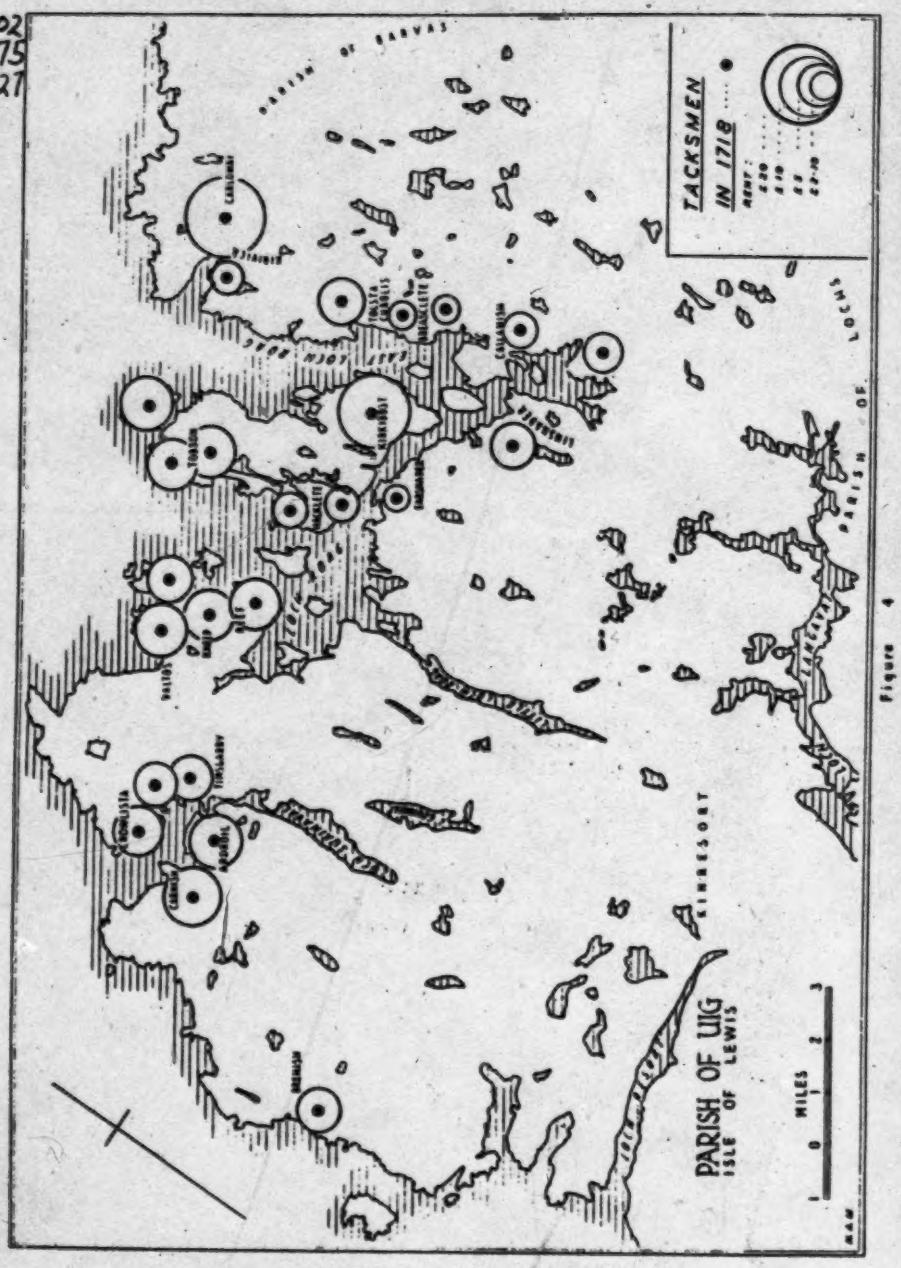

Figure 4

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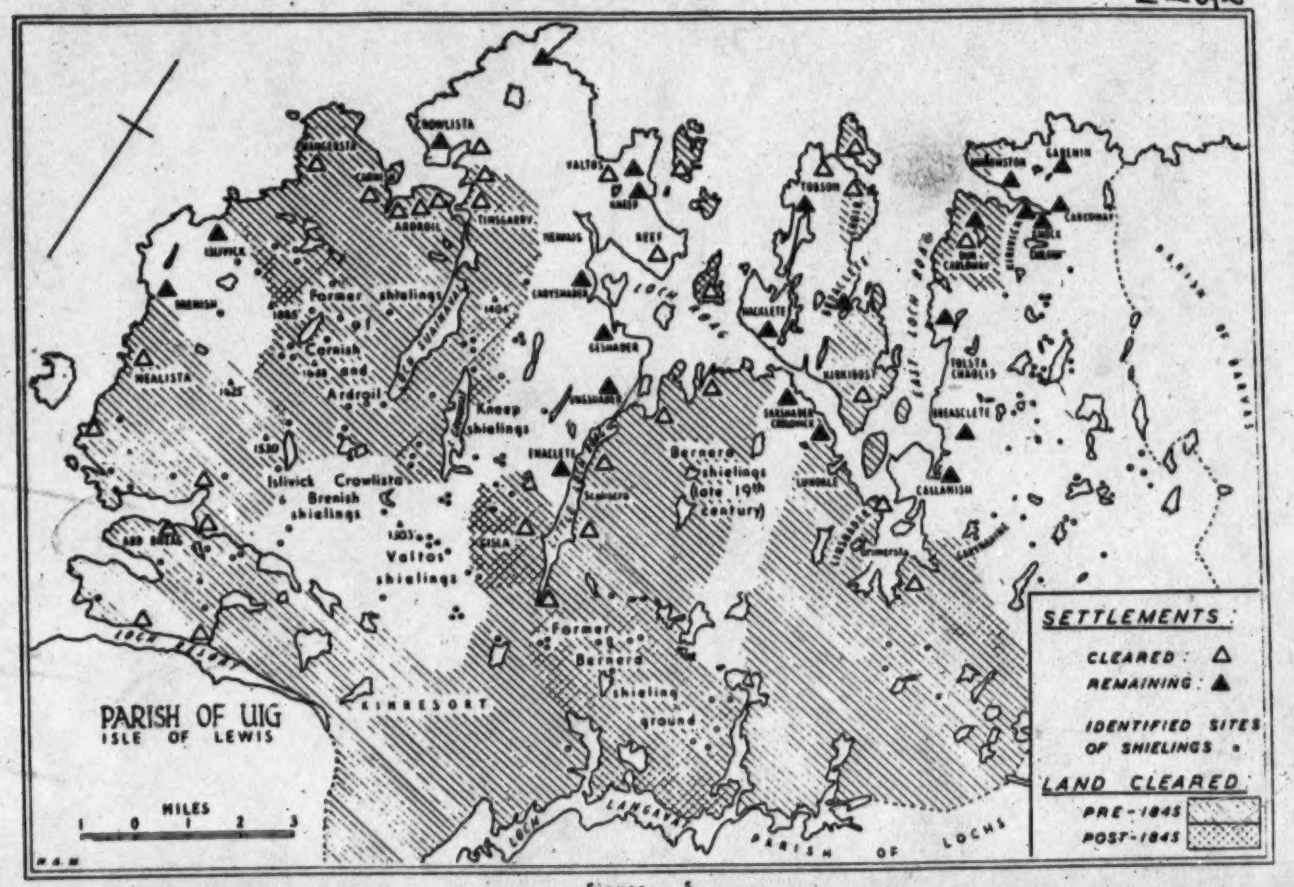

Figure 5

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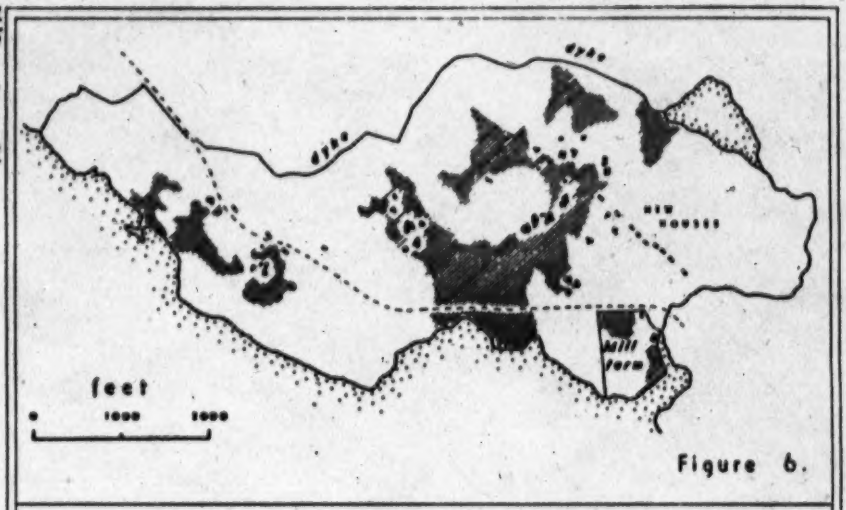

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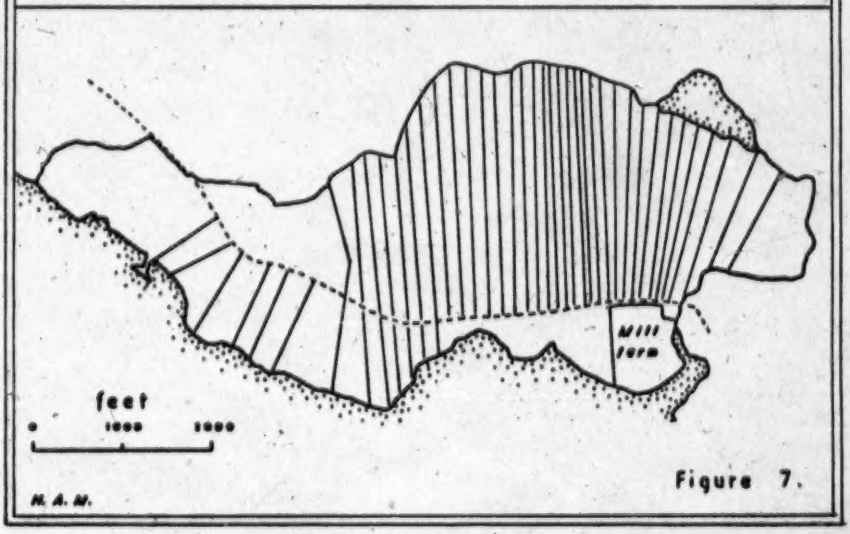

Figure 7.

H. A. M.

Figures 6 and 7

THE LOTTING OF BREASCLETE

Figure 6 shows the irregular clusters of old houses and patches of arable land (hatched) within the infield dyke. On the right the first of the new houses, standing in a row each on its own 'lot' (or 'croft'), are shown.

Figure 7, from the contemporary Factor's notebook, shows the new crofts as lotted in 1850. Note that these were not fenced.

/p. 24/

102
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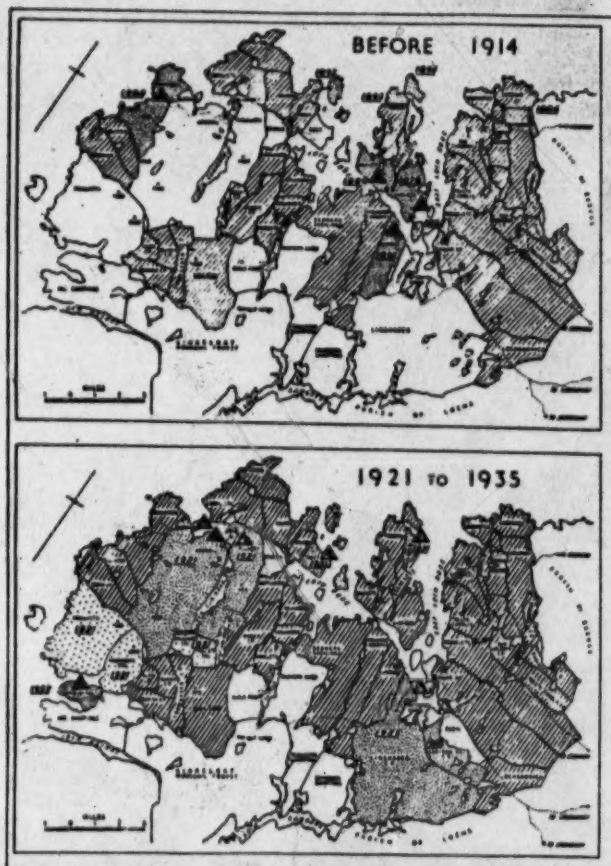

THE
RESETTLEMENT
OF
UIG
1878 TO 1935

NEW TOWNSHIPS

ENLARGEMENTS

EXISTING CROFTER
HOLDINGS

Figure 10

H.A.M. 6/59.

/p. 22/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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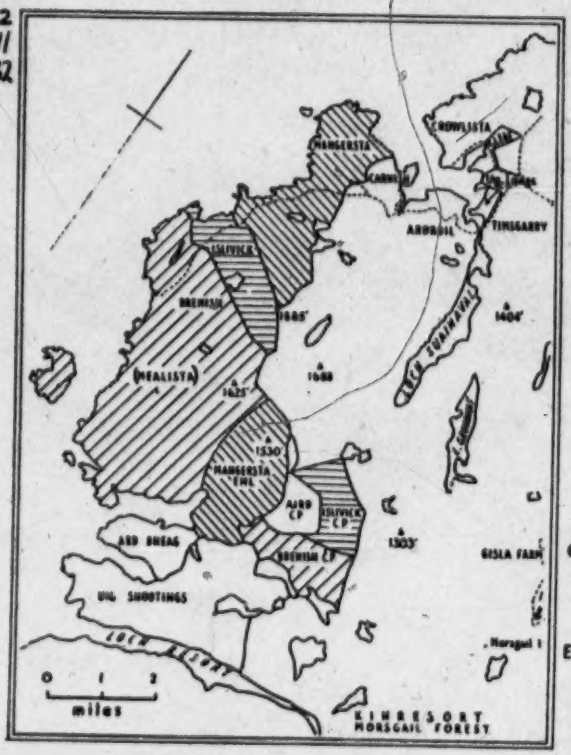

Figure 11.

THE ATLANTIC COAST DISTRICT

C.P. : detached common pasture (shielings).

ENL. : enlargement to common pasture

241
233
427
632

Table 13

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	COMMON PASTURES: Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: others:	CROFTER TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Ard Bheag	-	-	c.2,000	-	1	(4)
Breanish	140	5,093	940	28	-	22
Islivig	51	1,342	620	10	-	7
Mangersta	55	2,197	1,850	13	-	13
	246	9,432	5,410	51	1	42

/facing p. 32/

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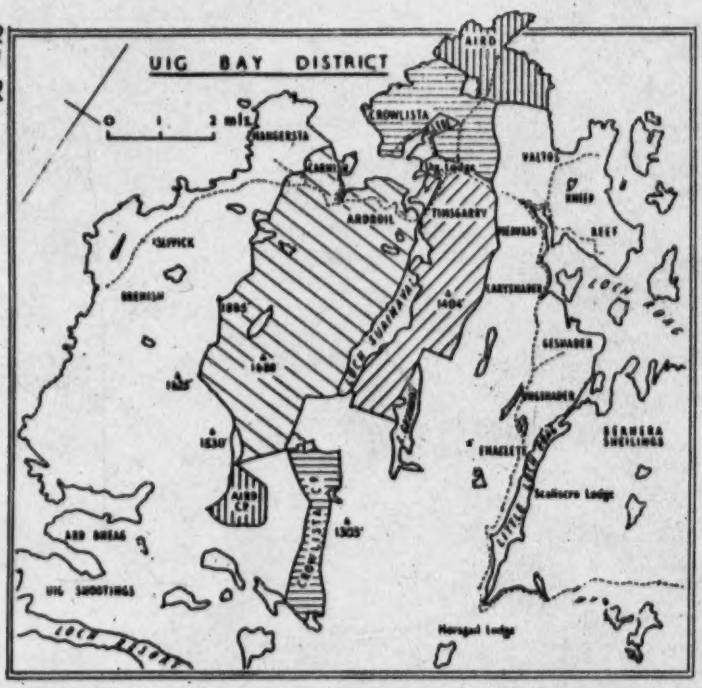

Figure 13

Table 14

231
427
632

TOWNSHIP farm etc	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: adjacent:	detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Carnish	67	177 44(M)		6	-	5
Ardroil	330	320 131(M)	6,708	14	-	5
Timsgarry	81	3,297	-	8	-	8
Crowlista	101	1,840 240(G)	1,352*	24	-	19
Aird	49	1,163	556*	10	-	9
Non-crofting	8	-	-	-	2	-
	306	7,212	8,616	62	2	55**

NOTES:
M : machair; G : part of Glebe; *shielings;
**of whom nine are absent.

/facing p. 35/

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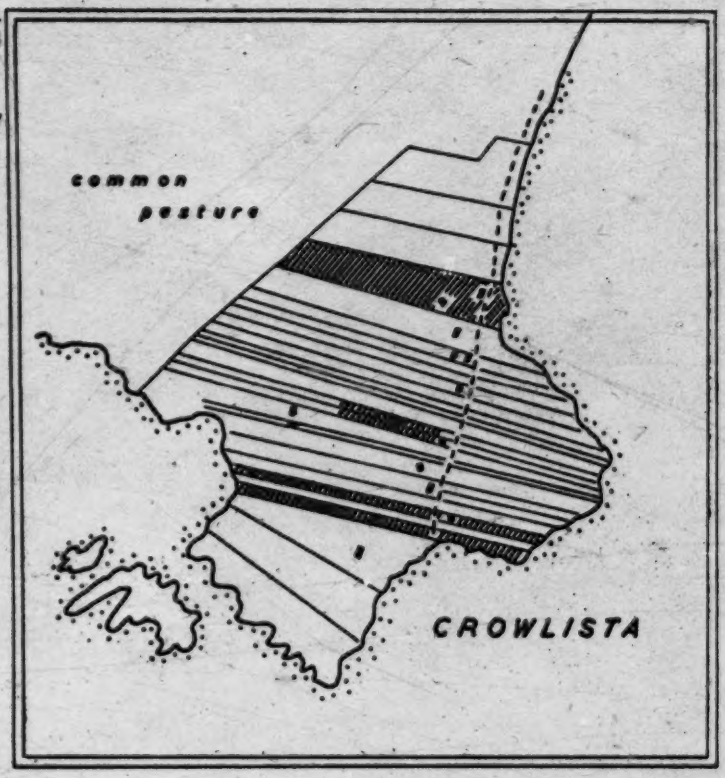

Figure 14

CROWLISTA :
- lay out of crofts of an 'old' township lotted c. 1850.
- crofts shown hatched are held runrig by pairs of tenants
(Compare - Fig. 15)

/facing p. 36/

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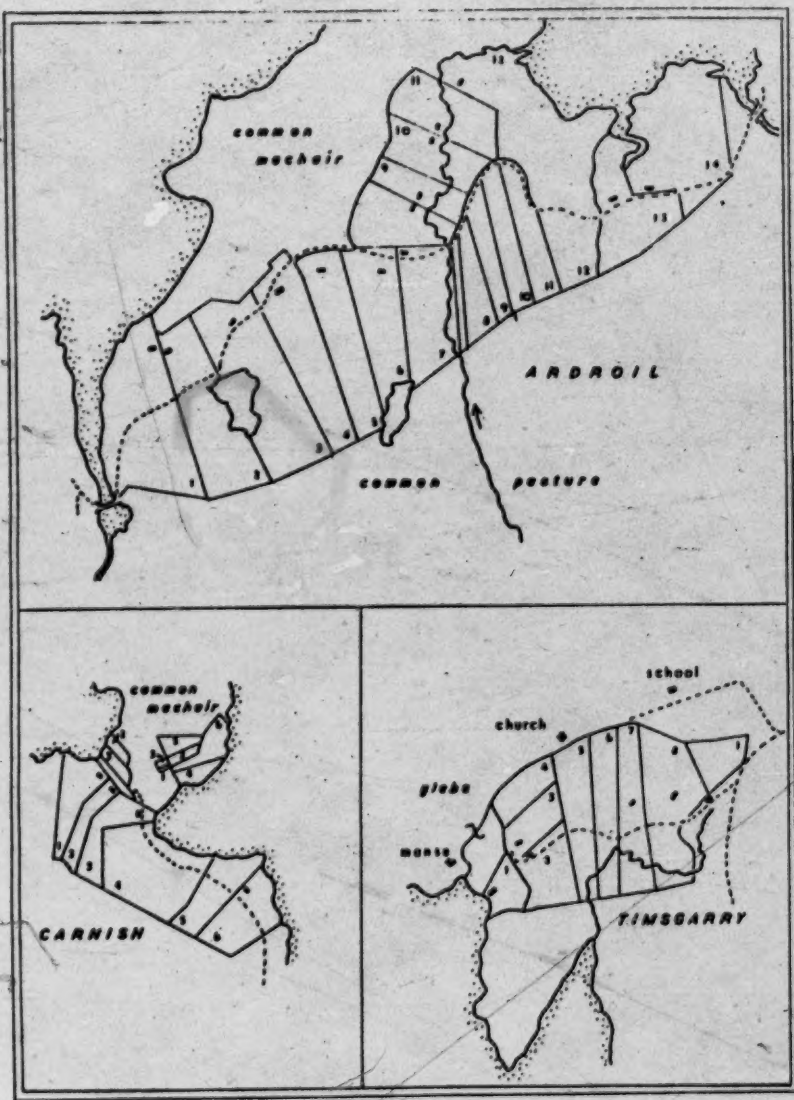

Figure 15.

ARDROIL CARNISH and TIMSGARRY - lay-out of crofts formed from farms in 1921 Compare fig. 14

/facing p. 37/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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Figure 18

VALTOS
KNEEP
and
REEF.

C.P. : Common pasture

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 15

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632

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Valtos	149	1,482*	3,905**	40	1	36
Kneep	155	459*	1,806**	19	-	18
Reef	94	207 101(M)	770	15	-	14
	398	2,249	6,481	74	1	68***

NOTES: * including some machair; ** shielings;
M machair; *** Of whom 14 absent.

/facing p. 41/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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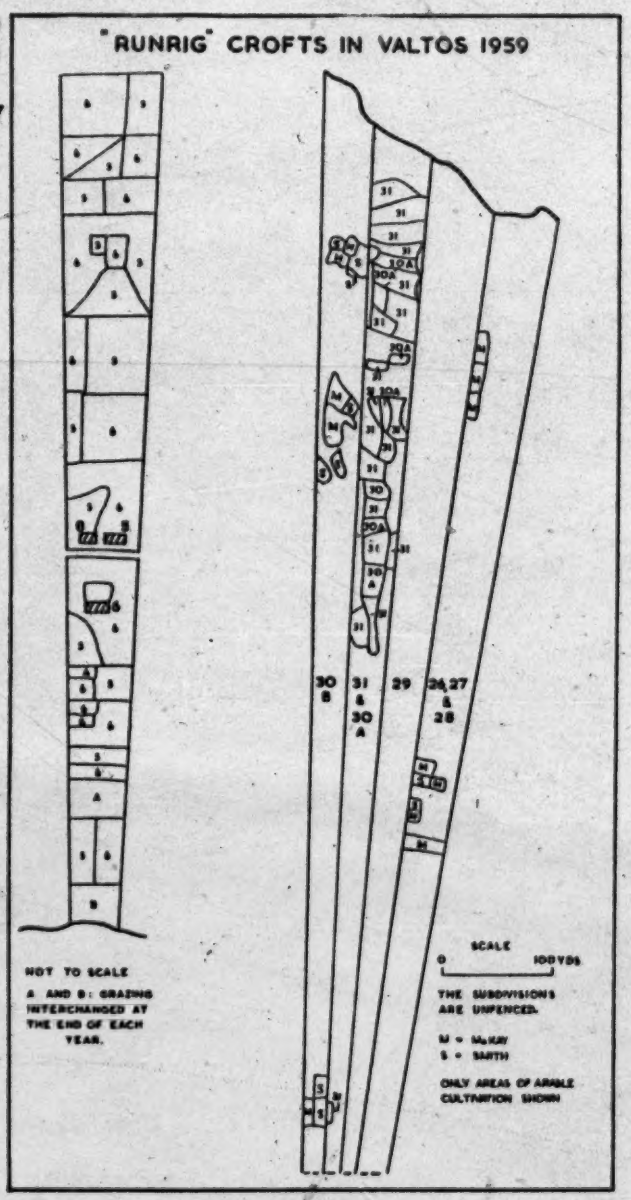

Figure 21
/facing p. 44/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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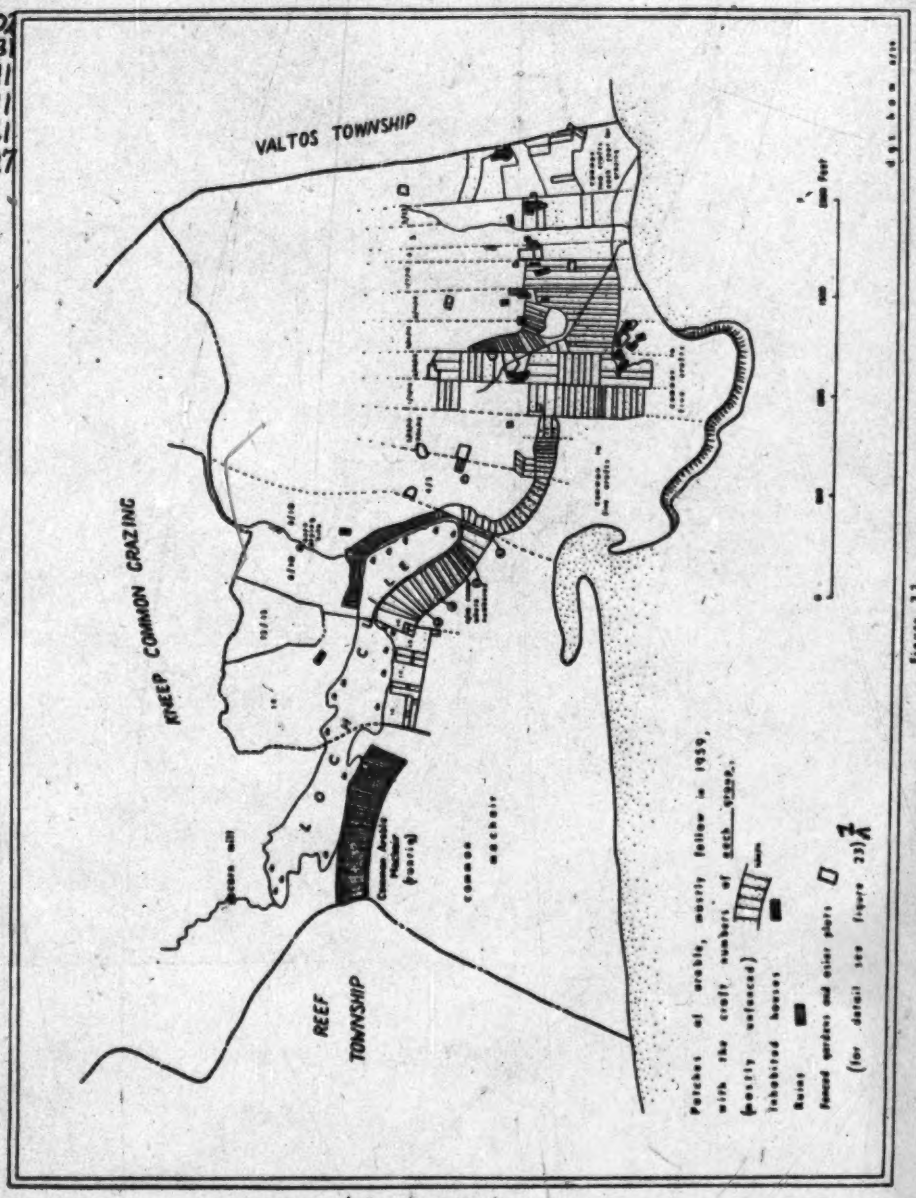

Figure 22

/facing p. 45/

1. [For fig. 23, see "facing p. 46"--Analyst]

4: Mbisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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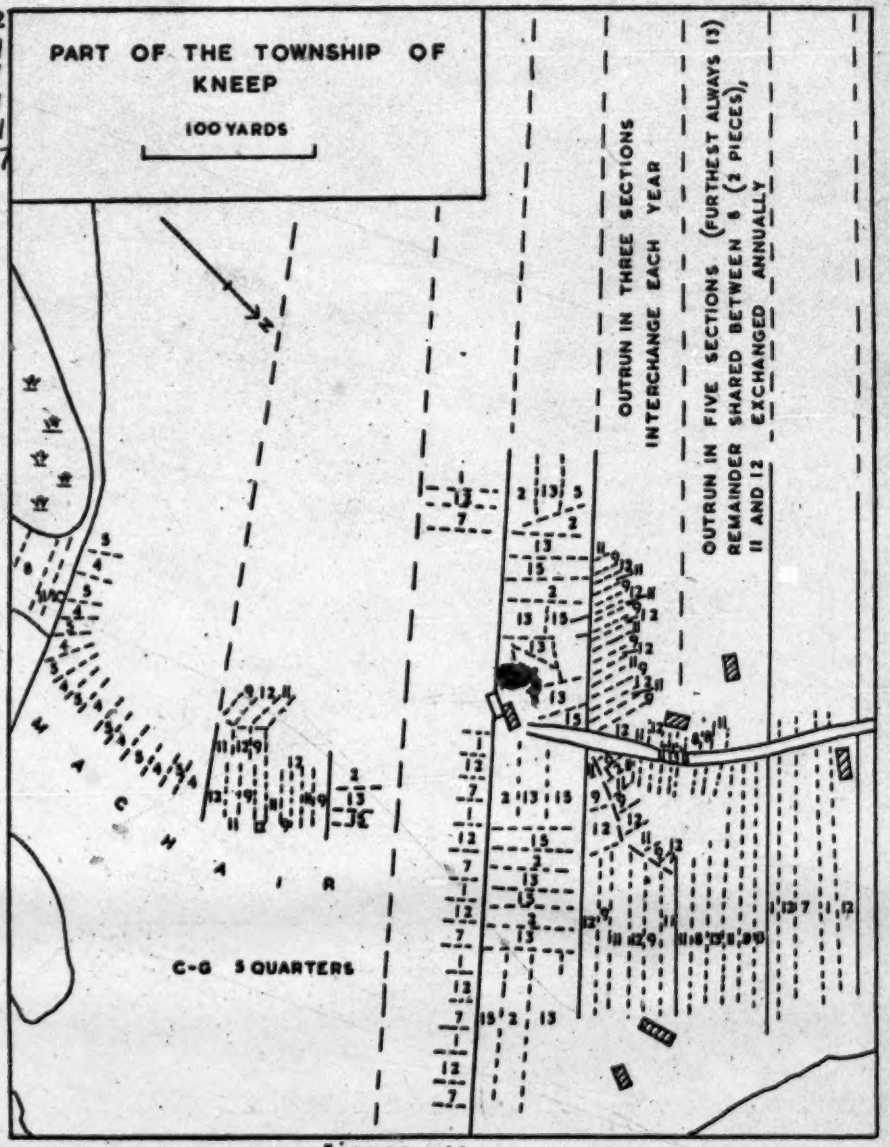

Figure 23
/facing p. 46/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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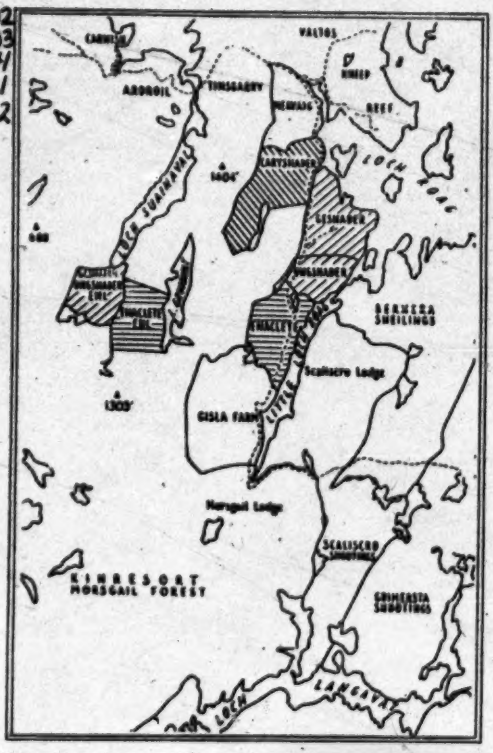

Figure 25

LITTLE
LOCH ROAG
DISTRICT

ENL.: Enlargement to common pasture.

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 19

231
241
427
632

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Caryshader	44	1,260	-	14	1	14
Ungshader	35	435	598	4	-	4
Geshader	114	850		11	-	11
Enaclete	73	662	617	9	-	8
Non-crofting	c.40	800+	-	-	4	-
	306	4,007+	1,215	38	5	37*

NOTES: + also unrecorded areas of grazing on deer forests
* Of whom four are absent.

/facing p. 48/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

● 122
311
632

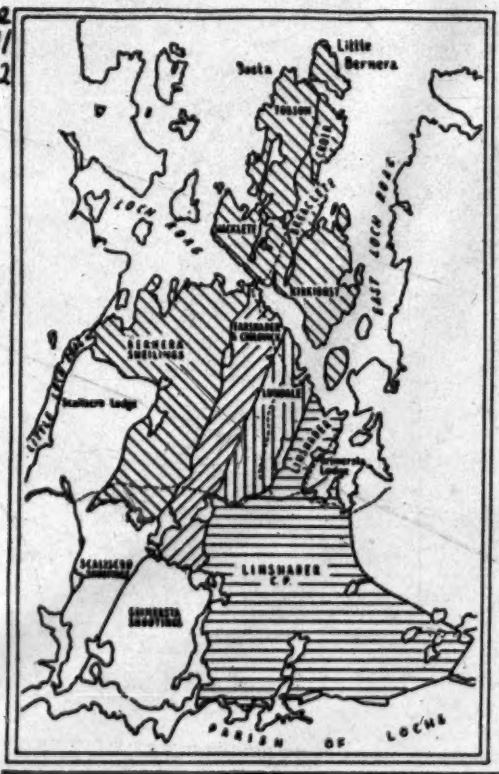

Figure 27

THE BERNERA DISTRICT

Table 20

231
241
423
427
632

TOWNSHIP:	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: (acres)			AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
Croir	234	280		Bernera shielings 4,341 a.	8	-	8
Brenalete	104	401	Little Bernera 314 acres		13	3	13
Hacklete	254	731			20	1	20
Kirkibost	429	924	E. Kersiay 178 a.		26	4	26
Tobson	171	689	Bosta 425 a.		24	-	21
Earshader	57	2,640			4	2	4
Crulivig	84				6	-	6
Lundale	156	1,000			6	-	6
Linshader	62	9,412	E. an Tighe 14 a.		10	-	10

/p. 58/

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241
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632

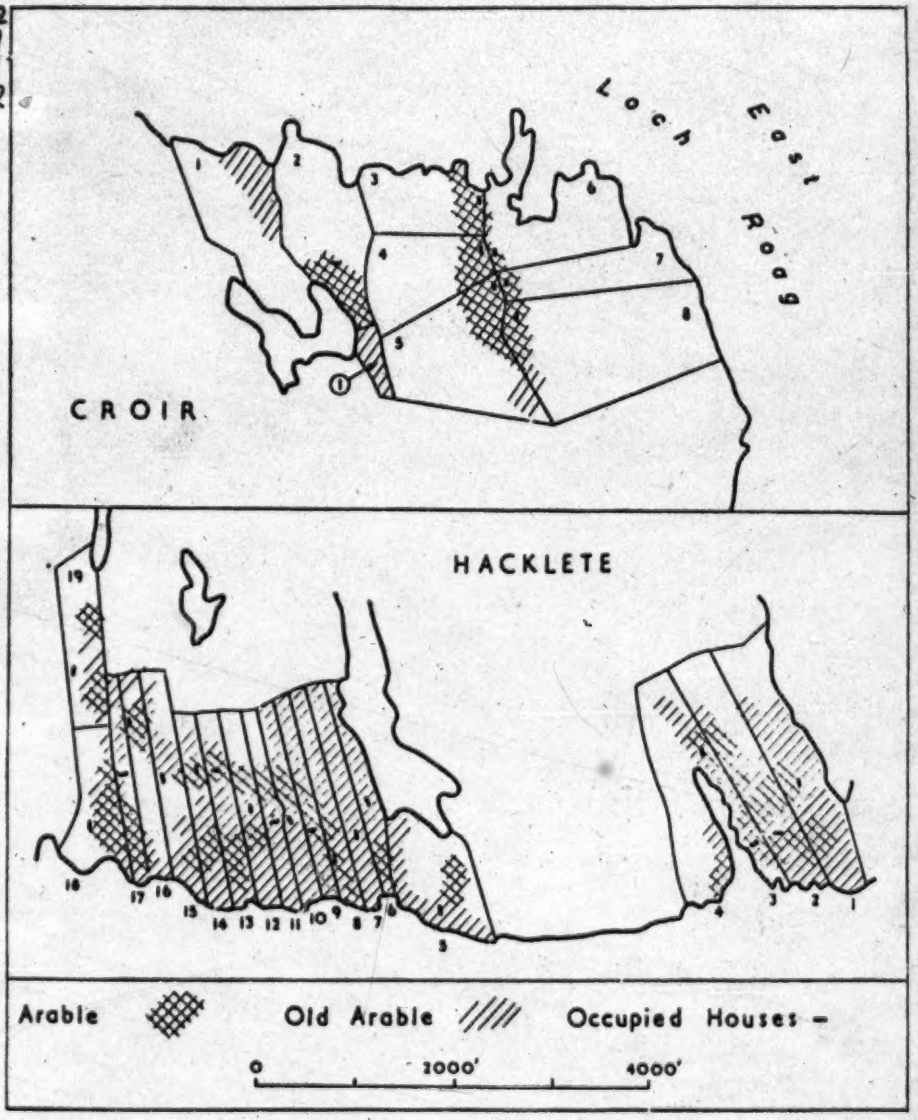

Figure 28

Contrasting lay-out of crofts in an older township (Hacklete) and one re-settled by the Department of Agriculture (Croir). Note the relationship between croft boundaries and the better (i.e. potential arable) land.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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311
632

Figure 32

EAST

LOCH ROAG

DISTRICT

Table 33

231
241
423
427
632

TOWNSHIP ETC.	INSIDE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Other: (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
Callanish	237	-----	5,302 -----	57	1	56
Breasclete	374	-----	3,861 -----	63	2	61
Tolsta Chaolis	396	-----	2,700 -----	43	3	43
Garynahine	95	-----	1,824 -----	12	1	12
Lochganvich	67	-----	2,000 -----	8	-	7
Others	306	-	-	-	3	-

4: Noisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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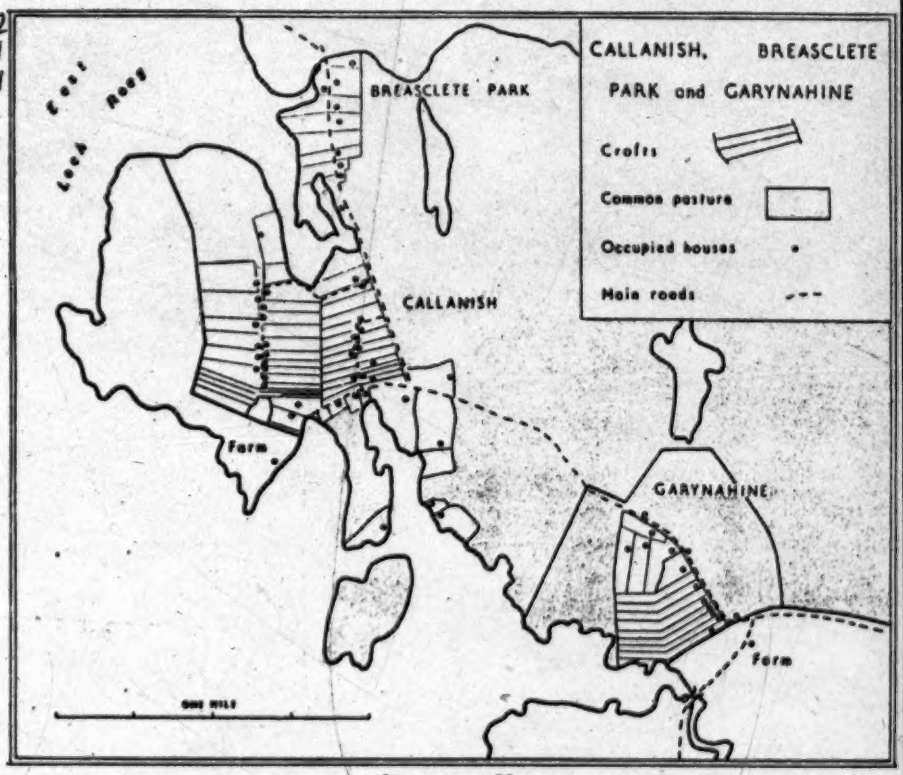

Figure 33

361 178 Contrasting patterns of crofts: the main block of Callanish crofts was lotted before 1850. The group of crofts known as Breasclete Park was added in April 1850 for families evicted from Reef in south Uig. These, and many of the original Callanish crofts were later subdivided. The irregular shaped crofts in the south of Callanish were added at later dates, probably originating as squatters on the common pasture. The Garynahine crofts were formed in 1935; they have a large area of common pasture south of the farm.

/p. 86/

4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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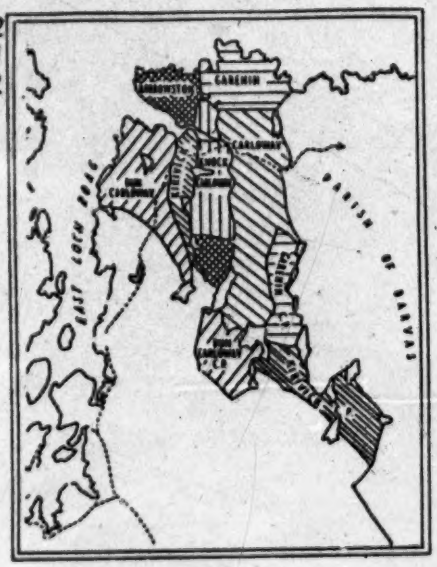

Figure 37

THE

CARLOWAY

DISTRICT

C.P. : detached common pasture (shielings)

Table 34

233
241
423
427
632

TOWNSHIP ETC.		ARABLE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Others: (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
Dun Carloway		194	----- 2,219 -----		24	6	22
Kirivick		81	495	281	14	2	13
Knock Carloway	(a)	156	643	720	33	-	30
	(b)	23	-	-	-	7	-
Carloway	(a)	234	1,234	1,139	59	-	58
	(b)	43	-	-	-	18	-
Borreston		54	516	320	16	-	16
Carenin		111	994	825	28	2	27

Note: Where there is a large area of non-crofting holdings (feus, allotments, cotters or squatters) this is shown separately against (b).

4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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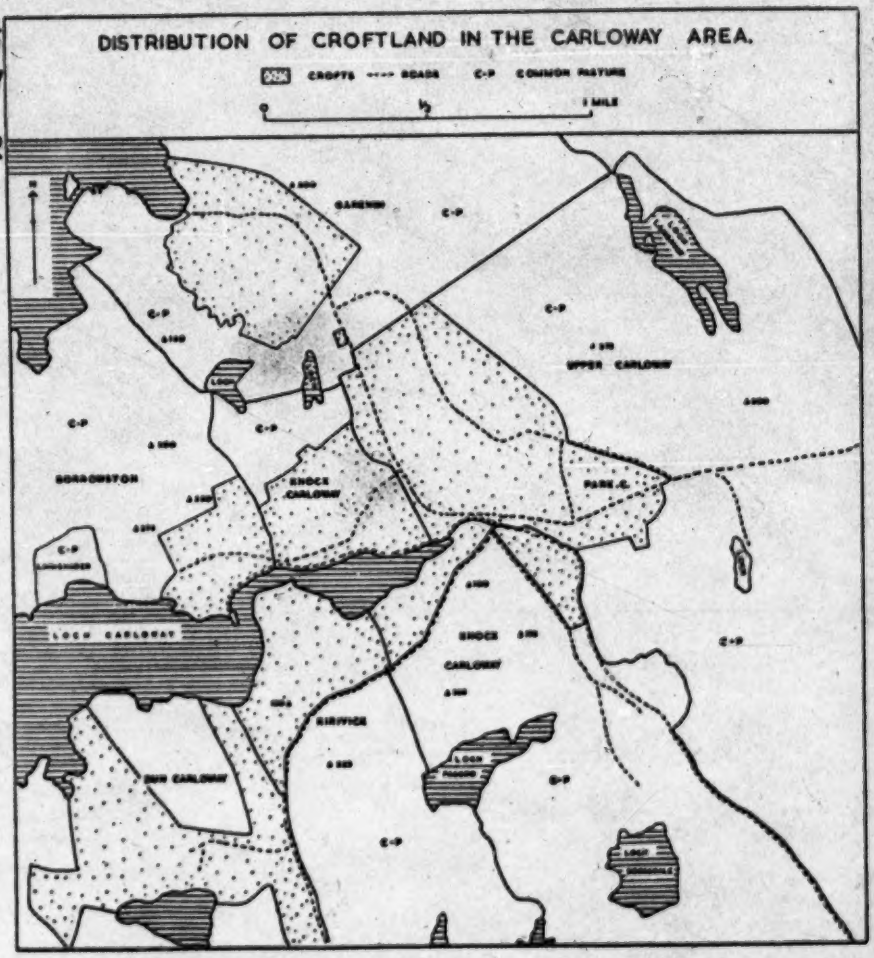

Figure 38
/p. 98/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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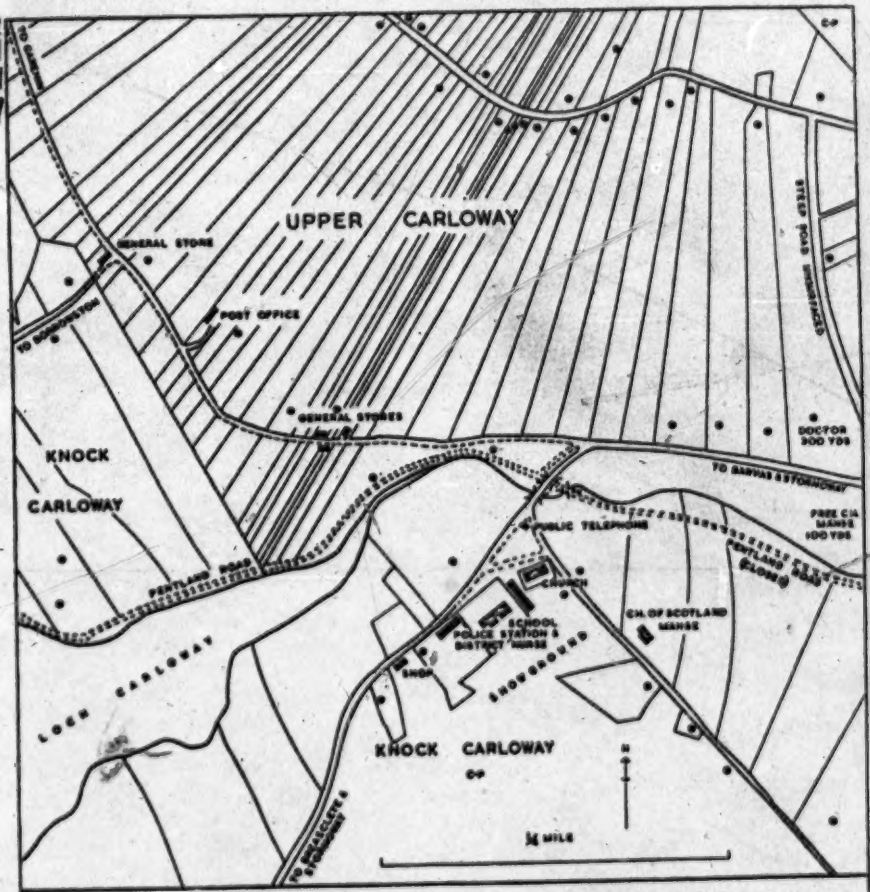

MAP SHOWING THE CONCENTRATION OF ROUTES AND COMMUNITY SERVICES AT THE HEAD OF LOCH CARLOWAY

● OCCUPIED HOUSES C-P COMMON PASTURE —— CROFT BOUNDARIES

/p. 100/

Figure 39

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

Figure 41.

102
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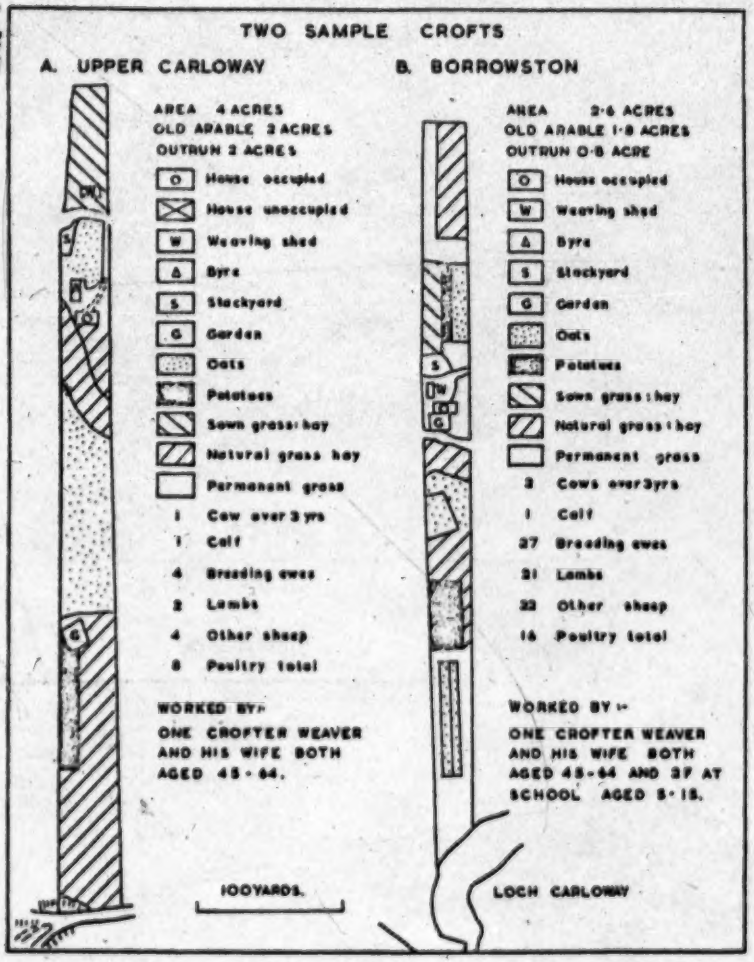
291
311
427



4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

Figure 42.

102
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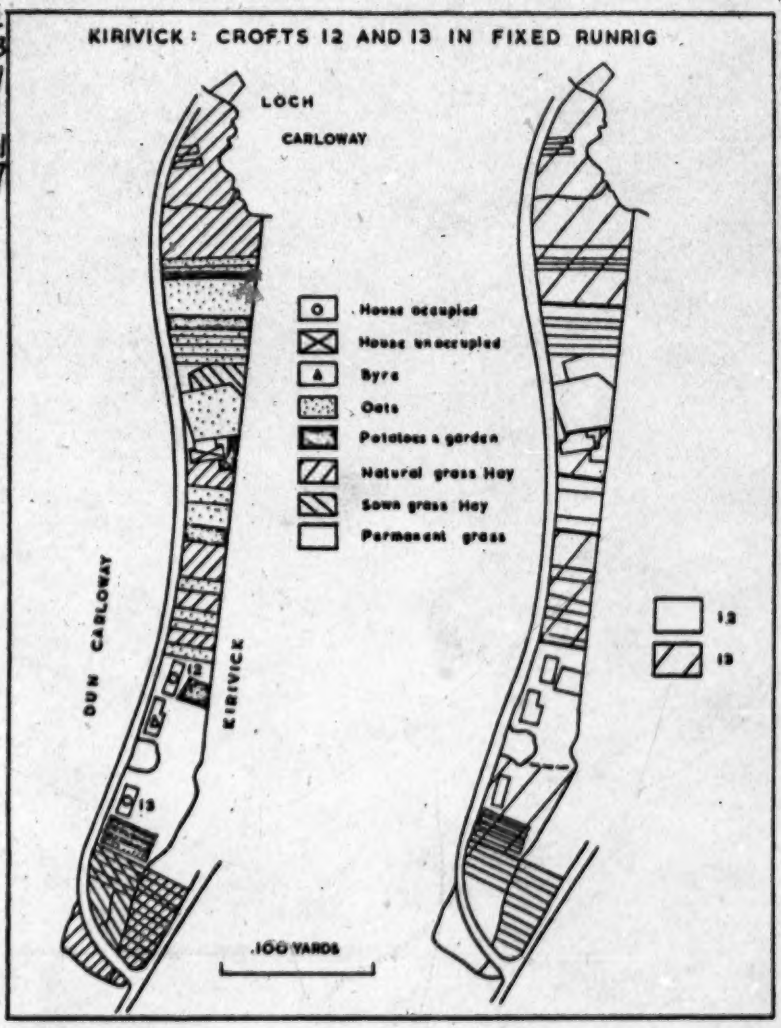
427



4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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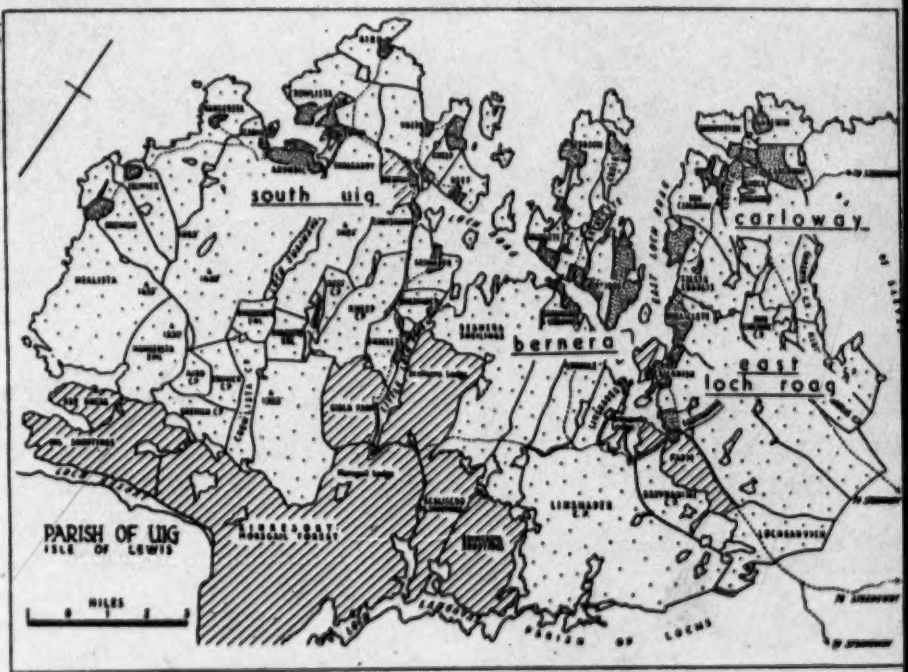

Major categories of land use:

Intake land - arable and outrun

Common pastures

Sporting estates, farms etc.

THE FOUR DISTRICTS REFERRED TO IN PART IV ARE NAMED : south uig

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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161
162
361

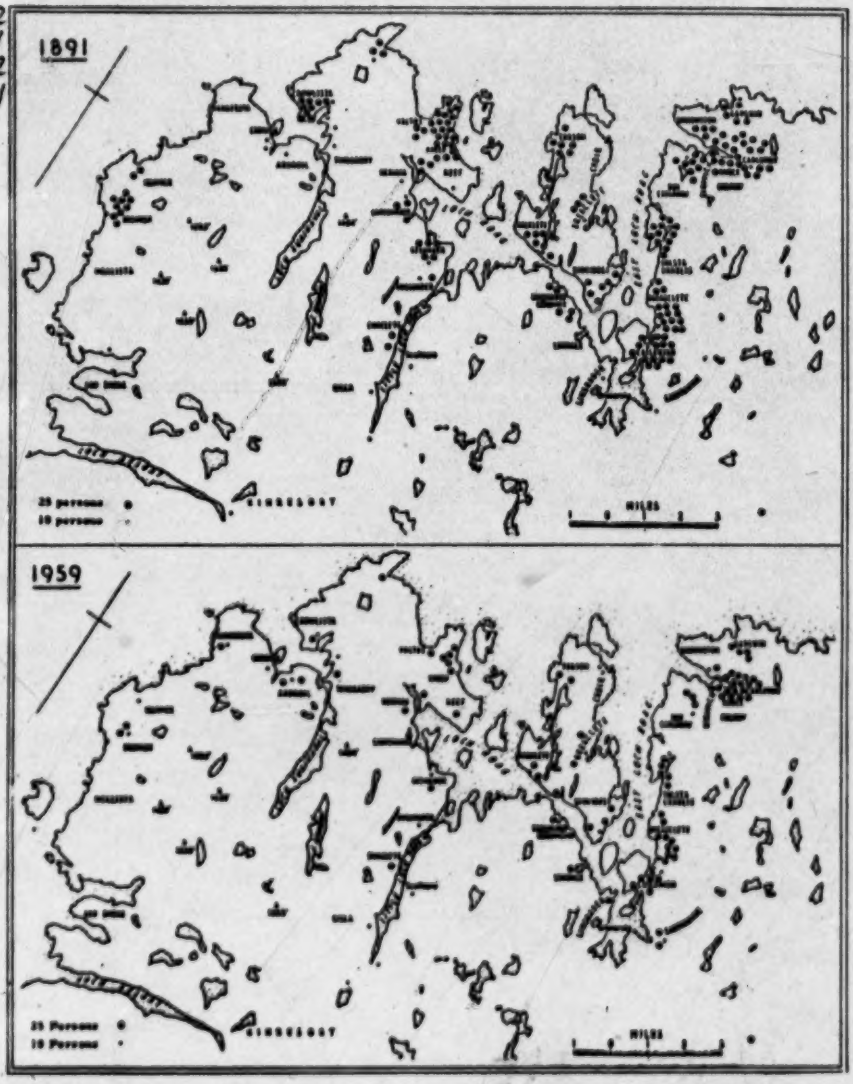

Figure 45

Distribution of population in 1891 and 1959

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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162
166
464

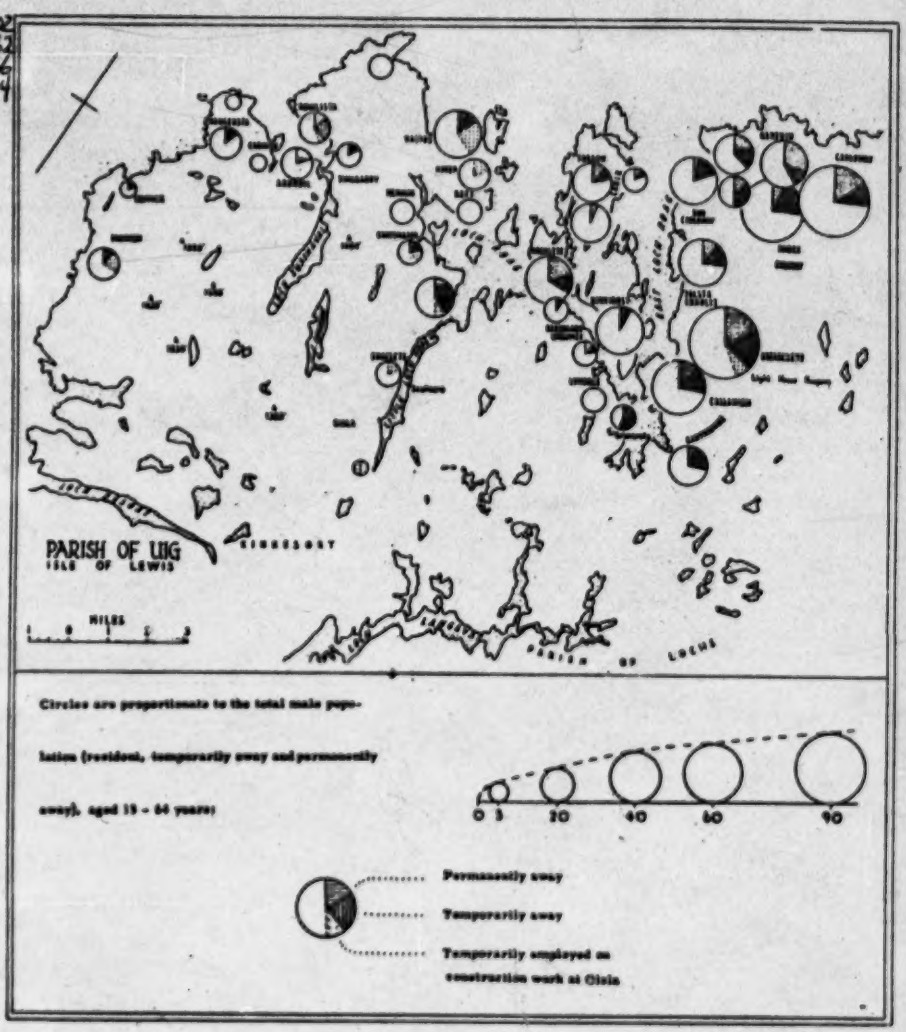

Figure 46

The search for employment

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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464

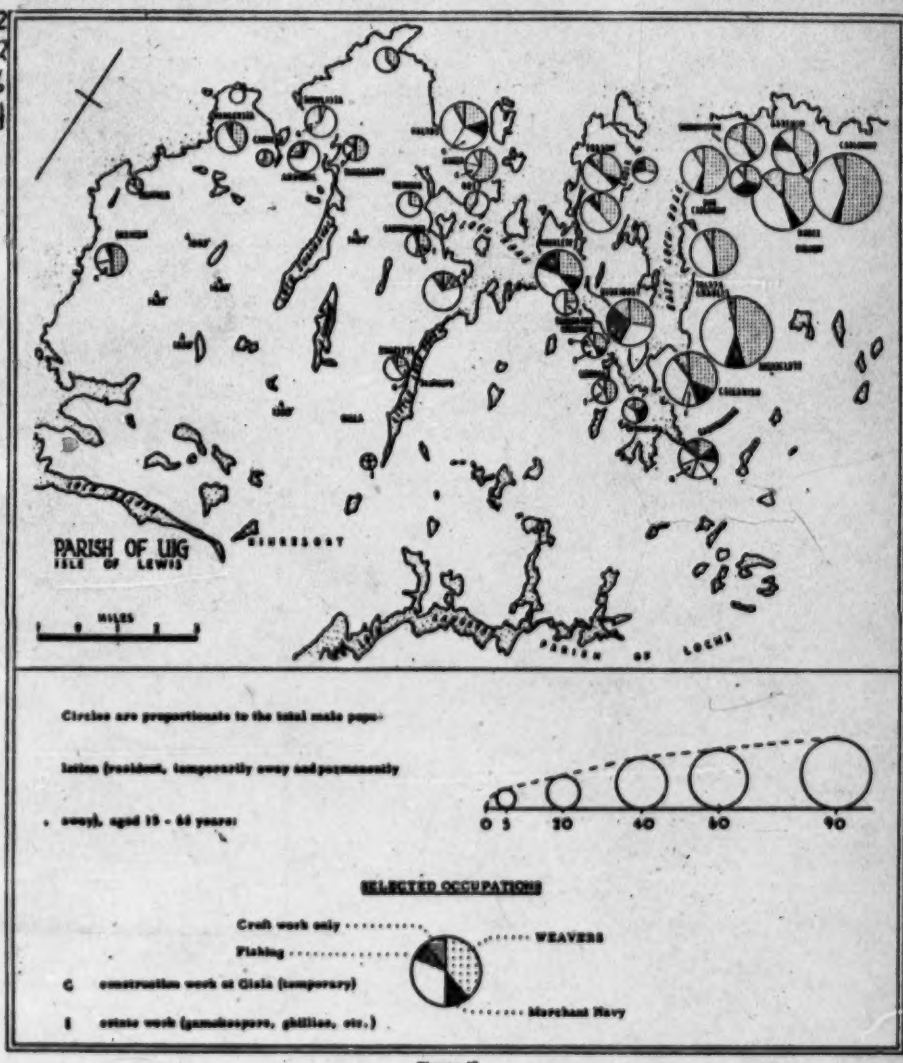
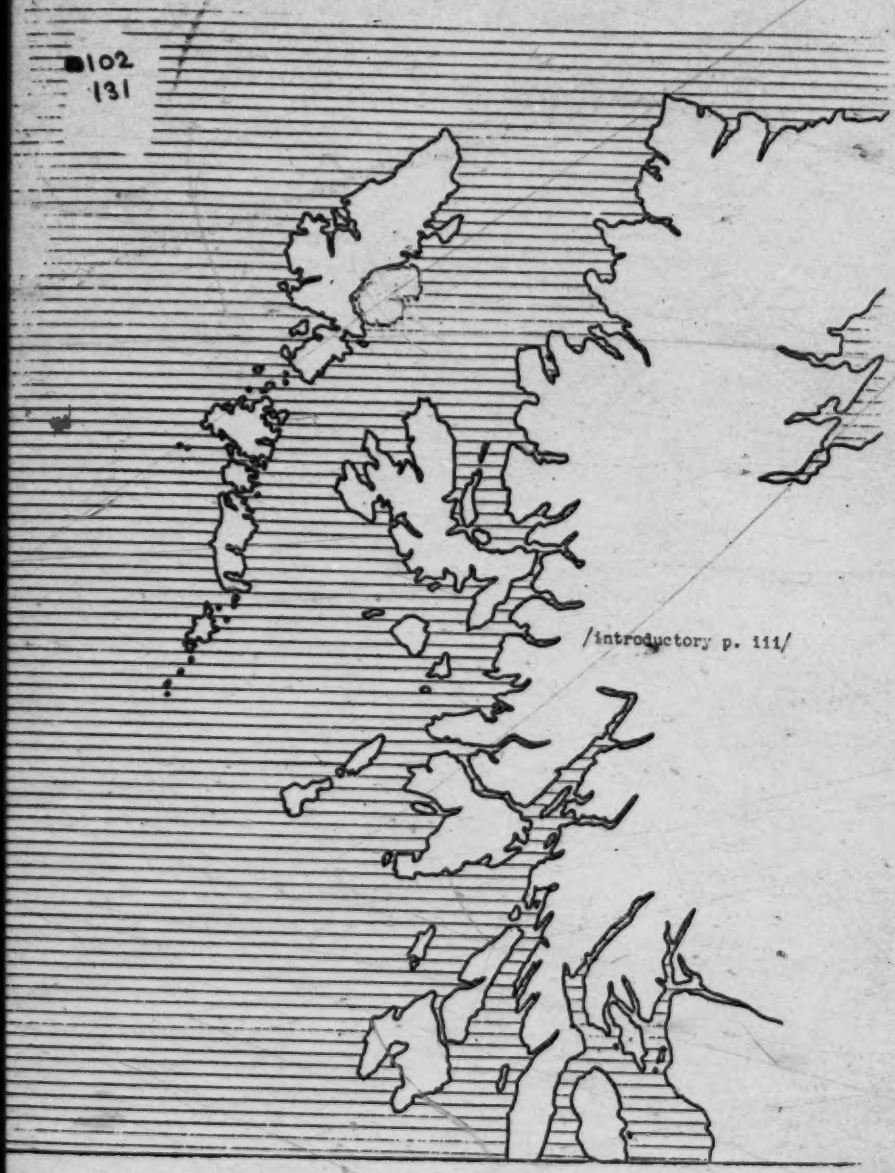


Figure 47

Certain occupations of men aged 15 - 65, by townships

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Park

102
131



/introductory p. 111/

S: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Park

102
175
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361

Fig. 1. Park in the Early Nineteenth Century
/facing p. 2/

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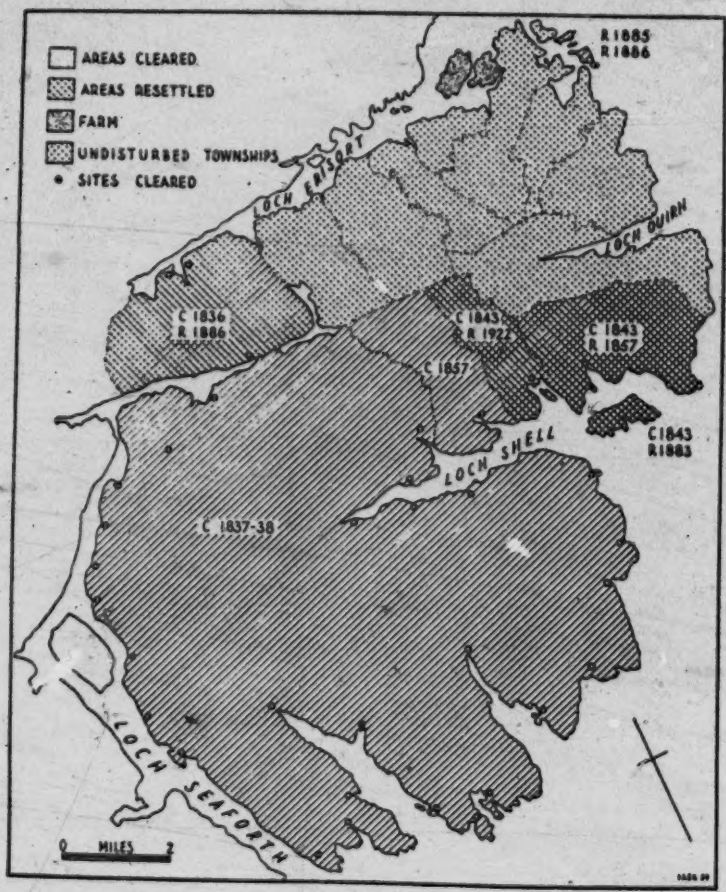

Fig. 2. Clearance and Resettlement in Park
/facing p. 3/

S: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Park

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631

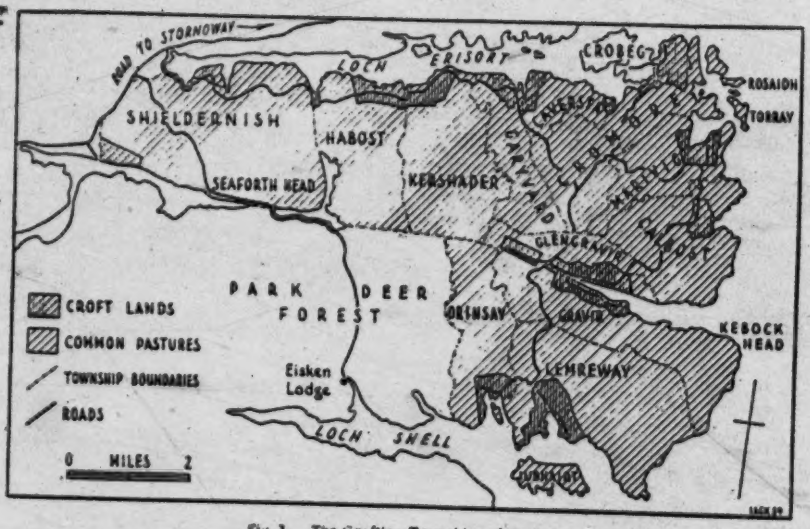


Fig. 3. The Crofting Townships of Park

/facing p. 4/

102
311
361
241

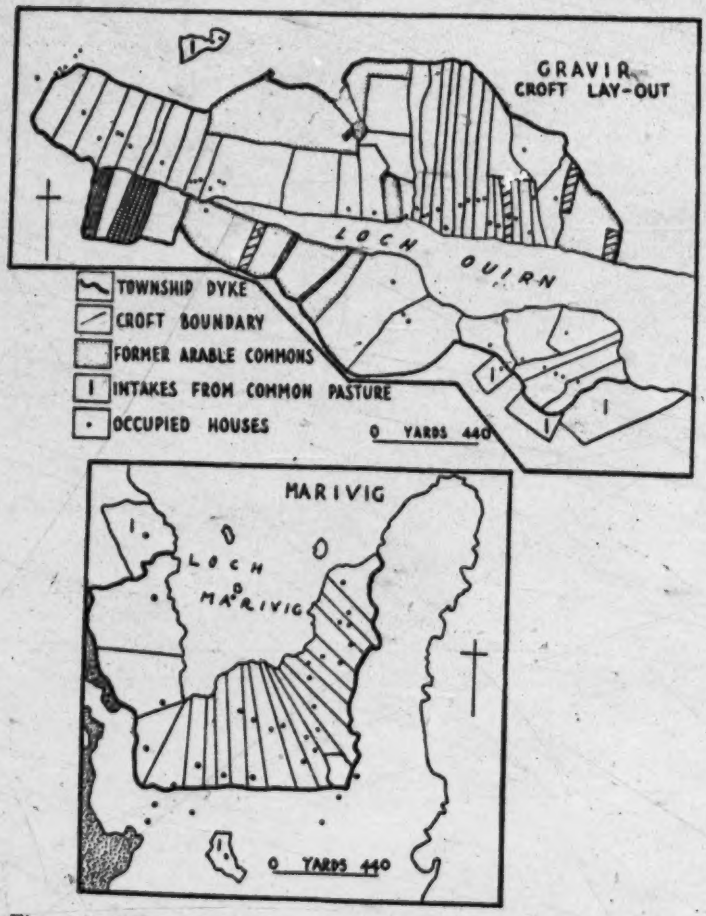


Fig. 4. Township lay-outs - Gravir and Marivig. (Shading distinguishes the unconsolidated pieces of three selected Gravir crofts. In Marivig, the crofts are all consolidated).

/facing p. 5/

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

102
311
361
491
241

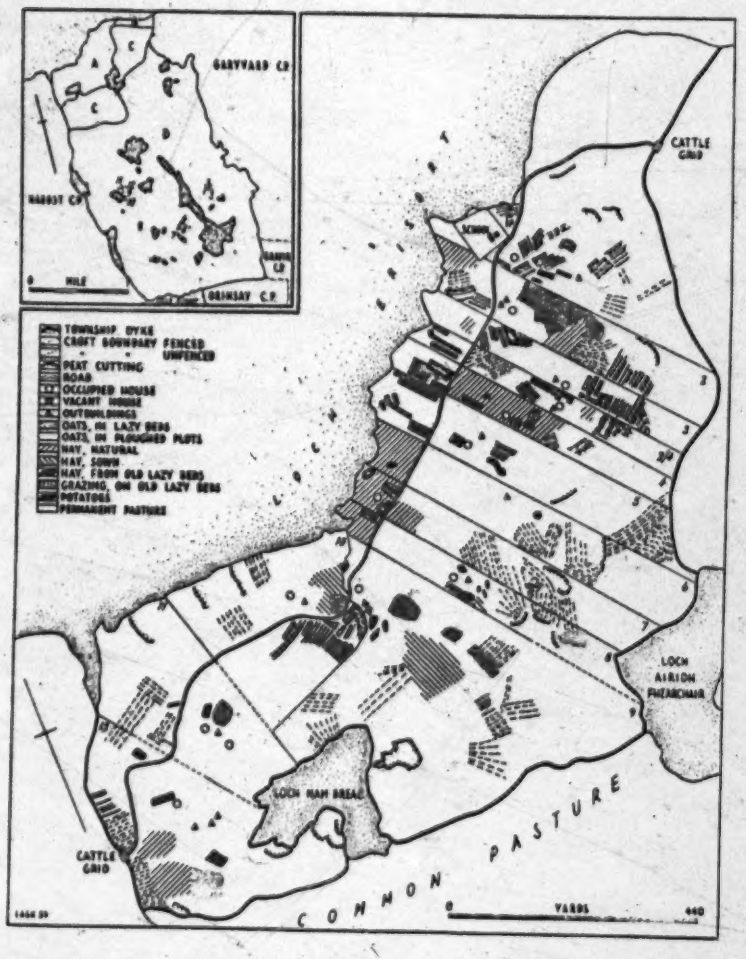


Fig. 5. Kershader - Land use. The inset shows the complete layout of the township: A - the Croft land, B - Re-seeded Grazing Parks, C - The inner fenced area of the common grazing. The former shielings belonging to each croft are also shown; the numbers correspond to the crofts numbers. (Redrawn from 1:2500 fieldmap by F.W. Wheeler, H.I.D.).

/facing p. 6/

3

102
131

Fig. 1. The Highlands and Islands of Scotland. This map shows the several boundaries of the Highland area. (1) The geological boundary. (2) The boundary of the Seven Crofting Counties, which today are equated with the Highlands. (3) The approximate limits of the Western Highlands and Isles.

1. [Boundary of crofting counties-- Analyst]

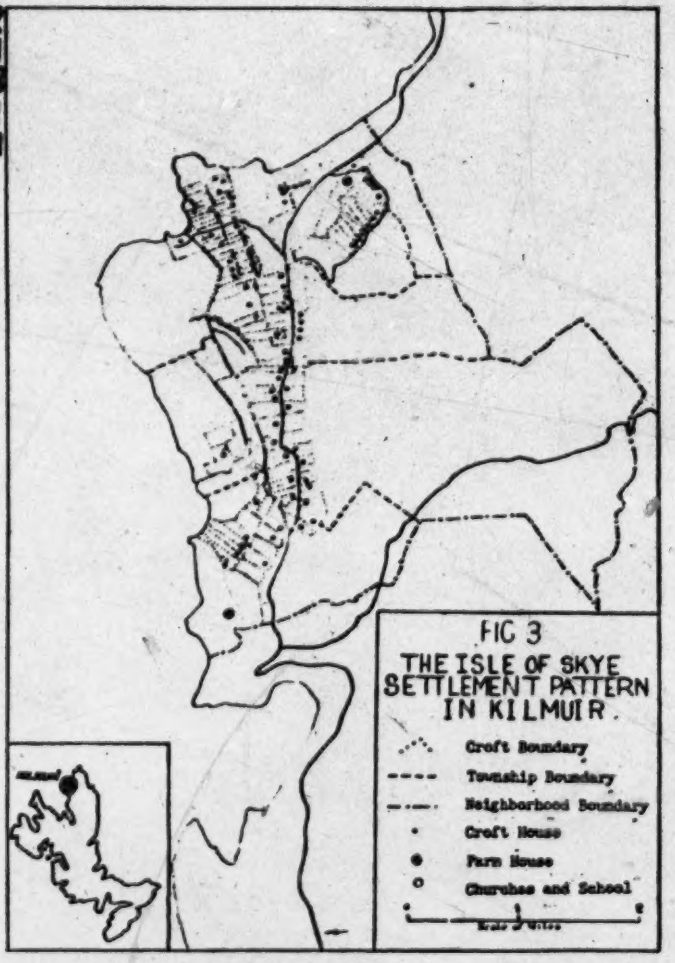
102
103
131

FIG. 2
ISLE
OF
SKYE

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

15

102
361
368
491
621



1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

Map B

Lewis and Harris

102
103
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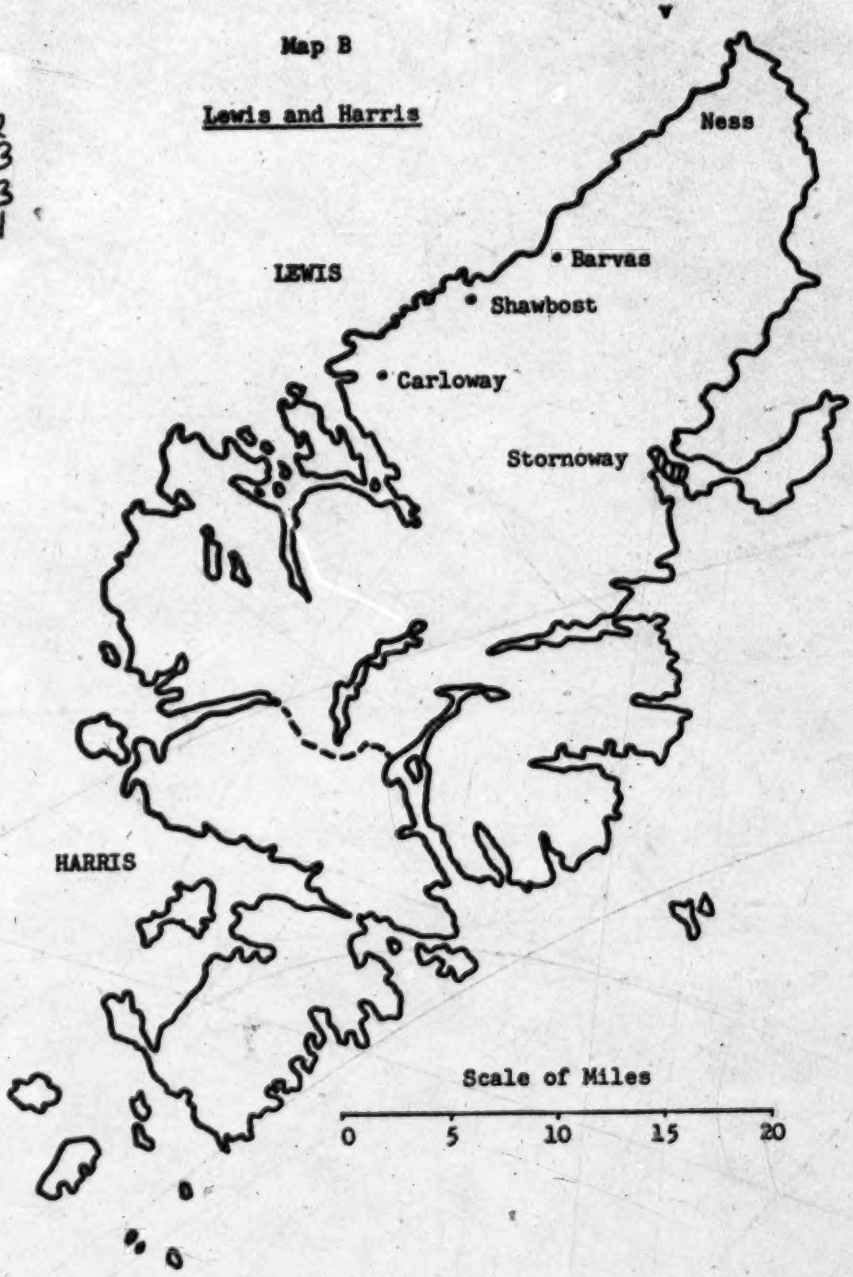

634 The Outer Hebrides, a chain of islands over a
[131] hundred miles long which lie to the northwest of the Scottish mainland, are part of "Ross and Cromarty" and "Inverness," two of the seven crofting counties of Scotland (see Map A). The seven crofting counties
[103] (Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland) constitute the scenically beautiful but agriculturally marginal land often referred to as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.
101 The word "Highland" also refers to features of social
197 life such as crofting tenure, strong community feeling and Gaelic-speaking which are characteristic of many communities in both the Highlands and Islands as well as in cities such as Glasgow in which persons from the Highlands and Islands have settled. For example, a Gaelic speaker whose parents came from the Islands and settled in Glasgow may be called a "Glasgow Highlander." The first four crofting counties listed above have a large percentage of Gaelic speakers. In the national
[162] census of 1961, 82.3% of the 32,607 inhabitants of the Outer Hebrides were Gaelic speakers.

131 Lewis and Harris, a single body of land which is
133 sometimes referred to as two islands because the mountainous southern section called Harris differs markedly from the flat, northern moorland of Lewis, is the northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides (see Map B).

Hundreds
103 of place names are known to the villagers 8
which are not marked on any map. These place names
[173] constitute part of the oral tradition of a population
which has lived in a confined geographical area for
generations.

In most of Lewis, village and township coincide.
632 The village of Shawbost is composed of two townships,
621 South Shawbost in which the crofts splay outward like
311 a fan from roads which curve over an uneven landscape,
423 and North Shawbost which is composed of linear streets
[363] (see Map C), to which the crofts are perpendicular.
Each township has its own common grazing land, and its
own grazing committee. All of South Shawbost and part
of North Shawbost belong to one private estate (which
includes other townships to the southwest), and most
of North Shawbost belongs to an estate which extends to
Barvas. Beyond the fact that non-crofters in South
Shawbost have found it easier to acquire crofting status,
little difference between the two townships appears to
be due to their belonging to different estates. As
[427] elsewhere in crofting regions, the landlords of the
[529] two estates are concerned mainly with the sporting
potential of their land.

632 The two townships are themselves divided into named
neighborhoods (cf. Vallee 1955 for a discussion of
"natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas).

000 "natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas). The
363 northernmost street of North Shawbost is called Carnan
• 103 (carn = a heap of stones), and the street parallel to
it, by the loch and the sea, is Baile Stigh ("the town
within," i.e., in toward the sea. In everyday speech,
[196] one goes "in" to the sea and "out" to the moor, a
reference which probably derives from the days when
fishing was extremely important. The sea was then the
focus, from which the village expanded "outward." Today
the road is the source of goods and transport). Part of
the Baile Stigh is sometimes called Gearraidh Buidhe
(buidhe means "yellow"; gearraidh is the land from which
peat has been stripped). The Baile Stigh intersects
the main road and continues toward the moor, where it
becomes New Shawbost. New Shawbost, once called New North
Shawbost, is also called Pairc, referring to a farm which
existed there before the land was turned into crofts.

632 The neighborhood regions of South Shawbost are less easily
363 recognizable as the land is not divided into linear
103 streets. To the people of North Shawbost, South Shawbost
is simply Baile Thall, "the town over yonder." (Residents
of South Shawbost also refer to North Shawbost as Baile
Thall, but also frequently refer to the different streets.)
Within South Shawbost, several neighborhoods are
distinguished on the basis of the clustering of houses,

632 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the
363 sea: Ceann a Stigh (or Ceann a Stigh Bhaile, or Baile
•103 Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the sea), Buailebhir (an area identified with the keeping of cattle), Gearraidh Mor, Creagan, Pluic, and Mach a Chul ("out the back," by a road built relatively recently). A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the moor, or common grazing land, is called Grinnbhat, from the name of a nearby loch.

511 The presence of a large Harris Tweed mill in
[348] Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living
[288] within the village. It is estimated that only 25% of
[493] the households of rural Lewis have cars; about 50% of the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970
[342] Shawbost had only one occupied tigh dubh, or "black house" built of dry stone and roofed with thatch, which to many islanders symbolizes a past life of poverty and
[404] adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators,
[251] deep freezers and electric toasters are common in
[207] Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and
[206] many have telephones.

288 The mill in Shawbost employs between 60 and 70
463 persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the

175 single tack, for which the tacksman, who was a relative
423 of Seaforth's Chamberlain, paid L247/10/8, 10 sheep,
427 9 stones butter, and 3 bolls of meal. The Bragar rental mentions scallags who were not listed because they were not smallholders; rather, they worked for the tacksman for a certain number of days per week, in return for which they received ground to cultivate and on which they might build a house. There were probably scallags in Shawbost as well; a section of common land near the sea, which bears the marks of old cultivation, is today called Blar na Scallag (field of the scallags).

The evidence is that, rather than being the egalitarian society portrayed by many idealistic proponents of crofting society today, the society living in the area we now know as the crofting counties was composed of fairly differentiated tenants and subtenants.
[103] Allotments of land were called penny, half-penny, and farthing lands (Walker 1812: 56; Gray 1952: 48); place names such as "Five-penny Borve" indicate this history of land tenure in Lewis. The 43 tenants in Shawbost in 1726 paid rents varying from L3/10/4 to L9/7/4 (Scots money, which was 1/12 of the English). The differences in rent gave them different shares in the arable ground and different shares in grazing rights on the common ground.

197 behavior characteristic of the dominant group; but for
191 554 those that remain in the village, the language serves a
571 unifying function, although its form is limited in
187 578 diversity of elements.

184 Jokes are most humorous when told in Gaelic; and
197 538 conversation is punctuated with Gaelic proverbs and old
stories. There is a vast oral lore, expressed in Gaelic,
[522] of the village and generations of its members and their
[521] characteristics and escapades, a dense map of human events.
All of these tales, proverbs and jokes have been told a
829 thousand times, but retain their unifying function. When
speaking of today's children who do not go to the sheiling,
a man says sadly, "They won't have our memories; this
place will mean less to them than it does to us." The
moor is not an empty wasteland, but a map of memories.
103 175 Thousands of place names are known, and behind every place
name is a story. The major landmarks such as mountains,
lochs and headlands tend to have Norse names, from the
days when the Norsemen raided and settled along the island
coasts; but the smaller hillocks and fields and bends in
the stream have Gaelic names, for example, Sheiling of
the One Night, Field of the Slaves, Slope of the Stone
[184] Boys, Hillock of William's Sheiling. To know these place
names and their histories is to participate in a distinct
community, which has been made even more distinct by contrast
with the dominant society.

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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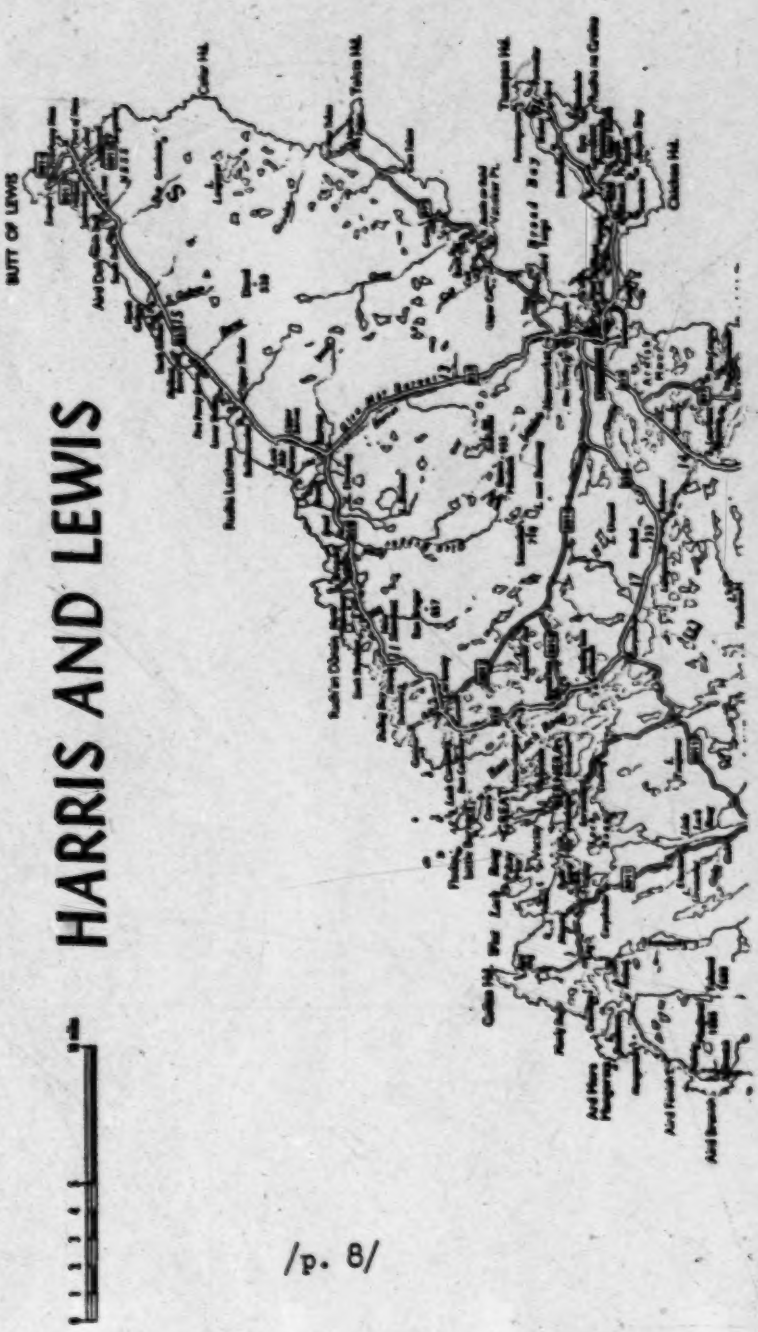

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2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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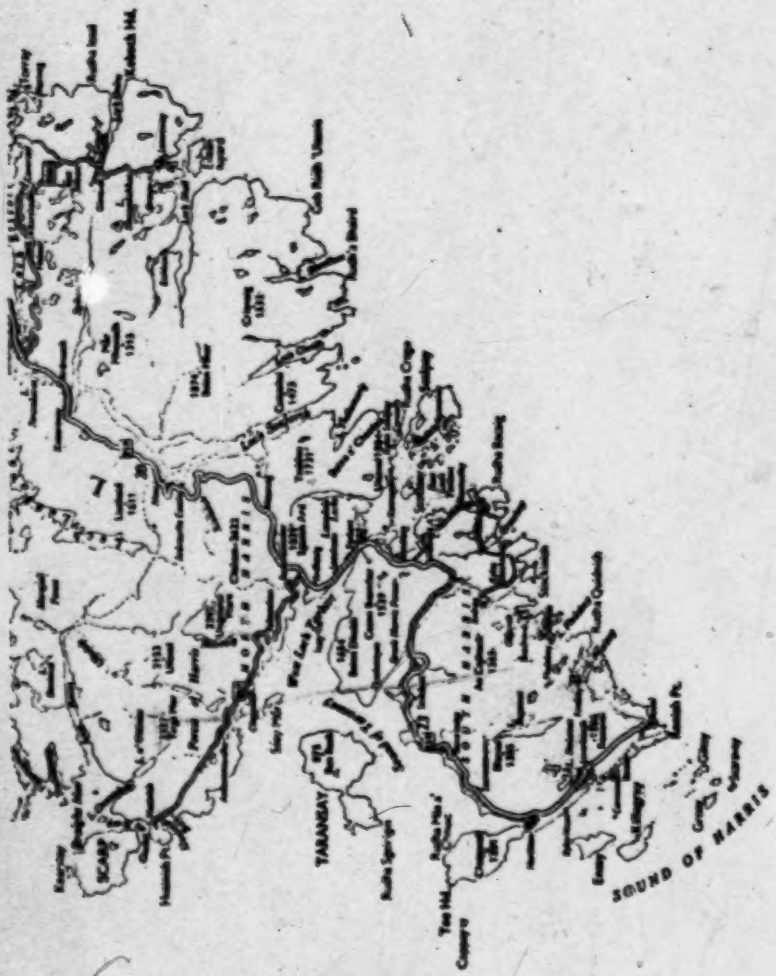

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2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

3 HISTORY

*175 FOR all that Harris and Lewis are remote and relatively inaccessible, their history has not been particularly insular. Out of all proportion to its size, the island has made a significant contribution to each developing phase of Scottish, British and Commonwealth history. Even European and American history have Hebridean touches. In a local context, each district in the island has a parti-coloured backcloth of history, of tradition, and of story against which life and events were enacted by each succeeding generation.

*175 Before the era of charters, Harris was a political part of Lewis. The name is derived from 'heradh', meaning a district (equivalent to the modern parish). The word 'Lewis' has been tackled by etymologists who have extracted such meanings as 'light', 'Liot's dwelling', 'wharf' and the romantic 'songhouse'. But nearer the mark is 'a place abounding in pools', which it is. In its earliest form 'Lewis' appears in an Irish MS, the original of which is ascribed to a contemporary of the Irish king Brian Boroimhe (Brian Boru of the pipes fame).

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The MS describes the Battle of Clontarf in 1014, at which Norsemen from Lewis fought against the Irish. It has been suggested that even before this time there was another name for Lewis. Pliny, Ptolemy and Solinus all place on their maps a variation of 'Hebrides': Hebudes, Ebudae. According to a Gaulish glossary, 'ebudae' means *terrains incultes*; and 'ebeid' is a British word meaning cornless. Solinus, writing in the third century BC, states that the inhabitants of the Hebrides did not know the use of corn, and lived entirely on fish and milk.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS

172 Where does history begin? That there was a pre-history is evidenced mainly by the multilithic and monolithic erections to be found in various parts of the island. The abundance and character

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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Artist's impression of some of the twelfth-century walrus-ivory chess pieces found at Uig in 1831

as beaker ware, from its distinctive shape, were recovered. The diet of these early Harris folk appears to have been largely shellfish, particularly limpets. The house of the latest period is ruined; three courses of walling were revealed.

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Placenames have often been a mirror of history. The biggest event in Harris and Lewis's history was the Norse invasion, commemorated in the names of many townships that still exist: Ness (nes, headland), Arnish (Ari's ness), Erisort (Eri's firth), Carloway (Karli's bay). But the Gaelic is there too: Loch Shell (Sealg, chase or hunt, thus endorsing Dean Monro's statement that this loch bordered a deer-forest), and similar topographical features. While the Norse names are to be found on the island coasts (the bosts and stads), the Gaelic names are largely found in the interior (eg, Airidhs—sheilings).

8 STORNOWAY

632 829 STORNOWAY is the only real town in the Hebrides. Some even say that it is the only real town in the world, as its basic living patterns are those of the countryside from which it sprang. It has always been held in high regard by the [539] islanders. In the past it was regarded as one of the most important places in the civilised world: a saying attributed to a primitive native has passed into a proverb: *'steornabhagh mhor a' chaisteal —baile 's modha 'th'air an t-saoghal gu leir ach Bail'-ath-Cliath an Eirinn—'s iongantach nach eil an Righ fhein a' tighinn a comhnuigh ann!'* ('Stornoway the great, with its Castle, the largest town in the wide world, except Dublin in Ireland; surprising it is that the King himself does not reside therein!') The affectionate [103] name for the town is 'Portrona', Port of Seals, which it is. A son [504] of Stornoway once said, 'The founder of Portrona must have been some sea rover with a good eye for a refuge from the storm and the peril of his calling. No matter what winds rage outside, within the bay the mariner may drop his anchor, furl his sails, and take his ease.'

*175 632 [133] When the Vikings first came to the western isles of what was later in history to become Scotland, they found a sandy spit of land on which they could beach their longships in a sheltered bay. It was, however, more than a haven; it was a place in which to settle down and rear the first of many generations. Later the Norse-derived MacLeods took advantage of an outcrop of rock beside the beach to build a fortress. Later again a greenheart pier, [504] and later still a concrete wharf, have given the town the outward symbols of economic and social significance.

632 133 Stornoway owes its origin to the Stornoway Beds, a sedimentary formation much younger than the Lewisian gneiss. These Beds have had two effects. First, their existence and formation allowed a deep indentation, giving a good harbour with a protecting isthmus not far way. The harbour itself is due to the erosion of these

THE OTHER ISLANDS

131 north-west of Gallan Head. There are seven main islands, all [133] small, high and cliffbound, and a number of rock stacks and [361] islets. All are uninhabited. Eilean Mhor, the largest, of 39 acres, [502] has an automatic light. Dean Monro's description of the 133 islands as 'nouder manurit, nor inhabit, but full of grein high 236 hills and scheipe' still holds, for sheep are taken annually from Lewis to the grazing on the Flannans. Their name is said to be • 103 derived from the ninth-century St Flann, whose saintly influence 236 was recognised during the centuries when men from Lewis visited 223 the islands for their harvest of wool, wild fowl and feathers.

*175 The Flannans were the scene of a great sea-mystery: the com- 502 plete and utter disappearance of three men from the lighthouse at the turn of this century. In December 1900, the lighthouse, with its 140,000-candlepower beam 283 ft above sea level, was a year old. It had taken four years to build instead of the estimated two. All the materials had to be swung up piecemeal from the boats and hauled up the almost sheer 70 ft cliffs to the top. That month a passing ship, the *Archer*, noticed that the Flannans light was out; a message was sent to the Flannans shore station at Breasclete, Lewis, and the *Hesperus*, preparing to pay a Christmas visit to the lighthouse, got under weigh.

Its crew landed and searched the island, but found no trace of the missing keepers. In the lighthouse was an uncanny silence. The fire was dead. The clock had stopped ticking. The beds had been made up in the clean, clinical way of all sailors. And in the galley, the pots, pans and dishes sparkled their welcome to the searchers. In the lamp-room the lamp was cold. The wicks had been trimmed and the lenses polished. The logbook showed a last entry on 0900 hours, Saturday 15 December. In the subsequent investigation some theories were offered in explanation of the disappearance, but none quite fitted. The mystery remains, a haunting, unexorcised cloud hovering over the island.

131 *The Shiant Isles*

Turning to the east coast of Lewis, in the parish of Lochs are [103] the Shiant Isles, about 4 miles off-shore, across the Sound of [631] Shiant (Gaelic: charmed, enchanted). There are three islands in the group: Eilean an Tigh (House Island), Garbh Eilean (Rough

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

241 Scotland had begun to lag since her pioneering effort from
134 1750 to 1880.

178 Fortunately, Scotland is now recognising that in peat
(654) reclamation, on the one hand, and the improvement of
rough grazing, or at least its maintenance, on the other,
[185] there lies a problem of national importance. More than
half the land surface of the country consists of mountain
311 and heath land used for grazing, not including 'deer forests' from which sheep had been altogether excluded. The arable land of Scotland is less than one-sixth of the whole, with about one-twelfth in addition under permanent grass. Moreover, since most of the enclosed land is distant from the area of rough grazing, the latter is partly wasted. The difficulties of soil and sea and of the whole economic situation are great, and must be understood.

(B) THE ISLAND LANDSCAPE, LAND-FORMS AND GEOLOGY

1. *Aspects of the Isle*

131 Lewis-and-Harris, the most northerly isle of the Outer Hebrides, and the largest, is roughly lozenge-shaped. Although only thirty miles in width, it is over sixty miles in length. Attached to Harris parish is the little isle of
[103] Berneray, half a dozen miles farther south. It puzzles the stranger that, while the archipelago of the Outer
[823] Hebrides is best known to the inhabitants as "The Long Island", Lewis (or the Lews) and Harris, which actually form one island, are spoken of as separate islands.[1] Yet nothing could be more natural. Before the making of

[113] [1] "The Long Island", Gaelic *An Eilean Fada*, as a name for the Outer Hebrides has the sanction of traditional usage, as Alexander Carmichael noted in his Introduction to *Carmina Gadelica* (vol. i, 1900; and 1928).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

241 824 (Chondrus), for example, is used as a thickener of milk to make a cheese-like mould. Dulse is also plucked.[1]

222 The type of coastal form and vegetation alters the 182 relative importance of crofting and fishing—and the balance chosen is significant. (1) Where the coastline is smooth, 241 and leads inland from sandy machar with its clover to 226 sand-ameliorated 'black land' of smooth topography lending itself to ploughing, and the whole is backed by extensive pastures, the tract is relatively well-off for crofting but may be ill-placed for fishing. (2) Where the coast is either indented or salient with rocky loch-sides or steep promontory cliffs, a rolling or rocky topography, little shell sand, and (on the promontories) a shortage of pasture, it is ill-placed for crofting; but it is favourable to fishing either by virtue of sheltered sea lochs or of salient promontories, one or other side of which tends to give relative shelter to the fishing ground (chosen according to the direction of the wind, to avoid being blown on to a dangerous, lee shore). Hence the site of a settlement has had much to do with the choice and opportunities for a communal vocation, from prehistory to the present time, as we shall see.

• 103 Significant local characteristics emerge in the names of 634 the ancient districts (inset with the Map of Vegetation, Fig. 8). In the north is Ness (Norse, 'nose' or cape); 175 along the west is Cladach (Gaelic, a stony beach); while in South Harris the western 'Machar' contrasts with the eastern 'Bays'. 'Park', a sheep-run in the early nineteenth century, was the Norse 'East-fell'. In contrast, the parishes of Lewis centre on four churches, linked to [491] the road-system. This radiates from Stornoway in five directions: east, NE., NW., SW., and south to Tarbert,

[173] [1] Pulling dulse (*Rhodymenia*) is one of the 'delights' of Iona as told in a poem long attributed to Saint Columba!

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

103 634 175 491 Harris; South Harris is ringed by a road, extended recently to take in the more isolated 'Bays' townships.

2. *The Crofts and Crofting Ways*

241 The prevailing modern unit of cultivation and tenure in the Islands is the croft, the land held individually by each small landholder or 'crofter'. The Anglo-Scottish term croft (Gaelicised as *croit*) meant steadily cropped, infield land, manured and never left fallow, and distinguished from the unmanured outfield with its long fallows and poor out-turn. This term came into common use in the Highlands and Isles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the splitting up of the older unit of cultivation and tenure, the small joint farm, with its little team of fellow-workers or 'small tenants'. By 1830 group tenure had been replaced by individual holding of crofts, but with the pasture still held in common, as it is to the present day, and an allotted strip of the machar.

[175] [427] [423]

The Lewis croft consists of a nominal five acres of crops, of oats, barley (or bere) and potatoes, sometimes with recent additions of turnips, and more often a small hay crop. The word 'nominal' is used because during the nineteenth century the croft had often been subdivided between two or more sons, without addition by reclamation to bring each subdivision up to the acreage of the original croft. Moreover, in the hilly southern part of the Island, cultivation is in little patches instead of in continuous fields. There, narrow ditches have been dug and the soil heaped up to form little ridges about ten feet by four, banked up by turf. These are known as *feannagan* in Gaelic, or in English, 'lazy-beds'—a term in use as early as the time of Burt, two hundred years ago. Thus only about two-

[175] [428] [178]

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A	B	C
D	E	F

Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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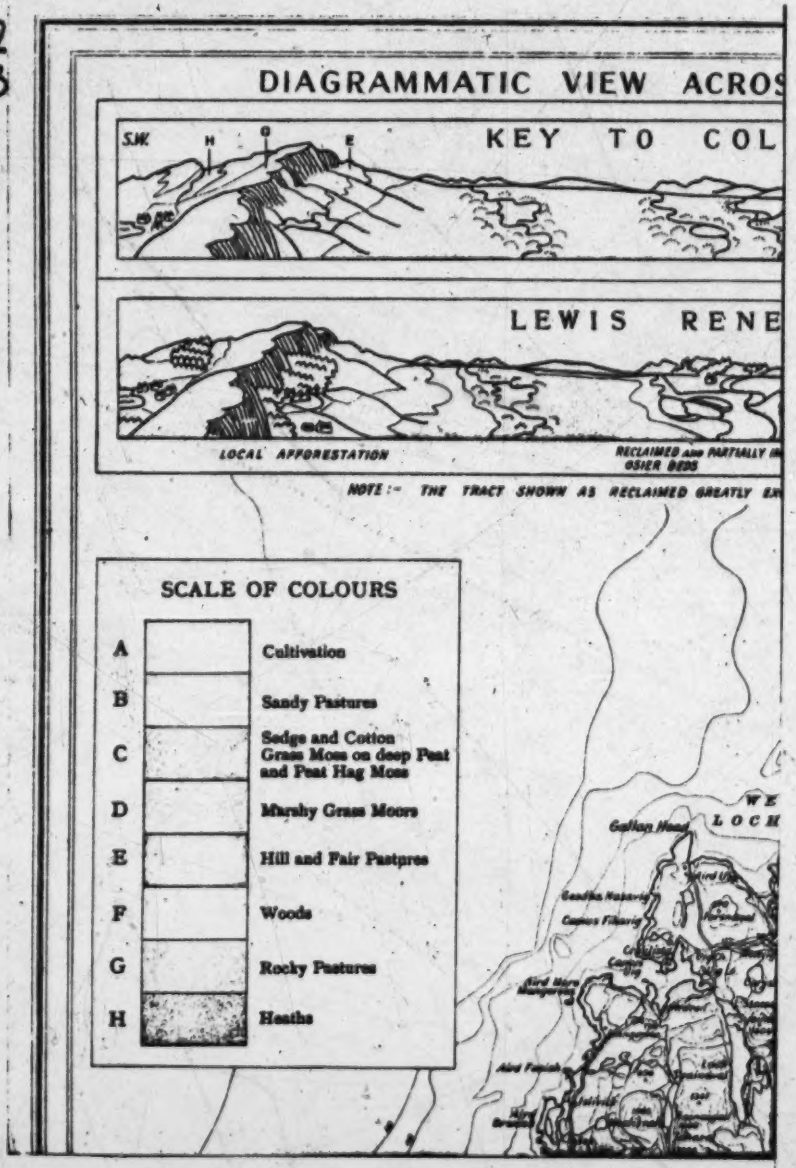

[End Map - A]

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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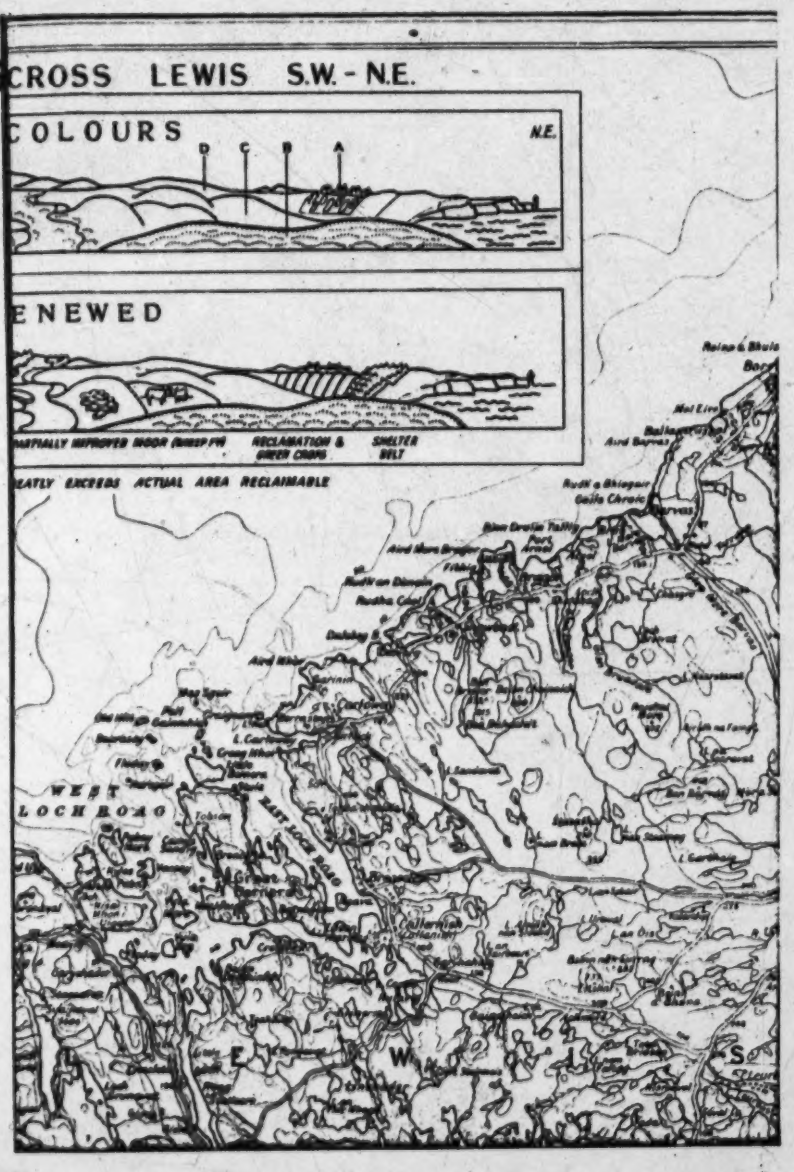

[End Map - B]

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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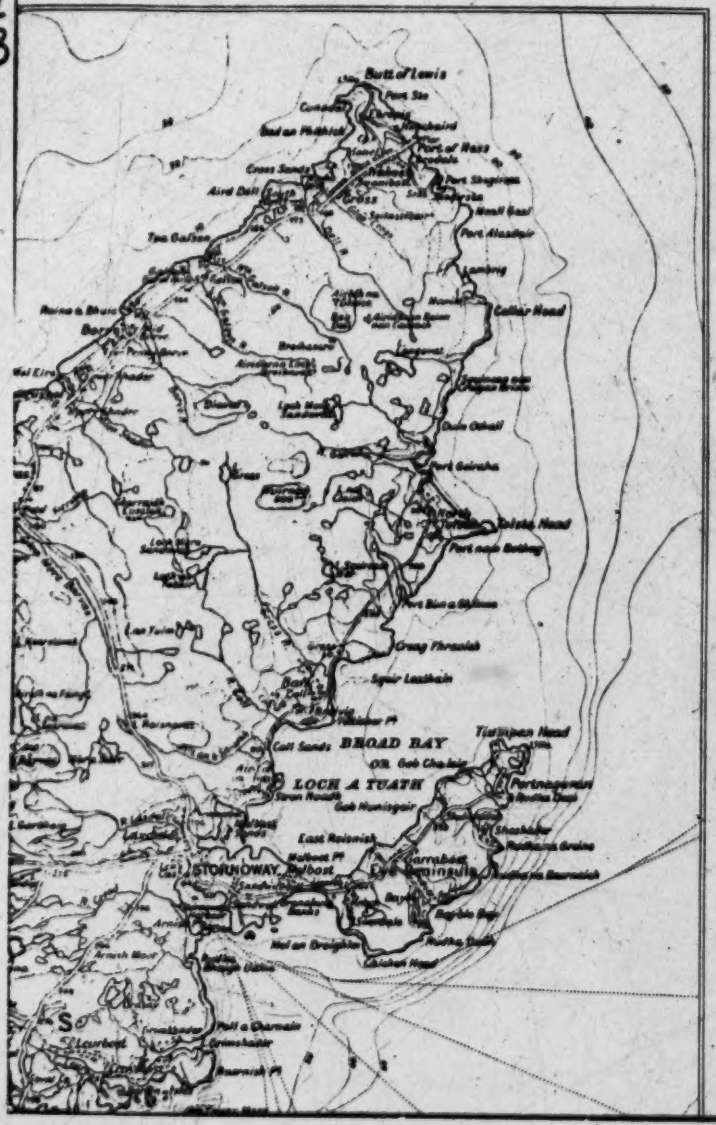
Butt of Lewis
BROAD BAY
OR Gob Chabais
LOCH A TUATH
STORNOWAY
Eyebroughs
Tiumpan Head
Port of Ness
Aird Dell
Two Gallows
Cellar Head
Port Galrisha
Port nan Giuran
Craig Fhionnlaigh
Squir Leathais
Gall Sands
East Reinnich
Garrabost
Lyde Peninsula
Mealbost Pt
Mol an Droighinn
Michael Head
Port a Chaolais
Grimshader
Laxdale
Leurbost
Pt of Ness
Port Stagshaw
Port Mealabhair
Port Ceann Ghiolaidh
Port Ceann Ghiolaidh
Port Ceann Ghiolaidh

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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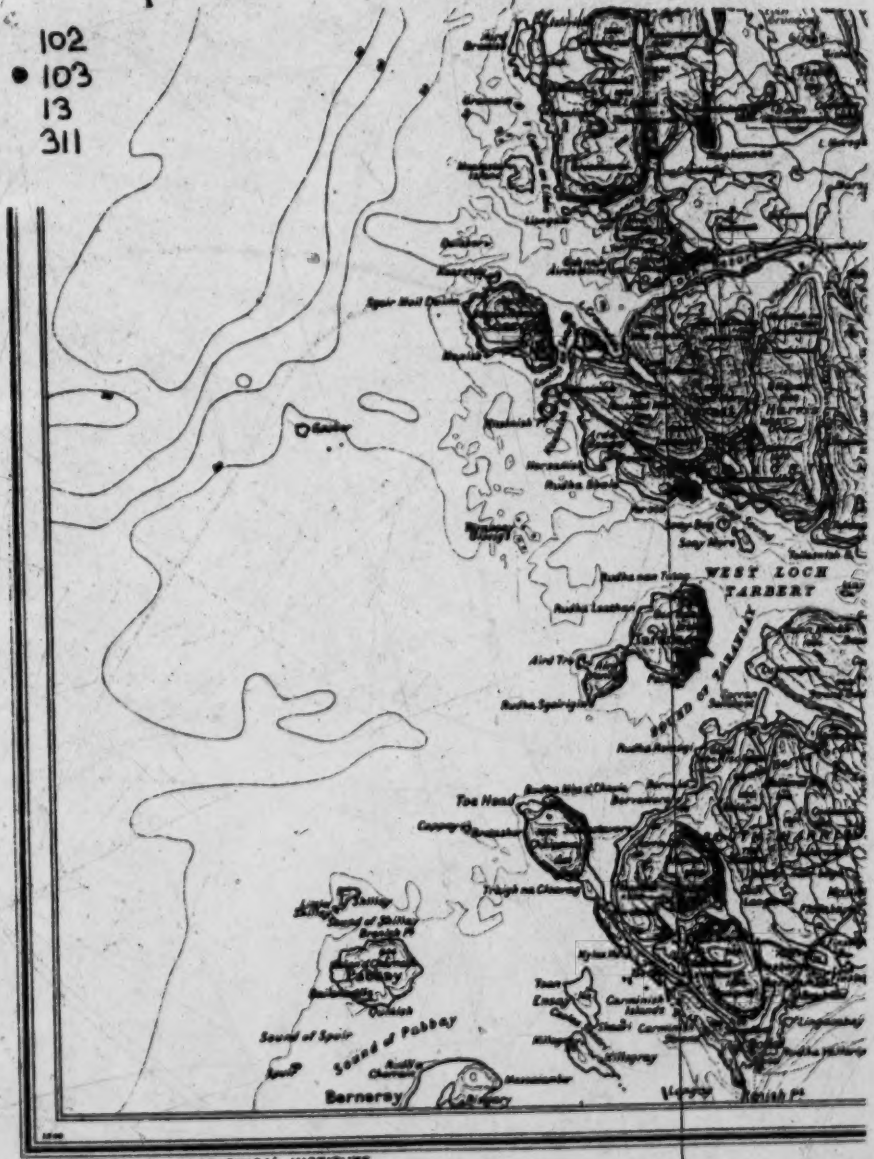

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[End Map-D]

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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[End Map- E]

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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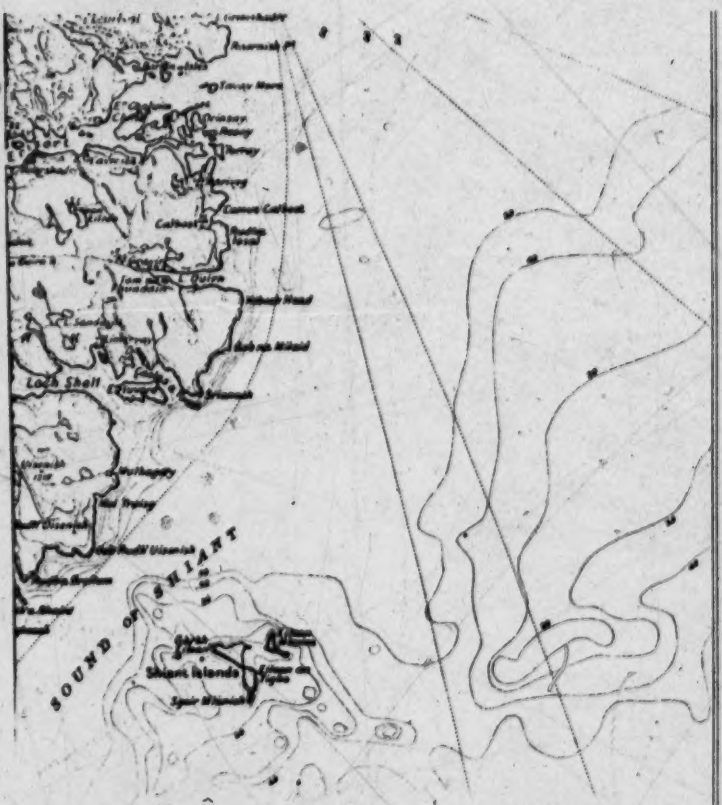
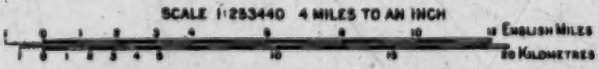


VEGETATION OF LEWIS AND HARRIS

By Marcel Hardy, D.Sc. and Arthur Geddes, D.ès L., Ph.D.

SCALE 1:253440 4 MILES TO AN INCH



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[End Map-F]

4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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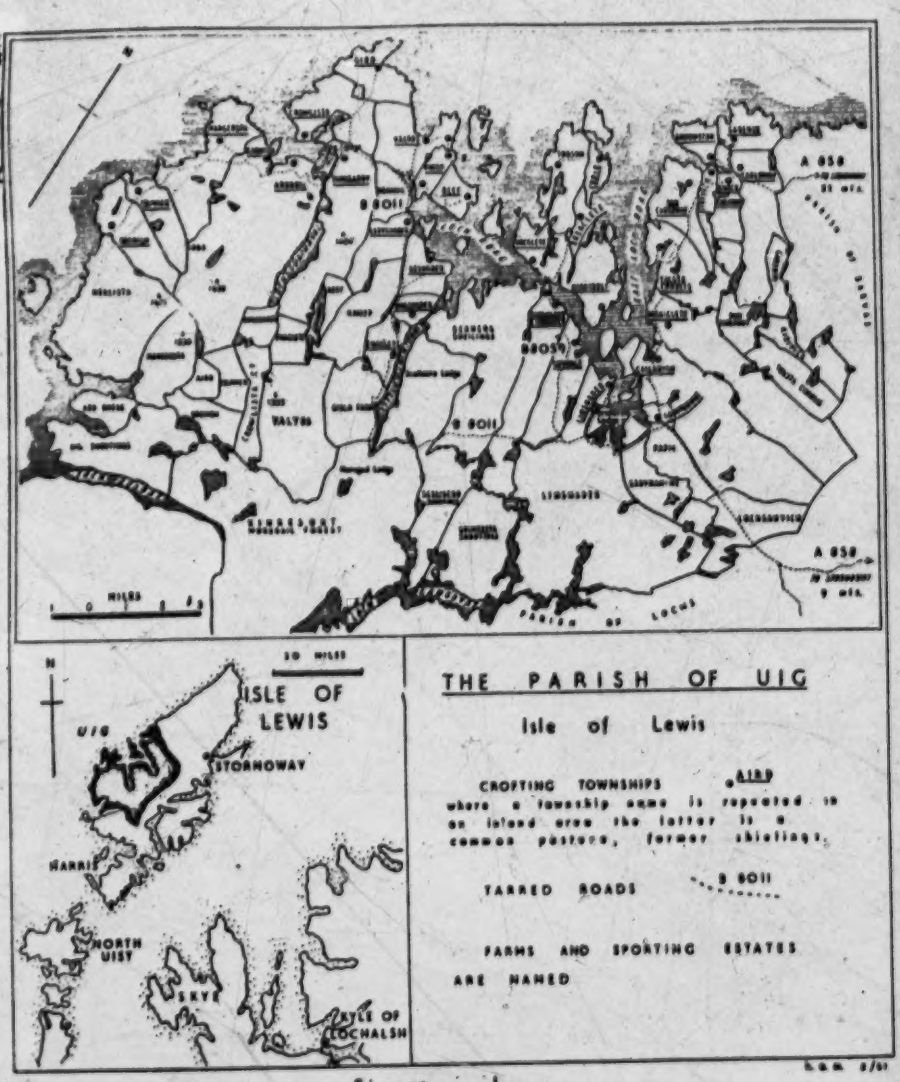

Figure 1.

/facing p. 1/

INTRODUCTION

131 The parish of Uig, Fig. 1, forms the south-west quadrant of Lewis; it falls naturally into three sections, each almost completely separated from the other by the salt waters of Loch Roag, Little Loch Roag and East Loch Roag.

South-west Uig is almost an island: only four miles separate the southern tip of Little 133 Loch Roag and the head of Loch Resort which, penetrating deeply from the Atlantic, marks the boundary between Lewis and Harris. It is a mountainous area with fifteen miles of [491] exposed Atlantic coast between Loch Resort and Gallan Head. From the ultimate settlements, Brenish and Islivig, the main road (B 8011) takes a tortuous course of some 40 133 miles to Stornoway. Population is concentrated where soil and climatic conditions are 361 mitigated by the presence of machair (wind blown shell sand) and by the shelter afforded by the peninsulas of Aird Mhor Mangersta and Gallan Head. The chief settlements are thus around Uig Bay*, and on the western shores of Loch Roag. In addition each township has common pastures on the interior moors and mountains where shielings were maintained into the present century.

East of Little Loch Roag the road climbs over a moorland plateau at 250'-500' O.D.. More that 12 miles separates Enaclete, the last township on Little Loch Roag, from Garynahine, the first on East Loch Roag. The moor is uninhabited shooting and shieling ground; the population of this area is to be found to the north, on Great Bernera, an island now connected by a bridge, and on the adjacent mainland shore.

Eastwards again the inland continuation of East Loch Roag is a great peat-filled depres- [491] sion which connects with Loch Leurbost on the east coast. This depression is skirted on its northern side by the main road, to Stornoway, A 858. The boundary between the parishes of Uig and Lochs cuts across this depression, which contains the only inland townships of Lewis - Loch Ganvich and Achmore. On the north-eastern shores of East Loch Roag is to be found more than half the population of the parish of Uig. The succession of densely populated townships from Garynahine to Carloway is much more typical of Lewis than are the more scattered and generally smaller, settlements of south Uig which are more like those of Harris, the Uists and Barra.

The sketch map, figure 1, shows the location and boundaries of the townships and other lands within the parish, and also the main roads. The reader will find it necessary, however, to make constant use of either Bartholomew's Half-Inch, or Ordnance Survey One-Inch to one mile, maps. In general topographic names are spelled in accordance with the latter.

[103] * Uig: Vik, Old Norse for a bay.

133 townships and at Islivig and Breanish, the peat is thin (or has been stripped) to reveal a
134 gravelly dirft,[1] free-draining on suitable slopes. In such places a black loamy soil has
been developed by cultivation; the many ditches of lazybed cultivation are not necessary
241 and, if the area is large enough, it can be worked by tractor. Such soils, in the climate
[40] of west Lewis, are eminently suitable for rotation grass, for hay or pasture, and much
more could be done with them under knowledgeable management. Where shell sand has
been blown inland on to peaty soils the natural top-dressing has had a remarkable
ameliorating effect on texture and acidity. Such areas are all too limited, the most
important are at Valtos, Kneep and Reef, and around Uig bay; smaller areas are at
134 Mealasta, Mangersta and Bosta (Bernera). The hill grazings are dominated by a thin
131 heather cover, blue moor grass and, in wetter places, sphagnum and cotton grass. Since
[23] the cattle population has been declining many older residents claim that the pastures,
particularly near the townships, have deteriorated, the proportion of grass declining and
coarse heather increasing. "The hills that were green when I was a boy", said one, "are
now black". Neglected arable and pasture land, too, soon reverts. Rushes and flags
invade the ditches between the old lazy beds and, if the ground is at all waterlogged, soon
invade the beds as well. Drier ground, if not well grazed, soon reverts to heather. The
limited machairs are little better; almost devoid of humus, they show little development
of soil profile, only a thin grey layer of turf roots; rabbits, or injudicious cultivation
readily set off wind erosion. Only where the wind has provided a natural blend of peat
and machair are conditions better. Such areas are very limited.

132 The climate is in many respects severe; no local statistics are available, but some
for Stornoway and Benbecula are appended. The frequency of high winds has a bad effect
on both vegetation and stock, but to some extent wind counteracts excessive moisture.
Near sea-level, where all the townships are situated, frost and snow are almost unknown.
Thus it is exposure to the wind that limits the outwintering of stock, not low temperatures;
this suggests that if pastures could be improved in suitably sheltered places far more
advantage might be taken of the relatively mild winter temperatures. It is believed that
the sunshine record is particularly poor in the south, where clouds can frequently be
seen hanging over the mountains when the sun is shining on Bernera and the area north
[24] east of East Loch Roag. The relatively dry and sunny period which commonly occurs in
[221] May and June ought to make for a good hay harvest; unfortunately the natural meadows,
such as they are, are late starters, and the custom is to cut the grass when it has gone to
seed. Thus hay is often being taken in September - one of the wettest months in the year.

CHAPTER TWO

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS

172 Evidence of pre-historic and other early settlements in the parish is afforded by the
occurence of standing stones, broche and duns. The Callanish circle and its satellites
are by far the most remarkable ancient monument in the Hebrides, and testify to the
former importance of the site even though today their precise significance may not be
clear. Most of the duns are now little more than circular heaps of stones, but in that at
[174] Doune Carloway the double walls still stand to a considerable height. A later phase of
[103] settlement is recorded in the place names, a very large proportion of which contain Norse
[162] elements such as -nish, -vick, -bost and -shader; it seems probable that most of the
present township sites have been more or less continuously occupied since Norse times.

1. [Presumably the author means "drift"--Analyst]

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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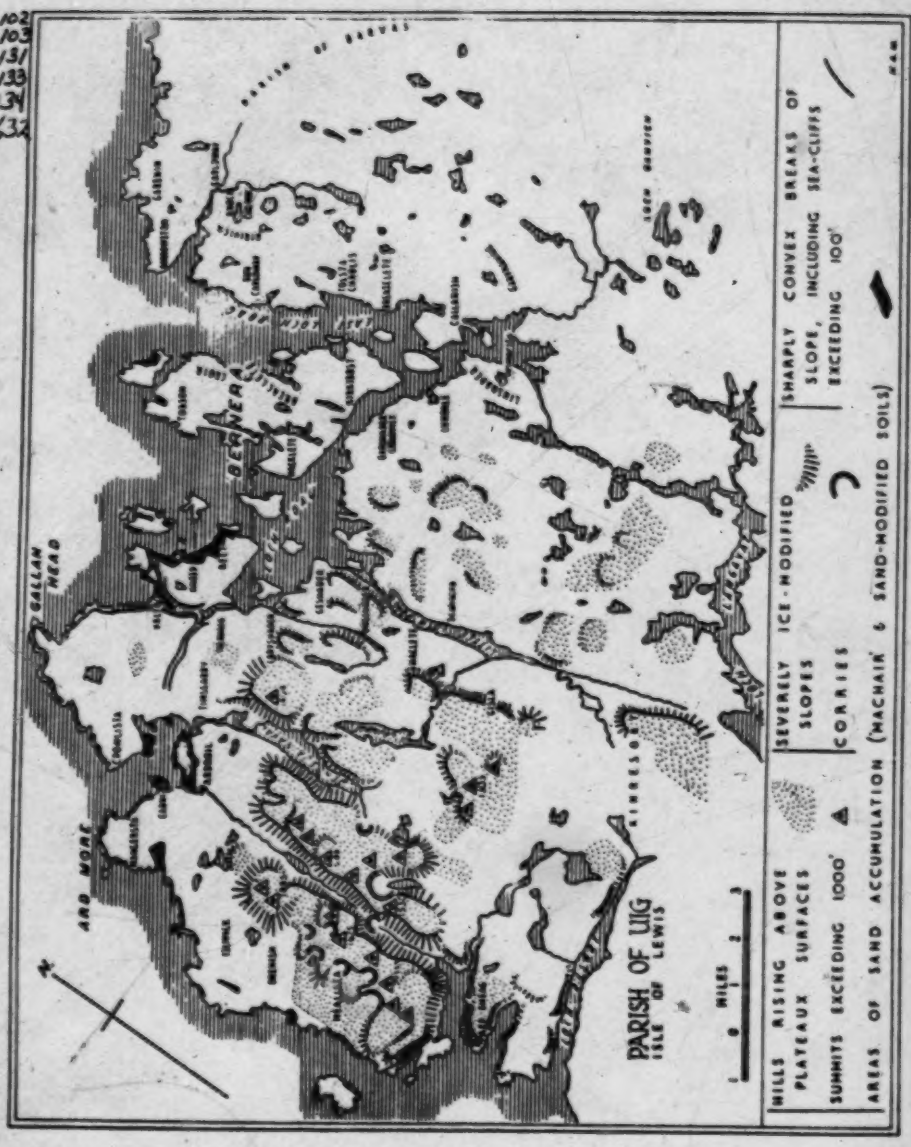

Figure 2

/p. 2/

175 The new proprietor was no better placed than Seaforth to change the fundamental
427 causes of recurrent poverty and distress. But at least he had funds to ameliorate his
[233] tenants' lot and to allow experiments in land reclamation and industrial development.
314 Existing sheep farms were extended and others formed. Land reclamation went forward
331 hand in hand with industrial experiments such as distillation of paraffin from peat and
499 brick and tile-making. A programme of road building was begun (the first roads beyond
326 Stornoway were begun in 1791, but there were only 45 miles of road by 1836). In Uig the
results were very obvious. Further clearances took place particularly from Timsgarry,
Carnish (21 tenants), Reef (22 tenants), Garynahine, Dun Carloway. The small tenants of
Valtos and Kneep were only saved from eviction by the intervention of the Fisheries Board,
[162] for they were important places for white fishing. By the 1850's, although the population
of Uig was more than double that in 1755, and 60% greater than in 1800, it was crowded
[160] into little more than half the area. Emigration enforced by clearances reduced the popu-
lation of Bernera and South Uig by nearly 500 between 1851 and 1861.

175 No other part of Lewis saw so many farms; nowhere else did the small tenants suffer
429 so much from eviction. That was not all. Those who remained undisturbed were de-
311 prived of some of their traditional grazings and access to the rest was sometimes
233 restricted. Moreover they had to make room for many of the evicted families in their
own townships, thereby further increasing the problem of congestion caused by the rapid
[161] natural increase of population. Thus, for example, about 1825 there had been 22 families
[162] in Valtos and Kneep. By about 1880 there were almost 100. But, during the same
period these townships were deprived of their island grazings - Pabay, Vacsay, Floday
and Wiay - formerly used for wintering cattle - and of part of their hill grazings (the
traditional shielings). Use of the hill-grazings was restricted, too. Thus, for example,
only one day was allowed to pull heather for ropes; if men were away fishing or for other
reasons, could not attend on that day, they risked punishment by going on any other. Such
stories could be multiplied many times.

[103] In the Bernera district, by the 1850's, only Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete (on the
island) and Earshader and Crulivig (on the mainland) were left for the crofter families.
Moreover their traditional summer grazings, which lay south east of the Deer Forest
which was formed out of the Scaliscro sheep farm about 1850. Apparently their use of
the old shielings was tolerated until 1878, after which date they were directed to the area
north of the present road and which they have continued to use until the present day. Thus
the shieling huts shown in fig.5 all post-date 1878; the area in which they lie may have
been part of the West Earshader tacksman's holding. The date of discontinuance of that
tack is not known but the house, now empty, was for long occupied by squatters and the
old lasy beds around it still form part of a large squatter holding.

It is noteworthy that almost all the clearances were in the Bernera and South Uig
districts and this is reflected in population changes between 1841 and 1851, shown in
table 4.

The cleared areas included extensive hill and mountain grazings and some of the best
wintering ground, including all the machairs except Valtos and Kneep. The East Loch
Roag and Carloway districts were less attractive to the new farmers; as is so commonly
the case in Lewis, their rough grazings lay on gently sloping low plateaux and were con-
sequently ill-drained and of poor quality. About 1852 Dun Carloway was let as a tack but
was never successfully farmed and was soon returned to crofter-occupation; it may never
have been wholly cleared of crofters. Garynahine, at the southern end of East Loch Roag,
next to Linshader, was also turned into a farm about 1852. Here the hill grazing was more
extensive and, though seriously reduced by a crofter settlement scheme c. 1936, it remains

TABLE 8

THE RE-SETTLEMENT OF UIG, ISLE OF LEWIS

(See also Fig. 10).

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This table may not be complete for the earlier years: acreages are approximate

Date:	Farm:	Township	New Holdings	Holdings enlarged	Area (Acres)
1878	Linshader	Kirkibost	26(1)	-	c.1,300
1880	Hacklete	Hacklete	20	-	c.1,000
1886 (?)	Linshader	Borroston	-	-	500
1886	Dalemore	Carloway	-	-	60
1891	Linshader	Lundale	6	-	1,156
1892	Linshader	Kirkibost	-	26	1,000
1893	Linshader	Hacklet & Breaclet	-	32	314
		Valtos	-	30	c.300
1910	Mangersta	Mangersta	13	-	2,250
1912	Dalemore	Garenin	-	27	c.700
1921	Reef	Reef	15	-	1,254
		Aird & Reef	-	10	206
		Crowlista & Knoep	-	43	105
		Garyshader	-	13	88
1921	Timsgarry	Timsgarry	8	-	4,113 (2)
		Enaclete	-	9	621
		Geshader	-	11	} 603 (3)
		Ungshader	-	4	
1921	Croir	Croir	8	-	522
1921	Carnish & Ardroil	Carnish	6	-	288
		Ardroil	14	-	797
		Carnish & Ardroil common grazing			7,153
1921	Mealasta	Mangersta	-	10	1,868
		Brenish	-	29	4,116
1921	Dalemore	Garenin	-	27	c.300
1925	Linshader	Linshader	10	-	11,109
1932	Uig Lodge	Ard Bheag	2	-	809
1935	Garynahine	Garynahine	12	-	1,915
			140	245	about 45,000

Notes: (1) Crofters were moved to Kirkibost from Bosta (425 acres), which was given as an enlargement to Tobson crofters.
(2) Partly off Timsgarry.
(3) Partly off Carnish and Ardroil.

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APPENDIX A

(1) Agricultural statistics for South Uig - August, 1959.

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pasture: (acres)	Sheddings	CATTLE: Sows:	Milk:	Others:	Calves:	SHEEP: Sows:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Horses	Tractors
ARD DHEAG	-	1	1	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	c.500	?	?		
BRENISH	28	-	13	16	4	20	100	11	84	18	15	13	508	[illegible]	143	568	4	1
ISLIVIG	10	-	5	7	2	11	30	3	43	6	3	4	228	224	174	105	2	-
MANGERSTA	13	-	10	12	3	17	23	3	68	16	9	13	385	474	334	371	1	-
CARNISH	6	-	3	2	1	4	61	4	26	4	1	4	270	110	89	40	1	-
ARDROIL	14	-	11	7	2	21	371	13	62	15	5	9	625	358	277	171	1	-
TIMSGARRY	8	-	7	5	1	12	63	7	23	8	-	4	275	177	143	108	1	-
HARRIS ETC.	-	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	-	2	-	1	-	38	35	5	-	-
AIRD	10	-	8	4	1	9	35	8	34	6	2 (Goats)	1	206	226	193	166	-	-
CROMLISTA	24	-	13	16	7	19	59	6	89	15	3	9	414	487	374	227	-	-
VALTOS	40	1	29	22	7	15	104	19	230	41	1	29	1,033	916	781	524	-	-
ENEIP	19	-	13	11	7	19	118	10	76	14	6	9	455	403	337	247	1	-
NEIP	15	-	8	5	2	9	77	7	45	7	3	9	225	249	202	190	-	-
CARNISHADER	14	1	12	6	4	9	24	3	32	8	1 (2 Goats)	4	183	199	176	110	1	-
GERRAMER	11	-	11	14	3	16	82	10	38	15	4	11	337	594	442	415	-	-
UNGUSHAMER	4	-	3	5	1	7	23	3	27	3	1	2	150	130	125	125	-	-
ERACLETT	9	-	9	13	3	13	44	6	32	14	2	12	323	335	147	308	-	-
OTHERS (non-crofting)	-	5	5	3	1	7	54	2	-	2	14 (16 pigs & 2 goats)	12	-	295	210	231	-	1

Notes:

(a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in the text.

(b) Sowings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the grazing regulations were first made unless some other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

(c) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions (ewes/lambs/others) are as reported (see Appendix A (2)).

(d) Where there is a specific sum for a horse this has been added, (half to the cattle sum and half to the sheep sum) after allowing for any horses actually present.

(e) Where there is a sum for two-year old cattle this has been included in the cattle sums at the rate of 2 two-year olds to one cow.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF LEWIS

('Bernera and Bernera Shore')

by

P. Wheeler

131 Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of Bernera Island (Breaclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the "Shore" [103] (Earshader, Crulivig and Lundale together with the isolated township of Linshader), presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isolation. [49] Bernera Island, though central to most of Uig and easily accessible over the sheltered waters of Loch Roag, yet remained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent building of the road bridge; even now it is necessary to travel over six miles to get from [181] the bridge to the main Uig road and a further four miles to Garynahine. Consequently the Island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements, has a very close-knit and self-sufficing population. Whether this community retains sufficient vitality to resist the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces eroding rural and especially Highland life, remains to be seen.

13 The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the Introduction. Like the other districts it has virtually no valuable mineral resources (1), and 228 the herring and white fish industries have all but disappeared and seem unlikely to [171] resuscitated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted with vigour and enterprise; it 464 provides a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on regular or casual employment to eke out the proceeds of the croft. The kinds of work [166] available, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employment are common to the whole parish; thus this account is mainly concerned with the problems of crofting agriculture.

Settlement: history and patterns.

172 The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is partly very old, and partly very recent. At least four brochs are known on Bernera and various 361 standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous settlement has survived from the early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form as [17] in the graveyard on little Bernera, or in oral tradition. All this contributes towards the very close network of family relationships that binds the island folk and to a lesser extent those of the adjacent mainland.

175 With the exceptions of Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete, all Bernera Island had been cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1878 when twelve families were moved from 361 Bosta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere. Occasionally (as at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance lotting patterns were re-adopted, but usually settlement was laid out afresh. The townships of Bernera Shore, were also affected: all the small tenants except those of Earshader and Crulivig were cleared, leaving the land under the sheep farms of West Earshader and Linshader. However, the Bernera Island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of shellings on the mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these grazings to their present position marked the

[316] (1) A small deposit of diatomite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a few men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

by

Brian Loughbrough

131 The seven crofting townships of Upper Carloway, (including Carloway Park), Borrowston,
133 Garenin, Knock Carloway, Dun Carloway and Kirivick form a compact area of land in the north of the Parish of Uig bordering the coast and Loch Carloway. Here the Lewisian
[103] gneiss has a thin discontinuous covering of glacial drift which is most extensively developed immediately above the head of Loch Carloway. Three valleys help to determine the layout of the townships and settlements (figure 37). The townships to the north-
361 west of the Carloway river are found on more gentle slopes than those to the south east
133 where the slopes are less uniform and are less uniform and are often broken by short steep rocky faces. The north western area therefore offers an environment where almost continuous cultivation is possible whereas in the south east the frequent rock outcrops have led to fragmented cultivation on minute plots which are inaccessible to the tractor or other mechanised implements.

131 The soils are heavy and acid even on the skinned land of the boulder clay slopes nor is there any machair to mitigate the acidity of the peaty areas which descend almost to the shores. Only in one place is there any trace of the influence of the sand and this is to be found where the crofts numbered 1 to 3 Garenin border the small bay in the north of that township. Here the fierce gales have blown some of the finer beach deposits on to the croft land.

Much of the peat has been cut from the inner common pastures except in the case of Upper Garloway where active cutting is still taking place in the valley whose flanks are occupied by squatter settlements, to the east of the football pitch. On the common
131 pasture the vegetation varies from peat moss and heather with bracken to fescue and
311 close turf on the skinned land by the road to Dalemore. On the upper common pasture heather and bracken have increased since the abandonment of the shielings and the reduction of the cattle stock; many inhabitants remember that the hills once had a much greener aspect. Nor is this a feature confined to the common pastures; on one croft in Upper Carloway 1.9 acres are completely covered by heather whilst a neighbouring croft has a good crop of oats on similar land. At the loch in both Knock and Upper Carloway areas of former arable land have reverted to moss, the old lazy beds being picked out by lines of reeds.

361 Settlement. The settlement pattern is one of great interest for it shows in a clear way the effects of the distrinct phases in the historical geography of the area. The evidence of success and failure stands side by side. Before attempting to justify this assertion it is necessary to give a brief account of the physical evolution and distribution of settlement.

361 The origin of permanent settlement is believed * to have been the permanent occu-
175 pation of shielings used by people from Bernera until the eighteenth century. Until about 1850 arable land was held run-rig and the houses were huddled together in tight little clusters. When individual crofts were lotted, about 1850, the houses were scattered, each on its croft and generally up to fifty yards from the present road (which was then
361 no more than a rough track). Sea access was then most important but since the advent
49 of modern road transport new houses have been built nearer to the roads, producing the
178 modern markedly linear plan. The roads extend at different heights across the slopes

* based on information supplied by Mr Macleod of 27 Garenin.

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

THE MAKING OF THE CROFTING LANDSCAPE

17 All landscapes in these islands have roots in the distant past; Park is no exception. Yet many crofting landscapes have been significantly re-fashioned within the present century after major changes in the nineteenth century. Park does not entirely correspond to the general pattern, and the present cultural landscape has its beginnings in the late seventeenth century, although there are traces of earlier settlement.

Archaeological evidence, in the form of a stone axehead found near Habost, a dun on the brackish Loch Cromore, and a mediaeval chapel on Eilean Calum Cille, provides the earliest record of human settlement in Park. Place-name evidence[1] indicates Norse occupation: the elements 'bost', a contraction of the Norse word bolstradr - a homestead, and 'setr', a shed or bothy situated on pastureland but not regularly lived in, indicate a thin dispersion of farmers practising an extensive and transhumant economy: all the present township names contain Norse elements.

The name Park, is derived from the Gaelic 'A'Phairc' - the park or deer forest: the old name of the district was Oservaul (Norse: the east mountain). During the eighteenth century, a dyke or turf wall was built between Loch Erisort and Loch Seaforth - 'garadh an tighearna' - the lord of chiefs' dyke, to enclose the deer forest. Before this enclosure was built, Park was shieling ground used by tenants in Uig (west Lewis):- one of the groups of shielings has the name Airigh Dhomhnaill Chaim and Domhnall Cam was chief of the MacAulays in Uig at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Thus it may well be that after the Norse population left or were absorbed, Park was simply used as summer pasture.

It is believed that settlement in what is now the Deer Forest began about 1650. Confirmation of this comes from an unpublished Gaelic song by Archibald MacDonald (An Ciaran Mabach) composed in Leith soon after 1660. In the song, the author laments the fact that he may never see the Forest again, and says of Park

"'s oil leam caradh na frithe
.....
Bhith fo bhinn aig na bodaich
D'am bu chosnadh cas-chrom."

"I deplore the state of the forest ..... that it should be in subjection to the carles whose livelihood is a cas-chrom" (foot plough - literally crooked spade). The song gives no indication of numbers, and unfortunately no rental of this period is extant.[2]

From rentals and other evidence, Park was the last area in Lewis to be colonised in permanent settlement; the fact that the population of Lochs parish increased from 912 in 1755 to 1350 in 1801, supports the view that the late eighteenth century saw the extension of modern settlement in Park.

The first documentary evidence of settlement in the present crofting area is the Judicial Rental of Lewis, taken by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners in 1718. This rental records tacksmen, or major tenants, living in Habost, Seaforthhead, and Eilean Calum Cille - all situated along the southern shores of Loch Erisort: there is local tradition that Kershader and Marivig were shielings

1 The editor is indebted to Miss Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt. for an analysis and evaluation of the place-name evidence - see Appendix C.

2 For this extremely interesting information and the translation, the editor is indebted to Mr. William Matheson, M.A., of the Department of Celtic, Edinburgh University.

161 Table XIX summarises the population structure and trends for the four districts. It is significant
162 that the two districts without service centres, which provide a range of ancillary employment, have
166 experienced more severe depopulation since 1939. This table also underlines the fact that earnings
167 from seasonal employment are insufficient: the incidence of permanent employment furth of the
434 districts is three times as great as the incidence of seasonal employment.
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APPENDIX B

SHIELINGS - A NOTE

John E. Wearmouth with illustrations by Beth Blowers

175 From Figure 1, compiled from the First Edition six-inch map of the Ordnance Survey (1850
233 to 1852) and from personal observations, it is clear that the shieling system was at one time an overall feature of Park for the whole peninsula has traces of this transhumant economy.

361 The rudimentary structures, some of turf, others of stones and roofed with bracken or
342 heather thatch, are all sited on well drained sites, the majority on mounds. Almost all the sites are close to lochs or streams. The majority are in loose groups of from two to nine buildings, although there are some in isolation; no site has as many as twenty-six buildings as found at Airidh na Gaoithe in North Uist.

342 There appears to be two distinctive shapes of building - oval and rectangular (Fig.10). All shielings measured exhibited a remarkable similarity in dimensions, from 17½ by 9 feet to 13 by 12 feet. The oval structures are generally larger than the rectangular ones. Most of the shielings had two entrances, often, but not always, opposite each other.

195 The shieling system died out in Park about 1880 but the cattle continued to graze around the
233 shielings on the better grass, and the crofters had still to go out to milk the cattle at the shieling, although they no longer lived there. The sheep still use the mounds for shelter and grazing. These features of an obsolete economy are still easily recognisable from the luxuriant grass cover in a wilderness of peat bog and bare rock.

APPENDIX C

NORSE SETTLEMENTS NAMES IN NORTHERN PARK, LEWIS

Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt.

103 See: Magne Oftedal, The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides; in Norsk Tidskrift for
113 Sprogvidenskap, vol. XVII, 1954, (Oslo), pp. 363 ff.

103 Professor Oftedal points out the difficulties of these Norse-Gaelic settlement names: inaccurate spellings even in modern times, and lack of any useful evidence from older sources, make almost all the derivations a matter of conjecture. Sometimes two or more ON equivalents are possible (e.g. for Calbost), sometimes no satisfactory solution can be found (e.g. for Lemreway). Since Professor Oftedal frequently bases his explanation on pronunciations not recorded in written forms, his evidence is largely followed here.
SHIELDERNISH: the second element is N nes, 'headland'. Oftedal's explanation of the first as silda, genitive plural of N sild, 'herring', is satisfactory linguistically, but seems unlikely in meaning.

103 HABOST: 'high farmstead'. N. hár, 'high'. bost from N bólstaðr, 'farmstead', generally a farm of some local importance, but not the original settlement.

KERSHADER: 'shieling of the marsh or thicket'. - shader is N setr, 'shieling', a shed usually at some distance from the main farm and at the summer pastureland. ker- may represent either N kjarr, 'thicket, overgrown marsh'; or hjartr, from hjǫrtr, 'deer'. (Oftedal prefers the latter; both are found in other place-names, but hjart - is more common in the Hebrides).

GARYVARD: Oftedal interprets this as a Gaelic name containing a Norse loanword: he says the initial g is of a palatal quality, showing that it was formerly followed by a palatal vowel e, and derives gary - from gearraidh, a Gaelic loanword from N gerði, 'pasture denoting specifically "the grassy ground immediately surrounding a house or a shieling". He thinks the second element is Gaelic a'Bhàird, 'of the poet, or bard'. Hence, Garyvard means 'the poet's pasture'.

CAVERSTA: the second element is N staðir, 'farm', a plural form frequent in place-names, denoting a small farm. Oftedal hesitantly derives caver - from a N personal name Kofri, genitive Kofra. It may possibly be associated with N kofa, plural kofur, 'young puffin'.

TORASTA: the second element is N staðir, 'farm', as in Caversta. The first is almost certainly a personal name: Oftedal's note on the pronunciation of the middle syllable points to the name Torfi, genitive Torfa; possibly a name in pór-, e.g. póroð-, 'belonging to póroðr'.

CROMORE: Oftedal explains this as a Gaelic name cró mór, 'big pen, fold'. kró or krá in N, however, means primarily 'corner, nook, inlet' and the two names Cromore and Crobeg are here applied to places on big and little inlets. The N kro took the meaning 'pen, fold' from Gaelic, but usually retains N inflections in the names of Lewis.

MARIVIG: -vig, more commonly -aig, is N vik, 'bay, inlet'. The first element may be either N marr, gen. pl. mara, 'horse'; or N marr, gen. sg. marar 'sea'. The latter seems more likely here.

CALBOST: - bost is N bólstaðr, 'farmstead' as in Habost. The first element could be either N kald- 'cold'; or N kálfr, gen. pl. kálfa, 'calf'.

GRAVIR: 'pits, graves'. N grafir, plural of grpf, 'pit, hole, grave.'

LEMREWAY, LIMERVAY: the second element is N vagr, 'bay, inlet'. Oftedal is baffled by the first; the pronunciation shows that, if it is a N word, the stem vowel was ei or œ (ø).

ORONSAY: originally the name of the island in the bay. -ay is N ey, 'island'; oros- from N ǫrfiris, 'ebb-tide' (very frequent in names of islands isolated only at high tide).

STIEMERWAY: the second element is N vagr, 'bay', as in Limerway. Stiemer- is obscure; the narrowness of the stream at low-tide points to N stemma, 'to dam, block, obstruct (a river or stream)', but the development of the name is not clear.

SEAFORTH: 'inlet or fjord of the sea'; anglicised spelling of N sæ-fjǫrðr.

N = Norse
ǫ and ǫ́ may be represented by ǫ
ð may be (inaccurately) represented by d,
þ may be (inaccurately) represented by th.

102
103
131

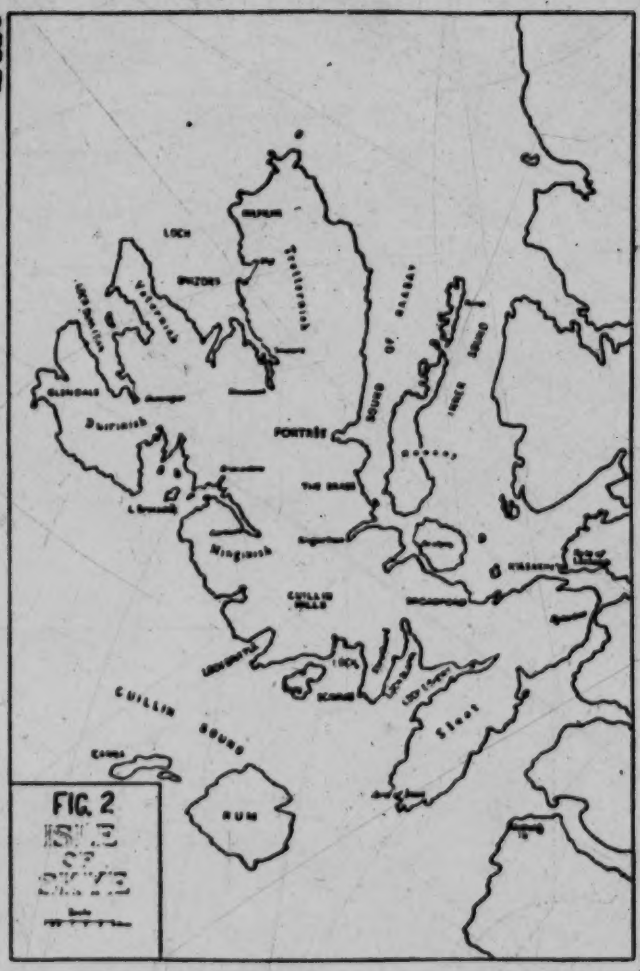

FIG. 2
ISLE
OF
SKYE

population as it is one of accessibility. It is, for example, only 165 miles from Glasgow to Mallaig, but the trip takes six hours because of the constant succession of curves and the series of severe gradients over which the railroad runs.

The General Appearance of Skye

Skye has an irregular shape. Large peninsulas extend out into the Minch on the northwest and into the Sea of the Hebrides on the southwest. Promontories, divided by sea lochs, reach out to the west and east. Numerous small lochs and several large, sheltered bays contribute to the greatly indented coastline. While philologists may doubt the derivation of the Gaelic name for the Island, Eilean Sgiathanach, from the Gaelic sgiath (a wing), "the winged isle" aptly describes Skye.

From the mainland, the Island appears to be dominated by the jagged silhouette of the Cuillin Hills. Rising in fifteen angular peaks, these mountains are the first indication that the surface of Skye is as irregular as its shape. The characteristic typological features of the Island are the result of volcanic action in the Tertiary period of the Cenozoic and subsequent erosion, particularly during the Pleistocene when glacial ice flows gouged and scoured the landscape.[1] Geologically Skye consists of an extensive basalt plateau; two intrusive masses, one of gabbro and the other of granite; and a complex of older differentiated strata and outcroppings which include Juriassic and Cambrian limestone, Torridonian sandstone, and Archaean gneiss.

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[1] F. Fraser Darling, "Relief, Landforms, Vegetation, and Communications," The West Highland Survey, F. Fraser Darling et al. (mimeographed, 1950), Part II, pp. 26-28.

133 South of the basalt plateau, the Cuillins and the Red
314 Hills have intruded into the lava. Although the Cuillins
dominate the landscape for many miles, they are absolutely
103 useless agriculturally. Indeed, a case might be made for the
derivation of the name Cuillin from the Welsh coolin (worth-
less).[3] The worthlessness of the mountains in the local
economy is attested by the fact that they are the only mountains
in Scotland with peaks named after men, all of them mountain
133 climbers of the last century.[4] At the same time, however,
314 they have become a valuable asset in the tourist trade.[5] The
[133] Red Hills rise to 2,537 feet. They are mostly covered with
scree and skeletal soils, but they have some pastoral value.
All have traditional Gaelic names.

133 Below the mountainous region a broad limestone valley
extends across the island from Broadford Bay to Lochs Eishort
and Slapin. Like northern Skye, it is a gently rolling region
[133] with few rises which exceed 500 feet in elevation. The po-
tentially good soil is frequently masked by a heavy overlie of
peat.

Sleat, the southernmost peninsula, reveals a compli-
[131] cated structure, a complex of ancient rocks and moraine.[6]

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[3] B.H. Humble, The Cuillin of Skye (London: Robert Hale, 1952), pp. 3-4.

[4] Ibid., p. xv.

[5] W. A. Poucher, The Magic of Skye (London: Chapman and Hall, 1949); E. G. Meadows, The Skye Scene (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1951); and Humble, op. cit., pp. 31-106.

[6] Darling, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

132 summer, despite the long duration of daylight, the average daily hours of sunshine are six. In winter, the daily hours of sunshine are reduced to less than one. In 1953, an average year in respect to sunlight, the total hours of sun were 1142. Over 132 200 hours were recorded in June but less than 20 in December. It 103 may be that the philologists are right in insisting that Eilean Sgiathanach is derived from the Norse ski (cloud). Certainly the poetic name for Skye, Eilean a Chéo, the Isle of Mist, is in keeping with the atmosphere.

The prevailing rain and cloudiness are serious handicaps to agriculture, but they are not the only inhibitive forces. The wind is another very important factor. Gales are common. They restrict the number and variety of crops which can be grown, hinder tree growth, and often make the use of the sea impossible.

The System of Land Use

311 The Sgiathanach, the Skyeman, is a small farmer who combines pastoralism with a limited amount of agriculture. In view of the severe environmental limitations on crop production and the markedly disproportionate ratio of arable land to natural grass land, this ecological adaptation of the culture 172 is by no means surprising. Nor is the fact that this adap- 311 tation has persisted since the first known appearance of man a startling revelation. This was four thousand years ago when the culture history of Skye began with the advent of the 311 Neolithic. This persistence is simply an expression of the

of an administrative center. The government offices, however, 621 368
are scattered about the village. One is down at the pier;
another is half way out of Portree on a trunk road, and still
a third is tucked away on a side road down by the shore of the
harbor. The post office is behind the court house, on the
opposite end of the village, and the school, the only secondary
school in all the Hebrides of the County of Inverness, is out
of the village all together on another trunk road. For northern 621 366
Skye, Portree is the shopping center. The shops are along the
main streets which run off the square and along the road which
leads down to the pier. All of them are in remodeled houses.
For the immediate area surrounding the village, Portree is a 621 368
religious center. The churches stand together, except one
which is on the opposite side of the village; the ministers'
homes are dispersed on the fringes of the village. Long ago 621 [103]
Portree was known as Ceilltarraglan, (burying place at the foot
of the glen). The old village was no more than a church, school,
inn, and jail which stood overlooking the houses of a few
fishermen along the bay. The surrounding area was given over to
farming. The differing ages of the buildings show how the
village spread along the bay, up over the terraces, out across
the flats, and finally, with the assistance of the County
Council which has built all of the new houses, on to the hill
which overlooks the shops and the harbor. Although only the [161]
jail remains as a sentinel of the past, the differing ages of
the houses also tell how the population grew from a mere hand-
ful to 1000 in over a century and a half.

*175 been more or less autonomous and self-sufficient. Significantly, [103] the names of these farms, as most place names for lochs and headlands, are Norse.[60]

*175 24 Crops and Their Care. The crops of Skye were essentially those introduced during the Neolithic.[61] The staples were oats and barley. The local varieties were unproductive in comparison to the varieties common in the Lowlands, but they were regarded as better against the wind and rain than the more productive grains. A little flax and hemp was grown, but not enough for local needs. Only the chiefs and a few tacksmen had kitchen gardens; most of the people grew no vegetables.

Although cultivation was of secondary importance, it was basic to the economy. The land was prepared by a large and cumbersome four-horse plough or a small foot plough. The foot plough, called the caschrom (literally the crooked foot), was the most common implement on Skye. To a naturally curved oak or ash shaft, a long, flat coulter with an iron shoe was fastened with iron rings. At the junction of the head and the shaft a wooden peg was inserted for the foot. Although it was slow and laborious in use, the caschrom enabled the user to get better yields from his rigs than by ploughing. For many it was the only means of tilling the soil, unless a tacksman ploughed the small, rocky strip for his tenant. In terms of

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[60] Henderson, op. cit., pp. 131-133.

[61] The following description, unless otherwise documented, is drawn from the following sources: Martin, op. cit., pp.190-250; Mitchell, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 182-183, 220-221; and Ronald MacDonald, "The Isle of Skye in 1764, as Described by John Walker," TGSI, Vol. XXVIII (1918), pp. 101-130.

● 104

airidh--see sheiling
banais--wedding dinner and dance following the church service
bannag--a party associated with New Year's Eve
boll--any of various old units of capacity used in Scotland, varying from 2 to 6 Winchester bushels
bothan--a shelter, whether a hut or old bus, etc., separate from the rest of the village, where men gather to drink alcoholic liquor (see pp. 153-156)
bramar--sweetheart
brose--a dish made by pouring boiling liquid on meal (as oatmeal) and stirring it
buaile--units of land not recognized as part of the croft and not included in the land for which rent was paid, but recognized as property by the villagers to the extent that this land could be transmitted through families or given by one person to another
caraid no h-oidhche--"companion of the night," the male visitor in the ruith na h'oidhche
ceilidh--visit
crowdie--clotted sour milk
cuddy--originally a supper due from a tenant to his lord or chief, hence a rent or gift instead of this; a bribe
curam--conversion; being careful or circumspect
curamach--the "clique of the converted"
fank--the process of bringing the sheep in from the moor, to the wooden pen into which the sheep were gathered and there claimed by their owners

● 104

firlote (firlot)--any of various old Scottish units of dry capacity equal to 1/4 boll or from 1/2 to 1 1/2 Winchester bushels
nissen hut--a barrel-shaped prefabricated shelter of corrugated iron with a cement floor
orduighean--religious communions
posadh--church service, associated with marriage
ruith no h-oidhche--night visiting, a form of bundling
sheiling--tiny stone structures used by herders while tending their cattle or sheep
siarach (west-sider)--someone from the west side of Lewis, used by people of Stornoway to refer to them; connotes rusticity
tigh fhaire--"house of watching"; the wake for the dead
waulking--the process by which wool cloth was washed and shrunk

black house--the traditional Highland Scots house; oblong, stone walls with thatched roof

broch--prehistoric circular stone tower, usually consisting of a double wall enclosing small apartments about a central court

clachan--a group of houses usually set in the midst of the arable land forming the settlement for a number of farmers

cottar--peasant tenant renting a small farm under the rack-rent system, the land being let to the highest bidder

creel--a wickerwork basket or trap; a framework of varying form

eild- barren (of an animal)

factor--steward or bailiff of an estate

feuar--one who holds land in fee

finger and toe disease -clubroot; a common disease of cabbages and related plants caused by a slime mold producing swellings or distortions of the root often followed by decline in vigor or by death

ghillie--variant of gillie; a male attendant, formerly on a chieftain, now especially on a hunter; or, a follower, servant

glebe--the cultivable land owned by a parish church or ecclesiastical benefice

hefting--variant of haft; a place devoted to a settled use, as for pasture, a dwelling

inbye--in an inward direction; situated close by, on the premises, near the house; arable and unimproved land

kirk--a church; the Established Church of Scotland

lazy beds--long, narrow beds of peat separated by deep ditches, the peat from the ditches heaped on top of the undug land between

machair--windblown sandy plains along the beach

M.C.A.--Maritime Control Area

NAAFI--Navy, Army and Air Force Insititutes (responsible for clubs, canteens, and provision of some items for messing of British armed forces

O.D.--Ordnance Datum

outwith--outside of, out of

runrig--a system of land holding by which a tenant's land is apportioned so that it consists of strips lying between those of others

soum--the total stock which each croft may put on the common pastures

tacksmen--men who paid rent for large tracts of land and who, by settling suitable tenants there, received rents, in money or in labor, as an additional income from their farms

tupping--breeding, used of sheep

wedder--ram castrated before sexual maturity, usually before appearance of secondary sex characteristics

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black leg--an enzootic, usually fatal toxemia of young cattle and less commonly sheep, goats, and swine; characterized by high fever, crackling discolored swellings under the skin; caused by toxins produced by an anaerobic soil bacterium, usually entering the tissues through minor wounds or abrasions.

braxy--a malignant edema of sheep that involves gastrointestinal invasion by a spore-forming bacterium; it produces an enterotoxemia characterized by staggering, convulsions, coma, and death. Common in Ireland, Scotland, and Norway.

fluke--a parasitic flatworm (digenetic trematode)

furth--away, abroad, beyond a certain boundary (Scottish variant of forth)

gimmer--(Scot) yearling, female sheep; a two tooth ewe

louping ill--tick-borne virus disease of sheep and other domestic animals and rarely man that is related to or identical with Russian Spring-Summer encephalitis of man and occurs characteristically as meningoencephalitis accompanied by muscular tremors and spasms followed by varying degrees of paralysis

104

(G)= Gaelic language

anns na dubh-oghaichean--(G) general term for third cousins; literally "in the state of being great-great-grandchildren." (p. 259).
anns na h-iar-oghaichean--(G) general term for second cousins; literally "in the state of being great-grandchildren" (p. 260).
anns na h-oghaichean--(G) general term for first cousins; literally "in the state of being grandchildren" (p. 260).
athair--(G) father (p. 259).
athair-céile--(G) father-in-law (p. 261).
balach--(G) a small boy, age two to puberty (p. 252).
bean--(G) woman, wife; at marriage a nighean becomes a bean (p. 252).
birley court--(historical) a court composed of share-holders (the tenants of a landowner) and their elected constables, held to decide questions of land allotment (p. 86).
bràthair--(G) brother (p. 252).
bràthair athar--(G) father's brother (p. 260).
bràthair-céile--(G) brother-in-law (p. 261).
bràthair màthar--(G) mother's brother (p. 260).
breitheamh--(G) judge, in clan times (p. 76).

104

caileag--(G) a small girl, age two to puberty (p. 252).
cain--(G) "a fixed payment in kind," which subtenants owed to their superiors (historical) (p. 81).
caraid--(G) friend; usually used to refer to relatives as distant as the fourth cousin and further; also, a "usual designation for all relatives beyond the immediate nuclear family" (p. 259).
caschrom--a small foot plow, rarely used today; literally "the crooked foot" (p. 87).
ceann-cinnidh--(G) (historical) "clan chief" (pp. 72-77, 315).
ceann-tighe--(G) cadets; literally "the head of the house." In clan times, a rank just below the clan chief, in the larger clans; usually occupied by the chief's brothers and the heads of the septs. (pp. 77-78).
céile--(G) mate's, as used in a combinatory form in in-law terms (e.g. athair-céile - mate's father) (p. 261).
ceilidh--(G) "an evening of spinning folk tales, singing, and dancing ..." (p. 131).
clann--(G) children of either sex from the age of two to puberty (p. 252).
clanna--(G) the clansmen, literally "the children," it "included all in the jurisdiction of a clan chief" (p. 79).
clann an dà brathar--(G) first cousin (only father's brother's children /FBs and FBd/), literally "children of the two brothers" (p. 260).
clann an dà pheathar--(G) first cousin (only MSs and MSd), literally "children of the two sisters" (p. 260).
clann na peathar 's a' bhrathar--(G) first cousin (only MBs, MBd, FSs, and FSd), literally "children of the brother and sister" (p. 260).
cliamhain--(G) son or daughter-in-law (p. 261).

conveth--(G) (historical) "a contribution of food for the maintenance of the chief and his retinue" owed by a subtenant (p. 81).

creach--(G) "an incursion on a neighboring clan for the purpose of seizing their cattle by open force" (historical) (p. 74).

daoin'-uaisle--(G) "tacksmen" (p. 315); literally, high people, the next lower level in the clan hierarchy below the cadets; a chief's younger brother, sons and other relatives (p. 78).

derbfine--(G) the nucleus of the old Skye clan, "a four generation patrilineal family group whose members, in theory, were able to trace their descent from the founder of the clan, the source of the clan's patronymic" (pp. 70-71).

devach--(historical) "the amount of land needed to support ten head of cattle" (p. 90).

duine--(G) man; at marriage a gille becomes a duine (p. 252).

feacht--(historical) "an obligation to follow the chief in offensive war" owed by a subtenant (p. 81).

fear--(G) husband; a man is both a duine and a fear (p. 252).

flath--(historical) a kin group leader (p. 82).

gavelkind--"a form of family inheritance, under which all kinsmen had a right to a share in the land" (p. 74).

gentry--in clan time, the local representatives of the nuclear derbfine; "the leading men of the clan in each district" (p. 79).

gille--(G) an adolescent boy; the term is used after the physical changes of puberty become noticeable, until his

marriage; also used throughout life between a brother and sister (p. 252).

gladden--(historical) a process of dressing (threshing) oats, by setting fire to a number of stalks and then flailing them (p. 90).

gobhair-bhacaig--(historical) "two sheaths of oats tied at right angles" once thrown onto unfinished fields as a sign of contempt, as a part of the friendly rivalry that once existed during the harvest (pp. 196-197).

iar-oghaichean an dà bhrathar--(G) specific term for a type of third cousin; literally, great-grandchildren of the brothers (p. 260).

iar-oghaichean an dà pheathar--(G) specific term for a type of third cousin; literally great-grandchildren of the sisters (p. 260).

iar-oghaichean na peathar 's a' bhrathar--(G) specific term for a type of third cousin; literally, great-grandchildren of the brother and sister (p. 261).

leanabh--(G) children of either sex from birth to about two years of age (p. 252).

mac--(G) son (p. 252).

mac bràthar--(G) nephew (brother's son) (p. 260).

mac peathar--(G) nephew (sister's son) (p. 260).

mathair--(G) mother (p. 259).

mathair-céile--(G) mother-in-law (p. 261).

nighean--(G) girl, adolescent girl, daughter; term used after physical changes of puberty become noticeable until

marriage; also used throughout life between brother and sister (p. 252).
nighean bràthar--(G) niece (Bd) (p. 260).
nighean peathar--(G) niece (Sd) (p. 260).
ogha--(G) grandchild (p. 261).
oghaichean an da bhràthar--(G) specific term for a type of second cousin; literally, grandchildren of the brothers (p. 260).
oghaichean an da pheathar--(G) specific term for a type of second cousin; literally, grandchildren of the sisters (p. 260).
oghaichean na pheathar 's a' bhràthar--(G) specific term for a type of second cousin; literally, grandchildren of the brother and sister (p. 260).
piuthar--(G) sister (p. 252).
piuthar athar--(G) father's sister (p. 260).
piuthar-céile--(G) sister-in-law (p. 261).
piuthar-mathar--(G) mother's sister (p. 260).
raakan--(historical) "a rake-like instrument with six stout wooden teeth" used to break up clumps of earth when plowing a field (p. 88).
roinn-ruith--(G) parallel or running division; apparent origin of modern agricultural landuse term - runrig (p. 85).
Sassanach--(G) Lowlanders, as opposed to Sgiathanach; people from lowland Scotland; often used to refer to the

●104

English as well (p. 257).

seanair--(G) grandfather; literally, "old father" (p. 260).

seanmhair--(G) grandmother; literally, "old mother" (p. 260).

seannachie--(G) bard, "who kept the pedigree of the clan, deduced descent of clan members, and preserved clan traditions" (p. 76).

sept--"essentially a small clan within a clan. ... the nucleus of kin were related to the common ancestor through a younger son of the founder or one of the younger son's lineal descendents rather than in the direct line of descent" (p. 71).

Sgiathanach--(G) Skyemen (p. 37).

shinty--field hockey played by school boys with curved sticks and a ball or block of wood (Webster's New International Dictionary Second Edition).

sluagad--(historical) "an obligation to attend the chief for defense" owed by a subtenant (p. 81).

stirks--young cattle (p. 91).

tacksmen--(historical) landholding followers of a chief; see daoin'-uaisle (p. 84).

tanistry--principle of succession to clan chiefship (in this case) whereby "the heir was elected, during the life of the chief, from among the oldest of the fittest males" (p. 73).

tusker--a two bladed spade used to cut peat (p. 192).

uisge beatha--(G) "water of life," whiskey (p. 297).

wadsett--"a mortgage contract under which the lender of the money received possession of the land until the debt was repaid" (p. 78).

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

Chapter 7

Conclusions:

Summary and Theoretical Considerations

A. Summary

105 [131] [484] Crofting townships of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland are within a few hours' travel of the major cities of Britain. An extremely high percentage of the young [873] people in the crofting counties attend universities and other institutions of higher education. Politically, [641] administratively, economically and in other ways, the crofting population participates in the larger urban-industrial society of Britain.

105 632 621 [121] Despite this participation, the township-qua-village-community is a relatively strongly bounded system. This thesis investigates factors contributing to the strong boundedness. From a relatively self-sufficient economic 105 178 632 241 unit using agricultural practices suited to the extensive cultivation of marginal land by smallholders, the township has during recent decades changed to one dependent on goods and services provided by the larger society.

105 241 654 Crofting activities nevertheless persist, in part because of the incentives offered by government bodies such as the Crofters Commission and the Department of Agriculture. The

The
105 fact that crofting townships are located on marginal
24 land is one reason that the larger society is not motivated
654 to exploit the land. The Crofters Holding Act of 1886
[311] and subsequent legislation ensured protection of and
[671] incentives for continued maintenance of crofting and
the crofting township.

Protective government legislation, grants and loans for housing, subsidies for rearing livestock, relatively low taxes, and the economic protection provided by a socialistic government in times of crisis have helped to maintain a core of crofting families for many generations.
105 The predominance of older persons in the township is
162 striking, but many of the younger people who have left
632 the island to work on the mainland return frequently,
166 contribute part of their salary to the remaining family
434 members, and plan eventually to marry and settle down in
584 the village or to retire there. Long-term residence of
[621] kin-linked families in a small area has in itself contributed to the boundedness of the township network.

105 The policy of the government, through developmental
24 agencies such as the Highlands and Islands Development
654 Board, has been to support economic strategies that
632 complement rather than interfere with the functioning of the crofting township with its small holdings and communal
000 practices. The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an

105 The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an
24 industry which is compatible with crofting. Because
188 weavers are self-employed, they can set their own schedule
632 of work and thus continue to participate in croft work
and fulfill various township obligations. The effects
[121] of this industry on the township as a social boundary
[434] system were investigated. The income available from
[463] weaving is unpredictable, which encourages the retention
of crofting practices and other patterns of behavior,
such as "occupational pluralism," that were found to be
[476] adaptive in the past. Such strategies also strengthen
[082] township boundaries; for example, they encourage mutual
[434] aid and communal township practices. But weaving also
[407] offers a high level of income; and some weavers, preferring
to spend most of their time weaving, have neglected
crofting, or have invested in tractors or other motorized
transport which enables them to harvest crops, cut peat
and perform other activities independent of other township
members.

105 The fundamentalist Free Church constitutes an important
621 boundary-maintaining mechanism, serving to exclude various
795 external influences of the larger society from the township.
632 However, a smaller network of persons engaged in the
184 religious sphere of social activity, a subsystem within
105 the township system, also exists which has the appearance
794 of a firmly bounded system. These are members of the clique
621
632
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•105 794 621 632 184 [494] of the converted, who occasionally neglect township and neighborly duties in favor of religious activities. The increase in private transportation during the past 25 years has facilitated the maintenance of closer ties within the clique. The existence of such a strongly bounded subsystem is an example of a trend toward the weakening of the township as a social boundary system, but this trend is countered by other factors that strengthen or help preserve the township as a bounded system.

105 632 621 166 184 People come and go from the township, but this appears to maintain rather than weaken township boundaries because behavior different from that prescribed within the township can be performed outside it, and conformist behavior reassumed upon reentry. Those unable to conform with standards of behavior prescribed within the township are not likely to return.

[528] Township members who have settled away from the island come back periodically for recreation and a sense of [829] belonging. They increase the value of the township and its way of life in the eyes of the inhabitants, and provide them with subject matter for conversation until the next holiday season, when the exiles again return.

105 632 621 184 [178] The boundedness of the township is thus a qualified boundedness that, over the past 100 years and especially since the second world war, has decreased in strength but is nevertheless strong today.

105 is nevertheless strong today. The relatively strong
632 boundedness derives from a number of factors. Important
621 among these are economic adaptations to modern conditions,
184 which consist in part of the retention in modified form of traditional economic activities in response to various constraints and incentives presented by larger British society. Also important are institutionalized bonds of affect, particularly of kinship and community, and ties of religious affiliation and identification. These ties continue to be functionally important in part because of the geographical and social marginality of the crofting township. This combination of factors has resulted in the persistence of a relatively strongly bounded system which retains distinctive features in an extensively urbanized and industrialized nation.

B. Theoretical Considerations

121 In the United States, the concept of "peasant" has provided the main conceptual tool by which rural communities which are structurally integrated with the larger nation-state may be studied (cf. Foster 1967, Wolf 1966).
632 The Scottish crofting township has some of the character-
621 istics of a closed corporate peasant community (Wolf 1957), but it is difficult to apply the word "peasant" to such a
000 community. Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

121 cannot be changed, as for the future which can—lies in the intensity of its communal traditions, extinguished elsewhere. Much has gone—many of the fishing crews are [178] disbanded and team-work has weakened—but much lives on, and much has been learned. The Gaels have still to [184] make their full offering to English-speaking civilisation. To do so, they must find their own fulfilment within the framework of the Highlands of Scotland.[1]

2. *Scottish Crofts, Farms and Labour-teams: the Rural Unit Today*

184 When, in thinking of Scots countrymen, we differentiate • 105 between the men of the Highlands and Isles, the Lowlands and the Borders, what stamp of occupation, society and economic class best characterises the three regional types? The differences we note between them are due not only to their place of birth and region, but to their occupational [433] discipline and social ways. Imagine, for example, a Gael, a Lowlander and a Borderer, all three of whom follow the same calling—say, a trio of farmers, of shepherds or farm servants, or of independent, full-time small-holders. When brought together each trio would find they shared similar interests and aims in their work, and all that follows from it. In fact, they might have more in common than three Gaelic-speaking men who differed from one another in vocation, although, as Gaels, the latter group would find a bond in culture and kinship. But a fourth type of Scot, the crofter of the North-west townships with whom this book is concerned, would stand out, distinctively, from any other, whether his home were Zetland or the Hebrides. Thus not only their home or region differentiates Scots countrymen, but their calling or class; and their families

[113] [1] A. Geddes and F. D. N. Spaven, *The Highlands and Isles* (1949).

184 share their characteristics. So to gain a sense of pro-
105 portion from the start, we must map the location of Scots
[128] countrymen, their numerical importance, and their types
[102] of grouping. Let us begin with the first of these three aspects, their regional location (Fig. 2).

The base map on which the data are plotted shows the
102 boundaries dividing the hill masses of the Highlands and
13 Southern Uplands from true 'lowland'. This hill country
311 is mostly covered by rough pasture (left blank on the map) within which lie strips of 'Isolated Arable' with other improved land in the valleys and along the outlying coastlands (shown in black). This hill country includes the Scottish Isles, with the exception of Orkney, which falls
[241] rather into the category of 'lowland'. It is largely devoted to sheep farming and crofting, or left to grouse and deer.
[427] The lowland area from the Orkneys to the Tweed and Solway is devoted to mixed and dairy farming with lowland types of small-holding, except, of course, for 'Industrial Regions', which include most of the urban area of Scotland.

[226] Within the 'three-mile' territorial limit from the coast lie the inshore waters, in which local fishing was once important, and might again become so; these are left white on the map (Fig. 2). By contrast to their narrow extent on the East Coast, their width is notable in the Northern Isles and on the West Coast.

102 The problem set in making this map is to show two
13 different worlds, as it were: the Highland and the Lowland.
184 The two are rarely envisaged together, and much confusion of thought and policy results. To master the map, the
128 reader may scrutinise first one part, the Highlands (cover-
182 ing the other with one hand), then the other part, the Lowlands (in the same way): thus each will appear clearly in turn. Both can then be envisaged together.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

CONCLUSION

(CHAPTERS V TO VIII)

175 178 105 Manifestly, prevailing views of the relationships of chief and people, and above all, of the people to one another, must be revised, even reversed. So must widespread views of the relation of clerical to 'lay' members in the living, though unseen, Church. The enduring character of the people's primitive faith, from its early arrival to our time, may be almost unique in Western Christendom; distance and sheer physical poverty proved to be its protection. Had they been better preserved, the temporal and spiritual traditions of the Eastern Gael, and also of Scots Lowlanders, might well justify a revision of views. In the Isles again and again the people were placed under 'Authority'—under laird and soldier, legislator and official, priest and pastor, orthodox cleric and unorthodox 'intellectual'. Should not each of these ask with humility whether they and their predecessors have not often misled those who might have led them, mistaught those from whom they might have learned?

1: Parman, Susan Morrissett. Sociocultural change in a Scottish crofting township. Dissertation (Anthropology) -- Rice University, 1972. University Microfilms, Publication, 72-26, 459. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1972, [1973].

5, 11, 227 l.; 3 maps; 5 tables; 3 appendices; bibliography.

HRAF copy.

[This source is an anthropological study of Shawbost, a township in northwest Lewis. Shawbost has gone from being "a relatively self-sufficient economic unit" practicing extensive cultivation of marginal land, to one dependent on the larger society for goods and services (p. 185). The township is viewed as a "social boundary system," whose institutions maintain its distinctiveness from British society to which it is so indispensably tied. The importance of both the church and liquor as foci of social groups is discussed. Fishing, crofting, and weaving are viewed as strategies ("occupational pluralism") to cope with the economic instability of the island. Personal histories compose a major source of the data. There is also much information on interpersonal relations.]

Field date: June, 1970 - October, 1971
Analysts: Martin Malone, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1974-1975

2: Thompson, Francis. Harris and Lewis; Outer Hebrides. Revised edition. Newton Abbot, David and Charles, 1973.

221 p.; 27 photographs, 12 text figures; map; bibliography; index.

HRAF copy.

[This monograph is a general historical treatment of Harris and Lewis island, the largest of the Hebrides. It concentrates on the last 300 years, but also contains a brief account of the island's prehistory. Included are detailed discussions of the island's geology, topography, flora and fauna; the island's economy and its development; agriculture, crofting and land reforms; and its relations with Scotland and the rest of Great Britain. Much attention is paid to boats associated with the island, industries that have come and gone, and illustrious natives. Little is to be found on the actual interpersonal relations of the islanders. A large bibliography on the Hebrides is included.]

Field date: No date
Analysts: Martin Malone, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Historian-4, 5.
Processed in 1974

3: Geddes, Arthur. The Isle of Lewis and Harris; a study in British community. Edinburgh, At the University Press, 1955.

16, 340 p.; 13 plates; 13 figures (inc. maps); folding map; appendices; bibliography; index.

Harvard College: Br 9729. 5.

[The author, a human geographer, presents a survey of the changing physical-environmental and cultural systems operant on the island of Lewis and Harris, in the outer Hebrides, from the 17th century to 1952. Based upon clerical and documented histories (including census records), some scant archeological records (prior to the 17th century), and his own survey work between 1919 and 1952, the author describes and interprets the Gaelic economic, societal, political and religious organization, as well as the "clan spirit" (an underlying theme for much of the author's interpretation), in terms of adaptation to a highly variable and rugged environment. Detailed descriptions of crofting (the tenant farming system of land tenure), small-scale fishing, fishing industries, kelp-making, home weaving and the tweed industry, the primary economic activities on the island, are presented and compared through time for the several different overlordships that directed the community. Bibliographic references appear as footnotes, while a selected bibliography follows the text.]

Field date: 1919-1952
Analyst: Sarah T. Bridges

Evaluation: Geographer-4, 5
Processed in 1974

4: Moisley, Henry Alan, and Members of the Geographical Field Group. Uig: A Hebridean parish. Geographical Field Group, Regional Studies, 7. Glasgow, The University, Department of Geography, 1962.

5, 4, 158 p.; 48 figures (incl. maps); 56 tables; 5 appendices.

Michigan State University: DA880. H4 G4. DLC: DA890. UM56. DLC card no.: 65-71345.

[This study, based on a month of fieldwork by a team of 19 voluntary members of the Geographical Field Group, is an attempt "to make an impartial, factual record of the physical and human resources and their utilization" (p. 154) in the parish of Uig, on the Isle of Lewis. It is an extremely detailed report on the land use, agricultural practices, and the present state of crofting. Croft work in Uig has overwhelmingly become part-time, with weaving providing a major source of income in most areas. Thus land use is most often inefficient. The rigidity of the land tenure system is one of a number of reasons forcing many young people to emigrate in search of work. Attention is also given to the condition of the townships in terms of commercial facilities, services and utilities available to the residents. Many demographic data are included, especially on emigration and sex and age composition of the population. Historical data, for the last 100 years, are used frequently for comparative purposes. The researcher should be warned, however, that figures cited in the text often do not conform to those in tables and appendices and these tables and appendices are often difficult to interpret. The source generally suffers from poor editorial

work. A few bibliographic references are given within the body of the text.]

Field date: August, 1959
Analysts: Martin Malone, marker
Marlene Martin, checker

Evaluation: Geographers - 5
Processed in 1974-1975

5: Caird, James B., and Members of the Georgraphical Field Group. Park: a geographical study of a Lewis crofting district. Glasgow, The University, Department of Geography, 1959 [?].

2, 4, 40 p.; 3 appendices; 11 figures (incl. maps); 20 tables.

University of Chicago Library: HD1511. G66C18.

[This source is a brief study of the agricultural practices and potential of a crofting district in southeast Lewis. Park is one of the most isolated and agriculturally poor districts on Lewis. Even after many years of emigration, seasonal and permanent, by a large number of its residents, it remains overcrowded; with little ancillary employment to supplement the meager incomes provided by crofts which are too small to be economically practical. The district is described township by township and suggestions for improvements are contained in each section. The monograph's format is similar to 4: Moisley, et al., but it is less detailed. Caird's description of the crofting system is also clearer than that of Moisley. Historic (last 100 years) and demographic data are frequent. A few bibliographic references are given in textual footnotes.]

Field date: 1958
Analysts: Martin Malone, marker
Dubravka Schmalzbauer, checker

Evaluation: Geographer - 5
Processed in 1974

6: Ducey, Paul Richard. Cultural continuity and population change on the Isle of Skye. Dissertation (Anthropology)--Columbia University. 1956. University Microfilms, Publication, 00-17,051. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1956 [1971].

3, 9, 405 l.; bibliography; chart; 3 maps; 3 tables.

HRAF copy.

[This source seeks to examine, in an historical developmental framework (1745-1953), "the effects of population change on the culture of the essentially peasant society of the Isle of Skye" (p. i-A). The author's thesis is that despite severe depopulation, the cultural continuity of the society has persisted. Involvement of the previously subsistence economy with English industrialization and commercialization brought about rapid population increase. However, failure to make the necessary adjustments in terms of sociocultural integration led to a steady depopulation. But "despite chronic instability, economic calamity and striking changes in the content, the culture has persisted and remained recognizable through the years" (p. i-B). Whereas the clan system once provided the focus of the culture, this function has been adopted by congregational Presbyterianism. The new religion rejected much of the old culture, especially what was considered pagan or Catholic, but it adapted other parts and essentially provided a new validation for the old set of social statuses (i.e., male dominance, and dominance of the young by the old). Julian Steward's theory of levels of sociocultural integration is used to explain Skye's relations with the rest of the world,

6: Ducey

Scotland in particular. The author compares Skye with other rural societies including Ireland, Wales, and the Old Order Amish of Pennsylvania. Category 184 has been used for discussions of Skye's isolation from the rest of Scotland and England.]

Field dates: June 1953-March 1954
Analyst: Martin Malone

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 4, 5
Processed in 1975

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INTRODUCTION

136 coasts there is a wonderful richness—one might well spend an
113 hour or so with J. A. Harvie-Brown's *A Fauna of the Outer Hebrides*. The Hebrides area is one of the twelve faunal regions of Scotland, and is becoming increasingly the spotting-ground for amateur and professional ornithologists. They see birds such as the skua and red-necked phalarope, breeding at the southernmost limits of their range. The golden eagle, corncrake and red-throated diver, though found in other parts of Scotland, are more plentiful in the region because of the low incidence of human interference; buzzard, merlin and peregrine falcon are also found. Many birds are peculiar to the area: there are Hebridean sub-species of twite, dunnock, song-thrush and wren. Since 1962 the blue tit has begun to colonise the Stornoway woods. And 1960 saw the first arrival of the collared dove, an incomer which, like many a human, has taken a liking to the place and settled down to establish its flourishing community. On Gallows Hill, a low rising overlooking Stornoway, is a large rookery; rooks first reached the island in 1893. Jackdaws arrived at the turn of the century and are now quite numerous. As might be expected, the adjacent harbour and foreshore of Stornoway provide a suitable area for purple sandpipers, turnstone, heron and redshank. Gulls abound. The estuary area just north of Stornoway is the haunt of widgeon, shellduck and teal, among many other birds; a ruff was seen there in 1956. Melbost beach has the largest ternery in the islands, with arctic, common and little terns sharing life together.

The birds on the shore line are mostly waders, divers, ducks and seabirds. Cormorant, shag, gannet, fulmar, arctic skua, terns, gulls of all kinds and oyster-catchers can be found. The full variety of the island's bird life can be seen by visiting not only those sloping lands to the sea, but the cliff-tops, which often have their own numerous bird colonies. The sea's edge, with the push-pull tides, is indeed another area with abundant life of all kinds. Bladder-wrack *(fucus vesiculosus)* and knotted wrack *(ascophyllum nodosum)* are there in great quantity, the latter now a significant factor
137 in seaweed-processing activities (Chapter 6). From time im-
824 memorial, seaweeds have been a natural resource in the island's
241 economy, used as manure to supply the necessary element of organic matter to keep the land in good heart. Keeping the sea-

HISTORY

172 anchorage in the Loch. The circle enclosing the cairn consists of thirteen stones and has a diameter of some 37 ft. The avenue, which approaches from the north, contains nineteen stones. It is 27 ft wide and 270 ft long; it forms the long limb of the cross plan of the design. Southward was another shorter avenue of twelve stones; and eastwards and westwards two lines of four stones each, thus completing the cross design. The stones range in height from 3½ to 15½ ft. Each is packed in at its base with small stones to keep it firmly in position. There are signs that Callernish, like Stonehenge, was built in stages. The material, unlike that used for Stonehenge, was from local sources (often Lewisian gneiss).

In the Sound of Harris, on the small island of Berneray, there are two stone circles of some interest. Scattered through Harris and Lewis there are also many solitary stones to be seen: at Borvemore, in Harris, which appears to have been one of a circle, and at Nisabost, also in Harris, where stands Clach MhicLeoid (MacLeod's Stone). Another standing stone is on the edge of the rocks by the shore, just below the church, on Boreray, one of the now-uninhabited islands in the Harris Sound. In Lewis, the menhir which figures most in story and legend is the Clach an Truiseil, on the gentle slope of a hillside near to Balantrusal, on the west coast. Nineteen feet of this stone are above ground. It is about 6 ft in width; nearly 4 ft at its maximum thickness. The tradition in Lewis is that the stone was erected to commemorate a victory by the Morisons of Ness over their long-standing enemies the MacAulays of Uig; of course the stone is older than any of the Lewis clans.

• [113] For a full inventory of the ancient and historical monuments, one is referred to the 1928 Report of the Royal Commission which was set up to record such constructions in the Outer
172 Hebrides. Apart from those items of pre-Christian years, there are
346 a number of other structures with an ecclesiological reference: Teampull Eoin, at Bragar; Teampull Pheadair, at Shader; Teampull Bhrighid, at Mid-Borve; Teampull nan Cro Naomh, at Galson; Teampull Ronaidh, at Eoropie, and others. These latter, together with the Tigh nan Cailleachan Dubh (house of the black old women), indicate a reasonable degree of saturation by some form of religious recognition; the names suggest a period about halfway

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 37]

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

THE CROFTER

241 The pursuit of agricultural processes, their growth, development and improvement, to establish a foundation for a secure society has never been easy on the island. The unyielding nature of the [135] base rock, Archaean gneiss, its hardness, its non-porous property, have all contributed to the resultant pattern and character of society which emerged. Though one is tempted to define crofting as an agricultural activity, it is also something much more intan- [113] gible: a way of life. To quote the Napier Report on *The condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scot-* [181] *land* (1884): 'Habit and local affection bear so great a sway in the actions of mankind, that Highlanders will be found who would rather be proprietors in the mountains of Skye, or the wastes of Lewis, than on the fertile plains of Manitoba.' 'There is the Island of Lewis, with poor, peaty soil covering the Archaean gneiss, but with a crowded, lively, vivid community,' said the Taylor commision in 1955 (Commission of Inquiry into Crofting Holdings).

The Highland crofter is the subject of an extensive literature. [657] A special authority, the Crofters Commission, exists solely for the purpose of caring for his needs. He has special rights and privileges which are safeguarded by the Land Court. Crofters' unions have formed themselves into a strong federated wall for the system's defence.

241 Socially, the term 'crofter' means, on the island at any rate, a 423 landholder who cultivates his own (arable) holding, his croft. He 233 shares the common pastures with his fellow-crofters, each of whom has a right to carry a sum of so much stock, the 'souming'. These [571] common pastures or grazings are a social link of some consider- [632] able significance, forming the basis for the crofting township, as [621] distinct from the communities set up under the influence of some agricultural land use such as hamlet or village, where there are both small-holders and true farms, and the only communal land is the village green or common. For instance, outside the crofting counties area the main unit of Scots life in the country is the farm, with its tied cottages. Then come the full-time small-holdings important in the north-east and the southern Highlands.

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

according to the amount of barilla (its great competitor, a carbon- 175*
ate of soda made from plant ashes) which found its way into the 824
British market. When the American war interfered with the im- 323
ports the kelp price was as high as £22 per ton. Prices began to 388
decline about 1810, and from 1822 successive reductions in duties 433
on salt and barilla resulted in the decline and demise of the kelp industry. As a consequence great distress appeared in those districts which had founded their whole economy on seaweed.

The weeds of most value to the industry, because they yielded [137]
most salts, included *laminaria digitata, laminaria bulbosa, ascophyllum nodosum* and *fucus serratus*. One ton of kelp yielded an average of 8 lb of iodine, with certain quantities of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, and carbonate of soda. When subjected to special treatment and distillation, 2-3 cwts of sulphate of ammonia, and several gallons of naphtha, paraffin oil, and volatile oil were also derived.

The fishing industry, discussed in the previous chapter, took 175*
over where the kelp-making industry left off and became another 228
king-pin in the island economy. By the end of the last century it seemed set fair for continuing prosperity. In 1900, harbours were [503]
being planned and built with State aid in Uig, at Carloway, Ness [653]
and Tarbert. Then 1914 came, and with it sweeping changes in international trade. Island fishermen were left workless with [511]
wrecked and rotting fishing boats. In twenty years the number of Scotland's fishermen was halved; the remainder were all but ruined. The islanders' fate mirrored this pattern.

Yet another significant source of income for island families for 175*
almost 200 years came from the men in military service, who 701
either sent money home or returned home with their gratuities 434
and pay. In the wars of the last century many enlisted in the Highland regiments, the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Even today, the income from this external activity is not insignificant.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

175*
Information and statistics about the economy of the island in the 113 •
middle of the eighteenth century are to be found in Walker's *Economical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland* ; his MS is in the British Museum.

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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Most of the world loves an island. Thus most of the world's island-groups have their own literature, mainly written by those attracted to islands as such, their motives sometimes rational, sometimes emotional, sometimes stemming merely from curiosity. For well on 1,000 years now, visitors drawn to the Hebrides have afterwards itched to curl their fingers round a pen of sorts to let others know of their discoveries, their feelings, their impressions and the nature of the land and the people they saw. The general public, too, has had a correspondingly avid, sometimes avuncular, interest in the life of these almost-last outposts of the European continent. 113

The bibliography for the island of Harris and Lewis is extensive: general articles of an informative and entertaining nature, official and personal reports and documents, novels, sketches, newspaper items (not always as accurate as they should be), topographical and social descriptions, and so on. These have fixed in perpetuity most aspects of life on the island, particularly from about 1750. Many items are of course out of print and available only in the older-established public libraries, in university libraries and in private collections of Highland books.

Some information about the island is in the form of unpublished manuscripts, and in books printed privately and with a limited circulation, published on the subscription system. Occasionally, certain oblique sources contain references to the isle folk, their way of life, and the conditions in which they lived and worked. These sources include, as might be expected, collections of verse in Gaelic and English by native authors, and folk-music and songs which reflect, often with startling clarity, the feelings and reactions of the people to the various social and economic burdens imposed on them by influences not always of their own making. The oral folktale and tradition field is yet another fruitful source of information, though a working knowledge of Gaelic is usually necessary to extract the essence.

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184 Comparisons at the present day are most illuminating.
[791] In the Hebrides one may pass from Calvinist Lewis-and-Harris to Catholic Barra, through South Uist, where Presbyterian and Roman Catholic dwell, side by side, in mutual respect. Although their home life, economy and language are the same, the influence of a comparatively
[121] recent divergence in religion is marked. Such Island evidence, present and past, forces one to re-examine conclusions upon life in the Lowlands accepted until recently, and to seek for the truth upon earlier forms of life in common and for their meaning today throughout 'the North and West'.

175 Ancient elements of unity, and later ways in which
423 these were broken, adapted or remade, region by region,
427 are being unravelled. The Old Estate Plans, made at the outset of the agricultural revolution, show these immedi-
621 ately before the re-planning of fields and farms (*circa* 1750–90). These plans also reveal the existence of still
178 earlier types, not otherwise recognisable even on the spot.
[184] With their rentals (when available) they reveal the ways in which old joint farms were placed under a single tenant, as in Lothian, or were split up among several tenants, as in Ayrshire.[1] From such geographical data, both the economic and the deeper social aspects of rural life emerge with new clarity. Such data may be linked to Planning Surveys of land and rural life for tomorrow.

621 Now, although so fundamentally equalitarian within
427 themselves, these hamlet communities of the Gael were subjected to the overlordship of a chief or laird, either directly or through an intermediate gentleman-tenant, a
[174] 'tacksman'. History, with archaeology read in history's

[1] For Lothian, see Arthur Geddes (1938 and 1951); for Ayrshire, see
[172] J. H. G. Lebon, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, Vols. 62, 1945 (pp. 7-13); 63, 1946 (pp. 100-110). Further references in Bibliography.

[113]

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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121 cannot be changed, as for the future which can—lies in the intensity of its communal traditions, extinguished elsewhere. Much has gone—many of the fishing crews are [178] disbanded and team-work has weakened—but much lives on, and much has been learned. The Gaels have still to [184] make their full offering to English-speaking civilisation. To do so, they must find their own fulfilment within the framework of the Highlands of Scotland.[1]

2. *Scottish Crofts, Farms and Labour-teams: the Rural Unit Today*

184 When, in thinking of Scots countrymen, we differentiate 105 between the men of the Highlands and Isles, the Lowlands and the Borders, what stamp of occupation, society and economic class best characterises the three regional types? The differences we note between them are due not only to their place of birth and region, but to their occupational [433] discipline and social ways. Imagine, for example, a Gael, a Lowlander and a Borderer, all three of whom follow the same calling—say, a trio of farmers, of shepherds or farm servants, or of independent, full-time small-holders. When brought together each trio would find they shared similar interests and aims in their work, and all that follows from it. In fact, they might have more in common than three Gaelic-speaking men who differed from one another in vocation, although, as Gaels, the latter group would find a bond in culture and kinship. But a fourth type of Scot, the crofter of the North-west townships with whom this book is concerned, would stand out, distinctively, from any other, whether his home were Zetland or the Hebrides. Thus not only their home or region differentiates Scots countrymen, but their calling or class; and their families

[113] [1] A. Geddes and F. D. N. Spaven, *The Highlands and Isles* (1949).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

Scotland had begun to lag since her pioneering effort from 1750 to 1880.

Fortunately, Scotland is now recognising that in peat reclamation, on the one hand, and the improvement of rough grazing, or at least its maintenance, on the other, there lies a problem of national importance. More than half the land surface of the country consists of mountain and heath land used for grazing, not including 'deer forests' from which sheep had been altogether excluded. The arable land of Scotland is less than one-sixth of the whole, with about one-twelfth in addition under permanent grass. Moreover, since most of the enclosed land is distant from the area of rough grazing, the latter is partly wasted. The difficulties of soil and sea and of the whole economic situation are great, and must be understood.

(B) THE ISLAND LANDSCAPE, LAND-FORMS AND GEOLOGY

1. *Aspects of the Isle*

Lewis-and-Harris, the most northerly isle of the Outer Hebrides, and the largest, is roughly lozenge-shaped. Although only thirty miles in width, it is over sixty miles in length. Attached to Harris parish is the little isle of Berneray, half a dozen miles farther south. It puzzles the stranger that, while the archipelago of the Outer Hebrides is best known to the inhabitants as "The Long Island", Lewis (or the Lews) and Harris, which actually form one island, are spoken of as separate islands.[1] Yet nothing could be more natural. Before the making of

[1] "The Long Island", Gaelic *An Eilean Fada*, as a name for the Outer Hebrides has the sanction of traditional usage, as Alexander Carmichael noted in his Introduction to *Carmina Gadelica* (vol. i, 1900; and 1928).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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133 southwards to Skye, bounds the Archaean gneiss and the
[131] stratified Torridonian sandstones of the North-west.

Given the possibility of 'continental drift', Scotland's NW. crustal block may have 'drifted' along the line of the Great Glen south-south-westwards for a distance of some sixty miles, relatively to the rest of the Highland mass. The primary evidence leading to this suggestion is the identification of the Foyers and Strontian Granites, situated on opposite sides of the Great Glen some sixty miles apart, as mechanically displaced portions of one original mass. Such horizontal movement may be related to the great Hercynian mountain-building movements of Carboniferous times so marked in south-east England.[1] This movement would have formed a major factor in leading to the development of the present structure and rock-types, plan and land-forms of the NW. coast and the Hebrides, Inner and Outer.

3. *Structure and Rock-types of the Island*

The axis of the Island lies NNE. to SSW. It consists of an ancient rock mass, the 'block' character of which is revealed by the geometrical mosaic of the coastlines and lochs. In simple terms, the fault lines are comparable to the long, fairly straight cracks to be found in any hard block of even consistency, split under stresses and strains. These systems of faults lie in at least two main directions. The main, axial trend is followed by South Harris and by much of the east coast. Each trend seems to have other faults lying at an angle to it, though not necessarily at right angles. Hence we find more than four main trends for the lines of coasts, lochs, rivers, bounding the hill blocks. These must be due to somewhat different stresses

[113] [1] W. Q. Kennedy, *Q. J. Geol. Soc.*, vol. cii, part i, 1946 (p. 41).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

133 most northerly outlier, yet, in the main, one is struck not by the variety of rocks (except for the 'Stornoway Beds') but by their homogeneity. It is structure, causing the uplift of certain masses relatively to others, more than differences in rock-type, which has guided the work of erosion, in sculpturing both the Island's plan and the details of its forms. Submergence of the land has fretted the coastline into a zigzag line of ridge-capes alternating with valley-mouths flooded or 'drowned' by the sea, as inlet and loch.

316 Historically the gneisses were of little value. The fact [174] that they tend to split still helps the Islander in building, as it helped his ancestors when they raised the great stone [172] circles at Callanish on East Loch Roag. Except where they are very basic (non-acid) in composition, they make [135] poor road metal. Yet the gneisses are not quite devoid of economic minerals, which include masses of pegmatite, and the only large body of anorthosite or lime-feldspar rock in Britain, conceivably a source of alumina for glass [439] manufacture.[1] Two feldspar quarries opened at Lingarbay and Northton in South Harris in 1941 employed sixty men during the war, the mineral being despatched from Leverburgh for use in the Staffordshire Potteries in the manu- [178] facture of porcelain insulators. The higher grade mineral in Scandinavia and the better transport facilities there led to closing the quarries, with little hope of their reopening.[2]

4. *Land-forms and Sea Floor*

133 To the faulted structure is due not only the Island plan, but the highland in middle and south, uplifted rela-

[113] [1] C. F. Davidson, "The Archaean Rocks of the Rodel District", *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.*, vol. 61, 1943, pp. 71-112.

[2] J. B. Caird, "The Isle of Harris", *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67, 2, 1951, p. 92.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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133 (2) cliff-cut, where exposed stretches have been undermined by the Atlantic storms; and (3) sandy, where bays like Broad Bay have been filled in, or where shingle bars have enclosed a sheet of fresh water, as on the west coast (north-west of Stornoway) from Barvas southward to Dalebeg. The types of coast are illustrated by Plates II to V.

As to the sea floor—so important to fish-life and to navigation—the west coast of the Outer Hebrides borders a well-featured continental platform, which is higher in the north and south but lower in the middle. The irregularities suggest a former land-surface dissected by rivers with mature drainage systems.[1] The contours are revealing, as shown in the coloured map at the end, at intervals of 10 fathoms (60 feet). The sandy machar beaches of western South Harris, visible at low tide, form part of a wide, shallow shelf extending for a dozen miles off west South Harris to a depth of no more than 20 fathoms, and thence southwards along the machars of Uist to Barra; but the coast falls away steeply round most of Lewis and along the rocky east coast of 'the Long Island'.

5. *Glacial Drift or Boulder Clays, and Shell Sand*

Underlying the peat is the drift, which is spread over all but the rockiest parts of the island. This is not only 133 exposed at every roadside cutting but is laid bare in wide 314 areas around the villages. Here peat-cutting during the centuries has removed the peat, layer after layer, to the [356] topmost turf, left aside after cutting until the last. When [134] even this turf is removed for annual thatching, the bare

[1] S. Ting, B.Sc. (China). *Geografiska Annaler*, Band 19, 1937, pp. [113] 62-83.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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(B) VEGETATION

1. *The Vegetation-types and Pastures of the Highlands and Isles*

137 311 In order to see the Island problem in true proportion, the types of vegetation and rough pasture in the Highlands and Isles should be outlined. Dr. Hardy's reconnaissance botanical survey of the Highlands, with its coloured map, has been utilised in the compilation of *A Reconnaissance Map of Vegetation of Scotland.*[1] The latter has been boldly simplified in Fig. 7.

The Highland pastures are of two main regional types, eastern and western, with the addition of a few great stretches of peat moor. East of a line from Stirling to Inverness, heather is dominant, as it is on the heights around the Dornoch Firth, from north of the Cromarty Firth and Ben Wyvis to the border of Caithness. To the west of this, heather, though still found, is mixed with [233] grass and sedges. The grazings of the North-west Coast have been the adopted home of Cheviot sheep for over a century, for Cheviots are grass-feeders which cannot thrive on heather-tips. True, acid 'Dry Grass Moors' lie inland from the Beauly Firth and Dingwall. On the rest of the West Coast from Gairloch and Loch Torridon south to Kintyre, 'Marshy Grass Moors' with but little pure [233] heather clothe the lower slopes. These give way on higher slopes to 'Mountain Pastures', reaching up to about 2500

[113] [1] M. E. Hardy, *Esquisse de la végétation des Highlands d'Écosse*, Paris, 1905; also *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, 1906, June number with map, and May number with text. A. Geddes and L. D. Stamp, *A Reconnaissance Map of the Vegetation of Scotland* (Ordnance Survey, 1/625,000: 10 miles to inch), 1953; explanatory pamphlet in the press. A résumé by L. D. Stamp has appeared in his *Land of Britain: Its Use and Misuse*, 1948, based on Tansley, *The Vegetation of the British Isles*, 1946.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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137 ### 3. *Plant Communities of the Island: Hill Moor, Peat Moss and Machar*

The types of pasture in the Island should be compared with those elsewhere. The peat moors of Lewis resemble those of northern Sutherland. The machar lands of the Uists, and of Tiree and smaller isles, surpass those of Lewis, while on the mainland and Inner Isles raised beaches provide workable, well drained soils. The 'rocky hill pastures' of our Island correspond to the rockier 'mountain pastures' and 'plateau summits' of the Highlands, and the 'fair' and 'hill pastures' of Lewis rather to their widespread 'wetter moors'. Grazing conditions are of course, similar in crofting areas alone. The edging of heather above the sea-cliffs of the Island and on the western mainland forms a picturesque element of the landscape, seen from a passing vessel, but only a narrow strip of the pastures. The plant communities shown on the Map of Vegetation (Fig. 8) must now be outlined.[1]

[134] (1) On the *Rocky Pastures* the scattered patches of soil are covered by a low and close sward, almost exclusively of perennials and grasses, such as bent (*agrostis*), common and brown, sheep's-fescue grass and wavy-hair grass (*festuca* and *Aira*); small sedges and mosses, with club moss and lichens towards the summits; heather, and fine-leaved bell-heather (*Erica cinerea*); and flowering plants like thyme, bird's-foot trefoil, tormentil and smooth heath bedstraw (*Galium*). Those rocky pastures prevail in the Forest of Harris (Plate XI).

[311] (2) *Fair and Hill Pastures.*—Below the bare rock domes

[113] [1] An authoritative flora of the Island is in preparation by Miss M. S. Campbell, F.L.S., British Museum (Natural History). Her "Flora of Uig" (Lewis) has appeared (Arbroath, 1945). For Dr. Hardy's tentative list of plant names see A. Geddes, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 52, 4, 1936.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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137 by reclamation, notably at the Macaulay Demonstration
311 Farm on the 'peat moss' of Arnish Moor (south of
185 Stornoway), then too small to be shown, and in South-west Harris where new crofts were laid out in the thirties.

137 The six main types of vegetation in the Island may be grouped as three. First are the Hill Pastures and Moors: (1) 'Rocky' among the bare hill-tops of Harris and Uig, and (2) 'Fair' on favourable slopes, which merge into (3) 'Marshy Grass Moors' of coarse grass and sedges, heath and rushes. Secondly come (4) the vast brown 'Peat Mosses and Moors', either smooth and wet, with sedge and cotton grass, or channelled and cut up into hags; near the broken edges of the island cliffs this expanse is often fringed by (5) the 'Heather Moor'. Thirdly, by the sandy bays, are (6) the 'Machar lands', *i.e.* the 'Sandy Pastures', rich with clover; though narrow, this coastal plain is all important to stock-rearing and potato-growing, and so to settlement. In traditional terms, these three groups form hill moor, peat moss and sandy shores: *monadh*, *mòine* and *machair*.

(c) CROFTING AND THE CROFTERS' YEAR

1. Place of Settlement and Choice of Work—Past and Present

175 Lewis and 'Harrey', as they were called four centuries
114 ago, were well described by Dean Monro,[1] and his descrip-
tion is fundamental to the present scene. "Harrey is very
311 fertile and fruitful for corne, store and fishing, twice mair of delving is in or of teilling", which appears to mean

[113] [1] Dean Monro, *The Western Islands of Scotland . . . in 1549*, reprinted by A. Mackay, Stirling, 1934.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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827 Islanders themselves sometimes talk of a lowered stamina and poorer health today than in the past. In-
178 breeding is widely held to account for this. Even if health
582 be really poorer, this explanation is untenable, since marriage outside the village has greatly increased in the
166 last century. Everywhere there is movement along the roads; a school placed half-way between two villages
[871] fosters early acquaintance; immigrants trickle in from the mainland, and emigrants occasionally marry beyond the Island. Moreover, the people of certain villages were transplanted in large numbers eighty years ago, as from
143 Valtos, Uig, northward to Shawbost. In any case, inbreeding itself does not produce degeneration; for though it may "fix" or bring out harmful tendencies where there is already some poor or dangerous strain, it can also fix good characteristics in a healthy population.[1]

178 All these changes were hastened and reinforced by two
177 new, revolutionary means. First, the physical mobility suddenly brought to an area with no railway by the motor-
166 car, van and light lorry-bus; then, towards the end of the inter-war years, the penetration of the Gaelic-speaking home by the ceaseless voices of broadcasting.

[113] [1] J. A. Thomson and P. Geddes, *Life: Outlines of General Biology*, 1931, vol. i, p. 473.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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of the Norsemen, lay a succession of earlier periods. A phase of primitive settlements is traceable in archaeological remains and in recent and contemporary survivals. It is shown in the physical race-traits distinguishing those in one part of the Island from those in another. Fragments of tradition telling of the first Christian missionaries survived the Norse invasions and settlements, dated from A.D. 800 or before, down to Haco's defeat on the Clyde at Largs in 1256. These fragments can be linked to chronicles and to later tradition, on which they throw fresh light.

A survey of the archaeology has been published,[1] but comparatively little, as yet, on race. Yet different communities are distinguished by marked racial types or strains. Although many, indeed most, of the race-strains of the Island must have entered it in prehistoric times, some are linked to tradition, and history accounts for the more recent immigrants. The striking element of race in the Outer Hebrides is a broad-headed type prevailing from Barra to the Lews, accompanied by medium stature and dark hair; it is also found across the Northern Minch. But within the Island are notable differences.

Variety of race being accentuated by difference in ways, the communities still comment pointedly upon one another! For instance, an old saying is not forgotten: "The folk of Cladach, but the gentlemen of Uig!" (*Muinntir a' Chladaich, ach daoin' uasaile Uig*), 'Cladach' being the western 'Beach' district possessing ploughland but poor fishing, which covers the modern parish of Barvas (excluding the north-west cliff-promontory

[1] Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, *Outer Hebrides, Skye etc.*); 1928. V. G. Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, 1935; *Scotland Before the Scots*, 1946.

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144 little sign of Norse blood, can hold their own as fishers with
172 the men of Ness.

174 Third, it is still commonly stated not only that the "great majority" under the clan system were "without
174 any legal status", but that their tenure "depended on the
[613] good will of the chief or tacksman".[1]

As the last lawbooks of the Gael were taken from Lewis
174 by its first mainland lord in 1611—never to be heard of
675 again—it may well be that, as recognised in the Northern Isles, so in the Western Isles, peasant tenure was perma-
[175] nent according to regional law. In practice, mere 'good-will' is so uncertain a quantity that if this statement had been true, it is hardly credible that communities could have remained so stably rooted as their race-types show them to be. Evictions of groups or individuals at the whim of chief or tacksman would have broken down their
[178] homogeneity of race. In the Lowlands, where eviction had become so frequent by 1500 and insecurity for the
[184] mass of the country people has prevailed ever since, such localisations of race would be unthinkable and do not exist except in certain fishing communities who possess a pride, almost a caste-code, of their own: the Newhaven fishers within Edinburgh remain apart, with a dialect and a dress of their own. Great stability of tenure—in fact as in customary claim—is shown by the racial homogeneity of Gaelic communities.

174 Lastly, it is common to state that the nobility and gentry of a countryside constitute its 'old' or 'original' families. It is true that some land-owning families seem 'old' compared to recent purchasers—successively the merchants and lawyers, venturers and planters of the

[113] [1] From a representative report on the Highlands and Islands, that of the Scottish Economic Committee, 1938 (Historical Preface, p. 9).

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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114 aborigines in India—lovable people when unspoiled by
174 tyranny, caste or industrial exploitation, as I can testify.[1] Yet Gomme, like many since, leaves the reader with an impression which must be re-examined: that the Islesfolk are the representatives of a backward race who have clung to predominantly superstitious, pre-Christian customs and beliefs. As a people, the Gael received and welcomed Christianity in one of its earliest historic forms, and main-
[128] tained its spirit through poverty and famine. To this inheritance we shall turn in Chapter VII, when the rhythm of life and its changes have been followed out in the following chapters.

174 To begin with, the briefest outline of historic sequence
613 is all that can be recapitulated, the Island annals having been recorded in the excellent Brand Report (1902), and
[114] by W. C. Mackenzie (1903 to 1937). Politically and strategically, the age of clanship may be thought of as a period of struggle between the Islands and the Mainland
[175] to the south or east. The long-drawn conflict of Clan Campbell of Argyll with Clan Donald—whose Chief was the Lord of the Isles of which Islay and Skye were the two dominant, western keys, and Lewis and Harris the northern outposts—offers a parallel to the conflict of MacKenzie of Kintail with the last MacLeods of Lewis. Obscurity veils the early origins of the Island clans, with their mingled Norse and Gaelic lineage, but chronicles are more reliable by the time of forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles to the Crown in 1493. The MacLeods of Dunvegan, chiefs in north-west Skye, continued to hold Harris until late in the eighteenth century, and they maintained an indirect connection until the nineteenth.

[113] [1] A. Geddes, *Au pays de Tagore: la civilisation rurale du Bengale Occidental*, Paris, 1927.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 much of Britain and Europe until about 1700. A modern
511 parallel may be found in Asiatic lands with the frequency
162 of famines alternating with periods of recovery or, in others,
171 the long-drawn misery of chronic under-nutrition and endemic disease. In modern Europe, only international
[731] or civil war can now bring such extreme widespread misery. And as peace brings partial healing, so in the Island past, when good seasons returned after famines, the life of the family renewed itself.[1]

175 The narrow margin of survival even in good seasons,
593 the risks of the bread-winner's death and of his family's destitution, and the need of co-operation in so many tasks made the family too small, weak and precarious a unit to stand alone. Even with relatively little division (or specialisation) of labour, and in spite of its apparent self-sufficiency, the family had perforce to link itself with wider circles of community life.

(B) JOINT LABOUR BY SMALL TEAMS: THE EVIDENCE OF TENURE IN 1715–26

175 Romance is hidden among the rent-rolls of the Seaforth
241 estates, all of which were forfeited when the Earl rose for
427 'King James VIII' in 1715. For of the rents withheld from the government until 1720, on the mainland at least
[642] the loyal clansmen paid a considerable portion to their
[613] exiled chief, styled 'Marquis' by 'King James'. But the

[1] The 'ups and downs' of a peasantry living on the margin of subsistence and subject to severe disease can be studied in India, 1871–1941, where the 'net' or mean change has to be correlated with the 'variability'. This wide problem was reviewed in a series of papers to 1948; "The Social [113] and Psychological Significance of Variability in Regional Changes of Population", with examples taken from Indian villages. (A. Geddes, *Human Relations*, Vol. 1, 2, 1947–48; cf. *Geog. Rev.* 1942 and 1948; and *Geog. Journal*, 3, vol. 98, 1941).

175 rent-rolls record something of more vital and enduring
241 concern, the unit of community life in the Lews. This was
427 the 'conjoint' or 'group' farm of the labouring peasantry
[476] —though it was overlaid in parts of the Island by the formation of tacks held by gentleman rent-farmers.

175 Both rolls are Judicial Rentals, that is to say, the
241 tenants, great and small, were convened by the Govern-
427 ment Commissioners and examined on oath as to the rents
656 they formerly paid; the accounts were then entered and totalled. Because of the Jacobite resistance, the small amounts of rent and the maladministration of the Forfeited Estates, doubt was cast upon the first rental, of 1718. A second rental was therefore compiled in 1726, upon a different system, which confirms the correctness of the first.[1] All were named, including those absent or 'valetudinary'.

175 Owing to the Island's comparatively smooth land sur-
361 face and access to the sea, the people could group themselves
[182] as they chose. Whereas in the Highland mainland many
[184] a pocket of land is too small to keep more than two or three
[433] families alive and no fishing grounds are available, in Lewis
[476] the people could join together in teams of four, five or six, to work a hamlet-farm or penny-land, definable as a joint-farm of unit size, and to man a boat with "four to row and one to steer".

175 The first point of interest is the equality of the shares,
241 each man paying exactly the same as his fellow-tenants for
427 his 'farthing',—a fourth, or other equal share of the farm.
[436] An average share of rent was a little over 10 shillings sterling with additional payments in farm produce, though not (as

[113] [1] A. Geddes, "Conjoint Tenants", etc., *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Series, vol. i, no. 1, 1948, pp. 54-60. This reconciles the evidence of 1718, reproduced in the Brand Report (1902), Appx. O, and that of 1726, edited by J. R. N. Macphail (1916).

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175 after 1800, John Walker wrote that run-rig, " formerly very
178 general in Scotland, was abolished with improvements but
241 still subsists in many parts of the North. A number of
476 tenants of the same farm have a common pasture for their
cattle, and the arable is divided among them, by ridge
654 and ridge alternately, which each cultivates for his own
423 behoof. This gives them all a common interest in the crop and, when there was no inclosure by dyke or hedge, might be of some advantage " in giving each person some protection " against the encroachments of his neighbour's cattle ". Speaking of joint possession this time, though without reference to survivals, Walker wrote that in the Lowlands " in old times a large farm might be occupied by a number of conjoint tenants who cultivated the farm in common and divided the produce. In this way the interest of each became the interest of the whole. They were ready, and were frequently called upon, to defend the common crop and cattle against depredations. There was then a necessity for such an allotment of land, especially in the Border country and in the Highlands." The team, in other words, was a unit of defence. But " nothing like improvement can be expected from farmers placed in this situation . . . [and] no community can ever equal the carefulness and industry of an individual in the management of his affairs ".[1]

[127] So far as it goes, such an analysis is incontrovertible;
for Walker was one of many contemporary observers
[181] who could contrast both the " improvement, industry and carefulness " of the best individuals under a vigorous landlord, with the sluggishness of old-fashioned ways on backward estates. The fundamental reason for sluggishness was that

[113] [1] John Walker, *Oeconomical History* [descriptive account] *of the Hebrides*, 1808.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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through division of labour or united effort, but simply for the sake of mutual stimulus and pleasure!

(D) THE SHARING OF MACHAR, MOOR AND SEA

Embracing several joint-farms, each with its team or crew, came the township. The township had not only its common pasture, it had a special extensive system of run-rig on sandy, coastal machars, as in parts of the Island and in Uist—a system continued to this day.

On the machar of Barvas, cultivation strips are still re-allotted periodically, as they were annually on all the Island machars. The machars behind the 'storm-beach' dunes of the Outer Hebrides closely resemble one another, from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head. The immemorial system was noted by Walker and more fully by Carmichael, who called it 'intermediate run-rig' to distinguish it from the run-rig of older joint farms on boulder clay, and it persists at the present day.[1] In North Uist the machar land is laid off in large scatts or fields. Each scatt is divided into as many rigs as there are crofts in the township. There may be a dozen scatts in all, and usually half the number are lying out in natural pasture, but they are put under crop in rotation, so that each year one or two scatts will be brought into cultivation, and the others left out after a course of cropping. When a scatt is to be brought into cultivation the township 'constable' (who holds sway under the district ground officer) appoints a day for allocating the rigs.

[1] Walker (1808); Alexander Carmichael, appendix xlviii and xcix, pp. 213 ff. and 451 ff., Report of the Crofters' Commission, 1884. Socially these form the most significant evidence in this great Report. See also "Grazing and Agrestic Customs", *Celtic Review*, 1905. Cf. C. Macdonald, *Scot. J. Agric.*, 1919. See also his lively accounts of machar and pasture: *Highland Journey: Suil air ais*, 1943.

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nurse in the family. Born about 1615 in Rodel (south-east Harris), she composed her last elegy (to Sir Norman MacLeod of Island Berneray, Harris) in 1705; she may even have composed her last great song (on the birth of the nineteenth chief) a year later.[1] Towards the end of the century (between 1664 and 1693), Mary's younger contemporary, Rory Morison was bard at Dunvegan, being known as the Blind Harper, *An Clarsair Dall.* A Lewisman, Rory could not have found adequate patronage as a bard in that Island, the chiefs of Lewis having passed away. Morison is stated to have been a descendant of the Gaelic judges or *brieves* of Ness and the son of a minister, and he was to have entered the Church along with two brothers, later ministers. But smallpox blinded him, and he turned to oral, not to written 'literature', perhaps to our ultimate gain.[2]

Here then were two bards, man and woman, whose fame is growing, rather than waning, in our own day. While Mary was illiterate, however rich in lore, Rory, with his clerical home and family tradition of Gaelic jurisprudence, must have begun to read Latin and English, perhaps Greek, and also Gaelic, though not reaching Hebrew (as his brothers would) before he was struck blind. Mary, so far as is known, was the first to compose what may be called 'court' song in simple words and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels, Scots and Irish, since her time. Lacking the learning of the dying school of classical bards, Mary is more personal than they, "a lyrist not less than panegyrist"; and she is more spontaneous. The same seems true of Rory. Yet the themes of the classical bards were renewed by these

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[1] James Carmichael Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod*, 1934.
[2] John Mackenzie, *Sar Obair: Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, 1877.

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175 554 614 621 [668] did another Zacharias, closer than Thomas to the Lewis tree, who worked nobly with Wilberforce for the emancipation of the slaves.[1] Still another connection was a Canadian emigrant, grandfather of the late T. B. Macaulay, LL.D. Alexander Mackenzie, the explorer of the Mackenzie River, was a descendant of Lewis tacksmen. MacIvers and Morisons also distinguished themselves. [178] [871] But the sons and daughters of crofters had to await the provision of education in English before they could rise in trade, learning or war; hence few Lewismen of the greatest Lewis name, MacLeod, achieved eminence until the twentieth century.

175 554 565 427 As for the peasantry, the interposition of a new or enlarged class of tenantry between themselves and the superior must have meant that they had to labour on the tacksman's home farm, and no doubt pay more in produce or cash. Hence the Gaelic saying that if the position of the small (joint) tenants was bad, that of the subtenants was worse, "the Evil One itself". Following the long fight with the Fife Adventurers, hardship may have been greatest where mainland tacksmen were placed above the joint tenants; but even under MacAulays and MacIvers rents may have been raised and some of the joint freedom lost which was still enjoyed in Ness. Whatever adjustments had been made in an earlier period had to be re-made with the beginning of Seaforth's new order.

In the following generations, contradictory accounts of lairds, factors and tacksmen are given by contemporary observers. Certain of these insisted that, given the poverty of the lands as a whole, the chiefs and landlords, factors and tacksmen, were the saviours of their people. Yet even among those who supported authority in general, there was

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[1] Charles Booth, *Zachary Macaulay*, 1934.

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175 the last of these in outlying villages after 1918. When
554 Matheson purchased the Island in 1844 he left the fishing
565 industry to the curers, great and small. Particularly before
427 most fishermen could speak and write English, the local
curers were best fitted to take action not only in marketing
228 but in approaching the Government to aid the construction of piers and harbours. On the whole, their long ties with place and people, coupled with education, made them useful leaders of a community in which leaders were needed to adapt life to a changing economy. Here and there one or two small farmers survive, a little apart from the main townships. Aided by a long cultural tradition, they meet changing times by combining with their inheritance a sane selection of new elements.

175 Looking beyond the Island to the mainland, the time is
621 approaching for a fair assessment to be made of the historic
622 parts of chief and landlord, factor and tacksman. Not only
427 is there an enlarging body of documentation, but a growing
184 understanding of communal strands in tradition and of
changing social economy seen in relation to geographic
(178) factors of place and region. And in the Gaeldom, conditions varied greatly between bordering areas from Mar to
[182] Kintyre,[1] and the heartland of tradition in the Hebrides. In the Island, one must remember the fundamental opposition, yet the recurrent readjustments of chiefs and people. These, and not only individual differences in character and conduct, explain the differences of experience and opinion
[829] quoted above. The people's belief, so frequently given to me thirty years ago, that it was bad factors, not the landlord, who taxed and harried them unjustly, expressed an idealistic faith in a chief, rather than the facts of economy
[565] and history. For lordship begins with the imposition of

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[1] A. McKerral, *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, 1947.

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rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide for the lord's desires.

(E) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

The peaceful round of daily life formed the most enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tensest ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must speak for them. Many a song of the Isles conveys the team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men. And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portraying the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who warred against the waves and won. Alexander Macdonald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic, and probably in English, verse for its portraits of the crew in action, from steersman to 'look-out'. The flowing metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with "the Blessing of the Ship", the arms and the crew. Then the bard, speaking for the stately skipper, "incites the sixteen oarsmen to row" out of the bay, and they row to a rousing shanty, a *Iorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and

[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (2nd ed.), 1890 (pp. 1-28); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 65-85), 1940. Cf. A. Macleod (Ed.), *Sar Orain: Three Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1933. The different themes of its sections, each in its own metre, have been published separately, in *The Songs of the Hebrides*, and elsewhere.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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174 ready to leap fore or aft: "Quick to move as the mountain
614 hare . . . or the hounds after him; quick to climb as a
501 squirrel in the spring-time". Then comes the stirring
539 evocation of the storm, testing each man's mettle and the
577 discipline of all, until at last, their ship battered and themselves bruised and weary but undaunted, the crew reach Islay and round the sheltering point of Carrickfergus. There, with thanks to the High King, they drop anchor, the *birlinn* rides in peace, and all find meat and drink and rest.

175 As at sea, so in war, loyalty could rise to heroism in
614 individuals and corps. Young men were attached to their
721 chiefs by chivalrous leadership in warfare, both before
703 1745 and later. The Highlanders' high character contrasted with that of most Regiments of the Line, too often disciplined with the lash while demoralised by debauchery. From Lewis the Islesmen went out to the Seaforth or the Ross-shire Highlanders. General David Stewart of Garth, historian of the Highland regiments and people, wrote of these two regiments that again and again their courage and coolness in battle were proved.[1]

175 Not less striking was the record of Gaels among civil
648 populations, whether in Britain, as in the 'Forty-five, or abroad. In Germany in 1761 and 1762 much was said of the Highlanders' kindness, "for the boors were much better treated by those savages than by the polished English and French". Similarly in the Low Countries in 1814 and 1815, they were *enfants de la famille* and "kind as well as brave". The mayor of Brussels declared that they "called forth the attachment and esteem of all", and the inhabitants requested him "to endeavour to detain the 78th (2nd battalion Ross-shire) regiment of Scotchmen in the town, and to prevent their being replaced by other troops".

[113] [1] *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 2 vols., 1822, p.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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xviii. 19-20). The worldly wise might think that the spiritual fare of these poor folk must have been lean indeed; while others, having heard much of the Highlanders' 'pagan' superstitions, may think even worse! The evidence from which to judge is found in survivals from a rich lore, and for most readers seen but 'darkly' through prose translations from the poetry of a tongue now known to few.

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The richest collection is Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* (*Ortha nan Gaidheal*).[1] Others were made by the Rev. Fr. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay, and by the Rev. Kenneth Macleod with Mrs. M. Kennedy-Fraser in the *Songs of the Hebrides*. Included here are unpublished verses given by crofter-friends in the Isles and others from Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection,[2] hitherto untranslated. What still remains has come down to us only by narrow escapes. One is reminded of 'Father Allan's' early death, after nursing his parishioners through an epidemic; and Carmichael's escape from drowning as "on

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[1] *Carmina Gadelica: Ortha Nan Gaedheal.* Hymns and incantations with illustrative notes on words, rites and customs, dying and obsolete: orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and translated into English; vols. i and ii (1st ed., 1900; 2nd ed., 1928); vol. iii, 1940; vol. iv, 1941. The last two volumes were edited by the collector's grandson, Prof. James Carmichael Watson, whose death as an Ordinary Seaman in war is mourned by his friends, and has been described as a disaster to the cause of Gaelic, and of humane learning in Scotland. One more volume edited by James C. Watson awaits publication. (In the following, quotations are referred to as from *Carmina*, followed by the number of the rune: Nos. 1-216, vols. i and ii; and Nos. 217-351, vol. iii. Vol. iv contains varied lore.)

[2] Of all these four, the least known is Fr. Allan Macdonald's little collection, *Comh-Chruinneachadh de Laoidhean Spioradail*, Hugh Macdonald, Oban, 1893. It was privately printed, and lacks a translation and table of contents. There could be no finer memorial to this man and the community whose spiritual life he helped to record than a new edition of all its ancient Gaelic 'spiritual songs', with the addition of others he wrote down before his death in 1905, and perhaps, of some of his own poems, notably his famous *Eilean na-h-óige*, "Isle of the Young".

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(A) SACRAMENTS AND RUNES OF LABOUR, IN FAMILY, TEAM AND TOWNSHIP

788 221 Labour given to the winning of food, shelter and clothing was begun and blessed by poetic, rhythmic prayers or 'runes'. The words were usually reinforced by a symbolic gesture or simple rite. By help of the runes the people sought spiritual preparation for work, invoked aid and finally consecrated the thing made for use.

221 461 [171] Wherever work was rhythmic it was carried on by working songs. Songs of hunting or herding recalled the hill and pasture, or praised the landscape with an exuberant flow unequalled in any tongue we know but old Irish, with which Scots Gaelic is so closely linked, or Welsh, of which the nature classics are linked to the epics of the sixth and seventh century thought to be composed in Strathclyde.[1]

788 461 [171] Yet it was not these but the rhythmic prayers or runes which initiated labour, stage by stage. They are paralleled among many peoples, but those of the Gael possess rare fullness of meaning and beauty of imagery, words and form. When labour was ended, the food won or the clothing made was consecrated for the use of family and friends, of the poor and the stranger-guest.

788 241 In the struggle for food, the sowing and reaping of corn ranked highest, followed by its parching and grinding (*Carmina*, Nos. 88-92). The preparation of seed for its sowing was accompanied by its consecration, *an coisreageadh sioil*. Similarly for reaping: "Laying his bonnet on the ground, the father of the family took up his sickle and,

[113] [1] Examples of these nature poems are given in scholarly prose translation by Kenneth H. Jackson (1937 and 1950). Songs with their melodies will be found in Arthur Geddes (Ed.), *The Songs of Craig and Ben*, vol. i, 1951.

3t Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 'first-footing'. In the past the lads came in bands singing
796 carols, and once admitted—refusal of hospitality being out
178 of the question—any misunderstandings and quarrels of the past year had to be forgiven and forgotten. With individual visits this is no longer possible, for though these maintain friendship, they cannot easily and naturally heal a quarrel.

175 From Lewis three fine carols once sung by youths are
796 recorded, of which the fidelity of Carmichael's translation
533 goes far to render both sense and feeling (Nos. 55-57).[1]
[127] In Ness I have sought in vain for the old melodies from the descendants of Angus Gunn. Born about 1800, Gunn had lived for many years as a shepherd on the islet of North Rona, unreached by the burning zeal of the Evangelists, so that his traditional piety survived. Could they be found, these melodies would enrich the remnant of authentic Christian lore in Britain, for even the well-known English carols are mostly of modern reconstruction.

The first Christmas Hail opens, "*Ho Ri*, Hail to the King, Blessed is He. . . . Blessed be the house and all therein. . . . Lasting . . . and healthy round the hearth be ye. . . ." It goes on, "This night is the eve of the great Nativity, the great Noel [*Nochd oidhche Nollaige moire* . . .]; Born is the Son. . . ." It closes, "Shone the mountains . . . earth, and land, Heard was the wave upon the strand. . . . Blessed be the King . . . to all ages, to all time." A fragment from Tolsta, Lewis, sung by boys on New Year's Eve as they begged for a Noel bannock from house to house, latterly began and ended with playful nonsense, yet it retained its traditional climax: "[On the first day of the New Year] I saw the Threesome [The Trinity] going to the shore. The land shone, the

[113] [1] No. 59 is set to an Eriskay chant in *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, p. 159.

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175 796 533 earth shone, The wave shone on the shore; The deer of the mountain steep shone. . . ." [1]

"The Christ Child's Lullaby" is a lovely carol narrating the Christmas tale. Legend tells that it was sung by 175 'Mary-Mother' herself to an unwanted stepchild lost on 796 the moors, where his stepmother found him in the arms 533 of Mary, who sang as she lulled him. The stepmother 773 cherished this song with the lost child, henceforth loved as her own.[2] The poetry of the Gael, like the odes of Greece and the Psalms of the Hebrews, is luminous with the vision of mountains, land and sea, reflecting a light within that of sun or moon, and sonorous with the rhythm of wave, tide and season which are "of all ages and to all time, [181] *gach linn gu brath*". Its adoration is full of nature and of humanity, yet it soars above mere nature worship or anthropomorphism.

175 While Christmas, more than any, was a festival of 796 leisure, others were closely linked to labour. The festival dates of Candlemas or Lent, of Saint Bride's, Saint Patrick's or Lady Day, marked the stages of spring's coming and the duties they brought. Summer came in at Beltane—held in May, though the word included other dates connected with spring fire; and on St. John's Day

113 [1] Donald Macdonald, M.A., MS. essay for the Royal Scot. Geog. Society.

[2] A short version is published in the *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. A translator may choose from its 29 stanzas—though all are true to the Gospel and worth translation. Of the simple choral variant of the air (as published) Fr. Allan Macdonald told Miss Amy Murray his grief that it had superseded the melodic variety given to the Lullaby when sung by one singer at a time (*Celtic Review*, 1905–6). From three variants noted from oral singing one can arrange a melodic sequence. To pass from a major variant (set to stanzas on Jesus's mother, the shepherds and the 'kings') to minor variants (set to the tale of Herod's evil deeds) restores much of the dramatic intensity of this noble carol. Only deep feeling for the Gospels could create and maintain, without written help, so full a version of the words and variety of associated melody. (The complete words, *Taladh Chriosta*, are in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, p. 7.)

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788 (in Gaelic) by a housewife in a Catholic isle, as our friend-
592 ship matured. It had been said nightly at her fire by her
354 father-in-law until his death (not long before), which had
539 come after that of his wife. "I smoo'r the fire tonight, As Mary's Son smoo'red. Be it well with house and fire; Be it well with all our household. Who are on this floor? Peter and Paul. Who are on watch tonight? Light-white Mary and her Son. Thus God's voice taught, And the Angel spoke: The Angel at my house door, Until the clear day come tomorrow. Amen." As this variant shows, memory still lives in the Isles.[1]

788 In these runes, the key to the words "as Mary's Son
593 and as Mary did, in their day" is the example of filial duty,
776 of wifely and motherly care. In spite of lapses to 'Mario-
[799] latry' during periods of decadence in the Roman Church, the virtual banishment of Christ's mother from Protestantism has led to a loss deeper than Presbyterian Scotland has yet realised. Her name was a daily reminder, both of a woman's part in the spiritual life of the home, and of a son's self-discipline and affection: in a word, of mutual love.

788 For wool, the sheep were blessed, as in the "Clipping
[236] Blessing". There were blessings of the loom and of
[286] warping and weaving; and after neighbourly fulling or 'waulking' of the finished web, came its consecration.
[461] As the work was solitary and communal in turn, so the prayer. Carmichael's own fine prose translations should be
[127] studied (*Carmina*, vol. i, Nos. 108-113; cf. vol. iv, pp.
[538] 88-99). Yet, those being available, we quote rhythmic

[113] [1] Cf. Rev. Allan Macdonald, *Comh-chruinneachadh*, p. 107; *Carmina* (Nos. 84-87, 324-326); and M. Kennedy-Fraser, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. ii, p. 31. Sacred lore is not to be picked up lightly by a stranger. It was only upon the second of my prolonged stays under her hospitable roof that this good woman would admit and impart her knowledge, treasured in the secret places of her heart.

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warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, with peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven and waulked together ceased to be a sacrament when the tartan was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform with "England's cruel red".

The framers of this law, which stood on the statute book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath which reversed every benediction said by the women at their work: "I . . . do swear, as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, any gun, sword, pistol or arm whatever, and never use tartan, plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do, may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and property—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and be without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come across me if I break my oath". This Act, as law and symbol, struck full at the sacramental life of family, neighbour-team and clan community, in which labour and prayer had been indissolubly bound.[1]

(c) WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

Little remains of the tradition of worship in the tiny oratories, chapels or 'temples' whose ruins stud the shores

[1] The collaboration of friends in Lewis may allow mention of the Gaelic version of A. Geddes, *The Spirit of the Tartan, a Song Drama* (English Version); *Souvenir Programme and Book of Songs* (Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, 1932). In this the spirit of this labour sequence embodied in its songs and runes is dramatised in its setting of custom and history. The Gaelic version was prepared by the generous labours of James Thomson, M.A., Bayble, and the late Duncan Macdonald, M.A., Sandwick, Lewis.

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771 single example may be given; so far as I know, it is un-
773 recorded. I learned it in South Uist, where Catholic and
[125] Protestant mingle in tolerance and sympathy; it had been
[795] told by an old woman, a Catholic, to a young neighbour, a Protestant fisherman's son, later a minister.[1]

539 The story takes place after the Crucifixion. It may be
771 remembered that in the Gospels not a word is said of Jesus's mother after His farewell to her from the Cross (John, xix. 26). He—or she—who first conceived the legend may have asked, would not a mother visit the tomb of the son she had just lost? And surely she who at His birth had cried, "My soul magnifies the Lord . . . my Saviour", would be the first to seek Him out after His death? The legend tells that, on the second day of the Entombment, Mary, Jesus's mother, in an agony of mourning and suspense, visited the tomb of her son, calling upon Him with many an endearing name. From the tomb He answered that she would be consoled, for He would arise. And He told her that because of the depth of her love, of all forms of human love a mother's would be accounted the highest for ever after.

771 The Gael had fused the grandeur of the Old Testament
538 with the hope and humanity of the New; for them the light of dawn on sea and snow awoke the light within. A last example is taken from two fragments forming part of
[788] a single theme, perhaps of one original poem.[2] Chanted

[113]

[1] It is interesting to compare this quiet legend with the late Roman (and Episcopalian) "Apostles' Creed", apparently based on the vivid story in the *Gospel of Bartholomew*: after Christ "was crucified, dead, and buried, He descended into hell" (hades). Montagu R. James (translator), *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 1924.

[2] *Carmina Gadelica*, 201, 197. No translation can be perfect, and Carmichael offers alternatives: line 6, "*Ti nan dul*, Being of life", or "of the elements"; l. 13, "light on the plain" or "the land", *fearann*. The last line is intimate and simple: "The hour (or era) God's Son came in (among us)," a *steach*, as into a dwelling.

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885 in thy kertch!" and counsels her to be hospitable yet wise,
539 and courageous though calm; to be frank yet tactful, dignified though kind. The themes of this ode's melodious
885 verse recall the virtues of a wife enumerated mnemonically
538 in the acrostic which concludes the Book of Proverbs.
593 For in that, too, there is mention of "strength and dignity, wisdom and kindness", and the poor are not forgotten as the wife goes tirelessly about her work, sets her servants to their tasks and sells her merchandise at a profit. Yet the acrostic's emphasis on the wife's work and its gain reveal the writer as a shrewd citizen seeking to train a wife to ceaseless exertion and business dealing, with her husband's private profit and public honour as a most important end! The singer of 'The Kertch'—man or woman, one cannot tell—thought of conduct not for its profit first, but for its virtue, and dwelt upon motive, mind and heart.[1]

175 To tide over the supreme crisis of childbirth the mother
844 was strengthened in confidence, courage and calm. The need was the greater before modern midwifery. In Sutherland as late as 1908, a good professional nurse tending a difficult case of childbirth, anxious and powerless without a doctor, found herself indebted to older wisdom. The patient's mother first filled a small basin with water into
[788] which she put trinkets of gold and silver. "She then held the basin to her dying daughter's lips, and made her drink three mouthfuls of the water, each mouthful in the name of Father, and of Son, and of Spirit, 'the three Persons of the Trinity of kindness and power, *Tri Pears na Trianaid chaoimh chumhachdaich*'. Soon after, the child came . . .

[113] [1] *Am Breid*, 'The Kertch'. *Carmina*, No. 215. A short paraphrase by Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser, set to a lovely air and refrain, will be found in *From the Hebrides*. First published (imperfectly) in *Nether Lochabor* by the Rev. Alexander Stewart (1883, p. 4) with delightful notes.

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with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1294. Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness. The following year, 1295, saw the commencement of "the three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King Alexander III, "that Scotland led in luve and law", peace within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing Gaelic Christian traditions and Scoto-Norman arts. After his death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars can tell me, this almost unnoticed monument remains unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement, were shattered by invasions, and Gaelic tradition was only to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all time, we have become.

At the approach of death God's mercy and peace were sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[2] In early times confession seems to have been made as willingly to the 'Soul-friend', followed by Benediction. When death had come, the mourners sang of sleep and home. In Lewis today funerals are conducted in silence to the graveside, where the last service is held; but

[1] *A unique medieval tomb at Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.)

[2] It would be of deep interest to compare the attitudes to death found in 'Spiritual Songs' by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs on death which, though maybe of post-Reformation date, are of Roman Catholic origin (*e.g.* in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, poems on the Day of Judgment, and of Wrath; on age and on death; and on Purgatory: pp. 31, 85, 146; 34, 19, 21; 27). Some have much in common, both by virtue of the earlier traditions they shared and still more because of parallel trends of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Cf. *Carmina*.

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175 and of a township's tiny chapel, oratory or *teampull*.

798 In Lewis, as in the Northern Isles, the early years of the Reformation period had been years of invasion by the [829] King's Adventurers, of resistance, bloodshed and ruin. Hence when Mackenzie brought a Protestant clergyman to minister to the people they flocked to hear him. Naturally the new lord chose one of his important tenants from Kintail, the Rev. Farquhar Macrae. "For forty years prior to the visit (about 1611) no one in Lewis appears to have been baptized or married,"—or rather, no ceremonies had been performed by professional clergy, an important distinction. "'The population', we are told, 'had lapsed into heathenism', but 'Mr. Farquhar's' mission proved thoroughly successful. 'Large numbers of the people were baptized, some of them being fifty years of age, and many men and women were married who had already lived together for years.' The author also stated that the success of this mission went far to reconcile the inhabitants of Lewis to Lord Kintail's rule. According to a Kintail tradition, 'the number of people that came to be baptized by Mr. Farquhar was so great that, being unable to take them individually, he was obliged to sprinkle the water at random on the crowd with a heather besom'"[1] —much as it still is on certain festivals in the Roman Church.

[114] The tale of the Rev. Farquhar Macrae shows both the spiritual prestige of one who could read the Scriptures and must understand them, and the people's belief that a lord who brought a Gaelic clergyman must indeed be a Christian and was to be welcomed, or at least accepted. After the larger churches had been rifled by lairds, 'Pro-

[113] [1] Brand Report, 1902, p. xii; from Alexander Macrae, the *History of the Clan Macrae*, Dingwall, 1899, p. 57.

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175 complained in Carmichael's own time, mockery is hard to
181 withstand. One can only guess, as yet, what were the real
798 effects of the decadence of Rome and the impact of the Reformation upon the landward communities of the Lowlands and Northern Isles. But the records of the Western Isles leave no doubt as to the onset of this spiritual tragedy among the Gael, of which Carmichael and others saw the later acts and of which one still finds the epilogue.

175 The grim desperation of the religious and civil wars,
798 and their persecutions—crucifixions made by every side in the name of the Cross—caused faith to be disastrously shaken. Superstition rushed into the widening cracks in older belief, aided by important sects of clergy. In the Highlands, 'witch' torture was never carried to the lengths it reached in the cities, though the last 'witch'-burning in Scotland may have occurred in east Sutherland (P. Hume Brown, *History*, ii, 1912, p. 451). But the frenzy of witch-hunting by ministers in the Lowlands, during the widespread evictions and social anarchy of the post-Reformation period, suggests that the Adventurers' invasion of the Lews, followed by the arrival of new masters and Presbyterian ministers after 1600, must have aroused morbid, anti-social fears. Lewis certainly suffered from fear of the evil eye as late as the nineteenth, and even this, century.

We have to face the effects on the people of religious strife. To ardent Reformers the Blessed Sacrament of the Roman Church was a 'Jack-in-the-box'; and at the climax of the Mass, the elevation of the Host—the moment of 'transubstantiation' with its literal interpretation of the words, "This is my flesh" (*Hoc est corpus meum*)—was so much 'hocus-pocus'.[1] Conversely, to Roman Catholics

[113] [1] J. H. Matthews, *The Folklore of the Mass*, p. 96, 1903 (Catholic Truth Society).

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much of Protestantism was a denial of Christianity. Holders of all these forms of Trinitarian belief have united in condemning Unitarianism as heresy, its earlier Arian form having been stamped out in blood. The 'heterodox' are held by the orthodox of many Churches to be awaiting eternal torture. To a thoughtful humanist like Sir James Frazer, on the other hand, the belief that one alone by suffering can atone for the sins of others is of the deepest significance, as being an ancient, widespread and 'pathetic fallacy'. Happily, one finds the greatest tolerance and sympathy where Protestant and Catholic are mixed in the Isles. Elsewhere, too, sympathy and reverent enquiry are taking the place of dogmatic assertion.[1] It is in this spirit that we can best understand Gaelic beliefs at their highest, and so distinguish their lowered use—or misuse for selfish ends—from the highest use of sacrament and prayer by the pure of mind and heart.

(2) RELIGION, MAGIC AND SUPERSTITION IN DAILY LIFE

Evil ends might be sought by means of the ancient runes: the power of their poetry and associations could tempt to perverted use. Carmichael tells how in Uist a malefactor, in terror of the law, went to a needy woman, and by appealing to her pity—and in exchange for a small sum—learned from her an "Invocation for Justice". Strengthened by its rhythm and imagery, and by his own associated belief in its magical power as a charm, he stood up boldly in Court, firmly asserted his innocence and got

[1] Cf. the friendly theological arguments between a Bernera Presbyterian and a Roman Catholic from Barra (*Bodach Bharraidh*—vii, viii), sketched in Gaelic by I. N. Macleoid, *Litrichean Alasdair Mhoir*, Stornoway, 1932.

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789 away scot-free! Both persons secretly concerned felt that they had endangered their souls by successfully defeating justice through their misuse of the invocation. Can one [783] doubt that they were partly right in both beliefs? The malefactor's confidence had lent success to perjury, and perjury by help of prayer was deadly sin.

114 Now, the perverted use of prayer, as in this case, was clearly understood to be evil-doing; but what of magic and superstitious practices? Much has been written of 'Highland folk-lore and superstitions'.[1] The religion of the past should be distinguished from these. In *The Golden Bough*, Frazer drew a useful distinction between religion and magic. Religion, he wrote, relies upon the propitiation of higher powers—or even, in more primitive forms than Christianity, the propitiation of the forces of nature—while magic is an attempt at direct control of 121 natural forces. Superstition may be defined here as a body of beliefs and practices in which hopes and fears attach themselves to things seen or done, by a multitude of false analogies and by irrational links of effects to supposed causes. Such superstitions are marginal to the main body of belief, worship and conduct which forms religion.

At the same time, no hard-and-fast line can be drawn between folk-lore and religion, where religion is handed on as living word and ritual almost without the aid of 121 writing. This is particularly true where the religion of 771 which we think, that of the Gael, is founded upon self-supporting peasant life, in line with that of the humble, working founder of Christianity—historically native to an outlying district of his own country—and not with the

[113] [1] D. J. Macleod, D.Litt.: (*a*) *Highland Folklore* (32 pp.), Inverness; (*b*) Introduction to Martin's *Western Isles* (edn. Stirling, 1934). N. Morrison, Hon. D.Sc., *Superstitions of Lewis*, Stornoway, *c.* 1930.

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121 theology and scholarship of a capital city, even of a city
[791] so small as Jerusalem! It is sometimes forgotten that the Old Testament, upon which so much of theology is built, contains folk-lore and magic. Not until this is fully understood in the sense in which early Oriental 'folk' believed it, can it be interpreted, whether as imaginative symbolism or common sense.[1] Much in the orthodox belief of medieval or post-Reformation times was mistaken; yet it formed part of the religion, not the 'superstition' of the stage and period. Theology and philosophy are in constant transformation. Sheltered scholars, priests and rulers of cities may be ill-fitted to interpret the inspiration of a religion which grew from life in field, pasture and at sea, whether in its native land of Galilee and the East or among the Gael. One must live with a people and be one of them, at least for a time, to interpret their inner life. Lastly, no generalisation is true for all members of a community: individuals differ. The same prayer, the same rite, may be used in so different a way by each of two neighbours that its use by one is religious but by the other superstitious.

114 We have seen that the essence of the lore from which
796 we have quoted is not magical, but religious, in use as in inspiration. Strangers who had lost the sense of the beauty in the skies mistook a Gael's adoration of God at sunrise for prayer to the sun; when a man unbonneted or a woman knelt in the open, face turned to the rising moon lightening the dark, they confused prayer with worship of the moon itself. Now, in paganism, a belief in nature-spirits is strong: but propitiation is made not to objects such as the sun or moon, but to spirits believed to influence or

[113] [1] W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (3rd ed., ed. S. A. Cooke, 1927). J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (3 vols.), 1919.

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114 dwell in them—to a sun or moon spirit. If the people once
776 believed in a 'moon-spirit', nothing is left to show it. Either the moon is addressed as if she could hear her praise, or—more commonly—"The King of the Elements" or "of life" is thanked for sending her light. The Archangel Michael is associated with the sun's rays; but symbolically in relation to heart and mind, rather than as literal belief. The response to sunrise and sunset was real; and it is not lost among the people, as a watcher may see.[1]

178 It remains true that pre-Christian rites were re-enacted,
771 sometimes in fear and desperation when things had gone wrong, and sometimes in mere play. A Lewisman in
788 Carmichael's hearing spoke of "going between the two great fires of Beul" (or Baal), his phrase expressing no more than a faded memory. But in Reay, in hard times bordering on famine, a fishing skipper was seen by his small son, supposed to be asleep, to assemble his crew and, after putting out the fire on the hearth, kindle the *neid fire* by rubbing two pieces of wood vigorously together. Each man then carried a kindling back to his own home.[2]
121 Was this a religious ritual of human energy, heat and light, symbolic of forces held to be under Divine control but to be used as they used wind and tide by strenuous effort at the oars? Or was it magic, pure and simple? When men are shaken by failures and the fear of famine, prayer in word and ritual may restore hope for better things—for safety in storm and for fish in abundance as in a miraculous draught—and confidence in their powers for their work. But the same can be true of magic. And neither prayer nor

(113) [1] For contemporary record, descriptions of sunsets have appeared in the *Stornoway Gazette* from the pen of a crofter in retirement, N. Morrison.

[2] *Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes, *Neid Fire*.

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171 though the suspected person was not thereby accused of
754 ill will, he would have to make some effort to put it right. 'Cure' might be sought either by counter-malediction on the supposed ill-wisher, known or unknown, or else by prayer that the evil should be spread so widely as to be harmless, as "on all the wild birds of Heaven . . . that it would do them no harm"—a charming touch! (*Carmina*,
782 vol. iii). Prayer was the normal and the best protection, free of any malediction, and was included in general intercession for loved ones. But fears remain—not only in 'distant' isles—both in peace and in the extreme stress of war.

114 A psychotherapist of 1917–18, A. J. Brock, wrote that
155 the "War was not in essence a new thing, the ordinary life of every day being itself a sort of battle".[1] Brock brought the hard-learned psychotherapy of war to bear upon a fresh understanding of the countryman struggling against an environment with which he has got out of tune. Failing in spite of strained effort to get the food and warmth he needs for himself and his 'wife and weans', the peasant may lose happiness in home and village, and faith in the future. "How did primitive people express all this?" asked Brock, noting that the risks and casualties of bad times in the past brought fears and floating pictures comparable to those of 'shell-shocked' patients.

171 In all lands the unity of family life and labour is
776 symbolised in homelier folk-lore by the protective spirit of each homestead. As long as the work is carried on heartily and thriftily the Brownie is pleased. But the people may become negligent, or begin to labour from mercenary motives. The true spirit of the work is then upset and (in all folk-lore) the Brownies begin to give

[113] [1] A. J. Brock, *Health and Conduct*, 1923, pp. 155-170.

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181 people, although life in crowded quarters and daily concern with the rearing of animals make for a frankness not
183 readily understood by strangers in Victorian times. The
848 standard of morality in the Isles is high, and the rate of illegitimacy low. A courting custom, once common
584 through the northern and western coasts of Britain, as in Norway and New England, was 'bundling', a preliminary to marriage, or bed-fellowship (*leapachas*). This is noted
[836] with disarming frankness by various writers.[1] After the ceremonial and festivities of the betrothal, *reiteach*, a young man was allowed to sleep beside his betrothed; but the marriage ceremony was to precede, not follow, consummation. At wedding festivities, sweethearts found their way to the barn and took their rest together on the straw. In the shielings, too, courtship was given some freedom: trust is a necessity where there could not be total restraint.

585 To what extent marriage sometimes took place or may still occur after consummation and the expectation of a first child, only one with close local knowledge could say. 'Hand-fasting', marriage made binding only by the conception of a first child, was an ancient custom. Two things must be remembered. First, the strength of parental benediction and authority, backed by a community in which all knew one another from childhood, gave binding force to betrothal and its obligations; and ceremonies such as that of the kertching effectually replaced legal and ecclesiastical marriage when there was neither registrar, minister nor priest. Secondly, marriages blest with children tend to be happy ones. Fulfilling the cycle of life, children also provided the support to old age needed among peasants living on the edge of poverty.

[113] [1] W. A. Smith, *Lewsiana*; and Brand Report, 1902.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 saint, a character so eminently Christ-like ",[1] and to his
793 intimate beliefs, doctrine and wide influence. The same
159 Highland roots and deep charity characterised Dr. Norman Macleod, author of the popular classic, *The Friend of the Gael* (*Caraid nan Gaidheal*).

121 If a student of community ventures upon an interpretation of theology, it is because, to him, any attempt to understand " the relations of God to mankind " must take account of men's relations to one another. Ideas are transformed by human experience during economic and social revolutions, and in their turn they transform society. To make contact with reality, theology must regard mankind: it
175 must be integrated with sociology. Because of its close
178 bond with communal life, the religious spirit, recorded in Gaelic lore, was jarred, almost overwhelmed, when com-
182 munity was shaken to its foundations by the commercial,
178 agricultural and industrial revolution. Happily, the value of communal Christianity has been acknowledged both by
79 Roman Catholics—notably (among Gaels) by the Rev. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay—and by Protestants.[2] In the Scottish Presbyterian Church today, the movement which seems most deeply aware of the need for a new society has acknowledged its debt to communal tradition where this has been best maintained, that is, in the Isles. Seeking to aid Christian endeavour, international and national, this movement has turned for inspiration to Iona.
[771] In Iona, of which the noble cathedral belongs to the Church of Scotland but is open for service to all denominations, Presbyterians have found a new symbol.

[113] [1] Canon Vaughan, cited by the Rev. Norman Maclean (*Scotsman*, 21st Aug. 1943).

[2] " The Church should interpret the Love of God by a flaming zeal for the redress of the social order." (The Very Rev. Prof. John Baillie, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, at St. Andrews, 1943.)

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 About the seventeenth century there was introduced
433 the making of *aqua vitae*, *uisge-beatha* or 'whisky', an
addition to the ancient drink of home-brewed beer or ale
273 (*lionn*), a pleasant brew still tolerated by the Excise. In
[427] order to pay the rent, the making of whisky from home-
grown barley must have consumed a precious foodstuff.
[651] The small bulk of whisky facilitated export by tacksman
or Factor, and it also served to tickle the palate, cure the
[651] ills and cheer the spirits of the crofters themselves. But
before 1800 'the Gauger' was in the land, though there
were undoubtedly whisky stills that escaped his eye. In
some of the old houses a hollow space was left at a selected
spot between the inner and the outer walls, to conceal what
was not meant to be seen. A pleasant picture survives of
[511] the eighteenth century. It is told of a man of exceptional
prosperity, that when he laid his head on a pillow "he
could hear on the one side the clacking of his corn mill and
on the other the babble of his still". What more could
[427] the good man want? Nevertheless, the increase of distilla-
[671] tion as a legitimate home industry by which to pay the rent
(in kind or by sale), followed by legislation prohibiting all
but large stills, first encouraged the Islanders in a taste for
strong drink, then tempted them to smuggling and breaking
the law.[1] Seaforth started two distilleries at Stornoway,
importing barley for the purpose. By 1825 these had ousted
the illicit stills, but they were closed about 1870.[2]

175 From a perilously narrow margin of subsistence, periodi-
178 cally overstepped in famines, the Islanders passed to a
434 larger measure of production for sale, and in the second
433 half of the eighteenth century population increased. Its

[113] [1] Cf. D. Stewart of Garth, *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 1821, vol. i, pt. ii, sec. v.

[2] Brand Report, 1902.

175 growth followed the increases in potato-growing and fish-
178 ing, in income and food production, and the introduction
434 of vaccination against smallpox, which had formerly taken a heavy toll of child life.[1] This increase found an outlet
[433] in emigration to the Colonies, often led by departing tacks-
[751] men though discouraged at first by the Island lairds. For example, in July 1773, 840 people sailed from Lewis.
175 "Alarmed by this, their master . . . came down from
434 London to treat with the remainder of his tenants. What
167 are the terms asked, think you? 'The land at the old rents, the augmentation paid for three years back to be refunded, and his Factor to be immediately dismissed!'"
[214] Although the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, from which this quotation is taken, went on to say that it was expected that the demands would be acceded to, or the Island would become a desert, the Factor was retained.

175 The pressure of population can be imagined when the
167 appalling conditions of transport overseas are remembered.
505 A case is known of 700 Gaelic emigrants setting out from the Clyde across the Atlantic in a vessel for which the maximum human cargo of negro slaves permissible was 400. The regulations governing the transport of slaves did not apply to the transport of 'freemen'. In quoting this case, D. F. Macdonald suggests that while it was in the interest of slave-owners that their slaves should arrive in the Plantations alive, it was rather in the interest of manufacturers to discourage emigration so as to keep a supply of labour at home with which to meet their growing demands and fill the gaps due to a high mortality, particularly among workers newly arrived from the country.[2] It would also seem as if it had not been in the interests of landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time,

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. xiv.

[113] [2] *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1750–1850* (1941).

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 rent averaging 31s., in addition to which there were over
423 1000 houses of the cottar class and 300 houses of the squatter class.[1]

Lastly, Sir James trained no successor to follow up or improve upon his experience. At his death in 1878 Sir James was succeeded by his widow, and, nearly twenty years after, she was followed by a nephew and his son. But the expenses of Stornoway Castle and its burdens, accompanied by lower rents, weighed down the new proprietors.
[228] In 1918 the estate was sold to Lord Leverhulme, who shortly afterwards purchased Harris too, with a view to his great schemes of fishery development.

(c) FISHERIES: 1750–1914

175 For the greatest expanding industry of the northern coastlands, Matheson had done comparatively little even
471 at Stornoway. In 1883, a former Factor (Mr. Mackenzie
228 of Calgarry) stated that he had constantly asked for aid to the fisheries, especially by the building of harbours, pointing out that the landlord would reap benefit in rent.[2] But Matheson had replied that the fishermen and fish-curers, the people engaged in the trade, should do this work
[654] for themselves. By the end of the century, harbours were being planned and built with State aid in the north, west and south-east of the Island (at Ness, Carloway and Uig,
[439] and Tarbert, Harris). In 1900 the Islanders possessed 150 herring boats, and in that year five boats from the Stornoway District sailed for the first time to Yarmouth,
[511] and two to Lerwick. For the next dozen years there were
real hopes that prosperity could be maintained.
[113]

[1] *Royal Commission on Housing*, 1917, p. 212. Cf. *Fraser Report on Cottars in Lewis*, 1888, and the recommendations by the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee, *Report on Rural Housing in Scotland*, 1937, pp. 56-63, 75-77.

[2] Brand Report (1902).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 228 471 458 though also by State loans. The efforts of the Island fishermen in the sixty years from 1880 to 1939 can be summed up in the values of their boats. From 1880 to 1900 values rose by one-half, but had fallen somewhat before the war of 1914–18 (to £20,000). Immediately after, the purchase of steam drifters at Stornoway and the fitting their herring boats with motors by the fishermen had tripled the value (close on £70,000 in 1920). But markets fell almost at once, and losses continued. By 1938 the Island fishing fleet was valued (or overvalued) at a quarter that figure, and was worth less than the fleet of sixty years before.[1]

(D) THE CROFTERS ACTS, 1886–1919: TOWNSHIP, LANDLORD AND STATE

175 236 Centuries of cattle-keeping having left the grass moors in good condition, the profits of sheep-farming rose after 1770 with the price of wool for manufacture. Protected from foxes by modern guns, and handled in large flocks, the newly introduced Cheviot and Blackface sheep and [178] lambs could graze in their thousands. In many estates the introduction of additional sheep, with the crofters' cattle, was tried and worked; but in others the people were 175 ruthlessly evicted. Although offset by many acts of wise 236 economy and generous aid, evictions were too frequent during the next half-century, and they engendered growing 427 bitterness.

Whereas in other Isles, and on the machar of Harris, the small joint tenantry and subtenantry were evicted in

[113] [1] Figures 1828–33 quoted from J. P. Day, *Public Administration*, 1918; 1888–1900 from Appendix K, Report, 1902; 1912–1938 from *Fishery Board for Scotland* Tables (Table E-IB, 1912–21, and Table 15 and A.I., 1938).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 Board, created in 1897 to develop agriculture, fishing and
671 home industries, to form new holdings, to assist migration,
427 and to provide public works such as roads, bridges and
[647] piers. These powers were further extended by the Land Settlement (Scotland) Act of 1919, passed to provide land for ex-Servicemen.[1]

The Crofters' Act granted to the individual crofter most of the rights advocated by the Napier Commission, and other advantages besides, but it did not impose upon him the corresponding duties. As Day wrote, "The landlord was compelled to act in the interests of the crofter; the crofter was not compelled to act in his own interest". [632] The Act discarded the core of the Napier Commission's scheme, that of "a recognised local community, the township, with an executive officer, the Constable, working for the improvement of the township, by fencing, draining and other works, with the assistance of the proprietor", the whole scheme enforceable by "legal compulsion on either [829] side". As a Gael might say, the Act discarded *duty-right* of members of the community to one another.

175 As a result, peace did not descend upon the Island at
423 once. The demand for land continued, followed up by attempts to settle upon it, in spite of police and armed force.
[668] A legal victory was to be pressed home. In Lewis the

[113] [1] A useful summary of the legislation is given by the Scot. Econ. Committee's Report, 1938, pp. 17-21, and a searching review in J. P. Day's *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918, a work of real social insight.

The Act of 1919 is still the main enactment under which land settlement schemes may be undertaken in Scotland; but the Agriculture (Scotland) Act 1948 included new provision to allow the creation of holdings up to 75 acres in extent and £150 in rental. After the Second World War a more cautious policy was adopted in regard to settlement of ex-Servicemen and little progress has been made in carrying out schemes, despite many unfulfilled applications in the Hebrides and elsewhere where the demand for crofts exceeds the supply.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 some whose feelings and interests opposed emigration.
168 Free Church ministers foresaw that the beliefs they had
167 introduced would be shaken by travel; and their income, like that of the merchants, would have disappeared as a
[647] result of depopulation. The Congested Districts Board, however, sponsored two schemes of colonisation in 1888–89. In the first scheme thirty families, and in the second, fifty families were taken to Canada, mostly from the Island.[1] The first and smaller group repaid their loans and received their lands; but the second failed to do so, and the State was only reimbursed by sale of the land.

121 The story of the schemes suggests the lack of four
181 elements needed for success: promptitude in organisation; sympathy with strictness, and a sufficiency of funds; a year's experience of new conditions or technical guidance, rather than segregation of the inexperienced without leadership; and choice of vocation as farmer or as farm servant. Many a crofter-emigrant has succeeded as a shepherd and farm hand or as an independent farmer; but not every Islesman, particularly a cottar or landless squatter, is fit to conduct a farm. Technically, an all-round experience of part-time crofting and fishing by rule of thumb does not train a man for farming in a new environment without even a year's apprenticeship. Success is possible in schemes which overcome initial difficulties by providing training, companionship and community life, in a suitable physical environment.

121 One further principle of communal life was the spiritual,
181 which Parliament and administration failed to grasp. The most significant evidence in the Napier Commission was
771 that of A. Carmichael; and from this the Commissioners

[113] [1] J. P. Day, 1918, pp. 123-125, from Reports of Congested Districts Board, and Crofters and Colonisation Commissioners (Fifteenth Report).

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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language." Many Islanders would agree with the statement that Gaelic was a barrier to economic progress. It was not only Lowland schoolmasters, ignorant of Gaelic but an educated, sensible class of men in their day, who used the strap on the palms of the little children "for their good" because they could not understand English. An active Lewis country schoolmaster, who had considerable rural knowledge and experience, said to me: "I know what I have suffered through life from being brought up on Gaelic. If I had my way, I would *punish* [with the strap] every child I heard speaking Gaelic in the playground!" Had the Island School Boards wished Gaelic to be consistently taught with English, they could have prevailed.

One may not only disagree strongly with the means—the strap—but hold that enlightened bilingual teaching is both worth while culturally and also of assistance to intelligence without interfering with use in English of the three Rs, and of secondary and higher education. Yet in Lewis recent non-verbal tests in English and Gaelic show a mean intelligence quotient depressed by about 15 points.[1] The conclusion seems to be that under the present system the Gaelic school child is still at a disadvantage compared to other school children. But even more important to the child's development would seem to be the expression of his response to his rural environment in his own tongue. For this the school tests and the educational code do not fully provide; nor do the tests of life when the adolescent Islander suddenly finds himself at work in a Glasgow factory or abroad in city streets. What concerns us here is the economic drawback of a lack of ready English among

[1] Christina A. Smith, M.A., B.Ed., *Mental Testing of Hebridean Children in Gaelic and English.* (Scot. Council on Research in Education, vol. xxvii (London, 1948); J. L. Campbell, *Gaelic in Scotland* (2nd ed.) (Edinburgh, 1948).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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423 In May 1918 Lewis was bought by Lever of Port
565 Sunlight, then Baron Leverhulme of Bolton-le-Moors (his birthplace), the head of a great combine with 50,000 white
157 and 25,000 black employees. Meeting him in Lews Castle
124 in August 1919, Dr. Hardy and I found him troubled by a human situation he had failed to diagnose. Short and stocky but very erect, quick-eyed and rapid of manner, and with a wide expressive mouth, he spoke earnestly of his plans; but his eyes flashed and his mouth set, as he rapped out, "They keep putting off, yet they leave the people in houses *not fit for Kaffirs*!" The question, "What objective inspired—or misled—Leverhulme to buy the Island?" is answered by his son and biographer.[1]

159 By 1917 Leverhulme had felt it was time to devolve
423 his personal authority over his business, in the interests of its future. Hence he looked about him for an estate
433 in which he could exercise "his passion for changing the face of nature", and his eagerness for 'planning' with drawing board and T-square, and for philanthropy.[2] He nearly bought an estate in the Midlands in order to develop it; but work had already begun there, and he wished to find a place which would be his to remodel from the start. Thirty years before, Leverhulme had visited Lewis and now in 1917 he spent a week there, motoring all over the Island. "He was enraptured . . . he saw not merely a countryside in need of more and better roads, not only a residence and grounds capable of alteration and improvement, but a problem to be solved, a human and racial problem which had so far baffled all who had tried to solve it. . . . He had been told the Lewis man was lazy,

[113]

[1] Leverhulme (2nd Viscount), *Leverhulme: By His Son*, 1927, chap. xxvi, p. 221 ff. Lord Leverhulme, who had thought of styling himself 'Of the Isles' took the title 'Of the Lews'.

[2] Leverhulme (1927), cf. pp. 81-86.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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311 illustrates the narrow margin of habitability on these frag-
241 mented holdings.
423 Now, in Lewis periodic pooling and exchange, or the
241 practice of *movable* run-rig on the small joint-tenants' farms, was abolished early in the nineteenth century, except
423 upon the machar, where it still continues. Apparently the
476 strips were simply fixed where they had last been appor-
178 tioned by lot. Subdivision of the little crofts among sons and grandsons followed, owing to inheritance without re-
[175] clamation. Fairness gave 'the patchwork quilt' described; but it was fairness pushed to the point of folly, for differences in soil from one adjacent strip to another were slight! It is otherwise with the long, narrow plough-strips which run from the houses on the pure boulder clay down to the sandy shore: run-rig, movable or fixed, is understandable and necessary there. The case just cited shows how a sensible communal tradition, such as that of '*movable* run-rig' with periodic pooling, may degenerate into absurdity by fixation. Happily the machar still shows the sane maintenance of a tradition, the pooling of resources:[1]

182 In 1924–25, widespread distress in the Isles, the failure
161 of the Leverhulme endeavour, the crofters' refusal to own their own crofts, and the emigration which followed, caused many outsiders to forecast rapid depopulation. It was all
182 the more interesting to note the confidence in the Island's
161 future shown by buyers of the great estate, all of whom
471 knew what they were about, for they were men with experience of the Island, of its rates and rentals and of its people. To a wealthy man who repurchased a sporting

[113] [1] Apportionment of lands held in run-rig in the Carloway estate is described, and the principle discussed, in *Scottish Land Court Reports*. (See *Scottish Law Rev.* vol. 28, 7; July 1940, pp. 51-54.) At the same time 'mechanisation', or the co-operative utilisation of tractors had led to pleas for 'collective farming'. (*Stornoway Gazette*, February 1944.)

121 The importance of the 'regional' movement is inter-
185 regional and indeed international. In the case of the
Island, international order is required for its fisheries to
438 recover, and for its weaving to find purchasers abroad as well as at home. This in turn could allow small-holding to find an Island market in its little burgh, Stornoway. Without this triple basis of fishing, weaving and crofting for its economy, Island society will break up and its culture
[182] vanish, not evolve. It is no less true that only by the best utilisation of each regional environment, economy and society as we find them, will profiteers be held in check at home, and powerful peoples cease to exploit the sweat of others.

121 A pioneer American Report acknowledges the debt of
171 regional survey for the New Deal not only to France and Germany, but to a group of practical idealists, of geo-
[185] graphers, biologists and sociologists in Britain.[1] If nation-
ally we can be proud of Scots and British initiative in
[438] planning, we must own, until recently, to humiliating
[184] slowness in its execution, and in the mobilisation of regional resources for social ends. The chief end of our planning must be the re-making of society. In Britain it is not always realised that in the great developments of the New Deal the execution of concrete schemes which include civil engineering, industrial expansion and agricultural conservation, is accompanied by real cultural achievements, both urban and rural. Not only are geographers and economists, technicians, industrialists, and officials called to survey and plan the Tennessee Valley, but sociologists and educationists are required to complete the work. Not

[113] [1] *Regional Factors in National Planning*, National Resources Committee, U.S.A., December 1935. Cf. Lewis Mumford (U.S.A.); and P. Geddes, P. Abercrombie, L. D. Stamp, E. A. Gutkind, G. H. J. Daysh, and others (Britain).

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195 a well cultivated small farm, a striking example of what can be done with this unpromising
429 terrain. It is probably true that one of the objects of forming farms was to introduce
311 improved methods and so set an example to the small tenants. The contrast, today, between Garynahine Farm and the nearby crofts, suggests that more than example is required.

TABLE 4

POPULATION CHANGES 1841-1851

161
162
175

District	1841	1851	Change	(%)
Carloway	554	659	+105	(+19)
E. L. Roag	581	717	+136	(+23)
Bernera	670	676	+6(1)	(+1)
L. L. Roag	217	259	+42	(+19)
Valtos etc.	711	484	-227(2)	(-32)
Uig Bay	520	426	-94(3)	(-18)
South	384	348	-36	(-9)

Notes: (1) Vuamore - 46 (-100%). Kirkibost, Linshader, etc. had already been cleared.
(2) Reef -180 (-96%).
(3) Carnish - 60 (-36%) - but completely cleared before 1861.
(Township figures are not available before 1841).

The birth of the crofting landscape.

195 A further mid-nineteenth century attempt to improve the productivity of the small-
429 tenants' holdings was the lotting of runrig lands to form individual crofts. In a report to
311 Seaforth c. 1800, the Rev. Headwick had recommended the abolition of runrig* and some
632 lotting of crofts took place about 1811 ** - about which time runrig was being abolished in North and South Uist - but many townships in Uig, as elsewhere in Lewis, escaped this lotting. In Bernera, Kirkibost was probably lotted at this time and the crofts fenced; in 1852, despite clearance, the first Ordnance surveyors were able to record the old fences (which were used as the croft divisions when Kirkibost was re-settled in 1878). The now much divided crofts of Kneep (see also fig.22) are probably of the same date. Reef appears, also, to have been lotted early, for the remnants of fences recorded by the Ordnance Surveyors in 1850-1852, (Reef was cleared in 1850), show crofts of the same
[621] general form as those of Kirkibost, and quite unlike those of the 1850 lotting. Consequently, in many townships until this date, the houses remained huddled together in tight little groups, often inter-communicating one with another. The groups, or clachans, were usually set in the midst of the arable land. The runrig system had certain disadvantages, but, as a basic agricultural structure for small holders, it had two considerable advantages which may be relevant to modern conditions. Firstly, it was flexible: within it the individual's holdings varied in size and rent and it was possible, at the periodic re-allocation, to adjust the size according to family needs. An elderly person did not need to be burdened with a holding larger than he required, or was able, to cultivate; a young man with a

[113] ** Report.... on the Condition of the Cottar Population of the Lewis. (C.5265), 1888, p.37

* The essence of runrig was that any individual's arable land was in many pieces, scattered promiscuously amongst those of his neighbours. Periodic re-allocation of pieces was usual, but the period varied and in some cases was infrequent.

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 15]

TABLE 11

Land Available by Numbers of Tenants

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241
427
233
632

INBYE LAND			COMMON PASTURES		
	No. of tenants:			No. of tenants:	
Acres:	(a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:	Acres:	(a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:
	(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
0-1.0	1		Less than 50	88	
1.0-2.5	73	2	51-100	332	14
2.6-5.0	241	19	101-200	139	12
5.1-7.5	137	22	201-300	52	-
7.6-10	66	23	301-400	32	32
10.1-15	56	23	401-500	8	8
15.1-20	30	17			
20.1-50	29	24	940	10	10

Note: 'New' townships, for this purpose, are those settled since 1900.

361
632
In detail the arrangement of the townships varies. Certain features are common: all inbye land and, consequently, all settlements, are coastal (except Lochganvich). Each has common pasture adjacent to the inbye and many have further areas of common - former shieling grazings - some distance inland (figure 1). This division of the hill grazings is to some extent nominal because fences are often absent or ineffective. Uninhabited islands, on the other hand, require no fences, and are particularly valuable for winter grazing; the smaller of them provide convenient natural paddocks for bulls and tups when out of season. The management of all these common pastures is controlled [171] by the township committees. Unfortunately the most important aspect of stock management - control of numbers and maintenance of a proper balance of sheep and cattle - is almost universally neglected.

233
427
656
The total stock which each croft may put on the common pastures - the 'soum' - is defined in the Regulations. In the case of townships re-settled in the present century a specific soum is placed on each croft but, in most other cases, the bid practice persists of stating the soum in terms of rent. Thus the soum of each croft may be defined as 1 cow, 1 two-year-old and 8 sheep per pound sterling rent (this is a very common souming). Such soumings have been in existence since time immemorial; they are mentioned in 1836*. Many of the Uig townships had their soumings stated by the Land Court in 1912; in most cases the soum was given "per pound sterling of rent" (presumably 1912 rent), but in a few "per pound sterling of rent payable in 1886". The rents had been substantially reduced in 1891, thus 1912 and 1886 rents were very different. Any township has a certain limited, stock-carrying capacity; therefore, if the total rental is thus changed without

[113] * New Statistical Account, Vol. XIV, p.148.

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

166 island girls bringing mainland men to settle in the island are rare indeed. Thus migration remains, as it has long been, a one-way traffic and this is almost certainly related to the problem of establishing technical innovation*.

Age structure

162 [121] The age structure of the population reflects the changes that have taken place in recent years. The population of Uig, as is usual in areas of declining population, is ageing. It is one advantage of a survey such as ours that the data may be analysed in greater geographical detail than is possible from the published figures in the official Census reports. This is particularly important in the crofting region where neighbouring communities may show quite different demographic - and economic - trends. Table 52 compares the 1951 Census figures for rural Lewis with those of Uig parish and with certain other districts, one (Park) remote like Uig, the other (Point) being most accessible to the urban facilities and employment offered by Stornoway. Uig has an even greater proportion of old folk than has Park, but it also has more children. This is probably related to the smaller proportion of Uig's population finding it necessary to leave the parish in search of work (16%, compare 28% from Park).

The proportion of the population over 65 years of age has increased from 17% in 1939 to 21% in 1959; it is thus more than twice the national average and well above the figure for rural Lewis. The proportion between 45 and 64 has also increased whilst that between 15 and 44 has markedly declined. The actual number of persons aged between 15 and 44 had declined from 1,263 in 1939 to 752 in 1959. It is to this age group in particular that one should look when seeking economic development but it is by no means certain that this decline is an unmitigated evil.

TABLE 52

Age distribution

	Percentage in each age group:					
	0-4	5-14	15-44	45-64	65+	
Scotland	9.0	15.0	43.0	23.0	10.0	Census, 1951
Lewis (rural)	9.0	15.7	35.1	24.3	15.9	Census, 1951
Uig	7.4	13.4	31.5	26.1	21.6	O.F.O., 1959
Park (Lochs p.)	5.0	13.8	29.4	33.1	18.7	O.F.O., 1958
Point (Stornoway p.)	8.1	16.4	28.6	30.6	16.4	O.F.O., 1960
Uig Districts						
South	9.1	12.8	31.8	22.3	24.0	
Berneray	6.4	9.9	41.2	27.0	15.8	
East Loch Roag	7.4	14.7	32.2	23.4	22.3	
Carloway	5.7	13.8	29.1	31.4	20.1	
Compare:						
Uig (1939)	6.0	15.4	39.2	22.2	17.2	Reg. Register

[113] * For discussion of this topic see Caird J. B. and Moisley H. A.: Leadership and innovation in the Crofting Communities of the Outer Hebrides, Sociological Review, Vol. 9 1961, pp. 85-102.

TABLE 55

Proportion of resident males, aged 15-64, in Major categories of employment

See Appendices B(2) and D(2) for details.

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	Croft-work only	Croft-work and weaving	Croft and other regular work	Croft and periodic work	No croft work	Total (100%)
Uig Parish	11	43	16	15	14	(635)
Districts						
South Uig	13	27	22	24	13	(188)
Bernera	8	36	25	19	12	(130)
East Loch Roag	9	50	11	11	19	(146)
Carloway	16	61	6	6	13	(171)

[88] Table 55 and figure 47 summarise the main sources of employment. The small group engaged in 'croft-work only' may be briefly dismissed. A large proportion of these men are elderly or otherwise infirm; a few are pensioners (e.g. retired police or service men); very few indeed are fully occupied in the agricultural work of their crofts, thus 'full-time crofters' is a misnomer in this area.

464 [28] The most important category, in all districts, is 'croft-work and weaving', but it is relatively far less important in the south where there is correspondingly greater reliance on other forms of regular employment or on periodic work, i.e. casual labour.* It is difficult to overestimate the significance of weaving in all districts. It is the only substantial source of income in the parish and it should be clear from the previous chapter that weaving is not an ancillary occupation to croft work except in a few cases in the south. The weavers are not 'crofter-weavers' so much as 'weaver-crofters'. A curious distinction between Carloway and the rest of the parish is that, whereas generally weaving is young mens' work, the great majority being under 45, in the Carloway area two-thirds of [172] the weavers are over 45. The historical reason for this may be the earlier spread of weaving into Carloway than elsewhere for, although some weaving has always been done throughout the area, it only became a major source of employment south of Carloway in the last 20 years or so. Thus few of the older men in the south learned weaving when they were young. A corollary is greater dependance on the Merchant Navy as a source of employment for young men from Carloway than for those from the south.

464 Other sources of regular local employment are lobster fishing (Bernera only), gamekeeping and other estate work (Bernera shore and South Uig), and government establishments (South Uig). In addition there are the usual services - postmen, haulage contractors,

[113] * For a detailed discussion of the significance of weaving see Moisley, H. A., Harris Tweed - a growing Highland industry. Economic Geography, 37, 1961, pages 353 - 370.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 152]

17 or summer pastures for the tenants of Laxay and Barnish respectively, townships on the north
175 shores of the loch. In 1775, there were four tenants in Kershader, but their place of origin
162 is unknown. In 1805, five tenants are recorded, two of them from Uig; by 1824 there were 10
34 tenants. Thus the growth of population in Lewis during the second half of the eighteenth century
311 may well have been the major reason for the colonisation of one of the least agriculturally
161 attractive districts of the island.

From Figure 1, which shows most of the thirty-four occupied places south of Loch Shell about 1828, it is evident that colonisation had extended south into the mountainous area. The evictions, which commenced in Harris in 1816, may have increased the population already there as early as 1660, for many of these families came from Harris. The numerous shielings in South Park speak of a vigorous community: it is possible that South Park was more densely populated than the northern area up till 1800.

162 During the period 1818 to 1842, when the grazier, Donald Stewart, and his brothers had a lease
175 of South Park, most of these settlements were cleared (Fig 2): in addition, between 1838 and
361 1843, 68 tenants and sub-tenants in Shiolderniah, Cleiter, Seaforthhead, Lemreway, Oronsay,
311 Stiomrabagh and Iaginn were removed, in all about 436 people.[1] Some 27 families were sent to
161 Cressbost in North Lochs; others went to Tolsta and Tong in Stornoway parish, and some emigrated. The main body of those evicted settled in the townships in North Park: Marivig in 1838 had 6 tenants; by 1850, 22 are recorded. Thus the present distribution of population crystallised about 1840 and by then the townships along the shore of Loch Erisort from Habost to Garyvard were well established. The Minch coast townships from Cromore to Gravir, first settled about 1800, were greatly expanded, and Park south of Gravir became a sheep grazing devoid of small tenantry.

175 In 1844, the Seaforth family, which had held Lewis for over two centuries, sold the island to
423 Sir James Matheson. The estate management soon wrought great changes in the landscape. Until
311 1850-52, the run-rig system prevailed, a system whereby a group of joint tenants, or a tacksman
361 and subtenants, cultivated in small patches what arable land had been reclaimed, each share
241 being periodically re-allocated. The crofts, or individually held land, date from 1850-52, when the land was lotted and most of the present crofts were formed at this period. The settlement pattern associated with run-rig was one of closely nucleated groups of houses but when run-rig was abolished, houses were built on the individual crofts.

175 In 1858, Lemreway was once again made available to crofters, most of whom came from the
162 fishing townships where population pressure was building up. After the disastrous potato famine
433 of 1846-7, and the final failure of the kelp industry from 1840 to 1844, the population of the Outer
731 Isles experienced great hardship. By the early 1850's, the lotting of the crofts and the rapid
229 development of the fishing industry brought a period of prosperity and the population grew rapidly
161 especially in the fishing townships of the Minch coast. The prosperity was such that numerous cottars built houses on the lotted crofts, and their stock-keeping on the common was tolerated because of the demand for fishing crews. About 1884, the system whereby each boat was tied to individual fish merchants, who advanced meal and provisions against the catch, was discontinued. When this system was replaced by the auctioning of catches, such was the privation in Lewis that the Royal Commission investigating the poverty of the population in 1888 found conditions almost as severe as those prevailing during the potato famine forty years earlier. It was during this period that the Park Deer Raid occurred: Park became a Deer Forest in 1883 at the end of the grazier's
[685] lease. In 1888, as a demonstration of their grievances, a large number of crofters from the Park townships went into the Deer Forest and killed about 200 deer, cooking the meat in the open for all to see. Some were arrested but after trial acquitted.[3] A few good fishing seasons remedied this unhappy situation and the population of the fishing townships rose to a peak in 1911.

[115] 1 Evidence given to Royal Commission of Inquiry into Crofters and Cottars 1883. (Also known as the Napier Commission).

[113] 2 Report on the Conditions of the Cottar Population in the Lews, 1888.

[113] 3 Stornoway Gazette, 27.1.59.

175 While the Royal Commission of 1883-6 was investigating Crofting conditions in Scotland, the
423 farm of Seaforthhead and Shieldernish was restored to six crofters. Six years later, the Royal
311 Commission of Enquiry into the Highlands and Islands scheduled the following land as suitable for new crofting townships: Stiemreway, Eilean Calum Cille, Crobeg, and the islands of Orosaidh and Rossaidh, a total area of 153 acres arable and 3,502 acres grazing. A further 165 acres of arable and 40,135 acres of grazing in the Park Deer Forest were scheduled as land suitable for the extension of existing holdings. The Report of the Commission considered "that in the case of Lewis, it cannot be left out of view that the congestion is very great, and the demand by crofters for access to lands now scheduled is of a very urgent nature ..... The Deer Forest Commissioners do not believe that the lands now scheduled are suitable for new holdings: but were these lands occupied as common pasture by crofters, under a properly adjusted system of management, their occupation would be of much advantage to the occupants and more than outweigh the disadvantages."[4] As a result of this recommendation, the islands of Rossaidh, Orosaidh and Iubhairt, in all 90 of the 43,728 acres scheduled, were given to Marivig, Calbost, and Lemreway, respectively, as additions to the common pastures; the sheep farm comprising Crobeg, Oronsay and Stiemreway, and the Deer Forest were left undisturbed.

175 In 1924, after raiding, Oronsay was reconstituted as a crofting township, all but one of the new
423 tenants coming from the overcrowded crofts of Lemreway. An unsuccessful attempt was made by
632 squatters who had built houses at Stiemreway, to have their unofficial lots recognised, but some
311 families remained there till 1945. In 1934, fifteen small lots were cut out of the Gravir common
[163] pasture to relieve pressure on the Gravir crofts: this Department of Agriculture scheme marked the end of a century of population redistribution.

Thus the full recommendations of the Deer Forest Commission have never been implemented, but one can only conclude, after a study of the crofting economy, that greater participation by the crofters in the Deer Forest grazing would bring increased viability to the crofting community.

175 The landscape of Park has thus experienced four formative periods. Of the prehistoric era and
162 the early historical period, when the Norsemen held sway, a few archaeological sites and a large
341 number of place-names remain. From 1660 until the early nineteenth century settlement was
632 slowly established and spread over all the coastal fringe: this period saw the maximum areal distribution of the small tenantry. From 1828 to 1843, eviction stripped the entire area south of Gravir and west of Habost of population, and large scale sheep farming was extended at the expense of the small tenants. The fishing townships from Cromore to Gravir were greatly expanded at
[163] this time. From 1858-1924, three of the cleared townships were reconstituted: the population in the majority of the fishing townships continued to grow till 1911. Since 1924, fifteen new lots have been formed in Park but the population has progressively declined.

The absence of large scale resettlement since 1886 differentiates Park from most other crofting districts, but the exodus of population since 1918 and the existence of a population constantly struggling for viability in an area deficient in resources are features common to the entire crofting area.

[118] 4 Report of the Royal Commission Highlands and Islands, 1892, (often known as the "Deer Forest Commission").

THE PATTERN OF CROFTING

427 Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire,
241 Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties of
178 Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some
423 districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the
477 nearest equivalent to peasant communities in Britain, although only a small minority of crofters own their holdings, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, has all but disappeared.

175 Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to
427 compensation for improvements. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural
241 holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where the
423 annual rent paid was less than £30. Security of tenure, and compensation for improvements were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £50. In all, there are about 20,000 crofts in Scotland today[1] and Collier[2] estimated the crofting population at
[61] about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms
[62] a 1 per cent sample of the crofts, and a 0.9 per cent sample of the estimated crofting population.

Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

423 The characteristic settlement unit is the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal
427 distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the
241 individually held croft land, and the common grazings. The number of crofts per township
311 ranges from 6 in Caversta to 43 in Gravir.

232 The individually held croft land (1,839 acres) is partly 'outrun' or permanent pasture and the
233 holdings are usually but not always consolidated - in Gravir (Fig. 4) and Cromore some of the crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated from neighbouring units by a drystone dyke or fence but in Park, such demarcation is the exception rather than the rule.

The croft land is separated from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wall. The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor, ill-drained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park, only Oronsay common pasture is fenced, the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by crumbled turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture; the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured, a term comparable to the obsolescent 'gates' of northern England. In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young beast, up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per £1 rent. There is also a system of stated equivalences (Gaelic 'coilpeachadh') in most townships whereby substitution of cattle for sheep and sheep for cattle is permissible: in Gravir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumings and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed, soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming of their croft.

[13] 1 Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

[13] 2 Adam Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1953.

427 Although the croftland is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six
241 months of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole
[22] township stock graze indiscriminately over the crofts. Thus basically the whole area of the
[42] township, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear
[178] that the agricultural revolution with its system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Crofting
[233] Area.

175 Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic - 'airigh').
233 The sites of the shielings are usually on slopes commanding a view of the surrounding area near a spring or stream and usually two to nine huts belonging to the same township are grouped together on a site; isolated shielings are rather rare. In order to conserve the pasture within the township dyke for wintering and to protect the unfenced crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in June, and the younger members of the households went out to live in small stone or turf-walled huts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter or cheese at the shieling. The distance of shielings from the crofts varied from one to five miles in Park.

632 The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the township and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in the past related mainly to the enforcement of soumings, but are now reduced to the disbursement of subsidies, although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the township bull (usually lent by the Department of Agriculture but sometimes communally owned) are also the province of the Committee.

[341] The layout of the townships varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned
[342] in strips from the moor to the sea (figures 4 and 5). Most croft houses are built on the crofts; in
[78] former times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the cultivable land was required for crops, but nowadays the houses tend to be sited near the road.

162 The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing
361 in the rights and duties of the township. Table I gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 Park
427 crofts. It will be noted that only one-fifth of the crofts are tenanted by those in the 15-44 age
241 group: a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 65 years of age. Absentee tenants account for 14 per cent of the total. Women form under 10 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of
[464] the women tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The intrinsic worth of the holdings can be inferred from the fact that two-thirds of the male tenants in the insurable age group take supplementary work, two-fifths of them furth of Lewis. With such a large proportion of the tenants either fully employed in ancillary occupations in Park or elsewhere it is hardly surprising that the theoretical township organization exists mainly in name alone.

427 Each croft, however, is not necessarily an agricultural unit; some are sublet by absentee
241 tenants or by tenants who are too old or too infirm to work their crofts. Of the 215 crofts, one-fifth are wholly or partly sublet. In addition to the legal crofts, there are unofficial holdings which fall into three categories, cottars, squatters and feuars, all legally without grazing rights. A cottar[1] is a person, usually a close relative of the tenant, who builds another house on

1 These are the de facto definitions. Section 34 of the Crofters' Act of 1886 defines a cottar as follows:- "Cottar" means the occupier of a dwelling-house situate in a crofting parish with or without land who pays no rent to the landlord, as also the tenant from year to year of a dwelling house situated in a crofting parish who resides therein, and who pays to the landlord therefor an annual rent not exceeding six pounds in money, whether with or without garden ground, but without
[113] arable or pasture land". For fuller treatment, see Scott, J., "The Law of Smallholdings in Scotland," 1933, pages 152-155.

There is no legal definition of a squatter, and the above definition does not include any distinction between houses built on a croft and houses built on the Common Grazings.

Types of ancillary employment

241 464 The question of the desirability of ancillary employment in a crofting district is often debated. On the one hand, engaging in such work means less time for croft work and makes wholehearted participation in the agricultural life of the township a virtual impossibility. On the other hand, crofters who take ancillary employment are better able to make capital investment in their croft. Table IV shows that in Park, croft efficiency, as expressed by the souming 000 to actual stock ratio, is not necessarily related to participation in ancillary employment. If the township is to be re-established as a working entity, a clearer dichotomy in the population seems desirable; those who wish to work the croft on a full-time basis might be given full use of the available land, and those who wish to earn their living in non-crofting employment could take out feu charters for their houses. It is clear that the agricultural resources of Park are insufficient to maintain the present number of crofts as viable economic units but the problem of finding industrial employment for any large non-crofting population is very great.

184 464 The Park Association, in their keen search to attract industry, met with little response for high freight rates and distance from markets made economic industrial costing well-nigh impossible. The Chairman of the Crofters' Commission has recently suggested that some of the Glasgow Overspill of "tradesmen and small businesses" might find "an opportunity to prosper in the West Highlands and Islands"[1] but even with Government grants for the establishment of small factories, it is clear that present freight charges would be a severe deterrent.

178 228 One possibility is that the fishing industry might be revived. In 1945, 16 large motor vessels were fishing from the townships between Cromore and Gravir; by 1952, three boats remained;[2] only one boat was still fishing in 1958. The recent Fishing Board Scheme guarantee, which provides a flat weekly rate for every boat turning out, brings hope as this [145] guarantees a minimum livelihood. The major problem is the finding of the initial capital [452] required to buy and fit out a modern boat, at present about £20,000. Eighty-five per cent of this sum can already be found in the form of grants and loans from the Herring Industry Board but the remaining fifteen per cent or £3,000 is often the more difficult sum to raise. The Murdo Macaulay (Rhodesia) Trust has offered assistance to a limited number of fishermen towards the raising of the £3,000[3], and this offer is a real opportunity. If fishing is not re-started soon in Park, few of the original fishermen will remain to instruct the new generation.

484 [312] Tourism is an industry hardly developed at all in Park. Lack of running water has made the householders shy to offer accommodation, but it should be remembered that there are city dwellers who are delighted to accept inexpensive accommodation away from the crowded resorts. Dr. Stig Jaatinen, in his "Human Geography of the Outer Hebrides"[4], states that this fact has made the Aaland Islands prosperous, and believes that tourism on simple lines could be successfully developed in the Outer Hebrides. Tourism need not bring in its train the desecration of the Sabbath for people who are willing to journey far in search of a quiet holiday usually conform to local observances.

464 Unless new sources of employment are brought to Park, it is clear that ancillary employment must continue to be sought elsewhere. The higher 'spending standard' in industrial employment, and the opportunities to find entertainment in urban areas (tastes often resulting from experience during school days in Stornoway or National Service), militate against a large population of young people, but basically lack of employment and the uneconomic nature of the crofts are the real reasons for the high degree of temporary and permanent employment away from Park.

1 Letter to the Glasgow Herald 27.1.59
2 South Lochs Survey Report.
3 Stornoway Gazette 27.1.59
[113] 4 Stig Jaatinen, Acta Geographica XVI, No. 2. 1957.

[Lemreway] [Orinsay]

228 The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing
146 township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve
434 boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats
435 and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is
504 one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

161 An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with
162 those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

463 Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary
241 occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular
288 employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just
228 over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and
205 nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.
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166 Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939.
169 Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.
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Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house
342 has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most
377 of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. Ruins
312 of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or
961 up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs.
391 Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

484 Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents,
385 they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

000 It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable
407 enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling,
311 is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the
242 outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is
463 being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

181 The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this
000 is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

131 Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of
361 a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards
241 of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.
[113]

161 Table XIX summarises the population structure and trends for the four districts. It is significant
162 that the two districts without service centres, which provide a range of ancillary employment, have
166 experienced more severe depopulation since 1939. This table also underlines the fact that earnings
167 from seasonal employment are insufficient: the incidence of permanent employment furth of the
434 districts is three times as great as the incidence of seasonal employment.
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APPENDIX B

SHIELINGS - A NOTE

John E. Wearmouth with illustrations by Beth Blowers

175 From Figure 1, compiled from the First Edition six-inch map of the Ordnance Survey (1850
233 to 1852) and from personal observations, it is clear that the shieling system was at one time an overall feature of Park for the whole peninsula has traces of this transhumant economy.

361 The rudimentary structures, some of turf, others of stones and roofed with bracken or
342 heather thatch, are all sited on well drained sites, the majority on mounds. Almost all the sites are close to lochs or streams. The majority are in loose groups of from two to nine buildings, although there are some in isolation; no site has as many as twenty-six buildings as found at Airidh na Gaoithe in North Uist.

342 There appears to be two distinctive shapes of building - oval and rectangular (Fig.10). All shielings measured exhibited a remarkable similarity in dimensions, from 17½ by 9 feet to 13 by 12 feet. The oval structures are generally larger than the rectangular ones. Most of the shielings had two entrances, often, but not always, opposite each other.

175 The shieling system died out in Park about 1880 but the cattle continued to graze around the
233 shielings on the better grass, and the crofters had still to go out to milk the cattle at the shieling, although they no longer lived there. The sheep still use the mounds for shelter and grazing. These features of an obsolete economy are still easily recognisable from the luxuriant grass cover in a wilderness of peat bog and bare rock.

APPENDIX C

NORSE SETTLEMENTS NAMES IN NORTHERN PARK, LEWIS

Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt.

103 See: Magne Oftedal, The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides; in Norsk Tidskrift for
113 Sprogvidenskap, vol. XVII, 1954, (Oslo), pp. 363 ff.

103 Professor Oftedal points out the difficulties of these Norse-Gaelic settlement names: inaccurate spellings even in modern times, and lack of any useful evidence from older sources, make almost all the derivations a matter of conjecture. Sometimes two or more ON equivalents are possible (e.g. for Calbost), sometimes no satisfactory solution can be found (e.g. for Lemreway). Since Professor Oftedal frequently bases his explanation on pronunciations not recorded in written forms, his evidence is largely followed here.
SHIELDERNISH: the second element is N nes, 'headland'. Oftedal's explanation of the first as sílda, genitive plural of N síld, 'herring', is satisfactory linguistically, but seems unlikely in meaning.

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF THE ISLE OF SKYE, THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS, THE SEVEN CROFTING COUNTIES, AND SCOTLAND BETWEEN 1755 AND 1951 WITH PERCENTAGE INCREASE OR DECREASE IN INTERCENSAL PERIODS

YEAR	ISLE OF SKYE		WESTERN HIGHLANDS		SEVEN CROFTING COUNTIES		SCOTLAND	
	Population	% + or -	Population	% + or -	Population	% + or -	Population	% + or -
1755	11,252	-	114,884	-	257,183	-	1,265,380	-
1801	15,788	8.1	153,643	6.3	302,817	3.3	1,608,420	5.9
1811	17,029	7.9	165,074	7.2	318,266	5.1	1,805,864	12.3
1821	20,827	22.3	190,907	14.5	362,184	13.8	2,091,521	15.8
1831	22,796	9.5	200,955	5.1	388,876	7.4	2,364,386	13.0
1841	23,074	1.2	200,253	-0.3	396,045	1.8	2,620,184	10.8
1851	22,536	-2.3	190,728	-4.9	395,540	-0.1	2,888,742	10.2
1861	19,591	-13.1	174,983	-8.3	380,440	-3.8	3,062,294	6.0
1871	18,114	-7.6	168,359	-3.9	371,840	-2.5	3,360,018	9.7
1881	17,680	-2.4	167,928	-0.3	369,453	-0.5	3,735,573	11.2
1891	16,478	-6.8	164,281	-2.2	360,367	-2.5	4,025,647	7.8
1901	14,561	-11.7	158,738	-3.4	352,371	-2.1	4,472,103	11.1
1911	13,282	-8.8	151,085	-4.9	341,535	-3.2	4,760,904	6.5
1921	11,584	-12.8	140,946	-6.9	326,000	-4.5	4,882,497	2.6
1931	10,345	-10.7	127,081	-9.3	293,212	-5.7	4,842,980	-0.8
1951	8,603	-8.4	119,071	-3.2	285,667	-1.3	5,095,969	2.8

Sources: James Gray Kyd, Scottish Population Statistics ("Publications of the Scottish Historical Society," Vol. XLIII; Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1952); R.S. Barclay and F. Fraser Darling, "Studies in the Rise and Decline of the Population in the West Highlands and Islands of Scotland," in F. Fraser Darling, et al., The West Highland Survey (Mimeographed, 1950), Part III; and Scotland, Census of Scotland, 1951 (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953).

by the ability of the culture to maintain its form in the face of changes in content.

The inhabitants of the Isle of Skye, of course, should not be regarded as possessing a folk culture. To do so would make an airy nothing out of a concept already so indefinite that its usefulness is suspect.[9] They are, however, much akin to European peasants. Like European peasants in general,[10] the Skye crofters have lost much of their isolation, their former political independence, and their self-sufficiency. At the same time, they have retained a good deal of their former identity, a continuity of culture and an attachment to the land and to the traditional way of life. This is true despite chronic social instability and a passage through two periods of threatened social and cultural disintegration. The breaks proved to be only temporary. They involved the creation of a new cultural focus to replace the former integrative pillar in the first period and later a reaffirmation of the new focus. This does not mean there was a lapse of continuity. A comparable situation is found in the culture history of the Pueblo of Southwestern United States. Archaeologists tell us that the sequence has been broken, in particular at the end of the Pueblo III when the culture underwent a reorientation and a shift in locale. Even though the Pueblo were never again to live in the San Juan River drainage and

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[9] Oscar Lewis, Life in a Mexican Village (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 432-434. See also Steward, op. cit., p. 113.

[10] Kroeber, op. cit., p. 284; and Kimball Young, Sociology: A Study of Society and Culture (2d. ed.; New York: American Book Co., 1949), p. 230.

Wider Applications

161 The decline of rural population is not peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland. There are areas of southeastern Scotland, including some long celebrated for cattle and grain, which have lost nearly as many people as the crofting counties. Berwickshire, for example, is one of the richest farming districts in Great Britain. The population trend, however, has been much the same as that of the Highlands.[44] In 1801 there were 30,206 in the county. After a peak in 1861, there was steady decline until now there are only 24,770, a decline of 32.3 percent. The loss of rural population is a well known phenomenon beyond Scotland's borders. It has been a persistent problem in Ireland and Wales for more than a century. Indeed, it has been a familiar phenomenon in Western Europe since the days of the Industrial Revolution. The only notable exception appears to be Italy; her rural population has increased 40 percent in the last four decades. The same tendency for decrease is found in the United States in such different areas as the Appalachians, the midwest, and, as has been observed, New England.

Population decrease has also been the fate of many primitive peoples. The Island of Yap, for example, has lost a remarkable proportion of its former population in contrast

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[113] [44] Census of Scotland: Berwickshire, 1951.

their mother. While the father is the disciplinarian, both 594
children are expected to respect the wishes of their mother, 562
except that a boy can never be asked to do the work of a woman. At the same time, however, in the absence of a boy, a girl will take his place in the division of labor. The high status of the male and the subservient position of the female has persisted over the centuries. Always, male and female relationships are reciprocal and complimentary.

The patterns of interaction and the statuses and roles 594
which are manifest within the nuclear family on Skye are much the same as those described for the Irish small farmers.[15] The main difference is the occupation of the Irish farm by a three generation family group. Comparable family structures are found in the United States among the old Order Amish and, apparently, among the mountain people of the Southern Appalachians, many of whom are descendants of Scottish and Irish migrants.[16] Under Le Play's classification, the Skyeman's family is the famille-souche or stem family.[17] Although strongly patriarchial, the family on Skye has been weakened by economic limitations. At the same time, the Sgiathanach, as a member of both a nuclear and an extended family, has not lost his attachment to the land, to his kinsmen, or

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[15] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 55-63; and Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63-74.

[16] Kollmorgen, op. cit.; and Faith M. Williams, "Variations in Farm-Family Living," in Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1942), pp. 137-154. For the background of the Southern Highlander, see J. C. Campbell, The Southern Highlander and His Homeland (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1921). [13]

[17] See Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 57-59, 61-62.

TABLE 3

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CROFTS, CROFTERS, ARABLE ACREAGE, AND SOUMING RIGHTS
IN THE KILMUIR TOWNSHIPS

Township	Crofts	Crofters	Arable Acres[a]	Common Grazing	Souming
Bornesketaig	47	35	4	273	2 cows, 1 calf, 12 sheep
Hungladder	14	9	5	236	2 cows, 1 calf, 10 sheep
Balgown	4	5	13, 14, 34, 46, 66	177	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Kilvaxter	12	11	27	...b	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Linicro	19	17	15	729	5 cows, 5 calves 40 sheep 1 horse
Peingown	3	4	18	187	7 cows, 7 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Herbusta	8	8	12	308	3 cows, 3 calves 26 sheep 1 horse
Totescore	12	13	21	500	3 cows, 3 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Monkstadt	3	3	27, 27, 5	420	9 cows, 9 calves 40 sheep 2 horses

[a]Arable acres are given in average acres per holding, unless otherwise indicated. Except in Bornesketaig and Hungladder, arable land includes outrun, improved pasture land individually held.

[b]Shared with Kilvaxter.

[113] Sources: Compiled from The Valuation Roll of the County of Inverness, 1953; information extracted from the files of the Department of Health for Scotland; and data supplied by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

228 162 Throughout the present century, the commercial importance of fishing, judged on the basis of income, numbers of crofter-fishermen, and boats, has steadily declined. The number of crofter-fishermen has decreased at a faster rate than the decline in population. In recent years its significance as a part-time chore has also been reduced. Wage labor has replaced fishing in the economic pattern. In 1900 there were 1,015 crofter-fishermen with 485 boats.[22] While the number of fishermen rose to 1,039 in 1905, from then until now their number has fallen steadily. In 1953 there were 237 crofter-fishermen with 120 boats. Despite higher prices, the value of fish 228 [133] landed on the island is one-third that of 1900. In 1952 the total contribution of fishing to the local economy was £10,091. This is in marked contrast to the Outer Hebrides where fishing [262] brings in more money than crofting.[23] Fish have, of course, remained essential in the diet. All the crofters have their barrel of salt herring, purchased from mainland curers. Their own fish is usually sold for fish meal.

All who have considered the "Highland Problem" have stressed the need for some form of secondary employment to support the economy. Fishing has enjoyed great popularity as a recommended industry. This is due to the long tradition and the importance of fishing in the Outer Isles.[24] There are several pitfalls in the program as far as Skye is concerned.

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[113] [22] "Creek Returns for the Isle of Skye,—1890-1953," Fisheries Division, Scottish Home Department, Edinburgh, Scotland (in the files of the Division).

[23] Hance, op. cit., pp. 81, 89, 134.

[24] Ibid., pp. 89-110.

is no doubt that trawlers and seine netters have swept away 228
lines and gear, particularly earlier in the century. There is evidence that the use of the trawl net has led to more extensive and intensive fishing, causing a depletion of the quantity of marketable fish.[28] On the other hand, there is also conclusive evidence that the seine net and the new, large mesh trawl net allows the smaller fish to escape unharmed. The crofter, who continues to use hand lines, accounts for a negligible share of the catch. This is not a local problem, however. It concerns the entire European continental shelf.

The International Fisheries Convention has prescribed changes in mesh sizes in the interest of conservation, but agreement on the limit of territorial waters is another problem. Unless Great Britain decides to follow the precedent established by Iceland and Norway and extend her present three mile limit, only agreed limitation by the ratifiers of the Convention can reduce the intensity of fishing in the Minch, as in any extra-territorial waters. Fully aware of the advantages which would accrue to inshore fishermen from closing the Minch, the British Government has taken the position that it would be contrary to the best interests of the nation.[29] Such an infringement on the "freedom of the seas" might be followed by adverse effects on her naval, maritime, and fishing interests for other nations might follow

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[28] C. M. Younge, Professor of Zoology, University of Glasgow, "International Measures to Limit Overfishing," Glasgow Herald, Feb. 23, 1954. [113]

[29] Glasgow Herald, Dec. 15, 1953 and Jan. 27, 1954.

agricultural economy. Some may share my feeling that a 121
further exploration of these similarities would reveal evidence indicative of cultural continuity. We have three peoples who have had ample opportunity for divergence and yet have retained many essentials of Celtic culture. Moreover, all have been losing population since the middle of the last century. Unfortunately, at the present time, I am not prepared to extend this comparative approach. I am deterred by a recognition of two facts.[11] First there is the difficulty that peasant peoples all over the world seem very similar despite their distinctive cultural and historical backgrounds. There is, of course, diversity within similarity. Second there is the truism that the higher socio-cultural level of which the peasant is a part influences the form peasant life may take.[12] Although Anglo-Saxon and Norman influence impinged on the Welsh several centuries before it seriously threatened the Irish and Skyemen, the three groups have been subjected to basically similar stimuli for several hundred years.

Another question which may be asked is, has the culture 121
continued to provide meaningful patterns of interaction for [182]
the Sgiathanach? One means of answering this question is provided by Durkheim's theory of anomie. According to Durkheim,

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[11] Cf., e.g., Oscar Lewis, "Peasant Culture in India and Mexico;: A Comparative Analysis," Village India, ed. McKim Marriott ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," Memoir No. 83, 1955), pp. 145-148. [113]

[12] Cf., e.g., Wagley and Harris, "A Typology of Latin American Subcultures," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 3, pp. 431-448.

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FOREWORD

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

648 Scottish crofting townships in the Outer Hebrides,
014 in which I did anthropological fieldwork for fourteen months in 1970-71, participate extensively in the political, educational, economic and administrative
181 systems of larger British society. Despite this participation, the township presents various anomalous features, i.e., features which are inconsistent with what we would expect given our conceptions of the conditions of a modern, urban-industrial nation-state. The expectation that township members will manifest values and beliefs congruent with those prevalent in larger British society, and that patterns of economic specialization and individualization will be found among persons working in the available industries, is not fulfilled. Crofters continue to work small plots of land and engage in communal township activities even while employed by large industrial firms. Distinct patterns of value and belief persist, and are evident even in the use of new ideas and material goods.

121 This thesis attempts to describe and interpret the seemingly anomalous survival of crofting and crofting

171 typical homestead or "farmtoun" consisted of a
175 "ploughgate" occupied by eight tenants, each of whom
427 contributed one animal to the common plough and thus
241 had an eighth of a share of land or one "oxgate"
(Grant 1930: 97).

175 In the Highlands and particularly in Lewis, about
427 four to six men and their families worked together and
241 shared land which was held in run-rig. The Old
[476] Statistical Account (1796) lists 90 ploughs in the
[407] parish of Barvas or about one plough per five families
(Geddes 1948: 57). Geddes maintains that joint tenants
175 paid an equal share of the rent and had equal "soumings"
427 (the number of stock allowed on the common grazing land).
241 In contrast, Walker (1812: 56) says that joint tenants
114 paid different rents according to the share which they
233 had in the arable land, and that the number of cattle
which a tenant had on the common grazing land was soumed
or proportioned to his rent; all the tenants worked the
arable land together, and received a percentage of the
produce which was appropriate to their share. Geddes'
description (1948) emphasizes equality within the joint
farm; Walker (1812) and Gray (1952) point to differences
between tenants and subtenants.

175 Hamelts or clachans
241 (small clustered settlements) were broken up, and
361 houses were isolated on strips of land in linear,
178 single-street villages.

114 Gray (1952, 1957) argues that the main factor
178 behind the reorganization of land use in the Highlands was the progressive, individualistic, laissez-faire ideology of the 18th century. Grant (1930: 97) attributes the reorganization to the high demand for cereals which existed during the Napoleonic wars.
177 Highland landlords, who were very much in contact
241 with the society of the Scottish Lowlands, were influenced by agricultural practices there. The trend to change run-rig, which had once dominated the whole of Scotland, to fixed, compact holdings began in the Lowlands.

423 According to the "progressive" ideology of the
425 time, the giving of land to individual farmers in much
829 larger pieces than they had previously held would serve to stimulate agricultural development and give rise to a class of capitalist farmers. To give land to a relatively few people, however, meant the removal of a large number of tenants who had hitherto been able to survive under the system of run-rig.

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

LIFE TODAY

As in other Highland areas, some of the island's problems have 114
become so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. They have been
the *raison d'être* of so many commissions and committees of in-
quiry that their existence is now almost forgotten by the islander
—if indeed he ever understood their nature. Some results have [671]
been seen, such as the Crofters Act of 1886 which gave High- [175]
land crofters security of tenure, perhaps the most valuable [429]
measure of the last century or two. But somehow all things have
not progressed so well since that date; at any rate not so fast that
crofting, for instance, is now seen to be an economic form of
land use of benefit to both local community and nation at large.
Many problems have been virtually ignored by successive central 657
Governments; at least, remoteness seems to qualify a topic for
the office 'pending' tray. It has yet to be fully realised that the
island, with other Highland communities, is part and parcel of
the area generally administered from London and Edinburgh,
and merits as much attention to its welfare as other European
governments, such as Norway, give to their remote mainland and
island communities.

As usual, charity and self-help begin at home, and one of the 178
most dramatic changes in island life has been the result of the [241]
agricultural revolution of recent years which is changing once-
brown moors to lush green pastures: reclamation by re-seeding.
This revolution is still going on. Lewis crofters in particular are
showing the way, with other Highland crofting areas following
suit. The change in the Lewis scene is being emphasised by the [245]
planting of shelter-belts of hardy trees and the first of the new [313]
plantations of timber-producing trees. These show the promise of
the future: a lively future for a lively community. The fishing in- [228]
dustry also has a future, brighter on the horizon than it has been
for many a poor year. The Harris Tweed industry, the staple em- [288]
ployment-source in Lewis, is maintaining its ability to retain the
interest of the market. And tourism, once a perfunctory and [484]
casual affair, promises to emerge as a useful sector in the
economy. There are, in addition, many small pockets of native
initiative and enterprise which, given sufficient encouragement

3t Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

121 discovers the strength of community life. And by his
[181] renewal of 'racial' experience he may rediscover sides of
his own nature untouched by an urban task or a rural
[128] holiday. Hence a book such as this inevitably, and I think
rightly, contains much that has been felt in a personal way.
Yet to offset personal limitations, there is needed objective
survey, geographical and social, applied with an open mind
and submitted to searching criticism. These two sides,
personal and impersonal, I have tried to combine.

• 114 The initiation of this work owes much to others, in
ways of which they were never to know: to the chieftain,
farmer and scholar, James Archibald Campbell of Barbreck,
to my brother Alasdair, to my father, Patrick Geddes, who
suggested in 1919 to the first Lord Leverhulme that
Marcel Hardy, scientist and farmer, should survey the land
in Lewis-and-Harris; to Lord Leverhulme, and to Dr.
Hardy himself, whom I then assisted. To Mr. T. B.
Macaulay, LL.D., was due the suggestion and the plea,
made ten years later, that I should bring up to date Dr.
Hardy's MS. report.

121 It was because of Dr. Macaulay's faith in the Island's
future and the aid he generously gave to experiments in the
reclamation of peat, and also because of the Islanders' own
response to his lead, that I accepted this voluntary task.
Acceptance, as it proved, was rash. Except for certain
valuable findings included under Dr. Hardy's name, a new
[101] work had to be written. These circumstances led to the
making of the book, stretched over thirty-five years. Certain
[178] early hopes recorded here have been frustrated. On the
other hand, developments have taken place which few
could have foreseen but for their faith in the future of the
Island and its people. I trust that in this book the advan-
tages of slow growth outweigh the drawbacks, for time

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

184 verses would ring false to them! Before 1939, two-fifths
241 of the rural pupils of most non-crofting counties came or
361 went in the school year—most of them the children of
166 farm servants. Their schooling suffered, and their
teachers might be reduced to despair; indeed it is to
[182] educationists, rather than to agriculturists, that we owe a
[871] survey of these facts. When they leave home to be 'hired',
the young folk learn to fend for themselves but may suffer
[155] in the learning: stability of character and endurance in
attachment are hard to form.

It would be difficult to overstress the tragedy of the long-continued break-up of rural communities in the Low-
175 lands. From the later years of the English invasions, as
178 when Major wrote with his knowledge of Scotland in 1500,
241 this break-up continued through the early, largely unre-
361 corded phases of the agricultural revolution, down to the
later phases from 1750 or 1800 to the present day. No
166 one who has worked with fellow-servants on Scots farms
155 will under-estimate their sterling qualities. But the break-
up, the tragedy, happened. It was boldly sketched by the
Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston (to 1929) and verified by
• [114] Miss I. F. Grant (1924 onward). Beginning from intimate study of well recorded and surviving ways in the Highlands and the Hebrides, Miss Grant realised the significance of earlier Lowland life in the farm-hamlet or ferm-toun, as Lowlanders themselves could hardly have done. Comprehension of this break-up of community brings out the value of the enduring elements of communal life still recorded, remembered and surviving in the 'Outermost' Hebrides, at the core of 'the North and West'.[1]

[1] Ideas outlined in this section are developed in A. Geddes (1938–54). Detailed references will be found in the Bibliography.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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178 follows that as the descendants of the crofters of the South-
west and East Highlands could and did change their ways
within the space of a lifetime, so those of the North-west
114 Highlands and the Isles can change too. Given the co-
178 operative leadership which is arising in the twentieth
185 century and was totally lacking in the ideals and training
typical of the nineteenth, that change may be not only for
the better in the development of 'individual' qualities,
such as the power to do hard work for 'success'; change
may also maintain and develop what still remains of the
old characteristics which gave the community life of
the Gael, with all its faults, elements of beauty and
sanctity.

In an article on "The Human Geography of Lewis",
A. Stevens (1925) described the Island and people. His
comparison of the cold, wet 'desert' of Lewis and its
corn-patch 'oases' with the desert of heat and drought
[182] and its oases of palms, is ingenious and suggestive. One
[241] might follow up the analogy and compare irrigation to the
drainage of moorland and its fertilisation, which form the
means of reclamation at home, and draw parallels between
their immediate results on the land and the ultimate effects
on work and social life.

174 Until the agricultural revolution, the unwritten story
241 of Scotland was in great part that of a long, uneven struggle
134 to make sour soils fit for cultivation and productive of a
178 livelihood. Most of all is this true for North-west Scot-
land; moreover, there, for eighty years past, the struggle
241 has been a losing one, in the sense that arable land has been
134 decreasing and rough pasture deteriorating. In spite of
178 subsidies, the 'marginal farms' of Scotland have a tough
fight. Yet lands from Scandinavia to Finland and North
Germany are giving a lead in peat-reclamation, where

[654]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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137 by reclamation, notably at the Macaulay Demonstration
311 Farm on the 'peat moss' of Arnish Moor (south of
185 Stornoway), then too small to be shown, and in South-west Harris where new crofts were laid out in the thirties.

137 The six main types of vegetation in the Island may be grouped as three. First are the Hill Pastures and Moors: (1) 'Rocky' among the bare hill-tops of Harris and Uig, and (2) 'Fair' on favourable slopes, which merge into (3) 'Marshy Grass Moors' of coarse grass and sedges, heath and rushes. Secondly come (4) the vast brown 'Peat Mosses and Moors', either smooth and wet, with sedge and cotton grass, or channelled and cut up into hags; near the broken edges of the island cliffs this expanse is often fringed by (5) the 'Heather Moor'. Thirdly, by the sandy bays, are (6) the 'Machar lands', *i.e.* the 'Sandy Pastures', rich with clover; though narrow, this coastal plain is all important to stock-rearing and potato-growing, and so to settlement. In traditional terms, these three groups form hill moor, peat moss and sandy shores: *monadh*, *mòine* and *machair*.

(c) CROFTING AND THE CROFTERS' YEAR

1. *Place of Settlement and Choice of Work—Past and Present*

175 Lewis and 'Harrey', as they were called four centuries
114 ago, were well described by Dean Monro,[1] and his descrip-
tion is fundamental to the present scene. "Harrey is very
311 fertile and fruitful for corne, store and fishing, twice mair of delving is in or of teilling", which appears to mean

[113] [1] Dean Monro, *The Western Islands of Scotland . . . in 1549*, reprinted by A. Mackay, Stirling, 1934.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 that the spade and foot-plough (*cas chrom*) were used for
114 double the area ploughed. From Monro and from the
311 precise Statistical Accounts of the eighteenth century, it is
[241] clear that pony-drawn ploughs were usual in the smoother
[127] parts of Lewis. In North Harris are 'abundance of
[136] Deir'. We must not forget here that 'faire' and fertile
are comparative terms for the West. "Lewis is faire and
weill inhabit at the coste, ane fertile and fruitful countrey,
for the maist part beire [barley], with 4 Paroche Kirkes."
[226] There is "ane castell callit Stornoway . . . with 3 salt
loches, very fine for take of herrings . . . [and] infinite fresh
water loches. In the Lewis there are 8 waters with take
of salmont. . . ." There were also "Whales . . ." In
"a cove 2 fadoms deep at the ebb sea, uses Whytuns
(whitings) to be slain with huiks", there were "very many
haddocks and Men with their wandes sitting [as today]
upon the Craiges of that cove, and Lades [boys] and Women
[136] also. . . . In this Ile there are many Sheip for it is very
guid for the same. For they lay furth ever one mures
and glens and never enters in a house and their wool is
bot anes in the zeire pluckit off them in some fauldes."
[236] In Zetland wool is still plucked, not sheared.

The description of reclamation is specially worthy of note: "In this countrey all is peit mossland at the Sea cost, and the plaice where he wins his peitts this zeire [year] . . . there he sawes his corne the nixt zeire, after that he guidds it weill with Sea ware" [*i.e.*, improves or
[245] manures it with seaweed]. On "Ellan Colm Cill [an islet apparently on the east coast south of Stornoway at the mouth of Loch Erisort] Macloyd of the Lewis has ane faire Orchard, and he that is Gardener has that Ile [rent] free. . . ."

175 Around the coast of Lewis no absolute limit is set to
185
311

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

174 Commercial Revolution, and the manufacturers and financiers of the later Industrial Revolution. Along one or more lines, the chiefs may record a thread of ancestry continuing for twenty-five generations or more; but almost invariably it is intertwined with others spun by fortune and added at each generation from outside the region. This is true even in the Highlands, where the gentry of one or two particular clans used to meet regularly until the nineteenth century to court and wed, so that inter-marriage established physical traits still recognisable in their descendants. But as for the nobility or leading chiefs, their principal claims go back, almost invariably, to conquerors, Norse or Norman, and later, alien commanders sent by the Crown, although certain chiefs traditionally claim descent—at least through the maternal line—from legendary heroes and early Gaelic kings, a claim which may symbolise a real link with native strains. As for the people, in the Scottish Lowlands few original communities survive. But particularly in the Long Island, the long pedigrees of the crofter families show them to be pure in every thread for generations past; while the racial homogeneity of communities, isle by isle and township by township, marks them as truly 'original'.

114 174 These facts have been recognised by anthropology, but too often the full, cultural significance is missed. Sixty years ago Sir G. L. Gomme included evidence from Harris in 1790, and from Carmichael's memoranda to the Crofters' Commission of 1884, in his pioneer study, *The Village Community, with special reference to the Origin and Form of its Survivals in Britain* (1890). Gomme fully appreciated the ancient origins of custom and races. Indeed he shows analogies of primitive communal customs in the Hebrides and Britain with others of 'backward' pre-Aryan

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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.114 aborigines in India—lovable people when unspoiled by
174 tyranny, caste or industrial exploitation, as I can testify.[1] Yet Gomme, like many since, leaves the reader with an impression which must be re-examined: that the Islesfolk are the representatives of a backward race who have clung to predominantly superstitious, pre-Christian customs and beliefs. As a people, the Gael received and welcomed Christianity in one of its earliest historic forms, and main-
[128] tained its spirit through poverty and famine. To this inheritance we shall turn in Chapter VII, when the rhythm of life and its changes have been followed out in the following chapters.

174 To begin with, the briefest outline of historic sequence
613 is all that can be recapitulated, the Island annals having been recorded in the excellent Brand Report (1902), and
[114] by W. C. Mackenzie (1903 to 1937). Politically and strategically, the age of clanship may be thought of as a period of struggle between the Islands and the Mainland
[175] to the south or east. The long-drawn conflict of Clan Campbell of Argyll with Clan Donald—whose Chief was the Lord of the Isles of which Islay and Skye were the two dominant, western keys, and Lewis and Harris the northern outposts—offers a parallel to the conflict of MacKenzie of Kintail with the last MacLeods of Lewis. Obscurity veils the early origins of the Island clans, with their mingled Norse and Gaelic lineage, but chronicles are more reliable by the time of forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles to the Crown in 1493. The MacLeods of Dunvegan, chiefs in north-west Skye, continued to hold Harris until late in the eighteenth century, and they maintained an indirect connection until the nineteenth.

[113] [1] A. Geddes, *Au pays de Tagore: la civilisation rurale du Bengale Occidental*, Paris, 1927.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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(D) TACKSMEN AND SUBTENANTRY, FACTOR AND LORD: 1611–1800

175 We saw that in the Rent-roll of Lewis in 1718 the first
427 sixty-four entries, signed personally, recorded compara-
614 tively large holdings (tacks), the annual rentals of which were
621 from £3 : 6 : 8 to over £10, the occupant of one (or more) of which would be styled Tacksman or 'Man of the Farm-town' (*Fear Baile*). While one or two tacks were shared, a few tacksmen may have held more than one tack—though one cannot be sure, owing to the recurrence of the same
[551] Christian names in each clan. It is striking that half the tacks—though mostly small ones—were held by men of undoubted mainland names, of which there were twenty-two MacKenzies, four MacLennans and three Mathesons.
[166] These were doubtless the descendants of gentlemen from the mainland who in 1611 had helped to win and hold the
[551] Island for MacKenzie of Kintail, later Lord Seaforth. Of native Lewis names the principal are MacAulay, Morison and perhaps MacIver.[1] Only three small tacks were held by MacLeods, who may have been of Island stock. Lochs and Eye on the east coast had largely been granted in tack to the new-comers; on the south-west and west coast MacAulays and MacIvers held much of Uig and a few farms in Cladach; but more of Cladach and most of Ness (in the north) were still held by joint tenants. Stornoway was held by burghers, of whom perhaps two-thirds bore mainland names. The peasantry remained as unnamed subtenants on these holdings, of which the total rents show

[114] [1] The writers of the Brand Report (1902) assumed that MacIver is a native name. This would seem to be borne out by its frequency as a surname today, in contrast to MacKenzie, Matheson or MacLennan, though W. C. Mackenzie (1919, p. 92) thought the MacIver tacksmen arrived with Seaforth.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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xviii. 19-20). The worldly wise might think that the spiritual fare of these poor folk must have been lean indeed; while others, having heard much of the Highlanders' 'pagan' superstitions, may think even worse! The evidence from which to judge is found in survivals from a rich lore, and for most readers seen but 'darkly' through prose translations from the poetry of a tongue now known to few.

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The richest collection is Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* (*Ortha nan Gaidheal*).[1] Others were made by the Rev. Fr. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay, and by the Rev. Kenneth Macleod with Mrs. M. Kennedy-Fraser in the *Songs of the Hebrides*. Included here are unpublished verses given by crofter-friends in the Isles and others from Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection,[2] hitherto untranslated. What still remains has come down to us only by narrow escapes. One is reminded of 'Father Allan's' early death, after nursing his parishioners through an epidemic; and Carmichael's escape from drowning as "on

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[1] *Carmina Gadelica: Ortha Nan Gaidheal.* Hymns and incantations with illustrative notes on words, rites and customs, dying and obsolete: orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and translated into English; vols. i and ii (1st ed., 1900; 2nd ed., 1928); vol. iii, 1940; vol. iv, 1941. The last two volumes were edited by the collector's grandson, Prof. James Carmichael Watson, whose death as an Ordinary Seaman in war is mourned by his friends, and has been described as a disaster to the cause of Gaelic, and of humane learning in Scotland. One more volume edited by James C. Watson awaits publication. (In the following, quotations are referred to as from *Carmina*, followed by the number of the rune: Nos. 1-216, vols. i and ii; and Nos. 217-351, vol. iii. Vol. iv contains varied lore.)

[2] Of all these four, the least known is Fr. Allan Macdonald's little collection, *Comh-Chruinneachadh de Laoidhean Spioradail*, Hugh Macdonald, Oban, 1893. It was privately printed, and lacks a translation and table of contents. There could be no finer memorial to this man and the community whose spiritual life he helped to record than a new edition of all its ancient Gaelic 'spiritual songs', with the addition of others he wrote down before his death in 1905, and perhaps, of some of his own poems, notably his famous *Eilean na h-óige*, "Isle of the Young".

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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788 facing the sun, he cut a handful of corn. Putting the
241 handful three times round his head, the man raised the '*Iollach Buana*', reaping salutation,—and the whole family
[175] then took up the strain." While these notes by Carmichael
[178] describe the custom after the abolition of the farm-team, he also tells of "all the people of the Townland going together to reap" (*Carmina*, No. 89, cf. Note to No. 90). In the days of close partnership this was no doubt a team blessing, said by the chief reaper among his neighbours in mutual aid.

782 Grace before meals survives in Presbyterian house-
264 holds; and ancient graces are recorded in *Carmina*, vol. iii. The unpublished examples given here are from Miss Annie
[114] Johnston (or NicIain), Barra, to whose knowledge Gaelic lore owes so much:

1. O God, bless our portion, and our people.
2. O God, be about the beginning of our life (or food) and about the end of our life (*lit.* of our world).
3. O God, let nothing enter our bodies that may harm our souls.

A Dhia, beannaich ar cuid 'us ar cuideachd.
A Dhia, bi mu thus ar bithe (or *bidhe*)
'us mu dheireadh ar saoghail.
A Dhia, na leig dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n'anam.[1]

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[1] The reader will note the meaning in translation; but he should also scan the Gaelic, and the assonance of the vowels. In the first and shortest there is a simple play upon sound and meaning: *ar cuid 'us cuideachd*—"our share (of things) and our (share of) people, friends and family". In the second, Miss Johnston thinks there may be a play upon the words 'life' and 'food' (of which the sound is almost the same), reminding one that food is the means of life and of all that life means. In the third the apposition of ideas is characteristically emphasised in the pattern of the accented vowels in the words "*dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n-anam*"; here again the form, by means of which it sank through the senses into the heart, marks its native origin. Contrast with these the translation into Gaelic of a common English Grace. As in the English original, its prose lacks poetic form: *Tha sinn a toirt taing dhuit, A Thigearna, airson nan tiodhlaicean a tha Do mhathas a' buileachadh oirnn, troimh Iosa Criosda ar Tighearna.* Amen.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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782 The care of cattle was accompanied by prayer. As an
233 Eriskay housewife said to me, she would never leave her cow tethered without a murmured, "Saint Columba be herding you" (*Buachaille a'Chaluim-cille ort*). The curing of animal sickness, as of human ailments, was accompanied by prayers. And prayer was used to avert the evil eye, symbol of suspicions born of unreasoning fear which, psychologists tell us, beset the modern but little less than the ancient! The thought or act of prayer which links a man to his fellow-men links him to the dumb beasts. "The man who is merciful to a soul will not be merciless to a brute" (*Am fear a bhitheas trocaireach ri anam, cha bhith e mithrocaireach ri bhruid*).

796 Throughout Christendom each task of the annual
171 rhythm was marked, at its start and close, by a day of seasonal festival (*Lá Feill*). These Christian festivals re-
779 placed earlier celebrations and continued some of their features, often in play. Yet concerted seasonal activities could not be related to the supreme festival of the Christian Church, Easter, owing to its movable date. This is one reason for the great importance of other, fixed Festivals to
[114] rural community life. This point, not always appreciated by latter-day individualism, is made clear by M. M. Banks in describing *British Calendar Customs*, vol. i, *Scotland*
175 (1937). Remembering that the Old Style Calendar dates
178 were ten days later than the New Style (when officially adopted in Scotland in 1600), they may be compared with
796 the annual rhythm of climate and labour (Fig. 9). Until 1600, the New Year began in spring on 25th March. After the Reformation and the abolition of Christmas or Noel, *Nollaig*, New Year's Day on 1st January took its place as the day which, in the Protestant Highlands and Lowlands, still keeps alive some of the old friendly visiting and

3t Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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the invocation was addressed to boys and girls, in Uist to youths and maidens. The loveliest version of all had been spoken by an old, evicted woman and learned from her by a lad who, as a poor crofter in old age, passed it down for record, for ever. Of this invocation Carmichael wrote, " Probably it was composed to a maiden on her marriage. The phrase '*eala dhonn*', brown swan, would indicate that the girl was young—not yet a white swan ", a tender and delicate recognition of youth still to attain perfection. Not a thought jars, each stanza building up the rising movement of the whole. In the hundred lines of this poem, metre and assonance are regular except where growing intensity creates new rhythm and design; and the last vowel-rhyme of each stanza leads on to those of the next one, to form an unbroken ascent to the climax.[1]

The Invocation begins, " I bathe thy palms. . . . And I place the nine pure choice graces in thy fair fond face. The grace of form . . . of fortune . . . of goodness . . . of wisdom . . . of charity . . . of choice maidenliness

[1] Certain critics, struck with the variety of the poem but missing its thought-sequence and unity of form, took Carmichael's note of ' many fragments ' to imply that the poem was a composite version, piously restored by the editor—in spite of his statement that it was taken down from a single reciter (one Duncan Maclellan). Carmichael's 'spiritual power' of evoking treasures from the reciters was inseparable from his utter honesty. And the publication, forty years later, of four Invocations and of scores of fragments (cf. No. 277) has added (to the internal evidence cited) further proof that the poem was no editorial assemblage. Without doubt, the poem has grown from the inspired meditation of generations of poet-worshippers in a hundred glens and isles. But the English reader should realise what the Gaelic ear may hear: this poem forms an organic unity; though many petalled it is a single flower. Readers familiar with medieval or earlier chants know that the enumeration of attributes is a feature common to all, whether in Church Latin or other tongues, as in the English medieval hymn beginning, " God in my head, and in my understanding ". In Gaelic, however, the richness and freedom of the vowel-pattern and rhythms carries the thought onward, wave on wave to its climax. A foremost poet of France, Pierre Emmanuel, to whom I introduced this poem, exclaimed, " This is a Christian Song of Songs ! "

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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that never aged: Each one of these dreams, dear love, be thine. . . .

> The dusk of the Death-sleep is, love, in thine eye,
> But softly thou'lt sleep, softly sleep. . . .
> In name of the Three in One,
> Peace to thy pain,
> The Christ is come . . .
> Softly sleep, softly sleep. . . .

114

The late Professor Sir J. Arthur Thomson, deeply moved on hearing it sung for the first time, exclaimed, "How profound the civilisation of those who composed and handed down this hymn of farewell!" The Soul-friend and Watchers seem to unfold before us the wide range of human love, and—as they recall the tender relationships of birth, childhood, parenthood and parting—to touch the universal.

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 and of a township's tiny chapel, oratory or *teampull*.

798 In Lewis, as in the Northern Isles, the early years of the Reformation period had been years of invasion by the [829] King's Adventurers, of resistance, bloodshed and ruin. Hence when Mackenzie brought a Protestant clergyman to minister to the people they flocked to hear him. Naturally the new lord chose one of his important tenants from Kintail, the Rev. Farquhar Macrae. "For forty years prior to the visit (about 1611) no one in Lewis appears to have been baptized or married,"—or rather, no ceremonies had been performed by professional clergy, an important distinction. "'The population', we are told, 'had lapsed into heathenism', but 'Mr. Farquhar's' mission proved thoroughly successful. 'Large numbers of the people were baptized, some of them being fifty years of age, and many men and women were married who had already lived together for years.' The author also stated that the success of this mission went far to reconcile the inhabitants of Lewis to Lord Kintail's rule. According to a Kintail tradition, 'the number of people that came to be baptized by Mr. Farquhar was so great that, being unable to take them individually, he was obliged to sprinkle the water at random on the crowd with a heather besom'"[1] —much as it still is on certain festivals in the Roman Church.

[114] The tale of the Rev. Farquhar Macrae shows both the spiritual prestige of one who could read the Scriptures and must understand them, and the people's belief that a lord who brought a Gaelic clergyman must indeed be a Christian and was to be welcomed, or at least accepted. After the larger churches had been rifled by lairds, 'Pro-

[113] [1] Brand Report, 1902, p. xii; from Alexander Macrae, the *History of the Clan Macrae*, Dingwall, 1899, p. 57.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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testant' and perhaps 'Catholic' too, or sacked by the King's Adventurers, there seems to have been little effort to build or rebuild the four 'paroche kirkis', one of the terms of the Royal grant or infeftment of the Lews to Kintail (Seaforth). But the evidence in the previous chapter makes one doubt that the maintenance of Celtic Christianity by the people in their thatched 'temples', in their homes and fields, or at sea, was "a lapse into heathenism". The term had been better applied to the acts of certain chiefs, and of the King and his Adventurers.

175 771 [829]

Although imbued with their traditional faith, the people were intensely aware of their isolation from the great world, and humble as to their own oral learning and religious culture. Moreover, since the arrival of Christianity they believed that they belonged to the Church Catholic. But by the sixteenth century their lords had misappropriated funds, clerical absenteeism was common, and they cannot have been unaware of faults in the Church of Rome. They were the more eager to welcome any cleric who read the revered Scriptures, whether he came as a Calvinist or Episcopalian from Edinburgh or by perilous journeys from Armagh, Spain or Rome itself.[1] Living far from the worst theological controversies and persecutions inflicted for a century after 1560, the Islesfolk revered a good cleric for his own sake, as they did Macrae and, later, the minister of Barvas (and Martin himself) in lonely North Rona in 1695.

[1] Catholic missions to the Isles in the penal times are described in Compton Mackenzie's *The Book of Barra*, 1936. Martin (1695) refers to some Harris fishermen recently reconverted by priests, and to the mockery of their 'Protestant' neighbours because in spite of Roman prayers, their fishing had been less successful! Some of the MacKenzie tacksmen and no doubt their tenantry remained Roman Catholics until after the 'Forty-five, notably MacKenzie of Kildun near Stornoway, who gave shelter to Prince Charles in 1746. (W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 126-130.)

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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away scot-free! Both persons secretly concerned felt that they had endangered their souls by successfully defeating justice through their misuse of the invocation. Can one doubt that they were partly right in both beliefs? The malefactor's confidence had lent success to perjury, and perjury by help of prayer was deadly sin.

Now, the perverted use of prayer, as in this case, was clearly understood to be evil-doing; but what of magic and superstitious practices? Much has been written of 'Highland folk-lore and superstitions'.[1] The religion of the past should be distinguished from these. In *The Golden Bough*, Frazer drew a useful distinction between religion and magic. Religion, he wrote, relies upon the propitiation of higher powers—or even, in more primitive forms than Christianity, the propitiation of the forces of nature—while magic is an attempt at direct control of natural forces. Superstition may be defined here as a body of beliefs and practices in which hopes and fears attach themselves to things seen or done, by a multitude of false analogies and by irrational links of effects to supposed causes. Such superstitions are marginal to the main body of belief, worship and conduct which forms religion.

At the same time, no hard-and-fast line can be drawn between folk-lore and religion, where religion is handed on as living word and ritual almost without the aid of writing. This is particularly true where the religion of which we think, that of the Gael, is founded upon self-supporting peasant life, in line with that of the humble, working founder of Christianity—historically native to an outlying district of his own country—and not with the

[1] D. J. Macleod, D.Litt.: (*a*) *Highland Folklore* (32 pp.), Inverness; (*b*) Introduction to Martin's *Western Isles* (edn. Stirling, 1934). N. Morrison, Hon. D.Sc., *Superstitions of Lewis*, Stornoway, *c.* 1930.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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121 theology and scholarship of a capital city, even of a city
[771] so small as Jerusalem! It is sometimes forgotten that the Old Testament, upon which so much of theology is built, contains folk-lore and magic. Not until this is fully understood in the sense in which early Oriental 'folk' believed it, can it be interpreted, whether as imaginative symbolism or common sense.[1] Much in the orthodox belief of medieval or post-Reformation times was mistaken; yet it formed part of the religion, not the 'superstition' of the stage and period. Theology and philosophy are in constant transformation. Sheltered scholars, priests and rulers of cities may be ill-fitted to interpret the inspiration of a religion which grew from life in field, pasture and at sea, whether in its native land of Galilee and the East or among the Gael. One must live with a people and be one of them, at least for a time, to interpret their inner life. Lastly, no generalisation is true for all members of a community: individuals differ. The same prayer, the same rite, may be used in so different a way by each of two neighbours that its use by one is religious but by the other superstitious.

• 114 We have seen that the essence of the lore from which
776 we have quoted is not magical, but religious, in use as in inspiration. Strangers who had lost the sense of the beauty in the skies mistook a Gael's adoration of God at sunrise for prayer to the sun; when a man unbonneted or a woman knelt in the open, face turned to the rising moon lightening the dark, they confused prayer with worship of the moon itself. Now, in paganism, a belief in nature-spirits is strong: but propitiation is made not to objects such as the sun or moon, but to spirits believed to influence or

[113] [1] W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (3rd ed., ed. S. A. Cooke, 1927). J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (3 vols.), 1919.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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114 776 dwell in them—to a sun or moon spirit. If the people once believed in a 'moon-spirit', nothing is left to show it. Either the moon is addressed as if she could hear her praise, or—more commonly—"The King of the Elements" or "of life" is thanked for sending her light. The Archangel Michael is associated with the sun's rays; but symbolically in relation to heart and mind, rather than as literal belief. The response to sunrise and sunset was real; and it is not lost among the people, as a watcher may see.[1]

178 771 788 It remains true that pre-Christian rites were re-enacted, sometimes in fear and desperation when things had gone wrong, and sometimes in mere play. A Lewisman in Carmichael's hearing spoke of "going between the two great fires of Beul" (or Baal), his phrase expressing no more than a faded memory. But in Reay, in hard times bordering on famine, a fishing skipper was seen by his small son, supposed to be asleep, to assemble his crew and, after putting out the fire on the hearth, kindle the *neid fire* by rubbing two pieces of wood vigorously together. Each man then carried a kindling back to his own home.[2] 121 Was this a religious ritual of human energy, heat and light, symbolic of forces held to be under Divine control but to be used as they used wind and tide by strenuous effort at the oars? Or was it magic, pure and simple? When men are shaken by failures and the fear of famine, prayer in word and ritual may restore hope for better things—for safety in storm and for fish in abundance as in a miraculous draught—and confidence in their powers for their work. But the same can be true of magic. And neither prayer nor

(113) [1] For contemporary record, descriptions of sunsets have appeared in the *Stornoway Gazette* from the pen of a crofter in retirement, N. Morrison.

[2] *Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes, *Neid Fire*.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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171 though the suspected person was not thereby accused of
754 ill will, he would have to make some effort to put it right. 'Cure' might be sought either by counter-malediction on the supposed ill-wisher, known or unknown, or else by prayer that the evil should be spread so widely as to be harmless, as "on all the wild birds of Heaven . . . that it would do them no harm"—a charming touch! (*Carmina*,
782 vol. iii). Prayer was the normal and the best protection, free of any malediction, and was included in general intercession for loved ones. But fears remain—not only in 'distant' isles—both in peace and in the extreme stress of war.

114 A psychotherapist of 1917–18, A. J. Brock, wrote that
155 the "War was not in essence a new thing, the ordinary life of every day being itself a sort of battle".[1] Brock brought the hard-learned psychotherapy of war to bear upon a fresh understanding of the countryman struggling against an environment with which he has got out of tune. Failing in spite of strained effort to get the food and warmth he needs for himself and his 'wife and weans', the peasant may lose happiness in home and village, and faith in the future. "How did primitive people express all this?" asked Brock, noting that the risks and casualties of bad times in the past brought fears and floating pictures comparable to those of 'shell-shocked' patients.

171 In all lands the unity of family life and labour is
776 symbolised in homelier folk-lore by the protective spirit of each homestead. As long as the work is carried on heartily and thriftily the Brownie is pleased. But the people may become negligent, or begin to labour from mercenary motives. The true spirit of the work is then upset and (in all folk-lore) the Brownies begin to give

[113] [1] A. J. Brock, *Health and Conduct*, 1923, pp. 155-170.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 Education Act of 1872, for the people "did not want to
178 give their children wings to leave them".[1]
871 The reading of Gaelic progressed fairly rapidly after
[671] 1800, in order that the Bible might be read. By 1833 something like one in three or four of the population, or more than half of the younger people, could read Gaelic. The Hon. Mrs. Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth, it seems, had a 'warm sympathy' both with teaching to read the
175 Scriptures and with evangelical preaching. The coming
114 to Lewis in 1824 of the first evangelical minister, the Rev.
793 Alexander MacLeod, an Assynt man, is described in his memoir in a striking volume, *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands*, edited by J. Greig (1877).

175 "At the distance of more than half a century it is not
771 easy to form a conception of the religious and moral condition of Lewis previous to the year 1824. The present
793 writer has heard a still living minister of the Free Church, who is a native of Uig, declare publicly that only two or three copies of the Bible could be found within the wide extent of the parish, and that he himself travelled a journey in search of a copy of the blessed book, and all in vain. . . . The densest intellectual and spiritual darkness held universal sway. Notwithstanding the pleasing features that characterise Highlanders, even in their most primitive condition, this state of things could not fail to be attended with baleful fruits. Despite their constitutional warmth of heart and loyalty of nature, unbending fidelity to what they esteemed to be honour, and their unbounded kindness and hospitality, many gross vices were found commingling in the characters and lives of the Lewis people. For, however strange it may appear, at the first prayer-meeting

[1] Quotations to this effect, dating from the *Old Statistical Account* until 1883, are given in the Brand Report of 1902.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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178 intuitive and traditional, of the people, and their love for
(181) the good and beautiful. Song collectors from outside the
Island have found little and assumed that song had been
• (114) swept away. Discretion is certainly needed for song col-
(533) lection! Years ago in Bernera I had been told of a pretty
love lament I had not heard. Calling with my hosts to
125 invite him to their house that evening, we found the singer,
533 a burly crofter of fifty or so. We had been about to
183 mention the word 'song', when the word was checked on
our lips by a swift, warning glance. The singer lived with
his old mother and she must not be told that her son went
533 out on such an errand! Nevertheless, Islanders them-
178 selves are collecting many unpublished songs, where
strangers failed. The Laxdale School choir wins prizes at
(814) many a national gathering or *Mod*, for their spirited singing
of songs, many of them unpublished. Owing in part to
their very isolation, these songs have remained as pure in
form as in the Catholic Isles, whether in time and rhythm
or in scale and mode. Thus the sub-intervals or 'quarter-
tones' of the modal scale add subtlety to the melodic line
of an air, as in the melodies of Wales or of distant India.[1]
These intervals are rarely heard on concert platforms,
being unrecognised by many 'Mod medallists'. They
are rarely known to professional musicians trained to
the mechanical scale of the piano, and who are asked,
as adjudicators, to award praise or criticism by alien
standards.

181 Courtesy and modesty are noticeable among the young

[1] M. Kennedy-Fraser, Preface, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. Cf. Glyn-Williams, *Welsh Song and Dance* (Curwen, 1936). For India see A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindustan* (1914), pp. 104 ff., and H. A. Popley, *The Music of India* (1921); cf. A. Geddes in A. Karpelès (ed.), *L'Inde et son âme*, Paris, 1927. While published phonographic records of Indian singing normally illustrate these intervals, those of Gaelic Hebridean singers rarely do, as they are accustomed to alter to suit a piano.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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language." Many Islanders would agree with the statement that Gaelic was a barrier to economic progress. It was not only Lowland schoolmasters, ignorant of Gaelic but an educated, sensible class of men in their day, who used the strap on the palms of the little children "for their good" because they could not understand English. An active Lewis country schoolmaster, who had considerable rural knowledge and experience, said to me: "I know what I have suffered through life from being brought up on Gaelic. If I had my way, I would *punish* [with the strap] every child I heard speaking Gaelic in the playground!" Had the Island School Boards wished Gaelic to be consistently taught with English, they could have prevailed.

One may not only disagree strongly with the means—the strap—but hold that enlightened bilingual teaching is both worth while culturally and also of assistance to intelligence without interfering with use in English of the three Rs, and of secondary and higher education. Yet in Lewis recent non-verbal tests in English and Gaelic show a mean intelligence quotient depressed by about 15 points.[1] The conclusion seems to be that under the present system the Gaelic school child is still at a disadvantage compared to other school children. But even more important to the child's development would seem to be the expression of his response to his rural environment in his own tongue. For this the school tests and the educational code do not fully provide; nor do the tests of life when the adolescent Islander suddenly finds himself at work in a Glasgow factory or abroad in city streets. What concerns us here is the economic drawback of a lack of ready English among

[1] Christina A. Smith, M.A., B.Ed., *Mental Testing of Hebridean Children in Gaelic and English.* (Scot. Council on Research in Education, vol. xxvii (London, 1948); J. L. Campbell, *Gaelic in Scotland* (and ed.) (Edinburgh, 1948).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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CHAPTER X

BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER: 1918–1952

(A) SEVEN YEARS' ENDEAVOUR, 1918–1925

1. *A Planner: Lord Leverhulme of the Lews*

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LOOKING back to the aftermath of unemployment following the First World War and forward to anxieties ahead, a soldier in 1944 protested that it would be exacting too great a sacrifice from the country's manhood to throw it unaided, upon "the hazards of peace", for the second time in a generation! If Island life is to be planned for in the ensuing peace, we must ask, "What of plans last time?" Depression in the Island was not primarily due to the failure of any one of the three parties immediately concerned—to the Islanders, the crofters, cottars or fishermen, to the Scottish Office or its Departments, or to a particular philanthropist—nor even to failures by all three to get together for the Island's good. All three may deserve their share of praise or blame; who might not, stranded without warning by such an ebbing tide? Behind the personal factors on which biographers and writers have insisted, in retelling Leverhulme's Island adventure, larger forces were at work, undoing the efforts of all. Further, by undermining confidence and preying upon anxiety, disaster upon an international scale brought the Island consultations from unity to feud and to frustration.

[114]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

159 weighed the estimated expenditure necessary to complete
433 the unfinished projects, and their prospects of success,
comparing these with similar conditions on the East Coast
228 and at Fleetwood, and with the trend of prices. His
decision was to close the venture, and Harris was sold.
[423] The skeletons of the works were left to rust beside the
quay, while the wreck of a coal steamer was left unsalvaged,
to break up slowly upon the rocks outside, a symbol of a
lost enterprise.

2. *An All-Round Policy for Sea and Land*

185 From the 'start' in Lewis, the first Lord Leverhulme
had shown his vision and grasp as a planner. Survey pre-
ceded plan, and decisions were swiftly put into action.
185 Why then had abandonment and failure followed? Per-
• 114 sonal factors have been over-stressed. 'Crofters' have
been accused of stubbornness, the Scottish Office of
procrastination and Leverhulme of impatience or obstinacy.
Stornoway shopkeepers have also been apportioned their
share of blame; and while all of them welcomed the
advent of Leverhulme as sure to bring money through the
crofters' pockets to their own tills, it is possible that, later
on, some of them did prove Devil's Advocates, having
come to fear the rise of competition by co-operative or
other large-scale concerns, should the town expand at a
[181] rapid rate. Stressing other factors of character and incom-
patibility, one popular Scots author went so far as to praise
the Lewis crofter for preferring a spiritual life with poverty
on a croft, to easy work and high wages in a town. There
runs a story, well vouched for, which might seem to con-
firm this. After Leverhulme had held forth upon 'work
for wages', in a township where there had been pressing

3t Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

applications for shares in the division of a farm, but where Leverhulme now felt sure of his success, an old crofter spoke up slowly: "My Lord, what the crofter wants iss *Contemplaition*". Now, fondness for contemplation is found not only among crofters as they age, but among older fishermen all round the shores of Britain, even if it mellows in the Isles especially. Yet, as Leverhulme saw for himself, there was abundant activity among men in their prime, as they strove to refit their boats on their return. In 1919 hope, not contemplation, was their prevailing mood: hope for an active, fisherman's life.

With all these hopeful human factors on the side of common effort at the start, why then did differences of view-point come to be accentuated, not harmonised, and 'incompatibilities' lead so soon to friction, deadlock and breakdown? Surely one basic fact remains. In 1917–18, when Leverhulme framed his policy and made his plans, the Scottish fisheries, to judge from pre-war years, could still expect to hold high place in providing for a brisk market in herring and white fish. True, the value of the Island cure of white fish had fallen from £100,000 in 1900 to one-tenth, £10,000, in 1913; but Leverhulme saw that since fresh fish were now demanded, his capitalisation of equipment with accelerated transit of the catch should bring quick recovery. The herring trade had been active at Stornoway up to the eve of the war; and although the Islanders had made leeway following the introduction of steam and of larger motor drifters, Leverhulme thought he saw an opportunity to capitalise the industry, providing 'work for wages'. This forecast was wrong. Consumption declined, and the market fell. Not only so; the proportion contributed by Scots fishermen to the shrinking market declined even more.

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

159 schemes, and knowing how much local fishing depended
458 upon international policy, particularly the resumption of
433 trade relations with the chief customers of the past, Lever-
hulme, one feels, should have dealt no less outspokenly
228 with these. The removal of trade barriers lay not in the
[656] hands of the Scottish Office or of Scots officials (however internationally minded these might be as private citizens), but in the hands of Ministers of Cabinet rank and leading financiers, of whom Leverhulme himself was one.

458 In brief, the Scots fisheries suffered after the war as
neither Leverhulme nor others had foreseen when first
433 he laid his plans for the Island's prosperity. It seems
228 clear that had this major change been squarely faced
by Leverhulme and Government alike, in 1920, 1921 or
[423] even later, they could never have fallen apart about a relatively minor issue, that of the farms. Both sides turned their faces away from this disquieting factor of the Baltic markets, though both knew it to be fundamental to the success of Scots fisheries and the Island's future. Had they faced it together frankly, then, even if powerless to effect a remedy, their sincerity might have prevented a deadlock upon a secondary matter.

159 To Leverhulme, given his large scale of expenditure
423 and return, the division of a few farms formed a minor
issue. But to a number of ex-Servicemen, 'crofters'
185 without a croft, the division meant a home and relative
433 stability. Moreover, what was merely a matter for personal
decision to Leverhulme, was a lifelong issue to many people
423 brought up in congestion on the wrong side of the boundary
[438] fence. Meantime, milk from Easter Ross was available in Stornoway, at town if not at country prices. Lastly, further possibilities of land-development lay open to Leverhulme,
[114] though not so readily to the unaided people. In reading

3t Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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114 reports of early speeches by Leverhulme, Professor Patrick
185 Geddes had quickly come to feel that his old acquaintance,
423 Leverhulme the industrialist, might have overlooked such agricultural potentialities as existed, and that he had quite
433 overlooked the social significance of land. Hence, in May or June 1919, Geddes proposed that a survey be made by one who knew the Highlands botanically, who was experienced in agriculture, and who had some knowledge of Highlanders at home and of sociological factors. Geddes
[123] suggested Dr. M. E. Hardy for the task. Leverhulme forthwith accepted the suggestion and commissioned Hardy, whom the present writer assisted on the Island.

311 Examination of the farms, so hotly debated, showed that they possessed little or no initial superiority over neighbouring crofting settlements. That the farms were placed in the best coastal tracts for agriculture is true, but their shores are at the same time the poorest in harbours and fishing facilities. As a result, the crofters dwelling near the farms along parts of the same machars and smooth slopes were 'crofters' who sometimes fished, rather than fishermen with a house-site and a potato patch. As Hardy wrote (in his MS. Report): "The chief superiority of the farms resulted from levelling, drainage and enclosure" by landlord and farmer, sixty or seventy years before. The improved land both of farms and adjacent crofts was reclaimed from peat and machar, or from an admixture of both. "How then", asked Hardy, "did so much value
[423] come to be attached to the farms? The traditional grievance (of eviction) led neighbouring crofters to turn their eyes towards the green patches of the abandoned villages and endowed the old land with special virtues. After the Crofters' agitation of the 'eighties, successive Boards came with their eyes already focused on the farms, by the

185 Leverhulme grasped the problem in this fresh way, complementing his first policy of the sea for the seamen by one of the land for the landsmen, he could cheerfully have allowed the Government to honour their promise to divide the farms, and thus he would have brought peace to all. In giving up the farms he would merely have had to reconcile himself to additional imports of fresh milk from Easter Ross, at an extra cost of a penny or two per pint. To do Leverhulme justice, experiments on peat were begun (about 1920) upon a small scale, partly, it is understood, as a result of Hardy's report. Yet in failing to make this reclamation an integral part of his plans, in refusing to adapt himself to promises given and to agree to the wishes of many applicants, Leverhulme of the Lews allowed peace to be wrecked. Why he should have stopped work in Lewis in order to remove to Harris, is not clear. There is nothing to show that crofter-fishermen in the creeks of Lochs and other fishing tracts of Lewis believed less firmly in fishing than their fellows in 'the Bays' of South Harris.[1] Nor was there extensive land for dairying in Harris. To make a second attempt to found a centre, involving fresh expense, at Obbe (on the exposed south-west coast), a much less favourable point on the Island than Stornoway, was to court disaster, not to pilot his way through the difficulties of falling markets to success.

185 Leverhulme, it is true, had seen one side of the 'all-round' policy required: the need for a plot of land for the Lewis fisherman and his family. In Hardy's words, "A man's choice of the sea should not prevent his having 'a

[1] In his father's biography, the second Viscount suggests that there was a difference of character between the (unreasonable) men of Lewis and the (reasonable) men of Harris. The assertion is unsupported by the facts. There were raids in Harris, too, comparable to any in similar tracts of Lewis, but in neither were they important.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

185 corner he can call his own', a kailyard or garden. His
311 womenfolk might wish to keep poultry, and even a cow.
[114] More than this . . . might tend to make the old amphibious life begin over again." Where Hardy went further was to see the need for a complementary policy; the development of crofting into skilled small-holding. "Similarly," he went on, "the development of small-holding, by one who chose the land for a career, should not prevent his spending a leisure hour fishing from the shore, or in a neighbour's boat, for haddock, saithe, or flounders for the morrow's dinner. Yet the wish and need for a higher standard of living involved new emphasis on one chosen vocation, and a greater division of labour than heretofore,"
311 whether on land or sea. Some division of callings already existed, be it remembered. Manifestly, in the virtual absence of arable land for them, about 1500 cottar and squatter families had perforce to depend mainly on other occupations than the land. These families included the keenest, most successful, and potentially prosperous fishermen, like those of 'congested' Scalpay (off Tarbert, Harris). The useful "Remarks" formerly published along with the "Creek Statistics" of the Fishery Board, repeatedly contrasted the townships and creeks mainly concerned in crofting with those mainly occupied in fishing. The contrast is to be found from the Shetlands round to
[159] Barra or Kintyre. Leverhulme, seeing a future in the
[433] fisheries, tried to give the almost landless seamen their chance at sea. Had he accepted the complementary policy of giving a number of the now boatless crofters a better croft and means to improve the outrun, his schemes would have been complete.

114 It is a misfortune that Leverhulme's one-sided policy
159 had already hardened in his mind when Hardy (and the
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3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

present writer) came to the Island in August 1919, and still more by November 1919 when Hardy's Report had been completed. Leverhulme had begun to fight for his plan, rather than use it in a supple way. Yet there was still a chance to put things right had the concept of a balanced community been clearly visualised by Government and people, by working fishers and crofters and the educated. Had an active 'Lewis Association' existed at that time, it might have turned the scales.[1]

Lastly, during the war and after it, Leverhulme had said, again and again, that it was his admiration of the people which had called him to the Lews. By means of this 'all-round' plan, the very root of Island character could have been renewed, namely, communal life. It was with their communal life in mind that Hardy—in spite of his horror of bad husbandry and of the physical dirt of the byre and black house—wrote, first, that "rural re-

[1] Quotations from the MS. Report having been published (apparently without permission, and with somewhat misleading criticisms), reference should be made to these to illustrate the need for survey and collaboration with Leverhulme in the first three years of his proprietorship, and the importance of survey for action today. In 1919 Mr. W. C. Mackenzie (to whose historical researches lovers of Lewis owe so much) had published his belief that "Under the new proprietorship . . . the results [of development] will be at once fruitful and far-reaching", without his making any constructive comment. By 1932 he wrote very differently, criticising Leverhulme's policy and also Hardy's (qualified) approval. At that later time, Mr. Mackenzie would have it that 'the Lewisman' was a crofter and fisherman in one, and that for him to become 'mainly a fisherman' or 'mainly a crofter' (in Hardy's words) would be false to his character and tradition. Now, historically, the element of regional specialisation is ancient in the Island; the crofter-*fishers* of Lochs, Uig or 'the Bays' of Harris have long been rather different from the fisher-*crofters* of Barvas, or of Coll and Gress. Specialisation was strongly marked by 1914–19; it still is. Further, Hardy (and the present writer) had not pled for complete divorce of the two vocations of sea and land. We urged that crofting be given its chance as well as fishing; and that the two callings should be complementary. Allowance being made for a quarter of a century of changes, the facts and the need remain. Cf. W. C. Mackenzie, 1919 (p. 187) and 1932, for the quotations given.

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

185 construction of the Island must rest upon the improvement
311 of the land": and secondly, that by this means "it was imperative to revive the traditional community spirit, the
114 essential feature of Hebridean civilisation". Those words still hold good. Yet the land itself is too barren and the soil too poor to provide a living for many by export of
438 fresh agricultural produce to the mainland. Only a local market could pay a fair price for most of the products of
159 intensive small-holding. Judging from the free, untram-
433 melled trade before 1914, Leverhulme held that fishing could be set upon a commercial basis in the Isles; and
228 there could be few better judges of commercial possibilities
438 than this keen industrial thinker and organiser. If he was right, as surely he was, to begin with, then the local market to be created, or rather enlarged by growth of population and prosperity at Stornoway, could have purchased the fresh milk and eggs, the fresh greens and fruit, raised on enlarged small-holdings and marketed co-operatively.

181 A final comment remains to be made. The community
476 spirit of Scots fishers from Berwickshire to Barra has gone far to make co-operation among the men of the crews a living thing. 'Work for Wages' offered little outlet for this, indeed it virtually suppressed it; and 'co-partnership' on the Port Sunlight model was a very different matter from the co-partnership of a crew. Even if at that time it had been proved impossible to organise free co-operation in fishing, co-operation in small-holding townships might have kept the communal spirit alive, for later renewal at sea.

114 It is not easy to assess the after-effects of Leverhulme's
433 activity. Leverhulme certainly helped hundreds of families by the provision of wages for the building or rebuilding of roads and other works, of which some were completed

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

and are of lasting advantage. Yet his projects were conceived impersonally, apart from the people, and to be valued in terms of money alone. Was it to be wondered that more permanent values were liable to be overlooked? Immediate payment and the prospect of further wages rather than a home to build and a boat to adapt, suggested immediate pleasure, for example. The unsettling influences of War, and the natural wish for a big spree after four years of it, led to some squandering of money; and there was heavy drinking at Stornoway by fishers there and from round about. In the end, when payments ceased, the prospects of the crofters and fishers were as barren as ever. Above all, the somewhat conservative though sensible outlook of the people having already been disturbed by the impact of War, their sense of values was further shaken by seeing the control of immense capital resources in the hands of one man, whose efforts seemed, by comparison, to dwarf their own independent struggles and group co-operation. Of definitely spiritual values little was heard, for 'enlightened self-interest' was Leverhulme's declared motive in life. Remembering this, there are men and women of insight in Lewis today to whose judgment a lifetime's disinterested work with the people gives some authority, who believe that in the end Leverhulme's incursion brought little lasting good. Leverhulme certainly showed how to plan boldly and on a great scale. He drove straight for a vital issue, but in an ill-balanced way. The result raises a major question. Can balanced planning be achieved by one man whose personal fortune and pride are at stake, in opposition to a free community, and in face of an international situation of which the prime social issues oppose his desires and declared principles of 'enlightened self-interest'?

APPENDIX I

178 crippling losses suffered after 1914–18. A beginning has
228 certainly been made. The Herring Industry Board's scheme for
'Queen of Scots' kippers will help the Minch fishing. It will
434 not necessarily help the ports of Stornoway or Tarbert, because herring can be landed at mainland ports and treated there or else taken by road to the Moray Firth, kippered there, and still qualify under the scheme. The Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society has aided the marketing of lobsters to good purpose.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island*

114 It is to be hoped that members of the Lewis Association
814 may ascertain these, perhaps in collaboration with University research workers. This, in turn, might instructively be collated with the imports and exports of the Island, which are recorded and ascertainable with a precision impossible for a similar area on the mainland. Thus the facts would throw light on the economy of other crofting districts.

(v) *Allowances, Pensions, Unemployment Assistance and Remittances*

657 With regard to money received by the crofting communities
434 of Lewis from other than 'productive' sources, figures have kindly been made available regarding three sources, namely, (*a*)
436 Allowances made to members of the Forces and their depend-
729 ents, and Pensions, (*b*) Unemployment payments, and (*c*) Money Orders and Postal Orders. The yearly periods for which
434 figures are available are close enough to permit of reasonable comparisons. Among other sources, Bank Drafts form an insignificant fraction of monies received by crofters from outside
[505] the Island. It is impossible to say how much cash is brought home by men paid off from the Merchant Service and other
[464] employment, or how much may be sent through the post in the form of notes, whether registered or unregistered. The amount is known to be large, however, and an estimate based on the number of insured employed, and other figures, would be of value. A token figure is suggested in a note to the concluding Table.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

PREFACE

114 121 This report is the result of a remarkable co-operative enterprise. In August, 1959, a party of 19 members of the Geographical Field Group and Scottish Field Studies Association undertook a survey of crofting in Uig, one of the four parishes of the Isle of Lewis. In less than three weeks more than 700 crofts and other households were visited or recorded in accordance with a scheme devised by my colleague, Dr. Caird, and myself. This scheme has been used by us in other parts of the Hebrides and, therefore, the record of Uig is an integral part of our Outer Hebridean crofting survey, undertaken between 1956 and 1961. [122] We are extremely grateful to the nineteen voluntary field-workers who, it is worth recording, travelled from England and stayed in Uig entirely at their own expense in order to help us; they could have spent their holiday more cheaply in Switzerland - an enlightening comment on the fundamental economic disadvantage of the Hebrides.

Geographical Field Group

114

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Miss F. Madge Phillips	Mr. Roger H. Thomas

125 [121] The object of the work was to make an impartial record of the state of crofting as a way of life and as a means of livelihood. The boundaries and land-use of every croft were recorded on 1/2500 plans, enquiries were made as to acreages of crops and grass and numbers of livestock, and the population of each household was recorded, taking account of sex, age and occupation (part or full-time) of each member including those who, perforce, must seek work elsewhere even though their only home is in Uig. The Croft Record form is reproduced opposite.

122 The successful completion of the survey was not only due to the co-operation of the Geographical Field Group and Scottish Field Studies Association. Adequate preparation would not have been possible without the advice and help of officials of the Department of Agriculture, County Council, Scottish Land Court, Crofters Commission, David Macbrayne Ltd, the estate factors and many other bodies. Miss C. B. Smith, Carnegie Research Assistant, undertook much of the tedious preparatory clerical work. In Uig 123 itself we were encouraged and assisted wherever we went. We owe exceptional debts of gratitude to the Ministers, school-masters and township clerks, who welcomed us and made our purpose known throughout the parish, also to the families who took us into

123 their houses and allowed us to completely disorganise them with our mountainous heaps of maps, files and notebooks, and particularly to the housewives whose excellent meals were never out-paced by our enormous appetites. Finally, although in general it is invidious to mention names when we received so much help from so many, four gentlemen whose assistance was quite exceptional deserve special thanks - Donald John Macleod, Breasclete; John Macdonald, Meavaig; Donald Maclean, The Schoolhouse, Valtos; and 'Murdanny' Macdonald, Breaclete, Bernera.

114 The supervision of field work by nineteen persons whose training and previous experience varied very widely was no easy task. I am happy to record my thanks to those members who undertook special responsibilities in this respect; in particular to Philip Wheeler who took complete charge of the Bernera district, and to Brian Loughbrough
128 who exercised supervision of the East Loch Roag - Loch Carloway district. Every effect was made to ensure that our record was complete and accurate; nevertheless we cannot claim perfection. In some townships, despite cross-checking of maps against croft records, serious discrepancies were subsequently found in the cropping data; in others the stock (of sheep in particular) obtained by adding individual croft records is short of the total which were led to expect in the township as a whole. As far as possible such discrepancies have been accounted for, and we believe and hope that our data and conclusions will be of some assistance to those whose duty it is to ensure the economic and social well-being of these crofting communities.

This report consists of four parts:

Part I: Introductory (on crofts and crofters)

Part II: District accounts of South Uig

Part III: District accounts of Bernera, East Loch Roag and Carloway

Part IV: Analysis of agriculture and population data, and conclusions.

Parts I and II form the first volume; parts III and IV will form the second. The actual preparation and printing has been greatly aided by the advice and patient assistance of Mr. G.P. Richardson, Assistant Secretary of the Court, and of his staff in the printing department of Glasgow University.

H.A. Moisley.

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Park

114

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121

FOREWORD

Many are aware that the small scattered communities of the Atlantic fringe of Scotland still pursue an uncertain livelihood by farming under the system known as crofting. There are many, too, who know that the system is in decay and that steps must be taken if the economic decline which threatens these communities with ultimate extinction is to be arrested. Yet, despite various proposals for improvement, the exact nature of the crofting system itself has never been fully investigated. Clearly it is important to do so and the best way of achieving this is by a full survey of the existing conditions. A valuable start was made in the West Highland Survey by F. Fraser Darling which appeared in 1955. In 1956, more intensive studies of particular crofting areas were begun by members of the Department of Geography of Glasgow University under the direction of Mr. H. A. Moisley and Dr. J. B. Caird who thereby initiated the Crofting Survey. Studies were made in Benbecula and South Uist in 1956, in Barra in 1957, in Harris and Waternish (Skye) in 1958, and the value of a team of geographers for such work has been amply demonstrated. For the first time, moreover, survey and mapping techniques were applied to the township as the working unit, for the township is the real basis of the crofting organisation.

114
121 The success of the South Uist project made these further surveys desirable and another opportunity occurred in 1958 when the organisers of the Crofting Survey invited the co-operation of the Geographical Field Group in making a study of the Park district of the island of Lewis. The Geographical Field Group gladly responded to this invitation to contribute to a field study so closely consistent with its own aims and practice. The members of the Group who took part in the survey did so with a strong sense of purpose, recognising from the outset that the Crofting Survey deserved serious support. Together with members of the Department of Geography at Glasgow they made an effective team. The results of their study which forms the subject of the present report, ably prepared by Dr. Caird, make an impressive record from which there already emerges a clearer understanding of the crofting problem. The report is worthy of wide recognition and it is to be hoped that it will be followed by others dealing with different areas.

K. C. EDWARDS

President, Geographical Field Group.

INTRODUCTION

121 Since 1955, staff and students of the Geography Department, Glasgow University, have been engaged in a survey of Crofting Districts. This survey is intended neither to rival nor to replace the work of Collier and Fraser Darling, but to supplement their studies by more detailed field work: in the areas selected every croft is visited; so far, including Park, 2,250 crofts have been recorded.

After the publication in 1957, by The Scotsman, of two articles on South Uist by Mr. H.A. Moisley, the Pairc Association inquired whether a similar survey could be carried out in their area of Lewis. Initial arrangements were made by Mr. Moisley, with the co-operation of Mr. MacMillan, secretary of the Pairc Association, and eleven members of the Geographical Field Group spent almost three weeks of their summer holidays working in Park, led by Dr. J.B. Caird, assisted by Miss Catherine B. Smith. The party worked in small groups, each making a particular study of one or two townships. Neither croft nor township boundaries are recorded on any published maps; these were obtained so that land use and house sites could be plotted on 1:2500 plans; details of crops and stock were recorded for every croft and an enumeration of population made for each household, the latter being done by Dr. Caird as a rule, with the help of local residents. Only in this way can a true picture of contemporary crofting be obtained, for official sources, such as the Census and annual Agricultural Statistics, deal mainly with counties, only occasionally with parishes, and never with townships. Yet it is the township groups which are the essence of Crofting.

114 The people of Park showed great kindness in answering innumerable questions with truth and 123 good humour. Their hospitality was quite overwhelming; without their willing co-operation this study could never have achieved any degree of completeness. It would be invidious to mention any single member; all did their utmost to help, but without Mr. MacMillan nothing would have been possible. It was he who found accommodation for the party in a community where tourist accomodation is almost unknown, and for this, and for much other help, we owe him a great debt. To our hostesses, Mrs. Campbell, 13 Gravir, Mrs. Macaskill, Heatherview, and Mrs. Macaskill, 13 Glengravir, we are perhaps in the greatest debt: they looked after us so very well and unsparingly, and from them we learned the values and outlook of the Park community. By way of pre- 114 123 paration, much help was given by Mr. D.M. Mackinnon, the estate factor, by Mr. Donald Mackay, 11A Kershadir, by the staffs of Messrs. David Macbrayne, of the office of the Registrar-General for Scotland, of Register House, of the Department of Health for Scotland and, in particular, of the 123 Department of Agriculture for Scotland. Finally, thanks are due to Miss Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt., for the appendix on place names, and to the practical agriculturalist who made an assessment of the agricultural economy possible.

The township reports were prepared by the individual members and the editor contributed the general chapters. The editor would like to record here his personal thanks to the party. Few leaders can have been blessed with such cheerful enthusiasm, steady application and willingness to work long hours; they mastered the methods and techniques of the survey extremely quickly and added new ones. The quality of their field work may be judged from their reports. The checking, organising and filing of the data both in the field and afterwards, as well as the preparation of the tables for the present report, could not have been done without the skill and enthusiasm of Miss Smith. Thanks are also due to Mrs. Esme Diamond and Miss Smith for typing the draft and especially to Mr. I.A.G. Kinniburgh, Cartographer in Glasgow University Geography Department for re-drawing the maps and diagrams.

000 The value of the field work lies not only in the present report, but also in this permanent statistical and cartographic record in Glasgow, to which we hope present and future research workers will be able to refer.

122 am indeed grateful for this aid and the encouragement which this support implicitly extended.

114 The field work was carried out under the supervision of Dr. Thomas T. Paterson, of the Department of Social and Economic Research of Glasgow University. Were it not for his sympathetic understanding of the problems of the novice field worker, I might never have concluded the research. He also read many sections of the dissertation and offered helpful criticisms and suggestions.

128 I would also like to acknowledge the advice and interest of Dr. A. K. Cairncross, Chairman of the Department, and that of Mr. Angus Matheson, of the Gaelic Department, who guided me through many of the difficulties of the Gaelic language and, as a native of the Isles, read much of my descriptive material on his kinsmen with a critical eye. At Edinburgh University I wish to thank Dr. Arthur Geddes, of the Department of Geography, and Dr. Kenneth Little, of the Department of Social Anthropology, for their guidance.

One debt of gratitude must be acknowledged only by implication, because those who helped me want it that way. Although they are unnamed, their hospitality and their contributions of both facts and insights are not forgotten. To the men and women on Skye, to the Skye exiles in the Lowlands, and to the government officials in Edinburgh and Portree I extend my sincere thanks.

The personal interest of Professor William A. Hance, of the Department of Economic Geography of the Columbia University School of Business, has been an invaluable support. Drawing on

CHAPTER IV

SPANNING TWO CENTURIES

The first problem faced by the anthropologist who attempts[2] to seek cultural continuity through periods of population change in a culture and society contained within Western European civilization is the formulation of an interpretative framework which will reduce the complexity of national and international history to the level of the local culture. The problem is made doubly difficult by the almost complete lack of unbiased opinion. The accounts of the Isle of Skye which 114 have been preserved were written by men who had witnessed and had been impressed by the apparent benefits of expanding imperial commercialism and the prosperity of the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution. The writers were pedants, self-styled political economists, and trained agricultural economists. Few of them ever descended from their platform of economic criticism, mainly directed at the proprietors and the principal tenants, to describe the non-economic aspects of the way of life of the people, unless some novelty caught their attention. Those who wrote about the religious facets of the culture were no less opinionated than the economists. The occasional author who devoted attention to the Island's society was more concerned with the personalities of notable individuals and their achievements, especially the exiles, than with the bulk of the population.

114 It is only in the distant past and comparatively recent times that governmental inquiries and enactments give a glimpse into the culture. For well over a hundred years after the abolition of the clan system the British government showed no inclination to become involved in the local situation. While the American colonists rebelled because taxation without representation was no less than tyranny, the Islanders suffered in silence under the laws of the Kingdom. Two works, however, [127] do give a picture of life on Skye. These are the (Old) Statistical Account of Scotland and the New Statistical Account of Scotland.[1]

121 The conceptual scheme which has been adopted to reduce national history to culture history takes two points of departure.[2] On the one hand, there are four well defined periods marked by innovations in the economic, social, and religious aspects of the culture and varying rates of population change. On the other hand, there are the overall trends of culture and population change and the continuity of the culture. The *175 dates selected to mark the beginning of each period are: 1745, 1811, 1845, and 1886. The year 1745 is the conventional date for the beginning of the modern period of Highland history. It also marks the beginning of a prolonged period of population

---

[1] The Statistical Account of Scotland, ed. Sir John Sinclair (21 vols.; Edinburgh: William Creech, 1790-1799); and The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. XIV: "Inverness - Ross and Cromarty" (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845). I shall refer to these works as OSA and NSA.

[2] I am indebted to Julian Steward for the general approach which follows.

and individualization, there is little, if any, reason to speak of secularization. Many of the existing features of the culture can only be understood when viewed from the perspective of the religious aspect. Certainly, the state church has been weakened by schism and rational practices have replaced superstitious rites and beliefs, but this has not produced a secular society. The religious patterns have reinforced the traditional culture, or those parts of it which were considered worth preserving, by giving the culture a suprasocial sanction.[93] Religion has bolstered the status values, especially those of the father in the family and the old men in the community. Religion has provided many of the occasions at which the people come together to find solidarity and security. Finally, religion has provided the focus for the culture. Although the factors of cultural change have led to modifications in the culture's content, there has been continuity. For a more complete understanding of how Skye has readapted to the higher level of socio-cultural organization and preserved its distinctiveness, I shall devote the remainder of the present study to an analysis of the contemporary culture.

---

[114] [93]After writing the above account, I discovered that Arthur Geddes, a geographer at Edinburgh University, has recently discussed some of the evidence for cultural continuity on the Isle of Lewis and Harris, one of the Outer Hebrides. Although he takes important notice of the all-pervading influence of religion in the lives of the Hebrideans, past and present, I feel he overlooks the function of religion as an agent for maintaining cultural continuity. See Arthur Geddes, The Isle of Lewis and Harris: A Study in British Community (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1955). [See 1: Geddes, this file--Analyst]

101 more recent to the west, and in the industrial area of the
161 Great Glen the trend is reversing itself. To the north and
162 south depopulation has been more serious. To the east the general trend has been similar to that of Skye. We need not be troubled by statistics at this time, but for convenience
[178] the population figures are given in Table 1. The Outer Hebrideans have preserved more of the social aspect of the old culture than the Skye people while the Mainlander has felt the effects of the processes of acculturation with more obvious results than the people of Skye. In short, the Highlands are not a homogeneous region. They represent a great diversity of conditions.

My information on the contemporary culture of the Isle
101
115 of Skye was provided by the residents of three communities, the villagers of Portree and the crofters of Glendale and
101 Kilmuir. Portree is a small nucleated village with a popu-
621 lation of a thousand. It is important to the study because
[365] in many ways it represents an alien way of life. Here are found the county and national government offices, staffed mainly by newcomers to Skye, which serve the whole island.
[364] Here too, are the grocery, drug, clothing, and hardware stores which depend on the people of at least, northern Skye
[364] for a large part of their trade. There are a number of craftsmen who are equally dependent on the rural population. For the most part, the members of both groups are newcomers
[368] from the Lowlands or elsewhere in the Highlands. As the
[365] terminus for the mail steamer which links Skye with the mainland, and the hub of the daily bus service which connects the rural

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Sociocultural Change in a Scottish Crofting Township

by

Susan Parman

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis Director's signature:

Edward Norbeck

Houston, Texas

May 1972

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FOREWORD

122 The research on which this thesis is based was made possible by a grant from the Foreign Area Fellowship 114 Program. Research was conducted from June, 1970, until October, 1971.

000 Among the many individuals and organizations that were extremely helpful, I would like especially to thank Miss Dorothy Soderlund and Mr. James Gould of the Foreign Area Fellowship Program; Mr. Eric Cregeen and Miss Morag MacLeod of the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh; Mr. Roger Bland of the Scottish Land Court; Mr. Gordon Adams and Mr. Alastair Munro of the Highlands and Islands Development Board; Mr. Halley of the Crofters Commission; Mr. D.J. Mackay and Mr. John Murdo Morrison of An Comunn Gaidhealach; and Mr. Patrick Guiton, Mr. Finlay Macleod, Mr. Norman MacDonald, Miss Susanne Barding, Mr. Charles Macleod, Miss Pat Swannie, Mr. W. Mathieson, Mr. Alastair Fraser, Mr. Gordon Gair, and Mr. Alec Murdo Morrison.

Special thanks are due to Mr. Robert Storey, that summum bonum of pivotal nodes in a vast network of contacts, and to his wife, Lisa.

I would also like to thank my teachers and advisors at Rice University, Professors Edward Norbeck, F.C. Gamst, M.E. Sheldon, Ronald Provencher, and the late Mary Ellen Goodman.

ooo My deepest thanks go to the occupants of Shawbost, whose hospitality, humor and humanity can never be adequately portrayed or repaid. Although the names [128] of the village and its subdivisions have not been disguised, the names of all persons referred to in the text have been changed.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to a wise and empathetic social philosopher, my friend, E.T. Jacob-Pandian.

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Map A

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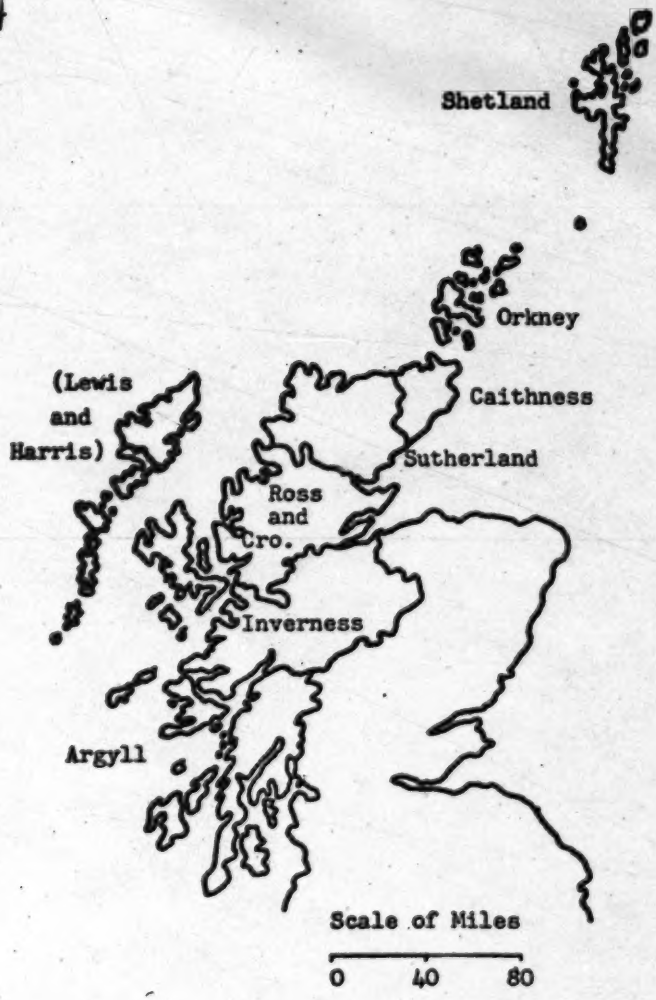
The Seven Crofting Counties of Scotland



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Map B

Lewis and Harris

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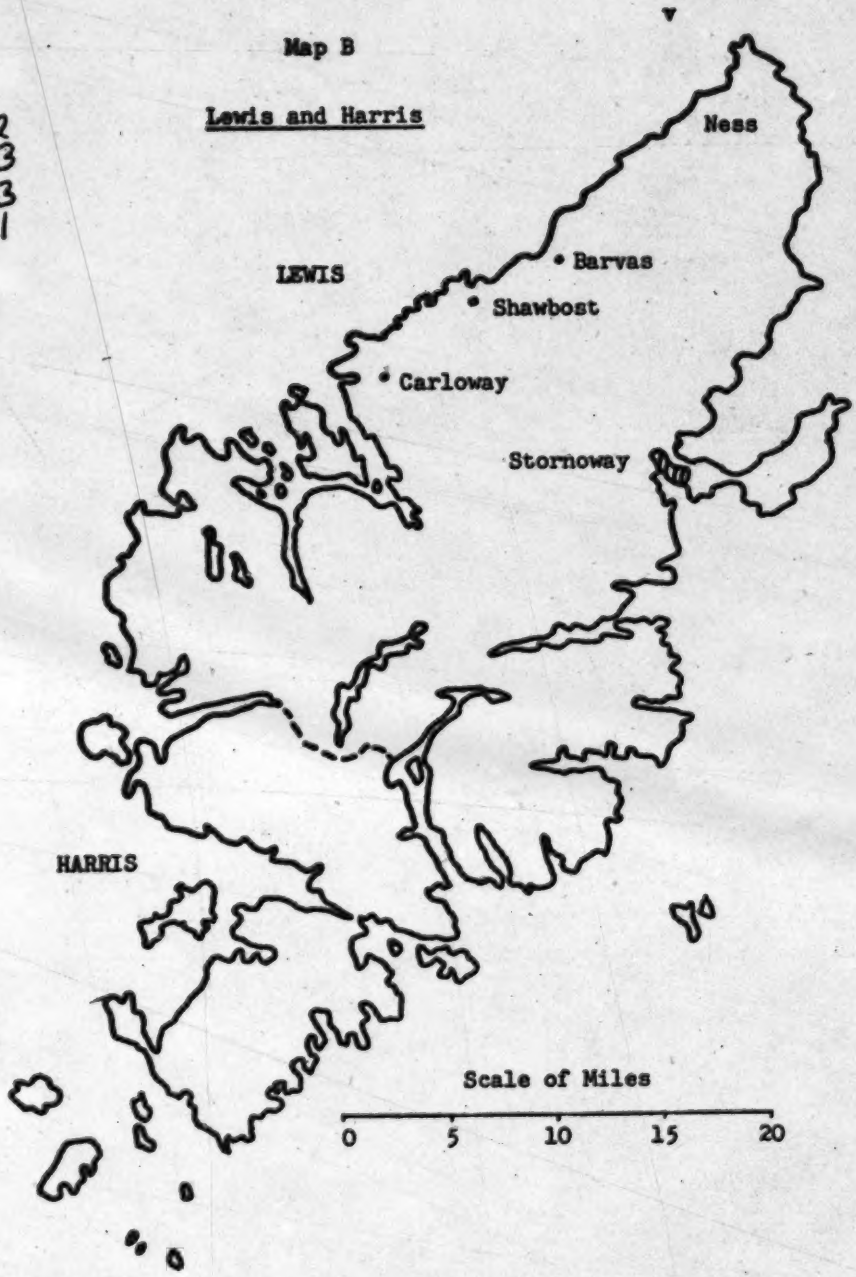

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Map C

The Village of Shawbost

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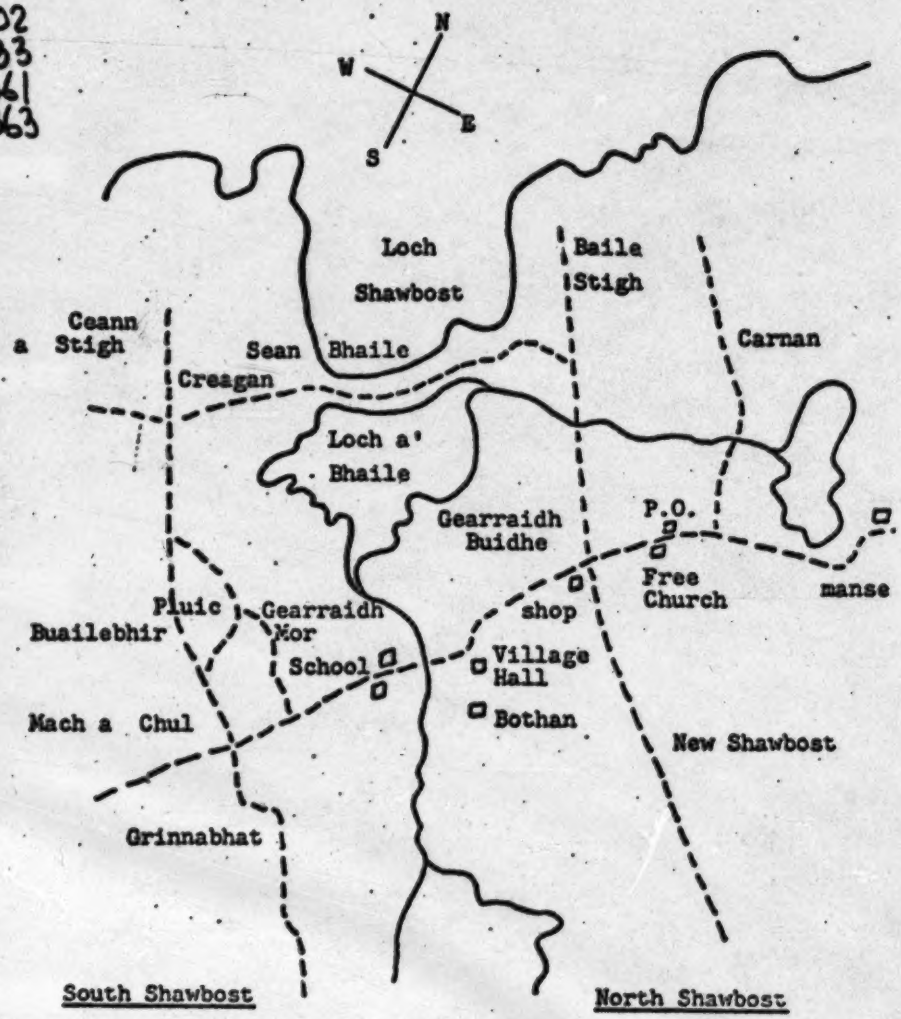

(Adapted from the Ordinance Survey Map, 1964.
Scale: roughly 3" per mile.)

Table I

Shawbost:

Population According to Age and Sex

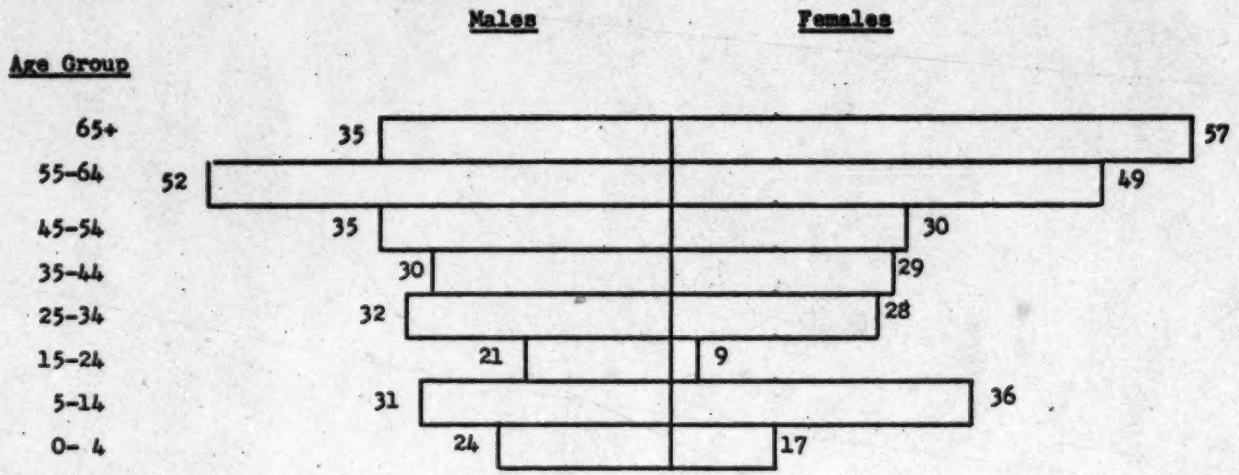

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Table II

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Comparison of Age Groups in Shawbost
with Age Groups in Rural Lewis

	0-14	15-44	45-64	65+
Males	55	83	87	35
Females	53	66	79	57
	108	149	166	92
% Both Sexes	20.9%	28.9%	32.2%	17.9%
Rural Lewis[1]	20.3%	28.0%	30.6%	21.1%

[1]Study done by the Highlands and Islands Development Board in 1968-69.

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243
244
311
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Table III

Parish of Barvas, Isle of Lewis:

Agricultural Statistics, 1870-1970

(Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh)

	1870	1881	1891	1902	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1970
Potatoes (acres)	856	875	1105	1280	1146	1126	1043	679	576	413	144
Barley (acres)	854	1486	1172	1226	959	1149	823	401	94	14	1.5
Oats (acres)	920	530	556	728	1107	1039	2045	2451	2327	1432	486
Milk Cows	1605	1992	1771	1949	1951	1932	1846	1544	1295	960	451
Beef Cattle								50	47	1273	760
Sheep (in thousands)	16	16.4	17.7	19.9	19.5	16.9	21.3	22.7	41	37	35

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311
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Table IV

Isle of Lewis:

Individual Apportionments and Township Reseeding Schemes,

1960-1969 (Crofters Commission)

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Township Schemes:	30	29	38	17	4	8	4	4	3	2
Apportionments:	1	22	32	34	22	30	49	42	43	64

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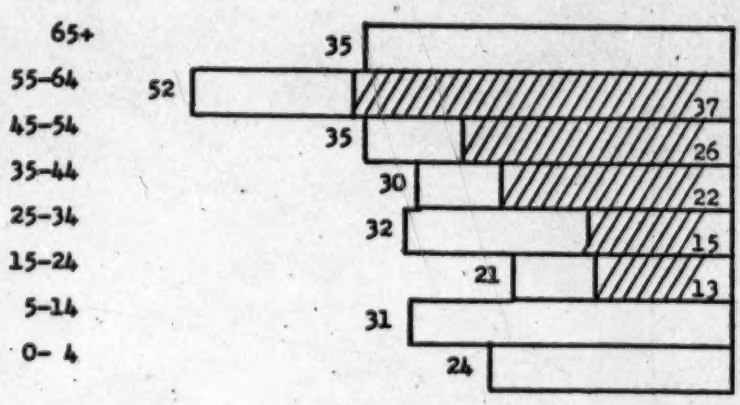
Table V

Shawbost:

Proportion of Male Weavers



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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

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Scottish crofting townships in the Outer Hebrides, in which I did anthropological fieldwork for fourteen months in 1970-71, participate extensively in the political, educational, economic and administrative systems of larger British society. Despite this participation, the township presents various anomalous features, i.e., features which are inconsistent with what we would expect given our conceptions of the conditions of a modern, urban-industrial nation-state. The expectation that township members will manifest values and beliefs congruent with those prevalent in larger British society, and that patterns of economic specialization and individualization will be found among persons working in the available industries, is not fulfilled. Crofters continue to work small plots of land and engage in communal township activities even while employed by large industrial firms. Distinct patterns of value and belief persist, and are evident even in the use of new ideas and material goods.

This thesis attempts to describe and interpret the seemingly anomalous survival of crofting and crofting

121 communities. The township is described as a "social boundary system (Cohen 1969)." The maintenance of firm boundedness under modern (urban-industrial) conditions is examined and related to economic and religious conditions and the status of the Gaelic-speaking population as a minority group vis-à-vis the larger society. Changes which have occurred over the past 100 years in the social boundary system of the township are examined by using the concept of "strategy."

Various authors (cf. Barth 1963, 1967, 1969; Brox 1968; Paine 1965 and n.d.) have used the concept of strategy to describe sociocultural change in communities which are marginal to and dependent on larger industrialized societies. A strategy may be defined as a pattern of choice-making in an environment characterized by various constraints and incentives. According to Barth (1963: 7),

> Statistical regularities or patterns in the behaviour of a population, as well as institutionalized patterns (i.e. the general acceptance of the expected patterns), may be expected to result where a set of external factors limit choice and in conjunction with a certain set of evaluations define clear strategic optima. Or put differently, where many persons act in a similar manner one may expect that they agree on certain relevant evaluations and regard their own behaviour under the prevailing circumstances to be optimal in terms of these evaluations.

This is not to say that features of sociocultural organization are caused by the free decision-making of

121 individuals; rather, causal primacy in human action is given to the sociocultural environment, which determines what choices are available to be made and what behavior is valued. Because the exercise of choice is a human universal, i.e., a constant, it cannot be used to explain variation (cf. Barth 1966).

Actors within a community which is marginal to a larger industrial society make choices within an environment characterized by constraints and incentives which derive from both the local sociocultural system and the larger system. The state of boundedness of the local system is maintained or modified as a result of the strategies adopted by its members. I have suggested that the Scottish crofting township persists as a relatively strongly bounded system not because it is inherently static, isolated, or resistive of change, but because of the constraints and incentives stemming from the larger society. For example, the British government has provided various incentives to encourage the persistence of crofting and township communalism; and to a certain extent, Gaelic speech or English spoken with a "Hielan'" (Highland) accent constitute social stigma (Goffman 1963) by which a person from the Highlands and Islands is assigned a somewhat lower social status in British social structure.

[657] [197] [554]

634 The Outer Hebrides, a chain of islands over a
[131] hundred miles long which lie to the northwest of the Scottish mainland, are part of "Ross and Cromarty" and "Inverness," two of the seven crofting counties of Scotland (see Map A). The seven crofting counties
[103] (Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland) constitute the scenically beautiful but agriculturally marginal land often referred to as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.
101 The word "Highland" also refers to features of social
197 life such as crofting tenure, strong community feeling and Gaelic-speaking which are characteristic of many communities in both the Highlands and Islands as well as in cities such as Glasgow in which persons from the Highlands and Islands have settled. For example, a Gaelic speaker whose parents came from the Islands and settled in Glasgow may be called a "Glasgow Highlander." The first four crofting counties listed above have a large percentage of Gaelic speakers. In the national
[162] census of 1961, 82.3% of the 32,607 inhabitants of the Outer Hebrides were Gaelic speakers.

131 Lewis and Harris, a single body of land which is
133 sometimes referred to as two islands because the mountainous southern section called Harris differs markedly from the flat, northern moorland of Lewis, is the northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides (see Map B).

000 is the northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides (see
161 Map B). The population is concentrated along the
162
361 coast, like a hat-brim around the great inner core
of the island's heather-covered bogland, a population
belt classified as "dense rural" (50-400 persons per
[226] square mile) in a map based on the 1951 census. The
pattern of land settlement reflects the importance of
fishing in the economy of the island.

131 Lewis lies between 6°10' and 7°20' west longitude,
and between 47°50' and 58°30' north latitude. Lewis
131 is as far north as Newfoundland and farther north than
132 Mongolia, but the temperature is mild because of the
North Atlantic Drift, or Gulf Stream, which passes the
132 west coast of Scotland. The temperature averages 55°F.
in summer, and 44°F. in January. A constant climatic
feature of life on the treeless island is the wind, a
relentless, insidious presence which often reaches gale
force. Winds of 60 m.p.h. and more are common.

Rain, which comes in downpours or light mist,
[133] averages 55 to 65 inches per year. The water may be
held in colloidal suspension with decomposed organic
matter in the compact, spongy material called peat, or
pour as rivers and streams off the island's shelf of
131 non-porous Archaean gneiss into the sea. Of Lewis'
133 total area of 437,200 acres, inland water comprises
24,863 acres.

000 24,863 acres. The value of this boggy property, as
423 far as the landlords are concerned, is determined by
427 its fishing potential. The landlords generally reside
226 away from their property, and brave the buffeting gales
several times a year to return to fish for trout and
[463] salmon. For the rest of the year they hire river-
[685] watchers to prevent their tenants from poaching. As
[171] in Wales (Emmett 1964), the islanders continue to poach,
in part as an expression of their identity as independent countrymen, a minority group in a nation-state.

161 Lewis is the most populated area in the Outer
162 Hebrides, containing 21,934 of the 32,607 Outer Hebrideans
634 numbered in the 1961 census. It is part of the County
of Ross and Cromarty, whose headquarters are on the
632 mainland near Inverness. Lewis has four administrative
areas called civil parishes in which births, deaths
and other vital statistics are recorded. Stornoway
[197] parish is the largest, containing the town of Stornoway
on the east side of the island in which many non-Gaelic
speakers live. Of the other three parishes, the largest
[162] is Barvas which stretches along the west side of the
[197] island and contains 4,331 persons, of whom 94.6% are
Gaelic speakers. The people of Stornoway refer to someone
[186] from the west side as a <u>siarach</u> (west-sider), a term
which connotes rusticity.

131 Lewis is about 40 miles long. The distance from Stornoway to the west side of the island is about 15 miles. Along a tar-macadam road through Barvas parish 361 491 from its northeast tip toward the southwest, about 18 villages are clustered along a relatively flat coast for as many miles until the land becomes hilly. The road then narrows and takes hairpin twists around blind, 361 stony corners. Villages become fewer, and nestle in protected coves or string haphazardly across the face of the hills.

Shawbost (from the Norse sja or sjo meaning "sea" [632] and bost or bolstadhr meaning "dwelling" or "homestead"), a village in the parish of Barvas, lies on three low hills on the west coast. Shawbost is 18 miles from Stornoway on a circular route in which Stornoway and Shawbost are antipodes.

172 On the south side of Shawbost bay, huddled beside the sea strand, is a cluster of ruins called Sean Bhaile (the old village), believed to have been occupied over 200 years ago when fishing was important in the local [348] economy. Banks of the streams are dotted with the ruins of old grinding mills and ovens for drying grain. [312] Fresh-water springs are still kept clear of rushes, although water is now piped to most houses from a nearby ooo loch. Hundreds of place names are known to the villagers

Hundreds
103 of place names are known to the villagers 8
which are not marked on any map. These place names
[193] constitute part of the oral tradition of a population
which has lived in a confined geographical area for
generations.

632 In most of Lewis, village and township coincide.
621 The village of Shawbost is composed of two townships,
311 South Shawbost in which the crofts splay outward like
423 a fan from roads which curve over an uneven landscape,
[363] and North Shawbost which is composed of linear streets
(see Map C), to which the crofts are perpendicular.
Each township has its own common grazing land, and its
own grazing committee. All of South Shawbost and part
of North Shawbost belong to one private estate (which
includes other townships to the southwest), and most
of North Shawbost belongs to an estate which extends to
Barvas. Beyond the fact that non-crofters in South
Shawbost have found it easier to acquire crofting status,
little difference between the two townships appears to
be due to their belonging to different estates. As
[427] elsewhere in crofting regions, the landlords of the
[529] two estates are concerned mainly with the sporting
potential of their land.

632 The two townships are themselves divided into named
neighborhoods (cf. Vallee 1955 for a discussion of
"natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas).

000 "natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas). The
363 northernmost street of North Shawbost is called Carnan
103 (carn = a heap of stones), and the street parallel to it, by the loch and the sea, is Baile Stigh ("the town within," i.e., in toward the sea. In everyday speech,
[196] one goes "in" to the sea and "out" to the moor, a reference which probably derives from the days when fishing was extremely important. The sea was then the focus, from which the village expanded "outward." Today the road is the source of goods and transport). Part of the Baile Stigh is sometimes called Gearraidh Buidhe (buidhe means "yellow"; gearraidh is the land from which peat has been stripped). The Baile Stigh intersects the main road and continues toward the moor, where it becomes New Shawbost. New Shawbost, once called New North Shawbost, is also called Pairc, referring to a farm which existed there before the land was turned into crofts.

632 The neighborhood regions of South Shawbost are less easily
363 recognizable as the land is not divided into linear
103 streets. To the people of North Shawbost, South Shawbost is simply Baile Thall, "the town over yonder." (Residents of South Shawbost also refer to North Shawbost as Baile Thall, but also frequently refer to the different streets.) Within South Shawbost, several neighborhoods are distinguished on the basis of the clustering of houses,

632 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the
363 sea: Ceann a Stigh (or Ceann a Stigh Bhaile, or Baile
103 Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the sea), Buailebhir (an area identified with the keeping of cattle), Gearraidh Mor, Creagan, Pluic, and Mach a Chul ("out the back," by a road built relatively recently). A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the moor, or common grazing land, is called Grinnbhat, from the name of a nearby loch.

511 The presence of a large Harris Tweed mill in
[348] Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living
[288] within the village. It is estimated that only 25% of
[493] the households of rural Lewis have cars; about 50% of the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970
[342] Shawbost had only one occupied tigh dubh, or "black house" built of dry stone and roofed with thatch, which to many islanders symbolizes a past life of poverty and
[404] adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators,
[251] deep freezers and electric toasters are common in
[207] Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and
[206] many have telephones.

288 The mill in Shawbost employs between 60 and 70
463 persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the

288 finished lengths of tweed. For a tweed to be classified
463 as "Harris Tweed," it must be hand-woven by Outer
[424] Hebrideans in their own homes, but the weavers are
288 essentially employees of the mill. All the large Harris Tweed mills in Lewis, except the one in Shawbost, are located in Stornoway. A few smaller businesses, which design and market tweeds but have no elaborate machinery to process the tweed further, are scattered throughout the island.

621 The village of Shawbost is composed of 169 households,
162 of which 110 are headed by "crofters," persons recognized
[427] as legal tenants of a croft. Of the remaining 59
[361] households, 16 rent houses which were built and are maintained by the County (called "council houses"), 11 have erected houses on the crofts of relatives, and
463 32 have built homes on the common grazing lands. Non-
241 crofters participate in the agricultural activities of the township. It would not be unusual, for example, for a non-crofter to serve as the clerk of a grazings committee.

342 In North Shawbost, one croft house and two non-
[166] croft houses are used only when the owner returns to Shawbost from the mainland for a holiday. The school-
[875] master lives in a house adjoining the school, and the
[193] minister in a manse located between Shawbost and the neighboring village of Bragar.

311 There are 144 crofts in the village (nine of
241 which, in South Shawbost, were added after the turn of
[175] the century by non-crofters encamped on common grazing
[427] land who applied to the landlord for crofter status).
Thirty-four (almost a quarter) of these crofts are
vacant; that is, the holders of the crofts live else-
[527] where. One of the vacant crofts is used by its absentee
[493] tenant for holidays, and one sports a trailer (called
[485] a "caravan" in Britain) which may be rented to tourists
during the summer. The rest are cultivated or used for
[428] grazing by crofters or non-crofters in the village who
[427] by inheritance or by formal or informal subletting have
gained use of the land.

241 A little over half of the crofts are worked as
individual units; 44% of the crofts are worked as
combined units of two and three. Twenty-four men have
the use of two crofts each, and five men the use of three
crofts each.

16 A feature of crofting townships usually emphasized
is their disproportionately large number of aged people
and small number of young people, who tend to migrate
to the cities. An age-sex "population pyramid" of the
Highlands is not a pyramid but a top-heavy hourglass
(see Table I).[1] Most persons of child-bearing age have
migrated from the area and the number of children is

1. [See p.vii--Analyst]

16 accordingly small. In Lewis in 1970, 211 babies were born, and 264 people died. In the 1961 national census, Shawbost had a population of 598; ten years later, the population was only 515. The significant community of interaction, however, includes a much greater number of people than are indicated by these statistics, because the roles which absentee members play in their community are important. The figures in [877] Tables I_A^1 and II_A^2 do not include five males and three females in the 5-14 age category or six males and three females in the 15-24 age category who live away from home during the week to attend schools in Stornoway, but who return home during the weekend and for holidays. [464] The statistics also omit eighteen males and eighteen females in the 15-24 age category; fifteen males and seven females in the 25-34 age category; four males between 35 and 44, and two males and two females between 45 and 54, who are away from the village working but are as yet unmarried. These temporary exiles return for long or short periods of time, to weave or work in the mill, to care for aged parents, and to vary their diet of living until they become restless and set off again. [521] Their roots are in the village, and during the times when they are physically absent they are kept alive in ooo the electrical storm of the village gossip system. To

^1_A, ^2_A, [See pp. vii-viii respectively--Analyst]

527 To many villagers, the concept of "holiday" has no meaning
166 other than that time in the yearly cycle when the
167 natives return.

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

Chapter 2

HISTORY OF THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

A. "Crofting"

241 427 175 192 The word "croft," meaning an enclosed field, comes from Old English. In 1563, a rental of the bishopric of Moray mentions the lease of two crofts (Grant 1930: 272). Walker (1812: 51) refers to "cottars or crofters" as subtenants of Highland farms. The word croft appears in Gibbon's historical novel, A Scots Quair, and is still in common use around Aberdeenshire. In the Hebrides, a number of Gaelic words are used to refer to units of land (e.g., faich, fearann, fiadhaire, and fiannag), but the word for "croft" remains in Gaelic vocabulary as a foreign word, slightly Gaelicized as croit or lot (from "allotment").

[522] A cynical definition of a croft, given by some academicians and administrators concerned with crofting, and supposedly first proposed by the son of a crofter, is "a piece of land entirely surrounded by legislation." 241 427 175 671 Crofting, as a particular method of land use, was introduced by "progressive" landlords in the mid-18th

241 427 175 671 century as an attempt to reform the previous system of run-rig; but it is usually identified with the definition given it by the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886, as a form of land tenure to which many protections accrue. The Act defined crofts and crofting areas in Scotland, and assured the crofter of security of tenure, hereditary succession and fair rent. The legislature which followed on the heels of this act, which is sometimes referred to as the Magna Carta of the Highlands (Day 1918: 190), is mountainous. The flow stems from two perhaps incompatible aims: the desire to provide security for the landholder, and to enhance agricultural productivity. The difficulty of developing the land as an efficient agricultural unit has always existed in an area characterized by a wet climate, unproductive soil, and smallness of holdings in heavily populated areas, and was one of the factors that prompted agricultural reform in the 18th century.

175 423 427 [614] B. Stratified Tenantry vs. Egalitarian Society

At the time of the break-up of the clan system in the first half of the 18th century, three categories of persons held land under the Highland proprietor or "laird": tacksmen (gentlemen farmers, often relatives

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of the landlord, with education superior to that of other tenants) who held a lease or "tack"; tenants who held no leases, or very short ones (when Fullarton and Baird made their report in 1838, tenants in the parish of Barvas had leases for five to twelve years, whereas tenants of the parish of Lochs held leases "at will," i.e., at the will of the landlord); and subtenants who had small parcels of land which were let to them from year to year by tacksmen or tenants in return for their labor, and who were called cottars or crofters (Walker 1812: 51), servants or scallags (Macphail 1916).

In 1718 and 1726, government commissioners visited Lewis, which had comprised part of the estate of the Earl of Seaforth. The Earl of Seaforth had sided with James VIII in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, and was exiled from his estate. To facilitate the collection of rent, the commissioners sought to compile a list of the rents which had been paid by all the tenants. The 1726 rent roll listed 43 tenants in Shawbost who declared that "they have their present possession of the town of Shawbost for the sum of L224/16/— Scots money, 38 bolls one firlote meal, 12 stones butter and 12 mutton (Macphail 1916: 313)." The nearby village of Bragar constituted a

175 single tack, for which the tacksman, who was a relative
423 of Seaforth's Chamberlain, paid L247/10/8, 10 sheep,
427 9 stones butter, and 3 bolls of meal. The Bragar rental mentions scallags who were not listed because they were not smallholders; rather, they worked for the tacksman for a certain number of days per week, in return for which they received ground to cultivate and on which they might build a house. There were probably scallags in Shawbost as well; a section of common land near the sea, which bears the marks of old cultivation, is today called Blar na Scallag (field of the scallags).

The evidence is that, rather than being the egalitarian society portrayed by many idealistic proponents of crofting society today, the society living in the area we now know as the crofting counties was composed of fairly differentiated tenants and subtenants.
[103] Allotments of land were called penny, half-penny, and farthing lands (Walker 1812: 56; Gray 1952: 48); place names such as "Five-penny Borve" indicate this history of land tenure in Lewis. The 43 tenants in Shawbost in 1726 paid rents varying from L3/10/4 to L9/7/4 (Scots money, which was 1/12 of the English). The differences in rent gave them different shares in the arable ground and different shares in grazing rights on the common ground.

175 Thus some tenants were relatively more prosperous than
423 others. A large class of subtenants (scallags) did
427 corvée labor in return for a small amount of arable land and the right to graze a few livestock. Their land was intermixed with that of their masters in the prevailing system of run-rig. "Crofters" had economic standing similar to that of scallags, but had permanent, compact allotments (Gray 1952: 49).

C. Joint Farm vs. "Crofting Township"

[632] The 1726 rental indicates that the "town" of Shawbost was a corporate unit and thus that "crofting townships" have a long history. However, Geddes (1948) argues that the form of the 1726 rental was due to the method by which it was collected. In 1726, officials toured the island and made a list in large public hearings of the rents of those assembled, thereby attempting to make certain that no tenants were excluded from the rent roll. The major cooperative work unit seems to
[464] have been not the township but the joint farm, which
[476] contained enough men to make up a crew for ploughing and fishing.

171 In the Lothians and eastern Lowlands, the land could
175 be worked in larger units than in the Highlands, and a
241
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171 typical homestead or "farmtoun" consisted of a
175 "ploughgate" occupied by eight tenants, each of whom
427 contributed one animal to the common plough and thus
241 had an eighth of a share of land or one "oxgate"
(Grant 1930: 97).

175 In the Highlands and particularly in Lewis, about
427 four to six men and their families worked together and
241 shared land which was held in run-rig. The Old
[476] Statistical Account (1796) lists 90 ploughs in the
[407] parish of Barvas or about one plough per five families
(Geddes 1948: 57). Geddes maintains that joint tenants
175 paid an equal share of the rent and had equal "soumings"
427 (the number of stock allowed on the common grazing land).
241 In contrast, Walker (1812: 56) says that joint tenants
114 paid different rents according to the share which they
233 had in the arable land, and that the number of cattle
which a tenant had on the common grazing land was soumed
or proportioned to his rent; all the tenants worked the
arable land together, and received a percentage of the
produce which was appropriate to their share. Geddes'
description (1948) emphasizes equality within the joint
farm; Walker (1812) and Gray (1952) point to differences
between tenants and subtenants.

175 632 241 In any case, the "town" or township was not the effective work unit, but rather was the larger neighborhood in which several joint farms existed. [233] The tenants of several joint farms grazed their stock on the surrounding moorland (i.e., on common grazing land).

D. From Run-rig to Crofting

175 233 241 311 Run-rig was an agricultural system suited to a pastoral people, who required the use of open, common pasture for grazing their livestock; the arable land was limited, and of varying quality (according to Day (1918: 12), 54% of the land in crofting counties was mountain and heath used for grazing, and only 5% was [423] arable land). Residents worked several strips of different quality, and the strips (in drained beds of earth a few feet wide and many feet long called lazy-beds or fiannagan) were usually re-allocated every few [625] years. A "constable" acting for the landlord ensured that proper husbandry was maintained.

175 241 178 427 The joint farm, and the stratification of tenants and subtenants within the farm, disappeared as "progressive" landlords began, in the second half of the 18th century, to substitute compact holdings for the "mingle-mangle of dispersed strips (Gray 1952: 46)" 000 which characterized run-rig. Hamlets or clachans

175 Hamelts or clachans
241 (small clustered settlements) were broken up, and
361 houses were isolated on strips of land in linear,
178 single-street villages.

114 Gray (1952, 1957) argues that the main factor
178 behind the reorganization of land use in the Highlands was the progressive, individualistic, laissez-faire ideology of the 18th century. Grant (1930: 97) attributes the reorganization to the high demand for cereals which existed during the Napoleonic wars.
177 Highland landlords, who were very much in contact
241 with the society of the Scottish Lowlands, were influenced by agricultural practices there. The trend to change run-rig, which had once dominated the whole of Scotland, to fixed, compact holdings began in the Lowlands.

423 According to the "progressive" ideology of the
425 time, the giving of land to individual farmers in much
829 larger pieces than they had previously held would serve to stimulate agricultural development and give rise to a class of capitalist farmers. To give land to a relatively few people, however, meant the removal of a large number of tenants who had hitherto been able to survive under the system of run-rig.

175 [161] Around this time, various factors had encouraged an increase in population. After Scotland's union with England in 1707, the prohibition on the import of cattle into England was lifted, and trade in cattle became economically more important (Day 1918: 26). The numerous wars of this period caused the price of cattle to double between 1736 and 1766 (Day 1918: 180). Clan warfare diminished; the potato was introduced; and vaccine for smallpox became available.

175 161 [166] The increase in population led to an extreme crowding of land in some areas, which made agricultural reform difficult. Many landlords tried to encourage tenants of their estates to emigrate. The appearance of a market for kelp, which lasted from the middle of the 18th century to about 1815, discouraged landlords from implementing policies of depopulation that would diminish their labor force. An alkaline extract of kelp was used in a variety of manufactured goods, such as soap and glass. The seaweed was gathered by men, women and children living along the coasts, and burned in rough open kilns. Tenants who worked at this occupation received L3-4, and the landlords L18-20, per ton (Mackinlay 1878: vii); the landlord received as high an income as L10,000 to L20,000 a year from the burning of kelp (Gray 1957: 42).

175 824 323 388 [465]

175 Factors which led to further crowding were the
423 development of industry and an increased demand for
427 wool in the south, which occurred when traditional
[161] ties between laird and tenant had been loosened. The clans had been disbanded after the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745; those landlords who had not forfeited their estates received huge sums of money as compensation for the abolition of hereditary jurisdiction. They had experienced travel and the luxuries of other countries, and were not eager to remain on their estates. They accepted the huge rents offered to them by sheep farmers to the south, and turned vast amounts of land into sheep tracts. Tenants
[361] were crowded together along the seashore, or lived on tiny holdings dispersed among the larger farms or on moorland, earning their living by doing wage labor.

175 Despite the factors which encouraged a high level
423 of population to remain on the land, proprietors
241 attempted to destroy the joint farm with its small,
178 dispersed holdings and collective rights. Run-rig
[656] agriculture was abolished in Argyll in 1776 (Day 1918: 180; Gray 1957: 49), and over the next 80 years it disappeared from the Highlands (cf. Gray 1952: 49-50), to be replaced by townships of compact holdings surrounded by undivided hill grazing lands.

175 178 241 423 Geddes (1948: 56) gives evidence that joint farms were abolished in Lewis early in the 19th century. Gray (1952: 50) says that by 1819 there was little run-rig left in Lewis. The factor's notebook for Breasclete, on the west side of the island, shows the destruction of clachans around 1850, and their replacement by linear townships.

175 423 427 632 178 In the Napier Commission's "Evidence" (1884) for the parish of Barvas, it was mentioned that the rent had been increased because of improvements made by the landlord, Sir James Matheson, between 1849 and 1852. Land had been drained and new townships created; and both old and new townships were lotted and rented in 1850 and 1851 (Napier 1884: 959). The Ordinance Survey map drawn up in 1852-53 reveals several interesting features of Shawbost: "New Shawbost" has recently been laid out; and in an area now incorporated by only a few separate crofts on "Carnan," a cluster of houses appears, perhaps the clachan in which joint tenants lived, and from which they went out to farm their various strips of land, before Matheson reorganized the land in linear strips with dispersed housing. The peat banks in the Carnan area are almost exhausted, indicating a long period of settlement in this area.

175 361 423 427 178 [314] [194]

175 It is ironic that the attempts by landlords to
423 initiate agricultural reform and develop capitalist
429 farmers led to a destruction of the differentiated
178 tenantry on the joint farms (cf. Gray 1952: 51-56),
and a proliferation of very small units, none of which
was adequate to provide a reasonable subsistence.
These small units became fixed as individual holdings
by the 1886 Crofters Act, and the only important
distinction thereafter was between smallholders with
security of tenure (crofters), and non-crofters who
built homes on the common grazing land but had no
specified rights. Although various agencies were
established after 1886 to enable holdings to be
enlarged, only in the last fifteen years have such
possibilities between officially developed in the form
of official subletting and individual apportionments.

17 By the second half of the 19th century, a trend
423 against laissez-faire was manifest in the writings of
European scholars. As feudalism broke down, small-
holders throughout Europe were being dispossessed of
their land, which was then consolidated and enclosed.
171 In Denmark, legislation was passed as early as 1682
to prevent landlords from taking steps to increase the
efficiency of their farm production by replacing the

171 three-field system with improved rotation methods
involving consolidation of land. The Danish govern-
ment feared that consolidation of land would have
meant a reduction in taxes and fighting men.
175 The British government was faced with the same threat
423 in the migration from the Highlands, as the Highlands
[166] had long been a source of good fighting men.

A reaction against the materialism of the
industrial revolution developed in England as small-
holders sold their land to large landholders to become
laborers. The Taylor Report (1954: 9) reflects the
[181] value which is still placed on country life by maintaining
that crofting communities "embody a free and independent
way of life which in a civilisation predominantly urban
and industrial in character is worth preserving for its
own intrinsic quality."

175 The various acts protecting smallholdings were also
241 attempts to keep labor dispersed: to diversify and
423 improve the use of land, and thus to increase Britain's
self-sufficiency in food production. Various marketing
[654] agencies and subsidies were introduced around World War II
to achieve such aims. Among the many agriculturalists
affected by these encouragements emanating from the
central government were crofters.

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

175 423 427 458 731 In 19th-century Scotland, the cause of the Highland tenants and subtenants was taken up, as part of the trend of the times and because a series of famines occurring in the Highlands caught the attention of Britain. After the kelp industry was destroyed at the beginning of the 19th century, landlords maintained high rents on the assumption that the depression was only temporary, which caused tenants to deplete their capital by selling their cattle (Gray 1957: 38). A number of reports were published on the plight of Highland smallholders: Fullarton and Baird (1838), MacNeil (1851), Mackinlay (1878), and finally the Napier Commission's report of 1884 which was followed by the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886.

175 423 656 The 1884 Napier Commission Report tried to resolve the conflict between the rights of the individual smallholder and the maintenance of agricultural efficiency in a situation which still had communal elements of social organization, by recommending an organization much along the lines of the old joint farm. The township was defined as a farm, or part of a farm, which was occupied in common or in division by several tenants. The township, seen as an agricultural unit, was to be given various immunities and powers by which to achieve

175 stability and improvement; e.g., an executive officer,
423 the Constable, was to be elected annually by the
656 community, and he would oversee various improvements in the township (Napier 1884; Day 1918: 187-9).

175 However, the Crofters Act of 1886 did not make the
423 township a unit of local government. It was more
671 concerned with protecting the individual crofter's rights than with the creation of a self-sustaining, self-correcting economic unit. The Napier Commission
[656] had recommended the consolidation of crofts which were
[168] rented at less than L6 a year, and a policy of persuasion by which the excess population would be encouraged to emigrate or specialize as laborers, fishermen, and so on.

175 Instead, the 1886 Act provided security of tenure
423 for a large number of crofters, as well as a fixed fair
671 rent and compensation for improvements if the crofter
178 chose to leave the croft. These assurances, and the
[656] creation of a variety of agencies (such as the Congested Districts Board, the Crofters Commission, and the Board of Agriculture) whose purpose was to encourage agricultural improvement by providing funds, equipment, breeding animals, seeds, advice and so on, constituted a set of incentives. These incentives combined with a number of other factors including improved transportation and the spread of

175 information via the technology of mass society to
423 affect the choices made by succeeding generations.
671 For example, young people are able to leave the island
178 and work in British cities or abroad, sending money
[464] home to sustain their aged parents who by law cannot
[457] be removed from the croft.

E. Changing Land Use

311 Darling (1955) described the previous Highland way
175 of life as a well-adapted, ecologically balanced system,
182 in which proper use of land was attempted by limiting the number of livestock, preserving a proper ratio between cattle and sheep, and regulating the flow of stock on the land throughout the year. Dikes (fences of turf or stone) and drains were communally repaired
178 and cleaned. Although continuity with the previous way
311 of life is evident today, the overall picture is one of
[182] partial use, and misuse, of natural resources. Various
[654] advisors from government organizations and colleges have been brought in to encourage effective husbandry and land use.

1. Specialization and Individuation: The change from an ecologically adapted, internally regulated community in which land was used intensively for subsistence

178 purposes, to a community which, as an agricultural
311 entity, requires transfusions from the larger society, is accompanied by patterns of specialization and individuation. The following table (Table III)[1] of agricultural statistics for the parish of Barvas demonstrates the change, over the past 100 years, from intensive subsistence agriculture to specialized production. From a broad-based subsistence use of the croft (as revealed by the number of acres cultivated for barley, potatoes and oats; and by the number of cattle, especially milk cows), there emerges a tendency
[231] toward specialized production. The number of sheep,
[236] which require less attention than cattle, has increased
[241] since the late 1920's when the weaving of Harris Tweed
[246] commenced in earnest; and around this time there also occurs a differentiation in cultivation, between the production of barley and potatoes (used largely for human consumption) and the production of oats (used largely for
[231] feeding livestock). After 1931 agricultural returns began to distinguish between beef and dairy cattle. During the past ten years the number of beef cattle in the parish of Barvas has increased.

241 An important factor which crofters on Lewis now
654 take into account when making decisions about their
[1] [See p.ix--Analyst]

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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241 654 continuing investment in crofting activities is the availability of various subsidies which, in the form of fencing grants, calf subsidies, and so on, are available to other agriculturalists as well as to crofters. The certainty of support which subsidy offers is important in the decision-making of crofters because of their generally fluctuating, low-level income, in contrast to the decision-making of farmers who keep sheep or cattle on a large scale. The latter are likely to be more affected by market prices. Many Lewis crofters [648] indicate that they would hesitate to support Britain's entry into the European Economic Community, despite the higher level of prices for beef, because their subsidies might be jeopardized. Subsidies can be important as incentives for specialized production, but do not themselves sustain crofting as a socioeconomic pattern. [178] And in general, despite the incentives, all agricultural production is declining in the face of more appealing alternatives available to the emerging generations.

178 241 476 A decline in township communalism, or an increase in the individuation of agricultural practices, is another index of change in economic strategy. The fencing of individual land and purchase of personal farming machinery are everyday occurrences in the life

178 of the normal capitalist farmer in the West; but in
241 crofting areas, these practices reveal a strain between
476 communal and individual tendencies.

a. Fencing:

233 Although run-rig was replaced by fixed, compact
[178] holdings, the method of animal husbandry was not affected
[419] until the land began to be fenced. A single dry-stone
[333] dike enclosed the township, keeping livestock on the
moor and away from the arable land. In different parts
[184] of the Hebrides, various types of herdsmen were hired
to protect both the livestock and the growing crops
(cf. Owen 1958-59 for a discussion of cattle, calf and
sheep herdsmen in North Uist).

175 The township Constable had a great deal of power,
625 which included the right to evict people from their
crofts, to enforce rules of good husbandry. The last
Constable of Shawbost, who died at the turn of the century,
has been credited with a number of ignoble actions, such
as forcing an old woman with a sore leg to take her cow
to the moor along with all the others. Old widows who
had no one going to the fishing and hence no means of
paying their rent might be evicted in favor of other
persuasive, land-hungry members of the village.

175 166 In the last half of the 19th century, many families were "cleared" from the district of Uig and resettled in Shawbost. According to a local version of village 173 625 history, the Constable evicted persons from North 166 Shawbost and resettled them in New Shawbost. "The people from Uig were fishermen, so they needed to be by the sea. They wouldn't take a croft in New Shawbost at all." According to another version, the crofts once extended all the way across from Carnan to the loch; when the Uig people came, the crofts were chopped in half, and the street called Baile Stigh was created.

175 625 Whatever effect the Constables had on land use and animal husbandry, they are now referred to as "tyrants," who went mad or committed suicide after the Crofters Act of 1886.

175 311 233 Cattle and horses were tethered or herded within easy walking distance from the township; sheep could be left on the moor without much surveillance. At a much earlier time another dike existed out beyond the [178] [221] township dike. The dikes were used according to principles found in grazing schemes today: the sheep were kept far out on the moor, beyond the second dike, until midsummer when they were moved in closer to the village. At this point they were still out of the arable land of the

175 township, but on land which had been rested and which
311 thus provided better grazing. During the winter the
233 [221] sheep were allowed past the township dike, to graze
along with the other livestock on the stubble of corn
and barley, and mineral-rich seaweed by the shore.

175 After World War II, the individual crofts began
178 to be fenced, and the township dike was no longer
311 repaired. The fact that sheep were still grazed
417 communally on the moor meant that everyone had to go
233 out together on a particular day rather than individually,
but fencing of individual land facilitated variability
in land use. Less use was made of crofts for raising
crops, and they could be used for grazing sheep all
year round.

b. Reseeding schemes and apportionments:

178 Another illustration of the individuation of land
311 [241] use is provided by comparing the number of apportionments
granted by the Crofters Commission for Lewis in the last
10 years with the number of township reseeding schemes
carried out during the same time (see Table IV).[1] A
[425] crofter may apply to the Commission for an area of land
(apportionment) to be sliced out of the township's
common grazing land and given to him for his own use;
theoretically, his share in the township's common grazing
land is reduced if his application is granted.

1. [See p.x--Analyst]

178 land is reduced if his application is granted. Also,
311 a group of men in a township may apply to the Crofters
232 Commission for permission to fence off a portion of
233 the common grazing land and improve it as grazing for
their mutual use. Grants are available for both
schemes. The township reseeding schemes, adopted
widely after their introduction, have been superseded
by the number of individual apportionments.

The first township reseeding schemes in Lewis
were tried as an experiment in Ness, Harris, Barvas
[664] and Bragar. "The Department of Agriculture fellow
watched us every step because it was an experiment.
Oh, there were times we cursed him and wanted him away."
In Shawbost, a few interested crofters went around the
village to see if others were interested. "We got a
bad name for it; no one could see anything to it. But
those people got the benefit of it." According to one
man, initial reluctance to participate in the schemes
was overcome when the agricultural advisor pointed out
that if they overstated their costs, they would not
have to pay much money themselves.

Between 1959 and 1962, seven township reseeding
schemes were developed in North and New Shawbost, and
four in South Shawbost. They were intended to give

178
311 extra grazing for cattle, but by that time the cattle
232 were already on the wane.
233 "The original idea was to provide an early bite for the cattle, because everyone had cattle then. Otherwise they would need to buy more baled hay to see them through the winter."

"Almost everyone in New Shawbost had a share in the 1959 schemes, about 26 altogether. Then it was mostly cattle. We took turns bringing them in at night, and I remember taking 33 home, with some left behind for the night. The cattle were grazed over the summer, and the [221] lambs were put on from August 10 to October 10. Many dropped out after the first four or five years, when they stopped keeping so many cattle. When the number dropped to 13 or 14, they started using the schemes for mixed grazing, and then some took up their shares again. When we only had the cattle and lambs, we didn't need a souming; but when the mixed grazing started, we had to keep down the number of sheep. Last year we had difficulty with disease."

A forty-acre scheme in North Shawbost started with about eighteen crofters and non-crofters participating; there were 37 cattle altogether. Now only four have cattle; the rest have sheep. The sheep-keepers say,

178 "The cattle give too much trouble." A smaller scheme
311 is grazed only by sheep. On the schemes where mixed
232 grazing is practiced, a number of conflicts arise between
233 those who have only sheep, and those who have cattle as
[578] well. To accommodate different demands, one township scheme was divided with a fence; cattle were put in for a month in one part, and then shifted to the second part. The sheep were then brought into the first half. All stock had to be removed from the scheme a month before the lambs were weaned, so that all worm eggs and other harmful elements in the dung of animals previously present would have time to die. What was once used for a single purpose by everyone now has to be divided.

[435] "I paid one pound a head to put cattle on the
[578] reseeding," says a man named Iain. "Now I have to move them off already. Those sheep people want it for themselves. I won't use it if they're going to be like that. Next year I'll have the use of two crofts and my
[409] apportionment. And now that I have my own tractor I
[242] can put a load of sand at the bottom of the croft to make the grazing better."

311 According to another person, who also keeps cattle
233 on the reseeding, "Some people want to move their live-
232 stock on and off the schemes when it suits them, like Iain,
829

311 who wanted to keep his bullock on the reseeding for
233 another week because he wasn't ready to sell it; but
232 he should have known the rules. Some people want to
829 keep both cattle and sheep on at the same time, although the agricultural advisor says cattle should go on first, because sheep go for shorter grass. Other people want to put on twice as many sheep as those who have both cattle and sheep. When they stop keeping cattle, they think they're not getting a proper share of the reseedings.

"The Crofters Commission wanted communal township schemes. But people have different demands. It's better to go for an apportionment. You can do what you want with your own land."

178 The number of township members participating in
311 the communal schemes is diminishing to the point where
232 it is less expensive, and much less subject to conflict
423 arising over differences in stock-keeping, to invest in
476 individual holdings of land rather than try to sustain communal practices.

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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Chapter 3

CHANGING ECONOMIC STRATEGIES: LAND, SEA AND LOOM

178 288 128 In Lewis, the change from a relatively self-sufficient community in which land and sea provided the economic base occurred in the context of the phenomenal rise of the Harris Tweed industry. In the following pages, the history of Harris Tweed is discussed in relation to changing strategies involving exploitation of land, sea and loom. Associated features of social life are discussed. Social boundary systems are defined and discussed in Chapter 4.

A. The Sea

175 228 [501] [491] [494] Around World War I, nine boats, as long as 27 to 30 feet, driven by sails, used to go out regularly from the Shawbost harbor. From five to seven men, usually neighbors, had "shares" in a boat. They would go out fishing during the night and return the next day. "We [433] baited our lines with eel, for ling. We would catch maybe two or three hundred. I remember once we caught 1300."

175 228 On one of the crofts along the strand are the
[348] ruins of two curing houses, where the fish were salted
[439] and dried. Ling, cod, skate and halibut were cured
[171] and sold to local merchants for export. "The same as
they do in Iceland this very day. That was the main
175 industry. Then the English came with their steam
648 trawlers; they ruined the fishing here, and then went
228 west to Iceland and the Faroes. In Iceland they get
fined for poaching, but here the trawlers often ignore
[433] the three-mile limit. But the fishing was the mainstay
here, before the Harris Tweed came along."

175 One man returned from sailing in 1932 and bought a
228 boat for L24. He had 32 lobster pots, and made L7 one
435 June by selling the lobsters at a shilling apiece.
501 Another man, who returned from the United States in 1934
[454] because of the depression, bought a share in a 14-foot
[471] boat. It was made in Ness, at the northern tip of Lewis,
[434] and cost about L14. He and his partners went out every
night possible; the fish provided an important part of
their income. The boat was sold in the 50's. "It wasn't
175 being kept up anyway." Around World War II there were as
228 many as twenty boats; men fished at night, after a day's
501 work. Today there are four 12-foot boats in Shawbost,
178 each shared by four or five men. The boats are used
501 intensively for fishing during certain times of the year,
228

178 but not as often as in the past. In the past boats
501 were in danger of being smashed by the strong seas
228 and winds that gained easy access to the Shawbost
[493] harbor; but today, because so many cars are available,
[504] the boats can be sheltered in the more protected bays
of Carloway, five miles up the coast to the southwest
[434] of Shawbost. Despite this protection and the increase
in income since World War II which would enable more
people to buy boats, the number of boats remains small.

175 In the past certain people were esteemed for
821 "knowing the wind and the sea." The sound of the turf
coming from different directions presaged different
kinds of weather; a line of white across the bay meant
bad weather in a few days. A fifty-year-old man says,
"My father and grandfather could tell when a storm was
coming. They needed to know, and they didn't have
radio and television to tell them. I would know the
signs, too, if I had listened to them."

175 Not only was there local fishing, but the men used
228 to hire themselves as crew on other fishing boats.
464 Several nicknames reflect this history. One family is
551 known by the nickname "Strachan," the surname of a man
who lived on the east coast of Scotland and on whose
boat the head of the Shawbost family had once worked as

175 a crew member. Another family is called "cook," the
228 first job which a novice had to assume when he joined
464 the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go
[551] to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The men
[221] came back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats,
[241] barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent
[434] and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods.
[353] They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover
the stone-walled or wood-lined tigh dubh (black house)
[434] for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a
season. While the men were away at the fishing, the
[452] remaining members of the family lived on credit from
[571] the local shops, and depended on the good will of
their neighbors.

175 Many men joined the armed services, and were
701 especially sought after by the Navy and the Merchant
706 Service. In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in the
505 Naval Reserve.

175 Around the turn of the century, until the first
228 world war and the growth of the weaving industry, the
484 girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to
[571] the boat to see you off. You could go all the way to
[435] Aberdeen for 12/6 on a special fish-worker ticket."
The girls went from the south of England to Shetland
in the far north.

000 in the far north. "There were two fishing seasons.
175 For one season you went to Fraserburgh, Stronsay,
228 Lerwick and Peterhead; and then the winter fishing was
[221] in England, at Yarmouth, Scarborough and Loucester.
I remember in Yarmouth we didn't like the English
[262] bread, it was such a dull color. We liked the pure
white Scotch bread."

They lived in small huts, and the work was hard but full of fun. Neighborhood girls used to go together, bringing bedding and different items in large chests to share in the housekeeping. Three girls worked together in a crew, and there were as many as six sharing a room, in double bunks. Some of the huts were so small that there was barely enough room for the beds and the cupboards. At night the boys would come in off the boats. "You were so tired from being up since early morning;
[577] but you were always able to dance. You were treated with
[178] respect; the youngsters today aren't so good." The women who married non-islanders that they met at the fishing were not likely to return.

175 When the weaving started on a large scale, the girls
288 "were glad enough to have work at home, even though the
464 work was hard." But many continued their temporary
175 absences from the island, working in hotels or as
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357

175 464 166 [357] domestic servants among the well-to-do families in Glasgow and other cities on the mainland (see Appendix A).

175 464 166 462 [288] When the weaving started, some men settled at home permanently, but many continued to come and go between the sea and the loom. In 1931, the ratio of men to women in Lewis and Harris was 100:114. The men came home for temporary jobs, such as the construction of roads [522] or houses. Jokes are told of the common practice of sending for an extension of leave. The men found it easy [706] to join the Naval Reserve because of their fishing experience; and it brought them a retainer's fee and expense-paid trips to places off the island for several weeks of training during the year. But when the wars came, [701] the loss of men to the Navy and to the Merchant Service was heavy.

B. The Land

175 427 The number of arrears in rent in the Barvas rent ledger at the turn of the century indicates the small amount of money in circulation at the time. Between 1899 and 1914, several crofters paid part of their rent "by work," and six had some of their stock "uplifted by decree." For example, a Widow Catherine lost "one red

For example,
a Widow Catherine lost "one red
175 mare and foal (L10), one dun cow (L3/10), and one dun
427 heifer (L1/10)." One family is said to have paid rent
[435] by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir
[551] James Matheson), thus earning the patronymic, "Fiddler."
Their income stopped abruptly when the fiddler at the
time, a great-grandfather of descendants now living,
converted to the Free Church and smashed his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1905 it was noted in the rent ledger
that two crofters wanted "first chance of a vacant croft
[628] in the township." In the first quarter of the century,
[764] a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighboring
township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too
precious to take out of cultivation and give to the dead
of another village.

173 A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living
241 from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was
[233] young. They used the dung of the cattle to fertilize the
[237] soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was
only 2½ acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight
stacks of barley to see us through the year." There were
173 a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the streams
243 to grind the barley. The "old Norse mill" which was
256
[251] recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project
[877] was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got

173 243 257 829 "Then the tweeds got going and the barley took too much trouble; so they had no use for the mill."

173 262 A 60-year-old woman remembers, "They depended on the potato and fished a lot. I was raised on oatcakes, barley bannocks, and salt herring. There were no vans and no school canteens when I was young; you had to carry your [264] own 'piece' to school. We had porridge with fresh milk for breakfast, oatcakes and butter for lunch. Dinner was at 4:00, of potatoes and fish and milk. We had meat maybe once a week. My father poached a lot. We ate the heads [251] and the roe of the salmon fresh, and salted the rest." Once among the cleanest, Hebridean teeth now vie with 164 759 British cities in extent of decay. It is not uncommon for a child in his first year of school to have six teeth pulled by the travelling dentist.

261 272 Various customs associated with food which exist today reflect the days when fare was meager. Tea-drinking is [171] omnipresent in Britain, but in the islands it has 272 574 special significance. The taking of tea constitutes the denouement of a visit, and almost always occurs when [576] someone steps over someone else's threshold. To refuse tea has some of the connotations of an insult; and to take only tea, without food, is to have a <u>copan falamh</u> (empty cup).

264 The only occasions on which it is customary to feed
574 someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as peat-
576 cutting. On such occasions the preparation of meals is
[461] done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual scrutiny,
[476] and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, the
requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled by
giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but
which were much more abundant when the land was cultivated
[262] and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcakes,
264 clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foods
571 are usually offered to visitors along with tea, and in the
574 past this custom served to minimize the economic disparities
between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A similar
[737] function was served by the practice of giving part of
[431] each catch of fish to old widows and other villagers in
need of aid. Even though food is more abundant and diverse
today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during a
visit is still very important.

173 A 50-year-old man who "married into" a croft recalls,
[581] "I came from a family of ten children. Everyone had to
[428] leave, or marry a girl with a croft. Only the eldest son
could inherit the croft." There was little room for
423 romanticism in the fight for scarce land among the sons
581 of large crofter and non-crofter families. "The most

581 "The most
584 important thing about courting was the land. If a girl
423 was going to get a croft, she could have the pick of anyone." Stories are told of broken alliances and the interference of parents, all related to the inheritance of the croft. For example, the father of a 70-year-old woman living today deserted the beautiful girl to whom he was engaged to marry a girl with a croft. "Never mind beauty, just a bit of land." A man would hike fourteen miles across the moor into town to bring back the jug of beer required for the reiteach (the dinner party announcing an intended marriage), only to find that the girl was having a reiteach with someone else.

233 Cattle were much more important than sheep in the early economic history of the Highlands. Scottish history is full of stories of cattle thieves, and of "the drove," in which large herds were driven to Lowland markets. The
[789] most common examples of witchcraft concerned spells cast on cows. Many Lewismen still remember market days on Lewis, the day of the drove when cattle were herded into Stornoway from all parts of the island; when children were taken from school to help with the drive, and shopkeepers put up extra stalls for the occasion.

Until as recently as ten years ago, a form of transhumance was practiced on Lewis whereby the cattle

233 were taken out to small huts in the central moorlands
233 for several months during the summer. These moorland
342 dwellings, called sheilings or airidh, were tiny stone structures, as small as seven by five feet. They had double stone walls filled with clay, and a rounded thatched roof. There were two doors opposite each other in the longer walls, one of which was filled with turf depending on the direction of the wind. A fireplace
[354] was built into one end of the hut; shelves in the stone
[352] walls held basins of milk and other items; and the major part of the sheiling constituted a grass-and-heather-lined cavity which served as a bed. The sheilings were usually
[361] clustered together near a stream, duplicating neighborhoods within the village.

221 Ploughing and planting were finished in the spring before the young men and women went off to the fishing, and before the cattle were taken to the sheiling. Some families went to the sheiling as early as March for a "fresh bite" of grass. Many went out in the middle of May, and returned at the end of July or beginning of August.

233 "During the week, young girls or boys stayed out on
857 the sheilings, depending on who was available in the
887 family; maybe old people who couldn't do anything else,
462

233 usually an old woman, as the women were responsible for
857 the milking, and the old men were usually fishing around
887
462 the village.

233 "We left for the sheiling early in the morning,
512 taking bed clothes and food. I walked out with my aunt,
who went back home in the morning. My mother came out
with the provisions in the evening. If no one came out
[513] that day, I went to sleep with someone else. You never
slept alone. During the day we fished for trout or
gathered small blackberries; or we looked for the nests
of grouse and other birds. You would knit or read, and
walk for miles to visit friends. The boys swam in the
loch, and sometimes the girls pinched their clothes.
From the top of the hills you could see Stornoway, the
hills of Lochs, Uig and the lighthouse in Ness; on some
days you could see the distant hills of Caithness on the
mainland. It's on the sheiling that I learned about
other parts of the island.

"I remember watching the sun and trying to will it
512 to stay high in the sky, before our mothers came out from
233
234 the village to milk in the evening. They called the
cattle--'Troit, troit, troit'--and they carried the milk
every day from the sheiling to the village, all those
miles. The cattle knew their own sheilings; sometimes

512 The cattle
233 knew their own sheilings; sometimes
825 they came back before milking time and stuck their heads
[234] inside. They stood outside the sheiling at night, and
that's how you can tell where a sheiling once was, even
though the walls have fallen, by the rich green grass.
Calves were born during the summer. A hollow was scooped
233 out in the peat, and lined with turf and moss. People
[422] had as many as four or five cows. It was like Switzerland,
only we didn't have the bells on the cows. There was lots
[272] of milk, fresh thick cream and crowdie (clotted sour
[262] [234] milk); the old people knew how to make cheese.

233 "The moor was very eerie at night, with the sound of
821 the birds. There were only a few hours of darkness
751 anyway, and I'm sure we didn't get much sleep, but somehow
[513] we were always fresh. It was the air, the moor air is
more health-giving. The air is different there. Ill
people benefited from the change. Sometimes a person
with TB would stay out there all summer. The air is heavy
by the sea.

805 "There was no sense of time the way there is today.
233 If you got lost in the snow or fog, you followed the cows
221 home. You had all summer to take home the peats, to work
829 the croft, to harvest the corn. There wasn't a world,
[178] there was only ourselves. That has changed since the war.

233 "You got away from village life when you went to
829 the sheiling. The youngsters ran wild. Everyone talked
more freely somehow. It didn't feel like a Sunday out
233 there—the minister couldn't see that far. Only the
883 young men and women in their late teens or 20's were out
at the weekends. They would send the younger ones home.
They came out in their good clothes, from Saturday night
to Monday morning. Groups of young people walked out and
back together, the girls in one group and the boys in
[533] another, joking and teasing. They sang the old songs and
learned new ones from each other. Some were good at
making up songs. You wouldn't believe how many people
could sleep together in a single sheiling. It was a
[829] heaven on earth. Everybody was one family. The hills
were filled with the sound of voices."

233 Not every family in the village went to the sheilings.
Some families had enough land within the township to graze
their cattle. But they usually went out at the weekends,
for the fun and company.

237 One of the most important products of the cow was
241 not milk but dung, which was used to keep the poor land
231 productive. Because people did not have the enriched
234 animal feeds available today, a cow might not have a calf,
and thus did not give milk, for four or five years.

231 People kept several cattle, some of which were dry most
[234] of the time. But because everyone was keeping cattle,
[244] milk could be gotten from a neighbor. One man was
[246] planting eight or nine hundredweights of potatoes before
the war, some of which would be used to feed the livestock.
511 "You couldn't buy milk then, so you had to keep a cow.
[234] And even though people were weaving, they weren't getting
231 so much money as they are now. It was the barter system
288 here for a long time. So they didn't have the money to
437 buy feeding stuff. It was better to spend the time
planting potatoes. Now of course there's more money in
the weaving."

175 After the war, an act was passed which provided free
272 milk for schoolchildren. Milk for the Shawbost school
234 was supplied by a farm near Stornoway, and villagers first
178 started buying the milk from the school milk van. A strike
175 held by weavers during the war had increased the payments
178 for weaving, and the barter system had stopped. More
288 [468] money was available. As the loom was more profitable,
[437] more people stopped keeping cows, and relied on their
[231] neighbors for milk, or got their milk from the van bringing
[272] milk to the school. And as the cattle got fewer, the
178 market for bottled milk expanded. A dairy was started on
231 the west side of the island in the mid-1960's which carries
434 milk from Uig to Ness.
234

178 231 234 233 178 342 The number of cattle diminished as milk became available by other means; and when the township reseeding schemes came into existence, the need to go to the sheilings for an "early bite" was removed. The sheilings that remain in use today are huts of tin, wood and concrete within easy walking distance from the highway, used on weekends and during summer holidays. Most of these modern sheilings are close to Stornoway, and serve as summer retreats for the relatively harried urban [184] dwellers such as publicans. On the west side, the sheilings are no longer used, but remain as a theme of songs and in nostalgic memories.

C. The Loom

175 286 Clo Mor, the big cloth, was woven in the Highlands and Islands for hundreds of years. Martin Martin, who travelled through the Outer Hebrides in the late 17th century, describes the export of "plaiding," and the practice of waulking or shrinking the woven length of cloth (Martin 1716). Weaving was done on wooden looms, and produced only for local markets until the middle of the 19th century.

[731] [735] By the middle of the 19th century, the failure of the kelp industry, decline of fishing, and destruction

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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286 175 731 735 of potato crops by blight had contributed to widespread poverty. The production of cloth for non-local markets 286 175 741 was promoted initially by philanthropic proprietors in an effort to ameliorate such conditions. Lady Dunmore, 439 of the Dunmore family that owned Harris during most of the 19th century, was largely responsible for developing a market in London and elsewhere for cloth woven in Harris. [565] The cloth was popular first among the aristocracy, who wore it for hunting and other sporting occasions. [438] The [435] romantic image of a cottage industry promoted for charitable purposes contributed to the market value of the tweed.

The market expanded in the second half of the 19th century, aided by ladies of leisure who followed the example 286 set by Lady Dunmore (cf. Hunter 1964: 24-26). The 441 production of cloth for a commercial market spread from 175 Harris to the southern isles, but was slow in coming to [464] Lewis, where the proprietor, Sir James Matheson, provided the people with construction jobs. After Matheson died in 1878, weaving for outside markets began in Lewis in the parish bordering Harris, and the name "Harris Tweed" was used because a market for cloth of this name had already been established. By World War I, weaving for outside markets was being done in all four parishes in Lewis. In 1899 there were 55 looms in Lewis and over 200 in Harris.

286 44 175 By 1911, the number of looms in Lewis had increased to 250-300 (Hunter 1964: 42).

[288] [184] By the late 19th century small mills had replaced domestic spinning and weaving in the Highlands on the mainland. Weaving continued to be a home industry in the Hebrides where it was encouraged by the support of non-profit-making organizations such as the Highland Home Industries and Arts Association, the Scottish Home Industries Association, and the Crofters Agency--all established at the end of the 19th century--and also encouraged by local merchants who had begun to act as middlemen in marketing the cloth. These merchants owned small general stores throughout the island and either bought the tweed from local weavers or gave them goods from their stores in exchange. Many of the tweed firms in Lewis grew from such small general stores and from the barter system.

288 175 159 472 <u>1. The Harris Tweed Industry in Shawbost</u>: Coinneach Rod, a man who started a tweed business on the west side of Lewis which eventually developed into a large mill with equipment for spinning yarn and finishing tweeds, was said to have been a risk-taker, a man who lost the first L50 he borrowed, but borrowed another L50 and never looked back, a man who throughout his life gave fellow

288 businessmen nervous breakdowns because of the risks he
175 continued to take. "He was planning to start some
159 business. At one point it was going to be either
472 distilling or the tweed, and he just happened to go for the tweed."

Some say Coinneach Rod had physical disabilities, developed or aggravated by military service, which made him unable to work like other men, and hence he was forced to find other ways of earning a living. He was a merchant, like other islands who became entrepreneurs in the tweed business.

According to one version of Coinneach Rod's life, he began to handle tweed on a large scale as the result of an accident, when an agent selling tweed for a merchant on the east side of the island arrived on Lewis for the first time, asked for a "Kenneth Macleod, merchant," and was directed to Coinneach Rod of Shawbost.

"He was also an earthy, natural, easy man to get on with. He never changed, even after the money came. He would sit the buyers down with a plateful of cuddies and say 'Dig in,' 'Eat up.' He always ate them whole, and never spat out the bones. The buyers liked that. They liked his easy manner."

175 Between the first and second world wars, the merchant
441 was an extremely powerful figure. When men and women
452

175 441 452 went away to the fishing, their families bought groceries on credit. "If the merchant thought the fishing season would be good, he let them have as much as they wanted; otherwise he restricted them in their buying."

288 175 159 444 437 472 The barter system continued in Shawbost long after it stopped in Stornoway. A weaver was given credit in Coinneach Rod's store, until it closed in 1948, for the exact amount of the tweed. He never gave money. "You had to get just the right amount of goods, even down to tuppence in matches." People were forced to buy huge jars of jam which they did not really want or need. Some "cunning" fellows would slip a two-pound pair of shoes into a shoebox marked 15 shillings. "Coinneach Rod would ask if you wanted a wireless, or would a tweed jacket fit your son. You couldn't refuse, or you wouldn't do any weaving for him for a long time."

288 175 159 472 452 Coinneach Rod bought looms for many weavers, and they would weave only for him to pay off the debt. "People living on the dole with a large family would go to him and ask him to buy them a loom. He would get the man a loom, and then get him a lot of tweeds to weave so the man could pay him off. It was two tweeds for yourself and one for the loom."

288 175 441 <u>2. Centralization and Specialization</u>: Centralization and specialization in handling the production of the tweed

288 developed from the concentration of power in the hands
175 of the merchants. In the early days of the industry,
441 all the processes involved in the production of a
286 finished length of tweed were carried out by individual
236 families. A man used wool from his own flock, and with the
438 aid of other family members, dyed it with vegetable dyes,
175 carded and spun it by hand, wove it, washed and shrunk
[386] it, and found his own buyer. Dyeing wool, spinning yarn,
286 and washing ("waulking") the finished length of tweed
236 was usually done by women. In Harris, the entire process
175 of producing a tweed was carried out by women, but in
462 Lewis the weaving was done largely by men.

A woman in her 80's recalls the process of weaving
175 when she was young. Hand-spinning had died out by this
286 time, although the question of whether tweeds woven with such yarn could legitimately be called Harris Tweed was not resolved until 1934.

"About 1916 or so it took about two weeks to a month
175 to do a tweed. You bought the wool from the Agricultural
283 Board. Sixteen bags of wool, costing about L20, would
[435] do four tweeds. You needed four one-stone bags per
[433] tweed. Then you would spend a day gathering a bag of
[386] crotal (lichen scraped from rocks and used for dye). One
[824] bag per one bag of wool was required for the dye. After

175 dyeing the wool it was spread out, dried and sent to
283 Stornoway to be made into yarn. The yarn was then sent
175 back, and the weaver wove and washed it. About six women
286 were required to do the waulking (the process by which
[462] the cloth was washed and shrunk).

"In those days the weavers designed their own
175 patterns, and sold their own finished tweeds. I remember
286 going into town with my brother, we had two tweeds in the
432 cart. We went into a shop to sell the tweed, and the man said it was poor weaving. He didn't want to pay the full price for it. I told my brother to roll it back up, we would take it somewhere else. As we left the shop, he told me I had 'good cheek.' In the next shop the merchant didn't say anything, and gave my brother the regular price. We went home with £60."

286 The great demand for tweed encouraged the development
288 of more efficient methods of production. One by one the
175 various processes of production were taken over by
178 specialists, and gradually these specialists were brought
[433] together under one roof. Large boilers for dyeing wool
[434] were supplied as a result of actions taken by the Congested
[463] Districts Board, which was formed in 1897. The Scottish
[386] Home Industries provided chemical dyes. The most
[236] difficult and time-consuming processes were carding and
[283] spinning, which small mills on the mainland began to do

286 288 175 178 [236] [283] on commission for weavers around the turn of the century. By the early 1920's, four mills on the island were carding and spinning wool on commission; and one mill brought looms into its premises. Lord Leverhulme, who bought Lewis in 1918, saw the value of concentrating weavers in one place and of improving the technology. He encouraged the introduction of Hattersley domestic [463] looms, which eventually replaced the wooden looms. The individual weaver also did his own warping, but after World War II the mills began to hire warpers to work full time on mill premises. Transporting the tweeds, which used to be the responsibility of the weavers, is now the responsibility of the mills. Today all processes except the actual weaving are handled by mills, most of which are located in Stornoway.

Such steps in specialization and centralization made sense to the weaver. One of the older weavers recalls, 175 286 288 435 "In the late 20's or 30's you could buy a yard of Harris Tweed for about two shillings. It wasn't economical for any crofter to dye and spin the yarn, weave it and sell it for only two shillings a yard. As the mills enlarged, they could make it with the machinery because they could make it an economic proposition."

175 286 288 828 However, the tendency toward specialization and centralization was in direct conflict with the reasons

175 behind the tweed's popularity. The tweed was more than
286 a cloth; it was peat smoke and windswept moorland, the
288 [828] image of the free man who had escaped city life and machines and was the master of his own destiny. Steps had been taken all along the way to preserve the image of home-crafted goods, as when, in an effort to prevent machine-spinning, carding mills were built in Lewis and Harris at the turn of the century to prevent wool from being sent to mills on the mainland, where it was both [685] carded and spun. As early as 1906, a man was convicted in London of selling power-loomed tweed under the name
288 "Harris Tweed." Today power-driven looms can produce
402 double-width cloth 54 inches wide, a width much preferred to the 28-inch cloth produced on the Hatteraley loom because there is less waste when the cloth is cut. But because "Harris Tweed" must be hand-woven, new looms of light-weight metal are being designed on which double- [435] width cloth can be hand-woven. The new looms will cost so much that many weavers say they would be unlikely to invest in them, especially given the uncertain future of the industry.

175 The Harris Tweed Association, formed in 1909, was
178 granted a certification mark by the Board of Trade which
288 was stamped on tweeds that were hand-spun and hand-woven
441 [424] in the islands. During World War I, hand-spinning died
[286]

175 out in Lewis, and the Harris Tweed Association was
178 ineffective in enforcing its standards. In 1934,
288 weavers were allowed to use yarn spun in island mills,
286 and production increased; but no weaving was allowed
441 to be done in the mills. All looms were removed from those mills which had tried to centralize this stage of production. The actual process of weaving remained, by legal definition, decentralized, although the word "crofter" was changed to "islander," thus widening the category of persons who could weave "Harris Tweed," and paving the way for centralization of weavers in the town of Stornoway.

286 Any person can purchase his own yarn, weave his own
288 tweeds, and sell them to tailors or summer tourists;
467 but before a weaver can weave for the mills, he must be registered with the Weavers Union. The Weavers Union is a branch of the Transport and General Workers Union, which includes mill employees, hospital workers, lorry
288 drivers, and others. It is an anomaly of the Harris
467 Tweed industry that workers classed as self-employed should join a union of employees and is another indication of the centralization of control and power in the mills, with whom the weavers, along with the mill workers, bargain
288 for higher wages. Weavers receive a basic sum of over
435 L10 for each length of tweed, which is usually 38 weaver's
466
804

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435 yards (a weaver's yard is equal to 8 feet, a measure
288 which derives from the size of the frame once used
[804] to wind hanks of yarn). Payment varies according to
the number of colors used in the pattern. A weaver
288 may average 2½ tweeds per week when the work is available,
465 thus earning more than mill workers. A female mill
[562] worker earns about L11 or L12, and her male counterpart
about L3 more.

288 Because weavers are classed as self-employed, they
745 do not qualify for unemployment benefit. They may apply
659 for social security, but must submit to a "means" test,
and the possession of bank savings or other assets
disqualifies them from receiving such aid. All British
workers must pay a weekly sum for "insurance stamps," a
certain number of which makes the workers eligible for
small payments from the government during periods of
illness. Self-employed persons must pay for their own
insurance stamps, whereas employers pay for the stamps
of their workers. A weaver who does not keep up with his
payments of over one pound a week for insurance stamps
must pay the accumulated debt at a later time.

471 Weavers face other costs. They buy looms and bobbin-
288 winding machines, and pay for lighting, heating, and the
288 maintenance of all equipment. The preservation of this
463 anomalous status of "self-employed" is related to the
438

288 attempt to preserve the image of Harris Tweed as a
463 cottage industry, and thus maintain its market value.
[438] Many weavers, politicians and businessmen argue that the weaver should be reclassified.

However, the status of weavers as self-employed is not simply bureaucratic jargon designed to preserve
288 the Harris Tweed industry. In most employer-employee
466 situations, people are hired with the understanding that they have certain qualifications and will perform certain jobs. Weavers are not under such expectations and obligations. A mill has little idea of the skill or motivation of the weavers to whom they send their yarn. Weavers differ in matters such as degree of skill and state of health, and they also differ in the amount of time available to weave, and other matters that affect their production. Some weavers refuse to do complex patterns; some are busy with croft work and do not want to do "urgent" tweeds; others who are recovering from illness may prefer not to weave the heavier tweeds. The
[467] tweed van sent out by the mills to make deliveries all over the island meets one such variable situation after another, and thus finds it difficult to meet the demand of the Weavers Union, that tweeds should be equally distributed among all weavers on the island. Theoretically, the mills are supposed to deliver tweeds in strict

288 466 rotation to the weavers who are registered with them.

Other factors also hinder equal distribution of [602] tweeds. Personal considerations enter; for example, the managers of the Shawbost mills feel a responsibility for the weavers in their own village, who are usually kinsmen. Exclusive distribution to local weavers is rationalized by saying that the tweeds must be done urgently; hence they are distributed only to the weavers who are known to do tweeds quickly.

288 494 466 The major factor hindering equal distribution of tweeds is the expense which derives from the decentralization of weavers, that is, the cost of petrol and upkeep of the vans, which is born by the mills. Before World [175] [178] [493] War II, the weavers rather than the mills were responsible for transporting the tweeds, by cart and horse at first, and then by motorized transport.

288 175 492 494 During this period, independent entrepreneurs carried tweeds in vans and buses at four shillings each, a practice which stimulated the development of public transportation. Although the number of passengers using such vans and buses for public transport fluctuated, the income derived from the cartage of tweeds was in itself large enough to be profitable and to maintain the [178] enterprises. An efficient service existed, despite the

288 175 178 472 494 paucity of passengers, which provided rides to and from town many times a day; but with the "development," that is, the centralization, of industry, public transportation deteriorated. Visitors to the island unfamiliar with this history are struck by practices which they interpret as coming out of a clockless past, such as the present custom of stopping the bus midway in its journey to Stornoway so that the driver can eat dinner in his mother's house while all passengers wait on board. Such a custom is fairly recent, and indicates the deterioration of public services to populations which are marginal to the centralized source of these services.

288 175 [468] During World War II, when the demand for tweed was high and the number of weavers small, the weavers staged an effective strike by which they received an increase in pay and the burden of cartage was shifted from them [178] [494] to the mills. This did not affect the system of transportation until the mills realized it would be cheaper to run their own transport rather than to pay the independent drivers a "cartage fee." [493] The mills then began to use their own vans to deliver yarn and collect tweeds directly 175 288 178 to and from the weavers. Once the mills took over transportation, they tended to deliver tweeds to weavers closest to the mills rather than to uphold the principle [494] [466] [361] of equal distribution. This practice (made possible by

175 the 1934 decision to change the word "crofter" to
178 "islander") led to the weavers living in council
288 [361] houses in town and working in loomsheds behind the houses. Unequal distribution has also contributed to Shawbost's relative prosperity, and to the decline of weaving in more remote parts of the island. The [464] unequal distribution of tweeds has made it difficult to maintain a large labor force, which in turn limits the growth and development of the industry.

288 3. Instability of the Industry: The Harris Tweed
433 industry has undergone a number of crises. Periods of
178 depression have alternated with periods of prosperity.
[458] (See Appendix B for the fluctuation in the number of yards stamped each year with the Harris Tweed trade-mark.) The very conditions which give the tweed its [435] market value—the decentralized, non-mechanized human [466] element—also limit the possibilities of growth in the industry, and contribute to the industry's instability.

288 When a business remains small, it must collect
441 orders before it can provide work to have the orders filled (except when demand for an item is strong, as occurred around the time of the previous world war; during the war and for a few years after, tweeds could be made first and then marketed, because any cloth [471] could be sold). Only a large business can keep weavers

288 441 491 at work producing tweeds which it then tries to market. The latter method requires the investment of a great deal of capital to make the tweeds and pay the weavers before a buyer is found. The small mills require an immediate return for their capital investment, which is ensured [434] by not investing unless there is a definite order. The fortunes of the weavers oscillate with the luck and skill of the mills in soliciting orders; thus, the mills do not provide a constant, stable source of income. The 288 434 nature of the tweed, as a high-priced luxury item rather than a basic necessity, contributes to the instability of the demand. When fashions change or when world-wide economic depressions come, the high-priced tweed with its specialized image as a cloth for aristocratic, [185] sporty dress is forgotten for awhile. Efforts are being made to change this image; but the product's status as a high-priced luxury item persists.

288 441 458 An extremely small business can survive periods of depression when capital outlay in the form of machinery, running costs, and so on is not large. An extremely large business that has cornered a large share of the market can often survive an erratic schedule of orders because it has a larger accumulation of capital, but a medium-sized business has too much overhead to survive long periods of depression. Examples of all three exist

288 in Shawbost: a very small business, which until
441 recently did not even have its own transport but
458 hired facilities when they were needed and simply
went into hibernation when orders stopped coming;
a medium-sized business, which went into liquidation
in 1971; and a large business, which continues to
survive despite a depression which has continued
since the late 1960's.

288 Harris Tweed is sent to markets all over the
441 world; but because of the difficulty of maintaining
464 a large labor force, the filling of orders is sometimes
[439] slow. If large orders cannot be met, weaving as an
island-wide occupation cannot be maintained. The
number of weavers on the island fluctuates, as slack
periods come and men adopt the time-tested strategy
of temporary migration in search of other jobs. One
[468] of the factors which aided the weavers during their
[175] strike of 1943 was the fact that so many other jobs
were available during the war that the future of the
industry was jeopardized.

288 In the last five years the number of mill employees
464 has decreased from 800 to 500. The decrease is due in
[178] part to the introduction of more efficient techniques
and new equipment, but there is little room for improve-
ment in the production of tweeds because the human
element, the weaver, is essential to its production.

000 element, the weaver, is essential to its production.
288 In 1960 weavers receiving tweed yarns from the mills
464 totalled about 1,500 persons, a number which held for
463 about three years and then started dropping at a rate of about 100 a year. In 1971 the number of weavers was less than 1,000, and trends of change appeared to presage a continued dwindling of numbers. It is
166 estimated that emigration increased during 1970-71.
464 Men have returned to the sea, have gone to Glasgow as laborers, or have taken advantage of training courses offered by the Labor Exchange, courses that will eventually remove them from the island setting.

288 The instability of the industry and the fluctuation
571 in amount of weaving work available at any given time
458 has created an environment in which personal ties and individual maneuvering rather than a widespread adherence to impersonal rules such as equal distribution are
[602] emphasized. Strategies which involve the mobilization of kinship and neighborhood ties and involve an emphasis on personal relationships rather than the depersonalization usually associated with industry are made possible by economic factors such as the dependence of decentralized weavers on centralized mills. The watchfulness and consciousness of one's neighbors so characteristic of village life prevail. Questions about the state of

288 Questions about the state of
"the tweed" permeate all discussions, and often
57 constitute an initial greeting. "Have you got a
458 tweed in the loom? How many do you have? Did you
[52] see Stickey's tweed van going into Pairc? Did you
[576] hear that Newalls has an order for about 800 pieces...?"

"The mills brought me two tweeds, and I got two in town myself. I stuck those two in the attic so that anyone who came in would be none the wiser," says one person in a whisper. Neighbors are in and out of each others' houses and loomsheds, observant and questioning, on the lookout for any indication that they have missed out on some transaction in the competition for scarce goods.

D. Weaving as Strategy

286 When weaving was done on a wooden hand loom, the
178 weaver required a longer period of apprenticeship.
402 Weaving was "more of an art," as some of the older weavers remember it today. Not only was the shuttle thrown back and forth by hand, but the lifting of different threads in the warp was done by manipulating
288 four foot pedals in the correct order. Today, the
178 process of weaving is very much simplified: the weaver
402 pushes only two foot pedals, and simply keeps an eye on

288 the automatic shuttle; all other processes have been
178 built into the design of the Hattersley loom (cf.
402 Thomson 1969). In other words, weaving does not entail
288 very specialized skills and is not difficult to learn.
463 A sailor can come home and learn to weave in a short period of time, or pick up the trade again with ease after having been absent from the loom for a long time.
[571] Neighbors substitute for each other when someone is ill
[593] if a tweed is "urgent." Wives help their husbands, and young boys their fathers and uncles. Such low-level specialization and substitutability are complementary to crofting activities and the maintenance of neighborhood ties, and may be seen to favor continuance of the occupation of weaving.

874 The Lews Castle College in Stornoway, established
286 as a technical college in 1953 in a building that was
[467] formerly the home of Sir James Matheson, offers training courses in weaving for adults which last for ten weeks and qualify a person for membership in the Weavers Union (cf. Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). The
[872] college also sends weaving instructors to all the public schools on the island to instruct young boys in the
654 rudiments of weaving. The Highlands and Islands
286 Development Board have in the past offered loans and
288 grants with which to purchase looms, and government aid has protected the mills.

286 Despite these aids and incentives, parents do not
288 encourage their children to weave. The weavers them-
463 selves describe the job as dull, offering no security
868 and no possibilities for advancement.
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829
[461] Referring to her young son, a mother says, "By the time he's old enough to weave, the tweeds will have failed." Another mother says, "I want him to learn some trade, if he's intelligent enough. I don't want him to stay here. The tweed is so uncertain." "There's no future in it," says the father of another young boy, "I definitely wouldn't want him to be a weaver. It would be good if he went in for engineering."

463 The histories of the weavers reveal many examples
464 of shifting occupations. Weaving often alternates with
286 work in the local mill, which is also relatively unspecialized. The Shawbost mill must tolerate this unstable labor force, as labor is difficult to find.
[166] Eldest sons tend to leave the island for more stable,
[593] permanent jobs, leaving the croft and the loom to their younger siblings. Table V[1] shows the number of male weavers in each age group.

288 The fact that Shawbost has the same age structure
464 as the rest of rural Lewis (see Table II)[2] and less
162 unemployment signifies that weaving has not served as
166 an adequate incentive to keep young people on the island.

1. [See p. xi--Analyst]
2. [See p.xiii--Analyst]

288 Rather, the industry has provided jobs for those who,
469 for one reason or another, would have stayed anyway.
162
166 Of the weavers between the ages of 15 and 24, eight are only sons or sons who had to begin work because their fathers became ill or died; two others live at home only temporarily and plan to work elsewhere. Of those of ages 25 to 34, two men live at home because they are disabled; one has returned from the Merchant Service for awhile; two are only sons who are encouraged to remain at home, and several are youngest sons or sons whose parents have strongly discouraged them from leaving home. Of the 35-44 age group, four have remained on the island because of various ailments such as tuberculosis and mental health problems; one had to leave the Merchant Service because of an injury; at least five have stayed or returned because of family ties, the demands of aging parents and sick siblings. In the 45-54 age category, a number of men served in the navy or other branches of the armed forces during World War II, and returned from shipwrecks and other disastrous events to the relative security of the loom.

288 Many of the older weavers (at least nine in the
464 55-64 age category) started weaving after they had
167 returned from the United States or Canada because of
162 the depression. Some recall the horror of wandering

288 through alleys to rummage through the trash cans of
464 hospitals or other large institutions for food. The
167 occupational histories of the weavers support the
162 generalization made by an official of the Harris Tweed Association that the younger weavers leave because they do not like the weaving and they are replaced mainly by older men who want to settle down after a life at sea. (See Appendix A for several life histories of weavers.)

E. Crofting as Strategy

241 Because of the relatively high income provided by
288 the Harris Tweed industry, those who remain within the
434 township have tended to emphasize weaving and neglect the croft.

592 1. Croft as Place of Residence vs. Agricultural Unit: Most of the 169 households consist of married couples with
[582] their unmarried children. A tendency to marry rather late in life and for children not to marry while their parents are still living is evident in Table VI[1] (Partial List of Households According to Type of Household and Age of Household Head).

Fourteen households of married couples and their children (not included in Table VI) include at least one

1. [This source as received did not contain this table--Analyst]

592 unmarried sibling. Eleven households consist only of siblings who have never married, men and women who in 1971 were 45 years old or older. Two widows live with [589] their unmarried siblings. Sixteen widows or widowers live alone, and sixteen unmarried persons live alone.

241 The large number of households occupied by single, 592 elderly people reflects the use of the croft as a place 423 of residence rather than as an agricultural unit, a 671 888 view of the croft that was given legal expression in 1968 by the Miscellaneous Provisions Act. Before 1968, [428] the croft went automatically to the eldest son if a crofter died intestate. Since 1968, the rights of different claimants must be considered and tenancy by a new person must be confirmed. District and county councillors argued for this change, saying that a widow was often left on the croft and her security endangered because the eldest son was usually far away from the island, in Canada or some other country. In other words, rather than an agricultural unit which should naturally be taken over and worked by the male head of the household, the croft is seen as a place of residence for the infirm and for the aged, and especially for the aged female.

657 The Crofters Commission has suggested that elderly 185 people be allowed to rent small plots of land on which 423 888 311

657 their houses are located, and that most of the land be
185 freed for use by more active crofters, but the ideology
423 associated with possession of the croft makes such a
888 plan extremely difficult to implement. "The croft is
311 your base, the only thing you have. You don't want it taken away, even if someone else is using it already anyway. Our county councillor suggested amalgamating the unused crofts at a recent meeting. No one said anything, but no one wants it."

592 Of the five households that have the use of three
241 crofts each, one consists of a bachelor who uses the
311 crofts for grazing a large number of sheep. A second household is composed of two brothers who had stayed at home to take care of their aged parents. One of these brothers recently married, after the last parent died. These men keep cattle and sheep, and both weave.

592 A third household is headed by a married man who
241 has recently sold most of his livestock in order to
311 "concentrate on the weaving." His father, who used to
288 haul peat with a horse and cart in exchange for the use of grazing land so that his family never had to go to the sheilings, died a few years ago. "My father was a crofter only. The weaving didn't start until the 30's. He was wounded in the war. He got a pension and sold a cow or a few sheep each year. But I didn't

592 241 311 288 like to leave the loom for the time it took to look after the sheep."

592 231 241 [233] [246] [288] [463] A fourth household consists of three unmarried siblings in their 40's and 50's who recently sold their cattle and now keep only sheep for their own consumption. They cultivate a small amount of oats and hay to feed the sheep during the winter. The brother who was largely responsible for taking care of the livestock is now "concentrating on the loom," and his brother works in the mill. Their sister, who used to work in hotels on the mainland, now keeps house for them. Described as a "self-contained family," they have a tractor and a deep-freeze and take care of their peat and the harvesting of crops by themselves. One of their crofts has become too waterlogged even for grazing and was sold recently to the son of a local crofter, not for agriculture but as a prerequisite for applying to the Department of Agriculture for a housing grant. Only tenants of crofts can apply for such grants. As this particular croft is too wet to be cultivated or used as a house site, the only motive which the new tenant has to become a crofter is to gain access to governmental subsidy.

[409] [404] 654 423

592 233 311 The fifth household is composed of a retired couple and their son and his wife and family. They have no cattle, and use the crofts for grazing sheep.

241 288 183 233 The competition between the loom and the croft is evident in the few communal township practices which still exist. One of the rules of township organization is that all households must bring their sheep in from the moor on the same day. Other rules are that no one [231] should go out on the moor at any other time with a dog, and everyone who has sheep should go out on the day designated by the township grazings committee to collect them. The moor is extensive, and the sheep wander over a wide area. Only if a large number of men go out together and come in with their dogs like a wide net can the sheep be brought in with a minimum of effort over the stream-cut, uneven ground. Anyone who goes out alone disturbs the grazing animals and probably drives them farther away from the village.

233 183 These rules have strong ethical import and are much more than a set of procedural rules prescribed by the Crofters Commission. "There is a code of ethics which you learn as you grow up, as you go with your [578] elders out to the moor. You can fight with a man over a woman and make it up next week; but if you fight with a man over a sheep, you won't make it up for thirty [178] years." That these rules are weakening in importance is indicated by situations in which only two or three men have gone out in the early morning to bring in the

233 sheep. These men arrive back in the village hours
183 later to find the road lined with the cars of men who
178 have come to look for their own sheep among the flock but who had not bothered to spend the time collecting them. Many have gotten rid of their sheep to "concentrate on the weaving."

233 2. Sheep vs. Cattle: As mentioned in the section
178 entitled "Changing Land Use" (cf. Chapter 2), a split
578 has emerged between those who keep cattle, and those who keep only sheep. Cattle were once predominant, but the number of sheep has greatly increased. The conflict between raisers of sheep and of cattle extends beyond the use of the reseeding schemes (see Chapter 2).

Cattle are usually brought in from the reseedings or from the common grazing lands where they are tethered, and put on the unfenced, arable inner grazing land of the township at the same time that the sheep are brought in from the moor. In one township on the west side of Lewis, the cattle were released a few days before the fank,[1] which resulted in the formation of two groups, sheep-only people and sheep-and-cattle people, which opposed each other. At the fank held a few days later,

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[1]The word "fank" refers to the process of bringing the sheep in from the moor, and to the wooden pen in which the sheep are gathered and claimed by their owners.

233
178 sheep were let out of the pens, and a fight broke out
578 between the two groups of people.

241 3. Crofters vs. Non-crofters: Another division
657 within the township has developed largely because of
578 the attention paid by outside agencies to "crofting."
175 The Crofters Act of 1886 defined crofters and gave them
[671] a protected, privileged status. In fact, very little distinction existed between non-crofters (sometimes called squatters and/or cottars) and crofters, and in some places, such as the Isle of Scalpay, non-crofters even out-numbered crofters. Both categories were linked to each other by bonds of kinship and mutual dependence. Non-crofters were in fact favored economically. They did not have to pay rent, but had the same opportunities to graze stock
241 and plough land as did crofters. Many crofters themselves
175 had bualle, units of land not recognized as part of the
423 croft and not included in the land for which rent was paid but recognized as property by the villagers themselves to the extent that these bits of moorland passed down through families or could be given by one person to another. Even today, a young girl thinking of getting married says her future husband might build their house on her father's bualle, and a man may build a house on moorland "given" to him by his wife's aunt. Officially, a non-crofter had no "rights" to a house which he built on the common

241 grazing land and he could not transfer such property in
175 a will. Similarly a crofter had no right to his buaile,
423 and could not formally protest if another crofter sought to apportion this land for his own use (see Chapter 2 [627] for a discussion of apportionments). But in both situations, informal understandings superseded legal rights.

241 Various legislative acts which followed the 1886
657 act focussed attention on the crofter. Various matters
175 associated with crofting are handled by a Crofters [654] Commission. Crofters have access to grants and loans [494] to improve land and build fences and homes. They may buy goods at low prices in a nearby cooperative store. As crofts were fenced, land around the townships became scarce and non-crofters found it difficult to keep large numbers of cattle and sheep.

241 Within recent years it has become possible for non-
178 crofters to gain title to the small plots of land on
423 which their houses are built. Some loans are available [452] to them for building houses. Non-crofters have access [654] to the various subsidies available to all agriculturalists, such as the subsidies for raising hill sheep and beef [829] cattle. There is still the feeling, however, that crofters have rights which non-crofters do not have and that in conflicts over scarce goods crofters have

241 178 423 829 the edge over non-crofters. "Squatters can do what they like, cut peats, put sheep and cattle on the common grazing, but this is a privilege, not a right."

The clerk of a grazings committee says, "When it comes to an argument between a crofter and a squatter, the crofter always wins. A squatter has rights only with the grazing committee's permission. If one crofter disagrees, the squatter is out."

241 423 578 A squatter muses bitterly, "I wanted crofting status because I wanted to get a Department of Agriculture grant to build a house. I work on the peat road; I go to all the fanks. But at a township meeting, they didn't want me to get crofting status. They were afraid I would start grabbing peat banks or apportionments in the common grazing or something. There's your brotherly love for you."

311 654 4. Subsidies: In the section entitled "Changing Land Use" I suggested that the availability of subsidies has encouraged a more specialized investment in agricultural activites.

654 829 241 The villagers are keenly aware of outside institutions which give money. They speak to each other about forms which they receive from the Department of Agriculture and the Crofters Commission, in much the same way as they are curious about the number of tweeds which another

654 person has. The gigantic bureaucracy of government
829 agencies is mysterious and unpredictable. One can
241 never be certain when or for what reason another economic increment may come. "I used to throw away a form from the Department of Agriculture until I found out from somebody that you could get money with it. You say you're planting so much of your land in oats, and later you fill out another form saying you didn't get a very good return, and they send you a deficiency payment."

241 For some crofters, the requirements of the subsidies
242 have affected the extent and techniques of agricultural
654 activity. For example, one man used to work his land
178 in the way that his ancestors learned would bring best results: lazybeds were aligned in strips that would drain well and catch the sun, and stones were left in the soil to capture the sun's warmth and thereby facilitate the growth of potatoes. Now he has merged the separate strips, cleared the stones, and divided the land into units that allow him easily to calculate how much he has used for what crops, because to be eligible for a particular grant, a certain percentage of arable land must be ploughed with grass seed and rotated with other crops.

241 The Department of Agriculture and the Crofters
654 Commission often overlap in their subsidy-giving functions.

241 The Department of Agriculture dispenses subsidies to
654 all Scottish farmers, not just to crofters, and handles
[433] about 210,000 claims per year. Lewis produces 0.4%
of the agricultural output of Scotland, and 8.1% of the
agricultural output of the Scottish islands.

654 The major subsidies available to Scottish farmers,
233 including crofters, are for raising hill cattle, beef
calves, and hill and upland sheep. Sheep and cattle
subsidies were made available in 1941, in the early years
of the war, to increase their production. During wartime,
Britain was more dependent than formerly on her own
resources, and attempted to encourage production. Between
[458] the two world wars, agriculture had undergone a recession,
especially in the hills and uplands, because of a number
of events in world economics, such as competition from
New Zealand and Argentina in production of cattle. As
part of the scheme of the postwar Labor government,
agricultural support was made statutory.

For example, a man who keeps hill cattle may receive
L18.70 per cow as well as L5 for each acre cultivated to
feed his cattle during the winter. He receives L5 for
each cow which is tested for brucellosis. In the 1970-71
agricultural year, Shawbost received over L2,000 in sheep
and cattle subsidies, divided among 37 men receiving
subsidies for cattle and 36 men receiving subsidies for
sheep.

654
241 Subsidies for fertilizer and for lime to neutralize acidic soil also originated during wartime, when the government was trying to control scarce materials. Agricultural subsidies in the form of cropping grants and improvement grants are available both to crofters (from the Crofters Commission) and to others of the same economic status as crofters (from the Department of Agriculture). Most of the improvement grants are for fencing (rather than drainage or other improvements). To receive a cropping grant, a farmer must sow one-third of all tilled acres in grass, and apply three hundredweights of fertilizer to each acre planted with oats, barley or wheat. Lewis is in the third or poorest category of agricultural land designated by the Department of Agriculture, and receives the highest rate of subsidy (L11 per acre, as opposed to L5 per acre for good land).

For some people, even the incentive of subsidies is not sufficient to stimulate them to farm or keep livestock. "It's too expensive to work the croft. There's
654 not enough return to make it worth it. The Department
241 of Agriculture gives you a subsidy for fertilizer, but
829 it still costs you something if you're not doing much of anything else with the land. The croft is a sideline; it helps you keep busy; you grow some of your own food. But you've got to make a living some other way."

233 One crofter who gets subsidies says that he keeps
241 sheep and ploughs the land to feed them only as a "hobby."
654 He uses the word "hobby" because, in comparison with the
523 income he gets from working regularly in the mill, he
434 does not get a good return for his investment.

233 A crofter who has been weaving all his life says
288 that the income he receives from his cattle and sheep
434 does not compare with the income he receives from weaving.
654 Subsidies are counted as an important part of the income
he receives for the livestock. "Last year I got L28 for
a heifer--not a very good price, but then I got an L11
829 subsidy as well." He does not believe that anyone could
434 make a living from crofting alone. "You say some of the
241 people in Uist are able to make a living at it? They
might be getting social security as well, they're that
sly. Anyway, members of the family are probably sending
money home from sea or from the mainland. You need a
weekly wage. If the tweeds disappear, the only thing a
man could do would be to go to sea." (See Appendix C
for an example of the balance sheet of a croft.)

233 A few families work seriously at rearing cattle for
463 sale in local or town markets. These are usually
composed of several male adults, of which one or more
work in the mill or do weaving and someone is largely
000 responsible for croft work. Most of these people look

233 829 648 654 Most of these people look askance at the idea of Britain joining the European Economic Community. "If the Common Market comes, that means no more subsidy for livestock. That'll mean the end of crofting. They'll get good prices for their beef, but feeding stuff will be very expensive."

"I don't know much about the Common Market, but I'm against it. They'll do away with the subsidies. If it weren't for the subsidies, most people just wouldn't bother with cattle and sheep; it wouldn't be worth their while, the feeding stuff is getting so [246] expensive. The people here used to take in a hundred bags or so of potatoes to feed the stock. But the climate is so bad you don't know what kind of a return you're going to get, and the work is so hard it just isn't worth the bother, so people prefer to buy feeding stuff. And if you spend more on feeding your animals than you get for them, what's the use? Of course we've been here all our lives. It would be hard to leave. But if the weaving goes--"

"I was talking to my cousin in Glasgow. He says the cattle are going to be the big thing with the Common Market. The price of beef is going to go up. I don't think people here can keep cattle if they don't get the subsidy. They can't keep enough cattle, and they can't be sure of a good price every year."

233 As these quotations bring out, the subsidy enables
654 people to risk rearing cattle under conditions that would otherwise make success very uncertain.

476 5. Communalism: Despite the decline in various
571 agricultural activities and the individuation of land use, some activities persist wh ch require mutual aid.
[484] Conditions of low geographical mobility, in which mutual watchfulness and competitive gamesmanship have developed (see section on "Social Marginality"), contribute to the strong boundedness of the township network. There is still competition over who begins an agricultural
[156] activity at a particular time of the year. No one wants
[221] to be so early that he stands out like an over-eager novice running risks of frost or other bad weather, but there is an element of pride in being the first to
314 harvest potatoes or bring in the peat. Almost everyone
571 cuts peat, a time-consuming and back-breaking job made
476 pleasanter with a large labor force; and every aspect of the activity--the time of cutting and bringing in, the length of time required to cut peats, the size of the peats when dry, the type of meal served to the work crew, the evenness of the final peat stack--is subject to intense scrutiny.

F. The Decline in Self-Sufficiency

175 632 433 Until the second world war, when weavers began to earn larger sums of money for their weaving, the 175 463 township was relatively self-sufficient. The land was [241] more thoroughly cultivated, and the village boasted a 175 463 number of local specialists. These specializations 592 were linked with particular family lines. Certain families were blacksmiths; others were undertakers, joiners, cobblers, or midwives. As generations succeeded one another, occupations were not thrown open in the competitive, individualistic way of the mobile city. Certain occupations were seen to be "naturally" linked with particular families. Sometimes it was said that people of a particular family (which might include quite a number of collateral lines) had hereditary characteristics which suited them for particular occupations.

"Taggy was an expert bone-setter. He wasn't a doctor [759] at all, but he could set bones better than any doctor. And he used to let blood, when people were dizzy with threatening strokes, or had pneumonia. It was in the people. He was a direct descendent, through his mother, [827] of the Murrays of South Shawbost, the people who had the mill and were the blacksmiths for generations. He got that ability from them."

175 827 463 [205] Whatever the rationalization, cobbler fathers begot cobbler sons. The present postmaster's grandfather was the first postmaster in Shawbost, and when help is needed in delivering the mail it is the postmaster's first [767] cousins who are likely to help out. As late as the 1950's, the township still had its own undertaker, a man who had learned from his father the art of laying out and dressing the body but who didn't like the job very much and was happy enough to turn it over to an undertaker who traveled from Stornoway.

463 [232] The island has had a veterinarian, based in Stornoway, for the past 30 years or so. Earlier, certain blacksmiths and farmers treated ailing livestock when the crofters [278] [755] needed them. For human ailments, there were many cures by plant and spell.

463 326 [342] The man who was the last village blacksmith died not long ago. His smithy was in the center of the village. His home and smithy were mortared stone buildings with corrugated iron roofs that were once estate houses for the men who worked the experimental farm established by Sir James Matheson in what is now New Shawbost. The blacksmith was also a shopkeeper and butcher. As a 463 326 874 blacksmith, his work was principally shoeing horses and making harrows and peat-cutters, which he did with the aid of one and sometimes two apprentices. One of his

463 One of his
326 apprentices was his sister's son, who built another
[874] smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip.
[604] People gathered there while he shoed horses that came
[521] from Barvas to Carloway."

444 A number of shops were established in Shawbost
178 that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At
[494] one time they numbered six altogether. These shops
also ran the first buses between the village and
[479] Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared
[443] because of competition with larger companies. Mobile
grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming
in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in
large parts of the island, undercutting the local busi-
178 nesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-
434 sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and
571 sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on
621 local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town-
44 dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major
463 proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers,
178 [472] fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage
[484] collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal
dealers and others extend goods and services from
centralized sources to a market which has money to pay
for them. The island's participation in this extensive
market system is affected by its marginality to the

44 cities and industries of the larger society on which
128 the system depends. The geographical and social
marginality of the islands is discussed in Chapter 5.

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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Chapter 4

THE TOWNSHIP AS SOCIAL BOUNDARY SYSTEM

A. Social Boundary System

121

Cohen (1969) has developed the concept of social boundary system, which I have found useful in investigating the sociocultural organization of the village of Shawbost, which has undergone major economic changes.

A social boundary system is a "network of social relations of people who are required and permitted to engage in a sphere of social activity (Cohen 1969: 104)." Within a society, a number of networks may be delineated, such as family, household, work group, community, and nation. Various spheres of social activity may also be delineated, such as educational, political and religious. The activities within these spheres may be performed in different networks. Persons in all societies are born into a kinship network, for example, and acquire expectations regarding rights and obligations vis-à-vis their kinsmen. However, the importance of kinsmen and the kinship network varies across societies, and within a particular society at different times in its history. Certain networks which were once very important may be

121 replaced in importance by other networks. Cohen draws upon Vogel's (1963) description of the middle class in modern Japan to illustrate changes in the importance of particular networks. Vogel demonstrates that the male work group has become an important network in present-day urban life in Japan, and that the previously important religious and kinship networks have declined in significance. With the rise of modern Japan as a nation-state, local communities have become less firmly bounded, and the work group has become a firmly bounded system.

A society may be characterized by the extent to which various networks of social relations within it are differentiated. This differentiation is a feature of sociocultural evolution, "an adaptation in the organization of social relations to the harnessing of increasingly effective energy systems (Cohen 1969: 105)." A network of social relations becomes firmly bounded when it is differentiated from other networks but is itself internally undifferentiated; role transposability and consensus are evident within the firmly bounded network.

A network of social relations is differentiated from other networks when role performance within it is independent of role performance in other networks (for example, in most urban-industrial societies, the role which a person plays in his family does not affect the

12 role which he plays in his work group). Another indication of differentiation is the inability of members of one network to substitute for members of other networks in carrying out various activities (as reflected, for example, in the existence of specialists who earn their living by performing these activities. In some societies, for example, all members of the society are responsible for educating the children of that society. In other societies, occupational specialists earn their living by such an activity).

Within a firmly bounded network, members can substitute for each other and assume each other's roles. Such role transposability is evident in the "joint conjugal relationship" which Bott (1957) describes among certain families in London, in which husband and wife may substitute for each other in carrying out household tasks. In contrast, a weakly bounded network exists in the "segregated role relationship," in which husband and wife perform different tasks and have separate interests and activities; such a relationship is found in lower-class families who depend on extra-household kinsmen for aid (Bott 1957: 52-96).

A network of social relations is firmly bounded to the extent that dissent within the network is not tolerated, that is, to the extent that consensus is

121 maintained. Cohen (1969: 110) relates this emphasis on consensus to role transposability: "...sustained outspoken dissent among members of the network tends to define them as unlike each other and thus to make it difficult for them to substitute for each other in role performance." Allied with intolerance of dissent is the tendency to exclude external influences. Firm boundedness of a network is also indicated by the existence of rites of passage which govern admission to the network, and by the existence of other means by which persons and influences are excluded from the network.

A firmly bounded network competes with subsystems within it. For example, a community which has the characteristics of a firmly bounded system competes with kin groups, marital networks and strong friendships within it. It also competes with larger networks that serve the functions that are the same as those of the community, such as the maintenance of social order and the regulation of change. For example, a strongly bounded local community will conflict with a nation-state (cf. Cohen 1969: 111-117).

121 In the following pages, the sociocultural organization
128 of a rural Scottish township is described, and the changing characteristics of the township as social boundary system are discussed in relation to changing economic circumstances. Chapter 5 concerns the relationship

121 of the township with the larger society, and examines
128 the effect of geographical and social marginality on the boundedness of the township network. Chapter 6 discusses two important networks of social relations within the township.

B. Township as Social Boundary System

632 The township constitutes a relatively firmly bounded
178 system, although its boundaries are weaker than formerly
621 when the township was relatively self-sufficient economically. Township members worked together in small
[476] fishing crews, and families relied on each other for help when members of the family were away from the island "at the fishing."

621 Relatives were expected to give priority to helping
476 each other. According to one proverb, "A relative is
602 your best friend." First and second cousins were
[539] considered especially close, but knowledge of one's
[605] kinsmen extended to at least the fourth generation.
602 Ties of kinship became evident in ceremonies such as
576 funerals and weddings. One Gaelic proverb says, "You
585 know who your relatives are at weddings and funerals."
764 At weddings the onus was on the members of the bridal
[539] party to remember their relatives. "You have to sit and calculate who is closely related, and all those

602 people will be doing the same. If they think they're
576 close enough to be invited, they'll be annoyed if you
585 don't include them." At funerals, relatives of the
764 deceased to about third cousins were expected to participate.

621 When a population has lived in a small area for
602 generations, a dense network of kinship develops. This
476 fact, and the importance placed on mutual aid among
571 fellow villagers, fostered the feeling that the network of township members, who ploughed, fished and tended cattle and sheep together, was also a network of kinsmen. "We're all the same people." "It's all one family here." Occupational and kinship spheres of social activity commingled. The importance of neighbors in contrast
[539] with relatives was reflected in such proverbs as, "A neighbor close at hand is better than a relative in a distant land."

621 The nuclear family did not, according to Cohen's
594 criteria, constitute a firmly bounded system. Then as
[178] now, women preferred the company of their "own kind,"
[571] that is, the company of other women. The men worked and spent periods of recreation with other men. Children
621 spent about as much time in the homes of grandparents,
596 uncles or fellow villagers as they did in their own
000 homes. A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a

621 A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a
571 common practice, when she was young, for children from
476 large families to live for as long as six weeks with other families who were relatively better off. They would help harvest the hay or the potatoes or bring in the peat in return for food, lodging and perhaps some clothing. "They usually ate better than they did at home." The children were not necessarily relatives of the families with whom they boarded.

621 Strong friendship, that is, the kind of friendship
572 associated with mobile urban life in which persons confide in each other and share secrets and build up an individual relationship based on extensive knowledge
[602] of one another, was nonexistent. A "friend" was a relative, or someone who gave aid when it was needed.

621 Today it is sometimes said, "It used to be that
178 your relatives were your best friends; now your best
572 friends are better than your relatives." An old man
181 will meet another on the road and say, "I used to see
[602] more of you when you needed me." Neighbors used to
[231] share sheep that were killed; now households kill and
[251] consume their own sheep, and freeze the meat which they cannot use immediately. Groups that walked out together
[464] to the peat to finish the job in a single day are being replaced by individual family units that can motor out
000 and do the job in stages. People prefer to give money

181 621 178 437 829 572 62 [369] [521] [476]

People prefer to give money in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat-cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendships are still weak, relative to friendships in urban settings. Most information which is shared between individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip. Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutual aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to confide and keep secrets.

621 178 602 [585] [576]

Today many of the younger villagers do not know their relatives to the extent that their elders did. In one family, a girl who was about to get married had to ask her brother, who was the only one of the siblings interested in kinship connections, whom to invite to the wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in transportation and income, more islanders are taking brief trips away from the island. During these trips, they almost always stay with relatives.

602 484 [178]

857 577 829 178

It is frequently said that children are now "cheekier," less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, and that they prefer to watch television or read books by themselves to playing with each other.

621 Despite these tendencies, an individual is still
571 enmeshed in familial and village ties. Villagers walk
in and out of each others' houses without knocking;
[426] only a "stranger" knocks. Goods such as tape recorders,
binoculars and books are passed around the village;
people even borrow each others' reading glasses.

858 Children are "borrowed" as well. They are loaned
865 out to relatives and neighbors to run errands, or may
861 even live with them. They are scolded as often by a
621 neighbor or other villager as by a parent. A child
might be told, "When someone (any adult) tells you to do
something, you do it, no matter who that person is."
The parents of one household are criticized for taking
their children's side against other children and other
parents. "He's teaching his children not to mix with
others. One child is as good as another. They may be
good one day, but they're likely to be bad the next."
A child or adult who enjoys spending time by himself is
[156] still considered extremely odd. An important criterion
by which someone's mental health or general personality
597 is evaluated is whether or not he "mixes" well. It is
621 fairly common for childless households to "adopt" a
child of neighbors or relatives; that is, the child
spends a great deal of time with them. They may go to
the child's house to put him to bed at night, or the

597
621 child may come to spend nights or longer periods of time with them.

476
621 To some extent villagers are still dependent on each other for various kinds of help. It is considered
[576] extremely bad manners to refuse labor, a tool, or food to anyone who requests them. If someone refuses to aid another, people say, "What will he do when he needs
[443] help?" This attitude has made the island a paradise for the few salesmen who, in the last few prosperous years, have started to visit its communities; villagers find it difficult to say no to anyone who comes to their door with a request, including the request that they buy something.

621
574 A woman in childbirth was formerly attended by a local midwife, and kept in bed for two or three weeks.
844 "Other women, both relatives and friends, came and stayed with them at night, fixing them warm tea and milk, whispering bhronag bochd (poor soul), how awful you look..." just as today the neighbors gather at times of illness and death. It is more difficult for neighbors to come
[178] to the bedsides of young mothers of today, who are all
[743] taken to the hospital in Stornoway to have their babies; but the neighbors manage to visit the hospital, which has no choice but to ignore its rule of only two visitors per bed at a time.

621 513 858 The first thing that is said when for some reason a woman is left alone in the house is, "Who's going to go and sleep with her?" Often a child will be sent from a neighboring family, not always relatives, to stay with her at night. As in the past, it is not uncommon for a childless elderly couple or single person alone on a croft to take in a young, homeless couple, to whom they may or may not be related. The young couple cares for the old person or persons, and inherits the croft when they die.

621 592 888

602 476 "Keeping up the relation" is the process by which relatives sustain interaction and expectations of mutual aid even though their relatedness becomes more distant with succeeding generations. "I've got cousins in Ness that I stay with at the Communions. They're getting on into the third generation now." A cousin is a cousin even to the 42nd degree (Williams 1963: 142), as long as there is reason to sustain the relationship. "I know we're related, but I can't quite place it." "We's a bit related. I think she was a MacPhail before she married." "I don't quite know how we're related, but my mother and his mother considered it a close relationship, and he has kept it up."

605

621 626 582 Every villager has a vast amount of information about other villagers and their families, which may be

621 used on different occasions, for example, to discourage
626 deviant behavior or certain marital alliances. Any sign
582 of physical or emotional disability in someone planning
to get married invites an attempt by other villagers to
[539] discourage an alliance. According to a Gaelic proverb,
"If you want to be praised, die; if you want to be
criticized, marry (Ma tha thu airson do mholadh, basaich;
ma tha thu airson do chaineadh, pos)." The villagers
621 consider not only the behavior of the person but of his
626 ancestors. The individual is perceived as belonging to
582 a family unit which through many generations has manifested
827 certain physical and behavioral traits. Traits of behavior
such as shyness, heavy drinking, stealing and tight-
fistedness are interpreted as hereditary traits. "It's in
the blood (Tha e anns an t'fhuil)." "It's in the people."
Particular occupations are also associated with families.
[463] Stornoway, which is not so "urban" as to have a constant
turnover of population, contains many examples of
occupations passed down through generations.

632 In Chapter 3 I mentioned the development of several
578 groups in the crofting township which seem to be in conflict
with the township as a strongly bounded system. People
who keep only sheep have come to blows with those who keep
both sheep and cattle; and a distinction between crofters
and non-crofters may be seen. Many persons have preferred

632 to neglect crofting and to concentrate on weaving. Those
578 who still participate in crofting activities may neglect their communal obligations, such as going out on the moor after sheep, and may prefer to harvest crops, cut peat or perform other agricultural activities independent of other villagers.

632 Despite these tendencies, certain criteria of firm
182 boundedness are still found in the township network. All
462 the adult males of the township, including non-crofters, are responsible for serving as officers in the township grazing committee. The committee draws up rules for the
[654] organization of communal crofting activities, and applies for grants from the Crofters Commission or Department of Agriculture, for example, to build a new township fence, plant trees as shelter belts for livestock, extend a peat road, or to fence and reseed areas of moorland in "township
[464] reseeding schemes" (see Chapter 2). All adult males of the township are expected to provide labor to implement such plans.

632 Township meetings, chaired by the clerk of the
571 grazing committee, are held twice a year. A vote is
666 taken when any decision is to be made. The vote is usually unanimous, as all discussion, argument and persuasion have occurred before the meeting, and those who disagree

632 with the decision which they know is to be made usually
571 do not attend the meeting. Thus, apparent consensus is
666 always maintained.

632 Changes in the character of the township as social
178 boundary system are apparent in ceremonial occasions such as weddings and funerals, which will be discussed in the following pages.

584 1. Courtship and Marriage: Courtship occurred during the dark hours when the older members of a household had gone to bed. A great deal of courting was done in
[574] company. Because transportation was limited, groups of young people went together to dances; and on other nights, bands of young men would visit a house in which several girls were sleeping together, climb in through a window, and perhaps lie beside the girls, fully dressed, filling the dark with whispered jokes. Such a custom, a form of bundling, was called "night visiting" (ruith na h-oidhche); the male visitor was called caraid na h-oidhche, "companion of the night."

When couples began serious courting, they would meet outside at night, or the girl would let her bramar (sweetheart) into the house after the old people had gone to bed. A couple would never consider walking hand in
[834] hand along the road during the day. Boys and girls were seated separately in school, went around in separate

584 [834] groups on the sheilings or within the village as they were growing up, and even during courtship maintained a joking, somewhat rude interaction. "If he says he' wouldn't touch her with a barge pole, he's obviously smitten." Someone considering the dangers of marrying an outsider[1] commented, "A devil you know is better than a devil you don't know."

584 178 [493] [535] Now that facilities for transportation have increased, couples tend to pair off in cars rather than go in groups. They may even be seen together on a date in town. Activities such as dances still begin late in the night, lasting from about 12:30 a.m. until early morning. The seriousness of a relationship is kept secret for as long as possible, but weddings today require long-term planning because wedding dinners are held in hotels rather than within the village. At an 574 584 earlier time, serious intentions were announced only a few weeks before the wedding, at a <u>reiteach</u> or dinner party which signified a betrothal. <u>Reiteach</u> also means "disentangling" or "reconciling," and was described by one person as a means of "pouring oil

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[1]The term "outsider" usually connotes non-Gaelic-speaking, but may also refer to someone from outside the village.

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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574 584 on troubled waters," or bringing the two families together.[2]

585 The most important of the ceremonies surrounding marriage was not the church service (posadh) but the wedding dinner and dance following the church service (banais, from bean meaning "woman" or "wife," and feis meaning "feast").

"House weddings," as they were called, were held [431] in the home of the bride. For several weeks beforehand, neighbors and relatives brought gifts to the bride's house, where they were displayed in a room set aside for them along with the dresses to be worn by the bride and

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574 584 184 [2]Morag Macleod of the School of Scottish Studies describes a custom still existing on the Isle of Scalpay off the Isle of Harris, called reiteach mor (big reiteach), in contrast with the reiteach bheag (small reiteach) or simple dinner party which existed until fairly recently on mainland Harris. The reiteach mor is a dramatic event involving a humorous exchange between male speakers for "the groom's side," and male spokesmen for "the bride's side." The bride is hidden, and the groom's men ask for the bride indirectly. They desire a sheep, perhaps, or a length of tweed. The desired object constitutes a theme which is developed in humorous give-and-take between the two sides, as various females are brought out one by one by the bride's people, from the most undesirable old maid to the bridesmaid and finally to the bride. Until the bride finally appears, the groom's spokesmen must find something wrong with each female presented, along the lines of the chosen theme. The sheep's fleece is not curly enough, and so on. The bride sits at the table after she appears, is given a glass of whiskey which she sips and then passes to her fiance, and the performance is over.

585 bridesmaid(s). The house was filled each night with
[43] visitors bringing new gifts or coming to see the latest additions. Enough presents were given during this
[203] time to set up a household. Invitations to the wedding were issued verbally, by persons going around to each
[602] house. Anyone could come to the church ceremony, which was relatively informal and jovial, but only the "closest" relatives were invited to the sumptuous wedding dinner which followed the service: the bride and groom, their parents, aunts and uncles, first cousins and usually second cousins. Many more were invited to the wedding supper which started after the dinner, at about 10:00 p.m., and continued throughout the night.

Three main nights were distinguished, although
585 preparations and festivities might go on for weeks. The
252 first night was the night before the wedding, when women of the village brought hundreds of chickens, which they plucked and cooked. Meat, usually mutton, was also cooked and sliced. Butter was rolled into balls. Neighbors brought milk and other provisions and assisted in the baking for a week beforehand.

585 On the second night, hundreds of villagers ate the
[535] chickens and mutton prepared for the wedding supper,
[533] and danced to the music of a piper or other musicians.
[273] Many young boys had their first taste of beer or whiskey on these occasions.

585 on these occasions. At some point during the night the bride and groom were prepared for their wedding night together. The bride's female companions undressed her, prepared her for bed, and put her into the bed with a hot water bottle. She shared some sherry with them, and they went out, whereupon the groom was brought in by his male companions. After much joking the couple were left together.

[574] On the third night, a dinner was given for the older persons who had not been able to come to the "big" wedding.

[273] For some time after the wedding, the married couple
[431] visited relatives and neighbors who had been unable to come to the wedding, taking a bottle of whiskey with them.

585 House weddings declined in number during the war when
178 food was rationed, and as more persons changed from the
[342] "black house" to the less easily cleaned and more
[485] elaborately furnished "white house." Most weddings are now held in hotels, and consist of a single wedding dinner and dance; they are often held on Thursdays, the day of the banais in the past. The emphasis on community participation still exists: even though the practice of holding hotel weddings has limited the number of guests, an effort is made to invite someone from each household in the neighborhood. In part to avoid disappointing the

In part to avoid disappointing the
585 vast number of relatives who by custom must be invited
178 but for whom there is now not enough room, many weddings
[602] are held away from the island in places such as Inverness
[431] and Glasgow. Gifts are still given in great numbers and displayed, despite the decrease in numbers attending the wedding dinner and the feeling that only those who are invited to the wedding should give presents. The
[202] custom still exists of neighborhoods or entire villages placing flags outside their homes on the day of a villager's wedding (except when the wedding is held away from the island); isolated flags within a village signify that the household is related to someone in a neighboring village who is getting married. And when the wedding car has picked up the bride and is leaving for the hotel in town, the road is often littered with barrels and other barriers.

Couples now often leave the wedding dinner and dance and go to undisclosed destinations for their honeymoon. But when they return to the community they must undergo a simple rite of passage that gives sanction to their new social status. On the first Sunday following their return, they are expected to come to church with the other members of the bridal party, a process called <u>kirkadh</u> (a slightly Gaelicized rendition of Scottish "kirking").

585 178 For some weeks after returning, the couple goes visiting with a bottle. The scope of visits seems to have narrowed to close relatives unable to attend the wedding, and sometimes the custom is referred to as old-fashioned. [431] [205] The bride usually mails pieces of bridal cake to relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

758 574 2. Death: At a time of illness or injury, an individual may see persons he has not seen for years. The house is filled with a constant flow of visitors, and the visitors recount every detail of a sick person's [763] pallor and movement. The room is usually occupied by visitors when a person breathes his last.

763 46 [178] [288] In the past, work ceased in every house in the surrounding neighborhood when a person died. This no longer occurs. (The story is told of a weaver who called a mill in Stornoway to say that he could not finish an urgent tweed because there had been a death in the village, and was told, "You keep on weaving till the [535] [444] weaver dies.") However, dances in the village are cancelled, and the bothan (an isolated hut in which liquor is sold illegally) may close. Outdoor work, such as peat-cutting, which would be widely seen is avoided.

763 [203] Word of the death spreads throughout the village and beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulated inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

763 relived and shared. The person's exact age and the
764 identity of his closest kin are discussed. A van is
574 immediately dispatched to bring benches from the church,
[493] which are set up throughout the house of the deceased,
and over the next few days a constant stream of visitors
[431] fills the benches. The visitors bring tea, sugar,
biscuits and other provisions for the days and nights
of communal trial. The tigh fhaire, "house of watching,"
as this wake is called, continues until the day of the
funeral.

764 In the past, persons sat up all night with the body.
[825] "It took so long to get a coffin. You didn't want to
[178] go in and find half the face eaten away by rats." This
custom is dying out, but lights are usually left on in
the room in which the coffin is placed. When an all-night
wake occurs, the atmosphere is one of relaxed story-telling
and the sad laughter of reminiscence.

764 At least two nights of "waking" usually precede the
574 funeral. During this time, hundreds of villagers attend
[152] the tigh fhaire. Grief is expressed throughout the vast
network in which the dead person was enmeshed. On rare
occasions when a single night precedes burial, the house
is filled to overflowing.

Throughout the day and evening, waves of newcomers
enter, and other sitters slip quietly away. Kinswomen of

764 the deceased or the remaining family assist in preparing
574 endless cups of tea, using the provisions that are brought by the visitors. The newcomers enter, exchange greetings, memories, sighs and moral judgements in rapid whispers. "Oich, oich... that should teach us, we're all going to go. That's how it was meant to be. It makes you wonder why we live at all, well, well." They recall other deaths. "That was a bad death. His liver was bad, and he turned yellow, then all black...." They weep, circumspectly observe the appearance of the [152] [197] room and its occupants, and speak only in Gaelic, the language of hearth and heart.

764 The minister usually attends a prayer meeting which
793 is held in the tigh fhaire around midnight of the night before the funeral, but his presence is not necessary. The prayer meeting may be conducted by the elders. The elders may also hold the service which precedes the burial. The minister may walk for a short distance in the funeral procession or speak a brief few words at the graveside, but his role in the community drama is minimal.

764 At least one person from all households within the
621 village is expected to go to the tigh fhaire of someone
592 who has died within the village, "to show respect." The male head of the household is expected to attend the

764 funeral procession in which the coffin is carried for
[621] about half a mile from the house to the waiting hearse.
[692] Over 100 men usually walk in these processions. The more well-known the person or unexpected the death, the larger the procession is likely to be. Relatives
[602] of the deceased walk at the head of the procession, at the head and foot of the coffin, while other villagers take turns carrying the bier. The pallbearers serve in relays. Eight men carry the coffin, four on each side, and are replaced frequently by pairs of men who assume the rear positions. The two who have been displaced at the head of the coffin stand outside the line, facing outward, until the procession has filed past them, whereupon they join the end of the procession.

764 In the past, coffins were carried for miles from
178 the house to the cemetery. The procession rested period-
273 ically, and the men usually carried an earthenware jug of whiskey (piggy uisge beatha) "to ward off the cold." The custom of giving a glass of whiskey to men as they left the house to carry the coffin was still recently followed in Skye; and in some areas a funeral is still evaluated by the amount of whiskey available for consumption ("That was a good funeral"). Tales are told of coffins buried without bodies.

764 178 [493] Today coffins are brought to the cemetery in a hearse, but the procession still carries the coffin for a half mile or so to the hearse. The women gather outside the house in the biting wind, huddled together, beginning to sob as the heavy line of dark-coated, slowly-moving men bear part of themselves away. In one village on the west side, the women circled the coffin as it left the house, chanting, "You are leaving us, you are leaving us!"

764 [767] [435] Graveyards are maintained by members of the community. A cemetery committee collects dues of five shillings a year from all households for the upkeep of the cemetery. Relatives and neighbors dig the graves of their fellow villagers.

767 In 1911, a funeral society called the West of Lewis Funeral Association was founded with the original intention of bringing back the bodies of men and women who had died when they were away from the island "at the [435] fishing." Persons from Borve to Berneray pay two shillings a year to the Association, which at present has about L4,000 invested in bonds. A similar association exists in other parts of the island. A person may join between the ages of 12 and 40, after which he is not eligible for membership. A member who has left the island must continue to send in his dues, or members of

767 his family must maintain the payments. Many persons who have settled in cities on the British mainland or abroad are not concerned with retaining membership in the Association, but members of their family who remain within the village usually continue to pay their dues for them. Even if in death, the "exiles" eventually return to home and community.

764 [423] Families buy cemetery plots for as many as six to eight persons. The deceased is buried in an area designated as belonging to his family. He is not buried alone but beside his parents and their unmarried siblings if he is unmarried, or with his spouse. "I wouldn't like the idea of being cremated. I want to be buried with my family." Even though a woman is buried beside her husband, her maiden name is placed on the coffin. Often neighbors have plots near each other.

A special part of the cemetery is reserved for [609] strangers. A "man from out" remains an outsider, even in death.

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

Chapter 5

GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL MARGINALITY

182 Despite the growth of the Harris Tweed industry and the gradual disappearance of some of the techniques and expectations associated with heavy reliance on the land and the sea, an important factor which helps to sustain some of these patterns is the social and geographical marginality of the islanders.

175 When the young men who survived the second world [729] war returned to the island, most households still had [231] horses to cultivate the croft, but a few years later [407] the tractors replaced the horses. The Labor government, 175 657 which came into power after the war, passed legislation which extended the processes of centralization that had proceeded since the breakdown of the clan system. The National Health Service was established. Free milk [871] became available in schools. More scholarships (called "bursaries") became available for further schooling. [207] Television came in the 1960's. In short, the islander was exposed to a number of new alternatives.

182 To the extent that persons became involved in these possibilities, the island became peripheral or marginal. The island has become more dependent upon central

182 government bodies and industries in cities on the mainland, rather than being relatively self-sufficient as it was at a previous time. The periodic return of [166] [181] relatives to the island reflects this peripheralness, as do feelings of inferiority among the islands. The island has become not only geographically but socially marginal.

A. Geographical Marginality

Geographical marginality refers to the distance of 121 131 the islanders from various economic and administrative 182 centers on which they depend. Because they are distant, they are more likely to suffer breaks in channels of communication with these centers, as when storms prevent boats from docking. They are "marginal" because they depend on central sources rather than being self-contained; and the difficulties entailed in this marginality encourage the retention of techniques and patterns of interaction derived from the days of relative self-sufficiency. The anomalous combinations of old and new found in the township may be attributed to such marginality.

121 A "strategy" may be thought of as a pattern of behavior which develops in a particular history of reinforcement, the parameters of this reinforcement

121 being determined by conditions of culture, such as
121 political and economic conditions. Under conditions
178 of gradual centralization of economic and political
182 systems, the geographically marginal crofting areas have evolved strategies, some of which puzzle agencies concerned with development or other aspects of governmental process.

178 Before the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board
365 began to operate in the crofting counties, not more
511 than one croft in every hundred had electricity; but by the end of 1951, one in every six holdings had been supplied (Taylor 1954: 20). "The light" came to
[354] Shawbost in 1951. Before then, the islanders used
[177] Tilley lamps, a Canadian invention; and before then,
[312] double-wick paraffin lamps. Piped water came a few
[464] years later, around 1955; it was brought from a nearby loch, and the construction work gave temporary jobs to local people. The availability of these services
[344] facilitated the building of county council houses,
[342] which many welcomed as providing a relief to the congestion caused in part by rules against building more than one house on a croft. But, paradoxically,
[651] with larger, better homes and all these services came a decrease in the advantages of living in a crofting township: property was assessed and people began paying rates or taxes.

288 The Harris Tweed industry has provided a higher
434 standard of living, but income from this source is
[458] inconsistent. The standards developed during prosperous
[342] times cannot be met during difficult times. Many-roomed
[336] houses with indoor plumbing are more heavily taxed than
[661] smaller, less modern homes; loans must be repayed;
[426] a car and a television once gotten are difficult to
[745] give up. A weaver must pay for his insurance stamp,
[651] which amounts to over L70 a year; and income tax takes
a large percentage of a person's income, in large lump
sums which are paid twice a year rather than in small
amounts throughout the year. When income fluctuates,
any constant demand for monetary outlay constitutes a
liability.

654 To many persons outside the island concerned with
181 Highland and Island development, Lewis has a reputation
for "subsidy-grabbing." According to one official,
"The people are too used to getting subsidies. They
tend to sit back and rely on the subsidies, which
makes it difficult to develop the place."

[829] "We pay tax," said one weaver. "Why not get back
what we can in subsidy?"

651 Income tax collectors shake their heads in despair
434 at the thought of trying to get a true estimate of a
crofter's income, except for jobs such as weaving for

651 which official records are kept by the mills. If you
434 say jokingly to a fisherman who has brought in a large catch that he should put some money aside for the income tax man, he is likely to reply, "He'll have to
463 catch me first." A tradesman may be earning large sums
434 of money doing local work as a skilled specialist at
[745] the same time that he is collecting social security. A man may move in and out of a number of different jobs,
[171] and never report his income. "Occupational pluralism" (cf. Brox 1968) rather than economic specialization has developed as a strategy in various countries along the North Atlantic fringe, such as Iceland, the Faroes, northern Norway and Newfoundland, as well as the west coast and islands of Scotland. In these marginal areas, income from specialized occupations is, in the long run, unpredictable and inconsistent.

178 In times of national economic depression, strikes,
468 shifts between socialist and conservative governments,
241 and other crises, crofting provides an alternative
175 strategy. During the last war, many islanders who had
722 left the island (including some who had been quite
166 prosperous in the cities) returned to spend the duration of the war in the village, glad of the relative security provided by the relative abundance of food and less strict
000 rationing. During a huge snow-fall that occurred on

175 During a huge snow-fall that occurred on
261 Lewis in the 1930's, the mobile grocery vans and other
[132] supply vehicles could not come out to the west side,
[443] and a group of men had to make an expedition into town
for provisions, after which many families made certain
that they always had a good supply of meal, salted
[404] mackerel and herring. Many villagers have gotten deep
[365] freezers to store beef and mutton; others say they do
not trust the freezers, that a failure in electricity—
which occasionally happens in this region of gales and
far-away repairmen—would bring disaster if they depended
458 fully on them for keeping their meat. When the tweed
226 industry is going through one of its periodic depressions,
more men go out more often to fish. "I've been going
out every night for the last week or so. I don't have
a tweed, and I won't have one for the next six weeks.
I don't know what I'm going to do; maybe I'll go back to
sea. Three of us caught one hundred mackerel last
[251] night. I salted my share, and didn't give any of them
away. These are the hard times. We're going to need
them during the next six weeks."

233 A few people raise beef cattle, depending largely
[654] on subsidies for encouragement to do so. A few are
[234] beginning to keep cows again for milk, giving as their
[435] reasons that freight charges make the bottled milk too
[434]
[648]

233 234 435 434 648 costly, that the Common Market will soon drive up milk prices, and that income from the weaving has become too uncertain.

412 178 Many tools and techniques associated with crofting have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (two pieces of wood joined with leather); the sheepskin stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate chaff and grain; rope made of plaited heather and straw. 241 [221] [237] [824] Each spring the byre was cleaned of its accumulated dung and urine, and this was turned into the ground along with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among [173] [887] the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be mobilized under changed conditions, as when alternatives to crofting are no longer available or are too costly. However, the longer crofting is neglected, the less it will provide an alternative strategy. "The artificial 241 824 fertilizers are ruining the land; that's why the turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to [233] water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and streams—rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep—the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather work the land than the blinkin' loom, but we tried the potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

241 178 Crofting constitutes a dormant strategy which can be mobilized if deterioration of land has not proceeded too far, and if the skills of land use are not lost by succeeding generations who have grown up in an environment which presented them with more appealing strategies.

B. Social Marginality

166 464 1. Linguistic Distinctiveness: Social marginality began when the Highlander had to leave his place of origin and go to the cities of the south in search of [197] employment. The feature which most distinguished him was his Gaelic speech.

101 186 648 In Glasgow the common word for Highlander is "teuchter," a slang word with derogatory implications which, according to one theory, developed when Gaelic speakers coming into English-speaking cities mispronounced the word "sugar" so that it sounded like "teuchter." [829] (Glasgow Highlanders have developed their own defensive explanation: when the civilized Highlanders came down among the uneducated barbarians of the south, they came as tutors, a word which their uneducated Lowland pupils mispronounced.) According to a university student from the islands, the word was once used by the English to refer to the Scottish Lowlanders.

522 In nation-wide comic strips and jokes, the Highlander
181 plays the role of the clown, the rustic country cousin. The comic strip "Angus Og" portrays a kilted Highlander, sly and canny behind his apparent simplicity, tricking the landlord and searching for the Loch Ness monster. Stories of the lazy, dour crofter abound.[1]

166 When young men go away to the Army or Navy or to
181 work on the mainland, they say that they feel like
175 "foreigners." "Thirty years ago the island was very
166 isolated. It was difficult to get away. There were
182 so few education grants available. I got my teaching
871 certificate and wanted to get a post back on the island, but was told there wouldn't be a vacancy for another fifteen years. So I went down to England, and found I had to be at least as good as an Englishman if not better in my job to get ahead."

177 "When I went into the RAF, I had never seen light
365 switches because we used paraffin lamps. An English
354 chap told me to turn the light on, and I didn't know which way meant on or off. That memory still sticks in me."

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[1]Even a high official in the Highlands and Islands Development Board tells a joke, that is "presently going round Westminster," of the Spaniard who approached the Highlander and told him of the word mañana which he translated as "Don't do today what you can put off till tomorrow," asking if there was a corresponding word in Gaelic. "In Gaelic," replied the Highlander, "we have no word that conveys such a sense of urgency."

177 "I was in the Navy during the last war. We were
156 in Norway, and got an invitation to visit the palace.
I didn't go. I was afraid I'd make a mess of things."

"This place has an inferiority complex. It's mainland-oriented; so you feel outlandish."

575 The new director of an association which promotes
197 the speaking of Gaelic is a Lowland Scot who learned
186 Gaelic when he was in England. He was working in England
[181] and, as a Scotsman, felt so much like a foreigner that he decided "to be a real foreigner"—so he studied Gaelic. Motives which prompted legislation protecting crofting also lie behind the development of organizations which attempt to protect and preserve the Gaelic language.

[175] An Comunn Gaidhealach, the Highland Association which promotes the speaking of Gaelic, was founded in 1891 in a town on the mainland, and has always been urban-based. Eighty years passed before the association established its headquarters in Stornoway; but the headquarters were relegated to hindquarters when the director found that he needed to be on the mainland to exert pressure on influential organizations for aid and support.

[193] The organization is condemned by ministers on the island, who see it as an organization that sponsors light-hearted
[214] singing. The magazines and books which it publishes or sponsors are seldom read by the rural islanders. The

The
575 organization receives a large proportion of its funds
197 from the Scottish Education Department, whose statutory
186 duty is to foster the speaking of Gaelic in Gaelic-
[659] speaking areas. In 1970-71 a series of evening meetings were sponsored by An Comunn in Stornoway; but the serious meetings, such as readings of Gaelic poetry, were attended largely by schoolmasters.

Associations which sponsor Highland dancing and the opportunity to get together with other Gaelic speakers thrive in Glasgow, London, Toronto and Detroit, everywhere
[648] but in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands. Such associations serve important functions in situations of interaction between Gaelic speakers and members of the dominant society; they provide identity and self-defense against those who react to them as members of a lower-status minority group.

535 A girl who teaches Gaelic in Glasgow and comes home
186 to the island only for holidays never goes to the island
648 dances, but loves going to the dances sponsored by the Lewis and Harris Society in Glasgow. All the young people from the islands come, and dance away accumulated insults in a fiery sense of belonging.

464 A girl who worked in hotels on the mainland found
197 herself speaking Gaelic with her fellow workmates who
186 came from Lewis or other Gaelic-speaking areas, although
571

464 on the island she had spoken English in school and had
197 not given much thought to which language she was speaking.
186 "I suppose it was because the other girls couldn't under-
571 stand us. They always used to mimic us, making noises
like they were talking it. It was nice to be able to
talk about things and not have anyone else understand,
especially when they teased us so much."

197 But on the island itself, the number of persons
178 speaking Gaelic is declining; and the scope of the language,
[92] i.e., the range of situations to which it applies (as
reflected in the diversity of vocabulary used), is becoming
[196] more restricted. A psychological experiment in which the
[191] semantic differential was used to study the organization
of English and Gaelic vocabulary in the cognitive processes
of Gaelic speakers suggests that Gaelic speakers are not
bilingual but monolingual in particular situations (Macleod
197 1966). Gaelic is the language of hearth, home, family and
191 community. English is the language of education, the
business world, and various transactions with the larger
197 society. Most Gaelic speakers spoke only Gaelic when they
871 entered school, but were required to speak only English in
191 the classroom. One islander recalls, "The first English
[876] words you learned were 'Sit' and 'Stand.' Those were the
days you got strapped if you spoke any Gaelic." Children
000 were addressed by their full English names. One of the

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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197 One of the
793 richest sources of Gaelic vocabulary now available is
779 the Gaelic Bible, but many villagers, especially the younger ones, complain that they are unable to understand many of the Gaelic words used by the minister in his sermons.

197 Although provision for teaching Gaelic in the schools
871 was made in the Education Act of 1918, only within the last ten years have schools incorporated classes in which Gaelic is taught at both primary and secondary levels. Gaelic is taught as a foreign language like French or Latin, rather than used as a medium of instruction, which would require a much larger vocabulary than most teachers possess.
[875] The present schoolmaster in Shawbost differs from past
[551] schoolmasters in that he addresses the children by their Gaelic names,[2] and devises projects intended to encourage a sense of pride in "Celtic culture."

873 The Department of Celtic Studies at the University of
197 Glasgow, which includes in its staff a Lewis poet and
185 several Scottish Nationalists, is described as "progressive." According to an islander who is a student in the Department, "They believe that if Gaelic is to survive as a language, it must be written as it is spoken. At school we were taught to write 'proper' Gaelic, Gaelic that's considered

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[2]Persons who come from Gaelic-speaking areas are addressed and referred to by Gaelicized names, such as "Murchadh" rather than "Murdo," and usually these names take the form of patronymics, which may or may not include nicknames (for example, Iain Dhomhnuill Bhain, i.e., John the son of fair Donald).

873 old-fashioned if you were speaking it. I wrote like that
197 in my first few papers, and my professor stroked through
185 words and asked, 'Would you say that?' We can even put in an English word now and then."

197 One result of this restriction in the scope of
185 experience in which Gaelic is used, and of the treatment of Gaelic by government bodies and voluntary associations as a rare zoo animal that must be preserved rather than allowed to change, is a decline in written creative
197 expression in Gaelic. There are perhaps three major
536 writers of Gaelic plays in Scotland, whose major battle is to be considered serious writers rather than colorful freaks or queer saints out to redeem Gaelic culture. "Once you become self-conscious about the language you speak," says one writer, "the language is dead." It has then become an artificial showpiece, a museum relic instead of a living, changing, flexible human tool.
197 Outside the village the maintenance of the Gaelic language
186 and other customs identified with "Celtic culture" occurs
[571] mainly as a result of interaction between "Gaels" and "Galls" (a Gaelic word meaning outsider or foreigner), as Gaelic speakers become self-conscious of their distinctiveness and either abandon their heritage (for example, MacIver 1968) or invest in it.

197 Within the village there are no branches of An Comunn
178 Gaidhealach and few books written in Gaelic. Once a rural
166 family moves to Stornoway, children often refuse to speak
191 Gaelic, even though they understand it, and parents tend
to speak only English to their children, believing this
will help them "get on." In the next generation, the
[871] language is lost. Village children attending school in
Stornoway often prefer talking to their Gaelic-speaking
[867] roommates in English. A young island woman, married and
living in Edinburgh, says she would like her baby son
to learn Gaelic but feels that if he had a mixture of the
two languages the other children would laugh at him.

197 English is the language of the larger society, the
191 language spoken in school and the language required in
most jobs and in dealing with most officials. In Gaelic-
197 speaking areas, the speaking of English connotes high
191 554 status. If an English speaker mispronounces Gaelic words,
626 he is quickly forgiven, praised for trying to learn such
578 a difficult language, and asked why he bothers with a
language that "isn't any use anyway." But if a Gaelic
speaker makes mistakes in English, he is teased mercilessly.
[551] Many nicknames derive from such mistakes; for example,
"Peter Squeak" got his name by mispronouncing the word
[524] "picturesque." People "win points" by competing with
each other in speaking English. "See how good you are in

197 English, no Gaelic allowed. I can beat you any time...."
191 One person observed, "People here make fun of each other
554 all the time. They're always trying to be superior, to
626 get one over the other person. Speaking English gives
578 you a feeling of superiority."
[524]

If a Gaelic speaker chooses to speak English in a village situation where there are no officials present or other cues which make English-speaking appropriate, this indicates that he considers himself a cut above everyone else. "I went to help Calum pull his tractor out of the mud, and Malina was there with her husband. She was speaking English. Oh, I says to myself, lady, you're not for this place. You don't belong to this village."

In evaluating whether or not a particular woman is "snobbish," villagers may decide, "She must be; whenever I've seen her in the post office, she never speaks any Gaelic."

197 The sanctions against speaking English when all
191 persons present speak Gaelic indicate the effect of inter-
554 action between a socially marginal group and the dominant
571 group. The effect is to increase the emphasis on uniform
184 behavior within the marginal group. The existence of a
578 higher social stratum has diminished social differentiation within the village setting. Individuals may move out of that setting and adopt the language and other forms of

197 behavior characteristic of the dominant group; but for
191 those that remain in the village, the language serves a
554 unifying function, although its form is limited in
571 diversity of elements.
184
578

Jokes are most humorous when told in Gaelic; and
184 conversation is punctuated with Gaelic proverbs and old
197 stories. There is a vast oral lore, expressed in Gaelic,
538 of the village and generations of its members and their
[522] characteristics and escapades, a dense map of human events.
[521] All of these tales, proverbs and jokes have been told a
829 thousand times, but retain their unifying function. When
speaking of today's children who do not go to the sheiling,
a man says sadly, "They won't have our memories; this
place will mean less to them than it does to us." The
moor is not an empty wasteland, but a map of memories.
103 Thousands of place names are known, and behind every place
175 name is a story. The major landmarks such as mountains,
lochs and headlands tend to have Norse names, from the
days when the Norsemen raided and settled along the island
coasts; but the smaller hillocks and fields and bends in
the stream have Gaelic names, for example, Sheiling of
the One Night, Field of the Slaves, Slope of the Stone
[184] Boys, Hillock of William's Sheiling. To know these place
names and their histories is to participate in a distinct
community, which has been made even more distinct by contrast
with the dominant society.

166 2. The Exiles: An important source which supplies this sense of contrast is the large number of persons settled away from the island, often in "ghettoes" or neighborhoods in cities in which village ties are main-
[521] tained. It is said that gossip about Shawbost travels more quickly in the district called Partick Hill in
166 Glasgow than it does within Shawbost itself. It may be
621 argued that the "exiles," with their Lewis and Harris Societies and pilgrimages back to the village during the holidays, do a great deal to sustain the strong boundedness of the village as a sociocultural system. They and non-Gaelic-speaking outsiders (the Eminent Person writing his inevitable book in the romantic solitude of an isolated manse) help to maintain a feeling of worthwhileness in a place rife with feelings of ambivalence and negative comparison with the larger society.

181 Within the village, especially during the long, dark
621 winter, complaints are often heard of the "sameness" of
[195] things. A common phrase, almost a greeting, is, "Anything fresh?"—implying that the usual mode of existence is stale, sour, exhausted, and mucky with
621 overuse. Although the villagers have access to the
20 range of information available to all Britishers through
829 forms of mass media such as newspapers, radios and television sets, very little of this information is considered relevant to village life, and thus is not attended to.

000 relevant to village life, and thus is not attended to.
517 Comedies, soap operas and westerns constitute the
[207] favorite television programs. Many of the men read
[538] adventure stories—war, western and detective—on the
[204] quiet Sunday afternoons. Magazines and newspapers
most often received include The Daily Express, The Sunday Mirror, The People's Journal, The Stornoway Gazette, The Oban Times, and True Romance, documents dealing with local events or with scandal and dramatic personal
521 accounts. In general, the news of the mass media to
181 which this audience attends is gossip writ large. Such news, like local gossip, is discussed endlessly, in elaborate detail, until sapped of all potential to excite or until new events capture the attention of the village audience.

517 Events which occur in the open, treeless countryside
181 are vivid and dramatic. The generally low level of stimulation enhances their dramatic effect. A man appears on the hillside or a car along the horizon, and all ears and eyes attend. The British system of perennial number plates on cars makes it easy to identify the shifting cast of characters even at night. Even children memorize long lists of number plates. There is a perpetual audience looking for a play.

183 The generally low level of stimulation derives in
181 part from values which restrict opportunities for self-
[521] expression. People are ready to gossip, i.e., to partici-
pate vicariously in the escapades of others, but are less
[626] eager to act. Stories concerning mad-cap adventures of
some villagers do not belie the existence of constraints
[166] imposed on expressiveness. One of the major reasons
given by young villagers for wanting to leave the island,
and by emigrants for why they left, is that, "There is
nothing to do. The place is dead."

156 In the everyday life of the village, a style of
181 indirectness and restricted communication is encouraged.
183 A man might be praised in an obituary by the phrase, "His
621 voice was never heard in the community." The encouragement
of a "low profile" of behavior is characteristic of
communities in which people meet each other frequently
and know they will continue to meet and ask things of
each other for a long time to come. Indirectness avoids
conflict arising from divergent expectations, and embarrass-
ment from changes in plans.

155 A major feature of practices of child-rearing on
861 the island is inconsistency, which develops a style of
guarded watchfulness and hesitance to act or express
oneself. Children are teased by being offered things
which are then snatched away. Punishment is inconsistent.

155 861 577 [693] Lies are frequently told. "Every other sentence my father says is a lie. If you believe half of what he says, you're a fool. If you believe a quarter of what he says, you're getting near the truth. If you believe an eighth of what he says, it's probably the wrong eighth."

156 621 Villagers engage with each other in constant, quiet game-playing. They are dependent on each other for many things, but try to minimize the control that others have over them while improving their own positions. If someone brings plants or shrubs as a gift, the response is likely to be, "She was probably pruning her garden and needed to get rid of the leftover garbage." Such negativism releases the person from feeling obligated. (See Emmett 1964: 16-17, for a description of a similar situation in Wales.) A man who is asked about his new tractor replies, "Its faults will come out later." If he were to say it was all right and then it broke down, he would have lost points. In discussing the mental health of a villager recently returned from Craig Dunain (a mental hospital near Inverness), someone observed, "He's better than the doctor who let him out." If another breakdown were to occur soon, someone would be sure to comment, "And so-and-so said he looked all right."

156 572 Such training allows little room for the development of close friendships in which the individuals involved are

156 sympathetic with each others' idiosyncrasies. A constant
572 joking keeps people at arm's length and discourages the
[522] development of empathy.

156 Accompanying this style of indirect, inhibited
154 expressiveness and the low level of stimulation are culturally prescribed opportunities for relatively uninhibited expressiveness. Such opportunities include the ceilidh ("visit"), the drinking situation (mainly for men), the role of clown or "character," and holidays
[166] such as New Year's. Although young villagers and
[484] emigrants often describe the village as "dull" and "dead,"
[181] the emigrants are happy enough to return to the island for short periods of time, during which they participate in those situations in which expressiveness and limited license are accepted.

156 3. Ceilidh, Clown, and New Year's Festivities: Only
154 on certain occasions is relatively spontaneous and unin-
574 hibited expressiveness condoned or encouraged within the township, and even then the form which this expressiveness takes is fairly narrowly circumscribed. The traditional
[178] ceilidh was such an occasion. In the past, people gathered
[519] regularly at night in the tigh ceilidh (the ceilidh house,
[538] or home of someone in which a genial atmosphere existed;
[533] the tigh ceilidh was often the home of someone who lived alone), where stories were endlessly repeated and elaborated,

156 154 574 178 genealogies told, and old songs were sung or new ones composed. The concentration of expressiveness in these [517] [538] [533] forms resulted in a well-developed, oral repertoire of literature and music.

The ceilidh still exists today in the form of less [538] regular gatherings. Stories and genealogies are seldom [533] recited, but songs are still sung. A few new songs are being composed. The word ceilidh is used as both a noun and a verb to mean "a visit" or "to visit," but implies a casual, relaxed atmosphere rather than a formal visit. A formal visit is made by relatives living in Stornoway, government officials or businessmen, and is characterized by more constrained behavior.

156 154 574 273 178 The ceilidh of today is often accompanied by the drinking of beer or whiskey, but a distinction may be made between a gathering which includes both males and females, and a drinking situation at which only males are present. In the past, men often gathered in barns or weaving sheds to share beer made locally from barley or 273 brought from town in a large keg. The drinking of whiskey [178] was reserved for special occasions, such as births, weddings, [434] funerals, and the festivities surrounding the New Year, but increased income has resulted in the consumption of whiskey on many other occasions. Heavy drinking is still an [275] activity engaged in largely by males, and occurs in extra-village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter 6).

273 village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter
[154] 6). Drinking situations provide an important opportunity for relatively uninhibited expression by males, and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

522 The role of clown or "character" is well developed
156 in Hebridean townships. In an environment which encourages
154 quietly watchful and somewhat anxious, conformist behavior, the character is rude, raucous and outrageous, a bite of fire in cold waters. He represents a reversal of normal behavior. The villagers shake their heads, agree that he is impossible, but encourage him to continue, urge him on when he flags, and bring up his escapades for discussion during moments of boredom. There are usually several such characters in a village.

156 Reversal of low-profile and other "normal" behavior
154 is also allowed on particular occasions such as New Year's,
527 this time among all villagers. In the days of horses and
[522] carts, boys went around the village on New Year's night
[883] stealing carts and hiding them on the moor or down by the
[574] shore; today they steal gates. Between Christmas and
[431] New Year's, groups of boys visit houses in their neighborhood, collecting tea, sugar, biscuits, or money to be used for a party in one of the houses. Such boys are called
796 <u>balaich na bannagan</u>, or boys of the <u>bannag</u>. In some
431 Gaelic-speaking areas, <u>bannag</u> refers to a gift that is
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796 given at Christmas; in Lewis, Christmas is identified
431 with Catholicism, and is an insignificant event in
184 comparison with New Year. To give two examples, a New
527 Year's dance is given, but not a Christmas dance; and
796 the mills continue working on Christmas if it occurs
184 on a week day, but close for at least two days at New Year's. In Shawbost, bannag is defined as a party associated with Hogmanay (New Year's eve).

527 In the recent past, until about ten years ago,
292 the boys dressed in women's clothes or wore masks. They
178 took turns wearing a cow's skin as they went from house to house. In each house, the boy wearing the skin was
[539] hit by the others as he chanted the rann na bannag (rhyme of the bannag):

Here I come again renewing Christmas.
(Or, in another version: This is the New Year's night.)
I'll take the bread without the butter,
And the butter without the bread,
And the cheese by itself.
Then we won't be empty-handed.
One thing I refuse is a mangy potato.
It gives a heavy feeling.
It's not healthy.
If you don't give me my bit of butter and my lump of cheese,
Everything you possess will be gotten by the crows on St. Patrick's Day.

527 As the balaich na bannagan left the house in which
431 they had received gifts, they blessed it. All food and
178 money was given to the woman who prepared the bannag.
[788] Today children tend to receive money more often than food, and use some of the money to buy sweets at the post

527 office or general store, preferring to divide the rest
178 between themselves for use at a later time. A 50-year-
431 old woman observed, "They don't appreciate the bannag like we used to. They get this kind of rich food all
527 the time." The practices of wearing costumes and speaking
178 the rhyme are disappearing. Children used to have the bannag until they left school at age 14 or 15; now only the younger children go. "Children grow up more quickly today."

527 New Year's is celebrated perhaps most intensively
562 by the men, who after seeing the New Year in by watching
273 a special New Year's program on television go visiting
574 neighbors and relatives with bottles of whiskey. The
[184] custom of "first-footing" on New Year's eve is found throughout Scotland; but in the Hebrides such visiting and heavy drinking may last from New Year's eve until the following Sunday. During this time, the woman of the house, who usually refrains from drinking and to some extent controls the drinking done by the males in her house, relaxes her attitude, and may even participate. The comment, "It's only once a year," is often heard.
[589] During this time, the shyest and most retiring bachelor becomes a Romeo; this is the only time of year he may be heard to mention the word marriage. For example, one bachelor in his 60's chooses a "bride" each New Year, and takes her with him on his all-night visiting.

527 Whereas at other times of the year there are specific
273 times which are considered appropriate for visiting,
574 especially if the visit includes a bottle, at New Year's visitors may appear in the middle of the night or at any time during the day. Some men may stay up for four
[513] nights in a row, going back home for a few hours of sleep
522 or a bite to eat before setting off again. Various pranks
527 are played. Men climb through the windows of darkened
574 houses, or wake up sleepers by making animal sounds. One man went around the village showing a pig's foot to women as though it were a penis.

527 But whether lasting for one night or for five, festivities end with the arrival of Sunday; and the usual comment is, "Thank God it's Sunday."

166 The "exiles" prefer to return at such times as New
221 Year's, or during the summer months when the beaches are
484 inviting and the gales absent. They remember the
[527] "characters" and other features of village life which give it color, often forgetting the drab background out of which the color was forged. Some villagers whose siblings have married and left the island continue to live alone in the house mainly to keep the house in order for their return. "I wouldn't close the house on them. They come back every summer." A man thinking of emigrating

166 says, "I'll have to ask my brothers and sisters if they
221 mind, since they come back here every year." Some houses
484 which are almost empty for most of the year are overflowing during the summer months. Often the visitors must come in stages.

166 The "exiles" sing the old songs with vigor, drink
484 heavily during their visit, and praise the island for
528 that "special quality" which is unmatched by life in the
181 dirty, crowded, unfriendly city. Some plan to retire in the village. The villagers take up the tune that their society is eminently worthwhile. When talking to strangers, they ask questions pertaining to this image of themselves, such as, "Don't you think this place has something which you will never find in a city?" "People come here during the summer and they love it; they can't keep away. So they must find something here. What would you do in a city anyway? Out here you're freer."

166 The visitors not only bolster the self-esteem of the
484 islanders, but provide them with a fund of gossip. "You
528 summer visitors always turn things topsy turvy when you
521 come." Talk of the adventures of the summer visitors helps to occupy the long winter nights of the islanders.

166 A comment frequently heard is, "He was awfully home-
484 sick leaving." That is, he was already longing to be back
528 on the island, his spiritual home. The image of the island

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166 The image of the island
484 as spiritual home is fostered by The Stornoway Gazette,
823 and by nostalgic songs, most of which were written by
204 islanders who emigrated to Canada in the first quarter
[533] of the century.

632 The crofting township as a strongly bounded network
241 continues to exist, although crofting as a socioeconomic pattern which evolved in a situation of limited social and geographical mobility, low cash reserves, and the restriction of a large population to a region of limited resources, is very different from crofting as defined by an office in Inverness. As far as the crofter is concerned, to be defined as a crofter by the Crofters Commission and other government agencies is to have access to resources which affect the environment in which he makes his choices.

241 The individual is faced with the semi-security of
288 crofting and weaving, in contrast with the exciting but risk-laden opportunities offered by the dominant urban-
[654] industrial mainland. Crofting and Harris Tweed have been protected by government legislation. Various subsidies
[745] and loans are available. In times of unemployment, social security is available. Extremely important as contributers
621 to boundedness are the non-economic incentives: the
156 individual has a place in a human community; he is given

character traits just by virtue of his belonging to a particular family; he is protected from the "out" world even though he may have broken its rules. The village provides a colorful arena of recreation in the form of ceilidh, the character, and holidays such as New Year's.

A major system of order and meaning is provided by religion, and by the opportunity to belong to a tightly-knit religious clique. Lewis is sometimes called Tir an t-soisgeul, Land of the Scriptures, in contrast with the decadent outer world. The male drinking fraternity constitutes a second important group. And for everyone there is the cinema of their neighbors' activities, which are placed in a vast human calendar that includes the behavior of many generations.

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Chapter 6

THE BIBLE AND THE BOTTLE

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Two of the most important networks in the village are the converted members of the Free Church, and the drinking fraternity of the males, especially the unmarried males who lack the obligations of married men, and who can therefore drink with greater freedom.

A. The Bottle

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The word "whiskey" (or "whisky," as it is spelled in Scotland) is almost synonymous with "Scotland," despite the fact that the earliest reference to whiskey in that country appears only in the late 15th century. The word is derived from the Gaelic uisge beatha, "water of life," a translation from the Latin aqua vita.

Martin Martin (1716: 3) describes the types of liquor made from "corn" in the Outer Hebrides as Common Usquebaugh, Trestarig (three times distilled), and Usquebaugh-baugh (four times distilled). He states, "...two spoonfuls of this last Liquor is a sufficient Dose; and if any Man exceed this, it would presently stop his Breath and endanger his life."

273 175 651 [656] Excise taxes were first levied on whiskey in 1814, and stills of less than 500-gallon capacity were prohibited. Local, illegal distillation continued for a long time after 1814, and throughout the Highlands and Islands tales are told of "the excise man" and how he was outwitted.

273 175 [166] The Island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris was evacuated in 1843, supposedly because of illegal distillation that was being carried on there. The ruins of old distilling houses are found throughout Shawbost. Villagers say that these were used in the time of their grandfather or great-grandfather to distill whiskey for occasions such as weddings.

[527] In Shawbost, until recent times whiskey was associated mainly with special ceremonial occasions: the birth of [846] a child, weddings, and wakes. When a baby was born, the father went into town for whiskey to be given to visitors 764 coming to see the baby. Having whiskey at a funeral was 273 so important that many a widow sold her cow to provide it, so that people would not say it was a bad funeral. A custom of sitting up all night in the house of the deceased has stopped, probably in part because a prayer meeting lasting from midnight until 2 a.m. was introduced with the intention, according to one minister, of preventing 273 the wake from becoming too joyful an occasion. Whiskey 175 was abundant at New Year's, and at weddings. "The dance [527] [585]

273 [at a wedding] would be held in the barn, with sheets
175 lining the walls so that if a man staggered against the
585 wall he wouldn't dirty himself. There were four and one-half gallons jugs of beer and a few bottles of whiskey. Sometimes someone would spew on the floor. People got drunk on very little, because they didn't have it so often."

273 Occasionally the word went out that someone had
175 brought a jug of beer from town, and the men gathered in someone's barn or weaving shed, usually on a Saturday night.

273 "The war changed that. When you were at sea, you
175 lived from day to day. There was no tomorrow." "When
829 my brother was away at sea, most of the money he earned was saved for him, and when he got back we gave it to him to do whatever he liked with it. The men would go off to town drinking. They had money, and they had nothing else to do; and they had learned to drink during the war. Maybe if the TV had been around then they wouldn't have started that kind of drinking."

175 1. Bothans: Because most parishes in Lewis were
275 "dry," that is, no licensed purveyors were allowed, a
273 journey of many miles had to be made to purchase beer and
[671] whiskey in Stornoway. Around 1930, Nessmen (many of whom were sailors) began to bring back from town several kegs

175 of beer at one time to avoid having to make the 50-mile
275 round trip very often. Men met to drink in barns or in
273 tigh ceilidh, the houses in which people gathered for evening visiting, but for this purpose eventually built huts of stone or concrete, or used shelters already available such as the shells of old buses or Nissen huts built by the armed forces but no longer used by them. [361] These shelters, separate from the rest of the village, were called bothans. One or a few men brought the drink
275 from town, and the drinks were sold at cost. In 1963
273 a bothan was raided by the police and the men fined.
625 But in 1967, a court case found six men not guilty of
681 trafficking in exciseable liquor because there was no evidence that money had changed hands. The lawyer for the accused men argued that the drink was not "for sale." It was simply available, and drinkers made "voluntary" contributions to a common kitty.

175 The first bothan in Shawbost was started after the
273 second world war, by a sailor home on leave. Liquor was
275 brought to an old Nissen hut, which eventually was replaced by a small concrete hut with gas lighting. ("It was built overnight, because if anyone knew it was being built, they would protest." "It was built inside the Nissen hut so no one would know. On the day they were tearing down the Nissen hut, a minister was passing by and he praised

273 the Lord that his prayers had been answered.") Another
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[175] bothan was started in an old bus.

Today only one bothan exists in Shawbost. It is a
[354] small concrete structure, lit by gas and heated with coal, which is burned in an expensive fireplace. Like most bothans, the one entrance faces away from the main road. Unlike most bothans, it has a small window which is curtained but nevertheless reveals whether or not the light is on inside. Most bothans present blank, windowless and doorless faces that give no indication whether or not the building is occupied.

[208] Every three years a poll may be taken within a parish to determine whether the parish should be wet or dry.
[666] After the parish of Uig voted itself "wet," the Doune Braes Hotel was opened in Carloway, only five miles from Shawbost.
[829] One of the arguments for making the parish "wet" was that drinking at the bothans would cease, and men would drink under more controlled circumstances. "The married men usually went home from the bothan at a reasonable hour, but the single men just stayed there talking all night. At the hotel, they have to go home at 10:00."

Despite the opening of the hotel so close to Shawbost, the bothan remained open. The drink was cheaper and the atmosphere less formal. Unlike the bothans in Ness, however,
[771] the Shawbost bothan was usually open only on Saturday, the

273 one night of the week in which controls are imposed, by
275 the arrival of Sunday when no one is supposed to drink.
[171] The bothan was occasionally open on Friday night, and on Monday night. ("If there's anything left from Saturday night, we finish it on Monday.") During the summer of
[221] 1971 when the days were long and filled with communal township activities such as peat-cutting, the bothan was open every night of the week. The bothan closed when the man supplying it with drink suddenly died, and has not reopened.

273 2. Functions of Drinking: If a man decides not to
571 participate in drinking, he is not praised for his self-
156 control or his ability to abstain; rather, people say, "What's the matter with him that he doesn't mix?" A man goes off to the hotel or to a bothan "for a wee nip" or "for a pint" (the pint of beer which serves as a chaser for glasses of straight whiskey). Both phrases are euphemisms for the huge amount of whiskey and beer which must be consumed if a man is to satisfy the canons of social intercourse which obtain. A man can drink alone or, in the company of others, drink very little only at great social cost.

"You can't go in for a casual pint in a place like the bothan because it's a place where people mix, and you're bound to meet old friends you haven't seen for

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156 a while. It would be an insult not to take a drink with
[576] them; you musn't miss your round."

273 The usual practice when drinking with friends is
571 for one person to buy the drinks; everyone drinks
156 together, and then someone else buys the next round. To
431 drink slowly is to indicate that you intend to miss your round. A relative who returns to the island for a holiday usually pays for more rounds than he receives, and may spend as much as L80 in a single week.

If a man wants more drink than his fellows, he has several choices. He may step up the pace of drinking by buying more rounds, which means that he is likely to pay a larger share than the others during the evening as they will be ready to quit before he is; or he may keep a bottle hidden outside the room, and disappear periodically for a private nip, after which he returns to the group.

273 As incomes have grown, excessive drinking, which was
571 once confined to a small number of occasions, has also
156 increased. In the days when money was scarce, people shared
178 with others what they had. Elaborate and relatively lavish
434 ceremonies in which all community members participated were possible because of the contribution in labor and goods of members of the community. The custom prevailing today is to use the added money not to purchase more goods and services, to travel, or in other ways that might result in both social

273 differentiation and differentiation in personal experience,
571 but to use it in the community, as social coin. The few
156 men who refuse to get involved in drinking episodes that
178 would deplete their available funds are called "mean"
434 and "tight-fisted."

"If I had a wish, I'd choose to live the same life all over again, maybe a wee bit rougher. We don't get a chance here. The poverty keeps us down. But what does it matter to be a schoolteacher or a minister? What good does it do you? If I have a shilling in my pocket, I've got to spend it. I remember ten years ago, I went into town with L60 in tweed payments to buy a new stove. I met some of my
[435] pals, so I put L20 down on a L50 stove and spent the rest. What a time we had."

[484] "I went for a holiday on the mainland and came back with money in my pocket because it's no use drinking in a place where you don't know people. You want a yarn."

273 Drinking occurs at night behind the gray, concrete
571 shield of the bothan or in hotels. Drinking situations
156 provide opportunities, rare in the repressive arena of the
154 village, to express emotions and ideas. These expressions can always be retracted in the cold, sober light of day.

"I used to be an alcoholic. Now I spend most of my weekends feeding my brother lager so he won't get the DT's. When something good happens, I wish like hell I could get

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[following P. 168]

273 571 156 154 out and celebrate. There's no other way to express myself."

"Now that Ruaridh has stopped drinking, he's not very interesting to talk to. He's very dull these days. He doesn't say a thing."

273 571 527 794 796 During the Communions, a sense of excitement and holiday permeates the village. Among the converted members of the Free Church, this feeling is expressed in vigorous participation in long church services and meetings in the homes of the converted. In the rest of the village, the unconverted men don their best suits and head for the hotel, or the bothan opens earlier in the week than usual. All special occasions such as fank days or the arrival of relatives generate excitement, which is most often expressed, among the unconverted men, by drinking.

273 571 [584] A man may propose to a woman, and the next day "forget" this rash action with impunity. When a man has been drinking, he is more likely than on other occasions to be openly affectionate to a woman, or to express strong feelings of friendship to his fellows. "It's the only time when you're really happy. You can sing, tell your life story. It's the only time when people are really friendly. But it's a false friendship, because when you meet someone the next day, he's not the same person. He's distant, cold. You feel depressed. You want to recreate the situation, so you start drinking again."

781 3. Bible vs. Bottle: An islander living on the
273 mainland once observed that the Free Church plays cat
795 and mouse with members of the community who drink heavily.
794 Death is a common event in a community which has a large
[761] number of old people, and the theme of death appears repeatedly in sermons and in the conversations of those who have undergone religious conversion. The temporary pleasures of drink are contrasted with the eternal joys
781 awaiting those who have been saved. The "false" friend-
794 ships of the drinking situations are contrasted with the more lasting, consistent relations which characterize the clique of the converted. "You have lots of friends when you get converted, and they don't change overnight the way your drinking companions do."

273 "With the drink it's easy to get started and just not
[434] be able to stop drinking, especially with the money there
[781] is now. Everything's unsteady here except religion."

273 Many of the most deeply religious male members of
794 the church were once heavy drinkers. One villager observed,
733 "If a man went to extremes as a sinner, he'll be just as
781 fanatical when he becomes holy. Had it not been for
[743] religion, some of them would have landed in Craig Dunain [the mental hospital near Inverness]. The talk is forever on religion. That keeps their mind at rest."

B. The Bible

771 1. The Free Church: "A man in my great-grandfather's
175 time," said a 65-year-old man, "talked about the great
178 change within his generation, from the days when fanks
were held on Sundays to such strict observance on the
Sabbath that not even a cow could be tethered."

175 The first evangelical minister on Lewis came to the
793 parish of Uig in 1824. The Rev. Alexander Macleod belonged
795 to the Church of Scotland, but joined the Free Church when
it broke away from the Church of Scotland in the "Disruption"
of 1843. When he came in 1824, he found "superstition,"
"spiritual darkness," and "polluted remains of Popery,
since it was the religion in this place...the only notion
they had of Christianity (Beaton 1925: 7-8)." The southern
795 isles of the Outer Hebrides are still Catholic, but in the
829 Protestant isles of the north, holidays associated with
184 Catholicism are avoided, and stories are still told of the
798 burning of Protestant martyrs by Catholics. Catholics are
disliked "because they believe that they can buy their
way out of sin," or that the bread and wine of Communion
is really the blood and body of Christ. "A Catholic is
anointed with oil and left to die without food or water.
We are privileged that we are not like them."

175 In the Disruption of 1843, about one-third of the
795 people and 39% of the ministers left the established church

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175 to join the Free Church (Donaldson 1960: 100). The Free
795 Presbyterians left the Free Church in 1893 because they found it too "liberal." Several dissenting groups, including most of the members of the Free Church, formed a United Free Church at the turn of the century. After
[659] a long court case, the church property was left with the Free Church, which continues to support itself without aid
795 from the state. Collections and funds solicited by
794 villagers who visit the households periodically are sent
465 to a central office in Edinburgh, which pays all ministers an equal salary, despite variations in the size of their congregations. About one-fourth of the church's income comes from Lewis. A minister's salary is between L950-1,000, and the upkeep and fueling of his manse is included. The present minister in Shawbost uses oil and coal, but at an earlier time received loads of peat from the villagers. The villagers bring extra food to the manse when Communions are held, although the church donates about L20 to be used to provide for visiting ministers.

795 The Free Church contains a number of presbyteries, of which Lewis and Harris are one. An Assembly is held each year which parallels the Assembly held by the Church of Scotland. (According to one minister of the Free Church, "A Berlin wall divides the two.") The Free Church publishes a monthly report of church activities and amount of money

795 collected, and an annual report on morals, which usually condemns drinking and "the decline in moral standards." Ministers are trained in a college in Edinburgh. Many
[197] are Gaelic speakers, although the number is said to be declining.

794 When a congregation loses a minister because of death
793 or other reasons, it issues a "call" to some other minister. The congregation is familiar with the names and preaching styles of a number of ministers, who have in the past visited the community as guest speakers. The congregation votes for a minister from a list made by the lay officers of the church. The minister may or may not accept the call.

795 The Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church, two
[178] fundamentalist Protestant sects which have survived the tendencies toward unification evident since the turn of the century, are strongest in the Highlands and Islands. Shawbost contains a few people who belong to the Church of Scotland, but most villagers belong to the Free Church.
795 The only church (in the sense of a building in which sermons
346 are preached) is a Free Church which was built in 1883,
[173] supposedly after men from Shawbost helping to repair the fence at the minister's manse in Carloway, where they then attended church, were refused boiling water for their oatmeal "brose" by the minister's wife. A building in which members of the Church of Scotland worshipped was built

795 346 before 1883 but now serves as a school museum. When it closed, most of the members changed to the Free Church.

794 The present congregation includes many families from the neighboring village of Bragar, who come to church for the morning service and usually attend a prayer meeting in their own village in the evening. Once a month the minister gives an evening sermon in Bragar. The left side of the church, where most of the Bragar people sit, is called "the Bragar side."

Lay officers of the church, called elders and deacons, are elected by the communicants, those members of the congregation who have taken Communion. Both elders and deacons sit in special seats at the front of the church beneath the pulpit. Deacons, who are concerned with material matters such as collections and church property, sit in the "wee seats" slightly lower than the partitioned seats of the elders, the "big seats." The deacons meet in a deacons' court which the elders may attend. A meeting is held once a year at which the congregation is told matters such as how the church money was spent. Kirk sessions are limited to elders, who decide who will be baptised or take Communion.

[621] Each street or neighborhood within the village has its own deacon and elder, to whom members of the street bring various matters that concern church organization, such as plans for baptism.

794 621 2. The Township as Religious Network: The religious sphere has two distinguishable social networks, one of which coincides in personnel with the village network. Most households within the village feel obligated to "make an appearance" during at least one of the two 796 Sunday services. Most children are sent to Sunday school, 851 and all are baptised. In baptism, fathers stand with the children, promise to raise them in the church, and to set a good example for them. Baptism must precede Communion, the ceremony by which a person becomes a full member of the church. Baptism signifies membership in the community, the village-qua-congregation. "Somehow you're not really legal until you've been baptised." Some feel that the child's soul may be endangered if he should die without baptism, although this idea is discouraged by the church. [799] According to the Calvinistic ideas of predestination, the fate of one's soul has already been decided.

796 The pressure to have children baptised enables the 851 village-as-congregation to exert social control over deviant 626 individuals. If a child is conceived out of wedlock, the 848 parents of the child (if they have gotten married) or the unwed mother alone must stand in front of the congregation and be lectured by the minister before the child may be baptised. A woman who has married a man known not to be the father of her child must also stand by herself. A

796 miscarriage occurring before marriage also requires
851 standing even when the child to be baptised was conceived
626 by the couple after marriage. A married man who has
848 impregnated a woman who is not his wife must undergo
[837] this ordeal before he can have his own children baptised.

It is the responsibility of the entire community to ensure that this punishment is carried out. On one occasion, the minister forgot to lecture a couple, and afterwards sent them a note that they would not have to stand; but they insisted, afraid that people would say that they were getting special treatment.

[203] According to one minister, the manse is a kind of
[521] "research center" to which all gossip is reported. Some
[793] ministers use this information in the pulpit, chiding
[794] people and calling attention to wrong-doings in front of the congregation. In contrast, a different attitude exists
[184] in parts of Stornoway, where villagers have approached
[759] doctors in the maternity ward for information regarding miscarriages and premarital births only to be told that this information is confidential. The ordeal of standing
[178] in church does not exist in Stornoway. In 1971 a person in Shawbost was accidentally exempted from this ordeal and his exemption was seen by some as providing an opportunity to stop what is considered by many to be an archaic custom.

871 Education in the local school has included a great
875 deal of religious instruction; in other words, religious
771 and educational spheres commingle. Because of the
[465] relative prestige which the teaching profession offers to persons from the island, and because the islands are considered "isolated" by most persons looking for jobs (teaching posts on the island include an added sum which is designated as "isolation payment"), most of the island's teachers are themselves islanders. Education
[554] is one method by which one's position in the community is elevated. The high status derived from having advanced education also reflects favorably on the parents and position of the family. But teachers and others who return to the island are expected not to deviate from island norms in important matters, such as fundamentalist religious beliefs; hence teachers tend to perpetuate fundamentalist religious beliefs within the classroom.

871 Formerly the minister visited the school once each
771 year to examine the children on their catechism, thus
773 testing the state of religious instruction in the school.
178 Several years ago this practice was stopped by the education authorities of the County Council, and the minister now gives a sermon in the school about once a month but is not allowed to examine the children. Many ministers are dissatisfied with the arrangement, as they are afraid that

871 the children might not receive proper religious
791 instruction.
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"Family worship" is considered an important part
771 of daily life. Prayers should be said before meals
782 and teas, and the head of the household should read
593 passages from the Bible to the assembled members of the household every morning and evening. The practice of
[178] "reading the books" prevails in households headed by
[592] older men, but is less common among families headed by younger men.

794 3. The Clique of the Converted: The second network
632 within the religious sphere is a special religious in-
621 group, the clique of the converted (curamach). This clique constitutes a relatively strongly bounded system which to some extent competes with the township boundary system. Owen (Rees 1960) has noted that as persons become more involved with religion in the Protestant Hebrides, they tend to remove themselves from community life.

Intense involvement with the church sometimes conflicts with township activities since people may attend Communions at times when a fank is planned, leaving the work to be done by others. When elders of the church are present at activities, such as fanks, which are otherwise usually boisterous and full of humor, behavior tends to be "properly" restrained.

794 Membership in the religious clique offers many
781 satisfactions. "You can talk with the converted all night, see them the next day and go on talking, because you're always talking about something new. Now, when
[829] you hear someone telling a yarn or joke, you say to yourself, I've heard that before, I don't want to hear it again. But when you're talking about Christ, sharing your experiences of conversion, the conversation is always new."

794 A few cynical, non-converted persons describe the
781 clique as a "social club" whose members sit together in
829 church, shake hands with each other more often than with non-members, and are always having meetings in each others' houses from which others are excluded. "They came in and invited Jessie and Marian to come to their prayer meeting, but they didn't ask me. They have tea, sing psalms, and have religious discussions. Ministers and converted people from all over the island come to these meetings."

"I said to her, 'You wouldn't be caught dead talking to me. At the church you all shake hands with each other, but never with me. How about passing some of it on?'"

The non-converted often express envy, and say they wish they felt the same way that the converted people seem to feel. "I was sitting with my sister at the fire

794 one night, and she said, 'I've got something, have you?'
781 She told me, 'I've got Christ.' She said that Christ
829 whispered to her as we were sitting there, 'Come, come, come to me.' Now she's got full military honors. I felt so bad when she took Communion, because I hadn't got it. We're all going to die. Christ is everything. Without Christ you've got nothing. I go to bed at night and something is hanging over the bed saying, 'This isn't your bed, this isn't your place.' This is the last fling, you won't have me with you long. The next time you see me, I'll be in the church parade."

Often the converted are criticized for "dropping the old crowd" or for not fulfilling their neighborly obligations. "When these people need something, they're going to be hard put to find anyone eager to help them." "You're supposed to be good and loving when you're converted, but they never help anybody except themselves. They look down on anyone who's not converted."

When someone begins to come to the Wednesday night prayer meetings, the most noticeable sign of conversion, the newcomers are welcomed into the fold with eagerness; after the prayer meeting, members shake their hands and congratulate them. To be converted is to be "Born again." "My life is like a boat that was once tied to a pier with many ropes. One by one, these ropes have fallen away. There is only drudgery to this life. I feel as though I

794 could float right up to heaven. The only pleasure I get,
781 although it is but a shadow of that ultimate joy, is being
829 in the company of good-living people."

The converted often spend evenings with each other singing psalms and sharing experiences of conversion. They follow the Communions as they are given in different congregations throughout the island, and may even go to Communions on the mainland. "You get to meet all kinds of interesting people that you wouldn't meet otherwise. If it weren't for these meetings, it would be like the cities, you'd never meet." "East side knows west side because of the Communions, not because of the dances. You're alone at dances." Although every house in the village is open to visitors at Communion times, the converted tend to gather in the homes of their fellow converted, where, between the twice-daily services, they gather for intense religious discussion.

Persons who are converted, even if they have not taken Communion, attend the prayer meeting held in the middle of each week, but only the communicants may attend the "private meetings" (coinne uaigneach), which are held once a month. "My father used to tease my mother, who went to these 'darkness' meetings. But it's only a prayer meeting that gives the younger, recently converted members a chance to give the prayers, since when you're a communicant you're

794 called on an awful lot to give prayers in church, and it's
781 hard for some of them to get up and speak." The Reverend
829 Macleod notes in his diary that private meetings were
[175] initiated on the island in 1826.

A quarterly meeting (coinne raith) is held in Stornoway,
[796] to which many of the converted from the villages go. The Communions are held twice a year. "Special services," or "small communions," held soon after the Communions, are intended as evangelical services for young people, that is, services enjoining people to convert. These services, which last from Monday through Friday, were started in Ness after the first world war.

796 4. The Communions (Orduighean): Communions are given
794 twice a year, during autumn and late winter. They are scheduled for different weeks in different parts of the island, and neighboring congregations close their churches when Communions are being held nearby, so that during the Communion season some persons may attend a number of services at different churches.

In the days when transportation was limited, visitors
796 coming from a distance away stayed for an entire weekend.
574 All households prepared food and made ready for any over-
794 night visitors who might arrive without prior warning.
178 Guests often slept on mattresses laid on the floor. After
484 facilities of transportation improved, it became common for people to drive down for the day in private cars and return to their own homes at night.

000 return to their own homes at night. There is now less
796 need for the generalized hospitality of the past, which
794 was given to anyone who came to the door looking for food
829 and shelter. Through these visits some families in
571 different villages have, however, established relation-
574 ships which are kept up by exchanging hospitality at
times of Communion and also in other ways. A family in
[262] Ness may send to a friendly family in Shawbost some guga,
[251] goalings of solan geese which are captured by Nessmen
on the island of Rona once a year and are salted to make
a delicacy that is in great demand. Through such contacts
a family wanting to purchase a cow may receive word of one
that is being offered for sale in the village of a
Communion contact.

796 Services of Communion last five days. All services
except that held on Sunday evening are intended for the
communicants or full members of the church, also called
[535] "the believers" and "good livers." During this time, no
[485] dances are held in Shawbost, and in Carloway the hotel is
closed.

796 On Communion Sunday, the upper balcony of the church
794 is filled with villagers watching to see if any of the
829 recently converted have decided and have been allowed to
take Communion. Because the villagers watch very closely
the behavior of everyone else within the village, any change

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829 in behavior is noticed long before the person takes Communion. Some persons may never take Communion, even though they are generally known as "good living."

A person who shows signs of being "good living" (converted) is carefully watched by all villagers, but especially by the clique of the converted whose strict standards he must satisfy before he is able to gain admission.

A communicant who gets drunk or in other ways falls from grace is not allowed to take Communion again until he goes before the kirk session and attests that his ways have been mended.

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794 Thursday, the first day of the Communions, is " a day of humiliation and prayer." Friday is Latha na Ceist,
[782] the day of questions or catechism, sometimes called "fellowship day" or "men's day." A passage is read from the Bible, which different elders must discuss in the light of their experiences of conversion. The day is also called a day of marks and signs. The elders who speak as a part of the day's rites are from congregations outside the village, which is regarded as "a matter of courtesy, and to bring in new ideas." They are called on by the minister and stand to give testimony or "fellowship," sharing their experiences of conversion with the assembly. These attestations are also spoken of as giving "tokens"

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[829]

which signify that they are believers and differentiate them from the non-believers. "Some people may think they're ready to take Communion, but listening to these people helps them to see if they really are. Often their daily actions give the lie to their intentions, and they realize this and decide to wait a while longer." The sermon is propitiatory and includes psalms on such subjects as "Blessed are they that see the light."

After this service, the minister announces that the kirk session is prepared to interview new persons who would like to take Communion. From Friday until Saturday night, individuals "give witness" before the session. After an individual has described his experiences of conversion and has been catechized, he leaves the room and his case is discussed. The elders bring up any items of behavior that would cast doubt on his testimony. Questions about his moral behavior might include, "Has he taken a drink lately? Has he been seen in a dance hall? Is his behavior sufficiently circumspect?" The person is then called back and told the decision of the session by the minister. Occasionally someone is rejected.

Saturday is the day of preparation, the day on which those planning to take Communion are called upon to look at themselves carefully, inspect their faith, and prepare themselves to go to the Lord's table. After the morning

796 service, believers remain in the church where they
794 receive tokens given to them by the elder of their street. These are pieces of metal on which is printed the name of the church and village, and a verse from Corinthians, "Do this in remembrance of me." Communicants planning to take Communion in other villages take with them tokens which they have received from their own minister, or ask the local minister for one.

The Communion Services begin on Sunday morning at about 11:30. Persons not taking Communion sit in the back of the church or in the balcony. Communicants give their tokens to the elders who stand in the aisles, and are allowed to sit in seats in the front section of the church, which are marked off from the other seats by white tableclothes. The service lasts for three to four hours. Many communicants also spend a half hour to an hour in informal prayer before the ministers arrive to begin the
[178] service. In the past, a prayer meeting was also held at
[184] 8:00 in the morning, a custom still practiced in some places, such as the island of Scalpay.

Sunday is the only day of Communion on which standardized selections of Biblical verses are spoken and psalms are sung. On other days the ministers are allowed wide variation in the contents of their services. On Sunday, Psalm 22 is followed by the reading of Isaiah 53, and

796 and then by Psalm 69, all of which emphasize the suffering
794 of Christ. The sermon which follows may be based on any text; its intent is to strengthen the believers. It is followed by Psalm 118. The minister then announces that the most sacred part of the day's service will follow, the "fencing of the table" (cuir garadh mu'n a Bhord). He reads from Galatians V, in which those of the flesh
[829] are separated from those of the spirit. Those who wish to take Communion are exhorted to leave everything behind, including husbands, wives, parents and children who are non-believers, if they wish to partake of the fruits of the spirit. One man is said to have become converted when he saw his wife going to take Communion for the first time.

Psalm 103, a psalm of blessing, is then sung. Until five years ago, communicants sat with the rest of the congregation and rose to "come to the table" (those seats marked off by white tablecloths or sheets) for different "sittings," as the congregation sang the psalms of blessing.

The minister then asks the elders to bring in "the elements" of wine and bread. The wine is carried in silver pitchers (which are refilled from bottles kept in a trunk beside the pulpit by an elder who turns his back to the congregation while doing this task), and poured into silver wine goblets which are passed down the rows of communicants along with plates filled with bread cut

796 into tiny squares. The ministers and the elders partake
794 first. A final hymn is full of rejoicing, and the minister then exhorts the communicants to return to the world and give witness and to live exemplary lives.

The evening service on Sunday is evangelical, intended for non-believers. After this service the communicants conduct a brief prayer meeting to give thanks.

[829] On Monday, the minister again tells the communicants to go out into the world and declare publically their experiences of the preceding day; and to demonstrate in everything they do and say that they are believers. In
[178] the past, only a morning service was given, as most people
[484] had a long journey ahead of them to return home; but now that cars are available, a similar evening service is also conducted.

781 5. The Process of Conversion: The process of conversion
794 may be slow or sudden, but conversion is most common at
796 middle age and among women. One informant wryly observed,
[561] "Only recently women were allowed to have souls. But
[562] from the looks of the Communion table, mostly women are going to heaven." Many of the women taking Communion are
[589] dressed from head to foot in black, a color which indicates
[822] their widowed status.

781 The first sign that a person is "following" (leanntail)
794 the church is that he begins to attend the weekly prayer

781 794 [302] meetings. If a woman converts when she is off the island, as occasionally happens during the first year or so at university or other school, the tell-tale sign is that she begins to let her hair grow, and wears it tied back in a bun.

The word curam means "conversion," but is also used in ordinary conversation to mean being careful, such as keeping one's clothes tidy. It also means to be circumspect. In a religious context, it means to be careful of one's behavior, as this behavior reflects on the state of one's soul. When a person "has the curam," he has demonstrated that he is "in a state of conviction," that he has undergone conversion. People say, "A change has 781 794 come into my life." The "change" includes the cessation 795 of drinking and going to dances and concerts. Woman stop smoking. "After you are converted, you don't watch TV on Sunday. You should do everything for Sunday on Saturday, like shine your shoes for church or cook the Sunday dinner."

781 293 A dramatic change in behavior is often found among men who have had a history of hard drinking. One man went into the bothan, raised a glass to his lips, but never drank. "He put it down and walked out. They put the glass of whiskey aside, expecting him to return. He was a hard-working man, one of the hardest workers in the village, but everything went to booze in the bothan. He slept in

781 the same room as his father. His father used to lecture
273 him, but he closed his ears. Then his father died. The week after he walked out of the bothan, a relative sent him some money. He had been trying to buy a suit on installment, but always spent the money on drink. He went into town, got the suit, and wore it to church the next Sunday."

781 The process of conversion is often accompanied by
153 feelings of restlessness, inability to sleep, scriptural passages running through one's mind, alienation from normal surroundings ("A voice kept whispering, 'this is not your home'"), and occasionally visions, all of which events serve as signs to the person that he is indeed converted, one of the few chosen by God for salvation. As children
[869] are taught from an early age in both school and Sunday school to memorize Biblical passages, it is not surprising that such passages often come to mind easily, and, during a stressful, disorderly time of life may be interpreted as messages from God which promise order and relief. Evangelical services are full of doom, the imminent possibility of unexpected death, and exhortations to convert. Conversion is often traced to a minister's preaching.

"I was like an animal. I didn't care whether God existed. Then my wife died. It was when I saw the coffin that something happened inside. I was converted six months later."

781 153 "It was the Monday after the Communions, about midnight. I was lying in bed not thinking about anything in particular. Then all of a sudden I felt God speaking to me. It was the strangest feeling, like I didn't feel safe. With each tick of the clock, time was running out, the world was rushing to its end.

"Four days I was like that, dazed and uncertain, not feeling safe. I was sitting down, unable to work. I didn't know what I was doing most of the time. Then all of a sudden I had a vision, of Christ on the cross who died for us. I had been praying to God and here was my answer, trust in the Lord Jesus Christ. God does everything for you. He makes you breathe, lifts your lungs in and out, makes your blood flow. Everything is in the Bible, every event in 1970. Once I realized that, I could take the days as they came, from one day to the next. We came bare into this world, and we leave it bare; but I'm certain of one thing, that we go with Jesus into heaven after death, and no one can talk me out of that."

781 571 Although conversion is supposedly an individual matter, and one's fate is thought to be pre-determined, conversion often occurs among many persons at the same time. "It's like a chain of fireworks. Once one person goes, the rest go, too." Through the dense network of social contacts that criss-crosses the island, villagers are aware of

781 conversions that take place in other villages. "Five
571 persons converted recently in Lochs. Two used to drink
a lot, they're saying." Sometimes mass conversions occur,
[786] called "revivals," during which people shout, chant,
speak in tongues, and sometimes collapse.

794 Although strict observance of religious practices
829 must be maintained by the converted while they are on the
island, it is possible for them to relax this observance
when they visit mainland cities. The converted see nothing
wrong with attending plays or movies in Glasgow, as long
as no one observes them. A non-believer once commented
wrly, "They believe in the 11th commandment: thou shallt
not be seen." Women who have spent many years in domestic
service on the mainland, where they generally live very
different sorts of lives from those of island people, often
return to the island to retire. They then take up the
[292] color of their surroundings. The long black dress then
becomes the appropriate garb for them on Sundays. As one
person observed, "Women deposit their curam in the Left
Luggage Department at Stornoway, and pick it up fifty years
later."

779 The beliefs of the Free Church include explanations
for all events. "Everything of importance that happened
in history is recorded in the Bible." Predestination lies
behind all unexpected events; a sense of fatalism dulls

779 the impact of all disappointment. The church offers meaning and order to those encountering problems posed by village life. Of great importance is the sense of certainty, power and righteousness which membership in the church provides in contrast with feelings of inferior-
779 ity vis-à-vis the "superior" mainland. This is the Land
829 of the Scriptures; even the Free Church on the mainland is considered decadent. "Religion isn't kept on the mainland. The cities are full of sin. Lewis is given mostly to religion. It should be called the Holy Isle."

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

Chapter 7

Conclusions:

Summary and Theoretical Considerations

A. Summary

105 Crofting townships of the Highlands and Islands of
[131] Scotland are within a few hours' travel of the major cities
[484] of Britain. An extremely high percentage of the young
[873] people in the crofting counties attend universities and
other institutions of higher education. Politically,
[641] administratively, economically and in other ways, the
crofting population participates in the larger urban-
industrial society of Britain.

105 Despite this participation, the township-qua-village-
632 community is a relatively strongly bounded system. This
621 thesis investigates factors contributing to the strong
[121] boundedness. From a relatively self-sufficient economic
105 unit using agricultural practices suited to the extensive
178 cultivation of marginal land by smallholders, the township
632 has during recent decades changed to one dependent on
241 goods and services provided by the larger society.
105 Crofting activities nevertheless persist, in part because
241 of the incentives offered by government bodies such as the
654 Crofters Commission and the Department of Agriculture. The

The
105 fact that crofting townships are located on marginal
24 land is one reason that the larger society is not motivated
654 to exploit the land. The Crofters Holding Act of 1886
[311] and subsequent legislation ensured protection of and
[671] incentives for continued maintenance of crofting and
the crofting township.

Protective government legislation, grants and loans for housing, subsidies for rearing livestock, relatively low taxes, and the economic protection provided by a socialistic government in times of crisis have helped to maintain a core of crofting families for many generations.
105 The predominance of older persons in the township is
162 striking, but many of the younger people who have left
632 the island to work on the mainland return frequently,
166 contribute part of their salary to the remaining family
434 members, and plan eventually to marry and settle down in
584 the village or to retire there. Long-term residence of
[621] kin-linked families in a small area has in itself contributed to the boundedness of the township network.

105 The policy of the government, through developmental
24 agencies such as the Highlands and Islands Development
654 Board, has been to support economic strategies that
632 complement rather than interfere with the functioning of the crofting township with its small holdings and communal
000 practices. The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an

105 The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an
24 industry which is compatible with crofting. Because
188 weavers are self-employed, they can set their own schedule
632 of work and thus continue to participate in croft work
and fulfill various township obligations. The effects
[121] of this industry on the township as a social boundary
[434] system were investigated. The income available from
[463] weaving is unpredictable, which encourages the retention
of crofting practices and other patterns of behavior,
such as "occupational pluralism," that were found to be
[476] adaptive in the past. Such strategies also strengthen
[82] township boundaries; for example, they encourage mutual
[434] aid and communal township practices. But weaving also
[407] offers a high level of income; and some weavers, preferring
to spend most of their time weaving, have neglected
crofting, or have invested in tractors or other motorized
transport which enables them to harvest crops, cut peat
and perform other activities independent of other township
members.

105 The fundamentalist Free Church constitutes an important
621 boundary-maintaining mechanism, serving to exclude various
795 external influences of the larger society from the township.
632 However, a smaller network of persons engaged in the
184 religious sphere of social activity, a subsystem within
105 the township system, also exists which has the appearance
794 of a firmly bounded system. These are members of the clique
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105 794 621 632 184 [494] of the converted, who occasionally neglect township and neighborly duties in favor of religious activities. The increase in private transportation during the past 25 years has facilitated the maintenance of closer ties within the clique. The existence of such a strongly bounded subsystem is an example of a trend toward the weakening of the township as a social boundary system, but this trend is countered by other factors that strengthen or help preserve the township as a bounded system.

105 632 621 166 184 People come and go from the township, but this appears to maintain rather than weaken township boundaries because behavior different from that prescribed within the township can be performed outside it, and conformist behavior reassumed upon reentry. Those unable to conform with standards of behavior prescribed within the township are not likely to return.

[528] [829] Township members who have settled away from the island come back periodically for recreation and a sense of belonging. They increase the value of the township and its way of life in the eyes of the inhabitants, and provide them with subject matter for conversation until the next holiday season, when the exiles again return.

105 632 621 184 [178] The boundedness of the township is thus a qualified boundedness that, over the past 100 years and especially since the second world war, has decreased in strength but is nevertheless strong today.

105 is nevertheless strong today. The relatively strong
632 boundedness derives from a number of factors. Important
621 among these are economic adaptations to modern conditions,
184 which consist in part of the retention in modified form of traditional economic activities in response to various constraints and incentives presented by larger British society. Also important are institutionalized bonds of affect, particularly of kinship and community, and ties of religious affiliation and identification. These ties continue to be functionally important in part because of the geographical and social marginality of the crofting township. This combination of factors has resulted in the persistence of a relatively strongly bounded system which retains distinctive features in an extensively urbanized and industrialized nation.

B. Theoretical Considerations

121 In the United States, the concept of "peasant" has provided the main conceptual tool by which rural communities which are structurally integrated with the larger nation-state may be studied (cf. Foster 1967, Wolf 1966).
632 The Scottish crofting township has some of the character-
621 istics of a closed corporate peasant community (Wolf 1957), but it is difficult to apply the word "peasant" to such a
000 community. Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in

241 654 Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in part stems from government-defined privileges and duties regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed 288 479 464 industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides and thus is protected from competition, has provided work for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger 166 [434] members of croft families live in cities on the mainland, and send part of their wages home; they return regularly [162] [632] to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus the township supplies urban workers who remain very much attached to the rural townships, which are composed of 511 454 aged family members and a rural proletariat. The standard of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated 293 savings, although much of this surplus is used by the men for alcoholic drinks.

121 In Britain, rural communities have been interpreted as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf. Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall presented "an operational theory of role" by which he suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analyzed and compared. He developed the concept "density of role texture" to describe societies which lie along a continuum from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southall's concept along with other concepts to present a more complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "models" of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially lists

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

121 of the characteristics of roles in relatively urban or rural settings; for example, urban settings are characterised by a proliferation of narrowly defined, specialized roles. These models are unable to deal with exceptions to the continua, such as unspecialized towns based economically on agriculture, and mechanized agricultural areas. Exceptions may also be found in urban villages, that is, neighborhoods within cities characterized by low geographical mobility, or in ethnic or religious enclaves within urban-industrial settings such as the Hutterite communities in America or the conservative Red Xhosa in Rhodesian cities (Mayer 1961).

Southall (1959) maintains that social theory tends to be either too general or too specific, and that the concept of role offers a "theory of the middle range (Merton 1957)" by which communities or societies of differing complexity may be compared. Specifically, he uses the concept of role to develop a rural-urban continuum. I suggest that Cohen's concept of social boundary system offers a more fruitful and integrated approach to the study of complex societies than does the concept of role per se. Cohen makes use of role theory to analyze the boundedness of networks of social relations, but his unit of analysis is the social boundary system rather than the role. By using the concept of social boundary system, it is possible

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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121 to focus on inter- rather than intra-group relationships. The relationship of a community to the larger society of which it is a part may be investigated not by trying to place it on an urban-rural continuum, but by investigating its state of boundedness. Strong boundedness may result in resistance to innovation, and insularity, even if the community or other network is in the heart of an urban-industrial environment.

Barth (1969) has attempted to understand maintenance of cultural distinctiveness, or boundedness of a sociocultural system, despite the flow of ideas and personnel between systems. This thesis has similar intentions. It attempts to illustrate how a sociocultural environment may produce an apparently anomalous, strongly bounded sociocultural system.

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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Appendix A

Life Histories

Anna Dhonchaidh

*159 Anna Dhonchaidh was born a few years after the passing
[166] of the Crofters Act in 1886. In 1915, when she was in her early 20's, she heard that there was a shortage of farm workers on the mainland because of the war. "I thought I knew everything. I left this place like a raw potato, not like today, when the young people leave with their education." She worked on a farm for nine months, and then left because she wanted to see Glasgow. Like most
[602] islanders, she had relatives there, who housed her until
*159 she found a job. In remembering her past jobs, she
464 emphasizes the strong personal ties she established with
466 various employers. She got a job as a cook in a nursing home because she was a friend of one of the nurses. "That was how the head nurse knew if you would be good for the job, by who you knew. And the patients loved me. They crowded around me. I took time with them. I made things for them."

*159 A severe attack of measles made her decide to return
166 to the country. "I couldn't get back my health, but I
[164]

*[159] "I couldn't get back my health, but I
[66] didn't want to go home, because the houses weren't so
[362] good there as on the mainland. I went to work on a farm. It was for the cream I was going. I was so weak I couldn't lift the milk pails for a week, but I got on so well with the old lady that the farmer let me stay in and keep her company. The other girls were always running off to dances and out late at night, but I didn't care about that. I stayed in with her, and got so pally with her that the others were jealous."

[166] She had been coming back every winter to be with her mother, and during the war returned to nurse her until she died. Anna then returned to Glasgow, where she married a widower from the mainland. When he died a few years later, she returned permanently to the island. Although
[794] she had not belonged to the Free Church while living in Glasgow, she became a member when she settled permanently in Shawbost.

The Baker

"The Baker" was 22 when the first world war broke
[702] out. Many Shawbost villagers joined branches of the armed services at that time. The Baker joined the army, and two months later was wounded in one lung. Tough as salted dogfish and solid as Lewisian gneiss at the age of 78, he pounds his chest and shows visitors his scar. After

¥159 [464] After being discharged from the army, he married the Shawbost girl he had been courting, but soon after returned to Glasgow in search of work. A doctor advised him to quit the factory job he had found because the dust endangered his wounded lung. He then attended a technical college for eighteen months in preparation to set up his own business, a bakery; and again, his wound defeated him. A doctor advised him that a bakery filled with flour was the worst environment imaginable for him, and that he should go back and work the land on the islands, where the air was clean. He returned to Lewis and to the croft, and when his sons were old enough they assisted him [484] with croft work and weaving. He still makes a yearly trip to Glasgow.

The Bodach Beag

"The Bodach Beag" is known for his shrewdness, [166] industriousness, mechanical ability and kindness. He is one of the many Lewismen who left the island in 1924 on the ship called the Metagama, and like many others he returned to the island during the depression. His eldest brother had survived the sinking of the Iolaire, the ship returning home with servicemen after the war that sank not far from the Stornoway harbor in 1919, and was never well afterwards. "He would sit in at night, off by

#159 himself. If he had a drink he might come out. When the weaving started, he took that up; and he tilled the croft, kept cattle and all that; but socially he was a misfit. It was a terrible tragedy, the Iolaire."

[402] When the Bodach Beag returned from the United States, he bought a Hattersley loom to replace the old wooden loom with which his brother had been weaving. They worked the croft together. The Bodach Beag knew he would get the croft. He married soon after he returned, and for the next forty years never left the island. His wife took a six-month course in poultry-keeping and milking, and they concentrated on cattle rather than sheep. His wife sold fresh butter to the mobile vans.

#159 594 [167] Their family grew and dispersed. The eldest son attended the secondary school in Stornoway, emigrated to Rhodesia and married an English girl who was working there as a nurse. They had to return when economic earthquakes shook Rhodesia and he lost his job. He stayed at home for a year and built a new house on the croft; and then, unexpectedly, he started work to complete the necessary exams to enter a university and become a teacher.

[166] The youngest son became an engineer, married a Glasgow Highlander whose parents came from Lewis, and settled in Glasgow. Their sister married a tradesman on the mainland. The third son, unmarried but engaged to a local girl, works in the local tweed mill and lives at home with his parents.

Iain the Basher

*159 Hard-drinking and with a bitterness that seems ready to erupt in hostility at any moment, Iain "the Basher" at the age of 70 has enough painful memories locked inside his rawhide-covered heart to interfere with any normal [167] bloodstream. He left the island for the United States on the ship Metagama, but returned during the depression. "I remember a night in New York. It was so hot your feet fried in your shoes. I was walking barefoot, carrying my shoes in my hands. A cat screamed in an alley. I heaved a shoe into the shadows and hit a man who was standing there. He started chasing me, throwing bottles so that they broke in front of me. I had to run through the broken glass in my bare feet. He finally stopped chasing me, but I had to go back--the bloody shoe was still in the alley. He was standing there with some of his chums talking to a policeman. I told them what happened, that I had thrown the shoe at a cat and accidentally hit the man. 'You didn't hit him hard enough,' said the policeman, 'You didn't hit him bloody hard enough."

Iain married twice and had several children, all of whom after his wives' deaths were raised by his sister, who never married. He was drunk the night his first wife died [164] in childbirth. His second wife died of cancer, and soon afterwards he set fire to his house. The insurance company

The insurance company
#159 paid him L600, and the pubs let him drink half of that
[945] before he even got the money. The house, in which he continues to live, stands as it was left by the fire, with walls blackened, blistered and bare.

Uilleam Glen

Uilleam, named after the owner of a fishing boat on which he used to serve as a crew member, is the 70-
[592] year-old head of a croft household. He came from a family of four sons and two daughters. He was not the eldest son but he was his father's favorite. Before his father died he built the house in which he presently stays so that he would have some claim to the croft. The eldest brother was sailing, and upon his return he married a girl with a croft. Uilleam Glen made his living from the croft—he had a reputation for being good with livestock—and from occasional wage labor in Stornoway; he also followed the fishing.

Another brother of Uilleam Glen married into another croft in Shawbost, after serving in World War I as a sailor, and a sister married a boy from a neighboring
[167] village. The youngest brother, Murdo, emigrated to the United States with the second sister, and they lived and worked together in Detroit until the depression drove them home again. They then lived with Uilleam Glen, who had

#159 married a neighboring girl only shortly before they returned, and all of them started weaving. Murdo and his sister had lived together for many years and were quite close. Her marriage at the age of 55 surprised and dismayed the family. Murdo, still a bachelor, lives on in the house.

[592] Uilleam Glen had six children. His eldest son, Iain Uilleam Glen, spent a brief period in the navy during the war, but since then has not left the island. He lives with his father, weaves, and is largely responsible for maintaining the croft. They keep cattle, and a number of sheep. Several years ago Iain reseeded a buaile which his grandfather had before him, which he uses to graze cattle. When he was in his early 30's, to everyone's surprise he married a woman ten years older than himself, who gave him a son. The only other member of the household is the youngest son of the family, Calum Uilleam Glen, who weaves and earns money during the summer by hauling peat, hay, and corn. Calum once took a six-month course in carpentry sponsored by the Labor Exchange, but has never used his trade. Two sisters are married on the island. Another brother jumped ship in Australia, married, and has never returned home.

Uilleam Glen's fourth son, Padruig Uilleam Glen, spent a number of years in a sanitorium with lung problems, and

*159 did not receive much schooling. He stayed at home for a long time, helping his brothers with the crofting and weaving, and working at the nearby dairy. For a time the brothers made concrete blocks for sale, and ran a [166] lorry. In his late 30's and still single, Padruig went to the mainland, where he takes on various driving jobs, returning home periodically.

Seonag Thormoid

*159 166 464 Seonag Thormoid left the island in 1933 at the age of 16 to work in the hotels. Her mother had worked in domestic service before the first world war. "You were raised with the idea that you would go away. I've prepared my children for the same thing. Any work that exists here is temporary. You can't depend on it. Even though things have been good since the war, they're getting bad now."

Seonag went to Glasgow with three other girls from Shawbost, and stayed with her aunt until she found a job. "Jobs were very difficult to get, and the wages were low. These were the depressed years, which didn't pick up until [465] just before the war. I earned L2/10 a month working for a Mrs. Smith. You could buy shoes then for 12/6, but that was a week's wages. The richer families in Glasgow had five or six servants. You were treated like scum.

*159 You ate terrible food at the same time that you were
166 preparing excellent food for them. So many of those
464 large houses have been broken down now into smaller flats. The prices are higher today, but the wages are higher, too. I heard recently," she said with a quiet, satisfied smile, "that Mrs. Smith can only afford a girl for three hours a day now."

Seonag moved from one job to another. She thought about becoming a nurse, but the pay was so poor. A friend of hers did so, but had the help of two maiden aunts in Glasgow. "The only nursing that paid good wages was mental nursing. I tried it, but I didn't like being harsh with the patients."

*159 She married in 1944, after her fiance, Calum Ban, returned from the war. They had known each other all their lives. She had spent long periods of time at home between jobs. He was the second son and fourth child in the family, and got the croft because he had been taking care of his parents. The first son and eldest child in the family had emigrated to the United States but returned during the depression and built a house on the common grazing land. Another brother married into a croft in a neighboring village, and the fourth brother settled in Glasgow. A sister married a policeman in Glasgow, who came from the island, and another sister married in Shawbost.

#159 The third sister worked in domestic service in Glasgow all her life and never married.

Calum Ban had joined the Naval Reserve before the war. "There was always a sign up in the Stornoway Labor Exchange for men to join the Naval Reserve, because the islanders were such good seamen. They were fishermen or had been in the Merchant Service." Calum was in the navy for five years during the war, and became "skunnered" of
#159 (tired of) the sea. He is very interested in sheep, and
233 knows their major earmarks or brands between here and Ness.
422 "The earmarks identify tribes of people. The Macleods have a particular mark, like a slice at the base of the right ear; the other marks were added as the families divided and subdivided so that the relationship between them was lost. Even though you can't calculate the relationship, you know you were once part of the Macleods that put that original mark on; you can see it all in the ear marks."

#159 Calum also raises bullocks, without keeping a cow.
233 He buys young bulls at cattle sales, and sells them after two or three years. But recently his back has given him a lot of trouble, and he has had to limit his crofting activities.

#159 Seonag and Calum Ban have four children. The eldest is in the Merchant Service, and the second son is a teacher. A daughter is studying domestic science in

#159 Aberdeen. All the children were encouraged to get as much education as they possibly could. "I worked so hard in domestic service," says Seonag, "I wanted my children never to have to do the same kind of work. Anna is starting her first summer job in a hotel in [873] England. She's just finished six years at the Nicolson [the secondary school in Stornoway, which is attended by all town children and by rural children who have scored well on examinations which they take at the age of 11 or 12]. She finds the work very hard, from 5:30 a.m. to 2 p.m. She said on the phone the other night she was glad she had a good education and wouldn't have to do this all her life." Anna is the youngest of the family. She wants to study French and German at a university in Aberdeen, which would involve spending a year on the European continent.

"I would rather live in a city," says Seonag. "I would pack up and leave the island tonight. But my husband would never leave. He's much too involved with the croft."

"Leave the island?" says Anna. "Of course. I've always had the idea that I was going away."

Mairi Inis Dubh

Mairi Inis Dubh is in her late 20's, and lives with her husband and baby son in a house built recently on the

*159 common grazing land in Shawbost. She is the third of three sisters and has a younger, unmarried brother who lives at home with their mother. The eldest sister married a Scottish tradesman and lives in the United States. The second sister lives with her mother, as her husband comes and goes from the sea.

Mairi grew up wanting to be a nurse, although she had also considered being a missionary. She worked for [166] awhile in a hospital in Stornoway, and then went to Edinburgh for three years to train as a nurse. "I was glad to get away from home, away from the restrictions. I wanted to live a good life, to have fun. I had enough money to spend. I could spend it as I liked. I didn't like to come home. It was so dull and cold.

*159 781 "But the more I drank and smoked and went to parties and dances, the emptier I felt. One night I was at a dance. I had chipped in with some friends and we bought a bottle. Suddenly it seemed to me that I was getting deeper and deeper in sin, and I promised that if I got home from the dance I would try and correct my ways. I went home and prayed, and was converted."

*159 She had met her husband at a dance when she was home for a visit soon after she started nurse's training. He was sailing, and he returned to sea for three years so they would have enough money to marry. When he returned,

#159 he tried to persuade Mairi to emigrate to Australia, but she would not consider it. They lived for a while with relatives in Shawbost, until he built a house for them on the common grazing land.

#159 829 "I remember my mother talking about the tigh ceilidh, how people would gather to talk, and the girls would sit around combing each others' hair. It was a good life. Today things are going too fast. There are so few places left that offer peace. Many young people want to leave here, but they usually come back in ten years' time. I never want to leave."

Katrina Bheag

#159 781 "I sit there in church expecting to be hit by the curam, like lightning. I always go with my next-door neighbor, Naletta. Up until a year ago she was going to parties and drinking, but then she started going with a new crowd, the religious folk. She just changed one crowd for another. She kept the party crowd going for awhile as well, she couldn't decide which she preferred. But now she sees me and asks, 'How are you?' I say, 'Fine.' She says, 'How can you be fine if you haven't got Christ?' So now I sit in church with her up at the front, with both her and the minister brainwashing me. She keeps telling me about all the people that have been converted

*159 781 recently, like the boy in Ness who decided he wasn't going to church. He was sitting there reading, heard a knock at the door and didn't go. It came again, so he went and opened the door—there was no one there. Then the voice of God spoke to him, and the next Wednesday he went to prayer meeting. He probably felt guilty about not going to church. I would have been just plain scared.

*159 781 829 "Something's wrong with the reasons why people get converted. When someone dies, someone is sure to get converted. When something terrible happens, someone gets the curam. If one person gets it, other members of the family start to get it. Take Iain Mhurchaidh in the next street, for example; his wife converted, so he's trying. But he took a drink the other day, and had to eat an onion so his wife wouldn't notice; and when he hurt his hand in the garage the other day, he swore like a sailor. Usually people marry people the same as they are. It's usually the woman who converts afterwards. The curamach people say they're so fond of each other that they could marry any one of them. That's the best way to get a husband if you're an old maid. And a few affairs have gotten started at the prayer meetings they hold in each others' houses. I've never seen a really holy person. They'll try to cheat you as fast as the next person.

"Once you start 'following,' you can't really stop. Once you've given the sign that you're a follower, everyone

*159 is watching. My boyfriend tells me that I shouldn't go
781 to church regularly and then all of a sudden show up in
829 a pub on Saturday night. It confuses people. The Bible says you can't have two masters.

"There are only two kinds of people in this village. You're either curamach or you're not. If you get the curam, all of a sudden you've got a lot of friends. If you had a friend who got the curam, all of a sudden she's no longer your friend. She just asks you if you've prayed today, and acts like she's feeling sorry for you. If your parents are curamach and your father is an elder, you've got it made in this place. Domhnuill Iain Dasher's daughter was as slim and beautiful as a model but she was never chosen as Miss West Side at the dances. Her father wasn't a member of the church. He always spoke his mind, and people called him an idiot.

*159 "There are definite symptoms of conversion. A person
781 who's been looking bored in church suddenly begins to pay attention. The women go all weepy. The men sigh. They wait around outside the church and don't leave so quickly. You can see them shaking hands with the converted. You can predict their conversion months in advance.

*159 "I had a dream last year, of a line of people going
781 down the aisle of the church, all dressed in white like to
787 a wedding. Only they weren't wearing veils. I realized

*159 later that these were all people who eventually got the
781 curam. The only conversion I didn't expect was Norrie
787 Bheag. I saw her one night crying outside the church, and knew her time had come.

"In the dream I was at the very end of the line, only I wasn't wearing a white dress. I was naked, and kept trying to cover myself.

*159 "Not a day passes that I don't think of death. I
781 want to pray, but I don't know who to pray to. I've been
[761] going to church regularly now, sort of hoping and sort of being afraid that I'll find the answer. I've read too much, and I met too many kinds of people while I was working in Glasgow. I didn't live near other people from Shawbost when I was in Glasgow. I got to know Jews, tinkers, Catholics, and Jehovah's Witnesses. The world is full of different religions. I believe that you can convert to a religion, from to Buddhism or to Christianity, but not to a church like the Free Church or the Church of Scotland. This place is called Tir an t-soisgeul where the true gospel is preached, but the whole world should be called that."

Ruaridh Dan

*159 Ruaridh Dan was married in January and began to work
288 as a warper in the Shawbost mill the following October, just after the end of World War II. He had been weaving

*159 288 with his brother-in-law, but they had only one loom. At that time the mill was buying yarn from other mills in town, warping it on the mill presmises, and sending it to the weavers together with the yarn for the weft.

Ruaridh heard through the grapevine that more warpers were wanted at the time, and went to ask "the old man, Coinneach Rod, himself," about the possibility of his [465] getting the job. He worked with five other warpers, who averaged five warps a day, at four shillings each. They were paid by piece work rather than on an hourly basis, and received payment once monthly.

Business was going very well. The mill was receiving large orders from America. A few more warpers were hired. [458] A slump came in 1948, and Ruaridh Dan and several others were laid off. Ruaridh went to work for a building contractor, but was called back to the mill after a month's time.

*159 444 After warping for several years, he started work in the yarn store, which dispensed yarn to the weavers. "I was checking the yarn that was going out to the weavers, weighing the wefts, checking the colors that were used, keeping a record so we could tell at a glance what stock we had, how much we would require for any further orders we would get. Well, the job got to a stage where I just couldn't manage it, and I protested. Another man started to work with me. I was paid a regular wage so it was a

*159 444 better job than the warping, but sometimes I had to work on a Saturday.

"We were cultivating the croft, but we still needed money. It was bad being paid by the month. You'd have [452] a book at the grocer's, and pay at the end of the month. Of course, at that time your boss was your merchant."

*159 288 458 Other slumps followed the one in 1948. During two such periods in the 50's, some of the men employed by the mill were kept on the payroll doing odd jobs that had little to do with the mill, such as building a garden wall around the mill owner's house, painting for him, and deepening the drains on his croft. In 1963, seventeen people were laid off.

[745] "I was drawing unemployment benefits, and my sons had started weaving. We decided to build a new house, to start in the summer. The month before we were going to start, six months after I was laid off, I was sent for and asked if I would go on one of the looms as a pattern weaver. I said I couldn't manage it at all. I had a bad leg and couldn't stand up to weaving for long periods, and, in any case, I said, I'm going to start a new house next month. He said that's all right, as soon as you finish the house there'll be a job available for you. When I went back to him in 1965, he didn't actually have any work for me at *159 288 the time, but he took me on anyway. In 1965 the new

#159 288 mill was just about completed and some of the machinery had started arriving. This was the job he gave me, cleaning the machinery, getting it ready for the fitters and engineers to come and put them together. When they really opened up, I was to start at the teaser, in the blending department. I didn't know anything about the job. He told me I would have to go to one of the mills in Stornoway and learn how to work the machinery. And this I did. I went for a fortnight to Newalls. Shawbost and Newalls were shareholders in each others' businesses. That's where the Shawbost tweeds were cleaned and finished. Even today we do some of their urgent orders when they've got too much to handle to meet the deadline.

"After I had this training I taught anyone else who started, like Bochag, after he came back from the army he started with me. It wasn't Bochag who came to look for a job. They went after him because he had worked in a mill in town before he went into the army. They also went after two lads who had been working for years in the finishing department in Newalls, paid them more to get them to come, and over and above that, they were collected every morning and taken home every night. They want people who have worked at the mills in town.

"But as for its being a permanent job, it's difficult to say. Most of the women start working in the mill after

#159 288 they leave school, and most of them get married. I remember about twenty girls working there, and they all [458] got married, and another young girl would start. During the slack periods some men would be paid off. They would start in other jobs, and wouldn't be prepared to #159 464 come back. If you weren't working in the mill you were weaving; there was road work on a very small scale. Except for sailing there was nothing else. For the last ten years or so the big contractors have given people jobs.

"I started with a building contractor but preferred to come back to this job, for the main reason that I had #159 288 458 built this house here. We had slack periods, but we picked up again. But this slack period, it's been two years now, and I don't think it will pick up again, unless they go to a wider cloth. Probably the fashion has changed. People have gone on to other types of cloth. And the merchants and tailors prefer a wider cloth, it's less waste. But that means changing the loom and a lot of machinery in the mill as well.

"I'm sure the weavers wouldn't be prepared to put [435] out the extra cost for wider looms. At the present time, a loom and winding machine cost close to L400. You can imagine what a wider loom would cost, up to L1,000. They don't want the power loom. They're trying to hold onto the Orb trademark for as long as they can. That's the big

*159 question, whether it would be better to change from the
288 Orb trade and go to power looms. Then you would be
458 able to do any kind of cloth. You wouldn't be tied down to regulations as you are with the Harris Tweed. To do that after all it cost them with the court case a few years back—. But, at the same time, it's more important to have work than this trademark. As it is at the moment, it's just a white elephant."

Neilie Leoid

*159 Neilie Leoid left school in 1931 at the age of 14, as easy-going and generally content with things then as he is 40 years later. "When I was going to school lots of people hated the headmaster, but I had no complaints against him. Perhaps people are inclined to blame other people for their own failures. Of course, I didn't like school very much, and I didn't go to it all that often.

"In those days you didn't have the same access to education as the young people have today. You didn't
*159 assume you could go very high. You were quite content to
288 settle down to weaving. The boys started learning from
[868] anyone who was around. I started weaving with my uncle
[434] when I was 15, on an old wooden loom. In one winter
[435] we earned the L26 to buy a single-shuttle automatic. My uncle's eyesight was getting sort of dim, so I would

#159 288 stand beside him as he pedalled, and yell 'Stop!' when the bobbin was about to run out. By post-war, the single-shuttles were gone. Most men had the six-shuttle box.

#159 706 "It was all the rage then to join the Naval Reserve. You got a free trip every now and again to the south of England, and thirty shillings a month retainer. I was sailing for about 18 months before I was called up to the war.

"I was in the war for a full six years. I liked to visit every place, but I preferred the white countries. I didn't like Africa or India. China wasn't so bad. Russia was awful. It was cold, and there was nothing you could buy.

"You made very good friends on board ship. You never forgot the face of a man you served with. Most of them were English. I felt very awkward at first with English. I was very slow translating Gaelic into English, not eloquent at all. The English had the gift of the gab. But I got used to this."

#159 Neilie became engaged to marry a Shawbost girl soon after his return to the village but the marriage did not take place for a number of years because his intended wife had to raise the children of her invalid sister. During the year of their marriage he built a new house. His

*159 wife was religiously converted a few years later. They have no children. Neilie Leoid occasionally goes to the hotel in Carloway for a drink, and enjoys reading adventure stories on Sunday. He is very interested in sheep.

"Sailing made you content to settle down. You had seen it all. After the war many could have easily qualified for civil service jobs, but they didn't bother. They were quite happy to settle down to the weaving. No young person now wants to weave, but I think we were none the worse for it."

Cailean Leobhar

[071] Cailean Leobhar is a religious skeptic, but he reads the Bible as though it were an encyclopedia that referred to all important events in human history. He reads widely and omnivorously, and often delights in confusing people by jumping from one topic to another. [827] His people are said to be scholars. "It's in the blood."

"You can find references to all of human history in the Bible, from the creation to present times. Zarathustrianism had a great influence on Christianity. You can see that in the Book when the Jews entered Babylon. We were raised on the Bible; it's the ministers and schoolteachers alike that stamped out the old Celtic

#159 mythology. But the Celts still kept their special characteristics, like second sight.

"But who in this place talks about Zarathustra? I feel so ignorant. I've always read, and never believed anything. I guess I can thank the previous schoolmaster for making me a rebel. He used to give me at least four straps a day, because I was clever and his kids were dumb. It was a poor county, and there were only two bursaries available to send country children to the Nicolson. He outfoxed us, and his two children went. They didn't last there long, though.

#159 829 "So whenever I see those big schoolmasters with their fancy speeches, all I can think of is what corruption lies behind the scenes. The only people that ever know what's really going on are the fools and drunks. Everybody thinks they're drunk, so they go ahead and act naturally, or tell their terrible secrets. But the drunks are watching. They see something wrong and they have to come and tell someone, and for some reason they come to me. That always happens to me at weddings and wakes."

#159 Cailean was a middle child of a large family. The eldest sibling worked as a policeman for awhile in naval dockyards, and then returned home and tried to start a small business. When it failed, he tried weaving for a time, and then returned to Glasgow to work as a security

#159 guard in a shipyard. A brother and sister married into crofts within the village, and another sister married a mainlander whom she met at a dance while working in [888] domestic service. Cailean and a younger brother stayed together after the war, looking after their aged parents.

"The war was the biggest even in my life. I spent six and a half of the best years of my life fighting for survival. During wartime you had no future. That's where most of the men learned to drink. When you got into a port, you drank like hell. You got lectured on VD, but you knew you were going to die anyway. The only thing you lived for was sleep. You spent 24 hours on duty, keyed up and waiting for the enemy to come. When you got off duty the bombs could be screaming around you, but you slept. You got greedy. You were hungry for anything. So when you got into port on leave, you did everything for excitement. I spent one of my leaves recovering from a motorcycle accident. There's nothing to think about here; so I keep on the move, after sheep on the moor, or repairing things. It keeps me occupied. It keeps me from drinking."

Cailean was well skilled in electrical repair work, and earned trade papers during his military service. Toward the end of the war he was working in South Africa, with full intentions of staying permanently. "But I threw

#159 it over. All of a sudden I knew I had to get back. I drove everybody crazy trying to get a ship back as soon as possible. And the day I arrived in a British port, my brother--the one who had been staying with my parents--left the island. Over all those miles, did they somehow let me know? I don't know. It's best not to talk about it.

"I was going to leave the island the first year after I got back. I didn't like the weaving. But it's hard to leave parents who are old. I was caught here by circumstance. I was trained not to think of the future. I kept busy. I built the house myself, learning to do the bricklaying and joinery work as I went along. The weaving isn't too bad, except you have to be careful you don't earn too
[651] much, or you'll end up in the poorhouse. I had to pay L90 in tax this year. The tweeds don't come regularly, especially for the last 18 months, but that's not so bad because the vans give you credit. You don't need money all the time. The worst thing is the drink. Some people can live on L5 a week and a Bible, but I can't."

Cailean's brother lived with him for years. They kept a lot of sheep and shared the weaving. Their father died and then their mother died after a long illness. As though the most important tie to the island had been broken, Cailean's brother then left the island, taking advantage of a six-month course offered by the Labor Exchange. He

#159 then married a girl from the mainland and settled near Glasgow. "There's another croft still in his name. I take hay off it for the lambs. But he might want to retire there."

The most important part of the year for Cailean is the summer, when the relatives return. During that time, the large empty house which he built is full again. The women clean out the cupboards, throw out an accumulation of whiskey bottles, and repaper the walls.

"I like cities. I'll probably go there in another two years. That's how long I give the tweed industry, and the time left before the islands are cleared because of the rising taxes. Besides, all the important people are away from here anyway; and I'm not sure how I can live through another long, lonely winter.

"But I would hate to start out again, being knocked around. It's comfortable here. The house would be worth £6,000 if it were in a different location, but I wont' get what it's worth. This place has about had it, but I've invested so much of my life here. I haven't developed my brain in any way. It's too late to start thinking now."

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Shawbost

Appendix B

Number of Yards of Harris Tweed Stamped per Year

With the Harris Tweed "Orb" Mark

(Harris Tweed Association Ltd.)

288
433
178

Year	Yards
1934	95,241
1935	1,485,246
1936	2,331,740
1937	3,682,775
1938	2,897,104
1939	3,987,676
1940	4,188,822
1941	3,201,137
1942	2,212,816
1943	1,722,307
1944	1,928,393
1945	2,195,423
1946	3,049,680
1947	3,967,920
1948	4,463,713
1949	4,101,029
1950	3,779,570
1951	2,799,774
1952	4,034,351
1953	4,929,898
1954	5,150,333
1955	5,840,158
1956	6,623,529
1957	6,328,043
1958	4,348,453
1959	6,200,000
1960	5,410,000
1961	4,954,090
1962	5,081,407
1963	5,556,426
1964	5,901,800
1965	6,587,555
1966	7,600,000
1967	5,490,000
1968	6,700,000
1969	6,948,542
1970	5,120,000

Appendix C

Balance Sheet of a Croft

*159 "The Muillear" has one croft and a two-acre buaile.
241 In 1970 he planted one-eighth of an acre with three bags
244 of potatoes, two of which he bought for L14/16, and
433 harvested 22 hundredweights. This was sufficient for
(435) his family's needs and provided some feed for his live-
stock for all but two months of the year. A small plot
is planted with cabbages, for domestic consumption.

(311) Seven-eighths of an acre is planted with oats; one-
(246) and-a-half acres with grass and hay; and two acres
(233) are used for rough grazing.

*159 The Muillear is interested in new ideas and techniques.
232 He goes to meetings and discussion groups sponsored by the
233 North of Scotland College of Agriculture, and has bought
prize rams from the mainland to improve his flock. He
tries to raise a few sheep using techniques of good husbandry
rather than a large flock which would be given less
effective care. He is teased by other crofters for "over-
feeding," and for keeping his sheep on the croft and the
township reseeding rather than out on the moor. "His sheep
get homesick when they get out of sight of the croft." He
wins the prizes at the Carloway Cattle Show each year, in a

*159 232 233 quietly triumphant yet unassuming way. He does not kill any of his sheep for home consumption.

*159 241 288 434 His involvement with the croft is a "hobby" because its output does not compare with the income he receives from weaving. Whereas he might make as much as L100 from his crofting activities, his income from weaving averages [651] L7-800 a year. As a married man, he can earn as much as L848 without paying income tax.

*159 233 434 654 **Income:**

Sheep:	L27/--	(three sheep sold to the slaughterhouse in Stornoway)
	1/16	("Fat Sheep Subsidy" for the three sheep that were sold)
	16/10	(Subsidy of 12 shillings each for 11 shearlings and six sheep)
	22/10	(Prize money from the Carloway Cattle Show)
	12/10	(Three lambs sold locally)
	12/ 8	(Fourteen fleece sold to the Wool Marketing Board, at an average of 3/11 per pound, or about 17/6 per fleece. The island tweed mills pay only 2/5 per pound. He has been sending his fleece to the Board for two years. Many crofters prefer not to bother with the Board, and sell their fleece to the mills. They are the only sheep-owners in Britain who have this option, because of the location of the Harris Tweed mills on the islands. But as of 1970-71, the mills refused to buy fleece.)
	L90/14	

*159 233 434 654

Cattle:	L28/--	(Calf sold)
	11/ 5	(Subsidy for the calf)
	18/ 5	(Subsidy for the cow)
	L57/10	

Total: L165/14

*159 435 246 **Costs:**

L50/—	(Fodder used from December to August; a hundredweight bag costing L2/14 is used almost every two weeks. Other crofters do not use this much.)
8/—	(Stack of oats)
6/ 8	(Oat seed for 7/8 acres)
6/—	(Tractor hired)
9/—	(Six hundredweights of fertilizer for oats and grass. For a cropping grant of L17/10, three hundredweights of fertilizer must be put on each acre of hay.)
L79/ 8	

[429] [407] [241] [654]

*159 434 435

Income:	L165/14	
Costs:	79/ 8	
Profit:	L 86/ 6	(or about L2 back for every L1 he invested)

*159 434 Net cash income or profit from the croft thus represents 9% to 10% of his gross earnings from weaving. If computed as cash, uncalculated income from the croft in the forms of garden vegetables and milk products would raise the croft income by L30 to L40. In those households that consume their own sheep, the croft contributes an even greater amount.

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airidh--see sheiling
banais--wedding dinner and dance following the church service
bannag--a party associated with New Year's Eve
boll--any of various old units of capacity used in Scotland, varying from 2 to 6 Winchester bushels
bothan--a shelter, whether a hut or old bus, etc., separate from the rest of the village, where men gather to drink alcoholic liquor (see pp. 153-156)
bramar--sweetheart
brose--a dish made by pouring boiling liquid on meal (as oatmeal) and stirring it
buaile--units of land not recognized as part of the croft and not included in the land for which rent was paid, but recognized as property by the villagers to the extent that this land could be transmitted through families or given by one person to another
caraid no h-oidhche--"companion of the night," the male visitor in the ruith na h'oidhche
ceilidh--visit
crowdie--clotted sour milk
cuddy--originally a supper due from a tenant to his lord or chief, hence a rent or gift instead of this; a bribe
curam--conversion; being careful or circumspect
curamach--the "clique of the converted"
fank--the process of bringing the sheep in from the moor, to the wooden pen into which the sheep were gathered and there claimed by their owners

firlote (firlot)--any of various old Scottish units of dry capacity equal to 1/4 boll or from 1/2 to 1 1/2 Winchester bushels
nissen hut--a barrel-shaped prefabricated shelter of corrugated iron with a cement floor
orduighean--religious communions
posadh--church service, associated with marriage
ruith no h-oidhche--night visiting, a form of bundling
sheiling--tiny stone structures used by herders while tending their cattle or sheep
siarach (west-sider)--someone from the west side of Lewis, used by people of Stornoway to refer to them; connotes rusticity
tigh fhaire--"house of watching"; the wake for the dead
waulking--the process by which wool cloth was washed and shrunk

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573
575

[For information on the curamach (the "clique of the converted"), see category 794.]

484

[For further information on travel, such as for vacations, see category 528; or for work on the mainland, see category 166.]

[For information on parishes, see categories 631 and 632.]

[For further information on land use by crofters, see categories 233 and 311.]

[For further information on parishes, see category 632.]

[For information on the various commissions involved in land tenure and its reform, see category 656.]

233
311

[For further information on land use by crofters, see category 241.]

795

[For admission of new members to the Free Church in Shawbost, by the process of communion, see categories 794 and 796.]

1: Parman

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159

[For life history materials of various members of the Shawbost community, see category 116, pp. 193-223.]

[For further information on land tenure, see category 632.]

[For further information on parishes, see category 631.]

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Lewis and Harris

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THE ISLANDS SERIES

HARRIS AND LEWIS

Outer Hebrides

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Outer Hebrides

by FRANCIS THOMPSON

[Title Page]

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000 To my wife, Margaret

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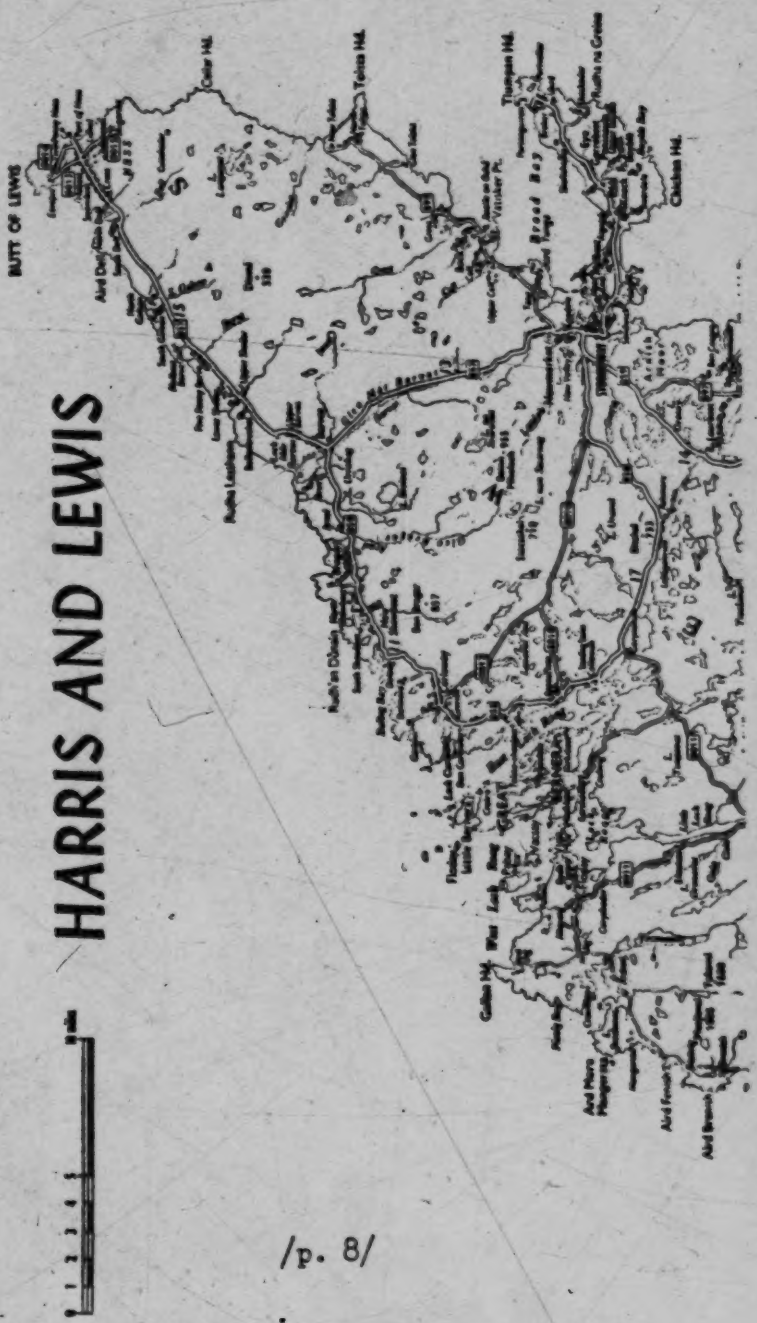

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The author wishes to thank his wife for the illustrations on pages 33, 38, 102, 141, 170.

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1 INTRODUCTION

131 THOUGH generally referred to as separate islands, Harris and Lewis are geographically speaking one island—the largest landmass in the Outer Hebrides. Its latitude is approximately 57° 40′ to 58° 40′ N; its longitude 6° to 7° W. Many have expressed surprise at the size of the island, which is over 800 square miles in extent. From top to bottom the crow's-flight distance is just over 80 miles, and from east to west about 14 miles. By road, however, the north-south journey (the Butt of Lewis to Rodel in Harris) is a good 80 miles. And by road from east to west (Tiumpan Head lighthouse to Breinish in Uig) is 54 miles.

133 Among the oldest islands of the world Harris and Lewis is
135 founded, like a strong resisting house, on rock, on gneiss said to be the oldest fragment of Europe. From a distance the tough durable Lewisian gneiss is easily recognisable as bare, barren, elongated domes and ridges, giving a hummocky appearance to the landscape. Among other rock types to be found is a patch of a few hundred acres of granite in the parish of Barvas, on the west side of Lewis; some torridonian sandstone showing on each side of Broad Bay, around Stornoway; and the tertiary basalt of the Shiant Isles. These latter islands, pin-points of high land, are geologically speaking insular outliers of Skye, though they are but a few miles or so off the Lewis coastline. Another set of islands, associated with Harris and Lewis, are the St Kildas, composed of gabbros and basalt.

The continual exposure of the rocks on the island makes it easy for those interested in geology to see just what happened those countless years ago. Sands, muds and limestones were formed in an ancient sea, to be later heated and recrystallised as volcanic eruptions occurred. During this boiling, a seasoning touch of molten granite was added. Later, still in an ancient season, the rocks were thrust up and crushed against each other to form today's geological spectacular. Dark-coloured horneblende and

INTRODUCTION

133 mica-sparkled gneiss show the intense shearing. And crushed rock,
135 known as flinty crush because it splinters so easily, adds another sight for the modern eye. The Stornoway beds, as they are called, are broadly known as torridonian sandstone, old red sandstone, or triassic; some geologists regard them as part of the pre-Cambrian torridonian series.

133 From geological evidence, twice did vast icesheets move over the rock-faces to round off the sharp corners of the island. And, as individually then as now, geologists think that there may have been a third small glaciation—a private Hebridean one. Today, the scenery bears the imprint of glacial striae or scratchings. Polished rocks show scores; lochs are gravel-damned, and there are countless small lochans and tarns formed from deep gougings in solid rock. There is some evidence too of a depression or land-sinking during a much later post-glacial time. Many times have fishermen found, far below the present high-water line, stumps of trees and buried submarine peat, the wasting remains of former
*175 land vegetation. Martin Martin, who wrote of the Western Isles
133 about 1695, said of Berneray, one of the small islands in the Sound of Harris: 'The west end of this island which looks to St Kilda, is called the wooden harbour, because the sands at low water discover several trees that have formerly grown there. Sir Norman MacLeod told me that he had seen a tree cut there, which was afterwards made into a harrow.' These vegetation remains indicate
[134] a former fertility. Volcanic action and deposit, the makings of good soil were, however, largely carried away by glacial movement to leave a thin scraping of boulder clay clinging to the base rock for dear life.

133 Lewis is largely rolling moors of blanket peat with many lochs and rivers. To the west of Lewis, in Uig, high hills begin to raise the eye. In North Harris, the hills are higher, reaching their peak in the Clisham (2,622 ft above sea level). These are not strictly speaking mountains. But they do present not a few problems to climbers, having some formidable rock-faces, and on the seaward side are virtually unscaleable cliffs. Much of the ice-moulded
[135] landscape of South Harris is rocky and barren, gneiss outcrops
[137] cover many acres in places, and are almost completely devoid of any kind of vegetation, except where, in the odd crevice, like lurk-

ing thieves, patches of heather, deer-grasses or moorland plants 133
live as they can on thin layers of peaty soil. To relieve the hard [135]
scenery there are, on sunny days, glintings of water, lochs or rivers [137]
flowing uneasily over beds of primordial rock.

Area (in acres) 131 133

	Land	Inland water	Saltmarsh	Foreshore	Tidal water	TOTAL
Harris	123,752	3,110	—	6212	105	133,178
Lewis	404,184	24,863	230	7775	150	437,200
						570,378

PEAT AND RIVERS

The peat overlays of the island are reckoned to be not much 134
more than 7,000 years old. To strengthen this figure, when the [172]
megalithic circle of Callernish, on the west of Lewis, was excavated by Sir James Matheson in 1857-8, a depth of 5 ft of peat was removed to expose the giant stones. Only the tops of these stones were showing before excavation was begun; the resultant calculation confirmed the age of this infertile blanket. Peat is decomposed organic matter without the sweetening of lime. The resulting material is sour, and highly acid in character, which checks the bacterial action necessary for good soil to be made. With compaction and age, peat becomes colloidal in texture, with a water content of about 92 per cent. Peat is still being formed in Lewis, though its progress is imperceptibly slow.

Frequent diggings have uncovered evidence that the island was 137
once densely wooded. The remains of trees, and the bones of certain animals and birds associated with savannah and woodland, add point to this. Under the blanket of peat lies what is called 135
boulder clay, glacially deposited on the gneiss rock; many acres 134
of this clay have been exposed through centuries of digging up peat for fuel. Such skinned ground is called *gearraidh*, and it 134
forms the basis of a soil which, when worked together with shell sand and seaweed, becomes quite fertile. Of natural soil, so much taken for granted in richer places in Britain, there are a few patches in Lewis, at Garrabost and Ness; the valley of Strond, near Rodel in Harris, has much strong red loam.

INTRODUCTION

133 One glance at an island map will show how numerous are the
[132] lochs. These and the short rivers and streams do their best to drain the rainwater which averages about 45 inches, with an added 10 inches or so for precipitation in the form of very fine rain or mist. That the rockbase of the island is much like an impervious saucer which overflows easily is seen shortly after a heavy rainfall. Streams and rivers become torrents of brown, foam-flecked waters tumbling to the sea or to some nearby loch. The watershed of Lewis runs from north-east to south-west, keeping about the middle of the island, except in the north where it approaches the
133 eastern side. The rivers, all quite short, have at one time in their
136 history carried good stocks of trout and salmon; some still do. The Grimersta River, though less than two miles long, is reckoned to be the best salmon river in Europe. Its waters come from the great loch and catchment area of Loch Langavat (Norse: Long Water). The River Creed, just outside Stornoway, is also known for its salmon which, in the right season of year, can be seen a tantalising arm's length away, making their way up river. Another salmon river is that beside Amhuinnsuidhe Castle in North Harris, where the salmon leap several feet over a sheer rockface to gain the upper waters. Of the lochs, virtually all abounding with trout, the largest is Loch Langavat, about six miles in length.

FLORA

137 The first reaction of the visitor to the island is to comment on the scarcity of trees. 'Treeless' is a relative term, however, for there *are* trees on the island. And the island was not always so bare. After the last Ice Age retreated some thirteen milleniums ago, the initial tundra was covered by birch scrub which developed into a wide birch-pine forest with some dense hazel undergrowth. Oak, alder, birch, pine, ash and rowan could be found. Then, with the advent of the cool, wet, sub-Atlantic period about 3,000 years ago, conditions became ideal for the formation of blanket bog and the accumulation of peat. The trees failed and fell; natural clearings formed. When the Norsemen visited the Hebrides, they found substantial areas of woodland, deteriorating, but still sufficient to attract their attention.

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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(*above*) A typical coast scene on the island: the beach at Mangersta, on the west of Lewis

/p. 17/

(*below*) Land scene at Timsgarry, Uig, Lewis

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(*above*) The car ferry *Hebrides*, at Tarbert Pier, Harris

/p. 18/

(*below*) The interior of St Clement's Church, Rodel, Harris, showing the carved tomb of Alasdair Crotach, a MacLeod of Dunvegan (d c 1547)

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FLORA

*175 137 [177] Pursuing a 'scorched-earth' policy, a Norse leader, Magnus Barefleg, on a punitive expedition to Lewis in 1098 destroyed much of the island's natural surface resources. Trees were a particular target. Following this wanton destruction, the shrinkage of wooded areas in the island was accelerated by the requirements of the [136] population and by the developing peat. Captain Dymes, an Englishman who visited Lewis in 1630 in connection with Charles I's fishery schemes, reported 'there are many eagles and hawks in the isle which breed in the clefts of rocks, for this place is so destitute of wood that there is not one tree growing in the whole island.' Martin Martin almost confirmed this a generation later: 'I saw big roots of trees at the head of Loch Erisort, and there is about a hundred young birch and hazel trees on the southwest side of Loch Stornoway, but there is no more wood on the island.' Before Sir James and Lady Matheson came to Lewis in 1844, the MacKenzie gardens outside the old Seaforth Lodge, where Lews Castle now stands, had many fruiting apple trees.

The mention in 1695 of the Stornoway plantation is interesting, for it is here that today stands the greatest concentration of trees in the whole of the Hebrides, in the grounds of Lews Castle. Some 300 acres of trees here, mostly conifers, but with some hardwoods and deciduous trees, were planted by Lady Matheson about a century ago. Soil had to be transported from the mainland to supplement the scanty layer of peat which overlay the hard Lewis rock. Another of Lady Matheson's legacies is a small area at Achmore, one of the few townships to be found inland, far from the sea. Here, larch and other conifers grew well and would be there today had not a fierce gale blown them down in 1921. There 137 are some ninety-year-old Corsican pines at the head of Little Loch Roag. Another plantation of deciduous and coniferous trees can be found at Grimersta on the Atlantic coast of Lewis, and two more small areas of trees are at Scalisgro, on the east side of Lewis, and in Glen Valtos. In Harris, there are some magnificent sycamores at Tarbert; and at Borve, on the west side of the island, are several acres of stunted mountain pines. In addition, dwarf rowans cover many tiny islands in the lochs.

137 132 Natural tree growth is impossible in most areas because of the peat. The strong and frequent winds are also a deterrent. The

INTRODUCTION

137 isopeths of average wind-speed show an overall figure of 17·5
132 mph. Winds of gale force (8 or more on the Beaufort Scale) occur in Stornoway about twenty times a year, and blow for an annual average of about 378 hours, loosening trees from the shallow ground and stunting growth. Yet another factor is the fine salt spray, 'small rain with salt in it from the sea', which is carried far inland over the island, the prevailing winds blowing straight off the Atlantic Ocean in a south-westerly to westerly direction.

137 The flora of Harris and Lewis merits a full volume on its own.
133 Far from being sterile, the moors, the hills, the machar-lands, the islets in the lochs, all present subjects of great interest. To the botanist, the island is a region of moorland with loch, marsh, bog, burn and high hills, with sometimes extensive patches of the old man's skin protruding to show the Lewisian gneiss. Variation is offered by the addition of rocky hill-slopes, fine sea-cliffs and shingly bays; sandy parts add to the floral variety, richest in the marine outreaches. To catalogue the flora is to list names which can be appreciated only by seeing the plants themselves in the habitat which they have taken as their own, much as the Hebridean *homo sapiens* has taken to himself the 'savage' country which awed early tourists. Rare species have been found by visiting botanists, and are discussed in the work of Professor Heslop Harrison and his group from Durham University. There is colour aplenty at all seasons of the year in the island; one merely needs to train the eye to look for it, to find, for example, those miniature woodlands in such places as the gorge of the river Amhuinn Gillan Tallair, in south Harris. And in particular, one might mention the blaze of whins around Stornoway; the luxuriant wild growth on the sandy machar-lands in Uig; just north of Stornoway, and at Ness; the miniature sieges of growth on the lochs' islands; and the Alpine plants associated with the higher reaches of land in Uig and North Harris.

Whereas the land is a relatively poor place, the sea is rich, and so is the flora and bird-life to be found round its shores. Near the shore line the grass has a sweet taste liked by sheep. Much of the flora is typical of the island, suited to withstanding the lack of humus to act as a sponge for water, and the paucity of soil for roots. Marram grass, scurvy grass, sea pink, sea campion, thrift

133 and pearlwort are all to be found. It is not often that a plant is
137 given some measure of authority over the affairs of man: but the marram grass—known as 'bent', but not to be confused with the grass botanically referred to as bent *(Agrostis sp)*—is vital in stabilising the sand of the machar-lands; unless grazed or cut, with its dense network of roots it anchors the sand in perpetuity. With
[231] the marram, the sea-sedge works hard to form a green coverlet over the sand, and acts as host to other plants, the shell-sand grassland offering excellent grazing for crofters' stock.

137 The richness of the flora of the macharland has been sung many times, and little wonder. It holds a multitude of what can be called plebian plants such as ragwort, buttercup, daisy, kidney vetch, bird's-foot trefoil, tufted vetch, gentian and primrose. Unfortunately the heavy grazing of these stretches of land results in many plants never being given the opportunity to develop and flower for the plentiful propagation of their species.

FAUNA

136 The entomologist will also find much of interest. The Hebrides have their own bumble-bee *(Bombus jonellus* var. *hebridensis)*, found nowhere else in the world. Other insects too have found an insular form, adding their rich thread to the weave of natural history in the region: the Dark Green Fritillary butterfly and the Green-veined White. Moths there are in abundance, some such as the Gray Dagger perhaps indicating the existence of woodland conditions in a past time. The abundance of lochs, streams and marshy grounds gives an abundance of dragon-flies and caddis-flies, eight species of which are represented.

Of wild animal life, however, the list is short, due to lack of shelter and poor ground. The red deer is found in the hilly fastnesses of Harris and the Park district of Lewis, though the deer are small, and well poached as one might expect where the density of human population is high. The pine marten, until the 1810s, lived in the region near the Clisham. A rare bat, the pipistrelle, has been found at Rodel. Rats, mice, rabbits, hares and otters are of course to be found.

The interior of the island is poor in bird life, but round the

INTRODUCTION

[136 113] coasts there is a wonderful richness—one might well spend an hour or so with J. A. Harvie-Brown's *A Fauna of the Outer Hebrides*. The Hebrides area is one of the twelve faunal regions of Scotland, and is becoming increasingly the spotting-ground for amateur and professional ornithologists. They see birds such as the skua and red-necked phalarope, breeding at the southernmost limits of their range. The golden eagle, corncrake and red-throated diver, though found in other parts of Scotland, are more plentiful in the region because of the low incidence of human interference; buzzard, merlin and peregrine falcon are also found. Many birds are peculiar to the area: there are Hebridean sub-species of twite, dunnock, song-thrush and wren. Since 1962 the blue tit has begun to colonise the Stornoway woods. And 1960 saw the first arrival of the collared dove, an incomer which, like many a human, has taken a liking to the place and settled down to establish its flourishing community. On Gallows Hill, a low rising overlooking Stornoway, is a large rookery; rooks first reached the island in 1893. Jackdaws arrived at the turn of the century and are now quite numerous. As might be expected, the adjacent harbour and foreshore of Stornoway provide a suitable area for purple sandpipers, turnstone, heron and redshank. Gulls abound. The estuary area just north of Stornoway is the haunt of widgeon, shellduck and teal, among many other birds; a ruff was seen there in 1956. Melbost beach has the largest ternery in the islands, with arctic, common and little terns sharing life together.

The birds on the shore line are mostly waders, divers, ducks and seabirds. Cormorant, shag, gannet, fulmar, arctic skua, terns, gulls of all kinds and oyster-catchers can be found. The full variety of the island's bird life can be seen by visiting not only those sloping lands to the sea, but the cliff-tops, which often have their own numerous bird colonies. The sea's edge, with the push-pull tides, is indeed another area with abundant life of all kinds. Bladder-wrack *(fucus vesiculosus)* and knotted wrack *(ascophyllum nodosum)* are there in great quantity, the latter now a significant factor [137 824 241] in seaweed-processing activities (Chapter 6). From time immemorial, seaweeds have been a natural resource in the island's economy, used as manure to supply the necessary element of organic matter to keep the land in good heart. Keeping the sea-

Keepint the sea-
136 weeds company are the whelks, razor-fish, limpets and mussels,
[262] winkles and barnacles, many once used for food, but now left to grow in great numbers, to the delight of seabirds.

For anyone who wishes to have a full list of the richness of fishes found in the inshore waters of the island, there is the Harvie-Brown and Buckley volume (1888) in the *Vertebrate Fauna of Scotland* series. Of the ocean fauna, most famous of course are the common and the grey or Atlantic seals, the latter being one of the largest and most robust of British mammals. A great breeding place for the common seal is the island of Shillay, which lies a mile or two from Pabbay, off the western end of the Sound of Harris. All the island's outliers, North Rona, Sulasgeir and the Shiants, afford a place for breeding. The basking shark, the porpoise, and the blue shark are among other large creatures that frequently haunt Hebridean sea-waters.

LAND WEALTH

135 In minerals the island is poor. Feldspar was quarried in Harris
316 during the second world war, but it is doubtful whether the workings were economic. The feldspar quarries opened at Lingerbay and Northton in South Harris in 1941 employed some sixty men, the material being sent from Leverburgh for use in the Staffordshire Potteries, for the manufacture of porcelain insulators. The high-grade mineral found in Scandinavia, and the better transport facilities there, led to the close-down of the Harris quarries. At Lingerbay, however, a small quarry yields anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive for cleaning products. A recent survey discovered deposits of asbestos on the island of Scarp to the west of Harris.

135 For some reason there has been, through the centuries, a be-
#175 lief in the mineral wealth of Lewis. As far back as 1616 the records of the Privy Council show an entry: 'Ane patent ardanit to be past to Archibald Prymrois of the copper and lead mynes in Ila, Sky and Lewis.' The Fife Adventurers and the last Lord Seaforth were also optimistic. Lord Seaforth went so far as to commission a survey on the resources of the island by a mineralogist, the Rev James Headrick, in 1800. Nothing much followed Mr

INTRODUCTION

135 Headrick's recommendations. However, he promised to make ex-
*175 periments on the economic value of the 'bog-ore of iron' found in many parts of the island, with a view to making bar-iron. Peat was to be used as a fuel for smelting.

376 With so much water on the island, it is natural to expect to find some of it harnessed for the generation of electricity. The Gisla hydro-electric scheme is on the west of Lewis, to the west of the shores of Little Loch Roag. The Harris scheme is at Loch Chliostair, at the foot of the three peaks of Tirgamore (2,227 ft), Ullaval (2,135), and Oreval (2,165). Some 12 per cent of the island's total electricity production is generated thus, the remainder being diesel generation at Stornoway (see Chapter 11).

133 Next to water, the island's most readily available resource is its
134 stifling blanket of peat, which covers more than 80 per cent of Lewis's land area. It has had a more than significant effect on the natural history of the area, its scenery and the human element.
*[175] When the deposits were examined in varying detail in 1910-11, it was estimated that they covered no less than 230 square miles, in depths up to 16·5 ft; the average depth of peat over the whole
314 island was assessed at 5 ft. On this basis the deposits would con-
*175 tain approximately 85 million tons of solids. A survey carried out by the Peat Section of the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland in 1952 indicated that the earlier estimates were slightly high.

In 1946-7 the Ministry of Fuel & Power reconnoitred the peat deposits on both sides of the Stornoway-Barvas road and indicated that these were suitable for large-scale utilisation. Yet today, despite these Government-backed investigations, the peat deposits of Lewis are still used only for domestic fuel. One of the points made in a 1952 survey was that the area was generally firm enough to take the weight of various bog machines for digging and milling. Another point was that the calorific values of ten out of twelve peat samples were in excess of 10,000 BTU/lb.

CLIMATE

132 The rainfall has already been mentioned, averaging an annual 43 inches, according to readings taken at the Meteorological

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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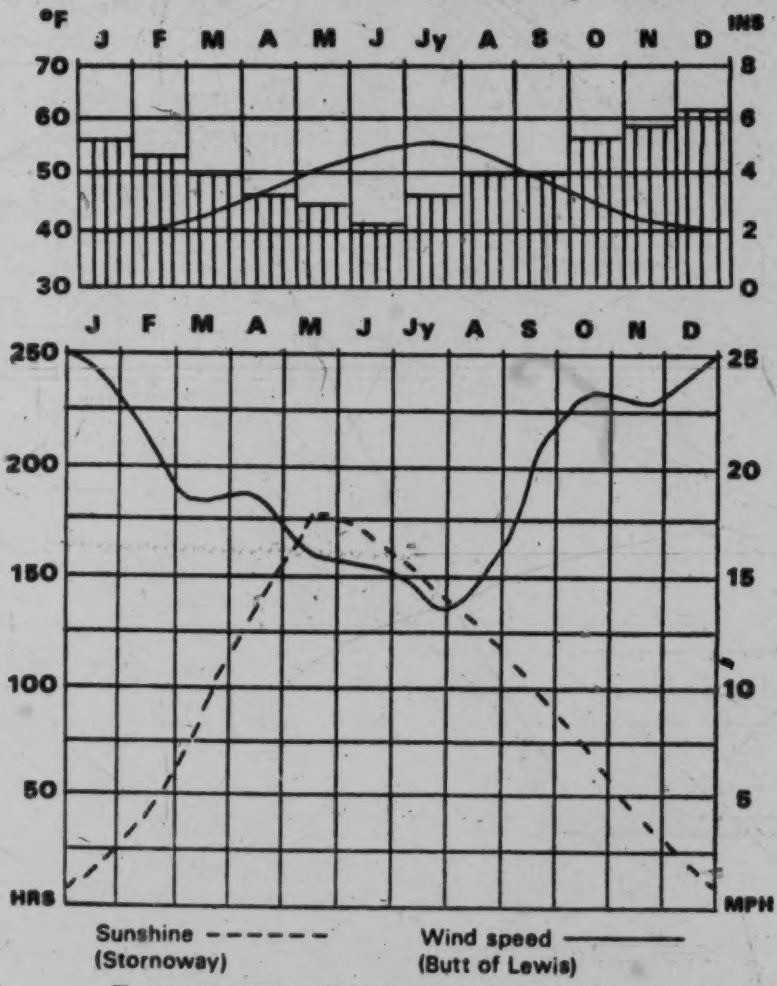
Station of the Air Ministry at Stornoway Airport. About 45 per cent of the rain falls during the months of April to September inclusive. The annual average of days without rain is about 122, so that some rain is expected on two days out of every three. May to August is of course the driest period, averaging about fourteen rainless days. The sunshine record shows more sun on the east coast than on the west, as one might expect. The annual 132



Temperature and precipitation; sunshine and windspeed

INTRODUCTION

132 average of hours of sunshine is only 1,100 to 1,200, the long-term monthly average of sunshine hours for Stornoway being; May, 195; June, 173; July, 128; August, 133; September, 111. Reducing temperatures quoted to a mean sea level, the range is about 8° C (55° F), from the mean of 6° C (44° F) in January. This January mean is relatively high—compared with the 3° C (38° F) for Cambridge, some several hundred miles farther south—and is due to the body of warm Atlantic water which originates in the Gulf of Mexico. The winter isotherm trend is north to south, emphasising the predominant influence of the Atlantic Ocean as a source of comparative warmth. Snow lies on an annual mean of five mornings each year (Paisley, 10; Edinburgh, 10; Nairn, 20). Also, summer temperatures are lower than those of the south of Scotland and of England. There are, however, much longer hours of summer daylight, a feature of high latitudes.

2 ECOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

361 133 THE population of the island huddles round the coastline as round a central hearth. This is mainly because the inland parts of the island are either barren, as in Harris, or infertile bog, as in Lewis. Much of the south Hebrides has, on the west coast, the extremely fertile macharland, but Harris and Lewis do not have these useful patches. The macharland is land built on shell sand and dressed with fertilizing seaweed; it forms a fertile fringe, no more than a belt of varying width between the sea and the acid peat bog on the inland side. Where this land does occur, mainly on the west coast of the island, townships crowd round it for the good growing it can give. The other reason for the [262] attraction of the coast is the obvious one: the close proximity, on the doorstep, of a change of diet, shellfish and inshore fish such as whiting, cod, haddock and mackerel. The exceptions to this coastal grouping are Achmore, Cliascro, and Lochganvich in Lewis.

133 There is a great physiographical difference between the east and west coasts of the island, this apart from the incidence of macharland on the west coast. The eastern side is steeper to the sea; though sheer cliffs occur at Gallan Head, West Loch Roag. The south-western coastline has high, almost sheer cliffs with few inlets or sheltered harbourages excepting Loch Roag, a magnificent inlet, sheltered at its farthest inland penetration by Great Bernera. The coast on this island side often presents rocky teeth to the Atlantic's buffeting; and often suddenly falls down to sea level to display wide stretches of sand. Uig Bay, where the Red [463] River runs into the sea, is a breath-taking sweep of whiteness. The eastern coast is generally rocky but has more inlets, lochs which carry townships mainly engaged in fishing or tweed manufacture.

ECOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

361 The crofting township is not quite akin to the English or Lowland village. Primarily it is a collection of dwellings of families who, as social units, gain their subsistence from the land surrounding the houses. The smallest number for a township is four
476 family units. A functional unit of four men was the minimum necessary for a boat crew, or for the teamwork necessary to cultivate land; co-operation was essential if all four families were to survive. And from this grew the same spirit of communal work which in Lewis is seen at its best in the efforts to reclaim peat bog and turn it into fertile grassland.

361 Hebridean townships come close to being the nearest approach
[565] to a classless society. The shape of a township is largely dictated by the nature of the surrounding land. The shape of most of those in Harris and in Lewis is either scattered or linear (houses disposed in line at varying distances from each other), with little natural
[491] cover, either plantation or scrub. Often the main road runs through the township; some have begun to develop lateral roads, to give, from the air, the appearance of planning on a grid system.
244 Where gardens are cultivated, the produce tends to be a summer vegetable supply for the household, little if any finding its way to
372 Stornoway shops for sale. Peat is the usual fuel, though in townships near to the centres of Tarbert and Stornoway coal is burned; the cost of freight, however, makes it expensive.

471 Most of the townships are owned by commercial companies; individual lairds own some five dozen; the remainder belong to public bodies and trusts. The actual distribution of ownership of land on the island is as follows. Harris is virtually owned by individual lairds; a small percentage is owned by commercial companies. The Lochs region of Lewis has a mixed ownership: commercial companies, lairds, and public trust, the former being the largest. Stornoway parish is wholly owned by public trust. The Ness district is virtually the property of commercial companies; a small fraction belongs to public trust. The Uig district is the same, the smaller proportion, less than 10 per cent, being the concern of an individual laird.

In Lewis, the public body mentioned is the Stornoway Trust,

In Lewis, the public body mentioned is the Stornoway trust, the only one of its kind in the Highlands: when Lewis was sold by Lord Leverhulme in 1923, the parish of Stornoway Landward was given to the townspeople who, in effect, became shareholders in the trust, formed to administer the estate. A resident factor in Stornoway is answerable to a small council of the residents. Commercial companies as owners appeared on the scene in Lewis after the lands were offered for sale when Leverhulme pulled out of his efforts to industrialise the Lewis folk. Considerable tracts of land were sold for as little as £500; some at 1p per acre. The salmon and trout fishings were, of course, a major attraction. Some small-acreage estates were bought in Harris and Lewis by speculators with island connections.

THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

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STORNOWAY

In contrast to the straggling and quite casual townships of the rural areas of the island, Stornoway has logic in its layout. The harbour and the grounds of Lews Castle have given the town a magnificent setting and a useful green belt surrounds it. The outlying villages, however, tend to be miracles of chaos, showing both architectural and planning anarchy. These only serve to add point to the more formal layout of Stornoway with its regular streets, some casual variation adding interest.

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The town itself grew in recognisable stages. The first was centred on the small peninsula known as the Point Street area. This land finger protected the inner harbour of the Bayhead River and on it grew the nucleus of the town, beside old Stornoway Castle, once perched on a rocky islet and now existing as rubble under the steamer pier. Protection from storm was not really provided until the nineteenth century, when a quay was built with space for marketing and handling herring. About the seventeenth century, houses began to string themselves out along the shores on the side of the inner harbour (Bayhead Street and Cromwell Street) and on that side of the outer harbour called Newton Street. From the nineteenth century until about 1914, two-storey, flatted tenements, hotels and middle-class houses were built on a grid plan that followed on old field layouts and the associated ditches. Some of the present-day roads, such as James Street, follow these

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[504]

361 ditches, indicating perhaps the love of old-time planners for
*175 following existing lines and patterns. A plan of Stornoway drawn up by a John Wood in 1821 shows the town's development along definite grid lines with a few main streets, most of which were comparatively long and running south-north, seawards to landwards.

In 1918, when Lord Leverhulme made his bid to centralise the scattered, failing fishing industry of the island at Stornoway, he envisaged a further stage for the town. He began to build new houses, and had a grandiose proposal to reopen the diagonal arrangement indicated in John Wood's plan and centre it on some great new building. This fell through on his departure from Lewis; and since then, building here has become much the same as on the Scottish mainland.

361 In more recent years Stornoway has seen a kind of suburban development with, in particular, a new housing scheme of private dwellings in the same area as that proposed by John Wood.
[346] This area also contains the new primary school. A recent estimate of the cost of the building work, involving new houses and municipal facilities, amounted to almost £3 million. Municipal
[362] housing has been provided in smaller areas cleared of older houses. Of the 1600 houses in the Burgh, 50 per cent belong to the Burgh Council or the County Council, the balance being private.

s2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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3 HISTORY

*175 FOR all that Harris and Lewis are remote and relatively inaccessible, their history has not been particularly insular. Out of all proportion to its size, the island has made a significant contribution to each developing phase of Scottish, British and Commonwealth history. Even European and American history have Hebridean touches. In a local context, each district in the island has a parti-coloured backcloth of history, of tradition, and of story against which life and events were enacted by each succeeding generation.

*175 103 Before the era of charters, Harris was a political part of Lewis. The name is derived from 'heradh', meaning a district (equivalent to the modern parish). The word 'Lewis' has been tackled by etymologists who have extracted such meanings as 'light', 'Liot's dwelling', 'wharf' and the romantic 'songhouse'. But nearer the mark is 'a place abounding in pools', which it is. In its earliest form 'Lewis' appears in an Irish MS, the original of which is ascribed to a contemporary of the Irish king Brian Boroimhe (Brian Boru of the pipes fame).

The MS describes the Battle of Clontarf in 1014, at which Norsemen from Lewis fought against the Irish. It has been suggested that even before this time there was another name for Lewis. Pliny, Ptolemy and Solinus all place on their maps a variation of 'Hebrides': Hebudes, Ebudae. According to a Gaulish glossary, 'ebudae' means *terrains incultes*; and 'ebeid' is a British word meaning cornless. Solinus, writing in the third century BC, states that the inhabitants of the Hebrides did not know the use of corn, and lived entirely on fish and milk.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS

172 Where does history begin? That there was a pre-history is evidenced mainly by the multilithic and monolithic erections to be found in various parts of the island. The abundance and character

HISTORY

172 of these prehistoric remains indicates that before the Christian era began the island supported a considerable population. Generally speaking, the remains left by unrecorded history indicate three phases of cultural and economic development: the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age. The dates usually associated with these 'ages' are approximate where the island is concerned. Because of their remoteness and isolation, the inhabitants may well have reached, say, the Bronze Age state of civilisation at a much later date than did people living in more direct contact with civilising influences. It has been conjectured that, where Lewis is concerned, peat several feet thick may have covered much of the ground which, in another time, was cultivated and lived on; and that the peat blanket hides the remains of very old constructions. Chambered cairns, duns or forts (round towers) built in lochs, by the seashore and on promontories, galleried duns, earth houses, standing stones, stone circles and ecclesiastical ruins are all to be found.

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The duns, or brochs, are believed to have had a defensive function, acting as lookout towers. Primitive dwellings would have been scattered nearby, with generally free-ranging livestock. If attack threatened, inhabitants and cattle together entered the tower, whose double walls held rough but welcome compartments for temporary living during the siege. Sometimes a dun was built on an islet in a freshwater loch, such as Dun Cromore in the Lochs district of Lewis; there is a similar example in Loch Bharabhat in Uig. A stone causeway connects each with the nearest point on the loch shore. Many of these causeways had a rocking-stone, a stepping stone so placed that the weight of a foot on it rocked it enough to warn the inmates of the dun that someone was approaching.

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The most famous of the round towers is at Carloway, perched on the crest of a rocky slope on the west coast of Lewis near the crofting township of that name and overlooking much of Loch Roag. Its average external diameter is 47 ft, the walls varying in thickness from 10 to 12 ft. Though in a ruinous state, one side of its wall is still some 30 ft high. Dun Carloway is, after the broch on the Shetland isle of Mousa, the finest example of its kind in the country. About eight miles from Carloway, at Bragar, is Dun

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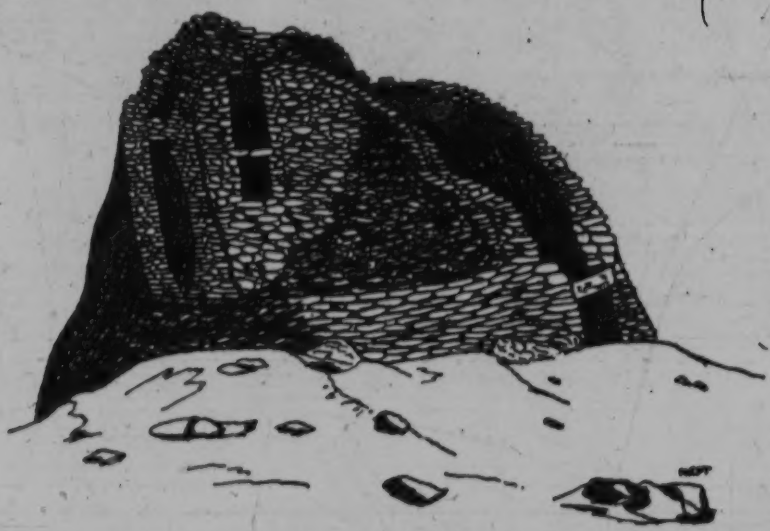
Loch an Duna, now just a ruin. However, when Martin Martin 172
saw it in 1695 (he seems to have ignored Dun Carloway), he described it as 'of a round form, made taperwise towards the top, and is three stories high: the wall is double, and hath several doors and stairs, so that one may go round within the wall.'

Most people have heard of the Callernish stones, and rightly so. For of all the world's megalithic monuments, only Callernish in Lewis is known to be arranged in the form of the Christian



The ruined broch or dun at Dun Carloway, on the west of Lewis. It was inhabited until the early eighteenth century, and ranks with the broch at Mousa, Shetlands, as a fine example of this type of structure. The purpose of these buildings is still debated

cross: a stone circle and four avenues of stones leading from it. It is reckoned that this stone circle was a great religious centre on a par with Stonehenge, Avebury and Carnac. There are a number of standing stones elsewhere in the island, both in Harris and Lewis; these stand singly or in small groups. Within four miles of Callernish are no less than seven smaller stone circles, and of these, including Callernish, three surround burial cairns. The Callernish circle is placed on a small rocky promontory of Loch Roag, easy to reach from both north and south parts of the island, with good

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172 anchorage in the Loch. The circle enclosing the cairn consists of thirteen stones and has a diameter of some 37 ft. The avenue, which approaches from the north, contains nineteen stones. It is 27 ft wide and 270 ft long; it forms the long limb of the cross plan of the design. Southward was another shorter avenue of twelve stones; and eastwards and westwards two lines of four stones each, thus completing the cross design. The stones range in height from 3½ to 15½ ft. Each is packed in at its base with small stones to keep it firmly in position. There are signs that Callernish, like Stonehenge, was built in stages. The material, unlike that used for Stonehenge, was from local sources (often Lewisian gneiss).

In the Sound of Harris, on the small island of Berneray, there are two stone circles of some interest. Scattered through Harris and Lewis there are also many solitary stones to be seen: at Borvemore, in Harris, which appears to have been one of a circle, and at Nisabost, also in Harris, where stands Clach MhicLeoid (MacLeod's Stone). Another standing stone is on the edge of the rocks by the shore, just below the church, on Boreray, one of the now-uninhabited islands in the Harris Sound. In Lewis, the menhir which figures most in story and legend is the Clach an Truiseil, on the gentle slope of a hillside near to Balantrusal, on the west coast. Nineteen feet of this stone are above ground. It is about 6 ft in width; nearly 4 ft at its maximum thickness. The tradition in Lewis is that the stone was erected to commemorate a victory by the Morisons of Ness over their long-standing enemies the MacAulays of Uig; of course the stone is older than any of the Lewis clans.

[113] For a full inventory of the ancient and historical monuments, one is referred to the 1928 Report of the Royal Commission which was set up to record such constructions in the Outer
172 Hebrides. Apart from those items of pre-Christian years, there are
346 a number of other structures with an ecclesiological reference: Teampull Eoin, at Bragar; Teampull Pheadair, at Shader; Teampull Bhrighid, at Mid-Borve; Teampull nan Cro Naomh, at Galson; Teampull Ronaidh, at Eoropie, and others. These latter, together with the Tigh nan Cailleachan Dubh (house of the black old women), indicate a reasonable degree of saturation by some form of religious recognition; the names suggest a period about halfway

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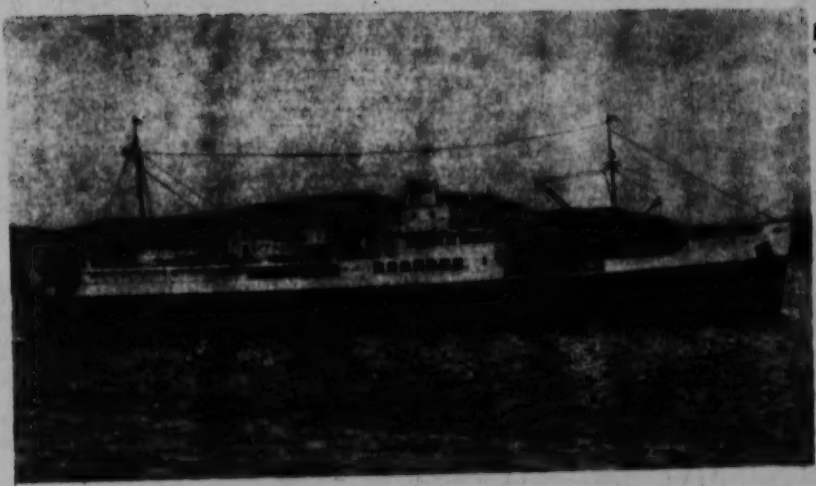
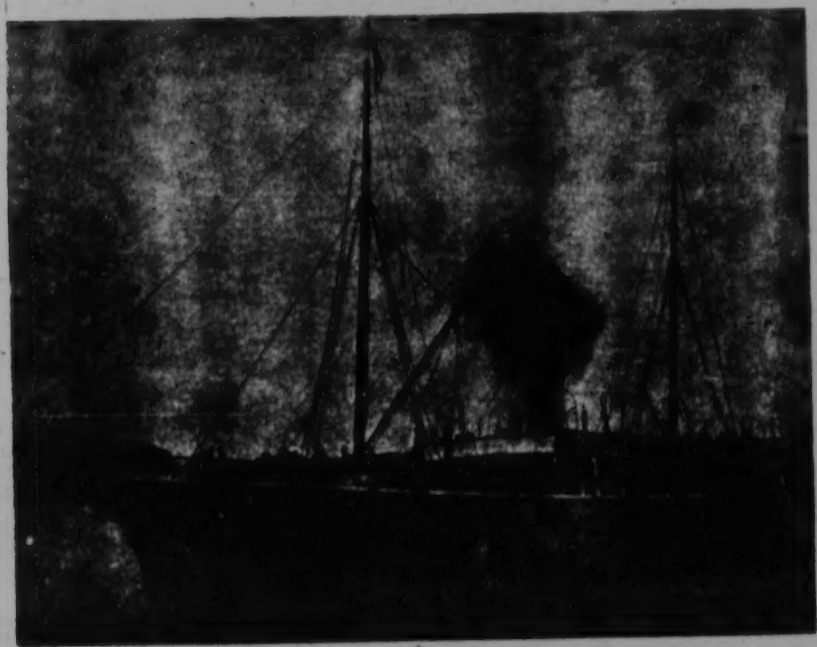


(*above*) The TSMV *Loch Seaforth*, built in 1947, on the Stornoway–Mallaig run until 1972

/p. 35/

(*below*) The SS *Clapmore* (1881–1931). The first ship built for the fleet of David MacBrayne Ltd



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(*above*) Drifnet fishing boats in Stornoway harbour. The new boats to form the basis for the island fleet of the future will be seine-net and dual-purpose

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(*below*) The Lewis village of Gravir, showing small fishing boats in Loch Odhairn, 1932

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2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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to AD 1000. The base of the missionary work was most probably Iona. The old Celtic Church, with its monastic basis, sent out many who sought the hardship and solitude of life in the islands of the Hebrides as a means of example to the inhabitants. Today, the ancient cell sites, churches, burial-places, are in ruins, no more than a heap of grass-covered stones meriting scarcely a glance. Even on the outlier islands, such as the Shiants in the Minch and the Flannans in the Atlantic, are found these relics of ancient sites where the religious element was strong, overriding enough to be carried to the present day in traditional form. 172 346 [197]

From time to time archaeological finds are made in various parts of the island. Perhaps the most famous was the discovery of the Uig Chessmen, to be seen today in the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh and in the Ivory Room of the British Museum. In the spring of 1831 an exceptionally high tide, with a gale wind, undermined and carried away a considerable portion of a sand-bank at Ardroil, in Uig. A small stone building, like an oven, was exposed at some depth below the surrounding ground level. A crofter who happened to be working nearby saw this and, excited by curiosity, broke into the structure. On seeing what he thought to be an assembly of elves and gnomes, he fled home in great distress. His wife, of a bolder nature, went to see for herself and recovered ninety-two pieces of ivory figures: fourteen draughtsmen, eight kings, eight queens, thirteen bishops, fifteen knights, and twelve footmen or pawns. These chess pieces, carved out of walrus ivory, date from about 1140 to 1160; they are of Norse origin, though probably carved by monastics who knew in detail the dress of the dignitaries which make up the set. 172

Some details of how the people of the Western Isles lived 3,800 years ago were revealed in an archaeological excavation in Northton in 1966. This site showed evidence of more or less continuous habitation from the late Stone Age onwards; as each succeeding layer of sand was taken away (it was excavated to a depth of some 14 ft), centuries-old stages of habitation were revealed. The higher levels of the site belong to the Iron Age; the earlier levels date back to the late Neolithic/early Bronze Age (about 1800 BC). Such sites as this are extremely rare in Europe, and Northton is the only one of its date in Scotland. Many fragments of the pottery known

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Artist's impression of some of the twelfth-century walrus-ivory chess pieces found at Uig in 1831

as beaker ware, from its distinctive shape, were recovered. The diet of these early Harris folk appears to have been largely shellfish, particularly limpets. The house of the latest period is ruined; three courses of walling were revealed.

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Placenames have often been a mirror of history. The biggest event in Harris and Lewis's history was the Norse invasion, commemorated in the names of many townships that still exist: Ness (nes, headland), Arnish (Ari's ness), Erisort (Eri's firth), Carloway (Karli's bay). But the Gaelic is there too: Loch Shell (Sealg, chase or hunt, thus endorsing Dean Monro's statement that this loch bordered a deer-forest), and similar topographical features. While the Norse names are to be found on the island coasts (the bosts and stads), the Gaelic names are largely found in the interior (eg, Airidhs—sheilings).

FIRE AND SWORD

Recorded history begins with the Icelandic sagas. In 1098 Magnus Bareleg plundered Lewis and devastated the island with both fire and sword. A skald named Bjorr Cripplehand, who accompanied Magnus on the expedition, reported that 'Fire played in the fig-trees of Liodhus; it mounted up to heaven. Far and wide the people were driven to flight. The fire gushed out of the houses.' The *Irish Annals* tell us that Skye was pillaged by the Norse in 794, and no doubt Lewis did not escape their attentions, then or earlier. Towards the end of the ninth century a stream of Norse folk left their homes to start the work of colonisation. Iceland, the Faroes, the Orkneys, the Shetlands and the Hebrides soon became thriving communities in which the earlier native population were as thralls, serving ruthless masters. 175* 175* 648 167

By about AD 1000, the island, with others as far south as Man, was in the sure and steady grip of men of Scandinavian or semi-Scandinavian origin, who were destined to become premier clans such as Clan Donald. It was not until the Battle of Largs in 1263 that this grip was loosened. In 1266 the Western Isles were ceded by Norway to Scotland, following which event the Gaelic people and their former Norse masters were soon to be merged in the marriage bed. As for the common language, it was the Celtic elements which took over after, one supposes, some generations of suppression. The result in any case was a highly individual people, strong in character, and resilient enough to take the rough times with the smooth. [197]

In the thirteenth century, Harris was in the possession of the MacLeods of Harris, and Lewis belonged to three powerful clans: the Morisons in Ness, the MacAulays in Uig, and the MacLeods of Lewis in the remainder of the island. Other smaller clans were the MacIvers, the MacRaes, and the Nicolsons. The Harris MacLeods were allied by kinship to the Lewis MacLeods, though the relationship was to become quite distant—and their destiny more fortunate. History from this time is one of disputes, internecine warfare, murders, and similar crises deemed to be of the highest importance by the clans, both inside the island and between the islanders and strangers. An enormous amount of blood was spilled 175* 614 [551]

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*175 in the following two centuries as clan rivalry, with its claims and [614] counter-claims for territorial and other rights, was predominant. Generally, what could not be taken by intermarriage was snatched by fiercer means.

Though these times generated a tradition of extraordinary richness, one must wonder what would have been the result had more attention been spared for the development of the island. Progress was retarded. The lawlessness was not worse than that endemic on much of the Scottish and English mainland or in Europe, but the island was of course more cut off from the gradual infiltration of civilising agencies and influences; at some times in its history it was found to be more than a century behind even the rest of Scotland.

MOVEMENTS TOWARD CIVILISATION

*175 And what was the Scots Government in Edinburgh doing about 657 the Western Isles? In the Middle Ages, the answer is very little. 614 It had enough troubles of its own without endeavouring to police the clan warfare in that remote part of the kingdom; in any case the islands of the west were difficult to get to and probably best left alone. This attitude did not hold indefinitely. Once the semblance of peaceful conditions was established throughout the Scottish mainland, attention was duly focused further afield. In 1506 Stornoway Castle was beseiged and captured by the Earl of Huntly—the first time cannon and gunpowder were used in the Western Isles, and the first of a number of punitive expeditions arranged to bring the unruly clans to heel.

*175 One of the leaders of disorder at this time was Roderic Mac-657 Leod of Lewis, and it was to parley with him that no less a person 614 than James V decided to visit the island. In 1540 James, with 643 devastating swiftness, determined to quell these fighting chiefs once and for all, arrived to examine conditions on the spot. Titles to land were closely looked at and the equivalent of our 'small print' read carefully. All the chiefs who owned anything in the islands were forced to accompany the King on his tour of inspection. No doubt this close contact resulted in James becoming as fluent in the Gaelic language as his father had been in his time.

MOVEMENTS TOWARDS CIVILISATION

For Gaelic was still spoken in most parts of Scotland, and it was 175*
the language which the chiefs themselves understood to the last 657
fine shade. James's visit was followed by a period of unusual calm, 614
ensured by the detention of hostages; in Lewis, the brew of trouble 643
had been turned down to a simmer.

After the death of the chief of the Lewis MacLeods, Roderic, 175*
however, rival dynastic claims turned up the heat again. New- (614)
comers appeared on the scene: the MacKenzies of Kintail. Carefully they manipulated the events of history, indeed twisted them, until with the Crown on their side they had established beyond doubt that they were legally entitled to Lewis. In many ways, Lewis was fortunate in its new proprietor, Kenneth MacKenzie, Lord Kintail. Both he and his successor, Colin, the first Earl of Seaforth, were enlightened men, of different calibre from those they had displaced. They were in close contact with the immediate outside world, the emerging Scotland; and they were familiar with the amenities which that world offered. They were also aware of the needs of a community little removed from the early phases of cultural progress. In particular Seaforth, a man of ability and foresight, recognised, as did others before him, that the prosperity of the island had to be based on fish. He was also aware of the value of strong connections with Church and education. The Lewis historian, W. C. MacKenzie, writes:

> At the end of the seventeenth century, the picture we have of Lewis is that of a people pursuing their avocations in peace, but not in plenty. The Seaforths had been extravagant, and the people had to pay for their extravagances; they were politicians, and the people had to pay for their politics. Yet, it is clear that, besides establishing orderly Government in the island, they had done a good deal to rescue the people from the slough of ignorance and incivility in which they found themselves immersed. But in the sphere of economics their policy apparently was of little service to the community.

Under the Seaforths, Lewis became involved in external affairs. 175*
During the times of the Covenanting troubles, it sent a contingent 648
to the Battle of Auldearn, where the Covenanters were defeated by Montrose. At the Battle of Worcester, one of the two leaders of the thousand MacLeods taking part in that 'stiff fight' was

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Norman MacLeod, of Bernera, Harris. The result of the Seaforth family becoming involved in royalist activities was that Lewis was occupied by a Cromwellian garrison. Their station was close by old Stornoway Castle, now a heap of rubble under Stornoway's modern quays; and later a fort was built from the stones of the Castle, broken down by the English. The affair of the 'Fifteen', 1715, again brought Lewis into prominence. And a considerable part of the force raised for the Earl of Mar was recruited there. Four years later, plans for yet another Rising were hatched out at Seaforth Lodge, near where Lews Castle now stands. Only indirectly was Lewis involved in the last rising, the 'Forty-five'. Prince Charles Edward, a fugitive, reached Stornoway in search of a ship which would get him away from the cold western islands to the warmth of France. He met an indifferent welcome. The townspeople, weary of past punishment, gave him no help; nor, despite the large reward on the Prince's head, did they do him harm or betray him. Today, at Arnish Point, at the mouth of Stornoway Bay, a cairn commemorates the visit of that ill-fated man, the falling star in the Stuart firmament.

THE FIFE ADVENTURERS

One of the main episodes in Lewis history in the early years of the island's emergence as an area worthy of commercial exploitation was the expedition of the Fife Adventurers. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the name of Lewis was being mentioned in the same breath as 'profit'. At that time, Lewis was in a state of anarchy. The deeds, misdeeds, and defiance of both law and order by Roderick MacLeod, chief, were enough to inspire any central authority with a zeal to convert the island and bring it to heel. And if, by happy chance, it were to become profitable to the converters, they would be well rewarded. The 'civilisation' of a territory has often been forcible, bringing the inhabitants suddenly and painfully into a new air of living, in which the things that it seemed reasonable to do yesterday are done today on pain of death. In Scotland at that time, recognition of the law and the Church were the prime factors of civilisation, such as it was, the marks of superiority. Lewis, on the other hand, had a barbarous

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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air about it; the Lewismen, said an official indictment, had 'given themselves over to all kynd of barbaritie and inhumanitie', and they were 'voyd of ony knawledge of God or His religion'. Thus the people of Lewis had something coming to them. 175* 648

For some time King James VI of Scotland (James I of England) had been concerned with the problem of bringing the MacLeods of Lewis into an awareness of his authority. His 'maill' and 'gressum', the duties owed to him by the MacLeods, were long overdue; there was nothing for it but to go and collect. The fact that Lewis had been described to him as 'inrychit with ane incredibill fertilitie of cornis and store of fischeingis and utheris necessaris, surpassing far the plenty of any pairt of the inland' probably inspired his scheme to gather it all within the hem of his cloak. Whether he was aware of the true level of the island's produce is not known; though the sea was rich indeed. In any event, the scheme was nothing if not predatory. The 'civilisation' motive was a veneer to cover up any action deemed necessary to secure the island for the Crown. A contract was drawn up between the King and the Adventurers. These men, drawn largely from Fife, were also inspired by the supposed El Dorado lying just beyond the mountains of the Highlands and the waters of the Minch. An adventure it was thought, for Lewis was as remote to the Fifers as the Americas were to the Spaniards; and an adventure it proved to be. The Adventurers landed in November 1598. Lewis showed them little signs of welcome. Cold, high winds, rain, bleak cliffs, and a Gaelic-speaking people whom they could not understand met them; and to compensate for the chill of the season, MacLeod of Lewis gave them a warm-up fight. But the mercenaries which the Adventurers brought with them proved the better men for a time.

Resistance overcome, the incomers established themselves as best they could. They built a 'prettie toun' in the part of Stornoway known as South Beach, facing Stornoway Bay. That small curve of land is still there today, probably as it was almost 400 years ago. Food ran short. The Adventurers had thought that this land of milk and plenty would supply them with sufficient provisions on arrival; so they had brought only emergency stores. Starvation forced them to obtain what they could locally, as best

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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they could. Winter winds and the damp climate brought many to an early deathbed; dysentery ran rife. A message was sent south to obtain relief, but the messenger was captured at sea by one of the MacLeods. Again a message was sent. And hardly had this errand of mercy sailed out of sight than the MacLeods descended on the 'toun' with 'two hundred barbarous, bludie, and wiket Hielandmen' to attack the Adventurers and kill twenty-two of them, burn some property and make off with livestock. In fact, the methods which the Adventurers had hoped to used on the islanders to 'civilise' them were now being turned on themselves, to prevent the resented conversion. They left Lewis in a black cloud of despair. In 1605 they made another attempt. Again they were met by the MacLeods under the leadership of Neil MacLeod, who prevented all endeavours to establish a Fife colony on the island. Four years later a last bid was made to bring the island and its resources under their control. And again they failed.

In 1610, after the collapse of the third colonisation attempt by the Adventurers, they sold their charter rights to Kenneth MacKenzie of Kintail who, from the very beginning of the scheme, had veered hot and cold to the Crown, the Adventurers, and the Lewismen. His reward for his craft was Lewis—though it took him a further two years to reduce the MacLeods to accepting him as the new owner of the island.

UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH

Cromwell and England: the two names are so allied that it seems to strain fiction to link Cromwell and Lewis, more particularly Stornoway. Yet the main shopping street in the town has been, from about the 1820s, 'Cromwell Street'; when, or why, or who, changed its former title of 'Dempster Street' are matters lost forever. Cromwell himself was never in Lewis, but he did once take an interest in it.

The island took his attention, firstly, because its owner, a youth of sixteen who was later Earl of Seaforth, was 'playing rex' there. When Scotland was subjugated by the English Commonwealth, and the administration was placed in the hands of General Monk,

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a group of Highland Royalists refused to submit. Among them was the youthful Seaforth. At the time he was rich; he belonged to a powerful and influential family; and he could call up many hundreds of claymores. He could hardly be ignored. 175* 648

The second factor which disturbed Cromwell was the island's position. When the war between the Commonwealth and Holland broke out, it was seen that co-operation between Highland malcontents and the Dutch could prove to be a source of great danger for England; Stornoway had the best harbour on the west coast of Scotland and, as Cromwell wrote, the Dutch 'had an eye on it'. Events were accelerated by an incident in Stornoway harbour in May 1653, when Seaforth caused some offence to the captain of a privateer, the *Fortune*. When Seaforth discovered the vessel to be in the employ of the Commonwealth, he arrested the boat's crew and offered them terms of surrender. Captain Brassie replied with a couple of broadsides on the town and sailed away to complain to Colonel Lilburn, who had succeeded Monk as commander-in-chief in Scotland. An example had to be made; defiance of the Commonwealth had to be put down. 'I doubt nott,' he reported to Cromwell, 'but what wee may be able to doe uppon that island, will soe startle the whole Highlands and Islands that wee shall nott bee much troubled with them in such like cases hereafter. Undoubtedly to make the Lord Seaforth and his island (called the Lewes) exemplary will bee a very great advantage to the peace of this nation.'

Under the command of Colonel Cobbet, a military force, with warships and provision ships, was sent from Leith to take possession of Lewis. Some resistance was put down with a bit of trouble. A report in a contemporary London newspaper indicates that an attack by the Lewismen (who had fled to the hills, and who were armed with bows and arrows) was so fierce that the English were 'constrained to make face about'. The resistance was overcome, however, and Cobbet placed Lewis in the charge of a Major Crispe and a garrison of four companies. This garrison settled down to the task of making Lewis secure against possible attacks by the Dutch. A fort was built in Stornoway, and some armouring was undertaken at the small Goat Island in Stornoway Bay. A ground-plan of the 'Cromwellian' fortifications is in Wor-

HISTORY

*175 648 cester College, Oxford University, with an estimated date of 1653, the year in which the English garrison was placed in Lewis. Nothing now remains of that fort built by Crispe's soldiers, though the whole area on the small point of land, present-day Point Street, is redolent of historical atmosphere, despite new buildings.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

*175 Ecclesiology is a horse of many different colours in the island. Tradition goes right back to the early stirrings of Christianity in Scotland. Indeed, one of the most important religious sites on the [346] island is St Columba's at Eye, near Aignish, some seven miles from Stornoway. Though the name might suggest it, there is no proof that the Gaelic abbot visited Lewis. But it is more than likely that a follower of his did so in his name. Part of the church at Eye is Norman, which gives an approximate date of origin, though it is necessary to take some account of the long interval between a development phase in one country and its adoption in another country quite insulated from change, as were the Outer Isles in medieval times. According to tradition, the church was [173] built on the site of a cell occupied by the Celtic saint Catan, who is believed to have lived in the sixth or seventh century. Possibly this is the same Catan to whom a shrine is dedicated at Mealasta, in Uig, close by which the remains of a nunnery have been found, called by a Gaelic name meaning 'the house of the old black women'.

*175 346 St Columba's is mentioned in records from 1506, when it is described as a 'rectory'. At present, though in a ruined state, it still shows its former strength of character, both as a building, a place of sanctuary, and a place of worship. It has also been called the Valhalla of Lewis, for tradition says that some nineteen Chiefs [764] of Siol Torquil, the MacLeods of Lewis, are buried in its grounds. William, the fifth Earl of Seaforth, also found there an uneasy bed beside the enemies of his ancestors, who wrested Lewis from the MacLeods.

Another significant church is St Olaf's, or St Molua's at Eoropie, at the Butt of Lewis. Recorded evidence first indicates the existence of the church in 1630, where it occurs in a report

by Captain Dymes. The saint laboured mainly in the Hebrides; 175*
he died in the north of Scotland and was buried at Rosemarkie, 346
on the Scottish mainland. Tradition ascribes the building of the [173]
church to the tenth century by King Olaf of Norway; though a
a more realistic date for its foundation is the fourteenth century.
That it occupies, as so many other small churches do, the site of a
former cell is quite acceptable. The church, so Dymes tells us, [562]
had a 'sanctum sanctorum', so holy in fact that no women were
ever allowed to enter it.

In Harris, the outstanding religious building is St Clement's, at Rodel, described in Chapter 8. There are, sprinkled like a measured largesse, small ruins of chapels, cells, oratories and wells; but only tradition has clothed these tumbled stones with the airs of the once-living. A map of the island will show up these sites, which are well worth a visit if only to spend a short time in reflection under the island sky beside ancient stones.

Other old ruins are to be found on the island of Calum Cille
(Columba) in Loch Erisort. It is on record that the monks who [797]
came from Iona to convert the islanders from pagan forms of
religion to Christianity landed on the island about the middle of
the sixth century. They founded a church with its burial ground,
which they dedicated to their master, hence the Gaelic names:
Eaglais, Cladh, agus Eilean Chalum Chille. Tradition also mentions a mill, Muileann-na-manach, but there is not one stone left on another to indicate its exact site. The old burial ground served the parish of Lochs for many generations until about a century ago. The people of the island were in medieval and post-medieval times profoundly religious; this reverence was more often than not carried over into the half-world of superstition.

Though the tangible remains of religion's progress are to be 175*
seen, the recorded history of religious progress, its phases and 797
developments, is scant. One can only assume that it was the Columban Church which first introduced the new Christianity to the Lewis folk. The earlier religion was the stock on to which the new was grafted. The result was an amalgam which was nothing if not strange to those many visitors who came to comment on the island scene; for it was neither Christian nor heathen. Yet, again, a strong thread of veneration ran through the product

HISTORY

*175 797 which firmly held the folk. The Reformed Church of Scotland did little in the later centuries in Lewis. The Fife Adventurers brought a clergyman with them, a Robert Durie, minister of Anstruther, but it can be taken that his ministrations were for the benefit of the Fifers. The aborigines were left to their own brand of faith, to find grace as and where they could.

The interregnum between the abolition of Romanism and the effective establishment of the Reformed Church in the islands was marked by a decline in the 'Christian-ness' of the people. Former teachings were forgotten, and it is no coincidence that in this interim period social anarchy was rife. The credit for restoring Christian principles to Lewis rests with a Farquhar MacRae, vicar of Gairloch, a young man of about thirty years of age whom Lord Kintail brought to Lewis in 1610. On his arrival he found it necessary to baptise all under forty years of age, and practically to reintroduce the institution of marriage. The first Earl of Seaforth was a religious man; he built St Lennan's church in Stornoway, now non-existent, on North Beach. In 1626 there were two ministers in Lewis (Barvas and Eye), and gradually the influence of religion was restored.

ISLAND REGIMENTS

*175 701 It is a natural enough step from wielding a sword in the protection of one's home island to bearing arms for King and Country. After the 'natives had been pacified' over a period of a century or so, the national call to arms came north across the Hebrid seas. The warlike character of the clans in the north of Scotland had not escaped the notice of those charged with keeping England and the later Britain busy with overseas interests which required some military backing to maintain and improve. Lewis, in particular, despite its small size, has over the past couple of centuries contributed much of great importance both in regiments and fighting men; its military history is a subject that has escaped many past writers on the island.

*175 704 000 There is possibly no British regiment more closely associated with historic deeds of heroism than the Seaforths, the Seaforth Highlanders. At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth

ISLAND REGIMENTS

At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth 175*
centuries, many villages in the north of Scotland suffered from 702
the attentions of ship-borne press-gangs, who swooped down on unsuspecting communities and whisked away the best of the males they could find. Lewis did not escape this enforced service. Local traditions have much to say about compulsion, though not by press-gang. Young men were pressed into service through personal influence, by bribe or by blackmail. However, in the case of the Seaforth Highlanders, the raising of recruits was by appeal to the men of the clan and the clan adherents.

The first battalion of Seaforths was raised in December 1777 175*
by Kenneth, the sixth Earl of Seaforth. By far the greater num- 702
ber of soldiers were from the MacKenzie estates on the mainland: 704
from Applecross, Kintail, and Lochalsh. Few Lewismen served among the soldiers of Coinneach Og, as the Earl was called. The real beginning of the Seaforth Regiment was in March 1793, when a Letter of Service was granted to Lord Seaforth. The chief himself personally toured his estates for recruits, to offer the King's Shilling. His visit to Lewis was at first regarded with some suspicion; he even met some active opposition in Uig, which was overcome by his explanation of the country's need to counteract the widespread effects of the high tide of the social revolution begun in France. In 1804, another battalion was raised; some 200 Lewismen volunteered, a fact recounted in tradition with great pride. The history of the regiment in those early formative years is [726]
detailed with battles in many parts of the world: Nimogen in [648]
Holland, Quiberon Bay in Brittany, Cape Town, India (Assaye is remembered in a Stornoway street name), Java, Messina, and so on.

In Egypt, many a Lewis lad found himself face to face with 175*
the Turks, and subsequently in a slave market in Cairo. One of 704
the old soldiers of Uig has left traditions of his seven years' ex- 648
perience as a prisoner of the Turks. Some youths who had volunteered for service early in life were so ignorant of their island's geography that they found themselves in Stornoway on their return looking around for a guide to show them the way across the moors to their long-left homes. The hot, white sun of Egypt brought loss of sight to many soldiers, who returned to a Lewis [727]
which they could never see again. Some who were blinded at

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*175 704 648 729 Some who were blinded at Rosetta were granted a pension of about £30 per annum, with an allowance of £12 per annum for a guide to lead them about.

729 On 21 December 1859, 'a public meeting of the Inhabitants of Stornoway was held in the Mason Hall to consider the propriety of organising an Artillery Volunteer Corps for the defence of this Island'. About a month later, Sir James Matheson, Baronet of Achany, and Member of Parliament for the Lews, was asked to tender to Her Majesty the services of eighty-one gentlemen who wished to form the corps. The unit eventually formed was the 1st Company in the County of Ross and held the 44th place in the Artillery Volunteer Force of Great Britain. After many ups and downs in its history, this corps exists today as the Ross Battery.

*175 702 704

For more than half a century the activities of the corps were peaceful. The only highlight was its participation in the famous Wet Review at Edinburgh, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. Matching the rain which lashed down in sheets from the sky, a sewer burst open in the centre of the parade ground. Company after company divided ranks as they approached the disagreeable fountain in their path. But Lt John N. Anderson, later Provost of Stornoway, gave the order 'Right into it!' Amid a great roaring of cheers from the watching crowds, the Stornoway Volunteers marched straight on in perfect order. It was perhaps prophetic of the sterner tests to come.

*175 704 726 648 The unit was one of the Royal Garrison Artillery in 1908 when it was reformed as the Ross Mountain Battery of the 4th Highland (Mountain) Brigade. Later, as a regular division, the battery was the first field artillery to be landed at Cape Helles, in the Gallipoli campaign. At Suvla Bay, it lost 50 per cent of its strength in two days. At Ismailia it mustered again to fight against the Turks in the Canal area, but it was not allowed to remain to assist in driving back the enemy. Instead, it was moved to Salonika to help the mountain batteries, now much depleted by malaria. The final move was to Bulgaria, where the Lewismen were the first gunners, if not the first British troops, to enter that country.

*175 702 704 Before, during, and for a time after, the first world war, the Ross Battery had close ties with the Nicolson Institute. To quote from a past Rector of the school:

ISLAND REGIMENTS

For a number of years it had been the practice for a considerable proportion of the older schoolboys during their attendance at the Secondary School to put in their training with the local body of Territorials—the Ross Mountain Battery. At the School Prize-giving of 1914, these boys attended in their uniform to be ready to go off the same evening by steamer en route for the annual training camp. Before the School re-opened, the Territorial Force was mobilised, and for some of these lads there intervened four long years of toil, of fighting, and of sickness overseas, before they ever saw their homes again. 175* 702 704

Later (1938), the unit became the 203rd (Ross) Battery of the 51st (West Highland) Anti-tank Regiment. It was whilst fighting as an anti-tank battery that, with other units of the 51st Division, the men were taken prisoner at St Valery in 1940. Today, after more changes, the battery is the oldest in 540 LAA Regt RA, TA (the Lovat Scouts). In 1960 the Ross Battery received the Freedom of the Burgh of Stornoway in recognition of a century of voluntary service to the community and the nation.

LAND USE AND CROFTING

241 614 182 311 175*

The history of land use and the crofting system in the Highlands and Islands (see Chapter 5) is full of difficulties. In the older days of the clan system, before the rot set in, though the clan members belonged to the chief, they also belonged to the land and the land to them. In such a climate, the agricultural system, for it was such then, was in a reasonably healthy state; the land was worked to the full. Good land was available for the support of the clan, and as often as not in good years there was ample produce, crops, and livestock, to send south to well-paying markets. That fertile lands abounded is indicated by the reports of visitors in various centuries. But times changed. The increase in population after the breakdown of the clan system by statutory legislation, and the policy of population placement carried out with a rigorous enthusiasm, planted seeds of discontent—in particular a hunger for land. The land was in any case becoming ever more inadequate to support those already on it. (443) (161) (656)

The story of the agrarian troubles in the Highlands area is well

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241 documented; and Harris and Lewis played out their part in the
614 agitation for more land. Briefly, when the clan system was broken
182 down, the clansman found himself freed of the obligation of ser-
311 vice to the chief. The chief, on his side, found himself thrown to
*175 the economic dogs. Payments in kind were no currency; a house in London or in Edinburgh had to be paid for in cash, and a London hairdresser would hardly accept half a dozen eggs for his services. The effect of the Heritable Jurisdictions Act was like a butcher's chopper. With a stroke a social organisation was given notice to change overnight, with no period of transition allowed. The chiefs looked to the land for their money. In the old system, their prosperity had been largely measured in fighting men. Now the pressures of economics demanded increased rents from those who were being called tenants. Increased rents can, however, be paid only when the land's productivity rises. The agricultural changes percolating through the Lowlands of Scotland had not
[427] even begun to penetrate to the Highlands area. Many tenants found that, unable to pay the increased rent demands, they were ejected from the lands which, incidentally, they had held by traditional understanding—written deeds were rare. Emigration
[167] started, and the vacant lands went to sheep-farmers, well able
[233] to pay good money for the grazings.

Some chiefs did give their tenants time to change to new
241 methods of land use, and were careful not to make a breach be-
614 tween agriculture and grazing. Their tenants in turn improved
311 the land, changing in particular from the old run-rig system,
427 whereby a man working a piece of ground one year had the same
*175 piece the following year only if the dice were thrown his way. But the class of farmers' tenants called crofters (who had no security of tenure) or cottars (a squatter type with no legal recognition) found themselves on the verge of starvation. The few acres of ground they had, or to which they had been removed, were quite unsuitable for intensive cultivation to produce even the basic necessities of life.

*175 The picture of land use was that of a great black pot boiling
423 furiously with a brew of which the final taste was quite uncertain.
311 When the boiling was controlled, the land began to be parcelled
241 out, a share to each family. This led to a rigid, almost monolithic,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

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(*above*) At Rishgarry Quay, Isle of Berneray, in the Sound of Harris, c 1900, showing the typical construction of the 'black house'

/p. 53/

(*below*) The Claddach, Isle of Killegray, in the Sound of Harris, April 1897. The horse and cart was the most convenient means of transport. A spinning wheel is seen in action

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The hills of North Harris. On the far side of the loch (West Loch Tarbert) can be seen the remains of the whaling station /p. 54/

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agrarian order. Crofting townships were created which contained 175*
holdings of a uniform size, often fit to provide only a bare sub- 423
sistence living. This is still so today. There were and are no means 311
of achieving ambition through some kind of agricultural promotion, 241
no ladder to climb to prove one's ability to win the land over to [078]
one's side to increase its yield. And as each family increased, the progeny demanded land. The family acres were divided, sub-divided and fragmented to a vicious mathematical system; more people, less land.

In the nineteenth century, many estates were sold. The new- [427]
comers, with no kinship ties with the small tenantry, saw that the only way to make their estates economic was to establish large farms, which meant the eviction, by force if necessary, of the small tenants. This is what happened. For those who did not 175*
emigrate, it was a life of huddling around a weak fire, whose flame 423
itself could hardly stand, and thinking of the prospect of starva- 668
tion and the 'old days'. Thoughts nourished on these old days 427
became the root of action; and a fierce agitation for land reform [511]
started. The Minutes of Evidence of the Napier Commission (1882-4), of the Deer Forest Commission (1894-6) and the several official reports on the conditions of the crofters and cottars, give ample evidence of bitterness and despair as the result of poverty and lack of opportunity. About 1870, unrest in the congested areas of crofting townships became a political issue. The flames of ideals were burning high and bright. Ideals were transformed into action: take the land!

By 1880, the ripples from the stone flung into the agrarian pond were reaching the general public. Sides were taken: one stood either on the economic touchline, or on that dangerous thin red line of sentiment based on high feelings and a deep sense of wrongs being perpetrated on fellow humans. The landowners naturally insisted on the right to move into an era of land use in which management was not hampered by affairs of sentiment or philanthropy. Governed by the cold principles of business, they hardened themselves in the face of their attackers. And though they pointed to arrears in rent, and their inability to improve their land agriculturally while they had tenants not of their own choosing, they faced mounting antagonism.

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*175 The crofters were in a state of revolt against the accumulation
423 of trends and events which now stood like a high dam against their
668 progress to a higher level of acceptance in the social scene. They
427 stood in open conflict with local and national authority. Unhappy scenes were enacted, many being in complete variance with the natural temperament of the Highlander. Lewis crofters were not far behind with their contribution to the agitation for land reform, though they had perhaps suffered less direct action from landowners than had crofters in the Highlands and southern Islands. But their living conditions had deteriorated. And an inhumanly-efficient factor made for deep unrest.

*175 Land agitation began in Lewis in 1881, and large numbers of
657 Lewis crofters gave evidence before the Napier Commission. This
423 Commission was the result of agitation for an enquiry into crofting conditions in the Highlands. Its setting up relieved a situation
427 of acute tension, though it neither extinguished political agitation
[668] nor mitigated the disaffection felt in the more disturbed districts. Under Lord Napier's direction a mass of information was collected. The official findings of the Commission were almost identical with political declarations in the country, but did not altogether coincide with the requirements of the crofters and their spokesmen. The resultant Crofters' Act of 1886 fixed the crofting system into that rigid trance in which agricultural innovation, opportunity for improvement, the social progress of crofting communities are largely lacking. It did give all crofters permanency of tenure, where they had none before, fair rents for the land they had and compensation for improvements. But the old demand for new smallholdings and settlements persisted with greater insistence and further pressure on high political circles.

[735] In 1888, members of the new Crofters Commission visited
[746] Lewis and found that poverty was so general in the island that among 607 crofters for whom fair rents were fixed, there were scarcely a dozen who had not been recipients of 'destitution' meal
161 or some other form of relief. The population was too much for the
162 land to support it under the distribution system prevailing. The
*175 number of persons per family in 1871 was on average 5·358, as compared with 4·232 on the mainland of Ross and Cromarty, the county of which Lewis formed a part. Thirty years later, in

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1901, the average was only 5·086, the county average being 3·983. The population was still to reach its peak in Lewis, some 30,000 in 1911. Emigration was at a fairly high rate, some 2,000 every decade, but this was no relief with births between 8,000 and 9,000 during the same period. In 1894 it was estimated that the number of cottars (or squatters) as distinct from crofters was in the region of 1,000. These people, mostly relatives of crofters, constituted a serious incubus on every crofting township.

Elsewhere in the Highlands, the enlargement of crofting holdings relieved the land-hunger situation. It was not possible for the same to be done in Lewis, and Harris possessed even less useful land to share out. Many applications were made by crofters either for an increase in their own holdings or an increase in the acreage of common grazings held by each township. Though some 500 acres were in fact handed over by the estate management for crofting purposes, there was a steady refusal to diminish the acreage of farms.

The Congested Districts Board was appointed in 1897, supervising public works to relieve the people of a certain amount of their ills. It carried on until 1912, when it passed into the newly-formed Board of Agriculture. The Congested Districts Board could have achieved much more than it did. It scraped away only a little of the vast problem. The next major landmark in the history of crofting legislation was the Small Landholders (Scotland) Act of 1911. It extended certain provisions introduced for the crofter in 1886, and further increased the class of tenants who benefited by bringing in the tenants of holdings rented at not more than £50 (£30 in Lewis) or not exceeding 50 acres (30 acres in Lewis). The 1911 Act also brought into existence the Scottish Land Court in place of the Crofters Commission. In Lewis, however, the hunger for more land went on unabated and reached a not insignificant peak during the later years of Lord Leverhulme's regime.

A new Crofters Commission was set up in 1955, following on the report of a Commission of Enquiry under the chairmanship of the then Principal T. M. Taylor of Aberdeen University. Fresh provision for the reorganisation, development and regulation of the crofting system in the seven crofting counties of Scotland

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*175 was made in the Crofters (Scotland) Bill of 1961; this had a mixed
657 reception. In general, today, small crofts predominate in most
656 areas. Out of some 18,000 (the number is decreasing annually)
423 about 15 per cent exceed 20 acres (see Chapter 5). But size has
427 little to do with the type of land; whether arable or rough grazing.
24 In fact, the proportion indicates that some 85 per cent of all crofts
[178] in Scotland, and this applies to Harris and Lewis, cannot be considered as full-time now or as potentially full-time.

EDUCATION

*175 In general, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland owe their intro-
797 duction to letters to the early Christian missionaries. One of the
871 main provisions in the early monastic Church in Ireland and Scotland was for the cultivation of learning and the training of its members in sacred and profane literature. Associated as they were so closely with the common folk on the one hand and the aristocracy on the other, something of this learning and desire for learning rubbed off to advantage on to willing recipients. Literacy
[212] however, has had many ups and downs since the dawning of the Christian era in the Hebrides. Though it is impossible to ascertain to what extent the common folk participated in the knowledge imparted by the early Celtic monasteries, there are many references to a class of cleric called 'scolocs', whose learning was accessible to the poorer classes of the emergent Highland society. The 'scoloc' is still retained in Gaelic as 'sgalag', a farm servant, the poor searcher after knowledge who received education in the monasteries in return for services as labourer on the church lands, and who appears in monastic records as late as the fourteenth century.

*175 As late as the sixteenth century, however, after the influence of
212 the Church had diminished, the inhabitants were almost wholly illiterate. When the Fife Adventurers came to Lewis in 1598, they brought a schoolmaster with them; though it can be taken that his services were intended for the improvement of the incomers rather than the islesfolk. Old Rōderic MacLeod, doughty chief of the MacLeods of Lewis at the time of the Fifers' arrival, was unable to sign his name. Two of his sons, on the other hand, were

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so literate as to have drawn up a bond, unaided and with a remarkable degree of legal precision. 175* 212

It was not until Lewis belonged to the Seaforth family that anything in the nature of education generally came the way of the common folk of the island. John Morison, a native of Lewis, who wrote about 1680, says: 175* 871

> Onlie for the tyme the countris is possessed and saglie governed by the Earle of Seaforth, by whose industrious care and benevolence the people, formerly inclined to rudeness and barbarity, are reduced to civilitie, much understanding and knowledge by the flourishing schooll planted and maintained by the said Earle all the tyme in the toun of Stornoway. And not onlie the people of the Lews, but also those of the nixt adjacent Isles. The gentlemens sons and daughters are bred in that schooll to the great good and comfort of that people; so that there are few families but at least the maister can read and write: I do remember in my own tyme that there was not three in all the countrie that knew A. b. by A Bible.

Martin Martin mentions this Stornoway school as teaching both Latin and English. During the eighteenth century a school for teaching both these subjects with writing and arithmetic was established.

Martin also indicates that it was never considered necessary or desirable to educate girls, whether they were common folk or daughters of the upper classes, unless they were daughters of chiefs and next in line to succeed their father, there being no male issue before them. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, efforts were made to educate the children of the island. Parochial schools had by that time been established; the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge and the Gaelic School Society supported several. Clergymen of the period, however, claimed that the advantages of education were not appreciated; as a consequence, the schools were not well attended. [562]

The SSPCK had its origins in 1701, when a few private gentlemen met in Edinburgh and resolved to establish schools in the Highlands and Islands, and to appeal to the public for subscriptions for the purpose. They had a fitful beginning, but Queen Anne encouraged the scheme by royal proclamation and sub- [643]

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*175 scriptions flowed in. In 1709 the Queen granted Letters Patent
871 under the Great Seal for erecting certain of the subscribers into
[643] a corporation. Thus did the SSPCK come into being, with an initial capital fund of £1,000. Its progress was rapid. In 1711, it supported twelve schools; in 1795, 323 schools. In addition to paying the teachers' salaries, the Society supplied the children with school books, established public libraries in various parishes, and defrayed the expenses of printing Gaelic Bibles and other books.

Harris here enters in an interesting sideline. In the records of
[217] the Presbytery of Mull, 1730, it is reported that 'Mr M'Aula . . . carried off the library to Harris, because he was not paid for his expenses in bringing them [the books of the Society] to Coll.' This MacAulay was the great-grandfather of the English man of letters, Lord MacAulay.

The Gaelic School Society was founded in 1811 and existed until 1892. It supported a large number of schools, as the desire for education had exceeded the capacity of the SSPCK. In 1796
[874] there were two schools and a spinning school in the parish of Stornoway. The minister of Barvas, writing in that year, says
[794] that there had not been a parochial school in that parish for many years, but that there was a Society school at Ness, attended by about twenty pupils, instead of treble that number had all the
[874] children been made to attend. The minister of Uig stated that three spinning schools were established there by Lady Seaforth, but he does not refer to ordinary schools in his parish at that time.
[794] According to the minister of Lochs, a parochial school was built there in 1795, and a Society school some three years earlier.

By the middle of the nineteenth century matters had improved considerably, though there were still complaints that education was not appreciated. In fact, education tended to be discouraged
[829] for a very practical reason. Back in 1811 an observer in the island stated in his report that the great mass of the Lewis people would not send their children to school. 'When reproached on this head they answer "If we give them education, they will leave us."' Seventy-two years later (1883), the Napier Commission was told that 'Sir James (Matheson) supported and contributed to seventeen schools in the Island, many of which he built with teachers'

houses prior to 1854. Monthly returns of attendance were sent 175*
to my office, and parents who did not keep their children at school 871
were dealt with, but in many cases to no avail, as they often told [829]
me they did not want to give their children wings to leave them.'

In 1833 there were thirteen schools in the parish of Stornoway, [212]
according to the *New Statistical Account*, 1840-46, which records that there were 586 children between the ages of six and fifteen years, and 1,265 persons above the age of fifteen in the parish who could not read. Barvas had three schools in 1836; Uig had five in 1833. In Lochs, in 1833 a parish school had just been erected, and four schools were maintained by the Gaelic School Society; yet out of a parish population of 3,067, only 12 could write. After the Disruption of 1843, the Free Church established a large number of schools throughout the island. And soon after Sir James Matheson took over the island he built schools in those districts not catered for by other agencies.

In 1865, the Government began to prepare for the Education Act of 1872, and sent Sheriff-Substitute Nicolson to the island to investigate the state of education there. At the time of his visit there were forty-seven schools, supported by as many as nine
different agencies, persons, or institutions. The number of pupils [162]
on the rolls was 3,332, with 2,647 in actual attendance. Nicolson computed that there were some 2,500 children on the island who
did not normally attend school, and who should have done. A [346]
large number of schools were little more than thatched houses. Fifteen were good; fourteen tolerable; and eighteen bad or inadequate. In the third group he classes 'those that cannot by any standard of comfort or fitness above that of troglodyte, be considered suitable for having the work of education carried on in them, or any work indeed, to which the prevalence of smoke and moisture are infavourable.' Of the children who attended these schools, 79 per cent received tuition in the Scriptures; 85 per cent were taught to read; 39 per cent were taught writing; 32 per cent were taught arithmetic; and 16 per cent taught needlework.

The Education Act of 1872 put an end to the old parochial 175*
system, and virtually to other agencies which it found at work. 871
The schools on the island were brought into line with the re- 656

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*175 871 656 mainder of Scotland where, under the school boards, education became both free and compulsory.

In Lewis the school of real significance to the island was, and *175 871 159 still it, the Nicolson Institute, founded by Alexander Morison Nicolson and opened in February 1873, supported by bequests from him and his brothers. Nicolson's grandfather was the founder of the Lewis fish-curing trade, and was also shipowner and farmer. Alexander was the fifth of six sons and was educated in Stornoway parish school and in Glasgow High School. He served an apprenticeship as an engineer with Thomson of Clydebank. Later he entered the service of the Chinese Government and established himself with a partner of a shipbuilding and foundry business in Shanghai. In 1865, in his thirty-third year, he was killed in a boiler explosion in one of his new ships going a trial run. His ideal of establishing a school in Stornoway was subscribed to by his brothers who were a widespread family: Yorkshire, Mississippi, Western Australia, Tighnabruaich (Scotland) and South Africa.

*175 871 [875] [465] The first headmaster of the school received £82 per annum, plus the school fees, which ranged from 2s 6d per quarter in the lowest classes to 5s in the highest. The fees covered reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English, history and English grammar and composition; when Latin, Greek, French and mathematics were taught, an additional shilling was charged for each subject. But the teacher was always bound to teach gratuitiously twenty pupils selected by the Nicolson Trustees. In 1888, the school was handed over to the school board. In 1901, by a Decree of the Court of Session, its name, previously the Nicolson Public School, was changed to the Nicolson Institute. In 1898, the first boys went straight from the Institute to university, a trend that has not ceased since (see Chapter 8).

*175 874 871 As far back as the turn of this century a recommendation was made for the provision of technical education on the island. A report on the subject of Higher Education in Lewis (1900) stated: 'Regarding the practical or scientific aspect of education . . . there is a clamant need of a central Technical School in Lewis . . . the local resources are quite inadequate for the establishment of such a school, or its maintenance, on an effective basis. Such popular technical instruction as Household Economy, Wood and Iron

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Work, and Practical Navigation and Seamanship would be leading features.' 175* 874

For many years afterwards technical education was available only on a voluntary evening-class basis. For instance, in September 1920 the Lewis School Management Committee offered evening classes in motor driving and maintenance, mathematics, dynamics, English, arithmetic and handwork in wood and metal. They were well supported and classes continued at sporadic intervals from that time. The plans for the present Lews Castle Technical College were passed in May 1948, after a lot of argument. Today the college has proved its worth; it is a centre of technical education in navigation and seamanship, weaving and textiles, building, engineering, and other pursuits important to the people of the Outer Isles. 871

In 1973 the Nicolson Institute received the Freedom of the Burgh of Stornoway, in recognition of the school's centenary which fell in that year. The event strengthened the 'town and gown' relationship which has always existed between the Burgh and the School, even more so today when the pupils participate in much of the social and cultural activity in the town. 871

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4 COMMUNICATIONS

000 FROM the earliest times, the provision of communications in one form or another has been a matter full of incident and high colour. Gaelic folk-song contains many references to
533 the hazards of crossing the impatient waters of the Minch. One
484 such, a waulking song still known today, commemorates the death of Iain Garbh Mac Gille Chaluim, of Raasay in Skye, who was drowned in April 1617 on his way home from visiting the Earl of Seaforth in Lewis; it is said that he was drowned through the workings of his own 'muime', or foster-mother, who employed several famous witches to raise the tempest in which his ship foundered.

121 For well over a century the subject of adequate communications has aroused continuous argument. The strength of any island community lies in its ability to live within itself, while accepting the periodic injection of certain external items necessary for living or for work. A Londoner once expressed amazement at the isolation of Scarp, in West Harris, commenting that in Scarp they would not know what was happening in London. The indisputable rejoinder was 'Nor do they know in London what we would be doing in Scarp.' However, to a large island community, with a certain degree of economic significance, communications are the basic lifeline.

SEA ROUTES

50 When in the early 1800s formal sea communications were being
*175 established between the island and ports on the west coast of
487 Scotland, down as far as the Clyde, most of the islanders were of course little affected. Except for the professional classes (merchants, ministers and the like), they had little use for the sea links
[433] provided for them. Their economy was not yet a cash economy,
*175 and travel was thus a luxury they could not afford. As the nature
177 of local life began to change with the infiltration of some of the
439

trappings of nineteenth-century civilisation, however, they grew to depend on items brought by sea. Imported food, clothing, wood, metal domestic utensils and the like were slowly assimilated as indispensable everyday articles. But there was relatively little export in return; then as now, any transport operator struggled with the fact that traffic was one-way and the freight charges must pay for the double voyage. Though the fishing industry and later the Harris Tweed industry were, around the turn of the century, to do much to determine and stabilise shipping developments, both passenger and cargo services were always facing loss rather than profit.

On the social side of the picture, the regular call of ships to the island, to Stornoway in particular, was a welcome, quickening sign that the island was significant in some way to the outside world. The ships brought visitors who made the island, and the Hebrides in general, better known to other prospective travellers. The exposure of the island and its folk to the gaze of the mainland led to a wider knowledge and understanding which without doubt brought improvements in social welfare and a basis for economic development. When many islanders found it necessary to go to Glasgow and the south for work, the ships of the Minch served as a firm link with home, to which they returned whenever they could. This feeling for home is still manifest today in the Lewismen in Canada who charter an aircraft to Prestwick each year so that they can holiday on the island. Since 1900 or so, passenger traffic has been two-way : emigrants, migrants, visitors and business travellers. When the fishing industry was in its heyday, the ships carried hundreds of fisherfolk across the Minch to ports as far south as Great Yarmouth to 'follow the herring' round the shores of Britain and back to the Minch again. Traffic today is still considerable, with the air-link with the island being used to its capacity.

In a community where Sabbath observance is an integral strand of religious belief, ministers have on occasions tried to preserve the Mosaic sanctity of the Sabbath Day by restricting the movement of ships in Stornoway harbour. In deference to local feeling the Stornoway steamer has always docked for twenty-four hours over Sunday, to leave port for Kyle just after midnight.

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779 This is only relaxed if emergency sailings are necessary. During
486 the second world war attempts were made by Free Church min-
505 isters to stop the movement of ships in Stornoway harbour, but
*[175] needless to say the war effort took precedence.
[724]

THE SHIPS

*175 When Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, sea com-
505 munications were still erratic: a mailboat or packet was running
[501] thrice weekly between Stornoway and Poolewe on Scotland's west coast. Sir James decided that a craft based on Stornoway would serve more efficiently both for general trade and for island-to-mainland transport, and he provided a regular steamer service.
[205] As this craft, the *Mary Jane*, was to carry mails, Sir James thought the Post Office should promote the service, and he struggled with that department for some years, eventually being promised a subsidy of £1,300. Though the scheme was to cost far more and had won no other financial support, the service began in 1846, Sir James being surety for the whole concern. He lost some £17,000. Another of his ships was the PS *Ondine*, which carried mails between Ullapool and Stornoway during the 1870s and '80s.

Quite apart from the Matheson ventures, things had been stirring in the south; the sea communications of the West Highlands and Islands were about to be commercially developed. One of the
[501] first ships on a regular run between Stornoway and the south was the *Ben Nevis*, a small wooden paddle vessel later to be wrecked south of Campbeltown in 1831 while homeward bound from Stornoway. G. & J. Burns was one of the main companies operating the early West Highland trade, managing to survive the vagaries of fortune until 1851, when its interests were passed to David Hutcheson, its chief clerk, on the condition that the Burns's nephew, David MacBrayne, became one of the partners. This was the beginning of the company so well known today, Messrs David MacBrayne Ltd. The new company started off with a building programme and gave birth to a long line of ships, many of whose names were to become bywords in the Western Isles.

501 The PS *Clansman* was the first. Her route was the strenuous
505 one of Glasgow, Oban, Skye and Stornoway. Alexander Smith's
*175

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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Summer in Skye gives a fascinating account, written from first-hand experience, of working conditions aboard. *Clansman*'s speed on her first voyage back from Stornoway was 13 knots; she was wrecked on Sanda Island after only fourteen years' service. The company's PS *Glencoe* was originally the *Mary Jane* built by Sir James Matheson for his Stornoway run, launched in 1846. In that year she plied from Stornoway to Portree, Tobermoray, Oban and Glasgow, with calls at Kyleakin, Balmacara and Armadale. She passed to MacBrayne's in 1857, was lengthened and with other alterations emerged for a long life of sea service, braving the terrors of the Minch waters as the saloon steamer *Glencoe*. Refitted with new engines during her lifetime, her first horizontal boilers were replaced in 1883 by others which, in 1901, were succeeded by a haystack boiler from the *Fusilier*. *Glencoe*'s original length was 150 ft, later extended to 165 ft; she was 20 ft broad and after her lengthening had a gross tonnage of 226. Her original machinery was a steeple, one-cylinder 56-in engine of 177 nhp. The end of the much-loved *Glencoe* came in the summer of 1931, when, despite the display of much sentiment, she was broken up at Ardrossan—after eighty-five years of service. When she died she was one of the two oldest working ships in the world.

The PS *Stork* was first built for Messrs Burns's Liverpool service and was later on the Belfast run. Acquired by Hutcheson's in 1858 she was placed on the Glasgow/Stornoway run with the *Clansman*, but in 1860 was sold to the Italian Government. Another brief encounter was the SS *Fingal*, which knew Stornoway for a few short months before being sold for the American Blockade, after capture becoming a Federal gunboat. Then came the SS *Clydesdale*, built in 1862 for the company by J. & G. Thomson and used on the Glasgow/Stornoway twice-weekly cargo and passenger service. She was 197 ft long, 24 ft broad and drew 13½ ft of water; her gross tonnage was latterly 468. Her original engine (120 nhp) was a two-cylinder steeple (40 in—30 in); this was compounded in 1893, when she had a new double-ended boiler installed.

After the first *Clansman* came to grief on Sanda Island, a second ship of the same name was built for the Glasgow/Stornoway run. She was a most attractive two-masted iron ship, with a

clipper bow, figurehead, and bowsprit with ornamental carving at both bow and stern. The *Clansman* left Glasgow every Monday and arrived back on Saturday mornings, a regular pattern maintained from 1870 to 1909. She was 211 ft long, 27 ft broad, with a draw of 13 ft of water, her engines having a nominal horsepower of 171; her gross tonnage was latterly 619.

The SS *Locheil*, two-masted with a straight stem and single funnel, in her early career ran the Stornoway mails from Ullapool, in the late 1870s. In 1884 she was fitted out for a three-months' cruise in the neighbourhood of Skye, a gunboat in attendance with a view to suppressing any riots likely to result from the then recently-initiated legislation introduced by the London Land Reform Association. She was also on the Dunvegan service, via Harris and Lochmaddy. In 1907 she ran aground at Portree and was afterwards broken up.

In 1879, David MacBrayne became sole partner and owner of the fleet of David Hutcheson & Co, and the name of the company was changed to David MacBrayne Limited. The first ship built for the fleet by MacBrayne was launched in July 1881 : the iron screw steamer *Claymore*. Her machinery consisted of a heavy two-cylinder compound engine supplied with steam from a pair of single-ended Scotch boilers; she never attained her full speed of 15 knots, at least not in service. She was 227 ft long, 29½ ft broad and drew 14½ ft of water. Her gross tonnage was latterly 776, and the indicated horsepower of her engines 1,400. She was sold in 1931 for breaking up. So high a regard did those on the west coast have for the *Claymore* that many parts of the ship went to places throughout Britain as souvenirs.

The PS *Great Western* was among MacBrayne's bought tonnage. This ship belonged to the GWR and spent most of her time on the Milford/Waterford route, though from 1878-85 she was transferred to Weymouth and ran across the Channel to Cherbourg. She came to northern waters as a straight-stemmed, two-masted, and two-funnelled cross-Channel steamer—both funnels being abaft the paddle boxes. MacBrayne placed her on the Stornoway mail service from Strome Ferry, which she maintained until being withdrawn temporarily in 1893 for a facelift in the MacBrayne standard design, emerging renamed *Lovedale*. She

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was returned to the Stornoway route and, on the extension of the Skye line of the old Highland Railway from Strome Ferry to Kyle of Lochalsh in 1897, the latter port became the southern terminus in the mail service to Lewis, as it still is. She was broken up in 1904.

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Yet another ship with fond connections with Lewis folk was the SS *Shiela*, the second steamer of the new MacBrayne family. Both hull and machinery were the product of Inglis of Pointhouse, and she had the distinction of being the first steamer in the MacBrayne fleet to be fitted with triple-expansion engines. She was launched in January 1904, a fine-looking craft, named after a character in William Black's novel *A Princess of Thule*.

Though of only 280 tons, she fulfilled an important role for the Stornoway folk and their country cousins. Summer and winter, fair weather or foul for over twenty years *Shiela* carried passengers, cargo and mails between Kyle of Lochalsh and Stornoway. Purely a functional craft, she gave her many thousands of passengers a rough time crossing the Minch; but though she was often late—many times the seas and winds prevented any headway at all, though steaming to the limit—she never failed to make port. This Stornoway/Kyle route is the hardest-worked of all the MacBrayne fleet; a Minch crossing is made twice in every twenty-four hours, with a weekend rest of less than a day in Stornoway. The sturdy *Shiela* met a tragic fate: she deserved a better. Her regular Captain Cameron was away on leave, enjoying a few days' well-earned rest. The ship was in the hands of a temporary officer, who was not as familiar with the devious ways of West Highland waters as he should have been. Though the exact details of the accident are not available to the writer, it seems that the officer of the watch never saw the south Rona light on the inward passage from Stornoway in the early hours of Saturday, 1 January 1927. Thinking he had run his distance, he altered course with a view to making the Applecross call. He did not discover his error until too late and the *Shiela* ran aground in the darkness on the shores of Cuaig Bay, just south of Loch Torridon. No lives were lost, but the ship was a write-off.

From 1927 to 1929 Stornoway was served by a number of ships including the *Clydesdale II*, designed and built for the Glasgow/

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501 Inverness cargo and passenger service, and the SS *Chieftain*. This
505 latter was over 1,000 tons gross, with a clipper bow, single funnel,
*175 two masts, extensive passenger accommodation, triple-expansion engines, and silent-working electric winches.

[205] In 1929, the TSS *Lochness* was put into commission for the Mallaig/Kyle/Stornoway mail service. Of 777 tons gross, and built of steel, she was 200 ft long, 34 ft broad and drew 10½ ft. Her propelling machinery consisted of two sets of 150 nhp triple-expansion engines supplied by steam from single-ended, oil-fired Scotch boilers. These gave a full speed of about 14 knots. Many questions were raised in Parliament about the alleged inadequacy of the *Lochness* accommodation, particularly for third-class passengers, and the complaints led to the promise of a better ship. But the second world war intervened and it was not until 1945 that the *Loch Seaforth* (TMSV) was ordered. She was on duty in December 1947 and the *Lochness* transferred to the Islands route from Oban.

[205] MacBrayne's mail contract of December 1938 stipulated that the company would provide two vessels, one to be for the Stornoway mail service. This proposed ship was delayed until 1945 when the order for *Loch Seaforth* was placed with Messrs Denny's shipyard. This vessel was the first of the MacBrayne fleet to be fitted with radar and was much larger than any of her predecessors on the Stornoway mail service. She had a gross tonnage of 1,089 and was 229ft in length. In 1972 the *Loch Seaforth* was withdrawn from the Stornoway service. Her place was taken by the *Clansman* ferry for a short period until the *'Iona'* took over to inaugurate a new ferry service between Ullapool and Stornoway rather than the traditional Kyle-Stornoway link. The facilities on the *Iona* for vehicles are good but the passenger accommodation is indifferent.

The first official hint of the coming of drive-on/drive-off car ferries for the Western Isles was made at the commissioning of David MacBrayne's *Loch Arkaig* in 1960. Under the Highlands and Islands Shipping Services Act, 1960, three vessels were built for the Secretary of State for Scotland, and were chartered by him to David MacBrayne Ltd for the new ferry services. One of these ships is the *Hebrides*, a twin-screw passenger and vehicle ferry

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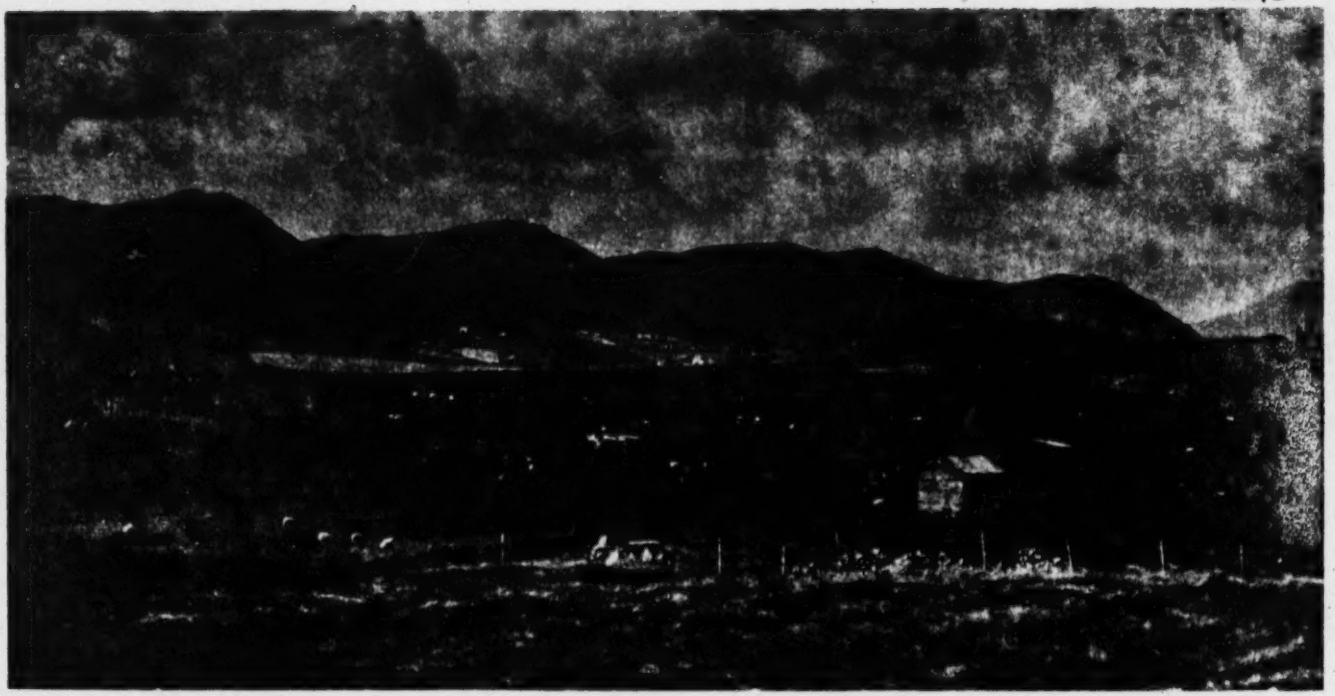

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The Lewis village of Laxay on Loch Erisort

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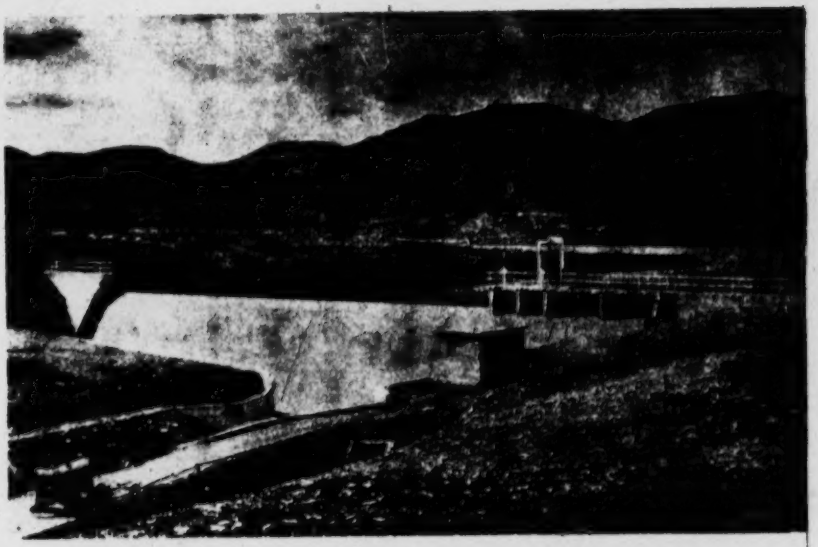

(*above*) Civil-engineering works in Lewis: the dam at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme

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(*below*) Civil-engineering works in Harris: the Eilean Glas lighthouse on Scalpay Island, one of the four original lighthouses built in 1789. A new tower was built in 1824

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vessel with a service speed of 14 knots. She can accommodate 501
600 persons (400 in winter) and over fifty cars, and has sleeping 505
berths for fifty-one passengers. Powered by two supercharged 175*
diesel engines of Crossley make, she has a lateral-thrust propeller unit in the bows to aid berthing at piers, and is fitted with stabilisers. The MacBrayne colours have been used: black hull, red and black funnel, white superstructure and thin white waterline. The metal decking is painted a light green instead of the more usual brown or dark red. After completing her trials on the Clyde, *Hebrides* went into service on the Uig (Skye)/Tarbert (Harris)/Lochmaddy (Uist) route on 15 April 1964. She was really a replacement of the *Lochmor* (of 1930), which had sailed across the Minch for almost thirty-five years, but which had many more ports of call, based at Kyle of Lochalsh and Mallaig instead of plying to and from the north of Skye. The Hebridean ferry berths at Tarbert and Lochmaddy on alternate nights, and spends the weekends at Tarbert. At the end of her first year of operation she carried nearly 11,100 vehicles.

SEA-RESCUE WORK

Closely associated with the sea services to the islands is the work 175*
of lighting the seaways and the rescue work which is at times 502
required when the Hebridean seas are showing their teeth. The matter has occupied official attention for a very long time. Beginning at the northern tip of the island, the lighthouse at the Butt of Lewis is one of Britain's major manned stations. An oil-burning light was established there in 1862. In 1905 it was converted to an incandescent light, with a range of twenty-five miles. Three years earlier a fog signal was provided, and in 1930 a wireless beacon was set up at the station. At Tiumpan Head, at the tip of the Eye Peninsula, the light was established in 1900; it was oil-burning, converted to an incandescent six years later. The fog signal was not provided until 1959.

Eilean Glas lighthouse is one of the major manned lights which guide ships up the Minch. On the easternmost tip of Scalpay Island, in Harris, it was one of the four original lighthouses built by the Commissioners of Northern Lights in 1789. A new tower

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*175 502 was built in 1824 with an oil-burning light, converted to incandescent in 1907. A fog signal was established in the same year.

The Arnish light is one of the first sights of Stornoway that welcome the island homecomer—and the last visible link when the island is left—so it has been duly celebrated in poem and song. Sited at the mouth of Stornoway Bay, it was established as an oil light in 1853, and in 1911 was converted to acetylene-gas operation. The keepers were withdrawn in 1963 and the light is now unwatched. Of the minor unmanned lights, Carloway is an acetylene-gas-burning light established in 1892; Greinam, on the shores of east Loch Roag, near Breasclete, was set up as an incandescent light in 1900. The light at Milaid Point, near Kebock Head on the east of Lewis, was established, with acetylene gas, in 1912; and the light at Rudh Uisenis, again on the east coast, a little south of Milaid Point, was an acetylene-gas burner set up in 1938.

But whatever the navigational aids, mishaps at sea still occur. The rescue services can help thwart the sting of death, not only for the islander but for the stranger craft feeling their way along unfamiliar, dark-night shorelines. The RNLI (Royal National Lifeboat Institution) station was first established in Stornoway in 1887, £1,000 being spent on building a lifeboat house and 140 ft launching slipway—launching was done by manual labour. The first lifeboat was the *Isabella*, costing £372 and the gift of a Mrs Duguid of London, a woman obviously true to her surname. The *Isabella* was launched only five times during her four years' service.

From 1901 to 1918, the *Sarah Pilkington* was launched five times and saved twelve lives from shipwreck. Then came the *Janet* (1918-24) which cost £810. She was launched only once, with no rescues. In the next four years the *James Marsh* saw no service; but the subsequent boat spent a busy quarter of a century (1929-54). She was the *William and Harriet*, built at a cost of £10,469; launched seventy-seven times, she rescued 130 lives, indicating the increase in sea traffic on the Minch and near waters. In 1954 her place was taken by the present lifeboat, the *James and Margaret Boyd*, then the largest type of lifeboat in the service until the building of 70 ft craft in 1965.

SEA-RESCUE WORK

But neither is Harris behind in willing men. In December 1962 the trawler *Boston Heron* saw herself on off-lying rocks and broken surf water in a full south-westerly gale. The rock island of Stilamair, off Scalpay Island, gave the stranded crew little hope of help. But six Scalpay men saw the plight of the ship and went out in a small open boat. Three of the trawlermen were saved, one of whom was found clinging exhausted to a rock. The other seven perished before more adequate aid could be brought. For their heroism, these Scalpay men were awarded Vellum Certificates by the RNLI. The attitude of local men to the sea, and the sea's treatment of men, was once summed up by an old Harrisman: 'Our men were brought up in the school that taught them that life was precious and that the soul was priceless.' 502 175*

The formal organisation of sea rescue is found in the Coastguard Stornoway, the headquarters of the Stornoway District. This covers the north-west coast of Scotland from Ardnamurchan, Argyll, to Cailleach Head, the Minches and the associated sea areas, including the Small Isles, Skye and the Outer Hebrides —in all some 800 miles of coastline. The Stornoway station is base for a district officer, a station officer and four coastguardsmen, supported by locally-enrolled residents who form the Auxiliary Coastguard. Stornoway Coastguard is the launching station for the Stornoway and Barra lifeboats, advising when a launch is needed and calling out the boat crew by firing two green maroons. It is also a coastguard liaison station for the GPO Coast Radio Station (CRS) at Oban, and it co-operates with Oban and Wick as a radio-telephone station when lifeboats are launched on service. There is, in addition, liaison between Stornoway station and the RAF, the Royal Navy and Lloyd's: Lloyd's come into the picture when tugs, salvage and shipping information are required. 502 706 [456]

Though there have been many stranger ships and lives lost on and around the island's shores, local tragedies are not lacking. In December 1862 disaster overtook five boats from Port of Ness, out pursuing white fish. A fierce gale sprang up and the fishing-fleet perished, with thirty-one lives. Twenty-four widows, seventy-one orphans and thirty-one other dependents were left destitute, though they obtained some subsequent relief from a fund to which 502 731 175* [736]

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502 731 *175 [736] Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, contributed handsomely. But that was only one item in a long chapter that will never close.

The most shattering disaster on Lewis shores was the loss of the *Iolaire* on the very last day of the year 1918. Before the New Year's Day of 1919 was a few hours old, over 200 sons and fathers were lying in the death-waters of their drowning, little more than a stone's-throw from their native island. Barely a village on the island was not affected by the sinking of the *Iolaire*, which was bringing soldiers and sailors back from the war to their homes. The subsequent findings of the Court of Inquiry are bald statements which convey nothing of the tragic loss of the cream of an island's male population in a matter of minutes. The jury found that the *Iolaire* went ashore and was wrecked on the rocks inside the 'Beasts of Holm' (outside Stornoway) about 1.55 on the morning of 1 January, resulting in the death of 205 men; that the officers in charge did not exercise sufficient prudence in approaching the harbour; that the boat did not slow down, and that the look-out was not on duty at the time of the accident; that the number of lifeboats, boats and rafts was insufficient for the number of people carried, and that no orders were given by the officers with a view to saving life; and, further, that there was a loss of valuable time between the signals of distress and the arrival of life-saving apparatus in the vicinity of the wreck. The sad affair is still remembered in the In Memoriam columns of the *Stornoway Gazette*.

AIR SERVICES

509 506 *175 The people of the Outer Hebrides are among the most air-minded in the world. However, aeroplanes came late to the island. The first visit by an aircraft was in 1928, when Seaplane S1058 landed in Stornoway Harbour. The crew of five were treated to a luncheon by the town's civic heads. In 1932 the seaplane *Flying Cloud* arrived in the town, piloted by Lord Malcolm Douglas Hamilton. Owned by British Flying Boats Limited, it was the first commercial aircraft to land and caused some local talk about air services for the island. In June 1933 a large seven-seater air-

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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craft belonging to the Midland and Scottish Air Ferries Limited came down at the golf course near Melbost; three or four attempts were made to land, but each time it touched down a small boy ran out to meet it and it was forced to rise again. The directors of the company were interested in establishing an air contact with the island. In September of the same year a giant RAF seaplane landed in Stornoway Bay, the S1589, the largest naval flying boat in the world at the time. 509 506 175*

In 1933, Highland Airways Limited proposed an air link between Stornoway and Inverness. The following year, in March, saw the first commercial flight, piloted by an air pioneer in the north of Scotland, Captain E. E. Fresson. The service was intermittent, however. Then in September 1935 there was an agreement between the trustees of the Stornoway Estate and Captain Glyn Roberts of the West of Scotland Air Services Limited to establish an air service between Renfrew and Stornoway as soon as possible. The trustees gave this company the sole right to operate the service from the landing ground of Melbost golf course for a period of five years. Initially the service was to be thrice weekly, at £3 4s single fare. The interesting connection here was that Captain Roberts was the first man to operate an air mail service on behalf of the Canadian Government, along the route of the MacKenzie River, discovered by Stornoway's Sir Alexander MacKenzie; he carried mails to many of the settlements along the river which had previously been served irregularly. At the same time, survey flights over Lewis were being carried out by Captain Fresson of Highland Airways. These led to the construction of 600-yard runways at Melbost, with a radio station to be installed when the airport was complete. 509 175* [508]

In March 1938, the *Lochgarry*, an old cumbersome, single-screw vessel, was on the Stornoway run. When a sixty-mile an hour gale blew up she was unable to leave Kyle of Lochalsh. The Post Office, with commendable enterprise, chartered a Highland Airways plane to fly the mails from Inverness to Stornoway and return with island mails. But no regular air service for mails on this route was introduced until 1948. No special mark was introduced by the GPO, but first covers were marked 'First Lewis Air Mail, Feb 16th 1948. Stornoway to Inverness'. 509 205 175*

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509 *175 [743] [205] There were, of course, other types of flights before 1948. In 1937, Captain Fresson took the first sick person off the island on charter—the beginning of the air-ambulance service so valuable to the islanders. During World War II, certain RAF mails were flown between Glasgow and Stornoway, on which there were first covers (December 1943, Glasgow/Stornoway; December 1943, Stornoway/Glasgow; and January 1944, Glasgow/Stornoway). The present air services are supplied by BEA and Loganair Ltd. The BEA plane route is Glasgow/Benbecula/Inverness and return. Loganair offer a service Glasgow/Benbecula/Stornoway and return. In recent years this small firm has built up a most valuable inter-island air link.

OVERLAND ROUTES

484 *175 [487] The history of overland communications in the island is a short one, though it does, like American history, have many characteristic highlights. In early times getting from one place to another was simply a matter of following well-worn tracks across the moorland, skirting lochsides and marshy lands and just taking the shortest distance possible between starting point and destination. [499] Considering the length and breadth of the island, it is surprising that it was not until Sir James Matheson's appearance in Lewis that road-making was undertaken with any determination. This activity stemmed largely from the desire to get something in return for the outlay involved in keeping literal death from starvation clear of the doors of the island folk.

491 499 *175 The report of the Rev James Headrick (prepared for Lord Seaforth in 1800 and published about 1820) indicated that the provision of roads would be of great benefit to the island. A footnote in the report (of probable date 1816) urges assistance from Parliament or the Board of Fisheries to complete the road from Stornoway to Loch Roag, which had been begun by Lord Seaforth. [652] There is a bitter complaint that though the Seaforth property bears a large share in the county assessment, 'not a penny of public money has ever been laid out in Lewis'. Another footnote records that the road from Stornoway to Aignish in the east was made in 1815. No large undertakings followed Mr Headrick's

many recommendations, and though some road making began in 1791, progress was slow; in the course of fifty years, only 45 miles of road were created, less than a mile for each year. When Sir James Matheson took over in 1844 and planned to open up the island, he started with these 45 miles. On his death in 1878 there were more than 200 miles of road on which, with the necessary connecting bridges, he spent £25,593.

In the late autumn of 1882, a great gale swept away the hay and corn crops. This, added to the complete failure of the potato harvest, led to distress throughout the island. At a meeting called in Stornoway in December it was resolved that a memorial be forwarded to Mr Gladstone, then Prime Minister, craving aid from Government resources, or that some form of public works be started. No immediate response was made to this appeal. However, as the matter had been raised, investigations were made and eventually the Western Highlands and Islands (Scotland) Works Act, 1891, passed into law. It authorised, *inter alia*, the expenditure of a sum not exceeding £15,000 on constructing and improving the road between Carloway and Stornoway, and certain other roads approved by the Secretary for Scotland.

That Carloway was chosen as a terminus from Stornoway is significant. At the time it was probably the best fishing centre on the west coast of Lewis. Loch Carloway, which branches eastward from the mouth of Loch Roag, is a safe harbour and offers easy access; and any attempt to develop the real fishing potential of the district was a step in the right direction. At the time, the road from Carloway to Stornoway was a wandering one, 23 miles long, badly formed in many parts and ill-suited to heavy traffic. The proposed road was to be only 16 miles long and would, it was said, afford easy and quick access to Stornoway; fish would arrive there in fresh condition, suitable for transportation by boat to southern markets. As soon as the necessary plans were prepared and a contract drawn up, the work started. Progress was rapid, but financial difficulties arose. The contractor went bankrupt and the engineer was dismissed. The undertaking came to a complete standstill. Of the 16 miles, only 8 were completed. About 5 miles were partially made; the remaining 3 miles lay untouched.

The 1891 Act brought into existence a number of minor roads

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491 and footpaths. Until this time, the greater part of the district of
653 Park was accessible only on foot. Roads were 'at best rough nar-
*175 row paths where rushes and grass grew between the tracks'. The Act improved the old *frith-rathad* (rough tracks) to such an extent that, says a report of 1902, 'a marked improvement has taken place in school attendance by their formation'. The opening up of the island certainly benefited the people. Though the moor tracks
491 might give a more direct route to Stornoway, the roads at least
493 offered a hard surface for horse-drawn cars and carts. The num-
bers of vehicles accordingly rose, and for long after the turn of
*175 the century the horse enjoyed a monopoly. Motor cars were beginning to be read about in the days-late newspapers brought to the island, but not until 1917 were the first complaints heard about cars tearing up the surfaces of the roads. Slowly but surely the inevitable pioneers emerged with their 'tin lizzies'. By 1925 there were an estimated 250 vehicles in Lewis—and traffic congestion was beginning to be a problem. The relative speed of cars was still something to be wondered at too: it was progress indeed to be able to travel from Ness to Stornoway and back again between a late breakfast and an early tea. But for all this progress, one could still buy a good dog-cart in excellent condition, to seat
[435] six people, for £9. A two-seater trap could be had for £6 10s; a set of harness cost 30s. And as for fuel—the best quality oats were 10s 6d per cwt. Indeed, it was not until 1943 that Stornoway Town Council sold its last horse—and only because no one could be found to look after it.

When Sir James Matheson came to Lewis in 1844 there was only one horse-drawn vehicle on the whole island. By 1872 eighty-seven wheeled vehicles were using his new roads. A pioneer of the wheel-carriage service, D. K. Henderson, began business in the
[205] 1850s. He was the first to carry mails and held a contract for the Stornoway to Tarbert run until the GPO introduced its own vehicles. As the motor took hold Henderson changed over and was the first to establish a motor-transport business on the island. Not all the local vehicles were of recognised makers' designs. A writer in the *Stornoway Gazette* in the mid-twenties commented on the fact that only the engine and the chassis of the local buses were imported. Bodies were then erected by carpenters . . . and

boat-builders; many of the bodies were 'fearfully and wonderfully made', an understatement that did not go unnoticed by those who had to travel in the emergent public transport. Combined interests led to the formation of the Lewis Motor Owners' Association which agitated for better roads; existing highways were being pot-holed with alarming and uncomfortable rapidity to the detriment of their vehicles. 491 493 175*

Very slowly did public transport become co-ordinated for the benefit of the travelling country folk. Routes were planned and approved. In 1932 there were daily tours for visitors to the island, a series begun by the late John Mitchell, a pioneer in the provision of bus services, with Stornoway as the 'Rome' of Harris and Lewis. In 1935 he was granted permission by the Traffic Commissioners to run daily services between Stornoway and Rodel. 494 175*

The expansion of the Harris Tweed industry was responsible for developing transport, both for conveying yarn to weavers throughout the island and for mill-workers. In May 1933 John Mitchell began a suburban bus service for the people of Stornoway, though more for the conveyance of workers in the fish trade; tweed-mill workers and others were not slow to take advantage of it. In the following month, June, Mitchell ran a bus from Stornoway to the Market Place just outside the town at Bannadrove (Beinn na Drobh—hill of the market), for a 6d fare. In October of the same year, Peter MacAulay provided a twenty-seater Bedford bus for the Carloway to Stornoway run, and this vehicle was not a home-made affair. Meanwhile in Stornoway, a traffic census showed that, on average, 628 vehicles crossed Cromwell Street, the main thoroughfare, every day—and 799 pedal cyclists. [288] [493]

POSTAL SERVICES

Until the late years of the nineteenth century, the lack of postal facilities were not considered a great disadvantage: few people wrote letters. 205 175*

The *Scots Magazine* in 1756 noted that 'A Post Office is to be established at Stornoway, in the island of Lewis, from the fifth of July next, with packet-boats for maintaining a regular com-

COMMUNICATIONS

205 munication with the mainland. The mail will be dispatched from
*175 Edinburgh every Thursday at eight o'clock at night, and should arrive at Edinburgh every Tuesday morning, but the arrival will sometimes be uncertain.' The development of a postal service in the hinterland of Stornoway was slow. In 1833 only one mail packet ran each week to Lewis, sailing from Poolewe to Stornoway, weather permitting (see Chapter 8), and the island still had only the one post office. By 1880, of course, more contact with the outside world was expected and there were eleven post offices in rural Lewis, with Stornoway's promoted to Head Office status.
[454] The latter had been for some time equipped with a money order and Savings Bank department. The telegraph had also been intro-
205 duced, though no connection to any of the country offices existed;
206 telegrams for all parts of the island other than Stornoway were,
*175 as a rule, forwarded by the first mail dispatched after the receipt of the message. By 1902 there were twelve telegraph offices in the country districts of Lewis (Harris was incommunicado with Stornoway, coming under the Inverness-shire arrangements). Some of these offices were set up under orders of the Highlands & Islands Work Board, the service being carried on by the Post Office without guarantee against loss. The office at Port of Ness was subsidised by the Fishery Board and Lloyd's, who had a signalling station at the lighthouse there.

205 Until 1926, when the long-universal red vans appeared, all
*175 mail was transported between the rural areas and Stornoway by private contractors, who used horses and latterly Albion coaches.
[494] A motor-launch operated between Callernish and Bernera; mails
[505] for South Lochs were conveyed across Loch Erisort from Crossbost to Cromore, and from Laxay to Kershader. In the early
[494] 1930s this area was served by mail van working between Stornoway and Lemreway. In 1950 full use was made of the existing
[509] BEA air service and, in order that mail from the rural areas could be included, additional main vans were outstationed at Lemreway, Callernish, and Port of Ness. These worked in to meet others working out from the town.

The Harris area was taken under the control of the head postmaster at Stornoway in 1937, having before this date been served by the head postmaster at Lochmaddy, North Uist. A mounted

POSTAL SERVICES

A mounted postman was at that time working between Tarbert and Flodabay, halfway down the east coast of South Harris. Before this transfer there was no direct mail link between Harris and Lewis. With the introduction of a bus service, a local mail was introduced between Stornoway, Tarbert and Leverburgh, and up to 1955 all mails for Harris were dealt with at Tarbert and Leverburgh, being dispatched to and received from mainland offices direct on a three-days-a-week basis. In 1955 a daily delivery service was introduced throughout Harris (with the exception of Scarp), all its mails being handled at Stornoway. 205 175* [492] [494]

TELEGRAPH, TELEPHONE AND RADIO

The first telephone in Lewis was installed in 1897. The first telegraphic cable was laid in 1872; its continual breakdowns were a constant source of annoyance, particularly to local businessmen and fishcurers. Another cable for morse telegraph was laid about 1910, between Broad Bay in Lewis and Inverasdale on the Scottish mainland. This worked duplex to Aberdeen, the 'B' leg of the cable being used for an Inverness link. At about the same time, a morse-operated Stornoway-Lochmaddy-Castlebay (Barra) telegraph circuit was introduced which had to be balanced every morning before sending could begin. This was the last morse link in Scotland until its withdrawal in 1948. Though latterly it went only to Lochmaddy, originally it worked with one wire to Castlebay, Lochboisdale, and Lochmaddy, and thence to Tobermory and Oban. It was a four-wire circuit to Tarbert and single-wire to Castlebay; the batteries were housed in the attic of Stornoway Post Office. A new trunk telephone service between Lewis and the mainland began on 21 March 1933, celebrated by an inaugural call from the Provost of Stornoway to the GPO in Edinburgh. A four-core cable was laid between Loch Erisort and Staffin in Skye, complemented with some 25 miles of overland wire. It had to be balanced after every shower of rain! The first teleprinter was worked over this cable in the early 1930s. The use to which the fishing trade put the connection can be gauged by the fact that at the height of the fishing season up to 20,000 messages were handled each month. The first trans-Atlantic call came in 206 175*

COMMUNICATIONS

206 The first trans-Atlantic call came in
*175 1935, when the Lewis Woollen Mills were called up by a Toronto
288 mill.

207 Beam radio came in 1938-39 with two circuits. The stations
*175 were on Bennadrove Hill, outside Stornoway, and at Ullapool. In 1942 a twelve-channel link was opened to Gairloch. Outlying villages worked into Stornoway on single-wire circuits, with an earth return, Great Bernera being the last exchange to be served
[206] single-wire. One of the island's most remote inhabited satellite
[167] islands, Scarp, received its first telephone service only in 1947. Scarp was deserted by its native population in 1971.

206 The rate of increase in the use of telephone services in the island has been considerable. In 1965 some 1400 customers of the Post Office made almost 250,000 trunk calls. In 1972, the number of subscribers was 2,300. The projected number for 1975 is in the region of 3,500 subscribers who will make an estimated 500,000 calls per annum. In each case, the figure for local calls is very much higher. Every telephone exchange on the island has grown in size; of the twenty-one exchanges, the three largest are at Back, Carloway and Shawbost. In 1964 the Post Office set up a working party to examine the development of the telephone service in the Highlands and Islands. As a result of the party's report a scheme of improvement involving a capital expenditure of £7½ million will be spent on new buildings and access roads, exchange equipment, underground cables and radio equipment.

Stornoway has been provided with a new telephone exchange, and underground cables have been laid both in the town and in the outlying districts. Smaller exchanges in the country areas
[207] will have new equipment fitted. A modern radio system between Stornoway and Tarbert is being constructed. To link the island with the South, a new underground cable, costing £1 million, will link Inverness to Ullapool and Gairloch. It is estimated that by 1975 most townships in Lewis and Harris (the latter through a new Exchange building) will be on STD, at a cost of £500 for every connected subscriber in the island.

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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5 AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

THE economic possibilities of the peat blanket of the island, 175*
particularly in Lewis, have attracted the attention of many 134
would-be exploiters. Sir James Matheson's advisers formed 31
the idea that the Lewis hags could be turned to a good profit, and Sir James's series of peat reclamation and improvement programmes are still echoed today. He first cast his eye to the west, north of Achmore, a township set up more than a century ago on deep peat. The peat reclaimer he employed was none other than Alexander Smith, one of the best-known 'speculative' agriculturalists in Scotland at the time. Smith had already transformed the Carse of Gowrie from bog to a fertile tract of land; could he not do the same in Lewis? The site chosen was seven miles from Stornoway and the little hamlet established there was called Little Deanston, in recognition of Deanston, Perthshire, to which Smith belonged. The soil consisted of bog-moss, varying in depth from 3 to 8 ft. Sixty acres were wedge-drained and laid [242]
out in fields of ten acres enclosed with ditches and turf fences. Ploughing and trenching began and fertilizing agents were applied, including clay marl, shell sand, guano and dissolved bones. Two of the fields were put through a course of arable cultivation, the others being laid down in grass. After the fields had been worked for a few years it was found that the driest ground gave the best results. In time the land was handed over [241]
to some crofters from nearby Lochganvich, but in 1850 it was abandoned because of the difficulty in getting seaweed for manuring; and besides it was not possible to keep the land in good heart and to do fishing as well. The tract of land concerned today still shows a better quality of pasture than the adjacent natural moorland.

Smith gave his impressions voice in 1844, just after his first 175*
visit to Lewis, to the august members of the Glasgow Philosophical 241
Society. The cultivation of the soil was as primitive as the 134
31

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AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

*175 241 134 311 [181] islanders' manufacture of cloth. The inhabitants were at least a century behind the times, though they were, he found, in no way deficient by nature. They were social in their own style, and they had very good heads, 'that is, for people not accustomed to habits of thought'. So far as agriculture was concerned, nothing in the way of draining the land had ever been accomplished; nor had any effort been made to penetrate the hard sub-soil. He held that [137] the great scarcity of timber had been a serious handicap when [412] it came to agricultural implements—to their renewal, repair or possible improvement. Under direction, however, he was convinced that improvements in land use would result in considerable benefits to the island. He added that he hoped the period of this improvement would not be far off and that visitors would find 'a green, pastoral land instead of a dreary waste'.

*175 242 134 311 Yet not until 1928 was peat reclamation and development again brought out for an airing. This time, the benefactor was the late Mr T. B. MacAulay, a Montreal magnate, a son of Lewis connections. He gave £10,000 to establish an experimental farm in Lewis, and a site on Arnish moor, not far from Stornoway, was chosen. It was typical of most of Lewis: black, water-holding peat, which when squeezed, instead of allowing water to escape from it like a sponge, oozes itself through the fingers. The aims of the farm were to provide additional arable land on which to grow winter fodder, and to improve, at as low a cost as possible, the grazing on the moorland. Fifty acres were certainly converted from moorland to arable, and this formed a basis for an experimental extension to another 100 acres. By 1936 the farm had a [231] sales income from produce of about £1,400. The stock in that year included 40 head of thriving cattle, including 15 dairy cows, 20 poultry, 140 blackfaced sheep, and some fattening pigs. The sheep were a late addition, made with the dual aim of pasturing on moorland too deep and soft for cattle in wet weather, and of improving the sheep strain of the island.

By 1938, it had been shown that some lasting improvement on moorland of reasonably favourable slope could be effected at a materials cost of about £3 per acre, and without heavy labour costs. Thus, the common grazings held by the crofting townships could be improved, if a co-operative effort were organized. So

far as the reclamation of arable land from moorland was concerned, however, requiring as it did under-draining and cultivation, the labour costs were heavy, approaching the £20 per acre mark including the liming and fertilizing. 175* 242 134 311

Though the farm was used for dairying with some reasonable results, the moorland acres put into good heart at Arnish were left to deteriorate. The run-down of the experiment followed the depression of 1933. Funds dried up, and in 1939 the farm was let to a tenant. But the lesson obtained from the MacAulay farm was a good one. By simply dressing with shell sand, of which large quantities are available on the shore-lands, applying some form of phosphate and seeding with cheap clover or ryegrass—involving no cultivation—large areas of moorland can be persuaded to do a good job. The work at present being undertaken by crofters to improve moorland grazing is worth mention. Areas of land have been given a surface application of approved compound fertilizers, phosphates, lime or shell sand, and selected grass-seed mixtures. The results are literally a sight for sore eyes, and bring Alexander Smith's 'green, pastoral land' close to realisation. Although individual crofters have taken advantage of the help given to regenerate rough grazings, the most spectacular results have been seen on the township common grazings; most of these have been fenced off and improved. Today, something like 14,000 acres of lush green pastures are steadily spreading over deep peat where formerly grew only sedges and brown heather. [234] 134 311 241 242

To end this aspect of land use in Lewis on a historical note, the story of re-seeding had its beginnings during the time of the Napoleonic Wars. A minister who had some land at Barvas, on the west coast of the island, decided to attempt the reclamation of useless heather-bound and bracken-choked land. He sanded the area with shell sand, seeded it with a good strain of grass and used sheep to tamp in the seed. One can imagine what Lewis would be like today if the Barvas minister's work had been followed up by Alexander Smith and those who set up the farm at Arnish. 134 175* 311 242

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THE CROFTER

241 The pursuit of agricultural processes, their growth, development and improvement, to establish a foundation for a secure society has never been easy on the island. The unyielding nature of the [135] base rock, Archaean gneiss, its hardness, its non-porous property, have all contributed to the resultant pattern and character of society which emerged. Though one is tempted to define crofting as an agricultural activity, it is also something much more intan- [113] gible: a way of life. To quote the Napier Report on *The condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scot-* [181] *land* (1884): 'Habit and local affection bear so great a sway in the actions of mankind, that Highlanders will be found who would rather be proprietors in the mountains of Skye, or the wastes of Lewis, than on the fertile plains of Manitoba.' 'There is the Island of Lewis, with poor, peaty soil covering the Archaean gneiss, but with a crowded, lively, vivid community,' said the Taylor commision in 1955 (Commission of Inquiry into Crofting Holdings).

The Highland crofter is the subject of an extensive literature. [657] A special authority, the Crofters Commission, exists solely for the purpose of caring for his needs. He has special rights and privileges which are safeguarded by the Land Court. Crofters' unions have formed themselves into a strong federated wall for the system's defence.

241 Socially, the term 'crofter' means, on the island at any rate, a 423 landholder who cultivates his own (arable) holding, his croft. He 233 shares the common pastures with his fellow-crofters, each of whom has a right to carry a sum of so much stock, the 'souming'. These [571] common pastures or grazings are a social link of some consider- [632] able significance, forming the basis for the crofting township, as [621] distinct from the communities set up under the influence of some agricultural land use such as hamlet or village, where there are both small-holders and true farms, and the only communal land is the village green or common. For instance, outside the crofting counties area the main unit of Scots life in the country is the farm, with its tied cottages. Then come the full-time small-holdings important in the north-east and the southern Highlands.

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Two Stornoway scenes from the 'Grand Collotype Album of Views in Lewis' published c 1900 by Samuel Lawrence, 'Chemist, Druggist, Perfumer, Stationer and Tobacconist', Cromwell Street, Stornoway. (*above*) The herring fleet in Stornoway harbour, showing the wherries or 'Zulu' type craft; (*below*) Cromwell Street

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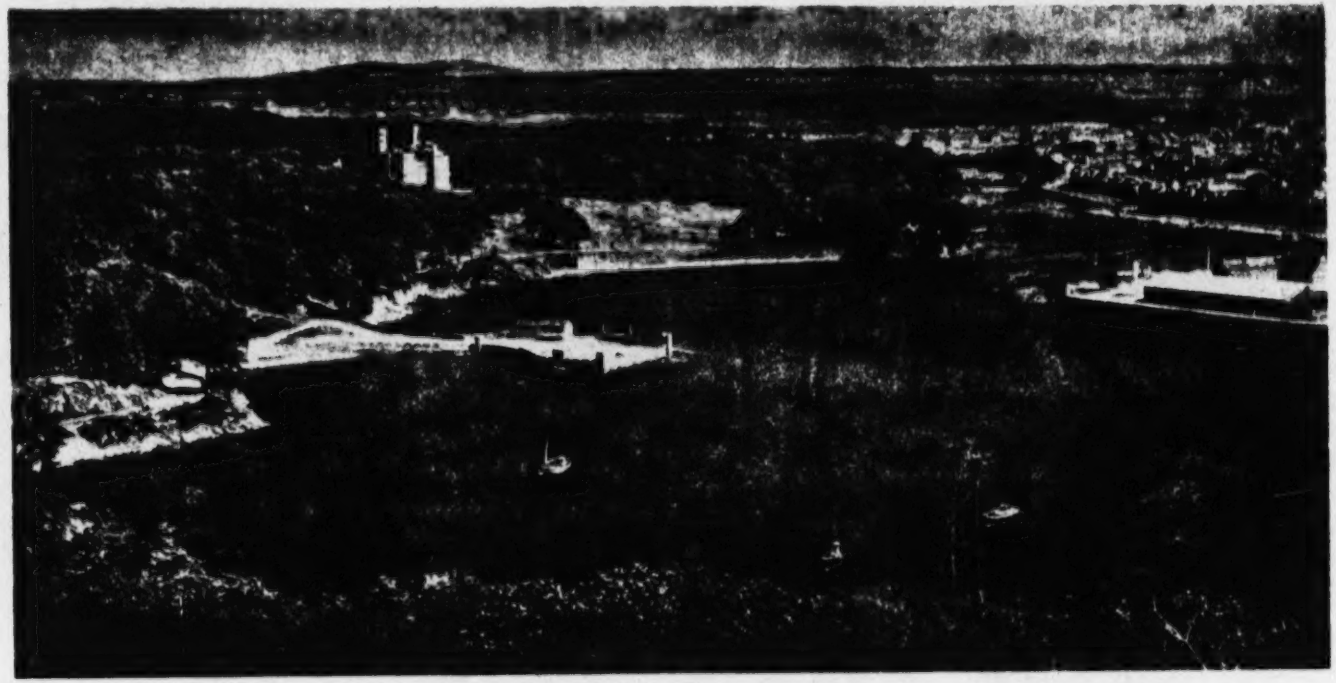

The inner harbour at Stornoway, taken from Gallows Hill. Lews Castle, now the Lews Technical College, is seen on the left.
The trees of the Castle policies were planted by Lady Matheson

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EARLY AGRICULTURE

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1757

In the past the land was worked with reasonable efficiency, at least to produce a subsistence economy. The reports of various observers on the islander point to this. But they also record a slow deterioration in the use of land with an agricultural element, as distinct from crofting. First, to Donald Monro, Dean of the Isles. His account of the Western Isles (*c* 1549) indicates that the population was very much greater then than now, and methods of agriculture were not far behind those used on the mainland. In addition to the raising of cattle, cereal crops were grown. Harris was 'very fertile and fruitfull of corne store and fisching, twisse mair of delving in it nor of teilling'. Lewis was 'faire and waill inhabit at the coste, ane fertile fruitfull countrey, for the most part all beire [barley] . . . in this ile ther are many shiep, for it is verey guid for the same.' Taransay (on the west of Harris) is reported as 'ane rough ile with certain tounes weil inhabit and manurit; but all this fertill is delved with spaides excepting as meikell as ane horse pleuch will teill and zet they have maist abundance of beir, meile of corne, store and fishing.' One must, however, regard the Dean's account in the light of his mission, which was to visit the Hebrides in a pastoral capacity. His concern was thus chiefly with Church lands which, agriculturally speaking, were the best. There is evidence also that the clergy in the islands were as good farmers as they were theologians and, as elsewhere, stimulated agriculture by example and precept.

The next reporter was Captain Dymes, sent from London *c* 1630, to report on the islanders, their agriculture and their ways of fishing. He confirms much of what the Dean said, even though one suspects that a pinch or two of adjectival seasoning has been added, for was not King Charles interested in Lewis and its resources? Again Lewis is described as 'very profitable and fertile alswell of corns as all kinds of bestiall wild fowl and fishes and specialie of beir sua that thair will grow commonlie 20, 18 or at leist 16 bolls beir yeirlie after ilk bolls sawing'. Harris was 'fertile, commodious and profitable in all sorts'.

About half a century later (*c* 1695) Martin Martin paints a different picture. Agriculture is in a shameful state of neglect and

241 conditions backward. He tells us that the Island of Lewis had been
*175 fruitful in corn until late years of scarcity and bad seasons. The crops were barley, oats, rye, flax and hemp. The natives showed great industry in digging the ground with spades—a practice which he invariably associates with a large return. He even records
[273] that the abundance of corn had once been such that it encouraged them to 'brew several sorts of liquor'. For manure, sea-ware and
[407] soot were used. And harrows had two rows of teeth and rough heather in the third row. Pennant's visit to the island in 1772 found that the produce of the land was insufficient to support the population. Distress was rife.

In Martin's time, although the economy was more or less self-
[273] sufficient, a certain amount of produce was available for export or for translation into 'several sorts of liquors, as common usquebaugh, another called trestarig id est, three times distilled, which is strong and hot.' One assumes that this produce was surplus to
[231] the requirements of the island's population. The livestock consisted of 'cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs'.

TACKSMEN AND TENANTS

*175 Most of those who held land had leases: tacksmen, who paid
241 rent for large tracts of land and who, by settling suitable tenants
427 there, received rents, in money or in labour, as an additional income from their farms. These smaller tenants had no leases: they could not write and were subject to the tacksman's favour. In the early eighteenth century, the rental rolls for Lewis, preserved among the Seaforth Papers in the Register House in Edinburgh, show that most of the tacksmen—sixty-four in number—were MacKenzies, indicating that they were adherents of the Seaforth (MacKenzie) family on the mainland, who had received the lands from royal hands as the reward for their fidelity. The smaller tenants, who generally lacked surnames but were known by their personal characteristics, numbered over 200; there were also above eighty tenants in Stornoway.

Rents were paid either in money or, more often, in meal, mutton, sheep, butter, tallow or salmon. When it was proposed to sell the Seaforth estate of Lewis in 1772, particulars of the Lewis

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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rental were published for the benefit of intending purchasers, a value in sterling being placed on the items: 175* 241 427

Money	£713	3	3
Oatmeal, 256 bolls	89	2	2
Sheep, 228	25	6	8
Butter, 173 stones	28	19	7
Tallow, 7 stones	1	3	4
Salmon, 1 barrel	3	0	0
Total =	£860	15	0

The most important event in the agricultural history of the island at this time was the introduction of the potato. Though the exact date is not known, some evidence from the writer on Lewis in the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* (1796) places it about 1757. 'With the utmost difficulty . . . the people were prevailed on to plant potatoes, but of which they now plant great quantities by the plough and by the spade, and find them to be the most useful of all crops raised in the Parish.' 175* 137 244

The substantial tacksman seemed, in Lewis, to deal kindly with those who called him Fear Baile (Town Man—almost a mayor, without the trappings and self-elected). Serious complaints against tacksmen are few. But winds of change were blowing. John MacKenzie, who had for some years been Chamberlain of the Lewis Estate, was examined before the Napier Commission in Edinburgh in 1883. He knew the island's history well. 427 175* [554]

> Till the beginning of this century, the greater part of the Lewis was in the hands of tacksmen, or middlemen, who got in some cases from their sub-tenants in money, produce, and labour what nearly paid their rents. There were the MacIvers of the Parish of Stornoway, the Morisons and Murrays of Barvas, the MacAulays of Uig, and the MacLeods of Lochs. When Mr Stewart-MacKenzie married the Hon Lady Hood, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and took the management of the estate into his own hands, he did away with the middlemen and let the land directly to the crofters. This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction, but it had its disadvantages, as the example of a good middleman, who looked after his people, and who was industrious in farming and attentive in stock-breeding, was beneficial to the people, though in some cases they may have been petty tyrants. [551]

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427 With the disappearance of the middlemen, their sub-tenants be-
*175 came tenants of the proprietor; and the descendants of these are most of today's crofters. Mr Thomas Knox, who became Chamberlain of Lewis in 1833, was examined before a Select Committee of the Houses of Parliament on the question of emigration from the island in 1841. At that time there were 1,913 small tenants on the island who paid yearly rents varying from 63s 9d
[433] to 72s 3d. He stated that the country produced sufficient corn for
[731] the use of the people in most seasons. The years 1836-7 were
167 exceptional and outside relief became necessary. But he did not
427 consider that any person in Lewis was poor who had a lot of land, however small, if it were sufficiently stocked. There were,
*175 however, in the island, small tenants occupying land unsuitable for raising grain; and in order to avoid such distress as had occurred in recent years he had advocated the emigration of about 6,000 people, the vacant ground to be put under sheep. This course had been followed in 1838, when five families numbering about seventy people were removed and the land they had occupied was converted into sheep farms.

In the end, however, only a small fraction of the proposed 6,000 persons ever left Lewis under Knox's scheme. Those who were left worked their land under a cloud of increasing distress, in a system which had them in an iron grip. Eventually the bubble burst, as indicated in Chapter 3. The pressure of social conditions, and the events of historical progress, were manifested first in the social action against the agricultural system and finally in the legislation which gave the crofter certain rights.

CROFTING CHANGES

*175 In general, the island during the last century was able to support
244 its population, failing to do so only when disease struck at the
731 staple potato. Each family unit in the crofting township was self-
433 sufficient in most grown produce and the milk products from the family cow. Very poor families grew potatoes only and depended on neighbours for milk. But when the potato crops failed, distress knocked at almost every door, the fishing communities on the
000 island tending to relieve hunger by looking to the sea. The removal

CROFTING CHANGES

The removal of crofters from good to poorer ground was a significant factor in the destitution years of the nineteenth century, with the self-sufficiency factor becoming smaller and the dependence on imports (when there was money to buy these) increasing. Today, the crofter is of course not self-supporting, his economy being based on fishing and weaving with the produce of the croft yielding an annual average of some £200.

Acreages under certain crops show this trend to dependence on the produce of mainland farmers. In the island in 1911 some 3,673 acres were under potatoes, the present acreage being about one-third of that. The number of people per acre of potatoes for Scotland as a whole is 22 : 1. In the island it is about 15 : 1, indicating a heavy domestic consumption. Yet substantial imports of this crop are required to satisfy demand; a relevant point is that the milking cow commonly shares the potatoes. The barley crop, once much used in Lewis's former small distilleries, has been reduced to some 10 per cent during the past fifty years. On the other hand, the acreage of sheaf crops, oats, rye and mixed corn, generally fed to cattle, has about doubled. Oats in particular are in favour for cattle fodder; even before the turn of the present century oats were not widely used for human food, and oatmeal has for centuries been imported into the region. The turnip acreage has halved over the past fifty years, perhaps the result of the gradual disappearance of the horse, its steady labour and its dung being required to put good heart in to the land.

As the crofters' cropping policy has changed over the past half century, so has their animal husbandry. Animals are a main selling product, particularly cows and sheep. Horses, of course, have been drastically reduced from their total of 1,672 in 1911, as tractor, lorry and van have taken over their work. And though some cattle are raised, the numbers are now about 60 per cent below those of 1911. At that time the density of cattle per 1,000 acres was heavy (46-60) in the north-east of Lewis, less (31-45) in the north-west, and still less further south. The present average is around 18 beasts per 1,000 acres. This decline, in particular in the milk-yielding animals, has compelled Lewis to import 1,000 gallons of milk a day from the mainland.

It is sheep which today claim pride of place on the croft, valued

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231 178 for mutton and for wool, the right type for translation into Harris Tweed; the predominant breed is the blackface, whose fleece is hard, wiry and long-lasting. The demand for raw wool has also encouraged larger flocks among crofters in such places as Barra, where virtually no weaving is done in the immediate locality. In general there has been since 1911 a 40 per cent increase in the livestock carried on the island's crofts, about twice as big a rise as found anywhere in the seven crofting counties of Scotland.

234 In an attempt to reduce Lewis's milk imports, in 1962 three crofters at Garrabost on the Eye Peninsula combined to set up a small dairy farm using the lands of their three crofts. A new dairy byre and dairy premises were built and equipped with the necessary electrical equipment. Grants were given by the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland, the Crofters Commission, and the Highland Fund Limited. The first year of operation was closely supervised by the Lands staff of the Department at Stornoway and guidance given as necessary. The milk is retailed in Stornoway and district and amounts to about 5 per cent of Lewis's daily consumption. This little scheme has shown that the [438] island could with some organised effort become independent of milk imports, which have been estimated at upwards of £100,000 worth per annum. Over £70,000 per annum is also spent on imported butter and cheese.

241 178 In 1947 the number of crofts in Harris and Lewis was 4,020. In 1971 the figure was 4,146 (3,592 being in Lewis), representing a slight increase in a quarter of a decade. Thus, crofting as a land use activity in the island provides a fairly stable element in the economy, although it is subsidised by the crofters' participation in the fishing and tweed industries. A crofter, it should be [429] mentioned, is often a tenant of more than one croft, working them together as a unit. These units vary in size, the greatest bulk of them (about 60 per cent) having up to 5 acres of arable land. About 2 per cent contain over 30 acres of arable land. In 241 recent years there have been proposals for the better use of the 311 reclaimed moorland, particularly for cattle-raising, which would 178 offer the crofter an increased cash yield from his interests. The annual reports of the Crofters Commission indicate, indeed, that the trend to the small croft obtained from the fragmentation

of larger and more economic working units of over 30 acres of 241
arable land is also apparent in the southern Hebrides, the west 311
mainland of Ross & Cromarty, Argyll (mainland and islands) and 178
Caithness.

The acreage of common grazings held per holding varies from under 50 to some 200. The crofts, as already mentioned, are in [632] townships, of which the island has 168, half being fenced and half consisting of individually fenced crofts. During the winter most of the crofts are laid open for winter grazing by sheep of general ownership. Manure resources are mainly dung, seaweed, shell sand and of course artificials where necessary.

A new aspect of crofting in Lewis is its extension into forestry. 311
A recent survey by the Forestry Commission indicated that under 313
400 acres of the land not being used for crofting were suitable for 178
afforestation, and that these acres were made up from twenty-three different plots. At Garynahine Estate can be seen the beginnings of a real afforestation unit of some 500 acres, a scheme of the utmost significance for the economic future of Lewis and for the relationship between crofter and landlord. Too often in the past this relationship has been biting, hard and inflexible; in particular the crofter was understandably unwilling to release good land for planting trees. But the crofters of Callernish agreed that the right of usage of 285 acres of the common grazings belonging to their township should revert to the landlord, this land being thrown in with 220 acres of the Garynahine Estate. Labour comes from the affected township and others in the area.

FISHING

Early beginnings 226

It is the humble herring that has contributed so much to the 175*
island's economy and its history. At a very early date in history, [648]
the Hebridean fishings were worked by Frenchmen and Spaniards who must have found them rich enough to repay the long journey and weeks away from home in the cold Minch waters. It was not, however, until the end of the sixteenth century that the wealth of the Minch was really discovered, this time by the fishermen on the mainland of Scotland who copied the tricks of their trade

226 from the enterprising Dutch. Dutch fishing-busses were constantly
*175 off the island coast as early as the reign of James V. In 1594 the
[648] Hollanders made their first recorded visit to Lewis; they had a licence from Scotland's James VI which allowed them to fish outside a limit of twenty-eight miles.

228 It was, indeed, partly the success of the Dutch fishings which
*175 attracted the Gentlemen Adventurers of Fife, backed by the King in their unsuccessful endeavours to colonise Lewis. James VI's son, Charles I, was similarly enticed by the Minch, proposals being put forward for the purchase of Lewis by the Crown and for the formation of a new corporation, under English auspices, which would develop the island's fisheries. The corporation, founded in 1633, was the 'Company of the General Fishery of Great Britain and Ireland' and its main seat of operation was to be in Lewis. As Lord Seaforth was owner of the island at the time, he was invited to join the company's board, so that he could, with his influence, 'keep the islanders in awe'. One of the fishing stations set up in the Hebrides was on the island of Hermetray in the Sound of Harris. Martin Martin, writing of this island at the close of the same century, says that he saw 'the foundation of a house built by the English, in King Charles the First's time, for one of their magazines to lay up the cask, salt, etc, for carrying on the fishery, which was then begun in the Western Islands; but this design miscarried because of the civil wars which then broke out.' The scheme indeed fell flat (in 1640), and though Charles II tried to revive it on a commercial basis, lack of capital caused it again to come to nothing.

228 Where were the islanders in all this activity to develop the
*175 fishings around them? Strangely, there was a definite disinclina-
648 tion to fish until the Dutch, by their example, illustrated how fish could become a new factor in their economy. Lord Seaforth was vitally interested on his own account. When he acquired Lewis (in 1610) he set about establishing what amounted to a principality quite independent of recognised authority; and in contravention of the laws and privileges of Royal Burghs, he set up Stornoway as a fishing port, introducing a number of Dutch fishermen to prosecute the fishings in the Minch. In 1629, the Commissioners of Royal Burghs complained to the Privy Council

of Lord Seaforth's conduct in this matter. They alleged that he 228
'draiv in hither an number of strangers who daylie resorts to and 175*
fra Holland to the Lewes and continent next adjacent (the Ross 648
mainland presumably) and has caused them be answered of all such commodities as these bounds affords, as nameli with fishes and beeves quhilkis with the hyde and tallow, with manie utheris commodities they transport to Holland.'

To satisfy the Royal Burghs, Seaforth had some of his Dutch friends sent away. But several Dutch families remained in Stornoway until the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland in 1653.

In Harris, similar efforts were promoted by Captain Alexander 228
MacLeod, who in 1779 bought Harris, together with St Kilda, 175*
for £15,000 from the commissioners acting on behalf of General [425]
Norman MacLeod. The latter had, in 1772, inherited from his grandfather both the chiefship of Harris and a debt on the property amounting to some £50,000. Captain MacLeod, who skippered the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, did much to stimulate better conditions in Harris, and advocated the generation of a fishing industry. In the face of opposition and ridicule he showed by practical example what could be done to make a success of the herring fishings, introducing a number of east-coast fishermen with Orkney trawls to teach the inhabitants, and reaping a good harvest from the fishings off Rodel, despite the dismal auguries uttered by the Harris-folk. He improved the local harbour [503]
accommodation and erected a storehouse for salt, casks and the [488]
like, he built a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread, [288]
and twine for herring-nets; he advanced money to those fishermen [452]
who were interested for the purchase of boats and gear; and he [427]
provided them with rent-free cottages with a ground-patch on which they could grow potatoes. He built roads between the [491]
village of Tarbert and the two jetties he made there, and he [346]
erected a schoolhouse and an inn. But all this hard work to put [485]
Harris on some realistic economic basis came to little. The native population were slow to appreciate the potential income lying about them.

The potential of the sea was of course eventually realised, particularly where the fishing grounds were favourable, Stornoway

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

228 and its neighbourhood becoming the centre of the growing in-
*175 dustry. In 1793, the Lewis Parish contributors to the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* indicated that upwards of 183 boats were
[463] fishing off the island. In Uig no less than 275 netmakers were
[286] recorded, showing that the fishing industry was prosecuted with some measure of enthusiasm. 'All the people dwell in little farm-villages and they fish in the summer season. The women do not
[462] fish; but almost at all times when there is occasion to go to sea, they never decline that service, and row powerfully.' In the parish
[237] of Barvas in the eighteenth century some 9,000 Scotch pints of oil were taken each year from dog-fish livers and sold to Stornoway merchants at from 6d to 8d per pint; it is related that the tenants of Ness were able for a long time to pay their rents with
[433] the oil proceeds. Cod and ling were the principal fish caught by the men of Lochs, an annual average of 24 tons being cured and sold in Stornoway. Generally, other fish caught were consumed locally.

Loch Roag on the west of Lewis proved to be about the best fishing ground; in 1794 about '90 sail' from all parts of the United Kingdom were at the herring fishing there. At one time Loch
228 Roag-cured herring was exported exclusively to Sweden. The
*175 minister of Stornoway, contributing to the *Old Statistical*
439 *Account*, gives figures showing the quantities of fish shipped from the port from 1791 to 1796. During these six years some 14,000 barrels of herring were exported to the Continent, and 20,000 sent for consumption in Britain; some 350 tons of cod and ling were destined for Continental markets. Herring, cod, and ling were thus pursued during the following years with growing vigour, though the inshore white fish took favour. The herring fishing did not make great strides, mainly because to the middle of the nineteenth century catches were confined to the inland sea lochs; the people for the most part were not familiar with deep-sea fishing, and their boats and nets were not suitable for it.

228 Indeed, when Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, he
*175 gave scant attention to the potential in the fishings round his island. Though he expended considerable amounts in securing a
[504] regular steamer communication between the mainland and the island, and spent over £2,000 in building a quay at Stornoway

for the steamers, he thought that any improvements in connection with the fishing industry should be paid for largely by the fish-curers themselves—though he did spend about £1,000 on constructing fish-curing houses. Why Sir James, with his experience of business, should have taken this attitude is not clear; certainly the fishing industry could have been given just the right impetus with his interest, personal and financial. As it was, the industry was left to develop on its own lines, with odd injections from time to time. 228 175* [504]

Fluctuating prosperity

That the potential in the fishing grounds of the Minch was enormous was realised before 1850 by fish-curers from the Scottish mainland. But deep-sea-going boats were needed, and so new designs were called for. James Methven of Leith, a pioneer of deep-sea herring fishing, sank capital into the development of a large class of boats known as the 'Anstruther build', or in the islands as 'Eanstrach'. These craft served the islanders well, and Lewis prospered, as did Stornoway. In the five years 1870 to 1875, for example, the average number of barrels of herring cured at Stornoway for export was some 80,000. From 1875 to 1900 the average Stornoway district catch of white fish, much of it caught by local boats and some of it cured at Carloway, was worth over £100,000; it was sent to Ireland and the Clyde. After 1900, fresh-trawled fish replaced the cured and the market fell away. In 1921, the market value of cured fish from Stornoway was about £500, ½ per cent of the 1900 value. [501] [471] 228 175* 43

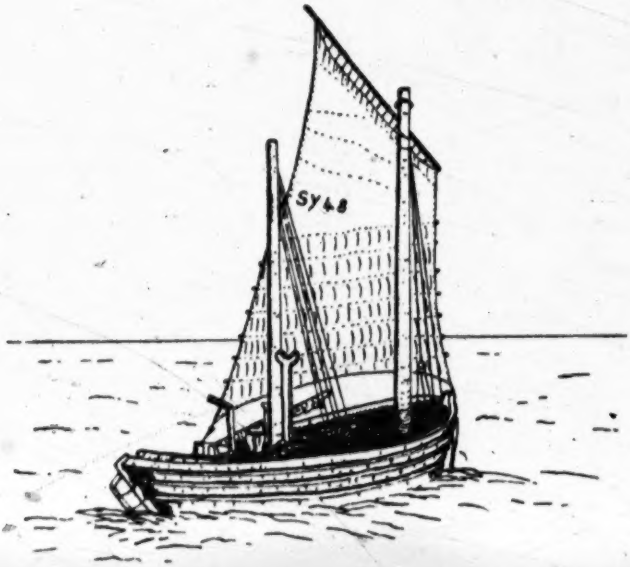
The herring fishing held its own, against the decline of the white fish. Stornoway, as Lochboisdale in the Southern Isles, became for a while one of the world's most important fishing ports. Prosperity was in the air; even when the fishings did eventually fall away, there still remained, decades later, the whiff of past success among the neglected curing sheds, the hangdown boats in the quays, and the silent kippering houses. From 1917 to 1935, the annual landings of herrings (in crans) varied from 25,486 (in 1934) to 221,519 (in 1927). In that year, a record one, it was reported that 'even landsmen could hear the roar of herrings in Loch Erisort. So dense were the shoals that their progress in the 228 175* [433]

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

228 water could be heard on shore.' Yet cash returns were poor: demand was falling off as foreign markets organised their own fleets, and the Scottish fishing industry as a whole was not commercially efficient. In 1936 landings were 40,829 crans; in 1937, 31,969.

*175 [433]

From about 1850, Stornoway had begun to see the nucleus of what was to be a great fishing fleet in its harbours; but it had



[501] A 'Zulu', a type of old fishing wherry used in Lewis at the turn of this century

something of the sort much before then. A pamphlet on the fishing industry published in 1790 tells us that the trade of the Stornoway merchants began to grow after the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, when Scottish herring were first admitted to the English colonial market. 'Some twenty-five or thirty years ago, all the fish they caught were carried for them to their port of destination by hired vessels. Now they can show in their own harbour, in the fishing time, upwards of thirty sail of stout handsome vessels, from 20 to 70 tons burden, all their own property.'

[501] Towards the turn of the nineteenth century, the number of

herring boats belonging to Lewis was about 165, reaching a peak of 197 in 1889; the number of boats used for cod and ling fishing reached a peak of 704 in 1895. The figures, however, fluctuate considerably from year to year. The main reason for this was probably that these boats were not personally owned, but largely belonged to fish-curers and businessmen, to whom the boat crews were in debt, having received capital advances from them and from the State for boats and gear. Crews who had bad luck at the fishing had their boats impounded and sold to recover the amount of the loan. Many boats were also wrecked, for navigation in bad weather is still difficult even in these days of advanced directional aids.

The state loans to fishermen are worthy of note here, because they foreshadowed a similar scheme in the 1960s. They were made under the Crofters Holding Act 1886. Section 32 of the Act authorised the Fishery Board for Scotland to make advances, by way of loan, to persons engaged in the prosecution of the fishing industry, whether crofters or others in crofting parishes. For new boats, the maximum sum advanced was £312. The loans carried an interest of 3½ per cent; repayments of principal and interest were over a period of from four to ten years. Loans for the improvement of existing boats were also advanced, varying according to the condition of the boat or other circumstances affecting the necessary security requirements. New boats were mortgaged to the Fishery Board.

Ninety-three Lewis fishermen received loans totalling some £12,000, and a sum of £18,000 was distributed in loans throughout all the crofting counties. In a report issued in 1901, it was indicated that these ninety-three Lewis fishermen had repaid about 82 per cent of their principal and interests, but in other counties the repayment percentage was under 60 per cent. The Lewis figure would have been higher were it not for the loans made to the Barvas fishers, on which the repayment figure was only 24 per cent. When borrowers failed to observe their part of the contract the Fishery Board seized the boats. Many of these loans were originally made to aid a deserving class of men in adverse circumstances and surroundings. To achieve the high overall percentage of repayment (some indeed managed to pay

228 off all their debts) much hard work was called for, as well as skill
452 in locating herring shoals. The seasonal migration of herring is
*175 still a puzzle to marine biologists; it contributed to many a Lewis fisherman drawing a blank, to his ruin, while his neighbour came home flushed with success.

228 The financial values of the fishings of the island, particularly Lewis, are some index to its fluctuating prosperity. In a *Guide*
*175 *for Scotland*, intending visitors to Stornoway were told that the
435 annual figures for herring exports were, in 1860, some £60,000; for cod and ling, £13,600; smoked haddocks were valued at £1,600; lobsters at £1,396. Herrings caught in Harris and Lewis in 1889 were valued at £57,071. Two years later, the figure was £90,738, but after that year it steadily declined to reach a little over £20,000 in 1894. Increasing again, the catch in 1898 was valued at £128,707. There was a subsequent decline, picking up a little at irregular intervals, which continued until the effective demise of the industry just before the second world war, that is so far as Lewis was concerned. These catches of valuable herrings were not made solely by Lewis boats; the catches of many stranger boats, from the east of Scotland, must also be taken into account, to leave about 20 per cent as direct return to the island.

In 1938, the total catches of herring amounted to £98,000 for fresh fish and £162,400 for cured herring. This catch was obtained by 111 steam-drifters, five of which were locally registered at Stornoway, and some motor-boats, of which one-third were strangers. Harris has never been particularly prominent in the herring-fishing industry; shell fishing has been more profitable. In the years just before 1900, the average annual value of shell-fish caught in Harris was £2,306, only £500 below the Lewis figure. The Harris proportion of the aggregate herring and white-fish returns in the same period was just over £17,000, compared with the Lewis figure of £1,137,000.

Since the second war

228 Just before the second world war, Stornoway Fishery District
*175 furnished some 10 per cent of the Scottish cure of herrings, which
[433] averaged well over half a million barrels in 1937 and 1938, valued
[435] at about £1,500,000. Of demersal (sea-bottom) fish, the District

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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furnished less than 1 per cent of Scottish landings. The war's aftermath brought too many changes for the island to cope with. Markets had disappeared; food habits had changed; capital was scarce; and many ex-servicemen saw the writing on the wall for fishing as a full-time activity. Also, many sea-going crofters of the pre-war fishing fleet were now dead, memories on fading photographs. Nor had the Western Isles fisheries ever fully caught up with those of the main fishing bases of Britain and the east coast of Scotland. Hence the decline of the herring fishing hit them hardest of all. Today, Stornoway District is handicapped geographically, by distance from the markets; historically, by its late entry into the industry; and economically, in that it failed to participate in the trend towards the centralisation of the industry in share-holding companies within easy reach of London. 228 175*

In the old days of sail it was easy for men to combine the two occupations of crofting and fishing. When in the early years of this century power replaced sail (the first motor fishing boats went to work in 1907) and the steam drifter took over from the sailboat, the whole nature of the fishing industry changed. Modern boats and gear had to be acquired if the work was to be profitable. But the islesmen, partly because of lack of capital, partly because of the lack of suitable anchorages and harbours, and partly because the combination of crofting and fishing had created a seasonal tradition incompatible with the use of expensive boats (which needed to be kept continually at sea if they were to pay at all), were unable to adjust themselves to meet the new challenges. In the inter-war years they had no option but to carry on as best they could in their old traditional role. The resultant decline meant that when opportunities did arise for fishermen generally in the form of grants and loan schemes (introduced in 1945 by the Fisheries Division of the Scottish Home Department and subsequently by the White Fish Authority and the Herring Industry Board), the bulk of the men living in the isles were unable to take advantage of them: they lacked the necessary qualifying experience in handling modern boats and equipment, as well as confidence in fishing as a full-time occupation. By 1959 there were only twenty-five boats of 40 ft or more in length based on Hebridean ports. Lewis had only six full-time crews; Harris had five. 228 501 178

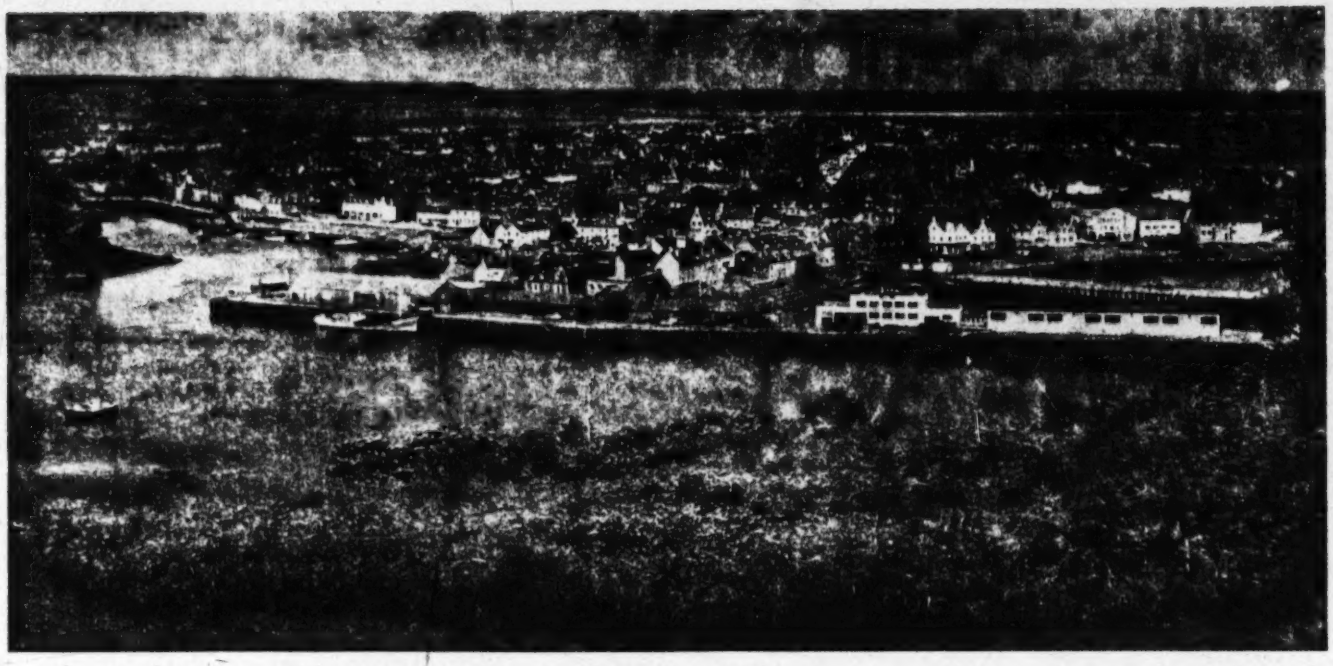
AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

228 This lack of a local fleet fishing in the Minch and associated
501 waters on a full-time basis has inevitably brought reluctance on
178 the part of Government bodies to invest capital in, say, harbour
improvements, knowing that they would fail to yield an eventual
[654] return. Just after the first world war Lord Leverhulme formulated ambitious plans for a full-time fishing fleet based on Stornoway. More than thirty years later, in 1954, the Taylor Commission, set up to investigate the problems of crofting, summed up:

> Gone are the days when the crew of the fishing boat could haul up their craft on the beach and leave it there in safety. The modern seine-netter is much too heavy to be beached in that way and far too costly to be exposed to risk in unsafe anchorages . . . The capital outlay required for their purchase is such that it is not possible to operate them except on a full-time basis. It is still possible for smaller boats to be employed in fishing for lobster or crab, but the general trend of development is against the man who combines fishing with the work of the croft. We do not think it possible to reverse this trend; it should be accepted and an attempt made to establish a full-time fishing industry in Western waters.

228 The first vital step to do just this was taken in January 1959
429 when the MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust announced the introduc-
452 tion of a scheme to 'increase the number of modern boats with efficient crews operating from or based on Lewis'. This Trust was set up under the will of the late Murdo MacAulay of Ness, who left Lewis with little English, less money, but plenty of Gaelic and enterprising spirit, to acquire a considerable fortune in Rhodesia. He bequeathed the bulk of it to be applied for the good of his island home. Anyone applying for assistance under the scheme was required to give an undertaking that he would prosecute fishing on a full-time basis; further, no one would be assisted unless, in the opinion of the trustees, he was likely to make 'an
228 energetic and successful fisherman'. This pioneering venture
452 directly assisted three young men in Kirkibost, Bernera, to acquire
654 one of the best-equipped lobster boats in Scotland; and secondly it acted as a useful prototype for the Government scheme which was to augment and largely replace it a year later. In January 1960 the Government officially instituted the Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme. Free training was offered to men pre-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]



/p. 107/ General view of the town of Stornoway. Broad Bay is in the far background; the street on the right is South Beach

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/p. 108/ Blackface sheep: a typical Lewis scene and an essential element in the island's economy

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2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

pared to make fishing their career, together with financial assist- 228
ance to those who satisfactorily completed their training and 452
who wished to acquire boats of their own. This Scheme is now 654
run by the Highlands & Islands Development Board. The Board's participation in the expansion of the fishing potential around the island has been first-class, with commensurate results from an investment of some £500,000.

Illegal fishing

Like goldfields, the seas around the island have always attracted 685
the unscrupulous, those for whom the word 'conservation' has no 226
meaning, and who are careless of the dangers of over-fishing. 175 *
Illegal trawling began around the year 1894 and by now has [185]
drastically impoverished the inshore fishings to which the Harris and Lewis crofters once looked for a supplement to diet and income. The rapid adoption of efficient trawlers was attended by an increasing number of reports of their poaching within the three-mile territorial limit. Though the islanders tried many times to involve the Government's cruisers for the protection of their shores, the poaching went on, and still continues today. Even some of the violence which attended the early attempts to clear the scum from the sea, as it were, continues, part and parcel of the island's sea-life.

Fish processing

A former freezing plant in Stornoway, run by the Herring 228
Industry Board has been converted into a fish-processing factory. This facility, of great value to the port, is run by Rolf Olsen A/S, [648]
a long-established Norwegian company with a successful background in fish processing. The company has received investment aid from the Highlands & Islands Development Board, the Highland Fund and the Stornoway Trust; the latter's interest is significant in that it is the first time in which the funds of the Trust have been invested in a private concern, to help retain Stornoway as a successful fishing port.

The most regular shore-side as distinct from maritime industry is the processing of prawns (scampi, or *nephrops norvegicus*). Two firms buy the prawns at the pierhead, shell, cook and freeze them,

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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228 subsequently despatching them to various dealers in the south. The local trawlers catch white fish and prawns with the same gear, but whereas most of the prawns are landed locally the white fish goes to Gairloch on the mainland for transportation to the Aberdeen market. Attempts have been made to overcome the 228 439 distance between the island and good-paying markets: in 1966, by collaboration between Stornoway fishermen and the London Fish Merchants' Association, a consignment of 200 boxes of fish was sent direct from Stornoway to Billingsgate, bypassing Aberdeen. The fish was first frozen, then taken by SS *Clansman* to Mallaig railhead and thence to London by rail. It arrived twenty-six hours after leaving Stornoway, in ample time to catch the day's customers. The experiment is to be repeated at intervals. On occasions in the past, shellfish such as lobsters have been flown to Continental markets.

Lobster and crab fishing is an important part-time occupation in the island. In the past it tended to be rendered uneconomic by the heavy losses (sometimes up to 25 per cent) during transit between Stornoway and Billingsgate, but storage-ponds now help retain a reserve for market demands: a lobster-pond at Stockinish in Harris can hold about 25,000 fish, and the pond at Bernera, Loch Roag, can take 30,000. Marketing is done by an agency on [435] behalf of the fishermen, the value per annum being around £50,000 for lobsters caught in the Stornoway Fishery District, and some £40,000 for prawns. The value of white fish is about £30,000 and of herring about £35,000.

6 TRADE AND INDUSTRY

IN the earliest times, the folk of the island of Harris and Lewis were self-supporting; all that they needed for life as it was lived in those days was available at near hand; their existence was self-contained, the economy virtually self-sufficient. By and large, the only commodities often imported were salt, iron, and, to a certain extent, wood. Rents were paid largely in kind: the produce of agriculture, fishing and labour. Surplus produce was directed to southern markets to bring in the odd shilling or two for which there was really very little need in the island. But once money became important in the national economy, it was not long before it was required in the island economy too. By 1790, if not well before, two or three open boats set out each year from Uig to Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. At about this time, too, changes were making their slow appearance in the island way of life and living. Specialists were being required: smiths, tinkers, shipwrights, netmakers, boatbuilders, weavers, tailors and millers. Each of these craftsmen generally held some cornland, either individually or in shares, and also had some rights in the common ground of the township in which he lived.

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

From the pure crofter class there emerged the crofter-craftsmen. In Lochs, for instance, by the turn of the seventeenth century 80 per cent were registered as fishers and netmakers. In the west, in the parish of Barvas, some 70 per cent were also fishers, with kelp-making as a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s to 60s in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tacksmen at 5d each, earned 20s a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s a ton, and worked on roads for 8d per day.

In Harris in 1895, the eight trained male weavers worked for the gentry only. Weaving for the populace was done by the

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

286 462 *175 433 273 *175 433 [420] [438] *175 511 *175 824 323 388 433 [221]

womenfolk, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. In Lewis, male weavers were more common: one to every twenty-five families. The making of whisky was introduced about the seventeenth century. This was in addition to the old drink of home-brewed beer or ale *(lionn)*, and much of it was made to pay rents; it must have consumed a considerable quantity of valuable foodstuff. However, the spread of distillation as a legitimate home industry by which the rent could be paid, in kind or by sale, was followed by legislation prohibiting all but very large stills; illegal distilling of course went on in a small way.

It was, then, by a very narrow margin that subsistence was won in the island some two centuries ago. Many times famine showed how close was the wolf to the island doors. The introduction of the potato, and the interest in the fishing industry led to an increase in the population, though as discussed in Chapter 3 this in turn brought more problems. Basically, the island economy had never been organised on a sound foundation, with the result that winds of change blew where they would with little or no control.

A new factor in the island economy was introduced after 1750. This was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed on the shore for subsequent use in the manufacture of alkali for the glass and soap industries. The first tentative move in the island was made by MacLeod of Harris in 1748, when he allowed some Irish labourers to make kelp on his shores; so little was the product's value realised at the time that he only charged them 2s per ton manufactured. As the burning of kelp came to be understood, and the marketable value of the product ascertained, the native population set to. Between 1772 and 1864, about 50 tons were produced in Lewis each year, compared with some 800 tons per annum in the Uists; the Harris figure was 500-600 tons. The growth of the industry began to snowball, and the Minister of Lochs, writing in the *Old Statistical Account*, states that at the time (1796) some 50 tons were being produced in that parish per annum. In Stornoway parish, though no figure is available, the minister reports that kelp-burning was the principal manufacture, and that everyone able to fill a creel, or carry one, was employed at it for about three months of the year. Little of it seems to have been done in Barvas parish. The price of kelp varied

according to the amount of barilla (its great competitor, a carbon- 175*
ate of soda made from plant ashes) which found its way into the 824
British market. When the American war interfered with the im- 323
ports the kelp price was as high as £22 per ton. Prices began to 388
decline about 1810, and from 1822 successive reductions in duties 433
on salt and barilla resulted in the decline and demise of the kelp industry. As a consequence great distress appeared in those districts which had founded their whole economy on seaweed.

The weeds of most value to the industry, because they yielded [137]
most salts, included *laminaria digitata*, *laminaria bulbosa*, *ascophyllum nodosum* and *fucus serratus*. One ton of kelp yielded an average of 8 lb of iodine, with certain quantities of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, and carbonate of soda. When subjected to special treatment and distillation, 2-3 cwts of sulphate of ammonia, and several gallons of naphtha, paraffin oil, and volatile oil were also derived.

The fishing industry, discussed in the previous chapter, took 175*
over where the kelp-making industry left off and became another 228
king-pin in the island economy. By the end of the last century it seemed set fair for continuing prosperity. In 1900, harbours were [503]
being planned and built with State aid in Uig, at Carloway, Ness [653]
and Tarbert. Then 1914 came, and with it sweeping changes in
international trade. Island fishermen were left workless with (511)
wrecked and rotting fishing boats. In twenty years the number of Scotland's fishermen was halved; the remainder were all but ruined. The islanders' fate mirrored this pattern.

Yet another significant source of income for island families for 175*
almost 200 years came from the men in military service, who 701
either sent money home or returned home with their gratuities 434
and pay. In the wars of the last century many enlisted in the Highland regiments, the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Even today, the income from this external activity is not insignificant.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

175*
Information and statistics about the economy of the island in the 113
middle of the eighteenth century are to be found in Walker's *Economical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland* ; his MS is in the British Museum.

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000 *land*; his MS is in the British Museum. Lewis is described as being
*175 let by Mr MacKenzie of Seaforth for £1,200, which works out
427 at about ½d per acre. The following list of prices of commodities
435 indicates the main produce of the island:

*175

The best driving cows at a medium each	£1	6	0
The Lewes stone of butter (23lb English) per stone	0	7	0
The stone of cheese	0	2	6
The stone of washed wool	0	9	0
The grass of a cow for a whole summer	0	1	8
Kelp, per ton	3	5	0
Aqua Vitae, per Anchor (26 Scotch pints)	1	5	0
Dog-fish oil (per barrel)	2	5	0
Herrings, per barrel	1	2	0
Salmon, per barrel	1	16	0
Dried ling, per hundred	3	15	0

439 The exports were listed as follows:
435
*175

700 black cattle; about 100 are sold to ye shipping that put in at Stornoway, and 300 are sent, salted, to ports on the Clyde. The value of the whole is about	£1,430	0	0
Last year about 150 ton of kelp was made and exported	162	5	0
There are twelve stills in Lewes and from these was exported 200 Anchors of Aqua Vitae	250	0	0
Dog-fish oil, 140 barrels	315	0	0
Dried ling, 17,000	637	10	0
Herrings, 750 barrels	1,575	0	0
Salmon, 48 barrels	86	0	0
The spinning school at Stornoway from October 1763 to December 1764 produced 2,288 spindles of linen yarn	228	16	0

439 Also exported were dried cod, mud cod, above 2,000 sheep
*175 skins with wool on them, and some 38 stones of feathers. 'The Lewes neither imports nor exports grain', but mackerel was also an item of export: 'The fishers on the west coast of the island cure a great deal, which are barrelled and sent to the West Indies. The only article of woolen manufacture that the people of Lewes pursue is some coarse blanketing which they send to the Clyde,

but their negligence even in ye article appears from their sending out annual above 2000 of wool out of the country unmanufacture.' 439 175*

Harris was rented at £600. Exports were some 100 tons of kelp (£325), and the value of 250 black cattle exported alive, with 100 salted, was £445. Small quantities of cheese, wool, and the skins of sheep, otters and seals were exported. Grain was neither imported nor exported. [427] [435]

The plough, which is used here, and in most places of the long island, is of a very peculiar construction. Its length is but 4 feet 7 inches, and is drawn by four horses abreast. It has but one handle by which it is directed; the mold board is fastened with two leather thongs, and the soke and coulter are bound together at the point by a rim of iron. Beside kelp, there is little else manufactured, except a little coarse woolen yarn, and some blanketing, which they send yearly to Glasgow. They raise a little flax of which they make some coarse linen for their own use, but import all the fine linen which they consume. In the year 1756, an American vessel in distress was obliged to put out three hogsheads of lintseed in Harris, which was sown and afforded crops of lint which were above double the value of the usual crops. The east and west of Loch Tarbert in the Harris are every year revisited by the herring shoals. During the five years from 1743 to 1747, the west loch was the principal seat of the herring fishery. About thirty vessels from 18 to 40 tons, belonging to Campbelltown, Greenock, and Irvine, were completely loaded each of these years at this place. 407 175 [492] 175* 439 [286] [248] [177] 228 175*

With even a modest amount of business taking place, it was a natural step to establish commercial facilities. Stornoway men who once acted as agents became shopkeepers. The increase in the use of money attracted banks. During the Seaforth ownership of Lewis, the island had its own currency or notes, designed and printed from plates in the same style as the modern banknote. The wording ran: 'I promise to pay on demand to the Chamberlain of the Lewis or Bearer ONE POUND Sterling at the Counting Room here.' The notes carried a date and were signed by the proprietor, J. A. Stewart MacKenzie. It is not known for certain how long the notes remained in currency, when they ceased to be used, or even whether they were officially acceptable. At one time, as rare items, they fetched high prices from collectors. A number were 443 175* [453] 436 175* [523]

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436 found in a warehouse in Leith some years ago; a few found their
*175 way back to Stornoway, where one can be seen in the Public Library.

HARRIS TWEED

288 Today, with kelp long forgotten and fishing of minor importance,
[178] it is the Harris Tweed industry which supports many of the island people, either directly or indirectly; an island cottage industry with exports earnings exceeding £2,500,000 a year. Harris Tweed is exported to some thirty countries, including America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and all the European nations. The industry is in fact the basis of prosperity in the area, both dependent upon and supporting the crofter-weaver working at
286 the handloom in his home. Seven million yards of tweed are
288 woven annually by the independent weavers 'on the books' of the various mills. The weavers must finance themselves, buying their
466 own looms and bobbins, equipping and maintaining their workshops. Though they receive their supplies of yarn from the mills, they are graded as self-employed persons and as such are not entitled to unemployment benefit—a subject which has caused much argument.

286 One of the most outstanding facts about the cloth is that its essential qualities have remained unchanged since the industry's early formative years. But it has astonishing versatility and over 5,000 patterns are available, including the crotal browns and the heather colours.

288 A weaver on average can produce about 2½ webs, or tweeds,
286 each week, a web measuring about 80 yd by 28½ in, and gets a reward of some £8 per web, according to the intricacies of the
[465] design or the number of colours involved. The money is paid out
[453] by a mobile bank making the rounds of the townships throughout the island. It is reckoned that the mills, for their part, make 1d to 6d a yard profit, depending on turnover; the total annual value of the industry's output is in the region of £4,000,000.

[236] Between them, the five mills in Stornoway and the one in Shawbost consume two-thirds of the Scottish wool clip—the native Western Islands' crop is sufficient for less than a month's production. A thousand pounds of raw wool end up as 885 yards of finished cloth.

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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finished cloth. About 1,000 workers are employed at the mills, representing about 95 per cent of the island's industry—not counting, of course, the 1,200 or so self-employed weavers. The Shawbost mill, started in 1915 in a very small way, employs about seventy people from the surrounding crofting community on dyeing the wool, carding it and spinning it into yarn, and has about 500 weavers on its books. In 1955 it became a limited company and a £35,000 finishing plant was added; other recent extensions have been made to the tune of £70,000. The establishment of such a large industrial complex in one of the remotest parts of Britain is an achievement to be underlined.

288 464 [473]

The early cloth industry

Coarse woollen cloth has been made in the Hebrides, as in other rural Highland areas, from time immemorial. Rents were often paid in blankets or plaiding. In 1656, 'pladding' was one of the items of trade brought by Highland boats to Glasgow for sale there. In the late eighteenth century, blackfaced sheep were introduced into the Highlands and islands; the fleece from this breed was much heavier than that of the native sheep and consequently proved ideal raw material for local woollen manufacture for trade. In the Hebrides, the product was mainly for domestic and local consumption. The people of Harris, however, were well known for the excellence of their weaving which found a limited external market. In 1844, the Earl of Dunmore, the first non-native proprietor of Harris, had the Murray tartan copied in tweed by local weavers, so successfully that the Earl and his enterprising wife encouraged improvements in the product and introduced it to their friends. The cloth, ideal for outdoor pursuits such as fishing and stalking, found ready wearers. In 1857, an Edinburgh lady went about getting orders for the Harris weavers, and business increased so much that in 1888 she moved to London and opened a small depot for tweeds.

288 175* [427] [236] [438] [439] [444]

Thus by the time the nineteenth century had reached maturity tweed was becoming well known, and weavers and local merchants, usually shopkeepers, developed sales contacts on the mainland. At that time every web of tweed produced was unique: it could never be copied exactly. This of course added to its charm

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

288 in the eyes of the more sophisticated purchasers, as did the
*175 domestic and primitive conditions of its manufacture. All pro-
cesses were carried out by hand. The wool was washed and dyed
286 out of doors beside any convenient stream where a big black pot
288 could be set up on stones and heated by firing peats. Carding, a
*175 tedious and unpleasant task, spinning and weaving were done in the 'black houses' of the crofters, which often lacked chimneys or proper windows: the tweed acquired more by accident than design a definite 'peat reek', which was duly considered to be another of its attractions, combining with the mainland town-dwellers' pleasant thoughts of Hebridean thatched cottages, peat fires and natural dyes from island moors and shores, to give the cloth something of a romantic aura.

Development

The increased demand brought problems however. Carding by hand was a slow business and quite unable to keep up with the weavers' requirements for raw material, so wool was sent to mainland mills for carding. But this introduced an element of suspicion, for the product was not now wholly Hebridean. To get round this, Sir Samuel Scott, the proprietor of Harris in 1900, opened a water-powered carding mill at Tarbert, Harris. In 1903, this example was followed up by a Stornoway merchant, Aeneas MacKenzie, who started a carding mill near the Patent Slip (one of Matheson's enterprises) in Stornoway. Non-profitmaking bodies (the Scottish Home Industries Association and the Crofters' Agency) began to open up more depots for the receipt of tweeds. In addition to the original depots at Stornoway and Tarbert, others were established at Obbe (now Leverburgh), Uig in Lewis, and in North and South Uist.

The Congested Districts Board also took an interest, appointing a travelling instructor who was responsible for the introduction of better cloth designs and other improvements including the flying shuttle. This latter was a distinct advantage over the old
[237] method used on the 'beart bheag' (the traditional small wooden loom), where the shuttle was a sheep's shin bone thrown by hand. The board also paid grants for the improvement of looms, and large black pots were sent to Uig to enable the people there to

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dye larger batches of wool to maintain uniformity of colour through the whole web.

Lewis tweed

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175*

Suddenly Lewis came on the Harris Tweed scene. It had been slow to enter the industry; most of its employment was on works related to public boards and on the private constructions of the Matheson regime. Fishing, too, yielded a reasonable living to most of the Lewis crofters, so the incentive to weave had been small. But about 1880, following the death of Sir James Matheson, expenditure on the Matheson property was severely curtailed; and also about this time fish sales by auction replaced private contracts between fishermen and curers, making fishing far less remunerative to those crofters who had worked as hired hands. So Lewis took to cloth making, taking advantage of the increased demand, which could no longer be met by the Harris workers. Records of tweed production are few until after 1880, but whereas in 1899 there were only 55 looms in Lewis, as reported to the Congested Districts Board, in 1906 this had increased to 161, and by 1911 there were some 300. There was some initiative in London too: in 1906 a person was convicted for selling as 'Harris Tweed' a cloth woven on a power loom.

As the number of island weavers increased, so did the demand for yarn even further outpace the capacity of the domestic spinning wheels. Cheap, mill-spun yarn was imported and this, added to inferior weaving, gave rise to the name 'Stornoway Tweed', indicating a poor-quality cloth. In 1907 the Scottish Home Industries Association closed its Stornoway depot because the amount of hand-spun yarn used did not justify its continued existence. The Crofters Agency, however, kept open its depots at Balallan and Uig. Around this time, therefore, two products were on the market with the same name: a 100 per cent true hand-spun tweed, and a tweed made wholly or partly of mill-spun yarn. In Stornoway it was appreciated that the use of mill-spun yarn did not necessarily result in a poor-quality cloth, and this initiated some new moves. Spinning machinery was added to the Patent Slip carding mill, and in 1906 Kenneth MacKenzie began a new carding and spinning mill.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

288 Thus were laid the lines of a new form of economic organisa-
*175 tion for Lewis. At first, tweed manufacture here, as in Harris, was
[462] strictly a domestic activity: the wool of the crofter's own sheep was clipped, washed and dyed, carded, spun at home, and woven into cloth by persons in the township with the skill to produce a suitable cloth; the weaving was a part-time and mainly female occupation. Payment for the weaving was in kind: peats, potatoes, or labour. The waulking or finishing of the cloth was mostly a communal activity carried out by the womenfolk, who turned it into a particular social occasion with definite feminine characteristics. If the cloth made was in excess of domestic requirements, the crofter sold it directly to a customer, or else the local shopkeeper bought it or gave credit for it.

288 With the rise in weaving for a definite market in Lewis, all this
463 changed. Weaving became a full-time specialist occupation and,
*175 partly because the flying shuttle made the work heavier, it be-
[462] came predominantly male work. With the use of mill-spun yarn
288 there grew up a number of merchants, the Lewis 'producers', who
*175 bought yarn either locally or from the mainland, and put it out
[441] for weaving and hand finishing on a commission basis. The yarn and the resulting cloth remained their property. At times the cloth embodied a handspun weft; at other times perhaps no handspun was used at all. As pointed out above, it was marketed as Harris Tweed, as was the 100 per cent handspun cloth, yet it cost about 21d to produce compared with 36d for the 'real' tweed. The cheaper type provided Lewis's rapidly-expanding output between 1900 and 1911, and by that year Lewis had outstripped Harris. In 1912, the handspun yardage produced in
[433] Harris was 175,000; partially and wholly millspun accounted for some 4,000 yards; and the total value was £26,500. In Lewis the yardage of handspun cloth was some 10,000; but about 340,000
[435] yards of partially or wholly millspun was sold. The total Lewis value was £44,000.

The trade mark

288 When eventually the question arose of some mark to distinguish
441 between the two cloths, it was with difficulty that the Harris mer-
*175 chants persuaded the Board of Trade that a distinction was neces-
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2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

sary. In the end, an application was made in 1909 to that body 288
for a trade mark defining Harris Tweed as 'tweed, hand-spun, 441
hand-woven and dyed and finished by hand in the Outer Heb- 175*
rides', with 'made in Harris' or 'made in Lewis' added as appro- 424
priate. The Harris merchants had to join forces with their former rivals in the tweed-marketing business, the voluntary non-profit-making Associations. To inspect the cloth and stamp it with a trade mark—an orb surmounted by a cross—a Harris Tweed Association was formed, consisting of representatives of each of the Harris merchants, the Crofters Agency and the Scottish Home Industries Association. Cloth was first stamped in 1911. In 1912, some Stornoway merchants were granted representation in the Harris Tweed Association, which still exists for the benefit of the industry.

In 1934, the definition of 'Harris Tweed' was eased to include any cloth 'made from pure virgin wool, produced in Scotland, spun, dyed and finished in the Outer Hebrides and hand-woven by the Islanders at their own homes in the islands of Lewis, Harris, Uist, Barra and their several purtenances and all known as the Outer Hebrides'. It was further provided that 'Woven in Harris', 'Woven in Lewis', etc, could be added, and also 'Handspun' in the case of tweeds made entirely from hand-spun yarns.

Today, a few Harris families maintain the old tradition, hand- 288
dyeing and carding, spinning on the wheel, hand-weaving and 286
finishing, producing a high-quality article mainly for individual 178
customers. These tweeds rightly command up to three times the price for the general run of tweed.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

It was not until the era of Sir James Matheson that anything like 441
a truly industrial activity was attempted. Matheson, a native of 159
Shinness in the parish of Lairg, Sutherland, was born in 1796. 175*
Aged seventeen, he decided on a commercial career and took himself to London. After two years in a mercantile house, he went to Calcutta, where he worked in the counting-house of MacKintosh

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*175

& Co. The call of the Far East drew him away from India to Canton, where he set up business as an agent acting for firms in India. During the period 1815-20 he met William Jardine, from Dumfriesshire, who first glimpsed the mainland of China as a surgeon's mate from the deck of an East Indiaman three years before Trafalgar. Jardine left the East India Company in 1817 after sixteen years' service and, having with native prudence accumulated enough capital to set up on his own account, entered into an agreement with an East India merchant of London and a Bombay trader to operate the new ship *Sarah*. In 1832 Matheson and Jardine combined forces and interests to form Jardine, Matheson & Co, 'The Firm', as it has been known ever since those early days of commerce in the Far East. The unique experience which its founders and their successors have accumulated in providing services for manufacturers, and handling trade with more than a quarter of the world's population, is virtually unparalleled in the annals of British mercantile enterprise.

Matheson amassed a fortune. In 1842 he returned to his native Scotland, and finding that the Lewis estate was up for sale he bought it for £190,000 from the Estate Trustees. The island, at that time a truly isolated backwater, provided him with plenty of scope for ideas and work for deep pockets. He died on the last day of 1878. It has been estimated to the pound sterling that, including the purchase price of Lewis, Matheson spent over £574,363. More than £100,000 was spent in erecting Lews Castle and in laying out the grounds, which work provided his impoverished tenants with a means to earn something with which to buy their necessities. Briefly, Matheson drained land and reclaimed it; he planted trees; he built roads, bridges and quays; he excited anew an interest in the fishing industry and built premises for fish curing; he built a patent boat-slip for the contruction and repair of fishing and other craft; he established schools and paid the teachers' salaries; he also built a brick-works and a chemical works to distil paraffin from peat. He is remembered in Stornoway's Matheson Road: little else remains of his extensive efforts.

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Lewis and Harris

THE LEWIS CHEMICAL WORKS

The Lewis Chemical Works

But it must at least be recorded that he made the first-ever attempts at introducing a true industrial activity on a large scale: the Lewis Chemical Works, which cost him some £33,000. The basis of the enterprise was the real possibility of turning the Lewis peat bogs into oil. The idea was sound enough, but incompetent management killed it off; its death was hastened with the discovery of natural oils in America and in the Middle East. 382 175*

An experimental plant was built near Lews Castle. Another was erected on the banks of the River Creed, and to protect the salmon for which this river is famous, Matheson had to spend considerable sums in trying to keep the discharge effluent out of the waters. A third distillation plant was erected, this time well away from the Castle grounds. A kiln was built, elaborate condensers were fitted up, peat was cut and stacked, and a canal, three-quarters of a mile long, was cut to convey the peat to the plant. Troubles were considerable, despite the efforts of a chemist brought by Matheson from London. In time, the plant began to produce. Each working day of twenty-four hours, about 18 tons of peat were used in the kilns; another 3½ tons were used to fire the boilers. The recovery figure of crude hydrocarbons was around 5 per cent.

With reasonable success in sight, work was put in hand for the building of tramways across the peat bogs so that the material could be obtained from a greater area. Also, a refining plant was built at Garrabost, eight miles away from the distilling plant, which added greatly to costs and increased the inconvenience so far as managing the plant was concerned. For some ten years, the Lewis Chemical Works produced quite valuable products. One of the first, which found a good market, was a lubricant for wagon axles and heavy machinery; within a short time of its introduction the demand exceeded the supply. But, instead of increasing production, the management authorised the addition of water to a 3-ton consignment for Glasgow to fulfill a rush order. It came back by the next steamer; and further orders for it dwindled to nothing. [439]

It was a ship's captain who discovered that the peat tar was an excellent anti-fouling grease for ships' bottoms. Samples were

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382 sent to several shipping ports, and the response was good; one
*175 Liverpool chandler even offered to take the whole output at a good price. But again the product was rendered useless, this time by being subjected to a partial-distillation process, in the thought that this would improve it; orders stopped. One shale-oil firm offered to take the crude peat tar to refine along with its own products for the purpose of modifying the flash-point of the oil it was itself manufacturing. Most commercial enterprises would have jumped at the chance of disposing of their output without the need for the always-tricky refining process, but here personal interests intervened and another avenue of profit was blocked.

The Lewis Chemical Works had by this time become something of a showpiece, chemists and scientists mecca-ing their way to Stornoway to see both plant and product. One eminent chemist pronounced the plant one of the most successful ever erected for the distillation of hydrocarbon oils from peat, and an Irishman said that if the Irish Peat Company's installation had been as successful as the Lewis counterpart, Ireland would have been enriched by her peat bogs. By the middle of the 1860s a ton of peat tar was being produced for 70s, as against 100s for unrefined
[435] shale oil. Peat oil sold at first at 2s 9d per gallon, then dropped to 2s 6d and finally to 2s, presumably as the American oil products were reaching the market. The writing was on the wall. Sir James Matheson, realising too late that perhaps a closer control should have been applied to the venture from the beginning, decided to cut his losses and close the works. All the metal—condensers, pumps, stills, pipes, and tanks—was broken up and sold for scrap. Nearly four miles of light railway had been laid from the Creed Works to the peat bogs; this was lifted for scrap. So ended the first phase of industrial Lewis. The venture proved, however, that with adequate skill and knowledge success could be grasped.

Bricks, printing, whisky

339 The brickworks which Matheson built for £6,000 at Garra-
*175 bost produced building materials and some fine examples of draining tiles, but has now disappeared. The Patent Slip built at
396 Stornoway for another £6,000 was able to take ships of up to
*175

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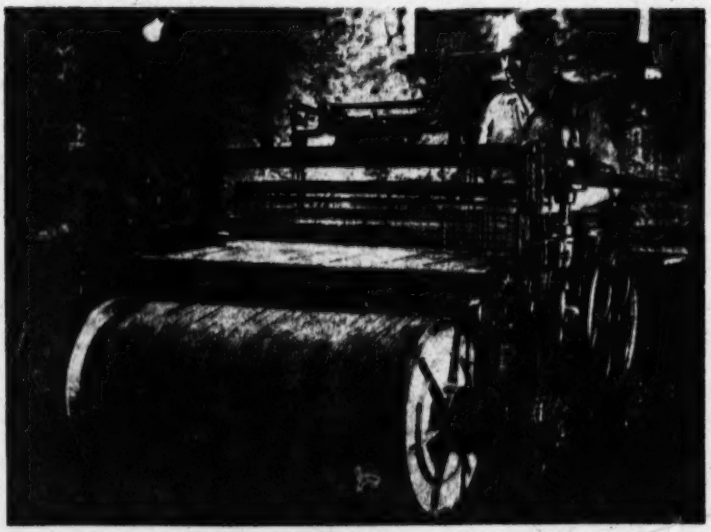
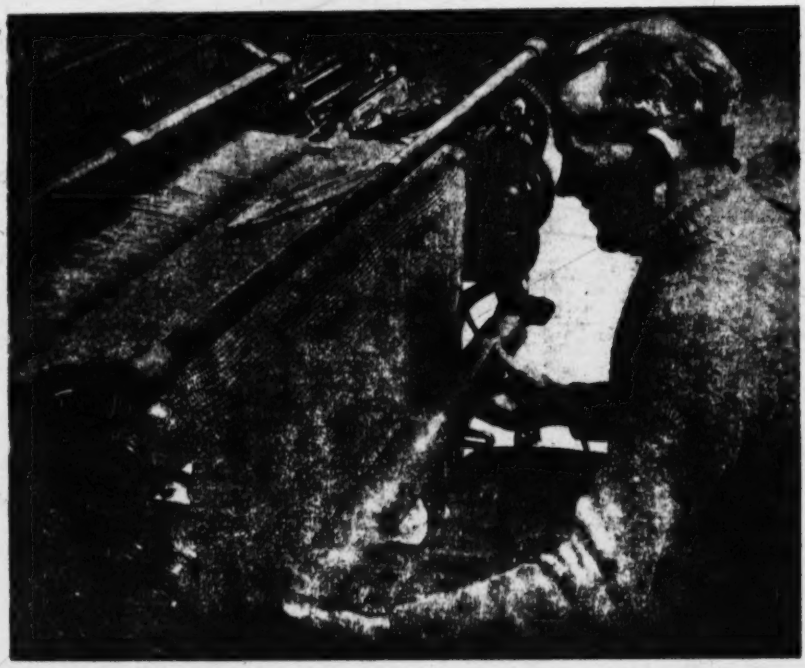


(*above*) Weaving Harris Tweed in a crofter's home; it is usually done in a byre or shed on the croft. View taken from the warp end of the loom

/p. 125/
(*below*) Setting up the loom



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(*above*) An island industry, small but socially significant: the seaweed processing factory at Keose, Loch Erisort, Lewis

/p. 126/

(*below*) Feeding wet seaweed into the factory's drying plant. The dried product is milled and exported by puffer for subsequent processing

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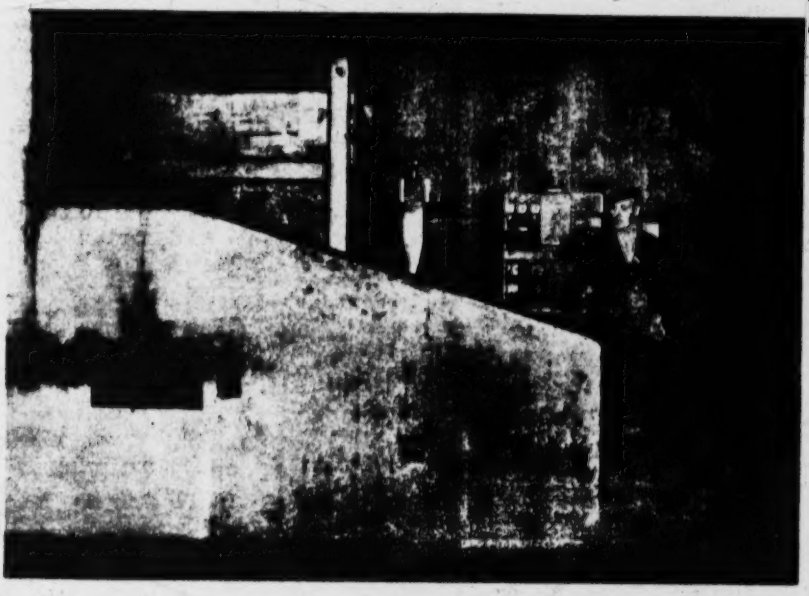

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Lewis and Harris

800 tons and had a steam-driven winch. The slip has also vanished—except for the name of the Patent Slip Wool Mills, which produce Harris Tweed. 396 175*

Other small industrial activities in the island during the nineteenth century included the business of Alexander MacPherson, chemist, druggist, stationer and printer, who set up in Stornoway in 1842. He brought across the Minch with him Lewis's first demy-size hand printing press, which was still in use on 1 January 1889 to produce the first issue of the short-lived *The Lewisman*. Copies of this earliest Lewis newspaper can be seen at Stornoway Public Library. Early in the 1890s Thomas Nicolson also set up as a printer. 175* 204

Whisky was once an important product, not only for local consumption, but also for export. One of the Privy Council's main indictments against the islanders in the Hebrides in 1622 was that they seized any cargo of wine and spent 'bothe dayis and nightis in thair excesse of drinking'. The council therefore enacted that masters of vessels sailing Hebridean waters should carry no more wines. It has been suggested that this and other measures were responsible for the beginning of illicit distilling, which in Lewis continued overtly as late as 1827. One of the two principal stills established by Lord Seaforth in the island at that time was at Coll, a few miles from Stornoway, the other at Gress, a few miles farther on. Such was the fame of these stills, both for output and quality, that it was hard to choose between 'Coll' or 'Gress'. Sometimes, the product passed as an article of exchange in the island, and the factor received a considerable part of the rents in it instead of money; but the stills were closed about 1870. The *Inverness Courier* of 14 November 1827 remarks virtuously: 'Owing to the vigilance of Captain Oliver, of the Revenue cutter "Prince of Wales", and the new Excise Officers on shore, smuggling is so completely put down in the Long Island that there is actually not a drop of illicit whisky to be got from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head; and there is probably at this moment a larger supply of legal whisky from Greenock for the supply of Stornoway alone, than was ever imported into the Hebrides before.' 273 274 175* [439] [436] [427] [439]

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Lord Leverhulme's fisheries

159 The era of Lord Leverhulme, the soap magnate, is well docu-
*195 mented; a complicated story and not yet told in full. The confrontation of a dynamic industrialist from England with the deep-thinking crofter of Lewis has formed the subject of much speculation, particularly with regard to the non-success—rather than failure—of Leverhulme's schemes for the island. Leverhulme bought Lewis in 1918. He had visited the island about twenty years before and had no doubt thought that with proper direction and adequate capital much could be done to bring it out into a fresh, lively economic air, profitable both to himself and the inhabitants. He was a visionary; but he was also a practical man, with great successes in the commercial world to prove it. In 1919,
159 contracts were placed with Sir Robert MacAlpine Limited to
*195 begin operations in Stornoway: excavating, levelling and build-
228 ing in preparation for the new town and its factories. The Leverhulme Syndicate bought deep-sea trawlers in Aberdeen, Hull, Fleetwood and other ports, and also retail fish shops in many towns on the mainland. This side of the enterprise was known as The Mac Fisheries Limited, and the island developments were under the direction of the 'Lewis & Harris Welfare & Development Company Limited'.

Leverhulme's main idea was to establish Stornoway as the centre of a great fishing and fish-processing industry. As he put it, acre for acre the seas surrounding the Hebrides were infinitely richer than the land. He maintained that in any programme for the improvement of the islanders' economic position, fishing must
159 become their primary if not their only activity. Such, however,
*195 was the land hunger of returning ex-servicemen that his attentions
423 were almost wholly given over to trying to persuade those want-
729 ing crofts that they would be, materially at least, better off in his canning factories. But farms were broken up to satisfy the demand for land until the time came when Leverhulme felt he had to abandon Lewis. The Board of Agriculture and the Scottish Office were also principal actors in the play, mostly on the side of the land raiders who squatted on farm land in the island so causing the farms' eventual fragmentation into small units of economic
000 insignificance. When he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris,

LORD LEVERHULME'S FISHERIES

When he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris, he offered—such was the character of the man—as thanks for the '98 per cent support' he got from the people of Lewis, to each Lewis crofter his own croft as a free gift, and the Lews Castle, together with all his property in Stornoway, to the people of the town. 159 175* 423 431

In 1919, Leverhulme became proprietor of Harris, and concentrated his efforts in Obbe, now called Leverburgh, in South Harris. The harbour at Obbe lacked the natural advantage which Stornoway had, so he spent large sums on making it navigable. Rocky obstacles were blasted away; numerous buoys and beacons were set up to guide vessels into harbour; new quays were built; and kippering sheds, and other buildings necessary for packing and curing herring were erected. Among his other undertakings in Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he bore half the cost of the 5½ miles of road between Leverburgh and Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Brussels. His Harris schemes came to an abrupt end. And the remains of industrial history are still to be seen in the quietness of the little township named after one of the most stormy of business petrels that Britain has ever seen. 159 175* [503] [228] [288] [491]

Tourism

Tourism has always been a perfunctory and casual affair, until the introduction of the fast ferries which now link the mainland (via Skye) with the Outer Isles. Some 10,000 cars cross each year from Skye to the Hebrides. In 1913, the Stornoway Tourist Association had a struggle to increase the number of visitors to the town, to establish it as a tourist resort. It is much the same today with the Western Isles Tourist Association, which is having difficulty in integrating tourist facilities with crofting activities. In Lewis, the Stornoway Trust has assisted in establishing pony-trekking, a venture which has the potential to mirror the success of a similar one in the Isle of Skye. 484 [501] [505]

PRESENT INDUSTRY

Almost an echo of the kelp-burning industry is the alginate industry. It provides employment for only small numbers, but is a 824 381

824 useful crofting ancillary which, unlike many others, is soundly
381 based on a definite commercial demand. Various industries use the extracted acid for some 150 products. The Scottish alginate industry, the second largest in the world, is based on the process of E. C. Stanford, who discovered alginic acid in 1883, though today modern methods are used. For raw materials it has turned to the old kelping shores of the Hebrides and Northern Isles. On the island it has a factory at Keose on Loch Erisort, a site chosen for the easy access afforded to puffers; the factory receives the weed, dries, mills and bags it, and the boats then carry 200-ton loads to Girvan. The factory itself involved some £30,000 of
[433] capital layout and has a capacity of 120 wet tons per week—4 wet tons producing 1 dry milled ton. About a dozen Harris and
[137] Lewis crofters gather the seaweed crop, the most useful type being bladderwrack or rockweed *(ascophyllum nodosum)*, from the shores at Loch Erisort, East Loch Roag and Bernera in Lewis,
[493] Husinish and Scarp in Harris, and Loch Seaforth. Where there is road access the weed is cut by sickle and loaded into a lorry, but more often it is cut at low water to be floated with the incoming tide and rafted to Keose, hauled by motor boat.

247 A product of the land not readily associated with the Hebrides is bulbs. Bulb-growing deserves a mention, however, if only be-
[873] cause the experiment to see whether it could become a commercial possibility in Lewis was carried out by the children of Lionel (Ness) Junior Secondary School. The MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust made an investment of £150 to cover initial expenses, and success followed. When the original project was completed it was extended, sales bringing the school a useful sum. But an attack of disease brought production to a standstill in 1966.

312 Another small industry is the aerated-water plant at Ness, which is operating with reasonable success, and could do better if
228 imports of aerated waters from abroad were reduced. A number of recent surveys made in the island have found great interest in such activities as shell-fish processing in Harris to produce semi-
286 preserves, using mostly cockles and mussels. Local knitting already has a name for its products and a potential for extension on a
* [175] commercial scale; this latter began in late 1966. Some forty years ago knitting specialists went to Lewis to investigate the possibilities

of a knitting industry based on the crofters, who would use Lewis 286
yarn and produce knitwear in addition to their woven fabrics. 175*
However, it was found that the yarns used for Harris Tweed were unsuitable for knitwear, not being given sufficient twist in the spinning: before women use this tweed yarn for knitting, it is common practice to twist two or more threads of yarn together on a hand spinning-wheel.

Little in the way of craft work is done on the island, mainly 463
because of the lack of indigenous materials which could be used to produce typically-island items. Marram-grass has been sug- [137]
gested as being suitable for making agricultural wind-breaks, and
close-woven basket-work. Shore-stones and pebbles are plentiful [135]
both in quantity and variety of type and colour.

Small employment outlets on the island are marine and motor 396
engineering, mainly based on Stornoway, and boat-building. This [464]
latter is a small but socially-significant firm in Ness with products with a high reputation. Construction and general building is of some significance, one of the most enterprising firms being built up literally from scratch so as to become a highly-successful island business.

The unemployment problem

The island's unemployment problem is as much a matter of 464
concern today as it has ever been, averaging about 25 per cent annually (representing well over 1,000 people) compared with the Scottish mainland figure of 6.0 per cent; the contemporary figure for Britain is around 3.0 per cent. While unemployment as it 464
affects adults is serious enough, unemployment among teenagers 883
threatens the community's whole future. The island has its Youth Employment Officer, who has an unenviable task. Each junior and secondary school in the island is visited to interview school-leavers, at least once a year; employment advice is given and this is supplemented by Careers Officers' visits.

Such employment openings as exist over the island's limited spectrum are concentrated in Stornoway. They are, however, [462]
mainly in shop work, mill work and hotel work for girls, with a few vacancies for apprentices in trades generally associated with building construction. Most of the jobs offered are very much in

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

883 464 the nature of stopgaps in the younger, formative years and do not offer progressive training for the eventual chosen career. As an [166] example of this, a number of island girls come to Stornoway to [462] work in local shops and then leave the island after two years or [814] so to take up hotel work or nursing on the mainland; many boys leave the island for apprenticeship training in trades which now require evening-class, day- or block-release educational classes. About fifty young persons leave the island each year under the Training Allowances Scheme of the Youth Employment Service, which financially assists them to live in lodgings while working away from home.

464 Most of the employment categories in the island of course employ less than a handful of people, either full-time adults or time-serving apprentices; they are fully staffed very quickly and opportunities arise only when an employee dies or leaves the island, or—more rarely—when an increased demand for a service (for instance television engineering at one time) creates vacancies for apprentices.

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES16 Highland Scots ES10
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7 THE PEOPLE

THOUGH there are a nur ber of large island communities in the British Isles, Harris and Lewis have in particular retained their individual characteristics, mainly because the Minch has acted as a buffer against effective infiltration of alien influences. The relative insularity of the north-west Highlands has enhanced this isolation, to preserve what is probably one of the oldest forms of communal life in Britain. It has some unique characteristics which are evident even in these days of sophisticated civilisation. The basis of life, although today the individual is beginning to show face, is a communal spirit, based on team-work. Work undertaken with the willing help of others is easier, lighter and quicker done: livestock is easier handled in a large controlled flock; boats are best rowed with a crew. And the women, with the same inborn communal spirit, once spun yarn together; waulked or fulled the cloth together; and helped each other in childbirth, child-care and the deaths which affected the community.

Several of these teams eventually merged to form what is now called the crofting township. And, though a township may nowadays number 1,000 people, to keep, if not pull, together is still a priority if the social structure is not to fail. Townships have been called in the past, by understanding writers, 'sociable hamlets' and 'little commonwealths'. Though these are of long standing historically, they are still a dynamic form of social integration of the kind found elsewhere only in working-class districts of cities such as Glasgow and Manchester. This is not to say that one must be 'poor' in order to participate in such a society. In the material world, to be poor is to be without money; in a crofting society, lack of money, although this commodity has tended in recent years to assume for itself an out-of-proportion standing and status, does not necessarily mean destitution; for help to keep the body together is always to hand, though the donor may never be seen or known.

THE PEOPLE

178 262 Most of the outward changes which have occurred in the island took place in the two decades just after the first world war. Food, for instance, now tends to be better balanced and contains more nutrients. Staple diets in the past were mostly confined to a few items, and based on the potato. Fish, particularly those with essential oils (eg cod) were, of course, available; but only if the fishermen were lucky in the catch. As for vegetables and fresh fruit, it was not until after the 1920s that these became generally available all the year round.

178 291 Another outward change has been in dress. Until the beginning of the twenties, the women wore a black petticoat striped with colours, a dark blouse, often with stays, and a knitted muffler round the neck and over the head. In summer, the tartan shawl was more typical of Sunday-wear than of weekdays. Men's clothes tended to be of the homespun type, rich in water-resisting oil. Later these were replaced, so far as the fishermen were concerned, with oilskins, waterproofs and rubber boots. Dress nowadays of course tends to conform to what is displayed in magazines, on the film screen and on television.

178 181 The changes in the mental characteristics of a people are not so obvious. Centuries of generations of long-dead forbears have contributed their accretions to the character of the island people today. It is a complex one. Impressions of the island people as such are few, mainly because observers looked for those economic aspects which gave the society its *raison d'être*. That islandfolk of *175 181 former times were fond of music and dancing was the observation of the Rev John Lane Buchanan, who was 'Missionary Minister to the Isles from the Church of Scotland' from 1782 to 1790. In a volume published in 1793, in which he describes his Hebridean experiences, he says that the British laws had been introduced to the Island of Lewis by the Seaforth of that period. [535] The Lewis people, he says, 'since their late happy change from servitude to freedom, by the present noble-minded proprietor, are animated with such life as to meet in companies, regularly each week, at stated places, where both old and young take their turn in this agreeable past-time [dancing], when they exercise themselves with amazing alertness and spirit.' Martin Martin mentions that in his time (*c* 1695) the Lewis people were 'very dextrous in the exercises of swimming, archery, vaulting, or leaping'.

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

in the exercises of swimming, archery, vaulting, or leaping'. He also says that they were great lovers of music, and that when he was in the island he heard of eighteen men who could play the violin well without having been taught.

The Rev William MacRae, minister of Barvas, writing in the *New Statistical Account*, gives a description of his parishioners (in 1836) which can be applied to all the country districts in the island at that time. After stating that in their habits much cleanliness can scarcely be expected, considering their poverty and the wretchedness of their habitations, he says:

> Their mode of living most closely approaches the pastoral: without arts, trade, manufacture, navigation, or literature, their whole round of duty consists in securing fuel, in sowing and reaping their scanty crops, and in rearing their flocks, and tending them at pasture. Yet in these limited circumstances, while supplied with food and clothing of the plainest description, and able to pay their rents, their simple cottages are abodes of happiness and contentment. Blue kelt [a thick cloth] is almost the only dress worn by the men, and stuffs, variously striped, by the women, with under dresses of plaiding, all home-made. In many instances, however, cotton shirts and print gowns are beginning to supersede the use of some of these articles . . . Their ordinary food consists of oat and barley meal, potatoes and milk variously prepared. Their domestic economy is frugal and moderate beyond conception. The produce of a foreign soil such as tea, coffee, and sugar, and the common conveniences of art, such as knives, forks, and etc., are to them altogether alien.

It is of interest that the change in dress-types (from woollen homespuns to cotton fabrics) was followed by an increase in the incidence of rheumatism.

Today, the island folk are reputed to be gloomy with a black, depressive attitude towards life. The editor of the *Stornoway Gazette* has pointed out: 'We cannot understand a people and why they act as they do unless we know the content of their memories. We cannot understand the paradox of the naturally gay in heart seeking religious consolation in a grim and gritty Calvinism. We cannot understand why Lewis, which clothes the world in colourful tweeds, clothes most of the women in noth-

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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181 ing but black. The young have found the island a much more kindly place. They have never been forced by circumstances to choose between predestination and despair.'

To take account of matters beyond the material level is inherent in the Gaelic Celt. Celtic poetry and song, legend and [538] folklore, all so alive with fancy and so sympathetic towards the things of nature, reflect the inborn sensitivity and character of the present-day Highlander and Islander. Fiction's caricature of the island-dweller (not only in Harris and Lewis, but in the other islands) has been taken by another society with a different cultural background, with insufficient knowledge of historical facts, as being virtually authentic. The Western Isles have had more than their share of 'observers' who have failed to penetrate to the inner Gael. Only with a knowledge of the background, social, cultural, ethnic, historical and so on, can the 'larger than life' islander be seen in perspective—as a normal human being.

RELIGION

771 There are few communities in the British Isles which have, since the Christian dawning, so closely integrated religious belief with secular day-to-day living as the Harris and Lewis people. Though many times the religious element in island life foundered in a Sargasso Sea of outright superstition, it has managed to survive to its present-day form which might be described as cathartic in nature. When one attempts to investigate religion and superstition as two separate subjects, one is forced to consider either both as one, or one as complementary to the other. Even in those times during the island's history when materialism was prominent, somewhere in the background religion was acknowledged in one form or another.

*175 As mentioned in Chapter 3, in 1610 Lord Kintail brought
795 Farquhar MacRae, the vicar of Gairloch, to Lewis. The first Earl of Seaforth, who built a church in Stornoway (St Lennan's) was nominally Episcopalian. During the temporary supremacy of Episcopacy in Scotland, there was little disturbance in the High-
[793] lands of the Presbyterian organisation. The bishops controlled
[794] their dioceses; but the ministers controlled their parishioners. In

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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Lewis, there were but two ministers in 1626, their parishes being Barvas (which included Uig) and Eye, which included Lochs; the population of the island at the time was about 4,000. When Presbyterianism was re-established in Scotland in 1640, the Lewis ministers found no trouble in conforming, as did their fellow parishioners. Sectarian feeling in the island during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not so much between Presbyterians and Episcopalians as between Romanists and Protestants.

In the year 1738, nine Episcopalian Lewismen signed a letter to the Bishop of the Isles, asking for an annual visit from a pastor, being unable to support a full-time minister. Almost a century later in 1839, the foundation stone of St Peter's in Stornoway was laid: this is the town's Episcopal Church. The other building on the island which belongs to the Episcopalians is the ancient church at Eoropie, dating back to the tenth century and perhaps the oldest still in use in the Hebrides; services are held there occasionally, though there is no local Episcopalian congregation. One of the most significant events which echoed right through to the island was the Disruption which took place in Edinburgh in 1843. The result was a 'church spectrum' in Scotland which is still mirrored on a smaller scale in the island: the Church of Scotland, the Free Presbyterian Church, the United Free Church, and the Free Church. The Roman Catholic Church is also represented.

Lewis has one of the largest Free Church congregations in the country. This denomination is particularly known for its outspoken pronouncements from time to time on questions of the day. It is Calvinistic in doctrine and has a reputation for holding the 'Calvinistic outlook' in the more general and pejorative sense; though its strictness may sometimes be over-painted, it is much less liberal in its moral standpoint than is the Church of Scotland, if less austere in some respects than the Free Presbyterians. Its doctrinal position is that of unrelaxed adherence to the Westminster Confession, its ministers and other office-bearers affirming their belief 'in the whole doctrine of the Confession'. It is opposed to theological liberalism and accepts the inerrancy and infallibility of the Scriptures. Only the Psalter is used in public worship, and instrumental music is dispensed with; strong

emphasis is laid on evangelical preaching. The Free Church claims 'the free exercise of all its spiritual functions, while it fully admits the State authority in purely temporal concerns'.

THE GAELIC LANGUAGE

Closely tied in with the background of the island folk is the Gaelic language. For many years this has been dying, yet it is still vigorous enough to make a significant contribution to the mental make-up of the people. It is a living language in that it is used for personal communication, though English is often and universally resorted to when the talk turns to technical subjects. As the Gaelic language stands today, by itself it is agreed by most Gaelic speakers to be a barrier to economic progress. The Gaelic-speaking child who also knows English, however, is found to be at no significant disadvantage over the monoglot; indeed, tests have shown, particularly in other multilingual countries, that the bilingual child tends to assimilate knowledge at a greater rate and to a greater depth. Two decades ago a pamphlet issued by the Scottish Council for Research in Education showed that while there were no 'statistically significant' differences between the four areas into which they divided Scotland, the Highlands and Islands came out best in a study of the average level of intelligence :

	Mean	*Standard deviation*
The four Scottish cities	100·86	15·29
The industrial belt	99·19	16·18
The rural areas	100·92	14·52
The Highlands and Islands	101·79	13·13

The pamphlet comments : 'It is interesting that the mean of the most remote and isolated districts is the highest, and the standard of deviation the lowest.'

The Hebrides are now the only area in Scotland where the language, once Scotland's national language, is spoken by a Gaelic-characterised community. On average 95 per cent of the inhabitants of all the island districts are Gaelic-speaking; even in the town of Stornoway, never regarded as wholly Gaelic-speak-

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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ing, 73 per cent have the language, which has been introduced 197
by immigrant country folk and their descendants.

HEALTH AND HOUSING

Despite the harsh conditions of centuries, the physical health of 175*
the island was good in early times. Epidemics were rare due to 164
isolation, though on occasion smallpox carried away many children. The commonest diseases were fevers, jaundice, dysentery and diarrhoea. Bloodletting (as in many another more advanced com- 175*
munity) was the usual cure for fevers and dysentery. For coughs 757
the people took a 'brochan' or soup of roots of nettles and reeds boiled in water with yeast; the meal of a black bean, mixed with boiled milk, was a useful cure for dysentery. Reports describe the 175*
folk as being well-proportioned, free from bodily imperfections and 142
of good stature; healthful and strong-bodied.

But privations, particularly the frequent recurrences of near- 175*
famine, coupled with the primitive housing conditions, began to 164
take their toll. The increasing sickness rate aroused the concern of authority. The most primitive dwellings had but one room, 175*
with the cattle at one end and the family at the other. In 1830 342
Seaforth sought at least to put an end to this, ordering that a [231]
partition must be erected between beast and man, 'and that more light should be admitted into the dark recesses of their habitation'. This type of one-room dwelling was not confined to the island, [184]
being found with many variants throughout the Highlands and Islands area. The old Lewis house was, as a rule, an oblong structure, varying in length according to the means and requirements of the occupier. It had but one door, and frequently had no windows. Chimneys did not find favour, mainly because any open- [354]
ing for the escape of smoke from the centrally-sited hearth tended [241]
to reduce the quality of soot produced; and soot was regarded as a valuable manurial product. If there was a hole in the roof to admit some light, a small pane of glass was fixed into it: this soon had a coating of soot, and the sole source of light was the doorway—when the door was open. The family and the cattle used the same [231]
entrance; and the cows' dung was removed once a year in the springtime.

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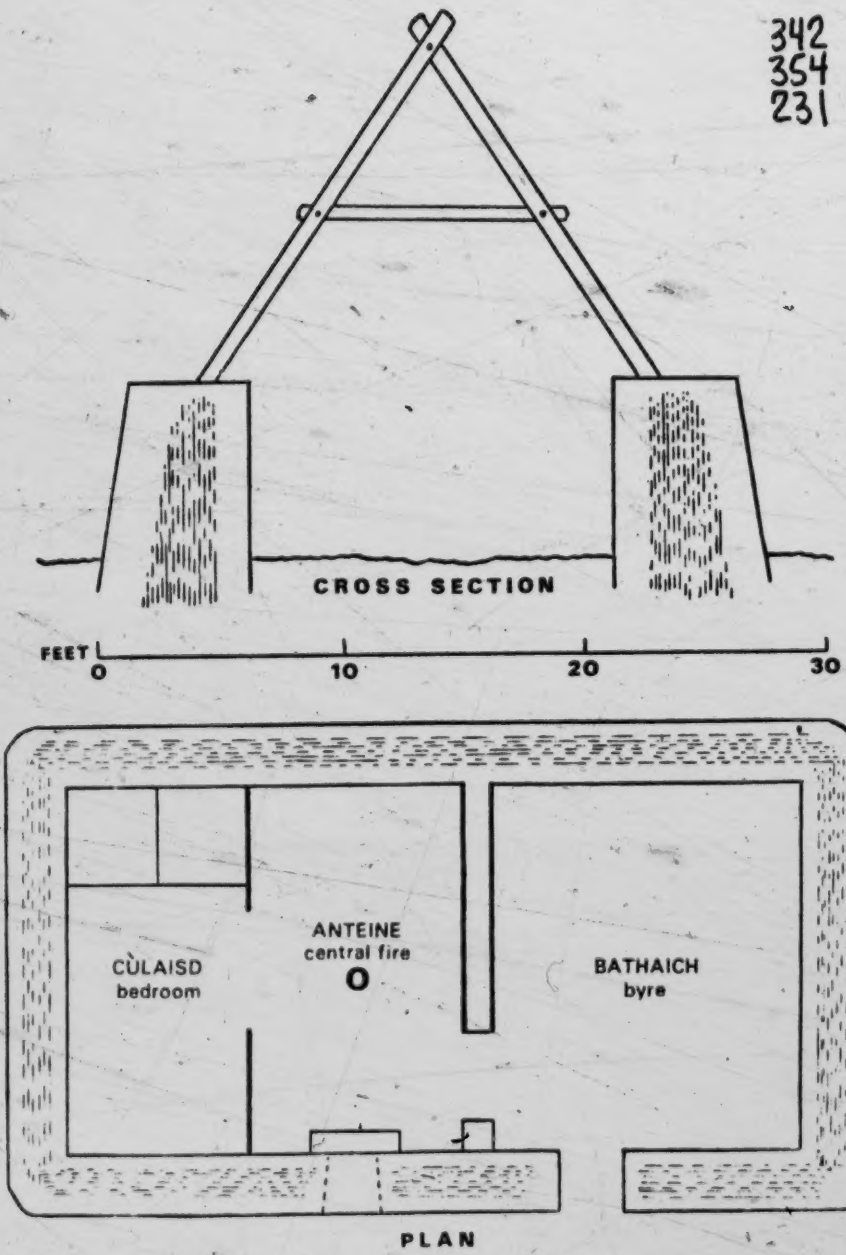
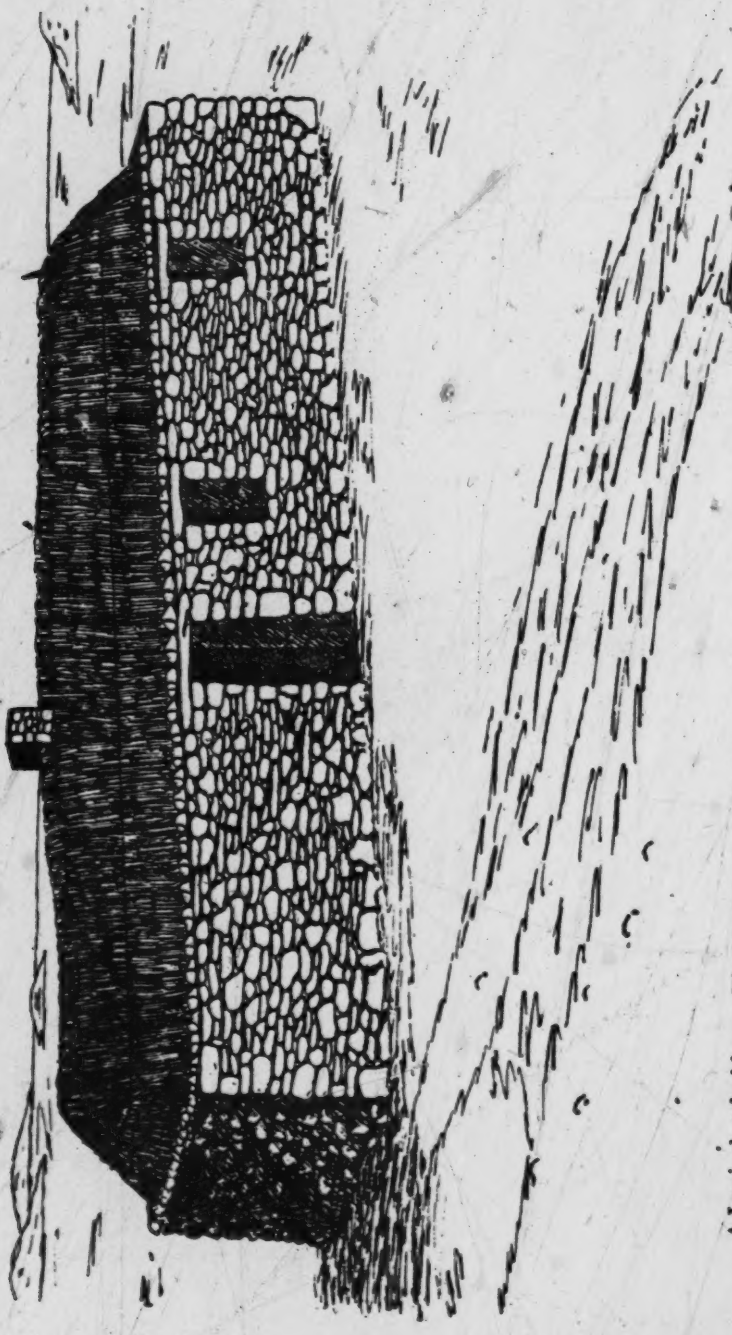


Hebridean type of 'black house': plan and cross-section



A Lewis thatched house. The black house still exists, though in an 'improved' form. This one was sketched in 1948

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THE PEOPLE

*175 342 In 1899, the Medical Officer of Health for the Parish of Barvas described the typical Lewis crofter's house of the time. It had three apartments, two for the family, and a third for the cattle; this new arrangement was the result of the Regulations issued by Sir James Matheson for the betterment of the estate. The low [333] thick walls were built of stone, or stone and turf, with a packing of loose earth, and were perennially damp. The roof, composed of a framework of wooden rafters and couples resting on the inner edge of these walls, was covered over with turf divots and straw, bound with ropes of straw, heather or coarse thatching rope, and weighted down with stones. It was never air- or water-tight, and roof water usually soaked into the packing of the walls and thus oozed into the house. Further, only the slightest attention was given to situation and drainage. The floor of the dwelling apartment was composed of a pavement of rough stones covered over with clay—and a cold damp floor it was. The cattle apartment had [231] no pavement, so that the manure liquids and slop water percolated into the ground and at times found their way into neighbouring dwelling houses and even into the drinking wells. Many of the houses were built back-to-back and sometimes in rows three deep. Lighting was deficient and the windows, fixed either in walls or roof, were not made to open.

*175 342 354 Some houses had round portholes in the roof at the top of the wall which might be opened or closed at pleasure; these served for lighting and ventilation at the byre end of the house, though occasionally they were present also at the living end. Draughts coming in through the roof and walls, and the blazing peat fire in the centre of the middle apartment, helped to keep the air in motion, but the smoke from the fire frequently filled the upper portions of the room and, there still being no chimney or other outlet as a rule, it pervaded the whole atmosphere of the house.

*175 342 [164] From a sanitary point of view such houses had the gravest of defects: it amazed visiting doctors that infectious diseases were ever absent. Yet generally the inmates compared well in physique, general well-being and immunity from serious disease with those more favourably situated. Tuberculosis was the most prevalent enemy.

[427] [144] In 1879, improving leases were offered to those who were will-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

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(*above*) Sheep shearing: the first stage to Harris Tweed

/p. 143/

(*below*) Natives of Shawbost, Lewis, engaged on wool dyeing, c 1910

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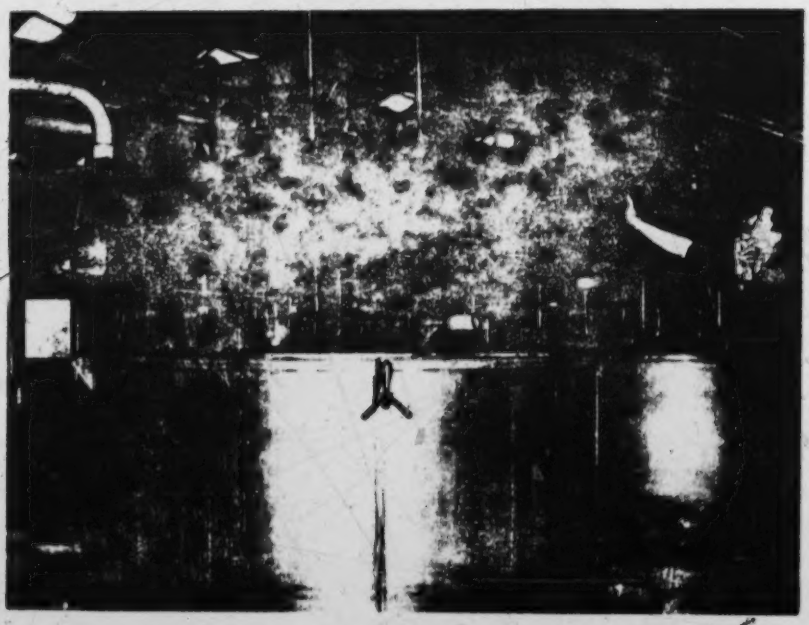
(*above*) Bales of imported Scottish wool on the quay at Stornoway for the Harris Tweed industry

/p. 144/

(*below*) Dyeing wool in a Stornoway mill



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ing to put their houses into better condition. The leases required, *inter alia*, that the thatch was not to be stripped off or removed for manurial purposes; that the byre was to be a separate building; and that the dung was to be removed regularly to a distant dung-heap. A Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1896 noted that the new houses being erected were following the old traditional patterns. And though the introduction of statutory requirements did bring real improvements, as late as 1902 it was reported: 'The insanitary houses and the impure water to which the people have long been accustomed, would lead an enquirer to expect a high death-rate. That is not so, however. The island is occasionally visited by epidemics of measles, or whooping-cough, like other parts of the country; and there are sometimes outbreaks of dung-fever—a preventable malady—but altogether the general health is good."

175* 342 427 744 [231] [165] [164]

The Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1898 described certain water supplies in the island as 'little better than cesspools for surface soakings'. And five years earlier the water supply of Cromore was 'merely a few holes dug out amongst the arable land next to the houses; and polluted with the manure dissoved off their arable ground; and in some cases contaminated with liquid sewage percolating through the soil from their houses.' In 1893 an outbreak of typhoid fever in some townships in Uig was traced to the contaminated stream whose water was used as a drinking-water supply. Improvements in the water supplies were eventually put into effect, with a marked decrease in the ailments which the people had come to expect as normal to their way of life.

175* 312 [164]

The rate of infant mortality was high. The weaklings died young. Only the strong survived to withstand the insanitary surroundings. A peculiar form of disease was associated with the island: it seized a child about the fifth night after its birth and was consequently called the 'fifth night's sickness'. According to medical opinion this was infant lockjaw *(tetanus neonatorum)*. The doctor of Lochs in 1892 reported that it was common among the infants of his parish, being 'most frequently met with in those dwelling houses where sanitation in its most rudimentary form is entirely ignored; where we have to walk to the fireplace in the

175* 165 164

*175 165 164 centre of the mud floor through tons and tons of decomposing organic matter or manure.'

The island, for all its ills and chills, had a high birth-rate and *175 163 a low death-rate. Martin Martin (1695) declared: 'It is a general observation of such as live on the sea coast that they are more 165 prolific than any other people whatsoever.' In some areas of the island the birth-rate was as high as 35 per cent with a death-rate of about 12 per cent. The longevity of the islanders is well known, a fact confirmed by a glance any week at the Deaths columns of the *Stornoway Gazette*, regularly recording the decease of octogenarians, nonagenarians and some reaching their century.

*175 In 1795 the island had only one surgeon. In Stornoway, 'In- 759 oculation is performed here with success by the skill and atten- [751] tion of Mr Robert Millar, Surgeon.' Later, another doctor came to Stornoway, who attended to the sick in all parts of the island. By the turn of the century there were resident medical officers in each parish, with five doctors in practice in Stornoway.

*175 Just after the turn of the century, there was a medical club 759 in the north of Harris. This had been formed by the proprietor, 743 Sir Samuel Scott, whose crofters were supposed to pay 5s per annum and cottars 2s 6d; this subscription covered dependents. In return, Scott guaranteed the salary of a medical officer, thus securing the services of a resident doctor in the district. But there was apparently considerable reluctance to call a doctor, whether *175 the patient belonged to the club or not. The salary of the district 759 Medical Officer of Health was £35 per annum, and from the 465 North Harris Club he received some £200. Scott also provided 178 him with a home. Dr Fletcher reported in 1906 that a complete 262 change had taken place in the diet of the people within the memory of the older inhabitants, whose accounts of what they called new diseases and lowered virility he found very interesting. Good, plain wholesome diet 'has been replaced by cheap stuff, of [272] questionable quality and purity. To this change there is another nondescript article which goes by the name of tea, in the use, or rather abuse, of which they are quite intemperate and from which they extract the last dregs by boiling. The result is disastrous to the strongest digestive system.'

*175 In 1892 'a well-equipped medical and surgical hospital was 743

an urgent necessity for the island of Lewis', and a committee was 175*
appointed to collect funds, the subscription list being headed by 743
Lady Matheson; for a period of three years donations flowed in from all parts of the world. The Lewis cottage hospital was opened on 1 February 1896, starting with only fifteen beds; the number was increased to twenty in 1915. An extension was opened in 1925, and the hospital was provided with a surgeon and an ambulance. Another extension in 1929 was the result of a gift of £3,000 from Mr John Bain, of Chicago, a Lewis son who was President of no less than fourteen banks in the Mid-West. The Lewis Sanatorium was started in 1926.

Tuberculosis was at one time in the island's history a disease 175*
that caused many deaths and much sorrow. About 1930 an Assist- 164
ant Medical Officer of Health was appointed, Dr R. Stevenson 744
Doig (who died in 1965), who spent his career-life in Lewis stamp- 759
ing out what was called in the island the 'white scourge'; he lived [165]
long enough to see the introduction of preventive medicine and the decline of the killing and crippling diseases he found on his first years in Lewis.

In dental health, progress has, as in so many areas, been 164
reversed. At one time the island teeth were so well known for 178
their strength and beauty that a film was made by the Army for showing to audiences considered in need of dental-health education. In 1966 the picture had changed: a survey revealed that 95 per cent of Lewis children were in need of dental treatment. [262]
The mainland addiction to sugary foods has spread.

As distinct from the island's general medical services, centred 734
on Stornoway, the psychiatric services are based at Inverness. What was formerly the Inverness District Asylum, now called Craig Dunain Hospital, is the only mental hospital in the Highlands area, with a few long-term beds in the Institution at Lochmaddy; the general hospital at Stornoway conducts monthly out-patient clinics. Over the area served, the rate of admission to Craig Dunain Hospital is around 3·3 persons per 1,000 of population, compared with a figure of 4·68 for Scotland as a whole, 5·5 for Lewis and 2 for Harris.

The drink problem and Lewis's relatively high rate of admis- 733
sions to mental hospital both stem from the background of the 734
158

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

733 734 158 people; Lewis can be taken as representative of the Hebrides and the Highlands in general. The incidence of involutional melancholia, occurring mainly in middle life, is high and, to quote one expert, 'It would seem profitable to consider the states of fear and distress with which it has been associated.'

731 165 Those in Harris and Lewis aged fifty or over have their recollections charged with little else than disaster. Not only did the island lose an abnormally high percentage of its young men in

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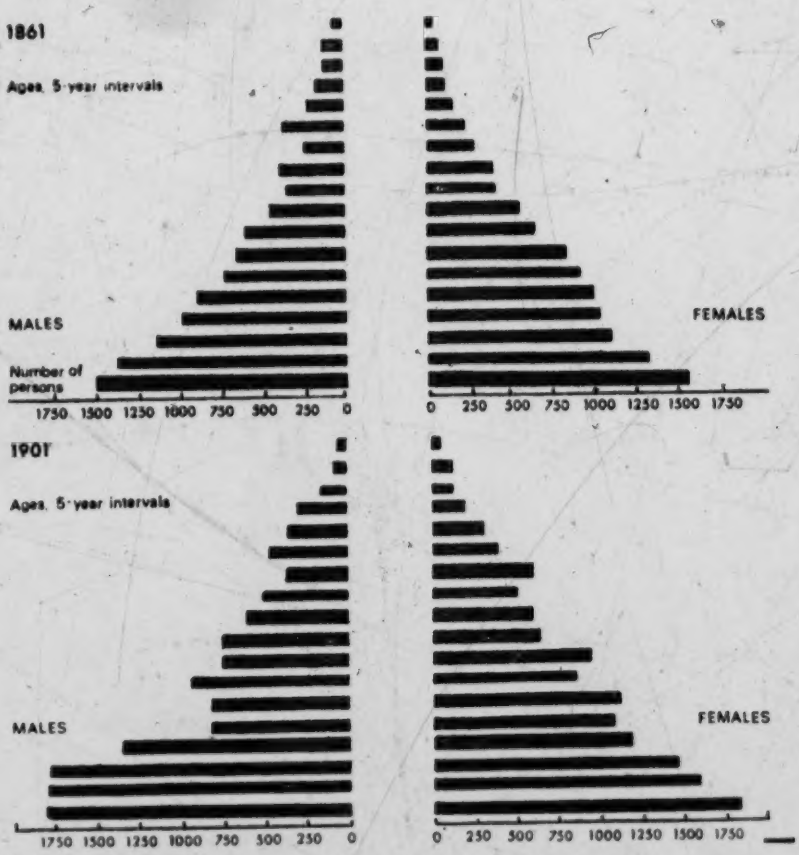

The age structure of the Lewis population in 1861 and 1901, showing the trend toward ageing as the younger elements emigrate (age scale 5-90 years reading from base)

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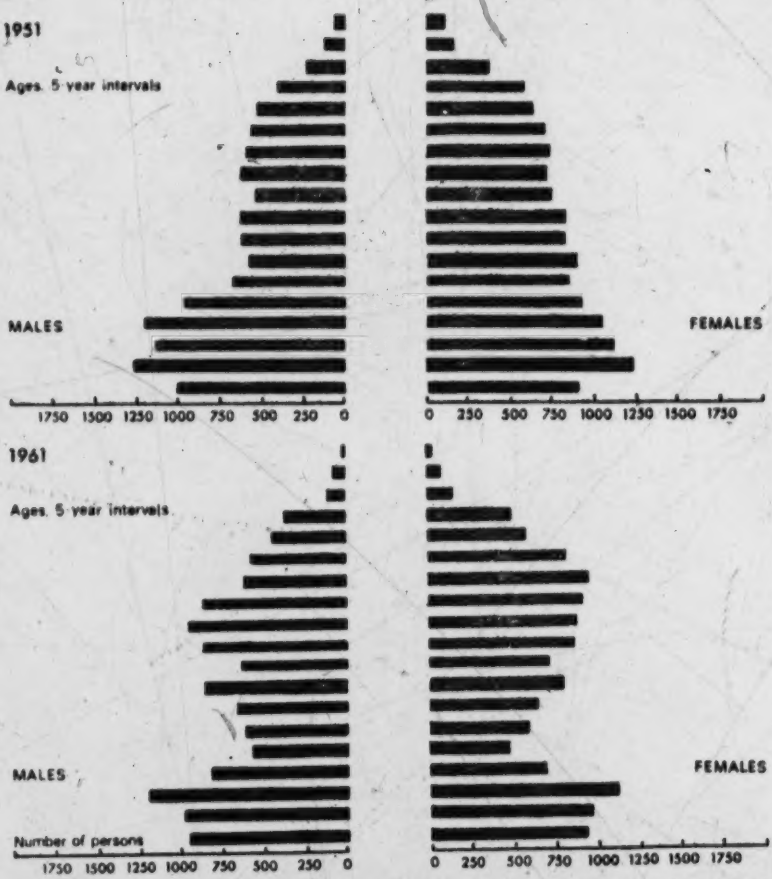
175*



The age structure of the Lewis population in 1951 and 1961. The trend shown over the forty years 1861-1901 has strengthened and consolidated, so that the 1961 population is middle-aged

the 1914 war, but some 200 of those who survived the holocaust 731
were lost in the wreck of the *Iolaire* on New Year's morning, 1919 165
—the first morning of the first new year of peace, literally within
sight of home. Again, the effect of emigration was a loss, in many 167
small communities, of a full generation. Where religion is strong 771
and thrice-distilled, there tends also to prevail a state of mind 783
which dwells on guilt and, where people are accustomed to ex- 157

771 press themselves in terms of religious values and ideas, the fear
783 of having committed unforgivable sin. The normal adjustments,
158 reflections and mental stocktaking of middle life are possibly more
[158] readily precipitated towards depression in an emotional people
733 prone to serious thought. This brings of course a concomitant
157 spectrum of problems in an area where in general a man is expected to take a dram and stand it; both nature and nurture are relevant factors. In the words of Cunningham Graham (1899), the medical adviser finds himself 'preaching teetotalism, that is for others, but himself taking his glass of whisky for the reasons which have been so cogently set forth by St Paul the Apostle to the Caledonians.' For those who comment in isolation on a com-
[539] munity's indulgence in alcohol, one must quote a Gaelic proverb: *'Tha smuideag fhein an ceann gach foid'*—Every peat-end has its own smoke.

733 From the earliest times the Western Isles have indeed been
*175 regarded as supporting a population with an uncanny predilec-
[539] tion for spiritous liquors. To a certain extent the spirits were needed by ill-nourished crofters to keep out the damp and cold when on the moors or at sea; and people in a depressed economic or mental condition will anywhere seek refuge in alcohol or other available drugs—forgetting the old Gaelic proverb 'Better the little fire that will warm than the great fire that will burn.' The evil effects of drinking have certainly at times been serious: in 1869 Sir James Matheson addressed a circular letter of remonstrance to his tenants, indicating that those guilty of misconduct were liable to be deprived of their holdings. In 1920 a vote was taken in Stornoway under the Scottish Temperance Act, with the result that the town went 'dry'; three years later the poll was upheld. Then in 1926, with a majority of 84, Stornoway went 'wet' again.

275 But the 'drink question' has been given undue prominence and
[733] dragged out of its island context. For instance, Stornoway contains all but three of the licensed premises on the island (at Tarbert, Rodel and Carloway) and, as the chief centre for business and pleasure, must naturally attract anyone seeking refreshment.

CRIME

Serious crime is rare in the island, though it was not always so. 175* Some light on the life lived in Lewis nearly two centuries ago is 674 found in the old records of the Sheriff Court of Ross County. The 693 first minute in the records concerns the appointment of George [217] Munro, Writer in Dingwall, as the first Sheriff Substitute 'within the Island of Lewis'. The date is 1788. Munro's commission empowered him to sit 'in the town of Stornoway or anywhere else he may find most eligible at the time within the said Island of Lewis and hold Sheriff courts there, judge, decide and determine in all causes civil and criminal coming before him.' In those days a case might be raised in any of the county courts. In 1788, a 175* regulation was made to save defenders from unnecessary trouble, 691 hardship and expense in travelling to relatively distant courts where actions were raised against them; litigants had, before Munro's appointment, been faced with a long and hazardous journey to either Dingwall or Tain on the Scottish mainland.

The old Court Records date from 1788 and 1826 and record 175* a number of interesting cases. Sheep-stealing was common, but 674 other forms of theft less so; this is indicated by the fact that much 217 of the Court Records are taken up with the minutiae of court 685 appointments. In a case concerning wrecking, Lloyd's of London are mentioned as being represented in Stornoway as early as 1824 if not earlier. The defendants were fined £4 for destroying the mast of a ship found by them in Lemreway, in Lochs.

In a report dated 1902, a survey of crimes (offences against 175* the person and offences against property) revealed that Lewis and 674 Stornoway had good characters; considering the population number compared with the large influx of strangers to Stornoway during the fishing season, local people emerge as more law-abiding than the national average. Miscellaneous petty crimes were numerous enough, however: minor assaults, breaches of the peace and disorderly conduct, occurring mainly in Stornoway. [273] Much of this 'crime' was traceable to drink. The island's first [682] and only murder occurred a year or two ago.

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SOCIAL LIFE

571 178 In common with other aspects of island life, the social side has undergone considerable change. The world has been brought nearer the crofter's home by radio, television and film screen, reducing the social need for meeting with neighbours and friends 574 178 for the ceilidh. The ceilidh was once the principal means of recreation and instruction. There is no precise English equivalent for it, and it may be loosely described as an 'at home' to which all are welcome. It may be held in any house; in the past, the favourite resort was a home where the head (*fear an tigh*—man of the house) was an intelligent, communicative man; and if he had a number of eligible daughters so much the better. Ceilidhean were held after nightfall. Old tales were told, and songs sung, and public questions of the day were discussed. All women attending took with them an ample amount of work, sewing or knitting, to see them through the evening. Ceilidhean nowadays tend to be [545] more organised, taking the form of popular 'concerts' which did not take root in the island until the turn of the century, though they were a common way of entertainment on the mainland at the time. Social life in the past was thus very intense, and was a natural evolution from the basic desire to forget the day's work and to have some pleasure of a kind.

546 The pattern of recreation facilities has since become fairly varied. Films came early to Lewis, or rather Stornoway; the first Picture House was located in Keith Street, and presented both [536] films and stage turns. A new Playhouse was opened in 1934 with *The Good Companions* and *Falling for You*, starring Jack Hulbert and Cicely Courtnedge. Films in the rural districts were a rarity, however, until in 1946 the Highlands & Islands Film Guild came into existence to bring the magic of the screen to scattered communities. This body ran several mobile cinema out- [207] fits in the deep crofting areas, until the advent of television in the region killed it off in 1971. While it existed, however, the Guild provided an essential service to remote communities and brought not only the world to their doorstep but ensured that they felt part and parcel of a much larger scheme of things.

207 The first television service in Lewis began in 1959, 'piped' by

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an enterprising radio firm in Stornoway; its customers receive 207
both BBC and Grampian Television programmes.

Some youth organisations are represented on the island. The 883
first troop of Boy Scouts was connected with the Stornoway 575
YMCA and was founded by forty boys in 1921. Founded (in 883
1912) on the island's close association with the sea was the Boys' 708
Brigade (Naval), later to become the Stornoway Naval Corps and 575
the Stornoway Boys' Naval Brigade. Its objects were to provide instruction in drilling, signalling, seamanship and first aid; and to foster a spirit of manliness and comradeship among its members. The founder was Canon H. Anderson Meaden, of the Episcopal Church in Stornoway (St Peter's). During the first war the boys acted as signallers at the Stornoway Battery.

But the provision of some organised recreational facilities for 529
young people on the island has long been a thorny question. After the first world war, the Rector of the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, proposed that village halls be built for village education and recreation. This scheme was never fully realised—except at Sandwick, just outside Stornoway—mainly because of the strength of puritanical opposition. This attitude has been breaking down, [178]
however, and it is now generally realised that the wealth of any community is based on its youth. Most of the efforts to set afoot activities for young people began after the second war; the work was hard and challenging with not a few failures on the way; perseverance has won to the extent that there is now a full-time youth leader. Most of the cultural and recreational activities are to be found in Stornoway, with a full range of interests. Evening non-vocational classes during the winter are also widely attended for a variety of subjects.

In 1965, an excellent Youth Hostel was established at Stock- 485
inish, Harris, with the help of the Inverness-shire Education Department. In its first season it recorded between 600 and 700 visitors (1,070 bed-nights). Also involved in the establishment of [575]
the hostel was the Harris Society of Social Service; practical help was given by the 2nd Stornoway Boy Scouts, who made a wall map, cleared up grounds and shifted furniture. A group of English enthusiasts have in previous years arranged a hotel at Rhenigidale, Harris (see Chapter 9), which provides for some fifty to

THE PEOPLE

485 eighty visitors each year, but there is nothing similar in Lewis. Hostellers who visit Stornoway can do little more than march through the town to the mail-boat, or else return to Harris by the next bus.

212 As might be expected, the reading tradition is strong, stemming from a natural desire to learn and from the fact that the ceilidh could only partly satisfy the need for mental stimulation, not to mention the need to alleviate loneliness. A century ago 538 three books were to be found in many island homes: the family *175 Bible, often a massive volume clad in hairy calfskin, *Turus a' Chriosdaidh (Pilgrim's Progress)* and *Gras am Pailteas* (Bunyan's 217 *Grace Abounding*). As horizons became wider a public library was set up in Stornoway in 1907 (see Chapter 8); a library was in fact established there earlier, before 1897, but it was not a free one. In round figures, the 15,400 people of landward Lewis (Lewis excluding Stornoway) borrow some 70,000 books annually, though of course the actual readership figures are higher, books borrowed being passed round the family and exchanged with others until the 'mobile' calls again. The mobile library service was established by the Ross & Cromarty County Council in 1955 for rural villages in thirty-one school districts.

ISLAND EMIGRANTS

181 For all that the island is a tight-knit community, paradoxically it 167 breeds many men and women whose destinies are not worked out within the confines of its own shores, but at the ends of far horizons. This is typical of most Highland areas: some who leave them make a mark on other societies often greatly exceeding the size of the community they left behind. Many 'great' people are also directly descended from a crofting ancestry; minds and spirits bred in the Highlands and Islands have potential for development not always apparent on native soil but sometimes fully realised in alien surroundings and conditions.

*175 Harris and Lewis have contributed their share, and still do, to 167 the general weal of skill, ability and intellect in all fields of human 554 endeavour. For centuries, the export of brains was normal. Possibly the best known is Sir Alexander MacKenzie, who discovered

the MacKenzie River; he was born in Stornoway in 1764, in what was known as Luskentyre House, at the corner of Kenneth Street and Francis, where Martin's Memorial Church now stands. Another MacKenzie, Lt-Col Colin MacKenzie, was born in Stornoway about 1754 and went to Madras in 1772 as a cadet in the Engineer Corps under the East India Company. In India, MacKenzie followed a career of high professional distinction,

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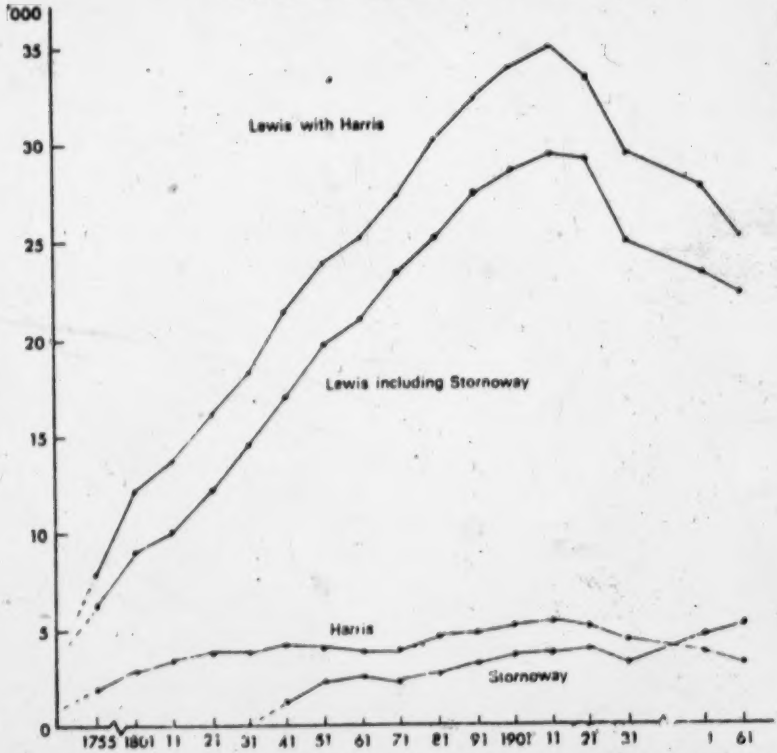
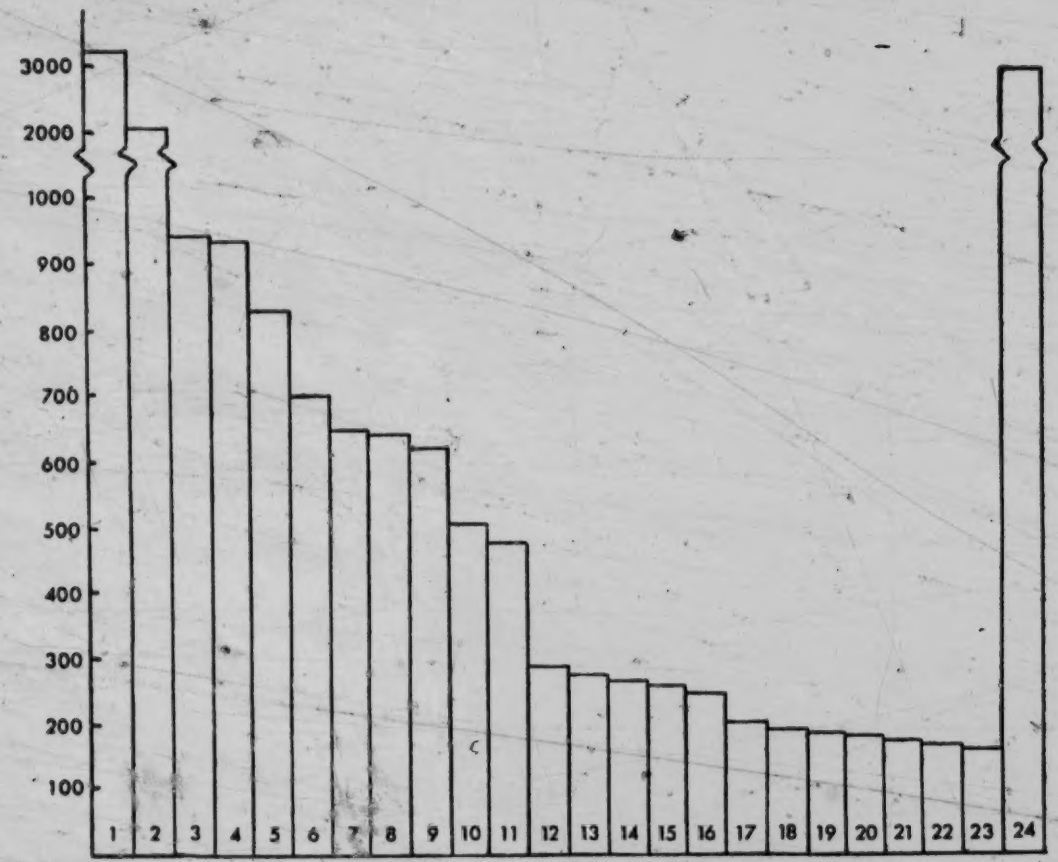


Population trends *c* 1755 to 1961 for the island as a whole; for Lewis, including Stornoway; for Harris; and for Stornoway. The population peak occurred in 1911. The dip in the Stornoway curve was due to the effects of emigration, as is the more pronounced dip in the island curve. Stornoway's curve in 1961 was on the upward trend, due to migration from the landward parts of the island into the town. Over the past 150 years, however, population mobility within the island has been virtually nil; movement has been emigration rather than migration



Frequency of Lewis surnames, based on 1961 census

1 MacLeod
2 MacDonald
3 Morison
4 MacKenzie
5 MacIver
6 MacLean
7 Smith
8 MacKay
9 Murray
10 Campbell
11 MacAulay
12 Nicolson
13 Graham
14 MacLennan
15 Matheson
16 MacArthur
17 MacMillan
18 MacRae
19 MacKinnon
20 MacRitchie
21 Martin
22 Montgomery
23 MacAskill
24 Others

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surveying Mysore (40,000 square miles), a work of great difficulty, 175*
and ultimately becoming Surveyor-General of India. Though 167
not island-born, Thomas Babington MacAulay, the first and only 554
Baron MacAulay of Rothley, was an issue from the very heart of the Hebrides. He was only one generation removed from Gaelic-speaking ancestors. His grandfather was born in the Manse of Harris, and a great-grandfather in the far-off parish of Uig, in Lewis; a great-grandmother was born in the old Manse of Stornoway.

The MacIvers of Liverpool were a Lewis family who took a leading part in the development of regular steamship travel across the Atlantic and in the foundation of the Cunard Line. The brothers David and Charles MacIver first operated with passenger ships (the City of Glasgow Steam Packet Company, 1844) on the Clyde coast. Before that they ran a petty smack between Loch Roag and Campbeltown. Kenneth Morison, the founder of the Railway Clearing House, was born in Stornoway in 1805; in an unusual field there was Aeneas MacKenzie, who scripted many Hollywood films; W. E. Gladstone's mother was a native of Stornoway; and the last of the tea-clipper skippers was Captain Murdo Stewart MacDonald, who skippered the *Sir Launcelot*. Yet another local boy who made good is R. M. MacIver, who left Stornoway at the age of sixteen to make a journey, first to Edinburgh University and then on to Oxford, Canada and America. He has in his lifetime collected eight Honorary Degrees, became Lieber Professor of political philosophy at Columbia University, and President, and then Chancellor, of the New School for Social Research.

8 STORNOWAY

632 829 STORNOWAY is the only real town in the Hebrides. Some even say that it is the only real town in the world, as its basic living patterns are those of the countryside from which it sprang. It has always been held in high regard by the [539] islanders. In the past it was regarded as one of the most important places in the civilised world: a saying attributed to a primitive native has passed into a proverb: *'steornabhagh mhor a' chaisteal —baile 's modha 'th'air an t-saoghal gu leir ach Bail'-ath-Cliath an Eirinn—'s iongantach nach eil an Righ fhein a' tighinn a comhnuigh ann!'* ('Stornoway the great, with its Castle, the largest town in the wide world, except Dublin in Ireland; surprising it is that the King himself does not reside therein!') The affectionate [103] name for the town is 'Portrona', Port of Seals, which it is. A son [504] of Stornoway once said, 'The founder of Portrona must have been some sea rover' with a good eye for a refuge from the storm and the peril of his calling. No matter what winds rage outside, within the bay the mariner may drop his anchor, furl his sails, and take his ease.'

*175 632 [133] When the Vikings first came to the western isles of what was later in history to become Scotland, they found a sandy spit of land on which they could beach their longships in a sheltered bay. It was, however, more than a haven; it was a place in which to settle down and rear the first of many generations. Later the Norse-derived MacLeods took advantage of an outcrop of rock beside the beach to build a fortress. Later again a greenheart pier, [504] and later still a concrete wharf, have given the town the outward symbols of economic and social significance.

632 133 Stornoway owes its origin to the Stornoway Beds, a sedimentary formation much younger than the Lewisian gneiss. These Beds have had two effects. First, their existence and formation allowed a deep indentation, giving a good harbour with a protecting isthmus not far way. The harbour itself is due to the erosion of these

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rocks about intrusions or dykes of more resistant crinanite. Second, the better nature of the soil derived from the weatherings of the sandstones and conglomerates has aided reclamation and cultivation.

In the long years of its existence the town has been a focal point of island history, fanning out to many corners of the world, where it has been merged with the wider history of Britain, the Commonwealth and elsewhere. Detached as it was from the rest of Scotland by the Minch, Lewis often went its own way. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when England and Sweden plotted against the Scottish crown, the emissaries of these countries met in Stornoway. Later, in April 1719, a council of war was held in a room in Stornoway to plan the overthrow of the Hanoverian dynasty of Britain; included in the assembly were the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Tulibardine, George Keith, the hereditary Earl Marshal of Scotland, and his younger brother James, who was to become the famous Marshal Keith. Prince Charles Edward, though not setting foot in the town, looked at its twinkling lights from across the Bay, at Arnish, while his pilot tried to obtain a boat to take the royal fugitive to France.

The harbour has seen many kinds of ships on its waters. In the twenties, the *Metagama*, the *Marloch*, and the *Canada* came to take away almost a generation of young Lewis folk to the new lands across the seas, because their own island could not support them. The *Iolaire* sank within sight and sound of the harbour mouth and dragged about 200 Lewismen with her into an island memory. The *Cervona*, of Dundee, dropped her anchor just by Arnish lighthouse in July 1904, carrying survivors from the emigrant ship *Norge*, sunk at Rockall with appalling loss of life. The *Victoria and Albert* visited Stornoway in September 1902, the first visit to the town by a reigning monarch. That was a great day, the result of a letter from Provost Anderson of Stornoway in which he pointed out to His Majesty, King Edward, that with less than 30,000 inhabitants Lewis had 2,300 men in the Royal Naval Reserve, trained at the local Battery, the largest in Britain. There were also 1,100 men in the Seaforth & Cameron Militia, all of whom volunteered for foreign service in 1899, and 900 of whom did garrison duty in Egypt. Between 300 and 400 Lewis-

STORNOWAY

701 men served in the various regiments at the front in South Africa, and over 300 in the Royal Navy.

*175 632 [362] In 1796 there were sixty-seven slated inhabited houses in the burgh, twenty-six of which had been built since 1784. Before this date most of the houses followed the constructional pattern of those found in rural Lewis. In 1838,

> Stornoway was, within the last twenty years, only a small fishing village, but from the spirited and patriotic exertions of Lord Seaforth, the proprietor, and the grant of irredeemable feus for building, it has become a place of considerable importance as a fishing station. It has a post office; and a packet sails regularly once a week with mail and passengers. No place in the North of Scotland, and in an insulated situation also, has made more rapid strides at improvement, both in a domestic and commercial point of view, than Stornoway.

[205] [505]

COMMUNICATIONS

*175 205 632 505 [489] Mention of the sailing packet indicates the tedious manner in which mails came to the town for subsequent distribution in the island. Letters went by mailcoach north to Dingwall, thence by mail-gig west to Achnasheen. Because there was no road from Achnasheen to Poolewe, about thirty miles away, they had to be carried on horseback. The weekly sailing packet then picked up the bags, for which cargo the owners were paid £150 per annum. A letter from London to Stornoway cost 1s 5½d; the smallest enclosure made it double that amount. The mail-packet was often held up by bad weather. It was a wind-blown sailing ship that brought Stornoway the result of the Battle of Trafalgar and the death of Nelson, an event in which a number of Lewismen also took part and died; in St Columba's churchyard at Eye there can still be seen a Trafalgar officer's gravestone. A fortnight after this news arrived, the packet from Poolewe brought its stale message.

*175 439 632 [501] In 1844 seventy boats, ranging from 15 to 150 tons, were working out from Stornoway. The *Gazetteer* for Scotland for that year says, 'The grand trade of the place consists in the exchange of the produce of the fisheries and the kelp shores, for British manufactured goods and foreign produce.

factured goods and foreign produce. There is a Branch office of the National Bank of Scotland, two friendly societies, four inns, and so many as about a score of dram shops.' The annual burgh revenue was £17 3s and the expenditure £15 17s 6d. The town boasted ten streets, a saw mill, a mill for carding wool, a corn mill, a very large malt barn and mill, and an extensive distillery. These buildings were constructed 'in a style not much inferior to the best buildings of their class in Scotland . . . A stranger on arriving at it by any route, or from any quarter, is surprised to see so large and flourishing a place in so remote and uninviting a corner. Its broad field of houses, its capacious bay, and spacious piers, its occasional crowd of shipping, and stir of trade and gaiety, and the vicinity to it of the aristocratic mansion of Seaforth-lodge, render it a striking and very welcome relief to the prevailing dreariness, sterility and inertion of the rude country in which it is nestled.'

In 1901, when the West Highland line was opened, the return fare from Mallaig to Stornoway by MacBrayne's steamers was 14s 6d. One could go from Glasgow to Stornoway by steamer for 31s 6d return. A *Guide* for that year indicated that Stornoway had three hotels, six churches and a Court House, singled out for specific mention for some reason. A Ross-shire *Directory* of 1914 describes the Nicholson Institute as one of the four Junior Student Centres in the county. Its Leaving Certificate results were the best in the north of Scotland, with a total of 95 higher and 234 lower passes, and no less than 20 passes in Higher Science.

Stornoway is a Burgh of Barony, dating from 18 October 1607. It had, of course, been a town of sorts long before the Charter was granted by James VI; the Charter was executed under the Great Seal conveying equal shares to three of the leaders of the Fife Adventurers. Under the Police Act of 1862 Stornoway became a Police Burgh. A bank agent in the town was appointed first Chief Magistrate on 31 December 1863. Under the 1892 Act, the designation 'Town Council' superseded that of 'Burgh Commission' and the Chief Magistrate assumed the title of Provost, the senior and junior magistrates becoming known as senior and junior bailies. The present Municipal Buildings were opened in 1929. The previous building was only an idea in 1897; it took

STORNOWAY The previous
*175 building was only an idea in 1897; it took
632 shape when Dr Andrew Carnegie offered to contribute £1,000
217 towards the construction of a library, provided the town adopted the Public Libraries Act. This was done, and the Council decided to incorporate the library into a larger structure, erected at a cost of £11,000 and opened in September 1905 by Lord Roseberry. Carnegie increased his contribution to £3,500, with other large donations from public-spirited industrialists of the time (eg Coats of Paisley, who also financed school libraries in the island).

*175 Being a seaport, the sea has been basic to the town's livelihood.
632 In the eighteenth century trade flourished between Stornoway
504 and the Baltic, Scandinavia, Holland, France and the north of
439 Ireland; and in the first half of the nineteenth century, fish was exported as far away as ports on the Mediterranean. The advent
*175 of steam killed the Stornoway sailing craft. At one time in its
396 history, the shipyard (at Matheson's Patent Slip, now the site of
632 the textile mill) turned out many fine vessels. The scent of tar and pitch, the crunch of a busy grindstone, the shaping of a ship's timbers, the steaming of her planks, the driving of pins and bolts, the music of mallet and caulking-iron, the buzz from the saw-pits and the riggers aloft, all gave the town a sense of at-one-ness with the waters in the bay. Then there were the schooners, brigs and barques of foreigners who put in for repairs or for merchandise. It was a time of glory that has now gone as surely as the sail has disappeared from the high seas. Ship-masters, ship-owners and
[162] sailors all added colour and variety in the streets as they mingled with the local population—which numbered 1,000 in 1801. Stornoway captains were world-known for their skippering: MacLeods, MacIvers, MacKenzies, Ryries, MacLeans, Morisons, Allans. These were the names that were once reeled off to be paired with the famous ships of the day: *Sir Launcelot, D. L. MacKenzie*, and *Assaye*.

*175 While large numbers of its sons were sailing the high seas, many
504 in ships of Stornoway origin, the town began to take on the first
632 look of a port, with piers. On 9 August 1864, Sir James Matheson subscribed the instrument which took the Stornoway Harbour Commission into being. The following year, on 29 June 1865, the
[503] Commission was incorporated by Act of Parliament. Matheson had shown a great interest in the development of the existing

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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harbour facilities. But his efforts to promote the town as an industrial centre were opposed, a dispute arising between him and parties who claimed interest in the quays which already existed; his action to set up the Harbour Commission and to acquire the Crown's interest in the shores of Stornoway Bay *ex adverso* found local opposition. He succeeded in quelling the doubts and the resulting counter-actions, however, and then, with the decks cleared, the Commission lost no time in getting developments under weigh. Authorisation to borrow up to £10,000 was obtained and work put in hand on building a timber wharf, 150 ft long, filling in certain areas for fish-curing and other purposes, and constructing sheds, works buildings and warehouses. By 1881 this work had been completed and, with the expansion of the herring industry, the Commission sought to increase its borrowing by £20,000; in 1892, further powers for borrowing the sum of £55,000 were sought and obtained. By the turn of the century all the works authorised by the 1892 Order were completed: they met the berthing needs of the fishing industry and also the reclaimed areas on South Beach, North Beach and the Cromwell Street quays were used continuously during the season as fish-curing stations, proving essential factors in the development of that industry.

Before the 1914-18 war ended, Lord Leverhulme had become proprietor of the island and, as such, a member of the Harbour Commission. He proposed further development of the existing facilities, to line up with his scheme for establishing Stornoway as a centre for industrial activity based on fishing. Plans were prepared, and a permanent way for a railway (linking the canning factory at Inaclete with the harbour) was formed. But the scheme did not materialise before he abandoned Lewis for Harris. Before he left, however, he conveyed free to the Harbour Commission considerable property round the inner shores of Stornoway Bay. At this stage the Commission promoted a New Harbour Order, passed by Parliament as the Stornoway Harbour Confirmation Act, 1926, in which provision was made for the increase of the Commission's borrowing powers (up to £70,000) and the setting up of a contingency fund of £10,000. Further improvements were put in hand. Another Order (1947) was obtained and

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*175 504 632 503 the present harbour facilities are the result of this, with a causeway to Goat Island—a small snippet of land off the Newton shore—the King Edward Wharf extension to give a depth of 24 ft at low water, and the construction on Goat Island of a slipway and slipway jetty.

504 632 The present facilities are valued at several million pounds; they evoke, however, a blank stare of disbelief. Much of the industry for which the quays were first envisaged has now gone. The days of 300-400 fishing boats and the landing of several thousands of crans each week, with the attendant bustle and activity, belong to the past. The harbour remains reasonably active, with a considerable extent and variety of shipping: general traffic due to the Harris Tweed industry has continued to increase in recent years. [505] The introduction of the ferry service direct from Skye to Tarbert, Harris, has however had perceptible effects.

*175 429 632 [425] When Leverhulme parted company with the people of Lewis, his gesture of farewell offered the island to its people. This brought into being an agency for the people of Stornoway and its rural areas, so that they were in effect in control of their own future to a degree unique in Britain. The Stornoway Trust was formed in 1924. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole of the landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor northwards to the township of Tolsta. Freshwater fishings are in its hands, as are the resources of the sea and inshore fishings on the shorelands. During its first five years the Trust was faced with a growing deficit, though this was redressed partly through agricultural derating and partly through the registration of the Trust as a charity, thus exempting it from income-tax demands.

The Town Council, the Harbour Commission, and the Trust have overlapping representation, for harmonious work on behalf of the community. Indeed, by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn up by Leverhulme (in 1923-4), the Stornoway Trust must include the Provost of the burgh as its chairman, together with magistrates and councillors. Throughout the years of its existence, the Trust has sought to increase its usefulness, but at the beginning decisions were often taken piecemeal. Portions of the property were

sold, one such causing legal history. The chief garage proprietor 175*
in the town applied to use for his business a site he had purchased 632
at a road junction near the western end of the town, close to the 429
principal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate lead- 175*
ing into the Castle grounds. It was a mistake in planning, and 632
public disapproval began to make itself felt. The Trust, in an 429
effort to redress the situation, sought to distrain the garage pro- 691
prietor from extended use of the area. The parties went to law, and the case was fought through the courts until, in the House of Lords, the Trust finally lost and had to pay a bill of some £4,000, equivalent to a fine of £4 to £5 from every family in the burgh. The Trust drew its lesson, and since has formulated a more alert and constructive policy.

The town is well served by its shopping centre, with multiple 632
stores jostling for custom with smaller private business concerns. 366
Prosperity for all, however, depends on the well-being of the Harris Tweed industry. If there are recessions, as there have been in the past, the tills rattle spasmodically. Also standing to suffer are others [365]
such as the bus companies (who provide the efficient town services and link up Stornoway with the rural areas), the builders and the haulage contractors. In the ever-present climate of un- [464]
employment it is the policy of the mills to employ male labour, [462]
despite the fact that women would be cheaper. The mills, run by natives or by Lewis-born incomers of the second and third generation, realise a social obligation in recognising that in Lewis the strong tradition is that the man should be the head of the family in every sense. The mills also carry a proportion of surplus [466]
labour to offset the unpredictability of those workers who, with crofts to look after, occasionally have to take a day off 'at the peats' or some such activity. This is another of the island's distinctive traditions.

On Cromwell Street is the shop of James MacKenzie & Sons 366
Limited, dealing in hardware, furniture and china. Nothing un- 632
usual in that, at first sight: yet it is another unique aspect of life 747
in Lewis, being conducted as a charity for the benefit of, among others, the aged and infirm persons of Stornoway. The business was established in 1830, on its present site. In 1964, the then [429]
principal shareholder presented the building and the business as a

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366 going concern to a trust which was set up to receive the gift and
632 whose first object is to assist aged and infirm residents in the
747 burgh. In effect, all profits earned by the shop are passed to the
429 trust for distribution to those in need.

Almost half the houses in Stornoway were built by the local
362 authority. The Town Council has never been afraid of rooting
632 out unfit houses. By 1937, under the 1930 Slum Clearance Act,
* [175] one person in four in the town lived in a council house. The housing schemes, though large, have still that element of community with personality, something often lacking in newly developed
362 areas of other towns and cities. The Council also supports private
427 housing by taking up sites, clearing and servicing them and then
632 feuing them to private owners. The rents policy is to have no housing deficit beyond the statutory rate contribution (which works out at between £6,000 and £7,000 per annum). The Council's tenants co-operate with rent collection to a unique degree: collection figures are something like 99 per cent and on occasion 100
362 per cent. A vigorous housing policy is important to the town, as
178 its population is now over 5,300 and still growing, mainly at the
162 expense of the rural areas. Development plans at present envisage
161 a 1981 population of about 9,100 persons within the parish
632 boundary and including the burgh.

632 Stornoway is an island town and is an island's town:
369 its rhythms of life are those of the island, regular and timed by nature, but with an added syncopation—the result of an urban
632 outlook. In this context, Gaelic is the language, though English is
197 the lingua franca. Deeper still in the methods used for communication is a kind of patois based on Gaelicised English, Anglicised Gaelic, with some other words that defy investigation into their origin. Many words find their natural forebears in Scots, American and the maritime tongues of Europe, which might be expected in view of Stornoway's importance as a sea-port of significance a century or two ago. The Stornoway language, as spoken by true-born natives, recognisable anywhere by another native, reflects the life of the cosmopolitan, sea-faring people.

632 Apart from its industrial opportunities, Stornoway has many
871 of the more sophisticated urban facilities that people everywhere
[369] seem to crave, particularly with regard to education. The senior

secondary school, the 'Nicolson', has had since its inception a formidable academic record Back in 1907 work from the school was included in the educational section of an International Exhibition held in Christchurch, New Zealand: this was appropriate because emigrants from the west Highlands, notably from Harris and Lewis, were among the pioneers of New Zealand education a century ago. In 1957 new extensions were opened, costing about £300,000 and making the school the largest of its kind in the Highlands area. It is co-educational, its primary and junior secondary departments taking only Stornoway children and its senior secondary department catering for those from both Stornoway and rural Lewis. Many board out in the town during the week, returning home at weekends.

In providing social facilities, the town has placed itself in the position of an agent for those things deemed necessary for life, and is a middle-ground between the rural repression of the Free Church and the city abandon of the mainland, with resulting dilemma. The public houses, the cinema, youth clubs, dances and juke boxes are all in direct opposition to the preaching of the Free Church. The result is tension between the town's desire to act as a host for tourists and its wish to fulfil its duty on a religious plane; to instance this, the Stornoway Sabbath is less strict than the Lewis Sabbath. In keeping with the rest of Lewis, social standards are extremely high. Home is the centre of life, as it always was; the sense of community and communal responsibility is there. Divorce is practically unheard of, and the incidence of crime, as such, is extremely low.

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181 [133] LIKE a Siamese twin, Harris is joined to Lewis in eternal geographical union. The junction is at the body, however; the head of each island part has always been clear to develop its own characteristic. Thus, Harris has a quite separate personality which has risen above the common factors it has with Lewis. Both have the same historical origin: the Clan Leoid. 614 *175 This clan comprised two leading tribes, the Siol Torquil (MacLeods of Lewis) and the Siol Tormod (MacLeods of Harris). [173] Tradition has accorded to them a common progenitor, Leod; though by the time history in the Western Isles was old enough for the recorder's pen the two tribes, or families, were distinct and independent of each other. Malcolm, son of Tormod MacLeod, head of Siol Tormod, had a charter from David II for the lands of Glenelg, on the Scottish mainland, which he and his successors held from the Crown. Also included in his possessions were Skye and Harris, which came to his family after the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles in 1493. The MacLeods of Harris have, rather strangely, their clan seat at Dunvegan on Skye, and are more commonly known as the MacLeods of Dunvegan or Skye, though 'of Harris' is their correct title.

The MacLeods were, by and large, good proprietors. They 614 held much fertile land and the clan was reasonably wealthy. *175 Tenants' rents were paid mostly in Scots money and, to a lesser 427 extent, in such farm produce as oats, barley, cheese, butter, wed- 466 ders and marts, and in labour services. When times were hard for the tenants their rents were often 'eased' by the chief in the hope that subsequent years might prove more fruitful and that the eased rents would be paid in time. In 1705, a bad year, MacLeod actually cancelled 'eases' owing by the Harris tenants, as a gesture to them. In 1712, when some disaster had visited the St Kildans (the islands belonged to MacLeod), their chief provided them with a new boat and the islanders were allowed a two-year delay in payment of their rents to help the recovery of the community.

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Lands were not allowed to become waste; in 1710, a Roderick Campbell in North Uist was paid to come north and settle in the island of Ensay, Sound of Harris. 614 175* 427

It is significant that much of MacLeod's rents was paid in money rather than produce, for it emphasises the great value of the cattle trade in the Highlands, in which Harris played a not insignificant part—that is, compared with neighbouring Lewis. It was sound economy for the Highlands, and far in advance of the theories of the so-called 'improvers' of a later age. The rents of the MacLeod estates were collected by chamberlains, and part of the work of Malcolm Campbell, the chamberlain for Harris at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was the ferrying of Harris cattle to Skye. In Rodel, MacLeod had a 'keeping house', which probably consisted of rooms for the chief while in Harris; there was also a brew-house. [231]

To introduce more efficient communications and to interconnect all the small Hebridean islands of the estate, a boat was purchased for a Lauchlan MacLean in 1705; he was empowered to maintain a regular ferry between Harris and Skye. This also operated between the mainland of Harris and the populated islands in the Sound, such as Berneray, Ensay, Killegray and Pabbay. In religion the estate was Presbyterian, and MacLeod had the burden of providing both suitable residences for the ministers and the communion elements. As mentioned earlier, the Rev Aulay MacAulay, the great-grandfather of Lord MacAulay, the English writer, was once minister in Harris. 614 175* 505 [795]

The first half of the nineteenth century saw great changes in the ownership of the various islands comprising the Outer Hebrides. MacLeod of Harris retained Harris until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was purchased by a cadet of the family, a son of Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray, for £15,000. This son, Captain MacLeod, who had made a fortune in the Far East and ploughed some of it back into his native soil, was the man who introduced fishing as an industry to the Harris people. In 1834 the Harris estate passed to the Earl of Dunmore for £60,000. Dunmore sold north Harris to Sir Edward Scott in 1868 for £155,000. In 1919, Lord Leverhulme bought south Harris and St Kilda for £36,000. 614 175* 423 [228]

1. [See map, pp.8-9--Analyst]

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346 Linking the present day firmly with an ancient past is the probably fourteenth-century church of St Clement's, at Rodel. It is an outstanding building, and the only considerable architectural monument in the Western Isles. Built of rubble, dressed [333] with schist, and freestone which must have been imported for the [353] purpose, it is cruciform, with nave, choir and two transeptal aisles, the fabric being covered with carvings and sculptured panels. The * 175 first mention of the building is made by Dean Monro, in his 346 account of his tour of the Western Isles, *c* 1549. In the first half

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St Clement's Church, at Rodel, Harris

In the first half
* 175 of the sixteenth century it was extensively repaired by Alexander 346 MacLeod of Harris, who died in 1547 and whose remarkable [764] tomb it houses. He prepared it nineteen years before he died; [532] reckoned to be among the finest in Scotland, elaborately wrought, and with Latin inscription, nine sculptured panels cover the rear wall of the alcove, with the recumbent effigy of an armoured warrior with ornamented bascinet and camail lying below. Round-toed sabbatons cover the warrior's feet, which rest on a lizard-like beast, a lion standing guard at head and feet.

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Other tombs inside the church include that of Mary MacLeod, 175*
a bardess of the seventeenth century who was also governess to 346
the young MacLeods at Dunvegan. She was probably the first to 764
compose what may be called the 'court' song, in simple words [533]
and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed
by all Gaels since her time. Her last elegy was composed to Sir
Norman MacLeod of Berneray in 1705.

So far as personal characteristics are concerned, there is a 181
marked difference between the Herrach (Harrisman) and the 197
Leodhasach (Lewisman). Their Gaelic dialects are different, the
Harris pronunciation being much softer, with an attractive sing-
ing lilt. And Harris Gaelic has fewer words of Norse origin. The
main reason for this difference has been a topographical one: be-
fore a road was cut, the mountain barrier of north Harris divided
the inhabitants of the two parts of the same island, who developed
in their own distinctive ways.

The character of the land of Harris has also had much to do 181
with the difference. Harris for the most part is infertile, with great 133
expanses of rock outcrops. The east side of the island is torn in
shreds by fiord-like sea-mouths; the west coast is slow-moving,
with large expanses of sand and machar-land which look out over
the Atlantic breakers rolling in from a sea that is oceanic in
appearance and in fact. From early times the Harris folk have 175*
had to work hard to scarify their snippets of land to make it fer- 181
tile. Regular increases in population forced them to cultivate land 133
extending up to 500 feet above sea level in some places, in the 241
form of hard-won lazy-beds. After the clearances early last cen- [236]
tury, when the more fertile lands on the west coast were taken
over for the formation of sheep farms, the people concentrated on
the eastern side of the island, and on some of the higher ground
in the west.

On Lord Leverhulme's death in 1925 the ownership of large 423
tracts of Harris passed to absentee landlords. After this, some of [659]
the lands which had been cleared a century earlier were pur-
chased by the Government and broken up into crofts again, en-
abling some of the indigenous population to come back to make 423
use of the more fertile lands of the west. There are some 550 241
crofts in Harris, with 29 regulated common grazings; the total

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423 acreage of regulated common grazings amounts to 65,000 acres.
241 The working units (as distinct from crofts) in Harris are classified according to the arable acreage; the majority have up to 10 acres arable land. Less than 250 acres of land have been improved.

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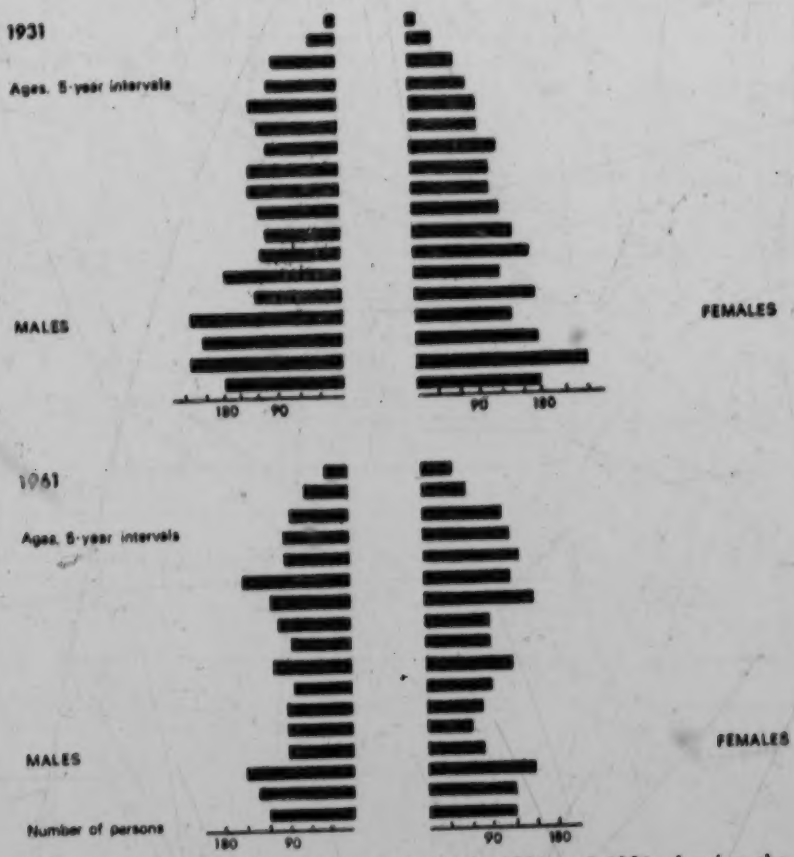

The age stucture of the Harris population in 1931 and 1961, showing the decline in numbers and rise in age

631 There are four districts in Harris: North Harris, with its islands; the Bays of Harris on the east coast; the Leverburgh area, with the islands of the Sound of Harris; and the west coast.
[133] North Harris is mountainous country, dominated by the Clisham

(2,620 ft); grouped around this are the lesser peaks staring stark 631
and treeless to the skies. At the feet of these hills are the small 133
villages straggled along the shores of West Loch Tarbert. Much of this area is owned by the proprietors of Amhuinnsuidh Castle, a magnificent structure built by the Earl of Dunmore in the last century; the hills lying north of it are rich in red deer. The road [491]
past the castle trundles on until it peters out at the far-east village of Hushinish, beside a glorious scimitar-like curve of silver sand. Beyond Hushinish is the Island of Scarp.

The road along the shores of East Loch Tarbert ends at the 631
village of Kyles Scalpay which overlooks Scalpay island. The [491]
Bays of Harris hold in their crevices the scattered groups of houses [361]
here and there, where an inlet of the rocky coast affords some [133]
anchorage and where a patch of ground is suitable for cultivation. Tortuous, winding footpaths have been gradually replaced by [487]
narrow roads connecting the townships. Lack of sufficient re- [161]
munerative employment has led to considerable depopulation. [162]
Fifty years ago the population of the area was just over 5,400; it is now about 2,900.

The south of Harris is better known for its association with Lord Leverhulme. Obbe, later Leverburgh, became the centre of his schemes. He built a large pier, huge kippering sheds, houses for the workers, roads and lighthouses, and blasted away underwater rocks which hindered free navigation. The bulk of this work was complete in 1924, but when he died (in 1925) his successors, in the cold light of economics, decided to close down the embryo industry and realise its assets. The harbour works had cost £250,000; they were sold for £5,000 to a demolition company. Leverhulme's memorials are still to be seen. The west coast of Harris is now becoming known for the long stretches of shell sand and the green machar-land beside it, a true delight for the tourist seeking isolation.

Tarbert is the central village in Harris, with a population of 631
about 400. It is a thriving community, nestling at the foot of (2)
Beinn an Teanga and at the head of the sheltered anchorage of East Loch Tarbert—sheltered from the prevailing south-westerly winds and from the Atlantic storms. The car ferries give direct [505]
contact with the Scottish mainland, via Skye, and Tarbert also

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621 631 has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway, [505] and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West [494] Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes sixteen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population [361] within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a [366] post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a [368] masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is [873] the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a [504] fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

464 The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as [167] Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing 463 ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The [241] main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate [434] on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from [286] their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow [386] on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the [226] tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Road- [464] work gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

316 An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

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Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in the services sector.

The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be tapped. MacBrayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity of 50 cars and 600 passengers, makes two or three trips a day between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than two hours. The mainstays of tourist accommodation in Harris are the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by offering full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant lets.

An interesting tourist venture has been started at Rhenigidale. A rough, stony track, one of the most tortuous and exciting in Britain, takes its leave from the main road over a ridge. It twists and turns in and out of gullies, over cliffsides and across the steep heather-clad slopes of the Toddum, a dramatic little hill of 1,730 ft which protects Rhenigidale village from the Atlantic gales. The seven-mile track is the only marked route, though crofters take a shorter way to the north over pathless bogs; the local postman makes a round of about 60 foot miles in the week, walking this track and on to Tarbert three times in all weathers. The village relies on its sheltered harbour with a good natural rock pier: most communication is by water, all food and fuel coming that way. In past times every household owned a boat for lobster and shell fishing to supplement both diet and finances. Today the interest in fishing has declined, as has the population. But in 1946 Mr Herbert Gatliff paid his first visit to Harris, discovered what the island had to offer, and started a campaign to convince hostelling interests of the need to make some investment in the Western Isles. A croft house in Rhenigidale was in 1961 equipped as a hostel, and under what is now the Gatliff Trust it is maintained for hardy trekkers, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association making a grant for running costs. Many visitors have found that the place offers a degree of happiness corresponding with its remoteness from civilisation.

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HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

361 Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which is about half a mile across at its narrowest, coursed by strong [133] tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter, rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides; the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a 361 tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green 311 shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the [134] Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds [241] in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser population at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was severely limited by the minute amount of land available for tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict the range and quality of crops grown.

*175 Scarp was originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by 361 eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access to good pasturage on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1823 [166] thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Resort, Harris, and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate [162] their families and friends from elsewhere. In 1861 the population was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951 it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat, plying between two stone-built jetties.

433 The local economy was essentially a subsistence one, with self-241 sufficiency in such products as potatoes, turnips, cabbages, oats, 234 milk and fish. After a break of some years lobster-fishing has 226 recently been reinstated as an occupation. Oil lamps are the only lighting, though a few houses have piped water. The small shop

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HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

The small shop stocks essential household items, and extensive use is made of mail-order. A few years ago a telephone to the mainland was supplied, much valued in emergencies.

Scarp in fact has a small place of its own in the history of communications: on 28 July 1934 one of three British rocket-mail experiments (for which special stamps were printed) was held there. The inventor of the rocket, Herr Zucker, was later to become prominent in V-rocket work during the second German war. Herr Zucker personally conducted the firings. His rocket, a large cylinder with pointed nose, something like a heavy shell, was 3 ft long and weighed 30 lb, with capacity for several thousand letters. The motive force was ordinary high explosive contained in a large cartridge about 18 in long; the device was designed to burn with a series of rapid explosions and produce a flight speed of 1,000 mph. The firing apparatus was a flimsy wooden structure providing a runway rising at an angle from the ground, an elastic sling giving the rocket an initial impulse. The first rocket was fired on Scarp, to the mainland: it exploded prematurely and most of the mail was damaged. The postmaster applied to the backs of the damaged covers a three-line cachet in violet: 'Damaged by first explosion at Scarp—Harris.' In order that this mail should be actually flown, it was re-transmitted by the second firing made in the opposite direction, Harris—Scarp. The whole experiment was deemed a failure, however. The route taken by the mail addressed to Kirkwall was unique; rocket, ferryboat, motorcar, mail steamer, railway train, and finally by Highland Airways to Kirkwall.

Depopulation in Scarp was encouraged by the lack of employment prospects, and centralised education, of the type which has already played havoc with remote rural communities elsewhere, is felt to be a black cloud darkening the future. Much the same problem faces Scalpay Island, mentioned later. Children are removed from their home environments for higher secondary education at a central school: for Harris children this is at Portree, Skye. Many islanders argue that the scheme tends to destroy the family unit, urbanising the children so that they become unsuited to, and with no inclination for, rural life. Some sympathy must be felt for the education authorities, of course, as the pro-

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

166 vision of adequate educational facilities in remote spots becomes
871 increasingly difficult.

In its time Scarp has contributed more per head of population to the professions than has any other community of similar size. [162] The last of the native Scarp population left the island in [178] November 1971 : two families totalling seven people. The island has now attracted the attentions of a hippie community.

Scalpay

*175 Scalpay Island, on the east side of Harris, was formerly occu-
361 pied by two or three tacksmen in succession before being 'crofted
427 out'. About 1843 the Harris factor settled twenty crofting families who managed to make a fair living there, but five years later another twenty families were added; some had been evicted from the island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris. This led to some sub-[162] division of the available land. The 1861 population was 388, but the figure rose to a peak of 624 in 1921; in 1951 it had declined to 541. It is now in the region of 450.

178 Island Scalpay is in fact one of the few places in the Highlands
621 and Islands area in which the normal trends associated with remote regions are operating in reverse. The island despite its small-[131] ness—it is a mere 3 miles long and 1½ miles across—supports a thriving and dynamic community and is the envy of its neighbours. [162] Scalpay is retaining its young folk; and it boasts some of the finest homes in the Hebrides. From the agricultural point of view it is [241] not greatly different from other islands in the Hebrides. Its forty crofts produce a good crop of oats; but less than 20 acres of the land are re-seeded.

226 The land being as poor as it is, the men of Scalpay have turned their faces to the sea—for a living, not for emigration. Scalpay has the largest number of full-time fishermen and a total of thirty-
505 three boats, twelve of which are ringnetters of over 40 ft. Native enterprise is also shown in the ship-owning firm whose vessels carry freight and passengers to many parts of Scotland and on [441] occasion to the Continent. A Harbour Association was formed on the island in 1966 to work for local amenities for fishermen and

the community generally—in particular for a landing stage in the North Harbour. The lighthouse at Eilean Glas, Scalpay, was in fact erected as long ago as 1788; for a long time it was the only lighthouse in the Western Isles. In 1792 it was described as 'one of great utility to the numerous shipping that frequent this channel [between Skye and the Long Island] on their voyages to and from the Baltic'. 505 [441] [502]

The independence of the islanders again appears in their attitude to the education facilities provided for their children. In 1949 Scalpay parents staged a school strike in protest against the delay in the construction of a road to the school. At present the island has a junior secondary school but in 1966 the Inverness-shire County Council Education Committee proposed the transfer of the island pupils to the school at Tarbert; this would mean each child rising early in the morning to face a trip across Scalpay Sound and then a road journey to Tarbert. The inevitable protests against this proposal were rooted in its deeper implications. The school roll on Scalpay (70 pupils) has maintained a remarkable level of continuity over the years, reflecting the general prosperity of the island. Forced attendance at a central educational facility, the islanders maintain, will introduce an unsettling urban element into their children's adult views. 181 871

The smaller islands

To the west of Scalpay, in East Loch Tarbert, is the one-square-mile island of Scotosay. Its population was 14 in 1861, none in 1881, 18 in 1891, 15 in 1901, and 20 in 1911. In 1921 7 males and 12 females lived there, but none permanently since. 361 162 175* [131]

On the west of the Harris mainland is a high rocky island, four miles by one, called Taransay. In 1549 Dean Monro described it as being 'well inhabit and manurit', a place where people delved with spades, and with good barley and corn, and fishing. There are two old chapels and a burying ground on the island. The population of Taransay has declined to a handful through the years; its peak was 76 in 1911.

The Sound of Harris is 'a chaos of rocks and islands', so numerous that they cannot easily be counted. Some are mere pinpoints of rock; others once supported small populations. Nearest to the

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Nearest to the
361 southern shore of Harris is the verdant arable island of Ensay,
162 two miles in circumference. The peak population was 15 in 1861,
but in 1951 and 1961 there were two men (seasonal shepherds).
*175 Just south of Ensay is Killegray, two miles long. The south end
[131] was uncultivated, though a good source of peat; five people lived on Killegray in 1861, 3 in 1911 and 1921, 5 in 1931 and none in 1951. An 1865 report mentions that there was only one house on the island, so the population must have been one family only.

[131] Four to five miles west of Killegray is a low-lying, fertile island of about four miles by 1½. This is Bernera Harris which, though lying nearer to North Uist, is included in the civil parish of Harris. It still carries a fairly large population. Until the early eighteenth century it was occupied by a tacksman at one end and a community of crofters at the other. Later there was an influx of people evicted from Pabbay and the mainland of Harris. Some clearing of families from Bernera itself took place. In 1861 the population of Bernera was 315; it rose to 524 in 1901. Three schools were open
[871] on the island in 1865: an SSPCK school,* a Gaelic School Society school, and a 'female industrial school' supported by the SSPCK and 'taught by a venerable Highland lady in receipt of a salary of £8 per annum'. The school was housed in, to quote an 1865 report, 'the oldest dwelling in the Long Island, and was at one time inhabited by persons of distinction. In the outer wall is a marble slab bearing this inscription: "Hic Natus est/Illustris Ille/Normannus MacLeod/De Bernera/Eques Auratus." (Here was born that famous man, Norman MacLeod of Berneray, a distinguished knight.) This illustrious personage and his brother, Sir Roderick of Talisker, were both knighted by Charles II for distinguished services . . . A grandson of Sir Norman became known in the annals of the Bench as Lord Bannatyne.'

Three miles north-west of Bernera is Pabbay, also in the parish of Harris. At one time Pabbay was a rich green island, the 'granary of Harris', and supported a considerable population. Early last century it was inhabited by 26 families (about 100 people), who lived in comparative comfort, and by 1841 the population was 338. But Pabbay was cleared of its people. Some emigrated to Australia, some went to other places nearby, such as Scalpay, Bernera and the Bays area of Harris. In 1858 only a

 1, [See pp. 59-60--Analyst]

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

shepherd's family was left. Pabbay is conical in shape, and about 2½ miles in diameter. In recent times drift and sea spray have damaged its fertility. 361 162 175* [131]

Just north of Pabbay is Shillay, one mile in circumference, where Martin Martin (1695) says he found sheep with the biggest horns he had ever seen. Whether Shillay was ever inhabited is not known.

10 THE OTHER ISLANDS

361 162 *175 178 182 THE continued evacuation of islands is a problem peculiar to Scotland. In the eighteenth century some 8 per cent of Scots lived on islands; today the figure is less than 2 per cent. Island populations today account for about 30 per cent of the total Highland (crofting counties) population. The difficulty for most islands is the relationship between population density and potential for economic development.

As though reflecting the relationship of man to man on Lewis-with-Harris—keeping together in community for survival—the other islands round the larger island mass have played some role at one time or another in recorded history. Most of the socially-significant islands of Harris have been described in Chapter 9. Lewis has very few, and these are mostly far-flung oceanic outliers.

North Rona

133 131 [361] To begin at the northern point of the Lewis parish, about 45 miles NNE of the Butt of Lewis is North Rona, a block of hornblende schist with pegmatite intrusions. Though the island has never figured in any Census reports, since the Census began, it has been inhabited from time to time. Of about 300 acres in extent, it is cliff-bound and reaches 355 ft at its highest point. It lies in a part of the Atlantic where a deep swell seems perpetual, and landings can be difficult.

361 *175 Dean Monro comments: 'Towards the north northeist from Lewis, three score myles of sea, lyes and little ile callit Roney, laiche maine land, inhabit and manurit be simple people, scant of ony religione.' The Dean's 'simple people' were no recent settlers. They were in fact the continuation of a community which had inhabited North Rona for at least 700 years previously. Tradition has it that the first inhabitant was St Ronan, who built a small monastic cell or hermitage there some time during the eighth century, but there may have been earlier inhabitants. [792]

NORTH RONA

Though the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says 175*
that in his time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving 241
only, and an abundance of clover-grass for sheep. The island also 231
produced a fine bere-meal which the islanders stuffed into the [427]
skins of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of Lewis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest 181
Christian building in Britain remaining in its original state, 175*
Monro says: 'As the ancients of the country allege, they leave a [346]
spade and a shuil [shovel] when any man dies, and upon the [764]
morrow find the place of the grave marked with a spade, as they allege.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680:

> The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Com- [788]
> mandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have [794]
> cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly
> ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either; they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as they want; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of mankind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take [551]
> their surname from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and clouds. [162]
> There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant
> has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects [342]
> are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis, which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm 175*
of rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the food. 731
A few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders [165]
of their only bull. 'These misfortunes and the want of supply
from Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all [166]
that ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony 175*
was sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical* 162

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Account, there was one family there, that of the person employed by the owner to look after the livestock. The owner was a Ness tacksman who paid £4 sterling rent per annum. The island produce was corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep and sometimes a cow, and some wild fowl and feathers.

In 1844 Rona was evacuated, its last inhabitant being, in the seventh year of Queen Victoria's reign, the 'King of Rona', Donald MacLeod, who lived in almost prehistoric conditions. Rona was without inhabitants until 1884, when a last attempt at resettlement was made by two men from Ness. This was a self-imposed exile, after a difference of opinion with the minister of their parish; in penance, they hied themselves off to Rona. In 1885 a relief boat called and found both men dead, one from natural causes, the other from starvation and exhaustion after nursing his friend. By the fireside of their hut was a pot ready for the preparation of a meal they never ate.

Today, man's connection with the island is maintained by the small party of Lewis shepherds who each year make the journey to shear the sheep which still graze on the green slopes around the now-ruined village. Otherwise, only the occasional traveller now lands there. In June 1956, North Rona with its associated rock, Sulasgeir, was declared a National Nature Reserve on account of its importance as a breeding ground for colonies of oceanic birds—guillemots, puffins, kittiwakes, and fulmars—and for its seal colony.

Sulasgeir

Sulasgeir is twelve miles west of North Rona, a lonely rock in the Atlantic, bleak and grassless, and tunnelled by caves and gullies. The only life it has ever supported is seabirds—officially. Yet one of the old buildings is said to be a chapel and is called 'Tigh Beannaicht' (House of Blessing). According to Ness tradition, Sulasgeir was once used as a prison for sheep-stealers, and it is also said that Brenhilda, sister to St Ronan, was left on the island to perish. Yet another tradition claims that it was at this rock that Prince Charles Edward made his first contact with his Scots clansmen, when the ship that carried him to Scotland was spoken to by a Ness boat making for North Rona.

SULASGEIR

Dean Monro, in his 1549 account, refers to the vast numbers of wild fowl and mentions that the men of Ness sail there and stay for seven or eight days and bring back a boat full of dried wild fowl and feathers. The *Old Statistical Account* (1796) says: 'There is in Ness a most adventurous set of people who, for a few years back, at the hazard of their lives, went there in an open six-oared boat without even the aid of a compass.' The boat, says the *Account*, could not be pulled up out of the sea, and therefore, while some of the men worked on the birds, the others had to stay in the boat on the most sheltered side of the sheer-cliffed island. This custom of hunting young gannets (or 'guga') on Sulasgeir still continues. Under the Protection of Wild Birds Act, 1954, the gannet is protected by law, but so that the Ness men could continue their old custom, a Statutory Order was passed making a special exemption (from 31 August each year at the end of the close season) of the gannets on Sulasgeir. With North Rona, Sulasgeir is one of the great breeding grounds for British oceanic seabirds.

175* 223 [185] [671] [136]

The Loch Roag islands

The one large inhabited island off the Lewis coast is Great Bernera, though technically it is not now an island, having been connected to the mainland of Lewis in 1953 by a bridge. It is part of the parish of Uig, as are the other islands in Loch Roag. Its population reached a peak of 730 in 1911, but has now fallen to about half that figure. Off the west of Great Bernera is Little Bernera, which in Dean Monro's time was 'inhabit and manurit', but which has had no population recorded since the 1861 Census. Monro describes it as full of rough little craigs, but with fertile earth between.

361 162 175 [131] [631]

Also in Loch Roag are three islands which, now deserted, once supported families: Pabbay had 17 people in 1861, 9 in 1881, and none since; Vacsay had nine men in 1861, and none since; Orasay in 1891 had one man and one woman, but none since.

The Flannans

Belonging again to the parish of Uig is the group of islands known as the Flannans, or Seven Hunters, some twenty miles

131

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north-west of Gallan Head. There are seven main islands, all small, high and cliffbound, and a number of rock stacks and islets. All are uninhabited. Eilean Mhor, the largest, of 39 acres, has an automatic light. Dean Monro's description of the islands as 'nouder manurit, nor inhabit, but full of grein high hills and scheipe' still holds, for sheep are taken annually from Lewis to the grazing on the Flannans. Their name is said to be derived from the ninth-century St Flann, whose saintly influence was recognised during the centuries when men from Lewis visited the islands for their harvest of wool, wild fowl and feathers.

The Flannans were the scene of a great sea-mystery: the complete and utter disappearance of three men from the lighthouse at the turn of this century. In December 1900, the lighthouse, with its 140,000-candlepower beam 283 ft above sea level, was a year old. It had taken four years to build instead of the estimated two. All the materials had to be swung up piecemeal from the boats and hauled up the almost sheer 70 ft cliffs to the top. That month a passing ship, the *Archer*, noticed that the Flannans light was out; a message was sent to the Flannans shore station at Breasclete, Lewis, and the *Hesperus*, preparing to pay a Christmas visit to the lighthouse, got under weigh.

Its crew landed and searched the island, but found no trace of the missing keepers. In the lighthouse was an uncanny silence. The fire was dead. The clock had stopped ticking. The beds had been made up in the clean, clinical way of all sailors. And in the galley, the pots, pans and dishes sparkled their welcome to the searchers. In the lamp-room the lamp was cold. The wicks had been trimmed and the lenses polished. The logbook showed a last entry on 0900 hours, Saturday 15 December. In the subsequent investigation some theories were offered in explanation of the disappearance, but none quite fitted. The mystery remains, a haunting, unexorcised cloud hovering over the island.

The Shiant Isles

Turning to the east coast of Lewis, in the parish of Lochs are the Shiant Isles, about 4 miles off-shore, across the Sound of Shiant (Gaelic: charmed, enchanted). There are three islands in the group: Eilean an Tigh (House Island), Garbh Eilean (Rough

Island) and Eilean Mhuire (Mary's Island). The Shiants are the 131
eroded relic of the same age of volcanic activity that formed the [133]
strange-looking columns of Staffa and of the Giant's Causeway
in Antrim. The mass of cooling molten rock slowly crystallised
and changed in composition: the early-formed crystals sank to
the bottom, the later ones being found nearer the top. In 1845 one 361
family lived on Garbh Eilean, the largest, which is joined to 162
Eilean an Tigh by a low storm beach; but the family was lost, 175*
falling over one of the great precipices which are a feature of the
group. In 1821, 2 males and 4 females lived there; in 1891, 3
males and 5 females; and in 1901, 4 males and 4 females. But in
this year the last family upped and went to Tarbert, Harris; for
one of its members, a girl of 21, it was the first visit to the outside
world. Since then there has been no permanent population. Back [511]
between 1811 and 1821 a visitor to the Shiants had some hard
things to say about the filth and darkness of the shepherd's dwelling in contrast with the 'loveliness of nature, the bright sand, the fair rock, the enamelled green turf, and the sweetness of the summer breeze'.

Records show that at one time in the islands' history some sixteen people lived there, working small crofts. The ruins of their chapel can still be seen. The author Sir Compton MacKenzie had the house on Eilean an Tigh renovated for a stay there, and later the islands were bought by Nigel Nicholson, author and publisher. Today they are used for grazing sheep.

St Kilda

The St Kilda group of islands, some 45 miles off the west coast [131]
of Lewis, belong to the parish of Harris. These islands have an [631]
extensive literature and can only be touched on here. When the
population was evacuated from St Kilda in 1930, the move broke
for all time almost 2,000 years of continuous island living; they
were taken off at their own request, after much careful and
serious deliberation by the St Kilda 'parliament'. Life in Hirta,
the only island in the group with a permanent human settlement,
depended on the seabirds that breed in their tens of thousands on
the cliffs of Hirta and Boreray, and the great stacks of Stac an
Armin and Stac Lee. The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars

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The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars
361 was the staple diet of the St Kildans; the oil and feathers were
162 the vital exports that paid the island rent to MacLeod of Harris,
*175 the owner of the group. These exports also helped to pay for the
[262] purchase of such foodstuffs as salt, sugar and tea, and other items
[427] which the island could not itself supply. The St Kildans owned
some hundreds of sheep, the wool being spun and woven into
[236] tweed, and a few cattle were also kept. But the seabirds were the foundation of the island economy.

The factor which led ultimately to the desertion of the island group was isolation. The community there was throughout its history undoubtedly the most isolated in the British Isles, though until the present century this mattered little to the St Kildans. All that was deemed necessary for the continuation of the com-
[438] munity was that, once a year, MacLeod of Harris should send his factor over from Skye to collect the island goods that were to be sold, and to bring with him those provisions which would see them through another twelvemonth. However, as the demand for
[178] the island's products declined, communications became more im-
[464] portant: to support the family a man had to leave to find work on the Scottish mainland. Large-scale emigration began in 1852
[167] when thirty-six islanders (with State aid) left for Australia. Island life was punctuated by loss of life; boating disasters and cliff-falls in particular deprived the community of the vital male elements needed for survival. Tetanus infantus, known on St Kilda as the
[164] 'eight-days' sickness', strangled two of every three babies born;
[165] this disease ravaged the island for almost a century and again struck harder at the male sex. About 1810 the population was about 200, a definite overcrowding. By 1861 it had fallen to 78; in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 73. A decade later it was nil.

484 Isolation tended to make the St Kildans a human menagerie.
361 With the improvement in boat services, St Kilda became a 'must'
*175 on tourist itineraries. The tourist trade took on an economic importance for the population after July 1877, when the *Dunera Castle* steamed north and west for a voyage to the 'romantic Western Isles and lone St Kilda'. The steamers continued to call throughout the three summer months annually for sixty years, their passengers eager to buy souvenirs: tweed, quern stones, spinning wheels, stuffed birds and eggs; indeed, anything to remind them,

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psychological evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'One cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with pocketsful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required money as an exchange commodity because the original native produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the food they required, provided communications with the mainland were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, as St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to the care and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be repeated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, poor folk, scarece learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the company of a minister who had been summoned to the island to denounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180 inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Baptist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds,

*175 even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of
18 the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil.
[826] Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naïvely at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started,
[276] HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship
[731] among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what
[262] they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island consisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from
[272] March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond
[342] of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the
[372] Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and
[405] there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only
[162] two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose
[212] from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoe-
[463] makers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all
[294] their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses,
[286] and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in
[462] which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each
[427] croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

439 Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the
435 island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers;
[237] and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

Glasgow, between 7s and 10s per stone. For tweed made on the island, 27d to 30d was received per yard; for blanketing, 28d. Cloth was measured by the 'big yard', which was 49 inches. The factor bought cheese at 78d per stone of 24 lb. The prices paid by the islanders for commodities imported included 25s per boll for meal and oats; 3s per cwt for salt; 7d for coarse sugar; 5s per lb of tea; whisky cost 4s per bottle; and tobacco was 5s per lb. Leather for soling boots cost 24d per lb; for uppers 27d. Bonnets for the men were 4s each; cravats, 3s. Physically, the islanders were in good condition at the time of the *Flirt*'s visit, with an average height of 5 ft 6 in, though they showed a tendency to flabbiness. The prevalent illness was rheumatism, with dyspepsia running a close second.

11 ISLAND LIFE

181 As one might expect with an island that is not obviously surrounded with water, life in Harris and Lewis is lived out by an amalgam of communities somewhat similar to those found in very large cities, with defineable districts and recognisable boundaries. The island is too large for any physical feature to demonstrate that it is unconnected with a larger land mass. One looks to the horizon, down the coasts, at the satellite islands, and concludes that if indeed it is an island, the separate elements which combine to make an islander must be found elesewhere than in the landscape. And so they are: in the people, their way of living, their economic problems, their attitudes, and their own consciousness of the fact that distance over the hills and the moors to the sea is significant, in that one eventually comes to the end of a road or track; or that a river or stream runs itself out for ever into the sea. Harris and Lewis is the biggest of all the 'small' [161] islands off the shores of Britain, and has been fortunate in its [167] size: large enough to support a significant number of people who, despite emigration, have managed to maintain their numbers reasonably well and who are now making efforts to reduce emigration and its effects on the island communities to a bearable level.

177 Because it is an island, however, external influences are felt like cold winter winds. The 1966 seamen's strike was an example; Government intervention was needed to supply essential goods. After the strike many questions were asked. All had their roots in the island's dependence on the outside for not a few of the necessities which could be produced on Harris and Lewis itself, with either its own resources or the resourcefulness of the island folk. To be short of fish, for instance—and this occurred—while 511 the seas around the island were teeming, was unhappy history 177 repeating itself, a harking back to former times when starvation levels could have been avoided by looking around for the means to harvest the crop lying around. The strike also threw into relief the question of the viability of crofting as a full-time occupation.

Research into markets and more co-operative effort, into better use of the land with less dependence on subsidies and grants, is scheduled for the Western Isles Crofters' Union. 467

Fishing as an industry, though now receiving the necessary shot in the arm by the establishment of the nucleus of a local fishing fleet, is still bothered with the perennial problem of poaching. The Minch remains one of the great fishing areas of Britain, but, it is argued, its fertility is forever being depleted by fishing inside the three-mile limit. This limit was originally chosen because it was the effective range of a cannon ball about two centuries ago. Fish, however, when they choose their spawning grounds are uninfluenced by the range of eighteenth-century artillery, paying far more attention to the nature of the sea-bed, which varies as much inshore as it does offshore. 228

POLITICAL ORGANISATION

In 1918, the Outer Hebrides became a separate Parliamentary constituency known as the Western Isles, a recognition of their geographical position in relation to the many other islands off the west coast of Scotland. Before this constituency came into being, Lewis formed part of the County of Ross & Cromarty for Parliamentary purposes, while Harris and its own islands of Scarp, Taransay, Scalpay and the isles in the Sound of Harris were included in Inverness-shire. 631

For the purposes of local administration, however, Lewis still forms part of Ross-shire (part of Ross & Cromarty), with its centre at Dingwall, the Ross & Cromarty county town; while Harris, North Uist, South Uist, Benbecula and the Barra Isles belong to Inverness-shire, and are administered from far-away Inverness. The Lewis association with Ross-shire is a historical one. When the boundaries of the Earldom of Ross were changed in 1661, Lewis went with Ross as part of the possessions of the Lords of the Isles. The present districts recognised for administrative purposes do not in fact greatly differ from the divisions, or parishes, set up after the creation of the Bishopric of Ross in the twelfth century, the Lewis parishes being Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs. The County Council attends to finances, education, roads, [175]*

631 public health and general administration, and has offices in
632 Stornoway. Stornoway itself is largely looked after by a Town Council which deals with the property of the burgh, makes and
625 administers byelaws and imposes burgh rates. The police are
634 under County administration, each burgh paying an annual con-
693 tribution for their services; the law is administered by a sheriff-principal and two sheriff-substitutes, one of whom holds court
631 in Stornoway. Each parish has a local committee of management.

631 The political history of the Western Isles, and no less Harris
*175 and Lewis, reflects the agrarian troubles. Before 1917, when Lewis
665 was a Parliamentary part of Ross & Cromarty, and Harris part of Inverness, the electorate was both Liberal and Radical; traditionally there has been a significant anti-Tory vote. In 1917, the
[634] Boundary Commission for Scotland set up the Parliamentary County of Inverness and Ross & Cromarty, with three divisions: Inverness, Ross & Cromarty and the Western Isles. In 1918 the Western Isles voted for the first time as a Parliamentary constituency of its own, and showed a predominant Liberal sympathy; the returned candidate was also standing for the reform of the Land Law.

666 In the General Election of 1923 a Liberal candidate was
665 again returned, with a repeat performance in 1929. In the latter election however, the Socialist came in second place. In
*175 the crisis or scare election of 1931, the Labour Party did not contest the seat, which was won by a Liberal-National candidate opposed by a full-blooded Conservative. In 1935 the Labour candidate, a native of Lewis, was returned with a 1,345 majority. This Member retained his seat through all subsequent elections losing it only in 1970 to a member of the Scottish National Party, who became a lone Home Ruler in the House. Labour, Conservative and Scottish National parties are represented in the constituency, with a small Liberal showing. The revision of local authorities has given virtual autonomy to the Western Isles.

36 PUBLIC SERVICES

The lack of adequate social and public services has been cited by some authorities as a factor encouraging people to leave the

island; but islands in isolation must carry a population of suitable numbers and age structure before they can support even a minimum of amenities. In the Western Isles, Stornoway used to be the only community to have a semblance of the services taken for granted in similar towns on the British mainland. The elements of commerce, industry, education and religion were established there initially, to spread with characteristic slowness first to the immediately accessible areas and then to remoter regions. Though many parts of the island are now at least within practicable travelling distance of the social and public services expected in urban communities, some townships have yet to see one or another of them within their own boundaries. 36

The Stornoway Gas Light Company was formed in 1840 by Sir James Matheson, with a capital of £350. The plant consisted of one horizontal retort which produced about 1,000,000 cu ft of gas annually. The old buildings still stand, and the plant now has three vertical retorts with an annual production of just over 40,000,000 cu ft. Rural areas use Calor gas, introduced to the island in 1935. 373 382

The public electricity supply has of course made the greatest impact on the island as a whole. Electricity was known in the island long before the public supply arrived, generated privately by individuals, hotel concerns or public authorities. One of the first plants of significance was installed in the second municipal building in Stornoway (the first, built in 1905, was destroyed by fire in 1918), and was driven by a gas engine. In 1919 Lord Leverhulme installed an electricity plant in Lews Castle, which also had a private intercommunication system. While this work was being done Leverhulme proposed to give electric lighting to the town. Other buildings with their own plant included the hospitals and the mills, which were turning to electric motors for driving their line shafting, the power take-off for spinning and carding machinery. 365 175*

In 1929 an electricity supply company, with a capital of £12,000 was proposed, the Stornoway Electric Supply Company being registered in 1932. Its financial fortunes were chequered, though revenue was rising slightly by the time the second world war began. In 1948, on nationalisation of electricity supplies, the

365 company gave way to the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board.
*175 In that year there were 1,063 consumers, all within the Stornoway burgh boundaries. With its social remit, the board started on bringing power to rural areas, even where uneconomic. Lighting
[354] in the crofting townships was mostly by oil lamps, mainly the hot-mantle type (the 'Tilley'), but by 1960 the number of electricity consumers had reached 8,124, and the present number is about 96 per cent of the potential. Harris received its supply in
377 1954. The generating station is at Stornoway and employs diesel-
*175 engined units as prime movers, with an annual output of some 22,000,000 units. In August 1960 the Gisla scheme came into operation, the island's first hydro-electric plant; designed to produce some 2,000,000 units annually, it harnesses the waters of the Gisla River, which flows out of Loch Grunnabhat in the parish of Uig, Lewis. The station has a capacity of 540 kW. The other hydro-electric scheme is at Loch Chliostair in North Harris, planned to produce about 2,400,000 units annually.

312 The provision of water and drainage is still on the drawing boards for a number of crofting townships, though work is progressing for others. The Uig water scheme has cost some £100,000, a relatively large sum for a small population and amplified by similar work for drainage schemes. This scale of public expenditure must continue if people are to stay in their native villages and not migrate to Stornoway or leave the island altogether. Stornoway's new water scheme has cost something in the region of £160,000, but is vital if the town hopes to attract industry. The original burgh water supply was started in 1846 by Sir James Matheson and a few businessmen. The capital of the Stornoway Water Company was only £800, but it gave the town a gravity-feed supply from the nearby Loch Aridh na Lic long before many larger places on the mainland had considered such projects. Heavy floodstorms destroyed the old dam in 1933, and a new waterworks at Loch Mor a Starr was opened in 1937. As Stornoway extended the old loch had outlived its usefulness; for many years there had been difficulty in getting water to the higher parts of the town, particularly during the heavy fishing seasons when the fishermen drew off large quantities.

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LIFE TODAY

As in other Highland areas, some of the island's problems have become so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. They have been the *raison d'être* of so many commissions and committees of inquiry that their existence is now almost forgotten by the islander —if indeed he ever understood their nature. Some results have been seen, such as the Crofters Act of 1886 which gave Highland crofters security of tenure, perhaps the most valuable measure of the last century or two. But somehow all things have not progressed so well since that date; at any rate not so fast that crofting, for instance, is now seen to be an economic form of land use of benefit to both local community and nation at large. Many problems have been virtually ignored by successive central Governments; at least, remoteness seems to qualify a topic for the office 'pending' tray. It has yet to be fully realised that the island, with other Highland communities, is part and parcel of the area generally administered from London and Edinburgh, and merits as much attention to its welfare as other European governments, such as Norway, give to their remote mainland and island communities.

As usual, charity and self-help begin at home, and one of the most dramatic changes in island life has been the result of the agricultural revolution of recent years which is changing once-brown moors to lush green pastures: reclamation by re-seeding. This revolution is still going on. Lewis crofters in particular are showing the way, with other Highland crofting areas following suit. The change in the Lewis scene is being emphasised by the planting of shelter-belts of hardy trees and the first of the new plantations of timber-producing trees. These show the promise of the future: a lively future for a lively community. The fishing industry also has a future, brighter on the horizon than it has been for many a poor year. The Harris Tweed industry, the staple employment-source in Lewis, is maintaining its ability to retain the interest of the market. And tourism, once a perfunctory and casual affair, promises to emerge as a useful sector in the economy. There are, in addition, many small pockets of native initiative and enterprise which, given sufficient encouragement

178 and practical support, could win through to make marks on the island scene.

185 A significant event occurred in 1964: the establishment of
654 the Highlands & Islands Development Board. This was Britain's first regional development authority run by members who are
433 either full- or part-time. The Board is grant-aided and has two broad functions: to improve the social and economic condition of the Highland people and assist in making the region more significant in a national context. The Board's attention in the Western Isles has been concentrated in the expansion of the
[484] fishing industry and the development of tourism. In both these
[505] fields there has been a considerable success: upwards of 100,000 visitors per annum visit the islands; and a fleet of over thirty boats, equipped with the latest gear, operate out of Stornoway.

433 Also in 1964 was produced the Development Plan for the
185 County of Ross & Cromarty. So far as Lewis was concerned, the Plan was based on an average decrease in population of some
[167] 1,500 persons for every year in the future of the island. This, if carried to its logical conclusion, will see complete desertion in fifteen years or so! However, even if nothing further is done to halt emigration, particularly in the landward areas of the island, the population will remain around a stable 15,000. The County Development Plan contains much food for thought, but as with most county plans, does not indicate actual development projects. Rather, it lists all the resources of the island for the attention of those concerned. Potential developments include the setting up and exploitation of predominantly-fulltime crofts, shell-fishing, and inshore white fishing, herring and offshore white fishing, forestry, tourism and holiday accommodation, minerals, peat utilisation, hill-land improvement, marine reclamation and seaweed resources. This list is significant and merits the attention of the Highlands & Islands Development Board.

Harris, on the other hand, presents possibilities on a much smaller and limited scale. However, there are expansion potentials in tweed, knitwear, and craft industries, with tourism promising to be a good base for the island's economy. As the age-structure of the crofting population changes, there will be a useful re-organisation and enlargement of existing holdings to make for

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better economic units. There could well be plants for fish meal 433
and canning, working in conjunction with fish-farming ventures. 185

Perhaps one of the most significant events which have occurred was the formation in 1972 of the Lewis Development Fund Limited. The Company has the following aims:

1. To strengthen and expand the economy of Lewis and in consequence that of the Western Isles by promoting and encouraging the development of all the natural, economic and industrial resources of Lewis and the Western Isles.
2. To encourage the repopulation of the Western Isles and to encourage industries in the island to obtain the necessary staff and labour.
3. To encourage the building of shops, factories, public works, churches, places of amusement and any other works which the company might think fit.
4. To encourage tourism.
5. To promote and carry on businesses such as building, fishing, buying and selling, agriculture and manufacturing, etc.

The Company has given itself wide powers to lend and borrow money. A target of £150,000 is envisaged, which funds will then be used to help all kinds of economic and socio-economic ventures.

Surveys carried out in the Minch area in 1971 by British 315
Petroleum and the Gas Council have indicated the possibility of oil. While there are no signs of the traditional anticlines—the dome-shaped geological structures—which normally signify the presence of commercial quantities of oil or gas, there are hopes for secondary sources in the more complicated rock-structures which could be oil-bearing. The sea-bed of the Minch is young rock of the type which bears oil in other parts of the world.

The assumption, in 1974, by the Western Isles Regional 185
Authority of most of the functions of the mainland local authori- 433
ties is thought by many to be a chance to sink or swim. Having been for so many decades under the thumb of external influences, the islands now are being given the opportunity to devise relevant methods for ensuring their socio-economic viability in the future.

All in all, the island is going through a period of re-stocking,

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185 to recover from the inhibiting influences of centuries-old history,
433 economic isolation, and the ravages of two world wars. The emergent community, though smaller, will be as rich in quality and personal ideals as it has ever been. To say that of an island, of any island, indicates that its community is more than worthy of support in its endeavours to remain true to itself and its long-standing heritage of island life and living.

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Most of the world loves an island. Thus most of the world's island-groups have their own literature, mainly written by those attracted to islands as such, their motives sometimes rational, sometimes emotional, sometimes stemming merely from curiosity. For well on 1,000 years now, visitors drawn to the Hebrides have afterwards itched to curl their fingers round a pen of sorts to let others know of their discoveries, their feelings, their impressions and the nature of the land and the people they saw. The general public, too, has had a correspondingly avid, sometimes avuncular, interest in the life of these almost-last outposts of the European continent. 113

The bibliography for the island of Harris and Lewis is extensive: general articles of an informative and entertaining nature, official and personal reports and documents, novels, sketches, newspaper items (not always as accurate as they should be), topographical and social descriptions, and so on. These have fixed in perpetuity most aspects of life on the island, particularly from about 1750. Many items are of course out of print and available only in the older-established public libraries, in university libraries and in private collections of Highland books.

Some information about the island is in the form of unpublished manuscripts, and in books printed privately and with a limited circulation, published on the subscription system. Occasionally, certain oblique sources contain references to the isle folk, their way of life, and the conditions in which they lived and worked. These sources include, as might be expected, collections of verse in Gaelic and English by native authors, and folk-music and songs which reflect, often with startling clarity, the feelings and reactions of the people to the various social and economic burdens imposed on them by influences not always of their own making. The oral folktale and tradition field is yet another fruitful source of information, though a working knowledge of Gaelic is usually necessary to extract the essence.

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THE ISLE OF LEWIS AND HARRIS

A STUDY IN
BRITISH COMMUNITY

by

ARTHUR GEDDES

EDINBURGH
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1955

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Photographs by J. Allan Cash

A PEAT-CUTTER

The peats are being carried to the roadside from where they will be carted home

/facing p. iii/

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TO

OOO MY ISLAND HOSTS

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121 discovers the strength of community life. And by his
[181] renewal of 'racial' experience he may rediscover sides of his own nature untouched by an urban task or a rural
[128] holiday. Hence a book such as this inevitably, and I think rightly, contains much that has been felt in a personal way. Yet to offset personal limitations, there is needed objective survey, geographical and social, applied with an open mind and submitted to searching criticism. These two sides, personal and impersonal, I have tried to combine.

114 The initiation of this work owes much to others, in ways of which they were never to know: to the chieftain, farmer and scholar, James Archibald Campbell of Barbreck, to my brother Alasdair, to my father, Patrick Geddes, who suggested in 1919 to the first Lord Leverhulme that Marcel Hardy, scientist and farmer, should survey the land in Lewis-and-Harris; to Lord Leverhulme, and to Dr. Hardy himself, whom I then assisted. To Mr. T. B. Macaulay, LL.D., was due the suggestion and the plea, made ten years later, that I should bring up to date Dr. Hardy's MS. report.

121 It was because of Dr. Macaulay's faith in the Island's future and the aid he generously gave to experiments in the reclamation of peat, and also because of the Islanders' own response to his lead, that I accepted this voluntary task. Acceptance, as it proved, was rash. Except for certain valuable findings included under Dr. Hardy's name, a new
[101] work had to be written. These circumstances led to the making of the book, stretched over thirty-five years. Certain
[178] early hopes recorded here have been frustrated. On the other hand, developments have taken place which few could have foreseen but for their faith in the future of the Island and its people. I trust that in this book the advantages of slow growth outweigh the drawbacks, for time

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Lewis and Harris

121 allows one to revise judgments in a way not possible in a
178 short-term study. And only by prolonged knowledge of the Island can one hope to appreciate the changes which have been taking place, and the trends of today.

123 My chief debts are the hardest of all to acknowledge, namely the patient guidance, information and hospitality so freely given, as I tramped from end to end of the Island or stayed in chosen townships. Indeed, my debt extends beyond the Island, from glens in the mainland to the southern Hebrides. The debt for specific information received is the harder to acknowledge since, again and again, I was invited to utilise information on condition of silence as to its source. Many statements given here would gain in authority if their source, whether private or semi-official, could be given; but this has frequently been impossible without violation of confidence. Hence my thanks go out to many anonymous crofters, schoolmasters and residents and also to officials, particularly of the Boards or Departments of Agriculture, Fisheries, Labour
000 and the Post Office. There are also those whom I cannot leave unnamed, particularly the late Mr. W. J. Gibson, C.B.E., Mr. Angus MacLeod, B.Sc. (Agric.), Dr. R. M. Craig, Miss Bruce of the Highland Home Industries, Mr. J. S. Grant of the *Stornoway Gazette*, Mr. Malcolm MacLeod, D.Litt., Mr. A. M. Macmillan, C.I.E., Mr. John Forbes and Professor A. C. O'Dell. The late Professor Alan G. Ogilvie, Professor H. J. Fleure, LL.D., F.R.S., Professor W. Croft Dickinson, M.C., and the late Mr. Adam Collier also advised me most helpfully.

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A. G.

1954

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CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

(A) THE GEOGRAPHIC SETTING: THE BRITISH ISLES, SCOTLAND AND THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLES

181
[131]
[133]
[174]

1. *A 'Heart' of the 'North and West' of Britain*

IN the 'Outer' Hebrides, commonly regarded as the most 'outlying' inhabited lands of the British Isles, are revealed not only the most ancient of British rocks, the Archaean, but probably the oldest form of communal life in Britain. This life, in present and past, will interest

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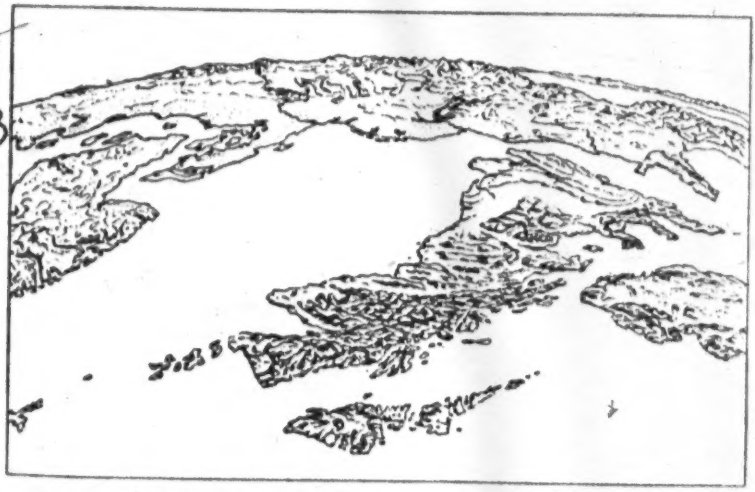

FIG. 1.—Global view of the 'Outer' Hebrides, seen as the heart of the 'North and West' of Britain.

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Lewis and Harris

181 some by characteristics which may seem unique. But it
[171] will interest others by features of underlying universality.
[133] These might be compared to the Archaean rock, overlain toward the south-east by a succession of younger strata, but forming their foundation.

181 In this rocky land, the roots of Island life are laid
182 bare; the rhythm of work responds to the day's weather and the cycle of the year. Yet the flowering of communal life in song and spiritual tradition may offer a fresh vision of regional, even of national, being. Indeed it is in characteristics latent in the evolution of the whole 'North and West' of the British Isles that Island life is most revealing.

131 Rising in imagination to a point above the summits of
133 the Harris hills, and viewing the British Isles from the 'far' north-west, we gain a new perspective (Fig. 1). The Island below us is now the nearest; the 'Outer' Isles,
[829] the innermost. To us now, as to the Islesmen, their Island home is no mere fringe, but a heart of Britain.

101 Thence, looking to the lands across the Minch, each
133 further from the Isles of home, there appear, in turn, three regions: (1) the rest of the Highlands and Isles; (2) the Lowlands and Uplands of Scotland; and (3) Ireland, Wales and Cornwall, and Northern England—all sculptured in rocks older than those of the Lowland or 'Plain' of England beyond. These three roughly concentric regions, from Harris to the edge of the 'Plain', may be grouped together with the intervening estuarine lowlands—not only Clydeside and the Solway but the 'firth-land' of Mersey-and-Deeside, and that of the Bristol Channel. To these, one might add the shores of an outer Minch, the *Manche* or 'English' Channel, which once linked Devon and Cornwall to Armorica. Beyond

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101 Britain, on the horizon, the eye may descry the coasts of
133 Scandinavia, the Low Countries, France and Iberia. This far-flung regional grouping within the British Isles—which extends for 800 miles from the Shetland to the Scilly Isles—may be called 'the North and West'.

Four border-lines may be drawn to bound these regions: the hill-foot 'Highland Line', the Scottish Border, the border of Wales with the Pennine-and-Moorland-foot, and lastly, for the whole, a line drawn from the Severn to the Tees. Of these four lines (or border-tracts), the last, which divides the British Isles into two different types of landscape and life, is not the least significant. On one side lies the whole of 'the North and West', with its isles and headlands, its mountains and hills, hewn in old rock, and its firthlands, straths and marginal, hill-foot lowlands, all sculptured markedly both by rivers and ice, and heaped with glacial drift. On the other lies the 'Plain' of south-eastern England, or simply 'the South-east', of which the low scarplands of younger rocks slope smoothly down to mainly river-sculptured vales, and are bounded by smoother coasts.[1]

133 Geographically, this succession is one of complexes with
131 recurrent features of height and hollow, land and sea, rather than of sharply defined blocks; its marches are tracts of transition rather than boundary lines. But essential characters of the two zones are revealed by the main boundary

(823) [1] Strictly, the alternation of vales with wolds and downs, which characterises England south-east of the Pennines, would justify the term 'lowland'; but with our Scottish and Highland perspective, the English 'lowland' appears a 'plain', and for simplicity, the 'Plain', or simply 'the South-east', is used throughout this book. The physical and geological maps of the British Isles in an atlas may serve to illustrate this perspective; they should be viewed from the north-west by turning the map with the north-west islands towards one, and the plains of England and the Continent furthest away.

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133 line; and there can be no doubt of the contrast found at
131 the extremes. How strikingly different from any view over the English Plain is this, from the air or a mountain-top! It overlooks the ice-scraped rock of the fells; the drift-heaped, ill-drained hollows studded with gleaming lochs and deeply overgrown with peat; and the indented, insular coastline with its widely spaced crofting townships looking seaward, where a few fishers' sails may dot the
161 vast expanse of ocean. In 1951 the population of Lewis-
162 and-Harris numbered only 28,000 persons, and that of the entire Outer Hebrides some 36,000; but the small num-
182 bers need not lessen the geographical significance of the community.

18 Men have long recognised the homogeneity of the English 'Plain', with its recurring vale and wold, compact within a rounded coastline. In spite of the local variety of landscape, history or dialect, which enriched its heritage and compose its grandeur and charm, men have sensed the unity inherent in this land of a single tongue, centred upon a single capital. By contrast, the diversities in landscape, life and tongues of the lands far-flung to north and west have obscured the elements of a profound, underlying unity in geographic origins and in historic and social
[121] evolution. To understand the civilisation of the British Isles, it is vital first to perceive the complementary qualities found in the two great regions, and face their corresponding
[178] weaknesses or limitations. Second, within the less understood of the two regions, 'the North and West', it is vital to study the almost bewildering variety in regional types of life—distinguishing, for instance, the uprooted populations all too typical of the rural Lowlands of Scotland or Northumberland from the still deep-rooted communities of the Highlands and Isles.

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121 From prehistory to the present day, these geographic
178 zones have played their parts as factors in evolution,
174 although the border-lines have changed at different historic
182 crises, and have been modified by economic and social
184 phase. At times the Hebrides have been more closely linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Central Scotland. In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in historic events, but comparability in stage and transition, even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of view, the revealing character of Island life lies not only in static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the Isles and vividly described as " the Past in the Present ". Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic strength of its continuity—notably of early or primitive Christianity—and also by the late occurrence of changes when, at last, they came.

18 The social consequences of these regional differences
62 in evolution are profound. In the ' Plain ', to the south-
174 east of the Severn-Tees line, large village communities
[423] with ' common fields ' prevailed, forming the later manor villages. To the north and west, the more varied, hillier
[192] lands encouraged the continuance of hamlets. These hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no more than four or five to a dozen relations or ' friends '—
—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word ' friend ' frequently implies kinship. Each small group
[462] formed a team. Together the men ploughed their mingled
[476] rigs (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and on the coast they rowed their boat as its crew. The
[241] women, too, did much together, as when they spun their
[286] yarn, and fulled or ' waulked ' the cloth that one of them had woven, helping by turn in childbirth and child-care.
[423] Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

3t Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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18 pastoral group, the germ (in the Hebrides) of the present
621 township with its common grazing. Hamlets and town-
174 ship formed circles of cultural and religious life in common.
[423] These 'sociable hamlets', or 'little commonwealths', as they were called by understanding writers on the Highlands, lived on in the Hebrides almost until a century ago. Features of their form and life have long been known, but their life has not yet been envisaged in its full dynamic significance.

127 The homesteads, informally grouped in these small
36 hamlets, have been mistakenly described as solitary or
174 'dispersed' by scholars accustomed to larger and more compact grouping. The mistake was made by geographers
[423] of the nineteenth century, such as Meitzen with reference to the hamlets of Brittany. Similarly, because of the
[476] small number composing a typical joint team, the vital fact of team-work and joint holding has frequently been overlooked; yet a fundamental mistake is made when such close-knit team-work and joint tenure are described as
174 'individualistic'. Moreover, these teams were linked to-
621 gether in larger, more loosely bound pastoral communities of township and district. In Scotland and elsewhere, it is
63 true, such hamlets came historically to be split up in various
[241] ways, into smaller farms and scattered cottages. The larger link of common life was also superseded by the
[178] proprietor's estate. Indeed, the twofold revolution involved caused a fundamental regional cleavage within 'the North and West'.

[182] Partly as a result of their small size, the tenure of farm-
[184] hamlets was frequently informal. In northern England, the hamlets and their lands were not entered in Domesday Book; still less are early entries complete in Scotland.
[178] For this and other reasons, jurist and historian may fail

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174 to notice the absorption or suppression of rights held in
621 common in 'the North and West', together with the
631 abolition of the duties of fellow-workers to one another.
178 Too frequently they have not troubled to enquire into the
former existence of common rights and fellowship duties,
184 the observances of which have so much to teach. Yet to judge from the completeness of the Hebridean evidence, and from wider evidence to be touched upon with reference to Norse and Lowland conditions, suppression caused a profound social and moral revolution.

178 Indeed, the profound character of that revolution makes
184 it hard to recognise the common origin of features which may differ greatly today. To choose four examples, the
[428] long succession from father to son, found from end to end
[166] of an Island township, contrasts with a restless movement of farm servants, and even tenant-farmers, all too common until 1939 in Lowland Scotland and parts of Northern
[181] England. The ideals held by fellow-workers in Gaelic tradition, of kindly and courteous co-operation, contrast with the avowals of rugged individualism made on many a farm even of the southern Highlands today, and certainly of
[291] the Scottish Lowlands and Northern England. Languages have changed as English has advanced during 1500 years: the Lewis crofters' children still speak Gaelic, but children in Stornoway ceased to do so forty or fifty years ago.
[771] And in the recorded religious life of Gaelic hamlets far from any priest (or later, minister), the part of revered men and women is very different from the part played in Calvinism by the Minister and the male Elders of the Kirk. All these four contrasts are due to revolutionary changes in home, work, language and religion. Such changes, of which all trace may be lost elsewhere, are traceable from the fullest evidence among the Gael.

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184 Comparisons at the present day are most illuminating.
[791] In the Hebrides one may pass from Calvinist Lewis-and-Harris to Catholic Barra, through South Uist, where Presbyterian and Roman Catholic dwell, side by side, in mutual respect. Although their home life, economy and language are the same, the influence of a comparatively
[121] recent divergence in religion is marked. Such Island evidence, present and past, forces one to re-examine conclusions upon life in the Lowlands accepted until recently, and to seek for the truth upon earlier forms of life in common and for their meaning today throughout 'the North and West'.

175 Ancient elements of unity, and later ways in which
423 these were broken, adapted or remade, region by region,
427 are being unravelled. The Old Estate Plans, made at the outset of the agricultural revolution, show these immedi-
621 ately before the re-planning of fields and farms (*circa*
178 1750–90). These plans also reveal the existence of still earlier types, not otherwise recognisable even on the spot.
[184] With their rentals (when available) they reveal the ways in which old joint farms were placed under a single tenant, as in Lothian, or were split up among several tenants, as in Ayrshire.[1] From such geographical data, both the economic and the deeper social aspects of rural life emerge with new clarity. Such data may be linked to Planning Surveys of land and rural life for tomorrow.

621 Now, although so fundamentally equalitarian within
427 themselves, these hamlet communities of the Gael were subjected to the overlordship of a chief or laird, either directly or through an intermediate gentleman-tenant, a
[174] 'tacksman'. History, with archaeology read in history's

[1] For Lothian, see Arthur Geddes (1938 and 1951); for Ayrshire, see
[172] J. H. G. Lebon, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, Vols. 62, 1945 (pp. 7-13); 63, 1946 (pp. 100-110). Further references in Bibliography.

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621 light, suggests that such lordship goes back to early con-
427 quests of self-supporting agricultural and pastoral com-
174 munities by well-armed raiders of many races, including
[172] the Celtic-speaking swordsmen of the Iron Age. The last and most notable of these conquering raiders were the Norsemen. Their influence was profound, whether, sailing direct from the Scandinavian forest settlements and fjords, they raided and settled as heathen Viking crews, or, at a later stage, they invaded England from Normandy—that fertile province which they had made theirs in fact and name—under the panoply of civilisation and with Papal benediction. A generation after the Conquest they commenced the penetration of Scotland.

183 The paradox of loyalty to one's fellows with loyalty
181 to a lord, of stoutly equalitarian thinking bound up with fervid admiration for an aristocracy, is nowhere more
[114] marked than among the Gael. They sought to reconcile these conflicting loyalties by claiming common ancestry for chief and people, as the children (*clann*) of a hero of history or myth. The years 1945-47, which marked a centenary of the last of the desperate Jacobite Risings, stood at the close of the latest of many wars in which fame has been won for the symbol of clanship—the tartan, long proscribed (by the Act of 1747) 'to every man and boy in the Highlands'. At such a time, the Gaels' loyalty to the death cannot be forgotten although old kings, old
[121] chiefs have gone. But its paradox must not only be re-
[182] membered but understood, from its roots in communal life and environment through history. Not until this is
[184] done can important phases of our own time be understood, such as the failure of Lord Leverhulme's seven years' endeavour in Lewis; nor can the present opportunity of Highland renewal be grasped by the help of

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181 democratic reorganisation, with loyalty to one's fellows and
185 to a leader.

Here again, Lewis-and-Harris may have something to
178 teach, as one of the last communities in Britain in which
185 much of ancient common right over land and sea has been upheld. Trust ownership of Stornoway estate has strength-
[174] ened the possibilities of rural planning there, while the
[423] fisheries are a public resource which are partially protected for local fishermen inshore and farther out are closed to none. The useful Lewis Association has published models of local survey for social and economic planning. At a time when democracy is struggling to see its way towards economic and social freedom, such communal initiatives have more than local significance.

121 This sketch of comparisons and questions in rural life
131 raised by Hebridean evidence, through a wide and varied region of the British Isles, must serve to indicate the geo-
182 graphic setting of the Island and relate the historic and contemporary problems of its own community to wider fields. This book is not directly concerned with the urban and industrial problems of the firth-sides and 'included plains' within the varied land of 'the North and West' of Britain, deeply though they affect the hard-hit fishermen of the Isles and the Island migrants—seamen or labourers, tradesmen or factory workers, nurses, teachers or clergy.
121 Even for the migrants' sake, it is vital to maintain the
185 economic balance, and restore the cultural and spiritual life within each industrial region, in order to maintain that of Britain as a whole. It was not enough to schedule 'the murdered towns' of Tyneside, Wales, Lancashire or Clydeside as 'Distressed', 'Special or Development Areas'. The balance of Britain as a whole must be restored.

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121 And region by region, a fairer balance must be struck
185 between country and town. In Lewis, the part of Storno-
way town, with its population nearing 5000 (in 1951), is
[162] important. Its port, its fisheries, its spinning mills for the
[184] crofters' hand-loom weaving, its merchants' shops, and its
local, administrative and professional services, are essential
to the Island. Its economic and social evolution, too, are
[162] interesting. Stornoway's plans for the future are active
and ambitious, and these, it is realised, depend upon the
prosperity of the 19,000 crofting people of Lewis proper.

121 But the subject of this book is primarily rural. It is to
128 see with fresh eyes what, from our Harris mountain-top,
we viewed as a unit at the core of 'the North and West'.
After the island has been described in terms of its physical
and human geography (Part One), the endeavour (in Part
Two) will be to give a completer account than may yet
have been given of the nature of Gaelic community, with
[621] its temporal duties and its spiritual sanctions. The three
concentric circles of community are described: the family,
the farm team and boat's crew, and the larger township
groups. The relations of this threefold grouping of livelihood and society to Chiefs and Church are studied, and
followed out in later evolution, until today. Elsewhere
I have endeavoured to show how the Island can worthily
maintain itself, and thereby find a new freedom. The final
chapter returns to the broader aspects of society and region
touched on here.

If this intensive study of a single isle and community
can throw fresh light upon certain essential characters of
the less-understood region of the British Isles—that lying
outside the south-eastern 'Plain'—it may help to con-
121 tribute to more than economic reorientation. The significance of the Island life—not so much for the past, which

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121 cannot be changed, as for the future which can—lies in the intensity of its communal traditions, extinguished elsewhere. Much has gone—many of the fishing crews are [178] disbanded and team-work has weakened—but much lives on, and much has been learned. The Gaels have still to [184] make their full offering to English-speaking civilisation. To do so, they must find their own fulfilment within the framework of the Highlands of Scotland.[1]

2. *Scottish Crofts, Farms and Labour-teams: the Rural Unit Today*

184 When, in thinking of Scots countrymen, we differentiate 105 between the men of the Highlands and Isles, the Lowlands and the Borders, what stamp of occupation, society and economic class best characterises the three regional types? The differences we note between them are due not only to their place of birth and region, but to their occupational [433] discipline and social ways. Imagine, for example, a Gael, a Lowlander and a Borderer, all three of whom follow the same calling—say, a trio of farmers, of shepherds or farm servants, or of independent, full-time small-holders. When brought together each trio would find they shared similar interests and aims in their work, and all that follows from it. In fact, they might have more in common than three Gaelic-speaking men who differed from one another in vocation, although, as Gaels, the latter group would find a bond in culture and kinship. But a fourth type of Scot, the crofter of the North-west townships with whom this book is concerned, would stand out, distinctively, from any other, whether his home were Zetland or the Hebrides. Thus not only their home or region differentiates Scots countrymen, but their calling or class; and their families

[113] [1] A. Geddes and F. D. N. Spaven, *The Highlands and Isles* (1949).

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184 share their characteristics. So to gain a sense of pro-
105 portion from the start, we must map the location of Scots countrymen, their numerical importance, and their types
[128] of grouping. Let us begin with the first of these three aspects, their regional location (Fig. 2).

[102] The base map on which the data are plotted shows the
102 boundaries dividing the hill masses of the Highlands and Southern Uplands from true 'lowland'. This hill country
13 is mostly covered by rough pasture (left blank on the map)
311 within which lie strips of 'Isolated Arable' with other improved land in the valleys and along the outlying coastlands (shown in black). This hill country includes the Scottish Isles, with the exception of Orkney, which falls
[241] rather into the category of 'lowland'. It is largely devoted to sheep farming and crofting, or left to grouse and deer.
[427] The lowland area from the Orkneys to the Tweed and Solway is devoted to mixed and dairy farming with lowland types of small-holding, except, of course, for 'Industrial Regions', which include most of the urban area of Scotland.

[226] Within the 'three-mile' territorial limit from the coast lie the inshore waters, in which local fishing was once important, and might again become so; these are left white on the map (Fig. 2). By contrast to their narrow extent on the East Coast, their width is notable in the Northern Isles and on the West Coast.

102 The problem set in making this map is to show two
13 different worlds, as it were: the Highland and the Lowland.
184 The two are rarely envisaged together, and much confusion of thought and policy results. To master the map, the
128 reader may scrutinise first one part, the Highlands (cover-
182 ing the other with one hand), then the other part, the Lowlands (in the same way): thus each will appear clearly in turn. Both can then be envisaged together.

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FIG. 2.—Map to show (i) the use of land and sea in and around Scotland, with special reference to the Crofting Townships Zone of the NW. Highlands and Isles, and (ii) the average size in each county of labour-teams of farms and small-holdings in the Lowlands

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182 Let us begin with the economic and the social signi-
184 ficance of the Highlands and Isles with which we are
311 concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space' is
the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown black)
[241] which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore waters,
and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by line
[427] C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or com-
[361] munities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainland
and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazing;
the line C also encloses a small area devoted to other
grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, main-
land, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill country
are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small farms
and small-holdings.

174 In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint labour-
621 team on land formed the communal units contained within
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[311]
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Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C .... C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black areas: strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings
(in the Lowlands)

The symbols show the average number of employees per team in each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

(*a*) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm

— 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
◆ 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
■ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(*b*) Per Full-time Small Holding

• 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

226 the township; and to each were allotted the rights of the
241 common grazing and the fishing grounds. For more than
a century the croft has been held individually, though in
423 the townships the common grazing is still held in common.
621 Beyond these 'homely' limits lie wider horizons, in the
past those of seafaring and of droving or the chase, and
632 today of fishing and gillieing at home, or of ocean journeys,
[178] urban occupations or colonisation.

In the Lowland regions each symbol represents 100
182 holdings. For (A), 'mixed and dairy farming', the par-
184 ticular type of symbol shows the average number of workers
241 employed on a farm-holding in each county. On each
farm the employed workers form what may be called the
'Labour-Team'. A team may be 'small', 'medium' or
'large'. The Scottish averages of these three types (indi-
cated in the inset key to the map) are roughly three, five
and seven workers per team. Four 'casual' workers are
counted as equivalent to one 'permanent' worker, but
farmers' wives are excluded. Under (B), for the same
Lowland counties and areas, full-time small-holdings are
[593] shown separately. The Scottish average of less than one
full-time worker employed, most often a son or daughter
of the small-holder, is typical of all the counties.

241 As to the relative importance of the different classes of
[162] farms and small-holdings in Scotland, true agricultural
land-holders number 68,000, of which fully one-third hold
part-time holdings (like the Island crofters), one-third
'full-time farms', and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold 'full-
time small-holdings'. The remainder accounts for other
types of less importance. The farms predominate in terms
of improved land, full-time employment, and of course of
[311] production. As to area, farms cover 80 per cent of agri-
[464] cultural land. The farmers employ nearly 90,000 workers,
[162] [refer to map p. 16 .. analyst]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

241 and with the addition of 10,000 workers on full-time small-
162 holdings, these constitute a labour force of nearly 100,000.
464 Nevertheless, there are more crofts than farms in Scotland, and more small (part-time) crofters than farmers, besides
241 'full-time small-holders', of whom so many are crofters, north of the Highland line. Thus the number of crofter
427 families forms an important item of Scotland's rural popu-
162 lation. Of these, the families of Lewis-and-Harris form fully one-fifth, owing to the remarkable growth of population until 1925. Even in the little burgh of Stornoway many families hold a plot of land, and at heart they may be almost as much 'crofters' as townsmen.

241 Socially, what is meant in the Island by the term
427 'crofters'? Although each Island crofter cultivates his own arable holding (his croft), he shares the common
621 pastures with fellow-crofters, each having a right to a 'sum' of so much stock, 'his souming'. Open, sandy land by the shore, if any, may also be shared. These common grazings, shared together by the crofters of one community—a hamlet, a village or township—form a social link of great significance. They distinguish what we shall call 'township crofting' from individual holding, whether of part-time or full-time small-holdings, or of true farms. The common grazings, enclosed by line C (Fig. 2), thus
[361] form an important social index. About 75 per cent of the area included forms Common (or other Crofters') Grazings. The close dots of the dotted line divide the 'Commons' from Deer Forests, as in the Island and inland from the north-western coasts. Widely spaced dots divide the Commons from the Sheep Farms and other mixed holdings further south.

241 Outside the tract of 'township crofting' in the north
361 and west, the chief unit of Scots rural life is the farm,

[see p. 16 -- analyst]

with its tied cottages and frequently a 'bothy' for the unmarried. Next to this comes the full-time small-holding, important in the North-east and the Southern Highlands of Scotland. Great as are the differences between these types of unit today, they go back, to a considerable extent, to common origins. The sites of the farms are ancient. And their people, though since divided into masters and men, are the successors to those who were once the 'kindly co-operators' of older 'farm groups', of Lowland *ferm-toun* and Gaelic *baile* (pronounced like 'ballie'). The island counterpart of these, and their life, will be described in Part Two. Hence, before we turn to further analysis of the Highlands and Isles, a word more should be said of Lowland types.

An important social index in the Lowlands of Scotland is the number composing the farm labour-team, averaged for each county. Villages and even hamlets are few, largely because farmers and farm servants live on the farms. Compared to those of most of England, Scots labour-teams are small. Yet, as the map indicates, there is a wide range from the 'large' teams of South-east Scotland, through the 'medium' teams of adjacent areas, to the 'small' teams of the West and North-east. Not only do the contacts of employer with employees partly depend upon the number in the team, but so do the farm servants' relations to one another. On the whole, the larger the team, the more formal its organisation; and the smaller the team, the greater a worker's own responsibility. The 'family farmer' of the West and North-east is often an ex-farm servant. From Burns's time, his character and enterprise have been recognised in Scotland, and in the last forty years have become well known in South-east England. But the isolation of these little farms brought its problems and its hardships.

[see map p. 16 .. analyst]

174 The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely
184 significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to
179 developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in
55 ferm-toun and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons
128 throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed
121 out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat
185 scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged in planning for post-war housing and community life. But sound planning must be based on survey, long overdue; though elementary, this key map appears to be the first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units of farm-team and township that Scots rural society must be rebuilt, region by region.

184 One further contrast between the farming and the
241 crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the
361 types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-
166 nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World—return home to their native township when they can, and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand, though they usually spend their lives in the county or region of their birth, have been on the move from farm to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the
[464] English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new hiring, the married once a year. Families were annually uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all!
[922] The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to
[178] check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence many men have few ties, their wives still fewer. The children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they could look back to no "Auld Lang Syne", of which the

[see p. 16 -- analyst]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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184 verses would ring false to them! Before 1939, two-fifths
241 of the rural pupils of most non-crofting counties came or
361 went in the school year—most of them the children of
166 farm servants. Their schooling suffered, and their
[182] teachers might be reduced to despair; indeed it is to
[871] educationists, rather than to agriculturists, that we owe a
[155] survey of these facts. When they leave home to be 'hired', the young folk learn to fend for themselves but may suffer in the learning: stability of character and endurance in attachment are hard to form.

It would be difficult to overstress the tragedy of the long-continued break-up of rural communities in the Low-
175 lands. From the later years of the English invasions, as
178 when Major wrote with his knowledge of Scotland in 1500,
241 this break-up continued through the early, largely unre-
361 corded phases of the agricultural revolution, down to the later phases from 1750 or 1800 to the present day. No
166 one who has worked with fellow-servants on Scots farms will under-estimate their sterling qualities. But the break-
155 up, the tragedy, happened. It was boldly sketched by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston (to 1929) and verified by
[114] Miss I. F. Grant (1924 onward). Beginning from intimate study of well recorded and surviving ways in the Highlands and the Hebrides, Miss Grant realised the significance of earlier Lowland life in the farm-hamlet or ferm-toun, as Lowlanders themselves could hardly have done. Comprehension of this break-up of community brings out the value of the enduring elements of communal life still recorded, remembered and surviving in the 'Outermost' Hebrides, at the core of 'the North and West'.[1]

[1] Ideas outlined in this section are developed in A. Geddes (1938–54). Detailed references will be found in the Bibliography.

3. *The Significance of Lewis-and-Harris*

181 The Highlands and Western Isles today, "The Land
184 of the Gael", may thus be grouped as two regions. The
361 North-west is mainly of 'township crofting' and distant
from the Lowlands—the other mainly of farming, living
101 nearer to the Lowlands and in touch with them. Through-
[197] out the North-west, Gaelic is still the common speech,
even of the children. The old community feeling is
[178] strong; it is that, indeed, which keeps the people attached
to the villages.

101 From the plains and cities of the South it is a far cry
to *Ultima Thule*, as Lewis, like Zetland, is sometimes called
131 even by its own people. Lying some twenty-five to thirty
miles across the Minch from the mainland, its nearest links
[496] with the South lie even farther away. From Stornoway
it is some seventy-five miles to Kyle of Lochalsh, the rail-
head for Inverness and North-east Scotland, and 100 miles
to Mallaig, the railhead for Fort William and Glasgow.
To reach Stornoway over the moors from the west coast
[504] townships is itself a journey. Stornoway is the Island's
only port, though passengers are put off at Tarbert, at
[177] Stockinish and at Rodel in Harris. Isolation has always
been a dominant factor in the Island's life. From pre-
[178] history through the Middle Ages to modern times, that
factor played its changing part.

178 In Lewis, conditions had changed less than elsewhere
during the last century; for example, the *New Statistical
Account* of South-west Argyll in 1830-35 reads like a
description of conditions in Lewis as they were until after
1914! Hence, as already said, the contrasts are very great
indeed in the aspect of the country, its fields and houses,
and in the number, character and ways of the people. It

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

178 follows that as the descendants of the crofters of the South-
west and East Highlands could and did change their ways
within the space of a lifetime, so those of the North-west
114 Highlands and the Isles can change too. Given the co-
178 operative leadership which is arising in the twentieth
century and was totally lacking in the ideals and training
185 typical of the nineteenth, that change may be not only for
the better in the development of 'individual' qualities,
such as the power to do hard work for 'success'; change
may also maintain and develop what still remains of the
old characteristics which gave the community life of
the Gael, with all its faults, elements of beauty and
sanctity.

In an article on "The Human Geography of Lewis",
A. Stevens (1925) described the Island and people. His
comparison of the cold, wet 'desert' of Lewis and its
corn-patch 'oases' with the desert of heat and drought
[182] and its oases of palms, is ingenious and suggestive. One
[241] might follow up the analogy and compare irrigation to the
drainage of moorland and its fertilisation, which form the
means of reclamation at home, and draw parallels between
their immediate results on the land and the ultimate effects
on work and social life.

174 Until the agricultural revolution, the unwritten story
241 of Scotland was in great part that of a long, uneven struggle
134 to make sour soils fit for cultivation and productive of a
178 livelihood. Most of all is this true for North-west Scot-
land; moreover, there, for eighty years past, the struggle
has been a losing one, in the sense that arable land has been
241 decreasing and rough pasture deteriorating. In spite of
134 subsidies, the 'marginal farms' of Scotland have a tough
178 fight. Yet lands from Scandinavia to Finland and North
Germany are giving a lead in peat-reclamation, where

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3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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241 Scotland had begun to lag since her pioneering effort from
134 1750 to 1880.
178 Fortunately, Scotland is now recognising that in peat
(654) reclamation, on the one hand, and the improvement of
rough grazing, or at least its maintenance, on the other,
[185] there lies a problem of national importance. More than
half the land surface of the country consists of mountain
311 and heath land used for grazing, not including 'deer forests' from which sheep had been altogether excluded. The arable land of Scotland is less than one-sixth of the whole, with about one-twelfth in addition under permanent grass. Moreover, since most of the enclosed land is distant from the area of rough grazing, the latter is partly wasted. The difficulties of soil and sea and of the whole economic situation are great, and must be understood.

(B) THE ISLAND LANDSCAPE, LAND-FORMS AND GEOLOGY

1. *Aspects of the Isle*

131 Lewis-and-Harris, the most northerly isle of the Outer Hebrides, and the largest, is roughly lozenge-shaped. Although only thirty miles in width, it is over sixty miles in length. Attached to Harris parish is the little isle of
[103] Berneray, half a dozen miles farther south. It puzzles the stranger that, while the archipelago of the Outer
[823] Hebrides is best known to the inhabitants as "The Long Island", Lewis (or the Lews) and Harris, which actually form one island, are spoken of as separate islands.[1] Yet nothing could be more natural. Before the making of

[113] [1] "The Long Island", Gaelic *An Eilean Fada*, as a name for the Outer Hebrides has the sanction of traditional usage, as Alexander Carmichael noted in his Introduction to *Carmina Gadelica* (vol. i, 1900; and 1928).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

131 Before the making of
174 roads, it was ease of sailing which united island peoples and their territories. One can wade or drive, at low tide,
[491] over the fords that unite the Isle of Benbecula with the two Uists, North and South: in fact, a bridge now connects
[505] Benbecula with South Uist. But only the roughest of
[491] hill tracks led through the hills of North Harris from the 'Tarbert' or Isthmus of Harris to the nearest habitation at the head of Loch Seaforth or Loch Erisort, in the Lews. This is a distance of some twenty miles, or a fair day's tramp for an unloaded man, and far too much for a return
[823] journey in one day. Hence separation of territory and name was natural. This separation no longer exists as
131 there is now a good 'bus service from Rodel via Tarbert
178 to Stornoway which links Harris with the daily Kyle to
823 Stornoway steamer. In this book, the Island, or the
494 Islanders, refers to Lewis-and-Harris with its people, as one.

101 Lewis is included in Ross-shire (of which the county town is Dingwall, north of Inverness) and Harris in
131 Inverness-shire, together with the rest of the 'Long
634 Island'. The county boundary cuts across the six-mile isthmus north of the hills of North Harris, from the in-reaching Loch Seaforth WNW. to Loch Resort (Fig. 8). All the Outer Hebrides are now included in the Parliamentary constituency of the Western Isles. Proposals to unite the Island under one District Council, or the Outer Hebrides under one County Council, are more favourably viewed in Stornoway than in Harris or the
632 Southern Isles. Harris forms one civil parish, while Lewis is divided into four: Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs.
[133] The Lewis parish boundaries traversing the moors are inset
[131] in Fig. 8 so that their trends can be readily grasped, and the inhabited portions of the parishes quickly located (p. 50).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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PLATE II. AIR VIEW OVER STORNOWAY BAY, LOOKING NORTH

The Point, with the inner harbour behind, is the nucleus of the burgh; nineteenth-century extension filled up the ground inland. Lews Castle is on the left

/facing p. 27/

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

131 632 (1) Stornoway stretches from the town north to Tolsta;
(2) Barvas from the north of the Island southwards, past Barvas village (WNW. of Stornoway) five miles further to Bragar;
(3) Uig covers the rest of the south-west coast; and
(4) Lochs, the remainder of the south-east coast.

131 133 Seen from the sea, the Island chiefly presents dark, gneissic, heath-fringed cliffs whose steep walls become gentle slopes towards the south as we enter the bays, sea lochs and firths which run far inland (Plates I to IV). As one sails northward along the east coast of Lewis, there are few hills to be seen, and these are below 1000 feet; most of the island is rolling moor, rarely rising above 300 feet. Here and there new houses stand out, the 'white houses' (*tighean geala*), which, however, are usually grey 342 or even dark in colour. These dwellings have generally been stone-built and were often slate-roofed; asbestos roofs are now common. Yet even when dark, these new cottages are conspicuous beside the low 'black houses' with their rounded forms of wall and roof, and with thatch overspread by a faint haze of blue peat reek, like the bloom 133 upon a fruit. Their plots of corn, though each may be so tiny as to appear but a spot at a distance, together form [243] a bright patch against the dark brown moor. In the sketch which forms the Key to the Map of Vegetation and Settlements (Fig. 8), an attempt has been made to bring the map and the landscape alive to the mind's eye, from the hills of North Harris north-eastward to the Butt of Lewis.

131 133 Turning the north cape of Lewis, 'the Butt', and sailing southwards along the west coast, we see hills increasing in height in the Uig district, rising to those of Harris with

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

131 summits of up to 2622 feet. South of this chain of hills
133 the ground drops again on a peninsula some twelve miles long and only seven miles wide. This forms the more populous part of Harris with its 'sandy shore', the Machar, facing the Atlantic, and its rocky bays and fishing hamlets
[134] on the Minch.[1] Lewis has its 'machars' too, areas of
[504] white shell sand, which is so light that it blows up the hillsides, thus improving the pasture-land; but there is little 'machar' on the eastern coast, save for the south-western shores of the great sandy North or Broad Bay, enclosed by the peninsula of I, or Eye, which also acts as the outer breakwater for the harbour of Stornoway.

131 Landing at Stornoway and leaving behind us the pines,
133 and the wind-pruned sycamore woods around Lews Castle, we find ourselves among the small fields of the
361 villages which are partly suburban to Stornoway. Inland
[137] stretch the gently rolling, brown and somewhat melancholy moors that cover so much of the Lews. From the Butt of Lewis to the beginning of the Harris hills one could make a bee-line SSW., midway through the Island for over thirty miles, without passing a house or a strip of corn, and seeing only a tiny, ramshackle hut, a shieling (or *àirigh*), used for six weeks in the year when the cattle are taken to the summer pasture. All the villages are in sight of the sea, and generally close to it, with only one inland exception, Achmore, south-west of Stornoway, founded after 1850. The hills of Harris are not less lonely than the moors of the Lews.

18 Diversity is one of the fascinations of such an island
131 as this. Although, like the founders of Stornoway, all
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[1] *Am machair* ('ch' as in 'loch', also anglicised as 'macher'), n.f. the plain, smooth beach-land or links. A sandy beach or ebb-strand, *tràigh*, n.f., backed by *machair*, contrasts with a pebbly beach, *cladach*, n.m., backed by rougher beach-land, as in the Cladach district of W. Lewis.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1913-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

18 these communities of 'fisher-crofters' settled at the meet-
131 ing of sea and land, yet differences of topography and
133 situation are still accompanied by differences of emphasis in their dual way of life. Although insularity might lead one to presuppose homogeneity, actually the seaways by which an island may be reached may bring groups of different race to land at different spots, each spot appropriate to their way of life. Differing social economics may develop there, and differences of race may be maintained; divergences are found along with the convergence due to the elements common to the whole island and to its
[178] history. From prehistory to the coming of Leverhulme we shall find the crossing of influences in the Island microcosm, the Island drama.

2. *Structure and Rock-types of the Western Highlands and Isles*

133 In Fig. 3 are sketched those features of structure and rock-type which have guided the work of ages of erosion, influencing both the 'plan' and coastlines of Western Scotland and the surfaces and scenery of the land. In their turn, both surface and mineral composition have influenced the life of plants and animals. This sketch map should be compared to an atlas map of relief, settlements and routes. This less familiar aspect has been selected both because rock-type is a factor in the causation of land-forms and soils, and because rock structure is basic to the forms and coasts of the mainland and the Isles.

[131] The parallelism of the main trends on either side of the Minch is seen in the structural boundaries of its coasts, which are of Archaean rock or Archaean foundation (A on Fig. 3), as are Coll and Tiree, and South-west Islay.

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FIG. 3.—Sketch map of selected features of structure and rock-types of NW. Scotland

133 Except for this fringe, the prevailing rocks of the Highlands include acid rocks: the Moine Schists, the 'Dalradian rocks' of the South-west, and the granite masses such as the Cairngorms. Plateau surfaces and benches, worn, uplifted and stepped at various heights, were veined by torrent and river, cutting narrow valleys; and later these river valleys were gouged and widened by glacier and ice-sheet to become steep-sided glens and wide-floored straths. [131] Between the main, parallel coastal trends, Skye stands out as a great extrusive mass of lavas—not acid but basic in composition, almost 'bridging' the Minch and the Sea of the Hebrides.

Forces of stress, strain and shear are betrayed by 'lines of crushing' in the Outer Hebrides, and of faulting (FF) on the mainland. Most notable of these fault lines are those of the Great Glen and of the 'Great Boundary Fault' that divides the Highland from the Lowland rocks, extending from Arran and the Lower Clyde north-eastwards. Still other trends are revealed by the lines of sea-loch and river, lying not only SW.–NE. but W.–E. and also NW.–SE. These lines linked the greater inhabited coastlands, loch-sides and straths of the Moray Basin to the North-[131] west. Finally, a line of overthrust, from near Cape Wrath

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Key to Fig. 3 (opposite)

A	Archaean Gneiss and Granite Gneiss, etc. (Lewisian)	F	Principal Faults
a	Highland Schists (including Moine and Dalradian Granites, etc.)	J	Jurassic Ironstones in and near Skye
B	Plateaus of Basic Lavas	O	Overthrust, Cambrian with some Limestones
C	Igneous Complexes	ORS	Old Red Sandstone
		t	Torridonian Sandstones, etc.
		Δ	Dominant peaks

Note. The map shows selected features relevant to the structure of the Hebrides and the north and north-west of the British Isles, and the rock-types influencing scenery and surface, vegetation and agriculture.

3t Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

133 southwards to Skye, bounds the Archaean gneiss and the
[131] stratified Torridonian sandstones of the North-west.

Given the possibility of ' continental drift ', Scotland's NW. crustal block may have ' drifted ' along the line of the Great Glen south-south-westwards for a distance of some sixty miles, relatively to the rest of the Highland mass. The primary evidence leading to this suggestion is the identification of the Foyers and Strontian Granites, situated on opposite sides of the Great Glen some sixty miles apart, as mechanically displaced portions of one original mass. Such horizontal movement may be related to the great Hercynian mountain-building movements of Carboniferous times so marked in south-east England.[1] This movement would have formed a major factor in leading to the development of the present structure and rock-types, plan and land-forms of the NW. coast and the Hebrides, Inner and Outer.

3. *Structure and Rock-types of the Island*

The axis of the Island lies NNE. to SSW. It consists of an ancient rock mass, the ' block ' character of which is revealed by the geometrical mosaic of the coastlines and lochs. In simple terms, the fault lines are comparable to the long, fairly straight cracks to be found in any hard block of even consistency, split under stresses and strains. These systems of faults lie in at least two main directions. The main, axial trend is followed by South Harris and by much of the east coast. Each trend seems to have other faults lying at an angle to it, though not necessarily at right angles. Hence we find more than four main trends for the lines of coasts, lochs, rivers, bounding the hill blocks. These must be due to somewhat different stresses

[113] [1] W. Q. Kennedy, *Q. J. Geol. Soc.*, vol. cii, part i, 1946 (p. 41).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

133 and strains at succeeding periods. Comparison should be made with Fig. 4, (*a*) and (*b*).

Like a jointed claw, there is attached to the main island the double peninsula of Stornoway and of Eye: *I* in Gaelic, or 'Point District' in English. This double peninsula is of different structure and rock-type to the rest. Eye or Point District itself might be an island but for the wash of shingle and sands which—caught no doubt in the eddy caused by southerly gales and by the tides—have covered the bottom of Broad or North Bay and formed the spit of sand or isthmus that links Eye to the inner peninsula of Stornoway.

Most of the area is occupied by crystalline rocks belonging to the oldest known division of British rocks, the Archaean or the 'Lewisian Gneiss'. This gneiss, however, represents a great complex including rocks of widely different periods. In South Harris it includes altered limestones, locally improving the derived soils. Of notable interest as a clue to structure is the zone of crushed gneisses bordering the Minch.

In the south-west of Eye Peninsula, and round Stornoway, there occur remains of a sedimentary formation, younger than the Lewisian Gneiss. These Stornoway beds have had a dual effect on settlement. First of all, their existence and formation have allowed of deep indentation, giving a good harbour with an isthmus not far off. Stornoway harbour itself is due to the erosion of these rocks about intrusions or dykes of more resistant crinanite. Secondly, the better nature of the soil derived from these weathered sandstones and conglomerates has aided reclamation and cultivation.

Comparison of the geology with the relief (Fig. 4, (*a*) and (*b*)) will show certain local correspondences of high relief with resistant rock, such as the granite-gneiss at its

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 36

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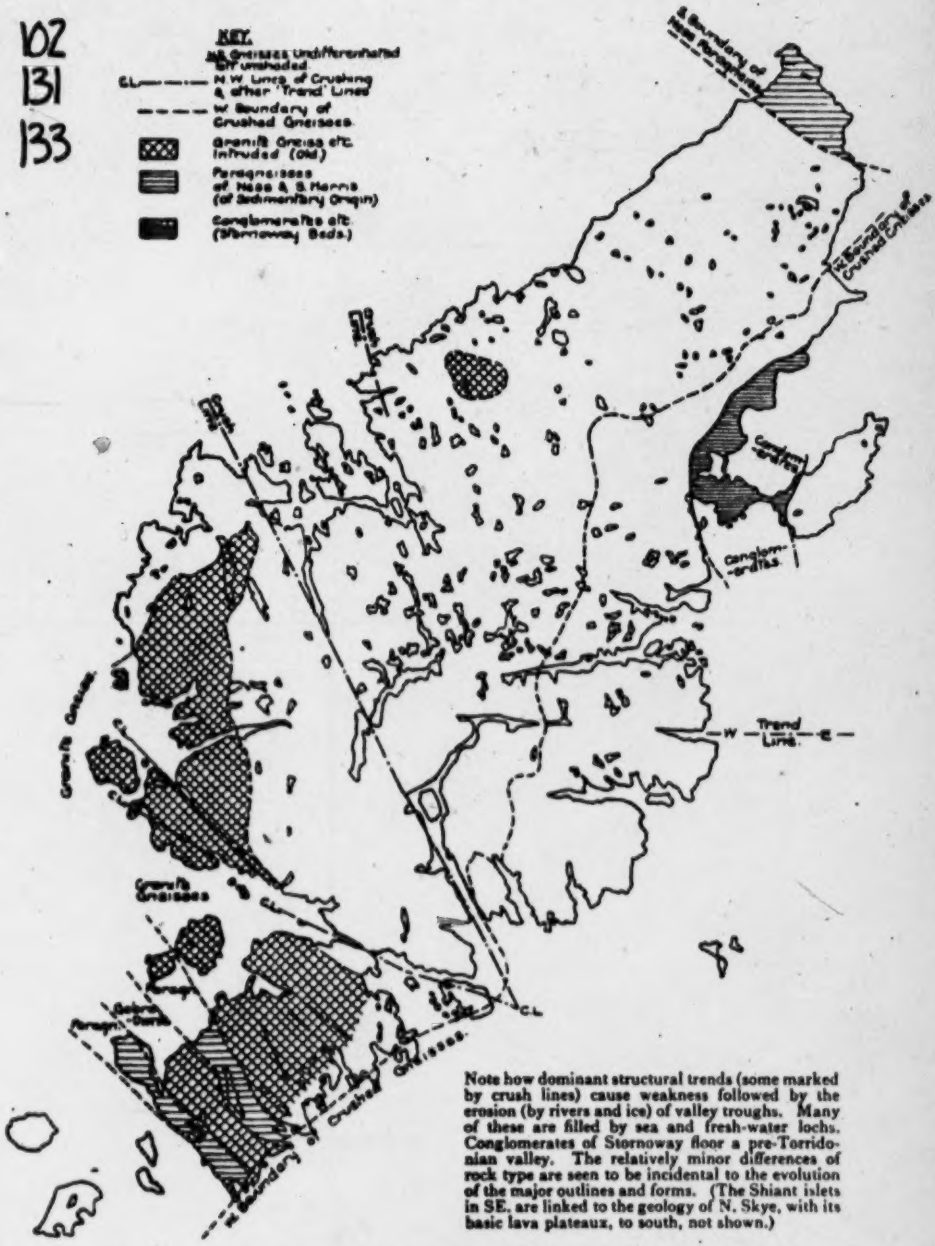

Note how dominant structural trends (some marked by crush lines) cause weakness followed by the erosion (by rivers and ice) of valley troughs. Many of these are filled by sea and fresh-water lochs. Conglomerates of Stornoway floor a pre-Torridonian valley. The relatively minor differences of rock type are seen to be incidental to the evolution of the major outlines and forms. (The Shiant islets in SE. are linked to the geology of N. Skye, with its basic lava plateaux, to south, not shown.)

FIG. 4 (*a*).—Lewis-and-Harris: Geology (after Jehu and Craig)

/p. 34/

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Land above 500 feet shaded.
Cliff coasts shown by thicker line.

[137]

Note the low plateau characterising Lewis. A loch-studded, boggy plain and the heights of the Forest of N. Harris (and Uig) divide inhabited Lewis from inhabited Harris.

The truncation of capes by storm waves and the drifted bars across minor bays partly restore the generally rectilinear trends of the coast lines, fretted by sea lochs (drowned valleys).

FIG. 4 (*b*).—Lewis-and-Harris: Relief

/p. 35/

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

133 most northerly outlier, yet, in the main, one is struck not by the variety of rocks (except for the 'Stornoway Beds') but by their homogeneity. It is structure, causing the uplift of certain masses relatively to others, more than differences in rock-type, which has guided the work of erosion, in sculpturing both the Island's plan and the details of its forms. Submergence of the land has fretted the coastline into a zigzag line of ridge-capes alternating with valley-mouths flooded or 'drowned' by the sea, as inlet and loch.

316 Historically the gneisses were of little value. The fact
[174] that they tend to split still helps the Islander in building, as it helped his ancestors when they raised the great stone
[172] circles at Callanish on East Loch Roag. Except where they are very basic (non-acid) in composition, they make
[135] poor road metal. Yet the gneisses are not quite devoid of economic minerals, which include masses of pegmatite, and the only large body of anorthosite or lime-feldspar rock in Britain, conceivably a source of alumina for glass
[439] manufacture.[1] Two feldspar quarries opened at Lingarbay and Northton in South Harris in 1941 employed sixty men during the war, the mineral being despatched from Leverburgh for use in the Staffordshire Potteries in the manu-
[178] facture of porcelain insulators. The higher grade mineral in Scandinavia and the better transport facilities there led to closing the quarries, with little hope of their reopening.[2]

4. *Land-forms and Sea Floor*

133 To the faulted structure is due not only the Island plan, but the highland in middle and south, uplifted rela-

[113] [1] C. F. Davidson, "The Archaean Rocks of the Rodel District", *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.*, vol. 61, 1943, pp. 71-112.

[2] J. B. Caird, "The Isle of Harris", *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67, 2, 1951, p. 92.

3t Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

133 tively to the rolling upland in the north. Ages of 'normal' denudation by running water must have worn away most of what later rocks may have overlain the gneiss, smoothing the Island's forms. Glaciation, however, played the latest part in this process, roughly planing its lower surface as it flowed out to the open sea, or widening the stream-veined valleys and gouging out the corries which make the craggy beauty of the Deer Forest of Harris.

A characteristic of many of the lower hills of South Lewis and of Harris is the greater steepness of their slopes to west than to east (or south-east) and the drift material heaped there. Scenically, this lends a feeling of rhythm to the skyline when viewed from north or south, as of westward moving waves. It was the ice-sheet, working upon structure and pre-existing form, which steepened the western slopes 'to lee' of its westward flow, by its 'plucking' action.

133 The chief and most important characteristic of the
137 major surface of the Island is its rolling, hummocky topography, so different from that of a river-sculptured
[182] land. Negative as is its influence upon the life of plant communities, animals and men, its importance can hardly be exaggerated. Whereas river and stream drain a land, as they etch their way into its surface, and their deposits are laid down in gentle, regular slopes, glacier and
[134] ice-sheet leave an irregular, ill-drained surface. Upon this surface, waterlogging takes place, the life of plants and soil bacteria is slowed down, and so peat accumulates, rather than the humus which might enrich the soil in a similar temperate climate upon better drained slopes. Not only the climate of the present, but of the past, hinders the processes of plant life, and all that these can mean to man.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

133 Except for the sandy bays hidden beyond the headlands, or the long machar of west South Harris, the coast of the Island at high tide rises straight from the undermining breakers, rugged and uncompromising. A series of sandy 'storm-beaches' links the lower promontories, but the series of raised beaches found on the mainland and the inner isles seem absent round the Island. Along the western mainland and the Inner Hebrides, a secret harmony links the lines of the sea with those of the land, even on their wildest coasts of gneiss. Above the level plane of the sea, the shores of the mainland rise in rhythmic curves, tier above tier, some 10, 25, 50 and 100 feet, above the present line of waves and the triple band of colour which marks the shore at ebb-tide, formed of golden tangle, grey barnacles and pitch-black rock. These tiers are the 'raised beaches' of a coast which has emerged, by stages, to some 100 feet above the sea.

Lacking the raised beaches of an emerged coast, the Outer Hebrides show no clean-cut terraces like those of the mainland, inviting little communities to lay out their homesteads in an orderly way. For this reason, the older, unplanned crofts spot the landscape in an irregular way which is sometimes picturesque, yet often almost uncouth. The raised beaches have given the Gaels living east of the Minch a few precious acres of passable ploughland which would otherwise be lacking. In the Outer Isles compensation is found on the smooth machars of shell sand. These machars lie mostly on the stormy Atlantic shore, so that the more cultivable fringes of the Outer Hebrides turn their back to the mainland—except round Stornoway, a reason for their isolation.

In detail, the coasts may be grouped in three types: (1) sloping to the sea, by the sides of sheltered lochs;

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

133 (2) cliff-cut, where exposed stretches have been undermined by the Atlantic storms; and (3) sandy, where bays like Broad Bay have been filled in, or where shingle bars have enclosed a sheet of fresh water, as on the west coast (north-west of Stornoway) from Barvas southward to Dalebeg. The types of coast are illustrated by Plates II to V.

As to the sea floor—so important to fish-life and to navigation—the west coast of the Outer Hebrides borders a well-featured continental platform, which is higher in the north and south but lower in the middle. The irregularities suggest a former land-surface dissected by rivers with mature drainage systems.[1] The contours are revealing, as shown in the coloured map at the end, at intervals of 10 fathoms (60 feet). The sandy machar beaches of western South Harris, visible at low tide, form part of a wide, shallow shelf extending for a dozen miles off west South Harris to a depth of no more than 20 fathoms, and thence southwards along the machars of Uist to Barra; but the coast falls away steeply round most of Lewis and along the rocky east coast of 'the Long Island'.

5. *Glacial Drift or Boulder Clays, and Shell Sand*

Underlying the peat is the drift, which is spread over all but the rockiest parts of the island. This is not only exposed at every roadside cutting but is laid bare in wide areas around the villages. Here peat-cutting during the centuries has removed the peat, layer after layer, to the topmost turf, left aside after cutting until the last. When even this turf is removed for annual thatching, the bare

133 314 [356] [134] [113]

[1] S. Ting, B.Sc. (China). *Geografiska Annaler*, Band 19, 1937, pp. 62-83.

3:- Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

133 clay is exposed, leaving what is vividly called 'skinned'
314 land. And where drift is exposed, the mineral constituents
134 are leached out, and a hard 'moor pan' is left a few inches
[356] below the surface.

Seen from the edge of the crofts, the typical 'skinned
134 lands' of bare, blue or brownish clay, littered with stones,
137 suggest a desert. Often, only a few blades of grass or tufts of heather grow on them. Indeed, 'skinned land' seems at first too mild a term, for on it the stones—thickest on top when undisturbed, and bleached by the acids of the peat that overlay them—suggest the prophet's 'field of bones'. One can only ask, is the rest of his vision ever to be fulfilled and life to spring again? In some hilly parts to south and west, not only the 'skin', the topmost layer of peat, but the very soil, the flesh as it were, is still being
[166] stripped bare to the bone, the actual rock. The evacuation of the islet of Bernera Beag (Uig) was largely due to this stripping. In the more level parts to the north, however, roadside pits show sections of clay with few stones, covered with perhaps six inches of clay with many stones. It is this top layer which gives the skinned land such a hopelessly stony appearance, and shows that reclamation is less miraculous than it seems.

134 With the coming of carts and lorries the increasing use
242 of shell sand has become possible, whether for spreading on the land or for slipping into pockets, together with
[178] fertilisers, for potato seed. As to soils, shell sand and boulder clay possess complementary qualities in texture
[493] and chemical composition. The shell sand of the machars provided an early home for man, the light soil allowing rye, a poor variety of oats, and herbage, to ripen early and mature in late, wet seasons when the clays are sodden with rain. Yet the sand itself is so light that drought is

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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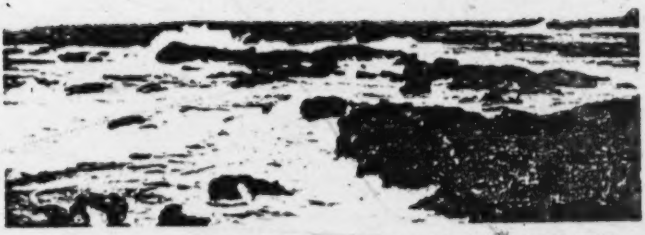

PLATE IIIA. ROCKY, SEA-ABRADED PLATFORM OFF THE BUTT OF LEWIS

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Photograph by Mrs. Harriman

PLATE IIIB. LAXDALE TOWNSHIP, ON THE FLATS NEAR BROAD BAY

'Black houses' and 'white houses' can be seen. The fields have been modernized for ploughing

/p. 40-A/

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Photograph by R. MacIver

PLATE IVA. DALBEG, WEST LEWIS

Shingle-barred bay and wave-cut cliff. In the distance is Ben Bragor (852 ft.)

Photograph by Stevens

PLATE IVB. LOCH ROAG FROM NEAR CARLOWAY

View south-west across the loch to show the sloping sides of sheltered lochs, with wave-cut cliffs of promontories. In the foreground are gneiss rocks

/p. 40-B/

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photograph by Violet Hunt

PLATE V. CROFTERS DIPPING BLACKFACE SHEEP

Across the Sound of Harris, Sollas, North Uist. The sheep have been gathered in from the 'common'

/p. 40-C/

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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PLATE VIA. A YOUNG WOMAN, IN HARRIS

Photographs by J. Allan Cash

PLATE VIB. AN OLD CROFTER OF EOROPIE, BUTT OF LEWIS
Racially, a broadhead

/facing p. 41/

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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a danger, and an unseasonable gale may blow away the furrow and ridge with the seed. As a partial remedy, seaweed and turf are mixed with it. On the whole, landforms and soils, and the climate of the past which helped to make them, are factors of difficulty for plant and man.

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

CHAPTER II

THE SEASONS, PLANT LIFE AND THE CROFTERS' YEAR

(A) CLIMATE, WEATHER AND ANNUAL RHYTHM

132 THE Island climate is 'mild' or 'cool temperate', without strong contrasts of heat and cold in summer and winter, but subject to much wind.[1] Fig. 5 shows how, from October till May, the mean monthly temperatures lie between 40° and 50° F.; and only in July and August do they rise to 55° F. This 'lag' in temperatures tends to make the crops late and brings oats to harvest in September, which has the same mean monthly temperature (51° F.) as June, but nearly twice its rainfall (4 ins.). The total sunshine hours for August average only 130, compared with nearly 150 for July, so that late hay is slow to dry (Fig. 6). These averages characterise the more inhabited areas; among the hills of North Harris rainfall is higher.

Cloudiness is characteristic, the total of bright sunshine being only 30 per cent of the possible even at Stornoway. The annual rainfall of Stornoway is 50 ins. per annum; that at the Butt, recorded as 40 ins., must be rather more than this, as a rain gauge on so windy a site may fail to catch rain driven horizontally in a gale. The rainfall

[131] [1] The latitude of the Island is approximately 57° 40′ to 58° 40′ N., and the longitude 6° to 7° W.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

132 maximum occurs in the winter months and the minimum in spring; the spring sunshine would encourage the

TEMPERATURE AND PRECIPITATION

Monthly averages for Lewis (Stornoway)

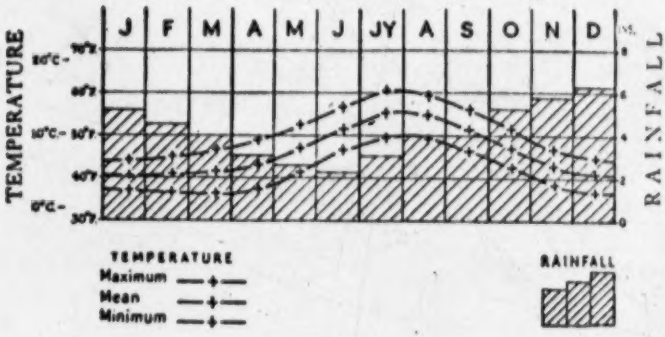

FIG. 5

SUNSHINE AND WIND SPEED

Monthly averages for Lewis

Sunshine (Stornoway) : Wind Speed (Butt of Lewis)

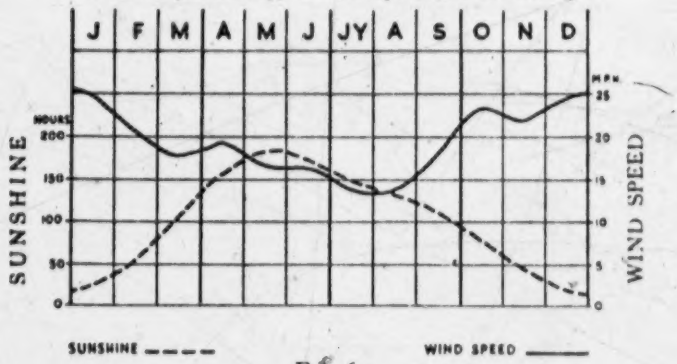

FIG. 6

growth of the crops, were it not for the lag in temperature and the fact that the chill easterly and north-easterly winds check growth.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

821 Two sayings sum up the lag of the seasons in the West
824 and its effect on crops. The first runs, " Winter comes
241 not till after New Year, nor Spring till after St. Patrick's
[538] Day " (*Cha tig Geamhradh gu cul Calluinn, no Earrach gu cul Fheill Parruig*). St. Patrick's Day is the 17th of March, but old-style reckoning put both dates later still. The
[538] other runs, " A misty winter, a misty spring, a chequered summer, and a bright, sunny autumn, never left dearth in Scotland " (*Geamhradh reodhtanach, Earrach ceothanach, Samhradh breac riabhach, us Foghar geal grianach, cha d'fhag gort riamh an Alba*). The retort is that though western summers may often be chequered with sun and showers well suited for growing grass and grain, the autumns are not really sunny, but rainy. Hence ' dearth ' —of grain—must result from spoiled harvests. Not so for grass, unharmed by a wet autumn. Hay, if ensilage is not possible, can usually be gathered unharmed in sunny spells
[132] of summer if cut in good time. Agriculturally, the climate favours ' grass ' rather than grain.

132 Plentiful rainfall and coolness throughout the year do
137 not allow of complete neutral decomposition of vegetable
[134] matter in the presence of air. Hence, year by year, a residuum of acid humus accumulates as peat on the ill-drained surface. Prehistorically, more favourable phases of climate permitted the growth of pines. Knowledge of present temperature and rainfall alone would suggest the growth of broad-leaved deciduous trees, but these are absent except in the sheltered policies of Stornoway Castle. About 1695 Martin noted ' hazel and birch ' occurring on the south side of Loch Stornoway, but nowhere else on the Island. Even there trees are stunted as if pruned by the wind.

132 The further inhibitive influence is indeed the wind

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

132 (Fig. 6). The anemograph at the Butt of Lewis records one of the highest of British averages for gales and frequent breeze: for 1930–35 the mean frequency of gales (winds over 38 miles per hour) was 62. The mean speed for December and January is 25 m.p.h., which can best be realised by imagining winter travel in an open car with no wind-screen. This mean maximum is a reminder of the difficulty of tree-growth, as gales loosen or quite uproot [538] the trees. It also helps to explain the proverb: "A long sleep in a big wind" (*cadal fada ri gaoith mhoir*). This is as true for the byre as the bed-closet, for what could cattle-beast or man be doing out of doors in a winter gale? Although the mean speed drops from 18 m.p.h. in April to 13 or 14 m.p.h. in July and August, it rises in September to 18 m.p.h., with ill effects on the harvesting of late crops. Winter winds blow in full force from the end of September to mid-February at an average of 22 m.p.h. or more. The gales make winter fishing dangerous, and their force smashes breakwaters on the west coast.

Yet winds at the exposed cliff-height of the Butt are only slightly greater than those of similarly placed spots on the mainland coast, or islets like the Bell Rock (Firth of Tay), and the east of the Island is comparatively sheltered. For example, the mean annual speed of wind at the Butt was 19·2 m.p.h., and for the same period at the Bell Rock it was 18·2, at Aberdeen 9, and at Kew 7·6. When the anemograph at the Butt was moved even to a 'well-exposed' spot near Stornoway, the average number of gales for 1937–40 dropped to two-thirds of the preceding triennium. With shelter, the difference from the Butt and the approach to normal conditions on the mainland would become greater [311] still. The planting of shelter-belts would foster crops, comfort and activity on the Island.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

(B) VEGETATION

1. *The Vegetation-types and Pastures of the Highlands and Isles*

137 311 In order to see the Island problem in true proportion, the types of vegetation and rough pasture in the Highlands and Isles should be outlined. Dr. Hardy's reconnaissance botanical survey of the Highlands, with its coloured map, has been utilised in the compilation of *A Reconnaissance Map of Vegetation of Scotland.*[1] The latter has been boldly simplified in Fig. 7.

The Highland pastures are of two main regional types, eastern and western, with the addition of a few great stretches of peat moor. East of a line from Stirling to Inverness, heather is dominant, as it is on the heights around the Dornoch Firth, from north of the Cromarty Firth and Ben Wyvis to the border of Caithness. To the west of this, heather, though still found, is mixed with [233] grass and sedges. The grazings of the North-west Coast have been the adopted home of Cheviot sheep for over a century, for Cheviots are grass-feeders which cannot thrive on heather-tips. True, acid 'Dry Grass Moors' lie inland from the Beauly Firth and Dingwall. On the rest of the West Coast from Gairloch and Loch Torridon south to Kintyre, 'Marshy Grass Moors' with but little pure [233] heather clothe the lower slopes. These give way on higher slopes to 'Mountain Pastures', reaching up to about 2500

[113] [1] M. E. Hardy, *Esquisse de la végétation des Highlands d'Écosse*, Paris, 1905; also *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, 1906, June number with map, and May number with text. A. Geddes and L. D. Stamp, *A Reconnaissance Map of the Vegetation of Scotland* (Ordnance Survey, 1/625,000: 10 miles to inch), 1953; explanatory pamphlet in the press. A résumé by L. D. Stamp has appeared in his *Land of Britain: Its Use and Misuse*, 1948, based on Tansley, *The Vegetation of the British Isles*, 1946.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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feet. These marshy grass moors, with their mountain pastures above, are the adopted home of the hardy Black-

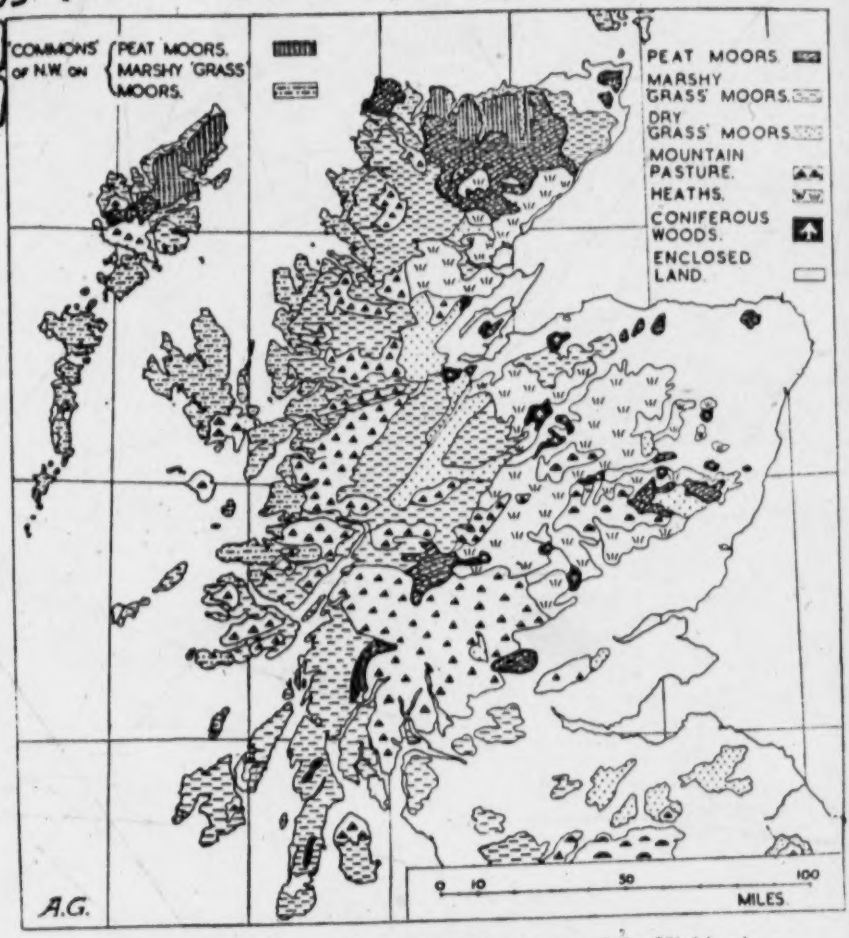

FIG. 7.—Map of vegetation-types and pastures of the Highlands and Hebrides

face sheep. Wherever in the west the slopes drop fairly steeply, good pasture grass with some heather may grow, or rather did grow until bracken overwhelmed them.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

137 Inset into the Highlands are three desolate tracts of
134 boggy 'Peat Moor', in Sutherland, Rannoch Moor far to the south, and on the plateaus of Lorne and Mid-Argyll; while marginal to the Highlands are (1) the drier and more dissected plateau peat moors between Lochnagar and Stonehaven, and (2) the intermittent stretches of Lowland peat moss.

137 Finally, intermixed with these are strips of surviving or planted woodland. Below the heather moors of the western Highlands stretch the great pine woods of Atholl, Deeside, and Speyside and the Moray Firth. As the heather thins out, towards the West Coast, pine gives place to oak. Near both are found the graceful silver stems of
[177] the birch, with its small resistant leaves. These woodlands invite the modern forester, who brings in pine, larch and firs in the east and, in the west, notably the Sitka spruce, brought here from the rainy western highlands of British Columbia.

311 The uses to which the pastures are or have long been
233 put, are three: as crofters' grazings—mostly 'commons' (and so indicated on the map), as sheep farms, or as deer
137 forests. (1) On the 'commons' there is close grazing for
[136] both cattle and sheep by crofters near the townships or the holdings, and much peat-cutting. (2) On the hill sheep farms there is more or less regulated burning and some hill draining but almost no cattle pasturing; and as a result of both facts, bracken has invaded the grassier moors.
[136] (3) On the deer forests almost no care is given and the heather, scrub and bracken are coarse and strong. An indication of the margin of the commons, according to whether it 'marches' with farms or with deer forests (given in Fig. 2 by line C), is also shown in Fig. 7 because of its marked effect on vegetation.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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PLATE VIIIA. TYPICAL BIOTITE GNEISS ENCLOSING AND VEINING HORNBLENDE GNEISS
(Torasclett, north-east of Tarbert)

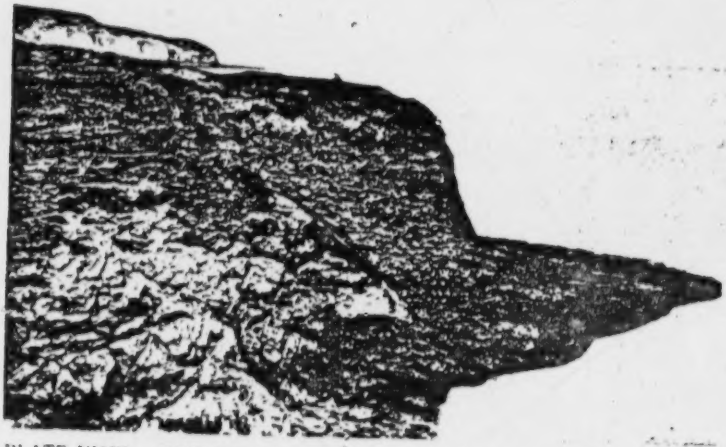

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PLATE VIIIB. OUTLIER OF STORNOWAY BEDS ON LEWISIAN GNEISS
(Dun, near Garrabost, Eye Peninsula.) The moors of North Lewis are faintly visible on the horizon

/facing p. 49/

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

133 *2. Plant Life in Lewis-and-Harris*

137 Lewis has been dismissed by many as a floating peat bog, and its name has even been derived from *leodus*, a 133 bog! For good or ill, peat influences the Island, its history, 137 the distribution of its people and the economic and social features of their life. In Lewis, peat once covered every- 182 thing except the narrow fringes of sandy machar, the surface of the inland waters, jutting rocks and steeper hills where drainage is rapid. Man's encroachment on that [185] carpet has so far been mere nibbling. Except for the [311] machar lands, every acre of ground occupied or cultivated by man has been reclaimed from peat.

137 The Map of Vegetation and its Key portray the distribution of the main plant communities (Fig. 8).[1] All plants are of low habit with small leaves, well protected from excessive transpiration. They are mostly perennials or biennials; annuals are comparatively few. There is no burst of flowering save where the heather blooms on better-drained slopes, or where shell sand has blown, enabling clovers, vetches and meadow-sweet to give colour and scent. Moss, sedge and dwarfed heather prevail widely in tussocks.

137 Constant cropping by sheep and cattle, and also deer, 233 tends to keep vegetation low, but on the wide, boggy moors [311] this is a minor factor. Nor is there much systematic heather-burning. Even upon the islets of inland lochs, untouched by grazing animals, and in spite of better drainage due to the undercutting of the waves, growth is not really luxuriant. Bracken, however, is found on the islets, and a little on some former sheep farms, but not on the heavily grazed common pastures, for cattle keep down bracken.

[1] [see p. 50 -- analyst]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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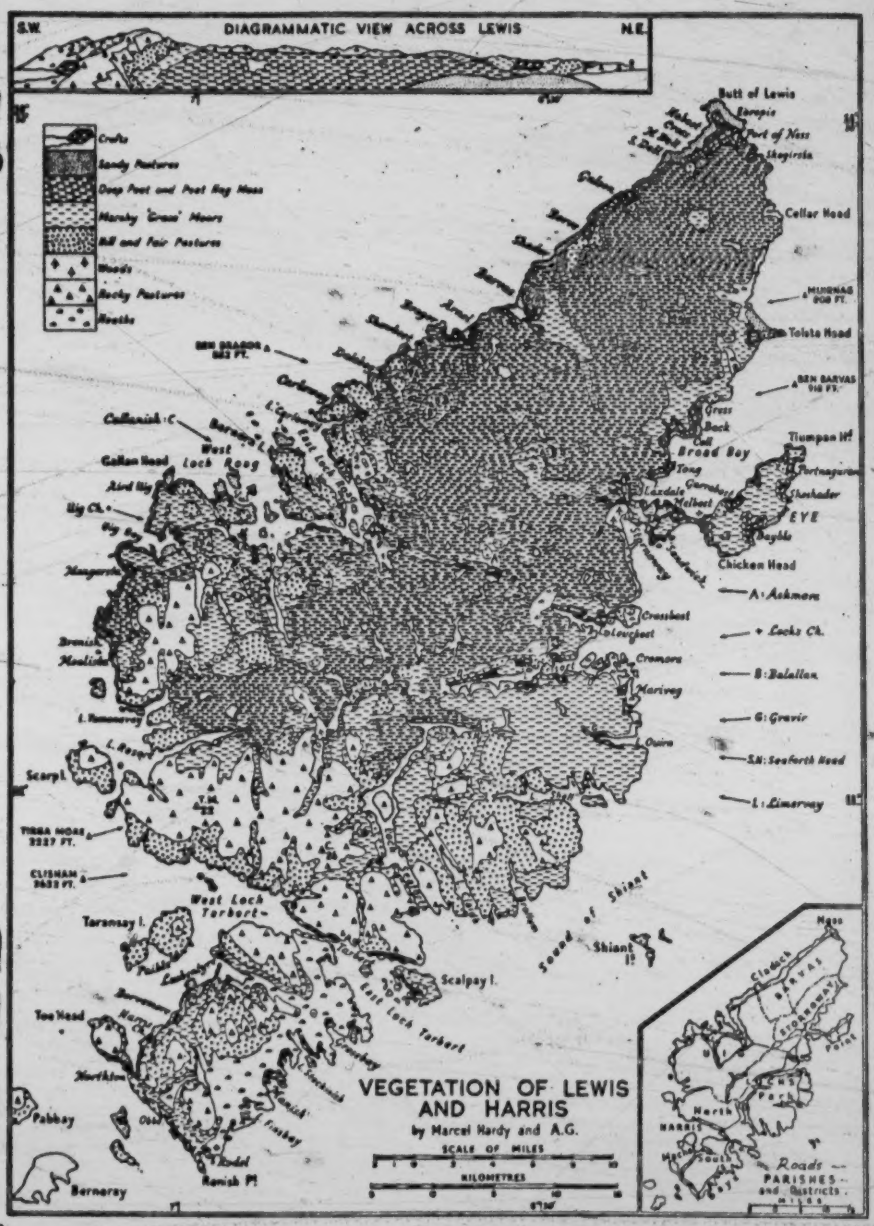

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[634] →
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FIG. 8

/p. 50/

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

137 ### 3. *Plant Communities of the Island: Hill Moor, Peat Moss and Machar*

The types of pasture in the Island should be compared with those elsewhere. The peat moors of Lewis resemble those of northern Sutherland. The machar lands of the Uists, and of Tiree and smaller isles, surpass those of Lewis, while on the mainland and Inner Isles raised beaches provide workable, well drained soils. The 'rocky hill pastures' of our Island correspond to the rockier 'mountain pastures' and 'plateau summits' of the Highlands, and the 'fair' and 'hill pastures' of Lewis rather to their widespread 'wetter moors'. Grazing conditions are of course, similar in crofting areas alone. The edging of heather above the sea-cliffs of the Island and on the western mainland forms a picturesque element of the landscape, seen from a passing vessel, but only a narrow strip of the pastures. The plant communities shown on the Map of Vegetation (Fig. 8) must now be outlined.[1]

[134] (1) On the *Rocky Pastures* the scattered patches of soil are covered by a low and close sward, almost exclusively of perennials and grasses, such as bent (*agrostis*), common and brown, sheep's-fescue grass and wavy-hair grass (*festuca* and *Aira*); small sedges and mosses, with club moss and lichens towards the summits; heather, and fine-leaved bell-heather (*Erica cinerea*); and flowering plants like thyme, bird's-foot trefoil, tormentil and smooth heath bedstraw (*Galium*). Those rocky pastures prevail in the Forest of Harris (Plate XI).

[311] (2) *Fair and Hill Pastures.*—Below the bare rock domes

[113] [1] An authoritative flora of the Island is in preparation by Miss M. S. Campbell, F.L.S., British Museum (Natural History). Her "Flora of Uig" (Lewis) has appeared (Arbroath, 1945). For Dr. Hardy's tentative list of plant names see A. Geddes, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 52, 4, 1936.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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137 there is frequently found the most thriving of the vege-
[311] tation types of Lewis and the best grazing ground. It
[233] includes grasses such as those already named, together with purple *Molinea*, meadow soft grass (*Holcus*), and mat grass (*Nardus*); sedges (*Scirpus* and *Carex* spp.); with the field wood rush (*Luzula*) and a fair number of flowering plants. Heather is common in this and the following community (3).

With true 'hill' pastures, found especially to the east of the Forest of Harris and between Loch Seaforth and Loch Shell, are included fair pastures with good grasses on the rocky hillocks near the villages around Loch Roag and also on the low, steep hills northward to Shawbost.
[134] The 'skinned land' lies in strips too narrow to be shown on the map, but may form a ring of desolation round the village. The hard moor-pan resists natural seeding of plants unless broken by the pick, but broadcasting of a cheap seed-mixture with a little fertiliser can work marked improvement.

(3) *Marshy Grass Moors.*—Where the slopes are gentle, and the acid humus has accumulated to form peat, is found coarse, tussocky, damp pasture, of sedges and grasses, grading from the 'fair' and 'hill pastures' to the beginnings of hummocky peat hags and smooth sedge moss. It covers the slopes of hills such as Ben Barvas and Muirnag and the hillocks that emerge from the great central trough of brown peat moor. It also characterises the low but broken areas in southern Lewis. This type forms a belt below the 'hill' and 'rocky' pastures of Harris. At its best its prevailing hue is olive-green turning to a silvery shade and then to russet later on. Annuals are few and the grasses are coarse.

[133] (4) *Peat Moors, Mosses and Peat Hags.*—The most

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

137 widespread plant community in Lewis is undoubtedly the
[133] *sedge and cotton grass moors* (or 'mosses' as they would be called in the Lowlands), which overlie deep peat generally at low levels, on flat or slightly rolling grounds. The peaty floor is waterlogged and boggy, and the carpet rises into tufts, dense cushions or mops, out of which bristle innumerable stalks, thread-shaped, sheathed, fibrous and elastic. There are few flowers apart from the bog asphodel, while heather does not thrive but is stunted. On the slopes, sedges (*Scirpus* and *Carex* spp.) and cotton grass (*Eriophorum angustifolium*) dominate, and in the hollows, sphagnum moss. Owing to slope and consequent erosion, the surface may break into hags (or 'bruachs'), separated by deep and more or less broad channels of bare peat with puddles.

[311] For reclamation by tractor and peat plough, smoothness is essential, combined with some slope for drainage. From observation of the fragments of poor pasture topping the hags in channelled eroded peat, it can be noted that drainage alone is not enough to create good pasture, though it
[241] is the first step. In order to complement the work of drainage, fertilisers must be applied to encourage plants which absorb water in quantity and transpire it freely in the course of rapid growth. For it may be said that plants like heather—adapted to withstand drought, physical or 'physiological'—do not transpire water in any great quantity. Thus they fail to 'drain the ground from above', as juicier grasses or fodder plants do by the vigorous ascent, transpiration and renewed absorption of water.

[134] (5) *Heather Moor.*—The common heather (*Calluna*) dominates on many steep slopes and rocky bluffs, sometimes on acid humus, or again on decomposed rock and screes, generally at low levels. Among the chief plants

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

137 found with the dominant are the fine-leaved bell heather, sometimes with crowberry (*Empetrum*) in rocky places, while grass or sedge may be mixed with it in places.

At the very edge of the sea-cliffs, where the moorland pasture or heather thins out, the rock is cushioned with sea pink. Or where a stream has cut a sheltered dell, protected as in the Stornoway policies or not too near a village, one may find a few woody plants—a little hazel, creeping willow or honeysuckle.

137 (6) *Sandy Pastures.*—In many bays, as at Valtos (West
134 Loch Roag) the sandy or sand-influenced habitat falls into three zones:

(*a*) The line of storm beach, formed of hummocky dunes, which dams off what was the inner part of the bay. This line is more or less broken where the stream breaks through. At their crown the dunes are partially fixed by marram grass (*Psamma*), but show hollows of loose sand. Just north of Stornoway the Melbost sands have thrown out a high bar which has partly dyked and reclaimed or poldered the bay behind. Almost at the opposite end of the Island, lying in from the Sound of Taransay, near Luskintyre, a sandy dyke is thrust out, but this too is kept open by tide and spate, and the sands within are covered at high tide. Such places could be reclaimed.

(*b*) Behind the dune ridge, where this is virtually com-
[132] plete, is found a dry sandy flat. Even this is liable to inundation by storm, tide and spate, but its sandy pasture is periodically broken for the cultivation of potatoes, or even barley. It is the lightest of soils at the best, while if cultivated continuously it simply

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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blows away, no doubt because the humus rots and quite fails to bind the sand. These two types together form the true machar.

(*c*) From the machar rise the slopes of drift-covered rock which bear a top dressing of blown shell fragments, more or less mixed with the soil by treading and cultivation, and imperceptibly giving place to the undiluted 'black soils' of moor and croft with their corresponding vegetation or crops. The shell-sand is often blown onto the rough pastures high above a bay.

Where a portion of the true machar has been cultivated it is allowed to seed itself. A sprinkling of weeds is followed by the re-establishment of a mixed flora. In both the sand and the consolidated sand-covered drift grow wild white clover and vetches; and among the grasses are rye grass (*Lolium*), Yorkshire fog (*Holcus*), cat's-tail (*Phleum*) and meadow grass (*Poa*). Other plants include familiar weeds and wild-flowers like yarrow, cow-parsnip, golden rod (*Solidago*), silverweed, wild carrot, thyme, plantain, sorrel, yellow rattle, harebell, eyebright, pansy and many more. Arrival from the bare brown moorland to the sand-blown slopes or dells is made a pleasure by stream-side flowers like meadow-sweet.

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Woods and Cultivation.—In addition to the woods indicated on the map, in Stornoway Castle policies, shelter-belts or plantations occur at certain lodges. Cultivation, as will be explained in the section on crofting, is rarely continuous; and the map shows areas as cultivated which are far from being either continuous crop land or
[185] even permanent grass of the first quality. Yet since this map was drawn the improved area has been extended somewhat

i [see map on p.50--analyst]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

137 by reclamation, notably at the Macaulay Demonstration
311 Farm on the 'peat moss' of Arnish Moor (south of
185 Stornoway), then too small to be shown, and in South-west Harris where new crofts were laid out in the thirties.

137 The six main types of vegetation in the Island may be grouped as three. First are the Hill Pastures and Moors: (1) 'Rocky' among the bare hill-tops of Harris and Uig, and (2) 'Fair' on favourable slopes, which merge into (3) 'Marshy Grass Moors' of coarse grass and sedges, heath and rushes. Secondly come (4) the vast brown 'Peat Mosses and Moors', either smooth and wet, with sedge and cotton grass, or channelled and cut up into hags; near the broken edges of the island cliffs this expanse is often fringed by (5) the 'Heather Moor'. Thirdly, by the sandy bays, are (6) the 'Machar lands', *i.e.* the 'Sandy Pastures', rich with clover; though narrow, this coastal plain is all important to stock-rearing and potato-growing, and so to settlement. In traditional terms, these three groups form hill moor, peat moss and sandy shores: *monadh*, *mòine* and *machair*.

(c) CROFTING AND THE CROFTERS' YEAR

1. *Place of Settlement and Choice of Work—Past and Present*

175 Lewis and 'Harrey', as they were called four centuries
114 ago, were well described by Dean Monro,[1] and his descrip-
tion is fundamental to the present scene. "Harrey is very
311 fertile and fruitful for corne, store and fishing, twice mair of delving is in or of teilling", which appears to mean

[113] [1] Dean Monro, *The Western Islands of Scotland . . . in 1549*, reprinted by A. Mackay, Stirling, 1934.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 that the spade and foot-plough (*cas chrom*) were used for
114 double the area ploughed. From Monro and from the
311 precise Statistical Accounts of the eighteenth century, it is
[241] clear that pony-drawn ploughs were usual in the smoother
[127] parts of Lewis. In North Harris are 'abundance of
[136] Deir'. We must not forget here that 'faire' and fertile
are comparative terms for the West. "Lewis is faire and
weill inhabit at the coste, ane fertile and fruitful countrey,
for the maist part beire [barley], with 4 Paroche Kirkes."
[226] There is "ane castell callit Stornoway . . . with 3 salt
loches, very fine for take of herrings . . . [and] infinite fresh
water loches. In the Lewis there are 8 waters with take
of salmont. . . ." There were also "Whales . . ." In
"a cove 2 fadoms deep at the ebb sea, uses Whytuns
(whitings) to be slain with huiks", there were "very many
haddocks and Men with their wandes sitting [as today]
upon the Craiges of that cove, and Lades [boys] and Women
[136] also. . . . In this Ile there are many Sheip for it is very
guid for the same. For they lay furth ever one mures
and glens and never enters in a house and their wool is
bot anes in the zeire pluckit off them in some fauldes."
[236] In Zetland wool is still plucked, not sheared.

The description of reclamation is specially worthy of note: "In this countrey all is peit mossland at the Sea cost, and the plaice where he wins his peitts this zeire [year] . . . there he sawes his corne the nixt zeire, after that he guidds it weill with Sea ware" [*i.e.*, improves or
[245] manures it with seaweed]. On "Ellan Colm Cill [an islet apparently on the east coast south of Stornoway at the mouth of Loch Erisort] Macloyd of the Lewis has ane faire Orchard, and he that is Gardener has that Ile [rent] free. . . ."

175 Around the coast of Lewis no absolute limit is set to
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3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 reclamation, which Dean Monro has described as he saw it.
311 Technique and economic return must be balanced against
185 the factors of nature. Although natural conditions are
[182] difficult, they may not form a complete explanation of the relative arrest of reclamation in the nineteenth century; for here separation from the agricultural advances of the Lowlands by barriers of mountain and sea caused the retention of unprogressive methods until the wave of agricultural improvement had spent itself by the middle of
[178] last century. To this cause must be added other influences
[171] contrasted to those leading to peasant advance in the rest of Western Europe: the political history of the Gaeldom after 1745, the revolution in land tenure and in the social life of the upper classes, the commercial, industrial and imperial development of Great Britain. All these factors help to explain the contrast offered to the Lews by western Denmark and western Norway, lands in which the soil and climate are comparable to those of the Island. Yet, reclamation is proceeding, as on skinned land at Ness, where plots of ground have been steadily broken in by pick and by spade or plough.

226 Settlement and agricultural land are placed around
[361] the coasts with their fishing grounds. In spite of what was often said—that the Lewisman is and has always been
[311] primarily a fisherman—fishing alone is not enough to
[241] account for this distribution, for the agricultural conditions on the whole are also best along the coasts, or were so for early settlers. As Stevens remarked, the light sandy 'machar' lands are there, and the fringe of partially improved soil close by; drainage is, on the whole, better, while shell-sand and sea-ware are to be had for manure.
241 The sea-ware also serves still as fodder, while one or two
824 sorts are sometimes cooked for human food; carragheen

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

241 824 (Chondrus), for example, is used as a thickener of milk to make a cheese-like mould. Dulse is also plucked.[1]

222 The type of coastal form and vegetation alters the 182 relative importance of crofting and fishing—and the balance 241 chosen is significant. (1) Where the coastline is smooth, and leads inland from sandy machar with its clover to 226 sand-ameliorated 'black land' of smooth topography lending itself to ploughing, and the whole is backed by extensive pastures, the tract is relatively well-off for crofting but may be ill-placed for fishing. (2) Where the coast is either indented or salient with rocky loch-sides or steep promontory cliffs, a rolling or rocky topography, little shell sand, and (on the promontories) a shortage of pasture, it is ill-placed for crofting; but it is favourable to fishing either by virtue of sheltered sea lochs or of salient promontories, one or other side of which tends to give relative shelter to the fishing ground (chosen according to the direction of the wind, to avoid being blown on to a dangerous, lee shore). Hence the site of a settlement has had much to do with the choice and opportunities for a communal vocation, from prehistory to the present time, as we shall see.

103 Significant local characteristics emerge in the names of 634 the ancient districts (inset with the Map of Vegetation, Fig. 8). In the north is Ness (Norse, 'nose' or cape); 175 along the west is Cladach (Gaelic, a stony beach); while in South Harris the western 'Machar' contrasts with the eastern 'Bays'. 'Park', a sheep-run in the early nineteenth century, was the Norse 'East-fell'. In contrast, the parishes of Lewis centre on four churches, linked to [491] the road-system. This radiates from Stornoway in five directions: east, NE., NW., SW., and south to Tarbert,

[173] [1] Pulling dulse (*Rhodymenia*) is one of the 'delights' of Iona as told in a poem long attributed to Saint Columba!

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

103 634 175 491 Harris; South Harris is ringed by a road, extended recently to take in the more isolated 'Bays' townships.

2. *The Crofts and Crofting Ways*

241 The prevailing modern unit of cultivation and tenure in the Islands is the croft, the land held individually by each small landholder or 'crofter'. The Anglo-Scottish term croft (Gaelicised as *croit*) meant steadily cropped, infield land, manured and never left fallow, and distinguished from the unmanured outfield with its long fallows and poor out-turn. This term came into common use in the Highlands and Isles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the splitting up of the older unit of cultivation and tenure, the small joint farm, with its little team of fellow-workers or 'small tenants'. By 1830 group tenure had been replaced by individual holding of crofts, but with the pasture still held in common, as it is to the present day, and an allotted strip of the machar.

[175] [427] [423]

The Lewis croft consists of a nominal five acres of crops, of oats, barley (or bere) and potatoes, sometimes with recent additions of turnips, and more often a small hay crop. The word 'nominal' is used because during the nineteenth century the croft had often been subdivided between two or more sons, without addition by reclamation to bring each subdivision up to the acreage of the original croft. Moreover, in the hilly southern part of the Island, cultivation is in little patches instead of in continuous fields. There, narrow ditches have been dug and the soil heaped up to form little ridges about ten feet by four, banked up by turf. These are known as *feannagan* in Gaelic, or in English, 'lazy-beds'—a term in use as early as the time of Burt, two hundred years ago. Thus only about two-

[175] [428] [178]

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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241 thirds of an area nominally under crops actually grows them. It need hardly be said that such crofts do not support a family.

The means of cultivation have been either pony-drawn ploughs in the smoother north, or else the foot-plough [407] (*cas-chrom*), and the straight spade in the hilly south. I saw the almost obsolete foot-plough used on hilly ground near Rodel, Harris, in 1919. In the smoother lands from Stornoway and Barvas northward, however, the crofts then were already laid out in parallel strips, no more than twelve to fifteen feet wide, divided by open drains. Open drains have increasingly been converted into underground drains over which pony and plough can pass. The cattle feed on the rough pasture or on the grass about the crofts, supplemented by hay cut with a sickle from the grassy edges of the 'lazy-beds'. Quite recently, rotation grass has been [178] sown on the arable strips, and mown for hay by the scythe. [407] Tractors were introduced in war-time, in 1942.

In many of the villages, cattle are still taken to the 233 summer pastures out on the moors some miles from the 221 crofts. Those who herd the cattle live in huts or shiel- 311 ings, annually re-roofed. In the congested 'Point district' (the Eye Peninsula), the cattle must go to the moor on the main island or be taken on to their owners' crofts from late May or early June to about the 10th of August, in order to clear the common grazing and allow the grass to recover. This migration takes place, of course, because 233 of the restricted area of common pasture. On the other 311 hand, pasture is plentiful in the parish of Lochs, lying all round some of the villages, and here the use of the shieling has been practically abandoned. In almost all villages, with the exception of those of the Eye Peninsula, there is less summer pasturing than formerly; fewer cattle are sent

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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233 away, and for a shorter period. The sheep wander over
311 the moors all the year round, though they hang about the crofts when the winter is severe.

221 A comparison with mountainous Norway or the Alps
132 and their high summer pastures suggests itself; but in Lewis altitude is almost negligible, and the shielings may
171 lie only two to five hundred feet above that of the crofts
[133] beside the shore. The difference between winter and
[311] summer is in any case less, snow being rare and the conditions being such that even in summer the shieling pasture remains poor. Hence it is that while modern Norse and Alpine economy still maintain the summer pasture, the shielings have died out in the Highlands and are slowly decaying in Lewis. Seasonally, stock are transported over longer distances, from Highland to Lowland pastures.

181 Reasons for the continuance of these and other crofting
[178] ways, or for their abandonment, are not of an economic order alone: not only the remuneration received for labour,
[461] but the feeling for the work counts enormously. Visiting a couple of distant shielings in the summer of 1919, I found that two lads newly home from the Navy had come up from their village 'for a holiday', bringing rods for trout-fishing and high spirits for play. By day they fished or flirted. By night they slept in one of the two shielings, while the two laughing lasses they had come to visit shared the none too wide couch of the other shieling with the two older women there. One of these was a matron with a motherly twinkle in her eye, the other was a spinster in whose eyes there shone a memorably vivid light; she was the sister (as I found later) of a noted minister on the mainland. The bare simplicity of shieling life is traditionally softened by fellowship and a gaiety that is not beyond
[538] control. A Lowland poet once coined a famous phrase,

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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181 "the lone shieling of the misty island". Traditional
[538] Gaelic songs tell rather of shielings grouped within hail,
[533] with their sweethearting and good cheer!

3. *Crops and Stock*, circa *1938*

178 As the thirties mark a transition between early condi-
241 tions prevailing until 1919 and those of 1947–53 (Appendix I), the present tense is used.

311 Of the Island's 528,000 acres, including deer forests
632 on the Harris border partly grazed, there are 24,000 acres of arable and grass land. Barvas parish leads with 6500 acres, then come Stornoway, Uig and Lochs, Harris being last with 3300 acres. Roughly one-third of the Island's arable and grass land, or 32 per cent, is permanent grass, chiefly machar, with a maximum of 39 per cent in Uig, but a minimum of 9 per cent in rocky
311 Lochs, most of this on one small farm. About 10 per
242 cent of the arable and grass land area is given to hay production; of this, rather less than one-third is rotation hay grown on the plough rigs or parks, and rather more than two-thirds is hay from permanent grass. Lochs, lacking machar, has 20 per cent hay, while Barvas, better
[632] off for machar, has only 4 per cent. Even this proportion of rotation hay shows an increase on the crofts since 1919. Stornoway parish, it will be noted, occupies an intermediate place, but if the facts for Point (Eye) district were contrasted with those for the villages along the machar, the differences between them would emerge clearly. As it is, they can be guessed from the vegetation map showing
311 the machar. Oats is the chief crop, and occupies 33 per
243 cent or just one-third of the arable and grass of the Island; excluding the permanent grass, it constitutes half the crop.

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PLATE IXA. CROFTERS WITH FLAIL AND WINNOWING VESSEL

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PLATE IXB. A LEWIS WOMAN CREELING PEAT (*c.* 1925)

Except in cold weather (as here) the skirt is rolled up over a petticoat to form a pad at the waist just below the creel

/facing p. 64/

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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311 In Lochs it occupies only one-quarter of arable and grass.
243 Barley, mostly four-row, or bere, is less important as a food today than formerly, and now occupies only 6 per cent, and, though it reaches 13 per cent in Barvas, with its
[632] machar, hardly any is grown in Lochs. Rye (*seagal*), still found in the machars of the Uists, is little grown in the Lews. Potatoes grow well everywhere, occupying about 15 per cent of the area, though townships with plentiful machar land grow most. Turnips are being gradually introduced, and though their liability to disease has somewhat discouraged the crofters, the proportion is now about
311 2·3 per cent. Cabbages occupy a small area (1 per cent),
244 latterly along with lettuces, carrots and the like.

Rotation hay and turnips being almost unused up to
241 1919, oats was grown repeatedly before rotation with barley or potatoes, and with no bare fallow. While heavy manuring maintained the fertility, the crop by July was ablaze with corn marigold (and other weeds) through which the thin oats struggled to rear its head. Thickly sown, the return was exceedingly small. Except for the machar (if any) there was no 'out-field' as elsewhere in old Scotland.

The smallness of the crofts and the poorness of the crops explain the very small total return. Hence little oats is now ground for meal and the potatoes do not last
[178] through the year, though few are sold. The low out-turn
[246] also explains why even fodder is scarce, though much more of the crop is secured for wintering than formerly. Summing up, a croft of 6 acres—though a little too large to be quite typical—includes a couple of acres of grass and hay, almost as much of oats, and the remainder bears potatoes and barley, with turnips, cabbages and garden produce.

[174] In the past, the cropped land was unfenced and un-
[178] walled. At present, the rule is to encourage the con-

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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241 struction of a single ring fence round the croft land, which
also circumscribes a good deal of rough grass, the ground
[178] being generally rough in parts. Individual crofts are
fenced only where exceptionally large, or when the pos-
[654] sessor is unusually enterprising or is isolated. Depart-
mental help is given in the provision of fencing materials
[632] for a township, the crofters supplying labour. As the
233 animals are allowed to graze freely in winter, this limits
241 crops to those sown and harvested in the summer half-year
—a serious matter for any man of enterprise who cannot
afford a fence of his own. Cattle kept on the croft when
the fields are under crops have to be either tethered or
driven to a common pasture. A drystone dyke may
enclose a small patch of garden, rarely well tended, the
school gardens providing a laudable exception.

233 Shortly before 1939, the stock included under 1000
agricultural horses and well over 10,000 cattle (of which
more than 6500 were milch-cows), but practically no pigs.
Sheep number 42,000 ewes, or 94,000 ewes and followers
in June. Thus there are 2·5 cattle on an average holding,
of which more than 1·5 are milch cows; and there are
233 half a score ewes or about a score of sheep in June. The
178 size and the quality of the cattle have greatly improved
since first I visited the island in 1919; at that time the
mongrel Highland breed must have been the very poorest
in Britain. The Blackface sheep are small, either through
underfeeding or because of traces left from the old, smaller
Hebridean breed, or from both causes. On an average
there is, or was, one horse, or pony, to every five or six
231 crofter holdings, but their number is much reduced.

233 Actually, such Island averages for horses and sheep are
somewhat misleading. In particular, either there are more
[182] horses than the average in a given district, or almost none,

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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233 according to the relief, as explained. Thus the Barvas
182 parish with its smooth topography permits of ploughing,
and there is, or rather was, one horse between two crofts,
231 or one pair between four or five. In rocky Uig or in Lochs,
however, there is only one pony between ten or twelve crofts.
492 Lending or hiring of horses has still to be practised, but
within manageable limits, though the increase in 'cars' had
426 lessened the number of horses, even before the war-time introduction of tractors. Hiring is often done for cash, though this conflicts with older communal custom. Yet lending had its difficulties: "The borrowed horse", says the lender bitterly, in the Gaelic proverb, "is never tired!"

233 The number of sheep per holding is noticeably highest
184 in Harris, with one score ewes per holding. The sheep pasture of North Harris was well spoken of by Dean Monro, and the link with the home industry of Harris, its weaving, is evident.

241 Comparisons with the western mainland show, in
holdings of similar or rather large size, the diminished
311 amount of cereals now grown there even by crofters. The increased proportion of grass reflects both the greater dependence on bought provisions, and also the fact that the West is not a land to ripen crops, but that it can grow grass for stock.

4. *The Moors as Pasture: Game and Sport*

311 In order to estimate the relative value of the rough
511 grazings of Lewis and Harris, it will be well to compare these with the moors lying across the Minch and east of Cape Wrath. There also may be found crofting communities whose economics are similar to those of Lewis, so that the stock carried on their pastures will furnish some

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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311 indication of their worth. As above, the period is *c.* 1937–
511 1938. The Island's increased sheep stock is shown in Appendix II (ii) (a) to 1953.

[233] The Lewis and Harris pastures carry on an average about one ewe to 9 or 10 acres, that is, one ewe or lamb to 4 acres in June (the month of the agricultural returns). A good mainland grazing like Glen Shiel carries one ewe to 6 acres, while poorer grazings like Kintail and Farr carry one ewe to 10 or 14 acres respectively. Nowhere, however, can the rough grazing support the newly weaned ewe lambs (or hoggs) throughout the winter, which have either to be brought to the enclosed 'low ground' (of which there is never enough to supply both grass and winter feed) or sent to the Lowlands in autumn and brought back in spring, at a total cost of about 10s. each before 1939. In Lewis, for lack of grass, there is considerable loss in winter among the crofters' sheep. Constructive measures for the future must be based on an increased supply of winter feed.

137 The game consist of red deer, grouse and hares, while
511 salmon and trout are fished in stream and loch. The deer range over Harris, Park and the Uig hills, but are seldom seen north of Achmore. They are of ordinary quality and size, and before 1939 the average number of heads for the year totalled about 190 stags and 80 hinds. It is not known
[529] when they were introduced. In the south there may be a certain amount of 'deer stealing', as in most deer forests surrounded by crofts, in spite of a score of keepers and deer-stalkers, and other employees at shooting lodges. Grouse are relatively scarce compared with those on drier
[825] mainland moors. Mountain hares have multiplied since their introduction in 1853, when, it is said, the first hare, seen near a village towards evening with its white winter coat, was thought to be supernatural.

511 coat, was thought to be supernatural. The fishing, too, is
226 of good standard: a typical annual catch including 1700
511 salmon, 5000 sea-trout and 1800 brown trout; and it was for this, as well as for the shootings, that the moors pertaining to the different shooting or fishing lodges and hotels
137 were bought at Lord Leverhulme's sale. The absence of
233 foxes was important to sheep-rearing before the introduction of guns, and is still a favourable factor.

5. *Sea-fishing*

226 Fish have always contributed to the diet of the Islesfolk,
198 whether they fished from coracles or boats, or with 'lang wands' from the shore as they still do, and as they did in
[262] the days of Dean Monro and, no doubt, right back to
[433] neolithic times. The relative importance of fishing and
[241] agriculture, however, has always varied according to place and time.

182 Fishing in modern and historic, and also in prehistoric,
226 times—to judge from the kitchen middens of Uig—has always flourished more where there were deep sea-lochs;
241 and settlement resulted, even though rocky hillsides made
[178] ploughing difficult or impossible. Conversely, agriculture
[172] has offered better opportunity on smooth coasts with a variety of soils, though fishing was poorer there. Thus the men of Stornoway Bay and Eye, of eastern lochs and of the Harris bays, like those of Loch Roag on the west, have long been partly fishermen. In the extreme north, too, men of Ness—with the chance of choosing their fishing grounds on the north, west or east of the island and with their little rocky port giving shelter, of a sort, from south-
[461] west gales—were good fishermen; they are good seamen
[829] still. "The fishing of the Barvas folk" is an old gibe,

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

182 226 241 [829] [461] meaning that the men of that village, and its immediate neighbourhood, were the last to put to sea and the first to return. The Barvas folk could retort that they would have been fools to do anything else on a straight exposed coast; and that anyway their pony-drawn ploughs were of more use than the foot ploughs of the rocky south. A form of provender taken indirectly from the sea was the sea-birds and eggs from the sea-cliffs and islets like Rona, north-west of the Butt. This helped to support a few families in St. Kilda and on the rocky Shiant Islands south-east of Harris.

175 226 [178] 504 501 Fishing remained backward and primitive, however, until the nineteenth century. After developing in a promising way, it was checked before the First World War, and fell into decay during and after it. Decay has, of course, been widespread. In 1935 the chief ports of the East Coast, from Leith with Granton northward by Fraserburgh to Wick—a round dozen—had still an average of 250 to 300 vessels, 3000 in all. These were chiefly of steam or motor auxiliary power and valued (with fishing gear) at £2,750,000. Orkney and Zetland, too, had each their 300 boats. The whole West Coast, however, from Stornoway to Ballantrae, had only 2000 boats, valued at less than one-tenth of the fleet of the East, and worth only a fraction of this, to judge from prices in the open market. Nearly 400 boats were still on the register for Lewis and Harris (Stornoway district) and another 300 for the rest of the Outer Isles. But fewer put to sea each year, even from Stornoway itself.

182 226 A major drawback to herring fishing in the Stornoway district is the uncertainty in the movements of the herring shoals. On the Clyde, moreover, herring can be sent fresh to the city but further north they must be cured. Whereas

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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182 on the East Coast and in Orkney and Zetland there are
226 comparatively well-marked seasons at which the herring can be expected, Stornoway appears to lie marginally to their main migrations. Thus the amount of the catch varies and curers have been disinclined to set up large curing stations such as those which deal with the enormous influx at the height of the season on the East Coast. A partial compensation is found in the continuance of herring fishing in winter.

226 While fishing from rowing boats for saith, lythe and
[178] mackerel still supplies food for home in summer, fishing with long lines in winter and spring brought cod and other white fish, sun-dried and salted, which became an important export though declining sharply after 1900 and of no importance since 1919. Lobster fishing is undertaken in small boats with two or three men from many townships, and two ponds have been reopened, one on Bernera, Lewis, and the other at Stockinish in Harris to store the lobsters. Conditions in 1935 and 1951–53 are compared in Appendix I (iii) and II (iii).

6. *The Annual Rhythm of Life*

221 It is appropriate here to show how fishing and crofting fitted together into the seasonal calendar a hundred years ago, and shortly before and after the war of 1914–18.
[182] The Lewisman's year shows its relationship to the seasons,
[175] with their temperature, rainfall and wind (Fig. 9). A
[178] century wrought changes: cod fishing declined as the herring fishing grew in importance; but the latter fell
[286] away again after the war. Partly as a result, weaving has become important, the men fitting into the idle periods between the brief peaks of spring and harvest work.

461 Men's work can be roughly estimated as either light,
462

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 72]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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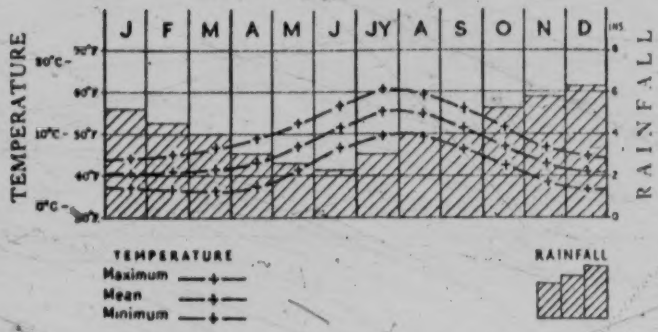
132

(a) TEMPERATURE AND PRECIPITATION

Monthly averages for Lewis (Stornoway)



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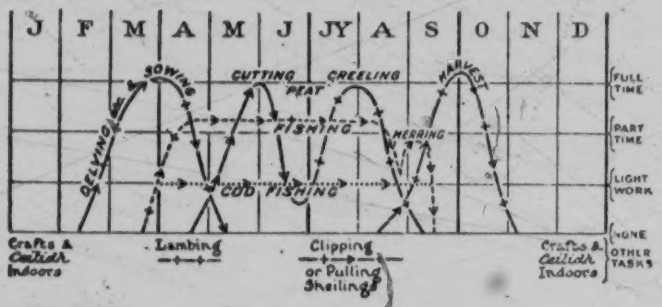
(b) ANNUAL RHYTHM OF SEASONAL LABOUR c. 1800



[178]

(c) ANNUAL RHYTHM OF SEASONAL LABOUR 1900–1930

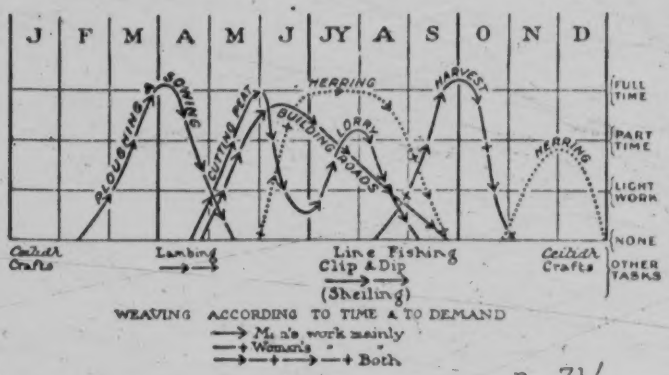


FIG 9

p. 71/

461 part-time or (to use a convenient phrase) 'overtime',
462 meaning by this a special effort such as cannot be maintained for long. Women's work, on the other hand, has a continuous element of 'part-time' occupations, which can be simplified to 'light' work, when a woman's services are also needed at harvest or to carry in peats, and the like.

462 One vital point in the life of peasant women is too often uncontrolled: maternity, with its crisis of childbirth.
000 Among wild creatures the young are normally born in spring, when food is abundant and daylight long; but among mankind there is no clear season for parenthood.
462 This has its compensations, for neighbour-wives can, and do, help one another, turn about. It also has its drawbacks where women have a large share in the seasonal round; and a heavy period of work, such as creeling peat, may strain a woman for life if it comes when she should have light occupation. It may well be that old Gaelic customs, from courtship through marriage, provided protection.

462 The seasons being still the same, the earlier sequence of traditional tasks is maintained through the year with certain
221 differences. The upper graph shows the men ploughing
175 or delving, as the land permitted, from February to a full-time peak in March–April. From then, women helped increasingly. By March, nets had to be got ready and the boats put in order for the fishing season, closing in September. In townships well situated for cod-fisheries, fishing for sale must have been almost full-time work for many crews, in the season; elsewhere it seems to have been no more than light work for food alone. Ashore, women baited the lines and dried the cod. In April–May the women would see that their few ewes bore their lambs and suckled them in safety; and in spring the cows would

[see p. 91-analyst]

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

462 calve. For peat-cutting, the men took advantage of the
221 driest months, with a peak in May–June; and after the
peat stacked on the moor had dried through the midsummer
175 months, the women set out to creel it in, before the autumn rain should have made the bogs too soft, and stacked it near their doors. The fishing season usually closed with some herring fishing in August–September. The clipping, or rather pulling off, of the wool as it began to be shed, was done chiefly by men, in July–August. Then, too, the absence of fences made herding doubly necessary to protect the growing crops.

Some relief was given by the departure of many of the cattle to the shielings, where a few girls and women would stay through July and August, once men and women together had driven the cattle there. Cows kept at home were, and still are, tethered, or herded close at hand.
[178] Even now the hay harvest is insignificant, and until this
century it hardly existed, except for a little put by in a
221 tiny barn. Towards the end of the summer, roofs were
175 stripped of their thin thatch, and fresh turf was laid on the light rafters and covered with barley straw. Then as now, harvest came in September–October, all helping in reaping the oats with the scythe or the sickle, and pulling up the barley by the root. With the onset of winter winds, rain and cold, the chief outdoor tasks of the year were over.

Throughout the year there were small jobs to be done, and in the past, owing to the imperfection of implements,
[462] constant small repairs were necessary. Indoors in winter
[286] the women prepared the wool together and wove it. Baskets were also made then, the coarser types by men. By all these means the essentials of subsistence were largely met, so long as the seasons were reasonably good. Except for salt for the housewife and iron for the smith, the food

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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221 and clothing, firing and shelter produced met local needs.
175 Further questions of early economy belong to Part Two, as do those of the festivals by which the seasons were initiated and closed, along with the phases of human life.

221 A century later (as indicated in the lower graph), agri-
cultural tasks were much the same, but the character of
[178] fishing had altered greatly. Herring fishing was at its
[433] height in the Island for some fifteen years, or half a generation, before 1914; but it never recovered from the difficulties of the war and after-war periods. The curves of the summer, autumn and winter fishing indicate the 'full-time' activity of summer, and the 'part-time' work of
[462] early winter. Not only the men, but the women participated, the women being employed in gutting and kippering. Boats and men fished further afield. Women were employed in gutting in early summer in the Scots East Coast fishing, which preceded that of the West Coast and was followed by the East Anglian autumn fishing. Some line-fishing continued locally in summer, but it has now almost ceased. The building and repair of roads increased after the middle of the century. The carting of peats, stacked by the roadsides, lessened 'creeling'; but it is particularly haulage by lorry which has replaced carrying by the creel, so lightening women's labour.

[178] Indoors, primitive crafts tended to be superseded as
machine-made articles replaced those of native material
[571] and manufacture; but the *ceilidh* ('*cailey*'), the meeting 'together', continued, though the arts of song and poetic
462 improvisation declined. In Harris the women had woven
and spun for centuries and have continued to do so for home
283 use and sale; in Lewis the women gave up weaving in the last
286 century, few spinning since then and none weaving. Thirty
178 years ago only an occasional weaver, always a man, could be

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

178 462 283 286 221 824 178

found in a Lewis village; but in the ten to twenty years before 1939, the so-called 'Harris' tweed industry spread enormously in Lewis, accompanied by the construction of large spinning mills in Stornoway which supply yarn to male weavers. One further activity, kelp-making, was important for a time, although—not being strictly a traditional task—it is not represented in the upper graph, nor yet in the lower one, having declined after 1825 and disappeared (in the Island) long before the present century. Such was the annual rhythm of seasonal labour prevalent during the last generation, and a hundred years before.

7. *Rural Changes in Diet, Dress and Inter-marriage, and in Mobility: 1919–39*

178 262 146 [177] [244]

Many outward changes occurred in the twenty years after the close of the First World War. Till the Island was able to benefit from the commercial advances of the mainland, it had no adequate relief from the famines of early times; in recent years the quantity of food has been rather more adequate. With the import of new foods, the consumption of vitamins at first declined: there was greater consumption of white bread from Glasgow and less of fresh vegetables (as ruined garden walls bear witness), and less, too, of cod-liver oil with the cessation of cod-fishing. Latterly, fenced gardens with vegetables and lettuce are providing vitamins, and fresh fruit (unobtainable even after 1919) is commonly on sale all the year round, so that a more rational dieting, when it can be afforded, is tending to recover lost ground and perhaps more.[1]

[1] E. P. Cathcart (*et al.*), *Studies in Nutrition: an Enquiry into the Diet of Families in the Highlands and Isles: III, Lewis* (Medical Research Council, Special Reports, Series 242. H.M.S.O.), London, 1940.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

178 The dress of the people has changed. The men com-
291 monly wear overalls instead of the fisherman's blue jersey. Till 1919 every woman and girl wore the black petticoat striped with colours, dark blouse, often with stays, and a knitted muffler round her neck and over her head. In summer the tartan shawl was more typical of Sundays than week days (Plate IX). In clothing, a change for the worse preceded a change for the better. The abandonment of homespun, rich in wet-resisting oil, for machine-made cloth was at first a loss; but oilskins, waterproofs, and rubber boots are a surer protection to all on land or sea. For much of the year the women went barefoot but for the *osan*, worn except in warm weather; these are stockings leaving the sole bare and kept over the foot by a band passing under the middle toes. In a wet climate with much soft ground this was a sensible custom, for wet feet, easily washed, were warm and dry as soon as the women came indoors. They moved hardily, yet a little warily, for fear of stones and, when not fatigued, with a short, springing step which was a pleasure to watch. At the same time their feet were sorely tried by rough heather or stony ground, especially when they were carrying a laden creel. Now nearly all except elderly women wear shoes (or rubbers) and stockings. They have given up the dark, striped full skirt and petticoat worn till 1919 and adopted the skirt and blouse or jumper of the towns, or the short frock so much simplified since Edwardian times. In fine weather the head is bare, though often netted because of the wind.

[369] As dress changes, it is often said that the country copies the town; the reverse were truer, in essentials. By 1914 the townswoman had begun to copy her sister in the country, seeking for common sense and simplicity; and what is true of dress may be true of other things.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

827 Islanders themselves sometimes talk of a lowered stamina and poorer health today than in the past. In-
178 breeding is widely held to account for this. Even if health
582 be really poorer, this explanation is untenable, since marriage outside the village has greatly increased in the
166 last century. Everywhere there is movement along the roads; a school placed half-way between two villages
[871] fosters early acquaintance; immigrants trickle in from the mainland, and emigrants occasionally marry beyond the Island. Moreover, the people of certain villages were transplanted in large numbers eighty years ago, as from
143 Valtos, Uig, northward to Shawbost. In any case, inbreeding itself does not produce degeneration; for though it may "fix" or bring out harmful tendencies where there is already some poor or dangerous strain, it can also fix good characteristics in a healthy population.[1]

178 All these changes were hastened and reinforced by two
177 new, revolutionary means. First, the physical mobility suddenly brought to an area with no railway by the motor-
166 car, van and light lorry-bus; then, towards the end of the inter-war years, the penetration of the Gaelic-speaking home by the ceaseless voices of broadcasting.

[113] [1] J. A. Thomson and P. Geddes, *Life: Outlines of General Biology*, 1931, vol. i, p. 473.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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CHAPTER III

THE ISLAND HOME: HOMESTEAD, TOWNSHIP AND BURGH, AND THEIR POPULATION

(A) THE LEWIS HOMESTEAD AND THE TOWNSHIP

1. *The Black House*

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THE 'black house' of Lewis proper contains within four walls—or rather its one continuous wall—both men and animals (Fig. 10(A)). It is the simplest surviving homestead in Western Europe. The basis of its plan, with its threefold division—for animals, for living, and for sleep—makes it not merely a house but a home [353] and steading in one, a single homestead. The basis of its plan is still found on many a Scottish croft, and Burns' cottage was built as "byre, but and ben"—a cowshed, a room 'without' and a room 'within'. In isolated cases in the Lews, however, the partitions are still low; so that one could sit on a stool by the mid-floor fire and see mother and babe, and behind them cow and calf. The scene recalls a painting of the Holy Family, but whereas Joseph the Carpenter felt his wife hard-pressed when they took refuge beside ox and ass, this primitive homestead with its quietly borne hardships has been the rule in rural Lewis until well after 1919.

As men and animals share the same roof, warmth is

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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342 maintained—once an important aid to the survival of half-
343 starved cattle. A slope from the dwelling-quarters down to the byre facilitates drainage: normally the length of the
[178] homestead follows the slope. The separation of house from byre took place in Harris and Uist over seventy years ago by County Council decision, but in most of Lewis, even in 1947, about 40 per cent of the homesteads were
342 of the primitive type, outwardly but little changed. This separate cottage, as in Harris, is a shapely little structure, roughly symmetrical and particularly pleasing when the walls are whitewashed below the pale-gold thatch.

342 The surviving 'black house' is a stone structure. As
343 Stevens has written, "the rock of the island is hard to
[314] work, and hard to win", and may be covered by peat. Undressed stones are collected and sometimes carried for
[324] long distances. Before dynamite came into use, a very large stone could be broken up by lighting a peat fire on it, then dashing cold water over it. By an old Gaelic custom, the bachelors of a township used to help to build the house for one of their friends who was about to marry.
[333] Lime for mortar being absent from the island, the walls are built dry. The wall is double, the space between being filled with earth. Hence it may be six feet thick
[354] at the base, though barely six feet high. Typical primitive houses lacked windows, only a little light entering through the smoke vent and through a piece of oiled skin, replaced latterly by a pane of glass let into the thatch of the roof or by a deep window aperture in the wall.

342 Roof building is a difficult problem in construction,
343 on account of the scarcity of timber and the strength of the winds, and explains the narrow plan. Wood was so
313 scarce that when a house was abandoned the frame of the
[182] roof was removed, the spars being the tenant's; but in

[422]
[178]

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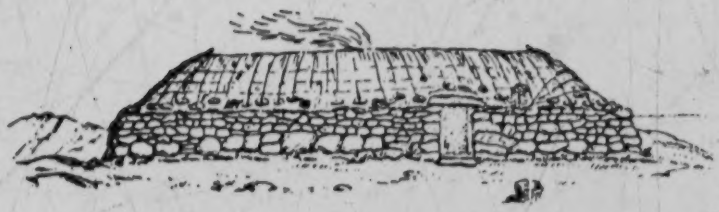
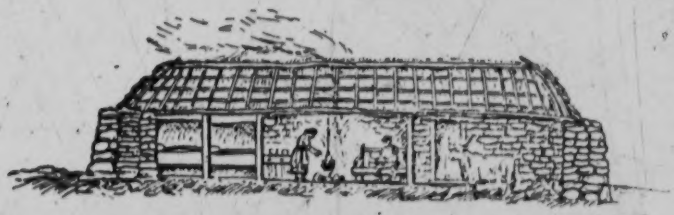
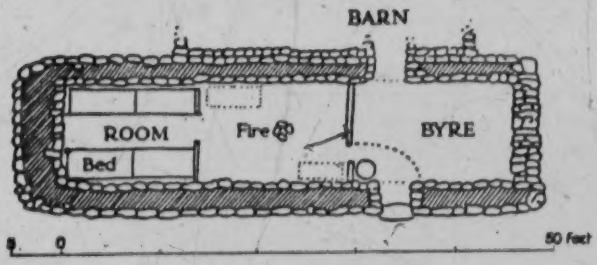
FIG. 10(A)







[178] The primitive 'Black House', universal fifty years ago in Western Lewis. Very few now have the central fire. (In Harris, byres were separated from houses about 1880.)

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FIG. 10 (B) (*facing*).—The summer shieling, past and present, and the spring house. (From the writer's field sketches, and after Thomas Curwen, L. MacDougal and D. Macdonald, Tolsta.)

A. The modern turf shieling (*àirigh*). B. The ancient beehive shieling. C. The spring house (*tigh earraich*). D. Beehive shielings added to each other to form a single mass.

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FIG. 10 (B)

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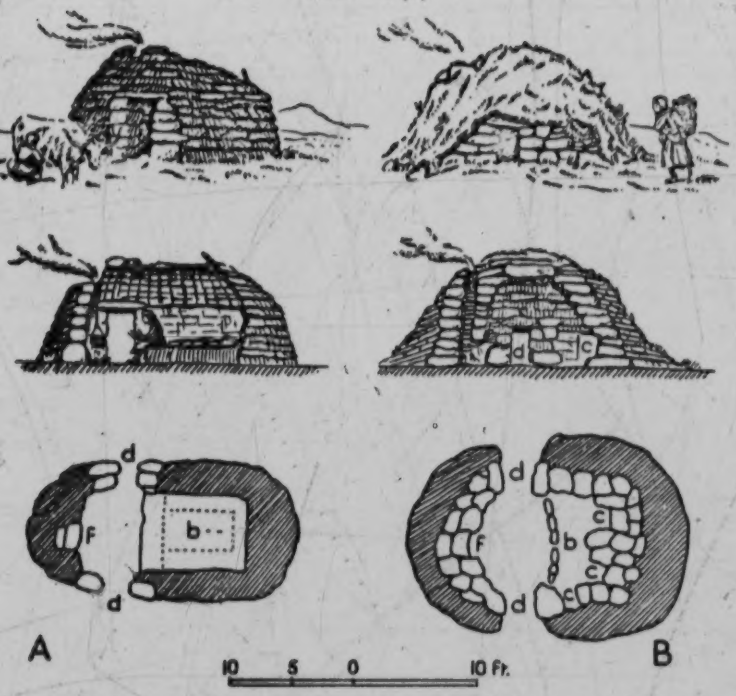
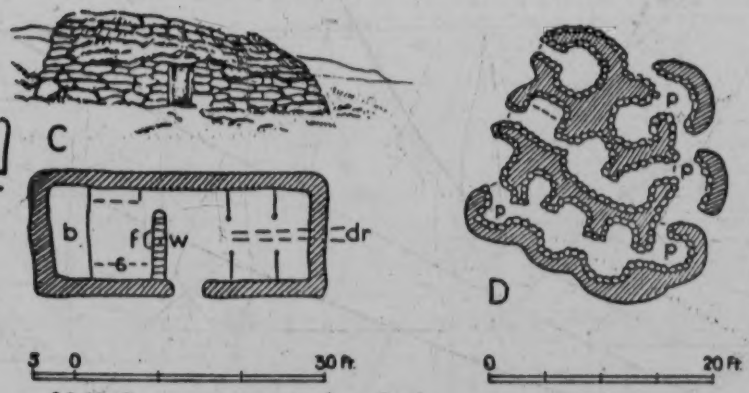


b. bed. c. cupboard. f. fireplace. d. door.
w. wall. s. settle. dr. drain. p. porch.

[361]



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3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

342 later times the landlord might supply timber. Long
343 ago a main source of timber was the shore. The length
[313] of the house may be fifty to sixty feet, and the inside
breadth ten to twelve feet, spanned by ten or a dozen
[422] pairs of couples on which are laid transverse 'cabers',
[178] which may be tree trunks, branches, odd wood, old oars,
or, exceptionally, sawn timber. The tops of the walls are
353 finished with turf, to keep the filling from being washed
out, and to provide a smooth bearing for the couples, the
ends of which are pushed into the turf so as to bear on
the inner half of the wall; the rounded form and absence
of overhanging eaves prevent a gale obtaining purchase
on the roof, but a gable with chimney is now usual on the
356 end wall of the inner room. The rafters are annually
covered with turf, and the roof is thatched with thin, short
barley straw, which was pulled up, not cut, after the ears
were picked off, the roots gripping well, and the stem
hanging outward and down.

353 The door gives direct access to the byre (*bathach*),
through which one reaches the middle part, or living-room,
'at the fire' (*aig an teine*), from which there opens the
inmost part, the 'room' with bed-closets. There is no
ceiling to the primitive house, the row of box beds having
tops to keep off the drips of rain water. In the middle of
the earthen, sanded floor of the living-room is the circular
hearth, built of stones with clay between, and raised a few
inches, with no chimney.

343 In the byre, the manure accumulates from spring to
spring, and a breach is made in the end of the house for
the annual removal of the manure. There are no privies.
Where there is fodder and straw in any quantity a barn
342 is added. Stacks are rare because of wind. A low wall,
343 continuous with the house and barn, may enclose the kale-

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3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

342 yard and occasionally a barley-kiln in which to dry grain
343 before malting it for home-brewed beer. A 'black mill',
351 with its primitive horizontal water-wheel, stands apart by
[251] some burnside.
[273] Round the circular hearth, a large company can assemble in very social fashion for talk, story and song, the meeting
354 *together* (*ceilidh*). By the transfer of the hearth from the
571 centre and the substitution of a gable fireplace and regular
538 chimney, the social circle is halved, while meantime the tales of the *ceilidh* are forbidden or forgotten. Happily
[178] the bench still stands against the wall, near to the open
[353] door, through which neighbours slip in with a word of greeting to find a customary welcome.

342 The dwellings on the summer pastures out on the
361 moors show great variety, illustrated in Fig. 10(B). A simple type in use is built of turf and stones, lightly roofed with
[178] turf placed on spars. A more primitive 'beehive' type (which fell out of use before 1900) was stone-built and
[171] corbelled, probably for lack of timber. And whereas the lighter type always stands by itself, the corbelled type was added to until a dozen cells formed a single mass, suggestive of ancient 'neolithic' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney, described by Childe, and of the domed, corbelled huts of the ancient East.

[343] A further type was the 'spring house' of Tolsta, NE. Lewis, in which both cattle and folk sheltered in spring a little way from the village, before going out to the more
[124] distant moor. Mr. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S., a
[178] native of Tolsta, informs me that the spring house was in use until 1936. He remembers vividly how life in the shieling restored health and colour after the winter.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

2. *From Black House to White House*

342 Discontent with the old black house grew with the
177 knowledge and experience of better housing in Stornoway
178 and on the mainland. The congestion which developed
during the nineteenth century meant that often one house
175 was fouled by another above it, leading to typhoid epi-
342 demics. While the smoky atmosphere of the 'black
houses' inflamed the eyes and irritated the respiratory
161 system, the roof was high and the fire kept the air in
164 motion by day, ventilating it to the chimney hole, while
the lack of glass often made it necessary to work with the
[354] door open. The ravages of tuberculosis came towards the
end of the nineteenth century, when Islanders went to our
crowded towns and, not being immunised, were danger-
ously infected. Returning home, too often to linger and
die in a house now provided with tiny, fixed panes which
permitted a closed door and made it stuffier than before,
178 patients spread infection. Flight to a tiny, air-tight
wooden cabin or to a small white house of stone and lime
342 often followed. The availability for the first time of planks
[313] and timber, a certain practice in boat-repairing, and pos-
[177] sibly acquaintance at first- or second-hand with Canadian
wooden houses, may have influenced the choice of wood.
The early 'white' houses, with an attic lit by skylight,
were airtight, for the windows were too often fixed or only
[354] opened at the bottom. The door was left open in warm
weather, but it was not high enough to allow the escape
of the stale, upper layer of air which the women breathed
as they did their cooking and baking.

342 In the inter-war period, particularly in its last decade,
746 the 'black house' was being abandoned, not for something
worse, but far better. The Government-aided houses have
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3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

342 adequate air-space, and windows opening at the top and
746 usually kept open by day, in which a woman can work at
178 case. The Department of Agriculture aided the building of a good standard type. The quality of joinery and
656 masonry or concrete work improved, one fairly skilled
[335] workman usually directing the householder and friends as
[333] amateur builders. The cost of materials was met by a grant, generally of £250, half being repayable by an annual rent of £6 : 10s. for twenty years. Repayments proceeded satisfactorily. No scheme organised by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland won so general a commendation as this of house improvement. It made good use of family initiative and responsibility, with neighbourly co-operation not called for upon a large scale, a township at a time, but in quite a small, personal way. Nevertheless, had more guidance been provided to the builders, the
[464] houses could have been really well built. For lack of this, perhaps, crofters increasingly prefer to pay for skilled work, though helping actively. Appendces I (ii) and II (ii) gives pre-War and post-War statistics.

3. *The Township and its Changing Plan*

361 Where absence of rock and boulder permits ploughing,
[182] the village land is laid out in a series of parallel strips,
[491] aligned with the slope. The road runs either parallel with shore or river, or at right angles to it. The intermixed possession of strips by 'run-rig' characterised the Lowlands before the Enclosures, and is frequent in
[423] the Highlands and Isles. The apparent regularisation of field lines may conceal the fact that an individual holder's plots may be scattered amongst those of others in fixed
[182] run-rig. This is an advantage where quality of land is so patchy, and each man thus gets his share of good and bad

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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361 luck in land, but a disadvantage where control of a single
[423] area is desired by one man. Regularisation of roads,
[182] houses and holdings is relatively modern, for crofts and dwellings were once grouped in hamlets usually close to
[172] the seashore. The early hamlets can still be made out from their ruins among the rocks, sometimes sketched in the 'six inch to mile' Ordnance Survey plans. They were without formal order or arrangement, each homestead within its boundary wall. Where ploughing was and is too difficult, the soil is heaped up in ridges, 'lazy-beds', and dug.

361 Shawbost, on a rocky part of the west coast (six miles
491 south of Barvas) consists of three main sections: a scatter of houses and ruins by the enclosed loch, two main streets linking the loch to the main coastal road, and inland another short street. The three can be made out on a 'quarter-
[175] inch' map. The two main streets were laid out by the
[311] Estate Officers following removals in the mid-nineteenth century from another part of the island, Uig, and the third running inland was laid out still later, when population was growing and land was needed. When the third street was laid out, the landlord, Matheson, lent good plough-horses for preliminary reclamation. The irregularly placed black houses near the sea are tending to be rebuilt close to the main road.

361 In addition to this type of movement, farms 'broken
178 up' once more into crofts have been laid out on a regular grid plan, each house placed on a corner of its five, ten,
311 or twenty-acre plot (*e.g.* Galson, Dalebeg, etc.). 'Skinned'
[654] land may also be reclaimed for crofts by squatters tolerated by the community, or on a regular grid by agreement of the assembled crofters, guided by the Department of Agri-
[491] culture. Thus two distinct tendencies are seen: the grid plan in new settlements, road alinement in existing ones.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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361 The chief advantage of moving uphill to the road has been
178 ease of communication and access to grocers' vans and mill-
311 spinners' lorries; but the disadvantage proves to be the
491 laying on of running water. A much-needed scheme for
water supply is now being applied by the Department of
[654] Health for Scotland. Scrutiny of a 'quarter-inch' map
will indicate the chief facts and tendencies and the conditions they involve.

4. *Distribution of Population*

162 The distribution of rural population can be closely
311 estimated by inspection of a 'quarter-inch' map, where both the area of cultivation and the house dots are noted. Comparison with parish populations shows that on an average one dot represents seven or eight houses or families and thirty to thirty-five persons. Since there are now no large farms, cultivation indicates crofting, and, therefore, a typical density of one person to a little over half an acre, or 1000–1200 per square mile. Rural numbers over the whole Island show a density of about twenty-five persons per square mile. If the fishing grounds, with a sail here and there on the wide sea, were added, the density would be lower still! A single dot found with cultivation indicates crofts, which are hardly ever found singly. Where no cultivation is shown around a single dot, this generally indicates an isolated stalker's house, a shooting lodge by a road, or a shieling (*àirigh*) out on the moor.

(B) STORNOWAY

1. *Site, Plan and Development*

361 The plan of Stornoway and its harbour shows three stages in the growth of the town, the first two picked out

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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FIG. 11.—Plan of Stornoway and its Development (*key opposite*).

/p. 88/

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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361 in solid black, and the third in hatching (Fig. 11). First,
174 upon the little peninsula or 'Point' which protects the
inner fishing harbour of the river there grew the nucleus
361 of the town, with its Castle upon the rocky islet now con-
226 cealed by the steamer pier. Sheltered from the waves by
the peninsula and from enemies by the Castle, MacLeod's
504 galleys and the early fishing fleet must have congregated
in the inner harbour. Protection from storm was specially
needed until, in the nineteenth century, a quay was built,
with space for marketing and handling the herring.

174 Inland from the Castle was the little church of the burgh,
361 dedicated to Saint Lennan (L). The little town can be
imagined stretching inland from the church, its dwellings
[346] built along the 'Point Street' axis, until it met the track,
road or street crossing the neck of the Point. The largest
church of Lewis proper, now in ruins, stood apart from
the burgh, at the south-west extremity of Eye Peninsula.
Until trade developed, the backs of the houses would have
been turned to the shore. To north, on the landward
side from which cattle would come, the market developed.

175 Secondly, in the seventeenth century, thatched houses
361 were strung out along Point Street and the shore for the
Gaelic settlers, the fisher- and craftsman-crofters brought
342 here to found a burgh and commercialise fishing. During

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102 *Key to Fig. 11* (opposite)

361 Buildings on John Wood's plan of 1821 are shown in black and radial
174 streets then proposed by pecked lines. Existing buildings are
shown hatched. The harbour development plan of 1946 (pecked
lines) is shown by courtesy of the Stornoway Pier and Harbour
Commission; it is now in execution.

L = site of St. Lennan's. T = former Town House. TH = Town House.
× = site of Castle. + = modern churches.

(Based on a British Admiralty chart with the permission of the Controller o, H.M. Stationery Office and of the Hydrographer of the Navy.)

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 the eighteenth century these 'black houses' would be
342 replaced by houses of stone and lime, and a few of those
361 survive.

Of the fort built by Cromwell on the Point, no signs
172 remain. For tactical reasons, the best site would seem
174 to be the neck of the Point, from which the guns of the
712 fort could defend the houses, stores and quays. The irregular building line near the point marked T, a Town House at a later period, may correspond to the
175 northern angle of the fort. The fort appears to have been
712 standing when the original drawing was made for the engraving in the Old (or First) Statistical Account of Stornoway, *c.* 1793.

175 By the time Wood drew his plan in 1820, houses on
361 the Point no longer looked exclusively on to the axial street. The main alinement of interest came to be the shore, marked by a properly built quay. Today, the Point Street houses have fallen into decay but many older houses still stand in fair repair along the 'Beach' or Quay.

175 Thirdly, from the nineteenth century, until 1914, two-
361 storey, flatted tenements, hotels and houses of middle-class
34 people were built upon a grid that followed upon the old field plans. In an alternative plan, proposed about 1820 but not adopted, a diagonal vista opened out to the Established Church, built in 1794 on rising ground. The modest Seaforth Lodge which had stood across the harbour was replaced in 1850 by Stornoway (or Lews) Castle, its pseudo-Tudor style designed to please the new improving landlord, Sir James Matheson, who had purchased Lewis in 1844. Presented to the people on the break-up of the Leverhulme Estates in 1925, a new technical school has
175 taken it over. A few villas also grew up on outlying roads.
361 Thus, a mere village in 1801, and among the smaller burghs
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3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 of Ross and Cromarty, with populations of from 1000 to
361 2300 in 1841, Stornoway leapt ahead by 1851, growing
162 with the rise of the fishing trade. Including the literally
226 floating population of fishers, its numbers exceeded 4000 in the summer of 1921, though falling below this in 1931 when the census was held in the spring.

175 Still another stage, a fourth, seemed in sight when, in
228 1918, the first Lord Leverhulme made his bid to centralise
361 the scattered, failing fishing industry of the Island at Stornoway. A canning factory was started (south of the area shown on the plan), only to be dismantled before its completion, then recommenced and again dismantled at "Leverburgh", South Harris. New housing commenced. When this great venture closed and population stagnated, the grandiose proposal to reopen the diagonal vista on Wood's plan and centre it on some great new building, remained a dream. The failure of Leverhulme's great enterprise and its hopes led to discouragement for some years. Yet it is possible that the vision of change given to the Island may have contributed to a renewed capacity for enterprise, individual and communal.

175 Later extension had to await the growth of the Harris
361 tweed industry, and the erection of spinning-mills to
[288] provide yarn for the rural hand-weavers. The town has extended beyond the plan in two main directions: to north-east with villas and housing schemes and to ESE. with the great new mills where kippering sheds were numerous from the mid-nineteenth century until after 1919.

361 Although Tarbert is a shopping centre for Harris and
366 has its spinning-mill, Stornoway has no rival on the
[162] Island. The adequate depth of its harbour, combined with its position and access from sea and land, have given

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scot
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PLATE XI. AIR VIEW OVER STORNOWAY HARBOUR, LOOKING SOUTH TO HARRIS

The original central street of the Point can be seen (cf. Plate II and Fig. 12). The woods of Lews Castle lie across the Bay, with Arnish Moor beyond

/facing p. 92/

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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PLATE XII. A MOTHER AND CHILD AT TARBERT, HARRIS

/facing p. 93/

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

369 of the place, even the schoolmaster and ministers being
632 mostly Islanders, in Stornoway an important minority of the officials and business men hail from the mainland, and some of them from the Lowlands. New blood has undoubtedly been needed to promote enterprise, to foresee new possibilities, and even, at times, to make the best of the past. At the same time, the cleavage between town and country is marked in ways of thought and feeling as in
369 livelihood. To take a single criterion, that of speech, most
632 of the children of the town speak no Gaelic and many
197 hardly understand it. While the percentage of Gaelic speakers was 95 in the three outlying parishes in 1931, in the burgh only 70 per cent could still speak the old tongue. By 1951 the ratio, still almost unchanged in the outlying parishes and townships, had considerably lowered in the burgh.

369 The attempt to harmonise the interests of country and
632 town forms a hopeful aspect of the activities both of the Stornoway Trust, which holds the rural and urban property
[656] presented to the people of Stornoway parish by the first
[427] Lord Leverhulme, and of the Lewis Association, formed in 1943 to undertake studies of the Island to guide action
[654] for the future. The maintenance of the town's prosperity will depend greatly upon its industries of fishing and of
[228] spinning; and these are almost inseparable from the
[288] maintenance of the rural population for whom Stornoway acts as regional centre, and who weave with the yarn spun in the mills. Unity in constructive purpose could go far to build up the prosperity of the community.

361 With the recognition of the need for planning aroused
369 by the problems which faced the country with the return of peace, it is proposed, at the centre of the Burgh, to
632 rebuild the whole of the peninsular area of Point Street,

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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361 by co-operation of three authorities: the Town Council,
369 the Piers and Harbour Commission, and the Stornoway
632 Trust as owner of property, including Lews Castle with
[656] its grounds. The social situation is of quite exceptional
[654] interest, and an attempt to describe some of its features is made in Appendix II, on the Stornoway Trust and the Lewis Association.

(c) CHANGES IN ISLAND POPULATION, AND THE FUTURE

1. From 1801 to 1939

175 Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the growth
162 of population was periodically checked or even set back by famines and epidemics, such as smallpox, or by warfare.
[731] In 1801 the total population of the Outer Hebrides (in round numbers) was 21,700, and in 1831 it was 32,000. Of this total, Lewis carried 9200 and Harris 3000 in 1801 and, a generation later, in 1831, respectively 14,500 and 3900. In the graph (Fig. 12) the curve showing the average for the five landward or rural parishes of the Island (excluding Stornoway Burgh) indicates the fairly steady numerical increase there, almost to the close of the
[731] century. Following the evictions after 1831 and the potato famine of 1846–48, emigration caused a fall in the southern islands (*e.g.* in South Uist, Fig. 12). Forty years later, in 1871, the Outer Hebridean total reached nearly 40,000, of which Lewis alone, with 21,000, now gave more than half the total, and Harris—in spite of an intervening drop owing to evictions—4800. By 1901, in spite of losses in the southern isles, the total for the Outer Hebrides reached a peak of 46,200. Of this, Lewis already contributed almost

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 29,000 and Harris 5270. From 1901 to 1911 rural growth
162 slowed down and ceased thereafter; but even by 1921 there had been little change (rural Lewis, 28,380; Harris, 5280).

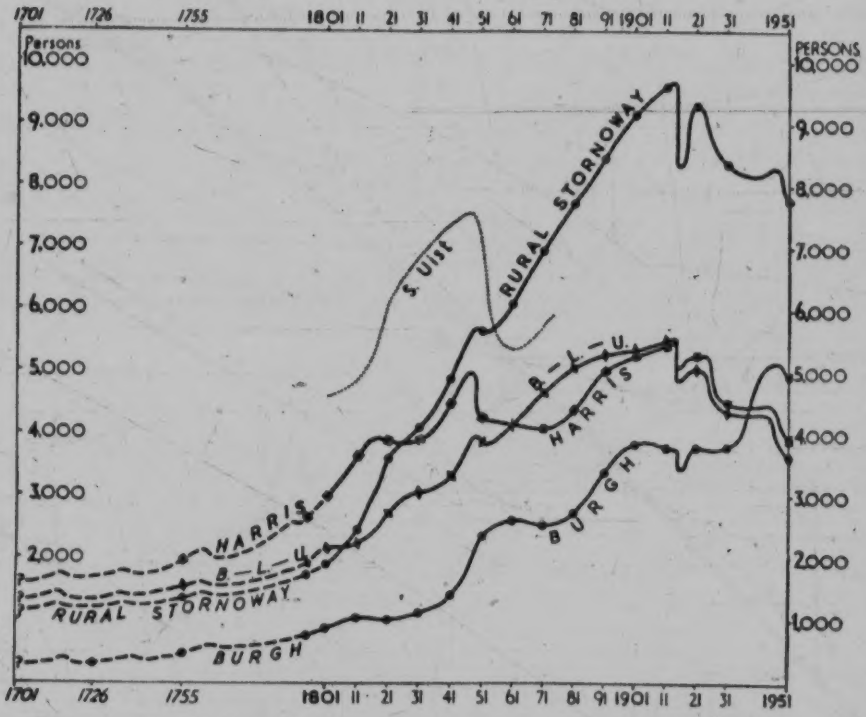

FIG. 12.—Graph showing changes of population in Lewis-and-Harris from *c.* 1701 to 1951. (Because of boundary changes the curves for the parishes of Barvas, Lochs and Uig have been averaged and are shown as B.-L.-U.)

167 The great exodus from the Island came three years after, in 1924–25, when Leverhulme's expenditure on labouring wages was over, the war bounties had been spent —partly upon the refitting of boats—and when fishing was hard hit by the destruction of the Russian market. Simultaneously, a wet summer spoiled the crops and prevented even the drying of the peats.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

167 Emigration set in, both individually and by help of schemes for group settlement in Canada, and in 1931 rural [162] Lewis returned only 21,200 and Harris 4500. The curve of average parish increase illustrates the fairly steady numerical increase to the close of the last century, then the lessening increase, and after 1921 a fall, recorded in 1931.

162 The census of April 1951, which recorded the population of Stornoway burgh as nearly 5000 (a net increase of 16 per cent since April 1931), recorded little or no change in the population of rural Stornoway parish but losses of 11 to 19 per cent in the Island's four outlying parishes. The average net rural loss approached 9 per cent. But—as indicated in the curves drawn for Fig. 12 which are based upon statistical estimates that corroborate observation—the loss did not take place smoothly over the twenty-year period to 1951. Much of the loss occurred in the two preceding years, 1949 to 1951. Although partly due to a long term trend, this loss was greatly caused by crisis.

2. *Present Population Trends and the Outlook*

167 After 1931, as a result of the trade depression in the Empire and the United States, many emigrants returned, frequently putting what was left of their savings into the purchase of a loom, giving some months to the building of a new house with the help of Government loans, and setting about the improvement of their parents' holding [162] or the reclamation of a new allotment. Soon after 1931—at a time when the Press read the census results as a por- [168] tent of steady and drastic Island depopulation—Islanders remarked that unless unexpected attraction came from outside the Island, accompanied by lessened prosperity in

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

162 weaving and fishing, the fall in population would probably
[167] be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was
[168] not so much a decrease in the number of families as in the number per family. The Island was only then following the restriction of population begun half a century before in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

162 Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is
178 a land of house-building, not of ruin and abandonment;
369 of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agri-
[657] cultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were
[593] at work: first, loans, grants and unemployment insurance
[888] and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly,
[226] the money sent to elderly parents and dependants at home
[241] by young folk in Glasgow or abroad, or savings brought
[286] back by the young people themselves. Yet there is some fishing and agriculture still. Above all, 'hand-weaving' has grown, even if this be partly 'artificial'. Recently it was not only the elders who had returned to the Island, but men and women in the prime of life, so that the question of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to be re-examined afresh.

167 The emigration which took place from 1949 to 1951
[464] followed directly upon the losses and the unemployment
[651] in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted
[162] from the imposition in 1949 of a Purchase Tax on hand-woven Harris tweed of 666 per cent. If the tax had been maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects on population would have been far-reaching.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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3. *Age-Groups in Scotland and the Isles*

162 In Fig. 13 (*a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*) are shown four pyramids of population for comparison of an 'ideal' or theoretical

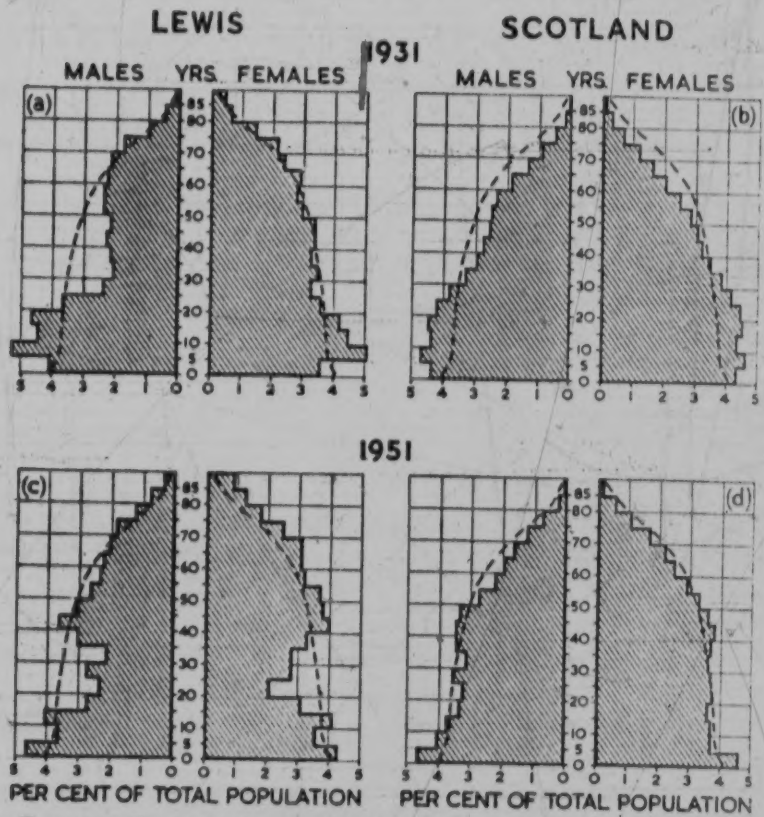

FIG. 13.—Four age-group pyramids. Each of the four, five-yearly age-groupings (in black) may be compared with the 'ideal' age-grouping (broken line).

projection in Scotland with the actual age-groups in rural or 'landward' Lewis and all Scotland in 1931 and 1951.[1]

16 [1] The 'ideal' pyramid (drawn from Scottish Life Tables) represents a population, unaffected by migration, of which the birth and death rates for each age-group in Scotland are as in 1931. Since 1931 health in Scotland

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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16 In the pyramid for rural Lewis (b) the differences are striking, and are mainly due to two factors: the 'natural' 162 ratio of births to deaths, and migration. Beginning from the bottom of the pyramid, it will be seen that in 1931 there were fewer infants (from 0–5 years) than children from 5–10 years, fewer in fact than in the three older age-groups. In 1951 (c), the birth rate having risen sharply after the war and preceding depression, infants formed a much larger ratio (over 5 per cent).

162 In rural Lewis, emigration asserted itself earliest with 167 girls, as they left the Island chiefly for domestic service; but soon after the age of 20 as many young men left as young women. In 1931 the discrepancy was most marked [165] from the age of 30 to 35. This was further accentuated [727] by the heavy death-roll among the younger men during the 1914–18 war, deaths having totalled more than 1100, perhaps the heaviest proportionate loss in the Empire. Only when they marry and return, permanently or for a period, to the croft (vacated it may be by the death of a parent), do the numbers of men tend to balance those of women. Thereafter the falling away among men is due to their shorter life expectation.

16 In 1951 National Service had drawn away lads of 18 to 20, so that the difference between the sexes is much less marked in the 15–19 age-group than it was in 1931. Mortality in the 1914–18 war contributes to the shortage of men between 50 and 55 in 1951, and the mortality of the 1939–45 war has also left its trace—or the birth rate would have been still higher (always excluding the factor of migration). For the men, those jobs not requiring per-

has improved, but detailed analytical statistics for 1951 were not available by 1954. Allowances being made for the effects of the wars, for the high ratio of births immediately after, and for emigration from Lewis after 1949, the age-grouping in the island changed but little from 1931.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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16 manent absence from the Island are chiefly the Merchant Service and hydro-electric contracts, and for the women hotel and domestic service, nursing and fish-curing. The ultimate return of many men after prolonged absence contributes to the higher proportion of men of retired and pensionable age (16 per cent in rural Lewis, 11 in Stornoway and 10 in Scotland). What could not be shown on either pyramid for Lewis is the high ratio of unmarried women, owing to the losses of the war, to migration, and to the need for a daughter to devote herself to ageing parents on the croft. The ratio of widows, with or without children, is also considerable, for all three reasons, as well as a fourth, the desirability for an island home, rather than a city, as a place in which to bring up fatherless children.

Turning now to Scotland (b) (d), the same tendencies
[170] are seen as in Lewis, though in less extreme form. The difference is of quantity rather than of kind: somewhat as Lewis had lost her men to Scotland mainly, so Scotland
[171] had lost to England and beyond. On an average, mothers in Lewis have more children than mothers in Scotland, and still more so than in England. Thus the facts of population in the Island do not suggest a voluntary extinction of its community, but rather the will to live.

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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PART TWO

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT

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3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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174 of the Norsemen, lay a succession of earlier periods. A phase of primitive settlements is traceable in archaeological remains and in recent and contemporary survivals. It is shown in the physical race-traits distinguishing those in one part of the Island from those in another. Fragments of tradition telling of the first Christian missionaries survived the Norse invasions and settlements, dated from A.D. 800 or before, down to Haco's defeat on the Clyde at Largs in 1256. These fragments can be linked to chronicles and to later tradition, on which they throw fresh light.

A survey of the archaeology has been published,[1] but comparatively little, as yet, on race. Yet different communities are distinguished by marked racial types or strains. Although many, indeed most, of the race-strains of the Island must have entered it in prehistoric times, some are linked to tradition, and history accounts for the more recent immigrants. The striking element of race in the Outer Hebrides is a broad-headed type prevailing from Barra to the Lews, accompanied by medium stature and dark hair; it is also found across the Northern Minch. But within the Island are notable differences.

Variety of race being accentuated by difference in ways, the communities still comment pointedly upon one another! For instance, an old saying is not forgotten: "The folk of Cladach, but the gentlemen of Uig!" (*Muinntir a' Chladaich, ach daoin' uasaile Uig*), 'Cladach' being the western 'Beach' district possessing ploughland but poor fishing, which covers the modern parish of Barvas (excluding the north-west cliff-promontory

[1] Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, *Outer Hebrides, Skye* etc.); 1928. V. G. Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, 1935; *Scotland Before the Scots*, 1946.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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829 of Ness), while Uig is the most westerly promontory with
433 its natural fishing harbours. The authorship of the pro-
632 verb may be ascribed to the ladies and gentlemen of Uig;
133 yet the personal appearance of the victims, who are more broad-headed, gives the proverb a physical foundation.
194 Again, the tall men of Ness, dark or fair, and rather longer-
192 headed, still form a group apart from those of Cladach,
141 each having taken root in prehistory, *i.e.* earlier than
144 surviving record.

Such facts correct several current misconceptions as to race and heredity in their relation to Gaelic society, past and possible. First, it is still common to contrast a 'Celtic' with a 'Norse race'. Now, Norse immigrants belonged to several races, and when they arrived, several race-streams were already mixing and eddying in the Isles. After the immigration of Norsemen, the next recorded was in 1611, consisting of gentlemen-tacksmen from Kintail and burghal settlers to Stornoway, who were composed of Gaelic-speaking families from Easter Ross, where the people of today resemble some Scandinavian types rather than typical broad-headed Lewismen.

Second, it follows that no sweeping generalisations can yet be made as to the ways and habits of particular races. The "Celtic race", one reads, have "never taken to the sea" as have the Norsemen.[1] The facts in the Island are that though the men of Ness, with a possible Norse admixture, were considered better fishermen than those of Cladach, and the present generation includes a great number of seamen, their opportunities have been greater — their cape commanding wider fishing grounds and their little port providing relative safety in storm. And the men of Lochs and of the 'Bays' of Harris, though they show

[1] For example, in the Brand Report on Lewis (1902).

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

little sign of Norse blood, can hold their own as fishers with the men of Ness.

Third, it is still commonly stated not only that the "great majority" under the clan system were "without any legal status", but that their tenure "depended on the good will of the chief or tacksman".[1]

As the last lawbooks of the Gael were taken from Lewis by its first mainland lord in 1611—never to be heard of again—it may well be that, as recognised in the Northern Isles, so in the Western Isles, peasant tenure was permanent according to regional law. In practice, mere 'goodwill' is so uncertain a quantity that if this statement had been true, it is hardly credible that communities could have remained so stably rooted as their race-types show them to be. Evictions of groups or individuals at the whim of chief or tacksman would have broken down their homogeneity of race. In the Lowlands, where eviction had become so frequent by 1500 and insecurity for the mass of the country people has prevailed ever since, such localisations of race would be unthinkable and do not exist except in certain fishing communities who possess a pride, almost a caste-code, of their own: the Newhaven fishers within Edinburgh remain apart, with a dialect and a dress of their own. Great stability of tenure—in fact as in customary claim—is shown by the racial homogeneity of Gaelic communities.

Lastly, it is common to state that the nobility and gentry of a countryside constitute its 'old' or 'original' families. It is true that some land-owning families seem 'old' compared to recent purchasers—successively the merchants and lawyers, venturers and planters of the

[1] From a representative report on the Highlands and Islands, that of the Scottish Economic Committee, 1938 (Historical Preface, p. 9).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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174 Commercial Revolution, and the manufacturers and financiers of the later Industrial Revolution. Along one or more lines, the chiefs may record a thread of ancestry continuing for twenty-five generations or more; but almost invariably it is intertwined with others spun by fortune and added at each generation from outside the region. This is true even in the Highlands, where the gentry of one or two particular clans used to meet regularly until the nineteenth century to court and wed, so that inter-marriage established physical traits still recognisable in their descendants. But as for the nobility or leading chiefs, their principal claims go back, almost invariably, to conquerors, Norse or Norman, and later, alien commanders sent by the Crown, although certain chiefs traditionally claim descent—at least through the maternal line—from legendary heroes and early Gaelic kings, a claim which may symbolise a real link with native strains. As for the people, in the Scottish Lowlands few original communities survive. But particularly in the Long Island, the long pedigrees of the crofter families show them to be pure in every thread for generations past; while the racial homogeneity of communities, isle by isle and township by township, marks them as truly 'original'.

114 174 These facts have been recognised by anthropology, but too often the full, cultural significance is missed. Sixty years ago Sir G. L. Gomme included evidence from Harris in 1790, and from Carmichael's memoranda to the Crofters' Commission of 1884, in his pioneer study, *The Village Community, with special reference to the Origin and Form of its Survivals in Britain* (1890). Gomme fully appreciated the ancient origins of custom and races. Indeed he shows analogies of primitive communal customs in the Hebrides and Britain with others of 'backward' pre-Aryan

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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114 aborigines in India—lovable people when unspoiled by
174 tyranny, caste or industrial exploitation, as I can testify.[1] Yet Gomme, like many since, leaves the reader with an impression which must be re-examined: that the Islesfolk are the representatives of a backward race who have clung to predominantly superstitious, pre-Christian customs and beliefs. As a people, the Gael received and welcomed Christianity in one of its earliest historic forms, and main-
[128] tained its spirit through poverty and famine. To this inheritance we shall turn in Chapter VII, when the rhythm of life and its changes have been followed out in the following chapters.

174 To begin with, the briefest outline of historic sequence
613 is all that can be recapitulated, the Island annals having been recorded in the excellent Brand Report (1902), and
[114] by W. C. Mackenzie (1903 to 1937). Politically and strategically, the age of clanship may be thought of as a period of struggle between the Islands and the Mainland
[175] to the south or east. The long-drawn conflict of Clan Campbell of Argyll with Clan Donald—whose Chief was the Lord of the Isles of which Islay and Skye were the two dominant, western keys, and Lewis and Harris the northern outposts—offers a parallel to the conflict of MacKenzie of Kintail with the last MacLeods of Lewis. Obscurity veils the early origins of the Island clans, with their mingled Norse and Gaelic lineage, but chronicles are more reliable by the time of forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles to the Crown in 1493. The MacLeods of Dunvegan, chiefs in north-west Skye, continued to hold Harris until late in the eighteenth century, and they maintained an indirect connection until the nineteenth.

[113] [1] A. Geddes, *Au pays de Tagore: la civilisation rurale du Bengale Occidental*, Paris, 1927.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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174 But the last MacLeods of Lewis, torn by family dissensions,
613 fell fighting before the power of King James VI (and I),
who backed the 'capitalist' fishery enterprise of 'the
[175] Fife Adventurers'. Although these were routed by
the Islanders, a Highland lord and chief, MacKenzie
of Kintail, received Lewis from the Crown in 1611,
taking his title from Loch Seaforth, near which he had
built his Lewis hunting-lodge. Except for a period
of forfeiture after 1715, the Seaforth family held the Island
until its purchase by a wealthy and beneficent tea merchant,
Matheson, in 1844. From Seaforth's tenure and the
Papers of the Forfeited Estates are left records of ancient
life and of the introduction of changes, temporal and
[178] spiritual. These are reviewed in the next five chapters.
Chapter X brings the Island story to the year 1953, and its
prospects.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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CHAPTER V

FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP: THE CONTINUING COMMUNITY AND ITS SOCIAL ECONOMY TO 1815

I
INTRODUCTION (TO CHAPTERS V AND VI)

121 593 476 632 621 THE family, the 'conjoint' or 'farm group' of four or five families, and the larger group clustered in a glen or along a shoreland, are, in ascending order, the three concentric units whose mutual relationships we must visualise to understand the past. Enduring elements of life in family and neighbourhood today, with their own special qualities and limitations, can only be understood in terms of past needs and the relationships they evoked.

121 613 621 [171] Having seen their relationships in family, team and township, we can next turn to the reciprocal relations of the people to their chief or lord, whose position dominates European, indeed world, history and prehistory. Here our concern must be the meaning of 'clanship' to the chiefs, the joint farm-groups (or 'small tenantry') and, latterly, the tacksmen placed above them.

121 174 178 [184] We may find, throughout this study, that features and functions which at first sight seem peculiar to the Island are really local variants, more perfectly crystallised, of forms which we know existed at earlier periods in Scotland and in much of northern and western Britain. In the Isles,

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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121 by help of oral tradition and of the living witness of con-
174 tinuing usage, we can reconstitute Gaelic life from the
178 view-points of both people and chief. Elsewhere, even in Scotland, only fragments of early life are recorded, in
175 parchments written by the lawyers of landlord and king, and almost always from the privileged side. History is
814 indebted to modern lawyers who have deciphered and
127 published the faded documents of their predecessors. But the very training as solicitor-factors which fitted them for this specialised task, in no way prepared them to view life as seen, experienced and felt by the men and women of the past, or even by the elders or youth of the townships today, with whom they have rarely laboured and whose mother tongue they rarely understand.

(A) THE LABOURS OF MAN AND WIFE, AND THE REWARD

621 We have seen that until the nineteenth century the
632 township in the main was self-contained. Its people grew,
175 reared or caught their food, and also found the raw materials
[433] for their clothing; they built their own shelter, and cut their own firing. As a result, both men and women had
174 each to develop "a wide range of simple skills", in the
175 apt phrase of a Lewisman, Mr. Donald MacLean, M.A. Beyond the co-operative effort within a family, a farm
462 group, or a body of 'fellow-townsmen'—in which each was competent to take a share according to sex and age—aptitude and family tradition initiated some local division
[463] of labour. The resident smith and the 'caird' (usually a wandering craftsman or tinker) appear in the oldest tales and in the first rent-rolls. In addition there were honorary
[759] tasks. The smith might act as the village surgeon, ready

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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174 to bleed or to set bones, while some elderly woman would
175 serve as physician and midwife. Spiritual consolation
462 and renewal too could be found, even in the absence of
[463] monk or nun, or of priest, minister or catechist. Enough
[759] here, that with agriculture and fishing, most crafts, except
[793] metal-work, were practised in every family. The 'range
[593] of skills' was therefore wider and richer in latent art than might be supposed from those needed on a little croft today. Hence the importance of understanding the roles of husbandman and housewife, of "the man and the woman of the house".

174 Their labours through the annual rhythm of the seasons
462 might be classed as efforts for the man and endurance for
221 the women (Fig. 9). Man's muscular strength and free-
[181] dom of limb rouse him to efforts demanded by the thrust and lift of peat-cutting, digging in stony soil, or pushing the foot-plough, step by step obliquely down a rocky slope. In the past an archer's chase of stag, wolf or boar demanded all a man's effort, and courage too, as fishing still does in the stormy north-western seas. With this facing of danger there came a gaiety that sparkled like the crest of a breaking wave. Women's work demanded by its unceasing activity a cheerful endurance, whether at labour on the croft, at corn-grinding, butter-making and peat-carrying, or carding, spinning and weaving; and with every task of day or season came the constant tending of cattle, of menfolk and children.

[538] This allotment of seasonal tasks and skills is neatly put in the proverb, "A man's cow won't yield milk, nor a woman's horse ploughing" (*Cha bhi bainn' aig bo fir, 's cha bhi treabhadh 'an each mnatha*). Yet women have always taken a share of work on the croft—too heavy a share when the men were much away—and the habit of

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

174 462 221 175 462 127

encouraging them to rest when the men returned was fondly indulged. Much can be learned from the first (or 'old') "Statistical Accounts of the parishes of Scotland drawn up from the communications of the Ministers of the different parishes", *circa* 1790-96. Of the parish of Stornoway, where by 1790 many men had become crofter-fishers and others were at sea, the Minister wrote, "The women labour at least as hard as the men", even pulverising the ground with heavy hand-rakes (harrows being seldom used), and digging both with crooked and straight spades. That the men's debt was repaid in acts of manly service is true. A man would carry wife or sweetheart on his shoulders across a river in spate, whose rushing waters might have swept her away. But in her turn, a woman would wade into the cold sea, her coats high, bearing on her hips husband or son out to his open boat, so that he could start his night of exposure dry-shod and warm. This act of service was noted and illustrated by Burt at Inverness (about 1726), and it was common in the Lews before the building of stout piers, that is within living memory. Strong common sense, sheer necessity in fact, enforced such mutual service; but the sacrifice entailed was nerved by anxiety for those in danger, by personal pride and love. It was also true that it bore hardly on women, with their readiness for self-sacrifice and their ordeal of childbirth.

175 434 [129]

What return for their labours did the people get in the past, it will be asked, and what approach to sufficiency in a normal year? For the Island, the most thorough of the five Parish Accounts is that of Harris, with its fascinating retrospective notes (vol. x, p. 368). There the yield of a typical family share, a 'fourth' or 'farthing' land, was computed at "from four to five bolls" (which in Scotland

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 usually corresponded to six imperial bushels). The stock
434 was " four milch cows, three to perhaps four horses, and as many sheep on the common as the tenant has luck to rear ". Although such estimates, especially of crop yields, are apt to err on the favourable side, a comparison with the same writer's statistics of stock (and rental) shows that this estimate gives only a little over the modern average per family in Harris, and allows an average sheep flock of one score ewes.

175 The briefer Statistical Accounts of Lewis indicate the
434 average stock per family, suggesting comparisons both with the present, and with an earlier time (Chapter II). In 1790
422 the cattle and horses, though small, were greater in number per family than now. In Lewis there were eight head of cattle per rural family, compared to 2·5 today; there were one or two ponies per family (according to the topography and ploughland of the parish) instead of an average of only one horse to five or six families today; the small family sheep-stock was similar; and there were also some goats,
175 say, one to every second family. In addition to these
226 resources, there was fishing; and the number of boats in Stornoway parish, giving one boat to four families, is a guide for the rest. Fishing, with net-making, was a predominant occupation in all parishes by that time, and boat-building was significant too.

175 As to changes, fishing had grown in importance since
433 about 1720, and kelp-making added an important new
434 resource. But one may doubt if the Island supported an appreciably larger live-stock in 1790 than seventy years before; one must rather assume smaller shares per family,
[182] for population had increased. A basis for agricultural security was an adequate balance of sandy machar to ' black ', peaty, clay land; and the area of machar, a limited

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 natural zone, could not be extended. In any case, the re-
433 clamation of clay land tended to slacken as efforts turned
434 to fishing and kelp-making. The introduction or increased
[182] growing of potatoes added to the human, but hardly to the
[311] animal, food supply. Finally, while the beginnings of
[232] medical knowledge and vaccination had aided the growth
[422] of population after 1750, veterinary science had made no progress, nor did it advance in the Island for many years to come. We may conclude that an average stock per Island family about 1720 was rather more than that of 1790, and the acreage relatively larger, while both were greater than the average of today, particularly in the Lews.

175 What, then, could a family have to eat, from such crops
262 and stock? While in winter even now there is almost no
244 milk to be had on a croft, and there would be little then, there was salt meat, dried or salted cod (or herring) and fish oil; oat and barley meal and some rye meal; cabbages; and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, potatoes. Martin included potatoes among the crops grown even on far St. Kilda in 1697. A century later it was written that the people of Uig, for instance, had, though 'unwilling', been induced to grow and eat them 'forty years before'; and the years tend to be under-estimated where changes are slow and memories long! But it was written of Harris that by June the meal and potatoes had mostly been consumed, "and such as cannot afford to purchase imported meal subsist chiefly on the milk of their cows and sheep, with what fish they may chance to catch, till their wants are relieved by the first fruits of their potato crops early in Harvest".

175 We conclude that with even less money but a little
511 more grain the population in the Island had fluctuated
162 about a mean for some centuries before, as it had in so
171

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 much of Britain and Europe until about 1700. A modern
511 parallel may be found in Asiatic lands with the frequency
162 of famines alternating with periods of recovery or, in others,
171 the long-drawn misery of chronic under-nutrition and endemic disease. In modern Europe, only international
[731] or civil war can now bring such extreme widespread misery. And as peace brings partial healing, so in the Island past, when good seasons returned after famines, the life of the family renewed itself.[1]

175 The narrow margin of survival even in good seasons,
593 the risks of the bread-winner's death and of his family's destitution, and the need of co-operation in so many tasks made the family too small, weak and precarious a unit to stand alone. Even with relatively little division (or specialisation) of labour, and in spite of its apparent self-sufficiency, the family had perforce to link itself with wider circles of community life.

(B) JOINT LABOUR BY SMALL TEAMS: THE EVIDENCE OF TENURE IN 1715–26

175 Romance is hidden among the rent-rolls of the Seaforth
241 estates, all of which were forfeited when the Earl rose for 'King James VIII' in 1715. For of the rents withheld
429 from the government until 1720, on the mainland at least
[642] the loyal clansmen paid a considerable portion to their
[613] exiled chief, styled 'Marquis' by 'King James'. But the

[1] The 'ups and downs' of a peasantry living on the margin of subsistence and subject to severe disease can be studied in India, 1871–1941, where the 'net' or mean change has to be correlated with the 'variability'.
[113] This wide problem was reviewed in a series of papers to 1948; "The Social and Psychological Significance of Variability in Regional Changes of Population", with examples taken from Indian villages. (A. Geddes, *Human Relations*, Vol. 1, 2, 1947–48; cf. *Geog. Rev.* 1942 and 1948; and *Geog. Journal*, 3, vol. 98, 1941).

175 rent-rolls record something of more vital and enduring
241 concern, the unit of community life in the Lews. This was
427 the 'conjoint' or 'group' farm of the labouring peasantry
[476] —though it was overlaid in parts of the Island by the formation of tacks held by gentleman rent-farmers.

Both rolls are Judicial Rentals, that is to say, the
175 tenants, great and small, were convened by the Govern-
241 ment Commissioners and examined on oath as to the rents
427 they formerly paid; the accounts were then entered and
656 totalled. Because of the Jacobite resistance, the small amounts of rent and the maladministration of the Forfeited Estates, doubt was cast upon the first rental, of 1718. A second rental was therefore compiled in 1726, upon a different system, which confirms the correctness of the first.[1] All were named, including those absent or 'valetudinary'.

175 Owing to the Island's comparatively smooth land sur-
361 face and access to the sea, the people could group themselves
[182] as they chose. Whereas in the Highland mainland many
[184] a pocket of land is too small to keep more than two or three
[433] families alive and no fishing grounds are available, in Lewis
[476] the people could join together in teams of four, five or six, to work a hamlet-farm or penny-land, definable as a joint-farm of unit size, and to man a boat with "four to row and one to steer".

175 The first point of interest is the equality of the shares,
241 each man paying exactly the same as his fellow-tenants for
427 his 'farthing',—a fourth, or other equal share of the farm.
[436] An average share of rent was a little over 10 shillings sterling with additional payments in farm produce, though not (as

[113] [1] A. Geddes, "Conjoint Tenants", etc., *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Series, vol. i, no. 1, 1948, pp. 54-60. This reconciles the evidence of 1718, reproduced in the Brand Report (1902), Appx. O, and that of 1726, edited by J. R. N. Macphail (1916).

175 241 427 436 might be thought) in cured fish. Here is a sample Deposition from Borve (W. Lewis), a township then composed of five hamlet-farms, or 'pennylands', with their share of outrun, peats and fishing grounds over the whole and known as Five-Penny Borve.

> Donald McGillimichaell, William McHomas, Gillichallum McCoilog, and John McConnell in five penny land of Borrow and Parish of Cladach afor^d MAKE OATH severally that neither of them has any Tack of their possessions, But that each of them pay yearly to ye above Mr. Zachary McAuly for behoof of ye Countes (of Seaforth) for^d Nyne Pounds Scots (*i.e.* 15/- sterling), Two Bolls one Lipie meall, Fifteen pound weight of Butter, and three-fourths of a mutton. Depone they and each of them are someqt in arrear but know not the Particullars, and this is ye truth as they and each of them shall answer to God, and depone they can't write.
>
> (Signed) DAVID BETHUNE
> (Sheriff Substitute of Ross).

175 241 427 451 [642] [643] The only point on which these good fellows must have had to face qualms in 'answering to God' was their lapse of memory as to 'Particullars of arrears'! None of the 222 small tenants could remember this! Although the Chamberlain or Factor, Zachary MacAulay, denied it, he may have exhorted or compelled payment of rent in order to forward it to the exiled 'Marquis'. Mainland rents were actually despatched to France from Leith in broad daylight under an armed guard of clansmen! At the same time, neither MacAulay nor the joint tenants were of Clan Kenneth, the MacKenzies. MacAulay himself was a man of high character—and a poet too—and not one to collect rents in order to embezzle them. His affirmation has the ring of truth, with little alloy. To the Government Commissioners he wrote that what made it impossible for Lewis peasant-fishers to have paid rent in full during civil war,

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 and still more to pay arrears, was "the rugged Hag,
241 Poverty, that would resist both King and Government".
427 We may guess that MacAulay passed a hint to the tenantry
451 that (in a good Gaelic idiom) they had better 'disremember' details of arrears: and this they did.

175 Of the four names on the deposition quoted, one or
two may have been surnames, others the patronymics of
551 kinsmen. As is still the custom, clansmen knew one another
613 by names of many kinds. Stature or colour was used to
[178] distinguish a big John from a little one, a fair from a dark, or a pale from a swarthy; occupations such as smith or caird (artificer, not necessarily travelling tinker as now) were
[241] used, and also mere nicknames. Of the eighty-one crofters
[226] or fisher-burghers in Stornoway, fourteen were MacKenzies; and other mainland surnames, such as Fraser and Gunn, Matheson and MacLennan, also showed their descent from the immigrants brought in when MacKenzie of Kintail founded the burgh to encourage fisheries after 1611. Each held a single holding, usually rented at two shillings sterling.

175 To conclude, rentals about 1715 show (1) the character-
istic equalitarian grouping of small peasants as fellow-
241 workers in the hamlet-farms still held directly from the
427 superior, Seaforth; (2) the eighty-one small burghers of
631 Stornoway; and (3) tacksmen, responsible for the larger part of the Island rent, but under whom we know that the labouring peasantry, though without the local independence of the others, also continued to dwell and to work together. The tacksmen were to pass away, as many of them had originally come, at the desire of a mainland lord, and the lord, in his turn, was to leave; but the small peasantry of immemorial stock still hold and work their land.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

(c) FARM-TEAM AND BOAT'S CREW

175 The strictly equal division of rent on each joint farm
241 shows the equality of sharing among its workers by 'run-
427 rig'. By this system, periodic pooling and redivision kept
476 the land in convenient blocks, a wet part here and a dry
423 one there, all shared out to give each man an equal chance whatever the weather might bring. Such sharing was not mere static division of goods: it was the means for co-operative work, in ploughing and harvesting, or cutting peats, on land, and in manning a boat for the fishing.

175 For ploughing, two or three men were needed—one
241 leading the horses (walking backward and singing his en-
476 couragement), a second to hold the plough and perhaps a third to turn the sods; but four ponies abreast were needed to haul the plough, and each tenant possessed only one or two. In addition, the plough might be preceded by an instrument to clear the ground, a 'reestle', requiring two horses and one man. A Gaelic proverb notes the selection needed in the horse team, and one disabled by age could be replaced as leader by another. Ploughing was necessarily co-operative.

175 The rockiness and hilly ground of Uig and Lochs
241 diminished the usefulness and, no doubt, the number of
[182] ploughs, but the importance of their fishing was some
[134] compensation for poor agriculture. In 1790 there were
[226] ninety ploughs in Barvas parish, where they were no doubt of ancient usage: a ratio of one plough to five families, or one per joint farm. To judge from the smoothness of Stornoway parish, ploughs were probably used there in a similar ratio.

175 While some jobs were done by no more than two people,
476 —as when a ridge or 'lazy-bed' was put in order, the

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 couple advancing one on either side of it—many other
476 tasks were definitely team-work. Such was peat-cutting.
"When they are making peats, five people are employed.
175 One cuts the peat, another places it on the brink of the
476 ditch where it is dug; a third spreads it on the field, a
314 fourth pares and cleans the moss; and a fifth man is resting,
ready to relieve the man that cuts. The women are seldom
[462] at this work, but the men help one another alternately;
sometimes they must rest satisfied with fewer hands; but
the above is the full complement of men required to per-
[127] form the work, according to their tastes." Buchanan's
description was written 160 years ago (1793); it remained
[178] true till recently and generally it is so still. There was thus
a normal team practice for work—even a man to rest was not
[538] forgotten! As the Gaelic proverb puts it: "They won't
make power (add strength) without a threesome and they'll
limp without a foursome!" (*Cha deanar treine gun triuir,*
[802] *'s bidh iad crubach gun cheathrar*). In Gaelic, as in Scots,
one speaks of a team according to its number, as "a pair,
a threesome, foursome" and so on, up to a tensome
(*deichnear*). In Lewis the farm-team was usually a foursome
or fivesome.

175 Only in exceptional cases was land worked and held
423 singly—as when a smith was kept busy at his anvil in
ploughing-time and harvest. Thus in 1715 one or two
241 rural smiths had single holdings of average value or more
[326] (£1), and one artificer or tin-smith (caird) a holding of
minimum value (5s.); and in the burgh all the small plots
[286] were held singly. As the women wove, at home mostly,
[462] no male rural weaver held a single plot; his weaving could
be done at slack times, so long as there was light; at busy
times he worked on the land with the rest of his team.

000 On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an

On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an outlying reclaimable patch of arable, lying near distant, little-used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chance of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the man and his family; but there might be advantages such as an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as hunting 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunter-bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft was known as *Ruigh* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of poverty with individuality in isolation were handed down, for example, from one of my forebears who held such a *ruigh*, Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-feet contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the last of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *ruigh* may have originally been a summer shieling, only occupied when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with new possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led to settlement there.

At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of North Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lodges and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth, as they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such as one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small islets. But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single crofts are rare. And the clearest distinction must be drawn between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage or croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or even two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers; for even a few families form the germ of a community, in work and in leisure.

The potentialities of co-operative practice were overlooked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough. For when new methods were required, run-rig kept back the pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. Soon

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 after 1800, John Walker wrote that run-rig, " formerly very
178 general in Scotland, was abolished with improvements but
241 still subsists in many parts of the North. A number of
476 tenants of the same farm have a common pasture for their
654 cattle, and the arable is divided among them, by ridge
423 and ridge alternately, which each cultivates for his own behoof. This gives them all a common interest in the crop and, when there was no inclosure by dyke or hedge, might be of some advantage " in giving each person some protection " against the encroachments of his neighbour's cattle ". Speaking of joint possession this time, though without reference to survivals, Walker wrote that in the Lowlands " in old times a large farm might be occupied by a number of conjoint tenants who cultivated the farm in common and divided the produce. In this way the interest of each became the interest of the whole. They were ready, and were frequently called upon, to defend the common crop and cattle against depredations. There was then a necessity for such an allotment of land, especially in the Border country and in the Highlands." The team, in other words, was a unit of defence. But " nothing like improvement can be expected from farmers placed in this situation . . . [and] no community can ever equal the carefulness and industry of an individual in the management of his affairs ".[1]

[127] So far as it goes, such an analysis is incontrovertible;
[181] for Walker was one of many contemporary observers who could contrast both the " improvement, industry and carefulness " of the best individuals under a vigorous landlord, with the sluggishness of old-fashioned ways on backward estates. The fundamental reason for sluggishness was that

[113] [1] John Walker, *Oeconomical History* [descriptive account] *of the Hebrides*, 1808.

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 the cultivable land and pasture having been shared out to
178 minimal fractions, they called for a minimum of labour by
241 the men—though housewives and mothers had always
476 plenty to do. The morrow's tryst for work might prove
654 a tryst with no work done. The men might foregather
423 on the moor to cut peats, for instance, but if one of their
[181] number was late, become so absorbed by telling stories of the Fenians that, ere work had begun, it was time to go home—resolved to meet for work some other day! As a result, reformers advocated breaking-up the joint-holdings; and this was done in Lewis by 1830, as noted in the Brand Report. But mere division of the land did not increase its total amount.

175 Yet while noting the progress made by the liberation
178 of individual initiative, we can see the drawbacks of
654 individualism: the evictions made with no provision for
362 new homes, and later the monotony and the loneliness of modern farm life, the mutual distrust of employer and employee, and the general inability of farmers, as yet, to
423 co-operate. At the present, when planning, purchase and
476 sale are required on a large scale, particularly among small-
829 holders, the interest of each is still "the interest of the whole". The team-spirit must be recovered from the work (not simply the play) of school onwards to further education and communal effort.

175 To sum up, every farm-hamlet was held jointly and on
241 equal terms, each joint holder being responsible for an
427 equal share of the rent, and the movable run-rig system ensuring equal quality, as well as equal quantity, of land.
476 Common interest was assured, and there was mutual sup-
423 port in distress or sickness, as when one member, named in a deposition of 1718, was 'valetudinary'. Lastly, work was done in common not only when it led to efficiency

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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241 through division of labour or united effort, but simply for
423 the sake of mutual stimulus and pleasure!
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476 (D) THE SHARING OF MACHAR, MOOR AND SEA

Embracing several joint-farms, each with its team or
175 crew, came the township. The township had not only its
632 common pasture, it had a special extensive system of
241 run-rig on sandy, coastal machars, as in parts of the Island
and in Uist—a system continued to this day.
423 On the machar of Barvas, cultivation strips are still
re-allotted periodically, as they were annually on all the
632 Island machars. The machars behind the 'storm-beach'
241 dunes of the Outer Hebrides closely resemble one another,
423 from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head. The immemorial
[178] system was noted by Walker and more fully by Carmichael,
who called it 'intermediate run-rig' to distinguish it from
[127] the run-rig of older joint farms on boulder clay, and it persists at the present day.[1] In North Uist the machar land is laid off in large scatts or fields. Each scatt is divided into as many rigs as there are crofts in the township. There may be a dozen scatts in all, and usually half the number are lying out in natural pasture, but they are put under crop in rotation, so that each year one or two scatts will be brought into cultivation, and the others left out after a
[625] course of cropping. When a scatt is to be brought into cultivation the township 'constable' (who holds sway under the district ground officer) appoints a day for allocating the rigs.

[113] [1] Walker (1808); Alexander Carmichael, appendix xlviii and xcix, pp. 213 ff. and 451 ff., Report of the Crofters' Commission, 1884. Socially these form the most significant evidence in this great Report. See also "Grazing and Agrestic Customs", *Celtic Review*, 1905. Cf. C. Macdonald, *Scot. J. Agric.*, 1919. See also his lively accounts of machar and pasture: *Highland Journey: Suil air aiy*, 1943.

423 rigs. The rigs are numbered and then balloted for by a
632 double ballot. First the men approach the hat in any
241 order and pick out a number: this is to decide the order in which they will approach the hat in the second draw. The second draw then decides the number of the rig. The crofter retains the rig while this particular scatt remains in cultivation, usually for a period of two or three years. The machar is shared by the whole township. The crops grown include a light type of oats, barley, a little rye, and potatoes; and clover may be cut.

423 In the division of the machar for potatoes at Barvas, there are now no such hard-and-fast rules. The Common
244 Grazings Committee select a certain area for cultivation
[624] and each crofter is allowed to take as much land as he requires within this area. This land is only cultivated for one year in six to ten years, and then reverts to grass. If cultivated for two or more years in succession there is a danger of the sand being blown away, and grass would be difficult to establish again. Potatoes are now the only crop
[134] grown on the Barvas machar.

Beyond the machar of the Isles lies the moor with its
175 fringe of reclaimed croft land. By Carmichael's day this
423 was held in individual portions, though, as he said, most of it was once held in 'farms' in run-rig practised by small
241 units, not by the whole township. Why this difference between the arable of the machar and of the moorland? Carmichael did not explain it.

134 Three explanatory points are, first, that the whole
241 cultivated land of the scatt or the machar is continuous, whereas the moorland is hummocky and boggy by turns, and cultivation is therefore patchy; secondly, that, unlike the stony clays, the light shell sand is easily forked or ploughed and needs no 'team' to plough it; and thirdly,

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134 that no initial reclamation had been needed on the scatt.
241 In each year of cultivation, it is true, manures of a sort, principally seaweed and sooty sods from the roof, are applied; but they form a temporary improvement only for the crop to be taken, and do not constitute reclamation. After manuring, the grasses and clovers are simply turned over and the land, 'rested' and manured by cattle, straightway gives its best crop.

175 It is otherwise with what is won from the moorland.
311 As Dean Monro wrote of the reclaiming Lewisman in 1549: "In this country all is peat moss-land at the sea coast" (the long machars of the west of Uist give place to rocky coasts round much of Lewis), "and the place where he wins his peats this year, there he sows his corn the next year; after that he guids it weill with sea-ware". Even where the slopes are fairly smooth, the peat land has not the uniformity of the machar and the continuity of its arable strips. In addition to sea-ware, sand may be brought by creel or by pony pannier to reclaim peat, forming a heavy burden. Moreover, the first crop is always a poor one, and may be almost lost. Although in his brief notes Monro used the singular 'he', we know that the peat was usually cut co-operatively by teams. Hence most of the hard labour of reclamation may, indeed must, have been done co-operatively too, but by small teams, not by the members of a whole township together.

233 The sharing of common pastures is the last, but im-
423 portant, feature of land holding in common. The two kinds of pasture required were, firstly, those close at hand, animals being tethered or herded in the crop-growing season, and secondly, the more distant summer pastures.
[632] The people of certain townships, which were without a large outrun close at hand, had to go some distance to

233 reach their shielings. From Point district (Eye Peninsula)
423 the cattle are still brought inland to the moors south-west
of Stornoway. And from Bernera on the west the cattle
[632] are swum to the hills of the main island, just as they once were swum from Bute to the hill-pastures of Cowal in Argyllshire across the Kyle at the 'Strait of the Swimming", Colintraive (Caol-an-t-snaimh). Nothing could be more natural, indeed inevitable, than pasture in common where large, open moors were to be found. The number of animals allowed to each holding was duly apportioned and then, as now, was known as the summing or 'souming', still checked at the annual gathering (*cosgoradh*).

423 Thus a cluster of conjoint farms shared "the grass on
the Ben and the tillage on the machar" (*Fiar air beinn agus*
621 *peighinn air machair*). Along the shore, sea-ware, drift-
433 wood and the like were allotted, too. And, as Carmichael
[175] put it, there was even "run-rig at sea", for the fishing
banks were allotted among the available crews. Most of
[178] these rights are still shared by the members of a township. But any crew can now fish freely where they choose, and no township can legally keep away strange boats, nor even steamers beyond the three-mile limit. This loss of communal rights stands in the way of remunerative fish-farming and its promise.

621 Profound social implications distinguished these three
423 concentric circles of community: the family; the farm-team
and boat's crew; and the larger, township group. These
[593] implications concerned labour, duty and right. The labour
[241] of reclamation gave a 'right' to the land thus won from the
moor; and the duty of labour together, for fruits equally
[476] shared, gave the farm-team and fishing crew cohesion on
[632] land or sea—team and crew working for a common purpose. On the other hand, as individual sharers in the common

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621 pastures of machar and moor, each man had not so much
423 a 'common interest' or duty as, individually, a 'like interest' or right. As now, each unit, whether team or individual, would tend to desire a maximum stock for itself, perhaps hoping it would have "the luck to rear" a little more than its apportioned souming, at the risk of the over-stocking which results in common loss. But though need, greed or rivalry offered temptations, morality invited careful sharing and was enforced by common interest.
423 The chief distinction between team and township was that
476 the tasks of the farm-team were constructive and, like that of the boat's crew, active and co-operative. It is true that in
632 the township certain tasks were co-operative, such as the wolf scaring of old times or the fox 'hunting' or shooting on mainland moors today. The modern gathering of sheep is also done together. But no constructive effort was involved in the allotment of shares on the machar or of stock on the moor, which were—and remain—matters merely for communal control, not communal effort.

571 Now, the quality of a group alters with its quantity. The intimate cohesion of a very small group of no more than half a dozen members, diminishes with an increase in number; but increase brings a compensating gain in diversity. Ten or a dozen people tend to break up into sub-groups, whether for small jobs or to enjoy conversation. The smallness of a group limits the number of relationships; an increase in number multiplies sub-groups, and life is enriched. After living long with fewer than half a dozen acquaintances, the same subjects keep cropping up in talk, the same tales are re-told, too often, and people cannot get away from one another's idiosyncrasies! A very small addition turns the scale by renewing variety.
621 Here lay the social value of a township and neighbourhood,
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621 embracing several hamlets. Yet the strength of com-
476 munity life sprang from co-operation in the farm-team and
632 in the boat's crew.

178 With the passing of the joint farm the greatest dis-
461 ciplinary factor for work in common passed away from
476 agriculture. The fact that fishing still remained as a social discipline, and actually developed in importance as the farm-team declined and was abolished, was to prove all the more significant to the vitality of social life until 1914 and even to the present.

(E) THE COMMUNITY ORGANISED: STEERSMAN AND CONSTABLE

621 As small groups of two to half a dozen men could manage their agricultural affairs informally, by common consent, no official was formally chosen to manage the affairs of the
622 fellow-workers on a farm. Where prompt decisions are needed, however, even a small group should be led: a boat's crew therefore choose their helmsman-skipper and obey him at sea. And where several farm-groups made up a township, more formal deliberations were required, and to carry out their decisions they chose a responsible man, the constable.

175 Of the crofters' manner of deciding communal affairs
621 in Uist, Carmichael wrote, in 1884, that these meetings
181 "were highly interesting, as showing the ability of the people, their logical and legal acumen, their readiness of resources and, I can happily add, their invariable courtesy
175 towards one another. There was one regular official known
622 as the constable on whom there lay the chief executive responsibility. When a crofter is elected constable of his
[782] town-land, he takes off his shoes and stockings and, taking

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175 his bonnet in his hand and bowing low and reverently, he
622 declares on honour in presence of earth and heaven, in
[782] presence of God and men—*Am fianuis uir agus adhair, am fianuis Dia agus daoine*—that he shall be faithful to his
[178] trust. This simple declaration of office is extremely impressive, though now, alas, becoming obsolete from the fears of the shallow thoughtless and the scoffs of the severely
[626] wise. The duties of the constables were to divide a new peat-moss into banks for which lots are cast, to see that every crofter does his share of free labour in road building and repair, to engage herds and the like." (*Napier Crofters' Commission*, 1884.)

Naturally such duties called not only for tact, firmness and authority, temporal and spiritual, on the part of the constable, but for strong backing by the crofters, as a body,
175 of the man they had freely elected. But hence too, the
622 advantage to a covetous landlord of superseding free
557 election by appointing his own nominee. Martin found
427 that this had been done in St. Kilda shortly before his visit (about 1695) and the people complained bitterly, as well they might. We shall see that the same suppression of liberty was resented in Lewis less than a century ago. As a mere estate employee, moreover, the constable's position between the landlord's factor (or ground officer) and his fellow-crofters, was always difficult; and it might be cruelly hard, as when he was forced to help in destroying a neighbour's house at an eviction. Neighbourly union in a township was damaged by this duality of function, when he who should have been their own impartial executive was in the landlord's pay. When affairs got too bad in a Lewis township the people would appoint their own constable in addition to the landlord's; even so, rivalry and dual functions weakened the community. Such weakness

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175 in communal organisation, historically brought about by
622 landlord or steward over a wide period, has commonly
557 been ascribed to some inherent feebleness in Gaelic
427 communal spirit. It is all the more vital to realise the
strength of community and its self-governance by neigh-
[623] bourly 'parliament' and chosen constable, by which the
people put their ideals into practice. These may be given
in the three traditional terms of fellowship, fairness and
freedom, summing up the Gaelic watchwords.[1] Unless the
struggle for freedom was too severe, fraternity, followed by
equality, came first.

[538] [1] *Companas, caidreabh* or *cairdeas*; *ceartas, coir, cead cothrom,* or *co-roinn*; and *saorsa.*

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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CHAPTER VI

CLANSHIP: PEOPLE, CHIEF AND TACKSMEN

(A) COMMUNAL EQUALITY AND LORDLY PRIVILEGE

175 632 642 631 THE equalitarian customs of hamlet and township astonish many to whom the crofting villages are unknown and whose picture of the Gaelic past is derived from tales of the 'Forty-five. The widespread historic fact of lordship over a subject peasantry has obscured that of peasant-neighbourhood, more ancient, it would seem, and, in the Isles, still more enduring. The very existence of 'rural democracies' such as those just described has been doubted by certain scholars on the theoretic ground that they would be humanly unwork-
[614] able! Yet it is none the less true that the peasants as clansfolk gave loyalty to their chief. The fervent loyalty given to the exiled kinsmen-kings, the Stewarts, was a scarlet thread interwoven—or entangled—in the homespun
[533] web of community, of clanship. Wherever the Gaelic is spoken, the Jacobite songs are sung with passion, and their echo has gone round the world.

[171] So in the life of the Gael, without doubt—and in varying degree throughout Britain and the rest of Europe—we have to envisage a composite, perhaps a contradictory, state of things, in which communal equality is overlaid by

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175 lordly rank: a working, equalitarian democracy dominated
631 by an aristocracy proudly refusing to work. The fascina-
632 tion of Gaelic community is, first, that its elements stand
642 out so clearly, and, secondly, that links were forged in
[171] clanship which made its living chain, though heavy, a
[621] thing that shone with pride, and beauty too.

(B) CLANSHIP, COMMON DESCENT AND CLAN-HELP ('CUIDEACHY')

621 To what extent is it now possible to disentangle the two contrasted elements of the lord or chief and the farm-teams
172 and townships? Prehistory is hard to unravel; but the
621 successive waves of conquest flung upon the Island shores have left their jetsam, unmistakably. The circle of huts
177 found near a broch or commanding *dùn* recalls the tenants' village grouped close to the castle of a chief, from early history down to the 'Forty-five, and suggests a primitive
173 form of feudalism or of clanship. Traditions add their
621 part. In Uist one may still hear the ancient heroic lays traditionally ascribed to Ossian, Oisean, son of Fionn or
631 Fingal—lays of which Macpherson's sonorous prose gave free rendering. The Fingalian tales differ from the lays, being frankly fantastic. Lewis had its own cycle of Fingalian tales; examples are given by W. C. Mackenzie (1919). Both lays and legends tell of an aristocracy or warrior class, the Fenians, of their enjoyment of the chase, and of their relative comfort, with wealth in gold and silver, in banners and flowing mantles. The chase combined with riches implies the existence of a community to feed and clothe the huntsmen. The traditions of the Cuchulainn cycle, with closer approximation to historical and
[177] archaeological truth, tell the same tale. Historically, in-

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173 coming Viking chiefs, who often intermarried with women
177 of the older aristocracy, seem to have retained some ele-
621 ments of a pre-existing order, as did their successors, the
631 Scoto-Norman lords.

So, from history back to 'proto-history', there is
172 increasingly discerned the stages of superimposition, in
621 the Isles as elsewhere. In Central Europe archaeology has recapitulated the stages by which peasant-villagers were raided, then conquered by desperate herdsmen, on horseback or bearing better arms, who had ridden in from the drying grasslands further east. In the Isles the later conquerors were the fierce raiders from the sea, sailing in from
173 the fjords of the North. An unbroken chain of tradition
621 from Viking to Gael is vividly conveyed in the stirring
177 saga of the Galley or Birlinn of Clanranald, composed only a year or two before the 'Forty-five (epitomised, Chapter VI (E)).

173 When the conqueror had won the submission of the conquered and secured his livelihood, comfort and leisure
622 by their work, he came in time to bring their interests
631 nearer to his own. Yet whenever the ambitions of two rival chiefs conflicted, the essential predatory attitude remained and either might bring fire and sword against the other's harmless people. Through time, the successive tides of emigration and storms of conquest bridged the contrast of extremes. Not two orders of chiefs and people, but successive strata, with intermixture of blood and of tradition, must be sought in the Isles as elsewhere. Traditional life in so difficult an environment tended to be diversified and to encourage all-round aptitudes in people and chief, their characters having much in
[177] common. As to blood, the history of Island Norsemen records the marriage of the new-coming chiefs with heiresses

173 from the old chiefs' families, as in the genealogies of
622 MacDonald of the Isles and the MacLeods. A special
631 feature contrasting with English history is that claims to
[177] differences of descent, instead of being maintained—as
between the Saxon and the conqueror of Norman blood—
[171] were fused. Even when the ancestor of the chief was alien
to the locality, the people and the chiefs ultimately claimed
173 to be of one and the same descent. Neighbourhood
621 softened the impositions of the hunting herdsman upon
his human herd, and the feeling of kinship brought
reconciliation.

173 How far, then, can the family name, which proclaims
621 every 'son' and 'daughter' of Leod to be of the *clann*,
614 the 'children'[1] of the first Leod, really betoken a blood
829 tie? Both the differences of race to be found in clanship
and the ties it formed are well brought out in a tale of
Highland pride, still told with Highland laughter across
539 the Minch in Kintail. A French skipper (an importer of
claret) touching at Kintail three hundred years ago, met a
short, dark man and asked him of whose clan he was.
"The Clan Rae," was the reply, "but we are of two kinds,
the tall, fair MacRaes and" (a little pityingly) "the short,
dark MacRaes." "And which are you?" "I," said the
wee, black fellow, drawing himself up, "am one of the
tall, fair MacRaes!" "Then God help the short, dark
173 MacRaes!" said the skipper. Even one link with the
621 blood of the chief—and that not necessarily legitimate—
614 was enough for a man to found a claim to kinship, not
829 merely as a MacRae, but with the tall, fair chief through

[1] In Gaelic, as a man is called MacLeoid (son of Leod), so a woman is
[551] NicLeoid (daughter), and the clan, *Clann Leoid*. The absurd addition of
'son' to a woman's name (as in English surnames such as 'Johnson') is
unthinkable in Gaelic, in which a woman would be named 'John's daughter',
NicIain.

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173 his near kin. Again, much as in the medieval *gestes* of
621 France, fosterage of an heir by a clanswoman formed the
614 closest possible tie to at least one family of the people
829 from ancient to recent times. For it linked the heir by
sympathy—though not by equal obligation—to elders
[171] and playmates in childhood and his contemporaries in later
life.

565 To re-state this 'contradiction' of equality and privilege, we have thus a hierarchy of 'class' imposed upon a 'classless' society. For the joint farms and the township were essentially classless. The two classes, the lord and the people, were primarily opposed, war having placed the conqueror above those who fed him. This state of things was not active 'class-war', for the armistice could endure indefinitely by means of the bargain made between the classes for some exchange of services; none the less, it was built upon class conquest.

175 That all should ultimately claim the lineage of their
565 chief was a remarkable solution to the hereditary opposition
614 of class. A man who knew the Islanders well, John Lane
Buchanan (1793), noted how in conditions of the utmost
622 poverty the poorest addressed each other as 'lady and
[576] gentleman', *bean-uasal* and *duine-uasal*, a courtesy not lost
today. And every clansman had a right to shake the hand
of his chief, as Edmund Burt observed in his vivid *Letters*
[577] *from the North* (written after 1721). Indeed the sense
of mutual obligation implicit in Gaelic society is well illustrated by the homely word *coir*, usually translated 'right'; it is equally used for right's correlative, duty—as when a Scots or Irish crofter may say "You've a right (a duty) to help your mother"—and for a 'right' (privilege) to shake the chief's hand. An English equivalent would be duty-privilege, or duty-right. Similarly, the same

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 565 614 622 words are used for neighbourly help among crofters and for services to the chief.[1]

Full freedom of choice in marriage prevailed among the people, who honoured marriage and enjoined continence; but the position of the chief placed him apart from 175 582 the rest of the community. Now, the more equalitarian the community, the more free are a couple to choose one another on grounds of mutual affection, passion and respect; the parents, too, are more likely to encourage or support a suitor for their child because of character and virility, rather than means.

175 565 582 The lads of the clan, chief and people, grew up together in an isle or glen. But in manhood, while a labouring lad sought a wife from the girl playmates of his childhood and his fellow-workers at the peats, at the harvest, or in the shielings, a chief's choice was confined to his own class. In pre-feudal clanship, tanistry, *i.e.* the choice of a chief among the higher kin, gave a wider choice for marriage near home than feudal primogeniture, irrespective of the wishes of the chief's kin except in extreme cases of unfitness. In Scotland, tanistry prevailed even in the royal line until the eleventh century. But with the dominance of primogeniture, the young chief chose a bride outside his own community for reasons other than those of human feeling, honoured by Gaelic lyrical and religious tradition and even by the Church.

As a result, the chieftain's son was granted a licence forbidden to the rest, a temptation to maidens and a bad

[192] [476] [1] *Cuid* (cognate with *quota*) means a portion, lot or share, or what is one's own (*n.f., gen. codach*); and the associated verb (*cuidich*) means not simply to share but actively to help. The apportioned lodging given to the chief and his 'tail' of 'lads' was the 'cuideachy'—*cuid-oidhche*; while the famous motto of the Seaforth Highlanders is Help the King!—*Cuidich an Righ!*

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 example to lads! Often of tall, fair stock, physically
565 superior from better feeding, accustomed to have his own
582 way, better taught, finely dressed, free and welcomed wherever he went in the glen that fed and fostered him, the young chief had favour on his side; moreover he was protected from the vengeance of jealousy. A song in praise of a young chief of Clan Leod boasts that "the girls
[836] would give their snoods for Rory"! When she lost her maiden snood to him, a girl would be excused, and her 'natural' child not dishonoured, but granted a share of paternal affection and inheritance. After marriage, a chief's
175 lady made allowances for his past. But licence, once a
837 habit, is hard to check, and the Gael tell bitter tales of jealous wives, married for policy, and their revenge upon a rival. One gathers that where there were enough gentry to meet, choose and inter-marry freely, as among the Island tacksmen, decency was better observed; but among landlords in the Highlands, as in other lands, local licence was common down to the last century. Then, whereas a Minister of the Established Church could hardly blame his own Patron (or his son), a Free Church Minister could speak out from the pulpit!

175 Of the legendary *jus primae noctis*, the 'law of the first
585 night' of Boece and other old historians by which a lord had at one time the 'right' to rape the bride of any of his serfs or tenants, there is no authentic record. Yet from the primal right or wrong of conquest, some such 'law' was forced upon the Gael, as upon other peoples. Boswell records MacQuarrie of Ulva's belief that the custom of paying him a sheep when a tenant married was followed in lieu of such a right! Obligatory hospitality also lent itself to abuse. In all relations of chief to people, there were adjustments. In more complex society, poverty makes

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womanhood a prey to prostitution. The licence of a chief among young women was preferable to this; but evils were inherent in the fact of lordship.

(c) TWO ISLAND BARDS: MARY MACLEOD AND THE BLIND HARPER

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While in Lewis the continuity of clanship was sorely shaken by the fall of the chiefs, the Torquil-MacLeods, in Harris it was maintained in the family of the Norman-MacLeods of Dunvegan in Skye. The family of Dunvegan is famed for chivalry and gentleness, not only in the songs of the past but in the speech of Skyemen to the present day. Harris did not suffer the bloodshed endured in Lewis from the death of Torquil until after the accession of MacKenzie in 1611; and Harris was not involved, like Lewis, in the troubles of 1715. MacLeod of Dunvegan retained Harris until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was purchased by a cadet of the family who had made his fortune in the East; and it only passed out of MacLeod hands half a century later. Hence it is that while in Lewis there is still talk of the 'give and take' between later laird and people, in Harris there is more. In "the hereditary Hall of MacLeod" of Dunvegan, two Island bards gave birth to immortal song. Together, the tales of Lewis and the songs of Harris and Skye give us an authentic record of clanship in fact and feeling, linked with community today.

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[628]

In spite of the break in continuity, ease and warmth of feeling could spring up between a MacKenzie of Seaforth and the Lewismen, though Seaforth was a peer of the realm, and of a mainland name, not a MacLeod by direct descent. Playful rhyming, chaffing contests between titled laird and small tenant, are recorded by A. Carmichael and W. C.

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175 Mackenzie. For all that, in 1900 a crofter said: "We called
613 the old proprietor Seaforth, but I believe his right name
621 was the Prince of Welsh". To him the Earls were royal!
[829] Freedom of intercourse is embodied in the language to this day. With 'a stranger', a little spoken Gaelic
197 lessens 'strangeness' and quickens intimacy, because Gaelic conveys essential human relationships as English
565 rarely can—even the English of the 'democratic' Low-
576 lands. For instance, a well-dressed stranger, though young, is usually addressed in English as 'sir' by a senior crofter, and, just as in the South, without the expectation of 'sir' or 'ma'am' in return. In English, that is, respect is given to class. In Gaelic, age receives respect: it is the stranger, if the younger, who adopts the respectful 'you' (the second person plural, *sibh*), while the crofter, if the older, uses the friendly singular, 'thou' (*thu*). If they are of equal age, and neither is elderly, 'thou' would be
[562] used by both. Similarly, respect is given to womanhood; and an older woman who would say 'Sir' in English will say 'My dear' in Gaelic.[1]

614 It is not only by daily contacts that we may understand the relationship of people to chief, but by the height of feeling it may attain, and by the beauty of its expression.
[175] Among the finest of the later songs of praise to Gaelic clanship and its chiefs are those composed by two Island
[533] bards, a woman of Harris and a man of the Lews. Mary MacLeod, *Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh*, was a kinswoman of the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris, and a beloved

[123] [1] Calling on the sub-postmistress in a Highland place where I was known to be a friend of the laird, I was addressed as "Sir". But hardly had we passed to Gaelic when this woman, my elder and a person of culture, laughingly used an expression then strange to me. Halted, and suddenly shy at being forced to translate, she said at last, "When thou wast *a lump* [just a boy!] '*nuair bha thu cnap*!" But rightly, she would have been slightly shocked had I said 'thou' to her.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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nurse in the family. Born about 1615 in Rodel (south-east Harris), she composed her last elegy (to Sir Norman MacLeod of Island Berneray, Harris) in 1705; she may even have composed her last great song (on the birth of the nineteenth chief) a year later.[1] Towards the end of the century (between 1664 and 1693), Mary's younger contemporary, Rory Morison was bard at Dunvegan, being known as the Blind Harper, *An Clarsair Dall.* A Lewisman, Rory could not have found adequate patronage as a bard in that Island, the chiefs of Lewis having passed away. Morison is stated to have been a descendant of the Gaelic judges or *brieves* of Ness and the son of a minister, and he was to have entered the Church along with two brothers, later ministers. But smallpox blinded him, and he turned to oral, not to written 'literature', perhaps to our ultimate gain.[2]

Here then were two bards, man and woman, whose fame is growing, rather than waning, in our own day. While Mary was illiterate, however rich in lore, Rory, with his clerical home and family tradition of Gaelic jurisprudence, must have begun to read Latin and English, perhaps Greek, and also Gaelic, though not reaching Hebrew (as his brothers would) before he was struck blind. Mary, so far as is known, was the first to compose what may be called 'court' song in simple words and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels, Scots and Irish, since her time. Lacking the learning of the dying school of classical bards, Mary is more personal than they, "a lyrist not less than panegyrist"; and she is more spontaneous. The same seems true of Rory. Yet the themes of the classical bards were renewed by these

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[1] James Carmichael Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod*, 1934.
[2] John Mackenzie, *Sar Obair: Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, 1877.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 533 614 622 two singers, as in the portrayal of a chief, " blue-eyed and with clustering, golden locks . . . and brown, ruddy cheeked " ; in descriptions of " his wisdom, prowess and justice " or of his traits—his " joyous, fresh, and shamefast cheek ", and as a friend to the poor seeking justice, and to men of learning, musicians and bards. In the halls of chiefs where ancient joys and traditions were maintained, the ideal of chiefship was essentially that of manhood. Nor is the chief's lady forgotten either by Mary or by older bards, though womanhood is a theme rather for lyrics and for sacred song.

Even at Dunvegan the stream of clan life was once interrupted in the lifetime of these two bards, as the *Clarsair* told in his satire on the anglicised seventeenth chief (1693–99), and as Mary hinted in her haunting ' Croon ' or *Cronan*. Happily, the stream was renewed [173] by this chief's successor. Tradition and song show that such renewal was primarily due to the strength of communal life among the ' people ' which called out leadership from the chiefs, in justice, in war, and in the encouragement of the oral arts. High conduct from the chiefs was invoked [577] by the expectations of their people. More important still, it was the warmth of feeling among the people as a group, and their ties to one another, which lit their personal loyalty to a chief and called forth his loyal leadership in return.[1]

[1] Gaelic loyalty was burned away in the Jacobite Risings, but as the last Rising left the Island relatively unscathed, one may simply refer to two works : Audrey Cunningham's *The Loyal Clans*, 1932 ; and J. L. Campbell's *Highland Songs of the 'Forty-five*, 1933 (Gaelic and translation). The first work analyses the need for a personal relationship to Scottish kingship, felt so keenly by the clansmen. The second gives authentic evidence of the spirit of loyalty. (Both the sense and a hint of the rhythm, with several of the airs, are available for the English reader.)

I know of no explicit statement of the conclusion given above; for lack of the sociological approach attempted here ; but it is surely implicit in the thought of many a Gael.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

(D) TACKSMEN AND SUBTENANTRY, FACTOR AND LORD: 1611–1800

175 We saw that in the Rent-roll of Lewis in 1718 the first
427 sixty-four entries, signed personally, recorded comparatively large holdings (tacks), the annual rentals of which were
614 from £3 : 6 : 8 to over £10, the occupant of one (or more)
621 of which would be styled Tacksman or 'Man of the Farmtown' (*Fear Baile*). While one or two tacks were shared, a few tacksmen may have held more than one tack—though one cannot be sure, owing to the recurrence of the same
[551] Christian names in each clan. It is striking that half the tacks—though mostly small ones—were held by men of undoubted mainland names, of which there were twenty-two MacKenzies, four MacLennans and three Mathesons.
[166] These were doubtless the descendants of gentlemen from the mainland who in 1611 had helped to win and hold the
[551] Island for MacKenzie of Kintail, later Lord Seaforth. Of native Lewis names the principal are MacAulay, Morison and perhaps MacIver.[1] Only three small tacks were held by MacLeods, who may have been of Island stock. Lochs and Eye on the east coast had largely been granted in tack to the new-comers; on the south-west and west coast MacAulays and MacIvers held much of Uig and a few farms in Cladach; but more of Cladach and most of Ness (in the north) were still held by joint tenants. Stornoway was held by burghers, of whom perhaps two-thirds bore mainland names. The peasantry remained as unnamed subtenants on these holdings, of which the total rents show

[114] [1] The writers of the Brand Report (1902) assumed that MacIver is a native name. This would seem to be borne out by its frequency as a surname today, in contrast to MacKenzie, Matheson or MacLennan, though W. C. Mackenzie (1919, p. 92) thought the MacIver tacksmen arrived with Seaforth.

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 they were composed of at least one to four or five hamlet-
427 farms. The tacksmen also had cottars for service.
614 Thus in Lewis a special reason, the accession of Sea-
621 forth, had led to the granting of many tacks to his own
clansmen and to natives. Elsewhere in the Highlands the
175 procedure is noteworthy during the sixteenth, seventeenth
427 and eighteenth centuries, for the collection of rents from
614 the peasantry by means of large tenants had financial
184 advantages for the greater landlords (I. F. Grant, 1930).
The tacksman's continuation as tenant depended on his
[661] paying regularly, for the lease was not a hereditary grant.
A tack could also provide for a lord's younger sons or
[565] immediate relations, such as formed the gentry of the clan.
Along with smaller lairds, these furnished the cadres of officers who led the clan regiments down to the 'Forty-five, and later the Highland Regiments of the line and the Fencibles down to Waterloo. Like MacKenzie, other great chiefs such as Argyle or Breadalbane leased tacks when they acquired the status of peers and took possession of fresh lands with Royal support, after vain resistance from native chiefs and their followers. In Lewis, the fiscal status of tacksmen was applied both to MacKenzie's supporters from the mainland and to those with ancient roots in the west of the Island. The latter may have thought a mere lease a poor substitute for hereditary tenure, though a legal compromise necessary if their possession was to be
[K66] continued. The lack of permanent tenure ultimately led to the departure of their descendants.

175 From the families of these tacksmen have sprung most
621 of those of Lewis birth or descent who achieved fame
614 before the twentieth century. Of the MacAulays, we saw
554 Zacharias was Chamberlain during and after the 'Fifteen.
Thomas Babington Macaulay came of the same line, as

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 554 614 621 [668] did another Zacharias, closer than Thomas to the Lewis tree, who worked nobly with Wilberforce for the emancipation of the slaves.[1] Still another connection was a Canadian emigrant, grandfather of the late T. B. Macaulay, LL.D. Alexander Mackenzie, the explorer of the Mackenzie River, was a descendant of Lewis tacksmen. MacIvers and Morisons also distinguished themselves. [178] [871] But the sons and daughters of crofters had to await the provision of education in English before they could rise in trade, learning or war; hence few Lewismen of the greatest Lewis name, MacLeod, achieved eminence until the twentieth century.

175 554 565 427 As for the peasantry, the interposition of a new or enlarged class of tenantry between themselves and the superior must have meant that they had to labour on the tacksman's home farm, and no doubt pay more in produce or cash. Hence the Gaelic saying that if the position of the small (joint) tenants was bad, that of the subtenants was worse, "the Evil One itself". Following the long fight with the Fife Adventurers, hardship may have been greatest where mainland tacksmen were placed above the joint tenants; but even under MacAulays and MacIvers rents may have been raised and some of the joint freedom lost which was still enjoyed in Ness. Whatever adjustments had been made in an earlier period had to be re-made with the beginning of Seaforth's new order.

In the following generations, contradictory accounts of lairds, factors and tacksmen are given by contemporary observers. Certain of these insisted that, given the poverty of the lands as a whole, the chiefs and landlords, factors and tacksmen, were the saviours of their people. Yet even among those who supported authority in general, there was

[113] [1] Charles Booth, *Zachary Macaulay*, 1934.

175 seldom agreement as to which of these three types brought
554 the greater good or wrought the lesser evil. As elsewhere,
565 tacksmen declined by the end of the eighteenth century.
427 Buchanan wrote in 1793, "The greatest tacksman in Lewis is the Laird's ground officer"; but he added that the Island was for the most part inhabited by tenants holding directly from Seaforth, who "easily perceived the folly, as well as the inhumanity, of lending out the people on his island to imperious tacksmen, for the purpose of raising fortune to themselves on the ruins of the unfortunate subtenants". At a later date a former Chamberlain of the Lewis estate, John Munro Mackenzie of Calgarry, held otherwise. To the Napier Crofters' Commission in 1883, he said: "Till the beginning of this century the greater part of the Lewis was in the hands of tacksmen, or middlemen, who got in some cases from their subtenants in money, produce, and labour, what nearly paid their rents". Their names were those of the seventeenth century. Early in the century, "when Mr. Stewart-Mackenzie married the Hon. Lady Hood, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and took the management of the estate into his own hands, he did away with the middlemen, and let the land direct to the crofters.
[232] This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction, but it had its disadvantages, as the example of a good middleman, who looked after his people, and who was industrious in farming . . . and stock-breeding, was beneficial to the people, though in some cases they may have been petty tyrants." He might no doubt have added that they could, if need be, stand between a bad factor and the crofters.

[228] When they lost their tacks, some of these 'middlemen' turned to the growing fishing industry and helped to supply capital and enterprise as curers; their successors were active through the nineteenth century and I spoke with

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 the last of these in outlying villages after 1918. When
554 Matheson purchased the Island in 1844 he left the fishing
565 industry to the curers, great and small. Particularly before
427 most fishermen could speak and write English, the local
228 curers were best fitted to take action not only in marketing but in approaching the Government to aid the construction of piers and harbours. On the whole, their long ties with place and people, coupled with education, made them useful leaders of a community in which leaders were needed to adapt life to a changing economy. Here and there one or two small farmers survive, a little apart from the main townships. Aided by a long cultural tradition, they meet changing times by combining with their inheritance a sane selection of new elements.

175 Looking beyond the Island to the mainland, the time is
621 approaching for a fair assessment to be made of the historic
622 parts of chief and landlord, factor and tacksman. Not only
427 is there an enlarging body of documentation, but a growing
184 understanding of communal strands in tradition and of changing social economy seen in relation to geographic factors of place and region. And in the Gaeldom, condi-
[178] tions varied greatly between bordering areas from Mar to
[182] Kintyre,[1] and the heartland of tradition in the Hebrides. In the Island, one must remember the fundamental opposition, yet the recurrent readjustments of chiefs and people. These, and not only individual differences in character and conduct, explain the differences of experience and opinion
[829] quoted above. The people's belief, so frequently given to me thirty years ago, that it was bad factors, not the landlord, who taxed and harried them unjustly, expressed an idealistic faith in a chief, rather than the facts of economy
[565] and history. For lordship begins with the imposition of
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[1] A. McKerral, *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, 1947.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide for the lord's desires.

(E) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

174 614 577 [501] [726]

The peaceful round of daily life formed the most enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tensest ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must speak for them. Many a song of the Isles conveys the team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men.

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And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portraying the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who warred against the waves and won. Alexander Macdonald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic, and probably in English, verse for its portraits of the crew in action, from steersman to 'look-out'. The flowing metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

174 614 501 539 577 [113]

The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with "the Blessing of the Ship", the arms and the crew. Then the bard, speaking for the stately skipper, "incites the sixteen oarsmen to row" out of the bay, and they row to a rousing shanty, a *Iorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and

[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (2nd ed.), 1890 (pp. 1-28); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 65-85), 1940. Cf. A. Macleod (Ed.), *Sar Orain: Three Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1933. The different themes of its sections, each in its own metre, have been published separately, in *The Songs of the Hebrides*, and elsewhere.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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with words of heartening but well-weighed praise, each post with its duties is apportioned to the man best fitted for it by his temper, strength and skill—or even by some special weakness! First the steersman:

"Let this broad heavy hero sit at the helm, powerful and limber . . .
Light handed on a helm, watchful and wary, cautious yet quick . . ."

Then others "Put this great-fisted and shrewd man to grapple with the rigging. . . . Windwise, he'll work with him that holds the shrouds . . . a thick-set, broad and craggy champion . . . and with him that grips the sheet, a neat and handy fellow. Set at the prow our pilot, keen-eyed for the airts, and with a sure sight for each landmark like a guiding star. And set at the halyard this self-reliant seaman, tried and clear-headed, grimly alert. . . ." They put to sea, and as the sea roughens, the steersman cries, "Quick at my ear a man to watch for the rain-squalls! Choose me a fellow who's half-fearful, yet not a real coward . . . for he must be quick to shout when he sights a big sea bearing down on us. But let no other but himself be by me, lest there be babble and hubbub to bewilder us." Then, as the seas break over the open vessel:

"To bale her let this strong man rise, active and brave,
Who will not blanch or yield or tremble for the shouting wave. . . ."

Next, "Let two stout fellows, these thick-boned, rough and hairy chaps, haul on the ropes behind the sails, to raise or lower them as we're lowered or uplifted by the surging seas. . . ." And last, for fear one fail or be dashed overboard by a wave, six nimble men are picked to stand by,

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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174 ready to leap fore or aft: "Quick to move as the mountain
614 hare . . . or the hounds after him; quick to climb as a
501 squirrel in the spring-time". Then comes the stirring
539 evocation of the storm, testing each man's mettle and the
577 discipline of all, until at last, their ship battered and themselves bruised and weary but undaunted, the crew reach Islay and round the sheltering point of Carrickfergus. There, with thanks to the High King, they drop anchor, the *birlinn* rides in peace, and all find meat and drink and rest.

175 As at sea, so in war, loyalty could rise to heroism in
614 individuals and corps. Young men were attached to their
721 chiefs by chivalrous leadership in warfare, both before
703 1745 and later. The Highlanders' high character contrasted with that of most Regiments of the Line, too often disciplined with the lash while demoralised by debauchery. From Lewis the Islesmen went out to the Seaforth or the Ross-shire Highlanders. General David Stewart of Garth, historian of the Highland regiments and people, wrote of these two regiments that again and again their courage and coolness in battle were proved.[1]

175 Not less striking was the record of Gaels among civil
648 populations, whether in Britain, as in the 'Forty-five, or abroad. In Germany in 1761 and 1762 much was said of the Highlanders' kindness, "for the boors were much better treated by those savages than by the polished English and French". Similarly in the Low Countries in 1814 and 1815, they were *enfants de la famille* and "kind as well as brave". The mayor of Brussels declared that they "called forth the attachment and esteem of all", and the inhabitants requested him "to endeavour to detain the 78th (2nd battalion Ross-shire) regiment of Scotchmen in the town, and to prevent their being replaced by other troops".

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[1] *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 2 vols., 1822-12

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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and to prevent their being replaced by other troops ".

Such discipline was only possible when their officers trusted to feelings and character. The officers were usually Highlanders, though some notable Lowlanders led Highland corps, and a Welshman commanded the Ross-shire Highlanders with success. Stewart, who had served with the regiment, after recounting their disciplined courage in battle in India, wrote: " The notice of all India was attracted by the temperate habits of the soldiers and Colonel Mackenzie's mode of punishment, by a threat to inform his parents of the misconduct of a delinquent, or to send a bad character of him to his native country ". In the twenty-five years of peace and war during which the first battalion had been established, there had not been desertion among the men enlisted in the Highlands. " There were in this battalion nearly 300 men from Lord Seaforth's estate in the Lewis. Several years elapsed before any of these men were charged with a crime deserving severe punishment. In 1799 a man was tried and punished. This so shocked his comrades that he was put out of their society as a degraded man who brought shame to his kindred. The unfortunate outcast became unhappy and desperate, and Colonel Mackenzie, to save him from destruction, applied and got him sent to England, where his disgrace would be unknown and unnoticed . . . [and] he quite recovered his character."

If the officers' regard for their men led to true discipline, the men's expectations of high conduct from their officers brought forth leadership in the field. Mutual regard began in peace. When Stewart of Garth first joined his regiment as a young ensign, his colonel assigned to him an elderly private to act not only as servant, according to regulations, [551] but also as intimate counsellor. Stewart tells how this

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 703 [551] private naturally addressed him in Gaelic by his Christian name, and writes of him with the warmth and respect due to an elderly relation. Something of this mutual regard remains; and young Englishmen of education have told me of their surprised admiration for the character of the best traditional type of 'Regular' Scottish, and particularly Highland, non-commissioned officer, before and during the two world wars.

175 829 Such bravery and character abroad led Stewart to the conviction that their foundation must be the character of the peasantry at home. He held that the Highlanders' home life demanded support, and having served with the Sutherland Highlanders, he felt the deepest grief and anger at the clearances of the Sutherland estates by an English [727] proprietor. When Stewart remarked that a few deaths mattered little when compared to the nation's renown, for this 'endures for ever', he referred to deaths in battle, which he analysed as typically of 1 to 2 per cent of the men. Whereas upon long voyages or in unhealthy stations, 25 per cent of soldiers or civilians might die of disease.

175 703 614 Yet, to the Gael, discipline did not mean blind submission to injustice. "Accustomed to obey their immediate chiefs, who durst not break a compact with them, and to have promises punctually fulfilled, implicit submission was not yielded when they had rights to preserve." For the bond by which, of old, the Highlanders "were held to their superiors and one another" was "the bond [648] of fidelity and affection. . . . In later times, when they entered the King's service, they considered themselves as contracting parties", and resented breaches of faith. Of eight mutinies in as many regiments, that of the Seaforth in 1778 should be instanced here. The regiment included many Lewismen, with Mackenzies and Macraes, and also

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 some 200 men enlisted at Perth. When, shortly after they
703 had been embodied, the men were quartered in Leith prior
614 to embarkation, complaints arose about infringement of
648 engagements. "The regiment refused to embark, and marching out of Leith, with pipes playing and two plaids fixed on poles instead of colours, took a position on Arthur's Seat at Dunsappie, of which they kept possession for several days." The inhabitants of Edinburgh, who had encouraged them, supplied them with provisions and ammunition. "After much negotiation, a proper understanding was brought about . . . and they marched down the hill . . . with pipes playing and with the Earls of Seaforth and Dunmore, and General Skene, at their head. They entered Leith, and went on board the transports
[721] with the greatest readiness. . . ." None of the men were tried or confined. Seaforth, as their colonel, set out with them to India—although his fortune and title would have allowed him ease at home, or the purchase of higher military rank. His death on the long voyage contributed to the men's "prostration of mind which made them succumb more easily to the effects of disease", scurvy, of which 230 out of 1100 fit men died before reaching Madras, and others soon after. As we have told, the survivors fought with disciplined courage.

175 To a chief, recruitment was financially important, for
702 he, and not only the recruits, received a handsome bounty.
614 Simultaneously it provided him with a commission without the cost of purchase—previous training and promotion being considered unnecessary. The clansmen knew these facts of bounty and command, and generally responded to an appeal. When Stewart of Garth was recruiting for the Ross-shire Regiment, a band of young Lewismen joined it for half the bounty offered by a Lowland regiment!

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 The families of the young men might be willing to
702 encourage enlistment. But they pled or bargained for an assurance that after service was over their sons should be returned to their homes and have land on which to settle down. The receipt of the bounty and their savings would help the men to pay rent later.

175 Passive resistance was offered at times, however, as
702 when the Macleod Highlanders were raised in 1757, only a decade after the 'Forty-five. An Island friend has told
668 me of a family tradition, that, as a young man at that time, his own great-grandfather was concealed to escape conscription. And the press gang was busy in Stornoway when the *Old Statistical Account* was written. Protest had usually to be made in secrecy or silence; but a revolt was
[533] organised by Stornoway men in 1793.[1] And the voice of one unwilling conscript has come down to us in a song, well known in the Isles (though little known in English), with the refrain—*Och ho ro*, brown lad, so bonnie (*'ille dhuinn*). Although it bears no sign of Jacobitism, it begins,
175 " My grief to be wearing King George's red clothing!"
702 It continues, " The short-coated sailors bore us to Holland.
668 It was a Saturday evening when we fought; and many a
539 wife was widowed ere dawn broke on the Lord's Day, their husbands ta'en, whom gold can never restore, stretched out among the rushes, blood pouring over their shoulders. . . .

' O'er the hills bear my greeting to Mull of the mountains;
Where cuckoos are cooing, on the braes before Beltane.'

' Bear my greeting to my mother, who nurtured me, to my sister who weeps for me, and to my sweetheart; I'll be home if death spares me."[2]

[1] Public Record Office, H.O. 50/2. Letters of Francis Humberstone Mackenzie (16th and 19th May 1793), communicated by Mr. J. R. Western.
[2] Charles Stewart, *The Killin Collection*.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 Such are the mingled traditions of the Highland
701 regiments which served in so many wars, for right or for
[614] wrong. Of all the desperate alternatives before the Gael —famine at home, semi-slavery in the factory towns, death-stricken sea voyages, pioneering in the forested hills of Eastern North America, or war, it was this last which offered the men not only the trappings and glamour of clanship but continuing fellowship. In the regiment a Gael was among friends. Modern civilisation offered him no other life promising social continuity and the hope of a return to croft and township, " if death should spare him ".

175 It would be wrong to suggest that only the gentry could
701 rise to command, for as English and literacy were acquired,
565 the sons of small tenants received commissions. British
554 military discipline has too often driven a breach between the men and the non-commissioned officers, spoiling the
[703] latter's fitness for higher leadership. But among Highlanders " the bond of faith and affection " led naturally to commissioned rank. For generations, historic precedent
[178] was carried on in living tradition.[1] Given education, the
[871] sons of Island crofters have risen to command on land and sea; but education came late.

CONCLUSION

175 Thus in the ' little commonwealths ' of the farm-hamlets
621 grouped within the township, personal right and equal
631 shares were balanced by common duty, summed up in the principle of duty-right or coir.

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[1] The tradition of leadership calls for review but here one can only cite examples. For instance, descendants of his neighbours in Strath Spey told me that my paternal grandfather, as a penniless lad speaking Gaelic and English (in which he was literate), enlisted in the Black Watch about 1829. He was known as a N.C.O. for his power of quiet, reasoning discipline. He thrice refused the offer of a commission, which was then given to others, of whom more than one rose to high command in the battalion.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 principle of duty-right or *coir*. Further, in so far as chief
614 and people claimed unity as the children, the clan, of one
577 ancestor, they had crystallised a fair ideal, realised by an
621 exchange of services ('cuideachy'). Gaelic clanship was not without its Lowland counterpart in 'kindness' which linked those of one 'kind'—'kinsfolk' and neighbours—to their ferm-toun and parish, to one another, and to the laird. Tyranny and betrayal by chief and laird make one share the bitterness of grief once felt as competition for scarce land broke up 'kindness'. Yet the people's endeavour and attainment in the past give hope for the future.

175 All have heard of the hereditary Highland chief and
614 many have read of the gentlemen-farmers, but too few
621 have heard of team and crew, and township-parliament.
622 It is time we learned not only of the aristocratic chief but of the chosen helmsman and the democratic constable. So long as the fallacy is repeated that the Highlanders "never co-operated, and could not act together except under the orders of a chief", so long will it be easy to add, "and they never will"! Historic truth may have much to teach
[642] for the renewal of leadership for life together. And beyond the Highlands, the example of this aristo-democracy, at its worst and its best, may contribute to new concepts of community.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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CHAPTER VII

THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

771 As in every form of religion rooted in communal life,
[221] the sacraments and prayers of the Gael were linked
to labour and to the phases of life's cycle. While
[796] some of the 'runes' or prayers were essentially personal
and others were breathed only in the closest intimacy,
many were shared by a group of families: the tried team
of the men or women of a joint farm, the people of a
[621] neighbourhood and township or wider group. The com-
munities being so small and isolated, their members de-
pended greatly upon themselves and upon one another.
[794] As in worship in common, so in healing of body or spirit
and in the invocation of grace upon youth, now one, now
another might lead in praise and prayer. So, too, the
leader of a little team would lead in the dedication of their
work, and, when it was completed, be 'the consecrator'
of its fruit.

771 Where no clergy were at hand, neighbours, perforce,
794 practised the saying of one they called their 'foster-
brother': that if no more than "two of you agree on
earth about anything you pray for, it will be done for you
by my Father in heaven. For where two or three have
gathered in my name, I am there among them" (Matt.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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xviii. 19-20). The worldly wise might think that the spiritual fare of these poor folk must have been lean indeed; while others, having heard much of the Highlanders' 'pagan' superstitions, may think even worse! The evidence from which to judge is found in survivals from a rich lore, and for most readers seen but 'darkly' through prose translations from the poetry of a tongue now known to few.

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The richest collection is Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* (*Ortha nan Gaidheal*).[1] Others were made by the Rev. Fr. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay, and by the Rev. Kenneth Macleod with Mrs. M. Kennedy-Fraser in the *Songs of the Hebrides*. Included here are unpublished verses given by crofter-friends in the Isles and others from Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection,[2] hitherto untranslated. What still remains has come down to us only by narrow escapes. One is reminded of 'Father Allan's' early death, after nursing his parishioners through an epidemic; and Carmichael's escape from drowning as "on

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[1] *Carmina Gadelica: Ortha Nan Gaedheal.* Hymns and incantations with illustrative notes on words, rites and customs, dying and obsolete: orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and translated into English; vols. i and ii (1st ed., 1900; 2nd ed., 1928); vol. iii, 1940; vol. iv, 1941. The last two volumes were edited by the collector's grandson, Prof. James Carmichael Watson, whose death as an Ordinary Seaman in war is mourned by his friends, and has been described as a disaster to the cause of Gaelic, and of humane learning in Scotland. One more volume edited by James C. Watson awaits publication. (In the following, quotations are referred to as from *Carmina*, followed by the number of the rune: Nos. 1-216, vols. i and ii; and Nos. 217-351, vol. iii. Vol. iv contains varied lore.)

[2] Of all these four, the least known is Fr. Allan Macdonald's little collection, *Comh-Chruinneachadh de Laoidhean Spioradail*, Hugh Macdonald, Oban, 1893. It was privately printed, and lacks a translation and table of contents. There could be no finer memorial to this man and the community whose spiritual life he helped to record than a new edition of all its ancient Gaelic 'spiritual songs', with the addition of others he wrote down before his death in 1905, and perhaps, of some of his own poems, notably his famous *Eilean na h-òige*, "Isle of the Young".

771 a night of black mistiness .... he waded nearly breast-
539 high" through the dangerous South Ford of Benbecula, "conscious only of the roll and the singing of waters and the rhythm of a poem he had taken down a few hours before"—"The Invocation of the Graces", so nearly lost with him! Much that Carmichael learned was given him under a seal of confidence he never broke, although he mourned the loss this meant. The confidence he inspired—which even those who knew him only in their childhood remember for life—was a source of his quiet, unfailing power.

796 The following begins with the runes and rites of labour,
794 throughout the day, week and year, on land and sea and at home. Turning to the day of rest and to congregational
[221] worship, one must enquire as to the presence of the clergy, and question closely how far the people had access to the Bible throughout the centuries: were they really cut off from its riches, from its essence, as the Reformers and the Evangelicals of last century asserted with such vehemence? One can then turn to the runes and rites which opened the phases of life, from birth to maturity, marriage and parenthood, leading at last to life's close.

128 But no social inheritance is without its burden. Having
181 told of the foundations of faith, something must be said in the next chapter of the negative or superstitious side of
771 Island belief, of temptations and evils which the people could face, and of others to which they submitted in
[121] ignorance. From the evidence of faith and wisdom, or error, one must attempt some evaluation of attainment by single souls and by the community, and of the power and fullness of life in common.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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CH. VII SPIRITUAL LIFE OF COMMUNITY

(A) SACRAMENTS AND RUNES OF LABOUR, IN FAMILY, TEAM AND TOWNSHIP

788 221 Labour given to the winning of food, shelter and clothing was begun and blessed by poetic, rhythmic prayers or 'runes'. The words were usually reinforced by a symbolic gesture or simple rite. By help of the runes the people sought spiritual preparation for work, invoked aid and finally consecrated the thing made for use.

221 461 [171] Wherever work was rhythmic it was carried on by working songs. Songs of hunting or herding recalled the hill and pasture, or praised the landscape with an exuberant flow unequalled in any tongue we know but old Irish, with which Scots Gaelic is so closely linked, or Welsh, of which the nature classics are linked to the epics of the sixth and seventh century thought to be composed in Strathclyde.[1]

788 461 [171] Yet it was not these but the rhythmic prayers or runes which initiated labour, stage by stage. They are paralleled among many peoples, but those of the Gael possess rare fullness of meaning and beauty of imagery, words and form. When labour was ended, the food won or the clothing made was consecrated for the use of family and friends, of the poor and the stranger-guest.

788 241 In the struggle for food, the sowing and reaping of corn ranked highest, followed by its parching and grinding (*Carmina*, Nos. 88-92). The preparation of seed for its sowing was accompanied by its consecration, *an coisreageadh sioil*. Similarly for reaping: "Laying his bonnet on the ground, the father of the family took up his sickle and,

[113] [1] Examples of these nature poems are given in scholarly prose translation by Kenneth H. Jackson (1937 and 1950). Songs with their melodies will be found in Arthur Geddes (Ed.), *The Songs of Craig and Ben*, vol. i, 1951.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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788 facing the sun, he cut a handful of corn. Putting the
241 handful three times round his head, the man raised the '*Iollach Buana*', reaping salutation,—and the whole family
[175] then took up the strain." While these notes by Carmichael
[178] describe the custom after the abolition of the farm-team, he also tells of "all the people of the Townland going together to reap" (*Carmina*, No. 89, cf. Note to No. 90). In the days of close partnership this was no doubt a team blessing, said by the chief reaper among his neighbours in mutual aid.

782 Grace before meals survives in Presbyterian house-
264 holds; and ancient graces are recorded in *Carmina*, vol. iii. The unpublished examples given here are from Miss Annie
[114] Johnston (or NicIain), Barra, to whose knowledge Gaelic lore owes so much:

1. O God, bless our portion, and our people.
2. O God, be about the beginning of our life (or food) and about the end of our life (*lit.* of our world).
3. O God, let nothing enter our bodies that may harm our souls.

A Dhia, beannaich ar cuid 'us ar cuideachd.
A Dhia, bi mu thus ar bithe (or *bidhe*)
'us mu dheireadh ar saoghail.
A Dhia, na leig dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n'anam.[1]

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[1] The reader will note the meaning in translation; but he should also scan the Gaelic, and the assonance of the vowels. In the first and shortest there is a simple play upon sound and meaning: *ar cuid 'us cuideachd*—"our share (of things) and our (share of) people, friends and family". In the second, Miss Johnston thinks there may be a play upon the words 'life' and 'food' (of which the sound is almost the same), reminding one that food is the means of life and of all that life means. In the third the apposition of ideas is characteristically emphasised in the pattern of the accented vowels in the words "*dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n-anam*"; here again the form, by means of which it sank through the senses into the heart, marks its native origin. Contrast with these the translation into Gaelic of a common English Grace. As in the English original, its prose lacks poetic form: *Tha sinn a toirt taing dhuit, A Thigearna, airson nan tiodhlaicean a tha Do mhathas a' buileachadh oirnn, troimh Iosa Criosda ar Tighearna.* Amen.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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782 The care of cattle was accompanied by prayer. As an
233 Eriskay housewife said to me, she would never leave her cow tethered without a murmured, "Saint Columba be herding you" (*Buachaille a'Chaluim-cille ort*). The curing of animal sickness, as of human ailments, was accompanied by prayers. And prayer was used to avert the evil eye, symbol of suspicions born of unreasoning fear which, psychologists tell us, beset the modern but little less than the ancient! The thought or act of prayer which links a man to his fellow-men links him to the dumb beasts. "The man who is merciful to a soul will not be merciless to a brute" (*Am fear a bhitheas trocaireach ri anam, cha bhith e mithrocaireach ri bhruid*).

796 Throughout Christendom each task of the annual
171 rhythm was marked, at its start and close, by a day of seasonal festival (*Lá Feill*). These Christian festivals re-
779 placed earlier celebrations and continued some of their features, often in play. Yet concerted seasonal activities could not be related to the supreme festival of the Christian Church, Easter, owing to its movable date. This is one reason for the great importance of other, fixed Festivals to
[114] rural community life. This point, not always appreciated by latter-day individualism, is made clear by M. M. Banks in describing *British Calendar Customs*, vol. i, *Scotland*
175 (1937). Remembering that the Old Style Calendar dates
178 were ten days later than the New Style (when officially adopted in Scotland in 1600), they may be compared with
796 the annual rhythm of climate and labour (Fig. 9). Until 1600, the New Year began in spring on 25th March. After the Reformation and the abolition of Christmas or Noel, *Nollaig*, New Year's Day on 1st January took its place as the day which, in the Protestant Highlands and Lowlands, still keeps alive some of the old friendly visiting and

31 Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 796 178 'first-footing'. In the past the lads came in bands singing carols, and once admitted—refusal of hospitality being out of the question—any misunderstandings and quarrels of the past year had to be forgiven and forgotten. With individual visits this is no longer possible, for though these maintain friendship, they cannot easily and naturally heal a quarrel.

175 796 533 [127] From Lewis three fine carols once sung by youths are recorded, of which the fidelity of Carmichael's translation goes far to render both sense and feeling (Nos. 55-57).[1] In Ness I have sought in vain for the old melodies from the descendants of Angus Gunn. Born about 1800, Gunn had lived for many years as a shepherd on the islet of North Rona, unreached by the burning zeal of the Evangelists, so that his traditional piety survived. Could they be found, these melodies would enrich the remnant of authentic Christian lore in Britain, for even the well-known English carols are mostly of modern reconstruction.

The first Christmas Hail opens, "*Ho Ri*, Hail to the King, Blessed is He. . . . Blessed be the house and all therein. . . . Lasting . . . and healthy round the hearth be ye. . . ." It goes on, "This night is the eve of the great Nativity, the great Noel [*Nochd oidhche Nollaige moire* . . .]; Born is the Son. . . ." It closes, "Shone the mountains . . . earth, and land, Heard was the wave upon the strand. . . . Blessed be the King . . . to all ages, to all time." A fragment from Tolsta, Lewis, sung by boys on New Year's Eve as they begged for a Noel bannock from house to house, latterly began and ended with playful nonsense, yet it retained its traditional climax: "[On the first day of the New Year] I saw the Threesome [The Trinity] going to the shore. The land shone, the

[113] [1] No. 59 is set to an Eriskay chant in *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, p. 159.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 earth shone, The wave shone on the shore; The deer of
796 the mountain steep shone. . . ." [1]
533 "The Christ Child's Lullaby" is a lovely carol narrat-
ing the Christmas tale. Legend tells that it was sung by
175 'Mary-Mother' herself to an unwanted stepchild lost on
796 the moors, where his stepmother found him in the arms
533 of Mary, who sang as she lulled him. The stepmother
773 cherished this song with the lost child, henceforth loved as
her own.[2] The poetry of the Gael, like the odes of Greece and the Psalms of the Hebrews, is luminous with the vision of mountains, land and sea, reflecting a light within that of sun or moon, and sonorous with the rhythm of wave, tide and season which are "of all ages and to all time,
[181] *gach linn gu brath*". Its adoration is full of nature and of humanity, yet it soars above mere nature worship or anthropomorphism.

175 While Christmas, more than any, was a festival of
796 leisure, others were closely linked to labour. The festival dates of Candlemas or Lent, of Saint Bride's, Saint Patrick's or Lady Day, marked the stages of spring's coming and the duties they brought. Summer came in at Beltane—held in May, though the word included other dates connected with spring fire; and on St. John's Day

113 [1] Donald Macdonald, M.A., MS. essay for the Royal Scot. Geog. Society.

[2] A short version is published in the *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. A translator may choose from its 29 stanzas—though all are true to the Gospel and worth translation. Of the simple choral variant of the air (as published) Fr. Allan Macdonald told Miss Amy Murray his grief that it had superseded the melodic variety given to the Lullaby when sung by one singer at a time (*Celtic Review*, 1905–6). From three variants noted from oral singing one can arrange a melodic sequence. To pass from a major variant (set to stanzas on Jesus's mother, the shepherds and the 'kings') to minor variants (set to the tale of Herod's evil deeds) restores much of the dramatic intensity of this noble carol. Only deep feeling for the Gospels could create and maintain, without written help, so full a version of the words and variety of associated melody. (The complete words, *Taladh Chriosta*, are in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, p. 7.)

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 at midsummer came joyous departure to the shielings.
796 Michaelmas at the end of September was a festival of horsemanship, when the ponies, rested and well fed, could race madly along the machar. As long nights brought in the winter, Hallowe'en came on 31st October, and on the morrow the solemnity of All Hallows (*Samhain*). On 11th November came St. Martin's Day, and in December Christmas once again.

175 When the Islesmen put out to sea, prayers were chanted
782 to Father, Son and Holy Spirit and to the Disciples, " the Fishers of Men ". While some of these might be individual (*Carmina*, Nos. 117-120), others were chanted by the skipper at the helm, as celebrant, the crew giving the
[178] responses (No. 121). As self-sustained community life weakened and customs were endangered, this prayer was
[779] encouraged by a few clergy, Catholic and Protestant. At
175 the start of the season's fishing in Eriskay, Fr. Allan Macdonald went out in the boats and chanted a rune taught
226 to him by elders, the men responding.[1] One of the ' Ocean
788 Blessings ' or prayers recorded by Carmichael (No. 119) is found in Bishop Carswell's *Liturgy in Gaelic*, of 1569, and is quoted by Martin as " a form of prayer used by many of the islanders at sea after the sails are set ".[2] Most of Carswell's *Liturgy* was translated from that of John Knox, but not this prayer, of which the earlier and later-recorded version are the same, except for one revealing difference.

[178] [1] In so doing, ' Father Allan ' may have been restoring a pious service of an older school of Gaelic priests trained upon the College of Lismore, an island in Loch Linnhe. Lismore was the birthplace of Carmichael, and in the home of his Protestant parents the young priests were hospitably received.

[2] *Foirm nan Urnaighthe* (ed. M'Lauchlan), 240, and Martin, 1703 (edition of 1934, pp. 186-189). A new text of Carswell is in preparation by the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 As recorded by Carswell (and Martin), this prayer,
226 after calling upon the Trinity, tells that the Three-in-One,
788 ever living, guided Clan Israel through the Red Sea,
773 brought Jonah to land from the belly of the great ocean beast, and led Paul and his companions from the torment of the sea; after these three stanzas it closes with a general supplication. As heard by Carmichael three centuries after Carswell, the first three stanzas are identical, but they are
[539] followed by the culmination. Recalling the hour "when the storm poured on the Sea of Galilee . . .", the poem goes on, "Be Thou, King of the elements, seated at our helm, And lead us in peace to our voyage's end. . . ." It is significant that the Reformation Liturgy includes the story of Clan Israel's flight from their enemy whose drowning forms the climax of the tale, and the absurd miracle of the whale—a late interpolation in the convincing original Hebrew poem on Jonah's voyage,[1]—but that it omits the Christian climax, of the storm allayed by Christ, the Helmsman of peace.

[539] Another fishers' rune (No. 120) concludes, "To whom trembles the voice of the wind? To whom become tranquil strait and ocean? To Jesus Christ, Chief of each saint, Son of Mary, Root of Victory." These blessings, though they refer to the Old Testament, dwell lovingly on the New. Their thought is of the fishermen friends, Peter, Andrew and John, of the Baptist and of Christ's mother, of Saint Martin and later apostles to the Gael, and the Archangels, and of Christ, Rock of rocks (*Carraig Ail*), and the Trinity.
226 These bring strength in danger, peace after strife with the
778 elements, remembrance of the poor, and fellowship to the crews. Peace and strength pervade the "Dawn Prayer of

[1] R. G. Moulton, *Modern Reader's Bible* (reissue, 1925, pp. 1423-1424; cf. Note to Matt. xii. 40, p. 1696).

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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Clanranald"[1] and echo in the opening benediction of Alexander Macdonald's "*Birlinn* of Clanranald", without which his 'Galley', for all the glory of its strife with storm, would never have won its place in the heart of the seafaring Gael.

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As for journeys over sea, so for those over land, "Traversing corries, traversing forests, traversing valleys, long and wild . . .", the traveller or pilgrim, the drover or emigrant, leaving home and his friends, would have their prayers. They would accompany him on the first steps of his way with cheer and laughter or with tears, as those have told me who remembered my grandfather's leaving

[539]

his home in Strath Spey more than a century ago. These journey-blessings were spoken by the traveller: "Life be in my speech, sense in what I say . . .", or by those to whom he was dear. (*Carmina*, No. 116; *Guidheachan Turais*, Nos. 266-276.) In these prayers, bodily travel and spiritual quest are sustained on the mountain-track by the strength of home-ties and fellowship, and by the hospitality of Christians on the path ahead.

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When family and neighbour-team were closely knit, their own harmony drew the stranger in. "The Rune of Hospitality", threaded together from old fragments by the Rev. Kenneth MacLeod, breaks out into the refrain of the lark as she sings to the listening heart of the host:

[539]

"Many, a many, a many a time, Comes the Christ in the stranger's guise!"[2] Hospitality is truest when its sacrifice—so real in a land of poverty—is given as a duty but with a smile!

[1] *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, pp. ix-x.

[2] "*Gur minig, a minig, a minig . . .!*" "*Duan na h-aoigheachd*". (*An Gaidheal*, Dec. 1942.)

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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(B) SACRAMENTS OF THE HEARTH AND THE PLAIDING

788 For shelter and life by the hearth there are noble runes.
592 The house with its household was blessed, when newly
built by a bridegroom's friends, yearly after its thatching,
[356] or regularly at nightfall. The blessing was said by the goodman in the presence of his family and helper-neighbours, or intimately by either of the parents as they went to rest (*Carmina*, Nos. 44, 45).

In the darkness of the 'black house' the fire was a
[354] centre of warmth **and light**, of life and union. "The Blessing of the Living" (the Fire) was said by the housewife as she rekindled or, rather, uncovered the sleeping
788 embers when she rose. Those who, tired or in want,
592 have ever lit a fire in darkness may best feel, in her words,
how the glow without kindles the light within.
354
539 "I will kindle my fire today in presence of the angels . . .
Without malice . . . or fear . . . of any one under the sun,
But the Holy Son of God to shield me."

And then (as the dim glow lightens and warms): "God, kindle Thou in my heart within, A flame of love to my neighbour, To my foe, to my friend, to my kindred all, To the brave, to the knave, to the thrall. . . . From the lowliest thing that liveth To the name that is highest of all (*Gu ruig an t-Ainm is airde*)." In spirit this reaches universality; its verse-form is purest poetry (*Carmina*, No. 82).

For the covering, smothering or smoo'ring of the embers at night, the following was said to me not long ago

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788 (in Gaelic) by a housewife in a Catholic isle, as our friend-
592 ship matured. It had been said nightly at her fire by her
354 father-in-law until his death (not long before), which had
539 come after that of his wife. "I smoo'r the fire tonight, As Mary's Son smoo'red. Be it well with house and fire; Be it well with all our household. Who are on this floor? Peter and Paul. Who are on watch tonight? Light-white Mary and her Son. Thus God's voice taught, And the Angel spoke: The Angel at my house door, Until the clear day come tomorrow. Amen." As this variant shows, memory still lives in the Isles.[1]

788 In these runes, the key to the words "as Mary's Son
593 and as Mary did, in their day" is the example of filial duty,
776 of wifely and motherly care. In spite of lapses to 'Mario-
[779] latry' during periods of decadence in the Roman Church, the virtual banishment of Christ's mother from Protestantism has led to a loss deeper than Presbyterian Scotland has yet realised. Her name was a daily reminder, both of a woman's part in the spiritual life of the home, and of a son's self-discipline and affection: in a word, of mutual love.

788 For wool, the sheep were blessed, as in the "Clipping
[236] Blessing". There were blessings of the loom and of
[286] warping and weaving; and after neighbourly fulling or 'waulking' of the finished web, came its consecration.
[461] As the work was solitary and communal in turn, so the prayer. Carmichael's own fine prose translations should be
[127] studied (*Carmina*, vol. i, Nos. 108-113; cf. vol. iv, pp.
[538] 88-99). Yet, those being available, we quote rhythmic

[113] [1] Cf. Rev. Allan Macdonald, *Comh-chruinneachadh*, p. 107; *Carmina* (Nos. 84-87, 324-326); and M. Kennedy-Fraser, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. ii, p. 31. Sacred lore is not to be picked up lightly by a stranger. It was only upon the second of my prolonged stays under her hospitable roof that this good woman would admit and impart her knowledge, treasured in the secret places of her heart.

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538 versions to suggest the significant poetic form of the original.

788 "The Clipping Blessing", being addressed to creatures, 236 is simple in thought and form, and its opening may be rendered:

> O come back woolly, though now you're shorn,
> By May, may each a lamb have borne,
> May lovely Bride you endow,
> And Mary fair sustain you now!

[825] It goes on to beg protection from wolf and bear, as well [538] as fox, hoodie crow and eagle, and closes with the opening couplet.

236 From start to finish the work must be true. The wool 461 is from the sheep they reared—it is not got by 'thigging', as a landlord takes 'gifts' from poor tenants; the yarn is sound with no odds of thread from worn-out cloth; the web is their very own, not the clergyman's due (*Carmina*, 786 110, 113, 109). Only so can the goodwife's web be beauti- 788 ful, and blest. "Thrums nor odds of thread, my hand never kept nor shall keep. Every hue in the bow-of-the- [539] shower has gone through my fingers beneath the cross." [593] The weaver, with her household cares and her bairns about her, to be clear in mind must be calm in heart as, thread by [796] thread, she prepares her warp. To start, she chooses Saint Columba's Day.

[539]

> Thursday of blessings
> For warping and waulking,
> Thrice fifty strands
> To number . . .
>
> Ward away the evil eye!
> Or evil will, or aught awry,
> Consecrate, O Lord on High,
> My Loom . . .

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Make smooth and even the warp of my loom
And grant thy blessing, God, on me,
On all who here find shelter and room
And dwelling . . .

Thine arm be round each woman here
Who waulks this web of mine,
O aid her in her hour of need . . .

Keep the flock that we may win
Sweet and nourishing milk to drink
And wool to give, to weans and kin,
For wear!

Even now in Harris or the Lews, a brief good wish may be uttered—a "Health and strength to the wearers!" as the perspiring women end the waulking; but in the past the web was finally consecrated. Each of the family who was to wear a portion of it was named by the weaver herself, who led the consecration (*Carmina*, No. 113).

May the well-loved wearer of my web
Never be wounded . . .
May the sanctuary shield of the Lord be his. . . .

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[714]
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The significance of this gift of hard-won cloth can now be seen, first for the family but next for the neighbourly team. We can understand how each 'set' or pattern of tartan stood for the spirit of the family and the group of kin and homeland, the clan. We conceive what it meant to the Gael when the tartan, with "the Highland dress . . . or any part of it whatsoever", was forbidden "to any man or boy" in the Highlands. Women were still allowed to wear it, it was true, but the dress ceased to be a symbol of community when its wear was confined to one sex. As a single exception, the Highland dress was retained for soldiers, but the militarisation of the tartan—though it seized upon one strand of clanship, that of

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, with peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven and waulked together ceased to be a sacrament when the tartan was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform with " England's cruel red ".

The framers of this law, which stood on the statute book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath which reversed every benediction said by the women at their work: " I . . . do swear, as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, any gun, sword, pistol or arm whatever, and never use tartan, plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do, may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and property—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and be without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come across me if I break my oath ". This Act, as law and symbol, struck full at the sacramental life of family, neighbour-team and clan community, in which labour and prayer had been indissolubly bound.[1]

(c) WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

Little remains of the tradition of worship in the tiny oratories, chapels or ' temples ' whose ruins stud the shores

[1] The collaboration of friends in Lewis may allow mention of the Gaelic version of A. Geddes, *The Spirit of the Tartan, a Song Drama* (English Version); *Souvenir Programme and Book of Songs* (Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, 1932). In this the spirit of this labour sequence embodied in its songs and runes is dramatised in its setting of custom and history. The Gaelic version was prepared by the generous labours of James Thomson, M.A., Bayble, and the late Duncan Macdonald, M.A., Sandwick, Lewis.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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172 of the Isles, and in which the people met, though far from
178 any clergy. On the southern mainland most trace of
346 shrines and chapels seems to have been lost, so small are
[771] the rings of unhewn stone that marked their sites. Little
was recorded by salaried clergy about the services conducted
175 there; those who approved tended to let well alone. Hence
814 written accounts have come down chiefly from those who
were out of touch with rural needs or ignorant of the
language spoken in intimacy, and whose alien training had
[217] removed them from sympathy.[1] As for those whose private
interests, stipend or subservience to patrons bound them
to prelate, lord or king, they roundly condemned free
congregations.

175 Nevertheless, fragmentary records have come down,
814 such as those of Martin, who visited St. Kilda in 1697 and
described the little church where the people still kept a
771 fine brass crucifix and worshipped together, without the
[184] presence of a clergyman. Naturally, the curiosity stimulated by St. Kilda's fabulous isolation led Martin to describe its little community more fully than any other; but he mentions similar worship elsewhere. Thus in lonely North Rona, inhabited by only five families, Martin had

[133] [1] The difficulty of initiation to intimate usages of language is exemplified in a scholarly and patriotic work, the *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (Gaelic-English, and English-Gaelic) by Malcolm Maclennan, D.D., 1925. This standard work incorporates all the words of three previous dictionaries,
[192] with many additions. Yet key words of the people's religious heritage, of immemorial age, of living usage, and recorded a generation or so before in the collections cited here, are either absent, or are given the more prosaic or debased of two shades of meaning (not the *higher*). See "*caim*, a case, sheath" or *shrine*; "*tionnsgann*, a beginning" (a *dedication*); *earna*, *Hail* or *salutation;* "*ora*, *orra*, or *ortha*, a charm . . . amulet . . . or imposture of any kind . . . Irish . . . prayer in verse—from Latin, *oratio*" (why prayer in 'Irish' only?); and other vital words. According to this scholarly dictionary, the title of the supreme Scottish collection of Gaelic religious tradition, Carmichael's *Ortha nan Gaidheal* (Latin, *Carmina Gadelica*), is to be translated, not *Prayers*, but "*Charms* . . . or Impostures . . . of the Gael"!

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175 visited the chapel of St. Rona. It was fenced, and was
814 swept every day, suggesting daily worship; and the Lord's
771 Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments were repeated
there every Sunday morning. This led Martin to say that
[788] the people had no vices; and indeed the Gael's own
prayers insist upon the beauty of virtues rather than on
the evil of vices. In Lewis at that time (1695) there were
two ministers, at Stornoway and at Barvas; and the Barvas
minister visited Rona yearly. Isolated though they were
from their fellow-Lewismen, the Rona folk thus had annual
contact with organised religion, such as was lacking even
on the main island during periods of stress in Scotland.
[648] Invasions, repeated destruction and prolonged intrigue by
the Norsemen or the English Kings, led to, and intensified,
[798] internal strife. And in Lewis forty years of warring inter-
regnum had followed the 'Reformation'.

175 These and other notes of worship given by Martin,
such as those of the Lewismen's devotions when touching
771 at the Flannan Isles, show that the worshippers relied
798 greatly upon themselves and one another. They did so
even after their primitive Christian modes of worship had
been blamed and derided by Reformers, and the new modes
in their turn condemned by such ordained priests as secretly
made their way north from Armagh to Uist, Harris and
probably to Lewis. How much more stable must their
community's faith have been before the tragic upheavals
[797] which began at the Reformation. Some four centuries
earlier, the Roman Church supplanted the institutions
developed by the early Celtic missionaries from regional
and rural growth, by a formal organisation developed upon
an imperial and civic model. Thus they may already have
shaken faith by undermining the authority of communal
[795] sanctions and traditions. But the break caused by medieval

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175 Roman Catholicism was far less complete than that ultimately brought about by Protestantism—Episcopalian or Calvinist.

At least twenty-five churches, chapels and tiny oratories are named by Martin in Lewis and his list is incomplete (1934, p. 106). Harris and its islets also had their complement of 'temples', in addition to the priory church of Rodel. We may perhaps assume that before the Reformation Lewis had a population of some 4000 persons, or 1000 families, and contained some thirty chapels or oratories in inhabited areas. If so, then one church or 'temple', on an average served thirty to thirty-five families, or six or seven farm-groups. Yet only the larger congregations at Eye, Stornoway, Ness or Uig and Rodel would normally be served by clergy; the people of smaller congregations would be without, for weeks and months or even years.

When the people were too distant from priests (and later ministers) to hear the Lessons, they handed down the Word orally. Their power of retaining memorable thought, even in prose, is still remarkable; and verse strengthened memory. For example, 'the Ten Commandments' paraphrased in rhyme are recorded in Fr. Allan Macdonald's little collection, "as given by the God of graces to Moses in the wilderness" (*Na Faintean*, p. 62). Moses, had he understood Gaelic, would have protested at the omission of the Second Commandment, but no sculptor of Iona, Rodel or Eye would have felt a need for it, being unafraid that a Christian could bow down to a golden calf. Believing, with Solomon, that a craftsman's work is his prayer, the artist-monks held that an 'image' should represent, though never replace, God's creation, and may even quicken our concept of the Creator

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175 in whose 'image' mankind was made. As for the number
779 ten, it was simply restored by subdividing the Tenth
788 Commandment into two parts! Thus the letter of the Mosaic Law, be it frankly admitted, is modified! There are also extensions of certain Commandments. Yet, recalling Jesus's insistence upon the unspoken thought which prompts man's conduct, one may feel that the blunt Seventh Commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery", is strengthened by the form of its paraphrase: "Avoid *all thought, or wish*, or deed immoral (*mi-bheusach*, immodest or vicious)". The Sixth becomes, "Commit no murder *nor sin of wrath*". And the paraphrase of the Fourth, rendered as "Keep the Lord's Day *and each festival*", completes the Commandment as it was obeyed by Jesus and His friends at the Passover, and by Celts and Romans at Easter. The memories of the people were impregnated with abiding truths from the Old Testament, and still more with the teaching and spirit of the Gospels.

175 All this was incorporated in their lives. As each
771 symbol of nature was truer to Gaelic worshippers because it was not borrowed but experienced, so their interpretation of the story of the Son of Man was the truer because they looked for Him among themselves. Spiritual fears are imaged from bodily perils they knew in the 'Roughbounds' and at sea; and spiritual ignorance is seen as a peat bog's 'black morass', not as a waterless desert beyond Jordan or the Dead Sea. Comfort is rarely suggested by the biblical 'shade from heat', but rather by the 'sun's
[796] mild healing rays'. When Christmastide, Old Style, brought lengthening days and mantled the Bens with snow, the glow upon their summits in earlier dawns told the
[776] Islesmen that the Light of the World was born again. In their thought Jesus shared their communal life with His

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175 widowed mother and her family, working in farm and town-
771 ship, sending merriment at Christmas, and comforting
776 sorrow at Easter or All Souls. And even as He had told the Disciples to heal by faith, so, they thought, had He bidden them. Who could have told the people, in their ignorance, that in a later age they would suffer for this faith?

175 Thus upon the Lessons read in church (or out of doors)
771 and cherished as the root and stock of faith, there were
78 grafted three types of native shoot. These were the para-
538 phrases, the meditations or commentaries, and the parables or legends. The paraphrases should need no justification here, in so far as the four Gospels are each incomplete and complementary—the Celtic clergy may have known the fragments of a fifth; these 'fulfilled' the older Law and the Prophets. Of the meditations, few would be censured by a Protestant or Catholic theologian on points on which both would agree; points of disagreement in the meditations hardly concerned them. (Cf. in the Rev. Allan Macdonald's collection, "Thoughts on Death", *Smaointean air a' Bhas*, or *Carmina*, No. 7, and many more.) As a theologian might criticise the parables, legends or marginal tales of which so many were told in medieval Christendom, a word should be said of these.

771 Legends were told of the appearance of Saints to be-
773 lievers, such as that of "The Christ-Child's Lullaby", and of the life of the Holy family. The Gaelic sense of parable was strong (*Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes, *Caim*). In these legends was expressed what the people themselves would have felt and thought in joy or suffering. Legitimately, a preacher suggests a motive or circumstance to bridge the gap in a Bible record; the people did the same. When reverently retold, some suggested circumstance would in time grow to be a legend taking a place close to the Gospel story. A

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single example may be given; so far as I know, it is unrecorded. I learned it in South Uist, where Catholic and Protestant mingle in tolerance and sympathy; it had been told by an old woman, a Catholic, to a young neighbour, a Protestant fisherman's son, later a minister.[1]

The story takes place after the Crucifixion. It may be remembered that in the Gospels not a word is said of Jesus's mother after His farewell to her from the Cross (John, xix. 26). He—or she—who first conceived the legend may have asked, would not a mother visit the tomb of the son she had just lost? And surely she who at His birth had cried, "My soul magnifies the Lord . . . my Saviour", would be the first to seek Him out after His death? The legend tells that, on the second day of the Entombment, Mary, Jesus's mother, in an agony of mourning and suspense, visited the tomb of her son, calling upon Him with many an endearing name. From the tomb He answered that she would be consoled, for He would arise. And He told her that because of the depth of her love, of all forms of human love a mother's would be accounted the highest for ever after.

The Gael had fused the grandeur of the Old Testament with the hope and humanity of the New; for them the light of dawn on sea and snow awoke the light within. A last example is taken from two fragments forming part of a single theme, perhaps of one original poem.[2] Chanted

[1] It is interesting to compare this quiet legend with the late Roman (and Episcopalian) "Apostles' Creed", apparently based on the vivid story in the *Gospel of Bartholomew*: after Christ "was crucified, dead, and buried, He descended into hell" (hades). Montagu R. James (translator), *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 1924.

[2] *Carmina Gadelica*, 201, 197. No translation can be perfect, and Carmichael offers alternatives: line 6, "*Ti nan dul*, Being of life", or "of the elements"; l. 13, "light on the plain" or "the land", *fearann*. The last line is intimate and simple: "The hour (or era) God's Son came in (among us)," a *steach*, as into a dwelling.

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771 as the days lengthened during Christmastide, old style,
538 it may be called " The Rune of the World's Light ".
788

539 The world, ere came the Son of God,
was black, a bog forlorn :
Void of sun, moon or star,
void of body, heart or form.

'Twas Mary Mother lowly kneeled,
and gave the Inmost Being birth ;
Darkness and tears were driven afar,
the guiding star rose over earth.

Light on the land, the deep illumed
from sullen pool to ocean stream ;
Grief was laid and joy was raised,
with praise and hail and harping free.

Light on the hills, light on the plains,
light o'er grey-green sea and firth ;
Light o'er all the world as one,
the hour God's Son came down to earth.

(D) THE CYCLE OF LIFE

796 The stages in life's sequence are marked by noble
852 runes, of baptism, initiation in adolescence, betrothal and
marriage, childbirth, and of confession and consolation in
88 trials throughout life and, at its close, of farewell. As might
584 be fitting, the benedictions were given by either man or
woman : to a child by a parent or elder ; to the young and
strong by the wise ; and by lovers to one another. And
in the past, especially in trial, the ' soul-friend ' ministered
—*an anam-chara*, a neighbour chosen from lifelong friend-
ships for steadfastness and understanding.

852 At birth a babe was baptized ; and in the name of
Father, Son and Holy Spirit the nurse placed three drops

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852 of water on the child's forehead, successively invoking wisdom, peace and purity. Lay baptism, recognised by Greek, Latin, Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches, may be partly of pre-Christian communal origin. It retained special significance in isolated communities. Where a clergyman might come within eight days, a temporary name was given at birth: 'Tonsured of the Lord' (*Maoldomhnuich*) if a male child, and Gertrude (*Griadach*) if a female. Her immediate duties over after a safe delivery, the midwife forthwith became the celebrant or (as it were) lay priestess, and her neighbourly helpers, her acolytes. As the midwife intoned her part they gave the responses. "By the Book itself," said a reciter in Uist, for many years a skilled midwife, "ear has never heard music more beautiful than the music of the watching women when they are consecrating the seed of man and committing him to the great God of life." Those who care to ponder the thoughts then spoken may believe her word. (*Carmina*, Nos. 50 and 217-219.)

86 Initiation grew as understanding dawned and the babe passed on in childhood to be an older helper. Gaelic child-lore gives many a stimulus to an infant's intelligent apprehension of life about him, and to poetic appreciation. These may lead by natural steps to deeper things in adolescence. Homely teaching which led to a first communion, remained an intimate part of life in home and township.

814 From many parts of the Highlands and Isles, Car-
869 michael and his friends gathered variants of verse prayers
538 invoking graces in the young: Invocations of the Graces,
867 *Orachan Buadha* (*Buadh*, victory, achievement or grace; Nos. 3 and 278-281). In Tiree, of which the thoughtful minister had sent a fragment of verses to Carmichael,

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814 the invocation was addressed to boys and girls, in Uist to
869 youths and maidens. The loveliest version of all had been
538 spoken by an old, evicted woman and learned from her by
867 a lad who, as a poor crofter in old age, passed it down for record, for ever. Of this invocation Carmichael wrote, "Probably it was composed to a maiden on her marriage. The phrase '*eala dhonn*', brown swan, would indicate that the girl was young—not yet a white swan", a tender and delicate recognition of youth still to attain perfection.
869 Not a thought jars, each stanza building up the rising move-
538 ment of the whole. In the hundred lines of this poem, metre and assonance are regular except where growing intensity creates new rhythm and design; and the last vowel-rhyme of each stanza leads on to those of the next one, to form an unbroken ascent to the climax.[1]

869 The Invocation begins, "I bathe thy palms. . . . And
539 I place the nine pure choice graces in thy fair fond face.
867 The grace of form . . . of fortune . . . of goodness . . . of wisdom . . . of charity . . . of choice maidenliness

[114]

[1] Certain critics, struck with the variety of the poem but missing its thought-sequence and unity of form, took Carmichael's note of 'many fragments' to imply that the poem was a composite version, piously restored by the editor—in spite of his statement that it was taken down from a single reciter (one Duncan Maclellan). Carmichael's spiritual power of evoking treasures from the reciters was inseparable from his utter honesty. And the publication, forty years later, of four Invocations and of scores of fragments (cf. No. 277) has added (to the internal evidence cited) further proof that the poem was no editorial assemblage. Without doubt, the poem has grown from the inspired meditation of generations of poet-worshippers in a hundred glens and isles. But the English reader should realise what the Gaelic ear may hear: this poem forms an organic unity; though many petalled it is a single flower. Readers familiar with medieval or earlier chants know that the enumeration of attributes is a feature common to all, whether in Church Latin or other tongues, as in the English medieval hymn beginning, "God in my head, and in my understanding". In Gaelic, however, the richness and freedom of the vowel-pattern and rhythms carries the thought onward, wave on wave to its climax. A foremost poet of France, Pierre Emmanuel, to whom I introduced this poem, exclaimed, "This is a Christian Song of Songs!"

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869 . . . of whole-souled loveliness . . . of winning speech."
539 Then, after the tender image of the brown swan and fare-
867 well on departure to a new home, comes a string of exquisite comparisons: to shade and shelter in need, to safety of isle and strength of fortress, to gift of health for the ailing. Each grace, each image, expresses not simply individual qualities but relationships and service for others. After eight choice lines in praise of the girl's womanly gifts—from "Thine is the faith of Mary", through chosen attributes of Bride, the Fairy Woman, Penelope, Emir, Darthula and Maeve, to "the charm of the sweet singer (*Binnebheul*)"—the poem, in Gaelic that is sonorous and succinct, passes beyond the sphere of comparison with things or even personal qualities. It acclaims her joyous girlhood as one with the powers of life-giving, life-abundant things, and as a reflection of the Divine:

Thou'rt the joy in every delight,
Thou the sunbeam's radiant light;
Thou'rt the gate of a welcoming chief,
Thou the clearest star to lead;
Thou'rt the step of the deer on a height,
Thou the pace of a steed ere the fight;
Thou'rt the calm of a gliding swan;
of longings thou'rt the loveliness.

The lovely likeness of the Lord
Is in thy pure face,
The loveliest form
Was ere on earth.[1]

538 [1] Poetic form is integral to the conception; hence this translation in
192 verse. But alternatives to Carmichael's choice of English prose may complement his own, in bringing out the meaning. Line 1, 'joy', *sonas*—and a 'delightful or wonderful thing', *ni éibhinn*; l. 3, *dorus*, doorway; l. 4, *iùl*, guidance, land-mark, way; l. 6, *steud*, steed, would imply, in *blàr*, 'a field' of battle, and, by contrast, l. 7, *sèimh eal*, calm (rather than 'grace') of a floating, swimming swan; l. 8, *rùn*, secret inclination, longing, and hence too, a person beloved; ll. 9, 11, *cruth*, form, shapeliness (and by implication),

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539 And so, after every good wish for days, years and life,
867 the Invocation closes: "Peter has come and Paul" . . .
869 the Disciples and the Archangels. . . . Jesus the mild and the Spirit of guidance have come,

> And the King of kings has come on the helm,
> To bestow on thee their affection and their love,
> *A bhaireadh duit-se graidh us ruin.*

The ideal of choice maidenliness which this Invocation portrays, culminates in the thought of the loveliness that
867 was Christ. It rises, too, to stirring virility: "the island at sea, the fortress on land", or "the step of the steed on
[539] the plain". Yet when all is said, it is a womanly image which prevails: after the fortress comes the well in the desert, and after the charger's step, the gracious calm of a floating swan. It is all the more significant that the Invocation was addressed both 'to boys and girls' in one isle, and 'to youths and maidens' in another. Not simply was boyhood taught to honour girlhood: ideal womanhood was invoked to raise manhood itself to fullness.

885 Upon marriage, the husband replaced the maiden's
[292] anood or *stlom* that bound her uncovered hair by the wifely
[585] kerchief, *am breid*. Folded diagonally, its three-cornered shape came to symbolise the Trinity, in benediction on
[539] the bride's head.[1] A poem to a bride, "now beginning her dual course", commences, "A thousand hails to thee

[538] likeness. The short second stanza given stands out alone: the poem,
[192] having attained its climax by a rhythm sustaining the upward, sonorous movement, is hushed by its few simple words. In *From the Hebrides*, Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser rearranged one or two of these lovely stanzas, as one of her 'lyrics with refrain'. *Cf.* A. Geddes, *The Songs of Craig and Ben*, vol. ii, 1955.

[1] The kertch is spoken of in many songs, in which a lover hopes to place it on his young love's head, or a husband praises its whiteness as worn by his wife. When first I knew the Lews, the kertch was still commonly worn
[178] under the more recent Lowland mutch, and either framed a young face, or an old one, charmingly. The two have not quite vanished, though memories of what the kertch once symbolised are hard to find.

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885 in thy kertch!" and counsels her to be hospitable yet wise,
539 and courageous though calm; to be frank yet tactful, dignified though kind. The themes of this ode's melodious
885 verse recall the virtues of a wife enumerated mnemonically
538 in the acrostic which concludes the Book of Proverbs.
593 For in that, too, there is mention of "strength and dignity, wisdom and kindness", and the poor are not forgotten as the wife goes tirelessly about her work, sets her servants to their tasks and sells her merchandise at a profit. Yet the acrostic's emphasis on the wife's work and its gain reveal the writer as a shrewd citizen seeking to train a wife to ceaseless exertion and business dealing, with her husband's private profit and public honour as a most important end! The singer of 'The Kertch'—man or woman, one cannot tell—thought of conduct not for its profit first, but for its virtue, and dwelt upon motive, mind and heart.[1]

175 To tide over the supreme crisis of childbirth the mother
844 was strengthened in confidence, courage and calm. The need was the greater before modern midwifery. In Sutherland as late as 1908, a good professional nurse tending a difficult case of childbirth, anxious and powerless without a doctor, found herself indebted to older wisdom. The patient's mother first filled a small basin with water into
[788] which she put trinkets of gold and silver. "She then held the basin to her dying daughter's lips, and made her drink three mouthfuls of the water, each mouthful in the name of Father, and of Son, and of Spirit, 'the three Persons of the Trinity of kindness and power, *Tri Pears na Trianaid chaoimh chumhachdaich*'. Soon after, the child came . . .

[113] [1] *Am Breid*, 'The Kertch'. *Carmina*, No. 215. A short paraphrase by Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser, set to a lovely air and refrain, will be found in *From the Hebrides*. First published (imperfectly) in *Nether Lochabor* by the Rev. Alexander Stewart (1883, p. 4) with delightful notes.

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175 and all was well. . . . 'How the trinkets in the water
844 could affect the case', continued the nurse, 'I do not
know, but that some occult power was at work . . . I am
788 certain.'"[1] As to the gold, did not the Magi offer the
844 same 'magic' at the Nativity? Is a drink of water not the
simplest physic to cool a fevered system? Is not each
788 Name of the Trinity, breathed by a mother to her daughter
in labour in her turn, a Word of tender power and courage:
while the slow rhythm of the three Names may calm the
wild heart-beats which had brought on haemorrhage, and
lead to safe delivery?

771 Throughout life there prevailed the concept of God as 'encompassing' man, woman or child, old or young, in their weakness. This image is ancient, and is found in the Psalms (10, 12, 32, 142). So long as faith were alive the Lord's aid might be called upon for another in need of help, or for one's own protection. To clarify the concept, unseen, by help of a thing seen, a circle was drawn with the hand round oneself or another, in fear, danger or distress.[2] By such innocent aid the people strengthened confidence in sickness and resistance in temptation, and concentrated prayer for delivery from evil.

888 As age approached, its gifts were honoured. For in age, memory, kneaded by labour, is leavened by leisure; the experience won on land and sea, or in group-farm and home, can be weighed. And gifts of feeling, sown in childhood and growing through life, ripen as grandchildren come in from their herding or play to listen and learn.
[538] When manuscripts or books were unobtainable, readings rarely heard, and the people illiterate, teaching could only

[1] *Carmina*, vol. iv, p. 283.

[2] *Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes; cf. Nos. 248-250, etc. Encircling or circuiting symbolically, was also known by a word of which only the literal meaning is now known to most: *cuartachadh*.

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888 538 be given by ear and learning come by heart. Hence elders were the holders of an inheritance of treasures which must be sought from them or be lost for ever. But to be transmitted, the word must remain alive in the mind. Thus both the faculty of memory and the fruit it bore in an elder's mind brought respect, even veneration. Accuracy in retelling is still immensely valued, but so, too, were thoughtful commentary and poetic enrichment. Respect for elders, though general, was not given blindly, but personally and by choice.

888 771 562 As handed down, the Fifth Commandment runs: "Honour thy parents and hold them in loving regard" (*Striochd dha do pharantan 's thoir speis dhaibh*).[1] The community was pervaded by the Christian concept of a Holy Family, rather than by that of a patriarchate. This concept took root from the first missions to the Celtic community, with which it harmonised and which formed fertile ground for this Christian seed. Hence there was no general assertion of paternal, still less of patriarchal, authority at the expense of youth. Where equal honour is due to both parents, the mother finds equal duty and regard with the father. And although the father's home is close at hand while the mother's may be a little distance away, her parents are likely to be the younger and the more active and helpful to their grandchildren, and the influence of all four grandparents fairly balanced.

[184] [173] [177] [175] The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are named in a hymn of the Lews, sung when going up with the flocks and herds to the shielings; even this may be a Presbyterian adaptation (*Carmina*). But until the overwhelming weight

[1] Rev. Allan Macdonald, p. 62, *Na Faintean*. The omission of the Mosaic paternal precedence may be a courtesy to motherhood implying equality in parenthood.

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888 of the Old Testament made itself felt, as in Lewis-and-
771 Harris in the nineteenth century, this narrower patriarchal
562 example hardly affected thought.[1] Rooted in a wider form
[184] of family than a patriarchate, and reverencing a Holy Family
[773] and all fellowship, Gaelic society honoured age and parent-
[177] hood for their inheritance, and childhood and youth for
[175] their promise.

Such ideals of human relationship led to the veneration of the Saints of the Gospels and of later history, and also of those of legend, especially Bride. Dedications to Bride
773 or 'Bridget' are widespread from Wales to the Lews;
776 yet her memory has been all but lost in Britain, except in the Isles. Carmichael wrote that "Bride and her services" are dear to the hearts of the people. She is called "Bride of the white feet . . . of calmness . . . of the kine; woman-comrade . . . and woman-helper . . ." "I am in the keeping of my Saint Mary: My companion beloved is Bride" (*Carmina*, Nos. 70-71; 263-264). As joy, steadfastness and attainment are generally linked to one notable stage in the life of each 'holy companion', the example, aid and fellowship of each saint in turn was especially sought, at a corresponding stage or crisis of one's own life.

776 The Gael's veneration for saintly men and women was
171 shared by Catholic peasantry throughout Christendom;
174 but its special quality seems to have been closeness of

[1] Clanship has repeatedly been said to be 'patriarchal', as an ideal and a system. A different conclusion, that community is the root of clanship
[614] (even in its political forms), may come as a surprise. The English or Lowland reader has had access only to the writings of strangers such as Burt. Not knowing Gaelic, these derived their information from Highland speakers of English who, deliberately or unconsciously, were biased by ranking as
[621] chief or gentry, and not unnaturally explained their position as patriarchal. Thus strangers ignored the co-parental life of farm-groups and townships, economically humble but spiritually rich, as the root of a clan-community.

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776 fellowship. "The Irish Church", a Roman is said to
171 have exclaimed to a Gaelic Catholic in scorn, "has won
no martyr's crown!" "Ireland was named the Isle of
174 Saints not by persecuting but by cherishing God's elect",
was the reply. The Celtic Church linked the lands across St. Patrick's Channel; and what was true of Patrick's missionary field seems to have been as true of Celtic Britain, the land of his birth. Kilpatrick on the Roman Wall of Clyde has been claimed as the birthplace of one who was certainly a Cymric Celt by birth and baptism, a Gaul by training, and an Irishman by mission.[1]

771 This closeness of fellowship ranged from personal to
divine relationships in waking or rest, with an intimacy of
[782] expression all its own. A prayer for rest begins, "I shall
lie down with God, and God lie down with me. . . ." A
[181] simple and universal gesture of love, in which parent,
child or lover slips an arm under the loved one's head, is
carried into prayer at rest, "the arm of the Father", or
779 of Jesus or Mary, "under my head". This image must
be the inspiration of one of the loveliest of Christian tombs,
764 preserved by clan loyalty, respect for the dead, distance
and later forgetfulness on the priory isle of Inchmahome,
532 where the Highlands meet the Lowlands at the Lake of
Menteith. As on a number of medieval monuments, knight and lady are sculptured side by side. But here the two lie each with "an arm under the other's head", the free arm of the knight reaching over to clasp hands

[1] While in Scotland the name Bride is now rare as a Christian name, that of Patrick is still found among Grants, Campbells, Macdonalds and others. It is even commoner than English speakers might suppose, owing to the practice—almost the necessity—of giving an English form to a Gaelic name when it is turned to English speech—as Daniel for Domhnuil (Donald), Aeneas for Aonghas (Angus) or Peter for Padhruig (Patrick). Many a Gael in the Lowlands felt obliged to relinquish his baptismal (and ancestral) names, with their link to Celtic Christian tradition.

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779 with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of
764 Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1294.
532 Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness.
175 The following year, 1295, saw the commencement of "the three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction
644 of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King
[829] Alexander III, "that Scotland led in luve and law", peace within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing
[648] Gaelic Christian traditions and Scoto-Norman arts. After his death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars
181 can tell me, this almost unnoticed monument remains
764 unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement, were shattered by invasions, and Gaelic tradition was only to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all time, we have become.

763 At the approach of death God's mercy and peace were
782 sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[2]
[174] In early times confession seems to have been made as willingly to the 'Soul-friend', followed by Benediction.
764 When death had come, the mourners sang of sleep and home. In Lewis today funerals are conducted in silence to the graveside, where the last service is held; but

[113] [1] *A unique medieval tomb at Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.)
[2] It would be of deep interest to compare the attitudes to death found in 'Spiritual Songs' by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs on death which, though maybe of post-Reformation date, are of Roman Catholic origin (*e.g.* in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, poems on the Day
[171] of Judgment, and of Wrath; on age and on death; and on Purgatory: pp. 31, 85, 146; 34, 19, 21; 27). Some have much in common, both by virtue of the earlier traditions they shared and still more because of parallel trends of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Cf. *Carmina*.

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Carmichael found versions of a mourners' hymn then still remembered as sung at funerals there. "Never could they who had heard it forget the solemnity of the occasion, where all was so natural and beautiful, and nature seemed to join in the feelings of humanity."[1] "I am going with thee to thy home! . . . Thy home of winter." ". . . To thy home of autumn, spring and summer . . . to thine eternal bed, thy perpetual sleep." "I am going home with thee, thou child of my love, To my dear Son of blessing, to the Father of grace."

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Tha mi dol dachaidh leat,
Go do thaigh! go do thaigh!
Tha mi dol dachaidh leat
Go do thaigh geamhraidh . . .

Tha mi dol dachaidh leat,
A leanaibh mo luaidh,
Go Macan nam beannachd,
Go Athair nam buadh.

"The Death Croon", handed down by the Rev. Dr. Kenneth Macleod, leads on from almost the same opening, the Soul-friend singing to the fellow-watchers' refrain.[2] "Sleep, oh love, on thy Mother's bosom, Sleep while she sings soft lullings to thee, The sleep of the Son on Mary's breast. Sleep and put off from thee every woe. . . . Sleep of Jesus's youth . . . life . . . and glory . . . of His love . . . joy . . . and peace. . . . Sleep of the seven virtues . . . the seven moons . . . the seven slumbers upon thee. . . . Dream of Mary and God in her side, Dream of Columba in Isle of Saints, Dream of the Child

[1] *Carmina*, No. 346. The word *Mac*, Son, is here given a tender diminutive form, *Macan*, 'dear Son', as if to complement the infinity of the Father's "achievement, victory or grace".

[2] *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, pp. 98-105.

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that never aged: Each one of these dreams, dear love, be thine. . . .

> The dusk of the Death-sleep is, love, in thine eye,
> But softly thou'lt sleep, softly sleep. . . .
> In name of the Three in One,
> Peace to thy pain,
> The Christ is come . . .
> Softly sleep, softly sleep. . . .

114

The late Professor Sir J. Arthur Thomson, deeply moved on hearing it sung for the first time, exclaimed, "How profound the civilisation of those who composed and handed down this hymn of farewell!" The Soul-friend and Watchers seem to unfold before us the wide range of human love, and—as they recall the tender relationships of birth, childhood, parenthood and parting—to touch the universal.

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CHAPTER VIII

CHANGE IN RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

(A) COMMUNAL CHRISTIANITY, THE ROMAN CHURCH AND THE REFORMATION

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WHEN the Reformation broke upon Scotland and the Church of Rome was driven out, the new Church was slow to replace the priests and conventual clergy by its ministers. More than two hundred years later the minister of Harris wrote, with reason, that in contemplating "the decayed monuments of the piety of our Christian ancestors . . . the pious mind is affected with a mixture of awe and sorrow, while it can hardly admit that the overturning of the ancient church establishment ought to be considered as reformation here". These words were honestly spoken. The minister continued: "In Harris, where, till within a few years back (from 1790), there has not been since the *aera* of our reformation from popery, so much as . . . one decent house for public worship; there were of old no less than twelve churches and chapels of which . . . the walls are yet standing, besides others . . . while tradition has preserved their names and dedications".[1] These are those of monastic *cella* or *cill*, of parochial or collegiate *ecclesia* or *eagleis*,

[1] *Old Statistical Account*, x, 376. No doubt many churches had lacked a priest for a considerable time before the Reformation; but taking a long view, the minister's conclusion was sound.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 and of a township's tiny chapel, oratory or *teampull.*

798 In Lewis, as in the Northern Isles, the early years of the Reformation period had been years of invasion by the [829] King's Adventurers, of resistance, bloodshed and ruin. Hence when Mackenzie brought a Protestant clergyman to minister to the people they flocked to hear him. Naturally the new lord chose one of his important tenants from Kintail, the Rev. Farquhar Macrae. "For forty years prior to the visit (about 1611) no one in Lewis appears to have been baptized or married,"—or rather, no ceremonies had been performed by professional clergy, an important distinction. "'The population', we are told, 'had lapsed into heathenism', but 'Mr. Farquhar's' mission proved thoroughly successful. 'Large numbers of the people were baptized, some of them being fifty years of age, and many men and women were married who had already lived together for years.' The author also stated that the success of this mission went far to reconcile the inhabitants of Lewis to Lord Kintail's rule. According to a Kintail tradition, 'the number of people that came to be baptized by Mr. Farquhar was so great that, being unable to take them individually, he was obliged to sprinkle the water at random on the crowd with a heather besom'"[1] —much as it still is on certain festivals in the Roman Church.

[114] The tale of the Rev. Farquhar Macrae shows both the spiritual prestige of one who could read the Scriptures and must understand them, and the people's belief that a lord who brought a Gaelic clergyman must indeed be a Christian and was to be welcomed, or at least accepted. After the larger churches had been rifled by lairds, 'Pro-

[113] [1] Brand Report, 1902, p. xii; from Alexander Macrae, the *History of the Clan Macrae*, Dingwall, 1899, p. 57.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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testant' and perhaps 'Catholic' too, or sacked by the King's Adventurers, there seems to have been little effort to build or rebuild the four 'paroche kirkis', one of the terms of the Royal grant or infeftment of the Lews to Kintail (Seaforth). But the evidence in the previous chapter makes one doubt that the maintenance of Celtic Christianity by the people in their thatched 'temples', in their homes and fields, or at sea, was "a lapse into heathenism". The term had been better applied to the acts of certain chiefs, and of the King and his Adventurers.

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Although imbued with their traditional faith, the people were intensely aware of their isolation from the great world, and humble as to their own oral learning and religious culture. Moreover, since the arrival of Christianity they believed that they belonged to the Church Catholic. But by the sixteenth century their lords had misappropriated funds, clerical absenteeism was common, and they cannot have been unaware of faults in the Church of Rome. They were the more eager to welcome any cleric who read the revered Scriptures, whether he came as a Calvinist or Episcopalian from Edinburgh or by perilous journeys from Armagh, Spain or Rome itself.[1] Living far from the worst theological controversies and persecutions inflicted for a century after 1560, the Islesfolk revered a good cleric for his own sake, as they did Macrae and, later, the minister of Barvas (and Martin himself) in lonely North Rona in 1695.

[1] Catholic missions to the Isles in the penal times are described in Compton Mackenzie's *The Book of Barra*, 1936. Martin (1695) refers to some Harris fishermen recently reconverted by priests, and to the mockery of their 'Protestant' neighbours because in spite of Roman prayers, their fishing had been less successful! Some of the MacKenzie tacksmen and no doubt their tenantry remained Roman Catholics until after the 'Forty-five, notably MacKenzie of Kildun near Stornoway, who gave shelter to Prince Charles in 1746. (W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 126-130.)

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175 798 181 799 The advent of the Reformers to the Island may at first have seemed less revolutionary to the people than has generally been suggested by historians of either the new Church or the old. Ministering to one another, the people had not, like the city-dwellers of their time, enjoyed—or suffered—a multiplicity of offices, administered by priests whose ways of living might be a scandal. The Mass heard in Latin was incomprehensible to those of Celtic (or Teutonic) speech without the aid of translation into the vernacular—an aid now universal among literate Roman Catholics. Most of these offices, such as auricular confession to a priest to obtain absolution, with masses for the dead, indulgences and the like, were performed for payments prohibitive to the poor. The Islesfolk, for the most part, lived far both from the orthodox practices of the Latin Church and from the more flagrant abuses against which a minority of the old Church had protested in vain. Hence the transition to early Protestant liturgy would not be too painful. In prolonged isolation, the Gaelic people, perforce, had lived the life of the Lollard and Protestant doctrine of " the Priesthood of all believers ".

175 181 798 After the Reformation the people were bewildered by the mutual condemnation of Presbyterian, Episcopalian and Jesuit, and torn to the quick when all three parties in turn denounced so much that they themselves held dear. The more the rival clergy confused and wounded their minds, the harder it was for younger generations to discern ancient Gaelic wisdom and discard superstition; and the easier to fall into credulous and secretive repetition of rhymes and strings of holy names. The scorn of the wealthy for simple rites and of the book-learned for the symbols of old speech would add to confusion rather than aid discrimination. As pious and understanding crofters

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complained in Carmichael's own time, mockery is hard to withstand. One can only guess, as yet, what were the real effects of the decadence of Rome and the impact of the Reformation upon the landward communities of the Lowlands and Northern Isles. But the records of the Western Isles leave no doubt as to the onset of this spiritual tragedy among the Gael, of which Carmichael and others saw the later acts and of which one still finds the epilogue.

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The grim desperation of the religious and civil wars, and their persecutions—crucifixions made by every side in the name of the Cross—caused faith to be disastrously shaken. Superstition rushed into the widening cracks in older belief, aided by important sects of clergy. In the Highlands, 'witch' torture was never carried to the lengths it reached in the cities, though the last 'witch'-burning in Scotland may have occurred in east Sutherland (P. Hume Brown, *History*, ii, 1912, p. 451). But the frenzy of witch-hunting by ministers in the Lowlands, during the widespread evictions and social anarchy of the post-Reformation period, suggests that the Adventurers' invasion of the Lews, followed by the arrival of new masters and Presbyterian ministers after 1600, must have aroused morbid, anti-social fears. Lewis certainly suffered from fear of the evil eye as late as the nineteenth, and even this, century.

We have to face the effects on the people of religious strife. To ardent Reformers the Blessed Sacrament of the Roman Church was a 'Jack-in-the-box'; and at the climax of the Mass, the elevation of the Host—the moment of 'transubstantiation' with its literal interpretation of the words, "This is my flesh" (*Hoc est corpus meum*)—was so much 'hocus-pocus'.[1] Conversely, to Roman Catholics

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[1] J. H. Matthews, *The Folklore of the Mass*, p. 96, 1903 (Catholic Truth Society).

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much of Protestantism was a denial of Christianity. Holders of all these forms of Trinitarian belief have united in condemning Unitarianism as heresy, its earlier Arian form having been stamped out in blood. The 'heterodox' are held by the orthodox of many Churches to be awaiting eternal torture. To a thoughtful humanist like Sir James Frazer, on the other hand, the belief that one alone by suffering can atone for the sins of others is of the deepest significance, as being an ancient, widespread and 'pathetic fallacy'. Happily, one finds the greatest tolerance and sympathy where Protestant and Catholic are mixed in the Isles. Elsewhere, too, sympathy and reverent enquiry are taking the place of dogmatic assertion.[1] It is in this spirit that we can best understand Gaelic beliefs at their highest, and so distinguish their lowered use—or misuse for selfish ends—from the highest use of sacrament and prayer by the pure of mind and heart.

(B) RELIGION, MAGIC AND SUPERSTITION IN DAILY LIFE

Evil ends might be sought by means of the ancient runes: the power of their poetry and associations could tempt to perverted use. Carmichael tells how in Uist a malefactor, in terror of the law, went to a needy woman, and by appealing to her pity—and in exchange for a small sum—learned from her an "Invocation for Justice". Strengthened by its rhythm and imagery, and by his own associated belief in its magical power as a charm, he stood up boldly in Court, firmly asserted his innocence and got

[1] Cf. the friendly theological arguments between a Bernera Presbyterian and a Roman Catholic from Barra (*Bodach Bharraidh*—vii, viii), sketched in Gaelic by I. N. Macleoid, *Litrichean Alasdair Mhoir*, Stornoway, 1932.

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789 away scot-free! Both persons secretly concerned felt that they had endangered their souls by successfully defeating justice through their misuse of the invocation. Can one [783] doubt that they were partly right in both beliefs? The malefactor's confidence had lent success to perjury, and perjury by help of prayer was deadly sin.

114 Now, the perverted use of prayer, as in this case, was clearly understood to be evil-doing; but what of magic and superstitious practices? Much has been written of 'Highland folk-lore and superstitions'.[1] The religion of the past should be distinguished from these. In *The Golden Bough*, Frazer drew a useful distinction between religion and magic. Religion, he wrote, relies upon the propitiation of higher powers—or even, in more primitive forms than Christianity, the propitiation of the forces of nature—while magic is an attempt at direct control of 121 natural forces. Superstition may be defined here as a body of beliefs and practices in which hopes and fears attach themselves to things seen or done, by a multitude of false analogies and by irrational links of effects to supposed causes. Such superstitions are marginal to the main body of belief, worship and conduct which forms religion.

At the same time, no hard-and-fast line can be drawn between folk-lore and religion, where religion is handed on as living word and ritual almost without the aid of 121 writing. This is particularly true where the religion of 771 which we think, that of the Gael, is founded upon self-supporting peasant life, in line with that of the humble, working founder of Christianity—historically native to an outlying district of his own country—and not with the

[113] [1] D. J. Macleod, D.Litt.: (*a*) *Highland Folklore* (32 pp.), Inverness; (*b*) Introduction to Martin's *Western Isles* (edn. Stirling, 1934). N. Morrison, Hon. D.Sc., *Superstitions of Lewis*, Stornoway, *c.* 1930.

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121 theology and scholarship of a capital city, even of a city
[771] so small as Jerusalem! It is sometimes forgotten that the Old Testament, upon which so much of theology is built, contains folk-lore and magic. Not until this is fully understood in the sense in which early Oriental 'folk' believed it, can it be interpreted, whether as imaginative symbolism or common sense.[1] Much in the orthodox belief of medieval or post-Reformation times was mistaken; yet it formed part of the religion, not the 'superstition' of the stage and period. Theology and philosophy are in constant transformation. Sheltered scholars, priests and rulers of cities may be ill-fitted to interpret the inspiration of a religion which grew from life in field, pasture and at sea, whether in its native land of Galilee and the East or among the Gael. One must live with a people and be one of them, at least for a time, to interpret their inner life. Lastly, no generalisation is true for all members of a community: individuals differ. The same prayer, the same rite, may be used in so different a way by each of two neighbours that its use by one is religious but by the other superstitious.

114 We have seen that the essence of the lore from which
776 we have quoted is not magical, but religious, in use as in inspiration. Strangers who had lost the sense of the beauty in the skies mistook a Gael's adoration of God at sunrise for prayer to the sun; when a man unbonneted or a woman knelt in the open, face turned to the rising moon lightening the dark, they confused prayer with worship of the moon itself. Now, in paganism, a belief in nature-spirits is strong: but propitiation is made not to objects such as the sun or moon, but to spirits believed to influence or

[113] [1] W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (3rd ed., ed. S. A. Cooke, 1927). J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (3 vols.), 1919.

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114 dwell in them—to a sun or moon spirit. If the people once
776 believed in a 'moon-spirit', nothing is left to show it. Either the moon is addressed as if she could hear her praise, or—more commonly—"The King of the Elements" or "of life" is thanked for sending her light. The Archangel Michael is associated with the sun's rays; but symbolically in relation to heart and mind, rather than as literal belief. The response to sunrise and sunset was real; and it is not lost among the people, as a watcher may see.[1]

178 It remains true that pre-Christian rites were re-enacted,
771 sometimes in fear and desperation when things had gone wrong, and sometimes in mere play. A Lewisman in
788 Carmichael's hearing spoke of "going between the two great fires of Beul" (or Baal), his phrase expressing no more than a faded memory. But in Reay, in hard times bordering on famine, a fishing skipper was seen by his small son, supposed to be asleep, to assemble his crew and, after putting out the fire on the hearth, kindle the *neid fire* by rubbing two pieces of wood vigorously together. Each man then carried a kindling back to his own home.[2]

121 Was this a religious ritual of human energy, heat and light, symbolic of forces held to be under Divine control but to be used as they used wind and tide by strenuous effort at the oars? Or was it magic, pure and simple? When men are shaken by failures and the fear of famine, prayer in word and ritual may restore hope for better things—for safety in storm and for fish in abundance as in a miraculous draught—and confidence in their powers for their work. But the same can be true of magic. And neither prayer nor

(113) [1] For contemporary record, descriptions of sunsets have appeared in the *Stornoway Gazette* from the pen of a crofter in retirement, N. Morrison.

[2] *Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes, *Neid Fire*.

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magic is always efficacious—however desperate the need, however pure the motives of those who ask. These men were said to be the most successful fishers in the place; they were also Elders of the Kirk, who saw no wrong in what they did. They did not inform the minister; but the good man was not a fisherman and did not understand either the mysterious ways of fish or the incitement of a crew!

While this *neid fire* was kindled in all earnestness, a miming song-dance I have seen in Eriskay is pure fun: 'the Carline or Witch-wife of the Mill-dust' (*Cailleach an Dudain*), who falls down dead and is brought to life again! Once, perhaps, a half-remembered symbolic 'play' of the seasonal fall and resurrection of seed, it is certainly in form and spirit a thing of happy laughter now! Tales were retold by Martin and a seventeenth-century English skipper, of offerings made to a sea-god, Shony, at Eoropie, Ness, for the sake of seaweed, followed by feasting and drinking in the chapel there.[1] The story may be garbled or, if true, may record a pre-Christian survival turned to merriment and of no more significance to the people of the time than 'the Carline of the Mill-dust'. The prayers for the seaweed necessary for agriculture and daily bread are Christian in spirit.

When the people were at the mercy of periodic famines, diseases and sudden death, there were ample grounds for fears. Hence a word must be said of a belief widespread and ancient in the Old World, 'the evil eye' (*droch shuil*). In the absence of clinical diagnosis, a malady, or a misfortune to oneself or a valued possession, might cast suspicion on someone present when it occurred; and

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 143-208. Contrast *Carmina*, vol. iv, pp. 33-35.

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171 754 though the suspected person was not thereby accused of ill will, he would have to make some effort to put it right. 'Cure' might be sought either by counter-malediction on the supposed ill-wisher, known or unknown, or else by prayer that the evil should be spread so widely as to be harmless, as "on all the wild birds of Heaven . . . that it would do them no harm"—a charming touch! (*Carmina*, 782 vol. iii). Prayer was the normal and the best protection, free of any malediction, and was included in general intercession for loved ones. But fears remain—not only in 'distant' isles—both in peace and in the extreme stress of war.

114 155 A psychotherapist of 1917–18, A. J. Brock, wrote that the "War was not in essence a new thing, the ordinary life of every day being itself a sort of battle".[1] Brock brought the hard-learned psychotherapy of war to bear upon a fresh understanding of the countryman struggling against an environment with which he has got out of tune. Failing in spite of strained effort to get the food and warmth he needs for himself and his 'wife and weans', the peasant may lose happiness in home and village, and faith in the future. "How did primitive people express all this?" asked Brock, noting that the risks and casualties of bad times in the past brought fears and floating pictures comparable to those of 'shell-shocked' patients.

171 776 In all lands the unity of family life and labour is symbolised in homelier folk-lore by the protective spirit of each homestead. As long as the work is carried on heartily and thriftily the Brownie is pleased. But the people may become negligent, or begin to labour from mercenary motives. The true spirit of the work is then upset and (in all folk-lore) the Brownies begin to give

[113] [1] A. J. Brock, *Health and Conduct*, 1923, pp. 155-170.

171 trouble. "Everything seems to go wrong"; and the
776 peasant falls asleep at night in fear of ills to come. First in his dreams and next in his day-dreams, these take shape
171 as an offended, hostile 'spirit'. The spirit of the place
776 —of the place-work—has become angry. So also, if the peasant's wife pursues her household work 'in the right
787 spirit', then in her dreams and reveries she is helped by kindly presences; but if not, things go wrong, objects mislaid have been taken by 'someone' and a tormenting house-imp plays havoc with her home. These figures of day-dreams were involuntary and 'shady', without the clarity either of earthly things or of heavenly visions. Yet they personified moods of real significance.

776 The Uruisg of the Gael helped about the farm and household—like the Tonte of Sweden and the Lubber-fiend of Merrie England in Milton's *L'Allegro*. Each task may have its own symbol. Of one of these, the cattle-tending *Glaistic* of the Highlands and Isles, Brock quotes from Mrs. E. Carmichael Watson: "Harmless and lovable as a rule,—especially in the older stories—in a few of the later stories she is represented as irritable. . . .
776 The more recent stories about the Glaistic are rather unpleasant. She no longer plays with the children or
178 sings rhymes—she has degenerated into a kind of female ruffian. Probably it would be nearer the truth to say that the change has been in the Highlands rather than in the Glaistic." Brock comments, "This last remark is signifi-
[155] cant. The increasing irritability of tutelary nature-deities means that the spirit of the old economic life—the equilibrium between Highlanders and Highlands—is being upset"; and so too is that between Highlander and Highlander! In Lewis *Ni Chlach Urlar* (She (or It) of the Hearth Stone), who personified domestic strife, makes trouble; and neighbours come to suffer too!

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000 trouble; and neighbours come to suffer too!

181 Turning to natural things, how far could the people observe and think rationally, free from the intervention of imaginary beliefs? The Gael possess common sense, keen observation, ready wits and accurate memory. They show powers of tracing effects to their cause; and on the whole, their agricultural practices were based on good sense, and their knowledge of nature was wide. Before taking a social decision, they reasoned together to good purpose.

In the ordering of family life, their ideals were founded on common sense and human feeling, little interfered with by superstitions. Irrational prohibitions too often restrict the issues of life where it is already severely limited by [864] environment. A word should therefore be said of the bearing of beliefs upon the physical aspects of mating and 181 parenthood, and of Gaelic teaching upon these. To begin 864 with an early experience among all peasantry, during calving and lambing today shepherds, cattlemen and 233 dairy-maids show delighted tenderness—there is no other word for it—in the care of mother and new-born offspring, though at other times they may be quite rough-and-ready at their work. What is true of hired farm-hands is still truer of a crofter's family tending their own precious stock. When out herding, boys and girls, before and after puberty, have to be exact in reporting when a bull has served a cow, so as to tell whether or no a calf is to be looked for next spring.

181 At the same time, human facts were not left to be 864 learned only by observation of animals, but were simply and frankly taught. In a parent's verses to a maiden, for instance, marriage is spoken of tenderly but frankly, in words which can hardly be translated literally without over-emphasis to most English ears. There is a place for

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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181 gentle frankness, as there is for reticence.[1] But since
864 Augustine, orthodox religion, Catholic and Protestant, has
[771] overstressed and misunderstood the folk-lore of 'the Fall'
—originally, it seems, a legend of fertility and fulfilment!
[869] In part as a result of the teaching of the doctrine of the
'Fall', there has arisen an attitude to parenthood which
[773] falls short of rational understanding and reverence for
human life.[2] If fact be the best guard against superstitious fancy, and if sensibility and tact can soften the first shock of adolescence, then the Gael knew wisdom.

121 Returning to the main theme, it is clear that primitive religion and folk-lore alike show misunderstandings of cause and effect, and of the action of 'mind' on 'body' and 'matter'. What are facts to faith may be symbols to science; yet if these symbols prefigure truth, they may
121 outlast the present stage of scientific recognition. Gaelic
771 belief and practice show a recognition of communal as
181 well as individual spirituality; of the depth of consciousness below its upper surface, and its upwelling power; and of the visible world without, in all its beauty, as a gate

[533] [1] Needless to say, Gaelic verse has its moments of coarse freedom like that of any tongue. Of the lively lilts (*puirt-a-beul*) sung when there is no piper or fiddler to play for dancing, most of the words are delightful, but a few are not. A rather 'drinky' dissolute fellow—a small contractor on one of the Isles whose apprenticeship in the cities had not improved his character—once quoted a coarse jingle to me, only to see little amusement at his song and some contempt for its singer. He excused himself by saying, "It's rough . . . it's rough—but it's not dirty"! His excuse sums up the cruder expressions of animal spirits found in Gaelic jingles. One may adapt it as "Sometimes coarse, but rarely or never vicious".

[2] A. Geddes, "The Origin of Sin in Genesis and a Missing Legend", *Hibbert J.* vol. 44, Nos. 1 and 3, 1945-46. Cf. *The Legends of Creation: an Anthropo-Geographical Interpretation of Genesis*, i-iii (with map); *Man*, vol. 45 (104), 1945.

The Churches have given attention to the second chapter of Genesis, at the expense of the first. Gaelic spiritual tradition seems to have been singularly unwarped by such confused mythology, and to have held firmly to the first chapter, in its noble simplicity.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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121 to the world within. Above all, harmony of relations, at
771 every stage of life, in man and woman, was felt to pre-
181 figure relations with the Divine. The religious poetry of which the Gael were the creators and heirs, promoted courage and calm. True, its very power could lead to superstitious respect for mere forms of words, debased as 'magical' charms. Such misuse was 'superstitious', being false in itself and falling short of the clearest thought, the highest aspiration, of the time and the community. Worse still, use with evil intent could concentrate ill-will and evoke mutual fears. Yet at its best, thought was clearer, less confused, than is commonly imagined. To the aspiration and attainment of the Gael—in congregation or solitude, in meditation or labour, in love and faith or in works—the fragments of their oral heritage bear witness.

(c) LITERACY AND EVANGELISM: 'THE MEN' AND THE DISRUPTION

175 From before 1680 "a school for the gentlemen's sons
178 and daughters" was open in Stornoway. Latin and
871 English were taught, and a century later even Greek had been added, as recorded by W. J. Gibson, for many years Rector of Stornoway's high school, the Nicolson Institute, in his *Education in Scotland*, 1912 (chap. v). Particularly towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Gaelic School Society and other bodies, like the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, sent out schoolmasters to teach the reading of the Scriptures. Industrial schools were set up at the same time by Lady Seaforth, to teach spinning
[671] by the wheel, replacing the slow distaff. It was not till nearly a century later that teaching of English was widely taken advantage of — partly by the compulsion of the

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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Education Act of 1872, for the people "did not want to give their children wings to leave them".[1]

The reading of Gaelic progressed fairly rapidly after 1800, in order that the Bible might be read. By 1833 something like one in three or four of the population, or more than half of the younger people, could read Gaelic. The Hon. Mrs. Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth, it seems, had a 'warm sympathy' both with teaching to read the Scriptures and with evangelical preaching. The coming to Lewis in 1824 of the first evangelical minister, the Rev. Alexander MacLeod, an Assynt man, is described in his memoir in a striking volume, *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands*, edited by J. Greig (1877).

"At the distance of more than half a century it is not easy to form a conception of the religious and moral condition of Lewis previous to the year 1824. The present writer has heard a still living minister of the Free Church, who is a native of Uig, declare publicly that only two or three copies of the Bible could be found within the wide extent of the parish, and that he himself travelled a journey in search of a copy of the blessed book, and all in vain. . . . The densest intellectual and spiritual darkness held universal sway. Notwithstanding the pleasing features that characterise Highlanders, even in their most primitive condition, this state of things could not fail to be attended with baleful fruits. Despite their constitutional warmth of heart and loyalty of nature, unbending fidelity to what they esteemed to be honour, and their unbounded kindness and hospitality, many gross vices were found commingling in the characters and lives of the Lewis people. For, however strange it may appear, at the first prayer-meeting

[1] Quotations to this effect, dating from the *Old Statistical Account* until 1883, are given in the Brand Report of 1902.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 which Mr. Macleod attempted to hold at Uig, one of the
771 former elders actually offered a request that a wreck should
793 be cast ashore in the neighbourhood;[1] while another elder, referring to the death of our Lord as a misfortune, used strong expressions of deprecation of its having at all occurred.[2] . . . The reason is easily furnished; the Lewis ministry was not evangelical. Moderatism held the land in sole possession. . . . Nor did it act merely in a negative indifferentist manner. Moderatism contained in itself elements of positive distaste to Gospel truth, and enmity towards gracious influences and experience. As a matter of course, it was perfectly compatible with this system to grant toleration to superstitions and superstitious observances, which had been handed down through the Dark Ages of Popery from the still darker ages of Druidical idolatry. Acts of adoration, having for their object the heavenly bodies, were common. It is scarcely necessary to state that family worship was unknown among the people, and even at the manse. For although the public ordinances were dispensed as a matter of form, they exerted no practical influence upon the conduct. They rather tended to lull more profoundly asleep by imparting and maintaining a feeling of security to the poor dark benighted souls who participated in them."

People did come to church "in tolerable numbers" from the very outset of Mr. Macleod's ministry, but "Here for the first time was a preacher who showed by his whole

[829] [1] Shipwreck was still thought of as an 'act of God', and a dire 'misfortune'. Not only is there no hint of deliberate wrecking ever taking place, as on some other British coasts, but abundant record of aid to the shipwrecked and respect for their property in the absence of the skipper and crew. (Martin, 1695; and later.)

[784] [2] According to Evangelical theory the punishment of guilty and innocent alike was part of the Divine plan. How different this, from the faith of the Islanders till then!

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 manner that he had in hand business of eternal moment
771 to his hearers. That business was to warn them of the
773 wrath to come, which impended over unpardoned Christless sinners, and to proclaim the way of escape by the open
[178] door of a crucified and risen Saviour. Not more than two months had elapsed since Mr. Macleod's admission when the 'stupid attention' and vacant stare passed into the wistful anxious listening, the suffused eye, the tender subdued manner, and in some cases the heart-wringing enquiry, 'What must I do to be saved?'

[783] "For something like two years this minister 'refused to dispense the Lord's Supper'. . . . A very early effect of his work was the extinction of various worldly and pernicious customs and amusements to which the people had been previously addicted, and the substitution of meetings for prayer, diets of catechising, day and evening schools, family worship, and other spiritual exercises in their room. Many at the outset felt greatly aggrieved at the new order of things. Meanwhile the Lord stood by his servant, and the word mightily prevailed against all opposition. Incredible efforts were made by earnest souls in all parts of the island to be present at the preaching of the Word, even on ordinary Sabbaths." By 1828 "the whole island seemed to be moved by one powerful spiritual impulse" and 9000 people flocked from all parts to the Uig communion. "When the memorable 18th of May 1843 dawned"—that of the Disruption—"no part of the country was readier to rally round the banner then displayed, because of the truth, than the island of Lewis almost to a man." It was "an unspeakable relief to the ministers' spirits to escape by one decided step at once from the bondage of State control and the chilling atmosphere of Moderatism. . . . Even where evangelical preach-

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 ing was lacking, and the minister of the parish remained
771 in the Establishment, the popular movement inclined
793 unanimously towards the cause of the suffering and protesting Church of Scotland, with the exception of a small handful of people in Stornoway."

794 The part of elder folk in religious life continued to be
796 important, but in new ways. Masculine influence now dominated the family and the congregation. The 'Men' in
178 the Highlands were Elders of the Church who often spoke as lay preachers and who rose to speak on 'Question Day' —that is on the Friday of the Communion Services, which extended, and still do, from Thursday, the Fast Day, to Monday, the Thanksgiving Day. The presiding minister, after opening devotions, invited any Elder of the Parish to rise and propose the Question; the Elder having read a text from Scripture, would say he wished to hear the 'marks' of the true Believer, drawn from the text. After the minister had himself "opened out the text", he would name visiting Elders, calling upon them in turn to speak. One by one, each would rise and give his picture of the real Christian in terms of the qualities suggested by the text. "And so the hour sped under the pleasing and helpful variety of a dozen speakers or more. The 'Men' spoke out of rich experience. . . . 'Question Day' was a self-searching season, when every hearer examined his heart by the 'marks' adduced . . . and as this went on there was a sweet glow on the face of the Congregation as the presiding Minister summed up and closed the holy Convocation." [1]

175 The 'Men' had long been a recognised Order in the
178 Highlands, and their foundation is traced to Thomas Hog,
794 the famous minister of Killearn, "born in Tain in the

[1] Rev. N. C. Macfarlane, *The 'Men' in the Lewis* (1924).

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 year in which John Bunyan was born ". Archbishop Sharp
178 " banished him to the dungeons of the Bass Rock for
794 twenty-eight years, and it was during his imprisonment that the meetings of communicants were kept going by a parishioner,—a reformed tinker and a gifted and consecrated lieutenant "! This tradition of the ' Men ' renewed itself and spread with each wave of ' Revival '. It sprang up in the Islands more than a century ago, as it had on the north-western mainland during the later eighteenth century, and in ' Easter ' Ross two hundred years before.

[798] The spiritual crises of the Reformation and of the Cromwellian and Covenanting age are still profoundly influential; yet they seem hard for those from the Lowlands and England to understand because they occurred so long ago. But in Lewis, Macfarlane writes of the ' Men ' whom he knew and admired, in order to keep their memory green. Once more, life in the Isles throws fresh light on the past, revealing its significance.

(D) EVANGELISM AND ERASTIANISM, WRATH AND WOE

175 The Disruption [1] gave a powerful urge to the move-
668 ment for freedom, in many ways. Throughout Scotland
[795] the people were made to feel that both landlordism and the

[1] The issues of Disruption, for the sake of freedom from the choice of a minister by the landlord's patronage and from State control, were reviewed by the Rev. Prof. G. D. Henderson, in *Heritage of the Disruption*, 1943 (published at the centenary, and nearly half a generation after the Union of 1929). While the Free Church still maintains a strong hold in the Island—and among a small minority elsewhere who feel that even the terms of the Union could not secure full moral freedom—it is claimed by the Church of Scotland that its constitution now goes far to solve " the age-long antinomy of establishment and freedom ", a view widely held abroad, both in Germany and in the smaller lands of North-west Europe occupied by the invader, at the time of the centenary.

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175 State were in the wrong: the people were with God and,
668 most of all when they suffered, God was with them! The sense of liberation brought to the Highlanders and Islesmen encouraged them to press their claim to the land they worked, strengthening the agrarian movement of 1880–86. The moral victory of 1843 contributed to legal victory in 1886.

175 The influence of Evangelism continued for some time
178 at fever heat. "Even down to the present time (1877)
771 there are tokens of the gracious working of the Spirit on men's minds, although it is a day of small things com-
795 pared with the past and, in the case of some, a day of stumbling and instability. How humbling to behold the first reaction in favour of worldly and Erastian [1] principles, manifesting itself on the spot where the gospel banner was first unfurled in Lewis! But there is a God that judgeth in the earth, and his time to vindicate his cause shall come. 'Offences must come, but woe unto that man by whom they shall come!'" [2]

181 What comment can be made on this? One shudders at first, to hear of 'gross vices' among the people, only to find that by these 'vices' was meant fidelity to the religious past. It may seem strange that Highlanders such as these writers on the 'Disruption Worthies', who were almost as proud of Columba as of the Covenanters, were blinded to the enduring values in Columban tradition. They were certainly unable to foresee the effects of their preaching.

[1] 'Erastianism' is the doctrine of the supremacy of the State in ecclesiastical causes, a term which came into use in Britain in the seventeenth century. Actually the problem is one which Erastus, 1524–83, nowhere entered upon; none the less, the name is established, and it denotes a major issue of principles.

[2] J. Greig (ed.), *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands* (1877).

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795 The Evangelicals, so insistent in condemning the beliefs
771 and worship of ancient Christianity as 'vice' and 'superstition', comparatively rarely condemned words and rites designed to bring punishment upon a person believed to have wronged one—that is upon a person one hated! Of such was the practice, widespread in the Old World, of moulding a clay figure representing the person to be harmed, and either sticking pins into it, exposing it to fire, or leaving it in a stream, with a prayer that as the figure wasted away so would the object of hatred. An educated Lewisman I knew, Dr. Norman Morrison, stated that an aunt of his own performed this rite. No doubt she persuaded herself that if the desired injury took place, natural or Divine law was at work and she herself was therefore
[178] innocent or actually just. What is striking is that in the twentieth century, long after the healing beauty and Christian calm of runes and rites had been banished and the healthy laughter of gay custom silenced, this pre-Christian rite of ill-will had lived on. One hardly knows whom to pity the more: the hated, for the fear they would feel if they knew the rite was at work, or the hater. The extreme Evangelicals made so little appeal to reason based on fact, that the irrational element in superstition was not firmly
[829] replaced by a sane, scientific outlook. Indeed 'science' was condemned as 'unbelief'. The constant evocation of wrath, anger and "the punishment of just and unjust" played havoc with the emotions.

Those brought up on the precepts of Presbyterianism —especially in its milder forms—and familiar from infancy with a selection of Old Testament readings, can hardly appreciate the shock to a sensitive heart of first hearing
[776] the whole of the Old Testament read Book by Book. The shock is due not only to the acts of vengeance or massacre,

795 but still more to their repeated justification in the name
771 of the Lord 'God'. 'God' the universal (*Elohim*) came
[776] to be identified with the tribal god Jahveh or Yahweh,
altered, late in Jewish history, to "the LORD God", the
000 term still used in Bibles. The war cry of the Jewish tribes, as they swept in from the desert or tightened their hold upon citizens and cultivators, was that of many wild wanderers, before and since, who have cried upon their God of Battles, upon Jahveh, or Allah. Magnificent in its affirmations of righteousness, the Old Testament can be terrible in its denials of pity.

795 The Bible (literally *Biblia*, the Books) reflects the search
771 of a people through centuries towards the idea of God;
but the tragedy of the Bible, or rather of its historic misuse,
538 came with the acceptance of all 'Scripture' as equal in inspiration and truth. The early and the late were accepted together, the mixed or false with the true. The custom of seeking Divine guidance by simply opening a page of 'the blessed Book'—that is, any text on any page of any one of its books—was an example of such acceptance; and it
[175] was only possible for the literate. In Lewis, Macfarlane records the custom, practised by 'The Men', late in the nineteenth century.

175 Reading came late to the Islanders, but its effects were
as direct as among the Puritans or Covenanters at an earlier
178 period. The people, whose hearts had long since been
771 wrung with pity at the Crucifixion and who were steeped
[538] in reverence for the Gospels, became 'changed' indeed.
Once their minds had been crushed by the Old Testa-
[212] ment's massive weight, the 'change' was reinforced by the vision of a world to come, limned by fevered imagination
[795] in the New Testament's finale, the Apocalypse. The 'change' was brought by Evangelicals who had themselves

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175 undergone the same crushing experience, at a time when
178 communal life was being overthrown by the Industrial
771 Revolution. "Terrible old men!" exclaimed a wise Lewis
795 schoolmaster, of these 'Disruption Worthies'. It was not that they were inhuman—that is clear from the warmth felt for them by so many of the people, who would never have taken kindly to the unkind.

175 Nor were the first Evangelicals invariably severe. Of
178 the Rev. Mr. Macrae, long in Lewis, it is told that, when
771 young he had rebuked an older fellow-minister for levity
795 at a ministers' supper on Communion Monday. Leaping up, the minister seized Macrae by the shoulders and danced
181 behind him, till Macrae was forced to join in the laugh! Macrae never forgot the sane and kindly words spoken to him after: and he saw he had been wrong to identify cheerfulness with irreligion. Yet much joy was extinguished or found illicit vent. To such ruthless zeal, there came inevitably reaction, noted even by 1877, and still more notable during the war of 1914–18 and after. Conflict or compromise was inevitable where Churchmen emphasised terror and inveighed against the calm heritage of their forebears and the happiness for which human nature
178 asks. The days of emotional 'Revival' are by no means
771 over and from them the pendulum may swing from excess back to relieved but wearied unconcern. Moreover, with the emigration of so many of the men, the balance of family life was upset. Some thoughtful men and women feel that the 'Revival' which swept their Island (with the rest of the Presbyterian Hebrides) before 1939 and during the war was partly due to the excessive influence of spinsters, to whom strict Presbyterianism offered little outlet for motherly emotion or sisterly service.

31 Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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(E) SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN CHANGE

178 In spite of 'the wrath to come', life had to go on, work
181 be done, and natural affection find an outlet in youth.
183 How could the women waulk the cloth without a chorus to keep their beating hands in time? Songs had to be allowed by the sternest for this work in common. In a land where marriage was not an affair of dowries, but chiefly of love choice among the young folk, the old courting customs could not wholly be denied. Curiously enough, drinking was not severely looked upon by Scots rural Evangelists; in one story in the Old Testament, it is not the drunkard, but his mocker whom the Lord punished! In a city, a drunk man is a prey to thieves and harpies; but in a township none will do him harm. But today there are Evangelical ministers who think that drink should be frowned on at weddings and *ceilidhs*, while song and dance might be tolerated.

175 Not all the people gave in willingly to the severity of
771 the new creed. In Uig there is a cave, the 'Piper's Cave',
995 to which a crofter was wont to resort on dark nights, his pipes in his oxter, when the wind blew *from* the manse and
183 out to sea! Ultimately the least willing were forced to give in, first, by the appalling threat of the refusal of communion, and secondly, by denunciation from the pulpit
(178) and the ostracism of the Elders. Much was destroyed that can never be recovered now, and many a fine heart saddened or broken. It was the most intimate expression of their lives, their religious lore, which suffered most.[1]

178 Yet something remains, preserved by the good sense,
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[1] Carmichael gives an infinitely pathetic account of a conversation in a home in Ness about 1880–85. *Carmina*, pp. xxvii-xxxii.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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178 intuitive and traditional, of the people, and their love for
(181) the good and beautiful. Song collectors from outside the
Island have found little and assumed that song had been
(114) swept away. Discretion is certainly needed for song col-
[533] lection! Years ago in Bernera I had been told of a pretty
love lament I had not heard. Calling with my hosts to
125 invite him to their house that evening, we found the singer,
533 a burly crofter of fifty or so. We had been about to
183 mention the word 'song', when the word was checked on
our lips by a swift, warning glance. The singer lived with
his old mother and she must not be told that her son went
533 out on such an errand! Nevertheless, Islanders them-
178 selves are collecting many unpublished songs, where
strangers failed. The Laxdale School choir wins prizes at
[814] many a national gathering or *Mod*, for their spirited singing
of songs, many of them unpublished. Owing in part to
their very isolation, these songs have remained as pure in
form as in the Catholic Isles, whether in time and rhythm
or in scale and mode. Thus the sub-intervals or 'quarter-
tones' of the modal scale add subtlety to the melodic line
of an air, as in the melodies of Wales or of distant India.[1]
These intervals are rarely heard on concert platforms,
being unrecognised by many 'Mod medallists'. They
are rarely known to professional musicians trained to
the mechanical scale of the piano, and who are asked,
as adjudicators, to award praise or criticism by alien
standards.

181 Courtesy and modesty are noticeable among the young

[1] M. Kennedy-Fraser, Preface, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. Cf. Glyn-Williams, *Welsh Song and Dance* (Curwen, 1936). For India see A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindustan* (1914), pp. 104 ff., and H. A. Popley, *The Music of India* (1921); cf. A. Geddes in A. Karpelès (ed.), *L'Inde et son âme*, Paris, 1927. While published phonographic records of Indian singing normally illustrate these intervals, those of Gaelic Hebridean singers rarely do, as they are accustomed to alter to suit a piano.

181 people, although life in crowded quarters and daily concern with the rearing of animals make for a frankness not
183 readily understood by strangers in Victorian times. The
848 standard of morality in the Isles is high, and the rate of illegitimacy low. A courting custom, once common
584 through the northern and western coasts of Britain, as in Norway and New England, was 'bundling', a preliminary to marriage, or bed-fellowship (*leapachas*). This is noted
[836] with disarming frankness by various writers.[1] After the ceremonial and festivities of the betrothal, *reiteach*, a young man was allowed to sleep beside his betrothed; but the marriage ceremony was to precede, not follow, consummation. At wedding festivities, sweethearts found their way to the barn and took their rest together on the straw. In the shielings, too, courtship was given some freedom: trust is a necessity where there could not be total restraint.

585 To what extent marriage sometimes took place or may still occur after consummation and the expectation of a first child, only one with close local knowledge could say. 'Hand-fasting', marriage made binding only by the conception of a first child, was an ancient custom. Two things must be remembered. First, the strength of parental benediction and authority, backed by a community in which all knew one another from childhood, gave binding force to betrothal and its obligations; and ceremonies such as that of the kertching effectually replaced legal and ecclesiastical marriage when there was neither registrar, minister nor priest. Secondly, marriages blest with children tend to be happy ones. Fulfilling the cycle of life, children also provided the support to old age needed among peasants living on the edge of poverty.

[113] [1] W. A. Smith, *Lewiana*; and Brand Report, 1902.

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(7) A CHANGING CHURCH: 1820–1943

175 795 [178] Underneath the doctrinal severity of the Presbyterian Gael, there has continued some of the cheerful faith in living, the belief in mutual aid, the tolerance and calm, breathed in our native religious lore. The sternest Presbyterianism, which swept the North-west after 1820, still makes the Gaelic North its fortress in Scotland. Yet the maintenance in the Scottish Church of a doctrine of universal love was due, no less, to Gaelic ministers, and seems to have owed its rebirth to Gaelic tradition through these men. The question of continuity is important: for this doctrine, embracing all mankind, not only the predestined few, has profoundly influenced the attitude to life in all Protestant lands, throughout a century crucial to human development.

175 795 793 The most notable of the Scots ministers concerned with the doctrine of the Atonement were John McLeod Campbell and his younger friend, Norman Macleod. Born in Argyllshire in 1800, McLeod Campbell was ordained in 1825, and preached the assurance that God loved, and Christ died, for all men. For this he was charged with heresy by the Church of Scotland, and deposed in 1831, a trial he bore "with saintly charity and patience", refusing to found a new sect. In 1832 he went through the Highlands and Skye, preaching everywhere in Gaelic. A Moderate minister, John Maciver, who attended his services, said to him: "I never understood so much of your views before; now in the strength of God I will enquire more into them". It was very different when he met his own cousin, Roderick McLeod, who eight years later swept the island of Skye into the Free Church and led the Evangelicals in the Hebrides. To his sister

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175 Campbell wrote, " My reception by those who are called
795 ' professors ' ", the lay leaders who ' professed ' the
Evangelical doctrines, " was trying to the last. Holding
793 that Christ died for all seemed to them so fundamental
an error as to poison all my teaching." Thereafter,
175 Campbell retired, in Glasgow, to read, preach to a few,
793 and write, keeping in touch with Norman Macleod and
814 Erskine in Scotland, and in England with J. F. D. Maurice
(1805–72). After *Christ, the Bread of Life*, Campbell wrote
The Nature of the Atonement (1856). Readers felt not only
that he was one of the most lovable of men, but a profound
theologian, a view reinforced today. " Of all books that
have ever been written on the Atonement ", wrote Dr.
Denney, " McLeod Campbell's is probably that which is
most completely inspired by the spirit of the truth with
which it deals. Its originality is spiritual as well as intel-
lectual. In speculative power he cannot be compared to
Schleiermacher, nor in historical learning to Ritschl; but
he walks in the light all the time, and everything he
touches lives."

175 Here then was a man who seemed to have been born
793 " in advance of his time ", yet who came of a community
of deeply traditional cast. His life's thought was attuned
159 to that of his forebears, and expressed itself most intimately
perhaps in their own tongue. Campbell was born and
reared in Lorne, Argyllshire, which had first received
Protestantism through Carswell, who, in translating Knox's
" Liturgy " into Gaelic, incorporated the old Gaelic labour
prayer of the fishermen (Chapter VII (a)). The gentler form
of Protestantism brought in by Carswell may have allowed
the spirit of Celtic Christianity to survive among the people
of ' Mid-Argyll ' and Lorne, down to Campbell's boyhood.
It may thus have contributed to the making of " a Scottish

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 saint, a character so eminently Christ-like ",[1] and to his
793 intimate beliefs, doctrine and wide influence. The same
159 Highland roots and deep charity characterised Dr. Norman Macleod, author of the popular classic, *The Friend of the Gael* (*Caraid nan Gaidheal*).

121 If a student of community ventures upon an interpretation of theology, it is because, to him, any attempt to understand " the relations of God to mankind " must take account of men's relations to one another. Ideas are transformed by human experience during economic and social revolutions, and in their turn they transform society. To make contact with reality, theology must regard mankind: it
175 must be integrated with sociology. Because of its close
178 bond with communal life, the religious spirit, recorded in Gaelic lore, was jarred, almost overwhelmed, when com-
182 munity was shaken to its foundations by the commercial,
178 agricultural and industrial revolution. Happily, the value of communal Christianity has been acknowledged both by
79 Roman Catholics—notably (among Gaels) by the Rev. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay—and by Protestants.[2] In the Scottish Presbyterian Church today, the movement which seems most deeply aware of the need for a new society has acknowledged its debt to communal tradition where this has been best maintained, that is, in the Isles. Seeking to aid Christian endeavour, international and national, this movement has turned for inspiration to Iona.
[771] In Iona, of which the noble cathedral belongs to the Church of Scotland but is open for service to all denominations, Presbyterians have found a new symbol.

[113] [1] Canon Vaughan, cited by the Rev. Norman Maclean (*Scotsman*, 21st Aug. 1943).

[2] " The Church should interpret the Love of God by a flaming zeal for the redress of the social order." (The Very Rev. Prof. John Baillie, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, at St. Andrews, 1943.)

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771 "The Iona Community is a Brotherhood of men within
792 the Church of Scotland seeking to find the implications of
the Kingdom of God for modern society. During the
794 summer months they worship, work and live together on
621 Iona, rebuilding the ruined Abbey on a co-operative basis.
Half the Brotherhood are young clergy pledged to work
for two years in the difficult places of the cities (after three
months in Iona), emphasising the place of the Church in
the New Community that is emerging in the world. The
other half are skilled artisans who desire to express their
labour as a ministry within the Priesthood of all Believers
and create—in the building—a microcosmic witness of
how labouring is transformed when seen as a Sacrament.
The Brotherhood is based on Reformation principles.
[221] Several members of the Community are married. At
present the artisans return to the ordinary labour market
in the winter time." [1]

[461] In the Iona Community, theology is linked to communal labour and the re-shaping of society; and its symbolic centre, Iona, is more than a literary name, or a historic ruin, to those who have set about rebuilding its cathedral tower, cloister and surrounding dwellings. Continuity is exemplified in its leader, the Rev. George F. Macleod, a descendant of Dr. Norman Macleod, the friend of McLeod Campbell. The significance of this Community to the theme of this chapter lies in the endeavour of its members to learn, by help of ancient native ways, new ways of Christian life in their own land. The attempt to link industrial Scotland, and lands beyond, to the Gaelic West, is a notable recognition of what Celtic Christianity, maintained and renewed by communal tradition, has yet to give the world.

[1] From the magazine of the Iona Community, *The Coracle*.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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CONCLUSION

(CHAPTERS V TO VIII)

175 Manifestly, prevailing views of the relationships of chief
178 and people, and above all, of the people to one another, must be revised, even reversed. So must widespread views of the
105 relation of clerical to 'lay' members in the living, though unseen, Church. The enduring character of the people's primitive faith, from its early arrival to our time, may be almost unique in Western Christendom; distance and sheer physical poverty proved to be its protection. Had they been better preserved, the temporal and spiritual traditions of the Eastern Gael, and also of Scots Lowlanders, might well justify a revision of views. In the Isles again and again the people were placed under 'Authority' —under laird and soldier, legislator and official, priest and pastor, orthodox cleric and unorthodox 'intellectual'. Should not each of these ask with humility whether they and their predecessors have not often misled those who might have led them, mistaught those from whom they might have learned?

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

(A) TRANSITION: MIGRATION, FISHING AND KELP-MAKING

175 433 [621] [427] [794] [437] UNTIL the 'Forty-five the township had lived an almost self-contained life. Its traditional economy was self-sufficient except for two indispensable commodities—salt for the housewife and iron for the smith. Beyond this, the chief demand for payment was the rent to the lord, with tithes for the kirk. For these needs and demands a step towards production for exchange was required, the more so that what was exported might include the very necessities of life in 'bad years'. The rent was paid largely by the sale of a surplus steer or two, and 175 drovers called for the cattle. By 1790, if not before, two 317 or three open boats set out annually from Uig, for instance, for Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. 436 Although salt seems of little account today, it once bulked [435] large in the Budget, its price being heightened by duty, especially after 1707: "as dear as salt", was a saying, *cho* [251] *daor ris an t-salluinn.* Salt was needed to preserve the carcase of a 'cattle-beast' or sheep killed in autumn, and 175 for cod and herring curing. Wrecks were valuable, as on 433 all infertile undeveloped coastlands, both for their timber and their iron. Cairds or tinkers occasionally brought [326] metal goods; or a packman called, as strange a figure then [443]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 as some Indian pedlar one meets on the road may seem
433 now. An older packman's tale of his long tramps, of the
[326] people's poverty and hospitality, must have resembled
[443] the mingled plaints and praise one hears from an Indian
pedlar today! But in the past only a speaker of Gaelic
[191] could find his way among the people. Almost until 1900,
if not still later, Gaelic speech was to prove a social bond,
[197] but ignorance of English speech an economic barrier.

The transition to increased exchange, with migration,
175 permanent and temporary, tended to make for specialisa-
433 tion. About 1795, *Statistical Accounts* enumerated, for
every hundred families, two or three smiths, wrights (or
463 carpenters), a shipwright or some boat-makers, a few
[178] weavers, tailors, and perhaps a miller. Each of these held
some corn land, individually or in shares, with rights on
the common. The line between plain crofters (to use a
later term) and crofter-craftsmen was not easily drawn, and
different writers wrote as they judged best. In Lochs,
80 per cent were fishers and net-makers. On the open
shores of the west, in Barvas parish (in which three-fourths
of the men were also 'fishers'), kelp-making was a seasonal
[427] occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid
30s. to 60s. in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling
to their tacksmen at 5d. each, earned £1 a month on herring
boats, made kelp at 30s. per ton, and roads at 8d. a day.

175 In Harris in 1795 the eight 'bred' (or trained male)
286 weavers worked only for 'the gentry': the laird, the
tacksmen and their families. The rest of the weaving
462 was done by the women, giving a ratio of only one male
weaver to fifty-five families. But in Lewis male weavers
were commoner—one to every twenty to thirty families
was the ratio—as if the practice of home weaving by the
women was less universal there, even at that date.

3t Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 About the seventeenth century there was introduced
433 the making of *aqua vitae*, *uisge-beatha* or 'whisky', an
addition to the ancient drink of home-brewed beer or ale
273 (*lionn*), a pleasant brew still tolerated by the Excise. In
[427] order to pay the rent, the making of whisky from home-
grown barley must have consumed a precious foodstuff.
[651] The small bulk of whisky facilitated export by tacksman
or Factor, and it also served to tickle the palate, cure the
[651] ills and cheer the spirits of the crofters themselves. But
before 1800 'the Gauger' was in the land, though there
were undoubtedly whisky stills that escaped his eye. In
some of the old houses a hollow space was left at a selected
spot between the inner and the outer walls, to conceal what
was not meant to be seen. A pleasant picture survives of
[511] the eighteenth century. It is told of a man of exceptional
prosperity, that when he laid his head on a pillow "he
could hear on the one side the clacking of his corn mill and
on the other the babble of his still". What more could
[427] the good man want? Nevertheless, the increase of distilla-
[671] tion as a legitimate home industry by which to pay the rent
(in kind or by sale), followed by legislation prohibiting all
but large stills, first encouraged the Islanders in a taste for
strong drink, then tempted them to smuggling and breaking
the law.[1] Seaforth started two distilleries at Stornoway,
importing barley for the purpose. By 1825 these had ousted
the illicit stills, but they were closed about 1870.[2]

175 From a perilously narrow margin of subsistence, periodi-
178 cally overstepped in famines, the Islanders passed to a
larger measure of production for sale, and in the second
434 half of the eighteenth century population increased. Its
433
[113]

[1] Cf. D. Stewart of Garth, *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 1821, vol. i, pt. ii, sec. v.

[2] Brand Report, 1902.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 growth followed the increases in potato-growing and fish-
178 ing, in income and food production, and the introduction
434 of vaccination against smallpox, which had formerly taken a heavy toll of child life.[1] This increase found an outlet
[433] in emigration to the Colonies, often led by departing tacks-
[751] men though discouraged at first by the Island lairds. For example, in July 1773, 840 people sailed from Lewis.
175 "Alarmed by this, their master . . . came down from
434 London to treat with the remainder of his tenants. What are the terms asked, think you? 'The land at the old
167 rents, the augmentation paid for three years back to be refunded, and his Factor to be immediately dismissed!'"
[214] Although the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, from which this quotation is taken, went on to say that it was expected that the demands would be acceded to, or the Island would become a desert, the Factor was retained.

175 The pressure of population can be imagined when the
167 appalling conditions of transport overseas are remembered. A case is known of 700 Gaelic emigrants setting out from
505 the Clyde across the Atlantic in a vessel for which the maximum human cargo of negro slaves permissible was 400. The regulations governing the transport of slaves did not apply to the transport of 'freemen'. In quoting this case, D. F. Macdonald suggests that while it was in the interest of slave-owners that their slaves should arrive in the Plantations alive, it was rather in the interest of manufacturers to discourage emigration so as to keep a supply of labour at home with which to meet their growing demands and fill the gaps due to a high mortality, particularly among workers newly arrived from the country.[2] It would also seem as if it had not been in the interests of landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time,

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. xiv.

[113] [2] *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1750–1850* (1941).

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

000 landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time.

175 Wars brought enlistment in the Highland regiments,
162 the Navy and Merchant Marine. Owing to migrations of
all kinds, males came to be outnumbered by females, then
[702] as later (100 males to 114 females, 1931).[1] In Lewis in
[167] 1795 the proportion was 100 to 111, and in Harris 100 to
124. From this period onwards the 'export of men' con-
175 tinued, modified by the reserve for war. Men were trained
162 for the Naval Reserve and Militia; and in 1900 for instance
702 800 men were training at Fort George and 2500 sailors
were in the Reserve. The maintenance of a reserve for the
Navy was one of the strongest pleas for the framing of the
Crofters Act.

175 A new resource, important to the Islanders after 1750,
824 was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed upon
the shore, for use in the manufacture of alkali in the glass
323 and soap industries. From 1770 onwards the price rose,
388 heightened first by an import duty, then by the Napoleonic
Wars. Estimating from the high prices, averaging over
175 £10 per ton from 1800 to 1823, Sir John Sinclair put the
824 value of the annual produce (20,000 tons) at £200,000. "It
435 may appear surprising", he remarks, "how that sum could
be of such importance to 80,000 people"; but he goes
on to point out that this gave the additional cash needed
to supplement their subsistence. But even when Sinclair
wrote in 1825, the industry was in peril. Failure and loss
occurred almost immediately after, with disastrous effect.

175 It is complained in the *New Statistical Account* that
433 owing to the summer-time work of kelp-making up to
1830, the people could give little attention to the crofts, so
[511] that their extension must almost have ceased. Nor could

[1] In 1951 the ratio in Lewis was 100 males to 112 females, and in Harris, 100 to 110.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 small savings, if any, have been put to the purchase of fish-
511 ing gear and boats, for fishing, too, was summer work. By
[433] 1833 the poverty of the Outer Islesfolk and the bankruptcy of the landlords were such that Parliamentary attention was called to the state of the Hebrides. Poverty continued to be extreme, but need turned the people to fishing.
[433] The loss of revenue to the lairds led to their making sheep farms—somewhat unwillingly—with local evictions: in Lewis chiefly from Park and from north of Stornoway, and in Harris notably from the western Machars to the eastern
[423] Bays. In spite of this, it also brought about the sale of
[621] Harris by Macleod, and finally of Lewis by Seaforth in 1844.[1]

(a) NEW OWNERSHIP AND CAPITAL IN LEWIS: 1844–78

175 Lewis was bought by Mr. James Matheson, a gentleman
423 of Highland family, whose fortune had been made in China. Sir James (as he became) put much capital, effort and goodwill into the management and improvement of the Island. Of the amounts expended we may distinguish, so far as possible, what he spent as a rich man for his private
[731] pleasure from what he spent for the people. No sooner had Matheson bought the Island than the 'potato famine' of 1845–46 broke out. The terrible loss of life in Ireland, and the depopulation of that country which followed, would have been equalled in the Isles but for the action of landowners like Matheson—who were the descendants of 'kinsmen', not of alien conquerors—and also of subscribers

[1] A sketch map of Harris showing the areas cleared (1816–54) and areas settled as a result, together with those re-settled by government help after 1900, is given by J. B. Caird, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67, 2, 1951, p. 94.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

423 in Scottish cities, who came forward again in 1888 and in
731 1925. Of the £33,000 Matheson expended on meal and
175 seed potatoes for relief, about half was repaid in labour by
747 the recipients. Here are the outlays reclassified from the
423 Brand Report (1902, p. xv):

Castle buildings and grounds and shooting lodges			£120,000
Buildings and Land reclamation		£100,000	
Industries and Communications:—			
Chemical Works, for manufacturing paraffin oil from peat	£33,000		
Roads and Bridges	25,000		
Brickworks (from local clay)	6,000		
Patent Slipway, Quays, etc., at Stornoway	10,000		
		74,000	
Other expenditure:—			
Net Losses on Steamers and Mails	£32,000		
Industrial and Other Schools	12,000		
Emigration (2200 persons)	12,000		
Miscellaneous	1,000		
Relief (Meal, etc.), gross outlay	33,000		
		90,000	
Total expenditure, other than on Castle, etc.			264,000
Original Cost of Island			190,000
GRAND TOTAL			£574,000

Thus, of a capital outlay of over half a million pounds, roughly a quarter of a million was spent directly on the development of the estate. The rental in 1844 (exclusive of feu-duties) was nearly £11,000, and this rose to £18,000 within a few years, though it had been reduced to £15,000 at the end of the century. It will be seen that the praise given to Sir James Matheson for his liberal expenditure was well won, if allowance is made for the standards of his class and generation. Yet of the £120,000 he spent upon

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 the mansion, lodges, and grounds or 'policies', much was
747 built and laid out for himself at the time, though part was
423 for reclamation. This contrasts with his provision for those whose homeland he had bought—the sum spent upon his own mansions and grounds being nearly half that spent directly for the good of some 20,000 fellow-Gaels.

175 Matheson was not technically equipped for his chosen
157 task of 'reconstruction'. Nor was he fitted by trade in the East for the leadership of a people accustomed, in
[623] spite of dire poverty, to considerable freedom. Ignorant, one gathers, of the language of the people, his choice of a
175 later Factor was hardly a happy one. Tradition in Lewis speaks of this Donald Munro as an 'autocrat', and evidence
623 in 1874 confirms it. In addition to being the Factor for
423 an ageing man and so holding economic sway over the people, he held seventeen public and semi-public offices
661 in the Island, from Justice of the Peace to Captain of the Volunteers, still other offices being held by his clerk! The extent of his sway is also shown by his having served summonses of removal upon fifty-six families on his own authority. As a result of the treatment of the officer sent to serve the summonses, three crofters were tried on a charge of "assault committed on an officer of the law in revenge for having executed his duty". When asked in court if Sir James would not have disapproved of this step and the manner of its execution, Munro replied that it was his practice "never to trouble Sir James with small matters". "Then you consider the eviction of fifty-six families a small matter?" was the retort. These 'Bernera rioters' were found not guilty, they and their neighbours were left in possession, and soon after the Factor demitted
175 office.[1] Lewismen felt the result to be a moral victory,
829

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. lxxi.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 which heartened them for resistance in common against
829 landlord and State, both in the agitation for reform of the Land Laws during the next ten years and in their demands for 'the return' of sheep farms to crofting, which continued until all these were divided soon after 1919 and the ex-Servicemen's return.

175 Expenditure of capital in Lewis during more than a
423 generation, from the purchase of the estate in 1844 down to the death of Sir James in 1878, helped to maintain the
646 people and provide relief in bad seasons. It left Lewis greatly improved in roads and paths, in sea communica-
175 tions and in buildings of various sorts. Two real efforts had been made to utilise Lewis peat, industrially for paraffin
646 oil, and agriculturally by reclamation. Given the resources
311 and knowledge of a century ago, these attempts did their
[161] initiator credit. Yet failure left the Islanders to continue crofting without either an additional occupation or the extension of croft land, even at the high population density (per acre of arable) which Matheson had found on his purchase in 1844.

175 Subdivision of crofts was the first result. A father
423 would simply divide his croft between himself and a son, who might not even be entered on the rent-roll of the estate, and the two would inevitably need more stock than before upon the common. The second result was simply 'squatting': the building of a house, perhaps with a tiny kailyard, on a piece of the 'skinned' land. As building went on overcrowding old sites, filth accumulated and springs were contaminated, crofting was hindered and cows became fewer per family, in spite of overstocking. By 1886 about two-thirds the number of the cottars and squatters found in 1914 were already in occupation. In 1914 there were over 3000 statutory crofts in Lewis, their

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 423 rent averaging 31s., in addition to which there were over 1000 houses of the cottar class and 300 houses of the squatter class.[1]

Lastly, Sir James trained no successor to follow up or improve upon his experience. At his death in 1878 Sir James was succeeded by his widow, and, nearly twenty years after, she was followed by a nephew and his son. But the expenses of Stornoway Castle and its burdens, accompanied by lower rents, weighed down the new proprietors. [228] In 1918 the estate was sold to Lord Leverhulme, who shortly afterwards purchased Harris too, with a view to his great schemes of fishery development.

(c) FISHERIES: 1750–1914

175 471 228 For the greatest expanding industry of the northern coastlands, Matheson had done comparatively little even at Stornoway. In 1883, a former Factor (Mr. Mackenzie of Calgarry) stated that he had constantly asked for aid to the fisheries, especially by the building of harbours, pointing out that the landlord would reap benefit in rent.[2] But Matheson had replied that the fishermen and fish-curers, the people engaged in the trade, should do this work [654] for themselves. By the end of the century, harbours were being planned and built with State aid in the north, west and south-east of the Island (at Ness, Carloway and Uig, [439] and Tarbert, Harris). In 1900 the Islanders possessed 150 herring boats, and in that year five boats from the Stornoway District sailed for the first time to Yarmouth, [511] and two to Lerwick. For the next dozen years there were
real hopes that prosperity could be maintained.

[113] [1] *Royal Commission on Housing*, 1917, p. 212. Cf. *Fraser Report on Cottars in Lewis*, 1888, and the recommendations by the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee, *Report on Rural Housing in Scotland*, 1937, pp. 56-63, 75-77.

[2] Brand Report (1902).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 real hopes that prosperity could be maintained. In 1914
228 war came, followed by sweeping changes in international
178 trade. These changes left the Island fishermen workless,
[439] and with wrecked and rotting boats. In twenty years the
number of Scotland's fishermen was halved, and the remainder all but ruined. For guidance, past progress and past losses should be reviewed, in order to see what measures can be taken to restore prosperity.

121 For the slow growth of a native fishing industry, two
175 factors were to blame: the poverty of environment, together with the unsettled state of the Isles, and also, it
182 seems, the jealousy of urban interests. These were repre-
228 sented, to 1603 and even after, by the Royal Burghs, and from 1707 by the British Parliament. The Royal Burghs certainly developed Scottish trade and industry through their own ports, but they feared competition, and opposed any direct contact of other ports, such as Stornoway, with foreign fishers and traders. From the days of the MacLeods
[648] this difficulty had hampered regional development. It was in spite of royal prohibition that Seaforth encouraged Dutch curers to settle, an arrangement interrupted by war with Holland in 1653 and 1665. Curers from Caithness and the East Coast were encouraged to replace the Dutchmen, and from time to time through the succeeding century efforts were made from the south to form fishing companies, and in the Island to encourage local fishers to profit from example in the catching of herring and of ling, hake and cod.[1] The people fished for food, with fishing-rods from the shore, and in frail boats in the lochs, and if they
[648] could, they also sold a surplus. Fish were not only taken direct to Glasgow, but sold at home, first to Scots and foreign and later to British boats, of which ninety visited Lochs in

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, p. 65 ff.

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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121 175 228 1794, for instance, their crews not only fishing but also buying from local fishers. Islanders occasionally earned a pittance as pilots, for until the charting of these rocky coasts navigation was most dangerous.

175 228 The herring industry was in the hands of 'adventurers' (who 'ventured' their capital), and the Islanders benefited little. The British export was aided by a bounty which [472] [439] helped to capture the Continental market; but, as Adam Smith pointed out, no bounty was given to the small, open boats suitable for the north-west lochs. Thus the operation 175 of the Salt Duty after 1707 and of the bounty system from 228 before 1745 until 1786, illustrates two of the recurrent blights upon "Public Administration" in the Isles. As Day 656 wrote, their interests have had to suffer "either deliberately, for the benefit of other parts, or other classes in the kingdom, or inadvertently from ignorance".[1] Although the bounty system was widened to include small boats after 1786, the Salt Tax remained until 1817.

To overcome difficulties, the British Fisheries Society was founded with Government support in 1786. Although Stornoway then seemed too far afield, the Society's concentration upon larger settlements foreshadowed Lord Lever- [311] hulme's principles after 1918. At Ullapool, Tobermory and Lochbay (Skye), and at Wick, quays and stores were constructed and dwelling-houses built, with croft land and grass for a cow, to be reclaimed. Although concentration at Wick led to the sale of the three western properties about 1842, the Society had done some good work in the West. The chief difficulty of the West Coast north of the Clyde area and south of Stornoway District remained: the lack of a well-marked seasonal migration of herring.

[1] J. P. Day, *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 From the Napoleonic Wars to 1914 the amount of
228 herring cured on the West Coast of Scotland rose and fell.
In 1810–14 the East Coast cure was half the West Coast
251 cure, but the peace of 1815 brought the capture of the
458 Continental markets and the East Coast herring export
leapt up. It averaged 500,000 barrels from 1850 to 1870,
a million from 1880 to 1900, and one to two million barrels
[439] until 1914. With the decline in the export to the Plantations, the West Coast export fell, to rise by 1890 and reach a peak from 1900 to 1914. Thus, although no more than from a tenth to a fifth of the East Coast yield, that of the West Coast had risen greatly.[1] Of this, the Stornoway cure formed the major part.

175 The chief early type of catch, of white fish (cod, ling
228 and hake), was developed too, and swelled to a peak by 1900, then dwindled and fell. The average Stornoway District catch of white fish for a dozen years to 1900 was valued at over £100,000, much of it caught by local boats, and some of it cured at small 'creeks' (*e.g.* on the west of the Island, on Loch Roag, notably at Carloway). The cure, a strong coarse food, was shipped to Ireland and the Clyde; but after 1900, fresh trawled fish replaced the cured. From £100,000 before 1900 the value fell to little over £10,000 in 1912–13, £1000 in 1920, and half that in 1921—½ per cent of the value in 1900!

[471] Thus the herring fishing became the most important
to the Islanders, at first by employment on East Coast boats.
[452] Later they purchased boats and gear for themselves, helped
principally by advances from Island and East Coast curers,
[652] though also by State loans.

[1] *Fishery Board for Scotland*, Table 25 (1938), and Table 23: 6000 barrels in 1790–95; 80,000 in 1870–75; 100,000 in 1912, and 160,000 in 1913. For fair comparison with Table 25, about 25 per cent should be added to quantities, as explained in the notes to the Tables, on the 'seastick', and final reduced, or 'bungpacked', state of barrelled herring (listed in Table 23).

175 though also by State loans. The efforts of the Island
228 fishermen in the sixty years from 1880 to 1939 can be
471 summed up in the values of their boats. From 1880 to
1900 values rose by one-half, but had fallen somewhat
458 before the war of 1914–18 (to £20,000). Immediately after, the purchase of steam drifters at Stornoway and the fitting their herring boats with motors by the fishermen had tripled the value (close on £70,000 in 1920). But markets fell almost at once, and losses continued. By 1938 the Island fishing fleet was valued (or overvalued) at a quarter that figure, and was worth less than the fleet of sixty years before.[1]

(D) THE CROFTERS ACTS, 1886–1919: TOWNSHIP, LANDLORD AND STATE

175 Centuries of cattle-keeping having left the grass moors
236 in good condition, the profits of sheep-farming rose after 1770 with the price of wool for manufacture. Protected from foxes by modern guns, and handled in large flocks, the newly introduced Cheviot and Blackface sheep and
[178] lambs could graze in their thousands. In many estates the introduction of additional sheep, with the crofters' cattle, was tried and worked; but in others the people were
175 ruthlessly evicted. Although offset by many acts of wise
236 economy and generous aid, evictions were too frequent during the next half-century, and they engendered growing
427 bitterness.

Whereas in other Isles, and on the machar of Harris, the small joint tenantry and subtenantry were evicted in

[113] [1] Figures 1828–33 quoted from J. P. Day, *Public Administration*, 1918; 1888–1900 from Appendix K, Report, 1902; 1912–1938 from *Fishery Board for Scotland* Tables (Table E-IB, 1912–21, and Table 15 and A.I., 1938).

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 favour of sheep farmers, in Lewis there had been very few
236 evictions. Early in the days of the sheep-farming boom,
427 one of the Seaforths had been offered 'double rents', and refused them rather than turn the people away. Later on, when the wars were over, and when the Seaforth fortunes were failing, subtenants and their cattle had been replaced by sheep stock in three tacks around Broad Bay (at Coll and Gress and at Aignish at the base of Eye
[731] Peninsula). The failure of kelp-burning and the potato famine brought acute want in rocky parts of the Isle, and led to the desertion of their homes by certain communities.
175 In 1863, out of a total of forty crofters in a township of
16 Barvas parish, more than half emigrated by help of Sir James Matheson. Local resettlement was aided by Sir
[423] James, who provided horses and implements for Uig people who moved to Shawbost (6 miles north of Loch Roag). Abandoned places became farms; and although agricultural prices fell and Sir James made little profit from the erection of buildings and the drainage, dyking and fencing on farms, land was improved, and better stock was bred, of which some was available to improve that of crofters,
175 too. Twenty years later, however, increasing numbers
427 increased the demand for crofts, and the people sought to reoccupy their forebears' land. In this, the Lewismen
[171] shared in a widespread movement, extending from the Scottish Isles to Wales and Ireland.

175 As a result of the real sufferings of the people in the
654 Highlands and Isles, and of the growing interest in the land shown in the country and in Parliament, where Irish
[648] members made themselves the crofters' allies, the Government in 1883 appointed a Royal Commission of Enquiry under a fair-minded judge, Lord Napier. As a remedy, the Commissioners recommended measures based upon

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 the legal recognition, improvement and enlargement of the
654 'township', defined as a farm, or part of a farm, occupied in common or division by several tenants, three or more in
[632] number. The executive officer of the township, the Con-
[666] stable, was to be elected annually by the community.

The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 did
175 embody three of the chief recommendations made, but the
671 first, the recognition of the township, was omitted. The
427 Crofters Act gave security of tenure, compensation for improvements, and some facilities for enlargement of holdings. Security was perpetual and could be passed on by the crofter within his family, though renounceable by him upon one year's notice, upon fair statutory conditions. The chief conditions were payment of rent, fair maintenance of the holding, and respect of agreements with the proprietor. Although this was not a recommendation of the Commission, the Act also provided for official revision of rents. A 'fair rent' was to be proportionate to the produce of the croft, and this, together with the value for improvements, was to be fixed on application to a body of the three Commissioners, 'the Crofters Commission'. In Lewis between 1887 and 1912 this brought a lowering of the rental by over a quarter and the cancelling of two-thirds of arrears accumulated earlier. The rental for a 'croft' was to be below £30; this figure was raised to £50 in 1911, except in Lewis, where £30 remained the limit in order to allow the excessive congestion to be relieved by division even of small farms.

The passing of the Small Landholders' Act of 1911 completed the code known as the Landholders' Acts, 1886–1911. The Land Court replaced the Crofters' Com-
[647] mission. The Department (then still the Board) of Agriculture took over the powers of the Congested Districts

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 Board, created in 1897 to develop agriculture, fishing and
671 home industries, to form new holdings, to assist migration,
427 and to provide public works such as roads, bridges and
[647] piers. These powers were further extended by the Land Settlement (Scotland) Act of 1919, passed to provide land for ex-Servicemen.[1]

The Crofters' Act granted to the individual crofter most of the rights advocated by the Napier Commission, and other advantages besides, but it did not impose upon him the corresponding duties. As Day wrote, "The landlord was compelled to act in the interests of the crofter; the crofter was not compelled to act in his own interest". [632] The Act discarded the core of the Napier Commission's scheme, that of "a recognised local community, the township, with an executive officer, the Constable, working for the improvement of the township, by fencing, draining and other works, with the assistance of the proprietor", the whole scheme enforceable by "legal compulsion on either [829] side". As a Gael might say, the Act discarded *duty-right* of members of the community to one another.

175 As a result, peace did not descend upon the Island at
423 once. The demand for land continued, followed up by attempts to settle upon it, in spite of police and armed force.
[668] A legal victory was to be pressed home. In Lewis the

[113] [1] A useful summary of the legislation is given by the Scot. Econ. Committee's Report, 1938, pp. 17-21, and a searching review in J. P. Day's *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918, a work of real social insight.

The Act of 1919 is still the main enactment under which land settlement schemes may be undertaken in Scotland; but the Agriculture (Scotland) Act 1948 included new provision to allow the creation of holdings up to 75 acres in extent and £150 in rental. After the Second World War a more cautious policy was adopted in regard to settlement of ex-Servicemen and little progress has been made in carrying out schemes, despite many unfulfilled applications in the Hebrides and elsewhere where the demand for crofts exceeds the supply.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 death of Sir James had left his widow in possession of the
423 estate, a lady with little training for its responsibilities.
668 In south-east Lewis, in November 1887, a body of landless men attempted to settle on the peninsula of Park, Loch Seaforth, after which some of the illegal settlers or raiders were tried and acquitted, and fourteen small crofts with outrun were provided. In January 1888, 300 men marched from Barvas to petition Lady Matheson that the sheep farm of Galson should be allotted to some of them at a fair valuation, as they could not live on their tiny plots. Lady Matheson refused to consider the petition until the arrears of rent due by Barvas tenants were paid. Less than a week after, sheep were driven off Aignish (Eye) and police, reinforced by marines and soldiers, arrested eleven men. Two days later, more sheep runs were invaded, fences de-
[701] molished, and sheep driven off. On January 20, 500 marines were ordered to Lewis (of whom 200 actually
[687] sailed). On February 2, the Aignish raiders were found guilty and sentenced to terms of from nine to fifteen months' imprisonment. After this the disturbances gradually passed away. Yet the seeds of trouble only lay dormant; they were to spring up a generation later, and again after the war of 1914–18.

175 In defending the Napier Commission's plan to recog-
632 nise the township, one may accept their definition of it as a farm held by tenants, singly or in common. Yet it must
427 be remembered that the word 'farm' had come to have a very elastic meaning. The joint farm-group was once the
[241] active group for labour in common; but if the 'township' included several joint-farms, as it generally had in the Island, its people formed a relatively 'passive' community. Members of the township enjoyed rights in common, and shared in duties of observance; but they had seldom to

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 co-operate in active endeavour. It was all the more
632 important to have an elected 'official', the Constable,
427 one of themselves but placed in authority. There could
be no restitution of the old joint farms where they had
[241] been broken down by migration. Yet it should have been
[624] still possible to extend the old spirit to the larger townships,
as the Commissioners held.

175 Again, the constitution of the township is bound up
with the rights of common pasture upon the moor all the
632 year, and in winter even on unfenced arable; but the
423 Crofters' Act failed to regulate the rights and obligations
671 of Common Grazings. It slackened the authority of the
estate without restoring the hold of the tenant community
upon its members. After five years the Government began
to recognise the mistake, and passed the first Crofters'
Common Grazings Regulation Act, permitting the crofters
to elect a Common Grazings Committee. But it was ill-
considered; most of all because non-crofters, that is,
cottars and squatters without legal tenure, were not bound
by the Regulations. On one hand they could not get per-
mission to 'resume' (or enclose) a portion of the outrun,
in order to reclaim it as a croft, without first obtaining the
unanimous consent of the township's crofters; and in large
[233] townships there might always be an objector. Yet each
cottar could, and did, put on stock, a cow or two and a
few sheep, so nullifying the possibility of discipline.

In 1908 a second Act was passed; but twenty years
had allowed tradition to lapse and difficulties to accumu-
late. In Isle Scalpay (Tarbert) for instance, by 1909 there
were only forty legitimate crofters, but eighty cottars; and
the legal crofters would not take part in depriving any
[476] cottar of such grazing liberties as he exercised. All were
[462] neighbours and most were relations, and their principle

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 632 423 671 [476] [462]

was to share; the children needed milk and the women wool to work, while the men fished. As the Crofters' Commission put it at the time, "Necessity has no law and . . . it is scarcely possible to carry out . . . the Grazings Acts in this island". The position remains little changed. Still, in spite of sixty years' delay, and the law's failure to restore an executive, the Constable, to perform specified duties as a member of the community, the Grazings Committees do perform useful functions with credit. They form nuclei with which proprietor, Government or co-operative agency actually deal, and the voluntary Clerk may shoulder considerable responsibility.

175 423 671

With regard to small occupiers paying less than £6 rent per annum and holding less than 10 acres and 250 acres of souming (or share of pasture), the Napier Commission declined to recommend the bestowal of rights or immunities tending "to fix them in a condition from which they ought to be resolutely though gently withdrawn". The Act, however, did grant small occupiers immunity from eviction, and made it hard for either landlord, State or fellow-crofters even to refuse house sites or fresh holdings, particularly in the crowded Lews. The squatter continues; indeed he is favoured, by escaping the payment of rent and rates though he shares in benefits. The ratepayers are proportionately, and unjustly, handicapped. But as isolation has diminished, landless squatters have been allowed to 'resume' portions of the common grazing for new holdings, as by common consent at Ness and in Lochs, after Lord Leverhulme's death.

175 168 167

A further recommendation of the Napier Commission was to aid emigration. Now Sir James Matheson's aid in 1863 proved successful, but his later efforts met with no response. There were then, and still may be, in the Island

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 some whose feelings and interests opposed emigration.
168 Free Church ministers foresaw that the beliefs they had
167 introduced would be shaken by travel; and their income, like that of the merchants, would have disappeared as a
[647] result of depopulation. The Congested Districts Board, however, sponsored two schemes of colonisation in 1888–89. In the first scheme thirty families, and in the second, fifty families were taken to Canada, mostly from the Island.[1] The first and smaller group repaid their loans and received their lands; but the second failed to do so, and the State was only reimbursed by sale of the land.

121 The story of the schemes suggests the lack of four
181 elements needed for success: promptitude in organisation; sympathy with strictness, and a sufficiency of funds; a year's experience of new conditions or technical guidance, rather than segregation of the inexperienced without leadership; and choice of vocation as farmer or as farm servant. Many a crofter-emigrant has succeeded as a shepherd and farm hand or as an independent farmer; but not every Islesman, particularly a cottar or landless squatter, is fit to conduct a farm. Technically, an all-round experience of part-time crofting and fishing by rule of thumb does not train a man for farming in a new environment without even a year's apprenticeship. Success is possible in schemes which overcome initial difficulties by providing training, companionship and community life, in a suitable physical environment.

121 One further principle of communal life was the spiritual,
181 which Parliament and administration failed to grasp. The most significant evidence in the Napier Commission was
771 that of A. Carmichael; and from this the Commissioners

[113] [1] J. P. Day, 1918, pp. 123-125, from Reports of Congested Districts Board, and Crofters and Colonisation Commissioners (Fifteenth Report).

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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had learned that the spiritual sanctions of the township's activities were not yet dead. Legal recognition of the township's social economy would have encouraged constructive action in common. Communal responsibility, not merely private morality, would have had to be upheld. As it was, the people's acts of charity or justice modified the growing individualism of tenure and economic relationships. But with township duties to perform and a high standard of office to fulfil, the congregations could have maintained a common purpose; religion would have retained a deeper social meaning, binding neighbours as one. It is true that divisions rent the Island communities, as a result of the Evangelical reaction both from the lay patronage of the Moderates and their easy-going tolerance. Protestantism broke with the communal religion of the past and emphasised individual salvation, faith and doctrine, at the cost of schism. Hence, it appears less able to aid the renewal of the township than Catholicism, with its greater emphasis upon corporate unity, mutual aid and Christian works in common. Yet, if men of the township had been chosen to bear communal responsibility, then, 'living the life', would they not have re-learned 'the doctrine'? Ministers did not share in common responsibility, it is true, nor do they now. The Established Clergy dwelt apart upon their glebes, and the Evangelicals are housed in the village, but without a croft or a share of the scatt and a common grazing. Yet in youth as the sons of crofters, and after ordination also, they might have learned from chosen Elders.

Altogether, for reasons not only temporal but spiritual, the township with its elected officers should have won recognition. Given the responsibility which those who knew it believed it could still fulfil, the crofters' relations

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000 to one another, to the landlord and to the State would have been profoundly different.

(2) STATE AID, THE LAND, AND THE CROFTERS' RESPONSE

175 Until 1914 the congestion in each Island township
162 dotted between the wide, lonely moors, had increased, and
362 it was still increasing. To every two legal crofters, either a cottar or a landless squatter was to be found, on the
175 'skinned land' outside the crofts. Parliament, in 1886,
656 had discarded the Napier Commission's recommendations
648 to give powers to extend the crofts from portions of the common, or to supply a house site and garden space for
[362] men of independent occupations such as fishermen. This congestion embarrassed Government and local services.

427 The associated rating system was also at fault; indeed
656 it has still to be put right. For instance, a crofter's son—able to make a living, say, as a fisherman, and about to marry but having no croft—was penalised by high rates, should he take up his proper status of a legal cottar at a small rent. Throughout the crofting counties, the legal crofter, as an agricultural landholder, was (and is) de-rated, and had only to pay one-eighth the rates for a non-agricultural holding of the same rental. Only since 1938 has the value of the house been assessed. A recognised cottar paying rent to an estate was rated as owner and occupier, being treated in fact as a feuar;[1] and as such he had to bear a heavy burden of rates, possibly of over 30s. in the £. Whereas if he 'lay low' and shared his father's or brother's

[1] *Feuar*, in Scotland one who holds real estate in consideration of a stipulated annual payment; lit. on *feudal* tenure. Cf. J. P. Day (1918), pp. 383-384.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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427 croft by subdivision, he would pay little, indirectly and by
656 arrangement; while if he simply built a hut or house on a vacant spot he paid neither rates nor rent. Either course was illegal; yet it was too expensive for the landlord, however 'hard-hearted', to take legal proceedings to turn off a squatter. As for wholesale expropriation the suffering caused and the odium incurred would have involved—and would still involve—both landlord and State in insurmountable difficulties by starting fresh agitation, perhaps with outbreaks of law-breaking, repression and bad blood. Yet these anomalies still discourage, and the normal illegalities demoralise, all concerned.

656 Because of the provision by State and local authorities
178 of a growing range of services in other regions, and also because of the special reasons of Insular poverty, State
511 action was increasingly taken in the Isles. To what extent have the Islanders responded, it may be asked; or how
12 far may they have failed, in return for aid offered and
[476] benefits received? Let us begin with mutual aid practised among the people up to 1900, and then consider the repayment of loans and grants under different conditions. Observations by those in touch with the Island for many years, officially or privately, allow one to read between the lines and attempt an impartial judgment.

175 As to the strength of independent mutual aid there
476 could be no doubt. Up to the beginning of this century, the amounts expended on parish relief were 'almost
[657] nothing', and had shown no increase in preceding years. General poverty, anomalies in the rating system, and the mistakes such as the erection of poorhouses by the central administration, diminished resources; but the people generously gave help to their poorer neighbours in work and gifts. Except for a year of overwhelming crisis,

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 perhaps once in a generation, the neighbours were still the
476 best administrators for poor relief. On the whole, this
657 remained true to 1914.

As to financial assistance from the Government, the
175 evidence seems at first bewildering in its contradictions,
657 suggesting utter inconsistency on the part of the people.
426 Thus, the record of the Lewis-and-Harris fishermen, in repaying loans for the purchase of boats, was the most honourable in the North-west. In 1900, of the total capital on barely 100 loans made to them, 83 per cent had been repaid, whereas on 150 loans elsewhere less than 60 per cent had been repaid.

175 Yet as to the record of Lewismen with regard to assist-
653 ance for road-making, the Brand Report was significantly reticent. In 1891 a road was planned direct to Stornoway from Loch Roag on the west coast at Carloway. This short-cut of sixteen miles was to shorten the distance by seven miles and so facilitate the transit of fish landed at Carloway. Crofter labour was employed as a means of 'self-help'. The road was, mistakenly, printed as complete on 'base maps' and other recent 'quarter-inch' maps. By 1901, £15,500 had been spent, a sum which exceeded the estimated cost, but only eight miles of road had been completed and five miles partially made, while three miles were quite incomplete. The estimate having been exceeded and "financial difficulties having arisen"—the contractor had gone bankrupt and the engineer was dismissed—the work came to a standstill, £10,000 more having been estimated as necessary to complete the road.
[181] Of that sum £8000 was granted.[1] But the road was left
[461] unfinished. These figures alone might not condemn

[1] J. P. Day (1918), p. 328. Day added that "the work should now, more than twenty years after its start, be approaching completion"!

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 the work done—or rather not done—by the local labourers;
653 for deep peat has misled road engineers elsewhere.
But impartial observers have left no doubt that the work
461 was shirked—partly from the labourers' lack of will,
181 in other words from laziness, and partly from the not unnatural desire that further grants might continue, offering easy money. Inspection revealed deliberate and combined concealment of bad work, road metal being thrown on to give a surface which had no foundation. The Carloway road, which was to help the Loch Roag fishermen by rapid transport of fresh catches, was never completed. The bad work of many contributed to the undoing of all.

175 . How are these two apparently contradictory responses
657 to help to be explained? The answer lies in the completely
different methods of expending the grants. A loan to
653 fishermen for a boat was put into their own responsible
121 hands. The hope of profit in which each could share stimulated their enterprise; and where both the private honour of each member and the corporate honour of each crew was at stake, mutual obligation and team-spirit spurred them to work. But road-making—a work many had done for contractors elsewhere as navvies under de-
181 grading conditions—was different. A Gael responds when his imagination is fired, whether for selfish or unselfish ends; but he can also enjoy leisure as to the manner born! Not only was personal skill or effort in road-making of no advantage to an individual; there was little to call out either personal prowess or team-spirit in the work. Moreover, little effort appears to have been made by the administration to arouse ardour. The ultimate advantage of a good road to the people on the west of the Island, as a whole, was clear. Yet since bad work and delay led (at first) to further

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181 grants, then, in the absence of an immediate goal, the combination of the corporate interest in bad work with natural inclination to an easy time proved overwhelming! The problem of assuring good work and prompt repayment is real: it calls for the right appeal to team-spirit coupled with personal responsibility. Many short roads to small new settlements have been economically built.

175 With regard to loans for settlement and housing, similar
657 contrasts are found. Near Stornoway the farm of Aignish
426 (Eye) was divided in 1905 into thirty-two fishermen's holdings (rented at £3). The Congested Districts Board lent £3600 for housing and spent £1600 on fencing and £450 on administrative expenses, a total of about £180 per holding; but in seven years the holders had paid only one-seventh of the annuities due, and were in arrears with the rent.[1] Yet on the housing loans made on a wide scale since 1919, there was mutual aid among neighbours and the repayment has been satisfactory.

SUMMARY: 1750—1914—1919

175 The transition from the old economy of mutual aid in
178 self-support, little changed down to the 'Forty-five, to the
433 development of production for sale had proceeded far by 1914. Yet change had not continued steadily. There had been fluctuations, from the land and back again, or towards individualism with returns to common action. Kelp-making, migration, and commercial fishing alternated in importance as means to earn a living without losing the
[731] anchorage of home. After the potato famine, a century
[166] ago, the people tended to move away from the outlying
[167] townships and emigrate; but the next generation agitated

[1] J. P. Day (1918), pp. 312-314.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 for a firmer hold upon the land and for a return to aban-
178 doned sites. The communal possession of joint farms, held
433 directly or under tacksmen, gave place to individual pos-
[731] session of crofts. Yet the legal recognition of perpetual
[166] tenure in 1886 gave not only the crofter's home but the
[167] crofting neighbourhood a security unequalled in Britain. The use of moor and machar in common was retained; but its control for improvement or reclamation by the
175 estate or the township was weakened, rather than strength-
178 ened, by the Crofters' Acts. Confusion grew—both upon the arable land, subdivided, unenlarged and unimproved,
423 and also upon the common grazing, sorely overstocked in
427 spite of ever diminishing 'soumings' (or family shares) of cattle. Rating difficulties and anomalies appeared. Communal discipline, maintained at sea by fishing, was weakened on land after the abolition of the joint farm-group, and almost nullified in the townships by subdivision and squatting.

175 A year before the potato famine of 1845, a new landlord
178 had brought good-will, capital and pioneering effort to Lewis. These had been directed to experiments in the
433 reclamation and the industrial utilisation of deep peat.
[427] Helped by employment on these and other works, the population of Lewis continued to increase, when increase
[311] in Harris was arrested for a generation. Yet while neither
[161] experiment with peat met with success, little aid had been given to develop fisheries. In both parts of the Island a growing population was supported from the 'seventies onwards by help of earnings derived from the seasonal herring fishing on the East Coast and from inshore line fishing at home. Women added to the Island income by seasonal 'gutting' and, in Harris, by their spinning and
[167] weaving. Money was earned by work on the mainland,

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and savings were sent by emigrants who remained faithful to parents and home.

If it be asked why most of the people kept to their Island home in spite of its poverty and earned so little away from it, one answer must be that their native tongue formed a barrier encircling them as a community at home and cutting them off from the rest of the nation. Seventy-five years ago the new Education Acts were not yet in full operation. Comparing the relative well-being in the Shetlands with the extreme poverty in the Hebrides at that time, a northern agriculturist wrote that in Scotland, only in the Hebrides "is the food obtained by the peasant occasionally so scanty" as to be unable "to maintain a labouring man in vigorous health". Inquiring why there should be so great a difference between the Shetlanders and the Hebrideans, living in similar, distant isles, he wrote, "We think the answer may be given in one word—*language*. . . . The population of the Hebrides cling to their ancient Gaelic with consequences most disastrous to themselves. . . . It handicaps them in the race for life . . . is a hindrance in the cities and a check to the emigration of both sexes to those world-wide regions where all who speak the English tongue find themselves at home."[1] He concurred with the Census Report of 1871, which stated: "The Gaelic language may be what it likes, both as to antiquity and beauty, but it decidedly stands in the way of the civilisation of the natives making use of it, and shuts them out from the paths open to their fellow-countrymen who speak the English tongue". The Report concludes: "It ought therefore to cease being taught in all our national schools. We are one people and we ought to have but one

[1] James Mollison, in the Highland and Agricultural Society's *Report on the Present State of the Agriculture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878), pp. 136-38.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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language." Many Islanders would agree with the statement that Gaelic was a barrier to economic progress. It was not only Lowland schoolmasters, ignorant of Gaelic but an educated, sensible class of men in their day, who used the strap on the palms of the little children "for their good" because they could not understand English. An active Lewis country schoolmaster, who had considerable rural knowledge and experience, said to me: "I know what I have suffered through life from being brought up on Gaelic. If I had my way, I would *punish* [with the strap] every child I heard speaking Gaelic in the playground!" Had the Island School Boards wished Gaelic to be consistently taught with English, they could have prevailed.

One may not only disagree strongly with the means—the strap—but hold that enlightened bilingual teaching is both worth while culturally and also of assistance to intelligence without interfering with use in English of the three Rs, and of secondary and higher education. Yet in Lewis recent non-verbal tests in English and Gaelic show a mean intelligence quotient depressed by about 15 points.[1] The conclusion seems to be that under the present system the Gaelic school child is still at a disadvantage compared to other school children. But even more important to the child's development would seem to be the expression of his response to his rural environment in his own tongue. For this the school tests and the educational code do not fully provide; nor do the tests of life when the adolescent Islander suddenly finds himself at work in a Glasgow factory or abroad in city streets. What concerns us here is the economic drawback of a lack of ready English among

[1] Christina A. Smith, M.A., B.Ed., *Mental Testing of Hebridean Children in Gaelic and English*. (Scot. Council on Research in Education, vol. xxvii (London, 1948); J. L. Campbell, *Gaelic in Scotland* (2nd ed.) (Edinburgh, 1948).

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175 182 197 rural Islanders throughout the nineteenth century and even today.

From 1887 the State made efforts to improve the 175 crofters' lot. Crofters' claims to stake shares upon the only 654 available reclaimed land in the Island, that of a few farms, 241 had been refused in the 'eighties, but came to be granted, 427 in principle and in fact, after 1900. During the war of 1914–18 the Government reaffirmed its promise to divide sheep farms into crofts for men returning from the Services, and the Land Settlement Act became law in 1919. Yet in spite of tentative experiments and schemes, a determined effort to see the Island possibilities and face its problems, as a whole, still remained to be made in the twentieth century.

175 When war broke out in 1914 over 5000 men left Lewis 161 to join the Services, and corresponding numbers left from 72 Harris. Others, too, served in the Merchant Marine, ex- 701 posed to U-boat warfare. From the first months of the war, Lewismen in the Seaforth Highlanders, and men from Harris in the Camerons, fought in the Highland Division as shock troops in the attacks which cost the Division the highest casualties of any in the British Army. The Lovat Scouts, the Mountain Battery, the Garrison Artillery and other units, also enrolled their men, and suffered loss. 175 The last blow to the Island came after anxiety had ceased. 161 Early in 1919 the transport *Iolaire* struck a rock and sank at the entrance to Stornoway harbour; and 200 men who 731 had withstood dangers and hardships during four years of war went down in the dark of a winter's night, almost within call of their waiting relatives massed on the pier to welcome them.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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CHAPTER X

BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER: 1918–1952

(A) SEVEN YEARS' ENDEAVOUR, 1918–1925

1. *A Planner: Lord Leverhulme of the Lews*

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LOOKING back to the aftermath of unemployment following the First World War and forward to anxieties ahead, a soldier in 1944 protested that it would be exacting too great a sacrifice from the country's manhood to throw it unaided, upon "the hazards of peace", for the second time in a generation! If Island life is to be planned for in the ensuing peace, we must ask, "What of plans last time?" Depression in the Island was not primarily due to the failure of any one of the three parties immediately concerned—to the Islanders, the crofters, cottars or fishermen, to the Scottish Office or its Departments, or to a particular philanthropist—nor even to failures by all three to get together for the Island's good. All three may deserve their share of praise or blame; who might not, stranded without warning by such an ebbing tide? Behind the personal factors on which biographers and writers have insisted, in retelling Leverhulme's Island adventure, larger forces were at work, undoing the efforts of all. Further, by undermining confidence and preying upon anxiety, disaster upon an international scale brought the Island consultations from unity to feud ~~and to~~ frustration.

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423 In May 1918 Lewis was bought by Lever of Port
565 Sunlight, then Baron Leverhulme of Bolton-le-Moors (his birthplace), the head of a great combine with 50,000 white
157 and 25,000 black employees. Meeting him in Lews Castle
124 in August 1919, Dr. Hardy and I found him troubled by a human situation he had failed to diagnose. Short and stocky but very erect, quick-eyed and rapid of manner, and with a wide expressive mouth, he spoke earnestly of his plans; but his eyes flashed and his mouth set, as he rapped out, "They keep putting off, yet they leave the people in houses *not fit for Kaffirs*!" The question, "What objective inspired—or misled—Leverhulme to buy the Island?" is answered by his son and biographer.[1]

159 By 1917 Leverhulme had felt it was time to devolve
423 his personal authority over his business, in the interests of its future. Hence he looked about him for an estate
433 in which he could exercise "his passion for changing the face of nature", and his eagerness for 'planning' with drawing board and T-square, and for philanthropy.[2] He nearly bought an estate in the Midlands in order to develop it; but work had already begun there, and he wished to find a place which would be his to remodel from the start. Thirty years before, Leverhulme had visited Lewis and now in 1917 he spent a week there, motoring all over the Island. "He was enraptured . . . he saw not merely a countryside in need of more and better roads, not only a residence and grounds capable of alteration and improvement, but a problem to be solved, a human and racial problem which had so far baffled all who had tried to solve it. . . . He had been told the Lewis man was lazy,

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[1] Leverhulme (2nd Viscount), *Leverhulme: By His Son*, 1927, chap. xxvi, p. 221 ff. Lord Leverhulme, who had thought of styling himself 'Of the Isles' took the title 'Of the Lews'.

[2] Leverhulme (1927), cf. pp. 81-86.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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159 stubborn and suspicious; he never believed it. He realised
423 that the backwardness of the Island arose from lack of opportunity, and that opportunity he would do his best
433 to provide. Wherever he went he found the same story —things half attempted, nothing done." Leverhulme, one felt in 1919, wanted to do all he could for the Islanders. A greater man would have wanted to work not only for, but with, the Islanders. Then, even if the fisheries had been ruined, as they were, by forces outside his control, he would have shared a moral victory, not shared and suffered economic loss, with moral defeat.

174 In the Isles for centuries before, a family and well-tried
183 friends were valued above all other things. What was more, this was still true in the lifetime both of the elder men and
[178] the women he found at home, and of the absent men, at war. The foundation for this friendly life was a plot of
159 land and work to do, a home and the leisure to enjoy it.
433 Leverhulme, too, valued these things in his own way. He cared for human homes and gardens, and had proved it at
461 Port Sunlight and elsewhere. A pioneer of industry and efficiency, he pled for 'a six-hour day' and leisure afterwards, and he had done much to realise the ideal in his own works. Moreover, he was not without respect for spiritual values, freedom, and a congregation's right to choose their pastor.[1] All these things should have helped to put him into sympathy with Island life, and up to a point they did so.

159 It is clear that Leverhulme had considered the possi-
433 bilities of improving the local fisheries, village by village; and an engineer had reported on possible harbour improve-
228 ments at Ness, Barvas, and elsewhere. But he came to the

[1] Leverhulme (1927), p. 211; and Leverhulme (1st Baron), *The Six-Hour Day and Other Industrial Questions*, 1919.

31 Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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159 conclusion—undoubtedly a sound one—that the most
433 effective action for commercial fisheries (as then known)
228 must be taken at one Island centre, Stornoway. As a direct result he considered how to feed the growing town, in particular how to give its children fresh milk. He saw the farms round Broad Bay ready to be turned to high-class dairy farms, if capitalised, and for this purpose they were swiftly scheduled in his mind.

159 "His early days were happy ones"—wrote his son—
433 "but they were not to last for long. He encountered the first obstacle on his path in the late summer of 1918, when
423 the Scottish Board of Agriculture declared its intention to
[647] take over the few remaining farms in the Island for crofts." By this declaration the Board spoke for many Islesmen in the Forces. The voices of Servicemen, not those of either a Government or a philanthropic millionaire, counted over-
[727] whelmingly, on the Island and beyond. When the war was over and the men came home, many set about examining their boats and fitting them up with motors, and in a few months the evening's departure for the fishing from Stornoway had lost some of the picturesqueness of the old, stately procession of sail moving out to the Minch at sunset, but had gained in efficiency as the motorised boats went puffing out to find the shoals, sure of return without delay after the catch was hauled in. Yet fishing was still precarious: there might be no catch, and even if there were, prices were a gamble. Hence many a cottar-fisherman wished to ensure a home for himself and applied for a croft, with his eyes on the farms. Farms were few, and not enough to go round more than some 10 to 15 per cent of squatters and cottars. Still, a promise is a promise: the farms were there, why not have them and be done with it? Knowing this feeling in the Island, aware of its support

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159 in the country, and foreseeing that the only sure way to
423 avoid irritation, friction and law-breaking was to grant
the farms and have done with it, the Secretary of State for
433 Scotland and the Board felt that they could not withdraw the Government's promise of land. The Secretary for Scotland, Mr. Munro (later Lord Alness), spoke with knowledge as a Highlander. A general promise of small-holdings had been made to all Scotsmen in the Services, and could not easily be set aside at the wish of one man, then approaching the age of seventy, however well-intentioned, wealthy and in earnest. Yet Leverhulme declared that while he would relinquish farms on the west side of Lewis, his schemes could not go on unless he retained the farms on Broad Bay to supply fresh milk for Stornoway. If the farms were divided, he said, he must close the whole scheme forthwith.

159 Of his earnestness Leverhulme left no doubt. He not
only planned but set up a retail agency, Mac Fisheries, and
423 he purchased drifters and trawlers, the Mac Line, to fish
433 far afield and bring the catch to Stornoway, there to be
228 transhipped by his own carrying service. He set about building model dwellings in Stornoway itself, each with its quarter-acre allotment. 'Work and Wages' from capitalised fisheries were his offer, in further token of which, road-making and other wage-providing work was
[178] begun. Until 1920 the farms remained undivided. The farmers, for their part, could only wait for the expiry of
159 their leases, or for the transactions by which their leases
would be foreclosed and compensation awarded. Prices
423 of stock were high at the time, and the valuation would
433 correspond to these. Hence tenants felt they could afford
to wait. Meantime crofters' stock wandered over their
427 farms—whether because of the wilfulness of the stock or

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159 of the owners—but farmers knew it was futile to protest,
473 and they suffered with a wry smile and a shrug of the
433 shoulders. After all, most of the farmers had stayed at
home and their affairs had prospered, in war-time; whereas
427 all but the older crofters had had years of seafaring or
fighting, and the nation's debt to them had not yet been
forgotten. The farmers kept quiet and waited.

159 Meantime, Leverhulme made public war upon the
Government. Speaking in Edinburgh in November 1919,
668 he declared that "Reports, thick as leaves in Vallombrosa,
433 have been the dominating feature of Government policy
in the Highlands and Isles . . . but the invariable rule
seems to have been, whenever expenditure of public money
was recommended, for the Government either to ignore
such reports or to cut down expenditure so penuriously
as only to result in waste . . . by not spending to the
full amount . . . Lewis and Harris have too long been
[213] the Cinderella in the Government pantomime."[1] The
crofters, reading this in the daily papers, and again in the
weekly *Stornoway Gazette* a day or two later, chuckled
with glee, rolling the phrases on their tongues. They
might not all have been able to explain the strange words,
like Vallombrosa or Cinderella, though they sounded fine;
but all had heard of pantomimes, and some might even
have seen one, without saying too much about it to the
minister. About 'penurious expenditure' they could
have no doubt. Yes, a fine speech, they felt! Yet in
spite of the sting of truth contained in such orations, these
did not make it easier for Government to co-operate with
the orator, to prevent raiding or to deal with it should it
begin.

000 Raiding did begin in the spring of 1920. Applicants

[1] Lecture at Edin. Phil. Instn., 1920. Quoted in Leverhulme (1927).

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669 for crofts in Tongue, a township north of Stornoway, took
423 the law into their own hands, seized one of the fields of the adjacent farms, and threatened to take the remainder. It is easy to understand that when a man has come home from the war to his sweetheart, and after being promised a site on which to build a home (even a black house for a start), with a plot for potatoes, and 'a cow's grass', a year's vain delay may breed impatience! Leverhulme motored to the township, and with his customary vigour and persuasiveness spoke of his plans for 'work and wages' to be concentrated at Stornoway. He again declared that if the farms were divided this would cripple his schemes, and work would stop at once. The majority there agreed to fall in with his plans; in any case, only a
159 minority could find crofts on the farms. Leverhulme felt
433 that he had carried his point. He forgot not only that his oratory deserved applause and had won it for its own
669 sake, but that the people could not lightly afford to say 'no', if this meant immediate stoppage of wages. It was the after-thoughts on the morrow and in the following months, rather than agreement at the moment, that signi-
[228] fied. In 1920 herring fetched a fair price, the herring fishery prospects were encouraging, and work was resumed for a time. Yet one raid having begun and "the die having been cast, lawlessness spread rapidly". Leverhulme stopped expenditure, and obtained an interdict against the
[423] 'raiders', though he did not prosecute. After further parley, the Secretary for Scotland agreed to suspend
[654] division for ten years, and in 1921 Leverhulme resumed
159 operations. "Unfortunately very soon afterwards", wrote
433 his biographer, owing to "the general industrial depression which followed the boom in trade after the war", Lever-
458 hulme felt impelled to close down work for the time being,

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159 and he was unable to make plans or promises for the future.
433 Meantime, it should be said, the Island herring catch and
458 prices fell rapidly (the catch by 50 per cent and prices by
[228] 60 per cent from 1920 to 1921). As a result, crofts now seemed more precious than ever to the applicants.

159 With what Leverhulme regarded as 'almost indecent
haste', the Secretary for Scotland proceeded to fulfil the
423 promise to divide the farms. Most of the farms remaining
654 were divided into some fifty crofts of ten acres or so with outrun, supplying little more than 10 per cent of the landless men. The Manor dairy farm, near Stornoway Castle and town, though raided by a few men, was retained to contribute to the town's supply of milk, along with two or three smaller farms close to Stornoway (Melbost, and Stoneyfield with Holm). Leverhulme felt that his offer to Lewis had been turned down, and he then concentrated his efforts upon Harris.

159 At the extreme south of Harris (midway along the
south-west coast), in the 'Hope' or natural harbour of
433 Obbe, Leverhulme built new piers. He transferred the
228 machinery of the canning factory and the kippering sheds he had commenced to build at Stornoway. He started to build houses, a number being provided on generous terms; and "at the people's wish", the settlement was renamed Leverburgh. With the transference of his energy from Lewis to Harris, Leverhulme's "optimism and determination were intensified", wrote his son. They were not to last long. After a visit to the Congo in 1925, Leverhulme died suddenly in Brussels. How far the new plans might have succeeded had Leverhulme lived, his son has commented, "remains uncertain". What is certain is that the second Lord Leverhulme toured Harris, visiting the works on hand and examining the accounts. No doubt he also

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159 weighed the estimated expenditure necessary to complete
433 the unfinished projects, and their prospects of success,
comparing these with similar conditions on the East Coast
228 and at Fleetwood, and with the trend of prices. His
decision was to close the venture, and Harris was sold.
[423] The skeletons of the works were left to rust beside the
quay, while the wreck of a coal steamer was left unsalvaged,
to break up slowly upon the rocks outside, a symbol of a
lost enterprise.

2. *An All-Round Policy for Sea and Land*

185 From the 'start' in Lewis, the first Lord Leverhulme
had shown his vision and grasp as a planner. Survey pre-
ceded plan, and decisions were swiftly put into action.
185 Why then had abandonment and failure followed? Per-
114 sonal factors have been over-stressed. 'Crofters' have
been accused of stubbornness, the Scottish Office of
procrastination and Leverhulme of impatience or obstinacy.
Stornoway shopkeepers have also been apportioned their
share of blame; and while all of them welcomed the
advent of Leverhulme as sure to bring money through the
crofters' pockets to their own tills, it is possible that, later
on, some of them did prove Devil's Advocates, having
come to fear the rise of competition by co-operative or
other large-scale concerns, should the town expand at a
[181] rapid rate. Stressing other factors of character and incom-
patibility, one popular Scots author went so far as to praise
the Lewis crofter for preferring a spiritual life with poverty
on a croft, to easy work and high wages in a town. There
runs a story, well vouched for, which might seem to con-
firm this. After Leverhulme had held forth upon 'work
for wages', in a township where there had been pressing

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185 applications for shares in the division of a farm, but where
114 Leverhulme now felt sure of his success, an old crofter spoke up slowly: "My Lord, what the crofter wants iss
185 *Contemplaition*". Now, fondness for contemplation is
114 found not only among crofters as they age, but among older fishermen all round the shores of Britain, even if it
181 mellows in the Isles especially. Yet, as Leverhulme saw for himself, there was abundant activity among men in their prime, as they strove to refit their boats on their return. In 1919 hope, not contemplation, was their prevailing mood: hope for an active, fisherman's life.

With all these hopeful human factors on the side of common effort at the start, why then did differences of view-point come to be accentuated, not harmonised, and 'incompatibilities' lead so soon to friction, deadlock and
159 breakdown? Surely one basic fact remains. In 1917–18,
433 when Leverhulme framed his policy and made his plans, the Scottish fisheries, to judge from pre-war years, could
228 still expect to hold high place in providing for a brisk
[435] market in herring and white fish. True, the value of the Island cure of white fish had fallen from £100,000 in 1900 to one-tenth, £10,000, in 1913; but Leverhulme saw that since fresh fish were now demanded, his capitalisation of equipment with accelerated transit of the catch should bring quick recovery. The herring trade had been active at Stornoway up to the eve of the war; and although the Islanders had made leeway following the introduction of steam and of larger motor drifters, Leverhulme thought he saw an opportunity to capitalise the industry, providing 'work for wages'. This forecast was wrong. Consumption declined, and the market fell. Not only so; the proportion contributed by Scots fishermen to the shrinking market declined even more.

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185 In 1919, when the men came home to Lewis they could
727 still see reasons for hope. They found a strange proprietor,
known first for his outstanding—some said ruthless—
[157] business ability, and only secondly for his philanthropy.
They heard his plans and were inclined to listen.

185 Yet, remembering their pre-war losses and the notorious
fluctuations of prices and employment in the fisheries, they
wished for a policy of insurance, as it were; so, if their
home lay near a promised farm, of which they had long
159 meant to claim a share, they claimed this forthwith. Only
too soon after, in the early years of Leverhulme's adventure,
458 the fall in total sales and prices of fish brought immediate
433 loss to the keenest and hardest working of the fishermen,
228 and to their financial backers in Stornoway. These losses
warned others of the uncertainties of fishing. Now the
fall in the fishing industry is not so much as mentioned in
the biography of Leverhulme; nor do we remember a
[654] word of it in Leverhulme's speeches. One finds no data
to show a substantial endeavour by the Scottish Office to
co-operate with Leverhulme in framing policies either to
change the trend of European markets or to make local
adaptations to combat downward trends. The Fishery
Reports certainly record the losses, year by year. As for
the Island fishermen, they shared the feeling expressed
by other Scots fishermen, that the old markets across the
North Sea, eastward to what had been St. Petersburg,
could and should be reopened, not closed 'for party
reasons' by 'English politicians'. Although ostensibly
Leverhulme ignored it, he cannot really have been unaware
of the effect of the downward trend of the fisheries upon
his own prospects of success, and upon the hopes and
confidence of the fishermen. Having been so outspoken
upon the shortcomings of Government with regard to local

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159 schemes, and knowing how much local fishing depended
458 upon international policy, particularly the resumption of
433 trade relations with the chief customers of the past, Lever-
hulme, one feels, should have dealt no less outspokenly
228 with these. The removal of trade barriers lay not in the
[656] hands of the Scottish Office or of Scots officials (however internationally minded these might be as private citizens), but in the hands of Ministers of Cabinet rank and leading financiers, of whom Leverhulme himself was one.

458 In brief, the Scots fisheries suffered after the war as
neither Leverhulme nor others had foreseen when first
433 he laid his plans for the Island's prosperity. It seems
228 clear that had this major change been squarely faced
by Leverhulme and Government alike, in 1920, 1921 or
[423] even later, they could never have fallen apart about a relatively minor issue, that of the farms. Both sides turned their faces away from this disquieting factor of the Baltic markets, though both knew it to be fundamental to the success of Scots fisheries and the Island's future. Had they faced it together frankly, then, even if powerless to effect a remedy, their sincerity might have prevented a deadlock upon a secondary matter.

159 To Leverhulme, given his large scale of expenditure
423 and return, the division of a few farms formed a minor
issue. But to a number of ex-Servicemen, 'crofters'
185 without a croft, the division meant a home and relative
433 stability. Moreover, what was merely a matter for personal
decision to Leverhulme, was a lifelong issue to many people
423 brought up in congestion on the wrong side of the boundary
[438] fence. Meantime, milk from Easter Ross was available in Stornoway, at town if not at country prices. Lastly, further possibilities of land-development lay open to Leverhulme,
[114] though not so readily to the unaided people. In reading

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114 reports of early speeches by Leverhulme, Professor Patrick
185 Geddes had quickly come to feel that his old acquaintance,
423 Leverhulme the industrialist, might have overlooked such agricultural potentialities as existed, and that he had quite
433 overlooked the social significance of land. Hence, in May or June 1919, Geddes proposed that a survey be made by one who knew the Highlands botanically, who was experienced in agriculture, and who had some knowledge of Highlanders at home and of sociological factors. Geddes
[123] suggested Dr. M. E. Hardy for the task. Leverhulme forthwith accepted the suggestion and commissioned Hardy, whom the present writer assisted on the Island.

311 Examination of the farms, so hotly debated, showed that they possessed little or no initial superiority over neighbouring crofting settlements. That the farms were placed in the best coastal tracts for agriculture is true, but their shores are at the same time the poorest in harbours and fishing facilities. As a result, the crofters dwelling near the farms along parts of the same machars and smooth slopes were 'crofters' who sometimes fished, rather than fishermen with a house-site and a potato patch. As Hardy wrote (in his MS. Report): "The chief superiority of the farms resulted from levelling, drainage and enclosure" by landlord and farmer, sixty or seventy years before. The improved land both of farms and adjacent crofts was reclaimed from peat and machar, or from an admixture of both. "How then", asked Hardy, "did so much value
[423] come to be attached to the farms? The traditional grievance (of eviction) led neighbouring crofters to turn their eyes towards the green patches of the abandoned villages and endowed the old land with special virtues. After the Crofters' agitation of the 'eighties, successive Boards came with their eyes already focused on the farms, by the

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311 cottars' claims." Thus a few of the settlements reclaimed
423 out of the common peat by some scores of people, hundreds of years ago, long worked by joint tenants, then by sub-tenants, " and later turned into modern farms, came to be regarded as the only available land open to crofters in the Island ".

311 Hence, Hardy concluded, it was important to tackle
433 some reclamation of peat or of land partially covered by peat, along with the development of the main commercial industry, fishing. The specialisation of commercial fishing was " a wise, indeed an indispensable preliminary step " in a constructive policy framed to deal with the Island as a whole. One saw that the formula " All Lewismen are fishermen " was an exaggeration, and that some of those whose forebears had dwelt by the machars of Broad Bay for centuries were landsmen first and seamen
185 second. Yet the specialisation planned by Leverhulme would not only have given a chance to the seamen of Ness,
311 Eye Peninsula, Lochs and 'the Bays' of South Harris;
[433] it would also have begun to relieve congestion, giving a croft and outrun to some of those who wished to make small-holding their principal means of livelihood and life, and providing a market for fresh produce on the Island itself.

Looking back, it seems clear that Hardy was right to report to Leverhulme (in 1919) that, while the great fishery scheme was indispensable, it should be complemented by a scheme for occupation on the land for those who wished it. The major problem of land being the amelioration of peat, continued Hardy, it should be tackled with twentieth-century knowledge and equipment. Slopes were to be found, favourable to reclamation, where peat had been thinned by cutting, where it was shallow from good drain-
[433] age, or lighter in texture from admixture with sand. Had
[159]

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185 Leverhulme grasped the problem in this fresh way, complementing his first policy of the sea for the seamen by one
311 of the land for the landsmen, he could cheerfully have
433 allowed the Government to honour their promise to divide
159 the farms, and thus he would have brought peace to all. In giving up the farms he would merely have had to reconcile himself to additional imports of fresh milk from Easter Ross, at an extra cost of a penny or two per pint. To do Leverhulme justice, experiments on peat were begun (about 1920) upon a small scale, partly, it is understood, as a result of Hardy's report. Yet in failing to make this reclamation an integral part of his plans, in refusing to adapt himself to promises given and to agree to the wishes of many applicants, Leverhulme of the Lews allowed peace to be wrecked. Why he should have stopped work in Lewis in order to remove to Harris, is not clear. There is nothing to show that crofter-fishermen in the creeks of Lochs and other fishing tracts of Lewis believed less firmly in fishing than their fellows in 'the Bays' of South Harris.[1] Nor was there extensive land for dairying in Harris. To make a second attempt to found a centre, involving fresh expense, at Obbe (on the exposed south-west coast), a much less favourable point on the Island than Stornoway, was to court disaster, not to pilot his way through the difficulties of falling markets to success.

185 Leverhulme, it is true, had seen one side of the 'all-
311 round' policy required: the need for a plot of land for the
[114] Lewis fisherman and his family. In Hardy's words, "A man's choice of the sea should not prevent his having 'a

[1] In his father's biography, the second Viscount suggests that there was
[828] a difference of character between the (unreasonable) men of Lewis and the
[829] (reasonable) men of Harris. The assertion is unsupported by the facts. There were raids in Harris, too, comparable to any in similar tracts of Lewis, but in neither were they important.

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185 corner he can call his own', a kailyard or garden. His
311 womenfolk might wish to keep poultry, and even a cow.
[114] More than this . . . might tend to make the old amphibious life begin over again." Where Hardy went further was to see the need for a complementary policy; the development of crofting into skilled small-holding. "Similarly," he went on, "the development of small-holding, by one who chose the land for a career, should not prevent his spending a leisure hour fishing from the shore, or in a neighbour's boat, for haddock, saithe, or flounders for the morrow's dinner. Yet the wish and need for a higher standard of living involved new emphasis on one chosen vocation, and a greater division of labour than heretofore,"
311 whether on land or sea. Some division of callings already existed, be it remembered. Manifestly, in the virtual absence of arable land for them, about 1500 cottar and squatter families had perforce to depend mainly on other occupations than the land. These families included the keenest, most successful, and potentially prosperous fishermen, like those of 'congested' Scalpay (off Tarbert, Harris). The useful "Remarks" formerly published along with the "Creek Statistics" of the Fishery Board, repeatedly contrasted the townships and creeks mainly concerned in crofting with those mainly occupied in fishing. The contrast is to be found from the Shetlands round to
[159] Barra or Kintyre. Leverhulme, seeing a future in the
[433] fisheries, tried to give the almost landless seamen their chance at sea. Had he accepted the complementary policy of giving a number of the now boatless crofters a better craft and means to improve the outrun, his schemes would have been complete.

114 It is a misfortune that Leverhulme's one-sided policy
159 had already hardened in his mind when Hardy (and the
433

159 present writer) came to the Island in August 1919, and still
433 more by November 1919 when Hardy's Report had been
completed. Leverhulme had begun to fight for his plan,
[114] rather than use it in a supple way. Yet there was still a
chance to put things right had the concept of a balanced
[185] community been clearly visualised by Government and
people, by working fishers and crofters and the educated.
Had an active 'Lewis Association' existed at that time, it
might have turned the scales.[1]

Lastly, during the war and after it, Leverhulme had
said, again and again, that it was his admiration of the
people which had called him to the Lews. By means of
this 'all-round' plan, the very root of Island character
185 could have been renewed, namely, communal life. It was
311 with their communal life in mind that Hardy—in spite of
his horror of bad husbandry and of the physical dirt of
114 the byre and black house—wrote, first, that "rural re-

114 [1] Quotations from the MS. Report having been published (apparently without permission, and with somewhat misleading criticisms), reference should be made to these to illustrate the need for survey and collaboration with Leverhulme in the first three years of his proprietorship, and the importance of survey for action today. In 1919 Mr. W. C. Mackenzie (to whose historical researches lovers of Lewis owe so much) had published his belief that "Under the new proprietorship . . . the results [of development] will be at once fruitful and far-reaching", without his making any constructive comment. By 1932 he wrote very differently, criticising Leverhulme's policy and also Hardy's (qualified) approval. At that later time, Mr. Mackenzie would have it that 'the Lewisman' was a crofter and fisherman in one, and that for him to become 'mainly a fisherman' or 'mainly a crofter' (in Hardy's words) would be false to his character and tradition. Now, historically, the element of regional specialisation is ancient in the Island; the crofter-*fishers* of Lochs, Uig or 'the Bays' of Harris have long been rather different from the fisher-*crofters* of Barvas, or of Coll and Gress. Specialisation was strongly marked by 1914–19; it still is. Further, Hardy (and the present writer) had not pled for complete divorce of the two vocations of sea and land. We urged that crofting be given its chance as well as fishing; and that the two callings should be complementary. Allowance being made for a quarter of a century of changes, the facts and the need remain. Cf. W. C. Mackenzie, 1919 (p. 187) and 1932, for the quotations given.

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185 construction of the Island must rest upon the improvement
311 of the land": and secondly, that by this means "it was
114 imperative to revive the traditional community spirit, the essential feature of Hebridean civilisation". Those words still hold good. Yet the land itself is too barren and the soil too poor to provide a living for many by export of
438 fresh agricultural produce to the mainland. Only a local market could pay a fair price for most of the products of
159 intensive small-holding. Judging from the free, untram-
433 melled trade before 1914, Leverhulme held that fishing could be set upon a commercial basis in the Isles; and
228 there could be few better judges of commercial possibilities
438 than this keen industrial thinker and organiser. If he was right, as surely he was, to begin with, then the local market to be created, or rather enlarged by growth of population and prosperity at Stornoway, could have purchased the fresh milk and eggs, the fresh greens and fruit, raised on enlarged small-holdings and marketed co-operatively.

181 A final comment remains to be made. The community
476 spirit of Scots fishers from Berwickshire to Barra has gone far to make co-operation among the men of the crews a living thing. 'Work for Wages' offered little outlet for this, indeed it virtually suppressed it; and 'co-partnership' on the Port Sunlight model was a very different matter from the co-partnership of a crew. Even if at that time it had been proved impossible to organise free co-operation in fishing, co-operation in small-holding townships might have kept the communal spirit alive, for later renewal at sea.

114 It is not easy to assess the after-effects of Leverhulme's
433 activity. Leverhulme certainly helped hundreds of families by the provision of wages for the building or rebuilding of roads and other works, of which some were completed

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114 and are of lasting advantage. Yet his projects were con-
433 ceived impersonally, apart from the people, and to be valued in terms of money alone. Was it to be wondered that more permanent values were liable to be overlooked?
181 Immediate payment and the prospect of further wages rather than a home to build and a boat to adapt, suggested immediate pleasure, for example. The unsettling influences of War, and the natural wish for a big spree after four years of it, led to some squandering of money; and there was heavy drinking at Stornoway by fishers there and from round about. In the end, when payments ceased, the prospects of the crofters and fishers were as barren as ever. Above all, the somewhat conservative though sensible outlook of the people having already been disturbed by the impact of War, their sense of values was further shaken by seeing the control of immense capital resources in the hands of one man, whose efforts seemed, by comparison, to dwarf their own independent struggles and group co-operation. Of definitely spiritual values little was heard, for 'enlightened self-interest' was Leverhulme's declared motive in life. Remembering this, there are men and women of insight in Lewis today to whose judgment a lifetime's disinterested work with the people gives some authority, who believe that in the end Leverhulme's incursion brought
114 little lasting good. Leverhulme certainly showed how to
433 plan boldly and on a great scale. He drove straight for a vital issue, but in an ill-balanced way. The result raises a
000 major question. Can balanced planning be achieved by one man whose personal fortune and pride are at stake, in opposition to a free community, and in face of an international situation of which the prime social issues oppose his desires and declared principles of 'enlightened self-interest'?

CH. X BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

(B) SLOW CHANGE: 1925–39

1. *The Land, the Sea, and the Loom*

423 632 431 [623] When Leverhulme parted company with the people of Lewis his gesture of farewell was one of generosity: the offer of Lewis to its people. The Stornoway Trust was formed, and this accepted the gift of the adjacent crofting townships of the Parish, and of the Castle and its beautiful Park or 'policies'. In crofting townships, however, the people declined the offered gift of land, finding that they could not afford the augmentation of rates entailed by acceptance. So the remainder of the estate was offered for sale in several lots, which were bought by individuals 423 632 427 431 829 and have proved safe investments. The letting of sporting rights adds a further, albeit a variable, return of income to that of the rents received. It is indeed anomalous that a crofting estate, such as a Lewis parish, can yield a good return to a purchaser, yet that the crofter-occupiers themselves would lose by receiving it as a gift.[1] Much-needed improvements in housing would also be discouraged, for fear of increase in their rates. It is true that if (under existing laws of assessment) all the farmers and crofters, cottars and squatters of a county were to become owners at the same moment, the total increase in assessments would either be repaid in greater services or met by lowered rates

[1] The reasons (as indicated in Chapter IX (B)) are briefly that a crofter (or 'small landholder'), as occupier of an agricultural holding, can only be assessed at three-eighths of the occupier's half of the assessment on his Fair Rent, *i.e.* at less than a quarter of the whole rental. Although he may have built a good house and other buildings he is not assessed at their full value; neither is his landlord. Were he to become owner he would then be liable to assessment both as occupier and as owner, on the full annual value of land and of buildings too; with deduction of five-eighths on the agricultural value as occupier only.

[see pp. 320-323 .. analysis]

423 431 427 632 829 —or by a compromise between. But as it is, if one crofter, or a small group of crofters like those of a township or parish of Lewis, were to become owner-occupiers (even by gift), they would be penalised as compared to others. Hence the Lewismen preferred to go on paying rent as statutory crofting tenants. Leverhulme sold the land and received the price; the new owners paid for it and received an investment; and the only 'loser' on this curious transaction was the Local Authority, the County, which failed to make more in rates!

[623] Further reasons why the great majority of crofters declined Leverhulme's offer have been given by the Lewis Association's Economic Committee (1944):

(a) As individual proprietors, they would lose the advantages of the jurisdiction of the Scottish Land Court in dealing with their disputes, and any litigation would take a more costly form.

(b) They would be debarred from obtaining loans from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland for the improvement of their holdings or houses; as the Department would no longer have the "Corner Stone" of a landlord to fall back upon in the event of renunciation.

(c) The crofters were afraid that as individual proprietors they would forfeit their share of the Common Grazing rights.

(d) Should they wish to quit their holdings they would be compelled to find a buyer in the open market, instead of renouncing to their landlords and getting valuation.

(e) There is a feeling among Lewis crofters that they prefer to have a landlord before whom they can lay their difficulties and disputes, and who will attend to their wants; an authority that relieves them of responsibility.

[181] [624] [175] As the historical evidence has shown, a lack of responsibility has been greatly due to the undermining and then the abolition of the authority of the township's own elected Constable.

623 The Trustees of the Stornoway Trust have not found
423 it easy to meet the cost of keeping up the valuable property
427 of the Castle and Park, nor to carry the burden of its rates, no adequate income being available for the purpose.
178 Today, however, Leverhulme's gift is being put to good
874 use as a Technical College, opened in September 1952.

311 Division of the available farms, after providing about 200 small crofts (of ten acres or so), still left the problem
427 of finding legal homes on legal tenure for the remaining cottars and squatters.[1] The Department of Agriculture
362 arranged to feu plots of 'skinned land' on the outrun of
656 certain townships, including one in the extreme north and others in Lochs. About 200 of these little holdings with potato ground were provided. On the holders' behalf the Department feued land from the owner, after obtaining the consent of the Common Grazings Committee of the township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', *i.e.* for enclosure of a portion of the common. The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem disproportionate to the economic value of the holdings. Yet difficulties of law and custom had been allowed to go from bad to worse during the past eighty years; and these difficulties were overcome.

362 To encourage better housing in the crofting counties,
652 loans are made to 'crofters and fishermen feuars' personally. Local stone, or latterly concrete, is used, and much
[342] of the building is done by the 'man of the house' himself, and his friends. From 1920 to 1940, nearly 1200 loans were made in Lewis and Harris for the erection (or improvement) of houses, and in a few cases for the erection

[162] [1] Estimated at 1200 to 1500 shortly before, the open question was whether subdivision during the previous eighty years was to be recognised and accepted.

362 of new steadings. The average amount of loans (totalling
652 £166,000) was under £150; repayment has been satisfactory, and the arrangements made by the Department of Agriculture won general praise among the people. Yet 1200 houses were very far from replacing all the 'black houses', and many more are needed.

433 In terms of cash profit, ten crofters today run their crofts less remuneratively than the farmer they dispos-
427 sessed; even together they may show little more total
241 production than the farmer. Nevertheless, these ten crofts each allow a part, at least, of the basis for a country home.
[423] Hence the weight of public opinion supported, nay, insisted on 'giving back' the land to the descendants of those who
654 had worked it sixty or a hundred years before. The State
423 bought the farm stock at a high valuation, and till lately without adequate reform of crofting use and wont. The farms having now been divided, a great emotional issue, which had smouldered for half a century, has been brought to an end. Although the practical results are small, the crofters feel that justice has been done, and that fact may
311 be a great gain. Now that there is no more green reclaimed land to be had, the reclamation of the peat moor, or the grey 'skinned' boulder clay has to be faced.

By financing the renewal of Leverhulme's brief attempt to reclaim deep peat on Arnish Moor, south of Stornoway, the Canadian, T. B. Macaulay, made a resolute attempt to
[241] solve the island's main agricultural problem. Good crops were grown, potatoes and silage produced, and a dairy farm established. But the difficulties called for continuity of effort and research. From the practical point of view of 'demonstration' it had been a mistake to tackle deep and almost level peat, black in colour and viscous in consistency.
[402] There was not the light machinery required for cultivation.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

311 And when laid down in permanent grass for the dairy herd, the land became water-logged in wet weather. The war called a halt to progress; and though much was learned, the farm was not a demonstration of success. Smaller experiments were made, with some success, in improving 'skinned' land. For both types of land, the cost of fertilisers, even more than of labour, was the chief economic difficulty.[1]

311 241 423 A difficulty which aggravates 'congestion' in crofting townships is that even a small croft may consist of several plots. This was only too well illustrated, as late as 1935, by the dilemma in which a crofter found himself, in a township north of Stornoway. This crofter's land was in at least five separate strips, mixed up with the land of four neighbours. The township and the plan of the holding are known to me. As the crofter complained, he could not walk round his present cottage, nor bring building materials for a new house to the site, without trespassing. He could not even put up scaffolding because the stays at each end would project on to the holdings of his neighbours, who objected. The Land Court has power to re-allocate the land in self-contained holdings. This crofter had twice asked for this to be done, but on each occasion neighbours opposed the application, and it was not granted. As he could not replace his present house by a modern one, he applied to the Stornoway Estate Trustees for another croft in a neighbouring township. When the Trustees saw a plan of the holding they described it as a jig-saw puzzle; but having no holding to offer him elsewhere, they could only ask the Factor to try to make an amicable arrangement with the man's neighbours. This case is extreme; yet it

[1] W. G. Ogg and Angus Macleod, *Scottish Journal of Agriculture*, 1930–36.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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311 illustrates the narrow margin of habitability on these frag-
241 mented holdings.
423 Now, in Lewis periodic pooling and exchange, or the practice of *movable* run-rig on the small joint-tenants'
241 farms, was abolished early in the nineteenth century, except
423 upon the machar, where it still continues. Apparently the
476 strips were simply fixed where they had last been appor-
178 tioned by lot. Subdivision of the little crofts among sons and grandsons followed, owing to inheritance without re-
[175] clamation. Fairness gave 'the patchwork quilt' described; but it was fairness pushed to the point of folly, for differences in soil from one adjacent strip to another were slight! It is otherwise with the long, narrow plough-strips which run from the houses on the pure boulder clay down to the sandy shore: run-rig, movable or fixed, is understandable and necessary there. The case just cited shows how a sensible communal tradition, such as that of '*movable* run-rig' with periodic pooling, may degenerate into absurdity by fixation. Happily the machar still shows the sane maintenance of a tradition, the pooling of resources:[1]

182 In 1924–25, widespread distress in the Isles, the failure
161 of the Leverhulme endeavour, the crofters' refusal to own their own crofts, and the emigration which followed, caused many outsiders to forecast rapid depopulation. It was all
182 the more interesting to note the confidence in the Island's
161 future shown by buyers of the great estate, all of whom
471 knew what they were about, for they were men with experience of the Island, of its rates and rentals and of its people. To a wealthy man who repurchased a sporting

[113] [1] Apportionment of lands held in run-rig in the Carloway estate is described, and the principle discussed, in *Scottish Land Court Reports*. (See *Scottish Law Rev.* vol. 28, 7; July 1940, pp. 51-54.) At the same time 'mechanisation', or the co-operative utilisation of tractors had led to pleas for 'collective farming'. (*Stornoway Gazette*, February 1944.)

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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182 estate, or where a single lodge was bought as a home for
161 retirement, depopulation might not matter. Certain popu-
471 lated parishes, however, were bought as investments by men of comparatively modest means. The principal
471 reasons for his purchase given to me by a retired man,
124 formerly connected with the administration of the Lews estate, were two. Asked if he had found, and expected, steady, remunerative payment of rent, he replied: "Certainly!" Next, in view of Press forecasts of general emigration, I referred to the fact that if large numbers of crofters decided to give a year's legal notice of departure and apply for compensation for improvements, including the erection of a 'white house' (otherwise than by Government aid), the landowner would be faced by heavy liabilities while deprived of income. Had the purchaser no fear of such an eventuality? "Certainly not!" was the reply, "the crofters will stick to their homes for many a long year."

829 These examples show that, while the defeat, or non-
458 realisation of Leverhulme's schemes, seemed to many outsiders the beginning of a not distant 'end' to the Island community, the Islanders themselves did not contemplate a final exodus. They were quite uncertain what was to come, it is true. Who was not, in those years of discouragement for Scotland and her people, for Wales, for Tyneside and Lancashire? The years of Leverhulme's departure from Lewis and of his death brought bad seasons. In 1924 storms destroyed crops and the peat would not dry. Herring catches and prices, though they had risen a little since 1921–22, had not allowed recovery from the losses sustained. The cessation of Leverhulme's wage-payments meant a gap in income which the Islanders could not fill
[135] at home. To relieve poverty in 1924–25, a Highlands and

829 Islands Distress Fund was raised in the Lowlands. The
458 Committee organising it distributed relief, and purchased
[735] seed potatoes, etc. They also drew attention to some
important features of Island conditions. Among others was
735 that of the scale of charges for transport of goods and
passengers. These charges had risen by from two to
505 four times what they had been.[1] The steerage passengers
were poorly provided for; and a later improvement in
cabin comfort was not accompanied by improved steerage
accommodation. One remembers in particular the suffering of the 'fisher girls'. In good weather the passage home (by day) was bearable; and though the song that 'lifted' as the boat left Kyle for the last lap to Stornoway sank pathetically as the steamboat left the shelter of Skye, voices began to rise again in the shelter of Stornoway Bay, sounding clear as the boat drew in. In bad weather the crowded women suffered sorely. Five hundred might be packed on the deck with little or no shelter, or covered the benches and floor of the steerage, sick and
[829] distraught. The Committee pointed out that "the Government increasingly accepted responsibility for the roads of the kingdom", and that sea communications were even more vital than roads to Islanders, for they serve in place of both road and rail. Some action was taken, but charges remained high.

K67 As a result of all these difficulties, many young men

[1] Examples were given of the rise in charges from 1914 to 1924, *e.g.* a web of tweed, Harris to Glasgow, from 1s. to 3s.; a box of lobsters, Harris to London, 4s. 6d. to 11s.; a barrel of herring, Stornoway to Kyle, 1s. to 3s. and so on. Although the rise on larger consignments was less, these were of no benefit to 'small folk'. Typical charges for the export of livestock were: (Lochmaddy, N. Uist, to Oban, or from Harris) for sheep the rise was from 9d. to 2s.; for lambs, 6d. to 2s.; for horses or cows, 5s. to 18s.; for stirks, 2s. 6d. to 11s. 6d. The Committee's report was privately printed.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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167 left the Island. Yet after 1931 many returned, owing to losses and unemployment both in British towns and over-
[288] seas. When emigrants began to come home the 'Harris'
178 tweed industry had spread to Lewis and offered increasing
[464] employment. Some men still fished in family-owned Island boats, and others as paid hands (on boats from
[226] the East Coast), though losses and unemployment were suffered.

178 Inter-war changes were hastened not only by movement
177 beyond the Island—an influence at work for three or four
493 generations before—but by mobility within it. In 1919 a small mail car made its way daily from Stornoway along
[205] each of the five main roads, with an occasional passenger. When crofters crossed the Island to Stornoway they went on foot or took the pony and cart at a slow walk: it was a day's journey. Ten years later, Ford vans, bought second-hand, ran daily to Stornoway from every township. Frequency, ease and relative cheapness of movement came late in an Island with no railway: the mobility of the motor for marketing and shopping brought rapid change.

178 'Hand-loom' weaving had become an important, if
286 precarious, resource, important because of the capital invested and the labour employed, yet precarious because
[433] of its dependence upon name and sentiment, not only
[462] upon intrinsic value. In Harris many women had spun and woven for sale for over a generation before 1914, mostly weaving pure hand-spun yarn, and they continued to do so. For many years before 1914, an occasional weaver was to be found in villages in Lewis too, generally weaving a handspun weft upon a mill-spun warp. By 1939 it was estimated that there were about 1200 looms in the Island, chiefly weaving mill-spunyarn, most of it spun in the two principal Stornoway mills. A carding mill

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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exists at Tarbert and another was erected in 'the Bays' district by Leverhulme. Leverhulme also appears to have introduced 'Automatic' hand-looms into Lewis. Today as in the past, the weavers possess a little croft or a feu, a cow, and a few sheep on the outrun, and perhaps a small boat.

Commercial fishing and weaving cannot, however, be satisfactorily combined, for seasonal alternation of occupation entails waste of gear and plant, and interferes with efficiency. Thus in the North Lochs fishing 'creek' (Leurbost neighbourhood, immediately south of Stornoway), weaving became important, but none of the seven large herring fishing boats (still registered in 1930) had been fitted with motors after 1918; they were idle and rotting, and by 1938 only one was still registered. In South Lochs, however, motor-boats were purchased, but there is little weaving. An obvious reason for the difference is the accessibility of the North Lochs area by road to Stornoway. Light passenger cars bring yarn to the village, besides groceries, etc., and take away rolls of tweed. South Lochs, on the other hand, considerably further from Stornoway by road, is still within reach for marketing fish. In North Lochs, merchant seamen at home and young men on their return from three months' work on East Coast fishing boats, turned increasingly to the 'Automatic' looms, manipulation being easily learnt; but such intermittent work alone gives little hope of progress. There is no more fascinating problem than the future of improved weaving.

2. *Unemployment and the Island Budget*

In the past, the storms of the Atlantic washed up on the Island shores the wreckage of world commerce; and

174 fragments of spars and other needful things lacking on
731 croft and moor were picked up and carefully allotted.
434 So, after 1919, from the wreckage of modern industry
458 borne on the ground-swell of 'Depressions', there came to the Islesfolk the frail raft of unemployment relief, doled out like driftwood long ago.

458 Some assessment is therefore required. The total
746 amounts of relief disbursed before 1931 were comparatively bountiful; and they certainly exceeded the sum of
[745] the crofters' contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund. After a couple of months of wage labour at road-mending, harbour-repair, or the like, young men were qualified for 'the dole'. Furnished with this, they returned to the croft when paid employment gave out, to cart in their peat, collect stones for a new house or saunter out with a rod for a little fishing from the rocks. All this was done 'on the dole', with complete legality, so long as their names were duly inscribed at Stornoway Labour Exchange as seeking fresh employment. Not a few prayed that 'employment' would not come inconveniently soon, as they would then be legally bound to accept it and to leave the croft. No doubt, even if only a part of the money received was urgently needed, the surplus was not squandered, as it might have been in a town. Extra cash, if any, served to buy a loom here, fencing for the garden there, and other things of permanent use. Yet morally it constituted misappropriation of relief. As a result, through no real fault of their own, young men began to lose inde-
[361] pendence and self-respect. This general problem for youth
[184] was widespread in years of 'depression', and it was peculiarly severe both in industrial Clydeside and the fishing villages of Scotland, and also throughout the 'depressed areas' of northern and western Britain, of which the Isles form the outermost fringe.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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which the Isles form the outermost fringe. Particular aspects of the Island's problem were its own.

The application of 'the Means Test' was therefore to the good in the Isles to begin with, whatever was to be said for or against it in towns. Many honest crofters thought the test should have been much more rigidly applied in the Islands. In 1932, after the worst of the depression had passed, there were in Lewis (proper) some 750 registered unemployed men (with only 5 boys), of whom 250 were seamen from the Merchant Service; and the other 500 included dockers and casual labourers of various sorts, many of whom had returned from the cities. The seamen, to take the largest class, constituted one for which relief was thoroughly justified; unemployment benefit was paid to each man until he had been unemployed for over six months. The Public Assistance Committee then gave 'Transitional Payment' after applying the Means Test, in which they took the produce of the croft into consideration. Public Assistance might follow later. Out of 250 cases, soon after the Means Test was applied, there was none in which the Committee assessed the need as equal to the benefit formerly received. In the Lowlands, on the other hand, the real need was usually found to be greater than the 'benefit' paid, and therefore relief could not in fairness be reduced.

[162]

There were years when work at sea was not to be had. As one left the Firth of Clyde, by the railroad to the Isles, one could count sometimes a dozen, sometimes a score of good 'tramp' steamers dossed in the Gareloch; and one thought of their crews, good men, but idle and rusting too. At such a time reduced payment to Island seamen with a croft, in place of total payment to town-dwelling seamen without one, effected a saving to the public purse. The

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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458 problem remains that Island seamen may thus continue
746 indefinitely to be crofters receiving partial relief, seamen only in name. Without doubt, part-time work on a croft is socially a lesser evil than prolonged unemployment in a slum or semi-slum. The crofter's family, too, is relatively better reared than that of many a poor seaman in Glasgow, Liverpool or Cardiff. Yet if this were all, it would be no adequate life for a man, while continuing to be an expense
[461] to the State. The more satisfactory side of such relief is
[311] that the Islanders, when unemployed, turn to building new 'white houses', and either to making small improvements on their crofts, or as in Ness (a progressive village with a high proportion of seamen), to the reclamation of new holdings on 'skinned land'. In all such cases a means test provides against full payment to those who could do without.

458 To women normally employed in 'gutting', unem-
746 ployment relief is given only at such time as there is no work during the season when it might be expected, *i.e.*
462 from May or June to December. Gutters from the Island are busiest for the months from June to August on the
[228] West and East Coast of Scotland, and again for two months, from October to November, in East Anglia. The number of Lewis women normally employed was over 1500 in a typical season (1930), the earnings averaging £19 each for the summer fishing in Stornoway, and as much again for the gutting in East Anglia. But the demand fell, and by 1932, for instance, some 250 women were obtaining relief, through Stornoway, in early August, the number doubling during the slack months from mid-August.

181 The tragedy and the danger of any means test are that
458 in effect it asks, not "How prosperous can you become
746 if given help?" but "How poor can you become to qualify

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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181 for help?" In one of the Outer Isles, I know of one or
458 two crofters holding fifteen acres of arable, with a share of
a good outrun, who have let their stock dwindle and
746 deteriorate, and their crofts lie mostly fallow, though these
could support a horse or two, several cows, and fifty sheep.
After having found some casual labour, they discovered
they could live mostly idle 'on the dole'. Self-respecting
neighbours suffer: good families who prefer to be independent of 'Assistance' and to improve their croft
[476] and stock, and the outrun too. These find their stock
deteriorating for lack of co-operation in breeding, fencing,
and other communal duties, and see their crops invaded
by weeds, blown from a lazy neighbour's plot. While
an idle neighbour benefits by their industry, they themselves are losers.

In another island, a hard-working crofter lost a score of good lambs through 'worrying' by the dogs of an idle neighbour, whose own stock had dwindled to a trifle. He was finally awarded legal compensation; but he found it wiser not to exact it, for the unspoken threat of exaction
[476] gave him a hold upon the idle 'dole-drawer'. The worker
could still insist that the idler pay his share of the cost of
[626] posts and wire for a fence on the outrun, or contribute
the minimum hours of labour due for fencing and other
[461] statutory tasks in the township. Men like that idler sap
the urge to work. They lower communal morality to a
181 semblance of the social code once too commonly seen by
Islanders in the domestic service of the upper and middle
classes, a code by which chronic idleness was disguised as
'leisure' and conspicuous dependence upon the work of
others was honoured as 'independent means'.[1]

[1] A summary of production, and figures of productive and non-productive income, are given in Appendix I.

(c) THE OUTLOOK: 1939–54 AND SINCE

458 How then can the situation be assessed, as it was before
the outbreak of war and since then? By 1939 twenty years
178 had been partly lost; for the after-war years of the 'Leverhulme boom' were followed by discouragement and poverty. During that time one might have hoped for half
[423] a generation of reconstruction and progress. On the other hand the sore question of dividing the farms was settled, so bringing raiding to an end. Congestion on the existing crofts is less than it was, owing to this fact, and to the
[166] provision of feus. The poverty of many breadwinners who had migrated to the cities first cut down the amounts remitted to their Island dependents, then drove them home.
[433] A croft, or even a garden site, and the opportunity of building a good house there made life still worth while,
[746] when other employment had failed. Unemployment relief, though tempting some to idleness, gave a respite
[286] which many utilised to make a fresh start. As fishing waned, many had taken advantage of the easy beginning
[226] offered to learn a new trade—weaving. This has made many feel that the living to be found on the Island is better than alternation of 'wage-earning' with unemployment, in Glasgow or abroad. They believe the situation
[311] of the Island community to be hopeful. While the land remains little better than before, many, even of the younger people, still care for the Island life among their own kin. Given a clear lead, these could reorganise themselves, and undertake the developments needed in fishing, weaving and reclamation. The homes are sound, 'good neighbourhood' endures, and given fresh opportunity, the community could awaken to new life.

178 During and since the war, co-operative marketing was
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476

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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178 developed through the township Grazing Committees by
476 the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society and its
44 associated Crofters' Agency. Lime and fertilisers were
[654] purchased, and wool and other products sold, co-oper-
[228] atively. The co-operative marketing of lobsters, taking
advantage of fluctuating London prices, has led to the
[654] reconstruction of ponds for storage. By these and other
means, government assistance is utilised but not squan-
dered; earlier initiative in agricultural organisation is
reinforced; and communal tradition is revived, linked
to personal responsibility through the crofters' lifelong
knowledge of one another.

178 As to the future, all agreed that unless the Harris Tweed
288 industry flourished, with work at reasonable wages, the
villages would be abandoned by the young, perhaps with
[829] no return such as hitherto on 'retirement'. Many young
people are content with life in the townships, provided
they can get a living there, though not all, for they are
somewhat divided; and work elsewhere, even in the mills
of Stornoway, is a counter-attraction.

178 Social life is undergoing changes which operate both
592 for and against the retention of the young. On one hand,
538 household interchange of conversation, song and story,
the *ceilidh*, has declined. On the other hand, one found
178 that, as regards religious prohibitions, and in spite of the
nervous tension expressed in 'Revivals', the young have
771 won greater freedom. Near one village a Nissen hut,
577 handed over to the Home Guard, was also used by young
[535] people for monthly dances. When I asked a young crofter
invalided from the Navy whether the Elders of the Kirk
made no protest, he replied that they had, but had to give
it up: "They see that we won't stand for it"! This
would have been unthinkable during the First World War,

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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178 or after it. After 1914–18, the Rector of the Nicolson
771 Institute, Stornoway, proposed village halls for village
577 education and recreation.[1] The scheme was never fully
realised except in one township, Sandwick, near Storno-
[346] way, owing to the strength of puritanical opposition. In
345 particular, dancing by young folk was condemned as
" dancing upon the graves of their brothers ". This atti-
[181] tude is breaking down; social standards, in becoming less
[535] repressive, may encourage young people to stay.

178 Broadcasting—a factor of change everywhere—came to
the townships as a revolution. Newspapers had already
207 filtered in; but for the first time the Gaelic-speaking
[204] home was entered and dominated by an English-speaking
voice. It has made itself heard there almost ceaselessly
ever since—in broadcast talks, discussions, announcements
178 of news, entertainment, singing and prayers. Only the
207 Sabbath imposes general silence. In the Scottish Home
795 Service great trouble has been taken to meet all tastes at
the highest level for each, from 'low-brow' to 'high-
brow' and from Clydeside to the Isles. To a thoughtful,
selective Island listener the new opportunity for imaginative
human contacts and for initiation of all kinds is immense.
And the purely Gaelic listener is not forgotten. He wel-
comes Gaelic song or story; and worship in Gaelic has
reached many an elderly person's bedside.

178 Yet few listeners select: much broadcasting is designed
207 for those whose only picture-galleries are advertisement
hoardings and whose only drama and music are to be found
[525] at " the Pictures ". And through no fault of the B.B.C.,
the Sports News offers temptations for those in poverty to
acquire wealth innocently through luck in a football pool,

[1] W. J. Gibson, "Social Amenities in the Western Isles", *Sociological Rev.* (Jan. 1932).

178 so creating a small leak in the purse and in the mind,
207 leaving both a little emptier, week by week. Surveys made
by teacher-members of the Educational Institute of Scot-
[525] land describe the effects on listeners in Highland parishes
[829] as pernicious, in the main. The reports of the B.B.C., on
the other hand, emphasise their cultural endeavours, and
the lightening of house-work and of rural monotony or
solitude. Every effort is needed to aid a happy selection
in home and neighbourhood.

72 Experiences undergone in war were of very differing
201 types. Many men spent the war years in the Navy, without
contact with decent town life, or others in the Merchant
Marine. Of combatants in the land forces, the Territorials
of the original 51st Highland Division experienced a few
months of relative inactivity in France, then of a brief but
bitter campaign, followed by long years in prison camps,
while other soldiers underwent prolonged training in Britain,
followed by severe fighting for long periods, far afield.
Lastly, a limited number of men served in engineering or
other works of war-time industry, though labouring work,
at high wages, kept many of the older men employed at
[462] home. Of the women called up for service, some were
posted to the Forces, some to the Land Army, and some were
[162] sent to factories. The greater opportunities for women to
earn a living wage away from the Island tend to equalise
the ratio of the sexes.

177 An experience new to the Western Isles came with the
establishment of Air Bases. Not only did their construc-
[464] tion provide high wages for labouring for the older resident
crofters, brought daily to the Bases by bus from their
townships, but for the first time a heterogeneous mass of
men from every part of urban Britain was put down at
the doors of these quiet communities—at a time when

177 most of the young men of the Islands were away. Hitherto,
[464] though people from the Isles had gone out into the world and rubbed shoulders with all sorts of men and women, from best to worst, their own homes and townships had remained inviolate. Now, however, there came men in numbers from distant homes, with little to do when off duty and with money to spend, either on tweeds, which were virtually free of controls, or on pleasures, if they could find them. The temptations offered to a community so unaccustomed to town ways were considerable.

729 Those who returned least changed in their outlook upon
178 rural life were ex-prisoners-of-war, from the 51st Highland Division. At their own wish, they had received instruction
[473] in modern small-holding; and the demand from prison camps for land when the Highlanders would come home was upheld. It is especially among these men that agencies such as *An Comunn Gaidhealach* kept Gaelic tradition alive, linking it to the Highlanders' long thoughts of home. Next to these come naval seamen, while those most subject to urban influences were those who worked in factories. But whatever their experiences, home exerted a strong attraction. If work and a fair wage can be found in the township and on the crofts, and if social life can be renewed, many who returned will stay.

726 As in the First World War, so in the Second: few communities in Britain have had so large a proportion of their men in the Forces, in the fighting line and at sea,
[177] from the outbreak of hostilities. The Island community is almost without the exemptions due to 'essential occu-
[167] pations' such as commercial agriculture in the country, or
[729] war industry and administration in the towns. The toll has been heavy, and the nation's debt to the Islanders should be remembered.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

464 For a year or two after the war many men and women
[288] returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found
employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry.
[729] This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving
at home—work in which the male weaver was helped by
[226] his family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen
dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses
[178] such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to
return to the hard, uncertain work of gutting. The whaling
[462] station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open
for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950,
and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed
[241] in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised
cultivation. The war-time construction of air-fields had
[722] ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was
[654] assisted by government grants.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders'
288 main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of
651 a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds.
648 Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export
sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the
[433] position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there
were strong arguments for the extension of the tax to
[171] Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish
Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not
be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the
crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artist
favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional
and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the
end, the mass-production is an unacknowledging debtor.
The obvious economic handicaps of Island hand-weaving
[439] may surely permit some latitude. The export trade in
[458] Harris Tweed, in which the imponderable 'sentimental

288 value' is important, is an appreciable dollar-earning asset;
651 and because of the fluctuating export market, its manu-
648 facturing must be stabilised by sales at home.

[439] These and other facts support the plea that if some
[458] share of taxation had to be imposed in the national interest, it should have been done by steps to permit of readjustment in manufacturing and of adaptation to the carefully fostered market. What seems indefensible, even in the national interest, was the imposition of the full 66⅔ purchase tax. As a result of this blow, the crofter's web could not be sold, and lay, a prey to moths, in his home, while the mill-owner's stock piled up in the warehouse. 'Hand-looms', newly bought or partly paid for, lay rusting in the sheds and the machinery of the mills stood idle. The hand-weavers with their helpers and the employees in the mills, their
[161] savings spent, began to seek work beyond the Island. As the census of April 1951 has shown, the population has been falling as workers trickled away by every steamer. Some adjustment was made, it is true, late in 1951; but the case of the small independent weaver remained as hard as ever.

288 The amount of tweed stamped with the Orb Trade
433 Mark, which diminished slowly from 4,464,000 standard yards in 1948 to 4,101,000 in 1949 and 3,780,000 in 1950,
[65] fell when the tax was imposed to 2,800,000 in 1951. In 1952 there was a recovery, maintained in 1953. Over 5,000,000 yards will have been stamped in 1954.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

ISLAND, REGION AND NATION. REGIONAL SURVEY FOR COMMUNAL SERVICE IN 'THE NORTH AND WEST'

[121] THE aim of this study has been the survey of a region for the service of its society. Survey is fundamental. As treatment should follow diagnosis, so should decision for action be based on balanced knowledge. Until now this has too seldom been the case. [311] In Scotland particularly our land and resources are as yet imperfectly surveyed; our activities are still too hap- [181] hazard and chaotic. There is work to be done and there are hands to do it, but they have been kept unemployed; the workless slackened in body and mind, and their spirits failed; and our communities are still without clear aims [185] in common. The first five years of peace have seen an increased awakening to integrated planning. Planning must be preceded by survey and be linked to international order; it must be aimed towards better living and finer [171] purpose. This study is part of a world-wide movement of survey and planning directed, not first to private gain but to common ends. In Western Europe until the war, in the United States and (in a different way) in the war-ravaged Soviet Union, men and women of good-will have striven to prepare for a 'New Deal', region by region.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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121 185 438 The importance of the 'regional' movement is inter-regional and indeed international. In the case of the Island, international order is required for its fisheries to recover, and for its weaving to find purchasers abroad as well as at home. This in turn could allow small-holding to find an Island market in its little burgh, Stornoway. Without this triple basis of fishing, weaving and crofting for its economy, Island society will break up and its culture [182] vanish, not evolve. It is no less true that only by the best utilisation of each regional environment, economy and society as we find them, will profiteers be held in check at home, and powerful peoples cease to exploit the sweat of others.

121 171 A pioneer American Report acknowledges the debt of regional survey for the New Deal not only to France and Germany, but to a group of practical idealists, of geo- [185] graphers, biologists and sociologists in Britain.[1] If nation- [433] ally we can be proud of Scots and British initiative in [184] planning, we must own, until recently, to humiliating slowness in its execution, and in the mobilisation of regional resources for social ends. The chief end of our planning must be the re-making of society. In Britain it is not always realised that in the great developments of the New Deal the execution of concrete schemes which include civil engineering, industrial expansion and agricultural conservation, is accompanied by real cultural achievements, both urban and rural. Not only are geographers and economists, technicians, industrialists, and officials called to survey and plan the Tennessee Valley, but sociologists and educationists are required to complete the work. Not

[113] [1] *Regional Factors in National Planning*, National Resources Committee, U.S.A., December 1935. Cf. Lewis Mumford (U.S.A.); and P. Geddes, P. Abercrombie, L. D. Stamp, E. A. Gutkind, G. H. J. Daysh, and others (Britain).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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121 only the place but the people are to be understood, re-
171 spected and helped.

The planning movement is gathering impetus in Britain,
121 as it spreads outwards from bombed towns to countrysides,
embracing regions as a whole. It is certainly destruction
171 in war that has stabbed the nation's spirit 'broad awake',
185 awake to features of economic and moral disintegration
184 that preceded actual warfare. The realisation that defeat of the common enemy called for common effort roused the nation to face its enemies of want and confusion at home. Yet the seeds of the planning movement were sown in peace, and only in peace can they grow to fruition. Planning, prepared for by the survey of each region as a whole, must lead towards the freeing of its people not only from physical want but from spiritual frustration. Based on the provision of work and a livelihood for individuals, planning should envisage the common weal and attempt to realise the deepest cravings of each community and serve their highest ideals. In a word, there must be a regional vision of the unity of life.

128 This book began by viewing the 'Outer' Isles as a
18 heart of 'the North and West' of the British Isles, the innermost of a series of regions extending from the North-west Isles to the landward margin of the English 'Plain'. Differences in landscape and community, in history and modern life, make each of these regions unique in itself; yet—it was suggested—all possess certain features of landscape and evolution in common, which marked them off from the 'Plain' of the South-east. Some four physical and human frontier-lines or border-zones divide these regions. South-eastward from the Minch four were selected: the Highland Line, the Scottish Border, the edge of the older rocks of Britain and,

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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128 enclosing all, the zone from Severn to Tees. Having por-
18 trayed the environment and life of the Island—' innermost ' of the regional series, the next step was to extend this survey beyond the Minch to the Highlands and Isles as a whole, and then to compare these with the regions extending south-eastward—' outwards '—from the Isles to the margin of the ' Plain ', through the regional series we group as ' the North-and-West '.

121 Two main tasks lie before us in making comprehensive community surveys, once the geographical basis is established. The first task, historical in method, is the redis-
[133] covery of cultural foundations. These might be compared (as we said at the outset) to the Archaean gneiss laid bare only in the North-west, but still the foundation, albeit a hidden one, of the ice-sculptured rocks of Highland Britain, from the pre-Cambrian to the coal at the margin of the overlying, differently sculptured rocks of the ' Plain '. Understanding of the past can help us to understand not only the evidence of the present, but latent, underlying powers. Regional traditions, dormant for one, perhaps for many generations, may germinate afresh if we can understand the conditions in which they once grew and also those needed to awaken them to new life in finer forms.

The other task of social survey must be to recognise the communal efforts of the present, and with eyes undimmed by prejudices of class or culture, grasp the relation of personal efficiency and self-realisation to life in teams or groups. The inherent cultural interests of the people of each region in work and leisure must be evaluated. Underlying actual achievements, latent powers may be discovered which must be freed for communal attainment. Better work under better conditions should bring about the flowering of personality in harmonious communities.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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|2| In every community, social and spiritual relations are inherent, and these, at one time inseparable in Island life, are once more winning recognition.

If this intensive study of a single isle has sustained the unity inherent in a region's environment, work and people, its first intention will have been accomplished. A second aim will have been achieved if it has faithfully re-interpreted the way in which small communities of 'Highland and Island Britain', in spite of their stark poverty, once realised their vision of fellowship, in labour, in leisure and in spiritual life. This aim led in turn to tracing the transitions through which the community reached their present stage of society.

In another book there have been presented means by which an integrated policy could be implemented for fishing, for weaving and other country industries, and for crofting. If that study of "The Resources and Prospects of the Isle" could contribute to a fresh economy for Island life, the third purpose of this survey would have been attained. The Islesmen themselves must show how economic development, planned with common purpose, may renew the communal, cultural and spiritual achievement of the Hebrides.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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ECONOMIC STATISTICS OF LEWIS (AND HARRIS)

Introduction

127 THE assessment by the Lewis Association in their first Report
433 on the Economic Position of Lewis (proper) in 1938 shows the income derived from " productive industry ". This was defined as that which " produces or tends to produce exchange value ", and therefore includes the production of the necessaries of existence by crofting as well as saleable commodities. This estimate covered the tweed industry and agriculture, and touched upon fishing.

434 For the first, the tweed industry, the figures are reliable, and the round total of £140,000 paid in wages to spinners and weavers in 1938 was a remarkable element of the Island income, more than half going to the weavers working at home. Altogether the tweed industry was estimated to provide over £300,000. For the second, agriculture, the current prices for crops and stock, combined with agricultural returns, were sufficiently reliable to give fair confidence in the estimate of production of nearly £200,000 (more precisely, £194,100). For the 3750 crofts an average value was obtained of nearly £50. To this was added the peat cut on the crofts, averaging £24, thought by some to be rather a high value. The work of building and improvement of houses was not included and this has been added, with an estimate of £40,000. For fishing (the third chief source of production mentioned in the Report), the income derived from local boats has here been distinguished from that earned by visiting boats, by combining official statistics with personal, local enquiries. From this fresh analysis a figure of £85,000 is offered here.

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128 An effort has been made to separate crofting from other in-
433 come, and also to average the income from the sources given of
162 the total rural households, numbering 4700, composed of those on the 3650 *occupied* crofts plus an estimated 1050 others, namely, cottars and squatters, and 'feuars'—*i.e.* holding land in feu.

434 Finally, to the productive income earned on the Island there should be added that received by earnings sent or brought home to dependants, together with pensions, unemployment relief and the like. I am greatly indebted to the appropriate officials for the figures cited for 1937–38 or the year immediately preceding. These sources average £45 per rural household.
[128] The figures tabled all apply to Lewis alone; but many figures having been obtained for Harris also, conclusions are similar there. The concluding Table (pp. 314-315) bears a note on other sources of income, with a similar table for 1953.

(i) *Tweed Industry*

128 After deducting the cost of wool imported from the main-
434 land and certain other costs, the net productive income was
288 taken to be £307,000. The estimate may still err on the high side but it indicates the prime importance of the industry in the Lews. For 1938 the quantity of tweed stamped, and certified as hand-woven by the Harris Tweed Association Ltd., was 2,830,900 imperial yards, rising in 1939 and 1940 to 4,000,000 yards, though falling thereafter. The value of the tweed produced in 1938 was approximately £500,000. The total wages paid in 1938 amounted to £140,000 (£139,600), rather more than half of which was paid to the weavers working at home. In 1940 this had risen to nearly £200,000, a slightly higher proportion falling to the weavers.

[365] In addition to the wages paid and the price paid for local wool, the industry is a valuable customer of the Electricity Company and directly or indirectly provides much other employment
[651] in the Island. The industry also provided a market for a large quantity of Scottish wool and contributed to taxation.

[458] The productivity and earnings of the industry continued to

178

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434 be high until 1948. The year 1947 was the peak year for the pro-
duction of Harris Tweed, with over 5,000,000 yards (of which
288 3,765,000 yards were stamped, and some 1,500,000 unstamped).
458 In 1948 the production of unstamped tweed had fallen to
500,000 yards but stamped tweed came to 4,380,000 yards.

(651) Then, in the year 1948 the imposition of a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax struck the industry a crippling blow. The rise in prices of wool increased difficulties, and by 1950 few orders were being booked and men were being paid off. A few small men who had relatively large stocks frozen by the purchase tax were able to sell them off, but this minor compensation for losses was short-lived. The outlook is disquieting.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House-building*, 1938

434 (a) *Agriculture.*—The estimated agricultural output shows
a total value of £189,100, and of this total the quantity fed
241 to animals was valued at £103,000. This leaves £86,100 as the estimated value of crop produce consumed on the Island. Adding this figure to the gross livestock output we arrive at a total valuation of the agricultural production of Lewis of approximately £194,100. To arrive at the average output per croft there was deducted the farm production, estimated at $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total by calculation from known crop and stock returns. This gives a figure for crofts alone of £184,400. By dividing by 3750, we obtain an average value of the gross annual production by crofters as £49, or say £50. The inclusion of squatters' produce would add so slightly to the total figure as hardly to affect the average for rural households. Outlays being small, most of this net output may be regarded as 'net earnings'.

434 (*b*) *Peat.*—To this sum must be added firing and some share
in housing. The peat cut has been valued at £90,000, an
222 average of £24 per croft; it demands much labour. As peat
314 is freely cut by cottars and squatters, etc. (estimated at 1050 or so), the average value might be given as £19 per rural
(372) household. In Stornoway the chief fuel is coal.

(*c*) *House-building.*—From 1920 to 1940 the Department of

(c) House-building. — From 1920 to 1940 the Department of

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Agriculture advanced loans for the erection of 760 new houses and the repair of 220 other houses. This, with the erection or repair of 40 steadings, may be taken as the equivalent of 1000 houses in the 20 years of peace, of which three-fourths were new. Rural building was at its height in the early 'thirties, but 1938 was a typical year. Taking the value of each house as £600 and subtracting half for imported materials, we may assume that for 50 houses built that year the labour given produced an output of £15,000. In addition, some house-building and repair was done without State aid, for which a guess of £15,000 may be made. Such sums may not appear large, but they correspond to the enduring fulfilment of a prime need, a 'real wage', of importance when compared to rents and costs elsewhere. Of the expenditure on house-building in Stornoway burgh during 1938, the value may be assessed as £10,000, of which £9000 was for Local Authority housing. Most of the total was produced by local labour.

(iii) *Fishing Industry—Net Output and Earnings*

(*a*) For 1938 the total catches, prices and quantities of fresh cured fish landed in Stornoway District show a value of nearly £100,000 (£98,000) for the herring catch, and of £162,400 for the cured herring. Our problem is to estimate what fraction of these sums may be included in the net output of the Island industry proper. The Fishery Board's *Statistical Tables* and *Annual Report* extract the produce brought in by local boats from the total, separating it from that due to 'strangers', and so permitting a fairly reliable estimate, checked by local enquiry.

Of the herring taken, nearly 80 per cent were caught in the summer fishing, June to August (*Annual Report*, p. 13). The week of maximum local activity in herring fishing for Stornoway District may be taken to be characteristic of this pre-war period (Table 8). There were then 111 steam-boats engaged; and as only five were locally registered (at Stornoway itself), the remaining 106 were strangers. There were also 66 motor-boats engaged and though 81 motor herring-boats are locally

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228 registered at the various 'creeks', obviously all cannot have
501 been engaged; moreover, some strangers are invariably present, for which a guess of one-third would probably be conservative. The two sailing-boats were, of course, local.

Now, the average net tonnage of a drifter or a good East Coast motor-boat approached 40 tons, almost double the average tonnage of a local motor herring-boat (20 tons), and the catch was much in this ratio. During such a week and period, the total net tonnage of the 106 stranger drifters was thus about 106 × 40 tons, or say 4000 tons. That of stranger motor-boats may have been, say, 22 × 40 tons, or 800 to 900 tons, but the local tonnage was only 44 × 20 tons, another 800 to 900 tons, or, say, 1000 tons in all. This formed a fifth of the 'stranger' total of close on 5000 tons. As the Stornoway Fishing District includes Harris which provided a third of the herring fleet, there remained only some 600 tons for Lewis, barely an eighth of the stranger tonnage. A fifth, say, of the tonnage probably means less than a fifth of the catch but a still smaller fraction of the sums paid for it, for the cream of the prices is skimmed by the boats first in, generally the bigger
[434] and faster of the fleet. If we set against the catches probably due to the Harris boats, the catches of the winter fishing (about 15 per cent of the year's total), we shall still err on the safe side in estimating the annual catch due to boats from Lewis proper as no more than a fifth of the total (worth nearly £100,000), say £20,000.

228 To complete the estimate we add the curing of all herring
434 brought into the District, almost all of it done in Stornoway. The difference between the value of the total catch (£98,000) and the gross value of cured herring (£162,000) is £64,000; but from this is deducted £26,000 for the imported barrels, salt, etc. This leaves an increment of £38,000 for the District curings, or, say, £35,000 for Lewis alone.

The landings of white fish (£13,600) and shell-fish (£6500) totalled £20,100 (Table 17). Of that, white fish valued at £4700 were brought into Stornoway port by East Coast 'great liners' (Table 13), but the remainder was caught by local

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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228 boats; value, £15,400. Of this, the greater part came into Lewis creeks (Table 17), making £10,000 for Lewis.

434 Finally, we may add a round figure for whole or part-time occupations associated with the fisheries, including what accrues by the visiting fleet and its business, of, say, £20,000. This gives a total net output approaching £85,000 from fisheries for a typical year just before 1939.

[462] We now turn to an estimate of the earnings of fishermen and of the women engaged in curing. To some extent these figures overlap, for the value of the net output includes the wages of fishermen and women; but the sums earned on 'stranger' vessels—reduced now to some £3000—and the wages earned by women gutters and curers in East Anglia [436] (about £10,000) are additions to Lewis income. Some of this was, no doubt, sent home in the form of postal orders, etc., causing a further overlap, but much of it was probably sent in the form of notes or brought home in cash. In order to show the real net earnings of rural Lewis, these are separated from the output shown in the first column ((A, i) on p. 314) and are tabled under "Earnings by Crofting and Associated Rural Occupations only" (A, ii).

[127] (*b*) *Fishers' Earnings.*—As no figures of local earnings are separately published, estimates must be based upon the collation of the Fishery Board's *Annual Statistical Tables* and [178] accompanying *Annual Reports* with careful local enquiries. By 1938 the fishermen on Stornoway District herring fishing vessels were reduced to about 350 men and boys in the summer season, of whom only a few worked in autumn and winter. Their earnings included the earnings of share owners of boats and of nets, and of those without shares, the latter being only a fraction, say a quarter, of the total. Nearly 100 District men still worked on 'stranger' (East Coast) vessels at the summer fishing and rather fewer at the East Anglia autumn fishing. The sum so earned may have been a third or more of the earnings on District vessels. Altogether the total net earnings from herring fisheries received by all fishermen from Lewis proper came to little more than £8000. By 1938 the

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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228 434 average wage for the summer season dropped to about £25.

The number of women engaged in gutting and packing (and kippering) herrings varies from year to year. In 1938 1000 228 were engaged locally in summer, most of whom also went to 434 East Anglia. As always, the greater part of the wages was earned in the summer and the remainder in the East Anglia 462 (autumn) fishing season. The net average earnings per worker of the Scottish gutters and packers were estimated at £16 at the Scottish summer fishings and £17 at the East Anglian fishing (*Annual Report*, p. 12). This figure included 'arles' (*i.e.* earnest money), but excluded travelling expenses. The Stornoway District earnings averaged £16 at the local summer fishing but only £15 at the East Anglia fishing. The latter is a small return to place against the skill of the worker and the discomfort she endures. The women work in small teams together, and their efficiency is partly due to their comradeship.

228 Figures for catches have already been given as approaching £20,000 for herring and £10,000 for white fish and shell-fish. 434 While the net earnings derived, after subtracting the working expenses of boats and outlays for gear, were very much less than this gross sum, a substantial part should be counted as equivalent to earnings (Statistical Table 21).

Summing up the total net earnings, we arrive at the follow- [462] ing for Lewis proper. The women's total net earnings may be taken as £25,000. We add to the probable earnings of the men at the herring fishing an allowance for their profits from other catches, making a total of say £15,000.

178 The industry was still declining here as elsewhere in Scotland. About 1930 the earnings of hired hands alone 228 reached £30,000 and that of women twice as much, say £60,000. 434 Besides this was the important sum earned by men with share of boats. The local white fish and shell-fish catches were also [656] considerably higher at that period. As to the future, much will depend on what can be done to rehabilitate the local industry by compensation for losses incurred in war, and by assurance that government policy will encourage local fishermen to embark on their enterprise without the risk of the

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178 crippling losses suffered after 1914–18. A beginning has
228 certainly been made. The Herring Industry Board's scheme for
434 'Queen of Scots' kippers will help the Minch fishing. It will not necessarily help the ports of Stornoway or Tarbert, because herring can be landed at mainland ports and treated there or else taken by road to the Moray Firth, kippered there, and still qualify under the scheme. The Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society has aided the marketing of lobsters to good purpose.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island*

114 It is to be hoped that members of the Lewis Association
814 may ascertain these, perhaps in collaboration with University research workers. This, in turn, might instructively be collated with the imports and exports of the Island, which are recorded and ascertainable with a precision impossible for a similar area on the mainland. Thus the facts would throw light on the economy of other crofting districts.

(v) *Allowances, Pensions, Unemployment Assistance and Remittances*

657 With regard to money received by the crofting communities
434 of Lewis from other than 'productive' sources, figures have kindly been made available regarding three sources, namely, (*a*)
436 Allowances made to members of the Forces and their depend-
729 ents, and Pensions, (*b*) Unemployment payments, and (*c*) Money Orders and Postal Orders. The yearly periods for which
434 figures are available are close enough to permit of reasonable comparisons. Among other sources, Bank Drafts form an insignificant fraction of monies received by crofters from outside
[505] the Island. It is impossible to say how much cash is brought
[464] home by men paid off from the Merchant Service and other employment, or how much may be sent through the post in the form of notes, whether registered or unregistered. The amount is known to be large, however, and an estimate based on the number of insured employed, and other figures, would be of value. A token figure is suggested in a note to the concluding Table.

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729 For the year 1937–38, Allowances paid to members of the
434 Forces and their dependants in Lewis (proper) came to £40,000. Of this sum a greater part was paid through Stornoway Post Office than might have been expected from the town's population. But able-bodied recipients of Allowances are attracted to the town by the likelihood of finding work there, while men of higher rank and pay are apt to be townsfolk, and their
657 dependants also. Old Age, Orphans' and Widows' Pensions
434 exceeded £80,000. Of this sum a relatively large amount was also paid through Stornoway Post Office, partly for administrative reasons, rendering other causes harder to disentangle.

We turn now to the next source named, Unemployment Assistance. The Bureau made payments of £120,000 in 1936—the last year for which relevant statistics were made available. Of this sum, about one-third was Insurance Benefit, derivable in principle from the joint earnings of workers, and two-thirds were Public Assistance, contributions to which were made from local rates. The fraction paid to Stornoway workers was relatively small, and may be estimated at barely £10,000, that of rural payees accounting for the remaining £110,000. As the Means Test took account of the croft (or smaller holding with house), the average payment to individuals was small.

434 Turning to Money Orders, and taking the balance of pay-
436 ment and issue at face value, there was actually an outflow from the Island instead of an influx, for the issues exceeded the payments. In Lewis in 1937–38, whereas nearly £60,000 was issued in Money Orders, only a little over £30,000 was paid. Even allowing for the fact that part of the payments is cashed through banks or cleared at a central Post Office on the mainland, there would appear to be an outflow, as centralised clearances probably amount to no more than 35 to 40 per cent. The amounts in Postal Orders paid were smaller, totalling £23,000, and the difference between payments and issues less.

434 Comparisons between town and country are instructive.
436 Stornoway's position as a shopping centre is reflected in the heavier average of Money Order payments per head per annum
369 as compared with rural areas (£8·4 as against £1·1); and the

APPENDIX I

434 difference between the issues and the payments in rural areas
436 (£28,000 as against £13,000) is no doubt due to orders drawn
369 to pay accounts. In this connection, a comparison of conditions at an interval of nine years is suggestive for any attempt to distinguish the difference between rural incomes before and after the economic depression. In rural Lewis the total Order payments fell from over £33,000 in 1928–29 to barely £22,000 in 1937–38, a fall of more than a third. Although a decline in the payment of Money Orders in Stornoway was partly offset by an increase in that of Postal Orders there, it is thought that even this reflects a fall in the cash available in the townships, by indicating a fall in the average amount of accounts paid by country customers to Stornoway tradesmen. Even here, it is true, some allowances must be made, as latterly more shopping was done by customers coming into Stornoway by car and probably paying to a greater extent in cash.

[657] Comparisons may now be made, for all the data quoted, between Stornoway and the rural or 'landward' areas of Lewis, and also between landward parishes for all except the [161] Unemployment payments. Population having changed but little from 1931 to 1938, and economic conditions not being very different in the Island in the financial years 1936 and 1937–38, an approximation can be made of payments averaged per head of population. In the following table these are shown in £ sterling to one decimal place.

Average Payments (per Head per Annum)

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	Stornoway Burgh	Stornoway Landward	Barvas	Lochs	Uig	Average Landward
	£	£	£	£	£	£
(a) Allowances and Pensions	10·2	3·3	4·0	3·6	5·9	3·9
(b) Unemployment Payments	2·6	..	..	..	..	5·1
(c) Money and Postal Orders	(8·4)	1·0	0·9	1·2	1·3	1·1
Total	..	..	..	..	..	10·1

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434 369 The significant figure here is the average total payment per head in the rural or 'landward' area, a sum of ten pounds sterling, the complexity of urban conditions, even in a small town, making the total for the Burgh less significant. To put it differently, an average rural household of 4·5 persons thus received a sum of £45 a year from these sources.

All these figures—pointers to the complete facts, unascertained as yet—show that even with the help of these sources the average income of the rural Islanders was small. Comparisons of such figures with those for the rest of Britain would, of course, be misleading. To those who spend their working lives outside their native isle, Lewis is no more than a home; and for them it should therefore be compared to some urban suburb or 'dormitory', rather than to an urban centre of production or a typical agricultural district in the Lowlands.

434 171 178 It may help to compare the conditions of 1938 with those of 1951 if, say, average weekly wage earnings for all British workers in employment are taken for October of both years. Thus, taking the 1938 earnings of 53s. 3d. as 100, those of 1951 were 141s. 1d. or 265 per cent of the first, a figure to be related to the cost of living index which had only risen from 100 to 202 per cent. The total wage-bill gave a still higher increase for Britain, from 100 in 1938 to 287 per cent in 1951. As food forms a heavy part of the doubled cost of living to people in poverty or near it, the crofters' own food does not greatly relieve them. The loss of employment following the close of the mills left little for them but to seek employment beyond the Island.

434 311 Summing up the facts of this Appendix, it may be said that the Island furnishes (1) means for partial subsistence for most; (2) means of earning a livelihood, for some; and (3) a home from which many go forth to earn a living for themselves (and their families) elsewhere—meantime contributing to national and local income there. Of these, many return later, either to found a home, to pay visits on holiday or during periods of ill-health or unemployment, or to retire upon the Island.

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I. *Circa* 1938.

Selected Estimates of* (A) *Net Output of Productive Industry and* (B) *Certain Other Sources of Income, in Lewis (proper)

(A) *NET OUTPUT OF PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY*

(i) Urban and Rural

Net earnings of tweed industry		£307,000
Agriculture (including farms)		194,100
Peat		90,000
House-building and improvement		40,000
Fishing		
Herring (by local boats)	£20,000	
Curing total catch	35,000	
Associated income	20,000	
White fish, etc. (local)	10,000	
Total local fishing	£85,000	85,000
Wages, (fishers on stranger boats)		3,000
,, (women in East Anglia)		10,000
Total (A, i)		£729,100

(ii) Earnings by Crofting and Associated Rural Occupations only:

(*a*) Crofts only, 3750; (*b*) All Rural (including cottars and squatters), 4700 households

			Average per Household (*a*) *Crofts*	(*b*) *All Rural*
Earnings of hand-weavers		£75,000		£17·0
Spinners		5,000		
Agriculture (crofting only)		184,350	£49	39·2
Peat		90,000	24	19·0
Housing (State-aided)		15,000		3·0
,, (Other (say))		15,000		3·0
Fishing				
Herring (by rural fishers)	£8,000			
Curing (by rural women)	15,000			
,, (in East Anglia)	10,000			
White fish, etc.	7,000			
Total fishing	£40,000	40,000		8·5
Total (A, ii)		£424,350		£89·7
			(Approx.)	£90

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(B) REMITTANCES (BY POST), ALLOWANCES, PENSIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS

With Averages per Rural Household

(i) Urban and Rural		(ii) Rural	(a) Official Rural	(b) Estimated Rural	(c) Average per Household
Money and Postal Orders	£53,700		£31,700	£34,900	£7·4
Allowances (Forces)	41,000		30,400	33,000	7·0
Pensions (State)	82,700		54,100	60,000	12·7
Unemployment payments	120,000		110,000	110,000	23·4
Total (B, i)	£297,400	Total (B, ii)	£226,200	£237,500	£50·5
				(Approx.)	£51
Total (i, A and B)	£1,026,500	Total (ii, A and B)	£650,550	£661,850	£141

Note.—To complete the estimate of rural income, partly indicated by (A) and (B) we should require to group with (A) certain sources of income of productive character such as road-making and the creation of other services, and to add to (B) other savings and pensions from outside the Island which may be received as Bank-notes by post, as Bank Drafts, and in cash brought home by earners. The figures of £110,000 for Unemployment Assistance, and of £35,000 for Money and Postal Orders, suggest that it would not be too much to add a figure equal to at least the two combined, or £145,000, towards making an income of another £30 or so per rural household. By bringing the sources of income to at least £170—still a very small amount—we should approach a true figure, which cannot, at best, be large.

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RECENT STATISTICS (1953-54)

128 In briefer form, the basic economic data can now be reviewed,
433 in the same order, for 1953, or the period April 1953 to March
434 1954, as available. The results are shown on the second pair of Tables, pp. 318-319.

(i) *Tweed Industry* (1953-54)

434 Taking 5,000,000 yards as the 1953-54 total, and accepting
288 an estimate of 1s. 2d. paid to weavers per finished, mill-shrunk
463 yard, payments to weavers in Lewis-and-Harris (and a few in the southern Hebrides) would amount to some £291,700. After subtracting the output from Harris, this corresponds to an informal estimate by the Lewis Association for Lewis proper of well over £250,000 and more, probably £275,000 for the period. Adding the wages of spinners in Stornoway mills, and also of carriers, dockers, etc., it is thought safe to double the figure, with £550,000, for Lewis, rural and urban. Most of the weaving is rural. The increased use of daily bus transport allows rural dwellers to come to Stornoway daily to earn and so has increased the ratio of rural to urban wages by spinning and other labour. For rural carriers and mill-employees, a fifth of £275,000 is taken here, making £55,000. As no estimate for the 'net earnings' in Lewis is available, the same ratio to wages is taken as in 1938, making £1,200,000.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House Building* (1953)

178 (a) *Agriculture.*—First, the trend of crop and stock pro-
434 duction can be indicated by selected figures for the Island for
241 1918, 1939 and 1953. The areas both of oats and rotation grass increased, the three successive totals in acres being, for oats: 4460, 5020, 5440; and for rotation grass: 390, 1385,

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178 2110. The acreage under potatoes declined steadily: 3940,
434 3730, 1650. Barley dwindled from 2350 acres to 1340, and
130. Turnips reached a maximum of 510 acres in 1939, but
241 were not worth noting by 1953. These crop acreages reflect
the change in stock-rearing, with the decline in the number of
178 cattle but the great increase in the number of sheep. Taking
the three successive totals for 1918, 1939 and 1953, cattle
434 numbered 13,620, 9060 and 6540 head; but this diminution
231 by more than half was chiefly due to the small number of
bullocks reared. Cows and heifers, 7650 in 1918, still stood at about 4500 in 1953, and they are now of far better quality in weight and milk production. The totals of sheep were successively, 78,150, 114,330, 185,860; by use of mainland rams their average weight has increased, while the wool is rather more abundant but coarser. Taking the Lewis Association's equivalent of 1 cattle beast to 8 sheep, the livestock carry increased by nearly 25 per cent; and if we add the increased value of the cattle the livestock increase counts for very much more. Horses, it is true, fell to 380 by 1953; as before, most had been bought in from Uist, not bred. Hence a new charge on agriculture, the purchase and use of the 65 tractors owned by farmers and crofters, and their running costs, is relatively less heavy than it would be in a horse-breeding area. The poultry are still deplorably few: 86,460, or about 20 per croft.

[632] The Table on p. 316 sums up the conditions, apparently somewhat stabilised for the time being, parish by parish, and invites comparison with Chapter II, pp. 67-68.

178 (b) and (c) *Peat-making and House-building*.—While *peat-*
222 *cutting* is still important, more coal is used than formerly, and
hence the peat is valued here much as in 1938. *Housing* is
314 most important; Local Authority housing by the Burgh
struggles to meet the need of a growing urban and 'suburban'
178 population as in other towns in Britain, but with an additional
362 "remote area subsidy" to meet mainland contractors' extra
647 costs. There is little truly rural housing by the County Council
and rents are too high for the houses to be fully occupied. The
63 figures for Stornoway Burgh for the ten years 1945–54 exceed
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300 houses, with nearly 30 built by " private enterprise "; in addition the Local Authorities built 140 in the immediate ' suburbs ' (of which 50 were temporary), a total of over 470 and an average of, say, 47. Another 115 were built in the rural townships. If we give a round total of £125,000 as the value

	Barvas	Lochs	Stornoway	Uig	Lewis Total	Harris
Holdings:						
Full-time	5	12	8	21	49	34
Part- and spare-time	1,050	580	1,160	630	3,420	510
June 1953 (acres)						
Oats	2,080	520	1,220	900	4,730	710
Potatoes	550	180	450	260	1,440	210
Tillage	2,860	730	1,810	1,196	6,590	1,280
Rotation Grass	580	300	690	290	1,850	260
Permanent Grass	2,870	2,460	3,250	3,150	11,730	4,030
Grass	3,450	2,760	3,940	3,440	12,580	4,290
Rough Grazing	93,580	107,180	56,480	111,250	368,490	111,170
(head)						
Cattle	1,350	860	1,330	1,360	4,900	1,640
Sheep	38,110	37,810	23,670	42,690	142,280	43,580
Pigs	10	2	110	3	130	..
Poultry	25,370	9,880	25,910	13,060	74,220	12,240
Horses	180	25	60	60	320	60
February 1954						
Tractors	24	4	24	5	57	8

for an average year (such as 1953) for Local Authority Housing, we may allot half this to net output of local materials and to wages earned by Lewismen, some £65,000, of which rural wages were a small fraction, say £20,000.

For crofters and cottars, however, in 1953, a fairly typical year, there was much local effort and achievement, by help of 180 loans and grants from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, totalling £81,000 for new houses or house improvements (with a very few steadings). £80,000 may be allotted to local materials and to labour paid or given by householders themselves.

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(iii) *Fishing Industry* (1953)

228 The renewed Russian contracts for herring have meant loading of Baltic shipping at Stornoway with barrels of herring [439] cured both in Stornoway and Ullapool. Catching power in Scotland generally is hardly enough to meet this contract. Thus, while the numbers of boats continued to decline after the war, leaving only one steam and 33 motor drifters (over 30 feet keel) registered by 1953, the fishermen employed rose to 610, of whom some 520 were crofter-fishermen. Many worked much of the year; on the other hand, most of the winter catch went for 'oil and meal' at about 50s. per cran instead of the top price of over 80s. For local boats a figure of £30,000 is suggested for the catch of herring, say £10,000 for white fish, [178] with £5560 for shellfish. For "curing and associated income" the pre-war figures may be doubled.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island* (1953)

434 In mid-1953, of just 5000 registered for the Island as 465 employed—and other than the self-employed, *i.e.* the farmers and crofters, the hand-weavers and the boat-sharing fishers—1130 earned by the three industries first named, the rest by other trades and professions, 3870 in all. The unemployed numbered 1180. Analysis of wage-rates would throw light on [657] total earnings. As to unemployment, the fact that, like crofters and many fishers, hand-weavers count as 'self-employed' means that when out of work they are not covered by unemployment insurance, and have to be helped, at low rates, by public assistance.

(v) *Allowances, etc.* (1953)

434 Turning now to Remittances, to the manifold categories of 657 Pensions, National Insurance and National Assistance, and to Unemployment Benefit (a small item), the Table B, 1953–54, 436 shows the totals kindly furnished for this study, with £1,017,110 729 for all Lewis and an estimated £977,010 for rural Lewis.

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II. *Circa* 1953 and 1953–54

Selected Estimates of* (A) *Net Output of Productive Industry, 1953, and* (B) *Certain Other Sources of Income, 1953–54 in Lewis (proper)

(A) *NET OUTPUT OF PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY* (1953)

(i) Urban and Rural

Net earnings of tweed industry (taken as)		£1,200,000
Agriculture (including farms)		360,000
Peat		100,000
House-building and improvement		145,000
Fishing		
Herring (by local boats)	£30,000	
Curing total catch	70,000	
Associated income	40,000	
White fish, etc. (local)	15,560	
Total local fishing	£155,560	155,560
Wages (fishers on stranger boats)		3,000
" (women in East Anglia)		10,000
Total (A, i)		£1,973,560

(ii) Earnings by Crofting and Associated Rural Occupations only:

(*a*) Crofts (with squatter holdings, 3540: (*b*) All Rural (including cottars and squatters), 4700 households

			Average per Household (*a*) Crofts	Average per Household (*b*) All Rural
Earnings of hand-weavers		£275,000		£70
Spinners		55,000		
Agriculture (crofting only)		340,000	£91	74
Peat		100,000	28	21
Housing (Local Authority)		20,000		
" (D.A.S.)		80,000		21
Fishing				
Herring (by rural fishers)	£20,000			
Curing (by rural women)	15,000			
" (in East Anglia)	10,000			
White fish, etc.	7,000			
Total fishing	£52,000	52,000		12
Total (A, ii)		£922,000 (Appr.)		£198

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(B) *REMITTANCES (BY POST), ALLOWANCES, PENSIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS*

With Averages per Rural Household (1953-54)

(i) Urban and Rural		(ii) Rural	(a) *Official Rural*	(b) *Estimated Rural*	(c) *Average per Household*
Money and Postal Orders	£196,680		£85,600	96,160	£20·5
Allowances (Forces) and Pensions (State), with Unemployment payments	820,430		590,470	880,850	187·4
Total (B, i)	£1,017,110	Total (B, ii)	£676,070	£977,010	£207·9
Total (i, A and B)	£2,990,670	Total (ii, A and B)	£1,598,070	£1,899,010	(Approx.) £208 (Approx.) £405

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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APPENDIX III

(A) THE STORNOWAY TRUST: A COMMUNAL OPPORTUNITY

632 THE people of Stornoway town and rural parish are in a
175 position to control their own future to a degree unusual in
178 Britain since the general loss of common lands in the eighteenth
century. Three or four bodies or groups are important in
local governance, and in addition to these an effort to arouse
632 citizenship has taken shape in the Lewis Association. As else-
623 where, the Town Council acts for the burgh and, it should be
added, the Grazing Committees for the townships, the District
423 Council and County Council acting for wider spheres. The
361 Harbour Trust has its special charge. In addition, the fact of
corporate ownership is important, as vested in the Stornoway
Trust. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including
the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually
the whole landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor north
to Tolsta. It should not be forgotten that the resources of the
sea are public property and that the inshore fishings, owing to
a considerable measure of protection, are virtually in the pos-
session of the coastal communities. Freshwater fishing is also
in the hands of the Trust. Thus, not only building property
but essential sources of production on land and sea are in
communal possession. The Trust was formed in 1924.

623 During the first five years of its existence the Trust was
burdened with a growing deficit, but since 1929 it accumulated
433 a credit balance, due partly to agricultural derating and partly
to the registration of the Trust as a charity and the resulting
relief from income tax. Possession without prevision can do
little, however; and hence the need for the citizens of town
and country to regroup themselves as thinkers for the common

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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623 good. In response to this realisation, and encouraged too by
433 the growth and prosperity of the tweed industry, the Lewis Association sprang into being in 1942–43. The Association's aims are survey, planning and the initiation of action for the public welfare, economic, social and spiritual. Something should be said of each of these bodies in turn.

623 The membership of the Town Council, Harbour Trust and
633 Stornoway Trust overlap, the Town being represented on both
433 Trusts. Indeed by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn up by Leverhulme (in 1923–24), the Stornoway Trust must
361 include the Provost of the Burgh as its Chairman, together with Magistrates and Councillors. For some time past the Provosts and Councillors have been chosen from the more important
[369] business men of the town. Indeed as a result of the constitution of the Stornoway Trust, urban interests and outlooks might easily gain undue preponderance at the expense of rural needs. Nevertheless two members with strong rural ties were elected to the Trust in recent years.

In view of the growing burden of deficit, the Trust felt unable to frame a general policy, still less to carry it into action. To meet the deficit, the Trust sold portions of properties without reference to any general plan of town or country. Even after the Trust began to accumulate a favourable balance, hand-to-mouth decisions continued to be made, undirected by any clear policy. The most lamentable case occurred when a garage site was given to the chief Stornoway bus proprietor at a road junction near the western entrance to the town, close to the principal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate of Lews Castle and the Lady Lever Park. The palpable mistake in siting soon caused strong public criticism. The Trust repented, and sought to distrain the garage proprietor
[686] from extended use of the area. The parties went to law and the case was fought through the courts until, in a final decision reached in the House of Lords, the Trust lost and had to pay a bill of some £4000. The lesson of defeat in the court was severe, capped as it was by the equivalent of a fine of £4 or £5 from every family in the burgh. Coming at a time when the need

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623 for planning preceded by adequate survey became publicly
633 recognised, this crisis seems to have caused a change to con-
433 structive policy on the part of the Trust. It led to the election
361 of a new member of the Trust on a planning platform, and to a general searching of heart and mind in the community.

(184) Meantime the movement for town planning which had spread from the bombed cities to the rest of the country, led to a closer co-ordination of planning aims between the Trust and the Town Council, and there is real hope of progress in collaboration with the County Council as the statutory planning authority.

In brief, the opportunity arose for the Trust to frame a comprehensive policy, one binding together the objects separately listed in the Deed, " to promote the material and social welfare of the community ". The ' material ' provisions of the Deed allow for the promotion of industry—including fishing, of course—of agriculture and afforestation, and of communications by land, sea and air. Medical service is not forgotten. The encouragement of social life and education is foreseen, and bursaries may be provided to enable deserving scholars to proceed to secondary schools and universities.

185 It is felt by far-sighted citizens that these aims should be properly co-ordinated. Development of resources and social life, they feel, could be combined with education and training deliberately designed to equip young people to return to the Island and use their capacities to serve their own community.

(311) Thus among the development schemes which have been mooted are the reclamation of peat, the reclamation of the sandy inlet just north of Stornoway, and local afforestation.

(871) All these technical jobs require training, at the levels of engineer and skilled foreman or working hand. Bursaries might take

(168) the form of education for such rural tasks. The ' export ' of talent may be necessary when no outlet is possible at home, but in the end it can drain away the community's youth. Hence a policy for the return of talent is required. For fishing, for industry and particularly for the weaving arts, training is required in preparation for possible careers at home. Lastly

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185 for the social arts, education could be won abroad by those who have imbibed at least some part of their native heritage but who cannot easily learn how to make the best of their birthright. At this time, change of outlook must be radical for all, but most of all perhaps for those communities who are in process of changing from one tongue to another, and for whom there is therefore so much to lose, so much—potentially—to keep, and so much to be gained.

In the Island there is a strong feeling that reorientation is required to direct surveys which may enlighten policy and lead to action in common. It was as a result of this that the Lewis Association came to be formed.

(B) THE LEWIS ASSOCIATION

185 In the constitution of the Lewis Association are embodied 'six
623 fundamental principles' which illustrate the feeling quickened among thoughtful citizens in time of war, that 'temporal' considerations require the guidance of the spiritual. They run as follows: "(1) There is a law of God, to which all men must conform in their social, economic and political relationships. (2) The Resources of this Island should be used as God's gift and for future generations. . . . (3) Every child should find itself a member of a family housed with decency and dignity, in a happy fellowship, unspoiled by drab surroundings; and (4) have an education, planned for his aptitudes and development and inspired by faith. . . . (5) Every citizen should be secure to enable him to maintain a home. . . . (6) The community should provide for its members' recreation to enable them to enjoy a full personal life. . . ."

What is the Association achieving, it will be asked. A member remarked that, imperfect as the findings might be, a useful purpose was served in regular gatherings of a number of people to thrash out the facts together. A remarkable and perhaps a surprising measure of agreement has been reached, in view of the highly controversial nature of many of the

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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subjects discussed, and their relation to issues which had aroused heated public argument and even led to lawsuits. It was thought that conveners of committees might have difficulty in maintaining harmony, but this had not been the case; discussion had been frank and warm, but not overheated. Preparatory discussions, followed by publicity, had done much to arouse the townsfolk, in particular, to questions of planning. The result contributed to greater keenness in the elections to the Trust, and led to new activity in Trust and Council. As a local association such as this is somewhat unusual as yet, is it an early sign, as one would hope, of a widespread movement for survey and service? Their example is being followed elsewhere.

When formed, the personnel of the Association, compared to that of many war-time bodies, was comparatively young; and younger members found a welcome and a role to fill on their return from the Forces. The Association owes its inception both to men and women, to natives and residents of long standing, and also to comparative new-comers. The first Chairman, a minister of the Church of Scotland with experience of local government in a great Lowland county, was the Rev. Ian Carmichael, D.S.O., M.C. The Honorary Secretary, Mr. J. S. Grant, is the editor of the weekly *Stornoway Gazette* in succession to his father. An able journalist, Mr. Grant is reputed throughout Scotland as a writer of plays on themes significant to national life. To start with, the membership was largely urban, though country schoolmasters and others whose duties lie in the landward townships took an active part. Meetings were then held in villages to enlarge the rural membership and justify the name and aims of the Association, by making it truly " representative of each district in the island of Lewis ". Its publications are models of their kind.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Chart of Positions of End Map
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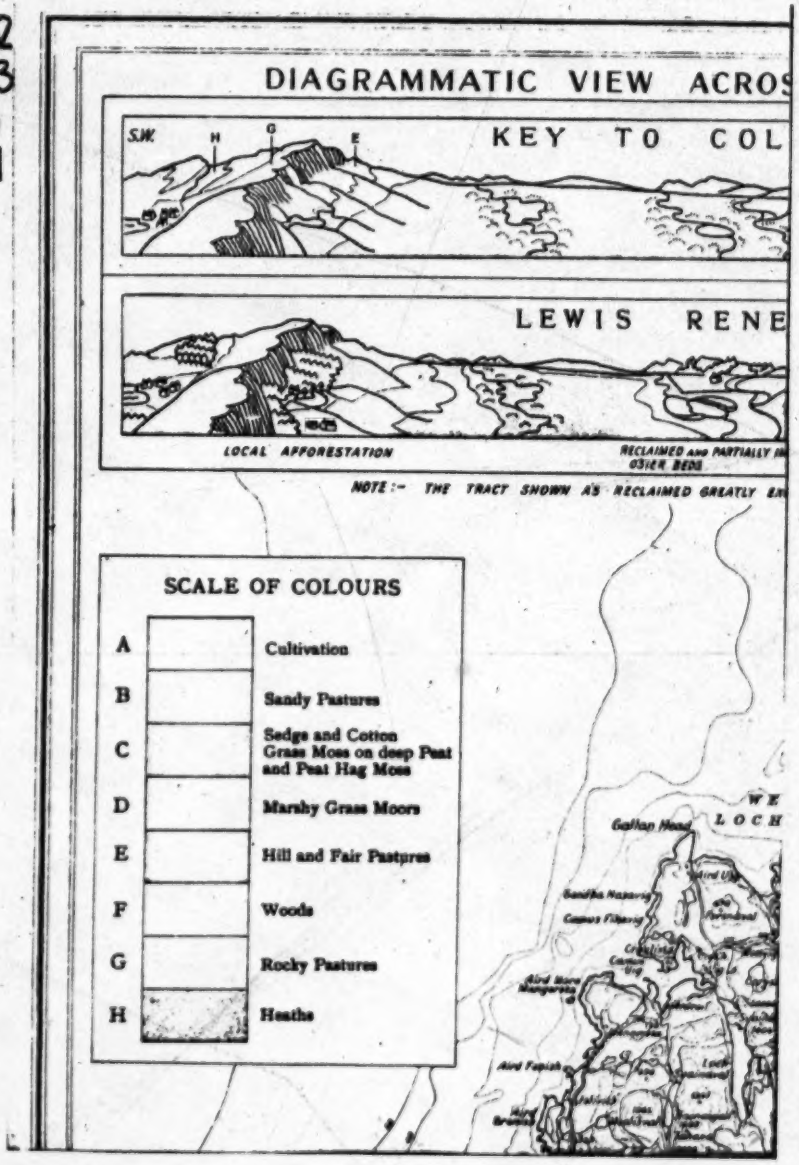

[End Map - A]

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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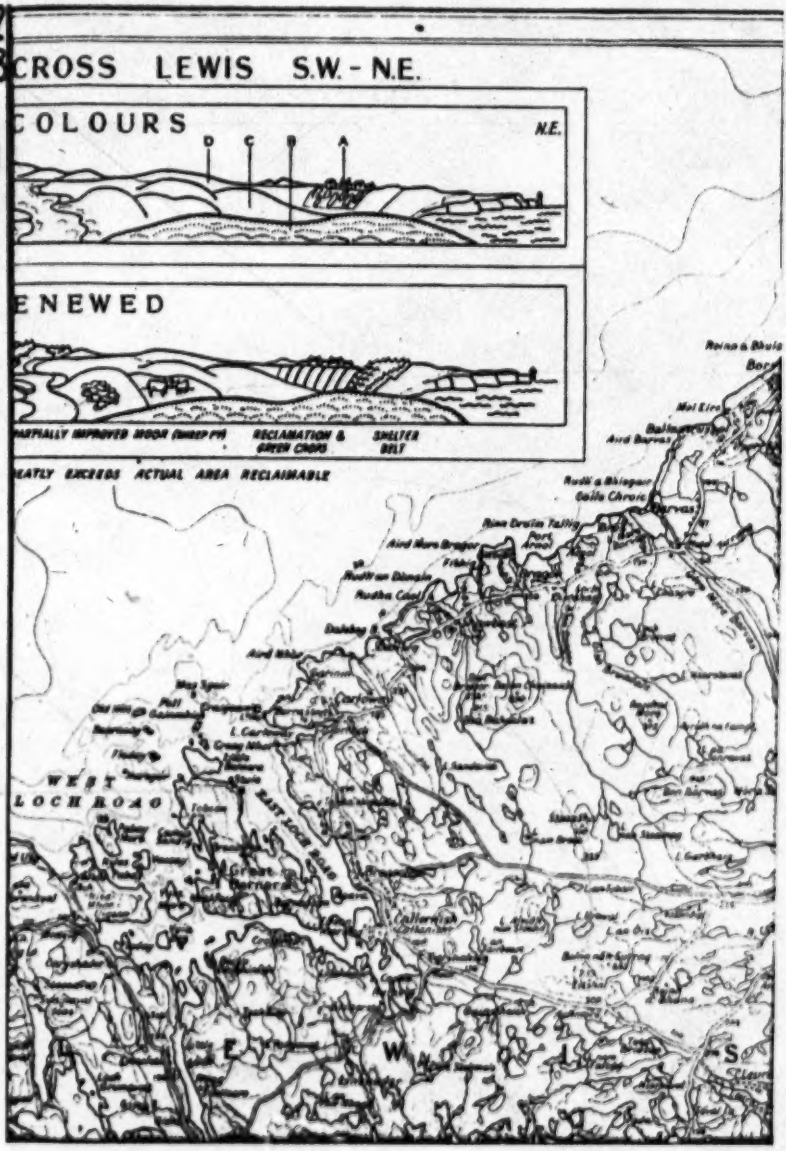

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3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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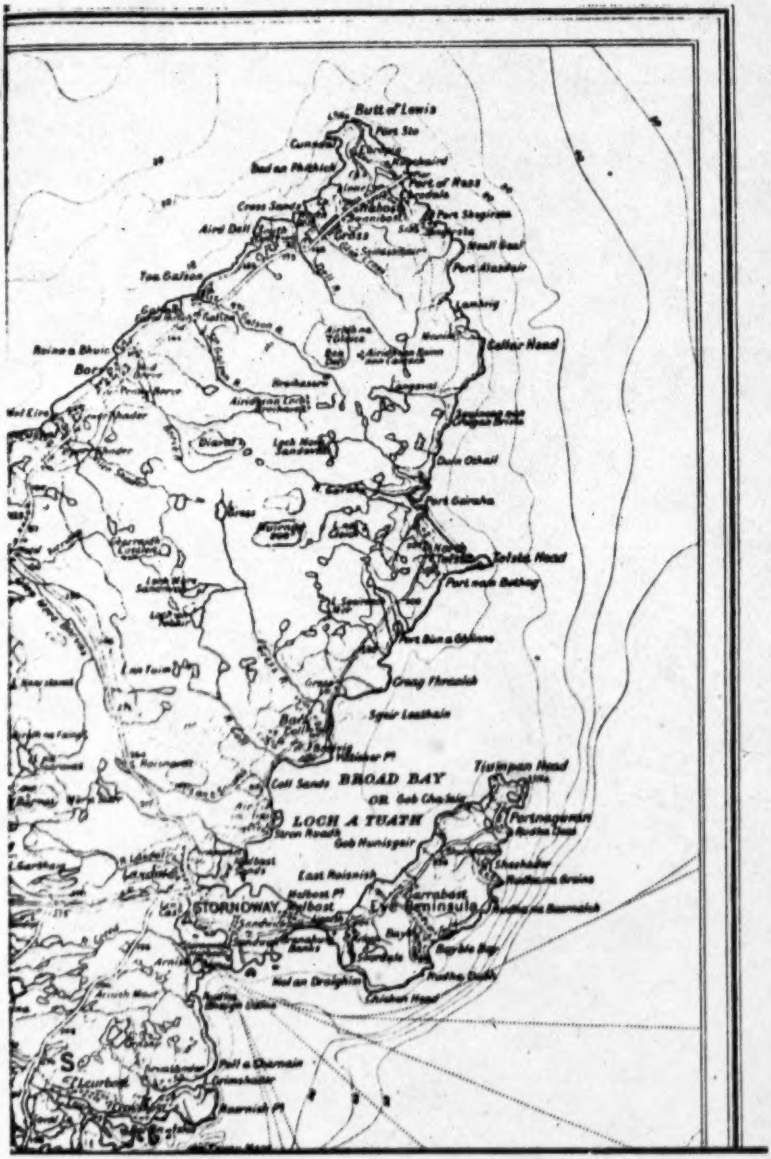

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3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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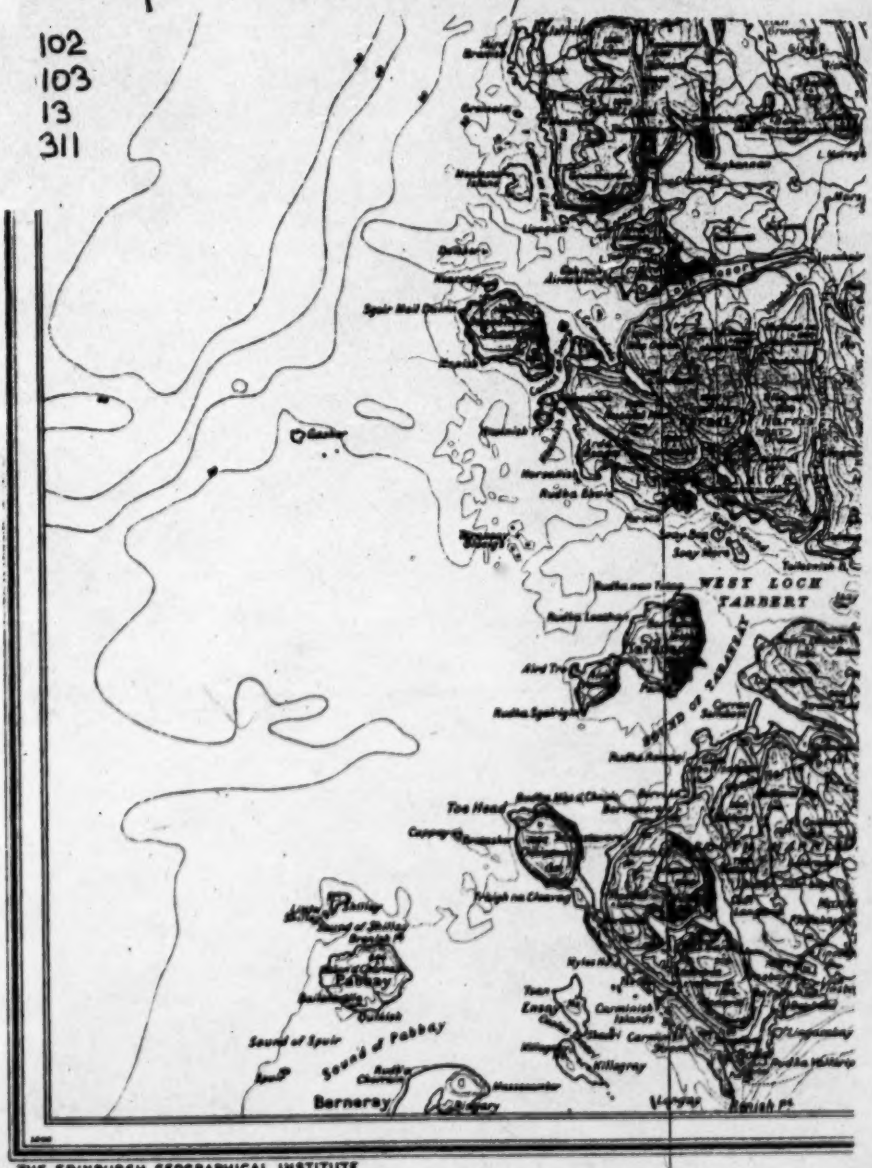

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3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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[End Map - E]

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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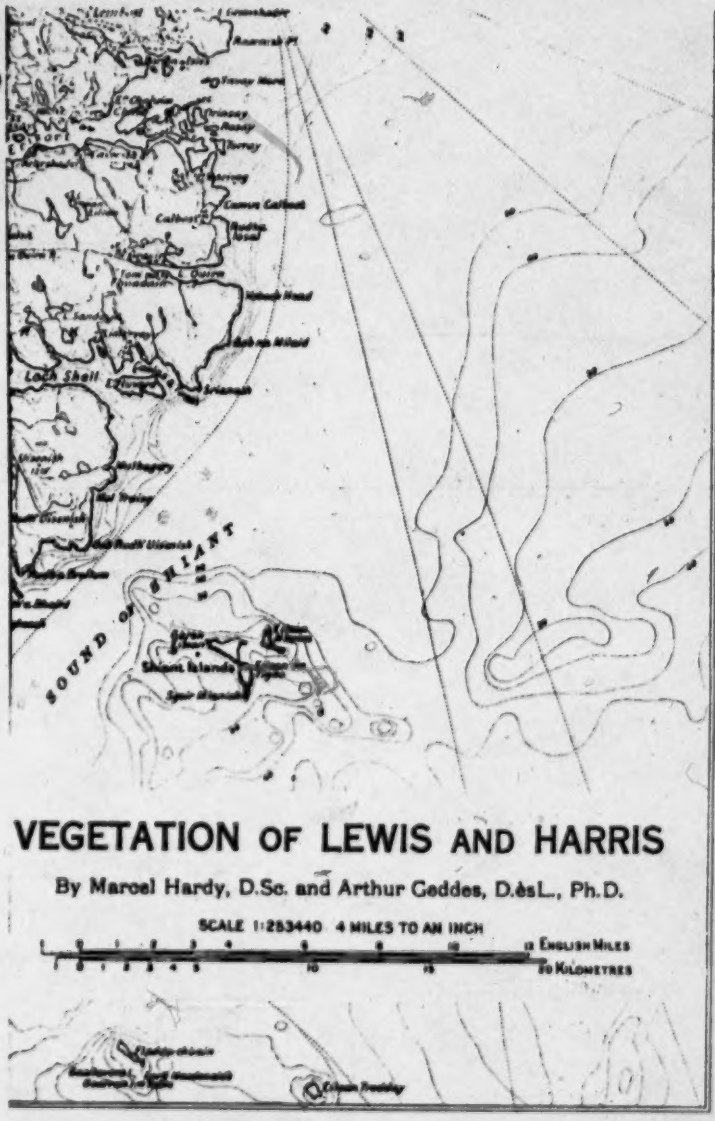

[End Map-F]

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[For information on the sale, purchase and ownership of Lewis and Harris, see category 423, pp. 230-234; 257-274.]

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[For additional general information on runes and rites at various phases of the life-cycle, see category 796, pp. 158-192, passim.]

3: Geddes ES10 Highland Scots ES10

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[For information on the philanthropic activities of Baron Leverhulme of Bolton-le-Moors, Lever of Port Sunlight, see category 159, pp. 257-273.]

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[For information on the Reformation and its effect upon the church in Scotland, see category 798, pp. 193-198.]

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[For information on collection of peat, see category 314.]

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000 GEOGRAPHICAL FIELD GROUP

Regional Studies

UIG

A Hebridean Parish

by H. A. Moisley, M.Sc.

and Members of the Geographical Field Group

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1962

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A Hebridean Parish

Parts I and II

by H. A. Moisley, M. Sc.

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/introductory p. iii/

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INDIVIDUAL CROFT RECORD

TOWNSHIP _____

125 DATE OF VISIT _____ CROFT NO. _____

In addition to mapping land use, and marking inhabited houses (on 1/10,560 map), the following should be recorded. N.B. It is not necessary, nor often desirable, to ask the crofter for all this data. Much can be obtained by observation.

1. THE CROFT

Area: Old arable _____ Outrun _____

No. of shares in (a) common hill _____ (b) common machair _____ (c) any special commons separate from ; (give details) _____

2. CROPS (Areas to half an acre)

How much is cultivated by: (a) tractor _____ (OWN/LOANED) (b) horse _____ (c) spade _____

Area, this year, of:

OATS:	Crofts: _____	Machair: _____	(If any of these machairs with grass mark 'S')
BERE:	Crofts: _____	Machair: _____	
RYE:	Crofts: _____	Machair: _____	
MIXED GRAIN:	Crofts: _____	Machair: _____	
POTATOES:	Crofts: _____	Machair: _____	

SOWN GRASS FOR HAY: _____ (YEAR SOWN: 19__)

SOWN GRASS, GRAZING: _____ (YEAR SOWN: 19__)

NATURAL GRASS, HAY: _____

NATURAL GRASS, GRAZING _____

How much of natural grass was formerly cultivated:

(a) in last 20 years: _____ (b) 20-50 years ago: _____ (c) More than 50 years ago: _____

Was any of the hill common (or special commons if any) formerly cultivated? Give details (on reverse) _____

Have shielings ever been used? Give details (on reverse) _____

Domestic garden: YES/NO. Produce marketed: YES/NO (Specify) _____

Fertilisers etc.: SEAWEED/SHELL-SAND/LIME/ARTIFICIALS (Specify) _____

Crofts: FENCED/NOT FENCED. If fenced are they open to common grazing in winter? YES/NO. If yes, state dates _____

3. STOCK (Give number at present; if possible add in parentheses number sold in past 12 months

CATTLE: 3 years ____( ) 2-3 years ____( ) 1 year ____( ) Calves _____

SHEEP: Breeding ewes ____( ), Other sheep ____( ), Lambs at lambing _____, Lambs at end of September ____( ). Try, get several years' experience of lambing: _____

IF CLUB STOCK STATE SHARE _____ (and dividend, if possible, _____).

HORSES: _____ POULTRY: _____ PIGS _____

4. HOUSE etc. (Ring inhabited houses on map)

House on croft? YES/NO. Is it OCCUPIED/UNOCCUPIED/RUINED? More than one? If so give details: FEU/COTTAR etc.

Numbers of household in age groups (M: Male, F: Female): (Underline tenant of croft)

Age 0—4	Age 5—15	Age 15—44	Age 45—64	Age 65+
(a) PERMANENTLY RESIDENT:				
(b) PERIODICALLY AWAY (from parish) (e.g. students, seasonal workers: also conscript National Servicemen)				
(c) PERMANENTLY AWAY, but having no other home (e.g. Nurses, R.Navy, Regular Forces)				
(d) INGRANTS ('I') and EGGRANTS ('E') since 1939 (to and from parish)				

/introductory p. iv/

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UIG

A Hebridean Parish

Parts I and II (1961) and Parts III and IV (1962).

A loose title page is available in case copies of all four parts are bound together.

Errata

Page iii	Chapter VII, for page 39 read page 41.
Page 25	Line 8, for possission read possession.
Page 31	Chapter VII, for page 39 read page 41.
Page 53	Appendices A(3) and A(4). In column headed Status of tenants, for M 54, M 65, F 65, F 65, read M under 65, M over 65, F under 65, F over 65, in each category.

Title page to Parts III and IV: for Regional Studies No.9 read No.7.

/introductory p. v/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

PREFACE

114 This report is the result of a remarkable co-operative enterprise. In August, 1959,
121 a party of 19 members of the Geographical Field Group and Scottish Field Studies Association undertook a survey of crofting in Uig, one of the four parishes of the Isle of Lewis. In less than three weeks more than 700 crofts and other households were visited or recorded in accordance with a scheme devised by my colleague, Dr. Caird, and myself. This scheme has been used by us in other parts of the Hebrides and, therefore, the record of Uig is an integral part of our Outer Hebridean crofting survey, undertaken between
[122] 1956 and 1961. We are extremely grateful to the nineteen voluntary field-workers who, it is worth recording, travelled from England and stayed in Uig entirely at their own expense in order to help us; they could have spent their holiday more cheaply in Switzerland - an enlightening comment on the fundamental economic disadvantage of the Hebrides.

Geographical Field Group

114

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Miss F. Madge Phillips
Mr. Roger H. Thomas

125 The object of the work was to make an impartial record of the state of crofting as a
[123] way of life and as a means of livelihood. The boundaries and land-use of every croft were recorded on 1/2500 plans, enquiries were made as to acreages of crops and grass and numbers of livestock, and the population of each household was recorded, taking account of sex, age and occupation (part or full-time) of each member including those who, perforce, must seek work elsewhere even though their only home is in Uig. The Croft Record form is reproduced opposite.

122 The successful completion of the survey was not only due to the co-operation of the Geographical Field Group and Scottish Field Studies Association. Adequate preparation would not have been possible without the advice and help of officials of the Department of Agriculture, County Council, Scottish Land Court, Crofters Commission, David Macbrayne Ltd, the estate factors and many other bodies. Miss C. B. Smith, Carnegie Research Assistant, undertook much of the tedious preparatory clerical work. In Uig
123 itself we were encouraged and assisted wherever we went. We owe exceptional debts of gratitude to the Ministers, school-masters and township clerks, who welcomed us and made our purpose known throughout the parish, also to the families who took us into

123 their houses and allowed us to completely disorganise them with our mountainous heaps of maps, files and notebooks, and particularly to the housewives whose excellent meals were never out-paced by our enormous appetites. Finally, although in general it is invidious to mention names when we received so much help from so many, four gentlemen whose assistance was quite exceptional deserve special thanks - Donald John Macleod, Breasclete; John Macdonald, Meavaig; Donald Maclean, The Schoolhouse, Valtos; and 'Murdanny' Macdonald, Breaclete, Bernera.

114 The supervision of field work by nineteen persons whose training and previous experience varied very widely was no easy task. I am happy to record my thanks to those members who undertook special responsibilities in this respect; in particular to Philip Wheeler who took complete charge of the Bernera district, and to Brian Loughbrough
128 who exercised supervision of the East Loch Roag - Loch Carloway district. Every effort was made to ensure that our record was complete and accurate; nevertheless we cannot claim perfection. In some townships, despite cross-checking of maps against croft records, serious discrepancies were subsequently found in the cropping data; in others the stock (of sheep in particular) obtained by adding individual croft records is short of the total which were led to expect in the township as a whole. As far as possible such discrepancies have been accounted for, and we believe and hope that our data and conclusions will be of some assistance to those whose duty it is to ensure the economic and social well-being of these crofting communities.

This report consists of four parts:

Part I: Introductory (on crofts and crofters)

Part II: District accounts of South Uig

Part III: District accounts of Bernera, East Loch Roag and Carloway

Part IV: Analysis of agriculture and population data, and conclusions.

Parts I and II form the first volume; parts III and IV will form the second. The actual preparation and printing has been greatly aided by the advice and patient assistance of Mr. G. P. Richardson, Assistant Secretary of the Court, and of his staff in the printing department of Glasgow University.

H. A. Moisley.

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Parts III and IV, published separately, contain the remaining district accounts and general analyses of crofting agriculture, population and employment.

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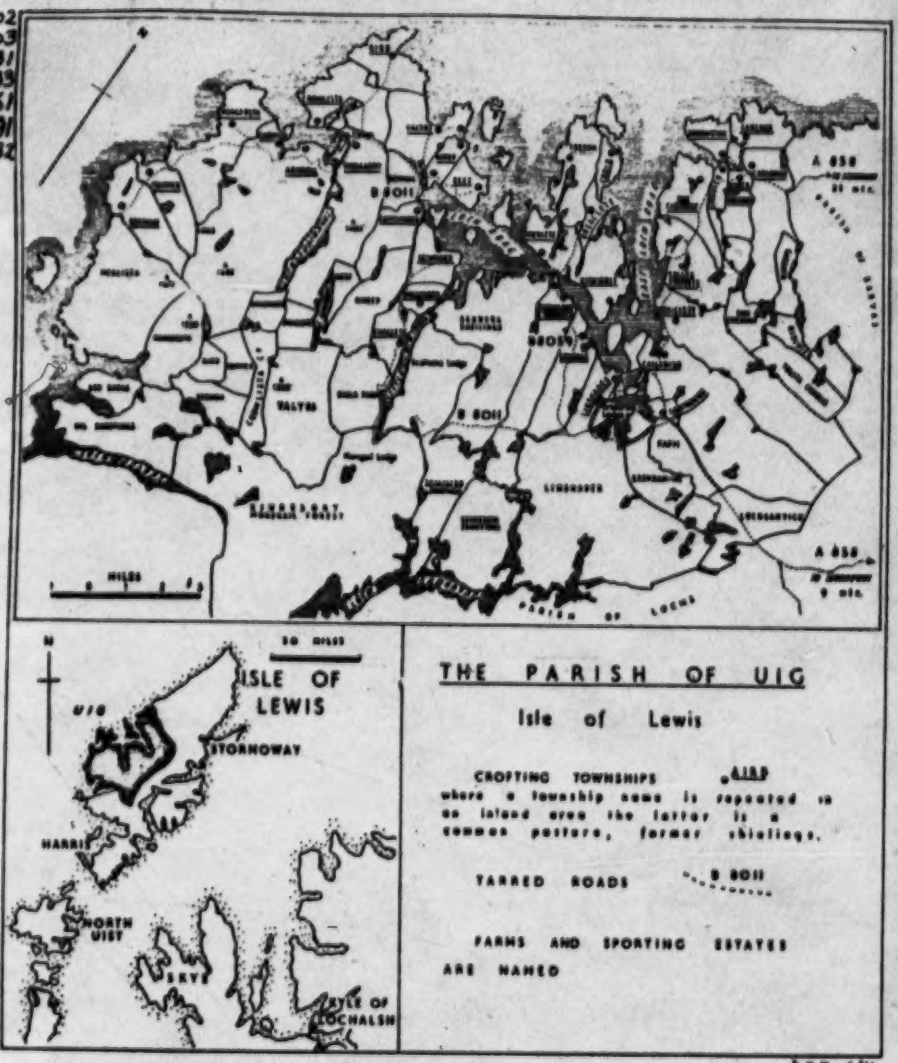

Figure 1.

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4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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INTRODUCTION

131 The parish of Uig, Fig. 1, forms the south-west quadrant of Lewis; it falls naturally into three sections, each almost completely separated from the other by the salt waters of Loch Roag, Little Loch Roag and East Loch Roag.

133 South-west Uig is almost an island: only four miles separate the southern tip of Little Loch Roag and the head of Loch Resort which, penetrating deeply from the Atlantic, marks the boundary between Lewis and Harris. It is a mountainous area with fifteen miles of [491] exposed Atlantic coast between Loch Resort and Gallan Head. From the ultimate settlements, Brenish and Islivig, the main road (B 8011) takes a tortuous course of some 40 133 miles to Stornoway. Population is concentrated where soil and climatic conditions are 361 mitigated by the presence of machair (wind blown shell sand) and by the shelter afforded by the peninsulas of Aird Mhor Mangersta and Gallan Head. The chief settlements are thus around Uig Bay* , and on the western shores of Loch Roag. In addition each township has common pastures on the interior moors and mountains where shielings were maintained into the present century.

East of Little Loch Roag the road climbs over a moorland plateau at 250'-500' O. D.. More that 12 miles separates Enaclete, the last township on Little Loch Roag, from Garynahine, the first on East Loch Roag. The moor is uninhabited shooting and shieling ground; the population of this area is to be found to the north, on Great Bernera, an island now connected by a bridge, and on the adjacent mainland shore.

[491] Eastwards again the inland continuation of East Loch Roag is a great peat-filled depression which connects with Loch Leurbost on the east coast. This depression is skirted on its northern side by the main road, to Stornoway, A 858. The boundary between the parishes of Uig and Lochs cuts across this depression, which contains the only inland townships of Lewis - Loch Ganvich and Achmore. On the north-eastern shores of East Loch Roag is to be found more than half the population of the parish of Uig. The succession of densely populated townships from Garynahine to Carloway is much more typical of Lewis than are the more scattered and generally smaller, settlements of south Uig which are more like those of Harris, the Uists and Barra.

The sketch map, figure 1, shows the location and boundaries of the townships and other lands within the parish, and also the main roads. The reader will find it necessary, however, to make constant use of either Bartholomew's Half-Inch, or Ordnance Survey One-Inch to one mile, maps. In general topographic names are spelled in accordance with the latter.

[103] * Uig: Vik, Old Norse for a bay.

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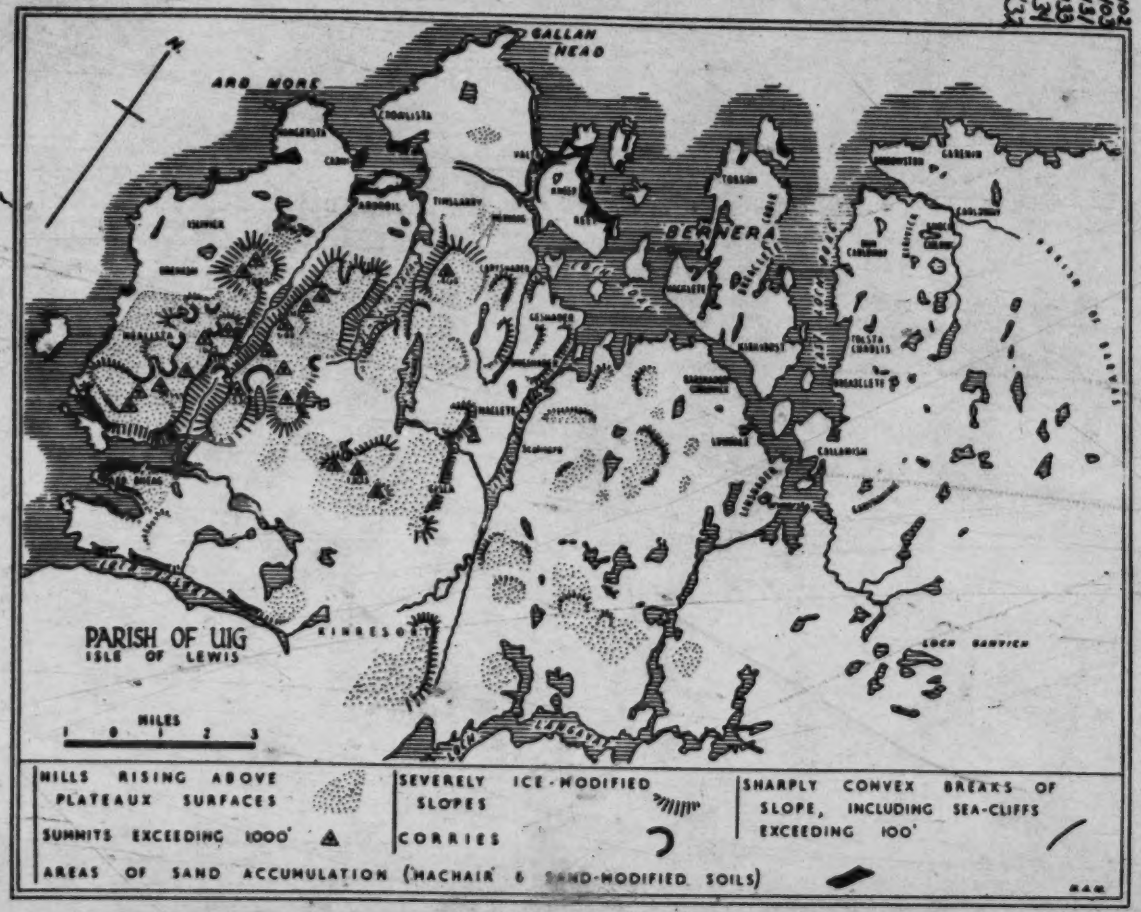

Figure 2

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CHAPTER I

THE PHYSICAL BACKGROUND

183 Lewisian Gneiss is ubiquitous, though often concealed by peat or, more rarely, by glacial drift. It is a grey foliated rock consisting of quartz, feldspar and ferro-magnesian minerals; the foliation varies from a vague alignment of the minerals to a strong banding of dark and light constituents. Minor variations in the mineral constituents give rise to lumps, lenticles and bands of basic and ultra-basic character; differential erosion may pick these out to form ridges and hillocks up to half-a-mile in extent. In the south-west occurs an area of foliated granite of Lewisian age, part of a larger complex which, cut by Loch Resort and West Loch Tarbert, extends into North and South Harris. At first sight the contrast between the mountainous south-west and the relatively plain central and northern parts of the parish might be attributed to the occurrence of this foliated granite but examination shows that this is by no means invariably the case. Indeed, the highest mountains of Harris are formed of gneiss, not granite; a similar plutonic intrusion north of East Loch Roag has only a slight physiographic manifestation.

The Lewisian is broken by a complicated network of lines of weakness; these are presumably faults, though their displacement can seldom be detected. Differential erosion, particularly by ice, has developed these bands, etching out a fantastic pattern of interlocking depressions, some filled by sea and fresh-water lochs, some by peat. These fall into two main groups: firstly an arcuate series dominated by the depression which runs from Loch Leurbost, by Loch Achmore and Loch Ganvich to the head of East Loch Roag and thence westwards by the straits of Bernera (Loch Barraglom), between Reef and Flodday, through Glen Valtos to Uig bay. Another member of this series is represented by Loch Ouirn, on the Minch coast, by the curious east-west head of Loch Seaforth, by the hollow occupied by the s-bend of Loch Langavat, by Loch Resort and Caolas Scarp. Secondly, a more numerous group of generally smaller depressions represents the etching out of lines of weakness which vary from north - south (in the west e.g. Uig bay - Loch Raonasgail - Loch Tamanavay, also Loch Suainaval) to N. N. W. - S. S. E. (in the centre and east, e.g. Little Loch Roag, East Loch Roag and numerous smaller depressions).

During the earlier and more extensive glaciations ice from the mainland must have pushed right across this part of Lewis. To this westward-moving ice must be attributed the differential erosion of the east-west depressions and, in all probability, the deposits of deeply weathered boulder clay found to the north-east of East Loch Roag. Later local glaciation has clearly affected the southern mountains. Here, as in North Harris, there is plentiful evidence of the retreat stages of a local ice cap or group of inter-connected mountain glaciers. Ice accumulation probably centred on the Morsgail Forest basin, between the south Uig mountains and those of North Harris; the northerly outflow of ice was responsible for the overdeepening of such valleys as Loch Suainaval, Loch Raonasgail, and Little Loch Roag. Extensive deposits of gravelly drift around Uig bay, and less extensive deposits near Valtos are the deposits of such glaciers. Their relatively recent age is attested by their fresh morphological character with numerous unsilted kettle lakes (despite the high rainfall of this region). Associated with them is the huge and spectacular Carnish kame-moraine, and the deep, steep-sided Valtos Glen. The former is a deposit of fluvioglacial water flowing from the south round the west side of Uig bay, the latter is the result of erosion by water flowing round the east of Uig bay to Loch Roag. One can only conclude that both features originated when Uig bay was occupied by a great mass of ice which must have blocked direct outflow to the sea.

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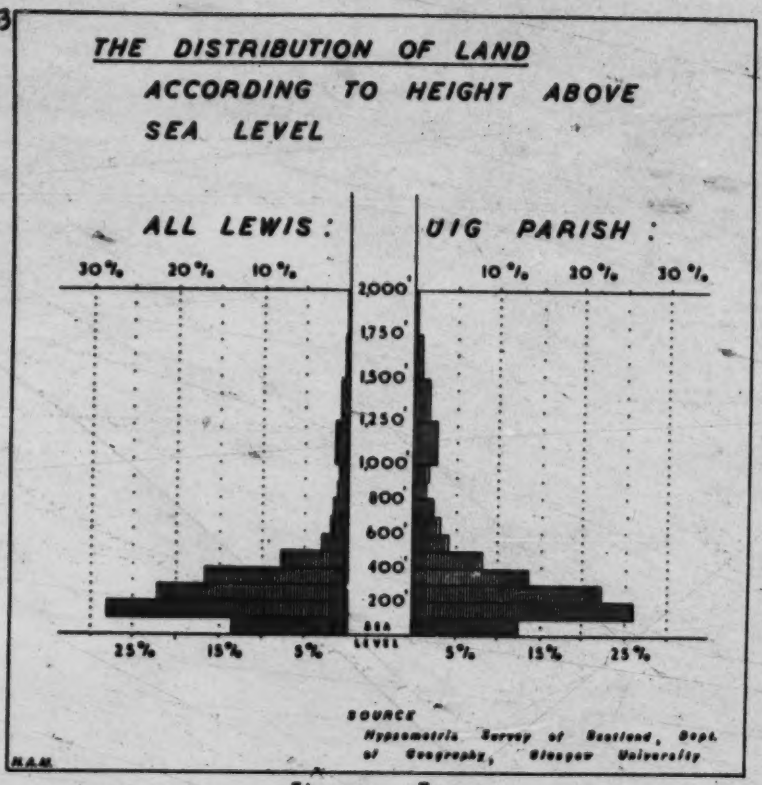

Figure 3.

The diagram illustrates the essential contrast between Uig and the rest of Lewis. Uig has intensive uplands and mountains (26% above 400') whilst Lewis as a whole is characterised by low plateaux (81% below 400').

133 Over most of the parish the natural landscape is a series of low plateaux, generally below 250' O.D. around East Loch Roag, but rising westwards to an extensive platform with many summits around 500'-700'. Into this platform, towards its western edge, is incised the narrow trough containing Little Loch Roag. Above it rise the deeply dissected mountains of North Harris and south west Uig, with many precipitous slopes reaching to 1,500' or more and summits to 1,885'. The discontinuity between plateau and mountain is particularly well displayed along the Atlantic coast, where it corresponds roughly with the junction of granite and gneiss; an even more severe discontinuity, but formed entirely in gneiss; is to be seen near the south end of Loch Langavat. Liuthaid (1,611' O.D.) rises more than 1,400' in less than a mile. The mountains, although lacking height, are therefore spectacular in appearance. The low plateaux are far from featureless, too; their surfaces have been roughened and scraped bare by ice action and numerous hollows preserve shallow lochans and a few larger lakes. Occasional rocky hillocks rise 20'-100' above the plateaux; their abrupt discontinuity with the smooth surfaces is entirely comparable, though in miniature, with that of the mountains. They resemble nothing more than tropical inselberge and have no apparent structural explanation.

Unconsolidated superficial material, such as would provide sub-soil drainage and suitable raw material for soil formation, is rare. The characteristic surface almost everywhere is bare rock, often blanketed by peat at lower levels and on gentle slopes. Morainic material is most commonly preserved in hollows; peri-glacial conditions and, 135 more recently, heavy rainfall have swept clear most of the higher and steeper places. In the east and north east, e.g. around Loch Carloway, a sticky grey clay with large boulders is sometimes seen; the coarse gravelly drifts of south Uig have already been mentioned. It is impossible to make any useful generalisations regarding the characteristics and distribution of the boulder clays because their occurrence is so sporadic and exposures, [317] beneath the peat blanket, are rare. Very occasionally, e.g. in Bernera, a finely bedded dull bluish or greenish grey clay is seen which is said to have been used for coarse pottery. This may be a lacustrine deposit of late glacial or early post glacial times or it might be a marine clay of the same period; there is however, no clear example of a raised beach in the area, which, were it present, might support the latter suggestion. [317] Since our visit a lacustrine deposit of diatomite has been exploited on a small scale in Bernera.

Extensive deposits of fine white sand occur around Uig bay and in the Valtos-Kneep-Reef area; smaller deposits occur at Mangersta and Mealasta. Except at Cliff bay, Valtos, where it contains a high mineral content, the sand consists largely of finely broken shell debris. This blows readily and is found inland for half a mile or more and as high as 100' O.D., thus providing a natural surface dressing rich in lime. There are extensive machairs (sandy plains) at Kneep and Reef, and smaller ones at Uig bay, Mangersta, and Bosta (Bernera). Little cultivation takes place on the machairs nowadays.

133 In the whole parish little soil, such as would be recognised by a lowland farmer, is to be found. The most usual surface features are bare rock and blanket bog; arable land, hay 134 meadows and improved pastures are generally made on peat, gathered together into long [401] narrow beds - so-called "lazy beds" - separated by deep ditches. This expedient may [231] mean that the use of tractors is impossible; since horses have almost disappeared, cultivation in such cases, if carried out at all, must now be by the spade alone. This is 133 the traditional method of lazy-bed work; it may be very productive in terms of yield per 134 square yard but it is pathetically unproductive in terms of man-hours. In some areas it 241 is clear that it has led to soil erosion. Even where the size and lay-out of the beds permits tractor work the tractor probably spends as much time manoeuvering into position and turning, as it does ploughing. In a few places, e.g. some of the East Loch Roag

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 7]

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TABLE 1

Climatic Statistics, Stornoway (S.) and Benbecula (B.)

Month	Av. Daily Temperature (F°) Max. S.	Max. B.	Min. S.	Min. B.	Av. monthly precipitation (inches) S.	B.	Av. no. of days with rain: S.	with snow-fall S.	B.	with gales S.	B.	Cloud amount S.
Jan.	44	44	37	37	6.4	4.7	26	4	5	10	6	7.4
Feb.	44	44	37	38	3.2	3.8	22	4	5	6	4	7.9
Mar.	47	47	37	39	3.2	3.0	23	5	4	4	2	7.4
Apr.	49	50	39	41	3.1	3.2	21	3	2	3	4	7.4
May	54	55	43	44	2.5	2.1	19	-	-	1	1	7.5
June	58	58	47	49	2.4	3.2	18	0	0	1	-	7.7
July	61	61	51	52	3.0	3.3	20	0	0	-	-	8.4
Aug.	61	62	51	52	4.3	3.5	22	0	0	1	1	8.0
Sep.	57	58	48	49	4.7	4.6	22	0	0	3	3	7.8
Oct.	53	53	44	46	6.2	5.5	25	-	-	7	3	8.1
Nov.	48	49	40	42	4.6	5.2	25	2	2	5	3	7.3
Dec.	45	46	38	40	5.5	6.0	25	4	3	7	7	7.2

Notes: Stornoway: 1901 - 1950, except snow, gales and cloud (1926-1935).
Benbecula: 1943-1955.

133 townships and at Islivig and Breanish, the peat is thin (or has been stripped) to reveal a
134 gravelly dirft,[1] free-draining on suitable slopes. In such places a black loamy soil has
241 been developed by cultivation; the many ditches of lazybed cultivation are not necessary
[140] and, if the area is large enough, it can be worked by tractor. Such soils, in the climate of west Lewis, are eminently suitable for rotation grass, for hay or pasture, and much more could be done with them under knowledgeable management. Where shell sand has been blown inland on to peaty soils the natural top-dressing has had a remarkable ameliorating effect on texture and acidity. Such areas are all too limited, the most important are at Valtos, Kneep and Reef, and around Uig bay; smaller areas are at
134 Mealasta, Mangersta and Bosta (Bernera). The hill grazings are dominated by a thin
137 heather cover, blue moor grass and, in wetter places, sphagnum and cotton grass. Since
[237] the cattle population has been declining many older residents claim that the pastures, particularly near the townships, have deteriorated, the proportion of grass declining and coarse heather increasing. "The hills that were green when I was a boy", said one, "are now black". Neglected arable and pasture land, too, soon reverts. Rushes and flags invade the ditches between the old lazy beds and, if the ground is at all waterlogged, soon invade the beds as well. Drier ground, if not well grazed, soon reverts to heather. The limited machairs are little better; almost devoid of humus, they show little development of soil profile, only a thin grey layer of turf roots; rabbits, or injudicious cultivation readily set off wind erosion. Only where the wind has provided a natural blend of peat and machair are conditions better. Such areas are very limited.

132 The climate is in many respects severe; no local statistics are available, but some for Stornoway and Benbecula are appended. The frequency of high winds has a bad effect on both vegetation and stock, but to some extent wind counteracts excessive moisture. Near sea-level, where all the townships are situated, frost and snow are almost unknown. Thus it is exposure to the wind that limits the outwintering of stock, not low temperatures; this suggests that if pastures could be improved in suitably sheltered places far more advantage might be taken of the relatively mild winter temperatures. It is believed that the sunshine record is particularly poor in the south, where clouds can frequently be seen hanging over the mountains when the sun is shining on Bernera and the area north
[248] east of East Loch Roag. The relatively dry and sunny period which commonly occurs in
[221] May and June ought to make for a good hay harvest; unfortunately the natural meadows, such as they are, are late starters, and the custom is to cut the grass when it has gone to seed. Thus hay is often being taken in September - one of the wettest months in the year.

CHAPTER TWO

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS

172 Evidence of pre-historic and other early settlements in the parish is afforded by the occurence of standing stones, broche and duns. The Callanish circle and its satellites are by far the most remarkable ancient monument in the Hebrides, and testify to the former importance of the site even though today their precise significance may not be clear. Most of the duns are now little more than circular heaps of stones, but in that at
[174] Doune Carloway the double walls still stand to a considerable height. A later phase of
103 settlement is recorded in the place names, a very large proportion of which contain Norse
[162] elements such as -aish, -vick, -bost and -shader; it seems probable that most of the present township sites have been more or less continuously occupied since Norse times.

1. [Presumably the author means "drift"--Analyst]

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4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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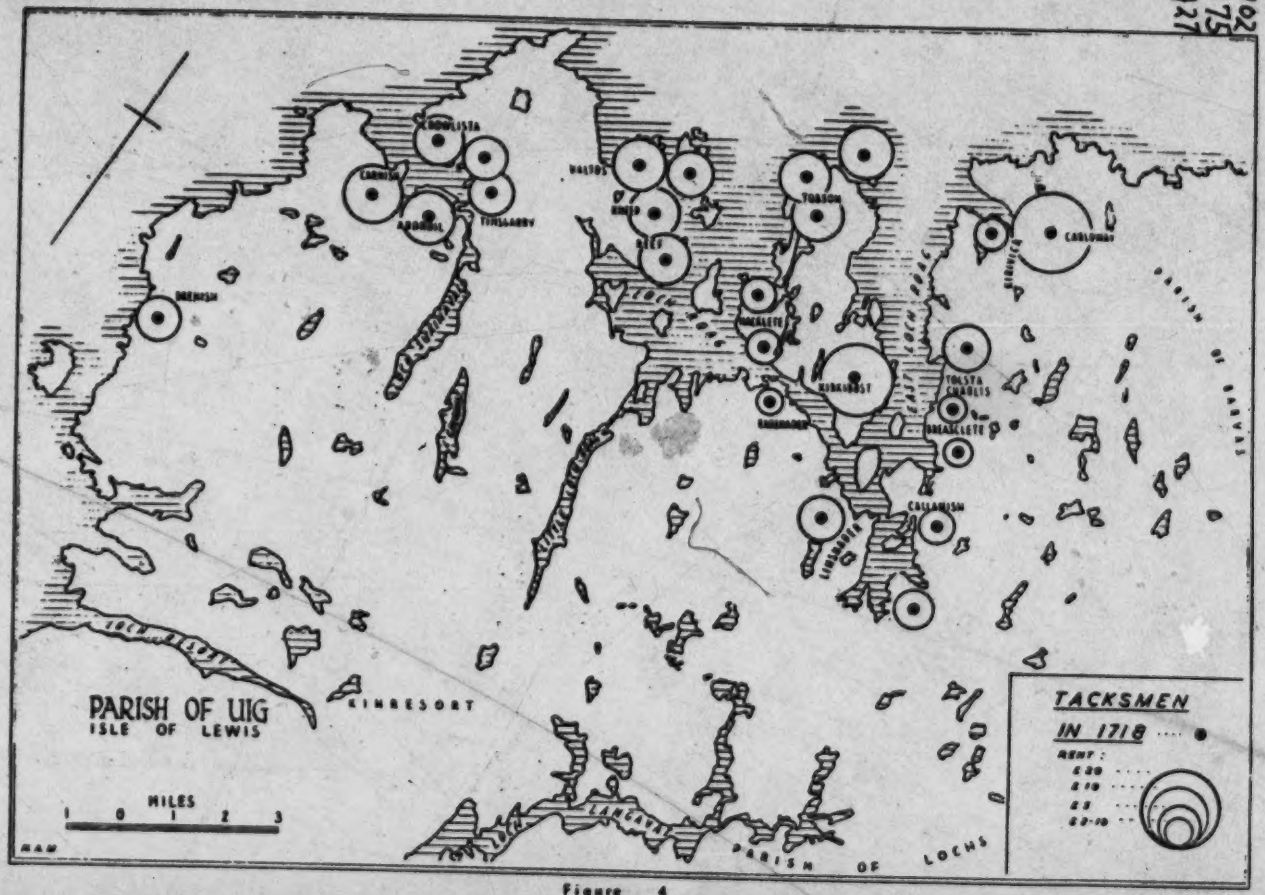

Figure 4

p. 81

192 The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" huts, some still in good repair, are of uncertain date. The best preserved are on the Moresgail Deer Forest, in remote situations which make it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; those on the Garynahine common pasture are associated with assymmetrically ridged, curving, lazybeds. This, however, need not imply permanent occupation of the site, nor does it solve the problem of age; such lazy-beds are certainly old, possibly pre-potato (c. 1790 here) - but the huts do not decay with age and may be very much older.

195 Early in the eighteenth century the present area of the parish of Uig was held from the 42 Seaforth clan chief by 26 tacksmen, whose names are recorded in the judicial-rental of 64 1718, (Fig.4). They, presumably, had sub-tenants but of these there is no record. Elsewhere in Lewis the same rental records many small tenants holding direct off the chief but in Uig, apparently, the tacksman and sub-tenant system remained intact. Although we cannot be certain of their precise extent, the distribution of the tacks [241] coincides fairly well with that of the better agricultural ground (Fig.2). Five of them cluster round Uig bay, four were in the Valtos-Reef area, and three around the strait of Little Bernera. All these districts have machair; together they accounted for three quarters of the meal and more than half the sheep and money rents. What is more, these rents represented 27% of the total rental of Lewis, whereas by 1887 Uig yielded only 17% [178] of the rental and by 1901 the proportion was reduced to 14%. The relative decline of [369] Uig is largely due to the growth of Stornoway; this shift in the centre of gravity of Lewis has tended to exaggerate the remoteness and isolation of Uig in the present century.

161 By the end of the eighteenth century the tacksmen seem to have disappeared; at any 175 rate they are not mentioned in the remarkably detailed account of the parish given 189 in the Old Statistical Account, 1792. Meanwhile the small tenants had multiplied[1] [1,312] whereas in 1755 the old parish * had supported 1,312 persons, in 1792 the [1,898] minister recorded 1,898. At this time there was neither plough nor cart 449 in the parish. The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them 500

TABLE 3

AVERAGE STOCK HELD BY EACH FAMILY

	1792	1959
Cattle and calves	9.2	2.1
Sheep	13	37
Horses	1.8	-
Goats	0.8	-
No. of families	387	450

162 178 233 422

Note: the figures for both dates refer to the area of the old parish.

[632] * The old parish of Uig excluded the Loch Carloway district, from Kirivick north; this area lay in Lochs parish until 1891. Unless the old parish is specified figures quoted have been corrected to conform with the modern boundaries.

1. [See p. 2--Analyst]

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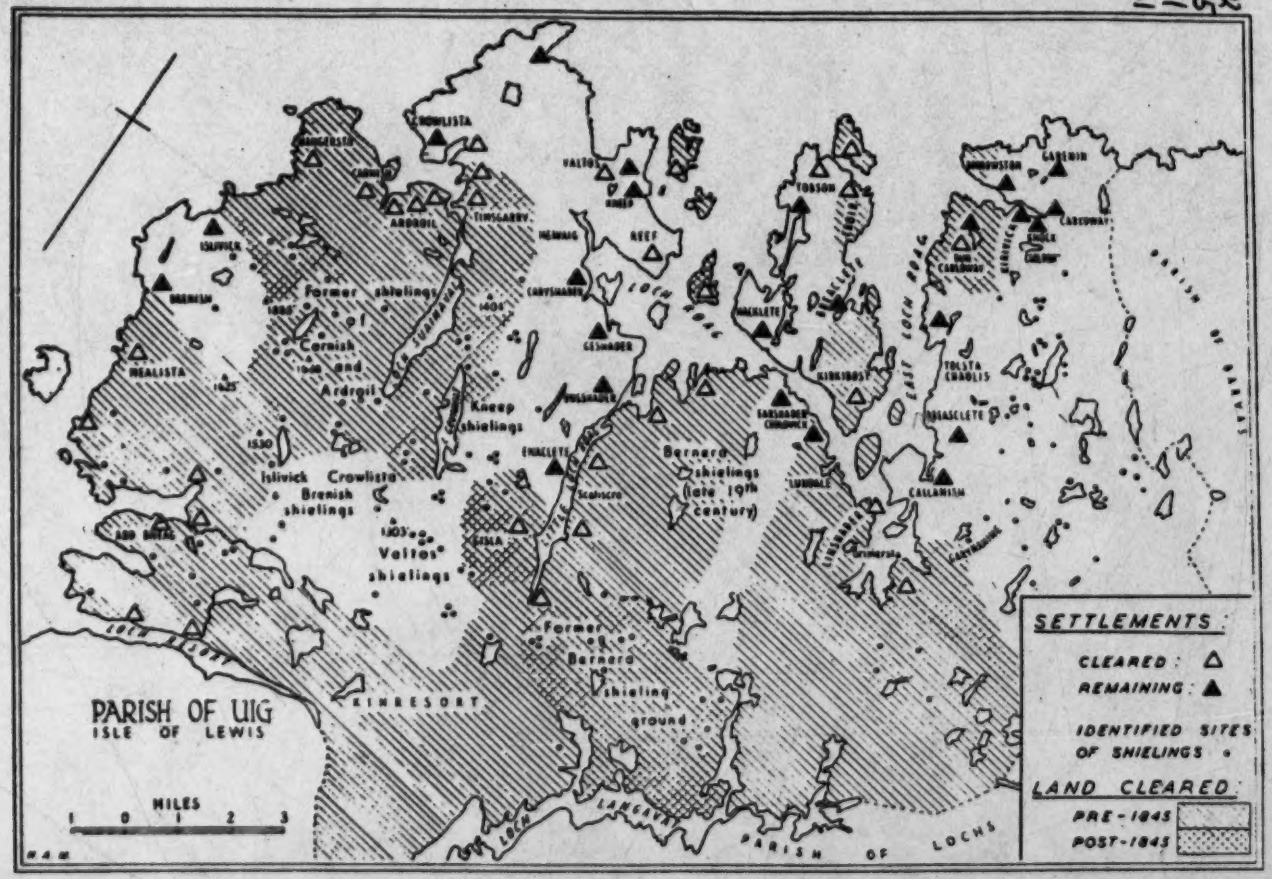

Figure 5

/p. 10/

The minister
was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them
175 as an example to the crofters who were still reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70
[244] boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch Roag for they were small open boats greatly
[226] outnumbered in good herring seasons by boats from other parts of the kingdom. To
[251] encourage curing, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up two storehouses
[441] to supply salt; he, or his agents, were probably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, who
[614] visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the estate factor held a monopoly for trading in cattle, dried fish and other products. The absolute power of the clan chieftain seems to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844. But it was kelp, more than fishing, that helped to support the people of Uig in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lewis made little kelp compared with the
175 Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of particularly good quality and commanded more than
[221] the average price. Further, many people from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time, the intrinsic resources of the parish appear
[233] to have been inadequate to support the population. In this connection it is worth noting
[162] the change in the average stock held by each family since 1792 as shown in table 3.
[178]

Clearance and Congestion.

175 Even after the end of the tremendous boom in kelp, brought about throughout the
228 Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some production continued in Uig. In 1825, when the land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses,
175 yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereafter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attempt-
233 ing industrial developments and agricultural improvements. The former included short-lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants in
166 order to introduce mainland farmers. For these Uig was particularly attractive, the extensive mountain pasture offering good prospects for sheep graziers. The exact dates
427 of the formation of the earliest farms are not remembered nor are they precisely recorded,
[274] but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Macrae of Kintail had the tack of Scaliscro, with the extensive grazings (now partly occupied by Bernera summer pastures) east of Little Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants of Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of Mealketa Island, which suggests that a sheep farmer was already installed in that district. About 1838 all the small tenants were cleared out of Mealasta, six families being put into Breanish; the remainder are said to have been sent to America.

175 In Bernera island, Kirkibost was cleared about 1822, having been lotted in individual
427 crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkibost formed part of the large farm of Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed part of this farm. On the mainland, opposite Bernera, small tenants were cleared from the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Steome and Drovernish) in the early nineteenth century, and a tacksman was installed at west Earshader. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and Linshader.

175 By 1844 the kelp shores were almost valueless to the proprietor (though seaweed as fertiliser remained a vital necessity to the small cultivators, often working the same land year after year). In 1841 the Chamberlain of the Lewis suggested to the Select Committee on Emigration that some 6,000 persons should emigrate because the land was inadequate to support them. In 1844, of necessity, Seaforth sold the island. The
[162] population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,316); little did the Chamberlain imagine that in the following ten years it would increase by 16%, and that by the turn of the century would reach almost 30,000 (Uig 4,463 Figure 8).[1]

1. [See p. 18--Analyst]

195 427 [233] [314] [339] [199] [226] The new proprietor was no better placed than Seaforth to change the fundamental causes of recurrent poverty and distress. But at least he had funds to ameliorate his tenants' lot and to allow experiments in land reclamation and industrial development. Existing sheep farms were extended and others formed. Land reclamation went forward hand in hand with industrial experiments such as distillation of paraffin from peat and brick and tile-making. A programme of road building was begun (the first roads beyond Stornoway were begun in 1791, but there were only 45 miles of road by 1836). In Uig the results were very obvious. Further clearances took place particularly from Timsgarry, Carnish (21 tenants), Reef (22 tenants), Garynahine, Dun Carloway. The small tenants of Valtos and Kneep were only saved from eviction by the intervention of the Fisheries Board, [162] for they were important places for white fishing. By the 1850's, although the population of Uig was more than double that in 1755, and 60% greater than in 1800, it was crowded [166] into little more than half the area. Emigration enforced by clearances reduced the population of Bernera and South Uig by nearly 500 between 1851 and 1861.

195 427 311 233 No other part of Lewis saw so many farms; nowhere else did the small tenants suffer so much from eviction. That was not all. Those who remained undisturbed were deprived of some of their traditional grazings and access to the rest was sometimes restricted. Moreover they had to make room for many of the evicted families in their own townships, thereby further increasing the problem of congestion caused by the rapid [161] natural increase of population. Thus, for example, about 1825 there had been 22 families in Valtos and Kneep. By about 1880 there were almost 100. But, during the same [162] period these townships were deprived of their island grazings - Pabay, Vacsay, Fioday and Wiay - formerly used for wintering cattle - and of part of their hill grazings (the traditional shielings). Use of the hill-grazings was restricted, too. Thus, for example, only one day was allowed to pull heather for ropes; if men were away fishing or for other reasons, could not attend on that day, they risked punishment by going on any other. Such stories could be multiplied many times.

[103] In the Bernera district, by the 1850's, only Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete (on the island) and Earshader and Crulivig (on the mainland) were left for the crofter families. Moreover their traditional summer grazings, which lay south east of the Deer Forest which was formed out of the Scaliscro sheep farm about 1850. Apparently their use of the old shielings was tolerated until 1878, after which date they were directed to the area north of the present road and which they have continued to use until the present day. Thus the shieling huts shown in fig.5 all post-date 1878; the area in which they lie may have been part of the West Earshader tacksman's holding. The date of discontinuance of that tack is not known but the house, now empty, was for long occupied by squatters and the old lazy beds around it still form part of a large squatter holding.

It is noteworthy that almost all the clearances were in the Bernera and South Uig districts and this is reflected in population changes between 1841 and 1851, shown in table 4.

The cleared areas included extensive hill and mountain grazings and some of the best wintering ground, including all the machairs except Valtos and Kneep. The East Loch Roag and Carloway districts were less attractive to the new farmers; as is so commonly the case in Lewis, their rough grazings lay on gently sloping low plateaux and were consequently ill-drained and of poor quality. About 1852 Dun Carloway was let as a tack but was never successfully farmed and was soon returned to crofter-occupation; it may never have been wholly cleared of crofters. Garynahine, at the southern end of East Loch Roag, next to Linshader, was also turned into a farm about 1852. Here the hill grazing was more extensive and, though seriously reduced by a crofter settlement scheme c. 1936, it remains

195 a well cultivated small farm, a striking example of what can be done with this unpromising
429 terrain. It is probably true that one of the objects of forming farms was to introduce
311 improved methods and so set an example to the small tenants. The contrast, today, between Garynahine Farm and the nearby crofts, suggests that more than example is required.

TABLE 4

POPULATION CHANGES 1841-1851

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District	1841	1851	Change	(%)
Carloway	554	659	+105	(+19)
E. L. Roag	581	717	+136	(+23)
Bernera	670	676	+6(1)	(+1)
L. L. Roag	217	259	+42	(+19)
Valtos etc.	711	484	-227(2)	(-32)
Uig Bay	520	426	-94(3)	(-18)
South	384	348	-36	(-9)

Notes: (1) Viuamore - 46 (-100%). Kirkibost, Linshader, etc. had already been cleared.
(2) Reef -180 (-96%).
(3) Carnish - 60 (-36%) - but completely cleared before 1861.
(Township figures are not available before 1841).

The birth of the crofting landscape.

175 A further mid-nineteenth century attempt to improve the productivity of the small-
429 tenants' holdings was the lotting of runrig lands to form individual crofts. In a report to
311 Seaforth c. 1800, the Rev. Headwick had recommended the abolition of runrig* and some
638 lotting of crofts took place about 1811 ** - about which time runrig was being abolished in North and South Uist - but many townships in Uig, as elsewhere in Lewis, escaped this lotting. In Bernera, Kirkibost was probably lotted at this time and the crofts fenced; in 1852, despite clearance, the first Ordnance surveyors were able to record the old fences (which were used as the croft divisions when Kirkibost was re-settled in 1878). The now much divided crofts of Kneep (see also fig.22) are probably of the same date. Reef appears, also, to have been lotted early, for the remnants of fences recorded by the Ordnance Surveyors in 1850-1852, (Reef was cleared in 1850), show crofts of the same
[621] general form as those of Kirkibost, and quite unlike those of the 1850 lotting. Consequently, in many townships until this date, the houses remained huddled together in tight little groups, often inter-communicating one with another. The groups, or clachans, were usually set in the midst of the arable land. The runrig system had certain disadvantages, but, as a basic agricultural structure for small holders, it had two considerable advantages which may be relevant to modern conditions. Firstly, it was flexible: within it the individual's holdings varied in size and rent and it was possible, at the periodic re-allocation, to adjust the size according to family needs. An elderly person did not need to be burdened with a holding larger than he required, or was able, to cultivate; a young man with a

[113] ** Report.... on the Condition of the Cottar Population of the Lews. (C.5265), 1888, p.37

* The essence of runrig was that any individual's arable land was in many pieces, scattered promiscuously amongst those of his neighbours. Periodic re-allocation of pieces was usual, but the period varied and in some cases was infrequent.

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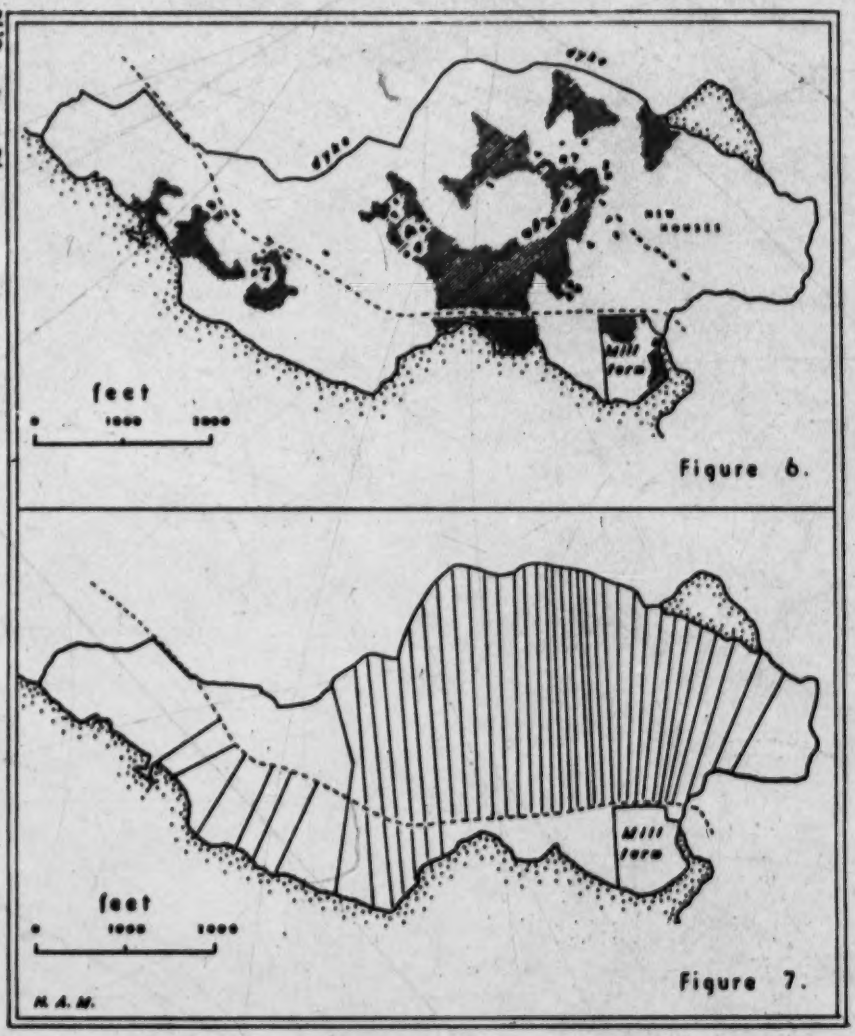

Figures 6 and 7

THE LOTTING OF BREASCLETE

Figure 6 shows the irregular clusters of old houses and patches of arable land (hatched) within the infield dyke. On the right the first of the new houses, standing in a row each on its own 'lot' (or 'croft'), are shown.

Figure 7, from the contemporary Factor's notebook, shows the new crofts as lotted in 1850. Note that these were not fenced.

195 growing family could increase the size of his holding. Secondly, in the absence of fences
427 a certain discipline of agricultural management had to be maintained; moreover the
311 proprietor, through the factor, grounds officers and township constables, saw to it that
632 it was. This "good husbandry", albeit at a rather low level, was maintained in the interests of tenants and land-owner alike. After the arable land was lotted permanently to individuals, there was less flixibility and less need for communal management. But the absence of fences between the new lots, or crofts, meant that they were still common land during the winter months. In some cases the proprietors paid the tenants to erect fences round the newly lotted inbye land of the whole township but, even when a ring fence existed, stock was allowed to graze indiscriminately within it from November until April.

It is fortunate that the first Ordnance surveyors were at work in Lewis just as the lotting was coming into effect. The new lots were not divided by fences, therefore they were not marked by the surveyors, but in several townships they arrived in time to plot the clachans and in some - Breasclete, for example (fig. 6) - the first edition six-inch maps show some of the new houses, neatly spaced out on the new lots. The arrangement of the latter is recorded in the Factor's sketch books, of which fig. 7 is an example.

175 Thus whilst we have little evidence of the appearance of the former rural landscape,
632 we have an excellent record of the birth of the new. The characteristic units of the new
178 lotting were townships divided into long narrow strips, arranged parallel and fan-wise more or less in the direction of steepest slope. Such an arrangement was simple to lay out; it tended to give everyone a fair share of the land of each kind - ill-drained and well-drained, high and low. And, if a road or track passed through the township it was usually possible to give each lot or croft direct access to it without the necessity for side-roads.
[367] Consequently the houses, when re-built, were usually put on the crofts. A dispersed pattern of settlement replaced the little huddles of the clachans. The extent to which it was dispersed depended on the width of the lots; the greater the number of tenants to be accommodated in a given area, the narrower were the lots. In extreme cases they might be as little as 20-30 yards in width and then the houses, aligned along the road or access track might form a virtually continuous terrace or street.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CROFTING STRUCTURE

427 In the parish of Uig about 90% of the families are crofters. That is to say, they owe their presence in Uig to their hereditary tenancy of a small-holding of croft status. To these holdings they have a deep attachment; many of them have been inherited through
[428] several generations. Others were obtained more recently during the process of re-settlement of farm land which followed the Napier Commission report and 1886 Act. Many older crofters regard the resettled townships as the fruits of a hard-won victory. Nevertheless, we have seen, very few of the holdings are in fact more than 110 years
[166] old. And, whilst some families can certainly trace their ancestors in the district for several centuries, there has always been a good deal of movement between townships. Thus the claim that they occupy holdings which were carved out of the barren moor by the toil and sweat of their ancestors is, in most cases, metaphor rather than strict truth.

427 Nevertheless, the attachment to the holdings is very real and must be given careful con-
511 sideration when assessing their present utilisation and potential value. It is particularly significant because it leads to large numbers of tenants retaining holdings which are far
[461] too small to yield a living. Inevitably they seek other sources of income either at home (as by weaving or casual road labour) or away (as in the Merchant Navy, armed forces, police or other skilled or unskilled work). As a consequence the croft is neglected and
[231] its potential resources, small as they are, are not realised. The decline in cattle numbers since the late nineteenth century gives some indication of the scale of this lost productivity over the parish as a whole. This is the crofter's own loss. Individually one can appreciate the problem - "four cows will not give me a living - better to get
[745] work on the hydro-scheme and sell the cows". And when one hydro-scheme finishes another will take its place, or there will be casual road work or other labour and, between times, the unemployment benefit which the self-employed crofter does not get.

Certainly the land is of poor quality, the climate in some respects severe, and the cost of transport, from Uig even to Stornoway let alone to the mainland, a perpetual prob-
[421] lem. But the root of the problem is the small size of most of the crofter-holdings, on
[181] the one hand, and, on the other, the importance which most crofters attach to the possession of a holding, no matter how small and how neglected it may be. How has this come to be?

TABLE 5

The multiplication of crofter-tenants, and their increasing rents, 1850-1890.

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	Tenants:		Rental:	
	1850	1890	1850	1890
Garenin	15	27	£70	£78
Tolsta Chaolis	29	40	£86	£96
Knock Carloway	16	33	£52	£66
Upper Carloway	25	53	£81	?
Breasclete	38	61	£111	£121
Breasclete Park	4	9	£3	£14
Callanish	38	52	£82	£104
Brenish	25	28	£94	£94
Islivick	13	10	£23	£28
Aird	9	10	£30	£29
Valtos	29	40	£149	?
Kneep	18	23	£89	£80

Congestion and Sub-division.

195 The crofting population of Uig started the second half of the nineteenth century with
311 far less land than had been occupied by their forebears fifty years before, and, although
161 famine, clearance and emigration had slightly reduced the population between 1841 and
162 1861, (from 3,828 to 3,630) thereafter it again increased, reaching about 4,600 in 1891.
427 Rising agricultural prices after 1850 favoured farmers and crofters alike but, whilst the farmers prospered the crofters merely multiplied, thus in effect reducing the land available to each family. In 14 townships recorded in the 1850 sketch book the 273 holdings at that date had become 402 by about 1890, to which should be added a considerable number of cottars and squattars, many of them keeping stock and some sharing the rent
427 of the crofts on which they had built their cottages. Detailed comparison of the rentals
195 for the two dates shows that the increase had come about in two ways: firstly, it appears
161 that, from time to time, where a new rent ledger was being made up, the factor would
162 record separately cottars who actually shared the rent of the croft and, secondly, he would recognise and enter some of the squatters who had obtained rent-free (and illegal) holdings by enclosing and reclaiming from the common. The latter were added to the scoring of the townships according to the rent put upon them. Table 5 (page 16), illustrates the process. The recognition of squatters, usually at £1-£2 per annum, led to the small increases in total rental. For the rest, the increasing numbers were caused by subdivision. Only in a few cases does the proprietor seem to have actively encouraged land reclamation by crofters. On April 17, 1850, four of the families which had been cleared out of Reef were allowed to settle on the Callanish common near the Breasclete boundary (hence the settlement became known as 'Breasclete Park'. Their rent was fixed at 15/- per acre for five years, thereafter increasing 1/- per annum until it reached 29/- per acre; they shared, according to their rent, in the Callanish common pasture. But forty years later one of these crofts had been divided into three, another into two, and two new ones had been carved out of the common; the total rental had risen to £13:19/-. Again, when Breanish was lotted in the spring of 1850, ten new lots were marked out and the rental is annotated "there are ten young men starting ... these lots as soon as the season commences". This appears to have been too optimistic; few, if any, of the new lots were ever broken in.

The farms, by contrast, prospered and the proprietor was able to share that prosperity by increasing rents as shown in the table:

TABLE 6

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Farm:	Rental in the period: 1840's	1850's	1860's	1870's
Mealasta	£90	£105	£105	£130
Ardroil	£100	£105	£187	£255
Carnish	(£75: crofters)	£55		
Timsgarry	£78	£84	£88	£108
Linneshader	£250	£297	£400	£425

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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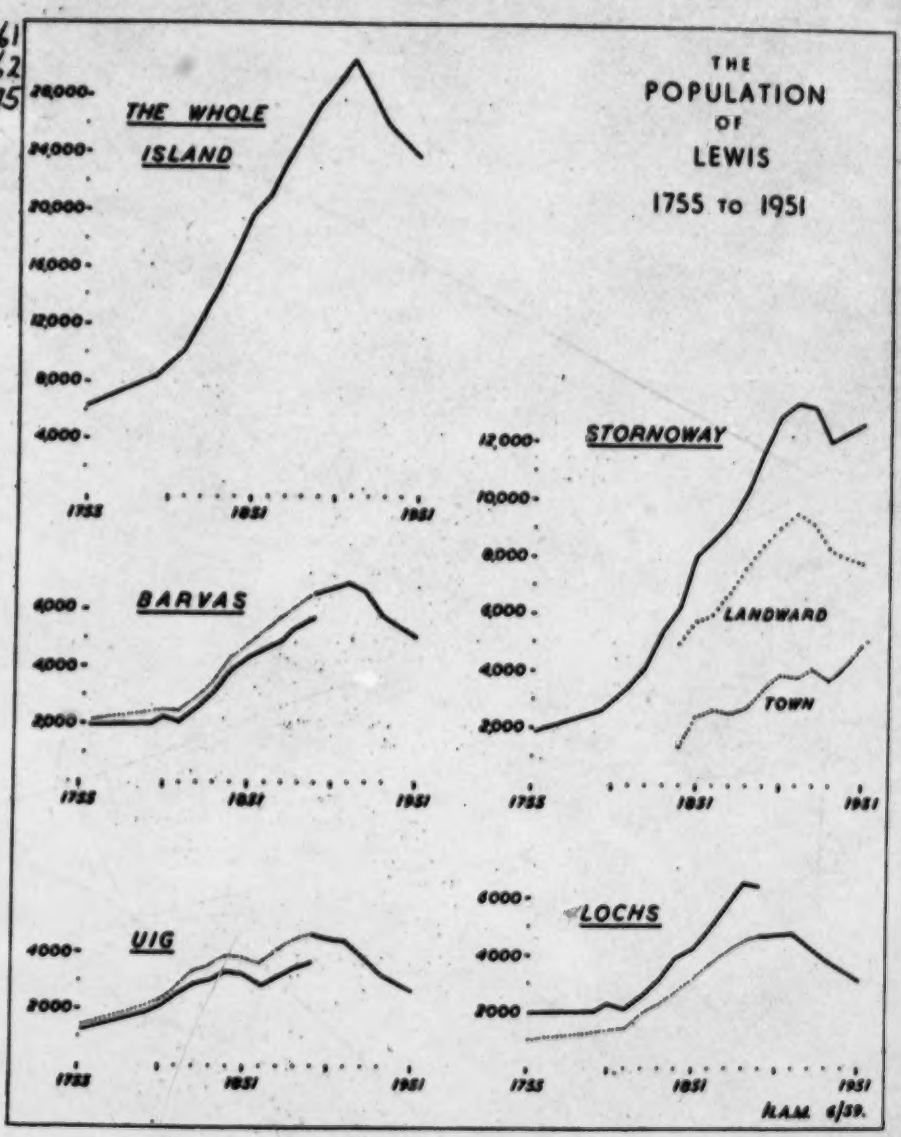

/p. 18/

Figure 8.

175 It is worth noting that the rental charged for the newly cleared farm of Carnish was
427 £55 - being £20 less than had been paid by the crofters. Thus it cannot be said that the latter were evicted purely in order to obtain more rent. The proprietor must have been taking a long term view, looking for land improvement rather than immediate gain. By the 1870's the farm rentals had increased by 55%, those of the crofting townships by only 15%. And the latter often remained unpaid.

175 Thus, whilst the farmers prospered, the tenants became crowded in their townships
427 which were correspondingly less and less able to support their increasing numbers.
511 The crofts became so reduced that in an average year the produce of the land might keep
175 a crofter and his family for only six months; for the rest he had to find other means of
226 support. Fortunately, after the hungry years of the 'forties', fishing provided just this.
464 Starting in 1851, an annual migration began, first to Caithness and later to the whole east
[166] coast of Scotland and England. By the 1880's not only were most of the able-bodied young men following the herring as hired men on east coast boats, but many of the women-folk, who had learned gutting, packing and kippering from English girls brought to Stornoway
[22] for the purposes, were also earning. This was summer work, and fitted well between seed-time and harvest. In the winter, small local open boats worked long lines for white fish which were dried and salted for local curers as they still are today on the
[511] Norwegian coast. Between the 1850's and 1880's there was a "condition of plenty" in Lewis "which would not have been credited by those who judged of the condition of the people by the external aspect or sanitary arrangement of their dwellings".* It was this "condition of plenty" which encouraged the people to stay at home, to sub-divide their crofts, and to live on the proceeds of paid labour rather than on the produce of the croft.

Re-settlement, 1878-1935.

175 The process of sub-division ceased only when economic conditions became less
427 favourable and emigration began to exceed natural increase. In the 1880's fishing and
[166] farming suddenly became less profitable. Simultaneously, and given extra point by the
[226] particular distress of the time, agitation for land reform, and in particular for the
[641] relief of the most congested districts, became a political issue. This began in Uig in
175 1874 when an attempt was made to evict 56 crofters from Bernera; hundreds of crofters
668 resisted by force and subsequently marched on Stornoway. They were well received by the proprietors - who appear to have been unaware of the summary and inhumane behaviour of their chamberlain - and to the credit of all concerned the matter ended peacefully. But land agitation continued.

175 The position in Bernera was eased in 1878 when Linshader farm was deprived of the
427 old township of Kirkibost which was resettled by crofters from Bosta, the latter being let to the Tobson crofters as an enlargement to their pasture. In 1880 new holdings were formed in Hacklete, which had been the grounds-officer's farm (but which, judging from its population, had always contained a number of cottars or sub-tenants). The grazing of Laimshader was probably returned to the Borroston crofters about 1886, having been part of Linshader farm and, in 1891, six new holdings were formed at Lundale, also part of the same farm. At the same period, under the new Act, the crofters of Crowlista, Valtos, and Kneep applied unsuccessfully for enlargements from the farms, but during the nineties the islands of Little Bernera and Eilean Kearstay were taken off Linshader farm and added to the townships of Bernera, and Valtos obtained Pabay Mor.

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*Report....on the Condition of the Cottar population in the Lewis. (C.5265), 1888, p.4.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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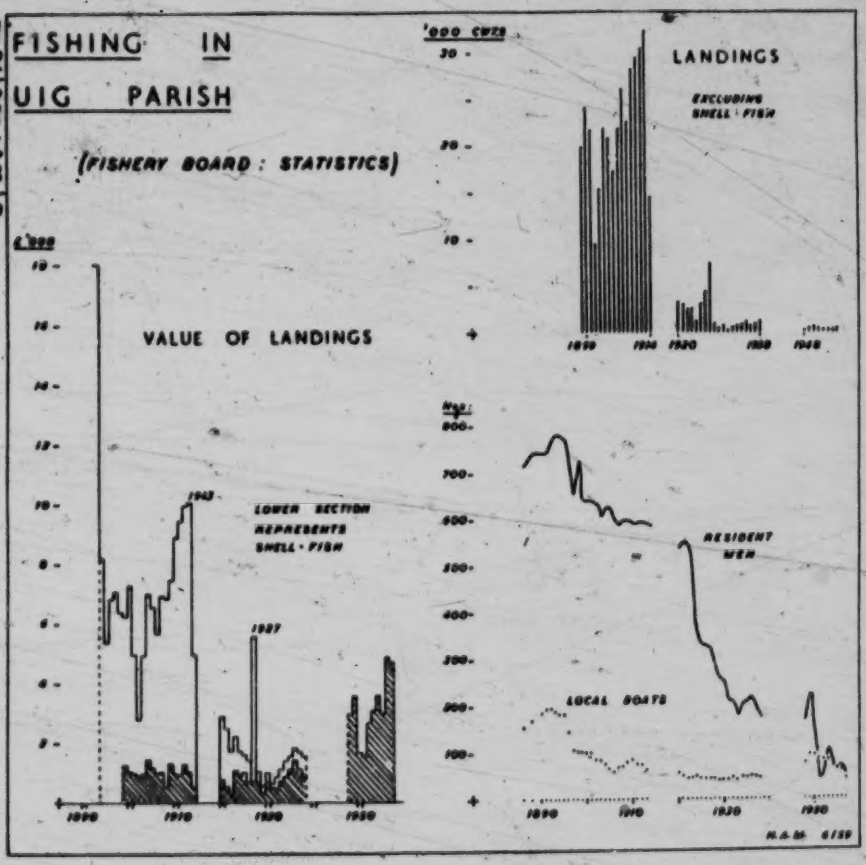

Figure 9.

/p. 20/

175 427 Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the proprietors were obliged, by pressure of population within, and of public opinion without, to made some concessions to their small tenantry. It may be relevant to point out that this was a period of falling agricultural prices and declining farm rentals; indeed the time was not far off when some farms would not find tenants at any rental:

TABLE 7

Farm:	Rental at c. 1875/80	Rental at c. 1885/90
Mealasta	£130	£85
Mangersta	£132	£95
Ardroil & Carnish	£285	£245
Timsgarry	£108	£80 (1)
Linshader	£349	£278 (2)

Notes: (1) Small reduction for enlargement to Glebe.
(2) £22 reduction for Laimeshader and Grimersta Lodge.

175 526 [161] [162] The crofters of south Uig were in particular difficulty at this time for here fishing declined earlier than elsewhere but the townships remained greatly overcrowded. In 1910 Breanish and Islivig had 14 cottar families, (most of them sharing crofts with the official tenants), and three of squatters, i.e. on the common pasture. Here fishing had almost ceased and the people were almost entirely dependent on their crofts or on employment away [231] from home. In Valtos and Kneep there were 21 cottar families; they had 31 cattle and sheep flocks. Here, too, fishing was on the decline. It was perhaps because of this that 288 commercial weaving was developed in South Uig earlier than in most parts of Lewis. As 175 early as 1900 Uig was classed with Harris, by the local committee of the Congested Districts Board, as producing a superior quality of tweed. Two 30 gallon iron pots were sent out so that enough wool could be dyed at one boiling to obviate irregular colouring in any [653] one tweed. The C.D.B. also made grants for roads, footpaths and "marine works". Amongst the latter the pier at Valtos (1899) was an attempt to resuscitate local fishing, but it came too late.

175 653 The Congested Districts Board was the first government agency with funds at its disposal to aid the crofting townships. One of its largest grants went in aid of the Carloway Road (or Pentland Road as it is now known). This scheme arose out of an abortive proposal for a railway from Loch Carloway to Stornoway. It was thought that this could enable trawlers and other large fishing boats to land their catch for quick transport to Stornoway and so to the mainland whilst the fishing vessels returned to sea with minimum 175 delay. The road, an excellently engineered one, is still not properly surfaced. A more effective C.D.B. - aided scheme was the resettlement of crofters on Mangersta Farm, 657 the rent of which had fallen to £70 and which the proprietors were willing to break up. 427 Thirteen new buildings were formed here and the first harvest was taken by the new settlers in 1911. The crofters' rent was fixed at £73 and the C.D.B. paid £566 in grants [241] to purchase the sheep stock and improvements, and towards the cost of fencing. About the same time the Board paid a grant to the township of Garenin for fencing a substantial enlargement to their pasture, obtained off Dalbeg. Here, and at Reef farm, smallholding resettlement schemes were vetoed by the Crofters Commission whose experts regarded the areas as unsuitable. Both have since been re-settled by crofters.

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4: Noisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10.
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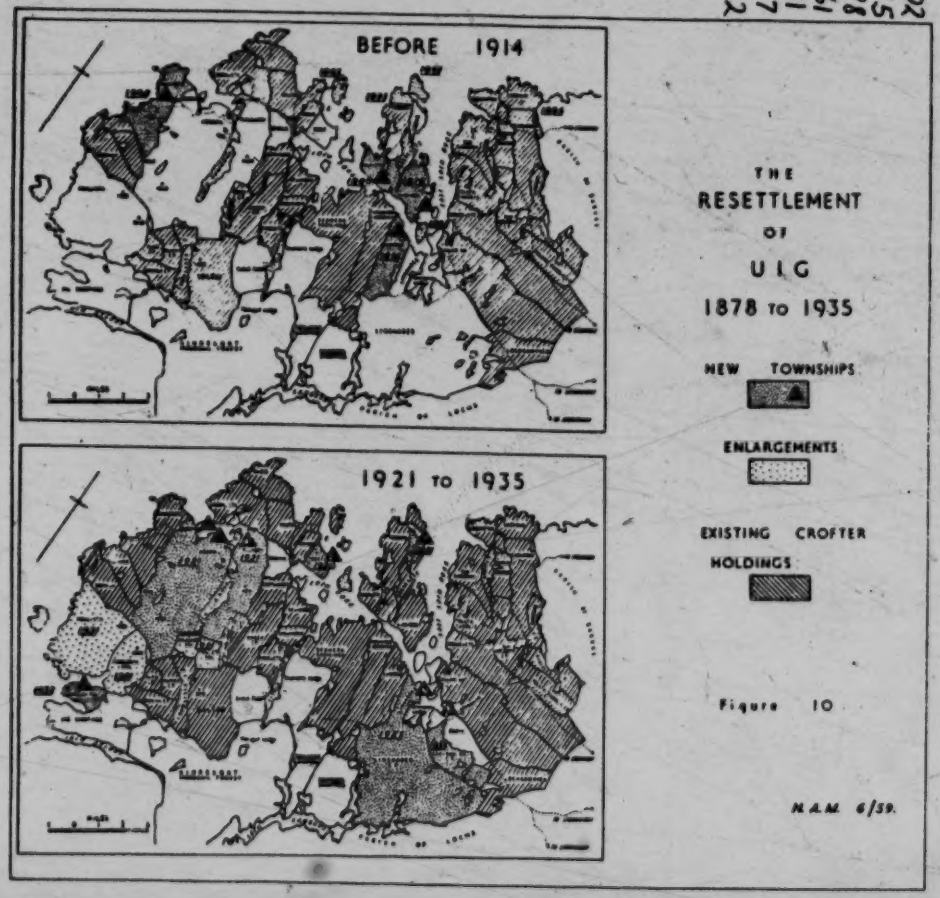

Figure 10

/p. 22/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

TABLE 8

THE RE-SETTLEMENT OF UIG, ISLE OF LEWIS

(See also Fig. 10).

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This table may not be complete for the earlier years; acreages are approximate

Date:	Farm:	Township	New Holdings	Holdings enlarged	Area (Acres)
1878	Linshader	Kirkibost	26(1)	-	c.1,300
1880	Hacklete	Hacklete	20	-	c.1,000
1886 (?)	Linshader	Borroston	-	-	500
1886	Dalemore	Carloway	-	-	60
1891	Linshader	Lundale	6	-	1,156
1892	Linshader	Kirkibost	-	26	1,000
1893	Linshader	Hacklet & Breaclet	-	32	314
		Valtos	-	30	c.300
1910	Mangersta	Mangersta	13	-	2,250
1912	Dalemore	Garenin	-	27	c.700
1921	Reef	Reef	15	-	1,254
		Aird & Reef	-	10	206
		Crowlista & Knoep	-	43	105
		Garyshader	-	13	88
1921	Timsgarry	Timsgarry	8	-	4,113 (2)
		Enaclete	-	9	621
		Geshader	-	11	} 603 (3)
		Ungshader	-	4	
1921	Croir	Croir	8	-	522
1921	Carnish & Ardroil	Carnish	6	-	288
		Ardroil	14	-	797
		Carnish & Ardroil common grazing			7.153
1921	Mealasta	Mangersta	-	10	1,866
		Brenish	-	29	4,116
1921	Dalemore	Garenin	-	27	c.300
1925	Linshader	Linshader	10	-	11,109
1932	Uig Lodge	Ard Bheag	2	-	809
1935	Garynahine	Garynahine	12	-	1,915
			140	245	about 45,000

Notes: (1) Crofters were moved to Kirkibost from Bosta (425 acres), which was given as an enlargement to Tobson crofters.
(2) Partly off Timsgarry.
(3) Partly off Carnish and Ardroil.

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TABLE 9

The Agricultural Structure of the Parish of Uig, 1958

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	Townships (no.)	Inbye (acres)	Common pasture (acres)	Agricultural holdings (on Valuation Roll) Crofts:	Others:	Crofter-tenants Total	of whom non-residents	Agricultural holdings with one crofter**
Atlantic Coast	3	246	14,800	51	1	42	(12)	-
Uig Bay	5	636	15,800	62	-	55	(9)	-
Valtos-Reef	3	398	8,700	74	-	68	(14)	1
Little L. Roag	4	266	4.400	38	-	39	(4)	1
Bernera Island	5	1,213	8.200	91	4	88	(12)	8
Bernera Shore	4	359	13,100	26	1	26	(2)	2
East L. Roag	6	1,101	15,700	183	1	178	(26)	6
L. Carloway	7	856	9,400	174	7	167	(23)	35
Individual holdings * (non-crofting)		161	1,200	-	9	-		9
	37	5,236	91,300	6,999	23	663	(102)	62

NOTE: *Individual holdings include only those not using the common pastures; the 'common' pasture' figure is their rough grazing.

**These include individual holdings, as defined, and all cottars, squatters, feuars and allotment holders having more than a quarter acre of cultivation or a cow or 5 sheep. Their holdings are included in 'Inbye'.

195 After the first World War re-settlement schemes went ahead with renewed vigour.
311 Men serving in the Forces expected land to be available for them on their return and they
427 were impatient to get it. By this time the Lewis estate belonged to the Lewis and Harris
657 Development Co. - in other words to Lord Leverhulme. The farms of Mealasta, Reef,
[471] Carnish and Ardroil were all without tenants; Leverhulme agreed to break them into crofts, the Board of Agriculture surveyors were speedily put to work, and the new settlers were able to commence cultivation on March 1, 1921. Timsgarry farm, with which was the Uig shooting lodge, was in the hands of a tenant; but the Board obtained possission, reserving a small area around the lodge for amenity. Croir farm, Bernera, was also broken up. More than 50 new holdings received enlargements to their common pastures; details are given in Figure 10 and table 8, (pages 22 and 23). The schemes were done in haste, the Secretary for Scotland pushed them forward in the face of some opposition from Leverhulme. Here, as elsewhere, the ex-servicemen were restive; land raids and violence, with inevitable political repercussion, were feared.

In 1924, Linshader farm was threatened by land raiders. As a result this, too, was broken up and 10 new holdings were occupied as from Whitsuntide, 1925. This was part of the Grimersta sporting estate and the proprietors required that all the ghillies be given crofts. Linshader was not particularly suited to crofter-management: it consisted of 49 acres of old arable land and more than 8,000 acres of rough pasture, the furthest part of which was five miles distant and without road access. When the Land Court fixed the souming the following remark was recorded:

"Under a club stock" (i.e. a single flock) the moor "might have been exploited to a very different extent, but in view of the fact that individual stocks are to be kept" (i.e. each crofter his own shepherd) "which is not conducive to hefting, ... 50 sheep per share will be ample. If the whole outside ground were being fully made use of by the sheep stock the grazing of ten cows should do no harm .... but the wintering afforded on the holdings does not justify a larger souming" (than one cow). It had, in fact, been the practise at Linshader farm to buy in young cattle for summer grazing, and to send away the lambs to the Dingwall area for their first winter.

Finally, in the thirties, two long established cottar families at Aird Bheag an isolated spot on the Uig shootings, applied for and obtained recognition as crofters. Their holdings have since been abandoned and now form part of the sheep farm operated by a syndicate of four Breanish and Islivig crofters. Finally, in 1935 a further 12 new holdings were formed by a partial break-up of Garynahine farm. Thus in all, 140 new crofts and 45,000 acres
[161] have been added to the crofter holdings of Uig since 1878. During that period the popula-
[162] tion of the parish has declined from 4,500 to 2,700. Neither the formation of new crofts, nor the enlargement the old, has prevented depopulation. Little, if any, more land is available and depopulation continues. The only hope, now, is to make the existing land - individual holdings and commons alike - more productive.

Table 8 and the map, figure 10, illustrate the progress of resettlement.

Crofts and Crofters.

491 The parish of Uig is now mainly owned by five small limited companies: Uig Crofters,
427 Bernera Crofters, Grimersta Estate, Carloway Estate, and Lewis Island Crofters. In
311 addition, when Lord Leverhulme sold the Lewis estate a few crofters accepted their holdings as free gifts; consequently they lost legal crofter status (which is confined to tenants) although they continue to share in their respective townships. More recently four crofters in the south purchased some 2,000 acres of rough sheep grazings, including the new defunct settlement of Ard Bheag. There is no official record of the extent of crofters' land, but we accounted for some 95,000 acres (table 9). The remainder con-

491 311 427 sists of the sporting estates of Grimersta, Scaliscro, Morsgail and Uig Lodge, on some of which a few cattle and sheep may be grazed, and a few small farms.

632 311 427 [162] There are 37 crofting townships. In area they extend from 9,000 acres (Linshader) to about 500 acres (Croir, excluding de facto shares in Bernera Shielings). The number of crofter tenants ranged from 4 in Ungshadir and Earshadir to 61 in Breasclete, and the average amount of land available to each crofter is 7.2 acres of inbye and 126 acres of common pasture (table 10). Averages are misleading. As the table shows, between districts the amount of land available per crofter varies from about 50 to 500 acres; as between townships the range is even wider (table 11). To some extent this contrast is the result of resettlement schemes which, in general, attempted to provide new holdings sufficient to yield a family living. The extent to which they were successful in this respect was limited by political pressure, especially in the 1920's, to provide the maximum number of holdings. Nevertheless the re-settled holdings have twice the average areas of both inbye and common pasture (13.3 against 7.2 acres, and 225 against 126 acres, respectively).

TABLE 10

Average acreage of land available for each holding and working unit.

241 233 311 427

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	INBYE LAND: holding	INBYE LAND: working unit	COMMON PASTURES: holding	COMMON PASTURES: working unit	NUMBER OF: holdings	NUMBER OF: working units
Atlantic Coast	4.7	8.8	285	529	51	28
Uig Bay	10.1	14.8	255	367	62	43
Valtos-Reef	5.4	7.8	118	171	74	51
Little Loch Roag	7.0	7.6	116	126	38	35
Bernera Island	12.8	13.8	86	93	91	84
Bernera Shore	13.3	13.3	484	484	26	26
East Loch Roag	6.0	8.1	85	114	183	136
Loch Carloway	4.7	5.3	52	58	174	155
Non-crofting holdings	17.9	17.9	-	-	23	22
	7.2	9.0	126	157	699	580

NOTE: The distinction between "holdings" and "working units" is explained in the text.

427 632 311 Even amongst the old-established townships there is a tremendous range in amount of land available per tenant, the southern districts being best placed and those in the north worst, a situation which still remains. Indeed, the contrast in land available as between tenants (table 11) is a fundamental one; surprisingly, it is not on the whole reflected by a corresponding contrast in stock carried. Together with the rarity of effective fences between or within township pastures, the impossibility of properly hefting sheep to the hills when each crofter keeps his own little pack, and the excessive sheep/cattle ratio, this gives rise to serious problems which will be examined in Part III.

TABLE 11

Land Available by Numbers of Tenants

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INBYE LAND			COMMON PASTURES		
	No. of tenants:			No. of tenants:	
Acres:	(a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:	Acres:	(a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:
	(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
0-1.0	1		Less than 50	88	
1.0-2.5	73	2	51-100	332	14
2.6-5.0	241	19	101-200	139	12
5.1-7.5	137	22	201-300	52	-
7.6-10	66	23	301-400	32	32
10.1-15	56	23	401-500	8	8
15.1-20	30	17			
20.1-50	29	24	940	10	10

Note: 'New' townships, for this purpose, are those settled since 1900.

361 632 In detail the arrangement of the townships varies. Certain features are common: all inbye land and, consequently, all settlements, are coastal (except Lochganvich). Each has common pasture adjacent to the inbye and many have further areas of common - former shieling grazings - some distance inland (figure 1). This division of the hill grazings is to some extent nominal because fences are often absent or ineffective. Uninhabited islands, on the other hand, require no fences, and are particularly valuable for winter grazing; the smaller of them provide convenient natural paddocks for bulls [171] and tups when out of season. The management of all these common pastures is controlled by the township committees. Unfortunately the most important aspect of stock management - control of numbers and maintenance of a proper balance of sheep and cattle - is almost universally neglected.

233 427 656 The total stock which each croft may put on the common pastures - the 'soum' - is defined in the Regulations. In the case of townships re-settled in the present century a specific soum is placed on each croft but, in most other cases, the old practice persists of stating the soum in terms of rent. Thus the soum of each croft may be defined as 1 cow, 1 two-year-old and 8 sheep per pound sterling rent (this is a very common souming). Such soumings have been in existence since time immemorial; they are mentioned in 1836*. Many of the Uig townships had their soumings stated by the Land Court in 1912; in most cases the soum was given "per pound sterling of rent" (presumably 1912 rent), but in a few "per pound sterling of rent payable in 1886". The rents had been substantially reduced in 1891, thus 1912 and 1886 rents were very different. Any township has a certain limited, stock-carrying capacity; therefore, if the total rental is thus changed without

[113] * New Statistical Account, Vol. XIV, p.148.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

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TABLE 12

Crofter-Tenants by Status and Size of Holding

	Area of croft (inbye): 0-5 acres		5-10 acres		10-50 acres		All Crofts
MALES UNDER 65	39%		46%		45%		43% (267)
of whom with:							
Regular employment		26%		28%		26%	27% (170)
Casual employment		7%		8%		14%	9% (55)
No other employment		6%		10%		5%	7% (46)
MALES OVER 65	23%		27%		35%		26% (167)
FEMALES UNDER 65	8%		5%		7%		7% (43)
FEMALES OVER 65	10%		7%			4%	8% (49)
ABSENT: Males	14%		12%		6%		12% (75)
Females	5%		1%		3%		4% (24)
ALL TENANTS	100% (314)		100% (201)		100% (114)		100% (629)

Owing to rounding totals may not add.

233 427 change in area, then the amount of stock allowed, per pound sterling of rent, ought to be changed, too.

656 [175] This does not appear to have been done in Uig although in Stornoway parish the soum per pound was increased after rents were reduced in the late nineteenth century. More recently, the Crofters Commission, in re-stating soumings for some townships, has generally (but not invariably) applied the soum to the 1886 rent, regardless of the wording of the 1912 regulations. This may appear to have the merit of consistency and, insofar as crofters pay any attention to the Regulations, it satisfies them because the greater (1886) rent gives them a larger soum and less likelihood of being criticised or penalised for overstocking. However, it perpetuates inconsistencies which originated during the nineteenth century when the stock allowed per pound sterling rent was not reduced although total rentals were increasing as squatters' and cottars' holdings were added (see page above). Moreover, the old souming referred to the old type of highland cattle which were much smaller beasts than those kept today, and it assumed that the shieling pastures would be in full use. A further complication arises because about 1920 some townships acquired substantial enlargements but the soumings do not appear to have been adjusted. Altogether it is little wonder that the Grazing Regulations are seldom observed, for they seldom bear any close relationship to the grazing capacity of township lands. Proper observance of carefully revised Regulations, in which unlimited substitution of sheep in place of cattle was specifically forbidden, would be of considerable benefit to the crofters.

241 233 417 [178] The inbye, or croft, land is invariably separated from the common pasture by a ring fence, the gates of which are generally closed for protection of crops from May to November. Progressive townships are installing grids to obviate the twin nuisances of traffic interference and straying stock. The fencing of individual crofts was rare until the 1930's and is still by no means general. The inbye land is, in many townships, the best winter grazing and its division into innumerable tiny fenced patches, whilst advantageous for cultivation, would restrict the movement of stock in search of water and shelter; in a predominantly pastoral economy complete enclosure of individual holdings is not necessarily an advantage. This problem will be discussed in Part III but, in the present [189] context, it is relevant to point out that the small crofts of Lewis contrast strongly with the larger ones of, for example, the Uists and Tiree. Therefore, what may be advantageous in the latter may be retrograde in much of Lewis.

The lay-out of the crofts aggravates this problem. The long narrow strips of the 1850 lotting, well-suited to spade cultivation and common winter grazing, may require four or five times the length of fencing required by an equi-dimensional croft of similar area. If fenced the stock may be deprived of both water and shelter; since arable cultivation has become relatively unimportant a suitable solution to this problem might be to fence a small potato plot near the house and to put the rest of the inbye down to sown grass in three or four communal parks in which grazing could be properly controlled. A particular problem is posed by crofts which have been sub-divided. These may take the form of strips as much as half a mile long by 10 yards wide or, more commonly (and much worse), of piece-meal sharing of innumerable plots, a system known locally, but incorrectly, as 'run-rig'. This is seen at its height in Kneep (fig 22), where every croft in the township is affected. The problem does not arise in townships with large crofts, which are usually more nearly equi-dimensional. These are mostly the result of re-settlement schemes and have long been fenced, (see, for example, figure 15).

Crofter-tenants.

82 427 463 An analysis of crofter-tenants according to age, sex and occupation (table 12) provides several important clues as to the present unsatisfactory state of crofting. More than one-third of the tenants are over 65 years of age; a further 16% are absent, some of these may also be over 65, others are younger people working away from home, a few are tenants

162 of crofts in other districts, despite the legal requirement that a tenant shall reside within
427 two miles of his croft. Thus half the crofts in the parish are tenated by persons who
463 cannot be expected to make the best use of them. This implies no criticism of the people concerned, it is a criticism of the system. Of 314 resident tenants under 65 years of age, 43 are women; of the men, 170 have regular employment including fishing or weaving, 55 take casual or seasonal work as and when they can get it. Only 46, or 7% of all tenants, are "full-time crofters" and, in fact, most of these are either invalids, disabled, or over 60 years of age. Thus in Uig, unlike the southern Outer Hebrides, most crofts are at best a spare time occupation, at worst merely a house site carying special privileges. The table also demonstrates that the size of crofts has little bearing on occupational status; this is inevitable in a rigid system under which a man has no control of varying the size of his holding according to his needs. Some young tenants inherit crofts far too small for their family needs, whilst many elderly tenants, and women, have crofts which are too large for them to maintain.

241 It is not surprising, then, that many tenants do not wish, or are not able, properly
427 to cultivate or stock their crofts. A few, however, are particularly interested in agricultural production as a means of livelihood. Some of these have acquired extra crofts, and so built up much larger units. This may be done by acquiring tenancies either in the crofter's own name or that of his wife or a close relative, or by sub-letting. About 30 crofters in Uig are tenants of more than one holding, at least 20 work holdings held in the name of close relatives, and at least 120 have sub-let holdings. These figures are certainly too low: sub-letting without the consent of the proprietor or Crofters Commission is illegal. Nevertheless it is common, and it is generally unsatisfactory because the sub-tenant has no security of tenure and no right to compensation for improvements; consequently sub-let crofts are often neglected and sometimes over-grazed as well. Controlled sub-letting, for a stated minimum period and with the right to compensation, would regularise a well established practice and encourage the formation of larger units, better able to support a family.

A converse of sub-letting is unofficial sub-division. There are a few cases of cottars - usually relatives living in a second dwelling house on the croft - sharing the croft with the tenant; but this formerly widespread practice has all but disappeared. Such de facto "crofters" share the common grazings, as do "squatters" - persons with houses on the
162 common land - who keep stock. Thus neither the number of crofter-holdings on the rental
241 (699), nor that of crofter-tenants (663), is any guide to the effective number of potential
427 agricultural units. Of the crofter-tenants, 100 are absent and some of those who are resident sub-let their crofts. After making these allowances the number of de facto holdings becomes 518; to these must be added 39 cottars, squatters and others (including a few tenants of council houses) who keep at least a cow or five sheep, and 23 agricultural holdings without crofter status. Thus there are 580 potential agricultural units in Uig.

[233] That is not all. Of these 66 have no cattle, and 162 carry less than half their soum,
of which 22 have no stock at all. Little more than 400 holdings can reasonably be said to
241 be agriculturally effective. This is an indictment, not of the crofters, but of the
427 agricultural structure of the system. This neither provides viable holdings nor does it enable those who wish to acquire enough land to be agriculturalists to get it, even though much land lies unused or ill-used. In short, the system is too rigid. In consequence, de-population goes on apace whilst potential resources are neglected. Three-quarters of a century of legislation and financial aid have, in the main, encouraged the development of crofts as homes for the elderly and as hobbies for those in other employment. Very reasonably, many crofters complain. But very few realise-or are willing to admit - that the security of tenure and other privileges won in 1886, if too rigidly maintained, may ultimately bring about the decay of the very communities which they were intended to protect.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

PART II

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4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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Figure 11.

THE ATLANTIC COAST DISTRICT

C.P. : detached common pasture (shielings).

ENL. : enlargement to common pasture

Table 13

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TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Ard Bheag	-	-	c.2,000	-	1	(4)
Breanish	140	5,893	940	28	-	22
Islivig	51	1,342	620	10	-	7
Mangersta	55	2,197	1,850	13	-	13
	246	9,432	5,410	51	1	42

/facing p. 32/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ATLANTIC COAST

(Brenish, Islivig, and Mangersta)

by

Pamela M. Gough.

131 Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta are situated in the extreme south-west of Lewis, on the Atlantic coast of the parish of Uig and forty miles from Stornoway.

133 Brenish has a south-westerly aspect whilst Islivick faces north-west; in both the elevation of the crofts decreases seawards from about 125 ft. in the east to 50 - 25 ft. in the west. Only one croft in Islivig, and the eight most southerly crofts in Brenish, run to the sea - the rest obtain some shelter from a line of low hills about 300 yards wide and rising to a little over 100 feet, which forms their western boundary. The land terminates in low cliffs from 25' - 100' in height, and a rocky foreshore. Behind these townships to the east a range of mountains from 1,500' - 1,800' in height and dominated by the highest hill in Lewis, Mealisval, (1,885'), gives protection from easterly influences.

Mangersta lies to the north of these mountains; here the crofts lie in a sheltered
134 valley to the west of which the land rises to over 200 feet. The valley opens southwards to the sea where there is a sandy beach and machair. The crofts range from about 150 feet to 100 feet above sea level; those nearest the sea have soils which contain a substantial proportion of machair sand.

Soils are generally deep, and there are few rocky outcrops on the crofts which are fairly level. In Brenish and Islivig the soils are mainly peaty, becoming wetter in the west. Where visible the sub-soil is gravel or stony boulder clay. In Mangersta the transition from peaty soils on the northern crofts to sandy soils on the southern crofts, is marked by the increasingly continuous cultivation, drains being unneccessary on the latter.

137 There are no trees or shrubs, and vegetation consists of marshy grass moors in the Mealasta area with a considerable amount of cotton grass bog further north. West and south of Mangersta the machair area is characterised by a calceole plant community similar in content to that found in many parts of the chalk and limestone areas of England.

361 Brenish and Islivig are old settlements, never cleared. In both, the sites of the
[172] original clachans can still be seen clustered around the mouths of their respective streams. The houses are now situated at the east end of the crofts, near to the road.

175 To the south, Mealasta - cleared in the 1840's to make a sheep farm - was divided in
632 1921 to give enlargements to the common grazings of both Brenish and Mangersta. The
311 arable land was divided into twenty-nine shares as enlargements to Brenish crofts, and is held in a modified form of runrig.

Mangersta was cleared in 1837 to make a farm; subsequently fishermen-cottars settled on the farm but they moved to Dun Carloway in 1873. In 1910, however, a new township of thirteen crofts was set up by the Congested Districts Board; the new settlers were cottars, mainly from Brenish.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

491 Brenish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from
[494] Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight
cost half-a-crown for a hundredweight, but because of competition from privately owned
vans the bus service ceased in 1960. Mangersta is reached from the same road by about
a mile of untarred side-road of indifferent quality; formerly the only access to it was by
[366] a footpath over the sands to the south. General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied
[205] by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig; banking facilities
[453] are supplied by a mobile bank.

311 The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being some-
427 what more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about
four acres; in Brenish and Islivick only about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or
croft-units - are fenced, the work having been completed in Brenish in 1959. There are
twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Brenish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta;
but, owing to amalgamations of various kinds the number of operative units is considerably
less - fourteen in Brenish, five in Islivick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

134 As soils are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable
407 patches are large enough to be cultivated with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in
[231] Brenish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are
hired for ploughing and carting peats. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike
many of the other Uig townships.

233 While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas,
here the sheep are wintered up on the hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts.
Brenish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hogge, or four year-old
heifers), on Mealasta Island - hogge are usually sent since their loss, by falling over the
cliffs, is less serious than the loss of heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta
crofters, who are allowed two sheep each in summer.

241 The only crops grown are potatoes and oats, with "black oats" (Avena strigosa) on the
sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed for "black oats" is unobtainable commercially,
the crofters save their own. A grass mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay,
to qualify for the subsidy.

233 The extensive hill and mountain pastures are not separately fenced; sheep from all
three townships graze over all. If the total sheep stock of the townships (about 3,300) is
compared with the souming figures it is found to exceed the soum by about 50%. On the
other hand, fewer cattle and horses are kept than formerly so that taking the total stock
for all animals (horses, cattle and sheep) and comparing with the actual stock now carried,
the area carries only 87% of the stock which the soum allowed. In the two older townships
the souming was reckoned according to rent, being one cow, one two-year old and eight
sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, however, the soum was one horse, three cows, one
heifer, two stirks and twenty-five sheep for each croft.

Lambing percentage is about 80, and ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers
[236] (excluding lambs). In this district some wedders are kept for three years and then sold
[435] for meat, but the main income is from wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep,
which sells at up to four shillings a pound.

231 Most crofters keep one or two cows, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn
or spring sales. Brenish and Mangersta each have a bull, and in the three townships there
are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks in

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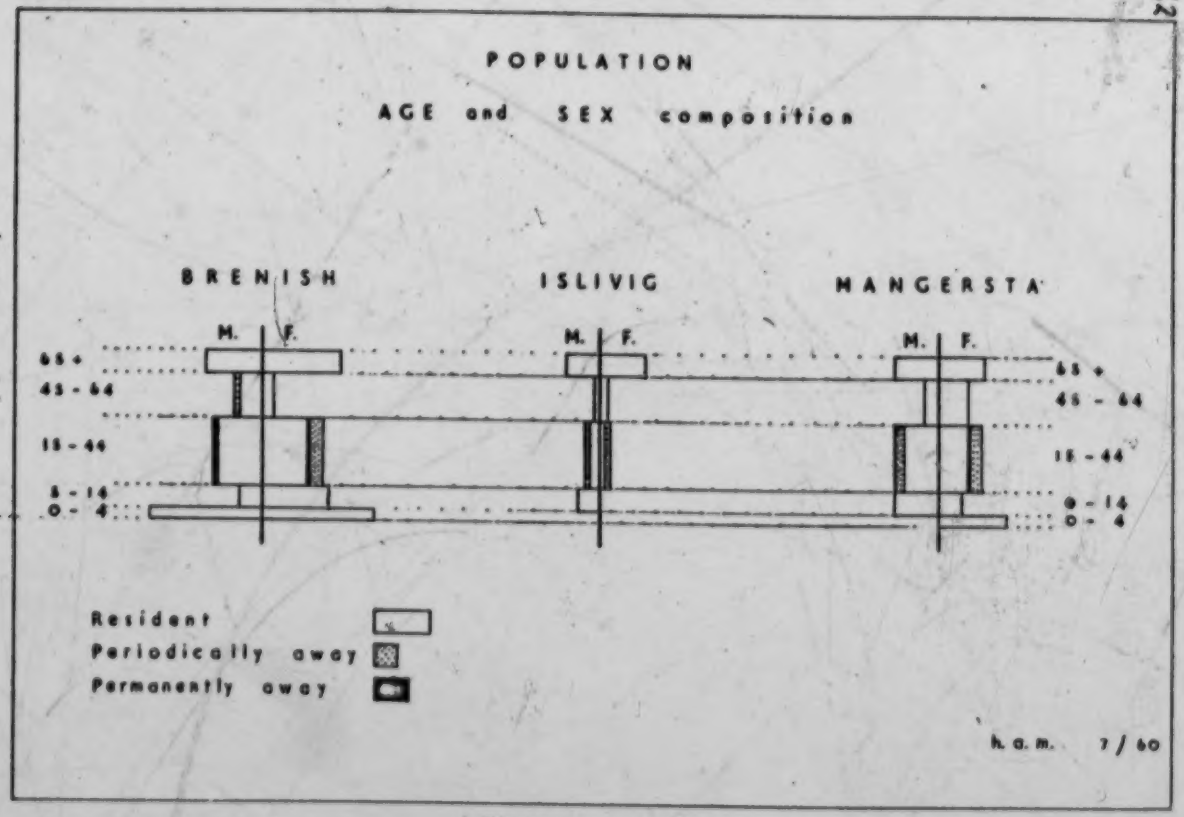

Figure 12

/facing p. 34/

231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' shielings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig shielings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Mealasta farm, until about 1939, shielings were used in that area.

314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears
241 evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation. Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres
312 of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a
377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very
501 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers -
286 nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy; in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady
464 income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside
[434] the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R. A. F. station and at least
[467] one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns at tractor which he hires
[493] out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Moire peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

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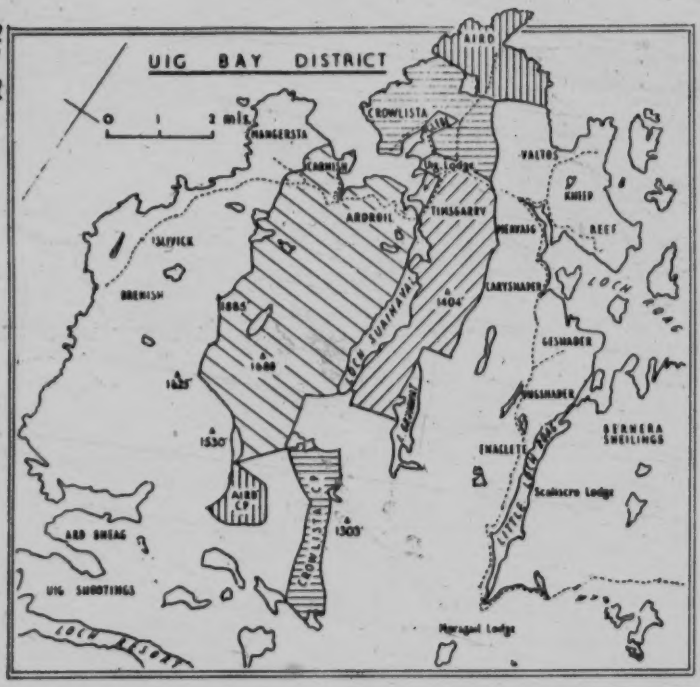

Figure 13

Table 14

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TOWNSHIP farm etc	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: adjacent:	detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Carnish	67	177 44(M)		6	-	5
Ardroil	338	320 131(M)	6,708	14	-	5
Timsgarry	81	3,297	-	8	-	8
Crowlista*	101	1,840 240(G)	1,352*	24	-	19
Aird	49	1,163	556*	10	-	9
Non-crofting	8	-	-	-	2	-
	306	7,212	8,616	62	2	55**

NOTES:
M : machair; G : part of Glebe; *shielings;
**of whom nine are absent.

/facing p. 35/

233 no road and access by foot is difficult. To reach the grazings the crofters travel by boat from Mealasta several times a year and stay in one of the two houses at Aird Bheag which, although vacant, is still in repair. These houses were formerly occupied by estate employees who had crofter status.

511 From the above account, it is evident that in this district as in others, a single croft is not sufficient to support a crofter and his family. On an average, each resident crofter has acquired the equivalent of two crofts, and in addition each crofter supplements the meagre income obtained from his croft by some other occupation, e.g. weaving, labouring, or driving.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE UIG BAY DISTRICT

(Carnish, Ardroil, Timsgarry and Crowlista)

by

Elizabeth Blowers.

134 Uig bay, in which low tide reveals several hundred acres of pure white sand, is surrounded by crofting townships. There are no extensive machair plains but the shell-sand forms a fringe of easily cultivated, lime-rich soils on all sides except Crowlista, and, blown inland by the Atlantic winds, it modifies and improves the texture and acidity of the
361 peaty soil as much as 2,000 yards from the shore. It is not to be wondered at then, that
[175] this bay at one time formed one of the most important centres of population in Lewis. Signs of ancient cultivation, and the ruins of old clachans, are widespread, but most of the present settlements are less than forty years old: almost the whole area was cleared to make farms in the early nineteenth century. Only in Crowlista, with its thin, rocky, arable land and almost complete absence of machair, were the small tenants left undisturbed.
[121] Consequently the district provides an opportunity to compare "old" and "new" townships, both as to lay-out and operation.

133 Carnish, in the south-west, is dominated by a huge gravel ridge - probably an esker, -
361 over a mile long and sloping steeply to the estuary of Amhuinn Chaslabhat with the rocky headland of Machair Carnish to the north. The arable land and houses of Ardroil are situated to the landward side of the hummocky machair land between the esturies of Amhuinn Chaslabhat and the Forsa river which drains Loche Suainaval and Stacsavat. To the north of the bay the old settlement of Crowlista is situated on the rocky headland to the west of the Rethall embayment; there is a good deal of level land in the centre of the township but the slope to the estuary in the north is steep and rocky outcrops occur on the headland. Timsgarry, to the east of Rethall, stretches inland between the headlands of Tolanish and Borranish along the valley of the Erista river.

134 There is a mantle of gravelly drift over this area; the Carnish esker has been mentioned and exposures of up to 120' were also seen in gravel pits in Ardroil and Timsgarry. Along the coast blown shell sand rests on this drift and reaches inland for up to half a mile.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

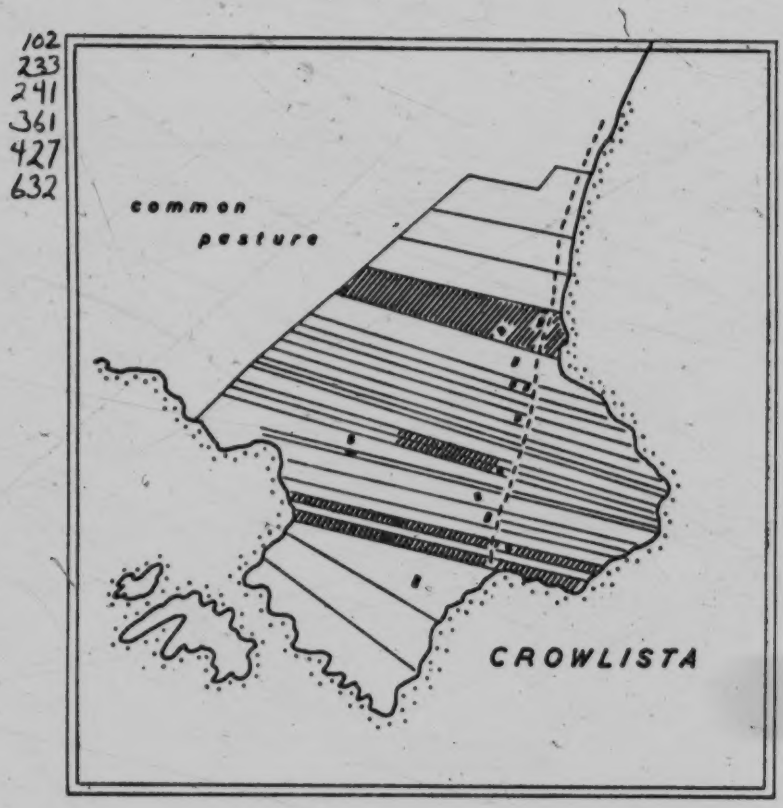

Figure 14

CROWLISTA :
- lay out of crofts of an 'old' township lotted c. 1850.
- crofts shown hatched are held runrig by pairs of tenants

(Compare Fig. 15)

/facing p. 36/

134/ Alluvial soils have developed along the lower reaches of Amnuinn Thoraghair and the Erista river.

137 There are no trees apart from an occasional stunted rowan or willow - willows for
[824] creel making grow still in some old garden enclosures. Hedges, too, are rare so, although individual houses are often carefully sited, there is little cover and the townships as a whole are very exposed to westerly gales. The natural vegetation developed on the machair is of fine closely matted grasses with a good deal of natural clover - very similar to that found on chalk downland. On the peaty moorland the usual moor grasses mosses and heather are dominant, though little encroachment by bracken was noticed.

In Crowlista the strip layout of the crofts dates from a lotting about 1850, (Figure 14)
311 In the new townships, laid out about 1921 (Figure 15) the majority of the crofts are
361 less strip-like and do not run to the shore. Indeed in Ardroil and Timsgarry only five
427 out of twenty-two reach the shore and the rocky headlands with their machair are valuable parts of the common pasture. The six crofts in Carnish run from the shore at the foot of the esker up its flank towards the southwest and almost to its summit. They also have one or two small plots each on the machair.

[133] Crofts in Ardroil are in one piece. An old cattle road forms the north west boundary; from this they rise, steeply in places, to undulating moorland just over 200' high. Numbers 5 - 8 Timsgarry are strips across the Erista valley, rising northwards to just over 170'; 2, 3 and 4 are allotted to make use of arable land on the lower slopes of Knock Valabrie. The houses of crofts No. 1 Timsgarry and No. 1 Ardroil are the former farmhouses.

[417] In Crowlista most of the crofts remain unfenced but in Carnish, Ardroil and Timsgarry all are fenced and many of the fences were being repaired or replaced in 1959. They are not open for common grazing during the winter. Patches of sown hay are fenced within each croft.

[316] There are six recognised croft-holdings in Carnish; one is sub-let so that there are only five "operative" units; two of those are not worked. One has been resumed by the proprietors and is being quarried as an extension of the main quarry between the township dyke and main road. In Ardroil each of the fourteen crofts is worked as a unit - though two carry no stock; in Timsgarry eight crofts are worked as seven units.

In contrast to the above, the old settlement of Crowlista has twenty-five recognised crofts but, by amalgamation and sub-letting these are worked as fourteen units. The Crowlista crofts are small - fourteen are 4.0 acres or less and of those only one is worked as a unit. Crofts as small as 1.5 acres and with a soum of eight sheep can never have been intended to support a family; they are the result of sub-division in earlier generations; the remains of two piers and a curing house point to the importance of
[464] fishing in the past. Twenty-one men were employed in fishing boats about 1914. Sub-letting usually takes place between relatives; of some of the fourteen operative units are quite complicated. One example will suffice (croft numbers are here replaced by letters to prevent publication of personal matters):-

Crofts a, b, c and d are worked as a unit (although they are not adjacent). The tenant of a and b sub-lets c and d for grazing; he also helps with the work on yet a fifth croft. The present b is half of an original croft. West of the road the original croft is held in fixed runrig between b and another croft, not part of this multiple "working" unit; east of the road it has been divided into separate strips. The tenant lives on b.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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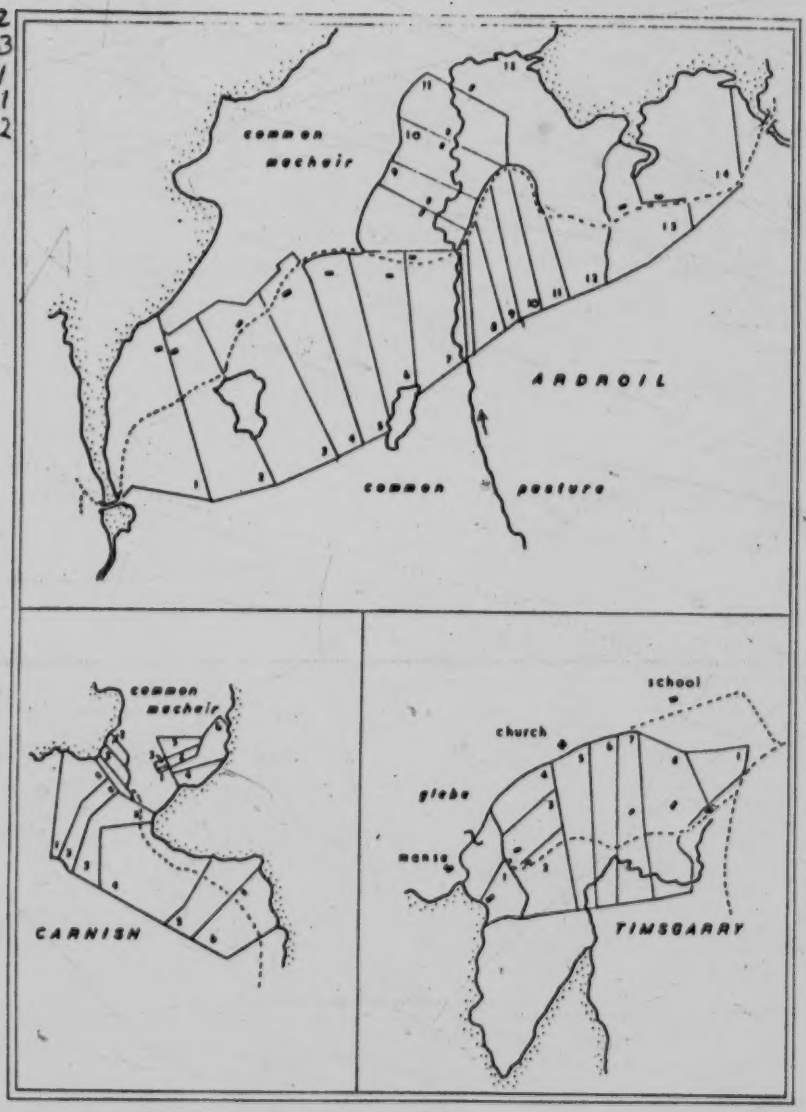

Figure 15.

ARDROIL CARNISH and TIMSGARRY - lay-out of crofts formed from farms in 1921 Compare fig. 14

/facing p. 37/

361 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new
491 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all
[487] but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
[492] two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans call
205 but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor -
366 two wells only are in use.
494
[312]

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. Water supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses. The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all
[366] except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has
205 a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly
[455] and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return
[494] fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars.

The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the
241 smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, and
[231] Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from
[407] Brenish or Enaclete. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years age was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

242 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts
[134] the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the
324 crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

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CALENDAR OF CROFT WORK

	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APR.	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
Gates					‖ shut	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	‖ open	
Oats				ploughing / sowing	.....	.....	.....	harvest	.....			
Potatoes				planting earlies / main crop	.....	.....	lifting earlies / main crop	.....	.....			
Hay						.....	.....	.....	.....			
Peats					cutting	.....	drying	.....	carting	.....		
Cattle					.... main	calving	period	.....	.....			
Sheep				lambing ①		shearing wedders / ewes		②	③		④	⑤

① Hoggs removed from machair
② Lambs weaned
③ Dipping
④ Tupping
⑤ Rams to common pasture

Figure 16

/facing p. 38/

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogge
[427] but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whole is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hogge on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hogge
[232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hogge that are sent. The minister at Timsgarry, who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well; the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked.
[235] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.[1]

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
175 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on
[361] each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grased, are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Amhuinn Thoraghain and Allt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area, still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

464 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment.
228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil, three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

464 Mitchels's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
[316] ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present.
[312] The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two
[317] Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric shceme
[466] site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

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* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

1. [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

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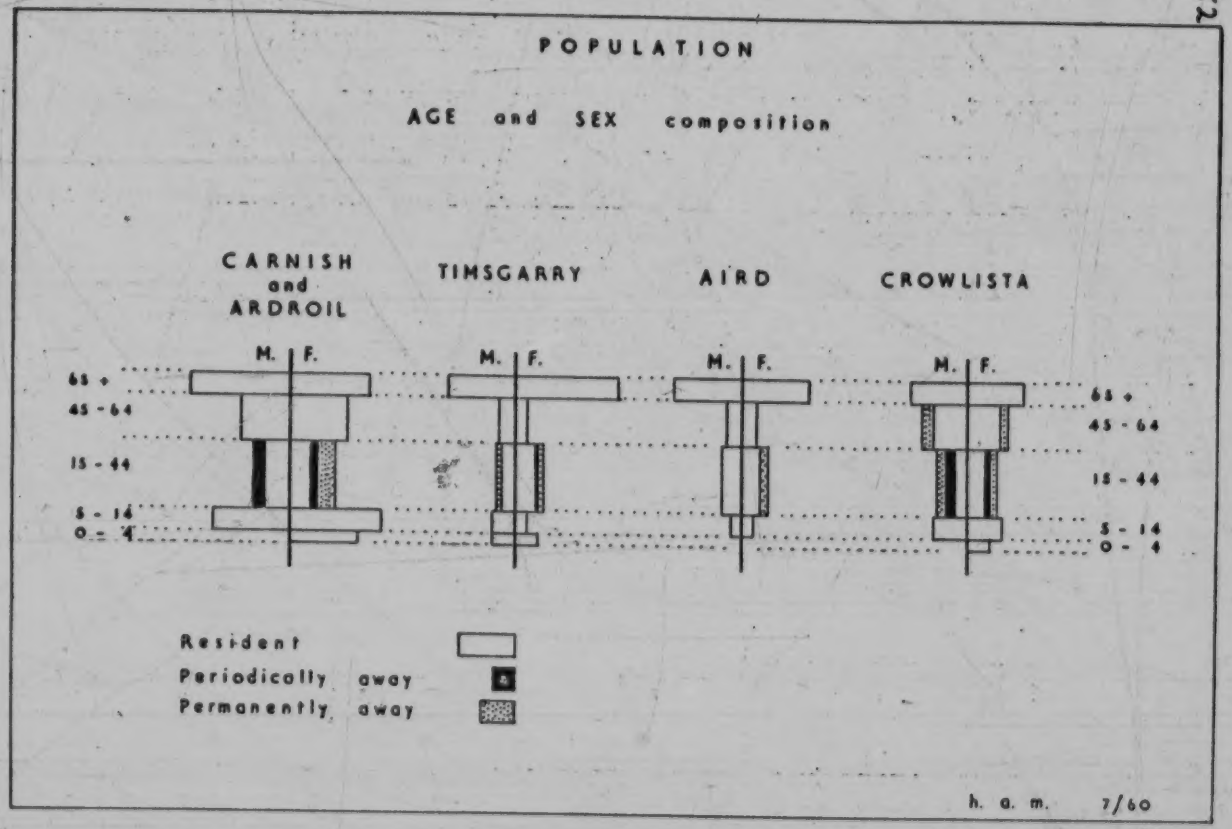

Figure 17

/facing p. 39/

484 As yet the tourist trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting relations but many
485 houses offer suitable accommodation for people who would appreciate quiet holidays in these very beautiful surroundings. The distance from Stornoway, the difficulty of obtain-
[487] ing varied food supplies - and the weather - were cited as disadvantages! Passengers on a weekly coach tour from Stornoway are supplied with meals at an Ardróil house which has good access to the beach but otherwise the crofters show little interest in the possibilities of tourism.

162 In common with other crofting townships, the greatest problem here is that of an ageing population because the younger people seek employment outside their township. The
166 diagrams[1] illustrate the age-heavy structure of the permanent resident group and also the
464 numbers of the insurable population periodically or permanently away. The lack of suitable work, for young women particularly, is also shown. The ages of the tenants also illustrate this problem. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty or 34% are over sixty-five. Serious, too, is the loss by emigration of people between fifteen and sixty-five. Of the total 'working population', 35% have left this region since 1939. The corresponding figure for Crowlista alone, the older settlement with smaller crofts, is as high as 42%.

241 We found in this part of Uig some crofts efficiently and energetically worked by young
231 tenants, and if reasonable stock prices are obtained the larger crofts can be worked
427 profitably. However no croft will fully support a family; ancillary employment is always
[611] sought by crofters with growing families yet many crofts are carrying less stock than they
[887] might because some tenants are not interested in, or able for, agriculture. The croft is increasingly thought of as a home, as part-time employment - often for older members of the family - and as a place for retirement.

000 It is easy to list schemes for improvement and change:- dairying to supply Stornoway with milk, poultry and pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivation under glass, the tourist industry, forestry on a small scale, lobster and crab fishing, etc. Such schemes would require capital not available in the townships, careful planning, and tactful administration by people with real knowledge of this area and its people. Meanwhile even the potential production of the crofts is by no means realised.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

131 The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along the western side of the steep and narrow valley of the Amhuinn Gil na h-Airde three miles
133 north of Crowlista. After leaving Loch Meacheit, the river flows northward through a gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then across a narrow
427 flood-plain into the rocky bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in
133 arrangement and varying in size from 3½ to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the right bank of the river, up the steep, rocky slope above the left bank and widening out over the more gently slopes between the 100 ft. and 200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently enlarged, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional ground to the north or south.

1. [See figures 12 (facing p.34) and 17 (facing p.39)--Analyst]

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
[231] the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos
in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird
654 lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village
there is now an R.A.F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common
pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the
inhabitants.

361 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
[491] at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
[443] butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N.A.A.F.I.
within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100
ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds
and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below
[205] the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
[342] have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the
houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
[354] more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
[312] modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
311 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an
[491] elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so
that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions,
but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to
the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown
241 grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial
fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the
cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse.
[407] Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
[25] tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
[824] vated; bere was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
[231] extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that
there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow
for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses
no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

233 On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement
of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The
lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented
this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many
in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there
are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most
of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
[166] periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither
has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the
parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 -
44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

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Figure 18

VALTOS
KNEEP
and
REEF.

C.P. : Common pasture

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 15

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TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Valtos	149	1,482*	3,905**	40	1	36
Kneep	155	459*	1,806**	19	-	18
Reef	94	207 101(M)	770	15	-	14
	398	2,249	6,481	74	1	68***

NOTES: * including some machair; ** shielings;
M machair; *** Of whom 14 absent.

/facing p. 41/

511 It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Aird; the only two families
469 without ancillary occupations are those where all the members are elderly. Of the others
288 with members in the working age-groups, five have one or more members employed in a civilian capacity at the R.A.F. station and there are five regular weavers.

621 Aird used to be a self-contained community; the land was fully cultivated and a certain
178 amount of fishing was carried on in spite of the difficulty of drawing up the boats over the rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the R.A.F. station, and if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search of other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF

by

David G. Symes.

131 On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a secondary
133 peninsula of more moderate, but none-the-less broken relief. This, together with an adjacent area of the main peninsula, the islands of Pabay, Vaccay, Vuia Mor and several smaller islands, comprises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Kneep and Reef.

133 This secondary peninsula is accidented in the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock and steeply angled small hills. The relief is greater in the west (summit 450') than in the east (summit 275'). Relatively level land is to be found only on the machairs of Reef and
133 Cliff (the latter only poorly developed) and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair,
134 about 180 acres, consists of a succession landwards of tidal sands, a belt of sand dunes (c. 20' O.D.) and a sandy plain sloping gently inland towards a reed filled lagoon. The machair at Cliff is approximately 40 acres in extent; here there are fixed dunes and, in addition, the sand has been blown inland to at least 100 ft. O.D. Except where the machair sand has drifted upslope to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin soils of the Valtos peninsula are predominantly peaty. Although the length of the peninsula faces north the extremes of Atlantic weather are moderated by the protection afforded by the Aird peninsula and the islands of Pabay and Vaccay.

175 In the period before the lotting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some five
424 clachans - Valtos, Cliff, Kneep, Uigean and Reef - some of which shared common pastures.
361 During the early part of the nineteenth century and earlier, apparently, than the 1850 lotting
[632] carried out in most of Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clachan areas: Valtos and Cliff shared a common pasture and so became one township; similarly Kneep and Uigean were combined.

175 In Kneep it seems that the croft boundaries were not accepted by the crofters. Certain
311 basic divisions between groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today,
427 and within these basic divisions a certain regularity of distribution of strips persists, but

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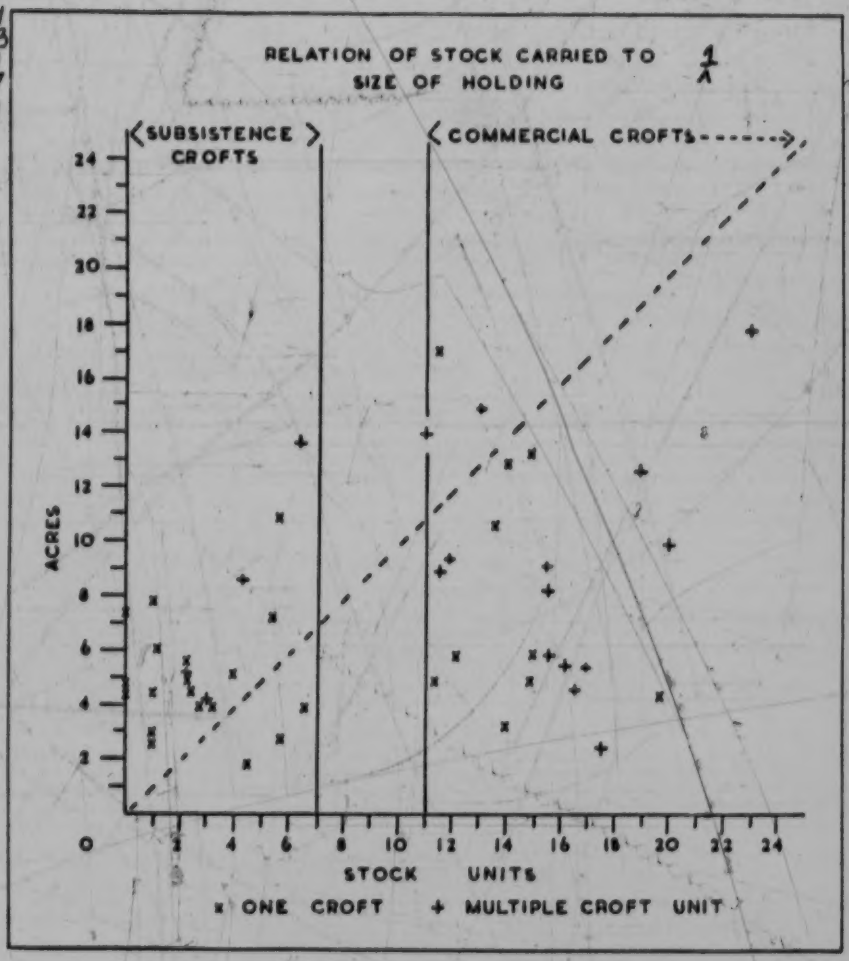

Figure 19
/facing p. 42/

1. [See p. 45 for discussion of chart--Analyst]

195 the crofts at Kneep are still highly fragmented: the fifteen crofts comprise over one hundred
311 and eighty separate arable plots. The lotted crofts at Reef were cleared in 1842 to provide
427 land for a sheep farm. Plans to clear the remainder of the Valtos peninsula were thwarted
[228] by the Fisheries Board because Valtos and Kneep were then good centres for the white fish
[50] industry. As late as 1892 Valtos and Kneep had forty boats, providing employment for one
[464] hundred and forty-five men. Valtos with thirty-two boats and one hundred and twenty fisher-men was second only to Carloway as a fishing centre in Uig. With the prosperity of the fishing industry, the population of Valtos and Kneep had risen rapidly - from 467 in 1841 to 659 in 1891. Some, at least, of the subdivisions of Kneep date from this period. Reef was scheduled by the Deer Forest Commission (1896) for resettlement by crofters and in 1908 an attempt was made to do this, but agricultural experts advised against it, on the grounds of poor water supply, scarcity of arable land (only ninety-three acres old arable) and the risk that, if cultivated, the machair would suffer wind erosion. Nevertheless, in 1921, Reef was resettled by ex-servicemen from Valtos and Kneep. At the time the sheep
[233] farm was only carrying a stock of one hundred and seventy sheep - less than half the crofters' sheep stock in 1959.

427 Tables 15 - 18 summarise the more significant points of the economy of the Valtos
178 peninsula. Table 16 illustrates the fact that the economy is in decline. Only two-thirds of the total possible units are being worked. Many of the crofters have abandoned their crofts
[162] and the younger generations are unwilling to take over. Of those remaining to work the crofts 18% are over sixty-five, and a further 47% are between forty-five and sixty-four.

TABLE 16

Crofts and Crofters

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
427 463 632 Legal crofts:	40	18	15	73
No. in joint tenancy	2	4	0	6
Total possible units:	42	22	15	79
No. of operative units 8/59:	29 (60%)	15 (68%)	8 (53%)	52 (66%)
Joint tenancy crofts as one unit:	1	3	0	4
Cases of subletting:	8 (+2 part crofts)	4	6	18
Family combination of crofts:	2	1	1	4
Derelict crofts:	2	1	0	3
Crofts worked by: Full time crofter	3	1	1	5
crofter with regular work	8	7	0	15
crofter with periodic work	13	3	4	20
crofter over 65 (or invalid)	5	1	3	9

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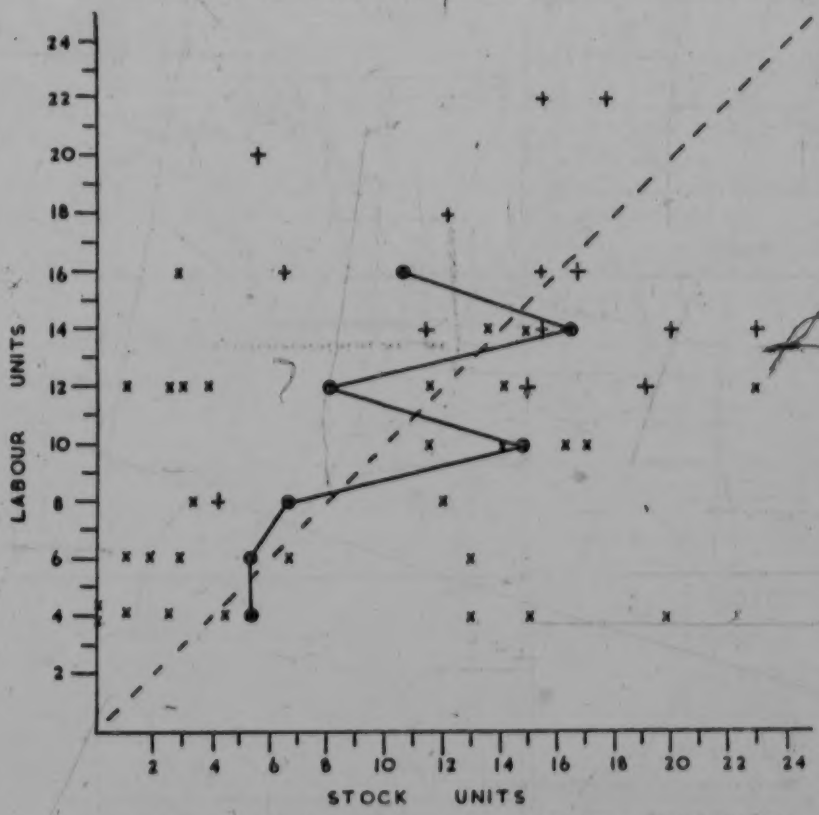
RELATION OF STOCK CARRIED TO LABOUR AVAILABILITY [1]



x ONE CROFT + MULTIPLE UNIT ● POINT OF EQUILIBRIUM

INDEX		LABOUR UNITS
FULL TIME CROFTER	UNDER 45	16 UNITS
" " "	OVER 45	14 "
CROFTER WITH REGULAR WORK		
	UNDER 45	12 "
"	OVER 45	10 "
CROFTER WITH IRREGULAR WORK		
	UNDER 45	8 "
"	OVER 45	6 "
CROFTER	OVER 65	4 "

Figure - 20

/facing p. 43/

1. [See p. 45 for discussion of chart--Analyst]

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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TABLE 17

Livestock

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	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
a) No. of crofts with 3 cows	0	1	0	1
" " 2 "	13	2	2	17
" " 1 "	14	7	3	24
" " 0 "	2	5	3	10
" " 50 + sheep	11	6	5	22
" " 1-50 "	15	5	2	22
" " 0 "	3	3	1	7
b) " " 20 + cow units	1	2	0	3
" " 10-20 "	14	4	6	24
" " 1-10 "	14	5	1	20
" " 0 "	0	3	1	4
c) " " overscourned (total stock)	7/29	9/11	5/7	21/47
" " " sheep	14/29	8/11	7/7	29/47
Sheep scum for township	1038	152	225	
Sheep stock in township	1154	537	410	

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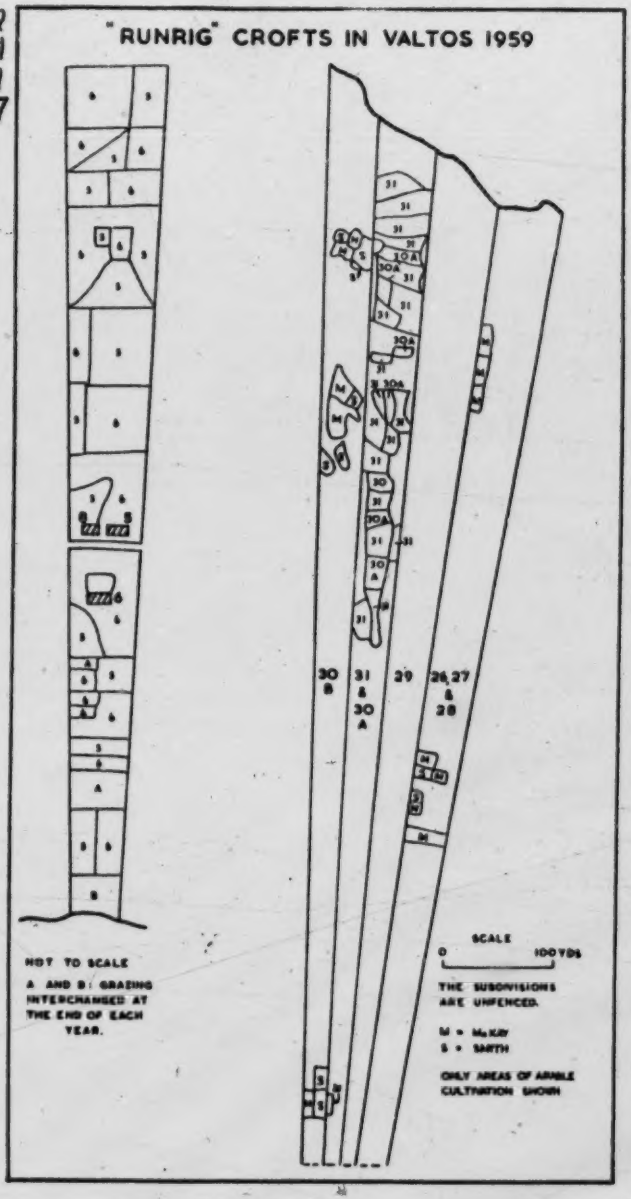

Figure 21

/facing p. 44/

427 311 231 241 246 Tables 16 and 18 support the definition of a croft as a small livestock-economy unit, primarily concerned with the provision of milk for the family and young cattle and wool for sale. There are no cash sales of crops - the whole of the land-use is directed towards the subsistence of the crofter and his stock. The cereals (almost entirely oats) and the hay (occupying a very small proportion of land for a livestock farming region) are grown for winter fodder for the cattle and sheep. The larger part of the croft is given over to grazing - usually of poor to medium quality - which receives very little attention from the crofter. Less than one third of the holdings have sown grassland (and in these few cases it is normally less than half an acre) - a fact which suggests a passive rather than active attitude of the crofter towards his land.

244 In addition, every croft has its own small potato plot - rarely more than half an acre to provide for family needs, and most crofts (58%) possess a vegetable garden - again for house use.

433 Nearly all the crofts carry one or two cows - the second cow ensures a milk supply all the year round. Young stock are sold at one year to eighteen months old, rather than as calves - a result of the incentive offered by the calf-rearing subsidy. The milking stock is replaced very infrequently.

427 233 434 Where one croft differs from the next is in the numbers of sheep stock. Table 17 shows an even distribution of crofts with more than fifty and less than fifty sheep; but, in fact, over one third of all crofts have less than twenty-five sheep. Sheep are the only source of money income on the croft, except for the annual sale of the calf, and subsidies, and there is a considerable difference in the size of sheep stock between the truly subsistence and "retirement" crofts on the one hand and the "commercial" crofts on the other. Hence the souming figures, and here note the contrast between Valtos with the sheep stock equal to 111% of the scum and Kneep - 353%!

000 An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on

TABLE 18
LAND USE

243 244 246 311 427 231

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef
Average size of holding:			
Old arable	2.5	4.1	11.0
Outrun	2.8	6.2	
Percentage of croftland under:			
cereals	7.5	7.0	6.0
potatoes	2.5	5.0	3.0
Sown grass (hay)	5.5	1.0	5.5
natural hay	3.5	10.0	4.0
natural grazing	75.5	76.0	75.0

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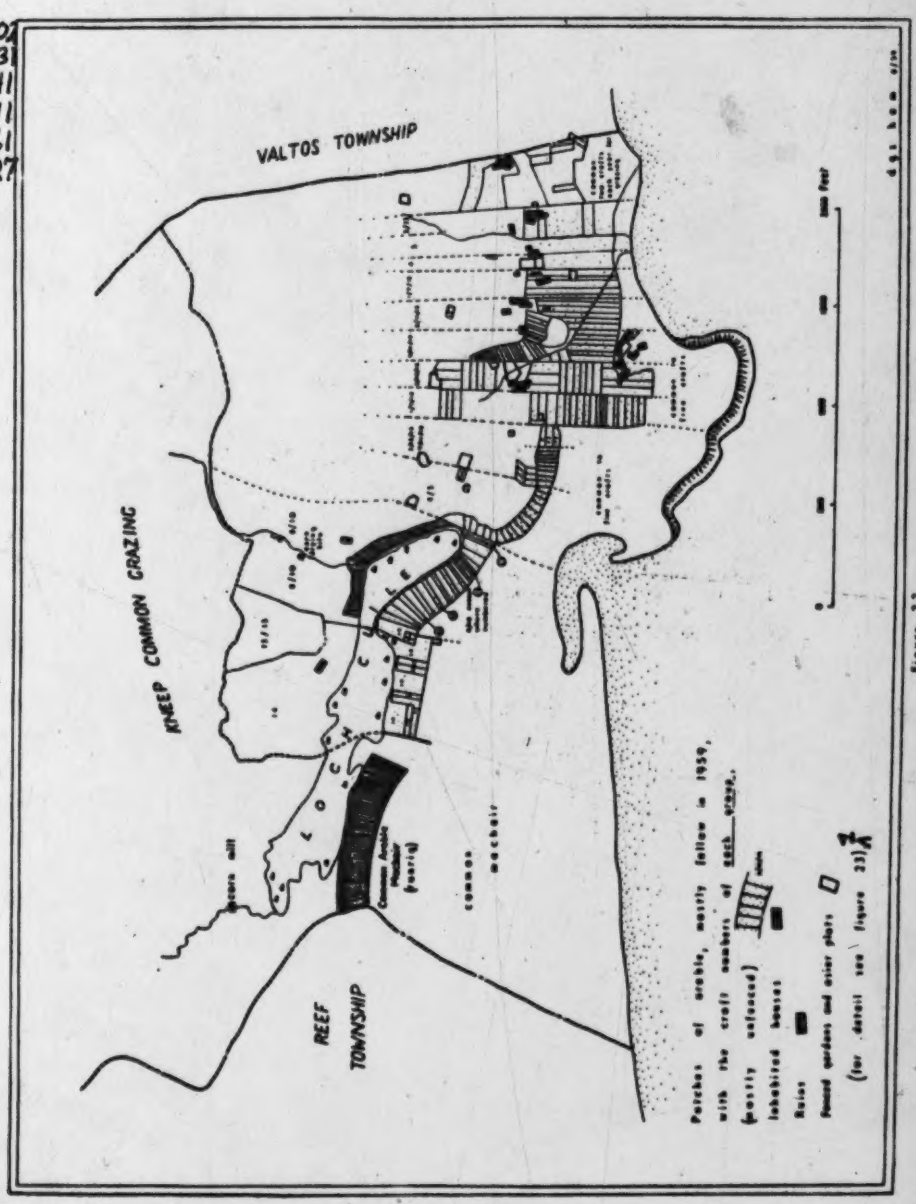

[1] [For fig. 23, see "facing p. 45"--Analyst]

An attempt has been made in
Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on
231 the individual croft to the size of holding and to the availability and age of the labour force.
311 In both diagrams there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0 - 7 units)
464 and the commercial holding (11+ units), but there is no definite relationship between stock
471 and size of holding or labour availability. The inclusion of the points of equilibrium for
233 certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected state of affairs: in the case of
162 crofters with regular work and full time crofters, those over the age of forty-five carry a larger stock from those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to the economic problem of crofting lies in the amalgamation of holdings in order to create a more viable economic unit, but the indication from these diagrams is that an increase in
[443] the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to an increase in stock. It is the absence of accessible markets that deter the crofter from increasing his agricultural production.

511 In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihood
464 for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters under sixty-five almost 90% supplement the croft income by other employment. Of these casual labour (at present mainly at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57% regular work - particularly weaving - 43%. The combination of crofting and weaving provides probably the best return for the labour: one crofter with a croft of 3.3 acres, carrying two cows, two followers and ninety sheep (sixty ewes) made the following estimates for 1958:

231 FROM THE CROFT:

434 Sale of two year-old calves	£80
236 Cow and calf subsidies	£40
286 Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb.	£75
	£ 195 (1)

FROM WEAVING -

at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p.w.)	£550
GROSS INCOME	£745

434 Weaving abour 30 hours a week apparently leaves him sufficient time to run the croft
[288] efficiently; at present a crofter supplementing his income by a labourer's wage at Gisla
[464] hydro electric scheme would have to put in nearly sixty hours per week to achieve the same financial reward.

433 The economy of the Valtos peninsula has been changing, and contracting, for several
178 years. The number of unoccupied crofts is increasing; commercial fishing ended at the time of the first World War; the shielings have been abandoned as summer cattle pastures.
[228] The Valtos shielings near Loch Scanadale were abandoned during the 1939 - 45 war, due
[231] mainly to the lack of manpower in the township, though some was used intermittently until 1953. The shielings of Kneep and Reef were abandoned in the late 1930's, at which time Kneep had some fifty milk cows as compared with fourteen in 1959.

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[1] Against this figure, must be set the costs of production (i.e. fertilisers, new seed, winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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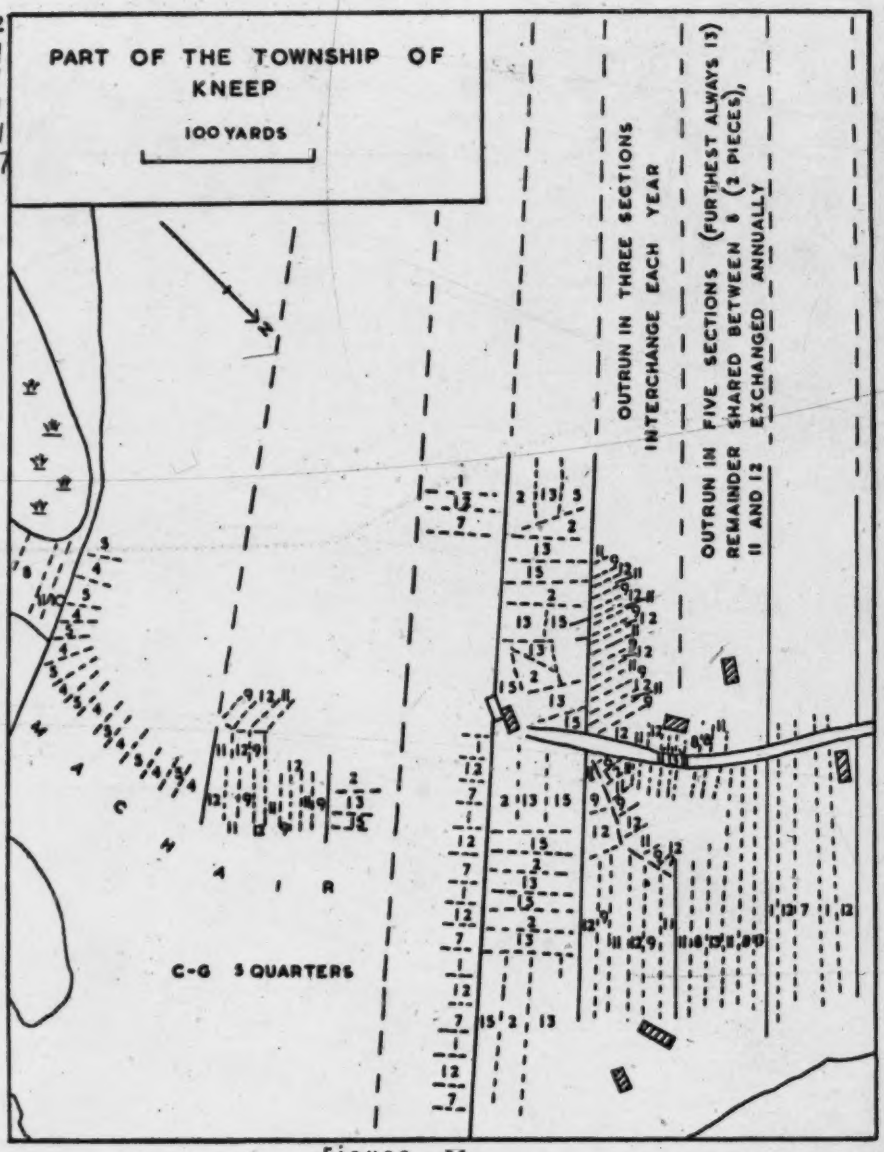

Figure 23
/facing p. 46/

241 The area under cultivation has contracted in the past twenty years. Before 1939 most
178 crofts had about twice as much land under cultivation and at Valtos some were cultivating small patches outside the township fence. The cultivation of the common machair at Cliff ceased in 1939. The land had been "too long in labour" (potatoes had been planted on the same ground for nearly one hundred years), and the soil had been affected by over-liberal applications of sulphate of ammonia which replaced the traditional soot-impregnated thatch from the black-houses. Moreover the Cliff machair was particularly vulnerable to "blow-outs" after ploughing. Cultivation of the Kneep common arable has all but ceased, and the fifty-two acres of arable machair in the township of Reef have been untouched since the 1930s. It is noticeable that the common machair cultivation and the shieling economy
[231] ended about the same time. Smaller numbers of better-quality cattle were needed to meet the daily milk requirements of the croft; a much smaller area of cultivation was therefore needed to provide winter fodder and consequently more land was available on the croft for potato cultivation. Consequently the more distant machair was replaced by cultivation within the croft.

433 Contraction and decline of the economy is common to all three townships, but the form
178 and cause of this decline is different for each, and where the township consists of two separate settlement nuclei there is frequently a difference between the two parts:

632 The township of Valtos is in two distinct parts: crofts 1 - 34 are a succession of narrow
427 strips about ½ mile in length stretching from the shore to about 200' O.D.. The boundaries of the outer crofts (nos. 1 and 34) if projected to a point on Pabay, form an angle of 45°,
361 so that the crofts are narrower at the shore (40 - 70') than at the upper limit (100 - 180'). Of these 34 crofts, 19 are in so-called runrig, eight in pairs and one group of three. (Fig. 21).
311 Cultivation is carried out on numerous intermixed small patches, held permanently; the grazings are interchanged at the year end. Fragmentation imposes a severe limitation on the economic efficiency of the croft. None of the crofts at Valtos is individually fenced though some groups of two or three are fenced together. With the contraction of cultivation
[241] only the less steep areas are cultivated, to facilitate ploughing.[1] As a result, the bulk of the cultivated plots are to be found at either end of the croft - near the shore and on the hill top against the township fence.

The remaining five crofts of Valtos, and a squatter, are at Cliff in the valley separating the Valtos peninsula from that of Aird. Here the crofts are fenced, more compact and slightly larger (4.8 acres as against 3.8 acres) and they occupy more level terrain than
[24] those in Valtos. Two of the crofts are worked in runrig - these being situated on the machair. The houses are set back about a hundred yards from the road, along the western township fence.

Kneep township is again in two parts: Crofts 16 - 18 together with the Manse and two cottars, are situated across the neck of the Glebe promontory, on the south side of the peninsula. The five legal crofts are today worked as three units, fenced, reasonably compact and with holdings of exceptional size for the area - average 15.1 acres. Crofts
[433] 1 - 15 at Kneep on the northern side of the peninsula adjoin those of Valtos. Here is a climax of land fragmentation, which imposes severe limits upon croft efficiency. Twelve of the fifteen crofts are worked; of these only numbers 4 and 5 are compact homogenous crofts; numbers 3 and 6 are compact except that part of the land which lies within their boundaries belongs to croft no. 13. The remaining eight crofts comprise a hundred and eight separate plots of croftland and fifty-two separate plots on the common machair. One croft with 2.8 acres arable the average size of each piece is a mere 0.15 acres!
[233] The grazing land on the croft is divided into strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into

1. Pre-1939 much of Valtos was cultivated in lazy beds - by spade. Today 9% is cultivated by spade; 43% by horse plough + 48% by tractor.

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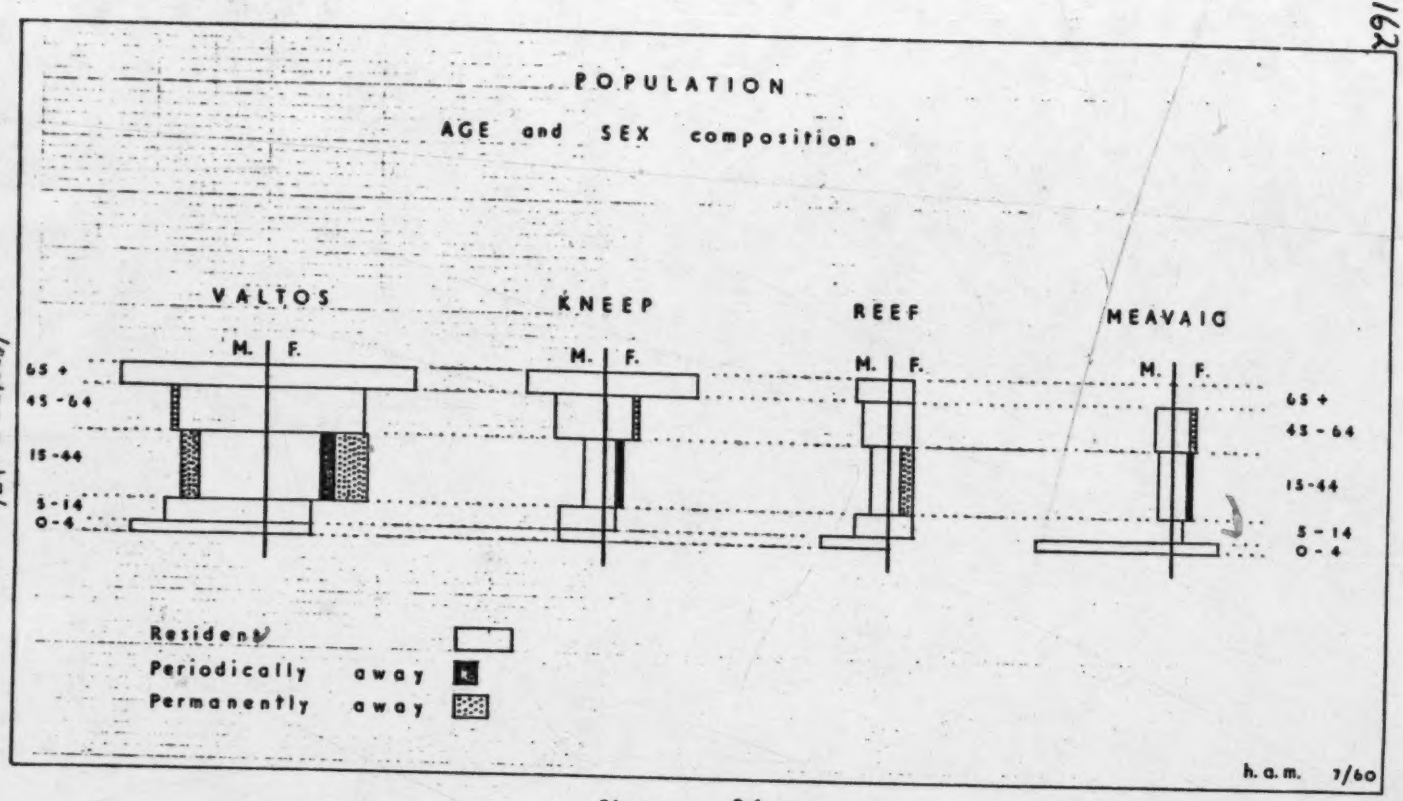

Figure 24

/facing p. 47/

632 361 strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of 427 the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to 311 accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.
[233]

[133] The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke [312] running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house [241] is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse [407] and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

433 The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over [729] sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

[233] Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

162 Fig. 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the 163 most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

131 By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years 20 ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at [443] Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the [346] peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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Figure 25

LITTLE
LOCH ROAG
DISTRICT

ENL.: Enlargement to common pasture.

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 19

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TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Caryshader	44	1,260	-	14	1	14
Ungshader	35	435	598	4	-	4
Geshader	114	850		11	-	11
Enaclete	73	662	617	9	-	8
Non-crofting	c.40	800+	-	-	4	-
	306	4,007+	1,215	38	5	37*

NOTES: + also unrecorded areas of grazing on deer forests
* Of whom four are absent.

/facing p. 48/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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CHAPTER EIGHT

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Meavaig, Caryshader, Ungshader, Geshader, Enaclete and Gisla).

by

Annis Heawood.

133 Little Loch Roag is a narrow sea loch extending southwards about twelve miles inland
[133] from Loch Roag proper. It has been formed by glacial erosion picking out one of the
n.n.e. to s.s.w. lines of weakness characteristic of the Lewisian gneiss. Although
[134] generally steep-sided, recent glaciation left much ground moraine, and this material, best preserved on the less steep slopes, provides arable land for several small townships on or near its western shores. The eastern shore is the more rugged and although a few small townships once existed there is now only the small farm and shooting lodge of Scaliscro. At the head of the loch is an estate cottage for Morsgail Lodge which is a large mansion with extensive fishing and shooting rights, grandly isolated about a mile inland from the main road.

361 The district here described includes Gisla, near the head of Little Loch Roag, Enaclete,
[635] Ungshader, and Geshader, on the western shores of Loch Roag proper. All these are
strung out on or close to the main road. Meavaig, like Gisla, is a small farm but also
365 functions as something of a metropolis for south Uig; it has the post-master, whose other functions include registrar and receiver of wrecks it has two churches, a telephone exchange, the district doctor and manse, and a petrol pump. At the time of our visit it was also the base for the 'bus service. Its metropolitan functions arose in the days before the road replaced a ferry boat service from Callanish; here the mails were landed until some date in the 1920s, and here, too, the estate kept coach and horses for transport to Uig lodge, three miles further west.

361 There is no record of the original settlement of the four crofting townships, nor of
Gisla, which was a township (or 'joint farm') of five crofters until about 1850. Some
365 modern houses and bungalows have been built, many with easier access to the road than
[632] the old black houses, now often used as byres. Water supply does not seem to present a serious problem because of the extensive moorland gathering grounds to the west, but there are not at present any water-supply schemes. Electricity is, of course, available. Caryshader and Enaclete are on the main Stornoway road being served at present by the 'bus and by vans selling meat, groceries and fish at least once a week. Enaclete has a sub-post-office. Geshader is less fortunate since, although vans call regularly, 'buses must be met at the junction of the unsurfaced track and the main Stornoway road, where the school serving this district also stands. The track has been extended in recent years so that it now reaches all the houses. Ungshader, however, is smaller and although it has had similar delivery arrangements, it is now a dying settlement largely due to its inaccessibility.

427 The crofts are mostly regular in shape on the landward side and fenced except where
the land is very broken as in northern Enaclete. In Caryshader there are fourteen legal
632 crofts which at present are worked as eleven units; one is used only as a holiday home
by its owner-occupier and there is one squatter on the common grazing. In Geshader
311 there are eleven crofts, each worked independantly; Ungshader has four crofts but the

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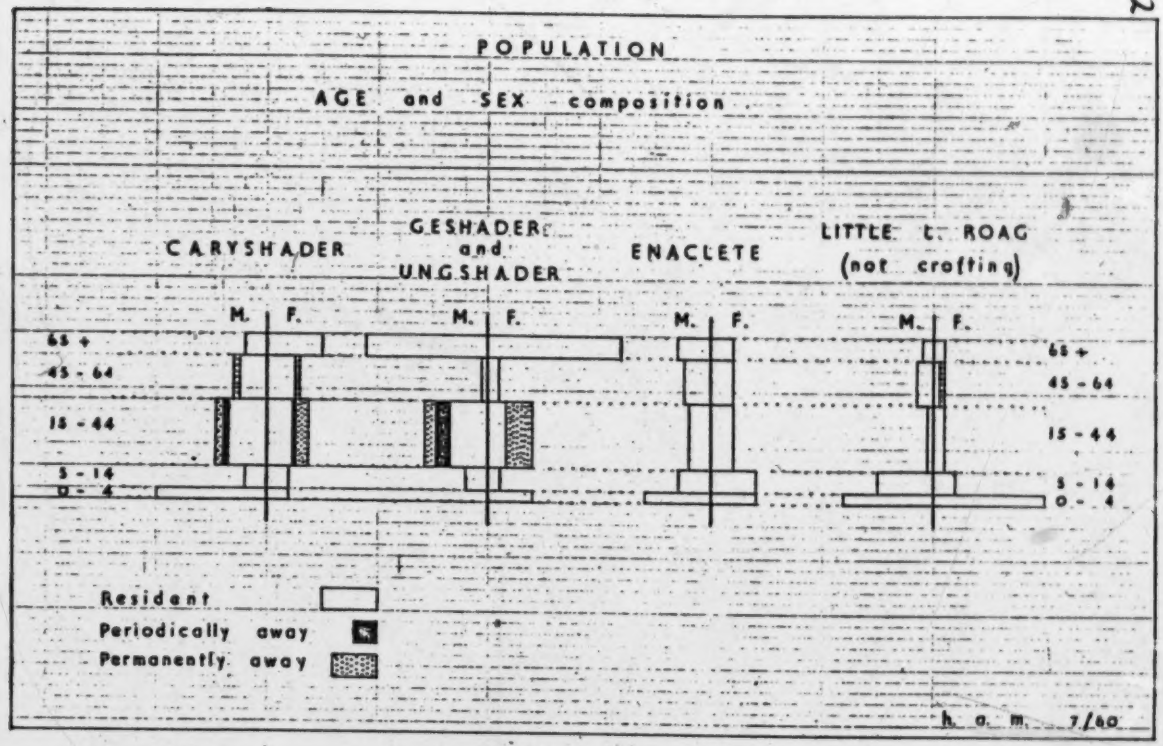

Figure 26

/facing p. 49/

427 joint tenants of one have moved to Geshader while continuing to work the Ungshader land.
632 Another is preparing to move to Enaclete and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Chroistean
311 Cottage. At present, three working units remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with ten units, one being rented by joint tenants.

221 The rhythm of work is similar to that in other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oats are planted in April followed by lambing and peat cutting in May. In June and July the sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to the common grazings. In August the peats are carted, once they are dry, by lorry direct to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lambs are weaned in September, harvest is then carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take place in November. The sheep are then returned to the township grazing though the lambs
241 may be fed with hay on the croft. There is little regular crop rotation and only a small number of crofters seem to undersow oats, thus improving the quality of future hay crops. Gardens are not important and only provide for family needs but Caryshader particularly has a number, some growing flowers as well as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely from croft to croft as well township to township. Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the shore and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshader are usually fed on artificials.

231 Most crofters keep one milk cow with a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn sales in Caryshader. However, some now rely on their neighbours for milk in return for grazing and one croft has turned to goats, as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on Geshader -Ungshader common grazing as it is completely fenced; and Geshader is responsible for its upkeep.

233 Lambing seems to have been generally good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact figures. The Morsgail Estate and Gisla farm also run considerable flocks. The common - pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlargement, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acres for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader near Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres
[344] on Floday island. The shielings have been disused since the war. Peat is normally cut to the west of the road but at least one elderly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his croft for this purpose to save the effort of working further afield.

241 Generally speaking the land now cropped only represents one third to one half of that
178 worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when the crofting population was larger and when much greater numbers of cattle were kept through the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and
231 more oats. The cattle numbers are much less than the total souming but sheep are in excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazing by sheep has caused a decline in grazing quality.

464 Clearly in these townships, apart from the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the means of livelihood is sought elsewhere. At present there are altogether fifty-three men in the working age group (15 - 64) in all four townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine permanently and five periodically. Thirty have regular or periodic employment besides crofting and of these seven work at Gisla on the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, some of them part-time, four hire out vans, two do post-office work and others have varied occupations while only three are full-time crofters. At present there are few men in the Merchant Navy and fishing does not provide an occupation although many share rowing-boats in their spare time, and fish for domestic use.

162 The population as a whole is ageing and of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four
[169] (roughly 30%) work away permanently or have emigrated. It is noticeable that there are few crofts worked by people with young families

000 In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that the fate of the crofting townships depends more

than anything on transport. Provided it continues to be possible for people to get work and for vans to call they are likely to continue as settlements if not true crofting townships, for many years to come. If not, or if work in the district is no longer available, the fate of Ungshader may yet await the other three.

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APPENDIX A

(1) Agricultural statistics for South Uig - August, 1959.

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pasture: (acres)	Gardens	CATTLE: Sum:	Milk:	Others:	Calves:	SHEEP: Sum:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Horses	Ponies
AND BREAG	-	1	1	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	2,500	?	?		
BREMISH	28	-	13	16	4	29	100	11	84	18	15	13	508	703	443	568	4	1
ISLIVIG	10	-	5	7	2	11	30	3	43	6	3	4	228	224	174	105	2	-
MANGERSTA	13	-	10	12	3	17	23	3	68	16	9	13	383	474	334	371	1	-
CARNISH	6	-	3	2	1	4	61	4	26	4	1	4	270	110	89	40	1	-
ARNISOL	14	-	12	7	2	21	321	13	62	15	5	9	625	358	277	171	1	-
TIMSGARRY	8	-	7	5	1	12	63	7	23	8	-	4	275	177	143	108	1	-
HAMIE ETC.	-	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	-	2	-	1	-	38	35	5	-	-
AIRD	10	-	8	4	1	9	35	8	34	6	2 (Goats)	1	206	226	193	166	-	-
CROMLISTA	24	-	13	16	7	19	59	6	89	15	3	9	414	487	374	227	-	-
VALTOS	40	1	29	22	7	15	104	19	220	41	1	29	1,033	916	781	524	-	-
KNEEP	19	-	13	11	7	19	118	10	76	14	6	9	455	403	337	247	1	-
REEF	15	-	8	5	2	9	77	7	25	7	3	9	225	249	202	190	-	-
CARTSHADER	14	1	12	6	4	9	24	3	32	8	1 (2 Goats)	4	183	199	176	110	1	-
OSHADER	11	-	11	14	3	16	82	10	38	15	4	11	337	594	442	415	-	-
UIGSHADER	4	-	3	5	1	7	23	3	17	3	1	2	150	130	125	125	-	-
KNOCLETE	9	-	9	13	3	13	44	6	32	14	2	12	323	335	247	308	-	-
OTHERS (non-crofting)	-	5	5	3	1	7	54	2	-	7 (16 pigs & 2 goats)	16	12	-	295	210	232	-	1

Notes:

(a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in the text.

(b) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the grazing regulations were first made unless some other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

(c) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions (ewes/lambs/others) are as reported (see Appendix A (2)).

(d) Where there is a specific soum for a horse this has been added, (half to the cattle soum and half to the sheep soum) after allowing for any horses actually present.

(e) Where there is a soum for two-year old cattle this has been included in the cattle soums at the rate of 2 two-year olds to one cow.

APPENDIX A, continued.

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(2) Additional data relating to township sheep stocks, August, 1959

TOWNSHIP:	TOTAL STOCK: as recorded: (including lambs)	TOTAL STOCK: as estimated: (including lambs)	LAMBING: as reported:	STOCKING RATIO: estimated: (per 100 acres of common grazing)	STOCKING RATIO: ewes: (per 100 acres of common grazing)
BRENISH	1,714	1,700	63%	25	7
ISLIVIC	503	500	78%	26	11
MARGERSTA	1,179	1,200	70%	30	10
CARNISH & ARDMOIL	1,045	1,200	78%	16	12
TIMSGARRY	428	650	81%	20	8
AIRD	585	600	85%	35	12
CROWLISTA	1,080	1,200	77%	35	12
VALTOS	2,221	2,300	86%	43	19
[illegible]	987	1,000	84%	44	20
REEF	641	800	82%	74	21
CARYSHADER	485	500	88%	40	15
UNGSHADER & GESHADER	1,831	1,800	78%	95	26
ENACLETT	890	900	74%	70	26

NOTES: (a) The ratio of estimated sheep stock to each 100 acres of common grazings cannot be compared directly with the sows per 100 acres because the latter takes no account of the lambs of the current season.

(b) Notes (b) and (d) to Appendix A (1) apply to this table also.

APPENDIX A, continued.

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(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, South Uig, August 1959.

Status* of tenants:-		Area of holding: 1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	20.1+ acres	TOTAL:
Regular employment	M 54	5	17	11	6	1	2	2	44
	M 65	-	1	--	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M 65	4	10	5	5	3	-	-	27
	M 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full-time crofters	M 65	4	1	5	2	1	-	1	14
	M 65	8	13	13	8	7	5	4	58
	F 65	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	4
	F 65	1	4	1	1	-	-	1	8
Absent M		5	7	8	3	-	-	-	23
Absent F		4	7	-	2	-	-	-	13
TOTAL		31	63	43	27	12	7	10	193

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(4) Principal croft workers status by size of effective agricultural unit, South Uig, August 1959

Status* of croft worker		Area of effective agricultural unit (acres):- 1.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	20.1+	TOTAL:
Regular employment	M 65	2	21	14	11	9	6	4	67
	M 65	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M 65		13	7	5	6	-	2	33
	M 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M 65	2	4	1	-	7	2	2	18
	M 65	2	8	8	7	6	5	4	40
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		2	1	1	1	1	-	6
TOTAL		6	48	32	24	29	14	12	165

* Occupation, sex and age (under or over 65 years).

1. [Errata: See category 116, (introductory p.v), for corrections--Analyst]

APPENDIX A continued

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(5) Stocking and cultivation by size of effective units, South Uig, August 1959.

Stocking is assessed according to proportion of the scum held, cultivation according to acreage of arable crops, i.e. excluding hay; some units are omitted for lack of data, (consequently totals do not correspond.)

	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units							All sizes	Actual number of units
	1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0		
Proportion of scum held:									
Nil	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	3	4
Less than 50%	1	8	5	3	3	3	2	26	40
50%-100%	1	6	9	6	5	1	5	32	50
100%-200%	1	8	5	6	6	3	2	31	57
More than 200%	-	4	1	1	2	1	1	8	13
All units	3	28	21	15	16	8	9	100	
Area cropped:									
Less than 0.5 acre	1	5	3	2	1	1	-	13	19
0.5-1.0 acres	1	7	2	-	1	-	-	11	16
1.1-2.5 acres	1	12	13	9	8	1	5	50	74
2.6-5.0 acres	-	5	3	4	2	3	5	22	33
More than 5.0 acres	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	4	6
All units	3	28	21	16	14	7	11	100	148

Owing to rounding, percentage figures may not equal totals.

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(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit*

	Under 65 years:			Over 65 years:		ALL UNITS *
	Full-time crofter	Croft and regular work	Croft and periodic work	Male	Female	
CATTLE **						
nil	2	5	2	6	1	16
1	9	31	18	8	3	69
2	5	19	9	4	-	37
3	-	2	2	1	-	5
more than 3	-	-	-	1	-	1
SHEEP						
nil	2	1	2	3	-	8
less than 6	1	-	-	-	-	1
6-10	2	4	2	1	1	10
11-20	1	4	3	2	2	12
21-50	5	21	11	7	1	45
51-100	5	22	10	6	-	43
more than 100	-	5	3	1	-	9

* a few working units are omitted for lack of data.
** over 2 years

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Appendix B (1), continued.

| | MALES | | |

APPENDIX B (continued).

(2) Occupations of resident males, aged 15-64, South Uig, August 1959

(excluding R.A.F. personnel but including local residents employed as civilians by the R.A.F.)

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	District:* A	B	C	D	E
Croft work only	5	5	5	8	4
Croft and regular-					
-weaving	16	7	4	16	8
-fishing	-	-	-	1	-
-estate work	1	-	-	-	3
-R.A.F.	2	2	5	1	2
-M.C.A.	3	-	-	-	1
-public service	2	3	-	1	3
-professional	-	-	-	-	-
-transport	1	2	-	1	1
-retail trade	-	1	-	3	1
Croft and irregular-					
-casual labour	3	2	2	23	14
-estate work	-	-	-	-	1
Not crofting -					
-weaving	-	-	-	1	2
-R.A.F.	-	-	-	3	2
-M.C.A.	5	-	-	-	-
-public service	-	-	-	2	-
-professional	1	1	-	2	-
-transport	1	-	-	-	-

* Districts-
A: Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta
B: Carnish, Ardroil and Timsgarry
C: Aird and Crowlista
D: Valtos, Vneep, Reef and Mealvaig
E: Caryshader, Coshader, Ungshader and Knaclete

(3) Destination of Emigrants 1939-59, South Uig

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	Males	Females	TOTAL	of which Females on marriage:
Stornoway	16	17	33	10
Other Lewis	2	8	10	4
Other Crofting Cos.	12	8	20	6
Glasgow	12	12	24	11
Other Scotland	7	16	23	11
U.K.	7	7	14	7
Overseas	8	9	17	3
	64	77	141	52

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

GEOGRAPHICAL FIELD GROUP

Regional Studies No. 4

UIG

A Hebridean Parish

Parts III and IV

by H. A. Moisley, M.Sc.

and Members of the Geographical Field Group

/p. 56-A/

1962

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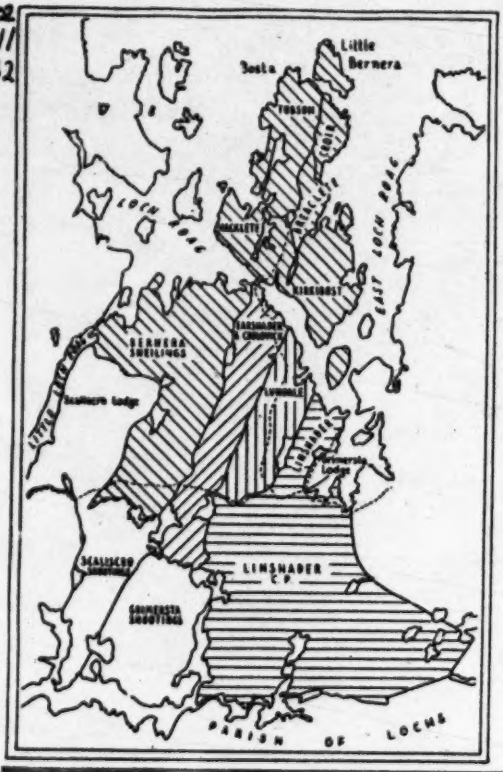

Figure 27

THE BERNERA DISTRICT

Table 20

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TOWNSHIP:	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES:		(acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
Croir	234	280		Bernera	8	-	8
Bruaclete	104	481	Little Bernera 314 acres	shielings	13	3	13
Nacklete	254	731			20	1	20
Kirkibost	429	924	E. Kershay 178 a.	4,341 a.	26	4	26
Tobson	171	689	Bosta 425 a.		24	-	21
Earshader	57	2,640			4	2	4
Crulivig	84				6	-	6
Lundale	156	1,000			6	-	6
Linshader	62	9,412	E. an Tighe 14 a.		10	-	10

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF LEWIS

('Bernera and Bernera Shore')

by

P. Wheeler

131 Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of Bernera Island (Breaclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the "Shore" [103] (Earshader, Crulivig and Lundale together with the isolated township of Linshader), presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isolation. [49] Bernera Island, though central to most of Uig and easily accessible over the sheltered waters of Loch Roag, yet remained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent building of the road bridge; even now it is necessary to travel over six miles to get from [181] the bridge to the main Uig road and a further four miles to Garynahine. Consequently the island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements, has a very close-knit and self-sufficing population. Whether this community retains sufficient vitality to resist the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces eroding rural and especially Highland life, remains to be seen.

13 The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the Introduction. Like the other districts it has virtually no valuable mineral resources (1), and 228 the herring and white fish industries have all but disappeared and seem unlikely to [171] resuscitated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted with vigour and enterprise; it 464 provides a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on regular or casual employment to eke out the proceeds of the croft. The kinds of work [166] available, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employment are common to the whole parish; thus this account is mainly concerned with the problems of crofting agriculture.

Settlement: history and patterns.

172 The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is partly very old, and partly very recent. At least four brochs are known on Bernera and various 361 standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous settlement has survived from the early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form as [173] in the graveyard on little Bernera, or in oral tradition. All this contributes towards the very close network of family relationships that binds the island folk and to a lesser extent those of the adjacent mainland.

175 With the exceptions of Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete, all Bernera Island had been 361 cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1878 when twelve families were moved from Bosta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere. Occasionally (as at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance lotting patterns were re-adopted, but usually settlement was laid out afresh. The townships of Bernera Shore, were also affected: all the small tenants except those of Earshader and Crulivig were cleared, leaving the land under the sheep farms of West Earshader and Linshader. However, the Bernera Island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of shellings on the mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these grazings to their present position marked the

[316] (1) A small deposit of diatomite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a few men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

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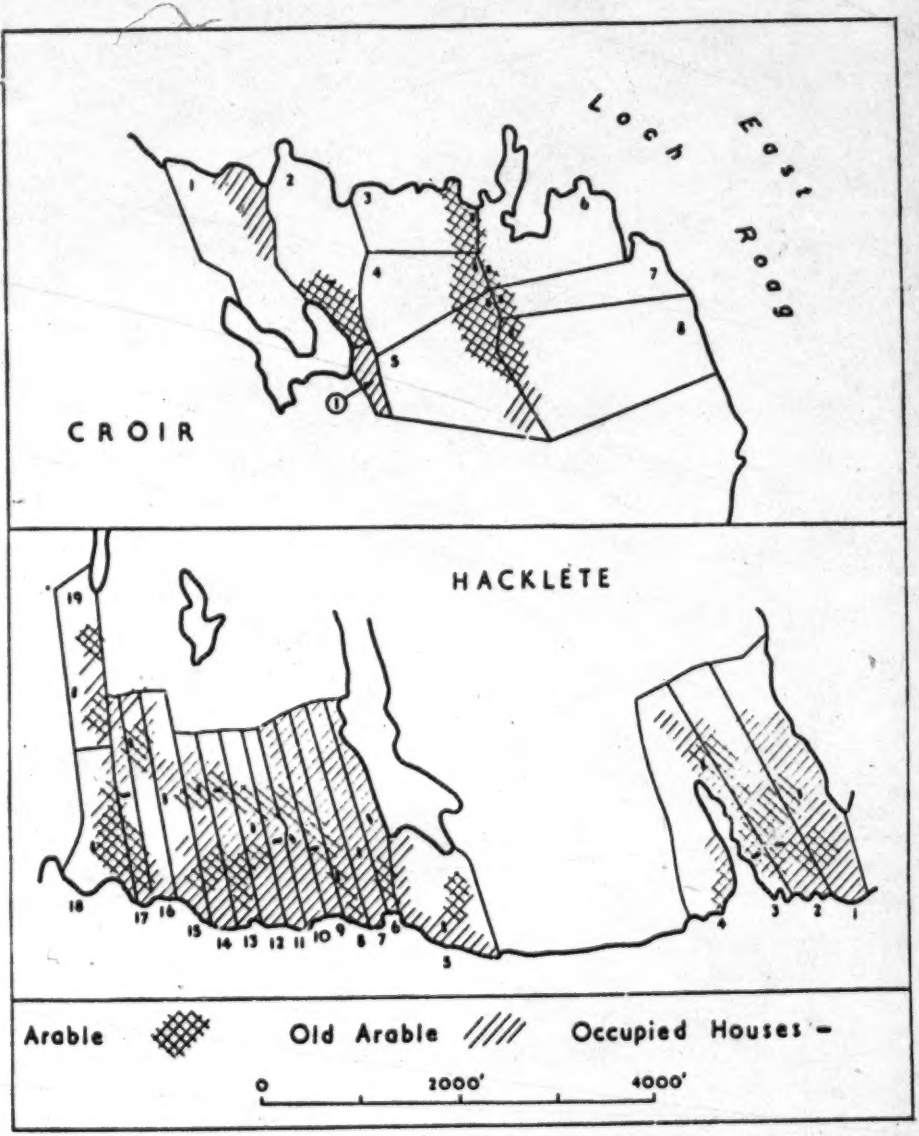

Figure 28

Contrasting lay-out of crofts in an older township (Hacklete) and one re-settled by the Department of Agriculture (Croir). Note the relationship between croft boundaries and the better (i.e. potential arable) land.

beginning of the resettlement movement which has given the modern crofters of the district almost all the lands formerly occupied by small tenants. This process was completed in the Bernera region soon after 1918, and the problem now - one which is obviously going to become increasingly important - is not to give the crofters more land, but to find active crofters for the existing holdings (see Chapter III for more detailed information on clearance and resettlement).

The ground plans of the existing settlements vary considerably, depending mainly on the terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coast the natural tendency is for the croft boundaries to run at right angles to the coast and for each house to be set on its own croft. The best examples of this are Hacklete and Kirkibost, where an early nineteenth century (i.e. pre-clearance) lotting was readopted when the township was re-settled in 1878. Linshader, Lundale, Crulivig and Earshader also follow the same type of layout as nearly as possible, but Tobson, with the exception of Valasay, is intermediate between a lotted and an unconsolidated township. Croir also differs: it was laid out in 1921 but the disposition of the potential arable forbade a coastwise organisation. The site of Breaclete is greatly broken by lochs and a sea inlet, and consequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Breaclete - Loch Beg Breaclete axis, appears somewhat complicated. The accompanying diagrams contrast the control exercised by physical conditions at Croir with the subordination of physical conditions to a simple lotting plan at Hacklete, (Figure 28).

Within the townships, with the exception of Kirkibost, the distribution of settlement seems to have changed little since the original lottings, for in most cases the sites of the old and present dwellings are little further apart than is dictated by constructional problems. It would appear generally that black houses were universal in the nineteenth century except for the farmhouse at 1 Croir (the oldest 'white' house in Bernera), Thule House, (18 Tobson), possibly the tacksman's house at 11 Hacklete, the former farmhouses at 20 Kirkibost and at West Earshader. However, with the establishment of Congested Districts Board and of Board of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, early examples being 5 Hacklete and 10 Breaclete. The resettled townships generally had improved accommodation from the start. Improvement has greatly accelerated since 1951. In most cases at the present time housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and one near blackhouse are still occupied.

Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their private water supply, thought it is hoped that mains schemes may be constructed within the next few years. Sanitation varies in standard and in places there are still open ditches, but all the newer houses have water closets. It is worth remarking in this connection that tuberculosis is almost eliminated. Electricity has been available since 1952 to all crofts and most are connected, though not necessarily in every room. Cooking is sometimes by electricity but more commonly by Calor gas and a peat-fired range or stove (open or enclosed). Peat is cheap to those able to gather it themselves. Where, however, help is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road, difficulties may arise. The cost of hiring labour for peat cutting may be such that it is cheaper to buy coal.

Access to Bernera by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Roag provided the highway of communication, the road built to Earshader after the Great War, and the £87,000 bridge to Bernera Island, built in 1953, have caused a revaluation of sites. Linshader is approached by a tarred branch road and the other Bernera shore townships lie upon the narrow and twisting main road, though four of the six Lundale crofts have no connection with it, and two of the Crulivig crofts, and West Earshader, are somewhat isolated. On Bernera Island the old cart track from the pier at Barraglom across to Tobson and Croir has been somewhat re-aligned since the construction of the bridge. This is a good tarred road, as is part of the branch to crofts 3...8 Croir. The old road to Kirkibost was tarred in 1959, though three outlying crofts near Barraglom were still without a road suited to vehicles, and the branch within Breaclete remained untarred. There is a new road to Hacklete from Breaclete which provides tolerable, though circuitous, communication. Valasay is one of the most isolated settlements in Bernera, linked with Breaclete rather than with Tobson by the footbridge and causeway paid for by Congested Districts Board grant about 1903.

Problems of communication are not, however, solved merely by providing better roads: at least one household in four has a car or van, and this, with the fall in population, has caused a fatal decline in the use of public transport. The Bernera 'bus service was discontinued in August, 1959, for lack of demand. This is not, of course, an isolated example; the problem is common to all the Highlands, and indeed, to all the rural areas of Britain: in Sutherland, for example, the number of registrations of private cars has risen to very nearly 250% since 1945, and the total number of registrations for all classes of vehicles up to 1958 had risen to almost 200%, while the number of hackney carriages, after reaching a peak in 1952, has since declined by 70%.

TABLE 21

Bernera District

Land related to tenants and working units

(all figures, except last column, are acres)

	Inbye: per tenant	Inbye: per working unit:	Common grazing per tenant	Common grazing per working unit:	Total land: per tenant	Total land: per working unit:	Ratio of inbye to total land
Breaclete	8.0	7.4	99	92	107	99	1:13.3
Croir	29.2	33.4	78	89	107	122	1: 3.6
Hacklete	12.7	12.7	96	96	108	108	1: 8.5
Kirkibost	15.9	15.3	92	89	108	104	1: 6.8
Tobson	7.8	9.0	94	109	102	118	1:13.1
ISLAND TOTAL	13.2	13.5	93	95	106	108	1: 9.9
Earshader	11.5	9.5	264	220	275	230	1:24.1
Crulivig	14.0	14.0	220	220	234	234	1:16.7
Lundale	25.9	25.9	166	167	193	193	1: 7.4
Linshader	5.6	6.9	873	1,067	879	1,074	1:155.1
SHORE TOTAL	12.8	13.3	473	491	486	504	1:35.1
DISTRICT TOTAL	13.1	13.5	183	188	196	201	1:15.0

Note: in this table, "working units" include all crofts, whether stocked or not, and all other agricultural holdings. Two or more crofts worked together, whether registered under the same tenant or not, are counted as single working units. An agricultural holding is defined as one with at least one cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation.

Crofts and Commons

423 A crofting area normally consists of the croft land proper - the inbye (arable and
427 unimproved land, and various common grazings. Table 20 summarises the situation in
311 Bernera. Kirkibost has by far the largest inbye and the Bernera Island townships generally
632 are larger than those of Bernera Shore. That the positions are reversed with regard to common grazings is due to the limited hill of Croir and the very extensive hill of Linshader. The Bernera Island townships would, however, be much worse off for hill land had they not various special common grazings (except Croir) and did they not share in the 4,341 acres of the Bernera shielings on the mainland. It is possible to calculate the appropriate shieling share for each township on the basis that, though the theoretical soums for each township and common grazing are exact, in fact all working units may send animals to the

TABLE 22

Bernera District

Sub-division and Amalgamation

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	ISLAND:						SHORE:					
	Breaclete	Croir	Hacklete	Kirkibost	Tobson	TOTAL	Earshader	Crulivig	Lundale	Linshader	TOTAL	DISTRICT TOTAL
Registered crofter-tenants	13	8	20	26	22	89	4	6	6	10	26	115
Agricultural feus	3	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	-	1	2	6
Agricultural cottars	-	-	1	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Agricultural squattars	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Working units (a)	14	7	20	28	19	88	6	6	6	9	27	115
Known sub-lets	3	1	1	2	1	7	-	-	-	2	2	9
Joint working (b)	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Joint working (c)	-	-	1	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Sub-divisions (d)	1	-	1	4	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
Other feus (e)	4	1	1	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Other cottars	-	-	1	-	3	4	-	1	-	-	1	5

Notes: (a) Whether stocked or not
(b) Family co-operation involving amalgamation of holdings.
(c) " " not " " " " "
(d) Usually between members of a family, but not recognised. on the Valuation Roll.
(e) Excluding those without occupied dwellings.

423 shielings, and that therefore the shieling area per township is in proportion to the number
427 of working units in that township (total, 88 working units on the island). If these shares
311 are deducted it will be seen that only Kirkibost and Tobson common grazings exceed in
632 area those of Lundale, the smallest of the Bernera Shore grazings, and that even this is
no longer so if the special grazings, mainly later enlargements, are further deducted.
All this serves to emphasise the relative crowding on Bernera Island and the consequent
[491] vital importance to most working units of the shielings. This has probably increased in
the last decade with the construction of the bridge, for whereas previously there was a
biannual ferrying operation to the mainland, tedious, unpleasent, and exhausting for both
beast and man, nowadays droving to the hills is an easy matter.

A somewhat different picture emerges when land is related to tenants and working units (table 21). If the inbye per croft tenant is calculated it is seen that Croir has the largest, (29 acres), rivalled only by Lundale, (26 acres), Hacklete, Kirkibost, Earshader, and Crulivig form an intermediate group (11 to 16 acres), while Breaclete, Tobson and Linshader have but eight acres or less. However, the average area of inbye is more revealing if calculated in relation to working units: then the Bernera Island townships are seen to range from 7 acres (Breaclete) to 33 (Croir) while only Lundale has more than 20 acres, the others having 14 or less. For the whole island the average of inbye per tenant (13.2 acres) is close to that for the Shore (12.8 acres) and the inbye per working unit (13.5 acres: 13.3 acres) is almost identical. Thus, there is considerable variation in the amount of inbye land available per tenant and the amalgamation of tenancies into working units does not seriously change this distribution.

None of the Bernera Island townships has as much common grazing per tenant, nor per working unit, as any of the Bernera Shore townships, (little more than 100 acres as opposed to never less than 160 acres). The Bernera Shore townships as a group have about five times more pasture per tenant and per working unit than those of Bernera Island. Breaclete stands out as the township with the greatest shortage of land.

The various forms of subdivision and amalgamation of crofts and parts of crofts, or other holdings, are summarised in Table 22. In the small townships of Bernera Shore only Earshader, with four crofters, has non-crofting holdings with stock; there is little amalgamation. In Bernera Island, however, only Hacklete has the same number of working units as of registered croft holders and Breaclete, the township with the greatest shortage of land, is also the township with the greatest degree of unofficial change and intromission. In contrast, Tobson, in spite of its unconsolidated plan, presents a simple picture. Breaclete also has the largest number of feus, including the only feus not functioning as agricultural units. This emphasises its function as a centre for the Island.
[368] It has both manses, both churches, the War Memorial, the school and the District Nurse.

These changes must however be seen in perspective. The Bernera region has not
198 suffered from the type of amalgamation which is the result of decay and which facilitates
427 further decay; the actual change is not very great. The number of agricultural working units is 98% of the number of crofter-tenants. It is illuminating to compare the region with Sutherland where many former crofts, quite abandoned to rough pasture, have been taken off the rentals. Apart from changes due to clearances, the Bernera region has none of either type. Of 575 holdings examined in thirty-one townships in Sutherland, amalgamation has reduced the number of effective crofting units to only 437, i.e. 76% of the formal figure. Amalgamations by family co-operation are comparatively few in Sutherland (26 out of 173 known examples) whereas subletting is common. A further brief example may be taken from one of the Shetland islands where amalgamation has reduced the original number of holdings from something like 350 to about 250 working units.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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TABLE 23

Bernera District

Size-distribution of working units

(The double asterisk ** indicates the approximate position of the modal mean)

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	Area of unit in acres:								
	nil to 1.0	1.1 to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	7.6 to 10.0	10.1 to 15.0	15.1 to 20.0	more than 20.0	Average
Breaclete	2	-	4	1 **	3	4	-	-	7.4
Croir	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5 **	33.4
Hacklete	-	-	-	2	7 **	5	4	2	12.7
Kirkibost	-	-	2	5	2	* 10 *	4	3	15.3
Tobson	-	2	5	3 **	3	4	1	-	8.9
ISLAND TOTAL	2	2	11	11	15 **	23 **	11	12	13.7
Earshader	1	-	-	-	- **	5	-	-	9.5
Crulivig	-	-	-	-	-	4 **	2	-	14.0
Lundale	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	4 **	25.9
Linshader	-	-	4	- **	4	1	-	-	6.9
SHORE TOTAL	1	-	4	-	4 **	12	2	4	13.3
DISTRICT	3	2	15	11	19 **		13	16	13.5

Once the interchanges are understood and the numbers of working units accepted, it is possible to analyse the relative Inbye sizes of the agricultural units, (table 23). Croir and Lundale have the highest average size and highest modal means; and the other townships with the exceptions of Breaclete, Tobson and Linshader, falling in the 10.1-15 acre class. On Bernera Shore, Linshader has the smallest working units but the range of variation even there is comparatively small, whereas on Bernera Island, except in the resettled township of Croir, there is always a range of five or six categories. Hence the occasional divergence between the modal and arithmetic means. Again this is the cause and sign of a greater degree of adjustment on Bernera Island.

TABLE 24

Bernera District

Common Pastures, Soumings, and actual stock.

(Stock in "cow units" calculated according to the Grazing Regulations)

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	AREA:	SOUMING:		ACTUAL STOCK:		
	Acres	Cow units	Acres per cow	Cow units	As % of soum	Acres per cow unit
Breaclete	1,284	105	12.3	88	84	14.6
Croir	622	43	14.1	49	114	12.6
Hacklete	1,913	259	7.4	189	73	10.1
Kirkibost	2,491	303	8.2	188	63	13.3
Tobson	2,050	253	8.2	120	48	17.1
ISLAND	8,363	962	8.7	634	66	13.2
Earshader	1,320	38	35.1	65	174	20.2
Crulivig	1,320	51	26.8	70	140	18.6
Lundale	1,000	72	13.9	62	86	16.1
Linshader	9,426	95	100.0	92	96	102.5
SHORE	13,066	255	51.5	290	114	45.2
BERNERA DISTRICT	21,451	1,237	17.5	924	74.7	23.4

423 Stock - potential and actual. *

427 The croft is in almost every case primarily a stock raising unit and cultivation apart from certain items - particularly potatoes for domestic use - is connected with stock
231 rearing. The basis of the stock system is the soum, the share of the common pastures
311 in terms of horses, cattle and sheep. The largest total soums (more than two hundred cow-units) are held by Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson; all the other townships have a
632 hundred or less cow-units (Table 24). This has some relation to the size of common grazing. The very large area of Linshader is that of the former farm: the present

* Details of actual stock and souming for each township will be found in Appendix A.

23/ 423 427 311 632 soum is less than the capacity of the grazing and represents the Land Court's estimate of the stock the crofters would be able to keep: the consequent discrepancy and retrogression in total stocking is a typical result of the replacement of commercial farms by crofting subjects (c.f. page 25 above). It is better however to consider the area of common grazing and soum combined: in fact, the average acreage per cow-unit is fairly uniform for Bernera Island, (8.7 acres). Bernera Shore has a wider variation of from 11.6 to 100.9 acres per cow-unit: obviously, either the Bernera Island townships grazings, particularly Bernera shielings, were originally estimated as of superior value, or, for whatever cause, the common grazings of Bernera Shore are relatively under-used. How is this reflected in practice?

TABLE 25

Bernera District

Comparison of soums and actual stock,

by townships.

	Average soum per working unit	Actual stock per working unit	Soum held per working unit	Working units with less than 50% of their soum
Bearclete	6.5	5.5	84%	19%
Croir	6.2	7.0	114%	nil
Hacklete	12.9	9.5	73%	25%
Kirkibost	10.8	6.7	63%	29%
Tobson	13.3	6.3	46%	58%
BERNERA ISLAND	10.6	5.5	66%	43%
Earshader	6.3	10.9	174%	nil
Crulivig	8.4	11.8	140%	nil
Lundale	9.0	10.4	86%	nil
Linshader	10.6	10.2	96%	22%
BERNERA SHORE	9.8	11.6	114%	8%
BERNERA DISTRICT	10.6	6.5	75%	20%

Note: all soums and stock are calculated in "cow units", using the sheep equivalence as given in the Grazing Regulations.

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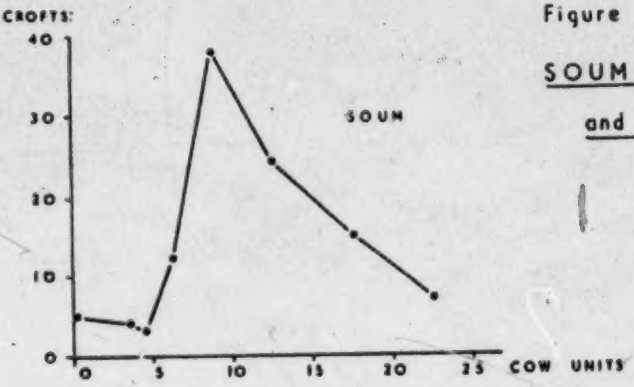
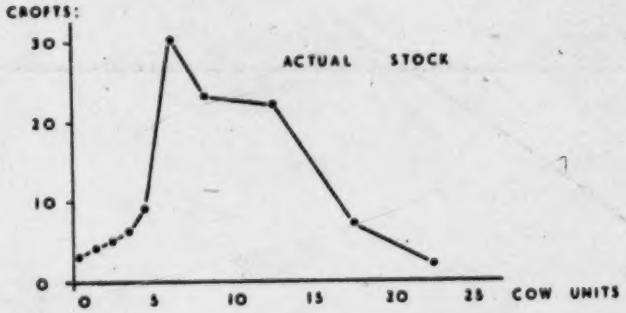
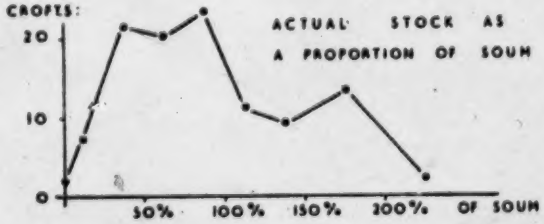
Figure 29

SOUMS and STOCK







231 Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson have by far the largest total holdings of stock but are
311 eclipsed in regard to percentage of soum actually held by Breaclete, Croir, and all the
632 Bernera Shore townships. In fact the average percentage soum held is 66% on the Island as against 114% on the Shore. If efficiency is interpreted in terms of stock rearing therefore, Tobson is less than 50% efficient, Hacklete and Kirkibost 50% to 75% Breaclete Linshader and Lundale 75 to 100%, and the rest 100% to 175% efficient, the average falling at 75%.

It is also interesting to remark the area of common grazing per cow-unit actually held. This shows that, in effect, the Bernera Island townships, as might be expected from their use of one main common grazing, have much the same amount of land per beast The Bernera Shore townships apparently need rather larger areas of land per cow-unit; the excessively large area shown for Linshader indicates understocking.

[427] Figure 29 summarises the incidence of soums and actual stock carried. It will be seen that, although there are some crofts with soums of under five and over fifteen cow-units, the majority lie between those limits with a marked peak in the 7.5 to 10 cow-unit class. The largest soums tend to be under-utilised. Figure 28 shows the percentage of the soum held. Almost a quarter of the working units have less than 50% of their soum and must therefore be considered as inefficient in their chief function of stock raising, about one third have 50 - 100% and rather less than 1/3 have over 100%

The incidence from township to township varies (table 25) but generally the Bernera Shore townships have more uniform individual soums than the older and larger Island townships, though the range of size of stock holdings and consequently of soums held is more comparable. Table 25 shows the average soum per croft or working unit: Breaclete and Croir are similar with only just over half the average for the rest of Bernera Island. None of the Bernera Shore townships have soums as large as the bigger Island ones, and one of them, Linshader has no more than Breaclete or Croir. Kirkibost and Tobson stand out as far the most generously treated townships, but is this justified in practice?

Expressed in terms of cow units, (table 25) the total soums reveal that, on Bernera Island, only Croir is really efficient with just over 100% of its soum: Breaclete, Hacklete and Kirkbost are satisfactory - and no more - with 60 - 80%; but Tobson has only 45% of its soum. This is a very much poorer showing than that for the Bernera Shore townships, only one of which drops much below 100%. Therefore on the Shore the soums, though smaller, are better taken up than on the Island. Further it is clear that, of the individual working units on Bernera Island, none of those of Croir are unsatisfactory, three out of sixteen at Breaclete are not satisfactory, five out of twenty at Hacklete, eight out of twenty-eight at Kirkibost and eleven out of nineteen at Tobson, whereas on Bernera Shore there are only two unsatisfactory units - at Linshader - one of which is presently vacant with a dispute over the tenancy.

231 But so far, only the total soum has been considered: in fact it is necessary to consider
233 the elements of that soum, for in order to maintain the pasture one must have a stock
311 suitably balanced as between cattle and sheep. When the soums were originally calculated this was borne in mind and were every soum fully occupied in the proportions originally planned, the balance of grazing would presumably be satisfactory. Table 26 shows the stock equivalents in sheep units. In Croir the soum would indicate a marked preponderance of cattle +, in Linshader (with its extensive hill lands) of sheep; otherwise there is a rough balance in the soumings between large and small hooved beasts.
[656] Occasionally there are special permissive or restrictive clauses in the regulations. For instance, on Breaclete township common grazing, "...a landholder...shall be entitled to graze thereon, free of charge, during summer and autumn, two hogg for every pound sterling of rent, for replacing the cast ewes...". Similarly, in Linshader horses are not allowed on a fenced area of 800 acres, and on Little Bernera horses are specifically disallowed. But generally the various classes of stock have clear equivalents which are freely interchangeable. How does this work in practice?

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[698] + Editorial Note: this was probably because, when the Land Court determined the soum, Croir had no share in Bernera Sheilings. This now calls for adjustment, which should be made when the Crofters Commission re-enact the local Grazing Regulations.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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TABLE 26

Bernera District

Souming calculated in sheep units

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311
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	Basic soums in sheep units				
	Horses	Cattle	Horses & Cattle	Sheep	Special Grazings
Breaclete	-	9	9	8	8
Croir	-	21	21	12	-
Hacklete	-	9	9	8	8
Kirkibost	-	9	9	8	-
Tobson	-	9	9	8	16
Earshader	-	21	21	26	1
Crulivig	-	21	21	27	-
Lundale	-	28	28	32	-
Linshader	6	7	13	30	-

Table 27 shows the cattle soum and holding: there is a marked similarity between the Island townships, (all holding about one third of their soum), and the Shore townships, (three of which range from 60% to 100% and only one of which, Lundale, has less than 40%. That these averages are not misleading is proved by the fact that the scatter of percentages of cattle-soum held per working unit is less wide for the Bernera Island townships than for those of the Bernera Shore, bearing in mind the smaller number of units in the latter.

It is a little difficult to account for this, particularly when it is observed (Table 28) that there is no correlation with the percentages of the sheep stock held; the Island townships vary from having half their soum of sheep)Tobson) to double (Croir), and those of the Shore from a little over the correct figure to well over twice as many; but whereas the number of oversoumings for sheep is everywhere high and non-sheep-keeping crofters are rare, there are 10 agricultural units with no cattle and 25 with only one cattle beast. It

TABLE 27

Bernera District: Cattle

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of cattle

scum actually carried.

231
311
632

	Number of units with:									Aver.
	Less than 100% of scum:					Less than 100% of scum:				all
	Nil	1-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	101-125	126-150	151-200	200+	units
Breaclete	-	6	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	33%
Croir	1	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	32%
Hacklete	1	6	10	2	-	-	1	-	-	34%
Kirkibost	1	7	15	4	1	-	-	-	-	29%
Tobson	1	5	9	1	2	-	-	-	-	34%
ISLAND	4	24	42	9	4	-	1	-	-	32%
Earshader	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	62%
Crulivig	-	-	3	-	2	1	-	-	-	72%
Lundale	1	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	38%
Linshader	4	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	-	96%
SHORE	5	1	9	2	4	1	2	1	-	60%
DISTRICT	9	25	51	11	8	1	3	1	-	37%

231 is probable that the constant but rather low incidence of cattle on the Island is governed
233 by two factors: first the shortage of common grazings near the township and the neglect
311 of the only alternative source, the shielings, and second, the memory of past isolation -
632 and the present impossibility otherwise of getting milk save from a neighbour - which makes a milch-cow a necessary part of the equipment of almost every household. On the mainland, where the common grazings are contiguous with the inbye, summer grazing of cattle is much easier particularly, as in Crulivig and Linshader, where there are special fences to divide the near and far pastures (*cf.* the old Norwegian spring-autumn and high summer seters.

[178] We may compare fifteen Sutherland townships, in which 89% of the stock held is sheep, with the Bernera District in which 80% of the total stock is sheep. That this balance of stock is not old-established is revealed by comparison with the stock figures collected for

TABLE 28

Bernera District: Sheep

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of

Sheep soum actually carried.

233
311
632

	Number of units with:									Average all units
	Less than 100% of soum:					More than 100% of soum:				
	nil	1-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-100%	101-125%	126-150%	151-200%	more than 200%	
Breaclete	1	-	-	1	3	3	-	2	-	100%
Croir	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	4	210%
Hacklete	-	2	2	4	2	1	5	1	3	89%
Kirkibost	1	3	2	4	9	3	2	3	1	79%
Tobson	2	1	3	8	2	2	-	-	-	56%
ISLAND	4	6	7	17	16	9	8	8	8	88%
Earshader	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	237%
Crulivig	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3	184%
Lundale	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	140%
Linshader	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	1	3	128%
SHORE	1	-	1	2	2	2	4	4	9	156%
DISTRICT	5	6	8	19	18	11	12	12	17	103%

231 the Napier Commission in 1883; these show that the Bernera region now keeps less than
233 half the former number of full grown cattle beasts but only a slightly higher percentage
311 of sheep. It is an unavoidable conclusion that resettlement and enlargement has not led
632 to greater agricultural efficiency: since it was carried out for social and not economic
[128] reasons, this is perhaps not unreasonable, but it augurs ill for the future of a community which must be largely dependent on agriculture.

Land Use and Cultivation*.

241 Before considering the details of stock management it is well to review land-use, for
[231] cultivation is subsidiary to, and directed at, stock keeping. Few crofts have no culti-

* Details of crops and grass by townships will be found in Appendix A.

TABLE 29

Bernera District: cultivation

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	'Old arable as % of inbye (%)	Av. area of inbye per unit (acres)	Crops as % of inbye (%)	No. of units according to acres of crop: Nil	less than 0.5	0.6 to 1.0	1.1 to 1.5	1.6 to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	more than 7.5
Breaclete	34	7.4	26	1	1	2	2	6	2	-	-
Croir	7	33.4	4	-	-	1	4	1	1	-	-
Hacklete	18	12.7	15	1	-	1	6	9	3	-	-
Kirkibost	17	15.3	13	-	-	4	9	8	6	1	-
Tobson	26	9.0	17	2	-	2	7	7	1	-	-
ISLAND	21	13.5	18	4	1	10	28	31	13	1	-
Earshader	38	9.5	15	1	-	1	2	1	1	-	-
Crulivig	24	14.0	16	-	-	1	-	3	1	1	-
Lundale	35	25.9	10	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-
Lanshader	67	6.9	30	-	1	1	1	3	3	-	-
SHORE	39	13.3	16	1	1	3	3	11	7	1	-
DISTRICT TOTAL	26	13.5	17	5	2	13	31	42	20	2	-

241 vation at all, but even fewer have more than 2.6 acres (table 29). Expressed as a percentage, little more than a quarter of the total inbye area is even "old arable", of which only about two-thirds is cultivated. Oats are every-where the most important crop: they are used almost exclusively for fodder. Potatoes, mainly for domestic use, are the only other significant crop; the absence of turnips is noteworthy. The crops are in general subject to some sort of rotation within the physical limits of each croft unit; oats are usually undersown with grass when the arable is to be left unploughed for a period but the "sown grass for pasture" is [314] largely reseeded pasture land. The rest of the croft is left for pasture and hay, and, in many cases the cutting of peat - a sure sign of agricultural decline. The inbye economy depends upon so many unpredictable variables that it becomes extremely difficult to generalise about the areas thus used. Forty-seven gardens exist in the Bernera region, but many of them are almost 'notional' and others are merely potato patches: perhaps half-a-dozen are at all well cultivated, for flowers or food.

241 The main change in the crops grown, apart from the introduction of sown grass, has 190 been in the corn crops, where barley has been completely displaced by oats. Barley was grown up to 1936 - at least in Crulivig - and gave a good crop. It used to be pulled, (not scythed), stacked, then the ears cut off with a sickle and the stalks used for thatching. Probably the disappearance of thatch and the replacement of barley bread by the products of the town bakery account for the decline in barley. Fewer potatoes are grown than formerly: this directly reflects the decline in population. The absence of turnips is due at least in part to the heavy incidence of finger-and-toe disease.

TABLE 30

Bernera District

Number of crofts using various fertilisers, etc.

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	Artificial	Dung	Lime	Seaweed	Shell sand	None
Breaclete	10	10	4	1	-	-
Croir	7	6	4	3	-	-
Hacklete	18	18	12	14	-	1
Kirkibost	25	28	17	12	1	1
Tobson	14	16	10	4	1	3
Earshader	6	5	3	1	-	-
Crulivig	6	5	5	5	-	-
Lundale	5	4	3	4	1	1
Linshader	8	7	-	4	-	-
DISTRICT TOTAL	99	99	58	48	3	10

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The fertilisers used in the past were dung and sea-ware. The sea-ware, mainly bladderwrack, and the tough stems of oar weed, was, wherever possible, simply gathered from the beach, though in the more sheltered areas, particularly along Bernera Shore, it was actually cut and towed in rafts to the crofts. There seems to have been little rigid allocation of the rights in sea-ware. In Breaclete each croft had its own stretch of shore and possibly in Tobson, but elsewhere there seems to have been plenty for everyone. The actual gathering in March was a long, strenuous and unpleasant task. The application of sea-ware seems to have been rather rough and ready; certainly there was no careful selection of different types for different crops and purposes: presumably it was merely gathered, mixed with dung to facilitate the rotting, and spread on the arable after sowing. It is reckoned now that about 160 creels are necessary to the acre in Earshader and Lundale.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uig

241 Table 30 shews the present use of fertilisers and manure. It will be seen that
[237] dung is still widely used but seaware is used in a minority of cases, particularly
[824] in Breaclete and Earshader. The first at least may be related to the various troubles
[134] that have afflicted the township, and to the fact that several holdings are in effect very small with but plots of cultivation. This also relates to the large number in Breaclete who use no form of fertiliser at all. Shell sand is neglected for reasons of inaccessibility: it is present on Little Bernera, and more particularly and of excellent quality, at Bosta. It is difficult to get from within the Island the large quantities of sand needed to qualify for the lime subsidy; it would be possible to get it from Bosta sands, there is a township road to within about a hundred yards of the beach, but the township is unwilling to open it to the wear and tear of lorry transport.

[654] Artificial fertilisers are increasingly used. The first consideration at the present is undoubtedly that certain amounts have to be applied in order to qualify for the ploughing subsidies. This has overcome a reluctance engendered by early over-enthusiastic applications of sulphate of ammonia. Lime, in the powdered form or as nitro-chalk, is commonly applied. There is undoubtedly considerable ignorance in the application and use of artificials: they are often used only because of subsidy conditions, and the crofter is surprised, though gratified, when they have any practical effect. Certainly most crofters have no programme of their own of regular balanced applications to crop land. They need further advice.

The best balanced fertiliser policies are followed on the reseeded pastures, mainly because the crofters are careful to follow the directions they receive. They will follow advice in these matters when they can get it. In 1959 reseeding had been undertaken by 16 individuals, (20 acres) and by one township (Breaclete). Reseeding has definitely "caught on" as a means of improving the stock carrying capacity of a croft, with comparatively little outlay in labour or machinery.(1) It is, however, a new project: one may wonder whether the crofters will have sufficient pertinacity and funds to continue indefinitely. Reseeding is not cheap; it may cost £18 to £28 an acre and it is reckoned to cost £3 per annum to maintain. A considerable increase in output will have to be evident to make it worth the crofters' while to continue.

The methods of cultivation still include much spade digging, and some crofts depend
[231] entirely upon this. Horse and plough, though basically unsuited to the cultivation of lazy
[40] beds, can generally be used on most but the smallest beds, but the problem now is to get hold of a horse for ploughing. Hence - as in at least one instance at Croir - where it is impossible to hire a horse and the land is unsuited to tractor operation - the choice may well be between spade cultivation or no cultivation at all. The situation is not eased by the difficulty of hiring any one of the three tractors in the area at a time when the land is in the best condition. This is all doubly unfortunate because of the universality of the lazy bed; this might be regarded as a symbol of a backward or even a primitive agricultural system, but is, in fact, an excellent adaptation to natural conditions of climate and soil - so long as there is plenty of hand labour. It is only when labour becomes expensive, or difficult to obtain, that the lazy bed becomes uneconomical. This is, of cours, another way of saying that the lazy bed was the concomitant of a designedly self-sufficient agricultural system; if it is well kept up, the lazy bed is a good means of conserving soil vitality and maintaining adequate drainage. In the past the hollows between the beds were cleared every year or two and the soil spread on top. Thus lazy beds, particularly those on slopes, need a good deal of hand labour as well as heavy fertilization.

It is very difficult to see the answer to the cultivation problem now labour is no longer freely available: there could certainly be more small tractors and cultivators, but even they lead to the throwing together of lazy beds, and - except in places such as Croir where drains may be laid below the loam on clay, or in certain favoured sites like part of 4 Crulivig where the peaty soil overlies a firm gravel substratum - it is impossible both to throw the lazy beds together and maintain drainage. One is faced with all the difficulties of drainage of peat in an area of heavy precipitation. The hill lazy beds, though they are better drained, all too often have too little depth of soil to make cultivation by tractor a practical proposition.

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(1) Editorial note: This remark has been borne out by events; in 1960 township schemes totalling 88 acres were thus improved.

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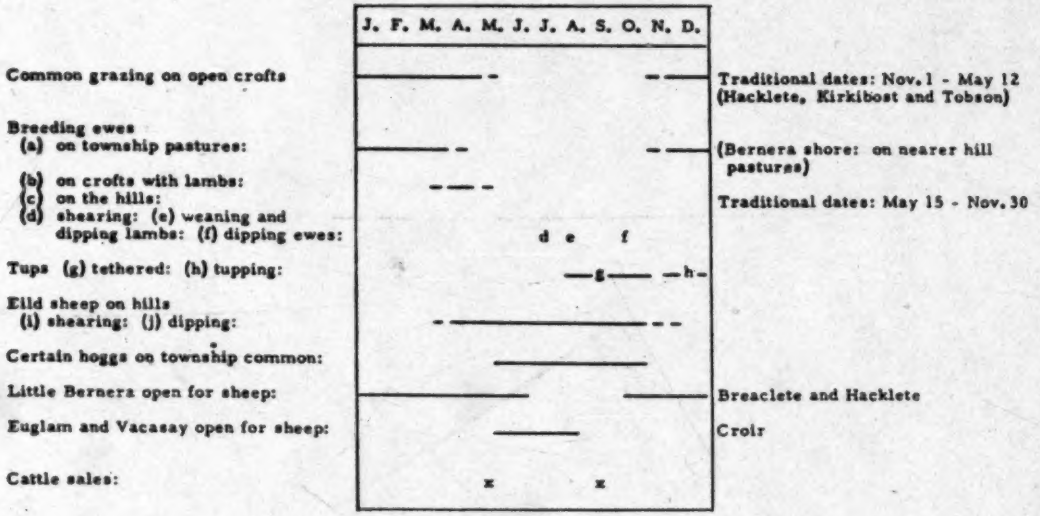
FIGURE 30

Calendar of stock movements in the Bernera district



Stock Management.

22/ 235 178 The annual rhythm of stock keeping has lost the clear definition it used to some extent to possess. The decline in summer residence at shielings has already been mentioned: most were in use up to 1914, and many were visited after the Great War, but the decline continued during the inter-war period until practically the last visits were made between 1936 (Lundale) and 1939 (Tobson): very few shielings have been visited since. There are one or two isolated examples of a summer visit to the pastures still surviving, but [476] they are not carried out by regular crofters having normal grazing rights. The construction, since 1908, of ring fences around the inbye and the more recent fencing of certain common grazings has further lessened the necessity of herding and co-operating regularly on the commons. The importance of fencing may be judged by the fact that it was estimated that, whereas prior to the construction of the fence there were about 4,000 sheep grazing over the Earshader - Crulivig - Lundale area, including about 2,000 from the Bernera Shielings and about 200 from Uig, there are now only about 1,500. Figure 30 indicates both the periods when the sheep are on the hills and the variation in the dates of movement. This applies mainly to the Island townships, for mainland townships which are contiguous with the grazings, may keep sheep on the hill for as long as six months each year. The rest of the year is spent on the township pasture and inbye. Hacklete, Kirkibost and all but seven of the Tobson crofts are open in the winter to common grazing. When the custom was more widespread the dates were clearly stated and adhered to, now there is more variation, and November 7th or 14th (Hacklete) or 17th (Kirkibost) have become indications rather than rules, depending on weather and the lifting of crops. On the mainland, ('Bernera Shore') the sheep may be brought merely nearer to the crofts rather than right onto the arable; where fences have been constructed separating off an area of common grazing next the head dyke of the township, as at Earshader (1908)*, Crulivig (1908, and 1939), and Lundale, this practice may be formalised, so that only certain classes of sheep are ever taken on the croft. The movement from the croft to the hills is governed mainly by the weather: the eild sheep will be sent off to the hills some time in April if at all possible, and the ewes in lamb often thereupon taken into the inbye if they are not there already. During May, when lambing is safely accomplished, the beasts able to support themselves and when the weather is suitable, the ewes with lambs are sent to the hill.

There are some places with special practices, notably Little Bernera which is closed to grazing in July, August and September. Similarly each holding may graze a certain proportion of replacement hogge upon the township common grazing of Breaclete while the other stock is on the hill: this may formerly have been a more widespread custom: it certainly has contemporary parallel in Kirkibost where some sheep remain on the township common pasture to compensate for the much reduced numbers of cattle grazing there in summer.

The individual crofter, or two or more in co-operation, keeps tups buying a new beast from a different source every three years, unlike Sutherland where it is almost universal to hire them. These are usually tethered upon the croft from August until tupping in December. This again takes place on the croft (compare Sutherland, where, since the tups are generally hired by the township, the tupping is usually done upon the hill and often entails a good deal of herding). The ewes are not generally hand fed except in emergency, though here, as in all other crofting areas, opinion is divided on the advisable extent of this practice. It is however, more general to hand feed the hogge which, indeed, may be kept under-cover at night in the worst weather, even though they are on the croft [132] or (Bernera Shore) on the nearer common grazing during the day. It is clear, though, that, in spite of the occasional hard weather, there is not generally the amount of snow and frost in winter to cause that amount of hand feeding and care which is a necessity in many parts of the mainland Highlands.

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*Since 1950 about 120 acres have been divided in four and individually fenced.

221 Since so much of the year is spent either upon or near the crofts it is but to be
235 expected that greatest losses of Island sheep will take place in the summer when they are far from supervision upon the hills; this contrasts with the mainland Highlands where heaviest losses, apart from those due to sudden snow falls, generally come about lambing time, when this takes place upon the hill, or soon after, in cases when the ewes and lambs are put to the hill too soon. On Bernera Shore on the other hand losses are heaviest on the hill in winter. Losses are extremely uneven in their incidence in time and from croft to croft. The cause of loss varies: there are no serious endemic diseases now, and there are few coastal cliffs - a frequent cause of loss in other places. There are however some boggy areas in the interior and some rugged: whether or not there are losses due to vermin particularly eagles, is a debatable point. Probably the fundamental cause of loss is lack of shepherding and adequate day-to-day oversight upon the hill.

233 There are certain special pastures that show interesting features. The Flannan Islands have excellent pasture, especially for the poorer male shearlings which need bringing on. There is all-the-year-round grazing for fifty sheep, which is shared by two crofters in Crulivig and one in Earshader. Unfortunately, the difficulty of getting a boat to go across has meant that for the last two years no visits have been made, and, after one or two years unattended, the animals become quite wild. Since 1949, when the Croir tenants were first permitted to cut peat upon the Bernera shielings, they have ceased to do so on Vacasay Island, where they now each send two sheep for summer grazing. They also send one sheep each to Euglam Island from 15th May to 16th August. One croft in Tobson includes certain small islands:

Bearsay Island (16.4 acres; soumed for 12 sheep per annum)

Eilean Fir Crothair (4.6 acres; soumed for 5 sheep per annum)

Seildeim (1.0 acres; soumed for 3 wedders per summer)

Similarly, Valasay (part of Tobson), has Eilean Liongain Valasay which provides summer pasture for two young cattle beasts or five sheep (one per croft). One crofter in Crulivig has a small offshore island taking two hogg during tupping and at least one crofter in Crulivig also grazing on Ben Sgurain, but there has been no success in the attempts to heft stock there. It is distant and unfenced; losses can be heavy.

231 Lewis is a very restricted market for livestock: the general practice in the Bernera area is to sell cast ewes at five or six or even more years to the butchers in Stornoway, Lambs may be sold on occasion, but generally they are kept either for replacement or for sale as three-year wedders.* The losses which occur, plus a certain amount of slaughter for domestic use, prevent long-term accumulation, though periodic fluctuations may be severe. Occasionally when there is a surplus of summer grazing, the Bernera Shore townships may buy in lambs from the western coast of Lewis, carefully eschewing those raised on the machair lands, which are said to be too "soft" for the hills. These are reckoned a gamble, they may or may not "take". The practice may be compared with that of the former Linshader Farm where, to take up the summer surplus of feed, young cattle were bought from the crofters.

236 The wool from the Lewis Blackface sheep generally varies from three to four lbs.
[288] per fleece. There is no longer any hand spinning; most wool is either sold outright or
[434] sent to the mills for spinning and dyeing. This practice is of long-standing. Even before the Great War, when the rent formed by far the most important item in the monetary affairs of the croft, the wool was either sold outright or, more commonly, sent to the mills for spinning and then taken to a weaver; the tweed was then sold either locally or to a merchant in Stornoway, the proceeds being used for the rent and other items.

231 Cattle, as has been pointed out, have declined greatly in relative importance since
178 1883: they are fewer in number - though far better in quality - and consequently subject

[438] *Three-year wedders in good condition fetch about £6 for slaughter. Carcase weight is about 44/45 lbs., sometimes as little as 38 and sometimes as much as 55 lbs.

23/ [178] to less regular routines than was the case when the shielings formed an essential part of the grazing regime. The old "Black Cattle" strain is completely bred out, nor is there much trace of Highland blood. The cattle are almost exclusively of Shorthorn or of Aberdeen Angus or of cross blood in order to qualify for the hill cattle subsidy. The exceptions, like the Jersey cow in Crulivig, are very few. The cows are dual purpose beasts, kept for milk and for production of calves for sale. The latter are sold either within a week or so of birth, or at the age of up to six months (i.e. in autumn) or at about eighteen months age, after which the regulations usually specify that followers must be counted as full-grown beasts in the soum. They may be sold either in Stornoway or at the biannual sale at Breaclete. Cows unless they are being passed on to another crofter, are usually sold to the Stornoway slaughter house. Again, owing to the restricted market available, prices are lower than on the mainland, though undoubtedly greatly improved since 1939.

The problem of winter feed is still a governing factor in cattle management: cattle kept through the winter need a good deal of fodder, and happy the crofter and fortunate the year when it is not necessary to buy in a certain amount of cake, bruised oats, other feed or even hay. However, it is generally reckoned that the croft will supply the most if not all of the hay and oats. In any case, the amount generally bought in is a great deal less than that necessary in the mainland Highlands. This is largely due to the fact that, on many days, the cattle can be let out for foraging and will, in fact, manage to gain some natural feed.

Here, in contrast with Sutherland (where frequently a bull upon a neighbouring farm is used for service), and even with Park (where each township has its own bull) there is but one bull. In order to get round the problems of maintenance which have occasionally bedevilled Lewis townships, there is a recognised practice: the bull spends July to October upon the Tobson township common grazing, and the rest of the year on Little Bernera.*

Horses have never occupied a very important place in the economy of the area. It is said that the first horse on Bernera Island was taken to Hacklete bout 1923: previous to that and for some time after, most of the cultivation was by hand. This is understandable: in an area where most of the arable land is in lazy beds, and where, owing to dependence upon and nearness to the sea, problems of long distance land transport did not arise, there was little place for the horse, a fact which was recognised by the omission of horses from all the soums save that of Linshader itself. There is no recollection in the area of the keeping of goats. Nor is there a tradition of pig-keeping, though there were undoubtedly a few kept in the past. Poultry are kept almost entirely for domestic use.

Population - ages and occupations.**

162 Questions of land use cannot be separated from questions of population. The permanently resident population of the Bernera region is but three hundred and sixty and it is not balanced as to age-distribution (see Fig. 30). Appendix C(3) shows that out of 85 croft-holders on Bernera there are 34 full-time crofters: 21 are men, only seven of whom are less than 65; 13 are women, only six of whom are less than 65. The situation is even worse on Bernera Shore: out of 25 croft holders, only 11 are full-time, all men 464 but all are over 65. The term 'full-time crofter' really implies crofter with no other occupation, and cannot be taken as necessarily involving a full-time unit of effective agricultural labour. Of the croft holders with full-time employment, 33 on the Island and six on the Shore, all but one, as would be expected, are less than 65. Therefore a large part of the active labour force is siphoned off into other occupations, for, increasingly, a man with a regular job has neither the energy nor the inclination to work a croft in

*The introduction of Artificial Insemination may soon change this.

**Appendix D(1) contains details of population by townships, appendices D(2) and (3) give further details of occupations and emigration.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 81

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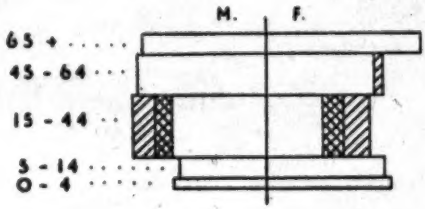
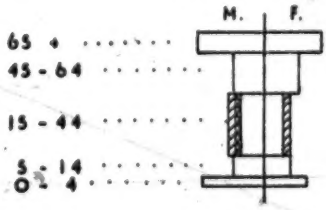
POPULATION

AGE and SEX composition

BERNERA
ISLAND



BERNERA
SHORE



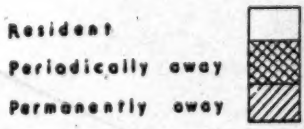


Figure 31

464 his little spare time. In addition there are a few croft holders with periodic employment. It is noteworthy that the incidence of employment bears no direct relationship to the size of croft holding - there is not, for example, a preponderance of holders of small crofts taking permanent employment.*

162 However, the croft holders are not the only source of labour: Appendix C(4) shows 444 that there is a total force of fairly regular labour for the crofts amounting to 147, or rather less than half the total resident population. Of these, 78 undertake regular employment, 24 have employment on occasion, and thus only 45 are full-time, of whom 25 are over 65. The forms of employment are indicated on Appendix D(2); weaving, with 49 [288] persons regularly involved, is by far the most important single source of full-time employment, the only other being fishing (24 persons). Estate work (mostly gamekeepers, [226] ghillies, etc. at Grimersta Lodge) gives regular employment to ten persons in the townships of the Shore. No other form of employment accounts for more than three residents between 15 and 65 years of age; the category 'casual' covers a variety of unskilled labour and there are five non-employable invalids.

288 About 50 households, out of 130, have looms. Yarn is distributed by the Stornoway [283] producers for weaving on commission; they collect, finish, and market the cloth. Hand spinning has all but died out and such yarn is more likely to be used for handknitting than for weaving; at least one lady supplements her income in this way. There is some evidence that Bernera weavers receive less work than those more accessible to Stornoway; the reason for this may lie partly in individual contacts between weavers and producers, and partly in the particular skills of particular weavers but transport is an important factor. Such a small isolated group of weavers does not justify frequent journeys by the Stornoway vans; in fact most yarn is put out, and tweeds collected, by a weekly carrier.

Table 31

Fishing in Bernera District 1892-1956

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	Numbers engaged:		Value of Catch:
	Boats:	Men:	
1892	39	133	?
1900	36	164	?
1913	39	163	£1,300
1920	36	151	£1,400
1930	27	145	£670
1938	33	114	£699
1948	40	84	£2,850
1956	25	26	£4,949

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Not all the boats returned were necessarily engaged in regular fishing. Nor is the value of the catch shown necessarily attributable entirely to Bernera.

* Editorial Note: this is an inevitable result of the rigid structure of crofter land holdings. See Part I, page 30 and table 12. The age of the crofter, and his family circumstances are decisive.

TABLE 32

Some Changes in Stock and Population

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	POPULATION		CATTLE(1)		SHEEP(1)	
	1891	1959	1883(2)	1959	1883(2)	1959
Breaclete	84	53	53	25	215	462
Croir	3	18	?(3)	11	?(3)	270
Eaoklete	122	90	143	52	449	985
Kirkibost	148	79	89	49	290	916
Tobson	178	71	116	36	534	610
ISLAND	535	311	401	173	1,488	3,243
Earshader	24	32	20	7	109	317
Crulivig	72	26	25	14	116	406
Lundale	-	19	26	11	368	538
Linshader	10	22	20(4)	8	2,000(4)	534

Notes: (1) More than one year old.
(2) According to the evidence to the Napier Commission (except Linshader).
(3) Included in Linshader.
(4) According to local memory.

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The Population of Bernera (island only)

1841	474	1911	730
1851	518	1921	605
1861	453	1931	514
1871	539	1939	c.500
1881	596	1951	384
1891	535	1959	311
1901	580		

28 South Uig and Park seem to suffer in the same way even though the larger producers,
434 mostly mills, endeavour to distribute weaving equally to all districts. The weavers' earnings vary from individual to individual, according to the amount of work they get, and also from year to year according to the fortunes of the trade, especially of the American export trade. A good weaver, in a good year, might earn from £400 to £500 but an average weaver, in an average year in Bernera, probably earns between £250 and £300, whereas in the Carloway district (more accessible to producers based in Stornoway and Shawbost), the comparable figure is around £400. Most weavers try to maintain connections with several producers and this difference in earnings may be between those who obtain additional work for 'small-producers' (i.e. tweed merchants who do not spin their own yarn), and those who do not.

228 Fishing has greatly declined since the late nineteenth century (table 31), neither white
[226] fish nor herring are of any significance, nor do Bernera men contribute significantly to
433 the island's economy by working on east coast boats, as was formerly the case. But Bernera has become one of the most important centres of Scottish lobster fishing, the value of landings having increased from £983 in 1937 to £4,949 in 1956. There are six locally owned lobster boats and others use the facilities at Kirkibost. The vessels generally have seven to a crew (c.f. the usual five in Sutherland) and work the whole length of the Atlantic coast and out to the Flannan Islands and St. Kilda. They carry 100 to 160 lobster pots and may also catch ling; crabs are almost entirely ignored because they are difficult to transport to the distant, mostly English, markets.

One very important factor in the present prosperity of the Bernera lobster fishing is the Kirkibost lobster pond. This was built by a local crofter in the 1920's. It was closed during the war, and was afterwards taken over by the Crofters' Supply Agency, though the original proprietor is still employed whole-time in looking after the pond and re-fishing the lobsters. There is naturally some loss of fish in the pond, and when high prices are being obtained at Oban the local fishers feel rather disgruntled at their less favourable market here. Hence, if there is a good catch, say over 2,000 lbs to a boat, and reasonably good weather prevails, the lobsters may be taken straight to Oban where up to twice the local price may be obtained. The C.S.A. pay 2s less per lb than Oban because of the cost of the upkeep of the pond, and the wages for two men with their boat. There was an experiment in flying lobsters direct from Lewis to Billingsgate, but the cost was too high. The problems of isolation here are very severe for the lobsters have to be sent by Macbrayne's steamer and by British Railways upon which there are no cold wagons reserved for the small quantities in question - a hazardous course for a highly perishable cargo.

Conclusions.

This part of Uig, therefore, has had a long and complex history of human settlement,
182 exploitation, and adaptation. Much of the more recent part of this history is vividly remembered and still plays a part in the making of modern decisions. The sense of kinship and a common past is an important cement of society, for where natural resources are so limited a mystique of other than a material type is necessary if society is to retain
511 its self-respect. However, the natural resources are indeed so limited that economic
[187] self-improvement is extremely difficult. The egalitarian tendencies of Gaelic society and crofting legislation are not now sufficient to resist the tendencies of the times and to prevent some of the crofters making adjustments in their holdings, but unfortunately there is insufficient good land to allow much adjustment without a drastic reduction of population
[444] which would be equally damaging to the well-being of the local society. It seems unlikely that alternative sources of employment could easily be found - the isolation within Lewis, the isolation from markets of Lewis itself, and the lack of local resources have combined
[288] on previous occasions to defeat plans for development. Weaving is the most important means of supplementary livelihood, but it is too vulnerable to politics and fashion; fishing
[228] is greatly decayed from its former dominating position; only agriculture remains locally, and perhaps the greatest possibilities there lie in better standards of cultivation (especially drainage and fertilisation), a better standard of animal husbandry, and more reseeding. But whatever developments are undertaken will need careful selection and encouragement: results cannot be hurried but nevertheless something must be done soon if the local society is to maintain itself. This great and paradoxical element of the "crofting problem" is as important here as elsewhere in the seven "Crofting Counties".

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Figure 32

EAST

LOCH ROAG

DISTRICT

Table 33

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TOWNSHIP ETC.	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Other: (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
Callanish	237	-----	5,302 -----	57	1	56
Breasclete	374	-----	3,861 -----	63	2	61
Tolsta Chaolis	396	-----	2,700 -----	43	3	43
Garynahine	95	-----	1,824 -----	12	1	12
Lochganvich	67	-----	2,000 -----	8	-	7
Others	506	-	-	-	3	-

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

CHAPTER TEN

EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Garynahine, Callanish, Breasclete, and Tolsta Chaolis)

GARYNAHINE by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury.

131 632 133 Garynahine is a townships of twelve crofts which are situated on the eastern arm of Loch Ceann Thulabhig. The crofts nowhere extend more than one-third of a mile from the coast. There is a hinterland of about 1,800 acres of common grazing, which is mostly about 100 ft above sea-level, though it rises to 200 ft in a few isolated areas; the crofts are lower, and maximum elevation is 80 ft.

134 Most of the croft land is drained by the stream Allt Mhurchaidh which flows through all but two of the crofts. But the soils are heavy, and several crofters cut peat on their crofts. Many crofters complained that their land was too peaty for cultivation.

361 The crofts form a regular pattern beside the south side of the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, with two small feus and a 21 acre freeholding on the north side of the road. In addition there is a farm (Garynahine Lodge) of 400 acres east of the crofts, and likewise stretching along the south side of the Stornoway road. The main road to Uig passes through the farm, dividing the cultivated area in the west from the grazing section.

195 361 The regular lay-out of the crofts dates from the formation of the township in 1935. On the same site, but long cleared, there had been an older village about the same size i.e. twelve crofts, known to be in existence in the 1850's. The crofts were in a similar position, but were a different shape, and the ruins of some of the croft houses still remain. This village was completely burnt out one gusty winter evening when, it is said, a spark from a crofter's pipe was blown onto one of the thatched roofs, and the wind quickly spread the blaze to consume the entire village. The crofters left the area, many going to the neighbouring township of Callanish; Garynahine then became one large farm until 1935 when the land was re-allocated into crofts. The new crofters came from a variety of areas, several coming from Crulivig, others from Breasclete and Callanish. The owners of the farm had also opened an hotel which prospered until 1945 when the farm was sold to its present owner Admiral Drummond, who has since used the house of a private house. 241 Nine acres of the farm land is cultivated, and the remaining 391 acres are used for grazing. 311 In contrast to the usual practice in this area the oats have been undersown with rye grass. Another beneficial innovation at the farm is the introduction of shelter belts. Trees have been successfully planted, making it possible to produce good crops of soft fruits such as raspberries, strawberries etc. Both the crops and the stock on the farm are of a high standard, showing that with capital and correct management the land can be remarkably productive.

In contrast to the large scale economy of the farm, the twelve crofts (ten operative units) are each between 4.6 and 6.2 acres, and the total reputed arable is 67.3 acres. In all there are only 9.5 acres under crop (oats 6 acres and potatoes 3.5 acres), and 2.25 acres under sown grass. The crofts are worked either by spade, horse (hire from croft 40 Callanish) or by tractor (hire from the Lodge). The seasonal rhythm of cultivation and of stock rearing is that in Callanish.

Enquiries soon reveal that crofting is not the main occupation of the croft tenants. Another indication of the declining interest in the land is the fencing of the crofts. All were fenced when they were formed in 1935; since then there has been no refencing. Now a grant is available to pay 75% of the cost of re-fencing but little has been done.

231 Stock totals (see Appendix C) have declined recently and this trend will probably continue. There are only four cows and two calves in the township (plus six at the farm).

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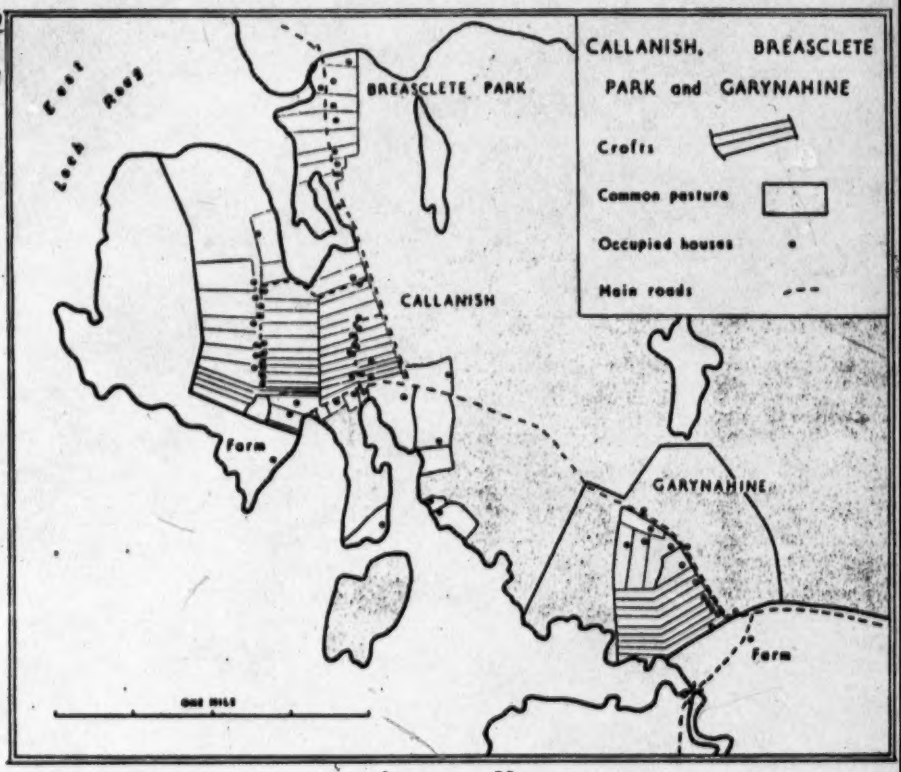

Figure 33

361 178 Contrasting patterns of crofts: the main block of Callanish crofts was lotted before 1850. The group of crofts known as Breasclete Park was added in April 1850 for families evicted from Reef in south Uig. These, and many of the original Callanish crofts were later subdivided. The irregular shaped crofts in the south of Callanish were added at later dates, probably originating as squatters on the common pasture. The Garynahine crofts were formed in 1935; they have a large area of common pasture south of the farm.

/p. 86/

231 There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters
233 exceed their souming (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 166 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

312 The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had elec-
399 tricity since 1954. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway
411 and also one bus from Uig and one from Bernera passing through Garynahine. These good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

463 There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the remaining two being to old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only
[178] two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

172 Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle
133 is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about 125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide)
[361] which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing; it is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the highest point is 425 ft.

195 The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century,
427 and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader to work for one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the
361 more exposed westward facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced by the 90 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which now forms the boundary between the croftland and the common pasture. The croftland
241 varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertiliser and manure are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial fertiliser. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on a small peninsula from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland at high tide.

175 The croft houses were then in two nuclei; one on each side of the narrow neck. Much later a third nuclei developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the
361 Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Bernera; they had put to sea in small
427 boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

427 There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some
311 of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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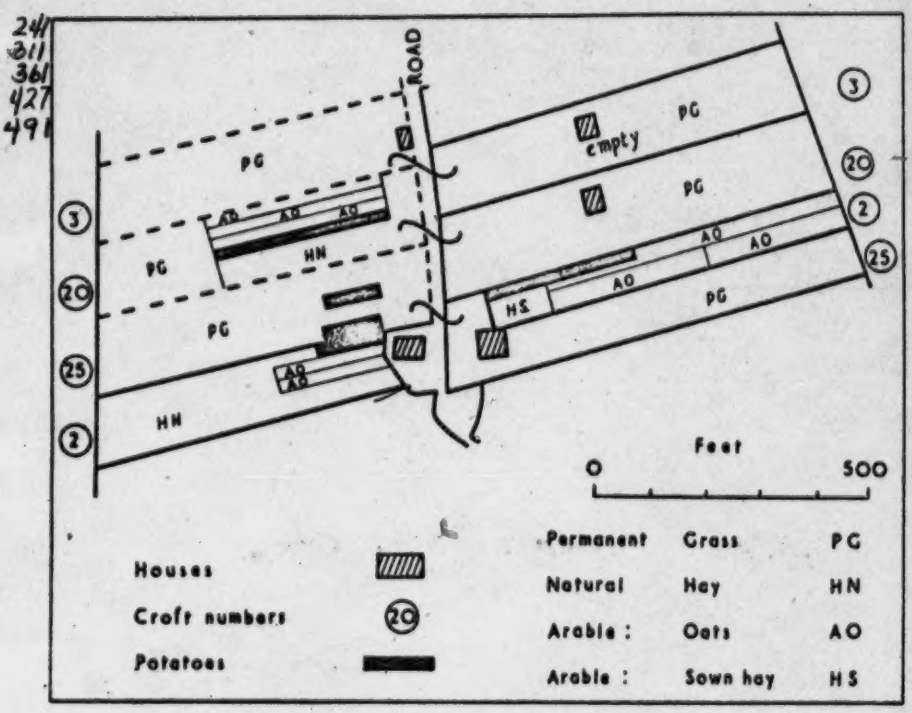


Figure 34

Land-use in four typical crofts in Callanish. Notice that each croft is in two pieces, separated by the road.

427 authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common grazing. For
311 example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the croft has now almost
10 acres of land, of which the remaining 3 acres have been 'acquired' by enclosing part of
195 the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pieces, and in some
cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor's wife, Lady
311 Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because they were too close
427 to the standing stones. Croft houses 25 and 26, then near the stones, were moved to the
other side of the village and given parts of crofts 1 and 2 for their houses. Crofts 1 and
2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the parts of their crofts they
had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its croftland close to the stones so that an enclosure
could be made around the stones. About the same period, before the passing of the
Crofter's Act (1886), when the village was still 'ruled' by the township constable, and
several other changes took place. Croft 27 and 28 used to be where the croft houses are
at present and the surrounding adjacent area only; but it is said that the tenants of these
two houses, being influential with the constable, obtained part of Callanish Farm. Similarly the tenants of crofts 30, 31 and 35 divided part of croft 19; these changes have
become permanent. The most recently formed croft was taken from the common pasture
in 1890. Since then three feus have been created, but two of these are holiday houses and
the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

241 There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed arable. All but
4 croft units grow oats, and there are 20 acres under oats (appendix C). Of the
remaining cultivated land 9 acres are potatoes and 5 acres sown hay. Most of the
land is cultivated by tractor; there are 6 tractors in the township. In the past there
were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still cultivate by spade.
The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August and the oats a
month later according to the weather.

231 Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township and tethered most
of the year on the crofts. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to graze one of their
neighbour's cows for part of the year in exchange for milk. There is a beef-type shorthorn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Callanish Farm.

233 The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned stock of 904 sheep
311 and 561 lambs. Several crofters exceed their souming, but there is no shortage of
grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garynahine township pasture. Callanish also has
the use of the pasture on Orasay Island; each year some of the sheep (one sheep or ram
221 per croft) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes are brought in for
233 tupping on November 14th, after the harvest is complete, and lambing takes place in
April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November 1st to May 10th;
in addition Callanish Farm (which has no sheep) is open for winter grazing. The sheep
are sheared in July, and the lambs are taken from the ewes a month later. The lambs
are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at Fiodavat are
known to have been in use until 1921.

491 Communications are quite good; the village is close to a main road to Stornoway, and
131 there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-called roads are
merely rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by motor vehicle; it is
[449] over a mile from the nearest track, separated from it by rough peat land. This year a
grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a road to this croft;
but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land refused to allow
a road to be built; and so croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of the village.
131 There are two shops in Callanish (one with a petrol pump); grocery, butchers' and fish
[366] vans deliver frequently. Callanish also has a stone jetty which in the past was important.
There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and Bernera calling
[504] at Linshader, which gradually declined in importance until the 1920s when it ceased to
call at Linshader. The ferry to Bernera finally ceased in 1940 when the ferryman (who
[505] lived at Callanish Farm) left for war service. After this the jetty was still used by small
private boats (e.g. Callanish church serves Linshader, and many people came to church
by boat until recently), but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is a
604 water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one member
of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern
Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on
[35] rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three
remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and well
worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-let
to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In
[288] addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men
weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the
prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than
[166] average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of them
[164] young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people and
[162] young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resi-
dent adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always
been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous crofting
communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

195 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared
427 from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided,
making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no culti-
vation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

361 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete-
241 Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover being
grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one
231 acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle
is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of
that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people over
65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently
133 from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the
northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small
westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

491 The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the
361 middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main
Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this
road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished
Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter
[144] by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, but
[171] high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but,
at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses
have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good
weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

000 weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Mains electricity was installed
354 7 years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas and peat. The chief source of fuel for heating purposes is peat, alghough a little coal may be used.

427 There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions, a small-holding of 15 acres formerly the Mill, and 10 feus, all of which are worked as 54 units. The crofts
[361] lie as long narrow stripe in a NE - SW direction from the moorland to the sea. All are at least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some crofters are, at the moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land completely.

241 The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a little clover mixture is sown for hay, many crofters find that the natural grass is sufficient for their needs. Vegetables are produced in a few gardens, but most people do not have enough time or interest to bother with them. Flowers rarely flourish owing to the lack of shelter.

311 Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and the land nearest the shore,
[178] part of which was once cultivated on a run-rig system is now unfenced and used entirely for grazing together with some peat cutting. A piece of the common grazing has been improved by application of shell sand and chemical fertilizers and reseeded. This experiment in which almost the whole township took part has proved very successful and there are plans for further reseeding. Details of crops are given in Appendix C.

[165] Although the tractors of which there are two in the township are used wherever possible,
[231] the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for potatoes. Much hay is cut by mower but scythes are used to a large extent. There is still one horse in the township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its owner.

233 The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e. 2½ times the souming which here is 2 cows and 5 sheep per £1 sterling rent. 40 crofters keep sheep but none have sufficient to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Many lambs are lost on the moors during the summer and more fail to survive the winter. The number of cattle
231 kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each household to keep 1 cow and 1 calf which is generally sold after 6 months when a subsidy can be claimed. Breasclete has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Most households keep sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1938. Now it is not necessary as fewer cows are kept than formerly. With the reduction in numbers of stock the common pastures close to the village are being colonised by heather.

221 The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditches are cleaned and the
341 land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilised and sown with oats and
333 potatoes. The sheep are dipped and by the 10th of May must be out on the moors as the
[314] crofts are then closed to common grazings. Soon after this peats are cut on the moors two or three miles from the village. After about 20 days the peats are lifted and carried to the Pentland Road by tractor where they are stacked to await the lorry which takes them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the fank for shearing and the cows are usually brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the croft is not fenced they must be tethered. At the end of June the clover is cut, while the potatoes must be cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped. Natural grass is cut for hay and if there is any first year sown grass this may yield a second crop in September, together with the corn harvest. When the potatoes have been lifted in October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for the winter. Final dipping takes place in November.

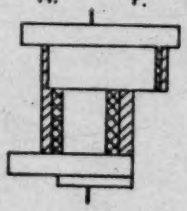
162 Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 years and 57 are over 65 years of age. Of the resident tenants 9 are between 15 and 44 years, 19 are between 44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on persons are periodically
000 away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 29 are permanently away. Since 1939,

Figure 35

162
166

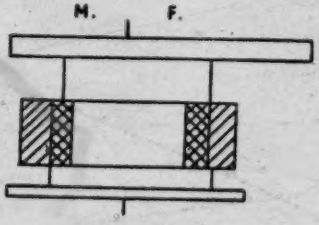
POPULATION : AGE and SEX composition

TOLSTA CHAOLIS



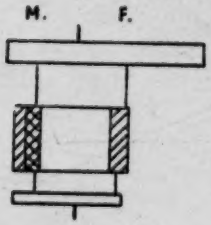
Age Group
65 +
45 - 64
15 - 44
5 - 14
0 - 4

BREASCLETE



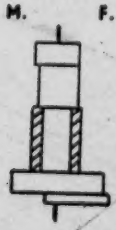
65 +
45 - 64
15 - 44
5 - 14
0 - 4

CALLANISH and



65 +
45 - 64
15 - 44
5 - 14
0 - 4

GARYNAHINE



65 +
45 - 64
15 - 44
5 - 14
0 - 4

Resident : Temporarily away : Permanently away :

Since 1939,
166 54 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to
462 leave home when they finish school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go into domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breasclete is also the temporary home of the families of lighthousemen on duty in the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain demand for the tweed, and although the men are nominally self-employed they rely on the mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms, which, with ancillary equipment such as bobbin winders, are all owned by the crofters.

[458] As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being erected. But should there be a slump, the crofts would be unable to support the population and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

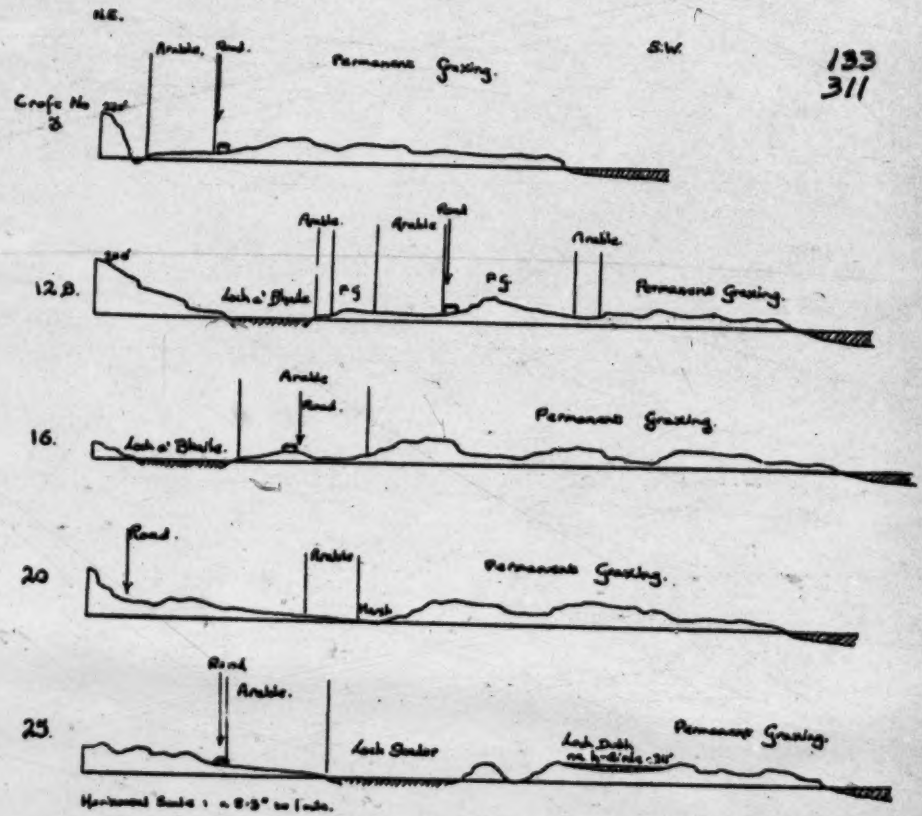
131 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch
133 a' Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs,
361 for westwards to the sea the terrain is too rocky and irregular for either settlement or cultivation, whilst to the east of Loch a' Bhaile the land slopes precipitously from 250 ft. to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle drift-covered slopes, generally of small extent.

137 Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch
[241] a' Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader, and in the valley of the small stream draining from the north into the head of Loch a' Bhaile. Most of the croft land is composed of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 100 ft. in height, separated by damp depressions frequently filled by reeds and rushes; bracken was apparent only on three crofts. In particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely colonised by reeds and very coarse grasses, of no use whatsoever as pasture. One enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this could certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and
311 2 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the two lochs and the sea, except for nos. 28 and 29. The 53 holdings are unofficially
427 amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The acreage of crofts varies from 2.2 to 20.75 acres - a considerable variation. Fencing of the crofts - except for 1A, B, and C, and 12A, B, and C which are held 'run-rig' - was carried out between 1945 and 1950, whilst in 1946 the common pasture of 2,700 acres was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the Carloway to Breasclete road. An area stretching from crofts 18A to 21 has, however, been most haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided amongst seventeen crofts in the southern half of the township to compensate them for lack of grazing area within their own croft boundaries. This division is said to date from about 1886.

241 Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned
[467] small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as opposed to spade cultivation, depends either on the urgency of the operation, or on the accessibility of the plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 95]



Sketch Sections of Five Representative Crofts:
Tolsta Chaolais.

Figure 36.

24/ are usually all the potatoes. Between the road and Loch a' Bhaile and between the unmade road and Loch Shader on crofts 22 to 25 the land is probably more intensively cultivated than ever before, but strips now overgrown with rushes and coarse grasses, especially near the cemetery give an idea of the former extent of cultivation. The working of strips nearer the sea is no longer worth the labour involved. Crofts 22 to 25 are further divided by the small Loch Shader; no. 28 however makes good use of a small alluvial flat at the head of Loch a' Bhaile.

[23] Artificial fertilisers are in general use together with lime and dung. However some crofts were using seaweed, in particular nos. 1A, 1B, 1C, 4, 5, and 25 - i.e. those crofts with easiest access to the sea. The seaweed is gathered in the New Year and [82] trodden into the ground in the spring and apparently gives excellent results, but too much labour is involved in carrying it to crofts in the centre of the township. Forty years ago [42] each croft had rights to the "red" and "black" seaweed along the coast.

The crop acreages for the whole township will be found detailed in Appendix C (1) The area of oats for each croft varied between 0.25 and 2.50 acres whilst the maximum for sown grass was 1.5 acres. The excellent crops of hay from sown grass would suggest its further extension, but unfortunately most of the land suitable for cultivation is already under oats and potatoes. The practice of undersowing oats was not particularly widespread whilst only two small strips of oats-rye mixture were found. One crofter had also obtained good results in a small patch with seven different vegetables, whilst soft fruits are to be planted next year. The two sets of 'run-rig'crofts practise a fixed run-rig with the usual rotation of oats and grass on the strips.

23/ In cattle stock (Appendix C) the township has 28 three year-old beasts, 2 one year-olds, and 24 calves. Only 6 registered occupied crofts have no cow, two crofters have two cows each, and one crofter has two cows and two calves. The township has no [178] bull however and the nearest is at Carloway or Callanish. With a much smaller number of cattle than that of thirty years ago there is now no need to make the annual summer visit to the shielings, a practice which died out in Tolsta Chaolais between 1920 and 1930. Pastures could however carry three times the present amount of cattle. The souming 233 of 1 cow and 6 sheep per £1 rent is now apparently ignored. The approximate total of sheep for the township is 1,500 whilst for 1958 it was about 1,470. The total of lambs was approximately 520 but most crofters found it difficult to give an accurate figure since some might have been lost on the moor during the summer. The highest number of breeding ewes for any one croft was 112, of lambs was 34, and of other sheep was 26; five crofters, however have no sheep at all. Before 1939 a shepherd was employed by the township when the sheep were sent to the moor. The shepherd was usually a young boy just left school and was paid by each crofter according to the number of sheep the latter [231] sent to the moor. This has been discontinued but a levy, of 5s. per croft and 2½d. per head of sheep, is made for the upkeep of the township fence. Finally, almost every crofter keeps at least a dozen poultry.

22/ 231 233 The movement of stock over the grazing areas is summarised as follows:

(1) From November 13th to May 1st. cattle are usually in the byre, depending on the weather, and sheep can wander anywhere. Crofts should be open to common grazing unless all the crofter's stock remains within his own croft boundary.

(2) From May 1st. to May 20th. sheep are in the outer park.

(3) On May 20th. sheep are sent to the moor.

(4) Throughout the summer cattle are in both the inner and the outer parks.

(5) On October 1st. the sheep are brought into the outer park.

(6) On November 13th. the sheep are brought into the inner park.

464 Details of population and employment will be found in Appendix D. It is a very striking comment on the state of crofting in this township that only four persons are [463]

464 full-time crofters; 19 males have other regular employment and two have periodic
[463] employment. 8 crofters are aged over 65. It seems that the most successful combination
286 of employment is weaving and crofting; weaving is carried on in twenty of the holdings.
[226] Lobster fishing in the evening is still popular but regular small-boat fishing has disappeared: one crofter took up regular fishing when weaving was slack in the autumn of 1958.

161 Of a resident population of 125, 32 males and 32 females are between the ages of 15
162 and 64, these representing the effective labour force. Thirteen persons are temporarily
[166] away and 16 permanently away whilst at least 46 have emigrated since 1939 and 6 have immigrated. Thus the number that have emigrated is nearly three times the number that are merely permanently away. With a population of 125 and an effective labour force of 64 to work 35 operative units Tolsta Chaolais would seem to be far from a dying township.

131 If not exactly progressive the township economy seems stable and moderately pros-
[181] perous, in spite of the fact that the settlement is rather inaccessible, for the roads which join the Carloway-Breasclete road are both very steep and have bad corners. To add to the apparent isolation there is only one Post Office-shop in the village but most commodities
000 are bought from vans. A reallocation of the smaller crofts to younger, more ambitious tenants at the deaths of the older tenants could reduce the number of operative units to about 25. Admittedly, little can be done with the rougher terrain, and although cattle stocks could be increased there would be the added problem of sufficient winter feed. With better drainage more land could be taken into cultivation - especially between the two lochs, an area largely wasted at the moment - whilst weaving might supply a surer source of income, especially in the winter. Tourism on a small scale might be a further possibility for the coastal scenery is very fine and the immediate setting of the village is very attractive. It would be more realistic however for Tolsta Chaolais to find future prosperity within its own boundaries.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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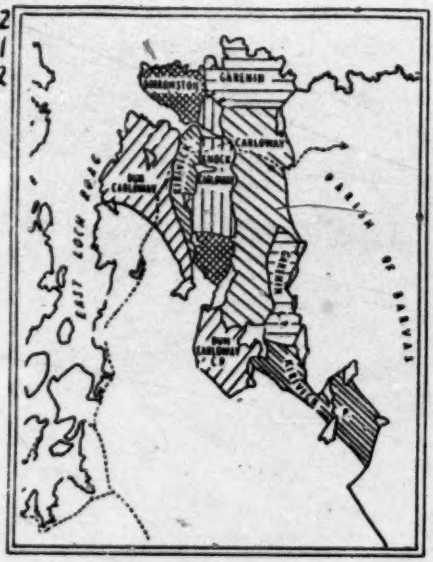

Figure 37

THE

CARLOWAY

DISTRICT

C.P. : detached common pasture (shielings)

Table 34

233
241
423
427
632

TOWNSHIP ETC.		INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Other: (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
Dun Carloway		194	----- 2,219 -----		24	6	22
Kirivick		81	495	281	14	2	13
Knock Carloway	(a)	156	643	720	33	-	30
	(b)	23	-	-	-	7	-
Carloway	(a)	234	1,234	1,139	59	-	58
	(b)	43	-	-	-	18	-
Borroston		54	516	320	16	-	16
Carenin		111	994	825	28	2	27

Note: Where there is a large area of non-crofting holdings (feus, allotments, cottars or squatters) this is shown separately against (b).

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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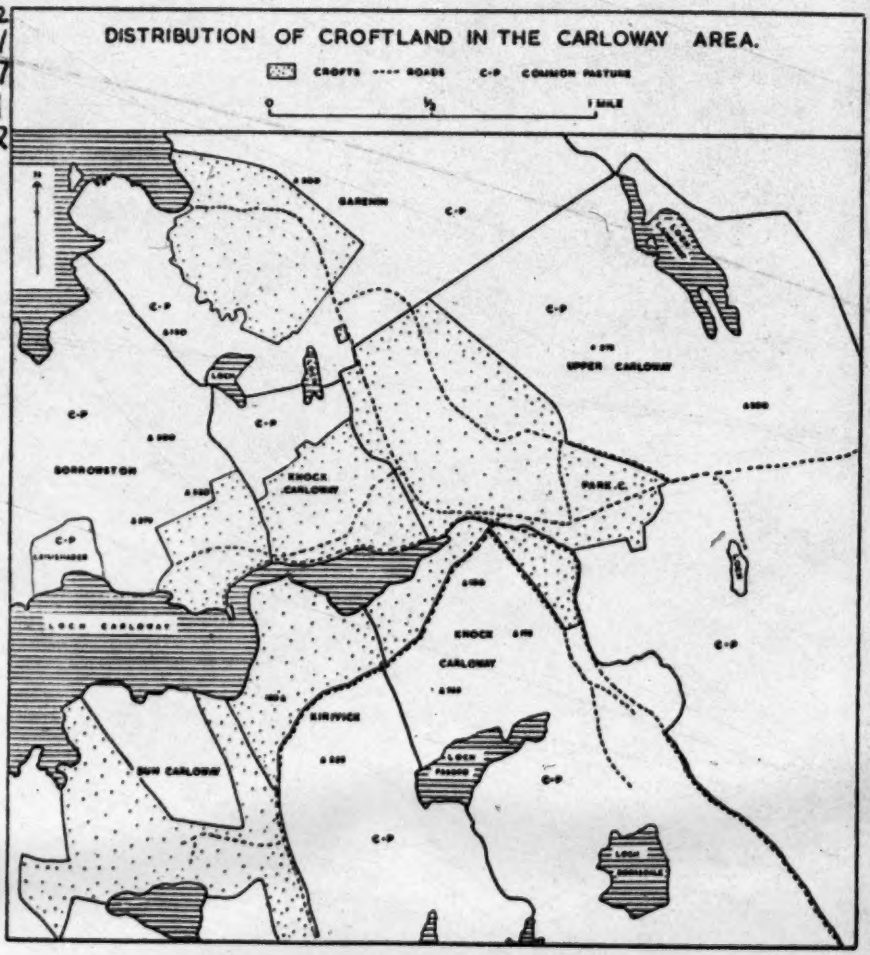

Figure 38
/p. 98/

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

by

Brian Loughbrough

131 The seven crofting townships of Upper Carloway, (including Carloway Park), Borrowston,
133 Garenin, Knock Carloway, Dun Carloway and Kirivick form a compact area of land in the
north of the Parish of Uig bordering the coast and Loch Carloway. Here the Lewisian
[103] gneiss has a thin discontinuous covering of glacial drift which is most extensively
developed immediately above the head of Loch Carloway. Three valleys help to deter-
361 mine the layout of the townships and settlements (figure 37). The townships to the north-
133 west of the Carloway river are found on more gentle slopes than those to the south east
where the slopes are less uniform and are less uniform and are often broken by short
steep rocky faces. The north western area therefore offers an environment where almost
continuous cultivation is possible whereas in the south east the frequent rock outcrops
have led to fragmented cultivation on minute plots which are inaccessible to the tractor
or other mechanised implements.

131 The soils are heavy and acid even on the skinned land of the boulder clay slopes nor
is there any machair to mitigate the acidity of the peaty areas which descend almost to
the shores. Only in one place is there any trace of the influence of the sand and this is
to be found where the crofts numbered 1 to 3 Garenin border the small bay in the north of
that township. Here the fierce gales have blown some of the finer beach deposits on to
the croft land.

Much of the peat has been cut from the inner common pastures except in the case of
Upper Carloway where active cutting is still taking place in the valley whose flanks are
131 occupied by squatter settlements, to the east of the football pitch. On the common
311 pasture the vegetation varies from peat moss and heather with bracken to fescue and
close turf on the skinned land by the road to Dalemore. On the upper common pasture
heather and bracken have increased since the abandonment of the shielings and the
reduction of the cattle stock; many inhabitants remember that the hills once had a much
greener aspect. Nor is this a feature confined to the common pastures; on one croft in
Upper Carloway 1.9 acres are completely covered by heather whilst a neighbouring croft
has a good crop of oats on similar land. At the loch in both Knock and Upper Carloway
areas of former arable land have reverted to moss, the old lazy beds being picked out by
lines of reeds.

361 Settlement. The settlement pattern is one of great interest for it shows in a clear way
the effects of the distrinct phases in the historical geography of the area. The evidence
of success and failure stands side by side. Before attempting to justify this assertion it
is necessary to give a brief account of the physical evolution and distribution of settle-
ment.

361 The origin of permanent settlement is believed * to have been the permanent occu-
175 pation of shielings used by people from Bernera until the eighteenth century. Until about
1850 arable land was held run-rig and the houses were huddled together in tight little
clusters. When individual crofts were lotted, about 1850, the houses werescattered,
each on its croft and generally up to fifty yards from the present road (which was then
361 no more than a rough track). Sea access was then most important but since the advent
449 of modern road transport new houses have been built nearer to the roads, producing the
178 modern markedly linear plan. The roads extend at different heights across the slopes

* based on information supplied by Mr Macleod of 27 Garenin.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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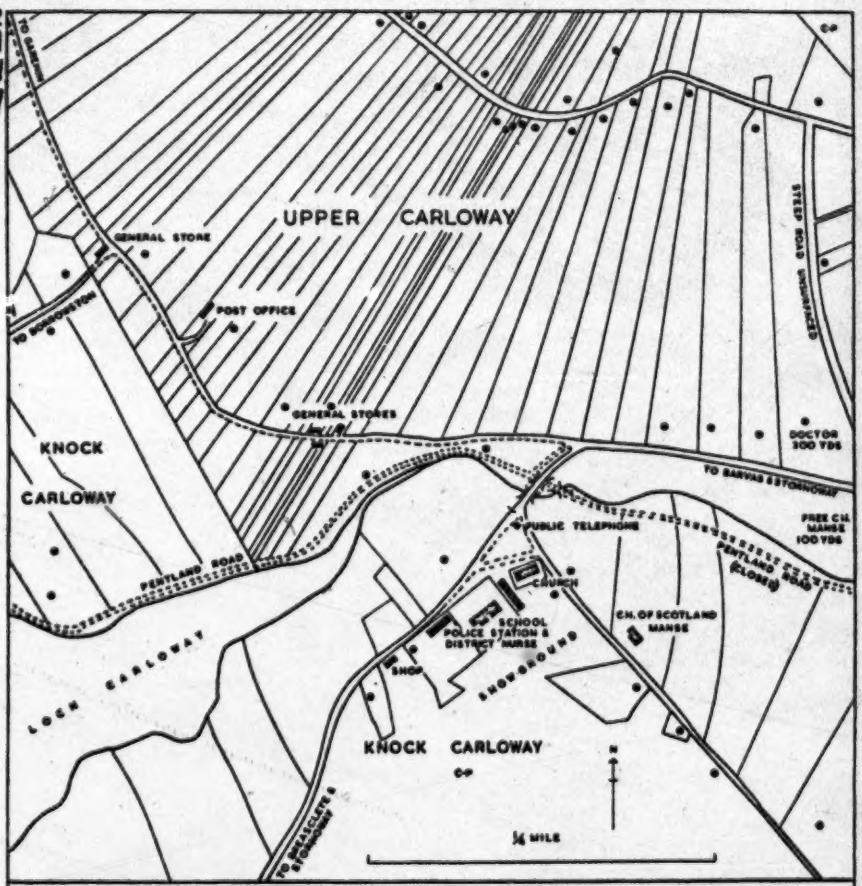

MAP SHOWING THE CONCENTRATION OF ROUTES AND COMMUNITY SERVICES AT THE HEAD OF LOCH CARLOWAY

● OCCUPIED HOUSES C-P COMMON PASTURE ——— CROFT BOUNDARIES.

/p. 100/

Figure 39

36 and across the croft boundaries and it is along these that the majority of the houses are
491 to be found so that as the roads followed the easiest course open to them so the settlement
178 has moved to the roads.

A particularly interesting example of this kind can be drawn from Upper Carloway where a twofold movement of settlements has taken place; first, from about 150 feet above sea level, where the original black houses were built, there was an uphill movement to the upper of the two roads which cross the township at from 150 to 170 feet above sea level, and, secondly (and more recently), there has been a move to build at from 25 to 30 feet above sea level along the lower road which has become the main axis for the public
342 services. Three main types of building exist then in this township. The first is the blackhouse of which only one or two now remain. Even these are not the primitive type of blackhouse, for they all have proper chimneys. The second is an ill-defined group which includes buildings erected during the later years of the fishing boom and in the period up to the Second World War. These houses are either one or two storied often with the traditional dormer windows; they form the majority. Finally there is the development of the modern bungalows which are built by the crofters but based on plans supplied by the Department of Agriculture. Few have ventured to build away from the level of the lower road.

342 How then does this pattern of settlement illustrate the changes referred to at the
178 beginning of this section? The original houses were abandoned gradually as the temporary prosperity of the fishing enabled the crofters to build the better houses. These have seen great changes, but in most cases they are still occupied. Some have been extended and improved by their owners whilst others remain without additions almost as they were when first built. That the crofter owns his own house has certainly encouraged replacement
[654] in recent times. The generous grants and loans provided by the Department of Agriculture have been utilised to construct the modern bungalows on crofts where the original croft house stands as a byre and where the second house is sometimes inhabited by some relative or person who sublets part of the croft. It is rare to see such successive phases so close together in a landscape reflecting the varying fortunes of economic enterprise and the influence of government subsidies now so much a part of the life of the crofting township.

Roads and public services.

491 Carloway's importance as a centre for West Lewis is accounted for by the fact that at the break in the coastline caused by East Loch Roag the main road southwards from Barvas turns inland to Breasclete. Near the point where it crosses the Carloway river at Carloway bridge it is joined by a number of local township roads creating a focus for community services (figure 38).* Here also the line of the still unfinished 'Pentland' road, projected as a direct link with Stornoway during the fishing boom, reaches Loch Carloway and passes along its north shore to the pier at Borrowston. This substantial pier was the scene of great activity during the period of commercial fishing before the First World War.

368 The six hundred residents of the immediate Carloway area are served by eight travel-
[494] ling shops as well as by the local stores. Bread, fish, meat, green-groceries, library and bank all come to the end of the croft if not to the crofter's door. Of the vans one is based on Carloway, one on Breasclete and the rest on Stornoway. A mobile film unit
[162] visits once each fortnight. The churches and school rightly reflect their importance in the community by the commanding position which they occupy just above the bridge. Here too is the showground; the annual show attracts people from all over the island, being as much a social as an agricultural gathering. Other services are more dispersed but not far away. They include doctor and district nurse, policeman, post office, and football

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 103]

1. [Presumably the author means figure 39--Analyst]

The Agricultural Year in the Carloway District.

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Month	General	Land	Cattle	Sheep
January and February	Preparation of land. Ditching.		In byres - out on fine days.	On crofts and inner common pasture.
March		Ploughing and manuring.	On crofts and inner common pasture.	FANK - dipping. Put on outer common pasture.
April	Peat cutting.	Sowing oats. Sowing potatoes. Cleaning potatoes.	Sales.	
May	Lifting peat.			
June	Peat taken to roads.	Cultivating.		
July	Little croft work until late in July or early August.	Hay cutting and drying.		
August	Bringing home peat.	Oats cut and dried.		FANKS - for shearing and weaning.
September		Grain and hay brought to stack enclosure and byre.	Sales.	
October		Lifting the potatoes.	Cattle brought into byres.	Brought to crofts and inner common pasture. Dipping and tupping.
November and December	Little croft work.		Feeding in byres; outside when possible.	

Figure 40.

368 ground. Some of these provide for a much larger area and indeed the policeman serves the whole of the parish of Uig. Three buses per day in each direction operating on a circular route provide transport to Stornoway.

UPPER CARLOWAY

427 133 The township comproses 51 registered crofts and 28 feus and allotments which are situated on the drift covered slope which rises from the head of Loch Carloway. The crofts are each about half a mile in length and from 5 to 25 yards in width aligned up and downslope. The lowest portion of the croftland is just above sea level and the highest approaches 225 feet O.D. The key crofts are numbers 30 and 31 whose boundaries come to a point thus enabling the crofts to be accommodated on the arcuate hill face. In the east are the crofts of Park Carloway which were lotted at a later date than the main area of croftland (numbers 1 to 40).

Only two crofts are fragmented ('fixed runrig'), these occupy lowlying hummocky land near the river where fencing would be difficult. Elsewhere fencing has been almost completed between the roads, but above the upper road fencing is less common, usually only being undertaken by the more enterprising crofters with more promising land; the bare rock surface of crofts 9 and 10 precludes any such attempt there. Almost all the fencing has taken place since 1946.

427 311 The 51 crofts and 28 feus and allotments are operated in 56 working agricultural units. The total land reputed arable 134.4 acres and the outrun 82.65 acres which gives a total fo 217.05 acres of individually held ('croft') land. The method of working is controlled by the relationship of slope, soil and elevation. Three zones may be distinguished, namely

(1) Below the road;

a) well drained and fairly accessible,
b) poorly drained and often far from the croft house

(2) Between the roads: a main zone of cultivation

(3) Above the main road an upper zone

a) with bare rock and thin soil
b) drift covered - similar in character to (2), but more exposed

Crofts 1 - 32 occupy all three zones
" 33 - 40 and 46 occupy zones (2) and (3)
" 49 is in zone (2)
" 41 and 42 are in zone (1)a and are in 'fixed runrig'.

241 [407] In nearly all parts of these zones it is possible to use a tractor and so the cultivation of oats and cutting of hay is accomplished. It is usual to work the potatoes by horse, but only one man preferred to do all his ploughing by horse. This widespread use of the tractor is in marked contrast to the townships southeast of the Loch where it is almost impossible to use the tractor in many places. The significance of this in the contrasts in methods and efficiency need hardly be emphasised.

461 Life in a crofting township is governed by a very distinctive pattern of working that is so strong that it even influences the operations of the mills in Stornoway, for each crofter, if he continues to work his croft fully, must take time off for the communal operations such as the shearing or dipping of the sheep and inevitably at certain times of the year he will be anxious to work the croft. The table attempts to set out the pattern of the agricultural year in this group of townships (Figure 40).

241 Oats are the main fodder crop and although the practice of undersowing is not familiar it is increasing with the incentive of cultivation grants. Potatoes are the other major crop, the main crop being Kerr's Pink and the 'earlies' several varieties. Domestic gardens, common to nearly all the crofts, grow cabbages and carrots. Turnips only succeed occasionally and there were many reports of poor yields. Two crofters had grown sugar beet successfully for fodder but did not see much future for it.

Sown grasses are being used increasingly and several areas of varied quality were noticed ranging from an indifferent field of Italian rye grass that had been down for five years to mixtures recommended by the Agricultural Advisor. These mixtures are used in rotations thus:- oats - potatoes - oats - sown grass - sown grass - sown grass. Some surface reseeding has been attempted and has succeeded on the crofts but none has yet been tried upon the common pasture, which is shared with Park Carloway. The chief problem has been that of finding a suitable area readily accessible to all the crofts. With the example of Breasclete and some of the townships in Ness in mind all agree that reseeding would be beneficial.*

Fertilisers are used on all the crofts and a clear pattern of their use emerged. With the obvious exception of dung the traditional types of fertiliser have been abandoned. Only one person uses shell sand in preference to lime for normal crops. For surface reseeding sand is obtained from the north west coast though transport costs are high. Good reports were given of regular liming, the only dissenter significantly having his croft by the river. Seaweed is not now in use though there were good reports of its [654] value; labour, to obtain it was not available. With the incentive of the cultivation grants there is a regular application of blended artificial fertilisers by the majority of holders.

The Carloway hill common has not been cultivated within living memory but the cultivation of every possible piece of croft land was remembered by many. Several crofters recalled the period before the First World War when all cultivation was by spade 233 alone. The abandonment of the shielings some forty years ago reflects the decrease in cattle stocks; the smaller the numbers of cattle the less important is it to obtain additional grazing during the summer so that the croft land may recover from the winter and spring grazing. All that remains of the shielings are small, almost circular, mounds [178] of stones surrounded by a green sward. The decrease in cattle stocks, then three times larger than now, and the primitive life of the shielings are probably the chief reasons for their demise.

A comparison of the percentages of the souming taken up reveals this decline in cattle and the relative and absolute increase in sheep stocks. On six of the forty one units on the crofts the total souming is exceeded, one is at par and the rest are understocked. The sheep figures show a slightly different situation; eight of the forty one are exceeding their souming, two are at par and the rest are below, but not far below, if sheep are kept at all; but, whereas only six of the fifty six total units have no cattle, twenty three are without sheep (14 crofts and 9 feus). For an analysis of the statistics for the whole area see tables I, II, & III. The most interesting feature of the comparative figures is the figure for sheep, for in spite of the fact that Park Carloway has an excess of sheep, the joint figures do not exceed the total joint souming for the townships.

CARLOWAY PARK

361 In contrast with the excessive elongation of the crofts in Upper Carloway those of
427 Park Carloway form compact blocks. Another unusual feature is that when the crofts were lotted five field drains per croft were laid at a depth of eighteen inches; this may have something to do with the good quality of the land. Nineteen acres of croft land is worked in five effective units that form a distinct block of cultivation. Croft 6, which

* In 1960 and 1962 172 acres of common pasture were reseeded.

361 is attached to the Free Church Manse, is sublet to two feuars and is used entirely for
427 hay. One remarkably well stocked croft has one horse, two cows in milk, one calf and a heifer together with a sheep stock of twenty breeding ewes, twenty lambs and twenty other sheep (this was the first 100% lambing for many years). Labour is provided by one full time crofter with assistance from two others one of whom is a weaver. On another croft an elderly lady was preparing to make an application for a cultivation grant.

241 The intensity of cultivation may be attributed to two factors; first the sheltered position of the land, the moderate slope and good drainage and second to the energy and enterprise of the crofters.

BORROWSTON

361 Borrowston exhibits many of the characteristics that have been noted in Upper Carloway
427 and which are common on the north west of Loch Carloway. It consists of sixteen registered crofts and there are no feus. The crofts were lotted in narrow strips which rise steeply from the western shore of Loch Carloway to a head dyke at about 200 feet O. D. The drift cover thins as the ground rises until an upper zone with exposures of bare rock is reached. The result is that most of the cultivation takes place below the road which passes through the croft land and along which the settlement is located. All the crofts are fenced below the road, but are only partly fenced above it, presenting a pattern similar to that at Upper Carloway. Because of the steepness of the crofts the only way that the tractor can gain access to the land is by way of the lower road which passes from the bridge to the pier.

241 Fifty four acres of croftland are worked in fourteen operative units on which the oats are cultivated by tractor and the potatoes by spade. Though all the crofts have immediate access to the shore none are fertilised with seaweed at the present time; following the common practice in the area artificial fertilisers are used to supplement lime and manure
233 from the byres. None of the crofts are open for common grazing in the winter; this is because of the use of the old farm of Laimshader, granted to the township as an enlargement . The former arable land is now used as additional common pasture. The normal practice is to use the former farm land in conjunction with the croft land in the summer, the cattle being maintained on Laimshader as late in the season as is possible.

241 Borrowston is intensively cultivated, presenting a prosperous picture when viewed from the opposite shore of the loch, but in spite of its apparent prosperity the majority
[162] of the population is over 45 years of age. Herein lies one of the main causes of concern in this part of Uig parish, for though Carloway is in many ways more prosperous than is
181 south Uig and has a larger and more active population working in much more favourable conditions, the population is an aging one that has not the potential for maintaining a
[162] level of replacement. In Borrowston eight of the crofters depend on weaving, four are full-time crofters and seven of the twelve are over sixty five. Yet these men are active and maintain large sheep stocks, ten of the twelve exceeding their scuming though only one of them has an excess of cattle.

Figure 40[1] has been drawn to illustrate the land use on particular crofts in this
233 northwestern area; one is in Borrowston and one is in Upper Carloway. The stock data
427 have also been added to give the complete picture of the agricultural unit. Each croft though prosperous, has an elderly tenant.

GARENIN

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427 The township of Garenin, whose main area of croftland is situated a little apart from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

1. [Presumably the author means figure 41--Analyst]

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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Figure 41.

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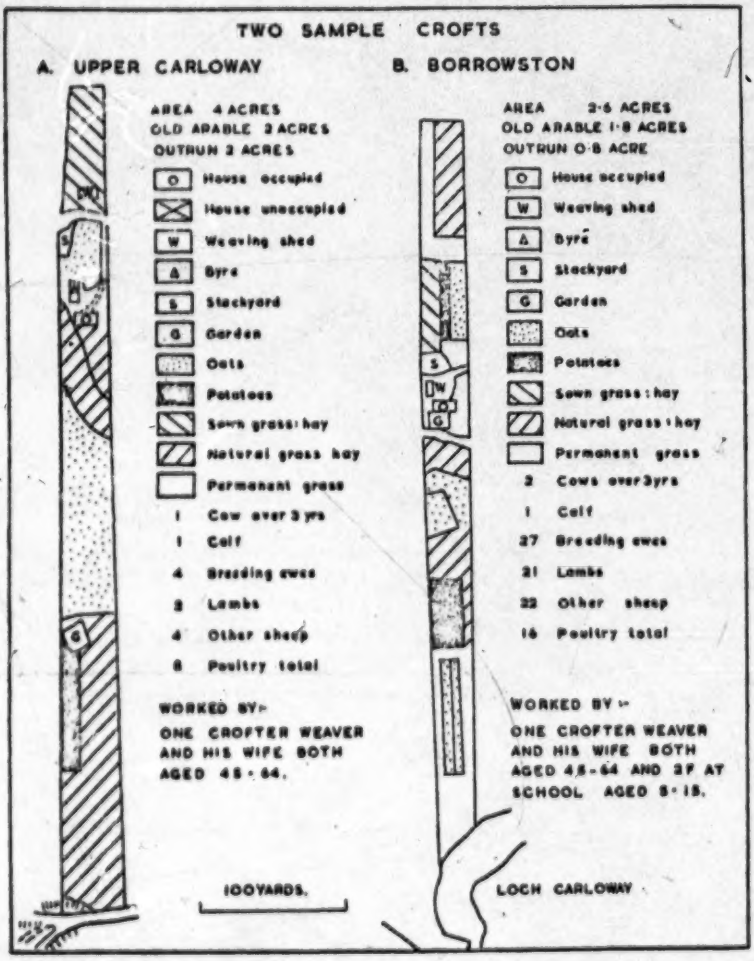

361 the main area of cultivation at the head of Loch Carloway, is similarly divided into long
427 narrow crofts which traverse the broad valley which falls to the sea from the low water-shed marking the boundaries of Upper Carloway, Borroston and Garenin. The settlement is to be found on either side of the road which rises from the bay to join the two major township roads of Upper Carloway.

181 The township has a very individual character, especially at the seaward end which is
427 exposed to violent winds and spray in the winter and where the dwellings are mostly black houses. Tenanted by old ladies two of these are partly sublet and the future seems to suggest that a complete subletting will take place, which contrasts with the activity of many of the other crofters in the township. One man was prepared to carry all the fertiliser for the croft on his back because it was impossible to gain access for the tractor.

427 The twenty eight crofts, one feu and one allotment are worked in twenty five units.
311 Extensive improvements have been made on two crofts with the introduction of sown grasses in their rotations. A general increase in fencing is now taking place with the consequent closure of the crofts which were formerly open for common grazing in the winter. By far the most striking feature in the figures gathered for the township are those for the sheep stock. Although the total souming for all stock is not quite reached, the sheep soum is exceeded by 60.3%. This does not worry the crofters one of whom spoke of a 'natural souming' pointing to the fact that the total souming was not exceeded and he continued that 'if the land is overstocked animals die'; this they do all too frequently. The assertion seems to be based on the belief that the equivalence of one cow equals three or even five sheep gives an accurate assessment of the potential of the grazing. The evidence of the heavy sheep losses does not bear this out. That sheep eat a different herbage and in a different manner to cattle seems to be either unknown or is ignored.

The whole agricultural operation of the township is complicated by its situation; long journeys were necessary to go to the shielings and are still needed for bringing home the
[286] peats. Once again the emphasis is on weaving as an occupation and many of these people
[161] are ageing. It is a measure of the decline in the population that now only fifteen children
[162] go to school whereas one crofter could remember up to fifty in the school before the First War.

The main features which emerge from this examination of the townships to the north west of Loch Carloway may be summed up quite briefly. The croftland is a compact area of well cultivated land on the even slopes which rise to over 200 ft. O.D. It is divided into long narrow holdings which ensures that each has a fair share of the different types of land. Careful attention to much of the land shows that this is far from being a
000 dying community. In spite of the defects which can be noted in the animal husbandry, the decreased population and the reduced number of working units (a result of the sub-letting) could allow of a much more efficient working than does take place at the present time. The potential is there. Carloway has many of the basic social services which help to stabilise a community and with the advantage of its strategic position the concentration of settlement could be assured if additional employment and/or more efficient agricultural methods could be adopted.

KNOCK CARLOWAY

133 If the north west presents a picture of relative prosperity the area to the south may
[181] be described as one that is showing signs of decay and decline. Knock Carloway itself occupies part of the area with less evenly graded slopes (although a westerly outlier of the township extends to the northern flank of Loch Carloway). The eastern section
361 rises steeply to a rocky crest which marks the beginning of the common pasture. In
[427] consequence the crofts are less regular than those already described and three are worked in 'fixed runrig' with a pattern of much more fragmented cultivation. Situated on the lowest shoulder of the ridge are the churches and school close to the road junction

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

Figure 42.

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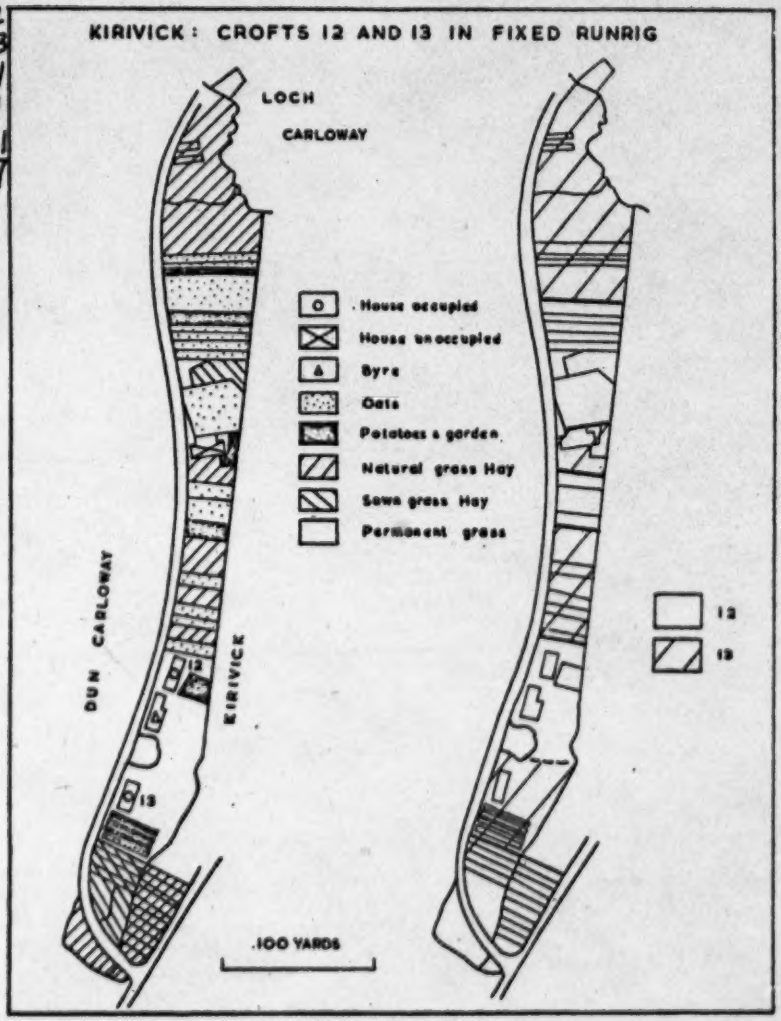

361 at Carloway Bridge. In addition to the main settlement which is irregularly disposed on either side of the two roads, a group of Swedish timber Council houses has been built in a somewhat forbidding situation on the common pasture adjoining the 'Pentland' road.

427 311 The thirty three registered crofts and thirteen feus or allotments (of which only five are non-agricultural) are worked in thirty four units. Three of the tenants of the Swedish houses have crofts, two in Knock Carloway and one in Upper Carloway.

311 The land use figures show that Knock Carloway has a much greater percentage of permanent grass than has Borrowston on the opposite shore of the loch. These figures reflect not only the less rewarding physical environment on the south shore, but also the lower intensity of cultivation which bears a direct relationship to the type, number and quality of the stock. The township has less than the total number of animals permitted by the souming though the higher figure for sheep than cattle reflects the general trend for the area. No horses are kept but the township has the bull which serves the area - a privately owned beef-shorthorn.

464 Weaving remains the major occupation but the emphasis is less heavy than in the other townships for the community services centred here employ a number of the inhabitants. 286 It may be that here lies part of the answer to the problems of the community as a whole: 632 but even if employment in services were to be increased it could never be very significant in a district with a total population of only 600.

KIRIVICK

361 Adjoining Knock Carloway is the small township of Kirivick which has forty one permanent residents. It occupies the least rewarding agricultural environment of the area. 162 Crofts 1 to 13 rise from the shore of Loch Carloway on the broken hill face to the Carloway-133 Breasclete road, whilst number 14 occupies the head of a small valley which was once part of the common pasture beyond the road.

361 The houses are set back from the road occasionally sheltering in the lee of the frequent knolls of bare rock which are exposed on the croft land. These rock surfaces together 133 with the irregular deposition of the drift account for the fragmentation of the cultivated strips in small hand-dug lazy beds on the upper parts of the crofts inaccessible to the tractor.

361 There are fourteen crofts, three feus and one squatter settlement and all but two of 427 these are fenced. Two of the crofts are held in 'fixed runrig' and the small sections in which the land is cultivated are shown in figure 41 which also illustrates the regular 311 distribution of sections between the two. Though it used to be the normal practice the crofts are not now open to common grazing in the winter.

311 The restricted amount of land available for common grazing ensured the continued use of the shielings until 1939; small patches were cultivated on the common grazing about forty years ago and this fact too is the only recorded instance of a practice that was a community by the size of the working unit and the land available. At the moment there is no proposal for reseeding of any part of the common pasture* because of the difficulty of getting access for tractors. As in the case of Knock Carloway the total souming is not exceeded, but the sheep stock is 25% above the sheep soum.

162 The population figures emphasise the problem of the whole of this southern area and here is the most extreme case of incipient decline. There are two fulltime crofters, six crofters who weave and five crofters over sixty five. Seventy per cent of the population is over 45 and only two children attend the school neither of whom is likely to take up crofting.

1. [Figure 42--Analyst]

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

Figure 43

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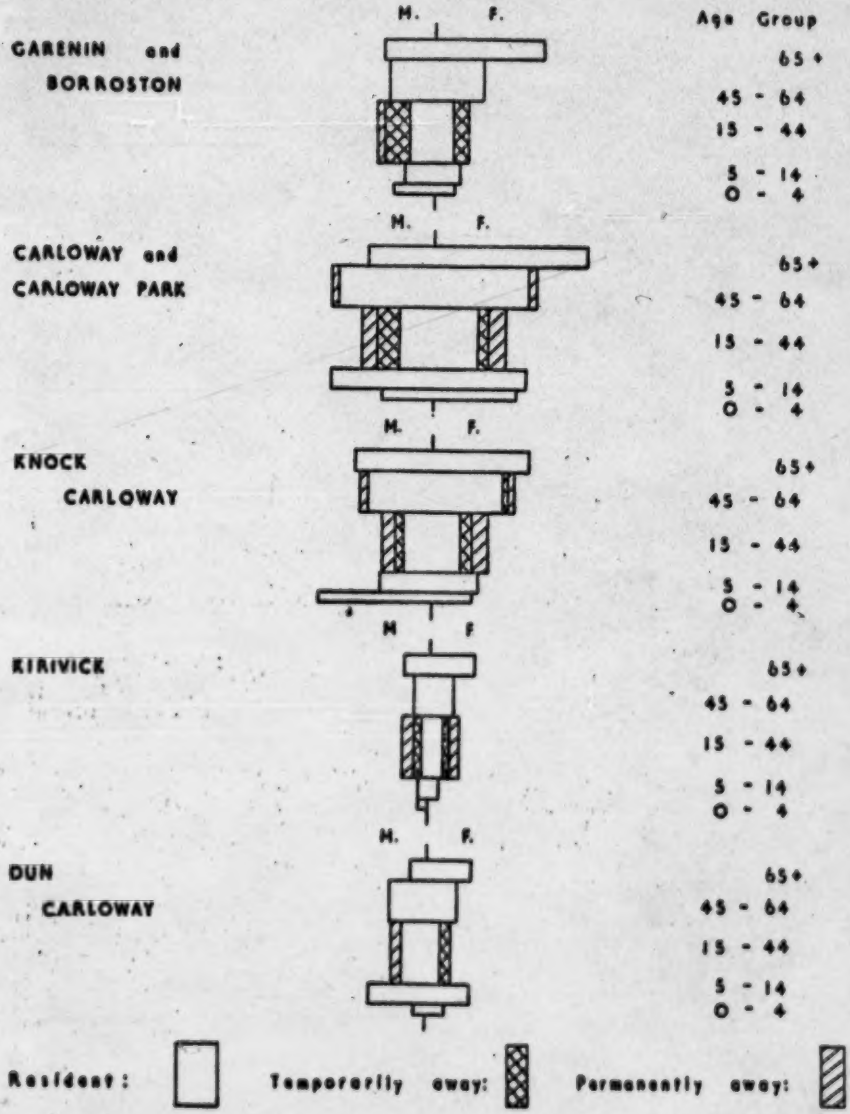
POPULATION: AGE and SEX composition



DUN CARLOWAY

361 Dun Carloway though clearly of a similar type to the other townships south of Loch
Carloway has certain features peculiar to itself. The croft land may be divided into
427 two sections; crofts 18 to 23 occupy the deep trench which extends from the Dun Carloway
school to Loch Carloway itself. These holdings are larger than the average discussed
above and are divided in broad rectangular block. To the west there is a less deeply
entrenched zone where the crofts are long and narrow lying up and down slope like those
241 of Borrowston. Short steep and narrow lazy beds characterise the cultivation which
follows the pattern set in the other townships, although the areas, as has been noted
above, are much larger in some cases; the largest have up to twenty acres. Despite
this increased size no croft has more than two acres of oats. The low percentage of
land under cultivation is only in part explained by the difficult nature of the ground and
461 the limited use which can be made of the tractor. Few crofters are willing to attempt
more cultivation (to provide extra feed for store cattle or some other form of stock
[288] enterprise) so long as the income from weaving is satisfactory. The concept of the
croft as an ancilliary employment appears to have defeated its own object, for with the
population at its present level, and with the income from weaving as it is, very few
crofters are prepared to do more than provide milk for the family, (with the annual cow
and calf subsidies, and the proceeds of the sale of the annual calf as by-products) and to
derive what income Providence rather than goodmanagement may allow from the sheep.

427 The total area of individually held croftland is 194 acres which is worked in twenty
five agricultural units derived from twenty six crofts, nine feus, one 'free gift' holding
311 and one squatter. The cultivation is accomplished by one horse and one tractor, each
fo which is owned within the township.

311 The total souming is exceeded, the main reason for this being the gross overstocking
of sheep; 187.4% of the soum. This overstocking cannot fail to have a harmful effect
on the common pasture, promoting an increase in the bracken already visible on some
of the croftland itself, under-nourishment and disease. The poor quality of the hill
pasture is brought home by a comparison with the grazings of North Uist where the most
striking feature of the landscape is its greenness after the heavier browns of Western
Lewis. Regeneration by surface seeding would certainly be helpful here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

128 The tables given in appendices C and D form the basis for much of the comment in the
preceding pages. They must now be considered in the light of the general tendencies
which they illustrate in the changing livestock economy units.

241 Appendix C(1) elucidates the working of the crofts. The picture is somewhat com-
311 plicated by the large number of non-crofting holdings in the area, of which 43 carry
stock (a quarter of these sublet croftland). The number of feus also tends to mask the
231 process of amalgamation of crofts to form larger working units; a process which has
423 been taking place for some time. There are in this connection one or two cases of the
cross working of crofts between individuals in neighbouring townships. The figures for
427 these units have been included with those of the township where the tenant is resident.

241 Oats are the most important arable crop. The acreages of sown grass for hay and
pasture are much lower in comparison. Permanent grass, mostly old arable land, is
to be found on 52% of the total area of land occupied as crofts and feus. A large propor-
tion of this is on very thin soil where bare rock is exposed and on wet land, but even so
it does show that much more of the land might be under cultivation or improved grass.
[198] The decrease in cultivation since the late nineteenth century is probably much less than
that for the Valtos area of South Uig where about 70% of the inbye and outrun is under

241 permanent grass. The pre-eminence of the Carloway area is then only a relative one
198 where the decline in cultivation is taking place at a slower rate. Isolation, the decline in fishing and the lack of alternative employment leading to a greater decline in population may explain the more rapid decline in the Valtos area. Whether Carloway will see a similar decline remains to be seen.

Table 35

Stock carried as a proportion of total soum of each township - Carloway district, August 1959

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311
632

TOWNSHIP	All Stock	Cattle	Sheep*
Carloway	63%	53%	70%
Carloway Park	87%	64%	119%
Borrowston	74%	15%	121%
Garenin	97%	30%	160%
Knock Carloway	64%	30%	90%
Kirivick	73%	25%	124%
Dun Carloway	104%	21%	187%

* As recorded in some cases these figures are too low (see Appendix C (2)); the maximum error is probably around 10%.

[128] Table 35 summarises the agricultural system; further details of the relations between
231 size of unit, status of tenant, stock of cultivation, will be found in Appendix C (3), (4), (5)
233 and (6). Though the total soumings (that is the conversion of both cattle and sheep units to 'cow units' expressed as a percentage of the souming) never fall below 60% the sheep souming is exceeded in five townships and that grossly in two cases. Once again however
311 this is not as serious as it is in the Valtos area where soumings are exceeded by up to three times the figure allowed. Nor does the mere statistical analysis reveal all the picture for it is essential that a proportionate number of cattle be kept so that the grazing of both cattle and sheep may regulate the growth of the grass. As it is, the relative and absolute increase in the numbers of sheep is having a serious effect on the quality of the pastures.

Sheep are given less attention that the cattle whether they need it or not and few of the present generation are prepared to tolerate the life of the shieling in its old form where the cattle were taken in the summer. In consequence the grazing on the outer moor is almost entirely given up to sheep. The shielings are now only marked by small broken stone mounds which were once the shelters and by the small surrounding areas of greener sward. The changing aspect of the hill landscape has already been mentioned.

231 Comparison of the totals given in Appendix C (1) shows how the present pattern is developing. 167 milk cows are being raised on 171 agricultural units and with these are 113 calves. Appendixes C (5) and C (6) indicate that the agricultural unit farming the basis of farming is the single milk cow and annual calf which carries a subsidy if it passes the inspector of the Department of Agriculture. A few crofters are raising young beasts for sale but there is a general unwillingness to grow more fodder to raise cattle for an uncertain market which may be affected at any moment by an increase in transport costs which are already high. Without the subsidy such enterprises would hardly be possible at all and indeed one could say this of many aspects of life in the island today. Some of the calves are wintered, but the usual practice is to sell off late in the year.

233 Little close attention is paid to shepherding though several crofters profess to liking it. The great losses on the moor (often amounting to one third of the lambs each year) does not seem to cause much worry. The chief income from the sheep is the fleece which sells at up to 4/- per pound, an average fleece weighing from three to four pounds. This wool is not used for the tweed industry since it is too coarse being more suited to carpet manufacture. Appendix C (6) shows that the majority of flocks are small averaging from 10-20. The overgrazing is the result of a smaller number of owners keeping larger flocks. Thirteen of the working units have between 50 and 100 sheep. As to those without sheep, several crofters declared themselves to be too old to bother with them, a fact which serves as an illustration and introduction to the population problems.

[435] [288]

162 Appendices D (1) shows the twofold nature of the difficulties which confront the community. Twenty-two per cent of the residents are over 65 years of age and no less than 56% are over 45 years old. With the sole exception of one man who works on the power development project at Gisla in South Uig, the main focus of employment is local. A small number of people are engaged in services to the community including shopkeeping, but the main source of income is weaving since crofting itself (by definition in this area at least) does not yield sufficient to maintain a family. Yet there are 31 full time crofters who are being supported in some other way, either by relations temporarily or permanently absent or by interest on capital accumulated during periods of employment away from the island.

464 [434]

162 There is an insufficiency of women of child-bearing age to offer hope of an increase in the population or even a sufficient number to guarantee a level of replacement. This fact together with the emphasis on one form of employment gives rise to anxiety among the crofters, who recollect what happened when the fishing finally collapsed during the First World War after a period of steady decline. In 1913 twenty boats sailed from Carloway and gave employment to 295 men. If the weaving fails (at present a weaver making three tweeds per week can earn up to £16 for them) there will be similar hardship and the net emigration from an area already none too attractive to young people will certainly become more marked than it is at present.

464 [435]

Table 36

Fishing in the Carloway District 1892-1956

198 228 435

	Numbers engaged		
	Boats	Men	Value of catch:
1892	65	300	?
1900	27	318	?
1913	20	295	£8,700
1920	14	266	£560
1930	10	83	£262
1938	10	40	£470
1948	14	40	£174
1956	15	18	nil

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Boats returned may not have been in regular use; many of the men were mainly engaged as hands on east coast boats.

APPENDIX C

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(1a) Agricultural Statistics of Berneray District, August 1959

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts	Others	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: Oats	Potatoes	Hay	Pasture (acres)	Gardens (No.)	CATTLE: Cows	Milk	Others	Calves	SHEEP: Cows	Ewes	Lambs	Others	Horses	Goatsx
Brenacleto	13	3	14	13	3	8	80	10	59	14	11	15	312	221	164	241	-	-
Creir	8	-	7	6	2	4	222	1	31	7	4	7	96	133	110	137	-	-
Hacklete	20	1	20	26	6	12	210	-	122	30	22	19	461	486	390	499	2	1
Hirtiboat	26	4	28	26	9	22	373	9	144	35	14	27	866	496	381	420	5	1
Tobson	24	-	19	22	7	3	160	7	97	30	6	24	784	362	305	248	-	-
BERNERA ISL.	91	8	88	93	27	49	1045	27	459	116	57	92	2719	1698	1350	1545	7	2
Earshader	4	2	6	7	1	7	43	4	17	6	1	6	104	149	121	168	-	-
Crulivig	6	-	6	9	3	4	68	-	25	8	6	5	163	193	168	213	-	-
Lumlale	6	-	6	6	3	2	144	3	34	7	4	7	192	197	167	141	-	1
Linshader	10	-	9	6	4	7	45	9	13	6	2	4	330	307	218	227	-	-
'SHORE'	26	2	27	28	11	20	300	16	89	27	13	22	789	846	674	749	-	1
FARMS etc.	-	4	4	-	-	-	?	2	-	5	33	5	-	180	130	205	-	-
TOTAL BERNERA DISTRICT	117	14	119	121	38	69	1345	45	548	148	103	119	3508	2724	2154	2499	7	3

Notes: (a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in the text.

(b) Croft holdings include duplicate tenancies; other holdings include de facto holdings such as cottars and squatters if carrying crops or stock; effective agricultural units include only holdings with at least a cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation; duplicate tenancies and privately sub-let crofts are not counted twice.

(c) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the regulations were made unless some other date is specified.

(d) Additional sheep figures are given in Appendix C(2).

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APPENDIX C continued

(Ib) Agricultural Statistics of East Loch Roag and Carloway districts, August, 1959

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts	Others	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	ARABLE LAND: (Acres) Oats	Potatoes	Hay	Pasture	Gardens	CATTLE: Bulls	Milk	Others	Calves	SHEEP: Rams	Ewes	Lambs	Others	Horses	Tractors
EAST LOCH ROAG:																		
Garynahine	12	1	11	2	1	19	66	7	18	4	-	2	180	98	94	31	-	-
Callanish	40	-	32	20	9	34	177	13	124 (232?)	28	5	23	671 (988?)	549	509	253	1	2
Breanaleto Pt.	2	1	5	3	2	6	21	7	31	3	1	2	124	68	52	34	-	1
Breanaleto	63	3	54	34	11	58	273	43	191	48	4	32	567	601	479	368	1	-
Bolsta Chaolis	43	3	30	17	9	47	222	13	96	28	2	24	573	700	520	270	1	2
Lochganvich	8	-	7	4	2	12	48	4	33	7	1	4	155	140	134	48	-	2
Others	-	3	3	5	1	8	493	1	-	8	1	5	-	42	40	37	-	1
CARLOWAY DISTRICT																		
Dun Carloway	24	6	25	18	7	29	141	13	130 (164?)	25	10	17	460 (574?)	612	400	492	1	1
Kirivick	14	2	13	8	2	20	50	8	60	13	2	8	202	205	163	92	-	-
Knock Carloway	33	7	33	13	6	28	131	33	132	33	6	25	530	407	301	140	-	-
Carloway	33	18	30	39	14	67	99	35	116	34	2	34	520	314	248	197	3	1
Carloway Park	6	-	5	5	1	8	5	4	14	6	1	5	81	70	62	53	1	-
Borrowston	16	-	13	8	3	25	18	12	98 (118?)	12	3	8	392 (464?)	362	277	228	-	-
Garenin	28	2	23	22	9	27	53	7	98 (154?)	24	-	16	341 (539?)	419	281	257	3	-

Notes: (a), (b), and (c) - as for Appendix C(1a).

(d) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions are as reported. See also Appendix C(2).

(e) Where an alternative figure is shown beneath the scum there is doubt as to the interpretation of the regulation.

APPENDIX C continued

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632

(2) Additional data relating to township sheep stocks, August 1959

TOWNSHIP:	TOTAL STOCK: (including lambs)		LAMBING:	STOCKING RATIO: (per 100 acres of grazing common)	
	as recorded:	as estimated:	as reported:	estimated:	scum:
Breaclete	626	630	74%	49	24
Creir	380	380	83%	64	20
Hacklete	1,375	1,400	80%	73	35
Kirkibost	1,297	1,300	77%	52	35
Tobson	915	950	84%	46	38
Earshader	438	480	81%	36	8
Crulivig	574	600	87%	45	12
Lundale	505	550	85%	55	19
Linshader	752	750	71%	8	4
Garynahine	223	250	96%	15	11
Callanish (including Breaclete Park)	1,465	1,600	91%	30	15
Breaclete	1,448	1,600	80%	41	15
Tolsta Chaolis	1,490	1,550	74%	57	21
Lochganvich	414	?	85%	(20)	8
Dun Carloway	1,504	1,550	65%	70	21
Kirivick	460	550	79%	71	26
Knock Carloway	848	950	74%	70	39
Carloway (including C.Park)	944	1,000	81%	42	28
Borrowston	867	950	76%	114	59
Garenin	957	1,000	67%	55	19

[128]

NOTES: (a) The last two columns cannot be directly compared because the sheep scum per 100 acres of common grazing does not include lambs.

(b) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the grazing regulations were first made unless some other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

APPENDIX C continued

(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, August 1959.

162
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Status* of tenants:		Area of holding (in acres): 0.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	More than 20.0	TOTAL:
BERNERA DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	2	6	3	8	10	4	4	37
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	M under 65	-	-	-	1	4	3	4	12
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	M under 65	-	1	1	2	2	1	-	7
	M over 65	-	5	1	3	8	4	4	25
	F under 65	-	-	1	1	3	1	-	6
	F over 65	-	-	3	2	1	-	1	7
Absent		-	1	3	1	3	2	3	13
TOTAL		2	13	12	18	32	15	17	109
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	4	21	13	3	2	2		45
	M over 65	-	1	1	-	-	-		2
	F under 65	-	1	-	-	-	-		1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
B	M under 65	2	6	4	-	1	-		13
	M over 65	-	-	1	-	-	-		1
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
C	M under 65	-	4	7	2	-	-	-	13
	M over 65	6	15	15	5	3	2	-	46
	F under 65	-	4	4	-	-	-	1	9
	F over 65	2	5	2	1	2	-	-	13
Absent		6	15	6	2	-	2	-	30
TOTAL		20	72	53	13	8	5	1	172
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	5	24	10	3	-	2	-	44
	M over 65	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	4
	F under 65	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	M under 65	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	3
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	M under 65	3	7	1	-	1	-	-	12
	M over 65	3	19	7	-	1	-	-	29
	F under 65	1	13	3	2	-	-	-	19
	F over 65	4	14	4	-	-	-	-	22
Absent		4	12	1	1	1	-	-	19
TOTAL		21	92	28	7	4	3	-	155

* A with regular employment.
B with irregular employment.
C without employment ('full-time crofters').

APPENDIX C continued

(4) Principal croft workers, according to status, by size of effective agricultural unit, August 1959.

162
311
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464
631

Status of croft worker		Area of effective agricultural unit (acres) Less than 2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	More than 20.0	TOTAL:
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Regular employment	M under 65	4	7	6	11	15	12	11	66
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M under 65	1	1	-	2	8	3	2	17
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M under 65	-	-	1	3	2	1	1	9
	M over 65	-	-	4	2	1	-	-	7
	F under 65	-	-	2	1	2	1	1	8
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	5	8	13	19	28	17	15	105
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Regular employment	M under 65	4	24	17	13	18	3	3	82
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M under 65	1	1	5	1	1	1	-	10
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M under 65	-	-	4	-	3	1	1	9
	M over 65	3	7	4	3	2	1	1	21
	F under 65	-	2	3	1	1	-	-	7
	F over 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	TOTAL	8	35	33	18	25	6	5	130
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Regular employment	M under 65	20	39	16	8	4	4	1	92
	M over 65	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	F under 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M under 65	2	1	3	1	-	-	-	7
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M under 65	7	7	2	2	1	1	-	20
	M over 65	1	4	8	-	1	2	-	16
	F under 65	3	5	3	-	-	-	-	11
	F over 65	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	7
	TOTAL	36	59	35	11	6	7	1	155

APPENDIX C continued

(5) Stock and cultivation by size of effective units, August 1959.

(a) STOCK

231
311
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Stock as proportion of scus of each unit:	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units 0.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0 acres	All sizes	Actual number of units
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Nil	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
Less than 50%	-	5	3	4	6	3	4	25	27
50%-100%	1	5	2	11	13	5	6	43	46
100%-200%	1	3	3	4	9	6	4	30	32
More than 200%	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	2
All units	2	13	8	19	29	14	15	100	108
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Nil	2	3	2	1	-	-	-	7	9
Less than 50%	2	8	9	4	5	2	2	32	42
50%-100%	1	6	8	5	6	2	2	29	39
100%-200%	-	5	4	6	2	1	-	19	25
More than 200%	-	7	2	2	2	2	-	14	18
All units	4	30	25	17	15	6	3	100	133
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Nil	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	5	6
Less than 50%	4	16	9	2	3	1	1	36	44
50%-100%	2	11	12	2	2	2	-	31	38
100%-200%	2	12	5	2	2	-	-	22	27
More than 200%	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	6	7
All units	10	43	29	7	7	4	1	100	122

(b) CULTIVATION

241
311
631

Acres cultivated:	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units 0.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0 acres	All sizes	Actual number of units
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	5	6
0.5-1.0	1	3	2	2	1	-	2	10	12
1.1-2.5	2	6	5	10	19	9	6	58	66
2.6-5.0	-	1	1	5	8	3	6	24	27
More than 5.0	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	3
All units	4	13	8	18	28	13	15	100	114
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	4	6
0.5-1.0	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	4	6
1.1-2.5	1	15	9	4	1	-	-	30	43
2.6-5.0	-	12	13	8	11	4	4	52	74
More than 5.0	-	-	1	4	2	1	1	9	13
All units	6	29	24	16	15	6	5	100	142
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	10	5	3	-	1	-	-	18	28
0.5-1.0	10	11	7	1	1	1	1	32	48
1.1-2.5	3	20	13	5	2	1	-	43	66
2.6-5.0	-	3	1	-	1	1	-	7	10
More than 5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All units	22	38	24	5	6	3	1	100	152

APPENDIX C continued

(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit*

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631

STOCK CARRIED	Under 65 years: Full-time crofter	Under 65 years: Croft and regular work	Under 65 years: Croft and periodic work	Over 65 years: Male	Over 65 years: Female	ALL UNITS*
BERNERA DISTRICT:						
CATTLE** nil	3	2	1	4	-	10
1	8	24	8	3	1	44
2	4	13	1	1	-	19
3	-	4	1	-	-	5
more than 3	-	1	-	-	-	1
SHEEP nil	2	-	-	-	-	2
less than 6	1	-	1	-	-	2
6-10	2	2	-	1	-	5
11-20	-	3	2	3	-	8
21-50	8	23	4	2	1	38
51-100	2	15	4	2	-	23
more than 100	-	1	-	-	-	1
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT:						
CATTLE** nil	5	13	5	4	-	27
1	12	53	6	16	1	88
2	2	9	-	-	-	11
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
more than 3	-	-	-	-	-	-
SHEEP nil	2	10	4	3	1	20
less than 6	1	2	-	2	-	5
6-10	6	5	1	5	-	17
11-20	4	22	1	3	-	30
21-50	2	25	5	7	-	39
51-100	4	9	-	-	-	13
more than 100	-	-	-	-	-	-
CARLOWAY DISTRICT:						
CATTLE** nil	3	6	-	2	1	12
1	21	72	5	11	4	113
2	5	10	1	2	1	19
3	-	1	-	-	-	1
more than 3	-	-	-	-	-	-
SHEEP nil	9	17	2	6	4	38
less than 6	2	5	-	2	-	9
6-10	4	8	-	1	-	13
11-20	6	17	2	2	1	28
21-50	5	32	1	3	1	42
51-100	2	6	1	1	-	10
more than 100	1	3	-	-	-	4

* some units are omitted for lack of data.
** two years and over.

APPENDIX D

162
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632

(1) Population totals by townships

| | MALES | | |

APPENDIX D continued

| | MALES | | |

APPENDIX D continued

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463

(2) Occupations of resident males, aged 15-64, August, 1959.

(including members of the light-house service and their families)

District: *	F	G	H	I
Croft work only	1	9	13	25
Croft and regular -				
-weaving	9	38	73	104
-fishing	-	22	-	-
-estate work	1	-	1	-
-public services	-	5	3	7
-transport	2	2	5	6
-retail trade	1	4	3	4
Croft and irregular -				
-casual labour	1	-	4	-
-estate work	8	-	3	-
-whaling	-	-	-	5
Regular work but not crofting -				
-weaving	-	1	5	10
-professional	-	2	1	3
-public services	-	-	6	2
-transport	-	2	1	-
-distribution	-	-	3	1

* Districts - F: Bernera (mainland)
G: Bernera (island)
H: East Loch Road (Garynahine - Tolsta Chaolis)
I: Carloway (Dun Carloway - Garenin).

APPENDIX D continued.

(3) Destination of Emigrants, 1939 - 1959

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167
178

Destination:	Male	Female(1)	Total
BERNERA DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	6	4 (3)	10
Other Lewis	2	10 (9)	12
Other crofting counties	3	6 (5)	9
Glasgow	3	7 (7)	10
Other Scotland	14	7 (7)	21
Other U.K.	2	4 (4)	6
Overseas	4	1 (1)	5
All emigrants	34	39 (36)	73
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	10	10 (8)	20
Other Lewis	8	17 (12)	25
Other crofting counties	7	10 (8)	17
Glasgow	23	21 (17)	44
Other Scotland	14	22 (12)	36
Other U.K.	4	11 (10)	15
Overseas	6	2 (2)	8
All emigrants	72	93 (69)	165
CARLOWAY DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	5	13 (7)	18
Other Lewis	12	17 (8)	29
Other crofting counties	5	9 (6)	14
Glasgow	18	17 (13)	35
Other Scotland	12	15 (9)	27
Other U.K.	4	4 (4)	8
Overseas	10	7 (2)	17
All emigrants	66	82 (49)	148

Note: (1) the figure in parenthesis refers to females who emigrated on marriage.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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PART IV

SOME PROBLEMS OF AN ISLAND COMMUNITY.*

Chapter			Page
XII	Agriculture in a crofting parish	H. A. Moisley	127
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Appendices

* Although based on earlier field work, these chapters were largely written during the tenure of a Carnegie Research Fellowship which the author wishes gratefully to acknowledge.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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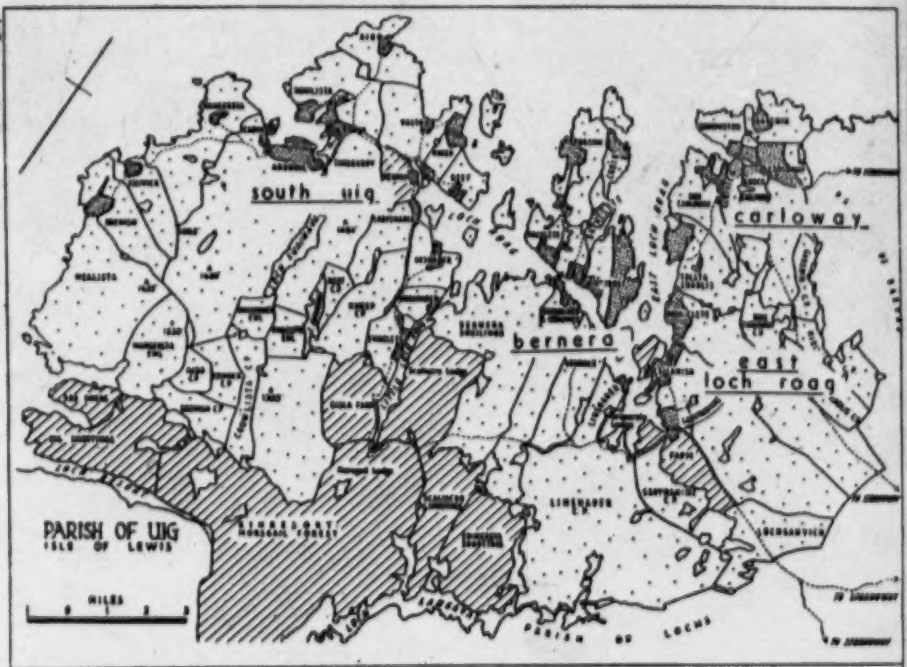

Major categories of land use:

Inbye land - arable and outrun

Common pastures

Sporting estates, farms etc.

THE FOUR DISTRICTS REFERRED TO IN PART IV ARE NAMED : south uig

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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TABLE 37

The Crofting Structure Re-organised

(a) Holdings

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632
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District	Proportion of holdings grouped according to area of inbye land: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All holdings
South Uig	49%	36%	15%	100% (193)
Berneray	14%	27%	59%	100% (109)
East Loch Roag	53%	38%	9%	100% (172)
Carloway	72%	23%	5%	100% (155)
WHOLE PARISH	50%	32%	18%	100% (629)

[128] Note: These are the registered crofts and similar agricultural tenancies as on the 1958 valuation roll. About 50 holdings omitted for lack of data.

(b) Effective agricultural units

District	Proportion of units grouped according to area of inbye land: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All units
South Uig	33%	34%	33%	100% (165)
Berneray	13%	30%	56%	100% (105)
East Loch Roag	33%	39%	28%	100% (130)
Carloway	61%	30%	10%	100% (155)
WHOLE PARISH	38%	32%	30%	100% (555)

[128] Note: About 20 units omitted for lack of data.

(c) Summary (excluding Carloway, see note)

	Proportion of holdings (generally registered crofts):	Proportion of effective agricultural units:
Under 8 acres	72%	47%
8 acres and over	28%	53%
All holdings/units	100% (474)	100% (400)

[128] Note: The Carloway district is here excluded because about 30 small de facto agricultural units without crofter status obscure the effect of unofficial amalgamation of crofter-tenancies.

Source: Appendices A(3) and (4) and C(3) and (4).

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uig

CHAPTER TWELVE

AGRICULTURE IN A CROFTING PARISH

by

H. A. Mojsley

427 311 The agricultural economy of Uig parish, as of the Hebrides in general, is rigidly controlled by three sets of factors - physical conditions, the system of crofting land tenure, and economic circumstances. The first two have already been discussed in Part I. In particular, it has been shown that the crofting system, as at present operated, puts many holdings into the hands of tenants who cannot make best use of the land. Many holdings stand under-stocked, some virtually un-used, whilst some crofters who could be efficient agents of agricultural production are inhibited by the small size of their holdings and their inability to sufficiently enlarge them. (See Chap. III, p. 30, and appendices to the district accounts, especially A(3), A(5), C(3) and C(5)).

The crofting system re-organised.

There are 699 agricultural holdings on the 1958 valuation roll, of these only 23 are neither statutory crofts nor holdings of similar status (see Table 9, page 25). About half these holdings have less than 5 acres of inbye land; only 18% have more than 10 acres. Very small holdings are a particular feature of the Carloway district (73% less than 5 acres) and, to a slightly less extent, of East Loch Roag district (42% less than 5 acres). Relatively large holdings are most important in the Bernera district (59% greater than 10 acres). In South Uig, despite the large number of holdings formed within the present century, only 15% of all holdings exceed 10 acres, (c.f. Carloway: 5%). Details of the size-distribution of holdings are given in appendices A(3) and C(3), and are summarised in Table 37(a).

Although still illegal at the time of our survey, it is not surprising that sub-letting is extensively practised, along with other forms of amalgamation, as described in Chap. III (page 30). Thus arises the distinction between 'holdings', which are generally tenancies of different individuals, and 'working units', which may include several holdings. The latter are potential units of agricultural production and are generally larger than the holdings.

However, the structure of potential agricultural units is not the product of one process alone. Amalgamation is important but so also, in certain districts, is 'sub-division', a process which tends to reverse the development of larger agricultural units. By 'sub-division' is meant not only the unofficial sharing of crofts by two or more families, which still happens but is no longer very significant, but also the individual enclosure of small pieces of the common pastures. Such enclosures are, nowadays, generally subject to the approval of the township committee and of the factor, some may even have a feu charter; nevertheless they are the contemporary representation of the age-old custom of squatting on common land, a process which increased the number of crofts in some areas in the course of the nineteenth century, (Chap. III, page 17). Such holdings are here classified as 'working units' provided that they carried either a cow, or at least five sheep, or more than a quarter acre of cultivation, including hay.

Finally, since a proportion of the 'working units' (potential units of agricultural production) are neither stocked nor cultivated, we must distinguish between them and the actual units of agricultural production, here termed 'effective agricultural units'. We accounted for 580 of these, (page 30). Their distribution by districts, according to the acreage of the units, is shown in Table 37(b). Comparison of table (a) and (b) demonstrates the effect of unofficial re-organisation of the crofting structure. In particular, Carloway excepted, the proportion of units of less than 8 acres is reduced in practise from 72% to 47%, and the proportion of units of more than 10 acres is increased from 18% to 30%. In Carloway the result of amalgamation is masked by 'sub-division'; in that district there are about 30 small holdings which carry stock even though they do

TABLE 38

Stock carried 80 years ago compared with that carried today and with the soumings

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	Cattle (more than 1 year old): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum	Sheep (all ages): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum
OLD TOWNSHIPS						
South Uig	716	178	677	3,173	10,500	3,557
Bernera	446	183	464	1,713	5,400	2,890
E.L. Roag	555	132	481	1,652	5,200	2,090
Carloway	682	191	648	2,818	6,000	2,596
NEW TOWNSHIPS	-	104	329	-	5,800	2,858
FARMS etc.	404	44	-	4,400	900	-

Note: Figures for individual township are given in Appendix E.

427 not have crofter status. Thus, despite the rigidity imposed by crofting legislation, the
311 crofting structure is evolving; whether the larger units so formed are agriculturally more
[178] productive than the smaller, statutory, units is another question.

Cattle and sheep stocks

231 The production of cattle and sheep is the main function of the croft, from the
178 agricultural point of view, and the main function of the crofting parish. In this respect a great change has occurred in the last 80 years: about 1880 some 3,300 cattle and 14,000 sheep (of all ages) were kept; in 1959 the corresponding figures were 1,281 and 35,000. This change is by no means the result of the re-settlement of crofters on former farms; in 1879, according to the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the sheep:cattle ratio was 2.3:1 on the crofting townships and 9.6:1 on the farms: now it is 27:1 over the whole parish. The change (Table 38) has been fairly uniform over the parish except that, whereas sheep stocks generally have more or less trebled, in the Carloway district they have little more than doubled.

The decline of cattle numbers has been at the same rate as that of the human
[161] population and this, together with the much lower sheep:cattle ratio on crofting townships
[162] than on farms in 1879, suggests that, 80 years ago just as to-day, the main object of cattle keeping was subsistence rather than commerce. The increase in sheep numbers on the other hand is probably no more than a reflection of increasing disregard of the soumings.

233 If we compare the cattle and sheep stocks with the soumings shown in Table 38 and
311 Appendix E we find that 80 years ago, except in Bernera, there was rough agreement between stock and soum. To-day cattle stocks are around one-third of those allowed by
178 the soum whereas sheep stocks are greatly in excess. Examination of the soumings leads one to question their validity in the light of modern conditions: the sheep soums bear no regular relation to the available areas of common pastures (Appendices A(2) and

TABLE 39

Stock carried by working units

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STOCK HELD AS PROPORTION OF SOUM	Percentage of units in each district with stock indicated:				
	South Uig	Bernera	East Loch Roag	Carloway	WHOLE PARISH
	%	%	%	%	% (No.)
Nil	3	1	7	5	4 (20)
Less than 50%	26	25	32	36	31 (153)
50% - 100%	32	43	29	31	35 (173)
101% - 200%	31	30	19	22	26 (131)
More than 200%	8	2	14	6	4 (40)
All units	100	100	100	100	100 (499)

233 C(2)) and the cattle soums appear impossibly high unless large quantities of winter fodder
311 are imported. In the old townships the soums of each croft are still based on minor
178 variants of the traditional "1 cow and follower and 8 sheep per pound rent"; the rents,
however, were calculated on the potential value of the croft in days when an inexhaustible
supply of labour was available for production of winter fodder by cultivation. This is no
[427] longer the case and the old assumption no longer holds.

Township pastures are seldom, if ever, used to best advantage. Because the regulations generally allow unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle, the soumings are not, in theory, exceeded by the presence of the increased flocks of sheep. In practice, however, the situation is quite different. In the first place the difference between the effects of the grazing of sheep and cattle on the hills is not widely appreciated. In discussions some crofters remarked on the change during the present century in the appearance of the nearer hill pastures - "they were green when I was a boy, now they are black", - but this was seldom correlated with the decline in cattle and increase in sheep. There can be no doubt that the increase in the ratio of sheep to cattle has generally led to a deterioration of the grazings. Further, there are almost five hundred separate sheep packs on the parish pastures, most of them with less than 20 ewes; at some fanks the men and dogs seem to outnumber the sheep! Little real sheep-herding is done - nor can it be by men who have other regular employment. Consequently the hills are not grazed evenly: some areas are grossly over-grazed whilst others are neglected. This situation has grown worse with the decline in cattle numbers and consequent abandonment of the shielings, the occupation of which ensured that use was made of the more distant pastures.

Yet another factor inhibiting proper use of township pastures is their situation and
361 shape. Many townships, particularly in South Uig, have detached areas of hill pasture,
233 former shielings. These are often singularly inaccessible now that the custom of
staying at shieling huts has ceased. Other township pastures are long narrow strips
311 running inland for up to seven miles. Straying from one township's lands to those of
another is therefore common. Individual allocation of the hill pastures is not
178 practicable but a certain amount of fencing and, possibly, the employment of a paid
township shepherd (as in the nineteenth century), would help.

233 If we examine the stocking of individual working units, Table 39, we find that only 30%
311 carry more than their total soum, 35% carry between a half and a full soum and a further
631 35% carry less than half their soum. The situation does not vary very much as between
the four districts, although there appears to be a slight tendency for working units in

TABLE 40

Individual sheep and cattle stocks by districts

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Holdings:	Proportion of units with stock as indicated:				
Stock:	South Uig	Bernera	East Loch Roag	Carloway	Whole Parish
	%	%	%	%	% (No.)
CATTLE: nil	12	13	21	8	14 (65)
1	54	56	70	78	65 (314)
2	29	24	9	13	18 (86)
more than 2	5	7	-	1	3 (15)
All units	100	100	100	100	100 (478)
SHEEP: nil	6	3	16	26	14 (68)
1 - 5	1	3	4	6	4 (17)
6 - 10	8	6	14	9	9 (43)
11 - 20	9	10	24	19	16 (78)
21 - 50	35	48	32	29	34 (164)
51 -100	34	29	10	7	19 (89)
more than 100	7	1	-	3	3 (14)
	100	100	100	100	100 (473)

233 311 631 Bernera and South Uig to carry more stock than those in East Loch Roag and Carloway. Taking the total soum (cattle and sheep together) obscures some aspects of the livestock economy. If we examine cattle and sheep separately quite a different picture emerges (Table 40). As to cattle over one year old, two-thirds of the units carry but one cow, 14% have none, and only 3% carry two or more. In all districts the majority of units carry but one cow, but in South Uig and Bernera a significant proportion carry two - either a second milk cow or a young beast, the latter probably for sale in the autumn. Clearly, the great majority keep a cow mainly as a walking dairy; experience in other areas confirms this and in the Point and Tolsta districts of Stornoway parish many crofts have ceased to keep cattle at all since organised milk supplied became available. Sheep stocks, on the other hand, vary far more from unit to unit (Table 40). There is a marked tendency for the flocks to be bigger in the south and Bernera districts, where units without sheep are also rare, whereas in the north a quarter of the units in the Carloway district are without sheep and few have more than 50. In other words, agricultural production per working unit is greater in the two southern districts than in the north.

233 [221] The management of the 500 or more sheep flocks deserves some comment, even from the non-agriculturalist. Lambing takes place in April on the crofts or on near by common land; the ewes, with lambs, go to the hills in May, weaning takes place at the end of August and at the end of October or early November all sheep return to the croft land or near-by common pastures. The lambing percentages (60% - 90%, see appendices A(2) and C(2)) as reported to us appear optimistic, even for a good year, but this is probably because they were given to us before weaning; at least a 10% reduction of the figures given would be realistic. Except for certain South Uig flocks few lambs are sold; the

233 hogg are needed to maintain the flock because casualties, from disease and accident, are heavy. Wedders are also kept, until they are two or three years old, when those that survive are supposed to be good for the pot. Again, after allowing for casualties and home consumption, the surplus for sale is generally small, except from a few exceptionally well-managed flocks. Likewise, the crofter who weeds out his elderly ewes is almost unknown; one man, indeed, claimed with pride the possession of a fifteen year old ewe! Thus it is certain that, after allowing for household consumption, very few of the little flocks of sheep yield an economic return for the time spent on them. The ideal arrangement would be to replace the 500 little individual flocks by about 50 communally owned 'club-stocks', each with a paid shepherd. This could almost certainly be financially more rewarding but would probably be socially unacceptable because so many crofters are deeply attached to their small packs of sheep.

TABLE 41

Stock carried (as a proportion of soum) according to size of units

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	Percentage of Units according to size:							UNITS OF ALL SIZES
	0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	more than 20.0 acres	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nil	16	5	4	1	-	5	3	4
Less than 50%	56	34	31	30	28	30	29	30
51% - 100%	24	24	38	40	38	30	46	33
101% - 200%	24	25	22	31	28	27	20	25
More than 200%		12	5	8	6	8	3	8
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 41 has been constructed in an effort to discover whether the size of the working unit (which is greater in the southern districts) has any notable effect on stock carried. Further details will be found in appendices A(5) and C(5). It is clear that the size of the unit has no influence on the stock carried.

464 Finally, we may examine the stock held according to the age and employment status
233 of croft-workers (Table 42). Apart from a natural tendency for persons over 65 to keep
007 no stock, the status of the croft worker appears to have little effect. Whether a crofter has regular, or only casual employment does not appear to influence the amount of stock which he carries. The proportion of "croft workers under 65 with no other employment" carrying no stock may seem curiously high until we recall that many of these persons are elderly pensioners or invalids.

TABLE 42

Stock held, according to status of principal croft workers

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	Croft workers under 65 years of age:			Over 65:		
	No other employment:	Regular employment:	Casual employment:	Male:	Female:	All Units
	%	%	%	%	%	% (No.)
CATTLE HELD:						
nil	16	10	14	25	17	14 (65)
1	63	68	63	60	75	65 (314)
2	20	19	19	11	8	18 (86)
more than 2	-	3	5	4	-	3 (13)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (478)
SHEEP HELD:						
nil	19	11	14	19	42	14 (68)
1 - 5	6	3	2	6	-	4 (17)
6 - 10	18	7	5	13	8	9 (45)
11 - 20	14	17	14	16	25	16 (78)
21 - 50	25	39	36	30	25	34 (164)
51 -100	16	20	25	14	-	19 (89)
100 +	1	3	5	2	-	3 (14)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (475)

Some units omitted for lack of data.

Labour - who are the agriculturalists ?

461 When we recall (Table 12, page 28) that 16% of the crofter tenants are absentees, that 34% are over 65 years of age (of whom 8% are women), and that a further 7% are
162 women under the age of 65, it becomes clear that many of the tenants cannot reasonably be expected themselves to provide active labour for agricultural operations. An attempt has been made to analyse the agricultural labour force; this must be treated with some reserve because it was necessary to decide for every effective agricultural
464 unit, who was the principal croft worker. In some cases croft work is shared by a
162 younger and an older man, the former having a regular job (often weaving) but being available for the heavier work, whilst the older man keeps things going from day to day. Women, even the elderly, often provide an important subsidiary source of labour, too.
128 Where two persons were shown on the croft record as sharing the work of the croft, the
887 older, if over 65, was ignored. Thus the analysis probably under-estimates the part played by elderly persons. Nevertheless the results are useful (Table 43): two-thirds of all effective agricultural units are worked by crofters having other

4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

TABLE 43

Classification of croft workers

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Principal croft workers:			c.f. Tenants (from Table 12):	
Males under 65	77%		51%	
of whom: in regular employment		55%		32%
in casual employment		12%		10%
with no other work		10%		9%
Males over 65	15%		31%	
Females under 65	5%		8%	
Females over 65	3%		9%	
All persons	100% (557)		100% (530)	

employment and, as we shall see, in most cases, the croft carries so little stock that it cannot be the most important source of income.

This situation does not vary very much from district to district (Table 44), except that South Uig has a noticeably high proportion of elderly croft workers. This is to be correlated with the unsatisfactory age structure of the south Uig district which, in turn, is probably a reflection of the poorer employment opportunities there and consequent emigration. Weaving, in particular, is less important than elsewhere. This situation is also reflected in the smaller proportion of crofters with regular employment and the larger proportion which relies on casual employment as shown in Table 44.

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Finally, we may enquire whether the size of agricultural unit available to a man has any influence on his employment status. To this end status has been plotted against size

TABLE 44

Principal croft workers by districts

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	Croft workers by districts:							
	S. Uig:		Bernera:		E.L. Ross:		Carloway:	
Males under 65:	72%		86%		76%		77%	
regular employment		41%		62%		63%		59%
casual employment		20%		16%		8%		5%
no other work		11%		8%		7%		12%
Males over 65	24%		7%		16%		10%	
Females	4%		7%		5%		12%	
	100% (165)		100% (107)		100% (130)		100% (135)	

Source: Appendices A(4) and C(4).

TABLE 45

Principal croft workers by size of effective agricultural units

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Size of unit (acres):	Nil to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	7.6 to 10.0	10.1 to 15.0	15.1 to 20.0	more than 20
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Males under 65:							
regular employment	55	61	47	60	52	57	60
casual employment	7	11	13	12	17	9	12
no other work	16	7	7	7	15	11	12
Males over 65	11	13	23	16	11	18	15
Females	10	9	9	4	4	4	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Appendices A(4) and C(4)

of unit; the result (Table 45) does not suggest that the possession of a large agricultural unit encourages a man to become a full-time rather than a spare-time agriculturalist. Indeed, the possession of a large unit, built up by amalgamation, is often a fortuitous [462] result of marriage, death, or inheritance, rather than a matter of individual choice. The only significant correlation in the table seems to be the understandable tendency for female croft workers to work the smaller, rather than the larger, crofts.

241 The cultivated land
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The chief crops are hay, oats and potatoes, in that order:

DISTRICT	Acreage of: Oats	Potatoes	Hay	All Crops	Average per unit
South Uig	149	50	209	407	2.5
Bernera	121	38	69	228	2.0
East Loch Roag	83	35	170	288	2.1
Carloway	113	42	202	357	2.2
TOTAL	466	165	650	1,280	2.2

241 Barley, which in the form of bere was important until the 1920's, has almost [178] disappeared. Turnips, marigolds, rape and other animal food crops are only grown

241 here and there in small patches of less than a quarter acre and therefore do not appear in our summaries, appendices A (1) and C (1).

The amount of cultivation carried out depends on three factors:

(i) stock, particularly cattle, to be carried through the winter,
(ii) size of family, which influences the amount of potatoes grown,
(iii) available labour, because cultivation is mostly by hand, especially in South Uig and Bernera.

The size of the effective agricultural unit has little influence on the area cultivated although it may bear some relation to the amount of natural hay taken. This can hardly be regarded as 'cultivated' and the acreage is difficult to estimate; the custom is to cut as and when weather permits, and wherever there is a convenient stand of natural grass.

Hand labour is a necessity on most crofts in the Bernera district and on many elsewhere. The traditional 'lazy-bed' - a long narrow strip of cultivation bounded by deep ditches which may be half as wide as the bed - is a necessity on broken, rocky ground on which the only soil is peat which often has to be gathered into hollows in order to get sufficient depth. The small size and long narrow shape of most crofts do not lend themselves to tile drainage, which is almost unknown. If it could be extended it would be a great advantage but, in general, it would have to be organised by townships, or at least by groups of crofts, and the whole trend in management of croft land is towards individual occupation and use.

241 This may not always be a good thing. Fencing is a case in point. Until the last ten years fenced crofts were rare altough small parts of crofts might be fenced and, in 417 some cases, a group of crofts might be fenced off from the rest. But, in general, the crofts were common land in the winter and used individually only from May to October. 178 Fencing grants, and the encouragement of sown grass in rotation with oats, have changed this. A great rash of fencing is appearing. This may not be altogether a good [233] thing, particularly for the sheep in winter and spring; even if gates are still left open, stock are deprived of the ability to move for shelter. There may also be watering difficulties. Co-operative draining, cultivation and grazing, of groups of crofts if not of townships, would be more efficient and more productive.

241 Finally, we may remark on the curious insistence on hand cultivation of oats and potatoes for consumption on the croft, whilst cash crops well suited to hand labour, and [439] which would be far more rewarding, are neglected. Flowers, vegetables and potatoes are imported into Stornoway daily on the mail steamer and even by 'plane. Neither climate nor soil prevents their production in Lewis. Moreover such crops could provide a much needed source of additional income. A few croft gardens produce excellent soft fruit and as the local season differs slightly from that on the mainland [176] there would seem to be possibilities here, too. There have been virtually no agricultural innovations since the potato.

<u>Economic and Technical Factors.</u>

434 The agricultural income of a croft arises from:

(i) the sale of livestock, mostly store stock at the spring and autumn sales,
(ii) the sale of the annual wool clip,
(iii) the receipt of certain annual subsidies and grants.

These are the main items; in addition some may sell small amounts of potatoes, eggs and standing hay; a very few sell a little milk although strictly this is illegal. Such an annual income comes in three or four annual instalments, uncertain as to date and amount. Moreover, a crofter may suddenly and unexpectedly find himself deprived of a large portion of his income due to casualties amongst his stock or poor demand at the 000 seasonal sales. Unlike the mainland farmer, should an islander withdraw his store

Unlike the mainland farmer, should an islander withdraw his store
432 stock from the autumn sale he cannot easily present it elsewhere a few weeks later; he
434 must keep it from the autumn until the spring, which will probably involve him in buying feeding stuffs out of his seriously depleted income. Many crofters suspect that their difficult position in this respect is taken advantage of by mainland buyers. Whether this is true or not the result is the same - the crofter is discouraged from raising stock.

433 Many crofters with whom we discussed this problem realised that, by fully stocking and cultivating their crofts they might double, or even treble, their income from agriculture. Some realised that sound management of a large unit, such as the amalgamation of two or three crofts, by sublets or otherwise, might yield a reasonable family livelihood. What they all stressed was the uncertainty - the uncertainty of stock and wool prices, the uncertainty of subsidies from year to year, the uncertain fortunes of their little packs of sheep and the uncertain effects of the weather on their hay and oats harvest. In other words they lack confidence - in both the cash reward for agricultural operations and in their own technical ability. Therefore they prefer to take a sure weekly income, however small, and to work their land at a low level of productivity.

000 Climate, soil, and insularity (to which must be added the particular isolation of south Uig and Bernera, even within Lewis) all present problems. But there is a tendency to overstress these difficulties and to use them as excuses, whilst failing to appreciate that [438] they also offer certain opportunities. Many agricultural raw materials have to bear the cost of shipping from Glasgow or from Leith; the peculiar difficulties of island stock marketing have already been mentioned; but, equally, the Minch could and should provide a natural protection for island agriculture. Elderly milk and travel-worn fatstock, potatoes and vegetables, imported daily into Stornoway from the mainland, are a standing reproach to crofting agriculture. Crofters could produce most of this food and if they would they would be turning to advantage the disadvantage of insularity. Some will admit this, if pressed, but they will also rightly point out the difficulties. These are two-fold: technical (particularly in the case of legal restrictions on milk production for sale) and economic (the difficulties, or believed difficulties, of marketing). A few individuals, for example, claimed that it was not worth selling potatoes unless they received the full shop price: this is a stubborn and stupid attitude; and one is reminded of the crofters' long opposition to the introduction of the potato, nearly 200 years ago; a co-operative marketing organisation might help in this respect.

829 The crofters' attitude to innovation is all-important; new ideas, whether in agricultural practise or in marketing, require careful introduction and a good deal of fostering. The crofters' lack of confidence is a real factor and must be taken account of; it is not due only to the risk and uncertainty of markets, they also lack technical knowledge, even though they may have plenty of ability. Again, the prevalence of small units makes it particularly difficult to adopt innovations; a failure which might be negligible on a large farm can become a disaster on a croft. The crofter has not the resources of the farmer with which to experiment, nor has he been able to observe other methods or crops on other farms because he lives and works in a restricted environment, [654] surrounded by fellows in like situation. The introduction and development of township re-seeding schemes by the Agricultural Advisers is an excellent example of how these difficulties can be solved. Good progress has been made since our survey. Because such improvements are communal they tend to add to the flexibility of the township structure; because they extend the grazing season in spring and autumn they tend to reduce the need for winter fodder and so to reduce the cultivation problem. Far more [464] re-seeding could be done, particularly in South Uig and Bernera. Here the lack of local employment makes agriculture more important as a source of income than elsewhere and the need to improve the productivity of agriculture is both great and urgent if population is not to fall below the minimum level for maintenance of services. This special problem deserves special attention, by both local communities and by the authorities. If South Uig and Bernera could carry a further 800 head of cattle, which is no more than was carried in 1883 (and is still less than the sums), the problem would be well on the way to solution.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT

H. A. Moisley

Growth and decline.

161 162 [824] [464] In its demography as in so many other aspects the parish of Uig is characteristic of the Hebrides in general rather than of Lewis in particular. Throughout the Hebrides the late eighteenth century saw a rapid rise in population followed, in the early nineteenth century, by clearances, emigration and decline (Fig. 44). The growing population, sustained by the newly-introduced potato, found employment in kelp-making. Lewis made little kelp compared with the Uists and such as was made came largely from Uig, i.e. from Loch Roag; consequently, whilst the population of Barvas only increased by 15% between 1755 and 1801, that of Uig increased by 58%, (c.f. North Uist 60%, South Uist 73%). Clearances and emigration reversed this trend in population after 1821 (Mull and North Uist), after 1831 (Islay), and after 1841 (Skye, Harris, North Uist and Barra), a reversal which was not experienced in Lewis except in Uig (see Part I, Figure 8). Thereafter, in the outer, but not in the inner Hebrides, growth was resumed, to reach new maxima in 1881 (the Uists) and 1911 (Lewis, Harris and Barra); Uig, alone of Lewis parishes, reached its maximum population in 1891. Subsequent loss of population has been particularly severe, as may be seen from Table 46 and Figures 8 and 45.

TABLE 46

Loss of population, since maximum, to 1951

	Date of maximum	Loss as percentage of maximum
Uig	1891	41.2%
Lochs	1911	34.4%
Barvas	1911	26.5%
Stornoway	1911	18.6%

(Stornoway Burgh is excluded)

[228] The early on-set of decline makes Uig somewhat comparable with the Uists, where final decline set in after 1881, rather than with Barra and Harris, where growth continued until 1911. This may be connected with the vicissitudes of fishing, particularly in south Uig where, by the 1890's, the annual Fishery Reports comment repeatedly on the decay of great line fishing and of the dried white fish trade. Re-settlement of crofters on farm land in Uig in the present century again affords a parallel with the southern Outer Hebrides rather than with the rest of Lewis; as elsewhere, it failed to arrest the decline although it did bring about a re-distribution which afforded welcome relief in the more overcrowded townships. But decline still continues; the loss appears to have been around 40 per annum in the 1950's (table 47) compared with 30 in the 1930's where there was some

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4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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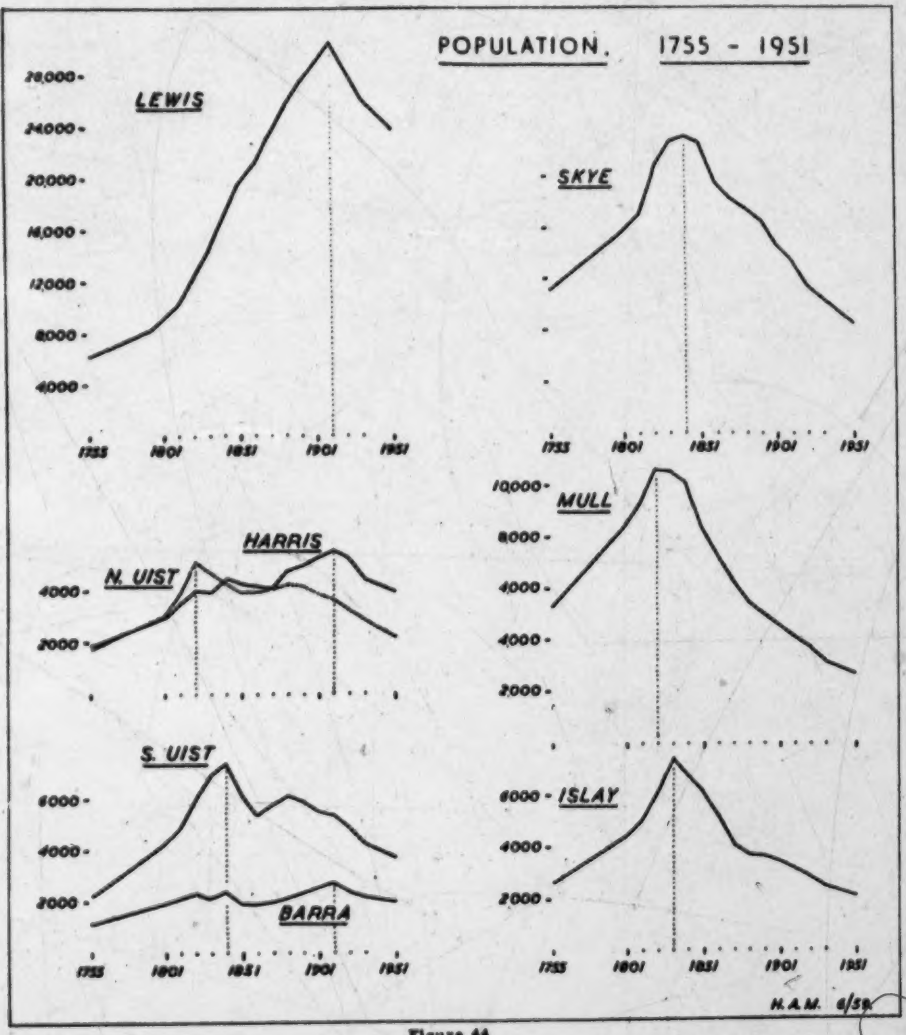

Figure 44

Population changes in certain islands, 1755 - 1951. (For changes in Lewis parishes, including Uig, see Part I, Figure 8).

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

TABLE 47

Population of Uig Parish 1901 - 1959

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1901	1911	1921	1931	1939 (a)	1951	1959 (b)
4,463	4,462	3,956	3,364	3,110	2,718	2,390

(a) National Registration, not strictly comparable with decennial Census figures.

(b) Our own survey count.

return of unemployed men and families from the mainland and overseas. Thus we found, in 1959, that the population of Uig was less than in any year since 1811. Nevertheless it was still double that reported to Webster in 1755, before the potato, kelp and fishing led to inflation.

These changes have not affected all parts of the parish at the same time, nor to the same extent. The position is summarised in table 48 and figure 45. Summaries by districts conceal a good deal of the truth; each township has had its individual history and no two are alike. Township figures are given in Appendix E.

TABLE 48

Changes in the relative distribution of population 1841 - 1959
For details by townships see figure 45.

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	Proportion of the total in each district in the year: 1841	1891	1931	1951	1959
South Uig District	52	51	31	28	27
Bernera District	16	15	19	18	18
East Loch Roag District	17	23	24	25	25
Carloway District	15	23	26	29	29
	100	100	100	100	100

South Uig, in 1841, had more than half the population of Uig, despite the early clearances. It has now little more than a quarter, and is still declining most rapidly. In Aird and Crowlista, for example, where there were 321 persons in 1891, we counted but 71; in Valtos in the same period the decline was from 480 to 113. Most striking of all, in Ungshader, where 38 persons were living as recently as 1931, we found only 9. Bernera and Bernera Shore have slightly increased their share of the population of Uig, since 1891, although the actual number has fallen from 650 to 424. Clearances never had the same depopulating effect in Bernera as they had in the south, and fishing remained prosperous longer. The re-settlement of Linshader farm by crofters in 1925 had little effect but Bernera itself, despite isolation, has retained its population quite remarkably. Many go away to find work but few leave for ever. The development of lobster fishing has helped.

[228]

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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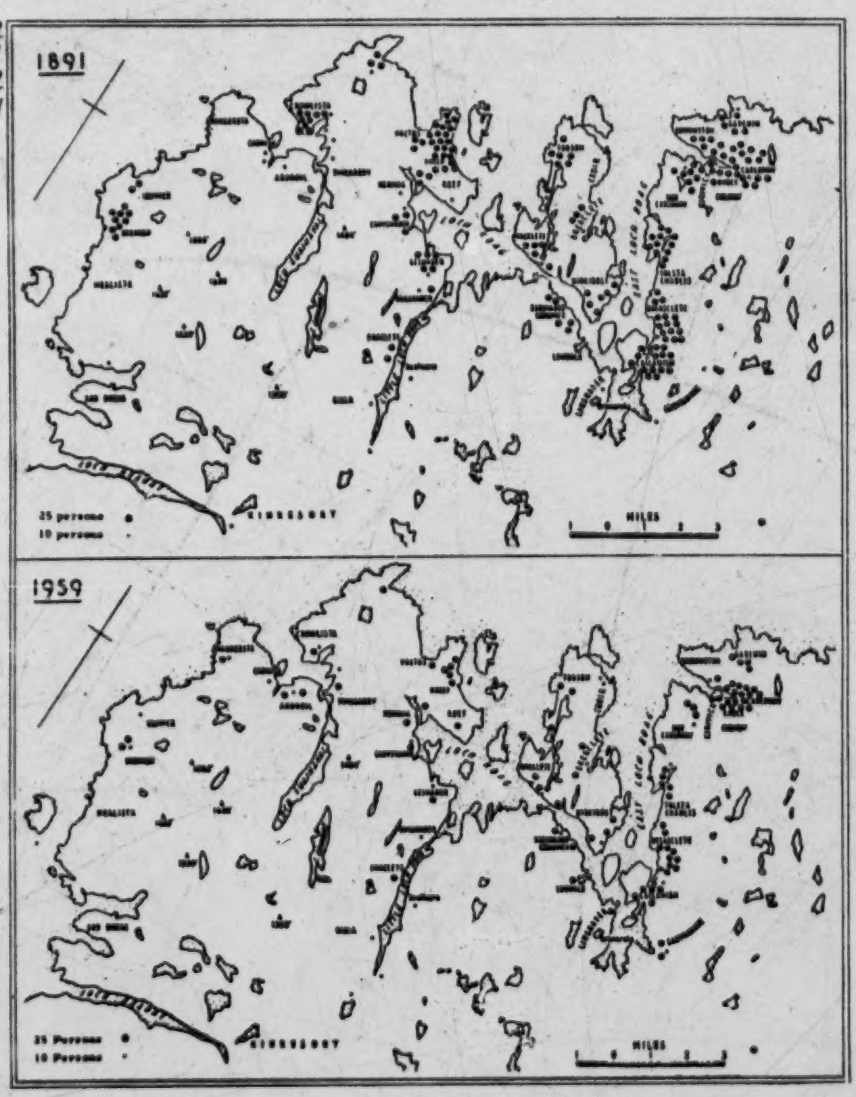

Figure 65

Distribution of population in 1891 and 1959

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161 In the northern townships, stretching from Garynahine to Loch Carloway, quite the
162 reverse is seen. Here there are actually more people now than in 1841 (1,261, c.f. 1,204), although there has been a marked decline since 1891 when 2,106 were enumerated. Thus this area, which had less than one third of Uig's population in 1841, now has more than half. The main change occurred before 1891 and was associated with the prosperity of fishing, both locally and on the east mainland coast, but, in addition, this area did not lose population as rapidly as did Bernera and the southern townships in the 'twenties and 'thirties, nor since 1951, and this can undoubtedly be ascribed to the early establishment, especially in the Carloway district, of Harris Tweed weaving.

TABLE 49

Loss of Population by Districts, 1931 - 1959

	Annual rates: 1931 - 1951	1951 - 1959	Net loss: 1931 - 1959*
Carloway District	0.5%	1.6%	182
East Loch Roag District	0.8%	1.3%	185
Bernera Shore	-	2.9%	28
Bernera Island	1.6%	0.7%	182
Little Loch Roag	1.8%	1.0%	95
Valtos District	1.0%	1.8%	101
Aird and Crowlista	2.0%	2.2%	68
Uig Bay District	0.6%	(+0.1%)	12
Mangersta/Brenish	1.8%	2.1%	97

* Immigrant R.A.F. and Ministry of Civil Aviation staff and families are excluded.

Migration

121 One of the objects of our enquiries was to discover something of the processes of population change in recent years. To this end we tried to record some details of migrants,
16 from and to the parish since 1939 (see croft record questionnaire, frontispiece to Part I). We also attempted to record war and other casualties away from home. Finally, we recorded natural population changes by extracting details of births and deaths from the official registers for the period October 1939 - December 1958 (the 1959 registers were not available). The results are summarised in table 50.

166 Our record of migration depends on the memories of our informants and cannot be expected to be complete, nor can the 1939 (National Registration) population figure be

TABLE 50

The Population balance sheet, 1939 - 1959

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District:	Population:		Decline, 1939 - 1959:			Net Migration:	
	1939	1959	Total	Natural:	Casualties:	Deduced	(Recorded)
South Uig	909	677	232	32	16	184	(95)
Bernera	638	425	213	30	11	172	(76)
East Loch Roag	764	619	145	19	7	110	(130)
Carloway	874	669	205	39	10	156	(121)
UIG	3,185	2,393	792	120	44	622	(422)
c.f. Park	1,500	908(1958)	592	(+13)	33	572	(355)

166 strictly comparable with our own. A check is possible, as shown in the table, for we can compare our records of net migration (last column in table 50) with that obtained by deducting natural change and casualties from total change. Thus, since 1939, the deduced net loss due to migration appears to be 622, c.f. our record of 462. This deduced figure is certainly too high, because it does not take account of excess of deaths over births in 1959, nor is it likely that we have recorded all "casualties", i.e. deaths outwith Uig of persons normally resident there. The Park survey showed a slightly greater discrepancy. In any event the 1939 and 1959 figures are not completely comparable; the data provide a broad picture of the changes rather than census-like statistics. But they do provide for more geographical detail than the official Census.

[16] They show that the decline in population is due, in all parts of the parish, both to emigration and to an excess of deaths over births. Over the whole parish migration accounts for nearly 80% of the loss, natural change for 15%, casualties for 5%. By districts the proportions are:

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	Migration:	Natural change:	Casualties:	Total change:
South Uig	79%	14%	7%	100%
Bernera	81%	14%	5%	100%
East Loch Roag	81%	14%	5%	100%
Carloway	76%	19%	5%	100%
c.f. Park	97%	(+3%)	6%	100%

This is quite a different picture from that found in Park district, where migration alone was the apparent cause of population decline and where, over two decades, births slightly exceeded deaths.* Uig lost 20% of its 1939 population by migration whereas Park lost 38% in a slightly shorter period, 1939 - 1958 c.f. 1939 - 1959 for the Uig data. Even the more remote districts of Uig have not lost population at much more than half the rate of loss from Park..

166 Net migration is made up of a large outflow, mainly of men and women under 45, and a small return flow, mainly of older people such as retired policemen and similar pensioners. Families entering the area to perform some particular service (school teachers, ministers etc.) more or less balanced the outward movements of their predecessors and may be discounted. Examination of the individual croft records shows

* Caird J.B. et al. Park: a geographical study of a Lewis crofting district (G.F.G. 1959), table XV.

166 that the movement of whole families is unusual, although a few have migrated to Stornoway, particularly from the south. In this respect Uig, except to some extent the south, differs from Park; only 15% of emigrants have gone to Stornoway, c.f. 32% from Park.

TABLE 51

The Destination of Emigrants, 1939 - 1959

Destination	Males (No.)	Females (No.)	(1)	Total (No.)	(%)	c.f. Park (%)
Stornoway	37	44	(28)	81	(15)	(32)
Other Lewis	24	52	(33)	76	(14)	(7)
Other crofting counties	27	33	(25)	60	(11)	(9)
Glasgow	56	57	(48)	113	(21)	(22)
Other Scotland	47	60	(39)	107	(20)	(17)
Other U.K.	17	26	(25)	43	(8)	(8)
Overseas	28	19	(8)	47	(9)	(5)
All destinations	236	291	(206)	527	(100)	(100)

Note: (1) The figure in parenthesis under 'females' indicates those who became 'migrants' on marriage.

Male emigrants from Uig go mainly to Glasgow and other parts of the mainland (table 51). Since 1939 (in effect since 1945) only 12% have gone overseas; 16% have moved to Stornoway and a further 10% to other parts of Lewis. This is almost entirely a movement in search of work. Female emigrants from the parish are less widely dispersed: more went to other parts of Lewis and fewer overseas. There is a special factor in the case of female emigrants. Social intercourse between the different island districts is very active, despite the apparent lack of facilities; almost a third of the female emigrants from Uig became migrants on marriage into other Lewis parishes. Even if we discount such migration, more women than men migrated from Uig between 1939 and 1959. Weaving retains young men but not the young women.

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Migration from a crofting district is a somewhat indeterminate process. Young people of both sexes go to Glasgow or elsewhere in search of work. For a while they maintain their island homes but, eventually, they set up homes of their own. Our criterion of 'migration', as against (working permanently away', was this setting up of a home. Thus the critical point is often marriage and it will be noted (table 51 and Appendices B(3) and D(3) that a very large proportion of female emigrants appear to have emigrated on marriage; in the case of migration outwith Lewis this usually means that for some time previous to their becoming 'emigrants' they had seasonal or permanent employment away from home. Indeed, our enquiries showed that the great majority of young women who took employment on the mainland eventually married and settled away from Lewis. Only a small minority returned, often giving up their employment in order to care for ageing relatives. An island man may occasionally return with a mainland wife but cases of island girls bringing mainland men to settle in the island are rare indeed.

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166 island girls bringing mainland men to settle in the island are rare indeed. Thus migration remains, as it has long been, a one-way traffic and this is almost certainly related to the problem of establishing technical innovation*.

Age structure

162 [121] The age structure of the population reflects the changes that have taken place in recent years. The population of Uig, as is usual in areas of declining population, is ageing. It is one advantage of a survey such as ours that the data may be analysed in greater geographical detail than is possible from the published figures in the official Census reports. This is particularly important in the crofting region where neighbouring communities may show quite different demographic - and economic - trends. Table 52 compares the 1951 Census figures for rural Lewis with those of Uig parish and with certain other districts, one (Park) remote like Uig, the other (Point) being most accessible to the urban facilities and employment offered by Stornoway. Uig has an even greater proportion of old folk than has Park, but it also has more children. This is probably related to the smaller proportion of Uig's population finding it necessary to leave the parish in search of work (16%, compare 28% from Park).

The proportion of the population over 65 years of age has increased from 17% in 1939 to 21% in 1959; it is thus more than twice the national average and well above the figure for rural Lewis. The proportion between 45 and 64 has also increased whilst that between 15 and 44 has markedly declined. The actual number of persons aged between 15 and 44 had declined from 1,263 in 1939 to 752 in 1959. It is to this age group in particular that one should look when seeking economic development but it is by no means certain that this decline is an unmitigated evil.

TABLE 52

Age distribution

	Percentage in each age group:					
	0-4	5-14	15-44	45-64	65+	
Scotland	9.0	15.0	43.0	23.0	10.0	Census, 1951
Lewis (rural)	9.0	15.7	35.1	24.3	15.9	Census, 1951
Uig	7.4	13.4	31.5	26.1	21.6	G.P.O., 1959
Park (Loche p.)	5.0	13.8	29.4	33.1	18.7	G.P.O., 1958
Point (Stornoway p.)	8.1	16.4	28.6	30.6	16.4	G.P.O., 1960
Uig Districts						
South	9.1	12.8	31.8	22.3	24.0	
Berneray	6.4	9.9	41.2	27.0	15.8	
East Loch Roag	7.4	14.7	32.2	23.4	22.3	
Carloway	5.7	13.8	29.1	31.4	20.1	
Compare:						
Uig (1939)	6.0	15.4	39.2	22.2	17.2	Nat. Register

[113] * For discussion of this topic see Caird J. B. and Moisley H. A.: Leadership and innovation in the Crofting Communities of the Outer Hebrides, Sociological Review, Vol. 9 1961, pp. 85-102.

Employment - the search for work

121 464 166 When an island community outgrows the local intrinsic resources permanent emigration is not the only solution. It is one of the outstanding demographic characteristics of island communities that a proportion of the population seeks employment beyond the island whilst maintaining its island homes. We therefore classified the population, in the first place, according to whether it was:

(a) permanently resident in the parish

(b) leaving the parish seasonally or otherwise irregularly in search of work, and

(c) working permanently away yet without a permanent home except in the parish.

TABLE 53

162 166 469 Location of employment

	Proportion of total population:				
	Resident:	Periodically away:	Permanently away:		
Uig Parish	83.7%	6.5%	9.8%	100% (2,652)	
Districts					
South Uig	87.7%(1)	3.1%	9.2%	100% (746)	
Bernera	85.2%	7.2%	7.6%	100% (460)	
East Loch Roag	81.3%	7.0%	11.7%	100% (701)	
Carloway	81.2%	8.6%	10.2%	100% (745)	
Ref.					
Park	72.2%	11.0%	16.8%	100% (1,092)	(1958)
Point(Stornoway)	86.8%	2.3%	10.9%	100% (1,068)	(sample: 1960)
Harris(mainland)	80.8%	6.9%	12.2%	100% (2,768)	(1961)
North Uist	87.7%	2.3%	10.0%	100% (432)	(sample: 1960)
South Uist	86.0%	3.5%	10.5%	100% (3,690)	(1956)
Barra	70.6%	4.0%	25.5%	100% (1,906)	(1961)

Note: (1) Including at least 27 temporarily employed on construction work at the Cisla hydro-electric scheme, and 28 permanently employed at government sites (equivalent to 7.4% of the total population). Many of these men would otherwise seek employment outwith Uig.

On this basis some 16% of the population of Uig is periodically or permanently away. This may seem low compared with 28% in Park and 30% in Barra but, on the other hand in the Point district, near Stornoway, the proportion is only 13%, and in North and South Uist it is around 12 - 14%. In Harris (Scalpay and Bernera islands excepted) the proportion is 19%. Various factors influence this state of affairs; they may be summarised as the age-structure of the population, the relative viability of the crofts and the opportunities for local employment. Within Uig the situation differs from district to district; the particularly low proportion classified as 'periodically away' in South Uig was probably

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4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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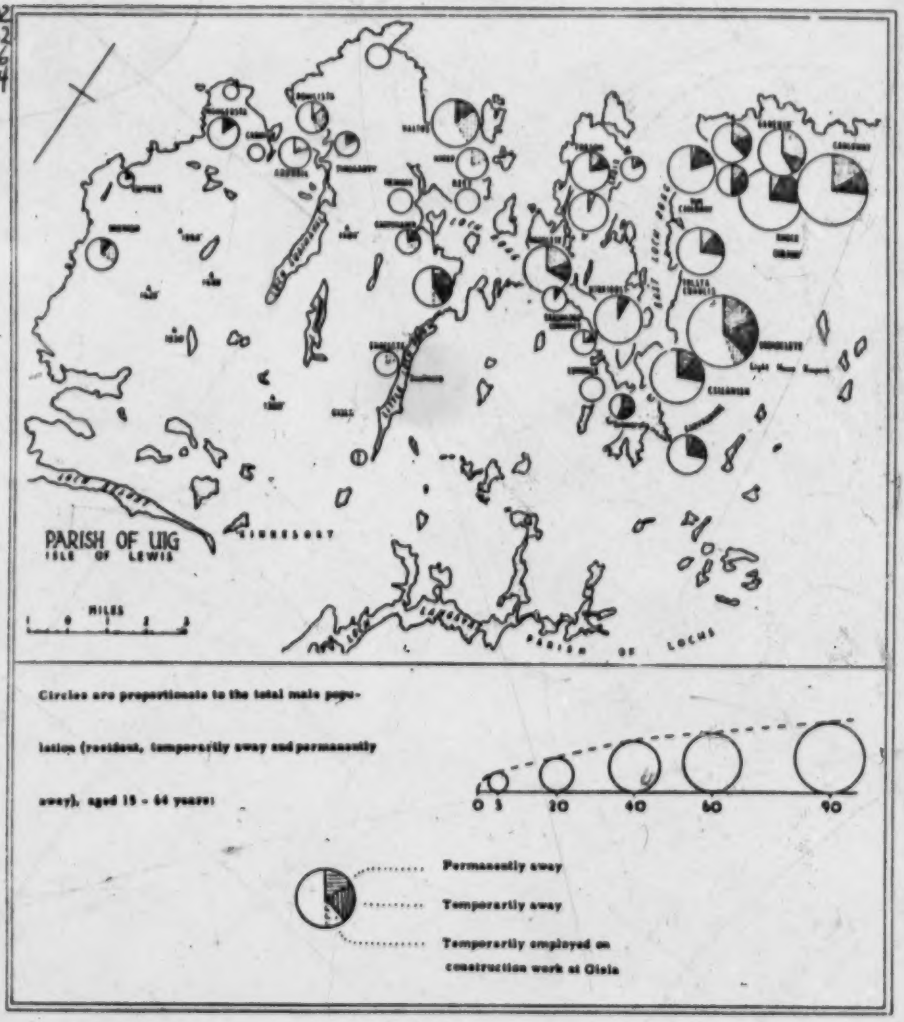

Figure 44

The search for employment

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462 a temporary feature in 1959 due to the casual employment provided by a hydro-electric
166 scheme at Gisla (Figure 46).

[887] In this respect the critical age-group is 15-44 years (table 54). Few older people
462 take work away from home. Of this age-group, 338 (out of 931) persons are away.
166 Women account for 199, men for only 139; the difference is a strong indication of the lack of employment opportunities for women in Lewis. The contrasting experiences of the different districts are quite remarkable (figure 46). A far greater proportion of men goes away from the two northern districts than from Bernera and the South, and this despite the greater importance of weaving in the north. The explanation for this lies partly in the generally smaller size of crofts of the north, partly in the type of employment available locally and partly in the customary choice of employment away, which differs from district to district. Social custom, which may vary as between one township and the next, has a strong bearing on whether and where young men and women choose to work.

TABLE 54

The 15-44 age-group, distinguishing men and women

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		Resident:	Periodically away:	Permanently away:	Total:
		%	%	%	% (No.)
Uig Parish	M	71	7	22	100 (471)
	F	57	17	27	100 (460)
Districts					
South Uig	M	80(1)	8	12	100 (138)
	F	62	8	30	100 (134)
Bernera	M	70(2)	14	15	100 (98)
	F	57	22	22	100 (78)
East Loch Roag	M	59	17	25	100 (142)
	F	53	18	30	100 (131)
Carloway	M	49	24	27	100 (142)
	F	56	22	22	100 (117)

Notes: (1) including at least 16 (12%) temporarily employed on construction work at Gisla.

(2) including 11 (11%) full-time fishermen.

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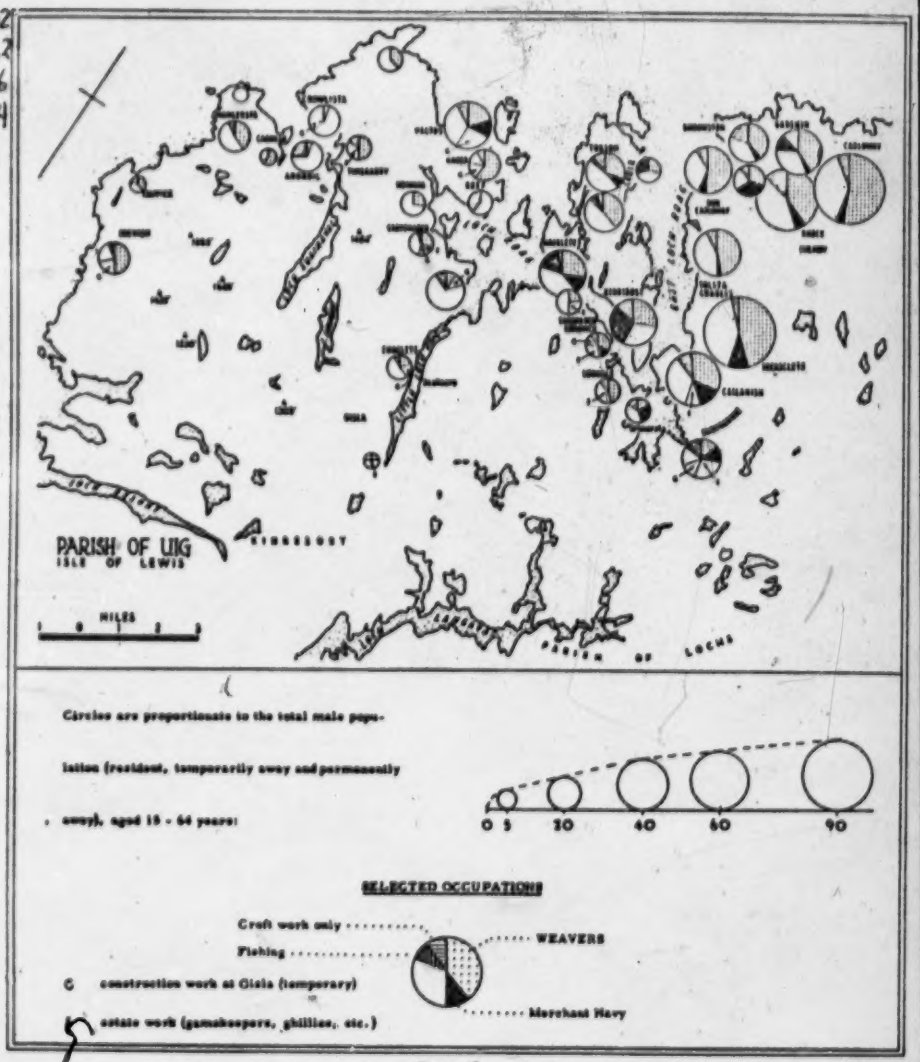

Figure 47

Certain occupations of men aged 15 - 64, by townships

TABLE 55

Proportion of resident males, aged 15-64, in Major categories of employment

See Appendices B(2) and D(2) for details.

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	Croft-work only	Croft-work and weaving	Croft and other regular work	Croft and periodic work	No croft work	Total (100%)
Uig Parish	11	43	16	13	14	(635)
Districts						
South Uig	13	27	22	24	13	(188)
Bernera	8	36	25	19	12	(130)
East Loch Roag	9	50	11	11	19	(146)
Carloway	16	61	6	6	13	(171)

[688] Table 55 and figure 47 summarise the main sources of employment. The small group engaged in 'croft-work only' may be briefly dismissed. A large proportion of these men are elderly or otherwise infirm; a few are pensioners (e.g. retired police or service men); very few indeed are fully occupied in the agricultural work of their crofts, thus 'full-time crofters' is a misnomer in this area.

464 288 The most important category, in all districts, is 'croft-work and weaving', but it is relatively far less important in the south where there is correspondingly greater reliance on other forms of regular employment or on periodic work, i.e. casual labour.* It is difficult to overestimate the significance of weaving in all districts. It is the only substantial source of income in the parish and it should be clear from the previous chapter that weaving is not an ancillary occupation to croft work except in a few cases in the south. The weavers are not 'crofter-weavers' so much as 'weaver-crofters'. A curious distinction between Carloway and the rest of the parish is that, whereas generally weaving is young mens' work, the great majority being under 45, in the Carloway area two-thirds of the weavers are over 45. [178] The historical reason for this may be the earlier spread of weaving into Carloway than elsewhere for, although some weaving has always been done throughout the area, it only became a major source of employment south of Carloway in the last 20 years or so. Thus few of the older men in the south learned weaving when they were young. A corollary is greater dependance on the Merchant Navy as a source of employment for young men from Carloway than for those from the south.

464 Other sources of regular local employment are lobster fishing (Bernera only), gamekeeping and other estate work (Bernera shore and South Uig), and government establishments (South Uig). In addition there are the usual services - postmen, haulage contractors,

[113] * For a detailed discussion of the significance of weaving see Moisley, H. A., Harris Tweed - a growing Highland industry. Economic Geography, 37, 1961, pages 353 - 370.

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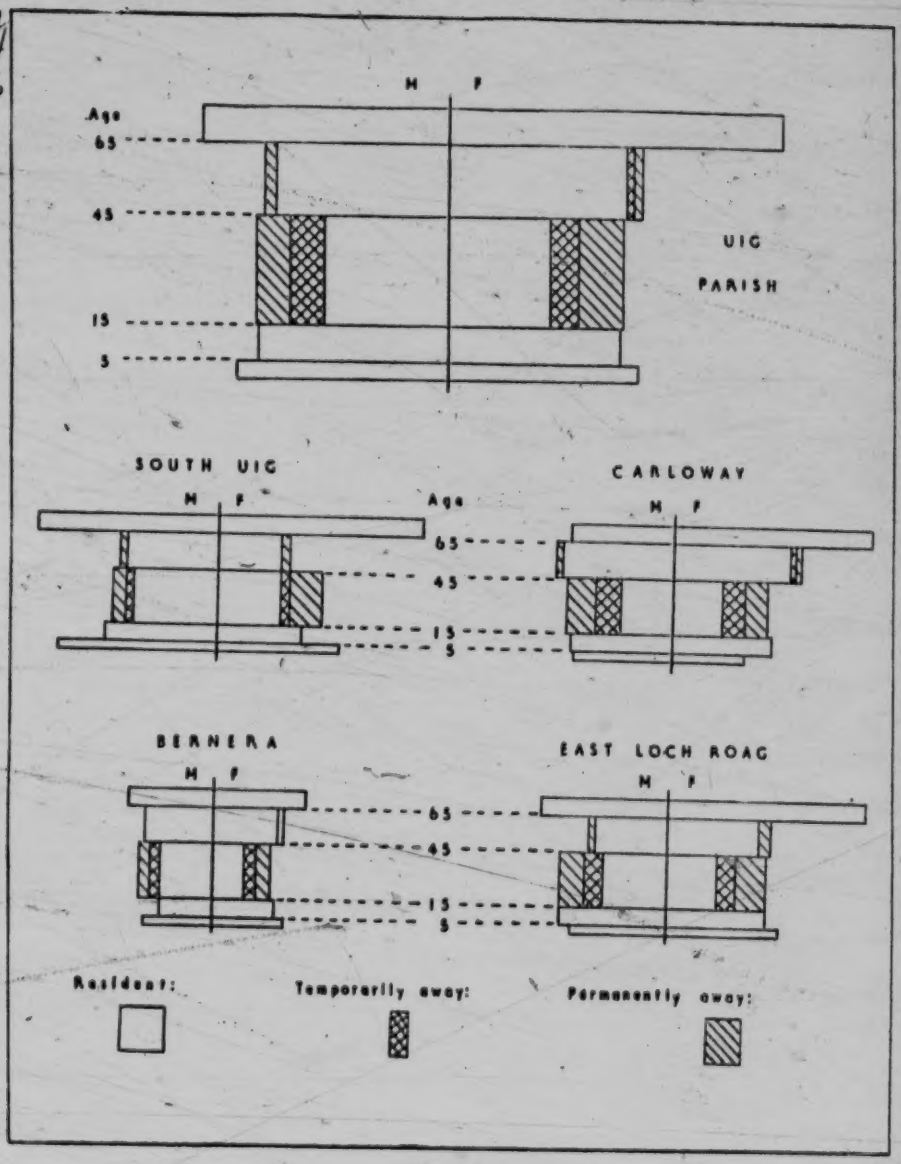

Figure 48
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Population by age groups and place of employment

464 [288] shopkeepers and so on. But none vies with weaving as a source of regular income. Without the weavers most of the others would find little demand for their wares or services.

Periodic work is taken locally, usually in default of regular employment, and often by older men who formerly worked away from home. This is usually casual labour and is particularly important - for lack of other opportunities - in South Uig. Whilst our survey was in progress a number of men from South Uig were thus engaged at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme. In South Uig, also, weaving tends to be less regular than elsewhere. For this some weavers blamed the Stornoway producers, who, it was claimed are not inclined to send work as far out as this unless it cannot otherwise be done. There is some truth in this, particularly with respect to the 'small' (i.e. non-mill) producers, but our observations also showed that some men in South Uig regarded weaving as an 'extra' and were not prepared to do it when alternative employment, on the croft or for wages (as at Gisla), was offered. This may be a vicious spiral - the less weaving a man does the less good he becomes, he takes longer to complete a web and may suffer more deductions for faulty work. He becomes less inclined to weave and the producer becomes less inclined to send him work.

464 288 184

TABLE 56

Permanent Employment away from home (actual numbers)

166 46

	Men:			Women:			
	M.N.	Professions:	Others	Nursing:	Professions:	Domestic:	Others
Uig Parish	46	11	63	59	18	39	27
Districts							
South Uig	5	4	12	22	2	16	2
Bernera	8	4	3	10	1	2	7
East Loch Roag	16	-	23	15	6	15	7
Carloway	22*	3	25	12	5	3	11

* including five working seasonally on whalers.

Those taking permanent employment away from home (table 56) tend to choose particular occupations. Amongst men, the Merchant Navy is most popular, especially from the Carloway and East Loch Roag districts; many of the others work at skilled or semi-skilled jobs, including the police forces; relatively few are un-skilled casual labourers. Amongst women, nursing is by far the most important occupation and is particularly popular amongst young women from South Uig and Bernera; most of ther others take 'domestic work' - in hotels and hospitals, rather than in private homes - and a few work in offices and shops. The category 'professions' in the table is almost synonymous with school-teaching.

Periodical, including seasonal, absence from home is less common than from some island districts; 14% of the 15-64 age-group is classified as "periodically away" (compare 27% from Park, 16% from Harris, 13% from Barra). Of these, half the men and a third of the women are students. Seasonal hotel work, for women, is the most important single category.

Population trends

162 126 The diagrams, figure 48, summarise much of this chapter. They have been constructed so that the area of each horizontal bar is proportionate to the number of persons in the

162 appropriate age-group, males on the left, females on the right. The width of the bars
126 varies according to the age-range of the groups so that the length of each bar gives an indication of the relative importance of the particular age-group in the total population. In an unofficial survey it is difficult to obtain detailed information as to age; hence the diagrams are crude, nevertheless they do suggest certain trends, as well as marked regional differences, within the parish.

162 If we examine first the parish as a whole it will be seen that the proportion of children under school age, (0-4), is sufficient to maintain, and perhaps to slightly increase, the school population (5-14) provided that none are lost through emigration. The present school population is not quite sufficient to maintain the 15-44 age-group, including, of course, those working away, on the same assumption. In both these groups, as is usual, males slightly outnumber females.

The characteristics of the 15-44 age-group are clearly seen. A large number is working away from home; the proportion of women working away is far greater than of men and, in view of the "marriage risk" to women in this age group, it is reasonable to suppose that, in time, most of these women will become 'emigrants'. More men stay at home (weaving supports many of them) and, of those that go away to work, a substantial proportion is likely to return either on inheritence of a croft or when they retire; some of them may bring back wives from outwith the parish but it seems unlikely that this will by any means balance the loss of local women by marriage outwith the parish.

The 45-64 age-group is only slightly affected by the custom of working away. Men and women are evenly balanced, but when we compare them with the 15-44 group it seems that, in the next ten years or so, there will be a decline particularly in the number of women aged 45-64. Indeed, if most of the women under 45, who are at present working away, eventually marry and settle outwith the parish, the decline will be drastic. The 45-64 age-group should, in time, replenish the over 65's; it is clear from the diagram,
[161] crude as it is, that this is not possible. At present an excessive proportion of the population is over 65 years of age and thus, in time and failing the unlikely event of substantial immigration, a further fall in total population is certain. One may hazard a guess that this decline will be of the order of 300 to 250 persons in the next ten years.

[121] Turning to the districts, the most striking feature is their individuality and this emphasises again the value of this kind of survey because such local details cannot be discovered from the official census reports. In South Uig, of the total population, a very high proportion is over 65 years of age; this makes it certain that further decline is inevitable. However the 15-44 group can probably replenish and maintain the 45-64 group with little loss; the relatively high proportion of children, particularly under school age, suggests that the 15-44 group, too, will be adequately replenished, except that there is an unusually low proportion of female children. A large proportion of young women from South Uig take employment away from home, as the diagram shows, and this suggests that South Uig may have a special problem here in view of the tendency of such women to marry and settle away from home. The Bernera district shows characteristics similar to South Uig, but the preponderance of children is not quite so great.

The East Loch Roag district, and to an even greater extent the Carloway district, has
[165] quite different characteristics which suggest rather different trends. There the preponderance of old people is not quite so great - but, one may remark in passing, the excess of females over males in the over 65's is quite astonishing until one recalls the heavy casualties, amongst the Naval reservists and others, from this area in the First World War. If we look at the proportion of children, however, it is clear that the school population can scarcely be maintained over the next ten years, nor can the 15-44 age-group be fully replenished. This, of course, assumes that there will be no material change in birth and death rates, nor in migration. In brief, it seems that, although population will inevitably continue to fall in South Uig and Bernera, the prospect of a more stable, though smaller, population is within sight. But in East Loch Roag and Carloway districts it seems likely that decline, though perhaps not so rapid, will continue for a long time yet.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CONCLUSIONS

H. A. Moisley

121 The relationships between Place, Folk and Work are seldom simple; in a crofting community such as Uig they are particularly complex. The object of our survey was to make an impartial, factual record of the physical and human resources and their utilisation, as described in the Preface (Part I, page i). The primary purpose of this report is to make our observations available to others and to this end we have included a great deal of fact leavened, we hope, by a modicum of personal impression. In conclusion, however, it seems appropriate to add certain personal conclusions based on the detailed observations and data relating to the crofts and townships visited.

464 [166] The outstanding fact is that, over the whole parish more than a quarter of the population between the ages of 15 and 64 has to leave home in order to make a living. Of those who remain at home, 80% of the men are more or less engaged in agriculture; almost all of these have some other source of income, usually weaving, and in most cases the cash income from agriculture must be less than £100. Although we classified some 60% of resident males as 'crofters with regular employment' this must not be taken to be [434] necessarily the same as having a full-time job. The average income of a weaver in South Uig, for example, is only of the order of £250 per annum. Thus crofting with ancillary employment, or employment with ancillary crofting as is more often the case, conceals a good deal of under-employment. Such low incomes and hidden unemployment are characteristic of West European under-developed regions.

427 433 The crofting system can never provide an ideal structural system for agriculture, but that is not its real purpose. It is a social system and, whether it is economically efficient or not, it exists. It should not be allowed to decay for that would not only cause hardship to the crofting communities but would also, in the case of islands and other remote districts, 000 lead to the abandonment of potentially productive resources of land and people. Nor should it be preserved unchanged; preservation would mean fossilisation and fossils are dead. The present crofting system was cast in a legislative mould in the late nineteenth century when population pressed heavily on the resources of the islands. Circumstances have now changed and the mould must be altered or the communities will slowly die.

This is not to say that wholesale reorganisation is required, at least not in Lewis. But the authorities charged with the welfare of the crofting townships, and of the island as a whole, have a duty to see that crofting evolves towards something more, and not less, productive. Subsidies alone are a confession of defeat. It is not good enough merely to spend money to alleviate the symptoms of a disease which it is now fashionable to call 'under-development'. Realistic planning is required so that the special public expenditure incurred in such regions becomes a productive investment and not merely a disguised form of charity.

It is encouraging to note that such economic and technical developments as have taken place (particularly the development of weaving and the improvement of common pastures) owe a good deal to local initiative and local investment. This suggests that, given suitable guidance and encouragement, the crofting townships can do much to help themselves. It would be an excellent thing if, in each district, informal and quite unofficial discussion groups could be started to think about the future of their particular townships in terms of development and not decay.

Realistic discussion of development must face certain facts even though in some cases they may be unpalatable or politically unpopular. Amongst the most important are these:

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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[161] [162] [311] [433] 1) Further depopulation is inevitable but is not necessarily bad. The special privileges of crofting tenure have tended to delay the inevitable because the agricultural structure has been unable to adapt itself to changing circumstances. The land is in some ways less productive than it was 80 years ago. But, as population does decline, eventually more land ought to be available for each remaining family and, if properly used, should enable them to increase the proportion of their incomes derived from agriculture. Thus depopulation could have beneficial effects provided it were not haphazard nor complete. The rate and ultimate extent of depopulation could be controlled to some extent if a realistic assessment of the possibilities of each district were made, followed by a vigourous attempt to realise these possibilities. This must be done locally because the problems and possibilities of each district, sometimes of each township, are different. How can this be done?

[288] 2) It is not realistic to plan for any extensive development of industry nor for any substantial further development of forestry or fishing. Lewis is suitable for the development of industry - the phenomenal growth of the Harris Tweed industry, with an annual output worth £5 million, much of it for export, is proof enough of that. But when it is difficult to get industrialists to invest in lowland Scotland there is little point in living in perpetual hope in Lewis. To constantly cry, as some politicians do, that 'the government should send industry to Lewis', is not helpful, either, for no government has ever had sufficient power, nor is it desirable that it should have, to force a firm to invest against its will. If there is to be some industrial development it must come willingly; it would be unwise to depend on it. It follows, therefore, that agriculture must be made a more efficient basis, though not the sole basis, of most crofting communities. The present heavy dependence on casual or seasonal employment, and on permanent employment away from home, can never provide the bases for a truly viable community though it may provide a useful outlet for some younger folk. On its present scale it leads to the neglect of the only widespread natural resource, the land, as well as encouraging permanent emigration.

[311] [433] 3) Crofting agriculture, as at present carried on, on most crofts, does not make the best use of the local resources. The land is marginal in many respects and the development of an economic form of agriculture requires:

(a) particular skill in farm management, including initiative and technical ability to take advantage of new materials and methods, and
(b) a marketing system on which the crofter believes he can depend. At present it is the uncertainty, as much as the poverty, of the reward that deters young men from taking up agriculture seriously.

[427] 4) The small size of holdings need not be a serious disadvantage. Since the time of our survey subletting is no longer necessarily contrary to the conditions of crofting tenure; since it represents a voluntary evolution towards larger holdings it, rather than wholesale reorganisation, should be further encouraged.

5) It should be recognised that if a croft is not properly stocked it cannot justifiably be the subject of any of the privileges of crofting tenure. Failure to maintain a properly balanced stock is damaging to the land and to the ultimate well-being of the community as a whole. At one time the factors, through their ground officers, maintained a degree of control over the stocking of township lands and this could, in some way, be resumed - if not by the proprietors then by the Crofters Commission, - though the best way would be voluntarily, through the township committees. This would depend on establishing soumings which fairly represented the grazing capacity of the township lands; and on restricting the unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle. At present many soumings depend on restatements of old ones the validity of which is very dubious; soumings are unlikely to be respected unless they are reasonable.

[181] 6) Few crofters possess sufficient technical knowledge and confidence to make the best use of their land. It is particularly difficult for men with such limited resources of land and ready cash to embark on new agricultural enterprises; they are naturally reluctant to take risks and therefore tend to be excessively conservative. This cannot be put right quickly nor so long as the majority of those working the crofts are middle aged or older men who have spent the greater part of their working lives in other occupations. Such men require special help but, above all, some of the younger men must be encouraged to

become crofter-farmers, alongside their brothers who may, for example be weaver-crofters.

Two means by which this might be encouraged are, firstly, an expansion of the Agricultural Advisory service, and secondly the introduction of some sort of 'development loan' scheme to finance the individual crofter who would submit for approval a development scheme for his agricultural unit and who would undertake to carry it out under the guidance of the Agricultural Adviser. There would need to be some means of ensuring that any parts of the unit that were sublet from other tenants remained in the 'improver's' hands for a reasonable length of time (this might be done by a simple form of agreement when registration of the sub-let took place). Such a scheme would require more Advisers, but more are needed in any case. The Advisers have done excellent work, which is beginning to bear fruit in some districts, but they are far too thin on the ground. It is the feeling that the Adviser is always at hand in case of idfficulty that gives the crofter confidence. At this stage in development it is too much to expect any one Adviser to manage more than 400 crofts until a race of crofter-farmers, familiar with modern methods and receptive of new ideas, has arisen. The success of the re-seeding schemes in other parts of Lewis shows what can be done.

The crofting scene, in Uig at any rate, is by no means wholly depressing despite the continuing decline in population. Nor does it require drastic action. What is important is that the present aimless drift should be replaced by something positive.

APPENDIX E

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178
233
311
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(1) Stock carried about 80 years ago compared with that carried today.

(a) Old Townships

	Cattle (more than 1 year old)			Sheep (all ages)		
	1883	1959	Soum	1883	1959	Soum
Brenish *	131	33	84	447	1,700	508
Ialivig	46	9	43	93	500	228
Crowlista	101	18	89	632	1,200	414
Aird	40	6	34	137	600	206
Valtos	158	42	220	647	2,300	1,033
Kneep	84	22	76	341	1,000	455
Caryshader	42	9	45	267	500	183
Ungshader *	20	4	38	107	1,800	110
Geshader *	46	19	31	330		237
Eneclete *	48	16	17	172	900	298
Breaclete	53	25	59	215	630	312
Kirkibost	143	49	144	449	1,300	866
Hacklete	89	52	122	290	1,400	661
Tobson	116	36	97	534	950	784
Earshader	20	7	17	109	480	104
Crulivig	25	14	25	116	600	163
Callanish	160	41	161	397	1,600	795
Breasclete	188	52	191	629	1,600	567
Tolsta Chaolis	176	30	96	501	1,550	573
Lochganvich	31	9	33	125	414	155
Dun Carloway	121	35	130	530	1,550	460
Kirivich	63	15	60	280	550	202
Knock Carloway	118	39	132	524	950	530
Carloway	208	63	130	715	1,000	671
Borrowston	62	15	98	368	950	392
Carenin	110	24	98	401	1,000	341

(b) New Townships compared with former farms

	Cattle (more than 1 year old)			Sheep (all ages)		
	1879	1959	Soum	1879	1959	Soum
Mangersta *	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	25	68	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	1,200	385
Carnish		5	26		1,200	270
Ardroil		20	62			
Timsgarry		8	23		650	625
Reef		10	45		800	275
Croir		11	36		380	225
Lundale		11	36		550	96
Linshader		8	15		750	192
Garynahine		6	18		250	330
Farms etc.	404	44	-	4,400	914	180

Note These soums given do not allow for enlargements which should substantially increase the stock capacity of townships marked *.

Sources 1879: Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture.
1883: Evidence given to the Napier Commission.

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APPENDIX E continued

(2) Population by Townships, etc., in selected years since 1841

	1841	1891	1931	1939	1951	1959
SOUTH UIG DISTRICT						
Mealasta	25	20	-	-	-	-
Brenish	174	229	110	78	60	62
Islivig	37	54	34	30	19	17
Mangersta	117	4	58	50	58	48
Carnish	168	14	17	10	7	13
Ardroil			69	60	60	58
Timsgarry	55	14	34	39	23	23
Crowlista	196	258	96	75	55	41
Aird	52	83	43	37	30	30
Valtos	335	480	175	149	145	116
Kneep	187	235	92	71	62	46
Reef	189	11	58	58	39	30
Caryshader	46	88	70	59	48	30
Geshader	60	142	62	57	34	37
Ungshader	22	32	38	37	26	10
Ennclete	55	52	52	38	36	36
Smallacre	33	9	5	6	5	3
Others	114	71	29	43	35	29
TOTAL	1,869	1,756	1,042	897	742	629
LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT						
Garynahine	69	12	13	63	57	60
Callanish	202	311	209	184	175	119
Breasclete Park	-	50	31	18	17	22
Breasclete	196	374	320	332	257	248
Tolsta Chaolis	183	298	203	152	152	138

	1841	1891	1951	1931	1951	1959
BERNERA DISTRICT						
Strome & Drovernish	24	-	-	-	-	-
Earshader	36	24	19	19	40	32
Crulivig	31	72	44	40	34	26
Lundale	-	-	32	26	23	19
Linshader	28	17	33	46	34	24
Hacklete	75	122	101	100	80	88
Kirkibost	8	148	157	156	102	79
Tobson	180	178	136	121	90	79
Basta	79	-	-	-	-	-
Breaclete	57	84	72	74	64	59
Croir	75	3	39	43	24	-
Vuisnore	46	-	-	-	-	-
CARLOWAY DISTRICT						
Dun Carloway	128	298	203	134	152	88
Kirivick	53	105	98	80	65	47
Knock Carloway	97	219	122	172	176	167
Carloway	124	321	220	226	236	220
Carloway Park	?		54	70	16	15
Borroston	77	96	60	49	52	40
Garenin	75	164	142	126	101	93

Sources:
1841, 1891, 1931, and 1951 - unpublished official census returns, by courtesy of the Registrar General of Scotland.
1939 - National Register.
1959 - Glasgow University and C.F.G. survey.

black house--the traditional Highland Scots house; oblong, stone walls with thatched roof

broch--prehistoric circular stone tower, usually consisting of a double wall enclosing small apartments about a central court

clachan--a group of houses usually set in the midst of the arable land forming the settlement for a number of farmers

cottar--peasant tenant renting a small farm under the rack-rent system, the land being let to the highest bidder

creel--a wickerwork basket or trap; a framework of varying form

eild- barren (of an animal)

factor--steward or bailiff of an estate

feuar--one who holds land in fee

finger and toe disease -clubroot; a common disease of cabbages and related plants caused by a slime mold producing swellings or distortions of the root often followed by decline in vigor or by death

ghillie--variant of gillie; a male attendant, formerly on a chieftain, now especially on a hunter; or, a follower, servant

glebe--the cultivable land owned by a parish church or ecclesiastical benefice

hefting--variant of haft; a place devoted to a settled use, as for pasture, a dwelling

inbye--in an inward direction; situated close by, on the premises, near the house; arable and unimproved land

kirk--a church; the Established Church of Scotland
lazy beds--long, narrow beds of peat separated by deep ditches, the peat from the ditches heaped on top of the undug land between
machair--windblown sandy plains along the beach
M.C.A.--Maritime Control Area
NAAFI--Navy, Army and Air Force Insititutes (responsible for clubs, canteens, and provision of some items for messing of British armed forces
O.D.--Ordnance Datum
outwith--outside of, out of
runrig--a system of land holding by which a tenant's land is apportioned so that it consists of strips lying between those of others
soum--the total stock which each croft may put on the common pastures
tacksmen--men who paid rent for large tracts of land and who, by settling suitable tenants there, received rents, in money or in labor, as an additional income from their farms
tupping--breeding, used of sheep
wedder--ram castrated before sexual maturity, usually before appearance of secondary sex characteristics

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Park

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PARK

A Geographical Study of a Lewis Crofting District

by Dr. J. B. CAIRD

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/introductory p. 1/

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	John Wearmouth
	Philip Wheeler, M.A.

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FOREWORD

Many are aware that the small scattered communities of the Atlantic fringe of Scotland still pursue an uncertain livelihood by farming under the system known as crofting. There are many, too, who know that the system is in decay and that steps must be taken if the economic decline which threatens these communities with ultimate extinction is to be arrested. Yet, despite various proposals for improvement, the exact nature of the crofting system itself has never been fully investigated. Clearly it is important to do so and the best way of achieving this is by a full survey of the existing conditions. A valuable start was made in the West Highland Survey by F. Fraser Darling which appeared in 1955. In 1956, more intensive studies of particular crofting areas were begun by members of the Department of Geography of Glasgow University under the direction of Mr. H. A. Moisley and Dr. J. B. Caird who thereby initiated the Crofting Survey. Studies were made in Benbecula and South Uist in 1956, in Barra in 1957, in Harris and Waternish (Skye) in 1958, and the value of a team of geographers for such work has been amply demonstrated. For the first time, moreover, survey and mapping techniques were applied to the township as the working unit, for the township is the real basis of the crofting organisation.

The success of the South Uist project made these further surveys desirable and another opportunity occurred in 1958 when the organisers of the Crofting Survey invited the co-operation of the Geographical Field Group in making a study of the Park district of the island of Lewis. The Geographical Field Group gladly responded to this invitation to contribute to a field study so closely consistent with its own aims and practice. The members of the Group who took part in the survey did so with a strong sense of purpose, recognising from the outset that the Crofting Survey deserved serious support. Together with members of the Department of Geography at Glasgow they made an effective team. The results of their study which forms the subject of the present report, ably prepared by Dr. Caird, make an impressive record from which there already emerges a clearer understanding of the crofting problem. The report is worthy of wide recognition and it is to be hoped that it will be followed by others dealing with different areas.

K. C. EDWARDS

President, Geographical Field Group.

INTRODUCTION

121 Since 1955, staff and students of the Geography Department, Glasgow University, have been
114 engaged in a survey of Crofting Districts. This survey is intended neither to rival nor to replace the work of Collier and Fraser Darling, but to supplement their studies by more detailed field work: in the areas selected every croft is visited; so far, including Park, 2,250 crofts have been recorded.

After the publication in 1957, by The Scotsman, of two articles on South Uist by Mr. H.A. Moisley, the Pairc Association inquired whether a similar survey could be carried out in their area of Lewis. Initial arrangements were made by Mr. Moisley, with the co-operation of Mr. MacMillan, secretary of the Pairc Association, and eleven members of the Geographical Field Group spent almost three weeks of their summer holidays working in Park, led by Dr. J.B. Caird, assisted by Miss Catherine B. Smith. The party worked in small groups, each making a particular study of one or two townships. Neither croft nor township boundaries are recorded on any published maps; these were obtained so that land use and house sites could be plotted on 1:2500 plans; details of crops and stock were recorded for every croft and an enumeration of population made for each household, the latter being done by Dr. Caird as a rule, with the help of local residents. Only in this way can a true picture of contemporary crofting be obtained, for official sources, such as the Census and annual Agricultural Statistics, deal mainly with counties, only occasionally with parishes, and never with townships. Yet it is the township groups which are the essence of Crofting.

114 The people of Park showed great kindness in answering innumerable questions with truth and
123 good humour. Their hospitality was quite overwhelming; without their willing co-operation this study could never have achieved any degree of completeness. It would be invidious to mention any single member; all did their utmost to help, but without Mr. MacMillan nothing would have been possible. It was he who found accommodation for the party in a community where tourist accomodation is almost unknown, and for this, and for much other help, we owe him a great debt. To our hostesses, Mrs. Campbell, 13 Gravir, Mrs. Macaskill, Heatherview, and Mrs. Macaskill, 13 Glengravir, we are perhaps in the greatest debt: they looked after us so very well and unsparingly, and from them we learned the values and outlook of the Park community. By way of pre-
114 paration, much help was given by Mr. D.M. Mackinnon, the estate factor, by Mr. Donald Mackay,
123 11A Kershadir, by the staffs of Messrs. David Macbrayne, of the office of the Registrar-General for Scotland, of Register House, of the Department of Health for Scotland and, in particular, of the
123 Department of Agriculture for Scotland. Finally, thanks are due to Miss Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt., for the appendix on place names, and to the practical agriculturalist who made an assessment of the agricultural economy possible.

The township reports were prepared by the individual members and the editor contributed the general chapters. The editor would like to record here his personal thanks to the party. Few leaders can have been blessed with such cheerful enthusiasm, steady application and willingness to work long hours; they mastered the methods and techniques of the survey extremely quickly and added new ones. The quality of their field work may be judged from their reports. The checking, organising and filing of the data both in the field and afterwards, as well as the preparation of the tables for the present report, could not have been done without the skill and enthusiasm of Miss Smith. Thanks are also due to Mrs. Esme Diamond and Miss Smith for typing the draft and especially to Mr. I.A.G. Kinniburgh, Cartographer in Glasgow University Geography Department for re-drawing the maps and diagrams.

000 The value of the field work lies not only in the present report, but also in this permanent statistical and cartographic record in Glasgow, to which we hope present and future research workers will be able to refer.

THE ENVIRONMENT

13 The district of Park lies in the parish of Lochs in south-east Lewis, almost cut off from the
101 rest of Lewis and Harris by Loch Erisort to the north and Loch Seaforth to the west. The district may be divided into two regions by Loch Shell and the valley to the west: this subdivision is meaningful physically, historically and from the socio-economic point of view.

13 The northern part of Park is a low, mamillated, ice-scraped plateau at an average altitude of 250 feet and a maximum altitude of about 450 feet, developed on Lewisian gneiss, a resistant acid rock of Pre-Cambrian age. Glacial erosion has scoured the area and expanses of bare rock are everywhere apparent. Coarse drift deposits are scattered throughout the area, but are more continuous along the southern shores of Loch Erisort between Shieldernish and Caversta, and at the head of Loch Ouirn. The cool, humid oceanic climate has led to the widespread accumulation of peat, and in the interior there are extensive areas of blanket bog. The Minch coast is rugged with cliffs attaining a height of 350 feet at Kebock Head, but there are several sheltered bays and inlets around which the crofting townships cling to the steep slopes. Along the more sheltered shores of Loch Erisort cliff features are almost absent and the physical landscape is less harsh and uninviting.

The mountainous area south of Loch Shell, an eastward continuation of the North Harris hills, attains a height of 1,885 feet. Glacial erosion has had more spectacular effects than in northern
8 14 Park and corries and glacially modified valleys are numerous. Southern Park is now uninhabited but during the early nineteenth century a small population was scattered round the shores of the peninsula on areas of drift deposits.

There are no climatic statistics for Park, but the Stornoway figures can reasonably be applied to northern Park. The mean annual temperature for Stornoway is 47°F. ranging from 41°F in January and February to 56°F. in July. The mean annual rainfall in Stornoway is 50 inches, with May and June the driest months, but on average there are 260 rainy days. Wind, however, is the most notable element in the climate: an average of 155 days have gusts exceeding 38 m. p. h.

Soils are thin and immature, except on isolated patches of deeper drift: vegetation is dominated by heather (calluna vulgaris) purple moor grass (molinia) and sphagnum, and there are few trees, stunted rowans being almost the only species; trees are confined to islands in lochs and cliffs inaccessible to stock.

861 The aspect of Park is thus one of desolate moorland, and the human communities are without exception distributed round the coasts; the Minch coast townships are situated on sheltered bays or inlets and it is clear that the harvest of the sea was the original attraction rather than the agricultural possibilities on steeply sloping, rocky terrain.

18 Park is the most isolated area of Lewis apart from South-west Uig. A sea-journey of only nine miles separates Lemreway in the south from Stornoway but the overland distance is 36 miles, which takes more than two hours by the daily bus service. Until 1924, there was no through-road beyond Habost although the Congested Districts Board provided a grant for the making of a road between Gravir and Cromore in 1901; in 1913 this road was extended to Garyvard. With the coming of the road, and the decline in the numbers of fishing boats, the people of Park have ceased to travel to Stornoway by sea. In terms of distance, Park is now more isolated than ever before.

101 Isolated, poor agriculturally, and without any industry, Park is a "Region of Difficulty" with
13 a rapidly declining population; basically the environment has little to offer in the twentieth
14 century.

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Fig. 1. Park in the Early Nineteenth Century
/facing p. 2/

THE MAKING OF THE CROFTING LANDSCAPE

17 All landscapes in these islands have roots in the distant past; Park is no exception. Yet many crofting landscapes have been significantly re-fashioned within the present century after major changes in the nineteenth century. Park does not entirely correspond to the general pattern, and the present cultural landscape has its beginnings in the late seventeenth century, although there are traces of earlier settlement.

Archaeological evidence, in the form of a stone axehead found near Habost, a dun on the brackish Loch Cromore, and a mediaeval chapel on Eilean Calum Cille, provides the earliest
108 record of human settlement in Park. Place-name evidence[1] indicates Norse occupation: the elements
17 'bost', a contraction of the Norse word bolstradr - a homestead, and 'setr', a shed or bothy situated on pastureland but not regularly lived in, indicate a thin dispersion of farmers practising an extensive and transhumant economy: all the present township names contain Norse elements.

The name Park, is derived from the Gaelic 'A'Phairc' - the park or deer forest: the old name of the district was Oservaul -(Norse: the east mountain). During the eighteenth century, a dyke or turf wall was built between Loch Erisort and Loch Seaforth - 'garadh an tighearna' - the lord of chiefs' dyke, to enclose the deer forest. Before this enclosure was built, Park was shieling ground used by tenants in Uig (west Lewis):- one of the groups of shielings has the name Airigh Dhomhnaill Chaim and Domhnall Cam was chief of the MacAulays in Uig at the beginning of the
[162] seventeenth century. Thus it may well be that after the Norse population left or were absorbed, Park was simply used as summer pasture.

17 It is believed that settlement in what is now the Deer Forest began about 1650. Confirmation of
538 this comes from an unpublished Gaelic song by Archibald MacDonald (An Ciaran Mabach) composed
539 in Leith soon after 1660. In the song, the author laments the fact that he may never see the Forest again, and says of Park

> "'s oil leam caradh na frithe
> .....
> Bhith fo bhion aig na bodaich
> D'am bu chosnadh cas-chrom."

"I deplore the state of the forest ..... that it should be in subjection to the carles whose livelihood is a cas-chrom" (foot plough - literally crooked spade). The song gives no indication of numbers, and unfortunately no rental of this period is extant.[2]

17 From rentals and other evidence, Park was the last area in Lewis to be colonised in permanent settlement; the fact that the population of Lochs parish increased from 912 in 1755 to 1350 in 1801,
[161] supports the view that the late eighteenth century saw the extension of modern settlement in Park.

[127] The first documentary evidence of settlement in the present crofting area is the Judicial Rental of Lewis, taken by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners in 1718. This rental records tacksmen, or major tenants, living in Habost, Seaforthhead, and Eilean Calum Cille - all situated along the southern shores of Loch Erisort: there is local tradition that Kershader and Marivig were shielings

1 The editor is indebted to Miss Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt. for an analysis and evaluation of the place-name evidence - see Appendix C.

2 For this extremely interesting information and the translation, the editor is indebted to Mr. William Matheson, M.A., of the Department of Celtic, Edinburgh University.

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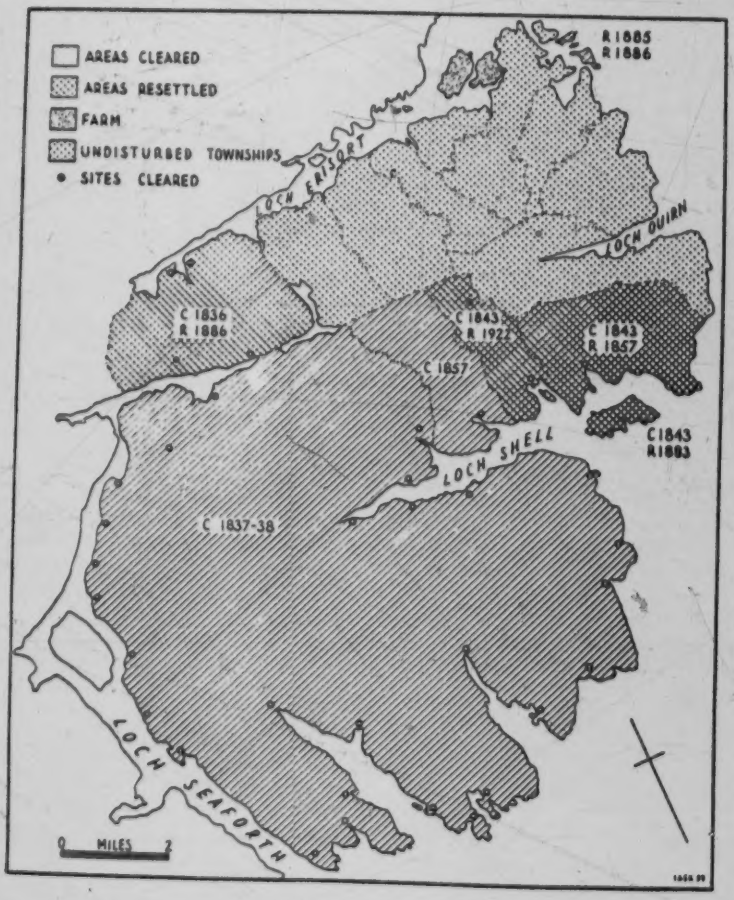

Fig. 2. Clearance and Resettlement in Park
/Facing p. 3/

17 or summer pastures for the tenants of Laxay and Barnish respectively, townships on the north
175 shores of the loch. In 1775, there were four tenants in Kershader, but their place of origin
162 is unknown. In 1805, five tenants are recorded, two of them from Uig; by 1824 there were 10
34 tenants. Thus the growth of population in Lewis during the second half of the eighteenth century
311 may well have been the major reason for the colonisation of one of the least agriculturally
161 attractive districts of the island.

From Figure 1, which shows most of the thirty-four occupied places south of Loch Shell about 1828, it is evident that colonisation had extended south into the mountainous area. The evictions, which commenced in Harris in 1816, may have increased the population already there as early as 1660, for many of these families came from Harris. The numerous shielings in South Park speak of a vigorous community: it is possible that South Park was more densely populated than the northern area up till 1800.

162 During the period 1818 to 1842, when the grazier, Donald Stewart, and his brothers had a lease
175 of South Park, most of these settlements were cleared (Fig 2): in addition, between 1838 and
361 1843, 68 tenants and sub-tenants in Shieldernish, Cleiter, Seaforthhead, Lemreway, Oronsay,
311 Stiomrabagh and Isginn were removed, in all about 436 people.[1] Some 27 families were sent to
161 Crossbost in North Lochs; others went to Tolsta and Tong in Stornoway parish, and some emigrated. The main body of those evicted settled in the townships in North Park: Marivig in 1838 had 6 tenants; by 1850, 22 are recorded. Thus the present distribution of population crystallised about 1840 and by then the townships along the shore of Loch Erisort from Habost to Garyvard were well established. The Minch coast townships from Cromore to Gravir, first settled about 1800, were greatly expanded, and Park south of Gravir became a sheep grazing devoid of small tenantry.

175 In 1844, the Seaforth family, which had held Lewis for over two centuries, sold the island to
423 Sir James Matheson. The estate management soon wrought great changes in the landscape. Until
311 1850-52, the run-rig system prevailed, a system whereby a group of joint tenants, or a tacksman
361 and subtenants, cultivated in small patches what arable land had been reclaimed, each share
241 being periodically re-allocated. The crofts, or individually held land, date from 1850-52, when the land was lotted and most of the present crofts were formed at this period. The settlement pattern associated with run-rig was one of closely nucleated groups of houses but when run-rig was abolished, houses were built on the individual crofts.

175 In 1858, Lemreway was once again made available to crofters, most of whom came from the
162 fishing townships where population pressure was building up. After the disastrous potato famine
433 of 1846-7, and the final failure of the kelp industry from 1840 to 1844, the population of the Outer
731 Isles experienced great hardship. By the early 1850's, the lotting of the crofts and the rapid
228 development of the fishing industry brought a period of prosperity and the population grew rapidly
161 especially in the fishing townships of the Minch coast. The prosperity was such that numerous cottars built houses on the lotted crofts, and their stock-keeping on the common was tolerated because of the demand for fishing crews. About 1884, the system whereby each boat was tied to individual fish merchants, who advanced meal and provisions against the catch, was discontinued. When this system was replaced by the auctioning of catches, such was the privation in Lewis that the Royal Commission investigating the poverty of the population in 1888 found conditions almost as severe as those prevailing during the potato famine forty years earlier. It was during this period that the Park Deer Raid occurred: Park became a Deer Forest in 1883 at the end of the grazier's
[685] lease. In 1888, as a demonstration of their grievances, a large number of crofters from the Park townships went into the Deer Forest and killed about 200 deer, cooking the meat in the open for all to see. Some were arrested but after trial acquitted.[3] A few good fishing seasons remedied this unhappy situation and the population of the fishing townships rose to a peak in 1911.

[115] 1 Evidence given to Royal Commission of Inquiry into Crofters and Cottars 1883. (Also known as the Napier Commission).

[113] 2 Report on the Conditions of the Cottar Population in the Lews, 1888.

[113] 3 Stornoway Gazette, 27.1.59.

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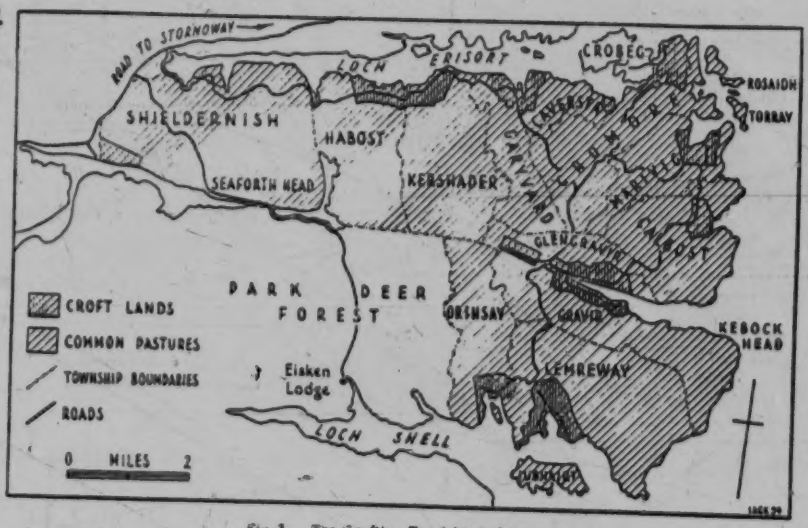

Fig. 3. The Crofting Townships of Park

/ Crofting p. 4 /

175 While the Royal Commission of 1883-6 was investigating Crofting conditions in Scotland, the
423 farm of Seaforthhead and Shieldernish was restored to six crofters. Six years later, the Royal
311 Commission of Enquiry into the Highlands and Islands scheduled the following land as suitable for new crofting townships: Stiemreway, Eilean Calum Cille, Crobeg, and the islands of Orosaidh and Rossaidh, a total area of 153 acres arable and 3,502 acres grazing. A further 165 acres of arable and 40,135 acres of grazing in the Park Deer Forest were scheduled as land suitable for the extension of existing holdings. The Report of the Commission considered "that in the case of Lewis, it cannot be left out of view that the congestion is very great, and the demand by crofters for access to lands now scheduled is of a very urgent nature ..... The Deer Forest Commissioners do not believe that the lands now scheduled are suitable for new holdings: but were these lands occupied as common pasture by crofters, under a properly adjusted system of management, their occupation would be of much advantage to the occupants and more than outweigh the disadvantages."[6] As a result of this recommendation, the islands of Rossaidh, Orosaidh and Iubhairt, in all 90 of the 43,728 acres scheduled, were given to Marivig, Calbost, and Lemreway, respectively, as additions to the common pastures; the sheep farm comprising Crobeg, Oronsay and Stiemreway, and the Deer Forest were left undisturbed.

175 In 1924, after raiding, Oronsay was reconstituted as a crofting township, all but one of the new
423 tenants coming from the overcrowded crofts of Lemreway. An unsuccessful attempt was made by
632 squatters who had built houses at Stiemreway, to have their unofficial lots recognised, but some
311 families remained there till 1945. In 1934, fifteen small lots were cut out of the Gravir common
[163] pasture to relieve pressure on the Gravir crofts: this Department of Agriculture scheme marked the end of a century of population redistribution.

Thus the full recommendations of the Deer Forest Commission have never been implemented, but one can only conclude, after a study of the crofting economy, that greater participation by the crofters in the Deer Forest grazing would bring increased viability to the crofting community.

175 The landscape of Park has thus experienced four formative periods. Of the prehistoric era and
162 the early historical period, when the Norsemen held sway, a few archaeological sites and a large
361 number of place-names remain. From 1660 until the early nineteenth century settlement was
632 slowly established and spread over all the coastal fringe: this period saw the maximum areal distribution of the small tenantry. From 1828 to 1843, eviction stripped the entire area south of Gravir and west of Habost of population, and large scale sheep farming was extended at the expense of the small tenants. The fishing townships from Cromore to Gravir were greatly expanded at
[161] this time. From 1858-1924, three of the cleared townships were reconstituted: the population in the majority of the fishing townships continued to grow till 1911. Since 1924, fifteen new lots have been formed in Park but the population has progressively declined.

The absence of large scale resettlement since 1886 differentiates Park from most other crofting districts, but the exodus of population since 1918 and the existence of a population constantly struggling for viability in an area deficient in resources are features common to the entire crofting area.

[113] 4 Report of the Royal Commission Highlands and Islands, 1892, (often known as the "Deer Forest Commission").

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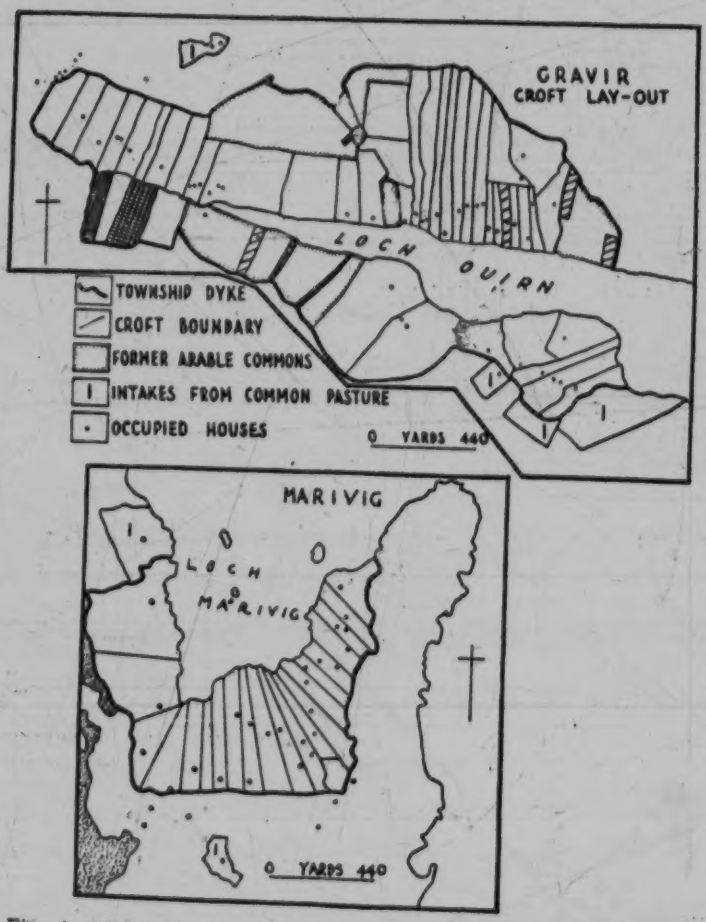

Fig. 4. Township lay-outs - Gravir and Marivig. (Shading distinguishes the unconsolidated pieces of three selected Gravir crofts. In Marivig, the crofts are all consolidated).

/facing p. 5/

THE PATTERN OF CROFTING

427 Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire,
241 Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties of
178 Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some
423 districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the
477 nearest equivalent to peasant communities in Britain, although only a small minority of crofters own their holdings, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, has all but disappeared.

175 Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to
427 compensation for improvements. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural
241 holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where the
423 annual rent paid was less than £30. Security of tenure, and compensation for improvements were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £50. In all, there are about 20,000 crofts in Scotland today[1] and Collier[2] estimated the crofting population at [61] about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms [62] a 1 per cent sample of the crofts, and a 0.9 per cent sample of the estimated crofting population.

Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

423 The characteristic settlement unit is the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal
427 distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the
061 individually held croft land, and the common grazings. The number of crofts per township
311 ranges from 6 in Caversta to 43 in Gravir.

632 The individually held croft land (1,839 acres) is partly 'outrun' or permanent pasture and the
233 holdings are usually but not always consolidated - in Gravir (Fig. 4) and Cromore some of the crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated from neighbouring units by a drystone dyke or fence but in Park, such demarcation is the exception rather than the rule.

The croft land is separated from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wall. The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor, ill-drained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park, only Oronsay common pasture is fenced, the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by crumbled turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture; the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured, a term comparable to the obsolescent 'gates' of northern England. In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young beast, up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per £1 rent. There is also a system of stated equivalences (Gaelic 'coilpeachadh') in most townships whereby substitution of cattle for sheep and sheep for cattle is permissible: in Gravir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumings and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed, soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming of their croft.

[113] 1 Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

[113] 2 Adam Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1953.

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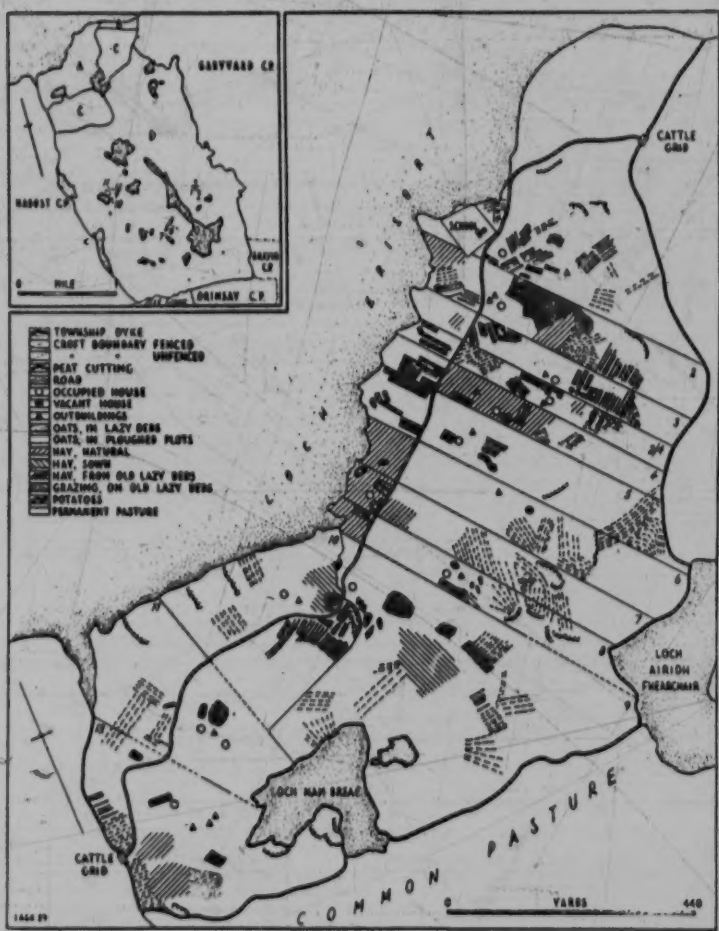

Fig. 5. Kershader - Land use. The inset shows the complete layout of the township: A - the Croft land, B - Re-seeded Grazing Parks, C - The inner fenced area of the common grazing. The former shielings belonging to each croft are also shown: the numbers correspond to the crofts numbers. (Redrawn from 1:2500 fieldmap by P.W. Wheeler, M.A.).

/facing p. 6/

427 Although the croftland is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six
241 months of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole
township stock graze indiscriminately over the crofts. Thus basically the whole area of the
[22] township, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear
[42] that the agricultural revolution with its system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Crofting
[176] Area.
[232]

175 Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic - 'airigh').
233 The sites of the shielings are usually on slopes commanding a view of the surrounding area near a spring or stream and usually two to nine huts belonging to the same township are grouped together on a site; isolated shielings are rather rare. In order to conserve the pasture within the township dyke for wintering and to protect the unfenced crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in June, and the younger members of the households went out to live in small stone or turf-walled huts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter or cheese at the shieling. The distance of shielings from the crofts varied from one to five miles in Park.

632 The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the township and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in the past related mainly to the enforcement of soumings, but are now reduced to the disbursement of subsidies, although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the township bull (usually lent by the Department of Agriculture but sometimes communally owned) are also the province of the Committee.

[361] The layout of the townships varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned
342 in strips from the moor to the sea (figures 4 and 5). Most croft houses are built on the crofts; in
[78] former times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the cultivable land was required for crops, but nowadays the houses tend to be sited near the road.

162 The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing
361 in the rights and duties of the township. Table I gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 Park
427 crofts. It will be noted that only one-fifth of the crofts are tenanted by those in the 15-44 age
241 group: a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 65 years of age. Absentee tenants account for 14 per cent of the total. Women form under 10 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of
[464] the women tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The intrinsic worth of the holdings can be inferred from the fact that two-thirds of the male tenants in the insurable age group take supplementary work, two-fifths of them furth of Lewis. With such a large proportion of the tenants either fully employed in ancillary occupations in Park or elsewhere it is hardly surprising that the theoretical township organisation exists mainly in name alone.

427 Each croft, however, is not necessarily an agricultural unit; some are sublet by absentee
241 tenants or by tenants who are too old or too infirm to work their crofts. Of the 215 crofts, one-fifth are wholly or partly sublet. In addition to the legal crofts, there are unofficial holdings which fall into three categories, cottars, squatters and feuars, all legally without grazing rights. A cottar[1] is a person, usually a close relative of the tenant, who builds another house on

1 These are the de facto definitions. Section 34 of the Crofters' Act of 1886 defines a cottar as follows:- "Cottar" means the occupier of a dwelling-house situate in a crofting parish with or without land who pays no rent to the landlord, as also the tenant from year to year of a dwelling house situated in a crofting parish who resides therein, and who pays to the landlord therefor an annual rent not exceeding six pounds in money, whether with or without garden ground, but without
[113] arable or pasture land". For fuller treatment, see Scott, J., "The Law of Smallholdings in Scotland," 1933, pages 152-155.

There is no legal definition of a squatter, and the above definition does not include any distinction between houses built on a croft and houses built on the Common Grazings.

TABLE I

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TENANTS OF CROFTS

Resident on Croft	Males	Females[2]	Total	%
15 - 44	40	5	45	21
45 - 64	83	9	92	43
65 and over	42[1]	5	47	22
Non - Resident				
In other Townships	5	1	6	3
Furth of Park	22	3	25	11
Total	192	23[2]	215	100

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OCCUPATIONS OF MALE TENANTS

Age Group	Fulltime croft work	Croft work with regular employment	Croft work with periodic employment	Non-crofting employment	Periodic employment furth of Park	Permanent employment furth of Park	TOTAL
15 - 44	9	13	1	2	7	8	40
45 - 64	32	24	7	3	5	12	83
Total	41	37	8	5	12	20	123
Percentage	(33)	(30)	(7)	(4)	(10)	(16)	(100)

1. Of the 42 male tenants aged 65 and over, 31 are still active crofters, and of this 31, 16 are the sole labour force on their croft.

2. Of the 23 female tenants, 3 are the sole labour force on their crofts.

/facing p. 7/

427 a legal croft; a squatter builds a house on the common grazing, and a feuar pays a feu-duty or
241 ground-annual to the proprietor. Such unofficial holdings with stock on the common grazing are "agricultural units" in the same way as the crofts, for in fact some cottars keep more stock than the crofters. In these classes are 84 families and 32 of them keep stock. Thus instead of 215 legal units, there are 219 working units[1]. The more usual situation in depopulated crofting areas, where the number of agricultural units is much smaller than the number of crofts, is certainly not prevalent in Park. The official pattern of crofting and the real pattern are very different indeed both in Park and throughout the Crofting Area.

Crofting Agriculture

241 By definition, the function of crofting is agricultural production. The small area of cultivable
433 land, the poverty of the immature soils and the inhibiting characteristics of the climate, severely limit the range of crops. Of the 1838 acres of croft land in Park, less than 400 acres are classed as arable land. The measurement of the arable land was carried out about 1850 but reclamation after that date increased the arable area. Only in the townships of Shieldernish, Habost, Kershader, (Figure 5), and Garyvard where there are deeper deposits of glacial drift, is ploughing practised; elsewhere cultivation is entirely in 'lazy-beds', a system of narrow ridges 4 to 6 feet in width,
[242] separated by open drains, and cultivated by spade. Natural grass for hay is the chief crop, and and accounts for 52 per cent of the 638 acres of cropped land (See Table II). As only 400 acres of the croft land are classed as arable, some of this hay is taken from areas which were brought
[244] into cultivation after 1850. Oats (26 per cent), occupy the largest cultivated area, followed by potatoes (13 per cent). The small area of sown grass (9 per cent) of which four fifths is cut for hay, is symptomatic of the low standard of husbandry: only one fifth of the agriculture units sow grass. The average cropped area per agricultural unit is only 3 acres and only one-third of the units have gardens in cultivation. The hay and oats are grown for winter fodder, and the potatoes for household use. No detailed conclusions as to the use made of the crofts for cropping can be drawn, as the potential of each croft is extremely variable, but the low proportion of sown grass is indicative of the husbandry. There is a clear distinction between the 'agricultural' townships (Seaforthhead, Shieldernish, Habost, Kershader, Garyvard and Caversta), and the 'fishing' townships (Cromore, Marivig, Calbost, Gravir and Glengravir, Lemreway and Orinsay) in the extent and utilisation of the arable land: one measure of this distinction is that 55 per cent of the units in the agricultural townships sow grass; the figure for the fishing townships is only 22 per cent.

241 More valuable conclusions can however be reached from a study of the stocking. With the exception
427 of Glengravir township, each croft has a defined soum, and thus the stock entitlement for each
433 operative unit can be calculated. By using the equivalence, the soum can be converted to "cow units". In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower, and 8 sheep per £1 rent: the equivalence is 1 cow to 5 sheep. The number of cow units per £1 rent is therefore 2.6; in the calculation, followers are ignored. The actual stock of the agricultural unit can also be converted to cow units and thus a comparison can be made between the soum and the actual stock of each unit. The percentage of the soum taken up can thus be used as an indication of the extent to which the unit is worked.

In the Crofting Area, as in all Highland Britain, stock rearing is the main function of agriculture.
[430] In Park, all the agricultural income, subsidies for cropping excluded, is derived from cattle and sheep.

1 Of the 215 legal units, 28 are sublet: thus if there was no unofficial stock-keeping by cottars and squatters there would be 187 agricultural units. However, there are 32 additional stock-keepers and thus in fact there are 219 agricultural units.

TABLE II

AGRICULTURAL TOTALS BY OPERATIVE UNITS IN TOWNSHIPS - 1958

TOWNSHIP	No. of Legal Crofts[1]	No. of other holdings with stock[2]	No. of Agricultural Units[3]	Arable	Outrun (Acres)	Common Pasture	Oats	Land Use Potatoes (Acres)	Hay	Pasture	BEASTS (use & units)	Total Stock	Sheep Ewes (No.)	STOCK Breeding Ewes	Lambs	Other Sheep
Deaforthead and Ghoilderoich	6	1	5	29.0[6]		1601	2.0	3.0	15.0	37.0	106	97[5]	256	300	108	119
Bohnet	13	4	14	26.5	96.0	1333	20.5	8.0	46.5	63.0	70	166[5]	179	514	300	313
Sordaidder	13	-	11	26.0	125.5	1929	20.0	6.5	57.0	57.0	110	125[5]	307	371	196	379
Garrvard	12	7	17	37.5	39.0	1296	15.1	5.0	19.0	57.0	90	86[5]	336	360	150	330
Cawarvie	7	1	6	11.0	36.5	640	5.0	9.1	8.5	30.5	51	46	198	197	90	38
Crossore	20	4	23	62.5	86.1	2104	22.5	12.5	35.0	89.5	173	165	644	658	400	387
Harvig	26	2	28	56.5	105.1	840	12.0	9.0	36.5	119.5	70	79	800	611	404	180
Colbeck	14	4	9	16.5	91.0	1730	6.5	1.0	8.5	57.0	38	41	99	165	76	57
Glengarrie	15	-	10	60.5[6]		-	5.0	3.5	17.5	36.5	18	31	89	85	39	40
Grute	43	10	46	86.5	277.0	2000	18.1	16.0	76.0	208.5	109	86	345	800	445	447
Grimsay	14	-	18	101.5[6]		1425	9.5	6.5	25.0	101.5	58	59	160	335	306	93
Lochmaddy	33	4	30	78.1	204.1	3000	20.0	15.0	60.1	208.0	185	143	613	646	277	216
TOTALS:	[illegible]	39	219	516.0	1004.7	[illegible]	161.0	86.7	373.0	1146.1	1167	1333	3384	4723	2639	2101

1. A legal croft is any piece of land registered as a croft - a tenancy may consist of one or more crofts. There are 615 tenancies.

2. Cottars, lessors, squatters with stock.

3. An agricultural unit is defined as any unit, whether a legal croft or a number of legal crofts owned and/or owned, or a cotter, lessor or squatter having stock. Agricultural units may include crofts in other townships worked from the home unit; the areas and acreages of such crofts are added to the township from which they are operated and subtracted from the township in which they are situated.

4. See page 3 for definition.

5. Some tenants in the townships of Deaforthead and Ghoilderoich, Bohnet, Sordaidder, Garrvard, run grazing in Park Deer Forest and therefore this stock is not related only to their respective Common Pasture Holdings.

6. Arable and outrun are not statistically differentiated; in the totals, the proportions of arable to outrun in the other townships have been used.

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/facing p. 8/

231 Cattle are kept on 162 of the 219 units; in all there are 180 cows of three years and over, 47 young cattle, and 110 calves. The usual practice is to suckle the calves, and sell them as soon as they qualify for the calf subsidy; lack of winter-keep is one of the reasons for this practice. [234] The breeds of cattle are mainly Shorthorn and Aberdeen Angus with a few Highland cattle. The other function of the cow is to provide milk for the household; households without a cow rely mainly on tinned milk. [232] Cattle are sold at the twice-yearly market held at Garyvard, but prices fluctuate greatly. The townships of Park certainly do not carry a full souming of cattle.

231 Sheep are more important than cattle in the crofting economy in Park. The breed is the Lewis Blackface, a small, lighter type of the Scottish Blackface breed. The sheep are pastured 239 on the common grazings in summer, and are grazed on the croft land in winter. [232] The standard of sheep husbandry is also low as few crofters dispose of cast ewes or have a defined breeding policy as all stocks mingle freely on the commons. The lambing percentage for 1958 was about 60 per cent and the number surviving in August compared to the total ewe stock was 52 per cent, [235] but it was generally agreed that 1958 was a poor year. A further indication of the quality of the sheep is that in the fishing townships, a ewe fetches from 35 to 50 shillings, and a lamb about 20 shillings locally. The low lambing percentage and poor prices can be partly ascribed to the lack of good grazing and to overgrazing, but disease and losses in a treacherous common pasture raise the mortality rate. In general the sheep are left to fend for themselves with a minimum of shepherding although the more progressive crofters hand-feed the ewes and hogge in bad weather.

The majority of the crofters in Habost and Kershader, and a minority in Garyvard, rent additional grazing in Park Deer Forest, paying a fixed sum for each sheep. Sheep from these townships fetch better prices; in the other townships a few wedders and fewer cast ewes are sold to the [236] Stornoway butchers. In many flocks, wool provides the only income from sheep.

It is evident from Table II that the sheep souming is greatly exceeded. In the calculations, ewes are taken as one unit, and 'other sheep', wedders and gimmers, have been calculated at half rate. On this basis, the overall sheep souming is exceeded by 70 per cent and in only one township is the stock comparable to the souming. Overstocking has been encouraged in crofting districts by the ewe subsidy which was in operation till 1956 and it is notable that the rise in numbers of sheep recorded in the Outer Isles coincided with the introduction of the Hill Sheep subsidy in 1938.[1] Overstocking is without doubt the chief reason for the high mortality rate in sheep. Calculation of the overall relation of the actual cattle and sheep stock to the soum shows that the common grazings of Park are overstocked by 14 per cent. It is, however, impossible to calculate an exact figure, as the number of sheep grazed in Park Deer Forest was not enumerated. It is also evident from the individual croft surveys that the cottars, squatters and feuars, who have no rights of grazing, have stock equivalent to 157 cow units or 12 per cent of the total stocking. Thus the crofts of Park are maintaining an average stock fairly close to the souming, but the cattle-sheep ratio of 1:28 is too low for proper management of the pastures.

In general, a low standard of husbandry obtains in Park but it is clear that the agricultural townships are much more efficiently operated than the fishing townships. Overstocking occurs in seven of the twelve townships and sheep stocks are, with one exception, higher than the sheep souming.

1 In Scotland as a whole, the number of sheep recorded declined from 8,007,134 in 1938 to 7,336,000 in 1955.

ONTINUED
FROM
RECEDING
FICHE

ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Park

1959

(1958)

K-5

5: Caird et al.

CROF

Acres	Legal Crofu
0 - 5	80(37)
5 - 10	90(42)
10 - 15	28(13)
15 -	17(8)
	215(100)

1. The Glengravir crofu
2. Cotters, feuars, and

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TABLE III

T SIZE RELATED TO INTENSITY OF STOCKING

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

s	Operative Units	PERCENTAGE OF SOUMING TAKEN UP: Less than 50%	50 - 100%	Over 100%	Units[1] Unsoumed	Non-croft operative[2] Units with stock
	88(40)	14(16)	20(23)	20(23)	6(7)	28(31)
	69(32)	13(19)	17(25)	31(44)	4(6)	4(6)
	39(18)	5(13)	14(36)	20(51)	-	-
	23(10)	2(9)	7(30)	14(61)	-	-
	219(100)	34(15)	58(26)	85(41)	10(5)	32(13)

s have no souming.

squatters who have no grazing rights.

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TABLE V

OCCUPATIONS OF MALES (15-64) RELATED TO CROFT SIZE

Size of Operative unit acres	Full time crofts work	Crofts work with Regular employment	Crofts work with partime Regular emp.	Total[1]
0 - 5	(4)30	27(30)	3(-)	(4)(60)
5 - 10	(9)(4)2	22(4)	4(9)	2(5)(10)
10 - 15	(4)(5)9	15(4)	2(7)	20(10)
over 15	7(5)	3(2)	3(2)	13(10)
Total	5(4)(1)	6(4)(2)	1(4)(1)	13(2)(10)

1. It is not possible to relate occupations to size of operative unit in every case as many units are in fact run by more than one person - such units have been omitted from the table.

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TABLE VI

TOWNSHIP STOCKING: 1883[1] AND 1958

	1883		1958	
	Cattle	Sheep	Cattle	Sheep
Dashaig	65	215	34	1,240
Earshader	67	205	34	910
Garbhraig	55	200	26	735
Camusdale	27	105	12	356
Crossora	127	310	48	905
Fearnlaig	84	207	23	530
Calbost	77	200	41	554
Laxdaway	158	481	58	1,129
TOTAL	654	1,923	279	6,066

1. Royal Commission on Crofting - Map. data, 1892.
   Register House, Edinburgh.
   Information map not complete for Torridy, and the remaining townships were not in crofting tenure in 1892.

/p. 8-2/

TABLE VII

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS[1]: Parish of Lochs[2]

	1913	1920	1938	1947	1958
CROPS					
Tattis	487	382	879	757	667
Hay	171	154	13	4	-
Turnips	420	770	344	229	169
Sown Grass for Hay	1	26	126	78	161
Sown Grass for Pasture	-	6	34	72	125
Total Cultivation	1176	1341	1428	1150	918
Permanent Grass for Hay	44	32	573	791	730
Permanent Pasture	2650	2646	1841	1367	1356
Orchard[3]	22	4	268	86	77
TOTAL Crops and Grasses	3892	3963	3306	3394	3671
STOCKS					
Horses	102	101	49	39	11
Cattle	2489	1701	1412	1150	996
Sheep[4]	9,131 (3,048)	8,792 (3,026)	25,131 (3,020)	29,828 (3,025)	28,031 (3,009)
Poultry	7	7	8173	12,928	8256

1. By courtesy of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.
2. As Park is part of Lochs Parish, these are the only statistics available.
3. Nuts (negligible acreage), Pulses.
4. Figures in brackets are breeding ewes.

/p. 8-3/

Table III reveals that there are 177 agricultural units with a crofting; ten units are crofts in Glengrant without a crofting; and the remainder of the 178 units have no grazing rights. From this Table, it is clear that full stocking and overstocking increase with the size of the croft, the units of two acres and over, on the basis of stock carrying, would appear to be the most intensively worked. In all, just over half of the units take up their full crofting. Table IV gives an analysis of employment ancillary to croft work for 141 of the 178 units and it would appear that neither ancillary employment nor age is significantly related to the intensity of croft working. Table V points to the fact that more full-time crofters are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables III, IV and V underline the fact that the larger unit are also the more successful and it is significant that the larger unit are almost all on the better land in the agricultural townships. The average size of holding in the agricultural townships is now extra, compared with less than eight acres in the fishing townships, where the land is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

The trends in agriculture are illustrated by Tables VI and VII. The Crofters' Commission made a survey of the crofts through the medium of Estate Factors in 1883. From Table VI it is evident that the number of cattle was much higher at that time and that the cattle-sheep ratio in the selected townships was 1:3 as compared with 1:28 in 1958. Table VII gives agricultural statistics for the parish of Lochs as a whole, separate figures for Park are not available. Since 1913, radical changes in the crop and stock patterns have taken place. Some crops (tattis, turnips) have disappeared as a crop, and sown grass and permanent grass fad hay have since 1947 become the leading crops. Horses have all but disappeared, and the cattle-sheep ratio has risen from less than 1:4 to 1:29 for the whole parish. Since 1938, cultivation in Lochs Parish has declined by 35 per cent. Large areas of hay-land, no longer cultivated, are entering landscape signs of their changes; seaweed, the sine quae non for layabed cultivation, is no longer carried to the upper parts of the crofts. In fact, many of the crofts no longer use seaweed as a fertilizer.

From the foregoing account, it is clear that there are two major agricultural problems in Park, the lack of sufficiently large crofts with good arable land and the insufficiency of common grazing; these deficiences bring in their train the problem of overstocking, and the existence of uneconomic holdings.

The more progressive crofters, significantly resident on the better crofts of the agricultural townships, have shown how croft land can be improved by re-seeding and sowing down to grass, practices which could be fruitfully extended throughout Park. In addition, several townships by co-operative effort, have reseeded small areas of the common grazings with splendid results.

However it is clear that it is not possible for 219 viable agricultural units to be maintained on the present crofting area. The optimum size of croft which could maintain a family is a moot point, for the location and situation of a croft and the quality of the land and common pasture would all have to be taken into account in making an assessment.

This problem was referred to a practical agriculturalist who was asked to state what size of croft and number of stock would be required to provide an annual income of £300, excluding croft benefit (milk, eggs and potatoes consumed on the croft) and any costing for labour. To fulfill these conditions, one of the fishing townships was carefully analysed, and the expert came to the following approximations, assuming that the rules of good husbandry were in force after the croft had been brought up to a good standard of cultivation and re-seeding had been carried out where possible on the outrun and Common Pasture, and provided there was no overstocking, and that present favourable subsidies and prices continue:-

Size of croft: 6 acres arable, (3 in crop, 3 in sown grass), 18 acres outrun and rights in Common Grazing to carry:-

6 cows, 2 young cattle, 50 ewes, 12 wedders, 12 ewe hogs and a ram.

Income	£	Expenses	£
Sale of 1 cow, 5 calves, 10 cast ewes and 3 wedders, and 28 lambs say	224	Seed, ram, service of bull, grass, cut, potato and turnip seed, manures and hand feeding say	98
Sale of wool	33	Excess of income	300
Subsidies on cows, calves and cropping	141		
Total income	398		398

In order to work such a croft efficiently, the tenant could not take regular ancillary employment and would require the assistance of his family at busy periods. If such holdings were formed in the particular township studied, the number of crofts would have to be reduced to almost one third of the present. In Park as a whole, the agricultural units would have to be reduced to half of their present number. The better figure is only very approximate as it was based on general evidence. It is clear, however, that about half the viable agricultural units could be maintained on the present crofting area of Park.

From a detailed study of the agriculture of Park one can only conclude that the present crofting[1] situation is far from being an optimum one. Only reorganisation on a major scale could make crofting economic, and such reorganisation would have to be coupled with the development of a non-crofting sector of the community dependent on ancillary industry. The prospects for the growth of ancillary industry are discussed on page 12. Larger crofts might well evolve as a result of continued depopulation. In the meantime, a determined effort could be made in the spheres of re-seeding and pasture improvement, and in consolidating the existing non-adjacent pieces of arable land, and the creation of the sheep stocks, with an emphasis on quality instead of quantity, and the introduction of cattle. Narrowing the present 1:25 cattle-sheep ratio, are policies which could be followed with profit.

ANCILLARY OCCUPATIONS

In most crofting areas, ancillary employment is necessary to compensate for the low croft income. Total dependence on the croft for a livelihood had never been characteristic of many crofting areas except in times of privation. At the time of the abolition of run-rig, most crofters were not a greater population than the land could support, even at subsistence level, and as a result, most retiree, crofts were created smaller than the optimum size in order to give as many persons as possible a share in the land. First the kelp industry and at a later period fishing, resulted in sub-divisions of crofts, already too small, and the establishment of a cotter and squatter population. In the case of kelp, the landlord required as many hands as he could muster and in the hey-day of the fishing industry, the land was a secondary consideration as meal could be bought with the proceeds of the catches.

In Park, it is noteworthy that the most congested areas in 1883 were the fishing townships and that since 1931, when the decline in the fishing industry began, these townships have experienced rapid depopulation. The non-fishing townships have not experienced this rate of depopulation. In Park as a whole only 18 per cent of the total crofting population of non-viable age (15-64) are full-time crofters today - a striking confirmation of the fact that ancillary employment is necessary. However, not all such employment is available in Park: 47 per cent of the non-viable male population

TABLE VIII

EMPLOYMENT OF MALES IN WORKING AGE GROUP (15-64)

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Full-time Croft Work	20(3)	51 (29)	71 (18.0)
Croft Work and Regular Employment	25(16)	41 (23)	76 (19.0)
Croft Work and Occasional Employment	2(1)	12 (7)	14 (3.5)
Non-crofting Employment	12(7)	21 (9)	33 (7.5)
Unemployed or sick	10(6)	12 (7)	22 (5.5)
Total Resident Population	80(25)	138 (72)	218 (33.0)
Seasonally Employed Parts of Park	89(13)	11 (6)	10 (10.0)
Schoolchildren (15-18)	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
Students	2(1)	-	2 (0.5)
National Serviceman	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
Sick	3(1)	3 (1)	6 (1.0)
Total Seasonally Absent	48(21)	14 (7)	62 (15.5)
Regular Employment Parts of Park	99(16)	26 (13)	125 (31.5)
Total Regularly Absent	99(16)	26 (13)	125 (31.5)
Totals	227(100)	178 (100)	405 (100.0)

/p. 10-4/

TABLE IX

OCCUPATIONS OF RESIDENT MALE POPULATION (15-64)

OTHER THAN FULL-TIME CROFTERS

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	Weaving	Servicing	Fishing	Seaweed	Professions	Craftsmen	Non Essen	Total
Crofters with Regular Employment	20	10	8	7	1	3	-	35
Crofters with Occasional Employment	-	1	3	3	1	1	5	14
Non-crofting Employment	4	3	3	3	4	-	1	20
Total	24(35)	15(25)	20(17)	12(10)	6(5)	4(3)	6(5)	119(100)

OCCUPATIONS OF MALE POPULATION

SEASONALLY AWAY (15-64)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Whalers and Crusters	12	3	15
Salmon Fishing (Meal)	5	4	9
Others	11	3	14
	29	11	40

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALE POPULATION

SEASONALLY AWAY (15-64)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Domestic & Social Work	27	1	28
Others, including sick	14	2	16
	41	3	44

/p. 10-5/

TABLE X

EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALES IN WORKING AGE GROUP (15-64)

(FIGURES IN BRACKETS ARE PERCENTAGES)

	15 - 44	45 - 64	Total
Croft work[1]	7	22	29
Professional	8	-	8
Service	5	5	10
Non-employed	64	125	189
Total Resident Population	84(46)	152(89)	236(66)
Seasonal Employment	41	3	44
Schoolchildren	11	-	11
Students	3	-	3
Total Temporarily Absent	55(30)	3(2)	58(15)
Regular Employment Outside Park	43	16	59
Total Regularly Absent	43(24)	16(9)	59(16)
Total	182(100)	171(100)	353 (100)

1. Principal workers of crofts: most women take some part in the working of crofts, planting potatoes, haymaking and harvest work, peat cutting, etc.

/p. 10-c/

However, not all such
166 employment is available in Park: 47 percent of the insurable male population
167 leave the Hebrides to find employment; one third take seasonal employment, and two-thirds
464 permanent employment outside Park (See Table VIII).

Employment within Park

298 Table IX shows that opportunities for local employment are strictly limited. Weaving of
464 Harris tweed is the most important single source of employment. It is significant that those engaging in it are almost all crofters working in their abundant spare time. Weaving is an ideal adjunct to croft work as it is unaffected by weather or hours of daylight and thus can be performed during periods of agricultural inactivity. The vagaries of the Harris tweed market make the occupation precarious. Park is one of the more inaccessible areas of Lewis and the mills are apt to give their commissions to the weavers nearer at hand around Shiorowey when
178 work is scarce. Since 1952, the number of weavers in the fishing townships of Cromore, Marvig, Calbost and Grasir has grown from 11 to 22 and much of the credit for this is due to
228 the activities of the Plaire Association. Fishing, on the other hand, has lost ground in the same period: the number of fishermen has declined in these townships from 20 to 14[1]. Apart from
465 weaving, service occupations form the only other employment available, shop-keeping, fishing,
464 and road maintenance being the chief occupations in the service group. There are very few craftsmen: with such a small population, and the long established tradition that the crofter builds his house and is his own tradesman, there is little opportunity for a trained builder, joiner or even shoemaker to make a livelihood. The professional class is small and entirely composed of the minister and missionaries, the doctor and several schoolmasters.

142 There is little opportunity for women to find employment in Park, apart from nursing, shop-keeping and school teaching, and a few domestic service posts. (See Table IX).

Employment forth of Park

166 The persons in the 15-44 age group form the main body of those working away from home.
167 The distinction made between 'seasonally away' and 'regularly away' is that the former group
462 spend part of the year elsewhere, the men on whalers in South Georgia or with the Tay Salmon
463 Fisheries at Perth, or labouring on the mainland. The women are in domestic service, mainly
464 in hotels. A majority of the men in the latter category are in the Merchant Navy; in some cases women are in domestic service (See Tables IX and XI).

An interesting comparison in the 'regularly away' group exists between men and women in the professional classes (Tables IX and XI). The sample is small, but it is clear that more women than men attain professional status. The number of domestic servants, nurses, and merchant seamen is a reminder that the crofting districts provide a pool of labour for certain vital occupations, some rates too popular in Britain as a whole. In people alone, one can say that Park makes a distinct contribution to the fabric of the national economy and this contribution is much more apparent outside Park than within the district. At the same time a majority of those who are temporarily or permanently away eventually marry and settle outside the district and thus a most valuable section of the community is constantly moving southwards. Only 35 per cent of the men in the 15-44 age group are wholly resident in Park, and 46 per cent of the women in the same age group, a reflection of the poor prospects and utter inadequacy of resources on the most of the crofts.

1 The 1952 figures are abstracted from the Lewis Survey Report on part of South Loche.

TABLE XI

OCCUPATIONS OF PERSONS (15-64) IN REGULAR
166 EMPLOYMENT FURTH OF PARK
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I MALES

	15-44	45-64	Total	%
Merchant Navy	56	13	69	55
Fishing	2	2	4	3
Professional	2	1	3	2
Other occupations	29	10	40	40
Total	59(80)	26(20)	125(100)	100.0

II FEMALES

	15-44	45-64	Total	%
Domestic Service	26	9	35	59
Nursing	10	1	11	19
Professional	3	2	5	8
Other occupations	4	4	8	14
Total	43(73)	16(27)	59(100)	100.0

/p. 12/

Types of ancillary employment

241 The question of the desirability of ancillary employment in a crofting district is often
464 debated. On the one hand, engaging in such work means less time for croft work and makes wholehearted participation in the agricultural life of the township a virtual impossibility. On the other hand, crofters who take ancillary employment are better able to make capital investment in their croft. Table IV shows that in Park, croft efficiency, as expressed by the scoring
000 to actual stock ratio, is not necessarily related to participation in ancillary employment. If the township is to be re-established as a working entity, a clearer dichotomy in the population seems desirable; those who wish to work the croft on a full-time basis might be given full use of the available land, and those who wish to earn their living in non-crofting employment could take out few charters for their houses. It is clear that the agricultural resources of Park are insufficient to maintain the present number of crofts as viable economic units but the problem of finding industrial employment for any large non-crofting population is very great.

184 The Plaire Association, in their keen search to attract industry, met with little response for
464 high freight rates and distance from markets made economic industrial coating well-nigh impossible. The Chairman of the Crofters' Commission has recently suggested that some of the Glasgow 'Overspill of "tradesmen and assistantsnaew" might find "an opportunity to prosper in the West Highlands and Islands" but even with Government grants for the establishment of small factories, it is clear that present freight charges would be a severe deterrent.

178 One possibility is that the fishing industry might be revived. In 1945, 16 large motor
228 vessels were fishing from the townships between Cromore and Grasir; by 1952, three boats remained; only one boat was still fishing in 1958. The recent Fishing Board Scheme guarantees a minimum livelihood. The major problem is the finding of the initial capital
452 required to buy and fit out a modern boat, at present about £20,000. Eighty-five per cent of this sum can already be found in the form of grants and loans from the Herring Industry Board but the remaining fifteen per cent or £3,000 is often the more difficult sum to raise. The Murdo Mackaiy (Rhodesia) Trust has offered assistance to a limited number of fishermen towards the raising of the £3,000[1], and this offer is a real opportunity. If fishing is not re-started soon in Park, few of the original fishermen will remain to instruct the new generation.

464 Tourism is an industry hardly developed at all in Park. Lack of running water has made
452 the householders slow to offer accommodation, but it should be remembered that there are city dwellers who are delighted to accept inexpensive accommodation away from the crowded resorts. Dr. Dig J.Anitman, in his "Human Geography of the Outer Hebrides"[2], states that this fact has made the Aaland'Islands prosperous, and believes that tourism on simple lines could be successfully developed in the Outer Hebrides. Tourism need not bring in its train the desecration of the Sabbath for people who are willing to journey far in search of a quiet holiday usually conform to local observances.

464 Unless new sources of employment are brought to Park, it is clear that ancillary employment must continue to be sought elsewhere. The higher 'spending standard' in industrial employment, and the opportunities to find entertainment in urban areas (factors often resulting from experience during school days in Shiorowey or National Service), militate against a large population of young people, but basically lack of employment and the uneconomic nature of the crofts are the real reasons for the high degree of temporary and permanent employment away from Park.

1 Letter to the Glasgow Herald 27.1.59
2 South Loche Survey Report.
3 Stornoway Gazette 27.1.59
4 Dig Jantinen, Acta Geographica XVI, No. 2. 1957.

TABLE XII

Population of Townships and Inhabited Places
(Material by courtesy of the Registrar-General)

161 162 632 Township or Inhabited Place	1841[1]	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961	1966[2]
GIAKHTA HEAD	8	-	-	-	-	27	14	15	12	8	17	4
SHULBINSDER	52	47	-	-	-	27	36	12	13	21	17	12
MARVIG	49	53	68	89	96	98	113	121	111	105	87	85
HEMSDALE	66	70	81	81	104	114	103	111	101	93	96	77
GARYVAND	58	66	63	77	96	122	108	76	100	117	90	80
CARNISH[3]	-	29	-	38	62	78	45	56	64	47	45	41
CROMORE	106	127	179	182	221	259	271	256	296	260	209	205
CROIRES	41	9	30	30	10	11	4	3	3	2	2	-
GARYVIG	115	98	146	159	208	206	200	220	208	180	160	156
CALBOST	55	67	105	122	158	152	197	200	187	159	151	130
GRASIR	197	223	270	306	353	368	389	416	440	389	361	338
LONGMAY	164	178	-	209	236	263	261	316	339	299	228	211
ORONSAY	119	140	-	-	-	-	4	2	5	35	31	36
EIDSIGH	104	-	11	17	19	14	14	14	19	18	20	10
STYCONDAY	66	62	89	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KEOMAN[4]	-	4	-	3	3	-	2	3	-	-	3	-
VALAMUS	-	-	7	3	-	9	-	3	9	1	7	3
HOLANDREY	-	3	5	-	-	3	-	-	4	-	-	3
SHELL HEAD	-	2	6	-	7	19	2	-	-	-	3	-
CLUBE CARNISH	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
BUSLIAN	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
"ALLA PARK"[5]	89	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS:	1868	1813	1867	1388	1563	1796	1785	1826	1922	1733	1569	1500

1. Manuscript-Enumerators Papers, Box 62, no. 158. Registrar-General.
2. National Insurance Card Enumeration by courtesy of Department of Health for Scotland.
3. Glasgow University-Geographical Field Group Enumeration, August 1958. (No figures include all permanent residents and those who are in seasonal employment forth of Park.
4. Including Portaiss. 5. Unidentified. 6. Park south of Loch Shell.

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161
162

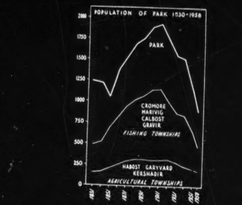

Fig. 6.

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T

AGE STRUCTURE: PARK, 1958

161

162 SCOTLAND

(Figure

Age group	0-4	5-14
Resident and seasonally away (Park)	5.0	13.8
Total population (Park)[1]	4.1	11.5
Lewis (excluding Stornoway)	9.0	15.7
Scotland	9.0	15.0

1. 'Total' population includes those

ABLE XIV

, LEWIS (excluding Stornoway Burgh), AND

AS A WHOLE, 1951.

are percentages)

	15-44	45-64	65 and over	Total
	29.4	33.1	18.7	100.0
	37.4	31.4	15.6	100.0
	35.1	24.3	15.9	100.0
	43.0	23.0	10.0	100.0

in permanent employment furth of Lewis

TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONS AND AGES OF CROFT WORKER RELATED TO INTENSITY OF STOCKING

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	PERCENTAGE OF SOUMING TAKEN UP			TOTAL[1]
r Force	50% or less	50 - 100%	Over 100%	
ime Croft	8 (17)	16 (33)	24 (50)	48 (100)
Worker with r Employment	8 (16)	18 (35)	25 (49)	51 (100)
Worker with lic Employment	2 (20)	3 (30)	5 (50)	10 (100)
Worker aged over	2 (9)	8 (36)	12 (55)	22 (100)
Croft Worker	5 (50)	3 (30)	2 (20)	10 (100)
Total	25 (17)	48 (34)	68 (49)	141 (100)

t is not possible to relate all units for this purpose as some units have no ouming, and in other cases the unit is worked by more than one person: such nits have been omitted from the table.

/p. 8-B/

[Herabedes] [Garryard]

common grazings - 40 proved approximately correctly stocked - 40 cannot therefore provide much employment. Hence it is the standard of agriculture that must be improved. Since the land does not permit striking extension or improvement of the cultivated area, development must be directed towards improving pasture, with more re-seeding and controlled grazing familiar to land already described. All this, however, is of little avail if prices for cattle, sheep and wool remain low, or at least lower than prices prevailing on the mainland. The first priority, therefore, in the establishment of a prosperous agriculture is a guaranteed market outlet. Given this, it might become worthwhile to take steps to increase the carrying capacity of the crofts. It may be assumed that this would involve an all-round improvement which could give a firm basis to the economic existence of the community; until this is achieved, stability and continuity are out of the question.

GARRYARD

Gwenyth R. Page, B. A.

The landscape of the south-east coast of Loch Eriboll is a sombre and rugged one. The Quaternary ice sheets left in their wake troughs now filled by the sea loch, innumerable lochs covered in water lilies, a moraine of boulders and gravel, and expanses of bare rock.

Garryard is set on the fringe of this landscape on a 20 to 25° slope with the crofts aligned from the moor to the sea, on a mantle of drift. Here is the home of MacLeods, the Mackinnons, the Sutherlands and the Mackays. The crofters have adopted the practice of stalling their winter months on the croft, followed by an increasing tempo and variety of work during the rest of the year, in January or February the winter's work must be fed on hay or lose the battle to survive. In February there are preparations for the year's tasks, making repairs and improvements to the croft. Next month will find the crofter on the land, making or clearing drains and putting fences and dykes in order. The tempo of life quickens with the year. April sees the first sheep lambing, the land turned over, potatoes and oats sown. From mid-May, the sheep leave the crofts to fend for themselves on the common grazing. The following three or four months are times of tremendous activity on the moors when the peats are cut, to be stacked later, first in fours, then in eights, so that the wind may dry them. Hill eventually beehive-shaped stacks - some due for last high - can be seen near the peat banks in August. Then begins the wearisome task of carrying the peats home, all too frequently in unseasonable weather, since the peat moorings of Garryard are on the moors up to half a mile from road. Altogether some two miles of roads are needed to convey the villagers patronizing the coal concessions of Borrowby. Two crofters, however, cut peat on their croftc, whilst others have permission to cut from Cromore or Caverata common grazings close to the road. All the while croft work continues, varying from hoeing, weeding and cutting hay to the gathering of sheep for shearing. As there are no fences between the various commons, crofters must travel from one township to another, seeking their own. In August the lambs are weaned. Hay making generally ends in August and is completed before the harvest in September. By the time both oats and hay have been gathered in, the potatoes are lifted and the sheep are brought in from the common grazing about October 12th. The last sheep dipping takes place in November and is followed by tupping.

There are eleven crofts altogether, though one is divided, each portion having a legal tenant who has a half share in the common grazing. Two crofts are 12 acres in extent, the half crofts 2.75 acres only, though the acre cultivated on the common grazing by one of the latter crofters since 1925, has recently been officially recognized. Most crofts are in strips running from the sea-shore up the slope some 500 yards to the township dyke, and are clearly demarcated by fences erected just after the last war. Three crofts have additional strips whilst one croft has an extra strip belonging to another croft. The additional strips date back about 100 years to a time when the township grew rapidly as a result of crofters in southern Park. One croft is divided and worked in three separate parts as in other places for fourteen operative units in Garryard.

[Garryard]

Only a fraction of the croft land is cultivated by tractor and this is divided among seven crofters. In spite of an emphatic statement by one of these cultivators to the effect that he will never use it again, the use of the tractor will increase as soon as the young man who is prone to their neighbours its capabilities and as soon as the ley-beds are joined together, an improvement which has already taken place in Rabster. The main objective to the use of the tractor is the disappointed with the yield of the cultivated land, which was smaller than in former years when he had used the spade. The answer to this was given by one of the other crofters, in the establishment of a prosperous agriculture is a guaranteed market outlet. Given for example, waving. Six of the crofters practise a five-year crop rotation, sowing potatoes first, followed by oats under-sown with clover, then two years of ley, and finally a fallow.

An interesting experiment has been made in the direction of the improvement of two areas of common grazing land by the use of lime on the west side of the township, by aims of the crofters working together during the evenings. The work began early in Spring when 5 tons of lime, 10 tons of fertilizer, 2 tons of grass seed and 4 cwt. compound fertilizer were spread over the land. The grass seed was sown in July, the most favourable time for sowing since there is less danger of a drought than earlier in the year, and more convenient to the crofters. The sheep had been grazed off, ensuring and 250 of them were available to be driven back and forth over the land to tramp the seeds in. In theory this land should be ready for grazing early in the following year, but in practice it will be ready in November. It is planned to re-seed twelve acres in all.

Most crofters have a cow to provide milk for their own needs. The Black Poll bull at Gruvie is preferred to the other township bulls since it is the property common higher prices. Below are held in the district where per year, since on the old island sheep are the staple of the township, and once at Balallan. Prices for calves are normally better in Spring than at the autumn, nevertheless prices altered tend to be low. Even so, it is actually to the advantage of the crofter to part with the animal rather than bear the cost of taking it back to the croft and wintering it there. Naturally there is some bitterness that the middleman who purchases calves will sell them at much higher prices on the mainland at Dingwall. Sheep are normally sold in Borrowby to the butchers but also at the local sales.

Crofting is not in itself a lucrative form of employment and in most households there is at least one other source of income. A majority of the crofters have regular employment, two working in quarries or on the roads for the County Council, one is a part time crofter, working in quarries or on the roads for the County Council, one is a part time crofter, working in quarries or on the roads for the County Council, yet another works in Ardarroch waters aboard a whaling factory ship for eight months of the year. Weaving is undoubtedly the most lucrative of the subsidiary occupations. Though the weaver's are suffering from the slump in the Harris Tweed industry which is affecting the prices for wool. Contrasting is also a paying proposition for one or two persons who have been reclaimed by clearing heather and removing peat to farm the crofts, but the soil, which varies in depth from a few inches to a few feet, is very acid.

Almost crofters own a small rowing boat and it is not uncommon to see half a dozen nets set to catch mackerel and other demersal fish. There is not one large fishing boat, however, partly because of the scarcity of land in the township and partly because of the isolation of the area and because of the difficulty in marketing. The Flatwood trawlers are regarded as pirates in the township and have on occasion been chased off the grounds of two large boats, a dyke, border Tom Ladd, Mitsch, and one has to tie crofts the destruction of two long nets of gear lost in one night is ruin to a belonging to a local boat. To have eighteen pounds worth of gear lost in one night is ruin to a crofter-fisherman. Lobster fishing has died out at Garryard though it could be quite extensively pursued.

The main road from South Lochs to Borrowby through the village has obviously had a profound effect on the township. The sites of the old 'black houses' have been abandoned when new houses have been built, in favour of sites conveniently near to the road. The Road Age has greatly limited man's capacity for carrying goods. This is well illustrated by the fact that of fifty-nine and of crofters in Garryard not one possesses a creel, or carrying frame. Several old thatched houses are now used as barns and byres.

[Garryard] [Caverata]

At the moment Garryard appears to be a go-ahead village, carrying out communal schemes and well ahead of the township as a whole. However, the age structure of the population is abnormal since 60 per cent of the population is over 45 years. The future in Garryard affers young people a prospect of a mainland with little money and no entertainment, making the attractions of the cities and industries of the mainland very irresistible. Unless some means can be found to make life more attractive in the area, since more crofters are of the opinion that a weekly wage packet would more than compensate the loss of their independence. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the age of Mackay's Restaurant and subsidies that man cares more for momentary rewards and the luxuries of life. This is well understood by people who encourage their children to leave the islands to seek employment either in Britain or within the Commonwealth. The Lewisman is no sentimentalist clinging to dying traditions and a way of life. He presses his sons to leave the island for the mainland, the heather is variable for wintering the wood beyond the Hebrides and he is prepared to sheep on the wool, clipped in July, is sold to at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a prospect of a dry summer. The 1958 loss was. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the croft crofts. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early-born calves may be sold in the autumn, the majority of six months old, those born late are. The main part of Caverata is also open to question. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the present units are not used to their full capacity. Amalgamation would mean that Garryard built at Hishost, but bull would produce a better strain.

In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. The land has been built up into lazybeds about six feet wide and a foot high, separated by open drains, and is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not naturally favourable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by shallow stream-stones exposed and a quarter of a mile.

Neither Toriota nor Caverata is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the main road at Cromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and an inferior one beyond. Cromore is the nearest village to Caverata, but it is not a good road within the dyke is a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilizers. Byre manure is used on all crofts, but only three crofts have a supply of farmyard manure. Lime is brought from the shore and is used on the cultivated land. Artificial manures, Paraffin-size and lime have been reclaimed by clearing heather and removing peat to farm the crofts, but the soil, which varies in depth from a few inches to a few feet, is very acid.

The six legal crofts vary in acreage from 6.75 to 8.5 acres and a squatter has 5.5 acres of enclosed land. The township is in two parts: Toriota, with the two smallest crofts, lies at the east-ern extremity, while the other five holdings, also bounded by a dyke, border Tom Ladd, lie to the west. The sheiling, lies south-west of the township, the crofts, which run from the shore to the township dyke, were set prior to 1861; originally the township farmed part of Creag Farra. The legal units are, in fact, separate units except that one of the Toriota crofts, now unoccupied, is used for wintering lambs by the absentee's partners, a resident of Caverata.

There are no occupied black houses remaining in either Toriota or Caverata, as during the past fifty years new dwellings have been erected in dressed stone or corrugated iron, usually with roofs of asbestos slates, tarred felt, or corrugated iron. Several old thatched houses are now used as barns and byres.

[Caverata]

Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for lambing or other purposes, and crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes are normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered, lambing takes place, late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for week of May.

The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep soum, but the overall stocking is only 88 per cent of the total carrying. Two crofts only exceed their individual soums, while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however, shaggy. Lewis Blackface sheep are the commoner, but there are also some Cheviots. The wool, clipped in July, is sold to Harris Tweed and the surplus ewes are sent to the slaughter house. The 1958 loss was 70 lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

The future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechanisation and is badly served by communications. The future of Toriota appears to be probably one of abandonment, unless it is more easily linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road being built here is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Caverata is also open to question. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the present units are not used to their full capacity. Amalgamation would mean that Garryard built at Hishost, but bull would produce a better strain.

CAVERSTA

Helen Mackenzie

Caverata lies along a southern inlet of Loch Eriboll, five miles from the hinch and is partially sheltered from east winds by the Cromore peninsula and Ben Cleigh.

The physical nature of the terrain is irregular, rising steeply from the water's edge to a level of approximately 325 feet. To the west and to the east, the land slopes to the river estuary and is of a better quality than the central area. Here, the soil is very thin and rocky, separated by open drains, and is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not naturally favourable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by shallow stream-stones exposed and a quarter of a mile.

Neither Toriota nor Caverata is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the main road at Cromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and an inferior one beyond. Cromore is the nearest village to Caverata, but it is not a good road within the dyke is a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilizers. Byre manure is used on all crofts, but only three crofts have a supply of farmyard manure. Lime is brought from the shore and is used on the cultivated land. Artificial manures, Paraffin-size and lime have been reclaimed by clearing heather and removing peat to farm the crofts, but the soil, which varies in depth from a few inches to a few feet, is very acid.

The township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two crofts are subdivided while another four farm double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and the Schoolhouse fee. Outside the township dyke there are two farm and four squatters. The croft layout differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent pieces, one piece around the house, another above Creag Cromore and two pieces on southern ends of enclosed land on the common. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land around the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

Until the decade at the land around the house, and much of that above Creag Cromore, was regularly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but cultivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only crops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed

[Caverata] [Cromore]

The 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Caverata population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left after 1921 and the population continued to decline. Since 1939, seven people have migrated to Borrowby or the mainland, (16 per cent of the total 1939 population), and six of these were from Toriota (6.6. 50 per cent of the 1939 Toriota population), one was from the nearby cottar house. The demographic position is becoming more acute for there are no young marriage couples and no youngsters growing up. The girls have left to marry and most of the men have sought temporary or permanent employment elsewhere, for with better communications, education and the radio, the pull to the towns has become stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full-time crofters, earning no supplementary income by weaving tweed on commission from the Dromoway mills.

Caverata is not one of the most progressive of the South Locks townships. Although the crofts are fenced and have access to the common pasture in which each crofter has an equal share in the common pastures. At present, the grazing is fully stocked according to the soum, but the committee has not been very active. Most crofts have a share in the common grazing, but unless some change takes place, some newly sown grass would benefit every crofter. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but even a small acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

Fifty Shillings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined: in the 1920's, much of the moraine was under cultivation and from an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but the Cromore crofters have retained the strips and continue to use them for hay and for grazing. It is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the road between Caverata and Grastir, about three miles south-south-east of Cromore and one mile south of Caverata.

Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Borrowby) and there are a few men who would welcome the opportunity to fish. The sheiling, well fished, was used until about 1950, however. The landing-stage, completed in 1937, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and, in fact, it is not in use. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by road from two mills in Borrowby and one in Ardarroch. At present the demand is very slack and the weavers could quite easily double their production. During the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime but only one knitter, a widow, possesses a knitting machine.

In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have left to attend in Borrowby, seek jobs there on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Borrowby yet all communications with the town are by road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a twice per week service and the sub-postmaster has a van by which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Borrowby was once by boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recent additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday.

[Cromore] [Marivig]

366 butchers' van calls on Wednesday and Friday and a fish van once or twice during the week. Goods
496 are conveyed by the daily bus. Electricity was brought to Cromore about ten years ago
498 and the inhabitants now look forward to a supply of piped water in about two years' time. At present
499 only three or four houses have bathrooms.

The crofts, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a satis-
500 factory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It seems
501 that the recent subsidies for flaking are good enough to attract fishermen from Cromore and one or
502 two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were longer. Weaving has brought prosperity
503 but, as the Park Association states in its Second Progress Report "there is not sufficient weaving
504 available for the present number of weavers". The proposal to establish a spinning and processing
505 plant in the Park District made in the 1957 Report, would undoubtedly be of great value to the
506 people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants
507 suggested that a hotel built on Creag Fadhb would become popular in the summer. However,
508 even if these three increased sources of income became effective, one wonders whether they would
509 be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Stornoway.

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B. A.

Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triangular
151 sea loch opening to the north-east and sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, making
152 the loch an ideal anchorage and harbour.

The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slopes
153 more gradually and irregularly, with frequent precipitous rock outcrops, for two hundred to
154 five hundred yards to rise steeply to a line of low hills, two hundred and fifty feet to three hundred
155 feet high, overlooking the loch. All crofts thus have an easterly or north-easterly aspect, not
156 particularly favourable for agriculture, and only one has any appreciable area of land not
157 uninterrupted by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin,
158 and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely dispersed.

The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common
159 grazing, are mainly covered with heather, moor grass or sphagnum bog, while the lower areas
160 within the township are grassy, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not
161 yet a problem, and only small areas exist, mainly on the lower slopes of the western side of the
162 loch. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant
163 and worked by another crofter, and one worked from a house on the common. With the exception
164 of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which
165 closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in radial fashion. [Fig. 4] The size of the crofts
166 varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight
167 acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and
168 few now cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses being
169 on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' system. Owing to the rocky nature of the
170 terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two yards wide. Potatoes and oats are
171 grown in rotation, and hay taken from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters now graze for hay
172 on undersown their crops. Dung and seaweed are used as fertilisers, with potato fertiliser as the
173 most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce,
174 carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

[Marivig]

There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with
[illegible] no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep
[illegible] sheep, there being about one hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred
[illegible] and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing, which is shared with
[illegible] Ardtalnaig which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while
[illegible] all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the croft. Most crofters
[illegible] keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway van.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of
[illegible] the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft,
[illegible] and with this supplemente the family food supply. One herring boat, operated from Port Mhor Stornoway
[illegible] and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated
[illegible] before the war. A second boat, owned for years by one family, has rotted away on the beach, and two others
[illegible] are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters
[illegible] during the winter and markets them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the
[illegible] roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are particularly away from home during the busy
[illegible] fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual
[illegible] migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the
[illegible] permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine
[illegible] (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young
[illegible] people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) and, if not in Stornoway,
while their elders accepted from the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a
[illegible] shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There
[illegible] is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road
[illegible] which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a fibred surface and is much
[illegible] better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig
[illegible] and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the farms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the
[illegible] sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while
[illegible] the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses
[illegible] and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slates, or corrugated iron.
[illegible] All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply
[illegible] rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a
[illegible] well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the
[illegible] drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the
[illegible] crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more
[illegible] intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk,
[illegible] potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk especially being that at present brought
[illegible] from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival
[illegible] of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest
[illegible] house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring pros-
[illegible] perity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the
[illegible] capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

[Marivig] [Calbost]

In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Marivig's future, and that of other crofting
[illegible] townships is not one of adverse assets, but of adverse economic, well and weather conditions, and of distance from
[illegible] markets, but a problem of the population finding a stable and viable level where agricultural units
[illegible] are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain, and
[illegible] a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cheyer

Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Gravir on the Minch coast of Park. It occupies
[illegible] a basin-like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is open to the sea on the east. The
[illegible] croft houses are scattered over a shelf 150 feet above sea-level round the sides of the hollow and
along the valleys which enter the township to the north and south-west.

The cultivable soil, a mixture of peat and well-drained gravelly drift, is on the higher ground,
[illegible] although here the rock outcrops in many places. On land formerly cultivated, bracken is spreading
[illegible] rapidly and now covers a large proportion of the surface, although twenty to thirty years ago it
[illegible] was unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-lying
[illegible] central area. There are a few willows and rowans round the old buildings, probably planted as
[illegible] wind-breaks.

Calbost was originally a single farm but the township was formed about 1820. The pattern of
[illegible] the crofts differs from the usual shore-to-dyke alignment, as six crofts were allotted extra land
[illegible] in the valley which enters from the north, when a part of the common grazing was brought within
[illegible] the township dyke. There are now fourteen crofts of which four are worked by resident crofters
[illegible] and two by squatters. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters
[illegible] in Calbost and other townships.

Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2. 6 acres now in cultivation, potatoes account for
[illegible] 2. 37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduced cattle stock of only two cows and
[illegible] two calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut as winter feed for the 225 sheep which graze
[illegible] in the township.

The lazy-beds in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly encroached on by bracken. The
[illegible] presence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to clear it, is likely to deter any attempt at
[illegible] renewed cultivation.

Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being no exposed: boats have to
[illegible] be taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing industry whic
[illegible] has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete depopulation of Calbost. Leaving
[illegible] only a few houses now used only for leisure purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only two of
[illegible] the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are a few
[illegible] productive gardens, no surplus is made to market any produce.

The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not so widely use
[illegible] in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed
[illegible] to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around
[illegible] Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosures were made adjoining the main
[illegible] dyke and in the summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before
[illegible] the opening of the township gate. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander
[illegible] over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

[Calbost] [Gravir] [Glengr-vir]

[illegible] The present population situation in Calbost is best illustrated by reference to the population statistics.
[illegible] There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are squatters and only eight houses
[illegible] are occupied within the dyke. Of the male population, there are three children under fourteen years,
[illegible] one aged 15, one aged 17, one aged 20, three between 45 and 54 years and one over 70. This clearly
[illegible] shows the lack of active men from 15-44 years, necessary for the continuing economic success of
[illegible] the community. However, even these figures are not as striking as the numbers of emigrants as
[illegible] no less than 39 men and 40 women have left Calbost since 1939.

A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the younger
[illegible] people have left to find employment in Stornoway and on the mainland. The present population
[illegible] structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride the major
[illegible] east-west inlet of Loch Ordais, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The site of the
[illegible] township is thus one of the most picturesque in all Park, but the steep slopes, lack of cover, the small
[illegible] area of good arable land, and the considerable population existing on quarter have under fifty per cent of
[illegible] the soil in arable, which is not all cultivated in any year.

On the south-facing slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough to the valley to the
[illegible] west, the majority of the crofts have been carved from moor to ass, some before 1800, and some
[illegible] in the process of the abolition of run-rig which was accomplished in the years 1850 to 1852.
[illegible] Originally, there appear to have been thirty crofts, but four were added during the nineteenth
[illegible] century, two at each end of the line, and in 1934 a further fifteen were cut out of the common grazing. A road to the west of Gravir, on the south side of the loch, the village of Port Mhor, was built and
[illegible] established about 1800, has since developed into a further nine crofts. Thus there are forty-three
[illegible] legal crofts in Gravir and a further fifteen in Glengravir making fifty-eight in all.

The layout of Glengravir, a line of crofts from 3. 6 to five acres, typifies the small post-1918
[illegible] Department of Agriculture holdings. The arrangement of the Gravir crofts is illustrated in Figure
[illegible] 6, and it will be seen that not all the crofts are consolidated. There are three areas of former
[illegible] arable cultivation which have been intermixed with unfenced strips and lazy-beds, the latter which
[illegible] were necessary to supplement the food producing capacity of the holdings. The method of division
[illegible] of the arable appears to speak of a period when a substantial economy under secure tenure provided
[illegible] population, necessitated fair shares for all. The last of these commons was in cultivation until
[illegible] 1891. Although substantial cropping has been obsolete since then, there is as yet no move towards
[illegible] renewed cultivation of the layout.

The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable commons developed mainly
[illegible] as a result of a successful fishing industry which prospered from 1860 to 1914 and at one time there
[illegible] was even talk of a harbour in Gravir. With relative prosperity from an ancillary industry, cottars
[illegible] were tolerated and the population rose from 197 in 1830, to 368 in 1881 reaching a peak of 468
[illegible] in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has certainly not
[illegible] yet ceased. Gravir received from 1918 to a township of agriculturalists and a base for employment
[illegible] forth of Lewis, although there have been spasms of successful fishing activity since.

Stock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and conditions
[illegible] are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir crofts
[illegible] vary between 3. 5 and 26. 5 acres in size: no croft has more than four acres of 'old arable'. In the
[illegible] days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in narrow lazy-beds,
[illegible] banked up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more extensive.
[illegible] All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed cut as far away as
[illegible] Cromore or the coast south of Kebock Head. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed area is now
[illegible] cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture; some of the lazy-

[Gr-viz] [Glengr-vir]

[illegible] beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other lazy-beds are permanently in natural
[illegible] hay: only about one-third are cultivated at intervals of two years in rotation and grazed. The
[illegible] natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than
[illegible] the so-called old arable, this suggests that the cultivated area was greater in the past than the
[illegible] old arable (ninety acres) after 1850-52. As in all the fishing townships the area of sown grass is
[illegible] infinitesimal for only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering
[illegible] capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of under-
[illegible] sowing.

There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives.
[illegible] All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition
[illegible] to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and squatters and feuers, besides the fifteen legal
[illegible] Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir common. The common
[illegible] grazing is shared with Calbost, Port Mhor, Marivig and Ardtalnaig, and the Gravir crofters and the
[illegible] Church of Scotland and Maldie, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionaries
[illegible] (assistant ministers) are all located in Gravir.

Gravir and Glengravir thus have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than
[illegible] half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty per cent of
[illegible] the soum, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 2,652 acres is in general of
[illegible] poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957,
[illegible] a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded: only twelve of the operative units participated in this
[illegible] reclamation scheme, and the age of the participants ranged between 40 and 70 years, this is sig-
[illegible] nificant as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended
[illegible] annually; if potential improvements to the crofts are limited, pasture amelioration is virtually
[illegible] without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater
[illegible] numbers; at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the soum, and a ewe and
[illegible] lamb sell for only little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the consequences of over-stocking. The
[illegible] cattle stock is below the souming and this paucity of cattle is one of the notable changes in the agri-
[illegible] culture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The
[illegible] total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the souming by thirty-five per cent.

The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from
[illegible] the souming of crofts in Glengravir, the average croft in a township where
[illegible] only seven crofts pay more than £2 rent, they were never intended to be self-supporting agricultural
[illegible] units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, hens or oats,
[illegible] could be had by three Gravir crofters, only twelve operative units could exactly qualify.
[illegible] Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and
[illegible] eighty-six fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for
[illegible] lobsters.

If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of insurable age and
[illegible] service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupation
[illegible] are sufficiently numerous to have any appreciable effect on the insurable population in the district. Twelve of
[illegible] the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in
[illegible] permanent employment forth of Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential wage-earning population.

The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute
[illegible] after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the hey-day of the fishing most of the men fished
[illegible] all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a
[illegible] man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sa-
[illegible] of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted
[illegible] the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the souming, the income of the largest croft
[illegible] including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home
[illegible] consumption of potatoes and milk.

LEMREWAY

Distribution of work through the year

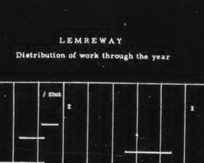


FIG. 9

(facing p. 31)

POPULATION

161 Figure 6 and Table XII give the population of Park from 1830 to 1958 in graphical and
162 tabular form. The 1830-51 decline was due to evictions. The rapid increase in population
[228] from 1861 until 1911 can be almost wholly ascribed to the success of the fishing industry: a comparison of the graphs of the selected agricultural and fishing townships makes this clear. The decline since 1911 has been very rapid, and is mainly a reflection of lack of ancillary employment. The 1939 figure in the graph appears to show a slight check in the rate of decline but it may be that there was an influx of evacuees from Glasgow just before the enumeration was made.[1] The 1951 Census confirmed the continuing downward trend as did the enumeration of 1958.

An investigation of the age structure of the population (Table XIII and Figure 7) reveals that not only is the population declining but also that it is ageing. In 1958, only five per cent of the population were under school age, as compared with 9.4 per cent in 1939. The largest single group in 1939 was the 15-44 age group, the most enterprising and energetic members of the community; in 1959, the 45-64 age group emerges as the largest. The 65 and over age group has increased by 5.2 per cent since 1939.

As the 1939 and 1958 enumerations were not obtained under the rigid conditions of the Census, the figures for Lewis, excluding Stornoway Burgh, have been added for comparison; unfortunately the published Census material does not give individual parish statistics in age groups for Lewis. By including those persons in seasonal employment (mainly in the summer months) and excluding those permanently away, the Census and enumeration figures are more comparable, but it is possible that in the enumeration there may be an error of five per cent. (See Table XX). From these comparisons, it would appear that the population structure of Park is unbalanced in comparison with the rest of rural Lewis, and Scotland as a whole. The reason for this is the fact that so many people are working permanently away from home. (See Table XI From a study of the population structure it is clear that Park has all the attributes of an ageing population, a significantly low proportion of children and a higher proportion of the 45-64 and 65 and over age group than either rural Lewis or Scotland as a whole.

166 An attempt was made to record migration from the townships since 1939. From Table XV
167 it is clear that all migrants were not recorded in the enumeration but the discrepancy may be explained by two other factors. The evacuees from Scottish cities who returned after 1939 to their city homes may well account for some and more people may now be working permanently away from home than was the case in 1939.

The destination of the emigrants (Table XVI) is significant. Stornoway Burgh (32 per cent) heads the list and so many of the Park families have not left Lewis but have gone to the one place on the island where employment is available. The second largest group have migrated permanently to Glasgow; many of those in permanent employment furth of Park (unmarried and still part of the croft household) work in Glasgow, and eventually marry there. It is also significant that only 16 per cent of the emigrants settled in crofting areas. The fact that over one-third of the recorded migrants settled in the only truly urban community in the Outer Hebrides needs further investigation but one possible conclusion is that if employment were available in Park, the migration rate would be drastically cut.

1 For discussion of this point, and of the population statistics in general, the author is greatly indebted to R. S. Barclay, B. Sc., Ph. D., F. R. S. E.

[Seaforthhead]

161 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural
162 and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend,
166 significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment furth of Park, and a smaller loss
167 migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric,
241 there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration
228 losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of
332 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seaforthhead and Shieldernish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

135 Seaforthhead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a
361 gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being
[241] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

134 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat
137 accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely
[233] for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Balallan and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

[244] The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed.
[407] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be
[314] in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being
[231] only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep soum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the soum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in
162 1886. In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the
241
178

[Habost]

134 Drift is found near the shore and laps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, bere was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks.
137 Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

195 Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shieldernish and
692 took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Ailean Tailear came from Taransay, Harris,
621 to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

241 Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and
409 ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Croftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for
293 bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

[244] Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed
[246] parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in
[231] June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but
[324] elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

231 The land is heavily overstocked: the soum is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is
233 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in
[432] Park Deer Forest by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garyvard in November
[221] and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

241 The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since before 1852. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Beinn Bhuidhe and
[311] below Loch na Ciste but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural
[226] townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and
[282] trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock
[493] to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

361 Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has
[312] been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or
[654] from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

[Habost] [Kershader]

464
161 Of the 53 residents, 19 are over 65 and only 5 under 15 years, leaving a working population
162 of 29: seven are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily
166 declining since its peak of 121 in 1901.
167

Since 1946, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely fenced and the
178 method of cultivation has changed from spade and horse-plough to tractor and cultivators. A
241 further fence has been erected for a lamb park and much land has been re-seeded; an increasing
231 area has been put down to hay. It would seem that fattening of stock for market is intended, and
[407] better attention is being paid to stock. Yet the population is ageing and there are few young men
[162] to take the place of the older crofters; when working units become larger and stock decreases to a figure nearer the real carrying capacity of the grazing, the croft could become a profitable concern: at the moment, the croft is only maintained through grants and ancillary earnings. Should that happen, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivation to provide winter fodder.

KERSHADER

Philip W. Wheeler, M. A.

131 Kershader is a township of forty-three permanent residents on thirteen crofts, which stretch
161 for a mile along the southern shore of Loch Erisort. The crofts extend up to one-third of a
162 mile from the coast with a two-and-a-half mile deep hinterland of common grazing. The extreme
133 elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arranged
361 in rectangular strips at right angles to the coast, are lower (maximum 125 feet) and include three main zones (Fig. 8):
241

134 (a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly below 50 feet,
361 dissected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone have a distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and unsuited to fertilisation by seaware. The smaller hillocks in this zone have thinner soils of the same sort, but the main hill (crofts 10/11) is an extension of zone (c).

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with hills rising to over 100 feet. The lower areas have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a) and (b), with peaty-loam characteristics, overlying aquiferous gravels. The higher areas have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there are signs of former skinning.

(c) A zone of hollows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reacting well to heavy fertilisation with seaware and intervening heights covered with blanket bog, partly skinned, heather and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with gentler slopes over 50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irregular shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

241 In Kershader, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts vary bet-
311 ween 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23.45 acres reputed arable and 110.35 acres outrun. 24.5 acres are in fact under crop (oats 18.5, potatoes 6.0), and 9.5 acres under sown grass; and of the remaining 99.8 acres, mainly natural grass

[Kersh-der]

241 with heather and peat on the higher areas, hay is taken off 19.25 acres. Four acres, mainly for
311 potatoes, are worked by spade but most of the cultivation is by tractor hired from Balallan or,
407 in 1958, from Habost. Lazybeds are common and in some cases are carefully renewed, but
the present tendency, reaching its extreme in a field of about two acres on one croft, is towards
the formation of larger, ploughable fields for ease of tractor operation. Most cultivation is in
244 zones (a) and (b), with little development of (c) at present. The only crops are oats and potatoes,
246 with some garden plots of cabbages, turnips and carrots. The potato main crop is generally
Kerr's Pink (Golden Wonder on one croft), with a couple of rows of Skerry Blue or Edzell Blue
198 for earlies. There is no memory of Black Oats (Avena strigosa), and bere (Hordeum vulgare)
has certainly not been grown since 1930, and probably not since 1909. The oats are grown
256 exclusively for winter feed and are hand-threshed with stock and comb as the need arises; the
439 last water mill in the locality went out of use after 1914, the last handmill in 1916; no grain
has been sent to Stornoway since about 1930. Rotations are extremely irregular: some lazy-
beds are still cultivated with alternate crops of oats and potatoes and have heavy seaware and
manure fertilization, but most other arable areas have some sort of oats, potatoes, oats, sown
324 grass sequence. Fertilisers used are seaware and manure (ten crofts), manure (eleven crofts), shell
297 sand (one croft), lime (ten crofts) and artificials - 'Potato manure' and sulphate of ammonia -
241 on eight crofts. Artificial fertilisers and much of the seed are obtained through the Crofters'
Agency.

231 The only two horses ever owned by this township were kept on croft 11 from 1936 to 1953. The
407 plough was first introduced in 1936. When a tractor from Balallan became available for hiring
233 in 1953, the horses were disposed of. The present soums are by cow, young beast and sheep
per croft in proportion to rents and range from 3 cows, 3 young beasts, 69 sheep down to 1 cow,
1 young beast and 23 sheep. Eight crofts exceed their entitlement but no croft hasless than half the
souming and the deficiency is mainly in cattle, especially young beasts. On the other hand, no
operative unit is entirely without cattle as manure is extremely important. Cattle are kept for
234 domestic milk supply, and calves, having qualified for subsidy, are normally sold at 6 to 8 months.
432 10 acres of the common grazing were re-seeded in 1957 and the following rhythm for milk cows
221 is developing:-
231
233
311

(a) As soon as the weather allows in May, the cows are put out in the park for about three weeks.

(b) Next, about 6 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the new outer fence erected in 1957.

(c) Back to the re-seeded park for about five weeks.

(d) Return to the crofts for the winter, being let out either to the park or to the common grazings whenever the weather is suitable.

178 The young beasts spend much of their time on the outer common grazings. As most of the crofts,
beginning with one in 1938 and ending in sequence with 10, 11 and 12 probably in 1959, are fenced,
the old arrangements for township commoning from 15th October to 10th May are now obsolescent.
Another park was also fenced for general purposes and for weaning in 1957. Prices for calves
435 and cattle are very low and this discourages cattle breeding; on the other hand, lack of winter
keep enforces an occasional sale.

The rhythm of sheep husbandry is largely independent of that of cattle:-

(a) By 20th November all sheep, except possibly the lambs, are cleared from the crofts for the tupping of breeding ewes thereon till 31st December. Every crofter now keeps his own ram, exchanging it or buying another at least once in five years.

[Kersh-der]

233 (b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices,
311 however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the for
221 case they heft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand.
231 Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay
in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this
naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

432 There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club
stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships,
take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep
and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or
exaggerated.

231 Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces
236 about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average
435 sheep carcase weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost
never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers;
'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late
snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

241 Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as
161 full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category,
162 and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable
167 population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this
166 township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft
work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption
464 only) and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The
463 only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought
501 away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939
or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for
good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person
entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the
optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907
175 and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard,
178 Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly
371 constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly
increased.

182 It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilizing the
241 population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of
tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in
313 agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision,
cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

161 suppression of the original townships o
162 given over to natural grass, are being
241 of the present population of twenty-thre
178 since 1939. There is a more healthy p
between 15 and 44, due to a large famil
age.

361 In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish al
[349] slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is t
[505] now ruined, but still showing signs of
[491] communication was by ferry (1820). N
[178] access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road

SHIELDERNISH

131 Shieldernish, also consisting of thr
361 road. The three houses are situated o
332 road and the shore, but the three croft
better management and new ideas.

241 Cultivation in isolated patches rea
311 together to permit ploughing by horse
[246] preferring to enclose two one-acre pa
[231] lambs on the aftermath. By next year
[244] further acre and will then use the thre
potatoes and one is also sowing down.
gentle slopes are extensive, the major
[226] stocking of the Shieldernish crofts is
[288] though there is a small jetty on No. 1.
crofts.

The future pattern would appear to
of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhea
isolated township, being difficult of ac
grazing. Shieldernish appears more
soils are deeper and slopes gentler,
out of the crofts especially with fertil
[185] fodder crops for wintering. It is hope
renewed - a great necessity. Daily c
is better placed than Seaforthhead for
workable size - provided part-time w
grants from the Crofter's Commissio

131 Habost is scattered around a sma
133 stretches for over a mile encroachin
241 valleys which soon rise to the domina
flatten out at about 100 feet near the
361 Nearer the shore, slopes are much
[134] soils.

rnish] [Habost]

pposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out e, one is permanently away and two have migrated opulation structure, with a large number of males y having returned home and six children, five of school

settlement is below the road and house-sites are on he reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's,'Seaforth Castle', bnormal size and arrangement. When first settled, ow a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives two-and-a-half miles away.

ee crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs n a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the s are on better land and greater accessibility has led to

hes up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes, rks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the , this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a e in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six

progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out d - are worked from outside the township and this cess and having little cultivable land, is better suited to suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as naking the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got ising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing d to fence the common securely, and then stock will be ommunication with Stornoway also means that Shieldernish a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a ork, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the n.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

ll bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained ting Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place. teeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin

[Gravir]

241 The urgent need in Gravir
493 reorganisation would be the cr
fishing are the more obvious o
[288] latter is now in a more favour
[288] subsidy, although the raising
161 problem. It is clear that a di
162 essential if the present popula
trend is that the migrating sec
166 people. Unless holdings of ec
167 expect the younger men and wo

000 Until a major reorganisati
areas of the common pasture
494 tourist industry, are interim
there is a demand from the cit
atmosphere, with the possibil
proposed water-scheme becom

000 One can only conclude that
of viable agricultural holdings
decline in the number of holdi
of years would bring about a m
such planning. Until this is ac
Gravir.

131 Lemreway, the southernmo
241 into thirty-three crofts and 3,
311 side of Loch Shell round a bay

The township consists of th
133 common pasture and part recl
311 the first subdivision. The sec
slope rises to an altitude of 40
Two benches are to be seen at
occur at the same height to the
dammed lake, and that the hun
A channel eroded through this
incised valley through which t

Soils may be divided into t
134 found to the east and along the

Except on rocky outcrops,
137 Sphaghum here is rarely domi
caespitosus) and cotton grass
dominants. On slightly drier
stricta) are abundant. Local
heather (Erica tetralix) with o
intermedia), butterwort (Pingui
sporadically. Where the peat

is a reduction in the number of holdings. A pre-requisite of su
eation of employment for a non-crofting population. Weaving a
ccupations; the former is subject to world trade fluctuations bu
able position since the introduction of the herring fishing guara
of the initial capital for buying and equipping boats is a formidab
vision of the community into a crofting and non-crofting sector
tion level is to be maintained. The most serious aspect of the p
tion of the community comprises the younger and more enterpri
onomic size can be formed, and stable employment introduced,
men to remain in Gravir.

on of the crofts is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-seed la
and the three former arable commons, and the development of a
ossibilities. It is not sufficiently realised in crofting districts
y dweller for simple accommodation and good plain fare in a cl
ty of hill walking and fishing on fresh and salt water. Yet, unti
es a reality, tourism on a moderate scale can hardly be conten

until reorganisation takes place and transforms Gravir into a t
, any stabilisation of the present trends is out of the question.
ngs is inevitable in the long run but a planned reduction over a n
ore viable community than the disintegration which will occur
hieved, the young men and women have little incentive to rema

LEMREWAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda G. Turner
and John E. Wearmouth

st township of Park, comprises 290 acres arable and outrun div
025 acres of common pasture. The township is situated on the
in the shelter of Eilean Iuvard.

ree distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area at about 100 fe
aimed as extensions to the crofts, locally known as 'the Outend'
ond area, further west, is of a hummocky nature. To the east,
0 feet, less than half a mile from the loch shore, forming the t
about 100 feet on the steeper slope and similar, though wider t
north. It is suggested that the flat area is the bed of a morain
mocky sector is partly morainic and partly ice-eroded rock e
sector allowed the lake to drain southwards leaving a relatively
he present stream flows to the sea.

wo types - a peaty loam and the better drained gravelly loam wh
main stream; the latter is particularly suitable for potato culti

the very steep slopes and the drained areas, blanket bog predo
nant but where the land is badly drained Deer's hair grass (scir
(Eriophorum vaginatum and Eriophorum angustifolium) are the
land, purple moor grass (Molinia caerulea) and mat grass (nardu
lominants are bog asphodel (Narthecuim ossifragum) and cross-
ther common species such as the sundews (Drosera rotundifolia
cula vulgaris), Juncus sp., Carex sp. and Carex panicea occur
has been cut and drained, 'heather moor' usually develops and

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ESIO Highland Scots ESIO Park

| | MALES | | |

	FEMALES																					
	RESIDENT					Periodically away			PERMANENTLY AWAY												Wayward Girls '38	
	15 – 44	45 – 64	65 and over	In employment (15 – 64)	Students	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 64	Nursing 15 – 44	Nursing 45 – 64	Professional 15 – 44	Professional 45 – 64	Domestic Service 15 – 44	Domestic Service 45 – 64	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 64	Religious	Immigrants
	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	8	9	10	3	2	2	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	13	-
	1	12	5	1	2	4	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	13	1
	7	16	6	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	16	-
	-	3	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
	15	19	21	4	2	4	1	3	-	1	-	3	6	1	-	9	1
	12	16	7	2	1	9	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	29	-
	1	3	4	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	
	15	26	18	4	1	7	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	2	2	44	5
	4	8	2	2	2	4	-	-	-	-	1	6	-	-	-	16	-
	11	31	17	2	1	6	-	3	-	-	-	8	1	-	1	23	-
	6	7	4	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	5	-	-	1	11	-
	84	152	99	18	14	41	3	10	1	3	2	26	9	4	4	238	7
					[48]			[54]				[53]					

/facing p. 40/

TABLE XIX

POPULATION IN FOUR CROFTING D

(Figures in brackets are perc

	Resident	Seasonally Away	Permanently Away	Total
Park (1958)[1]	788(72.2)	120(11.0)	184(16.8)	1092(100
Benbecula and South Uist (1956)[1]	3171(86.0)	129(3.5)	390(10.5)	3690(100
Barra (1957)[1]	1421(71.9)	88(4.4)	470(23.7)	1979(100
Waternish (Skye) (1958)[1]	198(75.5)	16(6.1)	48(18.4)	262(100
TOTAL	5578(79.4)	353(5.0)	1092(15.6)	7023(100

1. Year of Glasgow University Crofting Survey Enumeration.
2. National Identity Card Enumeration.

ISTRICTS 1939-1956/8

entages)

	Resident & Seasonally Away	Population in 1939[2]	Decrease since 1939
)	908	1500	592(39.5)
)	3300	4085	785(23.8)
)	1509	2212	703(31.3)
)	214	459	245(53.4)
)	5831	8256	2325(28.1)

/facing p. 38/

161 Table XIX summarises the population structure and trends for the four districts. It is significant
162 that the two districts without service centres, which provide a range of ancillary employment, have
166 experienced more severe depopulation since 1939. This table also underlines the fact that earnings
167 from seasonal employment are insufficient: the incidence of permanent employment furth of the
434 districts is three times as great as the incidence of seasonal employment.
464

APPENDIX B

SHIELINGS - A NOTE

John E. Wearmouth with illustrations by Beth Blowers

195 From Figure 1, compiled from the First Edition six-inch map of the Ordnance Survey (1850
233 to 1852) and from personal observations, it is clear that the shieling system was at one time an overall feature of Park for the whole peninsula has traces of this transhumant economy.

361 The rudimentary structures, some of turf, others of stones and roofed with bracken or
342 heather thatch, are all sited on well drained sites, the majority on mounds. Almost all the sites are close to lochs or streams. The majority are in loose groups of from two to nine buildings, although there are some in isolation; no site has as many as twenty-six buildings as found at Airidh na Gaoithe in North Uist.

342 There appears to be two distinctive shapes of building - oval and rectangular (Fig.10). All shielings measured exhibited a remarkable similarity in dimensions, from 17½ by 9 feet to 13 by 12 feet. The oval structures are generally larger than the rectangular ones. Most of the shielings had two entrances, often, but not always, opposite each other.

195 The shieling system died out in Park about 1880 but the cattle continued to graze around the
233 shielings on the better grass, and the crofters had still to go out to milk the cattle at the shieling, although they no longer lived there. The sheep still use the mounds for shelter and grazing. These features of an obsolete economy are still easily recognisable from the luxuriant grass cover in a wilderness of peat bog and bare rock.

APPENDIX C

NORSE SETTLEMENTS NAMES IN NORTHERN PARK, LEWIS

Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt.

103 See: Magne Oftedal, The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides; in Norsk Tidskrift for
113 Sprogvidenskap, vol. XVII, 1954, (Oslo), pp. 363 ff.

103 Professor Oftedal points out the difficulties of these Norse-Gaelic settlement names: inaccurate spellings even in modern times, and lack of any useful evidence from older sources, make almost all the derivations a matter of conjecture. Sometimes two or more ON equivalents are possible (e.g. for Calbost), sometimes no satisfactory solution can be found (e.g. for Lemreway). Since Professor Oftedal frequently bases his explanation on pronunciations not recorded in written forms, his evidence is largely followed here.
SHIELDERNISH: the second element is N nes, 'headland'. Oftedal's explanation of the first as silda, genitive plural of N sild, 'herring', is satisfactory linguistically, but seems unlikely in meaning.

105 HABOST: 'high farmstead'. N. hár, 'high'. bost from N bólstaðr, 'farmstead', generally a farm of some local importance, but not the original settlement.

KERSHADER: 'shieling of the marsh or thicket'. - shader is N setr, 'shieling', a shed usually at some distance from the main farm and at the summer pastureland. ker- may represent either N kjarr, 'thicket, overgrown marsh'; or hjart, from hjortr, 'deer'. (Oftedal prefers the latter; both are found in other place-names, but hjart - is more common in the Hebrides).

GARYVARD: Oftedal interprets this as a Gaelic name containing a Norse loanword: he says the initial g is of a palatal quality, showing that it was formerly followed by a palatal vowel e, and derives gary - from gearraidh, a Gaelic loanword from N gerði, 'pasture denoting specifically "the grassy ground immediately surrounding a house or a shieling". He thinks the second element is Gaelic a'Bhàird, 'of the poet, or bard'. Hence, Garyvard means 'the poet's pasture'.

CAVERSTA: the second element is N staðir, 'farm', a plural form frequent in place-names, denoting a small farm. Oftedal hesitantly derives caver - from a N personal name Kofri, genitive Kofra. It may possibly be associated with N kofa, plural kofur, 'young puffin'.

TORASTA: the second element is N staðir, 'farm', as in Caversta. The first is almost certainly a personal name: Oftedal's note on the pronunciation of the middle syllable points to the name Torfi, genitive Torfa; possibly a name in pór-, e.g. pórðs-, 'belonging to pórðr'.

CROMORE: Oftedal explains this as a Gaelic name cró mór, 'big pen, fold'. kró or krá in N, however, means primarily 'corner, nook, inlet' and the two names Cromore and Crobeg are here applied to places on big and little inlets. The N kro took the meaning 'pen, fold' from Gaelic, but usually retains N inflections in the names of Lewis.

MARIVIG: -vig, more commonly -aig, is N vik, 'bay, inlet'. The first element may be either N marr, gen. pl. mara, 'horse'; or N marr, gen. sg. marar 'sea'. The latter seems more likely here.

CALBOST: - bost is N bólstaðr, 'farmstead' as in Habost. The first element could be either N kald- 'cold'; or N kálfr, gen. pl. kálfa, 'calf'.

GRAVIR: 'pits, graves'. N grafir, plural of grpf, 'pit, hole, grave.'

LEMREWAY, LIMERVAY: the second element is N vagr, 'bay, inlet'. Oftedal is baffled by the first: the pronunciation shows that, if it is a N word, the stem vowel was ei or œ (ø).

ORONSAY: originally the name of the island in the bay. -ay is N ey, 'island'; oros- from N árfiris, 'ebb-tide' (very frequent in names of islands isolated only at high tide).

STIEMERWAY: the second element is N vagr, 'bay', as in Limerway. Stiemer- is obscure; the narrowness of the stream at low-tide points to N stemma, 'to dam, block, obstruct (a river or stream)', but the development of the name is not clear.

SEAFORTH: 'inlet or fjord of the sea'; anglicised spelling of N sæ-fjorðr.

N = Norse
ǫ and ó may be represented by o
ð may be (inaccurately) represented by d,
þ may be (inaccurately) represented by th.

black leg--an enzootic, usually fatal toxemia of young cattle and less commonly sheep, goats, and swine; characterized by high fever, crackling discolored swellings under the skin; caused by toxins produced by an anaerobic soil bacterium, usually entering the tissues through minor wounds or abrasions.

braxy--a malignant edema of sheep that involves gastrointestinal invasion by a spore-forming bacterium; it produces an enterotoxemia characterized by staggering, convulsions, coma, and death. Common in Ireland, Scotland, and Norway.

fluke--a parasitic flatworm (digenetic trematode)

furth--away, abroad, beyond a certain boundary (Scottish variant of forth)

gimmer--(Scot) yearling, female sheep; a two tooth ewe

ouping ill--tick-borne virus disease of sheep and other domestic animals and rarely man that is related to or identical with Russian Spring-Summer encephalitis of man and occurs characteristically as meningoencephalitis accompanied by muscular tremors and spasms followed by varying degrees of paralysis

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

* * *

000 This is an áuthorized facsimile and was produced by microfilm-xerography in 1971 by University Microfilms, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.

* * *

/introductory p. i/

[Orinsay]

which rises steeply, exceeding 375 feet in the west and 150 feet to the north and east. From the north-west and north-east two glacially deepened valleys drain southwards, their lower ends being "drowned" by northward extensions of the loch.

Although peat covers most of the surface it is only in the hollows that it is significantly deep, for even on the gentler slopes the peat cover is frequently so thin as to expose a layer of morainic sub-soil containing many stones and boulders.

Two rowans and a dozen willows represent the only tree growth, but tree stumps frequently exposed in peat-cuttings suggest that woodland was formerly more evident. Whether this former woodland disappeared as a result of human action or of climatic change it is not possible to say, but it is certain that a century of overgrazing has not favoured natural regeneration. Moorland grasses, sedges and a little poor heather characterise much of the area, and reflect the poor grazing capacity of much of the moorland. Bracken has established itself in one limited area on a patch of neglected croft land.

Orinsay is unique in Park, for the present township is entirely a twentieth century development. In the early 19th century there was a settlement at the head of the loch, but in 1843 the residents were removed and the area enclosed and added to Crobeg sheep farm. In 1916, there was a proposal to establish fourteen crofts, but the applicants were requested to wait until after the war. At the end of the war the return of many young men with a desire to settle down led to serious overcrowding in Lemreway. Several of them 'raided' the Orinsay area. At first living in huts, they built their own houses, and in 1922 the Department of Agriculture intervened, recognising and fencing off fourteen legal crofts, and at the same time providing a good footpath. Seeing the success of their neighbours, four other Lemreway families, comprising 26 people, went to Stiemreway, about a mile to the west of Orinsay. Here, however, the Department of Agriculture did not intervene and with the community remaining isolated, most of the settlers returned to Lemreway within three years, although one family remained until 1939.

Six of the crofts have an area of less than ten acres, six have between ten and fifteen acres, while the remaining two occupy eighteen and twenty-five acres: the largest croft originally belonged to the shepherd on the sheep farm. Three of these crofts are not occupied, although worked by other crofters, with the result that eleven operative units share 161 acres.

Only a small part of the croft acreage is actually cultivable: even less is cultivated in practice. The broken and rocky terrain combined with the peaty soil allows nothing but the cultivation by spade of tiny lazy-beds. The total area now cultivated does not exceed 25 acres, although in the past it may have been nearer 40 acres.

Oats and potatoes are the staple crops, occupying 9 and 6½ acres respectively in 1958. Individual croft acreages of these crops vary in relation to the requirements for winter stock-feed, and in the case of potatoes, to domestic consumption. Nevertheless to produce even these meagre returns the soil requires careful preparation. A plentiful supply of seaweed is obtained from the shore and is the most frequently used fertilizer, while a little sulphate of ammonia is applied. Only two crofters use lime.

In the last two decades a marked reduction in the amount of oats grown has accompanied a decrease in the numbers of cattle and an increasing use of hay for fodder. Nevertheless only about 17½ acres of hay altogether are cut, and only five of the crofters sow any grass seed.

In August 1958, the township supported only 13 cows, 3 young beasts and 8 calves. Half of the crofters have a cow and a calf, but three have no cattle at all, and one even used condensed milk, a sad commentary on the state of crofting in Orinsay, but a phenomenon by no means uncommon in crofting areas.

231 [288] Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

221 233 All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

311 233 The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky, waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

231 235 [435] No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

434 464 228 It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

161 162 There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

366 368 166 167 464 505 228 462 354 454 As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home, together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.

392 373 312 206 366 491 494 On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it. Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles distant.

161 162 Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of congestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

/P. 35/

[Orinsay]

The future existence of the common pasture for grazing is being seriously endangered by verstocking. The souming is not enforced in Orinsay and the actual sheep stock exceeds the soum y 300 per cent. Peat-cutting is gradually destroying valuable grazing areas; in the last three ears there has even been some peat cutting on the better grazing on the island. The dangers both f overstocking and of indiscriminate peat cutting cannot be overstressed.

No evidence was seen of attempts to improve the quality of the common pasture. The establish-ent of shelter belts would provide not only shelter but a means of stopping the peat from 'slumping' own slopes if they were carefully sited. Much of the common pasture could be improved by a hill rainage scheme and by re-seeding, after sanding and liming, a project well within the capacity of e resident labour force.

Good crops on a few of the crofts suggest that the land is not inherently sterile, however, and would seem that if the holdings were reduced to a maximum of four, an economic existence might e feasible on these crofts. The stony nature of the soil limits the possibilities of tractor cultivation. t with an improvement in drainage, one might be used in the two valleys.

It is not so easy to be optimistic about the employment of surplus population resulting from uch an enlargement of holdings, although a revival in the fishing industry could absorb most of the men. A resent there are no looms in Orinsay and providing the Harris tweed industry can hold its own,there re possibilities in weaving. Seaweed is in plentiful supply, indeed Lemreway people also obtain upplies and should its quality prove adequate,the establishment of a processing plant would provide aluable employment.

Nevertheless it is becoming increasingly obvious that unless the holdings can be enlarged, whethe fficially or by sub-letting, and some further employment created, Orinsay is liable to stagnate, and epopulation to continue. The township which was developed to relieve congestion is now itself ongested.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the Glasgow University Department of Geography Crofting Survey is to record and nalyse material relevant to the crofting districts, and in so doing provide a clear and impartial tatement of the present situation. In inviting us to undertake a survey of Park, the Pairc Associa-on hoped that a body of fact would be assembled and conclusions drawn which would assist the ssociation in their admirable aims of advancing the well-being of the area. Their two Progress eports, of 1956 and 1957, indicate that they have already investigated many of the possibilities for evelopment. This summary refers to Park alone, and, it must be emphasised that until the survey f crofting is completed, no final assessment of the Crofting Area as a whole can be made.

The district of Park is one of the more isolated and difficult crofting environments. The ruggedn f the terrain, the high proportion of land of very low agricultural value and sheer isolation make the xistence of human communities precarious. In addition, many of the Park communities were first stablished as a result of population pressure in more favourable areas of Lewis, and the original mall settlements grew rapidly as a result of a change in land use which was a national trend - the onversion of poorer areas from subsistence farming to an extensive sheep-rearing economy. The mpact of this change came to Park in the form of the eviction of a large body of small farmers in avour of an extension of the grazing area. Thus the present conditions are a legacy of the relatively ecent past, and of legislation, particularly in the Crofters' Act of 1886, which accepted, and tacitly greed to the maintenance of a larger population than the land could reasonable carry. Two World Wars and fluctuating economic factors have had repercussions in Park and resulted in a change in conomic and social values, and depopulation has resulted: the 1951 population was 60 per cent of he 1911 total.

. The Commissioners proposed that only holdings rented at £6 and over should have security of tenure, with a view to discouraging the perpetuation of grossly uneconomic holdings; in the Act, all holdings were given security of tenure.

TABLE XVIII

Occupational Structure of Park compared with other Crofting Districts

Males 15-64

Figures in brackets are percentages

	Park	Benbecula and South Uist	Barra	Waternish (Skye)	All Districts
Fulltime Croft work	71(18.0)	231(18.7)	44(6.6)	14(17.1)	360(15.1)
Croft work with regular employment	76(19.0)	197(15.9)	54(8.2)	7(8.6)	334(14.0)
Croft work with periodic employment	14(3.5)	117(9.4)	60(9.1)	17(20.7)	208(8.8)
Non-Crofting employment	29(7.0)	288(23.2)	90(13.6)	5(6.1)	412(17.4)
Unemployed, sick or occupation not known	22(5.5)	102(8.2)	38(5.8)	2(2.4)	164(6.9)
Total Resident Population	212(53.0)	935(75.4)	286(43.3)	45(54.9)	1478(62.2)
Seasonal employment furth of the district	62(15.5)	85(6.9)	21(3.2)	9(11.0)	177(7.2)
Permanent Employment furth of the district	125(31.5)	220(17.7)	353(53.5)	28(34.1)	726(30.6)
	399(100.0)	1240(100.0)	660(100.0)	82(100.0)	2381(100.0)

/facing p. 37/

462
463
464
241

[Lemreway]

lgaris is dominant. Ling, which can tolerate considerable soil water, often occurs with Nardus, olinia, Scirpus caespitosus and Eriophorium. A few rowans, usually near the shore, and a few illows, usually within stone enclosures, are the only trees to be seen.

Of the thirty-three legal crofts in Lemreway, nine comprise less than five acres, while seventeen re between five and ten acres. Of the remainder, only two exceed fifteen acres and one of these is 0 acres. Six unoccupied crofts are worked by persons other than their tenants, so actually the 290 cres of croft land are shared by twenty-seven holdings. The seventeen-acre 'outend' was originally ivided between fifteen tenants but confused sub-letting has resulted in four separate holdings directly ccupying nine acres, and working another four acres. Thus the outend today must be regarded as e monopoly of four 'unofficial' holders.

Little more than a quarter of the croft land is cultivable and even less is actually cultivated oday: Figure 9 illustrates the crofting year. The broken terrain and the stony nature of the soil has ermitted the cultivation of tiny 'lazybeds' and the total cultivated area is now about 48 acres. Only e strips of land on the gentler slopes, where the soils are deeper, are now cultivated, but every roft shows signs of former, more extensive, lazybed cultivation, often covering at least two acres. or example, on the east side, natural hay is cut on the well-marked lazybeds at about 225 feet.

Oats and potatoes, 29.5 and 16 acres respectively,occupy almost all of the cultivated ground. ost crofts grow about half an acre of potatoes and one acre of oats; both acreages have declined, e former with a declining population and the latter with a reduction in the numbers of cattle; hay as increased in importance. No bere is now grown, though before 1900 it was preferred to oats. uins of the bere mill, which ceased to function at the beginning of the century, can still be seen. ifty-nine acres of natural grass are cut for hay but only four crofters had sown grass for hay in 958, about three acres in all. Few vegetables other than potatoes are grown though carrots are aid to grow well, and formerly turnips and cabbages were grown. The soil needs careful preparatio be productive and almost every crofter used some seaweed and at least twenty drew subsidies for l nd artificial fertilisers in 1958.

Stock totals have declined recently but the township has 36 cows and 22 calves. Only one croft without cattle and 22 of the 33 working units have a cow and a calf. The township has an Ayrshire ull on loan from the Department of Agriculture; one of the few remaining elements of the co-operati ownship system is that this animal is fed by the crofters, in rotation, during the winter.

All but two crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between ten and 120 per holding but the majority ave about 23 ewes with ten lambs. Although numbers have declined recently, the 3,025 acres of ery moderate common pasture support a flock of about 1,150 sheep, including about 650 breeding wes and about 300 lambs.

The souming is not enforced in Lemreway and it is remarkable that the total stock tallies almost xactly to the souming. An examination of the sheep soum reveals that the stock of 917 (excluding ambs) considerably exceeds the sheep soum of 626. It is interesting that it is nearly always the orking units of over 10 acres that are overstocked; of twelve such units, eight keep more sheep than hey are entitled to. Most of these crofts are grouped on the eastern side of the township where the rofts have a larger outrun.

Thus, while overgrazing is not so severe as in many townships, it represents a potential threat, articularly if the common pasture is not improved. However, in 1958 ten acres of the common asture have been enclosed and re-seeded. Six acres were sown with ordinary mixed grass seed, wo acres with pelletted seed and two acres with pelletted and inoculated seed. The eleven crofters aking part in the scheme put on 100 tons of sand to help drain and aerate the peaty soil, 2½ tons of round mineral phosphate and 2 tons of concentrated compound fertiliser, grades 1 and 2 - all of it y hand. The area was sown in May 1958: by the following August, there was a striking difference etween it and the untreated pasture. Next Spring, eleven cows will be grazed on this area. With the uccess of this scheme, it is hoped that more of the crofters will co-operate in re-seeding further reas.

[Lemreway]

The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing
nship". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve
ats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats
the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is
fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway working with modern equipment, drift and ring
s, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with
se for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large
sidering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house
the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this
sident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty
sident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting
mships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary
cupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular
ployment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just
r thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and
e girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939.
vertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house
electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most
the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. Ruins
the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or
the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs.
day supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most
ractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish
uth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents,
y would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives
the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable
erprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling,
an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the
end. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses
reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is
ng adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the
temporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this
the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions,
hay be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

[Orinsay]

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of
heltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards
he shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

[1] The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

The reduction of the present number of agricultural
two ways in which this could come about; firstly by cont
sequent on such an uncontrolled run-down of the commu
is the experience of other depopulated crofting districts
overall planning were possible, it would be desirable fo
vacant as a satisfactory rearrangement of the townships

Concurrent with such a policy would be the aim to c
groups. Employment for the non-crofting section of the
first have to be assured. As has already been stated, f
while tourism could play a minor role in providing an o
wife or non-crofting household. One problem above all
viable population. A certain minimum level of populati
local transport, post office, educational and medical se
further research is necessary to assess the optimum nu
district such as Park could reasonably support. In the
agricultural expert is desirable, in order to assess the
be supported on the land of each township.

In conclusion, it is clear that, short of unexpected i
Park and unless major reorganisation of the present ag
out, the present population trends must continue. Howe
contemplated, then considerable improvements in the st
croft out-runs and common pastures, and the fencing an
possible and will increase agricultural productivity. U
present pattern of the most enterprising members of th
which takes them furth of the district, and the serious d
and the Scottish Lowlands, will be maintained and incr

APPENDIX

PARK IN COMPARISON WITH OTH

Table XVIII gives an analysis of the occupational st
age in four crofting districts studied by the Crofting Su
proportion of the insurable population is not resident in
holiday period. This proportion varies in relation to tw
and the availability of ancillary employment within the
out as the districts where such permanent absences are
larger and more employment is available. In Barra, t
in Park, the decline of the fishing industry has led to e
than half of the men in this age group are fully resident
parable to Waternish (Skye) for both districts are isolat
tion. (see Table XIX).

It is a significant fact that in none of these districts
population solely engaged in full-time croft work, and t
to support a family without ancillary earnings. The am
varies from district to district; in South Uist and Barr
urban in character and 23.2 per cent and 13.6 per cent
engaged in non-crofting employment on these islands.

It is clear that the occupational structure of these f
one-third of the potential labour force is away for all o
basically the absence of sufficient natural resources, c
from the industrial centres of Scotland, are the root ca

units then becomes desirable. There are
tinued depopulation, but amalgamations con-
nity would lead to scattered holdings; such
. The second point to be made is that if
r holdings to be amalgamated as they become
s would then follow.

reate distinct crofting and non-crofting
e community, be it fishing or weaving, would
fishing would appear to offer the best prospects,
pportunity for the enterprising crofters'
remains, the maintenance of an overall
on is essential to maintain the operation of
rvices. Such considerations suggest that
umber and structure of population which a
same way, a detailed examination by an
number of economic holdings which could

ndustrial employment becoming available in
ricultural units and communities is carried
ever, if such radical changes cannot be
andard of husbandry, the re-seeding of
d general improvements of the crofts are
ntil there are some radical changes, the
e community engaging in ancillary employment
degree of permanent migration to Stornoway
eased.

A

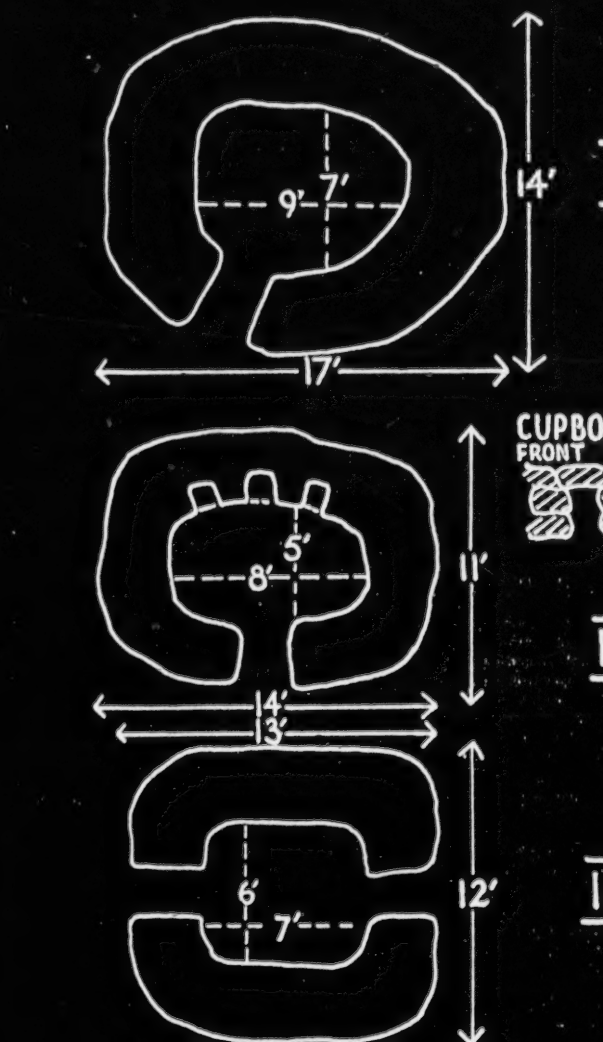
ER CROFTING DISTRICTS.

ucture of the male population of insurable
vey. In all four areas, a considerable
the crofting area for more than an annual
o main factors - the viability of the crofts
istrict. South Uist and Benbecula stand
least marked: the crofts in these islands are
ere are few large agricultural units and, as
onomic disaster in many townships. Fewer
in Barra. Park is in many respects com-
ed and have experienced serious depopula-

are more than 20 per cent of the male
his is a measure of the inability of the crofts
ount of permanent employment available
there are minor service centres which are
of the respective insurable males are

ur crofting areas is far from stable for over
part of the year. It is also clear that
upled with the varying degrees of isolation
ses of the present position.

GROUND PLANS OF SHIELINGS



An examination of the agricultural situation reveals that there are insufficient resources to make the present number of crofts viable. Overstocking in sheep, an attempt to increase cash income, has resulted in a high mortality rate, and consequent losses. The tenant of a small croft is faced with a classic dilemma. If he puts all his efforts into the working of the croft, the area of potential arable land is insufficient to maintain a large stock and even if the best rules of husbandry were operated, croft income alone would be insufficient to provide a reasonable living. The fishing industry, formerly the chief means of a livelihood rather than the croft itself, has virtually disappeared, and he is forced to find ancillary employment in an area where little exists and thus migration in search of employment is the only solution. The croft becomes a base for non-agricultural activity and a means of providing produce for home consumption rather than an effective agricultural unit. On the larger crofts, it is clearly possible to make a living if sufficient additional grazing in the non-crofting area is available - the agricultural townships, especially Seaforthhead, Shieldernish, Habost and Kershader, which comprise units sufficiently large and fertile, bear out this contention. Yet better husbandry is possible, and reclamation of the common grazings for improved stock rearing has started. The agricultural townships as a whole are better favoured by situation, soils and communications, and appear to possess a much greater degree of stability.

Since the decline of the fishing industry, the fishing townships have progressively declined. Income from weaving has replaced earnings from fishing as a means of combining croft work and ancillary employment to provide a living, but, as has been pointed out, the supply of weaving contracts is not regular and greatly depends on the state of the world market. The present centralisation of the Harris Tweed Industry in Stornoway is not favourable to the Park weavers: the suggestion by the Park Association[1] that a spinning mill be set up in Park would certainly help the local weavers.

If the present number of agricultural units and level of husbandry on them is to be maintained, ancillary employment on a large scale will continue to be necessary, and, as weaving and the service occupations alone certainly cannot provide it in sufficient quantity, temporary and regular employment furth of Park is bound to continue, and as this grades into permanent migration, the population must continue to decline and age. The capacity of the area for tourism is also limited. With the overheads which branches of parent lowland factories would have to face, the establishment of manufacturing or assembling employment is also unlikely.

A revival of the fishing industry holds out most hope but must take place before all the accrued skill has disappeared with the older generation of fishermen. The fishing grounds are within reach of the modern £20,000 boat: by co-operation between crews, fish could be taken to mainland markets such as Ullapool as indeed happens at present. Lobster fishing could be integrated with herring and white fishing. Such a combination of several types of fishing would ensure a more balanced economy and the Herring Subsidy would be a guaranteed element of income. It must be agreed that if mainland boats do come to the coast and sea lochs of Park, there seems little reason why local boats could not also be successful.

As far as the land is concerned, the survey leaves no doubt that improvements in husbandry and pastures are definitely possible. Yet, until viable agricultural units have been created, there is little incentive for large scale improvement in either sphere. It is an expert's opinion that no crofter working on a croft in Park which would bring in £300 a year would have time to engage in ancillary work and at the same time fully work his holding in accordance with the rules of good husbandry. If this opinion is accepted, and if it is also accepted that such crofts are desirable and the present successful crofts in the agricultural townships where there is a higher proportion of full-time crofters than elsewhere would bear this out, it follows that ancillary employment on such units would have to be ruled out.

1. Park Association Annual Report, 1956.

POPULATION OF THE ISLE OF SKYE, THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS A
CROFTING COUNTIES, AND SCOTLAND BETWEEN 1755 AND 19
INCREASE OR DECREASE IN INTERCENSAL

YEAR	ISLE OF SKYE		WESTERN HIGHLANDS		SEVEN CROFT COUNTIES
	Population	% + or -	Population	% + or -	Population
1755	11,252	-	114,884	-	257,183
1801	15,788	8.1	153,643	6.3	302,817
1811	17,029	7.9	165,074	7.2	318,266
1821	20,827	22.3	190,907	14.5	362,184
1831	22,796	9.5	200,955	5.1	388,876
1841	23,074	1.2	200,253	-0.3	396,045
1851	22,536	-2.3	190,728	-4.9	395,540
1861	19,591	-13.1	174,983	-8.3	380,440
1871	18,114	-7.6	168,359	-3.9	371,840
1881	17,680	-2.4	167,928	-0.3	369,453
1891	16,478	-6.8	164,281	-2.2	360,367
1901	14,561	-11.7	158,738	-3.4	352,371
1911	13,282	-8.8	151,085	-4.9	341,535
1921	11,584	-12.8	140,946	-6.9	326,000
1931	10,345	-10.7	127,081	-9.3	293,212
1951	8,603	-8.4	119,071	-3.2	285,667

Sources: James Gray Kyd, Scottish Population Statistics
Historical Society," Vol. XLIII; Edinburgh: Scottish Historica
and F. Fraser Darling, "Studies in the Rise and Decline of the
lands and Islands of Scotland," in F. Fraser Darling, et al.,
(Mimeographed, 1950), Part III; and Scotland, Census of Scotla
Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953).

AND ISLANDS, THE SEVEN
51 WITH PERCENTAGE
PERIODS,

TING	SCOTLAND	
% + or -	Population	% + or -
-	1,265,380	-
3.3	1,608,420	5.9
5.1	1,805,864	12.3
13.8	2,091,521	15.8
7.4	2,364,386	13.0
1.8	2,620,184	10.8
-0.1	2,888,742	10.2
-3.8	3,062,294	6.0
-2.5	3,360,018	9.7
-0.5	3,735,573	11.2
-2.5	4,025,647	7.8
-2.1	4,472,103	11.1
-3.2	4,760,904	6.5
-4.5	4,882,497	2.6
-5.7	4,842,980	-0.8
-1.3	5,095,969	2.8

("Publications of the Scottish
l Society, 1952); R.S. Barclay
Population in the West High-
The West Highland Survey
nd, 1951 (Edinburgh: Her

161 count, the number of people living in the Highlands has de-
162 clined 27.8 percent to 285,667, and those in the Western Highland, 40.7 percent to 119,071. Today the Highlanders represent only 5.6 percent, and the Westerners, only 2.3 percent of the population of Scotland.

Even though depopulation in the Western Highlands has gone at a faster rate than for the Highlands as a whole, it has not been typical of the entire subregion. William Hance, an economic geographer, has recently pointed out that "the assumption has too often been made that the Islands (the Outer Hebrides) have been depopulated at the same rate as the counties to which they belong and the Highlands as a whole."[2] He clearly demonstrates the contrasting increase of population in the Outer Isles, up to 1911, and the persistent decline elsewhere in the area. Again, within the last two decades, there has been an increase in population in the developing industrial area at the western extremity of the Great Glen, while depopulation has continued in all other parts of the subregion.

101 The Isle of Skye, the island with which I shall be con-
161 cerned in my dissertation, cannot be regarded as typical of
162 the Highlands or of the Western subregion. I rather regard it as standing in an intermediate position, geographically, demographically, and culturally. It rises from the Sea of the Hebrides between the Outer Isles to the west and the Mainland to the east. As we have just seen, depopulation is

[2] William A. Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation (New York: By the author, 1949), p. 18.

101 more recent to the west, and in the industrial area of the
161 Great Glen the trend is reversing itself. To the north and
162 south depopulation has been more serious. To the east the general trend has been similar to that of Skye. We need not be troubled by statistics at this time, but for convenience
178 the population figures are given in Table 1. The Outer Hebrides have preserved more of the social aspect of the old culture than the Skye people while the Mainlander has felt the effects of the processes of acculturation with more obvious results than the people of Skye. In short, the Highlands are not a homogeneous region. They represent a great diversity of conditions.

101 My information on the contemporary culture of the Isle
115 of Skye was provided by the residents of three communities, the villagers of Portree and the crofters of Glendale and
101 Kilmuir. Portree is a small nucleated village with a popu-
621 lation of a thousand. It is important to the study because
368 in many ways it represents an alien way of life. Here are found the county and national government offices, staffed mainly by newcomers to Skye, which serve the whole island.
344 Here too, are the grocery, drug, clothing, and hardware stores which depend on the people of at least, northern Skye
344 for a large part of their trade. There are a number of craftsmen who are equally dependent on the rural population. For the most part, the members of both groups are newcomers
368 from the Lowlands or elsewhere in the Highlands. As the
365 terminus for the mail steamer which links Skye with the mainland and the hub of the daily bus service which connects the rural

hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center for tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependence on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villagers participate in a number of social activities which are not tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious asceticism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each with a population of about 300. All, except the ministers and school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle and sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potatoes and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All are bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither community has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. Glendale has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch which has been divided among the small farmers. The significant differences between them are three. The Glendale people are land owners. In this respect they are rather unique in the Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, rent their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glendale is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church-goers of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social activities other than an annual meeting of the share-holders in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a club organization for the men who gather for lectures and discussions of economic problems.

6: Ducey E-4.5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots
Skye

The Continuity of Culture

Prerequisite to an understanding of the problem is a acceptance of a general characteristic of culture. All cu and every specific culture has behind it a connected, cohe developmental sequence. Any culture which has failed to maintain a genuine continuity has soon disintegrated and d appeared.[3] In order to preserve this necessary degree of continuity, this single tradition,[4] if you prefer, the cul must accept and value its past. At the same time, the cul is normally receptive to traits and trait patterns which h come into the culture from the outside world and can be in grated within the form of the culture. No culture, unless is decadent, is static.[5]

In these days when many individuals outside our disc pline and not a few within anthropology are haunted by the spectre of one world with a more or less uniform culture, is particularly important to ask how cultures and subcultu outside the main stream of Western Civilization avert the ultimate disasters of discontinuity and disintegration. Steward has provided one answer. He theorizes that "folk societies and folk cultures" are modified by way of readap

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[3] A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology (New ed., rev.; New Yor Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948), p. 257.

[4] Cf. Wendell Bennett's and Irving Rouse's statements Sol Tax et al. (eds.), An Appraisal of Anthropology Today (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 17-18.

[5] Melville Herskovits, Man and His Works, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 479.

URAL CONTINUITY AND POPULATION CHANGE

ON THE ISLE OF SKYE

BY

PAUL RICHARD DUCEY

/p. i/

DISSERTATION

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
gree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the
aculty of Political Science, of
Columbia University

1956

ABSTRACT

Cultural Continuity and Population
on the Isle of Skye

Paul Richard Ducey

121 This study is concerned with the effe
change on the culture of the essentially pe
Isle of Skye, one of the Hebrides of Scotla
very fringe of Western Europe, this particu
of the once widespread Celtic culture has e
consequence of the impingement of the social
16 of urban and industrial Western Civilizatio
the process of westernization brought a rap
increase in the size of the population. Fa
required cultural adjustments led to persis
121 From the many problems created by the swing
pendulum, this study singles out one of par
significance. The thesis is that populatio
essarily a criterion of cultural discontinu
case study cannot prove this assertion, fut
similar lines in other cultures marginal to
Western Civilization may reveal a wider app
[101] thesis. The material presented in the pres
during a year of field and library research

121 The approach to the problem is oriente
128 history of the Skyemen. Following a brief
of the contemporary culture, an attempt is

/p. i-A/

Change

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asant society of the
nd. Standing on the
lar surviving remnant
xperienced a familiar
l and economic forces
n. Involvement in
ld, accelerating
llure to make the
tent depopulation.
of the population
ticular anthropological
n change is not nec-
lty. Although one
ure research along
the main stream of
licability of the
ent study was collected
in 1953 - 1954.
d toward the culture
comparative description
made to reconstruct

121 the culture as it functioned in the days when the clan system
128 was an all-pervading influence in the lives of the people. This is intended to provide the necessary perspective for the ensuing processes of cultural change by revealing the essential features and the form, the distinctive pattern, of the culture. The stage set, four periods of social and cultural change, spanning over two centuries (1745 - 1953), are reviewed. The purpose is to analyze the extent of acculturation under the influence of the commercial and, later, industrial society of Great Britain. Throughout, emphasis is placed on population change and cultural continuity. Having established the main social and cultural trends, the economic, social, and religious aspects of the present day culture are examined in some detail for an understanding of its continued distinctiveness. The intention is to present not only the evidence for continuity, but also to point out the problems associated with the preservation of a cultural heritage no longer en rapport with the Western World.

121 The author's conclusions close the study. Despite chronic social instability, economic calamity, and striking changes in content, the culture has persisted and remained recognizable through the years. Although there have been periods of social disorganization and threatened cultural disintegration, irreparable disorganization has not been a characteristic of the culture. Obviously, the culture today is not identical with that of two hundred years ago, but the essential features which gave the culture its distinctiveness then do so today. Continuity has been preserved through a reintegration. In part, this

121 represents an incomplete adjustment to the more complex socio-cultural organization of Great Britain. The Skyemen have remained enisled geographically and culturally. As in other simple, isolated, kinship oriented societies, an adjustment has been made in the traditional culture. The most important factor in the preservation of continuity has been congregational religion. While Presbyterianism, with its stress on asceticism, has curtailed and modified many characteristics of the culture, it has provided a new focus to replace the clan. Furthermore, it has helped to preserve the essential features of the culture and maintain continuity by sanctioning the values important to the people. The culture is growing old with the people. The deviants, mainly the youth, who will not conform to the traditional values are being rejected. Social instability is a penalty for remaining peripheral to the Western World.

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/p. ii is blank/

PREFACE

121 The problem which I have attempted to treat in this study concerns the question of the effect of population change, both increase and decrease, on an essentially peasant population living on the very fringe of Western Europe in one of the last remaining outposts of the Gael. My interest in this problem, stimulated to no small degree by Dr. Conrad M. Arensberg and my wife, stems from an old curiosity about the nature and function of the Highland clan system and the characteristics of a small, [101] dying remnant of a once widespread culture. My wife and I went to Scotland in June, 1953 to conduct field research on the Isle of Skye with the presupposition that the old culture had not withered and disappeared, even if it had been seriously modified by outside influences, especially those flowing in from the [101] wider society of Great Britain. We remained on the Island until March, 1954, when we turned our attention to library research and exiled Skyemen in Glasgow.

122 The research embodied in my dissertation was made possible by financial assistance from Columbia University, in the form of a William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship; from the Social Science Research Council, in the form of a Research Training Fellowship; and from the United States Educational Commission in the United Kingdom, in the form of a Fulbright Scholarship. I

122 am indeed grateful for this aid and the encouragement which this support implicitly extended.

114 The field work was carried out under the supervision of Dr. Thomas T. Paterson, of the Department of Social and Economic Research of Glasgow University. Were it not for his sympathetic understanding of the problems of the novice field worker, I might never have concluded the research. He also read many sections of the dissertation and offered helpful criticisms and suggestions.

128 I would also like to acknowledge the advice and interest of Dr. A. K. Cairncross, Chairman of the Department, and that of Mr. Angus Matheson, of the Gaelic Department, who guided me through many of the difficulties of the Gaelic language and, as a native of the Isles, read much of my descriptive material on his kinsmen with a critical eye. At Edinburgh University I wish to thank Dr. Arthur Geddes, of the Department of Geography, and Dr. Kenneth Little, of the Department of Social Anthropology, for their guidance.

One debt of gratitude must be acknowledged only by implication, because those who helped me want it that way. Although they are unnamed, their hospitality and their contributions of both facts and insights are not forgotten. To the men and women on Skye, to the Skye exiles in the Lowlands, and to the government officials in Edinburgh and Portree I extend my sincere thanks.

The personal interest of Professor William A. Hance, of the Department of Economic Geography of the Columbia University School of Business, has been an invaluable support. Drawing on

128 his intimate knowledge of the Highlands, he offered many extremely helpful suggestions and insights. I must also thank my wife for her patience and understanding and for her many contributions to my field notes. She has been a constant participant in the writing of my dissertation.

Throughout the course of this study the faculty of the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University has been a continuing source of stimulation and encouragement. Professor Richard B. Woodbury made many helpful comments during the preparation of the manuscript. Professors A. L. Kroeber, now retired and Julian H. Steward, now at Illinois, provided much of the fund of knowledge which I have used, or abused, in the writing of my dissertation. Professor Charles Wagley, who originally aroused my interest in anthropology, was a patient critic and sympathetic advisor. Finally, I wish to acknowledge my special indebtedness to Professor Conrad M. Arensberg. His teaching, counselling, searching readings of the manuscript, and friendship are deeply appreciated.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

121 The impingement of the social and economic forces of urban and industrial Western Civilization on folk and peasant societies has a familiar consequence, the inauguration of a population cycle. Frequently, these societies experience a rapid, accelerating increase in their size. If westernization is allowed to proceed, the burst of growth may continue, perhaps at a slower rate, over a prolonged period. In marginal areas, however, there are societies, and segments of larger societies, which are unable to make the required cultural adjustments. In these, entanglement with the Western World eventually leads to persistent depopulation. There can be no doubt that the swing of the population pendulum creates a host of problems. Among the doubtful questions there is one of particular anthropological significance: Is marked population change a sign of cultural discontinuity? This dissertation is dedicated to the purpose of answering this question. My thesis is that population change is not necessarily a criterion of cultural discontinuity. Although I shall examine only one case, future research along similar lines in other cultures may reveal

121 a wider applicability of my thesis. The evidence in support of
[101] my assertion was collected on the culture history of the Isle of Skye, a part of the area known as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

101 Since I shall frequently speak of the Highlands and Islands in the following pages, we should have a precise definition of the
[133] region (Figure 1). Geographically, the Highland boundary should be placed at the Great Highland Fault, a series of geological faults which extend across Scotland from the River Clyde to Stonehaven, south of Aberdeen. Politically and economically,
[231] however, this line has receded to the north and west. Since 1883 it has been common in Scotland to equate the Highlands and Islands with the "Seven Crofting Counties," those counties in which the
[241] predominate form of land use is the crofting system. Crofting may be defined as a system of hereditary tenure of a few acres of arable land combined with common tenure of hill grazings.
[234] These counties are: Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty,
[233] Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney, and Zetland. Out of the 163 parishes in these counties only 12 are considered non-crofting.[1]
[141] In addition to this shared socio-economic pattern, the seven counties have experienced common economic-geographical influences, a century of accelerating population growth, followed by a century of persistent depopulation.

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[1] Adam Collier, The Crofting Problem: A Social and Economic Study (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953),
[114] p. 11n. A parish in Scotland is an ecclesiastical district which until 1929 was also a civil unit with self-government in such local affairs as education, relief for the poor and infirm, and health. If the British county is thought of as analogous to an American state, the parish can be thought of as a county, but one devoid of any function.

102
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Fig. 1. The Highlands and Islands of Scotland. This map shows the several boundaries of the Highland area. (1) The geological boundary. (2) The boundary of the Seven Crofting Counties, which today are equated with the Highlands. (3) The approximate limits of the Western Highlands and Isles.

1. [Boundary of crofting counties-- Analyst]

101 The Highlands and Islands are often divided into a Western and an Eastern subregion. The Western Highlands include all of the Hebrides and, approximately, the western half of the counties of Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness, and Argyll. This leaves the remainder of the seven crofting counties, including the islands of Orkney and Shetland, to the Eastern [632] Highlands. The seventy-two parishes of the Western Highlands have been isolated by physical barriers from communication with Great Britain. Here, too, differences of race, language, and culture have continued to distinguish the people from the other Scots. With this rudimentary delimitation of the areas in mind, let us briefly review their population cycles.

161 162 When Alexander Webster, then Moderator of the Church of Scotland, compiled his enumeration of the population of Scotland in 1755, the Highlands contained 257,183 people, and the Western Highlands had a population of 114,884. In terms of percentages, the total region, 47 percent of Scotland, had 20.3 percent of Scotland's population, and the subregion, 29 percent of Scotland, had 9.1 percent of the national population. By 1831, despite chronic emigration, the population of the Western Highlands rose to 200,955 (see table 1) but there had been a decline to 8.5 percent of the national total. In 1841 the total Highland population reached a peak of 396,045, but now only 15.1 percent of the Scots were Highlanders. By 1851 depopulation had begun. The Highlanders in the West had decreased in numbers to 190,728 and those in the whole area, to 395,540. From that day to this depopulation has been continuous. Although the 1951 census is still above Webster's

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

the higher level of socio-cultural organization of which
y become a part rather than disappear.[6] Thus, although
y acquire new characteristics and witness the total or
tial supersession of many formerly typical traits and
plexes, as the process of westernization proceeds, they
serve, at least, a recognizable residue of their identity.
ley and Harris have employed an analogous argument.[7] They
clude from an attempt to classify Latin American subcultures
t cultures of a tribal (a refined classification to replace
k) or peasant type change "in their cultural content and
their relative importance to the wider cultural scene,"
remain distinctive.[8] Now, it seems to me, most contact
uations have involved profound cultural and social dis-
bances. There is bound to be a loss of homogeneity. Insta-
ity, caused by too many changes coming one on top of the
er and by the activation of a population cycle, is all
inevitable. Under such conditions, if a culture is to
ntain continuity, it frequently has to readapt not only
the higher level of socio-cultural organization but also
the older way of life. I, therefore, suggest that when
isolated, relatively simple, kinship oriented culture
eriences a period of instability, discontinuity is avoided

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[6]Julian H. Steward, Area Research: Theory and Practice,
ocial Science Research Council Publications," Bull. 63;
York: Social Science Research Council, 1950), p. 111
passim.

[7]Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, "A Typology of Latin
rican Subcultures," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 3
ne, 1955), pp. 428-451.

[8]Ibid., p. 447.

by the ability of the culture to maintain its
face of changes in content.

The inhabitants of the Isle of Skye, of
not be regarded as possessing a folk culture.
make an airy nothing out of a concept already
that its usefulness is suspect.[9] They are, h
to European peasants. Like European peasants
the Skye crofters have lost much of their isc
former political independence, and their self
At the same time, they have retained a good d
former identity, a continuity of culture and
to the land and to the traditional way of lif
despite chronic social instability and a pass
periods of threatened social and cultural dis
The breaks proved to be only temporary. They
creation of a new cultural focus to replace t
integrative pillar in the first period and la
of the new focus. This does not mean there w
continuity. A comparable situation is found
history of the Pueblo of Southwestern United
ologists tell us that the sequence has been b
lar at the end of the Pueblo III when the cul
reorientation and a shift in locale. Even th
were never again to live in the San Juan Rive

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[9]Oscar Lewis, Life in a Mexican Village
University of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 432-
Steward, op. cit., p. 113.

[113] [10]Kroeber, op. cit., p. 284; and Kimball
A Study of Society and Culture (2d. ed.; New
Book Co., 1949), p. 230.

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To do so would
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ture underwent a
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(Urbana:
434. See also

Young, Sociology:
York: American

were to accept a number of significant developments in material culture and religion, their tradition was preserved to be handed on to their living descendants. Not all cultures have succeeded in averting the ultimate disaster. When speaking of those of the Northwest Coast, for example, it is now customary to use the past tense. The cultures have lost their continuity and with it their identity.

Essentially, the first assumption to be kept in mind when reading this thesis is that a culture may be subjected to social upheavals, economic calamity, and remarkable changes in content and yet persist and remain recognizable through the years. A further exploration of the concepts of social and cultural integration and disintegration will facilitate our mutual comprehension of the problem.

Social and Cultural Integration

By implication, I have acknowledged the necessity of distinguishing between the concepts of "society" and "culture." Although anthropologists have not yet reached full agreement on this question, I believe the distinction to be important in a study of cultural continuity and population change if we wish to avoid ambiguity. In many ways, the dispute over what is social and what is cultural, as Kroeber has observed, stems from an embroilment with names rather than with principles.[11]

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[11] A. L. Kroeber, "Concluding Review," An Appraisal of Anthropology Today, p. 365.

The difficulty is a lack of explicitness in using the terms in both anthropological and sociological literature.[12] They are frequently used interchangeably or are accepted as two ways of viewing the same thing.[13] From my point of view, which reflects the attitudes of many leading anthropologists, society and culture are logically separate though complementary concepts.[14]

Except on the infra-human biological level, there is no society without a culture. At the same time, man becomes a carrier of culture as a member of a society. Indeed, we abstract culture from the collective behavior of the members of the society.

There are no really significant differences of opinion concerning the nature of society and culture among those who distinguish between them.[15] A society is a group of people who have a sense of esprit de corps or belonging which results

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[12] For a general critique see Leslie White, The Science of Culture (New York: Farrar, Straus and Co., 1949), pp. 83-89.

[13] S. F. Nadel, The Foundations of Social Anthropology (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), p. 79.

[14] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 7-10; Steward, op. cit., pp. 97-99, 104; Wagley and Harris, loc. cit., p. 428; Fred Eggan, Social Organization of the Western Pueblos (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 4; John Gillan, The Ways of Men (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948), pp. 192, 205; Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), pp. 91-112, 271; and Robert Lowie, statement in An Appraisal of Anthropology Today, p. 223.

[15] Eggan, op. cit., p. 4; Gillan, op. cit., pp. 186, 340; Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 7-10; Linton, op. cit., pp. 91-112; Steward, op. cit., p. 97. See also Irving Hallowell, "Culture, Personality, and Society," in Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory, ed. A. L. Kroeber (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 601; and Herskovits, op. cit., pp. 29, 34-35.

from living together in an organized group and cooperating in accordance with well defined patterns of interpersonal interaction. Culture is generally accepted to mean the socially transmitted conventional attitudes, behavior patterns, and techniques which are distributed among the members of a society in accordance with their status positions and sub-group memberships.

If it is agreed that society and culture are separate though complementary and interrelated concepts, then, social and cultural integration do not necessarily have to go together. The culture may be integrated but incompatible with the capabilities of the members of the society, or the members of the society may not be enculturated. The social aspects under such conditions would appear to be disintegrated.[16] Kroeber has used France in the days of the Revolution as an example of a society which lacked solidarity but had an integrated culture, in pointing out how the two rather tend to go together.[17] The same argument is applicable to the problem of social and cultural stability. As Steward has pointed out, cultural stability cannot be measured by the criteria used in determining social stability.[18] The size of the group may increase or decrease without seriously disturbing the cultural patterns.

For further clarity, a pause to define my terms is in order. Except to Benedict, who emphasized the manner in which

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[16] Cf. Gillan, op. cit., p. 515.

[17] Anthropology, p. 268.

[18] Op. cit., p. 42.

heterogeneous traits were formed
their becoming characteristic of
and, hence, saw integration in te
lectual motives,[19] cultural integ
in terms of functional relatedness
traits, complexes, patterns, and
integrated to the extent that the
individual carriers of the cultur
dition is cultural disintegration.
culture separates into fragments;
culture disappears. Between the
it expedient to single out cases o
cultural disorganization. Since
undergoing change, instability is
of frequent, dynamic modifications
is disorganization, a disturbance
of the culture. Unless there is
begets disintegration.

These four cultural conditi
parts.[21] An integrated society i
are coordinated into a unified wh

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[19] Ruth F. Benedict, Patterns
Books, 1948), p. 42.

[20] See, for example, Raymond
Organization (New York: Philosoph
and Gillan, op. cit., pp. 498-531.

[21] Henry P. Fairfield (ed.)
Iowa: Littlefield, Adams and Co.,

into a congruous shape by
the goals of the culture,
ms of emotional and intel-
ration is normally judged
. In other words, culture
spects are considered
are meaningful to the
.[20] The antithetical con-
The basic pattern of the
continuity is lost; and the
wo states of being I find
cultural instability and
ll cultures are continuously
best reserved for phases
. The outcome of instability
of the systematic structure
readaptation, disorganization

ns have their social counter-
one in which all the members
le; they are bound together

of Culture (New York: Mentor

Firth, Elements of Social
cal Library, 1951), pp. 33-35;

ictionary of Sociology (Ames,
1955).

by a network of relations.[22] The opposing condition is social disintegration. The group no longer has any common interests, and the society is fragmented. I shall use social instability to refer to the departure of people from the total group or any subgroup by either upward or outward mobility. Social disorganization is a disturbance of the interpersonal relationships which make for harmonious living together.[23] Most societies probably experience some degree of instability and disorganization at some time or another.[24] It is only when the latter condition is chronic that disintegration appears.

Of all the foregoing states of being, cultural disorganization has proved to be the most thorny problem. The same culture can be described as reorganized or disorganized by different investigators. Two studies of a single community amply demonstrate this fact. Redfield, in his first formulation of his concept of "folk culture," described the village of Tepoztlan in an organization - disorganization framework.[25] He was interested in the changes which urban influence brought about in the folk culture.[26] Tepoztlan, it might be added, was regarded as representing a medial cultural type between the

[22] Eggan, op. cit., p. 6; Gillan, op. cit., pp. 498-515.

[23] After writing the above, I discovered, at the suggestion of Charles Wagley, that my handling of the organization-disorganization continuum is somewhat similar to Merton's concept of dysfunction. See Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.; Free Press, 1949), especially Chap. 4.

[24] Franz Boas, "Methods of Research," in General Anthropology, ed. Franz Boas (New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1938), p. 680.

[25] Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

[26] Ibid., p. 13.

primitive tribe and the modern city not unlike peasant communities in undeveloped areas of the world.[27] Almost twenty years after Redfield's study, Lewis returned to Tepoztlan to investigate recent modifications.[28] Changes there were, but Lewis also discovered factual discrepancies and found himself differing with Redfield in the interpretation of the evidence. The result was a re-study of the village which advanced the conclusion that there was no reason to speak of disorganization. The changes rather involved a new kind of organization.[29]

It would appear, then, that if the anthropologist is concerned only with changes seen from the perspective of a supposed pre-contact situation, he may decide, as Redfield did once again in Yucatan,[30] there has been disorganization. Lewis is not the only one who has questioned the validity of this approach. Gross has found severe limitations in Redfield's concepts of organization and disorganization because they force the analysis into an organization-disorganization framework and neglect the possibility of the existence of different levels of organization in cultures.[31] Steward, who has, perhaps, been the most explicit exponent of levels of sociocultural organization, prefers to take the larger cultural framework of which the disorganized culture becomes a part as his point

[27] Ibid., p. 217.

[28] Lewis, op. cit.

[29] Ibid., pp. 428, 431-432, 436-437.

[30] Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

[31] Neal Gross, "Cultural Variables in Rural Communities," American Journal of Sociology, LIV, No. 5 (March, 1948), pp. 348-350.

f departure.[32] He used this methodology in Puerto Rico and
onclude that the culture exhibits a readaptation to the higher
rganizational level and a reintegration into the national
ulture.[33] The individual carriers of the culture assume
pecialized roles in a more complex, heterogeneous system.
o all intents and purposes we are dealing with a problem
imilar to that of simple cultural change. Change must be
easured against stability, and stability can only be under-
tood when change is gauged against cultural conservatism.[34]
n either type of study the conclusions reached will depend
o no small degree on the stress of the investigator.

Shortly before World War II, an attempt was made by a
roup of anthropologists and rural sociologists to analyze
ultural integration and disintegration. The result was the
ural Life Studies. The six studies had for their objective
he investigation of factors which facilitate or impede
hange, contribute to adjustments or maladjustments, and make
or social stability and instability in the individual and
ural community.[35] Instead of making studies of culture the

[32] op. cit., pp. 106-114. See also Julian H. Steward, Levels of Sociocultural Integration: An Operational Concept," outhwestern Journal of Anthropology, VII, No. 4 (Winter, 1951), p. 374-390.

[33] Steward, Area Research, pp. 126-149. See also Julian . Steward, "Some Hypothetical Regularities of Cultural Changes" mimeographed, 1952) pp. 9-10.

[34] Herskovits, op. cit., p. 20.

[35] "Cultural, Structural, and Social Psychological Study f Selected American Communities: Field Manual" (Washington, .C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm opulation and Rural Welfare, mimeographed, 1940), p. 1.

/1/ field workers studied social groups which manifested extreme social stability and instability.[36] Their criteria were economic self sufficiency, associational groupings, influences from the national culture, and population movements. Two of the reports are particularly pertinent to my thesis, the Old Order Amish, in Pennsylvania,[37] and the town of Landaff, New Hampshire.[38]

The Old Order Amish were the only people in the series who were bound to each other by a cultural tradition. They were considered to represent extreme cultural integration which was ascribed to their common background, language, vocation, and religion; to their strong kinship ties; and to their devotion to the Old Order, epitomized by their religion, which rejected the modern world. Steward regards them as an example of cultural stability and social instability.[39] Over the years the deviants have been rejected as a means of reinforcing cultural conservatism. As we shall see, this cultural defense has been in operation on Skye. Furthermore, the Old Order Amish and the Skye inhabitants have been able to maintain not only cultural integration, but also social integration, by casting off the nonconformists. The deviants would not only change the culture, but they

[36] Steward, Area Research, pp. 42-43.

[37] Walter M. Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, ("Rural Life Studies," no. 4; Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1942).

[38] Kenneth MacLeish and Kimbell Young, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Landaff, New Hampshire, ("Rural Life Studies," no. 3; Washington, D.C.; United States Department of Agriculture, 1942).

[39] Steward, Area Research, p. 42.

/2/ also would disturb the relationships which make for group harmony.

Landaff is a community which made an early agricultural adaptation to the local resources. There was a relatively permanent settlement, adequate social institutions, and local self-sufficiency. Population pressure disturbed the former adjustment. The community is now said to be an example of cultural disintegration and social instability which is evidenced by a high rate of emigration, especially of the youth, persistent economic limitations, the decline in the importance of the school, church, and Grange as supporting community associations, and the gradual decline in opportunities to express self-reliance and self-determination within the community. Unlike the Amish or the people of Skye, the Landaff residents had no traditional ties and, hence, few fixed controls. The social group held only as long as the interests of each individual were compatible with those of his neighbors, and local opportunities existed to fulfill his ambitions. Were it not for old loyalties to the community and farming as a way of life, there might be complete social disintegration. At the same time, those who have left, often to be replaced by new ethnic elements, have carried the basic cultural values associated with strong individualism with them. In contrast to the Amish community and Skye, Landaff is characterized not only by social instability but also by social disorganization and, at least, partial social disintegration. This brings us to the last concept which I shall discuss, Durkheim's concept

/1/ of anomie.

According to Durkheim, a disorganized society has the following characteristics: a deterioration of the traditional habits of interpersonal interaction with members of the group, a low degree of social contact among the group members, and a loss of social control.[40] In a word, there is normlessness. As a result, the individual finds himself caught between conflicting ideals and values. The question is, how much of this is cultural? There appears to be two alternatives. On the one hand the individuals in the society may have an integrated culture, but they may not be enculturated or their refusal to follow the patterns of the culture may render the norms and sanctions impotent. On the other hand, the culture may have disintegrated because of a disruptive transition. In either case there would be anomie. This concept, by the way, must be considered relative and applicable only to situations in which the disorganizing forces threaten to overwhelm those favoring integration.[41] Durkheim's theory of anomie has been used in several recent analyses of groups which have experienced social instability and the impingement of economic forces from the outside in common with the Isle of Skye. Homans employed the concept to analyze the social "disintegration" (disorganization) of a small New Hampshire hill farming town.[42] Loomis and Beegle have used it as a means of explaining the growth

[40] Emile Durkheim, Le Suicide (new ed.; Paris: F. Alcan, 1930), pp. 272-282.

[41] Cf. Merton, op. cit., especially Chap. 4.

[42] George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950), pp. 336-367.

/2/ and spread of fundamentalist religion, which they regard as a counteragent for social disorganization.[43] I, too, shall make use of this theory to show that there has been threatened social disintegration on Skye and a reintegration despite continued instability. The individuals who remain and those who return in later years, as many do, are fully enculturated. Further, if my supposition regarding the relation of cultural disintegration and anomie is correct, the existing social integration on the island is an additional support for my argument that population change is not a criterion of cultural discontinuity.

To summarize, the points I wish to emphasize concerning social and cultural integration or the lack of it are six. Society and culture are separate though complementary concepts. A society is an organized, cooperating group of people; the way of life they follow is their culture. Social and cultural integration tend to go together, but they are independent variables and must be judged by different criteria. Cultural disorganization is a much debated condition. Using the concept of sociocultural levels, the importance of disorganization shrinks in favor of reorganization and readaptation. Finally, the concept of anomie, normlessness, can be used to determine whether or not there is threatened social disintegration, and it may provide supporting evidence for cultural continuity.

[43] Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950), pp. 401-407.

Wider Applications

The decline of rural population is not peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland. There are areas of southeastern Scotland, including some long celebrated for cattle and grain, which have lost nearly as many people as the crofting counties. Berwickshire, for example, is one of the richest farming districts in Great Britain. The population trend, however, has been much the same as that of the Highlands.[44] In 1801 there were 30,206 in the county. After a peak in 1861, there was steady decline until now there are only 24,770, a decline of 32.3 percent. The loss of rural population is a well known phenomenon beyond Scotland's borders. It has been a persistent problem in Ireland and Wales for more than a century. Indeed, it has been a familiar phenomenon in Western Europe since the days of the Industrial Revolution. The only notable exception appears to be Italy; her rural population has increased 40 percent in the last four decades. The same tendency for decrease is found in the United States in such different areas as the Appalachians, the midwest, and, as has been observed, New England.

Population decrease has also been the fate of many primitive peoples. The Island of Yap, for example, has lost a remarkable proportion of its former population in contrast

[44] Census of Scotland: Berwickshire, 1951.

with many of its neighboring Caroline Islands.[45] A similar tendency has been reported for the Aleutians.[46] On the other hand, there are the Pueblo,[47] who have recently begun to increase, and the Navaho,[48] who have grown in numbers at a rate no less striking than the decline of innumerable tribes in the non-Andean areas of South America.[49]

Although the fate of any one community in contemporary United States may be insignificant to the social scientist who is interested in culture change, social instability among folk and peasant peoples is a factor which should not be overlooked. I am certain that it is not a criterion of cultural discontinuity, unless the tribal or peasant group suffers complete obliteration. I am equally sure that it is commonly symptomatic of cultures which have been unable to make a complete adjustment to the new and higher sociocultural organization reaching down to them. Some tribes, it is true, have succeeded in making a pretense at adjustment. Noted for

[45] Felix M. Keesing, The South Seas in the Modern World (rev. ed., New York: The John Day Co., 1945), pp. 52-53.

[46] Gerald D. Berreman, "Inquiry into Community Integration in an Aleutian Village," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 1 (Feb., 1955), pp. 49-59.

[47] Eggan, op. cit., pp. 18, 139-140, 201.

[48] Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), pp. 9-10.

[49] Julian H. Steward, "The Native Population of South America," in The Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949) Vol. V, pp. 655-663; and A. L. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, ("University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology," Vol. 38; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), pp. 131-181.

preserving a good deal of their complex culture, the Pueblo and, in particular, the Navaho have increased in numbers. The isolation of an inhospitable environment will not fully explain their conservatism without instability. One after another, even more isolated Aleutian villages have disappeared. Those which have experienced social instability and disintegration have paid the penalty for preserving too much of their traditional culture. In Aleutian villages where the traditional culture has been largely replaced by western ways social disintegration is, at present, unknown.[50] Depopulated Yap is, perhaps, the most familiar case of persistent refusal to adjust to the impinging Western World.[51] All over Europe there are peasant peoples who are facing an identical situation. Techniques for complete adjustment to their larger sociocultural groups are unavailable. Still tied to the land and their old ways instead of to 1955, they are slowly dwindling in numbers. In all of these cases of social instability the culture is growing old with the people. The deviants, the individuals who will not conform to the traditional behavior patterns and norms, leave, and they are mainly the youth. Whether or not there is always a change in the focus of the culture such as occurred on Skye I am not able to say, but, doubtlessly, there are always changes in content as a part of the process of reintegration. Nevertheless, the form, the

[50] Berreman, op. cit., pp. 56-58.

[51] Keesing, loc. cit.; see also J. C. Furnas, The Anatomy of Paradise (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1946), p. 302.

basic distinctive pattern, of the culture is preserved and continuity is maintained.

The Organization of the Thesis

My approach to the problem of cultural continuity despite marked population change is oriented toward the culture history of the Isle of Skye. To this end, in the next chapter (Chapter II) I shall describe the environmental limitations of the island and, briefly, present a comparative analysis of the economics, settlement pattern, social organization, and religion of Skye. This is intended to acquaint the reader with the local culture and provide a perspective for the following chapters. In Chapter III I shall be concerned with the culture as it was before the commercial and developing industrial society of Great Britain became a significant acculturating influence, that is, before 1745. Chapter IV is devoted to a review of four periods of social and cultural change following the introduction of the tenets of commercialism. Throughout the chapter emphasis is placed upon cultural continuity despite population increase and then decrease. The continuity will be shown to have been preserved over two hundred years, even though there were two periods of threatened cultural disintegration, chronic social instability, and several periods of social disorganization. Having established the main social and cultural trends, the contemporary culture is examined for an understanding of its continued distinctiveness. In Chapter V, the contemporary economic

tterns are described. The main points considered are the stem of land use, the income of the small farmer, agri-ltural production, the seasonal round, and the division of bor. Chapter VI presents the social organization as it today, with particular emphasis on status and role. The tterns of interaction within the nuclear and extended milies and among neighbors and friends are described in rms of these concepts. Religion is analyzed in Chapter VII discover the function of religion in ordering social re-tionships and the importance of religion in preserving ltural continuity. In the final chapter the evidence for ltural continuity through periods of population growth and cline is summarized, and the conclusions which this evidenc rmits are presented.

487 population as it is one of accessibility. It is, for exampl
131 only 165 miles from Glasgow to Mallaig, but the trip takes s
133 hours because of the constant succession of curves and the s
of severe gradients over which the railroad runs.

The General Appearance of Skye

131 Skye has an irregular shape. Large peninsulas extend
133 into the Minch on the northwest and into the Sea of the Hebr
on the southwest. Promontories, divided by sea lochs, reach
to the west and east. Numerous small lochs and several larg
sheltered bays contribute to the greatly indented coastline.
[10] While philologists may doubt the derivation of the Gaelic na
for the Island, Eilean Sgiathanach, from the Gaelic sgiath
(a wing), "the winged isle" aptly describes Skye.

133 From the mainland, the Island appears to be dominated
the jagged silhouette of the Cuillin Hills. Rising in fifte
angular peaks, these mountains are the first indication that
surface of Skye is as irregular as its shape. The character
typological features of the Island are the result of volcanic
action in the Tertiary period of the Cenozoic and subsequent
erosion, particularly during the Pleistocene when glacial ice
flows gouged and scoured the landscape.[1] Geologically Skye
consists of an extensive basalt plateau; two intrusive masses
one of gabbro and the other of granite; and a complex of olde
differentiated strata and outcroppings which include Juriassi
and Cambrian limestone, Torridonian sandstone, and Archaean g

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[1] F. Fraser Darling, "Relief, Landforms, Vegetation, and
Communications," The West Highland Survey, F. Fraser Darling
(mimeographed, 1950), Part II, pp. 26-28.

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131 Scotland inclu
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any other nation in
west coast for 200 m
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Isle of Skye is the
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The isolation
topography of the Hi
by sea lochs and fla
natural barriers to
487 Scotland and England
131 facilities of the We
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CHAPTER II

IRST IMPRESSION OF SKYE

des among her distinctive characteristics
urisdiction of more islands, 787, than
Europe. Stretching along Scotland's
iles in an inner and outer archipelago,
for over 500 of these islands. The
largest of the Inner Hebrides. Reference
) will show that Skye is forty-nine miles
to twenty-two wide. The coastline measures
l area is 643 square miles. Although less
s Skye from the mainland at Kyle Akin and
itants are enisled geographically by the
y the peripheral position of the Island to
ritish society and culture.

of Skye is due to two basic facts. The
ghland region, with its scenic valleys, cut
nked by precipitous mountains, has created
communication with the cities of Lowland
. The second fact is that the transportation
stern Highlands have never been integrated
main communication system. The problem,
one of distance from the centers of

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30]

FIG. 2
ISLE OF SKYE
Scale

132 136 planting birch, hazel, oak, juniper, larch, spruce, and short
240 pine. These are the usual trees found on the plantations.
Typically, the Sgiathanach prefers an unobstructed view to trees. He may tolerate a mountain ash or elder near his house, but he has little desire to be surrounded by woods.

The Climate of Skye

132 Lying in the temperate marine climatic zone and influenced by the Gulf Stream, Skye is noted for its mild winters and cool summers. The annual mean temperature range is between 14 and 16 degrees. Temperatures above 70°F. and below 40°F. are exceptional. Although frosts may be expected from October into May, severe frosts are uncommon. In recent years there have been two, one in 1954 and one in 1947. The climate is not, however, to be considered moderate. The spring is not appreciably warmer than the winter. With a maximum noon temperature of 68°F. for August of 1953 (Struan), it is hard to believe that summer exists as a season.
311 Economically, these climatic features mean that the planting and growing season is late and pasture growth is slow.

The outstanding characteristic of the climate is the amount of rain. Rainfall varies from considerable to excessive, depending on the locality and the year. The rainbearing winds blow in from the south and southwest. Thus, in the lee of the Cuillins, Red Hills and the ridge of Trotternish, the annual rainfall approaches 80 inches. The driest area of Skye, northwestern Trotternish, has an average annual rainfall of

132 80 inches. The rest of the Island normally receives about 60 inches a year. The yearly variation is usually only 10 percent on either side of average; rarely is it as much as 20 percent. In northwestern Trotternish, for example, for the period 1944-1947 the annual rainfall was 51.04, 60.80, and 46.72 inches, respectively.

The important factor is the detrimentally high effectiveness of the rain. Falling as a slow drizzle, the rate of evaporation is extremely low, because of the mildness of the climate and the prevailing cloudiness. Furthermore, the rain has an unfavorable distribution. A well-distributed rainfall would mean that the spring growing season was moist enough to promote growth and the autumn harvest season was dry enough to facilitate ripening and work in the fields. On Skye the wettest months are September
132 through January. The driest are March, April and May. The
241 difficulties of securing the harvest are aggravated by the constancy of the rain. The harvest season of 1953 was marred by
132 59 consecutive days of rain. One man who was acquainted with the experience of the American troops in the Aleutians, an equally wet archipelago, during the Second World War at length asked if the Americans had taken over Skye. Actually, the pattern has been characteristic over the years. Even for the driest part of Skye in one of the driest years, 1947, the plague of incessant rain was marked. Of the 46.72 inches, 19.3 fell in September, October, and November.

The Island, then, is humid and cloudy. Hours of sunlight are few, only around 25 percent of possible. In spring and

132 summer, despite the long duration of daylight, the average daily hours of sunshine are six. In winter, the daily hours of sunshine are reduced to less than one. In 1953, an average year in respect to sunlight, the total hours of sun were 1142. Over
132 200 hours were recorded in June but less than 20 in December. It
103 may be that the philologists are right in insisting that Eilean Sgiathanach is derived from the Norse ski (cloud). Certainly the poetic name for Skye, Eilean a Cheo, the Isle of Mist, is in keeping with the atmosphere.

The prevailing rain and cloudiness are serious handicaps to agriculture, but they are not the only inhibitive forces. The wind is another very important factor. Gales are common. They restrict the number and variety of crops which can be grown, hinder tree growth, and often make the use of the sea impossible.

The System of Land Use

311 The Sgiathanach, the Skyeman, is a small farmer who combines pastoralism with a limited amount of agriculture. In view of the severe environmental limitations on crop production and the markedly disproportionate ratio of arable land to natural grass land, this ecological adaptation of the culture
172 is by no means surprising. Nor is the fact that this adap-
311 tation has persisted since the first known appearance of man a startling revelation. This was four thousand years ago when the culture history of Skye began with the advent of the
311 Neolithic. This persistence is simply an expression of the

311 well recognized relation of culture and environment.[9]

The economic foundation for the present day culture is
241 311 commonly referred to as "the crofting system," a system of
233 417 hereditary tenure of individually held small patches of cultivated land combined with communal use of grazing land. On his small plot, typically under five and seldom over ten acres, the crofter grows a little oats and hay for his stock, a few potatoes for his family and dairy cattle, and, in some cases,
171 a few garden vegetables. Anyone who is acquainted with the Irish small farmer will recognize the underlying similarity of the two systems.[10] The communal element in the crofting system on Skye, however, is a distinguishing feature. In addition to his croft, the individual has a common, concurrent right to a share in an extensive area of grazing land. Here he keeps a couple of cows and a score or two of sheep. After the harvest, the stock are frequently brought down from the hill and allowed to indiscriminately graze the arable land of the crofters who share the communal lands. Thus, the efficient economic unit is not the croft, the few acres of arable land, but rather a "township," a collection of crofts and the common grazing lands. The system differs from the runrig system which prevailed two centuries ago only by the holding of permanent, compact blocks rather than dispersed and shifting strips of arable land. It is a unique survival in Europe.

[9]See, for example, Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, p. 6.

[10]Cf. Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), pp. 5-7, 31-33.

573 The labor in this pastoral-agricultural economy is
241 provided by the crofter's family, periodically aided by some
231 for all of the families who share in the common grazing.[11] Under
178 the direction of the father, the mother and children care for the crops and cattle. Heavy work, such as ploughing, reaping, and feeding the cattle in the winter, is left to the men. The women milk the cattle, help at the harvest by raking and stacking, and care for the garden. Although men never do any work in the house, in the absence of a son the wives and daughters are expected to fill in the gaps in man's work in addition to
476 running the household. Inter-family cooperation centers on
231 the handling of the sheep. Frequently, the families who share the common own the sheep collectively, as a "club stock," and share in the expenses and profits as well as the labor.
463 The only basic pattern in the division of labor is that women never shear, and it is their responsibility to feed the group.

Formerly, the annual economic cycle was adjusted to the
231 demands of crop cultivation and cattle breeding. Within the
231 last hundred years, however, sheep have assumed commercial
178 importance and now determine the seasonal tempo of labor. The old year ends and the new begins with the bringing in of the rams from the hill. In March the sheep are dipped and then the
240 preparations are made for the lambing season, in April. From spring until autumn there is a rapid succession of duties: ploughing, planting, peat cutting, dipping and shearing the sheep, stock sales, harvesting, and similar tasks. After the

[11]Cf. Ibid., pp. 63-64, 70-74.

111 rams are put out in November, the pace becomes slower, the
231 main job being the feeding of cattle.
434 The economy is neither a subsistence nor a self-sufficient economy for the majority. All but a few large crofters have to supplement their income from the croft with some form of outside employment or independent source of income, for ex-
417 ample, contributions from a child or a pension. For many the
361 croft is no more than a home. For an aged person, it provides a means of living cheaply. The rent, which is fixed by law,
417 is only nominal, and the taxes are negligible. There is more to
571 crofting than simple economic considerations. Indeed, if it
361 were only a matter of economy, the system would have been abandoned long ago. It is a way of life in which the individual
559 finds meaningful patterns of interaction and an ascribed status compatible with his aspirations. The land is more than a potential source of income. It is the ancestral home. The tie to the land is an expression of the sentimental bond of kinship.[12] Many, perhaps the majority, have spent a good part of their lives in other parts of the world working for a wage and looking forward to the day they might return to the Misty Isle. Although only the Glendale crofters are land owners, the law has given the tenants complete security of tenure and the right to bequeath the croft to a member of their family. Thus, they can return to their township and find solidarity.

[12]Cf. Ibid., pp. 64, 81.

Non-crofting Economic Activity

464 Employment opportunities on the island are limited. The only industries are a small malt distillery, which employs thirty men, a small wool textile mill where about 15 men and 15 women find work, and a few gravel and sand pits. There is a promise of greater employment opportunities in the extraction and processing of diatomite and in forestry. A few men are fishermen. The majority of men who work for a wage are seasonally employed in service operations, especially county road workers, bus and truck drivers, and general laborers. A number seasonally migrate to the mainland during the winter or go to sea. Women find employment in hotels during the summer or local shops. There are no active household industries. Many young women spend the summer on the mainland in domestic service. In several areas the crofters are dependent on the tourist trade for almost all of their income. The summer tourist trade is one of the most important sources of revenue for the island.

The Settlement Pattern

361 The settlement pattern on Skye, like the system of land use, is an ecological adaptation of the culture to the environment which has been stabilized in its essential details since the Neolithic. The areas of permanent settlement have always been limited to the coastal fringe and a few internal glens, regions with the best agricultural conditions, and to elevations under 400 feet. Further, man has tended to concentrate on the

364 basalt plateau where the light and potentially rich soil and the relatively luxuriant pasture land are valuable assets. The remainder of the island has been generally avoided, except for a few isolated areas of mixed beaches, moraine, and similar 364 deposits of local importance. The contrasting population 162 densities in modern times support my assertion. With an overall density for the Island of thirteen per square mile, northern Skye has a density of nineteen per square mile in contrast to six per square mile in southern Skye. This three to one ratio has persisted for at least two centuries.

361 Until the nineteenth century all the inhabitants of Skye lived in isolated hamlet-like clusters. The majority continue to dwell in dispersed crofting communities. Indeed, the dominant characteristic of the settlement pattern is, with a single exception, the lack of nucleated villages. Skye is not unique in this respect. The Irish and the Welsh have never made the village a part of their cultural heritage.[13] The pattern I am about to describe will, no doubt, be unfamiliar to many who are only acquainted with rural communities of the Western Hemisphere. The units of settlement on Skye are on a very diminutive scale compared to those to which we are accustomed.

361 As we have seen, the efficient socio-economic unit is the 621 township, the collection of individual crofts and the communal grazing lands. Skye contains 182 townships. All of them are found in an inhabited area of roughly thirty square miles.

[13] Conrad M. Arensberg, The Irish Countryman (New York: Peter Smith, 1950), pp. 146-155; and Alwyn Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1950), pp. 128-129.

Township size is variable. There is a complete range from 361 one township with a single inhabited croft and a population of 621 three, an old man and his two sons, to one with fifty crofts, 162 held by thirty-two families, and a population of almost eighty. Most townships contain between six and twenty crofts.

The crofts are set out in long, parallel strips, typically, at right angles to the coast, or, if the township is in a glen, across the glen. In the older townships, the houses tend to be built at one end of the strip on the least productive land. The byre, if there is one, stands at the rear or either side of the house. Exposure or road access have not always been determining factors. Most frequently, it would seem, alignment along a road is present only because the county government has built a road into the township. Only in the more modern townships, those planned or re-organized within the last fifty years, have the crofters tended to build near the road. Several of the townships lack any apparent orientation. The houses are scattered up and down the lower slopes of the hills which rise above the cultivated land.

Wherever the configuration of the land and the environmental factors of soil and rainfall permit large settlements, there is a grouping of townships into the pattern of the British open country neighborhood or the French line village.[14] Scattered among the crofts, without any nucleus of community 364 buildings, there are, usually, a school, one or two churches, 368

[14] For an analysis of rural settlement patterns, see Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 229-231, 234-237.

361 one or more country stores, a few workshops, and a post office. 621 Kilmuir will serve as an example of these larger settlements. 364 368

Along the shore of Loch Snizort, on the peninsula of 361 Trotternish, there is a broad, fertile plain. Including old 621 Loch Chaluim Chille, there are approximately ten square miles 311 of good land. Although the soil is not cultivated as intensively as in the days when Kilmuir was "the granary of Skye," this is regarded as the best agricultural region on the island. 162 In all there are 122 crofts, held by 105 crofters, in 9 townships. There are also two small farms. The population is slightly over 300.

361 The crofters' cottages are loosely strung around the 621 old loch and across the plain in an irregular "Y" shaped pattern (Figure 3). Basically the pattern resembles the French line village, but there are several features reminiscent of the British open country neighborhood. Most of 311 621 497 the cottages, it would seem, were originally built on the landward fringe of the plain and along the shore of a small bay, known as Camus Mor, without any regard for road access. 278 In recent years, increasing dependence on motor transport has led to demands for roads. Now almost all the crofters, except those in Bornesketaig, have a paved road running by their door. About a third of the houses are on the county road which encircles the peninsula and links Kilmuir with the outside world via Portree.

621 In the center of Kilmuir, in the township of Balgown, 368 and two spireless churches, a church hall, a two room school,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

102 361 621 368 497 621

and the homes of the ministers and the teacher. Standing 621 together, within a few hundred yards of each other, they 368 provide a focal point for the surrounding area. The remainder of the buildings which we normally think of as forming a village nucleus are widely dispersed. The post office, which 621 is also a general store, is just over a mile north of churches 364 and school, in the township of Kilvaxter. Another mile away, 368 off the main road, in Bornesketaig there is a small shop. South of the churches and school, almost two miles away, there is a shop and a smithy in Linicro. The remaining shops and workshops are similarly scattered hither and yon among the crofts.

Glendale shows much the same pattern of settlement. 361 Stretching along the shore of Loch Dunvegan, through Glen- 621 dale, on either side of the Hamara River, and out along the shore of Loch Pooltell, there are 156 crofts in 11 townships. These are the homes of 144 crofters. The total population is in the neighborhood of 350. Like the people 497 of Kilmuir, the Glendale residents have also become dependent on roads, and they have tended to build their new cottages near a road of some sort. The single church, the post office, 368 and the shop stand fairly close together near the center of 621 Glendale. One school is about a mile away in Borrodale, 364 and the other over a mile away in Colbost. Neither Glendale nor Kilmuir have a village hall. When the Glendale crofters have a meeting to discuss the club farm or when the Kilmuir crofters hold a club meeting, they use the school. Now let 621

Worth of a line between Lochs Sligihan and Eynort, Skye
typical basalt plateau. Generally, it is a low-lying
on of deep glens, rolling moors, and small hills. Mountain-
terrain is encountered only in Trotternish and Duirinish.
rotternish the land has faulted and uplifted to produce a
ridge of cliffs which rise to 2,360 feet. The uplands of
inish culminate in MacLeod's Tables, a pair of flat topped
s (1,601 and 1,538 feet). This basalt area is Skye's best
cultural asset. The rock easily breaks down to form a po-
ially rich, light loam and the porosity of the basalt fa-
tates drainage.[2] Unfortunately, the potentials are not
ys immediately available. The heavy rainfall and configuration
he land prevents the accumulation of deep soils. In addition
hallowness, the marked common characteristics are lime,
phate, and cobalt deficiencies, acidity, heavy leaching,
water logging. An extensive, irregular overlie of peat is
ther restricting factor. Except for the western slope of
hill ridge of Trotternish and, to a lesser degree, some
s of Duirinish, blanket bogs of peat will not allow the
nutrients of the underlying soil to be brought into circu-
on. There are, of course, raised beaches and well drained
ces throughout the area with relatively good arable land.
relative fertility of northern Trotternish has been recog-
for many centuries. It has long been known as "the
ry of Skye."

[2]Darling, loc. cit.

133 South of the basalt plateau, the Cuillins
34 Hills have intruded into the lava. Although t
dominate the landscape for many miles, they ar
103 useless agriculturally. Indeed, a case might
derivation of the name Cuillin from the Welsh
less).[3] The worthlessness of the mountains in
economy is attested by the fact that they are
in Scotland with peaks named after men, all of
133 climbers of the last century.[4] At the same ti
34 they have become a valuable asset in the touri
Red Hills rise to 2,537 feet. They are mostly
scree and skeletal soils, but they have some p
All have traditional Gaelic names.

133 Below the mountainous region a broad lim
extends across the island from Broadford Bay t
and Slapin. Like northern Skye, it is a gentl
with few rises which exceed 500 feet in elevat
tentially good soil is frequently masked by a
peat.

Sleat, the southernmost peninsula, revea
[131] cated structure, a complex of ancient rocks an

[3]B.H. Humble, The Cuillin of Skye (Londo
1952), pp. 3-4.

[4]Ibid., p. xv.

[5]W. A. Poucher, The Magic of Skye (Londo
Hall, 1949); E. G. Meadows, The Skye Scene (Ed
and Boyd, 1951); and Humble, op. cit., pp. 31-

[6]Darling, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

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d moraine.[6]

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n: Robert Hale,

n: Chapman and
inburgh: Oliver
106.

133 The northeastern end of the peninsula is covered by glaciated,
134 rounded hills rising to 2,396 feet. The remainder is a low-lying area of soft rises and deep glens. The soil cover is largely no more than a physical medium. Were it not for stoney but light, well drained soils on several raised beaches and morainic soils derived from the mainland, large parts of Sleat would have no cover other than ice scoured rock. Peat covers many of the flatter facets.

Despite the multiformity of the physical appearance
133 of the island, one cannot help forming the impression of a
137 certain sameness. Except where bare rock stands out in stark relief or where man has laboriously turned the soil to agricultural use, the flora of Skye is primarily grass only occasionally interspersed with a few trees. In the glens and on the lower slopes of the hills fescue and bent grasses
[311] are found wherever the natural drainage is good. Both are tender and excellent for pasture. Poorly drained land supports coarse sedges and rushes. Above 300 feet moorgrass is found on dry facets and rushes and mosses on soggy ground. The high hills, such as the ridge of Trotternish, maintain a sub-alpine pasture of small flowers, mosses, and sparse grass. Obviously, the main factors governing the natural flora are drainage and
137 altitude. Man and his stock have also influenced the vegetation.
311 Selective grazing by sheep has allowed the spread of a large, tough fern, called bracken, which has markedly reduced the
137 pastoral value of extensive tracts of the best land. Another common plant is heather. True heather moors, however, are

us journey over to the "Capital of Skye" which stands on 621
Portree Loch.

The village of Portree, as stated earlier, represents the only successful attempt to introduce a nucleated settlement to the island. It was created by a landlord in the [656] early nineteenth century and has been fostered by the national and county government, especially within the last twenty years. Nothing has disturbed the English and the Lowland Scots more 621 than the alien nature of town life in the cultural heritage 648 of the Sgiathanach. Ever since the sixteenth century the Hebrideans have been resisting the introduction of villages. The Scottish and, later, the British, government has been only slightly less adamant in its determination that the country people should have a town, if not a burgh, come what may.

Indicative of its calculated creation, Portree has been 621 built "on the square," like so many English villages. Around 368 the square are found the police station, courthouse, and jail; 177 two banks and one private home; two churches and the Masonic building; and a hotel and two boarding houses. Equally indicative of the alien nature of the village, the square is normally used only when the people are going to or coming from their place of worship or business, or when they are entering or leaving Portree by the road which cuts across the square. The exceptions are an occasional civil ceremony and performance put on for the benefit of the summer tourists.

In reality, the village might best be described as an 621 overgrown hamlet, even though it was planned. The main function 368 of the village as far as the whole island is concerned is that

of an administrative center. The government offices, however, 621 are scattered about the village. One is down at the pier; 368 another is half way out of Portree on a trunk road, and still a third is tucked away on a side road down by the shore of the harbor. The post office is behind the court house, on the opposite end of the village, and the school, the only secondary school in all the Hebrides of the County of Inverness, is out of the village all together on another trunk road. For northern 621 Skye, Portree is the shopping center. The shops are along the 346 main streets which run off the square and along the road which leads down to the pier. All of them are in remodeled houses. For the immediate area surrounding the village, Portree is a 621 religious center. The churches stand together, except one 368 which is on the opposite side of the village; the ministers' homes are dispersed on the fringes of the village. Long ago 621 Portree was known as Ceilltarraglan, (burying place at the foot [103] of the glen). The old village was no more than a church, school, inn, and jail which stood overlooking the houses of a few fishermen along the bay. The surrounding area was given over to farming. The differing ages of the buildings show how the village spread along the bay, up over the terraces, out across the flats, and finally, with the assistance of the County Council which has built all of the new houses, on to the hill which overlooks the shops and the harbor. Although only the [161] jail remains as a sentinel of the past, the differing ages of the houses also tell how the population grew from a mere handful to 1000 in over a century and a half.

Social Organization

The Croft. Ideally, the croft is the home of a nuclear family. Social instability and economic limitations, however, have given rise to a situation in which the ideal is becoming progressively harder to attain. In fact, crofts which once were occupied by a three generation family group, that is, by grandparents, parents and children, are now inhabited by an aging bachelor, a spinster, or an unwed brother and sister. Others are the homes of an old widow or widower and, perhaps, one or two of their children who are well beyond marriageable age.

594 As an irremovable social entity, the nuclear family has been surrounded by the universally recognized functions of sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction, and education. In addition, important functions of a religious and a social character have been given to it. The members share the work of the croft, have a higher rate of interaction than any other social group, and, in most homes, worship together seven days a week. Within the family, the father is the source of all authority. He directs the labor of his wife and children, determines their patterns of interaction outside the home, and leads them in family worship. The family's economic well-being and spiritual welfare are his responsibilities.

Learning the essential tasks necessary to the crofting way of life by imitation and informal guidance, sons move in the sphere of their father and daughters in the sphere of

their mother. While the father is the disciplinarian, both 594 562 children are expected to respect the wishes of their mother, except that a boy can never be asked to do the work of a women. At the same time, however, in the absence of a boy, a girl will take his place in the division of labor. The high status of the male and the subservient position of the female has persisted over the centuries. Always, male and female relationships are reciprocal and complimentary.

The patterns of interaction and the statuses and roles 594 which are manifest within the nuclear family on Skye are much the same as those described for the Irish small farmers.[15] The main difference is the occupation of the Irish farm by a three generation family group. Comparable family structures arefound in the United States among the old Order Amish and, apparently, among the mountain people of the Southern Appalachians, many of whom are descendents of Scottish and Irish migrants.[16] Under Le Play's classification, the Skyeman's family is the famille-souche or stem family.[17] Although strongly patriarchial, the family on Skye has been weakened by economic limitations. At the same time, the Sgiathanach, as a member of both a nuclear and an extended family, has not lost his attachment to the land, to his kinsmen, or

[15] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 55-63; and Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63-74.

[16] Kollmorgen, op. cit.; and Faith M. Williams, "Variations in Farm-Family Living," in Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1942), pp. 137-154. For the background of the Southern Highlander, see J. C. Campbell, The Southern Highlander and His Homeland (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1921). [13]

[17] See Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 57-59, 61-62.

to the traditions of the past. I shall discuss this further when I describe the extended family.

The Township. The township is a cooperating economic unit. Communal use of an interest in the common grazing lands gives the township its focus. Living on the several crofts, there will be found an aggregate of nuclear families and unmarried individuals who, especially in the older townships, are relat and re-related on both sides. Only in the more modern townsh does the degree of relationship become tenuous and finally di appear. In interpersonal activities the neighbors have a rat of interaction second only to that of the nuclear family.

The dominant social trait is the strong emphasis on the ascription of status on the basis of kinship, sex and age. There are no socially valued achieved statuses. The facts are simple. Males enjoy higher prestige than females, and th old men and women are respected by the youth. All of the sam age grade and sex are essentially equal. Again we have a parallel with the Irish small farmer.[18]

There is no room for the expression of a role of leadership in economic activities. The governing principle of township administration is so-called primitive democracy. Al males have an equal voice in determining the acceptance of any policy or action which concerns the group, and unanimous consent is necessary for the adoption of any change. Although each township has an elected grazing clerk and a grazi

[18] Cf. Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 45, 109-110; and Arensbe and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63, 161-231.

exceptional. The largest is found in the glen between Portree and Loch Sligihan. Of the total area of Skye, approximately 447,000 acres, over 400,000 acres are rough grazing, incapable of being tilled.

The scarcity of trees is an environmental feature worthy of special consideration. More than the mere aesthetic appreciation of the traveler is involved. The lack of shelter is a crucial factor in limiting the variety of crops which can be grown. There are three "forests," but they are deer forests without trees and with very few deer. Wooded areas exist only where landlords or, more recently, the forestry commission have planted for amenity, shelter, and anticipated lumbering operation. Pollen analysis, from an archaeological find,[7] and stumps, discovered in peat bogs,[8] suggest. a once widespread natural forest of birch, hazel, elder, oak, and pine. All that remains are a few small areas of birch and hazel on peat-free slopes and on sheltered escarpments beyond the reach of the cattle and sheep, and some residual oak woods in Sleat. So sharp is the contrast of Sleat with the rest of Skye in so far as vegetation is concerned that this peninsula has come to be known as "The Garden of Skye." The proprietor has played his part in the creation of this impression

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[7]James Ritchie, "A Keg of 'Bog Butter' from Skye and Its Contents," Proceedings of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland, LXXV (1941), pp. 5-22.

[8]F. Fraser Darling, "The Ecology of Land Use," The West Highland Survey, pt. IV, p. 7.

of Ducey	£-4,5	(1953-1954)	1956	£510 Highland Scots £510 Skye

For the remainder of the population, as a general rule, it may be said that a person's status depends on personal qualities rather than on occupation. This is especially true of men who take an active part in the church. In terms of interaction, the social hierarchy is extremely fluid. People who elsewhere in Britain would be "working" or "middle" class not infrequently join with members of the "upper" class in both formal and informal social groups.[22] This underlying equalitarian pattern has always characterized the interpersonal relations of Skye's society. There is, of course, cleavage between the upper level of the society and the bulk of the population; intermarriage is impossible.

The social life of the village revolves around the newcomers and the landed gentry. In addition to the social circles based upon age, sex, kinship, and religion, the individual belongs to several small groups of friends and, perhaps, a few formally organized clubs. When the native-born take part in the formal activities they do so as participants rather than as organizers or directors. The necessary roles of leadership are left to the newcomers or to the landed gentry. The latter, in particular, are responsible for community affairs, just as the chief and his kinsmen were formerly looked to as the leaders of the people. Occasionally, an influential newcomer gives them able assistance. The influence of the old men is not as marked in the village as in the crofting communities,

[22] Roy Lewis and Angus Maude, The English Middle Classes (London: Phoenix House, 1949), pp. 13-26, 87-110.

mainly because there are enough young people to form a strong age grade of their own. The more liberal outlook of the villagers is, however, tempered by the old men.

Religion

The attachment to the past embodied in the social and economic aspects of the culture carries over into the religious life of the Sgiathanach. He is a Presbyterian who continues to worship and view the world within a pattern which characterized the Scots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The doctrine and theology are derived from the teachings of Calvin as interpreted by John Knox and refined by the Covenanters of the seventeenth century. To the original ethical code a strong measure of influence from the English Puritan movement has been added. The guiding principles are still foreordination and election. The dominant motivating factor is asceticism.

One of the outstanding features of the island today is the large number of churches for such a limited population. To serve the 8,600 people there are 21 churches with ministers and 13 mission stations. A hundred years ago, when the population was almost triple the present number, there were only seven ministers on Skye. The present abundance is the outcome of a series of religious schisms of the past century. There are now four Presbyterian sects. Of all the neighborhoods on Skye, only Glendale is religiously homogeneous.

Portree has three Presbyterian churches and, in addition, an occasionally used Episcopal church and small Catholic chapel for newcomers. Kilmuir has two Presbyterian churches, and the population includes affiliates of three denominations. In contrast to the pattern of schism in the United States and, indeed, in most of the Western World, the schisms on Skye have been due to a strong desire to maintain cultural conservatism. Each time a church has tended to become more lenient in official policy, there has been dissension and disruption. This does not, however, mean that the several sects are dissimilar in practice and outlook. In Scotland the local kirk is governed by the congregation in accordance with the democratic principles laid down at the Reformation. The people call their minister and elect the lay officials of the church.

Religion is of supreme importance for an understanding of the configuration of the local culture. In fact, beyond being a highly integrated and systematized pattern in itself, religion has come to provide a focus for the culture. Through the religious pattern the culture achieved a reintegration and found continuity at a time when the people were faced with the prospect of enduring instability, if not total social and cultural disintegration. Although it has the appearance of being an extremely negative institution, in that much of the former secular life has been circumscribed by clerical censure, religion has sanctioned the fundamental values and patterns of

behavior which have given the individual and the culture their ability to continue in spite of social instability and acute economic hardship. In many respects, the Skyemen's religion is strikingly similar to that of the Welshmen.[23]

The status of the father within the nuclear family has been maintained, despite changing economic roles which might have led to a loss of prestige, by his religious sanction. The aged men of the community, in particular the elders, the elected lay kirk officers, have been able to continue to exercise stringent control over their families and neighbors. In a negative way, the socially inferior status of the women has been maintained by debarring them from active roles in the church. In religious activity the people find meaningful patterns of interaction. The small congregations, rarely over 300 people, give the Skyemen a sense of belonging. In the home the practice of daily worship intensifies family interaction. Above all, at the semi-annual communion celebrations, highly emotional meetings which partake much of revivalism, the people find solidarity. As each church in turn celebrates the Lord's Supper, the people from the neighboring churches of the same sect come to share one to five days of worshipping together and renewing their ties of friendship. At the daily church services the people meet and hear visiting ministers of their sect and the eminent Men, members of the elect, from other parts of the island. The identical pattern is found in Wales where the intense patterns of interaction center around the singing festivals.[24]

[23]Rees, op. cit., pp. 114-130.

[24]Ibid., pp. 129-130.

Although the Sgiathanach accepts his religion without question, unless he is willing to abandon his cultural heritage for the outside world, many Scots are disturbed by the influence of religion on the lives of the people. It has become commonplace to call the people narrow and bigoted, and the people well know this, but if the Calvinist and Puritan ethic had not been developed with such logic and vigor, I probably would not be able to assert that through religion the culture has maintained continuity while the content has changed.

CHAPTER III

SKYE IN THE DAYS OF THE CLAN

If we are to understand the continuing distinctiveness of the contemporary culture, we must attempt to reconstruct the culture of the remote past and point out the plausible sources for the more distinctive traits and patterns which, upon becoming integrated, became characteristic of the culture. This chapter, then, is devoted to a description of the social organization, economics, and religion of the Sgiathanach before the influence of the commercial and rapidly expanding industrial society of Great Britain assumed significant proportions.

Sources of Information

There is an almost complete dearth of information about the internal conditions in the Hebrides before the eighteenth century, except for stray accounts of intrigues and rebellions against the Scottish Crown. A combination of causes is responsible. First is the relative lateness of the introduction of writing. Second, there is the fact that the Western Isles were held by the Norse from the ninth to the thirteenth century. Third is the destruction of Scottish records. The ecclesiastical

and, perhaps, the legal papers concerning the Hebrides were either destroyed by the Norse during their seeking of the monasteries or lost upon being transferred to Ireland for safe keeping. Edward I of England, as self-appointed arbiter of conflicting claims to the Scottish throne, and other claimants to the throne at home removed the rest. There is no record earlier than 1140. In fact, except for an Indenture Roll of 1292 and fragments of the Parliamentary Roll of Baliol, 1292-1295, there are no public records earlier than 1308, and Parliamentary records are not available until the Fifteenth Century.

Even when we approach more recent times, caution must be exercised. Shortly before the last Highland rebellion, 1745, an English army officer said about the remote and unfrequented Hebrides, "They are a very proper subject for invention; and few, I think, would have the curiosity to visit them, in order to disprove any account of them, however, romantic".[1] As far as I know, there are only four descriptions of the Isle of Skye which can be dated with certainty before 1700. The first is a brief description by the Dean of the Isles in 1549.[2] The second is a report on manpower and rents

[1](Burt), Letters From a Gentleman in the North of Scotland, ed. R. Jamieson (2 vols., 5th ed.; London: Rest Fenner, 1818), Vol. II, p. 150.

[2]Sir Donald Munro, A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, Called Hebrides (First Pub. 1549; Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1934).

drawn up for the Crown sometime between 1577 and 1595.[3] In 1630 a short commentary on the social, religious, and economic life of Skye was penned.[4] Finally, at the close of the century a native son wrote the first detailed account of life on the island.[5] Thus, I have had to rely on stray fragments, gleaned from such material as can be found, and on later works. This is a handicap which may leave my interpretation open to criticism, but the statements of these authorities have been used to fill out the details of an established pattern only when their accounts are beyond reasonable doubt.

The Bare Bones of History

Although the Archaeological record for the Isle of Skye can be traced back as far as 2000 B.C., when Neolithic man became the island's first inhabitant, the evidence suggests a series of invasions and withdrawals by people at varying stages of development rather than a continuous local development.[6] Indeed, no one has uncovered any evidence for settlement between the fourth and seventh centuries. At the same

[3]William F. Skene, Celtic Scotland (3 vols., 2d ed.; Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1886-1890), Vol. III, pp. 432-43.

[4]Arthur Mitchell (ed.), Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland Made by Walter Macfarlane (3 vols., "Publications of the Scottish Historical Society", Vol. 51; Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1907), Vol. II, pp. 182-83, 220-23.

[5]Martin Martin, A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, ed. Donald J. McLeod (new edition; Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1934).

[6]Paul B. Ducey, "The Archaeology of the Isle of Skye" (MS, 1954).

time, as we saw in the preceding chapter, archaeology reveals two significant facts, coastal set tlement and a pastoral agricultural economy are of great antiquity.

It is generally believed that the Scots arrived in the Hebrides from Ireland in the sixth century. Even though this belief rests on legend and some dubious early chronicles,[7] the sporadic mention of Skye in the Annals of Ulster between 501, when the people are said to be paying tribute to the King of Erin and Alban, and 794, when the Norse pillaged Skye, indicates some affiliation.[8] During this early period Skye may have been inhabited by a tuath (tribe), a number of which formed a mortuath (literally a great tribe) or province.[9] Be that as it may, the Norse who had come to plunder, an ambition that was stimulated by a conflict of Pagan and Catholic religious ideals, in the eighth century, began to settle in the Isles in the ninth. Since they had been driven out by Harald Fairhair, the first king to establish political unity in Norway, the petty earls proceeded to harass Harald's territories until an expedition reduced them and annexed the Hebrides to Norway.

[7]James A. Robertson, Caithness Pictures: Being Sketches of the Chief Characters and Antiquities of Scotland (Wick: Stamfordham Printing P. Thomson, 1866), pp. 35-36.

[8]William M. Hennessy (ed.), Annals of Ulster (4 vols.; Dublin: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1887-1901), Vol. 1, pp. 123, 149, 150, 275.

[9]See, e.g., Robert S. Rait, An Outline of the Relations between England and Scotland (1500-1707) (London: Blackie and Son, Ltd., 1901), p. 24; John Cameron, Celtic Law (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1937), pp. 169, 177-178; and Charles S. Terry, A History of Scotland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), pp. 36-37.

Whether or not the Norse destroyed the tribal organization of the Hebrides, as they did in the Orkney and Shetland Islands and in Caithness, is not certain.[10] Certainly, their political control was never firm. The subjects were a warlike group of freebooters ready to join any adventurer who held out the lure of plunder. The earls were given to intrigues and internal conflicts. The king's viceroys often made his wishes subservient to their own ambitions, and when they were able to form alliances with the Hebridean, they proclaimed their independence. The subject people were restless. Throughout the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the men of Skye took part in a series of assassinations and battles in an effort to expel the Norse. Finally the Scottish nobles entered the fray. In 1266 the Western Isles were ceded to Scotland.

During the more than four hundred years of Norse occupation, the Scottish monarchy was gradually evolving. In 843 the kingdom was united. Following the former invasion of England, Scottish political and religious organization was remodeled in form and content. A Saxon court and the Roman Catholic Church were introduced. Saxon replaced Gaelic as the court language. By the end of the reign of David I (1124-1153), Scotland had become a feudal monarchy.[11] There was the concurrence of the three basic elements: personal relationships based on commendation or contract, private jurisdiction, and hereditary noble

[10] For details concerning the Norse occupation, see Donald Gregory, The History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland (London: Hamilton, Adams and Co., 1881).

[11] See, e.g., Terry, op. cit., pp. 24-37; and Rait, op. cit., p. 204-212.

tenure in vassalage.[12] By the time Skye was placed under the suzerainty of Scotland, the old tribal organization had completely disappeared, and the nation was early governed by a hierarchy which imitated English use. There was, however, an important difference between the feudalism of Scotland and England. Although the landed aristocracy was Anglo-Norman, the Normans had not conquered Scotland. They were unable to work out the refinements of feudalism, especially the manorial system.[13] There was also an important difference in the form of the two governments. The Scottish king granted his charters and ruled with the advice of his bishops, earls, and barons, leaving the Parliament almost devoid of power, while in England Parliamentary government had been firmly established when the two nations were placed under a common monarch. Nor did the Scottish Parliament become any more important when it was united with the English body in 1707.[14]

It is against the background of this varied history that the local culture must be viewed. We may expect to find features which are traceable to the old Celtic tribal organization, Norse influence, and Scottish feudalism. English influence would have appeared too late to be counted as a factor in the moulding of the culture, and the adamant dislike of the Highlanders for the English, evidenced by their successive rebellions and their persistent efforts to support

[12] Harry E. Barnes, The History of Western Civilization (2 vols.; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937), vol. I, pp. 506-26.

[13] Wallace Notestein, The Scot in History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946), p. 90.

[14] Terry, op. cit., p. 37.

the Scottish kings against the demands of the English Parliament, would have restricted English influence to a negligible role until the final Highland uprising was crushed in 1745.

Social and Political Organization

The characteristic unit of the social and political organization of the Isle of Skye during the Feudal period of Scottish history was the clan. All who have theorized about the clan agree that it was a social, political and economic entity. There is, however, no simple, universally accepted interpretation of the nature of the clan. Unfortunately, interest in its structure and function is late. Many assertions suffer from the prejudices and sympathies of the authors toward the Highlands at the time of the eighteenth century rebellions or the nineteenth century land clearances. Lacking Scottish sources, historians turned to the Irish codes of law and imposed them on the clan system without asking whether or not four centuries of Norse domination might have resulted in at least a partial assimilation of the old Celtic tribal organization with the Norse political organization. Nor has allowance always been made for internal development during the five centuries in which the clan was the distinctive organizational unit. Today historians are almost apologetic about the Highland clan system. The subject has become the province of amateur antiquarians.

Anthropologists apparently look upon the clan as a social unit hardly worthy of comment. As far as I know,

Morgan stands alone in believing the clan to have been a true gens in organization and spirit.[15] He saw in it the typical disintegrator as the feudal order decayed.

Features of gentile society, vitality of gens life over the members in moulding individual character, feuds and blood revenge, localization by clans, common use of the land, fidelity to the chief and each other, and descent in the male line. Rivers viewed the clan as more nearly a tribe.[16] Piddington denies the Highland clan the status of a true clan because, although patrilineal, it has never been shown to have been exogamous.[17] I have no doubt that most anthropologists would agree with Piddington on similar grounds. Linton has recently compared the Polynesian tribe with the Highland clan.[18] He seemed to share Rivers's view, saying the clan was localized by territory and was normally endogamous.

The Clans of Skye

Although some historians, probably reasoning from pre-Norman Gallic organization, believe the clan was inherent in the Celtic tribal system,[19] most date the origin of the Highland

[15] Lewis H. Morgan, Ancient Society (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1878), pp. 339-358.

[16] W. H. R. Rivers, Social Organization, ed. W. J. Perry (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924), p. 20.

[17] Ralph Piddington, An Introduction to Social Anthropology (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1950), pp. 130, 134.

[18] Ralph Linton, The Tree of Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 124.

[19] See, e.g., I. F. Grant, Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1603 (Edinburgh: T. and A. C. Johnston, 1930), pp. 51-52.

clan as not earlier than the reign of David I.[20] It appeared after the introduction of feudalism, and, as we shall see, it disintegrated as the feudal order decayed.

Had the tuath and rathuth persisted under the Norse, there was no room for them in a feudal polity.[21] On the other hand, there was no opportunity to assimilate the remote Highlands and, especially, the Islands with the Lowland half of the kingdom. For over four hundred years no king, Scottish or British, was able to secure an unfluctuating vassalage of the Highlanders. Whatever course events took, the morsear, once chief of the mormuin, the toiseach, the old chief of the tuath, and the mor, a subordinate chieftain, were gone. In place of the tribal arrangement there appeared a host of distinct communities of fate. On the Isle of Skye the most important of these were the Sell Torquil (MacLeods of Lewis), Sell Tormod (MacLeods of Dunvegan), Clann Finnon (MacKinnons), Clann Nicholl (Nicolsons), and Clann Hisdein (MacDonalds of Sleat).[22]

Clan Membership. The clan was a means of administration and security.[23] The nucleus was a derbfine, a four generation

[20] See, e.g., Robertson, op. cit., pp. 304-305; and Rait, op. cit., pp. 204, 210-211; Skene, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 303, 307.

[21] Terry, op. cit., pp. 36-37; and Rait, op. cit., pp. 204.

[22] Alexander Cameron, History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye (Inverness: E. Forsyth, 1871), pp. 16-17, 21-30.

[23] See, e.g., Thomas Innes of Learney, The Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland (Edinburgh: T. and A. C. Johnston, 1938). This authoritative work was written by the Lord Lyon of Scotland, the custodian of Scottish heraldry. Other standard treatises consulted were: Frank Adam, The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands (New ed.; Edinburgh: W. and A. C. Johnston, 1952); and W. D. Mackenzie, A Short History of the Scottish Highlands and Isles (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1906).

patrilineal family group whose members, in theory, were able to trace their descent from the founder of the clan, the source of the clan's patronymic. The membership was expanded by including descendants of members of the derbfine beyond the third descending generation. Thus, the size of the clan grew in proportion to the natural proliferation of the descendants. Numerical strength was further augmented by the inclusion of dependents. Small groups attached themselves to powerful clans by a contract of man-rent. The senior member of a derbfine accepted the adopted chief as the superior of himself, his sons and brothers, and their heirs and agreed to obey the chief in all lawful duties, excepting those conflicting with the obligations of kinship.[24] The clan was further recruited by the adoption of broken men, individuals cut loose from their own clan for punishment, and, on occasion, native men, the former inhabitants of newly acquired territory.

Large clans contained a number of septs. The sept was essentially a small clan within a clan. The distinguishing feature being that the nucleus of kin were related to the common ancestor through a younger son of the founder or one of the younger son's lineal descendants rather than in the direct line of descent. In addition to the patronymic, the sept bore a territorial title. Some septs became strong enough numerically to acquire their own territory and rank as independent clans. Others, due to the loss of territory or the need for

[24] Cf., e.g., Lachlan MacDonald, "Gleanings from Lord MacDonald's Charter Chest," Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. XIV (1889), pp. 63-72. Hereafter, I shall cite these transactions as TGSI.

protection were absorbed. Clan strength was also reinforc by the existence of dependent clans. Unlike the septs, de pendent clans retained their identity and their territory, while entering into a security pact.

Once the clan system was established, there were few individuals without allegiance to some chief. The individu status and protection depended on clan membership. An indi who could not name his chief had no dignity. Thus, under t Law of Arms of Scotland the clan is described as an agreeg families actually descended, or accepting themselves as des from a common ancestor.[25]

The Clan Chief. At the head of the clan stood the ceannai (literally the head of the kin), the living representative the common ancestor and the group. While giving the clan coherence and endurance, he served as the military leader, protector, lawgiver, arbiter, judge, and administrator of t community of fate. His power and position, backed by a res body of supporters, was almost independent of royal authori He did not, however, enjoy absolute power. The obligation consult the leading men of the clan on communal affairs tem his rule. He was a patriarch who governed by custom and co consent. Always, in a general sense, he was the father of t people. His government rested on reciprocal relations. The chief and the clan brotherhood mutually owed and received devotion. Right or wrong the clansmen were sheltered and defended in quarrels by their chief.

[25] Innes of Learney, op. cit., p. 25.

ee, a legal requirement, these individuals lack 621
ty. They are figureheads whose primary function is 632
se the government of the decisions reached by all the 564
s who share in the grazing and to regulate the use of 624
d by self-imposed rights. In townships where the sheep
ed as club stock the clerk serves to distribute the
from the sale of stock, and he may also keep a tally
individuals who are entitled to payment for labor in
ps where money has replaced customary reciprocity.
cooperative venture beyond the family level, there is
who can step forward to act as a foreman. The as-
n of this role would upset the basic status equality
crofters, unless the person wishes to be regarded as an
ic.

ftin<u>g Neighborhood</u>. The crofting neighborhood con- 621
f an aggregate of individuals and nuclear families 632
ll in several townships, standing in close spatial 571
ty. It is, therefore, natural that the ties of common
ce and kinship should continue to operate. The im-
distinguishing features between the township and the
social entity are two: (1) cooperation in agricultural
toral activities is replaced by mutual aid, and (2)
s a greater wealth of formal and informal inter-
l activities in which the people associate.
here are invariably established social circles within 621
he individuals habitually move. One always consists 571
individual's kinsmen, "his people," his family of 602
tion, and "his close friends," all other relatives within
urth degree of relationship.

the fourth degree of relationship. Although the extended family is now rather amorphous compared to what it must have been a century or two ago, it is still very real to the Sgiathanach. Once, perhaps, the townships and their historic antecedents were patrilocal settlements. Then, of course, the question of the availibility of land and the legality of subdivision were of small importance. Now the rigid system of land use enforces neo-local post-marital residence, often at a great distance from the parents, and very often means that the younger generation must join the constant outward movement of the population. Thus, the extended family is seldom, if ever, found intact. Indeed, the only times its members come together as a group is at a funeral or a wedding. On these occasions the strong patrilineal emphasis becomes apparent, and the fact that the individual always remains a member of his or her family group is revealed. It is, then, a stem family.

In structure the extended family includes all males and females out to, and including, third cousins. The kinship terminology is descriptive. Excepting grandchildren, all relatives are distinguished by sex and generation. Members of the parental generation and lineal descendents of the parents collateral kin are distinguished by their relationship to the individual's parents. Members of the grandparental and great-grandparental generations and their lineal descendents are similarly distinguished. The same descriptive technique extends to kinsmen of the first and second descending generations.

In the absence of terms for in-laws, these relatives are simply 596 601
referred to as the husband's or wife's kin. Hence, structurally, the extended family on Skye is comparable to the Irish system,[19] and, obviously, is dissimilar to our bilateral family structure.[20]

Because the extended family is so very unstable, it is 596
difficult to describe it functionally. There was a time when the people were divided into three communities of fate, the members of which were bound together by the bonds of real and fictitious kinship. Today individuals whose remote ancestors stood together in defense of their homes may not have seen their brothers in many years. The material I gathered allows only two generalizations. Any member of the extended family is always free to call upon his kinsmen for help or, at least, hospitality in need; and the closest surviving relatives always know their obligations and are ready to fulfill them. Thus, the family is a mutual aid group. The primary responsibilities of the kin are to see that all have food, shelter, and a proper burial.

There are additional social circles in the crofting 561 888 626
community. The youth, young adults, and the aged are divided into age grades. Of these, the age grade of the old men is especially important. They control the economic progress of the island by their deliberative function concerning any innovation in the crofting system. Whether it is a suggested

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[19] Cf. Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 79-85.

[20] Cf. Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," American Anthropologist, XLV (January-March, 1943), pp. 22-38.

change in the use of the gra
men to fence the crofts in a
crofts the old men must have
in the churches, the old men
social control, preserving t
including a severe limitatio
frivolous nature. This reli
strengthened by the inabilit
Indeed, one of the most seri
Skye is the small number of
and the few opportunities wh
a group. The functions of t
with those described for the
social circle is composed of
sect. They are mainly a mut

Although the status eq
all of the same sex and age
there are always a few peopl
minister enjoys high social
of the people. The doctor f
the people's physical well-b
spected because he educates
man for the group. If there
he will be accorded the high
interesting to note that the
often filled by newcomers to

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[21] Arensberg, op. cit.,

zing land or a desire of the young 561
n effort to improve the individual 888 626
their say. Through their position
also are the paramount source of
heir traditional habits and statuses,
n on all social activity of a
giously sanctioned control is
y of the youth to form a solidarity.
ous limitations of the society of
young men and women, boys and girls
ich they have to come together as
he old men's age grade are identical
Irish small farmer.[21] Another 794
the affiliates of the same religious
nal aid group. [476]
nality noted in the township for 554
carries over to the larger community,
who have an achieved status. The [793]
prestige as the spiritual guardian
s valued for his role in caring for [759]
eing. The school teacher is re- [875]
the youth and often acts as a spoke-
is a member of the landed gentry, [565]
est status in the area. It is [555]
achieved status positions are most
the island. The shopkeepers and

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pp. 125-139.

tradesmen are respected, but since most are crofters, they are 554
treated like all other men.

The Village. The village contains a heterogeneous population. 621
At least a third of the families have arrived in the recent 162 167
past. They have come to fill positions in the county and
national government offices; in Lowland directed banks or
business houses which have extended their field of operations
to Skye; and in the professions as doctors, lawyers, ministers,
and schoolteachers. A few have come to Skye to open a shop or
offer their services as tradesmen. The remainder are either
Skye folk who have recently moved into the village to see
employment or families that have been in Portree for one or
more generations. Very few families seem to have lived in
the village for more than three generations.

While there are many opportunities for an individual to 554
achieve status in Portree, the cultural heritage and the 184
economic limitations under which the Sgiathanach labors has
not allowed him to compete with the newcomers. His ability
to compete is further restricted by the prevailing policy of
the government and the national corporations to bring in
managerial and, often, clerical personnel from the outside.
All share one socio-economic trait; they are non-crofting. As [565]
yet there is no class structure beyond the polarity of the
landed gentry and the crofters who participate in village life.
There is verticality. Highest prestige status is accorded to
those who have been accepted among the local aristocracy. Be-
low them rank the ministers, doctors, and school teachers.

There are conflicting views on the question of succession to the office of chief. It is frequently said that chieftainship is hereditary within the nuclear derbfhinn, but it was described the clan for their benefit, at least until the feudal order came to make inroads. Thus, succession was by collateral descent, and the principal of succession was tanistry. The heir, or, was elected during the life of the chief from the oldest the fittest males. This meant that the chief was succeeded either his brother or his nephew. Although the preference collateral relatives was found in pre-Feudal Scotland, land, and Wales,[73] it became that primogeniture appeared in Hebrides at an early date. A search of the family pedigrees the Hebridean chiefs failed to disclose a single case of her collateral descent or election.[74] Eldest son succeeded her with regularity. As far as tanistry is concerned, the mention of a general rule of tanistry in pre-Feudal Scotland Ireland has been shown to be unfounded.[75] Moreover, the tion of manrhinn, an inter-family contract under which the of one clan lived with the daughter of another chief for ever with continuation depending on pregnancy, would have ved to absolve lineal a recession rather than collateral descent rive through tanistry. At the same time, however, the prong the extent that the eldest male child lived in absolute descent,

[73]Frank Adam (op.cit., pp. 21-26) supports this position numerous arguments throughout his work.

[74]Gerald Gordon, op.cit., p. 178.

[75]Donald B. T. MacLeod, The Tanistry and Modern Succession in the Highlands, Inverness, Northern Chronicle, 1927, pp. 14-32.

[76]John Cameron, op.cit., pp. 170-179; and Rob Macdonald, Sir Tormod Macleod (Dunvegan Castle Series), Glasgow, 1931, 143.

175 chief and to be accepted by his clansmen. Normally, he was succeeded by a son or a brother, but the practice of electing a younger man in preference to an elder was for the purpose of seizing their cattle by open force. Obviously, in my mind, is best understood as an hereditary dignity claim was dependent upon the family given allegiance of the clan members. Should his power become too arbitrary, the people could either withdraw, placing themselves under a new chief, or support another claimant's attempt at assassination.

Another problem connected with the position of the clan chief is the question of communal ownership of the land. Some authorities regard the chief as an administrator of the clan territory, holding it in trust and using it under custom to distribute it to his vassals and kinsmen. Others, on the principle of tenure was, it is said, revolution, a form of family inheritance, under which all clansmen had a right to a share in the land. If this was so, the rule implied joint possession of the land when feudalism was extended. There is very little evidence to support this position. There is no evidence that purely communal ownership of the land existed anywhere in pre-Feudal Scotland or Ireland.[77] In the Hebrides, three laws of land tenure had been established by the thirteenth century to the extent that the eldest male child lived in absolute descent,

[77]Curtis, op.cit., p. 165.

[78]Ken Cox, op.cit., pp. 26-29 also substantiates this argument.

[79]John Cameron, op.cit., pp. 170-171; Fox-Dilg Grant, op.cit., pp. 79, 87; Ian MacNeill, op.cit., pp. 37, 38-40.

without fealty or service.[78] Under the attenuated feudalism on the lands of the Isles introduced following the expulsion of the Norse, the chief's relationship to their clans to which they dominion. After the Crown finally broke the Lords of the Isles, who had obtained possession of all the Western Isles and much of the mainland through matrimonial alliances with the Norse viceroys, and Scottish early, as well as by arms conquest, almost all the Hebridean chiefs accepted charters from the Crown on service of ward and relief.[79] Those who failed to do so became tenants, forfeiting all claim to the land, because, under Jacobite, all feudal superior inconsistent with the principles of the Crown were ignored.[80]

Nevertheless, the chiefs who accepted their feudal status continued to administer to the clan under the old tribal usages. Gaeldom tenure was not abolished for the tenants of the manor derbfhinn, who received an allotment of land from their ruling kinsman. As we shall see, the land and no commercial value, and, therefore, was freely given to all ready to accept tenure and acquisition of service. Feudalism and clanship reinforced each other.[81] Under both possession of the land depended on pedigree. While the king could alter the feudal pedigree by forfeiture and regrant, the clan chief's pedigree depended on the

[80]John Cameron, op.cit., p. 165; and MacLeod, op.cit., pp. 9-10.

[81]Alexander Cameron, op.cit., pp. 73, 77; MacKenzie, op.cit., pp. 36-40; and Fox-Dilg Grant, The Book of Dunvegan (2 vols.) Aberdeen: Third Spalding Club, 1938, Vol. 2, pp. 3-4.

[82]Bell, op.cit., p. 211.

[83]Cox, op.cit., Issue of Journal, op.cit., pp. 3-7, 15-16; and Grant, op.cit., pp. 79-; 108.

additional elements of kinship. While the feudal custom of marriage, resignation, regrant, and wardship, a mortgage of the land on security of the rental, secured the possession of the clan chief's family, extra-legal tribal custom secured upon by force. The general will of the clan elected the chief as a patriarch; the laws of the kingdom supported him as crown vassal. Each chief was surrounded by hereditary officers of dignity whose number was a mark of the individual's status. These included pipers, marshalls, stewards, standard bearers, and armed retainers. There was also a seannachie (bard), who kept the pedigree of the clan, declared descent of clan members, and chanted clan traditions. Some chiefs had an official bard (Fadgie), but more often the chief, who had hereditary jurisdiction, and some of his principle men, including a baron-bailiff, sat in judgment. According to a minister of Kilmuir parish,[82] both customs and new statutes were reduced to writing around 1670 and proclaimed annually at the church doors. Although the chief lacked the jurisdiction of a Feudal Baron, the government was loath to disturb his tribal jurisdiction, which depends on the composition of the clan, because tenants recognized the stability of the tribal law and the impossibility of interpreting the remote islanders with the national system of justice.

In return for their service the officers of dignity were given a grant of land, and they were free to call upon the

[82]J. G. Dunlop, "Social Life in Skye from Legend and Story," PSAS, Vol. XXX (1933), pp. 260-290.

clansmen for food and lodging whenever their duties took them away from home. The decay of the clan system can, perhaps, best be seen in the disappearance of several of these offices and prostitutions placed on others. By the seventeenth century, after falling in a school in Lochgoilhead Hebrides by the extirpation of the rude, barbarous, and uncivil peoples, the crown succeeded in forcing the chiefs to give up their heads, to assume full responsibility for the obedience of their followers to the laws of the kingdom, and to limit their armed retinue to a small personal bodyguard.[83] Clan warfare ceased and the chief's henceforth gave unswerving support to the Stuart kings, at least against the English.

The Duties of the Clan. Below the chief of the larger clans ranked the commoners, (literally the head of the house). They were the brothers of the chief and stood in relation to the kept at the chief stood to the clan. In the MacDonalds of Sleat the eldest brother usually held the lands in North Uist. In the Chiefdom of Dunvegan the eldest brother received the farm of Trollisker.[84] As senior members, the elders ruled the clan on marriage and held the principle post of honor in battle. They served as stewards, collecting the revenues of the estate and fulfilling the duties of the chief during his

[83]Bishop of the Highlands at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century," in Dwyn, op.cit., Vol. II, Appendix 1, pp. 230-231.

[84]Alexander Cameron, op.cit., pp. 79, 80.

[85]James Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, ed. R. W. Chapman (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 326.

absence or incapacity. The minor cadets also acted as tutors of the heir in the chiefdom, and the clan or successed while a minor, as guardians. The cadets bore the surname of the clan and had a territorial title, for example, Macleod of Talisker or Macleod of Raasay.

The Country of the Clan. The much lower level in the hierarchy consisted of the duine-uasale (literally the high people). The chief established his younger brothers, sons, and other near relatives, those within the derbfhinn, on the land. They had farms by which amounted to leases for a term of years. At first the leases were typically for three lifetimes, but by the seventeenth century they had been reduced to the individual's life plus a number of years to begin on the decease of the holder in favor of his son.[86] At the expiration of the lease, a nearer relative was commonly favored with the farm. The former holder either sought a military career abroad, in Holland or France, or entered a living by gaelic begging.[87] In the Chiefdom of Dunvegan the eldest brother received the farm of Trollisker. As senior cadets, the elders ruled the clan on marriage and held the principle post of honor in battle. They served as stewards, collecting the revenues of the estate and fulfilling the duties of the chief during his

[86]Hawkins, The Book of Dunvegan, p. 52.

[87]Campbell, An Inquiry into the Causes which Facilitate the Rise and Progress of Heroides and Genealogies in the Highlands of Scotland, in Dwyn, op.cit., Vol. II, Appendix 4, pp. 239-240.

[88]MacDonald, op.cit., p. 63.

the local representatives of the nuclear derbfhinn. They were appointed by the chief, their recognition depended on the willingness of the clansmen to form a following either them or title or a right of succession. The following determined how large one the chief could bring into battle and how many officers of dignity he could support from their contributions.

The most important function of this group, of whom could trace a descent within the central family, was their bringing the clansmen with them through all clans. They formed a ministry to the chief and were the counsellors of the clansmen. The bond with the former was private kinship, with the latter, a sense of kinship. They were the salaxtay of the system. When the colleagues into debt, a frequent occurrence, the tenants came to their aid by pledging themselves to preserve the family and the estates, to reduce the debt.[88] They were also the local merchants, an important function in an area with only sub-annual markets and scarce money.

The Commons. The clansmen (literally the children) included all within the jurisdiction of the clan chief. Their relationship was real by fictitious kinship, tenancy, or contract. To the Lowlanders and the English, their relationship seemed to be a

[86]Ian Cox, op. cit., pp. 26, 27-28. See also Hawkins, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. 1, pp. 52-3.

[87]Cormick, op.cit.

service and object obedience approaching deification.[89] Until the early travelers never ceased to be astonished at the familiarity with which the chiefs treated their people, although at the chief's partaking of the people's dry-bread, and assumed that the chief would claim time by the land whenever he cut them.[90] At the bottom, the system was equalitarian. Every man had the right to address his chief and call upon him for support in times of adversity.

The clansmen were continuously recruited by natural increase, adoption, and the gradual subsidence of the younger members of the minister derbfhinn into the body of the clan. The downward mobility of the remote collateral relatives of the chief was of particular importance. It reinforced the belief in kinship of the clansmen and the chief. The feeling of kinship was further reinforced by the institution of fosterage, a practice common to pre-Feudal Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.[91] Under fosterage children were exchanged between families of equal status and, after the age of five, the heir of the chief or tacksman was given to one of the clan to be raised and educated. Fosterage served to form mutual alliances between families and clans, to ensure the loyalty of the people for their chief, strengthen the attachment of the chief for his followers, and bind the

[89]Andrew Lang (ed.), The Highlands of Scotland in 1750 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1898), pp. 14-15.

[90]Lang, op.cit.; Marshall Dale, "Personalities in the Highlands of Scotland," Sewanee Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, (Nov. 1892), pp. 25-26; and Cormick, op.cit., pp. 173-177.

[91]John Cameron, op.cit., pp. 62-68.

members of the clan to each other.[92] Strong attachments were thus formed between the foster brothers. Often the foster brother later acted as the henchman of the future chief.[93]

The clansmen were also bound to the land by the tenure of the chief as subtenants or outlets of the tacksman and joint tenants. In return for the land, the subtenants owed their superior the duties of gain, a fixed payment in kind, corvees, a contribution of food for the maintenance of the chief and his retinue, feasts, an obligation to follow the chief in offensive war, and blanch, an obligation to attend the chief for defense.[94] These burdens were aleved by tribal Scotland and Ireland.[95] When a chief gave a farm to a tenant, whether for one or more years, it was customary to give the tenant a stick of wood and some straw.[96] This was immediately returned to the master. Both parties have been obliged to fulfill their respective obligations as if they had signed a lease or deed. There were additional duties on the land.[97] Upon the death of

[92]Samuel Johnson, A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland, ed. R. W. Chapman (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 90; and Dr. Samuel Johnson, Journey to the Hebrides, ed. Peter Levi (London: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 90; and Sir Walter Scott, Rob Roy (Edinburgh: Adam and Black, 1848-1850) (New Waverley Series), 1893, pp. 250-260.

[93]Marjorie Plant, The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1952), p. 7.

[94]J. Wechsler Cincotti, "Personalities and Tenures," in Some Life of Ireland and Scotland (Dublin: Irish Rural Life, Bureau Statistics, 1944), p. 23; Sir John Cameron, op.cit., pp. 173-177.

[95]John Cameron, loc. cit. Martin, op.cit., p. 114.

[96]Cincotti, op.cit., pp. 250-290; 137-140; Cameron, op.cit., pp. 170-177; Martin, op.cit., p. 114.

a tenant, the chief was entitled to the best horse or cow as a payment for the continuation of the tenant's family on the land. The tenants were also required to give hospitality to the chief's bodyguard.

In this group, the clansmen, was found the essence of the clan system and the basic principal of the territorial tie and the bond of affiliation of kinship by commonality and affinity. The soil was not the mere spoken of subsistence; it was the ancestral home. Death to the subversion of the crown, the clansmen frequently espoused the tribal tie.[98] These clan lands were defended fiercely and the clansmen displayed no support their leadership chief, even when placed under a feudal overlord. The belief in kinship conflicted with the obligations of mere tenantry. Thus, the MacLeods held Trotternish by charter, but the MacDonalds held it by tribal custom. Attempts to enforce the Scottish Parliament laws in the Highlands, some proprietors were able to bring out their tenants for national defense, but they could never be sure whether or not the people would submit; there ever the claim of their feudal superior in favor of their lawless chief, who could not be diverted of his hereditary privileges as a patriarch.

Not a great deal is known of the kinship system among the clansmen. Undoubtedly, the people were grouped into a sept-like organization. To a senior member of an earlier, kinship and patriarchal authority over his kinsmen and represented them in clan affairs just as the flath had in the pre-Feudal period.[99]

[97]Mark Lovat, Memorials, Address to George I, Commanding the Chief of Fraser, Inverness in 1724," in Dwyn, op.cit., Vol. II, Appendix 2, pp. 234-236.

[98]Cf. Bell, op.cit., p. 204.

It is by no means insignificant that despite a large degree of Norse influence in political and economic life, there is only a little vague evidence of a linguistic nature for Norse influence on family life.[75] There are very few words pertaining to the family which can be traced to a Norse derivation. In battle the clansmen stood by extended families, brothers and their sons fighting together. The importance of the *davhfhr* as a social unit can be judged from the following statement in an argument between two men, if one were to swear by the father of his adversary, it was a great indignity; but if one were to cast a reflection on the father and the grandfather of the other man, the next word would be accompanied by a blow.[76] He would have been named after his grandfather for the *clann* used genealogical strings.

Summary. The clan was a composite organization. From the old tribal organization it took the *davhfhr*, four generation extended family, the territorial tie of the group, and the mutual, reciprocal obligations of service, support, and defence. Under the Norse, additional descent as a system of inheritance of the title and land of the tribe displaced but the tribal principle of *gavelkind*, by which the land was divided among the members of the *davhfhr* who in turn divided the land among their real and fictitious kinsmen, persisted. Scottish nonmanorial feudalism

[75] George Henderson, The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1910), pp. 89, 131-133, 138-139, 165.

[76] Martin, op. cit., p. 179.

provided the framework within which the functions of the tribal leader and the spirit of the clan brotherhood could be preserved and extended. The family possessions could be secured by law and the clan system could be stabilized. At the same time, however, the tribal tie remained paramount in the local spirit. The general will of the clan backed the chief as the patriarch, and kinship, however vaguely, conflicted with the obligations of mere tenantry.

The chief was the living representative of the common ancestor of the group. He gave the clan coherence and esprit-de-corps; his leadership was almost independent of royal authority. Backed by a roaring body of supporters, he governed by custom and general consent. His jurisdiction flowed from his patriarchal position and depended on the recognition and cooperation of the clan. To secure his position and maintain the belief in common kinship, the chief planned his collateral and lineal descendants on the land. These men, either cadets of the clan or tacksmen, held their land by lease. They were the local representatives of the central family. They must important function was bridging the cleavage which ran through the clan by forming a ministry to the chief and supporting his dignity and by being the counsellors of the people. The crucial subordinate of the members of the central *davhfhr* through the tacksmen into the body of the clan reinforced the belief in kinship. The belief was further strengthened by the custom of fosterage, the custom of giving a son to one of the clan to be raised and educated. The clansmen were the embodiment of the clan system. They were given land as joint-tenants of the chief or as subtenants

of the tacksmen. Here was the essence of the clan system, the common tie of territory and kinship. The land was not the property of individuals, it was the ancestral home.

The clan was strongly patrilineal. The kinship of the individual family stood to his children as the senior member of the *davhfhr* to his kinsmen, the tacksmen to his tenants, and the chief to the body of the clan. The fundamental underlying principle was mutual, reciprocal devotion. The system was equilitarian. Although the chief was the landowner, and the tacksmen received their land on lease, for which they owed the chief the duties of service and a rent paid as their tenants owed the tacksmen, the land had no commercial value, but was an ill defined and secondary consideration. The kinship of the clan depended on the number of supporters, who could be maintained on the land under the system of land use.

Economic Activities

The principles of land use and tenure on the Isle of Skye up to the early years of the eighteenth century were similar to those prevailing all over Highland,[77] the land was under a system of runrig agriculture. The word runrig appears to be a modification of the Gaelic *roinn-rithh*, a parallel or running division. The bulk of the population, as tenants of the land

[77] Gordon Gray Crawford, The Agricultural Revolution in the Highlands (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1939), pp. 1-2; Alexander Mackenzie, The Highland Clans of Kintail and Lochalsh (Inverness: Northern Chronicle Office, 1922), pp. 100-101; Alexander Mackenzie, The History of Kintail (Inverness: Northern Chronicle Office, 1894), pp. 60-61; Alexander Mackenzie, Antiquarian Notes on the Highlands and Islands (Edinburgh: Publication Committee of the Celtic Society, 1889), pp. 1-2; Alexander Mackenzie, Antiquarian Notes on the Highlands and Islands (Edinburgh: Publication Committee of the Celtic Society, 1889), pp. 1-2; John Dodgshon, Land Use in Medieval Scotland (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1981), pp. 1-2.

owning clan chief (or Lowland aristocrat) or subtenants of the tacksmen, were clustered into hamlet-like farming settlements to exploit the arable, pasture, and grazing lands by individual and cooperative efforts. The land available for cultivation was divided into infield and outfield. Since Ireland and Wales continued to use shifting arable, the Highlands accepted permanent arable in the Middle Ages, the practice of dividing the land into separate allotments must have been introduced by the Norse. Norway continues to use infield and outfield to the present day.

The infield, about one third of the arable land, was fertilized continually with the aid of manure. The outfield was worked until exhausted and then left fallow while a new piece was brought into cultivation. Both were split into "ridge," irregular strips about twenty feet wide and several hundred feet long, separated by "balks," any uncultivated patch. Each man had at least three rigs for his use. Annually, all exchanged at least one rig with the other holders by ballot. Since all of the land was not of equal value, this periodic redistribution gave each man an opportunity to have the use of the best soil every three years. The use of the pasture and fraiter lands was regulated by a system of common rights. The stock of each individual was proportionate to his share in the arable land. When arbitration was needed to decide questions of allotment, grazing rights, or rent, a "Birlay court," composed of the share-holders and their elderly counsellors, was held. Economically, each farm appears to have

been more or less autonomous and self-sufficient. Significantly, the names of these farms, as most place names for lochs and headlands, are Norse.[78]

The Crops and Their Care. The crops of Skye were essentially those introduced during the Middle Ages. The staples were oats and barley. The local varieties were unproductive in comparison to the varieties common in the Lowlands, but they were regarded as be hardy against the wind and rain than the more productive grains. A little flax and hemp was grown, but not grown for local needs. Only the chiefs and a few tacksmen had kitchen gardens; most of the people grew no vegetables.

Although cultivation was of secondary importance, it was basic to the economy. The land was prepared by a large and cumbersome four-horse plough or a small foot plough. The foot plough, called the *caschrom* (literally the crooked foot), was the most common implement on Skye. In a naturally curved oak or ash shaft, a long, flat coulter with an iron shoe was fastened with iron rivets. At the junction of the head and the shaft a wooden peg was inserted for the foot. Although it was slow and laborious in use, the *caschrom* enabled the user to get better yields from his rigs than by ploughing. The many it was the only means of lifting the soil, unless a tacksman ploughed the small, rocky strip for his tenant. In terms of

[78] Henderson, op. cit., pp. 133-133.

[79] The following description, which otherwise documented, is drawn from the [illegible] of a letter dated Glasgow, 1st March 1811, from Lord Macdonald to Sir Walter Scott, in Lockhart, Life of Scott, Vol. [illegible], p. [illegible], as described by John Dalziel, Edin., Vol. XXVIII (1910), pp. 101-130.

man hours, twelve men using the *caschrom* were able to turn one acre in a day, roughly the equivalent of the work of one plough and a man. A man with the *caschrom* could plough half an acre to sow a peck of oats or half a peck of barley. The yields from land prepared with the *caschrom* were about 16:1 for barley and 5:1 for oats compared to 12:1 and 3:1, respectively, on ploughed land.

While cooperation was an advantage when using the *caschrom*, the heavy four-horse plough required cooperative effort. The operation took four men, each of whom supplied a horse. One man held the plough; another led the horses; a third went ahead to remove thistles and stubborn weeds, and a fourth followed after to lay down the sides of sods. Frequently, a *gaisgeach*, or land breaker, a rise-like instrument with six stout wooden teeth had to be used to break heavy clumps.[80] On heavily overgrown land a small fluke plough, a light machine with a sickle-shaped coulter, had to be used before the soil would yield to either the plough or the *caschrom*. After ploughing, the land was harrowed with a wooden implement with two rows of wooden teeth and a mortar brush. The harrow was drawn by a man harnessed with a horse hair rope or it was dragged by a horse's tail.

To facilitate drainage the rigs were ridged up high in the centre with soil from the furrows on either side and were ploughed lengthwise to allow natural drainage. The result was that the lower edges were worn by stagnant water while the crown was leached and often excessively dry during the early growing

[80] James Macdonald, General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1811), pp. 134-137.

seasons.[81]

After ploughing, the infield was covered with sea weed. Some used old house thatch, mixed with dung, but there was a belief among the Skyemen that fresh green thatch from houses caused jaundice if made into reliable manure. The outfield received no manure. After three years of use, it was left fallow for seven years. Oats were sown in April or May and barley in early June, using the worst of last year's crop for seed. A potation of barley, oats and oats was generally made sown on newly ploughed land were believed to cause internal disorders in those who ate cakes or cream made from them.

The rigs were left untouched from sowing to harvest. There was too much else to occupy a man's time. Until 1650, and no doubt later, cattle forays and interclan wars kept them busy. The peat for the household for the following winter had to be cut. The cattle were moved to the hillside pasture and shepherded. Droves of cattle were taken to the southern markets. Fishing took a great deal of the men's time. Dogs, regarded as a consequence of Adam's fall, were not only untouched but paid were taken to leave them standing at the harvest. Except for a few earlier dogs, there were no enclosures. Animal depredations were common. One recently reported on Skye was to bring too depredating cattle to the limit of the field and drive blood from each of them.

The harvest was late, normally in September and October on the few dry days. Oats were cut by the sickle using a sickle.

[81] Cf., e.g., Donaldy, op. cit., p. 57.

Barley was pulled by the roots. The oats were either dried in a kyre or built up in a stack near the house or in the usual as needed. The process of drying was known as *kiloning*. A woman took a handful of stalks and set fire to it. As the husks burned, she beat the grain with a flail, a stick or bunch of heather. Using *kiloning*, it was possible to arrest, winnow, grind, and bake the oats cakes within an hour. Kilns came into use in the late seventeenth century, but kiln dried grain was considered inferior to grain prepared by *kiloning*. A few water mills had also been built at the close of the century, but they were also unpopular. The barley was stripped from the stalks, which were used for house thatch, and ground in a stone mortar for griddle cakes or, later, for whisky. The dry, like much of the oats, was used as porridge.

Stock and Its Implements. The Skyeman, in contrast to the Lowlander, was primarily a pastoralist. The stock included a small, hardy, shaggy breed of cattle well adapted to the rough terrain and scrubby pasture and sturdy ponies, a small, narrow-fleeced sheep of limited value for meat or wool, geese, and pigs. The importance of the cattle can be judged from the valuation of the farms. Although the three system of land measure had replaced the pre-Feudal Scottish measure known as a *davach*, the amount of land required to support ten head of cattle, with a contrary measure of four lands, which were divided into pence; lands and seisin units based on

[82] John Cameron, op. cit., pp. 170-171.

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enterprise of these fishermen who were active on the west 175*
coast.[80] In 1586 the royal burghs complained against the ex- 226
cessive tariffs imposed on fishermen by the leading men of Skye, the general hindrance of the people, and the theft of boats and gear. Similar complaints continued through the early seventeenth century. The chiefs insisted they had a right as heritors to impose duties. In 1622 the Island chiefs agreed to desist from stopping, impeding, molesting and oppressing fishermen, to protect them from harm by their clansmen, and to be answerable for their people. It made no difference. The people probably gave the English, French, and especially the Dutch, who were the main competitors in the Hebrides, as much trouble.

The Skye inhabitants had a deep regard for the sea.[81] Fishing was surrounded with many prescriptions. A quarrel on the coast, in particular if blood were drawn, would send the herring away for the season. Any landing place which freed them from the dangers of the sea was not to be defiled. Many carried a piece of turf with them when at sea. Upon putting to sea, the ship was always blessed, by invoking the Holy Trinity for protection and safe conduct. Prayers were also said when a sail was hoisted. Some took special care to turn a ship sunwise. These practices show a curious amalgamation of the early Druidical worship and Catholicism. Norse influence is apparent in all activities regarding the sea. The

[80] Alexander Nicolson, History of Skye (Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren and Sons, 1930), pp. 97-98.

[81] Martin, op. cit., pp. 97, 178, 186-188, 199-200.

*175 Skye galleys were similar in construction to the Norse ships,
226 and the majority of terms referring to the use of the sea are of Norse derivation.[82]

*175 Summary. The bulk of the population, as tenants of the land-owning chief or subtenants of the tacksmen and joint tenants, were clustered in hamlet-like farming settlements to exploit the arable, grazing and pasture land by individual and co-operative effort. The land suitable for cultivation was divided into infield and outfield, as the Norwegians still do. Each man had a concurrent right to the whole farm. Periodically, the shares, known as rigs, long strips, were redistributed by ballot among the holders. The remainder of the farm was used communally under a system of stinted rights. The environment and the land forms restricted the arable areas to the coast and a few internal glens. Hence, the settlements were coastal.

The crops were oats and barley, with some rye and a little flax. The stock was cattle, raised for export as a means of paying the rent and securing a limited number of necessities, and a few sheep which were kept to provide wool for clothing and occasionally meat. There were also horses and goats and, probably, pigs.

The techniques of land use were rudimentary and laborious. Most of the land was prepared with a foot plough. The cumbersome four horse plough was also used on better land. Co-operation was essential for the horse plough and an accessory for the foot plough. The yields were small, and periodically

[82] Henderson, op. cit., pp. 136-137.

there was famine. To supplement the diet, the men fished for 175*
domestic use. There were no specialists. Each man was a subsistence farmer, who bred a few head of cattle to meet his rent and provide dairy products, grew some grain for his family, and fished.

Trade with the Lowlands was established by the chief and his tacksmen. The droving industry, the overland marches of cattle from the Island to the market centers, provided the chief's only source of income, from which he paid the taxes assessed by the Crown and provided the clansmen with meal in bad years. There was also a less well organized trade in minor local produce and imports carried on with the Lowlands.

The Religion of the Clansmen

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Very little is known about the religious aspect of the culture during the days of the clan beyond the knowledge that the people passed through several changes in common with the rest of Scotland.[83] During the years of Norse occupation they worshipped under a tribal religion known as the Culdees Church, a secular order with a married priesthood and hereditary abbots. By the time Skye had become a part of Scotland, and the old Culdees Church had been replaced by Roman Catholicism.[84] In

[83] Cf., e.g., Lauchlan M. Watt, "Religion in the Clachan," in Home Life of the Highlanders, pp. 52-60.

[84] Origines Parochiales Scotiae (2 vols.; Edinburgh: W.H. Lizars, 1854), Vol. II, part I, pp. 340, 343-344, 354, 357.

oth the Highlands and the Lowlands politics and religion 175* 771 794 795
ecame completely intertwined. In the latter half of the
ingdom it began as a support for the crown and a force for
eaceful and orderly government, but the church became the
rey of self-seeking prelates.[85] On Skye hardly anything was
nown of the abuses of the Roman Church. There was no scope
or two ruling powers in the small communities. The priests,
aithful to their heritage and loyal to chief and clan, minis-
ered to the clansmen while their contemporaries elsewhere in
urope were guilty of neglect and corruptness. Nevertheless,
he Reformation, 1560, gradually influenced the Sgiathanach.
here was an important difference between the acceptance of
he reformed kirk in the Lowlands and on Skye. In the Lowlands
resbyterianism, in particular its emphasis on individualism,
ited the needs and aspirations of the people, and they welcomed
form. In the Highlands the Catholic faith was extinguished
a lack of priests.[86] Although the old faith was regarded
an amalgam of paganism, a cult of the saints, and meaningless
rmalism, practically all the reformed kirk could do, in the
ce of strong opposition, was to expel the priests, or make
re that no new priests found entry.

While the Scots were prepared to fight the Stuart king of
otland and England in 1638 and on several other occasions,
lminating in the Glorious Revolution in 1688, for their

[85] Notestein, op. cit., pp. 103-114.

[86] Peter Anson, The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland
ondon: Oates and Washbourne, 1937), pp. 35-44.

spiritual independence, the Skyemen stood stoutly behind their 175* 771 794 795
devine right kings who tried to modify the church in the
direction of Anglicanism. It was not until after Presbyterianism
had been replaced by Episcopacy that the Reformation reached
Skye, and it was not until after the Glorious Revolution that
communion was celebrated in the Presbyterian form.[87] Even so,
it required using the well worn trick of inviting the clan
chiefs to dinner on board ship and then arresting them to make
them agree to support the clergy and the discipline of the
reformed kirk.[88] As late as 1700 the people had not shown any
of the religious fervor which had ripped the Lowlands asunder.
The Sgiathanach, although nominally converted from Catholicism,
was apathetic to the slight differences between Episcopacy
and Presbyterianism. Revolution and Restoration made little
difference. The ministers, who were hereditary, remained, and
were succeeded by their sons.[89] Catholic and pagan rituals
persisted. At the close of the seventeenth century, Christmas,
Good Friday, Easter, and St. Michael's Day were still observed.[90]
They had been dropped from the Scots' calendar more than a
hundred years before. The holy wells were still believed

[87] Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae (new ed.; 8 vols.; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1926-1950), Vol. VII, p. 166; see also J. B. Craven, Records of the Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles, 1560-1660 (Kirkwall: Peace and Son, 1907); and Duncan MacPavish, Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1661 (2 vols.; "Publications of the Scottish Historical Society," Vols. XXXVII-XXXVIII; Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1943-1944).

[88] MacKenzie, op. cit., pp. 130-132.

[89] See, e.g., Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182; Vol. VIII, pp. 683-684; and Craven, op. cit., pp. 46, 48-49.

[90] Martin, op. cit., p. 250.

efficacious. Amulets were still worn as charms.

Even more important, religion was still intertwined 175* 771 794 795
with the structure of the clan. The ministers were said to be
negligent, either afraid of or sympathetic with local sentiments,
in their duty, by the evangelicals who waged an uncompromising
hostility to the old folk culture which tied the people to the
past.[91] It could hardly have been otherwise. The ministers
were tacksmen; they were married to daughters of tacksmen,
and their children married into tacksmen's families.[92] The
chief or a cadet of the clan met with the minister and his elders,
the lay kirk officers who were probably tacksmen, when a kirk
session was held, and the chief enforced their decisions by
his "irresistible authority."[93] Thus, the influence of clan
brotherhood pervaded every aspect of the culture. There still
was no room for two independent leaders. The people could not
have lost toleration for differing faiths. Episcopal, Catholic,
and Presbyterian families lived together without rupture. Re-
ligious fervor could have broken the clan. To see how the old
and the new blended, let us turn to the life cycle.

[91] John MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800 (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1951), pp. 2, 14-15, 50-55; and Gartmore, op. cit., pp. 340, 366-367.

[92] Scott, loc. cit.

[93] Martin, op. cit., p. 185

Life Cycle

Birth. Childbirth placed both the mother and child in the 175
danger of harm by malevolent spirits, especially fairies, who 8
would substitute one of their children for the human child.[94]
To protect them each morning and evening a sunwise circle was
made around the mother and child with a firebrand or burning
peat. All visitors crossed themselves with a firebrand and
might have the circle of fire made around them. As a token
of good luck the child was given silver; it was bad luck to
give it to the mother. If a person praised the child without
wishing it good luck or God's blessing, they might put the evil
eye on it. Although only old midwives are said to have continu
to make the firey circle by 1700 on Skye, the belief in the
evil eye was still strong.[95] The mother did no work, and
rejoicing was postponed until she was "kirked." The parents,
their relatives and friends attended a church service to give
thanks for a safe mother and a living child. After the service
they went to the home for a feast and dance. Following the
Reformation, the custom was placed under censure, as were all
Catholic and pagan rituals.

Baptism. Baptism freed the child from the power of the fairies
and the evil eye. Until baptized, the child was not called by
any name. On the way to baptism, the parents carried bread and

[94] The following is mainly taken from William Mackay, "Life in the Highlands in Olden Times," TGSI, Vol. XXIX (1922), pp. 1-18.

[95] Martin, op. cit., pp. 177-178, 181-182.

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hteen to twenty pennies equalling an ounce of silver, the d valuation on Skye was based on the number of cattle which a n could support.[65] All other stock and the amount of tivatable land was disregarded, being considered as essary to the support of the tenants. Wealth was measured the number of cattle an individual possessed; quality was econdary consideration. The number placed on the land, refore, was regulated by how many could be carried over the t favorable part of the year. As a natural consequence, hief agricultural defect was overstocking.

The tacksmen left their cattle and horses on the hill year round. No attempt was made to separate the beef dairy cattle, and, except for milch cows, which were given e straw, boiled chaff, and, in late winter, a few sheaths oats, the cattle were not fed. Many had to be lifted to ir feet in the spring. The process of gladden, of course, troyed much of the straw which could have provided winter d for the cattle. It was not until 1735 that any hay was wn on the island; it was used to feed the stirks (young tle). The small tenant and subtenant shared his house, and oats, with his cow. Distemper and malnutrition was common. a cow calved before the beginning of March, it was four or e weeks before she had enough milk for the calf, and the ld from the best cows was small.

Sheep were housed at night to protect them from the foxes. ring the winter they received about the same care as milch

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[65] John Walker, An Economical History of the Hebrides and ghlands of Scotland (2 vols.; Edinburgh: University of inburgh Press, 1808), Vol. I, pp. 56-79.

coxs. In the spring they were turned loose on the moors. For identification their owner either cut their ears or burned their horns with a hot iron.

As soon as possible after the spring sowing, the stock was moved to the rough grazing lands. Although there is no evidence to suggest that the sheiling (from the Norse skaling) life formed a part of the annual routine, its later importance makes it plausible. Rude huts of stone or timber were erected in the higher mountain pastures to which the cattle were driven by the people of each farm. In the sheilings the women cared for the stock and spent their time making dairy produce. For the young men and women it was a time for courting. The able bodied men must have taken only a limited part in the sheiling life; they were kept occupied with other duties.

The Droving Trade. The chief industry of the Skye was the cattle trade with mainland Scotland and, after the Union of 1707, England. As early as 1502, "marts," surplus cattle sold off in the autumn, were being exported from the barony of Trotternish.[66] By the middle of the century, the Highland trade had grown to such proportions that the Privy Council was forced to enact measures for the preservation of order at the markets. At the close of the sixteenth century, a MacDonald chief had established a regular trade in cattle and ponies between the Outer Isles, Skye, and the east coast of Scotland. By the time of the Union, Skye had become the largest producer of

[66] For details on the droving trade, see A. R. B. Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1952), pp. 2-35, 68-83.

#175 cattle in Scotland and served as the gathering place for most
439 of the Outer Hebridean stock.

The history of the cattle trade reflects the prevailing conditions of the times. Since cattle were the main form of movable property, they were the favorite prey in inter-clan raids. Indeed, until about 1640, the acceptance of a chief was dependent on his success as a cattle thief. Almost all clan wars began with a creach, a cattle raid. Some of these cattle lifting expeditions kept the men of Skye scuttling back and forth over the island and the neighboring mainland for years. Until the fifteenth century, the trade was primarily based on illegal droving. As late as the seventeenth century, a substantial proportion of the stock brought to market was stolen. The Privy Council, fully aware of the fact that the export of cattle and horses provided the only means by which the islanders could pay the king's duties, continuously strove to restrain illegal trade.[67] They enjoyed meager success. At best they could only name the guilty party and pass a sentence of outlawry while the offender was safe at home. The most stringent enactment was passed in 1609. It sought to compel drovers and merchants to buy only from those answerable to the King's laws. Skye was not included among the obedient subjects. It was only after the Union that droving became a lawful, organized trade with established markets.

[67] "State of the Highlands at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century," in Burt, op. cit., Vol. II, Appendix 1, p. 252.

*175 439 A variety of factors operated to enable Skye to become the primary Highland beef producer.[68] The emphasis on horticulture in the Lowlands and sheep breeding in the Southern Uplands, restricted the raising of cattle. The climate and terrain made the island more suitable for pasture than crop cultivation. The island had been geographically isolated from the ravages of the wars between England and Scotland, which periodically devasted the Lowlands and eastern Highlands, from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries, and from the internal troubles of the nation in which the clansmen played no small part. The determined resistance to the encroachment of the Crown fortified this isolation. Only rarely did the King's forces penetrate, and when they did, the islanders temporarily submitted. The clan wars had a way of balancing one another. Economic conditions also played their role. The tendency toward overstocking, coupled with the primitive methods of cultivation, compelled the tacksmen to thin their herds each autumn. The small amount of land allowed to each clansman would not support more than one or two cows. Stirks had to be disposed of and went to the tacksmen or the chief as rent and, perhaps, as payment for the purchase of necessities.

Transportation provided no difficulties. Boats had to be used to bring the cattle from the Outer Isles to Skye, but in trade from Skye the cattle provided their own transportation. Two fairs a year were held at Portree, beginning in 1693, in

[68] Cf., e.g., Haldane, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

mid-June and early September.[69] The horses and cattle sold at the fair were moved across Skye to either Kyle Akin or Kyle Rhea. When the tide was fairly low, the stock were ferried across, five head at a time. They were simply tied head to tail and pulled behind a boat. Once ashore, the cattle were driven south over the drove roads. The actual driving of the herd was entrusted to the clansmen, but it was the chiefs and tacksmen, who received the cattle in rent, who organized the trade and conducted the sales. Later, as banking houses were founded, professional drovers began to come to Skye. They usually bought on commission, bartering their knowledge of the country for a profit. Some of these drovers replaced the tacksmen and chiefs, paying them for the right to buy from the clansmen.

Markets and Trade. In addition to the droving trade, there was a limited amount of trade between Skye and the mainland in local products and a few necessities. As early as 1630 the yield of oats and barley was sufficient to enable Skye to export some grain to the mainland.[70] This export continued at the end of the century.[71] Probably the area producing the surplus was the barony of Trotternish. It was not, however, always a favorable balance. In 1726, for example, MacLeod had

[69] James D. Marwick, List of Markets and Fairs Now and Formerly Held in Scotland (Glasgow: n.p., 1890), pp. 100-101.

[70] Mitchell, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 182-183

[71] Martin, op. cit., p. 197

o import grain to feed his clansmen.[72] Other local exports ncluded wool, hides, tallow, furs, goats, sheep, butter, cheese, nd "Skye Champagne" (whiskey).[73] How the trade was carried on s uncertain. In 1630 it was said that the inhabitants traded ith Glasgow, but a navigator's handbook written in 1599 asserts hat the lack of trade with the Hebrides was due to the ignorance f most navigators about the seas.[74] By 1695, all the previsly mentioned products were being sold or bartered at the emi-annual fair at Portree.[75] No doubt the drovers were bringing n various mainland goods. There were also some peddlers from orayshire who had settled on Skye and travelled through the slands.[76] In 1750 a government officer who visited the island ained that until 1700 the people had ferried their exports ross to the mainland at Glenelg and then went by horse to verness where they obtained their merchant goods for the ar.[77] Trade by sea with Glasgow was said to be relatively cent.

shing. In terms of subsistence, fish were more important to e Skye folk than their stock.[78] The seas, lochs and rivers

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[72]Plant, op. cit., p. 97.

[73]Mitchell, loc. cit.; and William MacKay, "Industrial fe in the Highlands in Olden Times," Home Life of the Highlander 66.

[74]Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, affiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, ed. Edmund ldsmid (3 vols.; Edinburgh: E. and G. Goldsmid, 1884), Vol. I, 37.

[75]Martin, op. cit., pp. 244-245 [76]Ibid., p. 357

[77]Lane, op. cit., p. 45.

[78]Martin, op. cit., pp. 198-203; and Mitchell, op. cit., l. II, p. 220.

provided a plentiful supply of numerous varieties of fish, including herring, cod, ling, mackerel, salmon, trout, oysters, mussels, whelks, cockles, and limpets. Lobsters were also plentiful, but they were not taken from the sea. Herring was the most important of all. It alone was taken in nets. During the summer, fresh herring was important in the diet. Beginning in September, the people preserved and dried the herring without salt, which was almost impossible to obtain because of the high tariff and the lack of custom houses. The fish were simply gutted and hung in pairs on a heather rope strung across the house. The peat smoke was no doubt a factor in their keeping all winter. Shell fish were gathered along the shore by the women. In addition to being of some importance in the diet, shell fish were used to cure many forms of sickness. All other fish was taken by anglers, using raw fish for bait. Most fish was eaten fresh. The cuddy provided oil for the lamps. Generally, fishing was restricted to the summer months.

Commercially, the seas were not exploited by the local inhabitants.[79] Indeed, the fishing industry was late in developing all over Scotland. The political unrest of the times and the general economic depression of Scotland tended to suppress the industry until the seventeenth century. However, some enterprising fish curers from the royal burghs and many foreign fishermen found the Hebridean seas profitable, especially from the sixteenth century on. The clansmen profited from the

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[79] James Anderson, An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides and West Coasts of Scotland (Edinburgh: C. Elliot, 1785), pp. i-xxvii; See also Ronald MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

*175 764 Death. At death a "likewake" was held. All work in the township ceased and the fires were put out. A bowl of salt, to represent the soul, and a bowl of earth, to represent the body, were placed on the chest of the deceased. The room was filled day and night with relatives and friends who jested, sang, spun yarns, fiddled, piped and danced. A bard was present to recite praises for the deceased. The Reformed Kirk tried to stop these irregularities, which were regarded as heathen superstitions, by limiting the guests to near relatives and prescribing sober behavior and the reading of scripture.[100] The result was that for many years religion was absent at funerals. One Englishman found a Highland funeral merrier than an English wedding.[101] Ministers or elders do not seem to have attended funerals anywhere in the Highlands, until around 1700 when "chesting," placing the body in the coffin after being wrapped in a linen sheet or, later, a woolen cloth, under the supervision of a minister or elder became a legal requirement.[102]

Burial was usually on the Sabbath, until 1650. The party, including women who followed wailing to the grave, was well provided with food and whiskey. Fights, resulting in serious injury, were common and not infrequently the coffin was misplaced on the way. Up to about 1700 small cairns (small heaps of stones) were erected at each halting place.[103] The graveyard, or the church when they buried in the church, was approached from the east.

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[100] Graham, op. cit., p. 300.

[101] Burt, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 107-108.

[102] Graham, op. cit., p. 301. [103] Martin, op. cit., p. 205.

Conclusion

*175 We have, then, a picture of a simple, isolated, kinship-oriented culture. The focus was provided by the clan, an all pervading belief in brotherhood. The essence of the clan system was the common tie of territory and kinship. The chief was the living representative of the common ancestor. The cadets and tacksmen secured his position and maintained the belief in common descent by bridging the cleavage between him and the dependent followers. All authority stemmed from the status of a patriarch, the head of a king group, family, derbfine, or clan. Moreover, in the structure of the clan we find a strong feeling for a hierarchy. Still, at the bottom, the system was equalitarian. It rested on mutual, reciprocal devotion.

Commercialism was not well developed. The land had little or no value as a source of revenue. Nor was it only the means of subsistence. For the chief, who gave the clan coherence and endurance, its value was in supporting as many followers as possible under the undeveloped techniques of land use. For the people it was the ancestral home. Every man had a share in the soil. There were no opportunities to achieve status. Under the communal system there was no incentive to be anything other than a self-sufficient pastoral agriculturalist. There was but little trade, and there were no towns.

Religiously, the Sgiathanach had a simple faith. He was unconcerned with constitutional differences. In fact, his religion was an amalgam of pagan, Catholic, and Presbyterian

butter. If the child was a boy, they gave some to the first man they met; if a girl, to the first woman. The Reformed Kirk continued the practice of public baptism before the congregation. The father, or godfather, continued to recite the Apostle's Creed. The Lord's Prayer was said, and a doxology was sung. When an attempt was made to abolish set prayers and liturgy sometime around 1650, baptism ceased to be performed in church. Following baptism, the festivities of the kirking were repeated. Private baptism was not forbidden until 1690. 175* 852

Marriage. Marriage, either regular or irregular, for a lifetime or a year, was a contract. The young clansman with his father and friends went to the girl's home where the oldest in the group told who was wanted. If her parents thought the marriage desirable, the party was invited in to eat and drink. This was the "little agreement." In about two weeks the "great contract," the settlement of the dowry and date of the wedding was concluded at a dance and feast. Among the gentry a great deal of money passed in marriage contracts. Both dowries and tochers, a form of dower, were settled. The dowry varied with the status of the woman; the tocher with the position of the man.[96] 175* 58

The "booking" may have occured on Skye. Elsewhere, at least, shortly before the fixed date the couple bound themselves, under penalty of a money fine, to marry by the date. The money was placed in the hands of a neutral party, usually the session clerk who entered their intentions in his books. In view of the

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[96] Lachlan MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

resistance of the Skye ministers to parish registers,[97] however, the "booking" is dubious. 175 58

About a week before the wedding, the young couple went out together to invite their guests. All who came brought food and drink for the feast. Before the marriage the groom's party assembled at his home and the bride's at hers. The marriage took place in the church, at least after 1690, and was followed by festivities at her home which lasted until the refreshments were gone, three days was the minimum. On the morning after marriage, the bride's mother bound her daughter's hair in a linen coif before rising.[98] Her friends then dressed her. The couple was toasted with whiskey while they sat in bed. Marriage took place on Thursday and the party had to last until after the kirking on Sunday. The Kirk censured the Sabbath celebration, especially the piping, promiscuous dancing, and drunkenness.[99]

At the end of the rejoicing, the couple was conveyed to their new home by the party. As they entered, the eldest man broke a bannock over the bride's head; all tried to get a piece of the lucky bannock. The first man the bride met on the path had to address her in verse, the poet's blessing. Her father, perhaps in return for the food and drink sent by the chief, presented the chief with a horse or cow. No one was allowed to marry without showing the chief he was able to support a wife.

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[97] Cf. MacTavish, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 37.

[98] Plant, op. cit., pp. 256-257.

[99] Graham, op. cit., p. 187.

#175 practice. His spiritual leaders were his counselors in secular affairs, the tacksmen. Religious fervor could have broken the clan, but it remained a support for the structure of the society. The Reformation influenced the clansmen only in so far as the patriarch would let it.

Two hundred years ago the culture of the Sgiathanach was distinctive. We are now in a position to ask how has the culture changed and to what extent has it preserved its continuity?

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CHAPTER IV

NNING TWO CENTURIES

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The accounts of the Isle of Skye which
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ovelty caught their attention. Those who
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economists. The occasional author who
the Island's society was more concerned
s of notable individuals and their achiev
, than with the bulk of the population.

It is only in the distant past and comparatively recent times that governmental inquiries and enactments give a glimpse into the culture. For well over a hundred years after the abolition of the clan system the British government showed a lack of interest in the culture involved in the local situation. While the American colonists rebelled because taxation without representation was no less than tyranny, the Islanders suffered in silence under the law of the Kingdom. Two works, however, give a picture of life on Skye. These are the Land Statistical Account of Scotland and the New Statistical Account of Scotland.[1]

The conceptual scheme which has been adopted to reduce material history to culture history takes two points of departure.[2] On the one hand, there are four well defined periods marked by innovations in the economic, social, and religious aspects of the culture and varying rates of population change. On the other hand, there are the overall trends of change in the and population change and the continuity of the culture. The dates selected to mark the beginning of each period are: 1745, 1811, 1847, and 1886. The year 1745 is the conventional date for the beginning of the modern period of Highland history. It also marks the beginning of a prolonged period of population

[1]The Statistical Account of Scotland, ed. Sir John Sinclair (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1791-1799) and The New Statistical Account of Scotland (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845). I shall refer to these works as OSA and NSA.

[2]I am indebted to Julian Steward for the general approach which follows.

growth. In 1811 the first alterations in the traditional system of land use were made. A religious revival was underway. The former social hierarchy had almost disappeared, and population growth accelerated. The year 1847 witnessed a cultural upheaval and a reorientation of the culture. The state church had been broken by schism. Famine was widespread. Large scale commercial farming was replacing the subsistence economy, and the population began to decline. In 1886 the government passed the Crofters Act, a significantly decisive date for the Highlands since the beginning of the modern period. Commercial farming was restricted in favor of the traditional economy. Within a few years religious schism again appeared. Population decline accelerated and the age structure began to be modified in the direction of an aging population.

Period I (1745 - 1811)

The failure of the "Forty-Five" is popularly regarded as marking the end of the clan system. Political and economic unity and the heralding of the beginning of the modern period of Highland history. In reality, the break with the past was not as sudden or complete as is commonly thought. The clan organization had undergone profound modification and functionally was in a state of decay before the abortive rebellion. Parliament the British government to administer the coup de grace. The event was only the catalyst which hastened the political and economic assimilation of the region with the lowlands of Scotland. In retrospect, the reforms and innovations which

followed the social organization, economic system and pattern of religious life formerly characteristic of the Isle of Skye can in many cases be traced well back of the "Forty-Five." The crucial fact is that only after this date did they assume importance. Moreover, many traits which typified the culture in the days when a belief in clan brotherhood was an all pervading regulator of human relationships persisted with varying intensity and duration, and the form of the culture was modified.

The British government was determined to shatter the remaining feelings of clan sentiment, which were regarded as synonymous with hostility to peace and to settled habits of industry. The clansmen, rebels and Jacobite allies, were disarmed and forbidden to wear their distinctive dress. Hereditary jurisdictions were abolished. Sheriffs and sheriff-substitutes replaced the local barons' courts. The disaffected chiefs were deprived of their estates. In short, the political and military power of the clan chiefs was broken. The English believed they had emancipated an enslaved and poverty-stricken people from the yoke of arbitrary and tyrannical power.[3]

Where the clansmen were not restricted and protected by his chief and tacksman there was a void. The system of justice for the island was placed under a single sheriff-substitute.[4] Beyond his presence, the influence of the British Government

felt only when and was were enlisted into the armed forces, or when flagrant enormities were enforced.[5] For in times any indication that the people were inclined to look to the government for assistance. Social control was strong enough to deal with transgressors. In Dalriadan parlia, for example, the minister reported that "no fewer than thirty persons have been expelled for theft, not by sentence of the magistrate, but by the united efforts of the better sort of inhabitants."[6]

The effects of the changes did not in themselves have any effect on the day to day life of the people. Be sure, they turn to the attitudes and policies of the former clan chiefs to find the sources for cultural change. Deprived of their feudal prerogatives and, in consequence, some of their dignity and influence, the chief was transformed into a landlord. Hereditary jurisdictions were abolished. Sheriffs and sheriff-substitutes replaced the local barons' courts. The disaffected chiefs were deprived of their estates. In short, the political and military power of the clan chiefs was broken. The English believed they had emancipated an enslaved and poverty-stricken people from the yoke of arbitrary and tyrannical power.[7]

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While the processes of commercialization involved now more than the conversion of all resources into money, it been in the cattle market, stimulated by economic developments in the lowlands, made the commercialization relatively simple. The landlords merely turned to rackrenting.[11]

The atrophy of the affection which had characterized the relationship of chief and tacksman was exposed. When the latter were offered new leases, at rents which made the former rents seem only nominal, they once again rallied together for a common cause.[12] Only this time they used the technique of sit-down strike to the demands of a landlord rather than to the support of a chief. Many of the tacksmen emigrated, some taking their subtenants with them. There was another reason for the gradual disappearance of the tacksman. The time had passed when the senior member of the central derbfine, the four generation family, had no other way to provide for his blood and collateral relations than by giving them a farm. They could now achieve their ambitions by means of a commercial career.[13] By the end of this period, the men who had supported the structure of the society, by bridging the cleavage between the chief and the clansmen and by reinforcing the belief in kinship, were to be found in the four corners of the world.

[3]Lang, The Highlands of Scotland in 1750, pp. 14-21.

[4]Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, p. 324.

[5]James MacDonald, General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, pp. 151, 152, 155.

[6]Martin Martin, Descriptions of a Highland Parish (26 ed.; London: Mr. Ibbotson, 1884, 1703), p. 106.

[7]Lang, The Highlands of Scotland in 1750, pp. 14-21.

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[37]James MacDonald, General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, pp. 151, 152, 155.

[38]Martin Martin, Descriptions of a Highland Parish (26 ed.; London: Mr. Ibbotson, 1884, 1703), p. 106.

[39]Lang, The Highlands of Scotland in 1750, pp. 14-21.

[40]Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, p. 324.

[41]James MacDonald, General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, pp. 151, 152, 155.

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[43]Lang, The Highlands of Scotland in 1750, pp. 14-21.

[44]Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, p. 324.

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[48]Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, p. 324.

[49]James MacDonald, General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, pp. 151, 152, 155.

[50]Martin Martin, Descriptions of a Highland Parish (26 ed.; London: Mr. Ibbotson, 1884, 1703), p. 106.

[51]Lang, The Highlands of Scotland in 1750, pp. 14-21.

[52]Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, p. 324.

[53]James MacDonald, General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, pp. 151, 152, 155.

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[55]Lang, The Highlands of Scotland in 1750, pp. 14-21.

[56]Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, p. 324.

[57]James MacDonald, General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, pp. 151, 152, 155.

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[61]James MacDonald, General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, pp. 151, 152, 155.

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[64]Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, p. 324.

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[67]Lang, The Highlands of Scotland in 1750, pp. 14-21.

[68]Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, p. 324.

[69]James MacDonald, General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, pp. 151, 152, 155.

dynamic evangelical form of worship in preference to the moderate, humanistic preaching of their own ministers.

Period II (1811-1847)

The year 1811 marks a turning point in the culture history of the Isle of Skye. During the second period the processes we have observed in the initial period gained strength and began to unfold in their characteristic forms. By this time the Industrial Revolution was nearly 100 years old. Britain was on the verge of victory in her wars for the freedom of the seas and her commercial empire was her major concern. Since the government remained disinterested in the Highlands, the sources for culture change must again be sought in the attitudes and policies of the local landlords.

Exercising their legal powers to separate and reunite the interested strips of arable into permanent, compact holdings, the landlords carried out the enclosure of the commons between 1811 and 1819 (ruanig was virtually abolished.[1] In the Lowlands and Eastern Highlands this alteration of the traditional system of land use was not, at least, the first step in the direction of a more sweeping reform, consolidation of

[1]Tennant, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 173.

[2]Donald Macleod, The Book of Duornaig, Vol. I, pp. 70-71; and Q&A, II, 251; III, 247, 17, 135-137; IV, 251, 224; V, 117, 118.

[3]Walker, An Economical History of the Hebrides, Vol. I, p. 327.

[4]Tennant, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 305-306.

[5]Walker, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 345; Q&A, IV, 224; XVIII, 3.

[6]Tennant, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 173.

[7]Donald Macleod, The Book of Duornaig, Vol. I, pp. 70-71; and Q&A, II, 251; III, 247, 17, 135-137; IV, 251, 224; V, 117, 118.

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[48]Walker, An Economical History of the Hebrides, Vol. I, p. 327.

[49]Tennant, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 305-306.

[50]Walker, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 345; Q&A, IV, 224; XVIII, 3.

[51]Tennant, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 173.

[52]Donald Macleod, The Book of Duornaig, Vol. I, pp. 70-71; and Q&A, II, 251; III, 247, 17, 135-137; IV, 251, 224; V, 117, 118.

[53]Walker, An Economical History of the Hebrides, Vol. I, p. 327.

[54]Tennant, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 305-306.

[55]Walker, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 345; Q&A, IV, 224; XVIII, 3.

[56]Tennant, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 173.

[57]Donald Macleod, The Book of Duornaig, Vol. I, pp. 70-71; and Q&A, II, 251; III, 247, 17, 135-137; IV, 251, 224; V, 117, 118.

[58]Walker, An Economical History of the Hebrides, Vol. I, p. 327.

[59]Tennant, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 305-306.

[60]Walker, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 345; Q&A, IV, 224; XVIII, 3.

[61]Tennant, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 173.

[62]Donald Macleod, The Book of Duornaig, Vol. I, pp. 70-71; and Q&A, II, 251; III, 247, 17, 135-137; IV, 251, 224; V, 117, 118.

[63]Walker, An Economical History of the Hebrides, Vol. I, p. 327.

[64]Tennant, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 305-306.

[65]Walker, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 345; Q&A, IV, 224; XVIII, 3.

[66]Tennant, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 173.

[67]Donald Macleod, The Book of Duornaig, Vol. I, pp. 70-71; and Q&A, II, 251; III, 247, 17, 135-137; IV, 251, 224; V, 117, 118.

[68]Walker, An Economical History of the Hebrides, Vol. I, p. 327.

[69]Tennant, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 305-306.

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The land into large commercial farms.[26] Even had the landlords desired to emulate the results achieved elsewhere, it is doubtful that the persistent demands of the steadily increasing numbers of people for a share in the land could have been disregarded at this time. On Skye, as in most of the Western Highlands, the crofts of the old farms was simply divided into as many equal shares of five to ten acres as possible. The grazing lands continued to be held in common and used under a system of strict rules and regulations, and the arable was commonly between harvesting and spring ploughing. Lacking any legally recognized traditional or written right to the land, the people remained tenants at will, enjoying hereditary tenure as long as they had the good will of the landlord and, especially, that of his factor.

The people, then, were each given a precisely equal share, which was often assigned to them in lots, in the old farms. Just as the old infield and outfield system had functioned to provide each man with a bit of the worst and a bit of the best soil, the shares were set out in long strips. After the former joint-tenants and subtenants received their final allotments, they moved their dwellings from the small hamlet-like clusters near the center of each farm to the individual plots. The township settlement patterns, as we now know it, came into existence.

The effects of this rather superficial reorganization

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soon become apparent. There was a leveling of the social hierarchy. The former joint-tenants, subtenants, and cotters had become crofters. Whatever relationships had existed between the master the clansmen, all were now more or less equal in status. The cotters seem to have temporarily disappeared.[27] The proprietors were absent, and the tacksmen were almost gone. Indeed, the indignant withdrawal of the tacksmen had contributed to the circumstances which made the abolition of runrig possible.

Although the crofts were small and the rents were high, the people were able to satisfy much of their domestic needs by combining cultivation, stock breeding, and fishing. They could also make enough from the droving trade and, in certain areas, helping to pay the rents and purchase grain. The crofts were considered more than adequate. Early marriage and subdivision of the crofts became common practice.[28] When a crofter's son married, he was allowed to take part of his father's land and build a house. The proprietors may have explicitly encouraged the practice of early marriage and subdivision. Those who could be gently prodded into helping or commercial fishing not only produced a valuable export but also paid for the privilege of working in the form of high rents. Within a generation three and four minister families were living on crofts originally intended for one. When subdivision was at last forbidden, about 1840, the crofter simply took his

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married sons into the house. Family solidarity was strengthened. As each cottar came to be the home of a three generation family, the crofters, whatever problems they had with each other, were the clansmen, all were now more or less equal in status. The cotters seem to have temporarily disappeared.[27] The proprietors were absent, and the tacksmen were almost gone. Indeed, the indignant withdrawal of the tacksmen had contributed to the circumstances which made the abolition of runrig possible.

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[26] Gray, Highlands of Scotland, pp. 223-24; Gaskin, Sketches of the Highlands, pp. 126-200.

[27] John MacNeillach, The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1948), pp. 27-28; Gray, Gaskin, and Grant, 1954, Vol. IV, pp. 2127, 2131.

[28] Ibid., pp. 2125, 2126, 2270, 2272-273, 2277, 308, 314, 348.

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But only were villages completely alien to his heritage but he was also in bad neither the need to purchase commodities nor the opportunity to accumulate a surplus for buying more than a little grain or an occasional necessity. Whatever his small needs, they could be satisfied locally, especially, by turning to a local tacksman or the estate factor, both of whom made gratuities for sundries available on an extended credit-with-barter basis.

Plans were drawn up for the establishment of a village at Portree shortly after the Forty-five.[29] Over fifty years passed before that town could be said of Portree was that it had "the appearance of a village."[30] Another attempt to bring a village to Skye was made in 1797 when a group of skilled Highlanders in London built the abortive fishing villages of Stein.[31] As a part of the reorganization of the Macdonald estates, villages were laid out at Portree and Uyleskin sometime after 1811.[32] Uyleskin failed to develop.

[29] Ibid., Vol. III, p. 377.

[30] John Knox, A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebrides in London built the abortive fishing villages of Stein.

[31] Anderson, An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides, p. 8; Canon Macleod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. II, pp. 120-122; and Nicolson, History of Skye, pp. 259-260.

[32] Macleod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. III, p. 445; Nicolson, History of Skye, pp. 320, 232, 234, 251.

Sources of Economic Insecurity.

[33] Macleod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. I, p. 400, 272; MacNeillach, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 327; Gray, op. cit., p. 231, 258, 311, 320; and Nicolson, op. cit., p. 207.

[34] MacNeillach, The Highlands and Isles, Vol. III, pp. 366-368.

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By 1845 there was a small crescent of houses along the shore, a few shops, a post office, a hotel, a church, a school, a pier, and a new inn, a church, a post office, a bank, several stores and a street of homes. The population had grown to 2,000 of 5,000. The existence of the village depended on the summer cattle markets and the fishing industry, which was in the hands of merchants.

Following the establishment of Portree and accompanying the gradual decline in self-sufficiency, the island was brought into closer contact with Great Britain and the extension of regular means of communication.[35] Regular communications, of course, are a prerequisite for commercialization. There must be access to markets for the ideal produce and access to consumer goods. Without such access no man can specialize; with it the Kelebhanach has been disclosed to specialize. The old drove route, the beaten paths which had served them well for many centuries, were now supplanted by roads in the Lowland sense of the term. By the end of the period most of the more accessible townships had been connected with Portree and the mainland, and a steamer had entered regular service between Portree and Glasgow. These factors paved the way for the introduction of commercial sheep farming.

[35] George and Peter Anderson, Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (3rd ed. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1859), p. 435; and Ibid., pp. 320, 232, 234, 251.

Sources of Economic Insecurity.

[36] Macleod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. I, p. 400, 272; MacNeillach, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 327; Gray, op. cit., p. 231, 258, 311, 320; and Nicolson, op. cit., p. 207.

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While the process of commercialization proceeded against the prevailing forces of the Lowland market, but not against the wil way of life, events in Great Britain were beginning to have a pronounced adverse effect on the local economy. The end of the Napoleonic Wars brought the cattle boom to an end. Although the droving trade remained brisk, the value of the stock declined markedly.[37] An increase in the number of cattle on the grazings, as a means to maintain an economic equilibrium, was impossible. The island has already overstocked and had been devastated by this practice. At the same time, development of large scale commercial farming in the Lowlands had encroached on the right of way of the drovers, and the Skye cattle were suffering at the markets from competition with improved, better nourished breeds from the northeast and southwest. The end of the wars also witnessed a decline in the kelp market. Parliament finally completely abolished kelping by means of bounties, thus supplanting the kelp industry.

The crofters, who had suffered backbreaking to get their [illegible] small strips of arable, found themselves without the means to pay the rents which had been set at the peak of the cattle and kelp markets and without enough land to meet subsistence needs.[38] The striking thing is that in spite of increasing economic hardship, the population continued to grow. They became hostages

[37] Nicolson, The Skyes Book of Scotland, pp. 205-221.

[38] Malcolm Gray, The Highlands of Scotland (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956), pp. 231-232; Macleod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. I, pp. 272; and Lelande, The Scottish Statist Review, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1953), pp. 57-62.

[39] Canon Macleod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. II, p. 115.

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to the health of the potato and their one fertility.[40] Many people were forced to work for fishing, on a part time basis, but even the initial success was short-lived. Others supplemented their diminishing incomes from the croft by seasonal employment in the Lowlands. Crofting had ceased to be a subsistence economy; the people had lost their self-sufficiency. But were they ever quite able to escape from a dependence on some form of supplementary income to provide the bare essentials of life. The difference between conditions then and now is that the pressure of the population on the means of subsistence increased until it approached a Malthusian ceiling.

In the intrinsic epidemic and famine began to take their [illegible] toll. Institutions became widespread and there was no system of relief beyond the moral obligation of the proprietors to provide grain. The marriage rate fell. In Kilmuir the average annual number of marriages fell from twenty-five to six. Subdivision was forbidden, but it was too late. In the parish of Kilmuir there were 190 lots, crofts, and farms to support [illegible] 425 families in 1840. In all of Skye, after the emigration of [illegible] at least 12,000 people, there were 3000 crofters and 3,000 cottars.[41] Despite the fact that land had become as big a luxury as meat and the fact that many were living on potatoes and fish, the population continued to increase. By 1841 it reached 23,076. Finally, the economic structure collapsed.

In the autumn of 1846 there were no potatoes. A blight [illegible] destroyed the entire crop. Although the famine was universal [illegible]

[40] For details concerning the plight of the crofters at this time, see Ibid., pp. 218-220.

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In Scotland, it lasted the same efforts elsewhere. There is a [illegible] significant correlation in the Highlands and Islands, as in Ireland, of the dependence of the population on the means of subsistence, due to a change from subsistence farming to a partially commercial system of land use, and the intensity of the crop failure. In both countries the persistence of innumerable [illegible] levels from the traditional economy, including conservative techniques, attachment to the land, and a tendency to share the land among the kin, hampered commercialization or, at least, specialization and gave rise to devastation.

Five years of famine ended the period of crofting. [illegible] The emigration of large numbers and the death of untold numbers[42] must have seriously disturbed the patterns of interaction within the extended family and the township. Although the proprietors made a final effort to help their tenants, ruining themselves financially, they had foreseen their people. The [illegible] ministers were so shocked by the famine that they began to [illegible] the symbols and values they upheld reflected the attitudes of the landlords and lessed significance for the people.

A religious revival resulted effective proportions by [illegible] 1852.[43] The appearance of the Revival suggests that the Kirk was far more disorganized than the scant social and economic record indicates. Normally, the attempt to seek supernatural assistance as a source of comfort and hope appears only after the efforts have become thoroughly disorganized.[44]

[41] Ibid., pp. 246-272.

[42] Hutchinson, op. cit., pp. 15, 165; and Macrae, op. cit., pp. 53-57.

[43] Macrae, op. cit., p. 53.

[44] Hutchinson, op. cit., pp. 217-211.

[45] Thomas Brown, Annals of the Disruption in 1861 (Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace, 1892), pp. 242.

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appear in the parishes of Bracadale and Duirnet. Bracadale had already seen the beginnings of the final stage in commercialization; Duirnet had been sold piecemeal to new landlords.

Evangelical Presbyterianism created a new pattern of ritual and religious life on Skye. It gave the Gaelic a new forum to replace the dead clan system. Much of the form of religious worship and behavior characteristic of the Island today was established during this Revival Movement. The "Men" became the leaders of the Kirk and of the community. An esoteric religious hierarchy evolved. There were the unfortunate few who were in a state of saving grace and acceptable at Communion, and the eminent "Men," who had age, venerable spiritual lairds.[46]

The Revival, unlike many nativistic movements, neither held out the promise of cultural regeneration nor offered the means of protest against the economic conditions. Instead, it fuse the traditional characteristic of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries was renewed with vigor. While religious enthusiasm grew, social life became a family level was restricted. Perhaps, it was of destitution and the ever present threat of famine had made hospitality a luxury which few could afford. Perhaps, it was no longer possible for the people to provide whisky and food for large numbers at a Communion. The local ministers assert that the changes were due to the activities of the "Men." It would seem that the "Men" were

[46] Hutchinson, op. cit., p. 211.

agents for what have been called "rites of intensification."[49] They restored the equilibrium of interaction by creating new behavior patterns. This was probably particularly true during the famine, when the people's relatives and friends were dying and emigrating in large numbers. While the ceilidh, an evening of spinning folk tales, singing, and dancing, was condemned, and the children of parents who would not conform to the dictates of one minister and the "Men" were refused baptism, prayer meetings and other church services were providing emotional outlets.[50]

175* 178* 182 786 797 793 775 771 [798]

Like the Welsh,[51] the Skye crofters found the Bible retold much of their own past history and their present difficulties. As the "Men" preached from Scripture and interpreted the meaning, often using allegorical interpretations, of the Word, the people became familiar with a story which was strikingly similar to their own. The present social and economic conditions were but a presage of the coming dissolution. It was all there in the Old Testament, in the books of Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Psalms, and Prophets. The omen was all the more vivid because the transgressors in the Bible lived a life much like the crofters. Both the ancient peoples and the Skyemen had a pastoral economy, a patrilineal family structure,

175* 178* 182 779 786 797

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[49]Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), pp. 399-400.

[50]Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticane, Vol. VII, p. 166; and Norman MacLean, Set Free (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 14-15.

[51]Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

lien to their heritage. There was little local need for 175* 178* 621
oads and steamships, but they were paving the way for the
inal stage in commercialization, the conversion of the island
nto sheep farms.

The record suggests that the culture was suffering from 175* 178* 182 786
isorganization and the society had been threatened by dis-
ntegration. The Revival, which began at the close of the
nitial period, became full blown. This movement confirms
hat the record suggests. A new pattern of social behavior
nd religious life came into being. The traditional secular
atterns of interaction were being replaced by patterns of
acred interaction. New values, new statuses, and new roles
ere evolving to give religious sanction to the old patterns.
he result was an esoteric religious hierarchy. The religious [797] [793]
eaders, both the "Men" and the ministers, were coming from
he people rather than the old hereditary families who had
een closely related to the gentry. Religion replaced the 175* 178* 182 771 786
lan as the focus for the culture. The similarity of the story
nfolded in the Bible and the past and present conditions of
he crofters made the presage of the coming dissolution vivid.
y the end of the period, dissension within the Church had [798]
ecome a significant factor and was paving the way for individual
ecession. The third period of the modern era was to witness
ore than a social and economic transformation; there was to
e religious schism.

Period III

By the beginning of the
of Skye's culture history, all
social and economic readapatat
contractual society had begun
changes in the preceding perio
commercialization of the land,
system of tenure and runrig fa
village, and the extension of
the way for the final stage in
It was now an aforesaid fact t
was to be a Lowland phenomenon
Eastern and Western Highlands
The former had become a region
with the incentive and ability
Now economic deterioration led
basic change.

The bankrupt proprietors,
found sheep farmers eager to b
of Skye. Sheep farming meant
rental several times that his
could pay, and he would not ha
on behalf of the incoming tena
tenant unable to make his own
capital and, even more importa
scientific methods. The croft

[54] Cf., e.g., Collier, Th

(1845-1886)

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third epoch of the modern phase
th: elements necessary for a
ion to the wider commercial,
to function. The socio-economic
ds, especially the partial
the abolition of the tacksman
rming, the establishment of a
regular communications, had paved
the process of commercialization.

175* 178* 184

hat industrialization in Scotland
. The disparity between the
was already well developed.[54]
of commercial farmers, men
to make technological advances.
the landlords to attempt a

175* 178* 427 233

anxious to recoup their losses,
uy or lease the virgin grazings
the landlord would have a secure
rackrented crofters and cottars
ve to spend any capital either
nt or on behalf of an indigent
way. The sheep farmer had the
nt, the incentive to adopt
er, obviously, had neither the

e Crofting Problem, pp. 43-51.

175* 178* 427 233

means to acquire capital because he worked on very narrow margins nor the ability to specialize because his communal system forced him to conform to traditional techniques.

The trend to sheep farming, developing from as early as 1810, led to a sweeping disregard for the customary rights of the Skyemen. The factors (estate managers) of the absentee landed gentry, the new landlords, and the graziers had no associations with the tenantry and no use for their labor. Thinking only in commercial terms, they were only interested in seeing the higher grazings, the crofters' shielings, under sheep flocks in summer and the lower pastures, including the crofters' arable, in use during the winter. Thus, the "Clearances" took two directions.[55] The majority of the people seem to have lost their common grazings. In Kilmuir, according to several informants, they were left with only one small area of hill. Glendale suffered from the same policy. Many of the tenants were removed from their townships, by force or persuasion. To be exact, no fewer than sixty-two townships were cleared by the end of this period.[56] The evicted crofters were left to their own devises to reclaim a piece of the open moor, settled in existing townships, or banished from the island. In the area immediately to the north of Portree, forty crofters and

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[55]For details on the "Clearances," see Alexander MacKenzie, The History of the Highland Clearances (Inverness: A. and W. MacKenzie, 1883), pp. 231-423.

[56]See Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (Edinburgh: Neill and Co., 1884), p. 77. Hereafter, I shall cite this work as the Napier Report, as it is commonly referred to in Great Britain. See also Lachlan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 9-11, 21-22.

Period IV (1886 - 1953)

*175 *178 648 The year 1886 is a chronological hinge in the culture history of the Sgiathanach. The British government began to play a positive, continuing role in local affairs for the first time in history. Hitherto, the interest of the government had been confined to proscriptions, recruiting, and taxation, occasionally interspersed with relief for the destitute. With the change in policy, we enter the realm of the contemporary culture; therefore, all I wish to do is indicate the direction the processes, which we have been following, took under the national attempt to rechannel them. The major trends to be [42] [182] noted are two. The proprietors' influence in determining how the land was to be used was curtailed, and, with a redirection of the commercialization of the estates, many of the traits and complexes characteristic of the traditional culture assumed renewed importance.

*175 *178 657 423 671 621 632 Since the Napier Commission had been mainly concerned with the disregard of the customary rights of the crofters and their inconsiderate treatment by proprietors, the recommendations which were presented to Parliament sought a land reformation within the framework of local custom.[79] Unlike the Continental Commune, a local, self-governing body, the Highland township had never legally existed. Elsewhere in Scotland this communal agricultural unit had been replaced by individual farm occupancy, just as had been happening on Skye. The major proposal was a retrogressive step; the township system should be given legal

[79] Napier Report, pp. 7-15.

*175 *178 657 423 671 621 632 sanction and endowed with privileges and immunities by which self-regulation, stability, expansion, and improvement might be attained. Additional provisions called for the replacement of the repudiated customary usages by national laws of land tenure.

*175 *178 671 241 427 [565] The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 embodied many of the Commission's proposals.[80] The crofter became, perhaps, the only class, as a horizontal segment of the population, with a minimal legal definition. He was a pastoral agriculturalist who resided on his holding, the annual rent of which was less than £30, (later raised to £50) in a crofting parish. Such an individual was entitled to a fixed, fair rent, just compensation for improvements made by himself or his predecessors in the same family should he leave his holding, security of tenure, and modified right to bequeath the holding to a member of his family. Except for the statutory conditions that he must not alienate the holding from his family, sublet without consent, or violate the rights of his neighbors or his landlord, including withholding rent and contributing to the deterioration of the land and dwelling, the crofter was given all the privileges of a landowner with few of the responsibilities. A Crofters Commission, with executive functions, was established to carry out the provisions of the act and to assign "available" land to the townships as

[80] I owe a debt of gratitude to innumerable government officials in Portree, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London for their patience and cooperation in providing me with the necessary information to discuss this final period of the history of Skye. The facts are theirs; the interpretation is my own responsibility

enlargements when the proprietor would not lease it on reasonable terms. Thus, the government began to protect the crofter from potential abuses and to restore the land to the descendants of the clanna, who had, to say the least, manifested a persistent disinclination to accept any other system of land use. A complete reformation, however, was not yet possible.

The crux of the problem of maintaining the crofting population was succinctly stated in 1851 by the chairman of the Highland Destitution Board. The people could not support themselves, at a subsistence level, unless each crofting family were given ten acres of arable land plus pasture. Not only was there not enough land, but without credit facilities, a man could not find local employment until the land began to produce, and, if he sought employment at a distance, he could not work his land to free himself from the necessity of working for a wage. In 1883 it was estimated that a 50 percent reduction in population would not leave enough land to give each family an adequate holding, ten acres of arable and 277 acres of grazing land.[81] How right they were. Today the population is less than half that of 1883, and still very few have what was considered an adequate holding a hundred years ago. Let us see what measures the government took in the attempt to solve this problem.

At first the land reorganization program was thwarted by a lack of available land and by the continued tendency of

[81] Napier Report, pp. 100-101.

the people to overstock. No land could be assigned as an enlargement if it would impair the value of a sheep farm or deer forest. The remainder of the island was already possessed by crofters. Moreover, there was no one to regulate the use of the common grazings. As the Crofters Commission usurped the functions of the landlord, estate management became lax. The township constable had disappeared. The cottars, 36 percent of the population, had been omitted from the provisions of the Crofters Act. Later when the government provided for a grazing committee to draft voluntary regulations for sharing the common grazing and, finally, coerced the crofters to elect a grazing committee, the regulations could not be enforced, except by appealing to the sheriff.

At length another commission of inquiry visited the Highlands to decide how the resettlement program might be extended. Then, in 1897, the Congested Districts Board was created. The Board was given power to purchase land for enlargements and for creating new holdings, to resettle crofters and cottars from congested districts, to foster the development of stock breeding, agriculture, fishing, and home industries, and to improve communications. It was not intended that the government should become a landlord. The crofters, like the Irish small farmers, were supposed to have acquired a desire to own their own land. In 1904 the estates of Glendale, the present twelve townships, and Kilmuir, the whole parish and part of the parish of Snizort, were purchased. On the Kilmuir Estate there were 450 crofts in 35 townships and 10 large farms

by elders, and a heritage which had never admitted 175*
ct, non-rural population centers. These basic cultural 178* 182
s and patterns were given religious sanction. 779 786 797
Year by year throughout this period the following and
nfluence of the "Men" increased. As the ministers were 175* 178*
, especially as the old hereditary families of ministers 182
ly related to the old gentry were replaced by ministers 786 797
the people,[52] the "Men" became influential in the Church 793 798
ers. Now they could not only exhort the people but
judge them, by determining who was worthy of communion
hose children might be baptized. The strength of their
ol, however, did not require holding office. In Duirinish
an old moderate minister remained, Communion had not
celebrated for eleven years in 1840, and there were 200
tized children.[53] Many preferred to walk miles to worship
an evangelical minister rather than put themselves in
by hearing the local moderate minister. Dissension was
ing a significant factor and was paving the way for
nal secession from the Church. As the official Church was
ned, the stage was set for the Disruption, but we shall
that for the following period.

cy. The second period of the modern epoch saw the con- 175* 178*
tion of the trends established in the initial period. 182
rocess of commercialization was carried one step further. 427
ld running system was replaced by the crofting system.

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[52] Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

[53] NSA, pp. 354-355.

ch man received a permanent, compact plot of arable in place 175* 178* 427
his former concurrent right to a whole farm. The change, on
surface, seems to have been superficial. The grazings
ained common property and the arable land became common
operty after the harvest. The significant fact is that
mercialization had not yet led to a disregard for the custom-
rights of the small tenant, except in a few isolated areas.

There were other effects of the change in tenure beyond
eveling of the social hierarchy. By giving more people [167]
irect share in the land emigration was stopped. The practice [61]
subdividing the crofts among the children, as they married, [593]
once favored an increase in population and strengthened the
ily of orientation, if not the extended family. At the same
e, it placed a greater dependence on the potato; the people
ame hostages to the health of the potato and their own
tility. In time progressive economic deterioration began. 175* 178*
old subsistence economy had been weakened by subdivision 731
the small plots, increasing dependence on external markets for
fts from the sale of cattle, and wages from helping or a
tle fishing. When the markets broke, destitution and emi-
tion reappeared. Finally, with a failure of the potato, the
nomic structure collapsed. The population trends were
ersed. The people had remained unspecialized in a nation
specialists.

The next stage in the process of commercialization, the 175* 178*
wth of a village and the extension of communications, had 621
tle perceptible effect on the Sgiathanach. Villages were

eighty cottars in four townships were replaced by two shepherds brought in from the mainland.[57]

As the interests of the proprietors and their tacksmen had clashed at an earlier time, those of the landlords and their tenantry were now irreconcilably opposed. The appearance of the latifundia in England has been described as being characterized by absentee landlords, pastoralism, and a decline in the rural population through death and migration.[58] A process which had begun three centuries earlier in England and which had reached the Scottish Borders two centuries earlier had at last become operative on Skye. Let us examine the effects of full scale commercialization on the Skyemen.

The effects are evident. Commercialization and the evictions, which were a necessary counterpart, prompted emigration and confined the people within narrow limits, often, on inferior land.[59] By 1865 it was possible to describe Sleat as a quiet pastoral land, desolate and deserted.[60] The people had been pushed into a few isolated, badly subdivided townships. In Bracadale, the first parish to be fully commercialized, there were once thirty-six runrig farms; in 1832 there were six large grazing farms.[61] The bulk of the population, 922, were

[57]William MacKenzie, Skye:Lochdar-Trotternish and District (Glasgow: A. MacLaren and Sons, 1930), pp. 8-9.

[58]Helen Irving, The Making of Modern Europe (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1923), pp. 49-64.

[59]Alexander Smith, A Summer in Skye (London: Sampson, Low, Hartson and Co., 1865), pp. 468-469; Gordon Cumming, In the Hebrides (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883 pp. 149-150.

[60]Smith, op. cit., p. 95. [61]Napier Report, p. 15.

squatters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families had enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[62] In one Glendale township, Holmisdale, some crofts of four or five acres had as many as fifteen people to support.[63] Part of this extreme congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing one's croft when a child married. Although the population in 1831 had fallen to 17,680, from 23,084 in 1841, almost every township had two or three times the number of families which had lived in them in 1841.[64]

The loss of the summer shielings and the common grazings meant few could keep sheep.[65] The looms were silent. Since the rent continued to be based on the value of livestock and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all oats, which the graziers' sheep did not eat, went to feed the cattle. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to have been newcomers with more associations with the graziers than the crofters and cottars. Milk became a precious commodity. Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unable to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They carried

[62]Ibid., p. 112.

[63]Alexander MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 419-420.

[64]Smith, op. cit., p. 317; Cummings, op. cit., p. 140; and Napier Report, p. 15.

[65]The following is drawn from the evidence presented to the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of Skye; see Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82.

the dung from the byre, the peats from the moor, and the oats from the fields. When the land had been turned by caschrom, they yoked themselves to a harrow. The crofters, in Kilmuir, as elsewhere, lost the right to the rivers for fish, to the moors for game, and to the coast for sea weed. The land became exhausted from over tillage. They had clung tenaciously to the old methods. Even if they could have obtained credit and could have broken with the ways of their forefathers, the fear of rackrenting would have deterred them.

A degree of preciseness can be given to this general picture by comparing the arable acreage and stocking of Skye in 1810, the year graziers first appeared, and 1870. In 1810, 30,000 acres were listed as arable, either cultivated or susceptible to it; there were 18,000 cattle and 40,000 sheep.[66] By 1870 no more than 8,383 acres were considered as arable; there were only 9,341 cattle, but there were 136,077 sheep. The magnitude of this change can be emphasized by adding the fact that there were less than 14,000 sheep on the Island at the turn of the century.[67]

The end of the shieling life brought an end to the traditional season for courting. Destitution forced a postponement of marriage and an absolute reduction in the number of marriages. As a natural consequence the birth rate declined. In the decade 1861-1870 the birth rate of Skye stood at 26.1 compared with 34.9 for Scotland.

[66]James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 748, 754.

[67]OSA, II, 553; III, 247; IV, 131; XVI, 148, 225, 537; XVIII, 184.

compared with 34.9 for Scotland. The death rate among Skyemen, however, was 17.4 compared with 22.0 for Scots in general. But Scotland had a net emigration rate of only 3.6 while the Skyemen were leaving at a rate of 16.5. In this decade no fewer than 3,115 left Skye.

By the end of the third period an additional influence of the process of commercialization had become apparent. The social hierarchy was modified in the direction of greater socio-economic differentiation.[68] At the time of the "Forty-five" Skye was inhabited by the families of three clan chiefs, 139 tacksmen, 517 joint-tenants, 1031 subtenants, and 444 servants. There were now 10 landlords. The tacksmen had been replaced by 29 graziers and 12 small farmers. The joint-tenants, subtenants, and servants had become 2043 crofters and 1227 cottars. In the past there may have been one innkeeper, at Portree, and a few millers; now there were 32 innkeepers, millers, and merchants.

The changes which we have been considering could not have left the patterns of interaction undisturbed. Cooperation among the members of the township would have been unnecessary. Since all were affected by prolonged destitution, mutual aid must have been severely curtailed. The extended family was broken by emigration. The nuclear family was seldom intact for more than part of the year. It seems the majority of the able-bodied men were travelling to the east coast each spring to find

[68]Lachlan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, pp. 4-5, 6-7, 11-12, 14-15; and J. G. Mackay, "Social Life in Skye from Legend and Story," TGSI, Vol. XXIX (1922), pp. 260-290.

employment as hands on fishing vessels. The young women followed these fleets seeking work as gutters and curers in the ports. Some may have made their way to Portree, where a woolen mill had been erected by the Highland Destitution Committee. The population of Portree increased during these years from 510, in 1841, to 893, in 1881, but this can hardly be regarded as a significant trend.

The really striking aspect of this period is the almost complete lack of protest by the Sgiathanach against the violation of his presumptive right to the land. The disappearance of the tacksmen, of course, had left the people without their counselors and leaders in secular affairs, and many of the ministers, especially those who were themselves sheep farmers, counseled submission to the will of God. Then, too, the ethos of the Skyemen would not allow them to ventilate their grievance They despised the Sassanach and felt that "the landlord was bad enough, but the factor was the Devil himself." Still those who knew them well and those who rambled by their cottages wrote unanimously of a people who endured overwhelming suffering in patience and reticence.[69] The betrayal of any weakness, especially before the cursed Sassanach, was a breach of propriet

The Skyeman had not lost his capacity to respond to leadership. Throughout the nineteenth century there had been widespread and growing discontent all over Europe with the

[69]Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82; and Cummings, op. cit., p. 136. See also Robert Buchanan, The Hebridean Isles (London: Chatto and Windus, 1893), p. 324; and Malcolm Ferguson, Rambles in Skye (Irvine: Charles Murchland, 1889), pp. 121, 122.

[70]Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 136.

existing system of proprietorship. At length, land leagues were formed to give body to the peasants' protest. The movement finally reached Scotland in 1880. By 1883 it had become important on Skye. Significantly, the agents responsible for the Skyemen's agitation were Irishmen.[71] The stimulus for accepting the course of action advocated by these agents was provided by another famine which coincided with the loss of wages from employment on the east coast fishing vessels.[72] The crofters took the law into their own hands. The Kilmuir crofters refused to pay their rent. The Glendale crofters forcibly drove the sheep off their old cattle grazings. Glasgow police and the Royal Marines were dispatched to Skye.[73] Out of this unrest came the appointment of a royal commission of investigation, but their work is our subject for the fourth period. A more pressing problem is what effect did these events have on the religious outlook of the crofter and what influence did religion have on the configuration of the culture.

While the Revival was underway during the first half of the century, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was witnessing a renewed battle over the old question of patronage, the right of the proprietor to select the kirk's minister. Finally, in 1843, the Church was broken by schism

[71] Ferguson, op. cit., pp. 41-43, 121-123.

[72] See Collier, op. cit., pp. 51-52; Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 91.

[73] Detailed accounts of the land raids and resistance to the police can be found in Alexander MacKenzie, The Isle of Skye in 1882-1883 (Inverness: A. and J. MacKenzie, 1884, pp. 7-144. See also Cummings, op. cit., pp. 146-147 and William MacKenzie, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

over this and an associated question, the principle of the spiritual independence of the Church from civil authority. Although the Revival might have created or even renewed a belief in the right of a congregation to call their own minister, it is difficult to see how the principle of spiritual non-intrusion, by courts and parliament, could have mattered much to the people. The significance of the Disruption is that it continued the trend toward conservatism established by the Revival and made it an official policy of the Free Church of Scotland. The overwhelming acceptance of the Free Church manifests a strong correlation with the suggested amount of social and cultural disorganization at the close of the second period. It was no accident that the first Free Church congregation should have been in Bracadale, the first parish to be cleared for sheep. It was not by chance that the people of Kilmuir and Glendale, like so many others, turned to this new source of hope. The ministers left the Church in the true tradition of the Covenanters: "in a state of toil and privation, whether within or without the Established Church, and under persecution if need be."[74] The people followed them because of emotional attachments which they had formed with the seceding ministers during the Revival. Only the seceding ministers were successfully restoring group solidarity. Their emotional and dynamic approach was giving the people the means to maintain cultural continuity. The Old Testament, which they were wont to use, was an additional factor. It

[74] Brown, op. cit., p. 1.

told about a people not unlike the crofters, and the prophesies were being fulfilled before the peoples' very eyes. Is it any wonder that thousands gathered on the hillsides to listen to a minister whose dynamic appeals moved them to tears?

As the people turned to the new church and the emotionalism of the large outdoor gatherings, they continued to forsake their old customs and folklore. The songs, except in some cases the waulking songs which provided the tempo for shrinking homespun, and the tales were placed under clerical bann.[75] The ministers and the "Men" insisted on the prerequisite of gravity in all aspects of life for salvation.[76] The communion roles were purged. In Bracadale, for example, there had been 258 communicant members. Following the Disruption there were less than ten.[77] The same pattern was repeated elsewhere on the island.[78]

The religious patterns which had evolved were, nevertheless, reinforcing much of the traditional way of life. The "Men" of Skye had become elders in the Free Church. This status sanctioned their position in the community. Although the age structure of the population had not yet altered

[75] Norman MacLean, Set Free (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 11-12, 14.

[76] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 35; and Daniel Lamont, Strath: In Isle of Skye (Glasgow: A. Sinclair, 1913), pp. 27-30.

[77] Norman MacLean, The Years of Fulfillment (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1953) pp. 113-119.

[78] Norman MacLean, Set Free, pp. 14-15, 18, 203-212. See also his The Former Days (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1945), pp. 40-49, 80.

sufficiently to make age controls an irresistible force, the prestige status of the small number of the "elect," those who had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the elders gave them complete control over all social and religious activity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about these facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now is that the religious patterns provided a framework in which the culture could find continuity and through which the society could achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like customs resulted in a change of content, but there were positive results as well. Above all, there was a change in focus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in clan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a known religious brotherhood.

Summary. The third period of the modern phase of Skye's culture history saw the culmination of the process of commercialization of the land. All the influences necessary for the conversion of the subsistence economy, albeit a much deteriorated economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming, on a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy. Newcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved methods of land utilization were replacing the conservative and impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial farmers consolidated their holdings, the communal townships were being obliterated. The concept of individual possession of the land was replacing the customary rights of the small tenants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.

These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture a the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now was a spare-time pursuit. The Sgiathanach was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any marked movement int the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was bei lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of "Men" became an official policy of a new church. The emotio approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium. Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family suffered from instability, the people found intelligible role within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

Heavy rackrenting in the past had led to dissatisfaction and arrears in rent, the crofters' weapon against the landlord. The rents were revised and most of the arrears were cancelled. All the farms but one were subdivided to form 79 new holdings in 7 reorganized townships and to make enlargements to the other townships. The Glendale estate received similar treatment, being made over into 147 crofts in 12 townships plus a jointly held club farm. Both estates were sold to the crofters on a fifty year annunity basis. Then came a rude awakening. Within ten years the crofters found ownership to be a dubious privilege especially since it excluded them from the benefits of legislation favoring the small tenant. The Kilmuir crofters were released from the contract, but the government refused to accept the petition of the Glendale people, who still are not pleased with their rather unique position. Private ownership of the land might be said to be as alien to their heritage as village settlements.

Land settlement continued, with the introduction of certain refinements, the most important of which was the power to use compulsion to acquire land for crofting in the national interest. Today over half the Island is owned by the national government and administered by the Department of Agriculture. The tendency in recent years has been to create more adequate holdings. On the Kilmuir estate the number of crofts has been reduced from 530 to 442. The process of resettlement, or de-commercialization, has been carried further on Skye than in any other Highland area.[82] It has also included the only major

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[82] Cf., e.g., Collier, op. cit., pp. 90-113; and Hance, op. cit., pp. 61-62, 64-68.

*175 migration scheme to be attempted. In 1923 sixty-eight famili
*178 from the Isle of Harris, in the Outer Hebrides, were brought o
65 to Skye and settled in Bracadale. Probably, close to 300 new
671 holdings and in the neighborhood of 200 enlargements have been
427 made since 1897. This clearly reflects the limited space avai
423 ble for crofting at the end of the "Clearances."
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*175 In addition to land settlement, the government has conti
*178 to stimulate improvements in stock breeding techniques and to
65 foster more efficient land utilization. Credit facilities,
671 by grant and loan, were offered to enable the crofters to
427 purchase stock, especially sheep, and to build new cottages.
423 Grants and subsidies, in an ever increasing number, have been
231 made available to promote a fuller use of the land. Initiall
241 under the Congested Districts Board, these facilities were
devised specifically for the Highlands. By the time the Cong
Districts Board was abolished, the crofters had become offici
integrated with the national agricultural scene so that speci
subsidies, grants, and loans were replaced with an opportunit
to apply for assistance within the national program of agri-
[24] cultural development. Instruction in scientific methods of
agriculture has been another continuing function of the gover
ment through a series of advisory services and, more recently
by a program of demonstration crofts and farms. Access to
markets has similarly been facilitated by improving communica
by land and, to a lesser extent, by sea.

Security and protection for the crofters has been anoth
unfailing interest of the government. Again, with official
integration, the scope of legislation has been extended to

427 651 crofter pays only half of the assessment, which is based on rental value, and he is granted an additional benefit by having the land devalued seven-eighths for purposes of taxation. The majority pay £3 a year, or less, in rent, and, with a rateable value of 5s, or less, between 1s and 2s in taxes annually. Many pay no taxes.

427 342 423 On his small plot of land the crofter has his cottage. Here we find another rather unique interpretation of the laws of land tenure. Although the crofter is an occupier of the land, he is the owner of his dwelling. If he or one of his ancestors did not build the house, frequently with a grant and/or loan from the government, he will have paid "compensation" to his landlord for the dwelling upon accepting occupancy. Should he, at any time, relinquish his right to the croft, the crofter, in turn, will be entitled to full "compensation" for the value of the improvements on the holding as determined by the Land Court. The crofter's home is not entered on the county valuation roll and, therefore, is not subject to assessment.

427 241 233 In addition to the land under crops and improved grass, the crofter's rent entitles him to a share in the unimproved township grazing lands which are held in common and used under [623] a system of allocation known as "souming." In each township, [624] the collection of individual holdings, the crofters elect a grazing clerk and committee. They determine the number of cattle, sheep, and horses the individual is allowed to put out to graze. Usually each crofter has an equal share, but in

some townships the large crofter is given an allocation in proportion to his rent. The payment of his rent also entitles the crofter to gather seaweed along the coast for fertilizer and to cut peat for fuel on the common grazing or in special peat areas. In a number of townships he has a further right to pasture his rams in a "tup park" and his horses in a "horse park." These are lowlying areas of improved pasture. There is the general picture. 427 241 [233] 222 [314] [233]

There are three important exceptions to the typical means of land tenure. First, there are the Glendale crofters who own their land. Each individual has purchased his croft, and the members of each township own the common grazing collectively. Before the law they are no longer entitled to the [654] benefits of crofting status because, by legal definition, the crofter is a small farmer who rents his land. Second, there [233] are the crofters of six Kilmuir townships who have individual areas of "outrun," good lowlying cattle pastures, in addition to the normal crofter's holding. Even though the Glendale crofters are landowners and the Kilmuir crofters have their own cattle pasture, they are subject to "souming" regulations. Third, there are a few large, isolated crofts which are self-contained units. The individual has his own cultivated land, pasture, and rough grazing. In reality, many of these large holdings are farms, but as long as the annual rent does not exceed £50, the benefits of crofting status are not withdrawn. The crofter, of course, stocks his holding as he thinks best. While the Irish and Scottish Highland systems of land use 427 423 421

While the Irish and Scottish Highland systems of land use reveal many underlying similarities, they are distinguished by their respective systems of land tenure. The Irish small farmer owns his land, like the Glendale crofters, and has a self-contained holding, like the large crofter on Skye.[3]

Croft Size. As the foregoing discussion has suggested, there is a wide range of croft sizes. Some crofters have only a few hundred square yards of the poorest soil. A few have large, relatively fertile holdings. One of these large crofters, for example, has 88 acres of arable land, 27 acres of pasture, and 1261 acres of grazing. The most common size is less than five acres, and not more than 500 of the 2200 crofters have over ten acres. If all of his land were of equal potential agricultural value, the individual with ten acres might be able to attain a satisfactory standard of production. Unfortunately, not more than half of most crofts can be considered as suitable for crop cultivation. In Glendale, for example, the average size is ten to fifteen acres, but when the boggy ground and the area in drainage ditches are subtracted, it is indeed a fortunate man who can profitably cultivate more than five acres. What, then, does he do with his land?

Land Use. Between spring ploughing and the harvest season, the best land is planted in oats, potatoes, and, in some cases, turnips. On most crofts, for every two or three acres of oats there are a half acre of potatoes, and perhaps, a quarter

[3] Arensberg, The Irish Countryman, pp. 36-38, 43.

acre of turnips. All of the cats and a large share of the potatoes and turnips are used to feed the cattle during the late winter and early spring. Some crofters, by no means all, have a small kitchen garden for cabbage, onions, and other vegetables. Usually, at least half the croft is left under grass, part of which is cut for hay. After all the people in the township have finished their harvest, on a day set by the grazing committee, the individual holdings in all but thirty of the townships are opened to communal use as winter grazings.[4] It might be added that the sheep and cattle often find the village of Portree a very lucrative pasture. It is not only the grass which entices the cows. More than one villager has had a tug-of-war with a cow bent on devouring clothes off the line. Another favorite food for the cattle is coal. As one man in the Braes said: "We burn half the coal; the cows eat the rest."

The Value of the Croft

What does a croft mean to the Sgiathanach? In terms of everyday economics, there can be no simple answer. For a few, probably no more than fifty families, the sale of cattle, sheep, and wool provides an ample income. The families are able to obtain the necessities of life and enjoy a comparatively high standard of living. The majority live on crofts which cannot begin to support a solitary individual. Expecting little more

[4] F. Fraser Darling, G. G. Hayes, and Averil Morley, "The Agricultural Situation," The West Highland Survey, F. F. Darling et al. (mimeographed, 1951), Part V, pp. 14-15.

than the bare essentials, these people just get along. Even so, they would be unable to get by were it not for some form supplementary income. This essential prerequisite for the individual or family who upholds the crofting tradition may take the form of seasonal employment on the island or away from home; contributions from a child or, less frequently, a brother or sister; or payments from the government in the form of unemployment compensation, relief, or a pension.

Many a Sgiathanach thinks of his croft as a home more than anything else. There are men who have found full time employment. Some in this catagory work the croft in the evening. Others expect their wives to care for the crops and stock, or they leave the land untouched. Then, there are the old men and women who have returned to their ancestral homes to spend the twilight of their lives. These exiles come back from cities as near as Inverness and from places as far away as the sheep ranches of Montana or the cities of Australia. Perhaps, the most significant point is that for all Skyemen the croft cannot be evaluated merely in terms of acreage and income. As we shall see, it is a way of life in which an attachment to the land, as an embodiment of kinship, plays a very important part.

The incomes of three representative crofts clearly reveal the financial difficulties under which the crofting family labors. Although I have somewhat arbitrarily divided the holdings into small, medium and large on the basis of acres of arable land, it should be remembered that this

he substantial tenants had their own private tutors, but the
eople, in general, received only informal schooling until
ell into the nineteenth century when several charitable societies
ntered the field.[85] All schools were essentially religious.
he act of 1872, and subsequent legislation, changed the program
nd made education compulsory for all. It was not until the
nd of the century that adequate facilities were available and
he system began to function, with the beginning of free
ducation.[86]

Informal control within the community was augmented by
he establishment of a rural police force, with headquarters
n Portree and local stations at convenient points around the
sland. Health and welfare became a responsibility of the
tate. A regional medical plan provided doctor's care and
ospital facilities for all regardless of means. Old age
ensions were granted to the elderly. Later, the scope of
ssistance for the infirm, aged, and the poor, and the un-
mployed was increased. Thus, the government continually
urped many of the functions of the family and the local group,
pecially following the abolition of the parish council in
909.[87] Although the parish councils, or the still older
arochial boards, had no legislative powers, they did handle
elfare and, until 1918, education. Now, in 1929, a Skye

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[85] NEA, pp. 233, 261, 294, 298, 312, 321, 355.

[86] Ranier Report, p. 70; and Norman MacLean, Sgt Tree, p. 211.

[87] C. De E. Murray, How Scotland Is Governed (Glasgow: t and Educational Publishers, 1947), pp. 118-136; 195-196.

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District Council was established, but the only functions left
o the Islanders were such minor ones as providing recreation
rounds and maintaining footpaths. Today the members of the
Council can only make the local needs known to the county council
and carry out the functions of the county council.

In more recent years the functions of the county and
national governments have increased still more. Government
mployees have multiplied. After the Second World War, the
ounty became a landlord, building subsidized housing. Since
the county has built these houses at Portree and at a few centers,
such as Broadford, Uig, and Dunvegan, where the police have
their stations, they are still persisting in the attempt to
bring villages to the island. Roads have become the concern
of the county. Within this period, then, the crofter became
dependent on the county and national government for the satis-
faction of many of his needs. Although he resents authority,
he has not shown any resentment at the continual encroachment
of the government's services. To him the government is a
"rich man" who has bestowed many favors and may be asked to
bestow a few more, like electricity and plumbing.

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Like European peasants in general, the Skye crofters
have lost three important things: isolation, political
independence, and self-sufficiency. At the same time, they
have retained a good deal of their former identity, a continuity
of culture, and an attachment to the land and to the traditional
way of life. The culture has been modified by adaption to the
higher socio-cultural organization, especially in material

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culture which can hardly be distinguished from that of the
Lowland rural areas, but it has by no means disappeared.

Socially, these changes, particularly the introduction
of national laws of land tenure, involved a leveling of the
social hierarchy. The old polarity of the land lord and tenant,
with an intermediate group of doctors, ministers, and tradesmen,
was restored. The place of the tacksman, of course, has been
filled by the government. The bulk of the population was
once again undifferentiated socially or economically. Land
lost much of its commercial value for the proprietors. It
once again had more of an intrinsic value, almost as in the
days of the clan. The status of the proprietors, locally and
as a horizontal segment of the total British population,
depended on land ownership. The graziers and the proprietors
who had appeared during the "Clearances" withdrew, selling
out to the national government.

These changes did not work to halt the continuous outward
flow of the Scythenash. To the contrary, increasing integration
with the national culture created new needs, such as a demand
for a higher standard of living and an opportunity to achieve
status, and provided the training necessary for the youth to
find roles more suitable to their talents elsewhere in the
world. The young men and women of Skye journeyed to the
Lowlands to join the national labor force, to enter the professions,
or to seek other permanent employment. Thus, emigration changed
from a movement by families to a movement by individuals. At
the same time, the benefits of the crofters' legislation and
the program of government assistance made it possible for the

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person who left in his youth to return in his old age. The
new pattern of emigration not only resulted in a continuation
of the persistent depopulation of the island but also, with
the return flow which countered emigration of the youth with
immigration of the older people, led to striking changes in
the age structure of the population. If the population pyramids
for the years 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1951 are compared, the
significance of the new pattern becomes apparent (see figure 4).
The 1861 pyramid has a strong base, despite evictions and death.
By 1901 the aging of the population was already marked. There
were fewer people in all age groups, but a disproportionate
increase in those over sixty-five. Females had joined the
exodus. Partly as a result of the emigration of young adults,
and partly as a consequence of a declining marriage rate and
delayed marriage, the structure was growing top-heavy.

The pyramids for 1931 and 1951 are far from ideal. The
differing movements of the population has resulted in a
situation in which the society can no longer reproduce itself.
Natural increase became a negative factor in the decade 1921-
1930. Since then births have exceeded deaths in only one
year, 1949. If the population is being maintained in part
by the return of exiles, one must not only ask who leaves and
why but also who returns and why.

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An additional change within this period was the growth
of Portree as a trade center and as an administrative "capital."
The cycle of population, however, was erratic. In 1891 there
were 1,003 people in the village, but in 1921 there were only 793.

161
42
167
178

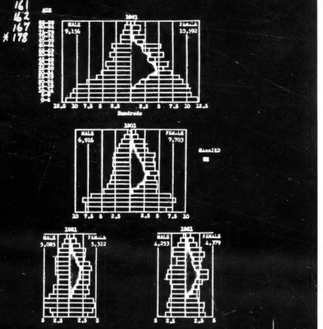

Fig. 4. Population Pyramids for Skye: 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1951.
Sources: Census of Scotland, 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1951.

178 K
631
167
162

In 1951 the population stood at 1,094. There has been a slight
shift from the rural areas to the village, but it can hardly
be regarded as significant. For one thing, the 1951 figure
included an unknown number of workers on the hydro-electric
scheme. Then, too, it included children from the Outer Isles
who attend school in Portree, not to mention the very large
number of newcomers, teachers, government employees, shop-
keepers, management personnel in the stores and banks, and
tradesmen, to give only a few examples.

175 K
178 K
737
745

The trend toward religious conservatism continued in
the fourth period. During the closing years of the preceding
period, the Free Church attempted to modify her theology and
polity. The old trend toward relaxing the rigor of Presbyterianism,
in accordance with the feelings of the other dissenting de-
nominations in Scotland in order to pave the way for union,
was renewed by the passing of a Declaratory Act which stated
that the Free Church does not teach and does not regard the
Confession of Faith as teaching the foreordination of men to
death (eternal damnation) irrespective of their sin. Further,
that while the Gospel is the ordinary means of salvation, it
does not follow that all who die in infancy are lost. The
elders, the lay kirk officers, of Skye protested violently.
It was popery to make the Church the judge of spiritual affairs.
More important, it threatened their prestige status, which had
been sanctioned by the interpretation of the religious ethic.
In several parishes the elders threatened to withdraw from

175 K
178 K
737
745
744

[88] The Free Presbyterian Church, History of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1893-1933 (Glasgow: R. Ardshead and Son, 1933), pp. 96-130.

175 K
178 K
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745
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Communion, and when they were backed by a few dissenting ministers,
schism gave rise to the Free Presbyterian Church. The first
congregation of the new church was a Skye congregation.

In no small way the threatened disorganization of the
culture and the suggested social disintegration at the end of
the "Clearances" played a role in the acceptance of the Free
Presbyterian Church. This situation, I suggest, created a need
to reaffirm the religious sanction of the desirable features
of the culture. Since the Church of Scotland minister in
Waternish was jailed for inciting the crofters to stand up
for their rights,[89] without adding any people to his congregation,
the new schism must have been a reaffirmation of the religious
focus for the culture.

The acceptance, however, was neither uniform nor
immediate. There was, in fact, a religious and social up-
heaval.[90] In Glendale, a strong Free Church area and a neighbor-
hood which required the presence of military troops to restore
order, family ties and friendships were broken in the contro-
versy over which church manifested the true religion. In
Staffin and the Braes, also areas marked by the need for police
protection, the same pattern was repeated. The experiences of
one Church of Scotland minister over the years following the
schism, led him to make a rather unusual statement for a man
who became one of the foremost ministers in Scotland: "The

[89] Norman MacLean, Sgt Tree, pp. 52-54.

[90] Ibid., pp. 143-212.

people of the Island must have had a premonition of the calamity that was befalling them when they resisted the coming of Presbyterianism with all their might.[91] For him, the form of religion which splits up communities, divides families, and breaks villages into fragments can scarcely be regarded as Christian. Over the years, however, the battle has been won by one church or the other, as in Glendale where the Free Presbyterian Church is the only kirk, or the battle scars have been forgotten.

Unions of the churches replaced the former tendency toward disruption. In 1901 the Free Church joined the United Presbyterian Church, and in 1929 the United Free Church joined the Church of Scotland. On both occasions there were ministers who refused to become a part of either united church, and people who were reluctant to join new congregations. In Kilmuir, for example, the Free Church congregation split. Some joined the Church of Scotland, while others remained true to their sect. Although all the churches on the island are similar in outlook and to the uninvolved observer their differences are unimportant, doctrinal differences have remained important to the people. Nevertheless, the common tradition of conservatism, standing in opposition to the increasing impingements of the outside world, has been the paramount factor in reinforcing the values of the people. I repeat, the culture has maintained continuity through religion.

[91] Ibid., p. 212.

Summary: The Cultural Trends

During the fourth period, in which the crofter re-emerged as the characteristic feature in the social and economic aspects of the culture, all the influences necessary for a readaptation to the wider socio-cultural level of organization were functioning for the Sgiathanach.[92] These influences were the presence of potential exports, access to markets, credit facilities, and a gradually improved technology. Several of these go far back in the local history. Cattle were being exported in the sixteenth century, being received by the clan chief and his tacksmen as partial payment for rent. Access to markets was available by the droving trade, but the subsistence economy precluded dependence on imports. Credit in the form of loans to the clan chiefs, on security of the clan territory, could be obtained, but it was directed to the support of the dignity of the clan rather than to agricultural improvements. At the close of the first period of the modern era sheep became commercially important. By the third period even with capital and the incentive to adopt new techniques were replacing the indigent tenantry. Communications had been improved. Access to markets by road, rail and steamship replaced the old drove roads, which would not serve for sheep. It was not until the government stepped in to halt the process of commercialization of the land, however, that the Sgiathanach was given an opportunity to directly benefit

[92] I am indebted to Julian Steward for the point of view which follows. Those who are familiar with his conclusions on cross-cultural regularities will discover many correlations between the cultural trends on Skye and those described for Puerto Rico.

from these influences. Now the government provided the capital, by grant, subsidy, and loan, and the guidance necessary for a fuller utilization of the land. The crofters who had already seen their subsistence economy disappear became a part of the national system of commerce. What effect have these influences had on the culture?

Throughout the modern epoch there has been a tendency to increase the production of exports, first cattle and then sheep, at the expense of the traditional subsistence crops. Within ecological limits, the national markets have determined what the Sgiathanach might produce. Since the environment has made Skye a pastoral land and agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years, abandonment of a subsistence economy has meant dependence on stock breeding for export. Commercialization of the land and increasing dependence on imported food has resulted in a growth of the importance of money. The decline in household industries, caused by economic deterioration, has also played its part in the people's dependence on currency. As a measurement of values, however, the importance of money has declined since the period of the large sheep farms. The crofter's margin of profit is small, and his opportunities to earn a wage are limited. Economic differentiation no longer affects the traditional status values, except within the traditional polarity of landed gentry and tenant.

In a comparable way, the utilization of more efficient methods of production is less important now than it was during the period of the "Clearances." Techniques have improved for the majority in so far as labor saving devices are available, but the achieving of modern efficiency is precluded by the

crofting system. Both the communal nature of the system and the smallness of the crofts deter improvement. Although the government reversed the trend toward making the land an important source of wealth and individualization of the land, by replacing customary forms of tenure with national laws of tenure, and has tried to correct the disadvantages under which the crofter labors, if not always successfully, the Skye crofter has made only a partial adjustment to the larger, specialized national culture. In fact, the land is used less systematically than it was in the past, in the times of the shielings. The crofters have not only ceased trying to reclaim arable but also have allowed much of the arable to go back to grass.

Ever since the closing years of the first period of the modern era, Skyemen have sought employment as a part of the national labor force. During the third and fourth periods, they joined the landless labor force in the Lowlands. There is practically no local opportunity for a landless man to support a family. The majority must remain pastoral agriculturalists who depend on seasonal employment, or some other form of financial assistance, to augment their income.

Improved communications and the ensuing development of commerce has brought a village to the island. It functions as a market center and as the administrative center for the island. It has not served to bring the island together; it is still something alien to their heritage. Accompanying the growth of the village, there was local development in the

crofting districts. Shops, schools, inns, and churches increased in number, but they have not clustered to form a village nucleus. In more recent years the county has tried to stimulate village growth by building houses at a few centers. Someday they may succeed in altering the settlement pattern.

As a consequence of the increasing integration of the Sgiathanach within the national scene, government regulations have expanded and have come to be enforceable by a local police. Government services too have increased in scope. Many of the traditional functions of the family and the local group are now functions of an ever increasing number of government employees. Nevertheless, the traditional statuses of the members of the group have persisted and social control has not been reduced in favor of action by the state.

The class structure has changed several times. It has oscillated between a leveling of socio-economic differentiation and a growing polarity of status. At present there is no local class structure beyond the old polarity of landed gentry and crofters. Those who fall between these groups are ranked on prestige values of long standing. Even though many of the intermediate group would be working or middle class if they lived elsewhere in Britain, on Skye personal factors play a more important role in determining prestige than socio-economic differences. Leadership and political power remain in the hands of the gentry.

If the foregoing material suggests that there is evidence on Skye for Redfield's concepts of disorganization

and individualization, there is little, if any, reason to speak of secularization. Many of the existing features of the culture can only be understood when viewed from the perspective of the religious aspect. Certainly, the state church has been weakened by schism and rational practices have replaced superstitious rites and beliefs, but this has not produced a secular society. The religious patterns have reinforced the traditional culture, or those parts of it which were considered worth preserving, by giving the culture a supraocial sanction.[93] Religion has bolstered the status values, especially those of the father in the family and the old men in the community. Religion has provided many of the occasions at which the people come together to find solidarity and security. Finally, religion has provided the focus for the culture. Although the factors of cultural change have led to modifications in the culture's content, there has been continuity. For a more complete understanding of how Skye has readapted to the higher level of socio-cultural organization and preserved its distinctiveness, I shall devote the remainder of the present study to an analysis of the contemporary culture.

[93] After writing the above account, I discovered that Arthur Geddes, a geographer at Edinburgh University, has recently discussed some of the evidence for cultural continuity on the Isle of Lewis and Harris, one of the Outer Hebrides. Although he takes important notice of the all-pervading influence of religion in the lives of the Hebrideans, past and present, I feel he overlooks the function of religion as an agent for maintaining cultural continuity. See Arthur Geddes, The Isle of Lewis and Harris: Study in British Community (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1955). [See 1; Geddes, this file--Analyst]

CHAPTER V

THE ISLANDERS' ECONOMY

The basis of the local economy, in terms of the contribution of the Sgiathanach to the national economy and the number who depend on the land for all or part of their livelihood, is the crofting system. We must, therefore, explore the economic aspects of this cultural pattern in detail. As a system of land use and tenure, crofting is an anachronistic survival in Western Europe. Elsewhere, the medieval agrarian systems have been repatterned along four principal lines.[1] In central and some parts of northern Europe peasant proprietorship became the characteristic feature. In southern Europe the métayer, a peasant who paid a rent plus a share of his crop, appeared. Northern Europe became an area of large farms. In England and Lowland Scotland tenant farmers received most of the land. There is only one survival of the old open field village farm in England.[2] Despite individual efforts of Highland landlords to bring about at least a partial assimilation of the increasingly backward economic patterns with those of rural Britain, crofting has been perpetuated. Certainly, the legal enactment of 1886 helped to

[1] Barnes, The History of Western Civilization, Vol. I, p.636.

[2] Lewis and Maude, The English Middle Classes, pp. 169-170.

include all small tenants in Scotland. The landlords have lost their right to evict a crofter for breach of conditions. Since 1911 only the Land Court, which replaced the Crofters Commission, can remove a tenant who is guilty of bad husbandry. Moreover, such action can only be taken after the general circumstances of the crofter and his need of the croft for a home have been considered. To date, no Highland crofter has been removed. In fact, security of tenure has been carried to the extreme that the individual no longer has to reside in Scotland much less on his croft. Although this change is now regarded as inadvertent, the courts have ruled in favor of the small tenant. The only remaining functions of the landlord in estate management are to collect his rents and pay compensation should a tenant desire to leave. Both the rents and the compensation are determined by the Land Court.

Accompanying the integration of the Island with the national scene, politically and economically, were extensions of social services. Prior to 1872 education was the responsibilit of the church, charitable agencies, and, especially in the Highlands, the local proprietors and their financially secure tenantry.[83] Although the parish school system was national, the administration of each parochial school was local. The ideal of a school in each parish was neither adequate nor easily obtainable. The result was a few regularly taught schools.[84]

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[83] OSA, XVI, 156-157, 226, 539; XVIII, 188; XXI, 430.

[84] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 771-774.

241/427 restore it from the throes of disintegration, but even more important was the disinclination of the people to accept any fundamental changes. Indeed, only the following three features essential to crofting distinguish the system from that characteristic during the days of the clan: (1) individual arable land held in compact, permanent plots rather than dispersed and shifting cultivated strips, (2) the payment of a money rent rather than providing services and a share in the produce to the landlord, and (3) legal protection of the tenant from the potential abuses by the proprietor or an intermediary.

The Croft

427 Land Tenure. The majority of Skye crofters rent a small acreage of arable and improved grass land from a landlord or the Department of Agriculture for Scotland. Although the crofters pay an annual rent, their rather unique form of tenure, granted under the Crofters' Act of 1886 and subsequent legislation, confers upon them almost all the rights of land ownership with few of the responsibilities. The crofter has security of tenure, the right to bequeath his land to a member of his family, and relative freedom in deciding what use shall be made of the croft. His nominal rent very often has not been increased since the time of the Crofters Commission. Even where the Land Court has revised the rents, they are not substantially higher than those set at the turn of the century. If his rent is nominal, his taxes 427/651 are negligible. In Scotland property tax is paid in equal shares by the owner and occupier. Thus, as an occupier, the

the cash income was £1044 3s 3d for 1952 and £1527 3s 9d for 1953. I do not know the net profit.

Summary. The foregoing facts and figures should make it abundantly clear that a man with less than ten acres of arable land and with a "souming" of less than three or four cows and fifty sheep can expect only a meager and definitely inadequate return for his investment of time and money. Several crofters thought thirty or forty acres were required. This would mean a "souming" of 10 or 12 cows and 200 sheep, if the present proportion of grazing land to cultivated area were maintained. Some said 300 to 500 sheep would be closer to the mark in order to make a good living on the land. The budget for the large croft confirms this view, but even then we have seen crofting to contain a precarious element of risk. Most crofters felt that with twice their present acreage and "souming" they would be faced with a less hopeless proposition.[6] This, of course, would involve a further, coerced reduction in population. But this is all a matter for future planning. What we want to know is the contribution of crofting to the local and national economy.

The Contribution of Crofting to the Economy

If we are to determine the value of agricultural production from crofting, we must consider not only the crops and

[6] It is not only the Skyemen who want more land; see The Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954), pp.18-19.

stock grown for local household consumption and export but also the subsidies and grants provided by the national government. I hasten to add that it is impossible to estimate accurately the specific contribution of crofting to the economy of Skye. There is no available means of distinguishing the status of crofter from that of farmer in the annual returns of crops and stock or in the applications of farmers and crofters for subsidies and grants. Before getting down to pounds and shillings, we may find a brief digression to review the acreages of land devoted to crop and stock raising and the yields to be expected helpful in our attempt to understand the many problems under which the Skyeman labors.

The total area of Skye is approximately 447,000 acres. Of this area, 422,415 acres were classified, in 1953, as rough grazing.[7] The land under cultivation, excluding grasses, was only 3,254 acres. There were 6,258 acres of grass intended for use as hay and 12,339 acres of permanent grass or improved pasture. The remainder, about 2,500 acres, was unclassified.

The stock, in 1953, was 1808 dairy cows and heifers, 8,108 cattle, 143,422 sheep, 41,888 fowls, 436 horses, and 319 pigs.[8] The dairy cows are mainly beef breeds which give a low yield of milk. The sheep are primarily the hardy blackface variety but some crofters have cheviots, which produce a finer wool. For each sheep there are about three acres of grazing

[7] Agricultural Returns, June 4, 1953, Department of Agriculture for Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland (in the files of the Department). These figures include adjacent small isles.

[8] Ibid.

and for each head of cattle, some forty-five acres.

The crops are not only limited in acreage but also in variety. Since there were less than ten acres of barley, which was cut green for silage, it may be said that the only grain is oats. The yield of the 2292 acres of oats was a low twenty-nine bushels per acre. The variety grown (Sandy) is not a threshing oat. It is fed to the cattle in the sheaf. This, of course, means seed oats must be purchased in the spring. The only other crops of any importance were 587 acres of potatoes and 99 acres of turnips. The yield for potatoes was about five tons per acre and for turnips, fourteen tons per acre. These yields do not satisfy the needs of the Skyeman and his cattle. The hay was poor in both bulk and quality.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that the livestock industry is the basic factor in the economy. The production of crops is of no more than limited secondary importance. Let us now look at the value of the agricultural production on Skye in terms of locally consumed produce and exports. The following figures represent a collation of facts and figures generously provided by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, the North of Scotland Agricultural College, and local officers of these bodies. For brevity, I have set them out in Table 2.

TABLE 2

ESTIMATED VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION ON THE ISLE OF SKYE

Produce	Total Marketable Production[a]	Local Consumption[b] (Household & Croft)	Exports
Oats	£ 3,500	£ 3,500	£ ....
Potatoes	23,500	23,500	....
Turnips	2,000	2,000	....
Hay	24,000	24,000	....
Sheep and Lambs	70,000	20,000	50,000
Wool	50,000	10,000	40,000
Cattle	90,000	20,000	70,000
Milk	30,000	30,000	....
Poultry and Eggs	40,000	40,000	....
Pigs	6,000	....	6,000
Miscellaneous	5,000	5,000	....
Totals	£ 344,000	£ 178,000	£ 166,000

[a] Based upon assumed yields from crop acreages and stock reported to the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

[b] Consumption includes an allowance for loss of stock.

The estimated income from the sale of stock and produce amounts to some £66 per holding. One of my informants, an agriculturalist of wide experience, thought that the estimate was too high. He would put it at £126,000, or £55 per holding. In addition to the actual production, we must consider government subsidies and grants.

The most important subsidies are those on hill sheep and hill cattle. Each of these average over £30,000 annually. There are also calf rearing subsidies, marginal land grants, and several other available sources of aid which amount to some £20,000 each year. Thus, the total income for the Skye crofters and farmers is increased by roughly £80,000. Production and subsidies together give an average income of about £100 per holding. We have already seen that the crofter's income may be either a fraction of this figure or several times the average income depending upon the size of his croft. To fully understand the significance of this fact and to explore further the evidence for cultural continuity, it is desirable to inquire into the seasonal routine of the crofters of Skye.

The Annual Economic Cycle

As crofts are delimited according to size and potential income, the crofters may be classified as full-time, part-time, and spare-time pastoral agriculturalists. Obviously, all crofters who work the land will follow a similar schedule, performing more or less the same variety and succession of tasks. There are, however, significant differences in the

amount of time which is allotted to each activity and in the 221
pressure on the crofters to complete each chore within a
relatively definite period. There are also differences in the
number of non-crofting activities in which the individual can
or must engage. Let us follow several crofters through the
year to see what these differences are.

The Full-time Crofter. One might say the year for the full- 221 236
time crofter begins during the first week of January when he 232
goes out to the hill to bring in his rams. This is the first
break in the monotony of his winter schedule, but it is only
a momentary break. Not until March does his season of pro-
longed labor begin with the first "dipping" of the sheep to
rid the animals of tick and parasites. He and his wife, [476]
their children, if they are old enough, and their neighbors
or hired hands, crofters from nearby townships, join forces.
Several of the men go off to the hill to gather the sheep and
herd them down to the "fank," a stone or sheet iron inclosure
consisting of either two or three pens, a trough for the
"dip," and a shearing platform. While waiting for the sheep,
the remaining men and women prepare the "fank" for the day's
work. One by one the sheep move through the pens until all
have been picked up bodily and submerged in the medicinal
bath. The women not only help their fathers and husbands at [462]
the "fank" but also prepare a noon meal for the group.

Following the dipping, the crofter turns his attention 221
to the soil. By late March or early April he has ploughed, 241

manured, harrowed, and limed his fields. Normally, he will 221
have a tractor to speed his work. In the meantime his wife 241
prepares her small kitchen garden. By the time he has sown [462]
his oats and set his potatoes and turnips, the ewe sheep are 221
ready for lambing. Lambing begins during the last week or two 231
of April and runs through the middle of May. This is one [462]
activity which is exclusively man's work. It is also a chore
which demands an early start from individuals who are normally
late risers, seldom getting started before eight or nine in
the morning. Now, all day long, from early morning until late
at night, day after day, the crofter or his shepherd are found
on the hill watching and waiting for the lambs and their
natural enemies, the crow, the hawk, and the fox. During this
time, he does not neglect feeding his cattle nor finishing
putting in his crop if inclement weather has hindered his
progress. Then, too, he may have a cow ready to calve. His [462]
wife will then add milking to her regular household duties.
Men have only recently begun to milk.

After lambing, the family must decide whether or not 221
they are going to take time out for cutting peat. As I have 314
already said, it is unlikely that the man of the house will
want to bother. He has enough to do caring for the sheep and 221
lambs and preparing his cattle for the May markets. Although 231
he could attend the local sales which are held at convenient 432
locations around the island, the large crofter has found the
mainland market of Dingwall attracts buyers willing to pay
higher prices.

If May is considered a busy month, June duties are even 221
more pressing. Although the winter sales are over, the rain- 231
fall has begun to increase. A succession and variety of de- [132]
mands are made on the crofter's time. Once again the sheep
must be brought down to the "fank." This time the purpose is
to mark the lambs. The males, unless one or two healthy
specimens are selected for future use as rams, are castrated
and smeared with a dye to indicate their ownership. The
females are smeared and have their ears cut to signify both
ownership and age. Like the dipping, this operation requires [476]
the cooperation of the crofter and his family, the neighbors,
and hired hands. Next the sheep without lambs are dipped [232]
once again and given a dose of medicine for liver fluke and
a variety of diseases. At the same time, the early hay and, 241
perhaps, the early potatoes are ready for harvesting. The end [513]
of June brings the Highland Wool Fair in Inverness. If he [233]
has Cheviot sheep, as most crofters do, the man must go to
arrange for their wintering on the milder and drier east
coast. Although Cheviots produce a finer wool than the more
common Blackface sheep, they do not stand up to the incessant
wind and rain of a Skye winter. If his wife can leave the
children behind, she will accompany her husband. The old [534]
function of the Fair, the sale of wool, has disappeared under [256]
government price control legislation.

It is not unusual to have the early harvest delayed 221
until July, but even then the mowing may have to wait because 236
sheep must come first. On one of the dry days during the first 241

or second week, the ewe sheep are sheared. Shearing is an- 221
other cooperative task. The men and women work together 236
with only one significant division in their labor. Women [462]
never shear. Their task is to run the sheep through the pens
and fold the fleece after the two men shear the animal. An-
other chore is added to the crofter's schedule at this time.
He must begin to watch his sheep for maggot.

The haying season runs through July and August, depend- 221
ing on the weather. In August the sheep have to be dipped again 241
this dipping prescribed by law, and the wedder lambs (castrated [232]
males) are sent to market. In September, if the weather is
favorable and the season has been good, the harvest of oats
begins. The man works with a scythe. Women never cut. His [462]
wife helps by binding the corn in sheaths by hand and making
stoops in the field. Later she helps her husband build the
stacks for winter storage. As in any summer month, the stock 221
requires attention. Cast ewe sheep (sheep over six years old) 231
and old rams are sent to the Ministry of Food grading station
at Kyle, on the mainland, to be graded for meat or to Dingwall
to be sold at auction. Cattle sales are also held on the [432]
island in September and again in November, but the full-time
crofter prefers the Dingwall auction. The rainy season is [132]
now, as noted, reaching its height. The pace becomes slower.
October, November, and, perhaps, even December are spent trying 221
to dig potatoes and turnips. Too often the oat harvest has 241
yet to be completed and the sheep must receive their second [232]
statutory dipping. Sometime before the end of November the 221
236

wool must be packed for shipment. As November ends the rams 221
are put out with the flock. 236
[232]

Winter is a slow season for men, but it is not an idle 221
season. The cattle must be fed. The man fetches oats or hay 233
from his stacks and some turnips or potatoes from his storage
pits and carries the feed on his back to his cattle on the hill.
Very rarely does he keep them in a byre because to do so he
would lose the government subsidy on hill cattle. Although [232]
the sheep are now free from pests and most diseases, he must
continue to periodically walk the hill to check their condition.
Very few bother to feed the sheep in winter. Another task is [231]
the butchering of a few sheep. While not quite legal until
last year, one crofter justified his activity by asking,
"What would we eat if we didn't kill our sheep?" Once in a
while, he may also kill a steer, but unless several families
share the meat, salt beef becomes rather monotonous.

The crofter's wife keeps busy all winter. Her routine, 221
broken by helping at the fank a half dozen times a year and 462
with the harvest, continues through all seasons. As far as [231]
the actual work on the croft goes, she milks the cows, feeds 241
the poultry, and cultivates her garden. When she is not cleaning
the house, cooking meals, making butter or cheese, caring for
the children, or looking after her husband's needs, she knits.
She also does the shopping, either from a food van or on a [432]
weekly visit to Portree. Men are as disinclined to shop as they
are to wash dishes.

normally determines the "souming," the number of stock which each tenant is entitled to carry on the common.

7 The small croft has less than ten acres of arable and improved grass land. The average "souming" is two cows and followers (heifer or bullock calves) and usually ten to twenty sheep. Approximately 2000 of the crofts fall into this classification. The medium croft, representing about 250 landholding subjects, has between ten and twenty acres of land fit for crop cultivation and improved grass. The typical "souming" is two to seven cows and followers, forty or fifty sheep, and occasionally, a horse. We might recall that the sheep may be either a club stock or a private flock. The large croft consists of almost 100 arable acres and, even more important in the predominately pastoral economy, an independent, self-contained grazing of 200 to well over 1000 acres. These diminutive ranches easily carry ten or more cows and followers and several hundred sheep.

For those who prefer to think in terms of area rather than stock, the relative magnitude of these self-contained holdings may be stressed by adding the fact that only thirty townships on Skye have more than 200 acres of common grazing. Here are, for example, Linicro with 729 acres of grazing in shares, Totescore with 500 acres in 12 shares, and Arnesketaig with 273 acres in 47 shares. Over half the townships have less than 100 acres of grazing land.[5]

[5] Ibid., Table 3.

427 241 231 134 The Income of a Small Croft. The small croft is regarded by local agricultural experts as having a potential income of £20 a year. In addition, it provides a home, potatoes, some vegetables, milk, eggs, and the right to cut peat. Even if not quite legal until June, 1954, it frequently supplies mutton and, less often, beef for the family. The budget for this type of holding in my sample reveals that even when fully stocked and the ground tilled, the income may be negligible. Let us look at the cash income and net profit for 1952 and 1953.

In 1952 the cash income for the croft was £8 13s. 11d. The net profit, which takes into account depreciation and stock valuation after sales was £2 1s. 11d. In 1953 the cash income was £12 8s. 9d., and the net profit was £5 8s-. These figures include money from the sale of stock, government subsidies and grants, and home grown produce eaten by the family. Unfortunately, I do not know the number of hours which were spent earning this meager return. The crofter's wife said about 300 hours of her labor. To this we must add seasonal cooperative labor.

This particular croft is rented by a middle-aged married couple and a spinster sister of the wife. The man works full time as truck driver, leaving most of the work on the croft to his wife. The stock is two cows and followers and sixteen to eighteen sheep. There are six acres of arable land, half of it under hay and grass. The remainder is planted in oats, potatoes, and turnips. The budget may not be typical. For

427 241 231 134 124 one thing, an attempt is being made to build up the va the sheep and cattle stock. Then too it is hard to ob information on personal income. Not a few Highlanders reluctant to share in the cost of maintaining the gove and, consequently, equally reluctant to discuss their Still, it does give some indication of the potential i for 80 percent of the Skye crofters. It should not be gotten that a large proportion of the small crofters w have absolutely no income from the land.

The Income of a Medium Croft. The medium croft, accor to experts, has a potential income of £150 to £200 a Like the small croft, it provides a home, potatoes, ve tables, milk, eggs, meat, and peat. The budgets for o croft of this classification for 1952 and 1953 show a income of £203 17s 2d. and £170 15s. 11d., and a net p of £169 12s. 1d. and £96- 11d. The marked fall in net is accounted for by a decrease in the acreage under oa increased expenses, and the sale of fewer and younger which also affected the cash income. The total hours to crofting are estimated at 600 to 800 hours.

This croft supports a family, a married couple a children, supplemented by seasonal auxiliary employmen part of the father. As presently worked and stocked, i not be left to a woman with any expectation of the sam The stocking is two cows and followers and fifty sheep. are 16½ acres of cultivated land, all but a quarter un

427 241 231 434 This budget is nearer the estimate of the local Department of Agriculture officers and may be regarded as typical. It also reveals that crofting is not a dependable livelihood. My budget for the large croft manifests the pitfalls in crofting by an even more striking contrast between the two years.

The Income of a Large Croft. The large croft is said to have a potential income of £800 or more each year. The holder will be a full-time pastoral-agriculturalist. In reality, as mentioned earlier, the large crofter is a small farmer and often has more land than some Skye farmers. His holding cannot be regarded as providing a home, even though his rent and taxes will be extremely low compared to the farmer's. Nor does it normally, if ever, provide peat for fuel. The peat is there, of course, but the crofter does not have time to dig it. Indeed, if he were to take the time or hire someone to do the digging for him, the cost of peat, in terms of man hours approximately £10 a ton, would make it uneconomical, especially since it has only a quarter the caloric value of coal which he can and does buy for less. Like the smaller subjects, the large croft provides vegetables, meat, milk, and eggs for the table. The sample budgets which I obtained for a large croft show a cash income of £536 11s.5d. for 1952 and £802 7s.1d. for 1953. The difference is explained in part by increased sales of stock and in part by increased government subsidies. The net profit for the two years tells a far different story. In 1952 it was £829 6s.5d., but in

1953 it was only £313 2s.1d. This marked fall was due to the loss of sixty-nine sheep and one head of cattle, the effects of which would not be felt until the following year. 427 241 231 434

This croft is inhabited by a married couple, and the husband's father and younger brother. It requires the full attention of both brothers and, occasionally, hired labor, in particular in the spring when the sheep demand a great deal of attention. The income in 1953, it may be added, was considerably more than most Scottish tradesmen and not far below that of a university lecturer. The stock averages between five and ten cows with followers, ten head of beef cattle during the summer, and 400 sheep. The cultivated acreage is fourteen acres, usually half of which is under hay and grass. I regard the large croft in my sample as typical, but it is typical of less than 1 percent of all Skye crofters.

The Income of a Farm. For comparative purposes, I should like to briefly consider the cash income of one farming subject. The budget I obtained is far from typical. With twenty-one farms each with its own peculiar advantages and each farmed under differing technological conditions, I doubt that a representative type could be singled out. Moreover, the only way I could obtain a farmer's budget was to secure it surreptitiously; therefore, I do not know the details of stocking or the number who derive their support from the farm. We may be certain that it is one of the larger sheep farms. Despite an expense for hired labor of over £1000 each year, [124

he Part-time Crofter. The part-time crofter follows much the 221
ame schedule and shares the same succession and variety of
hores. Indeed, some are not so much part-time crofters as 464 182
hey are part-time employees. As such, they are successfully
reserving a traditional economy no longer en rapport with the
urrounding twentieth century commercial world by depending upon
conomic benefits of contractual relationships to the smallest
ossible degree. One fellow saw the situation this way: "We
on't need factories and the like; what we need is something
hat will give us time to attend to our crofts." Others feel [829]
hat if they have to abandon the traditional way of life, they
ight just as well leave the island for places where greater
pportunities for social activity are joined with relative
conomic prosperity.

The part-time crofter has less land than the full-time 221 241
rofter and less need for cultivating all of it because he
as fewer cattle to feed during the winter. He, therefore,
evotes less time to tilling his soil. On the other hand, 221 231
lthough he has fewer sheep, the collective flock of his town- 476
hip is almost always larger than the stock of a large croft.
onsequently, he spends more time dipping, marking, and shearing
heep in cooperation with his neighbors. Hired labor plays 231 464
minor role in the townships. Often the only hired hand is
ne of their number who assumes the responsibility of shepherding
he flock. Some of the townships with club stocks, however,
ave adopted the practice of paying each shareholder for his
abor out of the profits to encourage cooperation or to penalize
those who do not do their full share.

those who do not do their full share. 000

The year for the part-time crofter begins with the prepa- 221 241
ration of his fields. As a general rule both the man who spends
his winter working for the British Railways or away at sea, and
the one who finds summer employment near home is found on his
croft during this period. Following the example of the large
crofter some use a tractor while others continue to plough by
horse. More and more are tending to take advantage of the con-
tracting service of the Department of Agriculture and hire a
tractor and driver. Once the crops are in, the majority are
free until the lambing season. Conservative in his belief 221 333
that too much handling of the sheep is harmful or individually [832]
faced with the almost prohibitive task of singling a small
flock out of several hundred sheep, he tends to omit the March
dipping. During the lambing season, the several crofters of [476]
the township either take turns on the hill or hire a shepherd.
The first chore, then, which brings them together as a group
is the marking of the lambs and the first dipping of the sheep
without lambs. The July shearing and the statutory dips in [476]
August and November are cooperative ventures shared by all
crofters no matter what size croft they occupy.

In sundry ways, economic interests, judged in terms of 231 432
commercial efficiency, play a smaller part in determining the
economic cycle of the part-time crofter than in the case of the
full-time crofter. The part-time crofter does not think it
worthwhile to ship his few head of stock to the mainland
auction markets. He sells them locally at the tri-annual sales.

As far as I know only one attempt has ever been made by the 231 432
smaller holders to sell their cattle at the large mainland
markets since the last drove left Skye in 1906. There was a
feeling at the close of the Second World War among the crofters
that they were not receiving a fair price at the local sales.
The Scottish Wholesale and Cooperative Society, which had be-
come interested in the Highland Problem, offered to handle the
marketing. Their cattle buyer, a man of wide experience, found
the Skye cattle to be of high quality and suggested shipping
them to the Stirling market. This is one of the largest in
Scotland has the advantage of attracting a full range of buyers.
Since the cattle were not at their best after the long sea
voyage, they were provided with hay and pasture for a week
after arrival. Unfortunately, a disease epidemic in the
South forced a postponement of the market. Nevertheless, they
arrived at the auction block in good condition. The prices
obtained, an average of £1 or £2 more than they normally re-
ceived at the local sales, convinced the crofters that there
was no advantage in selling on the mainland. Actually, if
the Society had not paid the expenses of shipment and feed,
the crofters would have suffered a slight loss. Those who
attend the Dingwall sales say they used the wrong market.

While the man who devotes all of his time to his 221 314
pastoral-agricultural occupation finds it uneconomical to 241
bother with gathering seaweed for manure, fishing, or cutting
peat, the crofter of the category we are discussing often
adheres more closely to the traditional cycle. After the

lambing season, the crofter and his family go out on the moor to cut their peat for the following winter. The man uses a "tusker," a two-bladed spade, to cut the peat. His wife or his children follow behind, tossing the peats out of the ditch and building small, loose stacks for drying. After the lambs have been marked and the sheep dipped in June and the shearing finished in July, the family returns to the banks to carry the peats to the nearest road, actually a beaten cart path, in creels. They are then carted home and stacked near the door. There is a growing tendency for both the part-time and spare-time crofter to give up cutting peat. It is not because coal is cheaper or he needs time for other pressing chores. His auxiliary occupation will not permit his devoting the necessary time to this long and arduous task. He is caught between the traditional economic patterns and the money economy of which he has become a part.

The year for our part-time crofter, as for all active crofters ends in November. By then the oat and hay harvest has been stacked by the house and the potatoes and turnips stored in the ground, the wool shipped off to market, the surplus sheep and cattle have gone to market, and the rams are on the hill. Now follows a period of enforced idleness, broken by feeding the cattle. As we have seen many go away to find employment, leaving the care of the croft to their wives who have shared the work of crofting in addition to their own womanly responsibilities. We must turn to the spare-time crofter to discover just how heavy the burden of labor may depend upon the women of Skye.

depend upon the women of Skye.

The Spare-time Crofter. Under this type we must include not only the able-bodied, married man who tends to become a full-time wage earner, but also the old, pensioned, married and unmarried men and women who are no longer able to perform the necessary chores. For the latter, whether they have a small or medium-sized croft, the croft becomes a means of living within a pension rather than a potential source of livelihood. For the former, the croft becomes a means of living cheaply.

When the crofter goes out to work, he either tends to neglect the croft or expects his wife to manage it. Occasionally, the husband will help with the ploughing or the harvest in the evening, but he never lends his wife a helping hand in her domestic duties. The only men on the island that I knew who helped their wives with the dishes or the care of the children, except disciplinary measures, were a minister from the Outer Isles and several Lowlanders in Portree. Since very few crofters have plumbing, the wife must fetch water from a well and dispose of waste in the nearest stream. If there is to be a supply of peats, she must cut them. If there are cattle and sheep, she looks after them. Lambing may be left to the township shepherd if the crofters can afford one, and shearing is usually left to the men of the township. An exceptional spinster or widow may shear, but it is indeed an unusual married woman who will break with the traditional

division of labor. During the summer, she will milk the cows, and in the winter she will see that they are fed. If there is to be a harvest in the autumn, she will care for the crops.

Some women, in particular the older ones, plough with the caschrom, the foot plough. Other women use a small power driven plough or contract with the Department of Agriculture to have the ploughing done. The Department will also provide the men and machinery to harrow, cultivate, spread lime and manure, mow hay, cut and bind oats, dig potatoes, and thresh grain. By utilizing these services, if they can be afforded, the small crofter can free himself or, at least his wife, from many arduous tasks. The need for cooperation of the family and neighbors is thereby reduced. Although traditional mutual aid is being replaced by cash payment for labor, it is not the labor of a landless working class which commercialization often creates, but rather state provided services. Significantly, most Department employees are newcomers. The Skye man who works for the Department is a better worker away from the island. Since few are able to pay for these services, the wife digs the potatoes, and some women use the scythe to reap hay and oats. The scythe, it will be remembered is really a man's tool. Frequently, the break with tradition is avoided by the return of a son from the mainland or the sea. Running the household and working the croft is not all some women do. They also take in summer visitors, by the day or week, and provide teas for travell

In summary, it may be said that crofting is anything but an easy life with ample rewards. We have seen how meager the

each township as a sign of contempt.[10] This suggests that 476
the practice of helping one's neighbors with the harvest was 241
relatively recent. Again in the matter of cutting peats, 178
829
frequently described as cooperative, and a communal under-
taking as late as 20 years ago, there is disagreement. All
in the township used to work together, cutting for each crofter
in turn and enjoying a festive picnic. "Sure they would,"
others told me," but first they would cut for the minister
and then for the shopkeeper." The shopkeeper was more important
to them in those days because they would all be in perennial
debt to him, and he might extend a little more credit if they
were in his good graces. They would then cut for each other.
By the time they got around to the old widow with no one to
cut for her, they were all too busy. The sheep had to be dipped
or the fields needed attention. I have heard conflicting
versions of these stories from neighbors. Are we to conclude
that cooperation varied from door to door and township to
township?

The growth in importance of sheep as a major source of 236
income, associated with the decline of the old subsistence 476
economy, led to new patterns of cooperation. To be economic 178
sheep must be raised in numbers. As we have seen, physical
cooperation is imperative, and many crofters cooperate finan-
cially, pooling their capital and dividing the profits. This
is true of the nine townships of Kilmuir. Moreover, even in
townships where the crofters have rejected the club stock plan
the individual flocks are generally handled as club stock.

[10]Cf. William MacKenzie, Skye: Iochdar-Trotternish, p.59.

In Claigan, for example, the crofters felt they would do 236
better with private flocks than with a club stock. Although 476
each man now has his own sheep on the township grazing, they 178
are cared for like any club stock. The four crofters are
needed for success at the dippings, marking, and shearing,
and they are always at the fank on these occasions. In larger 236
townships, those with ten or more holdings, the need for all 476
the crofters to help out at the fank is less pressing while 621
632
the felt need for auxiliary employment is stronger. In con-
sequence, the cooperative work habits run less smoothly. In
an attempt at adjustment, many townships have resorted to
paying the share holders for their labor from the profits.
To the best of my knowledge, only one township has witnessed
the total suppression of the cooperative spirit; all the
crofters are too busy with full-time employment to bother with
the steadily declining sheep stock.

Nevertheless, it has become commonplace for the crofters [829]
to complain of at least one individual in the township who
does not pull his full share, someone who is "trying to
sabotage the whole thing."

Independence is a personality trait, but it is best 157
described as a steadfast determination not to conform for the 476
mere sake of conformity when an innovation handed down from 829
the outside commercial world is at stake. The old ways are the 888
best ways, even if only the old men think so. It is the old
men who uphold the traditional practices. As long as they do,
and as long as unanimous consent is required for any change,

157 the Highlander will be "independent." As for being "just not
476 cooperative," what the critic really means is that the crofter
829 is unable to cooperate in the ways city people or more sophisti-
888 cated farmers do. The cooperative movement has come to Skye,
but it was not a local venture. The Scottish Cooperative and
Wholesale Society opened its shops, without shareholders. The
distinction between the crofters' simple cooperation and so-
phisticated cooperation, including capital investment, does
not invariably hold.[11] There are sheep stock clubs. Govern-
ment loans, of course, provided the initial capital.

476 In dealing with the topic of cooperation, as any part
621 of the economic aspect of the culture of the Sgiathanach,
632
the basic importance of the township again and again emerges.
Only a few crofts exist apart from a township. A more detailed
analysis of the township system and the pressures it imposes
on the crofter is, therefore, in order.

The Township

621 The efficient unit in the local economy is the township,
632 the modern equivalent of the joint-tenants' and tacksmen's
farms. Each township consists of a variable number of individual
holdings, the low-lying arable and improved grass land held
under hereditary tenure, and a more or less extensive area
of rough, unimproved hill grazing held in common. The common,
concurrent right of each crofter to use the hill grazing under
the "souming" principle gives the township its focus.

[11]Cf. Darling and Morley, loc. cit.

361 The number of holdings which can be carved from the land
632 in any one place and the proximity of these clusters of crofts
162
to each other are determined to a large degree by the limiting
influences of the environment. Landforms, climate, and soil
have always restricted settlement to the coastal fringe and
a few internal glens. Although the Sgiathanach has abandoned
his former dependence on a subsistence economy, the original
cultural adjustment, these natural features continue to exert
a negative influence. Each man must have some arable land to
provide winter feed for his cattle and to winter his sheep.

If the low-lying area is small and isolated, only a
few holdings can be laid out. If the fertile area is large,
the influence of the environment is less direct. In either
case social and economic factors are important. The small
isolated townships are invariably unsuccessful. A few, like
Point of Sleat, are completely empty. Others are all but
derelict. There is Kylerhea in Sleat where no children have
been born in over fifteen years. Suisinish in Strath, a
township well remembered from the days of the "Clearances," when
a minister's sheep replaced the inhabitants, is now inhabited
by an old man and his two elderly bachelor sons. All of these
476 failing townships are at the end of a road. Whereas the
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162 minimum size was once four able-bodied men, the number in a
plough team or a boat crew,[12] it is now three. This functional
trio is indispensible for the care of a sheep stock large
enough to be worth keeping. Even three families do seem to
satisfy the social minimum.

[12]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

The maximum is harder to determine, economically. There is some limit to the number who can stock a common grazing with individually owned stock without becoming involved in complicated entanglements over right, obligations, and questions of ownership. The few townships containing more than thirty crofts in the Western Highlands (91 out of 957),[13] and the negligible number on Skye (only ten), suggests that less than thirty holdings per township, no matter how much fertile land surrounds the cluster, has been found to be the optimum. Most of the townships contain between five and twenty crofts. The fact that many large, adjacent townships, such as Bornesketaig in Kilmuir and all those in the Braes, are losing their population is a reflection of a many faceted condition we have been exploring throughout this chapter--the vast majority of the crofts are too small to provide an adequate livelihood. One of the primary causes for this state of affairs would seem to be overcrowding on the land.

Congestion. In almost all but the recently established or replanned townships, congestion is a legacy of the increase in population during the first century of the modern period, often aggravated by coerced subdivision during the period of the "Clearances." Because of this, over-all statistics have little meaning. It is quite correct to say there are some 2300 crofts on Skye and approximately 2200 crofters, but this does not mean each family has a croft to itself. To take

[13] Ibid., table 1.

extreme examples, Bornesketaig in Kilmuir consists of 47 crofts held by 35 crofters, but Aird in Sleat has 39 crofters who rent 20 crofts. In one badly subdivided township, Calligary in Sleat, one holding is held in the following shares: four men each have five-twenty-fourths, one has one-sixth, and one has "a part." The whole, indeed, is more than the sum of its parts. Moreover, townships with a balance of crofts and crofters, and even those with fewer crofters than crofts, often show the effects of subdivision. Another Kilmuir township, Herbusta, is laid out in eight holdings. Although there are an equal number of landholders, several of the crofts are divided into half shares. Then, there is Kilvaxter, also a Kilmuir township, with 11 tenants and 12 crofts; one man has three full shares while two others have only half a croft each. Multiple crofts are not necessarily adjacent. Some crofters hold land in two different townships. One of my informants rents two crofts separated by over twenty miles. On foot, it takes him two days to make the trip between his two holdings.

000 Subdivision, frequently carried to its ludicrous extreme, is not a problem confined to the Highlands of Scotland. All over Europe the traditional laws of succession have had a similar result. In consequence, the governments of all European countries have been striving to initiate reform. Generally, the aim has been to consolidate scattered patches, but almost always the schemes have become more comprehensive, attempting to create economic farms and increase productivity. Since the

000 means are not infrequently thwarted by the peasants, the ends are seldom achieved.

As long ago as 1859 Norway began a redistribution of the land; by 1946 42 percent of the infield and 9 percent of the outfield had been regrouped. In Ireland attempts at consolidation date back to 1870. Because the problem was especially intricate, some holdings consisted of twenty or thirty scattered patches, the attempted approach has been comprehensive, including assistance for migration, improvements, and the purchase of farms. Today, even where the consolidated holdings are substandard, they are more productive. I do not mean to imply that the program has been uniformly and sweepingly effective. The study by Arensberg and Kimball is ample evidence to the contrary,[14] but there has been reform. Germany, too, has had an all-inclusive policy since the 1870's. There, whole villages must be replanned. Wherever possible, small holdings have been abolished by moving certain families out to new farmsteads and removing others from the land. It is significant that most of the reform took place under Hitler and, even so, there was universal peasant resistance to land reformation. What effect the partition of Germany has had on these rural villages I do not know. Many of those I visited have twice the population of prewar days. In each country, from Sweden to Italy and from France to Greece, the experiments have resulted in increased agricultural production. On Skye, as in most of the Highlands, the tillage area has fallen at a faster rate than the population. Indeed,

[14] Arensberg and Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland.

where the population has suffered the greatest decline and, therefore, where enlargements, by legal or illegal means, have been the most extensive, crop production has declined the most. Nor has the decline in population, accompanied by land redistribution, altered the fundamental problem.

The cottars (subtenants) have almost disappeared thereby easing the excessive pressure on the land and removing the threat of recurring destitution. Today they are found only in a few scattered dwellings and isolated clusters. Most of them have secured some form of employment or have reached the age when a government pension is sufficient to satisfy their needs. The number of crofters, on the other hand, has increased. If the figures 2043 and 1227 can be accepted as nearly correct for the respective numbers of crofters and cottars in 1886,[15] they have increased at the expense of the latter and, also, the sheep farmer, whom they have replaced.

To briefly summarize the foregoing discussion of the township, let us look at Kilmuir. Table 3 shows the number of crofts and crofters in each of the nine townships together with the acreage and "souming" rights available to each individual. Although replanning during the past fifty years has benefited many of the local residents, crowding upon the land is still apparent.

[15] L. MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 6, 17.

TABLE 3

CROFTS, CROFTERS, ARABLE ACREAGE, AND SOUMING RIGHTS IN THE KILMUIR TOWNSHIPS

Township	Crofts	Crofters	Arable Acres[a]	Common Grazing	Souming
Bornesketeig	47	35	4	273	2 cows, 1 calf, 12 sheep
Hunglladder	14	9	5	236	2 cows, 1 calf, 10 sheep
Balgown	4	5	13, 14, 34, 46, 66	177	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Kilvaxter	12	11	27	...b	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Linicro	19	17	15	729	5 cows, 5 calves 40 sheep 1 horse
Peingown	3	4	18	187	7 cows, 7 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Herbusta	8	8	12	308	3 cows, 3 calves 26 sheep 1 horse
Totescore	12	13	21	500	3 cows, 3 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Monkstadt	3	3	27, 27, 5	420	9 cows, 9 calves 40 sheep 2 horses

[a]Arable acres are given in average acres per holding, unless otherwise indicated. Except in Bornesketeig and Hunglladder, arable land includes outrun, improved pasture land individually held.

[b]Shared with Kilvaxter.

Sources: Compiled from The Valuation Roll of the County of Inverness, 1953; information extracted from the files of the Department of Health for Scotland; and data supplied by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

Township Government. The township system has another marked influence on the economy of the Sgriathanach. By far the largest obstacle in the path of reform is the persistence of primitive democracy, distinguished from the democracy of Western Civilization by the requirement of unanimous consent rather than majority rule. The individual who comes to realize that it is possible to improve on the ways his father did things is deterred from attempting to introduce innovations. He cannot, for example, erect a fence around his croft unless everyone in his township approves such a departure from tradition. The dissenting voice of one old man is sufficient to thwart any plan. Unanimous decisions on all township affairs mean that the most progressive worker must keep pace with the most conservative. This fact goes a long way in explaining the essential agricultural disharmony of Skye, and most of the Highlands, with the rest of Great Britain. It is also a singular example of the incomplete adaptation of the culture to the higher socio-cultural organization.

When coupled with the many limitations on the economy, township government helps the outsider to understand why many younger crofters feel that the primary value of their few arable acres is their use as pasture. Even in townships which have been fenced, the prevailing practice is to open the crofts after the harvest. All winter long the stock is free to graze where it will. "My arable is no use at all, except to winter my sheep," said one young crofter. Another asserted, "I have three crofts and the use of one more, but it's not

worth while to cultivate any of the arable, so I use it for grazing." A case which aptly illustrates the influence of the township system as an agent of conservatism is the breeding of pigs. Although several old crofters told me how many people during the times of the "Clearances" kept a pig, they are rarely found anywhere in the Highlands today. The Biblical injunction against the flesh of swine has been taken literally. The older people simply have a strong aversion to handling pigs. One man, a very successful cattle and sheep breeder, put it this way: "Pigs are filthy brutes. I just don't want to touch them -- I never have kept any and never will." At the same time, there are men who believe that the prices these animals bring at the mainland markets more than compensate for the individual's revulsion, especially as long as the Ministry of Food pays for the cost of transportation. These men cannot try branching out because they have no way to restrict the foraging animals. "Skye is ideal for pigs," one young fellow told me, "but I don't have the freedom to work the croft to suit myself."

Smaller deviations from the traditional methods of land use face the same difficulties. A progressive crofter who attempts to improve the value of his stock by growing scientific mixtures of grasses is always penalized. As soon as the harvest is over, the stock of all his neighbors will show their appreciation by concentrating on his croft, trampling his fields, and overgrazing his grass. Nor is this his only penalty. His neighbors will regard him with skepticism for his departure from the ways handed down from the past.

from the ways handed down from the past. We might note at this time that even the progressive crofter is not always quite on rapport with modern techniques. There was, for example, a man with two calves infested with liver fluke. Convinced that medicine was the only solution, and equally convinced that a person cannot believe everything he reads, he obtained a bottle of liver fluke medicine which was plainly marked: "for sheep only." When asked how his calves responded to the treatment, he responded, "Och, they both died."

Because of the restrictions which the township system imposes, there has been a growing, perceptible rumble of agitation for supplanting unanimous consent with majority rule. Few, however, would go as far as a retired seaman who returned to Skye after forty years. He would like to see the township system abolished. Another small group believe the Sgriathanach would be better off if the Island were given over to communal farms. Most seem to favor the continuation of the present system. Of course, the majority is composed of the conservative old men.

The Aged and the Absentee Crofter

No appraisal of the crofting system is complete without some discussion of two additional factors which have affected the use of the land and the present unsatisfactory economic condition of the Island. One of the factors is the aged tenant, who, as we have just seen, exercises a strong control over the younger men through township government. He has also influenced

the economy by subjecting many fertile acres to disuse because of his infirmity. The other factor is the absentee tenant, an individual who has obtained possession of a croft, normally by inheritance, but who has failed to take up his inalienable rights of tenancy. Let us very briefly review the economic trends of the last fifty odd years and, then, try to assess the importance of the absent and the aged.

Although the Sgriathanach has refused to become a specialist, fully involved in a money economy, he has become increasingly dependent on the products of the wider commercial society. Long ago he gave up growing the old staples, barley and oats. Not for many years has he grown enough potatoes or turnips to feed himself and his cattle. In place of these home grown subsistence crops, he now imports a great deal of his food. In an average year Skye imports over 700 tons of bread, 10 tons of vegetables, 300 tons of canned goods, 300 tons of potatoes, 500 tons of flour, and 100 tons of milk. To pay for these products, he exports cattle, once his only marketable produce, and an ever increasing number of sheep.

Hance, writing about the Outer Hebrides, sees the growing tendency of the crofters to buy their food as indicative of an increasing cash income.[16] To a certain extent, this may be true. There are, however, additional factors involved. Ecological limitations have played their role. That the climate and soil together make Skye a grassland suitable for stock breeding rather than an island fit for cultivation is an often repeated

[16]Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 62.

436 belief. Since agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years,
241 the present tendency to use more and more of the land for grass
235
439 and hay can be regarded as a more complete adjustment to the environment. The partial involvement in the outside contractual world encouraged and made possible the change. The same reasoning applies to stock production, including the declining number of horses, cattle, and, especially, dairy cows. The exports, obviously, reflect market demands. A couple of
[242] crofters have unsuccessfully tried market gardening. The Sgiathanach is not a vegetable eater, and the commercial establishments, apparently, find a more dependable supply
436 elsewhere. A few crofters do sell potatoes in Portree, but
241 they will not compete with the large, east coast potato
432 farmer. In 1953, as soon as the price fell below the pre-season high, the crofters decided it was not worth the trouble
437 to dig the tubers for sale. The same held true for eggs.
436 Many crofters barter eggs with the food vans which serve the
235 rural areas for tea and meat. When the Scottish market was glutted in the summer of 1953, the crofters refused to trade at lower prices. They preferred to obtain their protein from the eggs, believing that the spring egg prices were the fair prices. For the sake of emphasis, I repeat, the involvement of the Sgiathanach in the world of commerce is only partial. Finally, in accounting for these changing economic trends, the aged and the absentee crofter must be taken into account.

897 The old people frequently cannot work their crofts or
241 cannot use them fully. The age at which the work becomes too

897 arduous is difficult to determine. In the winter of 1953, I
241 helped a small crofter thrash oats, a cooperative enterprise
[228] even with a mechanical thresher, supplied by the Department of Agriculture. The neighbors who came over to lend a hand were two men and three women. The youngest woman would never see fifty again; her seniors were seventy-seven and seventy-eight. The youngest man, who had just been married, was sixty-three; the other seventy-three. These crofters not only showed more endurance than I did, but put me to shame by carrying the sacks of grain from the field to the byre
[162] at the end of the day. Nevertheless, most of those over seventy, about 15 percent of the population, do not make use
897 of the land for more than growing a few potatoes. An old
231 man cannot keep a cow because, as one man said, "You can't
462 have a cow unless you have a woman to milk it." If he is married or lives with a sister, there may be a cow and a couple of sheep. An old woman may have her cow and sheep if she is strong enough. There comes a time, however, when all the old people will only remember the work involved. Still, they will say, "Och, but they were good for all that."

427 Absentee tenants are responsible for depopulation on
241 the one hand and falling production on the other. A reasonable
164 estimate would be 300. Their number could be as high as 400.
[243] Some townships have over 50 percent of the crofters absentee. The only townships which do not have this problem are the few which contain large crofts. On one small estate there are seventy-six crofts, held by seventy-two crofters. Only thirty

427 of the holders reside on their land for more than half the
241 year. The lowest rate of absenteeism is found among the tenants
162 of the Department of Agriculture. There are 76 absentees out of a total of 667 tenants. Most of the non-resident crofters are permanently absent. On the small estate mentioned above thirty-seven of the forty-two absentees have not been seen in years. Five of them usually return to Skye to spend their summer vacation.

427 Thus, we have a situation in which, perhaps, a third
241 of the crofts are held by people who either cannot work them
311 because of old age or infirmity, or do not choose to work
897 them because of greater opportunities elsewhere. What, then, happens to this land? Some of the old people allow a neighbor to use the land. Almost invariably this means the few fertile acres will be used for grass and hay. Absentees "entrust" the
[40] croft, house and land, to a landless family. While Parliament inadvertently gave the crofter a right to keep his holding whether he resided on it or not, it is illegal to sublet. So far, this has not concerned the crofters. Other absentees "entrust" the land to someone in the township who uses it for grass.

427 Turning to the influence of old age and absenteeism on
897 stocking, we find a series of entanglements. If the township is
231 inhabited solely by old people, like Aird in Sleat, the township becomes derelict. More commonly, the absentee and the old person allows someone else to take over his "souming" so
[52] that some crofters have far more than their share. Not infrequently, this gives the crofter a chance to outwit that

427 rich man, the government." Since subsidies depend on the
897 number of stock, he may forget that all or part of his "souming"
231 has been given away. One old crofter, for example, a few years
[24] ago asked a young lady to fill out his agricultural return. She knew his estimates gave a great deal of reason to doubt his veracity, but, preferring not to question the point, she entered his figures. When it came time to sign the report, he was canny. "Och," he said, "just put a tremble in your hand and sign it yourself." There are other crofters who puzzle the authorities by returning the same number of cattle and sheep year after year. Although even the best crofters and farmers lose a few sheep and an occasional cow, they insist
[62] that their stock has produced as many as have been sold. As a means of protecting the government from paying for non-existent stock, the police have to be notified when the annual stock counts are to be made. Even when they do supervise the counting, allowances for stragglers have to be made.

654 So pernicious is the effect of non-residence and decrepit
427 crofts, that a recent government commission has recommended the
897 severance of the house from the land in the case of the aged and the eviction of the absentee, as a means of bolstering the economy and alleviating the widespread condition of bad
427 husbandry.[17] This could be the final blow for the culture. Not
897 uncommonly, the croft is subjected to both absenteeism and the infirmity of old age. The heir does not return until he has passed the age of retirement and begins to think, "It would be

[17] Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions, pp. 42-43, 46-47, 66.

427 fine to go home to Skye to die." I might add, "and to live on
897 a pension."

427 It is not only the tenant crofters who are non-resident.
[42] About 20 percent of the owner-occupiers in Glendale are non-resident. Only two townships have no derelict crofts. Those who have sublet their homes and land have an additional problem. Apparently unaware of the full implications of the Small Landholders legislation, they have received a rude awakening. The people whom they thought were their subtenants are, in the eyes of the Land Court, crofters entitled to security of tenure.

511 One reason for absenteeism, as for emigration, is a
427 felt need for a higher standard of living than the croft can
[173] provide. This desire, common to almost all European peasants, as well as American farmers, has assumed increasing importance with the extension of communication and education. The outstanding exception in Europe is Italy. There the métayer population has increased markedly since World War I. Today 92 percent in the métayer category have a substandard livelihood, judged in terms of sheer necessity.[18] Only 800,000 families out of 5,000,000 have enough land to meet subsistence needs. The difference between the European peasant and the American farmer is that the American lacks any traditional

[18] Information from the files of the Italian Statistical Institute, as reported in the Glasgow Herald, Feb. 22, 1954.

511 attachment to the land, or his attachment is not strong enough
427 to offset his desire for material rewards.[19] Regionally, a possible exception in the United States is to be found in the Southern Appalachians, where the majority have a net annual income of less than $500.00.[20] These mountaineers, significant are largely of Irish and Scottish derivation.[21] The Skyeman who leaves in his youth returns in his old age, if he can. We may logically ask what opportunities exist on the island for employment which might enable the Sgiathanach to raise his standard of living without forsaking the land.

Fishing

226 Fishing, it will be remembered, was once a traditional
197 and functional activity in the economic cycle of the Sgiathanach but as far as the Skyeman was concerned, it was no more than a supplement to crofting. It was fine to be able to bring home some fish to be smoked or salted for the winter. The wages earned as a hand on an east coast vessel during the summer months were also welcome. Beyond this, he did not care to become involved with the sea as an occupation. His attachment to the land was too strong.

[19] Cf. Homans, The Human Group, pp. 343, 353, 358; and MacLeish and Young, The Culture of a Contemporary Community: Lansdiff, N.H., pp. 114-117.

[20] R. W. Hawthorne, "Farm Organization and Management," Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians, pp. 41-72; and T. B. Manny, "Population Distribution and Change," Ibid., pp. 130-136.

[21] Campbell, The Southern Highlander and His Homeland.

s of labor are for the vast majority. Although they 241
lish their own tempo, the crofters, both men and women,
follow the dictates of the seasons. Inclement weather
es prolonged periods of idleness. There are conflicts.
are not conflicts of meaning, but they pose serious problems.
mall crofter has to decide how he can best allocate his
He may want to get in his hay or try making silage,
is sheep, his main source of income, must come first.
does not mean that there is economic disintegration. Inte-
on does not mean smooth functioning. Perhaps, a further
ssion of cooperation will clarify the situation.

Cooperation

Today it is commonplace to assert that the Sgiathanach, 476
he Highlander in general, is "independent" and "just not 241
rative." Certainly they have come a long way from the 178
hen the old four horse plough made cooperation essential 829
e use of the caschrom made it welcome. Population in-
ity, subdivision of the crofts and the change from a
tence economy to an export economy based on sheep and
could not have left the old pattern of mutual, recipro-
pendence undisturbed. But does this mean they no longer
ate? I think not. In fact, I think critics of the High-
roblem have exaggerated,[9] and the people, always ready to
y the past, have been influenced by stories of an ideal

[9]Cf. F. Fraser Darling and Averil Morley, "The Social
ion," The West Highland Survey, Part VI, p. 2.

ld.

More than one crofter told me that one of the biggest 241 476 178 829
nges on Skye in the last thirty or forty years was that their
ghbors are "less Christian," in the sense of being neighborly
helping each other, than they used to be. Once no one
d, "I've finished my work," until everyone in the township
stacked his grain. "Colin is harvesting today and Murdo to-
row; we'll go over and lend them a hand," was the expected
itude. Toward the end of the season, the whole township
ld be seen working on an old widow's croft. "Now when a
has cleared his land, he says, 'I'm finished,' and that's
t." such a statement has to be followed by asking if they
forget about the sick and the aged. The answer is always
same: "When a person needs help, his neighbors will help
. Perhaps they can't do his corn, but they help by just
ving a few fish by the door or a pail of milk in his cottage."
short, they continue to give mutual aid, but it is anonymous.
Highlander never looks for thanks and never offers it. I [57]
ember our landlady complaining about an Eastcoaster in
tree whom she had helped by giving some outgrown children's
thes. The recipient had thanked her profusely. "You know,
l," she said, "If anyone did that for me, I'd be too choked
to say anything."

Not all use the same colors to paint the scene. I was
o told that the harvest was formerly a time of friendly
alry. The gobhair-bhacaig, two sheaths of oats tied at
ht angles, used to be thrown on the unfinished fields within

Throughout the present century, the commercial importance of fishing, judged on the basis of income, numbers of crofter-fishermen, and boats, has steadily declined. The number of crofter-fishermen has decreased at a faster rate than the decline in population. In recent years its significance as a part-time chore has also been reduced. Wage labor has replaced fishing in the economic pattern. In 1900 there were 1,015 crofter-fishermen with 485 boats.[22] While the number of fishermen rose to 1,039 in 1905, from then until now their number has fallen steadily. In 1953 there were 237 crofter-fishermen with 120 boats. Despite higher prices, the value of fish landed on the island is one-third that of 1900. In 1952 the total contribution of fishing to the local economy was £10,091. This is in marked contrast to the Outer Hebrides where fishing brings in more money than crofting.[23] Fish have, of course, remained essential in the diet. All the crofters have their barrel of salt herring, purchased from mainland curers. Their own fish is usually sold for fish meal.

All who have considered the "Highland Problem" have stressed the need for some form of secondary employment to support the economy. Fishing has enjoyed great popularity as a recommended industry. This is due to the long tradition and the importance of fishing in the Outer Isles.[24] There are several pitfalls in the program as far as Skye is concerned.

[22]"Creek Returns for the Isle of Skye,--1890-1953," Fisheries Division, Scottish Home Department, Edinburgh, Scotland (in the files of the Division).

[23]Hance, op. cit., pp. 81, 89, 134.

[24]Ibid., pp. 89-110.

The factors which brought about centralization of the industry 228
in Scotland, including commercialization, availability of credit, access to markets, and local populations ready to specialize,[25] have also operated locally. The number of West Highland fishermen has actually increased, but the increase occurred at a few centers. Skye, like most of the region,[26] [504] has numerous isolated coves but no harbor adapted for commercial fishing. Further, the changes in the economic pattern have severed the former relatedness and consistency of fishing with pastoral-agriculture. Moreover, fishing today, to be remunerative, has to be diligently followed. It must be a specialized occupation. The Sgiathanach has not been able to make the adjustment necessary to become a full-time fisherman.

Of the 182 townships on Skye, fishing is important in 98.[27] In a few of these townships fish are an export item. [439] There is no longer any fishing done in eighty-four townships. Portree, with its sheltered bay, is the base for a few full-time fishermen who sell locally. Uig Bay, Loch Pooltiel, and [504] Loch Bracadale, all once considered excellent harbors, are neglected. The lack of fishing in Loch Bracadale is striking. It is there that sixty families of Harris crofter-fishermen were settled and purposefully given small crofts with the expectation that they would continue to fish as they had on their native isle. They never tried exploiting the inshore

[25]Collier, The Crofting Problem, pp. 75-83.

[26]Ibid., pp. 78-83.

[27]Darling and Morley, op. cit., pp. 42-45.

228 waters around Skye.

228 I have very briefly reviewed the factors responsible
229 for the present condition of Skye's fisheries. These are unimportant to the people of Skye, many of whom regard the situation dolefully. As far as the crofters are concerned the decline in fishing is due to the following factors: (1) trawlers commit depredations, destroying the spawning beds and fish food in the Minch, poaching the lochs, and sweeping away the gear of the local inshore fishermen; (2) seine netters are just as guilty, especially in depredating shallow waters; (3) there is a lack of harbor facilities; (4) the crofter-fishermen cannot take advantage of the partial grants toward boats and equipment offered by the Herring Industry and White Fishing Industry Boards; (5) the high cost of transportation reduces their profits, especially on lobsters and whelks. The net result is that fishing is dead. As one man put it: "Fishing is as dead as a dodo."

In order to restore the inshore fishing, the crofters advocate, above all, the closing of the Minch to all foreign and British trawlers and seine net fishermen for ten years. Next that "rich man, the government" should provide piers, slips, jetties, and break waters and institute a system of grants and loans for the purchase of boats and gear. Heavy penalties on trawlers who fish illegally, including the confiscation of boats, are also considered desirable. A closed season on lobsters is their final recommendation.

228 In so far as the local white fishing is concerned, there

is no doubt that trawlers and seine netters have swept away 228
lines and gear, particularly earlier in the century. There is evidence that the use of the trawl net has led to more extensive and intensive fishing, causing a depletion of the quantity of marketable fish.[28] On the other hand, there is also conclusive evidence that the seine net and the new, large mesh trawl net allows the smaller fish to escape unharmed. The crofter, who continues to use hand lines, accounts for a negligible share of the catch. This is not a local problem, however. It concerns the entire European continental shelf.

The International Fisheries Convention has prescribed changes in mesh sizes in the interest of conservation, but agreement on the limit of territorial waters is another problem. Unless Great Britain decides to follow the precedent established by Iceland and Norway and extend her present three mile limit, only agreed limitation by the ratifiers of the Convention can reduce the intensity of fishing in the Minch, as in any extra-territorial waters. Fully aware of the advantages which would accrue to inshore fishermen from closing the Minch, the British Government has taken the position that it would be contrary to the best interests of the nation.[29] Such an infringement on the "freedom of the seas" might be followed by adverse effects on her naval, maritime, and fishing interests for other nations might follow

[28] C. M. Younge, Professor of Zoology, University of Glasgow, "International Measures to Limit Overfishing," Glasgow Herald, Feb. 23, 1954.

[29] Glasgow Herald, Dec. 15, 1953 and Jan. 27, 1954.

228 suit.

Apart from this time honored principle and other legal considerations, closure of the Minch will not be feasible until the Hebrideans have a larger catching potential. This potential depends not only on capital for building fleets and facilities, but also on a casting off of conservative attitudes regarding modern innovations and techniques. In short, a fuller adjustment to the demands of the commercial world is required. Additional problems to be faced include efficient handling of this highly perishable item. At present boats from the northern end of Skye have only a limited local market. If they miss the steamer in the morning, they might just as well throw the fish overboard. A consideration of lobster fishing will indicate the nature of these problems.

Lobster fishing is an especially suitable part-time occupation for crofters. Particularly in favor of the industry is the fact that it can be turned to whenever croft work is slack. Then, too, there is a fairly constant demand for lobsters at a high price. In recent years the value of lobsters and whelks, the only other shell fish exported in quantity, has exceeded that of all other fish combined. [434] Lobstering adds substantially to the incomes of the crofters around Broadford and Kyleakin, in the Staffin area of Kilmuir parish, and in the Braes and Portree districts of Portree parish. It was formerly important in Glendale. Indeed, between 1942 and 1949 there were few crofter-fishing townships which did not share in the profits from the sale of lobsters. It should be noted that shell fish are exclusively an export

228 [467] [501] item. No fish without scales is eaten by the Skyeman.

The crofters use small boats, under thirty feet keel, and work in pairs. By contributing creels and sharing the risks as well as the profits, the cost of equipment for each [476] individual is modest. Here, of course, is an additional form of cooperation which has not disappeared. The techniques have remained conservative. The use of small boats restricts operations to sheltered areas, and conservation is not an important consideration.[30] One order, for example, issued by the government prohibited the sale of berried lobsters (females with eggs) without success. The eggs are simply scrubbed off. The law will be useless as long as there are men among them who continue to believe that: "In the old days we took berried lobsters, and the lobsters thrived." Another order has made it illegal to take lobsters under nine inches, the favorite size in the London and Paris markets. This has not only spoiled the market but also is difficult on the crofters because they use small creels. Still, the real trouble is said to be the lack of a closed season. Bretons come over and work the waters during the summer when the Sgiathanach is busy on the land. Crofters from southern Skye are accused of poaching the northern lochs. This leaves few lobsters for the local residents who only go after lobster between November and March.

Although international considerations do not pertain to the question of a closed season, the British government considers

[30] Cf. Darling and Morley, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

the suggestion detrimental to the best interests of the na
economy. There is no doubt that the Skye crofters would
Their peak years, culminating in 1947, coincided with a ti
when the area was restricted for reasons of security durin
Second World War. Additional problems include the loss of
creels during gales and transportation difficulties. It
a day and half for a lobster to reach the London market wh
all connections are made. The high cost of shipment and
high mortality rate reduce the crofters' profits.

The attitude of the government concerning the domest
feasibility of encouraging the local fisheries may be sum
up by the following question by a fishery expert: "Can w
afford to jeopardize the livelihoods of men who devote th
lives to the sea in favor of an industry which may never
develop? There's no official policy yet, but I don't thi
the Board will ever try to revive the industry on Skye."
though they slightly exaggerate the situation, a few stat
ments by Skye men sum up the present condition of this ac
pretty well. On one estate the landlord who has seen fis
die altogether in the last few years, said: "There are no
at all, not even for lobsters. Even young men gave it up
All of a sudden it just died, stopped." A man from Stein
abortive fishing village established by the British Fishe
Society in 1790, has also seen fishing cease, "The few bo
are beached, look at them rotting on the beach." He beli
the decline in fishing is one reason for the continued de
population. Others share his belief. A school teacher s
"Few realize how recent the decline in fishing really is.

Something has to be done to keep the people here." A Glendale crofter put it more forcibly: "There aren't enough men in Glendale to man a row boat. They've lost experience. One crew after the last war lost their boat because they didn't know how to use it. If depopulation isn't stopped, there soon will be no need for any of these remedies." Fishing, then, is one of those subjects which is often discussed and about which little is done. Let us turn to a consideration of the less traditional occupations open to the men of Skye and their womenfolk.

Minor Supplementary Industries

Diatomite. Diatomite, the siliceous remains of minute organisms laid down in fresh water lake beds, is found in quantity in drained Loch Cuithir, near Staffin. After extracting, drying, and pulverizing, during which process it loses 70 percent of its weight, it has innumerable industrial uses, ranging from filters for the manufacture of beer, sugar, fruit juices, and petroleum products, through abrasives, to fillers and insulation material. Attempts to work this large and high quality deposit go back seventy years. To date, however, the success has been indifferent. The omnipresent lack of capital, difficult access through rugged terrain, and technological barriers have been limiting factors. Within the last few years outside investment, about £180,000, with a limited amount of local capital has stimulated the industry once again. A road was built by the government to replace the old tramway, long in disrepair and

finally scrapped for ammunition. Drying sheds have been erected at Staffin. Power machinery for extraction has been brought in; a processing plant has been built at Uig with German equipment; and experienced men have been employed.

The industry is admirably suited to the island. The great weight-losing properties of the raw material, the scarcity value of good deposits, and the large commercial demand combine to offset the high cost of transportation from which most export items suffer. It is estimated by the directors of the company, an English concern, at least that fifty men will eventually be employed in the pit and at the plant. They will be given regular employment, five days a week in three shifts. In addition to building the access road the government, through the Department of Agriculture, has leased the site, and the Inverness County Council has erected subsidized housing at Uig to encourage the venture. When the Secretary of State presided at the opening of the plant in May, 1954, he spoke of the promise the industry held for the Island's future, especially the prospect of regular employment. Up to June, 1954, however, the employment was irregular and limited to sixteen men.

The Skye Tweed Industry. About twenty-five years ago a small weaving and basketry shop was established at Duntulm in Kilmuir. The factor for the Department of Agriculture acted as manager, and the local Church of Scotland minister was the foreman. Later it was taken over by the Highland Home Industries, a cooperative, non-profit corporation.

288 Highland Home Industries is the result of a union in 1914 of two similar movements begun fifty or sixty years ago by several beneficent women to help the crofters find a market for saleable manufactures and reduce their need for dependance on the often [464] exploitive barter system.[31] The Skye workshop has employed eight to ten men and women over the years, plus some who worked at home, but it has never been economic. In 1954 the director, a woman from Edinburgh, was unable to buy material and pay the wages of the four remaining weavers. The old market has disappeared. The shop was unsuccessfully offered for sale in February. Fortunately, a gift from an undisclosed source averted the necessity of closing down.

Only the very old people in Skye can remember when weaving was a household industry. Until the Harris people were settled on Skye at Portnanlong, it must have been a lost art. Today even the Harris folk have given up weaving. They say the purchase tax on luxury, hand woven woolens has destroyed their market. The hand shuttles on one or two looms which are used only move for special orders. The Portree woolen mill, originally established by the Highland Destitution Fund in 1851 and now owned by an east coast corporation, still operates on a limited production schedule. About a dozen village residents are employed regularly, and a few "tinker" girls, daughters of the wandering Highland tinsmiths, find work at the looms.

[31] Alexander Maclehose, The Scotland of Our Sons (London: Alexander Maclehose and Co., 1937), pp. 292-294.

"Scotch". Malt distillation of whisky is a craft rather 279
than an industry. It is carried on at a small plant at Carbost where the most important requirements are satisfied. Located on Loch Harport, the need for access to the sea for the import of raw materials and the export of the finished product is fulfilled. The vast blanket moors of peat provide the smoke so important in the manufacture of Scotch. The abundant rainfall more than satisfies the regular demand for water. The imports include casks and grain. Barley, as mentioned earlier, is no longer grown on Skye, and the required quantity and, in particular, quality of grain could not be grown in the unfavorable environment. The local product, which may be very much the same as the popular, illicit whisky distilled on Skye several centuries ago, has a distinctive body and flavor. Although it is not sold as a straight whisky, it is constantly in demand by blenders and forms the base for Drambuie. The output has been increased four or fivefold in the last fifty years.

Originally built in 1830, probably, on the site of an 464
illicit still, the distillery now employs twenty-five to thirty men. Since the employment is steady, very few of them are even spare-time crofters. The majority live in company houses. There is a period during the summer, when the distillery is out of production because of a shortage of water, but there is plenty of maintenance work for the employees at this time. It is not a supplementary form of employment. Occasionally, local tradesmen and contractors are employed for alterations.

As far as the crofting population is concerned, the benefits 274
are rather negligible. In fact some of the crofters of Carbost township find the presence of the distillery to be a distinct disadvantage because they must keep their "fank" in an inaccessible location well off the drainage slopes which serve the plant. I should add one additional fact. Like all the major commercial [477] ventures on the Island, the distillery is owned by a corporation with offices in Edinburgh.

Forestry. In recent years forestry has come to enjoy wide- 313
spread popularity among critics of the "Highland Problem" as a remedy for the distress, lack of gainful employment, and depopulation of the area. Within the last decade or so [464] forestry has become a source of employment for a small number of men on Skye. The Forestry Commission acquired 9000 acres of land between Glen Brittle and Loch Eynort. Houses were built for employees and nine new families were brought in. Planting has been carried on at a rate which gives regular [464] employment to 12 men, one man to each 120 plantable acres. As the labor required for planting decreases, the men are being shifted to thinning operations. Ultimately, they will begin lumbering. It is anticipated that in time there will [464] be jobs for sixty or more. For every 100 acres there will be one man engaged in planting, thinning, or lumbering and five men or women working in auxiliary employment, such as transportation, mill operations, and services to the anticipated village. The government has been impressed by the success of its experiment. Another large tract, a former sheep farm,

313 just outside of Portree was taken over in 1953, and there are plans for acquiring additional blocks of land.

One reason for the optimism surrounding the potential benefits of forestry to the Highlands is the growth of population which it apparently stimulates. In Glen Brittle the local school, closed for many years, has been reopened. But, as in all migration schemes, the average age tends to be low, and, consequently, procreation is to be expected. Whether or not the potential benefits will be realized remains to be seen. Decidedly in favor of forestry is the stable employment which is offered. Further, a man can be allowed time to carry on crofting not only in his spare time but also full-time when seasonal demands require his full attention. Whether or not there will be enough land left for pastoral-agriculture, near the plantations if he wants to take the time, is another question. Then, too, there are natural limitations to the extension of forests.

313 The difficulties to be faced by forestry on Skye may be 134 briefly summarized. Above all, conditions for tree growth are [32] far from ideal over much of the island. If the soil is fertile enough for trees, as in Glendale and Kilmuir, exposure to the south and west winds may be too severe for a plantation. Shelter belts might be planted, but they have no commercial value and offer only fleeting employment. If there is shelter from the wind, as in Sleat, the soil is either too poor or too boggy for commercial operations. Beyond the areas already acquired and the few small plantations on private estates, the land 313 considered plantable is in limited, isolated patches. At this

313 point cultural considerations enter. The land is often essential to the continued existence of the farm or the crofting township. In Sleat, for example, the land which the Forestry Commission has listed as commercially valuable is the lower, sheltered 313 grazings of several farms and crofting townships. Finally, there 324 is the people's dislike of trees. Many a Sgiathanach in Portree is distressed by the plans to cover Glen Sligihan with a forest. They share the attitude of a man from Soay, a small island a short distance off the west coast of Skye, near Glen Brittle, who was being moved to the Isle of Mull by the Department of Agriculture when Soay was evacuated at the crofters' request. "Och, its all right down there, but you can't see the sky unless you bend over like this," he said bending over double and looking over his shoulder.

464 We have now accounted for, at the most, 120 men and 20 [162] women who work for wages and 238 crofter-fishermen. Excluding the latter, there are over 1000 men and almost 500 women who are employed locally at sometime during the year.[32] With only a few remaining isolated industries, such as the small silica sand quarry at Ord in Sleat and the infrequently used limestone and marble deposits at Broadford in Strath, most of the opportunit for employment have to be in services for women and laboring for men.

462 Let us consider the occupations of women. Over half are 464 employed as resident domestic servants or as help in hotels and restaurants. Ten percent find work in the local shops as clerks.

[32] Information extracted from the files of the Ministry of Labor in Scotland, Portree and Edinburgh.

An equal number, but mainly newcomers to Skye, are teachers 162 and nurses. The remainder are employees of the national and 464 county government, serving as postmistresses and clerks. In addition, an indeterminate number of women, in Portree and in the rural hinterland, but none in Kilmuir or Glendale, add to their income by taking in summer visitors. This practice is not strictly legal for the crofters, in as much as it casts doubt on the agricultural valuation or devaluation, but the county government has not attempted to discourage the practice.

Turning to the men of Skye, we find that the largest employer is the county government, with well over 200 men on the payroll as road workers and general laborers. The national government, directly and indirectly, in recent years has employed another 200 or more men through the Department of Agriculture, as overseers, agricultural workers, and laborers; through the North of Scotland Hydo-electric Board; and in the post offices. If we add the number who work for the nationalized ferry service [657] and the subsidized steamer service, we find that over half of the wage earners on the island depend on the government for their wages. The only other fields open to men are in agriculture, as farm help or township shepherds; in transport, as bus and truck drivers; and in hotels, as barmen, waiters, and porters.

These jobs are by no means permanent or regular. It is 464 not at all unusual to have 300 or 400 unemployed during the winter when road work falls off and the tourist season is ended. They will then draw compensation from the Ministry of Labor, [745] as will the younger men and women who have been working on the

mainland for the summer. For many of these people, unemploy- 464 745 ment is a misnomer. It means they are receiving a weekly allowance from the government while they wait for the next seasonal opportunity to turn from crofting to wage labor. More- 464 657 over, providing work and paying unemployment compensation is 745 by no means all the government does for the Island's economy. Through the National Assistance Program many more are aided financially. In 1954, for example, there were no fewer than 726 individuals receiving some form of national assistance.[33] Most of this number were recipients of a non-contributory old age pension. The next largest category were young women required at home to care for aged and infirm parents. Of the total number, only thirty were Portree residents. Then, too, [654] there are the previously mentioned subsidies and grants for agricultural improvement and fuller exploitation of the land.

We may conclude, then, that cultural continuity is an 182 expensive proposition with a double-edged penalty. On the 167 one hand, there is the sentimental distress which depopulation 657 involves. Both the man who leaves Skye and those he leaves behind feel the loss of their loved ones. On the other hand, there is the expense to the government, which must be staggering and out of all proportion to the amount contributed by the people in taxes. It is not that the islands receive any special grants, but, as one newcomer said, "They just happen to qualify for all the grants, doles, and subsidies there are." He, of course, was exaggerating. As we shall see in the next chapter,

[33] Information extracted from the files of the National Assistance Board in Scotland, Edinburgh.

As we shall see in the next chapter, 178 there is hostility between the Portree dwellers and the crofters. 651 One reason for this is the fact that the village pays more in 657 property tax than the rest of the island put together while they receive relatively little in return. The feeling that the crofter is "aye wantin', but never pays a cooper" (a penny in taxes) is not at all unusual.

Summary

511 If the economic aspect of the culture is judged in terms 182 of the standard of living it affords, it cannot be considered 184 as satisfactory. There are persistent environmental obstacles, 178 among them geographical isolation and an unfavorable climate for pastoral-agriculture. We have seen that few can hope for anything which would approach a desirable income in the surrounding commercial society. The crofters have been caught between two cultural patterns. The old system of land use [17] has persisted. A new system has been superimposed. From this new system, however, the Sgiathanach has accepted few innovations of more recent origin than the eighteenth century, except those of a material or technological nature. Still, he has ceased to be self-sufficient, and, in doing so, he has become dependent on the commercial world for the very essentials of physical existence. For many of the crofters this means seasonal migration in the quest of employment. For some it means part-time or full-time work locally. For a relatively large proportion of the population it means dependence on contributions of their children and government agencies. This dependence has not led to a full

511 adjustment to the higher society in which the successful individu- 182 al is the specialist. The Sgiathanach has remained a pastoral- 184 agriculturalist, and when he does seek employment, it is typically 178 as an unskilled laborer.

It is far easier to point out the traits and trait-complexes he has lost than those which he has accepted during the two hundred years since 1745. The sad economic condition under which he labors is not conclusive evidence for disorganizati Integration does not mean smooth functioning. Nor do the changes, important as they are, point to discontinuity. The contemporary economic system reveals a fundamental continuity. As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, there is some- [28] thing far deeper involved than economic considerations. Let us now turn to the social aspect of the culture in order to seek an answer to the question why has the Sgiathanach remained in the face of all the inadequacies and insufficiencies we have reviewed.

CHAPTER VI

THE ISLANDERS' SOCIETY

The Units of Social Organization

621 632 571 121 128 Since the Sgiathanach has consistently been more bound to his locality groups than the relatively mobile members of the main stream of Western Society, I think that we shall find a pause to review the character of the social systems which are primarily based on territoriality a valuable aid to our understanding of how cultural continuity has been preserved. By now we are all well aware of the fact that the township is the efficient economic unit. It is also a social entity. The members of each township display a consciousness of common interest, symbolized by the communal hill grazing; and their inter-personal relationships, reflecting ties of kinship and friendship, reveal a rate of interaction second only to those of the crofting family. In most of the townships, the people are related and re-related on both sides 361 by descent and marriage. Laid out along the coast or in a fertile glen, with the cottages on the individual crofts, it has a discernible form. The township is a small cluster of five to twenty homes; approximately an equal number of garden-like farms, stretching out behind the houses; and,

361 above the settled area, the hi
the township is normally bound
more similar clusters of homes

621 As it exists in space, s
571 for the removal of the populat
and for a certain amount of ar
government commissioners respo
past fifty odd years, the majo
cended from the old farms on w
and subtenants. On the rent r
the townships bear the names o
The functions of the township
of livelihood and systematic a
ships. Both functions are made
and are facilitated by the inf

The next significant soci
This is not the neighborhood o
and anthropological usage; it
neighborhood. As such, it corr
"the maximal group of persons
in face to face association,"[1]
definition of neighborhood, "th
family which has social signifi
of some local unity."[2] MacIver

[1]George P. Murdock, Socia
MacMillan Co., 1949), p. 79.

[2]Robert M. MacIver, Socie
(New York: Farrar and Rinehart

ll. In its spatial existence,
ed at either extremity by one or
and patches of land.
o it exists in time. Allowing
ion during the "Clearances"
bitrariness on the part of the
nsible for replanning during the
rity of the townships are de-
hich the clansmen lived as tenants
olls and in local traditions,
f these long forgotten farms.
include the provision of a means
rrangement of social relation-
possible by the formal structure
ormal organization of the members.
al unit is the neighborhood.
f current American sociological
s the Old World open country
esponds to Murdock's community,
who normally reside together
and differs from MacIver's
e first grouping beyond the
cance and which is conscious
's simplest community, as he

l Structure (New York: The
ty: A Textbook of Sociology
, Inc., 1937), p. 148.

62/57/ calls it, is my township. Nevertheless, since I share Kroeber
feeling toward the free coinage of terminology,[3] I shall not
look for a new word.[4] The neighborhood on Skye is a collectio
of townships which are separated from surrounding clusters by
34/ topographical features. Along the coastal plains and up the
glens stretch the crofts, some parallel to each other, like th
French line village, and others spread out in the checker boar
form of the true British open county neighborhood. Scattered
among the crofts, one finds one or two shops, a few workshops,
and a post office. The focal point for the members is provide
by the church, or a pair of churches, and the school, which
more often than not stand together. There is no other nucleus
of community buildings which even approximate a village center
62/57/ Social factors as well as geographical features play their
role in determining the extent of the neighborhood. It has
been suggested that the upper limit for the size of a group
is determined by the prevalent form of their economy which
limits the possibility of forming close contacts with habitual
attitudes.[5] Although the neighborhoods and the component
townships contained many more people a hundred years ago than
they do today, all are now within the maximal figures suggeste
by Linton and Murdock for agricultural pastoralists, 350 and

[3] Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 261.

[4] I suppose Murdock's "deme" would be an acceptable substitute (op. cit., p. 63). Arensberg has used Einzelhof to describe the Irish pattern (The Irish Countryman, p. 43)

[5] Murdock, op. cit., p. 81; and Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, p. 218.

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respectively.[6]

Unlike the township, the neighborhood typically has no
al organization and is not necessarily a cooperating,
omic unit. Always, of course, there is a consciousness
common interest. In the case of Glendale this is spiritually
alized by the church and economically, by the large club
in which all the owner-occupiers have a share. In Kilmuir
s are two churches, standing close together, and the crofters
a common economic focus in the drained loch which all use
gual shares for maximized. There is also a crofters' club.
her symbolization of their common interest is provided
raditions, memories of notable personages and events
liar to themselves. Always, the consciousness of common
rest is expressed by a feeling of superiority over the
ers of other neighborhoods.

There is but one kinship-center village on the island,
village of Portree.[7] It is the only true nucleated settle-
. Built on the square, but still retaining the appearance
n overgrown hamlet, it is a small grouping of non-agri-
ural dwellings, government offices, churches, shops, a school,
the homes of those who make their living by serving the
l areas. In addition to its function of providing goods and
vices for surrounding neighborhoods, it also links the
and with the outside world. Although thirty-six miles from
mainland, it is the entry port for the government officials,

[6]Murdock, Loc. cit.; and Linton, Loc. cit.

[7]For a discussion of the importance of the trade-center
lage, see Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 188-

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tourists, and newcomers who carry with them ideas of reform. 621
Further, as well as being mutually dependent commercially, the
crofters and the villagers interact formally and informally
in social, political, and, especially, religious activities.
The consciousness of common interest of the villagers, however, 621
stems more from a knowledge that they are different from the 186
crofters than from any common symbol. The 1000 villagers
are from diverse backgrounds. They find solidarity in being
different rather than in "neighboring" or all attending the
same church. The village also lacks the time depth of the
rural settlements, being a creation of an individual in the
last century.

For community I prefer an inclusive definition on the 631
order of Redfield's. A community is characterized by con-
ventional understandings, the occupation of a territory, and
the possession of a culture. Thus, we shall refer to the
Isle of Skye as the community.

It will be noted that I have not used the term parish. 632
Although the parish was once important politically and religiously, 177
as the older baronies were replaced, it lost these functions
in 1929.[8] People reside within parishes and they, along with
their crops and stock, are enumerated by parishes, but the
parish is now little more than a statistical convenience. Church
organization and political administrative units cross-cut
and override parish boundaries. Indeed, I doubt if the people 148
ever thought of themselves as members of a parish.

[8]Mairfield, The Folk Culture of Scotland, pp. 15-16.

[9]See, e.g., C. De B. Murray, Our Scotland is Governed (Glasgow:
Art and Educational Publishers, Ltd., 1947), pp. 113-114, et passim.

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One further word of caution is in order before we pro- 121
ceed. It will soon become obvious to the reader that my main
interest in the social organization of the Gelathaneh is a
concern with status. In the final analysis, I have decided
that this is the only fruitful means to seek cultural conti-
nuity despite population change. Therefore, I have glossed
over many details of the social organization, and I have
described others only in so far as they throw light on the
ascription and achievement of status. With this in mind, let
us turn to a consideration of the Islanders' society.

Kith and Kin within the Township and on the Croft

The society of the Gelathaneh is no different from any 554
other society in the world in ordering interpersonal relation-
ships by attaching cultural significance to the physical factors
of kinship, age, and sex. As Linton has asserted, kinship
establishes the individual's relation with his cultural recog-
nized relatives; age and sex establish his relationship with
the total society and the section of the culture in which he
can participate.[10] Skye differs from many societies, especially
contemporary American society, by using these factors ex-
clusively for determining the status and role of the members of
the township. The status and role of every individual is
ascribed.[11] The only way an individual can achieve status is

[10]Ralph Linton, "A Neglected Aspect of Social Organization,"
American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLV, No. 6 (December, 1940),
pp. 870-886; and "Age and Sex Categories," American Sociological
Review, Vol. VII, No. 5 (October, 1942), pp. 589-603.

[11]The theoretical concept, of course, is Linton's (The
Study of Man, pp. 113-131).

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554 lasting, for if he fails to conform to the traditional norms
and patterns of behavior, he will be looked upon as an eccentric.
This fact has continuity through all periods of Skye's history.

554 We have already seen how the age and sex structure of the
population has changed in response to social and economic
conditions and how this change has influenced the ascription
of statuses within the crofters' division of labor. Briefly,
there has been a contraction of the number of opportunities
for ascribing status. This had made it necessary for some
men to perform tasks once the exclusive domain of women and for
women to participate in activities which formerly were the
responsibility of their men folk. Older people must now
function in ways which once were the responsibilities of the
youth and young adults. These changes, however, have been
accompanied by persistencies, in particular a continuity of
basic status values. I think this will become clear through
a discussion of the family structure. We shall begin with
the nuclear family.

The Nuclear Family. Since my interest is in status, I shall
adopt the unorthodox procedure of considering the nuclear
family in terms of the changing status of the individual members
from birth to maturity. This will give us a dynamic picture
of family life. At birth the individual's relationships with-
in the crofting family and, to a lesser degree, within the
township are established. Like those of his parents, who
now have the ascribed statuses of mother and father, his
relationships will remain unchanged until he marries and founds

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554 this own family of procreation or ceases to be an integral
554 member of the social units. Many features of these relation-
ships will persist throughout his life.

554 The Gelathaneh treats the event of birth as something
in which man is only the agent of a higher power. This fact
was brought home to me one night during a discussion of the
declining size of families. The question of subsidies to
encourage larger families was broached. Although all take
advantage of government grants for their stock and care of
the land, this form of subsidy was unanimously rejected. As
one man said, this would place man in the unthinkable position
of a creator. Only the essential arrangements for the care
of the mother and her expected child are made before birth.
There are no "showers." "Showers," said one woman, "how can
you tell if the child will be a boy or girl, or even live?"
Today most women go to the maternity hospital at Uig for the
delivery, but a few prefer to remain at home under the care of
their mothers. To expect that the father's mother would take
charge, even under the clan system, would be carrying the
554 patriarchial emphasis too far. Within a few days, the obli-
gations of the parents, their relations, and the people of the
township become apparent. One by one the individuals and
couples make their way to the cottage to welcome the child.
This individual visiting is a modified survival of the old
custom of "kirking," a group offering of thanks, at the church,
for a safe mother and a healthy child, followed by a dance
554 and feast at home. The parents are obliged to provide a
554 dram of whiskey so that all the visitors can toast the child.

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The visitors each give the child a gift, especially a silver 84
coin. This token of good luck is placed under the child's 554
pillow. The relationships, then, are essentially reciprocal
and individual.

The child's position within the extended family is also 653
fixed at the time of birth by his naming. As a rule, the first 851
son is named after his paternal grandfather, and the first
daughter, after her maternal grandmother. The second son is
given the name of his maternal grandfather, and the second
daughter, that of her paternal grandmother. There are ex-
ceptions to this pattern. One grandmother was adverse to having
her granddaughter named after her, because nowadays, with
late marriage, the naming frequently follows the death of the
individual. By far the most common exceptions occur when
someone in either parent's family of orientation has passed
away. Where the mother's father has died, the first boy is
named after him. The same is true for girls when the father's
mother has passed away. When a brother or sister of either
parent has died, especially politically and religious, the second born is
named "in honor of his memory." In these days of small
families, this has led to giving a girl the equivalent of a
man's name. There was, for example, Augusina who had been
named after her uncle who was killed in the war. Again, with
delayed marriage, the couple may have only one child. So or
she is given the names of both the paternal and maternal
grandparents, such as Ian (for father's father) Duncan (for
mother's father) or Morag (after mother's mother) Flora (after
father's mother). Aside from serving to identify members of

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alternating generations and being felt as an obligation to 583
perpetuate family names, these various practices serve to
limit confusion among a people who share rather few surnames.
I never knew a child who had been named for his parents.

The relationship of father and child is formally es-
tablished at baptism. As we shall see in the following chapter,
the mother takes little or no part in arranging for the sacra-
ment. The spiritual welfare of the children is the father's 573
concern. He is also the disciplinarian, but in the pre-school
years discipline is lax. Both parents freely indulge the child,
and they spend a great deal of time with him. The belt, an
ever-present, ever-threatened means of punishment, only appears
when the child assumes the rights and duties which he will
exercise as long as he remains on his parents' croft.

When he begins school at five or, in remote townships, 547
at six, the rights and duties determined by age and sex begin 142
to emerge in perspective. Actually, the child has already
begun to make a pretense, playfully imitating his or her father
or mother, at assuming his role, but the influence of the
sex category is not marked. A small boy may fetch water
for the fire or some water for the dishes. Once he starts
school, he is no longer asked to do these chores. As soon
as he is able to carry a pail he may feed the chickens; now
he only feeds the calves. His first real task is tending the
cattle, bringing them down from the hill and driving them out
after the milking. As time goes on, he learns how to plant
and dig potatoes, cut turf, harvest hay and oats, and at least
how to shear sheep.

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547 A girl also makes an early pretense at assuming her role.
547 While a boy is never seen helping within the home, and, there-
fore, his duties begin later, a small girl soon begins to help
make beds and do the cleaning. If she is an only child, or
has been left behind by her brothers who have left the island,
she is expected to take their place on the croft. In any
event, she will be taught how to milk, how to plant a garden,
and how to help in all other tasks of crofting, except cutting
turn and shearing. She learns at a very early age and in
diverse ways that the primary role of a woman is to serve the
needs of man, some man, throughout her life, unless she is
strong enough to live alone.

Learning the virtues valued by their parents and the
community, as well as the tasks essential to crofting, both
boys and girls are indoctrinated with the ethos of the
Islander long before they can understand the importance of
their object lessons. They are separated by more than the
division of labor of their parents. As we shall see, the
almost unaltered status values of the culture relegate males
and females to two different, but complimentary, spheres of
activity.

As they progress in school, crofting begin to develop,
573 in one way this is inevitable. Until 1953 there was no
attempt to teach the children anything that would directly
relate to the life expected of them on Skye. In particular
there were no agricultural subjects. Even now, there is but
one travelling teacher of agriculture to serve the entire

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Island. Being taught about the larger world beyond, most 97
195 children begin to show exasperation with the croft and the 15
195 duties it imposes. At first they become reluctant to do their 130
chores after school hours or on holidays, or unable to earn
the strong authority of their fathers, they let the work
grudgingly. This is especially true of those who are planning
to go to a university. While many boys take an interest in
the stock and like to plough, if there is a tractor, they
frequently complain about the slow pace, the boredom of the
long winters, the restrictions on their time, and the weather-
above all, the weather. Girls are no less outspoken. In
particular, the girl who has been left behind by her older
brothers and sisters to care for the parents will feel that
such a life leaves much to be desired. She learns of an-
other, entirely different life in school, and she hears her
siblings tell of this new life when they return for a visit.
Naturally, she begins to think digging potatoes is beneath
her dignity. The most frequently heard complaint is, "You
can't dress out here." The underlying conflict for both boys
and girls in their teens seems to be one between a desire for
adventure or opportunities for individual choice and the
routine, circumspect behavior expected of them.

573 Added to this desire is the realization that they may
573 not really be needed at home. The small crofter with a piece
of land hardly larger than a German laborer's garden can handle
all the necessary chores by himself or, at periods of peak
activity, with the cooperation of his wife and his neighbors.
A medium sized croft may provide work for one, two, or even

[589] [588] [587] [586] [585] [584] [583] [582] [581] [580] [579] [578] [577] [576] [575] [574] [573] [572] [571] [570] [569] [568] [567] [566] [565] [564] [563] [562] [561] [560] [559] [558] [557] [556] [555] [554] [553] [552] [551] [550] [549] [548] [547] [546] [545] [544] [543] [542] [541] [540] [539] [538] [537] [536] [535] [534] [533] [532] [531] [530] [529] [528] [527] [526]

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CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

554 New Zealanders breed sheep and make linen. One might say he
626 knew more about the world than about Skye. He could not under-
829 stand why so many people made fun of him when he was only trying to help.

626 In the absence of any traditionally valued status and
632 role of leadership, administration of the common interests of the township members is the concern of all. We say in the last chapter that primitive democracy is the guiding rule. Each crofter has an equal voice in deciding any question which affects the group and all, without exception, have to agree before any action is taken. Consent is expressed by silence. Typically, the crofters will have talked the
[624] matter over among themselves beforehand. At such times the fact clearly emerges that the grazing clerk and the grazing committee are no more than figureheads required by law. They have no coercive or disciplinary powers. In any group situation, their views are taken no more seriously than those of any other man.

887 It is the old men who gather at one anothers' homes or
888 on the hill on a summer evening to weigh the innovation which
626 the youth want introduced. If they find the change acceptable,
632 they approve it at a meeting of the township by keeping silent. If they believe it will upset the communal system, they disapprove it. The dissenting voice of one old crofter is all that is required to maintain the conservative patterns, economically and socially.

182 In summary, we may say that within the township and
626 on the croft the cultural patterns reveal a fundamental continuity. As of old, status is ascribed. Men have remained

182 the social superiors of women. The aged are the social
646 superiors of the youth and young adults. The father determines
545 how his wife and children will behave as long as they remain
187 under his control. The old man, or men, determine what changes
539 will be accepted or rejected. There is no way to question
their decisions, unless one leaves the croft. Still, at the bottom, there is equality. No man can step forward as a leader. We are now in a position to look at the larger social grouping, the neighborhood.

Kith and Kin within the Neighborhood

182 During the days of the clan, the residents of the
641 neighborhood were bound together by real and fictitious ties of consanguinity and affinity, which were reinforced by the strong attachment to the soil and proprietorship. Only
602 the fictitious bonds have been forgotten. Like the township, the neighborhood consists of an aggregate of conjugal families whose inter-personal relationships are reinforced by a
177 complicated network of kinship. Once, perhaps as late as
182 100 years ago, the neighborhood was a highly cooperative
621 social unit. When the local mills were in use and the church had not been broken by schism, the people must have had a more definite focus for their common interests. In more remote times, it was a defensive entity. Today the neighbor-
182 hood is no longer a cooperative unit. On the analogy of the
601 old horse plough and the ceuchrom, cooperation is essential to the township but superfluous to this larger group. That the neighborhoods have not lost the potential for concerted action in times of crisis is attested by the uprisings

during the "Clearances."

Strong in-group feeling is manifested not only in a belief that people of other neighborhoods are not quite as good somehow, but also by the tendency to withhold social acceptance. There is, for example, a family of newcomers in Kilmuir. One day when they were being discussed one old crofter remarked, "Well, whom they have been here as long as Jock over there, they will be just like one of us." It turned out that Jock's family had come to Kilmuir three generations ago. More than once I was reminded of the story of the Yorkshire man who moved from one village to another. He persisted in calling everybody a foreigner, and when asked why, he replied, "I've lived here sixty years, and they still call me a foreigner." The newcomer to Skye is known only by his nationality. The few Polish war refugees are "the Poles." The man from England is "the Englishman" or, in Gaelic, Sassanach, a term also applied to Lowlanders. They have no real place in the scheme of things.

Within the neighborhood, there are invariably established 571
social circles within which the people habitually move. These 602
cliques take several forms on Skye,[16] as in most cultures, and cross cut each other as well as the townships. The most important clique consists of "my people and friends" the individual's kinsmen. The Sgiathanach carefully distinguishes between his "family," his wife and children; his "people,"

[16] Although I consider "clique" to be an unfortunate choice of terms, because it has unfavorable connotations in the lay mind, it has been introduced into the vocabulary of the social sciences; see, e.g., Stewart, Afro Research, pp. 40, 49; Murdock, op. cit., p. 68; Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 135.

571 his parents, brothers, and sisters; and his "friends," his more
602 remote kinsmen.[17]

576 The Extended Family. I regret to say that I am unable to present a complete picture of the functioning of the extended family. In view of what I have already said about instability in the nuclear family, it should not surprise the reader to learn that I could not uncover even the approximation of an extended family. Too many absent relatives thwarted my investigation. I do not, however, regard this omission as a serious handicap. After all, we know almost nothing about the rights and responsibilities of the individual members of the darbhfine during the clan days.

601 The important fact for my study of cultural continuity
602 is that the darbhfine is still a reality in the minds of the people.[18] The fact that the extended family today is as much a four generation group as the darbhfine was brought home to me early in the study by a casual remark by an officer of the Department of Agriculture. "I don't understand these people," he said, "they'll tell you they're not related to someone, and then you find out they're fourth cousins." What this means is the people commonly distinguish only near cousins (first cousins) and cousins (second and third cousins) in English. It always took a great deal of persuasion to get a person to say a "friend" was a distant cousin.

This distinction is drawn even finer in the Gaelic.

[17] Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 79-80

[18] Cf. Ibid., pp. 79-90.

601 The general term for third cousins is anns na dubh-chaighean
602 (literally, in the black grandchildship), "in the state of being great-great-grandchildren." When two fourth cousins are found and they are asked what they are to one another, almost invariably the reply is caraid (a friend). Again when working out or checking family structure and terminology, I was always told after getting the term for third cousin, "There's not much point in going any further." It is important to remember that caraid is the usual designation for all relatives beyond the immediate nuclear family.

601 One of the striking facts about the extended family of the Sgiathanach is that the terminology is almost completely descriptive and predominately denotive. It provides a classic example of what Lowie has called bifurcate collateral terminology.[19] In addition to collaterality and bifurcation, the main principles on which the system is ordered are generation and sex.[20] Affinal relatives, excepting the immediate families of the spouses, their "people," are excluded. Only on the second ascending and second descending generations is the sex of person through whom the relationship exists ignored, and only on the second descending generation is sex ignored.

574 In the Gaelic, the members of the group which the
601 Sgiathanach calls his "people" are athair, mhàthair, bràthair, and

[19] Robert H. Lowie, "A Note on Relationship Terminologies," American Anthropologist, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (June, 1928), pp. 265-268.

[20] For a critique of these principles, see Murdock, op. cit., pp. 91-112.

601 piuthar; that is, father, mother, brother, and sister. He
601 calls his father's brothers bràthair athar and his father's 574
sisters piuthar athar. His mother's brothers and sisters are 602
bràthair mhàthar and piuthar mhàthar. Grandparents, as I pointed out, are addressed by classificatory terms. Grandfather is seanair (old father), and grandmother, seanmhair (old mother).

Turning to the more remote relatives, we find that a nephew is mac bràthair or mac peathar. In other words, brother's son or sister's son. Similarly, a niece is nighean bràthar or nighean peathar. The extent to which the descriptive principle is carried is most clearly shown by the terms for cousins. Long ago, I was told, there were classificatory 176
terms for cousins, but they have disappeared. Today when an individual speaks about these collateral relatives, he must employ an ascending order of circumlocution. The general term for first cousins is anns na h-oghaichean (in the state of being grandchildren). Specifically, a first cousin is
601 clann an dà bhràthar (children of the two brothers), clann
an dà pheathar (children of the two sisters), or clann na peathar 's a' bhràthar (children of the sister and brother). Second cousins can be referred to as anns na h-iar-oghaichean (in the state of being great-grandchildren), but again there are denotive terms: oghaichean an dà bhràthar, oghaichean an dà pheathar, and oghaichean na peathar 's a' bhràthar. For third cousins, we have noted that the general term is anns na dubh-oghaichean. Specifically, the terms for third cousins are: iar-oghaichean an dà bhràthar, iar-oghaichean an

601 dà peathar, and iar-chaighean na peathar 's a' bhràthair.

Within the group which the Sgiathanach calls his "family," we find that husband is fear, and wife is bean. Their children are mac and nighean. Marriage, of course, extends the circle of relatives. Both members of the married pair refer to their spouse's "people" as athair-sgìle for father-in-law, mhàthair-sgìle for mother-in-law, bràthair-sgìle for brother-in-law, and piuthar-sgìle for sister-in-law. Sgìle means mate's, in these cases. This leaves us with two classificatory terms which ignore sex. A grandchild is ogha, and a son-in-law or daughter-in-law is cliamhain.[21]

Although this nomenclature is correlated with expected
601 patterns of ideal behavior, in reality, as I have said, the
176 system has broken down under the impact of economic forces.

574 With neo-local residence the township has come to be occupied
by what the Sgiathanach calls "friends" rather than "people."
Not uncommonly, brothers and sisters take up residence after marriage not only in different townships but also in distant
602 neighborhoods. The sharing of work, then, mainly involves
176 cousins. Unlike Ireland,[22] there is no strong taboo against marrying a cousin. Cousins marry "to keep the money in the family," and remote cousins were apparently preferred

[21] Although Arensberg and Kimball look upon the Irish System as essentially similar to that of Northern and Western Europe and the United States, excepting minor variations (op. cit., p.97), I would point out the dissimilarity of the kinship system of the Sgiathanach to that of the United States. The underlying principles are, of course, the same, but the ramifications set the two apart; see, e.g., Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," American Anthropologist, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (Jan., 1943), pp.22-38; and David M. Schneider and George C. Homans, "Kinship Terminology and the American Kinship System," American Anthropologist, Vol. LVII, No. 6 (Dec., 1955), pp. 1194-1208.

[22] Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 83-86.

605 spouses not too long ago.[23] Perhaps, more than any other
577 factor, it is the tendency of the aged parents to hold on
576 to the croft until they die that is strengthing the kinship
system. Still the extended family is a strong mutual aid
574 group. Anyone with a recognized degree of kinship is
601 entitled to hospitality. When the exiles return to visit
the Misty Isle, they always try to make the rounds of their kinsmen. This is more than a question of not becoming an economic burden on a favorite aunty; they do not want to be guilty of slighting anyone. There is reciprocity here.
240 In return for food and shelter, the visitor freely gives his kinsman all the news he has gathered about the activities of their distant kin. He acts like a roving reporter, cementing the solidarity of an otherwise fragmented group.

602 The expression given to the degree of consanguinity and
764 affinity is revealed most completely at a funeral. As one of the two occasions on which the extended family comes together, the other being a wedding, it reveals a host of significant traits. The first thing I noticed was that although the inavailability of land and the illegality of subdivision enforces neo-local post marital residence, burial is ideally patrilocal. On more than one occasion the steamer came in at night with a body which had been shipped home from Glasgow or
602 Edinburgh for interment in the deceased's neighborhood. This
576 also means that the husband and wife remain integral members of their respective families. The founding of a family of

[23] Norman MacLeod, Reminiscences of a Highland Parish, p. 19

procreation does not absolve the individuals from their obli- 602
gations to their "people." 313

Although the wake and the post-interment feast have been 583
given up under religious censure, and the ministers refuse to 704
consecrate burial, the method of burial is fundamentally the 792
same as it was before the Reformation. At the time of interment
the coffin is carried out of the house by the closest relatives.
Ideally, for a man this means his father walks in front of the
coffin, his oldest son (over fifteen) walks behind, and his
brothers and uncles (paternal) carry the body. For a married
woman the ideal is to have her husband walk in front, her
father behind, and her brothers and uncles carry. When a child [603]
dies, his father walks in front; his oldest brother walks behind,
and the father's brothers for a boy and the mother's brothers
for a girl are the carriers. Outward mobility, as well as
infirmity and death, has had its influence. The nearest male
relative not only walks in front of his deceased kinsman but
also takes charge of the funeral. A few cases of who has filled
this function will indicate how the situation is handled when
the ideal cannot be fulfilled. For a man this role normally
passes first to his oldest son and then to his brother. I have [607]
seen a grandson take charge, and at one very atypical funeral,
a brother-in-law. He was the nearest surviving male relative
who could be contacted in time.

Arrangements for the burial of a widow are made by her
son or brother. There was, however, one widow, a woman from
the Outer Isles, who was returned to her native island for burial

by a second cousin. The striking thing to realize here is that 573
the nearest surviving relative always knows his obligation and 704
is ready to fulfill it, without question. Fatherless children 628
are buried by either their paternal or maternal uncle. I have 848
not forgotten the existence of women. The simple fact is, 562
women play no part as mourners. Indeed, the rare woman who goes
to the grave becomes the subject of lasting gossip.

Fundamentally, the system of kinship is patrilineal.
Linguistically, the terms for relatives may be bilateral, and 411
inheritance of possessions other than the name may be matters 604
of small importance, but the patrilineal emphasis remains. 792
The Sgiathanach lives in a man's world. I shall explore this 128
male dominance further in the following chapter. At present,
I want to briefly discuss two additional cliques.

Religious and Age-Grade Cliques. Like the members of any 573
society, the Sgiathanach associates most frequently with those
who share his interests and attitudes. It is natural, then,
for his associates, other than his kinsmen, to be people who
attend his church and people of his own age group. We need
not explore the nature of these cliques at this time; but
we should have some understanding of their function. The 794
religious clique is primarily a mutual aid group. There is 573
reason to believe that this particular group has lost much 476
of its importance of late, with the coming of the welfare 478
state. Many feel that the government pays people to look
after the aged and infirm. As far as doing a favor for someone
is concerned, few of the same kirk, other than close friends,

offer help without an expectation of payment. Nevertheless, 794
anonymous donations of food and casual visits make sure that 573
none of their number becomes absolutely destitute. In Glendale
this religious clique merges with the person's "people and
friends." Kilmuir has two religious cliques.

We have had ample opportunity to examine the age-grades 561
of Skye's society and in the next chapter we shall have a
closer look at the functions of the age-grades, especially
that of the old men. One of the most important weaknesses 857
of the social structure, in my mind, is the lack of age mates 833
for children and adolescents. They find it difficult, almost 561
impossible, to come together as a sodality. In Kilmuir, for
example, there are only fifteen boys under twenty in an area
of ten square miles. A youth is anyone under forty. Of the
total population 60 percent are over fifty. For this reason [162]
the important age grade clique tends to merge with the re- 561
ligious social circle. The situation is much the same in 794
Glendale. There the age-grade and kinship groups are inter-
twined with the kirk congregation.

Status Equality within the Neighborhood. The fundamental 471
status equality which we found for the crofters within the 534
township carries over to the neighborhood, but, as would be 571
expected, there is often a need for leadership in this larger
group. Let us look at the two neighborhoods which I know best
to cast light on the methods employed in the self-election of
a leader and the means of expressing leadership as a role.
Kilmuir has a Crofters' Club, which was originally formed by 573

a former school teacher. The present sponsor and chairman 573
is his successor. The teacher is automatically rated socially 815
because of his important function, educating the children of a 534
people who value education, and his university background.
Further, he is from the Outer Isles and, therefore, is not
expected to conform to all the traditional norms. Were he a
Sgiathanach he probably would not accept the office for it
would conflict with older and far deeper values.

The Glendale club farm is administered by a committee 573
of five, a secretary, and a chairman. Here all are crofters 241
from the several townships. All, therefore, are equals. Who, 534
then, might they have for a chairman? They have selected an elder 794
of the church. A church elder is the highest lay official in
church government and, on Skye, one of the oldest men in the
neighborhood. As one man asked, "If you can't respect an elder,
who can you respect?"

Selecting members for the committee and electing a secretary 573
is a real problem. Each man serves for three years. How the 241
original committee was formed I do not know, but I had an 534
opportunity to see how vacancies are filled. In 1953 there were
three vacant posts. Parliamentary procedure has been introduced,
but it finds limited expression. For two of the seats, the
retiring members were "re-elected;" a crofter nominated them
and after a long pause another man seconded the nomination. No
vote is taken; silence means unanimous consent. A story slightly
off the point illustrates this. At the same meeting the committee's
stock report was read. Following parliamentary procedure, it

had to be accepted. Not a word was heard. At length one 573
crofter simply said, "No one has anything to say, so I guess we 241
all are agreed." One of the former members of the committee 534
could not be re-elected; he had passed away. This was a thorny
matter. A series of men were proposed, and each in turn de-
clined. Finally, a man was nominated and seconded before he
had a chance to deny himself the honor. Election, of course,
was automatic.

The committee administers the farm, handles stocking, 573
employs the necessary shepherds, sells the stock, and rents 241
the hunting lodge. They do so, however, within the now tra- 656
ditional framework. They have neither been granted nor assumed
a role of independent action. They do not reach independent
decisions. They rather weigh and put into operation decisions
made by the Department of Agriculture. As we shall see, even
the elder, despite his high prestige status, has power to
enforce social conformity rather than the authority to direct
or lead men.

It is significant that while the share-holding crofters 573
own the farm and their crofts, they have not achieved independence 241
from outside control. Many of the Glendale crofters frankly 656
admit they are afraid of independence. As in any township or 829
neighborhood there are two opposing groups. "There always is
someone who tries to sabotage the whole thing," said one man.
One group has favored the guidance of the officers of the De-
partment. The other group resents the interference of the
government in their affairs. At the same time, however, they
do not want to be cast off on their own. They want some form

of farm management under a resident manager, preferably not a 573
Skyeman. The attitude of the former faction was aptly expressed 656
by one person who was about to leave Skye: "We need the Department. 829
If they withdrew, we wouldn't have anybody to go to for anything."
This is in striking contrast to the Irish small farmer for whom
land ownership is an all important factor in regulating social
interaction and status.[24] On Skye land ownership has not led to 728
any change in the traditional status values. A Glendale crofter 560
is not a better man because he owns land.

Prestige Ranking within the Neighborhood. In so far as prestige 534
ranking is concerned, status is more developed within the
neighborhood than within the township. In addition to the
crofters and their families, there are always several individuals
who are given status because of their performance of the necessary
functions of ministering to the peoples' spiritual and physical
needs and educating the children. These are the only achieved
statuses which are valued by the crofters. Noteworthy enough, 793
only the minister of Glendale serves his own "people and friends." 534

The minister's status depends to some degree on his
denomination and the religious sympathies of the people. In
Glendale the minister enjoys the highest possible status. In
Kilmuir, with two ministers, each is valued by his own congregation
with whom he interacts. Nevertheless, all ministers are treated
with respect. They are always addressed as the Reverend Mister
MacDonald or Mister MacDonald. It is interesting to note that

[24]Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 72-100; Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 98-144.

793 while only the Church of Scotland ministers will assume roles
534 in government, on the district council or the county council,
on the education committee, and similar bodies, they have
not been given higher status than the ministers of other de-
nominations, who firmly believe the function of the minister
is only to correct the public servants when they err.

The doctor is coming to fill a status held by no other
759 person, except the county people, the landed gentry. Tra-
534 ditionally, they have ranked second only to the minister,
713 but there is a marked trend to accord them more and more status.
The doctors, of course, are less restricted in their social
activities and can participate more fully in secular affairs
than the ministers. They have a wider range of interaction,
entering the homes of all regardless of sectarian differences.
In Glendale there is no question about the relative positions
of the minister and doctor, who lives in Dunvegan. In
Kilmuir on the other hand, the doctor is vying with the
ministers. He is always addressed by his title, but often,
at least in indirect speech, he is Doctor (Ian) rather than
Doctor MacLeod. Many of the doctors on Skye have begun to
form a cleavage between their families and the crofters. They
are sending their sons to private schools. The ministers'
children attend the local schools.

The school teachers also enjoy high prestige status. 815
534 They are always addressed by their surname, prefixed by
576 Mister, even by older men whom they call by their Christian
names. One newcomer was especially struck by this careful

distinction. During the war when Skye had its own little army, he came to know many of the old crofters quite well. Finally, he came to use personal names when speaking to them and asked to be called by his first name. The people explained that they might be older than he, but he was too important to be spoken to as anything other than mister.

The tradesmen and the shopkeepers in Glendale and Kilmuir are not any different from any other man. They are not specialists. They are part-time crofters. We have to turn to Portree to see what status position they fill in the society of Skye. I might just add that they are on a first name basis with their neighbors, and, like the crofters, they are known beyond the neighborhood by their first name and township, such as Ian Borve or Murdo Stein.

To summarize, there is additional evidence for cultural continuity in the structure of the neighborhood. The extended family, although very unstable and, therefore, somewhat amorphous, is still a reality in the minds of the people. It still has two functions which it must have had in the remote past: seeing that all are cared for and given a decent burial. The ascription of status noted for the township carries over to the neighborhood, as does the underlying status equality and need for unanimous consent. Among the crofters leadership is still undeveloped. The old men can enforce conformity but they cannot lead. Although prestige ranking is developed, in the form of the achieved statuses of ministers, doctors, and teachers, it is significant that, except for the minister in Glendale, all holders of prestige status are

newcomers to the neighborhood, if not the island. Let us now turn to Portree to see how important status is in this alien village.

The Trade-Center Village

We come now to a consideration of the trade center village of Portree. We have seen how this small settlement was created by a landlord in the early nineteenth century and how it has been fostered by the government. We have also seen how the village has assumed a host of important functions. Primarily, it exists to serve the rural neighborhoods and to provide a link with the outside world. For the crofting neighborhoods it is, in order of importance, an administrative, economic, religious, and social center. Here are found the Ministry of Labor, the Department of Agriculture, the National Assistance Board, the sanitary and road engineers, the local Registrar, the central police headquarters, the main post office and telephone exchange, the court of the justice of the peace, and the seldom functioning sheriff's court. It is to Portree that the Land Court comes to decide on such important matters as rents and succession to the croft. As a seat of education, Portree's influence extends even wider, for it is the only secondary school in all of the islands of the county of Inverness. For people on the southern end of the island the village exists only for administrative purposes.

The crofters of northern Skye are dependent upon the

The crofters of northern Skye are dependent upon the village for the goods of the shopkeepers and the services of the tradesmen. Several times a week food vans from Portree, or from a national concern with headquarters in Portree, call at the crofts. Twice a week a shopping bus brings the men and women into the village from Glendale, and there is a daily bus service from Kilmuir. For the nearby neighborhoods, the village is of religious importance. If the crofters do not come into the village to go to church, the local ministers go out to serve them. They also send their children to school in Portree. Few of the crofters take an active part in the formal social life of the village, but for all who come in on business there is an opportunity for men to stop by at a pub to have a chat with friends and women to get together in a tea room for a bit of gossip. Then too, for many it is an occasion to visit kinsmen who have left the croft. Nevertheless, despite its functional importance, the village has remained something alien and apart for the crofter. Despite the bonds of friendship and kinship and mutual economic dependence, there is antagonism between the rural dweller and village resident.

Part of the crofter's hostility stems from the religious ethos. On at least one occasion, Portree has been described by a minister as being almost as wicked as Sodom and Gomarrah.[25] In the eyes of the majority of the clergy, the village contains the "synagogues of Satin" from which flow the poisons of

[25] Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, pp. 128-129.

immorality. For these reasons, among others, the crofters look down on the villagers. As one man said, "The crofters think we all went to Hell long ago." In part the suspicion and distrust of the villager has grown from the attitude of the villager toward the crofter.

Many of the villagers not only look upon the crofters as narrow minded and bigoted but they resent the presence of the crofters on economic grounds. A few representative statements will indicate their views. "The crofters always have their hand out." "They're aye wantin'. They want water, electricity, roads, and all sorts of things, and they don't pay a copper for them." There is a foundation for these attitudes. The phrase "rich man, the government" has become a common saying on the island. The crofter has become accustomed to having the government pay f o r a large part of the cost of his house, draining his land, and bringing in water and electricity as well as building roads and piers. Many have come to think that there is no end to the obligations of the government. There was one man, for example, whose roof was leaking. Even though the house was his, crofters it will be remembered own their homes, he reported it to his landlord, the Department of Agriculture. Three weeks later, when one of the officers got out to see him, the roof was still leaking. No, he did not see why he should fix it. "Let the government do it." To give another example, in Kilmuir one night there was a discussion about reeds in the grazing land. "We have reeds by the square mile," said one fellow, "the government should

ment sponsors. There is a growing consensus that he is a working man who has to get along as best he can while crofter is coaxed, coddled, cajoled, and pampered with advantageous loans, and subsidies. "Sure there are poo crofters just as there are men who fail in business," s man, "but if we can't make a go of it, we go down the d Another man put it, "The crofter gets paid by the gover for doing nothing--for having a cow on the hill--all I get by sweat, hard bloody sweat." These feelings are e common to the newcomers, but they are by no means held e clusively by this group.

The Social Structure of the Trade-Center Village

121 The village of Portree has a complicated social structure. While I can accept Murdock's contention that social classes operate to unite members of different lo groups and to segment the community, I cannot accept his that the presence of social classes complicates the soci structure of a community.[26] Class status, as any status, determines the pattern of reciprocal behavior. By placi the individual in a group with expected behavior pattern the social structure may be simplified. The individual the group finds security in the cohesion with others who

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[26]Murdock, op. cit., p. 88

share similar social attitudes and a distinctive way of
life.[27] The investigator can understand the society with
greater ease once he can equate the differing cultural ex-
pressions with the sense of status.

Ascribed status continues to be important in Portree,
at least in stratifying the old Skye families. On the fringes
of the village there are a few part-time crofters or tradesmen
who keep some stock and grow a little grain and few potatoes.
These men and their families as well as the crofters from the
hinterland find their place in the village society through
clique groups, in particular those based upon kinship and
"friendship." Several of the county families reside in the
village and, with the landed gentry who continue to live on
their estates, take an active part in village life.

Between the two poles there is a large intermediate
group. Their occupations range from the professions, in-
cluding doctors, ministers, teachers, and lawyers; through
employees of the national and county governments, including
estate factors, policemen, office managers, and clerks; to
shopkeepers, tradesmen, truck drivers, and laborers. Else-
where in Great Britain these people would fall into the middle
and working classes.[28] On Skye such stratification is un-
important. If we cannot use the British scheme, we certainly
cannot employ the American system developed by Warner.[29]

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[27]Cf. MacIver, op. cit., pp. 166-167.

[28]Cf. Lewis and Maude, The English Middle Classes.

[29]E. Lloyd Warner and Paul S.Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); and Joe Kitsuse Sprott of Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

121 The inapplicability of Warner's scheme within the United States
has been demonstrated by Kroeber,[30] and its use beyond the
504 United States has been censured by Steward.[31] Now, while the
British tend to admit more freely to the existence of class
than Americans do, the social fluidity of the village has
impressed many newcomers who grew up in the Lowlands or England.

If stratification exists,[32] there is general agreement
122 that cleavage or social distance will be found. Murdock,
to cite only one authority, has said the cultural differences
and social distance commonly present between groups separated
spatially are frequently found in socially separated groups.[33]
123 This is certainly true for the landed gentry and the crofters,
but in regards to the intermediate population, Portree seems
to be very much like Sublette, Kansas.[34] The presence of the

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[30]Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 270-272.

[31]Steward, Area Research, pp. 40-49.

[32]"My general approach to the class structure followed that of James Watt (Plainville, U.S.A. [New York: Columbia University Press, 1943], pp. 115-120); but I also used Warner's objective-reputational technique [E. Lloyd Warner, W. Meeker, and K. Eells, Social Class in America. A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949)]; and I employed the Social Area and Budget Technique. For a discussion of these three approaches, see Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1955), pp. 172-173."

[33]Murdock, op. cit., pp. 265-266. See also Linton, The Study of Man; and Sullivan, The Fusion of Man, p. 303.

[34]Carl M. Bell, The Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Sublette, Kansas (Rural Life Studies, No. 2, Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1942), cited by Loomis and Beegle, Op. Cit., p. 384.

545 many newcomers and the high rates of inward, outward, and upward
mobility seems to have worked against any clear cut pattern.
Certainly, it requires more than non-membership in the highest
and lowest classes or socially recognized strata to form a
middle class. I look upon this indefinable strata as a neo-
class. This is not meant to imply the absence of ranking or
prestige status. Ranking is no less important than it is in
the rural neighborhood.

As in the neighborhood, a few professions automatically
162 559 carry high prestige; these are the ministry, medicine, and
163 125 teaching. Otherwise, a man's prestige depends more on his
outside activities than his occupation. Bankers are often
thought of as having prestige. In Portree one banker is
highly regarded because "he does an awful lot for the church."
Another, although respected, as evidenced by the use of his
surname when referring to him, is socially inferior because
"he never mixes with people" and "no one ever gets invited
to his house." The same holds for other occupations. One
man may be looked up to because he has taken an active part
in organizing an old people's welfare committee and was
instrumental in founding the Skye Council of Social Service,
the only rural social service council in Scotland. Another
of the same occupation is looked down upon because he keeps
to himself. To coat a shadow on whatever prestige he may
have, the people talk about a shady deal in which he supposedly
got involved and claim that his wife sells eggs. No one but
a crofter's wife sells eggs. If a man is a native Gràidhagach

162 his occupation matters very little. Unlike the Welsh,[35]
559 the Gràidhagach does not particularly look up to the man
163 who prospers. Indeed, the people are more than likely to
559 attribute his success to dishonesty or find fault with his
character. I shall have more to say about this when we
consider the topic of gossip.

At the same time, occupation is a factor in the
163 formation of cliques. The school teachers form one clique
which has tended to become more and more exclusive in recent
years. The shop keepers also have their small clique.
Once a year they have a dance at the Royal Hotel. Within
both social circles there are, of course, special groups
162 of friends who associate regularly. Age grades provide
another basis for clique formation. Clerks, shop assistants,
and employees of the government are divided on this basis.
Since it is government and, apparently, business and
banking house policy to use the remote rural areas for a
training ground and to make promotions, most of the new-
comers and local residents who work for these agencies are
young men.

621 Neither occupation nor age-grades are exclusive factors
in determining the social structure of Portree as they are
for the crofters. If they were, I could not support the
assertion that there is fluidity among the village population.
578 There are several clubs and fraternal organizations, such
as a drama society, the Women's Rural Institute, An Comunn

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[35]Rees, op. cit., p. 127.

575 (a Gaelic group), the Masonic Order, the Eastern Star, and
a post of the British Legion, which have representatives
547 from all walks of life. But by far the most interesting
575 group is the village bridge club. If bridge clubs in America
are status conscious, those in Britain are especially aware
of "social" and "cultural" distinctions. In Portree such
547 differences matter very little. Like all of the above
547 mentioned organizations the membership of the bridge club
is predominantly newcomers. It includes members of the gentry,
teachers, shop keepers and shop assistants, office workers,
and a mechanic. Once a week they come together for an
evening of cards and a few drinks. In all formal organizations,
the roles of leadership are left to newcomers or the gentry.
One young man, to give an extreme example, wondered one day
why he spent so much time attending committee meetings. On
reflection, he found that he was an officer in no less than
eleven clubs. It is to the gentry, however, that we must
turn to see the real expression of leadership.

The County Families

565 The landed gentry have been considered separately be-
189 cause they belong to the neighborhood in which they reside;
to the trade-center village, where they spend much of their
time either visiting each other or performing some social
service; and to the community as a whole. Even more than
belonging to Skye, they form a part of the national class
system of Britain. They are the "county families." Next

565 to the aristocracy they are among the foremost citizens of
189 the nation, and two of the local gentry are included among
the nation's peerage. Although I doubt if any of these land
owners can validate a claim to being direct descendants of
the clan chiefs or descendants of the cadets of the clans,
several of them are related in one way or another to the
central darkfigure of the old clans.

Occupying the highest status positions, the county
families manifest many social and cultural expressions which
distinguish them from the remainder of the population. The
men are always (even the distinction of a military title)
they are major, colonel, or general. One man has not seen
565 military service, but he is given a rank anyway. In indirect
189 speech their title often includes their residence or estate,
576 such as Col. Macleod Dalgrave or Mrs. Macleod Dalgrave.
Behind their backs, they may be referred to by their first
name, prefixed by the title, but never in direct speech.
546 Religiously, many tend to be Episcopal sympathizers, in
189 contrast to the staunchly Protestant crofters. The men all
attend the local kirk of the Church of Scotland and serve as
elders of the kirk, but their outlook is quite different
from that of their conservative tenants. One family is
565 Catholic. As would be expected, all are property owners.
189 This is not a question of socio-economic status as much as
576 one of social differentiation. The loss of large parts of
their estates, under the pressure of debt contracted by their
ancestors, has not reduced their prestige.

There must be enough interaction between the rela-
184 565 tively small number of people of similar standing within
the local group and beyond if the consanguineal and affinal
basis of the class is to be maintained, and they are not
562 who lose their identity as a group apart. They must not only
interact with other county families, but the county families
184 must be endogamous. Once a year the county families of Skye
565 are given this needed opportunity to reaffirm their solidarity,
189 to cement their relationship with the upper class of British
society, and to arrange suitable matches for their sons and
daughters. A Skye County Ball is held in November. The
"county people" come from near and far to attend the affair,
one of a series of local balls held throughout the nation.
If anyone has any doubts about his acceptance among the holders
of highest status, he receives his simple but explicit
answer at this time. He must be invited to the ball. For
three days and two nights the festivities continue. High
society has come to Skye and has brought with it its caterers
from Edinburgh. The local people say the "Ha-ya's" have
taken over Portree.

On the first night of the ball, the young people are
escorted from the homes of the Skye aristocracy, who act
as hosts, or the more fashionable hotels to the Skye Gathering
Hall by their parents. During the dance and the supper which
follows, suitable introductions are arranged for their sons
and daughters. On the second night of the ball, the young
people appear in couples. If I were asked to characterize

the ball in a few words, I would say, it is a marriage
565 market.

Social distance and class endogamy can also be demon-
565 strated by a negative approach to the question. Within recent
years there have been a few cases of marriage across the
social cleavage line. The results, as we shall see, show a
strong drive for social exclusiveness. One of the county
184 people married a daughter of the "new rich." Her father was
a crofter's son who made a fortune as a whisky distiller
565 and exporter, especially during the days of prohibition in
the United States. His fortune made, he returned to Skye
and purchased part of the old Clan MacLeod lands. Although
land ownership is a prerequisite for being included among
the upper stratum, neither land nor wealth guarantees
acceptance for a man from the croft. No one received the
marriage of his daughter happily. The villagers and crofters
562 said it was a marriage of necessity. The young aristocrat's
parents' reaction is at least partially reflected by the fact
that it was one of those very rare Skye marriages which end
in divorce. Until his remarriage in 1956, he was the only
divorced man on Skye. In the second case, a crofter married
into a county family. His wife was the daughter of one of
the most prominent ministers of the Church of Scotland in
the present century. Although the minister was himself the
son of a school master, his high prestige status had led to
his acceptance by the "first family of Skye," and his second
marriage was into this family. Some of the crofters and

565 Villagers say he married above his station. His daughter,
566 they believe, married below her station. Be that as it may,
he disowned his daughter. He never spoke to her again. The
thing case involved the marriage of one of the poor, but
nevertheless accepted, gentry and a crofter's daughter. He
has fared differently. Rather than cast him out, his mother
refused to recognize the marriage. He was forbidden to bring
his wife home. To this day he continues to divide his time
between his estate and his "town house," where he keeps his
wife. Further, this man, who I have been told should have
become chief of Clan Ranald, is no longer of the county
people.

Among the distinctive features which overtly characterize
565 the county people is their ascribed status and role of leader-
ship. Indeed, this is their most important function. As
the tacksmen were once the counselors of their subtenants,
so today the landed gentry must fill this role which the
Gaidhanach from the croft will not assume. Even if a Skyeman
here and there feels that the local proprietors would like
nothing better than to have all the people behave like serfs,
bowing and scraping before them, he expects the proprietors
565 to get things done. In Portree the local gentry form the
572 village council. During the war when they were on active
duty, there was no village council. The Skye District Council,
which replaced the old parish councils and which, acting as an
agent for the County Council, is the only administrative
body on the island, revels a similar membership, with only

566 the nine election districts where a member of the gentry is
567 resident, he is the people's choice. Otherwise, the post
568 passes to a newcomer, especially a minister, if he will
accept, a non-crofter of relatively recent arrival, a returned
exile, or an eccentric. The Skye delegates to the County
Council are similarly elected. The village of Portree and
the neighborhood of Glendale are represented by members of
the county people; Kilmuir is represented by a minister of
the Church of Scotland.

The function of the landed gentry emerges even more
565 clearly when non-political leadership is considered. We
may take the Skye Council of Social Service and the old
People's Welfare Committee as examples. The Skye Council of
Social Service is dedicated to the promotion of the "general
good of the community," and the assistance of the work of
statutory authorities and voluntary organizations engaged
in improving education, health, and economic conditions.
Although the Scottish Council of Social Service claims this
is a product of the people of Skye, it was not a spontaneous
development. A retired Registrar General for Scotland was re-
sponsible for the initial interest. The Scottish Council
seems to have stimulated this interest by securing financial
assistance in the initial stages and paying 75 percent of the
annual expenses. The local organizers were county people, and
their success was due in no small way to the efforts of an
officer of the Department of Agriculture. Today the "virile
leadership and local followership," of which the Scottish
Council is wont to speak, is to be found in one clique of the

565 landed gentry. The people take relatively little part in any
569 of the activities. Most of the crofters with whom I spoke
had only the vaguest idea of the work or the achievements of
the council, beyond the fact that the council had instituted
Skye Week to attract tourists.

The Old People's Welfare Committee was established in
the winter of 1953. It provides us with an excellent oppor-
573 tunity to see how things are accomplished on Skye. For several
months the clique which is responsible for the Skye Council
of Social Service had been thinking that Skye needed some
such agency to look after the old people. At length it was
decided a public meeting should be held to give the people an
opportunity to decide whether or not the need was acute.
Each of the county people explained the need, aided by two
social workers from Edinburgh. Then, with the assistance of a
local minister, the doctor, and the officer from the Department
of Agriculture, who aided in establishing the Skye Council,
the people were gently led around to their position. A
committee of investigation was organized to inquire into the
matter in more detail. About a month later a second public
meeting was held for the purpose of establishing a permanent
Old People's Welfare Committee. Like the initial meeting,
it was proceeded by a small conference among the gentry. The
decision was that Skye should have a central committee and
fourteen local committees. This was unanimously accepted.
Now came the problem of who would serve. The first selections
were obvious; in each local area the minister, doctor, and
district nurse were "elected." When it came to the question

565 of individuals to organize each committee, no one was willing
570 to accept the post without persuasion. In every case where
there was a resident of the county people in the general
vicinity, the man or his wife was chosen. The remaining chairs
went to newcomers, especially doctors and teachers or their
wives, mainly by default. They were not present. No one
on Skye ever overtly seeks a role of responsibility. For the
central committee, it was suggested, by a newcomer, that there
should be at least two Skye people over sixty to get the point
of view of the people who were to be helped. When the com-
mittee was finally formed, there was not one native Skye person
on it. The chairman was the wife of a local landlord; the
four members were another proprietor's wife, a Lowland woman,
the minister, and an Austrian woman.

At no time was a vote taken. The person who can be
persuaded to accept office is always unanimously "elected."
On another occasion someone had made the mistake of nominating
623 two women to fill one post. Rather than put the matter to
a vote, the people present "elected" me, as a disinterested
participant, to select the woman who would serve.

By the time I left the Misty Isle only one of the local
committees had taken a step in the direction of organizing
itself. A meeting was called in Waternish where either a
returned exile or the minister was to preside. Neither of
them would step forward. Again the task fell to one of the
county people. She drove up from Portree to take the chair
and help the people elect the members of their committee.
Her journey was fruitless. Hardly anyone attended the meeting,

565 and no one thought himself capable of running a future meeting.
571 At last reports, the wife of another proprietor was having
572 her impression that "it's not as easy as it sounds just to
call a public meeting in Glendale," confounded. While the
majority of the crofters thought Old People's Welfare Com-
mittee was a good idea, they had no intention of being
instrumental in its organization or in assuming any position
which might elevate them above their neighbors. Throughout
this chapter, the stress on conformity has been apparent,
let us now turn to the problem of social control for a clearer
picture of how conformity is enforced and to see how the
Gaidhanach handles the deviant.

Social Control

624 Since social control is an important topic, I want to
go into a further analysis of the manner in which the group
influences the behavior of its members. For the sake of
clarity, we must distinguish between social and political
624 control. By social control I mean the informal pressure or
spontaneous action which any organized group can muster to
exert an influence on its members sufficient to encourage
conformity to tradition patterns of behavior. Political
control, to me, involves the independent or requested inter-
ference of the state, as represented by the police, in any
case which involves the enforcement and maintenance of law
624 and order as prescribed by legal enactments. On Skye the
624 laws of the land do not always have the same meaning to the

671 people as they have for the larger society. This is true
624 in spite of several hundred years of continuous and increasing
contact.

Poaching provides an excellent contrast between the
two forms of control and the differing attitudes of the state
and the Gaidhanach. In Great Britain the tenant of the land
does not automatically have hunting and fishing rights. The
landlords, including the Department of Agriculture, lease them
separately and the county taxes them separately. The crofters,
and many of the villagers, have never fully accepted the
legality of their being barred from the rivers for fish, the
moors for grouse, and the hills for deer. The police enforce
the law to the best of their ability, but they cannot always
count on the support of the local Justices of the peace, much
less the cooperation of the people. Several of the local
Justices of the peace, those who are not landlords, feel that
a man catching a few fish for his own use is not poaching.

If social control were to assume importance with respect
671 to poaching, it should appear in Glendale. When the crofter
671 owner-occupiers are able to rent the hunting lodge and gaming
rights which they received as part of the purchase, they all
share in the rent and benefit by not having to pay both owners'
and occupiers' rates on the property and the gaming rights.
Unfortunately, they have had a great deal of trouble in
finding tenants and even more difficulty in keeping them.
The river and land is all poached. When asked by whom, one
man replied, "Och, who but ourselves would be doing it?" The

624 last tenant apparently decided the whole island was working
671 against him. Unable to catch a single salmon in the Hamara
672 River, an excellent fishing stream, he drove into Portree
to buy one from the local fish shop. After he had purchased
a fine salmon, he asked the shopkeeper where it was from.
Not knowing the gentleman, the fishmonger told him it was
fresh in from the Hamara. Buying his own fish, so to speak,
was too much for him to take.

624 Favorite subjects in discussions of social control,
671 for the lack of it, are pre-marital and extra-marital sexual
relations. One reason for this is, no doubt, the fact that
624 the social control of sex is a universal.[36] In an area such
as Skye where the most powerful institution to which the
Gaidhanach looks for guidance, the church, forbids or condemns
open courting, young people must court in secret. Moreover,
for a people who find marriage all but impossible in their
younger years, secretive courting not infrequently is ac-
companied by illegitimacy. A pattern has evolved on Skye to
handle such mishaps.[37]

848 The child of an unwed mother is "adopted" by the girl's
parents, or, less often, the girl's brother or sister. The
foster parents raise the child as their own. People exercise
great caution in asking about the parentage of a child who
does not seem to be compatible with the age of his mother and

[36] Murdock, op. cit., p. 260.

[37] I have recently found the same pattern in northern
New York, and I suspect that it probably exists in other rural
areas throughout the Western World.

848 father. So well is the situation handled that the child in
many cases does not know of his illegitimacy. We may illustrate
this point with the story of a young lad of fifteen.

An old woman applied to the local office of the Ministry
of Labor on behalf of "her son" for acceptance in an
apprenticeship training course given in Glasgow. The manager
of the exchange, who had recently arrived from the Lowlands,
was suspicious. He pressed her for information until she
admitted the child was her grandson. At a later conference,
the boy was asked if he had any place to stay in Glasgow.
He replied that he could live with his married "sister." In
this case the girl had married someone other than the boy's
father. There is no pattern of carriage in these situations.
Sometimes the unwed mother-to-be marries the child's father
before the child is born. Financial hardship often forces
a postponement of the marriage until the very last minute.
One couple was married on the day of their child's birth.
Other girls never marry. In the latter event gossip appears
as a social sanction. As I mentioned earlier, the native
who has prospered is not always held in high esteem by the
local people. There are several stories on Skye about such
men, especially men in Portree, and their illegitimate
children.

237 Extra-marital relations present a different problem.
Fornication is not characteristic of the Gaidhanach.
When a husband or wife does commit adultery, he or she is
usually a newcomer. Nevertheless, the Islanders feel

strongly about this infringement of the traditional norms. 837
Gossip spreads very rapidly. The offenders are said to be 626
"no better than the tinkers." While tinkers are respected [554] [754]
because they have the power of the evil eye, they are not
accorded any more prestige than we would give a beggar. All
who have any contact with the neighborhood or the village
where the deviants live soon know all the details. Since [369]
most of the adulterers on Skye have been in Portree, it adds
another brick to the wall which separates the rural neighbor-
hoods and the trade-center village. The offenders normally
leave Skye as quickly as possible.

The Sgiathanach cannot be said to have a strong sense 423
of property, or, more correctly, the land is valued as a 421
place of residence and identity not as something to be bought
and sold. We have seen that he uses his land communally and
that he often will not leave a will for the house, not to
mention his land. Even though the state thinks otherwise, he
looks upon the natural resources of the island as his for the
taking. At the same time, he normally respects the fruits of 421
his neighbor's labor. Any one can cut peat on the moor, but [319]
no one, except an unthinking tourist, would take a piece of
turf once it had been cut. In a simlar way, the children are 857
generally well behaved. In the village there is a bit of stone
throwing, a little profanity, and uncommonly some drinking on
the sly, but rarely do children show any disrespect for the
rights of others. One contractor, a Lowlander who came up to
Skye to make alterations on the school, was amazed. Skye

857 was the first place he had ever worked where his men did not
have to lock up their tools at lunch time, and the windows
685 were not broken as fast as they went into the frames. Still
there is some theft.

As might be expected in any area of low per capita
income and seasonal employment, some people succumb to temp-
685 tation. Children, now and then, find the temptation of a
857 candy bar, a shiny pocket knife and other such items which
[431] shopkeepers may have on the counter too strong to resist. The
striking thing is that they always share their loot with
685 their schoolmates. Around New Years, when unemployment is
[273] at its height and a man needs his bottle to see in the New
Year in the traditional way, some men turn to theft. It
never takes the form of house burglarly or armed robbery. As
far as I know, the only case of armed robbery in which a
man from Skye was involved happened on a train in England.
His weapon was a rolling pin. The people at home were very
amused when he said he was taking the rolling pin to his
mother. The usual forms are to take a cow or sheep or to
685 loot a shop. No answer can be given to the question, how
829 much theft is there? The responses vary. "If you stood on
the corner and forgot who you were, they'd have you off in
five minutes, so they would," was one man's opinion. The
police say, "There's quite a bit of it." An old whiskey
smuggler told me, "There's no theft around Portree, but you're
not safe with five pence in your pocket in Skeabost." This
685 obviously is an expression of neighborhood loyalty. How,

then, is theft handled?

The police who are charged with the responsibility of protecting and restoring the property of the local citizens are faced with many difficulties. To begin with, the local people will not always complain to them. Even if the help of the police is sought, the person seeking it will not tell who might have committeed the crime. Even if he knows who is guilty, he will not tell. The police must build their case with care. If the facts are clear and straightforward, the defender invariably confesses. One reason for this is the fact that a confession means a local trial by a justice of the peace rather than one before a sheriff. The defendant can hope for sympathy, and he rests secure in his knowledge that his sentence will be lighter because of statutory limitations. If witnesses are required, the police must almost put words in their mouths, and they are never free from the possibility that a witness may change his story when he is put on oath. One policeman said, "They hold their church services up there," pointing to the court room, which was being used by one sect while their church was being repaired, "on the Sabbath from 10:30 until 2:00 and they're back again at 6:30, but they tell the damnedest lies in the same room."

We are dealing with a dichotomy like that we noted in the case of poaching. As far as I was able to determine, those cases which come to court involve activities which do not affect the norms of the group. There was for example, a girl in Portree who stole the equivalent of some five or six thousand dollars in cash and material over a period of two

years from her employer, an outside concern. She spent the money on clothes and holidays in London, and gave the material to her friends. She was brought to trial and given a sentence of six months. Upon her return, she was welcomed with open arms. The sympathy of the people was with her rather than with the organization with its main office in far off Edinburgh. As they said, "Poor Jane, she was a good girl." "Poor Jane" died not long after being released.

When traditional norms are involved the situation is handled quite differently. There was another young girl in the village who was guilty of a similar petty crime, on a smaller scale. During the last war, one of the local ministers organized a group of girls from the school hostel to make a door to door collection for a charity. One of the girls, a "foster child," had never been given any spending money. The temptation was too great. She spent her collection. To replace the money, she stole from a fellow hosteler. When she was found out, she was expelled from the hostel. The school year had two remaining weeks, at the end of which she was to graduate. Not one Sgiathanach, including her "people" and "friends" of her relatives, would have anything to do with her. As far as they were concerned she had exiled herself. She was an outcast.

Now let us turn to the crofting neighborhood to see how a crime is handled there. In most cases the neighborhood, as the fundamental locus of social control,[38] is able to deal with

[38] Cf. Murdock, op. cit., p. 84.

deviants without reccurse to the court. Indeed in Kilmui they do so well that I never heard of any theft. Still, has been some theft in Glendale. Shortly before each ca sale the shepherds on the club farm found one or two catt had disappeared. At first they thought the cattle might have gone over the cliff, but coincidence soon indicated had a thief in their midst. One of the crofters, a retir Glasgow policeman, took a hand in discovering the guilty At length he found out who it was. At the annual meetin several weeks later, he stood up and told the shareholder exactly what he had seen. Here were the facts, in detail He did not, however, name the guilty person. After he ha finished, the crofters calmly asked him to retell several parts of his story, and then there was a period of silenc Finally, the man publicly confessed and expressed repenta He was not cast out or handed over to the police — I dou the police know of this even now. His humiliation was sufficient punishment.

Among such crimes and the forms of social control w they prompt, however, murder is almost unknown, deterred the tales which tell of being plagued by the man's ghost the grave, and suicide is extremely rare, with only three in many, many years. Much more important, however, is the influence of social control over public behavior.

During my stay on Skye, I was struck by the lack of aggression. Aggression was an outstanding characteristic culture during the days of the clan, as the Crown ruefully

iscovered on many occasions. I once entertained the thought hat its absence was indicative of a decadent culture. Then discovered that it was a traditional norm of behavior. Only nce during the modern period has there been any aggressive ehavior, during the closing years of the "Clearances." Some ho remember these "old warriors" who were not afraid to stand p for their rights wonder why their descendents have changed. oday only the ministers are aggressive in their dealing with heir congregations, and they reserve their aggressive pose or their Sunday sermons. Naturally, the people quarrel among herselves and a couple of drunken men may come to blows with ach other or the policeman who interferes. In any group ituation or in any dealings with outsiders, however, dislike r resentment takes the form of placid resistance. The Islander emains courteous and suffers in silence. This is "affect upression," resultant from Protestantizing the crofters.[39] ven the talkative individual, unless he stands among the gentry r has achieved prestige status through his profession, is onsidered an eccentric. He must stand the snickers of the roup and bear the title of a "worthy," a man who does not act is age.

Real anger, manifested by a loud or quavering voice, or able pounding, clenching one's fist or other recognizable signs, s not characteristic of the Sgiathanach in public. The man who orgets himself is always taken in hand by the minister, an old an, or a teacher. He may feel righteous indignation, but if he

[39] I am indebted to Conrad Arensberg for calling my ttention to this fact.

becomes too worked up, he is expected to withdraw. On occasions, 152
such as weddings, when all have had their share of the uisge 156
beatha (water of life), there may be heated quarrels, including 626
the raking over of old clan feuds. Again, some older man will take the offender in hand, "It's not you that's talking, Murdo, it's the drink." The man almost invariably expresses regret for his outbreak later. Political meetings, often explosive situations in a democratic country, may involve some heated debate, but the code of diquette is never breached. When one politician told the Kilmuir crofters that something should be done to stop depopulation because soon they might not have any young men for the army, the people were indignant, but they remained quiet. In the case of the cattle thief, cited above, no one lost his temper. In fact, the matter was discussed almost in a monotone.

People still talk about the one outstanding example of aggression which has occurred recently in Portree. At the end of World War II, a collection was made for the benefit of the returning servicemen. A public meeting was held to discuss what would be done with the money and who was eligible to receive a gift. Two young men, both of whom had spent several years in a German prison, and had been drinking, became boisterous. They accused the committee of spending the money and trying to cover it up. The chairman left the meeting. His replacement, a newcomer, restored order by threatening to call a policeman, something which never had been suggested at a public meeting. The boys were forgiven because they had been

German prisoners and must have had a terrible experience, and 152
anyone knows the uisge beatha brings back memories. 156
626

Gossip

Social control does not always take such dramatic forms 626
as those we have been considering. Infringement of the traditional norms is deterred, and deviation from the expected patterns of behavior are censured, by a more informal technique, namely gossip. It is not an exaggeration to say that everyone within each neighborhood knows his neighbors intimately. They know the individual, his family, and his ancestral stock. They are aware of his activities inside and outside his cottage, the way in which he meets his moral and religious obligations, and his general outlook on the world. The villagers are equally aware of the character and behavior of one another. Further, almost all the crofters who have dealings in the village know and are known by the villagers, at least by reputation. If any individual is not known, personally, it is relatively easy for a person to find out all he wants to know from another villager. To remain a mystery is dangerous; it begets resentment. Any new arrival to the island, other than a tourist during the summer, soon becomes known in the local area. If he is an important person, his arrival and departure are heralded across the island.

Gossip has enough emotional force on Skye to deter deviations by the native and to mold the newcomer's behavior to no small degree. It has been known to make people so

miserable they have left the island. Adultery, as we have 626
seen, is an excellent illustration. Another example is church going. Almost everyone goes to church. It is expected. Several newcomers frankly admitted that they only go because the people would talk about them.

Gossip has another important social function. It is a 626
means of social sanction, and as such reinforces the "unconscious 182
system of meanings" to use Herskovits' words.[40] Through its positive and negative aspects, the use of gossip as a social sanction contributes to the solidarity of the group by creating a feeling of oneness. It can also accord status to individuals, and it can either make an individual with high status more secure in his belief of superiority or make a person of low status feel less inferior.

The crofters relish stories of human failings among 559
those of high status. The landed gentry seldom give them 626
much to talk about, but the few unexpected things they do, such as marrying outside their circle, are long remembered. The villagers often provide them with choice stories. Anyone, especially a native son, who moves into Portree or returns to Portree and sets up a business is bound to be talked about. "Do you know what I heard? Well, I heard that he got his money down south and just beat the police out of town." Men who have shops which their fathers or grandfathers established escape, but the founder of the business is still remembered. "You know where the old man got his money? He was going home one night after a cattle sale with a group of

[40] Herskovits, Man and His Works, p. 222.

his neighbors, and he done them in and took all their money." 559
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The villagers and, in particular, the county people 369
enjoy amusing stories about the crofters. One tale concerns a crofter who received electricity from the Hydro-Electric Board. After the cottage had been wired, his wife bought him an electric razor. This created a problem. If he plugged the razor into the single light socket, he could not see to shave on a winter morning, but if he had the light on he could not plug in the razor. There are many stories about crofters who refused electricity because they were afraid the house might blow up if hit by lightning, and there is the favorite story of the old woman, on the Isle of Lewis, who thought electricity was fine to see to light her candle.

To see how gossip, bordering on tradition, is indicative 522
of high-prestige status, we may take the story of the doctor of Kilmuir. One day just after a cattle sale the doctor took the boat from Portree to Kyle. In addition to several local people and many cattle, there were two Sassannachs on board. The Englishmen asked the doctor how many cattle there were. He thought there were quite a few. A hundred, the Englishmen asked. "Sure," said the doctor. Two hundred, they asked. The doctor again said, "Sure." They then inquired whether or not the doctor could count. When he answered in the affirmative, they asked how many they and the doctor were. He replied, "One hundred, I am one and you two are nothings." The core of these stories always involves the doctor's getting the better of someone, especially an Englishman. It may be

added that the stories are frequently heard elsewhere in 522
the Highlands. This particular tale is also told in the Outer Isles, where the central figure is a famous drover, drovers still being important in the Outer Island cattle trade.

Stories about well-lized doctors getting the best of ministers are also told by members of the Church of Scotland. There is, for example, the tale about the doctor who went to the service of one of the seceder ministers. The sermon was on the immoral dress of women. After church the minister asked the doctor how he liked the service. Holding up his Bible, the doctor replied, "I enjoyed it fine, but I brought the wrong book. I should have had one of those mail order catalogues."

We should not, of course, overlook the fact that gossip 203
is the main form of communication on Skye. There are few aspects of life which do not interest the people enough to become matters of gossip. How, then, does gossip travel? All are carriers of gossip, but several occupational groups are primary carriers, especially the food van drivers, bus drivers and tradesmen. Perhaps, it is a widespread phenomenon that the gossip spreader does not know his role. One day a tradesman returned from the far end of the island. Following the pattern, he was asked "what's fresh?" and replied "nothing" and then proceeded to give the news he had picked up. After he had finished, he paused and said, "you'd wonder where those people get all the news."

In its less emotional aspect, gossip has been formalized 204
by one agency, the Skye Clarion, a local monthly newspaper.

Founded in 1951 as a single sheet of 200 words it has grown 204
to sixteen pages. It has the distinction of being the only news magazine in Great Britain written in longhand. The 203
shopkeepers also pass along the local ken, as it is called. There is a common belief that the telephone operators are another source. I have known people to drive several miles to make a call from a box in another exchange district because they were sure the people of their neighborhood would have the news before they had hung up the receiver, if they made the call locally. The post office is also said to be a transmitter [829] [205]
in the bush telegraph; some say the post mistresses steam open their letters. On shopping days in Portree the women carry home more than the week's groceries. Down at the square at night, they gather in small groups to transmit their tantalizing tidbits of news and, perhaps, scandal.

Two status groups are left out of the normal gossip 203
cycle. These are the county people and the ministers. The 551
former may get a bit of ken from time to time, but much of the 715
local news passes without reaching them. The ministers' information is generally limited to questions of health, events in the life cycle, or cases of moral or religious backsliding on the part of their congregations. The degree to which the landed gentry participates in the verbal spread of news and rumor depends to a great extent on personal qualifications. There are one or two who have contacts through whom gossip carries across the lines of cleavage in the social hierarchy. Ministers are probably the least well informed of anybody on the happenings of everyday life. Once when asking a minister

a question about a certain man I was told: "I can't help you 203
on that. Whenever I go into a shop or meet them on the street, 551
they change their conversation." Another told me I should ask 715
the doctor, "He's the one who really knows their problems."

Summary

The society of the Sgiathanach reveals additional evidence 182
for cultural continuity. In family structure, both nuclear 576
and extended, the patrilineal emphasis has been preserved. Even though both suffer from chronic instability and the extended family has become rather amorphous, kinship remains an important regulator of interpersonal relationships. It involves obligations and privileges which few take lightly. Within the 182
social units based on territory, the township and neighborhood 621
status continues to be ascribed on the basis of age, sex, 554
and kinship. Women have remained socially inferior to the men. As the father controls his family, the old men of the township and neighborhood exercise a power over their juniors to force conformity to traditional ways. Fundamentally, all of the same age and sex are equals. This status equality underlies the entire social structure. There is no room for a leader. When essential, the newcomer, normally the teacher or minister, and the landed gentry are expected to assume the role of leadership. In the village the emphasis on ascribed status for the Sgiathanach is also important. The majority of achieved statuses are left to be filled by newcomers. In the community, as a whole, beyond the polarity of the landed gentry and the

crofters, an individual's prestige depends more on what he 182
does for the group than on occupation. 621
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The society has a strong degree of integration. This 182
is shown by the requirement of unanimous consent on all under- 621
takings, even in the village, and by the continued success 626
of the group in exercising social control by positive concerted action and by employing gossip as a negative social sanction. The norms of behavior and the values have remained common and clear.

We are now closer to an understanding of how the 128
Sgiathanach has maintained a continuity. For a full understanding of the social organization and to answer the question why there has been continuity we must take one final step. The religious aspect of the culture holds the key to the unanswered questions.

CHAPTER VII

THE ISLANDERS' RELIGION

Synopsis

The strength and vitality of religion on the Isle of 771
Skye, and all along the West Coast of Scotland, has been an 182
outstanding characteristic of the culture for well over a century. It is no less distinctive of the culture today than the crofting system and the socio-economic way of life which crofting embodies. Moreover, the religious patterns not only reflect a continuity of culture in themselves, but the religious aspect has provided the means by which the culture, as an integrated whole, has been able to maintain a genuine continuity. Here on the very fringe [795]
of Western Europe in one of the few remaining outposts of the Gael, Calvinism, as interpreted by John Knox and Andrew Melville, as refined by the Scottish Covenanters, and as modified by the influence of the English Puritans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, stands as one of the few examples of marginal intensity in Western Civilization.

Until the nineteenth century religion was an indomitable acculturating influence. A new code of ethics, morals, and behavior was superimposed on the old. As the influence of the traditional leaders declined, the scope of the

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The religion of the Sgiathanach may also be regarded as 771
the logical outcome of a movement which began two centuries 182
ago when the all inclusive bonds of kinship and affection were 176
replaced with tenets introduced from the wider contractual society. This movement, as we know, bore its first fruits over a hundred years ago. The people themselves turned from 793
the ministers who were supporting symbols and values no longer meaningful to the crofters. They embraced the preachers of a 793
dynamic gospel as a means of consolation in their distress. Thus, the religious pattern derived elsewhere and superimposed 184
on the Sgiathanach has been refined with logic and vigor. 771
It has become the one insurmountable barrier to assimilation 182
with Great Britain. No less than four times religious schism 798
has demonstrated the essential unchangeableness of their religion. The process has been carried on with such dedication and success that it now disturbs the unsympathetic laity and the clergy of the Church of Scotland no less than the resistance of the people to Presbyterianism did in the remote past.

We saw in Chapter IV how an understanding of the re- 128
ligious history of Skye is indispensible for the comprehension 121
of the larger problem, the means by which the culture has maintained continuity. In Chapter V and again in Chapter VI we saw how this continuity has been preserved. We have at last come to the point at which we can ask why has there been continuity. The following analysis is concerned with the sanctions of the Presbyterian ethic, particularly as it affects the social structure, religious behavior, and the roles of the ministers and the religious laity in the

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contemporary scene. Assuming that few of my readers know any 128
more about the nature of the religion of the Sgiathanach than 121
I did when my wife and I first set foot on Skye, I shall begin with a brief description of formal organization and theology.

Formal Organization and Theology

The Isle of Skye now has four independent Presbyterian 795
Churches, the Church of Scotland which is the official state church, the Free Church of Scotland, The Free Presbyterian Church, and the United Free Church. There are, in addition, a few Catholics, including the one family of the county people who worship by themselves and several government employees in Portree who meet together and hold services in a private chapel. There is also a fairly large number of Episcopals, consisting exclusively of county families and newcomers, who periodically receive a visit from a minister in Fort William but who otherwise attend the services held in the Church of Scotland.

The Presbyterian Churches differ from one another 779
in several fundamental details of their constitution, doctrine, 795
creed, and practice. All claim to be in historic continuity with the Church of Scotland which was reformed in 1560, the liberties of which were ratified in 1592 by the Scottish Parliament, and the security of which was recognized in the Treaty of 1707. All, except the United Free Church, hold to the principle of national recognition of religion,

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commonly referred to as the "Establishment." The main differ- 779
ence is the the Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church 795
have rejected all Declaratory Acts which have interpreted the meaning of the Westminister Confession of Faith.

The Shorter Catechism, written in 1611, contains the basic religious tenets of all the Scottish churches. Since children are required to have a knowledge of the catechism by the age of eight, if only by rote, and a knowledge of the tenets is indispensible for the baptism of one's children and acceptance as a member of the church, we should be acquainted with them if we are to understand the religion.

Man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy him eternally. To achieve this, the directions given in the Old and New Testaments must be accepted as the infallible prescribed means for reproof, enlightenment, correction and instruction in righteousness.

"Foreordination" and "Effectual Calling" are the two guiding principles. God foreordained all that has come to pass. He preserves and governs His creatures, created in His own image, and their actions, but, on condition of perfect obedience, they have been granted freedom of will, by which they have sinned and fallen from their original state of grace. All mankind through the original sin lost communion with God and are under His wrath and curse. They are subjected to all the miseries of life and damnation.

Christ, the Redeemer, revealed the will of God for man's salvation. Everlasting life, a covenant of grace,

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deliverance from sin and worldly misery and entrance into a 779
state of salvation were again offered to man. To become 795
partakers of redemption, the Holy Spirit must work faith in man, uniting him to Christ in "Effectual Calling" which convinces him of his sin and misery, enlightens his mind, and renews his will. He who is "effectually called" partakes of justification, adoption, sanctification, and all their benefits. By justification man's sin is pardoned. By adoption man is received into the "elect" and has a right to all the privileges of Christ. By sanctification man is renewed after the image of God.

Man's duty is obedience to the revealed will of God as given in the Ten Commandments. No mere man, however, can keep them perfectly in word, thought, and deed. Every sin deserves the wrath and curse of God which can only be escaped by faith in Christ, repentence, and diligent use of the ordinances, especially the Word, sacraments, and prayer. These are made effective for salvation to the "elect" (and only the "elect"). The reading and, especially, the preaching of the Word is the effectual means of convincing and converting sinners. The sacraments of Baptism and Communion sensibly represent, seal, and apply the signs of Christ and the new covenant.

Baptism is administered to those within the visible church and their infants. The Lord's Supper is to be received only by the worthy, those who find up self-examination that they are worthy in their faith, repentance, love, and new obedience.

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All the churches on Skye are organized in identical 795
fashion on the local or parish level of church administration. 793
According to the democratic principles outlined in the Bible 794
and the Books of Discipline (1561 and 1578), the congregation alone decides who will serve as their spiritual leaders. It will be remembered that patronage was one of the causes for the church schism of 1843. The members call their minister and elect the elders, deacons, and in several churches, a precentor. The elders are the very pinnacle of the lay 795
religious hierarchy. They are chosen from the "elect" to 794
act as the guardians of the moral and religious behavior of the congregation and to lead the congregation in worship on certain occasions which we shall meet with later. The deacons are similarly chosen from the "elect" to look after the financial affairs of the kirk. The precentor is a chanter. He gives out the psalms the people sing line by line. No matter what the official position of the church, expressed by the General Assembly, Synod, or Presbytery--the higher religious courts--the local kirk session composed of the minister and his elders retains decisive power.

Erring members of the congregation are called before these guardians of the people's behavior for judgment and discipline. For the protection of the congregation, the 795
Presbytery, composed of the minister and a selected elder 794
from each church, examines and installs newly called ministers 793
and has the power to censure any minister guilty of a spiritual or moral transgression or infringement of his duty to the

congregation. The Synod and, in the case of the Church of 795
Scotland and the Free Church, the General Assembly do not 794
normally interfere in local administration. They can be called upon to enforce the decisions of the Presbytery, but they are primarily deliberative assemblies which meet once a year in Edinburgh to discuss over-all church policy. Again, as we have seen, attempts of these higher bodies to impose their will on the local kirks have led to schism. Thus, since the fundamental sest of control is vested in the kirk session, in the neighborhood, the interpretations reflected in the higher religious courts do not necessarily find expression in the patterns of religious behavior on Skye. Indeed, the Church of Scotland on Skye is more like the other sects than it is like its parent body elsewhere in Scotland, where it has gradually moved toward a position similar to the Anglican Church or the Presbyterian churches of the United States. To the uninvolved observer, the differences are insignificant compared to the essential similarities of the local churches.

The Role of Religion on Skye

Because of the hold of the ramifications of religion 121
on man, in particular, man as a member of a folk, peasant, or predominantly rural community, religion tends to have a permeating influence on all significant phases of life.[4]

[4]Cf., e.g., Robert Lowie, Social Organization (New York: Rhinehart and Co., 1948), pp. 191-192; T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), p. 423; and Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 282,284.

121 Functioning in diverse ways, religion reinforces standards of behavior. As a supraSocial and cultural regulator of social life, it sanctions the way of life of a group and its basic social forces.[5] While the great world conscious religions have been influential in redirecting whole civilizations, their success has been largely due to an ability to function in harmony with local cultural conditions. The symbols and values they extend must be meaningful to the people.
121 Failure to protect certain values brought about the rejection
178 of Catholicism and the acceptance of Calvinism in Scotland.[6]
795 Continued sanctification of values no longer meaningful to the Sgiathanach cost the Church of Scotland its hold over
121 the people. The influence of religion, especially once it has ceased to work for change and has become conservative, as all organized religions are wont to do,[7] is expressed in terms of what particular traits it singles out for sanctioning and, conversely, what traits it refuses to sanction or places under taboo. Obviously, this is but a part of the primary function of religion, its role in bolstering group solidarity.[8]

[5]Cf., e.g., Kroeber, loc. cit.; and MacIver, Society, p. 120.

[6]Notestein, The Scot in History, pp. 103-114.

[7]Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 405.

[8]Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 395-401.

794 Prerequisite to an understanding of the role of religion
779 in ordering human relationships for the Sgiathanach is an awareness of a distinctive and all-pervading feature of church membership. When we briefly discussed theology, we noted the prominence of the principles of "Foreordination" and "Effectual Calling." While many Scots may pay them lip service, the Skyemen firmly believe in them. Because of their unfaltering belief and the strict interpretation of "Effectual Calling,"
787 the membership of all churches is very limited. Admission
828 to the numbers of the "elect," those who have received a visitation from the Holy Spirit and experienced a soul-saving change, can only be gained by attaining the status of old age. Since "election" depends on manifesting a steadfast conformity to the behavior patterns approved by
794 religion, "elect" are all well past sixty. Adherents, who support the church in every way but have no voice in kirk affairs and do not take Communion, far outnumber these "elect" members. For example, among the religiously homogeneous Free Presbyterians of Glendale, there are 14 members in a congregation of over 300. In Kilmuir, a neighborhood with a rapidly aging population, there are 58 members of the Church of Scotland in a congregation of 211. Portree, as we know, contains a large number of newcomers who are affiliated with the Church of Scotland. Having been brought up in a different religious atmosphere and being relatively free from gossip to which the convert is exposed, they have come forward as members. Thus, the Church of Scotland has

794 125 members. That the Sgiathanach has not been influenced by
794 the laxity of the newcomers in self-examination is indicated by the existence of 450 adherents. Further, the Free Church has only 21 members in a congregation of some 280, and the Free Presbyterian Church only 20 members in a congregation of 320.

The esoteric religious hierarchy established by the "Men" during the nineteenth century revivals continues to influence the lives of the people. From the small number of the "elect" are chosen the elders, the venerable guardians of behavior, and the deacons. The majority have been baptized
545 but are in a fallen condition. Shall we stretch an analogy and ask is this not comparable to the social hierarchy of ceann-cinnidh (clan chief), daoin'-uaisle (tacksmen), and clanna (clansmen) of the past? This much is certain: a strong hierarchial sense must be numbered among the persistencies.

888 In our discussion of the Islanders' economy we noted
575 two significant facts concerning the sodality of the old
794 men of the neighborhoods. We saw that they have a deliberative
422 function in discussing economic innovations before they pass down to the townships, and that they are able to block any innovation of which they disapprove through the requirement of complete unanimity in township affairs. We may also recall the statement, "If you can't respect an elder of the church, who can you respect?" We may now add they have judicial and authoritarian functions in the religious sphere of activity, and, through their status within the church, they ultimately control the patterns of social behavior.

Their deliberative, judicial, and authoritarian functions are identical with those found among the Catholic small farmers of Ireland.[9] Of course, it is by no means unique i human groups for the aged to attempt to maintain their accustomed habits and statuses while the youth endeavor to find acceptance for new ideas.[10] Nor is it unique for the younger members of the society to resent the restraints imposed by the older people to punish deviation from tradi al behavior.[11] Culture phases, as Kroeber has pointed out, associated with age tend to correspond to changes taking place within the society, rather than reflect static lines of segregation, such as those which exist between classes. If these assertions are valid, the success which the elder as a sodality, enjoy in barring the youth from achieving acceptance of novel patterns should be indicative of the importance of age controls on the Isle of Skye. In order see how they exercise control and how successful they are, let us consider those events in the life cycle which Van Ge has called rites of passage.[13]

Rites of Passage

Rites of Passage function in all societies to mark th

[9]Arensberg, The Irish Countrypp, pp. 122-139.

[10]Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 274-275.

[11]Herskovits, Man and His Works, p. 479.

[12]Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 274-275.

[13]Arnold Van Gennep, Les Rites de Passage (Paris: E. Nourry, 1909).

ministers increased. The church became the most powerful institution in the Hebrides. In the nineteenth century the pattern of religious expression gradually changed. Although the acculturative process was still carried on, the approach became negative in regards to many aspects of life. The realization that the old folk beliefs had not been stamped out led to a renewed attack on all aspects of the culture which showed the slightest taint of pagan or Catholic belief. At the same time, conservatism became the underlying principle in Presbyterian practice. The ministers and their congregations were carried back to the persecution of the Covenanters under the Stuart kings, back to the days of Knox, and back to the very beginnings of Christianity. This conservatism has reinforced much of the religiously desirable fabric of the culture. Change or compromise has become unthinkable for the majority.

Various interpretations of the present day religion can be attempted. It has been characterized as "moribund theology," a spurious movement wrongly equated with Calvinism and no longer "en rapport with the mind of the twentieth century," by one minister of the Church of Scotland.[1] This reflects the view that the Highlanders' religion has been a form of "black Presbyterianism."[2] Others are wont to write of the "tyranny of religion" which has driven away the youth and destroyed social life, except the art of conversation.[3]

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[1] M. E. M. MacDonald, "The Nerve of the Hebridean Problem," Scotland, No. 80 (Oct., 1953), pp. 66-68.

[2] Collier, The Crofting Problem, p. 54.

[3] Darling and Morley, "The Social Situation," The West Highland Survey, pt. VI, pp. 21-22.

in the nurture of the church by being tested on his knowledge 216
of the Bible and the Shorter Catechism. The elders, then, 651
it in a judicial capacity. If the father measures up to the 888
tandards imposed by the elders and the minister, who is the 794
hoice and, therefore, must reflect their views, the father
s told to present the child for baptism. If he does not
atisfy the elders, his child is refused the rewards of the
hurch until his father mends his ways. Here the authoritarian
unction of the elderly finds expression.

Many men are reluctant to approach the elders to ask
or the sacrament. Everyone knows when a man is going to be
ested and judged. The humiliation of being refused forces
he father to reform. Since the elders think in terms of
abitual behavior, one or even two years may pass before the
ather will feel that he has continuously demonstrated his
onformity to the satisfaction of the elders. Nor is the bond
f affection between the elder and his people and friends
trong enough to procpt any leniency. To do so would threaten
he status of the elders and the continuation of their control.
n one case a first cousin of the minister was refused.

In the trade center village the question of baptism is 349
sore point for the ministers of the Free Church and the Free 626
resbyterian Church. As might be expected, the elders of the 851
urch of Scotland are chosen from the county families and 888
e prominent newcomers. Neither group shares the views of 794
e Sgiathanach as far as their interpretation of circumspect
havior is concerned. For them baptism is administered to

the child. Consequently, the sacrament is normally administered 349
without even the formality of a kirk session examination. The 626
ministers of the other churches assert that non-church-going, 851
drunken fathers whom the kirk session has refused have gone to 888
the Church of Scotland and have secured the sacrament for their 794
children after pretending to mend their ways. They have then
gone back to their former habits. It may be so, but at least
one man in Portree was very surprised to find that the Church
of Scotland can require a severe examination.

At baptism the child is formally introduced into the 851
folds of his father's church. His mother and father stand 794
before the minister and are admonished to bring up the child
in the nurture and admonition of God, to the best of their
ability.

Marriage is not a sacrament in Scotland, and, therefore, 535
does not provoke any strong resentment beyond a feeling that 794
the Church of Scotland should not have the exclusive right
to proclaim the banns of marriage. It is the one time in
the life of a woman when she is the center of attention and 585
has complete control over the situation. She decides where 742
she will be married and what minister will preside. Church 794
affiliation seems to make little difference. At least, the
wedding of a daughter of a strict Free Presbyterian family
in the Church of Scotland did not give the people any cause
to gossip. Although a wedding is no more than a legal formality,
the vows made at marriage are sacred. It would not strike
Americans as being particularly significant to omit the promise
to obey from the ceremony; Americans are said to have an

equality of the sexes. On Skye, where women are the social 535
inferiors of men, its omission is curious. The ministers have 742
taken the promise of the ceremony out because, as one said, "The 794
man may be a rogue, irresponsible, making it impossible for
the woman to obey." She nevertheless promises to be "loving,
truthful, and dutiful."

Election, as a passage rite, marks the attainment of the 794
status of the elderly. We already know that to become one of 851
the "elect" the individual, man or woman, must not only 624
experience a soul-saving change but also manifest steadfast
conformity to the ideals of behavior which have religious
approval. These ideals are the habits and statuses which
the old people are striving to maintain. Thus religion 794
sanctions the status of the venerable old people. Their 888
interpretation of "Effectual Calling" functions to provide 624
the elders, the most eminent of the "elect" with an additional 182
means to exercise their judicial and authoritarian roles.
There can be no rapid conversion. Whether or not the pro-
bationary period of three years imposed by the "Men" in the
last century is still enforced I do not know. The person who
believes he has experienced a saving change, "a visitation
from the Holy Spirit," is examined by the minister and his
elders. Like the father who is seeking baptism for his child,
such an old man or woman is judged on his knowledge of the
Bible and the Shorter Catechism and on his conformity to the
righteous life. No one can experience a saving change unless
he is known, by observation, to have lived an upright life.
The person who continues to pursue his own mundane pleasures

cannot be spiritually enlightened. The individual who is asked 794
about the nature of his visitation is not judged on his ability 888
to raise his family in the nurture of the church. He is rather 624
judged on his preparation to carry on the tradition. He must
be worthy of the respect due to one of his status. While old 542
women are numbered among the "elect," their exclusion from any
active role in the church has kept them socially inferior to
the old men.

I wish I could give some examples of the nature of this 124
"visitation;" however, Skye is a land where the direct question 576
is not used. One can ask a direct question without offending,
but the code of hospitality requires an either affirmative
answer or the answer you think your guest expects. My
circumlocutory promptings on this topic only succeeded in arousing
concern for my soul.

Two groups escape from the control of the elders as it 624
is exercised through acceptance of an individual into the 888
"elect." As mentioned earlier, the newcomers to Skye have 167
come from different backgrounds. Beyond the Highlands, the 104
meaning of "Effectual Calling" has changed over the years. The
youth attend a young communicants' class in which they are
taught the meaning of church membership. Motestein, writing
about the national character of the Scot, maintains that
interest in "election" has disappeared.[14] Most of the members
of the Church of Scotland in Portree would no doubt agree with
him. One attempt has been made on Skye to hold a young 794
communicants' class. It took place, of course, in the Church 888
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[14] Motestein, op. cit., p. 153.

of Scotland in Portree. Only one girl appeared for instruction. 794
After the significance of her preparation had been fully explained 888
she declined to take the final step. She did not disagree
with the minister's view that she was prepared for membership
and communion, but she was afraid of what her friends in the
Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church might say. She was
probably wondering what the middle-aged adherents of her church
might have to say, too. When the Sgiathanach takes his first
Communion, in Glendale, Kilmuir, or Portree, the people must
be able to look up to him.

The second exception to the age-grade requirement rules 624
among the county people. Because of their social position 888
in the community, which rests on the expression of their statuses, 545
as roles, as landlords, village and neighborhood representatives 794
and leaders, and members of the national class system, and
because of their education in England, the county people
attain membership in the church at an early age. Some have
become elders of the church at twenty-one. To subject them
to the control of the crofters would, obviously, be incompati-
ble with their social standing. Although they are all Church 182
of Scotland, here again religion is a reinforcing factor for
the structure of the society.

Dying, the final act of living, reveals a host of traits 743
which only receive covert expression during an individual's 829
life. While the youth is censured for his spontaneous
pleasures and the adult is criticized for his behavior, the
deceased is always respected. As one woman said, "It is the
one time in a person's life that the people have nothing but

good to say about him." Death is one of the two occasions for 743
an extended family gathering. Indeed, a man's prestige is best 829
seen at his funeral. Without exaggeration, death is the most 624
significant event of living. It is constantly visualized and 564
discussed. "Second Sight," the ability to foresee future 743
events, is mainly concerned with the death of one's "people"
and friends. Since the ministers have been striving to wipe
out this belief, it is difficult to get the people to talk
about it, except in retrospect. Still most of the people,
including many of the newcomers, and not a few of the ministers,
continue to believe that some old people,—they are always
old men and women,—are afflicted with this power. There
was an old man in one township who would not go out at dusk
for fear of seeing a funeral, and there was an old woman who
foretold her daughter's death. Lights seen in strange places
also tell of death. Even the sophisticated Sgiathanach who
has been born and raised in Portree sometimes forgets himself.
A current story on the island tells of a "ghost bus." The
headlights suddenly appear behind a driver on the Sligthan
road. For the newcomers this is a fanciful tale, but for
several of the natives it has a meaning, death.

All plans are prefixed with the phrase "if spared." 743
"If spared, we'll shear the sheep on Thursday." "If spared, 195
I'll go down to see my brother soon." Many of the newcomers
are made to feel very uneasy by this habit, which is as much
a form of speech as greeting people with, "It's wet," or,
"It's cold." When a Sgiathanach asks to have something done

or inquires about a person's plans, he says, "You'll do it 743
tomorrow, then, if spared." 195

Occasionally, a man's prestige status can be judged by 764
the foretaste the people have of his funeral. This, too, is 554
disturbing for the newcomers who prefer to face death when
the time comes. There is one member of the county people who
is extremely popular. Many speak of him as a "true Skyeman."
One day he was being discussed by a small group of women.
After talking about his interest in Skye and what a good man
he was, one summed up their estimation by saying, "Aye, what
a wonderful funeral he'll have." What higher compliment could
there be? The number who attend a person's funeral and,
recently, the number who drive to his funeral are indicative
of his status. Even though having a car does not give the 893
owner prestige - to the contrary it may give the people cause
to wonder where he got his money - to have "friends" with cars
does give prestige. When 200 or 300 men join in the funeral
procession to carry the body to the grave, all the "people"
of the deceased take pride in telling of the "mobs who came."

In death we find one aspect of the crofter's way of life 764
which puzzles the newcomer, especially the government officials, 554
more than anything else. The old people hoard their money.
Welfare workers frequently say, "You never know how much they
have until they die." There are a few crofters, mainly returned
exiles, who are known to have money but continue to live in
tumbled down houses. The newcomer says, "They must like to
live that way." Quite to the contrary, the Sgiathanach has 741
traditionally prepared for death early in life. Once the first

duty of a wife was to weave her winding sheet. Nor is the cost 764
of burial merely buying a coffin. As at birth and marriage, 454
the people who attend a funeral must have their dram. Just as 821
they do not want subsidies to begin life, they do not want to
be buried with public assistance. They hoard their money, even
if it is only a few pounds, to assure themselves of a decent
burial. Another thing that disturbs the welfare officers is 763
the determination of the old and infirm to remain on their 186
croft in spite of all efforts to move them to a "Twilight
Home." Some of these people may have returned to Skye for
no other reason than the feeling, "If I could go back to Skye
to die it would be fine." I knew many people who had come to
America as young adults and "liked it fine." Why did they
return? The answer is always the same, "I was getting old, you
know, and began to think of home." This, of course, is another
expression of the sentimental attachment for the land and its
identity with one's "people."

Paradoxically, for a people who are so aware of death 763
and look upon it so significantly, the churches, one and all, 796
have refused to consecrate burial. There are no prayers for 182
the dead. There is no service for the dying or at the grave
as the body is lowered into the soil. The ritual which accompanies
this final act of living is better described as a rite of
intensification rather than as a passage rite, to adopt the
terminology of Chapple and Coon.[15]

Once the individual dies, his status is fixed for all 060

[15]Chapple and Coon, Principles of Anthropology, pp. 398-399.

eternity. If he was one of the "elect," he will enjoy eternal 763
life. If he was not one of these venerable old men and women, 554
he can expect to suffer eternal damnation. Although baptism 715
is a sacrament and removes original sin, it is only the initial 851
step in the direction of salvation, which election alone con- 763
firms. Neither the minister nor any member of the bereaved
family offers a prayer. "What more can you do than bury him," 764
one woman asked. An old man said, "They are just as well 763
remembered without praying for them." In a community which 762
is dominated by the old people, and in the crofting neighbor-
hoods where so many of the crofters are very old, death can
be expected to disturb the equilibrium of social interaction.
In Glendale during November and December of 1953 funeral
processions made their way through the glen no less than nine
times. The function of the minister is to restore the dis- 793
turbed patterns, both in the family and in the neighborhood 782
(or village). All work stops in the township for three days
from the time of death. Some of the cosmopolitans of the 367
village, seeking to justify their deviating behavior, assert 287
that the lazy crofter looks forward to a funeral because it
means three days of idleness. In the village, of course, it
is no longer possible to bring daily life to a standstill be-
cause the villagers serve a wide area. The "people" of the
deceased do stop work and close their shops. On the day of the
funeral all blinds are drawn until after the procession has
passed.

As he would if there were illness in the family, the 793
minister calls on the bereaved family and leads them in family 764

worship. If the deceased is a Sgiathanach, the minister will 793
call every night, if he can. Otherwise, he may call only 767
once. His participation in family worship helps to reduce
the patterns of interaction within the nuclear family and
within the small circle of "people," "friends," and neighbors
who come to visit and take part. Some sophisticated villagers 164
take this opportunity to justify their own deviations, such 367
as going to a concert; for them this is all "a religious ceilidh
with all their psalm singing, praying, and greeting." The 152
people do not keen, as they do in Ireland, but the women are 362
seldom dry-eyed. Again the villager may comment that the
minister at least should say a few kind words about the dead,
"Just to comfort his family."

On the day of burial a second and more inclusive rite of
intensification is held. On this occasion the function of the
minister, often aided by an elder, is to restore the equilibrium
within the total sphere in which the deceased habitually moved
during his life. If the person had high prestige status, the
ministers of two churches conduct the family worship. All
the "people," "friends," and neighbors, both men and women,
attend. The minister begins with a prayer for the family,
asking God's guidance. This is followed by the singing of a
few verses of psalm by all who have gathered. Next the minister
reads from Scripture. He concludes with another prayer for
the family. If there are two ministers, or a minister and
an elder present, they alternate in leading the group. If
there are any present who do not "have the Gaelic," they
also alternate between English and Gaelic. We have seen how 764

the nearest kin carry the body from the house. The custom 764
is to carry the coffin until the procession is out of sight
of the house. This may mean a few hundred yards or several
miles. Once the body was carried all the way to the grave.
One skeptic said this is why Skye has lost so many people,
"Half of them died carrying the other half to the grave." In
Portree the body is carried across the bridge on the far side
of the town. All the mourners, except the women who remain at
home, and the two nearest kin who walk before and after the
coffin, are given an opportunity to carry. They continuously
change positions with the carriers, stepping out at the head
of the line by sixes and waiting for the coffin. Those who
have carried fall in at the rear of the procession. When they 602
reach the graveyard, the original carriers, his nearest kin,
remove the body from the hearse and lower it into the grave.
At the grave the minister delivers a short lecture on the merit 793
of living in the nurture of God. Only the Church of Scotland 795
ministers offer an additional prayer for the family. The other
sects believe a prayer at the grave is a prayer for the dead.
Following the interment, the bereaved family provides the 273
mourners with a dram of whiskey. Does the minister take a 793
dram? I can only give the reader the answer I received after
one funeral. One fellow said, "I guess nobody saw him take his
drop, but if he didn't I'd be surprised." On the following day
life returns to normal. The equilibrium of interaction has
been restored.

The Role of Religion on the Croft

As the prestige of the old people and the control of the 593
family-head elders over the social activities of the people has 182
persisted with religious sanction, the status of the father 771
within the nuclear family has been reinforced by the religious
expression of his role. As we know, the older inter-family
patterns of economic cooperation have been disturbed by the
changes stemming from the process of commercialization. This
has not disturbed the position of the father as the source of
authority and discipline. He continues to play a basic role
in establishing the tempo of interaction within the home, the
township, neighborhood, and community. He decides who will
do the work and when. He determines in what social activities
his wife and children will participate, always, of course,
ultimately guided by the venerable old men. His status is
confirmed at baptism, when he is judged, and it is commonly
reaffirmed every day in the home. For the majority of crofters, 204
though by no means all of any sect, the day begins with the 762
saying of grace before breakfast and the returning of thanks 312
after breakfast. The same pattern is repeated at the taking
of any food, including a cup of tea. The form of grace may
be used to cast light on the religious outlook of the Sgiathanach:
"Gracious God, we have sinned against Thee, and are unworthy
of Thy mercy; pardon our sins, and bless these mercies for
our use, and help us to eat and drink to Thy glory, for Christ's
sake. Amen."

In many homes breakfast is followed by family worship. 593
The father begins with a blessing, a prayer on behalf of his 182
family, and then leads the family in the singing of a few 771
verses of psalm. Next he reads from Scripture, apologizing 312
to the visitor because his Bible is not an English version,
and comments on the meaning of the passage. He concludes with
a prayer. If the morning worship has been omitted, he holds 592
an evening service. Some crofters have family worship both
morning and night. When the father is away, his wife or his
eldest son conducts the worship. Religious devotion on Skye, 771
then, is more than Sabbath church attendance and attendance
at weekly prayer meetings.

The Role of Religion in Township, Neighborhood, and Village

I did not attempt to devise a socio-metric scale to 795
determine the affiliation of members and adherents of the
several churches in either Glendale, Kilmuir or Portree. The
former disunity and conflicts which divided families, both
nuclear and consanguineal, townships, neighborhoods, and the
village stemmed from abandonment of traditional religious
affiliation rather than from attachment to an established sect
which happened to differ from the denomination of one's kinsman
or neighbor. Today sectarian hostility is no longer prevalent
among the people. The Sgiathanach only chafts his neighbor
in friendly banter and repartee, about his only slightly different
sectarian views. They refer to each other's sect by nicknames.
The Church of Scotland is the "Established Church." The

people of the Free Church are "the Wee Frees." The Free 795
Presbyterians are the "Seceders" or, at least to some of
the gentry, the "Split P's." Arguing about religion is 376
considered very bad taste. It is left to the ministers, 793
and they do have their points of difference. One Free 715
Presbyterian minister, for example, told me that no one in 748
the Church of Scotland, including the minister, was worthy
to receive Communion. On many occasions during the year
the ministers of the Free Church and Free Presbyterian
Church devote part of their sermon to a criticism of the
Church of Scotland, not to mention the avid hostility of all
Skyemen toward Catholics.

Adherents of the several sects intermarry with no qualms 57
and without suffering any loss of status. By the time a
person gets to be a member, marriage is no longer in his
mind. Husband and wife continue to adhere to their respective 57
denominations, those in which they were baptized. The children
naturally, are baptized and raised in the church of their
father. Extended families are often divided religiously 57
along sectarian lines. In one family one brother and his 771
wife were Free Presbyterians, another brother and his wife
were Free Church, a sister was Church of Scotland. The
parents had been Free Church but became Free Presbyterians
at the turn of the Century. At least one cousin was United
Free Church. This religious schism did not affect their
affection for one another. Once a week the sister went to
have tea with her Free Church sister-in-law. Periodically

her brothers and their wives came to visit, and at New Years 576 795 they came by with their bottle of wine, whiskey being a man's 273 [562] drink, to toast the New Year.

Excepting Glendale, where church membership and af- 621 filiation is synonymous with the neighborhood, the township 795 may contain affiliates of two or three churches. One small 571 township contains two Free Church families, two Free Presbyterian families, and one Church of Scotland family. As in any township, they visit one another and cooperate in handling the sheep flocks. Further, the Church of Scotland family often gets out the truck on the Sabbath and drives everyone to Church. This is one of those isolated townships far off the beaten track. Although I certainly agree that people who meet together at a church and pray together get to know each other better because of their religious unity, in this township the families have come to know each other better because they go off to their respective churches together. There is a firm, basic belief 795 among the people that no one should be slighted, even by a 829 minister, because he has differing religious sympathies. 798 Were this not so, think of the position in which I would have found myself. One Free Presbyterian family put it this way, "Who can tell which church is the right one since they all claim to be on top of the pole? Maybe they all are and everyone will get to his final resting place." The "all" was later qualified to exclude Catholics. One of the gentry told me an amusing story on this point. One day during the

blitz of London he was talking with a crofter's wife, and they 795 got to discussing Hitler. "What a terrible man he is," she 829 said, "Why he's worse than...worse than...almost as bad as the 798 Pope." In another township there is a Church of Scotland 795 missionary, a lay preacher. His religious sectarianism does 797 not prevent his interacting with the Free Presbyterians, who are in the majority. Not infrequently, he visits his neighbors and when they need help on the croft he is prepared to lend a hand. When he pays a call, he establishes the tempo of interaction at mealtime or tea time by saying grace and returning the thanks. This is part of the hospitality 574 of the Sriathanach. The visitor is always asked to say 782 grace.

What is true of the township on Skye, is also partly 621 true of the neighborhood. Here the members and adherents of 794 the same church do get to know one another better because of a common faith, or their particular interpretation of a faith common to all. They see each other with greater regularity. Then, too, since the congregations are small, they feel they belong. At the same time, the patterns of interaction are not exclusive, except in Glendale. The religious cliques are [476] [795] mutual aid groups, doing what they can for the infirm and destitute; they are not opposing factions. Nor does religious homogeniety mean the absence of factions. Glendale has its independents who are set against the disciples of the Department of Agriculture. Anyone who knows Wales may be struck by this 795 difference, for in Wales the people are attached to a particular 171

chapel and its group.[16] On Skye the people can be as much 795 attached to the sect or their minister as the group. The [171] reason for this difference between Skye and Wales may be the 793 recency of the appearance of the several churches on Skye. As presently constituted, all the churches were formed at the turn of the century or later. The first Free Presbyterian congregation was formed in 1896. The present Free Church, often called the Free Church (continuing), dates from 1900. The Church of Scotland is the result of unions with the Free Church in 1900 and the United Church in 1929.

My assertion that attachment is to sect and minister 793 can be substantiated by two events, one in Portree and the 795 other in the neighborhood known as the Braes. In 1900 when 798 the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church united, the Free Church minister in Portree led his congregation over to the Church of Scotland in a body.[17] Only three policemen's families, all of them newcomers, refused to follow the minister. For 13 years there was no Free Church congregation. Our three families attended the Free Presbyterian Church, until the minister at one Sabbath service held forth on the shortcomings of the Free Church. They left and began holding services in the Court House. In time the congregation grew. A missionary was appointed and later a minister. More recently, a minister of the Free Presbyterian Church, who was noted for a certain amount of leniency, such as

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[16] Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, p. 115.

[17] For a similar change in Kilmuir, see Chapter IV.

allowing his flock to attend concerts, had a point of differ- 793
ence with the Synod and was removed. In the Braes which had 795
been as staunchly Free Presbyterian as Glendale, roughly 798
half of the congregation changed their adherence to the Free
Church. The remainder have continued true to their own sect
under a new minister.

There are numerous Free Presbyterian families far 795
beyond the reach of a minister. All they can hope for is an
occasional visit, and there are no missionaries of this sect
on the island. Although they attend services at the nearest
kirk of the Free Church, doctrinal differences are still
important enough in their minds to keep them within the folds
of their sect. They were born in it and will die in it.
Moreover, despite the lack of a minister in Glendale between 794
1908-1911, 1913-1920, and 1931-1933, the people are as staunch 793
as ever. At such times one of the elders steps forward to 794
conduct services as he would during the temporary absence 888
of the minister. His ability to fill the role of a spiritual 554
leader fortifies his control and his prestige. This is true
in Portree. The elder, even a newcomer, who stands in the
pulpit is deeply respected. Identity with, and attachment 796
to the denomination is maintained in the absence of a minister
by visiting other churches at the Communion season and by
the visits of a minister on the Sabbath and for annual
Thanksgiving services following the harvest. So strong is 795
the sectarianism of the Glendale crofters that the Church of
Scotland minister for Duirinish is convinced that "Churchianity

rather than Christianity is the prevailing practice in Glendale." 795
This attachment to a sect is all the more significant in the 796
crofting neighborhoods because there is not one iota of differ-
ence in the Gaelic services in any church. The difference is
doctrinal.

In the neighborhood the affiliates of the same church 571
have been said to interact with their fellows more regularly 794
than with the remainder of the group. They come together on 795
the Sabbath for a regular service and on Wednesday night 796
for a prayer meeting. On the Sabbath they come as families, 593
husband, wife and children and they sit together. Normally 562
the sexes are segregated in public. Indeed, in the home 574
men keep to one side of the fire and women to the other when
there are callers. They also leave in family groups. Their
interaction is spiritual. There are no gatherings outside
the church either before or after the service to gossip,
discuss the stock, or even comment on the weather. They
will all know who was absent, but they will only greet their
fellows with a slight nod. The Wednesday night prayer
meeting is different. This is a group situation. Some come
by bus and gossip on the way. Others get together before
and after the service for a chat. At these prayer meetings 554
the stature of the "elect" again emerges. They offer the 888
prayers on behalf of the congregation. The prayers, it should 782
be noted, are extempore. No form is followed. The basis for
them are passages from Scripture and interpretations of the
passages.

There is another aspect to the prayer meetings. They 796
are no longer held in the Church of Scotland in Portree. 795
The ministers of the other sects say this is an indication 794
of the low degree of spiritual enlightenment among that 369
congregation. Further, Wednesday night is picture night in
the village. The newcomers taunt the devout with, "off to
the pictures?"

It is at these Wednesday night meetings that the people 55
get to know one another. They participate in the worship 57
through the eminent "Men," who in a society such as Skye 796
where almost everybody is related on one side of the family 794
or the other by some bond of consanguinity or affinity, are 802
the "people" or "friends" of the worshippers. This custom of
offering extempore prayers not only augments the prestige of
the "elect" but it intensifies the unity of the group and
makes them secure in the knowledge that they belong. This
feeling of unity and the sense of belonging is further
strengthened in some churches by setting aside a day of
Humiliation. Services are held during which the congregation 78
as a group beseech God for forgiveness for the poor spiritual
condition of the world. In their minds the God of this world
is surely the Prince of Darkness.

But for the interaction of the members of the several 794
sects, the control of the "elect" would not be as strong as 795
it is. The elders of one kirk cannot exercise any direct 626
control over the adherents of another sect. Through what
agency could they express their judicial and authoritarian

e of the individual from birth, through his age statuses, 121
th and to re-establish meaningful patterns of interaction
a disturbance by an event in the life cycle. When 851
dual and reciprocal patterns of behavior following birth 774
escribed, I pointed out that they were a much modified
al of the old practice of kirking, the custom of having
rents, their "people," and "friends" attend a church
e to offer thanks, followed by a feast and dance. Similar
ities once accompanied baptism. As the first event in
fe cycle which concerns the church, and as one of the
crements celebrated in the church, baptism is of supreme
ence. In addition to revealing the amount of control [121]
derly have over the group, it shows how the status and
f the father has been maintained.

The child's father, as the religiously sanctioned head 626
family, approaches the elder for his township and 851
ts the administration of the sacrament. The elder, in 888 774
intimates the father's request to the minister, who
alls a kirk session. At the kirk session the father is
ed. He must live an exemplary life, in the way of the
, including regular sabbath church attendance, daily
p in the home, and the renunciation of all forms of
ous amusement. The elders, of course, know how he
ally behaves by observation and reputation. In Glendale,
in Kilmuir, the minister knows as well, for, as one
said, "You never know what your neighbors will run and
he minister." Sudden reform is not good enough. The [774]
must also demonstrate his ability to raise the child

me as in the crofting areas. When a young girl presented 794
rself for instruction in the significance and meaning of 796
urch membership, preparatory to her acceptance of Communion, 348
626
e refused to take the final step not because of any personal
ligious problem, but rather because such a step would upset
r normal associations. What her Free Church and Free
esbyterian friends would say was her main concern. Who was
o to become an "elect" member? Here, then, is the answer
how the elders of the other sects are able to control
havior of the larger group, through the fear of gossip as
negative social sanction and, perhaps, rejection.

The semi-annual Communion celebrations are rites of 794
tensification par excellence. Although some churches 796
lebrate only one commemoration of the sacrament, and it
y be as early as February or as late as November, the
nths from late April until early September, are commonly
ferred to as the "Communion Season." The activities of
e people during this period cast additional light on the
fluence of religion in ordering social relationships. While 573
[571]
ique membership based on sectarian affiliation is a secondary
ctor in determining the patterns of interaction in the extended
mily in the local group, it is very important in determining
's wider relationships, the relationships between the
ighborhoods and between the Sgiathanach and the mainland
ghlander.

Within living memory thousands used to come to the 178
mmunion celebrations from all parts of Skye and many nearby 794
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mainland villages and crofting areas. Ministers from 178
neighboring and even distant churches used to come to take 794
part in conducting the services. There was no church to hold 796
so many people, so the Communion was celebrated outside. Then,
of course, the population was much larger and the majority
belonged to one church, the Free Church.

The Communion Season is still marked by large gatherings 794
of people at each church in turn. The "elect" from the 796
neighboring churches and the ministers from churches near and
far exchange visits. The adherents also participate in the
celebration of the Lord's Supper. From Thursday until 794
Monday the homes of the people in the vicinity are open to 796
their relatives and friends who have come to partake of the 574
sacrament or who find the highly emotional atmosphere and
gregariousness stimulating. Some, especially the "elect"
stay for the five days. Others will spend one or more nights.
During the day and in the evening, whenever they are not
attending religious services, they visit their "people" and [571]
"friends" to renew ties which in many cases have been allowed
to languish since the last Communion. Thus, we find religion [182]
sanctioning the time-honored custom of Highland hospitality.
It is interesting to note that many a woman who depends on [495]
the tourist trade for a good share of her income will not accept
paying guests at this time. The local people have a further 794
share in extending hospitality to their visitors. All who 796
are able send food to the manse (parsonage) to lessen the 574
burden on the minister who extends hospitality to the 793
visiting clergy and as many of the laity as he can. This

custom is well established. Even war-time restrictions and 794
fationing had little effect on Communion attendance. Skye 796
exiles in the United States and Canada sent food parcels 793
to the ministers and their kinsmen to provide for their 574
visitors. The minister takes in as many as he can. One [167]
minister, for example, not very far from Portree has a large
manse with seventeen rooms. It is customary for him to have [269]
twenty-five or thirty people for lunch and again for high
tea (the Skyeman's evening meal) on Friday and the Sabbath.
Many of his guests spend five days with him.

Some idea of the size of the gatherings may be gained 794
from the need for the Free Presbyterian Church in Portree 796
to hold duplicate services. The church, I should think,
holds around 300. During the Communion Season, the con-
gregation takes over the drill hall, normally used by the
Territorial Army for training and by the villagers for social
affairs, in addition to the kirk. In the drill hall services
are held in English; in the kirk, they are in Gaelic.

Such large gatherings of people require a means to
establish meaningful contacts and create a feeling of belonging.
Thursday is a fast day. All work stops. The people attend
services in the morning, at noon, and again in the evening.
Their minister, assisted by two visiting clergymen conducts
them in a dynamic, highly emotional appraisal of the coming
event. All the ministers participate in the sermons, stressing [783]
the confession of sin and the need for humiliation. Many
ministers are known for their preaching ability, that is their

ability to move their listeners. Friday is a day of self- 794
examination and prayer. A fellowship meeting is held. The 796
senior minister gives the sermon. The local minister follows
the sermon with a few lines of psalm, which the precentor
will chant for the congregation to sing, and calls upon one
of the "elect" to prepare a question. After the singing has
finished, an elder of the host church presents his "question."
The "question" is a line from Scripture which relates to
human experience, which relates to their experience as pastoral-
agriculturalists. The remaining "Men," customarily visitors
from other kirks, speak to the question, giving "marks" (examples)
which distinguish between those who possess Christian virtues
and those who profess the virtues essential for salvation.
The speakers interpret the meaning of the line, it is only a
single verse, often using allegorical interpretations. They
are not supposed to tell about their own spiritual experience
of conversion. To the contrary, their discussion is intended
to have significance for all present. At the end of three
or four hours of "speaking to the question," the junior
minister sums up what has been said and, infrequently, makes
any necessary corrections.

In addition to establishing an emotional atmosphere of 786
revivalism and the tempo of interaction between the visitors 888
and the local congregation, the fellowship meeting introduces
the venerable old men of neighboring churches to the local
people. Their prestige extends beyond their own neighborhood
and congregation. Their ability becomes a topic of conversation

for the approaching evening and many nights to come. 794
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Saturday is a day of preparation. After a morning 573
service, those who have been examined by the elders and ad-
mitted to church membership, and the visitors who satisfy the
elders of the kirk that they are worthy to receive Communion,
receive tokens which will admit them to the Lord's Table on
the following day.

On the Sabbath the service is oriented around an "Action
Sermon." The minister speaks of the sufferings and blessings
of Christ. At the conclusion of the sermon, the Lord's Table
is "fenced." Once all the Highland churches gave communion
at a table with a rail around it. Now there is only one kirk
on Skye with the fenced table, the old parish church in
Bracadale. Today the first few pews are used. The minister 794
draws a sharp distinction between those who are entitled to 796
sit at the "table" and those who do not have the right to 573
partake of Christ's body and drink of His blood. The former
are reminded of the dangers which neglecting to come forward
involves. The latter are warned of their promised damnation
as a consequence of partaking unworthily. Since only the 888
old men and women are worthy of the sacrament, the minister's 786
exhortions and denouncements function to sanction the prestige 182
of the old people before the congregation and the wider com-
munity. After reading from the Bible, offering a prayer, and 794
addressing the communicants on their humble position, the bread 796
and wine is distributed.

The Communion is concluded on Monday morning with a

794 thanksgiving service. The visiting ministers, the "elect,"
796 and the adherents go their own separate ways. They have spent
five days in intense, emotional spiritual communion and they
carry away with them definite, vivid remembrances. Many of
them will meet again in a few weeks when they will exchange
[571] the roles of guests and hosts. The reciprocal nature in all
interpersonal activity on Skye is well developed. In many
ways, the Communion season parallels the Welsh Song Festivals.[18]

794 We noted earlier in our discussion of the Communion
796 season that there has been a decline in the number who attend
178 the Communions. I should like to add a few general consider-
ation to what I have already said on this point. Aside from
the influence of depopulation, there have been several influ-
ential factors in operation. The smaller attendance is
traceable to some extent to an almost imperceptible movement
by the youth away from the more conservative denominations.
The ever-increasing necessity of working for a wage, es-
pecially since most employment opportunities are in summer time
programs, is another cause. This factor is not, however,
important within the local kirk district because most ad-
herents and all the "elect" who work take a vacation in order
to attend. It does mean that visitors may only be able to
attend on the Sabbath.

178 The custom of visiting has almost disappeared in some
794 churches, including the Church of Scotland in Portree where
796 the fellowship meeting is no longer significant because the
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[18] Rees, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

"elect" are predominantly newcomers and the elders are either members of the landed gentry or newcomers. I was rather amazed one day when a Skyewoman told me, "the 'Wee-Frees' and 'Seceders' are no better than the Mohammedens giving gifts to idols," when they sent food to the manse for the minister's guests at the Communion. Over in Bracadale the custom is also losing its importance, except in the Free Presbyterian Church, and the fellowship meeting has been abandoned in the United Free Church because of the reluctance of the members to engage in public displays, either at Communions or at prayer meetings. The custom of visiting has entirely disappeared in Sleat and Strath. One of the ministers ascribed this to the isolation of the two parishes from the rest of the island and from each other. Certainly the Sgriathanach on the south end of the island seldom locks to Portree and the northern crofter hardly ever goes to Sleat, but this does not explain why people from the mainland will go to Bracadale, by-passing Strath.

The vitality of religion can over-ride considerations of family and friendship if a Sgriathanach deviates from the accepted norm. We may recall the young girl who stole church funds and was ostracized by her "people" and the whole community. Let us consider another example. Marriage vows, as we know, are held to be sacred on Skye. Divorce is all but unknown and separation is uncommon. To be precise there are four known cases of separation. Nevertheless, if a husband or wife were to break a taboo, it is expected that the offender would be cast out. Forgiveness is not compatible with a

179 199 196 574 369 198 771 626 586 771 626

belief in a God who punishes iniquity "unto the third and fourth generation."

In one family the wife transgressed by committing adultery, albeit a rare sin. Her husband was one of the "elect" and a deacon in the Free Church. Fully aware of the fact that his wife had remained away from Skye until after her child was born, he took her back. He was older than she and devoted to her. The story could not be covered up on Skye, where the elders have their thumbs on the pulse of the congregation. The elders summoned him before the kirk session. After he admitted he knew all the details and the fact that his sister-in-law had taken the child, they declared him to be excommunicate. The control of the elders is still characterized by austerity and severity toward the godly and ungodly alike. What hope has a Sgriathanach once he has been eternally denied salvation? Perhaps, someday he will again receive a visitation from the Holy Spirit and experience a saving change. Although no longer entitled to the benefits of the church, he continues to attend, as an adherent. One may ask, what was the reaction of the people to this punishment? A few Church of Scotland people, feel that the elders might have tempered their decision. As one said, "They thought only of Moses on Mount Sinai and forgot Jesus on Calvary." Most of the people, however, including all in the Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church, either approved the action taken or, at least, would not question the judgment of the elders.

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Religion has done more to keep the Gaelic language alive than any of the numerous outside agencies dedicated to the preservation of the language, such as An Comunn Gaidhealach, a national organization which sponsors a series of local, regional, and national programs in an attempt to maintain and stimulate an interest in the Highlands and their songs and stories. Except in Portree and at Dunvegan, church services are mostly conducted in Gaelic. The newcomer who wishes to attend church services in the crofting areas, and he had better, must either learn Gaelic or be content with the few words the minister may speak in English for his benefit if the minister is aware of the presence of someone who does not "have the Gaelic." Some might feel that this is rude since most Skyemen are bi-lingual, but the crofter seems to think quicker in his own tongue. Many crofters' children learn English only when they begin to attend school or pick it up from an older sibling who is going to school. Family worship is almost always in Gaelic, unless there is a visitor. We have already seen that the family worship at the time of death is in Gaelic or in Gaelic and English. Again we have a parallel with Wales, in that Welsh has been mainly preserved through religion.[19]

Making Gaelic the language of their religion has, however, led to several problems. It has weakened township solidarity on occasion. There are many isolated townships beyond the reach of a minister. In one of these remote

771 191 186 575 191 794 [87] [182] 191 771 621

[19] Ibid., p. 129

glens a family, newcomers to Skye, prevailed on the local school teacher to hold a Sabbath school for the children. The local missionary objected. If they were going to have Sabbath school, it should be in Gaelic. His prestige and control over the population secured his position. The children of the people who originated and organized the program were excluded because they did not "have the Gaelic."

Another problem which is beginning to stem from the use of Gaelic as the language of religion is the difficulty of securing a minister. Traditionally, it was an ideal to send a son to study for the ministry. This ideal remains, but in the last few years only one young man from Skye has shown a desire to become a minister. Indeed, the majority of ministers on Skye are not Skyemen. I believe the only minister who serves his own neighborhood, the neighborhood in which he was born and raised, is the Free Presbyterian minister in Glendale. It is becoming more and more difficult to fill charges as they go vacant. Each year several Highland charges are changed from "Gaelic essential" to "Gaelic preferred." If we go beyond the role of religion as it orders human relationships, through its more formal aspects, and consider the influence of religion on the secular behavior of the Sgriathanach, we can come closer to an understanding of why the youth are slowly turning away. At the same time we shall be able to round out our picture of the expression given to the Presbyterian ethic on Skye.

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The Presbyterian Ethic

Asceticism, of the sort discussed by Kroeber, is a fundamental feature of the expression given to the Presbyterian ethic by the Sgriathanach.[20] The deliberate practice of austerity, first noted at the time of the Revival under the lay religious brotherhood of the "Men" of Skye, and the willful abstinence from sensory pleasures, which has become a religious sanction for the hardships and economic limitations which accompany crofting, have received social enforcement. This is a well known ideal of Puritanism.[21] It is not, of course, restricted to Western tradition. The Melanesians of Manus, until Margaret Mead's recent study, were described as "censorious, joyless, vindictive, burdened with a sense of the world's wickedness."[22] I have not seen her complete report, but they seem to have changed. A parallel closer to Skye is found in Wales. There, too, abstinence, restraint, and negation are typical traits.[23] On Skye, as in Wales, asceticism is a by-product of previous experience and a consequence of a dynamic revival movement.

The world is the enemy of Christ. As one minister said, "The world situation continues to deteriorate and the God of this world increases his many schemes for ensuring

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[20] Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 598

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., p. 599

[23] Rees, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

that young sinners will not escape from his kingdom." 785 779
Another of the same church expressed himself, "One is constrained to look upon this world as a great battlefield between Christ and the devil and between grace and sin. In our day the kingdom of darkness is carrying everything before it; the Prince of the kingdom of darkness is the god of this world." This attitude is not, however, carried to the extreme that characterizes the Old Order Amish in their determination to "Be not conformed to this world."[24] On Skye, the position is rather that the church, as Christ's witness, must resist the encroachment of worldly pursuits. In a world which is moving as fast as ours, the success 888 626 794 of the resistance of the church is indicative of the hold of the pillars of the faith, the venerable old man, over the group. We have learned how the prestige status of the [554] "elect" and the elders stems from their high position in the esoteric religious hierarchy, and how, through their power to withhold the sacraments, they enforce social control. When the elders sit in judgment of the father whohas come to ask that his child be baptized, or the person who thinks he has experienced a "saving change," they base their estimation of him on his non-religious behavior as much as his knowledge of the tenets of the faith. He must [785] not only attend church regularly and conduct family worship; he must also deny himself all pleasures of a frivolous nature.

[24]Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, p. 1

The man who seeks sensory pleasures and finds enjoyment in 785 779
mundane recreation is believed to be spiritually unenlightened. It seems almost an anticlimax to add that social life is restricted.

Beyond the Highlands and, indeed, within the Highlands 771 883 571
in certain prosperous areas, where poverty has not been a factor of such importance that it requires religious sanction, the Church of Scotland has endeavored to find room within the church for recreational activities, especially for the youth. As in America, the church feels a responsibility to the youth which requires a combination of religion and recreation if the citizens of the community are to be well-rounded adults. Youth programs and youth clubs, young adult groups, and social circles for the older men and women are an essential part of church work. In 794 571
an organizational sense, the Church of Scotland on Skye has, at the most, a Woman's Guild which meets once a month to hear a lecture on a topic such as missionary work in India, and which holds an occasional sale of work to reduce the church debt or buy the minister an electric tea kettle to keep in his vestry; and a choir, which meets once a week for rehearsal. It is, as I have said before, not the overall policy of the church which determines the activities in which the people participate or which they reject. The 888 561 626
elders are the prime movers. Were the youth in Kilmuir anyone under thirty, instead of anyone under forty, the control of the aged might not be as strong as it is. In

the Outer Isles, an area of recent depopulation, there are 888
enough youth to resist the dictates of their elders.[25] If 561
they cannot have a dance in a hall, they hold their dance 626
on a plank bridge. In Kilmuir the crofters are looking forward to "Effectual Calling." To defy the elders, or allow their children to run counter to the wishes of the elders, would mean a loss of all hope for salvation.

For the majority of crofters, any form of amusement 785 795
is objectionable, but there are slight differences among the affiliates of the several sects. The Church of Scotland is the most lenient. For adherents, concerts, film shows and similar organized forms of entertainment may be admissible, especially if they are held outside the neighborhood. There [548] is a "picture bus" from Kilmuir to Portree on Wednesday and [346] Saturday night. Sports activities are often considered [526] as wholesome outlets for the youth. Some of the ministers, feel the lack of social contact with their people and believe they might do some good by taking part in life outside the pulpit. The Church of Scotland minister in Kilmuir occasionally attends the Crofters' Club, the only secular activity admitted in the neighborhood. Significantly, Free Church opinion, although the voice of a minority, has prohibited the playing of pipes and recitals of the Gaelic Choir at the annual agricultural show. The Church of Scotland minister in Sleat has taken a hand in the village hall. Unorganized dances are condemned. This is not because dancing [535]

[25]Darling and Morley, op. cit., pp. 21-24.

is a sin but because of the excessive drinking and immorality 785 795
which might result from a promiscuous gathering. Organized [535]
dances are, in general, not objectionable. Nevertheless, in spite of the attitudes of the people to these secular activities, the Church of Scotland crofter behaves in much the same way as his neighbor who adheres to another sect. The elders of the [888] other sects have an influence over everyone in the neighborhood. [554] Every man must ask himself, "What will my neighbors say?"

The Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church people 785 795
condemn any and all social gatherings where songs, stories, 571 574
or other diversions are admitted. When people visit, they are expected to remain circumspect in behavior. They may discuss their problems and gossip about their neighbors or the wicked newcomers. They may engage in cooperative or individual work. They may eat together in the home. They may not engage [269] in such activities outside the home. Religion on Skye for 785 795
the majority has centered attention on the home. Let us look 575
at some of the activities which are condemned. There is the Woman's Rural Institute, an organized woman's club dedicated to stimulating home industries in rural areas and providing educational programs, especially demonstrations and lectures on domestic arts. One meeting, for example, at Uig, not far from Kilmuir, was addressed by a school teacher on the subject of Highland Folklore. He was followed by a knitting contest and tea. Youth Clubs and Young Farmers Clubs do not exist, except in Kilmuir where the Young Farmers Club is under the Crofters' Club, and, of course, in Portree. Village halls are dens of iniquity. While we were on Skye one was built

at Skeabost. A minister drove by one day and said to the 785
workmen, "Don't you know you're building a house for the Devil?" 795
One of the laborers, a Lowlander, replied, "It's a good thing 575
we have a place to keep him." The Order of the Eastern Star
and the Masons are condemned because, while they are religious,
they are secret orders. Even if the person's religion did not
stand in the way of his becoming a Mason, his distrust of
mystery probably would. As one young fellow said one night in
the bar when being chaffed about the Masons, "I'm not going
to join any secret organization until I know what the secret is."

Included among the objectionable activities by these two 785
churches are the traditional Highland Games, held each year 795
at Portree in August, probably about the time of the old Saint's 541
Fair. The day is a school holiday. Aside from New Years, it
is the big occasion of the year. People come in from all
over the Island. Few of the Skyemen actively take part in [526]
the contests of tossing the caber and throwing the stone, or
in the piping and dancing competitions, but they look forward
to the event. It gives them an opportunity to see their [571]
"friends" and join them in the pub for a dram. Although the [293]
ministers disapppprve, they lack the backing of the "elect," so
the games go on each year. I hasten to add that they have
lost much of their appeal in recent years, but I am told that
this is due to the fact that the clique who runs the Skye
Council of Social Service has, in an effort to attract tourists
early in the season, set up Skye Week in May. Included in
the Skye Week program are Highland Games. I might also add

that the people of Skye, including many of the newcomers, 785
have not been favorably impressed by Skye Week. The consensus 795
is that it is not representative of Skye. For the Sgiathanach 541
the Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and
similar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree. 369
Here the members and the adherents of the Church of Scotland 795
partake of a number of recreational activities. In the winter 52
there is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer [526]
there is a little golf and tennis. The limitations are not [529]
religious; they are climatic. Then, too, there is shinty.
We have already noted the existence of many clubs. There are [535]
regular dances. Moving pictures take place twice a week. [541]
All of these activities are run by newcomers; the Skyemen have [167]
a more or less passive role. The "elect" of the two smaller 795
sects are, to say the least, very much disturbed by these 794
frivolities. What is worse, the children attend the dances 626
and the concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find 883
enough solidarity among those of their own age grade to out- 52
weigh the threats of their elders. Apparently they find
enough security to be unaffected by the stern denunciations of
the minister from the pulpit. When they marry, however, they 794
have to recast the pattern of their behavior, for now the 883
elders are in a position to exercise control by withholding 626
baptism from their children. Some may turn to the Church of
Scotland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glendale the 883
control by the aged is complete. There is not a single activity 883
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[541]

at which the youth can join together as a sodality; hence, they 883
hardly ever have a chance to question the control of the "elect." 883
Only once in recent years has the control of the old people 626
been criticized. After World War II, the men who returned to 578
the neighborhood wanted to erect a village hall. This threatened 883
both family unity and the solidarity of the neighborhood. 883
The young people were divided between the time honored obligation 626
to honor their parents and their own desires for a fuller life.
The parents were torn between religious beliefs and their
affection for their children. The minister and his elders
were faced with a situation which threatened the fundamental
tenets of the faith and the continued ability of the religious
expression to sanction the existing order. How strong are age
controls? The youth did not get their village hall. Many of [167]
them left Skye for the Lowlands where social life is less
restricted.

The difficulty is that until, say, forty years ago the 178
traditional outlets were sufficient. Middle-aged people 883
remember how the youth used to drop in on the old widow for 177
a visit on an evening and then make their way off in couples 52
for a bit of courting. Two World Wars and the continuing
program of National Service, not to speak of the influence of
the schools, have given the youth a new perspective. They
have spent one or two years in an environment where recreational
activities are considered not only innocent but also wholesome.
The radio and magazines have contributed to the demands of the
youth for amusements. As if this were not enough, there are

several agencies who have taken the task of bringing movies 178
to the remote crofters in the belief that the Highlander is 883
more likely to stay if he has a share in the life of the 177
Lowlander and the Englishman. These agencies want to "create" 52
a more adequate social organization."

Out of boredom, some young men try to add some spirit 273
to their lives by turning to "the drink." Although the 779
religion of the Skyeman is strikingly similar to that of
the rural dweller in Wales, I found the Welshman and the
Sgiathanach have quite different views on the subject of
temperance.[26] All churches support temperance, from the
pulpit and from the kirk collections, but abstinence or
prohibition has never been accepted. Perhaps, their main
reason for consistently rejecting the idea is their wont
to base many of their decisions on Biblical directions.
There can be nothing inherently wrong in the infallible Word
of God. Then, too, to the Sgiathanach, whiskey is not Scotch; 273
it is the "water of life." The importance attached to the
dram can be judged from its functions at birth, marriage,
and death. It is also the means of thanking a man for doing
a favor which cannot be repaid. Thus, while abstinence is
a major religious tenet for the Welsh, temperance is the
aim of the Skyeman.

The temperance movement has had an effect, all over 275
Scotland. The "pubs" are no more than a long bar set in a 185
bare room. Young men who have spent time in England, where
the local "pub" is a closely knit club for the villagers, frequently

[26] Rees, op. cit., p. 127

contrast the friendly and homely atmosphere of the English 27
"pub" with the austerity of the public bar on Skye. The same 18
man who went into the "Coach and Four" to play a game of
darts and sing a few songs over his pint of beer goes down
to the local hotel bar on Skye to toss off his dram, follow
it with a pint of beer, and chaff his neighbors. "There is
nothing else to do." Skye exiles in Glasgow, and not only 275
the youngest of them, often complain about the lack of 167
opportunity for social intercourse at home. What they really 571
mean is that "there is nothing else to do" unless they do
not care about the reaction of their "people and friends."
Moreover, they may want to return some day to stay, and,
then, they will have to face the judgment of the old men in
their neighborhood.

Another contrast of the Welsh and the Sgiathanach can 52
be found in their respective attitudes towards gambling.
Traditionally, both enjoyed forms of recreation in which
competition plays a major part, but the Welshman today does
little gambling, implicitly because of his religious outlook.[27]
The Sgiathanach, too, is not an open gambler, but the football
pools find many interested individuals on the Misty Isle.
There was, for example, the deacon in one church who forgot he
had a meeting to attend. Much to his dismay, when another
member of the kirk stopped by to see why he was late, he was
busy filling out his football coupon. Dissimilarities, of 71
course, are not particularly significant. In both regions

[27] Ibid.

ons? Certainly not the kirk session. But since they 794
a common tradition, which is reinforced by interaction 795
tual respect, the elders impose more or less common 626
rds. The norms are the by-product of the history of
If there was cleavage, might not the behavior of the
begin to diverge? In Kilmuir there are three sects. 795
them have churches. The Church of Scotland is in the 796
ty. The Free Presbyterians are a definite minority;
k there is only one family of them. Although several
ers of the Church of Scotland have begun to follow
ample of the national church elsewhere in Scotland and
ate Christmas, at least on an appropriate Sunday,
is no Christmas in Kilmuir any more than there is in
le. The custom is said to be "popish." Naturally,
birth of Christ is not celebrated, his rebirth cannot
memorated at Easter. All churches, on the other hand,
ate New Years, which is also the traditional time to
ge gifts among members of the family. It is a time
ense. After midnight the people of the townships 796
ce "first footing." Until early in the morning, the [273]
make their rounds exchanging visits and toasting one
r and the New Year with whiskey, for the men, and wine,
e women. The people of Kilmuir are noted for their 571
relationships. "You have to watch what you say up 602
" I was told, "they're all relatives and friends of
ther."

he situation in Portree for the Sgiathanach is much the 400

icism is fundamental to the peoples' lives. A brief 785
ssion of the Sabbath will serve to conclude my discussion 796
ligion and to indicate some additional difficulties which 128
sgiathanach faces in his attempt to preserve his culture.
Sunday does not exist on Skye. There is the "Continental 796
y" and the Sabbath. On any other day of the week, the 576
ing is, "It's a fine day," or, more often, "It's a wet
The Sabbath, however, is "no day to be speaking of 576
" Keeping the Sabbath is almost a fetish among the
e. It is a readily observable test of an individual's
ious capacity. All unnecessary work, all unnecessary
, and all unnecessary thought is taboo. Only the
t minimum of worldly activities are permissible. This
not mean a day spent in idleness; the time should be
in public worship at the kirk, private spiritual con-
ation and family worship. The Skyeman's estimation of 183
comer may depend on his keeping the Sabbath. One man
ery surprised to learn how long a memory the people have
a man deviates from the expected. A visitor asked a
er what kind of a man a certain newcomer to Kilmuir
to which the crofter replied, "He's all right, except
ears ago he played the pipes on the Sabbath." Most
mers, including the few Catholics, respect the Sabbath.
No crofter would ever think of doing any work on this 461
eyond feeding his cattle as an act of mercy. After 231
of rain, the crop of oats or hay may be ready for 796 241
sting on the Sabbath, but he will not touch it. A man

796 may need just one more dry day to finish his harvest. If the
241 next day is the Sabbath, his one dry day may be two or three
weeks away and the hay a sodden heap. Nor did the Sgiathanach,
or any newcomer with a croft, change during the war despite
all the pleas of the government for full agricultural pro-
796 duction. This is the one time that the Older Order Amish
slogan "And be not conformed to this world" fully applies
to the island. Circumspect behavior on this day functions
to remind the people of all the negations and all the sanctions
which religion has bestowed on the culture.

178 As in the case of Communions, there has been a gradual
796 lessening of the importance of Sabbitarianism, especially
since the return of many young men and women from the war.
369 Again, the rather spontaneous relaxation of the rules is
most common in Portree. It does not have the encouragement
of the ministers of any church nor the elders of any church,
622 except the Church of Scotland. Thirty or forty years ago
the ministers and the lay kirk officers had enough influence
to stop the running of trains throughout the western Highlands,
shipping in the Western Isles, and the Kyle-Kyleakin ferry
482 on the Sabbath. Public transportation is still at a stand-
204 still on the first day of the week, but the Sunday papers
appear in Portree after the evening services, despite all the
efforts of the ministers. They come by car from Inverness, by
row boat across the strait, and by car to the village.

178 Before the war no one in Portree would let their
796 children out of the house, except to go to church with their
857

parents and to Sabbath school, nor would they allow children 178
to play games in the home. Today the children of the Church 796
of Scotland people are allowed to go for a walk, read, or 857
play games. Tourists, frequently, if not always, intolerant 484
of the strict Sabbath, have no doubt contributed to this 178
relaxation of taboos. Although a further development of the 796
tourist industry would be advantageous economically, tourists
are a threat not only to the Sabbath but also to the whole
religious complex. They set examples which the youth are
only too ready to emulate. Before the war every hotel on 485
the Island, including all in Portree, and every boarding 796
house posted notices requesting visitors to refrain from
using their cars for touring on the Sabbath. In many of the
guest homes the request was the equivalent of a warning of
removal. Today the signs are gone. Still not content, the
tourist agencies in England and the Lowlands continue to make
snide remarks in their literature, suggesting "a little more
tolerance is needed in certain quarters." The youth and some 178
adults of Portree now have begun to go off for a drive around 796
the island. One reason why the Sabbath is still strong in 484
Kilmuir and Glendale is that tourists are not accepted in
either district.

Strict Sabbath observance distinguishes three broad 796
groups on the Island. Portree is set apart from the crofters 565
by laxity, and the county people are set apart from the 349
crofters by using the day for visiting and having afternoon 571
teas together. The gentry, of course, are not under the

control of the "elect" crofters. They, are the "elect," 796
and their status is independent of the control of the vener- 565
able old men. 626
584

Summary

Whereas the culture of the Sgiathanach was oriented 771
around the clan system in the remote past and was intelli- 178
gible only by an awareness of the all-pervasive influence
of the clan, today congregational religion provides the
focus for the culture. If we are to understand the Sgiathanach 121
we must fathom his religion, that is, the interpretation
which he has given to Calvinism. Moreover, this highly 182
integrated and systematized aspect of his culture has pro- 771
vided the means for preserving cultural continuity. Economics
and social organization aid us in recognizing how cultural
continuity has been maintained. Religion puts at our finger
tips the how and the why.

The basic status values have held good because religion 771
has sanctioned them. The old men of the neighborhood have 554
been successful in sustaining their statuses and habits 183
through their position in the esoteric religious hierarchy. 626
By holding the father responsible for the spiritual welfare 593
of his family, and judging a man's spiritual enlightenment
on his renunciation of mundane pleasures as well as his
knowledge of religious tenets, the elders exercise judicial
and authoritarian functions. At the same time, the status 593
of the father within the family is strengthened. After a

man is no longer concerned with the necessity of having his 771
children baptized, the venerable old men, the family-head 554
elders, prolong their social control by sitting in judgment 183
on those who seek salvation. The strength of age controls 626
is indicated by the continued ability of the elders to resist 170
all attempts to introduce secular innovations to the crofting
neighborhoods. Even in Portree the majority of the people
are under the watchful eyes of the old men.

Many of the meaningful patterns of interaction are 771
religious. The rites of passage function to augment social 182
control, restore disturbed equilibriums, and establish new 626
ascribed statuses. The rites of intensification, including
those associated with death, function to restore disturbed
patterns of interaction in the family, nuclear and extended,
and the larger social groups and to establish meaningful
relationships when large congregations gather for the
celebration of communion. Religion for the majority is not 771
merely dependent on attending church on the Sabbath and 782
attending Wednesday night prayer meetings. Every day of
the week begins with a prayer and ends with family worship.
All social activity outside the home is ideally limited to 52
the church, and the church is never used for mundane activity.
Only in Portree are there a number of social activities to 349
tempt the people. Kilmuir has no more than a Crofters' 573
Club for men, and Glendale has no social activities, unless
one would include the annual meeting of the share holders
in the farm.

Although asceticism, epitomized in Sabbatarianism, is a marked characteristic of the expression of the Presbyterian ethic, it is not completely negative. It is one of the means for sustaining cultural continuity. Religion has centered on the home and family. It has preserved the Gaelic. There have been significant changes in the content of the culture, but by using asceticism as an observable test of spiritual enlightenment the limitations of the socio-economic life have been sanctioned. The form, the basic configuration, of the culture is still recognizable.

771 785 182 [178]

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

My intention in writing this present study has been to inquire whether or not marked population growth and decline is a criterion of cultural discontinuity. To this end we have spanned more than two centuries of the culture history of the Isle of Skye. As we proceeded from a description of the configuration of the culture as it was in the days of the clan, to a narration of the perpetuations and modifications of the content of the culture during four periods of the modern epoch, and finally to an account of the contemporary culture, we have been constantly aware of the swing of the population pendulum. Throughout this study I have attempted to analyze the available facts for evidence which would indicate not only cultural but also social disintegration. In this final chapter I shall draw the sundry threads of my running commentary together to support the aforesaid conclusion that population change is not a criterion of cultural discontinuity.

121 [128]

The Population Cycle

In as much as my purpose is to evaluate cultural continuity within the framework of population change, let me first briefly review the changing size and structure of the population.

[128]

Beginning with a population which is believed to have been relatively stable due to recurrent crises, including epidemics, famines, and wars, the pendulum of population growth and decline for the Sgiathanach has been found to be highly responsive to cultural innovations and social adjustments. Between 1750 and 1841 the Skyemen increased in numbers from 10,671 to 23,074, an increase of more than 100 percent. From 1851 to 1951 the population has steadily decreased from 22,536 to 8,603, a decrease of 62 percent from maximum. Associated with the decline were changes in the age structure. In 1861 34 percent of the population was under fifteen and only seven percent was over sixty-five; today only 22 percent of the population is under fifteen while 19 percent is over sixty-five. How can we account for these changes, or, more correctly, how can we account for the changes in the birth, death, and emigration rates?

161 161 162

Broadly speaking, the increase was favored by the direct and indirect involvement of the Sgiathanach in the process of commercialization, with all of its associated consequences. One by one, the natural checks on population growth declined in importance. The pressure on the means of subsistence was eased. The former clan chiefs, preferring the society of Edinburgh and London, absented themselves. After converting rents from kind to money, they provoked the withdrawal of the tacksmen by resorting to rackrenting. The former clansmen, who became joint-tenants, received a larger share in the land and were freed from the obligation of feeding both their own families and those of the superiors. At the same time the

161 161 175 178 161 175 178 427

acceptance of the potato, a much more productive and dependable subsistence item than grain on Skye, made it possible for more people to live on less land. The introduction of a new industry, kelping, provided many with employment and freed them from complete dependence on a subsistence economy. Vaccination reduced the mortality rate, especially among infants whose chances of reaching maturity and procreating were thus enhanced. Another important factor was the Skyeman's share in the general prosperity of British agriculturalists during the early years of the Industrial Revolution and during the Napoleonic Wars. An especially important factor was the practice of subdividing the land which made early marriage possible, in particular after the installation of the crofting system. Finally, but by no means least significant, there was the persistence of many typical features of the culture in the days of the clan. The sentimental ties of kinship and attachment to the soil had remained.

161 175 178 182 [423] [592]

The population decrease, partially a result of the Skyeman's involvement in the process of commercialization, was primarily a result of a failure to fully adjust to the higher, more heterogeneous socio-economic level. By the end of the second period of the modern epoch, 1845, the people had become hostages to the potato and their own fertility. When the potato failed them, they had nothing to fall back upon, except the generosity of their landlords. The cattle and kelp markets had collapsed at the end of the Wars, and the subdivided land could not produce sufficient grain. The belief of many that the population had over-run the limited local resources was confirmed.

161 175 178 184

Additional modifications have been found in the division 178 182
of labor. Although no Skyeman has shown a disposition to assume [162]
responsibility for domestic work, unless he lives alone, the
women of Skye are expected to function in roles which once were
filled exclusively by men. Old men and women for many years [561]
now have continued to perform tasks which formerly were their
duties as youths and young adults. These changes, like those
we have reviewed, are partially traceable to an incomplete
adjustment to the contractual, commercial world. This has led [162]
to striking alterations in the age structure of the population
for it is the youth who forsake the island and the aged who
yearn to return. Nevertheless, there have been no observable [554]
changes in the status system of the rural neighborhoods.
Primitive democracy, distinguished from our form of democracy 621
by the principle of unanimous consent rather than majority rule, 554 182
continues to operate in the townships. The existence of such
an institution implies a maximum of equality co-existing with
a minimum of authority. The continued ability of the crofters
to maintain primitive democracy in a nation like Great Britain
is possible only because there is a high degree of social
integration. The simple system of ranking, on the basis of [561]
age and sex, has persisted. Men are the social superiors of [562]
women; old men are the social superiors of their juniors. I
believe we shall understand how continuity of status has been
preserved if we turn to a consideration of the role of religion
on the island.

If I am right in asserting that a belief in clan brother- 178 182
hood was an all pervading cultural pattern in bygone days and 614

that the clan ceased to provide a focus for the culture almost 178 182
two centuries ago, the reader may ask how can a culture without 614
a focus find continuity, how can a culture without a central
theme, something around which to orient itself, achieve inte-
gration? Religion provides the answer. Congregational religion [771]
has taken the place of the clan.

The acceptance of the new religious focus curtailed 178
many traits and complexes characteristic of the old culture. 182 771
This is why the older folktales, songs and superstitions, the
festive celebrations held at times of birth, baptism, marriage,
and death, the traditional social patterns of visiting, and
all frivolous activities were abandoned or modified. In a
time of acute distress the Sgiathanach turned to religion
as a means of consolation. His religion required circumspect
behavior. Perhaps, the sheer impossibility of supporting the
traditional forms of social interaction had forced a change in
cultural content when the religious leaders placed these forms
under censure. I have suggested that religion did no more than
sanction poverty. This much is certain: religion provided the
means for the culture to maintain its continued distinctiveness.
The Scots of the Presbyterian image of the days of Knox, of [795]
the times of the Covenanters, and the year of the Glorious
Revolution continue to exert their influence on the Sgiathanach.
While the ministers and the venerable old men of the laity
stamped out all practices which they considered pagan or
Catholic, as well as modifying the social aspect of the culture,
the process was not completely negative. The religious expression

377

sanctioned the qualities which had given the people their characteristic strength of character. 178 182 771

The churches of Skye made conservatism an official policy in 1843, and in 1892 reaffirmed this policy. For well over 100 years religion has had a strength and vitality which has enabled the Skyeman to pass through times of extreme distress, not to mention chronic economic deficiencies. Among the most important religious sanctions are those which reinforce the status values of the culture. The father's status in the nuclear family was reaffirmed at a time when his socio-economic importance was declining. He has been held responsible for the spiritual welfare of his wife and children. The prestige of the old men, the family-head elders, and their control over the neighborhood group was similarly bolstered by making them the judges of a man's spiritual enlightenment. Spiritual enlightenment is weighed on a scale which will not balance unless a person's religious knowledge is matched by conformity to the ways the old men think a man should behave. Again we are not dealing with a completely negative attitude. In the place of frivolous amusements, religion has offered highly emotional, spiritual patterns of behavior. Religion has preserved the Gaelic language by using it in formal worship and within the home for family worship. In these and other ways religion has indeed enabled the culture to achieve a reorientation and maintain its continuity.

182 554 771 593 182 554 771 888 182 771 [181] [191]

How similar Skye is to the Old Order Amish in this respect.[3]

[3] Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

378

Both have remained devoted to the old tradition which is epitomized by their religion. Further, they are each bound together by a common language and vocation and by strong ties of consanguinity and affinity. Moreover, the Sgiathanach and the Amish have similarly rejected the deviant. On Skye emigration has affected all levels of social organization, the conjugal family, the extended family, the township, the neighborhood and village, and the community. Still the Amish and the Skyemen have maintained social and cultural integration. Standing in a contrasting position is the town of Landaff, New Hampshire.[4] Although Skye and Landaff have experienced similar trends, including an original ecological adaptation, disturbance resulting from population pressure, an unsuccessful attempt to meet the crisis through commercialization, and a chronic high rate of emigration, especially by the youth, Landaff has been described as an example of social instability and cultural disintegration.[5] The farmer of Landaff remained only as long as his interests were compatible with those of his neighbors, and local opportunities existed to satisfy his ambitions. He had no attachment for the land to offset the inadequacies of persistent economic limitations. He abandoned the associations which had supported the community by giving the group a sense of security.

182 771 [181] [167]

Like European peasants in general the Skye crofter has lost his former self-sufficiency and political autonomy, but he has retained a strong attachment for the land and its

[4] MacLeish and Young, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Landaff, New Hampshire.

[5] Ibid., pp. 113-117

mbers of a society, become more or less numerous. Their 121
tegration is measured by their interaction, their degree
contact, and their ability to exercise social control over
members of the group. In short, social integration depends
the strength of the network of relations which binds the
oup together into an organized whole.

Cultures have been studied in an organization-disorgan-
ation framework,[1] and they have been appraised in an
ganization-readaptation framework.[2] The reported presence
absence of cultural disorganization, a disturbance of the
stematic structure, has depended on the theoretical position
the investigator. Although both approaches require a
nsideration of cultural stability and continuity, the con-
usions reached have depended upon whether or not the social
ientist is willing to look for higher levels of organ-
ation instead of using only the perspective of the culture
it supposedly existed in the past. Simple, isolated,
nship oriented cultures need not disappear when brought into
ntact with complex, contractual cultures. They can find a
adaptation. But if they fail to maintain a genuine degree
continuity, by placing a value on their heritage, they
sintegrate, the basic pattern becomes fragmented, and they
sappear.

Finally, the concept of anomie can be employed to
aluate social disorganization, and I believe that an absence

[1]Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan.

[2]Lewis, Life in a Mexican Village; and Steward, Area
search, pp. 126-149.

of anomie is an additional support for my position. With 121
these theoretical assumptions in mind, we are prepared for
a final interpenetration of the culture of the Sgiathanach.

Evidence for Cultural Continuity

If I were to view the Isle of Skye from the single 178
perspective of the culture as it functioned two hundred years 182
ago, in an organization-disorganization framework, I might
logically argue that there is evidence for cultural disorgan-
ization. The clan system, which had pervaded all aspects
of the culture, was rendered inoperative by the intolerance
of the British government and the cupidity of the patriarchs.
Land tenure was divorced from considerations of reciprocal
dependence and real or fictitious kinship. The contractual
principles of the wider commercial society, in which the
landlords found a more satisfactory status, were introduced.
In time, the customary rights of the tacksmen, who had supported
the structure of the clan, and the former clansmen were
questioned and repudiated. The older folktales, songs, and
many of the superstitions were obliterated. The traditional
religious and secular festivities associated with events in the
life cycle were abandoned or allowed to survive in a much
modified form. The traditional customs of cooperating and
visiting were either altered or disregarded. The list of
traits and complexes which were dropped from the content of
the culture could be continued. It is, indeed, a long one,
and it includes elements from every aspect of the culture. If

I were to adapt this argument, I might even be convincing
my dissertation would have a fallacious conclusion. Emph
irreparable cultural disorganization is not a characteris
the culture history of Skye.

Continuity has been maintained through a reintegrat
In part, Skye has made an adjustment to the higher socio-
organization of Great Britain and Western Civilization.
phase of the culture's readaptation, however, is an incom
adjustment. The Sgiathanach has remained enisled geograp
and culturally. A readaptation has also been made in the
traditional culture.

The national culture has played no insignificant ro
the readaptation. Parliament turned back the process of
mercialization in 1886 and undertook to rechannel the tre
toward ever increasing commercialization of the land, ult
mately leading to the socialization of the land. The ess
the old system of land use and tenure were not only reaff
but also given legal sanction to insure their stability.
nation confirmed the customary usages. In many townships
in whole neighborhoods the crofting system was restored.
far as the Sgiathanach is concerned, he has never known a
other economic structure than communal use and tenure of
land. There are only three significant differences betwe
runrig farm, whether the farm was a tacksman's or the com
holding of several joint-tenants, and the crofting townsh
The arable acreage is held in compact, permanent blocks i
of dispersed and shifting strips; the crofter pays a mone
rent in place of goods in kind and services; and national

of tenure function to protect the individual from potential abuses by a landlord where customary usages once fulfilled the need. Moreover, even though the tenure of the cultivated soil grants all the rights of a landholder, including the rights to bequeath the house and land to a member of one's family, for more than half the year it is used communally.

The Sgiathanach has never adjusted sufficiently to become a specialist, not even a specialized grazier. For him the land has always had a more fundamental value than merely being a means of livelihood. It is the ancestral home. There is a sentimental attachment to the land which is an expression of the affectionate bonds of kinship. The people have never lost the tribal tie of the land and the group. Although the former patriarchs disclaimed any sympathy with this point of view, the landlords on Skye today have kept what little land they have only because of its sentimental value. Indeed the attitude of the largest landholder, the government of Scotland, is that the crofting tradition is worth while preserving, if for no other reason, because in the predominantly urban and industrial civilization it has a romantic value. There are other reasons. The Islands have long been looked upon as a human reservoir for the armed forces, and, more recently, for Lowland industry.

As a result of their partial adjustment to the higher socio-cultural level, there have been changes in crops and stock. The British market has influenced the crofters' output, within ecological limitations. The old subsistence crops of oats and

barley have been replaced by grass and hay. Conceivably, this is a more complete adjustment to the environment, which has been made possible by integration with a commercial economy, than an adjustment to the demands of the outside world. Whereas the objective of the local economy once was the export of cattle, today the purpose is the breeding of cattle and sheep for the national markets. We have seen that there are a host of limitations and difficulties in the economic aspect of the culture. Many of these are due to the persistence of conservative practices. Each crofter must keep pace with his tradition-practicing neighbors, with the old men of the township. Others are the result of an inhospitable environment. The economy does not run smoothly, but this is not conclusive evidence for disorganization. Integration does not mean smooth functioning. In the spring and autumn the crofter is confronted with a variety and succession of tasks which would fill a specialist with dismay. Very often, these pastoral and agricultural chores have to be carried on in conjunction with outside employment. In return for his labor, the crofter receives a meager income, frequently supplemented by contributions from his children or the government. As a further result of the partial adjustment to the wider society and culture, the people leave the island to seek employment and to achieve an upward mobility impossible on Skye. Economically, Skye, along with most of the Highlands, may be viewed as presenting a picture of the Lowlands of Scotland 200 years ago. That is the extent of the economic adaptation of the Sgiathanach to the national culture.

The growth of the population ended with a prolonged famine. 161
The proprietors, finding that the people's only justification [731]
for crowding the estates and looking to their landlords for [427]
help were some nebulous customary usages, facilitated the
decline by disregarding custom and throwing as much land into
sheep farming as was possible. While evictions were not new, [427]
only after the famine did they result in an absolute reduction
in numbers. The Sgiathanach, fettered by a lack of capital [182]
and an inability to break with the past, could not make the
final adjustment required by the process of commercialization,
specialization. In addition to emigration, the Clearances [167]
and general economic hardship forced a postponement of [582]
marriage. There was neither land nor regular employment to [464]
provide a livelihood.

Later in the nineteenth century new influences began 161
to play a role in the continuing decline of the population. 167
Following the passage of the Crofters' Act, the nature of 178
emigration changed. Seasonal migration became negligible. 427
The provisions of the Act, and ensuing legislation, made it 671
possible for a man to remain away during his active years and
return to the parental croft to spend his old age. The ex- [871]
tention of education not only equipped the youth for life in
the larger society but also created demands for objectives
which could not be attained at home under the existing order.
Thus, as in the period of population growth, the persistence of 161
many features of the old traditional culture, and the renewed 167
importance of others, were factors of no little consequence. 182

On the one hand, they stimulated emigration, because the only means of achieving upward mobility was through outward mobility. On the other hand they deterred a complete abandonment of a way of life which offered so few material rewards. This brings us face to face with the problem of cultural continuity. 161 167 182

Cultural Continuity on the Isle of Skye
A Restatement of Theoretical Considerations

In the opening chapter, I presented a series of theoretical assumptions on which I have based my analysis of the evidence for cultural continuity on the Isle of Skye. A review of my presuppositions and my approach to the problem may expedite my final quest for proof that marked population change is not a criterion of cultural discontinuity. 121

If society and culture are separate though complimentary concepts, cultural and social integration must be independent variables. They tend to find mutual expression, but they are not necessarily found together. Nor can they be measured by the same criteria. Cultures are considered integrated to the extent that their traits, complexes, patterns, and aspects are meaningful to the people. The content of all cultures is continually modified by the disappearance of once characteristic trait complexes and the addition of new ones. Old ways of doing things lose meaning and are disregarded; innovations find acceptance and are given meaning within the configuration of the culture. The form of the culture, its essential distinctiveness, persists. The carriers of a culture, or the

182 group.[6] He has maintained cultural integration and continu
771 At the same time his conservative religion has not gone qu
as far as the Amish Order.[7] The Sgiathanach has rejected o
those patterns which would disturb the equilibrium of life
[161] the neighborhood. The penalty for his failure to complete
adjust is depopulation; others, like the people of Yap and
Aleuts, are paying a similar penalty.[8]

Further Evidence for Cultural Continuity

121 Various approaches to the problem of cultural contin
can be attempted in addition to the historical approach wh
has formed the point of departure for my study. The most
would be a comparative study of two basically similar peop
the Welsh and the Irish. In the chapter entitled "The Set
and throughout this study I have called attention to the s
larities between the Skyeman, the Welshman,[9] and the Irishm
In a host of cultural features the three are strikingly id
Some of these common patterns may be remembered, for insta
the alien nature of nucleated villages, the strong patrili
emphasis, the importance of the old men, and a pastoral

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[6] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 282, 284; and Young, Sociology, p. 23

[7] Kollmorgen, op. cit., p. 1.

[8] Keesing, The South Seas in the Modern World, pp. 52 Furnas, The Anatomy of Paradise, p. 362; and Berreman, "An Aleutian Village," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 1, p

[9] Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside.

[10] Arensberg, The Irish Countryman; and Arensberg and Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland.

ligious groups." As a result of urbanization almost all 171
ral areas have experienced the pangs of social mobility and 182
w have escaped unscathed from a clash with the economic 771
rces which impinge from the outside. This predisposes the 786
ople to the appeal of an emotional religion, revivalism. 781
equently, the sect becomes uncompromising and rejects the
tside world in an attempt to bolster group security. The
quence of events on Skye enables me to add that the sect
n also reject a great deal of the former content of the
lture. Be that as it may, the authors show how emotional [571]
ligious movements restore or replace meaningful patterns
interaction among groups whose social systems have deteri-
ated. Revivalism is a counter agent for anomie.

The first period of social and cultural disequilibrium 175
ich the Sgiathanach experienced may be placed in the first 178
lf of the nineteenth century, with a climax around 1840. 771
paraphrase Loomis and Beegle, it was no mere coincidence 786
at an emotional religious movement should have appeared and 182
und so many converts. The closing years of the eighteenth
entury had witnessed numerous changes in the content of the
lture and the collapse of the old social heirarchy. While
ese events doubtlessly had an influence on all levels of
e society, it was not until the turn of the century that
ey broke forth upon the masses. Within a decade a revival
d reached effective proportions. This was a time of estate
organization. The tacksmen, the traditional leaders, were
ickly disappearing. The runrig farm was being abolished.
heep were beginning to replace men in one parish (Bracadale).

We know these and the other changes of this period. Significantly, 175
however, there was no simple correlation of revivalism and 178
population change. The Revival began during a time of population 182
growth and emigration; it reached effective proportions during 771
a period when emigration seems to have almost stopped; and it 786
found its culmination during years marked by destitution and
the beginning of depopulation. No purpose will be served by
repeating what I have already said about the nature of the
changes which accompanied the coming of the dynamic, evangelical
message. It is sufficient to emphasize that the ministers
and the Men reinforced the desirable fabric of the culture
and gave the culture a new focus.

The second period of anomie on Skye is less well marked.
It appeared at the end of the "Clearances." Again destitution
gripped the island. Although the vital, emotional religion
had enabled the people to bear the hardships of the "Clearances"
without overt resistance, they now openly defied the landlords
and the state. More than a series of government commissions
and committees came to Skye. A still more intense religion
loomed on the horizon to reaffirm the focus of the culture.
Once again it was no mere coincidence that the new church should
have found ready acceptance by the people in the areas of
greatest unrest, the areas which required the presence of
police and Royal Marines. It was a fact of no little signifi-
cance that the new denomination should have been founded on
the Isle of Skye, the area of greatest unrest in all the
Highlands.

Whatever signs there were of social or cultural dis- 175
organization, or threatened disintegration, in the nineteenth 178
century they have disappeared. Steward's theory that folk 182
societies do not entirely disappear but are rather modified 771
by way of a readaptation to the higher level of socio-cultural 786
organization of which they become a part is borne out by the 121
evidence from the Isle of Skye.[17] At the same time, on the
basis of events in the culture history of the Sgiathanach,
I would qualify his theory by introducing a new condition.
Isolated, relatively simple, kinship oriented societies and
cultures which must achieve a reintegration if they are to
preserve their continuity readapt, not only to the higher
socio-cultural level, but also to the older way of life.

In conclusion, I regard Skye as a community which has 178
maintained a continuity of culture despite marked population 182
change. The continued distinctiveness has been made possible [161]
by a reintegration of the culture and a restoration of the [571]
network of relationships which make for harmonious living
together. As in any socio-cultural group which has passed
through periods of threatened disintegration, the joints of
repair may be weak. Conflicts are tending to appear. The
crofter, who has refused to fully adapt to commercialism,
is seasonally faced with a variety and succession of tasks
which no agriculturalist in the wider society would tolerate.
There is the desire of the youth, who are too few in numbers
to form a sodality, for a share in the mundane pleasures of

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[17] Steward, Area Research, p. 111; see also Wagley and Harris, op. cit., p. 441.

the world. So far, rather than having an influence on the 178
norms of behavior, the youth have been faced with the decision 182
to conform or leave. Cultural continuity on Skye has been a sad experience for many and an expensive proposition for the government. The youth leave; the aged return. If additional changes are forced upon the culture, and there is no doubt in my mind that they will be, the culture and society may not be able to preserve the delicate warp and woof. The threads already hanging loose may unravel the basic fabric. Only time will tell.

At the present time, the culture is disturbing to many 181
people. The sentimentalists in the Lowlands worry about the loss of the old songs and the decay of the informal ceilidh. Agricultural economists commonly look upon the crofting system with dismay. Ministers, some of them born Skyemen, express a dislike for the form which religion takes among the Sgiathanach. Well meaning agencies are determined to create an "adequate social organization" by bringing a share of the urban recreational facilities to Skye. Government commissions and agencies take a dim view of a system of tenure which allows the aged and the absentee to hold on to the land. They advocate the severance of the house and croft and a modification of the crofter's security of tenure. If one or more of these changes are made, it may no longer be possible to conclude that the culture is growing old with the aging population. I do not believe that the culture will ever fully adjust to the national socio-cultural organization. Before it will do so, the Gael

will have made his final retreat from one of his last outposts. 181
The belief of an old minister in Glasgow, a Sgiathanach who serves his fellow exiles, that "the Gael wants out" will be confirmed.

We have now finished our exploration of the thesis 121
that marked population change is not a criterion for cultural discontinuity. If my arguments have not been convincing, I shall feel very much like another minister who served the Sgiathanach as best he could. When his worn and torn Bible fell from the pulpit during his sermon one Sabbath many years ago, he looked down at his congregation and said, "I have spent myself and my Bible on you, and you are still not converted."

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a disorganized society has the following characteristics: 121
a deterioration of the traditional patterns of interaction within the group, a low degree of social contact among the members of the group, and a loss of social control by the group over the individual members.[13] As a result, the individual is faced with a situation in which the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them become less common and clear. To restate 121 182
my position, although cultural and social integration are independent variables, the absence of this condition of normlessness is evidence that the cultural disruptions of the past have, in each case, been followed by a reintegration within the culture, as well as within the society. In other words, if the norms and sanctions are common and clear and are those of a single tradition, the absence of anomie means the individuals, as an organized aggregate bound together by a network of relationships and a sense of belongingness, are fully enculturated. Moreover, it means the culture, the socially transmitted attitudes, behavior patterns, and techniques which are distributed among the members of the society in accordance with their status positions and sub-group memberships, has maintained continuity. In order to investigate the question of anomie, let us compare my evidence from Skye with the findings of several social scientists who have worked with this concept.

Homans has used Durkheim's theory to analyze a small 171 182
New Hampshire hill farming community.[14] Hilltown, like its

[13] Durkheim, Le Suicide, pp. 272-282.

[14] Homans, The Human Group, pp. 336-367.

neighbor, Landaff, shares many features which have been found 171
to characterize the Isle of Skye. These include a similar 182
population cycle; a religion which is Calvinistic in tone; a period of religious schism; and original dependence on a subsistence economy. There are, of course, significant cultural differences between the two. The most important of these are the presence of English institutions of town government in Hilltown; the fact that the original settlers were individual nuclear families who were relatively free to develop their own reciprocal patterns without the limitations which long standing tradition might have imposed; and the "Yankee" lack of traditional attachment to the land. Obviously, it should not be forgotten that the one is a town and the other a much larger community.

Using an historical approach similar to my approach to the Sgiathanach, Homans traced the path of what he calls "community disintegration" and reached a number of conclusions about anomie. His first conclusion is that the number and strength of the sentiments that led the members of the group to collaborate had declined. There was a decrease in the number of activities that the individuals carried on together. Need for social self-sufficiency and mutual aid lessened. Schism disrupted the church. The town meeting ceased to be important. In short, the interests of the people were outside the town. His second conclusion is that there had been a decrease in the frequency of interaction in the internal sphere of activity. There was less visiting and fewer parties. Some people, especially members of the upper class, seldom saw anyone,

other than on business. The fraternal orders were gone. 171
Church attendance had become sparse and irregular. These 182
changes led to a decline in the strength of interpersonal sentiments and a feeling of indifference toward one another. His third conclusion is that these changes were followed by a "decline in the extent to which norms are common and clear." Since class membership is defined on the basis of interaction, class activities are much alike, and the interests of class members coincide. Ranking is based upon norms, in particular the status and role of leadership in community affairs. A decrease in community activity had resulted in a weakening of both norms and ranking. His last conclusion is that the changes in the intensity of everyday relationships have led to a loss of social control by the group over its members. Deviations were not punished by avoidance. All action was left to the state. Here, then, is anomie. Let us compare the contemporary behavior patterns of the Sgiathanach with the Hilltowners.

There is evidence that the Sgiathanach no longer collabo- 178
rates in group activities as much as he once did. There has 182
been a decline in the amount of cooperation in the work of crofting. In many activities, of course, the need has disappeared. The individual family can easily perform many of the tasks, such as the ploughing of a few acres of land. In some townships it has become the practice to pay the sheep club stock shareholders to insure the presence of enough men and women to handle the dippings and shearings. In others,

including almost all with private flocks, the crofters continue 178
to cooperate. The church has been broken by schism, not once 182
but four times. On Skye, however, the schisms have had as 795
their purpose conservatism, not greater leniency as in Hilltown. 182
Moreover, the schisms have been solidifying factors. The progressively more dynamic world denying sects, after a period of communal strife, have given the people an emotional unity. The crofters have become dependent on the trade-center village 182
and the wider national markets. Many must seek employment beyond the island. The interests of the Sgiathanach are not outside the neighborhood, except in so far as events from the outside affect them and, especially, to the extent that ties of kinship and religious brotherhood reach beyond the local group. We are hardly talking about the same situation as Homans. As we continue to explore this condition we may also ask has there been a decline in the frequency of interaction in the internal sphere of activity?

The old ceilidh has disappeared under clerical bann, but 182
it has been replaced by "going to have a crack," going to visit 571
and gossip with one's friends and "people." The people may 178
no longer gather to hear the old men tell stories of clan battles. They now discuss the latest local gossip and the news of the outside world. The Islander has never been given to formal [575]
social organizations; they half distrust such orders as the Masons and Eastern Star. Still there are chapters of both in Portree. In the crofting neighborhoods face to face relationships continue to preserve strong interpersonal sentiments. The [203]
postman's van and the grocer's trucks have relieved the people

from the necessity of daily calls at the post office and shop, 182
but the drivers serve the function of passing on the news of the 571
day at each stop. 203

Standing in the place of many of the traditional social 182
outlets which have disappeared or been modified, there are the 794
religious occasions for joining together as a small group. We have found the Sgiathanach to be very religious. Everyone is [794]
expected to go to church on the Sabbath, and everyone goes to church. Irregular attendance soon becomes noticed by one's neighbors, the kirk elders, and the minister. Concern over [626]
what one's neighbors may think, in itself a strong motivating factor, is reinforced by a forbidding fear of what the venerable old men may do whenever an opportunity presents itself. There are Wednesday night prayer meetings for further social intercourse. Above all, there are the semi-annual Communions which, 182
except in Sleat and Strath and one Bracadale sect, bring to- 794
gether the people of the kirk, the members of the same sect from 796
other neighborhoods, and affiliates of the denomination from the mainland. Even the adherent, the individual who has not experienced a saving change because he is not old enough, normally takes his vacation, if he is employed, at the time of the Communions in order to attend.

The decline in interpersonal religious strife does not 182
mean that strong personal sentiments are not present. No one, 571
other than the eccentric, is indifferent to his neighbors or 243
others with whom he may have dealings. The crofter and his [646]
village cousin may not bother to vote, but they closely watch [666]
and freely discuss their representatives. Gossip has retained

a tremendous strength. There are villagers who dislike the 182
crofters, but few would intentionally slight an old crofter's 571
wife because it might give her something to talk about. I 703
shall elaborate this point shortly when I come to social control.

If there had been a decrease in the frequency of inter- 182
action, the traditional norms and sanctions should have become 554
less common and clear. In particular, social ranking based 565
on leadership in communal activities should have become less [571]
definite. Although anomie, as used by Homans, is an internal condition, I shall introduce a consideration of cross-group norms in order to present a clearer picture of the status system. Despite the extreme fluidity between the county people and the members of the intermediate social heirarchy in informal clique groups, such as the bridge club, there has been no tendency to obscure the lines of cleavage. The class structure, in terms of the whole community, has remained rigid. The county people are at the apex of the prestige status and class hierarchy. They are, of course, members of a group which extends across the length and breadth of Great Britain. In any neighborhood where there is a member of the landed gentry resident, he is always looked to for leadership. In Glendale, a privately owned neighborhood, a nearby landlord is their political spokesman. In Portree the gentry have done more than uphold social ranking based on leadership; they have created and introduced new activities in which they express their role. These are the Skye Council of Social Service, the village council, and the Old People's Welfare Committee. They may be aided by others, but their decisions are the others to be followed. The gentry

maintain their position by intermarriage, by educating their 182
children in England, and by interacting with people of similar 571
status within the community and beyond. 554
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The crofters continue to stand at the opposite pole. They seldom achieve status within their neighborhood. Upward mobility is possible only through outward mobility. Leadership fails to find expression among them in the township or the neighborhood. The rare exception is the crofter's son who becomes a [715]
minister and returns to lead his people spiritually. When the [794]
crofters must select a leader, from their own number, the status is accorded to an elder of the church. The elder [794]
already has high status because of his advanced age and his position in the kirk. As I have said, the continued operation of primitive democracy means a minimum of authority and a maximum of equality.

The intermediate group in the social hierarchy cannot be 182
profitably used in this discussion. They are primarily newcomers. 554
people from the Lowlands or England, who have joined with the 565
relatively few Skyemen who have left the croft. Sufficient time 167
has not elapsed for a class oriented structure to emerge. Then, too, they are not a numerous group. Still, status is important in the village. As in the crofting neighborhood, ministers, doctors, and teachers achieve high status through their occupation. For the remainder of the population of Portree, status depends more on personal qualities and outside activities, especially in the kirk, than on the way one may make his living.

While we are on the topic of status and ranking, let us 121
554

see what Linton, the most explicit exponent of the concept of 121
status and role, has to say about societies which are faced with 554
changing conditions and disorganization.[15] Linton believes that such societies attempt to develop new social patterns by allowing individual initiative, thought, and competition free rein. They are characterized by a wealth of achievable statuses. With adjustment, ascribed statuses again become common. The con- 554
clusion seems inescapable that Skye has adjusted. Perhaps a 626
few additional illustrations will make my point clearer. The crofter who assumes a role of leadership is regarded as an eccentric, someone to poke fun at no less than the village idiot. The crofters' children who find their status too con- 554
fining must leave the island to achieve status. Some succeed, 626
to a limited degree, by moving to Portree, but they are never 167
free of suspicion. Since the majority of achieved statuses on Skye are left to newcomers, it might be said that the Sgiathanach has selected place of birth as a means to ascribe status. Not infrequently the newcomer's acceptance is followed by his being placed in roles of responsibility in both formal organizations and informal groups. The reader may remember the case of the young man from the East Coast who found himself on no less than eleven committees. In Kilmuir the people are represented on the County Council by a minister and the Crofters' Club is run by the school teacher.

I believe that the most important feature of the concept 626
of anomie is the loss of social control which is said to follow 182

[15] Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 113-131.

disequilibrium. I find it difficult to understand how any 626
group could have a low rate of interaction without a loss of 182
social control. Conversely, I feel that it is all but inconceivable that a group could continue to exercise social control without a high frequency of face to face contact. On Skye social control is a very potent factor. Gossip is a double edged weapon. It not only continues to enforce acceptance of the traditional norms by the Sgiathanach and, to a lesser extent, the newcomer but also can be used to punish the deviant. People have been known to leave the island after [167]
a deviation which rendered them inacceptable. Gossip became a source of misery from which there was no escape other than flight. Exactly how powerful the dread of gossip is in Portree can be judged from the experience of my wife and myself. We have played chaperons to people much our superiors in age. Nor can one escape gossip by secrecy. The person who remains a mystery is rejected as a deviant.

The amount and influence of social control, of course, 626
depends on the values of the Sgiathanach. Poaching is rather 685
good sport, but the theft of stock is a serious offense. The one is the concern of the police and the justices of the peace; the other is a matter which the people prefer to handle themselves. It is quite wrong to burgle a home, but theft from a shop is a different matter, especially when the store is owned by a Lowland corporation. A similar dichotomy applies 684
in the case of illicit sexual activities. A pattern has 626
evolved to protect the unwed mother, but the married man or woman who violates the taboo is severely censured. Ideally, the offender is cast out by the community and his spouse, or

else the spouse is likely to lose status. 626
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The most powerful of all agents for social control are 626
the old men of the neighborhood. Through their position in 682
the church, a religious sanction for their prestige status, [794]
they enforce conformity to the norms of behavior which religion has sanctioned either positively or negatively. No one, nor any group, has been successful in questioning the right of these venerable men to maintain their habits and statuses which have been preserved over the generations. The baptism of a man's children and his own salvation depends on acceptance of the authority of the elders, for they will be his judges.

As far as the contemporary scene is concerned, there 182
is no anomie. The content of the culture has been greatly 178
modified, but the form, the underlying distinctive pattern, has been preserved. We are dealing with a single tradition in which the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them have remained common and clear. This is all the more striking because there have been periods in which cultural and social disintegration threatened to overwhelm the Sgiathanach. This brings us back to the role of religion in preserving cultural continuity.

Loomis and Beegle have employed Durkheim's theory to 171
analyze the growth and spread of fundamentalist religious 182
sects in contemporary United States.[16] They conclude: "It 771
is no mere coincidence that various types of emotional 786
religious sects are now among the most rapidly expanding 781

[16] Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 401-407.

ltural economy. Some may share my feeling that a 121
r exploration of these similarities would reveal evidence
tive of cultural continuity. We have three peoples who
ad ample opportunity for divergence and yet have retained
ssentials of Celtic culture. Moreover, all have been
population since the middle of the last century. Un-
ately, at the present time, I am not prepared to extend
omparative approach. I am detered by a recognition of
cts.[11] First there is the difficulty that peasant peoples
er the world seem very similar despite their distinctive
al and historical backgrounds. There is, of course,
ity within similarity. Second there is the truism that
igher socio-cultural level of which the peasant is a
influences the form peasant life may take.[12] Although
-Saxon and Norman influence impinged on the Welsh several
ies before it seriously threatened the Irish and Skyemen,
hree groups have been subjected to basically similar
li for several hundred years.

Another question which may be asked is, has the culture 121
nued to provide meaningful patterns of interaction for [182]
riathanach? One means of answering this question is
ded by Durkheim's theory of anomie. According to Durkheim,

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[11] Cf., e.g., Oscar Lewis, "Peasant Culture in India and [113]
o;: A Comparative Analysis," Village India, ed. McKim
ott ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association,"
r No. 83, 1955), pp. 145-146.

[12] Cf., e.g., Wagley and Harris, "A Typology of Latin
can Subcultures," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 3,
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[For information on the history of Skye, see Category 116

, pp. 62-109, 111-155, and 159-166.]

(G)= Gaelic language

anns na dubh-oghaichean--(G) general term for third cousins;
(p. 259).
anns na h-iar-oghaichean--(G) general term for second cousi
(p. 260).
anns na h-oghaichean--(G) general term for first cousins; lit
athair--(G) father (p. 259).
athair-céile--(G) father-in-law (p. 261).
balach--(G) a small boy, age two to puberty (p. 252).
bean--(G) woman, wife; at marriage a nighean becomes a b
birley court--(historical) a court composed of share-holders (
held to decide questions of land allotment (p. 86).
bràthair--(G) brother (p. 252).
bràthair athar--(G) father's brother (p. 260).
bràthair-céile--(G) brother-in-law (p. 261).
bràthair màthar--(G) mother's brother (p. 260).
breitheamh--(G) judge, in clan times (p. 76).

literally "in the state of being great-great-grandchildren."

ns; literally "in the state of being great-grandchildren"

erally "in the state of being grandchildren" (p. 260).

ean (p. 252).

the tenants of a landowner) and their elected constables.

marriage; also used throughout life between a broth
gladden--(historical) a process of dressing (threshing) oat
them (p. 90).
gobhair-bhacaig--(historical) "two sheaths of oats tied a
of contempt, as a part of the friendly rivalry that o
iar-oghaichean an dà bhrathar--(G) specific term for a t
brothers (p. 260).
iar-oghaichean an dà pheathar--(G) specific term for a
sisters (p. 260).
iar-oghaichean na peathar 's a' bhrathar--(G) specific te
of the brother and sister (p. 261).
leanabh--(G) children of either sex from birth to about
mac--(G) son (p. 252).
mac bràthar--(G) nephew (brother's son) (p. 260).
mac peathar--(G) nephew (sister's son) (p. 260).
mathair--(G) mother (p. 259).
mathair-céile--(G) mother-in-law (p. 261).
nighean--(G) girl, adolescent girl, daughter; term use

er and sister (p. 252).
s, by setting fire to a number of stalks and then flailing

t right angles" once thrown onto unfinished fields as a sign
nce existed during the harvest (pp. 196-197).
ype of third cousin; literally, great-grandchildren of the

type of third cousin; literally great-grandchildren of the

erm for a type of third cousin; literally, great-grandchildren

wo years of age (p. 252).

d after physical changes of puberty become noticeable until

conveth--(G) (historical) "a contribution of food
subtenant (p. 81).
creach--(G) "an incursion on a neighboring clan
(p. 74).
daoin'-uaisle--(G) "tacksmen" (p. 315); litera
the cadets; a chief's younger brother, sons
derbfine--(G) the nucleus of the old Skye clan,
theory, were able to trace their descent fro
(pp. 70-71).
devach--(historical) "the amount of land neede
duine--(G) man; at marriage a gille becomes
feacht--(historical) "an obligation to follow the
fear--(G) husband; a man is both a duine and a
flath--(historical) a kin group leader (p. 82).
gavelkind--"a form of family inheritance, und
gentry--in clan time, the local representatives
(p. 79).
gille--(G) an adolescent boy; the term is used

d for the maintenance of the chief and his retinue" owed by a

n for the purpose of seizing their cattle by open force" (historical)

lly, high people, the next lower level in the clan hierarchy below
and other relatives (p. 78).
"a four generation patrilineal family group whose members, in
om the founder of the clan, the source of the clan's patronymic"

d to support ten head of cattle" (p. 90).
a duine (p. 252).
e chief in offensive war" owed by a subtenant (p. 81).
a fear (p. 252).

er which all kinsmen had a right to a share in the land" (p. 74).
of the nuclear derbfine; "the leading men of the clan in each district"

after the physical changes of puberty become noticeable, until his

caileag--(G) a small girl, age two to puberty (p. 252).
cain--(G) "a fixed payment in kind," which subtenants owe
caraid--(G) friend; usually used to refer to relatives as dist
designation for all relatives beyond the immediate nuc
caschrom--a small foot plow, rarely used today; literally
ceann-cinnidh--(G) (historical) "clan chief" (pp. 72-77, 3
ceann-tighe--(G) cadets; literally "the head of the house.
the larger clans; usually occupied by the chief's broth
céile--(G) mate's, as used in a combinatory form in in-law
ceilidh--(G) "an evening of spinning folk tales, singing, a
clann--(G) children of either sex from the age of two to pu
clanna--(G) the clansmen, literally "the children," it "inc
clann an dà brathar--(G) first cousin (only father's brother'
two brothers" (p. 260).
clann an dà pheathar--(G) first cousin (only MSs and MSd)
clann na peathar 's a' bhrathar--(G) first cousin (only MBs
and sister" (p. 260).
cliamhain--(G) son or daughter-in-law (p. 261).

d to their superiors (historical) (p. 81).
ant as the fourth cousin and further; also, a "usual
lear family" (p. 259).
"the crooked foot" (p. 87).
15).
" In clan times, a rank just below the clan chief, in
ers and the heads of the septs. (pp. 77-78).
v terms (e.g. athair-céile - mate's father) (p. 261).
nd dancing ..." (p. 131).
berty (p. 252).
cluded all in the jurisdiction of a clan chief" (p. 79).
s children /FBs and FBd/), literally "children of the

, literally "children of the two sisters" (p. 260).
MBd, FSs, and FSd), literally "children of the brother

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[For information on historical changes leading to th
Category 116, pp. 112-166.]

he present-day situation on the Isle of Skye, see

632

[For information on neighborhoods, see Category 621.]

CON

NEX

TINUED
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XT FICHE

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

marriage; also used through
nighean bràthar--(G) niece (Bd)
nighean peathar--(G) niece (Sd)
ogha--(G) grandchild (p. 261).
oghaichean an da bhràthar--(G)
(p. 260).
oghaichean an da pheathar--(G)
(p. 260).
oghaichean na pheathar 's a' bhr
the brother and sister (p. 26
piuthar--(G) sister (p. 252).
piuthar athar--(G) father's sister
piuthar-céile--(G) sister-in-law
piuthar-mathar--(G) mother's si
raakan--(historical) "a rake-lik
plowing a field (p. 88).
roinn-ruith--(G) parallel or runn
Sassanach--(G) Lowlanders, as c

out life between brother and sister (p. 252).
(p. 260).
(p. 260).

specific term for a type of second cousin; literally, grandchildren of the brothers

specific term for a type of second cousin; literally, grandchildren of the sisters

àthar--(G) specific term for a type of second cousin; literally, grandchildren of
0).

(p. 260).
(p. 261).
ster (p. 260).
e instrument with six stout wooden teeth" used to break up clumps of earth when

ing division; apparent origin of modern agricultural landuse term - runrig (p. 85).
pposed to Sgiathanach; people from lowland Scotland; often used to refer to the

English as well (p. 257).

seanair--(G) grandfather; literally, "old father" (p. 260).

seanmhair--(G) grandmother; literally, "old mother" (p. 260).

seannachie--(G) bard, "who kept the pedigree of the clan, deduced des
traditions" (p. 76).

sept--"essentially a small clan within a clan. ... the nucleus of kin we
a younger son of the founder or one of the younger son's lineal desc
descent" (p. 71).

Sgiathanach--(G) Skyemen (p. 37).

shinty--field hockey played by school boys with curved sticks and a bal
International Dictionary Second Edition).

sluagad--(historical) "an obligation to attend the chief for defense" ow

stirks--young cattle (p. 91).

tacksmen--(historical) landholding followers of a chief; see daoin'-uai

tanistry--principle of succession to clan chiefship (in this case) whereby
the chief, from among the oldest of the fittest males" (p. 73).

tusker--a two bladed spade used to cut peat (p. 192).

uisge beatha--(G) "water of life," whiskey (p. 297).

wadsett--"a mortgage contract under which the lender of the money re
was repaid" (p. 78).

cent of clan members, and preserved clan

re related to the common ancestor through
endents rather than in the direct line of

l or block of wood (Webster's New

ed by a subtenant (p. 81).

sle (p. 84).
"the heir was elected, during the life of

ceived possession of the land until the debt

2

iscussions of methods employed by the
Generalized statements dealing with
red below.

427 656 croft by subdivision, he would pay little, indirectly and by arrangement; while if he simply built a hut or house on a vacant spot he paid neither rates nor rent. Either course was illegal; yet it was too expensive for the landlord, however 'hard-hearted', to take legal proceedings to turn off a squatter. As for wholesale expropriation the suffering caused and the odium incurred would have involved—and would still involve—both landlord and State in insurmountable difficulties by starting fresh agitation, perhaps with outbreaks of law-breaking, repression and bad blood. Yet these anomalies still discourage, and the normal illegalities demoralise, all concerned.

656 178 511 Because of the provision by State and local authorities of a growing range of services in other regions, and also because of the special reasons of Insular poverty, State action was increasingly taken in the Isles. To what extent have the Islanders responded, it may be asked; or how ● 12 far may they have failed, in return for aid offered and (476) benefits received? Let us begin with mutual aid practised among the people up to 1900, and then consider the repayment of loans and grants under different conditions. Observations by those in touch with the Island for many years, officially or privately, allow one to read between the lines and attempt an impartial judgment.

175 476 (657) As to the strength of independent mutual aid there could be no doubt. Up to the beginning of this century, the amounts expended on parish relief were 'almost nothing', and had shown no increase in preceding years. General poverty, anomalies in the rating system, and the mistakes such as the erection of poorhouses by the central administration, diminished resources; but the people generously gave help to their poorer neighbours in work and gifts. Except for a year of overwhelming crisis,

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121 THEORETICAL ORIENTATION--research aims and objectives (e.g., complete ethnographic description, study of a particular institution or culture complex, testing of a theoretical hypothesis); general theoretical approach (e.g., historical, functional, psychological); formulation of research program; reasons for choice of particular field site; etc. See also:
General information about the author 114

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

648 (014) Scottish crofting townships in the Outer Hebrides, in which I did anthropological fieldwork for fourteen months in 1970-71, participate extensively in the political, educational, economic and administrative 181 systems of larger British society. Despite this participation, the township presents various anomalous features, i.e., features which are inconsistent with what we would expect given our conceptions of the conditions of a modern, urban-industrial nation-state. The expectation that township members will manifest values and beliefs congruent with those prevalent in larger British society, and that patterns of economic specialization and individualization will be found among persons working in the available industries, is not fulfilled. Crofters continue to work small plots of land and engage in communal township activities even while employed by large industrial firms. Distinct patterns of value and belief persist, and are evident even in the use of new ideas and material goods.

●121 This thesis attempts to describe and interpret the seemingly anomalous survival of crofting and crofting

● 121 communities. The township is described as a "social boundary system (Cohen 1969)." The maintenance of firm boundedness under modern (urban-industrial) conditions is examined and related to economic and religious conditions and the status of the Gaelic-speaking population as a minority group vis-à-vis the larger society. Changes which have occurred over the past 100 years in the social boundary system of the township are examined by using the concept of "strategy."

Various authors (cf. Barth 1963, 1967, 1969; Brox 1968; Paine 1965 and n.d.) have used the concept of strategy to describe sociocultural change in communities which are marginal to and dependent on larger industrialized societies. A strategy may be defined as a pattern of choice-making in an environment characterized by various constraints and incentives. According to Barth (1963: 7),

> Statistical regularities or patterns in the behaviour of a population, as well as institutionalised patterns (i.e. the general acceptance of the expected patterns), may be expected to result where a set of external factors limit choice and in conjunction with a certain set of evaluations define clear strategic optima. Or put differently, where many persons act in a similar manner one may expect that they agree on certain relevant evaluations and regard their own behaviour under the prevailing circumstances to be optimal in terms of these evaluations.

This is not to say that features of sociocultural organization are caused by the free decision-making of

●121 individuals; rather, causal primacy in human action is given to the sociocultural environment, which determines what choices are available to be made and what behavior is valued. Because the exercise of choice is a human universal, i.e., a constant, it cannot be used to explain variation (cf. Barth 1966).

Actors within a community which is marginal to a larger industrial society make choices within an environment characterized by constraints and incentives which derive from both the local sociocultural system and the larger system. The state of boundedness of the local system is maintained or modified as a result of the strategies adopted by its members. I have suggested that the Scottish crofting township persists as a relatively strongly bounded system not because it is inherently static, isolated, or resistive of change, but because of the constraints and incentives stemming from the larger society. For example, the (657) British government has provided various incentives to (199) encourage the persistence of crofting and township (554) communalism; and to a certain extent, Gaelic speech or English spoken with a "Hielan'" (Highland) accent constitute social stigma (Goffman 1963) by which a person from the Highlands and Islands is assigned a somewhat lower social status in British social structure.

Chapter 4

THE TOWNSHIP AS SOCIAL BOUNDARY SYSTEM

A. Social Boundary System

121

Cohen (1969) has developed the concept of social boundary system, which I have found useful in investigating the sociocultural organization of the village of Shawbost, which has undergone major economic changes.

A social boundary system is a "network of social relations of people who are required and permitted to engage in a sphere of social activity (Cohen 1969: 104)." Within a society, a number of networks may be delineated, such as family, household, work group, community, and nation. Various spheres of social activity may also be delineated, such as educational, political and religious. The activities within these spheres may be performed in different networks. Persons in all societies are born into a kinship network, for example, and acquire expectations regarding rights and obligations vis-à-vis their kinsmen. However, the importance of kinsmen and the kinship network varies across societies, and within a particular society at different times in its history. Certain networks which were once very important may be

121 replaced in importance by other networks. Cohen draws upon Vogel's (1963) description of the middle class in modern Japan to illustrate changes in the importance of particular networks. Vogel demonstrates that the male work group has become an important network in present-day urban life in Japan, and that the previously important religious and kinship networks have declined in significance. With the rise of modern Japan as a nation-state, local communities have become less firmly bounded, and the work group has become a firmly bounded system.

A society may be characterized by the extent to which various networks of social relations within it are differentiated. This differentiation is a feature of sociocultural evolution, "an adaptation in the organization of social relations to the harnessing of increasingly effective energy systems (Cohen 1969: 105)." A network of social relations becomes firmly bounded when it is differentiated from other networks but is itself internally undifferentiated; role transposability and consensus are evident within the firmly bounded network.

A network of social relations is differentiated from other networks when role performance within it is independent of role performance in other networks (for example, in most urban-industrial societies, the role which a person plays in his family does not affect the

121 role which he plays in his work group). Another indication of differentiation is the inability of members of one network to substitute for members of other networks in carrying out various activities (as reflected, for example, in the existence of specialists who earn their living by performing these activities. In some societies, for example, all members of the society are responsible for educating the children of that society. In other societies, occupational specialists earn their living by such an activity).

Within a firmly bounded network, members can substitute for each other and assume each other's roles. Such role transposability is evident in the "joint conjugal relationship" which Bott (1957) describes among certain families in London, in which husband and wife may substitute for each other in carrying out household tasks. In contrast, a weakly bounded network exists in the "segregated role relationship," in which husband and wife perform different tasks and have separate interests and activities; such a relationship is found in lower-class families who depend on extra-household kinsmen for aid (Bott 1957: 52-96).

A network of social relations is firmly bounded to the extent that dissent within the network is not tolerated, that is, to the extent that consensus is

121 maintained. Cohen (1969: 110) relates this emphasis on consensus to role transposability: "...sustained outspoken dissent among members of the network tends to define them as unlike each other and thus to make it difficult for them to substitute for each other in role performance." Allied with intolerance of dissent is the tendency to exclude external influences. Firm boundedness of a network is also indicated by the existence of rites of passage which govern admission to the network, and by the existence of other means by which persons and influences are excluded from the network.

A firmly bounded network competes with subsystems within it. For example, a community which has the characteristics of a firmly bounded system competes with kin groups, marital networks and strong friendships within it. It also competes with larger networks that serve the functions that are the same as those of the community, such as the maintenance of social order and the regulation of change. For example, a strongly bounded local community will conflict with a nation-state (cf. Cohen 1969: 111-117).

121 128 In the following pages, the sociocultural organization of a rural Scottish township is described, and the changing characteristics of the township as social boundary system are discussed in relation to changing economic circumstances. Chapter 5 concerns the relationship

121 128 of the township with the larger society, and examines the effect of geographical and social marginality on the boundedness of the township network. Chapter 6 discusses two important networks of social relations within the township.

B. Township as Social Boundary System

632 178 62 The township constitutes a relatively firmly bounde system, although its boundaries are weaker than formerly when the township was relatively self-sufficient

[476] economically. Township members worked together in small fishing crews, and families relied on each other for help when members of the family were away from the islan "at the fishing."

62 476 602 [539] [605] Relatives were expected to give priority to helping each other. According to one proverb, "A relative is your best friend." First and second cousins were considered especially close, but knowledge of one's kinsmen extended to at least the fourth generation.

602 576 585 764 [539] Ties of kinship became evident in ceremonies such as funerals and weddings. One Gaelic proverb says, "You know who your relatives are at weddings and funerals." At weddings the onus was on the members of the bridal party to remember their relatives. "You have to sit and calculate who is closely related, and all those

12

182 government bodies and industries in cities on the mainland, rather than being relatively self-sufficient as it was at a previous time. The periodic return of [166] [181] relatives to the island reflects this peripheralness, as do feelings of inferiority among the islands. The island has become not only geographically but socially marginal.

A. Geographical Marginality

Geographical marginality refers to the distance of ● 121 131 182 the islanders from various economic and administrative centers on which they depend. Because they are distant, they are more likely to suffer breaks in channels of communication with these centers, as when storms prevent boats from docking. They are "marginal" because they depend on central sources rather than being self-contained; and the difficulties entailed in this marginality encourage the retention of techniques and patterns of interaction derived from the days of relative self-sufficiency. The anomalous combinations of old and new found in the township may be attributed to such marginality.

121 A "strategy" may be thought of as a pattern of behavior which develops in a particular history of reinforcement, the parameters of this reinforcement

● 121 being determined by conditions of culture, such as 121 political and economic conditions. Under conditions 178 of gradual centralization of economic and political 182 systems, the geographically marginal crofting areas have evolved strategies, some of which puzzle agencies concerned with development or other aspects of governmental process.

178 Before the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board 365 began to operate in the crofting counties, not more 511 than one croft in every hundred had electricity; but by the end of 1951, one in every six holdings had been supplied (Taylor 1954: 20). "The light" came to [354] Shawbost in 1951. Before then, the islanders used [177] Tilley lamps, a Canadian invention; and before then, [312] double-wick paraffin lamps. Piped water came a few [464] years later, around 1955; it was brought from a nearby loch, and the construction work gave temporary jobs to local people. The availability of these services [344] facilitated the building of county council houses, [342] which many welcomed as providing a relief to the congestion caused in part by rules against building more than one house on a croft. But, paradoxically, [651] with larger, better homes and all these services came a decrease in the advantages of living in a crofting township: property was assessed and people began paying rates or taxes.

Chapter 7

Conclusions:

Summary and Theoretical Considerations

A. Summary

105 Crofting townships of the Highlands and Islands of
[131] Scotland are within a few hours' travel of the major cities
[484] of Britain. An extremely high percentage of the young
[873] people in the crofting counties attend universities and
other institutions of higher education. Politically,
[641] administratively, economically and in other ways, the
crofting population participates in the larger urban-
industrial society of Britain.

105 Despite this participation, the township-qua-village-
632 community is a relatively strongly bounded system. This
621 thesis investigates factors contributing to the strong
• [121] boundedness. From a relatively self-sufficient economic
105 unit using agricultural practices suited to the extensive
178 cultivation of marginal land by smallholders, the township
632 has during recent decades changed to one dependent on
241 goods and services provided by the larger society.
105 Crofting activities nevertheless persist, in part because
241 of the incentives offered by government bodies such as the
654 Crofters Commission and the Department of Agriculture. The

105 The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an
241 industry which is compatible with crofting. Because
188 weavers are self-employed, they can set their own schedule
632 of work and thus continue to participate in croft work
and fulfill various township obligations. The effects
• [121] of this industry on the township as a social boundary
[434] system were investigated. The income available from
[463] weaving is unpredictable, which encourages the retention
of crofting practices and other patterns of behavior,
such as "occupational pluralism," that were found to be
[476] adaptive in the past. Such strategies also strengthen
[182] township boundaries; for example, they encourage mutual
[434] aid and communal township practices. But weaving also
[407] offers a high level of income; and some weavers, preferring
to spend most of their time weaving, have neglected
crofting, or have invested in tractors or other motorized
transport which enables them to harvest crops, cut peat
and perform other activities independent of other township
members.

105 The fundamentalist Free Church constitutes an important
621 boundary-maintaining mechanism, serving to exclude various
795 external influences of the larger society from the township.
632 However, a smaller network of persons engaged in the
184 religious sphere of social activity, a subsystem within
105 the township system, also exists which has the appearance
794 of a firmly bounded system. These are members of the clique
621
632
184

105 is nevertheless strong today. The relatively
632 boundedness derives from a number of factors.
621 among these are economic adaptations to modern
184 which consist in part of the retention in modi
of traditional economic activities in response
constraints and incentives presented by larger
society. Also important are institutionalized
affect, particularly of kinship and community,
of religious affiliation and identification.
continue to be functionally important in part
the geographical and social marginality of the
township. This combination of factors has re
the persistence of a relatively strongly bound
which retains distinctive features in an exter
urbanized and industrialized nation.

B. Theoretical Considerations

• 121 In the United States, the concept of "pea
provided the main conceptual tool by which ru
ties which are structurally integrated with th
nation-state may be studied (cf. Foster 1967,
[632] The Scottish crofting township has some of the
[621] istics of a closed corporate peasant communit
but it is difficult to apply the word "peasant
000 community. Cultivation for subsistence is mi

174 The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely
184 significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to
179 developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in
55 ferm-toun and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons
128 throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed
● 121 out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat
185 scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged in planning for post-war housing and community life. But sound planning must be based on survey, long overdue; though elementary, this key map appears to be the first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units of farm-team and township that Scots rural society must be rebuilt, region by region.

184 One further contrast between the farming and the
241 crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the
361 types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-
166 nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World —return home to their native township when they can, and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand, though they usually spend their lives in the county or region of their birth, have been on the move from farm to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the
[464] English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new hiring, the married once a year. Families were annually uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all!
[722] The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to
[178] check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence many men have few ties, their wives still fewer. The children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they could look back to no "Auld Lang Syne", of which the

i [see p. 16 -- analyst]

CHAPTER V

FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP: THE CONTINUING COMMUNITY AND ITS SOCIAL ECONOMY TO 1815

INTRODUCTION (TO CHAPTERS V AND VI)

● 121 THE family, the 'conjoint' or 'farm group' of
593 four or five families, and the larger group clustered
476 in a glen or along a shoreland, are, in ascending order, the three concentric units whose mutual relation-
632 ships we must visualise to understand the past. Enduring
621 elements of life in family and neighbourhood today, with their own special qualities and limitations, can only be understood in terms of past needs and the relationships they evoked.

121 Having seen their relationships in family, team and
613 township, we can next turn to the reciprocal relations of the people to their chief or lord, whose position dominates
621 European, indeed world, history and prehistory. Here
[171] our concern must be the meaning of 'clanship' to the chiefs, the joint farm-groups (or 'small tenantry') and, latterly, the tacksmen placed above them.

121 We may find, throughout this study, that features and
174 functions which at first sight seem peculiar to the Island
178 are really local variants, more perfectly crystallised, of forms which we know existed at earlier periods in Scotland
[184] and in much of northern and western Britain. In the Isles,

● 121 by help of oral tradition and of the living witness of con-
174 tinuing usage, we can reconstitute Gaelic life from the
178 view-points of both people and chief. Elsewhere, even in Scotland, only fragments of early life are recorded, in
175 parchments written by the lawyers of landlord and king,
814 and almost always from the privileged side. History is indebted to modern lawyers who have deciphered and
127 published the faded documents of their predecessors. But the very training as solicitor-factors which fitted them for this specialised task, in no way prepared them to view life as seen, experienced and felt by the men and women of the past, or even by the elders or youth of the townships today, with whom they have rarely laboured and whose mother tongue they rarely understand.

(A) THE LABOURS OF MAN AND WIFE, AND THE REWARD

621 We have seen that until the nineteenth century the
632 township in the main was self-contained. Its people grew,
175 reared or caught their food, and also found the raw materials
[433] for their clothing; they built their own shelter, and cut their own firing. As a result, both men and women had
174 each to develop "a wide range of simple skills", in the apt phrase of a Lewisman, Mr. Donald MacLean, M.A.
175 Beyond the co-operative effort within a family, a farm
462 group, or a body of 'fellow-townsmen'—in which each was competent to take a share according to sex and age—aptitude and family tradition initiated some local division
[463] of labour. The resident smith and the 'caird' (usually a wandering craftsman or tinker) appear in the oldest tales and in the first rent-rolls. In addition there were honorary
[759] tasks. The smith might act as the village surgeon, ready

771 a night of black mistiness . . . he waded nearly breast-
539 high" through the dangerous South Ford of Benbecula,
"conscious only of the roll and the singing of waters
and the rhythm of a poem he had taken down a few
hours before"—"The Invocation of the Graces", so
nearly lost with him! Much that Carmichael learned was
given him under a seal of confidence he never broke,
although he mourned the loss this meant. The confidence
he inspired—which even those who knew him only in their
childhood remember for life—was a source of his quiet,
unfailing power.

796 The following begins with the runes and rites of labour,
794 throughout the day, week and year, on land and sea and
at home. Turning to the day of rest and to congregational
(221) worship, one must enquire as to the presence of the clergy,
and question closely how far the people had access to the
Bible throughout the centuries: were they really cut off
from its riches, from its essence, as the Reformers and the
Evangelicals of last century asserted with such vehemence?
One can then turn to the runes and rites which opened the
phases of life, from birth to maturity, marriage and parent-
hood, leading at last to life's close.

128 But no social inheritance is without its burden. Having
181 told of the foundations of faith, something must be said
in the next chapter of the negative or superstitious side of
771 Island belief, of temptations and evils which the people
could face, and of others to which they submitted in
• (121) ignorance. From the evidence of faith and wisdom, or
error, one must attempt some evaluation of attainment by
single souls and by the community, and of the power and
fullness of life in common.

789 away scot-free! Both persons secretly concerned felt that
they had endangered their souls by successfully defeating
justice through their misuse of the invocation. Can one
(783) doubt that they were partly right in both beliefs? The
malefactor's confidence had lent success to perjury, and
perjury by help of prayer was deadly sin.

114 Now, the perverted use of prayer, as in this case, was
clearly understood to be evil-doing; but what of magic
and superstitious practices? Much has been written of
'Highland folk-lore and superstitions'.[1] The religion of
the past should be distinguished from these. In *The
Golden Bough*, Frazer drew a useful distinction between
religion and magic. Religion, he wrote, relies upon the
propitiation of higher powers—or even, in more primitive
forms than Christianity, the propitiation of the forces of
nature—while magic is an attempt at direct control of
• 121 natural forces. Superstition may be defined here as a
body of beliefs and practices in which hopes and fears
attach themselves to things seen or done, by a multitude of
false analogies and by irrational links of effects to supposed
causes. Such superstitions are marginal to the main body
of belief, worship and conduct which forms religion.

At the same time, no hard-and-fast line can be drawn
between folk-lore and religion, where religion is handed
on as living word and ritual almost without the aid of
121 writing. This is particularly true where the religion of
771 which we think, that of the Gael, is founded upon self-
supporting peasant life, in line with that of the humble,
working founder of Christianity—historically native to an
outlying district of his own country—and not with the

(113) [1] D. J. Macleod, D.Litt.: (a) *Highland Folklore* (32 pp.), Inverness; (b) Introduction to Martin's *Western Isles* (edn. Stirling, 1934). N. Morrison, Hon. D.Sc., *Superstitions of Lewis*, Stornoway, c. 1930.

• 121 theology and scholarship of a capital city, even of a city
(771) so small as Jerusalem! It is sometimes forgotten that the
Old Testament, upon which so much of theology is built,
contains folk-lore and magic. Not until this is fully under-
stood in the sense in which early Oriental 'folk' be-
lieved it, can it be interpreted, whether as imaginative
symbolism or common sense.[1] Much in the orthodox
belief of medieval or post-Reformation times was mistaken;
yet it formed part of the religion, not the 'superstition'
of the stage and period. Theology and philosophy are in
constant transformation. Sheltered scholars, priests and
rulers of cities may be ill-fitted to interpret the inspiration
of a religion which grew from life in field, pasture and at
sea, whether in its native land of Galilee and the East or
among the Gael. One must live with a people and be one
of them, at least for a time, to interpret their inner life.
Lastly, no generalisation is true for all members of a com-
munity: individuals differ. The same prayer, the same
rite, may be used in so different a way by each of two
neighbours that its use by one is religious but by the other
superstitious.

114 We have seen that the essence of the lore from which
we have quoted is not magical, but religious, in use as in
796 inspiration. Strangers who had lost the sense of the beauty
in the skies mistook a Gael's adoration of God at sunrise for
prayer to the sun; when a man unbonneted or a woman
knelt in the open, face turned to the rising moon lightening
the dark, they confused prayer with worship of the moon
itself. Now, in paganism, a belief in nature-spirits is
strong: but propitiation is made not to objects such as
the sun or moon, but to spirits believed to influence or

(113) [1] W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (3rd ed., ed. S. A. Cooke, 1927). J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (3 vols.), 1919.

114 dwell in them—to a sun or moon spirit. If the people once
believed in a 'moon-spirit', nothing is left to show it.
796 Either the moon is addressed as if she could hear her
praise, or—more commonly—"The King of the Ele-
ments" or "of life" is thanked for sending her light.
The Archangel Michael is associated with the sun's rays;
but symbolically in relation to heart and mind, rather than
as literal belief. The response to sunrise and sunset was
real; and it is not lost among the people, as a watcher
may see.[1]

178 It remains true that pre-Christian rites were re-enacted,
771 sometimes in fear and desperation when things had gone
wrong, and sometimes in mere play. A Lewisman in
788 Carmichael's hearing spoke of "going between the two
great fires of Beul" (or Baal), his phrase expressing no
more than a faded memory. But in Reay, in hard times
bordering on famine, a fishing skipper was seen by his
small son, supposed to be asleep, to assemble his crew and
after putting out the fire on the hearth, kindle the *nei*
fire by rubbing two pieces of wood vigorously together
Each man then carried a kindling back to his own home
• 121 Was this a religious ritual of human energy, heat and ligh
symbolic of forces held to be under Divine control but
be used as they used wind and tide by strenuous effo
at the oars? Or was it magic, pure and simple? Whe
men are shaken by failures and the fear of famine, pray
in word and ritual may restore hope for better things—f
safety in storm and for fish in abundance as in a miraculo
draught—and confidence in their powers for their wo
But the same can be true of magic. And neither prayer n

(113) [1] For contemporary record, descriptions of sunsets have appeared in *Stornoway Gazette* from the pen of a crofter in retirement, N. Morrison.
[2] *Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes, *Neid Fire*.

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in part stems from government-defined privileges and duties regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides and thus is protected from competition, has provided work for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger members of croft families live in cities on the mainland, and send part of their wages home; they return regularly to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus the township supplies urban workers who remain very much attached to the rural townships, which are composed of aged family members and a rural proletariat. The standard of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated savings, although much of this surplus is used by the men for alcoholic drinks.

In Britain, rural communities have been interpreted as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf. Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall presented "an operational theory of role" by which he suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analyzed and compared. He developed the concept "density of role texture" to describe societies which lie along a continuum from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southall's concept along with other concepts to present a more complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "models" of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially lists

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

of the characteristics of roles in relatively urban or rural settings; for example, urban settings are characterized by a proliferation of narrowly defined, specialized roles. These models are unable to deal with exceptions to the continua, such as unspecialized towns based economically on agriculture, and mechanized agricultural areas. Exceptions may also be found in urban villages, that is, neighborhoods within cities characterized by low geographical mobility, or in ethnic or religious enclaves within urban-industrial settings such as the Hutterite communities in America or the conservative Red Xhosa in Rhodesian cities (Mayer 1961).

Southall (1959) maintains that social theory tends to be either too general or too specific, and that the concept of role offers a "theory of the middle range (Merton 1957)" by which communities or societies of differing complexity may be compared. Specifically, he uses the concept of role to develop a rural-urban continuum. I suggest that Cohen's concept of social boundary system offers a more fruitful and integrated approach to the study of complex societies than does the concept of role *per se*. Cohen makes use of role theory to analyze the boundedness of networks of social relations, but his unit of analysis is the social boundary system rather than the role. By using the concept of social boundary system, it is possible

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

to focus on inter- rather than intra-group relationsh
The relationship of a community to the larger societ
of which it is a part may be investigated not by try
to place it on an urban-rural continuum, but by
investigating its state of boundedness. Strong bound
may result in resistance to innovation, and insularit
even if the community or other network is in the hea
of an urban-industrial environment.

Barth (1969) has attempted to understand mainte
of cultural distinctiveness, or boundedness of a soc
cultural system, despite the flow of ideas and perso
between systems. This thesis has similar intentions
attempts to illustrate how a sociocultural environme
may produce an apparently anomalous, strongly bounde
sociocultural system.

4 COMMUNICATIONS

FROM the earliest times, the provision of communications in one form or another has been a matter full of incident and high colour. Gaelic folk-song contains many references to the hazards of crossing the impatient waters of the Minch. One such, a waulking song still known today, commemorates the death of Iain Garbh Mac Gille Chaluim, of Raasay in Skye, who was drowned in April 1617 on his way home from visiting the Earl of Seaforth in Lewis; it is said that he was drowned through the workings of his own 'muime', or foster-mother, who employed several famous witches to raise the tempest in which his ship foundered.

For well over a century the subject of adequate communications has aroused continuous argument. The strength of any island community lies in its ability to live within itself, while accepting the periodic injection of certain external items necessary for living or for work. A Londoner once expressed amazement at the isolation of Scarp, in West Harris, commenting that in Scarp they would not know what was happening in London. The indisputable rejoinder was 'Nor do they know in London what we would be doing in Scarp.' However, to a large island community, with a certain degree of economic significance, communications are the basic lifeline.

SEA ROUTES

When in the early 1800s formal sea communications were being established between the island and ports on the west coast of Scotland, down as far as the Clyde, most of the islanders were of course little affected. Except for the professional classes (merchants, ministers and the like), they had little use for the sea links provided for them. Their economy was not yet a cash economy, and travel was thus a luxury they could not afford. As the nature of local life began to change with the infiltration of some of the

PREFACE

IT was after the end of the First World War and the home-coming of the men—all too few in number after heavy losses—that I first came to know Lewis-and-Harris. Later, in the years between the two World Wars and during the Second World War, I returned to study the people's heritage and survey the Island problems and, if it might be, find solutions. Work on a West Highland farm had already made me aware of the hardships and potentialities of land and sea; of the meaning of life in field and home for farm-team and family; of the reality of the Gaelic heritage—communal, bardic and religious. Wider surveys made me aware of common elements throughout Scotland and the North and West of the British Isles, despite the historic contrasts from the Hebrides to the Lowlands, and beyond. In the Hebrides are found an elemental simplicity of environment; an early crystallisation of culture and religion, with continuity; a recent and contemporary coming of revolutionary change. These form an interpretative chain of evidence—geographical, traditional and historical—unique in the British Isles. Hence throughout this book, from the basic maps and explanatory text to the later chapters, an interpretation of the Island and its community is linked to that of the Highlands, Scotland and the British Isles as a whole.

As many a Scot of crofting stock has found, when he shares in the work of a glen by day—on the low ground and the hill, alone or with others of a team—and joins in the fireside talk and Gaelic song when night has fallen, he

121 discovers the strength of community life. And by his
181 renewal of 'racial' experience he may rediscover sides of
his own nature untouched by an urban task or a rural
128 holiday. Hence a book such as this inevitably, and I think
rightly, contains much that has been felt in a personal way.
Yet to offset personal limitations, there is needed objective
survey, geographical and social, applied with an open mind
and submitted to searching criticism. These two sides,
personal and impersonal, I have tried to combine.

114 The initiation of this work owes much to others, in
ways of which they were never to know: to the chieftain,
farmer and scholar, James Archibald Campbell of Barbreck,
to my brother Alasdair, to my father, Patrick Geddes, who
suggested in 1919 to the first Lord Leverhulme that
Marcel Hardy, scientist and farmer, should survey the land
in Lewis-and-Harris; to Lord Leverhulme, and to Dr.
Hardy himself, whom I then assisted. To Mr. T. B.
Macaulay, LL.D., was due the suggestion and the plea,
made ten years later, that I should bring up to date Dr.
Hardy's MS. report.

121 It was because of Dr. Macaulay's faith in the Island's
future and the aid he generously gave to experiments in the
reclamation of peat, and also because of the Islanders' own
response to his lead, that I accepted this voluntary task.
Acceptance, as it proved, was rash. Except for certain
valuable findings included under Dr. Hardy's name, a new
101 work had to be written. These circumstances led to the
making of the book, stretched over thirty-five years. Certain
198 early hopes recorded here have been frustrated. On the
other hand, developments have taken place which few
could have foreseen but for their faith in the future of the
Island and its people. I trust that in this book the advan-
tages of slow growth outweigh the drawbacks, for time

121 allows one to revise judgments in a way not possible in a
178 short-term study. And only by prolonged knowledge of
the Island can one hope to appreciate the changes which
have been taking place, and the trends of today.

123 My chief debts are the hardest of all to acknowledge,
namely the patient guidance, information and hospitality
so freely given, as I tramped from end to end of the Island
or stayed in chosen townships. Indeed, my debt extends
beyond the Island, from glens in the mainland to the
southern Hebrides. The debt for specific information
received is the harder to acknowledge since, again and
again, I was invited to utilise information on condition of
silence as to its source. Many statements given here
would gain in authority if their source, whether private or
semi-official, could be given; but this has frequently been
impossible without violation of confidence. Hence my
thanks go out to many anonymous crofters, schoolmasters
and residents and also to officials, particularly of the
Boards or Departments of Agriculture, Fisheries, Labour
000 and the Post Office. There are also those whom I cannot
leave unnamed, particularly the late Mr. W. J. Gibson,
C.B.E., Mr. Angus MacLeod, B.Sc. (Agric.), Dr. R. M. Craig,
Miss Bruce of the Highland Home Industries, Mr. J. S.
Grant of the *Stornoway Gazette*, Mr. Malcolm MacLeod,
D.Litt., Mr. A. M. Macmillan, C.I.E., Mr. John Forbes and
Professor A. C. O'Dell. The late Professor Alan G. Ogilvie,
Professor H. J. Fleure, LL.D., F.R.S., Professor W. Croft
Dickinson, M.C., and the late Mr. Adam Collier also
advised me most helpfully.

For the loan of blocks I am indebted to Professor A.
Stevens and Dr. R. M. Craig, and to the Editors of the
Scottish Geographical Magazine and of the *Transactions of
the Royal Society of Edinburgh*.

133 line; and there can be no doubt of the contrast found at
131 the extremes. How strikingly different from any view
over the English Plain is this, from the air or a mountain-
top! It overlooks the ice-scraped rock of the fells; the
drift-heaped, ill-drained hollows studded with gleaming
lochs and deeply overgrown with peat; and the indented,
insular coastline with its widely spaced crofting townships
looking seaward, where a few fishers' sails may dot the
161 vast expanse of ocean. In 1951 the population of Lewis-
162 and-Harris numbered only 28,000 persons, and that of the
entire Outer Hebrides some 36,000; but the small num-
182 bers need not lessen the geographical significance of the
community.

18 Men have long recognised the homogeneity of the
English 'Plain', with its recurring vale and wold, compact
within a rounded coastline. In spite of the local variety
of landscape, history or dialect, which enriched its heritage
and compose its grandeur and charm, men have sensed the
unity inherent in this land of a single tongue, centred upon
a single capital. By contrast, the diversities in landscape,
life and tongues of the lands far-flung to north and west
have obscured the elements of a profound, underlying
unity in geographic origins and in historic and social
121 evolution. To understand the civilisation of the British
Isles, it is vital first to perceive the complementary qualities
found in the two great regions, and face their corresponding
198 weaknesses or limitations. Second, within the less under-
stood of the two regions, 'the North and West', it is vital
to study the almost bewildering variety in regional types
of life—distinguishing, for instance, the uprooted popu-
lations all too typical of the rural Lowlands of Scotland
or Northumberland from the still deep-rooted communi-
ties of the Highlands and Isles.

121 From prehistory to the present day, these geographic
178 zones have played their parts as factors in evolution,
although the border-lines have changed at different historic
174 crises, and have been modified by economic and social
182 phase. At times the Hebrides have been more closely
linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Central Scotland.
184 In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in
historic events, but comparability in stage and transition,
even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of
view, the revealing character of Island life lies not only in
static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the
Isles and vividly described as "the Past in the Present".
Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic
strength of its continuity—notably of early or primitive
Christianity—and also by the late occurrence of changes
when, at last, they came.

18 The social consequences of these regional differences
in evolution are profound. In the 'Plain', to the south-
62 east of the Severn-Tees line, large village communities
174 with 'common fields' prevailed, forming the later manor
473 villages. To the north and west, the more varied, hillier
192 lands encouraged the continuance of hamlets. These
hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no
more than four or five to a dozen relations or 'friends'—
—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word
'friend' frequently implies kinship. Each small group
462 formed a team. Together the men ploughed their mingled
476 rigs (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and
on the coast they rowed their boat as its crew. The
241 women, too, did much together, as when they spun their
286 yarn, and fulled or 'waulked' the cloth that one of them
had woven, helping by turn in childbirth and child-care.
473 Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

184 Comparisons at the present day are most illuminating.
[991] In the Hebrides one may pass from Calvinist Lewis-and-Harris to Catholic Barra, through South Uist, where Presbyterian and Roman Catholic dwell, side by side, in mutual respect. Although their home life, economy and language are the same, the influence of a comparatively
• [121] recent divergence in religion is marked. Such Island evidence, present and past, forces one to re-examine conclusions upon life in the Lowlands accepted until recently, and to seek for the truth upon earlier forms of life in common and for their meaning today throughout 'the North and West'.

175 Ancient elements of unity, and later ways in which
473 these were broken, adapted or remade, region by region,
427 are being unravelled. The Old Estate Plans, made at the outset of the agricultural revolution, show these immedi-
621 ately before the re-planning of fields and farms (*circa* 1750–90). These plans also reveal the existence of still
178 earlier types, not otherwise recognisable even on the spot.
[184] With their rentals (when available) they reveal the ways in which old joint farms were placed under a single tenant, as in Lothian, or were split up among several tenants, as in Ayrshire.[1] From such geographical data, both the economic and the deeper social aspects of rural life emerge with new clarity. Such data may be linked to Planning Surveys of land and rural life for tomorrow.

621 Now, although so fundamentally equalitarian within
427 themselves, these hamlet communities of the Gael were subjected to the overlordship of a chief or laird, either directly or through an intermediate gentleman-tenant, a
[194] 'tacksman'. History, with archaeology read in history's
[192]

[1] For Lothian, see Arthur Geddes (1938 and 1951); for Ayrshire, see J. H. G. Lebon, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, Vols. 62, 1945 (pp. 7-13); 63, 1946 (pp. 100-110). Further references in Bibliography.

[113]

621 light, suggests that such lordship goes back to early con-
427 quests of self-supporting agricultural and pastoral com-
194 munities by well-armed raiders of many races, including
[172] the Celtic-speaking swordsmen of the Iron Age. The last and most notable of these conquering raiders were the Norsemen. Their influence was profound, whether, sailing direct from the Scandinavian forest settlements and fjords, they raided and settled as heathen Viking crews, or, at a later stage, they invaded England from Normandy—that fertile province which they had made theirs in fact and name—under the panoply of civilisation and with Papal benediction. A generation after the Conquest they commenced the penetration of Scotland.

183 The paradox of loyalty to one's fellows with loyalty
181 to a lord, of stoutly equalitarian thinking bound up with fervid admiration for an aristocracy, is nowhere more
[614] marked than among the Gael. They sought to reconcile these conflicting loyalties by claiming common ancestry for chief and people, as the children (*clann*) of a hero of history or myth. The years 1945–47, which marked a centenary of the last of the desperate Jacobite Risings, stood at the close of the latest of many wars in which fame has been won for the symbol of clanship—the tartan, long proscribed (by the Act of 1747) 'to every man and boy in the Highlands'. At such a time, the Gaels' loyalty to the death cannot be forgotten although old kings, old
• [121] chiefs have gone. But its paradox must not only be re-
[182] membered but understood, from its roots in communal life and environment through history. Not until this is
[184] done can important phases of our own time be understood, such as the failure of Lord Leverhulme's seven years' endeavour in Lewis; nor can the present opportunity of Highland renewal be grasped by the help of

183
181 democratic reorganisation, with loyalty to one's fellows and to a leader.

Here again, Lewis-and-Harris may have something to
178 teach, as one of the last communities in Britain in which
185 much of ancient common right over land and sea has been upheld. Trust ownership of Stornoway estate has strength-
[174] ened the possibilities of rural planning there, while the fisheries are a public resource which are partially protected
[423] for local fishermen inshore and farther out are closed to none. The useful Lewis Association has published models of local survey for social and economic planning. At a time when democracy is struggling to see its way towards economic and social freedom, such communal initiatives have more than local significance.

• 121 This sketch of comparisons and questions in rural life
131 raised by Hebridean evidence, through a wide and varied region of the British Isles, must serve to indicate the geo-
182 graphic setting of the Island and relate the historic and contemporary problems of its own community to wider fields. This book is not directly concerned with the urban and industrial problems of the firth-sides and 'included plains' within the varied land of 'the North and West' of Britain, deeply though they affect the hard-hit fishermen of the Isles and the Island migrants—seamen or labourers, tradesmen or factory workers, nurses, teachers or clergy.
121 Even for the migrants' sake, it is vital to maintain the
185 economic balance, and restore the cultural and spiritual life within each industrial region, in order to maintain that of Britain as a whole. It was not enough to schedule 'the murdered towns' of Tyneside, Wales, Lancashire or Clydeside as 'Distressed', 'Special or Development Areas'. The balance of Britain as a whole must be restored.

• 121 And region by region, a fairer balance must be struck
185 between country and town. In Lewis, the part of Storno-way town, with its population nearing 5000 (in 1951), is
[162] important. Its port, its fisheries, its spinning mills for the
[184] crofters' hand-loom weaving, its merchants' shops, and its local, administrative and professional services, are essential to the Island. Its economic and social evolution, too, are
[162] interesting. Stornoway's plans for the future are active and ambitious, and these, it is realised, depend upon the prosperity of the 19,000 crofting people of Lewis proper.

121 But the subject of this book is primarily rural. It is to
128 see with fresh eyes what, from our Harris mountain-top, we viewed as a unit at the core of 'the North and West'. After the island has been described in terms of its physical and human geography (Part One), the endeavour (in Part Two) will be to give a completer account than may yet have been given of the nature of Gaelic community, with
[621] its temporal duties and its spiritual sanctions. The three concentric circles of community are described: the family, the farm team and boat's crew, and the larger township groups. The relations of this threefold grouping of livelihood and society to Chiefs and Church are studied, and followed out in later evolution, until today. Elsewhere I have endeavoured to show how the Island can worthily maintain itself, and thereby find a new freedom. The final chapter returns to the broader aspects of society and region touched on here.

If this intensive study of a single isle and community can throw fresh light upon certain essential characters of the less-understood region of the British Isles—that lying outside the south-eastern 'Plain'—it may help to con-
121 tribute to more than economic reorientation. The significance of the Island life—not so much for the past, which

• 121 cannot be changed, as for the future which can—lies in the intensity of its communal traditions, extinguished else-
[178] where. Much has gone—many of the fishing crews are disbanded and team-work has weakened—but much lives
[184] on, and much has been learned. The Gaels have still to make their full offering to English-speaking civilisation. To do so, they must find their own fulfilment within the framework of the Highlands of Scotland.[1]

2. *Scottish Crofts, Farms and Labour-teams: the Rural Unit Today*

184 When, in thinking of Scots countrymen, we differentiate
105 between the men of the Highlands and Isles, the Lowlands and the Borders, what stamp of occupation, society and economic class best characterises the three regional types? The differences we note between them are due not only to their place of birth and region, but to their occupational
[433] discipline and social ways. Imagine, for example, a Gael, a Lowlander and a Borderer, all three of whom follow the same calling—say, a trio of farmers, of shepherds or farm servants, or of independent, full-time small-holders. When brought together each trio would find they shared similar interests and aims in their work, and all that follows from it. In fact, they might have more in common than three Gaelic-speaking men who differed from one another in vocation, although, as Gaels, the latter group would find a bond in culture and kinship. But a fourth type of Scot, the crofter of the North-west townships with whom this book is concerned, would stand out, distinctively, from any other, whether his home were Zetland or the Hebrides. Thus not only their home or region differentiates Scots countrymen, but their calling or class; and their families

[113] [1] A. Geddes and F. D. N. Spaven, *The Highlands and Isles* (1949).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

magic is always efficacious—however desperate the need, however pure the motives of those who ask. These men were said to be the most successful fishers in the place; they were also Elders of the Kirk, who saw no wrong in what they did. They did not inform the minister; but the good man was not a fisherman and did not understand either the mysterious ways of fish or the incitement of a crew!

While this *neid fire* was kindled in all earnestness, a miming song-dance I have seen in Eriskay is pure fun: 'the Carline or Witch-wife of the Mill-dust' (*Cailleach an Dudain*), who falls down dead and is brought to life again! Once, perhaps, a half-remembered symbolic 'play' of the seasonal fall and resurrection of seed, it is certainly in form and spirit a thing of happy laughter now! Tales were retold by Martin and a seventeenth-century English skipper, of offerings made to a sea-god, Shony, at Eoropie, Ness, for the sake of seaweed, followed by feasting and drinking in the chapel there.[1] The story may be garbled or, if true, may record a pre-Christian survival turned to merriment and of no more significance to the people of the time than 'the Carline of the Mill-dust'. The prayers for the seaweed necessary for agriculture and daily bread are Christian in spirit.

When the people were at the mercy of periodic famines, diseases and sudden death, there were ample grounds for fears. Hence a word must be said of a belief widespread and ancient in the Old World, 'the evil eye' (*droch shuil*). In the absence of clinical diagnosis, a malady, or a misfortune to oneself or a valued possession, might cast suspicion on someone present when it occurred; and

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 143-208. Contrast *Carmina*, vol. iv, pp. 33-35.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

gentle frankness, as there is for reticence.[1] But since Augustine, orthodox religion, Catholic and Protestant, has overstressed and misunderstood the folk-lore of 'the Fall'—originally, it seems, a legend of fertility and fulfilment! In part as a result of the teaching of the doctrine of the 'Fall', there has arisen an attitude to parenthood which falls short of rational understanding and reverence for human life.[2] If fact be the best guard against superstitious fancy, and if sensibility and tact can soften the first shock of adolescence, then the Gael knew wisdom.

Returning to the main theme, it is clear that primitive religion and folk-lore alike show misunderstandings of cause and effect, and of the action of 'mind' on 'body' and 'matter'. What are facts to faith may be symbols to science; yet if these symbols prefigure truth, they may outlast the present stage of scientific recognition. Gaelic belief and practice show a recognition of communal as well as individual spirituality; of the depth of consciousness below its upper surface, and its upwelling power; and of the visible world without, in all its beauty, as a gate

[1] Needless to say, Gaelic verse has its moments of coarse freedom like that of any tongue. Of the lively lilts (*puirt-a-beul*) sung when there is no piper or fiddler to play for dancing, most of the words are delightful, but a few are not. A rather 'drinky' dissolute fellow—a small contractor on one of the Isles whose apprenticeship in the cities had not improved his character—once quoted a coarse jingle to me, only to see little amusement at his song and some contempt for its singer. He excused himself by saying, "It's rough . . . it's rough—but it's not dirty"! His excuse sums up the cruder expressions of animal spirits found in Gaelic jingles. One may adapt it as "Sometimes coarse, but rarely or never vicious".

[2] A. Geddes, "The Origin of Sin in Genesis and a Missing Legend", *Hibbert J.* vol. 44, Nos. 1 and 3, 1945-46. Cf. *The Legends of Creation: an Anthropo-Geographical Interpretation of Genesis*, i-iii (with map); *Man*, vol. 45 (104), 1945.

The Churches have given attention to the second chapter of Genesis, at the expense of the first. Gaelic spiritual tradition seems to have been singularly unwarped by such confused mythology, and to have held firmly to the first chapter, in its noble simplicity.

175 real hopes that prosperity could be maintained. In 1914
228 war came, followed by sweeping changes in international
trade. These changes left the Island fishermen workless,
178 and with wrecked and rotting boats. In twenty years the
[439] number of Scotland's fishermen was halved, and the remainder all but ruined. For guidance, past progress and past losses should be reviewed, in order to see what measures can be taken to restore prosperity.

121 For the slow growth of a native fishing industry, two
175 factors were to blame: the poverty of environment, to-
gether with the unsettled state of the Isles, and also, it
182 seems, the jealousy of urban interests. These were repre-
228 sented, to 1603 and even after, by the Royal Burghs, and from 1707 by the British Parliament. The Royal Burghs certainly developed Scottish trade and industry through their own ports, but they feared competition, and opposed any direct contact of other ports, such as Stornoway, with foreign fishers and traders. From the days of the MacLeods
[648] this difficulty had hampered regional development. It was in spite of royal prohibition that Seaforth encouraged Dutch curers to settle, an arrangement interrupted by war with Holland in 1653 and 1665. Curers from Caithness and the East Coast were encouraged to replace the Dutchmen, and from time to time through the succeeding century efforts were made from the south to form fishing companies, and in the Island to encourage local fishers to profit from example in the catching of herring and of ling, hake and cod.[1] The people fished for food, with fishing-rods from the shore, and in frail boats in the lochs, and if they
[648] could, they also sold a surplus. Fish were not only taken direct to Glasgow, but sold at home, first to Scots and foreign and later to British boats, of which ninety visited Lochs in

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, p. 65 ff.

175 1794, for instance, their crews not only fishing but also
228 buying from local fishers. Islanders occasionally earned a pittance as pilots, for until the charting of these rocky coasts navigation was most dangerous.

175 The herring industry was in the hands of 'adventurers'
228 (who 'ventured' their capital), and the Islanders benefited
[477] little. The British export was aided by a bounty which
[439] helped to capture the Continental market; but, as Adam Smith pointed out, no bounty was given to the small, open boats suitable for the north-west lochs. Thus the operation
175 of the Salt Duty after 1707 and of the bounty system from
228 before 1745 until 1786, illustrates two of the recurrent
656 blights upon "Public Administration" in the Isles. As Day wrote, their interests have had to suffer "either deliberately, for the benefit of other parts, or other classes in the kingdom, or inadvertently from ignorance".[1] Although the bounty system was widened to include small boats after 1786, the Salt Tax remained until 1817.

To overcome difficulties, the British Fisheries Society was founded with Government support in 1786. Although Stornoway then seemed too far afield, the Society's concentration upon larger settlements foreshadowed Lord Lever-
[311] hulme's principles after 1918. At Ullapool, Tobermory and Lochbay (Skye), and at Wick, quays and stores were constructed and dwelling-houses built, with croft land and grass for a cow, to be reclaimed. Although concentration at Wick led to the sale of the three western properties about 1842, the Society had done some good work in the West. The chief difficulty of the West Coast north of the Clyde area and south of Stornoway District remained: the lack of a well-marked seasonal migration of herring.

[1] J. P. Day, *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918.

175 some whose feelings and interests opposed emigration.
168 Free Church ministers foresaw that the beliefs they had
167 introduced would be shaken by travel; and their income, like that of the merchants, would have disappeared as a
[647] result of depopulation. The Congested Districts Board, however, sponsored two schemes of colonisation in 1888–89. In the first scheme thirty families, and in the second, fifty families were taken to Canada, mostly from the Island.[1] The first and smaller group repaid their loans and received their lands; but the second failed to do so, and the State was only reimbursed by sale of the land.

121 The story of the schemes suggests the lack of four
181 elements needed for success: promptitude in organisation; sympathy with strictness, and a sufficiency of funds; a year's experience of new conditions or technical guidance, rather than segregation of the inexperienced without leadership; and choice of vocation as farmer or as farm servant. Many a crofter-emigrant has succeeded as a shepherd and farm hand or as an independent farmer; but not every Islesman, particularly a cottar or landless squatter, is fit to conduct a farm. Technically, an all-round experience of part-time crofting and fishing by rule of thumb does not train a man for farming in a new environment without even a year's apprenticeship. Success is possible in schemes which overcome initial difficulties by providing training, companionship and community life, in a suitable physical environment.

121 One further principle of communal life was the spiritual,
181 which Parliament and administration failed to grasp. The most significant evidence in the Napier Commission was
771 that of A. Carmichael; and from this the Commissioners

[113] [1] J. P. Day, 1918, pp. 123-125, from Reports of Congested Districts Board, and Crofters and Colonisation Commissioners (Fifteenth Report).

121 had learned that the spiritual sanctions of the township's
181 activities were not yet dead. Legal recognition of the township's social economy would have encouraged con-
771 structive action in common. Communal responsibility, not merely private morality, would have had to be upheld. As it was, the people's acts of charity or justice modified the growing individualism of tenure and economic relationships. But with township duties to perform and a high standard of office to fulfil, the congregations could have maintained a common purpose; religion would have retained a deeper social meaning, binding neighbours as one. It is true that divisions rent the Island communities, as a result of the Evangelical reaction both from the lay patronage of the Moderates and their easy-going tolerance. Protestantism broke with the communal religion of the past and emphasised individual salvation, faith and doctrine, at the cost of schism. Hence, it appears less able to aid the renewal of the township than Catholicism, with its greater emphasis upon corporate unity, mutual aid and Christian works in common. Yet, if men of the township had been chosen to bear communal responsibility, then, 'living the life', would they not have re-learned 'the doctrine'? Ministers did not share in common responsibility, it is true, nor do they now. The Established Clergy dwelt apart upon their glebes, and the Evangelicals are housed in the village, but without a croft or a share of the scatt and a common grazing. Yet in youth as the sons of crofters, and after ordination also, they might have learned from chosen Elders.

000 Altogether, for reasons not only temporal but spiritual, the township with its elected officers should have won recognition. Given the responsibility which those who knew it believed it could still fulfil, the crofters' relations

175 the work done—or rather not done—by the local labourers;
653 for deep peat has misled road engineers elsewhere.
But impartial observers have left no doubt that the work
461 was shirked—partly from the labourers' lack of will,
181 in other words from laziness, and partly from the not unnatural desire that further grants might continue, offering easy money. Inspection revealed deliberate and combined concealment of bad work, road metal being thrown on to give a surface which had no foundation. The Carloway road, which was to help the Loch Roag fishermen by rapid transport of fresh catches, was never completed. The bad work of many contributed to the undoing of all.

175 . How are these two apparently contradictory responses
657 to help to be explained? The answer lies in the completely
653 different methods of expending the grants. A loan to fishermen for a boat was put into their own responsible
121 hands. The hope of profit in which each could share stimulated their enterprise; and where both the private honour of each member and the corporate honour of each crew was at stake, mutual obligation and team-spirit spurred them to work. But road-making—a work many had done for contractors elsewhere as navvies under de-
181 grading conditions—was different. A Gael responds when his imagination is fired, whether for selfish or unselfish ends; but he can also enjoy leisure as to the manner born! Not only was personal skill or effort in road-making of no advantage to an individual; there was little to call out either personal prowess or team-spirit in the work. Moreover, little effort appears to have been made by the administration to arouse ardour. The ultimate advantage of a good road to the people on the west of the Island, as a whole, was clear. Yet since bad work and delay led (at first) to further

195 language." Many Islanders would agree with the state-
178 ment that Gaelic was a barrier to economic progress.
197 It was not only Lowland schoolmasters, ignorant of Gaelic
182 but an educated, sensible class of men in their day, who
used the strap on the palms of the little children "for
[510] their good" because they could not understand English.
An active Lewis country schoolmaster, who had considerable
175 rural knowledge and experience, said to me: "I know what
197 I have suffered through life from being brought up on
871 Gaelic. If I had my way, I would *punish* [with the strap]
every child I heard speaking Gaelic in the playground!"
Had the Island School Boards wished Gaelic to be con-
sistently taught with English, they could have prevailed.

114 One may not only disagree strongly with the means—
197 the strap—but hold that enlightened bilingual teaching is
871 both worth while culturally and also of assistance to
intelligence without interfering with use in English of the
three Rs, and of secondary and higher education. Yet in
153 Lewis recent non-verbal tests in English and Gaelic show
a mean intelligence quotient depressed by about 15 points.[1]
153 The conclusion seems to be that under the present system
197 the Gaelic school child is still at a disadvantage compared
182 to other school children. But even more important to the
child's development would seem to be the expression of
• 121 his response to his rural environment in his own tongue.
For this the school tests and the educational code do not
fully provide; nor do the tests of life when the adolescent
Islander suddenly finds himself at work in a Glasgow
175 factory or abroad in city streets. What concerns us here
197 is the economic drawback of a lack of ready English among

182 [1] Christina A. Smith, M.A., B.Ed., *Mental Testing of Hebridean Children*
[113] *in Gaelic and English*. (Scot. Council on Research in Education, vol. xxvii
(London, 1948); J. L. Campbell, *Gaelic in Scotland* (and ed.) (Edinburgh,
1948).

178 exists at Tarbert and another was erected in 'the Bays'
286 district by Leverhulme. Leverhulme also appears to
have introduced 'Automatic' hand-looms into Lewis.
[423] Today as in the past, the weavers possess a little croft or
[422] a feu, a cow, and a few sheep on the outrun, and perhaps
a small boat.

• 121 Commercial fishing and weaving cannot, however, be
286 satisfactorily combined, for seasonal alternation of occupa-
228 tion entails waste of gear and plant, and interferes with
182 efficiency. Thus in the North Lochs fishing 'creek'
178 (Leurbost neighbourhood, immediately south of Storno-
way), weaving became important, but none of the seven
large herring fishing boats (still registered in 1930) had
been fitted with motors after 1918; they were idle and
[501] rotting, and by 1938 only one was still registered. In South
Lochs, however, motor-boats were purchased, but there
is little weaving. An obvious reason for the difference is
the accessibility of the North Lochs area by road to
[493] Stornoway. Light passenger cars bring yarn to the village,
besides groceries, etc., and take away rolls of tweed. South
Lochs, on the other hand, considerably further from
Stornoway by road, is still within reach for marketing fish.
In North Lochs, merchant seamen at home and young men
on their return from three months' work on East Coast
fishing boats, turned increasingly to the 'Automatic' looms,
manipulation being easily learnt; but such intermittent
work alone gives little hope of progress. There is no more
fascinating problem than the future of improved weaving.

2. *Unemployment and the Island Budget*

174 In the past, the storms of the Atlantic washed up on
731 the Island shores the wreckage of world commerce; and
434

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

ISLAND, REGION AND NATION. REGIONAL SURVEY FOR COMMUNAL SERVICE IN 'THE NORTH AND WEST'

• 121 THE aim of this study has been the survey of a
region for the service of its society. Survey is
fundamental. As treatment should follow diag-
nosis, so should decision for action be based on balanced
knowledge. Until now this has too seldom been the case.
[311] In Scotland particularly our land and resources are as yet
imperfectly surveyed; our activities are still too hap-
[181] hazard and chaotic. There is work to be done and there
are hands to do it, but they have been kept unemployed;
the workless slackened in body and mind, and their spirits
failed; and our communities are still without clear aims
[185] in common. The first five years of peace have seen an
increased awakening to integrated planning. Planning
must be preceded by survey and be linked to international
order; it must be aimed towards better living and finer
[171] purpose. This study is part of a world-wide movement
of survey and planning directed, not first to private gain
but to common ends. In Western Europe until the war,
in the United States and (in a different way) in the war-
ravaged Soviet Union, men and women of good-will have
striven to prepare for a 'New Deal', region by region.

• 121 The importance of the 'regional' movement is inter-
185 regional and indeed international. In the case of the
438 Island, international order is required for its fisheries to
recover, and for its weaving to find purchasers abroad as
well as at home. This in turn could allow small-holding
to find an Island market in its little burgh, Stornoway.
Without this triple basis of fishing, weaving and crofting
for its economy, Island society will break up and its culture
[182] vanish, not evolve. It is no less true that only by the best
utilisation of each regional environment, economy and
society as we find them, will profiteers be held in check
at home, and powerful peoples cease to exploit the sweat
of others.

121 A pioneer American Report acknowledges the debt of
171 regional survey for the New Deal not only to France and
Germany, but to a group of practical idealists, of geo-
[185] graphers, biologists and sociologists in Britain.[1] If nation-
[433] ally we can be proud of Scots and British initiative in
planning, we must own, until recently, to humiliating
[184] slowness in its execution, and in the mobilisation of regional
resources for social ends. The chief end of our planning
must be the re-making of society. In Britain it is not
always realised that in the great developments of the New
Deal the execution of concrete schemes which include civil
engineering, industrial expansion and agricultural con-
servation, is accompanied by real cultural achievements,
both urban and rural. Not only are geographers and
economists, technicians, industrialists, and officials called
to survey and plan the Tennessee Valley, but sociologists
and educationists are required to complete the work. Not

[113] [1] *Regional Factors in National Planning*, National Resources Committee,
U.S.A., December 1935. Cf. Lewis Mumford (U.S.A.); and P. Geddes,
P. Abercrombie, L. D. Stamp, E. A. Gutkind, G. H. J. Daysh, and others
(Britain).

• 121 only the place but the people are to be understood, re-
171 spected and helped.

The planning movement is gathering impetus in Britain,
121 as it spreads outwards from bombed towns to countrysides,
171 embracing regions as a whole. It is certainly destruction
in war that has stabbed the nation's spirit 'broad awake',
185 awake to features of economic and moral disintegration
184 that preceded actual warfare. The realisation that defeat
of the common enemy called for common effort roused the
nation to face its enemies of want and confusion at home.
Yet the seeds of the planning movement were sown in
peace, and only in peace can they grow to fruition. Plan-
ning, prepared for by the survey of each region as a whole,
must lead towards the freeing of its people not only from
physical want but from spiritual frustration. Based on the
provision of work and a livelihood for individuals, planning
should envisage the common weal and attempt to realise
the deepest cravings of each community and serve their
highest ideals. In a word, there must be a regional vision
of the unity of life.

128 This book began by viewing the 'Outer' Isles as a
18 heart of 'the North and West' of the British Isles,
the innermost of a series of regions extending from the
North-west Isles to the landward margin of the English
'Plain'. Differences in landscape and community, in
history and modern life, make each of these regions
unique in itself; yet—it was suggested—all possess certain
features of landscape and evolution in common, which
marked them off from the 'Plain' of the South-east.
Some four physical and human frontier-lines or border-
zones divide these regions. South-eastward from the
Minch four were selected: the Highland Line, the Scot-
tish Border, the edge of the older rocks of Britain and,

128 enclosing all, the zone from Severn to Tees. Having por-
18 trayed the environment and life of the Island—' innermost ' of the regional series, the next step was to extend this survey beyond the Minch to the Highlands and Isles as a whole, and then to compare these with the regions extending south-eastward—' outwards '—from the Isles to the margin of the ' Plain ', through the regional series we group as ' the North-and-West '.

121 Two main tasks lie before us in making comprehensive community surveys, once the geographical basis is established. The first task, historical in method, is the redis-
[133] covery of cultural foundations. These might be compared (as we said at the outset) to the Archaean gneiss laid bare only in the North-west, but still the foundation, albeit a hidden one, of the ice-sculptured rocks of Highland Britain, from the pre-Cambrian to the coal at the margin of the overlying, differently sculptured rocks of the ' Plain '. Understanding of the past can help us to understand not only the evidence of the present, but latent, underlying powers. Regional traditions, dormant for one, perhaps for many generations, may germinate afresh if we can understand the conditions in which they once grew and also those needed to awaken them to new life in finer forms.

The other task of social survey must be to recognise the communal efforts of the present, and with eyes undimmed by prejudices of class or culture, grasp the relation of personal efficiency and self-realisation to life in teams or groups. The inherent cultural interests of the people of each region in work and leisure must be evaluated. Underlying actual achievements, latent powers may be discovered which must be freed for communal attainment. Better work under better conditions should bring about the flowering of personality in harmonious communities.

121 In every community, social and spiritual relations are inherent, and these, at one time inseparable in Island life, are once more winning recognition.

If this intensive study of a single isle has sustained the unity inherent in a region's environment, work and people, its first intention will have been accomplished. A second aim will have been achieved if it has faithfully re-interpreted the way in which small communities of ' Highland and Island Britain ', in spite of their stark poverty, once realised their vision of fellowship, in labour, in leisure and in spiritual life. This aim led in turn to tracing the transitions through which the community reached their present stage of society.

In another book there have been presented means by which an integrated policy could be implemented for fishing, for weaving and other country industries, and for crofting. If that study of " The Resources and Prospects of the Isle " could contribute to a fresh economy for Island life, the third purpose of this survey would have been attained. The Islesmen themselves must show how economic development, planned with common purpose, may renew the communal, cultural and spiritual achievement of the Hebrides.

PREFACE

114 This report is the result of a remarkable co-operative enterprise. In August, 1959,
121 a party of 19 members of the Geographical Field Group and Scottish Field Studies Association undertook a survey of crofting in Uig, one of the four parishes of the Isle of Lewis. In less than three weeks more than 700 crofts and other households were visited or recorded in accordance with a scheme devised by my colleague, Dr. Caird, and myself. This scheme has been used by us in other parts of the Hebrides and, therefore, the record of Uig is an integral part of our Outer Hebridean crofting survey, undertaken between
[122] 1956 and 1961. We are extremely grateful to the nineteen voluntary field-workers who, it is worth recording, travelled from England and stayed in Uig entirely at their own expense in order to help us: they could have spent their holiday more cheaply in Switzerland - an enlightening comment on the fundamental economic disadvantage of the Hebrides.

Geographical Field Group

114

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125 The object of the work was to make an impartial record of the state of crofting as a
[121] way of life and as a means of livelihood. The boundaries and land-use of every croft were recorded on 1/2500 plans, enquiries were made as to acreages of crops and grass and numbers of livestock, and the population of each household was recorded, taking account of sex, age and occupation (part or full-time) of each member including those who, perforce, must seek work elsewhere even though their only home is in Uig. The Croft Record form is reproduced opposite.

122 The successful completion of the survey was not only due to the co-operation of the Geographical Field Group and Scottish Field Studies Association. Adequate preparation would not have been possible without the advice and help of officials of the Department of Agriculture, County Council, Scottish Land Court, Crofters Commission, David Macbrayne Ltd, the estate factors and many other bodies. Miss C. B. Smith, Carnegie Research Assistant, undertook much of the tedious preparatory clerical work. In Uig
123 itself we were encouraged and assisted wherever we went. We owe exceptional debts of gratitude to the Ministers, school-masters and township clerks, who welcomed us and made our purpose known throughout the parish, also to the families who took us into

233 no road and access by foot is difficult. To reach the grazings the crofters travel by boat from Mealasta several times a year and stay in one of the two houses at Aird Bheag which, although vacant, is still in repair. These houses were formerly occupied by estate employees who had crofter status.

51 From the above account, it is evident that in this district as in others, a single croft is not sufficient to support a crofter and his family. On an average, each resident crofter has acquired the equivalent of two crofts, and in addition each crofter supplements the meagre income obtained from his croft by some other occupation, e.g. weaving, labouring, or driving.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE UIG BAY DISTRICT

(Carnish, Ardroil, Timsgarry and Crowlista)

by

Elizabeth Blowers.

134/ Uig bay, in which low tide reveals several hundred acres of pure white sand, is surrounded by crofting townships. There are no extensive machair plains but the shell-sand forms a fringe of easily cultivated, lime-rich soils on all sides except Crowlista, and, blown inland by the Atlantic winds, it modifies and improves the texture and acidity of the peaty soil as much as 2,000 yards from the shore. It is not to be wondered at then, that 361 [175] this bay at one time formed one of the most important centres of population in Lewis. Signs of ancient cultivation, and the ruins of old clachans, are widespread, but most of the present settlements are less than forty years old: almost the whole area was cleared to make farms in the early nineteenth century. Only in Crowlista, with its thin, rocky, [121] arable land and almost complete absence of machair, were the small tenants left undisturbed. Consequently the district provides an opportunity to compare "old" and "new" townships, both as to lay-out and operation.

133 Carnish, in the south-west, is dominated by a huge gravel ridge - probably an esker, - over a mile long and sloping steeply to the estuary of Amhuinn Chaslabhat with the rocky 361 headland of Machair Carnish to the north. The arable land and houses of Ardroil are situated to the landward side of the hummocky machair land between the esturies of Amhuinn Chaslabhat and the Forsa river which drains Loche Suainaval and Stacsavat. To the north of the bay the old settlement of Crowlista is situated on the rocky headland to the west of the Rethall embayment; there is a good deal of level land in the centre of the township but the slope to the estuary in the north is steep and rocky outcrops occur on the headland. Timsgarry, to the east of Rethall, stretches inland between the headlands of Tolamish and Borranish along the valley of the Erista river.

134 There is a mantle of gravelly drift over this area; the Carnish esker has been mentioned and exposures of up to 120' were also seen in gravel pits in Ardroil and Timsgarry. Along the coast blown shell sand rests on this drift and reaches inland for up to half a mile.

161 In the northern townships, stretching from Garynahine to Loch Carloway, quite the 162 reverse is seen. Here there are actually more people now than in 1841 (1,261, c.f. 1,204), although there has been a marked decline since 1891 when 2,106 were enumerated. Thus this area, which had less than one third of Uig's population in 1841, now has more than half. The main change occurred before 1891 and was associated with the prosperity of fishing, both locally and on the east mainland coast, but, in addition, this area did not lose population as rapidly as did Bernera and the southern townships in the 'twenties and 'thirties, nor since 1951, and this can undoubtedly be ascribed to the early establishment, especially in the Carloway district, of Harris Tweed weaving.

TABLE 49

Loss of Population by Districts, 1931 - 1959

	Annual rates: 1931 - 1951	1951 - 1959	Net loss: 1931 - 1959*
Carloway District	0.5%	1.6%	182
East Loch Roag District	0.8%	1.3%	185
Bernera Shore	-	2.9%	28
Bernera Island	1.6%	0.7%	182
Little Loch Roag	1.8%	1.0%	95
Valtos District	1.0%	1.8%	101
Aird and Crowlista	2.0%	2.2%	68
Uig Bay District	0.6%	(+0.1%)	12
Mangersta/Brenish	1.8%	2.1%	97

* Immigrant R.A.F. and Ministry of Civil Aviation staff and families are excluded.

Migration

121 One of the objects of our enquiries was to discover something of the processes of population change in recent years. To this end we tried to record some details of migrants, 16 from and to the parish since 1939 (see croft record questionnaire, frontispiece to Part I). We also attempted to record war and other casualties away from home. Finally, we recorded natural population changes by extracting details of births and deaths from the official registers for the period October 1939 - December 1958 (the 1959 registers were not available). The results are summarised in table 50.

166 Our record of migration depends on the memories of our informants and cannot be expected to be complete, nor can the 1939 (National Registration) population figure be

166 island girls bringing mainland men to settle in the island are rare indeed. Thus migration remains, as it has long been, a one-way traffic and this is almost certainly related to the problem of establishing technical innovation*.

Age structure

162 The age structure of the population reflects the changes that have taken place in recent 121 years. The population of Uig, as is usual in areas of declining population, is ageing. It is one advantage of a survey such as ours that the data may be analysed in greater geographical detail than is possible from the published figures in the official Census reports. This is particularly important in the crofting region where neighbouring communities may show quite different demographic - and economic - trends. Table 52 compares the 1951 Census figures for rural Lewis with those of Uig parish and with certain other districts, one (Park) remote like Uig, the other (Point) being most accessible to the urban facilities and employment offered by Stornoway. Uig has an even greater proportion of old folk than has Park, but it also has more children. This is probably related to the smaller proportion of Uig's population finding it necessary to leave the parish in search of work (16%, compare 28% from Park).

The proportion of the population over 65 years of age has increased from 17% in 1939 to 21% in 1959; it is thus more than twice the national average and well above the figure for rural Lewis. The proportion between 45 and 64 has also increased whilst that between 15 and 44 has markedly declined. The actual number of persons aged between 15 and 44 had declined from 1,263 in 1939 to 752 in 1959. It is to this age group in particular that one should look when seeking economic development but it is by no means certain that this decline is an unmitigated evil.

TABLE 52

Age distribution

	Percentage in each age group: 0-4	5-14	15-44	45-64	65+	
Scotland	9.0	15.0	43.0	23.0	10.0	Census, 1951
Lewis (rural)	9.0	15.7	35.1	24.3	15.9	Census, 1951
Uig	7.4	13.4	31.5	26.1	21.6	O.F.C., 1959
Park (Loche p.)	5.0	15.8	29.4	33.1	18.7	O.F.C., 1958
Point (Stornoway p.)	8.1	16.4	28.6	30.6	16.4	O.F.C., 1960
Uig Districts						
South	9.1	12.8	31.8	22.3	24.0	
Bernera	6.4	9.9	41.2	27.0	15.8	
East Loch Roag	7.4	14.7	32.2	23.4	22.3	
Carloway	5.7	13.8	29.1	31.4	20.1	
Cosmore:						
Uig (1939)	6.0	15.4	39.2	22.2	17.2	Nat. Register

[113] * For discussion of this topic see Caird J.B. and Moisley H.A.: Leadership and innovation in the Crofting Communities of the Outer Hebrides, Sociological Review, Vol. 9 1961, pp. 85-102.

Employment - the search for work

121 When an island community outgrows the local intrinsic resources permanent emi
464 is not the only solution. It is one of the outstanding demographic characteristics of
166 island communities that a proportion of the population seeks employment beyond the
whilst maintaining its island homes. We therefore classified the population, in the
place, according to whether it was:

(a) permanently resident in the parish

(b) leaving the parish seasonally or otherwise irregularly in search of work, an

(c) working permanently away yet without a permanent home except in the parish

TABLE 53

Location of employment

162
166
464

	Proportion of total population: Resident:	Periodically away:	Permanently away:		
Uig Parish	83.7%	6.5%	9.8%	100% (2,652)	
Districts					
South Uig	87.7%(1)	3.1%	9.2%	100% (746)	
Bernera	85.2%	7.2%	7.6%	100% (460)	
East Loch Roag	81.3%	7.0%	11.7%	100% (701)	
Carloway	81.2%	8.6%	10.2%	100% (745)	
c.f.					
Park	72.2%	11.8%	16.0%	100% (1,092)	(1958)
Point(Stornoway)	86.8%	2.3%	10.9%	100% (1,068)	(sample:
Harris(mainland)	80.8%	6.9%	12.2%	100% (2,768)	(1961)
North Uist	87.7%	2.3%	10.0%	100% (432)	(sample:
South Uist	86.0%	3.5%	10.5%	100% (3,690)	(1956)
Barra	70.6%	4.0%	25.5%	100% (1,906)	(1961)

Note: (1) Including at least 27 temporarily employed on construction work at the Olsla hydro-electric scheme, and 23 permanently employed at government sites (equivalent to 7.4% of the total population). Many of these men would otherwise seek employment outwith Uig.

On this basis some 16% of the population of Uig is periodically or permanently a
This may seem low compared with 28% in Park and 30% in Barra but, on the other h
in the Point district, near Stornoway, the proportion is only 13%, and in North and
Uist it is around 12 - 14%. In Harris (Scalpay and Bernera islands excepted) the p
portion is 19%. Various factors influence this state of affairs; they may be summ
as the age-structure of the population, the relative viability of the crofts and the op
tunities for local employment. Within Uig the situation differs from district to dis
the particularly low proportion classified as 'periodically away' in South Uig was pr

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

121 to the world within. Above all, harmony of relations, at
771 every stage of life, in man and woman, was felt to pre-
181 figure relations with the Divine. The religious poetry of which the Gael were the creators and heirs, promoted courage and calm. True, its very power could lead to superstitious respect for mere forms of words, debased as 'magical' charms. Such misuse was 'superstitious', being false in itself and falling short of the clearest thought, the highest aspiration, of the time and the community. Worse still, use with evil intent could concentrate ill-will and evoke mutual fears. Yet at its best, thought was clearer, less confused, than is commonly imagined. To the aspiration and attainment of the Gael—in congregation or solitude, in meditation or labour, in love and faith or in works—the fragments of their oral heritage bear witness.

(c) LITERACY AND EVANGELISM: 'THE MEN' AND THE DISRUPTION

175 From before 1680 "a school for the gentlemen's sons
178 and daughters" was open in Stornoway. Latin and
871 English were taught, and a century later even Greek had been added, as recorded by W. J. Gibson, for many years Rector of Stornoway's high school, the Nicolson Institute, in his *Education in Scotland*, 1912 (chap. v). Particularly towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Gaelic School Society and other bodies, like the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, sent out schoolmasters to teach the reading of the Scriptures. Industrial schools were set up at the same time by Lady Seaforth, to teach spinning
671] by the wheel, replacing the slow distaff. It was not till nearly a century later that teaching of English was widely taken advantage of—partly by the compulsion of the

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 saint, a character so eminently Christ-like",[1] and to his
793 intimate beliefs, doctrine and wide influence. The same
159 Highland roots and deep charity characterised Dr. Norman Macleod, author of the popular classic, *The Friend of the Gael* (*Caraid nan Gaidheal*).

• 121 If a student of community ventures upon an interpretation of theology, it is because, to him, any attempt to understand "the relations of God to mankind" must take account of men's relations to one another. Ideas are transformed by human experience during economic and social revolutions, and in their turn they transform society. To make contact with reality, theology must regard mankind: it
175 must be integrated with sociology. Because of its close
178 bond with communal life, the religious spirit, recorded in Gaelic lore, was jarred, almost overwhelmed, when com-
182 munity was shaken to its foundations by the commercial, agricultural and industrial revolution. Happily, the value
178 of communal Christianity has been acknowledged both by
79 Roman Catholics—notably (among Gaels) by the Rev. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay—and by Protestants.[2] In the Scottish Presbyterian Church today, the movement which seems most deeply aware of the need for a new society has acknowledged its debt to communal tradition where this has been best maintained, that is, in the Isles. Seeking to aid Christian endeavour, international and national, this movement has turned for inspiration to Iona.
[771] In Iona, of which the noble cathedral belongs to the Church of Scotland but is open for service to all denominations, Presbyterians have found a new symbol.

[113] [1] Canon Vaughan, cited by the Rev. Norman Maclean (*Scotsman*, 21st Aug. 1943).

[2] "The Church should interpret the Love of God by a flaming zeal for the redress of the social order." (The Very Rev. Prof. John Baillie, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, at St. Andrews, 1943.)

by the ability of the culture to maintain its form in the face of changes in content.

The inhabitants of the Isle of Skye, of course, should not be regarded as possessing a folk culture. To do so would make an airy nothing out of a concept already so indefinite that its usefulness is suspect.[9] They are, however, much akin to European peasants. Like European peasants in general,[10] the Skye crofters have lost much of their isolation, their former political independence, and their self-sufficiency. At the same time, they have retained a good deal of their former identity, a continuity of culture and an attachment to the land and to the traditional way of life. This is true despite chronic social instability and a passage through two periods of threatened social and cultural disintegration. The breaks proved to be only temporary. They involved the creation of a new cultural focus to replace the former integrative pillar in the first period and later a reaffirmation of the new focus. This does not mean there was a lapse of continuity. A comparable situation is found in the culture history of the Pueblo of Southwestern United States. Archaeologists tell us that the sequence has been broken, in particular at the end of the Pueblo III when the culture underwent a reorientation and a shift in locale. Even though the Pueblo were never again to live in the San Juan River drainage and

[9] Oscar Lewis, Life in a Mexican Village (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 432-434. See also Steward, op. cit., p. 113.

[10] Kroeber, op. cit., p. 284; and Kimball Young, Sociology: A Study of Society and Culture (2d. ed.; New York: American Book Co., 1949), p. 236.

were to accept a number of significant developments in material culture and religion, their tradition was preserved to be handed on to their living descendants. Not all cultures have succeeded in averting the ultimate disaster. When speaking of those of the Northwest Coast, for example, it is now customary to use the past tense. The cultures have lost their continuity and with it their identity.

Essentially, the first assumption to be kept in mind when reading this thesis is that a culture may be subjected to social upheavals, economic calamity, and remarkable changes in content and yet persist and remain recognizable through the years. A further exploration of the concepts of social and cultural integration and disintegration will facilitate our mutual comprehension of the problem.

Social and Cultural Integration

By implication, I have acknowledged the necessity of distinguishing between the concepts of "society" and "culture." Although anthropologists have not yet reached full agreement on this question, I believe the distinction to be important in a study of cultural continuity and population change if we wish to avoid ambiguity. In many ways, the dispute over what is social and what is cultural, as Kroeber has observed, stems from an embroilment with names rather than with principles.[11]

[11] A. L. Kroeber, "Concluding Review," An Appraisal of Anthropology Today, p. 365.

The difficulty is a lack of explicitness in using the terms in both anthropological and sociological literature.[12] They are frequently used interchangeably or are accepted as two ways of viewing the same thing.[13] From my point of view, which reflects the attitudes of many leading anthropologists, society and culture are logically separate though complementary concepts.[14]

Except on the infra-human biological level, there is no society without a culture. At the same time, man becomes a carrier of culture as a member of a society. Indeed, we abstract culture from the collective behavior of the members of the society.

There are no really significant differences of opinion concerning the nature of society and culture among those who distinguish between them.[15] A society is a group of people who have a sense of esprit de corps or belonging which results

[12] For a general critique see Leslie White, The Science of Culture (New York: Farrar, Straus and Co., 1949), pp. 83-89.

[13] S. F. Nadel, The Foundations of Social Anthropology (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), p. 79.

[14] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 7-10; Steward, op. cit., pp. 97-99, 104; Wagley and Harris, loc. cit., p. 428; Fred Eggan, Social Organization of the Western Pueblos (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 4; John Gillan, The Ways of Men (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948), pp. 192, 205; Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), pp. 91-112, 271; and Robert Lowie, statement in An Appraisal of Anthropology Today, p. 223.

[15] Eggan, op. cit., p. 4; Gillan, op. cit., pp. 186, 340; Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 7-10; Linton, op. cit., pp. 91-112; Steward, op. cit., p. 97. See also Irving Hallowell, "Culture, Personality, and Society," in Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory, ed. A. L. Kroeber (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 601; and Herskovits, op. cit., pp. 29, 34-35.

from living together in an organized group and cooperating
accordance with well defined patterns of interpersonal inte
action. Culture is generally accepted to mean the socially
transmitted conventional attitudes, behavior patterns, and
techniques which are distributed among the members of a soci
in accordance with their status positions and sub-group mem
ships.

If it is agreed that society and culture are separate
though complementary and interrelated concepts, then, social
and cultural integration do not necessarily have to go toget
The culture may be integrated but incompatible with the
capabilities of the members of the society, or the members o
the society may not be enculturated. The social aspects und
such conditions would appear to be disintegrated.[16] Kroeber
used France in the days of the Revolution as an example of a
society which lacked solidarity but had an integrated cultur
in pointing out how the two rather tend to go together.[17] T
same argument is applicable to the problem of social and
cultural stability. As Steward has pointed out, cultural
stability cannot be measured by the criteria used in deter-
mining social stability.[18] The size of the group may increa
or decrease without seriously disturbing the cultural patter

For further clarity, a pause to define my terms is in
order. Except to Benedict, who emphasized the manner in whi

[16] Cf. Gillan, op. cit., p. 515.

[17] Anthropology, p. 268.

[18] Op. cit., p. 42.

heterogeneous traits were formed into a congruous shape by their becoming characteristic of the goals of the culture, and, hence, saw integration in terms of emotional and intellectual motives,[19] cultural integration is normally judged in terms of functional relatedness. In other words, culture traits, complexes, patterns, and aspects are considered integrated to the extent that they are meaningful to the individual carriers of the culture.[20] The antithetical condition is cultural disintegration. The basic pattern of the culture separates into fragments; continuity is lost; and the culture disappears. Between the two states of being I find it expedient to single out cases of cultural instability and cultural disorganization. Since all cultures are continuously undergoing change, instability is best reserved for phases of frequent, dynamic modifications. The outcome of instability is disorganization, a disturbance of the systematic structure of the culture. Unless there is a readaptation, disorganization begets disintegration.

These four cultural conditions have their social counterparts.[21] An integrated society is one in which all the members are coordinated into a unified whole; they are bound together

[19] Ruth F. Benedict, Patterns of Culture (New York: Mentor Books, 1948), p. 42.

[20] See, for example, Raymond Firth, Elements of Social Organization (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), pp. 33-35; and Gillan, op. cit., pp. 498-531.

[21] Henry P. Fairfield (ed.) Dictionary of Sociolory (Ames, Iowa: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1955).

by a network of relations.[22] The opposing condition is social disintegration. The group no longer has any common interests, and the society is fragmented. I shall use social instability to refer to the departure of people from the total group or any subgroup by either upward or outward mobility. Social disorganization is a disturbance of the interpersonal relationships which make for harmonious living together.[23] Most societies probably experience some degree of instability and disorganization at some time or another.[24] It is only when the latter condition is chronic that disintegration appears.

Of all the foregoing states of being, cultural disorganization has proved to be the most thorny problem. The same culture can be described as reorganized or disorganized by different investigators. Two studies of a single community amply demonstrate this fact. Redfield, in his first formulation of his concept of "folk culture," described the village of Tepoztlan in an organization - disorganization framework.[25] He was interested in the changes which urban influence brought about in the folk culture.[26] Tepoztlan, it might be added, was regarded as representing a medial cultural type between the

[22] Eggan, op. cit., p. 6; Gillan, op. cit., pp. 498-515.

[23] After writing the above, I discovered, at the suggestion of Charles Wagley, that my handling of the organization-disorganization continuum is somewhat similar to Merton's concept of dysfunction. See Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.; Free Press, 1949), especially Chap. 4.

[24] Franz Boas, "Methods of Research," in General Anthropology, ed. Franz Boas (New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1938), p. 680.

[25] Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

[26] Ibid., p. 13.

primitive tribe and the modern city not unlike peasant communities in undeveloped areas of the world.[27] Almost twenty years after Redfield's study, Lewis returned to Tepoztlan to investigate recent modifications.[28] Changes there were, but Lewis also discovered factual discrepancies and found himself differing with Redfield in the interpretation of the evidence. The result was a re-study of the village which advanced the conclusion that there was no reason to speak of disorganization. The changes rather involved a new kind of organization.[29]

It would appear, then, that if the anthropologist is concerned only with changes seen from the perspective of a supposed pre-contact situation, he may decide, as Redfield did once again in Yucatan,[30] there has been disorganization. Lewis is not the only one who has questioned the validity of this approach. Gross has found severe limitations in Redfield's concepts of organization and disorganization because they force the analysis into an organization-disorganization framework and neglect the possibility of the existence of different levels of organization in cultures.[31] Steward, who has, perhaps, been the most explicit exponent of levels of sociocultural organization, prefers to take the larger cultural framework of which the disorganized culture becomes a part as his point

[27] Ibid., p. 217.

[28] Lewis, op. cit.

[29] Ibid., pp. 428, 431-432, 436-437.

[30] Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

[31] Neal Gross, "Cultural Variables in Rural Communities," American Journal of Sociolory, LIV, No. 5 (March, 1948), pp. 348-350.

62 appropriate age-group, males on the left, females on the right. The width of the bars
26 varies according to the age-range of the groups so that the length of each bar gives an indication of the relative importance of the particular age-group in the total population. In an unofficial survey it is difficult to obtain detailed information as to age; hence the diagrams are crude, nevertheless they do suggest certain trends, as well as marked regional differences, within the parish.

62 If we examine first the parish as a whole it will be seen that the proportion of children under school age, (0-4), is sufficient to maintain, and perhaps to slightly increase, the school population (5-14) provided that none are lost through emigration. The present school population is not quite sufficient to maintain the 15-44 age-group, including, of course, those working away, on the same assumption. In both these groups, as is usual, males slightly outnumber females.

The characteristics of the 15-44 age-group are clearly seen. A large number is working away from home; the proportion of women working away is far greater than of men and, in view of the "marriage risk" to women in this age group, it is reasonable to suppose that, in time, most of these women will become 'emigrants'. More men stay at home (weaving supports many of them) and, of those that go away to work, a substantial proportion is likely to return either on inheritence of a croft or when they retire; some of them may bring back wives from outwith the parish but it seems unlikely that this will by any means balance the loss of local women by marriage outwith the parish.

The 45-64 age-group is only slightly affected by the custom of working away. Men and women are evenly balanced, but when we compare them with the 15-44 group it seems that, in the next ten years or so, there will be a decline particularly in the number of women aged 45-64. Indeed, if most of the women under 45, who are at present working away, eventually marry and settle outwith the parish, the decline will be drastic. The 45-64 age-group should, in time, replenish the over 65's; it is clear from the diagram, crude as it is, that this is not possible. At present an excessive proportion of the population is over 65 years of age and thus, in time and failing the unlikely event of substantial immigration, a further fall in total population is certain. One may hazard a guess that this decline will be of the order of 300 to 250 persons in the next ten years.

Turning to the districts, the most striking feature is their individuality and this emphasises again the value of this kind of survey because such local details cannot be discovered from the official census reports. In South Uig, of the total population, a very high proportion is over 65 years of age; this makes it certain that further decline is inevitable. However the 15-44 group can probably replenish and maintain the 45-64 group with little loss; the relatively high proportion of children, particularly under school age, suggests that the 15-44 group, too, will be adequately replenished, except that there is an unusually low proportion of female children. A large proportion of young women from South Uig take employment away from home, as the diagram shows, and this suggests that South Uig may have a special problem here in view of the tendency of such women to marry and settle away from home. The Bernera district shows characteristics similar to South Uig, but the preponderance of children is not quite so great.

The East Loch Roag district, and to an even greater extent the Carloway district, has the different characteristics which suggest rather different trends. There the preponderance of old people is not quite so great - but, one may remark in passing, the excess of females over males in the over 65's is quite astonishing until one recalls the heavy casualties, amongst the Naval reservists and others, from this area in the First World War. If we look at the proportion of children, however, it is clear that the school population can scarcely be maintained over the next ten years, nor can the 15-44 age-group fully replenished. This, of course, assumes that there will be no material change in birth and death rates, nor in migration. In brief, it seems that, although population will probably continue to fall in South Uig and Bernera, the prospect of a more stable, though smaller, population is within sight. But in East Loch Roag and Carloway districts it is likely that decline, though perhaps not so rapid, will continue for a long time yet.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CONCLUSIONS

H. A. Moisley

121 The relationships between Place, Folk and Work are sel
community such as Uig they are particularly complex. The
make an impartial, factual record of the physical and human
sation, as described in the Preface (Part I, page i). The p
is to make our observations available to others and to this en
deal of fact leavened, we hope, by a modicum of personal im
however, it seems appropriate to add certain personal conclu
observations and data relating to the crofts and townships vis

424 The outstanding fact is that, over the whole parish more t
lation between the ages of 15 and 64 has to leave home in orde
164 those who remain at home, 80% of the men are more or less s
most all of these have some other source of income, usually
the cash income from agriculture must be less than £100. A
60% of resident males as 'crofters with regular employment' t
434 necessarily the same as having a full-time job. The average
Uig, for example, is only of the order of £250 per annum. Th
employment, or employment with ancillary crofting as is more
a good deal of under-employment. Such low incomes and hidd
characteristic of West European under-developed regions.

427 The crofting system can never provide an ideal structural s
433 that is not its real purpose. It is a social system and, whether
or not, it exists. It should not be allowed to decay for that wou
to the crofting communities but would also, in the case of island
000 lead to the abandonment of potentially productive resources of la
it be preserved unchanged; preservation would mean fossilisatio
The present crofting system was cast in a legislative mould in th
when population pressed heavily on the resources of the islands.
now changed and the mould must be altered or the communities w

This is not to say that wholesale reorganisation is required,
But the authorities charged with the welfare of the crofting townsh
a whole, have a duty to see that crofting evolves towards somethin
productive. Subsidies alone are a confession of defeat. It is no
spend money to alleviate the symptoms of a disease which it is no
'under-development'. Realistic planning is required so that the
ture incurred in such regions becomes a productive investment and
form of charity.

It is encouraging to note that such economic and technical devel
place (particularly the development of weaving and the improvemen
owe a good deal to local initiative and local investment. This sugg
guidance and encouragement, the crofting townships can do much to
would be an excellent thing if, in each district, informal and quite u
groups could be started to think about the future of their particular
development and not decay.

Realistic discussion of development must face certain facts even
they may be unpalatable or politically unpopular. Amongst the most

Uig

n simple; in a crofting
ject of our survey was to
sources and their utili-
nary purpose of this report
we have included a great
ession. In conclusion,
ons based on the detailed
ed.

an a quarter of the popu-
to make a living. Of
gaged in agriculture; al-
naving, and in most cases
hough we classified some
is must not be taken to be
ncome of a weaver in South
se crofting with ancillary
often the case, conceals
n unemployment are

ystem for agriculture, but
r it is economically efficient
uld not only cause hardship
ds and other remote districts,
and and people. Nor should
on and fossils are dead.
he late nineteenth century
. Circumstances have
will slowly die.

at least not in Lewis.
ships, and of the island as
ning more, and not less,
ot good enough merely to
ow fashionable to call
special public expendi-
and not merely a disguised

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to help themselves. It
e unofficial discussion
ar townships in terms of

ven though in some cases
most important are these:

121

FOREWORD

Many are aware that the small scattered communities of the Atlantic fringe of Scotland still pursue an uncertain livelihood by farming under the system known as crofting. There are many, too, who know that the system is in decay and that steps must be taken if the economic decline which threatens these communities with ultimate extinction is to be arrested. Yet, despite various proposals for improvement, the exact nature of the crofting system itself has never been fully investigated. Clearly it is important to do so and the best way of achieving this is by a full survey of the existing conditions. A valuable start was made in the West Highland Survey by F. Fraser Darling which appeared in 1955. In 1956, more intensive studies of particular crofting areas were begun by members of the Department of Geography of Glasgow University under the direction of Mr. H. A. Moisley and Dr. J. B. Caird who thereby initiated the Crofting Survey. Studies were made in Benbecula and South Uist in 1956, in Barra in 1957, in Harris and Waternish (Skye) in 1958, and the value of a team of geographers for such work has been amply demonstrated. For the first time, moreover, survey and mapping techniques were applied to the township as the working unit, for the township is the real basis of the crofting organisation.

114 121 The success of the South Uist project made these further surveys desirable and another opportunity occurred in 1958 when the organisers of the Crofting Survey invited the co-operation of the Geographical Field Group in making a study of the Park district of the island of Lewis. The Geographical Field Group gladly responded to this invitation to contribute to a field study so closely consistent with its own aims and practice. The members of the Group who took part in the survey did so with a strong sense of purpose, recognising from the outset that the Crofting Survey deserved serious support. Together with members of the Department of Geography at Glasgow they made an effective team. The results of their study which forms the subject of the present report, ably prepared by Dr. Caird, make an impressive record from which there already emerges a clearer understanding of the crofting problem. The report is worthy of wide recognition and it is to be hoped that it will be followed by others dealing with different areas.

K. C. EDWARDS

President, Geographical Field Group.

INTRODUCTION

121 Since 1955, staff and students of the Geography Department, Glasgow University, have been engaged in a survey of Crofting Districts. This survey is intended neither to rival nor to replace the work of Collier and Fraser Darling, but to supplement their studies by more detailed field work: in the areas selected every croft is visited; so far, including Park, 2,250 crofts have been recorded.

After the publication in 1957, by The Scotsman, of two articles on South Uist by Mr. H. A. Mosley, the Pairc Association inquired whether a similar survey could be carried out in their area of Lewis. Initial arrangements were made by Mr. Mosley, with the co-operation of Mr. MacMillan, secretary of the Pairc Association, and eleven members of the Geographical Field Group spent almost three weeks of their summer holidays working in Park, led by Dr. J.B. Caird, assisted by Miss Catherine B. Smith. The party worked in small groups, each making a particular study of one or two townships. Neither croft nor township boundaries are recorded on any published map; these were obtained so that land use and house sites could be plotted on 1:2500 plans; details of crops and stock were recorded for every croft and an enumeration of population made for each household, the latter being done by Dr. Caird as a rule, with the help of local residents. Only in this way can a true picture of contemporary crofting be obtained, for official sources, such as the Census and annual Agricultural Statistics, deal mainly with counties, only occasionally with parishes, and never with townships. Yet it is the township groups which are the essence of Crofting.

114 The people of Park showed great kindness in answering innumerable questions with truth and good humour. Their hospitality was quite overwhelming: without their willing co-operation this study could never have achieved any degree of completeness. It would be invidious to mention any single member; all did their utmost to help. But without Mr. MacMillan nothing would have been possible. It was he who found accommodation for the party in a community where tourist accommodation is almost unknown, and for this, and for much other help, we owe him a great debt. To our hostesses, Mrs. Campbell, 13 Gravir, Mrs. Macaskill, Heatherview, and Mrs. Macaskill, 13 Glengravir, we are perhaps in the greatest debt: they looked after us so very well and unsparingly. And from them we learned the values and outlook of the Park community. By way of preparation, much help was given by Mr. D.M. Mackinnon, the estate factor, by Mr. Donald Mackay, 11A Kershadir, by the staffs of Messrs. David Macbrayne, of the office of the Registrar-General for Scotland, of Register House, of the Department of Health for Scotland and, in particular, of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland. Finally, thanks are due to Miss Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt., for the appendix on place names, and to the practical agriculturalist who made an assessment of the agricultural economy possible.

The township reports were prepared by the individual members and the editor contributed the general chapters. The editor would like to record here his personal thanks to the party. Few leaders can have been blessed with such cheerful enthusiasm, steady application and willingness to work long hours; they mastered the methods and techniques of the survey extremely quickly and added new ones. The quality of their field work may be judged from their reports. The checking, organising and filing of the data both in the field and afterwards, as well as the preparation of the tables for the present report, could not have been done without the skill and enthusiasm of Miss Smith. Thanks are also due to Mrs. Esme Diamond and Miss Smith for typing the draft and especially to Mr. I.A.G. Kinniburgh, Cartographer in Glasgow University Geography Department for re-drawing the maps and diagrams.

000 The value of the field work lies not only in the present report, but also in the permanent statistical and cartographic record in Glasgow, to which we hope present and future research workers will be able to refer.

[Orinsay]

253 The future existence of the common pasture for grazing is being seriously endangered by overstocking. The souming is not enforced in Orinsay and the actual sheep stock exceeds the souming by 300 per cent. Peat-cutting is gradually destroying valuable grazing areas; in the last three years there has even been some peat cutting on the better grazing on the island. The dangers both of overstocking and of indiscriminate peat cutting cannot be overstressed.

No evidence was seen of attempts to improve the quality of the common pasture. The establishment of shelter belts would provide not only shelter but a means of stopping the peat from 'slumping' down slopes if they were carefully sited. Much of the common pasture could be improved by a hill drainage scheme and by re-seeding, after sanding and liming, a project well within the capacity of the resident labour force.

Good crops on a few of the crofts suggest that the land is not inherently sterile, however, and it would seem that if the holdings were reduced to a maximum of four, an economic existence might be feasible on these crofts. The stony nature of the soil limits the possibilities of tractor cultivation but with an improvement in drainage, one might be used in the two valleys.

It is not so easy to be optimistic about the employment of surplus population resulting from such an enlargement of holdings, although a revival in the fishing industry could absorb most of the men. At present there are no looms in Orinsay and providing the Harris tweed industry can hold its own there are possibilities in weaving. Seaweed is in plentiful supply, indeed Lemreway people also obtain supplies and should its quality prove adequate, the establishment of a processing plant would provide valuable employment.

000 Nevertheless it is becoming increasingly obvious that unless the holdings can be enlarged, whether officially or by sub-letting, and some further employment created, Orinsay is liable to stagnate, and depopulation to continue. The township which was developed to relieve congestion is now itself congested.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

121 The aim of the Glasgow University Department of Geography Crofting Survey is to record and analyse material relevant to the crofting districts, and in so doing provide a clear and impartial statement of the present situation. In inviting us to undertake a survey of Park, the Pairc Association hoped that a body of fact would be secure in more favourable circumstances drawn which would assist the Association in their admirable aims of advancing the well-being of the area. Their two Progress Reports, of 1956 and 1957, indicate that they have already investigated many of the possibilities for development. This summary refers to Park alone, and, it must be emphasised, until the survey of crofting is completed, no final assessment of the Crofting Area as a whole can be made.

122 The district of Park is one of the more isolated and difficult crofting environments. The ruggedness of the terrain, the high proportion of land of very low agricultural value and sheer isolation make the existence of human communities precarious. In addition, many of the Park communities were first established as a result of population pressure in the more favourable areas of Lewis, and the original small settlements grew rapidly as a result of a change in land use which was a national trend - the conversion of poorer areas from subsistence farming to an extensive sheep-rearing economy. The impact of this change came to Park in the form of the eviction of a large body of small farmers in favour of an extension of the grazing area. Thus the present conditions are a legacy of the relatively recent past, and of legislation, particularly in the Crofters' Act of 1886, which accepted, and tacitly agreed to the maintenance of a larger population than the land could reasonable carry[1]. Two World Wars and fluctuating economic factors have had repercussions in Park and resulted in a change in economic and social values, and depopulation has resulted: the 1951 population was 60 per cent of the 1911 total.

1. The Commissioners proposed that only holdings rented at £6 and over should have security of tenure, with a view to discouraging the perpetuation of grossly uneconomic holdings; in the Act, all holdings were given security of tenure.

ABSTRACT

Cultural Continuity and Population Change on the Isle of Skye

Paul Richard Ducey

121 This study is concerned with the effect of population change on the culture of the essentially peasant society of the Isle of Skye, one of the Hebrides of Scotland. Standing on the very fringe of Western Europe, this particular surviving remnant of the once widespread Celtic culture has experienced a familiar consequence of the impingement of the social and economic forces 16 of urban and industriel Western Civilization. Involvement in the process of westernization brought a rapid, accelerating increase in the size of the population. Failure to make the required cultural adjustments led to persistent depopulation. 121 From the many problems created by the swing of the population pendulum, this study singles out one of particular anthropological significance. The thesis is that population change is not necessarily a criterion of cultural discontinuity. Although one case study cannot prove this assertion, future research along similar lines in other cultures marginal to the main stream of Western Civilization may reveal a wider applicability of the 00 thesis. The material presented in the present study was collected during a year of field and library research in 1953 - 1954.

121 The approach to the problem is oriented toward the culture 128 history of the Skyemen. Following a brief comparative description of the contemporary culture, an attempt is made to reconstruct

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121 the culture as it functioned in the days when the clan system 128 was an all-pervading influence in the lives of the people. This is intended to provide the necessary perspective for the ensuing processes of cultural change by revealing the essential features and the form, the distinctive pattern, of the culture. The stage set, four periods of social and cultural change, spanning over two centuries (1745 - 1953), are reviewed. The purpose is to analyse the extent of acculturation under the influence of the commercial and, later, industrial society of Great Britain. Throughout, emphasis is placed on population change and cultural continuity. Having established the main social and cultural trends, the economic, social, and religious aspects of the present day culture are examined in some detail for an understanding of its continued distinctiveness. The intention is to present not only the evidence for continuity, but also to point out the problems associated with the preservation of a cultural heritage no longer en rapport with the Western World.

121 The author's conclusions close the study. Despite chronic social instability, economic calamity, and striking changes in content, the culture has persisted and remained recognizable through the years. Although there have been periods of social disorganization and threatened cultural disintegration, irreparable disorganization has not been a characteristic of the culture. Obviously, the culture today is not identical with that of two hundred years ago, but the essential features which gave the culture its distinctiveness then do so today. Continuity has been preserved through a reintegration. In part, this

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121 represents an incomplete adjustment to the more complex socio-cultural organization of Great Britain. The Skyemen have remained enisled geographically and culturally. As in other simple, isolated, kinship oriented societies, an adjustment has been made in the traditional culture. The most important factor in the preservation of continuity has been congregational religion. While Presbyterianism, with its stress on asceticism, has curtailed and modified many characteristics of the culture, it has provided a new focus to replace the clan. Furthermore, it has helped to preserve the essential features of the culture and maintain continuity by sanctioning the values important to the people. The culture is growing old with the people. The deviants, mainly the youth, who will not conform to the traditional values are being rejected. Social instability is a penalty for remaining peripheral to the Western World.

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PREFACE

121 The problem which I have attempted to treat in this study concerns the question of the effect of population change, both increase and decrease, on an essentially peasant population living on the very fringe of Western Europe in one of the last remaining outposts of the Gael. My interest in this problem, stimulated to no small degree by Dr. Conrad M. Arensberg and my wife, stems from an old curiosity about the nature and function of the Highland clan system and the characteristics of a small, [101] dying remnant of a once widespread culture. My wife and I went to Scotland in June, 1953 to conduct field research on the Isle of Skye with the presupposition that the old culture had not withered and disappeared, even if it had been seriously modified by outside influences, especially those flowing in from the [101] wider society of Great Britain. We remained on the Island until March, 1954, when we turned our attention to library research and exiled Skyemen in Glasgow.

122 The research embodied in my dissertation was made possible by financial assistance from Columbia University, in the form of a William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship; from the Social Science Research Council, in the form of a Research Training Fellowship; and from the United States Educational Commission in the United Kingdom, in the form of a Fulbright Scholarship. I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

121 The impingement of the social and economic forces of urban and industrial Western Civilization on folk and peasant societies has a familiar consequence, the inauguration of a population cycle. Frequently, these societies experience a rapid, accelerating increase in their size. If westernization is allowed to proceed, the burst of growth may continue, perhaps at a slower rate, over a prolonged period. In marginal areas, however, there are societies, and segments of larger societies, which are unable to make the required cultural adjustments. In these, entanglement with the Western World eventually leads to persistent depopulation. There can be no doubt that the swing of the population pendulum creates a host of problems. Among the doubtful questions there is one of particular anthropological significance: Is marked population change a sign of cultural discontinuity? This dissertation is dedicated to the purpose of answering this question. My thesis is that population change is not necessarily a criterion of cultural discontinuity. Although I shall examine only one case, future research along similar lines in other cultures may reveal

121 a wider applicability of my thesis. The evidence in support of [101] my assertion was collected on the culture history of the Isle of Skye, a part of the area known as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

101 Since I shall frequently speak of the Highlands and Islands in the following pages, we should have a precise definition of the [133] region (Figure 1). Geographically, the Highland boundary should be placed at the Great Highland Fault, a series of geological faults which extend across Scotland from the River Clyde to Stonehaven, south of Aberdeen. Politically and economically, [23] however, this line has receded to the north and west. Since 1883 it has been common in Scotland to equate the Highlands and Islands with the "Seven Crofting Counties," those counties in which the [24] predominate form of land use is the crofting system. Crofting may be defined as a system of hereditary tenure of a few acres of arable land combined with common tenure of hill grazings. [25] These counties are: Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, [26] Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney, and Zetland. Out of the 163 parishes in these counties only 12 are considered non-crofting.[1] [14] In addition to this shared socio-economic pattern, the seven counties have experienced common economic-geographical influences, a century of accelerating population growth, followed by a century of persistent depopulation.

[1] John Collier, The Crofting Problem: A Social and Economic Study (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 11n. A parish in Scotland is an ecclesiastical district which until 1929 was also a civil unit with self-government in such local affairs as education, relief for the poor and infirm, and health. If the British county is thought of as analogous to an American state, the parish can be thought of as a county, but one devoid of any function.

The Continuity of Culture

121 Prerequisite to an understanding of the problem is an acceptance of a general characteristic of culture. All culture and every specific culture has behind it a connected, coherent developmental sequence. Any culture which has failed to maintain a genuine continuity has soon disintegrated and disappeared.[3] In order to preserve this necessary degree of continuity, this single tradition,[4] if you prefer, the culture must accept and value its past. At the same time, the culture is normally receptive to traits and trait patterns which have come into the culture from the outside world and can be integrated within the form of the culture. No culture, unless it is decadent, is static.[5]

In these days when many individuals outside our discipline and not a few within anthropology are haunted by the spectre of one world with a more or less uniform culture, it is particularly important to ask how cultures and subcultures outside the main stream of Western Civilization avert the ultimate disasters of discontinuity and disintegration. Steward has provided one answer. He theorizes that "folk societies and folk cultures" are modified by way of readaptation

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology (New ed., rev.; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948), p. 257.

[4] Cf. Wendell Bennett's and Irving Rouse's statements in Sol Tax et al. (eds.), An Appraisal of Anthropology Today (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 17-18.

[5] Melville Herskovits, Man and His Works, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 479.

121 to the higher level of socio-cultural organization of which they become a part rather than disappear.[6] Thus, although they acquire new characteristics and witness the total or partial supersession of many formerly typical traits and complexes, as the process of westernization proceeds, they preserve, at least, a recognizable residue of their identity. Wagley and Harris have employed an analogous argument.[7] They conclude from an attempt to classify Latin American subcultures that cultures of a tribal (a refined classification to replace folk) or peasant type change "in their cultural content and in their relative importance to the wider cultural scene," but remain distinctive.[8] Now, it seems to me, most contact situations have involved profound cultural and social disturbances. There is bound to be a loss of homogeneity. Instability, caused by too many changes coming one on top of the other and by the activation of a population cycle, is all but inevitable. Under such conditions, if a culture is to maintain continuity, it frequently has to readapt not only to the higher level of socio-cultural organization but also to the older way of life. I, therefore, suggest that when an isolated, relatively simple, kinship oriented culture experiences a period of instability, discontinuity is avoided

[6] Julian H. Steward, Area Research: Theory and Practice, ("Social Science Research Council Publications," Bull. 63; New York: Social Science Research Council, 1950), p. 111 et passim.

[7] Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, "A Typology of Latin American Subcultures," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 3 (June, 1955), pp. 428-451.

[8] Ibid., p. 447.

of departure.[32] He used this methodology in Puerto Rico and concluded that the culture exhibits a readaptation to the high organizational level and a reintegration into the national culture.[33] The individual carriers of the culture assume specialized roles in a more complex, heterogeneous system. To all intents and purposes we are dealing with a problem similar to that of simple cultural change. Change must be measured against stability, and stability can only be understood when change is gauged against cultural conservatism.[34] In either type of study the conclusions reached will depend to no small degree on the stress of the investigator.

Shortly before World War II, an attempt was made by a group of anthropologists and rural sociologists to analyze cultural integration and disintegration. The result was the Rural Life Studies. The six studies had for their objective the investigation of factors which facilitate or impede change, contribute to adjustments or maladjustments, and make for social stability and instability in the individual and rural community.[35] Instead of making studies of culture the

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[32] Op. cit., pp. 106-114. See also Julian H. Steward, "Levels of Sociocultural Integration: An Operational Concept," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, VII, No. 4 (Winter, 1951) pp. 374-390.

[33] Steward, Area Research, pp. 126-149. See also Julian H. Steward, "Some Hypothetical Regularities of Cultural Change" (mimeographed, 1952) pp. 9-10.

[34] Herskovits, op. cit., p. 20.

[35] "Cultural, Structural, and Social Psychological Study of Selected American Communities: Field Manual" (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, mimeographed, 1940), p. 1.

d workers studied social groups which manifested extreme
al stability and instability.[36] Their criteria were economic
sufficiency, associational groupings, influences from
national culture, and population movements. Two of the
rts are particularly pertinent to my thesis, the Old
r Amish, in Pennsylvania,[37] and the town of Landaff,
Hampshire.[38]

The Old Order Amish were the only people in the series
were bound to each other by a cultural tradition. They
considered to represent extreme cultural integration
n was ascribed to their common background, language,
tion, and religion; to their strong kinship ties; and to
r devotion to the Old Order, epitomized by their religion,
n rejected the modern world. Steward regards them as an
ple of cultural stability and social instability.[39] Over
years the deviants have been rejected as a means of re-
rcing cultural conservatism. As we shall see, this
ural defense has been in operation on Skye. Furthermore,
Old Order Amish and the Skye inhabitants have been able
aintain not only cultural integration, but also social
gration, by casting off the nonconformists. The
nts would not only change the culture, but they

[36] Steward, Area Research, pp. 42-43.

[37] Walter M. Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural
nity: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,
al Life Studies," no. 4; Washington, D.C.: United States
tment of Agriculture, 1942).

[38] Kenneth MacLeish and Kimball Young, Culture of a Contemporary
Community: Landaff, New Hampshire, ("Rural Life Studies,"
; Washington, D.C.; United States Department of Agriculture,
.

[39] Steward, Area Research, p. 42.

also would disturb the relationships which
harmony.

Landaff is a community which made an
adaptation to the local resources. There
permanent settlement, adequate social inst
self-sufficiency. Population pressure dis
adjustment. The community is now said to
cultural disintegration and social instabi
denced by a high rate of emigration, especi
persistent economic limitations, the decli
of the school, church, and Grange as suppo
associations, and the gradual decline in o
express self-reliance and self-determinati
munity. Unlike the Amish or the people of
residents had no traditional ties and, hen
controls. The social group held only as l
of each individual were compatible with th
and local opportunities existed to fulfill
it not for old loyalties to the community
of life, there might be complete social di
the same time, those who have left, often
new ethnic elements, have carried the basic
associated with strong individualism with
to the Amish community and Skye, Landaff i
only by social instability but also by soci
and, at least, partial social disintegratio
to the last concept which I shall discuss,

make for group

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Skye, the Landaff
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his ambitions. Were
and farming as a way
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to be replaced by
cultural values
them. In contrast
characterized not
lal disorganization
on. This brings us
Durkheim's concept

12 of anomie.

According to Durkheim, a disorganized society has the following characteristics: a deterioration of the traditional habits of interpersonal interaction with members of the group, a low degree of social contact among the group members, and a loss of social control.[40] In a word, there is normlessness. As a result, the individual finds himself caught between conflicting ideals and values. The question is, how much of this is cultural? There appears to be two alternatives. On the one hand the individuals in the society may have an integrated culture, but they may not be enculturated or their refusal to follow the patterns of the culture may render the norms and sanctions impotent. On the other hand, the culture may have disintegrated because of a disruptive transition. In either case there would be anomie. This concept, by the way, must be considered relative and applicable only to situations in which the disorganizing forces threaten to overwhelm those favoring integration.[41] Durkheim's theory of anomie has been used in several recent analyses of groups which have experienced social instability and the impingement of economic forces from the outside in common with the Isle of Skye. Homans employed the concept to analyze the social "disintegration" (disorganization) of a small New Hampshire hill farming town.[42] Loomis and Beegle have used it as a means of explaining the growth

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[40] Emile Durkheim, Le Suicide (new ed.; Paris: F. Alcan, 1930), pp. 272-282.

[41] Cf. Merton, op. cit., especially Chap. 4.

[42] George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950), pp. 336-367.

121 and spread of fundamentalist religion, which they regard as a counteragent for social disorganization.[43] I, too, shall make use of this theory to show that there has been threatened social disintegration on Skye and a reintegration despite continued instability. The individuals who remain and those who return in later years, as many do, are fully enculturated. Further, if my supposition regarding the relation of cultural disintegration and anomie is correct, the existing social integration on the island is an additional support for my argument that population change is not a criterion of cultural discontinuity.

To summarize, the points I wish to emphasize concerning social and cultural integration or the lack of it are six. Society and culture are separate though complementary concepts. A society is an organized, cooperating group of people; the way of life they follow is their culture. Social and cultural integration tend to go together, but they are independent variables and must be judged by different criteria. Cultural disorganization is a much debated condition. Using the concept of sociocultural levels, the importance of disorganization shrinks in favor of reorganization and readaptation. Finally, the concept of anomie, normlessness, can be used to determine whether or not there is threatened social disintegration, and it may provide supporting evidence for cultural continuity.

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[43] Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950), pp. 401-407.

161 with many of its neighboring Caroline Islands.[45] A similar tendency has been reported for the Aleutians.[46] On the other hand, there are the Pueblo,[47] who have recently begun to increase, and the Navaho,[48] who have grown in numbers at a rate no less striking than the decline of innumerable tribes in the non-Andean areas of South America.[49]

121 161 Although the fate of any one community in contemporary United States may be insignificant to the social scientist who is interested in culture change, social instability among folk and peasant peoples is a factor which should not be overlooked. I am certain that it is not a criterion of cultural discontinuity, unless the tribal or peasant group suffers complete obliteration. I am equally sure that it is commonly symptomatic of cultures which have been unable to make a complete adjustment to the new and higher sociocultural organization reaching down to them. Some tribes, it is true, have succeeded in making a pretense at adjustment. Noted for

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[45] Felix M. Keesing, The South Seas in the Modern World (rev. ed., New York: The John Day Co., 1945), pp. 52-53.

[46] Gerald D. Berreman, "Inquiry into Community Integration in an Aleutian Village," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 1 (Feb., 1955), pp. 49-59.

[47] Eggan, op. cit., pp. 18, 139-140, 201.

[48] Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), pp. 9-10.

[49] Julian H. Steward, "The Native Population of South America," in The Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949) Vol. V, pp. 655-663; and A. L. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, ("University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology," Vol. 38; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), pp. 131-181.

121 161 preserving a good deal of their complex culture, the Pueblo and, in particular, the Navaho have increased in numbers. The isolation of an inhospitable environment will not fully explain their conservatism without instability. One after another, even more isolated Aleutian villages have disappeared. Those which have experienced social instability and disintegration have paid the penalty for preserving too much of their traditional culture. In Aleutian villages where the traditional culture has been largely replaced by western ways social disintegration is, at present, unknown.[50] Depopulated Yap is, perhaps, the most familiar case of persistent refusal to adjust to the impinging Western World.[51] All over Europe there are peasant peoples who are facing an identical situation. Techniques for complete adjustment to their larger sociocultural groups are unavailable. Still tied to the land and their old ways instead of to 1955, they are slowly dwindling in numbers. In all of these cases of social instability the culture is growing old with the people. The deviants, the individuals who will not conform to the traditional behavior patterns and norms, leave, and they are mainly the youth. Whether or not there is always a change in the focus of the culture such as occurred on Skye I am not able to say, but, doubtlessly, there are always changes in content as a part of the process of reintegration. Nevertheless, the form, the

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[50] Berreman, op. cit., pp. 56-58.

[51] Keesing, loc. cit.; see also J. C. Furnas, The Anatomy of Paradise (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1946), p. 382.

121 basic distinctive pattern, of the culture is preserved and
161 continuity is maintained.

The Organization of the Thesis

128 My approach to the problem of cultural continuity
121 despite marked population change is oriented toward the culture history of the Isle of Skye. To this end, in the next chapter (Chapter II) I shall describe the environmental limitations of the island and, briefly, present a comparative analysis of the economics, settlement pattern, social organization, and religion of Skye. This is intended to acquaint the reader with the local culture and provide a perspective for the following chapters. In Chapter III I shall be concerned with the culture as it was before the commercial and developing industrial society of Great Britain became a significant acculturating influence, that is, before 1745. Chapter IV is devoted to a review of four periods of social and cultural change following the introduction of the tenets of commercialism. Throughout the chapter emphasis is placed upon cultural continuity despite population increase and then decrease. The continuity will be shown to have been preserved over two hundred years, even though there were two periods of threatened cultural disintegration, chronic social instability, and several periods of social disorganization. Having established the main social and cultural trends, the contemporary culture is examined for an understanding of its continued distinctiveness. In Chapter V, the contemporary economic

CHAPTER III

SKYE IN THE DAYS OF THE CLAN

If we are to understand the continuing distinctiveness 121
of the contemporary culture, we must attempt to reconstruct the culture of the remote past and point out the plausible sources for the more distinctive traits and patterns which, upon becoming integrated, became characteristic of the culture. This chapter, then, is devoted to a description of the social 128
organization, economics, and religion of the Sgiathanach before the influence of the commercial and rapidly expanding industrial society of Great Britain assumed significant proportions.

Sources of Information

There is an almost complete dearth of information about 127
the internal conditions in the Hebrides before the eighteenth century, except for stray accounts of intrigues and rebellions against the Scottish Crown. A combination of causes is responsible. First is the relative lateness of the introduction 127
175*
of writing. Second, there is the fact that the Western Isles 212
were held by the Norse from the ninth to the thirteenth century. Third is the destruction of Scottish records. The ecclesiastical

tenure in vassalage.[12] By the time Skye was placed under the 175*
suzerainty of Scotland, the old tribal organization had completely disappeared, and the nation was being governed by a hierarchy which imitated English use. There was, however, an important difference between the feudalism of Scotland and England. Although the landed aristocracy was Anglo-Norman, the Normans had not conquered Scotland. They were unable to work out the refinements of feudalism, especially the manorial system.[13] There was also an important difference in the form of the two governments. The Scottish king granted his charters and ruled with the advice of his bishops, earls, and barons, leaving the Parliament almost devoid of power, while in England Parliamentary government had been firmly established when the two nations were placed under a common monarch. Nor had the Scottish Parliament become any more important when it was united with the English body in 1707.[14]

It is against the background of this varied history 121
175*
that the local culture must be viewed. We may expect to find features which are traceable to the old Celtic tribal organization, Norse influence, and Scottish feudalism. English 175*
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influence would have appeared too late to be counted as a factor in the moulding of the culture, and the adamant dislike of the Highlanders for the English, evidenced by their successive rebellions and their persistent efforts to support

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[12] Harry E. Barnes, The History of Western Civilization (2 vols.; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1953), Vol. I, pp. 556-583.

[13] Wallace Notestein, The Scot in History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946), p. 90.

[14] Terry, op. cit., p. 37.

CHAPTER IV

SPANNING TWO CENTURIES

The first problem faced by the anthropologist who attempts 121 to seek cultural continuity through periods of population change in a culture and society contained within Western European civilization is the formulation of an interpretative framework which will reduce the complexity of national and international history to the level of the local culture. The problem is made doubly difficult by the almost complete lack of unbiased opinion. The accounts of the Isle of Skye which 114 have been preserved were written by men who had witnessed and had been impressed by the apparent benefits of expanding imperial commercialism and the prosperity of the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution. The writers were pedants, self-styled political economists, and trained agricultural economists. Few of them ever descended from their platform of economic criticism, mainly directed at the proprietors and the principal tenants, to describe the non-economic aspects of the way of life of the people, unless some novelty caught their attention. Those who wrote about the religious facets of the culture were no less opinionated than the economists. The occasional author who devoted attention to the Island's society was more concerned with the personalities of notable individuals and their achievements, especially the exiles, than with the bulk of the population.

114 It is only in the distant past and comparatively recent times that governmental inquiries and enactments give a glimpse into the culture. For well over a hundred years after the abolition of the clan system the British government showed no inclination to become involved in the local situation. While the American colonists rebelled because taxation without representation was no less than tyranny, the Islanders suffered in silence under the laws of the Kingdom. Two works, however, 127 do give a picture of life on Skye. These are the (Old) Statistical Account of Scotland and the New Statistical Account of Scotland.[1]

121 The conceptual scheme which has been adopted to reduce national history to culture history takes two points of departure.[2] On the one hand, there are four well defined periods marked by innovations in the economic, social, and religious aspects of the culture and varying rates of population change. On the other hand, there are the overall trends of culture 101 and population change and the continuity of the culture. The 175 dates selected to mark the beginning of each period are: 1745, 1811, 1845, and 1886. The year 1745 is the conventional date for the beginning of the modern period of Highland history. It also marks the beginning of a prolonged period of population

[1] The Statistical Account of Scotland, ed. Sir John Sinclair (21 vols.; Edinburgh: William Creech, 1790-1799); and The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. XIV: "Inverness - Ross and Cromarty" (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845). I shall refer to these works as OSA and NSA.

[2] I am indebted to Julian Steward for the general approach which follows.

in Scotland, it lacked the same effects elsewhere. There is 175 significant correlation in the Highlands and Islands, as in 178 Ireland, of the disproportion of the population to the means 731 of subsistence, due to a change from subsistence farming to a partially commercial system of land use, and the intensity of the crop failure. In both countries the persistence of innumerable 92 traits from the traditional economy, including conservative techniques, attachment to the land, and a tendency to share the land among the kin, hampered commercialization or, at least, specialization and led to devastation.

Five years of famine ended the growth of population. 175 The emigration of large numbers and the death of untold numbers 178 must have seriously disturbed the patterns of interaction 182 within the extended family and the township. Although the 140 proprietors made a final effort to help their tenants, ruining themselves financially, they had foreseaken their people. The 713 ministers were no longer able to contribute to group solidarity, 41 because the symbols and values they upheld reflected the attitudes of the landlords and lacked significance for the people.

A religious revival reached effective proportions by 1754 1812.[42] The appearance of the Revival suggests that the culture 178 was far more disorganized than the scant social and economic 182 record indicates. Normally, the attempt to seek supernatural 120 assistance as a source of comfort and hope appears only after the culture has become thoroughly disorganized.[43]

[41] NSA, pp. 269-272.

[42] MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 15, 165; and MacCowen, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

[43] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 437-440.

175 existing system of proprietorship. At length, land leagues 178 were formed to give body to the peasants' protest. The movement 662 finally reached Scotland in 1880. By 1883 it had become important on Skye. Significantly, the agents responsible for the Skyemen's 71 agitation were Irishmen.[71] The stimulus for accepting the course of action advocated by these agents was provided by another famine which coincided with the loss of wages from employment on the east coast fishing vessels.[72] The crofters took the law into their own hands. The Kilmuir crofters refused to pay their rent. The Glendale crofters forcibly drove the sheep off their old cattle grazings. Glasgow police and the Royal Marines were dispatched to Skye.[73] Out of this unrest came the appointment of a royal commission of investigation, 72 but their work is our subject for the fourth period. A more pressing problem is what effect did these events have on the religious outlook of the crofter and what influence did religion have on the configuration of the culture.

175 While the Revival was underway during the first half 178 of the century, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 745 was witnessing a renewed battle over the old question of patronage, the right of the proprietor to select the kirk's minister. Finally, in 1843, the Church was broken by schism

[71] Ferguson, op. cit., pp. 41-43, 121-123.

[72] See Collier, op. cit., pp. 51-82; Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 91.

[73] Detailed accounts of the land raids and resistance to the police can be found in Alexander MacKenzie, The Isle of Skye in 1882-1883 (Inverness: A. and J. MacKenzie, 1904, pp. 7-144. See also Cummings, op. cit., pp. 146-147 and William MacKenzie, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

CHAPTER VI

THE ISLANDERS' SOCIETY

The Units of Social Organization

Since the Sgiathanach has consistently been more bound 421 630 to his locality groups than the relatively mobile members 571 of the main stream of Western Society, I think that we shall 127 128 find a pause to review the character of the social systems which are primarily based on territoriality a valuable aid to our understanding of how cultural continuity has been preserved. By now we are all well aware of the fact that the township is the efficient economic unit. It is also a social entity. The members of each township display a consciousness of common interest, symbolized by the communal hill grazing; and their inter-personal relationships, reflecting ties of kinship and friendship, reveal a rate of interaction second only to those of the crofting family. In most of the townships, the people are related and re-related on both sides 361 by descent and marriage. Laid out along the coast or in a fertile glen, with the cottages on the individual crofts, it has a discernible form. The township is a small cluster of five to twenty homes; approximately an equal number of garden-like farms, stretching out behind the houses; and,

121 One further word of caution is in order before we proceed. It will soon become obvious to the reader that my main interest in the social organization of the Sgiathanach is a concern with status. In the final analysis, I have decided that this is the only fruitful means to seek cultural continuity despite population change. Therefore, I have glossed over many details of the social organization, and I have described others only in so far as they throw light on the ascription and achievement of status. With this in mind, let us turn to a consideration of the Islanders' society.

Kith and Kin within the Township and on the Croft

The society of the Sgiathanach is no different from any 55 other society in the world in ordering interpersonal relationships by attaching cultural significance to the physical factors of kinship, age, and sex. As Linton has asserted, kinship establishes the individual's relation with his cultural recognized relatives; age and sex establish his relationship with the total society and the section of the culture in which he can participate.[10] Skye differs from many societies, especially contemporary American society, by using these factors exclusively in determining the status and role of the members of the township. The status and role of every individual is ascribed.[11] The only way an individual can achieve status is

[10] Ralph Linton, "A Neglected Aspect of Social Organization," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLV, No. 6 (December, 1940) pp. 870-886; and "Age and Sex Categories," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 5 (October, 1942), pp. 589-603.

[11] The theoretical concept, of course, is Linton's (The Study of Man, pp. 113-131).

by leaving, for if he fails to conform to the traditional norms and patterns of behavior, he will be looked upon as an eccentric. This fact has continuity through all periods of Skye's history.

We have already seen how the age and sex structure of the population has changed in response to social and economic conditions and how this change has influenced the ascription of statuses within the crofters' division of labor. Briefly, there has been a contraction of the number of opportunities for ascribing status. This had made it necessary for some men to perform tasks once the exclusive domain of women and for women to participate in activities which formerly were the responsibility of their men folk. Older people must now function in ways which once were the responsibilities of the youth and young adults. These changes, however, have been accompanied by persistencies, in particular a continuity of basic status values. I think this will become clear through a discussion of the family structure. We shall begin with the nuclear family.

The Nuclear Family. Since my interest is in status, I shall adopt the unorthodox procedure of considering the nuclear family in terms of the changing status of the individual members from birth to maturity. This will give us a dynamic picture of family life. At birth the individual's relationships within the crofting family and, to a lesser degree, within the township are established. Like those of his parents, who now have the ascribed statuses of mother and father, his relationships will remain unchanged until he marries and founds

"do something about it." The villager feels that he is the one who is paying for all the services and facilities the government sponsors. There is a growing consensus that he is just a working man who has to get along as best he can while the crofter is coaxed, coddled, cajoled, and pampered with grants, advantageous loans, and subsidies. "Sure there are poor crofters just as there are men who fail in business," said one man, "but if we can't make a go of it, we go down the drain." Another man put it, "The crofter gets paid by the government for doing nothing--for having a cow on the hill--all I get I get by sweat, hard bloody sweat." These feelings are especially common to the newcomers, but they are by no means held exclusively by this group.

The Social Structure of the Trade-Center Village

121 The village of Portree has a complicated social structure. While I can accept Murdock's contention that social classes operate to unite members of different local groups and to segment the community, I cannot accept his view that the presence of social classes complicates the social structure of a community.[26] Class status, as any status, determines the pattern of reciprocal behavior. By placing the individual in a group with expected behavior patterns, the social structure may be simplified. The individual in the group finds security in the cohesion with others who

[26] Murdock, op. cit., p. 88

121 share similar social attitudes and a distinctive way of life.[27] The investigator can understand the society with greater ease once he can equate the differing cultural expressions with the sense of status.

Ascribed status continues to be important in Portree, at least in stratifying the old Skye families. On the fringes of the village there are a few part-time crofters or tradesmen who keep some stock and grow a little grain and few potatoes. These men and their families as well as the crofters from the hinterland find their place in the village society through clique groups, in particular those based upon kinship and "friendship." Several of the county families reside in the village and, with the landed gentry who continue to live on their estates, take an active part in village life.

Between the two poles there is a large intermediate group. Their occupations range from the professions, including doctors, ministers, teachers, and lawyers; through employees of the national and county governments, including estate factors, policemen, office managers, and clerks; to shopkeepers, tradesmen, truck drivers, and laborers. Elsewhere in Great Britain these people would fall into the middle and working classes.[28] On Skye such stratification is unimportant. If we cannot use the British scheme, we certainly cannot employ the American system developed by Warner.[29]

[27] Cf. MacIver, op. cit., pp. 166-167.

[28] Cf. Lewis and Maude, The English Middle Classes.

[29] W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); and The Status System of Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

121 The inapplicability of Warner's scheme within the United States has been demonstrated by Kroeber,[30] and its use beyond the United States has been censured by Steward.[31] Now, while the British tend to admit more freely to the existence of class than Americans do, the social fluidity of the village has impressed many newcomers who grew up in the Lowlands or England.

If stratification exists,[32] there is general agreement that cleavage or social distance will be found. Murdock, to cite only one authority, has said the cultural differences and social distance commonly present between groups separated spatially are frequently found in socially separated groups.[33] This is certainly true for the landed gentry and the crofters, but in regards to the intermediate population, Portree seems to be very much like Sublette, Kansas.[34] The presence of the

[30] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 270-272.

[31] Steward, Area Research, pp. 40-49.

[32] My general approach to the class structure followed that of James West (Plainville, U.S.A. [New York: Columbia University Press, 1945], pp. 110-130); but I also used Warner's objective-reputational technique (W. Lloyd Warner, M. Meeker, and K. Eells, Social Class in America. A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status [Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949]); and I employed the so-called "judges" technique. For a clear presentation of this last approach, see Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1955), pp. 172-173.

[33] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 265-266. See also Linton, The Study of Man, and William, The Ways of Man, p. 352.

[34] Earl J. Bell, The Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Sublette, Kansas (Rural Life Studies, No. 2; Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1942), cited by Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 384.

and no one thought himself capable of running a future meeting. At last reports, the wife of another proprietor was having her impression that "It's not as easy as it sounds just to call a public meeting in Glendale," confirmed. While the majority of the crofters thought an Old People's Welfare Committee was a good idea, they had no intention of being instrumental in its organization or in assuming any position which might elevate them above their neighbors. Throughout this chapter, the stress on conformity has been apparent, let us now turn to the problem of social control for a clearer picture of how conformity is enforced and to see how the Sgiathanach handles the deviant.

Social Control

626 Since social control is an important topic, I want to go into a further analysis of the manner in which the group influences the behavior of its members. For the sake of clarity, we must distinguish between social and political

121 control. By social control I mean the informal pressure or spontaneous action which any organized group can muster to exert an influence on its members sufficient to encourage conformity to tradition patterns of behavior. Political control, to me, involves the independent or requested interference of the state, as represented by the police, in any case which involves the enforcement and maintenance of law and order as prescribed by legal enactments. On Skye the laws of the land do not always have the same meaning to the

The religion of the Sgiathanach may also be regarded as the logical outcome of a movement which began two centuries ago when the all inclusive bonds of kinship and affection were replaced with tenets introduced from the wider contractual society. This movement, as we know, bore its first fruits over a hundred years ago. The people themselves turned from the ministers who were supporting symbols and values no longer meaningful to the crofters. They embraced the preachers of a dynamic gospel as a means of consolation in their distress. Thus, the religious pattern derived elsewhere and superimposed on the Sgiathanach has been refined with logic and vigor. It has become the one insurmountable barrier to assimilation with Great Britain. No less than four times religious schism has demonstrated the essential unchangeableness of their religion. The process has been carried on with such dedication and success that it now disturbs the unsympathetic laity and the clergy of the Church of Scotland no less than the resistance of the people to Presbyterianism did in the remote past.

We saw in Chapter IV how an understanding of the religious history of Skye is indispensible for the comprehension of the larger problem, the means by which the culture has maintained continuity. In Chapter V and again in Chapter VI we saw how this continuity has been preserved. We have at last come to the point at which we can ask why has there been continuity. The following analysis is concerned with the sanctions of the Presbyterian ethic, particularly as it affects the social structure, religious behavior, and the roles of the ministers and the religious laity in the

orary scene. Assuming that few of my readers know any 128
out the nature of the religion of the Sgiathanach than 121
hen my wife and I first set foot on Skye, I shall be-
n a brief description of formal organization and
y.

Formal Organization and Theology

he Isle of Skye now has four independent Presbyterian 795
s, the Church of Scotland which is the official state
the Free Church of Scotland, The Free Presbyterian
and the United Free Church. There are, in addition,
atholics, including the one family of the county
who worship by themselves and several government
es in Portree who meet together and hold services
ivate chapel. There is also a fairly large number
copals, consisting exclusively of county families
comers, who periodically receive a visit from a
r in Fort William but who otherwise attend the
s held in the Church of Scotland.
he Presbyterian Churches differ from one another 779
ral fundamental details of their constitution, doctrine, 795
and practice. All claim to be in historic continuity
e Church of Scotland which was reformed in 1560, the
es of which were ratified in 1592 by the Scottish
ent, and the security of which was recognized in the
of 1707. All, except the United Free Church, hold
principle of national recognition of religion,

regation. The Synod and, in the case of the Church of 795
land and the Free Church, the General Assembly do not 794
ally interfere in local administration. They can be called
to enforce the decisions of the Presbytery, but they are
arily deliberative assemblies which meet once a year in
burgh to discuss over-all church policy. Again, as we
seen, attempts of these higher bodies to impose their
on the local kirks have led to schism. Thus, since
fundamental seat of control is vested in the kirk session,
he neighborhood, the interpretations reflected in the
er religious courts do not necessarily find expression
he patterns of religious behavior on Skye. Indeed, the
ch of Scotland on Skye is more like the other sects than
s like its parent body elsewhere in Scotland, where it
gradually moved toward a position similar to the Anglican
ch or the Presbyterian churches of the United States.
he uninvolved observer, the differences are insignificant
pared to the essential similarities of the local churches.

The Role of Religion on Skye

Because of the hold of the ramifications of religion 121
an, in particular, man as a member of a folk, peasant,
predominantly rural community, religion tends to have a
eating influence on all significant phases of life.[4]

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[4]Cf., e.g., Robert Lowie, Social Organization (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1948), pp. 191-192; T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), 423; and Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 282,284.

Functioning in diverse ways, religion reinforces standards of behavior. As a supraso cial and cultural regulator of social life, it sanctions the way of life of a group and its basic social forces.[5] While the great world conscious religions have been influential in redirecting whole civilizations, their success has been largely due to an ability to function in harmony with local cultural conditions. The symbols and values they extend must be meaningful to the people. Failure to protect certain values brought about the rejection of Catholicism and the acceptance of Calvinism in Scotland.[6] Continued sanctification of values no longer meaningful to the Sgiathanach cost the Church of Scotland its hold over the people. The influence of religion, especially once it has ceased to work for change and has become conservative, as all organized religions are wont to do,[7] is expressed in terms of what particular traits it singles out for sanctioning and, conversely, what traits it refuses to sanction or places under taboo. Obviously, this is but a part of the primary function of religion, its role in bolstering group solidarity.[8]

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[5]Cf., e.g., Kroeber, loc. cit.; and MacIver, Society, p. 120.

[6]Notestein, The Scot in History, pp. 103-114.

[7]Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 405.

[8]Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 395-401.

Their deliberative, judicial, and authoritarian functions are identical with those found among the Catholic small farmers of Ireland.[9] Of course, it is by no means unique in human groups for the aged to attempt to maintain their accustomed habits and statuses while the youth endeavor to find acceptance for new ideas.[10] Nor is it unique for the younger members of the society to resent the restraints imposed by the older people to punish deviation from traditional behavior.[11] Culture phases, as Kroeber has pointed out, associated with age tend to correspond to changes taking place within the society, rather than reflect static lines of segregation, such as those which exist between classes.[12] If these assertions are valid, the success which the elderly, as a sodality, enjoy in barring the youth from achieving acceptance of novel patterns should be indicative of the importance of age controls on the Isle of Skye. In order to see how they exercise control and how successful they are, let us consider those events in the life cycle which Van Gennep has called rites of passage.[13]

Rites of Passage

Rites of Passage function in all societies to mark the

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[9]Arensberg, The Irish Countryman, pp. 122-139.

[10]Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 274-275.

[11]Herskovits, Man and His Works, p. 479.

[12]Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 274-275.

[13]Arnold Van Gennep, Les Rites de Passage (Paris: E. Nourry, 1909).

passage of the individual from birth, through his age statuses, to death and to re-establish meaningful patterns of interaction after a disturbance by an event in the life cycle. When individual and reciprocal patterns of behavior following birth were described, I pointed out that they were a much modified survival of the old practice of kirking, the custom of having the parents, their "people," and "friends" attend a church service to offer thanks, followed by a feast and dance. Similar festivities once accompanied baptism. As the first event in the life cycle which concerns the church, and as one of the two sacraments celebrated in the church, baptism is of supreme importance. In addition to revealing the amount of control the elderly have over the group, it shows how the status and role of the father has been maintained.

The child's father, as the religiously sanctioned head of the family, approaches the elder for his township and requests the administration of the sacrament. The elder, in turn, intimates the father's request to the minister, who then calls a kirk session. At the kirk session the father is examined. He must live an exemplary life, in the way of the church, including regular sabbath church attendance, daily worship in the home, and the renunciation of all forms of frivolous amusement. The elders, of course, know how he habitually behaves by observation and reputation. In Glendale, if not in Kilmuir, the minister knows as well, for, as one woman said, "You never know what your neighbors will run and tell the minister." Sudden reform is not good enough. The father must also demonstrate his ability to raise the child

glens a family, newcomers to Skye, prevailed on the local school teacher to hold a Sabbath school for the children. The local missionary objected. If they were going to have Sabbath school, it should be in Gaelic. His prestige and control over the population secured his position. The children of the people who originated and organized the program were excluded because they did not "have the Gaelic."

Another problem which is beginning to stem from the use of Gaelic as the language of religion is the difficulty of securing a minister. Traditionally, it was an ideal to send a son to study for the ministry. This ideal remains, but in the last few years only one young man from Skye has shown a desire to become a minister. Indeed, the majority of ministers on Skye are not Skyemen. I believe the only minister who serves his own neighborhood, the neighborhood in which he was born and raised, is the Free Presbyterian minister in Glendale. It is becoming more and more difficult to fill charges as they go vacant. Each year several Highland charges are changed from "Gaelic essential" to "Gaelic preferred." If we go beyond the role of religion as it orders human relationships, through its more formal aspects, and consider the influence of religion on the secular behavior of the Sgiathanach, we can come closer to an understanding of why the youth are slowly turning away. At the same time we shall be able to round out our picture of the expression given to the Presbyterian ethic on Skye.

control of the "elect" crofters. They, are the "elect," and their status is independent of the control of the venerable old men.

Summary

Whereas the culture of the Sgiathanach was oriented around the clan system in the remote past and was intelligible only by an awareness of the all-pervasive influence of the clan, today congregational religion provides the focus for the culture. If we are to understand the Sgiathanach we must fathom his religion, that is, the interpretation which he has given to Calvinism. Moreover, this highly integrated and systematized aspect of his culture has provided the means for preserving cultural continuity. Economics and social organization aid us in recognizing how cultural continuity has been maintained. Religion puts at our finger tips the how and the WHY.

The basic status values have held good because religion has sanctioned them. The old men of the neighborhood have been successful in sustaining their statuses and habits through their position in the esoteric religious hierarchy. By holding the father responsible for the spiritual welfare of his family, and judging a man's spiritual enlightenment on his renunciation of mundane pleasures as well as his knowledge of religious tenets, the elders exercise judicial and authoritarian functions. At the same time, the status of the father within the family is strengthened. After a

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

My intention in writing this present study has been to inquire whether or not marked population growth and decline is a criterion of cultural discontinuity. To this end we have spanned more than two centuries of the culture history of the Isle of Skye. As we proceeded from a description of the configuration of the culture as it was in the days of the clan, to a narration of the perpetuations and modifications of the content of the culture during four periods of the modern epoch, and finally to an account of the contemporary culture, we have been constantly aware of the swing of the population pendulum. Throughout this study I have attempted to analyze the available facts for evidence which would indicate not only cultural but also social disintegration. In this final chapter I shall draw the sundry threads of my running commentary together to support the aforesaid conclusion that population change is not a criterion of cultural discontinuity.

The Population Cycle

In as much as my purpose is to evaluate cultural continuity within the framework of population change, let me first briefly review the changing size and structure of the population.

On the one hand, they stimulated emigration, because the only means of achieving upward mobility was through outward mobility. On the other hand they deterred a complete abandonment of a way of life which offered so few material rewards. This brings us face to face with the problem of cultural continuity.

Cultural Continuity on the Isle of Skye
A Restatement of Theoretical Considerations

In the opening chapter, I presented a series of theoretical assumptions on which I have based my analysis of the evidence for cultural continuity on the Isle of Skye. A review of my presuppositions and my approach to the problem may expedite my final quest for proof that marked population change is not a criterion of cultural discontinuity.

If society and culture are separate though complimentary concepts, cultural and social integration must be independent variables. They tend to find mutual expression, but they are not necessarily found together. Nor can they be measured by the same criteria. Cultures are considered integrated to the extent that their traits, complexes, patterns, and aspects are meaningful to the people. The content of all cultures is continually modified by the disappearance of once characteristic trait complexes and the addition of new ones. Old ways of doing things lose meaning and are disregarded; innovations find acceptance and are given meaning within the configuration of the culture. The form of the culture, its essential distinctiveness, persists. The carriers of a culture, or the

members of a society, become more or less numerous. Their integration is measured by their interaction, their degree of contact, and their ability to exercise social control over the members of the group. In short, social integration depends on the strength of the network of relations which binds the group together into an organized whole.

Cultures have been studied in an organization-disorganization framework,[1] and they have been appraised in an organization-readaptation framework.[2] The reported presence or absence of cultural disorganization, a disturbance of the systematic structure, has depended on the theoretical position of the investigator. Although both approaches require a consideration of cultural stability and continuity, the conclusions reached have depended upon whether or not the social scientist is willing to look for higher levels of organization instead of using only the perspective of the culture as it supposedly existed in the past. Single, isolated, kinship oriented cultures need not disappear when brought into contact with complex, contractual cultures. They can find a readaptation. But if they fail to maintain a genuine degree of continuity, by placing a value on their heritage, they disintegrate, the basic pattern becomes fragmented, and they disappear.

Finally, the concept of anomie can be employed to evaluate social disorganization, and I believe that an absence

[1] Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan.

[2] Lewis, Life in a Mexican Village; and Steward, Area Research, pp. 126-149.

of anomie is an additional support for my position. With these theoretical assumptions in mind, we are prepared for a final interpenetration of the culture of the Sràthanagh.

Evidence for Cultural Continuity

If I were to view the Isle of Skye from the single perspective of the culture as it functioned two hundred years ago, in an organization-disorganization framework, I might logically argue that there is evidence for cultural disorganization. The clan system, which had pervaded all aspects of the culture, was rendered inoperative by the intolerance of the British government and the cupidity of the patriarchs. Land tenure was divorced from considerations of reciprocal dependence and real or fictitious kinship. The contractual principles of the wider commercial society, in which the landlords found a more satisfactory status, were introduced. In time, the customary rights of the tacksmen, who had supported the structure of the clan, and the former clansmen were questioned and repudiated. The older folktales, songs, and many of the superstitions were obliterated. The traditional religious and secular festivities associated with events in the life cycle were abandoned or allowed to survive in a much modified form. The traditional customs of cooperating and visiting were either altered or disregarded. The list of traits and complexes which were dropped from the content of the culture could be continued. It is, indeed, a long one, and it includes elements from every aspect of the culture. If

group.[6] He has maintained cultural integration and continuity. At the same time his conservative religion has not gone quite as far as the Amish Order.[7] The Sràthanagh has rejected only those patterns which would disturb the equilibrium of life in the neighborhood. The penalty for his failure to completely adjust is depopulation; others, like the people of Yap and the Aleuts, are paying a similar penalty.[8]

Further Evidence for Cultural Continuity

Various approaches to the problem of cultural continuity can be attempted in addition to the historical approach which has formed the point of departure for my study. The most obvious would be a comparative study of two basically similar people, the Welsh and the Irish. In the chapter entitled "The Setting" and throughout this study I have called attention to the similarities between the Skyeman, the Welshman,[9] and the Irishman.[10] In a host of cultural features the three are strikingly identical. Some of these common patterns may be remembered, for instance, the clan nature of nucleated villages, the strong patrilineal emphasis, the importance of the old man, and a pastoral

[6] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 282, 284; and Young, Sociology, p. 23.

[7] Kollmorgen, op. cit., p. 1.

[8] Keesing, The South Seas in the Modern World, pp. 52-53; Furness, The Anatomy of Virginity, p. 344; and Sarvaan, "An Aleutian Village," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 1, pp.49-59.

[9] Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside.

[10] Arensberg, The Irish Countryman; and Arensberg and Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland.

agricultural economy. Some may share my feeling that a further exploration of these similarities would reveal evidence indicative of cultural continuity. We have three peoples who have had ample opportunity for divergence and yet have retained many essentials of Celtic culture. Moreover, all have been losing population since the middle of the last century. Unfortunately, at the present time, I am not prepared to extend this comparative approach. I am deterred by a recognition of two facts.[11] First there is the difficulty that peasant peoples all over the world seem very similar despite their distinctive cultural and historical backgrounds. There is, of course, diversity within similarity. Second there is the truism that the higher socio-cultural level of which the peasant is a part influences the form peasant life may take.[12] Although Anglo-Saxon and Norman influence impinged on the Welsh several centuries before it seriously threatened the Irish and Skyemen, the three groups have been subjected to basically similar stimuli for several hundred years.

Another question which may be asked is, has the culture continued to provide meaningful patterns of interaction for the Sràthanagh? One means of answering this question is provided by Durkheim's theory of anomie. According to Durkheim,

[11] Cf., e.g., Oscar Lewis, "Peasant Culture in India and Mexico: A Comparative Analysis," Village India, ed. McKim Marriott ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," Memoir No. 83, 1955), pp. 145-146.

[12] Cf., e.g., Wagley and Harris, "A Typology of Latin American Subcultures," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 3, pp. 431-443.

a disorganized society has the following characteristics: a deterioration of the traditional patterns of interaction within the group, a low degree of social contact among the members of the group, and a loss of social control by the group over the individual members.[13] As a result, the individual is faced with a situation in which the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them become less common and clear. To restate my position, although cultural and social integration are independent variables, the absence of this condition of normlessness is evidence that the cultural disruptions of the past have, in each case, been followed by a reintegration within the culture, as well as within the society. In other words, if the norms and sanctions are common and clear and are those of a single tradition, the absence of anomie means the individuals, as an organized aggregate bound together by a network of relationships and a sense of belongingness, are fully enculturated. Moreover, it means the culture, the socially transmitted attitudes, behavior patterns, and techniques which are distributed among the members of the society in accordance with their status positions and sub-group memberships, has maintained continuity. In order to investigate the question of anomie, let us compare my evidence from Skye with the findings of several social scientists who have worked with this concept.

Homans has used Durkheim's theory to analyze a small New Hampshire hill farming community.[14] Hillsdon, like its

[13] Durkheim, Le Suicide, pp. 272-282.

[14] Homans, The Human Group, pp. 336-367.

intain their position by intermarriage, by educating their 182
ildren in England, and by interacting with people of similar 571
atus within the community and beyond. 554 565

The crofters continue to stand at the opposite pole. They
ldom achieve status within their neighborhood. Upward mobility
possible only through outward mobility. Leadership fails
find expression among them in the township or the neighbor-
od. The rare exception is the crofter's son who becomes a [795]
inister and returns to lead his people spiritually. When the [794]
rofters must select a leader, from their own number, the
tatus is accorded to an elder of the church. The elder [794]
already has high status because of his advanced age and his
osition in the kirk. As I have said, the continued operation
f primitive democracy means a minimum of authority and a
aximum of equality.

The intermediate group in the social hierarchy cannot be 182
rofitably used in this discussion. They are primarily newcomers, 554 565
eople from the Lowlands or England, who have joined with the 167
elatively few Skyemen who have left the croft. Sufficient time
as not elapsed for a class oriented structure to emerge. Then,
oo, they are not a numerous group. Still, status is important
n the village. As in the crofting neighborhood, ministers,
octors, and teachers achieve high status through their occupation.
or the remainder of the population of Portree, status depends
ore on personal qualities and outside activities, especially
n the kirk, than on the way one may make his living.

While we are on the topic of status and ranking, let us 121 554

see what Linton, the most explicit exponent of the concept of 121 554
status and role, has to say about societies which are faced with
changing conditions and disorganization.[15] Linton believes that
such societies attempt to develop new social patterns by allowing
individual initiative, thought, and competition free rein. They
are characterized by a wealth of achievable statuses. With
adjustment, ascribed statuses again become common. The con- 554 626
clusion seems inescapable that Skye has adjusted. Perhaps a
few additional illustrations will make my point clearer. The
crofter who assumes a role of leadership is regarded as an
eccentric, someone to poke fun at no less than the village
idiot. The crofters' children who find their status too con- 554 626
fining must leave the island to achieve status. Some succeed, 167
to a limited degree, by moving to Portree, but they are never
free of suspicion. Since the majority of achieved statuses
on Skye are left to newcomers, it might be said that the
Sgiathanach has selected place of birth as a means to ascribe
status. Not infrequently the newcomer's acceptance is followed
by his being placed in roles of responsibility in both formal
organizations and informal groups. The reader may remember
the case of the young man from the East Coast who found himself
on no less than eleven committees. In Kilmuir the people are
represented on the County Council by a minister and the Crofters'
Club is run by the school teacher.

I believe that the most important feature of the concept 626
of anomie is the loss of social control which is said to follow 182

[15] Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 113-131.

Whatever signs there were of social or cultural dis- 175
organization, or threatened disintegration, in the nineteenth 178
century they have disappeared. Steward's theory that folk 182
societies do not entirely disappear but are rather modified 771
by way of a readaptation to the higher level of socio-cultural 786
organization of which they become a part is borne out by the 121
evidence from the Isle of Skye.[17] At the same time, on the
basis of events in the culture history of the Sgiathanach,
I would qualify his theory by introducing a new condition.
Isolated, relatively simple, kinship oriented societies and
cultures which must achieve a reintegration if they are to
preserve their continuity readapt, not only to the higher
socio-cultural level, but also to the older way of life.

In conclusion, I regard Skye as a community which has 178
maintained a continuity of culture despite marked population 182
change. The continued distinctiveness has been made possible [161] [571]
by a reintegration of the culture and a restoration of the
network of relationships which make for harmonious living
together. As in any socio-cultural group which has passed
through periods of threatened disintegration, the joints of
repair may be weak. Conflicts are tending to appear. The
crofter, who has refused to fully adapt to commercialism,
is seasonally faced with a variety and succession of tasks
which no agriculturalist in the wider society would tolerate.
There is the desire of the youth, who are too few in numbers
to form a sodality, for a share in the mundane pleasures of

[17] Steward, Area Research, p. 111; see also Wagley and Harris, op. cit., p. 441.

will have made his final retreat from one of his last outposts. 181 The belief of an old minister in Glasgow, a Sgiathanach who serves his fellow exiles, that "the Gael wants out" will be confirmed.

We have now finished our exploration of the thesis 121 that marked population change is not a criterion for cultural discontinuity. If my arguments have not been convincing, I shall feel very much like another minister who served the Sgiathanach as best he could. When his worn and torn Bible fell from the pulpit during his sermon one Sabbath many years ago, he looked down at his congregation and said, "I have spent myself and my Bible on you, and you are still not converted."

122

122 PRACTICAL PREPARATIONS--source of financial support; selection and assembly of equipment; arranging problems of transportation and bureaucratic red tape; familiarization with previous descriptive literature; learning language, etc.

FOREWORD

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are to be laid at my door.

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of individuals to organize each committee, no one was willing to accept the post without persuasion. In every case where there was a resident of the county people in the general vicinity, the man or his wife was chosen. The remaining chairs went to newcomers, especially doctors and teachers or their wives, mainly by default. They were not present. No one on Skye ever overtly seeks a role of responsibility. For the central committee, it was suggested, by a newcomer, that there should be at least two Skye people over sixty to get the point of view of the people who were to be helped. When the committee was finally formed, there was not one native Skye person on it. The chairman was the wife of a local landlord; the four members were another proprietor's wife, a Lowland woman, the minister, and an Austrian woman.

At no time was a vote taken. The person who can be persuaded to accept office is always unanimously "elected." On another occasion someone had made the mistake of nominating two women to fill one post. Rather than put the matter to a vote, the people present "elected" me, as a disinterested participant, to select the woman who would serve.

By the time I left the Misty Isle only one of the local committees had taken a step in the direction of organizing itself. A meeting was called in Waternish where either a returned exile or the minister was to preside. Neither of them would step forward. Again the task fell to one of the county people. She drove up from Portree to take the chair and help the people elect the members of their committee. Her journey was fruitless. Hardly anyone attended the meeting,

124

124 INTERVIEWING--methods of selecting informants or subjects (e.g., sampling); use and selection of interpreters; methods of checking and rewarding informants and interpreters; group interviewing; methods of interviewing (e.g., question and answer, nondirective, use of topical outlines); special techniques (e.g., life history, genealogical, event centered); use of documents prepared by informants; etc. See also:

informants 115

yard and occasionally a barley-kiln in which to dry grain before malting it for home-brewed beer. A 'black mill', with its primitive horizontal water-wheel, stands apart by some burnside.

Round the circular hearth, a large company can assemble in very social fashion for talk, story and song, the meeting *together* (*ceilidh*). By the transfer of the hearth from the centre and the substitution of a gable fireplace and regular chimney, the social circle is halved, while meantime the tales of the *ceilidh* are forbidden or forgotten. Happily the bench still stands against the wall, near to the open door, through which neighbours slip in with a word of greeting to find a customary welcome.

The dwellings on the summer pastures out on the moors show great variety, illustrated in Fig. 10(B). A simple type in use is built of turf and stones, lightly roofed with turf placed on spars. A more primitive 'beehive' type (which fell out of use before 1900) was stone-built and corbelled, probably for lack of timber. And whereas the lighter type always stands by itself, the corbelled type was added to until a dozen cells formed a single mass, suggestive of ancient 'neolithic' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney, described by Childe, and of the domed, corbelled huts of the ancient East.

A further type was the 'spring house' of Tolsta, NE. Lewis, in which both cattle and folk sheltered in spring a little way from the village, before going out to the more distant moor. Mr. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S., a native of Tolsta, informs me that the spring house was in use until 1936. He remembers vividly how life in the shieling restored health and colour after the winter.

423 In May 1918 Lewis was bought by Lever of Port
565 Sunlight, then Baron Leverhulme of Bolton-le-Moors (his birthplace), the head of a great combine with 50,000 white
157 and 25,000 black employees. Meeting him in Lews Castle in August 1919, Dr. Hardy and I found him troubled
• 124 by a human situation he had failed to diagnose. Short and stocky but very erect, quick-eyed and rapid of manner, and with a wide expressive mouth, he spoke earnestly of his plans; but his eyes flashed and his mouth set, as he rapped out, "They keep putting off, yet they leave the people in houses *not fit for Kaffirs*!" The question, "What objective inspired—or misled—Leverhulme to buy the Island?" is answered by his son and biographer.[1]

159 By 1917 Leverhulme had felt it was time to devolve
423 his personal authority over his business, in the interests of its future. Hence he looked about him for an estate
433 in which he could exercise "his passion for changing the face of nature", and his eagerness for 'planning' with drawing board and T-square, and for philanthropy.[2] He nearly bought an estate in the Midlands in order to develop it; but work had already begun there, and he wished to find a place which would be his to remodel from the start. Thirty years before, Leverhulme had visited Lewis and now in 1917 he spent a week there, motoring all over the Island. "He was enraptured . . . he saw not merely a countryside in need of more and better roads, not only a residence and grounds capable of alteration and improvement, but a problem to be solved, a human and racial problem which had so far baffled all who had tried to solve it. . . . He had been told the Lewis man was lazy,

[13] [1] Leverhulme (and Viscount), *Leverhulme: By His Son*, 1927, chap. xxvi, p. 221 ff. Lord Leverhulme, who had thought of styling himself 'Of the Isles' took the title 'Of the Lews'.

[2] Leverhulme (1927), cf. pp. 81-86.

182 estate, or where a single lodge was bought as a home for
161 retirement, depopulation might not matter. Certain popu-
471 lated parishes, however, were bought as investments by men of comparatively modest means. The principal
471 reasons for his purchase given to me by a retired man,
• 124 formerly connected with the administration of the Lews estate, were two. Asked if he had found, and expected, steady, remunerative payment of rent, he replied: "Certainly!" Next, in view of Press forecasts of general emigration, I referred to the fact that if large numbers of crofters decided to give a year's legal notice of departure and apply for compensation for improvements, including the erection of a 'white house' (otherwise than by Government aid), the landowner would be faced by heavy liabilities while deprived of income. Had the purchaser no fear of such an eventuality? "Certainly not!" was the reply, "the crofters will stick to their homes for many a long year."

829 These examples show that, while the defeat, or non-
458 realisation of Leverhulme's schemes, seemed to many outsiders the beginning of a not distant 'end' to the Island community, the Islanders themselves did not contemplate a final exodus. They were quite uncertain what was to come, it is true. Who was not, in those years of discouragement for Scotland and her people, for Wales, for Tyneside and Lancashire? The years of Leverhulme's departure from Lewis and of his death brought bad seasons. In 1924 storms destroyed crops and the peat would not dry. Herring catches and prices, though they had risen a little since 1921–22, had not allowed recovery from the losses sustained. The cessation of Leverhulme's wage-payments meant a gap in income which the Islanders could not fill
[135] at home. To relieve poverty in 1924–25, a Highlands and

127 one thing, an attempt is being made to build up the value of
241 the sheep and cattle stock. Then too it is hard to obtain
231 information on personal income. Not a few Highlanders are
434 reluctant to share in the cost of maintaining the government
• 124 and, consequently, equally reluctant to discuss their income.
[825] Still, it does give some indication of the potential income for 80 percent of the Skye crofters. It should not be forgotten that a large proportion of the small crofters will have absolutely no income from the land.

The Income of a Medium Croft. The medium croft, according to experts, has a potential income of £150 to £200 a year. Like the small croft, it provides a home, potatoes, vegetables, milk, eggs, meat, and peat. The budgets for one croft of this classification for 1952 and 1953 show a cash income of £203 17s 2d. and £170 15s. 11d., and a net profit of £169 12s. 1d. and £96- 11d. The marked fall in net profit is accounted for by a decrease in the acreage under oats, increased expenses, and the sale of fewer and younger stock, which also affected the cash income. The total hours devoted to crofting are estimated at 600 to 800 hours.

This croft supports a family, a married couple and their children, supplemented by seasonal auxiliary employment on the part of the father. As presently worked and stocked, it could not be left to a woman with any expectation of the same return. The stocking is two cows and followers and fifty sheep. There are 16½ acres of cultivated land, all but a quarter under grass.

1953 it was only £313 2s.1d. This marked fall was due to the 127
loss of sixty-nine sheep and one head of cattle, the effects 241
of which would not be felt until the following year. 231
434

This croft is inhabited by a married couple, and the husband's father and younger brother. It requires the full attention of both brothers and, occasionally, hired labor, in particular in the spring when the sheep demand a great deal of attention. The income in 1953, it may be added, was considerably more than most Scottish tradesmen and not far below that of a university lecturer. The stock averages between five and ten cows with followers, ten head of beef cattle during the summer, and 400 sheep. The cultivated acreage is fourteen acres, usually half of which is under hay and grass. I regard the large croft in my sample as typical, but it is typical of less than 1 percent of all Skye crofters.

The Income of a Farm. For comparative purposes, I should like to briefly consider the cash income of one farming subject. The budget I obtained is far from typical. With twenty-one farms each with its own peculiar advantages and each farmed under differing technological conditions, I doubt that a representative type could be singled out. Moreover, the [124
only way I could obtain a farmer's budget was to secure it surreptitiously; therefore, I do not know the details of stocking or the number who derive their support from the farm. We may be certain that it is one of the larger sheep farms. Despite an expense for hired labor of over £1000 each year,

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

their houses and allowed us to completely disorganise them with our mountainous heaps of maps, files and notebooks, and particularly to the housewives whose excellent meals were never out-paced by our enormous appetites. Finally, although in general it is invidious to mention names when we received so much help from so many, four gentlemen whose assistance was quite exceptional deserve special thanks - Donald John Macleod, Breasclete; John Macdonald, Meavaig; Donald Maclean, The Schoolhouse, Valtos; and 'Murdanny' Macdonald, Breaclete, Bernera.

The supervision of field work by nineteen persons whose training and previous experience varied very widely was no easy task. I am happy to record my thanks to those members who undertook special responsibilities in this respect; in particular to Philip Wheeler who took complete charge of the Bernera district, and to Brian Loughbrough who exercised supervision of the East Loch Roag - Loch Carloway district. Every effort was made to ensure that our record was complete and accurate; nevertheless we cannot claim perfection. In some townships, despite cross-checking of maps against croft records, serious discrepancies were subsequently found in the cropping data; in others the stock (of sheep in particular) obtained by adding individual croft records is short of the total which were led to expect in the township as a whole. As far as possible such discrepancies have been accounted for, and we believe and hope that our data and conclusions will be of some assistance to those whose duty it is to ensure the economic and social well-being of these crofting communities.

This report consists of four parts:

Part I: Introductory (on crofts and crofters)

Part II: District accounts of South Uig

Part III: District accounts of Bernera, East Loch Roag and Carloway

Part IV: Analysis of agriculture and population data, and conclusions.

Parts I and II form the first volume; parts III and IV will form the second. The actual preparation and printing has been greatly aided by the advice and patient assistance of Mr. G. P. Richardson, Assistant Secretary of the Court, and of his staff in the printing department of Glasgow University.

H. A. Moisley.

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1958 Park

INTRODUCTION

Since 1955, staff and students of the Geography Department, Glasgow University, have been engaged in a survey of Crofting Districts. This survey is intended neither to rival nor to replace the work of Collier and Fraser Darling, but to supplement their studies by more detailed field work: in the areas selected every croft is visited; so far, including Park, 2,250 crofts have been recorded.

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[Garyvard] [Caversta]

532 At the moment Garyvard appears to be a go-ahead village, carrying out communal schemes
[162] which will benefit the township as a whole. However, the age structure of the population is abnormal since 60 per cent of the population is over 45 years. The future in Garyvard offers young people
192 hard work, little money and no entertainment, making the attractions of the cities and industries of the mainland quite irresistible. Unless some industry can be started the future bodes ill for the area, since most crofters are of the opinion that a weekly wage packet would more than compensate
181 the loss of their independence. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the age of National Assistance and subsidies that man cares more for momentary rewards and the luxuries of life. This is well understood by parents who encourage their children to leave the islands to seek employment either in Britain or within the Commonwealth. The Lewisman is no sentimentalist clinging to dying traditions and a way of life. His present desires have been re-cast as a result of his increasing contact with the world beyond the Hebrides and he is prepared to abandon his home where it defeats his aims and purpose. Unless prosperity can be brought in by way of industry, tourism or increased croft efficiency, possibly through co-operation in working and marketing, it is possible that we are witnessing the end of a community.

CAVERSTA

Helen Mackenzie

131 Caversta lies along a southern inlet of Loch Erisort, five miles from the Minch and is partially sheltered from east winds by the Cromore peninsula and Eilean Chaluim Chille.

133 The physical nature of the terrain is irregular, rising steeply from the water's edge to a level
561 of approximately 225 feet. To the west and to the east, the land slopes to the river estuary and it is here that the settlement occurs. Particularly in the north-west, two marked breaks in slope are visible at 75 feet and 100 feet above the loch, which is here bordered by a 25 foot rock face. The resulting platforms are separated by faces of bare rock. The valley of the Caversta River is a noteworthy feature. Below a small loch, the river follows an irregular course though a wide and shallow moraine-strewn depression and a quarter-of-a-mile from its estuary, has cut through some low hills rising about 30 feet above the depression. At this point, its course becomes steeper as it passes through a small gorge, which is probably an overflow channel.

137 Trees are non-existent and the natural vegetation consists of Sphagnum on the peat bogs in the hollows and grasses and sedges on the gentler slopes. The steeper, less waterlogged slopes, often broken by rocky bluffs, have heather cover; bracken growth is kept in check by heavy grazing.
134 Forty-six acres of land have been reclaimed by clearing heather and removing peat to form the
511 crofts, but the soil, which varies in depth from a few inches to a few feet, is very acid.

129 The six legal crofts vary in acreage from 4.75 to 8.5 acres and a squatter has 5.5 acres of
241 enclosed land. The township is in two parts: Torista, with the two smallest crofts, lies at the east-
632 ern extremity, while the other five holdings, also bounded by a dyke, border Tob Caversta, an
[175] inlet of Loch Erisort. The crofts, which run from the shore to the township dyke, were set prior to 1861, originally the township formed part of Crobeg Farm. The legal units are, in fact, operative units except that one of the Torista crofts, now unoccupied, is used for wintering lambs by the absentee's brother, a resident of Caversta.

542 There are no occupied black houses remaining in either Torista or Caversta, as during the past fifty years new dwellings have been erected in dressed stone or corrugated iron, usually with roofs of asbestos slate, tarred felt, or corrugated iron. Several old thatched houses are now used as barns and byres.

887 arduous is difficult to determine. In the winter of 1953, I
241 helped a small crofter thrash oats, a cooperative enterprise
[123] even with a mechanical thrasher, supplied by the Department of Agriculture. The neighbors who came over to lend a hand were two men and three women. The youngest woman would never see fifty again; her seniors were seventy-seven and seventy-eight. The youngest man, who had just been married, was sixty-three; the other seventy-three. These crofters not only showed more endurance than I did, but put me to shame by carrying the sacks of grain from the field to the byre
[162] at the end of the day. Nevertheless, most of those over seventy, about 15 percent of the population, do not make use
887 of the land for more than growing a few potatoes. An old
231 man cannot keep a cow because, as one man said, "You can't
462 have a cow unless you have a woman to milk it." If he is married or lives with a sister, there may be a cow and a couple of sheep. An old woman may have her cow and sheep if she is strong enough. There comes a time, however, when all the old people will only remember the work involved. Still, they will say, "Och, but they were good for all that."

427 Absentee tenants are responsible for depopulation on
241 the one hand and falling production on the other. A reasonable
161 estimate would be 300. Their number could be as high as 400.
[133] Some townships have over 50 percent of the crofters absentee. The only townships which do not have this problem are the few which contain large crofts. On one small estate there are seventy-six crofts, held by seventy-two crofters. Only thirty

Lewis and Harris

PREFACE

Finally, I have to thank the Carnegie Universities Trust for Scotland for their grants towards the cost of illustrations (particularly of the coloured map of vegetation, printed by Messrs. John Bartholomew & Sons); and the Trustees of the Wyer Fund for Regional Survey of the Outlook Tower Association, for certain expenses in the preparation of the MS. and for publishing in 1952 "Resources and Prospects of the Isle of Lewis and Harris", reprinted by courtesy of the Editor of the *Stornoway Gazette*, 1952.

A. G.

1954

4: Moisley et al., K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

PREFACE

114 This report is the result of a remarkable co-operative enterprise. In August, 1959,
121 a party of 19 members of the Geographical Field Group and Scottish Field Studies Association undertook a survey of crofting in Uig, one of the four parishes of the Isle of Lewis. In less than three weeks more than 700 crofts and other households were visited or recorded in accordance with a scheme devised by my colleague, Dr. Caird, and myself. This scheme has been used by us in other parts of the Hebrides and, therefore, the record of Uig is an integral part of our Outer Hebridean crofting survey, undertaken between
122 1956 and 1961. We are extremely grateful to the nineteen voluntary field-workers who, it is worth recording, travelled from England and stayed in Uig entirely at their own expense in order to help us; they could have spent their holiday more cheaply in Switzerland - an enlightening comment on the fundamental economic disadvantage of the Hebrides.

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125 The object of the work was to make an impartial record of the state of crofting as a
122 way of life and as a means of livelihood. The boundaries and land-use of every croft were recorded on 1/2500 plans, enquiries were made as to acreages of crops and grass and numbers of livestock, and the population of each household was recorded, taking account of sex, age and occupation (part or full-time) of each member including those who, perforce, must seek work elsewhere even though their only home is in Uig. The Croft Record form is reproduced opposite.

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123 itself we were encouraged and assisted wherever we went. We owe exceptional debts of gratitude to the Ministers, school-masters and township clerks, who welcomed us and made our purpose known throughout the parish, also to the families who took us into

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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PREFACE

121 The problem which I have attempted to treat in this study concerns the question of the effect of population change, both increase and decrease, on an essentially peasant population living on the very fringe of Western Europe in one of the last remaining outposts of the Gael. My interest in this problem, stimulated to no small degree by Dr. Conrad M. Arensberg and my wife, stems from an old curiosity about the nature and function of the Highland clan system and the characteristics of a small,
[101] dying remnant of a once widespread culture. My wife and I went to Scotland in June, 1953 to conduct field research on the Isle of Skye with the presupposition that the old culture had not withered and disappeared, even if it had been seriously modified by outside influences, especially those flowing in from the
[101] wider society of Great Britain. We remained on the Island until March, 1954, when we turned our attention to library research and exiled Skyemen in Glasgow.

122 The research embodied in my dissertation was made possible by financial assistence from Columbia University, in the form of a William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship; from the Social Science Research Council, in the form of a Research Training Fellowship; and from the United States Educational Commission in the United Kingdom, in the form of a Fulbright Scholarship. I

Skye

122 am indeed grateful for this aid and the encouragement which this support implicitly extended.

114 The field work was carried out under the supervision of Dr. Thomas T. Paterson, of the Department of Social and Economic Research of Glasgow University. Were it not for his sympathetic understanding of the problems of the novice field worker, I might never have concluded the research. He also read many sections of the dissertation and offered helpful criticisms and suggestions.
128 I would also like to acknowledge the advice and interest of Dr. A. K. Cairncross, Chairman of the Department, and that of Mr. Angus Matheson, of the Gaelic Department, who guided me through many of the difficulties of the Gaelic language and, as a native of the Isles, read much of my descriptive material on his kinsmen with a critical eye. At Edinburgh University I wish to thank Dr. Arthur Geddes, of the Department of Geography, and Dr. Kenneth Little, of the Department of Social Anthropology, for their guidance.

One debt of gratitude must be acknowledged only by implication, because those who helped me want it that way. Although they are unnamed, their hospitality and their contributions of both facts and insights are not forgotten. To the men and women on Skye, to the Skye exiles in the Lowlands, and to the government officials in Edinburgh and Portree I extend my sincere thanks.

The personal interest of Professor William A. Hance, of the Department of Economic Geography of the Columbia University School of Business, has been an invaluable support. Drawing on

123

123 OBSERVATIONAL ROLE--techniques for establishing rapport; assumption or ascription of a status in the community; methods of altering the observer's status; adoption of the technique of participant observation; degree of participation in community life actually achieved; effect of the observer's presence on the life of the community; limitations imposed by sex of observer; etc.

PREFACE

121 allows one to revise judgments in a way not possible in a
178 short-term study. And only by prolonged knowledge of the Island can one hope to appreciate the changes which have been taking place, and the trends of today.

• 123 My chief debts are the hardest of all to acknowledge, namely the patient guidance, information and hospitality so freely given, as I tramped from end to end of the Island or stayed in chosen townships. Indeed, my debt extends beyond the Island, from glens in the mainland to the southern Hebrides. The debt for specific information received is the harder to acknowledge since, again and again, I was invited to utilise information on condition of silence as to its source. Many statements given here would gain in authority if their source, whether private or semi-official, could be given; but this has frequently been impossible without violation of confidence. Hence my thanks go out to many anonymous crofters, schoolmasters and residents and also to officials, particularly of the Boards or Departments of Agriculture, Fisheries, Labour
000 and the Post Office. There are also those whom I cannot leave unnamed, particularly the late Mr. W. J. Gibson, C.B.E., Mr. Angus MacLeod, B.Sc. (Agric.), Dr. R. M. Craig, Miss Bruce of the Highland Home Industries, Mr. J. S. Grant of the *Stornoway Gazette*, Mr. Malcolm MacLeod, D.Litt., Mr. A. M. Macmillan, C.I.E., Mr. John Forbes and Professor A. C. O'Dell. The late Professor Alan G. Ogilvie, Professor H. J. Fleure, LL.D., F.R.S., Professor W. Croft Dickinson, M.C., and the late Mr. Adam Collier also advised me most helpfully.

For the loan of blocks I am indebted to Professor A. Stevens and Dr. R. R. M. Craig, and to the Editors of the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* and of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*.

175 Mackenzie. For all that, in 1900 a crofter said: "We called
613 the old proprietor Seaforth, but I believe his right name
621 was the Prince of Welsh". To him the Earls were royal!
[829] Freedom of intercourse is embodied in the language to this day. With 'a stranger', a little spoken Gaelic
197 lessens 'strangeness' and quickens intimacy, because Gaelic conveys essential human relationships as English
565 rarely can—even the English of the 'democratic' Low-
576 lands. For instance, a well-dressed stranger, though young, is usually addressed in English as 'sir' by a senior crofter, and, just as in the South, without the expectation of 'sir' or 'ma'am' in return. In English, that is, respect is given to class. In Gaelic, age receives respect: it is the stranger, if the younger, who adopts the respectful 'you' (the second person plural, *sibh*), while the crofter, if the older, uses the friendly singular, 'thou' (*thu*). If they are of equal age, and neither is elderly, 'thou' would be
[562] used by both. Similarly, respect is given to womanhood; and an older woman who would say 'Sir' in English will say 'My dear' in Gaelic.[1]

614 It is not only by daily contacts that we may understand the relationship of people to chief, but by the height of feeling it may attain, and by the beauty of its expression. Among the finest of the later songs of praise to Gaelic
[175] clanship and its chiefs are those composed by two Island
[533] bards, a woman of Harris and a man of the Lews. Mary MacLeod, *Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh*, was a kinswoman of the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris, and a beloved

• [123] [1] Calling on the sub-postmistress in a Highland place where I was known to be a friend of the laird, I was addressed as "Sir". But hardly had we passed to Gaelic when this woman, my elder and a person of culture, laughingly used an expression then strange to me. Halted, and suddenly shy at being forced to translate, she said at last, "When thou wast *a lump* [just a boy!] '*muair bha thu cnap!*'". But rightly, she would have been slightly shocked had I said 'thou' to her.

114 reports of early speeches by Leverhulme, Professor Patrick
185 Geddes had quickly come to feel that his old acquaintance,
473 Leverhulme the industrialist, might have overlooked such
433 agricultural potentialities as existed, and that he had quite overlooked the social significance of land. Hence, in May or June 1919, Geddes proposed that a survey be made by one who knew the Highlands botanically, who was experienced in agriculture, and who had some knowledge of Highlanders at home and of sociological factors. Geddes
• [123] suggested Dr. M. E. Hardy for the task. Leverhulme forthwith accepted the suggestion and commissioned Hardy, whom the present writer assisted on the Island.

311 Examination of the farms, so hotly debated, showed that they possessed little or no initial superiority over neighbouring crofting settlements. That the farms were placed in the best coastal tracts for agriculture is true, but their shores are at the same time the poorest in harbours and fishing facilities. As a result, the crofters dwelling near the farms along parts of the same machars and smooth slopes were 'crofters' who sometimes fished, rather than fishermen with a house-site and a potato patch. As Hardy wrote (in his MS. Report): "The chief superiority of the farms resulted from levelling, drainage and enclosure" by landlord and farmer, sixty or seventy years before. The improved land both of farms and adjacent crofts was reclaimed from peat and machar, or from an admixture of both. "How then", asked Hardy, "did so much value
[473] come to be attached to the farms? The traditional grievance (of eviction) led neighbouring crofters to turn their eyes towards the green patches of the abandoned villages and endowed the old land with special virtues. After the Crofters' agitation of the 'eighties, successive Boards came with their eyes already focused on the farms, by the

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121 by help of oral tradition and of the living witness of con-
174 tinuing usage, we can reconstitute Gaelic life from the
178 view-points of both people and chief. Elsewhere, even in Scotland, only fragments of early life are recorded, in
175 parchments written by the lawyers of landlord and king,
814 and almost always from the privileged side. History is indebted to modern lawyers who have deciphered and
• 127 published the faded documents of their predecessors. But the very training as solicitor-factors which fitted them for this specialised task, in no way prepared them to view life as seen, experienced and felt by the men and women of the past, or even by the elders or youth of the townships today, with whom they have rarely laboured and whose mother tongue they rarely understand.

(A) THE LABOURS OF MAN AND WIFE, AND THE REWARD

621 We have seen that until the nineteenth century the
632 township in the main was self-contained. Its people grew,
175 reared or caught their food, and also found the raw materials
[433] for their clothing; they built their own shelter, and cut their own firing. As a result, both men and women had
174 each to develop "a wide range of simple skills", in the
175 apt phrase of a Lewisman, Mr. Donald MacLean, M.A. Beyond the co-operative effort within a family, a farm
462 group, or a body of 'fellow-townsmen'—in which each was competent to take a share according to sex and age—aptitude and family tradition initiated some local division
[463] of labour. The resident smith and the 'caird' (usually a wandering craftsman or tinker) appear in the oldest tales and in the first rent-rolls. In addition there were honorary
[759] tasks. The smith might act as the village surgeon, ready

194 encouraging them to rest when the men returned was
462 fondly indulged. Much can be learned from the first (or
221 'old') "Statistical Accounts of the parishes of Scotland
175 drawn up from the communications of the Ministers of the different parishes", *circa* 1790-96. Of the parish of
462 Stornoway, where by 1790 many men had become crofter-
• 127 fishers and others were at sea, the Minister wrote, "The women labour at least as hard as the men", even pulverising the ground with heavy hand-rakes (harrows being seldom used), and digging both with crooked and straight spades. That the men's debt was repaid in acts of manly service is true. A man would carry wife or sweetheart on his shoulders across a river in spate, whose rushing waters might have swept her away. But in her turn, a woman would wade into the cold sea, her coats high, bearing on her hips husband or son out to his open boat, so that he could start his night of exposure dry-shod and warm. This act of service was noted and illustrated by Burt at Inverness (about 1726), and it was common in the Lews before the building of stout piers, that is within living memory. Strong common sense, sheer necessity in fact, enforced such mutual service; but the sacrifice entailed was nerved by anxiety for those in danger, by personal pride and love. It was also true that it bore hardly on women, with their readiness for self-sacrifice and their ordeal of childbirth.

175 What return for their labours did the people get in the
434 past, it will be asked, and what approach to sufficiency in a normal year? For the Island, the most thorough of the
[129] five Parish Accounts is that of Harris, with its fascinating retrospective notes (vol. x, p. 368). There the yield of a typical family share, a 'fourth' or 'farthing' land, was computed at "from four to five bolls" (which in Scotland

175 couple advancing one on either side of it—many other
476 tasks were definitely team-work. Such was peat-cutting. "When they are making peats, five people are employed.
175 One cuts the peat, another places it on the brink of the
476 ditch where it is dug; a third spreads it on the field, a
314 fourth pares and cleans the moss; and a fifth man is resting, ready to relieve the man that cuts. The women are seldom
[462] at this work, but the men help one another alternately; sometimes they must rest satisfied with fewer hands; but the above is the full complement of men required to per-
• [127] form the work, according to their tastes." Buchanan's
[178] description was written 160 years ago (1793); it remained true till recently and generally it is so still. There was thus a normal team practice for work—even a man to rest was not
[538] forgotten! As the Gaelic proverb puts it: "They won't make power (add strength) without a threesome and they'll limp without a foursome!" (*Cha deanar treine gun triuir,*
[802] *'s bidh iad crubach gun cheathrar*). In Gaelic, as in Scots, one speaks of a team according to its number, as "a pair, a threesome, foursome" and so on, up to a tensome (*deichnear*). In Lewis the farm-team was usually a foursome or fivesome.

175 Only in exceptional cases was land worked and held
423 singly—as when a smith was kept busy at his anvil in ploughing-time and harvest. Thus in 1715 one or two
241 rural smiths had single holdings of average value or more
[326] (£1), and one artificer or tin-smith (caird) a holding of minimum value (5s.); and in the burgh all the small plots
[286] were held singly. As the women wove, at home mostly,
[462] no male rural weaver held a single plot; his weaving could be done at slack times, so long as there was light; at busy times he worked on the land with the rest of his team.

000 On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an

175 after 1800, John Walker wrote that run-rig, " formerly very
178 general in Scotland, was abolished with improvements but
241 still subsists in many parts of the North. A number of
476 tenants of the same farm have a common pasture for their
654 cattle, and the arable is divided among them, by ridge
423 and ridge alternately, which each cultivates for his own behoof. This gives them all a common interest in the crop and, when there was no inclosure by dyke or hedge, might be of some advantage " in giving each person some protection " against the encroachments of his neighbour's cattle ". Speaking of joint possession this time, though without reference to survivals, Walker wrote that in the Lowlands " in old times a large farm might be occupied by a number of conjoint tenants who cultivated the farm in common and divided the produce. In this way the interest of each became the interest of the whole. They were ready, and were frequently called upon, to defend the common crop and cattle against depredations. There was then a necessity for such an allotment of land, especially in the Border country and in the Highlands." The team, in other words, was a unit of defence. But " nothing like improvement can be expected from farmers placed in this situation . . . [and] no community can ever equal the carefulness and industry of an individual in the management of his affairs ".[1]

[127] So far as it goes, such an analysis is incontrovertible;
for Walker was one of many contemporary observers
[181] who could contrast both the " improvement, industry and carefulness " of the best individuals under a vigorous landlord, with the sluggishness of old-fashioned ways on backward estates. The fundamental reason for sluggishness was that

[113] [1] John Walker, *Oeconomical History* [descriptive account] *of the Hebrides*, 1808.

241 through division of labour or united effort, but simply for
423 the sake of mutual stimulus and pleasure!
427
476

(D) THE SHARING OF MACHAR, MOOR AND SEA

Embracing several joint-farms, each with its team or
175 crew, came the township. The township had not only its
632 common pasture, it had a special extensive system of
241 run-rig on sandy, coastal machars, as in parts of the Island
423 and in Uist—a system continued to this day.

On the machar of Barvas, cultivation strips are still re-allotted periodically, as they were annually on all the
632 Island machars. The machars behind the ' storm-beach '
241 dunes of the Outer Hebrides closely resemble one another,
423 from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head. The immemorial system was noted by Walker and more fully by Carmichael,
[178] who called it ' intermediate run-rig ' to distinguish it from
[127] the run-rig of older joint farms on boulder clay, and it persists at the present day.[1] In North Uist the machar land is laid off in large scatts or fields. Each scatt is divided into as many rigs as there are crofts in the township. There may be a dozen scatts in all, and usually half the number are lying out in natural pasture, but they are put under crop in rotation, so that each year one or two scatts will be brought into cultivation, and the others left out after a
[625] course of cropping. When a scatt is to be brought into cultivation the township ' constable ' (who holds sway under the district ground officer) appoints a day for allocating the rigs.

[113] [1] Walker (1808); Alexander Carmichael, appendix xlviii and xcix, pp. 213 ff. and 451 ff., Report of the Crofters' Commission, 1884. Socially these form the most significant evidence in this great Report. See also " Grazing and Agrestic Customs ", *Celtic Review*, 1905. Cf. C. Macdonald, *Scot. J. Agric.*, 1919. See also his lively accounts of machar and pasture: *Highland Journey: Suil air ais*, 1943.

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

321

iritually enlightened. The individual who is asked 794
ture of his visitation is not judged on his ability 888 226
family in the nurture of the church. He is rather
s preparation to carry on the tradition. He must
the respect due to one of his status. While old 562
embered among the "elect," their exclusion from any
in the church has kept them socially inferior to

I could give some examples of the nature of this 124 576
" however, Skye is a land where the direct question
One can ask a direct question without offending,
of hospitality requires an either affirmative
e answer you think your guest expects. My
romptings on this topic only succeeded in arousing
y soul.
oups escape from the control of the elders as 16 626
through acceptance of an individual into the 888
mentioned earlier, the newcomers to Skye have 774 167
fferent backgrounds. Beyond the Highlands, the 184
Effectual Calling" has changed over the years. The
a young communicants' class in which they are
eaning of church membership. Notestein, writing
tional character of the Scot, maintains that
"election" has disappeared.[14] Most of the members
h of Scotland in Portree would no doubt agree with
tempt has been made on Skye to hold a young 794
' class. It took place, of course, in the Church 774

stein, op. cit., p. 153.

125

125 TESTS AND SCHEDULES--description of tests used (e.g., intelligence, projective); schedules and questionnaires employed (e.g., preparation, pre-testing); administration of tests, schedules, and questionnaires; sampling techniques; methods of scoring; use of control groups; special experiments; census-taking by author; etc. See also:
Results of tests of memorion and perception . . 181 Results of personality-tests 157, 159
Results of aptitude and intelligence tests . . . 183

771 single example may be given; so far as I know, it is un-
773 recorded. I learned it in South Uist, where Catholic and
Protestant mingle in tolerance and sympathy; it had been
125 told by an old woman, a Catholic, to a young neighbour, a
1745 Protestant fisherman's son, later a minister.[1]

The story takes place after the Crucifixion. It may be
remembered that in the Gospels not a word is said of Jesus's
mother after His farewell to her from the Cross (John,
xix. 26). He—or she—who first conceived the legend may
have asked, would not a mother visit the tomb of the son
she had just lost? And surely she who at His birth had
cried, "My soul magnifies the Lord . . . my Saviour",
would be the first to seek Him out after His death? The
legend tells that, on the second day of the Entombment,
Mary, Jesus's mother, in an agony of mourning and sus-
pense, visited the tomb of her son, calling upon Him with
many an endearing name. From the tomb He answered
that she would be consoled, for He would arise. And He
told her that because of the depth of her love, of all forms
of human love a mother's would be accounted the highest
for ever after.

771 The Gael had fused the grandeur of the Old Testament
538 with the hope and humanity of the New; for them the
light of dawn on sea and snow awoke the light within. A
1788 last example is taken from two fragments forming part of
113 a single theme, perhaps of one original poem.[2] Chanted

[1] It is interesting to compare this quiet legend with the late Roman (and Epicopalian) "Apostles' Creed", apparently based on the vivid story in the *Gospel of Bartholomew*: after Christ "was crucified, dead, and buried, He descended into hell" (hades). Montagu R. James (translator), *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 1924.

[2] *Carmina Gadelica*, 201, 197. No translation can be perfect, and Carmichael offers alternatives: line 6, "*Ti nan dul*, Being of life", or "of the elements"; l. 13, "light on the plain" or "the land", *fearann*. The last line is intimate and simple: "The hour (or *era*) God's Son came in (among us)," a *steach*, as into a dwelling.

178 intuitive and traditional, of the people, and their love for
181 the good and beautiful. Song collectors from outside the
Island have found little and assumed that song had been
114 swept away. Discretion is certainly needed for song col-
533 lection! Years ago in Bernera I had been told of a pretty
love lament I had not heard. Calling with my hosts to
125 invite him to their house that evening, we found the singer,
533 a burly crofter of fifty or so. We had been about to
183 mention the word 'song', when the word was checked on
our lips by a swift, warning glance. The singer lived with
his old mother and she must not be told that her son went
533 out on such an errand! Nevertheless, Islanders them-
178 selves are collecting many unpublished songs, where
814 strangers failed. The Laxdale School choir wins prizes at
many a national gathering or *Mod*, for their spirited singing
of songs, many of them unpublished. Owing in part to
their very isolation, these songs have remained as pure in
form as in the Catholic Isles, whether in time and rhythm
or in scale and mode. Thus the sub-intervals or 'quarter-
tones' of the modal scale add subtlety to the melodic line
of an air, as in the melodies of Wales or of distant India.[1]
These intervals are rarely heard on concert platforms,
being unrecognised by many 'Mod medallists'. They
are rarely known to professional musicians trained to
the mechanical scale of the piano, and who are asked,
as adjudicators, to award praise or criticism by alien
standards.

181 Courtesy and modesty are noticeable among the young

[1] M. Kennedy-Fraser, Preface, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. Cf. Glyn-Williams, *Welsh Song and Dance* (Curwen, 1936). For India see A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindustan* (1914), pp. 104 ff., and H. A. Popley, *The Music of India* (1921); cf. A. Geddes in A. Karpeles (ed.), *L'Inde et son âme*, Paris, 1927. While published phonographic records of Indian singing normally illustrate these intervals, those of Gaelic Hebridean singers rarely do, as they are accustomed to alter to suit a piano.

PREFACE

114 This report is the result of a remarkable co-operative enterprise. In August, 1959,
122 a party of 19 members of the Geographical Field Group and Scottish Field Studies
Association undertook a survey of crofting in Uig, one of the four parishes of the Isle of
Lewis. In less than three weeks more than 700 crofts and other households were visited
or recorded in accordance with a scheme devised by my colleague, Dr. Caird, and myself.
This scheme has been used by us in other parts of the Hebrides and, therefore, the record
of Uig is an integral part of our Outer Hebridean crofting survey, undertaken between
1956 and 1961. We are extremely grateful to the nineteen voluntary field-workers who,
122 it is worth recording, travelled from England and stayed in Uig entirely at their own
expense in order to help us: they could have spent their holiday more cheaply in
Switzerland - an enlightening comment on the fundamental economic disadvantage of the
Hebrides.

114 Geographical Field Group

Catherine M. Baker	Anne Iredale
Dennis H. Barrat	Brian Loughbrough
Elizabeth Blowers	Brenda Metcalfe
Barry E. Darley	Dethia R. Mills
Ann V. Feighan	Jennifer K. Oxenbury
Pamela M. Gough	Doreen J. Phillips
Margaret Grice	David G. Symes
Annie Heawood	Philip Wheeler
Bryan Hirt	

Scottish Field Studies Association

Miss F. Madge Phillips Mr. Roger H. Thomas

125 The object of the work was to make an impartial record of the state of crofting as a
122 way of life and as a means of livelihood. The boundaries and land-use of every croft
were recorded on 1/2500 plans, enquiries were made as to acreages of crops and grass
and numbers of livestock, and the population of each household was recorded, taking
account of sex, age and occupation (part or full-time) of each member including those
who, perforce, must seek work elsewhere even though their only home is in Uig. The
Croft Record form is reproduced opposite.

122 The successful completion of the survey was not only due to the co-operation of the
Geographical Field Group and Scottish Field Studies Association. Adequate preparation
would not have been possible without the advice and help of officials of the Department
of Agriculture, County Council, Scottish Land Court, Crofters Commission, David
Macbrayne Ltd, the estate factors and many other bodies. Miss C. B. Smith, Carnegie
Research Assistant, undertook much of the tedious preparatory clerical work. In Uig
123 itself we were encouraged and assisted wherever we went. We owe exceptional debts of
gratitude to the Ministers, school-masters and township clerks, who welcomed us and
made our purpose known throughout the parish, also to the families who took us into

125 INDIVIDUAL CROFT RECORD

DATE OF VISIT _____ TOWNSHIP _____
CROFT NO. _____

In addition to cropping land area, and stocking industrial houses (on 1/2,500 map), the following should be recorded, if it is not more or less obvious, in not the number for all this data. Mark one to obviated by observation.

1. THE CROFT
Name: Old spelling: Pronun.
No. of shares in (a) common hill: (b) common arable: (c) any special commons rights (Give details)

2. CROFT (Areas in half an acre)
Have much is cultivated for: (a) tenter _____ (b) hay _____ (c) spade _____
Area, this year, in

OATS:	Crofts	Stockers	
BERE:	Crofts	Stockers	
RYE:	Crofts	Stockers	
MIXED GRAINS	Crofts	Stockers	
POTATOES	Crofts	Stockers	

NON GRAIN FOR HAY: _____ (YEAR NOW) (N___)
NON GRAIN, GRAZING: _____ (YEAR NOW) (N___)
NATURAL GRAIN, HAY: _____
NATURAL GRAIN, GRAZING: _____
How much of natural grass was formerly cultivated:
(a) in last 20 years: _____ (b) 20-50 years ago: _____ (c) More than 50 years ago: _____
Was any of the hill common (or special commons if any) formerly cultivated? Give details (on reverse)
Have shielings ever been used? Give details (on reverse)
Peaty grubber: YES/NO. Produce marketed: YES/NO (Specify)
Fertilizers etc.: SEAWEED/SHELL-SAND/LIME/ARTIFICIALS (Specify)
Crofts: FENCED/NOT FENCED. If fenced are they open to common grazing in winter? YES/NO. If yes, when dates
3. STOCK (Give number at present. If possible add to previous census and in past 12 months)
CATTLE: 2 years: ____ 1 1-2 years: ____ 1 year: ____ 1 Calves: ____
SHEEP: Breeding ewes: ____ 1. Other sheep: ____ 1. Lambs at lambing: ____ 1. Lambs at end of September: ____ 1 Tup
(Count equal number of lambs)
IF CLUB STOCK STATE SHARE _____ (and shortcut, if possible) _____
HORSES: _____ POULTRY: _____ PIGS _____
4. HOUSE, etc. (Ring industrial houses on map)
Houses on croft? YES/NO. Is it OCCUPIED/UNOCCUPIED/RUINED? More than one? If so give details. FEU/COTTAR etc.
Numbers of household in age groups (Ex Indo, F=Female) (Indicate tenant of croft)

Age 1-4	Age 5-15	Age 16-44	Age 45-64	Age 65+
(a) PERMANENTLY RESIDENT:				

(b) PERIODICALLY AWAY (Seen persons (e.g. students, seasonal workers) give occupation) (Relation Servicemen)

(c) PERMANENTLY AWAY, but having an other home (e.g. Fishers, Hi.Ferry, Regular Farmers)

(d) INCOMERS (Y?) and EMIGRANTS (N?) since 1939 (In and from parish)

/introductory p. 17/

126

126 RECORDING AND COLLECTING:--methods of note taking (e.g., verbatim, post-interview summaries); taking of native texts; use of diaries and journals; utilisation of sound and photographic equipment; preparation of sketches, charts, and maps; collection of field specimens.

shopkeepers and so on. But some were with weaving on a source of regular income. Without the weavers most of the others would find little demand for their wares or services.

Periodic work is taken locally, usually in default of regular employment, and often by people who formerly worked away from home. This is usually casual labour and fishing, and is due to the lack of other opportunities in South Uig. Whilst no survey was in progress, it was noted that fishing was more than engaged at the Gaia hydro-electric scheme. In South Uig, also, crofting was not regarded as regular than elsewhere. For this some weavers blamed the Harrowy products, and some of the crofters are not inclined to send wools so far out as this unless it cannot otherwise be done. There is some truth in this, particularly with respect to the 'small' (i.e., non-mill) producers, but a survey of sheep stocks showed that more than in South Uig regarded weaving as an 'extra' and not as a means of livelihood, or when alternative employment, as the craft or for wages (as at Gaia), was offered. It is also true to say that the less weaving a man does the less good he becomes, he takes longer to complete a web and may suffer more deductions for faulty work. He becomes less interested in the work and the producer becomes less inclined to send him work.

TABLE 56

Permanent Employment away from home (actual numbers)

	Men				Women			
	R.C.	Presbyterians	Others	Marriage	Marriage	Professions	Domestics	Others
Uig Parish	46	11	65	-	-	18	39	27
Districts								
South Uig	5	4	12	22	2	2	16	2
Bernera	8	4	5	10	1	2	7	1
East Loch Roag	16	-	23	15	6	15	7	
Carloway	22*	3	25	12	5	5	5	11

* including five working seasonally on whalers.

These taking permanent employment away from home (table 56) tell to choose particular occupations. Amongst men, the Merchant Navy is most popular, especially from the Carloway and East Loch Roag districts; many of the others work as skilled or semi-skilled jobs, including the joiner, plumber, and mason. There are also skilled casual labourers. Amongst women, nursing is by far the most important occupation, and domestic work is popular amongst young women from South Uig and Bernera; most of the others work in 'domestic work' - in hotels and hospitals, rather than in private homes - and a few work in offices and shops. The category 'professions' in the table is almost synonymous with school-teaching.

Periodical, including seasonal, absence from home is less common than from some island districts; 14% of the 15-64 age-group is classified as 'periodically away' (compare 27% from Park, 18% from Harris, 17% from Barra). Of these, half the men and half of the women are students. Seasonal hotel work, for women, is the most important single category.

Population trends

162 The diagrams, figure 48, summarise much of this chapter. They have been constructed so that the size of each horizontal bar is proportionate to the number of persons in the

162 appropriate age-group, males on the left, females on the right. The width of the bars varies according to the age range of the groups so that the length of each bar gives an indication of the relative importance of the particular age-group in the total population. As an unofficial survey it is difficult to obtain detailed information on the 65 and over age-group. Some bars are triangular, nevertheless they do suggest certain trends, as well as marked regional differences, within the parish.

162 If we examine first the parish as a whole it will be seen that the proportion of children under school age, (0-4), is sufficient to maintain, and perhaps to slightly increase, the school population (5-14) provided that none are lost through emigration. The present school population is not quite sufficient to maintain the 15-44 age-group, including, of course, those working away, on the same assumption. In both these groups, as is usual, males slightly outnumber females.

The characteristics of the 15-44 age-group are clearly seen. A large number is working away from home. The proportion of women working away is far greater than of men and, in view of the "marriage risk" in women in this age group, it is reasonable to suppose that, in time, most of these women will become 'emigrants'. More men stay at home (weaving supports many of them) and, of these that go away to work, a substantial proportion will return to the parish on the occurrence of a croft or when they retire; some of them may bring back wives from outside the parish but it seems unlikely that this will by any means balance the loss of local women by marriage outside the parish.

The 45-64 age-group is only slightly affected by the custom of working away. Men and women are evenly balanced, but when we compare them with the 15-44 group it is seen that, over ten years or so, there will be a decline particularly in the number of women aged 45-54 available for marriage. Of the women under 45, who are at present working away, eventually many will settle outside the parish, the decline will be drastic. The 45-64 age-group should, in time, replenish the 65 and over, but, as far from the diagram, it is not so. That this is not possible. At present an accurate forecast of the population is over 65 years of age and thus, in time and failing the unlikely event of additional immigration, a further fall in total population is certain. One may hazard a guess that this decline will be of the order of 300 to 350 persons in the next ten years.

162 Turning to the districts, the most striking feature is their individuality and this emphasises again the value of this kind of survey. Generalisations about the parish cannot be misinferred from the official census reports. In South Uig, of the 65 and over, a very high proportion is over 65 years of age; this makes it certain that further decline is inevitable. However the 15-44 group can probably replenish and maintain the 45-64 group with little loss; the relatively high proportion of children, particularly under school age, suggests that the 15-44 group in South Uig will be adequately replenished, except that there is an unusually low proportion of young women in the 15-44 group. A large proportion of young women from South Uig take employment away from home, as do young men, and this suggests that South Uig may have a special problem here in a small degree, and this suggests marry and settle away from home. The Bernera district shows considerable similarity to South Uig, but the proportions are different and not quite so extreme. The East Loch Roag district, and to an even greater extent the Carloway district, has quite different characteristics which suggest rather different trends. There the predominance of old people is not quite so marked and, in fact, it may remain in passing, the excess of females over males in the over 65's is quite noticeable. Going back one generation, amongst the Naval reservists and others, from the 45-64 group, to the World War. If we look at the proportion of children, however, it is clear that the school population can scarcely be maintained over the next ten years, nor can the 15-44 age-group be fully replenished. This, of course, assumes that there will be no material change in birth and death rates. Taking, for example, Carloway, it seems that, although population will inevitably continue to fall in South Uig and Bernera, it will be at a prospect of a more stable, though smaller, population in within eight. But in East Loch Roag and Carloway districts it seems likely that decline, though perhaps not so rapid, will continue for a long time yet.

127

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have to acknowledge the valuable help of many people in the completion of this book. Some aided by the mere mention of a fruitful source of information. Others, such as the officials of the various Government offices I contacted, went to much trouble and otherwise available to me as a private individual. The *Scottish Gazette* has been more than helpful in making its files and office facilities available for research. And Mr I. R. MacKay of Inverness did me the kindness of reading through my draft manuscript and commenting on those errors and omissions which would have detracted from the final script. Any mistakes and inconsistencies which remain are to be laid at my door.

127 HISTORICAL RESEARCH--extent to which original field research was supplemented or replaced by the use of records; types of records utilised (e.g., archeological remains, unpublished documents, museum collections, census data, literary sources, earlier published materials); techniques of analysis and criticism applied in assessing source materials; etc. See also:
issues 15

18 pastoral group, the germ (in the Hebrides) of the present
621 township with its common grazing. Hamlets and town-
174 ship formed circles of cultural and religious life in common.
[423] These 'sociable hamlets', or 'little commonwealths', as
they were called by understanding writers on the High-
lands, lived on in the Hebrides almost until a century ago.
Features of their form and life have long been known, but
their life has not yet been envisaged in its full dynamic
significance.

• 127 The homesteads, informally grouped in these small
36 hamlets, have been mistakenly described as solitary or
174 'dispersed' by scholars accustomed to larger and more
compact grouping. The mistake was made by geographers
[423] of the nineteenth century, such as Meitzen with reference
to the hamlets of Brittany. Similarly, because of the
[476] small number composing a typical joint team, the vital
fact of team-work and joint holding has frequently been
overlooked; yet a fundamental mistake is made when such
close-knit team-work and joint tenure are described as
174 'individualistic'. Moreover, these teams were linked to-
62 gether in larger, more loosely bound pastoral communities
of township and district. In Scotland and elsewhere, it is
[241] true, such hamlets came historically to be split up in various
[198] ways, into smaller farms and scattered cottages. The
larger link of common life was also superseded by the
proprietor's estate. Indeed, the twofold revolution in-
volved caused a fundamental regional cleavage within 'the
North and West'.

[182] Partly as a result of their small size, the tenure of farm-
[184] hamlets was frequently infoqmal. In northern England,
[178] the hamlets and their lands were not entered in Domesday
Book; still less are early entries complete in Scotland.
For this and other reasons, jurist and historian may fail

175 that the spade and foot-plough (*eas chrom*) were used for
185 ploughing. From Monro and from the
311 precise Statistical Accounts of the eighteenth century, it is
clear that pony-drawn ploughs were usual in the smoother
[241] parts of Lewis. In North Harris are 'abundance of
• [127] Deir'. We must not forget here that 'faire' and fertile
[136] are comparative terms for the West. "Lewis is faire and
weill inhabit at the coste, ane fertile and fruitful countrey,
[226] for the maist part [barley], with a Parochie Kirkes."
There is "ane castell callit Stornoway . . . with 3 salt
36 loches, very fine for take of herrings . . . [and] infinite fresh
water loches. In the Lewis there are 8 waters with take
of salmon. . . ." There were also "Whales . . ." In
[423] "a cove 2 fadoms deep at the ebb sea, uses Whytuns
(whitings) to be taken with hakks". There were "very many
haddocks and Men with their wandes sitting [as today]
upon the Craiges of that cove, and Lades [boys] and Women
[136] also. . . . In this Ile there are many Sheip for it is very
guid for the same. For they lay furth ever one mures
and glens and never enters in a house and their wool is
not anes in the zeire pluckit off them in some fauldes."
[136] In Zetland wool is still plucked, not shorn.

The description of reclamation is specially worthy of
note: "In this countrey all is peit mossland at the Sea
cost, and the place where he wins his peitts this zeire
[year] . . . there he sawes his corne the nixt zeire, after
that he guidds it weill with Sea ware" [*i.e.*, improves or
[245] manures it with seaweed]. On "Ellan Colm Cill [an aiso
apparently on the east coast south of Stornoway at the
mouth of Loch Erisort] Macloyd of the Lewis has ane faire
Orchard, and he that is Gardener has that Ile [rent]
free. . . ."

175 Around the coast of Lewis no absolute limit is set to
185
311

drawn up for the Crown sometime between 1577 and 1595.[3] In 127 1630 a short commentary on the social, religious, and economic life of Skye was penned.[4] Finally, at the close of the century a native son wrote the first detailed account of life on the island.[5] Thus, I have had to rely on stray fragments, gleaned 128 from such material as can be found, and on later works. This is a handicap which may leave my interpretation open to criticism, but the statements of these authorities have been used to fill out the details of an established pattern only when their accounts are beyond reasonable doubt.

The Bare Bones of History

Although the Archaeological record for the Isle of Skye 174 can be traced back as far as 2000 B.C., when Neolithic man 172 became the island's first inhabitant, the evidence suggests a series of invasions and withdrawals by people at varying stages of development rather than a continuous local development.[6] Indeed, no one has uncovered any evidence for settlement between the fourth and seventh centuries. At the same

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[3] William F. Skene, Celtic Scotland (3 vols., 2d ed.: Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1886-1888), Vol. III, pp. 432-433.

[4] Arthur Mitchell (ed.), Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland Made by Walter MacFarlane (3 vols., "Publications of the Scottish Historical Society," Vol. LII; Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1907), Vol. II, pp. 182-183, 220-223.

[5] Martin Martin, A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, ed. Donald J. MacLeod (new edition; Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1934).

[6] Paul R. Ducey, "The Archaeology of the Isle of Skye" (MS, 1954).

114 It is only in the distant past and comparatively recent times that governmental inquiries and enactments give a glimpse into the culture. For well over a hundred years after the abolition of the clan system the British government showed no inclination to become involved in the local situation. While the American colonists rebelled because taxation without representation was no less than tyranny, the Islanders suffered in silence under the laws of the Kingdom. Two works, however, [127] do give a picture of life on Skye. These are the (Old) Statistical Account of Scotland and the New Statistical Account of Scotland.[1]

121 The conceptual scheme which has been adopted to reduce national history to culture history takes two points of departure.[2] On the one hand, there are four well defined periods marked by innovations in the economic, social, and religious aspects of the culture and varying rates of population change. On the other hand, there are the overall trends of culture 101 and population change and the continuity of the culture. The #175 dates selected to mark the beginning of each period are: 1745, 1811, 1845, and 1886. The year 1745 is the conventional date for the beginning of the modern period of Highland history. It also marks the beginning of a prolonged period of population

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[1] The Statistical Account of Scotland, ed. Sir John Sinclair (21 vols.; Edinburgh: William Creech, 1790-1799); and The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. XIV: "Inverness - Ross and Cromarty" (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845). I shall refer to these works as OSA and NSA.

[2] I am indebted to Julian Steward for the general approach which follows.

128

128 ORGANIZATION AND ANALYSIS--methods of processing raw data (e.g., analysis, classification, quantification); special techniques of analysis (e.g., sociometric); preparation of tables and graphs; methods of determining consistency, reliability, and validity of results (e.g., statistical, use of ratings and scales); organization of materials for presentation in published form; etc. See also:

Orthographies and transliteration systems . . . 104

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

000 My deepest thanks go to the occupants of Shawbost, whose hospitality, humor and humanity can never be adequately portrayed or repaid. Although the names [128] of the village and its subdivisions have not been disguised, the names of all persons referred to in the text have been changed.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to a wise and empathetic social philosopher, my friend, E.T. Jacob-Pandian.

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

Chapter 3

CHANGING ECONOMIC STRATEGIES: LAND, SEA AND LOOM

178 288 128 In Lewis, the change from a relatively self-sufficient community in which land and sea provided the economic base occurred in the context of the phenomenal rise of the Harris Tweed industry. In the following pages, the history of Harris Tweed is discussed in relation to changing strategies involving exploitation of land, sea and loom. Associated features of social life are discussed. Social boundary systems are defined and discussed in Chapter 4.

A. The Sea

175 228 [501] [471] [494] Around World War I, nine boats, as long as 27 to 30 feet, driven by sails, used to go out regularly from the Shawbost harbor. From five to seven men, usually neighbors, had "shares" in a boat. They would go out fishing during the night and return the next day. "We [433] baited our lines with eel, for ling. We would catch maybe two or three hundred. I remember once we caught 1300."

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972

44 cities and industries of the larg
128 the system depends. The geograph
marginality of the islands is dis

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

175 'first-footing'. In the past the lads came in bands singing
796 carols, and once admitted—refusal of hospitality being out
178 of the question—any misunderstandings and quarrels of the past year had to be forgiven and forgotten. With individual visits this is no longer possible, for though these maintain friendship, they cannot easily and naturally heal a quarrel.

175 From Lewis three fine carols once sung by youths are
796 recorded, of which the fidelity of Carmichael's translation
533 goes far to render both sense and feeling (Nos. 55-57).[1] In Ness I have sought in vain for the old melodies from
•[127] the descendants of Angus Gunn. Born about 1800, Gunn had lived for many years as a shepherd on the islet of North Rona, unreached by the burning zeal of the Evangelists, so that his traditional piety survived. Could they be found, these melodies would enrich the remnant of authentic Christian lore in Britain, for even the well-known English carols are mostly of modern reconstruction.

The first Christmas Hail opens, "*Ho Ri*, Hail to the King, Blessed is He. . . . Blessed be the house and all therein. . . . Lasting . . . and healthy round the hearth be ye. . . ." It goes on, "This night is the eve of the great Nativity, the great Noel [*Nochd oidhche Nollaige moire* . . .]; Born is the Son. . . ." It closes, "Shone the mountains . . . earth, and land, Heard was the wave upon the strand. . . . Blessed be the King . . . to all ages, to all time." A fragment from Tolsta, Lewis, sung by boys on New Year's Eve as they begged for a Noel bannock from house to house, latterly began and ended with playful nonsense, yet it retained its traditional climax: "[On the first day of the New Year] I saw the Threesome [The Trinity] going to the shore. The land shone, the

[113] [1] No. 59 is set to an Eriskay chant in *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, p. 159.

788 (in Gaelic) by a housewife in a Catholic isle, as our friend-
592 ship matured. It had been said nightly at her fire by her
354 father-in-law until his death (not long before), which had
539 come after that of his wife. "I smoo'r the fire tonight, As Mary's Son smoo'red. Be it well with house and fire; Be it well with all our household. Who are on this floor? Peter and Paul. Who are on watch tonight? Light-white Mary and her Son. Thus God's voice taught, And the Angel spoke: The Angel at my house door, Until the clear day come tomorrow. Amen." As this variant shows, memory still lives in the Isles.[1]

788 In these runes, the key to the words "as Mary's Son
592 and as Mary did, in their day" is the example of filial duty,
796 of wifely and motherly care. In spite of lapses to 'Mario-
[799] latry' during periods of decadence in the Roman Church, the virtual banishment of Christ's mother from Protestantism has led to a loss deeper than Presbyterian Scotland has yet realised. Her name was a daily reminder, both of a woman's part in the spiritual life of the home, and of a son's self-discipline and affection: in a word, of mutual love.

788 For wool, the sheep were blessed, as in the "Clipping
[236] Blessing". There were blessings of the loom and of
[286] warping and weaving; and after neighbourly fulling or
[461] 'waulking' of the finished web, came its consecration. As the work was solitary and communal in turn, so the prayer. Carmichael's own fine prose translations should be
•[127] studied (*Carmina*, vol. i, Nos. 108-113; cf. vol. iv, pp.
[538] 88-99). Yet, those being available, we quote rhythmic

[113] [1] Cf. Rev. Allan Macdonald, *Comh-chruinneachadh*, p. 107; *Carmina* (Nos. 84-87, 324-326); and M. Kennedy-Fraser, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. ii, p. 31. Sacred lore is not to be picked up lightly by a stranger. It was only upon the second of my prolonged stays under her hospitable roof that this good woman would admit and impart her knowledge, treasured in the secret places of her heart.

APPENDIX I

ECONOMIC STATISTICS OF LEWIS (AND HARRIS)

Introduction

•127 THE assessment by the Lewis Association in their first Report
433 on the Economic Position of Lewis (proper) in 1938 shows the income derived from "productive industry". This was defined as that which "produces or tends to produce exchange value", and therefore includes the production of the necessaries of existence by crofting as well as saleable commodities. This estimate covered the tweed industry and agriculture, and touched upon fishing.

434 For the first, the tweed industry, the figures are reliable, and the round total of £140,000 paid in wages to spinners and weavers in 1938 was a remarkable element of the Island income, more than half going to the weavers working at home. Altogether the tweed industry was estimated to provide over £300,000. For the second, agriculture, the current prices for crops and stock, combined with agricultural returns, were sufficiently reliable to give fair confidence in the estimate of production of nearly £200,000 (more precisely, £194,100). For the 3750 crofts an average value was obtained of nearly £50. To this was added the peat cut on the crofts, averaging £24, thought by some to be rather a high value. The work of building and improvement of houses was not included and this has been added, with an estimate of £40,000. For fishing (the third chief source of production mentioned in the Report), the income derived from local boats has here been distinguished from that earned by visiting boats, by combining official statistics with personal, local enquiries. From this fresh analysis a figure of £85,000 is offered here.

(c) House-building. — From 1920 to 1940 the Department of

APPENDIX I

647 Agriculture advanced loans for the erection of 760 new houses
654 and the repair of 220 other houses. This, with the erection
746 or repair of 40 steadings, may be taken as the equivalent of
367 1000 houses in the 20 years of peace, of which three-fourths were new. Rural building was at its height in the early 'thirties,
356 but 1938 was a typical year. Taking the value of each house as £600 and subtracting half for imported materials, we may
431 assume that for 50 houses built that year the labour given produced an output of £15,000. In addition, some house-
362 building and repair was done without State aid, for which a guess of £15,000 may be made. Such sums may not appear
356 large, but they correspond to the enduring fulfilment of a prime
[435] need, a 'real wage', of importance when compared to rents and costs elsewhere. Of the expenditure on house-building in Stornoway burgh during 1938, the value may be assessed as £10,000, of which £9000 was for Local Authority housing. Most of the total was produced by local labour.

(iii) *Fishing Industry—Net Output and Earnings*

434 (*a*) For 1938 the total catches, prices and quantities of
228 fresh cured fish landed in Stornoway District show a value of nearly £100,000 (£98,000) for the herring catch, and of £162,400 for the cured herring. Our problem is to estimate what fraction of these sums may be included in the net output of the Island
• [127] industry proper. The Fishery Board's *Statistical Tables* and *Annual Report* extract the produce brought in by local boats from the total, separating it from that due to 'strangers', and so permitting a fairly reliable estimate, checked by local enquiry.
228 Of the herring taken, nearly 80 per cent were caught in the
• 501 summer fishing, June to August (*Annual Report*, p. 13). The week of maximum local activity in herring fishing for Stornoway District may be taken to be characteristic of this pre-war period (Table 8). There were then 111 steam-boats engaged; and as only five were locally registered (at Stornoway itself), the remaining 106 were strangers. There were also 66 motor-boats engaged and though 81 motor herring-boats are locally

APPENDIX I

228 boats; value, £15,400. Of this, the greater part came into
434 Lewis creeks (Table 17), making £10,000 for Lewis.

Finally, we may add a round figure for whole or part-time occupations associated with the fisheries, including what accrues by the visiting fleet and its business, of, say, £20,000. This gives a total net output approaching £85,000 from fisheries for a typical year just before 1939.

[462] We now turn to an estimate of the earnings of fishermen and of the women engaged in curing. To some extent these figures overlap, for the value of the net output includes the wages of fishermen and women; but the sums earned on 'stranger' vessels—reduced now to some £3000—and the wages earned by women gutters and curers in East Anglia
[436] (about £10,000) are additions to Lewis income. Some of this was, no doubt, sent home in the form of postal orders, etc., causing a further overlap, but much of it was probably sent in the form of notes or brought home in cash. In order to show the real net earnings of rural Lewis, these are separated from the output shown in the first column ((A, i) on p. 314) and are tabled under "Earnings by Crofting and Associated Rural Occupations only" (A, ii).

• [127] (*b*) *Fishers' Earnings.*—As no figures of local earnings are separately published, estimates must be based upon the collation of the Fishery Board's *Annual Statistical Tables* and
[178] accompanying *Annual Reports* with careful local enquiries. By 1938 the fishermen on Stornoway District herring fishing vessels were reduced to about 350 men and boys in the summer season, of whom only a few worked in autumn and winter. Their earnings included the earnings of share owners of boats and of nets, and of those without shares, the latter being only a fraction, say a quarter, of the total. Nearly 100 District men still worked on 'stranger' (East Coast) vessels at the summer fishing and rather fewer at the East Anglia autumn fishing. The sum so earned may have been a third or more of the earnings on District vessels. Altogether the total net earnings from herring fisheries received by all fishermen from Lewis proper came to little more than £8000. By 1938 the

THE MAKING OF THE CROFTING LANDSCAPE

17 All landscapes in these islands have roots in the distant past: Park is no exception. Yet many crofting landscapes have been significantly re-fashioned within the present century after major changes in the nineteenth century. Park does not entirely correspond to the general pattern, and the present cultural landscape has its beginnings in the late seventeenth century, although there are traces of earlier settlement.

Archaeological evidence, in the form of a stone axehead found near Habost, a dun on the brackish Loch Cromore, and a mediaeval chapel on Eilean Calum Cille, provides the earliest
109 record of human settlement in Park. Place-name evidence indicates Norse occupation: the elements
17 'boat', a contraction of the Norse word *bólstaðr* - a homestead, and 'aeir', a shed or bothy situated on pastureland but not regularly lived in, indicate a thin dispersion of farmers practising an extensive and transhumant economy: all the present township names contain Norse elements.

The name Park, is derived from the Gaelic 'A'Phairc' - the park or deer forest: the old name of the district was Oarvaul (Norse: the east mountain). During the eighteenth century, a dyke or turf wall was built between Loch Erisort and Loch Seaforth - 'garadh an tighearna' - the lord of
[142] chiefs' dyke, to enclose the deer forest. Before this enclosure was built, Park was shieling ground used by tenants in Uig (west Lewis):- one of the groups of shielings has the name Airigh Dhomhnaill Chaim and Domhnall Cam was chief of the MacAulays in Uig at the beginning of the
17 seventeenth century. Thus it may well be that after the Norse population left or were absorbed,
538 Park was simply used as summer pasture.
539

It is believed that settlement in what is now the Deer Forest began about 1650. Confirmation of this comes from an unpublished Gaelic song by Archibald MacDonald (An Ciaran Mabeth) composed in Leith soon after 1660. In the song, the author laments the fact that he may never see the Forest again, and says of Park

"'s oil leam caradh na frithe
.....
Bhith fo bhinn aig na bodaich
D'am bu chosnadh cas-chrom."

"I deplore the state of the forest ..... that it should be in subjection to the caries whose livelihood is a cas-chrom" (foot plough - literally crooked spade). The song gives no indication of numbers, and unfortunately no rental of this period is extant.[2]

17 From rentals and other evidence, Park was the last area in Lewis to be colonised in permanent
7 241 settlement: the fact that the population of Lochs parish increased from 912 in 1755 to 1350 in 1801, supports the view that the late eighteenth century saw the extension of modern settlement in Park.

• 127 The first documentary evidence of settlement in the present crofting area is the Judicial Rental of Lewis, taken by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners in 1716. This rental records tacksmen, or major tenants, living in Habost, Seaforthead, and Eilean Calum Cille - all situated along the southern shores of Loch Erisort: there is local tradition that Kershader and Marivig were shielings

1 The editor is indebted to Miss Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt. for an analysis and evaluation of the place-name evidence - see Appendix C.

2 For this extremely interesting information and the translation, the editor is indebted to Mr. William Matheson, M.A., of the Department of Celtic, Edinburgh University.

CHAPTER III

SKYE IN THE DAYS OF THE CLAN

If we are to understand the continuing distinctiveness 121
of the contemporary culture, we must attempt to reconstruct the culture of the remote past and point out the plausible sources for the more distinctive traits and patterns which, upon becoming integrated, became characteristic of the culture. This chapter, then, is devoted to a description of the social 128
organization, economics, and religion of the Sgiathanach before the influence of the commercial and rapidly expanding industrial society of Great Britain assumed significant proportions.

Sources of Information

There is an almost complete dearth of information about 127 •
the internal conditions in the Hebrides before the eighteenth century, except for stray accounts of intrigues and rebellions against the Scottish Crown. A combination of causes is responsible. First is the relative lateness of the introduction 127
of writing. Second, there is the fact that the Western Isles 175 *
were held by the Norse from the ninth to the thirteenth century. 212
Third is the destruction of Scottish records. The ecclesiastical

and, perhaps, the legal papers concerning the Hebrides were 127 •
either destroyed by the Norse during their sacking of the 175 *
monasteries or lost upon being transferred to Ireland for safe keeping. Edward I of England, as self-appointed arbiter of conflicting claims to the Scottish throne, and other claimants to the throne at home removed the rest. There is no record earlier than 1140. In fact, except for an Indenture Roll of 1292 and fragments of the Parliamentary Roll of Balliol, 1292-1295, there are no public records earlier than 1308, and Parliamentary records are not available until the Fifteenth Century.

Even when we approach more recent times, caution must be exercised. Shortly before the last Highland rebellion, 1745, an English army officer said about the remote and unfrequented Hebrides, "They are a very proper subject for invention; and few, I think, would have the curiosity to visit them, in order to disprove any account of them, however, romantic"[1] As far as I know, there are only four descriptions of the Isle of Skye which can be dated with certainty before 1700. The first is a brief description by the Dean of the Isles in 1549.[2] The second is a report on manpower and rents

[1] (Burt), Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland, ed. R. Jamieson (2 vols., 5th ed.; London: Rest Fenner, 1818), Vol. II, p. 180.

[2] Sir Donald Monro, A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, Called Hebrides (First Published 1774; Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1934).

121 maintained. Cohen (1969: 110) relates this emphasis on consensus to role transposability: "...sustained outspoken dissent among members of the network tends to define them as unlike each other and thus to make it difficult for them to substitute for each other in role performance." Allied with intolerance of dissent is the tendency to exclude external influences. Firm boundedness of a network is also indicated by the existence of rites of passage which govern admission to the network, and by the existence of other means by which persons and influences are excluded from the network.

A firmly bounded network competes with subsystems within it. For example, a community which has the characteristics of a firmly bounded system competes with kin groups, marital networks and strong friendships within it. It also competes with larger networks that serve the functions that are the same as those of the community, such as the maintenance of social order and the regulation of change. For example, a strongly bounded local community will conflict with a nation-state (cf. Cohen 1969: 111-117).

121 In the following pages, the sociocultural organization
128 of a rural Scottish township is described, and the changing characteristics of the township as social boundary system are discussed in relation to changing economic circumstances. Chapter 5 concerns the relationship

121 of the township with t
128 the effect of geograph
the boundedness of the
discusses two importan
within the township.

B. Township a

632 The township cons
178 system, although its b
621 when the township was
[476] economically. Townshi
fishing crews, and fam
help when members of t
"at the fishing."

621 Relatives were ex
476 each other. According
602 your best friend." Fi
[539] considered especially
[605] kinsmen extended to at
602 Ties of kinship became
576 funerals and weddings.
585 know who your relative
764 At weddings the onus w
[539] party to remember thei
and calculate who is c

he larger society, and examines
ical and social marginality on
township network. Chapter 6
t networks of social relations

s Social Boundary System

titutes a relatively firmly bounded
oundaries are weaker than formerly
relatively self-sufficient
p members worked together in small
ilies relied on each other for
he family were away from the island

pected to give priority to helping
to one proverb, "A relative is
rst and second cousins were
close, but knowledge of one's
least the fourth generation.
evident in ceremonies such as
One Gaelic proverb says, "You
s are at weddings and funerals."
as on the members of the bridal
r relatives. "You have to sit
losely related, and all those

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have to acknowledge the valuable help of many people in the completion of this book. Some aided by the mere mention of a fruitful source of information. Others, such as the officials of the various Government offices I contacted, went to much trouble to unearth, and present in excellent form, facts and figures not otherwise available to me as a private individual. The *Stornoway Gazette* has been more than helpful in making its files and office facilities available for research. And Mr I. R. MacKay of Inverness did me the kindness of reading through my draft manuscript and commenting on those errors and omissions which would have detracted from the final script. Any mistakes and inconsistencies which remain are to be laid at my door.

/p. 210 is blank/

discovers the strength of community life. And by his renewal of 'racial' experience he may rediscover sides of his own nature untouched by an urban task or a rural holiday. Hence a book such as this inevitably, and I think rightly, contains much that has been felt in a personal way. Yet to offset personal limitations, there is needed objective survey, geographical and social, applied with an open mind and submitted to searching criticism. These two sides, personal and impersonal, I have tried to combine.

The initiation of this work owes much to others, in ways of which they were never to know: to the chieftain, farmer and scholar, James Archibald Campbell of Barbreck, to my brother Alasdair, to my father, Patrick Geddes, who suggested in 1919 to the first Lord Leverhulme that Marcel Hardy, scientist and farmer, should survey the land in Lewis-and-Harris; to Lord Leverhulme, and to Dr. Hardy himself, whom I then assisted. To Mr. T. B. Macaulay, LL.D., was due the suggestion and the plea, made ten years later, that I should bring up to date Dr. Hardy's MS. report.

It was because of Dr. Macaulay's faith in the Island's future and the aid he generously gave to experiments in the reclamation of peat, and also because of the Islanders' own response to his lead, that I accepted this voluntary task. Acceptance, as it proved, was rash. Except for certain valuable findings included under Dr. Hardy's name, a new work had to be written. These circumstances led to the making of the book, stretched over thirty-five years. Certain early hopes recorded here have been frustrated. On the other hand, developments have taken place which few could have foreseen but for their faith in the future of the Island and its people. I trust that in this book the advantages of slow growth outweigh the drawbacks, for time

And region by region, a fairer balance must be struck between country and town. In Lewis, the part of Stornoway town, with its population nearing 5000 (in 1951), is important. Its port, its fisheries, its spinning mills for the crofters' hand-loom weaving, its merchants' shops, and its local, administrative and professional services, are essential to the Island. Its economic and social evolution, too, are interesting. Stornoway's plans for the future are active and ambitious, and these, it is realised, depend upon the prosperity of the 19,000 crofting people of Lewis proper.

But the subject of this book is primarily rural. It is to see with fresh eyes what, from our Harris mountain-top, we viewed as a unit at the core of 'the North and West'. After the island has been described in terms of its physical and human geography (Part One), the endeavour (in Part Two) will be to give a completer account than may yet have been given of the nature of Gaelic community, with its temporal duties and its spiritual sanctions. The three concentric circles of community are described: the family, the farm team and boat's crew, and the larger township groups. The relations of this threefold grouping of livelihood and society to Chiefs and Church are studied, and followed out in later evolution, until today. Elsewhere I have endeavoured to show how the Island can worthily maintain itself, and thereby find a new freedom. The final chapter returns to the broader aspects of society and region touched on here.

If this intensive study of a single isle and community can throw fresh light upon certain essential characters of the less-understood region of the British Isles—that lying outside the south-eastern 'Plain'—it may help to contribute to more than economic reorientation. The significance of the Island life—not so much for the past, which

184 share their characteristics. So to gain a sense o
105 portion from the start, we must map the location o
countrymen, their numerical importance, and thei
128 of grouping. Let us begin with the first of these
102 aspects, their regional location (Fig. 2).

The base map on which the data are plotted sho
102 boundaries dividing the hill masses of the Highlan
Southern Uplands from true 'lowland'. This hill c
13 is mostly covered by rough pasture (left blank on th
311 within which lie strips of 'Isolated Arable' with
improved land in the valleys and along the outlying
lands (shown in black). This hill country includ
Scottish Isles, with the exception of Orkney, whic
241 rather into the category of 'lowland'. It is largely d
to sheep farming and crofting, or left to grouse and
427 The lowland area from the Orkneys to the Tweed an
way is devoted to mixed and dairy farming with lo
types of small-holding, except, of course, for 'Ind
Regions', which include most of the urban area of Sco

226 Within the 'three-mile' territorial limit from the
lie the inshore waters, in which local fishing was
important, and might again become so; these ar
white on the map (Fig. 2). By contrast to their n
extent on the East Coast, their width is notable i
Northern Isles and on the West Coast.

102 The problem set in making this map is to show
13 different worlds, as it were: the Highland and the Low
184 The two are rarely envisaged together, and much con
of thought and policy results. To master the map
128 reader may scrutinise first one part, the Highlands (o
ing the other with one hand), then the other part
182 Lowlands (in the same way): thus each will appear c
in turn. Both can then be envisaged together.

174 The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely
184 significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to
179 developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in
55 ferm-toun and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons
• 128 throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed
121 out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat
185 scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged in planning for post-war housing and community life. But sound planning must be based on survey, long overdue; though elementary, this key map appears to be the first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units of farm-team and township that Scots rural society must be rebuilt, region by region.

184 One further contrast between the farming and the
241 crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the
361 types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-
166 nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World —return home to their native township when they can, and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand, though they usually spend their lives in the county or region of their birth, have been on the move from farm to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the
[164] English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new hiring, the married once a year. Families were annually uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all!
[122] The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to
[178] check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence many men have few ties, their wives still fewer. The children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they could look back to no "Auld Lang Syne", of which the

[see p. 16 -- analyst]

114 aborigines in India—lovable people when unspoiled by
174 tyranny, caste or industrial exploitation, as I can testify.[1] Yet Gomme, like many since, leaves the reader with an impression which must be re-examined: that the Islesfolk are the representatives of a backward race who have clung to predominantly superstitious, pre-Christian customs and beliefs. As a people, the Gael received and welcomed Christianity in one of its earliest historic forms, and main-
• [128] tained its spirit through poverty and famine. To this inheritance we shall turn in Chapter VII, when the rhythm of life and its changes have been followed out in the following chapters.

174 To begin with, the briefest outline of historic sequence
613 is all that can be recapitulated, the Island annals having been recorded in the excellent Brand Report (1902), and
[114] by W. C. Mackenzie (1903 to 1937). Politically and strategically, the age of clanship may be thought of as a period of struggle between the Islands and the Mainland
[175] to the south or east. The long-drawn conflict of Clan Campbell of Argyll with Clan Donald—whose Chief was the Lord of the Isles of which Islay and Skye were the two dominant, western keys, and Lewis and Harris the northern outposts—offers a parallel to the conflict of MacKenzie of Kintail with the last MacLeods of Lewis. Obscurity veils the early origins of the Island clans, with their mingled Norse and Gaelic lineage, but chronicles are more reliable by the time of forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles to the Crown in 1493. The MacLeods of Dunvegan, chiefs in north-west Skye, continued to hold Harris until late in the eighteenth century, and they maintained an indirect connection until the nineteenth.

[113] [1] A. Geddes, *Au pays de Tagore: la civilisation rurale du Bengale Occidental*, Paris, 1927.

But the last MacLeods of Lewis, torn by family dissensions, fell fighting before the power of King James VI (and I), who backed the 'capitalist' fishery enterprise of 'the Fife Adventurers'. Although these were routed by the Islanders, a Highland lord and chief, MacKenzie of Kintail, received Lewis from the Crown in 1611, taking his title from Loch Seaforth, near which he had built his Lewis hunting-lodge. Except for a period of forfeiture after 1715, the Seaforth family held the Island until its purchase by a wealthy and beneficent tea merchant, Matheson, in 1844. From Seaforth's tenure and the Papers of the Forfeited Estates are left records of ancient life and of the introduction of changes, temporal and spiritual. These are reviewed in the next five chapters. Chapter X brings the Island story to the year 1953, and its prospects.

a night of black mistiness . . . he waded nearly breast-high" through the dangerous South Ford of Benbecula, "conscious only of the roll and the singing of waters and the rhythm of a poem he had taken down a few hours before"—"The Invocation of the Graces", so nearly lost with him! Much that Carmichael learned was given him under a seal of confidence he never broke, although he mourned the loss this meant. The confidence he inspired—which even those who knew him only in their childhood remember for life—was a source of his quiet, unfailing power.

The following begins with the runes and rites of labour, throughout the day, week and year, on land and sea and at home. Turning to the day of rest and to congregational worship, one must enquire as to the presence of the clergy, and question closely how far the people had access to the Bible throughout the centuries: were they really cut off from its riches, from its essence, as the Reformers and the Evangelicals of last century asserted with such vehemence? One can then turn to the runes and rites which opened the phases of life, from birth to maturity, marriage and parenthood, leading at last to life's close.

But no social inheritance is without its burden. Having told of the foundations of faith, something must be said in the next chapter of the negative or superstitious side of Island belief, of temptations and evils which the people could face, and of others to which they submitted in ignorance. From the evidence of faith and wisdom, or error, one must attempt some evaluation of attainment by single souls and by the community, and of the power and fullness of life in common.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

121 121 only the place but the people are to be understood, respected and helped.

The planning movement is gathering impetus in Britain, as it spreads outwards from bombed towns to countrysides, embracing regions as a whole. It is certainly destruction in war that has stabbed the nation's spirit 'broad awake', awake to features of economic and moral disintegration that preceded actual warfare. The realisation that defeat of the common enemy called for common effort roused the nation to face its enemies of want and confusion at home. Yet the seeds of the planning movement were sown in peace, and only in peace can they grow to fruition. Planning, prepared for by the survey of each region as a whole, must lead towards the freeing of its people not only from physical want but from spiritual frustration. Based on the provision of work and a livelihood for individuals, planning should envisage the common weal and attempt to realise the deepest cravings of each community and serve their highest ideals. In a word, there must be a regional vision of the unity of life.

128 This book began by viewing the 'Outer' Isles as a 18 heart of 'the North and West' of the British Isles, the important of a series of regions extending from the North-west Isles to the landward margin of the English 'Plain'. Differences in landscape and community, in history and modern life, make each of these regions unique in itself; yet—it was suggested—all possess certain features of landscape and evolution in common, which marked them off from the 'Plain' of the South-east. Some four physical and human frontier-lines or border-zones divide these regions. South-eastward from the Minch four were selected: the Highland Line, the Scottish Border, the edge of the older rocks of Britain and,

CH. XI

CONCLUSION

128 enclosing all, the zone from Severn to Tees. Having por-
18 trayed the environment and life of the Isles—'innermost' of the regional series, the next step was to extend this survey beyond the Minch to the Highlands and Isles as a whole, and then to compare these with the regions extending south-eastward—' outwards '—from the Isles to the margin of the ' Plain ', through the regional series we group as ' the North-and-West '.

121 Two main tasks lie before us in making comprehensive community surveys, once the geographical basis is established. The first task, historical in method, is the reliscovery of cultural foundations. These might be compared (as we said at the outset) to the Archaean gneiss laid bare only in the North-west, but still the foundation, albeit a hidden one, of the ice-sculptured rocks of Highland Britain, from the pre-Cambrian to the coal at the margin of the overlying, differently sculptured rocks of the ' Plain '. Understanding of the past can help us to understand not only the evidence of the present, but latent, underlying powers. Regional traditions, dormant for one, perhaps for many generations, may germinate afresh if we can understand the conditions in which they once grew and also those needed to awaken them to new life in finer forms.

The other task of social survey must be to recognise the common efforts of the present, with eyes undimmed by prejudices of class or culture, grasp the relation of personal efficiency and self-realisation to life in teams or groups. The inherent cultural interests of the people of each region in work and leisure must be evaluated. Underlying actual achievements, latent powers may be discovered which must be freed for communal attainment. Better work under better conditions should bring about the flowering of personality in harmonious communities.

St Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots Lewis and Harris

APPENDIX I

128 An effort has been made to separate crofting from other in-
433 come, and also to average the income from the sources given of
20 the total rural households, numbering 200, comprised from
20 the 3650 *occupied* crofts plus an estimated 1050 others, namely,
cottars and squatters, and ' feuars '—*i.e.* holding land in feu.

431 Finally, to the production income earned on the Island there should be added that received by earnings sent or brought home to dependants, together with pensions, unemployment relief and the like. I am greatly indebted to the appropriate officials for the figures cited for 1937–38 or the year immediately preceding. These sources average £45 per rural household. 128 The figures tabulated all apply to Lewis alone; but many figures having been obtained for Harris also, conclusions are similar there. The concluding Table (pp. 314-315) bears a note on other sources of income, with a similar table for 1953.

(i) *Tweed Industry*

128 After deducting the cost of wool imported from the main-
421 land and certain other costs, the net productive income was
260 taken to be £300,000. The estimate may still err on the high side but it indicates the prime importance of the industry in the Lews. For 1938 the quantity of tweed stamped, and certified as hand-woven by the Harris Tweed Association Ltd., was 2,830,000 yards imperial yard, rising in 1939 and 1940 to 4,000,000 yards, though falling thereafter. The value of the tweed produced in 1938 was approximately £500,000. The total wages paid in 1938 amounted to £140,000 (£139,000), rather more than half of which was paid to the weavers working at home. In 1940 this had risen to nearly £200,000, a slightly higher proportion falling to the weavers.

365 In addition to the wages paid and the price paid for local
651 wool, the industry is a valuable customer of the Electricity Com-
458 pany and directly or indirectly provides much other employment in the Island. The industry also provided a market for a large quantity of Scottish wool and contributed to taxation.

The productivity and earnings of the industry continued to

St Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots Lewis and Harris

APPENDIX II

RECENT STATISTICS (1933–54)

128 In brief form, the basic economic data can now be reviewed,
433 in the same order, for 1933–38, the period April 1939 to 31 Dec.
20 1954, as available. The results are shown on the second pair
431 of Tables, pp. 318-319.

(i) *Tweed Industry* (1933–54)

431 Taking 3,000,000 yards as the 1933–34 total, and accepting
an estimate of 1s. 2d. paid to weavers per finished, mill-shrunk
288 yard, payments to weavers in Lewis-and-Harris (and a few in
463 the southern Hebrides) would amount to some £891,700. After subtracting the output from Harris, this corresponds to an informal estimate by the Lewis Association for Lewis proper of well over £250,000 and more, probably £275,000 for the period. Adding the wages of spinners in Stornoway mills, and also of carriers, dockers, etc., it is thought safe to double the figure, with £550,000, for Lewis, rural and urban. Most of the weaving is rural. The increased use of daily bus transport allows rural dwellers to come to Stornoway daily to earn and so has increased the ratio of rural to urban wages by spinning and other labour. For rural carriers and mill-employees, a fifth of £275,000 is taken here, making £55,000. As an estimate of the ' net earnings ' in Lewis is available, the same ratio to wages is taken as in 1938, making £1,200,000.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House Building* (1953)

128 (a) *Agriculture.*—First, the trend of crop and stock pro-
431 duction can be indicated by selected figures for the Island for
741 1938, 1939 and 1953. The areas both of oats and rotation grass increased, the three successive totals in acres being, for oats: 4460, 5020, 5440; and for rotation grass: 390, 1385,

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uig

DUN CARLOWAY

361 Dun Carloway though clearly of a similar type to the other township south of Loch
Carloway has certain features peculiar to itself. The croft land may be divided into
927 two sections: crofts 18 to 25 occupy the deep trench which extends from the Dun Carloway
Hotel to the Loch, and the remainder occupy the slopes of the hill to the south-east.
Soil and rock are divided in broad rectangular bands. The former is the more deeply
entrenched zone where the crofts are long and narrow lying up and down slope like those
of Borrowston. Short steep and narrow lays help both characterise the cultivation which
differs little from that in other townships, although the areas, as has been noted
above, are smaller than in most other townships. Cultivation is more intensive than
this increased size on croft has more than ten acres of oats. The low percentage of
land under cultivation is only in part explained by the difficult nature of the ground and
the limited area which can be made of the cultivable land. Some are willing to attempt
enterprise so long as the income from weaving is satisfactory, but when this
fails they are not equipped to do much other than subsist. Moreover, with this
population at its present level, and with the income from weaving so it is, very few
crofters are prepared to do much more than subsist. Some, of course, have to carry out
difficult and tedious work, and yet they can only earn the minimum wage. The annual call so be produced and to
derive what income Providence rather than predetermined management may allow from the sheep.

427 The total area of individually held crofland is 194 acres which is worked in twenty
311 crofts, the average croft being nearly six crofts, the average croft being 9.7 acres. Of this
311 land approximately 100 acres are cultivated, accomplished by our horse and our tractor, each
in which is owned within the township.

The total running is exceeded, the main causes for this being the gross overstocking
311 of sheep, the lack of fertilizer, the poor quality of the cultivable land, and the lack of
the crofland itself, under-cultivation and disease. The poor quality of the hill
pasture is illustrated by a comparison with the grazings of South Uist where the most
striking feature of the landscape is its greenness after the heavier browse of Western
Lewis. Regeneration by surface seeding would certainly be helpful here.

R.A. Moisley.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

128 The figures given in appendices C and D form the basis for much of the comment in the
431 following pages. They serve to underline the great gulf between the good natural resources
which they illustrate in the changing livestock economy units.

(a) Appendix C(1) elucidates the working of the crofts. The picture is somewhat com-
431 plicated by the large number of non-crofting holdings in the area, of which 43 carry
431 with it quotas of these upland crofland lays. The number of lays are tenuously in the
431 process of being increased, and the number of crofts with lays of more than 10 acres
431 been taking place for some time. There are in this connection one or two cases of the
431 of cross-croft lays, a practice unknown in the neighbouring townships. The figures for
431 these units have been included with those of the township where the tenant is resident.

340 Crofts are the most important arable crop. Yet, as regards the grass for hay and
pasture are much lower in comparison. Permanent grass, mostly old arable land, is
in no found on 55% of the total area of land occupied in crofts and feus. A large propor-
tion of this is on very thin soil where bare rock is exposed and on wet land, but even so
the area of good land is not large and it is difficult to do anything about improving it.
The decrease in the number of cattle and sheep in the crofting township is not large
that for the Valine area of South Uig where about 70% of the sheep and cattle are

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uig

permanent grass. The pre-eminence of the Carloway area is then only a relative one
where the decline in cultivation is taking place at a slower rate. Isolation, the decline in
fishing and the lack of alternative employment tending to a greater decline in population
may explain the more rapid decline in the Valine area. Whether Carloway will see a
similar decline remains to be seen.

Table 35

Carloway district as a proportion of total acres of each township - Carloway district, August, 1959

TOWNSHIP	All Stock	Cattle	Sheep*
Carloway	63%	53%	76%
Carloway Park	87%	64%	119%
Borrowston	74%	15%	111%
Garenin	97%	39%	169%
Knock Carloway	64%	39%	90%
Gravirig	73%	21%	136%
Dun Carloway	104%	21%	187%

* As recorded in some cases these figures are too low (see Appendix C (2)): the maximum error is probably around 10%.

128 Table 35 summarises the agricultural system; further details of the relations between
431 value of unit, status of tenant, stock of cultivation, will be found in Appendix C (1), (2), (3)
431 and (4). Though the total acreages that is the conversion of both cattle and sheep units
431 into 'new units' expressed as a percentage of the average never fall below 100 the actual
431 stocking is exceeded in five townships and that grossly in two cases. Once again however
431 the figures for Valine and Knock Carloway are not representative of the township as a
431 whole since the figure for Valine. Not does the mere statistical analysis reveal all for
431 picture for it is essential that a proportionate number of cattle be kept so that the grazing
431 of both cattle and sheep may be adequate the growth of the grass. As it is, the relative and
431 absolute increases in the numbers of sheep is having a serious effect on the quality of the
431 pasture.

Sheep are given less attention that the cattle whether they need it or not and few of the
431 crofters are willing to undertake the life of the shielding in the hills of the Forest where
431 the sheep are left to fend for themselves. Lambing is now arranged so that most ewes are
431 most entirely given up to sheep. The shielings are now the property of the crofters and
431 consequently are more close at hand and are used for a much shorter period of grazing than
431 the shielings of the hill landscape has already been mentioned.

Comparison of the totals given in Appendix C (1) shows how the present pattern is unsatis-
431 ping. 187 milk cows are being raised on 177 agricultural units and with these are 113
calves. Appendix C (3) and C (5) indicate that the agricultural unit farming the basis
of farming is the single milk cow and annual calf which carries a subsidy if it passes the
grade test set by the Department of Agriculture. A few crofters are raising young beasts for
sale but for most the cow is the only cattle beast on the croft. The cow is a valuable asset
certain market which can be affected at any moment by an increase in transport costs
which are already very high. Moreover the subsidy such enterprise would barely pay
at all and indeed one could say this of many aspects of life in the island today. Some of
the calves are whitened, but the usual practice is to sell off late in the year.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots Uig

APPENDIX C continued

(f) Additional data relating to township sheep stocks, August 1959

TOWNSHIP:	TOTAL STOCK (including lambs)		LAMBING		STOCKING RATIO (per 100 acres of grazing, summer)	
	No. recorded	estimated	No. reported	estimated	actual	normal
Breaclete	616	630	746	49	24	
Doir	380	380	458	44	30	
Barkisle	1,573	1,600	2,02	73	70	
Kirkibost	1,297	1,300	1,75	32	35	
Ardroil	950	950	846	26	35	
Bardvaster	438	480	416	36	4	
Smealing	574	600	476	15	12	
Swordale	500	550	416	8	12	
Aisabost	752	750	715	8	2	
Garynahine	323	350	266	15	13	
Callanish (including Breanishaig Park)	1,465	1,600	108	30	15	
Breanishaig	1,408	1,600	108	41	15	
Tolsta Chaolas	1,490	1,250	146	57	22	
Linshader	414	7	425	(26)	8	
Dun Carloway	1,240	1,550	936	70	21	
Kirivick	680	550	796	15	15	
Knock Carloway	848	950	746	70	29	
Carloway (including C.Park)	944	1,000	816	42	28	
Borrowston	467	550	356	15	15	
Garenin	957	1,000	676	35	19	

128 NOTES: (a) The last two columns cannot be directly compared because the sheep
431 case per 100 acres of summer grazing does not include lambs.

(b) Acreages have been calculated according to the rent equivalent as
the date. For similar reasons the rent equivalent has been used unless some
other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

TABLE 37

The Crofting Structure Re-organised

(a) Holdings

District	Proportion of holdings grouped according to size of intake (acres)				All holdings
	0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres		
North Uig	238	38%	15%	15%	100% (105)
Bennaven	148	27%	19%	10%	100% (105)
East Loch Snug	158	30%	16%	9%	100% (105)
Carloway	178	29%	19%	5%	100% (105)
WHOLE PARISH	30%	30%	16%		100% (105)

Note: These are the registered crofts and similar agricultural tenancies as at the 1961 valuation roll. About 50 holdings omitted for lack of data.

(b) Effective agricultural units

District	Proportion of units grouped according to size of intake (acres)				All units
	0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres		
North Uig	19%	16%	15%	10%	100% (105)
Bennaven	13%	30%	16%	10%	100% (105)
East Loch Snug	19%	16%	16%	10%	100% (105)
Carloway	21%	30%	16%	10%	100% (105)
WHOLE PARISH	30%	30%	16%		100% (105)

Note: About 30 units omitted for lack of data.

(c) Summer Grazings (Sheiling, sea ware)

	Proportion of holdings (numerically registered crofts)	Proportion of effective agricultural units
Under 2 acres	18%	47%
2 acres and over	82%	53%
All holdings/units	100% (105)	100% (105)

Note: The Carloway district is here excluded because about 50 small in Uig agricultural units without crofter status obtained summer grazings in the 1960 (Sheiling) Ordnance Survey Map.

Sources: Appendices a(2) and (4) and (5) and (6).

TABLE 41

Stock held, according to status of principal croft workers

	Croft workers under 65 years of age:			Over 65:		
	Be other employments	Regular employments	Casual employments	Males	Females	All Ports
CATTLE HEAD:						
	nil	16	10	14	25	14 (4)
1	63	60	63	60	75	63 (16)
2 - 4	26	20	19	19	0	21 (5)
more than 5	-	3	5	4	-	3 (1)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (26)
SHEEP HEAD:						
nil	19	11	14	19	42	14 (4)
1 - 5	4	3	2	0	-	3 (1)
6 - 10	7	7	5	13	8	7 (2)
11 - 20	14	17	14	19	25	16 (4)
21 - 50	25	39	36	30	25	34 (10)
51 -100	26	25	25	19	0	24 (7)
100 +	5	3	3	0	-	3 (1)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (29)

Some units omitted for lack of data.

Lochmor - Who are the patriotmicrofarm ?

When we recall (Table 13, page 28) that 14% of the crofter tenants are absentees, that 30% are out of years of age but under 65 and are not, and that a further 7% are women under the age of 65, it becomes clear that many of the tenants cannot, or do not, or are not allowed to, or are not encouraged to, or are not expected to, or are not wanted to, or are not able to, or are not willing to, or are not interested in, or are not concerned with, extra resource because it was necessary to decide for every crofter what must be included in the 'crofting' and what must be left out. Nevertheless, in some cases croft work is related to a livelihood and a social structure which is not entirely crofting. Some cases are available for the Barnsley work, which the Ordnance Survey Map (after revision) not being available for the Barnsley work, which the Ordnance Survey Map (after revision) not being available for the Barnsley work, which the Ordnance Survey Map (after revision) not being

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by a second cousin. The striking thing to realize here is that the nearest surviving relative always knows his obligation and is ready to fulfill it, without question. Fatherless children are buried by either their paternal or maternal uncle. I have not forgotten the existence of women. The simple fact is, women play no part as mourners. Indeed, the rare woman who goes to the grave becomes the subject of lasting gossip.

Fundamentally, the system of kinship is patrilineal. Linguistically, the terms for relatives may be bilateral, and inheritance of possessions other than the name may be matters of small importance, but the patrilineal emphasis remains. The Sgiathanach lives in a man's world. I shall explore this male dominance further in the following chapter. At present, I want to briefly discuss two additional cliques.

Religious and Age-Grade Cliques. Like the members of any society, the Sgiathanach associates most frequently with those who share his interests and attitudes. It is natural, then, for his associates, other than his kinsmen, to be people who attend his church and people of his own age group. We need not explore the nature of these cliques at this time; but we should have some understanding of their function. The religious clique is primarily a mutual aid group. There is reason to believe that this particular group has lost much of its importance of late, with the coming of the welfare state. Many feel that the government pays people to look after the aged and infirm. As far as doing a favor for someone is concerned, few of the same kirk, other than close friends,

304

crofters, an individual's prestige depends more on what he does for the group than on occupation.

The society has a strong degree of integration. This is shown by the requirement of unanimous consent on all undertakings, even in the village, and by the continued success of the group in exercising social control by positive concerted action and by employing gossip as a negative social sanction. The norms of behavior and the values have remained common and clear.

We are now closer to an understanding of how the Sgiathanach has maintained a continuity. For a full understanding of the social organization and to answer the question why there has been continuity we must take one final step. The religious aspect of the culture holds the key to the unanswered questions.

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The religion of the Sgiathanach may also be regarded as the logical outcome of a movement which began two centuries ago when the all inclusive bonds of kinship and affection were replaced with tenets introduced from the wider contractual society. This movement, as we know, bore its first fruits over a hundred years ago. The people themselves turned from the ministers who were supporting symbols and values no longer meaningful to the crofters. They embraced the preachers of a dynamic gospel as a means of consolation in their distress. Thus, the religious pattern derived elsewhere and superimposed on the Sgiathanach has been refined with logic and vigor. It has become the one insurmountable barrier to assimilation with Great Britain. No less than four times religious schism has demonstrated the essential unchangeableness of their religion. The process has been carried on with such dedication and success that it now disturbs the unsympathetic laity and the clergy of the Church of Scotland no less than the resistance of the people to Presbyterianism did in the remote past.

We saw in Chapter IV how an understanding of the religious history of Skye is indispensible for the comprehension of the larger problem, the means by which the culture has maintained continuity. In Chapter V and again in Chapter VI we saw how this continuity has been preserved. We have at last come to the point at which we can ask why has there been continuity. The following analysis is concerned with the sanctions of the Presbyterian ethic, particularly as it affects the social structure, religious behavior, and the roles of the ministers and the religious laity in the

contemporary scene. Assuming that few of my readers know any more about the nature of the religion of the Sgiathanach than I did when my wife and I first set foot on Skye, I shall begin with a brief description of formal organization and theology.

Formal Organization and Theology

The Isle of Skye now has four independent Presbyterian Churches, the Church of Scotland which is the official state church, the Free Church of Scotland, The Free Presbyterian Church, and the United Free Church. There are, in addition, a few Catholics, including the one family of the county people who worship by themselves and several government employees in Portree who meet together and hold services in a private chapel. There is also a fairly large number of Episcopals, consisting exclusively of county families and newcomers, who periodically receive a visit from a minister in Fort William but who otherwise attend the services held in the Church of Scotland.

The Presbyterian Churches differ from one another in several fundamental details of their constitution, doctrine, creed, and practice. All claim to be in historic continuity with the Church of Scotland which was reformed in 1560, the liberties of which were ratified in 1592 by the Scottish Parliament, and the security of which was recognized in the Treaty of 1707. All, except the United Free Church, hold to the principle of national recognition of religion,

asceticism is fundamental to the peoples' lives. A brief discussion of the Sabbath will serve to conclude my discussion of religion and to indicate some additional difficulties which the Sgiathanach faces in his attempt to preserve his culture.

Sunday does not exist on Skye. There is the "Continental Sunday" and the Sabbath. On any other day of the week, the greeting is, "It's a fine day," or, more often, "It's a wet day." The Sabbath, however, is "no day to be speaking of days." Keeping the Sabbath is almost a fetish among the people. It is a readily observable test of an individual's religious capacity. All unnecessary work, all unnecessary words, and all unnecessary thought is taboo. Only the barest minimum of worldly activities are permissible. This does not mean a day spent in idleness; the time should be spent in public worship at the kirk, private spiritual contemplation and family worship. The Skyeman's estimation of a newcomer may depend on his keeping the Sabbath. One man was very surprised to learn how long a memory the people have when a man deviates from the expected. A visitor asked a crofter what kind of a man a certain newcomer to Kilmuir was, to which the crofter replied, "He's all right, except six years ago he played the pipes on the Sabbath." Most newcomers, including the few Catholics, respect the Sabbath.

No crofter would ever think of doing any work on this day beyond feeding his cattle as an act of mercy. After weeks of rain, the crop of oats or hay may be ready for harvesting on the Sabbath, but he will not touch it. A man

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

My intention in writing this present study has been to inquire whether or not marked population growth and decline is a criterion of cultural discontinuity. To this end we have spanned more than two centuries of the culture history of the Isle of Skye. As we proceeded from a description of the configuration of the culture as it was in the days of the clan, to a narration of the perpetuations and modifications of the content of the culture during four periods of the modern epoch, and finally to an account of the contemporary culture, we have been constantly aware of the swing of the population pendulum. Throughout this study I have attempted to analyze the available facts for evidence which would indicate not only cultural but also social disintegration. In this final chapter I shall draw the sundry threads of my running commentary together to support the aforesaid conclusion that population change is not a criterion of cultural discontinuity.

The Population Cycle

In as much as my purpose is to evaluate cultural continuity within the framework of population change, let me first briefly review the changing size and structure of the population.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

share their characteristics. So to gain a sense of proportion from the start, we must map the location of Scots countrymen, their numerical importance, and their types of grouping. Let us begin with the first of these three aspects, their regional location (Fig. 2).

The base map on which the data are plotted shows the boundaries dividing the hill masses of the Highlands and Southern Uplands from true 'lowland'. This hill country is mostly covered by rough pasture (left blank on the map) within which lie strips of 'Isolated Arable' with other improved land in the valleys and along the outlying coastlands (shown in black). This hill country includes the Scottish Isles, with the exception of Orkney, which falls rather into the category of 'lowland'. It is largely devoted to sheep farming and crofting, or left to grouse and deer. The lowland area from the Orkneys to the Tweed and Solway is devoted to mixed and dairy farming with lowland types of small-holding, except, of course, for 'Industrial Regions', which include most of the urban area of Scotland.

Within the 'three-mile' territorial limit from the coast lie the inshore waters, in which local fishing was once important, and might again become so; these are left white on the map (Fig. 2). By contrast to their narrow extent on the East Coast, their width is notable in the Northern Isles and on the West Coast.

The problem set in making this map is to show two different worlds, as it were: the Highland and the Lowland. The two are rarely envisaged together, and much confusion of thought and policy results. To master the map, the reader may scrutinise first one part, the Highlands (covering the other with one hand), then the other part, the Lowlands (in the same way): thus each will appear clearly in turn. Both can then be envisaged together.

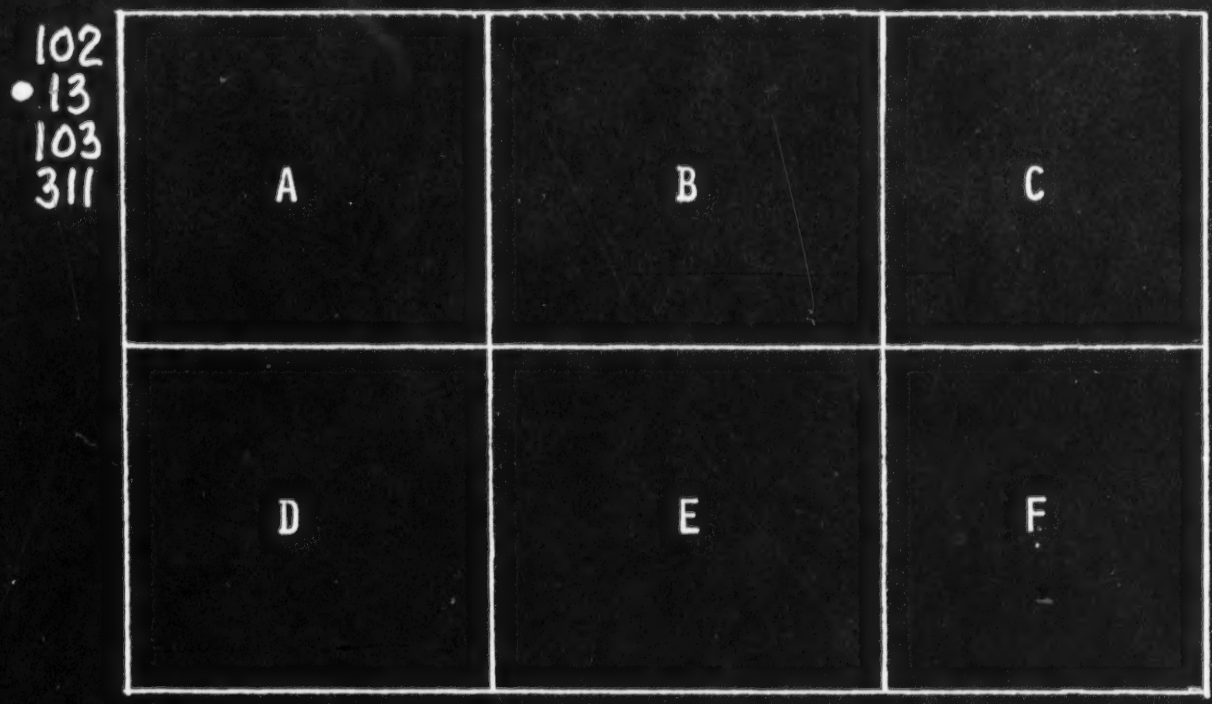

Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

drawn up for the Crown sometime between 1577 and 1595.[3] In 1630 a short commentary on the social, religious, and economic life of Skye was penned.[4] Finally, at the close of the century a native son wrote the first detailed account of life on the island.[5] Thus, I have had to rely on stray fragments, gleaned from such material as can be found, and on later works. This is a handicap which may leave my interpretation open to criticism, but the statements of these authorities have been used to fill out the details of an established pattern only when their accounts are beyond reasonable doubt.

The Bare Bones of History

Although the Archaeological record for the Isle of Skye can be traced back as far as 2000 B.C., when Neolithic man became the island's first inhabitant, the evidence suggests a series of invasions and withdrawals by people at varying stages of development rather than a continuous local development.[6] Indeed, no one has uncovered any evidence for settlement between the fourth and seventh centuries. At the same

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[3] William F. Skene, Celtic Scotland (3 vols., 2d ed.: Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1886-1888), Vol. III, pp. 432-433.

[4] Arthur Mitchell (ed.), Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland Made by Walter MacFarlane (3 vols., "Publications of the Scottish Historical Society," Vol. LII; Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1907), Vol. II, pp. 102-103, 220-223.

[5] Martin Martin, A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, ed. Donald J. MacLeod (new edition; Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1934).

[6] Paul R. Ducey, "The Archaeology of the Isle of Skye" (MS, 1954).

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

and for each head of cattle, some forty-five acres.

The crops are not only limited in acreage but also in variety. Since there were less than ten acres of barley, which was cut green for silage, it may be said that the only grain is oats. The yield of the 2292 acres of oats was a low twenty-nine bushels per acre. The variety grown (Sandy) is not a threshing oat. It is fed to the cattle in the sheaf. This, of course, means seed oats must be purchased in the spring. The only other crops of any importance were 587 acres of potatoes and 99 acres of turnips. The yield for potatoes was about five tons per acre and for turnips, fourteen tons per acre. These yields do not satisfy the needs of the Skyeman and his cattle. The hay was poor in both bulk and quality.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that the livestock industry is the basic factor in the economy. The production of crops is of no more than limited secondary importance. Let us now look at the value of the agricultural production on Skye in terms of locally consumed produce and exports. The following figures represent a collation of facts and figures generously provided by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, the North of Scotland Agricultural College, and local officers of these bodies. For brevity, I have set them out in Table 2.

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highlan Skye

and individualization, there is little, if any,
speak of secularization. Many of the existing f
culture can only be understood when viewed from
of the religious aspect. Certainly, the state ch
weakened by schism and rational practices have re
stitious rites and beliefs, but this has not prod
secular society. The religious patterns have rei
traditional culture, or those parts of it which w
worth preserving, by giving the culture a suprasc
Religion has bolstered the status values, especia
of the father in the family and the old men in th
Religion has provided many of the occasions at wh
people come together to find solidarity and secur
religion has provided the focus for the culture.
factors of cultural change have led to modificati
culture's content, there has been continuity. Fo
complete understanding of how Skye has readapted
higher level of socio-cultural organization and p
distinctiveness, I shall devote the remainder of
study to an analysis of the contemporary culture.

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[117] 93After writing the above account, I discov
Arthur Geddes, a geographer at Edinburgh Universi
discussed some of the evidence for cultural conti
of Lewis and Harris, one of the Outer Hebrides.
important notice of the all-pervading influence o
lives of the Hebrideans, past and present, I feel
function of religion as an agent for maintaining
See Arthur Geddes, The Isle of Lewis and Harris:
British Community (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Universit
A, [See 1: Geddes, this file--Analyst]

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cultural continuity.
A Study in
y Press, 1955).

the economy by subjecting many fertile acres to disuse because of his infirmity. The other factor is the absentee tenant, an individual who has obtained possession of a croft, normally by inheritance, but who has failed to take up his inalienable rights of tenancy. Let us very briefly review the economic trends of the last fifty odd years and, then, try to assess the importance of the absent and the aged.

Although the Sgiathanach has refused to become a specialist, fully involved in a money economy, he has become increasingly dependent on the products of the wider commercial society. Long ago he gave up growing the old staples, barley and oats. Not for many years has he grown enough potatoes or turnips to feed himself and his cattle. In place of these home grown subsistence crops, he now imports a great deal of his food. In an average year Skye imports over 700 tons of bread, 10 tons of vegetables, 300 tons of canned goods, 300 tons of potatoes, 500 tons of flour, and 100 tons of milk. To pay for these products, he exports cattle, once his only marketable produce, and an ever increasing number of sheep.

Hance, writing about the Outer Hebrides, sees the growing tendency of the crofters to buy their food as indicative of an increasing cash income.[16] To a certain extent, this may be true. There are, however, additional factors involved. Ecological limitations have played their role. That the climate and soil together make Skye a grassland suitable for stock breeding rather than an island fit for cultivation is an often repeated

[16] Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 22.

Something has to be done to keep the people here." A Glendale crofter put it more forcibly: "There aren't enough men in Glendale to man a row boat. They've lost experience. One crew after the last war lost their boat because they didn't know how to use it. If depopulation isn't stopped, there soon will be no need for any of these remedies." Fishing, then, is one of those subjects which is often discussed and about which little is done. Let us turn to a consideration of the less traditional occupations open to the men of Skye and their womenfolk.

Minor Supplementary Industries

Diatomite. Diatomite, the siliceous remains of minute organisms laid down in fresh water lake beds, is found in quantity in drained Loch Cuithir, near Staffin. After extracting, drying, and pulverizing, during which process it loses 70 percent of its weight, it has innumerable industrial uses, ranging from filters for the manufacture of beer, sugar, fruit juices, and petroleum products, through abrasives, to fillers and insulation material. Attempts to work this large and high quality deposit go back seventy years. To date, however, the success has been indifferent. The omnipresent lack of capital, difficult access through rugged terrain, and technological barriers have been limiting factors. Within the last few years outside investment, about £180,000, with a limited amount of local capital has stimulated the industry once again. A road was built by the government to replace the old tramway, long in disrepair and

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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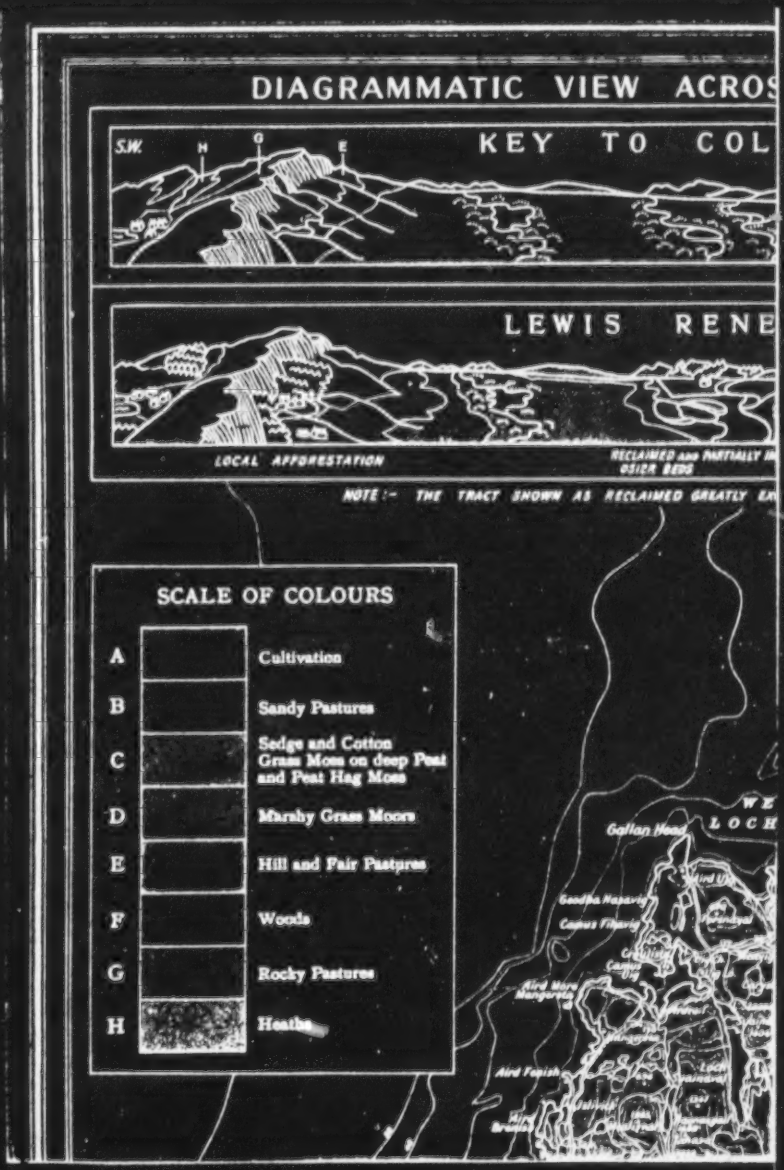

[End Map - A]

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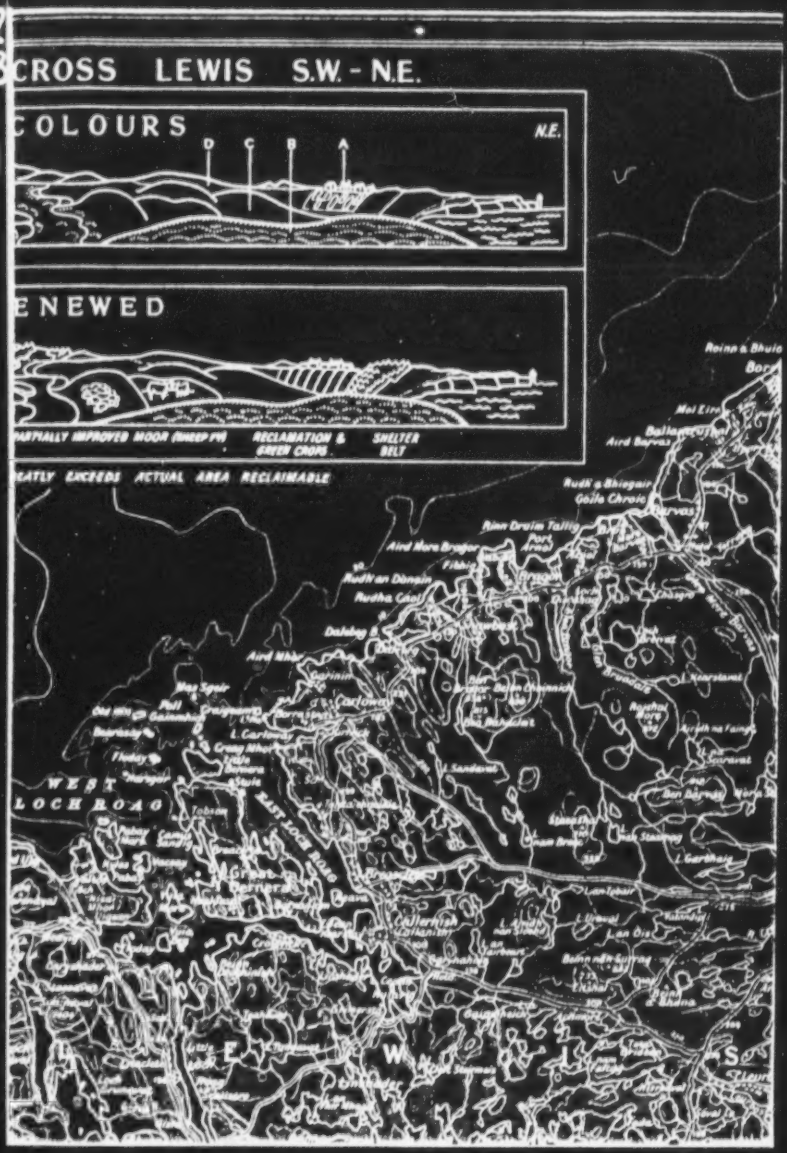
CROSS LEWIS S.W. - N.E.
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SHELTER BELT
GREATLY EXCEEDS ACTUAL AREA RECLAIMABLE
WEST LOCH ROAG
EASTLOCH ROAG
Aird Mhor
Dalabrog
Carloway
Callanish
Garrabost
Aird Bhereg
Aird Mora Breagar
Rudh an Dùnain
Rudha Càsal
Fidday
Eilean Chaonais
Aird Bhereg
Ballantrushal
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J.Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1932) 1933 E510 Highland Scot
Lewis and Harris

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[End Map - C]

adjustment to the higher society in which the successful individual is the specialist. The Sgiathanach has remained a pastoral-agriculturalist, and when he does seek employment, it is typically as an unskilled laborer.

It is far easier to point out the traits and trait-complexes he has lost than those which he has accepted during the two hundred years since 1745. The sad economic condition under which he labors is not conclusive evidence for disorganization. Integration does not mean smooth functioning. Nor do the changes, important as they are, point to discontinuity. The contemporary economic system reveals a fundamental continuity. As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, there is something far deeper involved than economic considerations. Let us now turn to the social aspect of the culture in order to seek an answer to the question why has the Sgiathanach remained in the face of all the inadequacies and insufficiencies we have reviewed.

CHAPTER VI

THE ISLANDERS' SOCIETY

The Units of Social Organization

621 632 571 121 128 Since the Sgiathanach has consistently been more bound to his locality groups than the relatively mobile members of the main stream of Western Society, I think that we shall find a pause to review the character of the social systems which are primarily based on territoriality a valuable aid to our understanding of how cultural continuity has been preserved. By now we are all well aware of the fact that the township is the efficient economic unit. It is also a social entity. The members of each township display a consciousness of common interest, symbolized by the communal hill grazing; and their inter-personal relationships, reflecting ties of kinship and friendship, reveal a rate of interaction second only to those of the crofting family. In most of the townships, the people are related and re-related on both sides 361 by descent and marriage. Laid out along the coast or in a fertile glen, with the cottages on the individual crofts, it has a discernible form. The township is a small cluster of five to twenty homes; approximately an equal number of garden-like farms, stretching out behind the houses; and,

CHAPTER III

SKYE IN THE DAYS OF THE CLAN

f we are to understand the continuing distinctiveness 121
contemporary culture, we must attempt to reconstruct
ture of the remote past and point out the plausible
for the more distinctive traits and patterns which,
coming integrated, became characteristic of the culture.
apter, then, is devoted to a description of the social 128
ation, economics, and religion of the Sgiathanach
the influence of the commercial and rapidly expanding
ial society of Great Britain assumed significant
ions.

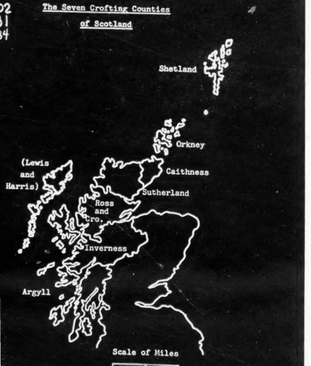
Sources of Information

There is an almost complete dearth of information about 127
ternal conditions in the Hebrides before the eighteenth
, except for stray accounts of intrigues and rebellions
the Scottish Crown. A combination of causes is re-
ble. First is the relative lateness of the introduction 127
ting. Second, there is the fact that the Western Isles 175
[213]
eld by the Norse from the ninth to the thirteenth century.
is the destruction of Scottish records. The ecclesiastical

iva.

Map A

The Seven Crofting Counties of Scotland



634 The Outer Hebrides, a chain of islands over a
• 131 hundred miles long which lie to the northwest of the Scottish mainland, are part of "Ross and Cromarty" and "Inverness," two of the seven crofting counties of Scotland (see Map A). The seven crofting counties
108 (Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland) constitute the scenically beautiful but agriculturally marginal land often referred to as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.
101 The word "Highland" also refers to features of social
197 life such as crofting tenure, strong community feeling and Gaelic-speaking which are characteristic of many communities in both the Highlands and Islands as well as in cities such as Glasgow in which persons from the Highlands and Islands have settled. For example, a Gaelic speaker whose parents came from the Islands and settled in Glasgow may be called a "Glasgow Highlander." The first four crofting counties listed above have a large percentage of Gaelic speakers. In the national
162 census of 1961, 82.3% of the 32,607 inhabitants of the Outer Hebrides were Gaelic speakers.

131 Lewis and Harris, a single body of land which is
133 sometimes referred to as two islands because the mountainous southern section called Harris differs markedly from the flat, northern moorland of Lewis, is the northermost island in the Outer Hebrides (see Map B).

000 in the northermost island in the Outer Hebrides (see
161 Map B). The population is concentrated along the
162 coast, like a hat-brim around the great inner core
361 of the island's heather-covered bogland, a population belt classified as "dense rural" (50-400 persons per
226 square mile) in a map based on the 1951 census. The pattern of land settlement reflects the importance of fishing in the economy of the island.

• 131 Lewis lies between 6°10' and 7°20' west longitude, and between 47°50' and 58°30' north latitude. Lewis
131 is as far north as Newfoundland and farther north than
132 Mongolia, but the temperature is mild because of the North Atlantic Drift, or Gulf Stream, which passes the
132 west coast of Scotland. The temperature averages 55°F. in summer, and 44°F. in January. A constant climatic feature of life on the treeless island is the wind, a relentless, insidious presence which often reaches gale force. Winds of 60 m.p.h. and more are common.

Rain, which comes in downpours or light mist,
133 averages 55 to 65 inches per year. The water may be held in colloidal suspension with decomposed organic matter in the compact, spongy material called peat, or pour as rivers and streams off the island's shelf of
131 non-porous Archaean gneiss into the sea. Of Lewis'
133 total area of 437,200 acres, inland water comprises 24,863 acres.

• 131 Lewis is about 40 miles long. The distance from Stornoway to the west side of the island is about 15
361 miles. Along a tar-macadam road through Barvas parish
491 from its northeast tip toward the southwest, about 18 villages are clustered along a relatively flat coast for as many miles until the land becomes hilly. The road then narrows and takes hairpin twists around blind,
361 stony corners. Villages become fewer, and nestle in protected coves or string haphazardly across the face of the hills.

Shawbost (from the Norse sjö or sjo meaning "sea"
632 and bost or bolstadhr meaning "dwelling" or "homestead"), a village in the parish of Barvas, lies on three low hills on the west coast. Shawbost is 18 miles from Stornoway on a circular route in which Stornoway and Shawbost are antipodes.

172 On the south side of Shawbost bay, huddled beside the sea strand, is a cluster of ruins called Sean Bhaile (the old village), believed to have been occupied over 200 years ago when fishing was important in the local
348 economy. Banks of the streams are dotted with the ruins of old grinding mills and ovens for drying grain.
312 Fresh-water springs are still kept clear of rushes, although water is now piped to most houses from a nearby
000 loch. Hundreds of place names are known to the villagers

182 government bodies and industries in cities on the mainland, rather than being relatively self-sufficient as it was at a previous time. The periodic return of
166 relatives to the island reflects this peripherulness,
181 as do feelings of inferiority among the islands. The island has become not only geographically but socially marginal.

A. Geographical Marginality

Geographical marginality refers to the distance of
121 the islanders from various economic and administrative
• 131 centers on which they depend. Because they are distant,
182 they are more likely to suffer breaks in channels of communication with these centers, as when storms prevent boats from docking. They are "marginal" because they depend on central sources rather than being self-contained; and the difficulties entailed in this marginality encourage the retention of techniques and patterns of interaction derived from the days of relative self-sufficiency. The anomalous combinations of old and new found in the township may be attributed to such marginality.

121 A "strategy" may be thought of as a pattern of behavior which develops in a particular history of reinforcement, the parameters of this reinforcement

Chapter 7

Conclusions:

Summary and Theoretical Considerations

A. Summary

105 Crofting townships of the Highlands and Islands of
• 131 Scotland are within a few hours' travel of the major cities
140 of Britain. An extremely high percentage of the young
173 people in the crofting counties attend universities and other institutions of higher education. Politically,
641 administratively, economically and in other ways, the crofting population participates in the larger urban-industrial society of Britain.

105 Despite this participation, the township-qua-village-
232 community is a relatively strongly bounded system. This
621 thesis investigates factors contributing to the strong
124 boundedness. From a relatively self-sufficient economic
105 unit using agricultural practices suited to the extensive
175 cultivation of marginal land by smallholders, the township
632 has during recent decades changed to one dependent on
241 goods and services provided by the larger society.

105 Crofting activities nevertheless persist, in part because
241 of the incentives offered by government bodies such as the
654 Crofters Commission and the Department of Agriculture. The

1 INTRODUCTION

• 131 THOUGH generally referred to as separate islands, Harris and Lewis are geographically speaking one island—the largest landmass in the Outer Hebrides. Its latitude is approximately 57° 40' to 58° 40' N; its longitude 6° to 7° W. Many have expressed surprise at the size of the island, which is over 800 square miles in extent. From top to bottom the crow's flight distance is just over 80 miles, and from east to west about 14 miles. By road, however, the north-south journey (the Butt of Lewis to Rodel in Harris) is a good 80 miles. And by road from east to west (Tiumpan Head lighthouse to Breinish in Uig) is 54 miles.

132 Among the oldest islands of the world Harris and Lewis is
135 founded, like a strong resisting house, on rock, on gneiss said to be the oldest fragment of Europe. From a distance the tough durable Lewisian gneiss is easily recognizable as bare, barren, elongated domes and ridges, giving a hummocky appearance to the landscape. Among other rock types to be found is a patch of a few hundred acres of granite in the parish of Barvas, on the west side of Lewis; some torridonian sandstone showing on each side of Broad Bay, around Stornoway; and the tertiary basalt of the Shiant Isles. These latter islands, pin-points of high land, are geologically speaking insular outliers of Skye, though they are but a few miles or so off the Lewis coastline. Another set of islands, associated with Harris and Lewis, are the St Kildas, composed of gabbros and basalt.

The continual exposure of the rocks on the island makes it easy for those interested in geology to see just what happened those countless years ago. Sands, muds and limestones were formed in an ancient sea, to be later heated and recrystallised as volcanic eruptions occurred. During this boiling, a seasoning touch of molten granite was added. Later, still in an ancient season, the rocks were thrust up and crushed against each other to form today's geological spectacular. Dark-coloured hornblende and

INTRODUCTION

ing thieves, patches of heather, deer-grasses or moorland plants 133
live as they can on thin layers of peaty soil. To relieve the hard 135
scenery there are, on sunny days, glintings of water, lochs or rivers 137
flowing uneasily over beds of primordial rock.

Area (in acres) 131 133

	Land	Inland water	Salmarsh	Foreshore	Tidal water	TOTAL
Harris	125,752	3,110	—	6212	105	133,178
Lewis	404,184	24,863	230	7775	150	437,200
						570,378

PEAT AND RIVERS

The peat overlays of the island are reckoned to be not much 134
more than 7,000 years old. The largest bed, which is figure, when the
megalithic circle of Callernish, on the west of Lewis, was excavated 172
by Sir James Matheson in 1857-8, a depth of 5 ft of peat was
removed to expose the giant stones. Only the tops of these stones
were showing before excavation was begun; the resultant calculation
confirmed the age of this infertile blanket. Peat is decomposed
organic matter without the sweetening of lime. The resulting
material is sour, and highly acid in character, which checks the
bacterial action necessary for good soil to be made. With compaction
and age, peat becomes colloidal in texture, with a water content
of about 92 per cent. Peat is still being formed in Lewis,
though its progress is imperceptibly slow.

Frequent diggings have uncovered evidence that the island was 137
once densely wooded. The remains of trees, and the bones of cer-
tain animals and birds associated with savannah and woodland,
add point to this. Under the blanket of peat lies what is called 135
boulder clay, glacially deposited on the gneiss rock; many acres 134
of this clay have been exposed through centuries of digging up
peat for fuel. Such skinned ground is called *gearraidh*, and it 134
forms the basis of a soil which, when worked together with shell
sand and seaweed, becomes quite fertile. Of natural soil, so much
taken for granted in richer places in Britain, there are a few
patches in Lewis, at Garrabost and Ness, the valley of Strond,
near Rodel in Harris, has much strong red loam.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

166 vision of adequate educational facilities in remote spots becomes
871 increasingly difficult.

In its time Scarp has contributed more per head of population
to the professions than has any other community of similar size.
The last of the native Scarp population left the island in 162
November 1971: two families totalling seven people. The island 178
has now attracted the attentions of a hippie community.

Scalpay

195 Scalpay Island, on the east side of Harris, was formerly occu-
361 pied by two or three tacksmen in succession before being 'crofted
429 out'. About 1843 the Harris factor settled twenty crofting families
who managed to make a fair living there, but five years later
another twenty families were added; some had been evicted from
the island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris. This led to some sub-
division of the available land. The 1861 population was 388, but
the figure rose to a peak of 624 in 1921; in 1951 it had declined
to 541. It is now in the region of 450.
198 Island Scalpay is the last one of the few places in the Highlands
621 and Islands area in which the normal trends associated with re-
mote regions are operating in reverse. The island despite its small-
131 ness—it is a mere 3 miles long and 1½ miles across—supports a
thriving and dynamic community and is the envoy of its neighbours.
(162) Scalpay is retaining its young folk; and it boasts some of the finest
homes in the Hebrides. From the agricultural point of view it is
not greatly different from other islands in the Hebrides. Its forty
241 crofts produce a good crop of oats; but less than 20 acres of the
land are re-seeded.
226 The land being as poor as it is, the men of Scalpay have turned
their faces to the sea—for a living, not for emigration. Scalpay
has the largest number of full-time fishermen and a total of thirty-
505 three boats, twelve of which are ringseiters of over 40 ft. Native
enterprise is also shown in the ship-owning firm whose vessels
carry freight and passengers to many parts of Scotland and on
441 occasion to the Continent. A Harbour Association was formed on
the island in 1966 to work for local amenities for fishermen and

SCALPAY

the community generally—in particular for a landing stage in the 505
North Harbour. The lighthouse at Eilean Glas, Scalpay, was in 441
fact erected as long ago as 1788; for a long time it was the only 502
lighthouse in the Minches. Indeed, in 1792 it was described as 'one
of great utility to the numerous shipping that frequent this
channel [between Skye and the Long Island] on their voyages to
and from the Baltic'.

The independence of the islanders again appears in their atti- 181
tude to the education facilities provided for their children. In 871
1949 Scalpay parents staged a school strike in protest against the
delay in the construction of a road to the school. At present the
island has a junior secondary school but in 1966 the Inverness-
shire County Educational Authority proposed the transfer
of the island pupils to the school at Tarbert; this would mean
each child rising early in the morning to face a trip across Scalpay
Sound and then a road journey to Tarbert. The inevitable
protests against this proposal were rooted in its deeper implica-
tions. The school roll on Scalpay (70 pupils) has maintained a
remarkable level of continuity over the years, reflecting the
general prosperity of the island. Forced attendance at a central
educational facility, the islanders maintain, will introduce an
unsettling urban element into their children's adult views.

The smaller islands

To the west of Scalpay, in East Loch Tarbert, is the one- 361
square-mile island of Scoraway. Its population was 14 in 1861, 162
none in 1881, 18 in 1891, 15 in 1901, and 20 in 1911. In 1921 175*
7 males and 12 females lived there, but none permanently since. 131

On the west of the Harris mainland is a high rocky island, four
miles by once, called Taransay. In 1549 Donald Monro described it
as being 'well inhabit and manuirit', a place where people delved
with spades, and with good barley and corn, and fishing. There
are two old chapels and a burying ground on the island. The
population of Taransay has declined to a handful through the
years; its peak was 76 in 1911.

The Sound of Harris is 'a chaos of rocks and islands', so numer-
ous that they cannot easily be counted. Some are mere pinpoints
of rock; others once supported small populations. Nearest to the

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Nearest to the
361 southern shore of Harris is the verdant arable island of Ensay,
162 two miles in circumference. The peak population was 15 in 1861,
but in 1951 and 1961 there were two men (seasonal shepherds).
*175 Just south of Ensay is Killegray, two miles long. In 1792 it was described as 'one
• 131 was uncultivated, though a good source of peat; five people lived
on Killegray in 1861, 3 in 1911 and 1921, 5 in 1931 and none
in 1951. An 1865 report mentions that there was only one house
on the island, so the population must have been one family only.
Four to five miles west of Killegray is a low-lying, fertile island
131 of about four miles by 1½. This is Bernera Harris which, though
lying nearer to North Uist, is included in the civil parish of Harris.
It still carries a fairly large population. Until the early eighteenth
century it was occupied by a tacksman at one end and a commu-
nity of crofters at the other. Later there was an influx of people
evicted from Pabbay and the mainland of Harris. Some clearing
of families from Bernera itself took place. In 1861 the population
of Bernera was 315; it rose to 324 in 1901. Three schools were open
89 on the island in 1865: an SSPCK school, a Gaelic School Society
school, and a 'female industrial school' supported by the SSPCK
and 'taught by a venerable Highland lady in receipt of a salary
of £28 per annum'. The school was housed in, to quote an 1865
report, 'the oldest dwelling in the Long Island, and was at one
time inhabited by persons of distinction. In the outer wall is a
marble slab bearing this inscription: "Hic Natus est/Illustris Ille/
Normannus MacLeod/De Bernera/Quam Amavit." (Here was
born that famous man, Norman MacLeod of Berneray, a dis-
tinguished knight.) This illustrious personage and his brother, Sir
Roderick of Talisker, were both knighted by Charles II for dis-
tinguished services . . . A grandson of Sir Norman became known
in the annals of the Bench as Lord Bannatyne."

Three miles north-west of Bernera is Pabbay, also in the parish
of Harris. At one time Pabbay was a rich green island, the
'granary of Harris', and supported a considerable population.
Early last century it was inhabited by 26 families (about 100
people), who lived in comparative comfort, and by 1841 the
population was 338. But Pabbay was cleared of its people. Some
emigrated to Australia, some went to other places nearby, such
as Scalpay, Bernera and the Bays area of Harris. In 1858 only a

THE SMALLER ISLANDS

shepherd's family was left. Pabbay is conical in shape, and about 361
2½ miles in diameter. In recent times drift and sea spray have 162
damaged its fertility. 175*

Just north of Pabbay is Shillay, one mile in circumference, 131
where Martin Martin (1695) says he found sheep with the biggest
horns he had ever seen. Whether Shillay was ever inhabited is
not known.

10 THE OTHER ISLANDS

361 THE continued evacuation of islands is a problem peculiar
162 to Scotland. In the eighteenth century some 8 per cent of
175 Scots lived on islands; today the figure is less than 2 per
*175 cent. Island populations today account for about 30 per cent of
178 the total Highland (crofting counties) population. The difficulty
182 for most islands is the relationship between population density
and potential for economic development.

As though reflecting the relationship of man to man on Lewis-
with-Harris—keeping together in community for survival—the
other islands, the larger island ones have given rise to a sense
at one time or another in recorded history. Most of the socially-
significant islands of Harris have been described in Chapter 9.
Lewis has very few, and these are mostly far-flung oceanic out-
liers.

236 *North Rona*
221 To begin at the northern point of the Lewis parish, about 45
133 miles NNE of the Butt of Lewis is North Rona, a block of horns-
• 131 tone schist with pegmatite intrusions. Though the island has
361 never figured in any Census reports, since the Census began, it has
been inhabited from time to time. Of about 300 acres in extent,
it is cliff-bound and reaches 355 ft at its highest point. It lies in a
part of the Atlantic where a deep swell seems perpetual, and land-
ings can be difficult.

361 Dean Monro comments: 'Towards the north northeist from
*195 Lewis, three score myles of sea, lyes and little ile callit Roney,
laiche maine land, inhabit and manuirit be straple people, scant of
ony religione.' The Dean's 'simple people' were no recent settlers.
They were in fact the continuation of a community which had
inhabited North Rona for at least 700 years previously. Tradi-
172 tion has it that the first inhabitant was St Ronan, who built a
small monastic cell or hermitage there some time during the
eighth century, but there may have been earlier inhabitants.

THE OTHER ISLANDS

*175 Account, there was one family there, that of the person employed
162 by the owner to look after the livestock. The owner was a Ness
522 tacksman who paid £4 sterling rent per annum. The island pro-
duce was corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep and sometimes a cow,
and some wild fowl and feathers.

*175 In 1844 Rona was evacuated, its last inhabitant being, in the
166 seventh year of Queen Victoria's reign, the 'King of Rona',
Donald MacLeod, who lived in almost prehistoric conditions.
Rona was without inhabitants until 1884, when a last attempt
495 at resettlement was made by two men from Ness. This was a self-
imposed exile, after a difference of opinion with the minister of
their parish; in penance, they hied themselves off to Rona. In
1885 a relief boat called and found both men dead, one from
natural causes, the other from starvation and exhaustion after
nursing his friend. By the fireside of their hut was a pot ready
for the preparation of a meal they never ate.

236 Today, man's connection with the island is maintained by the
221 small party of Lewis shepherds who each year make the journey
to shear the sheep which still graze on the green slopes around the
now-ruined village. Otherwise, only the occasional traveller now
659 lands there. In June 1956, North Rona with its associated rock,
185 Sulasgeir, was declared a National Nature Reserve on account
of its importance as a breeding ground for colonies of oceanic
birds—guillemots, puffins, kittiwakes, and fulmars—and for its
seal colony.

133 *Sulasgeir*
• 131 Sulasgeir is twelve miles west of North Rona, a lonely rock in
the Atlantic, bleak and grassless, and tunnelled by caves and
gullies. The only life it has ever supported is seabirds—officially.
495 Yet one of the old buildings is said to be a chapel and is called
173 'Tigh Beannaich' (House of Blessing). According to Ness tradi-
tion, Sulasgeir was once used as a prison for sheep-stealers, and
it is also said that Brenhilda, sister to St Ronan, was left on the
island to perish. Yet another tradition claims that it was at this
rock that Prince Charles Edward made his first contact with his
Scots clansmen, when the ship that carried him to Scotland was
spoken to by a Ness boat making for North Rona.

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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E EDINBURGH GEOGRAPHICAL INSTITUTE

[End Map-D]

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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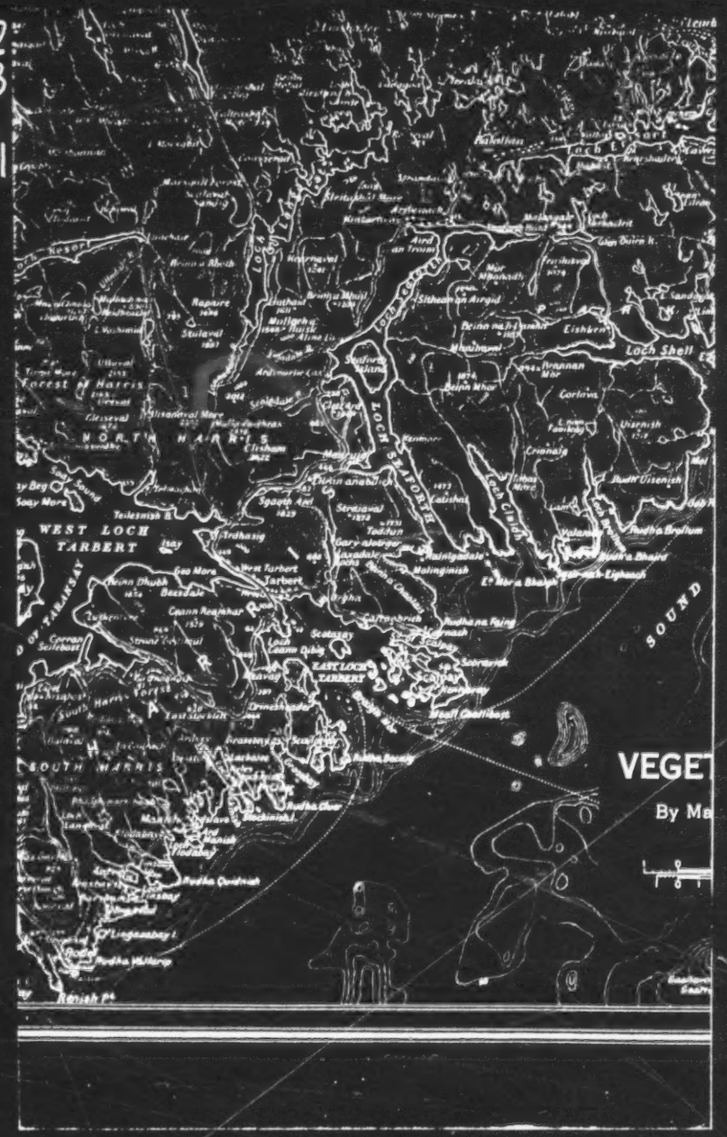

[End Map-E]

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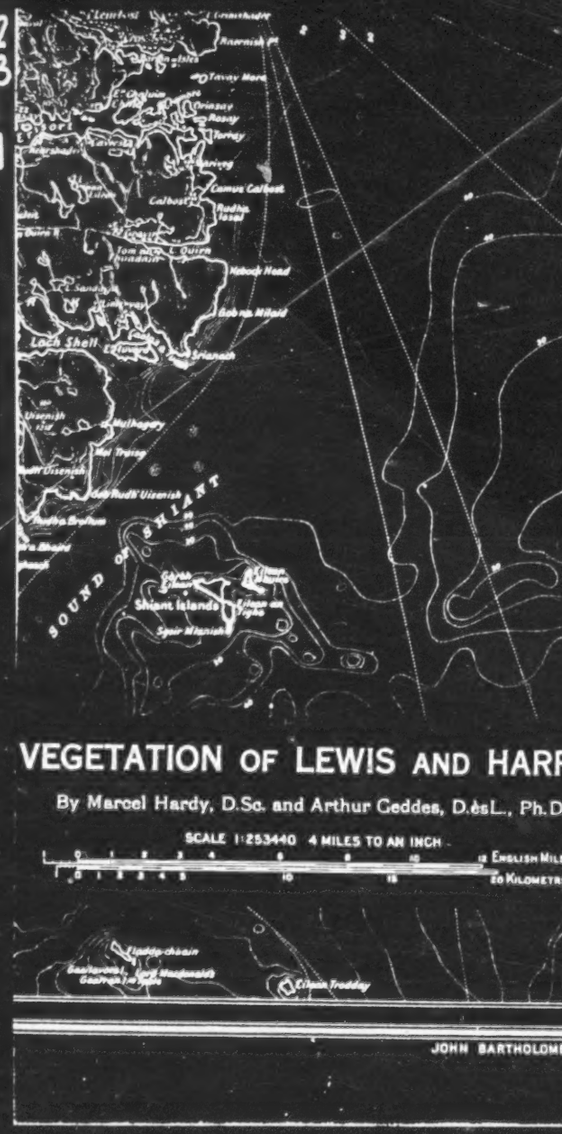

[End Map-F]

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND

ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF

LEWIS

('Bernera and Bernera Shore')

by

P. Wheeler

131 Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of Bernera Island (Breaclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the "Shore" [103 (Earshader, Crulivig and Lundale together with the isolated township of Linshader), presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isolation. [49 Bernera Island, though central to most of Uig and easily accessible over the sheltered waters of Loch Roag, yet remained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent building of the road bridge; even now it is necessary to travel over six miles to get from the bridge to the main Uig road and a further four miles to Garynahine. Consequently [181 the island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements, has a very close-knit and self-sufficing population. Whether this community retains sufficient vitality to resist the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces eroding rural and especially Highland life, remains to be seen.

13 The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the introduction. Like the other districts it has virtually no valuable mineral resources (1), and 228 the herring and white fish industries have all but disappeared and seem unlikely to 121 resuscitated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted with vigour and enterprise; it 464 provides a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on regular or casual employment to eke out the proceeds of the croft. The kinds of work [164 available, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employment are common to the whole parish; thus this account is mainly concerned with the problems of crofting agriculture.

Settlement: history and patterns.

172 The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is partly very old, and partly very recent. At least four brochs are known on Bernera and various 361 standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous settlement has survived from the early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form as [173 in the graveyard on little Bernera, or in oral tradition. All this contributes towards the very close network of family relationships that binds the island folk and to a lesser extent those of the adjacent mainland.

With the exceptions of Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete, all Bernera Island had been 175 cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1878 when twelve families were moved from 361 Bosta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere. Occasionally (as at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance lotting patterns were re-adopted, but usually settlement was laid out afresh. The townships of Bernera Shore, were also affected: all the small tenants except those of Earshader and Crulivig were cleared, leaving the land under the sheep farms of West Earshader and Linshader. However, the Bernera Island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of shellings on the mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these grazings to their present position marked the

[313 (1) A small deposit of diatomite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a few men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

THE ENVIRONMENT

13 The district of Park lies in the parish of Lochs in south-east Lewis, almost cut off from the
101 rest of Lewis and Harris by Loch Erisort to the north and Loch Seaforth to the west. The district may be divided into two regions by Loch Shell and the valley to the west; this subdivision is meaningful physically, historically and from the socio-economic point of view.

13 The northern part of Park is a low, mamillated, ice-scraped plateau at an average altitude of 250 feet and a maximum altitude of about 450 feet, developed on Lewisian gneiss, a resistant acid rock of Pre-Cambrian age. Glacial erosion has scoured the area and expanses of bare rock are everywhere apparent. Coarse drift deposits are scattered throughout the area, but are more continuous along the southern shores of Loch Erisort between Shieldernish and Caversta, and at the head of Loch Ouirn. The cool, humid oceanic climate has led to the widespread accumulation of peat, and in the interior there are extensive areas of blanket bog. The Minch coast is rugged with cliffs attaining a height of 350 feet at Kebock Head, but there are several sheltered bays and inlets around which the crofting townships cling to the steep slopes. Along the more sheltered shores of Loch Erisort cliff features are almost absent and the physical landscape is less harsh and uninviting.

The mountainous area south of Loch Shell, an eastward continuation of the North Harris hills, attains a height of 1,885 feet. Glacial erosion has had more spectacular effects than in northern [13 Park and corries and glacially modified valleys are numerous. Southern Park is now uninhabited but during the early ninsteenth century a small population was scattered round the shores of the peninsula on areas of drift deposits.

There are no climatic statistics for Park, but the Stornoway figures can reasonably be applied to northern Park. The mean annual temperature for Stornoway is 47°F. ranging from 41°F in January and February to 56°F. in July. The mean annual rainfall in Stornoway is 50 inches, with May and June the driest months, but on average there are 260 rainy days. Wind, however, is the most notable element in the climate: an average of 155 days have gusts exceeding 38 m.p.h.

Soils are thin and immature, except on isolated patches of deeper drift: vegetation is dominated by heather (calluna vulgaris) purple moor grass (molinia) and sphagnum, and there are few trees, stunted rowans being almost the only species; trees are confined to islands in lochs and cliffs inaccessible to stock.

361 The aspect of Park is thus one of desolate moorland, and the human communities are without exception distributed round the coasts; the Minch coast townships are situated on sheltered bays or inlets and it is clear that the harvest of the sea was the original attraction rather than the agricultural possibilities on steeply sloping, rocky terrain.

181 Park is the most isolated area of Lewis apart from South-west Uig. A sea-journey of only nine miles separates Lemreway in the south from Stornoway but the overland distance is 36 miles, which takes more than two hours by the daily bus service. Until 1924, there was no through-road beyond Habost although the Congested Districts Board provided a grant for the making of a road between Gravir and Cromore in 1901; in 1913 this road was extended to Garyvard. With the coming of the road, and the decline in the numbers of fishing boats, the people of Park have ceased to travel to Stornoway by sea. In terms of distance, Park is now more isolated than ever before.

101 Isolated, poor agriculturally, and without any industry, Park is a "Region of Difficulty" with 13 a rapidly declining population; basically the environment has little to offer in the twentieth 12 century.

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131 LOCATION--latitude and longitude; position in relation to land and sea (
insular, coastal, interior); area of territory occupied; accessibility by
land and sea routes; boundaries; etc. See also:

Territorial organization . . . . . 63 Maps . . . . . .
Location of group in relation to others . . . 101

Dean Monro, in his 1549 account, refers to the vast numbers of wild fowl and mentions that the men of Ness sail there and stay for seven or eight days and bring back a boat full of dried wild fowl and feathers. The *Old Statistical Account* (1796) says: 'There is in Ness a most adventurous set of people who, for a few years back, at the hazard of their lives, went there in an open six-oared boat without even the aid of a compass.' The boat, says the *Account*, could not be pulled up out of the sea, and therefore, while some of the men worked on the birds, the others had to stay in the boat on the most sheltered side of the sheer-cliffed island. This custom of hunting young gannets (or 'guga') on Sulasgeir still continues. Under the Protection of Wild Birds Act, 1954, the gannet is protected by law, but so that the Ness men could continue their old custom, a Statutory Order was passed making a special exemption (from 31 August each year at the end of the close season) of the gannets on Sulasgeir. With North Rona, Sulasgeir is one of the great breeding grounds for British oceanic seabirds.

The Loch Roag islands

The one large inhabited island off the Lewis coast is Great Bernera, though technically it is not now an island, having been connected to the mainland of Lewis in 1953 by a bridge. It is part of the parish of Uig, as are the other islands in Loch Roag. Its population reached a peak of 730 in 1911, but has now fallen to about half that figure. Off the west of Great Bernera is Little Bernera, which in Dean Monro's time was 'inhabit and manurit', but which has had no population recorded since the 1861 Census. Monro describes it as full of rough little craigs, but with fertile earth between.

Also in Loch Roag are three islands which, now deserted, once supported families: Pabbay had 17 people in 1861, 9 in 1881, and none since; Vacsay had nine men in 1861, and none since; Orasay in 1891 had one man and one woman, but none since.

The Flannans

Belonging again to the parish of Uig is the group of islands known as the Flannans, or Seven Hunters, some twenty miles

CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

(A) THE GEOGRAPHIC SETTING: THE BRITISH ISLES, SCOTLAND AND THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLES

1. *A 'Heart' of the 'North and West' of Britain*

181 [131] [133] [174] IN the 'Outer' Hebrides, commonly regarded as the most 'outlying' inhabited lands of the British Isles, are revealed not only the most ancient of British rocks, the Archaean, but probably the oldest form of communal life in Britain. This life, in present and past, will interest

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FIG. 1.—Global view of the 'Outer' Hebrides, seen as the heart of the 'North and West' of Britain.

181 [171] [133] some by characteristics which may seem unique. But it will interest others by features of underlying universality. These might be compared to the Archaean rock, overlain toward the south-east by a succession of younger strata, but forming their foundation.

181 182 In this rocky land, the roots of Island life are laid bare; the rhythm of work responds to the day's weather and the cycle of the year. Yet the flowering of communal life in song and spiritual tradition may offer a fresh vision of regional, even of national, being. Indeed it is in characteristics latent in the evolution of the whole 'North and West' of the British Isles that Island life is most revealing.

• 131 133 Rising in imagination to a point above the summits of the Harris hills, and viewing the British Isles from the far' north-west, we gain a new perspective (Fig. 1). The Island below us is now the nearest; the 'Outer' Isles, [829] the innermost. To us now, as to the Islesmen, their Island home is no mere fringe, but a heart of Britain.

101 133 Thence, looking to the lands across the Minch, each further from the Isles of home, there appear, in turn, three regions: (1) the rest of the Highlands and Isles; (2) the Lowlands and Uplands of Scotland; and (3) Ireland, Wales and Cornwall, and Northern England—all sculptured in rocks older than those of the Lowland or 'Plain' of England beyond. These three roughly concentric regions, from Harris to the edge of the 'Plain', may be grouped together with the intervening estuarine lowlands—not only Clydeside and the Solway but the 'firth-land' of Mersey-and-Deeside, and that of the Bristol Channel. To these, one might add the shores of an outer Minch, the *Manche* or 'English' Channel, which once linked Devon and Cornwall to Armorica. Beyond

101 133 Britain, on the horizon, the eye may descry the coasts of Scandinavia, the Low Countries, France and Iberia. This far-flung regional grouping within the British Isles—which extends for 800 miles from the Shetland to the Scilly Isles—may be called 'the North and West'.

Four border-lines may be drawn to bound these regions: the hill-foot 'Highland Line', the Scottish Border, the border of Wales with the Pennine-and-Moorland-foot, and lastly, for the whole, a line drawn from the Severn to the Tees. Of these four lines (or border-tracts), the last, which divides the British Isles into two different types of landscape and life, is not the least significant. On one side lies the whole of 'the North and West', with its isles and headlands, its mountains and hills, hewn in old rock, and its firthlands, straths and marginal, hill-foot lowlands, all sculptured markedly both by rivers and ice, and heaped with glacial drift. On the other lies the 'Plain' of south-eastern England, or simply 'the South-east', of which the low scarplands of younger rocks slope smoothly down to mainly river-sculptured vales, and are bounded by smoother coasts.[1]

133 • 131 Geographically, this succession is one of complexes with recurrent features of height and hollow, land and sea, rather than of sharply defined blocks; its marches are tracts of transition rather than boundary lines. But essential characters of the two zones are revealed by the main boundary

[823] [1] Strictly, the alternation of vales with wolds and downs, which characterises England south-east of the Pennines, would justify the term 'lowland'; but with our Scottish and Highland perspective, the English 'lowland' appears a 'plain', and for simplicity, the 'Plain', or simply 'the South-east', is used throughout this book. The physical and geological maps of the British Isles in an atlas may serve to illustrate this perspective; they should be viewed from the north-west by turning the map with the north-west islands towards one, and the plains of England and the Continent furthest away.

133 line; and there can be no doubt of the contrast found at • 131 the extremes. How strikingly different from any view over the English Plain is this, from the air or a mountain-top! It overlooks the ice-scraped rock of the fells; the drift-heaped, ill-drained hollows studded with gleaming lochs and deeply overgrown with peat; and the indented, insular coastline with its widely spaced crofting townships looking seaward, where a few fishers' sails may dot the 161 vast expanse of ocean. In 1951 the population of Lewis-162 and-Harris numbered only 28,000 persons, and that of the entire Outer Hebrides some 36,000; but the small num-182 bers need not lessen the geographical significance of the community.

18 Men have long recognised the homogeneity of the English 'Plain', with its recurring vale and wold, compact within a rounded coastline. In spite of the local variety of landscape, history or dialect, which enriched its heritage and compose its grandeur and charm, men have sensed the unity inherent in this land of a single tongue, centred upon a single capital. By contrast, the diversities in landscape, life and tongues of the lands far-flung to north and west have obscured the elements of a profound, underlying unity in geographic origins and in historic and social [121] evolution. To understand the civilisation of the British Isles, it is vital first to perceive the complementary qualities found in the two great regions, and face their corresponding [178] weaknesses or limitations. Second, within the less understood of the two regions, 'the North and West', it is vital to study the almost bewildering variety in regional types of life—distinguishing, for instance, the uprooted populations all too typical of the rural Lowlands of Scotland or Northumberland from the still deep-rooted communities of the Highlands and Isles.

183 181 185 democratic reorganisation, with loyalty to one's fellows and to a leader.

Here again, Lewis-and-Harris may have something to 178 teach, as one of the last communities in Britain in which 185 much of ancient common right over land and sea has been upheld. Trust ownership of Stornoway estate has strength-[174] ened the possibilities of rural planning there, while the [423] fisheries are a public resource which are partially protected for local fishermen inshore and farther out are closed to none. The useful Lewis Association has published models of local survey for social and economic planning. At a time when democracy is struggling to see its way towards economic and social freedom, such communal initiatives have more than local significance.

121 This sketch of comparisons and questions in rural life • 131 raised by Hebridean evidence, through a wide and varied 182 region of the British Isles, must serve to indicate the geographic setting of the Island and relate the historic and contemporary problems of its own community to wider fields. This book is not directly concerned with the urban and industrial problems of the firth-sides and 'included plains' within the varied land of 'the North and West' of Britain, deeply though they affect the hard-hit fishermen of the Isles and the Island migrants—seamen or labourers, tradesmen or factory workers, nurses, teachers or clergy. 121 Even for the migrants' sake, it is vital to maintain the 185 economic balance, and restore the cultural and spiritual life within each industrial region, in order to maintain that of Britain as a whole. It was not enough to schedule 'the murdered towns' of Tyneside, Wales, Lancashire or Clydeside as 'Distressed', 'Special or Development Areas'. The balance of Britain as a whole must be restored.

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FIG. 2.—Map to show (i) the use of land and sea in and around Scotland, with special reference to the Crofting Townships Zone of the NW. Highlands and Isles, and (ii) the average size in each county of labour-teams of farms and small-holdings in the Lowlands

182 Let us begin with the economic and the social signi-
184 ficance of the Highlands and Isles with which we are
311 concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space' is the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown black)
[241] which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore waters,
[427] and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by line C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or com-
[361] munities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainland and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazing; the line C also encloses a small area devoted to other grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, mainland, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill country are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small farms and small-holdings.

174 In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint labour-
621 team on land formed the communal units contained within
632
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Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C .... C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black areas: strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

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Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings
(in the Lowlands)

The symbols show the average number of employees per team in each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

[241] (a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm
[361] — 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
◆ 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
■ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(b) Per Full-time Small Holding
• 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

3. *The Significance of Lewis-and-Harris*

181 The Highlands and Western Isles today, "The Land
184 of the Gael", may thus be grouped as two regions. The
361 North-west is mainly of 'township crofting' and distant
101 from the Lowlands—the other mainly of farming, living nearer to the Lowlands and in touch with them. Through-
[197] out the North-west, Gaelic is still the common speech,
[198] even of the children. The old community feeling is strong; it is that, indeed, which keeps the people attached to the villages.

101 From the plains and cities of the South it is a far cry to *Ultima Thule*, as Lewis, like Zetland, is sometimes called
• 131 even by its own people. Lying some twenty-five to thirty miles across the Minch from the mainland, its nearest links
[496] with the South lie even farther away. From Stornoway it is some seventy-five miles to Kyle of Lochalsh, the rail-
head for Inverness and North-east Scotland, and 100 miles to Mallaig, the railhead for Fort William and Glasgow. To reach Stornoway over the moors from the west coast
[504] townships is itself a journey. Stornoway is the Island's only port, though passengers are put off at Tarbert, at
[177] Stockinish and at Rodel in Harris. Isolation has always
[178] been a dominant factor in the Island's life. From pre-history through the Middle Ages to modern times, that factor played its changing part.

198 In Lewis, conditions had changed less than elsewhere during the last century; for example, the *New Statistical Account* of South-west Argyll in 1830-35 reads like a description of conditions in Lewis as they were until after 1914! Hence, as already said, the contrasts are very great indeed in the aspect of the country, its fields and houses, and in the number, character and ways of the people. It

241 Scotland had begun to lag since her pioneering effort from
134 1750 to 1880.
178 Fortunately, Scotland is now recognising that in peat
[654] reclamation, on the one hand, and the improvement of rough grazing, or at least its maintenance, on the other,
[185] there lies a problem of national importance. More than
311 half the land surface of the country consists of mountain and heath land used for grazing, not including 'deer forests' from which sheep had been altogether excluded. The arable land of Scotland is less than one-sixth of the whole, with about one-twelfth in addition under permanent grass. Moreover, since most of the enclosed land is distant from the area of rough grazing, the latter is partly wasted. The difficulties of soil and sea and of the whole economic situation are great, and must be understood.

(B) THE ISLAND LANDSCAPE, LAND-FORMS AND GEOLOGY

1. *Aspects of the Isle*

• 131 Lewis-and-Harris, the most northerly isle of the Outer Hebrides, and the largest, is roughly lozenge-shaped. Although only thirty miles in width, it is over sixty miles in length. Attached to Harris parish is the little isle of
[103] Berneray, half a dozen miles farther south. It puzzles the stranger that, while the archipelago of the Outer
[823] Hebrides is best known to the inhabitants as "The Long Island", Lewis (or the Lews) and Harris, which actually form one island, are spoken of as separate islands.[1] Yet nothing could be more natural. Before the making of

[113] [1] "The Long Island", Gaelic *An Eilean Fada*, as a name for the Outer Hebrides has the sanction of traditional usage, as Alexander Carmichael noted in his Introduction to *Carmina Gadelica* (vol. i, 1900; and 1928).

131 632 (1) Stornoway stretches from the town north to Tolsta;
(2) Barvas from the north of the Island southwards, past Barvas village (WNW. of Stornoway) five miles further to Bragar;
(3) Uig covers the rest of the south-west coast; and
(4) Lochs, the remainder of the south-east coast.

131 133 Seen from the sea, the Island chiefly presents dark, gneissic, heath-fringed cliffs whose steep walls become gentle slopes towards the south as we enter the bays, sea lochs and firths which run far inland (Plates I to IV). As one sails northward along the east coast of Lewis, there are few hills to be seen, and these are below 1000 feet; most of the island is rolling moor, rarely rising above 300 feet. Here and there new houses stand out, the 'white houses' (*tighean geala*), which, however, are usually grey 342 or even dark in colour. These dwellings have generally been stone-built and were often slate-roofed; asbestos roofs are now common. Yet even when dark, these new cottages are conspicuous beside the low 'black houses' with their rounded forms of wall and roof, and with thatch overspread by a faint haze of blue peat reek, like the bloom 133 upon a fruit. Their plots of corn, though each may be so [243] tiny as to appear but a spot at a distance, together form a bright patch against the dark brown moor. In the sketch which forms the Key to the Map of Vegetation and Settlements (Fig. 8), an attempt has been made to bring the map and the landscape alive to the mind's eye, from the hills of North Harris north-eastward to the Butt of Lewis.

131 133 Turning the north cape of Lewis, 'the Butt', and sailing southwards along the west coast, we see hills increasing in height in the Uig district, rising to those of Harris with

131 133 summits of up to 2622 feet. South of this chain of hills the ground drops again on a peninsula some twelve miles long and only seven miles wide. This forms the more populous part of Harris with its 'sandy shore', the Machar, facing the Atlantic, and its rocky bays and fishing hamlets [134] on the Minch.[1] Lewis has its 'machars' too, areas of [504] white shell sand, which is so light that it blows up the hillsides, thus improving the pasture-land; but there is little 'machar' on the eastern coast, save for the south-western shores of the great sandy North or Broad Bay, enclosed by the peninsula of I, or Eye, which also acts as the outer breakwater for the harbour of Stornoway.

131 133 361 [137] Landing at Stornoway and leaving behind us the pines, and the wind-pruned sycamore woods around Lews Castle, we find ourselves among the small fields of the villages which are partly suburban to Stornoway. Inland stretch the gently rolling, brown and somewhat melancholy moors that cover so much of the Lews. From the Butt of Lewis to the beginning of the Harris hills one could make a bee-line SSW., midway through the Island for over thirty miles, without passing a house or a strip of corn, and seeing only a tiny, ramshackle hut, a shieling (or *àirigh*), used for six weeks in the year when the cattle are taken to the summer pasture. All the villages are in sight of the sea, and generally close to it, with only one inland exception, Achmore, south-west of Stornoway, founded after 1850. The hills of Harris are not less lonely than the moors of the Lews.

18 131 133 Diversity is one of the fascinations of such an island as this. Although, like the founders of Stornoway, all

[1] *Am machair* ('ch' as in 'loch', also anglicised as 'macher'), n.f. the plain, smooth beach-land or links. A sandy beach or ebb-strand, *tràigh*, n.f., backed by *machair*, contrasts with a pebbly beach, *cladach*, n.m., backed by rougher beach-land, as in the Cladach district of W. Lewis.

18 these communities of 'fisher-crofters' settled at the
131 ing of sea and land, yet differences of topograph
133 situation are still accompanied by differences of em
in their dual way of life. Although insularity migh
one to presuppose homogeneity, actually the seawa
which an island may be reached may bring grou
different race to land at different spots, each spot a
priate to their way of life. Differing social economie
develop there, and differences of race may be mainta
divergences are found along with the convergence d
the elements common to the whole island and t
[178] history. From prehistory to the coming of Leverh
we shall find this crossing of influences in the I
microcosm, the Island drama.

2. *Structure and Rock-types of the Western Highland and Isles*

133 In Fig. 3 are sketched those features of structure
rock-type which have guided the work of ages of ero
influencing both the 'plan' and coastlines of We
Scotland and the surfaces and scenery of the land.
their turn, both surface and mineral composition
influenced the life of plants and animals. This sketch
should be compared to an atlas map of relief, settlem
and routes. This less familiar aspect has been sele
both because rock-type is a factor in the causation of l
forms and soils, and because rock structure is basic to
forms and coasts of the mainland and the Isles.

[131] The parallelism of the main trends on either sid
the Minch is seen in the structural boundaries of its co
which are of Archaean rock or Archaean foundation (A
Fig. 3), as are Coll and Tiree, and South-west Is

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FIG. 3.—Sketch map of selected features of structure and rock-types of NW. Scotland

133 Except for this fringe, the prevailing rocks of the Highlands include acid rocks: the Moine Schists, the 'Dalradian rocks' of the South-west, and the granite masses such as the Cairngorms. Plateau surfaces and benches, worn, uplifted and stepped at various heights, were veined by torrent and river, cutting narrow valleys; and later these river valleys were gouged and widened by glacier and ice-sheet to become steep-sided glens and wide-floored straths.

• 131 Between the main, parallel coastal trends, Skye stands out as a great extrusive mass of lavas—not acid but basic in composition, almost 'bridging' the Minch and the Sea of the Hebrides.

Forces of stress, strain and shear are betrayed by 'lines of crushing' in the Outer Hebrides, and of faulting (FF) on the mainland. Most notable of these fault lines are those of the Great Glen and of the 'Great Boundary Fault' that divides the Highland from the Lowland rocks, extending from Arran and the Lower Clyde north-eastwards. Still other trends are revealed by the lines of sea-loch and river, lying not only SW.–NE. but W.–E. and also NW.–SE. These lines linked the greater inhabited coastlands, loch-sides and straths of the Moray Basin to the North-
131 west. Finally, a line of overthrust, from near Cape Wrath

Key to Fig. 3 (opposite)

A	Archaean Gneiss and Granite Gneiss, etc. (Lewisian)	F	Principal Faults
a	Highland Schists (including Moine and Dalradian Granites, etc.)	J	Jurassic Ironstones in and near Skye
B	Plateaus of Basic Lavas	O	Overthrust, Cambrian with some Limestones
C	Igneous Complexes	ORS	Old Red Sandstone
		t	Torridonian Sandstones, etc.
		Δ	Dominant peaks

Note. The map shows selected features relevant to the structure of the Hebrides and the north and north-west of the British Isles, and the rock-types influencing scenery and surface, vegetation and agriculture.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photograph by Robert M. Adam

PLATE I. ON THE ATLANTIC COAST OF LEWIS

The township of Cliff, Valtos, on West Loch Roag (April 1938). In the right foreground are three 'black houses', one with a new chimney and gable end

/facing p. 26/

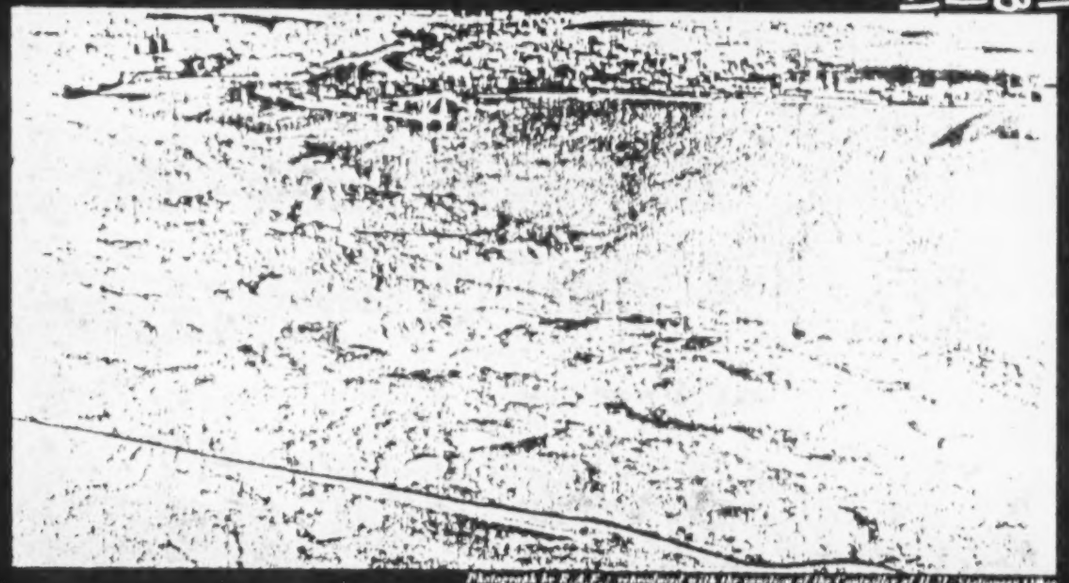
3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

Before the making of roads, it was ease of sailing which united island peoples and their territories. One can wade or drive, at low tide, over the fords that unite the Isle of Benbecula with the two Uists, North and South: in fact, a bridge now connects Benbecula with South Uist. But only the roughest of hill tracks led through the hills of North Harris from the 'Tarbert' or Isthmus of Harris to the nearest habitation at the head of Loch Seaforth or Loch Erisort, in the Lews. This is a distance of some twenty miles, or a fair day's tramp for an unloaded man, and far too much for a return journey in one day. Hence separation of territory and name was natural. This separation no longer exists as there is now a good 'bus service from Rodel via Tarbert to Stornoway which links Harris with the daily Kyle to Stornoway steamer. In this book, the Island, or the Islanders, refers to Lewis-and-Harris with its people, as one.

Lewis is included in Ross-shire (of which the county town is Dingwall, north of Inverness) and Harris in Inverness-shire, together with the rest of the 'Long Island'. The county boundary cuts across the six-mile isthmus north of the hills of North Harris, from the in-reaching Loch Seaforth WNW. to Loch Resort (Fig. 8). All the Outer Hebrides are now included in the Parliamentary constituency of the Western Isles. Proposals to unite the Island under one District Council, or the Outer Hebrides under one County Council, are more favourably viewed in Stornoway than in Harris or the Southern Isles. Harris forms one civil parish, while Lewis is divided into four: Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs. The Lewis parish boundaries traversing the moors are inset in Fig. 8 so that their trends can be readily grasped, and the inhabited portions of the parishes quickly located (p. 50).

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

/facing p. 27/



Photograph by R.A.F.; reproduced with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

PLATE II. AIR VIEW OVER STORNOWAY BAY, LOOKING NORTH

The Point, with the inner harbour behind, is the nucleus of the burgh; nineteenth-century extension filled up the ground inland. Lews Castle is on the left

THE OTHER ISLANDS

north-west of Gallan Head. There are seven main islands, all small, high and cliffbound, and a number of rock stacks and islets. All are uninhabited. Eilean Mhor, the largest, of 39 acres, has an automatic light. Dean Monro's description of the islands as 'nouder manurit, nor inhabit, but full of grein high hills and scheipe' still holds, for sheep are taken annually from Lewis to the grazing on the Flannans. Their name is said to be derived from the ninth-century St Flann, whose saintly influence was recognised during the centuries when men from Lewis visited the islands for their harvest of wool, wild fowl and feathers.

The Flannans were the scene of a great sea-mystery: the complete and utter disappearance of three men from the lighthouse at the turn of this century. In December 1900, the lighthouse, with its 140,000-candlepower beam 283 ft above sea level, was a year old. It had taken four years to build instead of the estimated two. All the materials had to be swung up piecemeal from the boats and hauled up the almost sheer 70 ft cliffs to the top. That month a passing ship, the *Archer*, noticed that the Flannans light was out; a message was sent to the Flannans shore station at Breasclete, Lewis, and the *Hesperus*, preparing to pay a Christmas visit to the lighthouse, got under weigh.

Its crew landed and searched the island, but found no trace of the missing keepers. In the lighthouse was an uncanny silence. The fire was dead. The clock had stopped ticking. The beds had been made up in the clean, clinical way of all sailors. And in the galley, the pots, pans and dishes sparkled their welcome to the searchers. In the lamp-room the lamp was cold. The wicks had been trimmed and the lenses polished. The logbook showed a last entry on 0900 hours, Saturday 15 December. In the subsequent investigation some theories were offered in explanation of the disappearance, but none quite fitted. The mystery remains, a haunting, unexorcised cloud hovering over the island.

The Shiant Isles

Turning to the east coast of Lewis, in the parish of Lochs are the Shiant Isles, about 4 miles off-shore, across the Sound of Shiant (Gaelic: charmed, enchanted). There are three islands in the group: Eilean an Tigh (House Island), Garbh Eilean (Rough

THE SHIANT ISLES

Island) and Eilean Mhuire (Mary's Island). The Shiants are the eroded relic of the same age of volcanic activity that formed the strange-looking columns of Staffa and of the Giant's Causeway in Antrim. The mass of cooling molten rock slowly crystallised and changed in composition: the early-formed crystals sank to the bottom, the later ones being found nearer the top. In 1845 one family lived on Garbh Eilean, the largest, which is joined to Eilean an Tigh by a low storm beach; but the family was lost, falling over one of the great precipices which are a feature of the group. In 1821, 2 males and 4 females lived there; in 1891, 3 males and 5 females; and in 1901, 4 males and 4 females. But in this year the last family upped and went to Tarbert, Harris; for one of its members, a girl of 21, it was the first visit to the outside world. Since then there has been no permanent population. Back between 1811 and 1821 a visitor to the Shiants had some hard things to say about the filth and darkness of the shepherd's dwelling in contrast with the 'loveliness of nature, the bright sand, the fair rock, the enamelled green turf, and the sweetness of the summer breeze'.

Records show that at one time in the islands' history some sixteen people lived there, working small crofts. The ruins of their chapel can still be seen. The author Sir Compton MacKenzie had the house on Eilean an Tigh renovated for a stay there, and later the islands were bought by Nigel Nicholson, author and publisher. Today they are used for grazing sheep.

St Kilda

The St Kilda group of islands, some 45 miles off the west coast of Lewis, belong to the parish of Harris. These islands have an extensive literature and can only be touched on here. When the population was evacuated from St Kilda in 1930, the move broke for all time almost 2,000 years of continuous island living; they were taken off at their own request, after much careful and serious deliberation by the St Kilda 'parliament'. Life in Hirta, the only island in the group with a permanent human settlement, depended on the seabirds that breed in their tens of thousands on the cliffs of Hirta and Boreray, and the great stacks of Stac an Armin and Stac Lee. The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars

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PLATE VIIIA. TYPICAL BIOTITE GNEISS ENCLOSING AND VEINING HORNBLENDE GNEISS
(Torasclett, north-east of Tarbert)

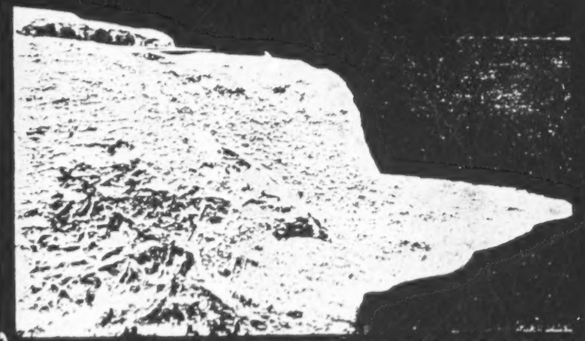

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PLATE VIIIB. OUTLIER OF STORNOWAY BEDS ON LEWISIAN GNEISS
(Dun, near Garrabost, Eye Peninsula.) The moors of North Lewis are faintly visible on the horizon

/facing p. 49/

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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/p. 50/

FIG. 8

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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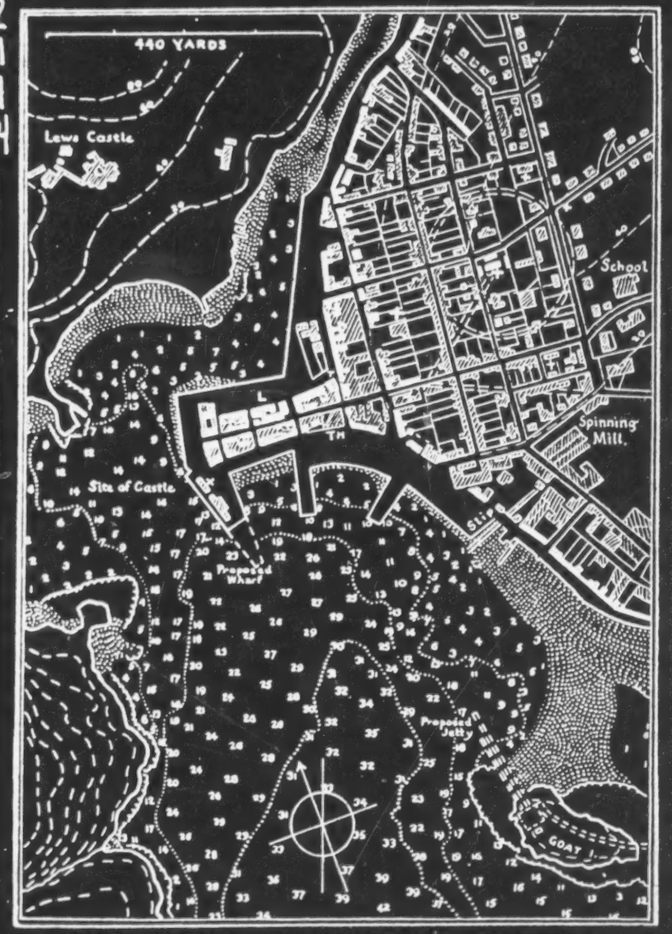

FIG. 11.—Plan of Stornoway and its Development (*key opposite*).

/p. 88/

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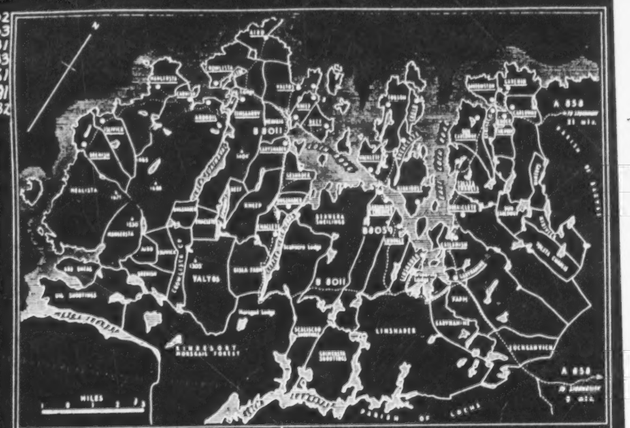


THE PARISH OF UIG

Isle of Lewis

CROFTING TOWNSHIPS
where a township name is repeated in an inland area the latter is a common pasture, former shielings.

TARRED ROADS B 8011

FARMS AND SPORTING ESTATES ARE NAMED

Figure 1.

/facing p. 1/

INTRODUCTION

131 The parish of Uig, Fig. 1, forms the south-west quadrant of Lewis; it falls naturally into three sections, each almost completely separated from the other by the salt waters of Loch Roag, Little Loch Roag and East Loch Roag.

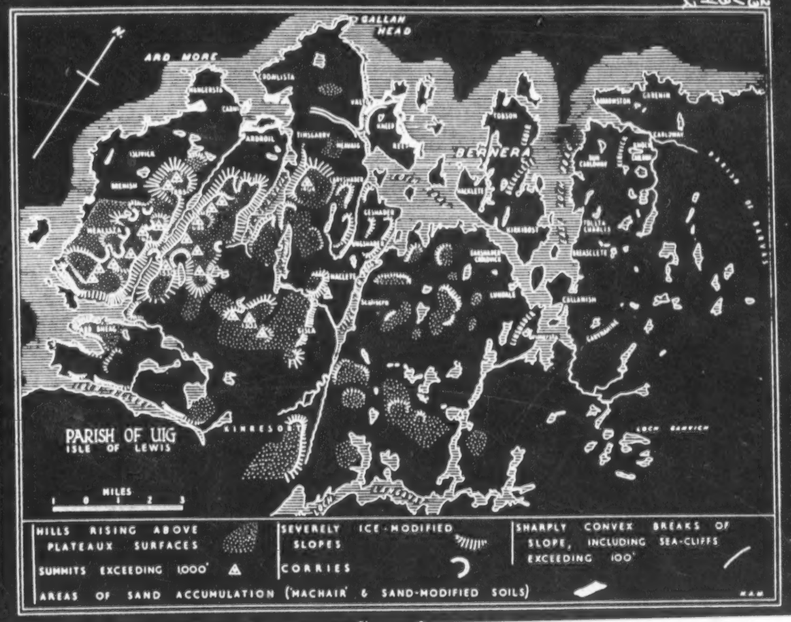
South-west Uig is almost an island: only four miles separate the southern tip of Little
133 Loch Roag and the head of Loch Resort which, penetrating deeply from the Atlantic, marks the boundary between Lewis and Harris. It is a mountainous area with fifteen miles of exposed Atlantic coast between Loch Resort and Gallan Head. From the ultimate settle-
[491] ments, Brenish and Islivig, the main road (B 8011) takes a tortuous course of some 40
133 miles to Stornoway. Population is concentrated where soil and climatic conditions are
361 mitigated by the presence of machair (wind blown shell sand) and by the shelter afforded by the peninsulas of Aird Mhor Mangersta and Gallan Head. The chief settlements are thus around Uig Bay*, and on the western shores of Loch Roag. In addition each township has common pastures on the interior moors and mountains where shielings were maintained into the present century.

East of Little Loch Roag the road climbs over a moorland plateau at 250'-500' O.D.. More that 12 miles separates Enaclete, the last township on Little Loch Roag, from Garynahine, the first on East Loch Roag. The moor is uninhabited shooting and shieling ground; the population of this area is to be found to the north, on Great Bernera, an island now connected by a bridge, and on the adjacent mainland shore.

Eastwards again the inland continuation of East Loch Roag is a great peat-filled depres-
[491] sion which connects with Loch Leurbost on the east coast. This depression is skirted on its northern side by the main road, to Stornoway, A 858. The boundary between the parishes of Uig and Lochs cuts across this depression, which contains the only inland townships of Lewis - Loch Ganvich and Achmore. On the north-eastern shores of East Loch Roag is to be found more than half the population of the parish of Uig. The succession of densely populated townships from Garynahine to Carloway is much more typical of Lewis than are the more scattered and generally smaller, settlements of south Uig which are more like those of Harris, the Uists and Barra.

The sketch map, figure 1, shows the location and boundaries of the townships and other lands within the parish, and also the main roads. The reader will find it necessary, however, to make constant use of either Bartholomew's Half-Inch, or Ordnance Survey One-Inch to one mile, maps. In general topographic names are spelled in accordance with the latter.

103 * Uig: Vik, Old Norse for a bay.



/p. 2/

133 southwards to Skye, bounds the Archaean gneiss and the
131 stratified Torridonian sandstones of the North-west.

Given the possibility of 'continental drift', Scotland's NW. crustal block may have 'drifted' along the line of the Great Glen south-south-westwards for a distance of some sixty miles, relatively to the rest of the Highland mass. The primary evidence leading to this suggestion is the identification of the Foyers and Strontian Granites, situated on opposite sides of the Great Glen some sixty miles apart, as mechanically displaced portions of one original mass. Such horizontal movement may be related to the great Hercynian mountain-building movements of Carboniferous times so marked in south-east England.[1] This movement would have formed a major factor in leading to the development of the present structure and rock-types, plan and land-forms of the NW. coast and the Hebrides, Inner and Outer.

3. *Structure and Rock-types of the Island*

The axis of the Island lies NNE. to SSW. It consists of an ancient rock mass, the 'block' character of which is revealed by the geometrical mosaic of the coastlines and lochs. In simple terms, the fault lines are comparable to the long, fairly straight cracks to be found in any hard block of even consistency, split under stresses and strains. These systems of faults lie in at least two main directions. The main, axial trend is followed by South Harris and by much of the east coast. Each trend seems to have other faults lying at an angle to it, though not necessarily at right angles. Hence we find more than four main trends for the lines of coasts, lochs, rivers, bounding the hill blocks. These must be due to somewhat different stresses

[113] [1] W. Q. Kennedy, *Q. J. Geol. Soc.*, vol. cii, part i, 1946 (p. 41).

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FIG. 4 (a).—Lewis-and-Harris: Geology (a

/p. 34/

t structural trends (some marked
ause weakness followed by the
nd ice) of valley troughs. Many
by sea and fresh-water lochs.
Stornoway floor a pre-Torrido-
relatively minor differences of
to be incidental to the evolution
es and forms. (The Shiant islets
o the geology of N. Skye, with its
e, to south, not shown.)

fter Jehu and Craig)

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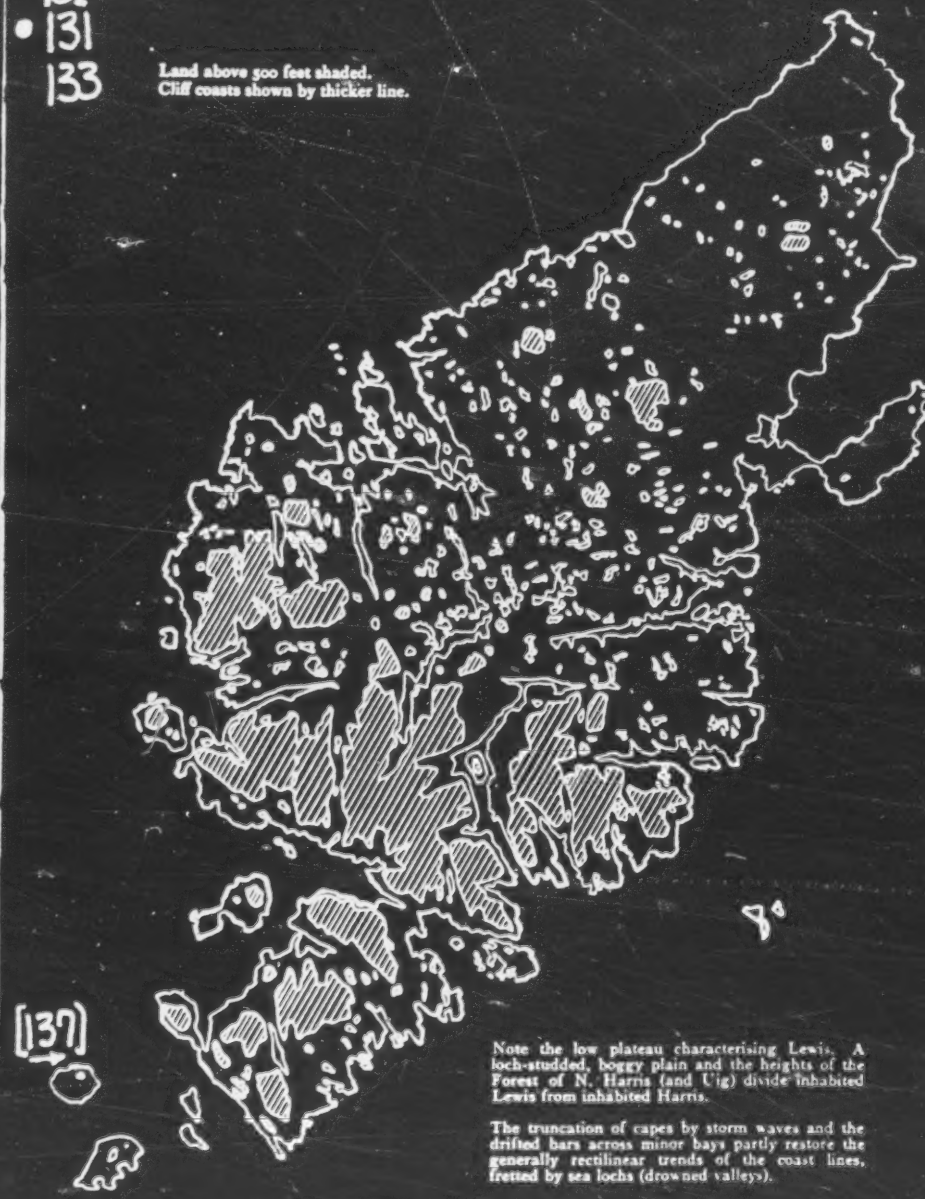
Land above 500 feet shaded.
Cliff coasts shown by thicker line.



[137]

Note the low plateau characterising Lewis. A loch-studded, boggy plain and the heights of the Forest of N. Harris (and Uig) divide inhabited Lewis from inhabited Harris.

The truncation of capes by storm waves and the drifted bars across minor bays partly restore the generally rectilinear trends of the coast lines, fretted by sea lochs (drowned valleys).

FIG. 4 (*b*).—Lewis-and-Harris: Relief

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photograph by Valdi Hawks

PLATE V. CROFTERS DIPPING BLACKFACE SHEEP

Across the Sound of Harris, Sollas, North Uist. The sheep have been gathered in from the 'common'.

/p. 40-c/

CHAPTER II

THE SEASONS, PLANT LIFE AND THE CROFTERS' YEAR

(A) CLIMATE, WEATHER AND ANNUAL RHYTHM

132 THE Island climate is 'mild' or 'cool temperate', without strong contrasts of heat and cold in summer and winter, but subject to much wind.[1] Fig. 5 shows how, from October till May, the mean monthly temperatures lie between 40° and 50° F.; and only in July and August do they rise to 55° F. This 'lag' in temperatures tends to make the crops late and brings oats to harvest in September, which has the same mean monthly temperature (51° F.) as June, but nearly twice its rainfall (4 ins.). The total sunshine hours for August average only 130, compared with nearly 150 for July, so that late hay is slow to dry (Fig. 6). These averages characterise the more inhabited areas; among the hills of North Harris rainfall is higher.

Cloudiness is characteristic, the total of bright sunshine being only 30 per cent of the possible even at Stornoway. The annual rainfall of Stornoway is 50 ins. per annum; that at the Butt, recorded as 40 ins., must be rather more than this, as a rain gauge on so windy a site may fail to catch rain driven horizontally in a gale. The rainfall

[131] [1] The latitude of the Island is approximately 57° 40′ to 58° 40′ N., and the longitude 6° to 7° W.

feet. These marshy grass moors, with their mountain pastures above, are the adopted home of the hardy Black-

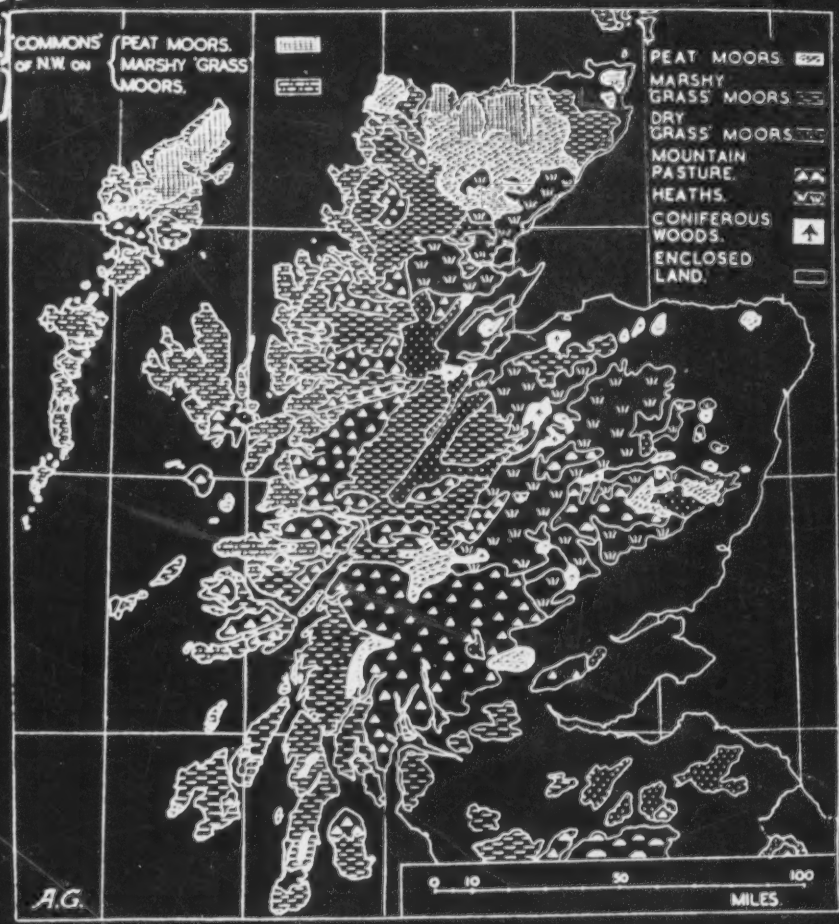

FIG. 7.—Map of vegetation-types and pastures of the Highlands and Hebrides

face sheep. Wherever in the west the slopes drop fairly steeply, good pasture grass with some heather may grow, or rather did grow until bracken overwhelmed them.

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Photograph by Robert M. Adam

PLATE VII. WESTERN NORTH HARRIS FROM THE ISLET OF SCARP

View due east across the Sound of Scarp to the hills of North Harris : the furthest is Tirga Mor (2227 ft.). From the crofter-fishers' homesteads (left foreground) potato patches and hayfields extend towards the hill and wall of common grazing (extreme right foreground)

/facing p. 48/

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ATLANTIC COAST

(Brenish, Islivig, and Mangersta)

by

Pamela M. Gough.

131 Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta are situated in the extreme south-west of Lewis, on the Atlantic coast of the parish of Uig and forty miles from Stornoway.

133 Brenish has a south-westerly aspect whilst Islivick faces north-west; in both the elevation of the crofts decreases seawards from about 125 ft. in the east to 50 - 25 ft. in the west. Only one croft in Islivig, and the eight most southerly crofts in Brenish, run to the sea - the rest obtain some shelter from a line of low hills about 300 yards wide and rising to a little over 100 feet, which forms their western boundary. The land terminates in low cliffs from 25' - 100' in height, and a rocky foreshore. Behind these townships to the east a range of mountains from 1,500' - 1,800' in height and dominated by the highest hill in Lewis, Mealisval, (1,885'), gives protection from easterly influences.

Mangersta lies to the north of these mountains; here the crofts lie in a sheltered
134 valley to the west of which the land rises to over 200 feet. The valley opens southwards to the sea where there is a sandy beach and machair. The crofts range from about 150 feet to 100 feet above sea level; those nearest the sea have soils which contain a substantial proportion of machair sand.

Soils are generally deep, and there are few rocky outcrops on the crofts which are fairly level. In Brenish and Islivig the soils are mainly peaty, becoming wetter in the west. Where visible the sub-soil is gravel or stony boulder clay. In Mangersta the transition from peaty soils on the northern crofts to sandy soils on the southern crofts, is marked by the increasingly continuous cultivation, drains being unneccessary on the latter.

137 There are no trees or shrubs, and vegetation consists of marshy grass moors in the Mealasta area with a considerable amount of cotton grass bog further north. West and south of Mangersta the machair area is characterised by a calceole plant community similar in content to that found in many parts of the chalk and limestone areas of England.

361 Brenish and Islivig are old settlements, never cleared. In both, the sites of the
[172] original clachans can still be seen clustered around the mouths of their respective streams. The houses are now situated at the east end of the crofts, near to the road.

175 To the south, Mealasta - cleared in the 1840's to make a sheep farm - was divided in
632 1921 to give enlargements to the common grazings of both Brenish and Mangersta. The
311 arable land was divided into twenty-nine shares as enlargements to Brenish crofts, and is held in a modified form of runrig.

Mangersta was cleared in 1837 to make a farm; subsequently fishermen-cottars settled on the farm but they moved to Dun Carloway in 1873. In 1910, however, a new township of thirteen crofts was set up by the Congested Districts Board; the new settlers were cottars, mainly from Brenish.

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485 houses offer suitable a
these very beautiful su
[494] ing varied food supplie
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131 The little township
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gorge (at the mouth of
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133 strip of the flood-plain
the steep, rocky slope
between the 100 ft. and
larged, gaining extra l
ground to the north or

1. [See figures 1
A

trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting relations but many
accommodation for people who would appreciate quiet holidays in
urroundings. The distance from Stornoway, the difficulty of obtain-
es - and the weather - were cited as disadvantages! Passengers on
rom Stornoway are supplied with meals at an Ardroil house which has
ch but otherwise the crofters show little interest in the possibilities

her crofting townships, the greatest problem here is that of an ageing
younger people seek employment outside their township. The
he age-heavy structure of the permanent resident group and also the
ble population periodically or permanently away. The lack of suit-
omen particularly, is also shown. The ages of the tenants also
m. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty or 54% are over sixty-
the loss by emigration of people between fifteen and sixty-five. Of
lation', 35% have left this region since 1939. The corresponding
lons, the older settlement with smaller crofts, is as high as 42%.

rt of Uig some crofts efficiently and energetically worked by young
nable stock prices are obtained the larger crofts can be worked
no croft will fully support a family; ancillary employment is always
growing families yet many crofts are carrying less stock than they
nants are not interested in, or able for, agriculture. The croft is
f as a home, as part-time employment - often for older members of
lace for retirement.

hemes for improvement and change:- dairying to supply Stornoway
pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivation under glass, the
try on a small scale, lobster and crab fishing, etc. Such schemes
ot available in the townships, careful planning, and tactful adminis-
real knowledge of this area and its people. Meanwhile even the
the crofts is by no means realised.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along
steep and narrow valley of the Amhuinn Gil na h-Airde three miles
ter leaving Loch Meacheit, the river flows northward through a
which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then across a narrow
y bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in
g in size from 3½ to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow
stretching across from just beyond the right bank of the river, up
bove the left bank and widening out over the more gently slopes
200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently en-
nd on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional
outh.

(facing p.34) and 17 (facing p.39)--Analyst]

511 It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Aird; the only two fa
464 without ancillary occupations are those where all the members are elderly. Of the
288 with members in the working age-groups, five have one or more members employed
civilian capacity at the R.A.F. station and there are five regular weavers.

621 Aird used to be a self-contained community; the land was fully cultivated and a c
178 amount of fishing was carried on in spite of the difficulty of drawing up the boats ove
rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the R.A.F. statio
if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in sea
other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF

by

David G. Symes.

131 On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a secondary
133 peninsula of more moderate, but none-the-less broken relief. This, together with an
adjacent area of the main peninsula, the islands of Pabay, Vacsay, Vula Mor and se
smaller islands, comprises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Kneep an
Reef.

133 This secondary peninsula is accidented in the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock
steeply angled small hills. The relief is greater in the west (summit 450') than in the
east (summit 275'). Relatively level land is to be found only on the machairs of Reef
133 Cliff (the latter only poorly developed) and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair,
134 about 180 acres, consists of a succession landwards of tidal sands, a belt of sand dune
(c. 20' O.D.) and a sandy plain sloping gently inland towards a reed filled lagoon. Th
machair at Cliff is approximately 40 acres in extent; here there are fixed dunes and,
addition, the sand has been blown inland to at least 100 ft. O.D. Except where the ma
sand has drifted upslope to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin
soils of the Valtos peninsula are predominantly peaty. Although the length of the pen-
insula faces north the extremes of Atlantic weather are moderated by the protection aff
by the Aird peninsula and the islands of Pabay and Vacsay.

175 In the period before the lotting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some f
429 clachans - Valtos, Cliff, Kneep, Uigean and Reef - some of which shared common pastu
361 During the early part of the nineteenth century and earlier, apparently, than the 1850 lo
633 carried out in most of Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clachan areas: Valtos
Cliff shared a common pasture and so became one township; similarly Kneep and Uigea
were combined.

175 In Kneep it seems that the croft boundaries were not accepted by the crofters. Cert
311 basic divisions between groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today
427 and within these basic divisions a certain regularity of distribution of strips persists, b

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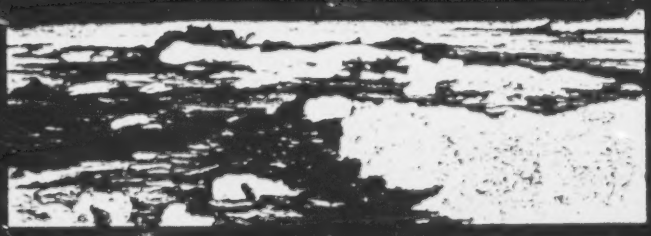

PLATE IIIA. ROCKY, SEA-ABRADED PLATFORM OFF THE BUTT OF LEWIS

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Photographs by Mrs. Harriman

PLATE IIIB. LAXDALE TOWNSHIP, ON THE FLATS NEAR BROAD BAY

'Black houses' and 'white houses' can be seen. The fields have been modernized for ploughing

/p. 40-A/

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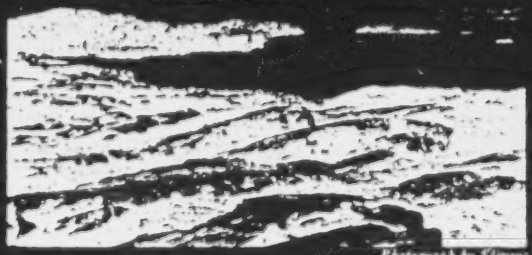
Photograph by R. MacIver

PLATE IVA. DALBEG, WEST LEWIS.

Shingle-barred bay and wave-cut cliff. In the distance is Ben Bragor (852 ft.)



Photograph by Stevens

PLATE IVB. LOCH ROAG FROM NEAR CARLOWAY

View south-west across the loch to show the sloping sides of sheltered lochs, with wave-cut cliffs of promontories. In the foreground are gneiss rocks

/p. 40-B/

[Seaforthhead]

161 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural
162 and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend,
166 significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment furth of Park, and a smaller loss by
167 migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric,
241 there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration
255 losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of
552 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seaforthhead and Shieldernish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

135 Seaforthhead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a
361 gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being
[247] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

134 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat
157 accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely
[233] for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Balalian and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

[244] The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed.
[407] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be
[314] in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being
[251] only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep scum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the scum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in
162 1886. In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the
241
178

[Seaforthhead] [Shieldernish] [Habost]

161 suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now
162 given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out of the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two have migrated
241 since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males
178 between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

361 In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on
[349] slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's, 'Seaforth Castle',
505 now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled,
491 communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives
[378] access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHIELDERNISH

131 Shieldernish, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs
361 road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the
532 road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

241 Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put
511 together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes,
[246] preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the
[231] lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and
[244] potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total
[226] stocking of the Shieldernish crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use
[288] though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the township and this isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to grazing. Shieldernish appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing
[185] fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Shieldernish is better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A. Hirst

151 Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement
133 stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained
241 valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place.
361 Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin
[154] soils.

[Habost] [Kershader]

464 Of the 53 residents, 19 are over 65 and only 5 under 15 years, leaving a working population
161 of 29: seven are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily
162 declining since its peak of 121 in 1901.
166
167

178 Since 1946, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely fenced and the
241 method of cultivation has changed from spade and horse-plough to tractor and cultivators. A further fence has been erected for a lamb park and much land has been re-seeded; an increasin
281 area has been put down to hay. It would seem that fattening of stock for market is intended, an
[407] better attention is being paid to stock. Yet the population is ageing and there are few young men
[162] to take the place of the older crofters; when working units become larger and stock decreases t a figure nearer the real carrying capacity of the grazing, the croft could become a profitable concern: at the moment, the croft is only maintained through grants and ancillary earnings. Should that happen, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivation to p vide winter fodder.

KERSHADER

Philip W. Wheeler, M.A.

131 Kershader is a township of forty-three permanent residents on thirteen crofts, which stretc
161 for a mile along the southern shore of Loch Erisort. The crofts extend up to one-third of a
162 mile from the coast with a two-and-a-half mile deep hinterland of common grazing. The extrem
133 elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arranged
361 in rectangular strips at right angles to the coast, are lower (maximum 125 feet) and include three main zones (Fig. 8):
241
134 (a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly below 50 fee
361 dissected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone have a distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and unsuited to fertilisation by seaware. The smaller hillocks in this zone have thinner soils of the same sort, but the main hill (crofts 10/11) is an extension of zone (c).

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with hills rising to over 100 feet. The lower areas have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a) and (b), with peaty-loam characteristics, overlying aquiferous gravels. The higher areas have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there are signs of former skinning.

(c) A zone of hollows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reacting well to heavy fertilisation with seaware and intervening heights covered with blanket bog, partly skinned, heather and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with gentler slopes over 50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irregular shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

241 In Kershader, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts vary but-
511 ween 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23.45 acres reputed arable and 110.35 acres outrun. 24.5 acres are in fact under crop (oats 18.5, potatoes 6.0), and 9.5 acres under sown grass; and of the remaining 99.8 acres, mainly natural grass

[Kershader] [Garyvard]

182 common grazings - at present approximately correctly stocked - and cannot therefore provide
241 much employment. Hence it is the standard of agriculture that must be improved. Since the
[215] land does not permit striking extension or improvement of the cultivated area, development
must be directed towards improving pasture, with more re-seeding and controlled grazing
000 similar to that already described. All this, however, is of little avail if prices for cattle, sheep and wool remain low, or at least lower than prices prevailing on the mainland. The first priority, therefore, in the establishment of a prosperous agriculture is a guaranteed market-price. Given this, it might become worthwhile to take steps to increase the carrying capacity of the crofts. It may be assumed that this would involve an all-round improvement which could give a firm basis to the economic existence of the community; until this is achieved, stability and continuity are out of the question.

GARYVARD

Gwenyth R. Page, B. A.

131 The landscape of the south-east coast of Loch Eriseort is a sombre and rugged one. The
133 Quaternary ice sheets left in their wake troughs now filled by the sea loch, innumerable lochs covered in water lilies, a massive area of indeterminate drainage and expanses of bare gneiss.

Garyvard is set on the fringe of this landscape on a 20 to 25° slope with the crofts aligned
[551] from the moor to the sea, on a mantle of drift. Here is the home of the MacLeods, the Mackinnons
121 and the Montgomerys. Life beats out its regular pattern of existence during the winter months
251 on the croft, followed by an increasing tempo and variety of work during the rest of the year. In
241 January and February the animals must be fed on hay or lose the battle to survive. In February there are preparations for the year's tasks, making repairs and improvements to the croft. Next month will find the crofter on the land, making or clearing drains and putting fences and dykes in order. The tempo of life quickens with the year; April sees the first sheep dipping, the land turned over, potatoes and oats sown. From mid-May, the sheep leave the crofts to fend
[314] for themselves on the common grazing. The following three or four months are times of tremendous activity on the moors when the peats are cut, to be stacke later, first in fours, then in eights, so that the wind may dry them, till eventually bee-hive-shaped stacks - some four feet high - can be seen near the peat banks in August. Then begins the wearisome task of carrying the peats home, all too frequently in creels carried on the back, since the peat workings of Garyvard are on the moors up to half a mile from road. Altogether some two miles of roads are needed to prevent the villagers patronising the coal merchants of Stornoway. Two crofters, however, cut peat on their crofts, whilst others have permission to cut from Cromore or Caversta common grazings close to the road. All the while croft work continues, varying from hoeing, weeding and cutting hay to the gathering of sheep for shearing. As there are no fences between the various commons, crofters must travel from one township fank to another, seeking their own. In August the lambs are weaned. Hay making generally ends in August and is immediately followed by the oat harvest in September. By the time both oats and hay have been gathered in, the potatoes are lifted and the sheep are brought in from the common grazing about October 12th. The last sheep dipping takes place in November and is followed by tupping.

241 There are eleven crofts altogether, though one is divided, each portion having a legal tenant
423 who has a half share in the common grazing. Two crofts are 12 acres in extent, the half crofts 2.75 acres only, though the acre cultivated on the common grazing by one of the latter crofters since 1923, has recently been officially recognized. Most crofts are in strips running from the sea-shore up the slope some 500 yards to the township dyke, and are clearly demarcated by fences erected just after the last war. Three crofts have additional strips whilst one croft was an extra strip belonging to another croft. The additional strips date back about 100 years to a
[195] time when the township grew rapidly as a result of evictions in southern Park. One croft is divided and worked in three separate parts so in effect there are fourteen operative units in Garyvard.

[Caversta] [Cromore]

161 The 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Caversta population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left after
162 1911 and no re-population took place. Since 1939, seven people have migrated to Stornoway or the
166 mainland, (16 per cent of the total 1939 population), and six of these were from Torista (i.e. 50
167 per cent of the 1939 Torista population); only one family now remains there. The demographic position is becoming more acute for there are no young married couples and no youngsters growing
[466] up. The girls have left to marry and most of the men have sought temporary or permanent employment elsewhere, for with better communications, education and the radio, the pull to the towns has become stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full-time crofters, earning no supplementary income by weaving tweed on commission from the Stornoway mills.

241 Caversta is not one of the most progressive of the South Lochs townships. Although the crofts
233 are fenced, the common pasture is not visibly delimited from either the Cromore or Garyvard
632 pastures. At present, the grazing is fully stocked according to the soum, but the committee has not as yet initiated any re-seeding schemes. As the pasture is not of the best quality, some newly sown grass would benefit every crofter. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but even a small acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

000 The future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechanisation and is badly served by communications. The future of Torista appears to be probably one of abandonment, unless it is more easily linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road being built here is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Caversta is also open to question. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the present units are not used to their full extent. Amalgamation with Garyvard might benefit the township a great deal, as the Caversta population is rather small to flourish in isolation. The future of Garyvard, Kershader and Habost is one of hope, but unless some change takes place soon, it is not difficult to see Caversta, and Torista, following the same course as Calbost and in thirty to forty years being little more than grazing land.

CROMORE

G. Mary Swindell, B. A., and Dennis F. Fancett, B. A.

131 Cromore is situated on a peninsula between Loch Eriseort and Loch Cromore. Approaching it
561 from the access road, Cromore has the appearance of a nucleated settlement, but in fact each house is situated on the owner's croft. The crofts are so arranged that each has a portion of land on the more level surface of drift deposits; houses 1 to 20 stand at the junction of the drift and the
134 Lewisian gneiss. Soils are poor and thin, and there are numerous outcrops of barren rock amongst
137 the arable land. The natural vegetation is heather moorland with extensive patches of rushes and cotton grass, the pattern of most of the 'outrun' around Cromore.

The township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two
241 crofts are subdivided while another four form double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and
632 the Schoolhouse feu. Outside the township dyke there are two feus and four squatters. The croft layout differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent pieces, one piece around the house, another above Creag Cromore and two pieces on another area of enclosed land on the common. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land around the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

241 Until this decade all the land around the houses, and much of that above Creag Cromore, was
611 regularly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but cultivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only
[244] crops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed
[246]

[Cromore] [Marivig]

366 butchers' vans call on Wednesday and Friday and a fish van once or twice during the week. Go
[434] are also conveyed by the daily bus. Electricity was brought to the village about four years ago
[437] and the inhabitants now look forward to a supply of piped water in about two years' time. At pr
[312] only three or four houses have bathrooms.

241 The crofts, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a sat
434 factory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It seem
[228] that the recent subsidies for fishing are good enough to attract fishermen from Cromore and on
288 two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were longer. Weaving has brought prosper but, as the Park Association states in its Second Progress Report "there is not sufficient weavi available for the present number of weavers". The proposal to establish a spinning and proces plant in the Park District made in the 1957 Report, would undoubtedly be of great value to the
000 people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants suggested that a hotel built on Crobeg Farm would bring some benefit to the community. Howev even if these three increased sources of income became effective, one wonders whether they w be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Storno

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B. A.

131 Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triang sea loch opening to the north-east and sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, mak the loch an ideal anchorage and harbour.

133 The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slope more gradually and irregularly, with frequent precipitous rock outcrops, for two hundred to five hundred yards to rise steeply to a line of low hills, two hundred and fifty feet to three hund feet high, surrounding the loch. All crofts thus have an easterly or north-easterly aspect not particularly favourable for agriculture, and only one has any appreciable area of level
134 uninterrupted by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly dis thi and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely dispersed.

137 The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acre of commo grazing, are mainly covered with heather, moor grass or sphagnum bog, while the lower areas within the township are grassy, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is n yet a problem, and only small areas exist, mainly on the lower slopes of the western side of the loch. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

241 There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant
632 and worked by another crofter, and one worked from a house on the common. With the exceptio of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, wh closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in radial fashion (Fig. 4). The size of the cro varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eig acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and few now cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses be on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

241 Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' system. Owing to the rocky nature of th
[244] terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two yards wide. Potatoes and oats are
[246] grown in rotation, and hay taken from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters sow grass for ha
237 or undersow their crops. Dung and seaweed are used as fertilisers, with potato fertiliser as the
[324] most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce, carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

[Marivig] [Calbost]

000 In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Marivig's future, and that of other crofting townships, is not only one of adverse aspect, soil and weather conditions, and of distance from markets, but a problem of the population finding a stable and viable level where agricultural units are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain, and a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

131 Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Gravir on the Minch coast of Park. It occupies
133 a basin-like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is open to the sea on the east. The
361 croft houses are scattered over a shelf 50 feet above sea-level round the sides of the hollow and along the valleys which enter the township to the north and south-west.

134 The cultivable soil, a mixture of peat and well-drained gravelly drift, is on the higher ground,
137 although here the rock outcrops in many places. On land formerly cultivated, bracken is spreading rapidly and now covers a large proportion of the surface, although twenty to thirty years ago it was unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-lying central area. There are a few willows and rowans round the old buildings, probably planted as wind-breaks.

195 Calbost was originally a single farm but the township was formed about 1820. The pattern of
241 the crofts differs from the usual shore-to-dyke alignment, as six crofts were allotted extra land
311 in the valley which enters from the north, when a part of the common grazing was brought within
361 the township dyke. There are now fourteen crofts of which four are worked by resident crofters
[189] and two by squatters. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters in Calbost and other townships.

241 Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2.6 acres now in cultivation, potatoes account for
[244] 2.37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduced cattle stock of only two cows and
[246] two calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut as winter feed for the 225 sheep which graze in the township.

311 The lazy-beds in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly encroached on by bracken. The prevalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to clear it, is likely to deter any attempt at renewed cultivation.

198 Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats have to
228 be taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing industry whic
504 has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Calbost, leaving
434 only a few boats now used only for leisure purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only two of
563 the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are a few productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

233 The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not so widely use
361 in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed
449 to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosures were made adjoining the main dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before
[178] the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

[Calbost] [Gravir] [Glengravir]

161 The present situation in Calbost is best illustrated by reference to the population statistics.
162 There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are squatters and only eight houses are occupied within the dyke. Of the male population, there are three children under fourteen years, one man in the 15-44 age group, three between 45 and 64 years and two over 65. This clearly shows the lack of active men from 15-44 years, necessary for the continuing economic success of
166 the community. However, even these figures are not so striking as the numbers of emigrants as
167 no less than 39 men and 40 women have left Calbost since 1939.

[449] A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the younger
[63] people have left to find employment in Stornoway and on the mainland. The present population structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

131 Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride the major
132 east-west inlet of Loch Ouirn, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The site of the township is perhaps the most picturesque in all Park, but the steep slopes, lack of cover, the small area of good arable land, and the considerable population existing on slim resources, problems common to Park as a whole, are all epitomised in Gravir.

361 On the south-facing-slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough in the valley to the
241 west, the majority of the crofts have been carved from moor to sea, some before 1800, and some
195 in the process of the abolition of run-rig which was accomplished in the years 1850 to 1852.
78 Originally, there appears to have been thirty crofts, but four were added during the nineteenth century, two at each end of the line, and in 1934 a further fifteen were cut out of the common grazing, a mile to the west of Gravir. On the south side of the loch, the 'clachan' of Tom an Fhuadain, established about 1800, has since developed into a further nine crofts. Thus there are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir and a further fifteen in Glengravir making fifty-eight in all.

The layout of Glengravir, a line of crofts from 3.6 to five acres, typifies the small post-1918 Department of Agriculture holdings. The arrangement of the Gravir crofts is illustrated in Figure 8, and it will be seen that not all the crofts are consolidated. There are three areas of former arable commons which have been lotted in unfenced strips and they may well be reclamations which were necessary to supplement the food producing capacity of the holdings. The method of division and allocation speaks of a period when a subsistence economy under severe pressure from over-population, necessitated fair shares for all. The last of these commons was in cultivation until 1891. Although subsistence crofting has been obsolete since then, there is as yet no move towards a regularisation of the layout.

178 The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable commons developed mainly
195 as a result of a successful fishing industry which prospered from 1860 to 1914 and at one time there
228 were two curing stations in Gravir. With relative prosperity from an ancillary industry, cottars
[181] were tolerated and the population rose from 197 in 1830, to 368 in 1881 reaching a peak of 468
[262] in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has certainly not yet ceased. Gravir reverted from 1918 to a township of agriculturalists and a base for employment furth of Lewis, although there have been spasms of successful fishing activity since.

241 Stock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and conditions
[231] are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir crofts vary between 3.5 and 26.5 acres in size: no croft has more than four acres of 'old arable'. In the days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in narrow lazy-beds, banked up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more extensive.
[324] All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed cut as far away as
[137] Cromore or the coast south of Kebock Head. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed area is now cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture; some of the lazy-

[Gravir] [Glenbgravir] [Lemreway]

The urgent need in Gravir is a reduction in the number of holdings. A pre-requisite of such reorganisation would be the creation of employment for a non-crofting population. Weaving and fishing are the more obvious occupations; the former is subject to world trade fluctuations but the latter is now in a more favourable position since the introduction of the herring fishing guaranteed subsidy, although the raising of the initial capital for buying and equipping boats is a formidable problem. It is clear that a division of the community into a crofting and non-crofting sector is essential if the present population level is to be maintained. The most serious aspect of the present trend is that the migrating section of the community comprises the younger and more enterprising people. Unless holdings of economic size can be formed, and stable employment introduced, one can expect the younger men and women to remain in Gravir.

Until a major reorganisation of the crofts is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-seed large areas of the common pasture and the three former arable commons, and the development of a croft-tourist industry, are interim possibilities. It is not sufficiently realised in crofting districts that there is a demand from the city dweller for simple accommodation and good plain fare in a clean atmosphere, with the possibility of hill walking and fishing on fresh and salt water. Yet, until the proposed water-scheme becomes a reality, tourism on a moderate scale can hardly be contemplated.

One can only conclude that until reorganisation takes place and transforms Gravir into a township of viable agricultural holdings, any stabilisation of the present trends is out of the question. A decline in the number of holdings is inevitable in the long run but a planned reduction over a number of years would bring about a more viable community than the disintegration which will occur without such planning. Until this is achieved, the young men and women have little incentive to remain in Gravir.

LEMREWAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda G. Turner
and John E. Wearmouth

Lemreway, the southernmost township of Park, comprises 290 acres arable and outrun divided into thirty-three crofts and 3,025 acres of common pasture. The township is situated on the northern side of Loch Shell round a bay in the shelter of Eilean Iuvard.

The township consists of three distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area at about 100 feet, part common pasture and part reclaimed as extensions to the crofts, locally known as 'the Outend', forms the first subdivision. The second area, further west, is of a hummocky nature. To the east, a steep slope rises to an altitude of 400 feet, less than half a mile from the loch shore, forming the third. Two benches are to be seen at about 100 feet on the steeper slope and similar, though wider terraces occur at the same height to the north. It is suggested that the flat area is the bed of a moraine-dammed lake, and that the hummocky sector is partly morainic and partly ice-eroded rock exposure. A channel eroded through this sector allowed the lake to drain southwards leaving a relatively deeply incised valley through which the present stream flows to the sea.

Soils may be divided into two types - a peaty loam and the better drained gravelly loam which is found to the east and along the main stream; the latter is particularly suitable for potato cultivation.

Except on rocky outcrops, the very steep slopes and the drained areas, blanket bog predominates. Sphaghum here is rarely dominant but where the land is badly drained Deer's hair grass (scirpus caespitosus) and cotton grass (Eriophorum vaginatum and Eriophorum angustifolium) are the dominants. On slightly drier land, purple moor grass (Molinia caerulea) and mat grass (nardus stricta) are abundant. Local dominants are bog asphodel (Narthecuim ossifragum) and cross-leaved heather (Erica tetralix) with other common species such as the sundews (Droseera rotundifolia and intermedia), butterwort (Pinguicula vulgaris), Juncus sp., Carex sp. and Carex panicea occurring sporadically. Where the peat has been cut and drained, 'heather moor' usually develops and Calluna

[Lemreway] [Orinsay]

The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939. Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. Ruins of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs. Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents, they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling, is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor.

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

Fig. 1. The Highlands and Islands of Scotland. This map shows the several boundaries of the Highland area. (1) The geological boundary. (2) The boundary of the Seven Crofting Counties, which today are equated with the Highlands. (3) The approximate limits of the Western Highlands and Isles.

1, [Boundary of crofting counties-- Analyst]

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND

ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF

LEWIS

('Bernera and Bernera Shore')

by

P. Wheeler

131 Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of
103 Bernera Island (Breaclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the "Shore"
(Earshader, Crulivig and Lundale together with the isolated township of Linshader),
presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isolation.
491 Bernera Island, though central to most of Uig and easily accessible over the sheltered
waters of Loch Roag, yet remained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent
building of the road bridge; even now it is necessary to travel over six miles to get from
181 the bridge to the main Uig road and a further four miles to Garynahine. Consequently
the island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements, has a very close-knit and
self-sufficing population. Whether this community retains sufficient vitality to resist
the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces eroding
rural and especially Highland life, remains to be seen.

13 The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the Intro-
228 duction. Like the other districts it has virtually no valuable mineral resources (1), and
171 the herring and white fish industries have all but disappeared and seem unlikely to
464 resuscitated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted with vigour and enterprise; it
provides a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on
regular or casual employment to eke out the proceeds of the croft. The kinds of work
164 available, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employment
are common to the whole parish; thus this account is mainly concerned with the problems
of crofting agriculture.

Settlement: history and patterns.

172 The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is partly
very old, and partly very recent. At least four brochs are known on Bernera and various
361 standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous settlement has survived from the
early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form as
175 in the graveyard on little Bernera, or in oral tradition. All this contributes towards the
very close network of family relationships that binds the island folk and to a lesser extent
those of the adjacent mainland.

175 With the exceptions of Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete, all Bernera Island had been
361 cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1878 when twelve families were moved from
Bosta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere.
Occasionally (as at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance lotting patterns were re-adopted, but
usually settlement was laid out afresh. The townships of Bernera Shore, were also
affected: all the small tenants except those of Earshader and Crulivig were cleared,
leaving the land under the sheep farms of West Earshader and Linshader. However, the
Bernera Island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of sheilings on the
mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these grazings to their present position marked the

316 (1) A small deposit of diatomite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a few
men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

CHAPTER TEN

EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Garynahine, Callanish, Breasclete, and Tolsta Chaolis)

GARYNAHINE by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury.

131 Garynahine is a townships of twelve crofts which are situated on the eastern arm of
632 Loch Ceann Thulabhig. The crofts nowhere extend more than one-third of a mile from
the coast. There is a hinterland of about 1,800 acres of common grazing, which is
133 mostly about 100 ft above sea-level, though it rises to 200 ft in a few isolated areas; the
crofts are lower, and maximum elevation is 80 ft.

Most of the croft land is drained by the stream Allt Mhurchaidh which flows through
134 all but two of the crofts. But the soils are heavy, and several crofters cut peat on their
crofts. Many crofters complained that their land was too peaty for cultivation.

361 The crofts form a regular pattern beside the south side of the main road from
Stornoway to Breasclete, with two small feus and a 21 acre freeholding on the north side
of the road. In addition there is a farm (Garynahine Lodge) of 400 acres east of the
crofts, and likewise stretching along the south side of the Stornoway road. The main
road to Uig passes through the farm, dividing the cultivated area in the west from the
grazing section.

175 The regular lay-out of the crofts dates from the formation of the township in 1935.
361 On the same site, but long cleared, there had been an older village about the same size
i.e. twelve crofts, known to be in existence in the 1850's. The crofts were in a similar
position, but were a different shape, and the ruins of some of the croft houses still remain.
This village was completely burnt out one gusty winter evening when, it is said, a spark
from a crofter's pipe was blown onto one of the thatched roofs, and the wind quickly spread
the blaze to consume the entire village. The crofters left the area, many going to the
neighbouring township of Callanish; Garynahine then became one large farm until 1935
when the land was re-allocated into crofts. The new crofters came from a variety of
areas, several coming from Crulivig, others from Breasclete and Callanish. The
owners of the farm had also opened an hotel which prospered until 1945 when the farm
was sold to its present owner Admiral Drummond, who has since used the house of a
241 private house. Nine acres of the farm land is cultivated, and the remaining 391 acres
311 are used for grazing. In contrast to the usual practice in this area the oats have been
undersown with rye grass. Another beneficial innovation at the farm is the introduction
of shelter belts. Trees have been successfully planted, making it possible to produce
good crops of soft fruits such as raspberries, strawberries etc. Both the crops and
the stock on the farm are of a high standard, showing that with capital and correct
management the land can be remarkably productive.

In contrast to the large scale economy of the farm, the twelve crofts (ten operative
units) are each between 4.6 and 6.2 acres, and the total reputed arable is 67.3 acres.
In all there are only 9.5 acres under crop (oats 6 acres and potatoes 3.5 acres), and
2.25 acres under sown grass. The crofts are worked either by spade, horse (hire from
croft 40 Callanish) or by tractor (hire from the Lodge). The seasonal rhythm of culti-
vation and of stock rearing is that in Callanish.

Enquiries soon reveal that crofting is not the main occupation of the croft tenants.
Another indication of the declining interest in the land is the fencing of the crofts. All
were fenced when they were formed in 1935; since then there has been no refencing.
Now a grant is available to pay 75% of the cost of re-fencing but little has been done.

231 Stock totals (see Appendix C) have declined recently and this trend will probably
continue. There are only four cows and two calves in the township (plus six at the farm).

427 authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common gr
311 example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the cro
10 acres of land, of which the remaining 3 acres have been 'acquired' by
195 the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pi
cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor'
311 Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because the
427 to the standing stones. Croft houses 25 and 26, then near the stones, w
other side of the village and given parts of crofts 1 and 2 for their house
2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the parts of th
had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its croftland close to the stones so t
could be made around the stones. About the same period, before the pa
Crofter's Act (1886), when the village was still 'ruled' by the township co
several other changes took place. Croft 27 and 28 used to be where the
at present and the surrounding adjacent area only; but it is said that the
two houses, being influential with the constable, obtained part of Callani
larly the tenants of crofts 30, 31 and 35 divided part of croft 19; these c
become permanent. The most recently formed croft was taken from the
in 1890. Since then three feus have been created, but two of these are h
the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

241 There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed a
4 croft units grow oats, and there are 20 acres under oats (appendix
remaining cultivated land 9 acres are potatoes and 5 acres sown h
land is cultivated by tractor; there are 6 tractors in the township. In t
were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still culti
The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August
month later according to the weather.

231 Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township a
of the year on the crofts. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to gr
neighbour's cows for part of the year in exchange for milk. There is a
horn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Ca

233 The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned sto
311 and 561 lambs. Several crofters exceed their sounning, but there is no
grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garynahine township pasture. Ca
the use of the pasture on Orasay island; each year some of the sheep (on
221 per croft) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes ar
233 tupping on November 14th, after the harvest is complete, and lambing tak
April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November
in addition Callanish Farm (which has no sheep) is open for winter grazin
are sheared in July, and the lambs are taken from the ewes a month late
are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at
known to have been in use until 1921.

491 Communications are quite good; the village is close to a main road t
131 there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-
merely rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by moto
494 over a mile from the nearest track, separated from it by rough peat land
grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a ro
but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land
a road to be built; and so croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of
131 There are two shops in Callanish (one with a petrol pump); grocery, butc
366 vans deliver frequently. Callanish also has a stone jetty which in the pa
There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and
504 at Linshader, which gradually declined in importance until the 1920s whe
call at Linshader. The ferry to Bernera finally ceased in 1940 when the
505 lived at Callanish Farm) left for war service. After this the jetty was s
private boats (e.g. Callanish church serves Linshader, and many people
by boat until recently), but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is a
[604] water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one member of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on
[359] rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and well worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-let to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In
[288] addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the prosperity of the Harris-Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than
[166] average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of them
[162] young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people and young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resi-
[162] dent adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous crofting communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

195 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared
427 from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided, making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no cultivation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

361 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete-
241 Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover being grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one
231 acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people over 65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently
133 from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

491 The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the
361 middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter
[444] by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, but high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but, at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

Since 1939,
166 54 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to
462 leave home when they finish school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go into domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breasclete is also the temporary home of the families of lighthousemen on duty in the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain demand for the tweed, and although the men are nominally self-employed they rely on the mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms which, with ancillary equipment such as bobbin winders, are all owned by the crofters.

[458] As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being erected. But should there be a slump, the crofts would be unable to support the population and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

131 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch
133 a' Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs, for westwards to the sea the terrain is too rocky and irregular for either settlement or
361 cultivation, whilst to the east of Loch a' Bhaile the land slopes precipitously from 250 ft. to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle drift-covered slopes, generally of small extent.

Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch
137 a' Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader, and in the valley of the small stream draining from the north into the head of Loch a' Bhaile. Most of the croft land is com-
[241] posed of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 100 ft. in height, separated by damp depressions frequently filled by reeds and rushes; bracken was apparent only on three crofts. In particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely colonised by reeds and very coarse grasses, of no use whatsoever as pasture. One enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this could certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and
311 2 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the two lochs and the sea, except for nos. 28 and 29. The 53 holdings are unofficially
427 amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The acreage of crofts varies from 2.2 to 20.75 acres - a considerable variation. Fencing of the crofts - except for 1A, B, and C, and 12A, B, and C which are held 'run-rig' - was carried out between 1945 and 1950, whilst in 1946 the common pasture of 2,700 acres was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the Carloway to Breasclete road. An area stretching from crofts 18A to 21 has, however, been most haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided amongst seventeen crofts in the southern half of the township to compensate them for lack of grazing area within their own croft boundaries. This division is said to date from about 1886.

241 Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned
[407] small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as opposed to spade cultivation, depends either on the urgency of the operation, or on the accessibility of the plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 95]

full-time crofters; 19 males have other regular employment and two have periodic employment. 8 crofters are aged over 65. It seems that the most successful combination of employment is weaving and crofting; weaving is carried on in twenty of the holdings. Lobster fishing in the evening is still popular but regular small-boat fishing has disappeared: one crofter took up regular fishing when weaving was slack in the autumn of 1958.

Of a resident population of 125, 32 males and 32 females are between the ages of 15 and 64, these representing the effective labour force. Thirteen persons are temporarily away and 16 permanently away whilst at least 46 have emigrated since 1939 and 6 have immigrated. Thus the number that have emigrated is nearly three times the number that are merely permanently away. With a population of 125 and an effective labour force of 64 to work 35 operative units Tolsta Chaolais would seem to be far from a dying township.

If not exactly progressive the township economy seems stable and moderately prosperous, in spite of the fact that the settlement is rather inaccesible, for the roads which join the Carloway-Breasclete road are both very steep and have bad corners. To add to the apparent isolation there is only one Post Office-shop in the village but most commodities are bought from vans. A reallocation of the smaller crofts to younger, more ambitious tenants at the deaths of the older tenants could reduce the number of operative units to about 25. Admittedly, little can be done with the rougher terrain, and although cattle stocks could be increased there would be the added problem of sufficient winter feed. With better drainage more land could be taken into cultivation - especially between the two lochs, an area largely wasted at the moment - whilst weaving might supply a surer source of income, especially in the winter. Tourism on a small scale might be a further possibility for the coastal scenery is very fine and the immediate setting of the village is very attractive. It would be more realistic however for Tolsta Chaolais to find future prosperity within its own boundaries.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

by

Brian Loughbrough

ftting townships of Upper Carloway, (including Carloway Park), Borrowston, arloway, Dun Carloway and Kirivick form a compact area of land in the h of Uig bordering the coast and Loch Carloway. Here the Lewisian discontinuous covering of glacial drift which is most extensively ately above the head of Loch Carloway. Three valleys help to deter - the townships and settlements (figure 37). The townships to the north- way river are found on more gentle slopes than those to the south east are less uniform and are less uniform and are often broken by short . The north western area therefore offers an environment where almost tion is possible whereas in the south east the frequent rock outcrops ented cultivation on minute plots which are inaccessible to the tractor ed implements.

heavy and acid even on the skinned land of the boulder clay slopes nor air to mitigate the acidity of the peaty areas which descend almost to y in one place is there any trace of the influence of the sand and this is the crofts numbered 1 to 3 Garenin border the small bay in the north of ere the fierce gales have blown some of the finer beach deposits on to

eat has been cut from the inner common pastures except in the case of where active cutting is still taking place in the valley whose flanks are ter settlements, to the east of the football pitch. On the common ation varies from peat moss and heather with bracken to fescue and skinned land by the road to Dalemore. On the upper common pasture en have increased since the abandonment of the shielings and the attle stock; many inhabitants remember that the hills once had a much. Nor is this a feature confined to the common pastures; on one croft in .9 acres are completely covered by heather whilst a neighbouring croft f oats on similar land. At the loch in both Knock and Upper Carloway rable land have reverted to moss, the old lazy beds being picked out by

settlement pattern is one of great interest for it shows in a clear way distrinct phases in the historical geography of the area. The evidence llure stands side by side. Before attempting to justify this assertion it ve a brief account of the physical evolution and distribution of settle-

permanent settlement is believed * to have been the permanent occu- used by people from Bernera until the eighteenth century. Until about was held run-rig and the houses were huddled together in tight little individual crofts were lotted, about 1850, the houses weresattered, and generally up to fifty yards from the present road (which was then ugh track). Sea access was then most important but since the advent ransport new houses have been built nearer to the roads, producing the linear plan. The roads extend at different heights across the slopes

mation supplied by Mr Macleod of 27 Garenin.

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101

strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.

The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

Fig: 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

CHAPTER EIGHT

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Meavaig, Caryshader, Ungshader, Geshader, Enaclete and Gisla).

by

Annis Heawood.

33 Little Loch Roag is a narrow sea loch extending southwards about twelve miles inland
[33] from Loch Roag proper. It has been formed by glacial erosion picking out one of the
[134] n.n.e. to s.s.w. lines of weakness characteristic of the Lewisian gneiss. Although generally steep-sided, recent glaciation left much ground moraine and this material, best preserved on the less steep slopes, provides arable land for several small townships on or near its western shores. The eastern shore is the more rugged and although a few small townships once existed there is now only the small farm and shooting lodge of Scaliscro. At the head of the loch is an estate cottage for Morsgail Lodge which is a large mansion with extensive fishing and shooting rights, grandly isolated about a mile inland from the main road.

361 The district here described includes Gisla, near the head of Little Loch Roag, Enaclete
[33] Ungshader, and Geshader, on the western shores of Loch Roag proper. All these are strung out on or close to the main road. Meavaig, like Gisla, is a small farm but also
365 functions as something of a metropolis for south Uig; it has the post-master, whose other functions include registrar and receiver of wrecks it has two churches, a telephone exchange, the district doctor and manse, and a petrol pump. At the time of our visit it was also the base for the 'bus service. Its metropolitan functions arose in the days before the road replaced a ferry boat service from Callanish; here the mails were landed until some date in the 1920s, and here, too, the estate kept coach and horses for transport to Uig lodge, three miles further west.

361 There is no record of the original settlement of the four crofting townships, nor of
365 Gisla, which was a township (or 'joint farm') of five crofters until about 1850. Some modern houses and bungalows have been built, many with easier access to the road than
32 the old black houses, now often used as byres. Water supply does not seem to present a serious problem because of the extensive moorland gathering grounds to the west, but there are not at present any water-supply schemes. Electricity is, of course, available. Caryshader and Enaclete are on the main Stornoway road being served at present by the 'bus and by vans selling meat, groceries and fish at least once a week. Enaclete has a sub-post-office. Geshader is less fortunate since, although vans call regularly, 'buses must be met at the junction of the unsurfaced track and the main Stornoway road, where the school serving this district also stands. The track has been extended in recent years so that it now reaches all the houses. Ungshader, however, is smaller and although it has had similar delivery arrangements, it is now a dying settlement largely due to its inaccessibility.

7 The crofts are mostly regular in shape on the landward side and fenced except where
2 the land is very broken as in northern Enaclete. In Caryshader there are fourteen legal
1 crofts which at present are worked as eleven units; one is used only as a holiday home by its owner-occupier and there is one squatter on the common grazing. In Geshader there are eleven crofts, each worked independantly; Ungshader has four crofts but the

INTRODUCTION

137 isopeths of average wind-speed show an overall figure of 17·5
132 mph. Winds of gale force (8 or more on the Beaufort Scale) occur in Stornoway about twenty times a year, and blow for an annual average of about 378 hours, loosening trees from the shallow ground and stunting growth. Yet another factor is the fine salt spray, 'small rain with salt in it from the sea', which is carried far inland over the island, the prevailing winds blowing straight off the Atlantic Ocean in a south-westerly to westerly direction.

137 The flora of Harris and Lewis merits a full volume on its own.
133 Far from being sterile, the moors, the hills, the machar-lands, the islets in the lochs, all present subjects of great interest. To the botanist, the island is a region of moorland with loch, marsh, bog, burn and high hills, with sometimes extensive patches of the old man's skin protruding to show the Lewisian gneiss. Variation is offered by the addition of rocky hill-slopes, fine sea-cliffs and shingly bays; sandy parts add to the floral variety, richest in the marine outreaches. To catalogue the flora is to list names which can be appreciated only by seeing the plants themselves in the habitat which they have taken as their own, much as the Hebridean *homo sapiens* has taken to himself the 'savage' country which awed early tourists. Rare species have been found by visiting botanists, and are discussed in the work of Professor Heslop Harrison and his group from Durham University. There is colour aplenty at all seasons of the year in the island; one merely needs to train the eye to look for it, to find, for example, those miniature woodlands in such places as the gorge of the river Amhuinn Gillan Tallair, in south Harris. And in particular, one might mention the blaze of whins around Stornoway; the luxuriant wild growth on the sandy machar-lands in Uig; just north of Stornoway, and at Ness; the miniature sieges of growth on the lochs' islands; and the Alpine plants associated with the higher reaches of land in Uig and North Harris.

Whereas the land is a relatively poor place, the sea is rich, and so is the flora and bird-life to be found round its shores. Near the shore line the grass has a sweet taste liked by sheep. Much of the flora is typical of the island, suited to withstanding the lack of humus to act as a sponge for water, and the paucity of soil for roots. Marram grass, scurvy grass, sea pink, sea campion, thrift

INTRODUCTION

135 Headrick's recommendations. However, he promised to make ex-
*175 periments on the economic value of the 'bog-ore of iron' found in many parts of the island, with a view to making bar-iron. Peat was to be used as a fuel for smelting.

376 With so much water on the island, it is natural to expect to find some of it harnessed for the generation of electricity. The Gisla hydro-electric scheme is on the west of Lewis, to the west of the shores of Little Loch Roag. The Harris scheme is at Loch Chliostair, at the foot of the three peaks of Tirgamore (2,227 ft), Ullaval (2,135), and Oreval (2,165). Some 12 per cent of the island's total electricity production is generated thus, the remainder being diesel generation at Stornoway (see Chapter 11).

133 Next to water, the island's most readily available resource is its
134 stifling blanket of peat, which covers more than 80 per cent of Lewis's land area. It has had a more than significant effect on the natural history of the area, its scenery and the human element.
* [175] When the deposits were examined in varying detail in 1910-11, it was estimated that they covered no less than 230 square miles, in depths up to 16·5 ft; the average depth of peat over the whole island was assessed at 5 ft. On this basis the deposits would con-
314 tain approximately 85 million tons of solids. A survey carried out
*175 by the Peat Section of the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland in 1952 indicated that the earlier estimates were slightly high.

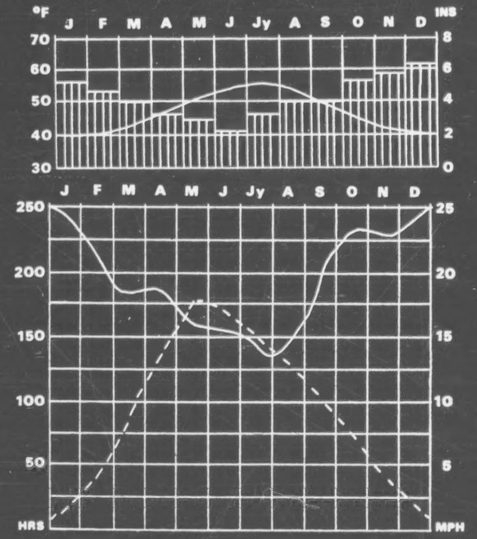
In 1946-7 the Ministry of Fuel & Power reconnoitred the peat deposits on both sides of the Stornoway-Barvas road and indicated that these were suitable for large-scale utilisation. Yet today, despite these Government-backed investigations, the peat deposits of Lewis are still used only for domestic fuel. One of the points made in a 1952 survey was that the area was generally firm enough to take the weight of various bog machines for digging and milling. Another point was that the calorific values of ten out of twelve peat samples were in excess of 10,000 BTU/lb.

CLIMATE

• 132 The rainfall has already been mentioned, averaging an annual 43 inches, according to readings taken at the Meteorological

CLIMATE

Station of the Air Ministry at Stornoway Airport. About 45 per 132 •
cent of the rain falls during the months of April to September inclusive. The annual average of days without rain is about 122, so that some rain is expected on two days out of every three. May to August is of course the driest period, averaging about fourteen rainless days. The sunshine record shows more sun on the east coast than on the west, as one might expect. The annual



Temperature and precipitation; sunshine and windspeed

INTRODUCTION

• 132 average of hours of sunshine is only 1,100 to 1,200, the long-term monthly average of sunshine hours for Stornoway being; May, 195; June, 173; July, 128; August, 133; September, 111. Reducing temperatures quoted to a mean sea level, the range is about 8° C (55° F), from the mean of 6° C (44° F) in January. This January mean is relatively high—compared with the 3° C (38° F) for Cambridge, some several hundred miles farther south—and is due to the body of warm Atlantic water which originates in the Gulf of Mexico. The winter isotherm trend is north to south, emphasising the predominant influence of the Atlantic Ocean as a source of comparative warmth. Snow lies on an annual mean of five mornings each year (Paisley, 10; Edinburgh, 10; Nairn, 20). Also, summer temperatures are lower than those of the south of Scotland and of England. There are, however, much longer hours of summer daylight, a feature of high latitudes.

CHAPTER II

THE SEASONS, PLANT LIFE AND THE CROFTERS' YEAR

(A) CLIMATE, WEATHER AND ANNUAL RHYTHM

132 THE Island climate is 'mild' or 'cool temperate', without strong contrasts of heat and cold in summer and winter, but subject to much wind.[1] Fig. 5 shows how, from October till May, the mean monthly temperatures lie between 40° and 50° F.; and only in July and August do they rise to 55° F. This 'lag' in temperatures tends to make the crops late and brings oats to harvest in September, which has the same mean monthly temperature (51° F.) as June, but nearly twice its rainfall (4 ins.). The total sunshine hours for August average only 130, compared with nearly 150 for July, so that late hay is slow to dry (Fig. 6). These averages characterise the more inhabited areas; among the hills of North Harris rainfall is higher.

Cloudiness is characteristic, the total of bright sunshine being only 30 per cent of the possible even at Stornoway. The annual rainfall of Stornoway is 50 ins. per annum; that at the Butt, recorded as 40 ins., must be rather more than this, as a rain gauge on so windy a site may fail to catch rain driven horizontally in a gale. The rainfall

[1] The latitude of the Island is approximately 57° 40′ to 58° 40′ N., and the longitude 6° to 7° W.

132 maximum occurs in the winter months and the minimum in spring; the spring sunshine would encourage the

TEMPERATURE AND PRECIPITATION

Monthly averages for Lewis (Stornoway)

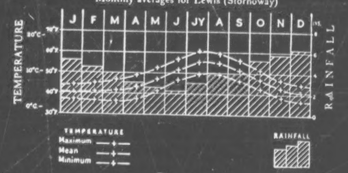


FIG. 5

SUNSHINE AND WIND SPEED

Monthly averages for Lewis

Sunshine (Stornoway) : Wind Speed (Butt of Lewis)

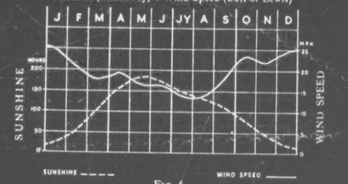


FIG. 6

growth of the crops, were it not for the lag in temperature and the fact that the chill easterly and north-easterly winds check growth.

82 Two sayings sum up the lag of the seasons in the West
824 and its effect on crops. The first runs, "Winter comes
241 not till after New Year, nor Spring till after St. Patrick's
[538] Day" (*Cha tig Geamhradh gu cul Calluinn, no Earrach gu cul Fheill Paruig*). St. Patrick's Day is the 17th of March, but old-style reckoning put both dates later still. The
[538] other runs, "A frosty winter, a misty spring, a chequered summer, and a bright, sunny autumn, never left dearth in Scotland" (*Geamhradh reodhtanach, Earrach ceothanach, Samhradh breac riabhach, us Foghar geal grianach, cha d'fhag gort riamh an Alba*). The retort is that though western summers may often be chequered with sun and showers well suited for growing grass and grain, the autumns are not really sunny, but rainy. Hence 'dearth'—of grain—must result from spoiled harvests. Not so for grass, unharmed by a wet autumn. Hay, if ensilage is not possible, can usually be gathered unharmed in sunny spells
[132] of summer if cut in good time. Agriculturally, the climate favours 'grass' rather than grain.

132 Plentiful rainfall and coolness throughout the year do
137 not allow of complete neutral decomposition of vegetable
[134] matter in the presence of air. Hence, year by year, a residuum of acid humus accumulates as peat on the ill-drained surface. Prehistorically, more favourable phases of climate permitted the growth of pines. Knowledge of present temperature and rainfall alone would suggest the growth of broad-leaved deciduous trees, but these are absent except in the sheltered policies of Stornoway Castle. About 1695 Martin noted 'hazel and birch' occurring on the south side of Loch Stornoway, but nowhere else on the Island. Even there trees are stunted as if pruned by the wind.

132 The further inhibitive influence is indeed the wind

132 (Fig. 6). The anemograph at the Butt of Lewis records one of the highest of British averages for gales and frequent breeze: for 1930–35 the mean frequency of gales (winds over 38 miles per hour) was 62. The mean speed for December and January is 25 m.p.h., which can best be realised by imagining winter travel in an open car with no wind-screen. This mean maximum is a reminder of the difficulty of tree-growth, as gales loosen or quite uproot
[538] the trees. It also helps to explain the proverb: "A long sleep in a big wind" (*cadal fada ri gaoith mhoir*). This is as true for the byre as the bed-closet, for what could cattle-beast or man be doing out of doors in a winter gale? Although the mean speed drops from 18 m.p.h. in April to 13 or 14 m.p.h. in July and August, it rises in September to 18 m.p.h., with ill effects on the harvesting of late crops. Winter winds blow in full force from the end of September to mid-February at an average of 22 m.p.h. or more. The gales make winter fishing dangerous, and their force smashes breakwaters on the west coast.

Yet winds at the exposed cliff-height of the Butt are only slightly greater than those of similarly placed spots on the mainland coast, or islets like the Bell Rock (Firth of Tay), and the east of the Island is comparatively sheltered. For example, the mean annual speed of wind at the Butt was 19·2 m.p.h., and for the same period at the Bell Rock it was 18·2, at Aberdeen 9, and at Kew 7·6. When the anemograph at the Butt was moved even to a 'well-exposed' spot near Stornoway, the average number of gales for 1937–40 dropped to two-thirds of the preceding triennium. With shelter, the difference from the Butt and the approach to normal conditions on the mainland would become greater
[311] still. The planting of shelter-belts would foster crops, comfort and activity on the Island.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

FIG. 2
ISLE OF SKYE

population as it is one of accessibility. I
only 165 miles from Glasgow to Mallaig, but
hours because of the constant succession of
of severe gradients over which the railroad

The General Appearance of Skye

Skye has an irregular shape. Large pe
into the Minch on the northwest and into the
on the southwest. Promontories, divided by
to the west and east. Numerous small lochs
sheltered bays contribute to the greatly inc
while philologists may doubt the derivation
for the Island, Eilean Sgiathanach, from the
(a wing), "the winged isle" aptly describes

From the mainland, the Island appears
the jagged silhouette of the Cuillin Hills.
angular peaks, these mountains are the firs
surface of Skye is as irregular as its shap
typological features of the Island are the
action in the Tertiary period of the Cenozo
erosion, particularly during the Pleistocen
flows gouged and scoured the landscape.[1] G
consists of an extensive basalt plateau; tw
one of gabbro and the other of granite; and
differentiated strata and outcroppings whic
and Cambrian limestone, Torridonian sandsto

[1] F. Fraser Darling, "Relief, Landform
Communications," The West Highland Survey,
(mimeographed, 1950), Part II, pp. 26-28.

t is, for example,
the trip takes six
curves and the series
runs.

ninsulas extend out
Sea of the Hebrides
sea lochs, reach out
and several large,
lented coastline.
of the Gaelic name
Gaelic sgiath
Skye.
to be dominated by
Rising in fifteen
t indication that the
. The characteristic
result of volcanic
ic and subsequent
when glacial ice
eologically Skye
o intrusive masses,
a complex of older
h include Juriassic
ne, and Archaean gneiss.

s, Vegetation, and
F. Fraser Darling et al.

133 South of the basalt plateau, the Cuillins and the Red
311 Hills have intruded into the lava. Although the Cuillins
dominate the landscape for many miles, they are absolutely
103 useless agriculturally. Indeed, a case might be made for the
derivation of the name Cuillin from the Welsh coolin (worth-
less).[3] The worthlessness of the mountains in the local
economy is attested by the fact that they are the only mountains
in Scotland with peaks named after men, all of them mountain
133 climbers of the last century.[4] At the same time, however,
311 they have become a valuable asset in the tourist trade.[5] The
[18] Red Hills rise to 2,537 feet. They are mostly covered with
scree and skeletal soils, but they have some pastoral value.
All have traditional Gaelic names.

133 Below the mountainous region a broad limestone valley
extends across the island from Broadford Bay to Lochs Eishort
and Slapin. Like northern Skye, it is a gently rolling region
[31] with few rises which exceed 500 feet in elevation. The po-
tentially good soil is frequently masked by a heavy overlie of
peat.

Sleat, the southernmost peninsula, reveals a compli-
[131] cated structure, a complex of ancient rocks and moraine.[6]

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[3] B.H. Humble, The Cuillin of Skye (London: Robert Hale, 1952), pp. 3-4.

[4] Ibid., p. xv.

[5] W. A. Poucher, The Magic of Skye (London: Chapman and Hall, 1949); E. G. Meadows, The Skye Scene (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1951); and Humble, op. cit., pp. 31-106.

[6] Darling, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

stock grown for local household consumption and export but also the subsidies and grants provided by the national government. I hasten to add that it is impossible to estimate accurately the specific contribution of crofting to the economy of Skye. There is no available means of distinguishing the status of crofter from that of farmer in the annual returns of crops and stock or in the applications of farmers and crofters for subsidies and grants. Before getting down to pounds and shillings, we may find a brief digression to review the acreages of land devoted to crop and stock raising and the yields to be expected helpful in our attempt to understand the many problems under which the Skyeman labors.

The total area of Skye is approximately 447,000 acres. Of this area, 422,415 acres were classified, in 1953, as rough grazing.[7] The land under cultivation, excluding grasses, was only 3,254 acres. There were 6,258 acres of grass intended for use as hay and 12,339 acres of permanent grass or improved pasture. The remainder, about 2,500 acres, was unclassified.

The stock, in 1953, was 1808 dairy cows and heifers, 8,108 cattle, 143,422 sheep, 41,888 fowls, 438 horses, and 319 pigs.[8] The dairy cows are mainly beef breeds which give a low yield of milk. The sheep are primarily the hardy blackface variety but some crofters have cheviots, which produce a finer wool. For each sheep there are about three acres of grazing

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[7] Agricultural Returns, June 4, 1953, Department of Agriculture for Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland (in the files of the Department). These figures include adjacent small isles.

[8] Ibid.

132

132 CLIMATE--type of climate; seasons (e.g., number, dates, character); temperature (e.g., annual mean, extreme range, diurnal and seasonal variations); precipitation (e.g., mean annual rainfall, seasonal distribution, snowfall); humidity; frosts; winds (e.g., prevailing winds, cyclonic storms); etc. See also:

Heat	374	Reaction to typhoons and tornadoes	731
Meteorological research and weather stations	654	Ethnometeorology	821

is the northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides (see Map B). The population is concentrated along the coast, like a hat-brim around the great inner core of the island's heather-covered bogland, a population belt classified as "dense rural" (50-400 persons per square mile) in a map based on the 1951 census. The pattern of land settlement reflects the importance of fishing in the economy of the island.

Lewis lies between 6°10' and 7°20' west longitude, and between 47°50' and 58°30' north latitude. Lewis is as far north as Newfoundland and farther north than Mongolia, but the temperature is mild because of the North Atlantic Drift, or Gulf Stream, which passes the west coast of Scotland. The temperature averages 55°F. in summer, and 44°F. in January. A constant climatic feature of life on the treeless island is the wind, a relentless, insidious presence which often reaches gale force. Winds of 60 m.p.h. and more are common.

Rain, which comes in downpours or light mist, averages 55 to 65 inches per year. The water may be held in colloidal suspension with decomposed organic matter in the compact, spongy material called peat, or pour as rivers and streams off the island's shelf of non-porous Archaean gneiss into the sea. Of Lewis' total area of 437,200 acres, inland water comprises 24,863 acres.

175 During a huge snow-fall that occurred on
261 Lewis in the 1950's, the mobile grocery vans and other
[132] supply vehicles could not come out to the west side,
[443] and a group of men had to make an expedition into town
for provisions, after which many families made certain
that they always had a good supply of meal, salted
[404] mackerel and herring. Many villagers have gotten deep
[365] freezers to store beef and mutton; others say they do
not trust the freezers, that a failure in electricity--
which occasionally happens in this region of gales and
far-away repairmen--would bring disaster if they depended
458 fully on them for keeping their meat. When the tweed
226 industry is going through one of its periodic depressions,
more men go out more often to fish. "I've been going
out every night for the last week or so. I don't have
a tweed, and I won't have one for the next six weeks.
I don't know what I'm going to do; maybe I'll go back to
sea. Three of us caught one hundred mackerel last
[251] night. I salted my share, and didn't give any of them
away. These are the hard times. We're going to need
them during the next six weeks."

233 A few people raise beef cattle, depending largely
[654] on subsidies for encouragement to do so. A few are
[234] beginning to keep cows again for milk, giving as their
[435] reasons that freight charges make the bottled milk too
[434]
[648]

INTRODUCTION

133 One glance at an island map will show how numerous are the
• [132] lochs. These and the short rivers and streams do their best to drain
the rainwater which averages about 45 inches, with an added 10
inches or so for precipitation in the form of very fine rain or mist.
That the rockbase of the island is much like an impervious saucer
which overflows easily is seen shortly after a heavy rainfall.
Streams and rivers become torrents of brown, foam-flecked waters
tumbling to the sea or to some nearby loch. The watershed of
Lewis runs from north-east to south-west, keeping about the
middle of the island, except in the north where it approaches the
133 eastern side. The rivers, all quite short, have at one time in their
136 history carried good stocks of trout and salmon; some still do.
The Grimersta River, though less than two miles long, is reckoned
to be the best salmon river in Europe. Its waters come from the
great loch and catchment area of Loch Langavat (Norse: Long
Water). The River Creed, just outside Stornoway, is also known
for its salmon which, in the right season of year, can be seen a
tantalising arm's length away, making their way up river. Another
salmon river is that beside Amhuinnsuidhe Castle in North Harris,
where the salmon leap several feet over a sheer rockface to gain
the upper waters. Of the lochs, virtually all abounding with
trout, the largest is Loch Langavat, about six miles in length.

FLORA

137 The first reaction of the visitor to the island is to comment on the
scarcity of trees. 'Treeless' is a relative term, however, for there
are trees on the island. And the island was not always so bare.
After the last Ice Age retreated some thirteen milleniums ago, the
initial tundra was covered by birch scrub which developed into a
wide birch-pine forest with some dense hazel undergrowth. Oak,
alder, birch, pine, ash and rowan could be found. Then, with
the advent of the cool, wet, sub-Atlantic period about 3,000 years
ago, conditions became ideal for the formation of blanket bog
and the accumulation of peat. The trees failed and fell; natural
clearings formed. When the Norsemen visited the Hebrides, they
found substantial areas of woodland, deteriorating, but still
sufficient to attract their attention.

FLORA

*175 Pursuing a 'scorched-earth' policy, a Norse leader, Magnus Bare-
137 leg, on a punitive expedition to Lewis in 1098 destroyed much
[177] of the island's natural surface resources. Trees were a particular
target. Following this wanton destruction, the shrinkage of wooded
areas in the island was accelerated by the requirements of the
[136] population and by the developing peat. Captain Dymes, an
Englishman who visited Lewis in 1630 in connection with Charles
I's fishery schemes, reported 'there are many eagles and hawks in
the isle which breed in the clefts of rocks, for this place is so
destitute of wood that there is not one tree growing in the whole
island.' Martin Martin almost confirmed this a generation later:
'I saw big roots of trees at the head of Loch Erisort, and there
is about a hundred young birch and hazel trees on the southwest
side of Loch Stornoway, but there is no more wood on the island.'
Before Sir James and Lady Matheson came to Lewis in 1844,
the MacKenzie gardens outside the old Seaforth Lodge, where
Lews Castle now stands, had many fruiting apple trees.

The mention in 1695 of the Stornoway plantation is interest-
ing, for it is here that today stands the greatest concentration of
trees in the whole of the Hebrides, in the grounds of Lews Castle.
Some 300 acres of trees here, mostly conifers, but with some hard-
woods and deciduous trees, were planted by Lady Matheson about
a century ago. Soil had to be transported from the mainland to
supplement the scanty layer of peat which overlay the hard Lewis
rock. Another of Lady Matheson's legacies is a small area at
Achmore, one of the few townships to be found inland, far from
the sea. Here, larch and other conifers grew well and would be
there today had not a fierce gale blown them down in 1921. There
137 are some ninety-year-old Corsican pines at the head of Little Loch
Roag. Another plantation of deciduous and coniferous trees can
be found at Grimersta on the Atlantic coast of Lewis, and two
more small areas of trees are at Scalisgro, on the east side of Lewis,
and in Glen Valtos. In Harris, there are some magnificent syca-
mores at Tarbert; and at Borve, on the west side of the island,
are several acres of stunted mountain pines. In addition, dwarf
rowans cover many tiny islands in the lochs.

137 Natural tree growth is impossible in most areas because of the
• 132 peat. The strong and frequent winds are also a deterrent. The

CHAPTER II

A FIRST IMPRESSION OF SKYE

Scotland includes among her distinctive characteristics
e possession and jurisdiction of more islands, 787, than
y other nation in Europe. Stretching along Scotland's
st coast for 200 miles in an inner and outer archipelago,
e Hebrides account for over 500 of these islands. The
le of Skye is the largest of the Inner Hebrides. Reference
the map (Figure 2) will show that Skye is forty-nine miles
ng and from three to twenty-two wide. The coastline measures
) miles. The total area is 643 square miles. Although less
an a mile separates Skye from the mainland at Kyle Akin and
le Rhea, the inhabitants are enisled geographically by the
and culturally by the peripheral position of the Island to
main stream of British society and culture.

The isolation of Skye is due to two basic facts. The
ography of the Highland region, with its scenic valleys, cut
sea lochs and flanked by precipitous mountains, has created
ural barriers to communication with the cities of Lowland
otland and England. The second fact is that the transportation
ilities of the Western Highlands have never been integrated
h Great Britain's main communication system. The problem,
n, is not as much one of distance from the centers of

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137 found with the dominant are the fine-leaved bell heather, sometimes with crowberry (*Empetrum*) in rocky places, while grass or sedge may be mixed with it in places.

At the very edge of the sea-cliffs, where the moorland pasture or heather thins out, the rock is cushioned with sea pink. Or where a stream has cut a sheltered dell, protected as in the Stornoway policies or not too near a village, one may find a few woody plants—a little hazel, creeping willow or honeysuckle.

137 134 (6) *Sandy Pastures.*—In many bays, as at Valtos (West Loch Roag) the sandy or sand-influenced habitat falls into three zones:

(*a*) The line of storm beach, formed of hummocky dunes, which dams off what was the inner part of the bay. This line is more or less broken where the stream breaks through. At their crown the dunes are partially fixed by marram grass (*Psamma*), but show hollows of loose sand. Just north of Stornoway the Melbost sands have thrown out a high bar which has partly dyked and reclaimed or poldered the bay behind. Almost at the opposite end of the Island, lying in from the Sound of Taransay, near Luskintyre, a sandy dyke is thrust out, but this too is kept open by tide and spate, and the sands within are covered at high tide. Such places could be reclaimed.

(*b*) Behind the dune ridge, where this is virtually complete, is found a dry sandy flat. Even this is liable to inundation by storm, tide and spate, but its sandy pasture is periodically broken for the cultivation of potatoes, or even barley. It is the lightest of soils at the best, while if cultivated continuously it simply

[132]

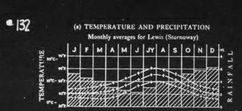
ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE

[233] away, and for a shorter period. The sheep wander over
[31] the moors all the year round, though they hang about the crofts when the winter is severe.

[221] A comparison with mountainous Norway or the Alps
[132] and their high summer pastures suggests itself; but in Lewis altitude is almost negligible, and the shielings may
[171] lie only two to five hundred feet above that of the crofts
[133] beside the shore. The difference between winter and
[301] summer is in any case less, snow being rare and the conditions being such that even in summer the shieling pasture remains poor. Hence it is that while modern Norse and Alpine economy still maintain the summer pasture, the shielings have died out in the Highlands and are slowly decaying in Lewis. Seasonally, stock are transported over longer distances, from Highland to Lowland pastures.

[181] Reasons for the continuance of these and other crofting
[198] ways, or for their abandonment, are not of an economic
[461] order alone: not only the remuneration received for labour, but the feeling for the work counts enormously. Visiting a couple of distant shielings in the summer of 1919, I found that two lads newly home from the Navy had come up from their village "for a holiday", bringing rods for trout-fishing and high spirits for play. By day they fished or flirted. By night they slept in one of the two shielings, while the two laughing lasses they had come to visit shared the none too wide couch of the other shieling with the two older women there. One of these was a matron with a motherly twinkle in her eye, the other was a spinster in whose eyes there shone a memorably vivid light; she was the sister (as I found later) of a noted minister on the mainland. The bare simplicity of shieling life is traditionally softened by fellowship and a gaiety that is not beyond
[538] control. A Lowland poet once coined a famous phrase,

● 132


(a) TEMPERATURE AND PRECIPITATION
Monthly averages for Lewis (Stornoway)
J F M A M J JY A S O N D
TEMPERATURE
RAINFALL
TEMPERATURE
Max. ——
Mean ——
Min. ——
RAINFALL
(b) ANNUAL RHYTHM OF SEASONAL LABOUR c. 1800
(c) ANNUAL RHYTHM OF SEASONAL LABOUR 1900-1930
Cutting & Stacking Peat
Cutting & Stacking Peat
Cutting & Stacking Peat

132 summer, despite the long duration of daylight, the average daily
hours of sunshine are six. In winter, the daily hours of sun-
shine are reduced to less than one. In 1953, an average year in
respect to sunlight, the total hours of sun were 1142. Over
132 2000 hours were recorded in June but less than 20 in December. It
182 may be that the philologists are right in insisting that Eilean
Sgeithanach is derived from the Norse ský (cloud). Certainly the
poetic name for Skye, Eilean a Chéo, the Isle of Mist, is in
keeping with the atmosphere.

The prevailing rain and cloudiness are serious handicaps
to agriculture, but they are not the only inhibitive forces.
The wind is another very important factor. Gales are common.
They restrict the number and variety of crops which can be
grown, hinder tree growth, and often make the use of the sea
impossible.

The System of Land Use

34 The Sgeithanach, the Skyeman, is a small farmer who
combines pastoralism with a limited amount of agriculture.
In view of the severe environmental limitations on crop pro-
duction and the markedly disproportionate ratio of arable land
to natural grass land, this ecological adaptation of the culture
172 is by no means surprising. Nor is the fact that this adap-
34 tation has persisted since the first known appearance of man
a startling revelation. This was four thousand years ago when
the culture history of Skye began with the advent of the
Neolithic. This persistence is simply an expression of the

If May is considered a busy month, June duties are even 231
more pressing. Although the winter gales are over, the rain- 232
fall has begun to increase. A succession and variety of de- 234
mands are made on the crofter's time. Once again the sheep
must be brought down to the "fank." This time the purpose is
to mark the lambs. The males, unless one or two healthy
specimens are selected for future use as rams, are castrated
and smeared with a dye to indicate their ownership. The
females are smeared and have their ears cut to signify both
ownership and age. Like the dipping, this operation requires 234
the cooperation of the crofter and his family, the neighbors, 235
and hired hands. Not the sheep without lambs are dipped
once again and given a dose of medicine for liver flukes and
a variety of diseases. At the same time, the early hay and, 241
perhaps, the early potatoes are ready for harvesting. The end 243
of June brings the Highland Wool Fair in Inverness. If he 235
has Cheviot sheep, as most crofters do, the man must go to
arrange for their wintering on the milder and drier east
coast. Although Cheviots produce a finer wool than the more
common Blackface sheep, they do not stand up to the incessant
wind and rain of a Skye winter. If his wife can leave the
children behind, she will accompany her husband. The old
function of the Fair, the sale of wool, has disappeared under
government price control legislation.

It is not unusual to have the early harvest delayed
until July, but even then the mowing may have to wait because 231
sheep must come first. On one of the dry days during the first 236

or second week, the ewe sheep are sheared. Shearing is an- 231
other cooperative task. The men and women work together
with only one significant division in their labor. Women
never shear. Their task is to run the sheep through the pen
and fold the fleece after the two men shear the animal. An-
other chore is added to the crofter's schedule at this time.
He must begin to watch his sheep for maggot.

The haying season runs through July and August, depend- 231
ing on the weather. In August the sheep have to be dipped again 232
this dipping prescribed by law, and the wether lambs (castrated
males) are sent to market. In September, if the weather is
favorable and the season has been good, the harvest of oats
begins. The men works with a scythe. Women never cut. His
wife helps by binding the corn in sheaths by hand and making
stoops in the field. Later she helps her husband build the
stacks for winter storage. As in any summer month, the stock 231
requires attention. Cast ewe sheep (sheep over six years old) 233
and some rams are sent to the Ministry of Food grading station
at Ayle, on the mainland, to be graded for meat or to Dingwall
to be sold at auction. Cattle sales are also held on the
island in September and again in November, but the full-time
crofter prefers the Dingwall auction. The rainy season is 232
now, as noted, reaching its height. The pace becomes slower.
October, November, and, perhaps, even December are spent trying 231
to dig potatoes and turnips. Too often the oat harvest has 233
yet to be completed and the sheep must receive their second
statutory dipping. Sometime before the end of November the 231
236

313 Just outside of Portree was taken (verin 1953), and there are
plans for acquiring additional blocks of land.

One reason for the optimism surrounding the potential
benefits of forestry to the Highlands is the growth of population
which it apparently stimulates. In Glen Brittle the local
school, closed for many years, has been reopened. But, as
in all migration schemes, the average age tends to be low,
and, consequently, procreation is to be expected. Whether or
not the potential benefits will be realized remains to be
seen. Decidedly in favor of forestry is the stable employment
which is offered. Further, a man can be allowed time to carry
on crofting not only in his spare time but also full-time
when seasonal demands require his full attention. Whether or
not there will be enough land left for pastoral-agriculture,
near the plantations if he wants to take the time, is another
question. Then, too, there are natural limitations to the
extension of forests.

313 The difficulties to be faced by forestry on Skye may be
briefly summarized. Above all, conditions for tree growth are
132 far from ideal over much of the island. If the soil is fertile
enough for trees, as in Glendale and Kilmuir, exposure to the
south and west winds may be too severe for a plantation. Shelter
belts might be planted, but they have no commercial value and
offer only fleeting employment. If there is shelter from the
wind, as in Bleat, the soil is either too poor or too boggy
for commercial operations. Beyond the areas already acquired
and the few small plantations on private estates, the land
313 considered plantable is in limited, isolated patches. At this

133

Map B

Lewis and Harris

133 TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY.-altitude above sea level; relief (e.g.,
hills, mountains, plateaus, passes); bodies of water (e.g., lakes, rivers,
areas of the sea, swamps); subsurface water; character of coastline and
adjacent marine floor; tides and currents; floods; areas of volcanic and
seismic activity; etc. See also:
Climate ..... 131 Soils and natural resources 132
Vegetation ..... 133 Ethnography 223
Fauna 137

Map C

The Village of Shawbost

(Adapted from the Ordinance Survey Map, 1964.
Scale: roughly 3" per mile.)

134 The Outer Hebrides, a chain of islands over a
133 hundred miles long which lie to the northwest of the
Scottish mainland, are part of "Ross and Cromarty"
and "Inverness," two of the seven crofting counties
105 of Scotland (see Map A). The seven crofting counties
(Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland,
Caithness, Orkney and Shetland) constitute the scenically
beautiful agriculturally marginal land often
referred to as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.
101 The word "Highland" also refers to features of social
197 life such as crofting tenure, strong community feeling
and Gaelic-speaking which are characteristic of many
communities in both the Highlands and Islands as well
as in cities such as Glasgow in which persons from the
Highlands and Islands have settled. For example, a
Gaelic speaker whose parents came from the Islands and
settled in Glasgow may be called a "Glasgow Highlander."
The first four crofting counties listed above have a
132 large percentage of Gaelic speakers. In the national
162 census of 1961, 82.34 of the 32,607 inhabitants of the
Outer Hebrides were Gaelic speakers.

Lewis and Harris, a single body of land which is
131 sometimes referred to as two islands because the
135 mountainous southern section called Harris differs
markedly from the flat, northern moorland of Lewis,
is the northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides
(see Map B).

000 is the northernmost island in
162 (Map D). The population is con
182 coast, like a bat-brim around
341 of the island's heather-covered
bait classified as "dense rural
226 square mile) is a map based on
pattern of land settlement ref
fishing in the economy of the
131 Lewis lies between 6°10' and
and between 57°30' and 58°30' n
131 is as far north as Newfoundland
133 Mongolia, but the temperature i
North Atlantic Drift, or Gulf S
132 west coast of Scotland. The w
in summer, and 44°F. in January
feature of life on the treeless
relentless, insidious presence
Force. Winds of 60 m.p.h. and
Rain, which comes in downp
183 averages 55 to 65 inches per y
183 heavy precipitation wi
matter in the compact, spongy m
pour as rivers and streams of
133 non-porous Archean gneiss into
133 total area of 4,1,270 acres, in
24,863 acres.

HARRIS AND

/p. 8/

D LEWIS
BUTT OF LEWIS
Aird Dell
Cellar Hd.
Rudha Leathann
Tolsta Hd.
Tiumpan Hd.
Newmarket
Stornoway
Chicken Hd.

Keoraiy
Braigh Mor
SCARP
Husinish Pt.
Forest of Harris
Sgaw Mor
TARANSAY
Rudha Sgeirigh
Sound of Taransay
Rudha Mór a' Chnuic
Toe Hd.
Coppay
NORTH HARRIS
Loch Seaforth
Clisham 2622
Ben Luskentyre
Ben Chaolais
Ben Scarvebal
Ben Mhealabhaig
Ben Mhor Coigach
Ben Hiant
Ben Tarbert
Ben Ulladale
Ben Cruaidh
Ben Tangaval
Ben Sgalaig
Ben Sgiotaig
Ben Sgaitheach
Ben Sgaitheach
Ben Mhor
Ben Mhor
Ben Mhor

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Lewis and Harris

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2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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The Lewis village of Laxay on Loch Erisort

1 INTRODUCTION

31 THOUGH generally referred to as separate islands, Harris and Lewis are geographically speaking one island—the largest landmass in the Outer Hebrides. Its latitude is approximately 57° 40′ to 58° 40′ N; its longitude 6° to 7° W. Many have expressed surprise at the size of the island, which is over 800 square miles in extent. From top to bottom the crow's-flight distance is just over 80 miles, and from east to west about 14 miles. By road, however, the north-south journey (the Butt of Lewis to Rodel in Harris) is a good 80 miles. And by road from east to west (Tiumpan Head lighthouse to Breinish in Uig) is 54 miles.

33 Among the oldest islands of the world Harris and Lewis is founded, like a strong resisting house, on rock, on gneiss said to be
35 the oldest fragment of Europe. From a distance the tough durable Lewisian gneiss is easily recognisable as bare, barren, elongated domes and ridges, giving a hummocky appearance to the landscape. Among other rock types to be found is a patch of a few hundred acres of granite in the parish of Barvas, on the west side of Lewis; some torridonian sandstone showing on each side of Broad Bay, around Stornoway; and the tertiary basalt of the Shiant Isles. These latter islands, pin-points of high land, are geologically speaking insular outliers of Skye, though they are but a few miles or so off the Lewis coastline. Another set of islands, associated with Harris and Lewis, are the St Kildas, composed of gabbros and basalt.

The continual exposure of the rocks on the island makes it easy for those interested in geology to see just what happened those countless years ago. Sands, muds and limestones were formed in an ancient sea, to be later heated and recrystallised as volcanic eruptions occurred. During this boiling, a seasoning touch of molten granite was added. Later, still in an ancient season, the rocks were thrust up and crushed against each other to form today's geological spectacular. Dark-coloured hornblende and

133 mica-sparkled gneiss show the intense shearing. And crushed rock,
135 known as flinty crush because it splinters so easily, adds another sight for the modern eye. The Stornoway beds, as they are called, are broadly known as torridonian sandstone, old red sandstone, or triassic; some geologists regard them as part of the pre-Cambrian torridonian series.

133 From geological evidence, twice did vast icesheets move over the rock-faces to round off the sharp corners of the island. And, as individually then as now, geologists think that there may have been a third small glaciation—a private Hebridean one. Today, the scenery bears the imprint of glacial striae or scratchings. Polished rocks show scores; lochs are gravel-damned, and there are countless small lochans and tarns formed from deep gouges in solid rock. There is some evidence too of a depression or land-sinking during a much later post-glacial time. Many times have fishermen found, far below the present high-water line, stumps of trees and buried submarine peat, the wasting remains of former land vegetation. Martin Martin, who wrote of the Western Isles
*175 about 1695, said of Berneray, one of the small islands in the
133 Sound of Harris: 'The west end of this island which looks to St Kilda, is called the wooden harbour, because the sands at low water discover several trees that have formerly grown there. Sir Norman MacLeod told me that he had seen a tree cut there, which was afterwards made into a harrow.' These vegetation remains indicate
[134] a former fertility. Volcanic action and deposit, the makings of good soil were, however, largely carried away by glacial movement to leave a thin scraping of boulder clay clinging to the base rock for dear life.

133 Lewis is largely rolling moors of blanket peat with many lochs and rivers. To the west of Lewis, in Uig, high hills begin to raise the eye. In North Harris, the hills are higher, reaching their peak in the Clisham (2,622 ft above sea level). These are not strictly speaking mountains. But they do present not a few problems to climbers, having some formidable rock-faces, and on the seaward side are virtually unscaleable cliffs. Much of the ice-moulded
[135] landscape of South Harris is rocky and barren, gneiss outcrops
[137] cover many acres in places, and are almost completely devoid of any kind of vegetation, except where, in the odd crevice, like lurk-

ing thieves, patches of heather, deer-grasses or moorland plants 133
live as they can on thin layers of peaty soil. To relieve the hard 135
scenery there are, on sunny days, glintings of water, lochs or rivers 137
flowing uneasily over beds of primordial rock.

Area (in acres) 131
133

	Land	Inland water	Saltmarsh	Foreshore	Tidal water	TOTAL
Harris	123,752	3,110	—	6212	105	133,178
Lewis	404,184	24,863	230	7775	150	437,200
						570,378

PEAT AND RIVERS

The peat overlays of the island are reckoned to be not much 134
more than 7,000 years old. To strengthen this figure, when the
megalithic circle of Callernish, on the west of Lewis, was excavated [172]
by Sir James Matheson in 1857-8, a depth of 5 ft of peat was removed to expose the giant stones. Only the tops of these stones were showing before excavation was begun; the resultant calculation confirmed the age of this infertile blanket. Peat is decomposed organic matter without the sweetening of lime. The resulting material is sour, and highly acid in character, which checks the bacterial action necessary for good soil to be made. With compaction and age, peat becomes colloidal in texture, with a water content of about 92 per cent. Peat is still being formed in Lewis, though its progress is imperceptibly slow.

Frequent diggings have uncovered evidence that the island was 137
once densely wooded. The remains of trees, and the bones of certain animals and birds associated with savannah and woodland,
add point to this. Under the blanket of peat lies what is called 135
boulder clay, glacially deposited on the gneiss rock; many acres 134
of this clay have been exposed through centuries of digging up peat for fuel. Such skinned ground is called *gearraidh*, and it 134
forms the basis of a soil which, when worked together with shell sand and seaweed, becomes quite fertile. Of natural soil, so much taken for granted in richer places in Britain, there are a few patches in Lewis, at Garrabost and Ness; the valley of Strond, near Rodel in Harris, has much strong red loam.

133 One glance at an island map will show how numerous are the
[132] lochs. These and the short rivers and streams do their best to drain the rainwater which averages about 45 inches, with an added 10 inches or so for precipitation in the form of very fine rain or mist. That the rockbase of the island is much like an impervious saucer which overflows easily is seen shortly after a heavy rainfall. Streams and rivers become torrents of brown, foam-flecked waters tumbling to the sea or to some nearby loch. The watershed of Lewis runs from north-east to south-west, keeping about the middle of the island, except in the north where it approaches the
133 eastern side. The rivers, all quite short, have at one time in their
136 history carried good stocks of trout and salmon; some still do. The Grimersta River, though less than two miles long, is reckoned to be the best salmon river in Europe. Its waters come from the great loch and catchment area of Loch Langavat (Norse: Long Water). The River Creed, just outside Stornoway, is also known for its salmon which, in the right season of year, can be seen a tantalising arm's length away, making their way up river. Another salmon river is that beside Amhuinnsuidhe Castle in North Harris, where the salmon leap several feet over a sheer rockface to gain the upper waters. Of the lochs, virtually all abounding with trout, the largest is Loch Langavat, about six miles in length.

FLORA

137 The first reaction of the visitor to the island is to comment on the scarcity of trees. 'Treeless' is a relative term, however, for there *are* trees on the island. And the island was not always so bare. After the last Ice Age retreated some thirteen millenium ago, the initial tundra was covered by birch scrub which developed into a wide birch-pine forest with some dense hazel undergrowth. Oak, alder, birch, pine, ash and rowan could be found. Then, with the advent of the cool, wet, sub-Atlantic period about 3,000 years ago, conditions became ideal for the formation of blanket bog and the accumulation of peat. The trees failed and fell; natural clearings formed. When the Norsemen visited the Hebrides, they found substantial areas of woodland, deteriorating, but still sufficient to attract their attention.

• 133

(above) A typical coast scene on the island: the beach at Mangersta, on the west of Lewis

/p. 17/

(below) Land scene at Timsgarry, Uig, Lewis

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(above) The car ferry *Hebridin*, at Tarbert Pier, Harris

/p. 18/

(below) The interior of St Clement's Church, Rodel, Harris, showing the carved tomb of Alasdair Crotach, a MacLeod of Dunvegan (d c 1547)

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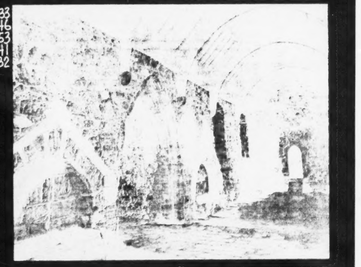

137 isopeths of average wind-speed show an overall figure of 17·5
132 mph. Winds of gale force (8 or more on the Beaufort Scale) occur in Stornoway about twenty times a year, and blow for an annual average of about 378 hours, loosening trees from the shallow ground and stunting growth. Yet another factor is the fine salt spray, 'small rain with salt in it from the sea', which is carried far inland over the island, the prevailing winds blowing straight off the Atlantic Ocean in a south-westerly to westerly direction.

137 The flora of Harris and Lewis merits a full volume on its own.
132 Far from being sterile, the moors, the hills, the machar-lands, the islets in the lochs, all present subjects of great interest. To the botanist, the island is a region of moorland with loch, marsh, bog, burn and high hills, with sometimes extensive patches of the old man's skin protruding to show the Lewisian gneiss. Variation is offered by the addition of rocky hill-slopes, fine sea-cliffs and shingly bays; sandy parts add to the floral variety, richest in the marine outreaches. To catalogue the flora is to list names which can be appreciated only by seeing the plants themselves in the habitat which they have taken as their own, much as the Hebridean *homo sapiens* has taken to himself the 'savage' country which awed early tourists. Rare species have been found by visiting botanists, and are discussed in the work of Professor Heslop Harrison and his group from Durham University. There is colour aplenty at all seasons of the year in the island; one merely needs to train the eye to look for it, to find, for example, those miniature woodlands in such places as the gorge of the river Amhuinn Gillan Tallair, in south Harris. And in particular, one might mention the blaze of whins around Stornoway; the luxuriant wild growth on the sandy machar-lands in Uig; just north of Stornoway, and at Ness; the miniature sieges of growth on the lochs' islands; and the Alpine plants associated with the higher reaches of land in Uig and North Harris.

Whereas the land is a relatively poor place, the sea is rich, and so is the flora and bird-life to be found round its shores. Near the shore line the grass has a sweet taste liked by sheep. Much of the flora is typical of the island, suited to withstanding the lack of humus to act as a sponge for water, and the paucity of soil for roots. Marram grass, scurvy grass, sea pink, sea campion, thrift

• 133 and pearlwort are all to be found. It is not often that a plant is
137 given some measure of authority over the affairs of man: but the marram grass—known as 'bent', but not to be confused with the grass botanically referred to as bent *(Agrostis sp)*—is vital in stabilising the sand of the machar-lands; unless grazed or cut, with its dense network of roots it anchors the sand in perpetuity. With
[B24] the marram, the sea-sedge works hard to form a green coverlet over the sand, and acts as host to other plants, the shell-sand grassland offering excellent grazing for crofters' stock.

137 The richness of the flora of the macharland has been sung many times, and little wonder. It holds a multitude of what can be called plebian plants such as ragwort, buttercup, daisy, kidney vetch, bird's-foot trefoil, tufted vetch, gentian and primrose. Unfortunately the heavy grazing of these stretches of land results in many plants never being given the opportunity to develop and flower for the plentiful propagation of their species.

FAUNA

136 The entomologist will also find much of interest. The Hebrides have their own bumble-bee *(Bombus jonellus* var. *hebridensis)*, found nowhere else in the world. Other insects too have found an insular form, adding their rich thread to the weave of natural history in the region: the Dark Green Fritillary butterfly and the Green-veined White. Moths there are in abundance, some such as the Gray Dagger perhaps indicating the existence of woodland conditions in a past time. The abundance of lochs, streams and marshy grounds gives an abundance of dragon-flies and caddis-flies, eight species of which are represented.

Of wild animal life, however, the list is short, due to lack of shelter and poor ground. The red deer is found in the hilly fastnesses of Harris and the Park district of Lewis, though the deer are small, and well poached as one might expect where the density of human population is high. The pine marten, until the 1810s, lived in the region near the Clisham. A rare bat, the pipistrelle, has been found at Rodel. Rats, mice, rabbits, hares and otters are of course to be found.

The interior of the island is poor in bird life, but round the

135 Headrick's recommendations. However, he promised to make ex-
* 195 periments on the economic value of the 'bog-ore of iron' found in many parts of the island, with a view to making bar-iron. Peat was to be used as a fuel for smelting.

316 With so much water on the island, it is natural to expect to find some of it harnessed for the generation of electricity. The Gisla hydro-electric scheme is on the west of Lewis, to the west of the shores of Little Loch Roag. The Harris scheme is at Loch Chliostair, at the foot of the three peaks of Tirgamore (2,227 ft), Ullaval (2,135), and Oreval (2,165). Some 12 per cent of the island's total electricity production is generated thus, the remainder being diesel generation at Stornoway (see Chapter 11).

• 133 Next to water, the island's most readily available resource is its
134 stifling blanket of peat, which covers more than 80 per cent of Lewis's land area. It has had a more than significant effect on the natural history of the area, its scenery and the human element.

* [195] When the deposits were examined in varying detail in 1910-11, it was estimated that they covered no less than 230 square miles, in depths up to 16·5 ft; the average depth of peat over the whole
314 island was assessed at 5 ft. On this basis the deposits would con-
* 195 tain approximately 85 million tons of solids. A survey carried out by the Peat Section of the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland in 1952 indicated that the earlier estimates were slightly high.

In 1946-7 the Ministry of Fuel & Power reconnoitred the peat deposits on both sides of the Stornoway-Barvas road and indicated that these were suitable for large-scale utilisation. Yet today, despite these Government-backed investigations, the peat deposits of Lewis are still used only for domestic fuel. One of the points made in a 1952 survey was that the area was generally firm enough to take the weight of various bog machines for digging and milling. Another point was that the calorific values of ten out of twelve peat samples were in excess of 10,000 BTU/lb.

CLIMATE

132 The rainfall has already been mentioned, averaging an annual 43 inches, according to readings taken at the Meteorological

2 ECOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

361 THE population of the island huddles round the coastline
• 133 as round a central hearth. This is mainly because the inland parts of the island are either barren, as in Harris, or infertile bog, as in Lewis. Much of the south Hebrides has, on the west coast, the extremely fertile macharland, but Harris and Lewis do not have these useful patches. The macharland is land built on shell sand and dressed with fertilizing seaweed; it forms a fertile fringe, no more than a belt of varying width between the sea and the acid peat bog on the inland side. Where this land does occur, mainly on the west coast of the island, townships crowd round it for the good growing it can give. The other reason for the
[262] attraction of the coast is the obvious one: the close proximity, on the doorstep, of a change of diet, shellfish and inshore fish such as whiting, cod, haddock and mackerel. The exceptions to this coastal grouping are Achmore, Cliascro, and Lochganvich in Lewis.

133 There is a great physiographical difference between the east and west coasts of the island, this apart from the incidence of macharland on the west coast. The eastern side is steeper to the sea; though sheer cliffs occur at Gallan Head, West Loch Roag. The south-western coastline has high, almost sheer cliffs with few inlets or sheltered harbourages excepting Loch Roag, a magnificent inlet, sheltered at its farthest inland penetration by Great Bernera. The coast on this island side often presents rocky teeth to the Atlantic's buffeting; and often suddenly falls down to sea level to display wide stretches of sand. Uig Bay, where the Red
[463] River runs into the sea, is a breath-taking sweep of whiteness. The eastern coast is generally rocky but has more inlets, lochs which carry townships mainly engaged in fishing or tweed manufacture.

172 of these prehistoric remains indicates that before the Christian era began the island supported a considerable population. Generally speaking, the remains left by unrecorded history indicate three phases of cultural and economic development: the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age. The dates usually associated with these 'ages' are approximate where the island is concerned. Because of their remoteness and isolation, the inhabitants may well have reached, say, the Bronze Age state of civilisation at a much later date than did people living in more direct contact with civilising influences. It has been conjectured that, where Lewis is con-
• [133] cerned, peat several feet thick may have covered much of the
[124] ground which, in another time, was cultivated and lived on; and that the peat blanket hides the remains of very old constructions. Chambered cairns, duns or forts (round towers) built in lochs, by the seashore and on promontories, galleried duns, earth houses, standing stones, stone circles and ecclesiastical ruins are all to be found.

[112] The duns, or brochs, are believed to have had a defensive function, acting as lookout towers. Primitive dwellings would have been scattered nearby, with generally free-ranging livestock. If attack threatened, inhabitants and cattle together entered the tower, whose double walls held rough but welcome compartments for temporary living during the siege. Sometimes a dun was built on an islet in a freshwater loch, such as Dun Cromore in the Lochs district of Lewis; there is a similar example in Loch Bharabhat in Uig. A stone causeway connects each with the nearest point on the loch shore. Many of these causeways had a rocking-stone, a stepping stone so placed that the weight of a foot on it rocked it enough to warn the inmates of the dun that someone was approaching.

The most famous of the round towers is at Carloway, perched on the crest of a rocky slope on the west coast of Lewis near the crofting township of that name and overlooking much of Loch Roag. Its average external diameter is 47 ft, the walls varying in thickness from 10 to 12 ft. Though in a ruinous state, one side of its wall is still some 30 ft high. Dun Carloway is, after the broch on the Shetland isle of Mousa, the finest example of its kind in the country. About eight miles from Carloway, at Bragar, is Dun

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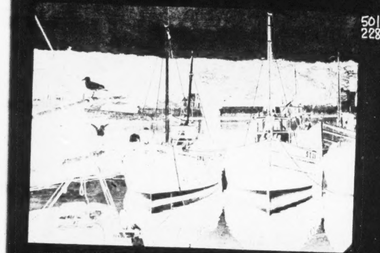

(above) Drifters fishing boats in Stornoway harbour. The new boats to form the basis for the island fleet of the future will be seine-net and dual-purpose

/p. 361

(below) The Lewis village of Gravir, showing small fishing boats in Loch Ostisairn, 1932

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2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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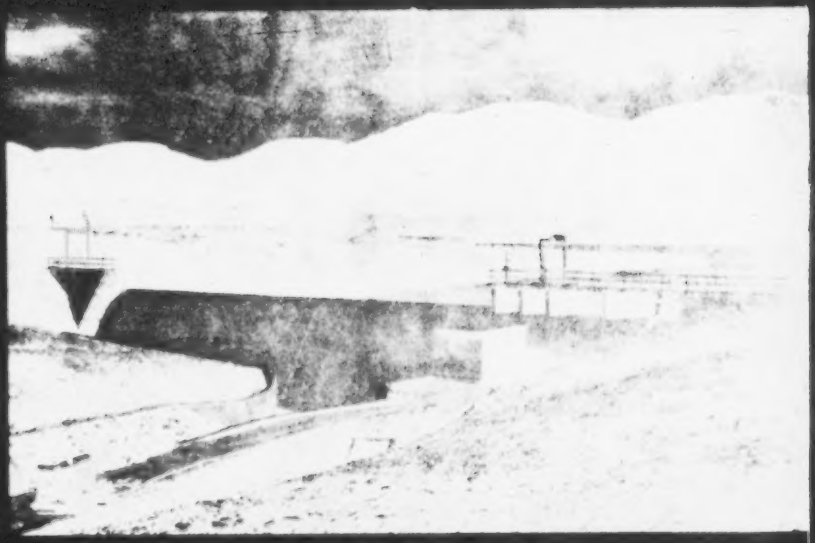

(*above*) Civil-engineering works in Lewis: the dam at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme

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(*below*) Civil-engineering works in Harris: the Eilean Glas lighthouse on Scalpay Island, one of the four original lighthouses built in 1789. A new tower was built in 1824

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(*above*) At Rishgarry Quay, Isle of Berneray, in the Sound of Harris, c 1900, showing the typical construction of the 'black house'

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(*below*) The Claddach, Isle of Killegray, in the Sound of Harris, April 1897. The horse and cart was the most convenient means of transport. A spinning wheel is seen in action

The hills of North Harris. On the far side of the loch (West Loch Tarbert) can be seen the remains of the whaling station

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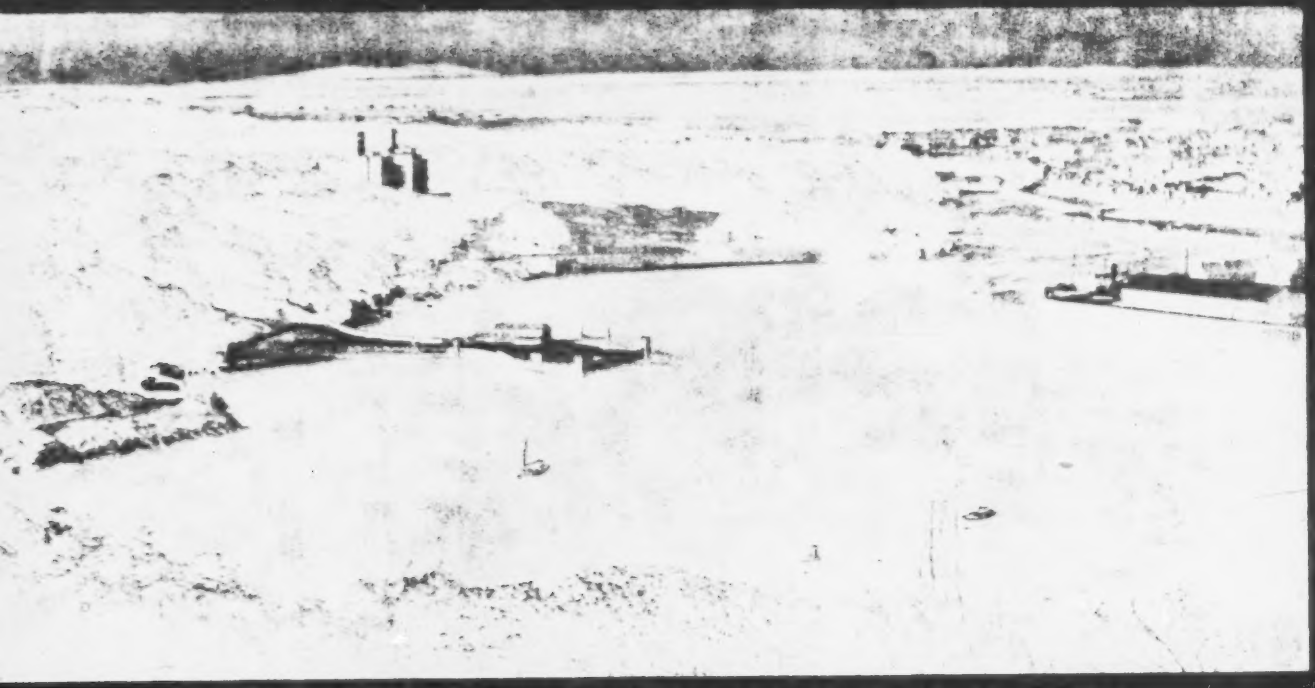
2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris



The inner harbour at Stornoway, taken from Gallows Hill. Lewis Castle, now the Lewis Technical College, is seen on the left.
The trees of the Castle policies were planted by Lady Matheson

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8 STORNOWAY

632 825 STORNOWAY is the only real town in the Hebrides. Some even say that it is the only real town in the world, as its basic living patterns are those of the countryside from which it sprang. It has always been held in high regard by the [539] islanders. In the past it was regarded as one of the most important places in the civilised world: a saying attributed to a primitive native has passed into a proverb: *'Stornoibagh mhor a' chaisteal —baile 'n modha 'th'air an t-seoghal gu leir ach Bail'-ath-Cliath an Eirinn—'s iongantach nach eil an Righ fhein a' tighinn a comhnuigh ann!'* ('Stornoway the great, with its Castle, the largest town in the wide world, except for Dublin in Ireland; surprising it is that the King himself does not reside therein!') The affectionate [105] name for the town is 'Portrona', Port of Seals, which it is. A son [504] of Stornoway once said, 'The founder of Portrona must have been some sea rover with a good eye for a refuge from the storm and the peril of his calling. No matter what winds rage outside, within the bay the mariner may drop his anchor, furl his sails, and take his ease.'

*195 When the Vikings first came to the western isles of what was 132 later in history to become Scotland, they found a sandy spit of • [133] land on which they could beach their longships in a sheltered bay. It was, however, more than a haven; it was a place in which to settle down and rear the first of many generations. Later the Norse-derived MacLeods took advantage of an outcrop of rock beside the beach to build a fortress. Later again a greenheart pier, [504] and later still a concrete wharf, have given the town the outward symbols of economic and social significance.

632 Stornoway owes its origin to the Stornoway Beds, a sedimentary 133 formation much younger than the Lewisian gneiss. These Beds have had two effects. First, their existence and formation allowed a deep indentation, giving a good harbour with a protecting isthmus not far way. The harbour itself is due to the erosion of these

STORNOWAY

rocks about intrusions or dykes of more resistant crinanite. Second, 632 the better nature of the soil derived from the weatherings of the • sandstones and conglomerates has aided reclamation and cultivation.

In the long years of its existence the town has been a focal point 195* of island history, fanning out to many corners of the world, where 632 it has been merged with the wider history of Britain, the Commonwealth and elsewhere. Detached as it was from the rest of [181] Scotland by the Minch, Lewis often went its own way. In the 195* reign of Queen Elizabeth, when England and Sweden plotted 432 against the Scottish crown, the emissaries of these countries met 248 in Stornoway. Later, in April 1719, a council of war was held in a room in Stornoway to plan the counter-move of the Hanoverian dynasty of Britain; included in the assembly were the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, George Keith, the hereditary Earl Marshal of Scotland, and his younger brother James, who was to become the famous Marshal Keith. Prince Charles Edward, though not setting foot in the town, looked at its twinkling lights from across the Bay, at Arnish, while his pilot tried to obtain a boat to take the royal fugitive to France.

The harbour has seen many kinds of ships on its waters. In 504 the twenties, the *Metagama*, the *Marloch*, and the *Canada* came 501 to take away almost a generation of young Lewis folk to the new 532 lands across the seas, because their own island could not support [167] them. The *Islaire* sank within sight and sound of the harbour mouth and dragged about 200 Lewismen with her into an island memory. The *Cerrona*, of Dundee, dropped her anchor just by Arnish lighthouse in July 1904, carrying survivors from the emigrant ship *Norge*, sunk at Rockall with appalling loss of life. The *Victoria and Albert* visited Stornoway in September 1902, [143] the first visit to the town by a reigning monarch. That was a great 701 day, the result of a letter from Provost Anderson of Stornoway in which he pointed out to His Majesty, King Edward, that with less than 30,000 inhabitants Lewis had 2,300 men in the Royal Naval Reserve, trained at the local Battery, the largest in Britain. There were also 1,100 men in the Seaforth & Cameron Militia, all of whom volunteered for foreign service in 1899, and 900 of whom did garrison duty in Egypt. Between 300 and 400 Lewis-

9 A HARRIS VIGNETTE

131 LIKE a Siamese twin, Harris is joined to Lewis in eternal • [133] geographical union. The junction is at the body, however; the head of each island part has always been clear to develop its own characteristic. Thus, Harris has a quite separate personality which has risen above the common factors it has with Lewis. Both have the same historical origin: the Clan Leoid. 614 This clan comprised two leading tribes, the Siol Torquil (Mac- *195 Leods of Lewis) and the Siol Tormod (MacLeods of Harris). [173] Tradition has accorded to them a common progenitor, Leod; though by the time history in the Western Isles was old enough for the recorder's pen the two tribes, or families, were distinct and independent of each other. Malcolm, son of Tormod MacLeod, head of Siol Tormod, had a charter from David II for the lands of Glenelg, on the Scottish mainland, which he and his successors held from the Crown. Also included in his possessions were Skye and Harris, which came to his family after the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles in 1493. The MacLeods of Harris are, rather strangely, their clan seat at Dunvegan on Skye, and are more commonly known as the MacLeods of Dunvegan or Skye, though 'of Harris' is their correct title.

The MacLeods were, by and large, good proprietors. They held much fertile land and the clan was reasonably wealthy. Tenants' rents were paid mostly in Scots money and, to a lesser extent, in such farm produce as oats, barley, cheese, butter, wedders and marts, and in labour service. Where times were hard for the tenants their rents were often 'eased' by the chief in the hope that subsequent years might prove more fruitful and that the eased rents would be paid in time. In 1705, a bad year, MacLeod actually cancelled 'cases' owing by the Harris tenants, as a gesture to them. In 1712, when some disaster had visited the St Kildans (the islands belonged to MacLeod), their chief provided them with a new boat and the islanders were allowed a two-year delay in payment of their rents to help the recovery of the community.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Other tombs inside the church include that of Mary MacLeod, 195* a burdean of the seventeenth century who was also governess to 216 the young MacLeods at Dunvegan. She was probably the first to 764 compose what may be called the 'court' song, in simple words [533] and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels since her time. Her last elegy was composed to Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray in 1705.

So far as personal characteristics are concerned, there is a 131 marked difference between the Herrach (Harrisman) and the 149 Leodhasach (Lewisman). Their Gaelic dialects are different, the Harris pronunciation being much softer, with an attractive singing lilt. And Harris Gaelic has fewer words of Norse origin. The main reason for this difference has been a topographical one: before a road was cut, the mountain barrier of north Harris divided the inhabitants of the two parts of the same island, who developed in their own distinctive ways.

The character of the land of Harris has also had much to do 181 with the difference. Harris for the most part is infertile, with great 133 • expanses of rock outcrops. The east side of the island is torn in shreds by fiord-like sea-mouths; the west coast is slow-moving, with large expanses of sand and machar-land which look out over the Atlantic breakers rolling from a sea that is oceanic in appearance and in fact. From early times the Harris folk have 195* had to work hard to scarify their snippets of land to make it fer- 181 tile. Regular increases in population forced them to cultivate land 153 extending up to 500 feet above sea level. Some 236 acres, in the 241 form of hard-won lazy-beds. After the clearances early last cen- (126) tury, when the more fertile lands on the west coast were taken over for the formation of sheep farms, the people concentrated on the eastern side of the island, and on some of the higher ground in the west.

On Lord Leverhulme's death in 1925 the ownership of large 423 tracts of Harris passed to absentee landlords. After this, some of [169] the lands which had been cleared in earlier years were purchased by the Government and broken up into crofts again, enabling some of the indigenous population to come back to make 423 use of the more fertile lands of the west. There are some 350 241 crofts in Harris, with 29 regulated common grazings; the total

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

423 acreage of regulated common grazings amounts to 65,000 acres. 241 The working units (as distinct from crofts) in Harris are classified according to the arable acreage; the majority have up to 10 acres arable land. Less than 250 acres of land have been improved.

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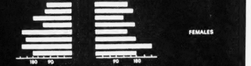

The age structure of the Harris population in 1931 and 1961, showing the decline in numbers and rise in age

631 There are four districts in Harris: North Harris, with its islands; the Bays of Harris on the east coast; the Leverburgh area, with the islands of the Sound of Harris; and the west coast. • [133] North Harris is mountainous country, dominated by the Clisham

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

(2,620 ft); grouped around this are the lesser peaks staring stark (31) and treeless to the skies. At the feet of these hills are the small 133 • villages straggled along the shores of West Loch Tarbert. Much of this area is owned by the proprietors of Aultnamain Castle, a magnificent structure built by the Earl of Dunmore in the last century; the hills lying north of it are rich in red deer. The road [191] past the castle trundles on until it peters out at the far-east village of Hushinish, beside a glorious miniature-like curve of silver sand. Beyond Hushinish is the Island of Scarp.

The road along the shores of East Loch Tarbert ends at the 631 village of Kyles Scalpay which overlooks Scalpay island. The 191 Bays of Harris hold in their centres the scattered groups of houses 241 here and there, where an inlet of the rocky coast affords some 133 anchorage and where a patch of ground is suitable for cultivation. Tortuous, winding footpaths have been gradually replaced by 489 narrow roads connecting the townships. Lack of sufficient re- 161 munerative employment has led to considerable depopulation. 162 Fifty years ago the population of the area was just over 5,400; it is now about 2,900.

The south of Harris is better known for its association with Lord Leverhulme. Obbe, later Leverburgh, became the centre of his schemes. He built a large pier, huge kippering sheds, houses for the workers, roads and lighthouses, and blasted away underwater rocks which hindered free navigation. The bulk of this work was complete in 1924, but when he died (in 1925) his successors, in the cold light of economics, decided to close down the embryo industry and realise its assets. The harbour works had cost £250,000; they were sold for £5,000 to a demolition company. Leverhulme's memorials are still to be seen. The west coast of Harris is now becoming known for the long stretches of shell sand and the green machar-land beside it, a true delight for the tourist seeking isolation.

Tarbert is the central village in Harris, with a population of 631 about 400. It is a thriving community, nestling at the foot of 621 Beinn an Teanga and at the head of the sheltered anchorage of East Loch Tarbert—sheltered from the prevailing south-westerly winds and from the Atlantic storms. The car ferries give direct [505] contact with the Scottish mainland, via Skye, and Tarbert also

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

361 Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which is about half a mile across at its narrowest, coursed by strong • [123] tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter, rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides; 361 the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a 311 tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green [134] shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the [241] Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds [133] in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser population at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was severely limited by the minute amount of land available for tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict the range and quality of crops grown.

Scarp was originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by *195 eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not 361 only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access [164] to good pasturage on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1823 thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Resort, Harris, and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate their families who had come from elsewhere. In 1861 the population [162] was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951 it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat, plying between two stone-built jetties.

The local economy was essentially a subsistence one, with self- 133, sufficiency in such products as potatoes, turnips, cabbages, oats, 241 milk and fish. After a break of some years lobster-fishing has 231 recently been reinstated as an occupation. Oil lamps are the only 226 lighting, though a few houses have piped water. The small shop 357

10 THE OTHER ISLANDS

THE continued evacuation of islands is a problem peculiar to Scotland. In the eighteenth century some 8 per cent of Scots lived on islands; today the figure is less than 2 per cent. Island populations today account for about 30 per cent of the total Highland (crofting counties) population. The difficulty for most islands is the relationship between population density and potential for economic development.

As though reflecting the relationship of man to man on Lewis-with-Harris—keeping together in community for survival—the other islands round the larger island mass have played some role at one time or another in recorded history. Most of the socially-significant islands of Harris have been described in Chapter 9. Lewis has very few, and these are mostly far-flung oceanic outliers.

North Rona

To begin at the northern point of the Lewis parish, about 45 miles NNE of the Butt of Lewis is North Rona, a block of hornblende schist with pegmatite intrusions. Though the island has never figured in any Census reports, since the Census began, it has been inhabited from time to time. Of about 300 acres in extent, it is cliff-bound and reaches 355 ft at its highest point. It lies in a part of the Atlantic where a deep swell seems perpetual, and landings can be difficult.

Dean Monro comments: 'Towards the north northeist from Lewis, three score myles of sea, lyes and little ile callit Roney, laiche maine land, inhabit and manurit be simple people, scant of ony religione.' The Dean's 'simple people' were no recent settlers. They were in fact the continuation of a community which had inhabited North Rona for at least 700 years previously. Tradition has it that the first inhabitant was St Ronan, who built a small monastic cell or hermitage there some time during the eighth century, but there may have been earlier inhabitants.

THE OTHER ISLANDS

Account, there was one family there, that of the person employed by the owner to look after the livestock. The owner was a Ness tacksman who paid £4 sterling rent per annum. The island produce was corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep and sometimes a cow, and some wild fowl and feathers.

In 1844 Rona was evacuated, its last inhabitant being, in the seventh year of Queen Victoria's reign, the 'King of Rona', Donald MacLeod, who lived in almost prehistoric conditions. Rona was without inhabitants until 1884, when a last attempt at resettlement was made by two men from Ness. This was a self-imposed exile, after a difference of opinion with the minister of their parish; in penance, they hied themselves off to Rona. In 1885 a relief boat called and found both men dead, one from natural causes, the other from starvation and exhaustion after nursing his friend. By the fireside of their hut was a pot ready for the preparation of a meal they never ate.

Today, man's connection with the island is maintained by the small party of Lewis shepherds who each year make the journey to shear the sheep which still graze on the green slopes around the now-ruined village. Otherwise, only the occasional traveller now lands there. In June 1956, North Rona with its associated rock, Sulasgeir, was declared a National Nature Reserve on account of its importance as a breeding ground for colonies of oceanic birds—guillemots, puffins, kittiwakes, and fulmars—and for its seal colony.

Sulasgeir

Sulasgeir is twelve miles west of North Rona, a lonely rock in the Atlantic, bleak and grassless, and tunnelled by caves and gullies. The only life it has ever supported is seabirds—officially. Yet one of the old buildings is said to be a chapel and is called 'Tigh Beannaicht' (House of Blessing). According to Ness tradition, Sulasgeir was once used as a prison for sheep-stealers, and it is also said that Brenhilda, sister to St Ronan, was left on the island to perish. Yet another tradition claims that it was at this rock that Prince Charles Edward made his first contact with his Scots clansmen, when the ship that carried him to Scotland was spoken to by a Ness boat making for North Rona.

THE OTHER ISLANDS

north-west of Gallan Head. There are seven main islands, all small, high and cliffbound, and a number of rock stacks and islets. All are uninhabited. Eilean Mhor, the largest, of 39 acres, has an automatic light. Dean Monro's description of the islands as 'nouder manurit, nor inhabit, but full of grein high hills and scheipe' still holds, for sheep are taken annually from Lewis to the grazing on the Flannans. Their name is said to be derived from the ninth-century St Flann, whose saintly influence was recognised during the centuries when men from Lewis visited the islands for their harvest of wool, wild fowl and feathers.

The Flannans were the scene of a great sea-mystery: the complete and utter disappearance of three men from the lighthouse at the turn of this century. In December 1900, the lighthouse, with its 140,000-candlepower beam 283 ft above sea level, was a year old. It had taken four years to build instead of the estimated two. All the materials had to be swung up piecemeal from the boats and hauled up the almost sheer 70 ft cliffs to the top. That month a passing ship, the *Archer*, noticed that the Flannans light was out; a message was sent to the Flannans shore station at Breaclete, Lewis, and the *Hesperus*, preparing to pay a Christmas visit to the lighthouse, got under weigh.

Its crew landed and searched the island, but found no trace of the missing keepers. In the lighthouse was an uncanny silence. The fire was dead. The clock had stopped ticking. The beds had been made up in the clean, clinical way of all sailors. And in the galley, the pots, pans and dishes sparkled their welcome to the searchers. In the lamp-room the lamp was cold. The wicks had been trimmed and the lenses polished. The logbook showed a last entry on 0900 hours, Saturday 15 December. In the subsequent investigation some theories were offered in explanation of the disappearance, but none quite fitted. The mystery remains, a haunting, unexorcised cloud hovering over the island.

The Shiant Isles

Turning to the east coast of Lewis, in the parish of Lochs are the Shiant Isles, about 4 miles off-shore, across the Sound of Shiant (Gaelic: charmed, enchanted). There are three islands in the group: Eilean an Tigh (House Island), Garbh Eilean (Rough

THE SHIANT ISLES

Island) and Eilean Mhuire (Mary's Island). The Shiants are the eroded relic of the same age of volcanic activity that formed the strange-looking columns of Staffa and of the Giant's Causeway in Antrim. The mass of cooling molten rock slowly crystallized and changed in composition: the early-formed crystals sank to the bottom, the later ones being found nearer the top. In 1845 one family lived on Garbh Eilean, the largest, which is joined to Eilean an Tigh by a low storm beach; but the family was lost, falling over one of the great precipices which are a feature of the group. In 1821, 2 males and 4 females lived there; in 1891, 3 males and 5 females; and in 1901, 4 males and 4 females. But in this year the last family upped and went to Tarbert, Harris; for one of its members, a girl of 21, it was the first visit to the outside world. Since then there has been no permanent population. Back between 1811 and 1821 a visitor to the Shiants had some hard things to say about the filth and darkness of the shepherd's dwelling in contrast with the 'loveliness of nature, the bright sand, the fair rock, the enamelled green turf, and the sweetness of the summer breeze'.

Records show that at one time in the islands' history some sixteen people lived there, working small crofts. The ruins of their chapel can still be seen. The author Sir Compton MacKenzie had the house on Eilean an Tigh renovated for a stay there, and later the islands were bought by Nigel Nicholson, author and publisher. Today they are used for grazing sheep.

St Kilda

The St Kilda group of islands, some 45 miles off the west coast of Lewis, belong to the parish of Harris. These islands have an extensive literature and can only be touched on here. When the population was evacuated from St Kilda in 1930, the move broke for all time almost 2,000 years of continuous island living; they were taken off at their own request, after much careful and serious deliberation by the St Kilda 'parliament'. Life in Hirta, the only island in the group with a permanent human settlement, depended on the seabirds that breed in their tens of thousands on the cliffs of Hirta and Boreray, and the great stacks of Stac an Armin and Stac Lee. The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars

CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

(a) THE GEOGRAPHIC SETTING: THE BRITISH ISLES, SCOTLAND AND THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLES

1. *A 'Heart' of the 'North and West' of Britain*

IN the 'Outer' Hebrides, commonly regarded as the most 'outlying' inhabited lands of the British Isles, are revealed not only the most ancient of British rocks, the Archaean, but probably the oldest form of communal life in Britain. This life, in present and past, will interest

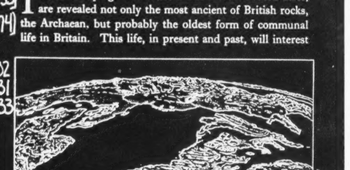

FIG. 1.—Global view of the 'Outer' Hebrides, seen as the heart of the 'North and West' of Britain.

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. I

some by characteristics which may seem unique. But it will interest others by features of underlying universality. These might be compared to the Archaean rock, overlain toward the south-east by a succession of younger strata, but forming their foundation.

In this rocky land, the roots of Island life are laid bare; the rhythm of work responds to the day's weather and the cycle of the year. Yet the flowering of communal life in song and spiritual tradition may offer a fresh vision of regional, even of national, being. Indeed it is in characteristics latent in the evolution of the whole 'North and West' of the British Isles that Island life is most revealing.

Rising in imagination to a point above the summits of the Harris hills, and viewing the British Isles from the 'far' north-west, we gain a new perspective (Fig. 1). The Island below us is now the nearest; the 'Outer' Isles, the innermost. To us now, as to the Islesmen, their Island home is no mere fringe, but a heart of Britain.

Thence, looking to the lands across the Minch, each further from the Isles of home, there appear, in turn, three regions: (1) the rest of the Highlands and Isles; (2) the Lowlands and Uplands of Scotland; and (3) Ireland, Wales and Cornwall, and Northern England—all sculptured in rocks older than those of the Lowland or 'Plain' of England beyond. These three roughly concentric regions, from Harris to the edge of the 'Plain', may be grouped together with the intervening estuarine lowlands—not only Clydeside and the Solway but the 'firth-land' of Mersey-and-Deeside, and that of the Bristol Channel. To these, one might add the shores of an outer Minch, the *Manche* or 'English' Channel, which once linked Devon and Cornwall to Armorica. Beyond

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

/p. 107/ General view of the town of Stornoway. Broad Bay is in the far background; the street on the right is South Beach

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/p. 108/ Blackface sheep: a typical Lewis scene and an essential element in the island's economy

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(*above*) An island industry, small but socially significant: the seaweed processing factory at Keose, Loch Erisort, Lewis

/p. 126/

(*below*) Feeding wet seaweed into the factory's drying plant. The dried product is milled and exported by puffer for subsequent processing

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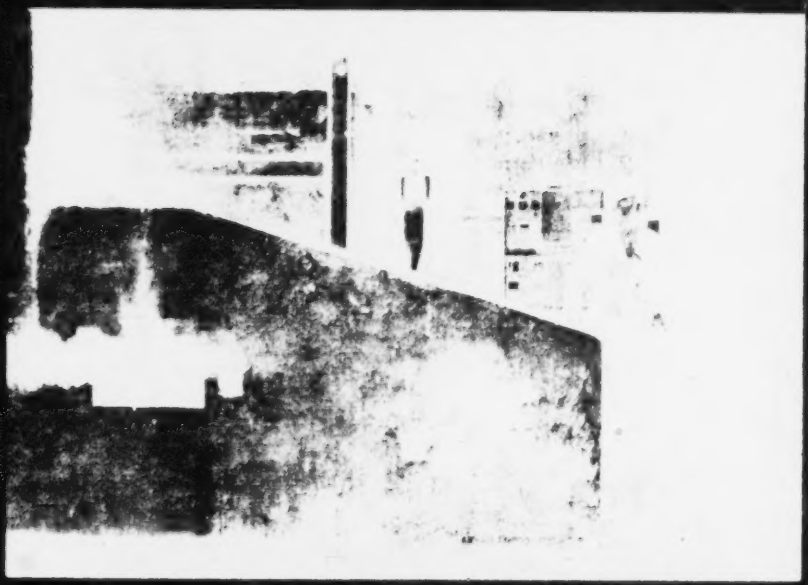

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(*above*) Sheep shearing: the first stage to Harris Tweed

/p. 143/

(*below*) Natives of Shawbost, Lewis, engaged on wool dyeing, c 1910

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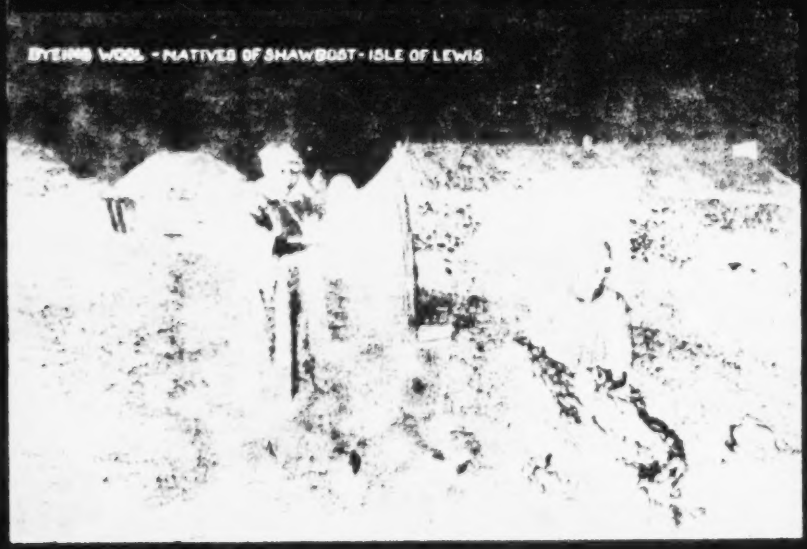

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photograph by Robert H. Adam

PLATE I. ON THE ATLANTIC COAST OF LEWIS

The township of Cliff, Valtos, on West Loch Roag (April 1938). In the right foreground are three 'black houses', one with a new chimney and gable end.

/facing p. 26/

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photograph by Violet Banks

PLATE V. CROFTERS DIPPING BLACKFACE SHEEP

Across the Sound of Harris, Sollas, North Uist. 'The sheep have been gathered in from the "common."'

/p. 40-c/

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

Britain, on the horizon, the eye may descry the coasts of Scandinavia, the Low Countries, France and Iberia. This far-flung regional grouping within the British Isles—which extends for 800 miles from the Shetland to the Scilly Isles—may be called ' the North and West '.

Four border-lines may be drawn to bound these regions: the hill-foot ' Highland Line ', the Scottish Border, the border of Wales with the Pennine-and-Moorland-foot, and lastly, for the whole, a line drawn from the Severn to the Tees. Of these four lines (or border-tracts), the last, which divides the British Isles into two different types of landscape and life, is not the least significant. On one side lies the whole of ' the North and West ', with its isles and headlands, its mountains and hills, hewn in old rock, and its firthlands, straths and marginal, hill-foot lowlands, all sculptured markedly both by rivers and ice, and heaped with glacial drift. On the other lies the ' Plain ' of south-eastern England, or simply ' the South-east ', of which the low scarplands of younger rocks slope smoothly down to mainly river-sculptured vales, and are bounded by smoother coasts.[1]

Geographically, this succession is one of complexes with recurrent features of height and hollow, land and sea, rather than of sharply defined blocks; its marches are tracts of transition rather than boundary lines. But essential characters of the two zones are revealed by the main boundary

[1] Strictly, the alternation of vales with wolds and downs, which characterises England south-east of the Pennines, would justify the term ' lowland '; but with our Scottish and Highland perspective, the English ' lowland ' appears a ' plain ', and for simplicity, the ' Plain ', or simply ' the South-east ', is used throughout this book. The physical and geological maps of the British Isles in an atlas may serve to illustrate this perspective; they should be viewed from the north-west by turning the map with the north-west islands towards one, and the plains of England and the Continent furthest away.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

line; and there can be no doubt of the contrast found at the extremes. How strikingly different from any view over the English Plain is this, from the air or a mountain-top! It overlooks the ice-scraped rock of the fells; the drift-heaped, ill-drained hollows studded with gleaming lochs and deeply overgrown with peat; and the indented, insular coastline with its widely spaced crofting townships looking seaward, where a few fishers' sails may dot the vast expanse of ocean. In 1951 the population of Lewis-and-Harris numbered only 28,000 persons, and that of the entire Outer Hebrides some 36,000; but the small numbers need not lessen the geographical significance of the community.

Men have long recognised the homogeneity of the English ' Plain ', with its recurring vale and wold, compact within a rounded coastline. In spite of the local variety of landscape, history or dialect, which enriched its heritage and compose its grandeur and charm, men have sensed the unity inherent in this land of a single tongue, centred upon a single capital. By contrast, the diversities in landscape, life and tongues of the lands far-flung to north and west have obscured the elements of a profound, underlying unity in geographic origins and in historic and social evolution. To understand the civilisation of the British Isles, it is vital first to perceive the complementary qualities found in the two great regions, and face their corresponding weaknesses or limitations. Second, within the less understood of the two regions, ' the North and West ', it is vital to study the almost bewildering variety in regional types of life—distinguishing, for instance, the uprooted populations all too typical of the rural Lowlands of Scotland or Northumberland from the still deep-rooted communities of the Highlands and Isles.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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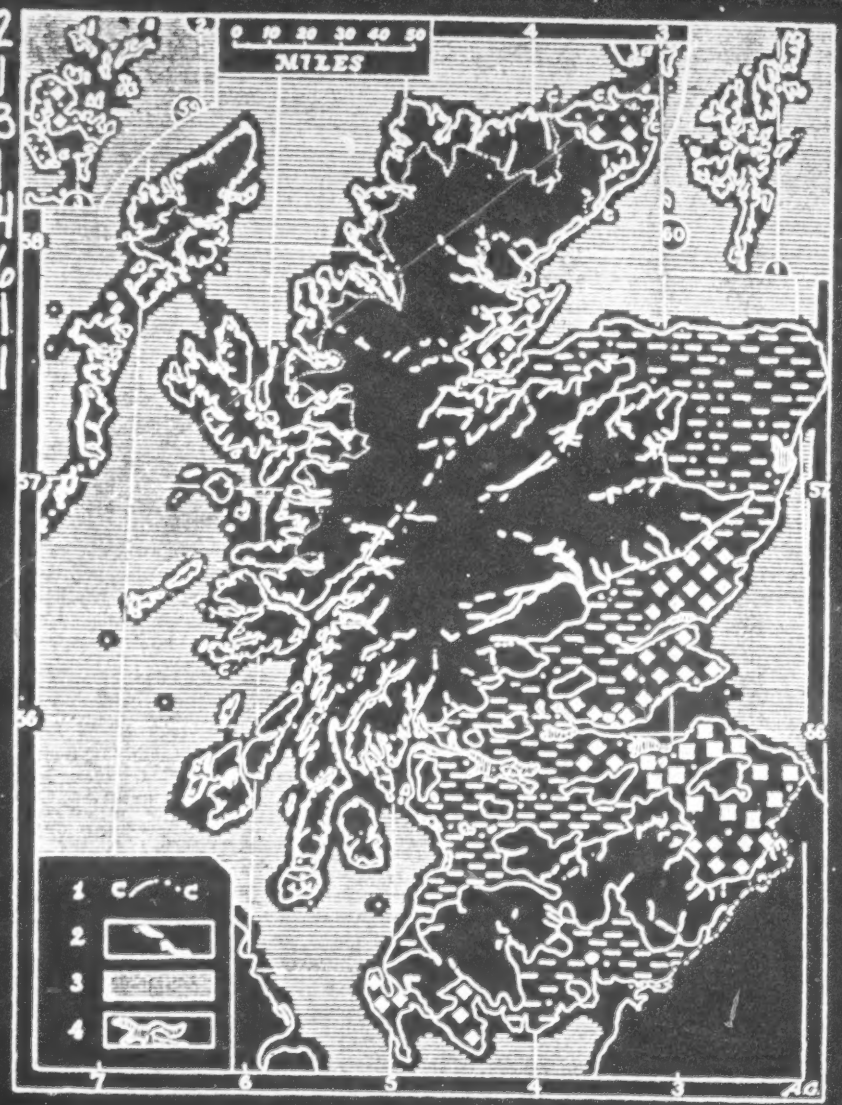

FIG. 2.—Map to show (i) the use of land and sea in and around Scotland, with special reference to the Crofting Townships Zone of the NW. Highlands and Isles, and (ii) the average size in each county of labour-teams of farms and small-holdings in the Lowlands

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Let us begin with the economic and the social significance of the Highlands and Isles with which we are concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space' is the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown black) which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore waters, and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by line C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or communities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainland and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazing; the line C also encloses a small area devoted to other grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, mainland, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill country are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small farms and small-holdings.

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In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint labour-team on land formed the communal units contained within

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Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C .... C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black areas: strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings
(in the Lowlands)

The symbols show the average number of employees per team in each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

(a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm
— 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
◆ 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
■ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(b) Per Full-time Small Holding
• 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

131 (1) Stornoway stretches from the town north to Tolsta;
632 (2) Barvas from the north of the Island southwards, past Barvas village (WNW. of Stornoway) five miles further to Bragar;
(3) Uig covers the rest of the south-west coast; and
(4) Lochs, the remainder of the south-east coast.

131 Seen from the sea, the Island chiefly presents dark,
133 gneissic, heath-fringed cliffs whose steep walls become gentle slopes towards the south as we enter the bays, sea lochs and firths which run far inland (Plates I to IV). As one sails northward along the east coast of Lewis, there are few hills to be seen, and these are below 1000 feet; most of the island is rolling moor, rarely rising above 300 feet. Here and there new houses stand out, the 'white houses' (*tighean geala*), which, however, are usually grey
342 or even dark in colour. These dwellings have generally been stone-built and were often slate-roofed; asbestos roofs are now common. Yet even when dark, these new cottages are conspicuous beside the low 'black houses' with their rounded forms of wall and roof, and with thatch overspread by a faint haze of blue peat reek, like the bloom
133 upon a fruit. Their plots of corn, though each may be so
[243] tiny as to appear but a spot at a distance, together form a bright patch against the dark brown moor. In the sketch which forms the Key to the Map of Vegetation and Settlements (Fig. 8), an attempt has been made to bring the map and the landscape alive to the mind's eye, from the hills of North Harris north-eastward to the Butt of Lewis.

131 Turning the north cape of Lewis, 'the Butt', and sailing
133 southwards along the west coast, we see hills increasing in height in the Uig district, rising to those of Harris with

131 summits of up to 2622 feet. South of this chain of hills
133 the ground drops again on a peninsula some twelve miles long and only seven miles wide. This forms the more populous part of Harris with its 'sandy shore', the Machar, facing the Atlantic, and its rocky bays and fishing hamlets
[134] on the Minch.[1] Lewis has its 'machars' too, areas of white shell sand, which is so light that it blows up the
[504] hillsides, thus improving the pasture-land; but there is little 'machar' on the eastern coast, save for the south-western shores of the great sandy North or Broad Bay, enclosed by the peninsula of I, or Eye, which also acts as the outer breakwater for the harbour of Stornoway.

131 Landing at Stornoway and leaving behind us the pines,
133 and the wind-pruned sycamore woods around Lews Castle, we find ourselves among the small fields of the
361 villages which are partly suburban to Stornoway. Inland
[137] stretch the gently rolling, brown and somewhat melancholy moors that cover so much of the Lews. From the Butt of Lewis to the beginning of the Harris hills one could make a bee-line SSW., midway through the Island for over thirty miles, without passing a house or a strip of corn, and seeing only a tiny, ramshackle hut, a shieling (or *àirigh*), used for six weeks in the year when the cattle are taken to the summer pasture. All the villages are in sight of the sea, and generally close to it, with only one inland exception, Achmore, south-west of Stornoway, founded after 1850. The hills of Harris are not less lonely than the moors of the Lews.

18 Diversity is one of the fascinations of such an island
131 as this. Although, like the founders of Stornoway, all
133

[1] *Am machair* ('ch' as in 'loch', also anglicised as 'macher'), n.f. the plain, smooth beach-land or links. A sandy beach or ebb-strand, *tràigh*, n.f., backed by *machair*, contrasts with a pebbly beach, *cladach*, n.m., backed by rougher beach-land, as in the Cladach district of W. Lewis.

18 these communities of 'fisher-crofters' settled at the meet-
131 ing of sea and land, yet differences of topography and
133 situation are still accompanied by differences of emphasis in their dual way of life. Although insularity might lead one to presuppose homogeneity, actually the seaways by which an island may be reached may bring groups of different race to land at different spots, each spot appropriate to their way of life. Differing social economies may develop there, and differences of race may be maintained; divergences are found along with the convergence due to the elements common to the whole island and to its
[178] history. From prehistory to the coming of Leverhulme we shall find this crossing of influences in the Island microcosm, the Island drama.

2. *Structure and Rock-types of the Western Highlands and Isles*

133 In Fig. 3 are sketched those features of structure and rock-type which have guided the work of ages of erosion, influencing both the 'plan' and coastlines of Western Scotland and the surfaces and scenery of the land. In their turn, both surface and mineral composition have influenced the life of plants and animals. This sketch map should be compared to an atlas map of relief, settlements and routes. This less familiar aspect has been selected both because rock-type is a factor in the causation of land-forms and soils, and because rock structure is basic to the forms and coasts of the mainland and the Isles.

[131] The parallelism of the main trends on either side of the Minch is seen in the structural boundaries of its coasts, which are of Archaean rock or Archaean foundation (A on Fig. 3), as are Coll and Tiree, and South-west Islay.

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FIG. 3.—Sketch map of selected features of structure and rock-types of NW. Scotland

133 Except for this fringe, the prevailing rocks of the Highlands include acid rocks: the Moine Schists, the 'Dalradian rocks' of the South-west, and the granite masses such as the Cairngorms. Plateau surfaces and benches, worn, uplifted and stepped at various heights, were veined by torrent and river, cutting narrow valleys; and later these river valleys were gouged and widened by glacier and ice-sheet to become steep-sided glens and wide-floored straths.
131 Between the main, parallel coastal trends, Skye stands out as a great extrusive mass of lavas—not acid but basic in composition, almost 'bridging' the Minch and the Sea of the Hebrides.

Forces of stress, strain and shear are betrayed by 'lines of crushing' in the Outer Hebrides, and of faulting (FF) on the mainland. Most notable of these fault lines are those of the Great Glen and of the 'Great Boundary Fault' that divides the Highland from the Lowland rocks, extending from Arran and the Lower Clyde north-eastwards. Still other trends are revealed by the lines of sea-loch and river, lying not only SW.–NE. but W.–E. and also NW.–SE. These lines linked the greater inhabited coastlands, loch-sides and straths of the Moray Basin to the North-
131 west. Finally, a line of overthrust, from near Cape Wrath

Key to Fig. 3 (opposite)

A	Archaean Gneiss and Granite Gneiss, etc. (Lewisian)	F	Principal Faults
a	Highland Schists (including Moine and Dalradian Granites, etc.)	J	Jurassic Ironstones in and near Skye
B	Plateaus of Basic Lavas	O	Overthrust, Cambrian with some Limestones
C	Igneous Complexes	ORS	Old Red Sandstone
		t	Torridonian Sandstones, etc.
		Δ	Dominant peaks

Note. The map shows selected features relevant to the structure of the Hebrides and the north and north-west of the British Isles, and the rock-types influencing scenery and surface, vegetation and agriculture.

133 southwards to Skye, bounds the Archaean gneiss and the
131 stratified Torridonian sandstones of the North-west.

Given the possibility of 'continental drift', Scotland's NW. crustal block may have 'drifted' along the line of the Great Glen south-south-westwards for a distance of some sixty miles, relatively to the rest of the Highland mass. The primary evidence leading to this suggestion is the identification of the Foyers and Strontian Granites, situated on opposite sides of the Great Glen some sixty miles apart, as mechanically displaced portions of one original mass. Such horizontal movement may be related to the great Hercynian mountain-building movements of Carboniferous times so marked in south-east England.[1] This movement would have formed a major factor in leading to the development of the present structure and rock-types, plan and land-forms of the NW. coast and the Hebrides, Inner and Outer.

3. *Structure and Rock-types of the Island*

The axis of the Island lies NNE. to SSW. It consists of an ancient rock mass, the 'block' character of which is revealed by the geometrical mosaic of the coastlines and lochs. In simple terms, the fault lines are comparable to the long, fairly straight cracks to be found in any hard block of even consistency, split under stresses and strains. These systems of faults lie in at least two main directions. The main, axial trend is followed by South Harris and by much of the east coast. Each trend seems to have other faults lying at an angle to it, though not necessarily at right angles. Hence we find more than four main trends for the lines of coasts, lochs, rivers, bounding the hill blocks. These must be due to somewhat different stresses

113 [1] W. Q. Kennedy, *Q. J. Geol. Soc.*, vol. cii, part i, 1946 (p. 41).

133 and strains at succeeding periods. Comparison should be made with Fig. 4, (*a*) and (*b*).

Like a jointed claw, there is attached to the main island the double peninsula of Stornoway and of Eye: *I* in Gaelic, or 'Point District' in English. This double peninsula is of different structure and rock-type to the rest. Eye or Point District itself might be an island but for the wash of shingle and sands which—caught no doubt in the eddy caused by southerly gales and by the tides—have covered the bottom of Broad or North Bay and formed the spit of sand or isthmus that links Eye to the inner peninsula of Stornoway.

Most of the area is occupied by crystalline rocks belonging to the oldest known division of British rocks, the Archaean or the 'Lewisian Gneiss'. This gneiss, however, represents a great complex including rocks of widely different periods. In South Harris it includes altered limestones, locally improving the derived soils. Of notable interest as a clue to structure is the zone of crushed gneisses bordering the Minch.

In the south-west of Eye Peninsula, and round Stornoway, there occur remains of a sedimentary formation, younger than the Lewisian Gneiss. These Stornoway beds have had a dual effect on settlement. First of all, their existence and formation have allowed of deep indentation, giving a good harbour with an isthmus not far off. Stornoway harbour itself is due to the erosion of these rocks about intrusions or dykes of more resistant crinanite. Secondly, the better nature of the soil derived from these weathered sandstones and conglomerates has aided reclamation and cultivation.

Comparison of the geology with the relief (Fig. 4, (*a*) and (*b*)) will show certain local correspondences of high relief with resistant rock, such as the granite-gneiss at its

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 36

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

131 Before the making of
174 roads, it was ease of sailing which united island peoples
[491] and their territories. One can wade or drive, at low tide,
[505] over the fords that unite the Isle of Benbecula with the
[491] two Uists, North and South: in fact, a bridge now connects Benbecula with South Uist. But only the roughest of hill tracks led through the hills of North Harris from the 'Tarbert' or Isthmus of Harris to the nearest habitation at the head of Loch Seaforth or Loch Erisort, in the Lews. This is a distance of some twenty miles, or a fair day's tramp for an unloaded man, and far too much for a return
[823] journey in one day. Hence separation of territory and name was natural. This separation no longer exists as
131 there is now a good 'bus service from Rodel via Tarbert
178 to Stornoway which links Harris with the daily Kyle to
823 Stornoway steamer. In this book, the Island, or the
494 Islanders, refers to Lewis-and-Harris with its people, as one.

101 Lewis is included in Ross-shire (of which the county town is Dingwall, north of Inverness) and Harris in
131 Inverness-shire, together with the rest of the 'Long
634 Island'. The county boundary cuts across the six-mile isthmus north of the hills of North Harris, from the in-reaching Loch Seaforth WNW. to Loch Resort (Fig. 8). All the Outer Hebrides are now included in the Parliamentary constituency of the Western Isles. Proposals to unite the Island under one District Council, or the Outer Hebrides under one County Council, are more favourably viewed in Stornoway than in Harris or the
632 Southern Isles. Harris forms one civil parish, while Lewis is divided into four: Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs.
[133] The Lewis parish boundaries traversing the moors are inset
[131] in Fig. 8 so that their trends can be readily grasped, and the inhabited portions of the parishes quickly located (p. 50).

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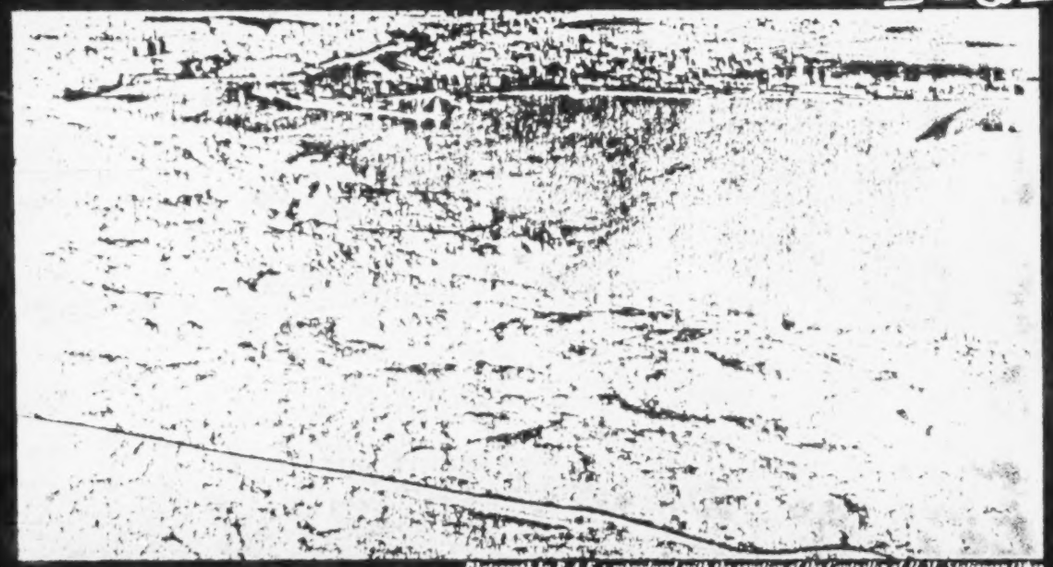
/facing p. 27/



Photograph by R.A.F.; reproduced with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

PLATE II. AIR VIEW OVER STORNOWAY BAY, LOOKING NORTH

The Point, with the inner harbour behind, is the nucleus of the burgh; nineteenth-century extension filled up the ground inland. Lews Castle is on the left

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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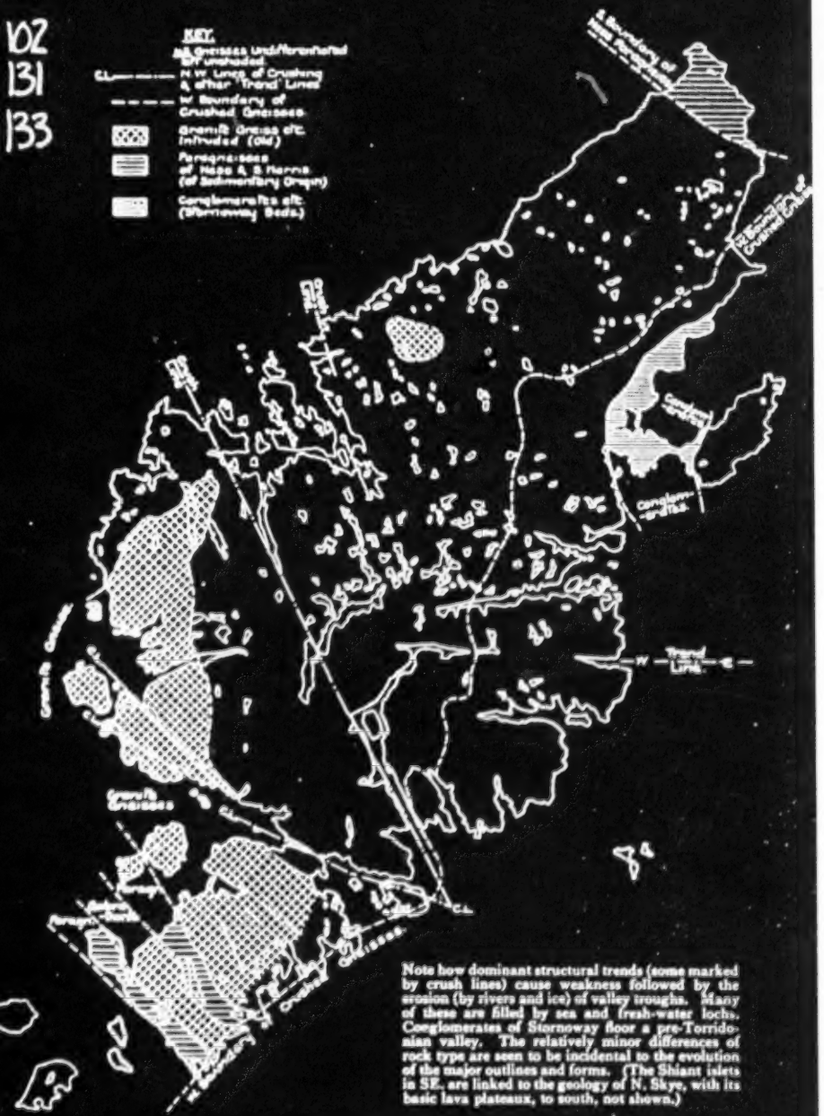

FIG. 4 (a).—Lewis-and-Harris: Geology (after Jehu and Craig)

/p. 34/

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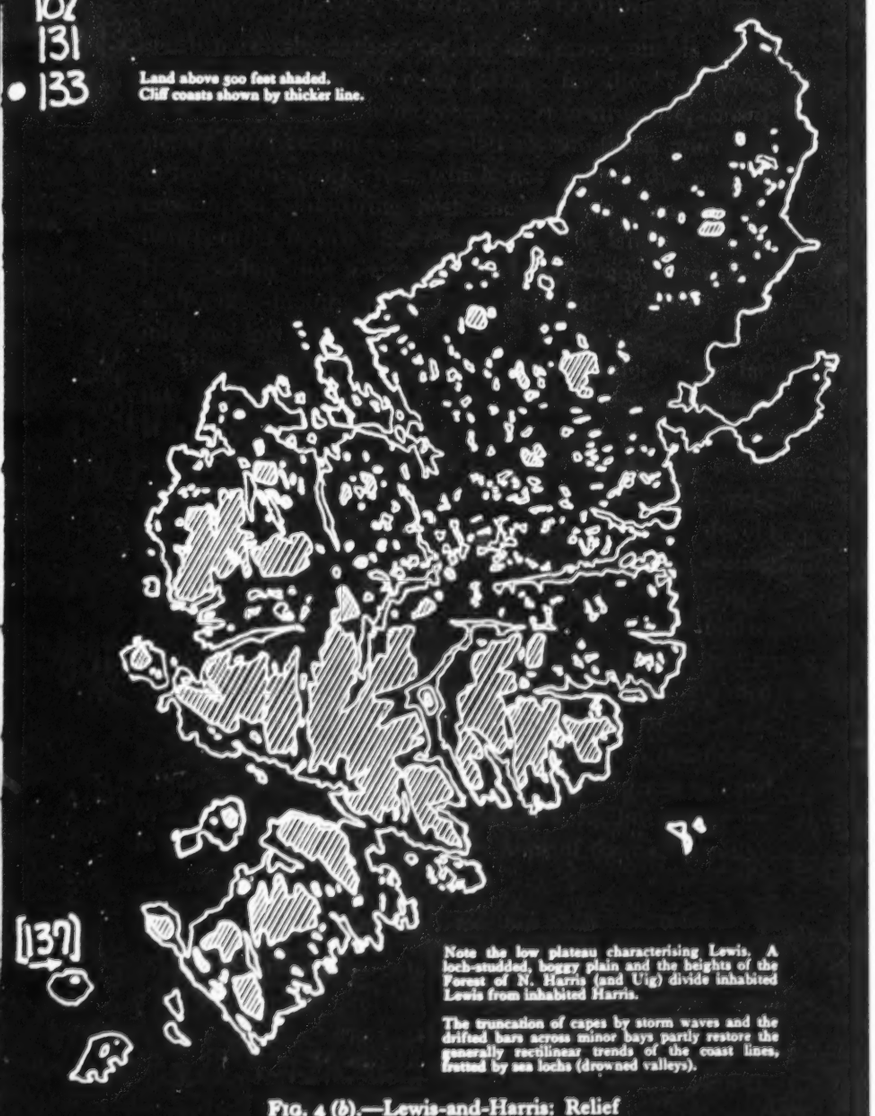

[137]

FIG. 4 (b).—Lewis-and-Harris: Relief

/p. 35/

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• 133 most northerly outlier, yet, in the main, on
not by the variety of rocks (except for the
Beds ') but by their homogeneity. It is struct
the uplift of certain masses relatively to others
differences in rock-type, which has guided t
erosion, in sculpturing both the Island's pl
details of its forms. Submergence of the land
the coastline into a zigzag line of ridge-capes
with valley-mouths flooded or ' drowned ' by
inlet and loch.

316 Historically the gneisses were of little value
[174] that they tend to split still helps the Islander
as it helped his ancestors when they raised the
[172] circles at Callanish on East Loch Roag. Ex
they are very basic (non-acid) in composition,
[135] poor road metal. Yet the gneisses are not q
of economic minerals, which include masses of
and the only large body of anorthosite or li
rock in Britain, conceivably a source of alumi
[439] manufacture.[1] Two feldspar quarries opened a
and Northton in South Harris in 1941 employe
during the war, the mineral being despatched f
burgh for use in the Staffordshire Potteries in
[178] facture of porcelain insulators. The higher gra
in Scandinavia and the better transport facilitie
to closing the quarries, with little hope of their

4. *Land-forms and Sea Floor*

133 To the faulted structure is due not only
plan, but the highland in middle and south, up

[113] [1] C. F. Davidson, "The Archaean Rocks of the Rodel Di
Roy. Soc. Edin., vol. 61, 1943, pp. 71-112.
[2] J. B. Caird, "The Isle of Harris", *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67

133 tively to the rolling upland in the north. Ages of 'normal' denudation by running water must have worn away most of what later rocks may have overlain the gneiss, smoothing the Island's forms. Glaciation, however, played the latest part in this process, roughly planing its lower surface as it flowed out to the open sea, or widening the stream-veined valleys and gouging out the corries which make the craggy beauty of the Deer Forest of Harris.

A characteristic of many of the lower hills of South Lewis and of Harris is the greater steepness of their slopes to west than to east (or south-east) and the drift material heaped there. Scenically, this lends a feeling of rhythm to the skyline when viewed from north or south, as of westward moving waves. It was the ice-sheet, working upon structure and pre-existing form, which steepened the western slopes 'to lee' of its westward flow, by its 'plucking' action.

133 137 [182] [134] The chief and most important characteristic of the major surface of the Island is its rolling, hummocky topography, so different from that of a river-sculptured land. Negative as is its influence upon the life of plant communities, animals and men, its importance can hardly be exaggerated. Whereas river and stream drain a land, as they etch their way into its surface, and their deposits are laid down in gentle, regular slopes, glacier and ice-sheet leave an irregular, ill-drained surface. Upon this surface, waterlogging takes place, the life of plants and soil bacteria is slowed down, and so peat accumulates, rather than the humus which might enrich the soil in a similar temperate climate upon better drained slopes. Not only the climate of the present, but of the past, hinders the processes of plant life, and all that these can mean to man.

133 Except for the sandy bays hidden beyond the headlands, or the long machar of west South Harris, the coast of the Island at high tide rises straight from the undermining breakers, rugged and uncompromising. A series of sandy 'storm-beaches' links the lower promontories, but the series of raised beaches found on the mainland and the inner isles seem absent round the Island. Along the western mainland and the Inner Hebrides, a secret harmony links the lines of the sea with those of the land, even on their wildest coasts of gneiss. Above the level plane of the sea, the shores of the mainland rise in rhythmic curves, tier above tier, some 10, 25, 50 and 100 feet, above the present line of waves and the triple band of colour which marks the shore at ebb-tide, formed of golden tangle, grey barnacles and pitch-black rock. These tiers are the 'raised beaches' of a coast which has emerged, by stages, to some 100 feet above the sea.

Lacking the raised beaches of an emerged coast, the Outer Hebrides show no clean-cut terraces like those of the mainland, inviting little communities to lay out their homesteads in an orderly way. For this reason, the older, unplanned crofts spot the landscape in an irregular way which is sometimes picturesque, yet often almost uncouth. The raised beaches have given the Gaels living east of the Minch a few precious acres of passable ploughland which would otherwise be lacking. In the Outer Isles compensation is found on the smooth machars of shell sand. These machars lie mostly on the stormy Atlantic shore, so that the more cultivable fringes of the Outer Hebrides turn their back to the mainland—except round Stornoway, a reason for their isolation.

[241] [361] [134]

In detail, the coasts may be grouped in three types: (1) sloping to the sea, by the sides of sheltered lochs;

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PLATE XII. A MOTHER AND CHILD AT TARBERT, HARRIS

/facing p. 93/

194
613 of the Norsemen, lay a succession of earlier periods. A
172 phase of primitive settlements is traceable in archaeo-
logical remains and in recent and contemporary survivals.
174 It is shown in the physical race-traits distinguishing those in one part of the Island from those in another. Fragments of tradition telling of the first Christian missionaries survived the Norse invasions and settlements, dated from A.D. 800 or before, down to Haco's defeat on the Clyde at Largs in 1256. These fragments can be linked to chronicles and to later tradition, on which they throw fresh light.

(144) A survey of the archaeology has been published,[1] but comparatively little, as yet, on race. Yet different communities are distinguished by marked racial types or strains. Although many, indeed most, of the race-strains of the Island must have entered it in prehistoric times, some are linked to tradition, and history accounts for the more
(141) recent immigrants. The striking element of race in the Outer Hebrides is a broad-headed type prevailing from Barra to the Lews, accompanied by medium stature and dark hair; it is also found across the Northern Minch. But within the Island are notable differences.

829 Variety of race being accentuated by difference in ways, the communities still comment pointedly upon one
(538) another! For instance, an old saying is not forgotten: "The folk of Cladach, but the gentlemen of Uig!" (*Muinntir a' Chladaich, ach daoin' uasaile Uig*),
(433) 'Cladach' being the western 'Beach' district possessing
(632) ploughland but poor fishing, which covers the modern
(133) parish of Barvas (excluding the north-west cliff-promontory

(113) [1] Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, *Outer Hebrides, Skye* etc.); 1928. V. G. Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, 1935; *Scotland Before the Scots*, 1946.

829 of Ness), while Uig is the most westerly promonto
(433) its natural fishing harbours. The authorship of t
(632) verb may be ascribed to the ladies and gentlemen
(133) yet the personal appearance of the victims, who a
broad-headed, gives the proverb a physical four
174 Again, the tall men of Ness, dark or fair, and rather
172 headed, still form a group apart from those of
141 each having taken root in prehistory, *i.e.* earli
surviving record.
144 Such facts correct several current misconceptio
race and heredity in their relation to Gaelic socie
and possible. First, it is still common to co
'Celtic' with a 'Norse race'. Now, Norse im
belonged to several races, and when they arrived,
race-streams were already mixing and eddying
Isles. After the immigration of Norsemen, the
corded was in 1611, consisting of gentlemen-tacksm
Kintail and burghal settlers to Stornoway, who we
posed of Gaelic-speaking families from Easter Ros
the people of today resemble some Scandinavia
rather than typical broad-headed Lewismen.

Second, it follows that no sweeping generalisat
yet be made as to the ways and habits of particul
The "Celtic race", one reads, have "never take
sea" as have the Norsemen.[1] The facts in the Is
that though the men of Ness, with a possible N
mixture, were considered better fishermen than
Cladach, and the present generation includes
number of seamen, their opportunities have bee
—their cape commanding wider fishing grounds
little port providing relative safety in storm. And
of Lochs and of the 'Bays' of Harris, though th

[1] For example, in the Brand Report on Lewis (1902).

172 of the Isles, and in which the people met, though far from
178 any clergy. On the southern mainland most trace of
346 shrines and chapels seems to have been lost, so small are
[771] the rings of unhewn stone that marked their sites. Little
175 was recorded by salaried clergy about the services conducted
814 there; those who approved tended to let well alone. Hence
written accounts have come down chiefly from those who
were out of touch with rural needs or ignorant of the
language spoken in intimacy, and whose alien training had
[217] removed them from sympathy.[1] As for those whose private
interests, stipend or subservience to patrons bound them
to prelate, lord or king, they roundly condemned free
congregations.

175 Nevertheless, fragmentary records have come down,
814 such as those of Martin, who visited St. Kilda in 1697 and
described the little church where the people still kept a
771 fine brass crucifix and worshipped together, without the
[184] presence of a clergyman. Naturally, the curiosity stimu-
lated by St. Kilda's fabulous isolation led Martin to de-
scribe its little community more fully than any other; but
he mentions similar worship elsewhere. Thus in lonely
North Rona, inhabited by only five families, Martin had

[133] [1] The difficulty of initiation to intimate usages of language is exemplified
in a scholarly and patriotic work, the *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*
(Gaelic-English, and English-Gaelic) by Malcolm Maclennan, D.D., 1925.
[192] This standard work incorporates all the words of three previous dictionaries,
with many additions. Yet key words of the people's religious heritage, of
immemorial age, of living usage, and recorded a generation or so before in
the collections cited here, are either absent, or are given the more prosaic
or debased of two shades of meaning (not the *higher*). See "*caim*, a case,
sheath" or *shrine*; "*tionnsgann*, a beginning" (a *dedication*); *earna*,
Hail or *salutation*; "*ora*, *orra*, or *ortha*, a charm . . . amulet . . . or
imposture of any kind . . . Irish . . . prayer in verse—from Latin,
oratio" (why prayer in 'Irish' only?); and other vital words. According
to this scholarly dictionary, the title of the supreme Scottish collection of
Gaelic religious tradition, Carmichael's *Ortha nan Gaidheal* (Latin, *Carmina
Gadelica*), is to be translated, not *Prayers*, but "*Charms* . . . or Impostures
. . . of the Gael"!

128 enclosing all, the zone from Severn to Tees. Having po
18 trayed the environment and life of the Island—' innermos
of the regional series, the next step was to extend th
survey beyond the Minch to the Highlands and Isles
a whole, and then to compare these with the regions e
tending south-eastward—' outwards '—from the Isles
the margin of the ' Plain ', through the regional series
group as ' the North-and-West '.

121 Two main tasks lie before us in making comprehensi
community surveys, once the geographical basis is esta
lished. The first task, historical in method, is the redi
[133] covery of cultural foundations. These might be compar
(as we said at the outset) to the Archaean gneiss laid ba
only in the North-west, but still the foundation, albeit
hidden one, of the ice-sculptured rocks of Highland Brita
from the pre-Cambrian to the coal at the margin of t
overlying, differently sculptured rocks of the ' Plain
Understanding of the past can help us to understand n
only the evidence of the present, but latent, underlyi
powers. Regional traditions, dormant for one, perha
for many generations, may germinate afresh if we c
understand the conditions in which they once grew a
also those needed to awaken them to new life in finer form

The other task of social survey must be to recogni
the communal efforts of the present, and with eyes u
dimmed by prejudices of class or culture, grasp the relati
of personal efficiency and self-realisation to life in tea
or groups. The inherent cultural interests of the peo
of each region in work and leisure must be evaluate
Underlying actual achievements, latent powers may
discovered which must be freed for communal attainme
Better work under better conditions should bring ab
the flowering of personality in harmonious communiti

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photograph by R.A.F., reproduced with the courtesy of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

PLATE XI. AIR VIEW OVER STORNOWAY HARBOUR, LOOKING SOUTH TO HARRIS

The original central street of the Point can be seen (cf. Plate II and Fig. 12). The woods of Lewis Castle lie across the Bay, with Arnish Moor beyond

/facing p. 92/

clay is exposed, leaving what is vividly called 'skinned' land. And where drift is exposed, the mineral constituents are leached out, and a hard 'moor pan' is left a few inches below the surface.

Seen from the edge of the crofts, the typical 'skinned lands' of bare, blue or brownish clay, littered with stones, suggest a desert. Often, only a few blades of grass or tufts of heather grow on them. Indeed, 'skinned land' seems at first too mild a term, for on it the stones—thickest on top when undisturbed, and bleached by the acids of the peat that overlay them—suggest the prophet's 'field of bones'. One can only ask, is the rest of his vision ever to be fulfilled and life to spring again? In some hilly parts to south and west, not only the 'skin', the topmost layer of peat, but the very soil, the flesh as it were, is still being stripped bare to the bone, the actual rock. The evacuation of the islet of Bernera Beag (Uig) was largely due to this stripping. In the more level parts to the north, however, roadside pits show sections of clay with few stones, covered with perhaps six inches of clay with many stones. It is this top layer which gives the skinned land such a hopelessly stony appearance, and shows that reclamation is less miraculous than it seems.

With the coming of carts and lorries the increasing use of shell sand has become possible, whether for spreading on the land or for slipping into pockets, together with fertilisers, for potato seed. As to soils, shell sand and boulder clay possess complementary qualities in texture and chemical composition. The shell sand of the machars provided an early home for man, the light soil allowing rye, a poor variety of oats, and herbage, to ripen early and mature in late, wet seasons when the clays are sodden with rain. Yet the sand itself is so light that drought is

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photograph by Robert M. Adam

PLATE VII. WESTERN NORTH HARRIS FROM THE ISLET OF SCARP

View due east across the Sound of Scarp to the hills of North Harris : the furthest is Tirga Mor (2227 ft.). From the crofter-fishers' homesteads (left foreground) potato patches and hayfields extend towards the hill and wall of common grazing (extreme right foreground)

/facing p. 48/

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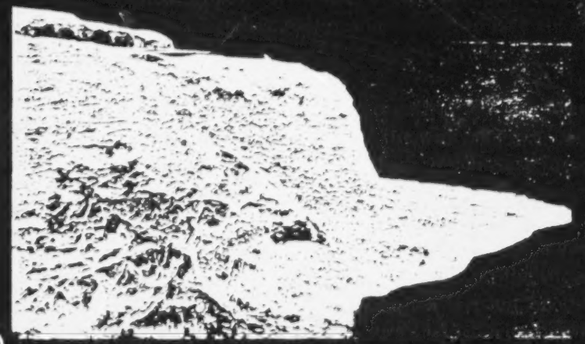
PLATE VIIIA. TYPICAL BIOTITE GNEISS ENCLOSING AND VEINING HORNBLENDE GNEISS
(Torasclett, north-east of Tarbert)



[131] [137] PLATE VIIIB. OUTLIER OF STORNOWAY BEDS ON LEWISIAN GNEISS
(Dun, near Garrabost, Eye Peninsula.) The moors of North Lewis are faintly visible on the horizon

/facing p. 49/

133 137

2. *Plant Life in Lewis-and-Harris*

Lewis has been dismissed by many as a floating peat bog, and its name has even been derived from *leodus*, a bog! For good or ill, peat influences the Island, its history, the distribution of its people and the economic and social features of their life. In Lewis, peat once covered everything except the narrow fringes of sandy machar, the surface of the inland waters, jutting rocks and steeper hills where drainage is rapid. Man's encroachment on that carpet has so far been mere nibbling. Except for the machar lands, every acre of ground occupied or cultivated by man has been reclaimed from peat.

133 137 182 [185] [311]

137 The Map of Vegetation and its Key portray the distribution of the main plant communities (Fig. 8).[1] All plants are of low habit with small leaves, well protected from excessive transpiration. They are mostly perennials or biennials; annuals are comparatively few. There is no burst of flowering save where the heather blooms on better-drained slopes, or where shell sand has blown, enabling clovers, vetches and meadow-sweet to give colour and scent. Moss, sedge and dwarfed heather prevail widely in tussocks.

137 Constant cropping by sheep and cattle, and also deer, tends to keep vegetation low, but on the wide, boggy moors this is a minor factor. Nor is there much systematic heather-burning. Even upon the islets of inland lochs, untouched by grazing animals, and in spite of better drainage due to the undercutting of the waves, growth is not really luxuriant. Bracken, however, is found on the islets, and a little on some former sheep farms, but not on the heavily grazed common pastures, for cattle keep down bracken.

137 233 [311]

[1] [see p. 50 -- analyst]

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[632] [631] [491]

FIG. 8

/p. 50/

there is frequently found the most thriving of the vegetation types of Lewis and the best grazing ground. It includes grasses such as those already named, together with purple *Molinea*, meadow soft grass (*Holcus*), and mat grass (*Nardus*); sedges (*Scirpus* and *Carex* spp.); with the field wood rush (*Luzula*) and a fair number of flowering plants. Heather is common in this and the following community (3).

With true 'hill' pastures, found especially to the east of the Forest of Harris and between Loch Seaforth and Loch Shell, are included fair pastures with good grasses on the rocky hillocks near the villages around Loch Roag and also on the low, steep hills northward to Shawbost. The 'skinned land' lies in strips too narrow to be shown on the map, but may form a ring of desolation round the village. The hard moor-pan resists natural seeding of plants unless broken by the pick, but broadcasting of a cheap seed-mixture with a little fertiliser can work marked improvement.

(3) *Marshy Grass Moors.*—Where the slopes are gentle, and the acid humus has accumulated to form peat, is found coarse, tussocky, damp pasture, of sedges and grasses, grading from the 'fair' and 'hill pastures' to the beginnings of hummocky peat hags and smooth sedge moss. It covers the slopes of hills such as Ben Barvas and Muirnag and the hillocks that emerge from the great central trough of brown peat moor. It also characterises the low but broken areas in southern Lewis. This type forms a belt below the 'hill' and 'rocky' pastures of Harris. At its best its prevailing hue is olive-green turning to a silvery shade and then to russet later on. Annuals are few and the grasses are coarse.

(4) *Peat Moors, Mosses and Peat Hags.*—The most

widespread plant community in Lewis is undoubtedly the *sedge and cotton grass moors* (or 'mosses' as they would be called in the Lowlands), which overlie deep peat generally at low levels, on flat or slightly rolling grounds. The peaty floor is waterlogged and boggy, and the carpet rises into tufts, dense cushions or mops, out of which bristle innumerable stalks, thread-shaped, sheathed, fibrous and elastic. There are few flowers apart from the bog asphodel, while heather does not thrive but is stunted. On the slopes, sedges (*Scirpus* and *Carex* spp.) and cotton grass (*Eriophorum angustifolium*) dominate, and in the hollows, sphagnum moss. Owing to slope and consequent erosion, the surface may break into hags (or 'bruachs'), separated by deep and more or less broad channels of bare peat with puddles.

For reclamation by tractor and peat plough, smoothness is essential, combined with some slope for drainage. From observation of the fragments of poor pasture topping the hags in channelled eroded peat, it can be noted that drainage alone is not enough to create good pasture, though it is the first step. In order to complement the work of drainage, fertilisers must be applied to encourage plants which absorb water in quantity and transpire it freely in the course of rapid growth. For it may be said that plants like heather—adapted to withstand drought, physical or 'physiological'—do not transpire water in any great quantity. Thus they fail to 'drain the ground from above', as juicier grasses or fodder plants do by the vigorous ascent, transpiration and renewed absorption of water.

(5) *Heather Moor.*—The common heather (*Calluna*) dominates on many steep slopes and rocky bluffs, sometimes on acid humus, or again on decomposed rock and screes, generally at low levels. Among the chief plants

away, and for a shorter period. The sheep wander over the moors all the year round, though they hang about the crofts when the winter is severe.

A comparison with mountainous Norway or the Alps and their high summer pastures suggests itself; but in Lewis altitude is almost negligible, and the shielings may lie only two to five hundred feet above that of the crofts beside the shore. The difference between winter and summer is in any case less, snow being rare and the conditions being such that even in summer the shieling pasture remains poor. Hence it is that while modern Norse and Alpine economy still maintain the summer pasture, the shielings have died out in the Highlands and are slowly decaying in Lewis. Seasonally, stock are transported over longer distances, from Highland to Lowland pastures.

Reasons for the continuance of these and other crofting ways, or for their abandonment, are not of an economic order alone: not only the remuneration received for labour, but the feeling for the work counts enormously. Visiting a couple of distant shielings in the summer of 1919, I found that two lads newly home from the Navy had come up from their village 'for a holiday', bringing rods for trout-fishing and high spirits for play. By day they fished or flirted. By night they slept in one of the two shielings, while the two laughing lasses they had come to visit shared the none too wide couch of the other shieling with the two older women there. One of these was a matron with a motherly twinkle in her eye, the other was a spinster in whose eyes there shone a memorably vivid light; she was the sister (as I found later) of a noted minister on the mainland. The bare simplicity of shieling life is traditionally softened by fellowship and a gaiety that is not beyond control. A Lowland poet once coined a famous phrase,

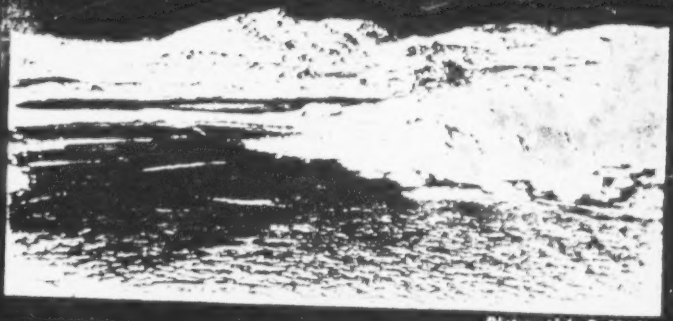
33 (2) cliff-cut, where exposed stretches have been undermined by the Atlantic storms; and (3) sandy, where bays like Broad Bay have been filled in, or where shingle bars have enclosed a sheet of fresh water, as on the west coast (north-west of Stornoway) from Barvas southward to Dalebeg. The types of coast are illustrated by Plates II to V.

As to the sea floor—so important to fish-life and to navigation—the west coast of the Outer Hebrides borders a well-featured continental platform, which is higher in the north and south but lower in the middle. The irregularities suggest a former land-surface dissected by rivers with mature drainage systems.[1] The contours are revealing, as shown in the coloured map at the end, at intervals of 10 fathoms (60 feet). The sandy machar beaches of western South Harris, visible at low tide, form part of a wide, shallow shelf extending for a dozen miles off west South Harris to a depth of no more than 20 fathoms, and thence southwards along the machars of Uist to Barra; but the coast falls away steeply round most of Lewis and along the rocky east coast of 'the Long Island'.

5. *Glacial Drift or Boulder Clays, and Shell Sand*

Underlying the peat is the drift, which is spread over
33 all but the rockiest parts of the island. This is not only
14 exposed at every roadside cutting but is laid bare in wide areas around the villages. Here peat-cutting during the centuries has removed the peat, layer after layer, to the
56] topmost turf, left aside after cutting until the last. When
34] even this turf is removed for annual thatching, the bare
13]

[1] S. Ting, B.Sc. (China). *Geografiska Annaler*, Band 19, 1937, pp. 62-83.



Photograph by R. MacIver

PLATE IVA. DALBEG, WEST LEWIS

Shingle-barred bay and wave-cut cliff. In the distance is Ben Bragor (852 ft.)

Photograph by Stevens

PLATE IVB. LOCH ROAG FROM NEAR CARLOWAY

View south-west across the loch to show the sloping sides of sheltered lochs, with wave-cut cliffs of promontories. In the foreground are gneiss rocks

/p. 40-B/

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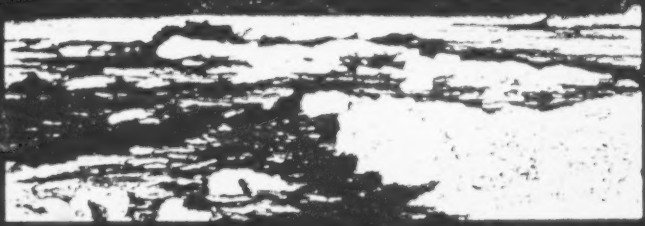

PLATE IIIA. ROCKY, SEA-ABRADED PLATFORM OFF THE BUTT OF LEWIS

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Photographs by Mrs. Harriman

PLATE IIIB. LAXDALE TOWNSHIP, ON THE FLATS NEAR BROAD BAY

'Black houses' and 'white houses' can be seen. The fields have been modernised for ploughing

INTRODUCTION

131 The parish of Uig, Fig. 1, forms the south-west quadrant of Lewis; it falls naturally into three sections, each almost completely separated from the other by the salt waters of Loch Roag, Little Loch Roag and East Loch Roag.

• 133 South-west Uig is almost an island: only four miles separate the southern tip of Little Loch Roag and the head of Loch Resort which, penetrating deeply from the Atlantic, marks the boundary between Lewis and Harris. It is a mountainous area with fifteen miles of [491] exposed Atlantic coast between Loch Resort and Gallan Head. From the ultimate settlements, Brenish and Islivig, the main road (B 8011) takes a tortuous course of some 40 133 miles to Stornoway. Population is concentrated where soil and climatic conditions are 361 mitigated by the presence of machair (wind blown shell sand) and by the shelter afforded by the peninsulas of Aird Mhor Mangersta and Gallan Head. The chief settlements are thus around Uig Bay*, and on the western shores of Loch Roag. In addition each township has common pastures on the interior moors and mountains where shielings were maintained into the present century.

East of Little Loch Roag the road climbs over a moorland plateau at 250'-500' O.D.. More that 12 miles separates Enaclete, the last township on Little Loch Roag, from Garynahine, the first on East Loch Roag. The moor is uninhabited shooting and shieling ground; the population of this area is to be found to the north on Great Bernera, an island now connected by a bridge, and on the adjacent mainland shore.

Eastwards again the inland continuation of East Loch Roag is a great peat-filled depres- [491] sion which connects with Loch Leurbost on the east coast. This depression is skirted on its northern side by the main road, to Stornoway, A 858. The boundary between the parishes of Uig and Lochs cuts across this depression, which contains the only inland townships of Lewis - Loch Ganvich and Achmore. On the north-eastern shores of East Loch Roag is to be found more than half the population of the parish of Uig. The succession of densely populated townships from Garynahine to Carloway is much more typical of Lewis than are the more scattered and generally smaller, settlements of south Uig which are more like those of Harris, the Uists and Barra.

The sketch map, figure 1, shows the location and boundaries of the townships and other lands within the parish, and also the main roads. The reader will find it necessary, however, to make constant use of either Bartholomew's Half-Inch, or Ordnance Survey One-Inch to one mile, maps. In general topographic names are spelled in accordance with the latter.

[03] * Uig: Vik, Old Norse for a bay.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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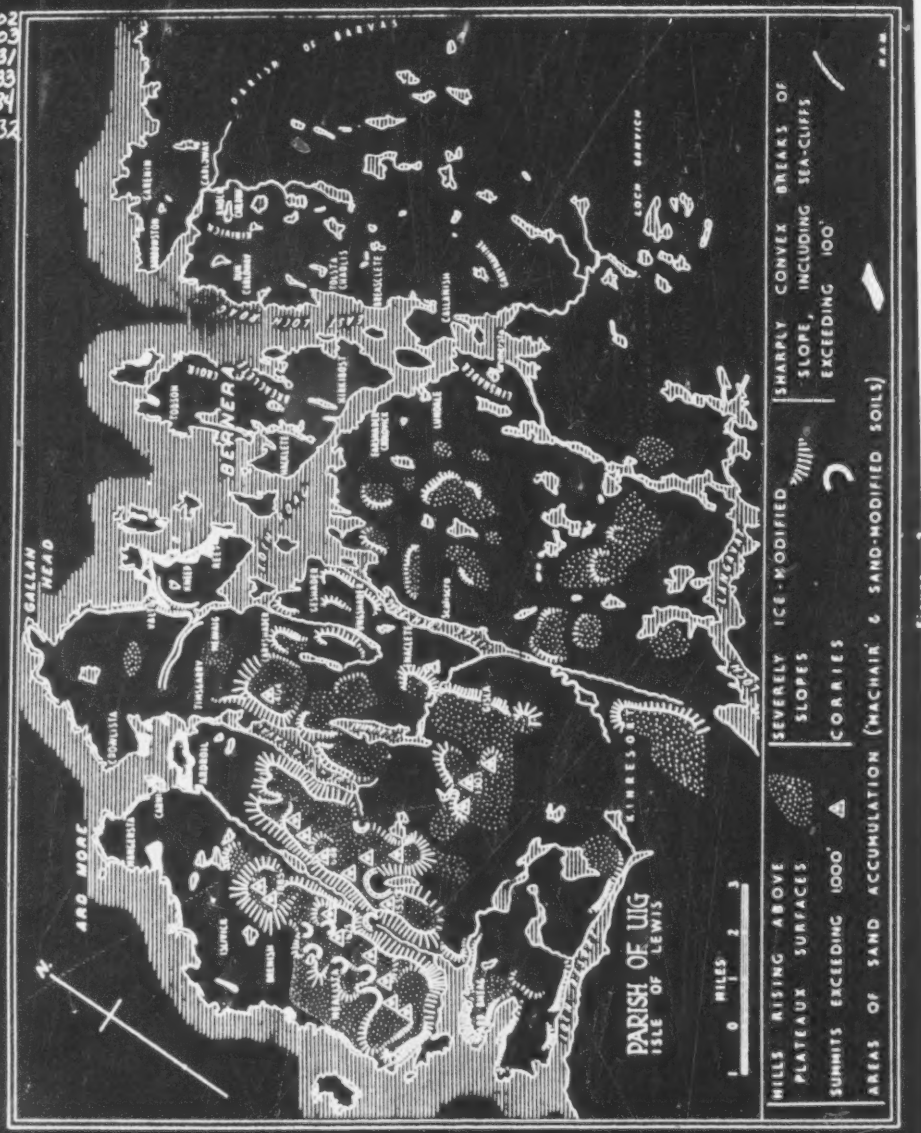

/p. 2/

CHAPTER I

THE PHYSICAL BACKGROUND

Lewisian Gneiss is ubiquitous, though often concealed by peat or, more rarely, by glacial drift. It is a grey foliated rock consisting of quartz, feldspar and ferro-magnesian minerals; the foliation varies from a vague alignment of the minerals to a strong banding of dark and light constituents. Minor variations in the mineral constituents give rise to lumps, lenticles and bands of basic and ultra-basic character; differential erosion may pick these out to form ridges and hillocks up to half-a-mile in extent. In the south-west occurs an area of foliated granite of Lewisian age, part of a larger complex which, cut by Loch Resort and West Loch Tarbert, extends into North and South Harris. At first sight the contrast between the mountainous south-west and the relatively plain central and northern parts of the parish might be attributed to the occurrence of this foliated granite but examination shows that this is by no means invariably the case. Indeed, the highest mountains of Harris are formed of gneiss, not granite; a similar plutonic intrusion north of East Loch Roag has only a slight physiographic manifestation.

The Lewisian is broken by a complicated network of lines of weakness; these are presumably faults, though their displacement can seldom be detected. Differential erosion, particularly by ice, has developed these bands, etching out a fantastic pattern of interlocking depressions, some filled by sea and fresh-water lochs, some by peat. These fall into two main groups: firstly an arcuate series dominated by the depression which runs from Loch Leurbost, by Loch Achmore and Loch Ganvich to the head of East Loch Roag and thence westwards by the straits of Bernera (Loch Barraglom), between Reef and Flodday, through Glen Valtos to Uig bay. Another member of this series is represented by Loch Ouirn, on the Minch coast, by the curious east-west head of Loch Seaforth, by the hollow occupied by the s-bend of Loch Langavat, by Loch Resort and Caolas Scarp. Secondly, a more numerous group of generally smaller depressions represents the etching out of lines of weakness which vary from north - south (in the west e.g. Uig bay - Loch Raonasgail - Loch Tamanavay, also Loch Suainaval) to N. N. W. - S. S. E. (in the centre and east, e.g. Little Loch Roag, East Loch Roag and numerous smaller depressions).

During the earlier and more extensive glaciations ice from the mainland must have pushed right across this part of Lewis. To this westward-moving ice must be attributed the differential erosion of the east-west depressions and, in all probability, the deposits of deeply weathered boulder clay found to the north-east of East Loch Roag. Later local glaciation has clearly affected the southern mountains. Here, as in North Harris, there is plentiful evidence of the retreat stages of a local ice cap or group of inter-connected mountain glaciers. Ice accumulation probably centred on the Morsgail Forest basin, between the south Uig mountains and those of North Harris; the northerly outflow of ice was responsible for the overdeepening of such valleys as Loch Suainaval, Loch Raonasgail, and Little Loch Roag. Extensive deposits of gravelly drift around Uig bay, and less extensive deposits near Valtos are the deposits of such glaciers. Their relatively recent age is attested by their fresh morphological character with numerous unsilted kettle lakes (despite the high rainfall of this region). Associated with them is the huge and spectacular Carnish kame-moraine, and the deep, steep-sided Valtos Glen. The former is a deposit of fluvioglacial water flowing from the south round the west side of Uig bay, the latter is the result of erosion by water flowing round the east of Uig bay to Loch Roag. One can only conclude that both features originated when Uig bay was occupied by a great mass of ice which must have blocked direct outflow to the sea.

153

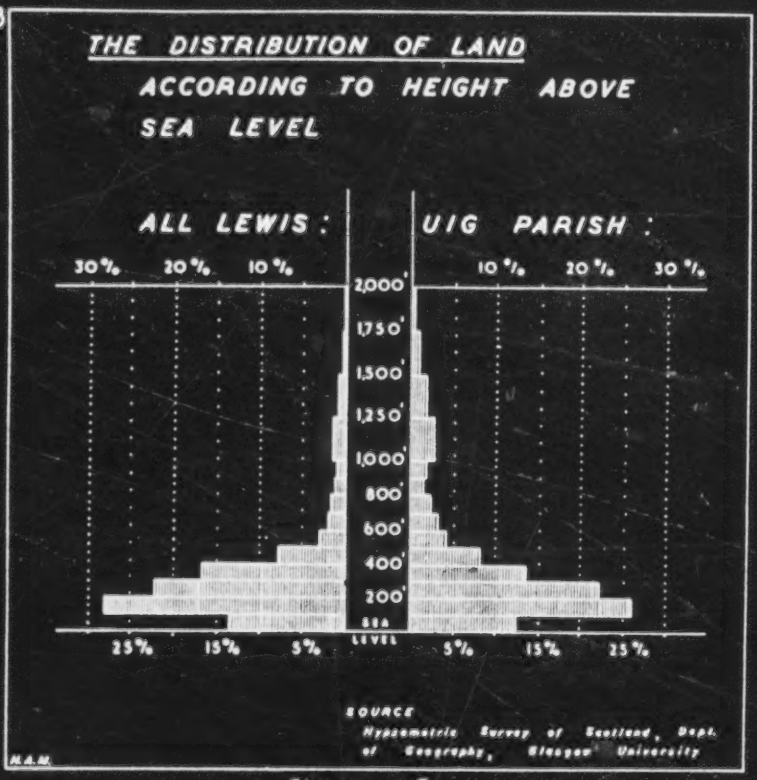

Figure 3.

The diagram illustrates the essential contrast between Uig and the rest of Lewis. Uig has extensive uplands and mountains (26% above 400') whilst Lewis as a whole is characterised by low plateaux (21% below 400').

133 Over most of the parish the natural landscape is a series of low plateaux, generally below 250' O.D. around East Loch Roag, but rising westwards to an extensive platform with many summits around 500'-700'. Into this platform, towards its western edge, is incised the narrow trough containing Little Loch Roag. Above it rise the deeply dissected mountains of North Harris and south west Uig, with many precipitous slopes reaching to 1,500' or more and summits to 1,885'. The discontinuity between plateau and mountain is particularly well displayed along the Atlantic coast, where it corresponds roughly with the junction of granite and gneiss; an even more severe discontinuity, but formed entirely in gneiss; it is to be seen near the south end of Loch Langavat. Listhaid (1,611' O.D.) rises more than 1,400' in less than a mile. The mountains, although lacking height, are therefore spectacular in appearance. The low plateaux are far from featureless, too; their surfaces have been roughened and scraped bare by ice action and numerous hollows preserve shallow lochans and a few larger lakes. Occasional rocky hillocks rise 20'-100' above the plateaux; their abrupt discontinuity with the smooth surfaces is entirely comparable, though in miniature, with that of the mountains. They resemble nothing more than tropical inselberge and have no apparent structural explanation.

135 Unconsolidated superficial material, such as would provide sub-soil drainage and suitable raw material for soil formation, is rare. The characteristic surface almost everywhere is bare rock, often blanketed by peat at lower levels and on gentle slopes. Morainic material is most commonly preserved in hollows; peri-glacial conditions and, more recently, heavy rainfall have swept clear most of the higher and steeper places. In the east and north east, e.g. around Loch Carloway, a sticky grey clay with large boulders is sometimes seen; the coarse gravelly drifts of south Uig have already been mentioned. It is impossible to make any useful generalisations regarding the characteristics and distribution of the boulder clays because their occurrence is so sporadic and exposures, beneath the peat blanket, are rare. Very occasionally, e.g. in Bernera, a finely bedded 137 dull bluish or greenish grey clay is seen which is said to have been used for coarse pottery. This may be a lacustrine deposit of late glacial or early post glacial times or it might be a marine clay of the same period; there is however, no clear example of a raised beach in the area, which, were it present, might support the latter suggestion. 317 Since visit a lacustrine deposit of diatomite has been exploited on a small scale in Bernera.

Extensive deposits of fine white sand occur around Uig bay and in the Valtos-Kneep-Reef area; smaller deposits occur at Mangersta and Mealasta. Except at Cliff bay, Valtos, where it contains a high mineral content, the sand consists largely of finely broken shell debris. This blows readily and is found inland for half a mile or more and as high as 100' O.D., thus providing a natural surface dressing rich in lime. There are extensive machairs (sandy plains) at Kneep and Reef, and smaller ones at Uig bay, Mangersta, and Boeta (Berners). Little cultivation takes place on the machairs nowadays.

133 In the whole parish little soil, such as would be recognised by a lowland farmer, is to 134 be found. The most usual surface features are bare rock and blanket bog; arable land, hay 137 meadows and improved pastures are generally made on peat, gathered together into long 140 narrow beds - so-called "lazy beds" - separated by deep ditches. This expedient may 123 mean that the use of tractors is impossible; since horses have almost disappeared, 133 cultivation in such cases, if carried out at all, must now be by the spade alone. This is the traditional method of lazy-bed work; it may be very productive in terms of yield per 134 square yard but it is pathetically unproductive in terms of man-hours. In some areas it 141 is clear that it has led to soil erosion. Even where the size and lay-out of the beds permits tractor work the tractor probably spends as much time manoevering into position and turning, as it does ploughing. In a few places, e.g. some of the East Loch Roag

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 7]

133 townships and at Islivig and Brenish, the peat is thin (or has been stripped) to reveal a 134 gravelly drift. Free-draining on suitable slopes. In such places a black loamy soil has 134 been developed by cultivation; the many ditches of lazybed cultivation are not necessary 140 and, if the area is large enough, it can be worked by tractor. Such soils, in the climate 140 of west Lewis, are usually suitable for rotation grass, for hay or pasture, and much more could be done with them under knowledgeable management. Where shell sand has been blown inland on to peaty soils the natural top-dressing has had a remarkable 134 ameliorating effect on texture and acidity. Such areas are all too limited, the most 134 important are at Valtos, Kneep and Reef, and around Uig bay; smaller areas are at 124 Mealasta, Mangersta and Boeta (Berners). The hill grazings are dominated by a thin heather cover, blue moor grass and, in wetter places, sphagnum and cotton grass. Since the cattle population has been declining many older residents claim that the pastures, particularly near the townships, have deteriorated, the proportion of grass declining and coarse heather increasing. "The hills that were green when I was a boy", said one, "are now black". Neglected arable and pasture land, too, soon reverts. Rushes and flags invade the ditches between the old lazy beds and, if the ground is at all waterlogged, soon invade the beds as well. Drier ground, if not well grazed, soon reverts to heather. The limited machairs are little better; almost devoid of humus, they show little development of soil profile, only a thin grey layer of turf roots; rabbits, or injudicious cultivation readily set off wind erosion. Only where the wind has provided a natural blend of peat and machair are conditions better. Such areas are very limited.

132 The climate is in many respects severe; no local statistics are available, but some 133 for Stornoway and Benbecula are appended. The frequency of high winds has a baleful effect on both vegetation and stock, but to some extent wind counteracts excessive moisture. Near sea-level, where all the townships are situated, frost and snow are almost unknown. Thus it is exposure to the wind that limits the outwintering of stock, not low temperatures; this suggests that if pastures could be improved in suitably sheltered places far more advantage might be taken of the relatively mild winter temperatures. It is believed that 248 the sunshine received is particularly poor in the south, where clouds can frequently be seen hanging over the mountains when the sun is shining on Bernera and the area north 221 east of East Loch Roag. The relatively dry and sunny period which commonly occurs in May and June ought to yield a good hay harvest; unfortunately the natural meadows, such as they are, are late starters, and the custom is to cut the grass when it has gone to seed. Thus hay is often being taken in September - one of the wettest months in the year.

CHAPTER TWO

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS

172 Evidence of pre-historic and other early settlements in the parish is afforded by the occurence of standing stones, brochs and duns. The Callanish circle and its satellites are by far the most remarkable ancient monument in the Hebrides, and testify to the 174 former importance of the site even though today their precise significance may not be clear. Most of the duns are now little more than circular heaps of stones, but in that at 173 Dounc Carloway the double walls still stand to a considerable height. A later phase of 163 settlement is recorded in the place names, a very large proportion of which contain Norse 162 elements such as -nish, -vick, -bost and -shader; it seems probable that most of the present township sites have been more or less continuously occupied since Norse times.

1. [Presumably the author means "drift"--Analyst]

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ATLANTIC COAST

(Brenish, Islivig, and Mangersta)

by

Pamela M. Gough.

131 Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta are situated in the extreme south-west of Lewis, on the Atlantic coast of the parish of Uig and forty miles from Stornoway.

133 Brenish has a south-westerly aspect whilst Islivick faces north-west; in both the elevation of the crofts decreases seawards from about 125 ft. in the east to 50 - 25 ft. in the west. Only one croft in Islivig, and the eight most southerly crofts in Brenish, run to the sea - the rest obtain some shelter from a line of low hills about 300 yards wide and rising to a little over 100 feet, which forms their western boundary. The land terminates in low cliffs from 25' - 100' in height, and a rocky foreshore. Behind these townships to the east a range of mountains from 1,500' - 1,800' in height and dominated by the highest hill in Lewis, Mealisval, (1,885'), gives protection from easterly influences.

Mangersta lies to the north of these mountains; here the crofts lie in a sheltered 134 valley to the west of which the land rises to over 200 feet. The valley opens southwards to the sea where there is a sandy beach and machair. The crofts range from about 150 feet to 100 feet above sea level; those nearest the sea have soils which contain a substantial proportion of machair sand.

Soils are generally deep, and there are few rocky outcrops on the crofts which are fairly level. In Brenish and Islivig the soils are mainly peaty, becoming wetter in the west. Where visible the sub-soil is gravel or stony boulder clay. In Mangersta the transition from peaty soils on the northern crofts to sandy soils on the southern crofts, is marked by the increasingly continuous cultivation, drains being unnecessary on the latter.

137 There are no trees or shrubs, and vegetation consists of marshy grass moors in the Mealista area with a considerable amount of cotton grass bog further north. West and south of Mangersta the machair area is characterised by a calcole plant community similar in content to that found in many parts of the chalk and limestone areas of England.

361 Brenish and Islivig are old settlements, never cleared. In both, the sites of the 172 original clachans can still be seen clustered around the mouths of their respective streams. The houses are now situated at the east end of the crofts, near to the road.

175 To the south, Mealasta - cleared in the 1840's to make a sheep farm - was divided in 632 1921 to give enlargements to the common grazings of both Brenish and Mangersta. The 311 arable land was divided into twenty-nine shares as enlargements to Brenish crofts, and is held in a modified form of runrig.

Mangersta was cleared in 1837 to make a farm; subsequently fishermen-cottars settled on the farm but they moved to Dun Carloway in 1873. In 1910, however, a new township of thirteen crofts was set up by the Congested Districts Board; the new settlers were cottars, mainly from Brenish.

233 no road and access by foot is difficult. To reach the grazings the crofters travel by boat from Mealasta several times a year and stay in one of the two houses at Aird Sheag which, although vacant, is still in repair. These houses were formerly occupied by estate employees who had crofter status.

511 From the above account, it is evident that in this district as in others, a single croft is not sufficient to support a crofter and his family. On an average, each resident crofter has acquired the equivalent of two crofts, and in addition each crofter supplements the meagre income obtained from his croft by some other occupation, e.g. weaving, labouring, or driving.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE UIG BAY DISTRICT

(Carnish, Ardroil, Timsgarry and Crowlista)

by

Elizabeth Blowers.

134 Uig bay, in which low tide reveals several hundred acres of pure white sand, is surrounded by crofting townships. There are no extensive machair plains but the shell-sand forms a fringe of easily cultivated, lime-rich soils on all sides except Crowlista, and, blown inland by the Atlantic winds, it modifies and improves the texture and acidity of the 361 peaty soil as much as 2,000 yards from the shore. It is not to be wondered at that 175 this bay at one time formed one of the most important centres of population in Lewis. Signs of ancient cultivation, and the ruins of old clachans, are widespread, but most of the present settlements are less than forty years old; almost the whole area was cleared to make farms in the early nineteenth century. Only in Crowlista, with its thin, rocky, 121 arable land and almost complete absence of machair, were the small tenants left undisturbed. Consequently the district provides an opportunity to compare "old" and "new" townships, both as to lay-out and operation.

133 Carnish, in the south-west, is dominated by a huge gravel ridge - probably an esker, - 361 over a mile long and sloping steeply to the estuary of Amhuinn Chaslabhat with the rocky headland of Machair Carnish to the north. The arable land and houses of Ardroil are situated on the landward side of the hummocky machair land between the esturies of Amhuinn Chaslabhat and the Forea river which drains Loch a Suainaval and Stacsaigh. To the north of the bay the old settlement of Crowlista is situated on the rocky headland to the west of the Rethall embayment; there is a good deal of level land in the centre of the township but the slope to the estuary in the north is steep and rocky outcrops occur on the headland. Timsgarry, to the east of Rethall, stretches inland between the headlands of Tolenish and Borranish along the valley of the Eriesta river.

134 There is a mantle of gravelly drift over this area; the Carnish esker has been mentioned and exposures of up to 120' were also seen in gravel pits in Ardroil and Timsgarry. Along the coast blown shell sand rests on this drift and reaches inland for up to half a mile.

134 Alluvial soils have developed along the lower reaches of Amhuinn Thorabhair and the Eriesta river.

There are no trees apart from an occasional stunted rowan or willow - willows for 134 cattle shelter may grow still in some old garden enclosures. Hedges, too, are rare so, although 124 individual houses are often carefully sited, there is little cover and the townships as a whole are very exposed to westerly gales. The natural vegetation developed on the machair is of fine closely matted grasses with a good deal of natural clover - very similar to that found on chalk downland. On the peaty moorland the usual moor grasses mosses and heather are dominant, though little encroachment by bracken was noticed.

In Crowlista the strip layout of the crofts dates from a letting about 1850. (Figure 14) 311 In the new townships, laid out about 1921 (Figure 15) the majority of the crofts are 361 less strip-like and do not run to the shore. Indeed in Ardroil and Timsgarry only five 127 out of twenty-two reach the shore and the rocky headlands with their machair are valuable parts of the common pasture. The six crofts in Carnish run from the shore at the foot of the esker up its flank towards the southwest and almost to its summit. They also have one or two small plots each on the machair.

133 Crofts in Ardroil are in one piece. An old cattle road forms the north west boundary; from this they rise, steeply in places, to undulating moorland just over 200' high. Numbers 5 - 8 Timsgarry are strips across the Eriesta valley, rising northwards to just over 170'; 2, 3 and 4 are allotted to make use of arable land on the lower slopes of Knock Valabrie. The houses of crofts No. 1 Timsgarry and No. 1 Ardroil are the former farmhouses.

417 In Crowlista most of the crofts remain unfenced but in Carnish, Ardroil and Timsgarry all are fenced and many of the fences were being repaired or replaced in 1959. They are 134 not open for common grazing during the winter. Patches of sown hay are fenced within each croft.

There are six recognised croft-holdings in Carnish; one is sub-let so that there are 136 only five "operative" units; two of those are not worked. One has been resumed by the proprietors and is being quarried as an extension of the main quarry between the township dyke and main road. In Ardroil each of the fourteen crofts is worked as a unit - though two carry no stock; in Timsgarry eight crofts are worked as seven units.

In contrast to the above, the old settlement of Crowlista has twenty-five recognised crofts but, by amalgamation and sub-letting these are worked as fourteen units. The Crowlista crofts are small - fourteen are 4.0 acres or less and of those only one is worked as a unit. Crofts as small as 1.5 acres and with a score of eight sheep can never have been intended to support a family; they are the result of sub-division in earlier generations; the remains of two piers and a curing house point to the importance of 468 fishing in the past. Twenty-one men were employed in fishing boats about 1914. Subletting usually takes place between relatives; of some of the fourteen operative units are quite complicated. One example will suffice (croft numbers are here replaced by letters to prevent publication of personal matters):-

Crofts a, b, c and d are worked as a unit (although they are not adjacent). The tenant of a and b sub-lets c and d for grazing; he also helps with the work on yet a fifth croft. The present b is half of an original croft. West of the road the original croft is held in fixed runrig between b and another croft, not part of this multiple "working" unit; east of the road it has been divided into separate strips. The tenant lives on b.

484 As yet the tourist trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting relations but many
485 houses offer suitable accommodation for people who would appreciate quiet holidays in
these very beautiful surroundings. The distance from Stornoway, the difficulty of obtain-
486 ing varied food supplies - and the weather - were cited as disadvantages! Passengers on
a weekly coach tour from Stornoway are supplied with meals at an Ardroil house which has
good access to the beach but otherwise the crofters show little interest in the possibilities
of tourism.

162 In common with other crofting townships, the greatest problem here is that of an ageing
population because the younger people seek employment outside their township. The
166 diagrams illustrate the age-heavy structure of the permanent resident group and also the
464 numbers of the insurable population periodically or permanently away. The lack of suit-
able work for young women particularly, is also shown. The age of the tenants also
illustrates this problem. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty or 34% are over sixty-
five. Serious, too, is the loss by emigration of people between fifteen and sixty-five. Of
the total 'working population', 35% have left this region since 1939. The corresponding
figure for Crowlista alone, the older settlement with smaller crofts, is as high as 42%.

241 We found in this part of Uig some crofts efficiently and energetically worked by young
239 tenants, and if reasonable stock prices are obtained the larger crofts can be worked
175 profitably. However no croft will fully support a family; ancillary employment is always
311 sought by crofters with growing families yet many crofts are carrying less stock than they
might because some tenants are not interested in, or able for, agriculture. The croft is
incorrectly thought of as a home, at part-time employment - often for older members of
the family - and as a place for retirement.

009 It is easy to list schemes for improvement and change:- dairying to supply Stornoway
with milk, poultry and pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivation under glass, the
tourist industry, forestry on a small scale, lobster and crab fishing, etc. Such schemes
would require capital not available in the townships, careful planning, and tactful admini-
tration by people with real knowledge of this area and its people. Meanwhile even the
potential production of the crofts is by no means realised.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

131 The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along
the western side of the narrow valley of the Ambuinn Gil no Ard-Aird, three miles
133 north of Crowlista. After leaving Loch Meacheit, the river flows northward through a
gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then across a narrow
flood-plain into the rocky bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in
421 arrangement and varying in size from 32 to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow
133 strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the right bank of the river, up
the steep, rocky slope above the left bank and widening out over the more gently slopes
between the 150 ft. and 200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently en-
larged, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional
ground to the north or south.

1. [See figures 12 (facing p.34) and 17 (facing p.39)--Analyst]

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
231 the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos
in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird
651 lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village
there is now an R.A.F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common
pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the
inhabitants.

341 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
491 butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N.A.A.F.I.
493 within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100
ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, wearing sheds
and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below
235 the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
342 have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the
houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
359 more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
127 modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
311 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an
447 sidesman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so
that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions,
but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to
the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown
241 grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial
fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the
cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse.
407 Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
142 tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
824 vated; here was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
233 extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that
there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow
for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses
no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

253 On the other hand, the sheep sown is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement
of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The
lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented
this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many
in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there
are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most
of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
166 periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither
has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the
parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 -
44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

591 It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Aird; the only two families
146 without ancillary occupations are those where all the members are elderly. Of the others
280 with members in the working age-groups, five have one or more members employed in a
civilian capacity at the R.A.F. station and there are five regular weavers.

62 Aird used to be a self-contained community; the land was fully cultivated and a certain
173 amount of fishing was carried on in spite of the difficulty of drawing a boat over the
rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the R.A.F. station, and
if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search of
other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF

by

David G. Symes.

131 On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a secondary
133 peninsula of more moderate, but none-the-less broken relief. This, together with an
adjacent area of the main peninsula, the islands of Pabay, Vacsay, Vuia Mor and several
smaller islands, comprises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Kneep and
Reef.

138 This secondary peninsula is accidented in the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock and
steeply angled small hills. The relief is greater in the west (summit 450') than in the
east (summit 275'). Relatively level land is to be found only on the machairs of Reef and
133 Cliff (the latter only poorly developed) and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair,
134 about 180 acres in extent, consists of a succession landwards of tidal sands, a belt of sand dunes
(c. 20' O.D.) and a sandy plain sloping gently inland towards a reed filled lagoon. The
machair at Cliff is approximately 40 acres in extent; here there are fixed dunes and, in
addition, the sand has been blown inland to at least 100 ft. O.D. Except where the machair
sand has drifted upslope to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin
soils of the Valtos peninsula are predominantly peaty. Although the length of the peninsula faces north the extremes of Atlantic weather are moderated by the protection afforded by the Aird peninsula and the islands of Pabay and Vacsay.

175 In the period before the letting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some five
424 clachans - Valtos, Cliff, Kneep, Uigean and Reef - some of which shared common pastures.
134 During the early part of the nineteenth century and earlier, apparently, than the 1850 letting
133 carried out in most of Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clachan areas: Valtos and
Cliff shared a common pasture and so became one township; similarly Kneep and Uigean were combined.

175 In Kneep it seems that the croft boundaries were not accepted by the crofters. Certain
311 basic divisions between groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today,
427 and within these basic divisions a certain regularity of distribution of strips persists, but

432 strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of
427 the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to
accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.

133 The cultivable crofland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly
developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke
133 running across the crofland from a small marshy loch to the sea. That dyke has not been
512 cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other
parts of the crofland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were alloted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house
241 is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the
401 machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse and tractor ploughing: 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

433 The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen
728 crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

233 Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

162 Fig. 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the
165 most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

131 By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years
20 ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at
493 Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are
supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the
local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the
346 peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

CHAPTER EIGHT

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Meavaig, Caryshader, Ungshader, Geshader, Enaclete and Gisla).

by

Annie Heawood.

133 Little Loch Roag is a narrow sea loch extending southwards about twelve miles inland
173 from Loch Roag proper. It has been formed by glacial erosion picking out one of the
194 n.n.e. to s.s.w. lines of weakness characteristic of the Lewisian gneiss. Although generally steep-sided, recent glaciation left much ground moraine and this material, best preserved on the less steep slopes, provides arable land for several small townships on or near its western shores. The eastern shore is the more rugged and although a few small townships once existed there is now only the small farm and shooting lodge of Scalascro. At the head of the loch is an estate cottage for Morsgail Lodge which is a large mansion with extensive fishing and shooting rights, grandly isolated about a mile inland from the main road.

361 The district here described includes Gisla, near the head of Little Loch Roag, Enaclete
134 Ungshader, and Geshader, on the western shores of Loch Roag proper. All these are
strung out on or close to the main road. Meavaig, like Gisla, is a small farm but also
365 functions as something of a metropolis for south Uig: it has the post-master, whose other functions include registrar and receiver of wrecks it has two churches, a telephone exchange, the district doctor and manse, and a petrol pump. At the time of our visit it was also the base for the 'bus service. Its metropolitan functions arose in the days before the road replaced a ferry boat service from Callanish; here the mails were landed until some date in the 1920s, and here, too, the estate kept coach and horses for transport to Uig lodge, three miles further west.

361 There is no record of the original settlement of the four crofting townships, nor of
365 Gisla, which was a township (or 'joint farm') of five crofters until about 1850. Some
modern houses and bungalows have been built, many with easier access to the road than
134 the old black houses, now often used as byres. Water supply does not seem to present a serious problem because of the extensive moorland gathering grounds to the west, but there are not at present any water-supply schemes. Electricity is, of course, available. Caryshader and Enaclete are on the main Stornoway road being served at present by the 'bus and by vans selling meat, groceries and fish at least once a week. Enaclete has a sub-post-office. Geshader is less fortunate since, although vans call regularly, 'buses must be met at the junction of the unsurfaced track and the main Stornoway road, where the school serving this district also stands. The track has been extended to Ungshader so that it now reaches all the houses. Ungshader, however, is smaller and although it has had similar delivery arrangements, it is now a dying settlement largely due to its inaccessibility.

427 The crofts are mostly regular in shape on the landward side and fenced except where
the land is very broken as in northern Enaclete. In Caryshader there are fourteen legal
632 crofts which at present are worked as eleven units; one is used only as a holiday home
311 by its owner-occupier and there is one squatter on the common grazing. In Geshader there are eleven crofts, each worked independantly; Ungshader has four crofts but the

CHAPTER TEN

EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Garynahine, Callanish, Breasclete, and Tolsta Chaolis)

GARYNAHINE by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury.

131 632 133 Garynahine is a townships of twelve crofts which are situated on the eastern arm of Loch Ceann Thulabhig. The crofts nowhere extend more than one-third of a mile from the coast. There is a hinterland of about 1,800 acres of common grazing, which is mostly about 100 ft above sea-level, though it rises to 200 ft in a few isolated areas; the crofts are lower, and maximum elevation is 80 ft.

134 Most of the croft land is drained by the stream Allt Mhurchaidh which flows through all but two of the crofts. But the soils are heavy, and several crofters cut peat on their crofts. Many crofters complained that their land was too peaty for cultivation.

361 The crofts form a regular pattern beside the south side of the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, with two small feus and a 21 acre freeholding on the north side of the road. In addition there is a farm (Garynahine Lodge) of 400 acres east of the crofts, and likewise stretching along the south side of the Stornoway road. The main road to Uig passes through the farm, dividing the cultivated area in the west from the grazing section.

195 361 241 311 The regular lay-out of the crofts dates from the formation of the township in 1935. On the same site, but long cleared, there had been an older village about the same size i.e. twelve crofts, known to be in existence in the 1850's. The crofts were in a similar position, but were a different shape, and the ruins of some of the croft houses still remain. This village was completely burnt out one gusty winter evening when, it is said, a spark from a crofter's pipe was blown onto one of the thatched roofs, and the wind quickly spread the blaze to consume the entire village. The crofters left the area, many going to the neighbouring township of Callanish; Garynahine then became one large farm until 1935 when the land was re-allocated into crofts. The new crofters came from a variety of areas, several coming from Crulivig, others from Breasclete and Callanish. The owners of the farm had also opened an hotel which prospered until 1945 when the farm was sold to its present owner Admiral Drummond, who has since used the house of a private house. Nine acres of the farm land is cultivated, and the remaining 391 acres are used for grazing. In contrast to the usual practice in this area the oats have been undersown with rye grass. Another beneficial innovation at the farm is the introduction of shelter belts. Trees have been successfully planted, making it possible to produce good crops of soft fruits such as raspberries, strawberries etc. Both the crops and the stock on the farm are of a high standard, showing that with capital and correct management the land can be remarkably productive.

In contrast to the large scale economy of the farm, the twelve crofts (ten operative units) are each between 4.6 and 6.2 acres, and the total reputed arable is 67.3 acres. In all there are only 9.5 acres under crop (oats 6 acres and potatoes 3.5 acres), and 2.25 acres under sown grass. The crofts are worked either by spade, horse (hire from croft 40 Callanish) or by tractor (hire from the Lodge). The seasonal rhythm of cultivation and of stock rearing is that in Callanish.

Enquiries soon reveal that crofting is not the main occupation of the croft tenants. Another indication of the declining interest in the land is the fencing of the crofts. All were fenced when they were formed in 1935; since then there has been no refencing. Now a grant is available to pay 75% of the cost of re-fencing but little has been done.

231 Stock totals (see Appendix C) have declined recently and this trend will probably continue. There are only four cows and two calves in the township (plus six at the farm).

231 There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

233 Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters exceed their souming (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 166 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

312 399 491 The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had electricity since 1954. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway and also one bus from Uig and one from Bernera passing through Garynahine. These good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

463 [178] There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the remaining two being to old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

172 133 [361] Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about 125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide) which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing; it is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the highest point is 425 ft.

195 427 34 241 The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century, and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader to work for one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the more exposed westward facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced by the 90 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which now forms the boundary between the croftland and the common pasture. The croftland varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertilizer and manure are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial fertiliser. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on a small peninsula from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland at high tide.

175 361 427 The croft houses were then in two nuclei; one on each side of the narrow neck. Much later a third nuclei developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Bernera; they had put to sea in small boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

427 311 There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

312 [Map] [359] There is no piped water supply and after even a short period water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter doe of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 19 remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 [288] Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the cro worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendenc to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing t addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time cro weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctu prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure i average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township [166] young people who have married on the mainland), there are still [164] young families making their homes here. The dominant age-gr [162] dent adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the m communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen

195 427 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crof making nine. However, there are only five working units and o vation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

361 241 231 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicul Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimente acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. 65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J.

131 133 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky o northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish t westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a n

491 361 [Map] The road on which most of the houses are situated, (follows a middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 1 road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served b Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would m by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the to high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry afte weather although the wells on the lower ground ne

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J. Phillips.

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Phillips.

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Since 1939,
166 54 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to
462 leave home when they finish school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go into domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breasclete is also the temporary home of the families of lighthousemen on duty in the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain demand for the tweed, and although the men are nominally self-employed they rely on the mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms, which, with ancillary equipment such as bobbin winders, are all owned by the crofters.

[458] As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being erected. But should there be a slump, the crofts would be unable to support the population and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

131 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch
133 a' Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs,
361 for westwards to the sea the terrain is too rocky and irregular for either settlement or cultivation, whilst to the east of Loch a' Bhaile the land slopes precipitously from 250 ft. to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle drift-covered slopes, generally of small extent.

137 Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch
[241] a' Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader, and in the valley of the small stream draining from the north into the head of Loch a' Bhaile. Most of the croft land is composed of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 100 ft. in height, separated by damp depressions frequently filled by reeds and rushes; bracken was apparent only on three crofts. In particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely colonised by reeds and very coarse grasses, of no use whatsoever as pasture. One enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this could certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and
311 2 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the two lochs and the sea, except for nos. 28 and 29. The 53 holdings are unofficially
427 amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The acreage of crofts varies from 2.2 to 20.75 acres - a considerable variation. Fencing of the crofts - except for 1A, B, and C, and 12A, B, and C which are held 'run-rig' - was carried out between 1945 and 1950, whilst in 1946 the common pasture of 2,700 acres was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the Carloway to Breasclete road. An area stretching from crofts 18A to 21 has, however, been most haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided amongst seventeen crofts in the southern half of the township to compensate them for lack of grazing area within their own croft boundaries. This division is said to date from about 1886.

241 Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned
[167] small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as opposed to spade cultivation, depends either on the urgency of the operation, or on the accessibility of the plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

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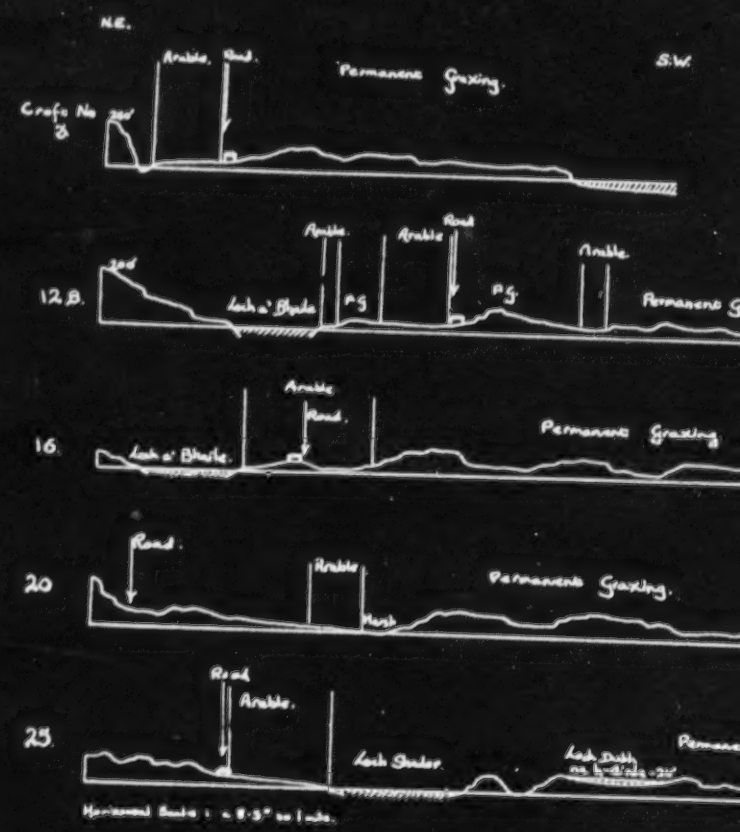

Sketch Sections of Five Representative C
Tolsta
R.H. Thomas.

Figure 36.

Figure 1.

/facing p. 1/

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

by

Brian Loughbrough

The seven crofting townships of Upper Carloway, (including Carloway Park), Borrowston, Garenin, Knock Carloway, Dun Carloway and Kirivick form a compact area of land in the north of the Parish of Uig bordering the coast and Loch Carloway. Here the Lewisian gneiss has a thin discontinuous covering of glacial drift which is most extensively developed immediately above the head of Loch Carloway. Three valleys help to determine the layout of the townships and settlements (figure 37). The townships to the north-west of the Carloway river are found on more gentle slopes than those to the south east where the slopes are less uniform and are less uniform and are often broken by short steep rocky faces. The north western area therefore offers an environment where almost continuous cultivation is possible whereas in the south east the frequent rock outcrops have led to fragmented cultivation on minute plots which are inaccessible to the tractor or other mechanised implements.

The soils are heavy and acid even on the skinned land of the boulder clay slopes nor is there any machair to mitigate the acidity of the peaty areas which descend almost to the shores. Only in one place is there any trace of the influence of the sand and this is to be found where the crofts numbered 1 to 3 Garenin border the small bay in the north of that township. Here the fierce gales have blown some of the finer beach deposits on to the croft land.

Much of the peat has been cut from the inner common pastures except in the case of Upper Carloway where active cutting is still taking place in the valley whose flanks are occupied by squatter settlements, to the east of the football pitch. On the common pasture the vegetation varies from peat moss and heather with bracken to fescue and close turf on the skinned land by the road to Dalemore. On the upper common pasture heather and bracken have increased since the abandonment of the shielings and the reduction of the cattle stock; many inhabitants remember that the hills once had a much greener aspect. Nor is this a feature confined to the common pastures; on one croft in Upper Carloway 1.9 acres are completely covered by heather whilst a neighbouring croft has a good crop of oats on similar land. At the loch in both Knock and Upper Carloway areas of former arable land have reverted to moss, the old lazy beds being picked out by lines of reeds.

Settlement. The settlement pattern is one of great interest for it shows in a clear way the effects of the distrinct phases in the historical geography of the area. The evidence of success and failure stands side by side. Before attempting to justify this assertion it is necessary to give a brief account of the physical evolution and distribution of settlement.

The origin of permanent settlement is believed * to have been the permanent occupation of shielings used by people from Bernera until the eighteenth century. Until about 1850 arable land was held run-rig and the houses were huddled together in tight little clusters. When individual crofts were lotted, about 1850, the houses werescattered, each on its croft and generally up to fifty yards from the present road (which was then no more than a rough track). Sea access was then most important but since the advent of modern road transport new houses have been built nearer to the roads, producing the modern markedly linear plan. The roads extend at different heights across the slopes

* based on information supplied by Mr Macleod of 27 Garenin.

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

ground. Some of these provide for a much larger area and indeed the policeman serves the whole of the parish of Uig. Three buses per day in each direction operating on a circular route provide transport to Stornoway.

UPPER CARLOWAY

The township comprises 51 registered crofts and 28 feus and allotments which are situated on the drift covered slope which rises from the head of Loch Carloway. The crofts are each about half a mile in length and from 5 to 25 yards in width aligned up and downslope. The lowest portion of the croftland is just above sea level and the highest approaches 225 feet O.D. The key crofts are numbers 30 and 31 whose boundaries come to a point thus enabling the crofts to be accommodated on the arcuate hill face. In the east are the crofts of Park Carloway which were lotted at a later date than the main area of croftland (numbers 1 to 40).

Only two crofts are fragmented ('fixed runrig'), these occupy lowlying hummocky land near the river where fencing would be difficult. Elsewhere fencing has been almost completed between the roads, but above the upper road fencing is less common, usually only being undertaken by the more enterprising crofters with more promising land; the bare rock surface of crofts 9 and 10 precludes any such attempt there. Almost all the fencing has taken place since 1946.

The 51 crofts and 28 feus and allotments are operated in 56 working agricultural units. The total land reputed arable 134.4 acres and the outrun 82.65 acres which gives a total of 217.05 acres of individually held ('croft') land. The method of working is controlled by the relationship of slope, soil and elevation. Three zones may be distinguished, namely

(1) Below the road;
  a) well drained and fairly accessible,
  b) poorly drained and often far from the croft house
(2) Between the roads; a main zone of cultivation
(3) Above the main road an upper zone
  a) with bare rock and thin soil
  b) drift covered - similar in character to (2), but more exposed

Crofts 1 - 32 occupy all three zones
" 33 - 40 and 46 occupy zones (2) and (3)
" 49 is in zone (2)
" 41 and 42 are in zone (1)a and are in 'fixed runrig'.

In nearly all parts of these zones it is possible to use a tractor and so the cultivation of oats and cutting of hay is accomplished. It is usual to work the potatoes by horse, but only one man preferred to do all his ploughing by horse. This widespread use of the tractor is in marked contrast to the townships southeast of the Loch where it is almost impossible to use the tractor in many places. The significance of this in the contrasts in methods and efficiency need hardly be emphasised.

Life in a crofting township is governed by a very distinctive pattern of working that is so strong that it even influences the operations of the mills in Stornoway, for each crofter, if he continues to work his croft fully, must take time off for the communal operations such as the shearing or dipping of the sheep and inevitably at certain times of the year he will be anxious to work the croft. The table attempts to set out the pattern of the agricultural year in this group of townships (Figure 40).

361 the main area of cultivation at the head of Loch Carloway, is similarly divided into long
427 narrow crofts which traverse the broad valley which falls to the sea from the low water-shed marking the boundaries of Upper Carloway, Borroston and Garenin. The settlement is to be found on either side of the road which rises from the bay to join the two major township roads of Upper Carloway.

181 The township has a very individual character, especially at the seaward end which is
427 exposed to violent winds and spray in the winter and where the dwellings are mostly black houses. Tenanted by old ladies two of these are partly sublet and the future seems to suggest that a complete subletting will take place, which contrasts with the activity of many of the other crofters in the township. One man was prepared to carry all the fertiliser for the croft on his back because it was impossible to gain access for the tractor.

427 The twenty eight crofts, one feu and one allotment are worked in twenty five units.
311 Extensive improvements have been made on two crofts with the introduction of sown grasses in their rotations. A general increase in fencing is now taking place with the consequent closure of the crofts which were formerly open for common grazing in the winter. By far the most striking feature in the figures gathered for the township are those for the sheep stock. Although the total souming for all stock is not quite reached, the sheep soum is exceeded by 60.3%. This does not worry the crofters one of whom spoke of a 'natural souming' pointing to the fact that the total souming was not exceeded and he continued that 'if the land is overstocked animals die'; this they do all too frequently. The assertion seems to be based on the belief that the equivalence of one cow equals three or even five sheep gives an accurate assessment of the potential of the grazing. The evidence of the heavy sheep losses does not bear this out. That sheep eat a different herbage and in a different manner to cattle seems to be either unknown or is ignored.

The whole agricultural operation of the township is complicated by its situation; long journeys were necessary to go to the shielings and are still needed for bringing home the
[286] peats. Once again the emphasis is on weaving as an occupation and many of these people
161 are ageing. It is a measure of the decline in the population that now only fifteen children
[162] go to school whereas one crofter could remember up to fifty in the school before the First War.

The main features which emerge from this examination of the townships to the north west of Loch Carloway may be summed up quite briefly. The croftland is a compact area of well cultivated land on the even slopes which rise to over 200 ft. O.D. It is divided into long narrow holdings which ensures that each has a fair share of the different types of land. Careful attention to much of the land shows that this is far from being a
000 dying community. In spite of the defects which can be noted in the animal husbandry, the decreased population and the reduced number of working units (a result of the sub-letting) could allow of a much more efficient working than does take place at the present time. The potential is there. Carloway has many of the basic social services which help to stabilise a community and with the advantage of its strategic position the concentration of settlement could be assured if additional employment and/or more efficient agricultural methods could be adopted.

KNOCK CARLOWAY

● 133 If the north west presents a picture of relative prosperity the area to the south may be described as one that is showing signs of decay and decline. Knock Carloway itself
[181] occupies part of the area with less evenly graded slopes (although a westerly outlier of the township extends to the northern flank of Loch Carloway). The eastern section rises steeply to a rocky crest which marks the beginning of the common pasture. In
361 consequence the crofts are less regular than those already described and three are
[427] worked in 'fixed runrig' with a pattern of much more fragmented cultivation. Situated on the lowest shoulder of the ridge are the churches and school close to the road junction

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361 at Carloway Bridge. In addition to the main settlement which is irregularly disposed on either side of the two roads, a group of Swedish timber Council houses has been built in a somewhat forbidding situation on the common pasture adjoining the 'Pentland' road.

427 The thirty three registered crofts and thirteen feus or allotments (of which only five
311 are non-agricultural) are worked in thirty four units. Three of the tenants of the Swedish houses have crofts, two in Knock Carloway and one in Upper Carloway.

311 The land use figures show that Knock Carloway has a much greater percentage of permanent grass than has Borroweston on the opposite shore of the loch. These figures reflect not only the less rewarding physical environment on the south shore, but also the lower intensity of cultivation which bears a direct relationship to the type, number and quality of the stock. The township has less than the total number of animals permitted by the souming though the higher figure for sheep than cattle reflects the general trend for the area. No horses are kept but the township has the bull which serves the area - a privately owned beef-shorthorn.

464 Weaving remains the major occupation but the emphasis is less heavy than in the other
[286] townships for the community services centred here employ a number of the inhabitants.
[632] it may be that here lies part of the answer to the problems of the community as a whole: but even if employment in services were to be increased it could never be very significant in a district with a total population of only 600.

KIRIVICK

361 Adjoining Knock Carloway is the small township of Kirivick which has forty one per-
[162] manent residents. It occupies the least rewarding agricultural environment of the area. Crofts 1 to 13 rise from the shore of Loch Carloway on the broken hill face to the Carloway-
● [133] Breaaclete road, whilst number 14 occupies the head of a small valley which was once part of the common pasture beyond the road.

361 The houses are set back from the road occasionally sheltering in the lee of the frequent
133 knolls of bare rock which are exposed on the croft land. These rock surfaces together with the irregular deposition of the drift account for the fragmentation of the cultivated strips in small hand-dug lazy beds on the upper parts of the crofts inaccessible to the tractor.

361 There are fourteen crofts, three feus and one squatter settlement and all but two of
427 these are fenced. Two of the crofts are held in 'fixed runrig' and the small sections in
311 which the land is cultivated are shown in figure 41 which also illustrates the regular distribution of sections between the two. Though it used to be the normal practice the crofts are not now open to common grazing in the winter.

311 The restricted amount of land available for common grazing ensured the continued use of the shielings until 1939; small patches were cultivated on the common grazing about forty years ago and this fact too is the only recorded instance of a practice that was a community by the size of the working unit and the land available. At the moment there is no proposal for reseeding of any part of the common pasture* because of the difficulty of getting access for tractors. As in the case of Knock Carloway the total souming is not exceeded, but the sheep stock is 25% above the sheep soum.

162 The population figures emphasise the problem of the whole of this southern area and here is the most extreme case of incipient decline. There are two fulltime crofters, six crofters who weave and five crofters over sixty five. Seventy per cent of the population is over 45 and only two children attend the school neither of which is likely to take up crofting.

1. [Figure 42--Analyst]

[Seaforthhead]

161 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural
162 and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend,
166 significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment forth of Park, and a smaller loss by
167 migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric,
241 there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration
222 losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of
632 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seaforthhead and Shieldernish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHEAD

135 Seaforthhead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a
361 gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being
[247] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

134 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat
137 accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely
[255] for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Balallan and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

[244] The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and
the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed.
[407] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay
[314] for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the
[251] township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep sown. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the sown, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in
162 1886. In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the
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[Seaforthhead] [Shieldernish] [Habost]

161 suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now
162 given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out
of the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two have migrated
241 since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males
178 between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

361 In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on
[609] slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's, 'Seaforth Castle',
505 now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled,
[491] communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives
178 access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHIELDERNISH

131 Shieldernish, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Loche
361 road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the
632 road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

241 Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put
311 together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes, preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the
[246] lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a
237 further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and
244 potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total
[226] stocking of the Shieldernish crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use
[288] though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the township and this isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to grazing. Shieldernish appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing
[325] fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Shieldernish is better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

131 Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement
135 stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained
241 valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to
361 flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place.
[134] Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin soils.

[Habost] [Kershader]

464 Of the 53 residents, 19 are over 65 and only 5 under 15 years, leaving a working population
161 of 29: seven are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily
162 declining since its peak of 121 in 1901.
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Since 1946, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely fenced and the
178 method of cultivation has changed from spade and horse-plough to tractor and cultivators. A
241 further fence has been erected for a lamb park and much land has been re-seeded; an increase
281 area has been put down to hay. It would seem that fattening of stock for market is intended, an
[407] better attention is being paid to stock. Yet the population is ageing and there are few young men
[162] to take the place of the older crofters; when working units become larger and stock decreases a figure nearer the real carrying capacity of the grazing, the croft could become a profitable concern: at the moment, the croft is only maintained through grants and ancillary earnings. Should that happen, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivation to provide winter fodder.

KERSHADER

Philip W. Wheeler, M.A.

131 Kershader is a township of forty-three permanent residents on thirteen crofts, which stretc
161 for a mile along the southern shore of Loch Erisort. The crofts extend up to one-third of a
162 mile from the coast with a two-and-a-half mile deep hinterland of common grazing. The extre
135 elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arranged
361 in rectangular strips at right angles to the coast, are lower (maximum 125 feet) and include three main zones (Fig. 8):

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(a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly below 50 fe dissected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone have distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and unsuited to fertilisation b seaware. The smaller hillocks in this zone have thinner soils of the same sort, but th main hill (crofts 10/11) is an extension of zone (c).

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with hills rising to over 100 feet. The lower areas have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a) and (b), with peaty-loam characteristics, overlying aquifermus gravels. The higher areas have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there are signs of former skinning.

(c) A zone of hollows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reacting well to heavy fertilisation with seaware and intervening heights covered with blanket bog, partly skinned, heather and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with gentler slopes over 50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irregular shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

241 In Kershader, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts vary be
311 ween 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23.45 acr reputed arable and 110.35 acres outrun. 24.5 acres are in fact under crop (oats 18.5, potatoes 6.0), and 9.5 acres under sown grass; and of the remaining 99.8 acres, mainly natural grass

[Kershader] [Garyvard]

132 common grazings - at present approximately correctly stocked - and cannot therefore provide
241 much employment. Hence it is the standard of agriculture that must be improved. Since the
[213] land does not permit striking extension or improvement of the cultivated area, development
must be directed towards improving pasture, with more re-seeding and controlled grazing
900 similar to that already described. All this, however, is of little avail if prices for cattle, sheep and wool remain low, or at least lower than prices prevailing on the mainland. The first priority, therefore, in the establishment of a prosperous agriculture is a guaranteed market-price. Given this, it might become worthwhile to take steps to increase the carrying capacity of the crofts. It may be assumed that this would involve an all-round improvement which could give a firm basis to the economic existence of the community; until this is achieved, stability and continuity are out of the question.

GARYVARD

Gwenyth R. Page, B. A.

131 The landscape of the south-east coast of Loch Erisort is a sombre and rugged one. The
133 Quaternary ice sheets left in their wake troughs now filled by the sea loch, innumerable lochs covered in water lilies, a massive area of indeterminate drainage and expanses of bare gneiss.

Garyvard is set on the fringe of this landscape on a 20 to 25° slope with the crofts aligned
[551] from the moor to the sea, on a mantle of drift. Here is the home of the MacLeods, the Mackinnons
121 and the Montgomerys. Life beats out its regular pattern of existence during the winter months
351 on the croft, followed by an increasing tempo and variety of work during the rest of the year. In January and February the animals must be fed on hay or lose the battle to survive. In February
241 there are preparations for the year's tasks, making repairs and improvements to the croft. Next month will find the crofter on the land, making or clearing drains and putting fences and dykes in order. The tempo of life quickens with the year; April sees the first sheep dipping, the land turned over, potatoes and oats sown. From mid-May, the sheep leave the crofts to fend
[347] for themselves on the common grazing. The following three or four months are times of tremendous activity on the moors when the peats are cut, to be stacked later, first in fours, then in eights, so that the wind may dry them, till eventually bee-hive-shaped stacks - some four feet high - can be seen near the peat banks in August. Then begins the wearisome task of carrying the peats home, all too frequently in creels carried on the back, since the peat workings of Garyvard are on the moors up to half a mile from road. Altogether some two miles of roads are needed to prevent the villagers patronising the coal merchants of Stornoway. Two crofters, however, cut peat on their crofts, whilst others have permission to cut from Cromore or Caversta common grazings close to the road. All the while croft work continues, varying from hoeing, weeding and cutting hay to the gathering of sheep for shearing. As there are no fences between the various commons, crofters must travel from one township fank to another, seeking their own. In August the lambs are weaned. Hay making generally ends in August and is immediately followed by the oat harvest in September. By the time both oats and hay have been gathered in, the potatoes are lifted and the sheep are brought in from the common grazing about October 12th. The last sheep dipping takes place in November and is followed by tupping.

241 There are eleven crofts altogether, though one is divided, each portion having a legal tenant
423 who has a half share in the common grazing. Two crofts are 12 acres in extent, the half crofts 2.75 acres only, though the acre cultivated on the common grazing by one of the latter crofters since 1923, has recently been officially recognised. Most crofts are in strips running from the sea-shore up the slope some 500 yards to the township dyke, and are clearly demarcated by fences erected just after the last war. Three crofts have additional strips whilst one croft was
[175] an extra strip belonging to another croft. The additional strips date back about 100 years to a time when the township grew rapidly as a result of evictions in southern Park. One croft is divided and worked in three separate parts so in effect there are fourteen operative units in Garyvard.

[Garyvard] [Caversta]

532 At the moment Garyvard appears to be a go-ahead village, carrying out communal schemes
[162] which will benefit the township as a whole. However, the age structure of the population is abnormal since 60 per cent of the population is over 45 years. The future in Garyvard offers young people
192 hard work, little money and no entertainment, making the attractions of the cities and industries of the mainland quite irresistible. Unless some industry can be started the future bodes ill for the area, since most crofters are of the opinion that a weekly wage packet would more than compensate
191 the loss of their independence. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the age of National Assistance and subsidies that man cares more for momentary rewards and the luxuries of life. This is well understood by parents who encourage their children to leave the islands to seek employment either in Britain or within the Commonwealth. The Lewisman is no sentimentalist clinging to dying traditions and a way of life. His present desires have been re-cast as a result of his increasing contact with the world beyond the Hebrides and he is prepared to abandon his home where it defeats his aims and purpose. Unless prosperity can be brought in by way of industry, tourism or increased croft efficiency, possibly through co-operation in working and marketing, it is possible that we are witnessing the end of a community.

CAVERSTA

Helen Mackenzie

131 Caversta lies along a southern inlet of Loch Erisort, five miles from the Minch and is partially sheltered from east winds by the Cromore peninsula and Eilean Chaluim Chille.

133 The physical nature of the terrain is irregular, rising steeply from the water's edge to a level
361 of approximately 225 feet. To the west and to the east, the land slopes to the river estuary and it is here that the settlement occurs. Particularly in the north-west, two marked breaks in slope are visible at 75 feet and 100 feet above the loch, which is here bordered by a 25 foot rock face. The resulting platforms are separated by faces of bare rock. The valley of the Caversta River is a noteworthy feature. Below a small loch, the river follows an irregular course though a wide and shallow moraine-strewn depression and a quarter-of-a-mile from its estuary, has cut through some low hills rising about 30 feet above the depression. At this point, its course becomes steeper as it passes through a small gorge, which is probably an overflow channel.

137 Trees are non-existent and the natural vegetation consists of Sphagnum on the peat bogs in the hollows and grasses and sedges on the gentler slopes. The steeper, less waterlogged slopes, often broken by rocky bluffs, have heather cover; bracken growth is kept in check by heavy grazing.
134 Forty-six acres of land have been reclaimed by clearing heather and removing peat to form the
411 crofts, but the soil, which varies in depth from a few inches to a few feet, is very acid.

The six legal crofts vary in acreage from 4.75 to 8.5 acres and a squatter has 5.5 acres of
129 enclosed land. The township is in two parts: Torista, with the two smallest crofts, lies at the east-
241 ern extremity, while the other five holdings, also bounded by a dyke, border Tob Caversta, an
632 inlet of Loch Erisort. The crofts, which run from the shore to the township dyke, were set prior
[175] to 1861; originally the township formed part of Crobeg Farm. The legal units are, in fact, operative units except that one of the Torista crofts, now unoccupied, is used for wintering lambs by the absentee's brother, a resident of Caversta.

342 There are no occupied black houses remaining in either Torista or Caversta, as during the past fifty years new dwellings have been erected in dressed stone or corrugated iron, usually with roofs of asbestos slate, tarred felt, or corrugated iron. Several old thatched houses are now used as barns and byres.

[Cromore] [Marivig]

366 butchers' vans call on Wednesday and Friday and a fish van once or twice during the week. Goods
494 are also conveyed by the daily bus. Electricity was brought to the village about four years ago
377 and the inhabitants now look forward to a supply of piped water in about two years' time. At present
[312] only three or four houses have bathrooms.

The crofts, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a satis-
241 factory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It seems
430 that the recent subsidies for fishing are good enough to attract fishermen from Cromore and one or
228 two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were longer. Weaving has brought prosperity
288 but, as the Park Association states in its Second Progress Report "there is not sufficient weaving available for the present number of weavers". The proposal to establish a spinning and processing plant in the Park District made in the 1957 Report, would undoubtedly be of great value to the
900 people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants suggested that a hotel built on Crobeg Farm would bring some benefit to the community. However, even if these three increased sources of income became effective, one wonders whether they would be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Stornoway.

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B. A.

131 Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triangular sea loch opening to the north-east and sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, making the loch an ideal anchorage and harbour.

133 The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slopes more gradually and irregularly, with frequent precipitous rock outcrops, for two hundred to five hundred yards to rise steeply to a line of low hills, two hundred and fifty feet to three hundred feet high, surrounding the loch. All crofts thus have an easterly or north-easterly aspect, not particularly favourable for agriculture, and only one has any appreciable area of level land
134 uninterrupted by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin, and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely dispersed.

137 The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common grazing, are mainly covered with heather, moor grass or sphagnum bog, while the lower areas within the township are grassy, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not yet a problem, and only small areas exist, mainly on the lower slopes of the western side of the loch. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant
241 and worked by another crofter, and one worked from a house on the common. With the exception
632 of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in radial fashion (Fig. 4). The size of the crofts varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and few now cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses being on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

241 Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' system. Owing to the rocky nature of the
[240] terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two yards wide. Potatoes and oats are
246 grown in rotation, and hay taken from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters sow grass for hay
237 or undersow their crops. Dung and seaweed are used as fertilisers, with potato fertiliser as the
[824] most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce, carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

[Mariviig] [Calbost]

900 In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Mariviig's future, and that of other crofting townships, is not only one of adverse aspect, soil and weather conditions, and of distance from markets, but a problem of the population finding a stable and viable level where agricultural units are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain, and a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

131 Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Gravir on the Minch coast of Park. It occupies
135 a basin-like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is open to the sea on the east. The
362 croft houses are scattered over a shelf 50 feet above sea-level round the sides of the hollow and along the valleys which enter the township to the north and south-west.

194 The cultivable soil, a mixture of peat and well-drained gravelly drift, is on the higher ground.
197 Although here the rock outcrops in many places. On land formerly cultivated, bracken is spreading rapidly and now covers a large proportion of the surface, although twenty to thirty years ago it was unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-lying central area. There are a few willows and rowans round the old buildings, probably planted as wind-breaks.

195 Calbost was originally a single farm but the township was formed about 1820. The pattern of
196 the croft differs from the usual shore-to-dyke alignment, as six crofts were allotted extra land
in the valley which enters from the north, when a part of the common grazing was brought within
the township dyke. There are now fourteen crofts of which four are worked by resident crofters
and ten by squatters. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters
in Calbost and other townships.

Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2.6 acres now in cultivation, potatoes account for
2.37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduced cattle stock of only two cows and
two calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut as winter feed for the 225 sheep which graze
in the township.

The hay-beds in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly encroached on by bracken. The
prevalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to clear it, is likely to deter any attempt at
renewed cultivation.

Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats have to
be taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing industry whic
has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Calbost, leaving
only a few boats now used only for leisure purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only two of
the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are a few
productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not so widely use
in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed
to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around
Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosures were made adjoining the main
dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before
the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander
over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

[Calbost] [Gravir] [Glengravir]

161 The present situation in Calbost is best illustrated by reference to the population statistics.
162 There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are squatters and only eight houses are occupied within the dyke. Of the male population, there are three children under fourteen years, one man in the 15-44 age group, three between 45 and 64 years and two over 65. This clearly shows the lack of active men from 15-44 years, necessary for the continuing economic success of
164 the community. However, even these figures are not so striking as the numbers of emigrants as
165 no less than 159 men and 40 women have left Calbost since 1939.

A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the younger
166 people have left to find employment in Stornoway and on the mainland. The present population
163 structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

194 Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride the major
198 east-west inlet of Loch Ouirn, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The site of the township is perhaps the most picturesque in all Park, but the steep slopes, lack of cover, the small area of good arable land, and the considerable population existing on slim resources, problems common to Park as a whole, are all epitomised in Gravir.

167 On the south-facing slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough in the valley to the
west, the majority of the houses have been carved from moor to sea, some before 1800, and some
the process of the abolition of run-rig which was accomplished in the years 1850 to 1852.
195 Originally, there appears to have been thirty crofts, but four were added during the nineteenth century, two at each end of the line, and in 1934 a further fifteen were cut out of the common grazing, a mile to the west of Gravir. On the south side of the loch, the 'clachan' of Tom an Fhuadain, established about 1800, has since developed into a further nine crofts. Thus there are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir and a further fifteen in Glengravir making fifty-eight in all.

The layout of Glengravir, a line of crofts from 3.6 to five acres, typifies the small post-1918 Department of Agriculture holdings. The arrangement of the Gravir crofts is illustrated in Figure 7, and it will be seen that not all the crofts are consolidated. There are three areas of former arable commons which have been lotted in unfenced strips and they may well be reclamations which were necessary to supplement the food producing capacity of the holdings. The method of division and allocation speaks of a period when a subsistence economy under severe pressure from over-population necessitated fair shares for all. The last of these commons was in cultivation until 1891. Although subsistence crofting has been obsolete since then, there is as yet no move towards a regularisation of the layout.

176 The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable commons developed mainly
as a result of a successful drive to raise a population which prospered from four acres of 'old arable'. In the
128 were two curing stations in Gravir. With relative prosperity from an ancillary industry, cottars
were tolerated and the population rose from 197 in 1839, to 368 in 1881 reaching a peak of 468
162 in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has certainly not yet ceased. Gravir reverted from 1918 to a township of agriculturalists and a base for employment forth of Lewis, although there have been spasms of successful fishing activity since.

241 Stock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and conditions
are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir crofts
vary between 3.5 and 26.5 acres in size; a township which prospered from four acres of 'old arable'. In the days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in narrow lazy-beds, banked up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more extensive. All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed cut as far away as
123 Cromore or the coast south of Kebock Head. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed area is now cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture; some of the lazy-

[Gravir] [Glengravir] [Lemreuvy]

The urgent need in Gravir is a reduction in the number of holdings. A pre-requisite of such
reorganisation would be the creation of employment for a non-crofting population. Weaving and
fishing are the more obvious occupations; the former is subject to world trade fluctuations but the
latter is now in a more favourable position since the introduction of the herring fishing guaranteed
subsidy, although the raising of the initial capital for buying and equipping boats is a formidable
problem. It is clear that a division of the community into a crofting and non-crofting sector is
essential if the present population level is to be maintained. The most serious aspect of the present
trend is that the migrating section of the community comprises the younger and more enterprising
people. Unless holdings of economic size can be formed, and stable employment introduced, one can
expect the younger men and women to remain in Gravir.

Until a major reorganisation of the crofts is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-seed large
areas of the common pasture and the three former arable commons, and the development of a croft-
tourist industry, are interim possibilities. It is not sufficiently realised in crofting districts that
there is a demand from the city dweller for simple accommodation and good plain fare in a clean
atmosphere, with the possibility of hill walking and fishing on fresh and salt water. Yet, until the
proposed water-scheme becomes a reality, tourism on a moderate scale can hardly be contemplated.

One can only conclude that until reorganisation takes place and transforms Gravir into a township
of viable agricultural holdings, any stabilisation of the present trends is out of the question. A
decline in the number of holdings is inevitable in the long run but a planned reduction over a number
of years would bring about a more viable community than the disintegration which will occur without
such planning. Until this is achieved, the young men and women have little incentive to remain in
Gravir.

LEMREWAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda G. Turner
and John E. Wearmouth

151 Lemreway, the southernmost township of Park, comprises 290 acres arable and outrun divided
249 into thirty-three crofts and 3,925 acres of common pasture. The township is situated on the north-
side of Loch Shell round a bay in the shelter of Eilean Iuvard.

The township consists of three distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area at about 100 feet, part
193 common pasture and part reclaimed as extensions to the crofts, locally known as 'the Outend', forms
the first subdivision. The second area, further west, is of a hummocky nature. To the east, a steep
slope rises to an altitude of 400 feet, less than half a mile from the loch shore, forming the third.
Two benches are to be seen at about 100 feet on the steeper slope and similar, though wider terraces
occur at the same height to the north. It is suggested that the flat area is the bed of a moraine-
dammed lake, and that the hummocky sector is partly morainic and partly ice-eroded rock exposure.
A channel eroded through this sector allowed the lake to drain southwards leaving a relatively deeply
incised valley through which the present stream flows to the sea.

Soils may be divided into two types - a peaty loam and the better drained gravelly loam which is
194 found to the east and along the main stream; the latter is particularly suitable for potato cultivation.

197 Except on rocky outcrops, the very steep slopes and the drained areas, blanket bog predominates.
Sphagnum here is rarely dominant but where the land is badly drained Deer's hair grass (Scirpus
cespitosus) and cotton grass (Eriophorum vaginatum and Eriophorum angustifolium) are the
dominants. On slightly drier land, purple moor grass (Molinia caerulea) and mat grass (nardus
stricta) are abundant. Other dominants are bog asphodel (Narthecium ossifragum) and cross-leaved
heather (Erica tetralix) with other common species such as the sundews (Drosera rotundifolia and
intermedia), butterwort (Pinguicula vulgaris), Juncus sp., Carex sp. and Carex panicea occurring
sporadically. Where the peat has been cut and drained, 'heather moor' usually develops and Calluna

[Orinsay]

261 which rises steeply, exceeding 375 feet in the west and 150 feet to the north and east. From
the north-west and north-east two glacially deepened valleys drain southwards, their lower ends
192 being "drowned" by northward extensions of the loch.

194 Although peat covers most of the surface it is only in the hollows that it is significantly deep,
for even on the gentler slopes the peat cover is frequently so thin as to expose a layer of morainic sub-soil containing many stones and boulders.

197 Two rowans and a dozen willows represent the only tree growth, but tree stumps frequently
exposed in peat-cuttings suggest that woodland was formerly more evident. Whether this former
woodland disappeared as a result of human action or of climatic change it is not possible to say, but
it is certain that a century of overgrazing has not favoured natural regeneration. Moorland grasses,
sedges and a little poor heather characterise much of the area, and reflect the poor grazing
capacity of much of the moorland. Bracken has established itself in one limited area on a patch
of neglected croft land.

195 Orinsay is unique in Park, for the present township is entirely a twentieth century development.
63 In the early 19th century there was a settlement at the head of the loch, but in 1843 the residents were removed and the area enclosed and added to Crobeg sheep farm. In 1916, there was a proposal to establish fourteen crofts, but the applicants were requested to wait until after the war. At the end of the war the return of many young men with a desire to settle down led to serious overcrowding in Lemreway. Several of them 'raided' the Orinsay area. At first living in huts, they built their own houses, and in 1922 the Department of Agriculture intervened, recognising and formalising off fourteen legal crofts, and at the same time providing a good footpath. Seeing the success of their neighbours, four other Lemreway families, comprising 26 people, went to Stiemreway, about a mile to the west of Orinsay. Here, however, the Department of Agriculture did not intervene and with the community remaining isolated, most of the settlers returned to Lemreway within three years, although one family remained until 1929.

Six of the crofts have an area of less than ten acres, six have between ten and fifteen acres,
while the remaining two occupy eighteen and twenty-five acres: the largest croft originally belonged
to the shepherd on the sheep farm. Three of these crofts are not occupied, although worked by
other crofters, with the result that eleven operative units share 161 acres.

Only a small part of the croft acreage is actually cultivable; even less is cultivated in practice.
251 The broken and rocky terrain combined with the peaty soil allows nothing but the cultivation by spade
of tiny lazy-beds. The total area now cultivated does not exceed 25 acres, although in the past it may have been nearer 40 acres.

Oats and potatoes are the staple crops, occupying 9 and 6½ acres respectively in 1958. Individual
246 croft acreages of these crops vary in relation to the requirements for winter stock-feed, and in the
244 case of potatoes, to domestic consumption. Nevertheless to produce even these meagre returns
the soil requires careful preparation. A plentiful supply of seaweed is obtained from the shore and is the most frequently used fertiliser, while a little sulphate of ammonia is applied. Only two crofters use lime.

293 In the last two decades a marked reduction in the number of oats grown has accompanied a
decrease in the numbers of cattle and an increasing use of hay for fodder. Nevertheless only about
172 acres of hay altogether are cut, and only five of the crofters sow any grass seed.

251 In August 1958, the township supported only 13 cows, 3 young beasts and 8 calves. Half of the
crofters have a cow and a calf, but there have been no cattle at all, and one even used condensed milk.
A sad commentary on the state of crofting in Orinsay, but a phenomenonby no means uncommon in crofting areas.

124 a wider applicability of my thesis. The evidence in support of
120 my assertion was collected on the culture history of the Isle of Skye, a part of the area known as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

101 Since I shall frequently speak of the Highlands and Islands in the following pages, we should have a precise definition of the
123 region (Figure 1). Geographically, the Highland boundary should be placed at the Great Highland Fault, a series of geological faults which extend across Scotland from the River Clyde to Stonehaven, south of Aberdeen. Politically and economically,
121 however, this line has receded to the north and west. Since 188[illegible] it has been common in Scotland to equate the Highlands and Islands with the "Seven Crofting Counties," those counties in which the
124 predominate form of land use is the crofting system. Crofting may be defined as a system of hereditary tenure of a few acres of arable land combined with common tenure of hill grazings.
124 These counties are: Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty,
125 Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney, and Zetland. Out of the 163 parishes in these counties only 12 are considered non-crofting.[1]
126 In addition to this shared socio-economic pattern, the seven counties have experienced common economic-geographical influences a century of accelerating population growth, followed by a century of persistent depopulation.

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[1] Adam Collier, The Crofting Problem: A Social and Economic Study (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 11n. A parish in Scotland is an ecclesiastical district which until 1929 was also a civil unit with self-government in such local affairs as education, relief for the poor and infirm, and health. If the British county is thought of as analogous to an American state, the parish can be thought of as a county, but one devoid of any function.

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

CHAPTER II

A FIRST IMPRESSION OF SKYE

131 133 Scotland includes among her distinctive characteristics the possession and jurisdiction of more islands, 787, than any other nation in Europe. Stretching along Scotland's west coast for 200 miles in an inner and outer archipelago, the Hebrides account for over 500 of these islands. The Isle of Skye is the largest of the Inner Hebrides. Reference to the map (Figure 2) will show that Skye is forty-nine miles long and from three to twenty-two wide. The coastline measures 184 350 miles. The total area is 643 square miles. Although less than a mile separates Skye from the mainland at Kyle Akin and Kyle Rhea, the inhabitants are enisled geographically by the sea and culturally by the peripheral position of the Island to the main stream of British society and culture.

The isolation of Skye is due to two basic facts. The topography of the Highland region, with its scenic valleys, cut by sea lochs and flanked by precipitous mountains, has created natural barriers to communication with the cities of Lowland 48 Scotland and England. The second fact is that the transportation 131 133 facilities of the Western Highlands have never been integrated with Great Britain's main communication system. The problem, then, is not as much one of distance from the centers of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30]

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

48 population as it is one of accessibility. It is, for example, 131 133 only 165 miles from Glasgow to Mallaig, but the trip takes six hours because of the constant succession of curves and the series of severe gradients over which the railroad runs.

The General Appearance of Skye

131 133 Skye has an irregular shape. Large peninsulas extend out into the Minch on the northwest and into the Sea of the Hebrides on the southwest. Promontories, divided by sea lochs, reach out to the west and east. Numerous small lochs and several large, sheltered bays contribute to the greatly indented coastline. 103 While philologists may doubt the derivation of the Gaelic name for the Island, Eilean Sgiathanach, from the Gaelic sgiath (a wing), "the winged isle" aptly describes Skye.

133 From the mainland, the Island appears to be dominated by the jagged silhouette of the Cuillin Hills. Rising in fifteen angular peaks, these mountains are the first indication that the surface of Skye is as irregular as its shape. The characteristic typological features of the Island are the result of volcanic action in the Tertiary period of the Cenozoic and subsequent erosion, particularly during the Pleistocene when glacial ice flows gouged and scoured the landscape.[1] Geologically Skye consists of an extensive basalt plateau; two intrusive masses, one of gabbro and the other of granite; and a complex of older differentiated strata and outcroppings which include Jurassic and Cambrian limestone, Torridonian sandstone, and Archaean gneiss.

[1] F. Fraser Darling, "Relief, Landforms, Vegetation, and Communications," The West Highland Survey, F. Fraser Darling et al. (mimeographed, 1950), Part II, pp. 26-28.

Skye

133 North of a line between Lochs Sligihan and Eynort, Skye is a typical basalt plateau. Generally, it is a low-lying region of deep glens, rolling moors, and small hills. Mountainous terrain is encountered only in Trotternish and Duirinish. In Trotternish the land has faulted and uplifted to produce a long ridge of cliffs which rise to 2,360 feet. The uplands of Duirinish culminate in MacLeod's Tables, a pair of flat topped 133 134 hills (1,601 and 1,538 feet). This basalt area is Skye's best agricultural asset. The rock easily breaks down to form a potentially rich, light loam and the porosity of the basalt facilitates drainage.[2] Unfortunately, the potentials are not 132 always immediately available. The heavy rainfall and configuration of the land prevents the accumulation of deep soils. In addition to shallowness, the marked common characteristics are lime, phosphate, and cobalt deficiencies, acidity, heavy leaching, and water logging. An extensive, irregular overlie of peat is a further restricting factor. Except for the western slope of the hill ridge of Trotternish and, to a lesser degree, some parts of Duirinish, blanket bogs of peat will not allow the basic nutrients of the underlying soil to be brought into circulation. There are, of course, raised beaches and well drained terraces throughout the area with relatively good arable land. The relative fertility of northern Trotternish has been recognized for many centuries. It has long been known as "the Granary of Skye."

[2] Darling, loc. cit.

Skye

133 South of the basalt plateau, the Cuillins and the Red 34 Hills have intruded into the lava. Although the Cuillins dominate the landscape for many miles, they are absolutely 103 useless agriculturally. Indeed, a case might be made for the derivation of the name Cuillin from the Welsh coolin (worthless).[3] The worthlessness of the mountains in the local economy is attested by the fact that they are the only mountains in Scotland with peaks named after men, all of them mountain 133 climbers of the last century.[4] At the same time, however, 34 they have become a valuable asset in the tourist trade.[5] The 48 Red Hills rise to 2,537 feet. They are mostly covered with scree and skeletal soils, but they have some pastoral value. All have traditional Gaelic names.

133 Below the mountainous region a broad limestone valley extends across the island from Broadford Bay to Lochs Eishort and Slapin. Like northern Skye, it is a gently rolling region 133 with few rises which exceed 500 feet in elevation. The potentially good soil is frequently masked by a heavy overlie of peat.

Sleat, the southernmost peninsula, reveals a compli- 131 cated structure, a complex of ancient rocks and moraine.[6]

[3] B.H. Humble, The Cuillin of Skye (London: Robert Hale, 1952), pp. 3-4.

[4] Ibid., p. xv.

[5] W. A. Poucher, The Magic of Skye (London: Chapman and Hall, 1949); E. G. Meadows, The Skye Scene (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1951); and Humble, op. cit., pp. 31-106.

[6] Darling, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

133 The northeastern end of the peninsula is covered by glaciated
134 rounded hills rising to 2,396 feet. The remainder is a low-lying area of soft rises and deep glens. The soil cover is largely no more than a physical medium. Were it not for ston but light, well drained soils on several raised beaches and morainic soils derived from the mainland, large parts of Sleat would have no cover other than ice scoured rock. Peat covers many of the flatter facets.

Despite the multiformity of the physical appearance
133 of the island, one cannot help forming the impression of a
137 certain sameness. Except where bare rock stands out in stark relief or where man has laboriously turned the soil to agricultural use, the flora of Skye is primarily grass only occasionally interspersed with a few trees. In the glens and on the lower slopes of the hills fescue and bent grasses
[34] are found wherever the natural drainage is good. Both are tender and excellent for pasture. Poorly drained land suppor coarse sedges and rushes. Above 300 feet moorgrass is found on dry facets and rushes and mosses on soggy ground. The hi hills, such as the ridge of Trotternish, maintain a sub-alpi pasture of small flowers, mosses, and sparse grass. Obvious the main factors governing the natural flora are drainage an
137 altitude. Man and his stock have also influenced the vegeta
341 Selective grazing by sheep has allowed the spread of a large tough fern, called bracken, which has markedly reduced the
137 pastoral value of extensive tracts of the best land. Anothe common plant is heather. True heather moors, however, are

134

L--physical and chemical characteristics of the soil; erosion; soil types
soil fertility; area susceptible of cultivation (e.g., by local methods, by
dern scientific methods); etc. See also:
d sciences . . . . . 342 Land use 311

INTRODUCTION

133 mica-sparkled gneiss show the intense shearing. And crushed rock,
135 known as flinty crush because it splinters so easily, adds another sight for the modern eye. The Stornoway beds, as they are called, are broadly known as torridonian sandstone, old red sandstone, or triassic; some geologists regard them as part of the pre-Cambrian torridonian series.

133 From geological evidence, twice did vast icesheets move over the rock-faces to round off the sharp corners of the island. And, as individually then as now, geologists think that there may have been a third small glaciation—a private Hebridean one. Today, the scenery bears the imprint of glacial striae or scratchings. Polished rocks show scores; lochs are gravel-damned, and there are countless small lochans and tarns formed from deep gougings in solid rock. There is some evidence too of a depression or land-sinking during a much later post-glacial time. Many times have fishermen found, far below the present high-water line, stumps of trees and buried submarine peat, the wasting remains of former
*175 land vegetation. Martin Martin, who wrote of the Western Isles
133 about 1695, said of Berneray, one of the small islands in the Sound of Harris: 'The west end of this island which looks to St Kilda, is called the wooden harbour, because the sands at low water discover several trees that have formerly grown there. Sir Norman MacLeod told me that he had seen a tree cut there, which was afterwards made into a harrow.' These vegetation remains indicate
• [134] a former fertility. Volcanic action and deposit, the makings of good soil were, however, largely carried away by glacial movement to leave a thin scraping of boulder clay clinging to the base rock for dear life.

133 Lewis is largely rolling moors of blanket peat with many lochs and rivers. To the west of Lewis, in Uig, high hills begin to raise the eye. In North Harris, the hills are higher, reaching their peak in the Clisham (2,622 ft above sea level). These are not strictly speaking mountains. But they do present not a few problems to climbers, having some formidable rock-faces, and on the seaward side are virtually unscaleable cliffs. Much of the ice-moulded
[135] landscape of South Harris is rocky and barren, gneiss outcrops
[137] cover many acres in places, and are almost completely devoid of any kind of vegetation, except where, in the odd crevice, like lurk-

ing thieves, patches of heather, deer-grasses or moorland plants live as they can on thin layers of peaty soil. To relieve the hard scenery there are, on sunny days, glintings of water, lochs or rivers flowing uneasily over beds of primordial rock.

Area (in acres)

	Land	Inland water	Saltmarsh	Foreshore	Tidal water	TOTAL
Harris	123,752	3,110	—	6212	105	133,178
Lewis	404,184	24,863	230	7775	150	437,200
						570,378

PEAT AND RIVERS

The peat overlays of the island are reckoned to be not much more than 7,000 years old. To strengthen this figure, when the megalithic circle of Callernish, on the west of Lewis, was excavated by Sir James Matheson in 1857-8, a depth of 5 ft of peat was removed to expose the giant stones. Only the tops of these stones were showing before excavation was begun; the resultant calculation confirmed the age of this infertile blanket. Peat is decomposed organic matter without the sweetening of lime. The resulting material is sour, and highly acid in character, which checks the bacterial action necessary for good soil to be made. With compaction and age, peat becomes colloidal in texture, with a water content of about 92 per cent. Peat is still being formed in Lewis, though its progress is imperceptibly slow.

Frequent diggings have uncovered evidence that the island was once densely wooded. The remains of trees, and the bones of certain animals and birds associated with savannah and woodland, add point to this. Under the blanket of peat lies what is called boulder clay, glacially deposited on the gneiss rock; many acres of this clay have been exposed through centuries of digging up peat for fuel. Such skinned ground is called *gearraidh*, and it forms the basis of a soil which, when worked together with shell sand and seaweed, becomes quite fertile. Of natural soil, so much taken for granted in richer places in Britain, there are a few patches in Lewis, at Garrabost and Ness; the valley of Strond, near Rodel in Harris, has much strong red loam.

Headrick's recommendations. However, he promised to make experiments on the economic value of the 'bog-ore of iron' found in many parts of the island, with a view to making bar-iron. Peat was to be used as a fuel for smelting.

With so much water on the island, it is natural to expect to find some of it harnessed for the generation of electricity. The Gisla hydro-electric scheme is on the west of Lewis, to the west of the shores of Little Loch Roag. The Harris scheme is at Loch Chliostair, at the foot of the three peaks of Tirgamore (2,227 ft), Ullaval (2,135), and Oreval (2,165). Some 12 per cent of the island's total electricity production is generated thus, the remainder being diesel generation at Stornoway (see Chapter 11).

Next to water, the island's most readily available resource is its stifling blanket of peat, which covers more than 80 per cent of Lewis's land area. It has had a more than significant effect on the natural history of the area, its scenery and the human element. When the deposits were examined in varying detail in 1910-11, it was estimated that they covered no less than 230 square miles, in depths up to 16·5 ft; the average depth of peat over the whole island was assessed at 5 ft. On this basis the deposits would contain approximately 85 million tons of solids. A survey carried out by the Peat Section of the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland in 1952 indicated that the earlier estimates were slightly high.

In 1946-7 the Ministry of Fuel & Power reconnoitred the peat deposits on both sides of the Stornoway-Barvas road and indicated that these were suitable for large-scale utilisation. Yet today, despite these Government-backed investigations, the peat deposits of Lewis are still used only for domestic fuel. One of the points made in a 1952 survey was that the area was generally firm enough to take the weight of various bog machines for digging and milling. Another point was that the calorific values of ten out of twelve peat samples were in excess of 10,000 BTU/lb.

CLIMATE

The rainfall has already been mentioned, averaging an annual 43 inches, according to readings taken at the Meteorological

HISTORY

172 of these prehistoric remains indicates that before the Christian era began the island supported a considerable population. Generally speaking, the remains left by unrecorded history indicate three phases of cultural and economic development: the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age. The dates usually associated with these 'ages' are approximate where the island is concerned. Because of their remoteness and isolation, the inhabitants may well have reached, say, the Bronze Age state of civilisation at a much later date than did people living in more direct contact with civilising influences. It has been conjectured that, where Lewis is concerned, peat several feet thick may have covered much of the ground which, in another time, was cultivated and lived on; and that the peat blanket hides the remains of very old constructions. Chambered cairns, duns or forts (round towers) built in lochs, by the seashore and on promontories, galleried duns, earth houses, standing stones, stone circles and ecclesiastical ruins are all to be found.

[133] [134]

The duns, or brochs, are believed to have had a defensive function, acting as lookout towers. Primitive dwellings would have been scattered nearby, with generally free-ranging livestock. If attack threatened, inhabitants and cattle together entered the tower, whose double walls held rough but welcome compartments for temporary living during the siege. Sometimes a dun was built on an islet in a freshwater loch, such as Dun Cromore in the Lochs district of Lewis; there is a similar example in Loch Bharabhat in Uig. A stone causeway connects each with the nearest point on the loch shore. Many of these causeways had a rocking-stone, a stepping stone so placed that the weight of a foot on it rocked it enough to warn the inmates of the dun that someone was approaching.

[712]

The most famous of the round towers is at Carloway, perched on the crest of a rocky slope on the west coast of Lewis near the crofting township of that name and overlooking much of Loch Roag. Its average external diameter is 47 ft, the walls varying in thickness from 10 to 12 ft. Though in a ruinous state, one side of its wall is still some 30 ft high. Dun Carloway is, after the broch on the Shetland isle of Mousa, the finest example of its kind in the country. About eight miles from Carloway, at Bragar, is Dun

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

5 AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

THE economic possibilities of the peat blanket of the island, 175*
particularly in Lewis, have attracted the attention of many 134
would-be exploiters. Sir James Matheson's advisers formed 311
the idea that the Lewis hags could be turned to a good profit, and Sir James's series of peat reclamation and improvement programmes are still echoed today. He first cast his eye to the west, north of Achmore, a township set up more than a century ago on deep peat. The peat reclaimer he employed was none other than Alexander Smith, one of the best-known 'speculative' agriculturalists in Scotland at the time. Smith had already transformed the Carse of Gowrie from bog to a fertile tract of land; could he not do the same in Lewis? The site chosen was seven miles from Stornoway and the little hamlet established there was called Little Deanston, in recognition of Deanston, Perthshire, to which Smith belonged. The soil consisted of bog-moss, varying in depth from 3 to 8 ft. Sixty acres were wedge-drained and laid [242]
out in fields of ten acres enclosed with ditches and turf fences. Ploughing and trenching began and fertilizing agents were applied, including clay marl, shell sand, guano and dissolved bones. Two of the fields were put through a course of arable cultivation, the others being laid down in grass. After the fields had been worked for a few years it was found that the driest ground gave the best results. In time the land was handed over [241]
to some crofters from nearby Lochganvich, but in 1850 it was abandoned because of the difficulty in getting seaweed for manuring; and besides it was not possible to keep the land in good heart and to do fishing as well. The tract of land concerned today still shows a better quality of pasture than the adjacent natural moorland.

Smith gave his impressions voice in 1844, just after his first 175*
visit to Lewis, to the august members of the Glasgow Philosophical 241
Society. The cultivation of the soil was as primitive as the 134
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AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

*175 241 • 134 311 [181] islanders' manufacture of cloth. The inhabitants were at least a century behind the times, though they were, he found, in no way deficient by nature. They were social in their own style, and they had very good heads, 'that is, for people not accustomed to habits of thought'. So far as agriculture was concerned, nothing in the way of draining the land had ever been accomplished; nor had any effort been made to penetrate the hard sub-soil. He held that [137] the great scarcity of timber had been a serious handicap when [412] it came to agricultural implements—to their renewal, repair or possible improvement. Under direction, however, he was convinced that improvements in land use would result in considerable benefits to the island. He added that he hoped the period of this improvement would not be far off and that visitors would find 'a green, pastoral land instead of a dreary waste'.

*175 242 134 311 Yet not until 1928 was peat reclamation and development again brought out for an airing. This time, the benefactor was the late Mr T. B. MacAulay, a Montreal magnate, a son of Lewis connections. He gave £10,000 to establish an experimental farm in Lewis, and a site on Arnish moor, not far from Stornoway, was chosen. It was typical of most of Lewis: black, water-holding peat, which when squeezed, instead of allowing water to escape from it like a sponge, oozes itself through the fingers. The aims of the farm were to provide additional arable land on which to grow winter fodder, and to improve, at as low a cost as possible, the grazing on the moorland. Fifty acres were certainly converted from moorland to arable, and this formed a basis for an experimental extension to another 100 acres. By 1936 the farm had a sales income from produce of about £1,400. The stock in that [231] year included 40 head of thriving cattle, including 15 dairy cows, 20 poultry, 140 blackfaced sheep, and some fattening pigs. The sheep were a late addition, made with the dual aim of pasturing on moorland too deep and soft for cattle in wet weather, and of improving the sheep strain of the island.

By 1938, it had been shown that some lasting improvement on moorland of reasonably favourable slope could be effected at a materials cost of about £3 per acre, and without heavy-labour costs. Thus, the common grazings held by the crofting townships could be improved, if a co-operative effort were organized. So

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

far as the reclamation of arable land from moorland was concerned, however, requiring as it did under-draining and cultivation, the labour costs were heavy, approaching the £20 per acre mark including the liming and fertilizing. 175* 242 134 • 311 [234]

Though the farm was used for dairying with some reasonable results, the moorland acres put into good heart at Arnish were left to deteriorate. The run-down of the experiment followed the depression of 1933. Funds dried up, and in 1939 the farm was let to a tenant. But the lesson obtained from the MacAulay farm was a good one. By simply dressing with shell sand, of which large quantities are available on the shore-lands, applying some form of phosphate and seeding with cheap clover or ryegrass—involving no cultivation—large areas of moorland can be persuaded to do a good job. The work at present being undertaken by crofters to improve moorland grazing is worth mention. Areas of land have been given a surface application of approved compound fertilizers, phosphates, lime or shell sand, and selected grass-seed mixtures. The results are literally a sight for sore eyes, and bring Alexander Smith's 'green, pastoral land' close to realisation. Although individual crofters have taken advantage of the help given to regenerate rough grazings, the most spectacular results have been seen on the township common grazings; most of these have been fenced off and improved. Today, something like 14,000 acres of lush green pastures are steadily spreading over deep peat where formerly grew only sedges and brown heather. 134 311 241 242

To end this aspect of land use in Lewis on a historical note, the story of re-seeding had its beginnings during the time of the Napoleonic Wars. A minister who had some land at Barvas, on the west coast of the island, decided to attempt the reclamation of useless heather-bound and bracken-choked land. He sanded the area with shell sand, seeded it with a good strain of grass and used sheep to tamp in the seed. One can imagine what Lewis would be like today if the Barvas minister's work had been followed up by Alexander Smith and those who set up the farm at Arnish. 134 175* 311 242

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

361 Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which is about half a mile across at its narrowest, coursed by strong [133] tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter, rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides; 361 the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a 311 tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the • 134 Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds [241] in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser population at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was severely limited by the minute amount of land available for tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict the range and quality of crops grown.

*175 361 Scarp was originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access to good pasturage on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1823 [166] thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Resort, Harris, and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate [162] their families and friends from elsewhere. In 1861 the population was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951 it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat, plying between two stone-built jetties.

433 241 234 226 354 336 000 The local economy was essentially a subsistence one, with self-sufficiency in such products as potatoes, turnips, cabbages, oats, milk and fish. After a break of some years lobster-fishing has recently been reinstated as an occupation. Oil lamps are the only lighting, though a few houses have piped water. The small shop 176

178 follows that as the descendants of the crofters of the South-west and East Highlands could and did change their ways within the space of a lifetime, so those of the North-west 114 Highlands and the Isles can change too. Given the co-178 operative leadership which is arising in the twentieth century and was totally lacking in the ideals and training 185 typical of the nineteenth, that change may be not only for the better in the development of 'individual' qualities, such as the power to do hard work for 'success'; change may also maintain and develop what still remains of the old characteristics which gave the community life of the Gael, with all its faults, elements of beauty and sanctity.

In an article on "The Human Geography of Lewis", A. Stevens (1925) described the Island and people. His comparison of the cold, wet 'desert' of Lewis and its corn-patch 'oases' with the desert of heat and drought [182] and its oases of palms, is ingenious and suggestive. One [241] might follow up the analogy and compare irrigation to the drainage of moorland and its fertilisation, which form the means of reclamation at home, and draw parallels between their immediate results on the land and the ultimate effects on work and social life.

194 241 • 134 178 Until the agricultural revolution, the unwritten story of Scotland was in great part that of a long, uneven struggle to make sour soils fit for cultivation and productive of a livelihood. Most of all is this true for North-west Scotland; moreover, there, for eighty years past, the struggle has been a losing one, in the sense that arable land has been 241 decreasing and rough pasture deteriorating. In spite of subsidies, the 'marginal farms' of Scotland have a tough 134 fight. Yet lands from Scandinavia to Finland and North 178 Germany are giving a lead in peat-reclamation, where [654]

241 Scotland had begun to lag since her pioneering effort from • 134 1750 to 1880.

178 Fortunately, Scotland is now recognising that in peat [654] reclamation, on the one hand, and the improvement of rough grazing, or at least its maintenance, on the other, [185] there lies a problem of national importance. More than half the land surface of the country consists of mountain 311 and heath land used for grazing, not including 'deer forests' from which sheep had been altogether excluded. The arable land of Scotland is less than one-sixth of the whole, with about one-twelfth in addition under permanent grass. Moreover, since most of the enclosed land is distant from the area of rough grazing, the latter is partly wasted. The difficulties of soil and sea and of the whole economic situation are great, and must be understood.

(B) THE ISLAND LANDSCAPE, LAND-FORMS AND GEOLOGY

1. Aspects of the Isle

131 Lewis-and-Harris, the most northerly isle of the Outer Hebrides, and the largest, is roughly lozenge-shaped. Although only thirty miles in width, it is over sixty miles in length. Attached to Harris parish is the little isle of [103] Berneray, half a dozen miles farther south. It puzzles [823] the stranger that, while the archipelago of the Outer Hebrides is best known to the inhabitants as "The Long Island", Lewis (or the Lews) and Harris, which actually form one island, are spoken of as separate islands.[1] Yet nothing could be more natural. Before the making of [113]

[1] "The Long Island", Gaelic *An Eilean Fada*, as a name for the Outer Hebrides has the sanction of traditional usage, as Alexander Carmichael noted in his Introduction to *Carmina Gadelica* (vol. i, 1900; and 1928).

131 summits of up to 2622 feet. South of this chain of hills
133 the ground drops again on a peninsula some twelve miles long and only seven miles wide. This forms the more populous part of Harris with its 'sandy shore', the Machar, facing the Atlantic, and its rocky bays and fishing hamlets
• [134] on the Minch.[1] Lewis has its 'machars' too, areas of
[504] white shell sand, which is so light that it blows up the hillsides, thus improving the pasture-land; but there is little 'machar' on the eastern coast, save for the south-western shores of the great sandy North or Broad Bay, enclosed by the peninsula of I, or Eye, which also acts as the outer breakwater for the harbour of Stornoway.

131 Landing at Stornoway and leaving behind us the pines,
133 and the wind-pruned sycamore woods around Lews
361 Castle, we find ourselves among the small fields of the villages which are partly suburban to Stornoway. Inland
[137] stretch the gently rolling, brown and somewhat melancholy moors that cover so much of the Lews. From the Butt of Lewis to the beginning of the Harris hills one could make a bee-line SSW., midway through the Island for over thirty miles, without passing a house or a strip of corn, and seeing only a tiny, ramshackle hut, a shieling (or *àirigh*), used for six weeks in the year when the cattle are taken to the summer pasture. All the villages are in sight of the sea, and generally close to it, with only one inland exception, Achmore, south-west of Stornoway, founded after 1850. The hills of Harris are not less lonely than the moors of the Lews.

18 Diversity is one of the fascinations of such an island
131 as this. Although, like the founders of Stornoway, all
133

[1] *Am machair* ('ch' as in 'loch', also anglicised as 'macher'), n.f. the plain, smooth beach-land or links. A sandy beach or ebb-strand, *tràigh*, n.f., backed by *machair*, contrasts with a pebbly beach, *cladach*, n.m., backed by rougher beach-land, as in the Cladach district of W. Lewis.

133 tively to the rolling upland in the north. Ages of 'normal' denudation by running water must have worn away most of what later rocks may have overlain the gneiss, smoothing the Island's forms. Glaciation, however, played the latest part in this process, roughly planing its lower surface as it flowed out to the open sea, or widening the stream-veined valleys and gouging out the corries which make the craggy beauty of the Deer Forest of Harris.

A characteristic of many of the lower hills of South Lewis and of Harris is the greater steepness of their slopes to west than to east (or south-east) and the drift material heaped there. Scenically, this lends a feeling of rhythm to the skyline when viewed from north or south, as of westward moving waves. It was the ice-sheet, working upon structure and pre-existing form, which steepened the western slopes 'to lee' of its westward flow, by its 'plucking' action.

133 The chief and most important characteristic of the
137 major surface of the Island is its rolling, hummocky topography, so different from that of a river-sculptured
[182] land. Negative as is its influence upon the life of plant communities, animals and men, its importance can hardly be exaggerated. Whereas river and stream drain a land, as they etch their way into its surface, and their deposits are laid down in gentle, regular slopes, glacier and
• [134] ice-sheet leave an irregular, ill-drained surface. Upon this surface, waterlogging takes place, the life of plants and soil bacteria is slowed down, and so peat accumulates, rather than the humus which might enrich the soil in a similar temperate climate upon better drained slopes. Not only the climate of the present, but of the past, hinders the processes of plant life, and all that these can mean to man.

133 Except for the sandy bays hidden beyond the headlands, or the long machar of west South Harris, the coast of the Island at high tide rises straight from the undermining breakers, rugged and uncompromising. A series of sandy 'storm-beaches' links the lower promontories, but the series of raised beaches found on the mainland and the inner isles seem absent round the Island. Along the western mainland and the Inner Hebrides, a secret harmony links the lines of the sea with those of the land, even on their wildest coasts of gneiss. Above the level plane of the sea, the shores of the mainland rise in rhythmic curves, tier above tier, some 10, 25, 50 and 100 feet, above the present line of waves and the triple band of colour which marks the shore at ebb-tide, formed of golden tangle, grey barnacles and pitch-black rock. These tiers are the 'raised beaches' of a coast which has emerged, by stages, to some 100 feet above the sea.

Lacking the raised beaches of an emerged coast, the Outer Hebrides show no clean-cut terraces like those of the mainland, inviting little communities to lay out their
[241] homesteads in an orderly way. For this reason, the older,
[361] unplanned crofts spot the landscape in an irregular way which is sometimes picturesque, yet often almost uncouth.
• [134] The raised beaches have given the Gaels living east of the Minch a few precious acres of passable ploughland which would otherwise be lacking. In the Outer Isles compensation is found on the smooth machars of shell sand. These machars lie mostly on the stormy Atlantic shore, so that the more cultivable fringes of the Outer Hebrides turn their back to the mainland—except round Stornoway, a reason for their isolation.

In detail, the coasts may be grouped in three types: (1) sloping to the sea, by the sides of sheltered lochs;

133 (2) cliff-cut, where exposed stretches have been undermined by the Atlantic storms; and (3) sandy, where bays like Broad Bay have been filled in, or where shingle bars have enclosed a sheet of fresh water, as on the west coast (north-west of Stornoway) from Barvas southward to Dalebeg. The types of coast are illustrated by Plates II to V.

As to the sea floor—so important to fish-life and to navigation—the west coast of the Outer Hebrides borders a well-featured continental platform, which is higher in the north and south but lower in the middle. The irregularities suggest a former land-surface dissected by rivers with mature drainage systems.[1] The contours are revealing, as shown in the coloured map at the end, at intervals of 10 fathoms (60 feet). The sandy machar beaches of western South Harris, visible at low tide, form part of a wide, shallow shelf extending for a dozen miles off west South Harris to a depth of no more than 20 fathoms, and thence southwards along the machars of Uist to Barra; but the coast falls away steeply round most of Lewis and along the rocky east coast of 'the Long Island'.

5. *Glacial Drift or Boulder Clays, and Shell Sand*

Underlying the peat is the drift, which is spread over
133 all but the rockiest parts of the island. This is not only
314 exposed at every roadside cutting but is laid bare in wide areas around the villages. Here peat-cutting during the centuries has removed the peat, layer after layer, to the
[356] topmost turf, left aside after cutting until the last. When
• [134] even this turf is removed for annual thatching, the bare
[113]

[1] S. Ting, B.Sc. (China). *Geografiska Annaler*, Band 19, 1937, pp. 62-83.

133 clay is exposed, leaving what is vividly called 'skinned'
314 land. And where drift is exposed, the mineral constituents
• 134 are leached out, and a hard 'moor pan' is left a few inches
[356] below the surface.

Seen from the edge of the crofts, the typical 'skinned
134 lands' of bare, blue or brownish clay, littered with stones,
137 suggest a desert. Often, only a few blades of grass or tufts of heather grow on them. Indeed, 'skinned land' seems at first too mild a term, for on it the stones—thickest on top when undisturbed, and bleached by the acids of the peat that overlay them—suggest the prophet's 'field of bones'. One can only ask, is the rest of his vision ever to be fulfilled and life to spring again? In some hilly parts to south and west, not only the 'skin', the topmost layer of peat, but the very soil, the flesh as it were, is still being
[166] stripped bare to the bone, the actual rock. The evacuation of the islet of Bernera Beag (Uig) was largely due to this stripping. In the more level parts to the north, however, roadside pits show sections of clay with few stones, covered with perhaps six inches of clay with many stones. It is this top layer which gives the skinned land such a hopelessly stony appearance, and shows that reclamation is less miraculous than it seems.

134 With the coming of carts and lorries the increasing use
242 of shell sand has become possible, whether for spreading on the land or for slipping into pockets, together with
[178] fertilisers, for potato seed. As to soils, shell sand and boulder clay possess complementary qualities in texture
[493] and chemical composition. The shell sand of the machars provided an early home for man, the light soil allowing rye, a poor variety of oats, and herbage, to ripen early and mature in late, wet seasons when the clays are sodden with rain. Yet the sand itself is so light that drought is

a danger, and an unseasonable gale may blow away the furrow and ridge with the seed. As a partial remedy, seaweed and turf are mixed with it. On the whole, land-forms and soils, and the climate of the past which helped to make them, are factors of difficulty for plant and man.

Two sayings sum up the lag of the sea and its effect on crops. The first runs, not till after New Year, nor Spring till a Day" (*Cha tig Geamhradh gu cul Calluin cul Fheill Paruig*). St. Patrick's Day is th but old-style reckoning put both dates other runs, "A frosty winter, a misty spr summer, and a bright, sunny autumn, ne Scotland" (*Geamhradh reodhtanach, Ea Samhradh breac riabhach, us Foghar ge d'fhag gort riamh an Alba*). The retort western summers may often be chequer showers well suited for growing grass autumns are not really sunny, but rainy. —of grain—must result from spoiled harv grass, unharmed by a wet autumn. Hay, possible, can usually be gathered unharme of summer if cut in good time. Agricultu favours 'grass' rather than grain.

Plentiful rainfall and coolness throug not allow of complete neutral decomposi matter in the presence of air. Hence, residuum of acid humus accumulates as drained surface. Prehistorically, more f of climate permitted the growth of pines present temperature and rainfall alone w growth of broad-leaved deciduous trees absent except in the sheltered policies of S About 1695 Martin noted 'hazel and bir the south side of Loch Stornoway, but no Island. Even there trees are stunted as wind.

The further inhibitive influence is i

sons in the West
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al grianach, cha
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3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

134 that no initial reclamation had been needed on the scatt.
241 In each year of cultivation, it is true, manures of a sort, principally seaweed and sooty sods from the roof, are applied; but they form a temporary improvement only for the crop to be taken, and do not constitute reclamation. After manuring, the grasses and clovers are simply turned over and the land, 'rested' and manured by cattle, straightway gives its best crop.

175 It is otherwise with what is won from the moorland.
311 As Dean Monro wrote of the reclaiming Lewisman in 1549: "In this country all is peat moss-land at the sea coast" (the long machars of the west of Uist give place to rocky coasts round much of Lewis), "and the place where he wins his peats this year, there he sows his corn the next year; after that he guids it weill with sea-ware". Even where the slopes are fairly smooth, the peat land has not the uniformity of the machar and the continuity of its arable strips. In addition to sea-ware, sand may be brought by creel or by pony pannier to reclaim peat, forming a heavy burden. Moreover, the first crop is always a poor one, and may be almost lost. Although in his brief notes Monro used the singular 'he', we know that the peat was usually cut co-operatively by teams. Hence most of the hard labour of reclamation may, indeed must, have been done co-operatively too, but by small teams, not by the members of a whole township together.

233 The sharing of common pastures is the last, but im-
423 portant, feature of land holding in common. The two kinds of pasture required were, firstly, those close at hand, animals being tethered or herded in the crop-growing season, and secondly, the more distant summer pastures.
632] The people of certain townships, which were without a large outrun close at hand, had to go some distance to

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4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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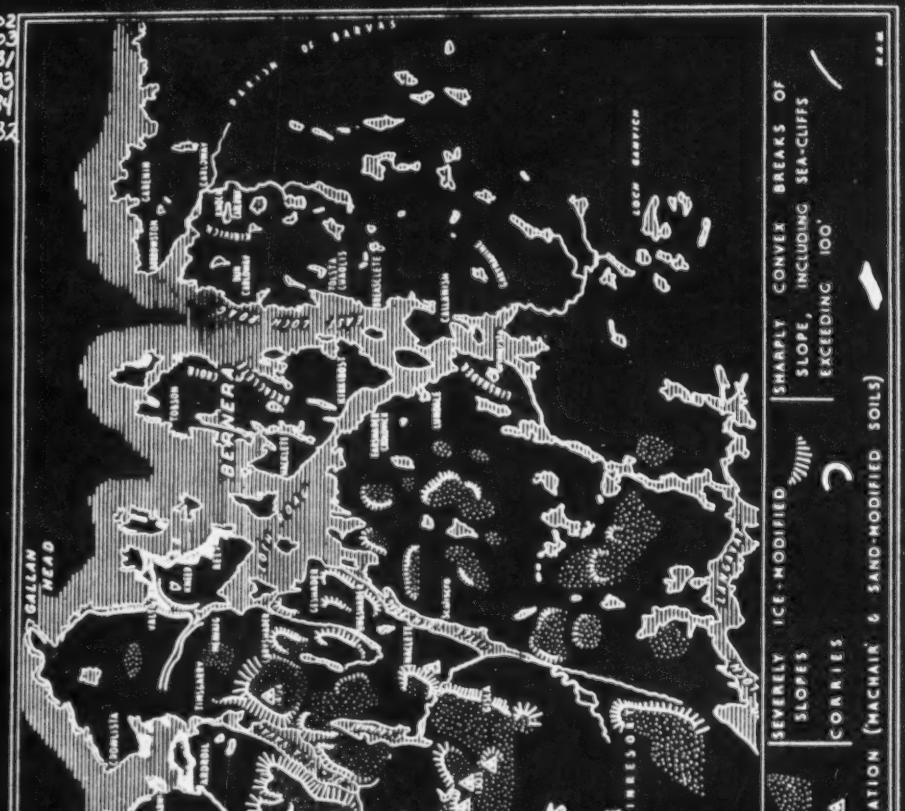

Figure 2.

137 ### 3. *Plant Communities of the Island: Hill Moor, Peat Moss and Machar*

The types of pasture in the Island should be compared with those elsewhere. The peat moors of Lewis resemble those of northern Sutherland. The machar lands of the Uists, and of Tiree and smaller isles, surpass those of Lewis, while on the mainland and Inner Isles raised beaches provide workable, well drained soils. The 'rocky hill pastures' of our Island correspond to the rockier 'mountain pastures' and 'plateau summits' of the Highlands, and the 'fair' and 'hill pastures' of Lewis rather to their widespread 'wetter moors'. Grazing conditions are of course, similar in crofting areas alone. The edging of heather above the sea-cliffs of the Island and on the western mainland forms a picturesque element of the landscape, seen from a passing vessel, but only a narrow strip of the pastures. The plant communities shown on the Map of Vegetation (Fig. 8) must now be outlined.[1]

[134] (1) On the *Rocky Pastures* the scattered patches of soil are covered by a low and close sward, almost exclusively of perennials and grasses, such as bent (*agrostis*), common and brown, sheep's-fescue grass and wavy-hair grass (*festuca* and *Aira*); small sedges and mosses, with club moss and lichens towards the summits; heather, and fine-leaved bell-heather (*Erica cinerea*); and flowering plants like thyme, bird's-foot trefoil, tormentil and smooth heath bedstraw (*Galium*). Those rocky pastures prevail in the Forest of Harris (Plate XI).

[311] (2) *Fair and Hill Pastures.*—Below the bare rock domes

[113] [1] An authoritative flora of the Island is in preparation by Miss M. S. Campbell, F.L.S., British Museum (Natural History). Her "Flora of Uig" (Lewis) has appeared (Arbroath, 1945). For Dr. Hardy's tentative list of plant names see A. Geddes, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 52, 4, 1936.

137 there is frequently foun
[311] tation types of Lewis a
includes grasses such as t
[233] purple *Molinea*, meadow
(*Nardus*); sedges (*Scirp*
wood rush (*Luzula*) and
Heather is common i
munity (3).

With true 'hill' pas
of the Forest of Harris
Loch Shell, are include
on the rocky hillocks ne
and also on the low, st
[134] The 'skinned land' lies
on the map, but may fo
village. The hard mo
plants unless broken b
cheap seed-mixture with
improvement.

(3) *Marshy Grass M*
and the acid humus has
coarse, tussocky, damp
grading from the 'fair'
nings of hummocky pe
It covers the slopes of hi
and the hillocks that em
of brown peat moor.
broken areas in souther
below the 'hill' and '
best its prevailing hue
shade and then to russ
the grasses are coarse.

[133] (4) *Peat Moors, M*

d the most thriving of the vege-
nd the best grazing ground. It
hose already named, together with
soft grass (*Holcus*), and mat grass
us and *Carex* spp.); with the field
a fair number of flowering plants.
n this and the following com-

tures, found especially to the east
and between Loch Seaforth and
d fair pastures with good grasses
ar the villages around Loch Roag
eep hills northward to Shawbost.
in strips too narrow to be shown
rni a ring of desolation round the
or-pan resists natural seeding of
the pick, but broadcasting of a
a little fertiliser can work marked

oors.—Where the slopes are gentle,
accumulated to form peat, is found
pasture, of sedges and grasses,
and 'hill pastures' to the begin-
at hags and smooth sedge moss.
lls such as Ben Barvas and Muirnag
erge from the great central trough
It also characterises the low but
n Lewis. This type forms a belt
rocky' pastures of Harris. At its
is olive-green turning to a silvery
et later on. Annuals are few and

osses and Peat Hags.—The most

137 widespread plant community in Lewis is undoubtedly the
(133) *sedge and cotton grass moors* (or 'mosses' as they would be called in the Lowlands), which overlie deep peat generally at low levels, on flat or slightly rolling grounds. The peaty floor is waterlogged and boggy, and the carpet rises into tufts, dense cushions or mops, out of which bristle innumerable stalks, thread-shaped, sheathed, fibrous and elastic. There are few flowers apart from the bog asphodel, while heather does not thrive but is stunted. On the slopes, sedges (*Scirpus* and *Carex* spp.) and cotton grass (*Eriophorum angustifolium*) dominate, and in the hollows, sphagnum moss. Owing to slope and consequent erosion, the surface may break into hags (or 'bruachs'), separated by deep and more or less broad channels of bare peat with puddles.

(311) For reclamation by tractor and peat plough, smoothness is essential, combined with some slope for drainage. From observation of the fragments of poor pasture topping the hags in channelled eroded peat, it can be noted that drainage alone is not enough to create good pasture, though it
(241) is the first step. In order to complement the work of drainage, fertilisers must be applied to encourage plants which absorb water in quantity and transpire it freely in the course of rapid growth. For it may be said that plants like heather—adapted to withstand drought, physical or 'physiological'—do not transpire water in any great quantity. Thus they fail to 'drain the ground from above', as juicier grasses or fodder plants do by the vigorous ascent, transpiration and renewed absorption of water.

• (134) (5) *Heather Moor.*—The common heather (*Calluna*) dominates on many steep slopes and rocky bluffs, sometimes on acid humus, or again on decomposed rock and screes, generally at low levels. Among the chief plants

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137 Inset into the Highlands are three desolate tracts of
134 boggy 'Peat Moor', in Sutherland, Rannoch Moor far to the south, and on the plateaus of Lorne and Mid-Argyll; while marginal to the Highlands are (1) the drier and more dissected plateau peat moors between Lochnagar and Stonehaven, and (2) the intermittent stretches of Lowland peat moss.

137 Finally, intermixed with these are strips of surviving or planted woodland. Below the heather moors of the western Highlands stretch the great pine woods of Atholl, Deeside, and Speyside and the Moray Firth. As the heather thins out, towards the West Coast, pine gives place to oak. Near both are found the graceful silver stems of
[177] the birch, with its small resistant leaves. These woodlands invite the modern forester, who brings in pine, larch and firs in the east and, in the west, notably the Sitka spruce, brought here from the rainy western highlands of British Columbia.

311 The uses to which the pastures are or have long been
233 put, are three: as crofters' grazings—mostly 'commons' (and so indicated on the map), as sheep farms, or as deer
137 forests. (1) On the 'commons' there is close grazing for
[136] both cattle and sheep by crofters near the townships or the holdings, and much peat-cutting. (2) On the hill sheep farms there is more or less regulated burning and some hill draining but almost no cattle pasturing; and as a result of both facts, bracken has invaded the grassier moors.
[136] (3) On the deer forests almost no care is given and the heather, scrub and bracken are coarse and strong. An indication of the margin of the commons, according to whether it 'marches' with farms or with deer forests (given in Fig. 2 by line C), is also shown in Fig. 7 because of its marked effect on vegetation.

found with the dominant are the fine-leaved bell heather, sometimes with crowberry (*Empetrum*) in rocky places, while grass or sedge may be mixed with it in places.

At the very edge of the sea-cliffs, where the moorland pasture or heather thins out, the rock is cushioned with sea pink. Or where a stream has cut a sheltered dell, protected as in the Stornoway policies or not too near a village, one may find a few woody plants—a little hazel, creeping willow or honeysuckle.

(6) *Sandy Pastures.*—In many bays, as at Valtos (West Loch Roag) the sandy or sand-influenced habitat falls into three zones:

(*a*) The line of storm beach, formed of hummocky dunes, which dams off what was the inner part of the bay. This line is more or less broken where the stream breaks through. At their crown the dunes are partially fixed by marram grass (*Psamma*), but show hollows of loose sand. Just north of Stornoway the Melbost sands have thrown out a high bar which has partly dyked and reclaimed or poldered the bay behind. Almost at the opposite end of the Island, lying in from the Sound of Taransay, near Luskintyre, a sandy dyke is thrust out, but this too is kept open by tide and spate, and the sands within are covered at high tide. Such places could be reclaimed.

(*b*) Behind the dune ridge, where this is virtually complete, is found a dry sandy flat. Even this is liable to inundation by storm, tide and spate, but its sandy pasture is periodically broken for the cultivation of potatoes, or even barley. It is the lightest of soils at the best, while if cultivated continuously it simply

[132]

(c) FARM-TEAM AND BOAT'S CREW

175 241 427 476 423 The strictly equal division of rent on each joint farm shows the equality of sharing among its workers by 'run-rig'. By this system, periodic pooling and redivision kept the land in convenient blocks, a wet part here and a dry one there, all shared out to give each man an equal chance whatever the weather might bring. Such sharing was not mere static division of goods: it was the means for co-operative work, in ploughing and harvesting, or cutting peats, on land, and in manning a boat for the fishing.

175 241 476 For ploughing, two or three men were needed—one leading the horses (walking backward and singing his encouragement), a second to hold the plough and perhaps a third to turn the sods; but four ponies abreast were needed to haul the plough, and each tenant possessed only one or two. In addition, the plough might be preceded by an instrument to clear the ground, a 'reestle', requiring two horses and one man. A Gaelic proverb notes the selection needed in the horse team, and one disabled by age could be replaced as leader by another. Ploughing was necessarily co-operative.

175 241 [182] [134] [226] The rockiness and hilly ground of Uig and Lochs diminished the usefulness and, no doubt, the number of ploughs, but the importance of their fishing was some compensation for poor agriculture. In 1790 there were ninety ploughs in Barvas parish, where they were no doubt of ancient usage: a ratio of one plough to five families, or one per joint farm. To judge from the smoothness of Stornoway parish, ploughs were probably used there in a similar ratio.

175 476 While some jobs were done by no more than two people, —as when a ridge or 'lazy-bed' was put in order, the

423 rigs. The rigs are numbered and then balloted for by a
632 double ballot. First the men approach the hat in any
241 order and pick out a number: this is to decide the order in which they will approach the hat in the second draw. The second draw then decides the number of the rig. The crofter retains the rig while this particular scatt remains in cultivation, usually for a period of two or three years. The machar is shared by the whole township. The crops grown include a light type of oats, barley, a little rye, and potatoes; and clover may be cut.

423 In the division of the machar for potatoes at Barvas,
244 there are now no such hard-and-fast rules. The Common
[624] Grazings Committee select a certain area for cultivation and each crofter is allowed to take as much land as he requires within this area. This land is only cultivated for one year in six to ten years, and then reverts to grass. If cultivated for two or more years in succession there is a danger of the sand being blown away, and grass would be difficult to establish again. Potatoes are now the only crop
[134] grown on the Barvas machar.

Beyond the machar of the Isles lies the moor with its
175 fringe of reclaimed croft land. By Carmichael's day this
423 was held in individual portions, though, as he said, most of it was once held in 'farms' in run-rig practised by small
241 units, not by the whole township. Why this difference between the arable of the machar and of the moorland? Carmichael did not explain it.

134 Three explanatory points are, first, that the whole
241 cultivated land of the scatt or the machar is continuous, whereas the moorland is hummocky and boggy by turns, and cultivation is therefore patchy; secondly, that, unlike the stony clays, the light shell sand is easily forked or ploughed and needs no 'team' to plough it; and thirdly,

133 Over most of the parish the natural landscape is a series of low plateaux, generally below 250' O.D. around East Loch Roag, but rising westwards to an extensive platform with many summits around 500'-700'. Into this platform, towards its western edge, is incised the narrow trough containing Little Loch Roag. Above it rise the deeply dissected mountains of North Harris and south-west Uig, with many precipitous slopes reaching to 1,500' or more and summits to 1,885'. The discontinuity between plateau and mountain is particularly well displayed along the Atlantic coast, where it corresponds roughly with the junction of granite and gneiss; an even more severe discontinuity, but formed entirely in gneiss; is to be seen near the south end of Loch Langavat. Liuthaid (1,611' O.D.) rises more than 1,400' in less than a mile. The mountains, although lacking height, are therefore spectacular in appearance. The low plateaux are far from featureless, too; their surfaces have been roughened and scraped bare by ice action and numerous hollows preserve shallow lochans and a few larger lakes. Occasional rocky hillocks rise 20'-100' above the plateaux; their abrupt discontinuity with the smooth surfaces is entirely comparable, though in miniature, with that of the mountains. They resemble nothing more than tropical inselberge and have no apparent structural explanation.

Unconsolidated superficial material, such as would provide sub-soil drainage and suitable raw material for soil formation, is rare. The characteristic surface almost everywhere is bare rock, often blanketed by peat at lower levels and on gentle slopes. Morainic material is most commonly preserved in hollows; peri-glacial conditions and, 135 more recently, heavy rainfall have swept clear most of the higher and steeper places. In the east and north east, e.g. around Loch Carloway, a sticky grey clay with large boulders is sometimes seen; the coarse gravelly drifts of south Uig have already been mentioned. It is impossible to make any useful generalisations regarding the characteristics and distribution of the boulder clays because their occurrence is so sporadic and exposures, 317 beneath the peat blanket, are rare. Very occasionally, e.g. in Bernera, a finely bedded dull bluish or greenish grey clay is seen which is said to have been used for coarse pottery. This may be a lacustrine deposit of late glacial or early post glacial times or it might be a marine clay of the same period; there is however, no clear example of a raised beach in the area, which, were it present, might support the latter suggestion. 317 Since our visit a lacustrine deposit of diatomite has been exploited on a small scale in Bernera.

Extensive deposits of fine white sand occur around Uig bay and in the Valtos-Kneep-Reef area; smaller deposits occur at Mangersta and Mealasta. Except at Cliff bay, Valtos, where it contains a high mineral content, the sand consists largely of finely broken shell debris. This blows readily and is found inland for half a mile or more and as high as 100' O.D., thus providing a natural surface dressing rich in lime. There are extensive machairs (sandy plains) at Kneep and Reef, and smaller ones at Uig bay, Mangersta, and Bosta (Bernera). Little cultivation takes place on the machairs nowadays.

133 In the whole parish little soil, such as would be recognized by a lowland farmer, is to be found. The most usual surface features are bare rock and blanket bog; arable land, hay 134 meadows and improved pastures are generally made on peat, gathered together into long 140 narrow beds - so-called "lazy beds" - separated by deep ditches. This expedient may 23 mean that the use of tractors is impossible; since horses have almost disappeared, 133 cultivation in such cases, if carried out at all, must now be by the spade alone. This is 134 the traditional method of lazy-bed work; it may be very productive in terms of yield per 24 square yard but it is pathetically unproductive in terms of man-hours. In some areas it is clear that it has led to soil erosion. Even where the size and lay-out of the beds permits tractor work the tractor probably spends as much time manoeuvring into position and turning, as it does ploughing. In a few places, e.g. some of the East Loch Roag

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 7]

133 townships and at Islivig and Breanish, the peat is thin (or has been stripped) to reveal a 134 gravelly drift[1] free-draining on suitable slopes. In such places a black loamy soil has 24 been developed by cultivation; the many ditches of lazybed cultivation are not necessary 140 and, if the area is large enough, it can be worked by tractor. Such soils, in the climate of west Lewis, are eminently suitable for rotation grass, for hay or pasture, and much more could be done with them under knowledgeable management. Where shell sand has been blown inland on to peaty soils the natural top-dressing has had a remarkable ameliorating effect on texture and acidity. Such areas are all too limited, the most important are at Valtos, Kneep and Reef, and around Uig bay; smaller areas are at 134 Mealasta, Mangersta and Bosta (Bernera). The hill grazings are dominated by a thin 137 heather cover, blue moor grass and, in wetter places, sphagnum and cotton grass. Since 23 the cattle population has been declining many older residents claim that the pastures, particularly near the townships, have deteriorated, the proportion of grass declining and coarse heather increasing. "The hills that were green when I was a boy", said one, "are now black". Neglected arable and pasture land, too, t on reverts. Rushes and flags invade the ditches between the old lazy beds and, if the ground is at all waterlogged, soon invade the beds as well. Later ground, if not well grazed, soon reverts to heather. The limited machairs are little better; almost devoid of humus, they show little development of soil profile, only a thin grey layer of turf roots; rabbits, or injudicious cultivation readily set off wind erosion. Only where the wind has provided a natural blend of peat and machair are conditions better. Such areas are very limited.

132 The climate is in many respects severe; no local statistics are available, but some for Stornoway and Benbecula are appended. The frequency of high winds has a bad effect on both vegetation and stock, but to some extent wind counteracts excessive moisture. Near sea-level, where all the townships are situated, frost and snow are almost unknown. Thus it is exposure to the wind that limits the outwintering of stock, not low temperatures; this suggests that if pastures could be improved with a suitably sheltered places far more advantage might be taken of the relatively mild winter temperatures. It is believed that the sunshine record is particularly poor in the south, where clouds can frequently be seen hanging over the mountains when the sun is shining on Bernera and the area north 248 east of East Loch Roag. The relatively dry and sunny period which commonly occurs in 221 May and June ought to make for a good hay harvest; unfortunately the natural meadows, such as the rare, are late starters, and the custom is to cut the grass when it has gone to seed. Thus hay is often being taken in September - one of the wettest months in the year.

CHAPTER TWO

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS

172 Evidence of pre-historic and other early settlements in the parish is afforded by the occurence of standing stones, broche and dune. The Callanish circle and its satellites are by far the most remarkable ancient monument in the Hebrides, and testify to the former importance of the site even though today their precise significance may not be clear. Most of the dune are now little more than circular heaps of stones, but in that at 174 Dounc Carloway the double walls still stand to a considerable height. A later phase of 103 settlement is recorded in the place names, a very large proportion of which contain Norse 162 elements such as -nish, -vick, -bost and -shader; it seems probable that most of the present township sites have been more or less continuously occupied since Norse times.

1. [Presumably the author means "drift"--A alyst]

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ATLANTIC COAST

(Brenish, Islivig, and Mangersta)

by

Pamela M. Gough.

131 Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta are situated in the extreme south-west of Lewis, on the Atlantic coast of the parish of Uig and forty miles from Stornoway.

133 Brenish has a south-westerly aspect whilst Islivick faces north-west; in both the elevations of the croft decrease seawards from about 125 ft. in the east to 50 - 25 ft. in the west. Only one croft in Islivig, and the eight most southerly crofts in Brenish, run to the sea - the rest obtain some shelter from a line of low hills about 300 yards wide and rising to a little over 100 feet, which forms their western boundary. The land terminates in low cliffs from 25' - 100' in height, and a rocky foreshore. Behind these townships to the east a range of mountains from 1,500' - 1,800' in height and dominated by the highest hill in Lewis, Mealisval, (1,885'), gives protection from easterly influences.

Mangersta lies to the north of these mountains; here the crofts lie in a sheltered 134 valley to the west of which the land rises to over 200 feet. The valley opens southwards to the sea where there is a sandy beach and machair. The crofts range from about 150 feet to 10 feet above sea level; those nearest the sea have soils which contain a substantial proportion of machair sand.

Soils are generally deep, and there are few rocky outcrops on the crofts which are fairly level. In Brenish and Islivig the soils are mainly peaty, becoming wetter in the west. Where visible the sub-soil is gravel or stony boulder clay. In Mangersta the transition from peaty soils on the northern crofts to sandy soils on the southern crofts, is marked by the increasingly continuous cultivation, drains being unneccessary on the latter.

137 There are no trees or shrubs, and vegetation consists of marshy grass moors in the Mealasta area with a considerable amount of cotton grass bog further north. West and south of Mangersta the machair area is characterised by a calceole plant community similar in content to that found in many parts of the chalk and limestone areas of England.

34 Brenish and Islivig are old settlements, never cleared. In both, the sites of the 172 original clachans can still be seen clustered around the mouths of their respective streams. The houses are now situated at the east end of the crofts, near to the road.

175 To the south, Mealasta - cleared in the 1840's to make a sheep farm - was divided in 632 1921 to give enlargements to the common grazings of both Brenish and Mangersta. The 311 arable land was divided into twenty-nine shares as enlargements to Brenish crofts, and is held in a modified form of runrig.

Mangersta was cleared in 1837 to make a farm; subsequently fishermen-cottars settled on the farm but they moved to Dun Carloway in 1873. In 1910, however, a new township of thirteen crofts was set up by the Congested Districts Board; the new settlers were cottars, mainly from Brenish.

491 Brenish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from 494 Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight 497 cost half-a-crown for a hundredweight, but because of competition from privately owned vans the bus service ceased in 1960. Mangersta is reached from the same road by about a mile of untarred side-road of indifferent quality; formerly the only access to it was by 366 a footpath over the sands to the south. General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied 205 by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig; banking facilities 453 are supplied by a mobile bank.

311 The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being some-
422 what more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about four acres; in Brenish and Islivick only about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or croft-units - are fenced, the work having been completed in Brenish in 1959. There are twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Brenish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta; but, owing to amalgamations of various kinds the number of operative units is considerably less - fourteen in Brenish, five in Islivick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

134 As soils are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable
307 patches are large enough to be cultivated with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in
23 Brenish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are hired for ploughing and carting peats. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike many of the other Uig townships.

233 While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas, here the sheep are wintered up on the hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts. Brenish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hogg, or four year-old heifers), on Mealasta Island - hogge are usually sent since their loss, by falling over the cliffs, is less - rather than the loss of heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta crofters, who are allowed two sheep each in summer.

241 The only crops grown are potatoes and oats, with "black oats" (Avena strigosa) on the sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed for "black oats" is unobtainable commercially, the crofters save theirown. A grass mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay, to qualify for the subsidy.

233 The extensive hill and mountain pastures are not separately fenced; sheep from all three township graze over all. If the total sheep stock of the townships (about 3,300) is compared with the souming figures it is found to exceed the soum by about 50%. On the other hand, fewer cattle and horses are kept than formerly so that taking the total stock for all animals (horses, cattle and sheep) and comparing with the actual stock now carried, the area carries only 87% of the stock which the soum allowed. In the two older townships the souming was reckoned according to rent, being one cow, one two-year old and eight sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, however, the soum was one horse, three cows, one heifer, two stirks and twenty-five sheep for each croft.

Lambing percentage is about 80, and ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers
236 (excluding lambs). In this district some wedders are kept for three years and then sold
235 for meat, but the main income is from wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep, which sells at up to four shillings a pound.

231 Most crofters keep one or two cows, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn or spring sales. Brenish and Mangersta each have a bull, and in the three townships there are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks in

233 no road and access by foot is difficult. To reach the grazings the crofters travel by boat from Mealasta several times a year and stay in one of the two houses at Aird Bheag which, although vacant, is still in repair. These houses were formerly occupied by estate employees who had crofter status.

511 From the above account, it is evident that in this district as in others, a single croft is not sufficient to support a crofter and his family. On an average, each resident crofter has acquired the equivalent of two crofts, and in addition each crofter supplements the meagre income obtained from his croft by some other occupation, e.g. weaving, labouring, or driving.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE UIG BAY DISTRICT

(Carnish, Ardroil, Timsgarry and Crowlista)

by

Elizabeth Blowers.

134 Uig bay, in which low tide reveals several hundred acres of pure white sand, is surrounded by crofting townships. There is no extensive machair plaine but the shell-sand forms a fringe of easily cultivated, lime-rich soils on all sides except Crowlista, and, blown inland by the Atlantic winds, it modifies and improves the texture and acidity of the
361 peaty soil as much as 2,000 yards from the shore. It is not to be wondered at then, that
175 this bay at one time formed one of the most important centres of population in Lewis. Signs of ancient cultivation, and the ruins of old clachans, are widespread, but most of the present settlements are less than forty years old: almost the whole area was cleared to make farms in the early nineteenth century. Only in Crowlista, with its thin, rocky,
121 arable land and almost complete absence of machair, were the small tenants left undisturbed. Consequently the district provides an opportunity to compare "old" and "new" townships, both as to lay-out and operation.

133 Carnish, in the south-west, is dominated by a huge gravel ridge - probably an esker, -
361 over a mile long and sloping steeply to the estuary of Amhuinn Chaslabhat with the rocky headland of Machair Carnish to the north. The arable land and houses of Ardroil are situated to the landward side of the hummocky machair land between the esturies of Amhuinn Chaslabhat and the Forsa river which drains Loche Suainaval and Stacsavat. To the north of the bay the old settlement of Crowlista is situated on the rocky headland to the west of the Rethail embayment; there is a good deal of level land in the centre of the township but the slope to the estuary in the north is steep and rocky outcrops occur on the headland. Timsgarry, to the east of Rethail, stretches inland between the headlands of Tolanish and Borranish along the valley of the Erista river.

134 There is a mantle of gravelly drift over this area; the Carnish esker has been mentioned and exposures of up to 120' were also seen in gravel pits in Ardroil and Timsgarry. Along the coast blown shell sand rests on this drift and reaches inland for up to half a mile.

134 Alluvial soils have developed along the lower reaches of Amnuinn Thoraghair and the Erista river.

There are no trees apart from an occasional stunted rowan or willow - willows for
134 instance may grow still in some old garden enclosures. Hedges, too, are rare are, although
624 individual houses are often carefully sited, there is little cover and the townships as a whole are very exposed to westerly gales. The natural vegetation developed on the machair is of fine closely matted grasses with a good deal of natural clover - very similar to that found on chalk downland. On the peaty moorland the usual moor grasses mosses and heather are dominant, though little encroachment by bracken was noticed.

In Crowlista the strip layout of the crofts dates from a letting about 1850. (Figure 14)
311 in the new townships, laid out about 1921 (Figure 15) the majority of the crofts are
361 less strip-like and do not run to the shore. Indeed in Ardroil and Timsgarry only five
127 out of twenty-two reach the shore and the rocky headlands with their machair are valuable parts of the common pasture. The six crofts in Carnish run from the shore at the foot of the esker up its flank towards the southwest and almost to its summit. They also have one or two small plots each on the machair.

Crofts in Ardroil are in one piece. An old cattle road forms the north west boundary;
133 from this they rise, steeply in places, to undulating moorland just over 200' high. Numbers 5 - 8 Timsgarry are strips across the Erista valley, rising northwards to just over 170'; 2, 3 and 4 are allotted to make use of arable land on the lower slopes of Knock Valabrie. The houses of crofts No. 1 Timsgarry and No. 1 Ardroil are the former farmhouses.

41 In Crowlista most of the crofts remain unfenced but in Carnish, Ardroil and Timsgarry
41 all are fenced and many of the fences were being repaired or replaced in 1959. They are not open for common grazing during the winter. Patches of sown hay are fenced within each croft.

There are six recognized croft-holdings in Carnish; one is sub-let so that there are
36 only five "operative" units; two of those are not worked. One has been resumed by the proprietors and is being quarried as an extension of the main quarry between the township dyke and main road. In Ardroil each of the fourteen crofts is worked as a unit - though two carry no stock; in Timsgarry eight crofts are worked as seven units.

In contrast to the above, the old settlement of Crowlista has twenty-five recognised croft-lots, by amalgamation and sub-letting these are worked as fourteen units. The Crowlista crofts are small - fourteen are 4.0 acres or less and of those only one is worked as a unit. Crofts as small as 1.5 acres and with a score of eight sheep can never have been intended to support a family; they are the result of sub-division in earlier generations; the remains of two piers and a curing house point to the importance of
461 fishing in the past. Twenty-one men were employed in fishing boats about 1914. Sub-letting usually takes place between relatives; of some of the fourteen operative units are quite complicated. One example will suffice (croft numbers are here replaced by letters to prevent publication of personal matters):-

Crofts a, b, c and d are worked as a unit (although they are not adjacent). The tenant of a and b sub-lets c and d for grazing; he also helps with the work on yet a fifth croft. The present b is half of an original croft. West of the road the original croft is held in fixed runrig between b and another croft, one part of this multiple "working" unit; east of the road it has been divided into separate strips. The tenant lives on b.

361 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new
149 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all
487 but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
488 two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford to Timsgarry. Vans call
362 but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor -
362 two wells only are in use.

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. Water
512 supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses. The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all
366 except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has
485 a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly
485 and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return
488 fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars.

241 The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the
241 smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, and
233 Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from
467 Brenish or Enaclete. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years age was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

242 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts
134 the compound fertilizer was seen in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the
134 crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal
224 fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or in May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

511 It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Aird; the only two families
465 without ancillary occupations are those where all the members are elderly. Of the others
268 with members in the working age-groups, five have one or more members employed in a civilian capacity at the R.A.F. station and there are five regular weavers.

621 Aird used to be a self-contained community; the land was fully cultivated and a certain
178 amount of fishing was carried on in spite of the difficulty of drawing up the boats over the rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the R.A.F. station, and if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search of other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF

by

David G. Symes.

131 On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a secondary
133 peninsula of more moderate, but none-the-less broken relief. This, together with an adjacent area of the main peninsula, the islands of Pabay, Vacsay, Vuia Mor and several smaller islands, comprises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Kneep and Reef.

133 This secondary peninsula is accidented in the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock and steeply angled small hills. The relief is greater in the west (summit 450') than in the east (summit 275'). Relatively level land is to be found only on the machairs of Reef and
133 Cliff (the latter only poorly developed) and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair,
134 about 180 acres, consists of a succession landwards of tidal sands, a belt of sand dunes (c. 20' O.D.) and a sandy plain sloping gently inland towards a reed filled lagoon. The machair at Cliff is approximately 40 acres in extent; here there are fixed dunes and, in addition, the sand has been blown inland to at least 100 ft. O.D. Except where the machair sand has drifted upslope to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin soils of the Valtos peninsula are predominantly peaty. Although the length of the peninsula faces north the extremes of Atlantic weather are moderated by the protection afforded by the Aird peninsula and the islands of Pabay and Vacsay.

175 In the period before the lotting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some five
424 clachans - Valtos, Cliff, Kneep, Uigean and Reef - some of which shared common pastures.
361 During the early part of the nineteenth century and earlier, apparently, than the 1850 lotting
620 carried out in most of Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clachan areas: Valtos and Cliff shared a common pasture and so became one township; similarly Kneep and Uigean were combined.

175 In Kneep it seems that the croft boundaries were not accepted by the crofters. Certain
311 basic divisions between groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today,
427 and within these basic divisions a certain regularity of distribution of strips persists, but

CHAPTER EIGHT

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Meavaig, Caryshader, Ungshader, Geshader, Enaclete and Gisla).

by

Annie Heawood.

133 Little Loch Roag is a narrow sea loch extending southwards about twelve miles i
133 from Loch Roag proper. It has been formed by glacial erosion picking out one of the
134 n.n.e. to s.s.w. lines of weakness characteristic of the Lewisian gneiss. Although generally steep-sided, recent glaciation left much ground moraine and this material, preserved on the less steep slopes, provides arable land for several small townsh or near its western shores. The eastern shore is the more rugged and although a fe small townships once existed there is now only the small farm and shooting lodge of Scalascro. At the head of the loch is an estate cottage for Morsgail Lodge which is a large mansion with extensive fishing and shooting rights, grandly isolated about a mi inland from the main road.

361 The district here described includes Gisla, near the head of Little Loch Roag, En
139 Ungshader, and Geshader, on the western shores of Loch Roag proper. All these a
365 strung out on or close to the main road. Meavaig, like Gisla, is a small farm but al functions as something of a metropolis for south Uig: it has the post-master, whose functions include registrar and receiver of wrecks it has two churches, a telephone c change, the district doctor and manse, and a petrol pump. At the time of our visit t was also the base for the 'bus service. Its metropolitan functions arose in the days the road replaced a ferry boat service from Callanish; here the mails were landed some date in the 1920s, and here, too, the estate kept coach and horses for transport Uig lodge, three miles further west.

361 There is no record of the original settlement of the four crofting townships, nor
365 Gisla, which was a township (or 'joint farm') of five crofters until about 1850. Some
139 modern houses and bungalows have been built, many with easier access to the road th the old black houses, now often used as byres. Water supply does not seem to pres serious problem because of the extensive moorland gathering grounds to the west, bu are not at present any water-supply schemes. Electricity is, of course, available. Caryshader and Enaclete are on the main Stornoway road being served at present by 'bus and by vans selling meat, groceries and fish at least once a week. Enaclete is sub-post-office. Geshader is less fortunate since, although vans call regularly, 'bu must be met at the junction of the unsurfaced track and the main Stornoway road, whe the school serving this district also stands. The track has been extended in recent so that it now reaches all the houses. Ungshader, however, is smaller and although has had similar delivery arrangements, it is now a dying settlement largely due to its inaccessibility.

The crofts are mostly regular in shape on the landward side and fenced except wh
427 the land is very broken as in northern Enaclete. In Caryshader there are fourteen l
632 crofts which at present are worked as eleven units; one is used only as a holiday hom
311 by its owner-occupier and there is one squatter on the common grazing. In Geshade there are eleven crofts, each worked independantly; Ungshader has four crofts but th

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blows away, no doubt because the humus rots and quite fails to bind the sand. These two types together form the true machar.

(*c*) From the machar rise the slopes of drift-covered rock which bear a top dressing of blown shell fragments, more or less mixed with the soil by treading and cultivation, and imperceptibly giving place to the undiluted 'black soils' of moor and croft with their corresponding vegetation or crops. The shell-sand is often blown onto the rough pastures high above a bay.

Where a portion of the true machar has been cultivated it is allowed to seed itself. A sprinkling of weeds is followed by the re-establishment of a mixed flora. In both the sand and the consolidated sand-covered drift grow wild white clover and vetches; and among the grasses are rye grass (*Lolium*), Yorkshire fog (*Holcus*), cat's-tail (*Phleum*) and meadow grass (*Poa*). Other plants include familiar weeds and wild-flowers like yarrow, cow-parsnip, golden rod (*Solidago*), silverweed, wild carrot, thyme, plantain, sorrel, yellow rattle, harebell, eyebright, pansy and many more. Arrival from the bare brown moorland to the sand-blown slopes or dells is made a pleasure by stream-side flowers like meadow-sweet.

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Woods and Cultivation.—In addition to the woods indicated on the map, in Stornoway Castle policies, shelter-belts or plantations occur at certain lodges. Cultivation, as will be explained in the section on crofting, is rarely continuous; and the map shows areas as cultivated which are far from being either continuous crop land or
[185] even permanent grass of the first quality. Yet since this map was drawn the improved area has been extended somewhat

i [see map on p. 50--analyst]

[Ebbos]

Of the 53 residents, 19 are over 65 and only 3 under 15 years, leaving a working population of 29: areas are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily declining since its peak of 121 in 1901.

Since 1944, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely leased and the method of cultivation changed from crofting and horse-drawn tractor and implements to modern farming. A further fence has been erected for a lamb park and much land has been reclaimed. Sheep-rearing area has been put down to ley, and the cultivation of potatoes and turnips has ceased to be important. Because of the place of the odar crofters: when working units become larger and stock decreases in a figure equal to the rent carrying capacity of the holding, the crofter's craft could be regarded as profitable concern: at the moment, the croft is only maintained through grants and ancillary earnings. Should that happen, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivation to provide winter fodder.

KERSHADER

Helen Mackenzie

Kershader is a township of forty-three permanent residents on thirteen crofts, which stretch for a mile along the southern shore of Loch Erisort. The crofts extend up to one-third of a mile from the coast with a two-and-half mile deep hinterland of rough grazing, which rises from an elevation of 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arranged in rectangular strips at right angles to the coast, are lower (between 50 and 100 feet) and include three main zones (Fig. 5):

(a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a narrow strip varying below 50 feet, dissected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone have a distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and cold: a typical Hamnavoe profile, which explains the fact that it is almost entirely under cultivation.

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with little rising to over 100 feet. The lower areas have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a) and (b), with peaty-loam characteristics appearing in the higher areas. The higher areas have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there are signs of former cultivation.

(c) A zone of hollows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reacting well to heavy fertilisation with seaware and intersecting heights covered with blanket bog, partly stained, heather and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep slope in the south with greater slopes over 50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irregular shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

In Kershader, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts vary between 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23.45 acres reputed arable and 110.25 acres meadow. 24.5 acres are in fact under crop (note 18.5, potatoes 6.5), and 5.5 acres under sown grass: and of the remaining 99.5 acres, mainly natural grass

[Garyvard] [Cravesta]

At the moment Garyvard appears to be a greenhead village, carrying out communal schemes which will benefit the township as a whole. However, the age structure of the population is abnormal (over 60 per cent of the population is over 45 years. The future in Garyvard offers young people hard work, little money and no entertainment, making the attractions of the cities and industries of the mainland quite irresistible. Unless some means can be found to make the future look fit for the area, since most crofters are of the opinion that a weekly wage packet would more than compensate the loss of their independence. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the age of Garyvard that the crofters and adventies that man caves more for momentary rewards and the luxuries of life. This is well understood by parents who encourage their children to leave the islands to seek employment either in the cities or in the mainland. The Lewismen's co-ordination of sheep-farming and crofting and a way of life. His present desire keen to see the township prosper and to see the young people who would make good crofters and farmers, but he realises that it is not in accordance with modern ideas and purposes. Unless prosperity can be brought in by way of industry, tourism or increased croft efficiency, possibly through co-operation in working and marketing, it is doubtful if it is possible that we are witnessing the end of a township.

CAVERSTA

Helen Mackenzie

Caversta lies along a southern inlet of Loch Erisort, five miles from the Minch and is partially sheltered from east winds by the Cromore peninsula and Eilean Chaisim Chille.

The physical nature of the township is irregular, rising steeply from the water's edge to a level of approximately 100 feet, with a few areas of flat land at the foot of the steep slopes: and it is here that the settlement occurs. Apart from the shore, the highest points in the township are at 400 feet and are visible at 75 feet and 100 feet above the loch, which is here bordered by a 25 foot rock face. The resulting slopes are separated by faces of bare rock. The soil is mainly peaty, but there is a noteworthy feature. Below a small lock, the river follows an irregular course through a wide and shallow meandering depression in a gravelly deposit, and at one has an appreciable area of level land unencroached by rock outcrops. Bells, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin, and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely separated.

The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common grazing, are mainly covered with heather, rough grass and moss, while the lower areas within the township are greener, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not yet a problem, and there is little scrub except on the Cromore side, where there is a portion of last year's crop. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

There are twenty-four registered crofts in Caversta, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant and one occupied by a non-crofter. Crofts are arranged in two rectangular blocks, with the exception of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in a radial fashion (Fig. 5). The size of the crofts varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and few now cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses being on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' system. Owing to the rocky nature of the terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two spits wide. Potatoes and oats are grown in rotation, and hay about from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters sow grass for hay and permanent pasture, most of the lazy-beds being left fallow. Crofters use seaware and farmyard manure as the most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce, carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

[Cromore]

The 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Cuveasta population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left after 1911 and no reproduction took place. Since 1929, seven people have emigrated to the village Stornoway four years ago and the inhabitants now look forward to a supply of piped water in about two years' time. At present only three or four houses have bathrooms.

The crofts, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a satisfactory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It seems that the current emigration from the Cromore area is likely to attract fishermen from Cromore and one or two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were longer. Weaving has brought prosperity but, as the Park Commissioner states in his Second Progress Report, it has not sufficient weaving available for the present number of weavers'. The proposal to establish a spinning and processing mill in the Park District seems to be the most practical solution to the problem, and it would be a great boon to the people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants suggested that a mini-bus, with the Park Hotel, Stornoway, as the terminus, would pay. However, even if these three increased earnings of a generation became effective, one wonders whether they would be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Stornoway.

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B.A.

Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triangular sea loch opening to the north-east and sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, making it a safe and sheltered anchorage.

The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slopes more gradually and irregularly, with frequent precipitous rock outcrops, for two hundred to three hundred and fifty feet, when it levels off to a fairly extensive area of low hillock, rising to three hundred feet high, surrounding the loch. All crofts then have an easterly or north-easterly aspect, not particularly favourable for agriculture, and no one has any appreciable area of level land unencroached by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin, and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely separated.

The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common grazing, are mainly covered with heather, rough grass and moss, while the lower areas within the township are greener, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not yet a problem, and there is little scrub except on the Cromore side, where there is a portion of last year's crop. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant and one occupied by a non-crofter. Crofts are arranged in two rectangular blocks, with the exception of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in a radial fashion (Fig. 5). The size of the crofts varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and few now cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses being on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

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[Bertrig] [Ceilbost]

In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Martigh's future, and that of other crofting townships, is not only one of adverse aspect, and a shortage of capital, and of distance from markets, but a problem of the maintenance of a viable and stable level where agricultural ends are large enough to encourage the entire and non-crofting section of the population to remain, and a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

The crofts, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a satisfactory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It seems that the current emigration from the Calbost area is likely to attract fishermen from Cromore and one or two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were longer. Weaving has brought prosperity but, as the Park Commissioner states in his Second Progress Report, it has not sufficient weaving available for the present number of weavers'. The proposal to establish a spinning and processing mill in the Park District seems to be the most practical solution to the problem, and it would be a great boon to the people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants suggested that a mini-bus, with the Park Hotel, Stornoway, as the terminus, would pay. However, even if these three increased earnings of a generation became effective, one wonders whether they would be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Stornoway.

[Grevrig] [Simegrevig] [Lemeway]

The organ used in Grevrig is a reduction in the number of holdings. A pro-requisite of such an development would be a stable and non-crofting population of sufficient numbers to support shopping and other facilities are the more obvious occupations; the former is subject to world trade fluctuations but the latter is now in a more favourable position since the introduction of the herring fishing guaranteed subsidy, although the raising of the initial capital for buying net equipping boats is a formidable problem. It is clear that a division of the community into a crofting and non-crofting sector is essential if the present population level is to be maintained. The most serious aspect of the present situation is the fact that the migration from the township is mainly confined to the younger people. Unless holdings of economic size can be formed, and stable employment introduced, one can expect the younger men and women to continue to leave Grevrig.

Until a major reorganisation of the crofts is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-seed large areas of the common pasture and the three lochs in Grevrig, and the development of a crofting-cum-fishing industry, is a matter of urgency. It is not sufficiently realised in crofting districts that the capacity of much of the moorland. Brachan has established itself in such a way that it is neglected by the crofters and farmers.

Grimsay is unique in Park, for the present township is entirely a twentieth century development in the early 19th century there was a settlement at the head of the loch, but in 1843 the residents were removed and the area sold to Colin Mackenzie of Cromba, Stornoway. In 1919, there was a proposal to establish fourteen crofts, but the applicants were requested to wait until after the war. At the end of the war the number of applicants had increased to twenty-four, and in 1921 a grant was made in Lemeway. Several of them 'related' the Grimsay area. At first living in huts, they built their own houses and, with the assistance of the Department of Agriculture, they cultivated and fencing off lowland legal crofts, and at the same time providing a good footpath. Being the success of their neighbours, the Park District Committee, in 1924, created a further 24 crofts in Stornoway, about a mile to the west of Grimsay. Here, however, the Department of Agriculture did not intervene and the crofters were left to their own devices, some of the crofters in Lemeway visiting Grimsay year, although one family remained until 1939.

Of the 24 crofts in Grimsay, 20 are occupied by non-crofters, six have between one and fifteen acres, while the remaining two occupy eighteen and twenty-five acres: the largest croft originally belonged to the landowner on the sheep farm. Three of these crofts are unoccupied, although worked by other crofters, with the result that eleven operative units share 161 acres.

Only a small part of the croft acreage is actually cultivated in practice. Its cultivation and rotation are similar to that of the other crofting townships, with the exception that allowance must be made for the fact that the crofters are unoccupied, although worked by other crofters, with the result that eleven operative units share 161 acres.

The township consists of three distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area at about 100 feet, part common pasture and part reclaimed as extensions to the croft, locally known as the 'Ceiteed', forms the centre of the township. The crofts are mainly arranged in two rectangular blocks, which are separated by a steep slope to an altitude of 400 feet, less than half a mile from the loch shore, forming the hinterland. Two hundred and fifty feet above the loch shore, a second area of level land occurs, which occur at the same height to the north. It is suggested that the flat area is the result of a former lowland loch, and that the hinterland represents the shore of the loch, and partly ice-eroded rock exposures. A channel eroded through this sector allows the lake to empty, the northwards leaving a relatively deeply incised valley through which the present stream flows to the sea.

Soils may be divided into two types - a peaty loam and the better drained gravelly loam which is found to the east and west of the township and also the main stream. In later is the only cultivable soil.

The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past sheilings were not an widely used in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed to graze on the common unattended. There are no ruins of sheilings to be found on the hills around Calbost but a more interesting feature of the past is the cattle dyke: enclosures were made adjoining the main dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander over all crofts but the common today to be a more towards the complete exclusion of the crofts.

[Britaisg]

which rises steeply, exceeding 375 feet in the west and 150 feet to the north and east. From the south-east and north-east two glacial drift-filled valleys drain southwards, their lower ends being "drowned" by neotheneet extensions of the sea.

Although peat cover most of the surface it is only in the hollows that it is significantly deep. The common sheep grazing the peat cover is frequently so thin as to expose a layer of morainic sub-soil containing many stones and boulders.

Two rowans and a dozen willows represent the single crop, but tree stumps frequently occur in the peat, and it is evident that woodland was formerly more extent. Whether this former woodland disappearance was due to climatic or climatic change it is not possible to say, but it is certain that a century of overgrazing has not been sufficient to prevent the growth of woodland, and the fact that the sheep are kept off the hill during the lambing season, and the development of a crofting capacity of much of the moorland. Brachan has established itself in such a way that it is neglected by the crofters and farmers.

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Oats and potatoes are the single crops, occupying 9 and 8½ acres respectively in 1958. Individual acreages of these crops vary in relation to the requirements, for winter stock-feed, and in the case of potatoes, to demand and marketing considerations. Potatoes are grown twice every three years, of course, careful preparation. A plentiful supply of seaweed is obtained from the shore and in the case of the frequently used fertilisers, which a little supplies of ammonia is applied. Only two crofters are idle.

In the last two decades a marked reduction in the amount of oats grown has accompanied a decrease in the numbers of cattle and an increasing use of hay for fodder. Nevertheless only about 175 acres of hay altogether are cut, and only five of the crofters are any grass seed.

In August 1958, the township supported only 13 cows, 2 young beasts and 6 calves. Half of the crofters have a cow and a calf, but three have no cattle at all, and one also sold seaweed. Milk, and commercially on the sale of crofting in Grimsay, but predominantly on means uneconomic in crofting areas.

133 North of a line between Lochs Sligichan and Eynort, Skye
is a typical basalt plateau. Generally, it is a low-lying
region of deep glens, rolling moors, and small hills. Mountain-
ous terrain is encountered only in Trotternish and Duirinish.
In Trotternish the land has faulted and uplifted to produce a
long ridge of cliffs which rise to 2,360 feet. The uplands of
Duirinish culminate in MacLeod's Tables, a pair of flat topped
• 134 hills (1,601 and 1,538 feet). This basalt area is Skye's best
agricultural asset. The rock easily breaks down to form a po-
tentially rich, light loam and the porosity of the basalt fa-
cilitates drainage.[2] Unfortunately, the potentials are not
133 always immediately available. The heavy rainfall and configuration
of the land prevents the accumulation of deep soils. In addition
to shallowness, the marked common characteristics are lime,
phosphate, and cobalt deficiencies, acidity, heavy leaching,
and water logging. An extensive, irregular overlie of peat is
a further restricting factor. Except for the western slope of
the hill ridge of Trotternish and, to a lesser degree, some
parts of Duirinish, blanket bogs of peat will not allow the
basic nutrients of the underlying soil to be brought into circu-
lation. There are, of course, raised beaches and well drained
terraces throughout the area with relatively good grable land.
The relative fertility of northern Trotternish has been recog-
nized for many centuries. It has long been known as "the
Granary of Skye."

[2]Darling, op. cit.

133 South of the basalt plateau, the Cuillins and the Red
134 Hills have intruded into the lava. Although the Cuillins
dominate the landscape for many miles, they are absolutely
133 useless agriculturally. Indeed, a case might be made for the
derivation of the name Cuillin from the Welsh gwylin (worth-
less).[3] The worthlessness of the mountains in the local
economy is attested by the fact that they are the only mountains
in Scotland with peaks named after men, all of them mountain
133 climbers of the last century.[4] At the same time, however,
134 they have become a valuable asset in the tourist trade.[5] The
Red Hills rise to 2,537 feet. They are mostly covered with
screes and skeletal soils, but they have some pastoral value.
All have traditional Gaelic names.

133 Below the mountainous region a broad limestone valley
extends across the island from Broadford Bay to Lochs Eishort
and Slapin. Like northern Skye, it is a gently rolling region
• 135 with few rises which exceed 500 feet in elevation. The po-
tentially good soil is frequently masked by a heavy overlie of
peat.

Sleat, the southernmost peninsula, reveals a compli-
[134] cated structure, a complex of ancient rocks and moraine.[6]

[3]R.N. Humble, The Cuillin of Skye (London: Robert Hale, 1952), pp. 3-4.

[4]Ibid., p. xv.

[5]W. Puscher, The Magic of Skye (London: Chapman and Hall, 1949); F. G. Meadows, The Skye Scene (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1951)) and Humble, Op. Cit., pp. 31-106.

[6]Darling, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

133 The northeastern end of the peninsula is covered by glaciated,
• 135 rounded hills rising to 2,396 feet. The remainder is a low-
lying area of soft rises and deep glens. The soil cover is
largely no more than a physical zedium. Were it not for stoney
but light, well drained soils on several raised beaches and
morainic soils derived from the mainland, large parts of
Sleat would have no cover other than ice scoured rock. Peat
covers many of the flatter facets.

133 Despite the multiformity of the physical appearance
of the island, one cannot help forming the impression of a
135 certain sameness. Except where bare rock stands out in stark
relief or where man has laboriously turned the soil to agri-
cultural use, the flora of Skye is primarily grass only
occasionally interspersed with a few trees. In the glens
and on the lower slopes of the hills fescue and bent grasses
134 are found wherever the natural drainage is good. Both are
tender and excellent for pasture. Poorly drained land supports
coarse sedges and rushes. Above 300 feet moorgrass is found
on dry facets and rushes and mosses on soggy ground. The high
hills, such as the ridge of Trotternish, maintain a sub-alpine
pasture of small flowers, mosses, and sparse grass. Obviously,
the main factors governing the natural flora are drainage and
134 altitude. Man and his stock have also influenced the vegetation.
Selective grazing by sheep has allowed the spread of a large,
tough fern, called bracken, which has markedly reduced the
135 pastoral value of extensive tracts of the best land. Another
common plant is heather. True heather moors, however, are
136 considered plantable in in limited, isolated patches. At this

3/3 133 Just outside of Portree was taken -vsrin 1953, and there are
plans for acquiring additional blocks of land.

One reason for the optimism surrounding the potential
benefits of forestry to the Highlands is the growth of population
which it apparently stimulates. In Glen Brittle the local
school, closed for many years, has been reopened. But, as
in all migration schemes, the average age tends to be low,
and, consequently, procreation is to be expected. Whether or
not the potential benefits will be realized remains to be
seen. Decidedly in favor of forestry is the stable employment
which is offered. Further, a man can be allowed time to carry
on crofting not only in his spare time but also full-time
when seasonal demands require his full attention. Whether or
not there will be enough land left for pastoral-agriculture,
near the plantations if he wants to take the time, is another
question. Then, too, there are natural limitations to the
extension of forests.

3/3 The difficulties to be faced by forestry on Skye may be
• 134 briefly summarized. Above all, conditions for tree growth are
132 far from ideal over much of the island. If the soil is fertile
enough for trees, as in Glendale and Kilmuir, exposure to the
south and west winds may be too severe for a plantation. Shelter
belts might be planted, but they have no commercial value and
offer only fleeting employment. If there is shelter from the
wind, as in Sleat, the soil is either too poor or too boggy
for commercial operations. Beyond the areas already acquired
and the few small plantations on private estates, the land

135 MINERAL RESOURCES--availability or significant lack of mineral deposits (e.g., metals, stone, coal, petroleum, clay, salt); quantity, quality, and distribution of minerals; etc. See also:

Exploration of mineral resources	31	Mineralogy	200
Salt manufacture	295	Petroleum and coal products industries	302

135

1 INTRODUCTION

131 THOUGH generally referred to as separate islands, Harris
and Lewis are geographically speaking one island—the
largest landmass in the Outer Hebrides. Its latitude is
approximately 57° 40' to 58° 40' N; its longitude 6° to 7° W.
Many have expressed surprise at the size of the island, which is
over 800 square miles in extent. From top to bottom the crow's-
flight distance is just over 80 miles, and from east to west about
14 miles. By road, however, the north-south journey (the Butt of
Lewis to Rodel in Harris) is a good 80 miles. And by road from
east to west (Tiumpan Head lighthouse to Breinish in Uig) is
54 miles.

132 Among the oldest islands of the world Harris and Lewis is
• 135 founded, like a strong resisting house, on rock, on gneiss said to be
the oldest fragment of Europe. From a distance the tough durable
Lewisian gneiss is easily recognisable as bare, barren, elongated
domes and ridges, giving a hummocky appearance to the land-
scape. Among other rock types to be found is a patch of a few
hundred acres of granite in the parish of Barvas, on the west side
of Lewis; some torridonian sandstone showing on each side of
Broad Bay, around Stornoway; and the tertiary basalt of the
Shiant Isles. These latter islands, pin-points of high land, are geo-
logically speaking insular outliers of Skye, though they are but a
few miles or so off the Lewis coastline. Another set of islands,
associated with Harris and Lewis, are the St Kildas, composed
of gabbros and basalt.

The continual exposure of the rocks on the island makes it easy
for those interested in geology to see just what happened those
countless years ago. Sands, muds and limestones were formed in
an ancient sea, to be later heated and recrystallised as volcanic
eruptions occurred. During this boiling, a seasoning touch of
molten granite was added. Later, still in an ancient season, the
rocks were thrust up and crushed against each other to form
today's geological spectacular. Dark-coloured hornebleude and

INTRODUCTION

133 mica-sparkled gneiss show the intense shearing. And crushed rock
• 135 known as flinty crush because it splinters so easily, adds another
sight for the modern eye. The Stornoway beds, as they are called
are broadly known as torridonian sandstone, old red sandstone
or triassic; some geologists regard them as part of the pre-Cam
brian torridonian series.

133 From geological evidence, twice did vast icesheets move over
the rock-faces to round off the sharp corners of the island. And
as individually then as now, geologists think that there may have
been a third small glaciation—a private Hebridean one. Today
the scenery bears the imprint of glacial striae or scratchings
Polished rocks show scores; lochs are gravel-dammed, and ther
are countless small lochans and tarns formed from deep gouging
in solid rock. There is some evidence too of a depression or land
sinking during a much later post-glacial time. Many times have
fishermen found, far below the present high-water line, stumps o
trees and buried submarine peat, the wasting remains of forme
land vegetation. Martin Martin, who wrote of the Western Isle
• 105 about 1695, said of Berneray, one of the small islands in th
133 Sound of Harris: 'The west end of this island which looks to S
Kilda, is called the wooden harbour, because the sands at low wate
discover several trees that have formerly grown there. Sir Norma
MacLeod told me that he had seen a tree cut there, which wa
afterwards made into a harrow.' These vegetation remains indicat
[134] a former fertility. Volcanic action and deposit, the makings o
good soil were, however, largely carried away by glacial move
ment to leave a thin scraping of boulder clay clinging to the ba
rock for dear life.

133 Lewis is largely rolling moorn of blanket peat with many loc
and rivers. To the west of Lewis, in Uig, high hills begin to rai
the eye. In North Harris, the hills are higher, reaching their poi
in the Clahaim (2,622 ft above sea level). These are not strict
speaking mountains. But they do present not a few problems
climbers, having some formidable rock-faces; and on the seawar
side are virtually unscaleable cliffs. Much of the ice-monoto
[135] landscape of South Harris is rocky and barren, gneiss outcrop
[137] cover many acres in places, and are almost completely devoid
any kind of vegetation, except where, in the odd crevice, like bi

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

by

Brian Loughbrough

131 133 103 The seven crofting townships of Upper Carloway, (including Carloway Park), Borrowston, Garenin, Knock Carloway, Dun Carloway and Kirivick form a compact area of land in the north of the Parish of Uig bordering the coast and Loch Carloway. Here the Lewisian gneiss has a thin discontinuous covering of glacial drift which is most extensively developed immediately above the head of Loch Carloway. Three valleys help to determine the layout of the townships and settlements (figure 37). The townships to the north-
361 133 west of the Carloway river are found on more gentle slopes than those to the south east where the slopes are less uniform and are less uniform and are often broken by short steep rocky faces. The north western area therefore offers an environment where almost continuous cultivation is possible whereas in the south east the frequent rock outcrops have led to fragmented cultivation on minute plots which are inaccessible to the tractor or other mechanised implements.

131 The soils are heavy and acid even on the skinned land of the boulder clay slopes nor is there any machair to mitigate the acidity of the peaty areas which descend almost to the shores. Only in one place is there any trace of the influence of the sand and this is to be found where the crofts numbered 1 to 3 Garenin border the small bay in the north of that township. Here the fierce gales have blown some of the finer beach deposits on to the croft land.

Much of the peat has been cut from the inner common pastures except in the case of Upper Garloway where active cutting is still taking place in the valley whose flanks are occupied by squatter settlements, to the east of the football pitch. On the common 131 311 pasture the vegetation varies from peat moss and heather with bracken to fescue and close turf on the skinned land by the road to Dalemore. On the upper common pasture heather and bracken have increased since the abandonment of the shielings and the reduction of the cattle stock; many inhabitants remember that the hills once had a much greener aspect. Nor is this a feature confined to the common pastures; on one croft in Upper Carloway 1.9 acres are completely covered by heather whilst a neighbouring croft has a good crop of oats on similar land. At the loch in both Knock and Upper Carloway areas of former arable land have reverted to moss, the old lazy beds being picked out by lines of reeds.

361 Settlement. The settlement pattern is one of great interest for it shows in a clear way the effects of the distrinct phases in the historical geography of the area. The evidence of success and failure stands side by side. Before attempting to justify this assertion it is necessary to give a brief account of the physical evolution and distribution of settlement.

361 175 The origin of permanent settlement is believed * to have been the permanent occupation of shielings used by people from Bernera until the eighteenth century. Until about 1850 arable land was held run-rig and the houses were huddled together in tight little clusters. When individual crofts were lotted, about 1850, the houses werescattered, each on its croft and generally up to fifty yards from the present road (which was then 361 no more than a rough track). Sea access was then most important but since the advent 44 of modern road transport new houses have been built nearer to the roads, producing the 178 modern markedly linear plan. The roads extend at different heights across the slopes

* based on information supplied by Mr Macleod of 27 Garenin.

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

[Seaforthhead]

161 162 166 167 241 223 652 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend, significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment furth of Park, and a smaller loss by migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric, there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seaforthhead and Shieldernish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

135 361 Seaforthhead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being [247] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

134 357 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 [233] Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Balallan and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

[244] The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed. [407] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be [314] in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being [231] only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep soum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the soum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 162 241 178 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in 1886. In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the

[Seaforthhead] [Shieldernish] [Habost]

161 162 241 178 suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, ma given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather a of the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large num between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six child age.

361 In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish all settlement is below the road and hou [349] slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seafor [505] now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. Whe [491] communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to El [178] access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHIELDERNISH

131 361 232 Shieldernish, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Pe road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, hal road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater acce better management and new ideas.

241 311 [246] [231] [244] Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither o preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts gr potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pa [226] [288] stocking of the Shieldernish crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now onl though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cu of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the towns isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, grazing. Shieldernish appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fatten soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pastu [185] fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also mea is better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

131 133 241 361 [154] Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Eriso stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wid valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are va flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultiv Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare r soils.

[Habost]

134 Drift is found near the shore and laps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks.
137 Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

195 Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shieldernish and
692 took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Ailean Tailear came from Taransay, Harris,
621 to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

241 Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and
409 ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Croftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for
293 bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

[244] Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed
[246] parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in
[231] June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but
[324] elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

291 The land is heavily overstocked: the soum is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is
233 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in
[232] Park Deer Forest by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garyvard in November
[221] and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

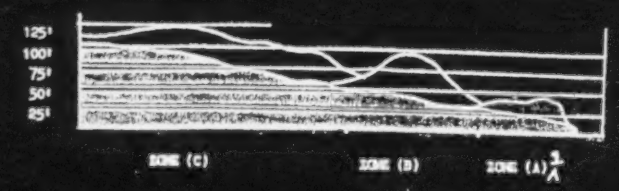
241 The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since before 1852. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Beinn Bhuidhe and
[311] below Loch na Ciste but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural
[226] townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and
[282] trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock
[293] to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

361 Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has
[312] been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or
[354] from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

KERSHADER

PROJECTED AND SOIL PROFILES

134
135



SOIL PROFILE

12" Peaty, loamy soil, sod at surface, root layer beneath.

18" Yellow-brown boulder-gravel-sand, with some finer material.

36" Contorted solifluted layer of grey, gritty material, probably decomposed gneiss, with stones up to 6" diameter. The whole horizon shows incipient induration and iron staining.

Boulder clay/bedrock (?)

FIG. 8
/facing p. 17/

1/A [See page 17 for explanation of soil zones--Analyst]

Table 30 shews the present use of fertilisers and manure. It will be seen that dung is still widely used but seaware is used in a minority of cases, particularly in Breaclete and Earshader. The first at least may be related to the various troubles that have afflicted the township, and to the fact that several holdings are in effect very small with but plots of cultivation. This also relates to the large number in Breaclete who use no form of fertiliser at all. Shell sand is neglected for reasons of inaccessibility: it is present on Little Bernera, and more particularly and of excellent quality, at Bosta. It is difficult to get from within the Island the large quantities of sand needed to qualify for the lime subsidy; it would be possible to get it from Bosta sands, there is a township road to within about a hundred yards of the beach, but the township is unwilling to open it to the wear and tear of lorry transport.

Artificial fertilisers are increasingly used. The first consideration at the present is undoubtedly that certain amounts have to be applied in order to qualify for the ploughing subsidies. This has overcome a reluctance engendered by early over-enthusiastic applications of sulphate of ammonia. Lime, in the powdered form or as nitro-chalk, is commonly applied. There is undoubtedly considerable ignorance in the application and use of artificials: they are often used only because of subsidy conditions, and the crofter is surprised, though gratified, when they have any practical effect. Certainly most crofters have no programme of their own of regular balanced applications to crop land. They need further advice.

The best balanced fertiliser policies are followed on the reseeded pastures, mainly because the crofters are careful to follow the directions they receive. They will follow advice in these matters when they can get it. In 1959 reseeding had been undertaken by 16 individuals, (20 acres) and by one township (Breaclete). Reseeding has definitely "caught on" as a means of improving the stock carrying capacity of a croft, with comparatively little outlay in labour or machinery. (1) It is, however, a new project: one may wonder whether the crofters will have sufficient pertinacity and funds to continue indefinitely. Reseeding is not cheap; it may cost £18 to £28 an acre and it is reckoned to cost £3 per annum to maintain. A considerable increase in output will have to be evident to make it worth the crofters' while to continue.

The methods of cultivation still include much spade digging, and some crofts depend entirely upon this. Horse and plough, though basically unsuited to the cultivation of lazy beds, can generally be used on most but the smallest beds, but the problem now is to get hold of a horse for ploughing. Hence - as in at least one instance at Croir - where it is impossible to hire a horse and the land is unsuited to tractor operation - the choice may well be between spade cultivation or no cultivation at all. The situation is not eased by the difficulty of hiring any one of the three tractors in the area at a time when the land is in the best condition. This is all doubly unfortunate because of the universality of the lazy bed; this might be regarded as a symbol of a backward or even a primitive agricultural system, but is, in fact, an excellent adaptation to natural conditions of climate and soil - so long as there is plenty of hand labour. It is only when labour becomes expensive, or difficult to obtain, that the lazy bed becomes uneconomical. This is, of cours, another way of saying that the lazy bed was the concomitant of a designedly self-sufficient agricultural system; if it is well kept up, the lazy bed is a good means of conserving soil vitality and maintaining adequate drainage. In the past the hollows between the beds were cleared every year or two and the soil spread on top. Thus lazy beds, particularly those on slopes, need a good deal of hand labour as well as heavy fertilization.

It is very difficult to see the answer to the cultivation problem now labour is no longer freely available: there could certainly be more small tractors and cultivators, but even they lead to the throwing together of lazy beds, and - except in places such as Croir where drains may be laid below the loam on clay, or in certain favoured sites like part of 4 Crulivig where the peaty soil overlies a firm gravel substratum - it is impossible both to throw the lazy beds together and maintain drainage. One is faced with all the difficulties of drainage of peat in an area of heavy precipitation. The hill lazy beds, though they are better drained, all too often have too little depth of soil to make cultivation by tractor a practical proposition.

(1) Editorial note: This remark has been borne out by events; in 1960 township schemes totalling 88 acres were thus improved.

CHAPTER TEN

EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Garynahine, Callanish, Breasclete, and Tolsta Chaolis)

GARYNAHINE by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury.

131 Garynahine is a townships of twelve crofts which are situated on the eastern arm of
632 Loch Ceann Thulabhig. The crofts nowhere extend more than one-third of a mile from the coast. There is a hinterland of about 1,800 acres of common grazing, which is
133 mostly about 100 ft above sea-level, though it rises to 200 ft in a few isolated areas; the crofts are lower, and maximum elevation is 80 ft.

134 Most of the croft land is drained by the stream Allt Mhurchaidh which flows through all but two of the crofts. But the soils are heavy, and several crofters cut peat on their crofts. Many crofters complained that their land was too peaty for cultivation.

361 The crofts form a regular pattern beside the south side of the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, with two small feus and a 21 acre freeholding on the north side of the road. In addition there is a farm (Garynahine Lodge) of 400 acres east of the crofts, and likewise stretching along the south side of the Stornoway road. The main road to Uig passes through the farm, dividing the cultivated area in the west from the grazing section.

195 The regular lay-out of the crofts dates from the formation of the township in 1935.
On the same site, but long cleared, there had been an older village about the same size
361 i.e. twelve crofts, known to be in existence in the 1850's. The crofts were in a similar position, but were a different shape, and the ruins of some of the croft houses still remain. This village was completely burnt out one gusty winter evening when, it is said, a spark from a crofter's pipe was blown onto one of the thatched roofs, and the wind quickly spread the blaze to consume the entire village. The crofters left the area, many going to the neighbouring township of Callanish; Garynahine then became one large farm until 1935 when the land was re-allocated into crofts. The new crofters came from a variety of areas, several coming from Crulivig, others from Breasclete and Callanish. The owners of the farm had also opened an hotel which prospered until 1945 when the farm was sold to its present owner Admiral Drummond, who has since used the house of a
241 private house. Nine acres of the farm land is cultivated, and the remaining 391 acres
311 are used for grazing. In contrast to the usual practice in this area the oats have been undersown with rye grass. Another beneficial innovation at the farm is the introduction of shelter belts. Trees have been successfully planted, making it possible to produce good crops of soft fruits such as raspberries, strawberries etc. Both the crops and the stock on the farm are of a high standard, showing that with capital and correct management the land can be remarkably productive.

In contrast to the large scale economy of the farm, the twelve crofts (ten operative units) are each between 4.6 and 6.2 acres, and the total reputed arable is 67.3 acres. In all there are only 9.5 acres under crop (oats 6 acres and potatoes 3.5 acres), and 2.25 acres under sown grass. The crofts are worked either by spade, horse (hire from croft 40 Callanish) or by tractor (hire from the Lodge). The seasonal rhythm of cultivation and of stock rearing is that in Callanish.

Enquiries soon reveal that crofting is not the main occupation of the croft tenants. Another indication of the declining interest in the land is the fencing of the crofts. All were fenced when they were formed in 1935; since then there has been no refencing. Now a grant is available to pay 75% of the cost of re-fencing but little has been done.

231 Stock totals (see Appendix C) have declined recently and this trend will probably continue. There are only four cows and two calves in the township (plus six at the farm).

INTRODUCTION

35 Hendry's recommendations. However, he promised to make experiments on the economic value of the 'bog-ore of iron' found in many parts of the island, with a view to making bar-iron. Peat was to be used as fuel for smelting.

With so much water on the island, it is natural to expect to find some of it harnessed for power purposes. The Gisla hydro-electric scheme is on the west of Lewis, to the west of the shores of Little Loch Roag. The Harris scheme is at Loch Chliostair, at the foot of the three peaks of Tirgearraic (3,227 ft), Uilleval (2,130), and Oreval (2,165). Scotland's 12 per cent of the island's total electricity production is generated thus, the remainder being diesel generation on Stornoway, (see Chapter 11).

Next to water, the island's most really available resource is its stifling blanket of peat, which covers more than 80 per cent of Lewis's land area. It has had a more than significant effect on the natural history of the area, its scenery and the human economy. When the deposits were studied, by Lewis in 1909 (detail in 1910-11), it was estimated that they covered no less than 250 square miles, in depths up to 16 ft; the average depth of peat over the whole island was assessed as 5 ft. On this basis the deposits would contain approximately 1 million tons of dried peat. Work carried out by the Peat Section of the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland in 1951 indicated that the earlier estimates were slightly high.

In 1946-7 the Ministry of Fuel & Power reconstituted the peat deposits on both sides of the Stornoway-Barvas road and indicated that they were suitable for industrial utilisation. Yet today, despite these Government-backed investigations, the peat deposits of Lewis are still used only for domestic fuel. One of the points made by a 1952 survey was that a peat-based industry would be significant, forming the basis for the crofting township, as it did before crofts in the community were up under the influence of some agricultural land use such as barley or village, where there are peat-cutting rights, and to the north and west, the only communal land is the village green or common. In future, outside the crofting counties Acts, the rights of the crofter will be extended to the farm, with its tied cottages. Then come the full-time small-holdings important in the north-east and the southern Highlands.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

THE CROFTER

24 The pursuit of agricultural processes, their growth, development and maintenance, is a field in which the crofter for a secure society has never been easy on the island. The unyielding nature of the rock, Archaean gneiss, its non-existent or minute property, have all contributed to the resultant pattern and character of society, which emerges. Though one is tempted to define crofting as an agricultural activity, it is also something much more intimate: a way of life. To quote, the introduction to *The crofters of the crofter and crofter in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (1886) 'Habit and local affection bear so great a sway in the actions of crofters that it is doubtful if they would be found who would rather be proprietors in the mountains of Skye, or the waters of Lewis, than on the fertile plains of Maximlie.' There is the Island of Lewis, with poor, peaty soil covering the Archaean gneiss, but with a fertile, lovely, 'vivid community' and the Taylor commission in 1955 (Commission of Inquiry into Crofting Problems).

The Highland crofter is the subject of an extensive literature. Special monographs, one by Donald Macmillan, exist solely for the purpose of caring for his needs. He has special rights and privileges which are distinguished by the Land Court. Crofters' unions have formed themselves into a strong federated wall for the system's defence.

Socially, the term 'crofter' means, on the island at any rate, a landholder who cultivates his own (arable) holding, his croft. He ranks with the common persons with his fellow-crofters, each of whom has a right to carry a sum of so much stock, the 'soaming'. These are common pastures and in 1892 survey was that a soaming was generally of little significance, forming the basis for the crofting township, as it did before crofts in the community were up under the influence of some agricultural land use such as barley or village, where there are peat-cutting rights, and to the north and west, the only communal land is the village green or common. In future, outside the crofting counties Acts, the rights of the crofter will be extended to the farm, with its tied cottages. Then come the full-time small-holdings important in the north-east and the southern Highlands.

PRESENT INDUSTRY

of a building industry based on the crofters, and on Lewis 286 yarn and produce knitwear in addition to their woven fabrics. 195 However, it was found that the yarns used for Harris Tweed were unsuitable for knitwear, but being given sufficient twist in the spinning: before women use this tweed yarn for knitting, it is commonly practice to twist two or more threads of yarn together on a hand spinning-wheel.

Little in the way of craft work is done on the island, mainly 463 because of the lack of indigenous materials which could be used to produce commercial items. Marmarygear has been mentioned as being suitable for making agricultural wind-breaks, and 195 discoverers include sand-dunes, short-stemm and pebbles are plentiful both in quantity and variety of type and colour.

Small enterprises have developed on the island in marine and 394 engineering, mainly based on Stornoway, and boat-building. The 195 latter is a small but socially-significant firm in New with produced with a high reputation. Lewis Offshore is a small and highly-successful some significance, one of the most enterprising firms being built up literally from scratch so as to become a highly-successful building firm.

The unemployment problem

The island's unemployment problem is as much a matter of 464 concern today as it has ever been, averaging about 25 per cent annually (representing well over 1,000 people, compared with the Scottish mainland figure of 6.0 per cent; the contemporary figure for Britain is approximately 3.0 per cent). While unemployment 442 affects adults is serious enough, unemployment among teenagers 843 threatens the community's whole future. The island has its Youth Employment Officer, who has an unenviable task. Each junior and secondary school in the island is visited to interview schoolleavers, at least once a year; employment advice is given and this is supplemented by Careers Officers' visits.

Such employment as there is, exists at least over the island's limited spectrum are concentrated in Stornoway. They are, however, mainly in the sphere of the land, fish and hotel work for girls, with a few vacancies for apprentices in trades generally associated with building construction. Most of the jobs offered are very much in

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE

PT. I

most northerly outlier, yet, in the main, one is struck not by the variety of rocks (except for the 'Stornoway Beds') but by their homogeneity. It is structure, causing the uplift of certain masses relatively to others, more than differences in rock-type, which has guided the work of erosion, in sculpturing both the Island's plan and the details of its forms. Subcurrence of the land has fronted the coastline into a zigzag line of ridge-capes alternating with valley-mouths flooded or 'drowned' by the sea, as inlet and loch.

Historically the geniuses were of little value. The fact that they had to spin and weave helps the Islander in building, as is helped his ancestors when they raised the great stone 'houses' of the Hebrides, and the Pictish Broch. Except where they are very basic (non-acid) in composition, they make poor road metal. Yet the geniuses are not quite devoid of economic uses: the Lewisian gneiss includes masses of pegmatite, and the only large body of anorthosite or lime-feldspar rock in Britain, which has been a source of alumina for glass manufacture.[1] Two feldspar quarries opened at Lingarbay and Northton in South Harris in 1941 employed sixty men annually (the war) the latter discovered being designated 'Lewisburgh for use in the Staffordshire Potteries in the manufacture of porcelain material. Today, the large granite material in Scandinavia and the better transport facilities there led to closing the quarries, with little hope of their reopening.[2]

4. Land-form and Sea Floor

133 The Scottish structure is due not only the Island 133 of economic uses, but also because of the well-defined rub-

[1] C. F. Deichman, "The Archaean Rocks of the Rudel District", Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin. Vol. 61, 1939, pp. 1-19.
[2] J. B. Cohen, "The Isle of Harris", Geo. Geog. Mag., vol. 87, 1, 1951, p. 52.

133 Great most of the parish the natural landscape is a series of low plateaus, generally below 200' O.D., around East Loch Roag, but rising eastwards to an extensive plateau 1 of 1,000 feet, which extends from the Loch Roag to the Atlantic Ocean. Its surface is covered with the various results of glacial erosion, including striations, roches moutonnées, transmission of North Herrin and south west Uig, with many precipitous slopes reaching to 1,000 feet, and numerous lochs. The Loch Roag, which is a drowned valley, has been formed by glaciation, and is fronting the Atlantic with very high cliffs, which are the justice of granite and gneiss. A very many traces discontinuity, but formed entirely of gneiss. The Loch Roag is a drowned valley, and is fronting the Atlantic with very high cliffs, which are the justice of granite and gneiss. A very many traces discontinuity, but formed entirely of gneiss. The plateaus are far from featureless, being dotted with lochs, and the surface is covered with the various results of glacial erosion, including striations, roches moutonnées, transmission of North Herrin and south west Uig, with many precipitous slopes reaching to 1,000 feet, and numerous lochs. The Loch Roag, which is a drowned valley, has been formed by glaciation

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136 a cow in a wonderful richness—one might well spend an hour or so with J. A. Harvie-Brown's *A Fauna of the Outer Hebrides*. The Hebrides are one of the twelve faunal regions of Scotland, and is becoming increasingly the spotting-ground for amateur and professional ornithologists. They are birds such as the skua and red-necked phalarope, breeding at the southernmost limits of their range. The golden eagle, corncrake and redshanks thrive, though found in other parts of Scotland, are more plentiful in the region because of the low incidence of human interference; hunted, merlin and peregrine falcon are also found. Many birds are peculiar to the area: there are Hebridean subspecies of twite, dunnock, song-thrush and wren. Since 1962 the blue tit has been found in the Stornoway woods. And 1960 saw the first arrival of the collared dove, an incomer which, like many a Lewisman, has taken a liking to the place and settled down to establish its flourishing community. On Gallown Hill, a low rising overlooking Stornoway, is a large rookery; rooks first reached the island in 1855. Jackdaws arrived at the turn of the century and are now quite numerous. As might be expected, the adjacent harbour and foreshore of Stornoway provide a suitable area for purple sandpipers, turnstones and redshank. Gulls abound. The estuary area just north of Stornoway is the haunt of widgeon, shelduck and teal, amongst many other birds; a ruff was seen there in 1956. Melbost beach has the largest ternery in the islands, with arctic, common and little terns sharing life together.

The birds on the shore line are mostly waders, divers, ducks and seabirds. Cormorant, shag, gannet, fulmar, arctic skua, terns, gulls of all kinds and oyster-catchers can be found. The full variety of the island's bird life can be seen by visiting not only those dotting lands to the sea, but the cliff-tops, which often have their own numerous bird colonies. The sea's edge, with the push-pull tides, is indeed another area with abundant life of all kinds. Bladderwrack (*fucus vesiculosus*) and knotted wrack (*ascophyllum nodosum*) are the most common seaweeds, the latter now a significant factor in seaweed-processing activities (Chapter 6). From time immemorial seaweed has been a natural resource in the island's economy, used as manure to supply the necessary element of organic matter to keep the land in good heart. Keeping the sea-

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Emptiest the sea—
136 weeds company are the whelks, razor-fish, limpets and mussels, whelks and barnacles, many cones used for food, but now left to grow in great numbers, to the delight of seabirds.

For anyone who wishes to have a full list of the richness of fishes found in the inshore waters of the island, there is the Harvie-Brown and Buckley volume (1888) in the *Vertebrate Fauna of Scotland series*. Of the ocean fauna, most famous of course are the common and the grey or Atlantic seals, the latter being one of the largest and most robust of British mammals. A great breeding place for the common seal is the island of Shillay, which lies a mile or two from Pabbay, off the western end of the Sound of Harris. All the island's outliers, North Rona, Sulasgeir and the Shiants, offer a place for breeding. The basking shark, the porpoise, and the blue shark are among other large creatures that frequently haunt Hebridean sea-waters.

LAND WEALTH

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For some reason there has been, through the centuries, a belief in the mineral wealth of Lewis. As far back as 1616 the records of the Privy Council show an entry "Anne patent sealed to be past to Archibald Prymrose of the copper and lead mynes in Ila, Sky and Lewis." The Fife Adventurers and the last Lord Seaforth were also optimistic. Lord Seaforth went so far as to commission a survey on the resources of the island by a mineralogist, the Rev James Headrick, in 1800. Nothing much followed Mr

SULASGEIR

Dean Monro, in his 1549 account, refers to the vast numbers of wild fowl and mentions that the men of Wester Ross and Lewis stay for seven or eight days and bring back a boat full of dried wild fowl and feathers. The *Old Statistical Account* (1796) says: "There is in Ness a most adventurous set of people who, for a few years back, at the hazard of their lives, went there in an open six-oared boat without even the aid of a compass." The boat, says the *Account*, could not be pulled up out of the sea, and therefore, while some of the men worked on the birds, the others had to stay in the boat on the most sheltered side of the deserted island. This custom of hunting young gannets (or 'guga') on Sulasgeir still continues. Under the Protection of Wild Birds Act, 1954, the gannets can be killed legally, but so that the breeding colony can continue their old custom, a Statutory Order was passed making a special concession 31 August each year at the end of the close season) of the gannets on Sulasgeir. With North Rona, Sulasgeir is one of the great breeding grounds for British oceanic seabirds.

The Lock Roag islands

The one large inhabited island off the Lewis coast is Great Bernera, though technically it is not now an island, for it has been connected to the mainland in 1953 by a bridge. Lingay and Vatersay, off the Ayr coast, are the other islands in Lock Roag. The population reached a peak of 780 in 1911, but has now fallen to about half that figure. Off the west of Great Bernera is Little Bernera, which in Dean Monro's time was 'inhabit and manurit', but which has had no population since the 1880 census. Dean Monro describes it as full of rough little crags, but with fertile earth between.

Also in Lock Roag are three islands which, now deserted, once supported families: Pabbay had 17 people in 1861, 9 in 1881, and none since. Vacsay had five men in 1861, and none since. Orasay in 1891 had one man and one woman, but none since.

The Flannans

Belonging again to the parish of Uig is the group of islands known as the Flannans, or Seven Hunters, some twenty miles

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137 Inset into the Highlands are three desolate tracts of boggy "Peat Moor", in Sutherland, Rannoch Moor far to the south, and on the plateaus of Lorne and Mid-Argyll; while marginal to the Highlands are (i) the drier and more dissected plateau peat moors between Lochnagar and Stonehaven, and (2) the intermittent stretches of Lowland peat moss.

137 Finally, intermixed with these are strips of surviving or planted woodland. Below the heather moors of the western Highlands stretch the great pine woods of Atholl, Deeside, and Speyside and the Moray Firth. As the glacier retreated from the west, it left behind thin fresh water lochs. In the Lewis there are 8 waters with take of salmont. . . . " There were also " Whales . . . " In " a cove a fathom deep at the ebb sea, sues Whytum (whitings) to be slain with hulls ", there were " very many haddocks and Men with their wandes sitting [as today] upon the Craige of that cove, and Lades [boys] and Women also. . . . In this He there are many Sheip for it is very guid for the same. For they lay furth ever one mures and sheip and ane mure and ane sheip and ane hous and ane bot anes in the seire pluckit off them in some faulden." In Zetland wool is still plucked, not sheared.

The description of reclamation is specially worthy of note: " "In this country all is peit mossland at the Sea cost, and the place where he wins his peitts this zeire [year] . . . Quhair he sawes his corne the nixt zeire, after that he guddis it weill with Sea ware " [*i.e.*, improves or manures it with seaweed]. On " Eilan Colm Cill [an islet apparently on the east coast south of Stornoway at the mouth of Loch Erisort] Macleod of the Lewis has a fair Orchard, and he that is Gardener has that Ile [rent] free. . . . "

Around the coast of Lewis no absolute limit is set to

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175 that the spade and foot-plough (*cas chrom*) were used for
175 double the area ploughed. From Monro and from the
185 precise Statistical Accounts of the eighteenth century, it is
[241] clear that pony-drawn ploughs were usual in the smoother
[242] parts of Lewis. In North Harris are 'abundance of
127 Deir'. We must not forget here that 'faire' and fertile
[136] are comparative terms for the West. " Lewis is faire and well inhabit at the coste, are fertile and fruitful countrey, for the maist part beire [barley], with 4 Parroche Kirkes."
[222] There is " ane castell callit Stornoway . . . with 3 salt
[223] pans, very fair and pleasant by, but so that the pans fresh water lochs. In the Lewis there are 8 waters with take of salmont. . . . " There were also " Whales . . . " In " a cove a fathom deep at the ebb sea, sues Whytum (whitings) to be slain with hulls ", there were " very many haddocks and Men with their wandes sitting [as today] upon the Craige of that cove, and Lades [boys] and Women also. . . . In this He there are many Sheip for it is very guid for the same. For they lay furth ever one mures and sheip and ane mure and ane sheip and ane hous and ane bot anes in the seire pluckit off them in some faulden."

THE SEASONS

[241] mica-spangled gneiss show the intense shearing. And crushed rock,
[242] known as flinty crush because it splinters so easily, adds another
[243] sight for the modern eye. The Stornoway brick, too, are added. If
[244] are broadly known as pre-Cambrian sandstone, old red sandstone,
or triassic; some geologists regard them as part of the pre-Cambrian torridonian series.

From geological evidence, twice did vast icebergs move over the rock-faces to round off the sharp corners of the island. And, as individuals, then as now, geologists think that there may have been a third small glaciation—a private Hebridean one. Today, the scenery bears the impress of glacial work, and of ice-gouged. Polished rocks show scores; lochs are gravel-dammed, and there are countless small lochans and tarns formed from deep groughs in solid rock. Peat moss, too, is found in many places, formed in ancient staking during a much later post-glacial time. Many times have fishermen found, far below the present high water mark, stumps of trees and buried submarine peat, the wasting remains of former land vegetation. Martin Martin, who wrote of the Western Isles about 1695, said of Borreraig, which is the small island in the Sound of Harris: " The west end of this island which looks to St Kilda, is called the wooden island, because there is a great number of trees under the water, which have formerly grown there. Sir Norman MacLeod told me that he had seen a tree cut there, which was very forward towards a harvest." The Stornoway Museum indicate a former fertility. Volcanic action and deposit, the makings of good soil were, however, largely carried away by glacial action and to leave a thin scraping of weathered soil on the bare rock for dear life. [241]

[243] Lewis is largely rolling moors of blanket peat with many lochs and rivers To the west of Lewis, in Uig, high hills begin to raise the eye. In North Harris, the hills are higher, reaching their peak in the Clisham (2,622 ft above sea level). These are mostly speaking mountains. But they do present not a few problems to climbers, having some of the treacherous of Highland mountains, and are virtually uncalculable cliffs. Much of the ice-moulded landscape of South Harris is rocky and barren, gneiss outcrop cover some areas in places, and are almost completely devoid of any kind of vegetation, except where, in the odd crevice, like lurk-

137 FLORA—general type of flora (e.g., jungle, equatorial forest, tropical scrub, savanna, desert, steppe, prairie, coniferous forest, coniferous forest, tundra). Types of wood; important species of land and marine flora; historical changes (e.g., deforested species, etc. See Stornoway 222
Lewis and Harris 223
Collecting 224

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ing thieves, patches of heather, grass-cover or moorland plants 133
and sea-weed, and the rocky shore, with its rich variety of life. 133
scenery there are, on sunny days, glintings of water, lochs or rivers 137
flowing unusually over beds of primordial rock.

Area (in acres)

	Land	Inland water	Salmonds	Foreshore	Tidal water	TOTAL
Harris	123,752	3,110	—	6212	100	133,178
Lewis	404,184	24,863	230	7775	150	437,200
						570,378

PEAT AND RIVERS

The peat overlays of the island were reckoned to be not much 241
more than 7,000 years old. It appears, however, that the megalithic circle of Callernish, on the west of Lewis, was excavated 242
by Sir James Matheson in 1857-8, a depth of 5 ft of peat was removed to expose the giant stones. Only the tops of these stones were showing before excavation was begun; the resultant calculation confirmed the age of this infertile blanket. Peat is decomposed organic matter without the sweetening of lime. The resultant material is sour, and highly acid in character, which checks the bacterial action necessary for good soil to be made. With composition and age, peat becomes colloidal in texture, with a water content of about 92 per cent. Peat is still being formed in Lewis, though its progress is imperceptibly slow.

Frequent diggings have uncovered evidence that the island was 137
once densely wooded. The remains of trees, and the hewn stumps and birds associated with savannah and woodland, add point to this. Under the blanket of peat lies what is called 135
boulder clay, glacially deposited on the gneiss rock; many acres 134
of this clay have been exposed through centuries of digging up 137
peat for fuel. Such skimmed ground is called *gearraidh*, and they form the basis of a soil which, when worked together with shell sand and seaweed, becomes quite fertile. Of natural soil, so much 135
taken for granted in richer places in Britain, there is little, few patches in Lewis, at Garrabost and Ness; the valley of Stornoway, near Rodel in Harris, has much strong red loam. 137

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133 One glance at an island map will show how numerous are the
[132] lochs. These and the short rivers and streams do their best to drain
the rainwater which accumulates in the peat moss, and added a few
inches or so for precipitation in the form of very fine rain or mist.
That the rockbase of the island is much like an impervious saucer
which overflows easily is seen by shortly after a heavy rainfall.
Streams and rivers become torrents of brown, foam-flecked waters
tumbling to the sea or to some nearby loch. The watershed of
Lewis runs from north-east to south-west, keeping about the
middle of the island, except for its north where it approaches the
eastern side. The rivers, although short, are fairly large, and the
[132] history carried good stocks of trout and salmon; some still do
The Grimersta River, though less than two miles long, is reckoned
to be the best salmon river in Europe. Its waters rise from the
great loch and catchment area of Loch Langavat (Norse: Long
Water). The River Creed, given by Pennant, is known in Harris
for its salmon which, in the right season of year, can be seen a
tantalizing arm's length away, making their way up river. Another
salmon river is that beside Amhuinnsuidhe Castle in North Harris,
where the salmon leap several feet over a sheer rockface to gain
the upper waters. Of the lochs, virtually all abounding with
trout, the largest is Loch Langavat, about six miles in length.

FLORA

• 137 The first reaction of the visitor to the island is to comment on the
scarcity of trees. 'Treeless' is a relative term, however, for there
are trees on the island. And the island was not always so bare.
After the last Ice Age retreated from thirteen millennia ago, the
initial tundra was covered by birch scrub which developed into a
wide birch-pine forest with some dense hazel undergrowth. Oak,
alder, birch, pine, ash and rowan could be found. Then, with
the advent of the cold, wet, sub-Atlantic period about 3,000 years
ago, conditions became ripe for the formation of blanket peat
and the accumulation of peat. The trees failed and fell; natural
clearings formed. When the Norsemen visited the Hebrides, they
found substantial areas of woodland, deteriorating, but not
sufficient to attract their attention.

ing thieves, patches of heather, deer-grasses or moorland plants live as they can on thin layers of peaty soil. To relieve the hard scenery there are, on sunny days, glintings of water, lochs or rivers flowing uneasily over beds of primordial rock.

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The peat overlays of the island are reckoned to be not much more than 7,000 years old. To strengthen this figure, when the megalithic circle of Callernish, on the west of Lewis, was excavated by Sir James Matheson in 1857-8, a depth of 5 ft of peat was removed to expose the giant stones. Only the tops of these stones were showing before excavation was begun; the resultant calculation confirmed the age of this infertile blanket. Peat is decomposed organic matter without the sweetening of lime. The resulting material is sour, and highly acid in character, which checks the bacterial action necessary for good soil to be made. With compaction and age, peat becomes colloidal in texture, with a water content of about 92 per cent. Peat is still being formed in Lewis, though its progress is imperceptibly slow.

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2. Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 £510 Highland Scots £510
Lewis and Harris

Keepint the sea-
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[262] winkles and barnacles, many once used for food, but now left to grow in great numbers, to the delight of seabirds.

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FLORA

175 137 177 Pursuing a 'scorched-earth' policy, a Norse leader, Magnus Bareleg, on a punitive expedition to Lewis in 1098 destroyed much of the island's natural surface resources. Trees were a particular target. Following this wanton destruction, the shrinkage of wooded areas in the island was accelerated by the requirements of the 136 population and by the developing peat. Captain Dymes, an Englishman who visited Lewis in 1630 in connection with Charles I's fishery schemes, reported 'there are many eagles and hawks in the isle which breed in the clefts of rocks, for this place is so destitute of wood that there is not one tree growing in the whole island.' Martin Martin almost confirmed this a generation later: 'I saw big roots of trees at the head of Loch Erisort, and there is about a hundred young birch and hazel trees on the southwest side of Loch Stornoway, but there is no more wood on the island.' Before Sir James and Lady Matheson came to Lewis in 1844, the MacKenzie gardens outside the old Seaforth Lodge, where Lews Castle now stands, had many fruiting apple trees.

The mention in 1695 of the Stornoway plantation is interesting, for it is here that today stands the greatest concentration of trees in the whole of the Hebrides, in the grounds of Lews Castle. Some 300 acres of trees here, mostly conifers, but with some hardwoods and deciduous trees, were planted by Lady Matheson about a century ago. Soil had to be transported from the mainland to supplement the scanty layer of peat which overlay the hard Lewis rock. Another of Lady Matheson's legacies is a small area at Achmore, one of the few townships to be found inland, far from the sea. Here, larch and other conifers grew well and would be there today had not a fierce gale blown them down in 1921. There 137 are some ninety-year-old Corsican pines at the head of Little Loch Roag. Another plantation of deciduous and coniferous trees can be found at Grimersta on the Atlantic coast of Lewis, and two more small areas of trees are at Scalisgro, on the east side of Lewis, and in Glen Valtos. In Harris, there are some magnificent sycamores at Tarbert; and at Borve, on the west side of the island, are several acres of stunted mountain pines. In addition, dwarf rowans cover many tiny islands in the lochs.

137 132 Natural tree growth is impossible in most areas because of the peat. The strong and frequent winds are also a deterrent. The

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137 132 isopeths of average wind-speed show an overall figure of 17·5 mph. Winds of gale force (8 or more on the Beaufort Scale) occur in Stornoway about twenty times a year, and blow for an annual average of about 378 hours, loosening trees from the shallow ground and stunting growth. Yet another factor is the fine salt spray, 'small rain with salt in it from the sea', which is carried far inland over the island, the prevailing winds blowing straight off the Atlantic Ocean in a south-westerly to westerly direction.

137 133 The flora of Harris and Lewis merits a full volume on its own. Far from being sterile, the moors, the hills, the machar-lands, the islets in the lochs, all present subjects of great interest. To the botanist, the island is a region of moorland with loch, marsh, bog, burn and high hills, with sometimes extensive patches of the old man's skin protruding to show the Lewisian gneiss. Variation is offered by the addition of rocky hill-slopes, fine sea-cliffs and shingly bays; sandy parts add to the floral variety, richest in the marine outreaches. To catalogue the flora is to list names which can be appreciated only by seeing the plants themselves in the habitat which they have taken as their own, much as the Hebridean *homo sapiens* has taken to himself the 'savage' country which awed early tourists. Rare species have been found by visiting botanists, and are discussed in the work of Professor Heslop Harrison and his group from Durham University. There is colour aplenty at all seasons of the year in the island; one merely needs to train the eye to look for it, to find, for example, those miniature woodlands in such places as the gorge of the river Amhuinn Gillan Tallair, in south Harris. And in particular, one might mention the blaze of whins around Stornoway; the luxuriant wild growth on the sandy machar-lands in Uig; just north of Stornoway, and at Ness; the miniature sieges of growth on the lochs' islands; and the Alpine plants associated with the higher reaches of land in Uig and North Harris.

Whereas the land is a relatively poor place, the sea is rich, and so is the flora and bird-life to be found round its shores. Near the shore line the grass has a sweet taste liked by sheep. Much of the flora is typical of the island, suited to withstanding the lack of humus to act as a sponge for water, and the paucity of soil for roots. Marram grass, scurvy grass, sea pink, sea campion, thrift

FLORA

133 and pearlwort are all to be found. It is not often that a plant is 137 given some measure of authority over the affairs of man: but the marram grass—known as 'bent', but not to be confused with the grass botanically referred to as bent *(Agrostis sp)*—is vital in stabilising the sand of the machar-lands; unless grazed or cut, with its dense network of roots it anchors the sand in perpetuity. With 231 the marram, the sea-sedge works hard to form a green coverlet over the sand, and acts as host to other plants, the shell-sand grassland offering excellent grazing for crofters' stock.

137 The richness of the flora of the macharland has been sung many times, and little wonder. It holds a multitude of what can be called plebian plants such as ragwort, buttercup, daisy, kidney vetch, bird's-foot trefoil, tufted vetch, gentian and primrose. Unfortunately the heavy grazing of these stretches of land results in many plants never being given the opportunity to develop and flower for the plentiful propagation of their species.

FAUNA

136 The entomologist will also find much of interest. The Hebrides have their own bumble-bee *(Bombus jonellus* var. *hebridensis)*, found nowhere else in the world. Other insects too have found an insular form, adding their rich thread to the weave of natural history in the region: the Dark Green Fritillary butterfly and the Green-veined White. Moths there are in abundance, some such as the Gray Dagger perhaps indicating the existence of woodland conditions in a past time. The abundance of lochs, streams and marshy grounds gives an abundance of dragon-flies and caddis-flies, eight species of which are represented.

Of wild animal life, however, the list is short, due to lack of shelter and poor ground. The red deer is found in the hilly fastnesses of Harris and the Park district of Lewis, though the deer are small, and well poached as one might expect where the density of human population is high. The pine marten, until the 1810s, lived in the region near the Clisham. A rare bat, the pipistrelle, has been found at Rodel. Rats, mice, rabbits, hares and otters are of course to be found.

The interior of the island is poor in bird life, but round the

INTRODUCTION

[136 [13] coasts there is a wonderful richness—one might well spend an hour or so with J. A. Harvie-Brown's *A Fauna of the Outer Hebrides*. The Hebrides area is one of the twelve faunal regions of Scotlar 1, and is becoming increasingly the spotting-ground for amateur and professional ornithologists. They see birds such as the skua and red-necked phalarope, breeding at the southernmost limits of their range. The golden eagle, corncrake and red-throated diver, though found in other parts of Scotland, are more plentiful in the region because of the low incidence of human interference; buzzard, merlin and peregrine falcon are also found. Many birds are peculiar to the area: there are Hebridean subspecies of twite, dunnock, song-thrush and wren. Since 1962 the blue tit has begun to colonise the Stornoway woods. And 1960 saw the first arrival of the collared dove, an incomer which like many a human, has taken a liking to the place and settled down to establish its flourishing community. On Gallows Hill, a low rising overlooking Stornoway, is a large rookery; rooks first reached the island in 1893. Jackdaws arrived at the turn of the century and are now quite numerous. As might be expected, the adjacent harbour and foreshore of Stornoway provide a suitable area for purple sandpipers, turnstone, heron and redshank. Gulls abound. The estuary area just north of Stornoway is the haunt of widgeon, shellduck and teal, among many other birds; a ruff was seen there in 1956. Melbost beach has the largest ternery in the islands, with arctic, common and little terns sharing life together.

The birds on the shore line are mostly waders, divers, ducks and seabirds. Cormorant, shag, gannet, fulmar, arctic skua, terns, gulls of all kinds and oyster-catchers can be found. The full variety of the island's bird life can be seen by visiting not only those sloping lands to the sea, but the cliff-tops, which often have their own numerous bird colonies. The sea's edge, with the push-pull tides, is indeed another area with abundant life of all kinds. Bladder-wrack *(fucus vesiculosus)* and knotted wrack *(ascophyllum nodosum)* are there in great quantity, the latter now a significant factor in seaweed-processing activities (Chapter 6). From time immemorial, seaweeds have been a natural resource in the island's economy, used as manure to supply the necessary element of organic matter to keep the land in good heart. Keeping the sea-

[137 [824 [241

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

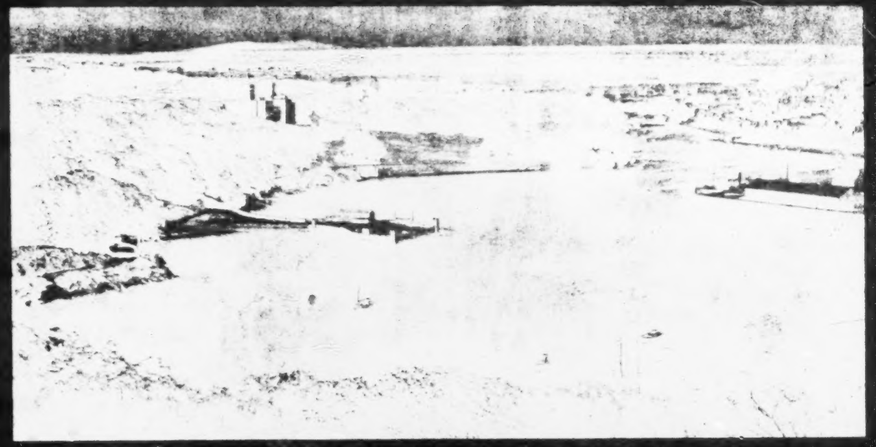
*175 241 134 311 [181 islanders' manufacture of cloth. The inhabitants were at least a century behind the times, though they were, he found, in no way deficient by nature. They were social in their own style, and they had very good heads, 'that is, for people not accustomed to habits of thought'. So far as agriculture was concerned, nothing in the way of draining the land had ever been accomplished; nor had any effort been made to penetrate the hard sub-soil. He held that the great scarcity of timber had been a serious handicap when it came to agricultural implements—to their renewal, repair or possible improvement. Under direction, however, he was convinced that improvements in land use would result in considerable benefits to the island. He added that he hoped the period of this improvement would not be far off and that visitors would find 'a green, pastoral land instead of a dreary waste'.

[137 [412

*175 242 134 311 Yet not until 1928 was peat reclamation and development again brought out for an airing. This time, the benefactor was the late Mr T. B. MacAulay, a Montreal magnate, a son of Lewis connections. He gave £10,000 to establish an experimental farm in Lewis, and a site on Arnish moor, not far from Stornoway, was chosen. It was typical of most of Lewis: black, water-holding peat, which when squeezed, instead of allowing water to escape from it like a sponge, oozes itself through the fingers. The aims of the farm were to provide additional arable land on which to grow winter fodder, and to improve, at as low a cost as possible, the grazing on the moorland. Fifty acres were certainly converted from moorland to arable, and this formed a basis for an experimental extension to another 100 acres. By 1936 the farm had a sales income from produce of about £1,400. The stock in that year included 40 head of thriving cattle, including 15 dairy cows, 20 poultry, 140 blackfaced sheep, and some fattening pigs. The sheep were a late addition, made with the dual aim of pasturing on moorland too deep and soft for cattle in wet weather, and of improving the sheep strain of the island.

[231

By 1938, it had been shown that some lasting improvement on moorland of reasonably favourable slope could be effected at a materials cost of about £3 per acre, and without heavy labour costs. Thus, the common grazings held by the crofting townships could be improved, if a co-operative effort were organized. So



The inner harbour at Stornoway, taken from Gallows Hill. Lews Castle, now the Lews Technical College, is seen on the left.
The trees of the Castle policies were planted by Lady Matheson

/p. 90/

133 137 501 504 346 361

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

TACKSMEN AND TENANTS

rental were published for the benefit of intending purchasers, a value in sterling being placed on the items:

Money	£713	3	3
Oatmeal, 256 bolls	89	2	2
Sheep, 228	25	6	8
Butter, 173 stones	28	19	7
Tallow, 7 stones	1	3	4
Salmon, 1 barrel	3	0	0
Total =	£860	15	0

The most important event in the agricultural history of the land at this time was the introduction of the potato. Though the exact date is not known, some evidence from the writer on Lewis in the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* (1796) places it about 1757. 'With the utmost difficulty . . . the people were prevailed on to plant potatoes, but of which they now plant great quantities by the plough and by the spade, and find them to be the most useful of all crops raised in the Parish.'

The substantial tacksman seemed, in Lewis, to deal kindly with those who called him Fear Baile (Town Man—almost a mayor, without the trappings and self-elected). Serious complaints against tacksmen are few. But winds of change were blowing. John MacKenzie, who had for some years been Chamberlain of the Lewis estate, was examined before the Napier Commission in Edinburgh in 1883. He knew the island's history well.

Till the beginning of this century, the greater part of the Lewis was in the hands of tacksmen, or middlemen, who got in some cases from their sub-tenants in money, produce, and labour what nearly paid their rents. There were the MacIvers of the Parish of Stornoway, the Morisons and Murrays of Barvas, the MacAulays of Uig, and the MacLeods of Lochs. When Mr Stewart-MacKenzie married the Hon Lady Hood, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and took the management of the estate into his own hands, he did away with the middlemen and let the land directly to the crofters. This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction, but it had its disadvantages, as the example of a good middleman, who looked after his people, and who was industrious in farming and attentive in stock-breeding, was beneficial to the people, though in some cases they may have been petty tyrants.

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

according to the amount of barilla (its great competitor, a carbonate of soda made from plant ashes) which found its way into the British market. When the American war interfered with the imports the kelp price was as high as £22 per ton. Prices began to decline about 1810, and from 1822 successive reductions in duties on salt and barilla resulted in the decline and demise of the kelp industry. As a consequence great distress appeared in those districts which had founded their whole economy on seaweed.

The weeds of most value to the industry, because they yielded most salts, included *laminaria digitata, laminaria bulbosa, ascophyllum nodosum* and *fucus serratus*. One ton of kelp yielded an average of 8 lb of iodine, with certain quantities of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, and carbonate of soda. When subjected to special treatment and distillation, 2-3 cwts of sulphate of ammonia, and several gallons of naphtha, paraffin oil, and volatile oil were also derived.

The fishing industry, discussed in the previous chapter, took over where the kelp-making industry left off and became another king-pin in the island economy. By the end of the last century it seemed set fair for continuing prosperity. In 1900, harbours were being planned and built with State aid in Uig, at Carloway, Ness and Tarbert. Then 1914 came, and with it sweeping changes in international trade. Island fishermen were left workless with wrecked and rotting fishing boats. In twenty years the number of Scotland's fishermen was halved; the remainder were all but ruined. The islanders' fate mirrored this pattern.

Yet another significant source of income for island families for almost 200 years came from the men in military service, who either sent money home or returned home with their gratuities and pay. In the wars of the last century many enlisted in the Highland regiments, the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Even today, the income from this external activity is not insignificant.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

Information and statistics about the economy of the island in the middle of the eighteenth century are to be found in Walker's *Economical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland*; his MS is in the British Museum.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

useful crofting ancillary which, unlike many others, is soundly based on a definite commercial demand. Various industries use the extracted acid for some 150 products. The Scottish alginate industry, the second largest in the world, is based on the process of E. C. Stanford, who discovered alginic acid in 1883, though today modern methods are used. For raw materials it has turned to the old kelping shores of the Hebrides and Northern Isles. On the island it has a factory at Keose on Loch Erisort, a site chosen for the easy access afforded to puffers; the factory receives the weed, dries, mills and bags it, and the boats then carry 200-ton loads to Girvan. The factory itself involved some £30,000 of capital layout and has a capacity of 120 wet tons per week—4 wet tons producing 1 dry milled ton. About a dozen Harris and Lewis crofters gather the seaweed crop, the most useful type being bladderwrack or rockweed *(ascophyllum nodosum)*, from the shores at Loch Erisort, East Loch Roag and Bernera in Lewis, Husinish and Scarp in Harris, and Loch Seaforth. Where there is road access the weed is cut by sickle and loaded into a lorry, but more often it is cut at low water to be floated with the incoming tide and rafted to Keose, hauled by motor boat.

A product of the land not readily associated with the Hebrides is bulbs. Bulb-growing deserves a mention, however, if only because the experiment to see whether it could become a commercial possibility in Lewis was carried out by the children of Lionel (Ness) Junior Secondary School. The MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust made an investment of £150 to cover initial expenses, and success followed. When the original project was completed it was extended, sales bringing the school a useful sum. But an attack of disease brought production to a standstill in 1966.

Another small industry is the aerated-water plant at Ness, which is operating with reasonable success, and could do better if imports of aerated waters from abroad were reduced. A number of recent surveys made in the island have found great interest in such activities as shell-fish processing in Harris to produce semi-preserves, using mostly cockles and mussels. Local knitting already has a name for its products and a potential for extension on a commercial scale; this latter began in late 1966. Some forty years ago knitting specialists went to Lewis to investigate the possibilities

PRESENT INDUSTRY

of a knitting industry based on the crofters, who would use Lewis yarn and produce knitwear in addition to their woven fabrics. However, it was found that the yarns used for Harris Tweed were unsuitable for knitwear, not being given sufficient twist in the spinning: before women use this tweed yarn for knitting, it is common practice to twist two or more threads of yarn together on a hand spinning-wheel.

Little in the way of craft work is done on the island, mainly because of the lack of indigenous materials which could be used to produce typically-island items. Marram-grass has been suggested as being suitable for making agricultural wind-breaks, and close-woven basket-work. Shore-stones and pebbles are plentiful both in quantity and variety of type and colour.

Small employment outlets on the island are marine and motor engineering, mainly based on Stornoway, and boat-building. This latter is a small but socially-significant firm in Ness with products with a high reputation. Construction and general building is of some significance, one of the most enterprising firms being built up literally from scratch so as to become a highly-successful island business.

The unemployment problem

The island's unemployment problem is as much a matter of concern today as it has ever been, averaging about 25 per cent annually (representing well over 1,000 people) compared with the Scottish mainland figure of 6.0 per cent; the contemporary figure for Britain is around 3.0 per cent. While unemployment as it affects adults is serious enough, unemployment among teenagers threatens the community's whole future. The island has its Youth Employment Officer, who has an unenviable task. Each junior and secondary school in the island is visited to interview school-leavers, at least once a year; employment advice is given and this is supplemented by Careers Officers' visits.

Such employment openings as exist over the island's limited spectrum are concentrated in Stornoway. They are, however, mainly in shop work, mill work and hotel work for girls, with a few vacancies for apprentices in trades generally associated with building construction. Most of the jobs offered are very much in

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. I

summits of up to 2622 feet. South of this chain of hills the ground drops again on a peninsula some twelve miles long and only seven miles wide. This forms the more populous part of Harris with its 'sandy shore', the Machar, facing the Atlantic, and its rocky bays and fishing hamlets on the Minch.[1] Lewis has its 'machars' too, areas of white shell sand, which is so light that it blows up the hillsides, thus improving the pasture-land; but there is little 'machar' on the eastern coast, save for the south-western shores of the great sandy North or Broad Bay, enclosed by the peninsula of I, or Eye, which also acts as the outer breakwater for the harbour of Stornoway.

Landing at Stornoway and leaving behind us the pines, and the wind-pruned sycamore woods around Lews Castle, we find ourselves among the small fields of the villages which are partly suburban to Stornoway. Inland stretch the gently rolling, brown and somewhat melancholy moors that cover so much of the Lews. From the Butt of Lewis to the beginning of the Harris hills one could make a bee-line SSW., midway through the Island for over thirty miles, without passing a house or a strip of corn, and seeing only a tiny, ramshackle hut, a shieling (or *àirigh*), used for six weeks in the year when the cattle are taken to the summer pasture. All the villages are in sight of the sea, and generally close to it, with only one inland exception, Achmore, south-west of Stornoway, founded after 1850. The hills of Harris are not less lonely than the moors of the Lews.

Diversity is one of the fascinations of such an island as this. Although, like the founders of Stornoway, all

[1] *Am machair* ('ch' as in 'loch', also anglicised as 'macher'), n.f. the plain, smooth beach-land or links. A sandy beach or ebb-strand, *tràigh*, n.f., backed by *machair*, contrasts with a pebbly beach, *cladach*, n.m., backed by rougher beach-land, as in the Cladach district of W. Lewis.

102
131
133

[137]

FIG. 4 (b).—Lewis-and-Harris: Relief

/p. 35/

133 tively to the rolling upland in the north. Ages of 'normal' denudation by running water must have worn away most of what later rocks may have overlain the gneiss, smoothing the Island's forms. Glaciation, however, played the latest part in this process, roughly planing its lower surface as it flowed out to the open sea, or widening the stream-veined valleys and gouging out the corries which make the craggy beauty of the Deer Forest of Harris.

A characteristic of many of the lower hills of South Lewis and of Harris is the greater steepness of their slopes to west than to east (or south-east) and the drift material heaped there. Scenically, this lends a feeling of rhythm to the skyline when viewed from north or south, as of westward moving waves. It was the ice-sheet, working upon structure and pre-existing form, which steepened the western slopes 'to lee' of its westward flow, by its 'plucking' action.

133 The chief and most important characteristic of the
• 137 major surface of the Island is its rolling, hummocky topography, so different from that of a river-sculptured
[182] land. Negative as is its influence upon the life of plant communities, animals and men, its importance can hardly be exaggerated. Whereas river and stream drain a land, as they etch their way into its surface, and their deposits are laid down in gentle, regular slopes, glacier and
[134] ice-sheet leave an irregular, ill-drained surface. Upon this surface, waterlogging takes place, the life of plants and soil bacteria is slowed down, and so peat accumulates, rather than the humus which might enrich the soil in a similar temperate climate upon better drained slopes. Not only the climate of the present, but of the past, hinders the processes of plant life, and all that these can mean to man.

133 clay is exposed, leaving what is vividly called 'skinned'
314 land. And where drift is exposed, the mineral constituents
134 are leached out, and a hard 'moor pan' is left a few inches
[356] below the surface.

Seen from the edge of the crofts, the typical 'skinned
134 lands' of bare, blue or brownish clay, littered with stones,
• 137 suggest a desert. Often, only a few blades of grass or tufts of heather grow on them. Indeed, 'skinned land' seems at first too mild a term, for on it the stones—thickest on top when undisturbed, and bleached by the acids of the peat that overlay them—suggest the prophet's 'field of bones'. One can only ask, is the rest of his vision ever to be fulfilled and life to spring again? In some hilly parts to south and west, not only the 'skin', the topmost layer of peat, but the very soil, the flesh as it were, is still being
[166] stripped bare to the bone, the actual rock. The evacuation of the islet of Bernera Beag (Uig) was largely due to this stripping. In the more level parts to the north, however, roadside pits show sections of clay with few stones, covered with perhaps six inches of clay with many stones. It is this top layer which gives the skinned land such a hopelessly stony appearance, and shows that reclamation is less miraculous than it seems.

134 With the coming of carts and lorries the increasing use
of shell sand has become possible, whether for spreading
242 on the land or for slipping into pockets, together with
[178] fertilisers, for potato seed. As to soils, shell sand and boulder clay possess complementary qualities in texture
[493] and chemical composition. The shell sand of the machars provided an early home for man, the light soil allowing rye, a poor variety of oats, and herbage, to ripen early and mature in late, wet seasons when the clays are sodden with rain. Yet the sand itself is so light that drought is

82 Two sayings sum up the lag of the seasons in the West
824 and its effect on crops. The first runs, "Winter comes
241 not till after New Year, nor Spring till after St. Patrick's Day" (*Cha tig Geamhradh gu cul Calluinn, no Earrach gu*
[538] *cul Fheill Paruig*). St. Patrick's Day is the 17th of March, but old-style reckoning put both dates later still. The
[538] other runs, "A frosty winter, a misty spring, a chequered summer, and a bright, sunny autumn, never left dearth in Scotland" (*Geamhradh reodhtanach, Earrach ceothanach, Samhradh breac riabhach, us Foghar geal grianach, cha d'fhag gort riamh an Alba*). The retort is that though western summers may often be chequered with sun and showers well suited for growing grass and grain, the autumns are not really sunny, but rainy. Hence 'dearth'—of grain—must result from spoiled harvests. Not so for grass, unharmed by a wet autumn. Hay, if ensilage is not possible, can usually be gathered unharmed in sunny spells
[132] of summer if cut in good time. Agriculturally, the climate favours 'grass' rather than grain.

132 Plentiful rainfall and coolness throughout the year do
• 137 not allow of complete neutral decomposition of vegetable
[134] matter in the presence of air. Hence, year by year, a residuum of acid humus accumulates as peat on the ill-drained surface. Prehistorically, more favourable phases of climate permitted the growth of pines. Knowledge of present temperature and rainfall alone would suggest the growth of broad-leaved deciduous trees, but these are absent except in the sheltered policies of Stornoway Castle. About 1695 Martin noted 'hazel and birch' occurring on the south side of Loch Stornoway, but nowhere else on the Island. Even there trees are stunted as if pruned by the wind.

132 The further inhibitive influence is indeed the wind

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

(B) VEGETATION

1. *The Vegetation-types and Pastures of the Highlands and Isles*

•137 311 In order to see the Island problem in true proportion, the types of vegetation and rough pasture in the Highlands and Isles should be outlined. Dr. Hardy's reconnaissance botanical survey of the Highlands, with its coloured map, has been utilised in the compilation of *A Reconnaissance Map of Vegetation of Scotland.*[1] The latter has been boldly simplified in Fig. 7.

The Highland pastures are of two main regional types, eastern and western, with the addition of a few great stretches of peat moor. East of a line from Stirling to Inverness, heather is dominant, as it is on the heights around the Dornoch Firth, from north of the Cromarty Firth and Ben Wyvis to the border of Caithness. To the west of this, heather, though still found, is mixed with [233] grass and sedges. The grazings of the North-west Coast have been the adopted home of Cheviot sheep for over a century, for Cheviots are grass-feeders which cannot thrive on heather-tips. True, acid 'Dry Grass Moors' lie inland from the Beauly Firth and Dingwall. On the rest of the West Coast from Gairloch and Loch Torridon south to Kintyre, 'Marshy Grass Moors' with but little pure [233] heather clothe the lower slopes. These give way on higher slopes to 'Mountain Pastures', reaching up to about 2500

[113] [1] M. E. Hardy, *Esquisse de la végétation des Highlands d'Écosse*, Paris, 1905; also *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, 1906, June number with map, and May number with text. A. Geddes and L. D. Stamp, *A Reconnaissance Map of the Vegetation of Scotland* (Ordnance Survey, 1/625,000: 10 miles to inch), 1953; explanatory pamphlet in the press. A résumé by L. D. Stamp has appeared in his *Land of Britain: Its Use and Misuse*, 1948, based on Tansley, *The Vegetation of the British Isles*, 1946.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

311 feet. These marshy grass moors, with their mountain
233 pastures above, are the adopted home of the hardy Black-

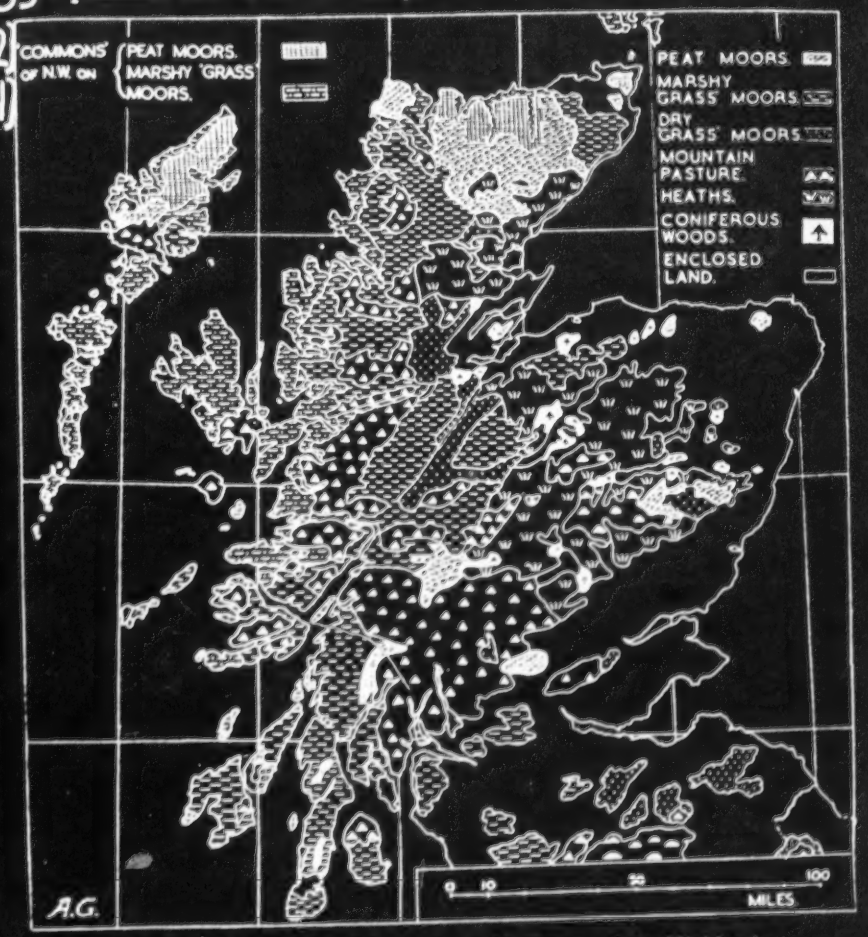


FIG. 7.—Map of vegetation-types and pastures of the Highlands and Hebrides

face sheep. Wherever in the west the slopes drop fairly steeply, good pasture grass with some heather may grow, or rather did grow until bracken overwhelmed them.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

Inset into the Highlands are three desolate tracts of boggy 'Peat Moor', in Sutherland, Rannoch Moor far to the south, and on the plateaus of Lorne and Mid-Argyll; while marginal to the Highlands are (1) the drier and more dissected plateau peat moors between Lochnagar and Stonehaven, and (2) the intermittent stretches of Lowland peat moss.

Finally, intermixed with these are strips of surviving or planted woodland. Below the heather moors of the western Highlands stretch the great pine woods of Atholl, Deeside, and Speyside and the Moray Firth. As the heather thins out, towards the West Coast, pine gives place to oak. Near both are found the graceful silver stems of the birch, with its small resistant leaves. These woodlands invite the modern forester, who brings in pine, larch and firs in the east and, in the west, notably the Sitka spruce, brought here from the rainy western highlands of British Columbia.

The uses to which the pastures are or have long been put, are three: as crofters' grazings—mostly 'commons' (and so indicated on the map), as sheep farms, or as deer forests. (1) On the 'commons' there is close grazing for both cattle and sheep by crofters near the townships or the holdings, and much peat-cutting. (2) On the hill sheep farms there is more or less regulated burning and some hill draining but almost no cattle pasturing; and as a result of both facts, bracken has invaded the grassier moors. (3) On the deer forests almost no care is given and the heather, scrub and bracken are coarse and strong. An indication of the margin of the commons, according to whether it 'marches' with farms or with deer forests (given in Fig. 2 by line C), is also shown in Fig. 7 because of its marked effect on vegetation.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

PLATE VIIIA. TYPICAL BIOTITE GNEISS ENCLOSING AND VEINING HORNBLENDE GNEISS
(Torasclett, north-east of Tarbert)

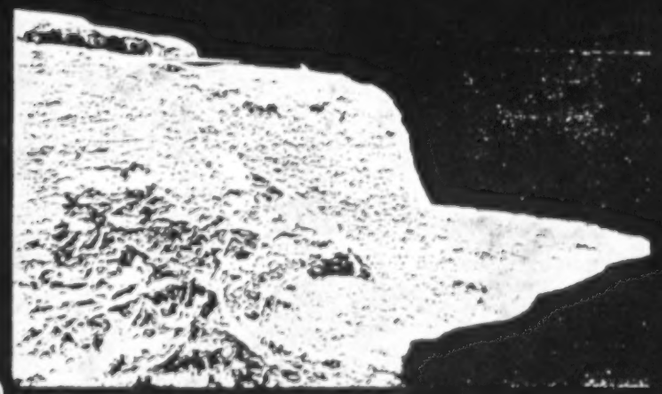


PLATE VIIIB. OUTLIER OF STORNOWAY BEDS ON LEWISIAN GNEISS
(Dun, near Garrabost, Eye Peninsula.) The moors of North Lewis are faintly visible on the horizon

/facing p. 49/

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

2. *Plant Life in Lewis-and-Harris*

Lewis has been dismissed by many as a floating p bog, and its name has even been derived from *leodus* bog! For good or ill, peat influences the Island, its histo the distribution of its people and the economic and so features of their life. In Lewis, peat once covered eve thing except the narrow fringes of sandy machar, surface of the inland waters, jutting rocks and steeper h where drainage is rapid. Man's encroachment on t carpet has so far been mere nibbling. Except for machar lands, every acre of ground occupied or cultiva by man has been reclaimed from peat.

The Map of Vegetation and its Key portray the d tribution of the main plant communities (Fig. 8). plants are of low habit with small leaves, well protec from excessive transpiration. They are mostly perenni or biennials; annuals are comparatively few. There is burst of flowering save where the heather blooms better-drained slopes, or where shell sand has blo enabling clovers, vetches and meadow-sweet to give colo and scent. Moss, sedge and dwarfed heather prev widely in tussocks.

Constant cropping by sheep and cattle, and also de tends to keep vegetation low, but on the wide, boggy moo this is a minor factor. Nor is there much systema heather-burning. Even upon the islets of inland loch untouched by grazing animals, and in spite of better drai age due to the undercutting of the waves, growth is n really luxuriant. Bracken, however, is found on the isle and a little on some former sheep farms, but not on t heavily grazed common pastures, for cattle keep dow bracken.

[see p. 50 -- analyst]

137 there is frequently found the most thriving of the vege-
[311] tation types of Lewis and the best grazing ground. It
[233] includes grasses such as those already named, together with purple *Molinea*, meadow soft grass (*Holcus*), and mat grass (*Nardus*); sedges (*Scirpus* and *Carex* spp.); with the field wood rush (*Luzula*) and a fair number of flowering plants. Heather is common in this and the following community (3).

With true 'hill' pastures, found especially to the east of the Forest of Harris and between Loch Seaforth and Loch Shell, are included fair pastures with good grasses on the rocky hillocks near the villages around Loch Roag and also on the low, steep hills northward to Shawbost.
[134] The 'skinned land' lies in strips too narrow to be shown on the map, but may form a ring of desolation round the village. The hard moor-pan resists natural seeding of plants unless broken by the pick, but broadcasting of a cheap seed-mixture with a little fertiliser can work marked improvement.

(3) *Marshy Grass Moors.*—Where the slopes are gentle, and the acid humus has accumulated to form peat, is found coarse, tussocky, damp pasture, of sedges and grasses, grading from the 'fair' and 'hill pastures' to the beginnings of hummocky peat hags and smooth sedge moss. It covers the slopes of hills such as Ben Barvas and Muirnag and the hillocks that emerge from the great central trough of brown peat moor. It also characterises the low but broken areas in southern Lewis. This type forms a belt below the 'hill' and 'rocky' pastures of Harris. At its best its prevailing hue is olive-green turning to a silvery shade and then to russet later on. Annuals are few and the grasses are coarse.

[133] (4) *Peat Moors, Mosses and Peat Hags.*—The most

137 widespread plant community in Lewis is undoubtedly the
[133] *sedge and cotton grass moors* (or 'mosses' as they would be called in the Lowlands), which overlie deep peat generally at low levels, on flat or slightly rolling grounds. The peaty floor is waterlogged and boggy, and the carpet rises into tufts, dense cushions or mops, out of which bristle innumerable stalks, thread-shaped, sheathed, fibrous and elastic. There are few flowers apart from the bog asphodel, while heather does not thrive but is stunted. On the slopes, sedges (*Scirpus* and *Carex* spp.) and cotton grass (*Eriophorum angustifolium*) dominate, and in the hollows, sphagnum moss. Owing to slope and consequent erosion, the surface may break into hags (or 'bruachs'), separated by deep and more or less broad channels of bare peat with puddles.

[311] For reclamation by tractor and peat plough, smoothness is essential, combined with some slope for drainage. From observation of the fragments of poor pasture topping the hags in channelled eroded peat, it can be noted that drainage alone is not enough to create good pasture, though it
[241] is the first step. In order to complement the work of drainage, fertilisers must be applied to encourage plants which absorb water in quantity and transpire it freely in the course of rapid growth. For it may be said that plants like heather—adapted to withstand drought, physical or 'physiological'—do not transpire water in any great quantity. Thus they fail to 'drain the ground from above', as juicier grasses or fodder plants do by the vigorous ascent, transpiration and renewed absorption of water.

[134] (5) *Heather Moor.*—The common heather (*Calluna*) dominates on many steep slopes and rocky bluffs, sometimes on acid humus, or again on decomposed rock and screes, generally at low levels. Among the chief plants

137 found with the dominant are the fine-leaved bell heather, sometimes with crowberry (*Empetrum*) in rocky places, while grass or sedge may be mixed with it in places.

At the very edge of the sea-cliffs, where the moorland pasture or heather thins out, the rock is cushioned with sea pink. Or where a stream has cut a sheltered dell, protected as in the Stornoway policies or not too near a village, one may find a few woody plants—a little hazel, creeping willow or honeysuckle.

137 (6) *Sandy Pastures.*—In many bays, as at Valtos (West
134 Loch Roag) the sandy or sand-influenced habitat falls into three zones:

(*a*) The line of storm beach, formed of hummocky dunes, which dams off what was the inner part of the bay. This line is more or less broken where the stream breaks through. At their crown the dunes are partially fixed by marram grass (*Psamma*), but show hollows of loose sand. Just north of Stornoway the Melbost sands have thrown out a high bar which has partly dyked and reclaimed or poldered the bay behind. Almost at the opposite end of the Island, lying in from the Sound of Taransay, near Luskintyre, a sandy dyke is thrust out, but this too is kept open by tide and spate, and the sands within are covered at high tide. Such places could be reclaimed.

(*b*) Behind the dune ridge, where this is virtually com-
[132] plete, is found a dry sandy flat. Even this is liable to inundation by storm, tide and spate, but its sandy pasture is periodically broken for the cultivation of potatoes, or even barley. It is the lightest of soils at the best, while if cultivated continuously it simply

137 blows away, no doubt because the humus rots and
134 quite fails to bind the sand. These two types together form the true machar.

(*c*) From the machar rise the slopes of drift-covered rock which bear a top dressing of blown shell fragments, more or less mixed with the soil by treading and cultivation, and imperceptibly giving place to the undiluted 'black soils' of moor and croft with their corresponding vegetation or crops. The shell-sand is often blown onto the rough pastures high above a bay.

Where a portion of the true machar has been cultivated it is allowed to seed itself. A sprinkling of weeds is followed by the re-establishment of a mixed flora. In both the sand and the consolidated sand-covered drift grow wild white clover and vetches; and among the grasses are rye grass (*Lolium*), Yorkshire fog (*Holcus*), cat's-tail (*Phleum*) and meadow grass (*Poa*). Other plants include familiar weeds and wild-flowers like yarrow, cow-parsnip, golden rod (*Solidago*), silverweed, wild carrot, thyme, plantain, sorrel, yellow rattle, harebell, eyebright, pansy and many more. Arrival from the bare brown moorland to the sand-blown slopes or dells is made a pleasure by stream-side flowers like meadow-sweet.

137 *Woods and Cultivation.*—In addition to the woods indi-
311 cated on the map, in Stornoway Castle policies, shelter-belts or plantations occur at certain lodges. Cultivation, as will be explained in the section on crofting, is rarely continuous; and the map shows areas as cultivated which are far from being either continuous crop land or
[185] even permanent grass of the first quality. Yet since this map was drawn the improved area has been extended somewhat

[see map on p.50--analyst]

137 by reclamation, notably at the Macaulay Demonstration
311 Farm on the 'peat moss' of Arnish Moor (south of
185 Stornoway), then too small to be shown, and in South-west Harris where new crofts were laid out in the thirties.

137 The six main types of vegetation in the Island may be grouped as three. First are the Hill Pastures and Moors: (1) 'Rocky' among the bare hill-tops of Harris and Uig, and (2) 'Fair' on favourable slopes, which merge into (3) 'Marshy Grass Moors' of coarse grass and sedges, heath and rushes. Secondly come (4) the vast brown 'Peat Mosses and Moors', either smooth and wet, with sedge and cotton grass, or channelled and cut up into hags; near the broken edges of the island cliffs this expanse is often fringed by (5) the 'Heather Moor'. Thirdly, by the sandy bays, are (6) the 'Machar lands', *i.e.* the 'Sandy Pastures', rich with clover; though narrow, this coastal plain is all important to stock-rearing and potato-growing, and so to settlement. In traditional terms, these three groups form hill moor, peat moss and sandy shores: *monadh*, *mòine* and *machair*.

(c) CROFTING AND THE CROFTERS' YEAR

1. *Place of Settlement and Choice of Work—Past and Present*

195 Lewis and 'Harrey', as they were called four centuries
114 ago, were well described by Dean Monro,[1] and his descrip-
311 tion is fundamental to the present scene. "Harrey is very fertile and fruitful for corne, store and fishing, twice mair of delving is in or of teilling", which appears to mean

[113] [1] Dean Monro, *The Western Islands of Scotland . . . in 1549*, reprinted by A. Mackay, Stirling, 1934.

311 indication of their worth. As above, the period is *c.* 1937–
511 1938. The Island's increased sheep stock is shown in Appendix II (ii) (a) to 1953.

[233] The Lewis and Harris pastures carry on an average about one ewe to 9 or 10 acres, that is, one ewe or lamb to 4 acres in June (the month of the agricultural returns). A good mainland grazing like Glen Shiel carries one ewe to 6 acres, while poorer grazings like Kintail and Farr carry one ewe to 10 or 14 acres respectively. Nowhere, however, can the rough grazing support the newly weaned ewe lambs (or hoggs) throughout the winter, which have either to be brought to the enclosed 'low ground' (of which there is never enough to supply both grass and winter feed) or sent to the Lowlands in autumn and brought back in spring, at a total cost of about 10s. each before 1939. In Lewis, for lack of grass, there is considerable loss in winter among the crofters' sheep. Constructive measures for the future must be based on an increased supply of winter feed.

• 137 The game consist of red deer, grouse and hares, while
511 salmon and trout are fished in stream and loch. The deer range over Harris, Park and the Uig hills, but are seldom seen north of Achmore. They are of ordinary quality and size, and before 1939 the average number of heads for the year totalled about 190 stags and 80 hinds. It is not known
[529] when they were introduced. In the south there may be a certain amount of 'deer stealing', as in most deer forests surrounded by crofts, in spite of a score of keepers and deer-stalkers, and other employees at shooting lodges. Grouse are relatively scarce compared with those on drier
[825] mainland moors. Mountain hares have multiplied since their introduction in 1853, when, it is said, the first hare, seen near a village towards evening with its white winter coat, was thought to be supernatural.

511 coat, was thought to be supernatural. The fishing, too, is
226 of good standard: a typical annual catch including 1700
511 salmon, 5000 sea-trout and 1800 brown trout; and it was for this, as well as for the shootings, that the moors pertaining to the different shooting or fishing lodges and hotels
• 137 were bought at Lord Leverhulme's sale. The absence of
233 foxes was important to sheep-rearing before the introduction of guns, and is still a favourable factor.

5. *Sea-fishing*

226 Fish have always contributed to the diet of the Islesfolk,
198 whether they fished from coracles or boats, or with 'lang wands' from the shore as they still do, and as they did in
[262] the days of Dean Monro and, no doubt, right back to
[433] neolithic times. The relative importance of fishing and
[241] agriculture, however, has always varied according to place and time.

Fishing in modern and historic, and also in prehistoric,
182 times—to judge from the kitchen middens of Uig—has
226 always flourished more where there were deep sea-lochs;
241 and settlement resulted, even though rocky hillsides made ploughing difficult or impossible. Conversely, agriculture
[198] has offered better opportunity on smooth coasts with a
[172] variety of soils, though fishing was poorer there. Thus the men of Stornoway Bay and Eye, of eastern lochs and of the Harris bays, like those of Loch Roag on the west, have long been partly fishermen. In the extreme north, too, men of Ness—with the chance of choosing their fishing grounds on the north, west or east of the island and with their little rocky port giving shelter, of a sort, from south-
[461] west gales—were good fishermen; they are good seamen
[829] still. "The fishing of the Barvas folk" is an old gibe,

133 townships and at Islivig and Breanish, the peat is thin (or has been stripped) to reveal a
gravelly drift. Wave-drifting on suitable slopes. In such places a black loamy soil has
137 been developed by cultivation; the many ditches of lazybed cultivation are not necessary
241 and, if the area is large enough, it can be worked by tractor. Such soils, in the climate
197 of west Lewis, are eminently suitable for rotation grass, for hay or pasture, and much more could be done with them under knowledgeable management. Where shell sand has been blown inland on to peaty soils the natural top-dressing has had a remarkable ameliorating effect on texture and acidity. Such areas are all too limited, the most important area at Valtos, Knasp and Reef, and around Uig bay; smaller areas are at
134 Mealasta, Mangersta and Bosta (Barnera). The hill grazings are dominated by a thin
137 heather cover, blue moor grass and, in wetter places, sphagnum and cotton grass. Since
• 241 the cattle population has been declining many older residents claim that the pastures, particularly near the townships, have deteriorated, the proportion of grass declining and coarse heather increasing. "The hills that were green when I was a boy", said one, "are now black". Neglected arable and pasture land, too, soon reverts. Rushes and flags invade the ditches between the old lazy beds and, if the ground is at all waterlogged, soon invade the beds as well. Drier ground, if not well grazed, soon reverts to heather. The limited machairs are little better; almost devoid of humus, they show little development of soil profile, only a thin grey layer of turf roots; rabbits, or injudicious cultivation readily set off wind erosion. Only where the wind has provided a natural blend of peat and machair are conditions better. Such areas are very limited.

132 The climate is in many respects severe; no local statistics are available, but some for Stornoway and Benbecula are appended. The frequency of high winds has a bad effect on both vegetation and stock, but to some extent wind counteracts excessive moisture. Near sea-level, where all the township are situated, frost and snow are almost unknown. Thus it is exposure to the wind that limits the outwintering of stock, not low temperatures; this suggests that if pastures could be improved in suitably sheltered places far more advantage might be taken of the relatively mild winter temperatures. It is believed that the sunshine record is particularly poor in the south, where clouds can frequently be seen hanging over the mountains when the sun is shining on Barnera and the area north
[246] east of East Loch Roag. The relatively dry and sunny period which commonly occurs in
[221] May and June ought to make for a good hay harvest; unfortunately the natural meadows, such as they are, are late starters, and the custom is to cut the grass when it has gone to seed. This hay is often being taken in September - one of the wettest months in the year.

CHAPTER TWO

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS

172 Evidence of pre-historic and other early settlements in the parish is afforded by the occurence of standing stones, brochs and duns. The Callanish circle and its satellites are by far the most remarkable ancient monument in the Hebrides, and testify to the former importance of the site even though today their precise significance may not be clear. Most of the duns are now little more than circular heaps of stones, but in that at
[174] Dunne Carloway the double walls still stand to a considerable height. A later phase of
[174] settlement is recorded in the place names, a very large proportion of which contain Norse
[103] elements such as -nish, -vick, -boat and -shader; it seems probable that most of the
[162] present township sites have been more or less continuously occupied since Norse times.

1. [Presumably the author means "drift"--Analyst]

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ATLANTIC COAST

(Brenish, Islivig, and Mangersta)

by

Pamela M. Gough.

131 Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta are situated in the extreme south-west of Lewis, on the Atlantic coast of the parish of Uig and forty miles from Stornoway.

133 Brenish has a south-westerly aspect whilst Islivick faces north-west; in both the elevation of the crofts decreases seawards from about 125 ft. in the east to 50 - 25 ft. in the west. Only one croft in Islivig, and the eight most southerly crofts in Brenish, run to the sea - the rest obtain some shelter from a line of low hills about 300 yards wide and rising to a little over 100 feet, which forms their western boundary. The land terminates in low cliffs from 25' - 100' in height, and a rocky foreshore. Behind these townships to the east a range of mountains from 1,500' - 1,800' in height and dominated by the highest hill in Lewis, Mealisval, (1,885'), gives protection from easterly influences.

134 Mangersta lies to the north of these mountains; here the crofts lie in a sheltered valley to the west of which the land rises to over 200 feet. The valley opens southwards to the sea where there is a sandy beach and machair. The crofts range from about 150 feet to 100 feet above sea level; those nearest the sea have soils which contain a substantial proportion of machair sand.

Soils are generally deep, and there are few rocky outcrops on the crofts which are fairly level. In Brenish and Islivig the soils are mainly peaty, becoming wetter in the west. Where visible the sub-soil is gravel or stony boulder clay. In Mangersta the transition from peaty soils on the northern crofts to sandy soils on the southern crofts, is marked by the increasingly continuous cultivation, drains being unnecessary on the latter.

• 137 There are no trees or shrubs, and vegetation consists of marshy grass moors in the
Mealasta area with a considerable amount of cotton grass bog further north. West and south of Mangersta the machair area is characterised by a calcareo plant community similar in content to that found in many parts of the chalk and limestone areas of England.

361 Brenish and Islivig are old settlements, never cleared. In both, the sites of the
[174] original clachans can still be seen clustered around the mouths of their respective streams. The houses are now situated at the east end of the crofts, near to the road.

175 To the south, Mealasta - cleared in the 1840's to make a sheep farm - was divided in
632 1921 to give enlargements to the common grazings of both Brenish and Mangersta. The
311 arable land was divided into twenty-nine shares as enlargements to Brenish crofts, and is held in a modified form of runrig.

Mangersta was cleared in 1837 to make a farm; subsequently fishermen-cottars settled on the farm but they moved to Dun Carloway in 1873. In 1910, however, a new township of thirteen crofts was set up by the Congested Districts Board; the new settlers were cottars, mainly from Brenish.

139 Alluvial soils have developed along the lower reaches of Amuinnn Thoraghair and the Erista river.

134 There are no trees apart from an occasional stunted rowan or willow - willows for
[624] peel making grow still in some old garden enclosures. Hedges, too, are rare so, although individual houses are often carefully sited, there is little cover and the townships as a whole are very exposed to westerly gales. The natural vegetation developed on the machair is of fine closely matted grasses with a good deal of natural clover - very similar to that found on chalk downland. On the peaty moorland the usual moor grasses mosses and heather are dominant, though little encroachment by bracken was noticed.

311 In Crowlista the strip layout of the crofts dates from a lotting about 1850, (Figure 14)
361 in the new townships, laid out about 1921 (Figure 15) the majority of the crofts are
127 less strip-like and do not run to the shore. Indeed in Ardroil and Timsgarry only five out of twenty-one reach the shore and the rocky headlands with their machair are valuable parts of the common pasture. The six crofts in Carnish run from the shore at the foot of the esker up its flank towards the southwest and almost to its summit. They also have one or two small plots each on the machair.

[133] Crofts in Ardroil are in one piece. An old cattle road forms the north west boundary; from this they rise, steeply in places, to undulating moorland just over 200' high. Numbers 5 - 8 Timsgarry are strips across the Erista valley, rising northwards to just over 170'; 2, 3 and 4 are allotted to make use of arable land on the lower slopes of Knock Valabrie. The houses of crofts No. 1 Timsgarry and No. 1 Ardroil are the former farmhouses.

In Crowlista most of the crofts remain unfenced but in Carnish, Ardroil and Timsgarry
[417] all are fenced and many of the fences were being repaired or replaced in 1959. They are not open for common grazing during the winter. Patches of sown hay are fenced within each croft.

There are six recognised croft-holdings in Carnish; one is sub-let so that there are
[56] only five "operative" units; two of those are not worked. One has been resumed by the proprietors and is being quarried as an extension of the main quarry between the township dyke and main road. In Ardroil each of the fourteen crofts is worked as a unit - though two carry no stock; in Timsgarry eight crofts are worked as seven units.

In contrast to the above, the old settlement of Crowlista has twenty-five recognised crofts but, by amalgamation and sub-letting these are worked as fourteen units. The Crowlista crofts are small - fourteen are 4.0 acres or less and of those only one is worked as a unit. Crofts as small as 1.5 acres and with a sown of eight sheep can never have been intended to support a family; they are the result of sub-division in earlier generations; the remains of two pigs and a curing house point to the importance of
[948] fishing in the past. Twenty-one men were employed in fishing boats about 1914. Sub-letting usually takes place between relatives; of some of the fourteen operative units are quite complicated. One example will suffice (croft numbers are here replaced by letters to prevent publication of personal matters):-

Crofts a, b, c and d are worked as a unit (although they are not adjacent). The tenant of a and b sub-lets c and d for grazing; he also helps with the work on yet a fifth croft. The present b is half of an original croft. West of the road the original croft is held in fissed runrig between b and another croft, not part of this multiple "working" unit; east of the road it has been divided into separate strips. The tenant lives on b.

Since 1959,
166 54 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to
462 leave home when they finish school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go into domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breasclete is also the temporary home of the families of lighthousemen on duty in the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain demand for the tweed, and although the men are nominally self-employed they rely on the mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms, which, with ancillary equipment such as bobbin winders, are all owned by the crofters.

[158] As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being erected. But should there be a slump, the crofts would be unable to support the population and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

131 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch
133 a' Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs,
361 for westward to the sea the terrain is too rocky and irregular for either settlement or cultivation, whilst to the east of Loch a' Bhaile the land slopes precipitously from 250 ft. to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle drift-covered slopes, generally of small extent.

137 Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch
[241] a' Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader, and in the valley of the small stream draining from the north into the head of Loch a' Bhaile. Most of the croft land is composed of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 12 in. in height, separated by damp depressions frequently filled by reeds and rushes; bracken was apparent only on three crofts. In particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely colonised by reeds and very coarse grasses, of no use whatsoever as pasture. One enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this could certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and
311 2 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the two lochs and the sea, except for nos. 28 and 29. The 53 holdings are unofficially
427 amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The acreage of crofts varies from 2.1 to 20.75 acres, a considerable variation. Fencing of the crofts - except for 1A, B, and C, and 12A, B, and C which are held 'run-rig' - was carried out between 1945 and 1950, whilst in 1946 the common pasture of 2,700 acres was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the Carloway to Breasclete road. An area stretching from crofts 18A to 21 has, however, been not haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided amongst seventeen crofts in the southern half of the township to compensate them for lack of grazing area within their own croft boundaries. This division is said to date from about 1886.

241 Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned
[807] small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as the opportunity and cultivation, depends either on the urgency of the operation, or on the accessibility of the plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 95]

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

by

Brian Loughbro

131 The seven crofting townships of Upper Carloway, (including Carloway Park), Borrowston,
133 Garenin, Kneck Carloway, Dun Carloway and Kirivick form a compact area of land in the
[128] north of the Parish of Uig bordering the coast and Loch Carloway. Here the Lewisian gneiss has a thin discontinuous covering of glacial drift which has been
341 developed immediately above the head of Loch Carloway. Three valleys help to determine the layout of the townships and settlements (figure 37). The townships to the north-
133 west of the Carloway river are found on more gentle slopes than those to the south east where the slopes are less uniform and are less uniform and are often broken by short steep rocky faces. The north western area therefore offers an environment where almost continuous cultivation is possible whereas in the south - at the frequent rock outcrops have led to fragmented cultivation on minute plots which are inaccessible to the tractor or other mechanised implements.

139 The soils are heavy and acid even on the skinned land of the boulder clay slopes nor
[134] is there any machair to mitigate the acidity of the peaty soils which descend almost to the shores. Only in one place is there any trace of the influence of the sand and this is to be found where the crofts numbered 1 to 3 Garenin border the small bay in the north of that township. Here the fierce gales have blown some of the finer beach deposits on to the croft land.

Much of the peat has been cut from the inner common pastures except in the case of Upper Carloway where active cutting is still taking place in the valley where fleshs are
137 cut for use in separate settlements, to the east of the "half-way" pitch. On the common
311 pasture the vegetation varies from peat moss and heather with bracken to fescue and close turf on the skinned land by the road to Dalcrone. On the upper common pasture heather and bracken have increased since the abandonment of the shielings and the reduction of the cattle stock; many inhabitants remember that the hills once had a much greater aspect. Nor is this a feature confined to the common pastures; on one croft in Upper Carloway 1.9 acres are completely covered by heather whilst a neighbouring croft has a good crop of oats on similar land. At the loch in both Kneck and Upper Carloway areas of former arable land have reverted to moss, the old lazy beds being picked out by lines of reeds.

361 Settlement. The settlement pattern is one of great interest for it shows in a clear way the effects of the district phases in the historical geography of the area. The evidence of success and failure stands side by side. Before one can attempt to justify this assertion it is necessary to give a brief account of the physical evolution and distribution of settlement.

361 The origin of permanent settlement is believed * to have been the permanent occu-
176 pation of shielings used by people from Bernera until the eighteenth century. Until about 1850 arable land was held run-rig and the houses were huddled together in tight little clusters. When individual crofts were lotted, about 1850, the houses were scattered, each on its croft and generally up to fifty yards from the present road (which was then no more than a rough track). Sea access was then most important but since the advent
241 of modern road transport new houses have been built nearer to the roads, producing the
178 modern markedly linear plan. The roads extend at different heights across the slopes

* based on information supplied by Mr Macleod of 27 Garenin.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

[Seaforthead]

161 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural
162 and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend,
166 significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment forth of Park, and a smaller loss by
167 migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric,
281 there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment forth of Park, and migration
555 losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of
552 6.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHEAD AND SHELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seaforthead and Shialdernish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former
lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHEAD

Seaforthead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a
159 gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours
361 which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being
[240] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

136 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat
157 accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely
[135] for grazing. There is, however, a cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Balsilan and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and
[240] the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed.
[807] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be
[319] in natural hay. There is, however, a growing demand for the croft's hay from other
[291] township fences on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being only 50 per cent in 1958, the stock carried is twice the sheep sown. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the sown, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in
162 1886. In Seaforthead and Shialdernish as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the

[Calbost]

134 Drift is found near the shore and lape round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks.
Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and
137 sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

195 Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shialdernish and
592 took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Alisan Tailear came from Tarasaig, Harris,
621 to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

241 Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and
409 ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three "Crawlerators" (land-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for
293 bringing in peats, hay and similiar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

[248] Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclose
[364] parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in
[351] June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but
[324] elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

251 The land is heavily overstocked: the sown is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is
255 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in
[652] Park Deer Forest by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garenin in November
[251] and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

241 The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since
[311] before 1886. They used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Beinn Bhuidhe and
[324] below Loch na Ciste but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural
[351] township and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and
[324] trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock
[293] to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

561 Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has
[472] been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or
[654] from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

[Garryard] [Caversta]

At the moment Garryard appears to be a go-ahead village, carrying out communal schemes which will benefit the township as a whole. However, the age structure of the population is abnormal since 60 per cent of the population is over 45 years. The future in Garryard offers little to young people hard work, little money and no entertainment, making the attractions of the cities and industries of the mainland quite irresistible. Unless some industry can be started the future bodes ill for the area, since most crofters are of the opinion that a weekly wage packet would more than compensate the loss of their independence. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the age of National Assistance and subsidies that man cares more for momentary rewards and the luxuries of life. This is well understood by parents who encourage their children to leave the islands to seek employment either in Britain or within the Commonwealth. The Lewisman is no sentimentalist clinging to dying traditions and a way of life. His present desires have been re-cast as a result of his increasing contact with the world beyond the Hebrides and he is prepared to abandon his home where it defeats his aims and purposes. Unless prosperity can be brought in by way of industry, tourism or increased croft efficiency, possibly through co-operation in working and marketing, it is possible that we are witnessing the end of a community.

CAVERSTA

Helen Mackenzie

Caversta lies along a southern inlet of Loch Eriscort, five miles from the Minch and is partially sheltered from east winds by the Cromore peninsula and Eilean Chaluim Chille.

The physical nature of the terrain is irregular, rising steeply from the water's edge to a level of approximately 150 feet. To the west and to the south the land slopes to the sea in a gentle slope; it is here that the settlement occurs. Particularly in the north-west, two marked breaks in slope are visible at 75 feet and 100 feet above the loch, which is here bordered by a 25 foot rock face. The resulting platforms are separated by faces of bare rock. The valley of the Caversta River is a noteworthy feature. Below a small loch, the river follows an irregular course though a wide and shallow moraine-strewn depression and a quarter-of-a-mile from its estuary, has cut through some low hills, rising about 30 feet above the depression. At this point, its course becomes steeper as it passes through a small gorge, which is probably an overflow channel.

Trees are non-existent and the natural vegetation consists of Sphagnum on the peat bogs in the hollows and grasses and sedges on the gentler slopes. The steeper, less waterlogged slopes, often broken by rocky bluffs, have heather cover; bracken growth is kept in check by heavy grazing. Forty-six acres of land have been reclaimed by clearing heather and removing peat to form the crofts, but the soil, which varies in depth from a few inches to a few feet, is very acid.

The six legal crofts vary in acreage from 4.75 to 8.5 acres and a squatter has 5.5 acres of enclosed land. The township is in two parts: Toriota, with the two smallest crofts, lies at the east-ern extremity, while the other five holdings, also bounded by a dyke, border Tob Caversta, an inlet of Loch Eriscort. The crofts, which run from the shore to the township dyke, were set prior to 1861; originally the township formed part of Croberg Farm. The legal units are, in fact, operative units except that one of the Toriota crofts, now unoccupied, is used for wintering lambs by the tenantee's brother, a resident of Caversta.

There are no occupied black houses remaining in either Toriota or Caversta, as during the past fifty years new dwellings have been erected in dressed stone or corrugated iron, usually with roofs of asbestos slate, tarred felt, or corrugated iron. Several old thatched houses are now used as barns and byres.

[Caversta] [Cromore]

The 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Caversta population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left after 1914 and never returned. Since then, seven people have left to further their education in Stornoway or the mainland, (16 per cent of the total 1939 population), and six of these were from Toriota (i.e. 50 per cent of the 1939 Toriota population); only one family now remains there. The demographic position is becoming more acute for there are no young married couples and no youngsters growing up. The girls have left to marry and most of the men have sought temporary or permanent employ-ment elsewhere, for with better communications, education and the radio, the pull to the towns has become stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full-time crofters, earning no supplementary income by weaving tweed on commission from the Stornoway mills.

Caversta is not one of the most progressive of the South Locke townships. Although the crofts are fenced, the common pasture is not visibly delimited from either the Cromore or Garryard pastures. At present, the grazing is fully stocked according to the scum, but the committee has not as yet initiated any re-seeding schemes. As the pasture is not of the best quality, some newly sown grass would benefit every crofter. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but evei a small acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

The future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechanisation and is badly served by communications. The future of Toriota appears to be probably one of abandonment, unless it is more easily linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road being built here is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Caversta is also open to question. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the present units are not used to their full extent. Amalgamation with Garryard might benefit the township agreed deal, as the Caversta population is rather small to flourish in isolation. The future of Garryard, Kerahader and Habost is one of hope, but unless some change takes place soon, it is not difficult to see Caversta, and Toriota, following the same course as Calbost and in thirty to forty years being little more than grazing land.

CROMORE

G. Mary Swindell, B.A., and Dennis F. Fancett, B.A.

Cromore is situated on a peninsula between Loch Eriscort and Loch Cromore. Approaching it from the access road, Cromore has the appearance of a nucleated settlement, but in fact each house is situated on the owner's croft. The crofts are so arranged that each has a portion of land on the more level surface of drift deposits; houses 1 to 20 stand at the junction of the drift and the Lewisian gneiss. Soils are poor and thin, and there are numerous outcrops of barren rock amongst the arable land. The natural vegetation is heather moorland with extensive patches of rushes and cotton grass, the pattern of most of the 'outrun' around Cromore.

The township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two crofts are subdivided while another four form double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and the Schoolhouse feu. Outside the township dyke there are two feus and four squatters. The croft layout differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent pieces, one piece around the house, another above Creag Cromore and two pieces on another area of enclosed land on the common. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land around the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

Until this decade all the land around the houses, and much of that above Creag Cromore, was regularly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but cultivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely somnolescent. The only crops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed

[Cromore] [Marivig]

butchers' vans call on Wednesday and Friday and a fish van once or twice during the week. Goods are also conveyed by the daily bus. Electricity was brought to the village about four years ago and the inhabitants now look forward to a supply of piped water in about two years' time. At present only three or four houses have bathrooms.

The crofts, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a satis-factory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It seems that the recent subsidies for fishing are good enough to attract fishermen from Cromore and one or two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were longer. Weaving has brought prosperity but, as the Park Association states in its Second Progress Report "there is not sufficient weaving available for the present number of weavers". The proposal to establish a spinning and processing plant in the Park District made in the 1957 Report, would undoubtedly be of great value to the people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants suggested that a hotel built on Croberg Farm would bring some benefit to the community. However, even if these three increased sources of income became effective, one wonders whether they would be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Stornoway.

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B.A.

Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triangular sea loch opening to the north-east and sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, making the loch an ideal anchorage and harbour.

The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slopes more gradually and irregularly, with frequent precipitous rock outcrops, for two hundred to five hundred yards to rise steeply to a line of low hills, two hundred and fifty feet to three hundred feet high in the north-east of the loch. All crofts thus have an easterly or north-easterly aspect, not particularly favourable for agriculture, and only one has any appreciable area of level land uninterrupted by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin, and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely dispersed.

The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common grazing, are mainly covered with heather, moor grass or sphagnum bog, while the lower areas within the township are grassy, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not yet a problem, and only small areas exist, mainly on the lower slopes of the western side of the loch. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant and worked by another crofter, and one worked from a house on the common. With the exception of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in radial fashion. (Fig. 4). The crofts vary in size from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and few have cultivated more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses being on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' systems. Owing to the rocky nature of the terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two yards wide. Potatoes and oats are grown in rotation, and hay taken from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters sow grass for hay or undergrass tillage. Dung and seaweed are used as fertilisers, with potash fertiliser as the most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce, carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

[Marivig] [Calbost]

In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Marivig's future, and that of other crofting townships, is not only one of adverse aspect, soil and weather conditions, and of distance from markets, but a problem of the young people finding a stable and viable level where agricultural units are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain, and a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Grevir on the Minch coast of Park. It occupies a basin-like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is open to the sea on the east. The croft houses are scattered over a shelf 50 feet above sea-level round the sides of the hollow and along the valleys which enter the township to the north and south-west.

The cultivable soil, a mixture of peat and well-drained gravelly drift, is on the higher ground, although here the rock outcrops in many places. On land formerly cultivated, bracken is spreading rapidly and now covers a large proportion of the surface, although twenty to thirty years ago it was unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-lying central area. There are a few willows and rowans round the old buildings, probably planted as wind-breaks.

Calbost was originally a single farm but the township was formed about 1820. The pattern of the crofts differs from the usual shore-to-dyke alignment, as six crofts were allotted extra land in the valley which enters from the north, when a part of the common grazing was brought within the township dyke. There are now fourteen crofts of which four are worked by resident crofters and two by squatters. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters in Calbost and other townships.

Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2.6 acres now in cultivation, potatoes account for 2.37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduced cattle stock in the township and only approximately twelve acres of hay are cut as winter feed for the 225 sheep which graze in the township.

The lazy-beds in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly encroached on by bracken. The prevalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to clear it, is likely to deter any attempt at renewed cultivation.

Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats have to be taken up on the shore and secured to keep moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing industry which has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Calbost, leaving only a few boats now used only for leisure purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only two of the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are a few productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not as widely used in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosures were made adjoining the main dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pastures within these dykes before the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander over all crofts but there seems today to be a tendency towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

[Calbost] [Gravir] [Glengravir]

The present situation in Calbost is best illustrated by reference to the population stati There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are squatters and only eig are occupied within the dyke. Of the male population, there are three children under four one man in the 15-44 age group, three between 45 and 64 years and two over 65. This i shows the lack of active men from 15-44 years, necessary for the continuing economic su the community. However, even these figures are not so striking as the numbers of emigr no less than 39 men and 40 women have left Calbost since 1939.

A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the you people have left to find employment in Stornoway and on the mainland. The present popula structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride th east-west inlet of Loch Osirn, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The site o township is perhaps the most picturesque in all Park; but the steep slopes, lack of cover, area of good arable land, and the considerable population existing on slim resources, prob common to Park as a whole, are all epitomised in Gravir.

On the south-facing slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough in the valley west, the majority of the crofts have been carved from moor in sea, some before 1800, an in the process of the abolition of run-rig which was accomplished in the years 1850 to 185 Originally, there appears to have been thirty crofts, but four were added during the nineto century, two at each end of the line, and in 1934 a further fifteen were cut out of the com ing, a mile to the west of Gravir. On the south side of the loch, the 'clachan' of Tom na H established about 1800, has since developed into a further nine crofts. Thus there are for legal crofts in Gravir and a further fifteen in Glengravir making fifty-eight in all.

The layout of Glengravir, a line of crofts from 3.6 to five acres, typifies the small pos Department of Agriculture holdings. The arrangement of the Gravir crofts is illustrated i 4, and it will be seen that not all the crofts are consolidated. There are three areas of fo arable common which have been lotted in unfenced strips and they may well be reclamatio were assessed on capacity to supplement the food producing capacity of the township. The method of and allocation speaks of a period when a subsistence economy under severe pressure (from population, necessitated fair shares for all. The last of these commons was in cultivation 1891. Although subsistence crofting has been obsolete since then, there is as yet no mov a regularisation of the layout.

The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable commons developed m as a result of a successful fishing industry which prospered from 1860 to 1914 and at one t were two curing stations in Gravir. With relative prosperity from an ancillary industry, t were tolerated and the population rose from 197 in 1830, to 368 in 1881. The lowest point was in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has certa yet ceased. Gravir reverted from 1918 to a township of agriculturists and a base for sea forth of Lewis, although there have been spasms of successful fishing activities.

Stock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and co are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir vary between 3.5 and 26.5 acres in size: no croft has more than four acres of 'old arable' days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in narrow la backed up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more ext All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed cut as far Cromore on the coast south of Kebock Head. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed ar cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture; some of t

DIAGRAMMATIC VIEW ACROSS LEWIS
S.W.
N.E.
Crofts
Sandy Pastures
Deep Peat and Peat Bog Moss
Marshy 'Grass' Moors
Dry and Fair Pastures
Woods
Rocky Pastures
Heaths
Butt of Lewis
Eisgeirsta
Port of Ness
Ikegirsta
Cellar Head
MUIRNAG 908 FT.
Tolsta Head
BEN BARVAS 968 FT.
BEN DRAGOR
Callanish
West Loch Roag
Gallan Head
Uig Ch.
Mangersta
Bronaig
Mealisbeg
L. Roag
Scarpl
THREE SISTERS 2327 FT.
CLISHAM 1633 FT.
West Loch Tarbert
Taransay I.
Tee Head
Northton
Pabbay
Bernaray
Scalpay I.
East Loch Tarbert
Sound of Shiant
Shiant Is.
Grass Bank
Broad Bay
Tong
Garenin
Tiumpan Hd
Arnamuchar
Shawbost
EYE
Chicken Head
A: Ashmore
+ Lochs Ch.
B: Balallan
G: Grosir
S.H: Seaforth Head
L: Limerney
Crossbost
Cromore
Marivey
Ouire
Ness
Cliasmol
BARVAS
Stornoway
Point
Uig
Carloway
Barvas
Lochs
Harris
HARRIS
Roads —
PARISHES — and Districts.
VEGETATION OF LEWIS AND HARRIS
by Marcel Hardy and A.G.
SCALE OF MILES
KILOMETRES

FIG. 8

/p. 50/

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3. *Plant Communities of the Island: Hill Moor, Peat Moss and Machar*

The types of pasture in the Island should be compared with those elsewhere. The peat moors of Lewis resemble those of northern Sutherland. The machar lands of the Uists, and of Tiree and smaller isles, surpass those of Lewis, while on the mainland and Inner Isles raised beaches provide workable, well drained soils. The 'rocky hill pastures' of our Island correspond to the rockier 'mountain pastures' and 'plateau summits' of the Highlands, and the 'fair' and 'hill pastures' of Lewis rather to their widespread 'wetter moors'. Grazing conditions are of course, similar in crofting areas alone. The edging of heather above the sea-cliffs of the Island and on the western mainland forms a picturesque element of the landscape, seen from a passing vessel, but only a narrow strip of the pastures. The plant communities shown on the Map of Vegetation (Fig. 8) must now be outlined.[1]

[134] (1) On the *Rocky Pastures* the scattered patches of soil are covered by a low and close sward, almost exclusively of perennials and grasses, such as bent (*agrostis*), common and brown, sheep's-fescue grass and wavy-hair grass (*festuca* and *Aira*); small sedges and mosses, with club moss and lichens towards the summits; heather, and fine-leaved bell-heather (*Erica cinerea*); and flowering plants like thyme, bird's-foot trefoil, tormentil and smooth heath bedstraw (*Galium*). Those rocky pastures prevail in the Forest of Harris (Plate XI).

[311] (2) *Fair and Hill Pastures.*—Below the bare rock domes

[113] [1] An authoritative flora of the Island is in preparation by Miss M. S. Campbell, F.L.S., British Museum (Natural History). Her "Flora of Uig" (Lewis) has appeared (Arbroath, 1945). For Dr. Hardy's tentative list of plant names see A. Geddes, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 52, 4, 1936.

/facing p. 41/

PLATE VIA. A YOUNG WOMAN, IN HARRIS

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

142
Z91
H7
302

Photographs by J. Allan Cash

PLATE VIB. AN OLD CROFTER OF EOROPIE, BUTT OF LEWIS
Racially, a broadhead

[Lemreway]

vulgaris is dominant. Ling, which can tolerate considerable soil water, often occurs with Nardus, Molinia, Scirpus caespitosus and Eriophorium. A few rowans, usually near the shore, and a few willows, usually within stone enclosures, are the only trees to be seen.

Of the thirty-three legal crofts in Lemreway, nine comprise less than five acres, while seventeen are between five and ten acres. Of the remainder, only two exceed fifteen acres and one of these is 30 acres. Six unoccupied crofts are worked by persons other than their tenants, so actually the 290 acres of croft land are shared by twenty-seven holdings. The seventeen-acre 'outend' was originally divided between fifteen tenants but confused sub-letting has resulted in four separate holdings directly occupying nine acres, and working another four acres. Thus the outend today must be regarded as the monopoly of four 'unofficial' holders.

Little more than a quarter of the croft land is cultivable and even less is actually cultivated today: Figure 9 illustrates the crofting year. The broken terrain and the stony nature of the soil has permitted the cultivation of tiny 'lasybeds' and the total cultivated area is now about 48 acres. Only the strips of land on the gentler slopes, where the soils are deeper, are now cultivated, but every croft shows signs of former, more extensive, lasybed cultivation, often covering at least two acres. For example, on the east side, natural hay is cut on the well-marked lasybeds at about 225 feet.

Oats and potatoes, 29.5 and 16 acres respectively, occupy almost all of the cultivated ground. Most crofts grow about half an acre of potatoes and one acre of oats; both acreages have declined, the former with a declining population and the latter with a reduction in the numbers of cattle; hay has increased in importance. No bere is now grown, though before 1900 it was preferred to oats. Ruins of the bere mill, which ceased to function at the beginning of the century, can still be seen. Fifty-nine acres of natural grass are cut for hay but only four crofters had sown grass for hay in 1958, about three acres in all. Few vegetables other than potatoes are grown though carrots are said to grow well, and formerly turnips and cabbages were grown. The soil needs careful preparation to be productive and almost every crofter used some seaweed and at least twenty drew subsidies for lime and artificial fertilisers in 1958.

Stock totals have declined recently but the township has 36 cows and 22 calves. Only one croft is without cattle and 22 of the 33 working units have a cow and a calf. The township has an Ayrshire bull on loan from the Department of Agriculture; one of the few remaining elements of the co-operative township system is that this animal is fed by the crofters, in rotation, during the winter.

All but two crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between ten and 120 per holding but the majority have about 23 ewes with ten lambs. Although numbers have declined recently, the 3,025 acres of very moderate common pasture support a flock of about 1,150 sheep, including about 650 breeding ewes and about 300 lambs.

The souming is not enforced in Lemreway and it is remarkable that the total stock tallies almost exactly to the souming. An examination of the sheep soum reveals that the stock of 917 (excluding lambs) considerably exceeds the sheep soum of 626. It is interesting that it is nearly always the working units of over 10 acres that are overstocked; of twelve such units, eight keep more sheep than they are entitled to. Most of these crofts are grouped on the eastern side of the township where the crofts have a larger outrun.

Thus, while overgrazing is not so severe as in many townships, it represents a potential threat, particularly if the common pasture is not improved. However, in 1958 ten acres of the common pasture have been enclosed and re-seeded. Six acres were sown with ordinary mixed grass seed, two acres with pelletted seed and two acres with pelletted and inoculated seed. The eleven crofters taking part in the scheme put on 100 tons of sand to help drain and aerate the peaty soil, 2½ tons of rock mineral phosphate and 1 ton of concentrated compound fertiliser, grades 1 and 2 - all of it by hand. The area was sown in May 1958: by the following August, there was a striking difference between it and the untreated pasture. Next Spring, eleven cows will be grazed on this area. With the success of this scheme, it is hoped that more of the crofters will co-operate in re-seeding further areas.

[Orinsay]

which rises steeply, exceeding 375 feet in the west and 150 feet to the north and east. From the north-west and north-east two glacially deepened valleys drain southwards, their lower ends being "drowned" by northward extensions of the loch.

Although peat covers most of the surface it is only in the hollows that it is significantly deep, for even on the gentler slopes the peat cover is frequently so thin as to expose a layer of morainic sub-soil containing many stones and boulders.

Two rowans and a dozen willows represent the only tree growth, but tree stumps frequently exposed in peat-cuttings suggest that woodland was formerly more evident. Whether this former woodland disappeared as a result of human action or of climatic change it is not possible to say, but it is certain that a century of overgrazing has not favoured natural regeneration. Moorland grasses, sedges and a little poor heather characterise much of the area, and reflect the poor grazing capacity of much of the moorland. Bracken has established itself in one limited area on a patch of neglected croft land.

Orinsay is unique in Park, for the present township is entirely a twentieth century development. In the early 19th century there was a settlement at the head of the loch, but in 1843 the residents were removed and the area enclosed and added to Crobeg sheep farm. In 1916, there was a proposal to establish fourteen crofts, but the applicants were requested to wait until after the war. At the end of the war the return of many young men with a desire to settle down led to serious overcrowding in Lemreway. Several of them 'raided' the Orinsay area. At first living in huts, they built their own houses, and in 1922 the Department of Agriculture intervened, recognising and fencing off fourteen legal crofts, and at the same time providing a good footpath. Seeing the success of their neighbours, four other Lemreway families, comprising 26 people, went to Diesmreway, about a mile to the west of Orinsay. Here, however, the Department of Agriculture did not intervene and with the community remaining isolated, most of the settlers returned to Lemreway within three years, although one family remained until 1939.

Six of the crofts have an area of less than ten acres, six have between ten and fifteen acres, while the remaining two occupy twenty-five acres: the largest croft originally belonged to the shepherd on the sheep farm. Three of these crofts are not occupied, although worked by other crofters, with the result that eleven operative units share 161 acres.

Only a small part of the croft acreage is actually cultivable: even less is cultivated in practice. The broken and rocky terrain combined with the peaty soil allows nothing but the cultivation by spade of tiny lasy-beds. The total area now cultivated does not exceed 25 acres, although in the past it may have been nearer 40 acres.

Oats and potatoes are the staple crops, occupying 9 and 6½ acres respectively in 1958. Individual croft acreages of these crops vary in relation to the requirements for winter stock-feed, and in the case of potatoes, to domestic consumption. Nevertheless to produce even these meagre returns the soil requires careful preparation. A plentiful supply of seaweed is obtained from the shore and is the most frequently used fertiliser, while a little sulphate of ammonia is applied. Only two crofters use lime.

In the last two decades a marked reduction in the amount of oats grown has accompanied a decrease in the numbers of cattle and an increasing use of hay for fodder. Nevertheless only about 17½ acres of hay altogether are cut, and only five of the crofters sow any grass seed.

In August 1958, the township supported only 13 cows, 3 young beasts and 8 calves. Half of the crofters have a cow and a calf, but three have no cattle at all, and one uses used condensed milk. A sad commentary on the state of crofting in Orinsay, but a phenomenonby no means uncommon in crofting areas.

the northeastern end of the peninsula is covered by glaciated, rounded hills rising to 2,396 feet. The remainder is a low-lying area of soft rises and deep glens. The soil cover is largely no more than a physical zedium. Were it not for stoney but light, well drained soils on several raised beaches and morainic soils derived from the mainland, large parts of Sleat would have no cover other than ice scoured rock. Peat covers many of the flatter facets.

Despite the multiformity of the physical appearance of the island, one cannot help forming the impression of a certain sameness. Except where bare rock stands out in stark relief or where man has laboriously turned the soil to agricultural use, the flora of Skye is primarily grass only occasionally interspersed with a few trees. In the glens and on the lower slopes of the hills fescue and bent grasses are found wherever the natural drainage is good. Both are tender and excellent for pasture. Poorly drained land supports coarse sedges and rushes. Above 300 feet moorgress is found on dry facets and rushes and mosses on soggy ground. The high hills, such as the ridge of Trotternish, maintain a sub-alpine pasture of small flowers, mosses, and sparse grass. Obviously, the main factors governing the natural flora are drainage and altitude. Man and his stock have also influenced the vegetation. Selective grazing by sheep has allowed the spread of a large, tough fern, called bracken, which has markedly reduced the pastoral value of extensive tracts of the best land. Another common plant is heather. True heather moors, however, are

exceptional. The largest is found in the glen between Portree and Loch Sligihan. Of the total area of Skye, approximately 447,000 acres, over 400,000 acres are rough grazing, incapable of being tilled.

The scarcity of trees is an environmental feature worthy of special consideration. More than the mere aesthetic appreciation of the traveler is involved. The lack of shelter is a crucial factor in limiting the variety of crops which can be grown. There are three "forests," but they are deer forests without trees and with very few deer. Wooded areas exist only where landlords or, more recently, the forestry commission have planted for amenity, shelter, and anticipated lumbering operation. Pollen analysis from an archaeological find,[7] and stumps, discovered in peat bogs,[8] suggest a once widespread natural forest of birch, hazel, elder, oak, and pine. All that remains are a few small areas of birch and hazel on peat-free slopes and on sheltered escarpments beyond the reach of the cattle and sheep, and some residual oak woods in Sleat. So sharp is the contrast of Sleat with the rest of Skye in so far as vegetation is concerned that this peninsula has come to be known as "The Garden of Skye." The proprietor has played his part in the creation of this impression by

[7] James Hitchie, "A Keg of 'Bog Butter' from Skye and Its Contents," Proceedings of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland, LXXV (1941), pp. 5-22.

[8] F. Fraser Darling, "The Ecology of Land Use," The West Highland Survey, pt. IV, p. 7.

planting birch, hazel, oak, juniper, larch, spruce, and short pine. These are the usual trees found on the plantations. Typically, the Sgiathanach prefers an unobstructed view to trees. He may tolerate a mountain ash or elder near his house, but he has little desire to be surrounded by woods.

The Climate of Skye

Lying in the temperate marine climatic zone and influenced by the Gulf Stream, Skye is noted for its mild winters and cool summers. The annual mean temperature range is between 14 and 16 degrees. Temperatures above 70°F. and below 40°F. are exceptional. Although frosts may be expected from October into May, severe frosts are uncommon. In recent years there have been two, one in 1954 and one in 1947. The climate is not, however, to be considered moderate. The spring is not appreciably warmer than the winter. With a maximum noon temperature of 68°F. for August of 1953 (Struan), it is hard to believe that summer exists as a season. Economically, these climatic features mean that the planting and growing season is late and pasture growth is slow.

The outstanding characteristic of the climate is the amount of rain. Rainfall varies from considerable to excessive, depending on the locality and the year. The rainbearing winds blow in from the south and southwest. Thus, in the lee of the Cuillins, Red Hills and the ridge of Trotternish, the annual rainfall approaches 80 inches. The driest area of Skye, northwestern Trotternish, has an average annual rainfall of

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141 ANTHROPOMETRY--mean, range, and sex distribution of physical measurements (e.g., stature, weight, span, length of limbs); indices (e.g., cephalic, nasal); etc. See also:
Features . . . . . 816 Conception of ideal bodily proportions . . . 826

174 613 of the Norsemen, lay a succession of earlier periods. A phase of primitive settlements is traceable in archaeo-
172 logical remains and in recent and contemporary survivals.
174 It is shown in the physical race-traits distinguishing those in one part of the Island from those in another. Fragments of tradition telling of the first Christian missionaries survived the Norse invasions and settlements, dated from A.D. 800 or before, down to Haco's defeat on the Clyde at Largs in 1256. These fragments can be linked to chronicles and to later tradition, on which they throw fresh light.

(144) A survey of the archaeology has been published,[1] but comparatively little, as yet, on race. Yet different communities are distinguished by marked racial types or strains. Although many, indeed most, of the race-strains of the Island must have entered it in prehistoric times, some are linked to tradition, and history accounts for the more
• (141) recent immigrants. The striking element of race in the Outer Hebrides is a broad-headed type prevailing from Barra to the Lews, accompanied by medium stature and dark hair; it is also found across the Northern Minch. But within the Island are notable differences.

829 Variety of race being accentuated by difference in ways, the communities still comment pointedly upon one
(538) another! For instance, an old saying is not forgotten: "The folk of Cladach, but the gentlemen of Uig!" (*Muinntir a' Chladaich, ach daoin' uasaile Uig*),
(433) 'Cladach' being the western 'Beach' district possessing
(632) ploughland but poor fishing, which covers the modern
(133) parish of Barvas (excluding the north-west cliff-promontory

(113) [1] Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, *Outer Hebrides, Skye* etc.); 1928. V. G. Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, 1935; *Scotland Before the Scots*, 1946.

829 of Ness), while Uig is the most westerly promontory with
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(632) verb may be ascribed to the ladies and gentlemen of Uig;
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174 Again, the tall men of Ness, dark or fair, and rather longer-
172 headed, still form a group apart from those of Cladach,
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• 141 surviving record.
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Second, it follows that no sweeping generalisations can yet be made as to the ways and habits of particular races. The "Celtic race", one reads, have "never taken to the sea" as have the Norsemen.[1] The facts in the Island are that though the men of Ness, with a possible Norse admixture, were considered better fishermen than those of Cladach, and the present generation includes a great number of seamen, their opportunities have been greater —their cape commanding wider fishing grounds and their little port providing relative safety in storm. And the men of Lochs and of the 'Bays' of Harris, though they show

[1] For example, in the Brand Report on Lewis (1902).

144 little sign of Norse blood, can hold their own as fishers with
172 the men of Ness.
174 Third, it is still commonly stated not only that the "great majority" under the clan system were "without
174 any legal status", but that their tenure "depended on the
(613) good will of the chief or tacksman".[1]

As the last lawbooks of the Gael were taken from Lewis
174 by its first mainland lord in 1611—never to be heard of
675 again—it may well be that, as recognised in the Northern Isles, so in the Western Isles, peasant tenure was perma-
(175) nent according to regional law. In practice, mere 'good-will' is so uncertain a quantity that if this statement had been true, it is hardly credible that communities could have remained so stably rooted as their race-types show them to be. Evictions of groups or individuals at the whim of chief or tacksman would have broken down their
(178) homogeneity of race. In the Lowlands, where eviction
(184) had become so frequent by 1500 and insecurity for the mass of the country people has prevailed ever since, such localisations of race would be unthinkable and do not exist except in certain fishing communities who possess a pride, almost a caste-code, of their own: the Newhaven fishers within Edinburgh remain apart, with a dialect and a dress of their own. Great stability of tenure—in fact as in customary claim—is shown by the racial homogeneity of Gaelic communities.

174 Lastly, it is common to state that the nobility and gentry of a countryside constitute its 'old' or 'original' families. It is true that some land-owning families seem 'old' compared to recent purchasers—successively the merchants and lawyers, venturers and planters of the

(113) [1] From a representative report on the Highlands and Islands, that of the Scottish Economic Committee, 1938 (Historical Preface, p. 9).

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142 DESCRIPTIVE SOMATOLOGY--color of skin, hair, and eyes; form, length, and distribution of hair; musculature; secondary sexual characteristics; somatotype data; etc.

[Gr-vir] [Glengr-vir]

beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other lazy-beds are permanently in natural hay; only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'old arable' is now in oats and potatoes. If natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the old arable (ninety acres) after 1850-52. As in all the fishing townships the area of sown grass is infinitesimal for only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of under-sowing.

There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives. All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and squatters and feuars, besides the fifteen legal Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir common. The common has been encroached on by several feus for Gravir is the functional centre of Park: the Free Church of Scotland and Manse, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionaries (assistant ministers) are all located in Gravir.

Gravir and Glengravir thus have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty per cent of the soum, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 2,652 acres is in general of poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957, a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded: only twelve of the operative units participated in this reclamation work, and the ages of the participants ranged between 27 and 58 years; this is significant as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended annually; if potential improvements to the crofts are limited, pasture amelioration is virtually without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater numbers; at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the sheep soum, and a ewe and lamb sell for as little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the consequences of over-stocking. The cattle stock is below the souming and this paucity of cattle is one of the notable changes in the agriculture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the souming by thirty-five per cent.

The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from the souming of one cow and follower and eight sheep per pound sterling of rent in a township where only seven crofts pay more than £2 rent, they were never intended to be self-supporting agricultural units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, bere or oats, locally milled by the three Gravir water mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family. Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for lobsters.

If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of insurable age and service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupations are sufficiently available or attractive to keep the insurable population in the district. Twelve of the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in permanent employment furth of Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential male resident population.

The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the hey-day of the fishing most of the men fished all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sal of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the souming, the income of the largest croft including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

[Gravir] [Glengravir] [Lemreway]

The urgent need in Gravir is a reduction in the number of holdings. A pre-requisite of such reorganisation would be the creation of employment for a non-crofting population. Weaving and fishing are the more obvious occupations; the former is subject to world trade fluctuations but the latter is now in a more favourable position since the introduction of the herring fishing guaranteed subsidy, although the raising of the initial capital for buying and equipping boats is a formidable problem. It is clear that a division of the community into a crofting and non-crofting sector is essential if the present population level is to be maintained. The most serious aspect of the present trend is that the migrating section of the community comprises the younger and more enterprising people. Unless holdings of economic size can be formed, and stable employment introduced, one can expect the younger men and women to remain in Gravir.

Until a major reorganisation of the crofts is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-seed large areas of the common pasture and the three former arable commons, and the development of a croft-tourist industry, are interim possibilities. It is not sufficiently realised in crofting districts that there is a demand from the city dweller for simple accommodation and good plain fare in a clean atmosphere, with the possibility of hill walking and fishing on fresh and salt water. Yet, until the proposed water-scheme becomes a reality, tourism on a moderate scale can hardly be contemplated.

One can only conclude that until reorganisation takes place and transforms Gravir into a township of viable agricultural holdings, any stabilisation of the present trends is out of the question. A decline in the number of holdings is inevitable in the long run but a planned reduction over a number of years would bring about a more viable community than the disintegration which will occur without such planning. Until this is achieved, the young men and women have little incentive to remain in Gravir.

LEMREWAY

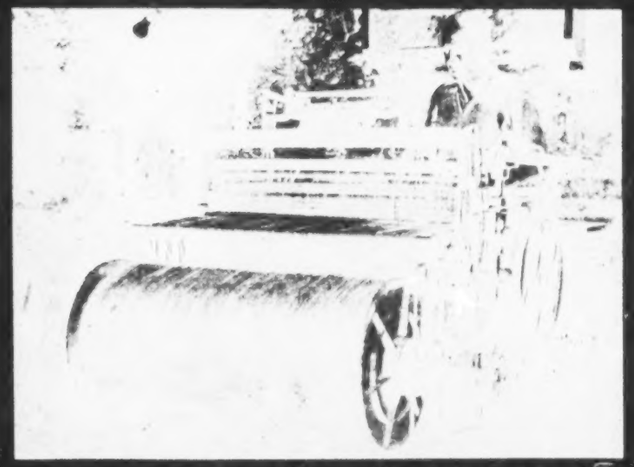
Beth Blowers, Brenda G. Turner
and John E. Wearmouth

Lemreway, the southernmost township of Park, comprises 290 acres arable and outrun divided into thirty-three crofts and 3,025 acres of common pasture. The township is situated on the northern side of Loch Shell round a bay in the shelter of Eilean Iuvard.

The township consists of three distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area at about 100 feet, part common pasture and part reclaimed as extensions to the crofts, locally known as 'the Outend', forms the first subdivision. The second area, further west, is of a hummocky nature. To the east, a steep slope rises to an altitude of 400 feet, less than half a mile from the loch shore, forming the third. Two benches are to be seen at about 100 feet on the steeper slope and similar, though wider terraces occur at the same height to the north. It is suggested that the flat area is the bed of a moraine-dammed lake, and that the hummocky sector is partly morainic and partly ice-eroded rock exposures. A channel eroded through this sector allowed the lake to drain southwards leaving a relatively deeply incised valley through which the present stream flows to the sea.

Soils may be divided into two types - a peaty loam and the better drained gravelly loam which is found to the east and along the main stream; the latter is particularly suitable for potato cultivation.

Except on rocky outcrops, the very steep slopes and the drained areas, blanket bog predominates. Sphagnum here is rarely dominant but where the land is badly drained Deer's hair grass (scirpus caespitosus) and cotton grass (Eriophorum vaginatum and Eriophorum angustifolium) are the dominants. On slightly drier land, purple moor grass (Molinia caerulea) and mat grass (nardus stricta) are abundant. Local dominants are bog asphodel (Narthecuim ossifragum) and cross-leaved heather (Erica tetralix) with other common species such as the sundews (Drosera rotundifolia and intermedia), butterwort (Pinguicula vulgaris), Juncus sp., Carex sp. and Carex panicea occurring sporadically. Where the peat has been cut and drained, 'heather moor' usually develops and Calluna



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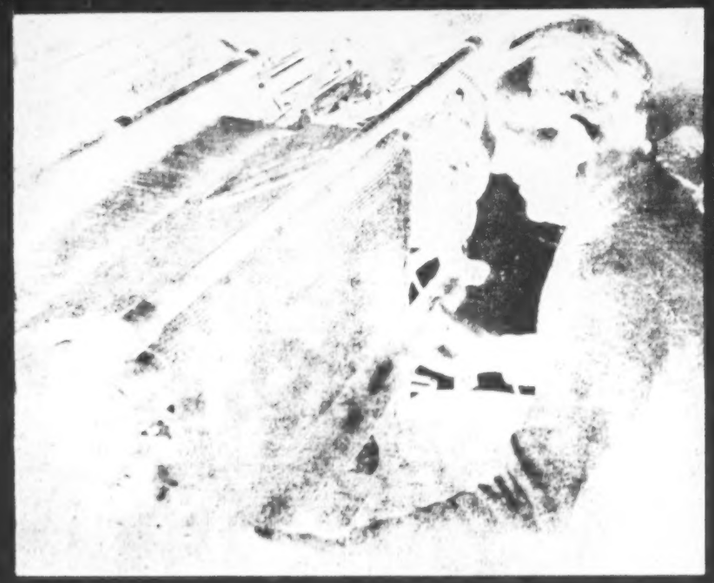
(*above*) Weaving Harris Tweed in a crofter's home; it is usually done in a byre or shed on the croft. View taken from the warp end of the loom

/p. 125/

(*below*) Setting up the loom



2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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(*above*) An island industry, small but socially significant: the seaweed processing factory at Keose, Loch Erisort, Lewis

/p. 126/

(*below*) Feeding wet seaweed into the factory's drying plant. The dried product is milled and exported by puffer for subsequent processing

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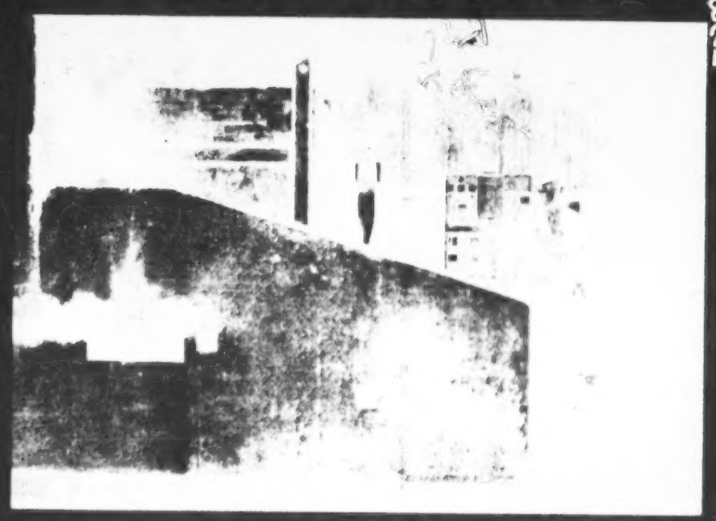

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland
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ing, 73 per cent have the language, which has be
by immigrant country folk and their descendants.

HEALTH AND HOUSING

Despite the harsh conditions of centuries, the phy
the island was good in early times. Epidemics we
isolation, though on occasion smallpox carried awa
ren. The commonest diseases were fevers, jaundice,
diarrhoea. Bloodletting (as in many another more a
munity) was the usual cure for fevers and dysente
the people took a 'brochan' or soup of roots of ne
boiled in water with yeast; the meal of a black bea
boiled milk, was a useful cure for dysentery. Repo
folk as being well-proportioned, free from bodily im
of good stature; healthful and strong-bodied.

But privations, particularly the frequent recurr
famine, coupled with the primitive housing condi
take their toll. The increasing sickness rate arouse
of authority. The most primitive dwellings had
with the cattle at one end and the family at the
Seaforth sought at least to put an end to this, o
partition must be erected between beast and man,
light should be admitted into the dark recesses of th
This type of one-room dwelling was not confined
being found with many variants throughout the
Islands area. The old Lewis house was, as a rule, a
ture, varying in length according to the means an
of the occupier. It had but one door, and frequent
dows. Chimneys did not find favour, mainly beca
ing for the escape of smoke from the centrally-sited
to reduce the quality of soot produced; and soot wa
valuable manurial product. If there was a hole in th
some light, a small pane of glass was fixed into it
a coating of soot, and the sole source of light was
when the door was open. The family and the cattle
entrance; and the cows' dung was removed once
springtime.

Scots ES10
d Harris

ANGUAGE

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2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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(*above*) Sheep shearing: the first stage to Harris Tweed

/p. 143/

(*below*) Natives of Shawbost, Lewis, engaged on wool dyeing, c 1910

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2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

ST KILDA

Glasgow, between 7s and 10s per stone. For tweed made on the 439
island, 27d to 30d was received per yard; for blanketing, 28d. 435
Cloth was measured by the 'big yard', which was 49 inches. The
factor bought cheese at 78d per stone of 24 lb. The prices paid
by the islanders for commodities imported included 25s per boll
for meal and oats; 3s per cwt for salt; 7d for coarse sugar; 5s
per lb of tea; whisky cost 4s per bottle; and tobacco was 5s per
lb. Leather for soling boots cost 24d per lb; for uppers 27d.
Bonnets for the men were 4s each; cravats, 3s. Physically, the 142 •
islanders were in good condition at the time of the *Flirt*'s visit,
with an average height of 5 ft 6 in, though they showed a ten-
dency to flabbiness. The prevalent illness was rheumatism, with 164
dyspepsia running a close second.

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PLATE IXA. CROFTERS WITH FLAIL AND WINNOWING VESSEL

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PLATE IXB. A LEWIS WOMAN CREELING PEAT (*c.* 1925)

Except in cold weather (as here) the skirt is rolled up over a petticoat to form a pad at the waist just below the creel

/facing p. 64/

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Photographs by J. Allan Cash

A PEAT-CUTTER

The peats are being carried to the roadside from where they will be carted home

/facing p. iii/

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613 phase of primitive settlements is traceable in archaeo-
172 logical remains and in recent and contemporary survivals.
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[178] homogeneity of race. In the Lowlands, where eviction
[184] had become so frequent by 1500 and insecurity for the mass of the country people has prevailed ever since, such localisations of race would be unthinkable and do not exist except in certain fishing communities who possess a pride, almost a caste-code, of their own: the Newhaven fishers within Edinburgh remain apart, with a dialect and a dress of their own. Great stability of tenure—in fact as in customary claim—is shown by the racial homogeneity of Gaelic communities.

174 Lastly, it is common to state that the nobility and gentry of a countryside constitute its 'old' or 'original' families. It is true that some land-owning families seem 'old' compared to recent purchasers—successively the merchants and lawyers, venturers and planters of the
[113]

[1] From a representative report on the Highlands and Islands, that of the Scottish Economic Committee, 1938 (Historical Preface, p. 9).

146

146 NUTRITION--evidences of malnutrition and dietary deficiencies; adequacy of the diet of subgroups and of the population as a whole; chemical analyses of native foods; etc. See also:
Morbidity 164
Customary diets 582
Research in nutrition 762
Infant feeding 883

178 found in a Lewis village; but in the ten to twenty years
462 before 1939, the so-called 'Harris' tweed industry spread
283 enormously in Lewis, accompanied by the construction of
286 large spinning mills in Stornoway which supply yarn to male weavers. One further activity, kelp-making, was
221 important for a time, although—not being strictly a
824 traditional task—it is not represented in the upper graph,
178 nor yet in the lower one, having declined after 1825 and disappeared (in the Island) long before the present century. Such was the annual rhythm of seasonal labour prevalent during the last generation, and a hundred years before.

7. *Rural Changes in Diet, Dress and Inter-marriage, and in Mobility: 1919–39*

178 Many outward changes occurred in the twenty years
262 after the close of the First World War. Till the Island
• 146 was able to benefit from the commercial advances of the mainland, it had no adequate relief from the famines of early times; in recent years the quantity of food has been
[199] rather more adequate. With the import of new foods, the consumption of vitamins at first declined: there was greater consumption of white bread from Glasgow and less of fresh vegetables (as ruined garden walls bear witness), and less, too, of cod-liver oil with the cessation of cod-
[244] fishing. Latterly, fenced gardens with vegetables and lettuce are providing vitamins, and fresh fruit (unobtainable even after 1919) is commonly on sale all the year round, so that a more rational dieting, when it can be afforded, is tending to recover lost ground and perhaps more.[1]

[1] E. P. Cathcart (*et al.*), *Studies in Nutrition: an Enquiry into the Diet of Families in the Highlands and Isles: III, Lewis* (Medical Research Council, Special Reports, Series 242. H.M.S.O.), London, 1940.

152

152 DRIVES AND EMOTIONS--evidence bearing upon the nature and intensity of basic impulses or drives (e.g., hunger, thirst, need for oxygen, sex, urination, defecation, pain, heat and cold discomfort, fatigue); information pertaining to the incidence and quality of derived drives and emotions (e.g., aggression, anger, hate, jealousy, fear, anxiety, depression, grief, disgust, homesickness, love, sympathy, elation, excitement, mirth, curiosity, greed, ambition, vanity, inferiority); expression and control of emotions (e.g., stoicism); etc. See also:
Thirst and narcotic drinkings 27
Cleanliness and sanitation 30
Sleep and stimulantes 31
Recreation 52
Legal offenses 68
Socialisation of impulses 80
Recurrent personality traits 187
Profanity 1.06
Permanent expressions of emotions 251
Hunger 291
Labor and leisure 461
Latrine time activities 517
Ingroup antagonisms 578
Motives for waging war 723
Emotional reactions to religion 781
Sensality 831

763 relived and shared. The person's exact age and the
764 identity of his closest kin are discussed. A van is
574 immediately dispatched to bring benches from the church,
[493] which are set up throughout the house of the deceased,
and over the next few days a constant stream of visitors
[431] fills the benches. The visitors bring tea, sugar,
biscuits and other provisions for the days and nights
of communal trial. The tigh fhaire, "house of watching,"
as this wake is called, continues until the day of the
funeral.

764 In the past, persons sat up all night with the body.
[825] "It took so long to get a coffin. You didn't want to
[178] go in and find half the face eaten away by rats." This
custom is dying out, but lights are usually left on in
the room in which the coffin is placed. When an all-night
wake occurs, the atmosphere is one of relaxed story-telling
and the sad laughter of reminiscence.

764 At least two nights of "waking" usually precede the
574 funeral. During this time, hundreds of villagers attend
[152] the tigh fhaire. Grief is expressed throughout the vast
network in which the dead person was enmeshed. On rare
occasions when a single night precedes burial, the house
is filled to overflowing.

Throughout the day and evening, waves of newcomers
enter, and other sitters slip quietly away. Kinswomen of

764 the deceased or the remaining family assist in preparing
574 endless cups of tea, using the provisions that are
brought by the visitors. The newcomers enter, exchange
greetings, memories, sighs and moral judgements in
rapid whispers. "Och, och... that should teach us,
we're all going to go. That's how it was meant to be.
It makes you wonder why we live at all, well, well."
They recall other deaths. "That was a bad death. His
liver was bad, and he turned yellow, then all black..."
[152] They weep, circumspectly observe the appearance of the
[198] room and its occupants, and speak only in Gaelic, the
language of hearth and heart.

The minister usually attends a prayer meeting which
764 is held in the tigh fhaire around midnight of the night
793 before the funeral, but his presence is not necessary.
The prayer meeting may be conducted by the elders. The
elders may also hold the service which precedes the
burial. The minister may walk for a short distance in
the funeral procession or speak a brief few words at
the graveside, but his role in the community drama is
minimal.

764 At least one person from all households within the
621 village is expected to go to the tigh fhaire of someone
592 who has died within the village, "to show respect." The
male head of the household is expected to attend the

683 discovered on many occasions. I once entertained the thought
183 that its absence was indicative of a decadent culture. Then
157 I discovered that it was a traditional norm of behavior. Only
once during the modern period has there been any aggressive
behavior, during the closing years of the "Clearances." Some
who remember these "old warriors" who were not afraid to stand
up for their rights wonder why their descendents have changed.
[793] Today only the ministers are aggressive in their dealing with
their congregations, and they reserve their aggressive pose
for their Sunday sermons. Naturally, the people quarrel among
themselves and a couple of drunken men may come to blows with
each other or the policeman who interferes. In any group
situation or in any dealings with outsiders, however, dislike
or resentment takes the form of placid resistence. The Islander
683 remains courteous and suffers in silence. This is "affect
183 suppression," resultant from Protestantizing the crofters.[39]
157 Even the talkative individual, unless he stands among the gentry
626 or has achieved prestige status through his profession, is
considered an eccentric. He must stand the snickers of the
group and bear the title of a "worthy," a man who does not act
his age.

152 Real anger, manifested by a loud or quavering voice, or
626 table pounding, clenching one's fist or other recognizable signs,
156 is not characteristic of the Sgriathanach in public. The man who
forgets himself is always taken in hand by the minister, an old
man, or a teacher. He may feel righteous indignation, but if he

[39] I am indebted to Conrad Arensberg for calling my attention to this fact.

becomes too worked up, he is expected to withdraw. On occasions 152
such as weddings, when all have had their share of the uisge 156
beatha (water of life), there may be heated quarrels, including 626
the raking over of old clan feuds. Again, some older man will
take the offender in hand, "It's not you that's talking, Murdo,
it's the drink." The man almost invariably expresses regret
for his outbreak later. Political meetings, often explosive
situations in a democratic country, may involve some heated
debate, but the code of diriquette is never breached. When one
politician told the Kilmuir crofters that something should be
done to stop depopulation because soon they might not have
any young men for the army, the people were indignant, but
they remained quiet. In the case of the cattle thief,
cited above, no one lost his temper. In fact, the matter
was discussed almost in a monotone.

People still talk about the one outstanding example of
aggression which has occurred recently in Portree. At the
end of World War II, a collection was made for the benefit of
the returning servicemen. A public meeting was held to discuss
what would be done with the money and who was eligible to
receive a gift. Two young men, both of whom had spent several
years in a German prison, and had been drinking, became
boisterous. They accused the committee of spending the money
and trying to cover it up. The chairman left the meeting. His
replacement, a newcomer, restored order by threatening to call
a policeman, something which never had been suggested at a
public meeting. The boys were forgiven because they had been

German prisoners and must have had a terrible experience, and 152
anyone knows the uisge beatha brings back memories. 156
626

Gossip

Social control does not always take such dramatic forms 626
as those we have been considering. Infringement of the
traditional norms is deterred, and deviation from the expected
patterns of behavior are censured, by a more informal tech-
nique, namely gossip. It is not an exaggeration to say that
everyone within each neighborhood knows his neighbors inti-
mately. They know the individual, his family, and his
ancestral stock. They are aware of his activities inside and
outside his cottage, the way in which he meets his moral and
religious obligations, and his general outlook on the world.
The villagers are equally aware of the character and behavior
of one another. Further, almost all the crofters who have
dealings in the village know and are known by the villagers,
at least by reputation. If any individual is not known,
personally, it is relatively easy for a person to find out
all he wants to know from another villager. To remain a mystery
is dangerous; it begets resentment. Any new arrival to the
island, other than a tourist during the summer, soon becomes
known in the local area. If he is an important person, his
arrival and departure are heralded across the island.

Gossip has enough emotional force on Skye to deter
deviations by the native and to mold the newcomer's behavior
to no small degree. It has been known to make people so

worship. If the deceased is a Sgriathanach, the minister will 793
call every night, if he can. Otherwise, he may call only 764
once. His participation in family worship helps to refocus
the patterns of interaction within the nuclear family and
within the small circle of "people," "friends," and neighbors
who come to visit and take part. Some sophisticated villagers 184
take this opportunity to justify their own deviations, such 349
as going to a concert; for them this is all "a religious ceilidh
with all their psalm singing, praying, and greeting." The 152
people do not keen, as they do in Ireland, but the women are 562
seldom dry-eyed. Again the villager may comment that the
minister at least should say a few kind words about the dead,
"just to comfort his family."

On the day of burial a second and more inclusive rite of
intensification is held. On this occasion the function of the
minister, often aided by an elder, is to restore the equilibrium
within the total sphere in which the deceased habitually moved
during his life. If the person had high prestige status, the
ministers of two churches conduct the family worship. All
the "people," "friends," and neighbors, both men and women,
attend. The minister begins with a prayer for the family,
asking God's guidance. This is followed by the singing of a
few verses of psalm by all who have gathered. Next the minister
reads from Scripture. He concludes with another prayer for
the family. If there are two ministers, or a minister and
an elder present, they alternate in leading the group. If
there are any present who do not "have the Gaelic," they
also alternate between English and Gaelic. We have seen how 764

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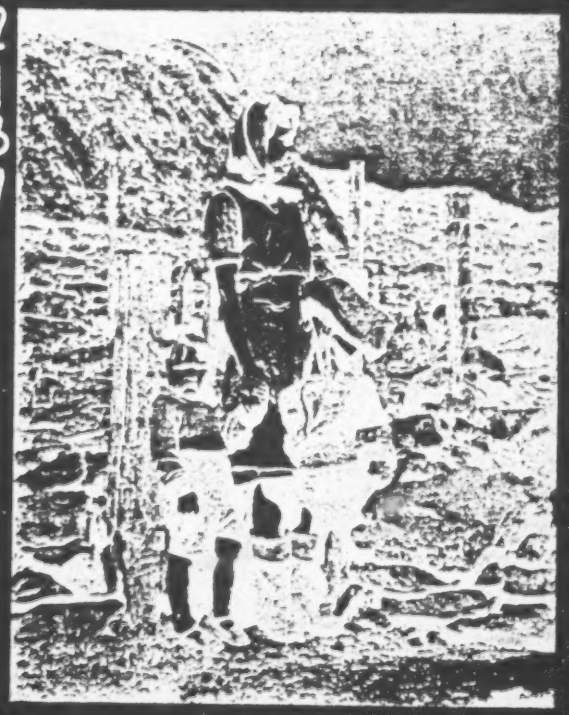

PLATE XII. A MOTHER AND CHILD AT TARBERT, HARRIS

/facing p. 93/

143

143 GENETICS--blood groupings; incidence of sex-linked characteristics (e.g., color blindness, hemophilia); other data of specific genetic significance (e.g., unusual response potentialities or limitations); etc. See also:

Notions about heredity 827

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

827 Islanders themselves sometimes talk of a lowered stamina and poorer health today than in the past. In-
178 breeding is widely held to account for this. Even if health
582 be really poorer, this explanation is untenable, since marriage outside the village has greatly increased in the
166 last century. Everywhere there is movement along the roads; a school placed half-way between two villages
[871] fosters early acquaintance; immigrants trickle in from the mainland, and emigrants occasionally marry beyond the Island. Moreover, the people of certain villages were transplanted in large numbers eighty years ago, as from
• 143 Valtos, Uig, northward to Shawbost. In any case, inbreeding itself does not produce degeneration; for though it may "fix" or bring out harmful tendencies where there is already some poor or dangerous strain, it can also fix good characteristics in a healthy population.[1]

178 All these changes were hastened and reinforced by two
179 new, revolutionary means. First, the physical mobility suddenly brought to an area with no railway by the motor-
166 car, van and light lorry-bus; then, towards the end of the inter-war years, the penetration of the Gaelic-speaking home by the ceaseless voices of broadcasting.

[113] [1] J. A. Thomson and P. Geddes, *Life: Outlines of General Biology*, 1931, vol. i, p. 473.

144

144 RACIAL AFFINITIES--indicated affiliation with established races and sub-races; supporting evidence; extent of race mixture; etc. See also:

Distribution of ethnic groups . . . . . 162 Ideas about race 829
Ethnic stratification and status of racial hybrids 563

153

ODIFICATION OF BEHAVIOR--specific evidence concerning the mechanisms conditioning and habit formation (e.g., conditioned and unconditioned stimuli, nfigurations, response hierarchy, random behavior, positive and negative nforcement, generalization, discrimination, anticipation); data on types of oblem solution (e.g., trial and error, insight or intelligence, imitation); dence as to special mechanisms in verbal or symbolic learning; results of itude and intelligence tests; data bearing upon conscious mental processes g., memory, judgment, reasoning, conation, reactions in emergencie); . See also:

ulture change	17	Ethnopsychology	898
ttitudes	208	Techniques of inculcation	861
ogic	811	Educational methods	876

781 the same room as his father.
273 him, but he closed his ears.
week after he walked out of
him some money. He had been
installment, but always spen
went into town, got the suit
next Sunday."

781 The process of conversi
153 feelings of restlessness, in
passages running through one
surroundings ("A voice kept
home'"), and occasionally vi
serve as signs to the person
869 one of the few chosen by God
are taught from an early age
school to memorize Biblical
that such passages often com
a stressful, disorderly time
as messages from God which p
Evangelical services are ful
bility of unexpected death,
Conversion is often traced t

"I was like an animal.
existed. Then my wife died.
that something happened insi
later."

. His father used to lecture
. Then his father died. The
the bothan, a relative sent
n trying to buy a suit on
nt the money on drink. He
, and wore it to church the

ion is often accompanied by
nability to sleep, scriptural
e's mind, alienation from normal
whispering, 'this is not your
isions, all of which events
n that he is indeed converted,
l for salvation. As children
in both school and Sunday
passages, it is not surprising
e to mind easily, and, during
of life may be interpreted
romise order and relief.
l of doom, the imminent possi-
and exhortations to convert.
o a minister's preaching.
I didn't care whether God
It was when I saw the coffin
de. I was converted six months

781 "It was the Monday after the Communions, about
153 midnight. I was lying in bed not thinking about anythin
in particular. Then all of a sudden I felt God speaking
to me. It was the strangest feeling, like I didn't feel
safe. With each tick of the clock, time was running out
the world was rushing to its end.

"Four days I was like that, dazed and uncertain, no
feeling safe. I was sitting down, unable to work. I
didn't know what I was doing most of the time. Then all
of a sudden I had a vision, of Christ on the cross who
died for us. I had been praying to God and here was my
answer, trust in the Lord Jesus Christ. God does every-
thing for you. He makes you breathe, lifts your lungs i
and out, makes your blood flow. Everything is in the Bi
every event in 1970. Once I realized that, I could take
the days as they came, from one day to the next. We cam
bare into this world, and we leave it bare; but I'm
certain of one thing, that we go with Jesus into heaven
after death, and no one can talk me out of that."

781 Although conversion is supposedly an individual matt
571 and one's fate is thought to be pre-determined, conversio
often occurs among many persons at the same time. "It's
like a chain of fireworks. Once one person goes, the
rest go, too." Through the dense network of social conta
that criss-crosses the island, villagers are aware of

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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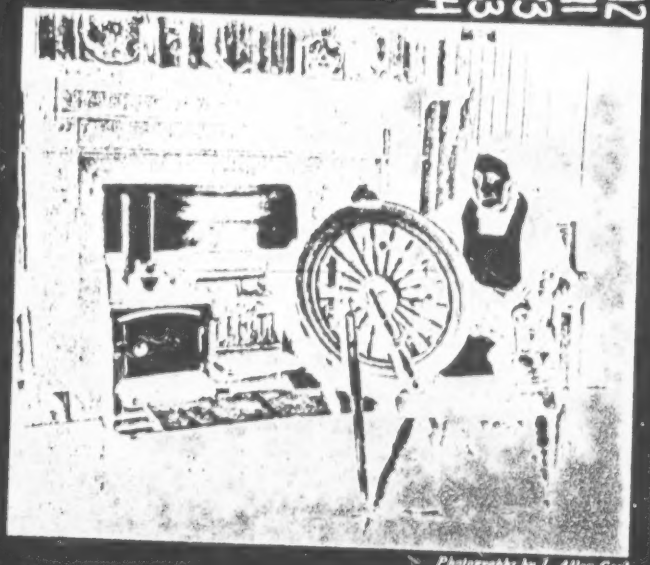

Photographs by J. Allan Cash

PLATE XB. A WOMAN SPINNING WOOL, TO BE WOVEN LATER INTO TWEED, IN HARRIS

142
241
286

PLATE XA. A WOMAN THREADING HER WOODEN TREADLE LOOM, IN HARRIS

/facing p. 65/

THE PEOPLE

99 emphasis is laid on evangelical preaching. The Free Church claims 'the free exercise of all its spiritual functions, while it fully admits the State authority in purely temporal concerns'.

THE GAELIC LANGUAGE

100 Closely tied in with the background of the island folk is the Gaelic language. For many years this has been dying, yet it is still vigorous enough to make a significant contribution to the mental make-up of the people. It is a living language in that it is used for personal communication, though English is often used internally reserved to when the talk turns to technical subjects. As the Gaelic language stands today, by itself it is agreed by most Gaelic speakers to be barrier to economic progress. The Gaelic-speaking child who also knows English, however, is found to be at no significant disadvantage over the monoglot; indeed, tom have shown, particularly in other multilingual countries, that the bilingual child tends to assimilate knowledge at a greater rate and to a greater depth. Two decades ago a pamphlet issued by the Scottish Council for Research in Education showed that while there were no 'statistically significant' differences between the four areas into which they divided Scotland, the Highlands and Islands came out best in a study of the average level of intelligence:

	Mean	Standard Deviation
The four Scottish cities	100·66	15·29
The industrial belt	99·15	16·18
The rural areas	100·92	14·52
The Highlands and Islands	101·79	13·15

The pamphlet comments: 'It is interesting that the mean of the most remote and isolated districts is the highest, and the standard of deviation the lowest.'

101 The Hebrides are now the only area in Scotland where the language, once Scotland's national language, is spoken by a Gaelic-characterised community. On average 95 per cent of the inhabitants of all the island districts are Gaelic-speaking; even in the town of Stornoway, never regarded as wholly Gaelic-speak-

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT *PT. II*

102 Roman Catholicism was far less complete than that ultimately brought about by Protestantism—Episcopalian or Calvinist.

103 At least twenty-five churches, chapels and tiny oratories are named by Martin in Lewis and the Isles alone in his inventory (1934, p. 106). Harris and its islets also had their complement of 'temples', in addition to the priory church of Rodel. We may perhaps assume that before the Reformation Lewis had a population of some 400 persons, or less than 5 families, and contained some thirty chapels or oratories in inhabited areas. If so, then one church or 'temple', on an average served thirty to thirty-five families, or six or seven families per 'temple'. Yet only four or five religious at Eye, Stornoway, Ness or Uig and Rodel would normally be served by clergy; the people of smaller congregations would be without, for weeks and months or even years.

104 When the people were too distant from priests (and later ministers) to hear the Lessons, they handed down the Word orally. Their power of retaining memorable thought, even in prose, is still remarkable, and verse strengthened memory. For example, 'the Ten Commandments' paraphrased in rhyme are recorded in Fr. Allan Macdonald's little collection, "as given by the God of graces to Moses in the wilderness" (*We Fanntan*, p. 6a). Moses, had he understood Gaelic, would have protested at the omission of the Second Commandment, but no sculptor of Iona, Rodel or Eye would have felt a need for it, being unafraid that a Christian could bow down to a golden calf. Believing, with Solomon, that a craftsman's work is his prayer, the artist-monks held that an 'image' should represent, though never replace, God's creation, and may even quicken our concept of the Creator

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT *PT. II*

105 language." Many Islanders would agree with the statement that Gaelic was a barrier to economic progress. It was not only Lowland schoolmasters, ignorant of Gaelic but an educated, sensible class of men in their day, who used the strap on the palms of the little children "for their good." because they could not understand English.

106 An active Lewis country schoolmaster, who had considerable rural knowledge and experience, said to me: "I know what I have suffered through life from being brought up on Gaelic. If I had my way, I would *punish* (with the strap) every child I heard speaking Gaelic in the playground!" Had the Island School Boards wished Gaelic to be consistently taught with English, they could have prevented

107 One may not only disagree strongly with the means—the strap—but hold that enlightened bilingual teaching is both worth while culturally and also of assistance to intelligence without interfering with use in English of the three Rs, and of secondary and higher education. Yet in Lewis recent non-verbal tests in English and Gaelic show a mean intelligence quotient depressed by about 15 points.[1] The conclusion seems to be that under the present system the Gaelic school child is still at a disadvantage compared to other school children. But even more important to the child's development would seem to be the expression of his response to his rural environment in his own tongue. For this the school texts and the educational code do not fully provide; nor do the tests of life when the adolescent Islander suddenly finds himself at work in a Glasgow factory or abroad in city streets. What concerns us here is the economic drawback of a lack of ready English among

[1] Chisholm, A. Smith M.A. B.Sc. *Mental Testing of Islanders Children in Gaelic and English.* (Hons. Council on Research in Education, Gaelic Committee, 1948). J. L. Campbell, *Gaelic in Scotland (and at) (Edinburgh, 1948).*

154

154 ADJUSTMENT PROCESSES—evidence hearing upon the incidence, nature, and cultural patterning of unconscious mental processes (e.g., free association, dreaming, humor, visions, inspiration, incubation), modes of resolving situations involving conflict, frustration, and anxiety, observations and inferences concerning the psychological functions of the Gaelic language, elaboration, displacement, projection, introjection, identification, etc. See above.

Sign-of-strangeness	178	Great importance and value	161
Satan	167	The Accomplishment	162

154 sympathetic with each others' idiosyncrasies. A constant joking keeps people at arm's length and discourages the development of empathy.[1]

155 Accompanying this style of indirect, inhibited expressiveness and the low level of stimulation are culturally prescribed opportunities for relatively uninhibited expressiveness. Such opportunities include the ceilidh ("visit"), the drinking situation (mainly the men), the wake, and the "characters" (see below) and such as New Year's. Although young villagers and emigrants often describe the village as "dull" and "dead," the emigrants are happy enough to return to the island for short periods of time, during which they participate in these situations to which expressiveness and limited license are accepted.

156 1. Ceilidh, Clown, and New Year's Festivities: Only on certain occasions is relatively spontaneous and uninhibited expressiveness common or encouraged within the township, and even then the form which this expressiveness takes is fairly narrowly circumscribed. The traditional ceilidh was such an occasion. In the past, people gathered regularly at night in the high ceilidh (the ceilidh house, or home of someone in which a genial atmosphere existed); the high ceilidh was often the home of someone who lived alone), where stories were endlessly repeated and elaborated,

157 genealogies told, and old songs were sung or new ones composed. The concentration of expressiveness in these ceilidhs is in a well-developed, oral repertoire of literature and music.

158 The ceilidh still exists today in the form of less regular gatherings. Stories and genealogies are seldom recited, but songs are still sung. A few new songs are being composed. The word ceilidh is used as both a noun and a verb to mean "a visit" or "to visit," but implies a casual, relaxed atmosphere rather than a formal visit. A formal visit is made by relatives living in Stornoway, government officials or businessmen, and is characterized by more constrained behavior.

159 The ceilidh of today is often accompanied by the drinking of beer or whisky, but a distinction may be made between a gathering which includes both males and females, and a drinking session at which only men are present. In the past, men often gathered in barns or weaving sheds to share beer made locally from barley or brought from town in a large keg. The drinking of whisky was reserved for special occasions, such as births, weddings, funerals, and the festivities surrounding the New Year, but increased income has resulted in the consumption of whisky on many other occasions. Heavy drinking is still an activity engaged in largely by males, and occurs in extra-village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter 6).

160 village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter 6). Drinking situations provide an important opportunity for relatively uninhibited expression by males, and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

161 The role of clown or "character" is well developed in Hebridean township. In an environment which encourages quietly watchful and somewhat anxious, confrontist behavior, the character is rude, raucous and outrageous, a bite of fire in cold waters. He represents a reversal of normal behavior. The villagers shake their heads, agree that he is impossible, but encourage him to continue, urge him on when he flags, and bring up his escapades for discussion during moments of boredom. There are usually several such characters in a village.

162 Reversal of low-profile and other "normal" behavior is also allowed on particular occasions such as New Year's, at this time among all villagers at work with horses and carts, boys went around the village on New Year's night stealing carts and hiding them on the moor or down by the shore; today they steal gates. Between Christmas and New Year's, groups of boys visit houses in their neighborhood, collecting tea, sugar, biscuits, or money to be used for a party in one of the houses. Such boys are called balaich na hannann, or boys of the hannan. In some Gaelic-speaking areas, hannan refers to a gift this is

163 differentiation and differentiation in personal experience, but to use it in the community, as social coins. The few men who refuse to get involved in drinking episodes that would deplete their available funds are called "mean" and "tight-fisted."

164 For I had a wish, I'd choose to live the same life all over again, maybe a wee bit rougher. We don't get a chance here. The poverty keeps us down. But what does it matter to be a schoolteacher or a minister? What good does it do you? If I have a shilling in my pocket, I've got to spend it. I remember the last time I had a pound note. I put 160 in tweed payments to buy a new stove. I met some of my mais, so I put L20 down on a L50 stove and spent the rest. What a time we had."

165 "I went for a holiday on the mainland and came back with money in my pocket because it's no use drinking in a place where you don't know people. You work a farm."

Drinking occurs at night behind the gray, concrete shield of the bothan or in hotels. Drinking situations provide opportunities, rare in the expressive arena of the village, to express emotions and ideas. These expressions can always be retracted in the cold, sober light of day.

166 "I used to be an alcoholic. Now I spend most of my weekends feeling so terribly ill I wonder (again) if he won't get the D.T.s When something good happens, I wish like hell I could get

[Page 159 is blank; text continues on p.160 —Amsiyet]

167 out and celebrate. There's no other way to express

168 myself."

"Now that Ruaridh has stopped drinking, he's not very interesting to talk to. He's very dull these days. He doesn't say a thing."

During the Christmas season, a sense of excitement and holiday permeates the village. Among the converted members of the Free Church, this feeling is expressed in vigorous participation in long church services and meetings in the homes of the converted. In the rest of the village, the uncommitted are busy with the work at hand for the hotel, or the bothan opens earlier in the week than usual. All special occasions such as funk days or the arrival of relatives generate excitement, which is most often expressed, when the uncontrolled mes, by drinking.

169 A man may propose toasts to the lasses and "Yorges" this rash action with impunity. When a man has been drinking, he is more likely than on other occasions to be openly affectionate to a woman, or to express strong feelings of friendship to his fellows. "It's the only time when you're really happy. You can sing, tell your life story. It's the only time when people are really friendly. But it's a false friendship, because when you want someone the next day, he's not the same person. He's distant, cold. You feel depressed. You want to recreate the situation, so you start drinking again."

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183 The generally low level of stimulation derives in
181 part from values which restrict opportunities for self-
[521] expression. People are ready to gossip, i.e., to participate vicariously in the escapades of others, but are less
[426] eager to act. Stories concerning mad-cap adventures of some villagers do not belie the existence of constraints
[166] imposed on expressiveness. One of the major reasons given by young villagers for wanting to leave the island, and by emigrants for why they left, is that, "There is nothing to do. The place is dead."

156 In the everyday life of the village, a style of
181 indirectness and restricted communication is encouraged.
183 A man might be praised in an obituary by the phrase, "His
621 voice was never heard in the community." The encouragement of a "low profile" of behavior is characteristic of communities in which people meet each other frequently and know they will continue to meet and ask things of each other for a long time to come. Indirectness avoids conflict arising from divergent expectations, and embarrassment from changes in plans.

155 A major feature of practices of child-rearing on
861 the island is inconsistency, which develops a style of guarded watchfulness and hesitance to act or express oneself. Children are teased by being offered things which are then snatched away. Punishment is inconsistent.

155 Lies are frequently told. "Every other sentence my
877 father says is a lie. If you believe half of what he
[573] says, you're a fool. If you believe a quarter of what he says, you're getting near the truth. If you believe an eighth of what he says, it's probably the wrong eighth."

156 Villagers engage with each other in constant, quiet
621 game-playing. They are dependent on each other for many things, but try to minimize the control that others have over them while improving their own positions. If someone brings plants or shrubs as a gift, the response is likely to be, "She was probably pruning her garden and needed to get rid of the leftover garbage." South Uist hospitality releases the person from feeling obligated. (See Emmett 1964: 16-17, for a description of a similar situation in Wales.) A man who is asked about his new tractor replies, "Its faults will come out later." If he were to say it was all right and then it broke down, he would have lost points. In discussing the mental health of a villager recently returned from Craig Dunain (a mental hospital near Inverness), someone observed, "He's better than the doctor who let him out." If another breakdown were to occur soon, someone would be sure to comment, "And so-and-so said he looked all right."

156 Such training allows little room for the development
572 of close friendships in which the individuals involved are

ST KILDA

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the 484
hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the 26
world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psycho- 175
logical evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'One [155]
cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with pocketfuls of money, are working upon a kindly and simple people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required 436
money as an exchange commodity because the original native 198
produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered [239]
steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St [369]
Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with [461]
others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the food they required, provided communications with the mainland were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, as [161]
St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to 166
the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to the care and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be repeated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island [712]
is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, 175
poor folk, scarce learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin 181
published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the company of a minister who had been summoned to the island to denounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180 inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Baptist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy [825]
and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds,

184 verses would ring false to them! Before 1939, two-fifths
24 of the rural pupils of most non-crofting counties came or
341 went in the school year—most of them the children of
166 farm servants. Their schooling suffered, and their teachers might be reduced to despair; indeed it is to educationists, rather than to agriculturists, that we owe a survey of these facts. When they leave home to be 'hired', the young folk learn to fend for themselves but may suffer in the learning: stability of character and endurance in attachment are hard to form.
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It would be difficult to overstress the tragedy of the long-continued break-up of rural communities in the Lowlands. From the later years of the English invasions, as 175
when Major wrote with his knowledge of Scotland in 1500, 176
the tide of emigration through the early, largely untre- 241
corded phases of the agricultural revolution, down to the 361
later phases from 1750 or 1800 to the present day. No 164
one who has worked with fellow-servants on Scots farms will underestimate their sterling qualities. But the break- 155
up, the tragedy, happened. It was boldly sketched by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston (to 1929) and verified by [114]
Miss I. F. Grant (1924 onward). Beginning from intimate study of well recorded and surviving ways in the Highlands and the Hebrides, Miss Grant realised the significance of earlier Lowland life in the farm-hamlet or ferm-toun, as Lowlanders themselves could hardly have done. Comprehension of this break-up of community brings out the value of the enduring elements of communal life still recorded, remembered and surviving in the 'Outermost' Hebrides, at the core of 'the North and West'.

[1] Ideas outlined in this section are developed in A. Geddes (1938-54). Detailed references will be found in the Bibliography.

171 though the suspected person was not thereby accused of
751 ill will, he would have to make some effort to put it right.
'Cure' might be sought either by counter-malediction on the supposed ill-wisher, known or unknown, or else by prayer that the evil should be spread so widely as to be harmless, as "on all the wild birds of Heaven . . . that it would do them no harm"—a charming touch! (*Carmina*, vol. iii). Prayer was the normal and the best protection, free of any malediction, and was included in general intercession for loved ones. But fears remain—not only in 'distant' isles—both in peace and in the extreme stress of war.
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114 A psychotherapist of 1917-18, A. J. Brock, wrote that
156 the "War was not to create a new thing, the ordinary life of every day being itself a sort of battle".[1] Brock brought the hard-learned psychotherapy of war to bear upon a fresh understanding of the countryman struggling against an environment with which he has got out of tune. Failing in spite of strained effort to get the food and warmth he needs for himself and his 'wife and weans', the peasant may lose happiness in home and village, and faith in the future. "How did princes people earn, or that ?" wrote Brock, noting that the risks and casualties of bad times in the past brought fears and floating pictures comparable to those of 'shell-shocked' patients.

171 In all lands the unity of family life and labour is
710 symbolised in homelier folk-lore by the protective spirit of each homestead. As long as the work is carried on heartily and thriftily the Brownie is pleased. But the people may become negligent, or begin to labour from mercenary motives. The true spirit of the work is then upset and (in all folk-lore) the Brownies begin to give
[113]

[1] A. J. Brock, *Health and Conduct*, 1943, pp. 133-139.

171 trouble. "Everything seems to go wrong"; and the
710 peasant falls asleep at night in fear of ills to come. First in his dreams and next in his day-dreams, these take shape as an offended, hostile 'spirit'. The spirit of the place
171 —of the place-work—has become angry. So also, if the
710 peasant's wife pursues her household work 'in the right
787 spirit', then in her dreams and reveries she is helped by kindly presences; but if not, things go wrong, objects mislaid have been taken by 'someone' and a tormenting house-imp plays havoc with her home. These figures of day-dreams were involuntary and 'shady', without the clarity either of earthly things or of heavenly visions. Yet they personified moods of real significance.

176 The Cruisg of the Gaelic poet helped about the farm and household—like the Tonte of Sweden and the Lubberfiend of Merrie England in Milton's *L'Allegro*. Each task may have its own symbol. Of one of these, the cattle-tending *Glaistic* of the Highlands and Isles, Brock quotes from Mrs. E. Carmichael Watson: "Harmless and lovable as a rule,—especially in the older stories—in a few of the later stories she is represented as irritable. . . . The more recent stories about the Glaistic are rather unpleasant. She no longer plays with the children or sings rhymes—she has degenerated into a kind of female ruffian. Probably it would be nearer the truth to say that the change has been in the Highlands rather than in the Glaistic." Brock comments, "This last remark is significant. The increasing irritability of tutelary nature-deities means that the spirit of the old economic life—the equilibrium between Highlanders and Highlands—is being upset"; and so too is that between Highlander and Highlander! In Lewis *Ni Chlach Urlar* (She (or It) of the Hearth Stone), who personified domestic strife, makes trouble; and neighbours come to suffer too!
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[155]
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847 A girl also makes an early pretense at assuming her role.
While a boy is never seen helping within the house, and, therefore, his duties begin later, a small girl soon begins to help make beds and do the cleaning. If she is an only child, or has been left behind by her brothers who have left the Island, she is expected to take their place on the croft. In any event, she will be taught how to milk, how to plant a garden, and how to help in all other tasks of crofting, except cutting
[562] corn and shearing. She learns at a very early age and in diverse ways that the primary role of a woman is to serve the needs of man, some man, throughout her life, unless she is strong enough to live alone.

Learning the virtues valued by their parents and the community, as well as the tasks essential to crofting, both boys and girls are inoculated with the ethos of the Islander long before they can understand the importance of their object lessons. They are separated by more than the division of labor of their parents. As we shall see, the almost unaltered status values of the culture relegate males and females to two different, but complimentary, spheres of activity.

871 As they progress in school, conflicts begin to develop.
155 In one way this is inevitable. Until 1953 there was no attempt to teach the children anything that would directly relate to the life expected of them on Skye. In particular there were no agricultural subjects. Even now, there is but one travelling teacher of agriculture to serve the entire

571 Island. Being taught about the larger world beyond, most
185 children begin to show exasperation with the croft and the
155 duties it imposes. At first they become reluctant to do their chores after school hours or on holidays, or unable to exercise the strong authority of their fathers; they do the work grudgingly. This is especially true of those who are planning to go to a university. While many boys take an interest in the stock and like to plough, if there is a tractor, they frequently complain about the slow pace, the boredom of the long winters, the restrictions on their time, and the weather—above all, the weather. Girls are no less outspoken. In particular, the girl who has been left behind by her older brothers and sisters to care for the parents will feel that such a life leaves much to be desired. She learns of another, entirely different life in school, and she hears her siblings tell of this new life when they return for a visit. Naturally, she begins to think digging potatoes is beneath her dignity. The most frequently heard complaint is, "You can't dress out here." The underlying conflict for both boys and girls in their teens seems to be one between a desire for adventure or opportunities for individual choice and the routine, circumspect behavior expected of them.

573 Added to this desire is the realization that they may
824 not really be needed at home. The small crofter with a piece of land hardly larger than a German laborer's garden can handle all the necessary chores by himself or, at periods of peak activity, with the cooperation of his wife and his neighbors. A medium sized croft may provide work for one, two, or even

273 one night of the week in which controls are imposed, by
275 the arrival of Sunday when no one is supposed to drink.
[171] The bothan was occasionally open on Friday night, and on Monday night. ("If there's anything left from Saturday night, we finish it on Monday.") During the summer of
[221] 1971 when the days were long and filled with communal township activities such as peat-cutting, the bothan was open every night of the week. The bothan closed when the man supplying it with drink suddenly died, and has not reopened.

273 2. Functions of Drinking: If a man decides not to
571 participate in drinking, he is not praised for his self-
• 156 control or his ability to abstain; rather, people say, "What's the matter with him that he doesn't mix?" A man goes off to the hotel or to a bothan "for a wee nip" or "for a pint" (the pint of beer which serves as a chaser for glasses of straight whiskey). Both phrases are euphemisms for the huge amount of whiskey and beer which must be consumed if a man is to satisfy the canons of social intercourse which obtain. A man can drink alone or, in the company of others, drink very little only at great social cost.

"You can't go in for a casual pint in a place like the bothan because it's a place where people mix, and you're bound to meet old friends you haven't seen for

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571
• 156 a while. It would be an insult not to take a drink with
[576] them; you musn't miss your round."

273 The usual practice when drinking with friends is
571 for one person to buy the drinks; everyone drinks
156 together, and then someone else buys the next round. To
431 drink slowly is to indicate that you intend to miss your round. A relative who returns to the island for a holiday usually pays for more rounds than he receives, and may spend as much as L80 in a single week.

If a man wants more drink than his fellows, he has several choices. He may step up the pace of drinking by buying more rounds, which means that he is likely to pay a larger share than the others during the evening as they will be ready to quit before he is; or he may keep a bottle hidden outside the room, and disappear periodically for a private nip, after which he returns to the group.

273 As incomes have grown, excessive drinking, which was
571 once confined to a small number of occasions, has also
156 increased. In the days when money was scarce, people shared
178 with others what they had. Elaborate and relatively lavish
434 ceremonies in which all community members participated were possible because of the contribution in labor and goods of members of the community. The custom prevailing today is to use the added money not to purchase more goods and services, to travel, or in other ways that might result in both social

273 differentiation and differentiation in personal experience,
571 but to use it in the community, as social coin. The few
• 156 men who refuse to get involved in drinking episodes that
178 would deplete their available funds are called "mean"
434 and "tight-fisted."

"If I had a wish, I'd choose to live the same life all over again, maybe a wee bit rougher. We don't get a chance here. The poverty keeps us down. But what does it matter to be a schoolteacher or a minister? What good does it do you? If I have a shilling in my pocket, I've got to spend it. I remember ten years ago, I went into town with L60 in tweed payments to buy a new stove. I met some of my
[435] pals, so I put L20 down on a L50 stove and spent the rest. What a time we had."

[484] "I went for a holiday on the mainland and came back with money in my pocket because it's no use drinking in a place where you don't know people. You want a yarn."

273 Drinking occurs at night behind the gray, concrete
571 shield of the bothan or in hotels. Drinking situations
156 provide opportunities, rare in the repressive arena of the
154 village, to express emotions and ideas. These expressions can always be retracted in the cold, sober light of day.

"I used to be an alcoholic. Now I spend most of my weekends feeding my brother lager so he won't get the DT's. When something good happens, I wish like hell I could get

[Page 159 is blank; text continues on p.160
--Analyst]

273 571 156 154 out and celebrate. There's no other way to express myself."

"Now that Ruaridh has stopped drinking, he's not very interesting to talk to. He's very dull these days. He doesn't say a thing."

273 571 527 794 796 During the Communions, a sense of excitement and holiday permeates the village. Among the converted members of the Free Church, this feeling is expressed in vigorous participation in long church services and meetings in the homes of the converted. In the rest of the village, the unconverted men don their best suits and head for the hotel, or the bothan opens earlier in the week than usual. All special occasions such as fank days or the arrival of relatives generate excitement, which is most often expressed, among the unconverted men, by drinking.

273 571 584 A man may propose to a woman, and the next day "forget" this rash action with impunity. When a man has been drinking, he is more likely than on other occasions to be openly affectionate to a woman, or to express strong feelings of friendship to his fellows. "It's the only time when you're really happy. You can sing, tell your life story. It's the only time when people are really friendly. But it's a false friendship, because when you meet someone the next day, he's not the same person. He's distant, cold. You feel depressed. You want to recreate the situation, so you start drinking again."

683 183 157 discovered on many occasions. I once entertained the thought that its absence was indicative of a decadent culture. Then I discovered that it was a traditional norm of behavior. Only once during the modern period has there been any aggressive behavior, during the closing years of the "Clearances." Some who remember these "old warriors" who were not afraid to stand up for their rights wonder why their descendents have changed. 793 Today only the ministers are aggressive in their dealing with their congregations, and they reserve their aggressive pose for their Sunday sermons. Naturally, the people quarrel among themselves and a couple of drunken men may come to blows with each other or the policeman who interferes. In any group situation or in any dealings with outsiders, however, dislike or resentment takes the form of placid resistance. The Islander 683 183 157 626 remains courteous and suffers in silence. This is "affect suppression," resultant from Protestantizing the crofters.[39] Even the talkative individual, unless he stands among the gentry or has achieved prestige status through his profession, is considered an eccentric. He must stand the snickers of the group and bear the title of a "worthy," a man who does not act his age.

152 626 156 Real anger, manifested by a loud or quavering voice, or table pounding, clenching one's fist or other recognizable signs, is not characteristic of the Sgiathanach in public. The man who forgets himself is always taken in hand by the minister, an old man, or a teacher. He may feel righteous indignation, but if he

[39] I am indebted to Conrad Arensberg for calling my attention to this fact.

becomes too worked up, he is expected to withdraw. On occasions, 152 156 626 273 such as weddings, when all have had their share of the uisge beatha (water of life), there may be heated quarrels, including the raking over of old clan feuds. Again, some older man will take the offender in hand, "It's not you that's talking, Murdo, it's the drink." The man almost invariably expresses regret for his outbreak later. Political meetings, often explosive situations in a democratic country, may involve some heated debate, but the code of diquette is never breached. When one politician told the Kilmuir crofters that something should be done to stop depopulation because soon they might not have any young men for the army, the people were indignant, but they remained quiet. In the case of the cattle thief, cited above, no one lost his temper. In fact, the matter was discussed almost in a monotone.

People still talk about the one outstanding example of aggression which has occurred recently in Portree. At the end of World War II, a collection was made for the benefit of the returning servicemen. A public meeting was held to discuss what would be done with the money and who was eligible to receive a gift. Two young men, both of whom had spent several years in a German prison, and had been drinking, became boisterous. They accused the committee of spending the money and trying to cover it up. The chairman left the meeting. His replacement, a newcomer, restored order by threatening to call a policeman, something which never had been suggested at a public meeting. The boys were forgiven because they had been

German prisoners and must have had a terrible experience, and 15 anyone knows the uisge beatha brings back memories. 62

Gossip

Social control does not always take such dramatic forms as those we have been considering. Infringement of the traditional norms is deterred, and deviation from the expected patterns of behavior are censured, by a more informal technique, namely gossip. It is not an exaggeration to say that everyone within each neighborhood knows his neighbors intimately. They know the individual, his family, and his ancestral stock. They are aware of his activities inside and outside his cottage, the way in which he meets his moral and religious obligations, and his general outlook on the world. The villagers are equally aware of the character and behavior of one another. Further, almost all the crofters who have dealings in the village know and are known by the villagers, at least by reputation. If any individual is not known, personally, it is relatively easy for a person to find out all he wants to know from another villager. To remain a myste is dangerous; it begets resentment. Any new arrival to the island, other than a tourist during the summer, soon becomes known in the local area. If he is an important person, his arrival and departure are heralded across the island.

Gossip has enough emotional force on Skye to deter deviations by the native and to mold the newcomer's behavior to no small degree. It has been known to make people so

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AL PERSONALITY--conception of the self in relation to others; en-
ment and defenses of the self; social participation and isolation; indi-
l roles in relation to culturally defined statuses; interpretations of
nality as reflecting social norms; conformity; etc. See also:

l status and mobility	50	Kinship statuses	072
l mortification	50	Social control	938
pational specialization	463	Cultural definition of the self	928
l relationships and groups	571		

233 654 As these quotations bring out, the subsidy enables people to risk rearing cattle under conditions that would otherwise make success very uncertain.

496 591 [484] 2. Communalism: Despite the decline in various agricultural activities and the individuation of land use, some activities persist which require mutual aid. Conditions of low geographical mobility, in which mutual watchfulness and competitive gamesmanship have developed (see section on "Social Marginality"), contribute to the strong boundedness of the township network. There is still competition over who begins an agricultural activity at a particular time of the year. No one wants to be so early that he stands out like an over-eager novice running risks of frost or other bad weather, but there is an element of pride in being the first to harvest potatoes or bring in the peat. Almost everyone cuts peat, a time-consuming and back-breaking job made pleasanter with a large labor force; and every aspect of the activity--the time of cutting and bringing in, the length of time required to cut peats, the size of the peats when dry, the type of meal served to the work crew, the evenness of the final peat stack--is subject to intense scrutiny.

[156] [221] 314 591 496

621 591 [426] Despite these tendencies, an individual is still enmeshed in familial and village ties. Villagers walk in and out of each others' houses without knocking; only a "stranger" knocks. Goods such as tape recorders, binoculars and books are passed around the village; people even borrow each others' reading glasses.

858 855 861 621 Children are "borrowed" as well. They are loaned out to relatives and neighbors to run errands, or may even live with them. They are scolded as often by a neighbor or other villager as by a parent. A child might be told, "When someone (any adult) tells you to do something, you do it, no matter who that person is." The parents of one household are criticized for taking their children's side against other children and other parents. "He's teaching his children not to mix with others. One child is as good as another. They may be good one day, but they're likely to be bad the next." A child or adult who enjoys spending time by himself is still considered extremely odd. An important criterion by which someone's mental health or general personality is evaluated is whether or not he "mixes" well. It is fairly common for childless households to "adopt" a child of neighbors or relatives; that is, the child spends a great deal of time with them. They may go to the child's house to put him to bed at night, or the

[156] 597 621

177 156 "I was in the Navy during the last war. We were in Norway, and got an invitation to visit the palace. I didn't go. I was afraid I'd make a mess of things."

"This place has an inferiority complex. It's mainland-oriented; so you feel outlandish."

575 197 186 [181] The new director of an association which promotes the speaking of Gaelic is a Lowland Scot who learned Gaelic when he was in England. He was working in England and, as a Scotsman, felt so much like a foreigner that he decided "to be a real foreigner"--so he studied Gaelic. Motives which prompted legislation protecting crofting also lie behind the development of organizations which attempt to protect and preserve the Gaelic language.

[175] An Comunn Gaidhealach, the Highland Association which promotes the speaking of Gaelic, was founded in 1891 in a town on the mainland, and has always been urban-based. Eighty years passed before the association established its headquarters in Stornoway; but the headquarters were relegated to hindquarters when the director found that he needed to be on the mainland to exert pressure on influential organizations for aid and support. The organization is condemned by ministers on the island, who see it as an organization that sponsors light-hearted singing. The magazines and books which it publishes or sponsors are seldom read by the rural islanders. The

[143] [218]

183 181 [521] The generally low level of stimulation derives in part from values which restrict opportunities for self-expression. People are ready to gossip, i.e., to participate vicariously in the escapades of others, but are less eager to act. Stories concerning mad-cap adventures of some villagers do not belie the existence of constraints imposed on expressiveness. One of the major reasons given by young villagers for wanting to leave the island, and by emigrants for why they left, is that, "There is nothing to do. The place is dead."

[626] [168]

156 181 183 621 In the everyday life of the village, a style of indirectness and restricted communication is encouraged. A man might be praised in an obituary by the phrase, "His voice was never heard in the community." The encouragement of a "low profile" of behavior is characteristic of communities in which people meet each other frequently and know they will continue to meet and ask things of each other for a long time to come. Indirectness avoids conflict arising from divergent expectations, and embarrassment from changes in plans.

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156 621 Villagers engage with each other in constant, quiet game-playing. They are dependent on each other for many things, but try to minimize the control that others have over them while improving their own positions. If someone brings plants or shrubs as a gift, the response is likely to be, "She was probably pruning her garden and needed to get rid of the leftover garbage." Such negativism release the person from feeling obligated. (See Emmett 1964: 16-17, for a description of a similar situation in Wales.) A man who is asked about his new tractor replies, "Its faults will come out later." If he were to say it was all right and then it broke down, he would have lost point. In discussing the mental health of a villager recently returned from Craig Dunain (a mental hospital near Inverne someone observed, "He's better than the doctor who let him out." If another breakdown were to occur soon, someone would be sure to comment, "And so-and-so said he looked all right."

156 592 Such training allows little room for the development of close friendships in which the individuals involved are

156 sympathetic with each others' idiosyncrasies. A constant
572 joking keeps people at arm's length and discourages the
[522] development of empathy.

156 Accompanying this style of indirect, inhibited
154 expressiveness and the low level of stimulation are culturally prescribed opportunities for relatively uninhibited expressiveness. Such opportunities include the ceilidh ("visit"), the drinking situation (mainly for men), the role of clown or "character," and holidays such as New Year's. Although young villagers and
[166] emigrants often describe the village as "dull" and "dead,"
[484] the emigrants are happy enough to return to the island
[181] for short periods of time, during which they participate in those situations in which expressiveness and limited license are accepted.

156 3. Ceilidh, Clown, and New Year's Festivities: Only
154 on certain occasions is relatively spontaneous and unin-
574 hibited expressiveness condoned or encouraged within the township, and even then the form which this expressiveness takes is fairly narrowly circumscribed. The traditional
[178] ceilidh was such an occasion. In the past, people gathered
519 regularly at night in the tigh ceilidh (the ceilidh house,
[538] or home of someone in which a genial atmosphere existed;
[533] the tigh ceilidh was often the home of someone who lived alone), where stories were endlessly repeated and elaborated,

156 genealogies told, and old songs were sung or new ones
154 composed. The concentration of expressiveness in these
574 forms resulted in a well-developed, oral repertoire of
178 literature and music.
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[538]
[535]

The ceilidh still exists today in the form of less
[538] regular gatherings. Stories and genealogies are seldom recited, but songs are still sung. A few new songs are
[533] being composed. The word ceilidh is used as both a noun and a verb to mean "a visit" or "to visit," but implies a casual, relaxed atmosphere rather than a formal visit. A formal visit is made by relatives living in Stornoway, government officials or businessmen, and is characterized by more constrained behavior.

156 The ceilidh of today is often accompanied by the
154 drinking of beer or whiskey, but a distinction may be
574 made between a gathering which includes both males and
243 females, and a drinking situation at which only males are
198 present. In the past, men often gathered in barns or weaving sheds to share beer made locally from barley or
273 brought from town in a large keg. The drinking of whiskey
[178] was reserved for special occasions, such as births, weddings,
[434] funerals, and the festivities surrounding the New Year, but increased income has resulted in the consumption of whiskey on many other occasions. Heavy drinking is still an
[275] activity engaged in largely by males, and occurs in extra-village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter 6).

273 village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter
[154] 6). Drinking situations provide an important opportunity for relatively uninhibited expression by males, and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

522 The role of clown or "character" is well developed
156 in Hebridean townships. In an environment which encourages
154 quietly watchful and somewhat anxious, conformist behavior, the character is rude, raucous and outrageous, a bite of fire in cold waters. He represents a reversal of normal behavior. The villagers shake their heads, agree that he is impossible, but encourage him to continue, urge him on when he flags, and bring up his escapades for discussion during moments of boredom. There are usually several such characters in a village.

156 Reversal of low-profile and other "normal" behavior
154 is also allowed on particular occasions such as New Year's,
527 this time among all villagers. In the days of horses and
[522] carts, boys went around the village on New Year's night
[883] stealing carts and hiding them on the moor or down by the shore; today they steal gates. Between Christmas and
[574] New Year's, groups of boys visit houses in their neighbor-
[431] hood, collecting tea, sugar, biscuits, or money to be used for a party in one of the houses. Such boys are called
796 balaich na bannagan, or boys of the bannag. In some
431 Gaelic-speaking areas, bannag refers to a gift that is
184

166 The image of the island
484 as spiritual home is fostered by The Stornoway Gazette,
823 and by nostalgic songs, most of which were written by
204 islanders who emigrated to Canada in the first quarter
[533] of the century.

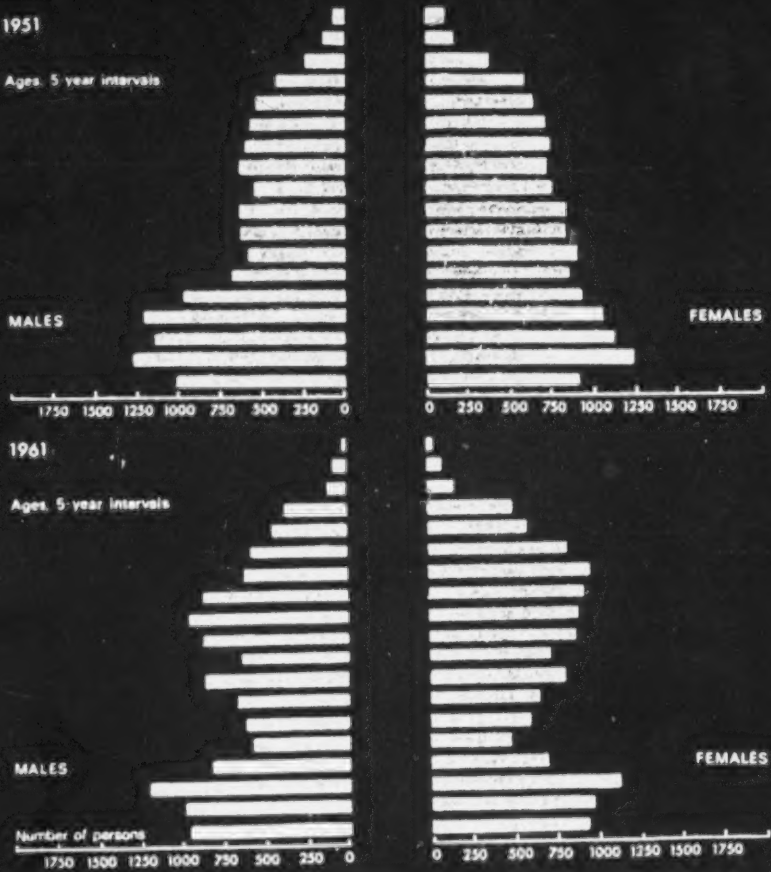
632 The crofting township as a strongly bounded network
241 continues to exist, although crofting as a socioeconomic pattern which evolved in a situation of limited social and geographical mobility, low cash reserves, and the restriction of a large population to a region of limited resources, is very different from crofting as defined by an office in Inverness. As far as the crofter is concerned, to be defined as a crofter by the Crofters Commission and other government agencies is to have access to resources which affect the environment in which he makes his choices.

241 The individual is faced with the semi-security of
288 crofting and weaving, in contrast with the exciting but risk-laden opportunities offered by the dominant urban-
[654] industrial mainland. Crofting and Harris Tweed have been protected by government legislation. Various subsidies
[745] and loans are available. In times of unemployment, social security is available. Extremely important as contributers
621 to boundedness are the non-economic incentives: the
156 individual has a place in a human community; he is given

621 character traits just by virtue of his belonging to a
156 particular family; he is protected from the "out" world even though he may have broken its rules. The
[527] village provides a colorful arena of recreation in the
[574] form of ceilidh, the character, and holidays such as New Year's.

781 A major system of order and meaning is provided by
794 religion, and by the opportunity to belong to a tightly-
[181] knit religious clique. Lewis is sometimes called Tir an t-soisgeul, Land of the Scriptures, in contrast with
571 the decadent outer world. The male drinking fraternity
273 constitutes a second important group. And for everyone
[527] there is the cinema of their neighbors' activities, which are placed in a vast human calendar that includes the behavior of many generations.

67



The age structure of the Lewis population in 1951 and 1961. The trend shown over the forty years 1861-1901 has strengthened and consolidated, so that the 1961 population is middle-aged

the 1914 war, but some 200 of those who survived the holocaust were lost in the wreck of the *Iolaire* on New Year's morning, 1919 —the first morning of the first new year of peace, literally within sight of home. Again, the effect of emigration was a loss, in many small communities, of a full generation. Where religion is strong and thrice-distilled, there tends also to prevail a state of mind which dwells on guilt and, where people are accustomed to ex-

771 783 153 [058] press themselves in terms of religious values and ideas, the fear of having committed unforgivable sin. The normal adjustments, reflections and mental stocktaking of middle life are possibly more readily precipitated towards depression in an emotional people 733 157 prone to serious thought. This brings of course a concomitant spectrum of problems in an area where in general a man is expected to take a dram and stand it; both nature and nurture are relevant factors. In the words of Cunningham Graham (1899), the medical adviser finds himself 'preaching teetotalism, that is for others, but himself taking his glass of whisky for the reasons which have been so cogently set forth by St Paul the Apostle to the Caledonians.' For those who comment in isolation on a community's [539] indulgence in alcohol, one must quote a Gaelic proverb: *'Tha smuideag fhein an ceann gach foid'*—Every peat-end has its own smoke.

733 *175 [539] From the earliest times the Western Isles have indeed been regarded as supporting a population with an uncanny predilection for spiritous liquors. To a certain extent the spirits were needed by ill-nourished crofters to keep out the damp and cold when on the moors or at sea; and people in a depressed economic or mental condition will anywhere seek refuge in alcohol or other available drugs—forgetting the old Gaelic proverb 'Better the little fire that will warm than the great fire that will burn.' The evil effects of drinking have certainly at times been serious: in 1869 Sir James Matheson addressed a circular letter of remonstrance to his tenants, indicating that those guilty of misconduct were liable to be deprived of their holdings. In 1920 a vote was taken in Stornoway under the Scottish Temperance Act, with the result that the town went 'dry'; three years later the poll was upheld. Then in 1926, with a majority of 84, Stornoway went 'wet' again.

275 [733] But the 'drink question' has been given undue prominence and dragged out of its island context. For instance, Stornoway contains all but three of the licensed premises on the island (at Tarbert, Rodel and Carloway) and, as the chief centre for business and pleasure, must naturally attract anyone seeking refreshment.

157 PERSONALITY TRAITS-
lips or nails, twiddling c
operativeness and compe
personality traits (e.g.,
dence and distribution of
extrovert, obsessional,
of personality tests; ind
sonality traits and types;
basic personality; etc.

Mutual aid and competition . .
Social mobility . . . . . .
Derived drives and emotions .
National character and ethos .
Patterned expressions of emotion
Attitudes . . . . . .
Postures . . . . . .

--occurrence of idiosyncratic habits
of thumbs, wringing of hands); preva
titiveness; incidence and distributi
leadership, submissiveness, aggre
recognized types of personality (e.g
manic, paranoid, hypochondriac); g
lications of cultural selectivity with
evidence bearing upon the existenc

See also:

. . . . . 47 Humor . . . . . .
. . . . . 55 Statuses adapted to particular
. . . . . 152 personality types . . . . .
. . . . . 181 Social interaction rates . . .
. . . . . 201 Types of religious experience
. . . . . 208 Ethnopsychology . . . . . .
. 516

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

185 the mansion, lodges, and grounds or 'policies', much was
747 built and laid out for himself at the time, though part was
for reclamation. This contrasts with his provision for
423 those whose homeland he had bought—the sum spent
upon his own mansions and grounds being nearly half that
spent directly for the good of some 20,000 fellow-Gaels.

185 Matheson was not technically equipped for his chosen
157 task of 'reconstruction'. Nor was he fitted by trade in
the East for the leadership of a people accustomed, in
(623) spite of dire poverty, to considerable freedom. Ignorant,
one gathers, of the language of the people, his choice of a
later Factor was hardly a happy one. Tradition in Lewis
185 speaks of this Donald Munro as an 'autocrat', and evidence
623 in 1874 confirms it. In addition to being the Factor for
423 an ageing man and so holding economic sway over the
people, he held seventeen public and semi-public offices
661 in the Island, from Justice of the Peace to Captain of the
Volunteers, still other offices being held by his clerk! The
extent of his sway is also shown by his having served
summonses of removal upon fifty-six families on his own
authority. As a result of the treatment of the officer sent
to serve the summonses, three crofters were tried on a
charge of "assault committed on an officer of the law in
revenge for having executed his duty". When asked in
court if Sir James would not have disapproved of this step
and the manner of its execution, Munro replied that it was
his practice "never to trouble Sir James with small
matters". "Then you consider the eviction of fifty-six
families a small matter?" was the retort. These 'Bernera
rioters' were found not guilty, they and their neighbours
were left in possession, and soon after the Factor demitted
185 office.[1] Lewismen felt the result to be a moral victory,
829

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. lxxi.

CH. X BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

423 In May 1918 Lewis was bought by Lever of Port
565 Sunlight, then Baron Leverhulme of Bolton-le-Moors (his
birthplace), the head of a great combine with 50,000 white
• 157 and 25,000 black employees. Meeting him in Lews Castle
124 in August 1919, Dr. Hardy and I found him troubled
by a human situation he had failed to diagnose. Short
and stocky but very erect, quick-eyed and rapid of manner,
and with a wide expressive mouth, he spoke earnestly of
his plans; but his eyes flashed and his mouth set, as he
rapped out, "They keep putting off, yet they leave the
people in houses *not fit for Kaffirs!*" The question,
"What objective inspired—or misled—Leverhulme to
buy the Island?" is answered by his son and biographer.[1]

159 By 1917 Leverhulme had felt it was time to devolve
423 his personal authority over his business, in the interests
of its future. Hence he looked about him for an estate
433 in which he could exercise "his passion for changing the
face of nature", and his eagerness for 'planning' with
drawing board and T-square, and for philanthropy.[2] He
nearly bought an estate in the Midlands in order to develop
it; but work had already begun there, and he wished to
find a place which would be his to remodel from the start.
Thirty years before, Leverhulme had visited Lewis and
now in 1917 he spent a week there, motoring all over the
Island. "He was enraptured . . . he saw not merely a
countryside in need of more and better roads, not only a
residence and grounds capable of alteration and improve-
ment, but a problem to be solved, a human and racial
problem which had so far baffled all who had tried to
solve it. . . . He had been told the Lewis man was lazy,

(113) [1] Leverhulme (2nd Viscount), *Leverhulme: By His Son*, 1927, chap. xxvi, p. 221 ff. Lord Leverhulme, who had thought of styling himself 'Of the Isles' took the title 'Of the Lews'.

[2] Leverhulme (1927), cf. pp. 81-86.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

185 In 1919, when the men came home to Lewis they could
727 still see reasons for hope. They found a strange proprietor,
known first for his outstanding—some said ruthless—
• (157) business ability, and only secondly for his philanthropy.
They heard his plans and were inclined to listen.

185 Yet, remembering their pre-war losses and the notorious
fluctuations of prices and employment in the fisheries, they
wished for a policy of insurance, as it were; so, if their
home lay near a promised farm, of which they had long
159 meant to claim a share, they claimed this forthwith. Only
too soon after, in the early years of Leverhulme's adventure,
458 the fall in total sales and prices of fish brought immediate
433 loss to the keenest and hardest working of the fishermen,
228 and to their financial backers in Stornoway. These losses
warned others of the uncertainties of fishing. Now the
fall in the fishing industry is not so much as mentioned in
the biography of Leverhulme; nor do we remember a
(654) word of it in Leverhulme's speeches. One finds no data
to show a substantial endeavour by the Scottish Office to
co-operate with Leverhulme in framing policies either to
change the trend of European markets or to make local
adaptations to combat downward trends. The Fishery
Reports certainly record the losses, year by year. As for
the Island fishermen, they shared the feeling expressed
by other Scots fishermen, that the old markets across the
North Sea, eastward to what had been St. Petersburg,
could and should be reopened, not closed 'for party
reasons' by 'English politicians'. Although ostensibly
Leverhulme ignored it, he cannot really have been unaware
of the effect of the downward trend of the fisheries upon
his own prospects of success, and upon the hopes and
confidence of the fishermen. Having been so outspoken
upon the shortcomings of Government with regard to local

198

In Claigan, for example, the crofters felt they would do 234
better with private flocks than with a club stock. Although 476
each man now has his own sheep on the township grazing, they 178
are cared for like any club stock. The four crofters are
needed for success at the dippings, marking, and shearing,
and they are always at the fank on these occasions. In larger 234
townships, those with ten or more holdings, the need for all 476
the crofters to help out at the fank is less pressing while 621
the felt need for auxiliary employment is stronger. In con- 632
sequence, the cooperative work habits run less smoothly. In
an attempt at adjustment, many townships have resorted to
paying the share holders for their labor from the profits.
To the best of my knowledge, only one township has witnessed
the total suppression of the cooperative spirit; all the
crofters are too busy with full-time employment to bother with
the steadily declining sheep stock.

Nevertheless, it has become commonplace for the crofters (829)
to complain of at least one individual in the township who
does not pull his full share, someone who is "trying to
sabotage the whole thing."

Independence is a personality trait, but it is best 157 •
described as a steadfast determination not to conform for the 476
mere sake of conformity when an innovation handed down from 829
the outside commercial world is at stake. The old ways are the 888
best ways, even if only the old men think so. It is the old
men who uphold the traditional practices. As long as they do,
and as long as unanimous consent is required for any change,

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• 157 the Highlander will be "independent." As for being "just not
476 cooperative," what the critic really means is that the crofter
829 is unable to cooperate in the ways city people or more sophisti-
(888) cated farmers do. The cooperative movement has come to Skye,
but it was not a local venture. The Scottish Cooperative and
Wholesale Society opened its shops, without shareholders. The
distinction between the crofters' simple cooperation and so-
phisticated cooperation, including capital investment, does
not invariably hold.[11] There are sheep stock clubs. Govern-
ment loans, of course, provided the initial capital.

476 In dealing with the topic of cooperation, as any part
621 of the economic aspect of the culture of the Sgiathanach,
632 the basic importance of the township again and again emerges.
Only a few crofts exist apart from a township. A more detailed
analysis of the township system and the pressures it imposes
on the crofter is, therefore, in order.

The Township

621 The efficient unit in the local economy is the township,
632 the modern equivalent of the joint-tenants' and tacksmen's
farms. Each township consists of a variable number of individua
holdings, the low-lying arable and improved grass land held
under hereditary tenure, and a more or less extensive area
of rough, unimproved hill grazing held in common. The common,
concurrent right of each crofter to use the hill grazing under
the "souming" principle gives the township its focus.

[11] cf. Darling and Morley, loc. cit.

871 island. Being taught about the larger world beyond, most
155 children begin to show exasperation with the croft and the
157 duties it imposes. At first they become reluctant to do their
133 chores after school hours or on holidays, or unable to escape the strong authority of their fathers, they do the work grudgingly. This is especially true of those who are planning to go to a university. While many boys take an interest in the stock and like to plough, if there is a tractor, they frequently complain about the slow pace, the boredom of the long winters, the restrictions on their time, and the weather--above all, the weather. Girls are no less outspoken. In particular, the girl who has been left behind by her older brothers and sisters to care for the parents will feel that such a life leaves much to be desired. She learns of another, entirely different life in school, and she hears her siblings tell of this new life when they return for a visit. Naturally, she begins to think digging potatoes is beneath her dignity. The most frequently heard complaint is, "You can't dress out here." The underlying conflict for both boys and girls in their teens seems to be one between a desire for adventure or opportunities for individual choice and the routine, circumspect behavior expected of them.

593 Added to this desire is the realization that they may
882 not really be needed at home. The small crofter with a piece of land hardly larger than a German laborer's garden can handle all the necessary chores by himself or, at periods of peak activity, with the cooperation of his wife and his neighbors. A medium sized croft may provide work for one, two, or even

685 deviants without recourse to the court. Indeed in Kilmuir
627 they do so well that I never heard of any theft. Still, there has been some theft in Glendale. Shortly before each cattle sale the shepherds on the club farm found one or two cattle had disappeared. At first they thought the cattle might have gone over the cliff, but coincidence soon indicated they had a thief in their midst. One of the crofters, a retired Glasgow policeman, took a hand in discovering the guilty party. At length he found out who it was. At the annual meeting several weeks later, he stood up and told the shareholiers exactly what he had seen. Here were the facts, in detail. He did not, however, name the guilty person. After he had finished, the crofters calmly asked him to retell several parts of his story, and then there was a period of silence. Finally, the man publicly confessed and expressed repentance. He was not cast out or handed over to the police -- I doubt if the police know of this even now. His humiliation was sufficient punishment.

682 Among such crimes and the forms of social control which
763 they prompt, however, murder is almost unknown, deterred by the tales which tell of being plagued by the man's ghost to the grave, and suicide is extremely rare, with only three cases in many, many years. Much more important, however, is the influence of social control over public behavior.

683 During my stay on Skye, I was struck by the lack of overt
183 aggression. Aggression was an outstanding characteristic of the
157 culture during the days of the clan, as the Crown ruefully

683 discovered on many occasions. I once entertained the thought
183 that its absence was indicative of a decadent culture. Then
157 I discovered that it was a traditional norm of behavior. Only once during the modern period has there been any aggressive behavior, during the closing years of the "Clearances." Some who remember these "old warriors" who were not afraid to stand up for their rights wonder why their descendents have changed.

793 Today only the ministers are aggressive in their dealing with their congregations, and they reserve their aggressive pose for their Sunday sermons. Naturally, the people quarrel among themselves and a couple of drunken men may come to blows with each other or the policeman who interferes. In any group situation or in any dealings with outsiders, however, dislike or resentment takes the form of placid resistance. The Islander

683 remains courteous and suffers in silence. This is "affect
183 suppression," resultant from Protestantizing the crofters.[39]
157
626 Even the talkative individual, unless he stands among the gentry or has achieved prestige status through his profession, is considered an eccentric. He must stand the snickers of the group and bear the title of a "worthy," a man who does not act his age.

Real anger, manifested by a loud or quavering voice, or
152
626 table pounding, clenching one's fist or other recognizable signs,
156 is not characteristic of the Sgiathgnach in public. The man who forgets himself is always taken in hand by the minister, an old man, or a teacher. He may feel righteous indignation, but if he

[39] I am indebted to Conrad Arensberg for calling my attention to this fact.

158

158 PERSONALITY DISORDERS--incidence and distribution of hypertension and of symptoms of neurotic or functional disorders (e.g., hysteria, hypochondri compulsive behavior, generalized anxiety), of motor disturbances (e.g., tics stammering), of dissociative behavior (e.g., amnesia, somnambulism), of hallucinations and delusions, of manias (e.g., kleptomania, pyromania), of sadistic and masochistic behavior, of addiction (e.g., to drugs or alcohol), and of severe psychic disturbances (e.g., phobias, manic-depressive psychoses, involutional melancholia, schizophrenia); psychiatric interpretation of mental disorders; etc. See also:

Sexual perversions	83	Alcoholism and drug addiction	733
Socialization	86	Insane asylums	734
Incidence of organic diseases	164	Psychotherapy	755
Conception of conscience	577	Care of the insane	758
Crimes, torts, and sins	673	Suicide	782
Delinquency	674, 730	Ideas about abnormal mental states	828
Feeblemindedness	732	Adolescent problems	F83

286 441 175 By 1911, the number of looms in Lewis had increased to 250-300 (Hunter 1964: 42).

288 184 By the late 19th century small mills had replaced domestic spinning and weaving in the Highlands on the mainland. Weaving continued to be a home industry in the Hebrides where it was encouraged by the support of non-profit-making organizations such as the Highland Home Industries and Arts Association, the Scottish Home Industries Association, and the Crofters Agency--all established at the end of the 19th century--and also encouraged by local merchants who had begun to act as middlemen in marketing the cloth. These merchants owned small general stores throughout the island and either bought the tweed from local weavers or gave them goods from their stores in exchange. Many of the tweed firms in Lewis grew from such small general stores and from the barter system.

288 175 159 472 1. The Harris Tweed Industry in Shawbost: Coinneach Rod, a man who started a tweed business on the west side of Lewis which eventually developed into a large mill with equipment for spinning yarn and finishing tweeds, was said to have been a risk-taker, a man who lost the first L50 he borrowed, but borrowed another L50 and never looked back, a man who throughout his life gave fellow

288 175 159 472 businessmen nervous breakdowns because of the risks he continued to take. "He was planning to start some business. At one point it was going to be either distilling or the tweed, and he just happened to go for the tweed."

Some say Coinneach Rod had physical disabilities, developed or aggravated by military service, which made him unable to work like other men, and hence he was forced to find other ways of earning a living. He was a merchant, like other islands who became entrepreneurs in the tweed business.

According to one version of Coinneach Rod's life, he began to handle tweed on a large scale as the result of an accident, when an agent selling tweed for a merchant on the east side of the island arrived on Lewis for the first time, asked for a "Kenneth Macleod, merchant," and was directed to Coinneach Rod of Shawbost.

"He was also an earthy, natural, easy man to get on with. He never changed, even after the money came. He would sit the buyers down with a plateful of cuddies and say 'Dig in,' 'Eat up.' He always ate them whole, and never spat out the bones. The buyers liked that. They liked his easy manner."

175 441 452 Between the first and second world wars, the merchant was an extremely powerful figure. When men and women

175 441 452 went away to the fishing, their families bought groceries on credit. "If the merchant thought the fishing season would be good, he let them have as much as they wanted; otherwise he restricted them in their buying."

288 175 159 444 437 472 The barter system continued in Shawbost long after it stopped in Stornoway. A weaver was given credit in Coinneach Rod's store, until it closed in 1948, for the exact amount of the tweed. He never gave money. "You ha to get just the right amount of goods, even down to tuppence in matches." People were forced to buy huge jars of jam which they did not really want or need. Some "cunning" fellows would slip a two-pound pair of shoes into a shoebox marked 15 shillings. "Coinneach Rod would ask if you wanted a wireless, or would a tweed jacket fit your son. You couldn't refuse, or you wouldn't do any weaving for him for a long time."

288 175 159 472 452 Coinneach Rod bought looms for many weavers, and the would weave only for him to pay off the debt. "People living on the dole with a large family would go to him and ask him to buy them a loom. He would get the man a loom, and then get him a lot of tweeds to weave so the ma could pay him off. It was two tweeds for yourself and on for the loom."

288 175 441 2. Centralization and Specialization: Centralizatio and specialization in handling the production of the twee

*175 871 656 mainder of Scotland where, under the school boards, education became both free and compulsory.

In Lewis the school of real significance to the island was, and *175 871 • 159 still it, the Nicolson Institute, founded by Alexander Morison Nicolson and opened in February 1873, supported by bequests from him and his brothers. Nicolson's grandfather was the founder of the Lewis fish-curing trade, and was also shipowner and farmer. Alexander was the fifth of six sons and was educated in Stornoway parish school and in Glasgow High School. He served an apprenticeship as an engineer with Thomson of Clydebank. Later he entered the service of the Chinese Government and established himself with a partner of a shipbuilding and foundry business in Shanghai. In 1865, in his thirty-third year, he was killed in a boiler explosion in one of his new ships going a trial run. His ideal of establishing a school in Stornoway was subscribed to by his brothers who were a widespread family: Yorkshire, Mississippi, Western Australia, Tighnabruaich (Scotland) and South Africa.

*175 871 [875] [465] The first headmaster of the school received £82 per annum, plus the school fees, which ranged from 2s 6d per quarter in the lowest classes to 5s in the highest. The fees covered reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English, history and English grammar and composition; when Latin, Greek, French and mathematics were taught, an additional shilling was charged for each subject. But the teacher was always bound to teach gratuitously twenty pupils selected by the Nicolson Trustees. In 1888, the school was handed over to the school board. In 1901, by a Decree of the Court of Session, its name, previously the Nicolson Public School, was changed to the Nicolson Institute. In 1898, the first boys went straight from the Institute to university, a trend that has not ceased since (see Chapter 8).

*175 874 871 As far back as the turn of this century a recommendation was made for the provision of technical education on the island. A report on the subject of Higher Education in Lewis (1900) stated: 'Regarding the practical or scientific aspect of education . . . there is a clamant need of a central Technical School in Lewis . . . the local resources are quite inadequate for the establishment of such a school, or its maintenance, on an effective basis. Such popular technical instruction as Household Economy, Wood and Iron

288 441 175* 424 sary. In the end, an application was made in 1909 to that body for a trade mark defining Harris Tweed as 'tweed, hand-spun, hand-woven and dyed and finished by hand in the Outer Hebrides', with 'made in Harris' or 'made in Lewis' added as appropriate. The Harris merchants had to join forces with their former rivals in the tweed-marketing business, the voluntary non-profit-making Associations. To inspect the cloth and stamp it with a trade mark—an orb surmounted by a cross—a Harris Tweed Association was formed, consisting of representatives of each of the Harris merchants, the Crofters Agency and the Scottish Home Industries Association. Cloth was first stamped in 1911. In 1912, some Stornoway merchants were granted representation in the Harris Tweed Association, which still exists for the benefit of the industry.

In 1934, the definition of 'Harris Tweed' was eased to include any cloth 'made from pure virgin wool, produced in Scotland, spun, dyed and finished in the Outer Hebrides and hand-woven by the Islanders at their own homes in the islands of Lewis, Harris, Uist, Barra and their several purtenances and all known as the Outer Hebrides'. It was further provided that 'Woven in Harris', 'Woven in Lewis', etc, could be added, and also 'Handspun' in the case of tweeds made entirely from hand-spun yarns.

288 286 178 Today, a few Harris families maintain the old tradition, hand-dyeing and carding, spinning on the wheel, hand-weaving and finishing, producing a high-quality article mainly for individual customers. These tweeds rightly command up to three times the price for the general run of tweed.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

441 • 159 175* It was not until the era of Sir James Matheson that anything like a truly industrial activity was attempted. Matheson, a native of Shinness in the parish of Lairg, Sutherland, was born in 1796. Aged seventeen, he decided on a commercial career and took himself to London. After two years in a mercantile house, he went to Calcutta, where he worked in the counting-house of MacKintosh

441 • 159 *175 & Co. The call of the Far East drew him away from India to Canton, where he set up business as an agent acting for firms in India. During the period 1815-20 he met William Jardine, from Dumfriesshire, who first glimpsed the mainland of China as a surgeon's mate from the deck of an East Indiaman three years before Trafalgar. Jardine left the East India Company in 1817 after sixteen years' service and, having with native prudence accumulated enough capital to set up on his own account, entered into an agreement with an East India merchant of London and a Bombay trader to operate the new ship *Sarah*. In 1832 Matheson and Jardine combined forces and interests to form Jardine, Matheson & Co, 'The Firm', as it has been known ever since those early days of commerce in the Far East. The unique experience which its founders and their successors have accumulated in providing services for manufacturers, and handling trade with more than a quarter of the world's population, is virtually unparalleled in the annals of British mercantile enterprise.

Matheson amassed a fortune. In 1842 he returned to his native Scotland, and finding that the Lewis estate was up for sale he bought it for £190,000 from the Estate Trustees. The island, at that time a truly isolated backwater, provided him with plenty of scope for ideas and work for deep pockets. He died on the last day of 1878. It has been estimated to the pound sterling that, including the purchase price of Lewis, Matheson spent over £574,363. More than £100,000 was spent in erecting Lewis Castle and in laying out the grounds, which work provided his impoverished tenants with a means to earn something with which to buy their necessities. Briefly, Matheson drained land and reclaimed it; he planted trees; he built roads, bridges and quays; he excited anew an interest in the fishing industry and built premises for fish curing; he built a patent boat-slip for the construction and repair of fishing and other craft; he established schools and paid the teachers' salaries; he also built a brick-works and a chemical works to distil paraffin from peat. He is remembered in Stornoway's Matheson Road: little else remains of his extensive efforts.

HEALTH AND HOUSING

an urgent necessity for the island of Lewis', and a committee was appointed to collect funds, the subscription list being headed by Lady Matheson; for a period of three years donations flowed in from all parts of the world. The Lewis cottage hospital was opened on 1 February 1896, starting with only fifteen beds; the number was increased to twenty in 1915. An extension was opened in 1925, and the hospital was provided with a surgeon and an ambulance. Another extension in 1929 was the result of a gift of £3,000 from Mr John Bain, of Chicago, a Lewis son who was President of no less than fourteen banks in the Mid-West. The Lewis Sanatorium was started in 1926.

Tuberculosis was at one time in the island's history a disease that caused many deaths and much sorrow. About 1930 an Assistant Medical Officer of Health was appointed, Dr R. Stevenson Doig (who died in 1965), who spent his career-life in Lewis stamping out what was called in the island the 'white scourge'; he lived long enough to see the introduction of preventive medicine and the decline of the killing and crippling diseases he found on his first years in Lewis.

In dental health, progress has, as in so many areas, been reversed. At one time the island teeth were so well known for their strength and beauty that a film was made by the Army for showing to audiences considered in need of dental-health education. In 1966 the picture had changed: a survey revealed that 95 per cent of Lewis children were in need of dental treatment. The mainland addiction to sugary foods has spread.

As distinct from the island's general medical services, centred on Stornoway, the psychiatric services are based at Inverness. What was formerly the Inverness District Asylum, now called Craig Dunain Hospital, is the only mental hospital in the Highlands area, with a few long-term beds in the Institution at Lochmaddy; the general hospital at Stornoway conducts monthly outpatient clinics. Over the area served, the rate of admission to Craig Dunain Hospital is around 3·3 persons per 1,000 of population, compared with a figure of 4·68 for Scotland as a whole, 5·5 for Lewis and 2 for Harris.

The drink problem and Lewis's relatively high rate of admissions to mental hospital both stem from the background of the

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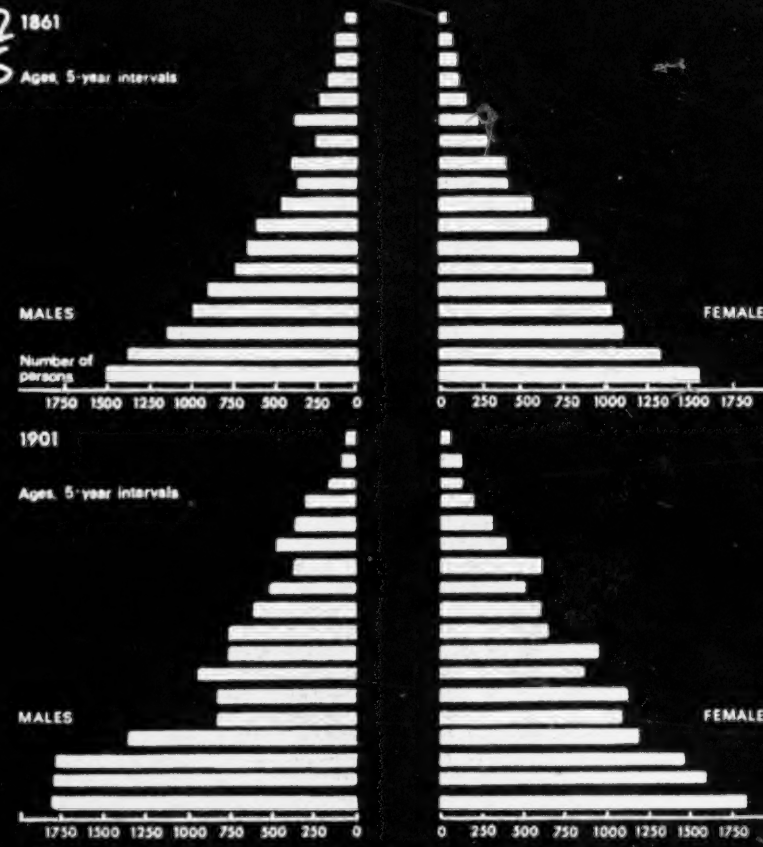
people; Lewis can be taken as representative of the Hebrides a the Highlands in general. The incidence of involutional mela cholia, occurring mainly in middle life, is high and, to quote o expert, 'It would seem profitable to consider the states of fear a distress with which it has been associated.'

Those in Harris and Lewis aged fifty or over have their rec lections charged with little else than disaster. Not only did t island lose an abnormally high percentage of its young men



The age structure of the Lewis population in 1861 and 1901, showing t trend toward ageing as the younger elements emigrate (age scale 5-90 yea reading from base)

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771 783 157 [58] 733 157 press themselves in terms of religious values and ideas, the fear of having committed unforgivable sin. The normal adjustments, reflections and mental stocktaking of middle life are possibly more readily precipitated towards depression in an emotional people prone to serious thought. This brings of course a concomitant spectrum of problems in an area where in general a man is expected to take a dram and stand it; both nature and nurture are relevant factors. In the words of Cunningham Graham (1899), the medical adviser finds himself 'preaching teetotalism, that is for others, but himself taking his glass of whisky for the reasons which have been so cogently set forth by St Paul the Apostle to the Caledonians.' For those who comment in isolation on a community's indulgence in alcohol, one must quote a Gaelic proverb: *'Tha smuideag fhein an ceann gach foid'*—Every peat-end has its own smoke. [539]

733 *175 [539] From the earliest times the Western Isles have indeed been regarded as supporting a population with an uncanny predilection for spiritous liquors. To a certain extent the spirits were needed by ill-nourished crofters to keep out the damp and cold when on the moors or at sea; and people in a depressed economic or mental condition will anywhere seek refuge in alcohol or other available drugs—forgetting the old Gaelic proverb 'Better the little fire that will warm than the great fire that will burn.' The evil effects of drinking have certainly at times been serious: in 1869 Sir James Matheson addressed a circular letter of remonstrance to his tenants, indicating that those guilty of misconduct were liable to be deprived of their holdings. In 1920 a vote was taken in Stornoway under the Scottish Temperance Act, with the result that the town went 'dry'; three years later the poll was upheld. Then in 1926, with a majority of 84, Stornoway went 'wet' again.

275 [733] But the 'drink question' has been given undue prominence and dragged out of its island context. For instance, Stornoway contains all but three of the licensed premises on the island (at Tarbert, Rodel and Carloway) and, as the chief centre for business and pleasure, must naturally attract anyone seeking refreshment.

159

159 LIFE HISTORY MATERIALS--observations and interpretations of individual behavior, character, and personality; clinical analyses; case records; biographical materials; collections and interpretations of individual dreams; results of tests designed to measure acquired behavior or personality (e.g., tests of motor or verbal skills, projective tests); etc. Generalizations or conclusions relating to groups or classes of individuals will be filed elsewhere under appropriate headings. For specific professional or occupational biographies, see also under appropriate headings. See also:

Offenses and sanctions	68	Description of tests and schedules	125
Sex	83	Avenues of individual achievement	654
Socialization	86	Dependency	736
Data on informants	115	Types of religious experience	781
Unclassified field data	117	Interpretations of dreams	787

[For life history materials of various members of the

e Shawbost community, see category 116, pp. 193-223.]

669 for crofts in Tongue, a township north of Stornoway, took
473 the law into their own hands, seized one of the fields of
the adjacent farms, and threatened to take the remainder.
It is easy to understand that when a man has come home
from the war to his sweetheart, and after being promised
a site on which to build a home (even a black house for
a start), with a plot for potatoes, and 'a cow's grass', a
year's vain delay may breed impatience! Leverhulme
motored to the township, and with his customary vigour
and persuasiveness spoke of his plans for 'work and
wages' to be concentrated at Stornoway. He again de-
clared that if the farms were divided this would cripple
his schemes, and work would stop at once. The majority
there agreed to fall in with his plans; in any case, only a
• 159 minority could find crofts on the farms. Leverhulme felt
433 that he had carried his point. He forgot not only that
661 his oratory deserved applause and had won it for its own
sake, but that the people could not lightly afford to say
'no', if this meant immediate stoppage of wages. It was
the after-thoughts on the morrow and in the following
months, rather than agreement at the moment, that signi-
[228] fied. In 1920 herring fetched a fair price, the herring
fishery prospects were encouraging, and work was resumed
for a time. Yet one raid having begun and "the die having
been cast, lawlessness spread rapidly". Leverhulme
stopped expenditure, and obtained an interdict against the
[473] 'raiders', though he did not prosecute. After further
parley, the Secretary for Scotland agreed to suspend
[654] division for ten years, and in 1921 Leverhulme resumed
159 operations. "Unfortunately very soon afterwards", wrote
433 his biographer, owing to "the general industrial depression
458 which followed the boom in trade after the war", Lever-
hulme felt impelled to close down work for the time being,

• 159 and he was unable to make plans or promises for the future.
433 Meantime, it should be said, the Island herring catch and
458 prices fell rapidly (the catch by 50 per cent and prices by
[228] 60 per cent from 1920 to 1921). As a result, crofts now
seemed more precious than ever to the applicants.

With what Leverhulme regarded as 'almost indecent
159 haste', the Secretary for Scotland proceeded to fulfil the
473 promise to divide the farms. Most of the farms remaining
654 were divided into some fifty crofts, of ten acres or so with
outrun, supplying little more than 10 per cent of the
landless men. The Manor dairy farm, near Stornoway
Castle and town, though raided by a few men, was retained
to contribute to the town's supply of milk, along with two
or three smaller farms close to Stornoway (Melbost, and
Stoneyfield with Holm). Leverhulme felt that his offer to
Lewis had been turned down, and he then concentrated
his efforts upon Harris.

159 At the extreme south of Harris (midway along the
433 south-west coast), in the 'Hope' or natural harbour of
228 Obbe, Leverhulme built new piers. He transferred the
machinery of the canning factory and the kippering sheds
he had commenced to build at Stornoway. He started to
build houses, a number being provided on generous terms;
and "at the people's wish", the settlement was renamed
Leverburgh. With the transference of his energy from
Lewis to Harris, Leverhulme's "optimism and determina-
tion were intensified", wrote his son. They were not to
last long. After a visit to the Congo in 1925, Leverhulme
died suddenly in Brussels. How far the new plans might
have succeeded had Leverhulme lived, his son has com-
mented, "remains uncertain". What is certain is that the
second Lord Leverhulme toured Harris, visiting the works
on hand and examining the accounts. No doubt he also

• 159 weighed the estimated expenditure necessary to complete
433 the unfinished projects, and their prospects of success,
228 comparing these with similar conditions on the East Coast
and at Fleetwood, and with the trend of prices. His
decision was to close the venture, and Harris was sold.
[473] The skeletons of the works were left to rust beside the
quay, while the wreck of a coal steamer was left unsalvaged,
to break up slowly upon the rocks outside, a symbol of a
lost enterprise.

2. *An All-Round Policy for Sea and Land*

185 From the 'start' in Lewis, the first Lord Leverhulme
had shown his vision and grasp as a planner. Survey pre-
ceded plan, and decisions were swiftly put into action.
185 Why then had abandonment and failure followed? Per-
114 sonal factors have been over-stressed. 'Crofters' have
been accused of stubbornness, the Scottish Office of
procrastination and Leverhulme of impatience or obstinacy.
Stornoway shopkeepers have also been apportioned their
share of blame; and while all of them welcomed the
advent of Leverhulme as sure to bring money through the
crofters' pockets to their own tills, it is possible that, later
on, some of them did prove Devil's Advocates, having
come to fear the rise of competition by co-operative or
other large-scale concerns, should the town expand at a
[181] rapid rate. Stressing other factors of character and incom-
patibility, one popular Scots author went so far as to praise
the Lewis crofter for preferring a spiritual life with poverty
on a croft, to easy work and high wages in a town. There
runs a story, well vouched for, which might seem to con-
firm this. After Leverhulme had held forth upon 'work
for wages', in a township where there had been pressing

185 applications for shares in the division of a farm, but where
114 Leverhulme now felt sure of his success, an old crofter
spoke up slowly: "My Lord, what the crofter wants iss
185 *Contemplaition*". Now, fondness for contemplation is
114 found not only among crofters as they age, but among
older fishermen all round the shores of Britain, even if it
181 mellows in the Isles especially. Yet, as Leverhulme saw
for himself, there was abundant activity among men in
their prime, as they strove to refit their boats on their
return. In 1919 hope, not contemplation, was their pre-
vailing mood: hope for an active, fisherman's life.

With all these hopeful human factors on the side of
common effort at the start, why then did differences of
view-point come to be accentuated, not harmonised, and
'incompatibilities' lead so soon to friction, deadlock and
• 159 breakdown? Surely one basic fact remains. In 1917–18,
433 when Leverhulme framed his policy and made his plans,
228 the Scottish fisheries, to judge from pre-war years, could
still expect to hold high place in providing for a brisk
market in herring and white fish. True, the value of the
[435] Island cure of white fish had fallen from £100,000 in 1900
to one-tenth, £10,000, in 1913; but Leverhulme saw that
since fresh fish were now demanded, his capitalisation of
equipment with accelerated transit of the catch should bring
quick recovery. The herring trade had been active at
Stornoway up to the eve of the war; and although the
Islanders had made leeway following the introduction of
steam and of larger motor drifters, Leverhulme thought
he saw an opportunity to capitalise the industry, providing
'work for wages'. This forecast was wrong. Consumption
declined, and the market fell. Not only so; the pro-
portion contributed by Scots fishermen to the shrinking
market declined even more.

185 In 1919, when the men came home to Lewis they could
727 still see reasons for hope. They found a strange proprietor,
known first for his outstanding—some said ruthless—
[159] business ability, and only secondly for his philanthropy.
They heard his plans and were inclined to listen.

185 Yet, remembering their pre-war losses and the notorious
fluctuations of prices and employment in the fisheries, they
wished for a policy of insurance, as it were; so, if their
home lay near a promised farm, of which they had long
• 159 meant to claim a share, they claimed this forthwith. Only
458 too soon after, in the early years of Leverhulme's adventure,
433 the fall in total sales and prices of fish brought immediate
228 loss to the keenest and hardest working of the fishermen,
and to their financial backers in Stornoway. These losses
warned others of the uncertainties of fishing. Now the
fall in the fishing industry is not so much as mentioned in
the biography of Leverhulme; nor do we remember a
[654] word of it in Leverhulme's speeches. One finds no data
to show a substantial endeavour by the Scottish Office to
co-operate with Leverhulme in framing policies either to
change the trend of European markets or to make local
adaptations to combat downward trends. The Fishery
Reports certainly record the losses, year by year. As for
the Island fishermen, they shared the feeling expressed
by other Scots fishermen, that the old markets across the
North Sea, eastward to what had been St. Petersburg,
could and should be reopened, not closed 'for party
reasons' by 'English politicians'. Although ostensibly
Leverhulme ignored it, he cannot really have been unaware
of the effect of the downward trend of the fisheries upon
his own prospects of success, and upon the hopes and
confidence of the fishermen. Having been so outspoken
upon the shortcomings of Government with regard to local

• 159 schemes, and knowing how much local fishing depended
458 upon international policy, particularly the resumption of
433 trade relations with the chief customers of the past, Lever-
228 hulme, one feels, should have dealt no less outspokenly
with these. The removal of trade barriers lay not in the
[654] hands of the Scottish Office or of Scots officials (however
internationally minded these might be as private citizens),
but in the hands of Ministers of Cabinet rank and leading
financiers, of whom Leverhulme himself was one.

In brief, the Scots fisheries suffered after the war as
458 neither Leverhulme nor others had foreseen when first
433 he laid his plans for the Island's prosperity. It seems
228 clear that had this major change been squarely faced
by Leverhulme and Government alike, in 1920, 1921 or
[473] even later, they could never have fallen apart about a
relatively minor issue, that of the farms. Both sides turned
their faces away from this disquieting factor of the Baltic
markets, though both knew it to be fundamental to the
success of Scots fisheries and the Island's future. Had they
faced it together frankly, then, even if powerless to effect
a remedy, their sincerity might have prevented a deadlock
upon a secondary matter.

159 To Leverhulme, given his large scale of expenditure
473 and return, the division of a few farms formed a minor
issue. But to a number of ex-Servicemen, 'crofters'
185 without a croft, the division meant a home and relative
433 stability. Moreover, what was merely a matter for personal
473 decision to Leverhulme, was a lifelong issue to many people
brought up in congestion on the wrong side of the boundary
[428] fence. Meantime, milk from Easter Ross was available in
Stornoway, at town if not at country prices. Lastly, further
possibilities of land-development lay open to Leverhulme,
[114] though not so readily to the unaided people. In reading

311 cottars' claims." Thus a few of the settlements reclaimed
473 out of the common peat by some scores of people, hundreds of years ago, long worked by joint tenants, then by sub-tenants, " and later turned into modern farms, came to be regarded as the only available land open to crofters in the Island ".

311 Hence, Hardy concluded, it was important to tackle some reclamation of peat or of land partially covered by
433 peat, along with the development of the main commercial industry, fishing. The specialisation of commercial fishing was " a wise, indeed an indispensable preliminary step " in a constructive policy framed to deal with the Island as a whole. One saw that the formula " All Lewismen are fishermen " was an exaggeration, and that some of those whose forebears had dwelt by the machars of Broad Bay for centuries were landsmen first and seamen
185 second. Yet the specialisation planned by Leverhulme would not only have given a chance to the seamen of Ness,
311 Eye Peninsula, Lochs and ' the Bays ' of South Harris;
[433] it would also have begun to relieve congestion, giving a croft and outrun to some of those who wished to make small-holding their principal means of livelihood and life, and providing a market for fresh produce on the Island itself.

Looking back, it seems clear that Hardy was right to report to Leverhulme (in 1919) that, while the great fishery scheme was indispensable, it should be complemented by a scheme for occupation on the land for those who wished it. The major problem of land being the amelioration of peat, continued Hardy, it should be tackled with twentieth-century knowledge and equipment. Slopes were to be found, favourable to reclamation, where peat had been thinned by cutting, where it was shallow from good drain-
[433] age, or lighter in texture from admixture with sand. Had

185 Leverhulme grasped the problem in this fresh way, comple-
311 menting his first policy of the sea for the seamen by one
433 of the land for the landsmen, he could cheerfully have allowed the Government to honour their promise to divide
• 159 the farms, and thus he would have brought peace to all. In giving up the farms he would merely have had to reconcile himself to additional imports of fresh milk from Easter Ross, at an extra cost of a penny or two per pint. To do Leverhulme justice, experiments on peat were begun (about 1920) upon a small scale, partly, it is understood, as a result of Hardy's report. Yet in failing to make this reclamation an integral part of his plans, in refusing to adapt himself to promises given and to agree to the wishes of many applicants, Leverhulme of the Lews allowed peace to be wrecked. Why he should have stopped work in Lewis in order to remove to Harris, is not clear. There is nothing to show that crofter-fishermen in the creeks of Lochs and other fishing tracts of Lewis believed less firmly in fishing than their fellows in ' the Bays ' of South Harris.[1] Nor was there extensive land for dairying in Harris. To make a second attempt to found a centre, involving fresh expense, at Obbe (on the exposed south-west coast), a much less favourable point on the Island than Stornoway, was to court disaster, not to pilot his way through the difficulties of falling markets to success.

185 Leverhulme, it is true, had seen one side of the ' all-
311 round ' policy required: the need for a plot of land for the
[114] Lewis fisherman and his family. In Hardy's words, " A man's choice of the sea should not prevent his having ' a

[1] In his father's biography, the second Viscount suggests that there was
[828] a difference of character between the (unreasonable) men of Lewis and the
[829] (reasonable) men of Harris. The assertion is unsupported by the facts. There were raids in Harris, too, comparable to any in similar tracts of Lewis, but in neither were they important.

185 corner he can call his own ', a kailyard or garden. His
311 womenfolk might wish to keep poultry, and even a cow.
[114] More than this . . . might tend to make the old amphibious life begin over again." Where Hardy went further was to see the need for a complementary policy; the development of crofting into skilled small-holding. " Similarly," he went on, " the development of small-holding, by one who chose the land for a career, should not prevent his spending a leisure hour fishing from the shore, or in a neighbour's boat, for haddock, saithe, or flounders for the morrow's dinner. Yet the wish and need for a higher standard of living involved new emphasis on one chosen vocation, and a greater division of labour than heretofore,"
311 whether on land or sea. Some division of callings already existed, be it remembered. Manifestly, in the virtual absence of arable land for them, about 1500 cottar and squatter families had perforce to depend mainly on other occupations than the land. These families included the keenest, most successful, and potentially prosperous fishermen, like those of ' congested ' Scalpay (off Tarbert, Harris). The useful " Remarks " formerly published along with the " Creek Statistics " of the Fishery Board, repeatedly contrasted the townships and creeks mainly concerned in crofting with those mainly occupied in fishing. The contrast is to be found from the Shetlands round to
• [159] Barra or Kintyre. Leverhulme, seeing a future in the
[433] fisheries, tried to give the almost landless seamen their chance at sea. Had he accepted the complementary policy of giving a number of the now boatless crofters a better croft and means to improve the outrun, his schemes would have been complete.

114 It is a misfortune that Leverhulme's one-sided policy
159 had already hardened in his mind when Hardy (and the
433

• 159 present writer) came to the Island in August 1919, and still
433 more by November 1919 when Hardy's Report had been completed. Leverhulme had begun to fight for his plan,
[114] rather than use it in a supple way. Yet there was still a chance to put things right had the concept of a balanced
[185] community been clearly visualised by Government and people, by working fishers and crofters and the educated. Had an active ' Lewis Association ' existed at that time, it might have turned the scales.[1]

Lastly, during the war and after it, Leverhulme had said, again and again, that it was his admiration of the people which had called him to the Lews. By means of this ' all-round ' plan, the very root of Island character
185 could have been renewed, namely, communal life. It was
311 with their communal life in mind that Hardy—in spite of his horror of bad husbandry and of the physical dirt of
114 the byre and black house—wrote, first, that " rural re-

114 [1] Quotations from the MS. Report having been published (apparently without permission, and with somewhat misleading criticisms), reference should be made to these to illustrate the need for survey and collaboration with Leverhulme in the first three years of his proprietorship, and the importance of survey for action today. In 1919 Mr. W. C. Mackenzie (to whose historical researches lovers of Lewis owe so much) had published his belief that " Under the new proprietorship . . . the results [of development] will be at once fruitful and far-reaching ", without his making any constructive comment. By 1932 he wrote very differently, criticising Leverhulme's policy and also Hardy's (qualified) approval. At that later time, Mr. Mackenzie would have it that ' the Lewisman ' was a crofter and fisherman in one, and that for him to become ' mainly a fisherman ' or ' mainly a crofter ' (in Hardy's words) would be false to his character and tradition. Now, historically, the element of regional specialisation is ancient in the Island; the crofter-*fishers* of Lochs, Uig or ' the Bays ' of Harris have long been rather different from the fisher-*crofters* of Barvas, or of Coll and Gress. Specialisation was strongly marked by 1914–19; it still is. Further, Hardy (and the present writer) had not pled for complete divorce of the two vocations of sea and land. We urged that crofting be given its chance as well as fishing; and that the two callings should be complementary. Allowance being made for a quarter of a century of changes, the facts and the need remain. Cf. W. C. Mackenzie, 1919 (p. 187) and 1932, for the quotations given.

185 construction of the Island must rest upon the improvement
311 of the land ": and secondly, that by this means " it was
114 imperative to revive the traditional community spirit, the essential feature of Hebridean civilisation ". Those words still hold good. Yet the land itself is too barren and the soil too poor to provide a living for many by export of
[438] fresh agricultural produce to the mainland. Only a local market could pay a fair price for most of the products of
• 159 intensive small-holding. Judging from the free, untram-
433 melled trade before 1914, Leverhulme held that fishing could be set upon a commercial basis in the Isles; and
228 there could be few better judges of commercial possibilities
438 than this keen industrial thinker and organiser. If he was right, as surely he was, to begin with, then the local market to be created, or rather enlarged by growth of population and prosperity at Stornoway, could have purchased the fresh milk and eggs, the fresh greens and fruit, raised on enlarged small-holdings and marketed co-operatively.

181 A final comment remains to be made. The community
476 spirit of Scots fishers from Berwickshire to Barra has gone far to make co-operation among the men of the crews a living thing. ' Work for Wages ' offered little outlet for this, indeed it virtually suppressed it; and ' co-partnership ' on the Port Sunlight model was a very different matter from the co-partnership of a crew. Even if at that time it had been proved impossible to organise free co-operation in fishing, co-operation in small-holding townships might have kept the communal spirit alive, for later renewal at sea.

114 It is not easy to assess the after-effects of Leverhulme's
433 activity. Leverhulme certainly helped hundreds of families by the provision of wages for the building or rebuilding of roads and other works, of which some were completed

175 Campbell wrote, " My reception by those who are called
795 'professors' ", the lay leaders who 'professed' the
793 Evangelical doctrines, " was trying to the last. Holding
that Christ died for all seemed to them so fundamental
175 an error as to poison all my teaching." Thereafter,
793 Campbell retired, in Glasgow, to read, preach to a few,
and write, keeping in touch with Norman Macleod and
814 Erskine in Scotland, and in England with J. F. D. Maurice (1805–72). After *Christ, the Bread of Life*, Campbell wrote *The Nature of the Atonement* (1856). Readers felt not only that he was one of the most lovable of men, but a profound theologian, a view reinforced today. " Of all books that have ever been written on the Atonement ", wrote Dr. Denney, " McLeod Campbell's is probably that which is most completely inspired by the spirit of the truth with which it deals. Its originality is spiritual as well as intellectual. In speculative power he cannot be compared to Schleiermacher, nor in historical learning to Ritschl; but he walks in the light all the time, and everything he touches lives."

175 Here then was a man who seemed to have been born
793 " in advance of his time ", yet who came of a community
159 of deeply traditional cast. His life's thought was attuned to that of his forebears, and expressed itself most intimately perhaps in their own tongue. Campbell was born and reared in Lorne, Argyllshire, which had first received Protestantism through Carswell, who, in translating Knox's " Liturgy " into Gaelic, incorporated the old Gaelic labour prayer of the fishermen (Chapter VII (a)). The gentler form of Protestantism brought in by Carswell may have allowed the spirit of Celtic Christianity to survive among the people of ' Mid-Argyll ' and Lorne, down to Campbell's boyhood. It may thus have contributed to the making of " a Scottish

175 saint, a character so eminently Christ-like ",[1] and to his
793 intimate beliefs, doctrine and wide influence. The same
• 159 Highland roots and deep charity characterised Dr. Norman Macleod, author of the popular classic, *The Friend of the Gael* (*Caraid nan Gaidheal*).

121 If a student of community ventures upon an interpretation of theology, it is because, to him, any attempt to understand " the relations of God to mankind " must take account of men's relations to one another. Ideas are transformed by human experience during economic and social revolutions, and in their turn they transform society. To make contact with reality, theology must regard mankind: it
175 must be integrated with sociology. Because of its close
178 bond with communal life, the religious spirit, recorded in
182 Gaelic lore, was jarred, almost overwhelmed, when community was shaken to its foundations by the commercial, agricultural and industrial revolution. Happily, the value
178 of communal Christianity has been acknowledged both by
79 Roman Catholics—notably (among Gaels) by the Rev. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay—and by Protestants.[2] In the Scottish Presbyterian Church today, the movement which seems most deeply aware of the need for a new society has acknowledged its debt to communal tradition where this has been best maintained, that is, in the Isles. Seeking to aid Christian endeavour, international and national, this movement has turned for inspiration to Iona.
(771) In Iona, of which the noble cathedral belongs to the Church of Scotland but is open for service to all denominations, Presbyterians have found a new symbol.

(113) [1] Canon Vaughan, cited by the Rev. Norman Maclean (*Scotsman*, 21st Aug. 1943).
[2] " The Church should interpret the Love of God by a flaming zeal for the redress of the social order." (The Very Rev. Prof. John Baillie, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, at St. Andrews, 1943.)

423 In May 1918 Lewis was bought by Lever of Port
565 Sunlight, then Baron Leverhulme of Bolton-le-Moors (his birthplace), the head of a great combine with 50,000 white
157 and 25,000 black employees. Meeting him in Lews Castle
124 in August 1919, Dr. Hardy and I found him troubled by a human situation he had failed to diagnose. Short and stocky but very erect, quick-eyed and rapid of manner, and with a wide expressive mouth, he spoke earnestly of his plans; but his eyes flashed and his mouth set, as he rapped out, " They keep putting off, yet they leave the people in houses *not fit for Kaffirs*! " The question, " What objective inspired—or misled—Leverhulme to buy the Island? " is answered by his son and biographer.[1]

• 159 By 1917 Leverhulme had felt it was time to devolve
423 his personal authority over his business, in the interests
433 of its future. Hence he looked about him for an estate in which he could exercise " his passion for changing the face of nature ", and his eagerness for ' planning ' with drawing board and T-square, and for philanthropy.[2] He nearly bought an estate in the Midlands in order to develop it; but work had already begun there, and he wished to find a place which would be his to remodel from the start. Thirty years before, Leverhulme had visited Lewis and now in 1917 he spent a week there, motoring all over the Island. " He was enraptured . . . he saw not merely a countryside in need of more and better roads, not only a residence and grounds capable of alteration and improvement, but a problem to be solved, a human and racial problem which had so far baffled all who had tried to solve it. . . . He had been told the Lewis man was lazy,

(113) [1] Leverhulme (2nd Viscount), *Leverhulme: By His Son*, 1927, chap. xxvi, p. 221 ff. Lord Leverhulme, who had thought of styling himself ' Of the Isles ' took the title ' Of the Lews '.
[2] Leverhulme (1927), cf. pp. 81-86.

159 stubborn and suspicious; he never believed it. He realised
423 that the backwardness of the Island arose from lack of
opportunity, and that opportunity he would do his best
433 to provide. Wherever he went he found the same story
—things half attempted, nothing done." Leverhulme, one felt in 1919, wanted to do all he could for the Islanders. A greater man would have wanted to work not only for, but with, the Islanders. Then, even if the fisheries had been ruined, as they were, by forces outside his control, he would have shared a moral victory, not shared and suffered economic loss, with moral defeat.

174 In the Isles for centuries before, a family and well-tried
183 friends were valued above all other things. What was more,
this was still true in the lifetime both of the elder men and
[178] the women he found at home, and of the absent men, at
war. The foundation for this friendly life was a plot of
159 land and work to do, a home and the leisure to enjoy it.
433 Leverhulme, too, valued these things in his own way. He
cared for human homes and gardens, and had proved it at
461 Port Sunlight and elsewhere. A pioneer of industry and efficiency, he pled for 'a six-hour day' and leisure afterwards, and he had done much to realise the ideal in his own works. Moreover, he was not without respect for spiritual values, freedom, and a congregation's right to choose their pastor.[1] All these things should have helped to put him into sympathy with Island life, and up to a point they did so.

159 It is clear that Leverhulme had considered the possi-
433 bilities of improving the local fisheries, village by village;
and an engineer had reported on possible harbour improve-
228 ments at Ness, Barvas, and elsewhere. But he came to the

[1] Leverhulme (1927), p. 211; and Leverhulme (1st Baron), *The Six-Hour Day and Other Industrial Questions*, 1919.

• 159 conclusion—undoubtedly a sound one—that the most
433 effective action for commercial fisheries (as then known)
228 must be taken at one Island centre, Stornoway. As a direct result he considered how to feed the growing town, in particular how to give its children fresh milk. He saw the farms round Broad Bay ready to be turned to high-class dairy farms, if capitalised, and for this purpose they were swiftly scheduled in his mind.

159 "His early days were happy ones"—wrote his son—
433 "but they were not to last for long. He encountered the
423 first obstacle on his path in the late summer of 1918, when the Scottish Board of Agriculture declared its intention to
[647] take over the few remaining farms in the Island for crofts." By this declaration the Board spoke for many Islesmen in the Forces. The voices of Servicemen, not those of either a Government or a philanthropic millionaire, counted over-
[927] whelmingly, on the Island and beyond. When the war was over and the men came home, many set about examining their boats and fitting them up with motors, and in a few months the evening's departure for the fishing from Stornoway had lost some of the picturesqueness of the old, stately procession of sail moving out to the Minch at sunset, but had gained in efficiency as the motorised boats went puffing out to find the shoals, sure of return without delay after the catch was hauled in. Yet fishing was still precarious: there might be no catch, and even if there were, prices were a gamble. Hence many a cottar-fisherman wished to ensure a home for himself and applied for a croft, with his eyes on the farms. Farms were few, and not enough to go round more than some 10 to 15 per cent of squatters and cottars. Still, a promise is a promise: the farms were there, why not have them and be done with it? Knowing this feeling in the Island, aware of its support

• 159 in the country, and foreseeing that the only sure way to
423 avoid irritation, friction and law-breaking was to grant
the farms and have done with it, the Secretary of State for
433 Scotland and the Board felt that they could not withdraw the Government's promise of land. The Secretary for Scotland, Mr. Munro (later Lord Alness), spoke with knowledge as a Highlander. A general promise of small-holdings had been made to all Scotsmen in the Services, and could not easily be set aside at the wish of one man, then approaching the age of seventy, however well-intentioned, wealthy and in earnest. Yet Leverhulme declared that while he would relinquish farms on the west side of Lewis, his schemes could not go on unless he retained the farms on Broad Bay to supply fresh milk for Stornoway. If the farms were divided, he said, he must close the whole scheme forthwith.

159 Of his earnestness Leverhulme left no doubt. He not
423 only planned but set up a retail agency, Mac Fisheries, and
433 he purchased drifters and trawlers, the Mac Line, to fish far afield and bring the catch to Stornoway, there to be
228 transhipped by his own carrying service. He set about building model dwellings in Stornoway itself, each with its quarter-acre allotment. 'Work and Wages' from capitalised fisheries were his offer, in further token of which, road-making and other wage-providing work was
[178] begun. Until 1920 the farms remained undivided. The farmers, for their part, could only wait for the expiry of
159 their leases, or for the transactions by which their leases
423 would be foreclosed and compensation awarded. Prices of stock were high at the time, and the valuation would
433 correspond to these. Hence tenants felt they could afford to wait. Meantime crofters' stock wandered over their
429 farms—whether because of the wilfulness of the stock or

• 159 of the owners—but farmers knew it was futile to protest,
423 and they suffered with a wry smile and a shrug of the
433 shoulders. After all, most of the farmers had stayed at home and their affairs had prospered, in war-time; whereas
427 all but the older crofters had had years of seafaring or fighting, and the nation's debt to them had not yet been forgotten. The farmers kept quiet and waited.

159 Meantime, Leverhulme made public war upon the
Government. Speaking in Edinburgh in November 1919,
668 he declared that "Reports, thick as leaves in Vallombrosa,
433 have been the dominating feature of Government policy in the Highlands and Isles . . . but the invariable rule seems to have been, whenever expenditure of public money was recommended, for the Government either to ignore such reports or to cut down expenditure so penuriously as only to result in waste . . . by not spending to the full amount . . . Lewis and Harris have too long been
[213] the Cinderella in the Government pantomime."[1] The crofters, reading this in the daily papers, and again in the weekly *Stornoway Gazette* a day or two later, chuckled with glee, rolling the phrases on their tongues. They might not all have been able to explain the strange words, like Vallombrosa or Cinderella, though they sounded fine; but all had heard of pantomimes, and some might even have seen one, without saying too much about it to the minister. About 'penurious expenditure' they could have no doubt. Yes, a fine speech, they felt! Yet in spite of the sting of truth contained in such orations, these did not make it easier for Government to co-operate with the orator, to prevent raiding or to deal with it should it begin.

000 Raiding did begin in the spring of 1920. Applicants

[1] Lecture at Edin. Phil. Instn., 1920. Quoted in Leverhulme (1927).

Lord Leverhulme's fisheries

The era of Lord Leverhulme, the soap magnate, is well documented; a complicated story and not yet told in full. The confrontation of a dynamic industrialist from England with the deep-thinking crofter of Lewis has formed the subject of much speculation, particularly with regard to the non-success—rather than failure—of Leverhulme's schemes for the island. Leverhulme bought Lewis in 1918. He had visited the island about twenty years before and had no doubt thought that with proper direction and adequate capital much could be done to bring it out into a fresh, lively economic air, profitable both to himself and the inhabitants. He was a visionary; but he was also a practical man, with great successes in the commercial world to prove it. In 1919, contracts were placed with Sir Robert MacAlpine Limited to begin operations in Stornoway: excavating, levelling and building in preparation for the new town and its factories. The Leverhulme Syndicate bought deep-sea trawlers in Aberdeen, Hull, Fleetwood and other ports, and also retail fish shops in many towns on the mainland. This side of the enterprise was known as The Mac Fisheries Limited, and the island developments were under the direction of the 'Lewis & Harris Welfare & Development Company Limited'.

Leverhulme's main idea was to establish Stornoway as the centre of a great fishing and fish-processing industry. As he put it, acre for acre the seas surrounding the Hebrides were infinitely richer than the land. He maintained that in any programme for the improvement of the islanders' economic position, fishing must become their primary if not their only activity. Such, however, was the land hunger of returning ex-servicemen that his attentions were almost wholly given over to trying to persuade those wanting crofts that they would be, materially at least, better off in his canning factories. But farms were broken up to satisfy the demand for land until the time came when Leverhulme felt he had to abandon Lewis. The Board of Agriculture and the Scottish Office were also principal actors in the play, mostly on the side of the land raiders who squatted on farm land in the island so causing the farms' eventual fragmentation into small units of economic insignificance. When he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris,

LORD LEVERHULME'S FISHERIES

When he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris, he offered—such was the character of the man—as thanks for the '98 per cent support' he got from the people of Lewis, to each Lewis crofter his own croft as a free gift, and the Lews Castle, together with all his property in Stornoway, to the people of the town.

In 1919, Leverhulme became proprietor of Harris, and concentrated his efforts in Obbe, now called Leverburgh, in South Harris. The harbour at Obbe lacked the natural advantage which Stornoway had, so he spent large sums on making it navigable. Rocky obstacles were blasted away; numerous buoys and beacons were set up to guide vessels into harbour; new quays were built; and kippering sheds, and other buildings necessary for packing and curing herring were erected. Among his other undertakings in Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he bore half the cost of the 5½ miles of road between Leverburgh and Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Brussels. His Harris schemes came to an abrupt end. And the remains of industrial history are still to be seen in the quietness of the little township named after one of the most stormy of business petrels that Britain has ever seen.

Tourism

Tourism has always been a perfunctory and casual affair, until the introduction of the fast ferries which now link the mainland (via Skye) with the Outer Isles. Some 10,000 cars cross each year from Skye to the Hebrides. In 1913, the Stornoway Tourist Association had a struggle to increase the number of visitors to the town, to establish it as a tourist resort. It is much the same today with the Western Isles Tourist Association, which is having difficulty in integrating tourist facilities with crofting activities. In Lewis, the Stornoway Trust has assisted in establishing pony-trekking, a venture which has the potential to mirror the success of a similar one in the Isle of Skye.

PRESENT INDUSTRY

Almost an echo of the kelp-burning industry is the alginate industry. It provides employment for only small numbers, but is a

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There are 144 crofts in the village (nine of which, in South Shawbost, were added after the turn of the century by non-crofters encamped on common grazing land who applied to the landlord for crofter status). Thirty-four (almost a quarter) of these crofts are vacant; that is, the holders of the crofts live elsewhere. One of the vacant crofts is used by its absentee tenant for holidays, and one sports a trailer (called a "caravan" in Britain) which may be rented to tourists during the summer. The rest are cultivated or used for grazing by crofters or non-crofters in the village who by inheritance or by formal or informal subletting have gained use of the land.

A little over half of the crofts are worked as individual units; 44% of the crofts are worked as combined units of two and three. Twenty-four men have the use of two crofts each, and five men the use of three crofts each.

A feature of crofting townships usually emphasized is their disproportionately large number of aged people and small number of young people, who tend to migrate to the cities. An age-sex "population pyramid" of the Highlands is not a pyramid but a top-heavy hourglass (see Table I).[1] Most persons of child-bearing age have migrated from the area and the number of children is

[1] [See p.vii--Analyst]

•16 accordingly small. In Lewis in 1970, 211 babies were born, and 264 people died. In the 1961 national census, Shawbost had a population of 598; ten years later, the population was only 515. The significant community of interaction, however, includes a much greater number of people than are indicated by these statistics, because the roles which absentee members play in their community are important. The figures in [877] Tables I_A^1 and II_A^2 do not include five males and three females in the 5-14 age category or six males and three females in the 15-24 age category who live away from home during the week to attend schools in Stornoway, but who return home during the weekend and for holidays. [464] The statistics also omit eighteen males and eighteen females in the 15-24 age category; fifteen males and seven females in the 25-34 age category; four males between 35 and 44, and two males and two females between 45 and 54 who are away from the village working but are as yet unmarried. These temporary exiles return for long or short periods of time, to weave or work in the mill, to care for aged parents, and to vary their diet of living until they become restless and set off again. [52] Their roots are in the village, and during the times when they are physically absent they are kept alive in ooo the electrical storm of the village gossip system. To

^1_A, ^2_A, [See pp. vii-viii respectively--Analyst]

Lewis and Harris

175 favour of sheep farmers, in Lewis there had been very few
236 evictions. Early in the days of the sheep-farming boom,
427 one of the Seaforths had been offered 'double rents', and refused them rather than turn the people away. Later on, when the wars were over, and when the Seaforth fortunes were failing, subtenants and their cattle had been replaced by sheep stock in three tacks around Broad Bay (at Coll and Gress and at Aignish at the base of Eye [731] Peninsula). The failure of kelp-burning and the potato famine brought acute want in rocky parts of the Isle, and led to the desertion of their homes by certain communities.
175 In 1863, out of a total of forty crofters in a township of
• 16 Barvas parish, more than half emigrated by help of Sir James Matheson. Local resettlement was aided by Sir [423] James, who provided horses and implements for Uig people who moved to Shawbost (6 miles north of Loch Roag). Abandoned places became farms; and although agricultural prices fell and Sir James made little profit from the erection of buildings and the drainage, dyking and fencing on farms, land was improved, and better stock was bred, of which some was available to improve that of crofters,
175 too. Twenty years later, however, increasing numbers
427 increased the demand for crofts, and the people sought to reoccupy their forebears' land. In this, the Lewismen [171] shared in a widespread movement, extending from the Scottish Isles to Wales and Ireland.

175 As a result of the real sufferings of the people in the
654 Highlands and Isles, and of the growing interest in the land shown in the country and in Parliament, where Irish [648] members made themselves the crofters' allies, the Government in 1883 appointed a Royal Commission of Enquiry under a fair-minded judge, Lord Napier. As a remedy, the Commissioners recommended measures based upon

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

161 In the northern townships, stretching from Garynahine to Loch Carloway, quite the
162 reverse is seen. Here there are actually more people now than in 1841 (1,261, c.f. 1,204), although there has been a marked decline since 1891 when 2,106 were enumerated. Thus this area, which had less than one third of Uig's population in 1841, now has more than half. The main change occurred before 1891 and was associated with the prosperity of fishing, both locally and on the east mainland coast, but, in addition, this area did not lose population as rapidly as did Bernera and the southern townships in the 'twenties and 'thirties, nor since 1951, and this can undoubtedly be ascribed to the early establishment, especially in the Carloway district, of Harris Tweed weaving.

TABLE 49

Loss of Population by Districts, 1931 - 1959

	Annual rates: 1931 - 1951	1951 - 1959	Net loss: 1951 - 1959*
Carloway District	0.5%	1.6%	182
East Loch Roag District	0.8%	1.3%	185
Bernera Shore	-	2.9%	28
Bernera Island	1.6%	0.7%	182
Little Loch Roag	1.8%	1.0%	95
Valtos District	1.0%	1.8%	101
Aird and Crowlista	2.0%	2.2%	68
Uig Bay District	0.6%	(+0.1%)	12
Mangersta/Brenish	1.8%	2.1%	97

* Immigrant R.A.F. and Ministry of Civil Aviation staff and families are excluded.

Migration

121 One of the objects of our enquiries was to discover something of the processes of population change in recent years. To this end we tried to record some details of migrants,
• 16 from and to the parish since 1939 (see croft record questionnaire, frontispiece to Part I). We also attempted to record war and other casualties away from home. Finally, we recorded natural population changes by extracting details of births and deaths from the official registers for the period October 1939 - December 1958 (the 1959 registers were not available). The results are summarised in table 50.

166 Our record of migration depends on the memories of our informants and cannot be expected to be complete, nor can the 1939 (National Registration) population figure be

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1

The Populati

• 16

Districts:	Population: 1939	1959
South Uig	909	677
Bernera	638	425
East Loch Roag	764	619
Carloway	874	669
UIG	3,185	2,393
c.f. Park	1,500	908(1958)

166 strictly comparable with our own.
compare our records of net migrati
deducting natural change and casual
net loss due to migration appears t
is certainly too high, because it do
1959, nor is it likely that we have r
persons normally resident there.
In any event the 1939 and 1959 figur
broad picture of the changes rather
more geographical detail than the o

[169] They show that the decline in po
emigration and to an excess of deat
accounts for nearly 80% of the loss,
districts the proportions are:

16

	Migration:
South Uig	79%
Bernera	81%
East Loch Roag	81%
Carloway	76%
c.f. Park	97%

This is quite a different picture fro
was the apparent cause of population
exceeded deaths.* Uig lost 20% of
in a slightly shorter period. 1939 -
more remote districts of Uig have n
loss from Park.

166 Net migration is made up of a la
a small return flow, mainly of older
pensioners. Families entering the
teachers, ministers etc.) more or
decessors and may be discounted.

* Caird J.B. et al. Park: a geogr
1959), table XV.

TABLE 50

on balance sheet, 1939 - 1959

Decline, 1939 - 1959:			Net Migration:	
Total	Natural:	Casualties:	Deduced	(Recorded)
232	32	16	184	(95)
213	30	11	172	(76)
145	19	7	110	(130)
205	39	10	156	(121)
792	120	44	622	(422)
592	(+13)	33	572	(355)

A check is possible, as shown in the table, for we can on (last column in table 50) with that obtained by ties from total change. Thus, since 1939, the deduced be 622, c.f. our record of 462. This deduced figure s not take account of excess of deaths over births in ecorded all "casualties", i.e. deaths outwith Uig of The Park survey showed a slightly greater discrepancy. es are not completely comparable; the data provide a than census-like statistics. But they do provide for fficial Census.

pulation is due, in all parts of the parish, both to s over births. Over the whole parish migration natural change for 15%, casualties for 5%. By

Natural change:	Casualties:	Total change:
14%	7%	100%
14%	5%	100%
14%	5%	100%
19%	5%	100%
(+3%)	6%	100%

n that found in Park district, where migration alone decline and where, over two decades, births slightly its 1939 population by migration whereas Park lost 38% 1958 c.f. 1939 - 1959 for the Uig data. Even the ot lost population at much more than half the rate of

rge outflow, mainly of men and women under 45, and people such as retired policemen and similar area to perform some particular service (school less balanced the outward movements of their pre- Examination of the individual croft records shows

aphical study of a Lewis crofting district (G. F.G.

TABLE XV

THE POPULATION OF PARK 1939-58

16

Population in 1939			1500
Population in 1958			908
Net decrease			592
Deduct net natural decrease[1]			
Births	320		
Deaths	307	340	
War casualties[2]	33		20
Therefore net loss			572
Add Immigration			14
∴ Emigration			586
Migration accounted for by enumeration			369
Unaccounted for			217

1. Not only the Park Registers, but also the Stornoway registers were searched in order to include births and deaths away for usual residence: this should account for most events taking place away from Park. (Source: Registrar-General for Scotland).

2. Some of the War Casualties were persons permanently away in 1939.

/p. 12-F/

161

161 POPULATION--enumerations and estimates (with dates); density (e.g., metical, for arable land); population trends; etc. See also:

Population policy . . . . . 168 Census taking 6

ISLAND REGIMENTS

For a number of years it had been the practice for a considerable proportion of the older schoolboys during their attendance at the Secondary School to put in their training with the local body of Territorials—the Ross Mountain Battery. At the School Prize-giving of 1914, these boys attended in their uniform to be ready to go off the same evening by steamer en route for the annual training camp. Before the School re-opened, the Territorial Force was mobilised, and for some of these lads there intervened four long years of toil, of fighting, and of sickness overseas, before they ever saw their homes again.

Later (1938), the unit became the 203rd (Ross) Battery of the 51st (West Highland) Anti-tank Regiment. It was whilst fighting as an anti-tank battery that, with other units of the 51st Division, the men were taken prisoner at St Valery in 1940. Today, after more changes, the battery is the oldest in 540 LAA Regt RA, TA (the Lovat Scouts). In 1960 the Ross Battery received the Freedom of the Burgh of Stornoway in recognition of a century of voluntary service to the community and the nation.

LAND USE AND CROFTING

The history of land use and the crofting system in the Highlands and Islands (see Chapter 5) is full of difficulties. In the older days of the clan system, before the rot set in, though the clan members belonged to the chief, they also belonged to the land and the land to them. In such a climate, the agricultural system, for it was such then, was in a reasonably healthy state; the land was worked to the full. Good land was available for the support of the clan, and as often as not in good years there was ample produce, crops, and livestock, to send south to well-paying markets. That fertile lands abounded is indicated by the reports of visitors in various centuries. But times changed. The increase in population after the breakdown of the clan system by statutory legislation, and the policy of population placement carried out with a rigorous enthusiasm, planted seeds of discontent—in particular a hunger for land. The land was in any case becoming ever more inadequate to support those already on it.

The story of the agrarian troubles in the Highlands area is well

HISTORY

The crofters were in a state of revolt against the accumulation of trends and events which now stood like a high dam against their progress to a higher level of acceptance in the social scene. They stood in open conflict with local and national authority. Unhappy scenes were enacted, many being in complete variance with the natural temperament of the Highlander. Lewis crofters were not far behind with their contribution to the agitation for land reform, though they had perhaps suffered less direct action from landowners than had crofters in the Highlands and southern Islands. But their living conditions had deteriorated. And an inhumanly-efficient factor made for deep unrest.

Land agitation began in Lewis in 1881, and large numbers of Lewis crofters gave evidence before the Napier Commission. This Commission was the result of agitation for an enquiry into crofting conditions in the Highlands. Its setting up relieved a situation of acute tension, though it neither extinguished political agitation nor mitigated the disaffection felt in the more disturbed districts. Under Lord Napier's direction a mass of information was collected. The official findings of the Commission were almost identical with political declarations in the country, but did not altogether coincide with the requirements of the crofters and their spokesmen. The resultant Crofters' Act of 1886 fixed the crofting system into that rigid trance in which agricultural innovation, opportunity for improvement, the social progress of crofting communities are largely lacking. It did give all crofters permanency of tenure, where they had none before, fair rents for the land they had and compensation for improvements. But the old demand for new smallholdings and settlements persisted with greater insistence and further pressure on high political circles.

In 1888, members of the new Crofters Commission visited Lewis and found that poverty was so general in the island that among 607 crofters for whom fair rents were fixed, there were scarcely a dozen who had not been recipients of 'destitution' meal or some other form of relief. The population was too much for the land to support it under the distribution system prevailing. The number of persons per family in 1871 was on average 5·358, as compared with 4·232 on the mainland of Ross and Cromarty, the county of which Lewis formed a part. Thirty years later, in

LAND USE AND CROFTING

1901, the average was only 5·086, the county average being 3·983. The population was still to reach its peak in Lewis, some 30,000, in 1911. Emigration was at a fairly high rate, some 2,000 every decade, but this was no relief with births between 8,000 and 9,000 during the same period. In 1894 it was estimated that the number of cottars (or squatters) as distinct from crofters was in the region of 1,000. These people, mostly relatives of crofters, constituted a serious incubus on every crofting township.

Elsewhere in the Highlands, the enlargement of crofting holdings relieved the land-hunger situation. It was not possible for the same to be done in Lewis, and Harris possessed even less useful land to share out. Many applications were made by crofters either for an increase in their own holdings or an increase in the acreage of common grazings held by each township. Though some 500 acres were in fact handed over by the estate management for crofting purposes, there was a steady refusal to diminish the acreage of farms.

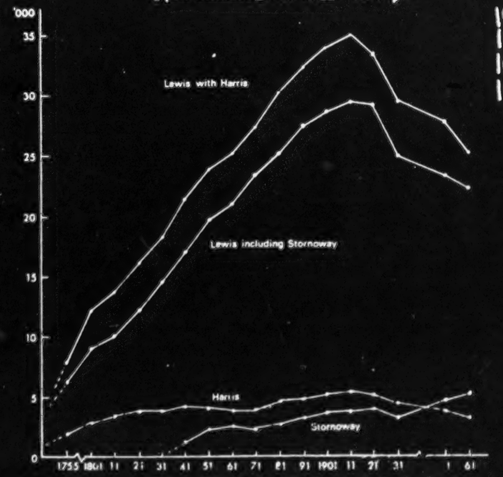
The Congested Districts Board was appointed in 1897, supervising public works to relieve the people of a certain amount of their ills. It carried on until 1912, when it passed into the newly-formed Board of Agriculture. The Congested Districts Board could have achieved much more than it did. It scraped away only a little of the vast problem. The next major landmark in the history of crofting legislation was the Small Landholders (Scotland) Act of 1911. It extended certain provisions introduced for the crofter in 1886, and further increased the class of tenants who benefited by bringing in the tenants of holdings rented at not more than £50 (£30 in Lewis) or not exceeding 50 acres (30 acres in Lewis). The 1911 Act also brought into existence the Scottish Land Court in place of the Crofters Commission. In Lewis, however, the hunger for more land went on unabated and reached a not insignificant peak during the later years of Lord Leverhulme's regime.

A new Crofters Commission was set up in 1955, following on the report of a Commission of Enquiry under the chairmanship of the then Principal T. M. Taylor of Aberdeen University. Fresh provision for the reorganisation, development and regulation of the crofting system in the seven crofting counties of Scotland

ISLAND EMIGRANTS

the MacKenzie River; he was born in Stornoway in 1764, in what was known as Luskentyre House, at the corner of Kenneth Street and Francis, where Martin's Memorial Church now stands. Another MacKenzie, Lt-Col Colin MacKenzie, was born in Stornoway about 1754 and went to Madras in 1772 as a cadet in the Engineer Corps under the East India Company. In India, MacKenzie followed a career of high professional distinction,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]



Population trends c 1755 to 1961 for the island as a whole; for Lewis, including Stornoway; for Harris; and for Stornoway. The population peak occurred in 1911. The dip in the Stornoway curve was due to the effects of emigration, as is the more pronounced dip in the island curve. Stornoway's curve in 1961 was on the upward trend, due to migration from the landward parts of the island into the town. Over the past 150 years, however, population mobility within the island has been virtually nil; movement has been emigration rather than migration

going concern to a trust which was set up to receive the gift and whose first object is to assist aged and infirm residents in the burgh. In effect, all profits earned by the shop are passed to the trust for distribution to those in need.

Almost half the houses in Stornoway were built by the local authority. The Town Council has never been afraid of rooting out unfit houses. By 1937, under the 1930 Slum Clearance Act, one person in four in the town lived in a council house. The housing schemes, though large, have still that element of community with personality, something often lacking in newly developed areas of other towns and cities. The Council also supports private housing by taking up sites, clearing and servicing them and then feuing them to private owners. The rents policy is to have no housing deficit beyond the statutory rate contribution (which works out at between £6,000 and £7,000 per annum). The Council's tenants co-operate with rent collection to a unique degree: collection figures are something like 99 per cent and on occasion 100 per cent. A vigorous housing policy is important to the town, as its population is now over 5,300 and still growing, mainly at the expense of the rural areas. Development plans at present envisage a 1981 population of about 9,100 persons within the parish boundary and including the burgh.

Stornoway is an island town and is an island's town: its rhythms of life are those of the island, regular and timed by nature, but with an added syncopation—the result of an urban outlook. In this context, Gaelic is the language, though English is the lingua franca. Deeper still in the methods used for communication is a kind of patois based on Gaelicised English, Anglicised Gaelic, with some other words that defy investigation into their origin. Many words find their natural forebears in Scots, American and the maritime tongues of Europe, which might be expected in view of Stornoway's importance as a sea-port of significance a century or two ago. The Stornoway language, as spoken by true-born natives, recognisable anywhere by another native, reflects the life of the cosmopolitan, sea-faring people.

Apart from its industrial opportunities, Stornoway has many of the more sophisticated urban facilities that people everywhere seem to crave, particularly with regard to education. The senior

(2,620 ft); grouped around this are the lesser peaks staring stark and treeless to the skies. At the feet of these hills are the small villages straggled along the shores of West Loch Tarbert. Much of this area is owned by the proprietors of Amhuinnsuidh Castle, a magnificent structure built by the Earl of Dunmore in the last century; the hills lying north of it are rich in red deer. The road past the castle trundles on until it peters out at the far-east village of Hushinish, beside a glorious scimitar-like curve of silver sand. Beyond Hushinish is the Island of Scarp.

The road along the shores of East Loch Tarbert ends at the village of Kyles Scalpay which overlooks Scalpay island. The Bays of Harris hold in their crevices the scattered groups of houses here and there, where an inlet of the rocky coast affords some anchorage and where a patch of ground is suitable for cultivation. Tortuous, winding footpaths have been gradually replaced by narrow roads connecting the townships. Lack of sufficient remunerative employment has led to considerable depopulation. Fifty years ago the population of the area was just over 5,400; it is now about 2,900.

The south of Harris is better known for its association with Lord Leverhulme. Obbe, later Leverburgh, became the centre of his schemes. He built a large pier, huge kippering sheds, houses for the workers, roads and lighthouses, and blasted away underwater rocks which hindered free navigation. The bulk of this work was complete in 1924, but when he died (in 1925) his successors, in the cold light of economics, decided to close down the embryo industry and realise its assets. The harbour works had cost £250,000; they were sold for £5,000 to a demolition company. Leverhulme's memorials are still to be seen. The west coast of Harris is now becoming known for the long stretches of shell sand and the green machar-land beside it, a true delight for the tourist seeking isolation.

Tarbert is the central village in Harris, with a population of about 400. It is a thriving community, nestling at the foot of Beinn an Teanga and at the head of the sheltered anchorage of East Loch Tarbert—sheltered from the prevailing south-westerly winds and from the Atlantic storms. The car ferries give direct contact with the Scottish mainland, via Skye, and Tarbert also

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psychological evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'One cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with pocketsful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required money as an exchange commodity because the original native produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the food they required, provided communications with the mainland were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, as St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to the care and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be repeated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, poor folk, scarece learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the company of a minister who had been summoned to the island to denounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180 inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Baptist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds,

3. *Age-Groups in Scotland and the Isles*

In Fig. 13 (*a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*) are shown four pyramids of population for comparison of an 'ideal' or theoretical

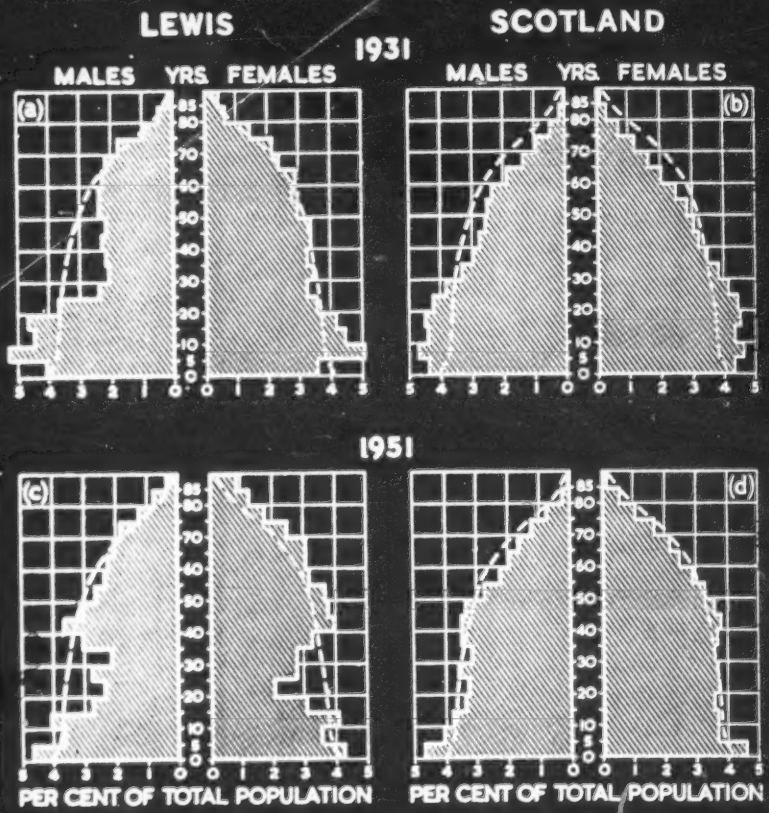


FIG. 13.—Four age-group pyramids. Each of the four, five-yearly age-groupings (in black) may be compared with the 'ideal' age-grouping (broken line).

projection in Scotland with the actual age-groups in rural or 'landward' Lewis and all Scotland in 1931 and 1951.[1]

[1] The 'ideal' pyramid (drawn from Scottish Life Tables) represents a population, unaffected by migration, of which the birth and death rates for each age-group in Scotland are as in 1931. Since 1931 health in Scotland

In the pyramid for rural Lewis (b) the differences are striking, and are mainly due to two factors: the 'natural' ratio of births to deaths, and migration. Beginning from the bottom of the pyramid, it will be seen that in 1931 there were fewer infants (from 0–5 years) than children from 5–10 years, fewer in fact than in the three older age-groups. In 1951 (c), the birth rate having risen sharply after the war and preceding depression, infants formed a much larger ratio (over 5 per cent).

In rural Lewis, emigration asserted itself earliest with girls, as they left the Island chiefly for domestic service; but soon after the age of 20 as many young men left as young women. In 1931 the discrepancy was most marked from the age of 30 to 35. This was further accentuated by the heavy death-roll among the younger men during the 1914–18 war, deaths having totalled more than 1100, perhaps the heaviest proportionate loss in the Empire. Only when they marry and return, permanently or for a period, to the croft (vacated it may be by the death of a parent), do the numbers of men tend to balance those of women. Thereafter the falling away among men is due to their shorter life expectation.

In 1951 National Service had drawn away lads of 18 to 20, so that the difference between the sexes is much less marked in the 15–19 age-group than it was in 1931. Mortality in the 1914–18 war contributes to the shortage of men between 50 and 55 in 1951, and the mortality of the 1939–45 war has also left its trace—or the birth rate would have been still higher (always excluding the factor of migration). For the men, those jobs not requiring per-

has improved, but detailed analytical statistics for 1951 were not available by 1954. Allowances being made for the effects of the wars, for the high ratio of births immediately after, and for emigration from Lewis after 1949, the age-grouping in the island changed but little from 1931.

manent absence from the Island are chiefly the Merchant Service and hydro-electric contracts, and for the women hotel and domestic service, nursing and fish-curing. The ultimate return of many men after prolonged absence contributes to the higher proportion of men of retired and pensionable age (16 per cent in rural Lewis, 11 in Stornoway and 10 in Scotland). What could not be shown on either pyramid for Lewis is the high ratio of unmarried women, owing to the losses of the war, to migration, and to the need for a daughter to devote herself to ageing parents on the croft. The ratio of widows, with or without children, is also considerable, for all three reasons, as well as a fourth, the desirability for an island home, rather than a city, as a place in which to bring up fatherless children.

Turning now to Scotland (b) (d), the same tendencies are seen as in Lewis, though in less extreme form. The difference is of quantity rather than of kind: somewhat as Lewis had lost her men to Scotland mainly, so Scotland had lost to England and beyond. On an average, mothers in Lewis have more children than mothers in Scotland, and still more so than in England. Thus the facts of population in the Island do not suggest a voluntary extinction of its community, but rather the will to live.

000 is the northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides (see
•161 Map B). The population is concentrated along the
162
361 coast, like a hat-brim around the great inner core
of the island's heather-covered bogland, a population
belt classified as "dense rural" (50-400 persons per
[226] square mile) in a map based on the 1951 census. The
pattern of land settlement reflects the importance of
fishing in the economy of the island.

131 Lewis lies between 6°10' and 7°20' west longitude,
and between 47°50' and 58°30' north latitude. Lewis
131 is as far north as Newfoundland and farther north than
132 Mongolia, but the temperature is mild because of the
North Atlantic Drift, or Gulf Stream, which passes the
132 west coast of Scotland. The temperature averages 55°F.
in summer, and 44°F. in January. A constant climatic
feature of life on the treeless island is the wind, a
relentless, insidious presence which often reaches gale
force. Winds of 60 m.p.h. and more are common.

Rain, which comes in downpours or light mist,
[133] averages 55 to 65 inches per year. The water may be
held in colloidal suspension with decomposed organic
matter in the compact, spongy material called peat, or
pour as rivers and streams off the island's shelf of
131 non-porous Archaean gneiss into the sea. Of Lewis'
133 total area of 437,200 acres, inland water comprises
24,863 acres.

000 24,863 acres. The value of this boggy property, as
423 far as the landlords are concerned, is determined by
427
226 its fishing potential. The landlords generally reside
away from their property, and brave the buffeting gales
several times a year to return to fish for trout and
[463] salmon. For the rest of the year they hire river-
[685] watchers to prevent their tenants from poaching. As
[191] in Wales (Emmett 1964), the islanders continue to poach,
in part as an expression of their identity as independ-
ent countrymen, a minority group in a nation-state.

•161 Lewis is the most populated area in the Outer
162 Hebrides, containing 21,934 of the 32,607 Outer Hebrides
634 numbered in the 1961 census. It is part of the County
of Ross and Cromarty, whose headquarters are on the
632 mainland near Inverness. Lewis has four administrative
areas called civil parishes in which births, deaths
and other vital statistics are recorded. Stornoway
[197] parish is the largest, containing the town of Stornoway
on the east side of the island in which many non-Gaelic
speakers live. Of the other three parishes, the largest
[162] is Barvas which stretches along the west side of the
[197] island and contains 4,331 persons, of whom 94.6% are
Gaelic speakers. The people of Stornoway refer to someo
[186] from the west side as a <u>siarach</u> (west-sider), a term
which connotes rusticity.

175 Around this time, various factors had encouraged
• [161] an increase in population. After Scotland's union with England in 1707, the prohibition on the import of cattle into England was lifted, and trade in cattle became economically more important (Day 1918: 26). The numerous wars of this period caused the price of cattle to double between 1736 and 1766 (Day 1918: 180). Clan warfare diminished; the potato was introduced; and vaccine for smallpox became available.

175 The increase in population led to an extreme
161 crowding of land in some areas, which made agricultural
[166] reform difficult. Many landlords tried to encourage tenants of their estates to emigrate. The appearance of a market for kelp, which lasted from the middle of the 18th century to about 1815, discouraged landlords from implementing policies of depopulation that would
175 diminish their labor force. An alkaline extract of
824 kelp was used in a variety of manufactured goods, such
323 as soap and glass. The seaweed was gathered by men,
388 women and children living along the coasts, and burned in rough open kilns. Tenants who worked at this
[465] occupation received L3-4, and the landlords L18-20, per ton (Mackinlay 1878: vii); the landlord received as high an income as L10,000 to L20,000 a year from the burning of kelp (Gray 1957: 42).

175 Factors which led to further crowding were the
423 development of industry and an increased demand for
427 wool in the south, which occurred when traditional
• [161] ties between laird and tenant had been loosened. The clans had been disbanded after the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745; those landlords who had not forfeited their estates received huge sums of money as compensation for the abolition of hereditary jurisdiction. They had experienced travel and the luxuries of other countries, and were not eager to remain on their estates. They accepted the huge rents offered to them by sheep farmers to the south, and turned vast amounts of land into sheep tracts. Tenants
[361] were crowded together along the seashore, or lived on tiny holdings dispersed among the larger farms or on moorland, earning their living by doing wage labor.

175 Despite the factors which encouraged a high level
423 of population to remain on the land, proprietors
241 attempted to destroy the joint farm with its small,
178 dispersed holdings and collective rights. Run-rig
[656] agriculture was abolished in Argyll in 1776 (Day 1918: 180; Gray 1957: 49), and over the next 80 years it disappeared from the Highlands (cf. Gray 1952: 49-50), to be replaced by townships of compact holdings surrounded by undivided hill grazing lands.

11 ISLAND LIFE

As one might expect with an island that is not obviously surrounded with water, life in Harris and Lewis is lived out by an amalgam of communities somewhat similar to those found in very large cities, with defineable districts and recognisable boundaries. The island is too large for any physical feature to demonstrate that it is unconnected with a larger land mass. One looks to the horizon, down the coasts, at the satellite islands, and concludes that if indeed it is an island, the separate elements which combine to make an islander must be found elesewhere than in the landscape. And so they are: in the people, their way of living, their economic problems, their attitudes, and their own consciousness of the fact that distance over the hills and the moors to the sea is significant, in that one eventually comes to the end of a road or track; or that a river or stream runs itself out for ever into the sea. Harris and Lewis is the biggest of all the 'small' islands off the shores of Britain, and has been fortunate in its size: large enough to support a significant number of people who, despite emigration, have managed to maintain their numbers reasonably well and who are now making efforts to reduce emigration and its effects on the island communities to a bearable level.

Because it is an island, however, external influences are felt like cold winter winds. The 1966 seamen's strike was an example; Government intervention was needed to supply essential goods. After the strike many questions were asked. All had their roots in the island's dependence on the outside for not a few of the necessities which could be produced on Harris and Lewis itself, with either its own resources or the resourcefulness of the island folk. To be short of fish, for instance—and this occurred—while the seas around the island were teeming, was unhappy history repeating itself, a harking back to former times when starvation levels could have been avoided by looking around for the means to harvest the crop lying around. The strike also threw into relief the question of the viability of crofting as a full-time occupation.

line; and there can be no doubt of the contrast found at the extremes. How strikingly different from any view over the English Plain is this, from the air or a mountain-top! It overlooks the ice-scraped rock of the fells; the drift-heaped, ill-drained hollows studded with gleaming lochs and deeply overgrown with peat; and the indented, insular coastline with its widely spaced crofting townships looking seaward, where a few fishers' sails may dot the vast expanse of ocean. In 1951 the population of Lewis-and-Harris numbered only 28,000 persons, and that of the entire Outer Hebrides some 36,000; but the small numbers need not lessen the geographical significance of the community.

Men have long recognised the homogeneity of the English 'Plain', with its recurring vale and wold, compact within a rounded coastline. In spite of the local variety of landscape, history or dialect, which enriched its heritage and compose its grandeur and charm, men have sensed the unity inherent in this land of a single tongue, centred upon a single capital. By contrast, the diversities in landscape, life and tongues of the lands far-flung to north and west have obscured the elements of a profound, underlying unity in geographic origins and in historic and social evolution. To understand the civilisation of the British Isles, it is vital first to perceive the complementary qualities found in the two great regions, and face their corresponding weaknesses or limitations. Second, within the less understood of the two regions, 'the North and West', it is vital to study the almost bewildering variety in regional types of life—distinguishing, for instance, the uprooted populations all too typical of the rural Lowlands of Scotland or Northumberland from the still deep-rooted communities of the Highlands and Isles.

2. *From Black House to White House*

342 Discontent with the old black house grew with the
177 knowledge and experience of better housing in Stornoway
178 and on the mainland. The congestion which developed
during the nineteenth century meant that often one house
175 was fouled by another above it, leading to typhoid epi-
342 demics. While the smoky atmosphere of the 'black
houses' inflamed the eyes and irritated the respiratory
161 system, the roof was high and the fire kept the air in
164 motion by day, ventilating it to the chimney hole, while
the lack of glass often made it necessary to work with the
[354] door open. The ravages of tuberculosis came towards the
end of the nineteenth century, when Islanders went to our
crowded towns and, not being immunised, were danger-
ously infected. Returning home, too often to linger and
die in a house now provided with tiny, fixed panes which
permitted a closed door and made it stuffier than before,
178 patients spread infection. Flight to a tiny, air-tight
342 wooden cabin or to a small white house of stone and lime
often followed. The availability for the first time of planks
[313] and timber, a certain practice in boat-repairing, and pos-
[177] sibly acquaintance at first- or second-hand with Canadian
wooden houses, may have influenced the choice of wood.
The early 'white' houses, with an attic lit by skylight,
were airtight, for the windows were too often fixed or only
[354] opened at the bottom. The door was left open in warm
weather, but it was not high enough to allow the escape
of the stale, upper layer of air which the women breathed
as they did their cooking and baking.

342 In the inter-war period, particularly in its last decade,
746 the 'black house' was being abandoned, not for something
178 worse, but far better. The Government-aided houses have
656

175 which heartened them for resistance in common against
829 landlord and State, both in the agitation for reform of the
Land Laws during the next ten years and in their demands
for 'the return' of sheep farms to crofting, which continued
until all these were divided soon after 1919 and the ex-
Servicemen's return.

175 Expenditure of capital in Lewis during more than a
generation, from the purchase of the estate in 1844 down
423 to the death of Sir James in 1878, helped to maintain the
646 people and provide relief in bad seasons. It left Lewis
greatly improved in roads and paths, in sea communica-
175 tions and in buildings of various sorts. Two real efforts had
been made to utilise Lewis peat, industrially for paraffin
646 oil, and agriculturally by reclamation. Given the resources
311 and knowledge of a century ago, these attempts did their
[161] initiator credit. Yet failure left the Islanders to continue
crofting without either an additional occupation or the
extension of croft land, even at the high population density
(per acre of arable) which Matheson had found on his
purchase in 1844.

175 Subdivision of crofts was the first result. A father
423 would simply divide his croft between himself and a son,
who might not even be entered on the rent-roll of the
estate, and the two would inevitably need more stock than
before upon the common. The second result was simply
'squatting': the building of a house, perhaps with a tiny
kailyard, on a piece of the 'skinned' land. As building
went on overcrowding old sites, filth accumulated and
springs were contaminated, crofting was hindered and cows
became fewer per family, in spite of overstocking. By
1886 about two-thirds the number of the cottars and
squatters found in 1914 were already in occupation. In
1914 there were over 3000 statutory crofts in Lewis, their

175 for a firmer hold upon the land and for a return to aban-
178 doned sites. The communal possession of joint farms, held
433 directly or under tacksmen, gave place to individual pos-
[731] session of crofts. Yet the legal recognition of perpetua
[166] tenure in 1886 gave not only the crofter's home but the
[167] crofting neighbourhood a security unequalled in Britain.
The use of moor and machar in common was retained
but its control for improvement or reclamation by the
175 estate or the township was weakened, rather than strength-
178 ened, by the Crofters' Acts. Confusion grew—both upon
the arable land, subdivided, unenlarged and unimproved
423 and also upon the common grazing, sorely overstocked in
427 spite of ever diminishing 'soumings' (or family shares) of
cattle. Rating difficulties and anomalies appeared. Com-
munal discipline, maintained at sea by fishing, was weak-
ened on land after the abolition of the joint farm-group,
and almost nullified in the townships by subdivision and
squatting.

175 A year before the potato famine of 1845, a new landlord
178 had brought good-will, capital and pioneering effort to
433 Lewis. These had been directed to experiments in the
reclamation and the industrial utilisation of deep peat.
[427] Helped by employment on these and other works, the
[311] population of Lewis continued to increase, when increase
in Harris was arrested for a generation. Yet while neither
[161] experiment with peat met with success, little aid had been
given to develop fisheries. In both parts of the Island a
growing population was supported from the 'seventies
onwards by help of earnings derived from the seasonal
herring fishing on the East Coast and from inshore line
fishing at home. Women added to the Island income by
seasonal 'gutting' and, in Harris, by their spinning and
[167] weaving. Money was earned by work on the mainland,

rural Islanders throughout the nineteenth century and even today.

From 1887 the State made efforts to improve the crofters' lot. Crofters' claims to stake shares upon the only available reclaimed land in the Island, that of a few farms, had been refused in the 'eighties, but came to be granted, in principle and in fact, after 1900. During the war of 1914–18 the Government reaffirmed its promise to divide sheep farms into crofts for men returning from the Services, and the Land Settlement Act became law in 1919. Yet in spite of tentative experiments and schemes, a determined effort to see the Island possibilities and face its problems, as a whole, still remained to be made in the twentieth century.

When war broke out in 1914 over 5000 men left Lewis to join the Services, and corresponding numbers left from Harris. Others, too, served in the Merchant Marine, exposed to U-boat warfare. From the first months of the war, Lewismen in the Seaforth Highlanders, and men from Harris in the Camerons, fought in the Highland Division as shock troops in the attacks which cost the Division the highest casualties of any in the British Army. The Lovat Scouts, the Mountain Battery, the Garrison Artillery and other units, also enrolled their men, and suffered loss. The last blow to the Island came after anxiety had ceased. Early in 1919 the transport *Iolaire* struck a rock and sank at the entrance to Stornoway harbour; and 200 men who had withstood dangers and hardships during four years of war went down in the dark of a winter's night, almost within call of their waiting relatives massed on the pier to welcome them.

illustrates the narrow margin of habitability on these fragmented holdings.

Now, in Lewis periodic pooling and exchange, or the practice of *movable* run-rig on the small joint-tenants' farms, was abolished early in the nineteenth century, except upon the machar, where it still continues. Apparently the strips were simply fixed where they had last been apportioned by lot. Subdivision of the little crofts among sons and grandsons followed, owing to inheritance without reclamation. Fairness gave 'the patchwork quilt' described; but it was fairness pushed to the point of folly, for differences in soil from one adjacent strip to another were slight! It is otherwise with the long, narrow plough-strips which run from the houses on the pure boulder clay down to the sandy shore: run-rig, movable or fixed, is understandable and necessary there. The case just cited shows how a sensible communal tradition, such as that of '*movable* run-rig' with periodic pooling, may degenerate into absurdity by fixation. Happily the machar still shows the sane maintenance of a tradition, the pooling of resources:[1]

In 1924–25, widespread distress in the Isles, the failure of the Leverhulme endeavour, the crofters' refusal to own their own crofts, and the emigration which followed, caused many outsiders to forecast rapid depopulation. It was all the more interesting to note the confidence in the Island's future shown by buyers of the great estate, all of whom knew what they were about, for they were men with experience of the Island, of its rates and rentals and of its people. To a wealthy man who repurchased a sporting

[1] Apportionment of lands held in run-rig in the Carloway estate is described, and the principle discussed, in *Scottish Land Court Reports*. (See *Scottish Law Rev.* vol. 28, 7; July 1940, pp. 51-54.) At the same time 'mechanisation', or the co-operative utilisation of tractors had led to pleas for 'collective farming'. (*Stornoway Gazette*, February 1944.)

CH. X BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

182 161 470 471 124 estate, or where a single lodge was bought as a home for retirement, depopulation might not matter. Certain population-lated parishes, however, were bought as investments by men of comparatively modest means. The principal reasons for his purchase given to me by a retired man, formerly connected with the administration of the Lewis estate, were two. Asked if he had found, and expected, steady, remunerative payment of rent, he replied: "Certainly!" Next, in view of Press forecasts of general emigration, I referred to the fact that if large numbers of crofters decided to give a year's legal notice of departure and apply for compensation for improvements, including the erection of a' white house' (otherwise than by Government aid), the landowner would be faced by heavy liabilities while deprived of income. Had the purchaser no fear of such an eventuality? "Certainly not!" was the reply, "the crofters will stick to their homes for many a long year."

These examples show that, while the defeat, or non-realisation of Leverhulme's schemes, seemed to many, not 829 458 unlike the beginning of a not distant 'end' to the Island community, the Islanders themselves did not contemplate a final exodus. They were quite uncertain what was to come, it is true. Who was not, in those years of discouragement for Scotland and her people, for Wales, for Tyneside and Lancashire? The years of Leverhulme's departure from Lewis and of his death brought bad seasons. In 1924 storms destroyed crops and the great herring shoals and prices, though they had risen a little since 1921-22, had not allowed recovery from the losses sustained. The cessation of Leverhulme's wage-payments meant a gap in income which the Islanders could not fill [195] at home. To relieve poverty in 1924-25, a Highlands and

CH. X BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

288 651 646 439 458 value' is important, is an appreciable dollar-earning asset; and because of the fluctuating export market, its manufacturing must be stabilised by sales at home.

These and other facts support the plea that if some share of taxation had to be imposed in the national interest, it should have been done by steps, by permit of readjustment in manufacturing and of adaptation to the carefully fostered market. What seems indefensible, even in the national interest, was the imposition of the full 66⅔ purchase tax. As a result of this blow, the crofter's web could not be sold, and lay, a prey to moths, in his home, while the mill-owner's stock piled up in the warehouse. 'Hand-looms', newly bought or partly paid for, lay rusting in the sheds and the machinery of the mills stood idle. The hand-weavers with their helpers and the employees in the mills, their savings spent, began to seek work beyond the Island. As the census of April 1951 has shown, the population has been falling as workers trickled away by every steamer. Some adjustment was made, it is true, late in 1951; but the case of the small independent weaver remained as hard as ever.

288 433 [651] The amount of tweed stamped with the Orb Trade Mark, which diminished slowly from 4,464,000 standard yards in 1948 to 4,101,000 in 1949 and 3,780,000 in 1950, fell when the tax was imposed to 2,800,000 in 1951. In 1952 there was a recovery, maintained in 1953. Over 5,000,000 yards will have been stamped in 1954.

APPENDIX I

434 [651] difference between the issues and the payments in rural areas 647 (£28,000 as against £13,000) is no doubt due to orders drawn 367 to pay accounts. In this connection, a comparison of conditions at an interval of nine years is suggestive for any attempt to distinguish the difference between rural incomes before and after the economic depression. In rural Lewis the total Dorator payments fell from over £33,000 in 1928-29 to barely £22,000 in 1937-38, a fall of more than a third. Although a decline in the payment of Money Orders in Stornoway was partly offset by an increase in that of Postal Orders there, it is thought that even this reflects a fall in the cash available in the townships, by indicating a fall in the average amount of accounts paid by country customers to Stornoway tradesmen. Even here, it is true, some allowances must be made, as latterly more shopping was done by customers coming into Stornoway by car and probably paying to a greater extent in cash.

[651] Comparisons may now be made, for all the data quoted, between Stornoway and the rural or 'landward' areas of Lewis, and also between landward parishes for all except the Unemployment payments. Population having changed but [161] little from 1931 to 1938, and economic conditions not being very different in the Island in the financial years 1936 and 1937-38, an approximation can be made of payments averaged per head of population. In the following table these are shown in £ sterling to one decimal place.

Average Payments (per Head per Annum)

	Stornoway Burgh	Stornoway Landward	Barvas	Lochs	Uig	Average Landward
	£	£	£	£	£	£
(a) Allowances and Pensions	10·2	3·3	4·0	3·9	5·9	3·9
(b) Unemployment Payments	2·6	..	..	..	..	5·1
(c) Money and Postal Orders	(8·4)	1·0	0·9	1·2	1·3	1·1
Total	..	..	..	..	..	10·1

192 The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" huts, some still in good repair, are of uncertain date. The best preserved are on the Morvagh Deer Forest and in Uisinish and Ardroil, which make it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; those on the Garyhelm common pasture are provided with asymmetrically placed entrance lintels, and, there, however, need not imply permanent occupation of the site, nor does it solve the problem of age; such huts are certainly old, possibly pre-potato (c. 1710 here) - but the hut does not decay with age and may be very much older.

Early in the eighteenth century the present area of the parish of Uig was held from the Earl of Seaforth (see chief by 26 tacksmen, whose names are recorded in the judicial-rental of 1718, [Fig.4.]). They, respectively, had sub-tenants but of these there is no record. Elsewhere in Lewis the same tacksmen and sub-tenants ruled over the great bulk of the island but in Uig, apparently, the tacksman and sub-tenant system remained intact. Although we cannot be certain of their practice under the Seaforths, we know that the tacksmen fairly well utilized the available agricultural ground [Fig.4.]. Five of them [24] cluster round Uig bay, four were in the Valtos-East area, and three in the Valtos-West of Little Bernera. All seem to have reached together they accounted for three quarters of the meal and more than half the sheep and money rents. What is more, these rents represented 27% of the total rental of Lewis, whereas by 1887 Uig yielded only 17% of the rental and by 1901 the proportion was reduced to 14%. The relative decline in Uig is largely due to the growth of Stornoway; this adds to the centre of gravity of Lewis [178] [24] [167] [161] [163] [163] [163

Congestion and Sub-division.

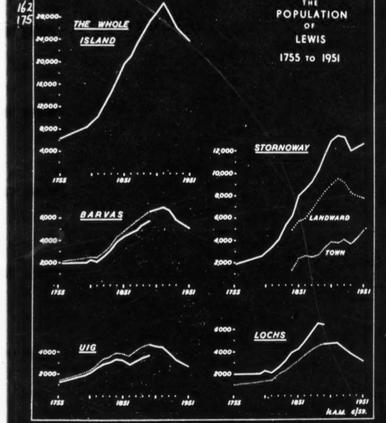
195 The crofting population of Uig started the second half of the nineteenth century with
317 far less land than had been occupied by their forebears fifty years before, and, although
146 famine, clearances and emigration had slightly reduced the population between 1841 and
164 1851, (from 3,828 to 3,630) thereafter it again increased, reaching about 4,600 in 1891.
427 Rising agricultural prices after 1850 favoured farmers and crofters alike but, whilst the
farmers prospered the crofters were, relatively, thus multiplied, thus in effect reducing the land
available to each family. In 14 townships recorded in the 1850 sketch book the 273 hold-
ings at that date had become 402 by about 1890, to which should be added a considerable
number of cottars and squatters, many of them keeping stock and some sharing the rent
429 of the croft on which they had built their cottages. Detailed comparison of the rentals
for the two dates shows that the increase had come about in two ways: firstly, it appears
that, from time to time, where a new rent ledger was being made up, the factor would
164 record separately cottars who actually shared the rent of the croft and, secondly, he
162 would recognise and enter some of the squatters who had obtained rent-free (and illegal)
holdings by enclosing and reclaiming the common. The latter were added to the
assuming of the township according to the rent put upon them. Table 5 (page 16),
illustrates the process. The recognition of squatters, usually at £1-£2 per annum, led
to the small increases in total rental. For the rest, the increasing numbers were
caused by subdivision. Only in a few cases does the proprietor seem to have actively
encouraged land reclamation by crofters. On April 17, 1850, four of the families which
had been cleared out of Reef were allowed to settle on the Callanish common near the
Breasclete boundary (hence the settlement became known as "Breasclete Park". Their
rent was fixed at 15/- per acre for five years, thereafter increasing 1/- per annum until
it reached 29/- per acre; they shared, according to their rent, in the Callanish common
pasture. But forty years later one of these crofts had been divided into three, another
into two, and two new ones had been carved out of the common; the total rental had risen
to £13:19/-. Again, when Breasclete was lotted in the spring of 1850, ten new lots were
marked out and the rental is annotated "there are ten young men starting ... these lots
as soon as the season commences". Not it appears to have been too optimistic; few, if
any, of the new lots were ever broken in.

The farms, by contrast, prospered and the proprietor was able to share that prosperity by increasing rents as shown in the table:

TABLE 6

195 427 Farm:	Rental in the period: 1840's	1850's	1860's	1870's
Mealasta	£90	£105	£105	£130
Ardroil	£100	£100	£187	£255
Carnish	(£75: crofters)	£95		
Timsgarry	£78	£84	£88	£108
Linshader	£250	£297	£400	£425

161 162 175



/p. 18/

Figure 8.

161 162 175 236 233 435 435

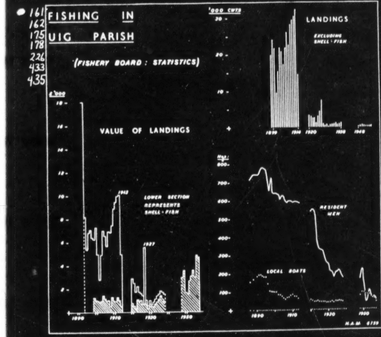


Figure 9.

/p. 20/

195 317 146 164 427 429 164 162 234 433 435 317 146 164 427 437 317

Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the proprietors were obliged, by pressure of population within, and of public opinion without, to made some concessions to their small tenantry. It may be relevant to point out that this was a period of falling agricultural prices and declining farm rentals; indeed the time was not far off when some farms would not find tenants at any rental:

TABLE 7

Farm:	Rental at c.1875/80	c.1885/90
Mealasta	£130	£85
Margreta	£132	£95
Ardroil & Carnish	£285	£245
Timsgarry	£108	£80 (1)
Linshader	£349	£278 (2)

Notes: (1) Small reduction for enlargement to Glebe.
(2) Big reduction for Laimeshader and Grimersta Lodge.

195 317 146 164 429 234 433 435 175 653 146 164 437 317

The crofters of south Uig were in particular difficulty at this time for here fishing declined earlier than elsewhere but the townships remained greatly overcrowded. In 1910 Breanish and Islivig had 18 cottar families, (most of them sharing crofts with the official tenants), and three of squatters, i.e. on the common pasture. Here fishing had almost ceased and the people were almost entirely dependent on their crofts or on employment away from home. In Valtos and Kneep there were 21 cottar families; they had 31 cattle and sheep flocks. Here, too, fishing was on the decline. It was perhaps because of this that commercial weaving was developed in South Uig earlier than in most parts of Lewis. As early as 1900 Uig was classed with Harris, by the local committee of the Congested Districts Board, as producing a superior quality of tweed. Two 30 gallon iron pots were sent out so that enough wool could be dyed at one boiling to obviate irregular colouring in any one tweed. The C.D.B. also made grants for roads, footpaths and "marine works". Amongst the latter the pier at Valtos (1899) was an attempt to resuscitate local fishing, but it came too late.

195 653 146 164 437

The Congested Districts Board was the first government agency with funds at its disposal to aid the crofting township. One of its largest grants went in aid of the Carloway road (or Portland Road as it is now known). This scheme arose out of an abortive proposal for a railway from Loch Carloway to Stornoway. It was thought that this could enable trawlers and other large fishing boats to land their catch for quick transport to Stornoway and so to the mainland whilst the fishing vessels returned to sea with minimum delay. The road, an excellently engineered one, is still not properly surfaced. A more effective C.D.B. - aided scheme was the resettlement of crofters on Mangersta Farm, the rent of which had fallen to £70 and which the proprietors were willing to break up. Thirteen new buildings were formed here and the first harvest was taken by the new settlers in 1911. The crofters' rent was fixed at £73 and the C.D.B. paid £566 in grants to purchase the sheep stock and improvements, and towards the cost of fencing. About the same time the Board paid a grant to the township of Garenin for fencing a substantial enlargement to their pasture, obtained off Dalbeg. Here, and at Reef farm, small-holding resettlement schemes were vetoed by the Crofters Commission whose experts regarded the areas as unsuitable. Both have since been re-settled by crofters.

195 317 146 164 427 657 678

After the first World War re-settlement schemes went ahead with renewed vigour. Men serving in the Forces expected land to be available for them on their return and they were impatient to get it. By this time the Lewis estate belonged to the Lewis and Harris Development Co. - in other words to Lord Leverhulme. The farms of Mealasta, Reef, Carnish and Ardroil were all without tenants; Leverhulme agreed to break them into crofts, the Board of Agriculture surveyors were speedily put to work, and the new settlers were able to commence cultivation on March 1, 1921. Timsgarry farm, with which was the Uig shooting lodge, was in the hands of a tenant; but the Board obtained possession, reserving a small area around the lodge for amenity. Crofter farm, Bayhead, was also broken up. More than 50 new holdings received enlargements to their common pastures; details are given in Figure 10 and table 8, (pages 22 and 23). Much more remains to be done in haste, the Secretary for Scotland pushed them forward in the face of some opposition from Leverhulme. Here, as elsewhere, the ex-servicemen were restive; land raids and violence, with inevitable political repercussion, were feared.

In 1924, Linshader farm was threatened by land raiders. As a result this, too, was broken up and 10 new holdings were occupied as from Whitsuntide, 1925. This was part of the Grimersta sporting estate and the proprietors feared that all the remaining land, given to crofts, Linshader was not particularly suited to crofter-management: it consisted of 49 acres of old arable land and more than 8,000 acres of rough pasture, the furthest part of which was five miles distant and without road access. When the Land Court fixed the assuming the following remark was recorded:

"Under a club stock" (i.e. a single flock) the moor "might have been exploited to a very different extent, but in view of the fact that individual stocks are to be kept" (i.e. each crofter his own shepherd) "which is not conducive to herding, ... 70 sheep per share will be ample. If the whole outside ground were being fully made use of by the sheep stock the grazing of ten cows should do no harm.... but the grazing afforded on the holding does not justify a larger assuming" (than one cow). It had, in fact, been the practice at Linshader farm to buy in young cattle for summer grazing, and to send away the lambs to the Dingwall area for their first winter.

Finally, in the thirties, two long established cottar families at Aird Bheag, an isolated spot on the Uig shootings, applied for and obtained recognition as crofters. Their holdings have since been abandoned and now form part of the sheep farm operated by a syndicate of four Breanish and Islivig crofters. Finally, in 1935 a further 12 new holdings were formed by a partial break-up of Garynahine farm. Thus in all, 140 new crofts and 45,000 acres have been added to the crofter holdings of the area since 1878. During that period the population of the parish has declined from c.3,500 to c.700. Neither the formation of new crofts, nor the enlargement the old, has prevented depopulation. Little, if any, more land is available and depopulation continues. The only hope, now, is to make the existing land - individual holdings and commons alike - more productive.

Table 8 and the map, figure 10, illustrate the progress of resettlement.

Crofts and Crofters.

491 Parish of Uig is now mainly owned by five small limited companies: Uig Crofters,
427 Bernera Crofters, Grimersta Estate, Carloway Estate, and Lewis Island Crofters. In
437 addition, when Lord Leverhulme sold the Lewis estate a few crofters accepted their
317 holdings as free gifts; consequently they lost legal crofter status (which is confined to tenants) although they continue to share in their respective townships. More recently four crofters in the south purchased some 2,000 acres of rough sheep grazings, including the new defacto settlement of Aird Bheag. There is no official record of the extent of crofters' land, but we accounted for some 95,000 acres (table 9). The remainder con-

161 162 231 233

TABLE 32

Some Changes in Stock and Population

	POPULATION 1891	1959	CATTLE(1) 1881(2)	1959	SHEEP(1) 1881(2)	1959
Breasclete	84	53	53	25	215	462
Croir	3	18	3(3)	11	3(3)	270
Eoligarry	122	90	143	52	449	995
Kirkibost	148	79	89	49	290	916
Paiblesgarry	178	71	116	36	534	610
ISLAND	535	311	401	173	1,480	3,243
Barabandur	84	32	20	7	109	317
Croirgrey	72	26	27	14	116	406
Ardmela	-	19	26	11	368	538
Linshader	10	22	30(4)	8	2,000(4)	534

Notes: (1) More than one year old.
(2) According to the evidence to the Napier Commission (except Linshader).
(3) Included in Linshader.
(4) According to local memory.

The Population of Barvas (island only).

1841	474	1911	730
1851	518	1921	605
1861	453	1931	514
1871	559	1939	10,500
1881	596	1951	384
1891	555	1959	311
1901	580		

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is
[60] water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one memb
of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern
Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on
[35] rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three
remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and wo
worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-le
to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In
[288] addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men
weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the
prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than
[168] average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of the
young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people a
[161] young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resi
[162] dent adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always
been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous croftin
communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

195 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared
427 from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided
making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no culti-
vation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

361 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete-
241 Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover being
grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one
231 acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle
is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of
that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people ov
65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently
133 from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the
northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small
westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

491 The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the
361 middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main
Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this
road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished
Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter
[144] by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, bu
high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but
at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses
have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good
weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

(2) Population by Townships, e

	1841	1891	1931	1939	1951	1959
SOUTH UIG DISTRICT						
Mealasta	25	20	-	-	-	-
Bremish	174	229	110	78	60	62
Islivig	37	54	34	30	19	17
Mangurwta	117	4	58	50	58	48
Carnish	} 168	14 }	17	10	7	13
Ardroil			69	60	60	58
Timsgarry	55	14	34	39	23	23
Crowlista	196	238	96	75	55	41
Aird	52	83	43	37	30	30
Valtos	335	480	175	149	145	116
Kneep	187	235	92	71	62	46
Reef	189	11	58	58	39	30
Caryshader	46	88	70	59	48	30
Geshader	60	142	62	57	34	37
Ungshader	22	32	38	37	26	10
Ennoclete	55	52	52	38	36	36
Scalisero	33	9	5	6	5	3
Others	114	71	29	43	35	29
TOTAL	1,865	1,756	1,042	897	742	629
LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT						
Garynahine	69	12	13	63	57	60
Callanish	202	311	209	184	175	119
Breasclete Park	-	50	31	18	17	22
Breasclete	196	374	320	332	257	248
Tolsta Chaolis	183	298	203	152	152	138

4: Maisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

APPENDIX E continued

161
162
632

...c., in selected years since 1841

	1841	1891	1931	1931	1951	1959
BERNERA DISTRICT						
Strome & Drovernish	24	-	-	-	-	-
Earshader	56	24	19	19	40	32
Crulivig	31	72	44	40	34	26
Lundale	-	-	32	26	23	19
Linshader	28	17	33	46	34	24
Backlete	75	122	101	100	80	68
Kirkibost	8	148	157	156	102	79
Tobson	180	178	136	121	90	79
Bosta	79	-	-	-	-	-
Breaclete	57	84	72	74	64	59
Croir	75	3	39	43	24	-
Vuiamore	46	-	-	-	-	-
CARLOWAY DISTRICT						
Dun Carloway	128	298	203	134	152	88
Kirivick	53	105	98	80	65	47
Knock Carloway	97	219	122	172	176	167
Carloway	124	} 321	{ 220	226	236	220
Carloway Park	?		54	70	16	15
Burroston	77	96	68	49	52	40
Garenin	75	164	142	126	101	93

Sources:
1841, 1891, 1931, and 1951 - unpublished official census returns, by courtesy of the Registrar General of Scotland.
1939 - National Register.
1959 - Glasgow University and C.F.C. survey.

231 Size of croft: 6 acres arable, (3 in crop, 3 in sown grass), 18 acres outrun and
241 rights in Common Grazing to carry:-
242 6 cows, 2 young cattle, 50 ewes, 12 wedders, 12 ewe hoggs and a ram.

	Income	£	Expenses	£
231 241 242 434	Sale of 1 cow, 5 calves, 10 cast ewes and 3 wedders, and 28 lambs say	224	Rent, ram, service of bull, grass, oat, potato and turnip seed, manures and hand feeding say	98
	Sale of wool	33	Excess of income	300
	Subsidies on cows, calves and cropping	141		398
	Total income	£398		

In order to work such a croft efficiently, the tenant could not take regular ancillary employment and would require the assistance of his family at busy periods. If such holdings were formed in the particular township studied, the number of crofts would have to be reduced to almost one third of present total. Considering Park as a whole, the agricultural units would have to be reduced to half of their present number but this latter figure is only very approximate as it was based on general evidence. It is clear, however, that about 100 viable agricultural units could be maintained on the present crofting area of Park.

000 From a detailed study of the agriculture of Park one can only conclude that the present crofting situation is far from being an optimum one. Only reorganisation on a major scale could made crofting economic, and such reorganisation would have to be coupled with the development of a non-crofting sector of the community dependent on ancillary industry. The prospects for the growth of ancillary industry are discussed on page 12. Larger crofts might well evolve as a result of continued depopulation. In the meantime, a determined effort could be made in the spheres of re-seeding and pasture improvement, and in consolidating the existing non-adjacent pieces of certain crofts. A reduction of the sheep stocks, with an emphasis on quality instead of quantity, and the introduction of more cattle, narrowing the present 1:25 cattle-sheep ratio, are policies which could be followed with profit.

ANCILLARY OCCUPATIONS

464 In most crofting areas, ancillary employment is necessary to compensate for the low croft income: total dependence on the croft for a livelihood has never been characteristic of many crofting areas except in times of privation. At the time of the abolition of run-rig, most crofting areas had
[161] [162] a greater population than the land could support, even at subsistence level, and as a result, on most estates, crofts were created smaller than the optimum size in order to give as many persons as possible a share in the land. First the kelp industry and at a later period fishing, resulted in sub-
464 divisions of crofts, already too small, and the establishment of a cottar and squatter population. In
228 the case of kelp, the landlord required as many hands as he could muster and in the hay-day of the
423 fishing industry, the land was a secondary consideration as meal could be bought with the proceeds
241 of the catches.

161 In Park, it is noteworthy that the most congested areas in 1883 were the fishing townships and
162 that since 1901, when the decline in the fishing industry began, these townships have experienced
464 rapid depopulation. No other home-based ancillary industry has successfully filled the gap in the economy. In Park as a whole only 18 per cent of the total male population of insurable age (15-64) are full-time crofters today - a striking confirmation of the fact that ancillary employment in necessary.
000 However, not all such employment is available in Park: 47 per cent of the insurable male population

TABLE XII

Population of Townships and Inhabited Places
(Material by courtesy of the Registrar-General)

1830[1]	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1939[2]	1951	1958[3]
-	8	-	-	-	-	22	14	15	12	8	17	4	9
62	47	-	-	-	-	27	24	12	13	21	17	12	13
49	53	68	89	96	98	113	121	111	105	87	85	67	61
66	70	91	84	104	114	105	111	101	93	94	77	59	54
38	46	63	77	94	105	101	74	100	117	99	89	88	69
-	29	-	38	42	78	45	54	64	47	45	41	24	20
184	127	170	188	221	259	271	294	284	260	209	205	184	137
41	9	50	30	19	11	6	3	3	8	2	2	-	-
115	98	146	189	206	206	205	225	206	181	160	146	127	107
55	67	105	122	158	183	197	202	187	189	151	120	64	22
197	233	270	326	353	368	389	416	460	385	341	338	263	209
144	179	-	209	256	265	261	316	339	269	228	211	188	156
119	148	-	-	-	-	4	2	5	35	91	98	71	53
104	-	-	11	17	29	11	14	14	19	12	30	10	5
66	62	89	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	4	-	9	3	-	2	-	3	-	-	3	-	-
-	8	-	7	3	-	9	-	3	9	1	7	3	-
-	3	5	9	-	3	-	6	-	-	-	3	-	-
-	-	2	6	-	7	19	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-
-	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1269	1213	1069	1388	1563	1704	1785	1876	1922	1733	1549	1500	1164	913

1. Manuscript-Seaforth Papers, Box 62, No. 158. Register House.
2. National Identity Card Enumeration by courtesy of Department of Health for Scotland.
3. Glasgow University-Geographical Field Group Enumeration, August 1958: the figures include all permanent residents and those who are in seasonal employment North of Park.
4. Including Tourists. 5. Unidentified. 6. Park south of Loch Shell.

/p. 12-A/

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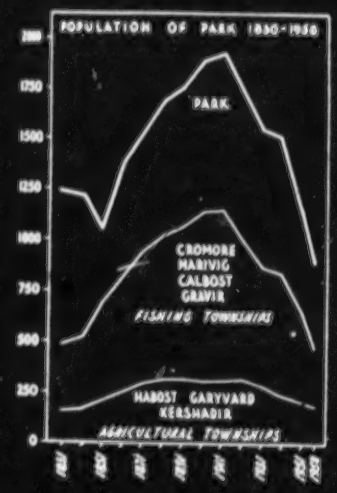

Fig. 6.

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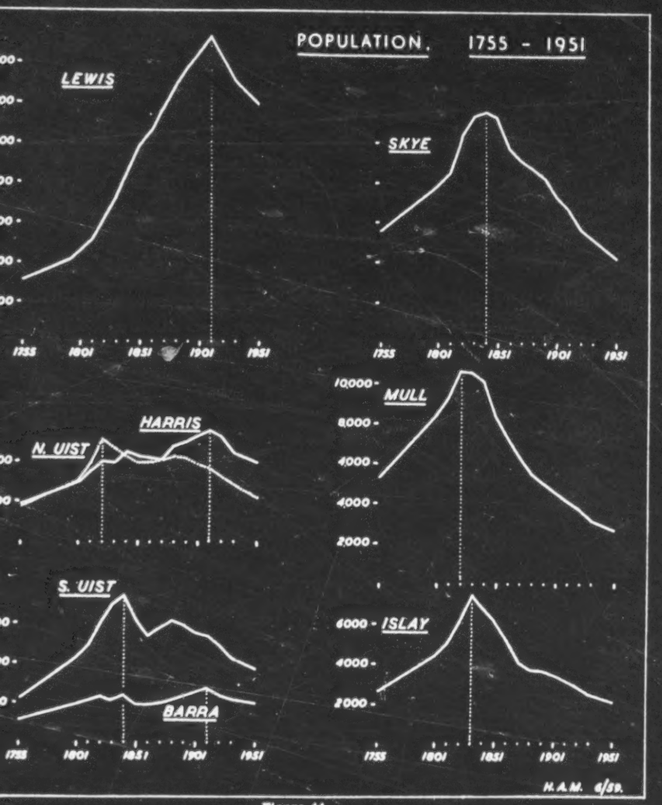

Figure 44

Population changes in certain islands, 1755 - 1951. (For changes in Lewis parishes, including Uig, see Part I, Figure 8).

TABLE 47

Population of Uig Parish 1901 - 1959

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1901	1911	1921	1931	1939 (a)	1951	1959 (b)
4,463	4,462	3,956	3,364	3,110	2,718	2,390

(a) National Registration, not strictly comparable with decennial Census figures.

(b) Our own survey count.

return of unemployed men and families from the mainland and overseas. Thus we found, in 1959, that the population of Uig was less than in any year since 1811. Nevertheless it was still double that reported to Webster in 1755, before the potato, kelp and fishing led to inflation.

These changes have not affected all parts of the parish at the same time, nor to the same extent. The position is summarised in table 48 and figure 45. Summaries by districts conceal a good deal of the truth; each township has had its individual history and no two are alike. Township figures are given in Appendix E.

TABLE 48

Changes in the relative distribution of population 1841 - 1959
For details by townships see figure 45.

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	Proportion of the total in each district in the years: 1841	1891	1931	1951	1959
South Uig District	52	51	31	28	27
Bernera District	16	15	19	18	18
East Loch Roag District	17	23	24	25	25
Carloway District	15	23	26	29	29
	100	100	100	100	100

South Uig, in 1841, had more than half the population of Uig, despite the early clearances. It has now little more than a quarter, and is still declining most rapidly. In Aird and Crowlista, for example, where there were 321 persons in 1891, we counted but 71; in Valtos in the same period the decline was from 480 to 113. Most striking of all, in Ungshader, where 38 persons were living as recently as 1931, we found only 9. Bernera and Bernera Shore have slightly increased their share of the population of Uig, since 1891, although the actual number has fallen from 650 to 424. Clearances never had the same depopulating effect in Bernera as they had in the south, and fishing remained prosperous longer. The re-settlement of Linshader farm by crofters in 1925 had little effect but Bernera itself, despite isolation, has retained its population quite remarkably. Many go away to find work but few leave for ever. The development of lobster fishing has helped.

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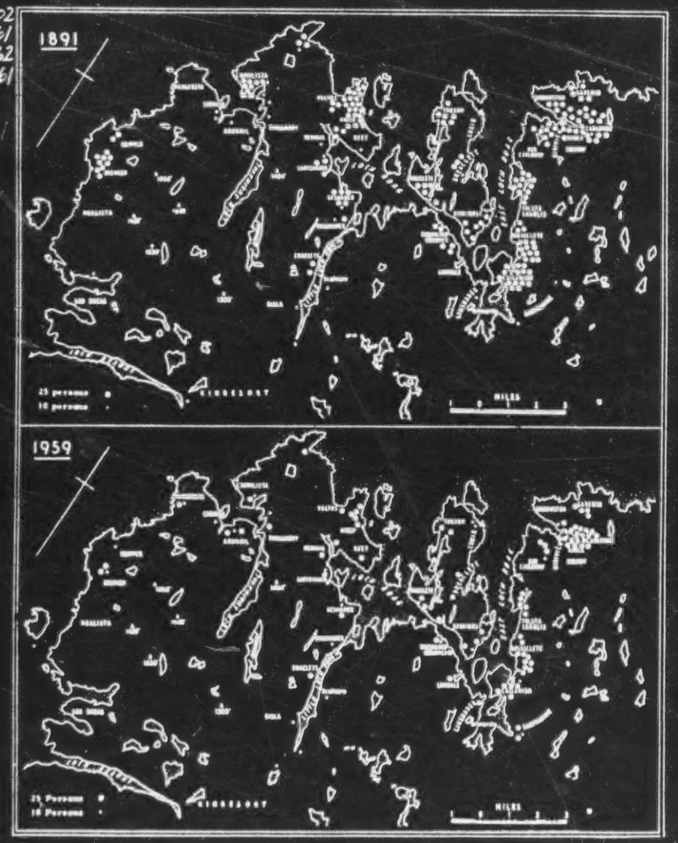

Figure 45

Distribution of population in 1891 and 1959

161 In the northern townships, stretching from Garynahine in Loch Carloway, quite the
162 reverse is seen. Here there are actually more people now than in 1841 (1,261, c.f. 1,204), although there has been a marked decline since 1891 when 2,106 were enumerated. Thus this area, which had less than one third of Uig's population in 1841, now has more than half. The main change occurred before 1891 and was associated with the prosperity of fishing, both locally and on the east mainland coast, but, in addition, this area did not lose population as rapidly as did Bernera and the southern townships in the 'twenties and 'thirties, nor since 1951, and this can undoubtedly be ascribed to the early establishment, especially in the Carloway district, of Harris Tweed weaving.

TABLE 49

Loss of Population by Districts, 1931 - 1959

	Annual rates: 1931 - 1951	1951 - 1959	Net loss: 1931 - 1959*
Carloway District	0.5%	1.6%	182
East Loch Roag District	0.8%	1.3%	105
Bernera Shore	-	2.9%	28
Bernera Island	1.6%	0.7%	182
Little Loch Roag	1.8%	1.0%	95
Valtos District	1.0%	1.8%	101
Aird and Crowlista	2.0%	2.2%	68
Uig Bay District	0.6%	(40.1%)	12
Mangersta/Brenish	1.8%	2.1%	97

* Immigrant R.A.F. and Ministry of Civil Aviation staff and families are excluded.

Migration

121/ One of the objects of our enquiries was to discover something of the processes of popu-
16 lation change in recent years. To this end we tried to record some details of migrants, from and to the parish since 1939 (see croft record questionnaire, frontispiece to Part I). We also attempted to record war and other casualties away from home. Finally, we recorded natural population changes by extracting details of births and deaths from the official registers for the period October 1939 - December 1958 (the 1959 registers were not available). The results are summarised in table 50.

166 Our record of migration depends on the memories of our informants and cannot be expected to be complete, nor can the 1939 (National Registration) population figure be

TABLE 50

The Population balance sheet, 1939 - 1959

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District:	Population: 1939	1959	Decline, 1939 - 1959: Total	Natural:	Casualties:	Net Migration: Deduced	(Recorded)
South Uig	909	677	232	32	16	184	(95)
Bernera	638	425	213	30	11	172	(76)
East Loch Roag	764	619	145	19	7	110	(130)
Carloway	874	669	205	39	10	156	(121)
UIG	3,185	2,393	792	120	44	622	(422)
c.f. Park	1,500	908(1958)	592	(+13)	33	572	(355)

166 strictly comparable with our own. A check is possible, as shown in the table, for we can compare our records of net migration (last column in table 50) with that obtained by deducting natural change and casualties from total change. Thus, since 1939, the deduced net loss due to migration appears to be 622, c.f. our record of 462. This deduced figure is certainly too high, because it does not take account of excess of deaths over births in 1959, nor is it likely that we have recorded all "casualties", i.e. deaths outwith Uig of persons normally resident there. The Park survey showed a slightly greater discrepancy. In any event the 1939 and 1959 figures are not completely comparable; the data provide a broad picture of the changes rather than census-like statistics. But they do provide for more geographical detail than the official Census.

• 161 They show that the decline in population is due, in all parts of the parish, both to emigration and to an excess of deaths over births. Over the whole parish migration accounts for nearly 80% of the loss, natural change for 15%, casualties for 5%. By districts the proportions are:

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	Migration:	Natural change:	Casualties:	Total change:
South Uig	79%	14%	7%	100%
Bernera	81%	14%	5%	100%
East Loch Roag	81%	14%	5%	100%
Carloway	76%	19%	5%	100%
c.f. Park	97%	(+3%)	6%	100%

This is quite a different picture from that found in Park district, where migration alone was the apparent cause of population decline and where, over two decades, births slightly exceeded deaths.* Uig lost 20% of its 1939 population by migration whereas Park lost 38% in a slightly shorter period, 1939 - 1958 c.f. 1939 - 1959 for the Uig data. Even the more remote districts of Uig have not lost population at much more than half the rate of loss from Park.

166 Net migration is made up of a large outflow, mainly of men and women under 45, and a small return flow, mainly of older people such as retired policemen and similar pensioners. Families entering the area to perform some particular service (school teachers, ministers etc.) more or less balanced the outward movements of their predecessors and may be discounted. Examination of the individual croft records shows

* Caird J.B. et al. Park: a geographical study of a Lewis crofting district (G.F.G. 1959), table XV.

162 appropriate age-group, males on the left, females on the right. The width of the bars
126 varies according to the age-range of the groups so that the length of each bar gives an indication of the relative importance of the particular age-group in the total population. In an unofficial survey it is difficult to obtain detailed information as to age; hence the diagrams are crude, nevertheless they do suggest certain trends, as well as marked regional differences, within the parish.

162 If we examine first the parish as a whole it will be seen that the proportion of children under school age, (0-4), is sufficient to maintain, and perhaps to slightly increase, the school population (5-14) provided that none are lost through emigration. The present school population is not quite sufficient to maintain the 15-44 age-group, including, of course, those working away, on the same assumption. In both these groups, as is usual, males slightly outnumber females.

The characteristics of the 15-44 age-group are clearly seen. A large number is working away from home; the proportion of women working away is far greater than of men and, in view of the "marriage risk" to women in this age group, it is reasonable to suppose that, in time, most of these women will become 'emigrants'. More men stay at home (weaving supports many of them) and, of those that go away to work, a substantial proportion is likely to return either on inheritence of a croft or when they retire; some of them may bring back wives from outwith the parish but it seems unlikely that this will by any means balance the loss of local women by marriage outwith the parish.

The 45-64 age-group is only slightly affected by the custom of working away. Men and women are evenly balanced, but when we compare them with the 15-44 group it seems that, in the next ten years or so, there will be a decline particularly in the number of women aged 45-64. Indeed, if most of the women under 45, who are at present working away, eventually marry and settle outwith the parish, the decline will be drastic. The
• 45-64 age-group should, in time, replenish the over 65's; it is clear from the diagram, 161 crude as it is, that this is not possible. At present an excessive proportion of the population is over 65 years of age and thus, in time and failing the unlikely event of substantial immigration, a further fall in total population is certain. One may hazard a guess that this decline will be of the order of 300 to 250 persons in the next ten years.

121 Turning to the districts, the most striking feature is their individuality and this emphasises again the value of this kind of survey because such local details cannot be discovered from the official census reports. In South Uig, of the total population, a very high proportion is over 65 years of age; this makes it certain that further decline is inevitable. However the 15-44 group can probably replenish and maintain the 45-64 group with little loss; the relatively high proportion of children, particularly under school age, suggests that the 15-44 group, too, will be adequately replenished, except that there is an unusually low proportion of female children. A large proportion of young women from South Uig take employment away from home, as the diagram shows, and this suggests that South Uig may have a special problem here in view of the tendency of such women to marry and settle away from home. The Bernera district shows characteristics similar to South Uig, but the preponderance of children is not quite so great.

The East Loch Roag district, and to an even greater extent the Carloway district, has
165 quite different characteristics which suggest rather different trends. There the preponderance of old people is not quite so great - but, one may remark in passing, the excess of females over males in the over 65's is quite astonishing until one recalls the heavy casualties, amongst the Naval reservists and others, from this area in the First World War. If we look at the proportion of children, however, it is clear that the school population can scarcely be maintained over the next ten years, nor can the 15-44 age-group be fully replenished. This, of course, assumes that there will be no material change in birth and death rates, nor in migration. In brief, it seems that, although population will inevitably continue to fall in South Uig and Bernera, the prospect of a more stable, though smaller, population is within sight. But in East Loch Roag and Carloway districts it seems likely that decline, though perhaps not so rapid, will continue for a long time yet.

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• 161 1) Further depopulation is inevitable but is not necessarily bad. The special privileges
162 of crofting tenure have tended to delay the inevitable because the agricultural structure
311 has been unable to adapt itself to changing circumstances. The land is in some ways less productive than it was 80 years ago. But, as population does decline, eventually more
433 land ought to be available for each remaining family and, if properly used, should enable them to increase the proportion of their incomes derived from agriculture. This depopulation could have beneficial effects provided it were not haphazard nor complete. The rate and ultimate extent of depopulation could be controlled to some extent if a realistic assessment of the possibilities of each district were made, followed by a vigourous attempt to realise these possibilities. This must be done locally because the problems and possibilities of each district, sometimes of each township, are different. How can this be done?

288 2) It is not realistic to plan for any extensive development of industry nor for any substantial further development of forestry or fishing. Lewis is suitable for the development of industry - the phenomenal growth of the Harris Tweed industry, with an annual output worth £5 million, much of it for export, is proof enough of that. But when it is difficult to get industrialists to invest in lowland Scotland there is little point in living in perpetual hope in Lewis. To constantly cry, as some politicians do, that 'the government should send industry to Lewis', is not helpful, either, for no government has ever had sufficient power, nor is it desirable that it should have, to force a firm to invest against its will. If there is to be some industrial development it must come willingly; it would be unwise to depend on it. It follows, therefore, that agriculture must be made a more efficient basis, though not the sole basis, of most crofting communities. The present heavy dependence on casual or seasonal employment, and on permanent employment away from home, can never provide the bases for a truly viable community though it may provide a useful outlet for some younger folk. On its present scale it leads to the neglect of the only widespread natural resource, the land, as well as encouraging permanent emigration.

311 3) Crofting agriculture, as at present carried on, on most crofts, does not make the
433 best use of the local resources. The land is marginal in many respects and the development of an economic form of agriculture requires:

(a) particular skill in farm management, including initiative and technical ability to take advantage of new materials and methods, and
(b) a marketing system on which the crofter believes he can depend. At present it is the uncertainty, as much as the poverty, of the reward that deters young men from taking up agriculture seriously.

427 4) The small size of holdings need not be a serious disadvantage. Since the time of our survey subletting is no longer necessarily contrary to the conditions of crofting tenure; since it represents a voluntary evolution towards larger holdings it, rather than wholesale reorganisation, should be further encouraged.

5) It should be recognised that if a croft is not properly stocked it cannot justifiably be the subject of any of the privileges of crofting tenure. Failure to maintain a properly balanced stock is damaging to the land and to the ultimate well-being of the community as a whole. At one time the factors, through their ground officers, maintained a degree of control over the stocking of township lands and this could, in some way, be resumed - if not by the proprietors then by the Crofters Commission, - though the best way would be voluntarily, through the township committees. This would depend on establishing soumings which fairly represented the grazing capacity of the township lands and on restricting the unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle. At present many soumings depend on restatements of old ones the validity of which is very dubious; soumings are unlikely to be respected unless they are reasonable.

181 6) Few crofters possess sufficient technical knowledge and confidence to make the best
use of their land. It is particularly difficult for men with such limited resources of land and ready cash to embark on new agricultural enterprises; they are naturally reluctant to take risks and therefore tend to be excessively conservative. This cannot be put right quickly nor so long as the majority of those working the crofts are middle aged or older men who have spent the greater part of their working lives in other occupations. Such men require special help but, above all, some of the younger men must be encouraged to

THE MAKING OF THE CROFTING LANDSCAPE

17 All landscapes in these islands have roots in the distant past; Park is no exception. Yet many crofting landscapes have been significantly re-fashioned within the present century after major changes in the nineteenth century. Park does not entirely correspond to the general pattern, and the present cultural landscape has its beginnings in the late seventeenth century, although there are traces of earlier settlement.

Archaeological evidence, in the form of a stone axehead found near Habost, a dun on the brackish Loch Cromore, and a mediaeval chapel on Eilean Calum Cille, provides the earliest record of human settlement in Park. Place-name evidence[1] indicates Norse occupation: the elements 'bost', a contraction of the Norse word bolstradr - a homestead, and 'setr', a shed or bothy situated on pastureland but not regularly lived in, indicate a thin dispersion of farmers practising an extensive and transhumant economy: all the present township names contain Norse elements. 108 17

The name Park, is derived from the Gaelic 'A'Phairc' - the park or deer forest: the old name of the district was Oserval - (Norse: the east mountain). During the eighteenth century, a dyke or turf wall was built between Loch Erisort and Loch Seaforth - 'garadh an tighearna' - the lord of chiefs' dyke, to enclose the deer forest. Before this enclosure was built, Park was shieling ground used by tenants in Uig (west Lewis):- one of the groups of shielings has the name Airigh Dhomhnaill Chaim and Domhnall Cam was chief of the MacAulays in Uig at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Thus it may well be that after the Norse population left or were absorbed, Park was simply used as summer pasture. [162]

17 It is believed that settlement in what is now the Deer Forest began about 1650. Confirmation of this comes from an unpublished Gaelic song by Archibald MacDonald (An Ciaran Mabach) composed in Leith soon after 1660. In the song, the author laments the fact that he may never see the Forest again, and says of Park 538 539

"'s oil leam caradh na frithe
.....
Bhith fo bhinn aig na bodaich
D'am bu chosnadh cas-chrom."

"I deplore the state of the forest ..... that it should be in subjection to the carles whose livelihood is a cas-chrom" (foot plough - literally crooked spade). The song gives no indication of numbers, and unfortunately no rental of this period is extant.[2]

From rentals and other evidence, Park was the last area in Lewis to be colonised in permanent settlement; the fact that the population of Lochs parish increased from 912 in 1755 to 1350 in 1801, supports the view that the late eighteenth century saw the extension of modern settlement in Park. 17 [161]

The first documentary evidence of settlement in the present crofting area is the Judicial Rental of Lewis, taken by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners in 1718. This rental records tacksmen, or major tenants, living in Haboat, Seaforthhead, and Eilean Calum Cille - all situated along the southern shores of Loch Erisort: there is local tradition that Kershader and Marivig were shielings [127]

1 The editor is indebted to Miss Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt. for an analysis and evaluation of the place-name evidence - see Appendix C.

2 For this extremely interesting information and the translation, the editor is indebted to Mr. William Matheson, M.A., of the Department of Celtic, Edinburgh University.

17 or summer pastures for the tenants of Laxay and Rarnish respectively, townships on the north 175 shores of the loch. In 1775, there were four tenants in Kershader, but their place of origin 162 is unknown. In 1805, five tenants are recorded, two of them from Uig; by 1824 there were 10 34 tenants. Thus the growth of population in Lewis during the second half of the eighteenth century 311 may well have been the major reason for the colonisation of one of the least agriculturally 161 attractive districts of the island.

From Figure 1, which shows most of the thirty-four occupied places south of Loch Shell about 1828, it is evident that colonisation had extended south into the mountainous area. The evictions, which commenced in Harris in 1816, may have increased the population already there as early as 1660, for many of these families came from Harris. The numerous shielings in South Park speak of a vigorous community: it is possible that South Park was more densely populated than the northern area up till 1800.

162 During the period 1818 to 1842, when the grazier, Donald Stewart, and his brothers had a lea 175 of South Park, most of these settlements were cleared (Fig 2): in addition, between 1838 and 361 1843, 68 tenants and sub-tenants in Shieldernish, Cleiter, Seaforthhead, Lemreway, Oronsay, 311 Stiomrabagh and Isginn were removed, in all about 436 people.[1] Some 27 families were sent to 161 Crossbost in North Lochs; others went to Tolsta and Tong in Stornoway parish, and some emigrated. The main body of those evicted settled in the townships in North Park: Marivig in 1838 had 6 tenants; by 1850, 22 are recorded. Thus the present distribution of population crystallised about 1840 and by then the townships along the shore of Loch Erisort from Habost to Garyvard were well established. The Minch coast townships from Cromore to Gravir, first settl about 1800, were greatly expanded, and Park south of Gravir became a sheep grazing devoid of small tenantry.

175 In 1844, the Seaforth family, which had held Lewis for over two centuries, sold the island to 423 Sir James Matheson. The estate management soon wrought great changes in the landscape. Until 311 1850-52, the run-rig system prevailed, a system whereby a group of joint tenants, or a tacksman 361 and subtenants, cultivated in small patches what arable land had been reclaimed, each share 241 being periodically re-allocated. The crofts, or individually held land, date from 1850-52, when the land was lotted and most of the present crofts were formed at this period. The settlement pattern associated with run-rig was one of closely nucleated groups of houses but when run-rig wa abolished, houses were built on the individual crofts.

175 In 1858, Lemreway was once again made available to crofters, most of whom came from the 162 fishing townships where population pressure was building up. After the disastrous potato famine 433 of 1846-7, and the final failure of the kelp industry from 1840 to 1844, the population of the Outer 731 Isles experienced great hardship. By the early 1850's, the letting of the crofts and the rapid 229 development of the fishing industry brought a period of prosperity and the population grew rapidly 161 especially in the fishing townships of the Minch coast. The prosperity was such that numerous cottars built houses on the lotted crofts, and their stock-keeping on the common was tolerated because of the demand for fishing crews. About 1884, the system whereby each boat was tied to individual fish merchants, who advanced meal and provisions against the catch, was discontinued. When this system was replaced by the auctioning of catches, such was the privation in Lewis that the Royal Commission investigating the poverty of the population in 1888 found conditions almost as severe as those prevailing during the potato famine forty years earlier. It was during this period that the Park Deer Raid occurred: Park became a Deer Forest in 1883 at the end of the grazier's [685] lease. In 1888, as a demonstration of their grievances, a large number of crofters from the Park townships went into the Deer Forest and killed about 200 deer, cooking the meat in the open for all to see. Some were arrested but after trial acquitted.[2] A few good fishing seasons remedied this unhappy situation and the population of the fishing townships rose to a peak in 1911.

[115] 1 Evidence given to Royal Commission of Inquiry into Crofters and Cottars 1883. (Also known the Napier Commission).

[113] 2 Report on the Conditions of the Cottar Population in the Lews, 1888.

[113] 3 Stornoway Gazette, 27.1.59.

175 While the Royal Commission of 1883-6 was investigating Crofting conditions in Scotland, the
423 farm of Seaforthhead and Shieldernish was restored to six crofters. Six years later, the Royal
311 Commission of Enquiry into the Highlands and Islands scheduled the following land as suitable for new crofting townships: Stiemreway, Eilean Calum Cille, Crobeg, and the islands of Orosaidh and Rossaidh, a total area of 153 acres arable and 3,502 acres grazing. A further 165 acres of arable and 40,135 acres of grazing in the Park Deer Forest were scheduled as land suitable for the extension of existing holdings. The Report of the Commission considered "that in the case of Lewis, it cannot be left out of view that the congestion is very great, and the demand by crofters for access to lands now scheduled is of a very urgent nature ..... The Deer Forest Commissioners do not believe that the lands now scheduled are suitable for new holdings: but were these lands occupied as common pasture by crofters, under a properly adjusted system of management, their occupation would be of much advantage to the occupants and more than outweigh the disadvantages."[4] As a result of this recommendation, the islands of Rossaidh, Orosaidh and Iubhairt, in all 90 of the 43,728 acres scheduled, were given to Marivig, Calbost, and Lemreway, respectively, as additions to the common pastures; the sheep farm comprising Crobeg, Oronsay and Stiemreway, and the Deer Forest were left undisturbed.

175 In 1924, after raiding, Oronsay was reconstituted as a crofting township, all but one of the new
423 tenants coming from the overcrowded crofts of Lemreway. An unsuccessful attempt was made by
632 squatters who had built houses at Stiemreway, to have their unofficial lots recognised, but some
311 families remained there till 1945. In 1934, fifteen small lots were cut out of the Gravir common
[162] pasture to relieve pressure on the Gravir crofts: this Department of Agriculture scheme marked the end of a century of population redistribution.

Thus the full recommendations of the Deer Forest Commission have never been implemented, but one can only conclude, after a study of the crofting economy, that greater participation by the crofters in the Deer Forest grazing would bring increased viability to the crofting community.

175 The landscape of Park has thus experienced four formative periods. Of the prehistoric era and
162 the early historical period, when the Norsemen held sway, a few archaeological sites and a large
341 number of place-names remain. From 1660 until the early nineteenth century settlement was
232 slowly established and spread over all the coastal fringe: this period saw the maximum areal distribution of the small tenantry. From 1828 to 1843, eviction stripped the entire area south of Gravir and west of Habost of population, and large scale sheep farming was extended at the expense of the small tenants. The fishing townships from Cromore to Gravir were greatly expanded at this time. From 1858-1924, three of the cleared townships were reconstituted: the population in [161] the majority of the fishing townships continued to grow till 1911. Since 1924, fifteen new lots have been formed in Park but the population has progressively declined.

The absence of large scale resettlement since 1886 differentiates Park from most other crofting districts, but the exodus of population since 1918 and the existence of a population constantly struggling for viability in an area deficient in resources are features common to the entire crofting area.

[113] 4 Report of the Royal Commission Highlands and Islands, 1892, (often known as the "Deer Forest Commission").

THE PATTERN OF CROFTING

427 Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire,
341 Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties of
178 Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some
423 districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the
477 nearest equivalent to peasant communities in Britain, although only a small minority of crofters own their holdings, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, has all but disappeared.

175 Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to
427 compensation for improvements. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural
341 holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where the
423 annual rent paid was less than £30. Security of tenure, and compensation for improvements were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £50. In all, there are about 20,000 crofts in Scotland today[1] and Collier[2] estimated the crofting population at [161] about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms [162] a 1 per cent sample of the crofts, and a 0.9 per cent sample of the estimated crofting population.

Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

423 The characteristic settlement unit is the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal
127 distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the
341 individually held croft land, and the common grazings. The number of crofts per township
311 ranges from 6 in Caversta to 43 in Gravir.

632 The individually held croft land (1,839 acres) is partly 'outrun' or permanent pasture and the
233 holdings are usually but not always consolidated - in Gravir (Fig. 4) and Cromore some of the crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated from neighbouring units by a drystone dyke or fence but in Park, such demarcation is the exception rather than the rule.

The croft land is separated from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wall. The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor, ill-drained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park, only Oronsay common pasture is fenced, the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by crumbled turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture; the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured, a term comparable to the obsolescent 'gates' of northern England. In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young beast up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per £1 rent. There is also a system of stated equivalences (Gaelic 'coilpeachadh') in most townships whereby substitution of cattle for sheep and sheep for cattle is permissible: in Gravir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumings and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed, soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming of their croft.

[113] 1 Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

[113] 2 Adam Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1953.

ll-time crofters; 19 males have other regular employment and two have periodic mployment. 8 crofters are aged over 65. It seems that the most successful combination f employment is weaving and crofting; weaving is carried on in twenty of the holdings. obster fishing in the evening is still popular but regular small-boat fishing has disappeared: ne crofter took up regular fishing when weaving was slack in the autumn of 1958.

Of a resident population of 125, 32 males and 32 females are between the ages of 15 nd 64, these representing the effective labour force. Thirteen persons are temporarily way and 16 permanently away whilst at least 46 have emigrated since 1939 and 6 have mmigrated. Thus the number that have emigrated is nearly three times the number that re merely permanently away. With a population of 125 and an effective labour force of 4 to work 35 operative units Tolsta Chaolais would seem to be far from a dying township.

If not exactly progressive the township economy seems stable and moderately pros- erous, in spite of the fact that the settlement is rather inaccesible, for the roads which oin the Carloway-Breasclete road are both very steep and have bad corners. To add to he apparent isolation there is only one Post Office-shop in the village but most commodities re bought from vans. A reallocation of the smaller crofts to younger, more ambitious enants at the deaths of the older tenants could reduce the number of operative units to bout 25. Admittedly, little can be done with the rougher terrain, and although cattle tocks could be increased there would be the added problem of sufficient winter feed. With etter drainage more land could be taken into cultivation - especially between the two ochs, an area largely wasted at the moment - whilst weaving might supply a surer source f income, especially in the winter. Tourism on a small scale might be a further ossibility for the coastal scenery is very fine and the immediate setting of the village is ery attractive. It would be more realistic however for Tolsta Chaolais to find future rosperity within its own boundaries.

361 the main area of cultivation at the head of Loch Carloway, is similarly divided into long
427 narrow crofts which traverse the broad valley which falls to the sea from the low water-shed marking the boundaries of Upper Carloway, Borroston and Garenin. The settlement is to be found on either side of the road which rises from the bay to join the two major township roads of Upper Carloway.

181 The township has a very individual character, especially at the seaward end which is
427 exposed to violent winds and spray in the winter and where the dwellings are mostly black houses. Tenanted by old ladies two of these are partly sublet and the future seems to suggest that a complete subletting will take place, which contrasts with the activity of many of the other crofters in the township. One man was prepared to carry all the fertiliser for the croft on his back because it was impossible to gain access for the tractor.

427 The twenty eight crofts, one feu and one allotment are worked in twenty five units.
311 Extensive improvements have been made on two crofts with the introduction of sown grasses in their rotations. A general increase in fencing is now taking place with the consequent closure of the crofts which were formerly open for common grazing in the winter. By far the most striking feature in the figures gathered for the township are those for the sheep stock. Although the total souming for all stock is not quite reached, the sheep soum is exceeded by 60.3%. This does not worry the crofters one of whom spoke of a 'natural souming' pointing to the fact that the total souming was not exceeded and he continued that 'if the land is overstocked animals die'; this they do all too frequently. The assertion seems to be based on the belief that the equivalence of one cow equals three or even five sheep gives an accurate assessment of the potential of the grazing. The evidence of the heavy sheep losses does not bear this out. That sheep eat a different herbage and in a different manner to cattle seems to be either unknown or is ignored.

The whole agricultural operation of the township is complicated by its situation; long journeys were necessary to go to the shielings and are still needed for bringing home the
[286] peats. Once again the emphasis is on weaving as an occupation and many of these people
161 are ageing. It is a measure of the decline in the population that now only fifteen children
162 go to school whereas one crofter could remember up to fifty in the school before the First War.

The main features which emerge from this examination of the townships to the north west of Loch Carloway may be summed up quite briefly. The croftland is a compact area of well cultivated land on the even slopes which rise to over 200 ft. O.D. It is divided into long narrow holdings which ensures that each has a fair share of the different types of land. Careful attention to much of the land shows that this is far from being a
000 dying community. In spite of the defects which can be noted in the animal husbandry, the decreased population and the reduced number of working units (a result of the sub-letting) could allow of a much more efficient working than does take place at the present time. The potential is there. Carloway has many of the basic social services which help to stabilise a community and with the advantage of its strategic position the concentration of settlement could be assured if additional employment and/or more efficient agricultural methods could be adopted.

KNOCK CARLOWAY

133 If the north west presents a picture of relative prosperity the area to the south may
[181] be described as one that is showing signs of decay and decline. Knock Carloway itself occupies part of the area with less evenly graded slopes (although a westerly outlier of the township extends to the northern flank of Loch Carloway). The eastern section
361 rises steeply to a rocky crest which marks the beginning of the common pasture. In consequence the crofts are less regular than those already described and three are
[427] worked in 'fixed runrig' with a pattern of much more fragmented cultivation. Situated on the lowest shoulder of the ridge are the churches and school close to the road junction

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

TABLE 38

Stock carried 80 years ago compared with that carried today and with the soumings

	Cattle (more than 1 year old): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum	Sheep (all ages): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum
OLD TOWNSHIPS						
South Uig	716	178	677	3,175	10,500	3,557
Bernera	446	183	464	1,713	5,400	2,890
E.I Roag	555	132	481	1,652	5,200	2,090
Carloway	682	191	648	2,818	6,000	2,596
NEW TOWNSHIPS	-	104	329	-	5,800	2,858
FARMS etc.	404	44	-	4,400	900	-

Note: Figures for individual townships are given in Appendix B.

not have crofter status. Thus, despite the rigidity imposed by crofting legislation, the crofting structure is evolving; whether the larger units so formed are agriculturally more productive than the smaller, statutory, units is another question.

Cattle and sheep stocks

The production of cattle and sheep is the main function of the croft, from the agricultural point of view, and the main function of the crofting parish. In this respect a great change has occurred in the last 80 years: about 1880 some 3,300 cattle and 14,000 sheep (of all ages) were kept; in 1959 the corresponding figures were 1,281 and 35,000. This change is by no means the result of the re-settlement of crofters on former farms; in 1879, according to the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the sheep:cattle ratio was 2.3:1 on the crofting townships and 9.6:1 on the farms: now it is 27:1 over the whole parish. The change (Table 38) has been fairly uniform over the parish except that, whereas sheep stocks generally have more or less trebled, in the Carloway district they have little more than doubled.

The decline of cattle numbers has been at the same rate as that of the human population and this, together with the much lower sheep:cattle ratio on crofting townships than on farms in 1879, suggests that, 80 years ago just as to-day, the main object of cattle keeping was subsistence rather than commerce. The increase in sheep numbers on the other hand is probably no more than a reflection of increasing disregard of the soumings.

If we compare the cattle and sheep stocks with the soumings shown in Table 38 and Appendix E we find that 80 years ago, except in Bernera, there was rough agreement between stock and soum. To-day cattle stocks are around one-third of those allowed by the soum whereas sheep stocks are greatly in excess. Examination of the soumings leads one to question their validity in the light of modern conditions: the sheep soums bear no regular relation to the available areas of common pastures (Appendices A(2) and

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT

H. A. Moisley

Growth and decline.

In its demography as in so many other aspects the parish of Uig is characteristic of the Hebrides in general rather than of Lewis in particular. Throughout the Hebrides the late eighteenth century saw a rapid rise in population followed, in the early nineteenth century, by clearances, emigration and decline (Fig. 44). The growing population, sustained by the newly-introduced potato, found employment in kelp-making. Lewis made little kelp compared with the Uists and such as was made came largely from Uig, i.e. from Loch Roag; consequently, whilst the population of Barvas only increased by 15% between 1755 and 1801, that of Uig increased by 58%, (c.f. North Uist 60%, South Uist 73%). Clearances and emigration reversed this trend in population after 1821 (Mull and North Uist), after 1831 (Islay), and after 1841 (Skye, Harris, North Uist and Barra), a reversal which was not experienced in Lewis except in Uig (see Part I, Figure 8). Thereafter, in the outer, but not in the inner Hebrides, growth was resumed, to reach new maxima in 1881 (the Uists) and 1911 (Lewis, Harris and Barra); Uig, alone of Lewis parishes, reached its maximum population in 1891. Subsequent loss of population has been particularly severe, as may be seen from Table 46 and Figures 8 and 45.

TABLE 46

Loss of population, since maximum, to 1951

	Date of maximum	Loss as percentage of maximum
Uig	1891	41.2%
Lochs	1911	34.4%
Barvas	1911	26.5%
Stornoway	1911	18.6%

(Stornoway Burgh is excluded)

The early on-set of decline makes Uig somewhat comparable with the Uists, where final decline set in after 1881, rather than with Barra and Harris, where growth continued until 1911. This may be connected with the vicissitudes of fishing, particularly in south Uig where, by the 1890's, the annual Fishery Reports comment repeatedly on the decay of great line fishing and of the dried white fish trade. Re-settlement of crofters on farm land in Uig in the present century again affords a parallel with the southern Outer Hebrides rather than with the rest of Lewis; as elsewhere, it failed to arrest the decline although it did bring about a re-distribution which afforded welcome relief in the more overcrowded townships. But decline still continues; the loss appears to have been around 40 per annum in the 1950's (table 47) compared with 30 in the 1930's where there was some

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 140

161
162

TABLE I

TENANTS OF CROFTS

Resident on Croft	Males	Females[2]	Total	
15 - 44	40	5	45	2
45 - 64	83	9	92	4
65 and over	42[1]	5	47	2
Non - Resident				
In other Townships	5	1	6	
Furth of Park	22	3	25	1
Total	192	23[2]	215	100

162
463
464

OCCUPATIONS OF MALE TENANTS

Age Group	Fulltime croft work	Croft work with regular employment	Croft work with periodic employment	Non-crofting employment	Periodic employment furth of Park
15 - 44	9	13	1	2	7
45 - 64	32	24	7	3	5
Total	41	37	8	5	12
Percentage	(33)	(30)	(7)	(4)	(10)

1. Of the 42 male tenants aged 65 and over, 31 are still active crofters, and of this 31, 1
sole labour force on their croft.

2. Of the 23 female tenants, 3 are the sole labour force on their crofts.

/facing p. 7/

[Habost] [Kershader]

464 161 162 166 167 Of the 53 residents, 19 are over 65 and only 5 under 15 years, leaving a working population of 29: seven are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily declining since its peak of 121 in 1901.

Since 1946, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely fenced and the 178 method of cultivation has changed from spade and horse-plough to tractor and cultivators. A 241 further fence has been erected for a lamb park and much land has been re-seeded; an increasing 231 area has been put down to hay. It would seem that fattening of stock for market is intended, and [407] better attention is being paid to stock. Yet the population is ageing and there are few young men [162] to take the place of the older crofters; when working units become larger and stock decreases to a figure nearer the real carrying capacity of the grazing, the croft could become a profitable concern: at the moment, the croft is only maintained through grants and ancillary earnings. Should that happen, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivation to provide winter fodder.

KERSHADER

Philip W. Wheeler, M. A.

131 Kershader is a township of forty-three permanent residents on thirteen crofts, which stretch 161 for a mile along the southern shore of Loch Erisort. The crofts extend up to one-third of a 162 mile from the coast with a two-and-a-half mile deep hinterland of common grazing. The extreme 133 elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arranged 361 in rectangular strips at right-angles to the coast, are lower (maximum 125 feet) and include 241 three main zones (Fig. 8):

134 361

(a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly below 50 feet, dissected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone have a distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and unsuited to fertilization by seaware. The smaller hillocks in this zone have thinner soils of the same sort, but the main hill (crofts 10/11) is an extension of zone (c).

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with hills rising to over 100 feet. The lower areas have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a) and (b), with peaty-loam characteristics, overlying aquiferous gravels. The higher areas have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there are signs of former skinning.

(c) A zone of hollows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reacting well to heavy fertilization with seaware and intervening heights covered with blanket bog, partly skinned, heather and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with gentler slopes over 50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irregular shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

241 In Kershader, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts vary bet- 511 ween 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23.45 acres reputed arable and 110.35 acres outrun. 24.5 acres are in fact under crop (oats 18.5, potatoes 6.0), and 9.5 acres under sown grass; and of the remaining 99.8 acres, mainly natural grass

[Kershader]

233 (b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices, 311 however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the former 221 case they heft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand. 231 Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

[432] There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

231 Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces [256] about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average [435] sheep carcass weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

241 Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as 161 full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category, 162 and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable 167 population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this 166 township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft 466 work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption [463] only) and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The [501] only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person has entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the [175] optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907 [178] and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard, [371] Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

182 It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilizing the 241 population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in [313] agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Caversta]

241 Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, i 231 holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for fanking and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grai [221] are normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation black leg, braxy and louping ill, the sheep are put out on the common grazing week of May.

231 The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep 133 stocking is only 88 per cent of the total acaming. Two crofts only exceed their while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. T poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuab [236] hogge. Lewis Blackface sheep are the predominant breed and the wool, clippe the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter house at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the gr ewes. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last wi or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered [221] the crofts. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early sold in the Autumn at six months old, those born later must be wintered to sigh Spring sales. The cows are served by the Department of Agriculture Highland although good prices are obtained for beef cattle, it is felt that for the family m bull would produce a better strain.

241 In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and pot 244 most cases the land under each crop is less than half an acre and nowhere does 246 The land has been built up into lazybeds about six to ten feet wide, separated by 206 channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor 407 is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. altogether suitable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven marsh and steep faces of bare rock.

[491] Neither Torista nor Caversta is on a main road. The former is served by road near Cromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the an inferior footpath joining the main road at Garyvard. The lack of a good roa acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilisers. Byre manu 233 the crofts and seaweed is brought from the shore and spread on the lazybeds. 222 used on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. to improve is perhaps even more marked by the fact that on one holding alone i practised - potatoes, oats undersown with clover, then hay for three or four ye this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the sam Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay and is often cut from lazybeds that war On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridges can be crescentic shape and are thought to date back more than one hundred years. A the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonised by heather.

314 Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch withi 374 on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and late 192 creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens a 193 twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the larder 313 326 [501] In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Cave Torista. After 1881, when maximum figures of fifty-nine and nineteen were no 161 secondary peak in 1911 in Caversta, followed by a steady drop to twenty in 1951 162

[Caversta] [Cromore]

161 The 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Caversta population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left after
162 1911 and no re-population took place. Since 1939, seven people have migrated to Stornoway or the
166 mainland, (16 per cent of the total 1939 population), and six of these were from Torista (i.e. 50
167 per cent of the 1939 Torista population); only one family now remains there. The demographic
position is becoming more acute for there are no young married couples and no youngsters growing
[166] up. The girls have left to marry and most of the men have sought temporary or permanent employ-
ment elsewhere, for with better communications, education and the radio, the pull to the towns has
become stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full-
time crofters, earning no supplementary income by weaving tweed on commission from the Stornoway
mills.

241 Caversta is not one of the most progressive of the South Lochs townships. Although the crofts
243 are fenced, the common pasture is not visibly delimited from either the Cromore or Garyvard
632 pastures. At present, the grazing is fully stocked according to the soum, but the committee has not
as yet initiated any re-seeding schemes. As the pasture is not of the best quality, some newly sown
grass would benefit every crofter. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but even
a small acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

000 The future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechanisa-
tion and is badly served by communications. The future of Torista appears to be probably one of
abandonment, unless it is more easily linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road being
built here is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Caversta is also open
to question. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the
present units are not used to their full extent. Amalgamation with Garyvard might benefit the
township a great deal, as the Caversta population is rather small to flourish in isolation. The future
of Garyvard, Kershader and Habost is one of hope, but unless some change takes place soon, it is
not difficult to see Caversta, and Torista, following the same course as Calbost and in thirty to
forty years being little more than grazing land.

CROMORE

G. Mary Swindell, B.A., and Dennis F. Fancett, B.A.

131 Cromore is situated on a peninsula between Loch Erisort and Loch Cromore. Approaching it
361 from the access road, Cromore has the appearance of a nucleated settlement, but in fact each
house is situated on the owner's croft. The crofts are so arranged that each has a portion of land
on the more level surface of drift deposits; houses 1 to 20 stand at the junction of the drift and the
Lewisian gneiss. Soils are poor and thin, and there are numerous outcrops of barren rock amongst
174 the arable land. The natural vegetation is heather moorland with extensive patches of rushes and
137 cotton grass, the pattern of most of the 'outrun' around Cromore.

The township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two
241 crofts are subdivided while another four form double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and
632 the Schoolhouse feu. Outside the township dyke there are two feus and four squatters. The croft
layout differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent pieces, one piece
around the house, another above Creag Cromore and two pieces on another area of enclosed land
on the common. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land
around the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

Until this decade all the land around the houses, and much of that above Creag Cromore, was
241 regularly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but
311 cultivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only
[244] crops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed
[246]

[Calbost] [Gravir] [Glengravir]

161 The present situation in Calbost is best illustrated by reference to the population statistics.
162 There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are squatters and only eight houses
are occupied within the dyke. Of the male population, there are three children under fourteen years,
one man in the 15-44 age group, three between 45 and 64 years and two over 65. This clearly
shows the lack of active men from 15-44 years, necessary for the continuing economic success of
166 the community. However, even these figures are not so striking as the numbers of emigrants as
167 no less than 39 men and 40 women have left Calbost since 1939.

A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the younger
[166] people have left to find employment in Stornoway and on the mainland. The present population
[167] structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

131 Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride the major
133 east-west inlet of Loch Ouirn, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The site of the
township is perhaps the most picturesque in all Park, but the steep slopes, lack of cover, the small
area of good arable land, and the considerable population existing on slim resources, problems
common to Park as a whole, are all epitomised in Gravir.

361 On the south-facing-slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough in the valley to the
241 west, the majority of the crofts have been carved from moor to sea, some before 1800, and some
175 in the process of the abolition of run-rig which was accomplished in the years 1850 to 1852.
178 Originally, there appears to have been thirty crofts, but four were added during the nineteenth
century, two at each end of the line, and in 1934 a further fifteen were cut out of the common graz-
ing, a mile to the west of Gravir. On the south side of the loch, the 'clachan' of Tom an Fhuadain,
established about 1800, has since developed into a further nine crofts. Thus there are forty-three
legal crofts in Gravir and a further fifteen in Glengravir making fifty-eight in all.

The layout of Glengravir, a line of crofts from 3.6 to five acres, typifies the small post-1918
Department of Agriculture holdings. The arrangement of the Gravir crofts is illustrated in Figure
4, and it will be seen that not all the crofts are consolidated. There are three areas of former
arable commons which have been lotted in unfenced strips and they may well be reclamations which
were necessary to supplement the food producing capacity of the holdings. The method of division
and allocation speaks of a period when a subsistence economy under severe pressure from over-
population necessitated fair shares for all. The last of these commons was in cultivation until
1891. Although subsistence crofting has been obsolete since then, there is as yet no move towards
a regularisation of the layout.

178 The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable commons developed mainly
175 as a result of a successful fishing industry which prospered from 1860 to 1914 and at one time there
228 were two curing stations in Gravir. With relative prosperity from an ancillary industry, cottars
[161] were tolerated and the population rose from 197 in 1830, to 368 in 1881 reaching a peak of 468
[162] in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has certainly not
yet ceased. Gravir reverted from 1918 to a township of agriculturalists and a base for employment
furth of Lewis, although there have been spasms of successful fishing activity since.

Stock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and conditions
241 are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir crofts
[231] vary between 3.5 and 26.5 acres in size; no croft has more than four acres of 'old arable'. In the
days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in narrow lazy-beds,
banked up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more extensive.
All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed cut as far away as
[324] Cromore or the coast south of Kebock Head. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed area is now
[137] cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture; some of the lazy-

[Gravir] [Glengravir] [Lemreway]

The urgent need in Gravir is a reduction in the number of holdings. A pre-requisite of such reorganisation would be the creation of employment for a non-crofting population. Weaving and fishing are the more obvious occupations; the former is subject to world trade fluctuations but the latter is now in a more favourable position since the introduction of the herring fishing guaranteed subsidy, although the raising of the initial capital for buying and equipping boats is a formidable problem. It is clear that a division of the community into a crofting and non-crofting sector is essential if the present population level is to be maintained. The most serious aspect of the present trend is that the migrating section of the community comprises the younger and more enterprising people. Unless holdings of economic size can be formed, and stable employment introduced, one can expect the younger men and women to remain in Gravir.

Until a major reorganisation of the crofts is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-seed large areas of the common pasture and the three former arable commons, and the development of a croft-tourist industry, are interim possibilities. It is not sufficiently realized in crofting districts that there is a demand from the city dweller for simple accommodation and good plain fare in a clean atmosphere, with the possibility of hill walking and fishing on fresh and salt water. Yet, until the proposed water-scheme becomes a reality, tourism on a moderate scale can hardly be contemplated.

One can only conclude that until reorganisation takes place and transforms Gravir into a township of viable agricultural holdings, any stabilisation of the present trends is out of the question. A decline in the number of holdings is inevitable in the long run but a planned reduction over a number of years would bring about a more viable community than the disintegration which will occur without such planning. Until this is achieved, the young men and women have little incentive to remain in Gravir.

LEMREWAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda G. Turner
and John E. Wearmouth

Lemreway, the southernmost township of Park, comprises 290 acres arable and outrun divided into thirty-three crofts and 3,025 acres of common pasture. The township is situated on the northern side of Loch Shell round a bay in the shelter of Eilean Iuvard.

The township consists of three distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area at about 100 feet, part common pasture and part reclaimed as extensions to the crofts, locally known as 'the Outend', forms the first subdivision. The second area, further west, is of a hummocky nature. To the east, a steep slope rises to an altitude of 400 feet, less than half a mile from the loch shore, forming the third. Two benches are to be seen at about 100 feet on the steeper slope and similar, though wider terraces occur at the same height to the north. It is suggested that the flat area is the bed of a moraine-dammed lake, and that the hummocky sector is partly morainic and partly ice-eroded rock exposures. A channel eroded through this sector allowed the lake to drain southwards leaving a relatively deeply incised valley through which the present stream flows to the sea.

Soils may be divided into two types - a peaty loam and the better drained gravelly loam which is found to the east and along the main stream; the latter is particularly suitable for potato cultivation.

Except on rocky outcrops, the very steep slopes and the drained areas, blanket bog predominates. Sphagnum here is rarely dominant but where the land is badly drained Deer's hair grass (scirpus caespitosus) and cotton grass (Eriophorum vaginatum and Eriophorum angustifolium) are the dominants. On slightly drier land, purple moor grass (Molinia caerulea) and mat grass (nardus stricta) are abundant. Local dominants are bog asphodel (Narthecuim ossifragum) and cross-leaved heather (Erica tetralix) with other common species such as the sundews (Drosera rotundifolia and intermedia), butterwort (Pinguicula vulgaris), Juncus sp., Carex sp. and Carex panicea occurring sporadically. Where the peat has been cut and drained, 'heather moor' usually develops and Calluna

[Lemreway] [Orinsay]

The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939. Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. Ruins of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs. Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling, is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

231 Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than
[288] fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

221 All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of
233 the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

311 The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky,
233 waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

231 No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally
235 just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold
[435] to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

434 It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his
464 family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people
228 in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

161 There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less
162 than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

366 As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available
368 occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44
166 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third
167 are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in
464 domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist
505 their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home,
228 together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued
462 steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.
352
[434]

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is
392 only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it.
377 Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a
312
[206] telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last
366 decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it
491 serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles
[494] distant.

161 Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of con-
162 gestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

[Orinsay]

233 The future existence of the common pasture for grazing is being seriously endangered by overstocking. The souming is not enforced in Orinsay and the actual sheep stock exceeds the soum
[314] by 300 per cent. Peat-cutting is gradually destroying valuable grazing areas; in the last three years there has even been some peat cutting on the better grazing on the island. The dangers both of overstocking and of indiscriminate peat cutting cannot be overstressed.

311 No evidence was seen of attempts to improve the quality of the common pasture. The establish-
242 ment of shelter belts would provide not only shelter but a means of stopping the peat from 'slumping' down slopes if they were carefully sited. Much of the common pasture could be improved by a hill drainage scheme and by re-seeding, after sanding and liming, a project well within the capacity of the resident labour force.

241 Good crops on a few of the crofts suggest that the land is not inherently sterile, however, and it would seem that if the holdings were reduced to a maximum of four, an economic existence might be feasible on these crofts. The stony nature of the soil limits the possibilities of tractor cultivation but with an improvement in drainage, one might be used in the two valleys.

464 It is not so easy to be optimistic about the employment of surplus population resulting from
[288] such an enlargement of holdings, although a revival in the fishing industry could absorb most of the men. At present there are no looms in Orinsay and providing the Harris tweed industry can hold its own, there are possibilities in weaving. Seaweed is in plentiful supply, indeed Lemreway people also obtain
[324] supplies and should its quality prove adequate, the establishment of a processing plant would provide valuable employment.

000 Nevertheless it is becoming increasingly obvious that unless the holdings can be enlarged, whether officially or by sub-letting, and some further employment created, Orinsay is liable to stagnate, and depopulation to continue. The township which was developed to relieve congestion is now itself congested.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

121 The aim of the Glasgow University Department of Geography Crofting Survey is to record and analyse material relevant to the crofting districts, and in so doing provide a clear and impartial statement of the present situation. In inviting us to undertake a survey of Park, the Pairc Association hoped that a body of fact would be assembled and conclusions drawn which would assist the Association in their admirable aims of advancing the well-being of the area. Their two Progress Reports, of 1956 and 1957, indicate that they have already investigated many of the possibilities for development. This summary refers to Park alone, and, it must be emphasised that until the survey of crofting is completed, no final assessment of the Crofting Area as a whole can be made.

182 The district of Park is one of the more isolated and difficult crofting environments. The ruggedness
175 of the terrain, the high proportion of land of very low agricultural value and sheer isolation make the
511 existence of human communities precarious. In addition, many of the Park communities were first established as a result of population pressure in more favourable areas of Lewis, and the original small settlements grew rapidly as a result of a change in land use which was a national trend - the conversion of poorer areas from subsistence farming to an extensive sheep-rearing economy. The impact of this change came to Park in the form of the eviction of a large body of small farmers in favour of an extension of the grazing area. Thus the present conditions are a legacy of the relatively recent past, and of legislation, particularly in the Crofters' Act of 1886, which accepted, and tacitly agreed to the maintenance of a larger population than the land could reasonably carry[1]. Two World
[141] Wars and fluctuating economic factors have had repercussions in Park and resulted in a change in
[142] economic and social values, and depopulation has resulted: the 1951 population was 60 per cent of the 1911 total.

1. The Commissioners proposed that only holdings rented at £6 and over should have security of tenure, with a view to discouraging the perpetuation of grossly uneconomic holdings. In the Act, all holdings were given security of tenure.

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

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| Township | Inverness | Dingwall | Kilmorack | Urquhart | Kiltarlity | Kilmorack | Kilmorack | Kilmorack

TABLE XX

| | | |

TABLE XIII

THE CHANGING AGE STRUCTURE OF PARK 1939 - 1958

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

1939[1]

0 - 4		5 - 14		15 - 44		45 - 64		65+		
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	Total
65	76	135	125	262	345	142	150	95	111	
141		260		607		292		206		1506
(9.4)		(17.3)		(40.4)		(19.4)		(13.3)		(100.0)

1958[2]

21	24	59	66	128	139	146	155	71	99	
45		125		267[3]		301[3]		170		908
(5.0)		(13.8)		(29.4)		(33.1)		(18.7)		(100.0)

Comparative Statistics[4]

(excluding Stornoway Burgh)						
	(9.0)	(15.7)	(35.1)	(24.3)	(15.9)	(100.0)
land						
	(9.0)	(15.0)	(43.0)	(23.0)	(10.0)	(100.0)

1. National Identity Card Survey (1939).
2. Source - Enumeration.
3. Includes those persons in seasonal employment furth of Park.
4. Census, 1951.

POPULATION

Figure 6 and Table XII give the population of Park from 1830 to 1958 in graphical and tabular form. The 1830-51 decline was due to evictions. The rapid increase in population from 1861 until 1911 can be almost wholly ascribed to the success of the fishing industry: a comparison of the graphs of the selected agricultural and fishing townships makes this clear. The decline since 1911 has been very rapid, and is mainly a reflection of lack of ancillary employment. The 1939 figure in the graph appears to show a slight check in the rate of decline but it may be that there was an influx of evacuees from Glasgow just before the enumeration was made.[1] The 1951 Census confirmed the continuing downward trend as did the enumeration of 1958.

An investigation of the age structure of the population (Table XIII and Figure 7) reveals that not only is the population declining but also that it is ageing. In 1958, only five per cent of the population were under school age, as compared with 9.4 per cent in 1939. The largest single group in 1939 was the 15-44 age group, the most enterprising and energetic members of the community; in 1959, the 45-64 age group emerges as the largest. The 65 and over age group has increased by 5.2 per cent since 1939.

As the 1939 and 1958 enumerations were not obtained under the rigid conditions of the Census, the figures for Lewis, excluding Stornoway Burgh, have been added for comparison; unfortunately the published Census material does not give individual parish statistics in age groups for Lewis. By including those persons in seasonal employment (mainly in the summer months) and excluding those permanently away, the Census and enumeration figures are more comparable, but it is possible that in the enumeration there may be an error of five per cent. (See Table XX). From these comparisons, it would appear that the population structure of Park is unbalanced in comparison with the rest of rural Lewis, and Scotland as a whole. The reason for this is the fact that so many people are working permanently away from home. (See Table XIV). From a study of the population structure it is clear that Park has all the attributes of an ageing population, a significantly low proportion of children and a higher proportion of the 45-64 and 65 and over age group than either rural Lewis or Scotland as a whole.

An attempt was made to record migration from the townships since 1939. From Table XV it is clear that all migrants were not recorded in the enumeration but the discrepancy may be explained by two other factors. The evacuees from Scottish cities who returned after 1939 to their city homes may well account for some and more people may now be working permanently away from home than was the case in 1939.

The destination of the emigrants (Table XVI) is significant. Stornoway Burgh (32 per cent) heads the list and so many of the Park families have not left Lewis but have gone to the one place on the island where employment is available. The second largest group have migrated permanently to Glasgow; many of those in permanent employment furth of Park (unmarried and still part of the croft household) work in Glasgow, and eventually marry there. It is also significant that only 16 per cent of the emigrants settled in crofting areas. The fact that over one-third of the recorded migrants settled in the only truly urban community in the Outer Hebrides needs further investigation but one possible conclusion is that if employment were available in Park, the migration rate would be drastically cut.

1 For discussion of this point, and of the population statistics in general, the author is greatly indebted to R.S. Barclay, B.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.S.E.

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

TABLE XVII

SELECTED POPULATION STATISTICS FOR THE AGRICULTURAL AND FISHING TOWNSHIPS

	Agricultural Townships	Fishing Townshi
POPULATION		
Wholly resident	81%	70%
Seasonally absent	12%	10%
In permanent employment furth of Park	7%	20%
	100%	100%
POPULATION CHANGE		
Population 1939	317	1,140
Population 1958[1]	226	682
Total Decrease	91	458
Natural Increase/Decrease[2] 1939-57	+5	-23
Net Migration	96	435
Migration as a percentage of 1939 population	30%	38%
Natural increase (Omitting War Casualties) as a percentage of 1939 population	3%	0.5%

1. Including those temporarily away: the permanently absent group would not be included in the 1939 enumeration.

2. Adjusted for war Casualties - Agricultural Townships 5, Fishing Townships, 28

/facing p. 14/

[Seaforthhead]

161 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural
162 and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend,
166 significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment furth of Park, and a smaller loss by
167 migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric,
241 there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration
222 losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of
632 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seaforthhead and Shieldernish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

135 Seaforthhead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a
361 gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being
[241] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

134 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat
137 accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely
[235] for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Balalian and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

[244] The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed.
[407] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be
[314] in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being
[231] only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep soum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the soum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in
162 1886. In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the
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[Seaforthhead] [Shieldernish] [Habost]

161 suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now
167 given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out
241 of the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two have migrated
178 since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

361 In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on
[349] slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's, 'Seaforth Castle'
[505] now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled,
[491] communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives
[178] access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHIELDERNISH

131 Shieldernish, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs
361 road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the
632 road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

241 Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put
311 together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes,
[246] preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the
[231] lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a
[244] further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total
[126] stocking of the Shieldernish crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use
[288] though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the township and this isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to grazing. Shieldernish appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing
[125] fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Shieldernish is better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

131 Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement
133 stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained
241 valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to
361 flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place. Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin
[134] soils.

S: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

TABLE

POPULATION IN FOUR CROFT

(Figures in brackets

	Resident	Seasonally Away	Permanently Away
Park (1958)[1]	788(72.2)	120(11.0)	184(16.8)
Benbecula and South Uist (1956)[1]	3171(86.0)	129(3.5)	390(10.5)
Barra (1957)[1]	1421(71.9)	88(4.4)	470(23.7)
Waternish (Skye) (1958)[1]	198(75.5)	16(6.1)	48(18.4)
TOTAL	5578(79.4)	353(5.0)	1092(15.6)

1. Year of Glasgow University Crofting Survey Enumeration.

2. National Identity Card Enumeration.

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XIX

ING DISTRICTS 1939-1956/8

are percentages)

Total	Resident & Seasonally Away	Population in 1939[2]	Decrease since 1939
1092(100)	908	1500	592(39.5)
3690(100)	3300	4085	785(23.8)
1979(100)	1509	2212	703(31.3)
262(100)	214	459	245(53.4)
7023(100)	5931	8256	2325(28.1)

/facing p. 38/

TABLE XIV

AGE STRUCTURE: PARK, 1958, LEWIS (excluding Stornoway Burgh), AND SCOTLAND AS A WHOLE, 1951.

(Figures are percentages)

Age group	0-4	5-14	15-44	45-64	65 and over	Total
Resident and seasonally away (Park)	5.0	13.8	29.4	33.1	18.7	100.0
Total population (Park)[1]	4.1	11.5	37.4	31.4	15.6	100.0
Lewis (excluding Stornoway)	9.0	15.7	35.1	24.3	15.9	100.0
Scotland	9.0	15.0	43.0	23.0	10.0	100.0

1. 'Total' population includes those in permanent employment furth of Lewis

/p. 12-B/

161 Table XIX summarises the population structure and trends for the four districts. It is significant
162 that the two districts without service centres, which provide a range of ancillary employment, have
166 experienced more severe depopulation since 1939. This table also underlines the fact that earnings
167 from seasonal employment are insufficient: the incidence of permanent employment furth of the
434 districts is three times as great as the incidence of seasonal employment.
464

APPENDIX B

SHIELINGS - A NOTE

John E. Wearmouth with illustrations by Beth Blowers

195 From Figure 1, compiled from the First Edition six-inch map of the Ordnance Survey (1850
233 to 1852) and from personal observations, it is clear that the shieling system was at one time an overall feature of Park for the whole peninsula has traces of this transhumant economy.

361 The rudimentary structures, some of turf, others of stones and roofed with bracken or
342 heather thatch, are all sited on well drained sites, the majority on mounds. Almost all the sites are close to lochs or streams. The majority are in loose groups of from two to nine buildings, although there are some in isolation; no site has as many as twenty-six buildings as found at Airidh na Ganithe in North Uist.

342 There appears to be two distinctive shapes of building - oval and rectangular (Fig.10). All shielings measured exhibited a remarkable similarity in dimensions, from 17½ by 9 feet to 13 by 12 feet. The oval structures are generally larger than the rectangular ones. Most of the shielings had two entrances, often, but not always, opposite each other.

195 The shieling system died out in Park about 1880 but the cattle continued to graze around the
233 shielings on the better grass, and the crofters had still to go out to milk the cattle at the shieling, although they no longer lived there. The sheep still use the mounds for shelter and grazing. These features of an obsolete economy are still easily recognisable from the luxuriant grass cover in a wilderness of peat bog and bare rock.

APPENDIX C

NORSE SETTLEMENTS NAMES IN NORTHERN PARK, LEWIS

Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B. Litt.

103 See: Magne Oftedal, The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides; in Norsk Tidskrift for
113 Sprogvidenskap, vol. XVII, 1954, (Oslo), pp. 363 ff.

103 Professor Oftedal points out the difficulties of these Norse-Gaelic settlement names: inaccurate spellings even in modern times, and lack of any useful evidence from older sources, make almost all the derivations a matter of conjecture. Sometimes two or more ON equivalents are possible (e.g. for Calbost), sometimes no satisfactory solution can be found (e.g. for Lemreway). Since Professor Oftedal frequently bases his explanation on pronunciations not recorded in written forms, his evidence is largely followed here.
SHIELDERNISH: the second element is N nes, 'headland'. Oftedal's explanation of the first as silda, genitive plural of N sild, 'herring', is satisfactory linguistically, but seems unlikely in meaning.

ABSTRACT

Cultural Continuity and Population Change on the Isle of Skye

Paul Richard Ducey

121 This study is concerned with the effect of population change on the culture of the essentially peasant society of the Isle of Skye, one of the Hebrides of Scotland. Standing on the very fringe of Western Europe, this particular surviving remnant of the once widespread Celtic culture has experienced a familiar consequence of the impingement of the social and economic forces 161 of urban and industrial Western Civilization. Involvement in the process of westernization brought a rapid, accelerating increase in the size of the population. Failure to make the required cultural adjustments led to persistent depopulation. 121 From the many problems created by the swing of the population pendulum, this study singles out one of particular anthropologic significance. The thesis is that population change is not necessarily a criterion of cultural discontinuity. Although one case study cannot prove this assertion, future research along similar lines in other cultures marginal to the main stream of Western Civilization may reveal a wider applicability of the [101] thesis. The material presented in the present study was collect during a year of field and library research in 1953 - 1954.

121 128 The approach to the problem is oriented toward the culture history of the Skyemen. Following a brief comparative descripti of the contemporary culture, an attempt is made to reconstruct

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF THE ISLE OF SKYE, THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS AN
CROFTING COUNTIES, AND SCOTLAND BETWEEN 1755 AND 1951
INCREASE OR DECREASE IN INTERCENSAL PE

YEAR	ISLE OF SKYE		WESTERN HIGHLANDS		SEVEN CROFTI COUNTIES
	Population	% + or -	Population	% + or -	Population
1755	11,252	-	114,884	-	257,183
1801	15,788	8.1	153,643	6.3	302,817
1811	17,029	7.9	165,074	7.2	318,266
1821	20,827	22.3	190,907	14.5	362,184
1831	22,796	9.5	200,955	5.1	388,876
1841	23,074	1.2	200,253	-0.3	396,045
1851	22,536	-2.3	190,728	-4.9	395,540
1861	19,591	-13.1	174,983	-8.3	380,440
1871	18,114	-7.6	168,359	-3.9	371,840
1881	17,680	-2.4	167,928	-0.3	369,453
1891	16,478	-6.8	164,281	-2.2	360,367
1901	14,561	-11.7	158,738	-3.4	352,371
1911	13,282	-8.8	151,085	-4.9	341,535
1921	11,584	-12.8	140,946	-6.9	326,000
1931	10,345	-10.7	127,081	-9.3	293,212
1951	8,603	-8.4	119,071	-3.2	285,667

Sources: James Gray Kyd, Scottish Population Statistics
Historical Society," Vol. XLIII; Edinburgh: Scottish Historical
and F. Fraser Darling, "Studies in the Rise and Decline of the
lands and Islands of Scotland," in F. Fraser Darling, et al., T
(Mimeographed, 1950), Part III; and Scotland, Census of Scotlan
Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953).

ID ISLANDS, THE SEVEN
WITH PERCENTAGE
ERIODS

ING		SCOTLAND	
	% + or -	Population	% + or -
	-	1,265,380	-
	3.3	1,608,420	5.9
	5.1	1,805,864	12.3
	13.8	2,091,521	15.8
	7.4	2,364,386	13.0
	1.8	2,620,184	10.8
	-0.1	2,888,742	10.2
	-3.8	3,062,294	6.0
	-2.5	3,360,018	9.7
	-0.5	3,735,573	11.2
	-2.5	4,025,647	7.8
	-2.1	4,472,103	11.1
	-3.2	4,760,904	6.5
	-4.5	4,882,497	2.6
	-5.7	4,842,980	-0.8
	-1.3	5,095,969	2.8

("Publications of the Scottish
Society, 1952); R.S. Barclay
Population in the West High-
he West Highland Survey
d, 1951 (Edinburgh: Her

a wider applicability of my thesis. The evidence in support of my assertion was collected on the culture history of the Isle of Skye, a part of the area known as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

Since I shall frequently speak of the Highlands and Islands in the following pages, we should have a precise definition of the region (Figure 1). Geographically, the Highland boundary should be placed at the Great Highland Fault, a series of geological faults which extend across Scotland from the River Clyde to Stonehaven, south of Aberdeen. Politically and economically, however, this line has receded to the north and west. Since 1883 it has been common in Scotland to equate the Highlands and Islands with the "Seven Crofting Counties," those counties in which the predominate form of land use is the crofting system. Crofting may be defined as a system of hereditary tenure of a few acres of arable land combined with common tenure of hill grazings. These counties are: Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney, and Zetland. Out of the 163 parishes in these counties only 12 are considered non-crofting.[1] In addition to this shared socio-economic pattern, the seven counties have experienced common economic-geographical influences, a century of accelerating population growth, followed by a century of persistent depopulation.

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[1] Adam Collier, The Crofting Problem: A Social and Economic Study (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 11n. A parish in Scotland is an ecclesiastical district which until 1929 was also a civil unit with self-government in such local affairs as education, relief for the poor and infirm, and health. If the British county is thought of as analogous to an American state, the parish can be thought of as a county, but one devoid of any function.

101 The Highlands and Islands are often divided into a Western and an Eastern subregion. The Western Highlands include all of the Hebrides and, approximately, the western half of the counties of Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness, and Argyll. This leaves the remainder of the seven crofting counties, including the islands of Orkney and Shetland, to the Eastern [632] Highlands. The seventy-two parishes of the Western Highlands have been isolated by physical barriers from communication with Great Britain. Here, too, differences of race, language, and culture have continued to distinguish the people from the other Scots. With this rudimentary delimitation of the areas in mind, let us briefly review their population cycles.

161 When Alexander Webster, then Moderator of the Church 162 of Scotland, compiled his enumeration of the population of Scotland in 1755, the Highlands contained 257,133 people, and the Western Highlands had a population of 114,834. In terms of percentages, the total region, 47 percent of Scotland, had 20.3 percent of Scotland's population, and the subregion, 29 percent of Scotland, had 9.1 percent of the national population. By 1831, despite chronic emigration, the population of the Western Highlands rose to 200,955 (see table 1) but there had been a decline to 8.5 percent of the national total. In 1841 the total Highland population reached a peak of 396,045, but now only 15.1 percent of the Scots were Highlanders. By 1851 depopulation had begun. The Highlanders in the West had decreased in numbers to 190,728 and those in the whole area, to 395,540. From that day to this depopulation has been continuous. Although the 1951 census is still above Webster's

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

Wider Applications

161 The decline of rural population is not peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland. There are areas of southeastern Scotland, including some long celebrated for cattle and grain, which have lost nearly as many people as the crofting counties. Berwickshire, for example, is one of the richest farming districts in Great Britain. The population trend, however, has been much the same as that of the Highlands.[44] In 1801 there were 30,206 in the county. After a peak in 1861, there was steady decline until now there are only 24,770, a decline of 32.3 percent. The loss of rural population is a well known phenomenon beyond Scotland's borders. It has been a persistent problem in Ireland and Wales for more than a century. Indeed, it has been a familiar phenomenon in Western Europe since the days of the Industrial Revolution. The only notable exception appears to be Italy; her rural population has increased 40 percent in the last four decades. The same tendency for decrease is found in the United States in such different areas as the Appalachians, the midwest, and, as has been observed, New England.

Population decrease has also been the fate of many primitive peoples. The Island of Yap, for example, has lost a remarkable proportion of its former population in contrast

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[44] Census of Scotland: Berwickshire, 1951.

164 with many of its neighboring Caroline Islands.[45] A similar tendency has been reported for the Aleutians.[46] On the other hand, there are the Pueblo,[47] who have recently begun to increase, and the Navaho,[48] who have grown in numbers at a rate no less striking than the decline of innumerable tribes in the non-Andean areas of South America.[49]

121 Although the fate of any one community in contemporary 161 United States may be insignificant to the social scientist who is interested in culture change, social instability among folk and peasant peoples is a factor which should not be overlooked. I am certain that it is not a criterion of cultural discontinuity, unless the tribal or peasant group suffers complete obliteration. I am equally sure that it is commonly symptomatic of cultures which have been unable to make a complete adjustment to the new and higher sociocultural organization reaching down to them. Some tribes, it is true, have succeeded in making a pretense at adjustment. Noted for

[45] Felix N. Keesing, The South Seas in the Modern World (rev. ed., New York: The John Day Co., 1945), pp. 52-53.

[46] Gerald D. Berreman, "Inquiry into Community Integration in an Aleutian Village," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 1 (Feb., 1955), pp. 49-59.

[47] Eggan, op. cit., pp. 18, 139-140, 201.

[48] Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), pp. 9-10.

[49] Julian H. Steward, "The Native Population of South America," in The Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949) Vol. V, pp. 655-665; and A. L. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, ("University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology," Vol. 38; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), pp. 131-181.

121 preserving a good deal of their complex culture, the Pueblo
161 and, in particular, the Navaho have increased in numbers. The isolation of an inhospitable environment will not fully explain their conservatism without instability. One after another, even more isolated Aleutian villages have disappeared. Those which have experienced social instability and disintegration have paid the penalty for preserving too much of their traditional culture. In Aleutian villages where the traditional culture has been largely replaced by western ways social disintegration is, at present, unknown.[50] Depopulated Yap is, perhaps, the most familiar case of persistent refusal to adjust to the impinging Western World.[51] All over Europe there are peasant peoples who are facing an identical situation. Techniques for complete adjustment to their larger sociocultural groups are unavailable. Still tied to the land and their old ways instead of to 1955, they are slowly dwindling in numbers. In all of these cases of social instability the culture is growing old with the people. The deviants, the individuals who will not conform to the traditional behavior patterns and norms, leave, and they are mainly the youth. Whether or not there is always a change in the focus of the culture such as occurred on Skye I am not able to say, but, doubtlessly, there are always changes in content as a part of the process of reintegration. Nevertheless, the form, the

[50] Berreman, op. cit., pp. 56-58.

[51] Keesing, loc. cit.; see also J. C. Furnas, The Anatomy of Paradise (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1946), p. 302.

121 basic distinctive pattern, of the culture is preserved and
161 continuity is maintained.

The Organization of the Thesis

128 My approach to the problem of cultural continuity
129 despite marked population change is oriented toward the culture history of the Isle of Skye. To this end, in the next chapter (Chapter II) I shall describe the environmental limitations of the island and, briefly, present a comparative analysis of the economics, settlement pattern, social organization, and religion of Skye. This is intended to acquaint the reader with the local culture and provide a perspective for the following chapters. In Chapter III I shall be concerned with the culture as it was before the commercial and developing industrial society of Great Britain became a significant acculturating influence, that is, before 1745. Chapter IV is devoted to a review of four periods of social and cultural change following the introduction of the tenets of commercialism. Throughout the chapter emphasis is placed upon cultural continuity despite population increase and then decrease. The continuity will be shown to have been preserved over two hundred years, even though there were two periods of threatened cultural disintegration, chronic social instability, and several periods of social disorganization. Having established the main social and cultural trends, the contemporary culture is examined for an understanding of its continued distinctiveness. In Chapter V, the contemporary economic

of an administrative center. The government offices, however, 621
are scattered about the village. One is down at the pier; 368
another is half way out of Portree on a trunk road, and still a third is tucked away on a side road down by the shore of the harbor. The post office is behind the court house, on the opposite end of the village, and the school, the only secondary school in all the Hebrides of the County of Inverness, is out of the village all together on another trunk road. For northern 621
Skye, Portree is the shopping center. The shops are along the 344
main streets which run off the square and along the road which leads down to the pier. All of them are in remodeled houses. For the immediate area surrounding the village, Portree is a 621
religious center. The churches stand together, except one 348
which is on the opposite side of the village; the ministers' homes are dispersed on the fringes of the village. Long ago 621
Portree was known as Cuillterraglan, (burying place at the foot 149
of the glen). The old village was no more than a church, school, inn, and jail which stood overlooking the houses of a few fishermen along the bay. The surrounding area was given over to farming. The differing ages of the buildings show how the village spread along the bay, up over the terraces, out across the flats, and finally, with the assistance of the County Council which has built all of the new houses, on to the hill which overlooks the shops and the harbor. Although only the [164]
jail remains as a sentinel of the past, the differing ages of the houses also tell how the population grew from a mere handful to 1000 in over a century and a half.

175 As the tacksmen withdrew, the farms were made over to
176 tenant-tenants.[10] The former subtenants, who had been tenants
182 at will of a tacksman, became tenants at will of a landlord. Since the people no longer had to divide the produce of the land with their superiors, they were able to meet subsistence needs more adequately. Population pressure was further reduced by the introduction of the potato and kelping, the burning of seaweed to produce alkalies.[11] The acceptance of both the potato and kelping was facilitated by the fact that neither involved any great change in traditional techniques or any expenditure other than labor. The potato gave the islanders a secure yield several times that of oats and barley. One year in every four there was no grain harvest.[12] As the potato was confined to waste land, it also enabled the cultivators to reclaim land for increasing the acreage of grain. Kelping and direct participation in the cattle trade, hitherto under the control of the chief and tacksmen, freed a large number from complete dependence on their harvests. Vaccination against small pox reduced the death rate,[13] as did the cessation of
161 hostilities. Consequently, between 1755 and 1811, the population increased from 10,671 to 17,029.

175 Little is known of the religious life of this period,
177 still the beginning of a trend which continues to find expression

[10] Canon MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. I, pp. 70-71; and OSA, II, 551; III, 247, IV, 132-133; XVI, 151, 224; XVIII, 181-182.

[11] Walker, An Economical History of the Hebrides, Vol. I, p. 137, 348.

[12] Pennant, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 305-306.

[13] Walker, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 348; OSA, XVI, 224; XVIII, 551.

175 they were frequently accused of failure to conform to orthodoxy
177 and of a disinterest in their calling.[19]

175 In time a second trend appeared which was marked by
176 conservatism and an emphasis on doctrinal dogma. Toward the
182 close of the eighteenth century, it became apparent that the
161 population had pressed too hard on the means of subsistence.[20] Commercialization was continuing and sheep flocks were be-
165 ginning to replace men in one parish.[21] The people, many of then destitute, were finding a solution for their plight in migration to the New World, or in seasonal migrations to the Lowlands for work.[22] Those who remained were land hungry.
175 Gradually, they were losing respect for their ministers and
177 turning to evangelical missionaries who had begun to appear in
178 the Isles.[23] The crucial fact would seem to be that the ministers
179 were upholding values and symbols which no longer contributed
180 to group solidarity. The Island was on the verge of a period
181 of social disintegration and cultural instability. Under the changes that were to follow, the evangelical movement grew into a large scale revival.

[19] MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland 1688-1800, pp. 100-110; Roderick MacLeod, Ministers of Skye (Glasgow: John MacLeslie, 1903), pp. 30-32; and Buchanan, loc. cit.

[20] OSA, II, 552; III, 247, 248; IV, 132; XVI, 151, 224, 539; XVIII, 184.

[21] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 754-755.

[22] OSA, II, 551; and Robert Heron, General View of the Natural Circumstances of the Hebrides (Edinburgh: John Paterson, 1794), p. 7.

[23] MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 15-16, 24-25; and MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 90-91, 98, 99, 151-165.

By 1845 there was a small crescent of houses along the shore, about twenty in number, and on the raised terrace there was a new inn, a church, a post office, a bank, several shops, and a street of homes.[34] The population had grown to all of 510.[35] The existence of the village depended on the summer cattle markets and the fishing industry, which was in the hands of newcomers.

Following the establishment of Portree and accompanying the gradual decline in self-sufficiency, the Island was brought into closer contact with Great Britain by an extension of regular means of communication.[36] Regular communications, of course, are a prerequisite for commercialization. There must be access to markets for the local produce and access to consumer goods. Without such access no man can specialize; with it the Gaisharach has been disinclined to specialize. The old drove roads, the beaten paths which had served them well for many centuries, were now supplemented by roads in the Lowland sense of the term. By the end of the period most of the more accessible townships had been connected with Portree and the mainland, and a steamer had entered regular service between Portree and Glasgow. These factors paved the way for the introduction of commercial sheep farming.

[34] George and Peter Anderson, Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (3rd ed.; Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1847), p. 435; and MSA, pp. 225, 231, 234, 235.

[35] Census of Scotland: Inverness.

[36] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 400, 759; MacCulloch, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 372; MSA, p. 231, 298, 311, 320; and Nicolson, op. cit., p. 305.

While the process of commercialization proceeded against the persistent efforts of the people to maintain their traditional way of life, events in Great Britain were beginning to have a pronounced adverse effect on the local economy. The end of the Napoleonic Wars brought the cattle boom to an end. Although the droving trade remained brisk, the value of the stock declined markedly.[37] An increase in the number of cattle on the grazings, as a means to maintain an economic equilibrium, was impossible. The island was already overstocked and had been devastated by this practice. At the same time, development of large scale commercial farming in the Lowlands had encroached on the right of way of the drovers, and the Skye cattle were suffering at the markets from competition with improved, better nourished breeds from the northeast and southwest. The end of the wars also witnessed a decline in the kelp market.[38] Parliament finally completely undermined kelping by recurrently reducing the tariffs on foreign substitutes.

The crofters, who had suffered rackrenting to get their small strips of arable, found themselves without the means to pay the rents which had been set at the peak of the cattle and kelp markets and without enough land to meet subsistence needs.[39] The striking thing is that in spite of increasing economic hardship, the population continued to grow. They became hostages

[37] Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland, pp. 205-221.

[38] Malcolm Gray, "The Kelp Industry in the Highlands and Islands," The Economic History Review, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1952), pp. 197-209.

[39] Canon MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. II, p. 115.

to the health of the potato and their own fertility.[40] Many men turned to fishing, on a part-time basis, but once again the initial success was short-lived. Others supplemented their diminishing incomes from the croft by seasonal employment in the Lowlands. Crofting had ceased to be a subsistence economy; the people had lost their self-sufficiency. Nor were they ever again able to escape from a dependence on some form of supplementary income to provide the bare essentials of life. The difference between conditions then and now is that the pressure of the population on the means of subsistence increased until it approached a Malthusian ceiling.

In the thirties epidemic and famine began to take their toll. Destitution became widespread and there was no system of relief beyond the moral obligation of the proprietors to provide grain. The marriage rate fell. In Kilmuir the average annual number of marriages fell from twenty-one to six. Subdivision was forbidden, but it was too late. In two districts of Kilmuir there were 190 lots, crofts, and farms to support 421 families in 1840. In all of Skye, after the emigration of at least 1500 people, there were 1900 crofters and 1531 cottars. Despite the fact that oats had become as big a luxury as meat and the fact that many were living on potatoes and fish, the population continued to increase. By 1841 it reached 23,074. Finally, the economic structure collapsed.

In the autumn of 1846 there were no potatoes. A blight destroyed the entire crop. Although the famine was universal

[40] For details concerning the plight of the crofters at this time, see MSA, pp. 218-360.

in Scotland, it lacked the same effects elsewhere. There is a significant correlation in the Highlands and Islands, as in Ireland, of the disproportion of the population to the means of subsistence, due to a change from subsistence farming to a partially commercial system of land use, and the intensity of the crop failure. In both countries the persistence of innumerable traits from the traditional economy, including conservative techniques, attachment to the land, and a tendency to share the land among the kin, hampered commercialization or, at least, specialization and led to devastation.

Five years of famine ended the growth of population. The emigration of large numbers and the death of untold numbers must have seriously disturbed the patterns of interaction within the extended family and the township. Although the proprietors made a final effort to help their tenants, ruining themselves financially, they had forsaken their people. The ministers were no longer able to contribute to group solidarity,[41] because the symbols and values they upheld reflected the attitudes of the landlords and lacked significance for the people.

A religious revival reached effective proportions by 1812.[42] The appearance of the Revival suggests that the culture was far more disorganized than the scant social and economic record indicates. Normally, the attempt to seek supernatural assistance as a source of comfort and hope appears only after the culture has become thoroughly disorganized.[43]

[41] MSA, pp. 269-272.

[42] MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 15, 165; and MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

[43] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 437-440.

Each man received a permanent, compact plot of arable in place of his former concurrent right to a whole farm. The change, on the surface, seems to have been superficial. The grazings remained common property and the arable land became common property after the harvest. The significant fact is that commercialization had not yet led to a disregard for the customary rights of the small tenant, except in a few isolated areas.

There were other effects of the change in tenure beyond a leveling of the social hierarchy. By giving more people a direct share in the land emigration was stopped. The practice of subdividing the crofts among the children, as they married, at once favored an increase in population and strengthened the family of orientation, if not the extended family. At the same time, it placed a greater dependence on the potato; the people became hostages to the health of the potato and their own fertility. In time progressive economic deterioration began. The old subsistence economy had been weakened by subdivision of the small plots, increasing dependence on external markets for profits from the sale of cattle, and wages from kelping or a little fishing. When the markets broke, destitution and emigration reappeared. Finally, with a failure of the potato, the economic structure collapsed. The population trends were reversed. The people had remained unspecialized in a nation of specialists.

The next stage in the process of commercialization, the growth of a village and the extension of communications, had little perceptible effect on the Gaisharach. Villages were

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NEXT FICHE

161 count, the number of people living in the Highlands has de-
162 clined 27.8 percent to 285,667, and those in the Western Highland, 40.7 percent to 119,071. Today the Highlanders represent only 5.6 percent, and the Westerners, only 2.3 percent of the population of Scotland.

Even though depopulation in the Western Highlands has gone at a faster rate than for the Highlands as a whole, it has not been typical of the entire subregion. William Hance, an economic geographer, has recently pointed out that "the assumption has too often been made that the Islands (the Outer Hebrides) have been depopulated at the same rate as the counties to which they belong and the Highlands as a whole."[2] He clearly demonstrates the contrasting increase of population in the Outer Isles, up to 1911, and the persistent decline elsewhere in the area. Again, within the last two decades, there has been an increase in population in the developing industrial area at the western extremity of the Great Glen, while depopulation has continued in all other parts of the subregion.

101 The Isle of Skye, the island with which I shall be con-
161 cerned in my dissertation, cannot be regarded as typical of
162 the Highlands or of the Western subregion. I rather regard it as standing in an intermediate position, geographically, demographically, and culturally. It rises from the Sea of the Hebrides between the Outer Isles to the west and the Mainland to the east. As we have just seen, depopulation is

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[2]William A. Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation (New York: By the author, 1949), p. 18.

101 more recent to the west, and in the industrial area of the
161 Great Glen the trend is reversing itself. To the north and
162 south depopulation has been more serious. To the east the general trend has been similar to that of Skye. We need not be troubled by statistics at this time, but for convenience
178 the population figures are given in Table 1. The Outer Hebrideans have preserved more of the social aspect of the old culture than the Skye people while the Mainlander has felt the effects of the processes of acculturation with more obvious results than the people of Skye. In short, the Highlands are not a homogeneous region. They represent a great diversity of conditions.

My information on the contemporary culture of the Isle
101 115 of Skye was provided by the residents of three communities, the villagers of Portree and the crofters of Glendale and
101 Kilmuir. Portree is a small nucleated village with a popu-
621 lation of a thousand. It is important to the study because
365 in many ways it represents an alien way of life. Here are found the county and national government offices, staffed mainly by newcomers to Skye, which serve the whole island.
344 Here too, are the grocery, drug, clothing, and hardware stores which depend on the people of at least, northern Skye
344 for a large part of their trade. There are a number of craftsmen who are equally dependent on the rural population. For the most part, the members of both groups are newcomers
368 from the Lowlands or elsewhere in the Highlands. As the
365 terminus for the mail steamer which links Skye with the mainland, and the hub of the daily bus service which connects the rural

In 1951 the population stood at 1,094. There has been a slight shift from the rural areas to the village, but it can hardly be regarded as significant. For one thing, the 1951 figure included an unknown number of workers on the hydro-electric scheme. Then, too, it included children from the Outer Isles who attend school in Portree, not to mention the very large number of newcomers, teachers, government employees, shopkeepers, management personnel in the stores and banks, and tradesmen, to give only a few examples.

The trend toward religious conservatism continued in the fourth period. During the closing years of the preceding period, the Free Church attempted to modify her theology and polity. The old trend toward relaxing the rigor of Presbyterianism, in accordance with the feelings of the other dissenting denominations in Scotland in order to pave the way for union, was renewed by the passing of a Declaratory Act which stated that the Free Church does not teach and does not regard the Confession of Faith as teaching the foreordination of men to death (eternal damnation) irrespective of their sin. Further, that while the Gospel is the ordinary means of salvation, it does not follow that all who die in infancy are lost. The elders, the lay kirk officers, of Skye protested violently.[88] It was popery to make the Church the judge of spiritual affairs. More important, it threatened their prestige status, which had been sanctioned by the interpretation of the religious ethic. In several parishes the elders threatened to withdraw from

[88] The Free Presbyterian Church, History of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1893-1933 (Glasgow: H. Aldshead and Son, 1933), pp. 96-130.

means are not infrequently thwarted by the peasants, the ends are seldom achieved.

As long ago as 1859 Norway began a redistribution of the land; by 1946 42 percent of the infield and 9 percent of the outfield had been regrouped. In Ireland attempts at consolidation date back to 1870. Because the problem was especially intricate, some holdings consisted of twenty or thirty scattered patches, the attempted approach has been comprehensive, including assistance for migration, improvements, and the purchase of farms. Today, even where the consolidated holdings are substandard, they are more productive. I do not mean to imply that the program has been uniformly and sweepingly effective. The study by Arensberg and Kimball is ample evidence to the contrary,[14] but there has been reform. Germany, too, has had an all-inclusive policy since the 1870's. There, whole villages must be replanned. Wherever possible, small holdings have been abolished by moving certain families out to new farmsteads and removing others from the land. It is significant that most of the reform took place under Hitler and, even so, there was universal peasant resistance to land reformation. What effect the partition of Germany has had on these rural villages I do not know. Many of those I visited have twice the population of prewar days. In each country, from Sweden to Italy and from France to Greece, the experiments have resulted in increased agricultural production. On Skye, as in most of the Highlands, the tillage area has fallen at a faster rate than the population. Indeed,

[14] Arensberg and Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland.

where the population has suffered the greatest decline and, therefore, where enlargements, by legal or illegal means, have been the most extensive, crop production has declined the most. Nor has the decline in population, accompanied by land redistribution, altered the fundamental problem.

The cottars (subtenants) have almost disappeared thereby easing the excessive pressure on the land and removing the threat of recurring destitution. Today they are found only in a few scattered dwellings and isolated clusters. Most of them have secured some form of employment or have reached the age when a government pension is sufficient to satisfy their needs. The number of crofters, on the other hand, has increased. If the figures 2043 and 1227 can be accepted as nearly correct for the respective numbers of crofters and cottars in 1886,[15] they have increased at the expense of the latter and, also, the sheep farmer, whom they have replaced.

To briefly summarize the foregoing discussion of the township, let us look at Kilmuir. Table 3 shows the number of crofts and crofters in each of the nine townships together with the acreage and "souming" rights available to each individual. Although replanning during the past fifty years has benefited many of the local residents, crowding upon the land is still apparent.

[15] L. MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 6, 17.

TABLE 3

CROFTS, CROFTERS, ARABLE ACREAGE, AND SOUMING RIGHTS IN THE KILMUIR TOWNSHIPS

Township	Crofts	Crofters	Arable Acres[a]	Common Grazing	Souming
Bornesketeig	47	35	4	273	2 cows, 1 calf, 12 sheep
Hungladder	14	9	5	236	2 cows, 1 calf, 10 sheep
Balgown	4	5	13, 14, 34, 46, 66	177	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Kilvaxter	12	11	27	...b	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Linicro	19	17	15	729	5 cows, 5 calves 40 sheep 1 horse
Peingown	3	4	18	187	7 cows, 7 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Herbusta	8	8	12	308	3 cows, 3 calves 26 sheep 1 horse
Totescore	12	13	21	500	3 cows, 3 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Monkstedt	3	3	27, 27, 5	420	9 cows, 9 calves 40 sheep 2 horses

[a] Arable acres are given in average acres per holding, unless otherwise indicated. Except in Bornesketeig and Hungladder, arable land includes outrun, improved pasture land individually held.

[b] Shared with Kilvaxter.

Sources: Compiled from The Valuation Roll of the County of Inverness, 1953; information extracted from the files of the Department of Health for Scotland; and data supplied by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

arduous is difficult to determine. In the winter of 1953, I helped a small crofter thrash oats, a cooperative enterprise even with a mechanical thrasher, supplied by the Department of Agriculture. The neighbors who came over to lend a hand were two men and three women. The youngest woman would never see fifty again; her seniors were seventy-seven and seventy-eight. The youngest man, who had just been married, was sixty-three; the other seventy-three. These crofters not only showed more endurance than I did, but put me to shame by carrying the sacks of grain from the field to the byre at the end of the day. Nevertheless, most of those over seventy, about 15 percent of the population, do not make use of the land for more than growing a few potatoes. An old man cannot keep a cow because, as one man said, "You can't have a cow unless you have a woman to milk it." If he is married or lives with a sister, there may be a cow and a couple of sheep. An old woman may have her cow and sheep if she is strong enough. There comes a time, however, when all the old people will only remember the work involved. Still they will say, "Och, but they were good for all that."

Absentee tenants are responsible for depopulation on the one hand and falling production on the other. A reasonable estimate would be 300. Their number could be as high as 400. Some townships have over 50 percent of the crofters absentee. The only townships which do not have this problem are the few which contain large crofts. On one small estate there are seventy-six crofts, held by seventy-two crofters. Only thirty

Beginning with a population which is believed to have been relatively stable due to recurrent crises, including epidemics, famines, and wars, the tendulum of population growth and decline for the Sgiathanach has been found to be highly responsive to cultural innovations and social adjustments. Between 1750 and 1841 the Skyemen increased in numbers from 10,671 to 23,074, an increase of more than 100 percent. From 1851 to 1951 the population has steadily decreased from 22,536 to 8,603, a decrease of 62 percent from maximum. Associated with the decline were changes in the age structure. In 1861 34 percent of the population was under fifteen and only seven percent was over sixty-five; today only 22 percent of the population is under fifteen while 19 percent is over sixty-five. How can we account for these changes, or, more correctly, how can we account for the changes in the birth, death, and emigration rates? [161] [162]

Broadly speaking, the increase was favored by the direct and indirect involvement of the Sgiathanach in the process of commercialization, with all of its associated consequences. One by one, the natural checks on population growth declined in importance. The pressure on the means of subsistence was eased. The former clan chiefs, preferring the society of Edinburgh and London, absented themselves. After converting rents from kind to money, they provoked the withdrawal of the tacksmen by resorting to rackrenting. The former clansmen, who became joint-tenants, received a larger share in the land and were freed from the obligation of feeding both their own families and those of the superiors. At the same time the [161] [175] [178] [427]

acceptance of the potato, a much more productive and dependable subsistence item than grain on Skye, made it possible for more people to live on less land. The introduction of a new industry, kelping, provided many with employment and freed them from complete dependence on a subsistence economy. Vaccination reduced the mortality rate, especially among infants whose chances of reaching maturity and procreating were thus enhanced. Another important factor was the Skyeman's share in the general prosperity of British agriculturalists during the early years of the Industrial Revolution and during the Napoleonic Wars. An especially important factor was the practice of subdividing the land which made early marriage possible, in particular after the installation of the crofting system. Finally, but by no means least significant, there was the persistence of many typical features of the culture in the days of the clan. The sentimental ties of kinship and attachment to the soil had remained. [161] [427] [671] [871] [161] [175] [178] [184]

The population decrease, partially a result of the Skyeman's involvement in the process of commercialization, was primarily a result of a failure to fully adjust to the higher, more heterogeneous socio-economic level. By the end of the second period of the modern epoch, 1845, the people had become hostages to the potato and their own fertility. When the potato failed them, they had nothing to fall back upon, except the generosity of their landlords. The cattle and kelp markets had collapsed at the end of the Wars, and the subdivided land could not produce sufficient grain. The relief of many that the population had over-run the limited local resources was confirmed. [161] [175] [178] [184]

The growth of the population ended with a prolonged famine. The proprietors, finding that the people's only justification for crowding the estates and looking to their landlords for help were some nebulous customary usages, facilitated the decline by disregarding custom and throwing as much land into sheep farming as was possible. While evictions were not new, only after the famine did they result in an absolute reduction in numbers. The Sgiathanach, fettered by a lack of capital and an inability to break with the past, could not make the final adjustment required by the process of commercialization, specialization. In addition to emigration, the Clearances and general economic hardship forced a postponement of marriage. There was neither land nor regular employment to provide a livelihood. [161] [731] [427] [182] [167] [582] [464]

Later in the nineteenth century new influences began to play a role in the continuing decline of the population. Following the passage of the Crofters' Act, the nature of emigration changed. Seasonal migration became negligible. The provisions of the Act, and ensuing legislation, made it possible for a man to remain away during his active years and return to the parental croft to spend his old age. The extention of education not only equipped the youth for life in the larger society but also created demands for objectives which could not be attained at home under the existing order. Thus, as in the period of population growth, the persistence of many features of the old traditional culture, and the renewed importance of others, were factors of no little consequence. [161] [167] [182] [871]

On the one hand, they stimulated emigration, because the only means of achieving upward mobility was through outward mobility. On the other hand they deterred a complete abandonment of a way of life which offered so few material rewards. This brings us face to face with the problem of cultural continuity. [161] [167] [182]

Cultural Continuity on the Isle of Skye
A Restatement of Theoretical Considerations

In the opening chapter, I presented a series of theoretical assumptions on which I have based my analysis of the evidence for cultural continuity on the Isle of Skye. A review of my presuppositions and my approach to the problem may expedite my final quest for proof that marked population change is not a criterion of cultural discontinuity. [121]

If society and culture are separate though complimentary concepts, cultural and social integration must be independent variables. They tend to find mutual expression, but they are not necessarily found together. Nor can they be measured by the same criteria. Cultures are considered integrated to the extent that their traits, complexes, patterns, and aspects are meaningful to the people. The content of all cultures is continually modified by the disappearance of once characteristic trait complexes and the addition of new ones. Old ways of doing things lose meaning and are disregarded; innovations find acceptance and are given meaning within the configuration of the culture. The form of the culture, its essential distinctiveness, persists. The carriers of a culture, or the

group.[6] He has maintained cultural integration and continuity. At the same time his conservative religion has not gone quite as far as the Amish Order.[7] The Sgiathanach has rejected only those patterns which would disturb the equilibrium of life in the neighborhood. The penalty for his failure to completely adjust is depopulation; others, like the people of Yap and the Aleuts, are paying a similar penalty.[8] [182] [771] [161]

Further Evidence for Cultural Continuity

[121] Various approaches to the problem of cultural continuity can be attempted in addition to the historical approach which has formed the point of departure for my study. The most obvious would be a comparative study of two basically similar people, the Welsh and the Irish. In the chapter entitled "The Setting" and throughout this study I have called attention to the similarities between the Skyeman, the Welshman,[9] and the Irishman.[10] In a host of cultural features the three are strikingly identical. Some of these common patterns may be remembered, for instance, the elien nature of nucleated villages, the strong patrilineal emphasis, the importance of the old man, and a pastoral

[6] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 202, 204; and Young, Sociology, p. 23.

[7] Zollmergen, op. cit., p. 1.

[8] Keesing, The South Seas in the Modern World, pp. 52-53; Furnas, The Adventure of Science, p. 344; and Berreman, "An Aleutian Village," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 1, pp.49-59.

[9] Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside.

[10] Arensberg, The Irish Countryman; and Arensberg and Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland.

Whatever signs there were of social or cult organization, or threatened disintegration, in th century they have disappeared. Steward's theory societies do not entirely disappear but are ratne by way of a readaptation to the higher level of s organization of which they become a part is borne evidence from the Isle of Skye.[17] At the same tim basis of events in the culture history of the Sgia I would qualify his theory by introducing a new co Isolated, relatively simple, kinship oriented soc cultures which must achieve a reintegration if the preserve their continuity readapt, not only to the socio-cultural level, but also to the older way of

In conclusion, I regard Skye as a community maintained a continuity of culture despite marked change. The continued distinctiveness has been ma by a reintegration of the culture and a restoratio network of relationships which make for harmonious together. As in any socio-cultural group which ha through periods of threatened disintegration, the repair may be weak. Conflicts are tending to appe crofter, who has refused to fully adapt to commerc is seasonally faced with a variety and succession which no agriculturalist in the wider society woul There is the desire of the youth, who are too few to form a sodality, for a share in the manane ple

[17] Steward, Area Research, p. 111; see also W Harris, op. cit., p. 441.

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175 178 427 233 166 167 425 162 [161] squatters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families had enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[62] In one Glendale township, Holmisdale, some crofts of fourteen acres had as many as fifteen people to support.[63] Part of this extreme congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing one's croft when a child married. Although the population in 1831 had fallen to 17,680, from 23,084 in 1841, almost every township had two or three times the number of families which had lived in them in 1841.[64]

175 178 427 233 241 The loss of the summer shielings and the common grazings meant few could keep sheep.[65] The looms were silent. Since the rent continued to be based on the value of livestock and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all oats, which the graziers' sheep did not eat, went to feed the [439] cattle. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy [262] flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all [452] were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to have been newcomers with more associations with the graziers than [272] the crofters and cottars. Milk became a precious commodity. [482] Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unable [462] to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They carried

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[62] Ibid., p. 112.

[63] Alexander MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 419-420.

[64] Smith, op. cit., p. 317; Cummings, op. cit., p. 140; and Napier Report, p. 15.

[65] The following is drawn from the evidence presented to the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of Skye; see Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82.

pared with 34.9 for Scotland. The death rate among Skyemen, ever, was 17.4 compared with 22.0 for Scots in general. But tland had a net emigration rate of only 3.6 while the Skyemen e leaving at a rate of 16.5. In this decade no fewer than 15 left Skye.

By the end of the third period an additional influence the process of commercialization had become apparent. The ial hierarchy was modified in the direction of greater lo-economic differentiation.[68] At the time of the "Forty- e"Skye was inhabited by the families of three clan chiefs, tacksmen, 517 joint-tenants, 1031 subtenants, and 444 vants. There were now 10 landlords. The tacksmen had been laced by 29 graziers and 12 small farmers. The joint- ants, subtenants, and servants had become 2043 crofters 1227 cottars. In the past there may have been one innkeeper, Portree, and a few millers; now there were 32 innkeepers, lers, and merchants.

The changes which we have been considering could not have the patterns of interaction undisturbed. Cooperation among members of the township would have been unnecessary. Since were affected by prolonged destitution, mutual aid must been severely curtailed. The extended family was broken migration. The nuclear family was seldom intact for more part of the year. It seems the majority of the able-bodied were travelling to the east coast each spring to find

[68] Lachlan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Crofters, pp. 4-5, 6-7, 11-12, 14-15; and J. G. MacKay, ial Life in Skye from Legend and Story," TGSI, Vol. XXIX 2), pp. 260-290.

employment as hands on fishing vessels. The young women followed these fleets seeking work as gutters and curers in the ports. Some may have made their way to Portree, where a woolen mill had been erected by the Highland Destitution Committee. The population of Portree increased during these years from 510, in 1841, to 893, in 1881, but this can hardly be regarded as a significant trend.

The really striking aspect of this period is the almost complete lack of protest by the Sgiathanach against the violation of his presumptive right to the land. The disappearance of the tacksmen, of course, had left the people without their counselors and leaders in secular affairs, and many of the ministers, especially those who were themselves sheep farmers, counseled submission to the will of God. Then, too, the ethos of the Skyemen would not allow them to ventilate their grievances. They despised the Sassanach and felt that "the landlord was bad enough, but the factor was the Devil himself." Still those who knew them well and those who rambled by their cottages wrote unanimously of a people who endured overwhelming sufferings in patience and reticence.[69] The betrayal of any weakness, especially before the cursed Sassanach, was a breach of propriety.[70]

The Skyeman had not lost his capacity to respond to leadership. Throughout the nineteenth century there had been widespread and growing discontent all over Europe with the

[69] Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82; and Cummings, op. cit., p. 136. See also Robert Buchanan, The Hebride Isles (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883), p. 324; and Malcolm Ferguson, Rambles in Skye (Irvine: Charles Murchland, 1885), pp. 121, 122.

[70] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 136.

enlargements when the proprietor would not reasonable terms. Thus, the government beg the crofter from potential abuses and to re to the descendants of the clanna, who had, menifested a persistent disinclination to a system of land use. A complete reformation not yet possible.

The crux of the problem of maintainin population was succinctly stated in 1851 by the Highland Destitution Board. The people themselves, at a subsistence level, unless family were given ten acres of arable land only was there not enough land, but without a man could not find local employment until to produce, and, if he sought employment at could not work his land to free himself from working for a wage. In 1883 it was estimate reduction in population would not leave enou each family an adequate holding, ten acres acres of grazing land.[81] How right they were population is less than half that of 1883, a have what was considered an adequate holding ago. Let us see what measures the governmen attempt to solve this problem.

At first the land reorganization progr by a lack of available land and by the conti

[81] Napier Report, pp. 100-101.

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person who left in his youth to return in his old age. The new pattern of emigration not only resulted in a continuation of the persistent depopulation of the island but also, with the return flow which countered emigration of the youth with immigration of the older people, led to striking changes in the age structure of the population. If the population pyramids for the years 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1951 are compared, the significance of the new pattern becomes apparent (see figure 4). The 1861 pyramid has a strong base, despite evictions and death. By 1901 the aging of the population was already marked. There were fewer people in all age groups, but a disproportionate increase in those over sixty-five. Females had joined the exodus. Partly as a result of the emigration of young adults, and partly as a consequence of a declining marriage rate and delayed marriage, the structure was growing top-heavy.

The pyramids for 1931 and 1951 are far from ideal. The differing movements of the population has resulted in a situation in which the society can no longer reproduce itself. Natural increase became a negative factor in the decade 1921-1930. Since then births have exceeded deaths in only one year, 1949. If the population is being maintained in part by the return of exiles, one must not only ask who leaves and why but also who returns and why.

An additional change within this period was the growth of Portree as a trade center and as an administrative "capital." The cycle of population, however, was erratic. In 1891 there were 1,003 people in the village, but in 1921 there were only 793.

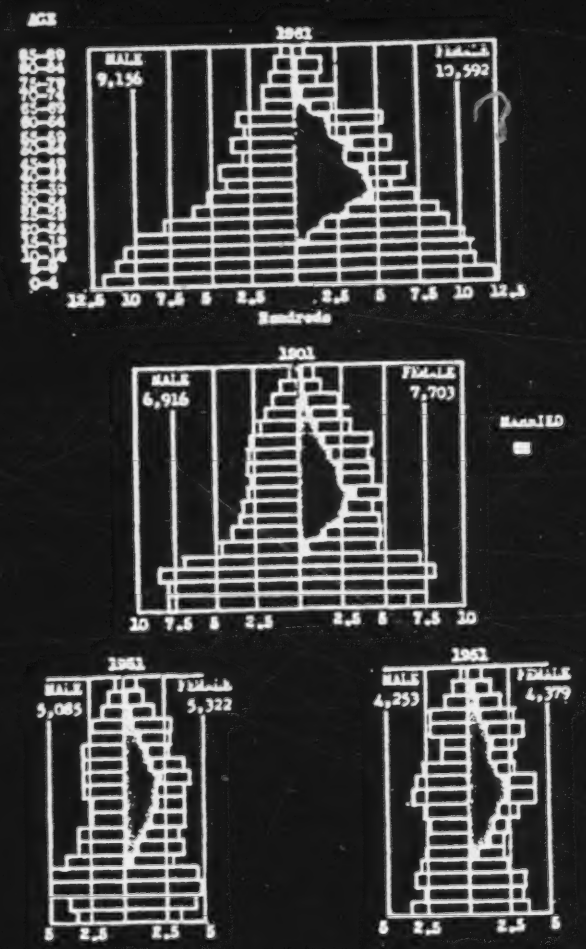
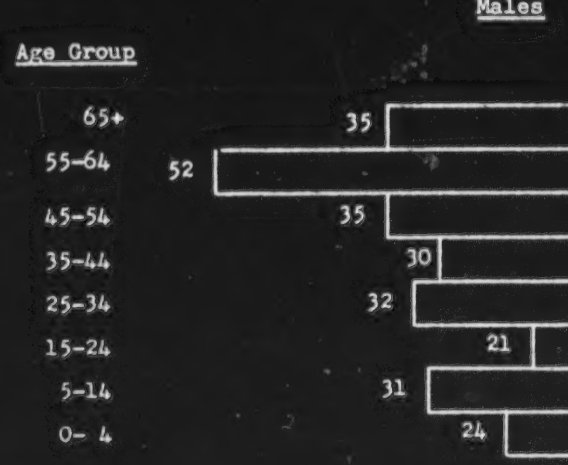


Fig. 4. Population Pyramids for Skye: 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1951.
Source: Census of Scotland, 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1951.

Population Acc



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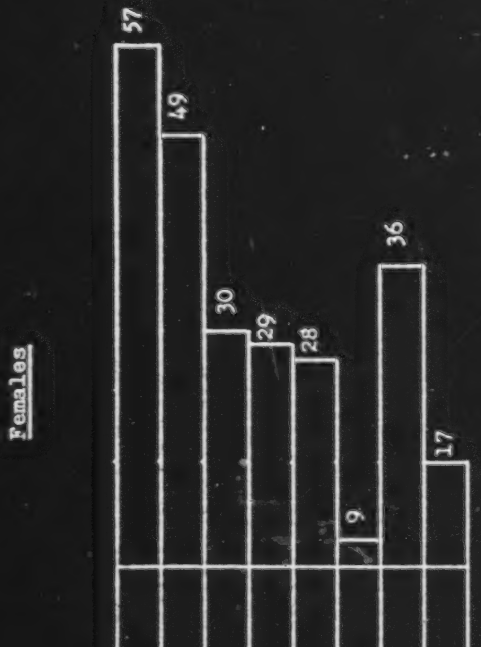


241 Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in 190
654 part stems from government-defined privileges and duties
288 regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed
477 industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides and
464 thus is protected from competition, has provided work
166 for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger
[434] members of croft families live in cities on the mainland,
and send part of their wages home; they return regularly
• [162] to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus the
[632] township supplies urban workers who remain very much
attached to the rural townships, which are composed of
aged family members and a rural proletariat. The standard
511 of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated
654 savings, although much of this surplus is used by the men
273 for alcoholic drinks.

121 In Britain, rural communities have been interpreted as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf. Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall presented "an operational theory of role" by which he suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analyzed and compared. He developed the concept "density of role texture" to describe societies which lie along a continuum from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southall's concept along with other concepts to present a more complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "models" of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially lists

HISTORY

*175 The crofters were in a state of revolt against the accumulation
423 of trends and events which now stood like a high dam against their
668 progress to a higher level of acceptance in the social scene. They
429 stood in open conflict with local and national authority. Unhappy scenes were enacted, many being in complete variance with the natural temperament of the Highlander. Lewis crofters were not far behind with their contribution to the agitation for land reform, though they had perhaps suffered less direct action from landowners than had crofters in the Highlands and southern Islands. But their living conditions had deteriorated. And an inhumanly-efficient factor made for deep unrest.

*175 Land agitation began in Lewis in 1881, and large numbers of
657 Lewis crofters gave evidence before the Napier Commission. This
423 Commission was the result of agitation for an enquiry into crofting conditions in the Highlands. Its setting up relieved a situation
429 of acute tension, though it neither extinguished political agitation
[668] nor mitigated the disaffection felt in the more disturbed districts. Under Lord Napier's direction a mass of information was collected. The official findings of the Commission were almost identical with political declarations in the country, but did not altogether coincide with the requirements of the crofters and their spokesmen. The resultant Crofters' Act of 1886 fixed the crofting system into that rigid trance in which agricultural innovation, opportunity for improvement, the social progress of crofting communities are largely lacking. It did give all crofters permanency of tenure, where they had none before, fair rents for the land they had and compensation for improvements. But the old demand for new smallholdings and settlements persisted with greater insistence and further pressure on high political circles.

In 1888, members of the new Crofters Commission visited
[935] Lewis and found that poverty was so general in the island that
[946] among 607 crofters for whom fair rents were fixed, there were scarcely a dozen who had not been recipients of 'destitution' meal or some other form of relief. The population was too much for the
161 land to support it under the distribution system prevailing. The
• 162 number of persons per family in 1871 was on average 5·358, as
*175 compared with 4·232 on the mainland of Ross and Cromarty, the county of which Lewis formed a part. Thirty years later, in

LAND USE AND CROFTING

1901, the average was only 5·086, the county average being 3·983. 161
The population was still to reach its peak in Lewis, some 30,000, 162 •
in 1911. Emigration was at a fairly high rate, some 2,000 every 175*
decade, but this was no relief with births between 8,000 and [167]
9,000 during the same period. In 1894 it was estimated that the number of cottars (or squatters) as distinct from crofters was in the region of 1,000. These people, mostly relatives of crofters, constituted a serious incubus on every crofting township.

Elsewhere in the Highlands, the enlargement of crofting hold- 175*
ings relieved the land-hunger situation. It was not possible for 423
the same to be done in Lewis, and Harris possessed even less 241
useful land to share out. Many applications were made by crofters either for an increase in their own holdings or an increase in the acreage of common grazings held by each township. Though some 500 acres were in fact handed over by the estate management for crofting purposes, there was a steady refusal to diminish the acreage of farms.

The Congested Districts Board was appointed in 1897, super- 175*
vising public works to relieve the people of a certain amount of 657
their ills. It carried on until 1912, when it passed into the newly- 656
formed Board of Agriculture. The Congested Districts Board 423
could have achieved much more than it did. It scraped away 429
only a little of the vast problem. The next major landmark in the 241
history of crofting legislation was the Small Landholders (Scot- [663]
land) Act of 1911. It extended certain provisions introduced for the crofter in 1886, and further increased the class of tenants who benefited by bringing in the tenants of holdings rented at not more than £50 (£30 in Lewis) or not exceeding 50 acres (30 acres in Lewis). The 1911 Act also brought into existence the Scottish Land Court in place of the Crofters Commission. In Lewis, however, the hunger for more land went on unabated and reached a not insignificant peak during the later years of Lord Leverhulme's regime.

A new Crofters Commission was set up in 1955, following on the report of a Commission of Enquiry under the chairmanship of the then Principal T. M. Taylor of Aberdeen University. Fresh provision for the reorganisation, development and regulation of the crofting system in the seven crofting counties of Scotland

EDUCATION

houses prior to 1854. Monthly returns of attendance were sent 175*
to my office, and parents who did not keep their children at school 871
were dealt with, but in many cases to no avail, as they often told [829]
me they did not want to give their children wings to leave them.'

In 1833 there were thirteen schools in the parish of Stornoway, [212]
according to the *New Statistical Account*, 1840-46, which records that there were 586 children between the ages of six and fifteen years, and 1,265 persons above the age of fifteen in the parish who could not read. Barvas had three schools in 1836; Uig had five in 1833. In Lochs, in 1833 a parish school had just been erected, and four schools were maintained by the Gaelic School Society; yet out of a parish population of 3,067, only 12 could write. After the Disruption of 1843, the Free Church established a large number of schools throughout the island. And soon after Sir James Matheson took over the island he built schools in those districts not catered for by other agencies.

In 1865, the Government began to prepare for the Education Act of 1872, and sent Sheriff-Substitute Nicolson to the island to investigate the state of education there. At the time of his visit there were forty-seven schools, supported by as many as nine different agencies, persons, or institutions. The number of pupils [162] •
on the rolls was 3,332, with 2,647 in actual attendance. Nicolson computed that there were some 2,500 children on the island who did not normally attend school, and who should have done. A [346]
large number of schools were little more than thatched houses. Fifteen were good; fourteen tolerable; and eighteen bad or inadequate. In the third group he classes 'those that cannot by any standard of comfort or fitness above that of troglodyte, be considered suitable for having the work of education carried on in them, or any work indeed, to which the prevalence of smoke and moisture are infavourable.' Of the children who attended these schools, 79 per cent received tuition in the Scriptures; 85 per cent were taught to read; 39 per cent were taught writing; 32 per cent were taught arithmetic; and 16 per cent taught needlework.

The Education Act of 1872 put an end to the old parochial 175*
system, and virtually to other agencies which it found at work. 871
The schools on the island were brought into line with the re- 656

RELIGION

Lewis, there were but two ministers in 1626, their parishes being 175*
Barvas (which included Uig) and Eye, which included Lochs; the 795
population of the island at the time was about 4,000. When Pres- [793]
byterianism was re-established in Scotland in 1640, the Lewis [162] •
ministers found no trouble in conforming, as did their fellow parishioners. Sectarian feeling in the island during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not so much between Presbyterians and Episcopalians as between Romanists and Protestants.

In the year 1738, nine Episcopalian Lewismen signed a letter [793]
to the Bishop of the Isles, asking for an annual visit from a pastor, being unable to support a full-time minister. Almost a century 175*
later in 1839, the foundation stone of St Peter's in Stornoway was 346
laid: this is the town's Episcopal Church. The other building on the island which belongs to the Episcopalians is the ancient church at Eoropie, dating back to the tenth century and perhaps the oldest still in use in the Hebrides; services are held there occasionally, though there is no local Episcopalian congregation. One of 175*
the most significant events which echoed right through to the 795
island was the Disruption which took place in Edinburgh in 1843. The result was a 'church spectrum' in Scotland which is still mirrored on a smaller scale in the island: the Church of Scotland, the Free Presbyterian Church, the United Free Church, and the Free Church. The Roman Catholic Church is also represented.

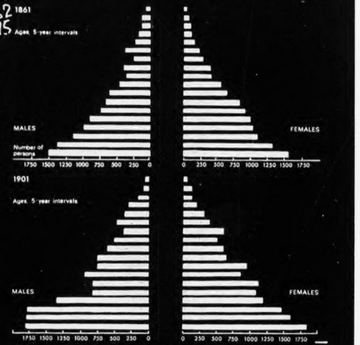
Lewis has one of the largest Free Church congregations in the 794
country. This denomination is particularly known for its out- 795
spoken pronouncements from time to time on questions of the day. It is Calvinistic in doctrine and has a reputation for holding the 'Calvinistic outlook' in the more general and pejorative sense; though its strictness may sometimes be over-painted, it is much less liberal in its moral standpoint than is the Church of Scotland, if less austere in some respects than the Free Presbyterians. Its doctrinal position is that of unrelaxed adherence to the West- 779
minster Confession, its ministers and other office-bearers affirming their belief 'in the whole doctrine of the Confession'. It is opposed to theological liberalism and accepts the inerrancy and infallibility of the Scriptures. Only the Psalter is used in public worship, and instrumental music is dispensed with; strong

THE PEOPLE

733 people; Lewis can be taken as representative of the Hebrides and
734 the Highlands in general. The incidence of involutional melan-
158 cholia, occurring mainly in middle life, is high, and, to quote one expert, 'It would seem profitable to consider the states of fear and distress with which it has been associated.'

731 Those in Harris and Lewis aged fifty or over have their recol-
165 lections charged with little else than disaster. Not only did the island lose an abnormally high percentage of its young men in

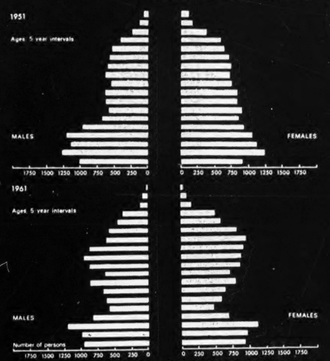
• 162 1861
*175



The age structure of the Lewis population in 1861 and 1901, showing the trend toward ageing as the younger elements emigrate (age scale 5-90 years reading from base)

HEALTH AND HOUSING

162 •
175 *



The age structure of the Lewis population in 1951 and 1961. The trend shown over the forty years 1861-1901 has strengthened and consolidated, so that the 1981 population is middle-aged

the 1914 war, but some 200 of those who survived the holocaust 731
were lost in the wreck of the *Iolaire* on New Year's morning, 1919 165
—the first morning of the first new year of peace, literally within
sight of home. Again, the effect of emigration was a loss, in many 167
small communities, of a full generation. Where religion is strong 771
and thrice-distilled, there tends also to prevail a state of mind 783
which dwells on guilt and, where people are accustomed to ex- 157

STORNOWAY

*105 The previous building was only an idea in 1897; it took
632 shape when Dr Andrew Carnegie offered to contribute £1,000
217 towards the construction of a library, provided the town adopted the Public Libraries Act. This was done, and the Council decided to incorporate the library into a larger structure, erected at a cost of £11,000 and opened in September 1905 by Lord Roseberry. Carnegie increased his contribution to £3,500, with other large donations from public-spirited industrialists of the time (eg Coats of Paisley, who also financed school libraries in the island).

*105 Being a seaport, the sea has been basic to the town's livelihood.
632 In the eighteenth century trade flourished between Stornoway
564 and the Baltic, Scandinavia, Holland, France and the north of
439 Ireland; and in the first half of the nineteenth century, fish was exported as far away as ports on the Mediterranean. The advent
*105 of steam killed the Stornoway sailing craft. At one time in its
396 history, the shipyard (at Matheson's Patent Slip, now the site of
632 the textile mill) turned out many fine vessels. The scent of tar and pitch, the crunch of a busy grindstone, the shaping of a ship's timbers, the steaming of her planks, the driving of pins and bolts, the music of mallet and caulking-iron, the buzz from the saw-pits and the riggers aloft, all gave the town a sense of at-one-ness with the waters in the bay. Then there were the schooners, brigs and barques of foreigners who put in for repairs or for merchandise. It was a time of glory that has now gone as surely as the sail has disappeared from the high seas. Ship-masters, ship-owners and
• [162 sailors all added colour and variety in the streets as they mingled with the local population—which numbered 1,000 in 1801. Stornoway captains were world-known for their skippering: MacLeods, MacIvers, MacKenzies, Ryries, MacLeans, Morisons, Allans. These were the names that were once reeled off to be paired with the famous ships of the day: *Sir Launcelot, D. L. MacKenzie*, and *Assaye*.

*105 While large numbers of its sons were sailing the high seas, many
504 in ships of Stornoway origin, the town began to take on the first
632 look of a port, with piers. On 9 August 1864, Sir James Matheson subscribed the instrument which took the Stornoway Harbour Commission into being. The following year, on 29 June 1865, the
[503] Commission was incorporated by Act of Parliament. Matheson had shown a great interest in the development of the existing

STORNOWAY

366 going concern to a trust which was set up to receive the gift and
632 whose first object is to assist aged and infirm residents in the
747 burgh. In effect, all profits earned by the shop are passed to the
429 trust for distribution to those in need.

Almost half the houses in Stornoway were built by the local
362 authority. The Town Council has never been afraid of rooting
632 out unfit houses. By 1937, under the 1930 Slum Clearance Act,
* [195 one person in four in the town lived in a council house. The housing schemes, though large, have still that element of community with personality, something often lacking in newly developed
362 areas of other towns and cities. The Council also supports private
427 housing by taking up sites, clearing and servicing them and then
632 feuing them to private owners. The rents policy is to have no housing deficit beyond the statutory rate contribution (which works out at between £6,000 and £7,000 per annum). The Council's tenants co-operate with rent collection to a unique degree: collection figures are something like 99 per cent and on occasion 100
362 per cent. A vigorous housing policy is important to the town, as
178 its population is now over 5,300 and still growing, mainly at the
• 179 expense of the rural areas. Development plans at present envisage
16 a 1981 population of about 9,100 persons within the parish
632 boundary and including the burgh.

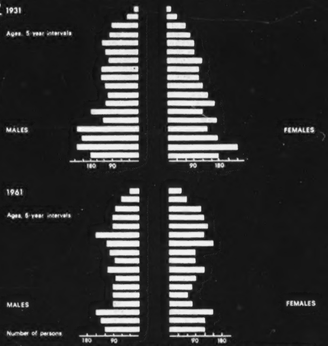
632 Stornoway is an island town and is an island's town:
369 its rhythms of life are those of the island, regular and timed by nature, but with an added syncopation—the result of an urban
632 outlook. In this context, Gaelic is the language, though English is
147 the lingua franca. Deeper still in the methods used for communication is a kind of patois based on Gaelicised English, Anglicised Gaelic, with some other words that defy investigation into their origin. Many words find their natural forebears in Scots, American and the maritime tongues of Europe, which might be expected in view of Stornoway's importance as a sea-port of significance a century or two ago. The Stornoway language, as spoken by true-born natives, recognisable anywhere by another native, reflects the life of the cosmopolitan, sea-faring people.

632 Apart from its industrial opportunities, Stornoway has many
871 of the more sophisticated urban facilities that people everywhere
[369] seem to crave, particularly with regard to education. The senior

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

423 acreage of regulated common grazings amounts to 65,000 acres.
241 The working units (as distinct from crofts) in Harris are classified according to the arable acreage; the majority have up to 10 acres arable land. Less than 250 acres of land have been improved.

• 162 1931



The age stucture of the Harris population in 1931 and 1961, showing the decline in numbers and rise in age

631 There are four districts in Harris: North Harris, with its islands; the Bays of Harris on the east coast; the Leverburgh area, with the islands of the Sound of Harris; and the west coast.
[133] North Harris is mountainous country, dominated by the Clisham

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

(2,620 ft); grouped around this are the lesser peaks staping stark 631
and treeless to the skies. At the feet of these hills are the small 133
villages straggled along the shores of West Loch Tarbert. Much of this area is owned by the proprietors of Amhuinnsuidh Castle, a magnificent structure built by the Earth of Dunmore in the last century; the hills lying north of it are rich in red deer. The road [491]
past the castle trundles on until it peters out at the far-east village of Hushinish, beside a glorious scimitar-like curve of silver sand. Beyond Hushinish is the Island of Scarp.

The road along the shores of East Loch Tarbert ends at the 631
village of Kyles Scalpay which overlooks Scalpay island. The [491]
Bays of Harris hold in their crevices the scattered groups of houses 366
here and there, where an inlet of the rocky coast affords some 133
anchorage and where a patch of ground is suitable for cultivation. Tortuous, winding footpaths have been gradually replaced by [480]
narrow roads connecting the townships. Lack of sufficient re- [161]
munerative employment has led to considerable depopulation. [162]
Fifty years ago the population of the area was just over 3,400; it is now about 2,900.

The south of Harris is better known for its association with Lord Leverhulme. Obbe, later Leverburgh, became the centre of his schemes. He built a large pier, huge kippering sheds, houses for the workers, roads and lighthouses, and blasted away underwater rocks which hindered free navigation. The bulk of this work was complete in 1924, but when he died (in 1925) his successors, in the cold light of economics, decided to close down the embryo industry and realise its assets. The harbour works had cost £250,000; they were sold for £5,000 to a demolition company. Leverhulme's memorials are still to be seen. The west coast of Harris is now becoming known for the long stretches of shell sand and the green machar-land beside it, a true delight for the tourist seeking isolation.

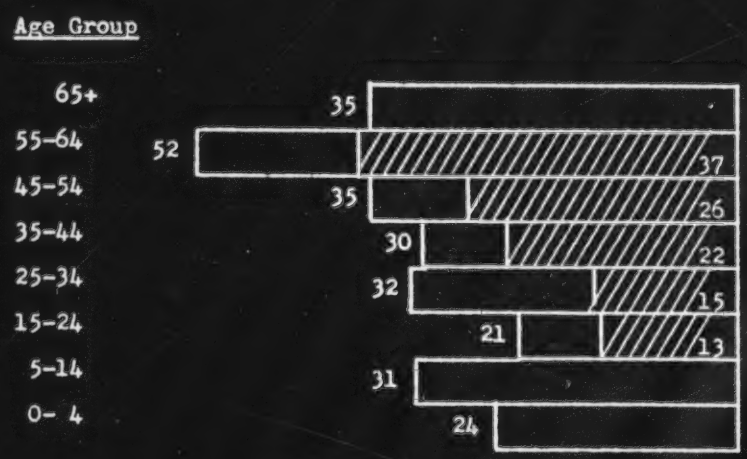
Tarbert is the central village in Harris, with a population of 631
about 400. It is a thriving community, nestling at the foot of 621
Beinn an Teanga and at the head of the sheltered anchorage of East Loch Tarbert—sheltered from the prevailing south-westerly winds and from the Atlantic storms. The car ferries give direct [505]
contact with the Scottish mainland, via Skye, and Tarbert also

288
286
462
•162

Table V

Shawbost:

Proportion of Male Weavers



634
[131] The Outer Hebrid
hundred miles long wh
Scottish mainland, ar
and "Inverness," two
of Scotland (see Map
[103] (Argyll, Inverness, F
Caithness, Orkney and
beautiful but agricul
referred to as the Hi
101 The word "Highland" a
197 life such as crofting
and Gaelic-speaking w
communities in both t
as in cities such as
Highlands and Islands
Gaelic speaker whose
settled in Glasgow ma
The first four crofti
large percentage of
•[162] census of 1961, 82.3%
Outer Hebrides were

131 Lewis and Harris
133 sometimes referred to
mountainous southern
markedly from the fla
is the northernmos
(see Map B).

es, a chain of islands over a
ich lie to the northwest of the
e part of "Ross and Cromarty"
of the seven crofting counties
A). The seven crofting counties
oss and Cromarty, Sutherland,
Shetland) constitute the scenically
turally marginal land often
ghlands and Islands of Scotland.
lso refers to features of social
tenure, strong community feeling
hich are characteristic of many
he Highlands and Islands as well
Glasgow in which persons from the
have settled. For example, a
parents came from the Islands and
y be called a "Glasgow Highlander."
ng counties listed above have a
aelic speakers. In the national
of the 32,607 inhabitants of the
aelic speakers.
, a single body of land which is
as two islands because the
section called Harris differs
t, northern moorland of Lewis,
t island in the Outer Hebrides

000 is the northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides (see
161 Map B). The population is concentrated along the
162 coast, like a hat-brim around the great inner core
361 of the island's heather-covered bogland, a population
belt classified as "dense rural" (50-400 persons per
[226] square mile) in a map based on the 1951 census. The
pattern of land settlement reflects the importance of
fishing in the economy of the island.

131 Lewis lies between 6°10' and 7°20' west longitude,
and between 47°50' and 58°30' north latitude. Lewis
131 is as far north as Newfoundland and farther north than
132 Mongolia, but the temperature is mild because of the
North Atlantic Drift, or Gulf Stream, which passes the
132 west coast of Scotland. The temperature averages 55°F.
in summer, and 44°F. in January. A constant climatic
feature of life on the treeless island is the wind, a
relentless, insidious presence which often reaches gale
force. Winds of 60 m.p.h. and more are common.

Rain, which comes in downpours or light mist,
[133] averages 55 to 65 inches per year. The water may be
held in colloidal suspension with decomposed organic
matter in the compact, spongy material called peat, or
pour as rivers and streams off the island's shelf of
131 non-porous Archaean gneiss into the sea. Of Lewis'
133 total area of 437,200 acres, inland water comprises
24,863 acres.

000 24,863 acres. The value of this boggy property, as
423 far as the landlords are concerned, is determined by
427 its fishing potential. The landlords generally reside
226 away from their property, and brave the buffeting gales
several times a year to return to fish for trout and
[463] salmon. For the rest of the year they hire river-
[685] watchers to prevent their tenants from poaching. As
[71] in Wales (Emmett 1964), the islanders continue to poach,
in part as an expression of their identity as independent countrymen, a minority group in a nation-state.

161 Lewis is the most populated area in the Outer
162 Hebrides, containing 21,934 of the 32,607 Outer Hebrideans
634 numbered in the 1961 census. It is part of the County
of Ross and Cromarty, whose headquarters are on the
632 mainland near Inverness. Lewis has four administrative
areas called civil parishes in which births, deaths
and other vital statistics are recorded. Stornoway
[197] parish is the largest, containing the town of Stornoway
on the east side of the island in which many non-Gaelic
speakers live. Of the other three parishes, the largest
[162] is Barvas which stretches along the west side of the
[197] island and contains 4,331 persons, of whom 94.6% are
Gaelic speakers. The people of Stornoway refer to someone
[186] from the west side as a siarach (west-sider), a term
which connotes rusticity.

288 finished lengths of tweed. For a tweed to be classified
463 as "Harris Tweed," it must be hand-woven by Outer
[424] Hebrideans in their own homes, but the weavers are
288 essentially employees of the mill. All the large Harris
Tweed mills in Lewis, except the one in Shawbost, are
located in Stornoway. A few smaller businesses, which
design and market tweeds but have no elaborate machinery
to process the tweed further, are scattered throughout
the island.

621 The village of Shawbost is composed of 169 household
162 of which 110 are headed by "crofters," persons recognized
[427] as legal tenants of a croft. Of the remaining 59
[361] households, 16 rent houses which were built and are
maintained by the County (called "council houses"),
11 have erected houses on the crofts of relatives, and
463 32 have built homes on the common grazing lands. Non-
241 crofters participate in the agricultural activities of
the township. It would not be unusual, for example, for
a non-crofter to serve as the clerk of a grazings commi

342 In North Shawbost, one croft house and two non-
[166] croft houses are used only when the owner returns to
Shawbost from the mainland for a holiday. The school-
[875] master lives in a house adjoining the school, and the
[993] minister in a manse located between Shawbost and the
neighboring village of Bragar.

286 288 463 868 593 829 [461]

Despite these aids and incentives, parents do not encourage their children to weave. The weavers themselves describe the job as dull, offering no security and no possibilities for advancement.

Referring to her young son, a mother says, "By the time he's old enough to weave, the tweeds will have failed." Another mother says, "I want him to learn some trade, if he's intelligent enough. I don't want him to stay here. The tweed is so uncertain." "There's no future in it," says the father of another young boy, "I definitely wouldn't want him to be a weaver. It would be good if he went in for engineering."

463 464 286

The histories of the weavers reveal many examples of shifting occupations. Weaving often alternates with work in the local mill, which is also relatively unspecialized. The Shawbost mill must tolerate this unstable labor force, as labor is difficult to find.

[166] [593]

Eldest sons tend to leave the island for more stable, permanent jobs, leaving the croft and the loom to their younger siblings. Table V[1] shows the number of male weavers in each age group.

288 464 162 166

The fact that Shawbost has the same age structure as the rest of rural Lewis (see Table II)[2] and less unemployment signifies that weaving has not served as an adequate incentive to keep young people on the island.

1. [See p. xi--Analyst]
2. [See p.xiii--Analyst]

288 464 162 166

Rather, the industry has provided jobs for those who, for one reason or another, would have stayed anyway.

Of the weavers between the ages of 15 and 24, eight are only sons or sons who had to begin work becaus their fathers became ill or died; two others live at home only temporarily and plan to work elsewhere. Of those of ages 25 to 34, two men live at home because they are disabled; one has returned from the Merchant Service for awhile; two are only sons who are encourage to remain at home, and several are youngest sons or sons whose parents have strongly discouraged them from leaving home. Of the 35-44 age group, four have remaine on the island because of various ailments such as tuberculosis and mental health problems; one had to leave the Merchant Service because of an injury; at least five have stayed or returned because of family ties, the demands of aging parents and sick siblings. In the 45-54 age category, a number of men served in the navy or other branches of the armed forces during World War II, and returned from shipwrecks and other disastrous events to the relative security of the loom.

288 464 167 162

Many of the older weavers (at least nine in the 55-64 age category) started weaving after they had returned from the United States or Canada because of the depression. Some recall the horror of wandering

288 through alleys to rummage through the trash cans of
464 hospitals or other large institutions for food. The
167 occupational histories of the weavers support the
162 generalization made by an official of the Harris Tweed Association that the younger weavers leave because they do not like the weaving and they are replaced mainly by older men who want to settle down after a life at sea. (See Appendix A for several life histories of weavers.)

E. Crofting as Strategy

241 Because of the relatively high income provided by
288 the Harris Tweed industry, those who remain within the
434 township have tended to emphasize weaving and neglect the croft.

592 ### 1. Croft as Place of Residence vs. Agricultural Unit

Most of the 169 households consist of married couples wit
[582] their unmarried children. A tendency to marry rather late in life and for children not to marry while their parents are still living is evident in Table VI[1] (Partial List of Households According to Type of Household and Age of Household Head).

Fourteen households of married couples and their children (not included in Table VI) include at least one

1, [This source as received did not contain this table--Analyst]

The
105 fact that crofting townships are located on marginal
241 land is one reason that the larger society is not moti
654 to exploit the land. The Crofters Holding Act of 1886
[311] and subsequent legislation ensured protection of and
[671] incentives for continued maintenance of crofting and the crofting township.

Protective government legislation, grants and lo for housing, subsidies for rearing livestock, relativ low taxes, and the economic protection provided by a socialistic government in times of crisis have helped maintain a core of crofting families for many generat
105 The predominance of older persons in the township is
162 striking, but many of the younger people who have lef
632 the island to work on the mainland return frequently,
166 contribute part of their salary to the remaining fami
434 members, and plan eventually to marry and settle down
584 the village or to retire there. Long-term residence
[621] kin-linked families in a small area has in itself con to the boundedness of the township network.

105 The policy of the government, through developmen
241 agencies such as the Highlands and Islands Developmen
654 Board, has been to support economic strategies that
632 complement, rather than interfere with the functioning the crofting township with its small holdings and com
000 practices. The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which is about half a mile across at its narrowest, coursed by strong tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter, rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides; the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser population at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was severely limited by the minute amount of land available for tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict the range and quality of crops grown.

Scarp was originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access to good pasturage on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1823 thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Resort, Harris, and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate their families and friends from elsewhere. In 1861 the population was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951 it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat, plying between two stone-built jetties.

The local economy was essentially a subsistence one, with self-sufficiency in such products as potatoes, turnips, cabbages, oats, milk and fish. After a break of some years lobster-fishing has recently been reinstated as an occupation. Oil lamps are the only lighting, though a few houses have piped water. The small shop

A HARRIS VIGNET

vision of adequate education
increasingly difficult.

In its time Scarp has contr
to the professions than has a

The last of the native Sc
November 1971: two familie
has now attracted the atten

Scalpay

Scalpay Island, on the eas
pied by two or three tacksme
out'. About 1843 the Harris f
who managed to make a fa
another twenty families were
the island of Pabbay in the So
division of the available land
the figure rose to a peak of 6
to 541. It is now in the regi

Island Scalpay is in fact on
and Islands area in which th
mote regions are operating in
ness—it is a mere 3 miles lo
thriving and dynamic commu
Scalpay is retaining its young
homes in the Hebrides. From
not greatly different from oth
crofts produce a good crop o
land are re-seeded.

The land being as poor as i
their faces to the sea—for a
has the largest number of full
three boats, twelve of which
enterprise is also shown in
carry freight and passengers
occasion to the Continent. A
the island in 1966 to work fo

TE

al facilities in remote spots becomes

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ny other community of similar size.
arp population left the island in
es totalling seven people. The island
tions of a hippie community.

t side of Harris, was formerly occu-
n in succession before being 'crofted
actor settled twenty crofting families
ir living there, but five years later
added; some had been evicted from
ound of Harris. This led to some sub-
. The 1861 population was 388, but
24 in 1921; in 1951 it had declined
on of 450.
e of the few places in the Highlands
e normal trends associated with re-
reverse. The island despite its small-
ng and 1½ miles across—supports a
nity and is the envy of its neighbours.
folk; and it boasts some of the finest
the agricultural point of view it is
er islands in the Hebrides. Its forty
f oats; but less than 20 acres of the

t is, the men of Scalpay have turned
living, not for emigration. Scalpay
-time fishermen and a total of thirty-
are ringnetters of over 40 ft. Native
the ship-owning firm whose vessels
to many parts of Scotland and on
Harbour Association was formed on
r local amenities for fishermen and

SCALPAY

the community generally—in particular for a landing stage in the North Harbour. The lighthouse at Eilean Glas, Scalpay, was in fact erected as long ago as 1788; for a long time it was the only lighthouse in the Western Isles. In 1792 it was described as 'one of great utility to the numerous shipping that frequent this channel [between Skye and the Long Island] on their voyages to and from the Baltic'. 505 [441] [502]

The independence of the islanders again appears in their attitude to the education facilities provided for their children. In 1949 Scalpay parents staged a school strike in protest against the delay in the construction of a road to the school. At present the island has a junior secondary school but in 1966 the Inverness-shire County Council Education Committee proposed the transfer of the island pupils to the school at Tarbert; this would mean each child rising early in the morning to face a trip across Scalpay Sound and then a road journey to Tarbert. The inevitable protests against this proposal were rooted in its deeper implications. The school roll on Scalpay (70 pupils) has maintained a remarkable level of continuity over the years, reflecting the general prosperity of the island. Forced attendance at a central educational facility, the islanders maintain, will introduce an unsettling urban element into their children's adult views. 181 871

The smaller islands

To the west of Scalpay, in East Loch Tarbert, is the one-square-mile island of Scotosay. Its population was 14 in 1861, none in 1881, 18 in 1891, 15 in 1901, and 20 in 1911. In 1921 7 males and 12 females lived there, but none permanently since. 361 162• 175* [131]

On the west of the Harris mainland is a high rocky island, four miles by one, called Taransay. In 1549 Dean Monro described it as being 'well inhabit and manurit', a place where people delved with spades, and with good barley and corn, and fishing. There are two old chapels and a burying ground on the island. The population of Taransay has declined to a handful through the years; its peak was 76 in 1911.

The Sound of Harris is 'a chaos of rocks and islands', so numerous that they cannot easily be counted. Some are mere pinpoints of rock; others once supported small populations. Nearest to the

SULASGEIR

Dean Monro, in his 1549 account, refers to the vast numbers 175* of wild fowl and mentions that the men of Ness sail there and 223 stay for seven or eight days with a boat full of dried wild fowl and feathers. The *Old Statistical Account* (1796) says: 'There is in Ness a most adventurous set of people who, for a few years back, at the hazard of their lives, went there in an open six-oared boat without even the aid of a compass.' The boat, says the *Account*, could not be pulled up out of the sea, and therefore, while some of the men worked on the birds, the others had to stay in the boat on the most sheltered side of the sheer-cliffed island. This custom of hunting young gannets for 'guga' on Sula- [185] geir still continues. Under the Protection of Wild Birds Act, 1954, [261] the gannet is protected by law, but so that the Ness men could continue their old custom, a Statutory Order was passed making a special exemption (from 31 August each year at the end of the close season) of the gannets on Sulasgeir. With North Rona, [136] Sulasgeir is one of the great breeding grounds for British oceanic seabirds.

The Loch Roag islands

The one large inhabited island off the Lewis coast is Great 361 Bernera, though technically it is not now an island, having been 162* connected to the mainland of Lewis in 1953 by a bridge. It is part 175 of the parish of Uig, as are the other islands in Loch Roag. Its [131] population reached a peak of 730 in 1911, but has now fallen [231] to about half that figure. Off the west of Great Bernera is Little Bernera, which in Dean Monro's time was 'inhabit and manurit', but which has had no population recorded since the 1861 Census. Monro describes it as full of rough little craigs, but with fertile earth between.

Also in Loch Roag are three islands which, now deserted, once supported families: Pabbay had 17 people in 1861, 9 in 1881, and none since; Vacsay had nine men in 1861, and none since; Orasay in 1891 had one man and one woman, but none since.

The Flannans

Belonging again to the parish of Uig is the group of islands 131 known as the Flannans, or Seven Hunters, some twenty miles

THE SHIANT ISLES

361 Island) and Eilean Mhuire (Mary's Island). The Shiants are the 131 eroded relic of the same age of volcanic activity that formed the 162* strange-looking columns of Staffa and of the Giant's Causeway 175* in Antrim. The mass of cooling molten rock flowy crystallized [133] and changed in composition: the early-formed crystals sank to the bottom, the later ones being found nearer the top. In 1865 one 361 family lived on Garbh Eilean, the largest, which is joined to 162* Eilean an Tigh by a low storm beach; but the family was lost, 175* falling over one of the great precipices which are a feature of the group. In 1821, 2 males and 4 females lived there; in 1891, 3 males and 5 females; and in 1901, 4 males and 4 females. But in this year the last family upped sticks and left for Tarbert, Harris; for one of its members, a girl of 21, it was the first visit to the outside world. Since then there has been no permanent population. Back [511] between 1811 and 1821 a visitor to the Shiants had some hard things to say about the filth and darkness of the shepherd's dwelling in comparison with civilized manners, and as the demand for the island's products declined, communications became more important: to support the family a man had to leave to find work on the Scottish mainland. Large-scale emigration began in 1852 when thirty-six islanders (with State aid) left for Australia. Island life was punctuated by loss of life; boating disasters and cliff-falls in particular deprived the community of the vital male elements needed for survival. Tetanus infantus, known on St Kilda as the 'eight-days' sickness' strangled every third or fourth babies born; this disease ravaged the island for almost a century and again struck harder at the male sex. About 1810 the population was about 200, a definite overcrowding. By 1861 it had fallen to 78; in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 73. A decade later it was nil.

[178] [468] [167]

Records show that at one time in the islands' history some sixteen people lived there, working small crofts. The ruins of their chapel can still be seen. The author Sir Compton MacKenzie had the house on Eilean an Tigh renovated for a stay there, and later the islands were bought by Nigel Nicholson, author and publisher. Today they are used for grazing sheep.

St Kilda

The St Kilda group of islands, some 45 miles off the west coast 131 of Lewis, belong to the parish of Harris. These islands have an 231 extensive literature and can only be touched on here. When the population was evacuated from St Kilda in 1930, the move broke for all time almost 2,000 years of continuous island living; they were taken off at their own request, after much careful and serious deliberation by the St Kilda 'parliament'. Life in Hirta, the only island in the group with a permanent human settlement, depended on the seabirds that breed in their tens of thousands on the cliffs of Hirta and Boreray, and the great stacks of Stac an Armin and Stac Lee. The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars

THE OTHER ISLANDS

The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars

361 was the staple diet of the St Kildans; the oil and feathers were 162 the vital exports that paid the island rent to MacLeod of Harris, 175 the owner of the group. These exports also helped to pay for the [133] purchase of such foodstuffs as salt, sugar and tea, and other items [421] which the island could not itself supply. The St Kildans owned 361 some hundreds of sheep, the wool being spun and woven into 162 tweed, and a few cattle were also kept. But the seabirds were the 175* foundation of the island economy.

The factor which led ultimately to the desertion of the island group was isolation. The community there was throughout its history undoubtedly the most isolated in the British Isles, though until the present century this material fact left to the St Kildans [236] All that was deemed necessary for the continuation of the community was that, once a year, MacLeod of Harris should send his factor over from Skye to collect the island goods that were to be sold, and to bring with him those provisions which would see them through another twelvemonth. Later, as the demand for the island's products declined, communications became more important: to support the family a man had to leave to find work on the Scottish mainland. Large-scale emigration began in 1852 when thirty-six islanders (with State aid) left for Australia. Island life was punctuated by loss of life; boating disasters and cliff-falls in particular deprived the community of the vital male elements needed for survival. Tetanus infantus, known on St Kilda as the 'eight-days' sickness' strangled every third or fourth babies born; this disease ravaged the island for almost a century and again struck harder at the male sex. About 1810 the population was about 200, a definite overcrowding. By 1861 it had fallen to 78; in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 73. A decade later it was nil.

[438]

484 Desolation tended to make the St Kildans a human menagerie. 361 With the improvement in boat services, St Kilda became a 'must' 175* on tourist itineraries. The tourist trade took on an economic importance for the population after July 1877, when the *Dunera Castle* steamed north and went for a voyage to the 'romantic Western Isles and lone St Kilda'. The steamers continued to call throughout the three summer months annually for sixty years, their passengers eager to buy souvenirs: tweed, quern stones, spinning wheels, stuffed birds and eggs; indeed, anything to remind them,

THE OTHER ISLANDS

195 even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of 18 the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil. [826] Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naively at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started, [276] HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship [138] among the St Kildans, and an official report of England & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island con- [262] sisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from [272] March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond [349] of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had fine roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the [372] Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and [405] there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were 162 some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only 162 two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose [210] from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoe- [463] makers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all [244] their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses, [286] and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in [460] which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each [421] croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

[137] Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the [136] island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers; [237] and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

133 line; and there can be no doubt of the contrast found at 131 the extremes. How strikingly different from any view over the English Plain is this, from the air or a mountain-top! It overlooks the ice-scraped rock of the fells; the drift-heaped, ill-drained hollows studded with gleaming lochs and deeply overgrown with peat; and the indented, insular coastline with its widely spaced crofting townships looking seaward, where a few fishers' sails may dot the vast expanse of water. The population of Lewis 161 and-Harris numbered only 28,000 persons, and that of the 162 entire Outer Hebrides some 36,000; but the small num- 182 bers need not lessen the geographical significance of the community.

18 Men have long recognised the homogeneity of the English 'plain', with its recurring vale and wold, compact within a rounded coastline in spite of the local variety of landscape, history or dialect, which enriched its heritage and compose its grandeur and charm, men have sensed the unity inherent in this land of a single tongue, centred upon a single capital. By contrast, the diversities in landscape, life and tongues in the lands far-flung to north and west have obscured the elements of a profound, underlying unity in geographic origins and in historic and social 121 evolution. To understand the civilisation of the British Isles, it is vital first to perceive the complementary qualities found in the two great regions, and face their corresponding 198 weaknesses or limitations. Second, within the less understood of the two regions, 'the North and West', it is vital to study the almost bewildering variety in regional types of life—distinguishing, for instance, the uprooted populations all too typical of the rural Lowlands of Scotland or Northumberland from the still deep-rooted communities of the Highlands and Isles.

121 And region by region, a fairer balance must be struck 185 between country and town. In Lewis, the part of Storno- 241 way, with its population nearing 5000 (in 1951), is 162 important. Its port, its fisheries, its spinning mills for the 184 crofters' hand-loom weaving, its merchants' shops, and its 621 local, administrative and professional services, are essential 632 to the Island. Its economic and social evolution, too, are 178 interesting. Stornoway's plans for the future are active and ambitious, and these, it is realised, depend upon the 182 prosperity of the population of Lewis proper.

121 But the subject of this book is geographical rural. It is 128 see with fresh eyes that, from our Harris mountain-top, we viewed as a unit at the core of 'the North and West'. After the island has been described in terms of its physical and human geography (Part One), the endeavour (in Part Two) will be to give a complete account than may yet have been given of the natural environment of the rural workers as their temporal duties and its spiritual sanctions. The three concentric circles of community are described: the family, the farm team and boat's crew, and the larger township groups. The relations of this threefold grouping of livelihood and society to Chiefs and Church are studied, and followed out in later evolution, until today. Elsewhere I have endeavoured to show that rural life can worthily maintain itself, and thereby find a new freedom. The final chapter returns to the broader aspects of society and region touched on here.

If this intensive study of a single isle and community can throw fresh light upon certain essential characters of the less-understood region of the British Isles—that lying outside the south-eastern 'Plain'—it may help to contribute to more economic reorientation. The significance of the Island life—not so much for the past, which

174 the township; and to each were allotted the rights of the 776 common grazing and the fishing grounds. For more than 241 a century the croft has been held individually, though in 162 473 the townships the common grazing is still held in common. 621 Beyond these 'homely' limits lie wider horizons, in the 632 past those of seafaring and of droving or the chase, and 178 today of fishing and gilleing at home, or of ocean journeys, urban occupations or colonisation.

In the Lowland regions each symbol represents 100 182 acres of arable farmland, or 200 acres of farming; the particular type of symbol shows the average number of workers 184 employed on a farm-holding in each county. On each 241 farm the employed workers form what may be called the 'Labour-Team'. A team may be 'small', 'medium' or 'large'. The Scottish averages of these three types (indicated in the inset key to the map) are roughly three, five and seven workers; the average number of 'permanent' workers are counted as equivalent to one 'permanent' worker, but farmers' wives are excluded. Under (B), for the same Lowland counties and areas, full-time small-holdings are 543 shown separately. The Scottish average of less than one full-time worker employed, most often a son or daughter of the small-holder, is typical of all the counties.

241 As to the relative importance of the different classes of 241 farms and small-holdings in Scotland, true agricultural 162 land-holders number 68,000, of which fully one-third hold part-time holdings (like the Island crofters), one-third 'full-time farms', and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold 'full-time small-holdings'. The remainder accounts for other types of less importance. The farms predominate in terms of improved land, full-time employment, and of course of 311 production. As to area, farms cover 80 per cent of agri- 464 cultural land. The farmers employ nearly 90,000 workers, 162 [refer to map p. 16 ... analysis]

24 and with the addition of 10,000 workers on full-time small-
162 holdings, these constitute a labour force of nearly 100,000.
481 Nevertheless, there are more crofts than farms in Scotland,
and more small (part-time) crofters than farmers, besides
241 'full-time small-holders', of whom so many are crofters,
north of the Highland line. Thus the number of crofter
427 families forms an important item of Scotland's rural popu-
162 lation. Of these, the families of Lewis-and-Harris form
fully one-fifth, owing to the remarkable growth of popula-
tion until 1925. Even in the little burgh of Stornoway
many families hold a plot of land, and at heart they may
be almost as much 'crofters' as townsmen.

Socially, what is meant in the Island by the term
24 'crofters'? Although each Island crofter cultivates his
427 own arable holding (his croft), he shares the common
62 pastures with fellow-crofters, each having a right to a
'sum' of so much stock, 'his souming'. Open, sandy
land by the shore, if any, may also be shared. These
common grazings, shared together by the crofters of one
community—a hamlet, a village or township—form a social
link of great significance. They distinguish what we shall
call 'township crofting' from individual holding, whether
of part-time or full-time small-holdings, or of true farms.
The common grazings, enclosed by line C (Fig. 2), thus
[361] form an important social index. About 75 per cent of the
area included forms Common (or other Crofters') Grazings.
The close dots of the dotted line divide the 'Commons'
from Deer Forests, as in the Island and inland from the
north-western coasts. Widely spaced dots divide the
Commons from the Sheep Farms and other mixed holdings
further south.

24 Outside the tract of 'township crofting' in the north
361 and west, the chief unit of Scots rural life is the farm,

[see p. 16 -- analyst]

361 The chief advantage of moving uphill to the road has been
198 ease of communication and access to grocers' vans and mill-
311 spinners' lorries; but the disadvantage proves to be the
491 laying on of running water. A much-needed scheme for
water supply is now being applied by the Department of
[654] Health for Scotland. Scrutiny of a 'quarter-inch' map
will indicate the chief facts and tendencies and the condi-
tions they involve.

4. Distribution of Population

• 162 The distribution of rural population can be closely
311 estimated by inspection of a 'quarter-inch' map, where
both the area of cultivation and the house dots are noted.
Comparison with parish populations shows that on an
average one dot represents seven or eight houses or families
and thirty to thirty-five persons. Since there are now no
large farms, cultivation indicates crofting, and, therefore,
a typical density of one person to a little over half an acre,
or 1000–1200 per square mile. Rural numbers over the
whole Island show a density of about twenty-five persons
per square mile. If the fishing grounds, with a sail here
and there on the wide sea, were added, the density would
be lower still! A single dot found with cultivation indi-
cates crofts, which are hardly ever found singly. Where
no cultivation is shown around a single dot, this generally
indicates an isolated stalker's house, a shooting lodge by a
road, or a shieling (*áirigh*) out on the moor.

(B) STORNOWAY

1. Site, Plan and Development

361 The plan of Stornoway and its harbour shows three
stages in the growth of the town, the first two picked out

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

175 the eighteenth century these 'black houses' would be
342 replaced by houses of stone and lime, and a few of those
361 survive.

Of the fort built by Cromwell on the Point, no signs
192 remain. For tactical reasons, the best site would seem
194 to be the neck of the Point, from which the guns of the
712 fort could defend the houses, stores and quays. The
irregular building line near the point marked T, a
Town House at a later period, may correspond to the
175 northern angle of the fort. The fort appears to have been
712 standing when the original drawing was made for the
engraving in the Old (or First) Statistical Account of
Stornoway, *c.* 1793.

175 By the time Wood drew his plan in 1820, houses on
361 the Point no longer looked exclusively on to the axial
street. The main alinement of interest came to be the
shore, marked by a properly built quay. Today, the Point
Street houses have fallen into decay but many older houses
still stand in fair repair along the 'Beach' or Quay.

175 Thirdly, from the nineteenth century, until 1914, two-
361 storey, flatted tenements, hotels and houses of middle-class
34 people were built upon a grid that followed upon the old
field plans. In an alternative plan, proposed about 1820
but not adopted, a diagonal vista opened out to the Estab-
lished Church, built in 1794 on rising ground. The
modest Seaforth Lodge which had stood across the harbour
was replaced in 1850 by Stornoway (or Lews) Castle, its
pseudo-Tudor style designed to please the new improving
landlord, Sir James Matheson, who had purchased Lewis
in 1844. Presented to the people on the break-up of the
Leverhulme Estates in 1925, a new technical school has
175 taken it over. A few villas also grew up on outlying roads.
361 Thus, a mere village in 1801, and among the smaller burghs
• 162
228

175 of Ross and Cromarty, with populations of from 1000 to
361 2300 in 1841, Stornoway leapt ahead by 1851, growing
• 162 with the rise of the fishing trade. Including the literally
228 floating population of fishers, its numbers exceeded 4000
in the summer of 1921, though falling below this in 1931
when the census was held in the spring.

175 Still another stage, a fourth, seemed in sight when, in
228 1918, the first Lord Leverhulme made his bid to centralise
the scattered, failing fishing industry of the Island at
361 Stornoway. A canning factory was started (south of the
area shown on the plan), only to be dismantled before its
completion, then recommenced and again dismantled at
"Leverburgh", South Harris. New housing commenced.
When this great venture closed and population stagnated,
the grandiose proposal to reopen the diagonal vista on
Wood's plan and centre it on some great new building,
remained a dream. The failure of Leverhulme's great
enterprise and its hopes led to discouragement for some
years. Yet it is possible that the vision of change given
to the Island may have contributed to a renewed capacity
for enterprise, individual and communal.

175 Later extension had to await the growth of the Harris
361 tweed industry, and the erection of spinning-mills to
provide yarn for the rural hand-weavers. The town has
[288] extended beyond the plan in two main directions: to
north-east with villas and housing schemes and to ESE.
with the great new mills where kippering sheds were
numerous from the mid-nineteenth century until after
1919.

361 Although Tarbert is a shopping centre for Harris and
361 has its spinning-mill, Stornoway has no rival on the
Island. The adequate depth of its harbour, combined
[162] with its position and access from sea and land, have given

361 it command and make it the leading settlement of the
366 Hebrides, with a population fluctuating around 5000.[1]
• 162

2. Aspects and Problems of the Burgh

361 The little town pleases by its views over the harbours,
632 outer or inner—sheltering perhaps a steamer or two and
the clustered fishing vessels—across to the wooded sky-
line and the beautiful grounds of the Castle, a-flower
in spring with rhododendrons. Or framed in trees from
the Castle policies, the harbour and even the roofs and
smoke of the houses are not unpleasing (Plate II). But
[342] the town's chief charm is its setting, not itself, though its
plain dwellings with 'harled' or rough-cast walls and slate
roofs are simple and inoffensive. In rehousing, the Local
[916] Authority had respected Scottish domestic features. But
[656] the greater use of local materials, labour and skill is surely
desirable in the Island with its many half-employed men,
who need such work to maintain income, health and morale.
[342] As is to be expected in view of low incomes, and the ex-
tremely primitive housing in the country, urban housing
[162] is inadequate. In Stornoway burgh in 1931, 44 per cent,
or nearly half the population, still dwelt in houses of one
to three rooms, 17 per cent in four (including attics often
with no dormer windows), 20 per cent in five or six, and
18 per cent in seven rooms and over. There has been
improvement up to 1939, and after 1945, but much remains
to be done.

369 Turning to cultural life, profound differences divide
632 the town from the country about it. Whereas in the town-
ships of rural Lewis the people are almost purely natives

[1] The burghal area was extended in 1935. At the census of 1951 its population stood at 4930. This showed an increase of 15·9 per cent above the population enumerated in the same area in 1931.

361 by co-operation of three authorities: the Town Council,
364 the Piers and Harbour Commission, and the Stornoway
632 Trust as owner of property, including Lews Castle with
its grounds. The social situation is of quite exceptional
[656] interest, and an attempt to describe some of its features is
[654] made in Appendix II, on the Stornoway Trust and the
Lewis Association.

(C) CHANGES IN ISLAND POPULATION, AND THE FUTURE

1. From 1801 to 1939

175 Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the growth
• 162 of population was periodically checked or even set back by
famines and epidemics, such as smallpox, or by warfare.
[731] In 1801 the total population of the Outer Hebrides (in
round numbers) was 21,700, and in 1831 it was 32,000.
Of this total, Lewis carried 9200 and Harris 3000 in 1801
and, a generation later, in 1831, respectively 14,500 and
3900. In the graph (Fig. 12) the curve showing the
average for the five landward or rural parishes of the
Island (excluding Stornoway Burgh) indicates the fairly
steady numerical increase there, almost to the close of the
[731] century. Following the evictions after 1831 and the potato
famine of 1846–48, emigration caused a fall in the southern
islands (*e.g.* in South Uist, Fig. 12). Forty years later, in
1871, the Outer Hebridean total reached nearly 40,000,
of which Lewis alone, with 21,000, now gave more than
half the total, and Harris—in spite of an intervening drop
owing to evictions—4800. By 1901, in spite of losses in
the southern isles, the total for the Outer Hebrides reached
a peak of 46,200. Of this, Lewis already contributed almost

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Nearest to the
361 southern shore of Harris is the verdant arable island of Ensay,
162 two miles in circumference. The peak population was 15 in 1861,
175 but in 1951 and 1961 there were two men (seasonal shepherds).
131 Just south of Ensay is Killegray, two miles long. The south end was uncultivated, though a good source of peat; five people lived on Killegray in 1861, 3 in 1911 and 1921, 5 in 1931 and none in 1951. An 1865 report mentions that there was only one house on the island, so the population must have been one family only.

[131] Four to five miles west of Killegray is a low-lying, fertile island of about four miles by 1½. This is Bernera Harris which, though lying nearer to North Uist, is included in the civil parish of Harris. It still carries a fairly large population. Until the early eighteenth century it was occupied by a tacksman at one end and a community of crofters at the other. Later there was an influx of people evicted from Pabbay and the mainland of Harris. Some clearing of families from Bernera itself took place. In 1861 the population of Bernera was 315; it rose to 524 in 1901. Three schools were open
[871] on the island in 1865: an SSPCK school, a Gaelic School Society school, and a 'female industrial school' supported by the SSPCK and 'taught by a venerable Highland lady in receipt of a salary of £8 per annum'. The school was housed in, to quote an 1865 report, 'the oldest dwelling in the Long Island, and was at one time inhabited by persons of distinction. In the outer wall is a marble slab bearing this inscription: "Hic Natus est/Illustris Ille/Normannus MacLeod/De Bernera/Eques Auratus." (Here was born that famous man, Norman MacLeod of Berneray, a distinguished knight.) This illustrious personage and his brother, Sir Roderick of Talisker, were both knighted by Charles II for distinguished services . . . A grandson of Sir Norman became known in the annals of the Bench as Lord Bannatyne.'

Three miles north-west of Bernera is Pabbay, also in the parish of Harris. At one time Pabbay was a rich green island, the 'granary of Harris', and supported a considerable population. Early last century it was inhabited by 26 families (about 100 people), who lived in comparative comfort, and by 1841 the population was 338. But Pabbay was cleared of its people. Some emigrated to Australia, some went to other places nearby, such as Scalpay, Bernera and the Bays area of Harris. In 1858 only a

1. [See pp. 59-60--Analyst]

herd's family was left. Pabbay is conical in shape, and about
niles in diameter. In recent times drift and sea spray have
aged its fertility.

st north of Pabbay is Shillay, one mile in circumference,
e Martin Martin (1695) says he found sheep with the biggest
s he had ever seen. Whether Shillay was ever inhabited is
nown.

10 THE OTHER ISLANDS

THE continued evacuation of islands is a problem peculiar to Scotland. In the eighteenth century some 8 per cent of Scots lived on islands; today the figure is less than 2 per cent. Island populations today account for about 30 per cent of the total Highland (crofting counties) population. The difficulty for most islands is the relationship between population density and potential for economic development.

As though reflecting the relationship of man to man on Lewis-with-Harris—keeping together in community for survival—the other islands round the larger island mass have played some role at one time or another in recorded history. Most of the socially-significant islands of Harris have been described in Chapter 9. Lewis has very few, and these are mostly far-flung oceanic outliers.

North Rona

To begin at the northern point of the Lewis parish, about 45 miles NNE of the Butt of Lewis is North Rona, a block of hornblende schist with pegmatite intrusions. Though the island has never figured in any Census reports, since the Census began, it has been inhabited from time to time. Of about 300 acres in extent, it is cliff-bound and reaches 355 ft at its highest point. It lies in a part of the Atlantic where a deep swell seems perpetual, and landings can be difficult.

Dean Monro comments: 'Towards the north northeist from Lewis, three score myles of sea, lyes and little ile callit Roney, laiche maine land, inhabit and manurit be simple people, scant of ony religione.' The Dean's 'simple people' were no recent settlers. They were in fact the continuation of a community which had inhabited North Rona for at least 700 years previously. Tradition has it that the first inhabitant was St Ronan, who built a small monastic cell or hermitage there some time during the eighth century, but there may have been earlier inhabitants.

Though the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says that in his time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving only, and an abundance of clover-grass for sheep. The island also produced a fine bere-meal which the islanders stuffed into the skins of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of Lewis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest Christian building in Britain remaining in its original state, Monro says: 'As the ancients of the country allege, they leave a spade and a shuil [shovel] when any man dies, and upon the morrow find the place of the grave marked with a spade, as they allege.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680:

> The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either; they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as they want; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of mankind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take their surname from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and clouds. There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis, which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm of rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the food. A few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders of their only bull. 'These misfortunes and the want of supply from Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all that ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony was sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical*

Account, there was one family there, that of the person employed by the owner to look after the livestock. The owner was a Ness tacksman who paid £4 sterling rent per annum. The island produce was corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep and sometimes a cow, and some wild fowl and feathers.

In 1844 Rona was evacuated, its last inhabitant being, in the seventh year of Queen Victoria's reign, the 'King of Rona', Donald MacLeod, who lived in almost prehistoric conditions. Rona was without inhabitants until 1884, when a last attempt at resettlement was made by two men from Ness. This was a self-imposed exile, after a difference of opinion with the minister of their parish; in penance, they hied themselves off to Rona. In 1885 a relief boat called and found both men dead, one from natural causes, the other from starvation and exhaustion after nursing his friend. By the fireside of their hut was a pot ready for the preparation of a meal they never ate.

Today, man's connection with the island is maintained by the small party of Lewis shepherds who each year make the journey to shear the sheep which still graze on the green slopes around the now-ruined village. Otherwise, only the occasional traveller now lands there. In June 1956, North Rona with its associated rock, Sulasgeir, was declared a National Nature Reserve on account of its importance as a breeding ground for colonies of oceanic birds—guillemots, puffins, kittiwakes, and fulmars—and for its seal colony.

Sulasgeir

Sulasgeir is twelve miles west of North Rona, a lonely rock in the Atlantic, bleak and grassless, and tunnelled by caves and gullies. The only life it has ever supported is seabirds—officially. Yet one of the old buildings is said to be a chapel and is called 'Tigh Beannaicht' (House of Blessing). According to Ness tradition, Sulasgeir was once used as a prison for sheep-stealers, and it is also said that Brenhilda, sister to St Ronan, was left on the island to perish. Yet another tradition claims that it was at this rock that Prince Charles Edward made his first contact with his Scots clansmen, when the ship that carried him to Scotland was spoken to by a Ness boat making for North Rona.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

29,000 and Harris 5270. From 1901 to 1911 rural growth slowed down and ceased thereafter; but even by 1921 there had been little change (rural Lewis, 28,380; Harris, 5280).

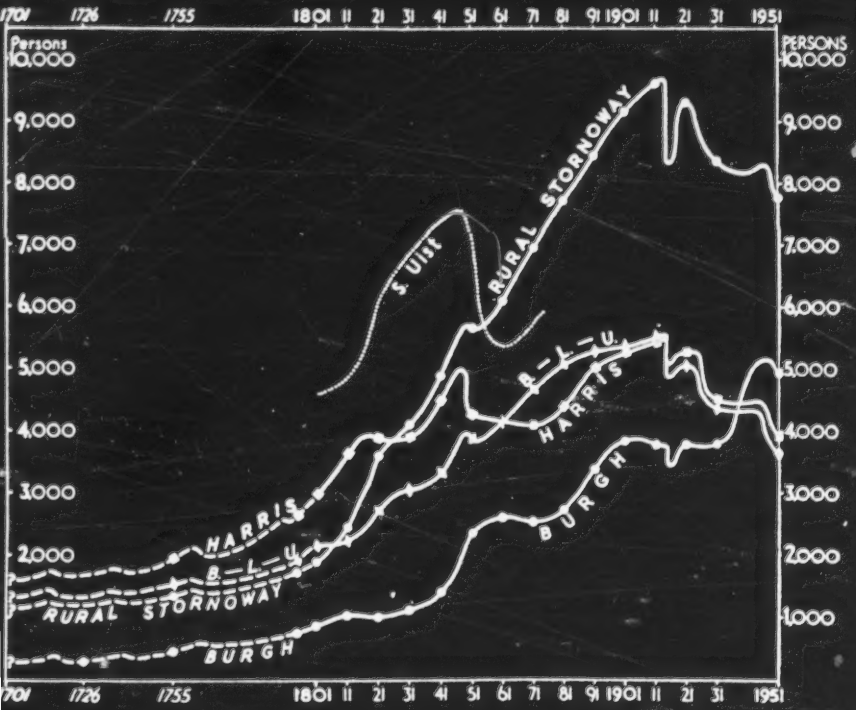

FIG. 12.—Graph showing changes of population in Lewis-and-Harris from *c.* 1701 to 1951. (Because of boundary changes the curves for the parishes of Barvas, Lochs and Uig have been averaged and are shown as B.-L.-U.)

The great exodus from the Island came three years after, in 1924–25, when Leverhulme's expenditure on labouring wages was over, the war bounties had been spent —partly upon the refitting of boats—and when fishing was hard hit by the destruction of the Russian market. Simultaneously, a wet summer spoiled the crops and prevented even the drying of the peats.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

167 Emigration set in, both individually and by help of schemes for group settlement in Canada, and in 1931 rural [162] Lewis returned only 21,200 and Harris 4500. The curve of average parish increase illustrates the fairly steady numerical increase to the close of the last century, then the lessening increase, and after 1921 a fall, recorded in 1931.

162 The census of April 1951, which recorded the population of Stornoway burgh as nearly 5000 (a net increase of 16 per cent since April 1931), recorded little or no change in the population of rural Stornoway parish but losses of 11 to 19 per cent in the Island's four outlying parishes. The average net rural loss approached 9 per cent. But—as indicated in the curves drawn for Fig. 12 which are based upon statistical estimates that corroborate observation—the loss did not take place smoothly over the twenty-year period to 1951. Much of the loss occurred in the two preceding years, 1949 to 1951. Although partly due to a long term trend, this loss was greatly caused by crisis.

2. *Present Population Trends and the Outlook*

167 After 1931, as a result of the trade depression in the Empire and the United States, many emigrants returned, frequently putting what was left of their savings into the purchase of a loom, giving some months to the building of a new house with the help of Government loans, and setting about the improvement of their parents' holding [162] or the reclamation of a new allotment. Soon after 1931—at a time when the Press read the census results as a por- [168] tent of steady and drastic Island depopulation—Islanders remarked that unless unexpected attraction came from outside the Island, accompanied by lessened prosperity in

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. I

3. *Age-Groups in Scotland and the Isles*

162 In Fig. 13 (*a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*) are shown four pyramids of population for comparison of an 'ideal' or theoretical

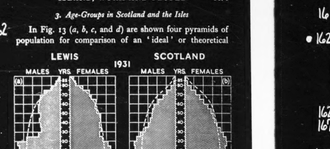

FIG. 13—*Four* age-group pyramids. Each of the four, five-yearly age-groupings (in black) may be compared with the 'ideal' age-grouping (broken line).

projection in Scotland with the actual age-groups in rural or 'landward' Lewis and Scotland in 1931 and 1951.[1]

[1] 'The ideal' pyramid (drawn from Scottish Life Tables) represents a population, unaffected by migration, of which the birth and death rates for each age-group in Scotland are as in 1931. Since 1931 health in Scotland

CH. III THE ISLAND HOME

16 In the pyramid for rural Lewis (b) the differences are striking, and are mainly due to two factors: the 'natural' 162 ratio of births to deaths, and migration. Beginning from the bottom of the pyramid, it will be seen that in 1931 there were fewer infants (from 0–5 years) than children from 5–10 years, fewer in fact than in the three older age-groups. In 1951 (c), the birth rate having risen sharply after the war and preceding depression, infants formed a much larger ratio (over 5 per cent).

162 In rural Lewis, emigration asserted itself earliest with 167 girls, as they left the Island chiefly for domestic service; but soon after the age of 20 as many young men left as young women. In 1951 the discrepancy was most marked 165 from the age of 30 to 35. This was further accentuated 172 by the heavy death-roll among the younger men during the 1914–18 war, deaths having totalled more than 1100, perhaps the heaviest proportionate loss in the Empire. Only when they marry and return, permanently or for a period, to the croft (vacated it may be by the death of a parent), do the numbers of men tend to balance those of women. Thereafter the falling away among men is due to their shorter life expectation.

16 In 1951 National Service had drawn away lads of 18 to 20, so that the difference between the sexes is much less marked in the 15–19 age-group than it was in 1931. Mortality in the 1914–18 war contributes to the shortage of men between 50 and 55 in 1951, and the mortality of the 1939–45 war has also left its trace—or the birth rate would have been still higher (always excluding the factor of migration). For men, those jobs not requiring per-

has improved, but detailed sociological statistics for 1951 were not available by 1954. Allowances being made for the effects of the wars, for the high ratio of births immediately after, and for emigration from Lewis after 1945, the age-grouping in the island changed but little from 1931.

CH. V FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP

175 natural zone, could not be extended. In any case, the re-
243 clamation of clay land tended to slacken as efforts turned
162 to fishing and kelp-making. The introduction or increased
191 growing of potatoes added to the human, but hardly to the
182 animal, food supply. Finally, while the beginnings of
201 medical knowledge and vaccination had aided the growth
232 of population after 1750, veterinary science had made no
472 progress, nor did it advance in the Island for many years
to come. We may conclude that an average stock per Island
family about 1750 was rather more than that of 1790, and
the acreage relatively larger, while both were greater than
the average of today, particularly in the Lews.

What, then, could a family have to eat, from such crops
246 and stock? While in winter even now there is almost no
244 milk to be had on a croft, and there would be little then,
there was salt meat, dried or salted cod (or herring) and
fish oil; oat and barley meal and some rye meal; cabbages;
and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, potatoes.
Martin included potatoes among the crops grown even on
far St. Kildа in 1697. A century later it was written that
the people of Uig, for instance, had, though 'unwilling',
been induced to grow and eat them 'forty years before';
and the years tend to be under-estimated where changes
are slow and memories long! But it was written of Harris
that by June the meal and potatoes had mostly been con-
sumed, "and such as cannot afford to purchase imported
meal subsist chiefly on the milk of their cows and sheep,
with what fish they may chance to catch, till their wants
are relieved by the first fruits of their potato crops early
in Harvest".

175 We conclude that with even less money but a little
51 more grain the population in the Island had fluctuated
162 about a mean for some centuries before, as it had in so

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 much of Britain and Europe until about 1900. A modern
51 parallel may be found in Asiatic lands with the frequency
70 of famines alternating with periods of recovery or, in others,
162 the long-drawn misery of chronic under-nutrition and
191 endemic disease. In modern Europe, only international
(193) or civil war can now bring such extreme widespread misery.
And as peace brings partial healing, so in the Island past,
when good seasons returned after famines, the life of the
family renewed itself.

175 The narrow margin of survival even in good seasons,
550 the risks of the bread-winner's death and of his family's
destitution, and the need of co-operation in so many tasks made the family too small, weak and precarious a unit to stand alone. Even with relatively little division (or specialisation) of labour, and in spite of its apparent self-sufficiency, the family had perforce to link itself with wider circles of community life.

(*a*) JOINT LABOUR BY SMALL TEAMS: THE EVIDENCE OF TENURE IN 1715–26

175 Romance is hidden among the rent-rolls of the Seaforth
241 estates, all of which were forfeited when the Earl rose for
427 'King James VIII' in 1715. For of the rents withheld
647 from the government until 1720, on the mainland at least
(613) the loyal clansmen paid a considerable portion to their exiled chief, styled 'Marquis' by 'King James'. But the

[1] 'The' ups and downs' of a peasantry living on the margin of subsistence and subject to severe disease can be studied in Inada, 1871–1941, where the 'net' or more change has to be correlated with the 'vulnerability'. This wide problem was reviewed in a series of papers to 1948: "The Social and Psychological Significance of Variability in Human Biological Adaptation and Population", with examples taken from Indian villages. (A. Geddes, *Human Relations*, Vol. 1, 1947–48; cf. *Geog. Rev.* 1942 and 1948; and *Geog. Journal*, 3, vol. 98, 1942).

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 Roman Catholicism was far less complete than that ulti-
241 mately brought about by Protestantism—Episcopalian or
Calvinist.

At least twenty-five churches, chapels and tiny oratories
162 are named by Martin in Lewis and his list is incomplete
(1934, p. 106). Harris and its islets also had their comple-
344 ment of 'temples', in addition to the priory church of
162 Rodel. We may perhaps assume that before the Reforma-
tion Lewis had a population of some 4000 persons,
or 1000 families, and contained some thirty chapels or
(194) oratories in inhabited areas. If so, then one church or
'temple', on an average served thirty to thirty-five families,
or six or seven farm-groups. Yet only the larger congre-
gations at Eye, Stornoway, Ness or Uig and Rodel would
normally be served by clergy; the people of smaller conge-
gations would be without, for weeks and months or even
years.

175 When the people were too distant from priests (and
79 later ministers) to hear the Lessons, they handed down
the Word orally. Their power of retaining memorable
(163) thought, even in prose, is still remarkable; and verse
strengthened memory. For example, 'the Ten Com-
175 mandments' paraphrased in rhyme are recorded in Fr.
188 Allan Macdonald's little collection, "as given by the God
777 of grace to Moses in the wilderness" (*Na Faisnean*,
p. 62). Moses, had he understood Gaelic, would have
protested at the omission of the Second Commandment,
but no sculptor of Iona, Rodel or Eye would have felt a
need for it, being unafraid that a Christian could bow
down to a golden calf. Believing, with Solomon, that a
craftsman's work is his prayer, the artist-monks held that
an 'image' should represent, though never replace, God's
creation, and may even quicken our concept of the Creator

CH. IX ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

000 landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time.
Wars brought enlistment in the Highland regiments,
175 the Navy and Merchant Marine. Owing to migrations of
all kinds, males came to be outnumbered by females, then
(902) as later (100 males to 114 females, 1931).[1] In Lewis in
(147) 1795 the proportion was 100 to 111, and in Harris 100 to
144. From this period onwards the 'export of men' con-
175 tinued, modified by the reserve for war. Men were trained
for the Naval Reserve and Militia; and in 1900 for instance
762 800 men were training at Fort George and 2500 sailors
swept in the Minch annually. The maintenance of a reserve for the
Navy was one of the strongest pleas for the framing of the
Crofters Act.

175 A new resource, important to the Islanders after 1750,
824 was helps rendered in the cutting and burning of seaweed upon
the shore, for use in the manufacture of alkali in the glass
323 and soap industries. From 1770 onwards the price rose,
388 heightened first by an import duty, then by the Napoleonic
Wars. Estimating from the high prices, averaging over
175 £10 per ton from 1800 to 1823, Sir John Sinclair put the
824 value of the annual produce (20,000 tons) at £200,000. "It
435 may appear surprising", he remarks, "how that sum could
be of such importance to 80,000 people"; but he goes
on to point out that this gave the additional cash needed
to supplement their subsistence. But even when Sinclair
wrote in 1825, the industry was in peril. Failure and loss
occurred almost immediately after, with disastrous effect.

It is complained in the *New Statistical Account* that
175 owing to the summer-time work of kelp-making up to
433 1830, the people could give little attention to the crofts, so
(811) that their extension must almost have ceased. Nor could

[1] In 1921 the ratio in Lewis was 100 males to 114 females, and in Harris, 100 to 116.

CH. IX ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

000 to one another, to the landlord and to the State would have been profoundly different.

(*c*) STATE AID, THE LAND, AND THE CROFTERS' RESPONSE

175 Until 1914 the congestion in each Island township
162 dotted between the wide, lonely moors, had increased, and
342 it was still increasing. To every two legal crofters, either
a cottar or a landless squatter was to be found, on the
175 'skinned land' outside the crofts. Parliament, in 1886,
640 had discarded the Napier Commission's recommendations
646 to give powers to extend the crofts from portions of the
(342) common, or to supply a house site and garden space for
Department crofters, after obtaining the consent of the Common Grazings Committee of the township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', *i.e.* for enclosure of a portion of the common.
427 The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem
636 formidable to make a living, say, as a fisherman, and about to
marry but having no croft—was penalised by high rates,
should he take up his proper status of a legal cottar at a
small rent. Throughout the crofting counties, the legal
crofter, as an agricultural landholder, was (and is) de-rated,
and had only to pay one-eighth the rates for a non-agri-
cultural holding of the same rental. Only since 1938 has
the value of the house been assessed. A recognised cottar
occupied almost as estate was rated as owner and occupier,
being treated in fact as a feuar; [1] and as such he had to
bear a heavy burden of rates, possibly of over 30s. in the £.
Whereas if 'he' lay low' and shared his father's or brother's

[1] *Feuar*, in Scotland one who holds real estate in consideration of a stipulated annual payment; lit. *on feudal* tenure. Cf. J. P. Day (1938), pp. 383–384, 392.

CH. X BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

623 The Trustees of the Stornoway Trust have not found
423 it easy to meet the cost of keeping up the valuable property
of the Castle and Policies, and, in consequence, there is
476 no adequate income being available for the purpose.
178 Today, however, Leverhulme's gift is being put to good
311 use as a Technical College, opened in September 1952.
201 Division of the available farms, after providing about
311 200 small crofts (of ten acres or so), still left the problem
of finding legal homes on legal tenure for the remaining
472 cottars and squatters. The Department of Agriculture
324 arranged to feu plots of 'skinned land' on the outrun of
656 certain townships, including one in the extreme north and
others in Lochs. About 200 of these little holdings with
potato ground were provided. On the holders' behalf the
Department forbade the conversion, after obtaining
the consent of the Common Grazings Committee of the
township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', *i.e.* for enclosure of a portion of the common.
The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem
disproportionate to the economic value of the holdings.
Yet difficulties of law and custom had been allowed to go
from bad to worse during the past eighty years; and these
difficulties were overcome.

To encourage better housing in the crofting counties,
342 loans are made to 'crofters and fishermen feuars' person-
655 ally. Local stone, or latterly concrete, is used, and much
(312) of the building is done by the 'man of the house' himself,
and his friends. From 1920 to 1940, nearly 1200 loans
were made in Lewis and Harris for the erection (or im-
provements of houses), and in a few cases for the erection

[1] Estimated 41,200 to 1300 shortly before, the open question was whether subdivision during the preceding eighty years was to be recognised and accepted.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT *PT. II*

458 which the Isles form the outermost fringe. Particular
747 aspects of the Island's problem were its own.

The application of 'the Means Test' was therefore to the good in the Isles to begin with, whatever was to be said for or against it in towns. Many honest crofters thought the test should have been much more rigidly applied in the
[142] Islands. In 1932, after the worst of the depression had passed, there were in Lewis (proper) some 750 registered unemployed men (with only 5 boys), of whom 250 were seamen from the Merchant Service; and the other 500 included dockers and casual labourers of various sorts, many of whom had returned from the cities. The seamen, to take the largest class, constituted not the least loyal Territorials to the Royal Navy. The Highland Division experienced a few months of relative inactivity in France, then of a brief but bitter campaign, followed by long years in prison camps, while other soldiers underwent prolonged training in Britain, followed by severe fighting for long periods, then for afield. Lastly, a limited number of men served in engineering or other works of war-time industry, though labouring work, [142] at high wages, kept many of the older men employed at home. Of the women called up for service, some were posted to the Forces, some to the Land Army and some were sent to factories. The greater opportunities for women to earn a living wage away from the Island tend to equalise the ratio of the sexes.

There were years when work at sea was not to be had. As one left the Firth of Clyde, by the railroad to the Isles, one could count sometimes a dozen, sometimes a score of good 'tramp' steamers dossed in the Gareloch; and one thought of their owners, good men, but hard cutting men. At such a time reduced payment to Island seamen with a croft, in place of total payment to town-dwelling seamen without one, effected a saving to the public purse. The

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT *PT. II*

[85] so creating a small link in the purse and in the mind,
[142] having both a little empire, week by week. Surveys made
[525] by teacher-members of the Educational Institute of Scotland describe the effects on listeners in Highland parishes
[142] so pernicious, in the main, from a Christian point of view, the other hand, emphasise their cultural endeavours, and
[142] the lightening of house-work and of rural monotony or solitude. Every effort is needed to aid a happy selection
[142] in home and neighbourhood.

Experiences undergone in war were of very differing types. Many men spent the war years in the Navy, without
[721] contact with decent town life, or others in the Merchant Service, on the land (both of which, the Territorials of the original 51st Highland Division experienced a few months of relative inactivity in France, then of a brief but bitter campaign, followed by long years in prison camps, while other soldiers underwent prolonged training in Britain, followed by severe fighting for long periods, then for afield. Lastly, a limited number of men served in engineering or other works of war-time industry, though labouring work, [142] at high wages, kept many of the older men employed at home. Of the women called up for service, some were posted to the Forces, some to the Land Army and some were sent to factories. The greater opportunities for women to
[142] earn a living wage away from the Island tend to equalise the ratio of the sexes.

An experience new to the Western Isles came with the establishment of Air Bases. Not only did their construction provide high wages for labouring for the older resident crofters, brought daily to the Bases by bus from their townships, but for the first time a heterogeneous mass of men from every part of urban Britain was put down at the doors of these quiet communities—at a time when

APPENDIX I

[128] An effort has been made to separate crofting from other in-
[435] come, and also to average the income from the sources given of
[142] the 3,600 occupied crofts plus an estimated 10,000 others, namely,
[525] crofters, fishermen, seamen, farmers, and building land in fee.
[431] Finally, to the productive income earned on the Island there
[142] should be added that received by earning sent or brought
home to dependants, together with pensions, unemployment
relief and the like. I am greatly indebted to the appropriate
officials for the figures cited for 1937-38 or the year immediately
preceding. These sources average £45 per rural household.
[128] The figures tabled all appear in Table I. Some, but many figures
having been obtained for Harris also, conclusions are similar
there. The concluding Table (Table IV) gives a little more on
other sources of income, with a similar table for 1953.

(i) *Tweed Industry*

[178] After deducting the cost of wool imported from the main-
[142] land and certain other items, the net productive income was
[142] taken to be £307,000. The estimate may still be on the high side but it indicates the prime importance of the industry in the Lews. For 1938 the quantity of wool spun, woven, and certified as hand-woven by the Harris Tweed Association Ltd., was 2,830,000 square yards, rising in 1939 to just over 4,000,000 yards, though falling thereafter. The value of the tweed produced in 1938 was approximately £700,000. The total wages paid in 1938 amounted to £246,000 (£339,000), rather more than half of which was paid to the weavers working at home. In 1940 this had risen to nearly £400,000, a slightly higher proportion falling to the weavers.

In addition to the wages paid and the price paid for local wool, the industry is a valuable customer of the Electricity Company and directly or indirectly provides much other employment in the Island. The industry also provided a market for a large quantity of Scottish wool and contributed to taxation.

The productivity and earnings of the industry continued to

APPENDIX II

[178] 8110. The acreage under potatoes declined steadily: 1901,
[434] 2736, 1691. Barley dwindled from 2350 acres to 1340, and
[142] 1951. Turnips reached a maximum of 210 acres in 1939, but were not worth noting by 1955. These crop acreages reflect the change in stock-rearing, with the decline in the number of cattle but the great increase in sheep. Table VIII. Taking the three successive totals for 1918, 1939 and 1953, cattle numbered 13,800, 9960 and 6740 head; but this diminution by more than half was chiefly due to the small number of bullocks reared. Sheep numbered 54,600, 76,500 in 1918, still stood at about 43,000 in 1953, and they are now of far better quality in weight and milk production. The totals of sheep are sufficient, 78,150, 114,330, 185,800; by use of mainland rams more average weight has increased, while the wool is rather more abundant but finer. Cattle are now, whereas in 1901 they yielded only 1% of the total, and in 1901 and 1918 only 2%, the chief source of farm income. Sheep in 1951 yielded 3% of the total, and in 1953 they yielded 5%. Cattle in 1953 yielded 12%, and in 1955 they yielded 15%. The shift in the centre of gravity of Lewis farming has not yet been recognised by the statisticians and historians of the Island.

By the end of the eighteenth century the inclosure seem to have disappeared, at any rate in the Lewis, and the crofters were left with the hill pasture, the shore and the arable land. Inclosure of the hill pasture began in the Lewis in the 1820s, and was completed in Harris by the 1860s. Inclosure in 1733 for the Island of Berneray, 1 1/2 percent, in 1751 the Island of Pabbay, 1 percent, in 1771 the Island of Mingulay, 1 percent, in 1773 the Island of Bernera, 1 percent, in 1775 the Island of Scalpay, 1 percent, in 1776 the Island of Ensay, 1 percent, in 1777 the Island of Killegray, 1 percent, in 1778 the Island of Gigha, 1 percent, in 1779 the Island of Eriskay, 1 percent, in 1780 the Island of Raasay, 1 percent, in 1781 the Island of Rhum, 1 percent, in 1782 the Island of Eigg, 1 percent, in 1783 the Island of Canna, 1 percent, in 1784 the Island of Soay, 1 percent, in 1785 the Island of Muck, 1 percent, in 1786 the Island of Oronsay, 1 percent, in 1787 the Island of Colonsay, 1 percent, in 1788 the Island of Islay, 1 percent, in 1789 the Island of Jura, 1 percent, in 1790 the Island of Tiree, 1 percent, in 1791 the Island of Coll, 1 percent, in 1792 the Island of Lismore, 1 percent, in 1793 the Island of Mull, 1 percent, in 1794 the Island of Gometra, 1 percent, in 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1 percent, in 2417 the Island of Gometra, 1 percent, in 2418 the Island of Ulva, 1 percent, in 2419 the Island of Islay, 1 percent, in 2420 the Island of Tiree, 1 percent, in 2421 the Island of Coll, 1 percent, in 2422 the Island of Lismore, 1 percent, in 2423 the Island of Mull, 1 percent, in 2424 the Island of Gometra, 1 percent, in 2425 the Island of Ulva, 1 percent, in 2426 the Island of Islay, 1 percent, in 2427 the Island of Tiree, 1 percent, in 2428 the Island of Coll, 1 percent, in 2429 the Island of Lismore, 1 percent, in 2430 the Island of Mull, 1 percent, in 2431 the Island of Gometra, 1 percent, in 2432 the Island of Ulva, 1 percent, in 2433 the Island of Islay, 1 percent, in 2434 the Island of Tiree, 1 percent, in 2435 the Island of Coll, 1 percent, in 2436 the Island of Lismore, 1 percent, in 2437 the Island of Mull, 1 percent, in 2438 the Island of Gometra, 1 percent, in 2439 the Island of Ulva, 1 percent, in 2440 the Island of Islay, 1 percent, in 2441 the Island of 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weaving and fishing, the fall in population would probably be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was not so much a decrease in the number of families as in the number per family. The Island was only then following the restriction of population begun half a century before in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is a land of house-building, not of ruin and abandonment; of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agricultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were at work: first, loans, grants and unemployment insurance and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly, the money sent to elderly parents and dependants at home by young folk in Glasgow or abroad, or savings brought back by the young people themselves. Yet there is some fishing and agriculture still. Above all, 'hand-weaving' has grown, even if this be partly 'artificial'. Recently it was not only the elders who had returned to the Island, but men and women in the prime of life, so that the question of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to be re-examined afresh.

The emigration which took place from 1949 to 1951 followed directly upon the losses and the unemployment in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted from the imposition in 1949 of a Purchase Tax on hand-woven Harris tweed of 666 per cent. If the tax had been maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects on population would have been far-reaching.

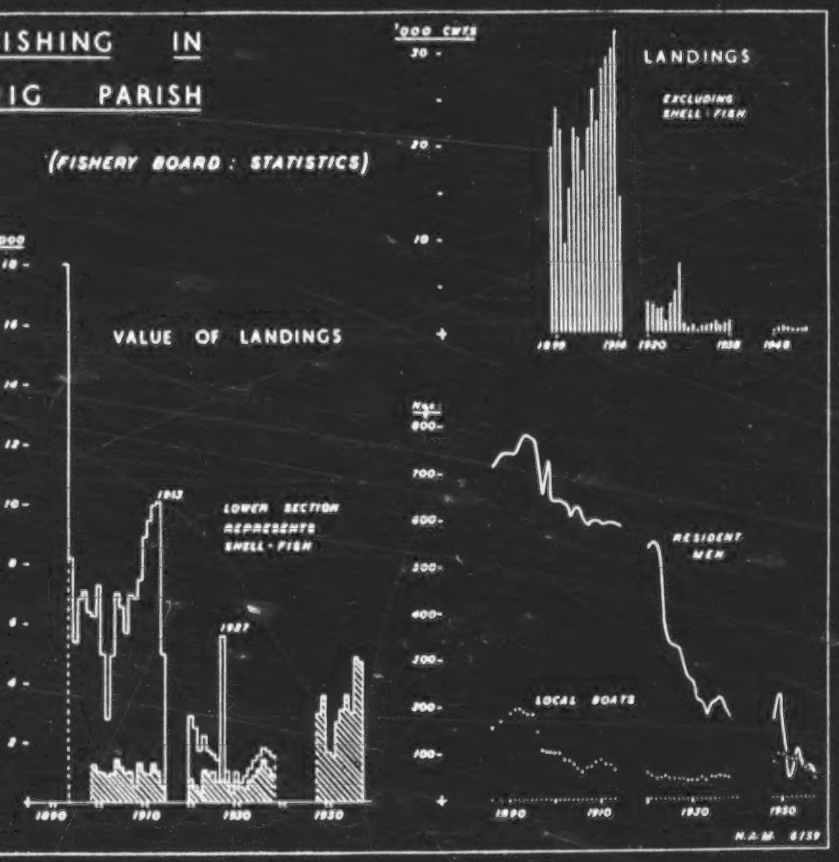

Figure 9.

/p. 20/

175 427 Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the proprietors were obliged, by pressure of population within, and of public opinion without, to made some concessions to their small tenantry. It may be relevant to point out that this was a period of falling agricultural prices and declining farm rentals; indeed the time was not far off when some farms would not find tenants at any rental:

TABLE 7

Farm:	Rental at c. 1875/80	Rental at c. 1885/90
Mealasta	£130	£85
Mangersta	£132	£95
Ardroil & Carnish	£285	£245
Timegarry	£108	£80 (1)
Linshader	£349	£278 (2)

Notes: (1) Small reduction for enlargement to Glebe.
(2) £22 reduction for Laimeshader and Grimersta Lodge.

175 326 [161] [162] The crofters of south Uig were in particular difficulty at this time for here fishing declined earlier than elsewhere but the townships remained greatly overcrowded. In 1910 Breanish and Islivig had 14 cottar families, (most of them sharing crofts with the official tenants), and three of squatters, i.e. on the common pasture. Here fishing had almost ceased and the people were almost entirely dependent on their crofts or on employment away from home. [231] In Valtos and Kneep there were 21 cottar families; they had 31 cattle and sheep flocks. Here, too, fishing was on the decline. It was perhaps because of this that 288 commercial weaving was developed in South Uig earlier than in most parts of Lewis. As 175 early as 1900 Uig was classed with Harris, by the local committee of the Congested Districts Board, as producing a superior quality of tweed. Two 30 gallon iron pots were sent out so that enough wool could be dyed at one boiling to obviate irregular colouring in any one tweed. [653] The C.D.B. also made grants for roads, footpaths and "marine works". Amongst the latter the pier at Valtos (1899) was an attempt to resuscitate local fishing, but it came too late.

175 653 The Congested Districts Board was the first government agency with funds at its disposal to aid the crofting townships. One of its largest grants went in aid of the Carlow Road (or Pentland Road as it is now known). This scheme arose out of an abortive proposal for a railway from Loch Carloway to Stornoway. It was thought that this could enable trawlers and other large fishing boats to land their catch for quick transport to Stornoway and so to the mainland whilst the fishing vessels returned to sea with minimum 175 delay. The road, an excellently engineered one, is still not properly surfaced. A more effective C.D.B. - aided scheme was the resettlement of crofters on Mangersta Farm, 657 the rent of which had fallen to £70 and which the proprietors were willing to break up. 427 Thirteen new buildings were formed here and the first harvest was taken by the new settlers in 1911. The crofters' rent was fixed at £73 and the C.D.B. paid £566 in grants [241] to purchase the sheep stock and improvements, and towards the cost of fencing. About the same time the Board paid a grant to the township of Garenin for fencing a substantial enlargement to their pasture, obtained off Dalbeg. Here, and at Reef farm, small-holding resettlement schemes were vetoed by the Crofters Commission whose experts regarded the areas as unsuitable. Both have since been re-settled by crofters.

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311
361
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427
632

TABLE 9

The Agricultural Structure of the Parish of Uig, 1958

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	Townships (no.)	Inbye (acres)	Common pasture (acres)	Agricultural holdings (on Valuation Roll) Crofts:	Others:	Crofter-tenants total	of whom non-residents	Agricultural holdings without crofter status**
Atlantic Coast	3	246	14,800	51	1	42	(12)	-
Uig Bay	5	636	15,800	62	-	55	(9)	-
Valtos-Reef	3	398	8,700	74	-	68	(14)	1
Little L. Roag	4	266	4.400	38	-	39	(4)	1
Bernera Island	5	1,213	8.200	91	4	88	(12)	8
Bernera Shore	4	359	13,100	26	1	26	(2)	2
East L. Roag	6	1,101	15,700	183	1	178	(26)	6
L. Carloway	7	856	9,400	174	7	167	(23)	35
Individual holdings * (non-crofting)		161	1,200	-	9	-		9
	37	5,236	91,300	6,999	23	663	(102)	62

NOTE: *Individual holdings include only those not using the common pastures; the 'common' pasture' figure is their rough grazing.

**These include individual holdings, as defined, and all cottars, squatters, feuars and allotment holders having more than a quarter acre of cultivation or a cow or 5 sheep. Their holdings are included in 'Inbye'.

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/facing p. 34/

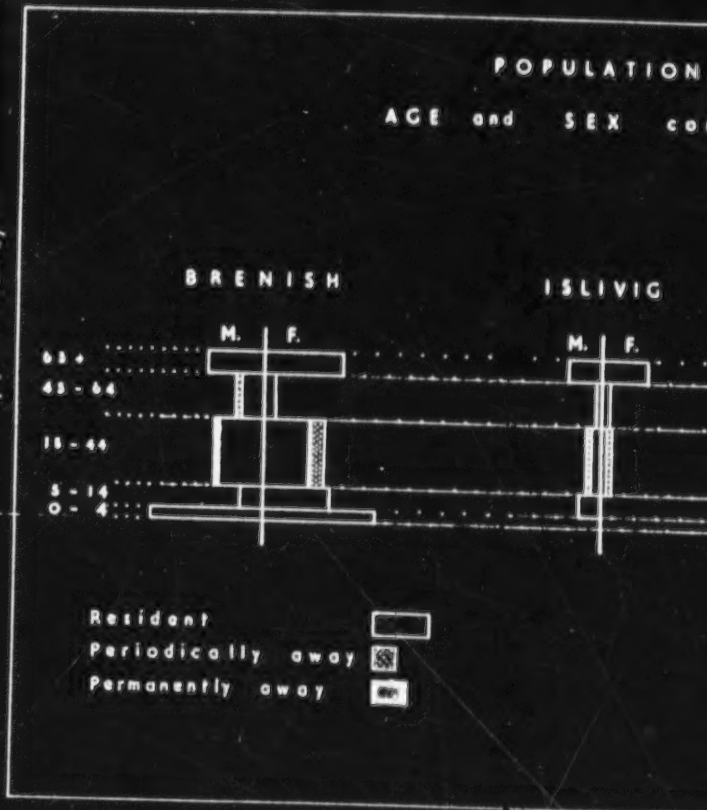
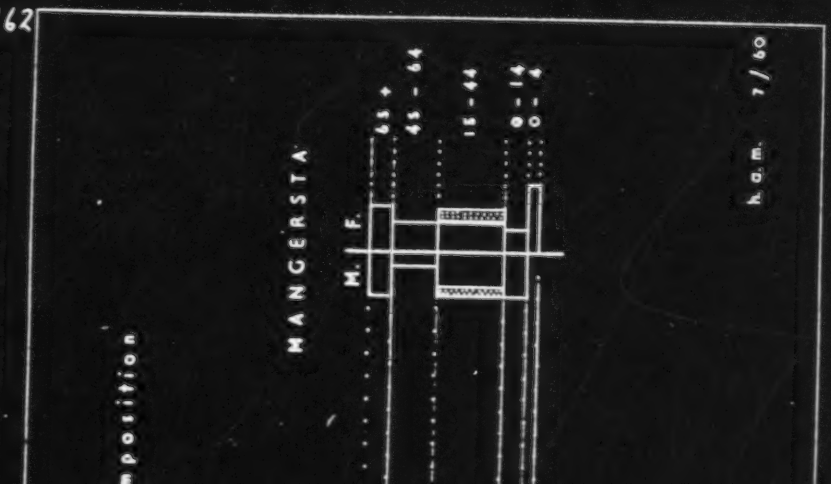


Figure 12

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig



231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' sheilings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig sheilings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Mealasta farm, until about 1939, sheilings were used in that area.

314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears
241 evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation. Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres
312 of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a
377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very
301 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers -
286 nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy;
461 in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside
[434] the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R. A. F. station and at least
[407] one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns at tractor which he hires
[449] out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limite resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Moire peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

/facing p. 39/

65 -
45 -
15 -
5 -
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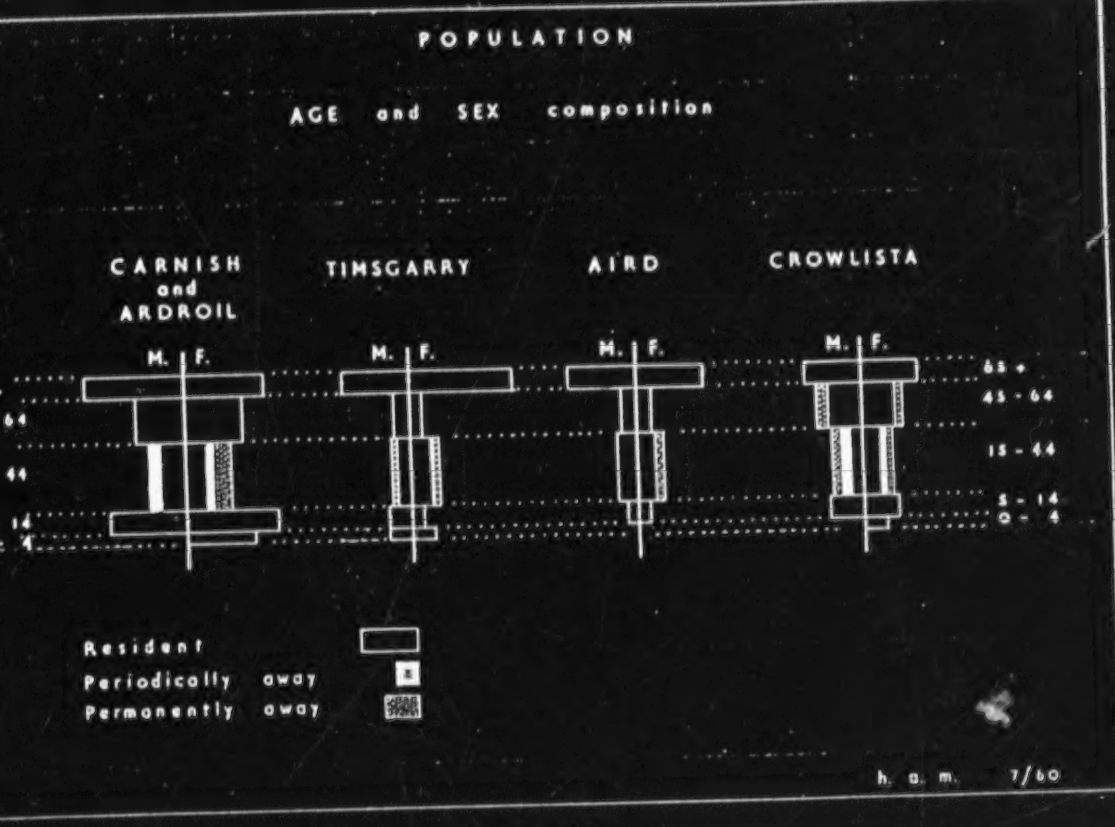


Figure 17

Boisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

TABLE 11

Land Available by Numbers of Tenants

INBYE LAND Acres:	No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:	COMMON PASTURES Acres:	No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:
	(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
0-1.0	1		Less than 50	88	
1.0-2.5	73	2	51-100	332	14
2.6-5.0	241	19	101-200	139	12
5.1-7.5	137	22	201-300	52	-
7.6-10	66	23	301-400	32	32
10.1-15	56	23	401-500	8	8
15.1-20	30	17			
20.1-50	29	24	940	10	10

Note: 'New' townships, for this purpose, are those settled since 1900.

In detail the arrangement of the townships varies. Certain features are common: all inbye land and, consequently, all settlements, are coastal (except Lochganvich). Each has common pasture adjacent to the inbye and many have further areas of common - former shieling grazings - some distance inland (figure 1). This division of the hill grazings is to some extent nominal because fences are often absent or ineffective. Uninhabited islands, on the other hand, require no fences, and are particularly valuable for winter grazing; the smaller of them provide convenient natural paddocks for bulls and tups when out of season. The management of all these common pastures is controlled by the township committees. Unfortunately the most important aspect of stock management - control of numbers and maintenance of a proper balance of sheep and cattle - is almost universally neglected.

The total stock which each croft may put on the common pastures - the 'soum' - is defined in the Regulations. In the case of townships re-settled in the present century a specific soum is placed on each croft but, in most other cases, the old practice persists of stating the soum in terms of rent. Thus the soum of each croft may be defined as 1 cow, 1 two-year-old and 8 sheep per pound sterling rent (this is a very common souming). Such soumings have been in existence since time immemorial; they are mentioned in 1836*. Many of the Uig townships had their soumings stated by the Land Court in 1912; in most cases the soum was given "per pound sterling of rent" (presumably 1912 rent), but in a few "per pound sterling of rent payable in 1886". The rents had been substantially reduced in 1891, thus 1912 and 1886 rents were very different. Any township has a certain limited, stock-carrying capacity; therefore, if the total rental is thus changed without

* New Statistical Account, Vol. XIV, p.148.

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

/p. 28/

TABLE 10

Crofter-Tenants by Status and Size of Holding

	Area of croft (inbye): 0-5 acres	5-10 acres	10-50 acres	All Crofts
MALES UNDER 65	39%	46%	45%	43% (2
of whom with:				
Regular employment	26%	28%	26%	27%
Casual employment	7%	8%	14%	9%
No other employment	6%	10%	5%	7%
MALES OVER 65	23%	27%	35%	26% (16
FEMALES UNDER 65	8%	5%	7%	7% (43
FEMALES OVER 65	10%	7%	4%	8% (49
ABSENT: Males	14%	12%	6%	12% (75
Females	5%	1%	3%	4% (24
ALL TENANTS	100% (314)	100% (201)	100% (114)	100% (62

Owing to rounding totals may not ad

APPENDIX A continued

(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, South Uig, August 1959.

Status* of tenants:-		Area of holdings: 1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	20.1+ acres	TOTAL
Regular employment	M 54	5	17	11	6	1	2	2	44
	M 65	-	1	--	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M 65	4	10	5	5	3	-	-	27
	M 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full-time crofters	M 65	4	1	5	2	1	-	1	14
	M 65	8	13	13	8	7	5	4	58
	F 65	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	4
	F 65	1	4	1	1	-	-	1	8
Absent M		5	7	8	3	-	-	-	23
Absent F		4	7	-	2	-	-	-	13
TOTAL		31	63	43	27	12	7	10	193

(4) Principal croft workers status by size of effective agricultural unit, South Uig, August 1959

Status* of croft worker		Area of effective agricultural unit (acres):- 1.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	20.1+	TOTAL
Regular employment	M 65	2	21	14	11	9	6	4	67
	M 65	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M 65		13	7	5	6	-	2	33
	M 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M 65	2	4	1	-	7	2	2	18
	M 65	2	8	8	7	6	5	4	40
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		2	1	1	1	1	-	6
TOTAL		6	48	32	24	29	14	12	165

* Occupation, sex and age (under or over 65 years).

1, [Errata: See category 116, (introductory p.v), for corrections--Analyst]

APPENDIX A continued

(5) Stocking and cultivation by size of effective units, South Uig, August 1959.

Stocking is assessed according to proportion of the soum held, cultivation according to acreage of arable crops, i.e. excluding hay; some units are omitted for lack of data, (consequently totals do not correspond.)

	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units: 1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0	All sizes	Actual number of units
Proportion of soum held:									
Nil	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	3	4
Less than 50%	1	8	5	3	3	3	2	26	40
50%-100%	1	6	9	6	5	1	5	32	50
100%-200%	1	8	5	6	6	3	2	31	57
More than 200%	-	4	1	1	2	1	1	8	13
All units	3	28	21	15	16	8	9	100	
Area cropped:									
Less than 0.5 acre	1	5	3	2	1	1	-	13	19
0.5-1.0 acres	1	7	2	-	1	-	-	11	16
1.1-2.5 acres	1	12	13	9	8	1	5	50	74
2.6-5.0 acres	-	5	3	4	2	3	5	22	33
More than 5.0 acres	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	4	6
All units	3	28	21	16	14	7	11	100	148

Owing to rounding, percentage figures may not equal totals.

(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit*

	Under 65 years: Full-time crofter	Croft and regular work	Croft and periodic work	Over 65 years: Male	Female	ALL UNITS*
CATTLE**						
nil	2	5	2	6	1	16
1	9	31	18	8	3	69
2	5	19	9	4	-	37
3	-	2	2	1	-	5
more than 3	-	-	-	1	-	1
SHEEP						
nil	2	1	2	3	-	8
less than 6	1	-	-	-	-	1
6-10	2	4	2	1	1	10
11-20	1	4	3	2	2	12
21-50	5	21	11	7	1	45
51-100	5	22	10	6	-	43
more than 100	-	5	3	1	-	9

* a few working units are omitted for lack of data.
** over 2 years

233 427 656 175 change in area, then the amount of stock allowed, per pound sterling of rent, ought to be changed, too.

This does not appear to have been done in Uig although in Stornoway parish the soum per pound was increased after rents were reduced in the late nineteenth century. More recently, the Crofters Commission, in re-stating soumings for some townships, has generally (but not invariably) applied the soum to the 1886 rent, regardless of the wording of the 1912 regulations. This may appear to have the merit of consistency and, insofar as crofters pay any attention to the Regulations, it satisfies them because the greater (1886) rent gives them a larger soum and less likelihood of being criticised or penalised for overstocking. However, it perpetuates inconsistencies which originated during the nineteenth century when the stock allowed per pound sterling rent was not reduced although total rentals were increasing as squatters' and cottars' holdings were added (see page above). Moreover, the old souming referred to the old type of highland cattle which were much smaller beasts than those kept today, and it assumed that the shieling pastures would be in full use. A further complication arises because about 1920 some townships acquired substantial enlargements but the soumings do not appear to have been adjusted. Altogether it is little wonder that the Grazing Regulations are seldom observed, for they seldom bear any close relationship to the grazing capacity of township lands. Proper observance of carefully revised Regulations, in which unlimited substitution of sheep in place of cattle was specifically forbidden, would be of considerable benefit to the crofters.

241 233 417 178 The inbye, or croft, land is invariably separated from the common pasture by a ring fence, the gates of which are generally closed for protection of crops from May to November. Progressive townships are installing grids to obviate the twin nuisances of traffic interference and straying stock. The fencing of individual crofts was rare until the 1930's and is still by no means general. The inbye land is, in many townships, the best winter grazing and its division into innumerable tiny fenced patches, whilst advantageous for cultivation, would restrict the movement of stock in search of water and shelter; in a predominantly pastoral economy complete enclosure of individual holdings is not necessarily an advantage. This problem will be discussed in Part III but, in the present context, it is relevant to point out that the small crofts of Lewis contrast strongly with the larger ones of, for example, the Uists and Tiree. Therefore, what may be advantageous in the latter may be retrograde in much of Lewis. 184

The lay-out of the crofts aggravates this problem. The long narrow strips of the 1850 lotting, well-suited to spade cultivation and common winter grazing, may require four or five times the length of fencing required by an equi-dimensional croft of similar area. If fenced the stock may be deprived of both water and shelter; since arable cultivation has become relatively unimportant a suitable solution to this problem might be to fence a small potato plot near the house and to put the rest of the inbye down to sown grass in three or four communal parks in which grazing could be properly controlled. A particular problem is posed by crofts which have been sub-divided. These may take the form of strips as much as half a mile long by 10 yards wide or, more commonly (and much worse), of piece-meal sharing of innumerable plots, a system known locally, but incorrectly, as 'run-rig'. This is seen at its height in Kneep (fig 22), where every croft in the township is affected. The problem does not arise in townships with large crofts, which are usually more nearly equi-dimensional. These are mostly the result of re-settlement schemes and have long been fenced, (see, for example, figure 15).

Crofter-tenants.

162 427 463 An analysis of crofter-tenants according to age, sex and occupation (table 12) provides several important clues as to the present unsatisfactory state of crofting. More than one-third of the tenants are over 65 years of age; a further 16% are absent, some of these may also be over 65, others are younger people working away from home, a few are tenants

162 427 463 of crofts in other districts, despite the legal requirement that a tenant shall reside within two miles of his croft. Thus half the crofts in the parish are tenated by persons who cannot be expected to make the best use of them. This implies no criticism of the people concerned, it is a criticism of the system. Of 314 resident tenants under 65 years of age, 43 are women; of the men, 170 have regular employment including fishing or weaving, 55 take casual or seasonal work as and when they can get it. Only 46, or 7% of all tenants, are "full-time crofters" and, in fact, most of these are either invalids, disabled, or over 60 years of age. Thus in Uig, unlike the southern Outer Hebrides, most crofts are at best a spare time occupation, at worst merely a house site carying special privileges. The table also demonstrates that the size of crofts has little bearing on occupational status; this is inevitable in a rigid system under which a man has no control of varying the size of his holding according to his needs. Some young tenants inherit crofts far too small for their family needs, whilst many elderly tenants, and women, have crofts which are too large for them to maintain.

241 427 It is not surprising, then, that many tenants do not wish, or are not able, properly to cultivate or stock their crofts. A few, however, are particularly interested in agricultural production as a means of livelihood. Some of these have acquired extra crofts, and so built up much larger units. This may be done by acquiring tenancies either in the crofter's own name or that of his wife or a close relative, or by sub-letting. About 30 crofters in Uig are tenants of more than one holding, at least 20 work holdings held in the name of close relatives, and at least 120 have sub-let holdings. These figures are certainly too low: sub-letting without the consent of the proprietor or Crofters Commission is illegal. Nevertheless it is common, and it is generally unsatisfactory because the sub-tenant has no security of tenure and no right to compensation for improvements; consequently sub-let crofts are often neglected and sometimes over-grazed as well. Controlled sub-letting, for a stated minimum period and with the right to compensation, would regularise a well established practice and encourage the formation of larger units, better able to support a family.

A converse of sub-letting is unofficial sub-division. There are a few cases of cottars - usually relatives living in a second dwelling house on the croft - sharing the croft with the tenant; but this formerly widespread practice has all but disappeared. Such de facto "crofters" share the common grazings, as do "squatters" - persons with houses on the common land - who keep stock. Thus neither the number of crofter-holdings on the rental (699), nor that of crofter-tenants (663), is any guide to the effective number of potential agricultural units. Of the crofter-tenants, 100 are absent and some of those who are resident sub-let their crofts. After making these allowances the number of de facto holdings becomes 518; to these must be added 39 cottars, squatters and others (including a few tenants of council houses) who keep at least a cow or five sheep, and 23 agricultural holdings without crofter status. Thus there are 580 potential agricultural units in Uig. 162 241 427

233 That is not all. Of these 66 have no cattle, and 162 carry less than half their soum, of which 22 have no stock at all. Little more than 400 holdings can reasonably be said to be agriculturally effective. This is an indictment, not of the crofters, but of the agricultural structure of the system. This neither provides viable holdings nor does it enable those who wish to acquire enough land to be agriculturalists to get it, even though much land lies unused or ill-used. In short, the system is too rigid. In consequence, de-population goes on apace whilst potential resources are neglected. Three-quarters of a century of legislation and financial aid have, in the main, encouraged the development of crofts as homes for the elderly and as hobbies for those in other employment. Very reasonably, many crofters complain. But very few realise-or are willing to admit - that the security of tenure and other privileges won in 1886, if too rigidly maintained, may ultimately bring about the decay of the very communities which they were intended to protect. 241 427

APPENDIX B (1) Population totals. 162 166 241 427 463 464

| | MALES | | |

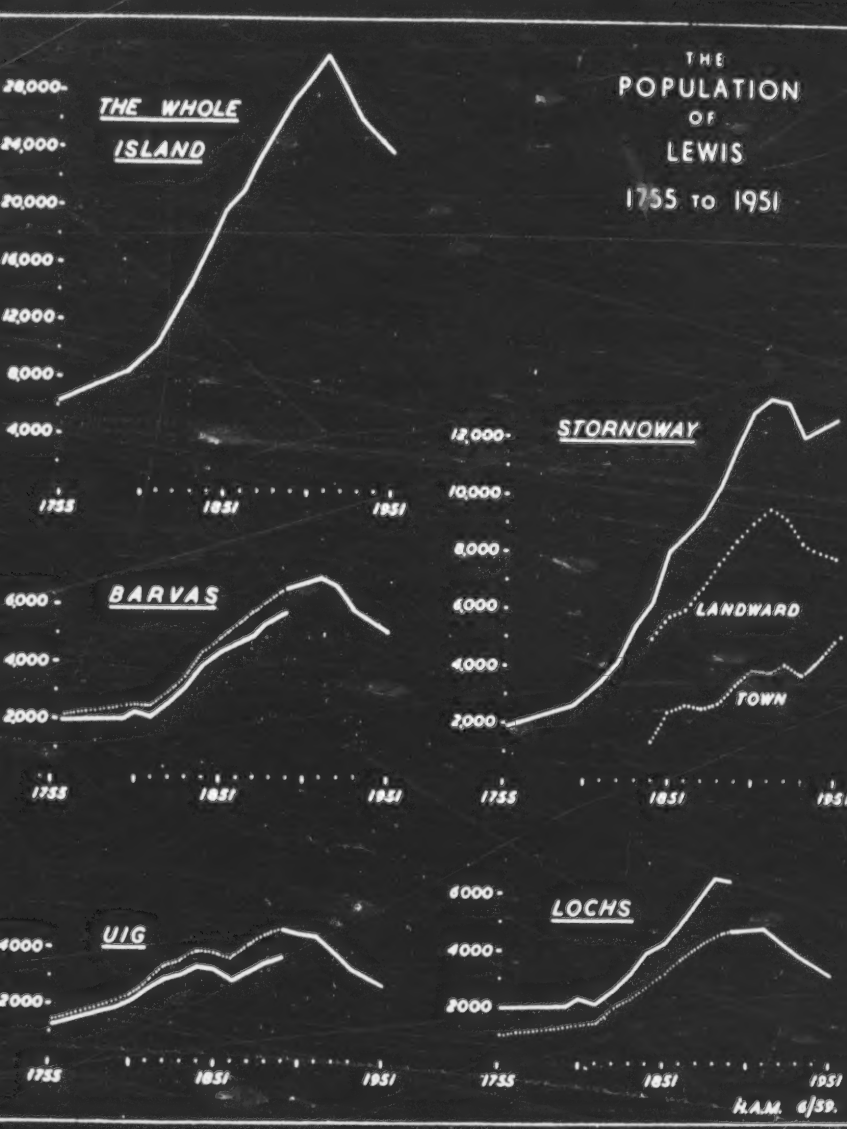
Congestion and Sub-division.

The crofting population of Uig started the second half of the nineteenth century with ar less land than had been occupied by their forebears fifty years before, and, although amine, clearance and emigration had slightly reduced the population between 1841 and 861, (from 3,828 to 3,630) thereafter it again increased, reaching about 4,600 in 1891. lising agricultural prices after 1850 favoured farmers and crofters alike but, whilst the armers prospered the crofters merely multiplied, thus in effect reducing the land vailable to each family. In 14 townships recorded in the 1850 sketch book the 273 hold-ngs at that date had become 402 by about 1890, to which should be added a considerable umber of cottars and squattars, many of them keeping stock and some sharing the rent f the crofts on which they had built their cottages. Detailed comparison of the rentals or the two dates shows that the increase had come about in two ways: firstly, it appears hat, from time to time, where a new rent ledger was being made up, the factor would ecord separately cottars who actually shared the rent of the croft and, secondly, he ould recognise and enter some of the squatters who had obtained rent-free (and illegal) oldings by enclosing and reclaiming from the common. The latter were added to the ourning of the townships according to the rent put upon them. Table 5 (page 16), lustrates the process. The recognition of squatters, usually at £1-£2 per annum, led o the small increases in total rental. For the rest, the increasing numbers were aused by subdivision. Only in a few cases does the proprietor seem to have actively ncouraged land reclamation by crofters. On April 17, 1850, four of the families which ad been cleared out of Reef were allowed to settle on the Callanish common near the reasclete boundary (hence the settlement became known as 'Breasclete Park'. Their ent was fixed at 15/- per acre for five years, thereafter increasing 1/- per annum until reached 29/- per acre; they shared, according to their rent, in the Callanish common asture. But forty years later one of these crofts had been divided into three, another nto two, and two new ones had been carved out of the common; the total rental had risen £13:19/-. Again, when Breanish was lotted in the spring of 1850, ten new lots were arked out and the rental is annotated "there are ten young men starting ... these lots soon as the season commences". This appears to have been too optimistic; few, if ny, of the new lots were ever broken in.

The farms, by contrast, prospered and the proprietor was able to share that rosperity by increasing rents as shown in the table:

TABLE 6

arm:	Rental in the period: 1840's	1850's	1860's	1870's
ealasta	£90	£105	£105	£130
rdroil	£100	£105	£187	£255
rnish	(£75: crofters)	£55		
megarry	£78	£84	£88	£108
innshader	£250	£297	£400	£425


THE POPULATION OF LEWIS 1755 TO 1951
THE WHOLE ISLAND
28,000
24,000
20,000
16,000
12,000
8,000
4,000
1755
1851
1951
STORNOWAY
12,000
10,000
8,000
6,000
4,000
2,000
LANDWARD
TOWN
BARVAS
6,000
4,000
2,000
UIG
4000
2000
LOCHS
6000
4000
2000
H.A.M. 6/59.

/p. 18/

Figure 8.

After the first World War re-settlement schemes went ahead with renewed vigour. Men serving in the Forces expected land to be available for them on their return and they were impatient to get it. By this time the Lewis estate belonged to the Lewis and Harris Development Co. - in other words to Lord Leverhulme. The farms of Mealasta, Reef, Carnish and Ardroil were all without tenants; Leverhulme agreed to break them into crofts, the Board of Agriculture surveyors were speedily put to work, and the new settlers were able to commence cultivation on March 1, 1921. Timagarry farm, with which was the Uig shooting lodge, was in the hands of a tenant; but the Board obtained possission, reserving a small area around the lodge for amenity. Croir farm, Bernera, was also broken up. More than 50 new holdings received enlargements to their common pastures; details are given in Figure 10 and table 8, (pages 22 and 23). The schemes were done in haste, the Secretary for Scotland pushed them forward in the face of some opposition from Leverhulme. Here, as elsewhere, the ex-servicemen were restive; land raids and violence, with inevitable political repercussion, were feared.

In 1924, Linshader farm was threatened by land raiders. As a result this, too, was broken up and 10 new holdings were occupied as from Whitsuntide, 1925. This was part of the Grimersta sporting estate and the proprietors required that all the ghillies be given crofts. Linshader was not particularly suited to crofter-management: it consisted of 49 acres of old arable land and more than 8,000 acres of rough pasture, the furthest part of which was five miles distant and without road access. When the Land Court fixed the souming the following remark was recorded:

"Under a club stock" (i.e. a single flock) the moor "might have been exploited to a very different extent, but in view of the fact that individual stocks are to be kept" (i.e. each crofter his own shepherd) "which is not conducive to hefting, ... 30 sheep per share will be ample. If the whole outside ground were being fully made use of by the sheep stock the grazing of ten cows should do no harm .... but the wintering afforded on the holdings does not justify a larger souming" (than one cow). It had, in fact, been the practise at Linshader farm to buy in young cattle for summer grazing, and to send away the lambs to the Dingwall area for their first winter.

Finally, in the thirties, two long established cottar families at Aird Bheag an isolated spot on the Uig shootings, applied for and obtained recognition as crofters. Their holdings have since been abandoned and now form part of the sheep farm operated by a syndicate of four Breanish and Ialivig crofters. Finally, in 1935 a further 12 new holdings were formed by a partial break-up of Garynahine farm. Thus in all, 140 new crofts and 45,000 acres have been added to the crofter holdings of Uig since 1878. During that period the population of the parish has declined from 4,500 to 2,700. Neither the formation of new crofts, nor the enlargement the old, has prevented depopulation. Little, if any, more land is available and depopulation continues. The only hope, now, is to make the existing land - individual holdings and commons alike - more productive.

Table 8 and the map, figure 10, illustrate the progress of resettlement.

Crofts and Crofters.

The parish of Uig is now mainly owned by five small limited companies: Uig Crofters, Bernera Crofters, Grimersta Estate, Carloway Estate, and Lewis Island Crofters. In addition, when Lord Leverhulme sold the Lewis estate a few crofters accepted their holdings as free gifts; consequently they lost legal crofter status (which is confined to tenants) although they continue to share in their respective townships. More recently four crofters in the south purchased some 2,000 acres of rough sheep grazings, including the now defunct settlement of Ard Bheag. There is no official record of the extent of crofters' land, but we accounted for some 95,000 acres (table 9). The remainder con-

491 311 427 sists of the sporting estates of Grimersta, Scaliscro, Morsgail and Uig Lodge, on some of which a few cattle and sheep may be grazed, and a few small farms.

632 311 427 162 There are 37 crofting townships. In area they extend from 9,000 acres (Linshader) to about 500 acres (Croir, excluding de facto shares in Bernera Shielings). The number of crofter tenants ranged from 4 in Ungshadir and Earshadir to 61 in Breasclete, and the average amount of land available to each crofter is 7.2 acres of inbye and 126 acres of common pasture (table 10). Averages are misleading. As the table shows, between districts the amount of land available per crofter varies from about 50 to 500 acres; as between townships the range is even wider (table 11). To some extent this contrast is the result of resettlement schemes which, in general, attempted to provide new holdings sufficient to yield a family living. The extent to which they were successful in this respect was limited by political pressure, especially in the 1920's, to provide the maximum number of holdings. Nevertheless the re-settled holdings have twice the average areas of both inbye and common pasture (13.3 against 7.2 acres, and 225 against 126 acres, respectively).

TABLE 10

Average acreage of land available for each holding and working unit.

241 233 311 427

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	INBYE LAND: Holding	INBYE LAND: Working Unit	COMMON PASTURES: Holding	COMMON PASTURES: Working unit	NUMBER OF: Holdings	NUMBER OF: Working units
Atlantic Coast	4.7	8.8	285	529	51	28
Uig Bay	10.1	14.8	255	367	62	43
Valtos-Reef	5.4	7.8	118	171	74	51
Little Loch Roag	7.0	7.6	116	126	38	35
Bernera Island	12.8	13.8	86	93	91	84
Bernera Shore	13.3	13.3	484	484	26	26
East Loch Roag	6.0	8.1	85	114	183	136
Loch Carloway	4.7	5.3	52	58	174	155
Non-crofting holdings	17.9	17.9	-	-	23	22
	7.2	9.0	126	157	699	580

NOTE: The distinction between "holdings" and "working units" is explained in the text.

427 632 311 Even amongst the old-established townships there is a tremendous range in amount of land available per tenant, the southern districts being best placed and those in the north worst, a situation which still remains. Indeed, the contrast in land available as between tenants (table 11) is a fundamental one; surprisingly, it is not on the whole reflected by a corresponding contrast in stock carried. Together with the rarity of effective fences between or within township pastures, the impossibility of properly hefting sheep to the hills when each crofter keeps his own little pack, and the excessive sheep/cattle ratio, this gives rise to serious problems which will be examined in Part III.

484 485 [494] As yet the tourist trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting relations but many houses offer suitable accommodation for people who would appreciate quiet holidays in these very beautiful surroundings. The distance from Stornoway, the difficulty of obtaining varied food supplies - and the weather - were cited as disadvantages! Passengers on a weekly coach tour from Stornoway are supplied with meals at an Ardroil house which has good access to the beach but otherwise the crofters show little interest in the possibilities of tourism.

● 162 166 464 In common with other crofting townships, the greatest problem here is that of an ageing population because the younger people seek employment outside their township. The diagrams illustrate the age-heavy structure of the permanent resident group and also the numbers of the insurable population periodically or permanently away. The lack of suitable work, for young women particularly, is also shown. The ages of the tenants also illustrate this problem. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty or 34% are over sixty-five. Serious, too, is the loss by emigration of people between fifteen and sixty-five. Of the total 'working population', 35% have left this region since 1939. The corresponding figure for Crowlista alone, the older settlement with smaller crofts, is as high as 42%.

241 231 427 [511] [887] We found in this part of Uig some crofts efficiently and energetically worked by young tenants, and if reasonable stock prices are obtained the larger crofts can be worked profitably. However no croft will fully support a family; ancillary employment is always sought by crofters with growing families yet many crofts are carrying less stock than they might because some tenants are not interested in, or able for, agriculture. The croft is increasingly thought of as a home, as part-time employment - often for older members of the family - and as a place for retirement.

000 It is easy to list schemes for improvement and change:- dairying to supply Stornoway with milk, poultry and pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivation under glass, the tourist industry, forestry on a small scale, lobster and crab fishing, etc. Such schemes would require capital not available in the townships, careful planning, and tactful administration by people with real knowledge of this area and its people. Meanwhile even the potential production of the crofts is by no means realised.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

131 133 427 133 The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along the western side of the steep and narrow valley of the Amhuinn Gil na h-Airde three miles north of Crowlista. After leaving Loch Meacheit, the river flows northward through a gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then across a narrow flood-plain into the rocky bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in arrangement and varying in size from 3¼ to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the right bank of the river, up the steep, rocky slopes above the left bank and widening out over the more gently slopes between the 100 ft. and 200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently enlarged, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional ground to the north or south.

700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
ula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos
h. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird
advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village
ow an R. A. F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common
It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the
.

wnship, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
tern end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N. A. A. F. I.
Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100
r and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds
buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below
Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the
e stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
yres.

are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
o make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an
oman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so
are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions,
st cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to
concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

nly crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown
atural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial
are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the
n is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse.
he cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
re was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
ly used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that
a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow
stic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses
ut make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

e other hand, the sheep scum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement
200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The
e weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented
wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many
r to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

otal resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there
three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most
are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
lly working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither
been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the
The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 -
roup is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

the crofts at Kneep are still highly fragmented: the fifteen crofts comprise over one hundr
and eighty separate arable plots. The lotted crofts at Reef were cleared in 1842 to provid
land for a sheep farm. Plans to clear the remainder of the Valtos peninsula were thwarte
by the Fisheries Board because Valtos and Kneep were then good centres for the white fish
industry. As late as 1892 Valtos and Kneep had forty boats, providing employment for on
hundred and forty-five men. Valtos with thirty-two boats and one hundred and twenty
fisher-men was second only to Carloway as a fishing centre in Uig. With the prosperity
of the fishing industry, the population of Valtos and Kneep had risen rapidly - from 467 in
1841 to 659 in 1891. Some, at least, of the subdivisions of Kneep date from this period.
Reef was scheduled by the Deer Forest Commission (1896) for resettlement by crofters
and in 1908 an attempt was made to do this, but agricultural experts advised against it, on
the grounds of poor water supply, scarcity of arable land (only ninety-three acres old aral
and the risk that, if cultivated, the machair would suffer wind erosion. Nevertheless, in
1921, Reef was resettled by ex-servicemen from Valtos and Kneep. At the time the shee
farm was only carrying a stock of one hundred and seventy sheep - less than half the croft
sheep stock in 1959.

Tables 15 - 18 summarize the more significant points of the economy of the Valtos
peninsula. Table 16 illustrates the fact that the economy is in decline. Only two-thirds
the total possible units are being worked. Many of the crofters have abandoned their cro
and the younger generations are unwilling to take over. Of those remaining to work the
crofts 18% are over sixty-five, and a further 47% are between forty-five and sixty-four.

TABLE 16

Crofts and Crofters

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
Legal crofts:	40	18	15	73
No. in joint tenancy	2	4	0	6
Total possible units:	42	22	15	79
No. of operative units 8/59:	29 (60%)	15 (68%)	8 (53%)	52 (66%)
Joint tenancy crofts as one unit:	1	3	0	4
Cases of subletting:	8 (+2 part crofts)	4	6	18
Family combination of crofts:	2	1	1	4
Derelict crofts:	2	1	0	3
Crofts worked by: Full time crofter	3	1	1	5
crofter with regular work	8	7	0	15
crofter with periodic work	13	3	4	20
crofter over 65 (or invalid)	5	1	3	9

TABLE 11

Land Available by Numbers of Tenants

INBYE LAND			COMMON PASTURES		
Acres:	No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:	Acres:	No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:
	(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
0-1.0	1		Less than 50	88	
1.0-2.5	73	2	51-100	332	14
2.6-5.0	241	19	101-200	139	12
5.1-7.5	137	22	201-300	52	-
7.6-10	66	23	301-400	32	32
10.1-15	56	23	401-500	8	8
15.1-20	30	17			
20.1-50	29	24	940	10	10

Note: 'New' townships, for this purpose, are those settled since 1900.

In detail the arrangement of the townships varies. Certain features are common: all inbye land and, consequently, all settlements, are coastal (except Lochganvich). Ea has common pasture adjacent to the inbye and many have further areas of common - former shieling grazings - some distance inland (figure 1). This division of the hill grazings is to some extent nominal because fences are often absent or ineffective. Uninhabited islands, on the other hand, require no fences, and are particularly valuable for winter grazing; the smaller of them provide convenient natural paddocks for bulls and tups when out of season. The management of all these common pastures is control by the township committees. Unfortunately the most important aspect of stock manage ment - control of numbers and maintenance of a proper balance of sheep and cattle - is almost universally neglected.

The total stock which each croft may put on the common pastures - the 'soum' - is defined in the Regulations. In the case of townships re-settled in the present century a specific soum is placed on each croft but, in most other cases, the old practice persist of stating the soum in terms of rent. Thus the soum of each croft may be defined as 1 cow, 1 two-year-old and 8 sheep per pound sterling rent (this is a very common soum Such soumings have been in existence since time immemorial; they are mentioned in 1836*. Many of the Uig townships had their soumings stated by the Land Court in 1912; in most cases the soum was given "per pound sterling of rent" (presumably 1912 rent), but in a few "per pound sterling of rent payable in 1886". The rents had been substanti reduced in 1891, thus 1912 and 1886 rents were very different. Any township has a certa limited, stock-carrying capacity; therefore, if the total rental is thus changed without

* New Statistical Account, Vol. XIV, p.148.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

Appendix B

	MALES																	
	RESIDENT										PERIODICALLY ABSENT				PERMANENTLY ABSENT			
						15–64												
	0 – 14	15 – 24	25 – 34	35 – 44	45 – 64	Fulltime crofters	Crofters with part-time employment	Crofters with part-time employment	Retirement	Students	Fulltime Students	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 64	Absentee Navy 15 – 44	Absentee Navy 45 – 64	Professional 15 – 44		
VALTOS	6	9	18	16	13	3	12	14	5	-	-	-	-	4	1	-		
KNEEP	2	4	6	9	7	1	7	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
REEF	3	3	5	5	3	4	-	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
MEAVAIG	6	-	4	3	-	-	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Total D	17	16	33	33	23	8	23	23	12	-	-	-	-	4	1	-		
CARYSHADER	5	2	11	5	2	1	7	7	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-		
GESHADER	-	2	9	1	9	2	3	4	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	-		
UNGSHADER	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
ENACLETT	3	3	6	5	3	1	4	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Non-crofting	4	5	1	3	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Total E	12	12	29	14	18	4	19	15	5	-	-	6	-	-	-	-		

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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(1). continued.

ENTLY AWAY						Migration since '39		FEMALES																						Migration since '39	
								RESIDENT									Temporarily away			PERMANENTLY AWAY											
Professional 45 – 54	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 54				Emigration	Immigration	0 – 4	5 – 14	15 – 44	45 – 54	55 and over	In employment	15–64	Housewives	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 54	Nursing 15 – 44	Nursing 45 – 54	Professional 15 – 44	Professional 45 – 54	Domestic Service 15 – 44	Domestic Service 45 – 54	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 54							
-	1	-				7	2	2	4	14	17	15	3		4	-	-	5	-	-	-	3	-	-	-					5	3
-	-	-				2	-	-	1	3	5	8	1		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-					4	-
-	-	-				10	2	-	2	3	4	2	1		-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-					6	2
-	-	-				7	4	2	1	4	3	-	1		1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-					8	5
-	1	-				26	8	4	8	24	29	25	6		6	-	-	6	-	-	1	5	1	-	-					23	10
-	2	1				7	3	1	2	7	5	5			1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-					3	1
-	2	-				6	1	2	1	3	-	10			-	-	-	2	-	-	-	4	-	-	-					9	1
-	-	-				-	-	-	-	2	2	2			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-					-	-
-	-	-				2	-	2	4	2	6	2	1		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					4	1
-	-	-				1	4	5	2	3	1	1	-		-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-					2	1
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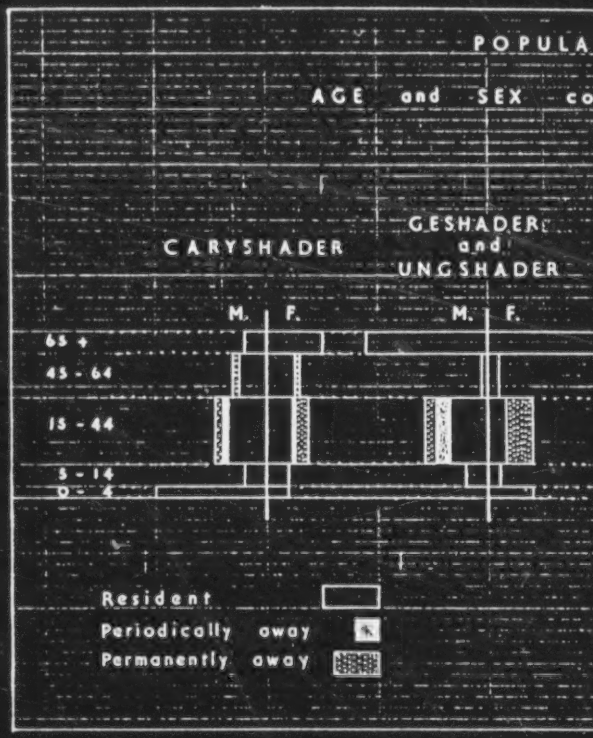

Figure

/facing p. 49/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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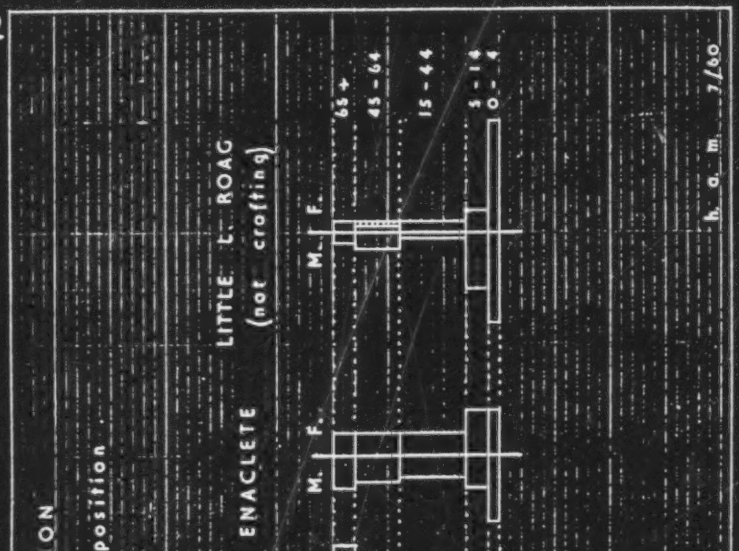

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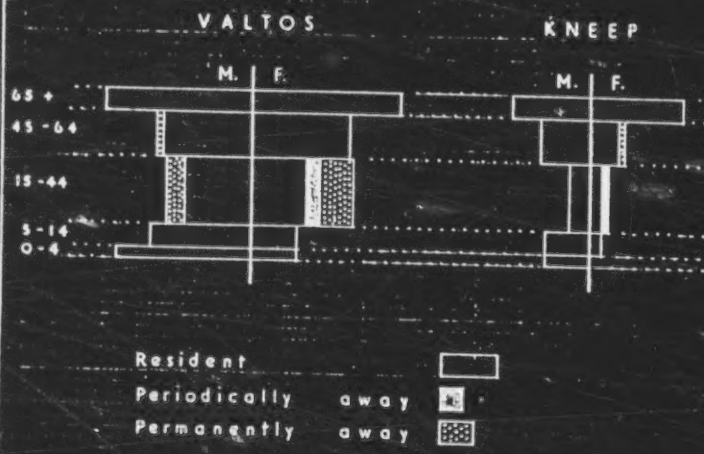

Figure

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4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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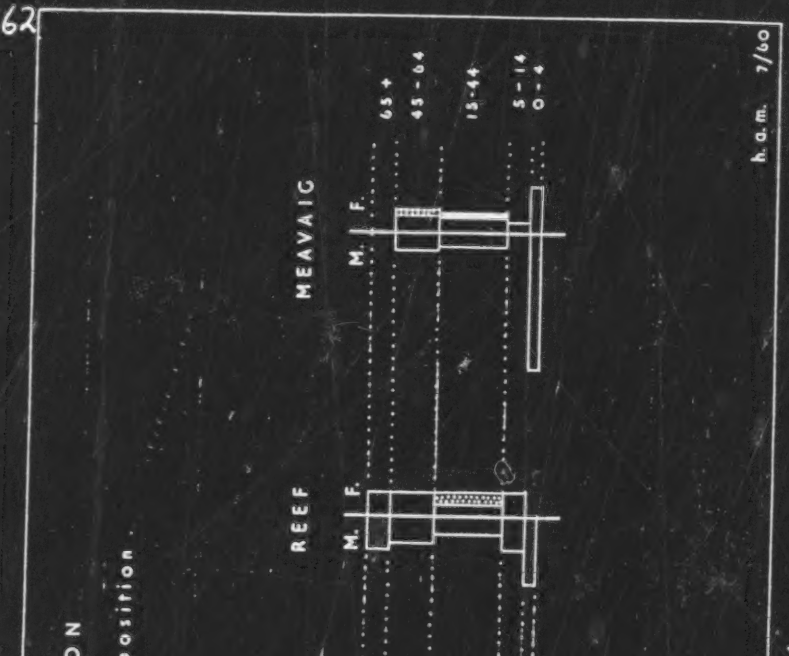

APPENDIX B (continued).

(2) Occupations of resident males, aged 15-64, South Uig, August 1959

(excluding R.A.F. personnel but including local residents employed as civilians by the R.A.F.)

162 463 464

	District:* A	B	C	D	E
Croft work only	3	5	5	8	4
Croft and regular-					
-weaving	16	7	4	16	8
-fishing	-	-	-	1	-
-estate work	1	-	-	-	3
-R.A.F.	2	2	5	1	2
-N.C.A.	3	-	-	-	1
-public service	2	3	-	1	3
-professional	-	-	-	-	-
-transport	1	2	-	1	1
-retail trade	-	1	-	3	1
Croft and irregular-					
-casual labour	3	2	2	23	14
-estate work	-	-	-	-	1
Not crofting -					
-weaving	-	-	-	1	2
-R.A.F.	-	-	-	3	2
-N.C.A.	5	-	-	-	-
-public service	-	-	-	2	-
-professional	1	1	-	2	-
-transport	1	-	-	-	-

* Districts- A: Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta
B: Carnish, Ardroil and Timsarry
C: Aird and Crowlista
D: Valtos, Kneep, Reef and Mealvaig
E: Caryshader, Geshader, Unshader and Knaclete

(3) Destination of Emigrants 1959-59, South Uig

166 167

	Males	Females	TOTAL	of which Females on marriage:
Stornoway	16	17	33	10
Other Lewis	2	8	10	4
Other Crofting Cos.	12	8	20	6
Glasgow	12	12	24	11
Other Scotland	7	16	23	11
U.K.	7	7	14	7
Overseas	8	9	17	3
	64	77	141	52

Crofts and Commons

423 427 311 632

A crofting area normally consists of the croft land proper - the inbye (arable and unimproved land, and various common grazings. Table 20 summarises the situation in Bernera. Kirkibost has by far the largest inbye and the Bernera Island townships generally are larger than those of Bernera Shore. That the positions are reversed with regard to common grazings is due to the limited hill of Croir and the very extensive hill of Linshader. The Bernera Island townships would, however, be much worse off for hill land had they not various special common grazings (except Croir) and did they not share in the 4,341 acres of the Bernera shielings on the mainland. It is possible to calculate the appropriate shieling share for each township on the basis that, though the theoretical soums for each township and common grazing are exact, in fact all working units may send animals to the

TABLE 22

Bernera District

Sub-division and Amalgamation

162 311 423 427 632

	ISLAND: Breaclete	Croir	Hacklete	Kirkibost	Tobson	TOTAL	SHORE: Earshader	Cruliveg	Lundale	Linshader	TOTAL	DISTRICT TOTAL
Registered crofter-tenants	13	8	20	26	22	89	4	6	6	10	26	115
Agricultural feus	3	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	-	1	2	6
Agricultural cottars	-	-	1	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Agricultural squattars	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Working units (a)	14	7	20	28	19	88	6	6	6	9	27	115
Known sub-lets	3	1	1	2	1	7	-	-	-	2	2	9
Joint working (b)	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Joint working (c)	-	-	1	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Sub-divisions (d)	1	-	1	4	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
Other feus (e)	4	1	1	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Other cottars	-	-	1	-	3	4	-	1	-	-	1	5

Notes: (a) Whether stocked or not
(b) Family co-operation involving amalgamation of holdings.
(c) " " not " " " "
(d) Usually between members of a family, but not recognised on the Valuation Roll.
(e) Excluding those without occupied dwellings.

231 178

to less regular routines than was the case when the shielings formed an essential part of the grazing regime. The old "Black Cattle" strain is completely bred out, nor is there much trace of Highland blood. The cattle are almost exclusively of Shorthorn or of Aberdeen Angus or of cross blood in order to qualify for the hill cattle subsidy. The exceptions, like the Jersey cow in Cruliveg, are very few. The cows are dual purpose beasts, kept for milk and for production of calves for sale. The latter are sold either within a week or so of birth, or at the age of up to six months (i.e. in autumn) or at about eighteen months age, after which the regulations usually specify that followers must be counted as full-grown beasts in the soum. They may be sold either in Stornoway or at the biannual sale at Breaclete. Cows unless they are being passed on to another crofter, are usually sold to the Stornoway slaughter house. Again, owing to the restricted market available, prices are lower than on the mainland, though undoubtedly greatly improved since 1939.

The problem of winter feed is still a governing factor in cattle management: cattle kept through the winter need a good deal of fodder, and happy the crofter and fortunate the year when it is not necessary to buy in a certain amount of cake, bruised oats, other feed or even hay. However, it is generally reckoned that the croft will supply the most if not all of the hay and oats. In any case, the amount generally bought in is a great deal less than that necessary in the mainland Highlands. This is largely due to the fact that, on many days, the cattle can be let out for foraging and will, in fact, manage to gain some natural feed.

Here, in contrast with Sutherland (where frequently a bull upon a neighbouring farm is used for service), and even with Park (where each township has its own bull) there is but one bull. In order to get round the problems of maintenance which have occasionally bedevilled Lewis townships, there is a recognised practice: the bull spends July to October upon the Tobson township common grazing, and the rest of the year on Little Bernera.*

Horses have never occupied a very important place in the economy of the area. It is said that the first horse on Bernera Island was taken to Hacklete bout 1923: previous to that and for some time after, most of the cultivation was by hand. This is understandable: in an area where most of the arable land is in lazy beds, and where, owing to dependence upon and nearness to the sea, problems of long distance land transport did not arise, there was little place for the horse, a fact which was recognised by the omission of horses from all the soums save that of Linshader itself. There is no recollection in the area of the keeping of goats. Nor is there a tradition of pig-keeping, though there were undoubtedly a few kept in the past. Poultry are kept almost entirely for domestic use.

Population - ages and occupations.**

162

Questions of land use cannot be separated from questions of population. The permanently resident population of the Bernera region is but three hundred and sixty and it is not balanced as to age-distribution (see Fig. 30). Appendix C(3) shows that out of 85 croft-holders on Bernera there are 34 full-time crofters: 21 are men, only seven of whom are less than 65; 13 are women, only six of whom are less than 65. The situation is even worse on Bernera Shore: out of 25 croft holders, only 11 are full-time, all men but all are over 65. The term 'full-time crofter' really implies crofter with no other occupation, and cannot be taken as necessarily involving a full-time unit of effective agricultural labour. Of the croft holders with full-time employment, 33 on the Island and six on the Shore, all but one, as would be expected, are less than 65. Therefore a large part of the active labour force is siphoned off into other occupations, for, increasingly, a man with a regular job has neither the energy nor the inclination to work a croft in

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*The introduction of Artificial Insemination may soon change this.

**Appendix D(1) contains details of population by townships, appendices D(2) and (3) give further details of occupations and emigration.

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 81

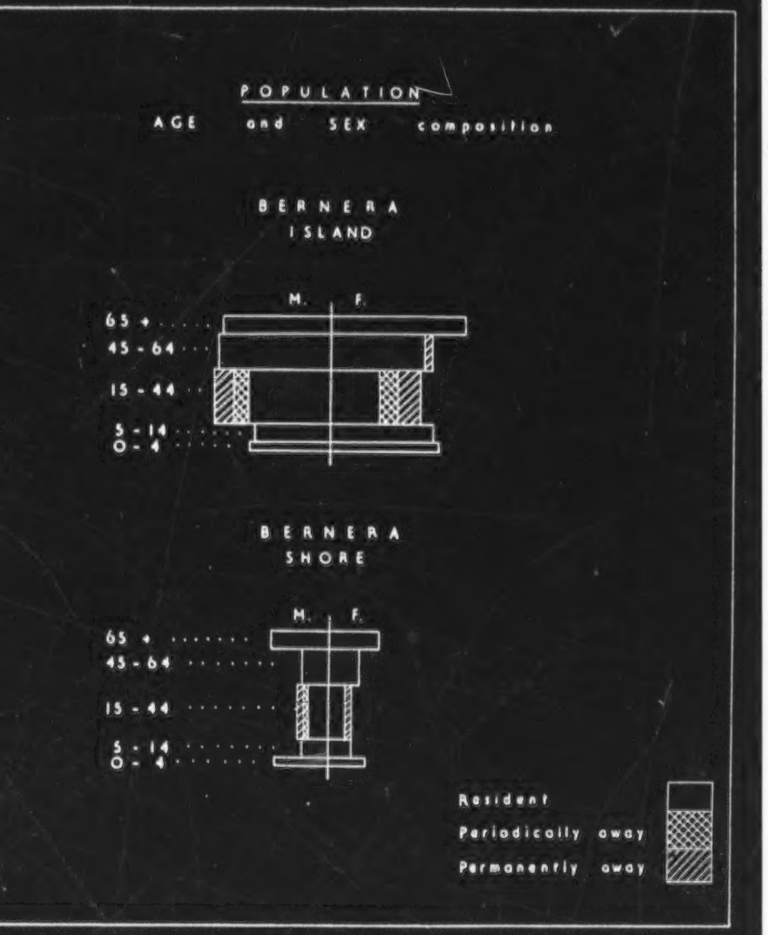


Figure 31

464 his little spare time. In addition there are a few croft holders with periodic employment. It is noteworthy that the incidence of employment bears no direct relationship to the size of croft holding - there is not, for example, a preponderance of holders of small crofts taking permanent employment.*

162 464 However, the croft holders are not the only source of labour: Appendix C(4) shows that there is a total force of fairly regular labour for the crofts amounting to 147, or rather less than half the total resident population. Of these, 78 undertake regular employment, 24 have employment on occasion, and thus only 45 are full-time, of whom 25 are over 65. The forms of employment are indicated on Appendix D(2); weaving, with 49 persons regularly involved, is by far the most important single source of full-time employment, the only other being fishing (24 persons). Estate work (mostly gamekeepers, ghillies, etc. at Grimersta Lodge) gives regular employment to ten persons in the townships of the Shore. No other form of employment accounts for more than three residents between 15 and 65 years of age; the category 'casual' covers a variety of unskilled labour and there are five non-employable invalids. 288 226

288 283 About 50 households, out of 130, have looms. Yarn is distributed by the Stornoway producers for weaving on commission; they collect, finish, and market the cloth. Hand spinning has all but died out and such yarn is more likely to be used for handknitting than for weaving; at least one lady supplements her income in this way. There is some evidence that Bernera weavers receive less work than those more accessible to Stornoway; the reason for this may lie partly in individual contacts between weavers and producers, and partly in the particular skills of particular weavers but transport is an important factor. Such a small isolated group of weavers does not justify frequent journeys by the Stornoway vans; in fact most yarn is put out, and tweeds collected, by a weekly carrier.

Table 31

Fishing in Bernera District 1892-1956

178 226 435

	Numbers engaged: Boats:	Men:	Value of Catch:
1892	39	133	?
1900	36	164	?
1913	39	163	£1,300
1920	36	151	£1,400
1930	27	145	£670
1938	33	114	£699
1948	40	84	£2,850
1956	25	26	£4,949

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Not all the boats returned were necessarily engaged in regular fishing. Nor is the value of the catch shown necessarily attributable entirely to Bernera.

* Editorial Note: this is an inevitable result of the rigid structure of crofter land holdings. See Part I, page 30 and table 12. The age of the crofter, and his family circumstances are decisive.

TABLE 32

Some Changes in Stock and Population

161 162 231 233

	POPULATION 1891	1959	CATTLE(1) 1883(2)	1959	SHEEP(1) 1883(2)	1959
Breaclete	84	55	53	25	215	462
Cruir	3	18	?(3)	11	?(3)	270
Hacklete	122	90	143	52	449	905
Kirkibost	148	79	89	49	290	916
Tobson	178	71	116	36	534	610
ISLAND	535	311	401	173	1,488	3,243
Earshader	24	32	20	7	109	317
Crulivig	72	26	25	14	116	406
Lundale	-	19	26	11	368	538
Linshader	10	22	20(4)	8	2,000(4)	534

Notes: (1) More than one year old.
(2) According to the evidence to the Napier Commission (except Linshader).
(3) Included in Linshader.
(4) According to local memory.

161 162

The Population of Bernera (island only)

1841	474	1911	730
1851	518	1921	605
1861	453	1931	514
1871	539	1939	c.500
1881	596	1951	384
1891	535	1959	311
1901	580		

Uig

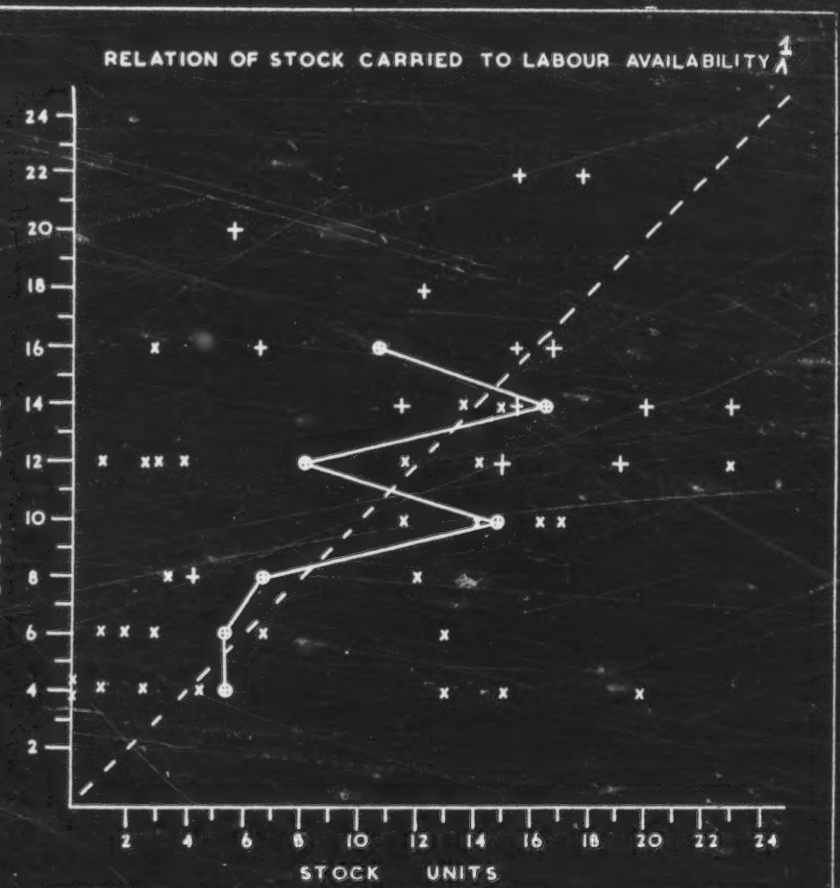


Figure 20

/facing p. 43/

[See p. 45 for discussion of chart--Analyst.]

An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on the individual croft to the size of holding and to the availability and age of the labour force. In both diagrams there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0 - 7 units) and the commercial holding (11+ units), but there is no definite relationship between stock and size of holding or labour availability. The inclusion of the points of equilibrium for certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected state of affairs: in the case of crofters with regular work and full time crofters, those over the age of forty-five carry a larger stock from those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to the economic problem of crofting lies in the amalgamation of holdings in order to create a more viable economic unit, but the indication from these diagrams is that an increase in the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to an increase in stock. It is the absence of accessible markets that deter the crofter from increasing his agricultural production.

In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihood for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters under sixty-five almost 90% supplement the croft income by other employment. Of these casual labour (at present mainly at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57% regular work - particularly weaving - 43%. The combination of crofting and weaving provides probably the best return for the labour: one crofter with a croft of 3.3 acres, carrying two cows, two followers and ninety sheep (sixty ewes) made the following estimates for 1958:

FROM THE CROFT:	
Sale of two year-old calves	£80
Cow and calf subsidies	£40
Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb.	£75
	£ 195 (1)
FROM WEAVING -	
at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p.w.)	£550
GROSS INCOME	£745

Weaving abour 30 hours a week apparently leaves him sufficient time to run the croft efficiently; at present a crofter supplementing his income by a labourer's wage at Gisla hydro electric scheme would have to put in nearly sixty hours per week to achieve the same financial reward.

The economy of the Valtos peninsula has been changing, and contracting, for several years. The number of unoccupied crofts is increasing; commercial fishing ended at the time of the first World War; the shielings have been abandoned as summer cattle pastures. The Valtos shielings near Loch Scanadale were abandoned during the 1939 - 45 war, due mainly to the lack of manpower in the township, though some was used intermittently until 1953. The shielings of Kneep and Reef were abandoned in the late 1930's, at which time Kneep had some fifty milk cows as compared with fourteen in 1959.

[1] Against this figure, must be set the costs of production (i.e. fertilisers, new seed, winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there
[Bed] water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one me
of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large mode
Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except
[359] rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three
remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and
worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-
to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In
[288] addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men
weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the
prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than
[166] average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of
young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people
[161] young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently re
[163] dent adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has alw
been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous croft
communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

115 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people clea
427 from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivi
making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no cul
vation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

361 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete
241 Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover bei
231 grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one
acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 catt
is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part o
that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people
65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises ge
133 from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in
northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a sm
westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

491 The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the
361 middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main
Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along t
road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished
Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey sho
[441] by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway
high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years,
at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many hou
have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days
weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

7 joint tenants of one have moved to Geshader while continuing to work the Ungshader land. 8 Another is preparing to move to Enaclete and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Chroistean Cottage. At present, three working units remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with ten units, one being rented by joint tenants.

21 The rhythm of work is similar to that in other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oats are planted in April followed by lambing and peat cutting in May. In June and July the sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to the common grazings. In August the peats are carted, once they are dry, by lorry direct to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lambs are weaned in September, harvest is then carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take place in November. The sheep are then returned to the township grazing though the lambs may be fed with hay on the croft. There is little regular crop rotation and only a small number of crofters seem to undersow oats, thus improving the quality of future hay crops. Gardens are not important and only provide for family needs but Caryshader particularly has a number, some growing flowers as well as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely from croft to croft as well township to township. Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the shor and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshader are usually fed on artificials.

31 Most crofters keep one milk cow with a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn sales in Caryshader. However, some now rely on their neighbours for milk in return for grazing and one croft has turned to goats, as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on Geshader -Ungshader common grazing as it is completely fenced; and Geshader is responsible for its upkeep.

33 Lambing seems to have been generally good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact figures. The Morsgail Estate and Gisla farm also run considerable flocks. The common pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlargement, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acres for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader near Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres 34 on Floday island. The shielings have been disused since the war. Peat is normally cut to the west of the road but at least one elderly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his croft for this purpose to save the effort of working further afield.

41 Generally speaking the land now cropped only represents one third to one half of that 78 worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when the crofting population was larger and when much greater numbers of cattle were kept through the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and more oats. The cattle numbers are much less than the total souming but sheep are in 31 excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazing by sheep has caused a decline in grazing quality

4 Clearly in these townships, apart from the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the means of livelihood is sought elsewhere. At present there are altogether fifty-three men in the working age group (15 - 64) in all four townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine permanently and five periodically. Thirty have regular or periodic employment besides crofting and of these seven work at Gisla on the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, some of them part-time, four hire out vans, two do post-office work and others have varied occupations while only three are full-time crofters. At present there are few men in the Merch Navy and fishing does not provide an occupation although many share rowing-boats in their spare time, and fish for domestic use.

62 The population as a whole is ageing and of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four 47 (roughly 30%) work away permanently or have emigrated. It is noticeable that there are 29 few crofts worked by people with young families

00 In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that the fate of the crofting townships depends mo

632 361 strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of 427 the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to 311 accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23. [233]

[132] The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke [312] running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house [241] is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse [407] and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

433 The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over [729] sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

[233] Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

● 162 Fig. 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the 163 most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

131 By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years 20 ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at [443] Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the [346] peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

(i) Population totals by

| | MALES | | |

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

APPENDIX D

162
166
632

| Townships | FEMALES | | |

233 Little close attention is paid to shepherding though several crofters profess to liking it. The great losses on the moor (often amounting to one third of the lambs each year) does not seem to cause much worry. The chief income from the sheep is the fleece which [435] sells at up to 4/- per pound, an average fleece weighing from three to four pounds. This [288] wool is not used for the tweed industry since it is too coarse being more suited to carpet manufacture. Appendix C (6) shows that the majority of flocks are small averaging from 10-20. The overgrazing is the result of a smaller number of owners keeping larger flocks. Thirteen of the working units have between 50 and 100 sheep. As to those without sheep, several crofters declared themselves to be too old to bother with them, a fact which serves as an illustration and introduction to the population problems.

162 Appendices D (1) shows the twofold nature of the difficulties which confront the community. Twenty-two per cent of the residents are over 65 years of age and no less than 56% are 464 over 45 years old. With the sole exception of one man who works on the power development project at Gisla in South Uig, the main focus of employment is local. A small number [434] of people are engaged in services to the community including shopkeeping, but the main source of income is weaving since crofting itself (by definition in this area at least) does not yield sufficient to maintain a family. Yet there are 31 full time crofters who are being supported in some other way, either by relations temporarily or permanently absent or by interest on capital accumulated during periods of employment away from the island.

162 There is an insufficiency of women of child-bearing age to offer hope of an increase in 464 the population or even a sufficient number to guarantee a level of replacement. This fact toegther with the emphasis on one form of employment gives rise to anxiety among the crofters, who recollect what happened when the fishing finally collapsed during the First World War after a period of steady decline. In 1913 twenty boats sailed from Carloway [435] and gave employment to 295 men. If the weaving fails (at present a weaver making three tweeds per week can earn up to £16 for them) there will be similar hardship and the net emigration from an area already none too attractive to young people will certainly become more marked than it is at present.

Table 36

Fishing in the Carloway District 1892-1956

178 228 435

	Numbers engaged		
	Boats	Men	Value of catch:
1892	65	300	?
1900	27	318	?
1913	20	295	£8,700
1920	14	266	£560
1930	10	83	£262
1938	10	40	£470
1948	14	40	£174
1956	15	18	nil

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Boats returned may not have been in regular use; many of the men were mainly engaged as hands on east coast boats.

APPENDIX C continued

(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, August 1959.

162 311 427 464 631

Status* of tenants:		Area of holding (in acres): 0.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	More than 20.0	TOTAL:
BERNERA DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	2	6	3	8	10	4	4	37
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	M under 65	-	-	-	1	4	3	4	12
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	M under 65	-	1	1	2	2	1	-	7
	M over 65	-	5	1	3	8	4	4	25
	F under 65	-	-	1	1	3	1	-	6
	F over 65	-	-	3	2	1	-	1	7
Absent		-	1	3	1	3	2	3	13
TOTAL		2	13	12	18	32	15	17	109
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	4	21	13	3	2	2		45
	M over 65	-	1	1	-	-	-		2
	F under 65	-	1	-	-	-	-		1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
B	M under 65	2	6	4	-	1	-		13
	M over 65	-	-	1	-	-	-		1
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
C	M under 65	-	4	7	2	-	-	-	13
	M over 65	6	15	15	5	3	2	-	46
	F under 65	-	4	4	-	-	-	1	9
	F over 65	2	5	2	1	2	-	-	13
Absent		6	15	6	2	-	2	-	30
TOTAL		20	72	53	13	8	5	1	172
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	5	24	10	3	-	2	-	44
	M over 65	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	4
	F under 65	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	M under 65	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	3
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	M under 65	3	7	1	-	1	-	-	12
	M over 65	3	18	7	-	1	-	-	29
	F under 65	1	13	3	2	-	-	-	19
	F over 65	4	14	4	-	-	-	-	22
Absent		4	12	1	1	1	-	-	19
TOTAL		21	92	28	7	4	3	-	155

* A with regular employment.
B with irregular employment.
C without employment ('full-time crofters').

APPENDIX C continued

(4) Principal croft workers, according to status, by size of effective agricultural unit, August 1959.

162
311
427
464
631

Status of croft worker		Area of effective agricultural unit (acres): Less than 2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	More than 20.0	TOTAL:
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Regular employment	M under 65	4	7	6	11	15	12	11	66
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M under 65	1	1	-	2	8	3	2	17
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M under 65	-	-	1	3	2	1	1	9
	M over 65	-	-	4	2	1	-	-	7
	F under 65	-	-	2	1	2	1	1	8
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	5	8	13	19	28	17	15	105
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Regular employment	M under 65	4	24	17	13	18	3	3	82
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M under 65	1	1	5	1	1	1	-	10
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M under 65	-	-	4	-	3	1	1	9
	M over 65	3	7	4	3	2	1	1	21
	F under 65	-	2	3	1	1	-	-	7
	F over 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	TOTAL	8	35	33	18	25	6	5	130
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Regular employment	M under 65	20	39	16	8	4	4	1	92
	M over 65	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	F under 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M under 65	2	1	3	1	-	-	-	7
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M under 65	7	7	2	2	1	1	-	20
	M over 65	1	4	8	-	1	2	-	16
	F under 65	3	5	3	-	-	-	-	11
	F over 65	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	7
	TOTAL	36	59	35	11	6	7	1	155

APPENDIX C continued

(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit*

162
231
464
631

STOCK CARRIED	Under 65 years: Full-time crofter	Croft and regular work	Croft and periodic work	Over 65 years: Male	Female	ALL UNITS*
BERNERA DISTRICT:						
CATTLE** nil	3	2	1	4	-	10
1	8	24	8	3	1	44
2	4	13	1	1	-	19
3	-	4	1	-	-	5
more than 3	-	1	-	-	-	1
SHEEP nil	2	-	-	-	-	2
less than 6	1	-	1	-	-	2
6-10	2	2	-	1	-	5
11-20	-	3	2	3	-	8
21-50	8	23	4	2	1	38
51-100	2	15	4	2	-	23
more than 100	-	1	-	-	-	1
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT:						
CATTLE** nil	5	13	5	4	-	27
1	12	53	6	16	1	88
2	2	9	-	-	-	11
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
more than 3	-	-	-	-	-	-
SHEEP nil	2	10	4	3	1	20
less than 6	1	2	-	2	-	5
6-10	6	5	1	5	-	17
11-20	4	22	1	3	-	30
21-50	2	25	5	7	-	39
51-100	4	9	-	-	-	13
more than 100	-	-	-	-	-	-
CARLOWAY DISTRICT:						
CATTLE** nil	3	6	-	2	1	12
1	21	72	5	11	4	113
2	5	10	1	2	1	19
3	-	1	-	-	-	1
more than 3	-	-	-	-	-	-
SHEEP nil	9	17	2	6	4	38
less than 6	2	5	-	2	-	9
6-10	4	8	-	1	-	13
11-20	6	17	2	2	1	28
21-50	5	32	1	3	1	42
51-100	2	6	1	1	-	10
more than 100	1	3	-	-	-	4

* some units are omitted for lack of data.
** two years and over.

| | MALES | | |

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uis

APPENDIX D continued

| | | |

361 and across the croft boundaries and it is along these that the majority of the houses are
441 to be found so that as the roads followed the easiest course open to them so the settlement
378 has moved to the roads.

A particularly interesting example of this kind can be drawn from Upper Carloway where a twofold movement of settlements has taken place; first, from about 150 feet above sea level, where the original black houses were built, there was an uphill movement to the upper of the two roads which cross the township at from 150 to 170 feet above sea level, and, secondly (and more recently), there has been a move to build at from 25 to 30 feet above sea level along the lower road which has become the main axis for the public
342 services. Three main types of building exist then in this township. The first is the blackhouse of which only one or two now remain. Even these are not the primitive type of blackhouse, for they all have proper chimneys. The second is an ill-defined group which includes buildings erected during the later years of the fishing boom and in the period up to the Second World War. These houses are either one or two storied often with the traditional dormer windows; they form the majority. Finally there is the development of the modern bungalows which are built by the crofters but based on plans supplied by the Department of Agriculture. Few have ventured to build away from the level of the lower road.

42 How then does this pattern of settlement illustrate the changes referred to at the
78 beginning of this section? The original houses were abandoned gradually as the temporary prosperity of the fishing enabled the crofters to build the better houses. These have seen great changes, but in most cases they are still occupied. Some have been extended and improved by their owners whilst others remain without additions almost as they were when first built. That the crofter owns his own house has certainly encouraged replacement
[54] in recent times. The generous grants and loans provided by the Department of Agriculture have been utilised to construct the modern bungalows on crofts where the original croft house stands as a byre and where the second house is sometimes inhabited by some relative or person who sublets part of the croft. It is rare to see such successive phases so close together in a landscape reflecting the varying fortunes of economic enterprise and the influence of government subsidies now so much a part of the life of the crofting township.

Roads and public services.

441 Carloway's importance as a centre for West Lewis is accounted for by the fact that at the break in the coastline caused by East Loch Roag the main road southwards from Barvas turns inland to Breasclete. Near the point where it crosses the Carloway river at Carloway bridge it is joined by a number of local township roads creating a focus for community services (figure 38).[1] Here also the line of the still unfinished 'Pentland' road, projected as a direct link with Stornoway during the fishing boom, reaches Loch Carloway and passes along its north shore to the pier at Borrowston. This substantial pier was the scene of great activity during the period of commercial fishing before the First World War.

68 The six hundred residents of the immediate Carloway area are served by eight travel-
94 ling shops as well as by the local stores. Bread, fish, meat, green-groceries, library
2 and bank all come to the end of the croft if not to the crofter's door. Of the vans one is based on Carloway, one on Breasclete and the rest on Stornoway. A mobile film unit visits once each fortnight. The churches and school rightly reflect their importance in the community by the commanding position which they occupy just above the bridge. Here too is the showground; the annual show attracts people from all over the island, being as much a social as an agricultural gathering. Other services are more dispersed but not far away. They include doctor and district nurse, policeman, post office, and football

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 103]

1. [Presumably the author means figure 39--Analyst]

361 is attached to the Free Church Manse, is sublet to two feuars and is used entirely for
427 hay. One remarkably well stocked croft has one horse, two cows in milk, one calf and a heifer together with a sheep stock of twenty breeding ewes, twenty lambs and twenty other sheep (this was the first 100% lambing for many years). Labour is provided by one full time crofter with assistance from two others one of whom is a weaver. On another croft an elderly lady was preparing to make an application for a cultivation grant.

241 The intensity of cultivation may be attributed to two factors; first the sheltered position of the land, the moderate slope and good drainage and second to the energy and enterprise of the crofters.

BORROWSTON

361 Borrowston exhibits many of the characteristics that have been noted in Upper Carloway
427 and which are common on the north west of Loch Carloway. It consists of sixteen registered crofts and there are no feus. The crofts were lotted in narrow strips which rise steeply from the western shore of Loch Carloway to a head dyke at about 200 feet O.D. The drift cover thins as the ground rises until an upper zone with exposures of bare rock is reached. The result is that most of the cultivation takes place below the road which passes through the croft land and along which the settlement is located. All the crofts are fenced below the road, but are only partly fenced above it, presenting a pattern similar to that at Upper Carloway. Because of the steepness of the crofts the only way that the tractor can gain access to the land is by way of the lower road which passes from the bridge to the pier.

241 Fifty four acres of croftland are worked in fourteen operative units on which the oats are cultivated by tractor and the potatoes by spade. Though all the crofts have immediate access to the shore none are fertilised with seaweed at the present time; following the common practice in the area artificial fertilisers are used to supplement lime and manure
233 from the byres. None of the crofts are open for common grazing in the winter; this is because of the use of the old farm of Laimshader, granted to the township as an enlargement. The former arable land is now used as additional common pasture. The normal practice is to use the former farm land in conjunction with the croft land in the summer, the cattle being maintained on Laimshader as late in the season as is possible.

241 Borrowston is intensively cultivated, presenting a prosperous picture when viewed from the opposite shore of the loch, but in spite of its apparent prosperity the majority
[162] of the population is over 45 years of age. Herein lies one of the main causes of concern in this part of Uig parish, for though Carloway is in many ways more prosperous than is
181 south Uig and has a larger and more active population working in much more favourable conditions, the population is an aging one that has not the potential for maintaining a
[163] level of replacement. In Borrowston eight of the crofters depend on weaving, four are full-time crofters and seven of the twelve are over sixty five. Yet these men are active and maintain large sheep stocks, ten of the twelve exceeding their soaming though only one of them has an excess of cattle.

Figure 40[1] has been drawn to illustrate the land use on particular crofts in this
233 northwestern area; one is in Borrowston and one is in Upper Carloway. The stock data
427 have also been added to give the complete picture of the agricultural unit. Each croft though prosperous, has an elderly tenant.

GARENIN

361
427 The township of Garenin, whose main area of croftland is situated a little apart from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

1. [Presumably the author means figure 41--Analyst]

361 the main area of cultivation at the head of Loch Carloway, is similarly div
427 narrow crofts which traverse the broad valley which falls to the sea from t shed marking the boundaries of Upper Carloway, Borroston and Garenin. is to be found on either side of the road which rises from the bay to join th township roads of Upper Carloway.

181 The township has a very individual character, especially at the seawar
427 exposed to violent winds and spray in the winter and where the dwellings a black houses. Tenanted by old ladies two of these are partly sublet and th to suggest that a complete subletting will take place, which contrasts with many of the other crofters in the township. One man was prepared to car fertiliser for the croft on his back because it was impossible to gain acces

427 The twenty eight crofts, one feu and one allotment are worked in twent
311 Extensive improvements have been made on two crofts with the introductio grasses in their rotations. A general increase in fencing is now taking pl consequent closure of the crofts which were formerly open for common gr winter. By far the most striking feature in the figures gathered for the t those for the sheep stock. Although the total souming for all stock is not the sheep soum is exceeded by 60.3%. This does not worry the crofters spoke of a 'natural souming' pointing to the fact that the total souming was and he continued that 'if the land is overstocked animals die'; this they do frequently. The assertion seems to be based on the belief that the equiva cow equals three or even five sheep gives an accurate assessment of the p grazing. The evidence of the heavy sheep losses does not bear this out. eat a different herbage and in a different manner to cattle seems to be eith is ignored.

The whole agricultural operation of the township is complicated by its journeys were necessary to go to the shielings and are still needed for bri
[286] peats. Once again the emphasis is on weaving as an occupation and many
161 are ageing. It is a measure of the decline in the population that now only
162 go to school whereas one crofter could remember up to fifty in the school First War.

The main features which emerge from this examination of the township west of Loch Carloway may be summed up quite briefly. The croftland is area of well cultivated land on the even slopes which rise to over 200 ft. O divided into long narrow holdings which ensures that each has a fair share types of land. Careful attention to much of the land shows that this is far dying community. In spite of the defects which can be noted in the animal the decreased population and the reduced number of working units (a resul letting) could allow of a much more efficient working than does take place times. The potential is there. Carloway has many of the basic social ser help to stabilise a community and with the advantage of its strategic positi centration of settlement could be assured if additional employment and/or agricultural methods could be adopted.

KNOCK CARLOWAY

133 If the north west presents a picture of relative prosperity the area to t
[181] be described as one that is showing signs of decay and decline. Knock Ca occupies part of the area with less evenly graded slopes (although a weste of the township extends to the northern flank of Loch Carloway). The east
361 rises steeply to a rocky crest which marks the beginning of the common pa consequence the crofts are less regular than those already described and t
[427] worked in 'fixed runrig' with a pattern of much more fragmented cultivatio on the lowest shoulder of the ridge are the churches and school close to th

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

361 at Carloway Bridge. In addition to the main settlement which is irregularly disposed on either side of the two roads, a group of Swedish timber Council houses has been built in a somewhat forbidding situation on the common pasture adjoining the 'Pentland' road.

427 311 The thirty three registered crofts and thirteen feus or allotments (of which only five are non-agricultural) are worked in thirty four units. Three of the tenants of the Swedish houses have crofts, two in Knock Carloway and one in Upper Carloway.

311 The land use figures show that Knock Carloway has a much greater percentage of permanent grass than has Borroweston on the opposite shore of the loch. These figures reflect not only the less rewarding physical environment on the south shore, but also the lower intensity of cultivation which bears a direct relationship to the type, number and quality of the stock. The township has less than the total number of animals permitted by the souming though the higher figure for sheep than cattle reflects the general trend for the area. No horses are kept but the township has the bull which serves the area - a privately owned beef-shorthorn.

464 286 632 Weaving remains the major occupation but the emphasis is less heavy than in the other townships for the community services centred here employ a number of the inhabitants. It may be that here lies part of the answer to the problems of the community as a whole: but even if employment in services were to be increased it could never be very significant in a district with a total population of only 600.

KIRIVICK

361 162 133 Adjoining Knock Carloway is the small township of Kirivick which has forty one permanent residents. It occupies the least rewarding agricultural environment of the area. Crofts 1 to 13 rise from the shore of Loch Carloway on the broken hill face to the Carloway-Breasclete road, whilst number 14 occupies the head of a small valley which was once part of the common pasture beyond the road.

361 133 The houses are set back from the road occasionally sheltering in the lee of the frequent knolls of bare rock which are exposed on the croft land. These rock surfaces together with the irregular deposition of the drift account for the fragmentation of the cultivated strips in small hand-dug lazy beds on the upper parts of the crofts inaccessible to the tractor.

361 427 311 There are fourteen crofts, three feus and one squatter settlement and all but two of these are fenced. Two of the crofts are held in 'fixed runrig' and the small sections in which the land is cultivated are shown in figure 41[1] which also illustrates the regular distribution of sections between the two. Though it used to be the normal practice the crofts are not now open to common grazing in the winter.

311 The restricted amount of land available for common grazing ensured the continued use of the shielings until 1939; small patches were cultivated on the common grazing about forty years ago and this fact too is the only recorded instance of a practice that was a community by the size of the working unit and the land available. At the moment there is no proposal for reseeding of any part of the common pasture* because of the difficulty of getting access for tractors. As in the case of Knock Carloway the total souming is not exceeded, but the sheep stock is 25% above the sheep soum.

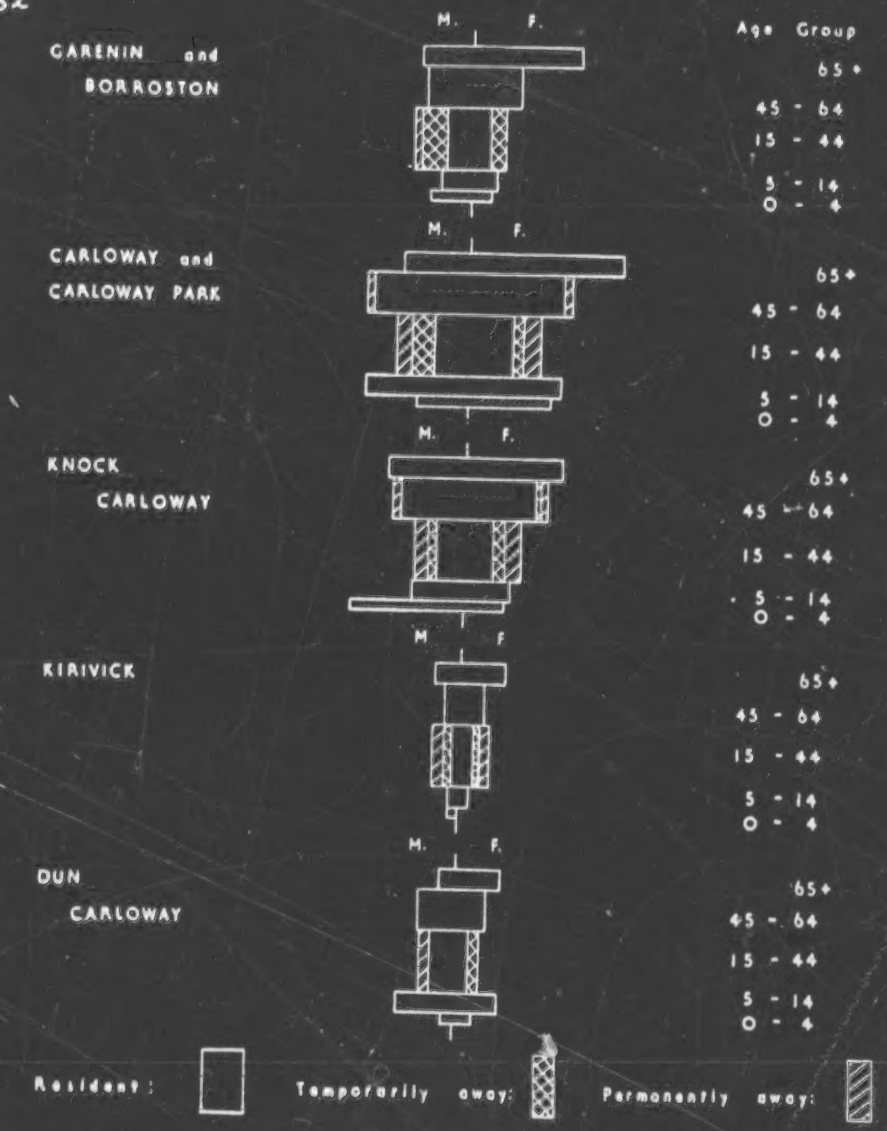
162 The population figures emphasise the problem of the whole of this southern area and here is the most extreme case of incipient decline. There are two fulltime crofters, six crofters who weave and five crofters over sixty five. Seventy per cent of the population is over 45 and only two children attend the school neither of whom is likely to take up crofting.

1. [Figure 42--Analyst]

Figure 43

162 632

POPULATION: AGE and SEX composition



APPENDIX D continued

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(2) Occupations of resident males, aged 15-64, August, 1959.

(including members of the light-house service and their families)

District: *	F	G	H	I
Croft work only	1	9	13	25
Croft and regular -				
-weaving	9	38	73	104
-fishing	-	22	-	-
-estate work	1	-	1	-
-public services	-	5	3	7
-transport	2	2	5	6
-retail trade	1	4	3	4
Croft and irregular -				
-casual labour	1	-	4	-
-estate work	8	-	3	-
-whaling	-	-	-	5
Regular work but not crofting -				
-weaving	-	1	5	10
-professional	-	2	1	3
-public services	-	-	6	2
-transport	-	2	1	-
-distribution	-	-	3	1

* Districts - F: Bernera (mainland)
G: Bernera (island)
H: East Loch Road (Garynahine - Tolsta Chaolis)
I: Carloway (Dun Carloway - Carenin).

TABLE 38

Stock carried 80 years ago compared with that carried today and with the soumings

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	Cattle (more than 1 year old): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum	Sheep (all ages): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum
OLD TOWNSHIPS						
South Uig	716	170	677	5,175	10,500	5,557
Bernera	446	183	464	1,713	5,400	2,890
E.L. Roag	555	132	461	1,652	5,200	2,090
Carloway	682	191	648	2,818	6,000	2,596
NEW TOWNSHIPS	-	104	329	-	5,800	2,858
FARMS etc.	404	44	-	4,400	900	-

Note: Figures for individual townships are given in Appendix E.

427 not have crofter status. Thus, despite the rigidity imposed by crofting legislation, the
311 crofting structure is evolving; whether the larger units so formed are agriculturally more
[178] productive than the smaller, statutory, units is another question.

Cattle and sheep stocks

231 The production of cattle and sheep is the main function of the croft, from the
178 agricultural point of view, and the main function of the crofting parish. In this respect a great change has occurred in the last 80 years: about 1880 some 3,300 cattle and 14,000 sheep (of all ages) were kept; in 1959 the corresponding figures were 1,281 and 35,000. This change is by no means the result of the re-settlement of crofters on former farms; in 1879, according to the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the sheep:cattle ratio was 2.3:1 on the crofting townships and 9.6:1 on the farms: now it is 27:1 over the whole parish. The change (Table 38) has been fairly uniform over the parish except that, whereas sheep stocks generally have more or less trebled, in the Carloway district they have little more than doubled.

The decline of cattle numbers has been at the same rate as that of the human
[161] population and this, together with the much lower sheep:cattle ratio on crofting townships
[162] than on farms in 1879, suggests that, 80 years ago just as to-day, the main object of cattle keeping was subsistence rather than commerce. The increase in sheep numbers on the other hand is probably no more than a reflection of increasing disregard of the soumings.

233 If we compare the cattle and sheep stocks with the soumings shown in Table 38 and
Appendix E we find that 80 years ago, except in Bernera, there was rough agreement
311 between stock and soum. To-day cattle stocks are around one-third of those allowed by
178 the soum whereas sheep stocks are greatly in excess. Examination of the soumings leads one to question their validity in the light of modern conditions: the sheep soums bear no regular relation to the available areas of common pastures (Appendices A(2) and

weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Mains electricity was installed years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas and peat. The chief ource of fuel for heating purposes is peat, alghough a little coal may be used.

There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions, a small-holding of 15 cres formerly the Mill, and 10 feus, all of which are worked as 54 units. The crofts ie as long narrow strips in a NE - SW direction from the moorland to the sea. All are t least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some crofters are, at the moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land completely.

The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a little clover mixture is own for hay, many crofters find that the natural grass is sufficient for their needs. Vegetables are produced in a few gardens, but most people do not have enough time or nterest to bother with them. Flowers rarely flourish owing to the lack of shelter.

Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and the land nearest the shore, part of which was once cultivated on a run-rig system is now unfenced and used entirely for grazing together with some peat cutting. A piece of the common grazing has been improved by application of shell sand and chemical fertilizers and reseeded. This experiment in which almost the whole township took part has proved very successful and there are plans for further reseeding. Details of crops are given in Appendix C.

Although the tractors of which there are two in the township are used wherever possible the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for potatoes. Much hay is cut by mower but scythes are used to a large extent. There is still one horse in the township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its owner.

The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e. 2½ times the souming which here is 2 cows and 5 sheep per £1 sterling rent. 40 crofters keep sheep but none have sufficient to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Many lambs are lost on the moors during the summer and more fail to survive the winter. The number of cattle kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each household to keep 1 cow and 1 calf which is generally sold after 6 months when a subsidy can be claimed. Breasclete has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Most households keep sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1938. Now it is not necessary as fewer cows are kept than formerly. With the reduction in numbers of stock the common pastures close to the village are being colonised by heather.

The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditches are cleaned and the land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilised and sown with oats and potatoes. The sheep are dipped and by the 10th of May must be out on the moors as the crofts are then closed to common grazings. Soon after this peats are cut on the moors two or three miles from the village. After about 20 days the peats are lifted and carried to the Pentland Road by tractor where they are stacked to await the lorry which takes them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the fank for shearing and the cows are usually brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the croft is not fenced they must be tethered. At the end of June the clover is cut, while the potatoes must be cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped. Natural grass is cut for hay and if there is any first year sown grass this may yield a second crop in September, together with the corn harvest. When the potatoes have been lifted in October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for the winter. Final dipping takes place in November.

Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 years and 57 are over 65 years of age. Of the resident tenants 9 are between 15 and 44 years, 19 are between 44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on persons are periodically away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 29 are permanently away. Since 1939,

Figure 35

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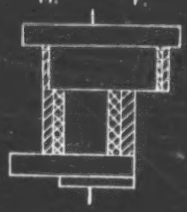
166

POPULATION : AGE and SEX composition

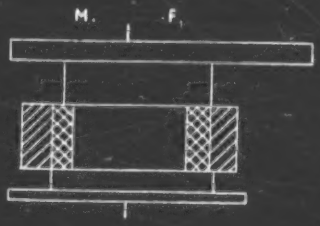
TOLSTA CHAOLIS



Age Group

65 +
45 - 64
15 - 44
5 - 14
0 - 4

BREASCLETE



65 +
45 - 64
15 - 44
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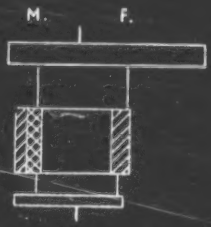
CALLANISH and



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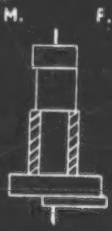
GARYNAHINE



65 +
45 - 64
15 - 44
5 - 14
0 - 4

Resident: Temporarily away: Permanently away

full-time crofters; 19 males have other regular employment and two have periodic employment. 8 crofters are aged over 65. It seems that the most successful combination of employment is we ng and crofting; weaving is carried on in twenty of the holdings. Lobster fishing in the ening is still popular but regular small-boat fishing has disappeare one crofter took up regular fishing when weaving was slack in the autumn of 1958.

Of a resident population of 125, 32 males and 32 females are between the ages of 15 and 64, these representing the effective labour force. Thirteen persons are temporarily away and 16 permanently away whilst at least 46 have emigrated since 1939 and 6 have immigrated. Thus the number that have emigrated is nearly three times the number that are merely permanently away. With a population of 125 and an effective labour force of 64 to work 35 operative units Tolsta Chaolais would seem to be far from a dying township.

If not exactly progressive the township economy seems stable and moderately prosperous, in spite of the fact that the settlement is rather inaccesible, for the roads which join the Carloway-Breasclete road are both very steep and have bad corners. To add to the apparent isolation there is only one Post Office-shop in the village but most commoditie are bought from vans. A reallocation of the smaller crofts to younger, more ambitious tenants at the deaths of the older tenants could reduce the number of operative units to about 25. Admittedly, little can be done with the rougher terrain, and although cattle stocks could be increased there would be the added problem of sufficient winter feed. With better drainage more land could be taken into cultivation - especially between the two lochs, an area largely wasted at the moment - whilst weaving might supply a surer source of income, especially in the winter. Tourism on a small scale might be a further possibility for the coastal scenery is very fine and the immediate setting of the village is very attractive. It would be more realistic however for Tolsta Chaolais to find future prosperity within its own boundaries.

TABLE 42

Stock held, according to status of principal croft workers

162
463
464

	Croft workers under 65 years of age:			Over 65:		
	No other employment:	Regular employment:	Casual employment:	Male:	Female:	All Units
	%	%	%	%	%	% (No.)
CATTLE HELD:						
nil	16	10	14	25	17	14 (65)
1	63	68	63	60	75	65 (314)
2	20	19	19	11	8	18 (86)
more than 2	-	3	5	4	-	3 (13)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (478)
SHEEP HELD:						
nil	19	11	14	19	42	14 (68)
1 - 5	6	3	2	6	-	4 (17)
6 - 10	18	7	5	13	8	9 (45)
11 - 20	14	17	14	16	25	16 (78)
21 - 50	25	39	36	30	25	34 (164)
51 -100	16	20	25	14	-	19 (89)
100 +	1	3	5	2	-	3 (14)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (475)

Some units omitted for lack of data.

Labour - who are the agriculturalists ?

461 When we recall (Table 12, page 28) that 16% of the crofter tenants are absentees,
162 that 34% are over 65 years of age (of whom 8% are women), and that a further 7% are women under the age of 65, it becomes clear that many of the tenants cannot reasonably be expected themselves to provide active labour for agricultural operations. An attempt has been made to analyse the agricultural labour force; this must be treated
464 with some reserve because it was necessary to decide for every effective agricultural
162 unit, who was the principal croft worker. In some cases croft work is shared by a younger and an older man, the former having a regular job (often weaving) but being available for the heavier work, whilst the older man keeps things going from day to day.
128 Women, even the elderly, often provide an important subsidiary source of labour, too.
887 Where two persons were shown on the croft record as sharing the work of the croft, the older, if over 65, was ignored. Thus the analysis probably under-estimates the part played by elderly persons. Nevertheless the results are useful (Table 43): two-thirds of all effective agricultural units are worked by crofters having other

TABLE 43

Classification of croft workers

	t workers:	o.f. Tenants (from Table 12):
	77%	51%
r employment	55%	32%
l employment	12%	10%
ther work	10%	9%
	15%	31%
	5%	8%
	3%	9%
	100% (557)	100% (530)

hall see, in most cases, the croft carries so little stock that ortant source of income.

t vary very much from district to district (Table 44), except eably high proportion of elderly croft workers. This is to be sfactory age structure of the south Uig district which, in turn, f the poorer employment opportunities there and consequent particular, is less important than elsewhere. This situation naller proportion of crofters with regular employment and the elies on casual employment as shown in Table 44.

ire whether the size of agricultural unit available to a man has oyment status. To this end status has been plotted against size

TABLE 44

Principal croft workers by districts

	Croft workers by districts:			
	S. Uig:	Bernera:	E.L. Roag:	Carloway:
	72%	86%	78%	77%
s	41%	62%	63%	59%
	20%	16%	8%	5%
	11%	8%	7%	12%
	24%	7%	16%	10%
	4%	7%	5%	12%
	100% (165)	100% (107)	100% (130)	100% (155)

Sources: Appendices A(4) and C(4).

TABLE 45

Principal croft workers by size of effective agricultural units

●162
311
464

Size of unit (acres):	Nil to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	7.6 to 10.0	10.1 to 15.0	15.1 to 20.0	more than 20
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Males under 65:							
regular employment	55	61	47	60	52	57	60
casual employment	7	11	13	12	17	9	12
no other work	16	7	7	7	15	11	12
Males over 65	11	13	23	16	11	18	15
Females	10	9	9	4	4	4	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: Appendices A(4) and C(4)

of unit; the result (Table 45) does not suggest that the possession of a large agricult unit encourages a man to become a full-time rather than a spare-time agricultural Indeed, the possession of a large unit, built up by amalgamation, is often a fortuit
[462] result of marriage, death, or inheritance, rather than a matter of individual choic only significant correlation in the table seems to be the understandable tendency fo female croft workers to work the smaller, rather than the larger, crofts.

241 The cultivated land
311
631

The chief crops are hay, oats and potatoes, in that order:

DISTRICT	Acreage of: Oats	Potatoes	Hay	All Crops	Average p
South Uig	149	50	209	407	2.5
Bernera	121	38	69	228	2.0
East Loch Roag	83	35	170	288	2.1
Carloway	113	42	202	357	2.2
TOTAL	466	165	650	1,280	2.2

241 Barley, which in the form of bere was important until the 1920's, has almost
[178] disappeared. Turnips, marigolds, rape and other animal food crops are only grov

(2) Population by Townships, e

	1841	1891	1931	1939	1951	1959
SOUTH UIG DISTRICT						
Mealasta	25	20	-	-	-	-
Brenish	174	229	110	78	60	62
Islivig	37	54	34	30	19	17
Mangersta	117	4	58	50	58	48
Carnish	168	14	17	10	7	13
Ardroil			69	60	60	58
Timsgarry	55	14	34	39	23	23
Crowlista	196	238	96	75	55	41
Aird	52	83	43	37	30	30
Valtos	335	480	175	149	145	116
Knoep	187	235	92	71	62	46
Reef	189	11	58	58	39	30
Caryshader	46	88	70	59	48	30
Geshader	60	142	62	57	34	37
Ungshader	22	32	38	37	26	10
Enaclete	55	52	52	38	36	36
Scaliscro	33	9	5	6	5	3
Others	114	71	29	43	35	29
TOTAL	1,865	1,756	1,042	877	742	629
LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT						
Garynahine	69	12	13	63	57	60
Callanish	202	311	209	184	175	119
Breasclete Park	-	50	31	18	17	22
Breasclete	196	374	320	332	257	248
Tolsta Chaolis	183	298	203	152	152	138

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

APPENDIX E continued

161
162
632

...., in selected years since 1841

	1841	1891	1931	1931	1951	1959
BERNERA DISTRICT						
Stroma & Drovernish	24	-	-	-	-	-
Earshader	36	24	19	19	40	32
Crulivig	31	72	44	40	34	26
Lundale	-	-	32	26	23	19
Linshader	28	17	33	46	34	24
Hacklete	75	122	101	100	80	88
Kirkibost	8	148	157	156	102	79
Tobson	160	178	136	121	90	79
Bosta	79	-	-	-	-	-
Breaclete	57	84	72	74	64	59
Croir	75	3	39	43	24	-
Vulasmore	46	-	-	-	-	-
CARLOWAY DISTRICT						
Dun Carloway	128	298	203	134	152	88
Kirivick	53	105	98	80	65	47
Knock Carloway	97	219	122	172	176	167
Carloway	124	} 321	{ 220	226	236	220
Carloway Park	?		{ 54	70	16	13
Borreston	77	96	68	49	52	40
Garenin	75	164	142	126	101	93

Sources:

1841, 1891, 1931, and 1951 - unpublished official census returns, by courtesy of the Registrar General of Scotland.

1959 - National Register.

1959 - Glasgow University and G.P.O. survey.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT

H. A. Moisley

Growth and decline.

In its demography as in so many other aspects the parish of Uig is characteristic of the Hebrides in general rather than of Lewis in particular. Throughout the Hebrides the late eighteenth century saw a rapid rise in population followed, in the early nineteenth century, by clearances, emigration and decline (Fig. 44). The growing population, however, was not the result of a high birth-rate but of a long-lived one. Lewis made little headway compared with the Uists and much no doubt could be said for Uig, but, like from Loch Roag, consequently, whilst the population of Barvas only increased by 17% between 1755 and 1801, that of Uig increased by 58%, i.e. North Uist 60%, South Uist 71%). Clearances and emigration reversed this trend in population after 1821 (Mull and North Uist), after 1831 (Skye), and after 1841 (Skye, Harris, North Uist and Barra). A reversal which was not experienced in Lewis except in Uig (see Part I, Figure 8). Thereafter, in the outer, but not in the inner Hebrides, growth was resumed, to reach new maxima in 1881 (the Uists) and 1911 (Lewis, Harris and Barra). Uig, alone of Lewis parishes, reached its maximum population in 1891. Subsequent loss of population has been particularly severe, as may be seen from Table 46 and Figures 8 and 45.

TABLE 46

Loss of population, since maximum, to 1951

	Date of maximum	Loss as percentage of maximum
Uig	1891	41.2%
Lochs	1911	34.4%
Barvas	1911	25.3%
Stornoway	1931	18.6%
(Stornoway Burgh is excluded)		

The early on-set of decline makes Uig somewhat comparable with the Uists, where final decline set in after 1921, rather than with Barra and Harris, where growth continued until 1911. This may be connected with the vicissitudes of fishing, particularly in north Uig where, by the 1880's, the annual Fishery Reports comment repeatedly on the decay of great late fishing, & of the dried white fish trade. Re-settlement of crofters on farm land in Uig in the 1920's, however, again affords a parallel with the southern Outer Hebrides rather than with the rest of Lewis; as elsewhere, it failed to arrest the decline although it did bring about a redistribution which afforded welcome relief in the more overcrowded townships. But decline still continues; the loss appears to have been around 30 per annum in the 1950's (Table 47) compared with 50 in the 1930's when there was some

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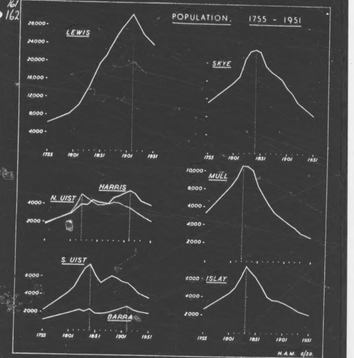

Figure 44

Population changes in certain islands, 1755 - 1951. (For changes in Lewis parishes, including Uig, see Part I, Figure 8).

TABLE 47

Population of Uig Parish 1901 - 1959

(1901) 6,443	1911 6,482	1921 5,956	1931 5,364	1939 3,918	(a) 1951 3,718	(b) 1959 2,900

(a) National Registration, not strictly comparable with decennial Census figures.

(b) Our own survey count.

return of unemployed men and families from the mainland and overseas. Thus we found, in 1959, that the population of Uig was less than in any year since 1811. Nevertheless it was still about that reported between 1755, before the potato, kelp and fishing led to isolation.

These changes have not affected all parts of the parish at the same time, nor to the same extent. The position is summarised in Table 48 and Figure 45. Summaries by districts conceal a good deal of the truth; each township has had its individual history and no two are alike. Township figures are given in Appendix I.

TABLE 48

Changes in the relative distribution of population 1841 - 1959
For details by township see figure 45.

	Proportion of the total in each district in the years 1841	1891	1931	1951	1959
South Uig District	32	31	31	26	27
Barvas District	16	15	19	18	18
East Loch Roag District	17	23	24	25	25
Carloway District	35	33	26	29	29
	100	100	100	100	100

South Uig, in 1841, had more than half the population of Uig, despite the early clearances. It has now little more than a quarter, and is still declining most rapidly. In Aird and Crowlista, for example, where there were 321 persons in 1891, we counted but 71, in 1959. In Uigshader, where period the decline was from 480 to 113. Most striking of all, in Uigshader, where the population is now as low as it was in 1811, we found only 5. Barvas and Barvas's Shore have slightly increasing populations, numbering 1,050 in 1959, although the actual number has fallen from 650 to 424. Clearances over half a century ago, depopulating effect in Barvas as they had in the south, and fishing remained prosperous longer. The re-settlement of Linshader farm by crofters in 1925 had little effect but Barvas itself, despite isolation, has retained its population quite remarkably. Many go away to find work but few leave for ever. The development of lobster fishing has helped.

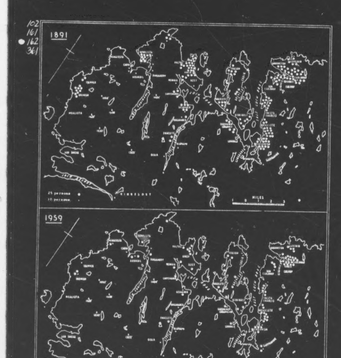

Figure 45

Distribution of population in 1891 and 1959

In the northern township, stretching from Garenahine to Loch Carloway, quite the reverse is seen. Here the 1959 count actually rose: people now than in 1841 (1,182, i.e. 1,2041, although there has been a marked decline since 1891 when 2,156 were enumerated. This this area, which had less than one third of Uig's population in 1841, now has more than half. The main change occurred before 1891 and was associated with the prosperity of fishing, both locally and on the east mainland coast, but, in addition, this area did not lose population as rapidly as Barvas and the southern townships in the twenties and thirties, as the table shows. Much of this prosperity is attributed to the early establishment, especially in the Carloway district, of Harris Tweed weaving.

TABLE 49

Loss of Population by Districts, 1931 - 1959

	Annual rates 1931 - 1951	1951 - 1959	Net loss 1931 - 1959*
Carloway District	0.5%	1.6%	102
East Loch Roag District	0.8%	1.3%	105
Barvas Shore		2.0%	28
Barvas Inland	1.1%	0.7%	102
Little Loch Roag	1.1%	1.0%	95
Valtos District	1.0%	1.6%	101
Aird and Crowlista	2.2%	2.2%	68
Uig Bay District	0.4%	(+0.1%)	12
Mangersta/Breanish	1.8%	2.1%	97

* Immigrant R.A.F. and Ministry of Civil Aviation staff and families are excluded.

Migration

One of the objects of our enquiries was to discover something of the processes of population change in recent years. To this end we tried to record some details of migrants, from and to the parish since 1939 (see craft record questionnaire, frontispiece to Part I). We also attempted to record war and other casualties away from home. Finally, we recorded natural population change by extracting details of births and deaths from the official registers for the period October 1939 - December 1958 (the 1939 registers were not available). The results are summarised in table 50.

One record of migration depends on the memories of our informants and cannot be expected to be complete, nor can the 1939 (National Registration) population figure be

island girls bringing mainland men to settle in the island are rare indeed. This migration remains, as it has long been, a one-way traffic and this is almost certainly related to the problem of establishing technical innovation*.

Age structure

The age structure of the population reflects the changes that have taken place in recent years. The population of Uig, as in small areas of declining population, is ageing. It is one disadvantage of a survey such as ours that the data may be analysed in greater geographical detail than is possible from the published figures in the official Census reports. This is particularly important in the crofting region where neighbouring communities may show quite different demographic and economic trends. Table 51 compares the 1951 Census figures for Uig with those for the other Outer Hebrides, the other districts, one (Park) remote like Uig, the other (Point) easy of access and with the same employment and employment offered by Stornoway. Uig has an even greater proportion of old folk than has Park, but it also has more children. This is probably related to the smaller proportion of Uig's population finding it necessary to leave the parish in search of work (14%, compare 28% from Park).

The proportion of the population over 65 years of age has increased from 17% in 1939 to 21% in 1959; it is that much more than twice the national average and well above the figure for rural Lewis. The proportion between 15 and 44 years has fallen from 47% to 41% and 44 has markedly declined. The actual number of persons aged between 15 and 44 had declined from 1,263 in 1939 to 786 in 1959. It is to this age group in particular that one should look when seeking economic development but it is by no means certain that this decline is an unmitigated evil.

TABLE 52

Age distribution

	Percentage in each age groups 0-4	5-14	15-44	45-64	65+	
Scotland	9.0	15.0	43.0	25.0	10.0	Census, 1951
Lewis (rural)	9.0	15.7	35.1	24.3	15.9	Census, 1951
Uig	7.4	13.4	31.5	26.1	21.6	O.P.U., 1959
Park (Lochs p.)	8.1	15.3	29.4	33.3	13.7	O.P.U., 1959
Point (Stornoway p.)	8.1	16.4	29.6	30.6	15.4	O.P.U., 1960
Five Districts						
South	9.1	12.6	31.8	22.5	24.0	
Barvas	7.1	13.4	32.4	25.0	22.0	
East Loch Roag	7.4	14.2	32.2	23.4	22.5	
Carloway	5.7	13.0	29.3	31.4	20.1	
Comparison						
Uig (1939)	6.0	15.4	39.2	22.2	17.2	Nat. Register

[28] For discussion of this topic see Cattell J.D. and Moisley H.A.: Leadership and innovation in the Crofting Communities of the Outer Hebrides, Sociological Review, Vol. 9 1961, pp. 85-102.

Employment - the search for work

When an island community undergoes the local intrinsic resources permanent emigration is not the only solution. It is one of the outstanding demographic characteristics of the Hebrides that there has been a long tradition of seasonal employment away from the island while maintaining an island domicile. We therefore classified the population, in the first place, according to whether it was:

(a) permanently resident in the parish

(b) leaving the parish seasonally or otherwise irregularly in search of work, and

(c) working permanently away yet without a permanent home except in the parish.

TABLE 53

Location of employment

	Proportion of total populations Resident	Periodically away	Permanently away	
Uig Parish	63.7%	6.5%	9.8%	100% (2,912)
Districts				
South Uig	67.2%[1]	3.1%	9.7%	100% (749)
Barvas	65.2%	7.2%	7.6%	100% (460)
East Loch Roag	61.5%	7.0%	11.7%	100% (731)
Carloway	61.2%	6.8%	10.2%	100% (972)
Ref.				
Park	72.7%	11.0%	16.3%	100% (1,200) (1958)
Point (Stornoway)	66.6%	5.5%	10.9%	100% (3,960) (Compiler 1960)
Harris (mainland)	80.6%	6.9%	12.5%	100% (5,760) (1961)
North Uist	67.1%	5.3%	10.0%	100% (430) (Compiler 1960)
South Uist	66.8%	5.5%	9.5%	100% (5,600) (1956)
Barra	70.6%	4.0%	25.5%	100% (1,956) (1961)

Note: (1) Including at least 27 temporarily employed on construction work at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme, and 20 permanently employed at government sites (equivalent to 7.6% of the total population). Map of these men would otherwise seek employment outside Uig.

On the basis some 14% of the population of Uig is periodically or permanently away. This may seem low compared with 28% in Park and 30% in Barra Isle, on the other hand on the Point district, near Stornoway, the proportion is only 19%, and on North and South Uist it is around 12 - 14%. In Harris (Scalpay and Berneray islands excepted) the proportion is 19%. Various factors influence this state of affairs; they may be summarised as the age-structure of the population, the relative stability of the crofts and the opportunities for local employment. Within Uig the situation differs from district to district; the particularly low proportion classified as "periodically away" in South Uig was probably

Figure 16
The search for employment

a temporary feature in 1959 due to the cutoal employment provided by a hydro-electric scheme at Gorin (Figure 16).

In the respect the young age group in 15 - 44 years (table 54), the older people have work away from home. Of this age group, 158 (and of 231) persons were in work away from home, or almost 70%. In contrast only 11% of the children in a strong majority of the children in the parish are in work away from home.

The contrasting experiences of the different districts are quite remarkable. In Bernera and Lochs District, more people go away from the two northern districts than from Bernera and the Barvas District, despite the greater importance of weaving in the north. The explanation for this lies in the fact that the northern districts are in the Lewis Travel to Work area, which provides most available locally any parts in the Outer Hebrides, partly in the type of employment available, and partly in the distance from the Lewis Travel to Work area, which differs from district to district. Social contacts, which may vary from one to another area the west, has a strong bearing on whether and where young men and women choose to work.

TABLE 54

The 15-44 age-group, distinguishing men and women

	Residents		Partitionly away		Permanently away		Totals	
	M	F	M	F	M	F		(No.)
Uig Parish	9	17	1	2	27	27	100	(47)
Districts								
South Uig	9	20	(1)	0	12	10	100	(39)
Bernera	8	16	(2)	4	15	12	100	(57)
East Loch Roag	9	15	1	17	25	30	100	(48)
Carloway	8	19	4	14	27	28	100	(142)
	9	17	2	7	22	22	100	(187)

Notes (1) Including at least 16 (16%) temporarily employed on construction work or Slate.
(2) Including 11 (11%) full-time fishermen.

Figure 17
Certain occupations of men aged 15 - 64, by township

TABLE 55

Proportion of resident males, aged 15-64, in Major categories of employment

See Appendices B(ii) and D(ii) for details.

	Croft-work only	Croft-work and weaving	Croft and other regular work	Croft and part-time work	No croft work	Total (100%)
Uig Parish	11	43	16	15	14	(615)
Districts						
South Uig	13	27	22	24	13	(186)
Bernera	9	56	25	10	0	(136)
East Loch Roag	9	55	11	11	13	(148)
Carloway	16	63	6	6	13	(171)

Table 55 and figure 47 summarise the main sources of employment. The small group with "croft work only" may be briefly discussed. A large proportion of these men have disability or otherwise infirm; a few are pensioners (e.g. retired police or service men); and a few are young men who have left school and are still at home. Some may be counted as a reservoir of labour in this area.

The most important category, by all statistics, is "croft work and weaving", but it is particularly for this category that the north where there is correspondingly greater reliance on other forms of regular employment or on periodic work, i.e. casual work, is very difficult to overestimate the significance of weaving in all districts. Weaving is almost a custom in the parish and it should be clear from the previous chapter that it is a very important occupation in the Barvas District, and in the Lochs District. The weavers and "croft-weavers" are in a "near-monopoly". A contrast remains between Carloway and the rest of the parish in that, whereas generally weaving is the main source of income for the majority of men with 43, in the Carloway area two-thirds of men are working at weaving. Carloway is the only area in the parish where the tradition of weaving into Carloway than elsewhere for, although some weaving has always been done throughout the area, it only became a major source of income in Carloway in the 19th century, and, in fact, in the 1960s. Thus few of the older men in the south learned weaving when they were young, and, in fact, the tradition of weaving in the south is not a source of employment for young men from Carloway than for those from the south.

Other sources of regular local employment are inshore fishing (Bernera only), gamekeeping and other estate work (Bernera where and South Uig), and government establishments (South Uig). In addition there are the usual services - postmen, haulage contractors,

For a detailed discussion of the significance of weaving see Moisley, H.A., Harris Tweed - a growing Highland industry. Economic Geography, 37, 1961, pages 333 - 350.

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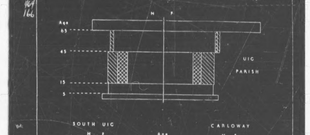

Figure 18
Population by age group and place of employment

appropriate age-group, choice on the left, females on the right. The width of the bars varies according to the age-range of the groups so that the length of each bar gives an indication of the relative importance of the particular age-group in the total population. In an unofficial survey it is difficult to obtain accurate information on age, but the diagrams are right, and they do indicate the suggest certain trends, as well as marked regional differences, within the parish.

If we examine first the parish as a whole it will be noted that the proportion of children aged 0 - 14 years is very high, and the proportion of people aged 15 - 44 years is relatively low. Only a quarter (25.1%) provided that some of their through emigration. The present school population is not quite sufficient to maintain the 15-44 age-group, including, of course, those working away, on the same assumption. In both these groups, as in usual, males slightly outnumber females.

The characteristics of the 15-44 age-group are clearly seen. A large number is working away from home, the proportion of women working away is far greater than of men, and, in the case of men, the majority are permanently away, and, in the case of women, temporarily away, i.e., most of the women will become "emigrants". More men stay at home (working supports many of them) and, of those that go away to work, a substantial proportion is likely to return to the parish after a period of years. Lots of men who left Uig to "seek" a job, in the 1950s, and, in particular, in the number of men who may bring wives from work in other areas, to form a family to travel against the will, but they are remote because of the lack of work in the parish.

The 45-64 age-group is only slightly affected by the custom of working away. Men and women in this age-group are mainly "residents" and, in the case of the men, the proportion dependent on casual or seasonal work is far greater than in the 15-44 age-group. In the south, in the male sex ratio, 54.4. Indeed, it most of the women under 65, who are at present working away, eventually return and settle in this parish, the future will be clouded. The 65-74 age-group is very small, and, in the case of the women, it is very small. The 75 and over age-group is too small to be meaningful. At present an excessive proportion of the population is over 65 years of age and thus, in time and taking the unlikely event of substantial immigration, a further fall in total population is certain. One may hazard a guess that this decline will be of the order of 200 or 250 persons in the next ten years.

Turning to the district, the most striking feature is their individuality and this underlines again the value of the local area approach which has of necessity been used in a marketing system on which the crofter believes he can rely. At present it is the uncertainty, as much as the poverty, of the crofting that deters young men from taking up agriculture seriously.

The usual view of holdings need not be a serious disadvantage. Since the time of the Crofters Commission, the Government has encouraged the amalgamation of crofting units and, since it represents a voluntary evolution towards larger units, it is consistent with other Government measures.

It should be recognised that if a croft is not properly stocked it cannot justifiably be considered a full-time occupation. Thus, the Government's policy of encouraging crofters to become full-time farmers is not quite so easy as it appears when looking at the crofting as a whole. At one time the hulks, through their ground officers, dominated a degree of control over the stocking of township lands and the croft, in some way, be remembered - not by the proprietors then by the Crofters Commission. Though the best way would be to encourage the formation of crofting partnerships, the Government has encouraged crofters which lacks represented the grazing capacity of the township, and, as a result, the stocking of the unlimited colonisation of sheep for cattle. At present many sassenachs depend on crofters of not even the stocking of which is very dubious. Sassenachs are unlikely to be very interested in crofting unless they are retired.

The crofter possess sufficient technical knowledge and confidence to make the best use of their lands. It is particularly doubtful whether the Government's policy of encouraging the amalgamation of crofts will be of much value to the majority of the crofters who are relatively elderly and who are unlikely to take risks and therefore tend to be very conservative. This cannot be put right quickly nor so long as the majority of those working the crofts are middle aged or older men who have spent the greater part of their working lives in other occupations. Crofting may require special help but, above all, some of the younger men must be encouraged to

Further diversification is necessary but is not particularly hot. The special problems of the Outer Hebrides are well known and, in the Barvas District, the problem is made more difficult by the fact that it is difficult to obtain sites for industry, because of the shortage of flat ground. The problem is made more difficult by the fact that, in population this district, essentially more than the other districts, is a "near-monopoly" of weaving and, in the past, weaving has been a very important source of employment in the Barvas District. Thus weaving has been a very important source of employment in the Barvas District. Thus weaving has been an important source of employment in the Barvas District. Thus weaving has been an important source of employment in the Barvas District. Thus weaving has been an

THE ENVIRONMENT

13 The district of Park lies in the parish of Lochs in south-east Lewis, almost cut off from the
101 rest of Lewis and Harris by Loch Erisort to the north and Loch Seaforth to the west. The district may be divided into two regions by Loch Shell and the valley to the west: this subdivision is meaningful physically, historically and from the socio-economic point of view.

13 The northern part of Park is a low, mamillated, ice-scraped plateau at an average altitude of 250 feet and a maximum altitude of about 450 feet, developed on Lewisian gneiss, a resistant acid rock of Pre-Cambrian age. Glacial erosion has scoured the area and expanses of bare rock are everywhere apparent. Coarse drift deposits are scattered throughout the area, but are more continuous along the southern shores of Loch Erisort between Shieldernish and Caversta, and at the head of Loch Ouirn. The cool, humid oceanic climate has led to the widespread accumulation of peat, and in the interior there are extensive areas of blanket bog. The Minch coast is rugged wi cliffs attaining a height of 350 feet at Kebock Head, but there are several sheltered bays and inlets around which the crofting townships cling to the steep slopes. Along the more sheltered shores of Loch Erisort cliff features are almost absent and the physical landscape is less harsh and uninvitin

The mountainous area south of Loch Shell, an eastward continuation of the North Harris hills, attains a height of 1,885 feet. Glacial erosion has had more spectacular effects than in northern
14 Park and corries and glacially modified valleys are numerous. Southern Park is now uninhabited but during the early nineteenth century a small population was scattered round the shores of the peninsula on areas of drift deposits.

There are no climatic statistics for Park, but the Stornoway figures can reasonably be applied to northern Park. The mean annual temperature for Stornoway is 47°F. ranging from 41°F in January and February to 56°F. in July. The mean annual rainfall in Stornoway is 50 inches, with May and June the driest months, but on average there are 260 rainy days. Wind, however, is the most notable element in the climate: an average of 155 days have gusts exceeding 38 m. p. h.

Soils are thin and immature, except on isolated patches of deeper drift: vegetation is dominated by heather (calluna vulgaris) purple moor grass (molinia) and sphagnum, and there are few trees, stunted rowans being almost the only species; trees are confined to islands in lochs and cliffs inaccessible to stock.

861 The aspect of Park is thus one of desolate moorland, and the human communities are without exception distributed round the coasts; the Minch coast townships are situated on sheltered bays or inlets and it is clear that the harvest of the sea was the original attraction rather than the agricultural possibilities on steeply sloping, rocky terrain.

18 Park is the most isolated area of Lewis apart from South-west Uig. A sea-journey of only nine miles separates Lemreway in the south from Stornoway but the overland distance is 36 miles, which takes more than two hours by the daily bus service. Until 1924, there was no through-road beyond Habost although the Congested Districts Board provided a grant for the making of a road between Gravir and Cromore in 1901; in 1913 this road was extended to Garyvard. With the coming of the road, and the decline in the numbers of fishing boats, the people of Park have ceased to travel to Stornoway by sea. In terms of distance, Park is now more isolated than ever before.

101 Isolated, poor agriculturally, and without any industry, Park is a "Region of Difficulty" with
13 a rapidly declining population; basically the environment has little to offer in the twentieth
14 century.

CONTINUED
ON
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TABLE XIII

THE CHANGING AGE STRUCTURE OF PARK 1939 - 1958

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

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1939[1]

0 - 4		5 - 14		15 - 44		45 - 64		65+		
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	Total
65	76	135	125	262	345	142	150	95	111	
141		260		607		292		206		1506
(9.4)		(17.3)		(40.4)		(19.4)		(13.5)		(100.0)

1958[2]

21	24	59	66	128	139	146	155	71	99	
45		125		267[3]		301[3]		170		908
(5.0)		(13.8)		(29.4)		(33.1)		(18.7)		(100.0)

Comparative Statistics[4]

Lewis (excluding Stornoway Burgh)						
1951	(9.0)	(15.7)	(35.1)	(24.3)	(15.9)	(100.0)
Scotland						
1951	(9.0)	(15.0)	(43.0)	(23.0)	(10.0)	(100.0)

Sources:-

1. National Identity Card Survey (1939).
2. Source - Enumeration.
3. Includes those persons in seasonal employment furth of Park.
4. Census, 1951.

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TABLE XIV

AGE STRUCTURE: PARK, 1958, LEWIS (excluding Stornoway Burgh), AND SCOTLAND AS A WHOLE, 1951.

(Figures are percentages)

161
162

Age group	0-4	5-14	15-44	45-64	65 and over	Total
Resident and seasonally away (Park)	5.0	13.8	29.4	33.1	18.7	100.0
Total population (Park)[1]	4.1	11.5	37.4	31.4	15.6	100.0
Lewis (excluding Stornoway)	9.0	15.7	35.1	24.3	15.9	100.0
Scotland	9.0	15.0	43.0	23.0	10.0	100.0

1. 'Total' population includes those in permanent employment furth of Lewis

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TABLE XVI

DIRECTION OF MIGRATION (Furth of Lochs Parish)

Destination	Male	Female	Total	%
Stornoway	59	59	118	32
Rest of Lewis	7	17	24	7
Rest of Crofting Area	15	20	35	9
Glasgow	34	49	83	22
Rest of Scotland	19	43	62	17
England and Wales	12	16	28	8
Abroad	5	14	19	5
	151	218	369	100.0

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POPULATION

161 162 228 Figure 6 and Table XII give the population of Park from 1830 to 1958 in graphical and tabular form. The 1830-51 decline was due to evictions. The rapid increase in population from 1861 until 1911 can be almost wholly ascribed to the success of the fishing industry: a comparison of the graphs of the selected agricultural and fishing townships makes this clear. The decline since 1911 has been very rapid, and is mainly a reflection of lack of ancillary employment. The 1939 figure in the graph appears to show a slight check in the rate of decline but it may be that there was an influx of evacuees from Glasgow just before the enumeration was made.[1] The 1951 Census confirmed the continuing downward trend as did the enumeration of 1958.

An investigation of the age structure of the population (Table XIII and Figure 7) reveals that not only is the population declining but also that it is ageing. In 1958, only five per cent of the population were under school age, as compared with 9.4 per cent in 1939. The largest single group in 1939 was the 15-44 age group, the most enterprising and energetic members of the community; in 1959, the 45-64 age group emerges as the largest. The 65 and over age group has increased by 5.2 per cent since 1939.

As the 1939 and 1958 enumerations were not obtained under the rigid conditions of the Census, the figures for Lewis, excluding Stornoway Burgh, have been added for comparison; unfortunately the published Census material does not give individual parish statistics in age groups for Lewis. By including those persons in seasonal employment (mainly in the summer months) and excluding those permanently away, the Census and enumeration figures are more comparable, but it is possible that in the enumeration there may be an error of five per cent. (See Table XX). From these comparisons, it would appear that the population structure of Park is unbalanced in comparison with the rest of rural Lewis, and Scotland as a whole. The reason for this is the fact that so many people are working permanently away from home. (See Table XIV). From a study of the population structure it is clear that Park has all the attributes of an ageing population, a significantly low proportion of children and a higher proportion of the 45-64 and 65 and over age group than either rural Lewis or Scotland as a whole.

166 167 An attempt was made to record migration from the townships since 1939. From Table XV it is clear that all migrants were not recorded in the enumeration but the discrepancy may be explained by two other factors. The evacuees from Scottish cities who returned after 1939 to their city homes may well account for some and more people may now be working permanently away from home than was the case in 1939.

The destination of the emigrants (Table XVI) is significant. Stornoway Burgh (32 per cent) heads the list and so many of the Park families have not left Lewis but have gone to the one place on the island where employment is available. The second largest group have migrated permanently to Glasgow; many of those in permanent employment furth of Park (unmarried and still part of the croft household) work in Glasgow, and eventually marry there. It is also significant that only 16 per cent of the emigrants settled in crofting areas. The fact that over one-third of the recorded migrants settled in the only truly urban community in the Outer Hebrides needs further investigation but one possible conclusion is that if employment were available in Park, the migration rate would be drastically cut.

1 For discussion of this point, and of the population statistics in general, the author is greatly indebted to R. S. Barclay, B.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.S.E.

TABLE XVII

SELECTED POPULATION STATISTICS FOR TH AGRICULTURAL AND FISHING TOWNSHIPS

161 162 166 167 241 228

	Agricultural Townships	Fish
POPULATION		
Wholly resident	81%	
Seasonally absent	12%	
In permanent employment furth of Park	7%	
	100%	
POPULATION CHANGE		
Population 1939	317	
Population 1958[1]	226	
Total Decrease	91	
Natural Increase/Decrease[2] 1939-57	+5	
Net Migration	96	
Migration as a percentage of 1939 population	30%	
Natural Increase (Omitting War Casualties) as a percentage of 1939 population	3%	

1. Including those temporarily away; the permanently absent group would not be in the 1939 enumeration.

2. Adjusted for war Casualties - Agricultural Townships 5, Fishing Townships, 8

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or summer pastures for the tenants of Laxay and Harnish respectively, townships on the north shores of the loch. In 1775, there were four tenants in Kershader, but their place of origin is unknown. In 1805, five tenants are recorded, two of them from Uig; by 1824 there were 10 tenants. Thus the growth of population in Lewis during the second half of the eighteenth century may well have been the major reason for the colonisation of one of the least agriculturally attractive districts of the island.

From Figure 1, which shows most of the thirty-four occupied places south of Loch Shell about 1828, it is evident that colonisation had extended south into the mountainous area. The evictions, which commenced in Harris in 1816, may have increased the population already there as early as 1660, for many of these families came from Harris. The numerous shielings in South Park speak of a vigorous community: it is possible that South Park was more densely populated than the northern area up till 1800.

During the period 1818 to 1842, when the grazier, Donald Stewart, and his brothers had a lease of South Park, most of these settlements were cleared (Fig 2): in addition, between 1838 and 1843, 68 tenants and sub-tenants in Shieldernish, Cleiter, Seaforthhead, Lemreway, Oronsay, Stiomrabagh and Isginn were removed, in all about 436 people.[1] Some 27 families were sent to Crossbost in North Locha; others went to Tolsta and Tong in Stornoway parish, and some emigrated. The main body of those evicted settled in the townships in North Park: Marivig in 1838 had 6 tenants; by 1850, 22 are recorded. Thus the present distribution of population crystallised about 1840 and by then the townships along the shore of Loch Erisort from Habost to Garyvard were well established. The Minch coast townships from Cromore to Gravir, first settled about 1800, were greatly expanded, and Park south of Gravir became a sheep grazing devoid of small tenantry.

In 1844, the Seaforth family, which had held Lewis for over two centuries, sold the island to Sir James Matheson. The estate management soon wrought great changes in the landscape. Until 1850-52, the run-rig system prevailed, a system whereby a group of joint tenants, or a tacksman and subtenants, cultivated in small patches what arable land had been reclaimed, each share being periodically re-allocated. The crofts, or individually held land, date from 1850-52, when the land was lotted and most of the present crofts were formed at this period. The settlement pattern associated with run-rig was one of closely nucleated groups of houses but when run-rig was abolished, houses were built on the individual crofts.

In 1858, Lemreway was once again made available to crofters, most of whom came from the fishing townships where population pressure was building up. After the disastrous potato famine of 1846-7, and the final failure of the kelp industry from 1840 to 1844, the population of the Outer Isles experienced great hardship. By the early 1850's, the lotting of the crofts and the rapid development of the fishing industry brought a period of prosperity and the population grew rapidly especially in the fishing townships of the Minch coast. The prosperity was such that numerous cottars built houses on the lotted crofts, and their stock-keeping on the common was tolerated because of the demand for fishing crews. About 1884, the system whereby each boat was tied to individual fish merchants, who advanced meal and provisions against the catch, was discontinued. When this system was replaced by the auctioning of catches, such was the privation in Lewis that the Royal Commission investigating the poverty of the population in 1888 found conditions almost as severe as those prevailing during the potato famine forty years earlier. It was during this period that the Park Deer Raid occurred: Park became a Deer Forest in 1883 at the end of the grazier's lease. In 1888, as a demonstration of their grievances, a large number of crofters from the Park townships went into the Deer Forest and killed about 200 deer, cooking the meat in the open for all to see. Some were arrested but after trial acquitted.[3] A few good fishing seasons remedied this unhappy situation and the population of the fishing townships rose to a peak in 1911.

1 Evidence given to Royal Commission of Inquiry into Crofters and Cottars 1883. (Also known as the Napier Commission).

2 Report on the Conditions of the Cottar Population in the Lewe, 1888.

3 Stornoway Gazette, 27.1.59.

While the Royal Commission of 1883-6 was investigating Crofting conditions in Scotland, the farm of Seaforthhead and Shieldernish was restored to six crofters. Six years later, the Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Highlands and Islands scheduled the following land as suitable for new crofting townships: Stiemreway, Eilean Calum Cille, Crobeg, and the islands of Orosaidh and Rossaidh, a total area of 153 acres arable and 3,502 acres grazing. A further 165 acres of arable and 40,135 acres of grazing in the Park Deer Forest were scheduled as land suitable for the extension of existing holdings. The Report of the Commission considered "that in the case of Lewis, it cannot be left out of view that the congestion is very great, and the demand by crofters for access to lands now scheduled is of a very urgent nature ..... The Deer Forest Commissioners do not believe that the lands now scheduled are suitable for new holdings: but were these lands occupied as common pasture by crofters, under a properly adjusted system of management, their occupation would be of much advantage to the occupants and more than outweigh the disadvantages."[4] As a result of this recommendation, the islands of Rossaidh, Orosaidh and Iubhairt, in all 90 of the 43,728 acres scheduled, were given to Marivig, Calbost, and Lemreway, respectively, as additions to the common pastures; the sheep farm comprising Crobeg, Oronsay and Stiemreway, and the Deer Forest were left undisturbed.

In 1924, after raiding, Oronsay was reconstituted as a crofting township, all but one of the new tenants coming from the overcrowded crofts of Lemreway. An unsuccessful attempt was made by squatters who had built houses at Stiemreway, to have their unofficial lots recognised, but some families remained there till 1945. In 1934, fifteen small lots were cut out of the Gravir common pasture to relieve pressure on the Gravir crofts: this Department of Agriculture scheme marked the end of a century of population redistribution.

Thus the full recommendations of the Deer Forest Commission have never been implemented, but one can only conclude, after a study of the crofting economy, that greater participation by the crofters in the Deer Forest grazing would bring increased viability to the crofting community.

The landscape of Park has thus experienced four formative periods. Of the prehistoric era and the early historical period, when the Norsemen held sway, a few archaeological sites and a large number of place-names remain. From 1660 until the early nineteenth century settlement was slowly established and spread over all the coastal fringe: this period saw the maximum areal distribution of the small tenantry. From 1828 to 1843, eviction stripped the entire area south of Gravir and west of Habost of population, and large scale sheep farming was extended at the expense of the small tenants. The fishing townships from Cromore to Gravir were greatly expanded at this time. From 1858-1924, three of the cleared townships were reconstituted: the population in the majority of the fishing townships continued to grow till 1911. Since 1924, fifteen new lots have been formed in Park but the population has progressively declined.

The absence of large scale resettlement since 1886 differentiates Park from most other crofting districts, but the exodus of population since 1918 and the existence of a population constantly struggling for viability in an area deficient in resources are features common to the entire crofting area.

4 **Report of the Royal Commission Highlands and Islands, 1892, (often known as the "Deer Forest Commission").**

THE PATTERN OF CROFTING

Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties of Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the nearest equivalent to peasant communities in Britain, although only a small minority of crofters own their holdings, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, has all but disappeared.

Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to compensation for improvements. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where the annual rent paid was less than £30. Security of tenure, and compensation for improvements were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £50. In all, there are about 20,000 crofts in Scotland today[1] and Collier[2] estimated the crofting population at about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms a 1 per cent sample of the crofts, and a 0.9 per cent sample of the estimated crofting population.

Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

The characteristic settlement unit is the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the individually held croft land, and the common grazings. The number of crofts per township ranges from 6 in Caversta to 43 in Gravir.

The individually held croft land (1,839 acres) is partly 'outrun' or permanent pasture and the holdings are usually but not always consolidated - in Gravir (Fig. 4) and Cromore some of the crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated from neighbouring units by a drystone dyke or fence but in Park, such demarcation is the exception rather than the rule.

The croft land is separated from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf w The Park common pasturse consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor, ill-drained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park, only Oronsay common pasture is fenced, the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by crumbled turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pastur the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured, a term comparable to the obsolescent 'gates' of northern England. In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young be up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per £1 rent. There is also a system of stat equivalences (Gaelic 'coilpeachadh') in most townships whereby substitution of cattle for sheep a sheep for cattle is permissible: in Gravir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumin and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevaile soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming their croft.

1 Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

2 Adam Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1953.

427 Although the croftland is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six
241 months of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole
township stock graze indiscriminately over the crofts. Thus basically the whole area of the
[227] township, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear
[423] that the agricultural revolution with its system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Crofting
[176] Area.
[233]

175 Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic - 'airigh').
233 The sites of the shielings are usually on slopes commanding a view of the surrounding area near a spring or stream and usually two to nine huts belonging to the same township are grouped together on a site; isolated shielings are rather rare. In order to conserve the pasture within the township dyke for wintering and to protect the unfenced crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in June, and the younger members of the households went out to live in small stone or turf-walled huts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter or cheese at the shieling. The distance of shielings from the crofts varied from one to five miles in Park.

632 The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the township and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in the past related mainly to the enforcement of soumings, but are now reduced to the disbursement of subsidies, although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the township bull (usually lent by the Department of Agriculture but sometimes communally owned) are also the province of the Committee.

[341] The layout of the townships varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned
[342] in strips from the moor to the sea (figures 4 and 5). Most croft houses are built on the crofts; in
[78] former times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the cultivable land was required for crops, but nowadays the houses tend to be sited near the road.

162 The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing
561 in the rights and duties of the township. Table I gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 Park
427 crofts. It will be noted that only one-fifth of the crofts are tenanted by those in the 15-44 age
241 group: a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 65 years of age. Absentee tenants account for 14 per cent of the total. Women form under 10 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of
[466] the women tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The intrinsic worth of the holdings can be inferred from the fact that two-thirds of the male tenants in the insurable age group take supplementary work, two-fifths of them furth of Lewis. With such a large proportion of the tenants either fully employed in ancillary occupations in Park or elsewhere it is hardly surprising that the theoretical township organization exists mainly in name alone.

427 Each croft, however, is not necessarily an agricultural unit; some are sublet by absentee
241 tenants or by tenants who are too old or too infirm to work their crofts. Of the 215 crofts, one-fifth are wholly or partly sublet. In addition to the legal crofts, there are unofficial holdings which fall into three categories, cottars, squatters and feuars, all legally without grazing rights. A cottar[1] is a person, usually a close relative of the tenant, who builds another house on

1 These are the de facto definitions. Section 34 of the Crofters' Act of 1886 defines a cottar as follows:- "Cottar" means the occupier of a dwelling-house situate in a crofting parish with or without land who pays no rent to the landlord, as also the tenant from year to year of a dwelling house situated in a crofting parish who resides therein, and who pays to the landlord therefor an annual rent not exceeding six pounds in money, whether with or without garden ground, but without
[113] arable or pasture land". For fuller treatment, see Scott, J., "The Law of Smallholdings in Scotland," 1933, pages 152-155.

There is no legal definition of a squatter, and the above definition does not include any distinction between houses built on a croft and houses built on the Common Grazings.

TABLE I

161 TENANTS OF CROFTS
162

Resident on Croft	Males	Females[2]	Total	%
15 - 44	40	5	45	21
45 - 64	83	9	92	43
65 and over	42[1]	5	47	22
Non - Resident				
In other Townships	5	1	6	3
Furth of Park	22	3	25	11
Total	192	23[2]	215	100

162 OCCUPATIONS OF MALE TENANTS
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Age Group	Fulltime croft work	Croft work with regular employment	Croft work with periodic employment	Non-crofting employment	Periodic employment furth of Park	Permanent employment furth of Park	TOTAL
15 - 44	9	13	1	2	7	8	40
45 - 64	32	24	7	3	5	12	83
Total	41	37	8	5	12	20	123
Percentage	(33)	(30)	(7)	(4)	(10)	(16)	(100)

1. Of the 42 male tenants aged 65 and over, 31 are still active crofters, and of this 31, 16 are the sole labour force on their croft.

2. Of the 23 female tenants, 3 are the sole labour force on their crofts.

/facing p. 7/

162 TABLE IV
233
311 OCCUPATIONS AND AGES OF CROFT WORKER
462
463 RELATED TO INTENSITY OF STOCKING
887

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

Labour Force	PERCENTAGE OF SOUMING TAKEN UP: 50% or less	50 - 100%	Over 100%	TOTAL[1]
Fulltime Croft Worker	8 (17)	16 (33)	24 (50)	48 (100)
Croft Worker with Regular Employment	8 (16)	18 (35)	25 (49)	51 (100)
Croft Worker with Periodic Employment	2 (20)	3 (30)	5 (50)	10 (100)
Croft Worker aged 65 and over	2 (9)	8 (36)	12 (55)	22 (100)
Woman Croft Worker	5 (50)	3 (30)	2 (20)	10 (100)
Total	25 (17)	48 (34)	68 (49)	141 (100)

1. It is not possible to relate all units for this purpose as some units have no souming, and in other cases the unit is worked by more than one person: such units have been omitted from the table.

/p. 8-B/

CONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

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[161]

[127]

THE MAKING OF THE CROFTING LANDSCAPE

All landscapes in these islands have roots in the distant past; Park is no exception. Yet many crofting landscapes have been significantly re-fashioned within the present century after major changes in the nineteenth century. Park does not entirely correspond to the general pattern, and the present cultural landscape has its beginnings in the late seventeenth century, although there are traces of earlier settlement.

Archaeological evidence, in the form of a stone axehead found near Habost, a dun on the brackish Loch Cromore, and a mediaeval chapel on Eilean Calum Cille, provides the earliest record of human settlement in Park. Place-name evidence[1] indicates Norse occupation: the elements 'bost', a contraction of the Norse word bolstradr - a homestead, and 'setr', a shed or bothy situated on pastureland but not regularly lived in, indicate a thin dispersion of farmers practising an extensive and transhumant economy: all the present township names contain Norse elements.

The name Park, is derived from the Gaelic 'A'Phairc' - the park or deer forest: the old name of the district was Oservaul (Norse: the east mountain). During the eighteenth century, a dyke or turf wall was built between Loch Erisort and Loch Seaforth - 'garadh an tighearna' - the lord of chiefs' dyke, to enclose the deer forest. Before this enclosure was built, Park was shieling ground used by tenants in Uig (west Lewis):- one of the groups of shielings has the name Airigh Dhomhnaill Chaim and Domhnall Cam was chief of the MacAulays in Uig at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Thus it may well be that after the Norse population left or were absorbed, Park was simply used as summer pasture.

It is believed that settlement in what is now the Deer Forest began about 1650. Confirmation of this comes from an unpublished Gaelic song by Archibald MacDonald (An Ciaran Mabach) composed in Leith soon after 1660. In the song, the author laments the fact that he may never see the Forest again, and says of Park

"'s oil leam caradh na frithe
.....
Bhith fo bhinn aig na bodaich
D'am bu chosnadh cas-chrom."

"I deplore the state of the forest ..... that it should be in subjection to the carles whose livelihood is a cas-chrom" (foot plough - literally crooked spade). The song gives no indication of numbers, and unfortunately no rental of this period is extant.[2]

From rentals and other evidence, Park was the last area in Lewis to be colonised in permanent settlement; the fact that the population of Lochs parish increased from 912 in 1755 to 1350 in 1801, supports the view that the late eighteenth century saw the extension of modern settlement in Park.

The first documentary evidence of settlement in the present crofting area is the Judicial Rental of Lewis, taken by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners in 1718. This rental records tacksmen, or major tenants, living in Habost, Seaforthhead, and Eilean Calum Cille - all situated along the southern shores of Loch Erisort: there is local tradition that Kershader and Marivig were shielings

1 The editor is indebted to Miss Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt. for an analysis and evaluation of the place-name evidence - see Appendix C.

2 For this extremely interesting information and the translation, the editor is indebted to Mr. William Matheson, M.A., of the Department of Celtic, Edinburgh University.

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TABLE V .

OCCUPATIONS OF MALES (15-64) RELATED TO CROFT SIZE

Size of Operative unit (acres)	Full time croft work	Croft work with Regular employment	Croft work with periodic employment	Total[1]
0 - 5	14(30)	27(59)	5(11)	46(100)
5 - 10	19(42)	22(49)	4(9)	45(100)
10 - 15	14(50)	12(43)	2(7)	28(100)
over 15	7(54)	3(23)	3(23)	13(100)
Total	54(41)	64(49)	14(11)	132(100)

1. It is not possible to relate occupations to size of operative unit in every case as many units are in fact run by more than one person - such units have been omitted from the table.

231 Size of croft: 6 acres
241 rights in Common Gra
242

6 cows, 2 young c

231 Income
241
242 Sale of 1 cow, 5 calves, 10 cast
434 3 wedders, and 28 lambs say
Sale of wool
Subsidies on cows, calves and c

Total income

In order to work such a croft effic
and would require the assistance of h
particular township studied, the numb
present total. Considering Park as a
half of their present number but this l
general evidence. It is clear, howeve
the present crofting area of Park.

000 From a detailed study of the agricu
situation is far from being an optimum
crofting economic, and such reorganis
crofting sector of the community depen
ancillary industry are discussed on pag
continued depopulation. In the meantim
seeding and pasture improvement, and
crofts. A reduction of the sheep stocks
introduction of more cattle, narrowing
be followed with profit.

AN

464 In most crofting areas, ancillary em
income: total dependence on the croft fo
[161] areas except in times of privation. At th
[162] a greater population than the land could
estates, crofts were created smaller tha
464 possible a share in the land. First the k
228 divisions of crofts, already too small, an
423 the case of kelp, the landlord required a
241 fishing industry, the land was a secondar
of the catches.

161 In Park, it is noteworthy that the mos
162 that since 1901, when the decline in the fi
464 rapid depopulation. No other home-based
economy. In Park as a whole only 18 per
full-time crofters today - a striking confir
000 However, not all such employment is avail

ble, (3 in crop, 3 in sown grass), 18 acres outrun and
to carry:-

, 50 ewes, 12 wedders, 12 new hogge and a ram.

	£	Expenses		£
es and		Rent, ram, service of bull,		
	224	grass, oat, potato and		
	33	turnip seed, manures and		
ping	141	hand feeding	say	98
		Excess of income		300
	£398			398

ntly, the tenant could not take regular ancillary employment
family at busy periods. If such holdings were formed in the
of crofts would have to be reduced to almost one third of
hole, the agricultural units would have to be reduced to
ter figure is only very approximate as it was based on
, that about 100 viable agricultural units could be maintained on

ture of Park one can only conclude that the present crofting
one. Only reorganisation on a major scale could made
tion would have to be coupled with the development of a non-
lent on ancillary industry. The prospects for the growth of
12. Larger crofts might well evolve as a result of
e, a determined effort could be made in the spheres of re-
n consolidating the existing non-adjacent pieces of certain
, with an emphasis on quality instead of quantity, and the
he present 1:25 cattle-sheep ratio, are policies which could

NCILLARY OCCUPATIONS

nployment is necessary to compensate for the low croft
r a livelihood has never been characteristic of many crofting
he time of the abolition of run-rig, most crofting areas had
support, even at subsistence level, and as a result, on most
an the optimum size in order to give as many persons as
kelp industry and at a later period fishing, resulted in sub-
nd the establishment of a cottar and squatter population. In
as many hands as he could muster and in the hey-day of the
ry consideration as meal could be bought with the proceeds

ost congested areas in 1883 were the fishing townships and
fishing industry began, these townships have experienced
ed ancillary industry has successfully filled the gap in the
er cent of the total male population of insurable age (15-64) are
firmation of the fact that ancillary employment in necessary.
vailable in Park: 47 per cent of the insurable male population

TABLE XII

Population of Townships and Inhabited Places
(Material by courtesy of the Registrar-General)

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TOWNSHIP or INHABITED PLACE	1830[1]	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1939[2]	1951	1958[3]
SEAFORTH HEAD	-	8	-	-	-	-	22	14	15	12	8	17	4	9
SHIELDERMISH	62	47	-	-	-	-	27	24	12	13	21	17	12	13
HARRIS	49	53	68	89	96	98	113	121	111	105	87	85	67	61
SCRIMADER	66	70	81	84	104	114	103	111	101	93	94	77	59	54
GARYVARD	38	46	63	77	94	103	101	74	100	117	99	80	88	69
CAVERETA[4]	-	29	-	38	42	78	45	54	64	47	45	41	24	20
CROMORE	124	127	170	182	221	259	271	294	284	240	209	205	184	137
CROBEG	41	9	50	30	10	11	6	3	3	8	2	2	-	-
MARIVIG	115	98	146	189	206	206	205	225	206	181	160	166	127	107
CALBOST	55	67	105	122	158	183	197	200	187	189	151	120	64	22
GRAVIR	157	233	270	326	353	368	389	416	468	385	341	338	263	209
LEVREMAY	144	179	-	209	256	245	261	316	339	289	228	211	188	154
ORONSAY	119	148	-	-	-	-	4	2	5	35	91	98	71	53
EISKEN	104	-	-	11	17	29	11	14	14	10	12	30	10	5
STIENREMAY	46	62	89	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KENMORE[5]	-	4	-	9	3	-	2	-	3	-	-	3	-	-
VALAVIK	-	8	-	7	3	-	9	-	3	9	1	7	3	-
MELLANDONY	-	3	5	9	-	3	-	6	-	-	-	3	-	-
SHELL HEAD	-	-	2	6	-	7	19	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
CEANN CARRAIGH	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-
BROLLIN	-	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"ALLA" PARK[6]	89	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS:	1269	1213	1049	1388	1563	1704	1785	1876	1922	1733	1549	1500	1164	913

1. Manuscript-Seaforth Papers, Box 62, No. 158. Register House.

2. National Identity Card Enumeration by courtesy of Department of Health for Scotland.

3. Glasgow University-Geographical Field Group Enumeration, August 1958: the figures include all permanent residents and those who are in seasonal employment furth of Park.

4. Including Terista. 5. Unidentified. 6. Park south of Loch Shell.

/p. 12-A/

161 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural
162 and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend,
166 significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment furth of Park, and a smaller loss by
167 migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric,
241 there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration
228 losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of
632 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seaforthhead and Shieldernish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

133 Seaforthhead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a
361 gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being
[241] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

134 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat
137 accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely
[233] for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Balalian and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

[244] The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed.
[407] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be
[314] in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being
[231] only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep soum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the soum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in
162 1886. In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the
241
178

161 suppression of the original townships opposed to six tod
162 given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroa
of the present population of twenty-three, one is perma
241 since 1939. There is a more healthy population structu
178 between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returne
age.

361 In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish all settlement is be
[349] slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed huntin
[505] new ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size an
[491] communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track,
[178] access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half m

SHIELDERNISH

131 Shieldernish, also consisting of three crofts, is bett
361 road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained
632 road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better la
better management and new ideas.

241 Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly
311 together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One c
[246] preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them
[231] lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hop
[244] further acre and will then use the three in rotation. Th
potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts avera
gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts
[226] stocking of the Shieldernish crofts is below the souming,
[288] though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weav
crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more
of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked fro
isolated township, being difficult of access and having lit
grazing. Shieldernish appears more suitable for enclosi
soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a
out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seedin
[185] fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the com
renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with
is better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settl
workable size - provided part-time work, such as weavi
grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

131 Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south
133 stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hil
241 valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 f
361 flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat
Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hi
[134] soils.

ay. As a result, many lazy-beds, now
ched on by heather and juncus. Out
ently away and two have migrated
re, with a large number of males
d home and six children, five of school

low the road and house-sites are on
g lodge of the Seaforth's,'Seaforth Castle',
l arrangement. When first settled,
deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives
iles away.

er situated on the Park and South Loche
northerly slope, half-way between the
nd and greater accessibility has led to

00 feet and the lazy-beds have been put
roft grows neither oats nor potatoes,
, cut the hay in June, and wean the
s to have enclosed and re-seeded a
other two crofts grow both oats and
ge fourteen acres in size but although
is in permanent pasture. The total
Fishing is now only for domestic use
ing is performed on two of the six

grazing and less cultivation. Two cut
m outside the township and this
tle cultivable land, is better suited to
ng parks for fattening lambs, as
tractor feasible. More could be got
g for hay and pasture and growing
mon securely, and then stock will be
Stornoway also means that Shieldernish
ment. The crofts are certainly of a
ng, is maintained, along with the

hore of Loch Erisort. Settlement
s separated by wide, well-drained
set). Slopes are varied but tend to
, most of the cultivation takes place.
lls there are bare rock faces and thin

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[407]
[162]

Of the 53 residents, 19 are over 65 and only 5 under 15 years, leaving a working population of 29: seven are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily declining since its peak of 121 in 1901.

Since 1946, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely fenced and the method of cultivation has changed from spade and horse-plough to tractor and cultivators. A further fence has been erected for a lamb park and much land has been re-seeded; an increasing area has been put down to hay. It would seem that fattening of stock for market is intended, and better attention is being paid to stock. Yet the population is ageing and there are few young men to take the place of the older crofters; when working units become larger and stock decreases to a figure nearer the real carrying capacity of the grazing, the croft could become a profitable concern: at the moment, the croft is only maintained through grants and ancillary earnings. Should that happen, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivation to provide winter fodder.

KERSHADER

Philip W. Wheeler, M.A.

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Kershader is a township of forty-three permanent residents on thirteen crofts, which stretch for a mile along the southern shore of Loch Erisort. The crofts extend up to one-third of a mile from the coast with a two-and-a-half mile deep hinterland of common grazing. The extreme elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arranged in rectangular strips at right angles to the coast, are lower (maximum 125 feet) and include three main zones (Fig. 8):

(a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly below 50 feet, dissected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone have a distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and unsuited to fertilisation by seaware. The smaller hillocks in this zone have thinner soils of the same sort, but the main hill (crofts 10/11) is an extension of zone (c).

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with hills rising to over 100 feet. The lower areas have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a) and (b), with peaty-loam characteristics, overlying aquiferous gravels. The higher areas have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there are signs of former skinning.

(c) A zone of hollows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reacting well to heavy fertilisation with seaware and intervening heights covered with blanket bog, partly skinned, heather and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with gentler slopes over 50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irregular shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

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In Kershader, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts vary between 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23.45 acres reputed arable and 110.35 acres outrun. 24.5 acres are in fact under crop (oats 18.5, potatoes 6.0), and 9.5 acres under sown grass; and of the remaining 99.8 acres, mainly natural grass

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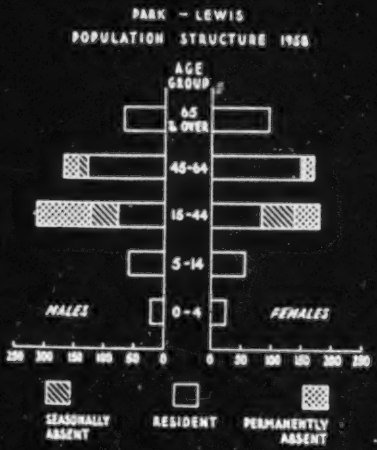

Fig. 7.

/p. 12-C/

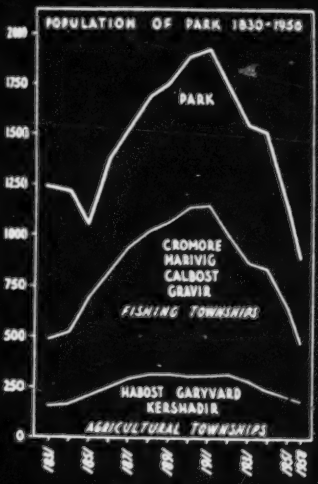
POPULATION OF PARK 1830-1956
2000
1750
1500
1250
1000
750
500
250
0
PARK
CROMORE
HARIVIG
CALBOST
GRAVIR
FISHING TOWNSHIPS
HABOST GARYVARD
KERSHADIR
AGRICULTURAL TOWNSHIPS
1831
1841
1851
1861
1871
1881
1891
1901
1911

Fig. 6.

p. 10-B/

161 Table XIX summarises the population structure and trends for the four districts. It is significant
162 that the two districts without service centres, which provide a range of ancillary employment, have
166 experienced more severe depopulation since 1939. This table also underlines the fact that earnings
167 from seasonal employment are insufficient: the incidence of permanent employment furth of the
434 districts is three times as great as the incidence of seasonal employment.
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APPENDIX B

SHIELINGS - A NOTE

John E. Wearmouth with illustrations by Beth Blowers

175 From Figure 1, compiled from the First Edition six-inch map of the Ordnance Survey (1850
233 to 1852) and from personal observations, it is clear that the shieling system was at one time an overall feature of Park for the whole peninsula has traces of this transhumant economy.

361 The rudimentary structures, some of turf, others of stones and roofed with bracken or
342 heather thatch, are all sited on well drained sites, the majority on mounds. Almost all the sites are close to lochs or streams. The majority are in loose groups of from two to nine buildings, although there are some in isolation; no site has as many as twenty-six buildings as found at Airidh na Gaoithe in North Uist.

342 There appears to be two distinctive shapes of building - oval and rectangular (Fig.10). All shielings measured exhibited a remarkable similarity in dimensions, from 17½ by 9 feet to 13 by 12 feet. The oval structures are generally larger than the rectangular ones. Most of the shielings had two entrances, often, but not always, opposite each other.

195 The shieling system died out in Park about 1880 but the cattle continued to graze around the
283 shielings on the better grass, and the crofters had still to go out to milk the cattle at the shieling, although they no longer lived there. The sheep still use the mounds for shelter and grazing. These features of an obsolete economy are still easily recognisable from the luxuriant grass cover in a wilderness of peat bog and bare rock.

APPENDIX C

NORSE SETTLEMENTS NAMES IN NORTHERN PARK, LEWIS

Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B. Litt.

103 See: Magne Oftedal, The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides; in Norsk Tidskrift for
113 Sprogvidenskap, vol. XVII, 1954, (Oslo), pp. 363 ff.

103 Professor Oftedal points out the difficulties of these Norse-Gaelic settlement names: inaccurate spellings even in modern times, and lack of any useful evidence from older sources, make almost all the derivations a matter of conjecture. Sometimes two or more ON equivalents are possible (e.g. for Calbost), sometimes no satisfactory solution can be found (e.g. for Lemreway). Since Professor Oftedal frequently bases his explanation on pronunciations not recorded in written forms, his evidence is largely followed here.
SHIELDERNISH: the second element is N nes, 'headland'. Oftedal's explanation of the first as silda, genitive plural of N sild, 'herring', is satisfactory linguistically, but seems unlikely in meaning.

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TABLE XX

	Tonbridge	Tooting	Orford	Lowestoft	Ormskirk	Oxford	Cardiff	Carlisle	Chester	Carrickfergus	Ferndale	Bolton	Bishopbriggs	Bedfordshire
MALE														
RESIDENT														
0 – 4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5 – 14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
65 and over	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15–64														
Fishing and work	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Craft and regular employment	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Craft and periodic employment	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Non-working	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
PERIODICALLY AWAY														
Students	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
National Service	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Others 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Others 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
PERMANENTLY AWAY														
Merchant Navy 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Merchant Navy 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Professional 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Professional 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Others 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Others 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Migration 1951–59														
Emigration	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Immigration	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
FEMALE														
RESIDENT														
0 – 4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5 – 14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
65 and over	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
In employment (15 – 64)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Periodically away														
Students	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Others 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Others 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
PERMANENTLY AWAY														
Nursing 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nursing 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Professional 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Professional 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Domestic Service 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Domestic Service 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Others 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Others 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Migration 1951–59														
Emigration	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Immigration	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

[877] [505] [897] [759] [357]

/facing p. 40/

[Kershader]

(b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices, however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the former case they hold near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly tidy at hand. Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmaers are weaned and clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the croft.

There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club here, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3 to 4 lb. ewe fleeces about 3 lb., and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and Scottish Marketing Board. Average sheep carcass weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Bracy and flake are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers: 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the hogs in Spring and late mows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as full-time crofters, but probably only four of them (two on one croft) are in fact in this category, and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this township, but only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft work. Local auxiliary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption) and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township, as a result, of the 73 permanently migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person has entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, for last year, is fairly optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 28 pupils in 1951, reached a peak of 110 in 1907 and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has 101 17, although it serves Caverata, Garryard, Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911; after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilizing the population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter protection, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Garryard] [Caverata]

At the moment Garryard appears to be a go-ahead village, carrying out communal scheme which will benefit the township as a whole. However, the age structure of the population is abnormal since 60 per cent of the population is over 45 years. The future in Garryard offers young people hard work, little money and no entertainment, unless the amenities of the cities and Inverness are maintained quite irresistible. Unless some industry can be started the future bodes ill for the area, since most crofters are of the opinion that a weekly wage packet would more compensate the loss of their independence. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the age of National Assistance and subsidies that man cares more for monetary rewards and the luxuries of life. This is well understood by parents who encourage their children to leave the islands to seek employment either in Britain or within the Commonwealth. The Lewisman is no sentimentalist clinging to dying traditions and a way of life. His present decisions have been re-cast as a result of his increasing contact with the world beyond the Hebrides and he is prepared to abandon his home where it defeats his aims and purpose. Unless prosperity can be brought to his door by new industry, tourism or increased croft and crofting activity, co-operation in working and marketing, it is possible that we are witnessing the end of a community.

CAVERSTA

Helen Mackenzie

Caverata lies along a southern inlet of Loch Eriscort, five miles from the Minch and is partially sheltered from east winds by the Cromore peninsula and Eilean Chalum Chille.

The physical nature of the terrain is irregular, rising steeply from the water's edge to a level of approximately 225 feet. To the west and to the east, the land slopes to the river estuary and it is about 1½ miles in length and varies in depth from 1 to 2 miles. Physiography is simple and drainage is good. Average sheep carcass weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Bracy and flake are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers: 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the hogs in Spring and late mows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

The soil is peaty and has a good giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for lambing or other purposes and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes are normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered, and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for black leg, bracy and tupping ill, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third week of May.

The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep soum, but the overall stocking is only 84 per cent of the total souming. Two crofts only a used their individual soums, while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however, poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuable for wintering the world beyond the Hebrides and he is prepared to abandon his home where it defeats his aims and purpose. Unless prosperity can be brought to his door by new industry, tourism or increased croft and crofting activity, co-operation in working and marketing, it is possible that we are witnessing the end of a community.

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[Caverata] [Cromore]

The 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Caverata population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left after 1911 and no re-population took place. Since 1939, seven people have migrated to Stornoway or the mainland, (16 per cent of the total 1939 population), and six of these were from Tornata (i.e., 50 per cent of the 1939 Tornata population); only one family now remains there. The demographic position is not good, there are four males for every two females, and the majority are young married couples and young men and women seeking employment elsewhere, for with better communications, education and the radio, the pull to the towns has become stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full-time crofters, earning no supplementary incomes by weaving tweed on commission from the Stornoway mills.

Caverata is not one of the most progressive of the South Lochs townships. Although the crofts are fenced, the common pasture is not visibly delimited from either the Cromore or Garryard pastures. At present, the grazing is fully shared according to the soum, but the committee has not as yet initiated any rotational grazing schemes. As the pasture is not of the best quality, seldom any grass would benefit every crofter. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but even a small acreage of improved grazing would be a great asset.

The future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechanization and is badly served by communications. The future of Caverta appears to be probably one of abandonment, since it is more easily linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road being built here is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Caverata is also open to question. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the present units are not used to their full extent. Amalgamation with Garryard might benefit the township a great deal, as the Caverata population is rather small to flourish in isolation. The future of Cromore, Kershader and Habost is one of hope, but unless some change takes place, it is not difficult to see Caverata, and Tortata, following the same courses as Garryard, about five miles to the north of Gravir.

CROMORE

G. Mary Swindell, B.A., and Dennis F. Fancett, B.A.

Cromore is situated on a peninsula between Loch Eriscort and Loch Cromore. Approaching it from the Arnish road, Cromore has the appearance of a nucleated settlement, but the main house is situated on the owner's croft. The crofts are so arranged that each has a portion of land on the more level surface of drift deposits; houses 1 to 20 stand at the junction of the drift and the Kershader gates. Soils are poor and thin, and there are numerous outcrops of barren rock amongst the arable land. The natural vegetation is heather moorland with extensive patches of rushes and cotton grass. The pattern of land use is of the 'outcrop' around Cromore.

The township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two crofts are subdivided while another four form double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and the Schoolhouse too. Outside the township dyke there are two free and four squatters. The croft layout differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent parts, one piece around the house, another above Creag Cromore and two pieces on another area of enclosed land on the common grazing. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land around the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

Until this decade all the land around the houses, and much of that above Creag Cromore, was regularly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but cultivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only crops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofters put in potatoes last year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

The scutching for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain through the winter and no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the scutching is exceeded by only seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the soum. Lambing takes place in April and May and after a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. No other wells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and tupped. Breeding ewes are kept for the tupping period and almost every crofter has his own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March so that they can be sold in October for the Garryard sales. The cows are fed on hay and oats, Aberdeen-Angus bull from Crobeg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle remain on the township until May, the grazing regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee without special permission, or on fank days.

The buildings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until the 1890's. Although the crofts have been carried from moor to arable, even in the 1920's, some of the moor was under cultivation and from an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken from the moor. Originally, there appeared to be a continuous trend in a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the moor, the south side of the loch, the township's first attempt at a group enterprise. Peats are now being cut near the north of Gravir.

Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore fishermen have left the area for Mallaig and one from Stornoway and there are only a few men who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this, however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and, in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by large vessels bringing goods to Park.

In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Shawbost. At present the weavers are working only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. During the Korean crisis, looms were put into production and they, and there are numerous outcrops of barren rock amongst the arable land. The natural vegetation is heather moorland with extensive patches of rushes and cotton grass. The pattern of land use is of the 'outcrop' around Cromore.

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[Gravir] [Glengravir]

The present situation in Calbost is best illustrated by reference to the population statistics. There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are adults and only eight boys are occupied within the dyke. Of the male population, there are three children under fourteen, one man in the 15-44 age group, three between 45 and 64 years and two over 65. This clearly shows the lack of active men from 15-44 years, necessary for the continuing economic success of the community. However, even these figures are not as striking as the numbers of emigrants as no less than 39 men and 40 women have left Calbost since 1939.

A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the younger people have left to find employment in Stornoway and on the mainland. The present population structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride the main east-west inlet of Loch Cairn, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The site of the township is perhaps the most physiographic in all Park, but the steep slopes, lack of cover, the small area of good arable land, and the considerable population existing on slim resources, problems common to Park as a whole, are all epitomised in Gravir.

On the south-facing slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough in the valley to the west, the majority of the croft houses have been carried from moor to arable, even in the 1920's, in the process of the abolition of run-rig that was accomplished in the years 1850 to 1852. Originally, there appeared to be a continuous trend in a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the moor, the south side of the loch, the township's first attempt at a group enterprise. Peats are now being cut near the north of Gravir.

The layout of Glengravir, a line of crofts from 3 to 5 to five acres, typifies the small post-1918 Department of Agriculture for Scotland (now Department of Agriculture) and one from Tigharry and 4, and it will be seen that not all the crofts are consolidated. There are three areas of former arable common grazing which have been lost in unfenced strips and they may well be reclamation work were necessary to supplement the food producing capacity of the holdings. The method of division and allocation speaks of a period when a subsistence economy under severe pressure from over-population necessitated fair shares for all. The last of these commons was in cultivation until 1951. Although subsistence crofting has been obsolete since then, there is kept in reserve a sufficiency of the arable land.

The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable common developed mainly as a result of a successful fishing industry which prospered from 1860 to 1914 and at one time there were two curing stations in the township. The population of the township increased and were tolerated and the population rose from 197 in 1830, to 368 in 1881 reaching a peak of 468 in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has continued yet ceased. Gravir reverted from 1918 to a township of agriculturalists and a base for employment forth of Lewis, although there have been spasms of successful fishing activity since.

Rock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and conditions are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir crofts vary between 3.5 and 24.5 acres in size: no croft has more than four acres of 'old arable', in the days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in manure-laden, hand-worked up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more extensive. All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed (cut at low water) Cromore or the coast south of Kebock Head. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed area is cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture; some of the lazy-

[Gravir] [Glengravit] [Lemreway]

The urgent need in Gravir is a reduction in the number of holdings. A pre-requisite of such reorganisation would be the creation of employment for a non-crofting population. Weaving and fishing are the more obvious occupations; the former is subject to world trade fluctuations but the latter is now in a more favourable position since the introduction of the herring fishing guaranteed subsidy, although the raising of the initial capital for buying and equipping boats is a formidable obstacle. It is clear that a division of the community into a crofting and non-crofting sector is essential if the present population level is to be maintained. The most serious aspect of the present trend is that the migrating section of the community comprises the younger and more enterprising people. Unless holdings of economic size can be formed, and stable employment introduced, one can expect the younger men and women to remain in Gravir.

Until a major reorganisation of the crofts is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-seed large areas of the common pasture and the three former arable commons and the development of a crofter-tourist industry, are interim possibilities. It is not sufficiently realised in crofting districts that there is a demand from the city dweller for simple accommodation and good plain fare in a clean atmosphere, with the possibility of hill walking and fishing on fresh and salt water. Yet, until the proposed water-scheme becomes a reality, tourism on a moderate scale can hardly be contemplated.

One can only conclude that until reorganisation takes place and transforms Gravir into a township of viable economic holdings, any stabilisation of the present trends is out of the question. A decline in the number of holdings is inevitable in the long run but a planned reduction over a number of years would bring about a more viable community than the disintegration which will occur without such planning. Until this is achieved, the young men and women have little incentive to remain in Gravir.

LEMREWAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda C. Turner
and John E. Wearmouth

Lemreway, the southernmost township of Park, comprises 290 acres arable and outrun divided into thirty-three crofts and 3,025 acres of common pasture. The township is situated on the northern side of Loch Shell round a bay in the shelter of Eilean Iosward.

The township consists of three distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area at about 100 feet, part common pasture and part reclaimed as extensions to the crofts, locally known as 'the Outend', forms the first subdivision. The second area, further west, is of a hummocky nature. To the east, a steep slope rises to an altitude of 400 feet, less than half a mile from the loch shore, forming the third. Two benches are to be seen at about 100 feet on the steeper slope and similar, though wider terraces occur at the same height to the north. It is suggested that the former is the bed of a glacial dammed lake, and that the hummocky sector is partly morainic and partly ice-eroded rock exposure. A channel eroded through this sector allowed the lake to drain southwards leaving a relatively deeply incised valley through which the present stream flows to the sea.

Soils may be divided into two types - a peaty loam and the better drained gravelly loam which is found to the east and along the main stream; the latter is particularly suitable for potato cultivation.

Except on rocky outcrops, the very steep slopes and the drained areas, blanket bog predominates. Sphaghnum here is rarely dominant but where the land is badly drained Deer's hair grass (Scirpus caespitosus) and cotton grass (Eriophorum vaginatum and Eriophorum angustifolium) are the dominants. On slightly drier land, purple moor grass (Molinia caerulea) and mat grass (Nardus stricta) are abundant. Local dominants are bog asphodel (Narthecium ossifragum) and cross-leaved heather (Erica tetralix) with other common species such as the sundews (Drosera rotundifolia and intermedia), butterwort (Pinguicula vulgaris), Juncus sp., Carex sp. and Carex panicea occurring sporadically. Where the peat has been cut and drained, 'heather moor' usually develops and Calluna

The West Highland Survey Township Card describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway, working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the entire population farms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their craft work with regular employment - a postmaster and postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver as well as a crofter-fisherman. Just over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939. Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. Ruins of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and there were built either along the shore or up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs. Today supplies of food, peat and coal are assured are brought by road.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostelliers could not greatly increase the income of the residents, they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling, is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the hummocky ground. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to small painted houses all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is being adapted to the modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 376 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 1 to 40 for most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the sighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the clearer pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the gates are now permitted a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

The total area of the common pasture exceeds 400 acres and it consists of hummocky, rocky terrain, some improved supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the grazing. A lorry will be used to round up the sheep.

No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people in the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and there were built either along the shore or up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs. Today supplies of food, peat and ewes assured are brought by road.

There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less than half of them are aged between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third are reasonably away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home, together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it. Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles distant.

Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of congestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginalin character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overpsill' - an unfortunate result of the cotter problem in the 'twenties'.

The future existence of the common pasture as a viable grazing is being seriously endangered by overstocking. The scouring is not enforced in Orinsay and the actual sheep stock exceeds the sum by 300 per cent. Peat-cutting is gradually destroying valuable grazing areas; in the last three years there has even been some peat-cutting on the better grazing on the island. The dangers both of overstocking and of indiscriminate peat cutting cannot be overstressed.

No evidence was seen of attempts to improve the quality of the common pasture. The establishment of shelter belts would provide not only shelter but a means of stopping the peat from 'slumping' down slopes if they were carefully sited. Much of the common pasture could be improved by a hill drainage scheme and by re-seeding, after sanding and liming. A project well within the capacity of the resident labour force.

Good crops on a few of the crofts suggest that the land is not inherently sterile, however, and it would seem that if the holdings were reduced to a maximum of four, an economic existence might be possible on these crofts. The easy nature of the soil limits the possibilities of tractor cultivation, but with an improvement in drainage, one might be used in the two valleys.

It is not so easy to be optimistic about the employment of surplus population resulting from such an enlargement of holdings. Although a revival in the fishing industry could absorb most of the men. At present there are no looms in Orinsay and providing the Harris tweed industry can hold its own, there are possibilities in weaving. Seaweed is in plentiful supply, indeed Lemreway people also obtain surplus and should its quality prove adequate, the establishment of a processing plant would provide valuable employment.

Nevertheless it is becoming increasingly obvious that unless the holdings can be enlarged, whether officially or by sub-letting, and some further employment created, Orinsay is liable to stagnate, and depopulation to continue. The township which was developed to relieve congestion is now itself congested.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the Glasgow University Department of Geography Crofting Survey is to record and analyse material relevant to the crofting districts, and in so doing provide a clear and impartial statement of the present situation. In inviting us to undertake a survey of Park, the Pairc Association hoped that a body of fact would be assembled and conclusions drawn which would assist the Association in their admirable aims of advancing the well-being of the area. Their two Progress Reports, of 1947 and 1957, indicate that they have already instituted many of the possibilities for crofting in completed, no final assessment of the Crofting Area as a whole can be made.

The district of Park is one of the more isolated and difficult crofting environments. The ruggedness of the terrain, the high proportion of land of very low agricultural value and sheer isolation make the existence of human communities precarious. In addition, many of the Park communities were first established as a result of population pressure in more favourable areas of Lewis, and the original small settlements grew rapidly as a result of a change in land use which was a national trend - the conversion of poorer areas from subsistence farming to an extensive sheep-rearing economy. The impact of this change came to Park in the form of the eviction of a large body of small farmers in favour of an extension of the grazing area. Thus the present conditions are a legacy of the relatively recent past, and of legislation, particularly in the Crofters' Act of 1886, which accepted, and tacitly agreed to the maintenance of a larger population than the land could reasonable carry[1]. Two World Wars and fluctuating economic factors have had repercussions in Park and resulted in a change in economic and social values, and depopulation has resulted: the 1951 population was 60 per cent of the 1911 total.

1. The Commissioners proposed that only holdings rested at £6 and over should have security of tenure, with a view to discouraging the perpetuation of grossly uneconomic holdings; in the Act, all holdings were given security of tenure.

TABLE XIX

POPULATION IN FOUR CROFTING DISTRICTS 1939-1956/8

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	Resident	Seasonally away	Permanently away	Total	Resident & Seasonally away	Population in 1939[2]	Decrease since 1939
Park (1958)[1]	788(72.2)	180(11.0)	118(16.8)	1086(100)	968	1500	506(38.5)
Benbecula and South Uist (1956)[1]	3171(86.0)	189(5.5)	390(10.5)	3650(100)	3300	4085	785(19.2)
Harris (1957)[1]	1621(71.9)	88(4.4)	476(23.7)	1729(100)	1509	2212	703(31.8)
Waternish (Skye) (1958)[1]	198(75.5)	16(6.1)	48(18.4)	262(100)	214	439	225(51.2)
TOTAL	5778(79.4)	473(5.8)	1032(14.8)	7027(100)	5991	8236	2219(26.1)

1. Year of Glasgow University Crofting Survey Enumeration.
2. National Identity Card Enumeration.

POPULATION OF THE ISLE OF SKYE, THE WESTE
CROPTING COUNTIES, AND SCOTLAND BETWEE
INCREASE OR DECREASE IN

YEAR	ISLE OF SKYE		WESTERN HIGHLANDS	
	Population	% + or -	Population	% + or -
1755	11,252	-	114,884	-
1801	15,788	8.1	153,643	6.3
1811	17,029	7.9	165,074	7.2
1821	20,827	22.3	190,907	14.5
1831	22,796	9.5	200,955	5.1
1841	23,074	1.2	200,253	-0.3
1851	22,536	-2.3	190,728	-4.9
1861	19,591	-13.1	174,903	-8.3
1871	18,114	-7.6	168,359	-3.9
1881	17,680	-2.4	167,928	-0.3
1891	16,478	-6.8	164,281	-2.2
1901	14,561	-11.7	158,738	-3.4
1911	13,282	-8.8	151,085	-4.9
1921	11,584	-12.8	140,946	-6.9
1931	10,345	-10.7	127,081	-9.3
1951	8,603	-8.4	119,071	-3.2

Sources: James Gray Kyd, Scottish Populati
Historical Society," Vol. XLIII; Edinburgh: Scott
and F. Fraser Darling, "Studies in the Rise and D
lands and Islands of Scotland," in F. Fraser Darl
(Mimeographed, 1950), Part III; and Scotland, Cen
Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953).

ERN HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS, THE SEVEN
EN 1755 AND 1951 WITH PERCENTAGE
INTERCENSAL PERIODS

	SEVEN CROFTING COUNTIES		SCOTLAND	
	Population	% + or -	Population	% + or -
	257,183	-	1,265,380	-
	302,817	3.3	1,608,420	5.9
	318,266	5.1	1,805,864	12.3
	362,184	13.8	2,091,521	15.8
	388,876	7.4	2,364,386	13.0
	396,045	1.8	2,620,184	10.8
	395,540	-0.1	2,888,742	10.2
	380,440	-3.8	3,062,294	6.0
	371,840	-2.5	3,360,018	9.7
	369,453	-0.5	3,735,573	11.2
	360,367	-2.5	4,025,647	7.8
	352,371	-2.1	4,472,103	11.1
	341,535	-3.2	4,760,904	6.5
	326,000	-4.5	4,882,497	2.6
	293,212	-5.7	4,842,980	-0.8
	285,667	-1.3	5,095,969	2.8

ion Statistics ("Publications of the Scottish
tish Historical Society, 1952); R.S. Barclay
Decline of the Population in the West High-
ing, et al., The West Highland Survey
sus of Scotland, 1951 (Edinburgh: Her

: Ducey E-4.5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

101 The Highlands and Islands are often divided into a Western and an Eastern subregion. The Western Highlands include all of the Hebrides and, approximately, the western half of the counties of Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness, and Argyll. This leaves the remainder of the seven crofting counties, including the islands of Orkney and Shetland, to the Eastern [102] Highlands. The seventy-two parishes of the Western Highlands have been isolated by physical barriers from communication with Great Britain. Here, too, differences of race, language, and culture have continued to distinguish the people from the other Scots. With this rudimentary delimitation of the areas in mind, let us briefly review their population cycles.

161 When Alexander Webster, then Moderator of the Church 162 of Scotland, compiled his enumeration of the population of Scotland in 1755, the Highlands contained 257,183 people, and the Western Highlands had a population of 114,884. In terms of percentages, the total region, 47 percent of Scotland, had 20.3 percent of Scotland's population, and the subregion, 29 percent of Scotland, had 9.1 percent of the national population. By 1831, despite chronic emigration, the population of the Western Highlands rose to 200,955 (see table 1) but there had been a decline to 8.5 percent of the national total. In 1841 the total Highland population reached a peak of 396,045, but now only 15.1 percent of the Scots were Highlanders. By 1851 depopulation had begun. The Highlanders in the West had decreased in numbers to 190,728 and those in the whole area, to 395,540. From that day to this depopulation has been continuous. Although the 1951 census is still above Webster's

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

count, the number of people living in the Highlands has declined 27.8 percent to 285,667, and those in the Western Highland, 40.7 percent to 119,071. Today the Highlanders represent only 5.6 percent, and the Westerners, only 2.3 percent of the population of Scotland.

Even though depopulation in the Western Highlands has gone at a faster rate than for the Highlands as a whole, it has not been typical of the entire subregion. William Hance, an economic geographer, has recently pointed out that "the assumption has too often been made that the Islands (the Outer Hebrides) have been depopulated at the same rate as the counties to which they belong and the Highlands as a whole."[2] He clearly demonstrates the contrasting increase of population in the Outer Isles, up to 1911, and the persistent decline elsewhere in the area. Again, within the last two decades, there has been an increase in population in the developing industrial area at the western extremity of the Great Glen, while depopulation has continued in all other parts of the subregion.

The Isle of Skye, the island with which I shall be concerned in my dissertation, cannot be regarded as typical of the Highlands or of the Western subregion. I rather regard it as standing in an intermediate position, geographically, demographically, and culturally. It rises from the Sea of the Hebrides between the Outer Isles to the west and the Mainland to the east. As we have just seen, depopulation is

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[2] William A. Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation (New York: By the author, 1949), p. 18.

st, and in the industrial area of the
is reversing itself. To the north and
s been more serious. To the east the
n similar to that of Skye. We need not
tics at this time, but for convenience
s are given in Table 1. The Outer Hebrideans
f the social aspect of the old culture
while the Mainlander has felt the effects
cculturation with more obvious results
ye. In short, the Highlands are not
They represent a great diversity of

on the contemporary culture of the Isle
y the residents of three communities,
ree and the crofters of Glendale and
a small nucleated village with a popu-
It is important to the study because
sents an alien way of life. Here are
national government offices, staffed
o Skye, which serve the whole island.
cery, drug, clothing, and hardware
n the people of at least, northern Skye
heir trade. There are a number of
ally dependent on the rural population.
e members of both groups are newcomers
elsewhere in the Highlands. As the
steamer which links Skye with the mainland,
lly bus service which connects the rural

361 basalt plateau where the light and potentially rich soil and the relatively luxuriant pasture land are valuable assets. The remainder of the island has been generally avoided, except for a few isolated areas of raised beaches, moraine, and similar 361 deposits of local importance. The contrasting population 162 densities in modern times support my assertion. With an overall density for the Island of thirteen per square mile, northern Skye has a density of nineteen per square mile in contrast to six per square mile in southern Skye. This three one ratio has persisted for at least two centuries.

361 Until the nineteenth century all the inhabitants of Skye lived in isolated hamlet-like clusters. The majority continue to dwell in dispersed crofting communities. Indeed, the domi characteristic of the settlement pattern is, with a single exception, the lack of nucleated villages. Skye is not unique this respect. The Irish and the Welsh have never made the vi a part of their cultural heritage.[13] The pattern I am about describe will, no doubt, be unfamiliar to many who are only acquainted with rural communities of the Western Hemisphere. The units of settlement on Skye are on a very diminutive scal compared to those to which we are accustomed.

361 As we have seen, the efficient socio-economic unit is t 621 township, the collection of individual crofts and the communa grazing lands. Skye contains 182 townships. All of them are found in an inhabited area of roughly thirty square miles.

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[13] Conrad M. Arensberg, The Irish Countryman (New York: Peter Smith, 1950), pp. 146-155; and Alwyn Rees, Life in a We Countryside (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1951), pp. 128-129.

compared with 34.9 for Scotland. The death rate among Skyemen, however, was 17.4 compared with 22.0 for Scots in general. But Scotland had a net emigration rate of only 3.6 while the Skyemen were leaving at a rate of 16.5. In this decade no fewer than 3,115 left Skye.

By the end of the third period an additional influence of the process of commercialization had become apparent. The social hierarchy was modified in the direction of greater socio-economic differentiation.[68] At the time of the "Forty-five" Skye was inhabited by the families of three clan chiefs, 139 tacksmen, 517 joint-tenants, 1031 subtenants, and 444 servants. There were now 10 landlords. The tacksmen had been replaced by 29 graziers and 12 small farmers. The joint-tenants, subtenants, and servants had become 2043 crofters and 1227 cottars. In the past there may have been one innkeeper, at Portree, and a few millers; now there were 32 innkeepers, millers, and merchants.

The changes which we have been considering could not have left the patterns of interaction undisturbed. Cooperation among the members of the township would have been unnecessary. Since all were affected by prolonged destitution, mutual aid must have been severely curtailed. The extended family was broken by emigration. The nuclear family was seldom intact for more than part of the year. It seems the majority of the able-bodied men were travelling to the east coast each spring to find

[68] Lachlan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, Pp. 4-5, 6-7, 11-12, 14-15; and J. G. Jackay, "Social Life in Skye from Legend and Story," FORL, Vol. XXIX (1922), pp. 260-295.

employment as hands on fishing vessels. The young women followed these fleets seeking work as gutters and curers in the ports. Some may have made their way to Portree, where a woolen mill had been erected by the Highland Destitution Committee. The population of Portree increased during these years from 510, in 1841, to 893, in 1881, but this can hardly be regarded as a significant trend.

The really striking aspect of this period is the almost complete lack of protest by the Sgriathanach against the violation of this presumptive right to the land. The disappearance of the tacksman, of course, had left the people without their counselors and leaders in secular affairs, and many of the ministers, especially those who were themselves sheep farmers, counseled submission to the will of God. Then, too, the ethos of the Skyemen would not allow them to ventilate their grievances. They despised the Gassanach and felt that "the landlord was bad enough, but the factor was the Devil himself." Still those who knew them well and those who rambled by their cottages wrote unanimously of a people who endured overwhelming sufferings in patience and reticence.[69] The betrayal of any weakness, especially before the cursed Gassanach, was a breach of propriety.[70]

The Skyeman had not lost his capacity to respond to leadership. Throughout the nineteenth century there had been widespread and growing discontent all over Europe with the

[69] Napier Report, Appendix I, pp. 1-82; and Cumming, op. cit., p. 136. See also Robert Buchanan, The Hebride Pilot (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883), p. 384; and Malcolm Ferguson, Gobbles in Skye (Irvine: Charles Churchland, 1895), pp. 121, 122.

[70] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 136.

culture which can hardly be distinguished from that of the Lowland rural areas, but it has by no means disappeared.

Socially, these changes, particularly the introduction of national laws of land tenure, involved a leveling of the social hierarchy. The old polarity of the land lord and tenant, with an intermediate group of doctors, ministers, and tradesmen, was restored. The place of the tacksman, of course, has been filled by the government. The bulk of the population was once again undifferentiated socially or economically. Land lost much of its commercial value for the proprietors. It once again had more of an intrinsic value, almost as in the days of the clan. The status of the proprietors, locally and as a horizontal segment of the total British population, depended on land ownership. The graziers and the proprietors who had appeared during the "Clearances" withdrew, selling out to the national government.

These changes did not work to halt the continuous outward flow of the Sgriathanach. To the contrary, increasing integration with the national culture created new needs, such as a demand for a higher standard of living and an opportunity to achieve status, and provided the training necessary for the youth to find roles more suitable to their talents elsewhere in the world. The young men and women of Skye journeyed to the Lowlands to join the national labor force, to enter the professions, or to seek other permanent employment. Thus, emigration changed from a movement by families to a movement by individuals. At the same time, the benefits of the crofters' legislation and the program of government assistance made it possible for the

person who left in his youth to return in his old age. The new pattern of emigration not only resulted in a continuation of the persistent depopulation of the inland but also, with the return flow which counteracted emigration of the youth with immigration of the older people, led to striking changes in the age structure of the population. If the population pyramids for the years 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1951 are compared, the significance of the new pattern becomes apparent (see figure 4). The 1861 pyramid has a strong base, despite evictions and death. By 1901 the aging of the population was already marked. There were fewer people in all age groups, but a disproportionate increase in those over sixty-five. Females had joined the exodus. Partly as a result of the emigration of young adults, and partly as a consequence of a declining marriage rate and delayed marriage, the structure was growing top-heavy.

The pyramids for 1931 and 1951 are far from ideal. The differing movements of the population has resulted in a situation in which the society can no longer reproduce itself. Natural increase became a negative factor in the decade 1921-1930. Since then births have exceeded deaths in only one year, 1949. If the population is being maintained in part by the return of exiles, one must not only ask who leaves and why but also who returns and why.

An additional change within this period was the growth of Portree as a trade center and as an administrative "capital." The cycle of population, however, was erratic. In 1891 there were 1,003 people in the village, but in 1921 there were only 793.

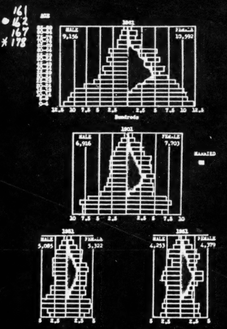

Fig. 4. Population Pyramids for Skye: 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1951.
Source: Census of Scotland, 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1951.

In 1951 the population stood at 1,094. There has been a slight shift from the rural areas to the village, but it can hardly be regarded as significant. For one thing, the 1951 figure included an unknown number of workers on the hydro-electric scheme. Then, too, it included children from the Outer Isles who attend school in Portree, not to mention the very large number of newcomers, teachers, government employees, shop-keepers, management personnel in the stores and banks, and tradesmen, to give only a few examples.

The trend toward religious conservatism continued in the fourth period. During the closing years of the preceding period, the Free Church attempted to modify her theology and polity. The old trend toward relaxing the rigor of Presbyterianism, in accordance with the feelings of the other dissenting denominations in Scotland in order to pave the way for union, was reversed by the passing of a Declaratory Act which stated that the Free Church does not teach and does not regard the Confession of Faith as teaching the foreordination of men to death (eternal damnation) irrespective of their sin. Further, that while the Gospel is the ordinary means of salvation, it does not follow that all who die in infancy are lost. The elders, the lay kirk officers, of Skye protested violently.[88] It was psyey to make the Church the judge of spiritual affairs. More important, it threatened their prestige status, which had been sanctioned by the interpretation of the religious ethic. In several parishes the elders threatened to withdraw from

[88] The Free Presbyterian Church, History of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1893-1933 (Glasgow: A. Adshead and Son, 1933), pp. 98-130.

The number of holdings which can be carved from the land in any one place and the proximity of these clusters of crofts to each other are determined to a large degree by the limiting influences of the environment. Landforms, climate, and soil have always restricted settlement to the coastal fringe and a few internal glens. Although the Sgriathanach has abandoned his former dependence on a subsistence economy, the original cultural adjustment, these natural features continue to exert a negative influence. Each man must have some arable land to provide winter feed for his cattle and to winter his sheep.

If the low-lying area is small and isolated, only a few holdings can be laid out. If the fertile area is large, the influence of the environment is less direct. In either case social and economic factors are important. The small isolated townships are invariably unsuccessful. A few, like Point of Sleat, are completely empty. Others are all but derelict. There is Kylerhea in Sleat where no children have been born in over fifteen years. Suisinish in Strath, a township well remembered from the days of the "Clearances," when a minister's sheep replaced the inhabitants, is now inhabited by an old man and his two elderly bachelor sons. All of these failing townships are at the end of a road. Whereas the minimum size was once four able-bodied men, the number in a plough team or a boat crew,[12] it is now three. This functional trio is indispensible for the care of a sheep stock large enough to be worth keeping. Even three families do seem to satisfy the social minimum.

[12] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

The maximum is harder to determine, economically. There is some limit to the number who can stock a common grazing with individually owned stock without becoming involved in complicated entanglements over right, obligations, and questions of ownership. The few townships containing more than thirty crofts in the Western Highlands (91 out of 957),[13] and the negligible number on Skye (only ten), suggests that less than thirty holdings per township, no matter how much fertile land surrounds the cluster, has been found to be the optimum. Most of the townships contain between five and twenty crofts. The fact that many large, adjacent townships, such as Bornesketaig in Kilmuir and all those in the Braes, are losing their population is a reflection of a many faceted condition we have been exploring throughout this chapter--the vast majority of the crofts are too small to provide an adequate livelihood. One of the primary causes for this state of affairs would seem to be overcrowding on the land.

Congestion. In almost all but the recently established or replanned townships, congestion is a legacy of the increase in population during the first century of the modern period, often aggravated by coerced subdivision during the period of the "Clearances." Because of this, over-all statistics have little meaning. It is quite correct to say there are some 2300 crofts on Skye and approximately 2200 crofters, but this does not mean each family has a croft to itself. To take

[13]Ibid., table 1.

extreme examples, Bornesketeig in Kilmuir consists of 47 crofts held by 35 crofters, but Aird in Sleat has 39 crofters who rent 20 crofts. In one badly subdivided township, Calligary in Sleat, one holding is held in the following shares: four men each have five-twenty-fourths, one has one-sixth, and one has ¼ part." The whole, indeed, is more than the sum of its parts. Moreover, townships with a balance of crofts and crofters, and even those with fewer crofters than crofts, often show the effects of subdivision. Another Kilmuir township, Herbusta, is laid out in eight holdings. Although there are an equal number of landholders, several of the crofts are divided into half shares. Then, there is Kilvaxter, also a Kilmuir township, with 11 tenants and 12 crofts; one man has three full shares while two others have only half a croft each. Multiple crofts are not necessarily adjacent. Some crofters hold land in two different townships. One of my informants rents two crofts separated by over twenty miles. On foot, it takes him two days to make the trip between his two holdings.

Subdivision, frequently carried to its ludicrous extreme, is not a problem confined to the Highlands of Scotland. All over Europe the traditional laws of succession have had a similar result. In consequence, the governments of all European countries have been striving to initiate reform. Generally, the aim has been to consolidate scattered patches, but almost always the schemes have become more comprehensive, attempting to create economic farms and increase productivity. Since the

where the population has suffered the greatest decline and, therefore, where enlargements, by legal or illegal means, have been the most extensive, crop production has declined the most. Nor has the decline in population, accompanied by land redistribution, altered the fundamental problem.

The cotters (subtenants) have almost disappeared thereby easing the excessive pressure on the land and removing the threat of recurring destitution. Today they are found only in a few scattered dwellings and isolated clusters. Most of them have secured some form of employment or have reached the age when a government pension is sufficient to satisfy their needs. The number of crofters, on the other hand, has increased. If the figures 2043 and 1227 can be accepted as nearly correct for the respective numbers of crofters and cotters in 1886,[15] they have increased at the expense of the latter and, also, the sheep farmer, whom they have replaced.

To briefly summarize the foregoing discussion of the township, let us look at Kilmuir. Table 3 shows the number of crofts and crofters in each of the nine townships together with the acreage and "souming" rights available to each individual. Although replanning during the past fifty years has benefited many of the local residents, crowding upon the land is still apparent.

[15]L. MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 6, 17.

TABLE 3

CROFTS, CROFTERS, ARABLE ACREAGE, AND SOUMING RIGHTS IN THE KILMUIR TOWNSHIPS

Township	Crofts	Crofters	Arable Acres[a]	Common Grazing	Souming
Bornesketeig	47	35	4	273	2 cows, 1 calf, 12 sheep
Hunglladder	14	9	5	236	2 cows, 1 calf, 10 sheep
Balgown	4	5	13, 14, 32, 46, [illegible]	177	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Kilvaxter	12	11	27	...b	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Linicro	19	17	15	729	5 cows, 5 calves 40 sheep 1 horse
Peingown	3	4	18	187	7 cows, 7 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Herbusta	8	8	12	308	3 cows, 3 calves 26 sheep 1 horse
Totescore	12	13	21	500	3 cows, 3 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Monkstadt	3	3	27, 27, 5	420	9 cows, 9 calves 40 sheep 2 horses

[a]Arable acres are given in average acres per holding, unless otherwise indicated. Except in Bornesketeig and Hunglladder, arable land includes outrun, improved pasture land individually held.

[b]Shared with Kilvaxter.

Sources: Compiled from The Valuation Roll of the County of Inverness, 1953; information extracted from the files of the Department of Health for Scotland; and data supplied by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

arduous is difficult to determine. In the winter of 1953, I helped a small crofter thrash oats, a cooperative enterprise even with a mechanical thresher, supplied by the Department of Agriculture. The neighbors who came over to lend a hand were two men and three women. The youngest woman would never see fifty again; her seniors were seventy-seven and seventy-eight. The youngest man, who had just been married, was sixty-three; the other seventy-three. These crofters not only showed more endurance than I did, but put me to shame by carrying the sacks of grain from the field to the byre at the end of the day. Nevertheless, most of those over seventy, about 15 percent of the population, do not make use of the land for more than growing a few potatoes. An old man cannot keep a cow because, as one man said, "You can't have a cow unless you have a woman to milk it." If he is married or lives with a sister, there may be a cow and a couple of sheep. An old woman may have her cow and sheep if she is strong enough. There comes a time, however, when all the old people will only remember the work involved. Still, they will say, "Och, but they were good for all that."

Absentee tenants are responsible for depopulation on the one hand and felling production on the other. A reasonable estimate would be 300. Their number could be as high as 400. Some townships have over 50 percent of the crofters absentee. The only townships which do not have this problem are the few which contain large crofts. On one small estate there are seventy-six crofts, held by seventy-two crofters. Only thirty

of the holders reside on their land for more than half the year. The lowest rate of absenteeism is found among the tenants of the Department of Agriculture. There are 76 absentees out of a total of 667 tenants. Most of the non-resident crofters are permanently absent. On the small estate mentioned above, thirty-seven of the forty-two absentees have not been seen in years. Five of them usually return to Skye to spend their summer vacation.

Thus, we have a situation in which, perhaps, a third of the crofts are held by people who either cannot work them because of old age or infirmity, or do not choose to work them because of greater opportunities elsewhere. What, then, happens to this land? Some of the old people allow a neighbor to use the land. Almost invariably this means the few fertile acres will be used for grass and hay. Absentees "entrust" the croft, house and land, to a landless family. While Parliament inadvertently gave the crofter a right to keep his holding whether he resided on it or not, it is illegal to sublet. So far, this has not concerned the crofters. Other absentees "entrust" the land to someone in the township who uses it for grass.

Turning to the influence of old age and absenteeism on stocking, we find a series of entanglements. If the township is inhabited solely by old people, like Aird in Sleat, the township becomes derelict. More commonly, the absentee and the old person allows someone else to take over his "souming" so that some crofters have far more than their share. Not infrequently, this gives the crofter a chance to outwit that

ship size is variable. There is a complete range from 361
township with a single inhabited croft and a population of 621
e, an old man and his two sons, to one with fifty crofts, 162
by thirty-two families, and a population of almost eighty.
townships contain between six and twenty crofts.

The crofts are set out in long, parallel strips, typi-
y, at right angles to the coast, or, if the township is in
en, across the glen. In the older townships, the houses
to be built at one end of the strip on the least pro-
ive land. The byre, if there is one, stands at the rear
ither side of the house. Exposure or road access have not
ys been determining factors. Most frequently, it would seem,
nment along a road is present only because the county govern-
has built a road into the township. Only in the more modern
ships, those planned or re-organized within the last fifty
s, have the crofters tended to build near the road. Several
he townships lack any apparent orientation. The houses are
tered up and down the lower slopes of the hills which rise
e the cultivated land.

Wherever the configuration of the land and the environ-
al factors of soil and rainfall permit large settlements,
e is a grouping of townships into the pattern of the British
country neighborhood or the French line village.[14]
tered among the crofts, without any nucleus of community 366
dings, there are, usually, a school, one or two churches, 368

[14] For an analysis of rural settlement patterns, see
is and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 229-231, 234-237.

361 one or more country stores, a few workshops, and a post office.
621 Kilmuir will serve as an example of these larger settlements.
366
368 Along the shore of Loch Snizort, on the peninsula of
361 Trotternish, there is a broad, fertile plain. Including old
621 Loch Chaluim Chille, there are approximately ten square miles
311 of good land. Although the soil is not cultivated as intensive-
ly as in the days when Kilmuir was "the granary of Skye,"
this is regarded as the best agricultural region on the island.
162 In all there are 122 crofts, held by 105 crofters, in 9 town-
ships. There are also two small farms. The population is
slightly over 300.

361 The crofters' cottages are loosely strung around the
621 old loch and across the plain in an irregular "Y" shaped
pattern (Figure 3). Basically the pattern resembles the
French line village, but there are several features remi-
361 niscent of the British open country neighborhood. Most of
621 the cottages, it would seem, were originally built on the
491 landward fringe of the plain and along the shore of a small
bay, known as Camus Mor, without any regard for road access.
179 In recent years, increasing dependence on motor transport
has led to demands for roads. Now almost all the crofters,
except those in Bornesketaig, have a paved road running
by their door. About a third of the houses are on the county
road which encircles the peninsula and links Kilmuir with
the outside world via Portree.

621 In the center of Kilmuir, in the township of Balgown,
368 stand two spireless churches, a church hall, a two room school,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

tradesmen are respected, but since most are crofters, they are 554
treated like all other men.

The Village. The village contains a heterogeneous population. 621
At least a third of the families have arrived in the recent 162
past. They have come to fill positions in the county and 187
national government offices; in Lowland directed banks or
business houses which have extended their field of operations
to Skye; and in the professions as doctors, lawyers, ministers,
and schoolteachers. A few have come to Skye to open a shop or
offer their services as tradesmen. The remainder are either
Skye folk who have recently moved into the village to see
employment or families that have been in Portree for one or
more generations. Very few families seem to have lived in
the village for more than three generations.

While there are many opportunities for an individual to 554
achieve status in Portree, the cultural heritage and the 189
economic limitations under which the Sgiathanach labors has
not allowed him to compete with the newcomers. His ability
to compete is further restricted by the prevailing policy of
the government and the national corporations to bring in
managerial and, often, clerical personnel from the outside.
All share one socio-economic trait; they are non-crofting. As 565
yet there is no class structure beyond the polarity of the
landed gentry and the crofters who participate in village life.
There is verticality. Highest prestige status is accorded to
those who have been accepted among the local aristocracy. Be-
low them rank the ministers, doctors, and school teachers.

to the health of the potato and their own fertility.[40] Many men turned to fishing, on a part-time basis, but once again the initial success was short-lived. Others supplemented their diminishing incomes from the croft by seasonal employment in the Lowlands. Crofting had ceased to be a subsistence economy; the people had lost their self-sufficiency. Nor were they ever again able to escape from a dependence on some form of supplementary income to provide the bare essentials of life. The difference between conditions then and now is that the pressure of the population on the means of subsistence increased until it approached a Malthusian ceiling.

In the thirties epidemic and famine began to take their toll. Destitution became widespread and there was no system of relief beyond the moral obligation of the proprietors to provide grain. The marriage rate fell. In Kilmuir the average annual number of marriages fell from twenty-one to six. Subdivision was forbidden, but it was too late. In two districts of Kilmuir there were 190 lots, crofts, and farms to support 421 families in 1840. In all of Skye, after the emigration of at least 1500 people, there were 1900 crofters and 1531 cottars. Despite the fact that oats had become as big a luxury as meat and the fact that many were living on potatoes and fish, the population continued to increase. By 1841 it reached 23,074. Finally, the economic structure collapsed.

In the autumn of 1846 there were no potatoes. A blight destroyed the entire crop. Although the famine was universal

[40] For details concerning the plight of the crofters at this time, see NSA, pp. 218-360.

eighty cottars in four townships were replaced by two shepherds brought in from the mainland.[57]

As the interests of the proprietors and their tacksmen had clashed at an earlier time, those of the landlords and their tenantry were now irreconcilably opposed. The appearance of the latifundia in England has been described as being characterized by absentee landlords, pastoralism, and a decline in the rural population through death and migration.[58] A process which had begun three centuries earlier in England and which had reached the Scottish Borders two centuries earlier had at last become operative on Skye. Let us examine the effects of full scale commercialization on the Skyemen.

The effects are evident. Commercialization and the evictions, which were a necessary counterpart, prompted emigration and confined the people within narrow limits, often, on inferior land.[59] By 1865 it was possible to describe Sleat as a quiet pastoral land, desolate and deserted.[60] The people had been pushed into a few isolated, badly subdivided townships. In Bracadale, the first parish to be fully commercialized, there were once thirty-six runrig farms; in 1882 there were six large grazing farms.[61] The bulk of the population, 922, were

[57] William MacKenzie, Skye: Iochdar-Frotternish and District (Glasgow: A. MacLaren and Sons, 1930), pp. 6-9.

[58] Helen Irving, The Making of Modern Europe (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1923), pp. 49-64.

[59] Alexander Smith, A Summer in Skye (London: Sampson, Low, Martson and Co., 1865), pp. 468-469; Gordon Cumming, In the Hebrides (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883 pp. 149-150.

[60] Smith, op. cit., p. 95. [61] Napier Report, p. 15.

squatters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families had enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[62] In one Glendale township, Holmisdale, some crofts of ftut en acres had as many as fifteen people to support.[63] Part of this extreme congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing one's croft when a child married. Although the population in 1881 had fallen to 17,680, from 23,084 in 1841, almost every township had two or three times the number of families which had lived in them in 1841.[64]

The loss of the summer shielings and the common grazings meant few could keep sheep.[65] The looms were silent. Since the rent continued to be based on the value of livestock and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all oats, which the graziers' sheep did not eat, went to feed the cattle. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to have been newcomers with more associations with the graziers than the crofters and cottars. Milk became a precious commodity. Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unable to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They carried

[62] Ibid., p. 112.

[63] Alexander MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 419-420.

[64] Smith, op. cit., p. 317; Cummings, op. cit., p. 140; and Napier Report, p. 15.

[65] The following is drawn from the evidence presented to the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of Skye; see Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82.

228 162 Throughout the present century, the commercial importance of fishing, judged on the basis of income, numbers of crofter-fishermen, and boats, has steadily declined. The number of crofter-fishermen has decreased at a faster rate than the decline in population. In recent years its significance as a part-time chore has also been reduced. Wage labor has replaced fishing in the economic pattern. In 1900 there were 1,015 crofter-fishermen with 485 boats.[22] While the number of fishermen rose to 1,039 in 1905, from then until now their number has fallen steadily. In 1953 there were 237 crofter-fishermen with 120 boats. Despite higher prices, the value of fish 228 [133] landed on the island is one-third that of 1900. In 1952 the total contribution of fishing to the local economy was £10,091. This is in marked contrast to the Outer Hebrides where fishing [242] brings in more money than crofting.[23] Fish have, of course, remained essential in the diet. All the crofters have their barrel of salt herring, purchased from mainland curers. Their own fish is usually sold for fish meal.

All who have considered the "Highland Problem" have stressed the need for some form of secondary employment to support the economy. Fishing has enjoyed great popularity as a recommended industry. This is due to the long tradition and the importance of fishing in the Outer Isles.[24] There are several pitfalls in the program as far as Skye is concerned.

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[113] [22] "Creek Returns for the Isle of Skye,--1890-1953," Fisheries Division, Scottish Home Department, Edinburgh, Scotland (in the files of the Division).

[23] Hance, op. cit., pp. 81, 89, 134.

[24] Ibid., pp. 89-110.

313 point cultural considerations enter. The land is often esse
to the continued existence of the farm or the crofting towns
In Sleat, for example, the land which the Forestry Commissio
has listed as commercially valuable is the lower, sheltered
313 824 grazings of several farms and crofting townships. Finally,
is the people's dislike of trees. Many a Sgiathanach in Por
is distressed by the plans to cover Glen Sligihan with a fore
They share the attitude of a man from Soay, a small island a
short distance off the west coast of Skye, near Glen Brittle,
who was being moved to the Isle of Mull by the Department of
Agriculture when Soay was evacuated at the crofters' request.
"Och, its all right down there, but you can't see the sky un-
less you bend over like this," he said bending over double a
looking over his shoulder.

464 [162] We have now accounted for, at the most, 120 men and 20
women who work for wages and 238 crofter-fishermen. Excludi
the latter, there are over 1000 men and almost 500 women who
are employed locally at sometime during the year.[32] With only
a few remaining isolated industries, such as the small silic
sand quarry at Ord in Sleat and the infrequently used limest
and marble deposits at Broadford in Strath, most of the oppo
for employment have to be in services for women and laboring
for men.

462 401 Let us consider the occupations of women. Over half a
employed as resident domestic servants or as help in hotels
restaurants. Ten percent find work in the local shops as cl

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[32] Information extracted from the files of the Ministry
Labor in Scotland, Portree and Edinburgh.

eginning with a population which is believed to have been 161
elatively stable due to recurrent crises, including epidemics,
amines, and wars, the pendulum of population growth and decline
or the Sgiathanach has been found to be highly responsive
o cultural innovations and social adjustments. Between 1750
nd 1841 the Skyemen increased in numbers from 10,671 to 23,074,
n increase of more than 100 percent. From 1851 to 1951 the
opulation has steadily decreased from 22,536 to 8,603, a
ecrease of 62 percent from maximum. Associated with the 161
ecline were changes in the age structure. In 1861 34 percent 162
f the population was under fifteen and only seven percent
as over sixty-five; today only 22 percent of the population
s under fifteen while 19 percent is over sixty-five. How
an we account for these changes, or, more correctly, how
an we account for the changes in the birth, death, and emi-
ration rates?

Broadly speaking, the increase was favored by the direct 161
nd indirect involvement of the Sgiathanach in the process 175
f commercialization, with all of its associated consequences. 178
ne by one, the natural checks on population growth declined
n importance. The pressure on the means of subsistence was
ased. The former clan chiefs, preferring the society of
dinburgh and London, absented themselves. After converting 161
ents from kind to money, they provoked the withdrawal of the 175
acksmen by resorting to rackrenting. The former clansmen, 178
hc became joint-tenants, received a larger share in the land 427
nd were freed from the obligation of feeding both their own
amilies and those of the superiors. At the same time the

ts, and newcomers who carry with them ideas of reform. 621
r, as well as being mutually dependent commercially, the
rs and the villagers interact formally and informally
ial, political, and, especially, religious activities.
nsciousness of common interest of the villagers, however, 621 186
more from a knowledge that they are different from the
rs than from any common symbol. The 1000 villagers [162] ●
om diverse backgrounds. They find solidarity in being
ent rather than in "neighboring" or all attending the
hurch. The village also lacks the time depth of the
settlements, being a creation of an individual in the
entury.

For community I prefer an inclusive definition on the 631
of Redfield's.[8] A community is characterized by con-
nal understandings, the occupation of a territory, and
ssession of a culture. Thus, we shall refer to the
f Skye as the community.

It will be noted that I have not used the term parish. 632 799
gh the parish was once important politically and religiously, 178
older baronies were replaced, it lost these functions
9.[9] People reside within parishes and they, along with
crops and stock, are enumerated by parishes, but the
is now little more than a statistical convenience. Church
zation and political administrative units cross-cut
erride parish boundaries. Indeed, I doubt if the people [186]
hought of themselves as members of a parish.

[8]Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, pp. 15-16.

[9]See, e.g., C. De B. Murray, How Scotland is Governed (Glasgow: nd Educational Publishers, Ltd., 1947), pp. 113-118, at passim.

offer help without an expectation of payment. Nevertheless, 794
anonymous donations of food and casual visits make sure that 573
none of their number becomes absolutely destitute. In Glendale
this religious clique merges with the person's "people and
friends." Kilmuir has two religious cliques.

We have had ample opportunity to examine the age-grades 561
of Skye's society and in the next chapter we shall have a
closer look at the functions of the age-grades, especially
that of the old men. One of the most important weaknesses 857
of the social structure, in my mind, is the lack of age mates 883
for children and adolescents. They find it difficult, almost 561
impossible, to come together as a sodality. In Kilmuir, for
example, there are only fifteen boys under twenty in an area
of ten square miles. A youth is anyone under forty. Of the [162] ●
total population 60 percent are over fifty. For this reason 561
the important age grade clique tends to merge with the re- 794
ligious social circle. The situation is much the same in
Glendale. There the age-grade and kinship groups are inter-
twined with the kirk congregation.

Status Equality within the Neighborhood. The fundamental 621
status equality which we found for the crofters within the 534
township carries over to the neighborhood, but, as would be 571
expected, there is often a need for leadership in this larger
group. Let us look at the two neighborhoods which I know best
to cast light on the methods employed in the self-selection of
a leader and the means of expressing leadership as a role.
Kilmuir has a Crofters' Club, which was originally formed by 573

121 share similar social attitudes and a distinctive way of
life.[27] The investigator can understand the society with
greater ease once he can equate the differing cultural e
pressions with the sense of status.

554 Ascribed status continues to be important in Portre
621 at least in stratifying the old Skye families. On the fr
of the village there are a few part-time crofters or trad
who keep some stock and grow a little grain and few potat
[573] these men and their families as well as the crofters from
hinterland find their place in the village society throug
clique groups, in particular those based upon kinship and
"friendship." Several of the county families reside in t
village and, with the landed gentry who continue to live
their estates, take an active part in village life.

463 Between the two poles there is a large intermediate
621 group. Their occupations range from the professions, in-
564 cluding doctors, ministers, teachers, and lawyers; throug
● 162 employees of the national and county gouvernments, includ
estate factors, policemen, office managers, and clerks; t
shopkeepers, tradesmen, truck drivers, and laborers. Els
where in Great Britain these people would fall into the m
and working classes.[28] On Skye such stratification is un-
121 important. If we cannot use the British scheme, we certa
cannot employ the American system developed by Warner.[29]

[27]Cf. MacIver, op. cit., pp. 166-167.

[28]Cf. Lewis and Maude, The English Middle Classes.

[29]W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S.Lunt, The Social Life Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941) The Status System of Modern Community (New Haven: Yale Un Press, 1941).

565 many newcomers and the high rates of inward, outward, and upward mobility seems to have worked against any clear cut pattern. Certainly, it requires more than non-membership in the highest and lowest classes or socially recognized strata to form a middle class. I look upon this indefinable strata as a neo-class. This is not meant to imply the absence of ranking or prestige status. Ranking is no less important than it is in the rural neighborhood.

162 559 463 183 As in the neighborhood, a few professions automatically carry high prestige; these are the ministry, medicine, and teaching. Otherwise, a man's prestige depends more on his outside activities than his occupation. Bankers are often thought of as having prestige. In Portree one banker is highly regarded because "he does an awful lot for the church." Another, although respected, as evidenced by the use of his surname when referring to him, is socially inferior because "he never mixes with people" and "no one ever gets invited to his house." The same holds for other occupations. One man may be looked up to because he has taken an active part in organizing an old people's welfare committee and was instrumental in founding the Skye Council of Social Service, the only rural social service council in Scotland. Another of the same occupation is looked down upon because he keeps to himself. To cast a shadow on whatever prestige he may have, the people talk about a shady deal in which he supposedly got involved and claim that his wife sells eggs. No one but a crofter's wife sells eggs. If a man is a native Sgiathanach

162 559 463 183 his occupation matters very little. Unlike the Welsh,[35] the Sgiathanach does not particularly look up to the man who prospers. Indeed, the people are more than likely to [564] attribute his success to dishonesty or find fault with his character. I shall have more to say about this when we consider the topic of gossip.

463 573 At the same time, occupation is a factor in the formation of cliques. The school teachers form one clique which has tended to become more and more exclusive in recent years. The shop keepers also have their small clique. Once a year they have a dance at the Royal Hotel. Within both social circles there are, of course, special groups [561] of friends who associate regularly. Age grades provide another basis for clique formation. Clerks, shop assistants, and employees of the government are divided on this basis. Since it is government and, apparently, business and banking house policy to use theremote rural areas for a training ground and to make promotions, most of the newcomers and local residents who work for these agencies are young men.

[621] Neither occupation nor age-grades are exclusive factors in determining the social structure of Portree as they are for the crofters. If they were, I could not support the assertion that there is fluidity among the village population.

575 There are several clubs and fraternal organizations, such as a drama society, the Women's Rural Institute, An Comun

[35] Rees, op. cit., p. 127.

Iain the Basher

Hard-drinking and with a bitterness that seems ready to erupt in hostility at any moment, Iain "the Basher" at the age of 70 has enough painful memories locked inside his rawhide-covered heart to interfere with any normal bloodstream. He left the island for the United States on the ship Metagama, but returned during the depression. "I remember a night in New York. It was so hot your feet fried in your shoes. I was walking barefoot, carrying my shoes in my hands. A cat screamed in an alley. I heaved a shoe into the shadows and hit a man who was standing there. He started chasing me, throwing bottles so that they broke in front of me. I had to run through the broken glass in my bare feet. He finally stopped chasing me, but I had to go back--the bloody shoe was still in the alley. He was standing there with some of his chums talking to a policeman. I told them what happened, that I had thrown the shoe at a cat and accidentally hit the man. 'You didn't hit him hard enough,' said the policeman, 'You didn't hit him bloody hard enough.'"

Iain married twice and had several children, all of whom after his wives' deaths were raised by his sister, who never married. He was drunk the night his first wife died in childbirth. His second wife died of cancer, and soon afterwards he set fire to his house. The insurance company

175* 181

in the exercises of swimming, archery, vaulting, or leaping'. He also says that they were great lovers of music, and that when he was in the island he heard of eighteen men who could play the violin well without having been taught. [533] [534]

The Rev William MacRae, minister of Barvas, writing in the *New Statistical Account*, gives a description of his parishioners (in 1836) which can be applied to all the country districts in the island at that time. After stating that in their habits much cleanliness can scarcely be expected, considering their poverty and the wretchedness of their habitations, he says: [515]

> Their mode of living most closely approaches the pastoral: without arts, trade, manufacture, navigation, or literature, their whole round of duty consists in securing fuel, in sowing and reaping their scanty crops, and in rearing their flocks, and tending them at pasture. Yet in these limited circumstances, while supplied with food and clothing of the plainest description, and able to pay their rents, their simple cottages are abodes of happiness and contentment. Blue kelt [a thick cloth] is almost the only dress worn by the men, and stuffs, variously striped, by the women, with under dresses of plaiding, all home-made. In many instances, however, cotton shirts and print gowns are beginning to supersede the use of some of these articles . . . Their ordinary food consists of oat and barley meal, potatoes and milk variously prepared. Their domestic economy is frugal and moderate beyond conception. The produce of a foreign soil such as tea, coffee, and sugar, and the common conveniences of art, such as knives, forks, and etc., are to them altogether alien. [291] [262]

It is of interest that the change in dress-types (from woollen homespuns to cotton fabrics) was followed by an increase in the incidence of rheumatism. [164] •

Today, the island folk are reputed to be gloomy with a black, depressive attitude towards life. The editor of the *Stornoway Gazette* has pointed out: 'We cannot understand a people and why they act as they do unless we know the content of their memories. We cannot understand the paradox of the naturally gay in heart seeking religious consolation in a grim and gritty Calvinism. We cannot understand why Lewis, which clothes the world in colourful tweeds, clothes most of the women in noth- 181

ing, 73 per cent have the language, which has been introduced by immigrant country folk and their descendants. 197

HEALTH AND HOUSING

Despite the harsh conditions of centuries, the physical health of the island was good in early times. Epidemics were rare due to isolation, though on occasion smallpox carried away many children. The commonest diseases were fevers, jaundice, dysentery and diarrhoea. Bloodletting (as in many another more advanced community) was the usual cure for fevers and dysentery. For coughs the people took a 'brochan' or soup of roots of nettles and reeds boiled in water with yeast; the meal of a black bean, mixed with boiled milk, was a useful cure for dysentery. Reports describe the folk as being well-proportioned, free from bodily imperfections and of good stature; healthful and strong-bodied. 175* 164 175* 157 175* 142

But privations, particularly the frequent recurrences of near-famine, coupled with the primitive housing conditions, began to take their toll. The increasing sickness rate aroused the concern of authority. The most primitive dwellings had but one room, with the cattle at one end and the family at the other: In 1830 Seaforth sought at least to put an end to this, ordering that a partition must be erected between beast and man, 'and that more light should be admitted into the dark recesses of their habitation'. This type of one-room dwelling was not confined to the island, being found with many variants throughout the Highlands and Islands area. The old Lewis house was, as a rule, an oblong structure, varying in length according to the means and requirements of the occupier. It had but one door, and frequently had no windows. Chimneys did not find favour, mainly because any opening for the escape of smoke from the centrally-sited hearth tended to reduce the quality of soot produced; and soot was regarded as a valuable manurial product. If there was a hole in the roof to admit some light, a small pane of glass was fixed into it: this soon had a coating of soot, and the sole source of light was the doorway—when the door was open. The family and the cattle used the same entrance; and the cows' dung was removed once a year in the springtime. 175* 164 175* 342 [231] [184] [354] [241] [231]

*175 342 In 1899, the Medical Officer of Health for the Parish of Barvas described the typical Lewis crofter's house of the time. It had three apartments, two for the family, and a third for the cattle; this new arrangement was the result of the Regulations issued by Sir James Matheson for the betterment of the estate. The low thick walls were built of stone, or stone and turf, with a packing of loose earth, and were perennially damp. The roof, composed of a framework of wooden rafters and couples resting on the inner edge of these walls, was covered over with turf divots and straw, bound with ropes of straw, heather or coarse thatching rope, and weighted down with stones. It was never air- or water-tight, and roof water usually soaked into the packing of the walls and thus oozed into the house. Further, only the slightest attention was given to situation and drainage. The floor of the dwelling apartment was composed of a pavement of rough stones covered over with clay—and a cold damp floor it was. The cattle apartment had no pavement, so that the manure liquids and slop water percolated into the ground and at times found their way into neighbouring dwelling houses and even into the drinking wells. Many of the houses were built back-to-back and sometimes in rows three deep. Lighting was deficient and the windows, fixed either in walls or roof, were not made to open. [333] [231]

*175 342 354 Some houses had round portholes in the roof at the top of the wall which might be opened or closed at pleasure; these served for lighting and ventilation at the byre end of the house, though occasionally they were present also at the living end. Draughts coming in through the roof and walls, and the blazing peat fire in the centre of the middle apartment, helped to keep the air in motion, but the smoke from the fire frequently filled the upper portions of the room and, there still being no chimney or other outlet as a rule, it pervaded the whole atmosphere of the house.

*175 342 From a sanitary point of view such houses had the gravest of defects: it amazed visiting doctors that infectious diseases were ever absent. Yet generally the inmates compared well in physique, general well-being and immunity from serious disease with those more favourably situated. Tuberculosis was the most prevalent enemy. • [164]

[427] [144] In 1879, improving leases were offered to those who were will-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

ing to put their houses into better condition. The leases required, *inter alia*, that the thatch was not to be stripped off or removed for manurial purposes; that the byre was to be a separate building; and that the dung was to be removed regularly to a distant dung-heap. A Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1896 noted that the new houses being erected were following the old traditional patterns. And though the introduction of statutory requirements did bring real improvements, as late as 1902 it was reported: 'The insanitary houses and the impure water to which the people have long been accustomed, would lead an enquirer to expect a high death-rate. That is not so, however. The island is occasionally visited by epidemics of measles, or whooping-cough, like other parts of the country; and there are sometimes outbreaks of dung-fever—a preventable malady—but altogether the general health is good."

The Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1898 described certain water supplies in the island as 'little better than cesspools for surface soakings'. And five years earlier the water supply of Cromore was 'merely a few holes dug out amongst the arable land next to the houses; and polluted with the manure dissoved off their arable ground; and in some cases contaminated with liquid sewage percolating through the soil from their houses.' In 1893 an outbreak of typhoid fever in some townships in Uig was traced to the contaminated stream whose water was used as a drinking-water supply. Improvements in the water supplies were eventually put into effect, with a marked decrease in the ailments which the people had come to expect as normal to their way of life.

The rate of infant mortality was high. The weaklings died young. Only the strong survived to withstand the insanitary surroundings. A peculiar form of disease was associated with the island: it seized a child about the fifth night after its birth and was consequently called the 'fifth night's sickness'. According to medical opinion this was infant lockjaw *(tetanus neonatorum)*. The doctor of Lochs in 1892 reported that it was common among the infants of his parish, being 'most frequently met with in those dwelling houses where sanitation in its most rudimentary form is entirely ignored; where we have to walk to the fireplace in the

centre of the mud floor through tons and tons of decomposing organic matter or manure.'

The island, for all its ills and chills, had a high birth-rate and a low death-rate. Martin Martin (1695) declared: 'It is a general observation of such as live on the sea coast that they are more prolific than any other people whatsoever.' In some areas of the island the birth-rate was as high as 35 per cent with a death-rate of about 12 per cent. The longevity of the islanders is well known, a fact confirmed by a glance any week at the Deaths columns of the *Stornoway Gazette*, regularly recording the decease of octogenarians, nonagenarians and some reaching their century.

In 1795 the island had only one surgeon. In Stornoway, 'Inoculation is performed here with success by the skill and attention of Mr Robert Millar, Surgeon.' Later, another doctor came to Stornoway, who attended to the sick in all parts of the island. By the turn of the century there were resident medical officers in each parish, with five doctors in practice in Stornoway.

Just after the turn of the century, there was a medical club in the north of Harris. This had been formed by the proprietor, Sir Samuel Scott, whose crofters were supposed to pay 5s per annum and cottars 2s 6d; this subscription covered dependents. In return, Scott guaranteed the salary of a medical officer, thus securing the services of a resident doctor in the district. But there was apparently considerable reluctance to call a doctor, whether the patient belonged to the club or not. The salary of the district Medical Officer of Health was £35 per annum, and from the North Harris Club he received some £200. Scott also provided him with a home. Dr Fletcher reported in 1906 that a complete change had taken place in the diet of the people within the memory of the older inhabitants, whose accounts of what they called new diseases and lowered virility he found very interesting. Good, plain wholesome diet 'has been replaced by cheap stuff, of questionable quality and purity. To this change there is another nondescript article which goes by the name of tea, in the use, or rather abuse, of which they are quite intemperate and from which they extract the last dregs by boiling. The result is disastrous to the strongest digestive system.'

In 1892 'a well-equipped medical and surgical hospital was

an urgent necessity for the island of Lewis', and a committee was appointed to collect funds, the subscription list being headed by Lady Matheson; for a period of three years donations flowed in from all parts of the world. The Lewis cottage hospital was opened on 1 February 1896, starting with only fifteen beds; the number was increased to twenty in 1915. An extension was opened in 1925, and the hospital was provided with a surgeon and an ambulance. Another extension in 1929 was the result of a gift of £3,000 from Mr John Bain, of Chicago, a Lewis son who was President of no less than fourteen banks in the Mid-West. The Lewis Sanatorium was started in 1926.

Tuberculosis was at one time in the island's history a disease that caused many deaths and much sorrow. About 1930 an Assistant Medical Officer of Health was appointed, Dr R. Stevenson Doig (who died in 1965), who spent his career-life in Lewis stamping out what was called in the island the 'white scourge'; he lived long enough to see the introduction of preventive medicine and the decline of the killing and crippling diseases he found on his first years in Lewis.

In dental health, progress has, as in so many areas, been reversed. At one time the island teeth were so well known for their strength and beauty that a film was made by the Army for showing to audiences considered in need of dental-health education. In 1966 the picture had changed: a survey revealed that 95 per cent of Lewis children were in need of dental treatment. The mainland addiction to sugary foods has spread.

As distinct from the island's general medical services, centred on Stornoway, the psychiatric services are based at Inverness. What was formerly the Inverness District Asylum, now called Craig Dunain Hospital, is the only mental hospital in the Highlands area, with a few long-term beds in the Institution at Lochmaddy; the general hospital at Stornoway conducts monthly out-patient clinics. Over the area served, the rate of admission to Craig Dunain Hospital is around 3·3 persons per 1,000 of population, compared with a figure of 4·68 for Scotland as a whole, 5·5 for Lewis and 2 for Harris.

The drink problem and Lewis's relatively high rate of admissions to mental hospital both stem from the background of the

Additional modifications have been found in the division 179 182
labor. Although no Skyeman has shown a disposition to assume [162]
sponsibility for domestic work, unless he lives alone, the
men of Skye are expected to function in roles which once were
lled exclusively by men. Old men and women for many years [561]
w have continued to perform tasks which formerly were their
ties as youths and young adults. These changes, like those
have reviewed, are partially traceable to an incomplete
justment to the contractual, commercial world. This has led [162]
striking alterations in the age structure of the population
r it is the youth who forsake the island and the aged who
arn to return. Nevertheless, there have been no observable [554]
anges in the status system of the rural neighborhoods.
imitive democracy, distinguished from our form of democracy 621 554
the principle of unanimous consent rather than majority rule, 182
ntinues to operate in the townships. The existence of such
institution implies a maximum of equality co-existing with
minimum of authority. The continued ability of the crofters
maintain primitive democracy in a nation like Great Britain
possible only because there is a high degree of social
tegration. The simple system of ranking, on the basis of [561]
e and sex, has persisted. Men are the social superiors of [562]
men; old men are the social superiors of their juniors. I
lieve we shall understand how continuity of status has been
eserved if we turn to a consideration of the role of religion
the island.

If I am right in asserting that a belief in clan brother- 178 182
od was an all pervading cultural pattern in bygone days and 614

163

163 BIRTH STATISTICS--birth rates; distribution of births (e.g., by season, lo
cality, race, sex, occupation); incidence of stillbirths and multiple births;
age of parents at birth of first child; spacing of children; number of childre
per completed family; etc. See also:

Childbirth . . . . . 844 Incidence of illegitimacy 848

*175 165 164 centre of the mud floor through tons and tons of decomposing organic matter or manure.'

The island, for all its ills and chills, had a high birth-rate and *175 a low death-rate. Martin Martin (1695) declared: 'It is a general • 163 observation of such as live on the sea coast that they are more 165 prolific than any other people whatsoever.' In some areas of the island the birth-rate was as high as 35 per cent with a death-rate of about 12 per cent. The longevity of the islanders is well known, a fact confirmed by a glance any week at the Deaths columns of the *Stornoway Gazette*, regularly recording the decease of octogenarians, nonagenarians and some reaching their century.

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*175 743 In 1892 'a well-equipped medical and surgical hospital was

632 361 strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of 427 the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to 311 accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23. 233

The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly 132 developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke [312] running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house [241] is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse [407] and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

433 The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen [729] crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

[233] Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

162 Fig. 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the • 163 most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

131 By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years 20 ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at [443] Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the [346] peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

the dung from the byre, the peats from the moor, and t
from the fields. When the land had been turned by cas
they yoked themselves to a harrow. The crofters, in K
elsewhere, lost the right to the rivers for fish, to t
for game, and to the coast for sea weed. The land bec
hausted from over tillage. They had clung tenaciously
old methods. Even if they could have obtained credit
have broken with the ways of their forefathers, the fe
rackrenting would have deterred them.

A degree of preciseness can be given to this gen
picture by comparing the arable acreage and stocking o
in 1810, the year graziers first appeared, and 1870.
30,000 acres were listed as arable, either cultivated
susceptible to it; there were 18,000 cattle and 40,000
By 1870 no more than 8,383 acres were considered as ar
there were only 9,341 cattle, but there were 136,077 s
The magnitude of this change can be emphasized by addi
fact that there were less than 14,000 sheep on the Isl
the turn of the century.[67]

The end of the shieling life brought an end to t
traditional season for courting. Destitution forced a
ponement of marriage and an absolute reduction in the
marriages. As a natural consequence the birth rate de
In the decade 1861-1870 the birth rate of Skye stood a
compared with 34.9 for Scotland.

[66] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 748, 754.

[67] OSA, II, 553; III, 247; IV, 131; XVI, 148, 225,
XVIII, 184.

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164 MORBIDITY--incidence, nature, and distribution of various diseases and accidents (e.g., by location, season, sex, age, occupation); occurrence of epidemics; evidence of immunity or susceptibility to disease; dental ailments; etc.
See also:

Morbidity as a social problem	73	Malnutrition and dietary deficiencies	146
Theory and treatment of disease	75	Incidence of neuroses and psychoses	156
Care of infants and children	65	Public health	744

173 243 257 829 "Then the tweeds got going and the barley took too much trouble; so they had no use for the mill."

173 262 A 60-year-old woman remembers, "They depended on the potato and fished a lot. I was raised on oatcakes, barley bannocks, and salt herring. There were no vans and no school canteens when I was young; you had to carry your [264] own 'piece' to school. We had porridge with fresh milk for breakfast, oatcakes and butter for lunch. Dinner was at 4:00, of potatoes and fish and milk. We had meat maybe once a week. My father poached a lot. We ate the heads [251] and the roe of the salmon fresh, and salted the rest." Once among the cleanest, Hebridean teeth now vie with 164 British cities in extent of decay. It is not uncommon for 759 a child in his first year of school to have six teeth pulled by the travelling dentist.

261 272 Various customs associated with food which exist today reflect the days when fare was meager. Tea-drinking is [171] omnipresent in Britain, but in the islands it has 272 special significance. The taking of tea constitutes 574 the denouement of a visit, and almost always occurs when [576] someone steps over someone else's threshold. To refuse tea has some of the connotations of an insult; and to take only tea, without food, is to have a copan falamh (empty cup).

The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars was the staple diet of the St Kildans; the oil and feathers were the vital exports that paid the island rent to MacLeod of Harris, the owner of the group. These exports also helped to pay for the purchase of such foodstuffs as salt, sugar and tea, and other items which the island could not itself supply. The St Kildans owned some hundreds of sheep, the wool being spun and woven into tweed, and a few cattle were also kept. But the seabirds were the foundation of the island economy.

The factor which led ultimately to the desertion of the island group was isolation. The community there was throughout its history undoubtedly the most isolated in the British Isles, though until the present century this mattered little to the St Kildans. All that was deemed necessary for the continuation of the community was that, once a year, MacLeod of Harris should send his factor over from Skye to collect the island goods that were to be sold, and to bring with him those provisions which would see them through another twelvemonth. However, as the demand for the island's products declined, communications became more important: to support the family a man had to leave to find work on the Scottish mainland. Large-scale emigration began in 1852 when thirty-six islanders (with State aid) left for Australia. Island life was punctuated by loss of life; boating disasters and cliff-falls in particular deprived the community of the vital male elements needed for survival. Tetanus infantus, known on St Kilda as the 'eight-days' sickness', strangled two of every three babies born; this disease ravaged the island for almost a century and again struck harder at the male sex. About 1810 the population was about 200, a definite overcrowding. By 1861 it had fallen to 78; in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 73. A decade later it was nil.

Isolation tended to make the St Kildans a human menagerie. With the improvement in boat services, St Kilda became a 'must' on tourist itineraries. The tourist trade took on an economic importance for the population after July 1877, when the *Dunera Castle* steamed north and west for a voyage to the 'romantic Western Isles and lone St Kilda'. The steamers continued to call throughout the three summer months annually for sixty years, their passengers eager to buy souvenirs: tweed, quern stones, spinning wheels, stuffed birds and eggs; indeed, anything to remind them

165

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE Pt. I

2. From Black House to White House

342 Discontent with the old black house grew with the
177 knowledge and experience of better housing in Stornoway
178 and on the mainland. The congestion which developed
175 during the nineteenth century meant that often one house
342 was fouled by another above it, leading to typhoid epi-
161 demics. While the smoky atmosphere of the 'black
• 164 houses' inflamed the eyes and irritated the respiratory
(364) system, the roof was high and the fire kept the air in
motion by day, ventilating it to the chimney hole, while
the lack of glass often made it necessary to work with the
door open. The ravages of tuberculosis came towards the
end of the nineteenth century, when Islanders went to our
crowded towns and, not being immunised, were danger-
ously infected. Returning home, too often to linger and
die in a house now provided with tiny, fixed panes which
permitted a closed door and made it stuffier than before,
178 patients spread infection. Flight to a tiny, air-tight
342 wooden cabin or to a small white house of stone and lime
often followed. The availability for the first time of planks
(313) and timber, a certain practice in boat-repairing, and pos-
(177) sibly acquaintance at first- or second-hand with Canadian
wooden houses, may have influenced the choice of wood.
The early 'white' houses, with an attic lit by skylight,
were airtight, for the windows were too often fixed or only
(364) opened at the bottom. The door was left open in warm
weather, but it was high enough to allow the escape
of the stale, upper layer of air which the women breathed
as they did their cooking and baking.

In the inter-war period, particularly in its last decade,
342 the 'black house' was being abandoned, not for something
746 worse, but far better. The Government-aided houses have
178
(364)

195 beginning of the constitutional movement which has given the modern crofters of the
197 Highlands security of tenure, is extensively accepted by small tenants. The process was
completed in the Scottish Highlands by the Crofters' Act of 1886, which made it
obligatory giving tenants increasingly important - is not to give the crofters more land,
but to find active crofters for the existing holdings (see Chapter III for more detailed
information on clearance and resettlement).

The general plans of the existing settlements vary considerably, depending mainly on
the terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coast line, the crofts and
dwellings lie for the craft boundaries in run at right angles to the coast and for each house
to have a frontage on the road. This is the arrangement in the Ness and Barvas, where
on fairly steep-sided coastlands, the characteristic "rigs" of cultivation, which
was re-settled in 1918. Lochsuidhe, Lochcarnan, Crulivig and Earshader also follow the
same type of layout as nearly as possible, but Tarbert, the largest township in Harris, is
more complex, with a broad and an unconsolidated township. Croir also differs:
was laid out in 1923 on a "Scattered" plan, with no regard for any previous
organisation. The site of Borve has grown up haphazardly around a sea inlet, and
consequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Brusiaclete - Loch
Na Siosiadar road, and a series of irregular cross-roads. The arrangement of
Leverburgh, Finsbay and Drinishadder is similar, Crago with the exception of
physical conditions is a simple long one-street plan (Figure 22).

Within the township, with the exception of Kirkibost, the distribution of additional
342 crofts and grazing holdings are little further apart than is dictated by cases the size of the
178 problems. It would appear generally that black houses were universal in the nineteenth
century except for the Scottish at 1 Croir (the oldest "white house" in Barvas), Thurlo
342 at 20 Scalpay, and Donald Ross Lochmaddy's house at 1 Bunkirk, the former farmhouse
of the Lochmaddy Estate. Since the Second World War, however, the Crofters Act,
Districts Court and Board of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, fairly examples
being 5 Hacklate and 18 Breasclete. The resettled townships generally had improved
accommodation, and the old black houses were generally abandoned since 1951. In
most cases, as for example Borve, the housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and
one near blackhouse are still occupied.

342 Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their
own supplies, generally from a well, but in some cases from a stream, and a public
(364) tap serves a few. Foul or cheap or bacon is not yet widespread in Harris. Water, however,
is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road, difficulties may arise.
The cost of hiring labour for peat cutting may be so high that it is cheaper to buy coal.

(364) Access to Harris by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Long
provided the highway of communication, the road built to Kyrebster after the Great War
(364) and the 1937-39 bridge to Berneray Island, built in 1955, have caused a revolution of
the Harris economy. Lorries and buses have replaced the boat, and the motor vehicle
has brought its upon the narrow and winding roads, though four of the six Lowland
crofts have no connection with it, and two of the Crofting crofts, and West Earshader, are
accessible only by a bridle path. Lochsuidhe, the old east coast harbour, is now
accessible by a motor road, and Lochcarnan is aligned since the construction of the
bridge. This is a good tarred road, although it is narrow and winding. The old road
(364) from Lochcarnan was laid out in 1938, though three crofting crofts near Ravagiun
were still without a road suited to vehicles, and the branch within Breasclete remained
unmade. The road to Tarbert is a good tarred road, but it is narrow and winding,
though Scarpay, Berneray and Leverburgh are connected by a good tarred road to
Berneray, linked with Breasclete rather than with Tolsta by the footbridge and causeway
(364) port for by Congested Districts Board grant of 1905.

165 MORTALITY.--death rates (crude and corrected): infant and maternal mortality; distribution of death (e. g., by cause, season, age, occupation, local-ity); life expectancy; authentic cases of extreme longevity; most common causes of death (e. g., illness, accident, old age); etc. See also:
Bronchitis ..... 488 Rickets 703
Mortality in welfare ..... 707 Tuberculosis and cholera 847

HEALTH AND HOUSING

ing to put their houses into better condition. The leases required 175*
inter alia, that the thatch was not to be stripped off or removed 342
for manurial purposes; that the byre was to be a separate build- 744
ing; and that the dung was to be removed regularly - a distinct 744
dung-heap. A Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1896 noted that the (231)
new houses being erected were following the old traditional pat-
terns. And though the introduction of statutory requirements did
bring real improvements, as late as 1902 it was reported: 'The lin- (165) •
sanitary houses and the impure water to which the people have
long been accustomed, would lead an enquirer to expect a high
death-rate. That is not the case, however. The island is healthy.' (164)
visited by epidemics of measles, or whooping-cough, like other
parts of the country; and there are sometimes outbreaks of dung-
fever—a preventable malady—but altogether the general health
is good."

The Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1898 described certain 175*
water supplies in the island as 'little better than cesspools for 312
surface soakings'. And five years earlier the water supply of Cro-
more was 'merely a few holes dug out amongst the arable land
next to the houses; and polluted with the manure dissolved off
their arable ground; and in some cases contaminated with liquid
sewage percolating through the soil from their houses.' In 1899 (164)
an outbreak of typhoid fever in neighbouring townships in Uig was traced
to the contaminated stream whose water was used as a drink-
ing-water supply. Improvements in the water supplies were even-
tually put into effect, with a marked decrease in the ailments
which the people had come to expect as normal to their way of
life.

The rate of infant mortality was high. The weaklings died 175*
young. Only the strong survived to withstand the inanimate sur- 165
roundings. A peculiar form of disease was associated with the 164
island: it killed a child about the fifth night after its birth and
was consequently called the 'fifth night's sickness' (According to
medical opinion this was infant lockjaw *(tetanus neonatorum)*.
The doctor of Lochs in 1892 reported that, among the surroundings
the infants of his parish, being 'most frequently met with in those
dwelling houses where sanitation in its most rudimentary form
is entirely ignored; where we have to walk to the fireplace in the

THE PEOPLE

175* centre of the mud floor through tons and tons of decomposing
165 organic matter or manure.'
164 The island, for all its ills and chills, had a high birth-rate and
175* a low death-rate. Martin Martin (1695) declared: 'It is a general
163 observation of such as live on the sea coast that they are more
165 prolific than any other people whatsoever.' In some areas of the
island the birth-rate was as high as 35 per cent with a death-rate
of about 12 per cent. The longevity of the islanders is well known,
a fact confirmed by a glance any week at the Deaths columns of
the *Stornoway Gazette*, regularly recording the decease of octo-
genarians, nonagenarians and some reaching their century.

In 1795 the island had only one surgeon. In Stornoway, 'In- 175*
oculation is carried here with success by the skill and atten- 165
tion of Mr Robert Millar, Surgeon.' Later, another doctor came 744
(95) to Stornoway, who attended to the sick in all parts of the island. 744
By the turn of the century there were resident medical officers in (165) •
each parish, with five doctors in practice in Stornoway.

175* Just after the turn of the century, there was a medical club
159 in the north of Harris. This had been formed by the proprietor,
193 Sir Samuel Scott, whose crofters were supposed to pay 5s per
annum and cottars 2s 6d; this subscription covered dependents.
In return, Scott guaranteed the salary of a medical officer, thus
securing the services of a resident doctor in the district. But there
was apparently considerable reluctance to call a doctor, whether
the patient belonged to the club or not. The salary of the district
175* Medical Officer of Health was £35 per annum, and from the
165 North Harris Club he received some £200. Scott also provided
178 him with a home. Dr Fletcher reported in 1906 that a complete
242 change had taken place in the diet of the people, and that the
memory of the older inhabitants, whose accounts of what they
called new diseases and lowered virility he found very interesting.
Good, plain wholesome diet 'has been replaced by cheap stuff, of
questionable quality and purity. To this change there is another
(292) nondescript article which goes by the name of tea, in the use, or
rather abuse, of which they are quite intemperate and from which
they extract the last dregs by boiling. The result is disastrous to
the strongest digestive system'.

175* In 1892 'a well-equipped medical and surgical hospital was
743

HEALTH AND HOUSING

an urgent necessity for the island of Lewis', and a committee was 175*
appointed to collect funds, the subscription list being headed by 943
Lady Matheson; for a period of three years donations flowed in
from all parts of the world. The Lewis cottage hospital was opened
on 1 February 1896, starting with only fifteen beds; the number
was increased to twenty in 1915. An extension was opened in
1925, and the hospital was provided with a surgeon and an ambu-
lance. Another extension in 1929 was the result of a gift of
£3,000 from Mr John Bain, of Chicago, a Lewis son who was
President of one of the largest grain banks in the Mid-West. The
Lewis Sanatorium was started in 1926.

Tuberculosis was at one time in the island's history a disease 175*
that caused more deaths than much narrow. Above 1930 an Assis- 165
tant Medical Officer of Health was appointed, Dr R. Stevenson 744
Doig (who died in 1965), who spent his career-life in Lewis stamp- 744
ing out what was called in the island the 'white scourge'; he lived (165) •
long enough to see the introduction of preventive medicine and
the decline of the killing and crippling diseases he found on his
first years in Lewis.

In dental health, progress has, as in so many areas, been 164
reversed. At one time the island teeth were so well known for 178
their strength and beauty that a film was made by the Army for
showing to audiences considered in need of dental-health educa-
tion. In 1966 the picture had changed: a survey revealed that
95 per cent of Lewis children were in need of dental treatment. (262)
The mainland addiction to sugary foods spread.

As distinct from the island's general medical services, centred 934
on Stornoway, the psychiatric services are based at Inverness.
A change had taken place in the diet of the people, and the
memory of the older inhabitants, whose accounts of what they
called new diseases and lowered virility he found very interesting.
Good, plain wholesome diet 'has been replaced by cheap stuff, of
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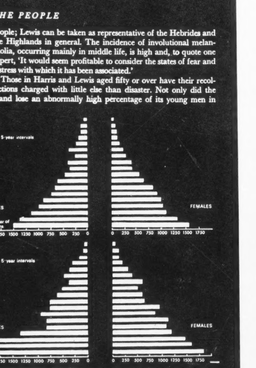
the strongest digestive system'.

175* In 1892 'a well-equipped medical and surgical hospital was
743

THE PEOPLE

733 people; Lewis can be taken as representative of the Hebrides and
194 the Highlands in general. The incidence of involutional melan-
158 cholia, occurring mainly in middle life, is high and, to quote one
expert, 'It would seem profitable to consider the states of fear and
distress with which it has been associated.'

Those in Harris and Lewis aged fifty or over have their recol-
731 lections charged with little else than disaster. Not only did the
• 165 island lose an abnormally high percentage of its young men in



The age structure of the Lewis population in 1951 and 1961. The trend shows over the forty years 1861-1901 has strengthened and consolidated, so that the 1951 population is middle-aged

the 1914 war, but some 200 of those who survived the holocaust 173
were lost in the wreck of the *Iolaire* on New Year's morning, 1919 165
—the first morning of the first new year of peace, literally within 164
sight of home. Again, the effect of emigration was a loss, in many 178
small communities, of a full generation. Where religion is strong 242
and thrice-distilled, there tends also to prevail a state of mind 292
which dwells on guilt and, where people are accustomed to ex-

NORTH RONA

Though the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says [195]* that he has time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving [91] only, and an abundance of clover-grass for sheep. The island also [231] produced a fine bere-meal which the islanders stuffed into the [1027] skins of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of Lewis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest [18] Christian building in Britain remaining in its original state, [175]* Monro says: 'As the ancients of the country allege, they leave a [346] spade and a shull (shovel) where any man dies, and upon the [1404] morrow find the place of the grave marked with a spade, as they allege.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680:

The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Com- [288]
mandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have Sheep, [1344]
cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly
ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They
know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either;
they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as
they want; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied
with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very
precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of
them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his
property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of mank-
ind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take [658]
their surname from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and clouds. [162]
There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant [1]
has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects [1412]
are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side
to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and
thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis,
which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm [195]*
of rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the food. [731]
A few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders [4] •
of their only bull. 'These misfortunes and the want of supply [1]
from Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all [166]
that ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony [195]*
was sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical* [162]

THE OTHER ISLANDS

The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars [342]
was the staple diet of the St Kildans; the oil and feathers were [1]
the total exports that paid the island rent to MacLeod of Harris, [115]
the owner of the group. These exports also helped to pay for the [1022]
purchase of such foodstuffs as salt, sugar and tea, and other items [1]
which the island could not itself supply. The St Kildans owned [1]
some hundreds of sheep, the wool being spun and woven into [1]
tweed, and a few cattle were also kept. But the seabirds were the [236]
foundation of the island economy.

The factor which led ultimately to the desertion of the island group was the decline in population. The community there was throughout its history undoubtedly the most isolated in the British Isles, though until the present century this mattered little to the St Kildans [458]
themselves, as they left the island chiefly for domestic service; [1]
community was that, once a year, MacLeod of Harris should send [1]
his factor over from Skye to collect the island goods that were to [1]
be sold, and to bring with him those provisions which would see [1]
them through another twelvemonth. However, as the demand for [178]
the island's products declined, communications became more im- [1]
portant: to support the family a man had to leave his native rock [408]
on the Scottish mainland. Large-scale emigration began in 1852 [1]
when by-day-labour (wild-fowling) was the only work available; [1]
life was punctuated by loss of life; boating disasters and cliff-falls [1]
in particular deprived the community of the vital male elements [1]
needed for survival. Tetanus infantum, known on St Kilda as the [168]
'eight-days' sickness', strangled two of every three babies born; [165]
this disease ravaged the island for almost a century and again [1]
struck harder as the male sex. About 1810 the population was [1]
about 200, a definite overcrowding. By 1861 it had fallen to 78; [1]
in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 73. A decade later it was nil.

Isolation tended to make the St Kildans a human menagerie. [434]
With the improvement in boat services, St Kilda became a 'must' [342]
on tourist itineraries. The tourist trade took on an economic im- [1]
portance for the population after July 1877, when the *Dunera* [115]
Castle steamed into and went for a voyage to the 'romantic' [1]
Western Isles and lone St Kilda'. The steamers continued to call [1]
throughout the three summers months annually for sixty years, their [1]
passengers eager to buy souvenirs: tweed, queen stones, spinning
wheels, stuffed birds and eggs; indeed, anything to remind them,

4: Whisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Sig

CH. III THE ISLAND HOME

16 In the pyramid for rural Lewis (b) the differences are striking, and are mainly due to two factors: the 'natural' [162]
ratio of births to deaths, and migration. Beginning from [167]
the bottom of the pyramid, it will be seen that in 1931 there were fewer infants (from 0-5 years) than children from 5-10 years, fewer in fact than in the three older age-groups. In 1951 (c), the birth rate having risen sharply after the war and preceding depression, infants formed a much larger ratio (over 5 per cent).

In rural Lewis, emigration asserted itself earliest with all that was deemed necessary for the continuation of the com- [1]
munity was that, once a year, MacLeod of Harris should send [1]
his factor over from Skye to collect the island goods that were to [1]
be sold, and to bring with him those provisions which would see [1]
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passengers eager to buy souvenirs: tweed, queen stones, spinning
wheels, stuffed birds and eggs; indeed, anything to remind them,

6: Ducey E-4.5 (1880-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Sye

160

compared with 34.9 for Scotland. The death rate among Skyemen, [195]*
however, was 17.4 compared with 22.0 for Scots in general. But [1]
Scotland had a net emigration rate of only 3.6 while the Skyemen [1]
were losing at a rate of 16.5. In this decade *m* fewer than [1]
3,115 left Skye.

By the end of the third period an additional influence [195]*
of the process of commercialisation had become apparent. The [1]
social hierarchy was modified in the direction of greater [161]
socio-economic differentiation.[68] At the time of the 'Forty- [162]
five'Skye was inhabited by the families of three clan chiefs, [1]
139 tacksmen, 517 joint-tenants, 1031 subtenants, and 444 [1]
servants. There were now 10 landlords. The tacksmen had been [1]
replaced by 29 graziers and 12 small farmers. The joint- [1]
tenants, subtenants, and servants had become 3063 crofters [1]
and 1227 cottars. In the past there may have been one innkeeper, [1]
at Portree, and a few sailors; now there were 21 innkeepers, [1]
millers, and merchants.

The changes which we have been considering could not have [195]*
left the patterns of interaction undisturbed. Co-operation among [1]
the members of the township would have been unnecessary. Since [1]
all were affected by prolonged destitution, mutual aid must [1]
have been severely curtailed. The extended family was broken [1]
by emigration. The nuclear family was seldom intact for more [1]
than part of the year. It seems the majority of the able-bodied [1]
men were travelling to the east coast each spring to find [1]

[68] Nathan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, pp. 4-5, 6-7, 11-12, 14-15; and J. G. McCoy, Scots Life in Spite from Legend and Poetry', Nelli Vol. XXIX (1922), pp. 280-290.

6: Ducey E-4.5 (1880-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

307

acceptance of the potato, a much more productive and dependable [161]
subsistence item than grain on Skye, made it possible for more [175]
people to live on less land. The introduction of a new industry [1]
helping, provided many with employment and freed them from com- [1]
plete dependence on a subsistence economy. Vaccination reduced [155]
the mortality rate, especially among infants whose chances of [1]
reaching maturity and procreating were thus enhanced. Another [361]
important factor was the Skyemen's share in the general pros- [1]
perity of British agriculturalists during the early years of [1]
the Industrial Revolution and during the Napoleonic Wars. An [123]
especially important factor was the practice of subdividing [1]
the land among the early marriages possible, by particular after [1]
the installation of the crofting system. Finally, but by no [161]
means least significant, there was the persistence of many [175]
typical features of the culture in the days of the clan. The [182]
sentimental ties of kinship and attachment to the soil had [1]
remained.

The population decrease, partially a result of the Skyemen's [161]
involvement in the process of commercialisation, was primarily [175]
a result of a failure to fully adjust to the higher, more [184]
heterogeneous socio-economic level. By the end of the second [1]
period of the modern epoch, 1845, the people had become hostile [1]
to the potato and their own fertility. When the potato failed [1]
them, they had nothing to fall back upon, except the generosity [1]
of their landlords. The cattle and help markets had collapsed [1]
at the end of the Wars, and the subdivided land could not [1]
produce sufficient rents. The belief of many that the population had over-run the limited local resources was confirmed.

166

166 INTERNAL MIGRATION--shifting of residence between communities and districts within the society: organised resettlement; trade-inspired redistribution of the population, etc. See also:
Bannerman regiments . . . . . 164 Travel 166
Degree of permanence in migrations . . . . . 165 Rate of residence in marriage 166
of estimates 165

11

[238] finished lengths of tweed. For a tweed to be classified [143] as "Harris Tweed," it must be hand-woven by Outer [1424] Hebrideans in their own homes, but the weavers are [239] essentially employees of the mill. All the large Harris Tweed mills in Lewis, except the one in Shawbost, are located in Stornoway. A few smaller businesses, which design and market tweeds but have no elaborate machinery to process the tweed further, are scattered throughout the island.

The village of Shawbost is composed of 169 households, [621] of which 110 are headed by "crofters," persons recognised [1,604] as legal tenants of a croft. Of the remaining 59 [1,604] households, 16 rent houses which were built and are [361] maintained by the County (called "council houses"), 11 have erected houses on the crofts of relatives, and 32 have built homes on the common grazing lands. Non-[143] crofters participate in the agricultural activities of [241] the township. It would not be unusual, for example, for a non-crofter to serve as the clerk of a grazing committee.

In North Shawbost, one croft house and two non-[342] croft houses are used only when the owner returns to [1] Shawbost from the mainland for a holiday. The school-[1] master lives in a house adjoining the school, and the [1] minister in a manse located between Shawbost and the [1] neighboring village of Bragar.

To [527] many villagers, the concept of "hol- [166] more than that time in the yearly [1] [167] natives return.

175 [161] Around this time, various factors had encouraged an increase in population. After Scotland's union with England in 1707, the prohibition on the import of cattle into England was lifted, and trade in cattle became economically more important (Day 1918: 26). The numerous wars of this period caused the price of cattle to double between 1736 and 1766 (Day 1918: 180). Clan warfare diminished; the potato was introduced; and vaccine for smallpox became available.

175 161 The increase in population led to an extreme crowding of land in some areas, which made agricultural reform difficult. Many landlords tried to encourage [166] tenants of their estates to emigrate. The appearance of a market for kelp, which lasted from the middle of the 18th century to about 1815, discouraged landlords from implementing policies of depopulation that would 175 diminish their labor force. An alkaline extract of 824 kelp was used in a variety of manufactured goods, such 323 as soap and glass. The seaweed was gathered by men, 388 women and children living along the coasts, and burned in rough open kilns. Tenants who worked at this [465] occupation received L3-4, and the landlords L18-20, per ton (Mackinlay 1878: vii); the landlord received as high an income as L10,000 to L20,000 a year from the burning of kelp (Gray 1957: 42).

171 three-field system wi
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ment feared that cons
meant a reduction in
175 The British governmen
423 in the migration from
[166] had long been a sourc

A reaction again
industrial revolution
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laborers. The Taylor
[181] value which is still
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own intrinsic quality

175 The various acts
241 attempts to keep labo
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developed in England as small-
nd to large landholders to become
Report (1954: 9) reflects the
placed on country life by maintaining
ities "embody a free and independent
a civilisation predominantly urban
racter is worth preserving for its
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protecting smallholdings were also
r dispersed: to diversify and
nd, and thus to increase Britain's
ood production. Various marketing
s were introduced around World War II
Among the many agriculturalists
ouragements emanating from the
re crofters.

175
166 In the last half of the 19th century, many famil
were "cleared" from the district of Uig and resettled
173 Shawbost. According to a local version of village
625 history, the Constable evicted persons from North
166 Shawbost and resettled them in New Shawbost. "The
people from Uig were fishermen, so they needed to be
the sea. They wouldn't take a croft in New Shawbost
all." According to another version, the crofts once
extended all the way across from Carnan to the loch;
when the Uig people came, the crofts were chopped in
half, and the street called Baile Stigh was created.

175 Whatever effect the Constables had on land use a
625 animal husbandry, they are now referred to as "tyrant
who went mad or committed suicide after the Crofters
of 1886.

175 Cattle and horses were tethered or herded within
311 easy walking distance from the township; sheep could
233 be left on the moor without much surveillance. At a
much earlier time another dike existed out beyond the
(178) township dike. The dikes were used according to prin
(221) found in grazing schemes today: the sheep were kept
out on the moor, beyond the second dike, until midsum
when they were moved in closer to the village. At th
point they were still out of the arable land of the

gow, between 7s and 10s per sto
d, 27d to 30d was received per
h was measured by the 'big yard
or bought cheese at 78d per ston
he islanders for commodities imp
meal and oats; 3s per cwt for s
lb of tea; whisky cost 4s per bot
Leather for soling boots cost 24
nets for the men were 4s each;
nders were in good condition at
an average height of 5 ft 6 in,
cy to flabbiness. The prevalent i
pepsia running a close second.

ST KILDA

one. For tweed made on the 439
yard; for blanketing, 28d. 435
', which was 49 inches. The
ne of 24 lb. The prices paid
ported included 25s per boll
alt; 7d for coarse sugar; 5s
tle; and tobacco was 5s per
4d per lb; for uppers 27d.
cravats, 3s. Physically, the 142
the time of the *Flirt*'s visit,
though they showed a ten-
llness was rheumatism, with 164

in the far north. "There were two fishing seasons. For one season you went to Fraserburgh, Stronsay, Lerwick and Peterhead; and then the winter fishing was in England, at Yarmouth, Scarborough and Loucester. I remember in Yarmouth we didn't like the English bread, it was such a dull color. We liked the pure white Scotch bread."

They lived in small huts, and the work was hard but full of fun. Neighborhood girls used to go together, bringing bedding and different items in large chests to share in the housekeeping. Three girls worked together in a crew, and there were as many as six sharing a room, in double bunks. Some of the huts were so small that there was barely enough room for the beds and the cupboards. At night the boys would come in off the boats. "You were so tired from being up since early morning; but you were always able to dance. You were treated with respect; the youngsters today aren't so good." The women who married non-islanders that they met at the fishing were not likely to return.

When the weaving started on a large scale, the girls "were glad enough to have work at home, even though the work was hard." But many continued their temporary absences from the island, working in hotels or as

domestic servants
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among the well-to-do families in
cities on the mainland (see Appendix

aving started, some men settled at home
many continued to come and go between
loom. In 1931, the ratio of men to
nd Harris was 100:114. The men came
ry jobs, such as the construction of roads
s are told of the common practice of
xtension of leave. The men found it easy
l Reserve because of their fishing
it brought them a retainer's fee and
ps to places off the island for several
g during the year. But when the wars came,
to the Navy and to the Merchant Service

B. The Land

of arrears in rent in the Barvas rent
rn of the century indicates the small
in circulation at the time. Between 1899
l crofters paid part of their rent "by
ad some of their stock "uplifted by
ample, a Widow Catherine lost "one red

000 element, the weaver, is essential to its production.
288 In 1960 weavers receiving tweed yarns from the mills
464 totalled about 1,500 persons, a number which held for
463 about three years and then started dropping at a rate
of about 100 a year. In 1971 the number of weavers
was less than 1,000, and trends of change appeared to
presage a continued dwindling of numbers. It is
166 estimated that emigration increased during 1970-71.
464 Men have returned to the sea, have gone to Glasgow as
laborers, or have taken advantage of training courses
offered by the Labor Exchange, courses that will
eventually remove them from the island setting.

288 The instability of the industry and the fluctuation
571 in amount of weaving work available at any given time
458 has created an environment in which personal ties and
individual maneuvering rather than a widespread adherence
to impersonal rules such as equal distribution are
[602] emphasized. Strategies which involve the mobilization
of kinship and neighborhood ties and involve an emphasis
on personal relationships rather than the depersonaliza-
tion usually associated with industry are made possible
by economic factors such as the dependence of decentralized
weavers on centralized mills. The watchfulness and
consciousness of one's neighbors so characteristic of
village life prevail. Questions about the state of

Despite these aids and incentives, parents do not encourage their children to weave. The weavers themselves describe the job as dull, offering no security and no possibilities for advancement.

Referring to her young son, a mother says, "By the time he's old enough to weave, the tweeds will have failed." Another mother says, "I want him to learn some trade, if he's intelligent enough. I don't want him to stay here. The tweed is so uncertain." "There's no future in it," says the father of another young boy, "I definitely wouldn't want him to be a weaver. It would be good if he went in for engineering."

The histories of the weavers reveal many examples of shifting occupations. Weaving often alternates with work in the local mill, which is also relatively unspecialized. The Shawbost mill must tolerate this unstable labor force, as labor is difficult to find. Eldest sons tend to leave the island for more stable, permanent jobs, leaving the croft and the loom to their younger siblings. Table V shows the number of male weavers in each age group.

The fact that Shawbost has the same age structure as the rest of rural Lewis (see Table II) and less unemployment signifies that weaving has not served as an adequate incentive to keep young people on the island.

[See p. xi-Analysis]
[See p.xiii-Analysis]

Rather, the industry has provided jobs for those who, for one reason or another, would have stayed anyway.

Of the weavers between the ages of 15 and 24, eight are only sons or sons who had to begin work because their fathers became ill or died; two others live at home only temporarily and plan to work elsewhere. Of those of ages 25 to 34, two men live at home because they are disabled; one has returned from the Merchant Service for awhile; two are only sons who are encouraged to remain at home, and several are youngest sons or sons whose parents have strongly discouraged them from leaving home. Of the 35-44 age group, four have remained on the island because of various ailments such as tuberculosis and mental health problems; one had to leave the Merchant Service because of an injury; at least five have stayed or returned because of family ties, the demands of aging parents and sick siblings. In the 45-54 age category, a number of men served in the navy or other branches of the armed forces during World War II, and returned from shipwrecks and other disastrous events to the relative security of the loom.

Many of the older weavers (at least nine in the 55-64 age category) started weaving after they had returned from the United States or Canada because of the depression. Some recall the horror of wandering

government bodies and industries in cities on the mainland, rather than being relatively self-sufficient as it was at a previous time. The periodic return of relatives to the island reflects this peripheralness, as do feelings of inferiority among the islands. The island has become not only geographically but socially marginal.

A. Geographical Marginality

Geographical marginality refers to the distance of the islanders from various economic and administrative centers on which they depend. Because they are distant, they are more likely to suffer breaks in channels of communication with these centers, as when storms prevent boats from docking. They are "marginal" because they depend on central sources rather than being self-contained; and the difficulties entailed in this marginality encourage the retention of techniques and patterns of interaction derived from the days of relative self-sufficiency. The anomalous combinations of old and new found in the township may be attributed to such marginality.

A "strategy" may be thought of as a pattern of behavior which develops in a particular history of reinforcement, the parameters of this reinforcement

which official records are kept by the mills. If you say jokingly to a fisherman who has brought in a large catch that he should put some money aside for the income tax man, he is likely to reply, "He'll have to catch me first." A tradesman may be earning large sums of money doing local work as a skilled specialist at the same time that he is collecting social security.

A man may move in and out of a number of different jobs, and never report his income. "Occupational pluralism" (cf. Brox 1968) rather than economic specialization has developed as a strategy in various countries along the North Atlantic Fringe, such as Iceland, the Faroes, northern Norway and Newfoundland, as well as the west coast and islands of Scotland. In these marginal areas, income from specialized occupations is, in the long run, unpredictable and inconsistent.

In times of national economic depression, strikes, shifts between socialist and conservative governments, and other crises, crofting provides an alternative strategy. During the last war, many islanders who had left the island (including some who had been quite prosperous in the cities) returned to spend the duration of the war in the village, glad of the relative security provided by the relative abundance of food and less strict rationing. During a huge snow-fall that occurred on

Crofting constitutes a dormant strategy which can be mobilized if deterioration of land has not proceeded too far, and if the skills of land use are not lost by succeeding generations who have grown up in an environment which presented them with more appealing strategies.

B. Social Marginality

1. Linguistic Distinctiveness: Social marginality began when the Highlander had to leave his place of origin and go to the cities of the south in search of employment. The feature which most distinguished him was his Gaelic speech.

In Glasgow the common word for Highlander is "teuchter," a slang word with derogatory implications which, according to one theory, developed when Gaelic speakers coming into English-speaking cities mispronounced the word "sugar" so that it sounded like "teuchter." Glasgow Highlanders have developed their own defensive explanations: when the civilized Highlanders came down among the uneducated barbarians of the south, they came as tutors, a word which their uneducated Lowland pupils mispronounced.) According to a university student from the islands, the word was once used by the English to refer to the Scottish Lowlanders.

In nation-wide comic strips and jokes, the Highlander plays the role of the clown, the rustic country cousin. The comic strip "Angus Og" portrays a kilted Highlander, sly and canny behind his apparent simplicity, tricking the landlord and searching for the Loch Ness monster. Stories of the lazy, dour crofter abound.

When young men go away to the Army or Navy or to work on the mainland, they say that they feel like "foreigners." "Thirty years ago the island was very isolated. It was difficult to get away. There were no few education grants available. I got my teaching certificate and wanted to get a post back on the island, but was told there wouldn't be a vacancy for another fifteen years. So I went to Scotland, and found I had to be lucky to get as good as an Englishman if not better in my job to get ahead."

"When I went into the RAF, I had never seen light switches because we used paraffin lamps. An English chap told me to turn the light on, and I didn't know which way meant on or off. That memory still sticks in me."

"Even a high official in the Highlands and Islands Development Board tells a joke, that is frequently going round Westminster," of the Gaelic speaker who approached the Highlander and told him of the word "Gaelic" which he translated as "Don't go today when you can put off till tomorrow." Saying if there was a corresponding word in Gaelic, "In Gaelic," replied the Highlander, "we have so much that convays such a sense of urgency."

Within the village there are no branches of An Comunn Gaidhealach and few books written in Gaelic. Once a rural family moves to Stornoway, children often refuse to speak Gaelic, even though they understand it, and parents tend to speak only English to their children, believing this will help them "get on." In the next generation, the language is lost. Village children attending school in Stornoway often prefer talking to their Gaelic-speaking roommates in English. A young island man, married and living in Edinburgh, says she would like her baby son to learn Gaelic but feels that if he had a mixture of the two languages the other children would laugh at him.

English is the language of the larger society, the language spoken in school and the language required in most jobs and in dealing with most officials. In Gaelic-speaking areas, the speaking of English connotes high status. If an English speaker mispronounces Gaelic words, he is quickly forgiven, praised for trying to learn such a difficult language, and asked why he bothers with a language that "isn't any use anyway." But if a Gaelic speaker makes mistakes in English, he is teased mercilessly. Many nicknames derive from such mistakes; for example, "Donald Squeak" got his name by mispronouncing the word "picturesque." People "win points" by competing with each other in speaking English. "See how good you are in

2. The Exilings: An important source which supplies this sense of contrast is the large number of persons settled away from the island, often in "ghettoes" or neighborhoods in cities in which village ties are maintained. It is said that gossip about Shawbost travels more quickly in the districts called Partick Hill in Glasgow than it does within Shawbost itself. It may be argued that the "exiles," with their Lewis and Harris Societies and pilgrimages back to the village during the holidays, do a great deal to sustain the strong boundedness of the village as a sociocultural system. They and non-Gaelic-speaking outsiders (the Eminent Person writing his inevitable book in the romantic solitude of an isolated manse) help to maintain a feeling of worthwhileness in a place rife with feelings of ambivalence and negative comparison with the larger society.

Within the village, especially during the long, dark winter, complaints are often heard of the "sameness" of things. A common phrase, almost a greeting, is, "Anything fresh?"—implying that the usual mode of existence is stale, sour, exhausted, and very much with us. Although the villagers have access to the range of information available to all Britishers through forms of mass media such as newspapers, radio and television sets, very little of this information is considered relevant to village life, and thus is not attended to.

The generally low level of stimulation derives in part from values which restrict opportunities for self-expression. People are ready to gossip, i.e., to participate vicariously in the escapades of others, but are less eager to act. Stories concerning mad-cap adventures of some villagers do not belie the existence of constraints imposed on expressiveness. One of the major reasons given by young villagers for wanting to leave the island, and by emigrants for why they left, is that, "There is nothing to do. The place is dead."

In the everyday life of the village, a style of indirectness and restricted communication is encouraged. A man might be praised in an obituary by the phrase, "His voice was never heard in the community." The encouragement of a "low profile" of behavior characterizes those communities in which people meet each other frequently and know they will continue to meet and ask things of each other for a long time to come. Indirectness avoids conflict arising from divergent expectations, and embarrassment from changes in plans.

A major feature of practices of child-rearing on the island is inconsistency, which develops a style of guarded wariness and hesitance to act or express oneself. Children are teased by being offered things which are then snatched away. Punishment is inconsistent

154 sympathetic with each others' idiosyncrasies. A constant
154 joking keeps people at arm's length and discourages the
154 development of sympathy.
(526)

Accompanying this style of indirect, inhibited expressiveness and the low level of stimulation are culturally prescribed opportunities for relatively uninhibited expressiveness. Such opportunities include the ceilidh ("visit"), the drinking situation (family for men), the role of clown or "character," and holidays (as at New Year's. Although young villagers and emigrants often describe the village as "dull" and "dead," the emigrants are happy enough to return to the island for short periods of time, during which they participate in those situations in which expressiveness and limited license are accepted.

3. Ceilidh, Clown, and New Year's Festivities: Only on certain occasions is relatively spontaneous and uninhibited expressiveness condoned or encouraged within the township, and even then the form which this expressiveness takes is fairly narrowly circumscribed. The traditional
(178) ceilidh was such an occasion. In the past, people gathered
(178) regularly at night in the high ceilidh (the ceilidh house,
(526) or home of someone in which a genial atmosphere existed;
(526) the high ceilidh was often the home of someone who lived
(526) alone), where stories were endlessly repeated and elaborated,

520 Whereas at other times of the year there are specific
521 times which are considered appropriate for visiting,
526 especially if the visit includes a bottle, at New Year's
526 visitors may appear in the middle of the night or at
(513) any time during the day. Some men may stay up for four
526 nights in a row, going back home for a few hours of sleep
526 or a bite to eat before setting off again. Various games
526 are played. Men climb through the windows of darkened
526 houses, or wake up sleepers by making animal sounds. One
526 man went around the village showing a pig's foot to women
526 as though it were a penis.
(527)

But whether lasting for one night or for five, festivities end with the arrival of Sunday; and the usual comment is, "Thank God it's Sunday."

166 The "exile" prefer to return at such times as New
221 Year's, or during the summer months when the beaches are
184 inviting and the gales absent. They remember the
(526) "characters" and other features of village life which
526 give it color, often forgetting the drab background out
526 of which the color was forged. Some villagers whose
526 siblings have married and left the island continue to live
526 in the house mainly to keep the house in order for
526 their return. "I wouldn't close the house on them. They
526 come back every summer." A man thinking of emigrating

166 says, "I'll have to ask my brothers and sisters if they
221 mind, since they come back here every year." Some houses
184 which are almost empty for most of the year are over-
526 flowing during the summer months. Often the visitors
526 must come in stages.

166 The "exiles" sing the old songs with vigor, drink
221 heavily during their visit, and praise the island for
526 that "special quality" which is unmatched by life in the
526 dirty, crowded, unfriendly city. Some plan to retire in
526 the village. The villagers take up the tune that their
526 society is eminently worthwhile. When talking to strangers,
526 they ask questions pertaining to this image of themselves,
526 such as, "Don't you think this place has something which
526 you will never find in a city?" "People here during
526 the summer and they love it; they can't keep away. So
526 they must find something here. What would you do in a
526 city anyway? Out here you're free."

The visitors not only bolster the self-esteem of the
166 crofting and weaving, in contrast with the exciting but
526 risk-laden opportunities offered by the dominant urban-
(654) industrial mainland. Crofting and Harris Tweed have been
526 protected by government legislation. Various subsidies
(719) and loans are available. In times of unemployment, social
526 security is available. Extremely important is contributors
621 to boundedness are the non-economic incentives: the
156 individual has a place in a human community; he is given

166 The image of the island
489 as spiritual home is fostered by The Stornoway Gazette,
223 and by nostalgic songs, most of which were written by
204 islanders who emigrated to Canada in the first quarter
(526) of the century.

The crofting township as a strongly bounded network
632 continues to exist, although crofting as a socioeconomic
526 pattern which evolved in a situation of limited social
526 and geographical mobility, low cash reserves, and the
526 restriction of a large population to a region of limited
526 resources, is very different from crofting as defined by
526 an office in Inverness. As far as the crofter is con-
526 cerned, to be defined as a crofter by the Crofters Commission
526 and other government agencies is to have access to
526 resources which affect the environment in which he makes
526 his choices.

241 The individual is faced with the semi-security of
208 crofting and weaving, in contrast with the exciting but
526 risk-laden opportunities offered by the dominant urban-
(654) industrial mainland. Crofting and Harris Tweed have been
526 protected by government legislation. Various subsidies
(719) and loans are available. In times of unemployment, social
526 security is available. Extremely important is contributors
621 to boundedness are the non-economic incentives: the
156 individual has a place in a human community; he is given

213 Excise taxes were first levied on whiskey in 1814,
175 and stills of less than 500-gallon capacity were prohibited.
(526) Local, illegal distillation continued for a long time
526 after 1814, and throughout the Highlands and Islands
526 tales are told of "the excise man" and how he was outwitted.
213 The Island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris was evacuated
175 in 1843, supposedly because of illegal distillation that
(142) was being carried on there. The ruins of old distilling
526 houses are found throughout Shawbost. Villagers say
526 that these were used in the time of their grandfather
526 or great-grandfather to distill whiskey for occasions
526 such as weddings.

(526) In Shawbost, until recent times whiskey was associated
526 mainly with special ceremonial occasions: the birth of
(346) a child, weddings, and wakes. When a baby was born, the
526 father went into town for whiskey to be given to visitors
526 coming to see the baby. Having whiskey at a funeral was
(241) also important; if a widow sold her cow to provide
526 it, so that people would not say it was a bad funeral.
526 A custom of sitting up all night in the house of the
526 deceased has stopped, probably in part because a prayer
526 meeting lasting from midnight until 2 a.m. was introduced
526 with the intention, according to one minister, of keeping
526 the wake from becoming too joyful an occasion. Whiskey
526 was abundant at New Year's, and at weddings. "The dance

105 The
254 fact that crofting townships are located on marginal
254 land is one reason that the larger society is not motivated
(526) to exploit the land. The Crofters Holding Act of 1886
526 and subsequent legislation ensured protection of and
526 incentives for continued maintenance of crofting and
526 the crofting township.

Protective government legislation, grants and loans for housing, subsidies for rearing livestock, relatively low taxes, and the economic protection provided by a socialist-democratic government in times of crisis have helped to maintain a core of crofting families for many generations.
105 The predominance of older persons in the township is
526 striking, but many of the younger people who have left
526 the island to work on the mainland return frequently,
526 contribute part of their salary to the remaining family
526 members, and plan eventually to marry and settle down in
526 the village or to retire there. Long-term residence of
(526) kin-linked families in a small area has in itself contributed
526 to the boundedness of the township network.

105 The policy of the government, through developmental
241 agencies such as the Highlands and Islands Development
(526) Board, has been to support economic strategies that
526 complement rather than interfere with the functioning of
526 the crofting township with its small holdings and communal
000 practices. The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an

105 of the converted, who occasionally neglect township and
274 family obligations in favor of religious activities. The
621 increase in private transportation during the past 25 years
184 has facilitated the maintenance of closer ties within the
(544) clique. The existence of such a strongly bounded subsystem is an example of a trend toward the weakening of the township as a social boundary system, but this trend is countered by other factors that strengthen or help preserve the township as a bounded system.

People come and go from the township, but this appears
105 to maintain rather than weaken township boundaries because
621 behavior different from that prescribed within the township
621 can be performed outside it, and conformist behavior
189 reassumed upon reentry. Those unable to conform with standards of behavior prescribed within the township are not likely to return.

(526) Township members who have settled away from the island come back periodically for recreation and a sense of
526 belonging. They increase the value of the township and
(822) its way of life in the eyes of the inhabitants, and provide them with subject matter for conversation until the next holiday season, when the exiles again return.

105 The boundedness of the township is thus a qualified
621 boundedness that, over the past 100 years and especially
526 since the second world war, has decreased in strength but
526 is nevertheless strong today.

241 Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in 190
654 part stems from government-defined privileges and duties
233 regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed
621 industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides and
184 thus is protected from competition, has provided work
(544) for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger
526 members of croft families live in cities on the mainland,
526 and send part of their wages home; they return regularly
526 to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus the
(142) township supplies urban workers who remain very much
(632) attached to the rural townships, which are composed of
526 aged family members and a rural proletariat. The standard
511 of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated
654 savings, although much of this surplus is used by the men
526 for alcoholic drinks.

121 In Britain, rural communities have been interpreted as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf. Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall presented "an operational theory of role" by which he suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analyzed and compared. He developed the concept "density of role texture" to describe societies which lie along a continuum from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southall's concept along with other concepts to present a more complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "models" of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially liste

"I couldn't get back my health, but I
didn't want to go home, because the houses weren't so
good there as on the mainland. I went to work on a
farm. It was for the cream I was going. I was so wea
I couldn't lift the milk pails for a week, but I got o
so well with the old lady that the farmer let me stay
and keep her company. The other girls were always ru
off to dances and out late at night, but I didn't care
about that. I stayed in with her, and got so jelly wi
her that the others were jealous."

She had been coming back every winter to be with
her mother, and during the war returned to nurse her
she died. Some time then returned to Glasgow, where she m
a widower from the mainland. When he died a few years
later, she returned permanently to the island. Although
she had not belonged to the Free Church while living
Glasgow, she became a member when she settled permanen
in Shawbost.

The Baker

"The Baker" was 22 when the first World war brok
out. Many Shawbost villagers joined branches of the
services at that time. The Baker joined the army, an
two months later was wounded in one lung. Tough as a
dogfish and solid as Lewisian gneiss at the age of 76
he pounds his chest and shows visitors his scar. Aft

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

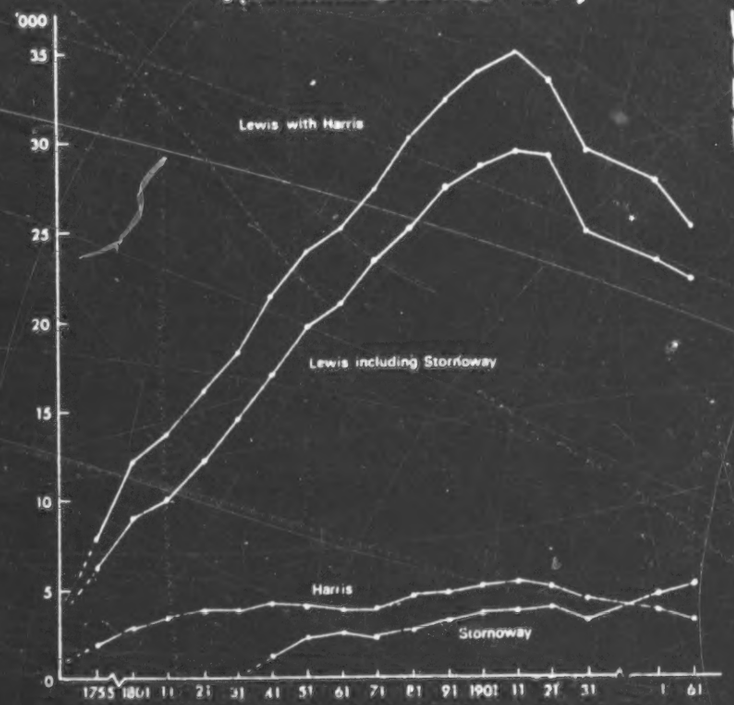
the nature of stopgaps in the younger, formative years and do not offer progressive training for the eventual chosen career. As an example of this, a number of island girls come to Stornoway to work in local shops and then leave the island after two years or so to take up hotel work or nursing on the mainland; many boys leave the island for apprenticeship training in trades which now require evening-class, day- or block-release educational classes. About fifty young persons leave the island each year under the Training Allowances Scheme of the Youth Employment Service, which financially assists them to live in lodgings while working away from home.

Most of the employment categories in the island of course employ less than a handful of people, either full-time adults or time-serving apprentices; they are fully staffed very quickly and opportunities arise only when an employee dies or leaves the island, or—more rarely—when an increased demand for a service (for instance television engineering at one time) creates vacancies for apprentices.

ISLAND EMIGRANTS

the MacKenzie River; he was born in Stornoway in 1764, in what was known as Luskentyre House, at the corner of Kenneth Street and Francis, where Martin's Memorial Church now stands. Another MacKenzie, Lt-Col Colin MacKenzie, was born in Stornoway about 1754 and went to Madras in 1772 as a cadet in the Engineer Corps under the East India Company. In India, MacKenzie followed a career of high professional distinction,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]



Population trends *c* 1755 to 1961 for the island as a whole; for Lewis, including Stornoway; for Harris; and for Stornoway. The population peak occurred in 1911. The dip in the Stornoway curve was due to the effects of emigration, as is the more pronounced dip in the island curve. Stornoway's curve in 1961 was on the upward trend, due to migration from the landward parts of the island into the town. Over the past 150 years, however, population mobility within the island has been virtually nil; movement has been emigration rather than migration

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE

Scarp

Until 1972 Scarp was the most weste
Scotland, separated from the Harris mai
is about half a mile across at its narrow
tidal currents. The island is about th
rugged, especially in the north and west,
the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft.
tiny marginal belt of good land, machar
shelf, about one-third of a mile long, we
Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, a
in sites beyond the present settlement inc
tion at one time. The island's population
severely limited by the minute amount
tillage: of a total of about seven square
mile can be used. Climatic conditions an
the range and quality of crops grown.

Scarp was originally settled about 181
eight farming families who were reason
only did they have the island to themselv
to good pasturage on the Harris mainlan
thirteen small townships between the head
and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some
coming to Scarp. Some emigration back
the 1840s, but when about 1868 the propr
sixteen crofts instead of the previous eig
further divided by the people themselves,
their families and friends from elsewhere.
was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 wi
it was 74. Communication with the Harr
plying between two stone-built jetties.

The local economy was essentially a su
sufficiency in such products as potatoes,
milk and fish. After a break of some y
recently been reinstated as an occupation.
lighting, though a few houses have piped

nd Scots ES10
and Harris

ISLANDS

erly inhabited island in
nland by a strait which
west, coursed by strong
ree miles in diameter,
with cliffs on all sides;
On the east side lies a
and soil; on this green
ere all the crofts of the
nd abandoned lazy-beds
dicate a denser popula-
n-carrying capacity was
of land available for
miles only half a square
d soil type also restrict

0 and was occupied by
nably comfortable. Not
es, but they had access
d opposite. About 1823
of Loch Resort, Harris,
of the displaced families
to Harris took place in
ietor divided Scarp into
ht holdings, these were
trying to accommodate
In 1861 the population
th 213 persons. In 1951
is mainland is by boat,

sistence one, with self-
turnips, cabbages, oats,
ears lobster-fishing has
Oil lamps are the only
water. The small shop

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

The small shop 443
stocks essential household items, and extensive use is made of mail-order. A few years ago a telephone to the mainland was supplied, 206
much valued in emergencies.

Scarp in fact has a small place of its own in the history of com- 175*
munications: on 28 July 1934 one of three British rocket-mail 205
experiments (for which special stamps were printed) was held 713
there. The inventor of the rocket, Herr Zucker, was later to become prominent in V-rocket work during the second German war. Herr Zucker personally conducted the firings. His rocket, a large cylinder with pointed nose, something like a heavy shell, was 3 ft long and weighed 30 lb, with capacity for several thousand letters. The motive force was ordinary high explosive contained in a large cartridge about 18 in long; the device was designed to burn with a series of rapid explosions and produce a flight speed of 1,000 mph. The firing apparatus was a flimsy wooden structure providing a runway rising at an angle from the ground, an elastic sling giving the rocket an initial impulse. The first rocket was fired on Scarp, to the mainland: it exploded prematurely and most of the mail was damaged. The postmaster applied to the backs of the damaged covers a three-line cachet in violet: 'Damaged by first explosion at Scarp—Harris.' In order that this mail should be actually flown, it was re-transmitted by the second firing made in the opposite direction, Harris—Scarp. The whole experiment was deemed a failure, however. The route taken by the mail addressed to Kirkwall was unique; rocket, ferryboat, motorcar, mail steamer, railway train, and finally by Highland Airways to Kirkwall.

Depopulation in Scarp was encouraged by the lack of 166 •
employment prospects, and centralised education, of the type 871
which has already played havoc with remote rural communities [441]
elsewhere, is felt to be a black cloud darkening the future. Much the same problem faces Scalpay Island, mentioned later. Children are removed from their home environments for higher secondary education at a central school: for Harris children this is at Portree, Skye. Many islanders argue that the scheme tends to destroy the family unit, urbanising the children so that they become unsuited to, and with no inclination for, rural life. Some sympathy must be felt for the education authorities, of course, as the pro-

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

• 166 vision of adequate educational facilities in remote spots becomes
871 increasingly difficult.

In its time Scarp has contributed more per head of population to the professions than has any other community of similar size.
[162] The last of the native Scarp population left the island in November 1971: two families totalling seven people. The island
[178] has now attracted the attentions of a hippie community.

Scalpay

*175 Scalpay Island, on the east side of Harris, was formerly occu-
361 pied by two or three tacksmen in succession before being 'crofted
429 out'. About 1843 the Harris factor settled twenty crofting families who managed to make a fair living there, but five years later another twenty families were added; some had been evicted from the island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris. This led to some sub-
[162] division of the available land. The 1861 population was 388, but the figure rose to a peak of 624 in 1921; in 1951 it had declined to 541. It is now in the region of 450.

178 Island Scalpay is in fact one of the few places in the Highlands
621 and Islands area in which the normal trends associated with remote regions are operating in reverse. The island despite its small-
[131] ness—it is a mere 3 miles long and 1½ miles across—supports a thriving and dynamic community and is the envy of its neighbours.
[162] Scalpay is retaining its young folk; and it boasts some of the finest homes in the Hebrides. From the agricultural point of view it is
[241] not greatly different from other islands in the Hebrides. Its forty crofts produce a good crop of oats; but less than 20 acres of the land are re-seeded.

226 The land being as poor as it is, the men of Scalpay have turned their faces to the sea—for a living, not for emigration. Scalpay has the largest number of full-time fishermen and a total of thirty-
505 three boats, twelve of which are ringnetters of over 40 ft. Native enterprise is also shown in the ship-owning firm whose vessels carry freight and passengers to many parts of Scotland and on
[441] occasion to the Continent. A Harbour Association was formed on the island in 1966 to work for local amenities for fishermen and

NORTH RONA

Though the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says that in his time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving only, and an abundance of clover-grass for sheep. The island also produced a fine bere-meal which the islanders stuffed into the skins of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of Lewis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest Christian building in Britain remaining in its original state, Monro says: 'As the ancients of the country allege, they leave a spade and a shuil [shovel] when any man dies, and upon the morrow find the place of the grave marked with a spade, as they allege.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680:

The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either; they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as they want; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of mankind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take their surname from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and clouds. There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis, which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm of rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the food. A few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders of their only bull. 'These misfortunes and the want of supply from Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all that ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony was sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical*

THE OTHER ISLANDS

Account, there was one family there, that of the person employed by the owner to look after the livestock. The owner was a Ness tacksman who paid £4 sterling rent per annum. The island produce was corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep and sometimes a cow, and some wild fowl and feathers.

In 1844 Rona was evacuated, its last inhabitant being, in the seventh year of Queen Victoria's reign, the 'King of Rona', Donald MacLeod, who lived in almost prehistoric conditions. Rona was without inhabitants until 1884, when a last attempt at resettlement was made by two men from Ness. This was a self-imposed exile, after a difference of opinion with the minister of their parish; in penance, they hied themselves off to Rona. In 1885 a relief boat called and found both men dead, one from natural causes, the other from starvation and exhaustion after nursing his friend. By the fireside of their hut was a pot ready for the preparation of a meal they never ate.

Today, man's connection with the island is maintained by the small party of Lewis shepherds who each year make the journey to shear the sheep which still graze on the green slopes around the now-ruined village. Otherwise, only the occasional traveller now lands there. In June 1956, North Rona with its associated rock, Sulasgeir, was declared a National Nature Reserve on account of its importance as a breeding ground for colonies of oceanic birds—guillemots, puffins, kittiwakes, and fulmars—and for its seal colony.

Sulasgeir

Sulasgeir is twelve miles west of North Rona, a lonely rock in the Atlantic, bleak and grassless, and tunnelled by caves and gullies. The only life it has ever supported is seabirds—officially. Yet one of the old buildings is said to be a chapel and is called 'Tigh Beannaicht' (House of Blessing). According to Ness tradition, Sulasgeir was once used as a prison for sheep-stealers, and it is also said that Brenhilda, sister to St Ronan, was left on the island to perish. Yet another tradition claims that it was at this rock that Prince Charles Edward made his first contact with his Scots clansmen, when the ship that carried him to Scotland was spoken to by a Ness boat making for North Rona.

ST KILDA

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psychological evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'One cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with pocketsful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required money as an exchange commodity because the original native produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the food they required, provided communications with the mainland were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, as St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to the care and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be repeated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, poor folk, scarece learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the company of a minister who had been summoned to the island to denounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180 inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Baptist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds,

to notice the absorption or suppression of rights held in common in 'the North and West', together with the abolition of the duties of fellow-workers to one another. Too frequently they have not troubled to enquire into the former existence of common rights and fellowship duties, the observances of which have so much to teach. Yet to judge from the completeness of the Hebridean evidence, and from wider evidence to be touched upon with reference to Norse and Lowland conditions, suppression caused a profound social and moral revolution.

Indeed, the profound character of that revolution makes it hard to recognise the common origin of features which may differ greatly today. To choose four examples, the long succession from father to son, found from end to end of an Island township, contrasts with a restless movement of farm servants, and even tenant-farmers, all too common until 1939 in Lowland Scotland and parts of Northern England. The ideals held by fellow-workers in Gaelic tradition, of kindly and courteous co-operation, contrast with the avowals of rugged individualism made on many a farm even of the southern Highlands today, and certainly of the Scottish Lowlands and Northern England. Languages have changed as English has advanced during 1500 years: the Lewis crofters' children still speak Gaelic, but children in Stornoway ceased to do so forty or fifty years ago. And in the recorded religious life of Gaelic hamlets far from any priest (or later, minister), the part of revered men and women is very different from the part played in Calvinism by the Minister and the male Elders of the Kirk. All these four contrasts are due to revolutionary changes in home, work, language and religion. Such changes, of which all trace may be lost elsewhere, are traceable from the fullest evidence among the Gael.

The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in ferm-toun and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged in planning for post-war housing and community life. But sound planning must be based on survey, long overdue; though elementary, this key map appears to be the first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units of farm-team and township that Scots rural society must be rebuilt, region by region.

One further contrast between the farming and the crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World —return home to their native township when they can, and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand, though they usually spend their lives in the county or region of their birth, have been on the move from farm to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new hiring, the married once a year. Families were annually uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all! The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence many men have few ties, their wives still fewer. The children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they could look back to no "Auld Lang Syne", of which the

184 verses would ring false to them! Before 1939, two-fifths
241 of the rural pupils of most non-crofting counties came or
361 went in the school year—most of them the children of
• 166 farm servants. Their schooling suffered, and their
[182] teachers might be reduced to despair; indeed it is to
[871] educationists, rather than to agriculturists, that we owe a
[155] survey of these facts. When they leave home to be 'hired', the young folk learn to fend for themselves but may suffer in the learning: stability of character and endurance in attachment are hard to form.

It would be difficult to overstress the tragedy of the long-continued break-up of rural communities in the Low-
175 lands. From the later years of the English invasions, as
178 when Major wrote with his knowledge of Scotland in 1500,
241 this break-up continued through the early, largely unre-
361 corded phases of the agricultural revolution, down to the later phases from 1750 or 1800 to the present day. No
166 one who has worked with fellow-servants on Scots farms will under-estimate their sterling qualities. But the break-
155 up, the tragedy, happened. It was boldly sketched by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston (to 1929) and verified by
[114] Miss I. F. Grant (1924 onward). Beginning from intimate study of well recorded and surviving ways in the Highlands and the Hebrides, Miss Grant realised the significance of earlier Lowland life in the farm-hamlet or ferm-toun, as Lowlanders themselves could hardly have done. Comprehension of this break-up of community brings out the value of the enduring elements of communal life still recorded, remembered and surviving in the 'Outermost' Hebrides, at the core of 'the North and West'.[1]

[1] Ideas outlined in this section are developed in A. Geddes (1938-54). Detailed references will be found in the Bibliography.

133 clay is exposed, leaving what is vividly called 'skinned'
34 land. And where drift is exposed, the mineral constituents
134 are leached out, and a hard 'moor pan' is left a few inches
[35] below the surface.

Seen from the edge of the crofts, the typical 'skinned
134 lands' of bare, blue or brownish clay, littered with stones,
137 suggest a desert. Often, only a few blades of grass or tufts of heather grow on them. Indeed, 'skinned land' seems at first too mild a term, for on it the stones—thickest on top when undisturbed, and bleached by the acids of the peat that overlay them—suggest the prophet's 'field of bones'. One can only ask, is the rest of his vision ever to be fulfilled and life to spring again? In some hilly parts to south and west, not only the 'skin', the topmost layer of peat, but the very soil, the flesh as it were, is still being
• [166] stripped bare to the bone, the actual rock. The evacuation of the islet of Bernera Beag (Uig) was largely due to this stripping. In the more level parts to the north, however, roadside pits show sections of clay with few stones, covered with perhaps six inches of clay with many stones. It is this top layer which gives the skinned land such a hopelessly stony appearance, and shows that reclamation is less miraculous than it seems.

134 With the coming of carts and lorries the increasing use
242 of shell sand has become possible, whether for spreading on the land or for slipping into pockets, together with
[178] fertilisers, for potato seed. As to soils, shell sand and
[493] boulder clay possess complementary qualities in texture and chemical composition. The shell sand of the machars provided an early home for man, the light soil allowing rye, a poor variety of oats, and herbage, to ripen early and mature in late, wet seasons when the clays are sodden with rain. Yet the sand itself is so light that drought is

827 Islanders themselves sometimes talk of a lowered
stamina and poorer health today than in the past. In-
178 breeding is widely held to account for this. Even if health
582 be really poorer, this explanation is untenable, since marriage outside the village has greatly increased in the last century. Everywhere there is movement along the
• 166 roads; a school placed half-way between two villages
[811] fosters early acquaintance; immigrants trickle in from the mainland, and emigrants occasionally marry beyond the Island. Moreover, the people of certain villages were transplanted in large numbers eighty years ago, as from
143 Valtos, Uig, northward to Shawbost. In any case, in-breeding itself does not produce degeneration; for though it may "fix" or bring out harmful tendencies where there is already some poor or dangerous strain, it can also fix good characteristics in a healthy population.[1]

178 All these changes were hastened and reinforced by two
179 new, revolutionary means. First, the physical mobility
166 suddenly brought to an area with no railway by the motor-car, van and light lorry-bus; then, towards the end of the inter-war years, the penetration of the Gaelic-speaking home by the ceaseless voices of broadcasting.

[113] [1] J. A. Thomson and P. Geddes, *Life: Outlines of General Biology*, 1931, vol. i, p. 473.

(b) TACKSMEN AND SUBTENANTRY, FACTOR AND LORD: 1611–1800

175 We saw that in the Rent-roll of Lewis in 1718 the first
427 sixty-four entries, signed personally, recorded comparatively large holdings (tacks), the annual rentals of which were
614 from £3: 6: 8 to over £10, the occupant of one (or more)
621 of which would be styled Tacksman or 'Man of the Farm-town' (*Fear Baile*). While one or two tacks were shared, a few tacksmen may have held more than one tack—though one cannot be sure, owing to the recurrence of the same
[551] Christian names in each clan. It is striking that half the tacks—though mostly small ones—were held by men of undoubted mainland names, of which there were twenty-two MacKenzies, four MacLennans and three Mathesons.
• [166] These were doubtless the descendants of gentlemen from the mainland who in 1611 had helped to win and hold the
[551] Island for MacKenzie of Kintail, later Lord Seaforth. Of native Lewis names the principal are MacAulay, Morison and perhaps MacIver.[1] Only three small tacks were held by MacLeods, who may have been of Island stock. Lochs and Eye on the east coast had largely been granted in tack to the new-comers; on the south-west and west coast MacAulays and MacIvers held much of Uig and a few farms in Cladach; but more of Cladach and most of Ness (in the north) were still held by joint tenants. Stornoway was held by burghers, of whom perhaps two-thirds bore mainland names. The peasantry remained as unnamed subtenants on these holdings, of which the total rents show

[114] [1] The writers of the Brand Report (1902) assumed that MacIver is a native name. This would seem to be borne out by its frequency as a surname today, in contrast to MacKenzie, Matheson or MacLennan, though W. C. Mackenzie (1919, p. 92) thought the MacIver tacksmen arrived with Seaforth.

175 they were composed of at least one to four or five hamlet-
427 farms. The tacksmen also had cottars for service.
614 Thus in Lewis a special reason, the accession of Sea-
621 forth, had led to the granting of many tacks to his own clansmen and to natives. Elsewhere in the Highlands the
175 procedure is noteworthy during the sixteenth, seventeenth
427 and eighteenth centuries, for the collection of rents from
614 the peasantry by means of large tenants had financial advantages for the greater landlords (I. F. Grant, 1930).
184 The tacksman's continuation as tenant depended on his paying regularly, for the lease was not a hereditary grant.
[661] A tack could also provide for a lord's younger sons or
[565] immediate relations, such as formed the gentry of the clan. Along with smaller lairds, these furnished the cadres of officers who led the clan regiments down to the 'Forty-five, and later the Highland Regiments of the line and the Fencibles down to Waterloo. Like MacKenzie, other great chiefs such as Argyle or Breadalbane leased tacks when they acquired the status of peers and took possession of fresh lands with Royal support, after vain resistance from native chiefs and their followers. In Lewis, the fiscal status of tacksmen was applied both to MacKenzie's supporters from the mainland and to those with ancient roots in the west of the Island. The latter may have thought a mere lease a poor substitute for hereditary tenure, though a legal compromise necessary if their possession was to be
• [166] continued. The lack of permanent tenure ultimately led to the departure of their descendants.

175 From the families of these tacksmen have sprung most
621 of those of Lewis birth or descent who achieved fame
614 before the twentieth century. Of the MacAulays, we saw
554 Zacharias was Chamberlain during and after the 'Fifteen.
[608] Thomas Babington Macaulay came of the same line, as

181 grants, then, in the absence of an immediate goal, the combination of the corporate interest in bad work with natural inclination to an easy time proved overwhelming! The problem of assuring good work and prompt repayment is real: it calls for the right appeal to team-spirit coupled with personal responsibility. Many short roads to small new settlements have been economically built.

175 With regard to loans for settlement and housing, similar
657 contrasts are found. Near Stornoway the farm of Aignish
476 (Eye) was divided in 1905 into thirty-two fishermen's holdings (rented at £3). The Congested Districts Board lent £3600 for housing and spent £1600 on fencing and £450 on administrative expenses, a total of about £180 per holding; but in seven years the holders had paid only one-seventh of the annuities due, and were in arrears with the rent.[1] Yet on the housing loans made on a wide scale since 1919, there was mutual aid among neighbours and the repayment has been satisfactory.

SUMMARY: 1750–1914–1919

175 The transition from the old economy of mutual aid in
178 self-support, little changed down to the 'Forty-five, to the
433 development of production for sale had proceeded far by 1914. Yet change had not continued steadily. There had been fluctuations, from the land and back again, or towards individualism with returns to common action. Kelp-making, migration, and commercial fishing alternated in importance as means to earn a living without losing the
[731] anchorage of home. After the potato famine, a century
• [166] ago, the people tended to move away from the outlying
[167] townships and emigrate; but the next generation agitated

[1] J. P. Day (1918), pp. 312-314.

After being discharged from the army, he married the Shawbost girl he had been courting, but soon after returned to Glasgow in search of work. A doctor advised him to quit the factory job he had found because the dust endangered his wounded lung. He then attended a technical college for eighteen months in preparation to set up his own business, a bakery; and again, his wound defeated him. A doctor advised him that a bakery filled with flour was the worst environment imaginable for him, and that he should go back and work the land on the islands, where the air was clean. He returned to Lewis and to the croft, and when his sons were old enough they assisted him with croft work and weaving. He still makes a yearly trip to Glasgow.

The Bodach Beag

"The Bodach Beag" is known for his shrewdness, industriousness, mechanical ability and kindness. He is one of the many Lewismen who left the island in 1924 on the ship called the Metagama, and like many others he returned to the island during the depression. His eldest brother had survived the sinking of the Iolaire, the ship returning home with servicemen after the war that sank not far from the Stornoway harbor in 1919, and was never well afterwards. "He would sit in at night, off by

159 himself. If he had a drink he might come out. When the weaving started, he took that up; and he tilled the croft, kept cattle and all that; but socially he was a misfit. It was a terrible tragedy, the Iolaire."

[402] When the Bodach Beag returned from the United States, he bought a Hattersley loom to replace the old wooden loom with which his brother had been weaving. They worked the croft together. The Bodach Beag knew he would get the croft. He married soon after he returned, and for the next forty years never left the island. His wife took a six-month course in poultry-keeping and milking, and they concentrated on cattle rather than sheep. His wife sold fresh butter to the mobile vans.

159 594 [167] Their family grew and dispersed. The eldest son attended the secondary school in Stornoway, emigrated to Rhodesia and married an English girl who was working there as a nurse. They had to return when economic earthquakes shook Rhodesia and he lost his job. He stayed at home for a year and built a new house on the croft; and then, unexpectedly, he started work to complete the necessary exams to enter a university and become a teacher.

[166] The youngest son became an engineer, married a Glasgow Highlander whose parents came from Lewis, and settled in Glasgow. Their sister married a tradesman on the mainland. The third son, unmarried but engaged to a local girl, works in the local tweed mill and lives at home with his parents.

*159 did not receive much schooling. He stayed at home for a long time, helping his brothers with the crofting and weaving, and working at the nearby dairy. For a time the brothers made concrete blocks for sale, and ran a [166] lorry. In his late 30's and still single, Padruig went to the mainland, where he takes on various driving jobs, returning home periodically.

Seonag Thormoid

*159 166 464 Seonag Thormoid left the island in 1933 at the age of 16 to work in the hotels. Her mother had worked in domestic service before the first world war. "You were raised with the idea that you would go away. I've prepared my children for the same thing. Any work that exists here is temporary. You can't depend on it. Even though things have been good since the war, they're getting bad now."

Seonag went to Glasgow with three other girls from Shawbost, and stayed with her aunt until she found a job. "Jobs were very difficult to get, and the wages were low. These were the depressed years, which didn't pick up until [465] just before the war. I earned L2/10 a month working for a Mrs. Smith. You could buy shoes then for 12/6, but that was a week's wages. The richer families in Glasgow had five or six servants. You were treated like scum.

*159 •166 464 You ate terrible food at the same time tha preparing excellent food for them. So man large houses have been broken down now int flats. The prices are higher today, but t higher, too. I heard recently," she said satisfied smile, "that Mrs. Smith can only for three hours a day now."

Seonag moved from one job to another. about becoming a nurse, but the pay was so of hers did so, but had the help of two ma Glasgow. "The only nursing that paid good mental nursing. I tried it, but I didn't harsh with the patients."

*159 She married in 1944, after her fianc returned from the war. They had known ea lives. She had spent long periods of tim jobs. He was the second son and fourth c family, and got the croft because he had of his parents. The first son and eldest family had emigrated to the United States during the depression and built a house o grazing land. Another brother married in neighboring village, and the fourth broth Glasgow. A sister married a policeman in came from the island, and another sister

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Glasgow, who
married in Shawbost.

*159 common grazing land in Shawbost. She is the third of three sisters and has a younger, unmarried brother who lives at home with their mother. The eldest sister married a Scottish tradesman and lives in the United States. The second sister lives with her mother, as her husband comes and goes from the sea.

Mairi grew up wanting to be a nurse, although she had also considered being a missionary. She worked for
•[166] awhile in a hospital in Stornoway, and then went to Edinburgh for three years to train as a nurse. "I was glad to get away from home, away from the restrictions. I wanted to live a good life, to have fun. I had enough money to spend. I could spend it as I liked. I didn't like to come home. It was so dull and cold.

*159 781 "But the more I drank and smoked and went to parties and dances, the emptier I felt. One night I was at a dance. I had chipped in with some friends and we bought a bottle. Suddenly it seemed to me that I was getting deeper and deeper in sin, and I promised that if I got home from the dance I would try and correct my ways. I went home and prayed, and was converted."

*159 She had met her husband at a dance when she was home for a visit soon after she started nurse's training. He was sailing, and he returned to sea for three years so they would have enough money to marry. When he returned,

	MALES																	
	RESIDENT									PERIODICALLY AWAY				PERMANENTLY AWAY				
						15-64												
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	Full-time crofters	Crofters with other occupation	Other occupations	Retired	Full-time crofters	Crofters with other occupation	Other occupations	Retired	Full-time crofters 15-24	Full-time crofters 25-44	Full-time crofters 45-54	Crofters with other occupation 15-24	Crofters with other occupation 25-44
VALTOS	6	9	18	16	13	3	12	14	5	-	-	-	-	4	1	-		
KNEEP	2	4	6	9	7	1	7	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-			
KEEP	3	3	5	5	3	4	-	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-			
MEAVAIG	6	-	4	3	-	-	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-			
Total D	17	16	33	33	23	8	23	23	12	-	-	-	-	4	1			
CARYSHADER	5	2	11	5	2	1	7	7	1	-	-	1	-	-	-			
GESHADER	-	2	9	1	9	2	3	4	1	-	-	3	-	-	-			
UNGSHADER	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
ENACLETE	3	3	6	5	3	1	4	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-			
Non-crofting	4	5	1	3	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
Total E	12	12	29	14	18	4	19	15	5	-	-	6	-	-	-			

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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(1), continued.

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APPENDIX 8 (1)

| | MALES | | |

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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Population totals.

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COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 for a firmer hold upon the land and for a return to aban-
178 doned sites. The communal possession of joint farms, held
433 directly or under tacksmen, gave place to individual pos-
(731) session of crofts. Yet the legal recognition of perpetual
tenure in 1886 gave not only the crofter's home but the
(166) crofting neighbourhood a security unequalled in Britain.
The use of moor and machar in common was retained;
(162) but its control for improvement or reclamation by the
175 estate or the township was weakened, rather than strength-
178 ened, by the Crofters' Acts. Confusion grew—both upon
the arable land, subdivided, unenlarged and unimproved,
423 and also upon the common grazing, sorely overstocked in
427 spite of ever diminishing 'soumings' (or family shares) of
cattle. Rating difficulties and anomalies appeared. Com-
munal discipline, maintained at sea by fishing, was weak-
ened on land after the abolition of the joint farm-group,
and almost nullified in the townships by subdivision and
squatting.

175 A year before the potato famine of 1845, a new landlord
178 had brought good-will, capital and pioneering effort to
433 Lewis. These had been directed to experiments in the
reclamation and the industrial utilisation of deep peat.
(427) Helped by employment on these and other works, the
population of Lewis continued to increase, when increase
(311) in Harris was arrested for a generation. Yet while neither
experiment with peat met with success, little aid had been
(161) given to develop fisheries. In both parts of the Island a
growing population was supported from the 'seventies
onwards by help of earnings derived from the seasonal
herring fishing on the East Coast and from inshore line
fishing at home. Women added to the Island income by
seasonal 'gutting' and, in Harris, by their spinning and
(167) weaving. Money was earned by work on the mainland,

(c) THE OUTLOOK: 1939-54 AND SINCE

458 How then can the situation be assessed, as it was before
178 the outbreak of war and since then? By 1939 twenty years
had been partly lost; for the after-war years of the 'Lever-
hulme boom' were followed by discouragement and
poverty. During that time one might have hoped for half
(423) a generation of reconstruction and progress. On the other
hand the sore question of dividing the farms was settled,
so bringing raiding to an end. Congestion on the existing
crofts is less than it was, owing to this fact, and to the
(166) provision of feus. The poverty of many breadwinners
who had migrated to the cities first cut down the amounts
remitted to their Island dependents, then drove them home.
(433) A croft, or even a garden site, and the opportunity of
building a good house there made life still worth while,
(746) when other employment had failed. Unemployment
relief, though tempting some to idleness, gave a respite
(286) which many utilised to make a fresh start. As fishing
(226) waned, many had taken advantage of the easy beginning
offered to learn a new trade—weaving. This has made
many feel that the living to be found on the Island is
better than alternation of 'wage-earning' with unemploy-
ment, in Glasgow or abroad. They believe the situation
(311) of the Island community to be hopeful. While the land
remains little better than before, many, even of the younger
people, still care for the Island life among their own kin.
Given a clear lead, these could reorganise themselves, and
undertake the developments needed in fishing, weaving
and reclamation. The homes are sound, 'good neigh-
bourhood' endures, and given fresh opportunity, the
community could awaken to new life.

178 During and since the war, co-operative marketing was
44
476

The minister
was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them
175 as an example to the crofters who were still reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70
(244) boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch Roag for they were small open boats greatly
228 outnumbered in good herring seasons by boats from other parts of the kingdom. To
encourage curing, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up two storehouses
(251) to supply salt; he, or his agents, were probably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, who
(441) visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the estate factor held a monopoly for trading in
cattle, dried fish and other products. The absolute power of the clan chieftain seems
(614) to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844.
But it was kelp, more than fishing, that helped to support the people of Uig in the late
175 eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lewis made little kelp compared with the
232 Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of particularly good quality and commanded more than
(221) the average price. Further, many people from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in
Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time, the intrinsic resources of the parish appear
(233) to have been inadequate to support the population. In this connection it is worth noting
(163) the change in the average stock held by each family since 1792 as shown in table 3.
178

Clearance and Congestion.

175 Even after the end of the tremendous boom in kelp, brought about throughout the
228 Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some production continued in Uig. In 1825, when the
land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses,
175 yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereafter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attempt-
233 ing industrial developments and agricultural improvements. The former included short-
166 lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants in
order to introduce mainland farmers. For these Uig was particularly attractive, the
extensive mountain pasture offering good prospects for sheep graziers. The exact dates
427 of the formation of the earliest farms are not remembered nor are they precisely recorded,
but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Macrae of Kintail had the tack of Scalicro, with
(274) the extensive grazings (now partly occupied by Bernera summer pastures) east of Little
Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants of Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of
Mealasta Island, which suggests that a sheep farmer was already installed in that
district. About 1838 all the small tenants were cleared out of Mealasta, six families
being put into Breanish; the remainder are said to have been sent to America.

175 In Bernera Island, Kirkibost was cleared about 1822, having been lotted in individual
crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkibost formed part of the large farm of
427 Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed part of this farm. On the mainland, opposite
Bernera, small tenants were cleared from the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Strome and
Drovenish) in the early nineteenth century, and a tacksman was installed at west
Earshader. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and
Linshader.

175 By 1844 the kelp shores were almost valueless to the proprietor (though seaweed as
fertiliser remained a vital necessity to the small cultivators, often working the same
land year after year). In 1841 the Chamberlain of the Lews suggested to the Select
Committee on Emigration that some 6,000 persons should emigrate because the land was
inadequate to support them. In 1844, of necessity, Seaforth sold the island. The
(162) population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,316); little did the Chamberlain imagine that
in the following ten years it would increase by 16%, and that by the turn of the century
would reach almost 30,000. (Uig 4,463 Figure 8).

1, [See p. 18--Analyst]

175 growing family could increase the size of his holding. Secondly, in the absence of fences
427 a certain discipline of agricultural management had to be maintained; moreover the
proprietor, through the factor, grounds officers and township constables, saw to it that
311 it was. This "good husbandry", albeit at a rather low level, was maintained in the
632 interests of tenants and land-owner alike. After the arable land was lotted permanently
to individuals, there was less flixibility and less need for communal management. But
the absence of fences between the new lots, or crofts, meant that they were still common
land during the winter months. In some cases the proprietors paid the tenants to erect
fences round the newly lotted inbye land of the whole township but, even when a ring
fence existed, stock was allowed to graze indiscriminately within it from November until
April.

It is fortunate that the first Ordnance surveyors were at work in Lewis just as the lottin
was coming into effect. The new lots were not divided by fences, therefore they were not
marked by the surveyors, but in several townships they arrived in time to plot the clachans
and in some - Breasclete, for example (fig. 6) - the first edition six-inch maps show some
of the new houses, neatly spaced out on the new lots. The arrangement of the latter is
recorded in the Factor's sketch books, of which fig. 7 is an example.

175 Thus whilst we have little evidence of the appearance of the former rural landscape,
632 we have an excellent record of the birth of the new. The characteristic units of the new
178 lotting were townships divided into long narrow strips, arranged parallel and fan-wise
more or less in the direction of steepest slope. Such an arrangement was simple to lay
out; it tended to give everyone a fair share of the land of each kind - ill-drained and well-
drained, high and low. And, if a road or track passed through the township it was usually
possible to give each lot or croft direct access to it without the necessity for side-roads.
(367) Consequently the houses, when re-built, were usually put on the crofts. A dispersed
pattern of settlement replaced the little huddles of the clachans. The extent to which it
was dispersed depended on the width of the lots; the greater the number of tenants
accommodated in a given area, the narrower were the lots. In extreme cases the
be as little as 20-30 yards in width and then the houses, aligned along the road or
track might form a virtually continuous terrace or street.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CROFTING STRUCTURE

427 In the parish of Uig about 90% of the families are crofters. That is to say, they owe
their presence in Uig to their hereditary tenancy of a small-holding of croft status. To
these holdings they have a deep attachment; many of them have been inherited through
(428) several generations. Others were obtained more recently during the process of re-
settlement of farm land which followed the Napier Commission report and 1886 Act.
Many older crofters regard the resettled townships as the fruits of a hard-won victory.
Nevertheless, we have seen, very few of the holdings are in fact more than 110 years
(166) old. And, whilst some families can certainly trace their ancestors in the district for
several centuries, there has always been a good deal of movement between townships.
Thus the claim that they occupy holdings which were carved out of the barren moor by
the toil and sweat of their ancestors is, in most cases, metaphor rather than strict truth.

195 It is worth noting that the rental charged for the newly cleared farm of Garnish was
427 £55 - being £20 less than had been paid by the crofters. Thus it cannot be said that the latter were evicted purely in order to obtain more rent. The proprietor must have been taking a long term view, looking for land improvement rather than immediate gain. By the 1870's the farm rentals had increased by 55%, those of the crofting townships by only 15%. And the latter often remained unpaid.

175 Thus, whilst the farmers prospered, the tenants became crowded in their townships
427 which were correspondingly less and less able to support their increasing numbers.
511 The crofts became so reduced that in an average year the produce of the land might keep a crofter and his family for only six months; for the rest he had to find other means of
195 support. Fortunately, after the hungry years of the 'forties', fishing provided just this.
226 Starting in 1851, an annual migration began, first to Caithness and later to the whole east
464 coast of Scotland and England. By the 1880's not only were most of the able-bodied young
166 men following the herring as hired men on east coast boats, but many of the women-folk,
who had learned gutting, packing and kippering from English girls brought to Stornoway
223 for the purpose, were also earning. This was summer work, and fitted well between seed-time and harvest. In the winter, small local open boats worked long lines for white fish which were dried and salted for local curers as they still are today on the
511 Norwegian coast. Between the 1850's and 1880's there was a "condition of plenty" in Lewis "which would not have been credited by those who judged of the condition of the people by the external aspect or sanitary arrangement of their dwellings".* It was this "condition of plenty" which encouraged the people to stay at home, to sub-divide their crofts, and to live on the proceeds of paid labour rather than on the produce of the croft.

Re-settlement, 1878-1935.

175 The process of sub-division ceased only when economic conditions became less
427 favourable and emigration began to exceed natural increase. In the 1880's fishing and
166 farming suddenly became less profitable. Simultaneously, and given extra point by the
226 particular distress of the time, agitation for land reform, and in particular for the
241 relief of the most congested districts, became a political issue. This began in Uig in
175 1874 when an attempt was made to evict 56 crofters from Bernera; hundreds of crofters
668 resisted by force and subsequently marched on Stornoway. They were well received by the proprietors - who appear to have been unaware of the summary and inhumane behaviour of their chamberlain - and to the credit of all concerned the matter ended peacefully. But land agitation continued.

175 The position in Bernera was eased in 1878 when Linshader farm was deprived of the
427 old township of Kirkibost which was resettled by crofters from Bosta, the latter being let to the Tobson crofters as an enlargement to their pasture. In 1880 new holdings were formed in Hacklete, which had been the grounds-officer's farm (but which, judging from its population, had always contained a number of cottars or sub-tenants). The grazing of Laimshader was probably returned to the Borroston crofters about 1886, having been part of Linshader farm and, in 1891, six new holdings were formed at Londale, also part of the same farm. At the same period, under the new Act, the crofters of Crowlista, Valtos, and Kenep applied unsuccessfully for enlargements from the farms, but during the nineties the islands of Little Bernera and Eilean Kearstay were taken off Linshader farm and added to the townships of Bernera, and Valtos obtained Pabay Mor.

*Report....on the Condition of the Cottar population in the Lews. (C.5265), 1888, p.4.

484 As yet the tourist trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting relations but many
485 houses offer suitable accommodation for people who would appreciate quiet holidays in these very beautiful surroundings. The distance from Stornoway, the difficulty of obtaining varied food supplies - and the weather - were cited as disadvantages! Passengers on
489 a weekly coach tour from Stornoway are supplied with meals at an Ardroil house which has good access to the beach but otherwise the crofters show little interest in the possibilities of tourism.

162 In common with other crofting townships, the greatest problem here is that of an ageing
166 population because the younger people seek employment outside their township. The
464 diagram illustrates the age structure of the permanent resident group and also the numbers of the insurable population periodically or permanently away. The lack of suitable work for young women particularly, is also shown. The ages of the tenants also illustrate this problem. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty or 54% are over sixty-five. Serious, too, is the loss by emigration of people between fifteen and sixty-five. Of the total 'working population', 35% have left this region since 1939. The corresponding figure for Crowlista alone, the older settlement with smaller crofts, is as high as 42%.

241 We found in this part of Uig some crofts efficiently and energetically worked by young
231 tenants, and if reasonable stock prices are obtained the larger crofts can be worked
427 profitably. However no croft will fully support a family; ancillary employment is always
511 sought by crofters with growing families yet many crofts are carrying less stock than they
[80] might because some tenants are not interested in, or able for, agriculture. The croft is increasingly thought of as a home, as part-time employment - often for older members of the family - and as a place for retirement.

000 It is easy to list schemes for improvement and change:- dairying to supply Stornoway with milk, poultry and pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivation under glass, the tourist industry, forestry on a small scale, lobster and crab fishing, etc. Such schemes would require capital not available in the townships, careful planning, and tactful administration by people with real knowledge of this area and its people. Meanwhile even the potential production of the crofts is by no means realised.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

131 The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along
133 the western side of the steep and narrow valley of the Amhuinn Gil na h-Airde three miles north of Crowlista. After leaving Loch Meacheit, the river flows northward through a gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then across a narrow
427 flood-plain into the rocky bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in
133 arrangement and varying in size from 3½ to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the right bank of the river, up the steep, rocky slope above the left bank and widening out over the more gently slopes between the 100 ft. and 200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently enlarged, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional ground to the north or south.

1. [See figures 12 (facing p.34) and 17 (facing p.39)--Analyst]

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
231 the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird
654 lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village there is now an R.A.F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the inhabitants.

241 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
497 at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
493 butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N.A.A.F.I. within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100 ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below
205 the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
347 have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
354 more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
312 modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
311 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so
497 that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions, but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

241 The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse.
407 Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
464 tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
[824] vated; here was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
[23] extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

233 On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
166 periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 - 44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

427 joint tenants of one have moved to Geshader while continuing to work the Ungshader land.
132 Another is preparing to move to Enaclete and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Chroistean
511 Cottage. At present, three working units remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with ten units, one being rented by joint tenants.

22 The rhythm of work is similar to that in other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oats are planted in April followed by lambing and peat cutting in May. In June and July the sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to the common grazings. In August the peats are carted, once they are dry, by lorry direct to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lambs are weaned in September, harvest is then carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take place in November. The sheep are then returned to the township grazing though the lambs
241 may be fed with hay on the croft. There is little regular crop rotation and only a small number of crofters seem to undersow oats, thus improving the quality of future hay crops. Gardens are not important and only potatoes for family needs but Caryshader particularly has a number, some growing flowers as well as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely from croft to croft as well township to township. Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the shore and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshader are usually fed on artificials.

231 Most crofters keep one milk cow with a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn sales in Caryshader. However, some now rely on their neighbours for milk in return for grazing and one croft has turned to goats, as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on Geshader -Ungshader common grazing as it is completely fenced; and Geshader is responsible for its upkeep.

233 Lambing seems to have been generally good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact figures. The Moregail Estate and Gisla farm also run considerable flocks. The common pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlargement, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acres for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader through Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres
[319] on Floday Island. The shielings have been disused since the war. Peat is normally cut to the west of the road but at least one elderly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his croft for this purpose to save the effort of working further afield.

241 Generally speaking the land now cropped only represents one third to one half of that
178 worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when the crofting population was larger and when much greater numbers of cattle were kept through the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and
231 more oats. The cattle number is are much less than the total souming but sheep are in excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazing by sheep has caused a decline in grazing quality.

464 Clearly in these townships, apart from the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the means of livelihood is sought elsewhere. At present there are altogether fifty-three men in the working age group (15 - 64) in all four townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine permanently and five periodically. Thirty have regular or periodic employment besides crofting and of these seven work at Gisla on the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, some of them part-time, four hire out vans, two do post-office work and others have varied occupations while only three are full-time crofters. At present there are few men in the Merchant Navy and fishing does not provide an occupation although many share rowing-boats in their spare time, and fish for domestic use.

162 The population as a whole is ageing and of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four
166 (roughly 30%) work away permanently or have emigrated. It is noticeable that there are few crofts worked by people with young families

000 In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that the fate of the crofting townships depends mor

APPENDIX B (continued).

(2) Occupations of resident males, aged 15-64, South Uig, August 1959

(excluding R.A.F. personnel but including local residents employed as civilians by the R.A.F.)

162 463 464

	District.* A	B	C	D	E
Croft work only	3	5	5	8	4
Croft and regular-					
-weaving	16	7	4	16	8
-fishing	-	-	-	1	-
-estate work	1	-	-	-	3
-R.A.F.	2	2	5	1	2
-M.C.A.	3	-	-	-	1
-public service	2	3	-	1	3
-professional	-	-	-	-	-
-transport	1	2	-	1	1
-retail trade	-	1	-	3	1
Croft and irregular-					
-casual labour	3	2	2	23	14
-estate work	-	-	-	-	1
Not crofting -					
-weaving	-	-	-	1	2
-R.A.F.	-	-	-	3	2
-M.C.A.	3	-	-	-	-
-public service	-	-	-	2	-
-professional	1	1	-	2	-
-transport	1	-	-	-	-

* Districts- A: Brenish, Islivic and Manservain
B: Carnish, Ardroil and Timsarry
C: Aird and Crowlista
D: Valtos, Timsep, Reef and Hushvaig
E: Caryshader, Geshader, Unyshader and Knockiets

(3) Destination of Emigrants 1939-59, South Uig

166 167

	Males	Females	TOTAL	of which Females on marriage:
Stornoway	16	17	33	10
Other Lewis	2	8	10	4
Other Crofting Cos.	12	8	20	6
Glasgow	12	12	24	11
Other Scotland	7	16	23	11
U.K.	7	7	14	7
Overseas	8	9	17	3
	64	77	141	52

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND

ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF

LEWIS

('Bernera and Bernera Shore')

by

P. Whealer

131 Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of Bernera Island (Breasclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the "Shore" (Earshader, Crulivig and Lundale together with the isolated township of Linshader), 103 presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isolation. 49 Bernera Island, though central to most of Uig and easily accessible over the sheltered waters of Loch Roag, yet remained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent building of the road bridge; even now it is necessary to travel over six miles to get from 101 the bridge to the main Uig road and a further four miles to Garynahine. Consequently the island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements, has a very close-knit and self-sufficing population. Whether this community retains sufficient vitality to resist the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces eroding rural and especially Highland life, remains to be seen.

13 The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the Introduction. Like the other districts it has virtually no valuable mineral resources (1), and 228 the herring and white fish industries have all but disappeared and seem unlikely to 178 resuscitated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted with vigour and enterprise; it 467 provides a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on regular or casual employment to eke out the proceeds of the croft. The kinds of work 164 available, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employment are common to the whole parish; thus this account is mainly concerned with the problems of crofting agriculture.

Settlement: history and patterns.

172 The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is partly very old, and partly very recent. At least four broche are known on Bernera and various 361 standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous settlement has survived from the early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form as 173 in the graveyard on little Bernera, or in oral tradition. All this contributes towards the very close network of family relationships that binds the island folk and to a lesser extent those of the adjacent mainland.

195 With the exceptions of Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete, all Bernera Island had been 361 cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1876 when twelve families were moved from Bosta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere. Occasionally (as at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance lotting patterns were re-adopted, but usually settlement was laid out afresh. The townships of Bernera Shore, were also affected: all the small tenants except those of Earshader and Crulivig were cleared, leaving the land under the sheep farms of West Earshader and Linshader. However, the Bernera Island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of shealings on the mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these grazings to their present position marked the

316 (1) A small deposit of diatomite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a few men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is a water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one member of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on 359 rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and well worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-let to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In 289 addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than 166 average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of them young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people and 164 young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resi- 162 dent adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous crofting communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

195 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared 427 from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided, making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no cultivation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

361 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete-241 Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover being grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one 231 acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people over 65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

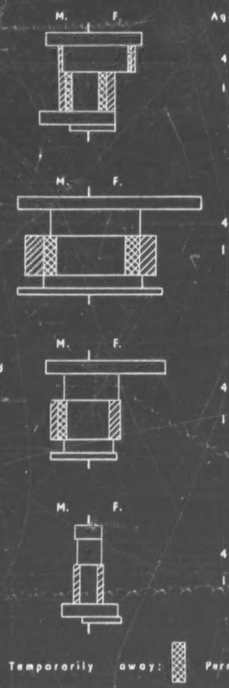
131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently 133 from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

491 The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the 361 middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main Callanish-Carloway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter 492 by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, but high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but, at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

Figure 35

162 166 POPULATION: AGE and SEX composition



Since 1939,
166 54 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to
462 leave home when they finish school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go into domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breasclete is also the temporary home of the families of lighthousemen on duty in the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain demand for the tweed, and although the men are nominally self-employed they rely on the mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms, which, with ancillary equipment such as bobbin winders, are all owned by the crofters.

[458] As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being erected. But should there be a slump, the crofts would be unable to support the population and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

131 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch
133 a' Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs,
for westwards to the sea the terrain is too rocky and irregular for either settlement or
361 cultivation, whilst to the east of Loch a' Bhaile the land slopes precipitously from 250 ft. to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle drift-covered slopes, generally of small extent.

137 Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch
a' Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader, and in the valley of the small stream
[241] draining from the north into the head of Loch a' Bhaile. Most of the croft land is composed of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 100 ft. in height, separated by damp depressions frequently filled by reeds and rushes; bracken was apparent only on three crofts. In particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely colonised by reeds and very coarse grasses, of no use whatsoever as pasture. One enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this could certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and
311 2 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the two lochs and the sea, except for nos. 28 and 29. The 53 holdings are unofficially
427 amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The acreage of crofts varies from 2.2 to 20.75 acres - a considerable variation. Fencing of the crofts - except for 1A, B, and C, and 12A, B, and C which are held 'run-rig' - was carried out between 1945 and 1950, whilst in 1946 the common pasture of 2,700 acres was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the Carloway to Breasclete road. An area stretching from crofts 18A to 21 has, however, been most haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided amongst seventeen crofts in the southern half of the township to compensate them for lack of grazing area within their own croft boundaries. This division is said to date from about 1886.

241 Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned
[407] small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as opposed to spade cultivation, depends either on the urgency of the operation, or on the accessibility of the plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 95]

464 full-time crofters, 19 males have other regular employment and two have periodic
employment. 8 crofters are aged over 65. It seems that the most successful combination
463 of employment is weaving and crofting; weaving is carried on in twenty of the holdings.
238 Lobster fishing in the evening is still popular but regular small-boat fishing has disappeared:
226 one crofter took up regular fishing when weaving was slack in the autumn of 1958.

161 Of a resident population of 125, 32 males and 32 females are between the ages of 15
462 and 64, these representing the effective labour force. Thirteen persons are temporarily
away and 16 permanently away whilst at least 46 have emigrated since 1939 and 6 have
166 immigrated. Thus the number that have emigrated is nearly three times the number that are merely permanently away. With a population of 125 and an effective labour force of 64 to work 35 operative units Tolsta Chaolais would seem to be far from a dying township.

131 If not exactly progressive the township economy seems stable and moderately pros-
perous, in spite of the fact that the settlement is rather inaccessible, for the roads which
181 join the Carloway-Breasclete road are both very steep and have bad corners. To add to the apparent isolation there is only one Post Office-shop in the village but most commodities
000 are bought from vans. A reallocation of the smaller crofts to younger, more ambitious tenants at the deaths of the older tenants could reduce the number of operative units to about 25. Admittedly, little can be done with the rougher terrain, and although cattle stocks could be increased there would be the added problem of sufficient winter feed. With better drainage more land could be taken into cultivation - especially between the two lochs, an area largely wasted at the moment - whilst weaving might supply a surer source of income, especially in the winter. Tourism on a small scale might be a further possibility for the coastal scenery is very fine and the immediate setting of the village is very attractive. It would be more realistic however for Tolsta Chaolais to find future prosperity within its own boundaries.

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

	MALES																											FEMALES																									
	RESIDENT										PERIODICALLY AWAY				PERMANENTLY AWAY													RESIDENT										PERIODICALLY AWAY			PERMANENTLY AWAY											
	0 – 1	2 – 5	6 – 12	13 – 21	22 and over	Full-time work	Casual or part-time employment	Casual or part-time employment	Unemployed	Students	Retired persons	Others 15 – 64	Others 65 – 74	Married Army 15 – 24	Married Army 25 – 44	Professional 15 – 24	Professional 25 – 44	Others 15 – 24	Others 25 – 44	Emigration	Immigration	0 – 1	2 – 5	6 – 12	13 – 21	22 and over	In employment	Students	Others 15 – 24	Others 25 – 44	Nursing 15 – 24	Nursing 25 – 44	Professional 15 – 24	Professional 25 – 44	Others 15 – 24	Others 25 – 44	Emigration	Immigration
TOLSTA CHAOLIS	3	17	16	16	13	3	19	2	8	2	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	4	2	24	2	4	8	8	24	16	6	3	4	2	4	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
BERNACLEIT	11	14	32	23	22	2	38	2	13	8	1	1	–	8	–	–	–	9	1	23	6	11	16	32	29	34	5	5	9	–	5	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
BERNACLEIT PARK	3	2	2	1	2	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	2	1	4	1	4	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
CALLANISH	3	6	20	15	11	5	22	6	2	4	1	2	–	3	–	–	–	3	–	19	–	2	6	13	16	19	1	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
GARRABOST	1	8	9	7	4	3	4	6	3	–	1	–	–	1	1	–	–	3	–	6	1	5	9	7	8	4	1	1	–	–	2	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
LOCHGANVICH	–	–	4	1	4	–	3	–	2	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	1	4	5	2	5	1	–	–	–	1	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
TOTAL H	21	47	83	63	56	13	89	16	28	15	4	5	–	15	1	–	–	20	3	75	10	25	44	69	80	82	14	9	14	2	14	1	5	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
GARRIN	4	4	13	7	7	4	15	–	1	3	2	5	–	1	–	1	–	2	–	11	2	1	2	8	13	17	1	2	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
BORGHSTIR	–	2	2	11	3	4	9	–	–	3	–	1	–	–	1	1	–	2	–	7	–	1	3	3	6	4	2	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
CARLOWAY	5	20	21	38	13	5	43	3	8	10	2	–	1	3	–	1	–	6	2	12	8	8	8	25	37	30	5	2	4	1	4	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
KNOCK C.	11	10	16	25	15	7	23	3	8	2	2	–	–	2	1	–	–	7	2	20	7	4	9	17	28	19	11	2	5	2	3	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
KERNICK	1	2	4	6	5	2	6	–	2	2	–	1	–	7	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	2	3	9	9	–	–	3	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
DUN CARLOWAY	1	11	14	14	3	3	18	4	3	–	–	1	–	1	1	–	–	4	–	15	3	2	9	9	12	9	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
TOTAL L	22	49	70	101	46	25	114	10	22	20	6	8	1	14	3	3	–	21	4	68	20	15	43	65	105	86	19	7	19	3	10	2	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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APPENDIX D continued

TLY AWAY				Ingrauen sunes	
Domestic Service 18 – 44	Domestic Service 45 – 64	Others 18 – 44	Others 45 – 64	Emigration	Immigration
3	1	-	-	22	4
4	1	3	-	31	12
-	-	1	-	3	1
4	-	2	-	26	-
2	-	-	-	17	1
-	-	1	-	-	-
13	2	7	-	100	18
-	-	1	1	-	13	-
-	-	-	-	-	5	-
-	-	1	3	1	30	5
-	-	-	3	-	19	6
-	-	-	2	-	2	-
-	1	-	1	-	21	2
-	1	2	10	1	90	13

162
919
732

(1) Population totals by townships

	MALES																							
	RESIDENT									PERIODICALLY AWAY				PERMANENTLY AWAY						Foreign ships				
							15 – 64																	
	0 – 4	5 – 14	15 – 34	35 – 44	45 and over	Fishermen ashore	Crofters with regular employment	Crofters with periodic employment	Miscellaneous	Fishermen	Merchant Marine	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 64	Merchant Navy 15 – 44	Merchant Navy 45 – 64	Professional 15 – 44	Professional 45 – 64	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 64	Fishermen	Immigrants	0 – 4	5 – 14	
BARNHADIE	1	5	4	5	2	-	3	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	
CRULIVIG	3	1	6	1	5	-	3	4	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	
LUNDALE	-	-	2	5	1	-	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
LINSHADER	2	-	2	1	5	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	2	-	
TOTAL P	6	6	14	12	13	1	12	11	2	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	4	5	
HACKLETT	2	7	11	14	4	1	19	4	1	3	2	1	1	3	-	1	-	1	-	8	-	4	9	
KINNISBURN	2	3	16	14	9	4	19	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	8	1	4	1	
TORSCH	4	4	12	9	6	3	11	4	3	1	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	12	-	3	4	
BRACLETT	-	3	11	8	3	1	[illegible]	1	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	
CROIR	1	-	5	4	2	-	6	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	
TOTAL C	9	17	55	49	24	9	68	14	13	5	2	4	1	5	-	4	-	3	-	35	1	12	23	

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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APPENDIX D

162
166
632

| FEMALES | | |

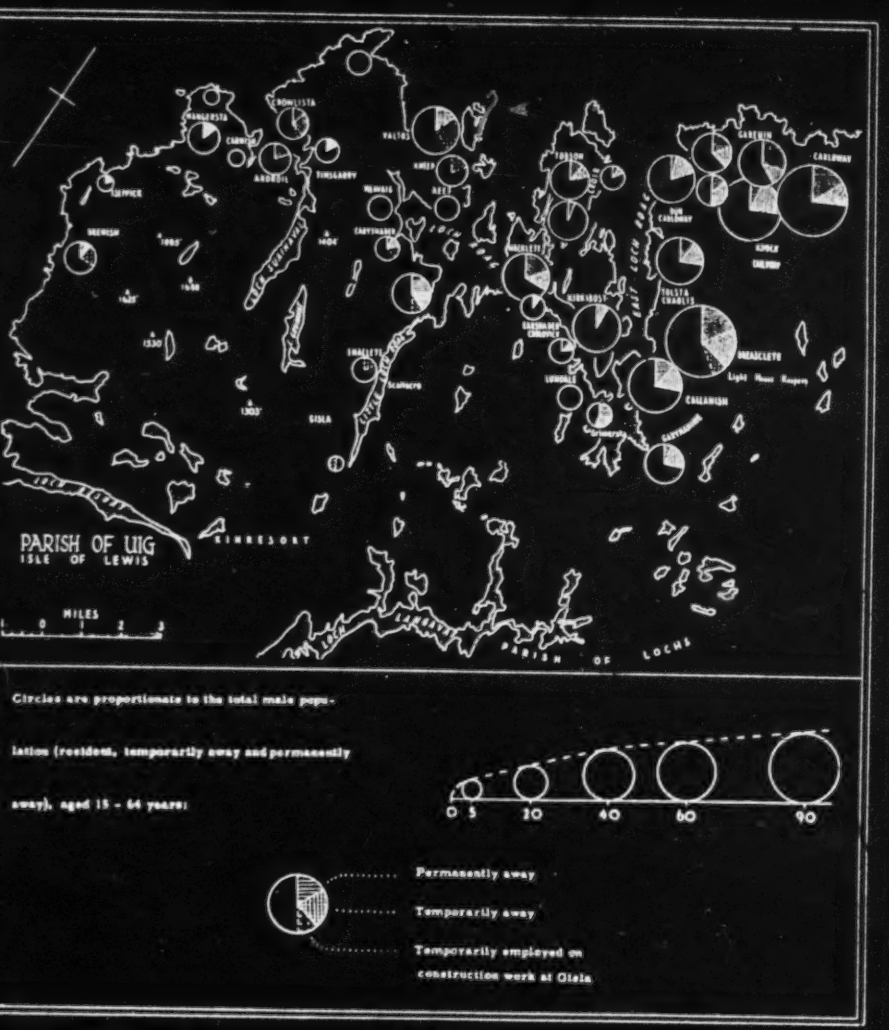

Figure 46

The search for employment

a temporary feature in 1959 due to the casual employment provided by a hydro-electric scheme at Gisla (Figure 46).

In this respect the critical age-group is 15-44 years (table 54). Few older people take work away from home. Of this age-group, 338 (out of 931) persons are away. Women account for 199, men for only 139; the difference is a strong indication of the lack of employment opportunities for women in Lewis. The contrasting experiences of the different districts are quite remarkable (figure 46). A far greater proportion of men goes away from the two northern districts than from Bernera and the South, and this despite the greater importance of weaving in the north. The explanation for this lies partly in the generally smaller size of crofts of the north, partly in the type of employment available locally and partly in the customary choice of employment away, which differs from district to district. Social custom, which may vary as between one township and the next, has a strong bearing on whether and where young men and women choose to work.

TABLE 54

The 15-44 age-group, distinguishing men and women

		Residents: %	Periodically away: %	Permanently away: %	Total: % (No.)
Uig Parish	M	71	7	22	100 (471)
	F	57	17	27	100 (460)
Districts					
South Uig	M	80(1)	8	12	100 (138)
	F	62	8	30	100 (134)
Bernera	M	70(2)	14	15	100 (98)
	F	57	22	22	100 (78)
East Loch Roag	M	59	17	25	100 (142)
	F	53	18	30	100 (131)
Carloway	M	49	24	27	100 (142)
	F	56	22	22	100 (117)

Notes: (1) including at least 16 (12%) temporarily employed on construction work at Gisla.

(2) including 11 (11%) full-time fishermen.

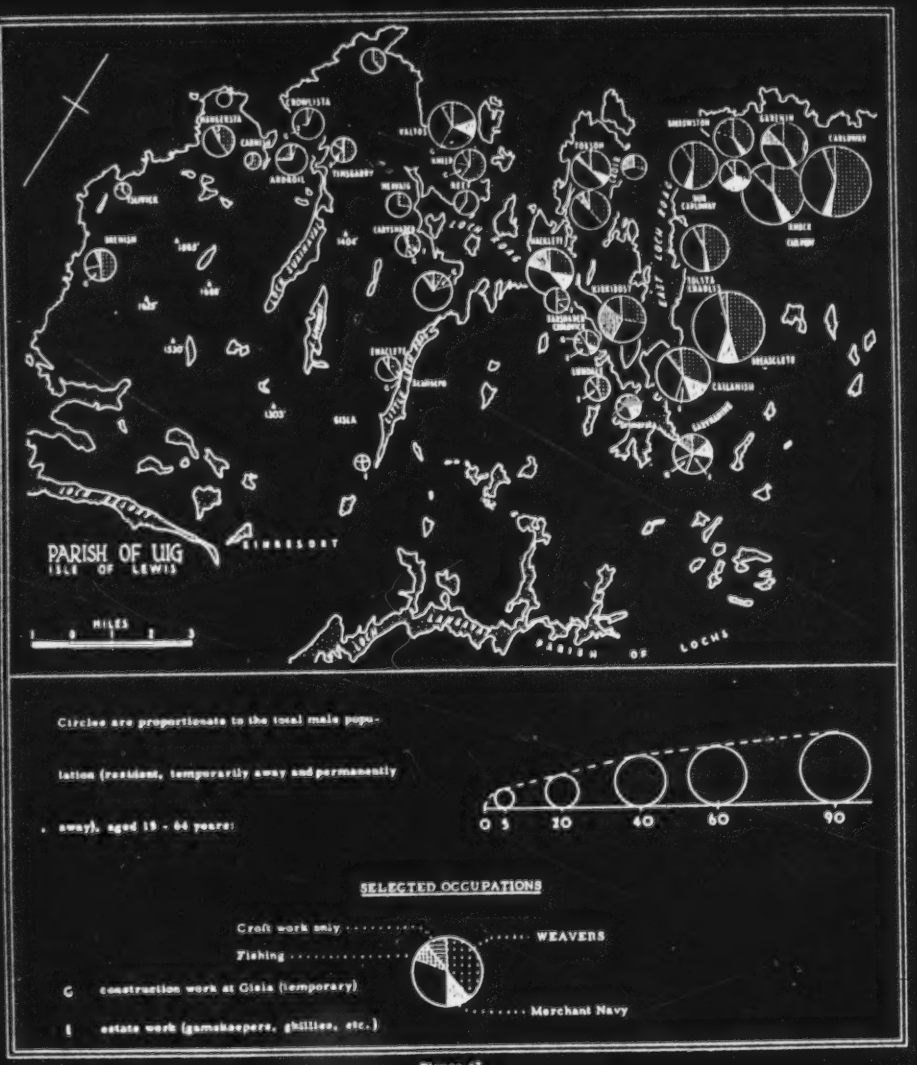

Figure 47

Certain occupations of men aged 15 - 64, by townships

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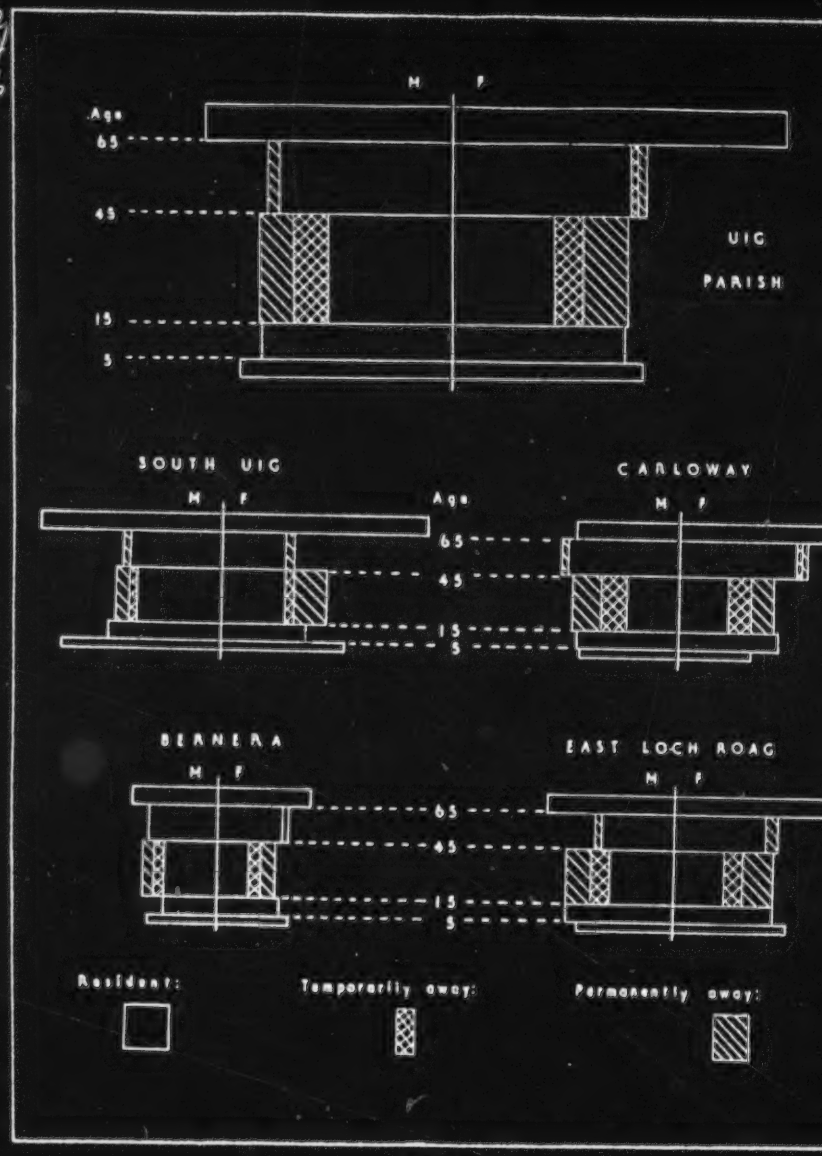

Figure 48

151

Population by age groups and place of employment

(3) Destination of Emigrants, 1939 - 1959

Destination:	Male	Female[1]	Total
BERNERA DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	6	4 (3)	10
Other Lewis	2	10 (9)	12
Other crofting counties	3	6 (5)	9
Glasgow	3	7 (7)	10
Other Scotland	14	7 (7)	21
Other U.K.	2	4 (4)	6
Overseas	4	1 (1)	5
All emigrants	34	39 (36)	73
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	10	10 (8)	20
Other Lewis	8	17 (12)	25
Other crofting counties	7	10 (8)	17
Glasgow	23	21 (17)	44
Other Scotland	14	22 (12)	36
Other U.K.	4	11 (10)	15
Overseas	6	2 (2)	8
All emigrants	72	93 (69)	165
CARLOWAY DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	5	13 (7)	18
Other Lewis	12	17 (8)	29
Other crofting counties	5	9 (6)	14
Glasgow	18	17 (13)	35
Other Scotland	12	15 (9)	27
Other U.K.	4	4 (4)	8
Overseas	10	7 (2)	17
All emigrants	66	82 (49)	148

Note: (1) the figure in parenthesis refers to females who emigrated on marriage.

161/ In the northern townships, stretching from Garynahine to Loch Carloway, quite the
162 reverse is seen. Here there are actually more people now than in 1841 (1,261, c.f. 1,204), although there has been a marked decline since 1891 when 2,106 were enumerated. Thus this area, which had less than one third of Uig's population in 1841, now has more than half. The main change occurred before 1891 and was associated with the prosperity of fishing, both locally and on the east mainland coast, but, in addition, this area did not lose population as rapidly as did Bernera and the southern townships in the 'twenties and 'thirties, nor since 1951, and this can undoubtedly be ascribed to the early establishment, especially in the Carloway district, of Harris Tweed weaving.

TABLE 49

Loss of Population by Districts, 1931 - 1959

	Annual rates: 1931 - 1951	1951 - 1959	Net loss: 1931 - 1959*
Carloway District	0.5%	1.6%	182
East Loch Roag District	0.8%	1.3%	185
Bernera Shore	-	2.9%	28
Bernera Island	1.6%	0.7%	182
Little Loch Roag	1.8%	1.0%	95
Valtos District	1.0%	1.8%	101
Aird and Crowlista	2.0%	2.2%	68
Uig Bay District	0.6%	(+0.1%)	12
Mangersta/Brenish	1.8%	2.1%	97

* Immigrant R.A.F. and Ministry of Civil Aviation staff and families are excluded.

Migration

1/ One of the objects of our enquiries was to discover something of the processes of population change in recent years. To this end we tried to record some details of migrants, from and to the parish since 1939 (see croft record questionnaire, frontispiece to Part I). We also attempted to record war and other casualties away from home. Finally, we recorded natural population changes by extracting details of births and deaths from the official registers for the period October 1939 - December 1958 (the 1959 registers were not available). The results are summarised in table 50.

166 Our record of migration depends on the memories of our informants and cannot be expected to be complete, nor can the 1939 (National Registration) population figure be

464 [288] shopkeepers and so on. But none vies with weaving as a source of regular income. Without the weavers most of the others would find little demand for their wares or services.

Periodic work is taken locally, usually in default of regular employment, and often by older men who formerly worked away from home. This is usually casual labour and is particularly important - for lack of other opportunities - in South Uig. Whilst our survey was in progress a number of men from South Uig were thus engaged at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme. In South Uig, also, weaving tends to be less regular than elsewhere. For this some weavers blamed the Stornoway producers, who, it was claimed are not inclined to send work as far out as this unless it cannot otherwise be done. There is some truth in this, particularly with respect to the 'small' (i.e. non-mill) producers, but our observations also showed that some men in South Uig regarded weaving as an 'extra' and were not prepared to do it when alternative employment, on the croft or for wages (as at Gisla), was offered. This may be a vicious spiral - the less weaving a man does the less good he becomes, he takes longer to complete a web and may suffer more deductions for faulty work. He becomes less inclined to weave and the producer becomes less inclined to send him work.

464 288 184

TABLE 56

Permanent Employment away from home (actual numbers)

166 46

	Men:			Women:			
	M.N.	Professions:	Others	Nursing:	Professions:	Domestic:	Others:
Uig Parish	46	11	63	59	18	39	27
Districts							
South Uig	5	4	12	22	2	16	2
Bernera	8	4	3	10	1	2	7
East Loch Roag	16	-	23	15	6	15	7
Carloway	22*	3	25	12	5	3	11

* including five working seasonally on whalers.

Those taking permanent employment away from home (table 56) tend to choose particular occupations. Amongst men, the Merchant Navy is most popular, especially from the Carloway and East Loch Roag districts; many of the others work at skilled or semi-skilled jobs, including the police forces; relatively few are un-skilled casual labourers. Amongst women, nursing is by far the most important occupation and is particularly popular amongst young women from South Uig and Bernera; most of ther others take 'domestic work' - in hotels and hospitals, rather than in private homes - and a few work in offices and shops. The category 'professions' in the table is almost synonymous with school-teaching.

Periodical, including seasonal, absence from home is less common than from some island districts; 14% of the 15-64 age-group is classified as "periodically away" (compare 27% from Park, 16% from Harris, 13% from Barra). Of these, half the men and a third of the women are students. Seasonal hotel work, for women, is the most important single category.

Population trends

162 126 The diagrams, figure 48, summarise much of this chapter. They have been constructed so that the area of each horizontal bar is proportionate to the number of persons in the

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CONCLUSIONS

H. A. Moisley

121 The relationships between Place, Folk and Work are seldom simple; in a crofting community such as Uig they are particularly complex. The object of our survey was to make an impartial, factual record of the physical and human resources and their utilisation, as described in the Preface (Part I, page i). The primary purpose of this report is to make our observations available to others and to this end we have included a great deal of fact leavened, we hope, by a modicum of personal impression. In conclusion, however, it seems appropriate to add certain personal conclusions based on the detailed observations and data relating to the crofts and townships visited.

464 [166] The outstanding fact is that, over the whole parish more than a quarter of the population between the ages of 15 and 64 has to leave home in order to make a living. Of those who remain at home, 80% of the men are more or less engaged in agriculture; almost all of these have some other source of income, usually weaving, and in most cases the cash income from agriculture must be less than £100. Although we classified some 60% of resident males as 'crofters with regular employment' this must not be taken to be necessarily the same as having a full-time job. The average income of a weaver in South Uig, for example, is only of the order of £250 per annum. Thus crofting with ancillary employment, or employment with ancillary crofting as is more often the case, conceals a good deal of under-employment. Such low incomes and hidden unemployment are characteristic of West European under-developed regions.

[434]

427 433 000 The crofting system can never provide an ideal structural system for agriculture, but that is not its real purpose. It is a social system and, whether it is economically efficient or not, it exists. It should not be allowed to decay for that would not only cause hardship to the crofting communities but would also, in the case of islands and other remote districts lead to the abandonment of potentially productive resources of land and people. Nor should it be preserved unchanged; preservation would mean fossilisation and fossils are dead. The present crofting system was cast in a legislative mould in the late nineteenth century when population pressed heavily on the resources of the islands. Circumstances have now changed and the mould must be altered or the communities will slowly die.

This is not to say that wholesale reorganisation is required, at least not in Lewis. But the authorities charged with the welfare of the crofting townships, and of the island as a whole, have a duty to see that crofting evolves towards something more, and not less, productive. Subsidies alone are a confession of defeat. It is not good enough merely to spend money to alleviate the symptoms of a disease which it is now fashionable to call 'under-development'. Realistic planning is required so that the special public expenditure incurred in such regions becomes a productive investment and not merely a disguised form of charity.

It is encouraging to note that such economic and technical developments as have taken place (particularly the development of weaving and the improvement of common pastures) owe a good deal to local initiative and local investment. This suggests that, given suitable guidance and encouragement, the crofting townships can do much to help themselves. It would be an excellent thing if, in each district, informal and quite unofficial discussion groups could be started to think about the future of their particular townships in terms of development and not decay.

Realistic discussion of development must face certain facts even though in some cases they may be unpalatable or politically unpopular. Amongst the most important are these

TABLE VIII

EMPLOYMENT OF MALES IN WORKING AGE GROUP (15-64)

462
464

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Fulltime Croft Work	20(9)	51 (29)	71 (18.0)
Croft Work and Regular Employment	33(14)	43 (25)	76 (19.0)
Croft Work and Occasional Employment	2(1)	12 (7)	14 (3.5)
Non-crofting Employment	15(7)	14 (9)	29 (7.0)
Unemployed or sick	10(4)	12 (7)	22 (5.5)
Total Resident Population	80(35)	132 (77)	212 (53.0)
Seasonally Employed Furth of Park	29(13)	11 (6)	40 (10.0)
[897] Schoolchildren (15-18)	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
Students	2(1)	-	2 (0.5)
[701] National Serviceman	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
[164] Sick	1(1)	3 (1)	4 (1.0)
166 167 464 Total Seasonally Absent	48(21)	14 (7)	62 (15.5)
Regular Employment Furth of Park	99(44)	26 (16)	125 (31.5)
Total Regularly Absent	99(44)	26 (16)	125 (31.5)
Totals	227(100)	172 (100)	399 (100.0)

/p. 10-A/

TABLE IX

OCCUPATIONS OF RESIDENT MALE P

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OTHER THAN FULL-TIME

(Figures in brackets are perce

	Weaving	Services	Fishing	Road-Work	Pro
Crofters with Regular Employment	38	19	8	7	-
Crofters with Occasional Employment	-	1	3	3	
Non-crofting Employment	4	9	9	2	
Total	42(35)	29(25)	20(17)	12(10)	

OCCUPATIONS OF MALE PO

SEASONALLY AWAY (1

	15-44	45
Whalers and Coasters	13	
Salmon Fishing (Nets)	5	
Others	11	
	29	1

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALE P

SEASONALLY AWAY (1

	15-44	45
Domestic & Hotel Work	27	
Others, including sick	14	
	41	1

/p. 10-B/

TABLE 50

The Population balance sheet, 1939 - 1959

trict:	Population:		Decline, 1939 - 1959:			Net Migration:	
	1939	1959	Total	Natural:	Casualties:	Deduced	(Recorded)
th Uig	909	677	232	32	16	184	(95)
rnera	638	425	213	30	11	172	(76)
t Loch Roag	764	619	145	19	7	110	(130)
rloway	874	669	205	39	10	156	(121)
	3,185	2,393	792	120	44	622	(422)
. Park	1,500	908(1958)	592	(+13)	33	572	(355)

ictly comparable with our own. A check is possible, as shown in the table, for we can mpare our records of net migration (last column in table 50) with that obtained by ducting natural change and casualties from total change. Thus, since 1939, the deduced loss due to migration appears to be 622, c.f. our record of 462. This deduced figure certainly too high, because it does not take account of excess of deaths over births in 59, nor is it likely that we have recorded all "casualties", i.e. deaths outwith Uig of rsons normally resident there. The Park survey showed a slightly greater discrepancy. any event the 1939 and 1959 figures are not completely comparable; the data provide a oad picture of the changes rather than census-like statistics. But they do provide for re geographical detail than the official Census.

They show that the decline in population is due, in all parts of the parish, both to igration and to an excess of deaths over births. Over the whole parish migration counts for nearly 80% of the loss, natural change for 15%, casualties for 5%. By tricts the proportions are:

	Migration:	Natural change:	Casualties:	Total change:
th Uig	79%	14%	7%	100%
rnera	81%	14%	5%	100%
t Loch Roag	81%	14%	5%	100%
rloway	76%	19%	5%	100%
. Park	97%	(+3%)	6%	100%

s is quite a different picture from that found in Park district, where migration alone the apparent cause of population decline and where, over two decades, births slightly ceeded deaths.* Uig lost 20% of its 1939 population by migration whereas Park lost 38% slightly shorter period, 1939 - 1958 c.f. 1939 - 1959 for the Uig data. Even the re remote districts of Uig have not lost population at much more than half the rate of from Park.

Net migration is made up of a large outflow, mainly of men and women under 45, and mall return flow, mainly of older people such as retired policemen and similar sioners. Families entering the area to perform some particular service (school chers, ministers etc.) more or less balanced the outward movements of their pre- essors and may be discounted. Examination of the individual croft records shows

Caird J.B. et al. Park: a geographical study of a Lewis crofting district (G.F.G. 1959), table XV.

166 that the movement of whole families is unusual, although a few have migrated to Stornoway, particularly from the south. In this respect Uig, except to some extent the south, differs from Park; only 15% of emigrants have gone to Stornoway, c.f. 32% from Park.

TABLE 51

The Destination of Emigrants, 1939 - 1959

Destination	Males (No.)	Females (No.)	(1)	Total (No.)	(%)	c.f. Park (%)
Stornoway	37	44	(28)	81	(15)	(32)
Other Lewis	24	52	(33)	76	(14)	(7)
Other crofting counties	27	33	(25)	60	(11)	(9)
Glasgow	56	57	(48)	113	(21)	(22)
Other Scotland	47	60	(39)	107	(20)	(17)
Other U.K.	17	26	(25)	43	(8)	(8)
Overseas	28	19	(8)	47	(9)	(5)
All destinations	236	291	(206)	527	(100)	(100)

Note: (1) The figure in parenthesis under 'females' indicates those who became 'migrants' on marriage.

Male emigrants from Uig go mainly to Glasgow and other parts of the mainland (table 51). Since 1939 (in effect since 1945) only 12% have gone overseas; 16% have moved to Stornoway and a further 10% to other parts of Lewis. This is almost entirely a movement in search of work. Female emigrants from the parish are less widely dispersed: more went to other parts of Lewis and fewer overseas. There is a special factor in the case of female emigrants. Social intercourse between the different island districts is 582 very active, despite the apparent lack of facilities; almost a third of the female emigrants 562 from Uig became migrants on marriage into other Lewis parishes. Even if we discount 288 such migration, more women than men migrated from Uig between 1939 and 1959. Weaving retains young men but not the young women.

Migration from a crofting district is a somewhat indeterminate process. Young people of both sexes go to Glasgow or elsewhere in search of work. For a while they maintain their island homes but, eventually, they set up homes of their own. Our criterion of 'migration', as against (working permanently away', was this setting up of a home. Thus the critical point is often marriage and it will be noted (table 51 and Appendices B(3) and D(3) that a very large proportion of female emigrants appear to have emigrated on marriage in the case of migration outwith Lewis this usually means that for some time previous to their becoming 'emigrants' they had seasonal or permanent employment away from home. Indeed, our enquiries showed that the great majority of young women who took employment on the mainland eventually married and settled away from Lewis. Only a small minority returned, often giving up their employment in order to care for ageing 582 relatives. An island man may occasionally return with a mainland wife but cases of island girls bringing mainland men to settle in the island are rare indeed.

166 island girls bringing mainland men to settle in the island are rare indeed. Thus migration remains, as it has long been, a one-way traffic and this is almost certainly related to the problem of establishing technical innovation*.

Age structure

162 [121] The age structure of the population reflects the changes that have taken place in recent years. The population of Uig, as is usual in areas of declining population, is ageing. It is one advantage of a survey such as ours that the data may be analysed in greater geographical detail than is possible from the published figures in the official Census reports. This is particularly important in the crofting region where neighbouring communities may show quite different demographic - and economic - trends. Table 52 compares the 1951 Census figures for rural Lewis with those of Uig parish and with certain other districts, one (Park) remote like Uig, the other (Point) being most accessible to the urban facilities and employment offered by Stornoway. Uig has an even greater proportion of old folk than has Park, but it also has more children. This is probably related to the smaller proportion of Uig's population finding it necessary to leave the parish in search of work (16%, compare 28% from Park).

The proportion of the population over 65 years of age has increased from 17% in 1939 to 21% in 1959; it is thus more than twice the national average and well above the figure for rural Lewis. The proportion between 45 and 64 has also increased whilst that between 15 and 44 has markedly declined. The actual number of persons aged between 15 and 44 had declined from 1,263 in 1939 to 752 in 1959. It is to this age group in particular that one should look when seeking economic development but it is by no means certain that this decline is an unmitigated evil.

TABLE 52

Age distribution

	Percentage in each age group:					
	0-4	5-14	15-44	45-64	65+	
Scotland	9.0	15.0	43.0	23.0	10.0	Census, 1951
Lewis (rural)	9.0	15.7	35.1	24.3	15.9	Census, 1951
Uig	7.4	13.4	31.5	26.1	21.6	G.P.O., 1959
Park (Lochs p.)	5.0	13.8	29.4	33.1	18.7	G.P.O., 1958
Point (Stornoway p.)	8.1	16.4	28.6	30.6	16.4	G.P.O., 1960
Uig Districts						
South	9.1	12.8	31.8	22.3	24.0	
Bernera	6.4	9.9	41.2	27.0	15.8	
East Loch Roag	7.4	14.7	32.2	23.4	22.3	
Carloway	5.7	13.8	29.1	31.4	20.1	
Compare:						
Uig (1939)	6.0	15.4	39.2	22.2	17.2	Nat. Register

[113] * For discussion of this topic see Caird J. B. and Moisley H. A.: Leadership and innovation in the Crofting Communities of the Outer Hebrides, Sociological Review, Vol. 9 1961, pp. 85-102.

Employment - the search for work

121 464 166 When an island community outgrows the local intrinsic resources permanent emigration is not the only solution. It is one of the outstanding demographic characteristics of island communities that a proportion of the population seeks employment beyond the island whilst maintaining its island homes. We therefore classified the population, in the first place, according to whether it was:

(a) permanently resident in the parish

(b) leaving the parish seasonally or otherwise irregularly in search of work, and

(c) working permanently away yet without a permanent home except in the parish.

TABLE 53

Location of employment

162 166 469

	Proportion of total population:				
	Resident:	Periodically away:	Permanently away:		
Uig Parish	83.7%	6.5%	9.8%	100% (2,652)	
Districts					
South Uig	87.7%(1)	3.1%	9.2%	100% (746)	
Bernera	85.2%	7.2%	7.6%	100% (460)	
East Loch Roag	81.3%	7.0%	11.7%	100% (701)	
Carloway	81.2%	8.6%	10.2%	100% (745)	
O.P.					
Park	72.2%	11.0%	16.8%	100% (1,092)	(1958)
Point (Stornoway)	86.8%	2.3%	10.9%	100% (1,068)	(sample: 1960)
Harris (mainland)	80.8%	6.9%	12.2%	100% (2,768)	(1961)
North Uist	87.7%	2.3%	10.0%	100% (432)	(sample: 1960)
South Uist	86.0%	3.5%	10.5%	100% (3,690)	(1956)
Barra	70.6%	4.0%	25.5%	100% (1,906)	(1961)

Note: (1) Including at least 27 temporarily employed on construction work at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme, and 28 permanently employed at government sites (equivalent to 7.4% of the total population). Many of these men would otherwise seek employment outwith Uig.

On this basis some 16% of the population of Uig is periodically or permanently away. This may seem low compared with 28% in Park and 30% in Barra but, on the other hand in the Point district, near Stornoway, the proportion is only 13%, and in North and South Uist it is around 12 - 14%. In Harris (Scalpay and Bernera islands excepted) the proportion is 19%. Various factors influence this state of affairs; they may be summarised as the age-structure of the population, the relative viability of the crofts and the opportunities for local employment. Within Uig the situation differs from district to district; the particularly low proportion classified as 'periodically away' in South Uig was probably

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464 permanent employment furth of Park (See Table VIII).

Employment within Park

288 Table IX shows that opportunities for local employment are strictly limited. Weaving of
464 Harris tweed is the most important single source of employment. It is significant that those engaging in it are almost all crofters working in their abundant spare time. Weaving is an ide adjunct to croft work as it is unaffected by weather or hours of daylight and thus can be performed during periods of agricultural inactivity. The vagaries of the Harris tweed market make the occupation precarious; Park is one of the more inaccessible areas of Lewis and the mills are apt to give their commissions to the weavers nearer at hand around Stornoway when
[178] work is scarce. Since 1952, the number of weavers in the fishing townships of Cromore, Marivig, Calbost and Gravir has grown from 11 to 22 and much of the credit for this is due to
[228] the activities of the Pairc Association. Fishing, on the other hand, has lost ground in the sam period: the number of fishermen has declined in these townships from 20 to 14[1]. Apart from
463 weaving, service occupations form the only other employment available, shop-keeping, driving
464 and road maintenance being the chief occupations in the service group. There are very few craftsmen: with such a small population, and the long established tradition that the crofter builds his house and is his own tradesman, there is little opportunity for a trained builder, join or even shoemaker to make a livelihood. The professional class is small and entirely composed of the minister and missionaries, the doctor and several schoolmasters.

[462] There is little opportunity for women to find employment in Park, apart from nursing, shop-keeping and school teaching, and a few domestic service posts (See Table IX).

Employment furth of Park

166 The persons in the 15-44 age group form the main body of those working away from home.
167 The distinction made between 'seasonally away' and 'regularly away' is that the former group
462 spend part of the year elsewhere, the men on whalers in South Georgia or with the Tay Salmon
463 Fisheries at Perth, or labouring on the mainland. The women are in domestic service, mainly
464 in hotels. A majority of the men in the latter category are in the Merchant Navy; in some cases these men take leave to coincide with the spring work and the harvest. The majority of the women are in domestic service (See Tables IX and XI).

An interesting comparison in the 'regularly away' group exists between men and women in the professional classes (Tables IX and XI). The sample is small, but it is clear that more women than men attain professional status. The number of domestic servants, nurses, and merchant seamen is a reminder that the crofting districts provide a pool of labour for certain vital occupations, some none too popular in Britain as a whole. In people alone, one can say that Park makes a distinct contribution to the fabric of the national economy and this contribution is much more apparent outside Park than within the district. At the same time a majority of those who are temporarily or permanently away eventually marry and settle outside the district and thus a most valuable section of the community is constantly moving southwards. Only 35 per cent of the men in the 15-44 age group are wholly resident in Park, and 46 per cent of the women in the same age group, a reflection of the poor prospects and utter inadequacy of resources on the most of the crofts.

1 The 1952 figures are abstracted from the Lewis Survey Report on part of South Lochs.

TABLE XVI

DIRECTION OF MIGRATION (Furth of Lochs Parish)

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Destination	Male	Female	Total	%
Stornoway	59	59	118	32
Rest of Lewis	7	17	24	7
Rest of Crofting Area	15	20	35	9
Glasgow	34	49	83	22
Rest of Scotland	19	43	62	17
England and Wales	12	16	28	8
Abroad	5	14	19	5
	151	218	369	100.0

/p. 12-G/

TABLE XIX

POPULATION IN FOUR CROFTING DI

(Figures in brackets are perce

	Resident	Seasonally Away	Permanently Away	Total
Park (1958)[1]	788(72.2)	120(11.0)	184(16.8)	1092(100)
Benbecula and South Uist (1956)[1]	3171(86.0)	129(3.5)	390(10.5)	3690(100)
Barra (1957)[1]	1421(71.9)	88(4.4)	470(23.7)	1979(100)
Waternish (Skye) (1958)[1]	198(75.5)	16(6.1)	48(18.4)	262(100)
TOTAL	5578(79.4)	353(5.0)	1092(15.6)	7023(100)

1. Year of Glasgow University Crofting Survey Enumeration.
2. National Identity Card Enumeration.

STRICTS 1939-1956/8

ntages)

Resident & Seasonally Away	Population in 1939[2]	Decrease since 1939
908	1500	592(39.5)
3300	4085	785(23.8)
1509	2212	703(31.3)
214	459	245(53.4)
5931	8256	2325(28.1)

/facing p. 38/

161 162 [228] Figure 6 and Table XII give the population of Park tabular form. The 1830-51 decline was due to eviction from 1861 until 1911 can be almost wholly ascribed to t comparison of the graphs of the selected agricultural a The decline since 1911 has been very rapid, and is mai employment. The 1939 figure in the graph appears to decline but it may be that there was an influx of evacue enumeration was made.[1] The 1951 Census confirmed t the enumeration of 1958.

An investigation of the age structure of the populati that not only is the population declining but also that it of the population were under school age, as compared single group in 1939 was the 15-44 age group, the mos the community; in 1959, the 45-64 age group emerges group has increased by 5.2 per cent since 1939.

As the 1939 and 1958 enumerations were not obtain Census, the figures for Lewis, excluding Stornoway B unfortunately the published Census material does not g groups for Lewis. By including those persons in seas months) and excluding those permanently away, the Ce comparable, but it is possible that in the enumeration (See Table XX). From these comparisons, it would app is unbalanced in comparison with the rest of rural Le for this is the fact that so many people are working pe From a study of the population structure it is clear th population, a significantly low proportion of children 65 and over age group than either rural Lewis or Scot

166 167 An attempt was made to record migration from the it is clear that all migrants were not recorded in the explained by two other factors. The evacuees from S their city homes may well account for some and more away from home than was the case in 1939.

The destination of the emigrants (Table XVI) is si heads the list and so many of the Park families have place on the island where employment is available. T permanently to Glasgow; many of those in permanent and still part of the croft household) work in Glasgow significant that only 16 per cent of the emigrants settl one-third of the recorded migrants settled in the only Hebrides needs further investigation but one possible available in Park, the migration rate would be drasti

1 For discussion of this point, and of the populatio greatly indebted to R. S. Barclay, B. Sc., Ph. D.

k from 1830 to 1958 in graphical and
ns. The rapid increase in population
the success of the fishing industry: a
and fishing townships makes this clear.
inly a reflection of lack of ancillary
show a slight check in the rate of
ses from Glasgow just before the
the continuing downward trend as did

ion (Table XIII and Figure 7) reveals
is ageing. In 1958, only five per cent
with 9.4 per cent in 1939. The largest
t enterprising and energetic members of
as the largest. The 65 and over age

ed under the rigid conditions of the
urgh, have been added for comparison;
ive individual parish statistics in age
onal employment (mainly in the summer
nsus and enumeration figures are more
there may be an error of five per cent.
ear that the population structure of Park
wis, and Scotland as a whole. The reason
rmanently away from home. (See Table XIV).
t Park has all the attributes of an ageing
nd a higher proportion of the 45-64 and
and as a whole.

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F. R. S. E.

TABLE XVII

SELECTED POPULATION STATISTICS FOR THE AGRICULTURAL AND FISHING TOWNSHIPS

	Agricultural Townships	Fishing Townships
	POPULATION	
Wholly resident	84%	70%
Temporarily absent	12%	10%
In permanent employment Forth of Park	4%	20%
	100%	100%
	POPULATION CHANGE	
Population 1939	317	1,140
Population 1951[1]	226	682
Total Decrease	91	458
Natural Increase/Decrease[2] 1939-57	+5	-23
Net Migration	96	435
Migration as a percentage of 1939 population	30%	38%
Natural Increase (Omitting War Casualties) as a percentage of 1939 population	2%	0.5%

1. Including those temporarily away: the permanently absent group would not be included in the 1939 enumeration.
2. Adjusted for war casualties = Agricultural Townships 5, Fishing Townships, 20

/Turning p. 14/

[Seafortheadl]

Table XVII reveals the fact that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend, significantly lower at the population end, permanent employment forth of Park, and a smaller loss by migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric, there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment forth of Park, and migration losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Cuisnest, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

Seafortheadl and Shielderaish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHEAD

Seafortheadl, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at the highest point are only 150 yards inland and a-half mile deep hinterland of common grazing. The extreme elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arranged in rectangular strips at right angles to the coast, are lower (maximum 125 feet) and include three main zones (Fig. 8):

(a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly below 50 feet, distected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone have a distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and unsuited to fertilisation by seaware. The smaller hillocks in this zone have thinner soils of the same sort, but the main hill (crofts 10/11) is an exception of zone (c).

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with hills rising to over 100 feet. The lower areas have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a) and (b), with peaty-loam characteristics, resulting squifirous gravels. The higher areas have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there are signs of former skinning.

(c) A zone of hallows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reacting well to heavy fertilisation with seaware and intervening heights covered with blanket bog, partly skinned, bader and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with gentler slopes over 50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irregular shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

In Seafortheadl, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts vary between 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23.45 acres reputed arable and 110.35 acres outrun. 24.5 acres are in fact under crop (note 18.5, potatoes 6.5), and 9.5 acres under sown grass; and of the remaining 99.8 acres, mainly natural grass

[Ioboat] [Kershader]

Of the 52 residents, 19 are over 65 and only 5 under 15 years, leaving a working population of 29: seven are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily declining since its peak of 121 in 1901.

Since 1946, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely fenced and the method of cultivation has changed from spade and horse-plough to tractor and cultivators. A further fence has been erected for a lamb park and much land has been re-seeded; an increasing area has been put down to hay. It would seem that fattening of stock for market is intended, and better attention is being paid to stock. Yet the population is ageing and there are few young men to take the place of the older crofters, when working-units become larger and stock decreases to a figure nearer the real carrying capacity of the grazing, the croft could become a profitable concern: at the moment, the croft is only maintained through grants and ancillary earnings. Should that happen, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivation to provide winter fodder.

KERSHADER

Philip W. Wheeler, M.A.

Kershader is a township of forty-three permanent residents on thirteen crofts, which stretch for a mile along the southern shore of Loch Erisort. The crofts extend up to one-third of a mile inland and are separated from a second-a-half mile deep hinterland of common grazing. The extreme elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arranged in rectangular strips at right angles to the coast, are lower (maximum 125 feet) and include three main zones (Fig. 8):

(a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly below 50 feet, distected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone have a distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and unsuited to fertilisation by seaware. The smaller hillocks in this zone have thinner soils of the same sort, but the main hill (crofts 10/11) is an exception of zone (c).

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with hills rising to over 100 feet. The lower areas have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a) and (b), with peaty-loam characteristics, resulting squifirous gravels. The higher areas have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there are signs of former skinning.

(c) A zone of hallows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reacting well to heavy fertilisation with seaware and intervening heights covered with blanket bog, partly skinned, bader and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with gentler slopes over 50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irregular shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

In Kershader, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts vary between 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23.45 acres reputed arable and 110.35 acres outrun. 24.5 acres are in fact under crop (note 18.5, potatoes 6.5), and 9.5 acres under sown grass; and of the remaining 99.8 acres, mainly natural grass

[Kershader]

(b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices, however, are irregular: some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the former case they have to be housed at the upper limit of their home croft and some family close at hand. Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them bay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. This is naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from the other Lochs and Ardroil, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average lamb and sheep carcass weight is reckoned to be 41 lb, and the price rarely rises above 8 and almost never above £4. Bracy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category, and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption only), peat work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being absent, probably or temporarily away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person has entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from an optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907 and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Cuveasta, Garyvard, Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1931, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilising the population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Cuveasta] [Cromore]

The 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Cuveasta population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left after 1911 and no re-population took place. Since 1939, seven people have migrated to Stornoway or the mainland (18 per cent of the total 1939 population), and six of these were from Toriste (i.e. 50 per cent of the 1939 Toriste population): only one family now remains there. The demographic position is becoming more acute for there are no young married couples and no youngsters growing up. The girls have left to marry and most of the men have sought temporary or permanent employment elsewhere, for with better communications, education and the radio, the pull to the towns has become stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full-time crofters, earning no supplementary income by weaving tweed on commission from the Stornoway mills.

Cuveasta is not one of the most progressive of the South Lochs townships. Although the crofts are fenced, the common pasture is not visibly delimited from either the Cromore or Garryvard pastures. In winter, the grazing is fully stocked according to the sount, but the composition has not as yet initiated any re-seeding schemes. As the pasture is not of the best quality, some newly sown grass would benefit every crofter. Loch of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but even a small acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

The future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechanisation and is badly served by communications. The future of Toriste appears to be probably one of abandonment, unless it is more easily linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road being built here is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Cuveasta is also open to question. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the present units are not used to their full extent. Amalgamation with Garyvard might benefit the township a great deal, as the Cuveasta population is rather small to flourish in isolation. The future of Garyvard, Kershader and Habost is one of hope, but unless some change in population pressure soon, it is to be feared that Cuveasta and Toriste, following the same course as Calibost and in thirty to forty years being little more than grazing land.

[Cromore]

G. Mary Swindell, B.A., and Dennis F. Fancett, B.A.

Cromore is situated on a peninsula between Loch Erisort and Loch Cromore. Approaching it from the access road, Cromore has the appearance of a nucleated settlement, but in fact each house is situated on the owner's croft. The crofts are so arranged that each has a portion of land on the more level surface of drift deposits; houses 1 to 20 stand at the junction of the drift and the Lewisian gneiss. Soils are poor and thin, and there are numerous outcrops of barren rock amongst the arable land. The natural vegetation is heather moorland with extensive patches of rushes and cotton grass, the pattern of moor is the 'mirror' image of that 'out' around Cromore.

The township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two crofts are subdivided while another four form double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and the Schoolhouse fee. Outside the township dyke there are two fees and four squatters. The croft layout differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent pieces, one piece around the house, another above Cross Cromore and two pieces on another area of enclosed land on the common. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land around the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

Until the decade all the land around the houses, and much of that above Cross Cromore, was regularly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but cultivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only crops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed

The crofters sowed clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining manure and fertiliser and have used very large quantities of both. Only seven crofts have vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throughout the winter and no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the souming. Lambing takes place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and are then dipped. Dipping takes place in October in the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. Most crofts have 1 cow and 1 calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The cows are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Creagg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazing Committee is that each crofter can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on fank days.

Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under cultivation and there was an air-photograph taken in 1928 showing a large area of cultivation above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land: this year two crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazing. It is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the road between Cuveasta and Gravir, about three miles south-south-east of Cromore and one mile north of Gravir.

Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men who would value the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this. However, The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and, in fact, it is low-tide it is useless. So much for the hope that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained in bulk from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airibhavaig. At present the average production is only one tweed per loom per week and the weavers could easily double their production. During the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a shop which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of the additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday.

[Martvig]

There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on lire, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep a few sheep; there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while all but one of the crofters winter their sheep in the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of the township are transported by Loch Mealindy from the sea mass be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing boat (the boats are moored in the loch off the end of his croft, and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating out of Stornoway, returns to Martvig at weekends. In all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, owned by a Stornoway man, lies in the loch, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Martvig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in Lochmaddy.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their income by weaving, one by working on the roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several are employed in the Merchant Navy. The problem of migration from Martvig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school - over one hundred pupils in 1905, but thirty-nine (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young people leave the township to train or seek employment in Stornoway (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There is a daily bus from Gravir via Martvig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is unarred. There is no church in Martvig and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the office. Apart from the two houses, few of the crofts are visible from the road, tend to be set back, while the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain and the other inhabited houses are built of concrete and roofed with asbestos or corrugated iron. All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply: rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the crofts more efficiently owing to the very total labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel in good house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

[L-Ibost] [Gravir] [Glengr-vtr]

The present situation in Calbost is best illustrated by reference to the population statistics. There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are squatters and only eight houses are occupied within the four-mile road distance. Of the male population under fifteen years, one man in the 15-44 age group, three between 45 and 64 years and two over 65. This clearly indicates that the area is not viable. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands) is insufficient for the community. However, even these figures are not so striking as the numbers of emigrants as no less than 39 men and 40 women have left Calbost since 1939.

A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the younger people have left to find employment on Stornoway and the mainland. The present population structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride the major east-west inlet of Loch Ouirn, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The site of the township is perhaps the most picturesque in all Park, but the steep slopes, lack of cover, the small area of good arable land, and the valuable population existing on slim resources, problems common to Park as a whole, are all epitomised in Gravir.

On the south-facing slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough in the valley to the west, there are a few terraces which have been cultivated from time to time, some before 1800, and some in the process of the abolition of run-rig which was accomplished in the years 1850 to 1852. Originally, these arable strips have been fairly crofted, but their west gables added during the nineteenth century, two at each end of the line, and in 1934 a further fifteen were cut out of the common grazing, a mile to the west of Gravir. On the south end of the township there are 3.6 to three acres of lamb sell for as little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the consequence of over-stocking. The cattle stock is believed to be nearing and the people of the township are alleged to be changing to the agriculture since the 1950's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The sheep stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the crofting by thirty-five per cent.

The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from the sowing of one cow and follower and eight sheep per pound sterling of rent in a township where good arable crofts may be rented for £1 per acre, and pasture for £1 per acre, it is clear that these are not units in which the crofters are willing to supplement the food producing capacity of the holdings. The method of division and allocation appears of a period when a subsistence economy could serve presents from over-population,necessitated fair shares for all. The last of these common was in cultivation until 1951. Although commercial crofting has been obsolete since then, there is as yet no move towards a regularisation of the layout.

The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable common developed mainly during the nineteenth century when population reached a peak in 1881 with 1,000 people. At that time there were two curing stations in Gravir. With relative prosperity from an ancillary industry, cottars were allowed to settle on the common (from 1841 to 1881 reaching a peak of 150 cottars in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has certainly not yet ceased. Gravir reverted from 1918 to a township of agriculture and a source for employment forth of Lewis, although there have been spasms of successful fishing activity since.

Stock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and conditions are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir crofts vary between 1.5 and 26.5 acres in size: no croft has more than four acres of 'arable'. In the days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in narrow lazy-beds, ended up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more efficient. All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed cut as far away as Cromore or the coast south of Kebost Head. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed area is now cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture; some of the lazy-

[Or-vtr] [Glengr-vtr]

beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Some lazy-beds are permanently in natural hay; only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'old arable' is now in oats and potatoes. If fertilisers be to be used, the lazy-beds are inadequate for the production of the herring fishing; further the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the old arable land when the population of the area was at its peak. The fishing industry was once in infinitesimal for only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of underseeing.

There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives. All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition to the crofts, there are a further ten crofters, and non-crofters, living on the fifteen legal Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir common. The common has been reached on by several face lift schemes, the last being in 1951 when the Church of Scotland and Manse, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionaries (ministers) are all entitled to share in the lots.

Gravir and Glengravir thus have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-nine operative units. Less than half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty per cent of the common, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 2,652 acres is in general of poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957, a test area of 50 acres was fenced and re-seeded; the results pass the limits of this report but the reclamation work, and the ages of the participants ranged between 27 and 58 years; this is significant as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. The scheme could be extended annually; if potential improvements to the crofts are limited, pasture improvement is virtually without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater numbers; at present the ewes are kept on the hills in the winter, and the lambs are sold at 14 weeks and lambs sell for as little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the consequence of over-stocking. The cattle stock is believed to be nearing and the people of the township are alleged to be changing to the agriculture since the 1950's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The sheep stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the crofting by thirty-five per cent.

The township consists of three distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area at about 100 feet, part common pasture and part reclaimed as extensions to the crofts, locally known as 'the Ouiend', forms the main agricultural area. Further west, in a hollow between two steep slopes, is the village of Gravir. Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for herring.

If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of insurable age and service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupation are sufficient to absorb or relative to keep the insurable population in the district. Twelve of the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in permanent employment forth of Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential male resident population.

The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the hey-day of the fishing most of the men fished all the year round, fishing as far north as Lerwick, and south as east of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sale of young cattle, and wool and pelts, and to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the sowing, the income of the largest croft (including subsidies) could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

[Gravir] [Glengravir] [Lemreavy]

Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than at the beginning of crofting. Over-stocking in sheep, an attempt to increase the income from a fifteen years ago. From 1941-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of income was present when there was a result of the sow subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the sow subsidy was ended, the crofters had already begun to decline from the peak of the post-war prosperity. This year the township has only 37 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and digging; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given hay, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the grass are not the 'officials' crofts until mid-March.

Until a major reorganisation of the croft is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-seed large areas of the common pasture and the three former arable common, and the development of a crofting-type of tourist industry, are the only hopes for the future. The agricultural technique is well-known; there is a demand from the city dweller for simple accommodation and good plain fare in a clean atmosphere, with the possibility of hill walking and fishing on fresh and salt water. Yet, until the proposed water-scheme becomes a reality, the tourist industry is a crofting scale can hardly be contemplated.

One can only conclude that until reorganisation takes place and transforms Gravir into a township of viable agricultural holdings, any stabilisation of the present trends is out of the question. A decline in the number of holdings is inevitable but it may be long run but a planned reduction over a number of years would bring about a more viable community than the disintegration which will occur without such planning. Until this is achieved, the young men and women have little incentive to remain in Gravir.

LEMREAVY

Beth Blowers, Brenda G. Turner
and John E. Wearmouth

Lemreavy, the southernmost township of Park, comprises 290 acres arable and outrun divided into thirty-three crofts and 3,025 acres of common pasture. The township is situated on the north side of Loch Shell and forms a bay in the shelter of Eilean Iverach.

The township consists of three distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area at about 100 feet, part common pasture and part reclaimed as extensions to the crofts, locally known as 'the Ouiend', forms the main agricultural area. Further west, in a hollow between two steep slopes, is the village of Gravir. Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for herring.

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The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the hey-day of the fishing most of the men fished all the year round, fishing as far north as Lerwick, and south as east of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sale of young cattle, and wool and pelts, and to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the sowing, the income of the largest croft (including subsidies) could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

An examination of the agricultural situation reveals that there are insufficient resources to make the development of viable crofts. Overstocking in sheep, an attempt to increase the income from a fifteen years ago. From 1941-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of income was present when there was a result of the sow subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the sow subsidy was ended, the crofters had already begun to decline from the peak of the post-war prosperity. This year the township has only 37 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and digging; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given hay, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the grass are not the 'officials' crofts until mid-March.

Until a major reorganisation of the croft is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-seed large areas of the common pasture and the three former arable common, and the development of a crofting-type of tourist industry, are the only hopes for the future. The agricultural technique is well-known; there is a demand from the city dweller for simple accommodation and good plain fare in a clean atmosphere, with the possibility of hill walking and fishing on fresh and salt water. Yet, until the proposed water-scheme becomes a reality, the tourist industry is a crofting scale can hardly be contemplated.

One can only conclude that until reorganisation takes place and transforms Gravir into a township of viable agricultural holdings, any stabilisation of the present trends is out of the question. A decline in the number of holdings is inevitable but it may be long run but a planned reduction over a number of years would bring about a more viable community than the disintegration which will occur without such planning. Until this is achieved, the young men and women have little incentive to remain in Gravir.

Since the decline of the fishing industry, the fishing townships have progressively declined. Income from weaving has replaced earnings from fishing as a means of combining croft work and ancillary employment in the middle 4 living, but the decline in the sheep stock, the supply of weaving contracts is not regular and greatly depends on the state of the world market. The proposed centralisation of the Harris Tweed industry in Stornoway is not favourable to the Park weavers: the "Harris Tweed (Park Association" that a spinning mill be set up in Park would certainly help the local weavers.

If the present number of agricultural units and level of husbandry on them is to be maintained, a large scale water-scheme is necessary, and, as a consequence, the provision of a water-supply and service occupations alone certainly cannot provide it in sufficient quantity, temporary and regular employment forth of Park is bound to continue, and as this grades into permanent employment, the population must continue to decline and age. The capacity of the area for tourism is also limited. On the other hand the fishing industry which broached at present that Lemreavy would have to face: the establishment of manufacturing or assembling employment is also unlikely.

A revival of the fishing industry holds out most hope but must take place before all the second-hand vessels with other present generation of fishermen. The fishing grounds are within reach of the modern £20,000 boat: by co-operation between crews, fish could be taken to mainland markets as a village. As indeed happens at present. Lobster fishing could be integrated with herring and white fishing. Such a combination of fishing and crofting would be a viable proposition and the Herring Subsidy would be a guaranteed element of income. It must be agreed that if mainland fishermen are to come and use inlets of Park, there seems little reason why local boats could not also be successful.

As far as the land is concerned, the survey leaves no doubt that improvements in husbandry and pastures are definitely possible. Yet, until viable agricultural units have been created, there is little incentive for large scale improvement in either sphere. It is an expert's opinion that no crofter working on a croft in Park which would bring in £300 a year would have time to engage in auxiliary work and at the same time fully work his holding in accordance with the rules of good husbandry. If this opinion is accepted, and it is also accepted that such crofts are desirable and the present successful crofts in the agricultural townships where there is a higher proportion of full-time crofters than elsewhere would bear this out, it follows that auxiliary employment on such units would have to be ruled out.

1. Park Association Annual Report, 1956.

000. The reduction of the present number of agricultural units then becomes desirable. There are two ways in which this could come about; firstly by continued depopulation, but amalgamations consequent on such an uncontrolled run-down of the community would lead to scattered holdings; such is the experience of other depopulated crofting districts. The second point to be made is that if overall planning were possible, it would be desirable for holdings to be amalgamated as they becom vacant as a satisfactory rearrangement of the townships would then follow.

Concurrent with such a policy would be the aim to create distinct crofting and non-crofting groups. Employment for the non-crofting section of the community, be it fishing or weaving, woul first have to be assured. As has already been stated, fishing would appear to offer the best prospe while tourism could play a minor role in providing an opportunity for the enterprising crofters' wife or non-crofting household. One problem above all remains, the maintenance of an overall viable population. A certain minimum level of population is essential to maintain the operation of local transport, post office, educational and medical services. Such considerations suggest that further research is necessary to assess the optimum number and structure of population which a district such as Park could reasonably support. In the same way, a detailed examination by an agricultural expert is desirable, in order to assess the number of economic holdings which could be supported on the land of each township.

In conclusion, it is clear that, short of unexpected industrial employment becoming available i Park and unless major reorganisation of the present agricultural units and communities is carried out, the present population trends must continue. However, if such radical changes cannot be contemplated, then considerable improvements in the standard of husbandry, the re-seeding of croft out-runs and common pastures, and the fencing and general improvements of the crofts are possible and will increase agricultural productivity. Until there are some radical changes, the present pattern of the most enterprising members of the community engaging in ancillary employm which takes them furth of the district, and the serious degree of permanent migration to Stornowa and the Scottish Lowlands, will be maintained and increased.

APPENDIX A

PARK IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER CROFTING DISTRICTS.

462 464 241 Table XVIII gives an analysis of the occupational structure of the male population of insurable age in four crofting districts studied by the Crofting Survey. In all four areas, a considerable proportion of the insurable population is not resident in the crofting area for more than an annual holiday period. This proportion varies in relation to two main factors - the viability of the crofts and the availability of ancillary employment within the district. South Uist and Benbecula stand out as the districts where such permanent absences are least marked: the crofts in these islands a larger and more employment is available. In Barra, there are few large agricultural units and, a in Park, the decline of the fishing industry has led to economic disaster in many townships. Fewe than half of the men in this age group are fully resident in Barra. Park is in many respects comparable to Waternish (Skye) for both districts are isolated and have experienced serious depopulation. (see Table XIX).

It is a significant fact that in none of these districts are more than 20 per cent of the male population solely engaged in full-time croft work, and this is a measure of the inability of the croft to support a family without ancillary earnings. The amount of permanent employment available varies from district to district; in South Uist and Barra there are minor service centres which are urban in character and 23.2 per cent and 13.6 per cent of the respective insurable males are engaged in non-crofting employment on these islands.

[166] [167] It is clear that the occupational structure of these four crofting areas is far from stable for ove one-third of the potential labour force is away for all or part of the year. It is also clear that basically the absence of sufficient natural resources, coupled with the varying degrees of isolation from the industrial centres of Scotland, are the root causes of the present position.

161 Table XIX summarises the population structure and trends for the four districts. It is a
162 that the two districts without service centres, which provide a range of ancillary employmen
166 experienced more severe depopulation since 1939. This table also underlines the fact that e
167 from seasonal employment are insufficient: the incidence of permanent employment furth of
434 districts is three times as great as the incidence of seasonal employment.
464

APPENDIX B

SHIELINGS - A NOTE

John E. Wearmouth with illustrations by Beth Blowers

175 From Figure 1, compiled from the First Edition six-inch map of the Ordnance Survey (18
233 to 1852) and from personal observations, it is clear that the shieling system was at one time
an overall feature of Park for the whole peninsula has traces of this transhumant economy.

361 The rudimentary structures, some of turf, others of stones and roofed with bracken or
342 heather thatch, are all sited on well drained sites, the majority on mounds. Almost all the
sites are close to lochs or streams. The majority are in loose groups of from two to nine
buildings, although there are some in isolation; no site has as many as twenty-six building
as found at Airidh na Ganithe in North Uist.

342 There appears to be two distinctive shapes of building - oval and rectangular (Fig.10).
All shielings measured exhibited a remarkable similarity in dimensions, from 17½ by 9 feet
to 13 by 12 feet. The oval structures are generally larger than the rectangular ones. Mos
of the shielings had two entrances, often, but not always, opposite each other.

195 The shieling system died out in Park about 1880 but the cattle continued to graze around
233 shielings on the better grass, and the crofters had still to go out to milk the cattle at the shi
although they no longer lived there. The sheep still use the mounds for shelter and grazing.
These features of an obsolete economy are still easily recognisable from the luxuriant grass
cover in a wilderness of peat bog and bare rock.

APPENDIX C

NORSE SETTLEMENTS NAMES IN NORTHERN PARK, LEWIS

Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt.

103 See: Magne Oftedal, The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides; in Norsk Tidskrift
113 Sprogvidenskap, vol. XVII, 1954, (Oslo), pp. 363 ff.

103 Professor Oftedal points out the difficulties of these Norse-Gaelic settlement names: in
accurate spellings even in modern times, and lack of any useful evidence from older sources
make almost all the derivations a matter of conjecture. Sometimes two or more ON equival
are possible (e.g. for Calbost), sometimes no satisfactory solution can be found (e.g. for
Lemreway). Since Professor Oftedal frequently bases his explanation on pronunciations no
recorded in written forms, his evidence is largely followed here.
SHIELDERNISH: the second element is N nes, 'headland'. Oftedal's explanation of the firs
as silda, genitive plural of N sild, 'herring', is satisfactory linguistically, but seems unlikel
in meaning.

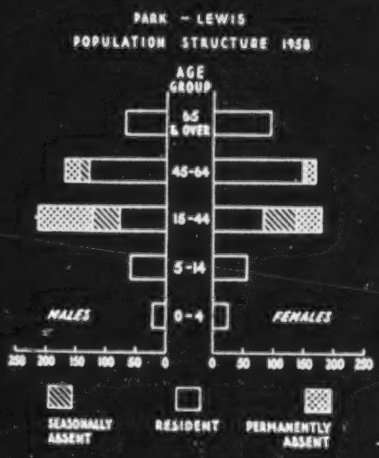
PARK - LEWIS
POPULATION STRUCTURE 1958
AGE GROUP
65 & OVER
45-64
15-44
5-14
0-4
MALES
FEMALES
250 200 150 100 50 0
0 50 100 150 200 250
SEASONALLY ABSENT
RESIDENT
PERMANENTLY ABSENT

Fig. 7.

/p. 12-c/

TABLE XI

OCCUPATIONS OF PERSONS (15-64) IN REGULAR EMPLOYMENT FURTH OF PARK

I MALES

	15-44	45-64	Total	%
Merchant Navy	56	13	69	55
Fishing	2	2	4	3
Professional	2	1	3	2
Other occupations	39	10	49	40
Total	99(80)	26(20)	125(100)	100.0

II FEMALES

	15-44	45-64	Total	%
Domestic Service	26	9	35	59
Nursing	10	1	11	19
Professional	3	2	5	8
Other occupations	4	4	8	14
Total	43(73)	16(27)	59(100)	100.0

/facing p. 12/

MALES

	RESIDENT									PERIODICALLY AWAY				PERMANENTLY AWAY						Migration since '39		RE		
						15–64																		
	0–4	5–14	15–24	25–34	35 and over	Fulltime with work	Occ and regular employment	Occ and available employment	Housekeeping	Business	National Service	Others 15–24	Others 25–34	Emigrated Army 15–24	Emigrated Army 25–34	Professional 15–24	Professional 25–34	Others 15–24	Others 25–34	Emigration	Immigration	0–4	5–14	15–24
Seaforthhead	1	-	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	
Shielderniah	-	1	3	3	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	2	
Rabost	-	1	7	5	9	5	5	-	2	2	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	1	3	
Kershader	-	3	6	9	5	7	4	-	1	-	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	6	-	1	1	
Garyvard	2	5	4	15	2	6	10	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	14	1	-	7	
Caversta	-	-	2	4	2	2	3	-	1	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	
Cromore	3	7	14	17	13	6	17	1	4	3	-	4	1	10	2	-	-	9	-	6	-	1	12	1
Marivig	2	6	12	17	9	8	8	3	8	1	-	3	3	6	1	-	-	5	1	16	-	6	3	1
Calbost	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	-	1	1	39	-	-	-	
Grevir	2	11	11	26	13	12	11	2	7	2	3	4	7	12	4	-	-	14	5	31	6	4	18	1
Glenside	-	7	1	3	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	-	-	-	4	2	3	-	1	5	
Lemreway	7	10	15	26	11	16	12	5	4	1	1	4	1	13	2	2	-	2	3	18	-	6	6	1
Orinsay	2	7	3	3	2	3	1	1	1	-	-	5	1	7	3	-	-	-	-	10	-	4	7	
Township Totals	21	59	80	132	71	71	76	14	29	10	8	30	14	56	13	2	1	41	12	151	7	24	66	8

TABLE XX

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[148]

[156]

| FEMALES | | |

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• 167
614

Early Scotland ES6

[For information on the early history of the islands of Lewis and Harris prior to 1603, with particular emphasis on foreign relations, immigration and clans, see ES10 Highland Scots, 2: Thompson, Category 116, pp. 31-44.]

527 To
166 many villagers, the concept of "holiday" has no meaning
• 167 other than that time in the yearly cycle when the natives return.

288 Rather, the industry has provided jobs for those who,
464 for one reason or another, would have stayed anyway.
162 Of the weavers between the ages of 15 and 24,
166 eight are only sons or sons who had to begin work because their fathers became ill or died; two others live at home only temporarily and plan to work elsewhere. Of those of ages 25 to 34, two men live at home because they are disabled; one has returned from the Merchant Service for awhile; two are only sons who are encouraged to remain at home, and several are youngest sons or sons whose parents have strongly discouraged them from leaving home. Of the 35-44 age group, four have remained on the island because of various ailments such as tuberculosis and mental health problems; one had to leave the Merchant Service because of an injury; at least five have stayed or returned because of family ties, the demands of aging parents and sick siblings. In the 45-54 age category, a number of men served in the navy or other branches of the armed forces during World War II, and returned from shipwrecks and other disastrous events to the relative security of the loom.

288 Many of the older weavers (at least nine in the
464 55-64 age category) started weaving after they had
• 167 returned from the United States or Canada because of
162 the depression. Some recall the horror of wandering

288 through alleys to rummage through the trash cans of
464 hospitals or other large institutions for food. The
• 167 occupational histories of the weavers support the
162 generalization made by an official of the Harris Tweed Association that the younger weavers leave because they do not like the weaving and they are replaced mainly by older men who want to settle down after a life at sea. (See Appendix A for several life histories of weavers.)

E. Crofting as Strategy

241 Because of the relatively high income provided by
288 the Harris Tweed industry, those who remain within the
434 township have tended to emphasize weaving and neglect the croft.

592 1. Croft as Place of Residence vs. Agricultural Unit

Most of the 169 households consist of married couples wit
(582) their unmarried children. A tendency to marry rather late in life and for children not to marry while their parents are still living is evident in Table VI (Partial List of Households According to Type of Household and Age of Household Head).

Fourteen households of married couples and their children (not included in Table VI) include at least one

1, [This source as received did not contain this table--Analyst]

*159 himself. If he had a drink he might come out. When the weaving started, he took that up; and he tilled the croft, kept cattle and all that; but socially he was a misfit. It was a terrible tragedy, the Iolaire."

[402] When the Bodach Beag returned from the United States, he bought a Hattersley loom to replace the old wooden loom with which his brother had been weaving. They worked the croft together. The Bodach Beag knew he would get the croft. He married soon after he returned, and for the next forty years never left the island. His wife took a six-month course in poultry-keeping and milking, and they concentrated on cattle rather than sheep. His wife sold fresh butter to the mobile vans.

*159 Their family grew and dispersed. The eldest son 594 attended the secondary school in Stornoway, emigrated to • [167] Rhodesia and married an English girl who was working there as a nurse. They had to return when economic earthquakes shook Rhodesia and he lost his job. He stayed at home for a year and built a new house on the croft; and then, unexpectedly, he started work to complete the necessary exams to enter a university and become a teacher.

[166] The youngest son became an engineer, married a Glasgow Highlander whose parents came from Lewis, and settled in Glasgow. Their sister married a tradesman on the mainland. The third son, unmarried but engaged to a local girl, works in the local tweed mill and lives at home with his parents.

Iain the Basher

*159 Hard-drinking and with a bitterness that seems ready to erupt in hostility at any moment, Iain "the Basher" at the age of 70 has enough painful memories locked inside his rawhide-covered heart to interfere with any normal • [167] bloodstream. He left the island for the United States on the ship Metagama, but returned during the depression. "I remember a night in New York. It was so hot your feet fried in your shoes. I was walking barefoot, carrying my shoes in my hands. A cat screamed in an alley. I heaved a shoe into the shadows and hit a man who was standing there. He started chasing me, throwing bottles so that they broke in front of me. I had to run through the broken glass in my bare feet. He finally stopped chasing me, but I had to go back--the bloody shoe was still in the alley. He was standing there with some of his chums talking to a policeman. I told them what happened, that I had thrown the shoe at a cat and accidentally hit the man. 'You didn't hit him hard enough,' said the policeman, 'You didn't hit him bloody hard enough.'"

Iain married twice and had several children, all of whom after his wives' deaths were raised by his sister, who never married. He was drunk the night his first wife died [164] in childbirth. His second wife died of cancer, and soon afterwards he set fire to his house. The insurance company

The insurance company
*159 paid him L600, and the pubs let him drink half of that
[945] before he even got the money. The house, in which he continues to live, stands as it was left by the fire, with walls blackened, blistered and bare.

Uilleam Glen

Uilleam, named after the owner of a fishing boat on which he used to serve as a crew member, is the 70-[598] year-old head of a croft household. He came from a family of four sons and two daughters. He was not the eldest son but he was his father's favorite. Before his father died he built the house in which he presently stays so that he would have some claim to the croft. The eldest brother was sailing, and upon his return he married a girl with a croft. Uilleam Glen made his living from the croft--he had a reputation for being good with livestock--and from occasional wage labor in Stornoway; he also followed the fishing.

Another brother of Uilleam Glen married into another croft in Shawbost, after serving in World War I as a sailor, and a sister married a boy from a neighboring • [167] village. The youngest brother, Murdo, emigrated to the United States with the second sister, and they lived and worked together in Detroit until the depression drove them home again. They then lived with Uilleam Glen, who had

FIRE AND SWORD

FIRE AND SWORD

Recorded history begins with the Icelandic sagas. In 1098 Magnus 175*
Bareleg plundered Lewis and devastated the island with both fire and sword. A skald named Bjorr Cripplehand, who accompanied Magnus on the expedition, reported that 'Fire played in the fig-trees of Liodhus; it mounted up to heaven. Far and wide the people were driven to flight. The fire gushed out of the houses.' The *Irish Annals* tell us that Skye was pillaged by the Norse in 794, and no doubt Lewis did not escape their attentions, then or earlier. Towards the end of the ninth century a stream of Norse 175*
folk left their homes to start the work of colonisation. Iceland, 648
the Faroes, the Orkneys, the Shetlands and the Hebrides soon 167 •
became thriving communities in which the earlier native population were as thralls, serving ruthless masters.

By about AD 1000, the island, with others as far south as Man, was in the sure and steady grip of men of Scandinavian or semi-Scandinavian origin, who were destined to become premier clans such as Clan Donald. It was not until the Battle of Largs in 1263 that this grip was loosened. In 1266 the Western Isles were ceded by Norway to Scotland, following which event the Gaelic people and their former Norse masters were soon to be merged in the marriage bed. As for the common language, it was [197] the Celtic elements which took over after, one supposes, some generations of suppression. The result in any case was a highly individual people, strong in character, and resilient enough to take the rough times with the smooth.

In the thirteenth century, Harris was in the possession of the 175*
MacLeods of Harris, and Lewis belonged to three powerful clans: 614
the Morisons in Ness, the MacAulays in Uig, and the MacLeods [551]
of Lewis in the remainder of the island. Other smaller clans were the MacIvers, the MacRaes, and the Nicolsons. The Harris MacLeods were allied by kinship to the Lewis MacLeods, though the relationship was to become quite distant—and their destiny more fortunate. History from this time is one of disputes, internecine warfare, murders, and similar crises deemed to be of the highest importance by the clans, both inside the island and between the islanders and strangers. An enormous amount of blood was spilled

HISTORY

241 documented; and Harris and Lewis played out their part in the
614 agitation for more land. Briefly, when the clan system was broken
182 down, the clansman found himself freed of the obligation of ser-
311 vice to the chief. The chief, on his side, found himself thrown to
*175 the economic dogs. Payments in kind were no currency; a house in London or in Edinburgh had to be paid for in cash, and a London hairdresser would hardly accept half a dozen eggs for his services. The effect of the Heritable Jurisdictions Act was like a butcher's chopper. With a stroke a social organisation was given notice to change overnight, with no period of transition allowed. The chiefs looked to the land for their money. In the old system, their prosperity had been largely measured in fighting men. Now the pressures of economics demanded increased rents from those who were being called tenants. Increased rents can, however, be paid only when the land's productivity rises. The agricultural changes percolating through the Lowlands of Scotland had not [429] even begun to penetrate to the Highlands area. Many tenants found that, unable to pay the increased rent demands, they were ejected from the lands which, incidentally, they had held by traditional understanding—written deeds were rare. Emigration • [167] started, and the vacant lands went to sheep-farmers, well able [233] to pay good money for the grazings.

Some chiefs did give their tenants time to change to new
241 methods of land use, and were careful not to make a breach be-
614 tween agriculture and grazing. Their tenants in turn improved
311 the land, changing in particular from the old run-rig system,
423 whereby a man working a piece of ground one year had the same
*175 piece the following year only if the dice were thrown his way. But the class of farmers' tenants called crofters (who had no security of tenure) or cottars (a squatter type with no legal recognition) found themselves on the verge of starvation. The few acres of ground they had, or to which they had been removed, were quite unsuitable for intensive cultivation to produce even the basic necessities of life.

*175 The picture of land use was that of a great black pot boiling
423 furiously with a brew of which the final taste was quite uncertain.
311 When the boiling was controlled, the land began to be parcelled
241 out, a share to each family. This led to a rigid, almost monolithic,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

with many of its neighboring Caroline Islands.[45] A similar tendency has been reported for the Aleutians.[46] On the other hand, there are the Pueblo,[47] who have recently begun to increase, and the Navaho,[48] who have grown in numbers at a rate no less striking than the decline of innumerable tribes in the non-Andean areas of South America.[49]

Although the fate of any one community in contemporary United States may be insignificant to the social scientist who is interested in culture change, social instability among folk and peasant peoples is a factor which should not be overlooked. I am certain that it is not a criterion of cultural discontinuity, unless the tribal or peasant group suffers complete obliteration. I am equally sure that it is commonly symptomatic of cultures which have been unable to make a complete adjustment to the new and higher sociocultural organization reaching down to them. Some tribes, it is true, have succeeded in making a pretense at adjustment. Noted for

[45] Felix M. Keesing, The South Seas in the Modern World (rev. ed., New York: The John Day Co., 1945), pp. 52-53.

[46] Gerald D. Berreman, "Inquiry into Community Integration in an Aleutian Village," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 1 (Feb., 1955), pp. 49-59.

[47] Eggan, op. cit., pp. 18, 139-140, 201.

[48] Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), pp. 9-10.

[49] Julian H. Steward, "The Native Population of South America," in The Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949) Vol. V, pp. 655-668; and A. L. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, ("University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology," Vol. 38; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), pp. 131-181.

means to acquire capital because he worked on very narrow margins nor the ability to specialize because his communal system forced him to conform to traditional techniques.

175* 178* 427 233

The trend to sheep farming, developing from as early as 1810, led to a sweeping disregard for the customary rights of the Skyemen. The factors (estate managers) of the absentee landed gentry, the new landlords, and the graziers had no associations with the tenantry and no use for their labor. Thinking only in commercial terms, they were only interested in seeing the higher grazings, the crofters' shielings, under sheep flocks in summer and the lower pastures, including the crofters' arable, in use during the winter. Thus, the "Clearances" took two directions.[55] The majority of the people seem to have lost their common grazings. In Kilmuir, according to several informants, they were left with only one small area of hill. Glendale suffered from the same policy. Many of the tenants were removed from their townships, by force or persuasion. To be exact, no fewer than sixty-two townships were cleared by the end of this period.[56] The evicted crofters were left to their own devises to reclaim a piece of the open moor, settled in existing townships, or banished from the island. In the area immediately to the north of Portree, forty crofters and

175* 178* 427 233 166 167 425

[55] For details on the "Clearances," see Alexander MacKenzie, The History of the Highland Clearances (Inverness: A. and W. MacKenzie, 1883), pp. 231-423.

[56] See Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (Edinburgh: Neill and Co., 1884), p. 77. Hereafter, I shall cite this work as the Napier Report, as it is commonly referred to in Great Britain. See also Lachlan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 9-11, 21-22.

175* 178* 427 233 166 167 425 162

eighty cottars in four townships were replaced by two shepherds brought in from the mainland.[57]

As the interests of the proprietors and their tacksmen had clashed at an earlier time, those of the landlords and their tenantry were now irreconcilably opposed. The appearance of the latifundia in England has been described as being characterized by absentee landlords, pastoralism, and a decline in the rural population through death and migration.[58] A process which had begun three centuries earlier in England and which had reached the Scottish Borders two centuries earlier had at last become operative on Skye. Let us examine the effects of full scale commercialization on the Skyemen.

The effects are evident. Commercialization and the evictions, which were a necessary counterpart, prompted emigration and confined the people within narrow limits, often, on inferior land.[59] By 1865 it was possible to describe Sleat as a quiet pastoral land, desolate and deserted.[60] The people had been pushed into a few isolated, badly subdivided townships. In Bracadale, the first parish to be fully commercialized, there were once thirty-six runrig farms; in 1882 there were six large grazing farms.[61] The bulk of the population, 922, were

[57] William MacKenzie, Skye: Lochdar-Drotternish and District (Glasgow: A. MacLaren and Sons, 1930), pp. 6-9.

[58] Helen Irwing, The Making of Modern Europe (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1923), pp. 49-64.

[59] Alexander Smith, A Summer in Skye (London: Sampson, Low, Martson and Co., 1865), pp. 468-469; Gordon Cumming, In the Hebrides (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883 pp. 149-150.

[60] Smith, op. cit., p. 95. [61] Napier Report, p. 15.

175* 178* 427 233 166 167 425 162 [161]

squatters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families had enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[62] In one Glendale township, Holmisdale, some crofts of four acres had as many as fifteen people to support.[63] Part of this extreme congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing one's croft when a child married. Although the population in 1831 had fallen to 17,660, from 23,084 in 1841, almost every township had two or three times the number of families which had lived in them in 1841.[64]

175* 178* 427 233 241 437 [142] [152] 272 [142] [142]

The loss of the summer shielings and the common grazings meant few could keep sheep.[65] The looms were silent. Since the rent continued to be based on the value of livestock and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all oats, which the graziers' sheep did not eat, went to feed the cattle. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to have been newcomers with more associations with the graziers than the crofters and cottars. Milk became a precious commodity. Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unable to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They carried

[62] Ibid., p. 112.

[63] Alexander MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 419-420.

[64] Smith, op. cit., p. 317; Cummings, op. cit., p. 140; and Napier Report, p. 15.

[65] The following is drawn from the evidence presented to the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of Skye; see Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82.

175* 178* 427 423 559 167 464 535 294 511 241 231 404 146

wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.

These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now was a spare-time pursuit. The Sgiathanach was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any marked movement into the village by the crofters.

175* 178* 182 182 778 711 777 778

While much of what was meaningful to the people was being lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the "Men" became an official policy of a new church. The emotional approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium. Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

the people to overstock. No land could be assigned as an enlargement if it would impair the value of a sheep farm or deer forest. The remainder of the island was already possessed by crofters. Moreover, there was no one to regulate the use of the common grazings. As the Crofters Commission usurped the functions of the landlord, estate management became lax. The township constable had disappeared. The cotters, 36 percent of the population, had been omitted from the provisions of the Crofters Act. Later when the government provided for a grazing committee to draft voluntary regulations forsharing the common grazing and, finally, coerced the crofters to elect a grazing committee, the regulations could not be enforced, except by appealing to the sheriff.

At length another commission of inquiry visited the Highlands to decide how the resettlement program might be extended. Then, in 1897, the Congested Districts Board was created. The Board was given power to purchase land for enlargements and for creating new holdings, to resettle crofters and cottars from congested districts, to foster the development of stock breeding, agriculture, fishing, and home industries, and to improve communications. It was not intended that the government should become a landlord. The crofters, like the Irish small farmers, were supposed to have acquired a desire to own their own land. In 1904 the estates of Glendale, the present twelve townships, and Kilmuir, the whole parish and part of the parish of Snizort, were purchased. On the Kilmuir Estate there were 450 crofts in 35 townships and 10 large farms.

Heavy rackrenting in the past had led to dissatisfaction and arrears in rent, the crofters' weapon against the landlord. The rents were revised and most of the arrears were cancelled. All the farms but one were subdivided to form 79 new holdings in 7 reorganized townships and to make enlargements to the other townships. The Glendale estate received similar treatment, being made over into 147 crofts in 12 townships plus a jointly held club farm. Both estates were sold to the crofters on a fifty year annuity basis. Then came a rude awakening. Within ten years the crofters found ownership to be a dubious privilege, especially since it excluded them from the benefits of legislation favoring the small tenant. The Kilmuir crofters were released from the contract, but the government refused to accept the petition of the Glendale people, who still are not pleased with their rather unique position. Private ownership of the land might be said to be as alien to their heritage as village settlements.

Land settlement continued, with the introduction of certain refinements, the most important of which was the power to use compulsion to acquire land for crofting in the national interest. Today over half the Island is owned by the national government and administered by the Department of Agriculture. The tendency in recent years has been to create more adequate holdings. On the Kilmuir estate the number of crofts has been reduced from 530 to 442. The process of resettlement, or de-commercialization, has been carried further on Skye than in any other Highland area.[82] It has also included the only major

[82] Cf., e.g., Collier, op. cit., pp. 90-113; and Hance, op. cit., pp. 61-62, 64-68.

migration scheme to be attempted. In 1923 sixty-eight families from the Isle of Harris, in the Outer Hebrides, were brought over to Skye and settled in Bracadale. Probably, close to 300 new holdings and in the neighborhood of 200 enlargements have been made since 1897. This clearly reflects the limited space available for crofting at the end of the "Clearances."

In addition to land settlement, the government has continued to stimulate improvements in stock breeding techniques and to foster more efficient land utilization. Credit facilities, by grant and loan, were offered to enable the crofters to purchase stock, especially sheep, and to build new cottages. Grants and subsidies, in an ever increasing number, have been made available to promote a fuller use of the land. Initially, under the Congested Districts Board, these facilities were devised specifically for the Highlands. By the time the Congested Districts Board was abolished, the crofters had become officially integrated with the national agricultural scene so that specific subsidies, grants, and loans were replaced with an opportunity to apply for assistance within the national program of agricultural development. Instruction in scientific methods of agriculture has been another continuing function of the government through a series of advisory services and, more recently, by a program of demonstration crofts and farms. Access to markets has similarly been facilitated by improving communications by land and, to a lesser extent, by sea.

Security and protection for the crofters has been another unfailing interest of the government. Again, with official integration, the scope of legislation has been extended to

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167 IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION--extent and sources of immigration; ext
and destination of emigration; reasons of migration; trends; restrictive re
lation; colonization; etc. See also:

Prehistoric migrations 176
Travel 486
Ethnic stratification 563
Slave trade 867
Colonial dependencies 63
Naturalization 641
Transplantation of conquered populations . . . 72

COMMUNICATIONS

The first trans-Atlantic call came in 1935, when the Lewis Woollen Mills were called up by a Toronto mill.

Beam radio came in 1938-39 with two circuits. The stations were on Bennadrove Hill, outside Stornoway, and at Ullapool. In 1942 a twelve-channel link was opened to Gairloch. Outlying villages worked into Stornoway on single-wire circuits, with an earth return, Great Bernera being the last exchange to be served single-wire. One of the island's most remote inhabited satellite islands, Scarp, received its first telephone service only in 1947. Scarp was deserted by its native population in 1971.

The rate of increase in the use of telephone services in the island has been considerable. In 1965 some 1400 customers of the Post Office made almost 250,000 trunk calls. In 1972, the number of subscribers was 2,300. The projected number for 1975 is in the region of 3,500 subscribers who will make an estimated 500,000 calls per annum. In each case, the figure for local calls is very much higher. Every telephone exchange on the island has grown in size; of the twenty-one exchanges, the three largest are at Back, Carloway and Shawbost. In 1964 the Post Office set up a working party to examine the development of the telephone service in the Highlands and Islands. As a result of the party's report a scheme of improvement involving a capital expenditure of £7½ million will be spent on new buildings and access roads, exchange equipment, underground cables and radio equipment.

Stornoway has been provided with a new telephone exchange, and underground cables have been laid both in the town and in the outlying districts. Smaller exchanges in the country areas will have new equipment fitted. A modern radio system between Stornoway and Tarbert is being constructed. To link the island with the South, a new underground cable, costing £1 million, will link Inverness to Ullapool and Gairloch. It is estimated that by 1975 most townships in Lewis and Harris (the latter through a new Exchange building) will be on STD, at a cost of £500 for every connected subscriber in the island.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

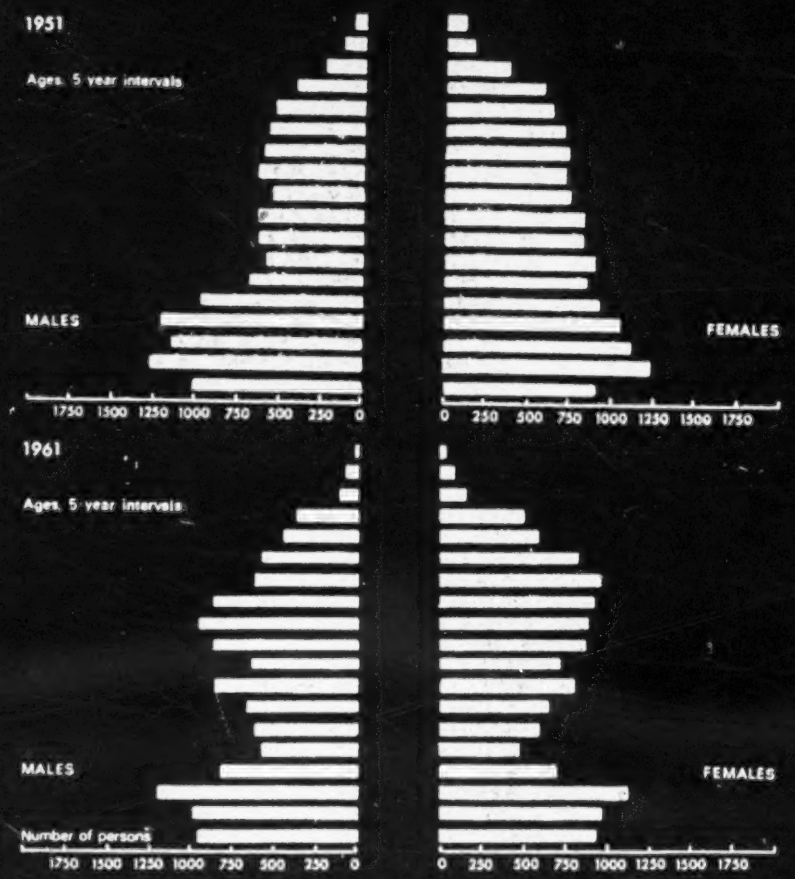
With the disappearance of the middlemen, their sub-tenants became tenants of the proprietor; and the descendants of these are most of today's crofters. Mr Thomas Knox, who became Chamberlain of Lewis in 1833, was examined before a Select Committee of the Houses of Parliament on the question of emigration from the island in 1841. At that time there were 1,913 small tenants on the island who paid yearly rents varying from 63s 9d to 72s 3d. He stated that the country produced sufficient corn for the use of the people in most seasons. The years 1836-7 were exceptional and outside relief became necessary. But he did not consider that any person in Lewis was poor who had a lot of land, however small, if it were sufficiently stocked. There were, however, in the island, small tenants occupying land unsuitable for raising grain; and in order to avoid such distress as had occurred in recent years he had advocated the emigration of about 6,000 people, the vacant ground to be put under sheep. This course had been followed in 1838, when five families numbering about seventy people were removed and the land they had occupied was converted into sheep farms.

In the end, however, only a small fraction of the proposed 6,000 persons ever left Lewis under Knox's scheme. Those who were left worked their land under a cloud of increasing distress, in a system which had them in an iron grip. Eventually the bubble burst, as indicated in Chapter 3. The pressure of social conditions, and the events of historical progress, were manifested first in the social action against the agricultural system and finally in the legislation which gave the crofter certain rights.

CROFTING CHANGES

In general, the island during the last century was able to support its population, failing to do so only when disease struck at the staple potato. Each family unit in the crofting township was self-sufficient in most grown produce and the milk products from the family cow. Very poor families grew potatoes only and depended on neighbours for milk. But when the potato crops failed, distress knocked at almost every door, the fishing communities on the island tending to relieve hunger by looking to the sea. The removal

HEALTH AND HOUSING



The age structure of the Lewis population in 1951 and 1961. The trend shown over the forty years 1861-1901 has strengthened and consolidated, so that the 1961 population is middle-aged

the 1914 war, but some 200 of those who survived the holocaust were lost in the wreck of the *Iolaire* on New Year's morning, 1919 —the first morning of the first new year of peace, literally within sight of home. Again, the effect of emigration was a loss, in many small communities, of a full generation. Where religion is strong and thrice-distilled, there tends also to prevail a state of mind which dwells on guilt and, where people are accustomed to ex-

THE PEOPLE

eighty visitors each year, but there is nothing similar in Lewis. Hostellers who visit Stornoway can do little more than march through the town to the mail-boat, or else return to Harris by the next bus.

As might be expected, the reading tradition is strong, stemming from a natural desire to learn and from the fact that the ceilidh could only partly satisfy the need for mental stimulation, not to mention the need to alleviate loneliness. A century ago three books were to be found in many island homes: the family Bible, often a massive volume clad in hairy calfskin, *Turus a' Chriosdaidh (Pilgrim's Progress)* and *Gras am Pailteas* (Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*). As horizons became wider a public library was set up in Stornoway in 1907 (see Chapter 8); a library was in fact established there earlier, before 1897, but it was not a free one. In round figures, the 15,400 people of landward Lewis (Lewis excluding Stornoway) borrow some 70,000 books annually, though of course the actual readership figures are higher, books borrowed being passed round the family and exchanged with others until the 'mobile' calls again. The mobile library service was established by the Ross & Cromarty County Council in 1955 for rural villages in thirty-one school districts.

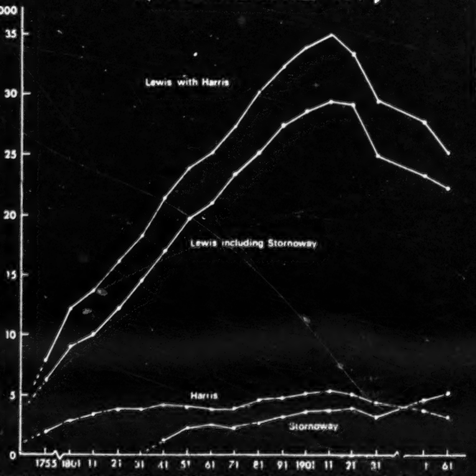
ISLAND EMIGRANTS

For all that the island is a tight-knit community, paradoxically it breeds many men and women whose destinies are not worked out within the confines of its own shores, but at the ends of far horizons. This is typical of most Highland areas: some who leave them make a mark on other societies often greatly exceeding the size of the community they left behind. Many 'great' people are also directly descended from a crofting ancestry; minds and spirits bred in the Highlands and Islands have potential for development not always apparent on native soil but sometimes fully realised in alien surroundings and conditions.

Harris and Lewis have contributed their share, and still do, to the general weal of skill, ability and intellect in all fields of human endeavour. For centuries, the export of brains was normal. Possibly the best known is Sir Alexander MacKenzie, who discovered

the MacKenzie River; he was born in Stornoway in 1764, in what was known as Luskentyre House, at the corner of Kenneth Street and Francis, where Martin's Memorial Church now stands. Another MacKenzie, Lt-Col Colin MacKenzie, was born in Stornoway about 1754 and went to Madras in 1772 as a cadet in the Engineer Corps under the East India Company. In India, MacKenzie followed a career of high professional distinction,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]



Population trends c 1755 to 1961 for the island as a whole; for Lewis, including Stornoway; for Harris; and for Stornoway. The population peak occurred in 1911. The dip in the Stornoway curve was due to the effects of emigration, as is the more pronounced dip in the island curve. Stornoway's curve in 1961 was on the upward trend, due to migration from the landward parts of the island into the town. Over the past 150 years, however, population mobility within the island has been virtually nil; movement has been emigration rather than migration

surveying Mysore (40,000 square miles), a work of great difficulty, and ultimately becoming Surveyor-General of India. Though not island-born, Thomas Babington MacAulay, the first and only Baron MacAulay of Rothley, was an issue from the very heart of the Hebrides. He was only one generation removed from Gaelic-speaking ancestors. His grandfather was born in the Manse of Harris, and a great-grandfather in the far-off parish of Uig, in Lewis; a great-grandmother was born in the old Manse of Stornoway.

The MacIvers of Liverpool were a Lewis family who took a leading part in the development of regular steamship travel across the Atlantic and in the foundation of the Cunard Line. The brothers David and Charles MacIver first operated with passenger ships (the City of Glasgow Steam Packet Company, 1844) on the Clyde coast. Before that they ran a petty smack between Loch Roag and Campbeltown. Kenneth Morison, the founder of the Railway Clearing House, was born in Stornoway in 1805; in an unusual field there was Aeneas MacKenzie, who scripted many Hollywood films; W. E. Gladstone's mother was a native of Stornoway; and the last of the tea-clipper skippers was Captain Murdo Stewart MacDonald, who skippered the *Sir Launcelot*. Yet another local boy who made good is R. M. MacIver, who left Stornoway at the age of sixteen to make a journey, first to Edinburgh University and then on to Oxford, Canada and America. He has in his lifetime collected eight Honorary Degrees, became Lieber Professor of political philosophy at Columbia University, and President, and then Chancellor, of the New School for Social Research.

rocks about intrusions or dykes of more resistant crinanite. Second, the better nature of the soil derived from the weatherings of the sandstones and conglomerates has aided reclamation and cultivation.

In the long years of its existence the town has been a focal point of island history, fanning out to many corners of the world, where it has been merged with the wider history of Britain, the Commonwealth and elsewhere. Detached as it was from the rest of Scotland by the Minch, Lewis often went its own way. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when England and Sweden plotted against the Scottish crown, the emissaries of these countries met in Stornoway. Later, in April 1719, a council of war was held in a room in Stornoway to plan the overthrow of the Hanoverian dynasty of Britain; included in the assembly were the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Tulibardine, George Keith, the hereditary Earl Marshal of Scotland, and his younger brother James, who was to become the famous Marshal Keith. Prince Charles Edward, though not setting foot in the town, looked at its twinkling lights from across the Bay, at Arnish, while his pilot tried to obtain a boat to take the royal fugitive to France.

The harbour has seen many kinds of ships on its waters. In the twenties, the *Metagama*, the *Marloch*, and the *Canada* came to take away almost a generation of young Lewis folk to the new lands across the seas, because their own island could not support them. The *Iolaire* sank within sight and sound of the harbour mouth and dragged about 200 Lewismen with her into an island memory. The *Cervona*, of Dundee, dropped her anchor just by Arnish lighthouse in July 1904, carrying survivors from the emigrant ship *Norge*, sunk at Rockall with appalling loss of life. The *Victoria and Albert* visited Stornoway in September 1902, the first visit to the town by a reigning monarch. That was a great day, the result of a letter from Provost Anderson of Stornoway in which he pointed out to His Majesty, King Edward, that with less than 30,000 inhabitants Lewis had 2,300 men in the Royal Naval Reserve, trained at the local Battery, the largest in Britain. There were also 1,100 men in the Seaforth & Cameron Militia, all of whom volunteered for foreign service in 1899, and 900 of whom did garrison duty in Egypt. Between 300 and 400 Lewis-

secondary school, the 'Nicolson', has had since its inception a formidable academic record. Back in 1907 work from the school was included in the educational section of an International Exhibition held in Christchurch, New Zealand: this was appropriate because emigrants from the west Highlands, notably from Harris and Lewis, were among the pioneers of New Zealand education a century ago. In 1957 new extensions were opened, costing about £300,000 and making the school the largest of its kind in the Highlands area. It is co-educational, its primary and junior secondary departments taking only Stornoway children and its senior secondary department catering for those from both Stornoway and rural Lewis. Many board out in the town during the week, returning home at weekends.

In providing social facilities, the town has placed itself in the position of an agent for those things deemed necessary for life, and is a middle-ground between the rural repression of the Free Church and the city abandon of the mainland, with resulting dilemma. The public houses, the cinema, youth clubs, dances and juke boxes are all in direct opposition to the preaching of the Free Church. The result is tension between the town's desire to act as a host for tourists and its wish to fulfil its duty on a religious plane; to instance this, the Stornoway Sabbath is less strict than the Lewis Sabbath. In keeping with the rest of Lewis, social standards are extremely high. Home is the centre of life, as it always was; the sense of community and communal responsibility is there. Divorce is practically unheard of, and the incidence of crime, as such, is extremely low.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway, and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes sixteen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Roadwork gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

THE OTHER ISLANDS

The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars was the staple diet of the St Kildans; the oil and feathers were the vital exports that paid the island rent to MacLeod of Harris, the owner of the group. These exports also helped to pay for the purchase of such foodstuffs as salt, sugar and tea, and other items which the island could not itself supply. The St Kildans owned some hundreds of sheep, the wool being spun and woven into tweed, and a few cattle were also kept. But the seabirds were the foundation of the island economy.

The factor which led ultimately to the desertion of the island group was isolation. The community there was throughout its history undoubtedly the most isolated in the British Isles, though until the present century this mattered little to the St Kildans. All that was deemed necessary for the continuation of the community was that, once a year, MacLeod of Harris should send his factor over from Skye to collect the island goods that were to be sold, and to bring with him those provisions which would see them through another twelvemonth. However, as the demand for the island's products declined, communications became more important: to support the family a man had to leave to find work on the Scottish mainland. Large-scale emigration began in 1852 when thirty-six islanders (with State aid) left for Australia. Island life was punctuated by loss of life; boating disasters and cliff-falls in particular deprived the community of the vital male elements needed for survival. Tetanus infantus, known on St Kilda as the 'eight-days' sickness', strangled two of every three babies born; this disease ravaged the island for almost a century and again struck harder at the male sex. About 1810 the population was about 200, a definite overcrowding. By 1861 it had fallen to 78; in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 73. A decade later it was nil.

Isolation tended to make the St Kildans a human menagerie. With the improvement in boat services, St Kilda became a 'must' on tourist itineraries. The tourist trade took on an economic importance for the population after July 1877, when the *Dunera Castle* steamed north and west for a voyage to the 'romantic Western Isles and lone St Kilda'. The steamers continued to call throughout the three summer months annually for sixty years, their passengers eager to buy souvenirs: tweed, quern stones, spinning wheels, stuffed birds and eggs; indeed, anything to remind them,

11 ISLAND LIFE

As one might expect with an island that is not obviously surrounded with water, life in Harris and Lewis is lived out by an amalgam of communities somewhat similar to those found in very large cities, with defineable districts and recognisable boundaries. The island is too large for any physical feature to demonstrate that it is unconnected with a larger land mass. One looks to the horizon, down the coasts, at the satellite islands, and concludes that if indeed it is an island, the separate elements which combine to make an islander must be found elesewhere than in the landscape. And so they are: in the people, their way of living, their economic problems, their attitudes, and their own consciousness of the fact that distance over the hills and the moors to the sea is significant, in that one eventually comes to the end of a road or track; or that a river or stream runs itself out for ever into the sea. Harris and Lewis is the biggest of all the 'small' islands off the shores of Britain, and has been fortunate in its size: large enough to support a significant number of people who, despite emigration, have managed to maintain their numbers reasonably well and who are now making efforts to reduce emigration and its effects on the island communities to a bearable level.

Because it is an island, however, external influences are felt like cold winter winds. The 1966 seamen's strike was an example; Government intervention was needed to supply essential goods. After the strike many questions were asked. All had their roots in the island's dependence on the outside for not a few of the necessities which could be produced on Harris and Lewis itself, with either its own resources or the resourcefulness of the island folk. To be short of fish, for instance—and this occurred—while the seas around the island were teeming, was unhappy history repeating itself, a harking back to former times when starvation levels could have been avoided by looking around for the means to harvest the crop lying around. The strike also threw into relief the question of the viability of crofting as a full-time occupation.

1901, the average was only 5·086, the county average being 3·983. The population was still to reach its peak in Lewis, some 30,000 in 1911. Emigration was at a fairly high rate, some 2,000 every decade, but this was no relief with births between 8,000 and 9,000 during the same period. In 1894 it was estimated that the number of cottars (or squatters) as distinct from crofters was in the region of 1,000. These people, mostly relatives of crofters, constituted a serious incubus on every crofting township.

Elsewhere in the Highlands, the enlargement of crofting holdings relieved the land-hunger situation. It was not possible for the same to be done in Lewis, and Harris possessed even less useful land to share out. Many applications were made by crofters either for an increase in their own holdings or an increase in the acreage of common grazings held by each township. Though some 500 acres were in fact handed over by the estate management for crofting purposes, there was a steady refusal to diminish the acreage of farms.

The Congested Districts Board was appointed in 1897, supervising public works to relieve the people of a certain amount of their ills. It carried on until 1912, when it passed into the newly-formed Board of Agriculture. The Congested Districts Board could have achieved much more than it did. It scraped away only a little of the vast problem. The next major landmark in the history of crofting legislation was the Small Landholders (Scotland) Act of 1911. It extended certain provisions introduced for the crofter in 1886, and further increased the class of tenants who benefited by bringing in the tenants of holdings rented at not more than £50 (£30 in Lewis) or not exceeding 50 acres (30 acres in Lewis). The 1911 Act also brought into existence the Scottish Land Court in place of the Crofters Commission. In Lewis, however, the hunger for more land went on unabated and reached a not insignificant peak during the later years of Lord Leverhulme's regime.

A new Crofters Commission was set up in 1955, following on the report of a Commission of Enquiry under the chairmanship of the then Principal T. M. Taylor of Aberdeen University. Fresh provision for the reorganisation, development and regulation of the crofting system in the seven crofting counties of Scotland

trappings of nineteenth-century civilisation, however, they grew to depend on items brought by sea. Imported food, clothing, wood, metal domestic utensils and the like were slowly assimilated as indispensable everyday articles. But there was relatively little export in return; then as now, any transport operator struggled with the fact that traffic was one-way and the freight charges must pay for the double voyage. Though the fishing industry and later the Harris Tweed industry were, around the turn of the century, to do much to determine and stabilise shipping developments, both passenger and cargo services were always facing loss rather than profit.

On the social side of the picture, the regular call of ships to the island, to Stornoway in particular, was a welcome, quickening sign that the island was significant in some way to the outside world. The ships brought visitors who made the island, and the Hebrides in general, better known to other prospective travellers. The exposure of the island and its folk to the gaze of the mainland led to a wider knowledge and understanding which without doubt brought improvements in social welfare and a basis for economic development. When many islanders found it necessary to go to Glasgow and the south for work, the ships of the Minch served as a firm link with home, to which they returned whenever they could. This feeling for home is still manifest today in the Lewismen in Canada who charter an aircraft to Prestwick each year so that they can holiday on the island. Since 1900 or so, passenger traffic has been two-way: emigrants, migrants, visitors and business travellers. When the fishing industry was in its heyday, the ships carried hundreds of fisherfolk across the Minch to ports as far south as Great Yarmouth to 'follow the herring' round the shores of Britain and back to the Minch again. Traffic today is still considerable, with the air-link with the island being used to its capacity.

In a community where Sabbath observance is an integral strand of religious belief, ministers have on occasions tried to preserve the Mosaic sanctity of the Sabbath Day by restricting the movement of ships in Stornoway harbour. In deference to local feeling the Stornoway steamer has always docked for twenty-four hours over Sunday, to leave port for Kyle just after midnight.

178 and practical support, could win through to make marks on the island scene.

185 A significant event occurred in 1964: the establishment of 654 the Highlands & Islands Development Board. This was Britain's 433 first regional development authority run by members who are either full- or part-time. The Board is grant-aided and has two broad functions: to improve the social and economic condition of the Highland people and assist in making the region more significant in a national context. The Board's attention in the Western Isles has been concentrated in the expansion of the [184] fishing industry and the development of tourism. In both these [505] fields there has been a considerable success: upwards of 100,000 visitors per annum visit the islands; and a fleet of over thirty boats, equipped with the latest gear, operate out of Stornoway.

433 Also in 1964 was produced the Development Plan for the 185 County of Ross & Cromarty. So far as Lewis was concerned, the Plan was based on an average decrease in population of some [167] 1,500 persons for every year in the future of the island. This, if carried to its logical conclusion, will see complete desertion in fifteen years or so! However, even if nothing further is done to halt emigration, particularly in the landward areas of the island, the population will remain around a stable 15,000. The County Development Plan contains much food for thought, but as with most county plans, does not indicate actual development projects. Rather, it lists all the resources of the island for the attention of those concerned. Potential developments include the setting up and exploitation of predominantly-fulltime crofts, shell-fishing, and inshore white fishing, herring and offshore white fishing, forestry, tourism and holiday accommodation, minerals, peat utilisation, hill-land improvement, marine reclamation and seaweed resources. This list is significant and merits the attention of the Highlands & Islands Development Board.

Harris, on the other hand, presents possibilities on a much smaller and limited scale. However, there are expansion potentials in tweed, knitwear, and craft industries, with tourism promising to be a good base for the island's economy. As the age-structure of the crofting population changes, there will be a useful re-organisation and enlargement of existing holdings to make for

175 29,000 and Harris 5270. From 1901 to 1911 rural growth 162 slowed down and ceased thereafter; but even by 1921 there had been little change (rural Lewis, 28,380; Harris, 5280).

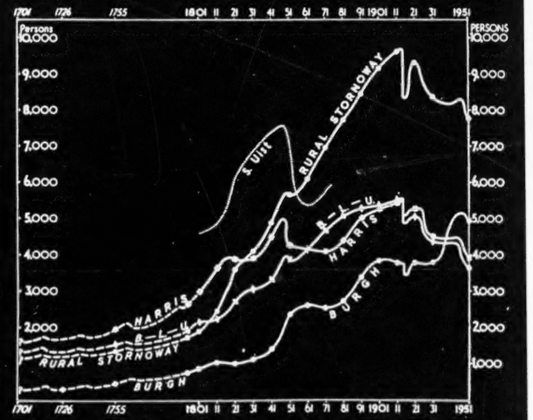


FIG. 12.—Graph showing changes of population in Lewis-and-Harris from *c.* 1701 to 1951. (Because of boundary changes the curves for the parishes of Barvas, Lochs and Uig have been averaged and are shown as B.-L.-U.)

• 167 The great exodus from the Island came three years after, in 1924–25, when Leverhulme's expenditure on labouring wages was over, the war bounties had been spent —partly upon the refitting of boats—and when fishing was hard hit by the destruction of the Russian market. Simultaneously, a wet summer spoiled the crops and prevented even the drying of the peats.

• 167 Emigration set in, both individually and by help of schemes for group settlement in Canada, and in 1931 rural [162] Lewis returned only 21,200 and Harris 4500. The curve of average parish increase illustrates the fairly steady numerical increase to the close of the last century, then the lessening increase, and after 1921 a fall, recorded in 1931.

162 The census of April 1951, which recorded the population of Stornoway burgh as nearly 5000 (a net increase of 16 per cent since April 1931), recorded little or no change in the population of rural Stornoway parish but losses of 11 to 19 per cent in the Island's four outlying parishes. The average net rural loss approached 9 per cent. But—as indicated in the curves drawn for Fig. 12 which are based upon statistical estimates that corroborate observation—the loss did not take place smoothly over the twenty-year period to 1951. Much of the loss occurred in the two preceding years, 1949 to 1951. Although partly due to a long term trend, this loss was greatly caused by crisis.

2. *Present Population Trends and the Outlook*

167 After 1931, as a result of the trade depression in the Empire and the United States, many emigrants returned, frequently putting what was left of their savings into the purchase of a loom, giving some months to the building of a new house with the help of Government loans, and setting about the improvement of their parents' holding [162] or the reclamation of a new allotment. Soon after 1931— [168] at a time when the Press read the census results as a portent of steady and drastic Island depopulation—Islanders remarked that unless unexpected attraction came from outside the Island, accompanied by lessened prosperity in

162 weaving and fishing, the fall in population would probably • [167] be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was [168] not so much a decrease in the number of families as in the number per family. The Island was only then following the restriction of population begun half a century before in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

162 Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is 178 a land of house-building, not of ruin and abandonment; 369 of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agri- cultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were [657] at work: first, loans, grants and unemployment insurance and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly, [593] the money sent to elderly parents and dependants at home [888] by young folk in Glasgow or abroad, or savings brought back by the young people themselves. Yet there is some [226] fishing and agriculture still. Above all, 'hand-weaving' has grown, even if this be partly 'artificial'. Recently it [241] was not only the elders who had returned to the Island, but [286] men and women in the prime of life, so that the question of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to be re-examined afresh.

167 The emigration which took place from 1949 to 1951 followed directly upon the losses and the unemployment [464] in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted [651] from the imposition in 1949 of a Purchase Tax on hand- [162] woven Harris tweed of 666 per cent. If the tax had been maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects on population would have been far-reaching.

16 In the pyramid for rural Lewis (b) the differences are striking, and are mainly due to two factors: the 'natural' 162 ratio of births to deaths, and migration. Beginning from the bottom of the pyramid, it will be seen that in 1931 there were fewer infants (from 0–5 years) than children from 5–10 years, fewer in fact than in the three older age-groups. In 1951 (c), the birth rate having risen sharply after the war and preceding depression, infants formed a much larger ratio (over 5 per cent).

162 In rural Lewis, emigration asserted itself earliest with • 167 girls, as they left the Island chiefly for domestic service; but soon after the age of 20 as many young men left as young women. In 1931 the discrepancy was most marked [165] from the age of 30 to 35. This was further accentuated [722] by the heavy death-roll among the younger men during the 1914–18 war, deaths having totalled more than 1100, perhaps the heaviest proportionate loss in the Empire. Only when they marry and return, permanently or for a period, to the croft (vacated it may be by the death of a parent), do the numbers of men tend to balance those of women. Thereafter the falling away among men is due to their shorter life expectation.

16 In 1951 National Service had drawn away lads of 18 to 20, so that the difference between the sexes is much less marked in the 15–19 age-group than it was in 1931. Mortality in the 1914–18 war contributes to the shortage of men between 50 and 55 in 1951, and the mortality of the 1939–45 war has also left its trace—or the birth rate would have been still higher (always excluding the factor of migration). For the men, those jobs not requiring per-

has improved, but detailed analytical statistics for 1951 were not available by 1954. Allowances being made for the effects of the wars, for the high ratio of births immediately after, and for emigration from Lewis after 1949, the age-grouping in the island changed but little from 1931.

175 growth followed the increases in potato-growing and fish-
178 ing, in income and food production, and the introduction
434 of vaccination against smallpox, which had formerly taken a heavy toll of child life.[1] This increase found an outlet [433] in emigration to the Colonies, often led by departing tacks-[751] men though discouraged at first by the Island lairds. For example, in July 1773, 840 people sailed from Lewis. 175 "Alarmed by this, their master . . . came down from 434 London to treat with the remainder of his tenants. What are the terms asked, think you? 'The land at the old • 167 rents, the augmentation paid for three years back to be refunded, and his Factor to be immediately dismissed!'" [214] Although the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, from which this quotation is taken, went on to say that it was expected that the demands would be acceded to, or the Island would become a desert, the Factor was retained.

175 The pressure of population can be imagined when the 167 appalling conditions of transport overseas are remembered. 505 A case is known of 700 Gaelic emigrants setting out from the Clyde across the Atlantic in a vessel for which the maximum human cargo of negro slaves permissible was 400. The regulations governing the transport of slaves did not apply to the transport of 'freemen'. In quoting this case, D. F. Macdonald suggests that while it was in the interest of slave-owners that their slaves should arrive in the Plantations alive, it was rather in the interest of manufacturers to discourage emigration so as to keep a supply of labour at home with which to meet their growing demands and fill the gaps due to a high mortality, particularly among workers newly arrived from the country.[2] It would also seem as if it had not been in the interests of landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time,

[113]

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. xiv.

[2] *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1750–1850* (1941).

000 landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time.

175 Wars brought enlistment in the Highland regiments,
162 the Navy and Merchant Marine. Owing to migrations of all kinds, males came to be outnumbered by females, then [702] as later (100 males to 114 females, 1931).[1] In Lewis in • [167] 1795 the proportion was 100 to 111, and in Harris 100 to 124. From this period onwards the 'export of men' con-175 tinued, modified by the reserve for war. Men were trained 162 for the Naval Reserve and Militia; and in 1900 for instance 702 800 men were training at Fort George and 2500 sailors were in the Reserve. The maintenance of a reserve for the Navy was one of the strongest pleas for the framing of the Crofters Act.

175 A new resource, important to the Islanders after 1750,
824 was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed upon
323 the shore, for use in the manufacture of alkali in the glass
388 and soap industries. From 1770 onwards the price rose, heightened first by an import duty, then by the Napoleonic 175 Wars. Estimating from the high prices, averaging over 824 £10 per ton from 1800 to 1823, Sir John Sinclair put the 435 value of the annual produce (20,000 tons) at £200,000. "It may appear surprising", he remarks, "how that sum could be of such importance to 80,000 people"; but he goes on to point out that this gave the additional cash needed to supplement their subsistence. But even when Sinclair wrote in 1825, the industry was in peril. Failure and loss occurred almost immediately after, with disastrous effect.

175 It is complained in the *New Statistical Account* that
433 owing to the summer-time work of kelp-making up to 1830, the people could give little attention to the crofts, so [511] that their extension must almost have ceased. Nor could

[1] In 1951 the ratio in Lewis was 100 males to 112 females, and in Harris, 100 to 110.

175 was to share; the children needed milk and the wome
632 wool to work, while the men fished. As the Crofter
423 Commission put it at the time, "Necessity has no law an
671 . . . it is scarcely possible to carry out . . . the Grazing Acts in this island". The position remains little change [476] Still, in spite of sixty years' delay, and the law's failure [462] restore an executive, the Constable, to perform specifie duties as a member of the community, the Grazings Com mittees do perform useful functions with credit. The form nuclei with which proprietor, Government or co operative agency actually deal, and the voluntary Cle may shoulder considerable responsibility.

175 With regard to small occupiers paying less than £
423 rent per annum and holding less than 10 acres and 25
671 acres of souming (or share of pasture), the Napier Com mission declined to recommend the bestowal of rights o immunities tending "to fix them in a condition from whic they ought to be resolutely though gently withdrawn The Act, however, did grant small occupiers immuni from eviction, and made it hard for either landlord, Sta or fellow-crofters even to refuse house sites or fresh hol ings, particularly in the crowded Lews. The squatte continues; indeed he is favoured, by escaping the paymen of rent and rates though he shares in benefits. The rate payers are proportionately, and unjustly, handicappe But as isolation has diminished, landless squatters hav been allowed to 'resume' portions of the common grazin for new holdings, as by common consent at Ness and i Lochs, after Lord Leverhulme's death.

175 A further recommendation of the Napier Commissio
168 was to aid emigration. Now Sir James Matheson's aid i 1863 proved successful, but his later efforts met with n • 167 response. There were then, and still may be, in the Islan

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

167 left the Island. Yet after 1931 many returned, owing to losses and unemployment both in British towns and over-
[288] seas. When emigrants began to come home the 'Harris'
[178] tweed industry had spread to Lewis and offered increasing
[464] employment. Some men still fished in family-owned
[226] Island boats, and others as paid hands (on boats from the East Coast), though losses and unemployment were suffered.

178 Inter-war changes were hastened not only by movement
177 beyond the Island—an influence at work for three or four generations before—but by mobility within it. In 1919 a
493 small mail car made its way daily from Stornoway along
[205] each of the five main roads, with an occasional passenger. When crofters crossed the Island to Stornoway they went on foot or took the pony and cart at a slow walk: it was a day's journey. Ten years later, Ford vans, bought second-hand, ran daily to Stornoway from every township. Frequency, ease and relative cheapness of movement came late in an Island with no railway: the mobility of the motor for marketing and shopping brought rapid change.

178 'Hand-loom' weaving had become an important, if
286 precarious, resource, important because of the capital
[433] invested and the labour employed, yet precarious because
[462] of its dependence upon name and sentiment, not only upon intrinsic value. In Harris many women had spun and woven for sale for over a generation before 1914, mostly weaving pure hand-spun yarn, and they continued to do so. For many years before 1914, an occasional weaver was to be found in villages in Lewis too, generally weaving a handspun weft upon a mill-spun warp. By 1939 it was estimated that there were about 1200 looms in the Island, chiefly weaving mill-spunyarn, most of it spun in the two principal Stornoway mills. A carding mill

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

177 most of the young men of the Islands were away. Hitherto,
[464] though people from the Isles had gone out into the world and rubbed shoulders with all sorts of men and women, from best to worst, their own homes and townships had remained inviolate. Now, however, there came men in numbers from distant homes, with little to do when off duty and with money to spend, either on tweeds, which were virtually free of controls, or on pleasures, if they could find them. The temptations offered to a community so unaccustomed to town ways were considerable.

729 Those who returned least changed in their outlook upon
178 rural life were ex-prisoners-of-war, from the 51st Highland Division. At their own wish, they had received instruction
[473] in modern small-holding; and the demand from prison camps for land when the Highlanders would come home was upheld. It is especially among these men that agencies such as *An Comunn Gaidhealach* kept Gaelic tradition alive, linking it to the Highlanders' long thoughts of home. Next to these come naval seamen, while those most subject to urban influences were those who worked in factories. But whatever their experiences, home exerted a strong attraction. If work and a fair wage can be found in the township and on the crofts, and if social life can be renewed, many who returned will stay.

726 As in the First World War, so in the Second: few communities in Britain have had so large a proportion of their men in the Forces, in the fighting line and at sea,
[177] from the outbreak of hostilities. The Island community
[167] is almost without the exemptions due to 'essential occu-
[729] pations' such as commercial agriculture in the country, or war industry and administration in the towns. The toll has been heavy, and the nation's debt to the Islanders should be remembered.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

APPENDIX B (continued).

(2) Occupations of resident males, aged 15-64, South Uig, August 1959

(excluding R.A.F. personnel but including local residents employed as civilians by the R.A.F.)

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	District:* A	B	C	D	E
Croft work only	3	3	5	8	4
Croft and regular-					
-weaving	16	7	4	16	8
-fishing	-	-	-	1	-
-estate work	1	-	-	-	3
-R.A.F.	2	2	5	1	2
-M.O.A.	3	-	-	-	1
-public service	2	3	-	1	3
-professional	-	-	-	-	-
-transport	1	2	-	1	1
-retail trade	-	1	-	3	1
Croft and irregular-					
-casual labour	3	2	2	23	14
-estate work	-	-	-	-	1
Not crofting -					
-weaving	-	-	-	1	2
-R.A.F.	-	-	-	3	2
-M.O.A.	3	-	-	-	-
-public service	-	-	-	2	-
-professional	1	1	-	2	-
-transport	1	-	-	-	-

* Districts- A: Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta
B: Carnish, Ardroil and Timsarvy
C: Aird and Crowlista
D: Valtos, Vneep, Reef and Mealvaig
E: Caryshader, Geshader, Ungshader and Knaclete

(3) Destination of Emigrants 1939-59, South Uig.

166
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	Males	Females	TOTAL	of which Females on marriage:
Stornoway	16	17	33	10
Other Lewis	2	8	10	4
Other Crofting Cos.	12	8	20	6
Glasgow	12	12	24	11
Other Scotland	7	16	23	11
U.K.	7	7	14	7
Overseas	8	9	17	3
	64	77	141	52

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

APPENDIX D continued.

(3) Destination of Emigrants, 1939 - 1959

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167
178

Destination:	Male	Female(1)	Total
BERNERA DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	6	4 (3)	10
Other Lewis	2	10 (9)	12
Other crofting counties	3	6 (5)	9
Glasgow	3	7 (7)	10
Other Scotland	14	7 (7)	21
Other U.K.	2	4 (4)	6
Overseas	4	1 (1)	5
All emigrants	34	39 (36)	73
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	10	10 (8)	20
Other Lewis	8	17 (12)	25
Other crofting counties	7	10 (8)	17
Glasgow	23	21 (17)	44
Other Scotland	14	22 (12)	36
Other U.K.	4	11 (10)	15
Overseas	6	2 (2)	8
All emigrants	72	93 (69)	165
CARLOWAY DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	5	13 (7)	18
Other Lewis	12	17 (8)	29
Other crofting counties	5	9 (6)	14
Glasgow	18	17 (13)	35
Other Scotland	12	15 (9)	27
Other U.K.	4	4 (4)	8
Overseas	10	7 (2)	17
All emigrants	66	82 (49)	148

Note: (1) the figure in parenthesis refers to females who emigrated on marriage.

TABLE VIII

EMPLOYMENT OF MALES IN WORKING AGE GROUP (15-64)

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

462 464

	15-44	45-64	Total
Fulltime Croft Work	20(9)	51 (29)	71 (18.0)
Croft Work and Regular Employment	33(14)	43 (25)	76 (19.0)
Croft Work and Occasional Employment	2(1)	12 (7)	14 (3.5)
Non-crofting Employment	15(7)	14 (9)	29 (7.0)
Unemployed or sick	10(4)	12 (7)	22 (5.5)
Total Resident Population	80(35)	132 (77)	212 (53.0)
Seasonally Employed Furth of Park	29(13)	11 (6)	40 (10.0)
Schoolchildren (15-18)	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
Students	2(1)	-	2 (0.5)
National Servicemen	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
Sick	1(1)	3 (1)	4 (1.0)
Total Seasonally Absent	48(21)	14 (7)	62 (15.5)
Regular Employment Furth of Park	99(44)	26 (16)	125 (31.5)
Total Regularly Absent	99(44)	26 (16)	125 (31.5)
Totals	227(100)	172 (100)	399 (100.0)

[877] [910] [164] 166 167 464

/p. 10-A/

TABLE IX

OCCUPATIONS OF RESIDENT MALE POPULATION (15-64) OTHER THAN FULL-TIME CROFTERS

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

462 465 464 166 167

	Weaving	Services	Fishing	Road-Work	Professions	Craftsmen	Not Known	Total
Crofters with Regular Employment	38	19	8	7	1	3	-	76
Crofters with Occasional Employment	-	1	3	3	1	1	5	14
Non-crofting Employment	4	9	9	2	4	-	1	29
Total	42(35)	29(25)	20(17)	12(10)	6(5)	4(3)	6(5)	119(100)

OCCUPATIONS OF MALE POPULATION SEASONALLY AWAY (15-64)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Whalers and Coasters	13	2	15
Salmon Fishing (Meta)	5	4	9
Others	11	5	16
	29	11	40

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALE POPULATION SEASONALLY AWAY (15-64)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Domestic & Hotel Work	27	1	28
Others, including sick	14	2	16
	41	3	44

/p. 10-B/

TABLE X

EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALES IN WORKING AGE GROUP (15-64)

462 465 464 166 167

(FIGURES IN BRACKETS ARE PERCENTAGES)

	15 - 44	45 - 64	Total
Croft Work[1]	7	22	29
Professional	8	-	8
Services	5	5	10
Non-employed	64	125	189
Total Resident Population	84(66)	152(89)	236(69)
Seasonal Employment	41	3	44
Schoolchildren	11	-	11
Students	3	-	3
Total Temporarily Absent	55(30)	3(2)	58(15)
Regular Employment Furth of Park	43	16	59
Total Regularly Absent	43(24)	16(9)	59(16)
Total	182(100)	171(100)	353 (100)

1. Principal workers of crofts: most women take some part in the working of crofts, planting potatoes, harvesting and harvest work, peat securing, etc.

/p. 10-C/

166 167 464 However, not all such employment is available in Park; 47 percent of the insurable male population leave the Hebrides to find employment; one third take seasonal employment, and two-thirds permanent employment furth of Park (See Table VIII).

Employment within Park

288 464 Table IX shows that opportunities for local employment are strictly limited. Weaving of Harris tweed is the most important single source of employment. It is significant that those engaging in it are almost all crofters working in their abundant spare time. Weaving is an ideal adjunct to croft work as it is unaffected by weather or hours of daylight and thus can be performed during periods of agricultural inactivity. The vagaries of the Harris tweed market make the occupation precarious; Park is one of the more inaccessible areas of Lewis and the mills are apt to give their commissions to the weavers nearest at hand around Stornoway when work is scarce. Since 1952, the number of weavers in the fishing townships of Cromore, Marivig, Calbost and Gravir has grown from 11 to 22 and much of the credit for this is due to the activities of the Pairc Association. Fishing, on the other hand, has lost ground in the same period; the number of fishermen has declined in these townships from 20 to 14[1]. Apart from weaving, service occupations form the only other employment available, shop-keeping, driving, and road maintenance being the chief occupations in the service group. There are very few craftsmen: with such a small population, and the long established tradition that the crofter builds his house and is his own tradesman, there is little opportunity for a trained builder, joiner or even shoemaker to make a livelihood. The professional class is small and entirely composed of the minister and missionaries, the doctor and several schoolmasters.

[178] [229] 463 464

462 There is little opportunity for women to find employment in Park, apart from nursing, shop-keeping and school teaching, and a few domestic service posts (See Table IX).

Employment furth of Park

166 167 462 465 464 The persons in the 15-44 age group form the main body of those working away from home. The distinction made between 'seasonally away' and 'regularly away' is that the former group spend part of the year elsewhere, the men on whalers in South Georgia or with the Tay Salmon Fisheries at Perth, or labouring on the mainland. The women are in domestic service, mainly in hotels. A majority of the men in the latter category are in the Merchant Navy; in some cases these men take leave to coincide with the spring work and the harvest. The majority of the women are in domestic service (See Tables IX and XI).

An interesting comparison in the 'regularly away' group exists between men and women in the professional classes (Tables IX and XI). The sample is small, but it is clear that more women than men attain professional status. The number of domestic servants, nurses, and merchant seamen is a reminder that the crofting districts provide a pool of labour for certain vital occupations, some none too popular in Britain as a whole. In people alone, one can say that Park makes a distinct contribution to the fabric of the national economy and this contribution is much more apparent outside Park than within the district. At the same time a majority of those who are temporarily or permanently away eventually marry and settle outside the district and thus a most valuable section of the community is constantly moving southwards. Only 35 per cent of the men in the 15-44 age group are wholly resident in Park, and 46 per cent of the women in the same age group, a reflection of the poor prospects and utter inadequacy of resources on the most of the crofts.

1 The 1952 figures are abstracted from the Lewis Survey Report on part of South Loche.

TABLE XI

OCCUPATIONS OF PERSONS (15-64) IN REGULAR EMPLOYMENT FURTH OF PARK

166 167 462 465 464

I MALES

	15-44	45-64	Total	%
Merchant Navy	56	13	69	55
Fishing	2	2	4	3
Professional	2	1	3	2
Other occupations	39	10	49	40
Total	99(80)	26(20)	125(100)	100.0

II FEMALES

	15-44	45-64	Total	%
Domestic Service	26	9	35	59
Nursing	10	1	11	19
Professional	3	2	5	8
Other occupations	4	4	8	14
Total	43(72)	16(27)	59(100)	100.0

/ Facing p. 12/

some whose feelings and interests opposed emigration. Free Church ministers foresaw that the beliefs they had introduced would be shaken by travel; and their income, like that of the merchants, would have disappeared as a result of depopulation. The Congested Districts Board, however, sponsored two schemes of colonisation in 1888–89. In the first scheme thirty families, and in the second, fifty families were taken to Canada, mostly from the Island.[1] The first and smaller group repaid their loans and received their lands; but the second failed to do so, and the State was only reimbursed by sale of the land.

The story of the schemes suggests the lack of four elements needed for success: promptitude in organisation; sympathy with strictness, and a sufficiency of funds; a year's experience of new conditions or technical guidance, rather than segregation of the inexperienced without leadership; and choice of vocation as farmer or as farm servant. Many a crofter-emigrant has succeeded as a shepherd and farm hand or as an independent farmer; but not every Islesman, particularly a cottar or landless squatter, is fit to conduct a farm. Technically, an all-round experience of part-time crofting and fishing by rule of thumb does not train a man for farming in a new environment without even a year's apprenticeship. Success is possible in schemes which overcome initial difficulties by providing training, companionship and community life, in a suitable physical environment.

One further principle of communal life was the spiritual, which Parliament and administration failed to grasp. The most significant evidence in the Napier Commission was that of A. Carmichael; and from this the Commissioners

[1] J. P. Day, 1918, pp. 123-125, from Reports of Congested Districts Board, and Crofters and Colonisation Commissioners (Fifteenth Report).

grants, then, in the absence of an immediate goal, the combination of the corporate interest in bad work with natural inclination to an easy time proved overwhelming! The problem of assuring good work and prompt repayment is real: it calls for the right appeal to team-spirit coupled with personal responsibility. Many short roads to small new settlements have been economically built.

With regard to loans for settlement and housing, similar contrasts are found. Near Stornoway the farm of Aignish (Eye) was divided in 1905 into thirty-two fishermen's holdings (rented at £3). The Congested Districts Board lent £3600 for housing and spent £1600 on fencing and £450 on administrative expenses, a total of about £180 per holding; but in seven years the holders had paid only one-seventh of the annuities due, and were in arrears with the rent.[1] Yet on the housing loans made on a wide scale since 1919, there was mutual aid among neighbours and the repayment has been satisfactory.

SUMMARY: 1750—1914—1919

The transition from the old economy of mutual aid in self-support, little changed down to the 'Forty-five, to the development of production for sale had proceeded far by 1914. Yet change had not continued steadily. There had been fluctuations, from the land and back again, or towards individualism with returns to common action. Kelp-making, migration, and commercial fishing alternated in importance as means to earn a living without losing the anchorage of home. After the potato famine, a century ago, the people tended to move away from the outlying townships and emigrate; but the next generation agitated

[1] J. P. Day (1918), pp. 312-314.

for a firmer hold upon the land and for a return to abandoned sites. The communal possession of joint farms, held directly or under tacksmen, gave place to individual possession of crofts. Yet the legal recognition of perpetual tenure in 1886 gave not only the crofter's home but the crofting neighbourhood a security unequalled in Britain. The use of moor and machar in common was retained; but its control for improvement or reclamation by the estate or the township was weakened, rather than strengthened, by the Crofters' Acts. Confusion grew—both upon the arable land, subdivided, unenlarged and unimproved, and also upon the common grazing, sorely overstocked in spite of ever diminishing 'soumings' (or family shares) of cattle. Rating difficulties and anomalies appeared. Communal discipline, maintained at sea by fishing, was weakened on land after the abolition of the joint farm-group, and almost nullified in the townships by subdivision and squatting.

A year before the potato famine of 1845, a new landlord had brought good-will, capital and pioneering effort to Lewis. These had been directed to experiments in the reclamation and the industrial utilisation of deep peat. Helped by employment on these and other works, the population of Lewis continued to increase, when increase in Harris was arrested for a generation. Yet while neither experiment with peat met with success, little aid had been given to develop fisheries. In both parts of the Island a growing population was supported from the 'seventies onwards by help of earnings derived from the seasonal herring fishing on the East Coast and from inshore line fishing at home. Women added to the Island income by seasonal 'gutting' and, in Harris, by their spinning and weaving. Money was earned by work on the mainland,

and savings were sent by emigrants who remained faithful to parents and home.

If it be asked why most of the people kept to their Island home in spite of its poverty and earned so little away from it, one answer must be that their native tongue formed a barrier encircling them as a community at home and cutting them off from the rest of the nation. Seventy-five years ago the new Education Acts were not yet in full operation. Comparing the relative well-being in the Shetlands with the extreme poverty in the Hebrides at that time, a northern agriculturist wrote that in Scotland, only in the Hebrides "is the food obtained by the peasant occasionally so scanty" as to be unable "to maintain a labouring man in vigorous health". Inquiring why there should be so great a difference between the Shetlanders and the Hebrideans, living in similar, distant isles, he wrote, "We think the answer may be given in one word—*language*. . . . The population of the Hebrides cling to their ancient Gaelic with consequences most disastrous to themselves. . . . It handicaps them in the race for life . . . is a hindrance in the cities and a check to the emigration of both sexes to those world-wide regions where all who speak the English tongue find themselves at home."[1] He concurred with the Census Report of 1871, which stated: "The Gaelic language may be what it likes, both as to antiquity and beauty, but it decidedly stands in the way of the civilisation of the natives making use of it, and shuts them out from the paths open to their fellow-countrymen who speak the English tongue". The Report concludes: "It ought therefore to cease being taught in all our national schools. We are one people and we ought to have but one

[1] James Mollison, in the Highland and Agricultural Society's *Report on the Present State of the Agriculture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878), pp. 136-38.

Islands Distress Fund was raised in the Lowlands. The Committee organising it distributed relief, and purchased seed potatoes, etc. They also drew attention to some important features of Island conditions. Among others was that of the scale of charges for transport of goods and passengers. These charges had risen by from two to four times what they had been.[1] The steerage passengers were poorly provided for; and a later improvement in cabin comfort was not accompanied by improved steerage accommodation. One remembers in particular the suffering of the 'fisher girls'. In good weather the passage home (by day) was bearable; and though the song that 'lifted' as the boat left Kyle for the last lap to Stornoway sank pathetically as the steamboat left the shelter of Skye, voices began to rise again in the shelter of Stornoway Bay, sounding clear as the boat drew in. In bad weather the crowded women suffered sorely. Five hundred might be packed on the deck with little or no shelter, or covered the benches and floor of the steerage, sick and distraught. The Committee pointed out that "the Government increasingly accepted responsibility for the roads of the kingdom", and that sea communications were even more vital than roads to Islanders, for they serve in place of both road and rail. Some action was taken, but charges remained high.

As a result of all these difficulties, many young men

[1] Examples were given of the rise in charges from 1914 to 1924, *e.g.* a web of tweed, Harris to Glasgow, from 1s. to 3s.; a box of lobsters, Harris to London, 4s. 6d. to 11s.; a barrel of herring, Stornoway to Kyle, 1s. to 3s. and so on. Although the rise on larger consignments was less, these were of no benefit to 'small folk'. Typical charges for the export of livestock were: (Lochmaddy, N. Uist, to Oban, or from Harris) for sheep the rise was from 9d. to 2s.; for lambs, 6d. to 2s.; for horses or cows, 5s. to 18s.; for stirks, 2s. 6d. to 11s. 6d. The Committee's report was privately printed.

5:	Caird et al.	K-5	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

TABLE XVI

DIRECTION OF MIGRATION (Furth of Lochs Parish)

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Destination	Male	Female	Total	%
Stornoway	59	59	118	32
Rest of Lewis	7	17	24	7
Rest of Crofting Area	15	20	35	9
Glasgow	34	49	83	22
Rest of Scotland	19	43	62	17
England and Wales	12	16	28	8
Abroad	5	14	19	5
	151	218	369	100.0

/p. 12-G/

5:	Caird et al.	K-5	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

POPULATION

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[228]

Figure 6 and Table XII give the population of Park from 1830 to 1958 in graphical and tabular form. The 1830-51 decline was due to evictions. The rapid increase in population from 1861 until 1911 can be almost wholly ascribed to the success of the fishing industry: a comparison of the graphs of the selected agricultural and fishing townships makes this clear. The decline since 1911 has been very rapid, and is mainly a reflection of lack of ancillary employment. The 1939 figure in the graph appears to show a slight check in the rate of decline but it may be that there was an influx of evacuees from Glasgow just before the enumeration was made.[1] The 1951 Census confirmed the continuing downward trend as did the enumeration of 1958.

An investigation of the age structure of the population (Table XIII and Figure 7) reveals that not only is the population declining but also that it is ageing. In 1958, only five per cent of the population were under school age, as compared with 9.4 per cent in 1939. The largest single group in 1939 was the 15-44 age group, the most enterprising and energetic members of the community; in 1959, the 45-64 age group emerges as the largest. The 65 and over age group has increased by 5.2 per cent since 1939.

As the 1939 and 1958 enumerations were not obtained under the rigid conditions of the Census, the figures for Lewis, excluding Stornoway Burgh, have been added for comparison; unfortunately the published Census material does not give individual parish statistics in age groups for Lewis. By including those persons in seasonal employment (mainly in the summer months) and excluding those permanently away, the Census and enumeration figures are more comparable, but it is possible that in the enumeration there may be an error of five per cent. (See Table XX). From these comparisons, it would appear that the population structure of Park is unbalanced in comparison with the rest of rural Lewis, and Scotland as a whole. The reason for this is the fact that so many people are working permanently away from home. (See Table XIV). From a study of the population structure it is clear that Park has all the attributes of an ageing population, a significantly low proportion of children and a higher proportion of the 45-64 and 65 and over age group than either rural Lewis or Scotland as a whole.

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An attempt was made to record migration from the townships since 1939. From Table XV it is clear that all migrants were not recorded in the enumeration but the discrepancy may be explained by two other factors. The evacuees from Scottish cities who returned after 1939 to their city homes may well account for some and more people may now be working permanently away from home than was the case in 1939.

The destination of the emigrants (Table XVI) is significant. Stornoway Burgh (32 per cent) heads the list and so many of the Park families have not left Lewis but have gone to the one place on the island where employment is available. The second largest group have migrated permanently to Glasgow; many of those in permanent employment furth of Park (unmarried and still part of the croft household) work in Glasgow, and eventually marry there. It is also significant that only 16 per cent of the emigrants settled in crofting areas. The fact that over one-third of the recorded migrants settled in the only truly urban community in the Outer Hebrides needs further investigation but one possible conclusion is that if employment were available in Park, the migration rate would be drastically cut.

1 For discussion of this point, and of the population statistics in general, the author is greatly indebted to R. S. Barclay, B. Sc., Ph. D., F. R. S. E.

TABLE XVII

SELECTED POPULATION STATISTICS FOR THE AGRICULTURAL AND FISHING TOWNSHIPS

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	Agricultural Townships	Fishing Townships
POPULATION		
Wholly resident	81%	70%
Seasonally absent	12%	10%
In permanent employment furth of Park	7%	20%
	100%	100%
POPULATION CHANGE		
Population 1939	317	1,140
Population 1958[1]	226	682
Total Decrease	91	458
Natural Increase/Decrease[2] 1939-57	+5	-23
Net Migration	96	435
Migration as a percentage of 1939 population	30%	38%
Natural Increase (Omitting War Casualties) as a percentage of 1939 population	3%	0.5%

1. Including those temporarily away: the permanently absent group would not be included in the 1939 enumeration.

2. Adjusted for war Casualties - Agricultural Townships 5, Fishing Townships, 28

/facing p. 14/

[Seaforthhead]

161 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural
162 and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend,
166 significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment furth of Park, and a smaller loss by
167 migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric,
241 there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration
228 losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of
632 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seaforthhead and Shieldernish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

135 Seaforthhead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a
361 gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being
[241] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

154 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat
167 accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely
[253] for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Balallan and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

[244] The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed.
[407] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be
[314] in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being
[251] only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep soum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the soum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in
162 1886. In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the
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[Habost] [Kershader]

464 Of the 53 residents, 19 are over 65 and only 5 under 15 years, leaving a working population
161 of 29: seven are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily
162 declining since its peak of 121 in 1901.
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Since 1946, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely fenced and the method of cultivation has changed from spade and horse-plough to tractor and cultivators. A
178 further fence has been erected for a lamb park and much land has been re-seeded; an increasing
241 area has been put down to hay. It would seem that fattening of stock for market is intended, and
251 better attention is being paid to stock. Yet the population is ageing and there are few young men
407 to take the place of the older crofters; when working units become larger and stock decreases to
[162] a figure nearer the real carrying capacity of the grazing, the croft could become a profitable concern: at the moment, the croft is only maintained through grants and ancillary earnings. Should that happen, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivation to provide winter fodder.

KERSHADER

Philip W. Wheeler, M. A.

131 Kershader is a township of forty-three permanent residents on thirteen crofts, which stretch
161 for a mile along the southern shore of Loch Erisort. The crofts extend up to one-third of a
162 mile from the coast with a two-and-a-half mile deep hinterland of common grazing. The extreme
135 elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arranged
361 in rectangular strips at right angles to the coast, are lower (maximum 125 feet) and include three main zones (Fig. 8):

241 (a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly below 50 feet,
154 dissected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone have a
361 distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and unsuited to fertilisation by seaware. The smaller hillocks in this zone have thinner soils of the same sort, but the main hill (crofts 10/11) is an extension of zone (c).

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with hills rising to over 100 feet. The lower areas have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a) and (b), with peaty-loam characteristics, overlying aquiferous gravels. The higher areas have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there are signs of former skinning.

(c) A zone of hollows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reacting well to heavy fertilisation with seaware and intervening heights covered with blanket bog, partly skinned, heather and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with gentler slopes over 50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irregular shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

241 In Kershader, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts vary bet-
511 ween 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23.45 acres reputed arable and 110.35 acres outrun. 24.5 acres are in fact under crop (oats 18.5, potatoes 6.0), and 9.5 acres under sown grass; and of the remaining 99.8 acres, mainly natural grass

[Kershader]

253 (b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices,
311 however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the
221 case they heft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand.
251 Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them ha
in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

[632] There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no clu
stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townshi
take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per she
and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

251 Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleece
[254] about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Aver
[455] sheep carcass weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Brasy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

241 Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as
161 full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category
162 and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable
167 population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this
166 township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft
464 work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption
[463] only) and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The
[501] only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 193 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one perso entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the
[195] optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907
[193] and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard,
[371] Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

182 It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilising the
241 population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in
[413] agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

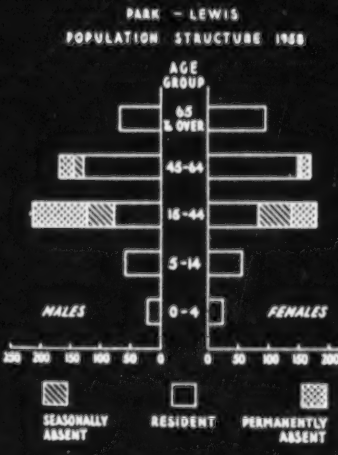
PARK - LEWIS
POPULATION STRUCTURE 1958
AGE GROUP
65 & OVER
45-64
15-44
5-14
0-4
MALES
FEMALES
250 200 150 100 50 0
0 50 100 150 200
SEASONALLY ABSENT
RESIDENT
PERMANENTLY ABSENT

Fig. 7.

/p. 12-C/

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5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

| | MALES | | |

| FEMALES | | |

tradesmen are respected, but since most are crofters, they are 554 treated like all other men.

The Village. The village contains a heterogeneous population. 621 At least a third of the families have arrived in the recent 162 past. They have come to fill positions in the county and 167 national government offices; in Lowland directed banks or business houses which have extended their field of operations to Skye; and in the professions as doctors, lawyers, ministers, and schoolteachers. A few have come to Skye to open a shop or offer their services as tradesmen. The remainder are either Skye folk who have recently moved into the village to see employment or families that have been in Portree for one or more generations. Very few families seem to have lived in the village for more than three generations.

While there are many opportunities for an individual to 554 achieve status in Portree, the cultural heritage and the 184 economic limitations under which the Sgiathanach labors has not allowed him to compete with the newcomers. His ability to compete is further restricted by the prevailing policy of the government and the national corporations to bring in managerial and, often, clerical personnel from the outside. As 545 All share one socio-economic trait; they are non-crofting. yet there is no class structure beyond the polarity of the landed gentry and the crofters who participate in village life. There is verticality. Highest prestige status is accorded to those who have been accepted among the local aristocracy. Below them rank the ministers, doctors, and school teachers.

*175 They were frequently accused of failure to conform to orthodoxy *178 and of a disinterest in their calling.[19] 793

*175 In time a second trend appeared which was marked by *178 conservatism and an emphasis on doctrinal dogma. Toward the 182 close of the eighteenth century, it became apparent that the 161 population had pressed too hard on the means of subsistence.[20] Commercialization was continuing and sheep flocks were beginning to replace men in one parish.[21] 167 The people, many of them destitute, were finding a solution for their plight in migration to the New World, or in seasonal migrations to the Lowlands for work.[22] Those who remained were land hungry. *175 Gradually, they were losing respect for their ministers and *178 turning to evangelical missionaries who had begun to appear in 182 the Isles.[23] 772 The crucial fact would seem to be that the ministers 777 were upholding values and symbols which no longer contributed to group solidarity. The Island was on the verge of a period 792 of social disintegration and cultural instability. Under the changes that were to follow, the evangelical movement grew into a large scale revival.

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[19] MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800, pp. 108-115; Roderick MacCowan, The Men of Skye (Glasgow: John MacNeilage, 1902), pp. 30-32; and Buchanan, loc. cit.

[20] OSA, II, 552; III, 247, 248; IV, 132; XVI, 151, 224, 539; XVIII, 184.

[21] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 754-755.

[22] OSA, II, 551; and Robert Heron, General View of the Natural Circumstances of the Hebrides (Edinburgh: John Paterson, 1794), p. 32.

[23] MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 15-16, 24-25; and MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 90-91, 98, 99, 151-165.

Each man received a permanent, compact plot of arable in place *175 of his former concurrent right to a whole farm. The change, on *178 the surface, seems to have been superficial. The grazings 427 remained common property and the arable land became common property after the harvest. The significant fact is that commercialization had not yet led to a disregard for the customary rights of the small tenant, except in a few isolated areas.

There were other effects of the change in tenure beyond a leveling of the social hierarchy. By giving more people 167 a direct share in the land emigration was stopped. The practice 161 of subdividing the crofts among the children, as they married, 553 at once favored an increase in population and strengthened the family of orientation, if not the extended family. At the same time, it placed a greater dependence on the potato; the people became hostages to the health of the potato and their own fertility. In time progressive economic deterioration began. *175 The old subsistence economy had been weakened by subdivision *178 of the small plots, increasing dependence on external markets for 731 profits from the sale of cattle, and wages from kelping or a little fishing. When the markets broke, destitution and emigration reappeared. Finally, with a failure of the potato, the economic structure collapsed. The population trends were reversed. The people had remained unspecialized in a nation of specialists.

The next stage in the process of commercialization, the *175 growth of a village and the extension of communications, had *178 621 little perceptible effect on the Sgiathanach. Villages were

means to acquire capital because he worked on very narrow 17 margins nor the ability to specialize because his communal 17 system forced him to conform to traditional techniques. 23

The trend to sheep farming, developing from as early as 1810, led to a sweeping disregard for the customary rights of the Skyemen. The factors (estate managers) of the absente landed gentry, the new landlords, and the graziers had no associations with the tenantry and no use for their labor. Thinking only in commercial terms, they were only interested in seeing the higher grazings, the crofters' shielings, under sheep flocks in summer and the lower pastures, including the crofters' arable, in use during the winter. Thus, the "Clearances" took two directions.[55] The majority of the peopl seem to have lost their common grazings. In Kilmuir, accordi to several informants, they were left with only one small are of hill. Glendale suffered from the same policy. Many of th tenants were removed from their townships, by force or persua To be exact, no fewer than sixty-two townships were cleared b the end of this period.[56] The evicted crofters were left to their own devises to reclaim a piece of the open moor, settled in existing townships, or banished from the island. In the area immediately to the north of Portree, forty crofters and

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[55] For details on the "Clearances," see Alexander MacKenz The History of the Highland Clearances (Inverness: A. and W. MacKenzie, 1883), pp. 231-423.

[56] See Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry i the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (Edinburgh: Neill and Co., 1884), p. 77. Hereafter, I shall cite this work as the Napier Report, as it commonly referred to in Great Britain. See also Lachlan MacDo The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 9-1 21-22.

eighty cottars in four townships were replaced by two shepherds brought in from the mainland.[57]

As the interests of the proprietors and their tacksmen had clashed at an earlier time, those of the landlords and their tenantry were now irreconcilably opposed. The appearance of the latifundia in England has been described as being characterized by absentee landlords, pastoralism, and a decline in the rural population through death and migration.[58] A process which had begun three centuries earlier in England and which had reached the Scottish Borders two centuries earlier had at last become operative on Skye. Let us examine the effects of full scale commercialization on the Skyemen.

The effects are evident. Commercialization and the evictions, which were a necessary counterpart, prompted emigration and confined the people within narrow limits, often, on inferior land.[59] By 1865 it was possible to describe Sleat as a quiet pastoral land, desolate and deserted.[60] The people had been pushed into a few isolated, badly subdivided townships. In Bracadale, the first parish to be fully commercialized, there were once thirty-six runrig farms; in 1882 there were six large grazing farms.[61] The bulk of the population, 922, were

[57] William MacKenzie, Skye:Iochdar-Trotternish and District (Glasgow: A. MacLaren and Sons, 1930), pp. 6-9.

[58] Helen Irving, The Making of Modern Europe (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1923), pp. 49-64.

[59] Alexander Smith, A Summer in Skye (London: Sampson, Low, Martson and Co., 1865), pp. 466-469; Gordon Cumming, In the Hebrides (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883 pp. 149-150.

[60] Smith, op. cit., p. 95. [61] Napier Report, p. 15.

squatters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families had enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[62] In one Glendale township, Holmisdale, some crofts of four en acres had as many as fifteen people to support.[63] Part of this extreme congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing one's croft when a child married. Although the population in 1831 had fallen to 17,680, from 23,084 in 1841, almost every township had two or three times the number of families which had lived in them in 1841.[64]

The loss of the summer shielings and the common grazings meant few could keep sheep.[65] The looms were silent. Since the rent continued to be based on the value of livestock and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all oats, which the graziers' sheep did not eat, went to feed the cattle. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to have been newcomers with more associations with the graziers than the crofters and cottars. Milk became a precious commodity. Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unable to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They carried

[62] Ibid., p. 112.

[63] Alexander MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 419-420.

[64] Smith, op. cit., p. 317; Cummings, op. cit., p. 140; and Napier Report, p. 15.

[65] The following is drawn from the evidence presented to the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of Skye; see Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82.

compared with 34.9 for Scotland. The death rate among Skyemen, however, was 17.4 compared with 22.0 for Scots in general. But Scotland had a net emigration rate of only 3.6 while the Skyemen were leaving at a rate of 16.5. In this decade no fewer than 3,115 left Skye.

By the end of the third period an additional influence of the process of commercialization had become apparent. The social hierarchy was modified in the direction of greater socio-economic differentiation.[68] At the time of the "Forty-five"Skye was inhabited by the families of three clan chiefs, 139 tacksmen, 517 joint-tenants, 1031 subtenants, and 444 servants. There were now 10 landlords. The tacksmen had been replaced by 29 graziers and 12 small farmers. The joint-tenants, subtenants, and servants had become 2043 crofters and 1227 cottars. In the past there may have been one innkeeper, at Portree, and a few millers; now there were 32 innkeepers, millers, and merchants.

The changes which we have been considering could not have left the patterns of interaction undisturbed. Cooperation among the members of the township would have been unnecessary. Since all were affected by prolonged destitution, mutual aid must have been severely curtailed. The extended family was broken by emigration. The nuclear family was seldom intact for more than part of the year. It seems the majority of the able-bodied men were travelling to the east coast each spring to find

[68] Lachlan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, pp. 4-5, 6-7, 11-12, 14-15; and J. G. MacKay, "Social Life in Skye from Legend and Story," TGSI, Vol. XXIX (1922), pp. 260-290.

000 The reduction of the present number of agricultural units then becomes desirable. There are two ways in which this could come about; firstly by continued depopulation, but amalgamations consequent on such an uncontrolled run-down of the community would lead to scattered holdings; such is the experience of other depopulated crofting districts. The second point to be made is that if overall planning were possible, it would be desirable for holdings to be amalgamated as they becom vacant as a satisfactory rearrangement of the townships would then follow.

Concurrent with such a policy would be the aim to create distinct crofting and non-crofting groups. Employment for the non-crofting section of the community, be it fishing or weaving, woul first have to be assured. As has already been stated, fishing would appear to offer the best prospe while tourism could play a minor role in providing an opportunity for the enterprising crofters' wife or non-crofting household. One problem above all remains, the maintenance of an overall viable population. A certain minimum level of population is essential to maintain the operation of local transport, post office, educational and medical services. Such considerations suggest that further research is necessary to assess the optimum number and structure of population which a district such as Park could reasonably support. In the same way, a detailed examination by an agricultural expert is desirable, in order to assess the number of economic holdings which could be supported on the land of each township.

In conclusion, it is clear that, short of unexpected industrial employment becoming available i Park and unless major reorganisation of the present agricultural units and communities is carried out, the present population trends must continue. However, if such radical changes cannot be contemplated, then considerable improvements in the standard of husbandry, the re-seeding of croft out-runs and common pastures, and the fencing and general improvements of the crofts are possible and will increase agricultural productivity. Until there are some radical changes, the present pattern of the most enterprising members of the community engaging in ancillary employm which takes them furth of the district, and the serious degree of permanent migration to Stornowa and the Scottish Lowlands, will be maintained and increased.

APPENDIX A

PARK IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER CROFTING DISTRICTS.

462 464 241 Table XVIII gives an analysis of the occupational structure of the male population of insurable age in four crofting districts studied by the Crofting Survey. In all four areas, a considerable proportion of the insurable population is not resident in the crofting area for more than an annual holiday period. This proportion varies in relation to two main factors - the viability of the crofts and the availability of ancillary employment within the district. South Uist and Benbecula stand out as the districts where such permanent absences are least marked: the crofts in these islands a larger and more employment is available. In Barra, there are few large agricultural units and, a in Park, the decline of the fishing industry has led to economic disaster in many townships. Fewe than half of the men in this age group are fully resident in Barra. Park is in many respects comparable to Waternish (Skye) for both districts are isolated and have experienced serious depopulation. (see Table XIX).

It is a significant fact that in none of these districts are more than 20 per cent of the male population solely engaged in full-time croft work, and this is a measure of the inability of the croft to support a family without ancillary earnings. The amount of permanent employment available varies from district to district; in South Uist and Barra there are minor service centres which are urban in character and 23.2 per cent and 13.6 per cent of the respective insurable males are engaged in non-crofting employment on these islands.

[166] [167] It is clear that the occupational structure of these four crofting areas is far from stable for ove one-third of the potential labour force is away for all or part of the year. It is also clear that basically the absence of sufficient natural resources, coupled with the varying degrees of isolation from the industrial centres of Scotland, are the root causes of the present position.

161 Table XIX summarises the population structure and trends for the four districts. It is significa
162 that the two districts without service centres, which provide a range of ancillary employment, have
166 experienced more severe depopulation since 1939. This table also underlines the fact that earnings
167 from seasonal employment are insufficient: the incidence of permanent employment furth of the
434 districts is three times as great as the incidence of seasonal employment.
464

APPENDIX B

SHIELINGS - A NOTE

John E. Wearmouth with illustrations by Beth Blowers

195 From Figure 1, compiled from the First Edition six-inch map of the Ordnance Survey (1850
233 to 1852) and from personal observations, it is clear that the shieling system was at one time an overall feature of Park for the whole peninsula has traces of this transhumant economy.

361 The rudimentary structures, some of turf, others of stones and roofed with bracken or
342 heather thatch, are all sited on well drained sites, the majority on mounds. Almost all the sites are close to lochs or streams. The majority are in loose groups of from two to nine buildings, although there are some in isolation; no site has as many as twenty-six buildings as found at Airidh na Ganithe in North Uist.

342 There appears to be two distinctive shapes of building - oval and rectangular (Fig.10). All shielings measured exhibited a remarkable similarity in dimensions, from 17½ by 9 feet to 13 by 12 feet. The oval structures are generally larger than the rectangular ones. Most of the shielings had two entrances, often, but not always, opposite each other.

195 The shieling system died out in Park about 1880 but the cattle continued to graze around the
233 shielings on the better grass, and the crofters had still to go out to milk the cattle at the shieling, although they no longer lived there. The sheep still use the mounds for shelter and grazing. These features of an obsolete economy are still easily recognisable from the luxuriant grass cover in a wilderness of peat bog and bare rock.

APPENDIX C

NORSE SETTLEMENTS NAMES IN NORTHERN PARK, LEWIS

Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt.

103 See: Magne Oftedal, The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides; in Norsk Tidskrift for
113 Sprogvidenskap, vol. XVII, 1954, (Oslo), pp. 363 ff.

103 Professor Oftedal points out the difficulties of these Norse-Gaelic settlement names: inaccurate spellings even in modern times, and lack of any useful evidence from older sources, make almost all the derivations a matter of conjecture. Sometimes two or more ON equivalents are possible (e.g. for Calboet), sometimes no satisfactory solution can be found (e.g. for Lemreway). Since Professor Oftedal frequently bases his explanation on pronunciations not recorded in written forms, his evidence is largely followed here.
SHIELDERNISH: the second element is N nes, 'headland'. Oftedal's explanation of the first as silda, genitive plural of N sild, 'herring', is satisfactory linguistically, but seems unlikely in meaning.

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed
241 clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably
311 by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining
[246] lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofts have
249 vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced
324 crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

221 The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not
231 enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throught the winter and
233 no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the soum. Lambing takes
[236] place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and then dipped; November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The cows are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Grobeg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on fank days.

178 Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until
233 the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under
311 cultivation and from an an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips
[242] above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazing;
[314] it is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the road between Caversta and Gravir, about three miles south-south-east of Cromore and one mile north of Gravir.

17 Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore
228 fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this,
[504] however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and, in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

288 In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by
[493] road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airidhvruach. At present the average production is only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. During
[286] the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

162 In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the
166 middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have
167 been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting
364 with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

491 Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by
[494] road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a van
[493] which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recent
366 additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday;

[Calboat]

The present situation in Calboat is best illustrated by reference to the population statistics. There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are squatters and only eight houses are occupied within the dyke. Of the resident population, there are three children under fourteen years, one man in the 15-44 age group, three between 45 and 64 years and two over 65. This clearly shows the lack of active men from 15-44 years, necessary for the continuing economic success of the community. However, even these figures are not so striking as the numbers of emigrants as no less than 39 men and 40 women have left Calboat since 1939.

A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the younger people have left to find employment in Stornoway and on the mainland. The present population structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

[Gravir] [Glengravir]

Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride the major east-west inlet of Loch Ouirn, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The site of the township is perhaps the most picturesque in all Park, but the steep slopes, lack of cover, the small area of good arable land, and the considerable population existing on slim resources, problems common to Park as a whole, are all epitomised in Gravir.

On the south-facing slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough in the valley to the west, the majority of the crofts have been carved from moor to sea, some before 1800, and some in the process of the abolition of run-rig which was accomplished in the years 1850 to 1852. Originally, there appears to have been thirty crofts, but four were added during the nineteenth century, two at each end of the line, and in 1934 a further fifteen were cut out of the common grazing, a mile to the west of Gravir. On the south side of the loch, the 'Clachan' of Tom an Fhuadain, established about 1800, has since developed into a further nine crofts. Thus there are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir and a further fifteen in Glengravir making fifty-eight in all.

The layout of Glengravir, a line of crofts from 3.6 to five acres, typifies the small post-1918 Department of Agriculture holdings. The arrangement of the Gravir crofts is illustrated in Figure 4, and it will be seen that not all the crofts are consolidated. There are three areas of former arable commons which have been lotted in unfenced strips and they may well be reclamations which were necessary to supplement the food producing capacity of the holdings. The method of division and allocation speaks of a period when a subsistence economy under severe pressure from over-population necessitated fair shares for all. The last of these commons was in cultivation until 1891. Although subsistence crofting has been obsolete since then, there is as yet no move towards a regularisation of the layout.

The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable commons developed mainly as a result of a successful fishing industry which prospered from 1860 to 1914 and at one time there were two curing stations in Gravir. With relative prosperity from an ancillary industry, cottars were tolerated and the population rose from 197 in 1830, to 368 in 1881 reaching a peak of 468 in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has certainly not yet ceased. Gravir reverted from 1918 to a township of agriculturists and a base for employment furth of Lewis, although there have been spasms of successful fishing activity since.

Stock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and conditions are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir crofts vary between 3.5 and 26.5 acres in size: no croft has more than four acres of 'old arable'. In the days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in narrow lazy-beds, banked up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more extensive. All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed cut as far away as Gromore or the coast south of Kebock Head. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed area is now cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture, some of the lazy-

[Gravir] [Glengravir]

beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other lazy-beds are permanently in natural hay; only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'old arable' is now in oats and potatoes. If natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the old arable (ninety acres) after 1850-52. As in all the fishing townships the area of sown grass is infinitesimal for only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of under-sowing.

There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives. All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and squatters and feuars, besides the fifteen legal Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir common. The common has been encroached on by several feus for Gravir is the functional centre of Park; the Free Church of Scotland and Manse, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionaries (assistant ministers) are all located in Gravir.

Gravir and Glengravir thus have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty per cent of the souma, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 2,652 acres is in general of poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957, a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded: only twelve of the operative units participated in this reclamation work, and the ages of the participants ranged between 27 and 58 years; this is significant as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended annually; if potential improvements to the crofts are limited, pasture amelioration is virtually without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater numbers; at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the sheep soum, and a ewe and lamb sell for as little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the consequence of over-stocking. The cattle stock is below the souming and this paucity of cattle is one of the notable changes in the agriculture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the souming by thirty-five per cent.

The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from the souming of one cow and follower and eight sheep per pound sterling of rent in a township where only seven crofts pay more than £2 rental, they were never intended to be self-supporting agricultural units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, barley or oats, locally milled by the three Gravir water mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family. Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for lobsters.

If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of insurable age and service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupation are sufficiently available or attractive to keep the insurable population in the district. Twelve of the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in permanent employment furth of Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential male resident population.

The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the hey-day of the fishing most of the men fished all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sale of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the souming, the income of the largest croft including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

[Gravir] [Glengravir] [Lemreway]

The urgent need in Gravir is a reduction in the number of holdings. A pre-requisite of such reorganisation would be the creation of employment for a non-crofting population. Weaving and fishing are the more obvious occupations; the former is subject to world trade fluctuations but the latter is now in a more favourable position since the introduction of the herring fishing guaranteed subsidy, although the raising of the initial capital for buying and equipping boats is a formidable problem. It is clear that a division of the community into a crofting and non-crofting sector is essential if the present population level is to be maintained. The most serious aspect of the present trend is that the migrating section of the community comprises the younger and more enterprising people. Unless holdings of economic size can be formed, and stable employment introduced, one can expect the younger men and women to remain in Gravir.

Until a major reorganisation of the crofts is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-seed large areas of the common pasture and the three former arable commons, and the development of a croft-tourist industry, are interim possibilities. It is not sufficiently realised in crofting districts that there is a demand from the city dweller for simple accommodation and good plain fare in a clean atmosphere, with the possibility of hill walking and fishing on fresh and salt water. Yet, until the proposed water-scheme becomes a reality, tourism on a moderate scale can hardly be contemplated.

One can only conclude that until reorganisation takes place and transforms Gravir into a township of viable agricultural holdings, any stabilisation of the present trends is out of the question. A decline in the number of holdings is inevitable in the long run but a planned reduction over a number of years would bring about a more viable community than the disintegration which will occur without such planning. Until this is achieved, the young men and women have little incentive to remain in Gravir.

LEMREWAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda G. Turner
and John E. Wearmouth

Lemreway, the southernmost township of Park, comprises 290 acres arable and outrun divided into thirty-three crofts and 3,025 acres of common pasture. The township is situated on the northern side of Loch Shell round a bay in the shelter of Eilean Iuvard.

The township consists of three distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area at about 100 feet, part common pasture and part reclaimed as extensions to the crofts, locally known as 'the Outend', forms the first subdivision. The second area, further west, is of a hummocky nature. To the east, a steep slope rises to an altitude of 400 feet, less than half a mile from the loch shore, forming the third. Two benches are to be seen at about 100 feet on the steeper slope and similar, though wider terraces occur at the same height to the north. It is suggested that the flat area is the bed of a moraine-dammed lake, and that the hummocky sector is partly morainic and partly ice-eroded rock exposure. A channel eroded through this sector allowed the lake to drain southwards leaving a relatively deeply incised valley through which the present stream flows to the sea.

Soils may be divided into two types - a peaty loam and the better drained gravelly loam which is found to the east and along the main stream; the latter is particularly suitable for potato cultivation.

Except on rocky outcrops, the very steep slopes and the drained areas, blanket bog predominates. Sphagnum here is rarely dominant but where the land is badly drained Deer's hair grass (scirpus caespitosus) and cotton grass (Eriophorum vaginatum and Eriophorum angustifolium) are the dominants. On slightly drier land, purple moor grass (Molinia caerulea) and mat grass (nardus stricta) are abundant. Local dominants are bog asphodel (Narthecium ossifragum) and cross-leaved heather (Erica tetralix) with other common species such as the sundews (Drosera rotundifolia and intermedia), butterwort (Pinguicula vulgaris), Juncus sp., Carex sp. and Carex panicea occurring sporadically. Where the peat has been cut and drained, 'heather moor' usually develops and Calluna

[Lemreway] [Orinsay]

The West Highland Survey Township Card describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939. Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most of the present houses were constructed in the 1930's and they are usually near to the road. Ruins of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs. Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling, is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

231 Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than
[288] fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

221 All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of
233 the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

311 The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky,
233 waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

231 No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally
235 just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold
[435] to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

434 It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his
464 family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people
228 in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

161 There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less
162 than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

366 As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available
368 occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44
166 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third
167 are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in
[464] domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist
[505] their families at home, and that a large part of the croft income are made up of money sent home,
228 together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued
462 steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.
352
454

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is
317 only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it.
312 Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a
[206] telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last
[366] decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it
491 serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles
494 distant.

161 Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of con-
162 gestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginalin character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

/p. 35/

241 An examination of the agricultural situation reveals that there are insufficient resources to
182 make the present number of crofts viable. Overstocking in sheep, an attempt to increase cash
[436] income, has resulted in a high mortality rate, and consequent losses. The tenant of a small croft
[464] is faced with a classic dilemma. If he puts all his efforts into the working of the croft, the area of potential arable land is insufficient to maintain a large stock and even if the best rules of husbandry were operated, croft income alone would be insufficient to provide a reasonable living. The fishing industry, formerly the chief means of a livelihood rather than the croft itself, has virtually disappeared, and he is forced to find ancillary employment in an area where little exists and thus migration in search of employment is the only solution. The croft becomes a base for non-agricultural activity and a means of providing produce for home consumption rather than an effective agricultural unit. On the larger crofts, it is clearly possible to make a living if sufficient additional grazing in the non-crofting area is available - the agricultural townships, especially Seaforthhead, Shieldernish, Habost and Kershader, which comprise units sufficiently large and fertile, bear out this contention. Yet better husbandry is possible, and reclamation of the common grazings for improved stock rearing has started. The agricultural townships as a whole are better favoured by situation, soils and communications, and appear fo possess a much greater degree of stability.

288 Since the decline of the fishing industry, the fishing townships have progressively declined.
434 Income from weaving has replaced earnings from fishing as a means of combining croft work and
465 ancillary employment to provide a living, but, as has been pointed out, the supply of weaving contracts is not regular and greatly depends on the state of the world market. The present centralisation of the Harris Tweed Industry in Stornoway is not favourable to the Park weavers; the suggestion by the Park Association[1] that a spinning mill be set up in Park would certainly help the local weavers.

464 If the present number of agricultural units and level of husbandry on them is to be maintained,
[166] ancillary employment on a large scale will continue to be necessary, and, as weaving and the
167 service occupations alone certainly cannot provide it in sufficient quantity, temporary and regular
162 employment furth of Park is bound to continue, and as this grades into permanent migration, the population must continue to decline and age. The capacity of the area for tourism is also limited. With the overheads which branches of parent lowland factories would have to face, the establishment of manufacturing or assembling employment is also unlikely.

228 A revival of the fishing industry holds out most hope but must take place before all the accrued skill has disappeared with the older generation of fishermen. The fishing grounds are within reach of the modern £20,000 boat: by co-operation between crews, fish could be taken to mainland markets such as Ullapool as indeed happens at present. Lobster fishing could be integrated with herring and white fishing. Such a combination of several types of fishing would ensure a more balanced economy and the Herring Subsidy would be a guaranteed element of income. It must be agreed that if mainland boats do come to the coast and sea lochs of Park, there seems little reason why local boats could not also be successful.

000 As far as the land is concerned, the survey leaves no doubt that improvements in husbandry and pastures are definitely possible. Yet, until viable agricultural units have been created, there is little incentive for large scale improvement in either sphere. It is an expert's opinion that no crofter working on a croft in Park which would bring in £300 a year would have time to engage in ancillary work and at the same time fully work his holding in accordance with the rules of good husbandry. If this opinion is accepted, and if it is also accepted that such crofts are desirable and the present successful crofts in the agricultural townships where there is a higher proportion of full-time crofters than elsewhere would bear this out, it follows that ancillary employment on such units would have to be ruled out.

1. Park Association Annual Report, 1956.

TABLE XIX

POPULATION IN FOUR CROFTING DISTRICTS 1939-1956/8

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	Resident	Seasonally Away	Permanently Away	Total	Resident & Seasonally Away	Population in 1939[2]	Decrease since 1939
Park (1958)[1]	788(72.2)	120(11.0)	184(16.8)	1092(100)	908	1500	592(39.5)
Benbecula and South Uist (1956)[1]	3171(86.0)	129(3.5)	390(10.5)	3690(100)	3300	4085	785(23.8)
Barra (1957)[1]	1421(71.9)	88(4.4)	470(23.7)	1979(100)	1509	2212	703(31.3)
Waternish (Skye) (1958)[1]	198(75.5)	16(6.1)	48(18.4)	262(100)	214	459	245(53.4)
TOTAL	5578(79.4)	353(5.0)	1092(15.6)	7023(100)	5931	8256	2325(28.1)

1. Year of Glasgow University Crofting Survey Enumeration.
2. National Identity Card Enumeration.

/facing p. 39/

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5.	Caird et al.	K-5	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots Park ES10

[Caversta] [Cromore]

e 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Caversta population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left aft
11 and no re-population took place. Since 1939, seven people have migrated to Stornoway or the
ainland, (16 per cent of the total 1939 population), and six of these were from Torista (i.e. 50
r cent of the 1939 Torista population); only one family now remains there. The demographic
sition is becoming more acute for there are no young married couples and no youngsters growing
. The girls have left to marry and most of the men have sought temporary or permanent employ
ent elsewhere, for with better communications, education and the radio, the pull to the towns ha
come stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full-
ne crofters, earning no supplementary income by weaving tweed on commission from the Stronov
ills.

Caversta is not one of the most progressive of the South Lochs townships. Although the crofts
e fenced, the common pasture is not visibly delimited from either the Cromore or Garyvard
stures. At present, the grazing is fully stocked according to the soum, but the committee has n
yet initiated any re-seeding schemes. As the pasture is not of the best quality, some newly sow
ass would benefit every crofter. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but e
small acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

The future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechan
n and is badly served by communications. The future of Torista appears to be probably one of
andonment, unless it is more easily linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road being
ilt here is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Caversta is also open
question. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the
esent units are not used to their full extent. Amalgamation with Garyvard might benefit the
wnship a great deal, as the Caversta population is rather small to flourish in isolation. The futu
Garyvard, Kershader and Habost is one of hope, but unless some change takes place soon, it is
t difficult to see Caversta, and Torista, following the same course as Calbost and in thirty to
rty years being little more than grazing land.

CROMORE

G. Mary Swindell, B.A., and Dennis F. Fancett, B.A.

Cromore is situated on a peninsula between Loch Erisort and Loch Cromore. Approaching it
om the access road, Cromore has the appearance of a nucleated settlement, but in fact each
use is situated on the owner's croft. The crofts are so arranged that each has a portion of land
the more level surface of drift deposits; houses 1 to 20 stand at the junction of the drift and the
wisian gneiss. Soils are poor and thin, and there are numerous outcrops of barren rock among
arable land. The natural vegetation is heather moorland with extensive patches of rushes and
tton grass, the pattern of most of the 'outrun' around Cromore.

The township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two
ofts are subdivided while another four form double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and
Schoolhouse feu. Outside the township dyke there are two feus and four squatters. The croft
yout differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent pieces, one piece
ound the house, another above Creag Cromore and two pieces on another area of enclosed land
the common. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land
ound the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

Until this decade all the land around the houses, and much of that above Creag Cromore, was
gularly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but
ltivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only
ops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed

cannot be spiritually enlightened. The individual who is asked 794 888 626
about the nature of his visitation is not judged on his ability
to raise his family in the nurture of the church. He is rather
judged on his preparation to carry on the tradition. He must
be worthy of the respect due to one of his status. While old [563]
women are numbered among the "elect," their exclusion from any
active role in the church has kept them socially inferior to
the old men.

I wish I could give some examples of the nature of this 124 576
"visitation;" however, Skye is a land where the direct question
is not used. One can ask a direct question without offending,
but the code of hospitality requires an either affirmative
answer or the answer you think your guest expects. My
circuitous promptings on this topic only succeeded in arousing
concern for my soul.

Two groups escape from the control of the elders as it 626 888 794
is exercised through acceptance of an individual into the
"elect." As mentioned earlier, the newcomers to Skye have 167
come from different backgrounds. Beyond the Highlands, the [184]
meaning of "Effectual Calling" has changed over the years. The
youth attend a young communicants' class in which they are
taught the meaning of church membership. Notestein, writing
about the national character of the Scot, maintains that
interest in "election" has disappeared.[14] Most of the members
of the Church of Scotland in Portree would no doubt agree with
him. One attempt has been made on Skye to hold a young 794 779
communicants' class. It took place, of course, in the Church 184

[14] Notestein, op. cit., p. 153.

custom is well established. Even war-time restrictions and 794 796
rationing had little effect on Communion attendance. Skye 793
exiles in the United States and Canada sent food parcels 574
to the ministers and their kinsmen to provide for their [167]
visitors. The minister takes in as many as he can. One
minister, for example, not very far from Portree has a large
manse with seventeen rooms. It is customary for him to have [264]
twenty-five or thirty people for lunch and again for high
tea (the Skyeman's evening meal) on Friday and the Sabbath.
Many of his guests spend five days with him.

Some idea of the size of the gatherings may be gained 794 796
from the need for the Free Presbyterian Church in Portree
to hold duplicate services. The church, I should think,
holds around 300. During the Communion Season, the con-
gregation takes over the drill hall, normally used by the
Territorial Army for training and by the villagers for social
affairs, in addition to the kirk. In the drill hall services
are held in English; in the kirk, they are in Gaelic.

Such large gatherings of people require a means to
establish meaningful contacts and create a feeling of belonging.
Thursday is a fast day. All work stops. The people attend
services in the morning, at noon, and again in the evening.
Their minister, assisted by two visiting clergymen conducts
them in a dynamic, highly emotional appraisal of the coming
event. All the ministers participate in the sermons, stressing [783]
the confession of sin and the need for humiliation. Many
ministers are known for their preaching ability, that is their

that the people of Skye, including many of the newcomers, 785
have not been favorably impressed by Skye Week. The consensus 795
is that it is not representative of Skye. For the Sgiathanach 541
the Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and
similar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree. 369
Here the members and the adherents of the Church of Scotland 795
partake of a number of recreational activities. In the winter 52
there is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer [526]
there is a little golf and tennis. The limitations are not [526]
religious; they are climatic. Then, too, there is shinty.
We have already noted the existence of many clubs. There are [535]
regular dances. Moving pictures take place twice a week. [546]
All of these activities are run by newcomers; the Skyemen have [167]
a more or less passive role. The "elect" of the two smaller 795
sects are, to say the least, very much disturbed by these 794
frivolities. What is worse, the children attend the dances 626
and the concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find 883
enough solidarity among those of their own age grade to out- 52
weigh the threats of their elders. Apparently they find
enough security to be unaffected by the stern denunciations of
the minister from the pulpit. When they marry, however, they 794
have to recast the pattern of their behavior, for now the 884
elders are in a position to exercise control by withholding 626
baptism from their children. Some may turn to the Church of
Scotland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glendale the 888
control by the aged is complete. There is not a single activity 883
[369] 626

at which the youth can join together as a sodality; hence, they 888
hardly ever have a chance to question the control of the "elect." 883
Only once in recent years has the control of the old people 626
been criticized. After World War II, the men who returned to 578
the neighborhood wanted to erect a village hall. This threatened 888
both family unity and the solidarity of the neighborhood. The 883
young people were divided between the time honored obligation 626
to honor their parents and their own desires for a fuller life.
The parents were torn between religious beliefs and their
affection for their children. The minister and his elders
were faced with a situation which threatened the fundamental
tenets of the faith and the continued ability of the religious
expression to sanction the existing order. How strong are age
controls? The youth did not get their village hall. Many of [167]
them left Skye for the Lowlands where social life is less
restricted.

The difficulty is that until, say, forty years ago the 178
traditional outlets were sufficient. Middle-aged people 883
remember how the youth used to drop in on the old widow for 177
a visit on an evening and then make their way off in couples 52
for a bit of courting. Two World Wars and the continuing
program of National Service, not to speak of the influence of
the schools, have given the youth a new perspective. They
have spent one or two years in an environment where recreational
activities are considered not only innocent but also wholesome.
The radio and magazines have contributed to the demands of the
youth for amusements. As if this were not enough, there are

ufficiently to make age controls an irresistible force, the
restige status of the small number of the "elect," those
ho had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the
lders gave them complete control over all social and religious
ctivity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about
hese facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now
s that the religious patterns provided a framework in which
he culture could find continuity and through which the society
ould achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like
ustoms resulted in a change of content, but there were
ositive results as well. Above all, there was a change in
ocus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in
lan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a
nown religious brotherhood.

ummary. The third period of the modern phase of Skye's
ulture history saw the culmination of the process of
ommercialization of the land. All the influences necessary
or the conversion of the subsistence economy, albeit a much
eteriorated economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming,
n a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy.
ewcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved
ethods of land utilization were replacing the conservative
nd impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial
armers consolidated their holdings, the communal townships
ere being obliterated. The concept of individual possession
f the land was replacing the customary rights of the small
enants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

*175 wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.
*178
427 These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and
423 the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted
558 emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work
167 away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate.
464 Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now
585 was a spare-time pursuit. The Sgiathanach was dependent on
241 money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most
511 of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few
241 potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the
562 crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force
231 appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill,
464 but there does not seem to have been any marked movement into
166 the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was being
*175 lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the
*178 "Men" became an official policy of a new church. The emotional
182 approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders
186 in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor
785 meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium.
781 Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family
771 suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles
793 within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was
reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the
old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits
which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture
found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to
maintain a continuity while the content changed.

*178 culture which can hardly be distinguished from that of the
181 Lowland rural areas, but it has by no means disappeared.

*178 Socially, these changes, particularly the introduction
186 of national laws of land tenure, involved a leveling of the
585 social hierarchy. The old polarity of the land lord and tenant
with an intermediate group of doctors, ministers, and tradesmen
was restored. The place of the tacksman, of course, has been
filled by the government. The bulk of the population was
423 once again undifferentiated socially or economically. Land
lost much of its commercial value for the proprietors. It
once again had more of an intrinsic value, almost as in the
days of the clan. The status of the proprietors, locally and
as a horizontal segment of the total British population,
depended on land ownership. The graziers and the proprietors
who had appeared during the "Clearances" withdrew, selling
out to the national government.

These changes did not work to halt the continuous outward
*178 flow of the Sgiathanach. To the contrary, increasing integratio
167 with the national culture created new needs, such as a demand
184 for a higher standard of living and an opportunity to achieve
status, and provided the training necessary for the youth to
find roles more suitable to their talents elsewhere in the
165 world. The young men and women of Skye journeyed to the
Lowlands to join the national labor force, to enter the profess
or to seek other permanent employment. Thus, emigration change
*178 from a movement by families to a movement by individuals. At
167 the same time, the benefits of the crofters' legislation and
162 the program of government assistance made it possible for the

person who left in his youth to return in his old age. The new pattern of emigration not only resulted in a continuation of the persistent depopulation of the island but also, with the return flow which countered emigration of the youth with immigration of the older people, led to striking changes in the age structure of the population. If the population pyramids for the years 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1951 are compared, the significance of the new pattern becomes apparent (see figure 4). The 1861 pyramid has a strong base, despite evictions and death. By 1901 the aging of the population was already marked. There were fewer people in all age groups, but a disproportionate increase in those over sixty-five. Females had joined the exodus. Partly as a result of the emigration of young adults, and partly as a consequence of a declining marriage rate and delayed marriage, the structure was growing top-heavy.

The pyramids for 1931 and 1951 are far from ideal. The differing movements of the population has resulted in a situation in which the society can no longer reproduce itself. Natural increase became a negative factor in the decade 1921-1930. Since then births have exceeded deaths in only one year, 1949. If the population is being maintained in part by the return of exiles, one must not only ask who leaves and why but also who returns and why.

An additional change within this period was the growth of Portree as a trade center and as an administrative "capital." The cycle of population, however, was erratic. In 1891 there were 1,003 people in the village, but in 1921 there were only 793.

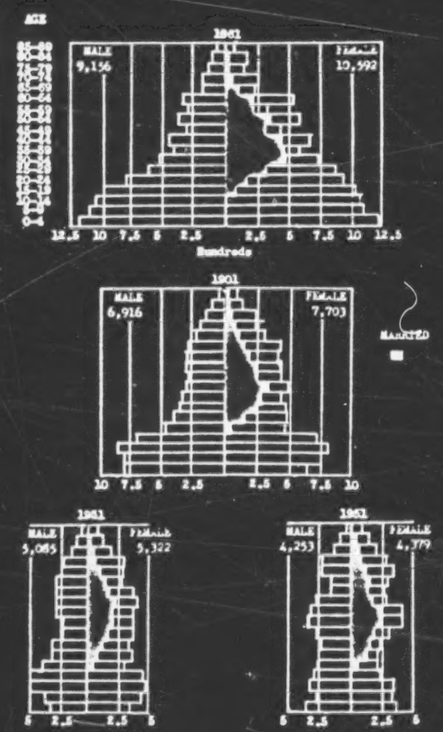

Fig. 4. Population Pyramids for Skye: 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1951.
Source: Census of Scotland, 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1951.

than the bare essentials, these people just get along. Even so, they would be unable to get by were it not for some form of supplementary income. This essential prerequisite for the individual or family who upholds the crofting tradition may take the form of seasonal employment on the island or away from home; contributions from a child or, less frequently, a brother or sister; or payments from the government in the form of unemployment compensation, relief, or a pension.

Many a Sgiathanach thinks of his croft as a home more than anything else. There are men who have found full time employment. Some in this catagory work the croft in the evening. Others expect their wives to care for the crops and stock, or they leave the land untouched. Then, there are the old men and women who have returned to their ancestral homes to spend the twilight of their lives. These exiles come back from cities as near as Inverness and from places as far away as the sheep ranches of Montana or the cities of Australia. Perhaps, the most significant point is that for all Skyemen the croft cannot be evaluated merely in terms of acreage and income. As we shall see, it is a way of life in which an attachment to the land, as an embodiment of kinship, plays a very important part.

The incomes of three representative crofts clearly reveal the financial difficulties under which the crofting family labors. Although I have somewhat arbitrarily divided the holdings into small, medium and large on the basis of acres of arable land, it should be remembered that this

mainland for the summer. For many of these people, unemployment is a misnomer. It means they are receiving a weekly allowance from the government while they wait for the next seasonal opportunity to turn from crofting to wage labor. Moreover, providing work and paying unemployment compensation is by no means all the government does for the Island's economy. Through the National Assistance Program many more are aided financially. In 1954, for example, there were no fewer than 726 individuals receiving some form of national assistance.[33] Most of this number were recipients of a non-contributory old age pension. The next largest category were young women required at home to care for aged and infirm parents. Of the total number, only thirty were Portree residents. Then, too, there are the previously mentioned subsidies and grants for agricultural improvement and fuller exploitation of the land.

We may conclude, then, that cultural continuity is an expensive proposition with a double-edged penalty. On the one hand, there is the sentimental distress which depopulation involves. Both the man who leaves Skye and those he leaves behind feel the loss of their loved ones. On the other hand, there is the expense to the government, which must be staggering and out of all proportion to the amount contributed by the people in taxes. It is not that the islands receive any special grants, but, as one newcomer said, "They just happen to qualify for all the grants, doles, and subsidies there are." He, of course, was exaggerating. As we shall see in the next chapter,

[33] Information extracted from the files of the National Assistance Board in Scotland, Edinburgh.

We have already seen where some of the crofters sons and daughters have gone - all over the world. It may be of interest to indicate the fields which are attracting the present generation. In Scotland children graduate from school at fifteen or, if they have qualified for the university training course, at eighteen. Let us see what happens to those who leave school at fifteen. A reasonable number of the boys go back to the croft, but the school teachers usually try to guide the best students into other fields. Since there is a very limited choice of skilled or semi-skilled jobs on the island, this means they will go to a city in southern Scotland and find an apprenticeship, either on their own initiative or under the Ministry of Labor training program. The favorite trades are mechanics, electricians, and carpenters. A few go to sea, especially as stewards and wireless operators. Every now and then a boy will become a male nurse, a police cadet, or an office worker. Hotel service, laboring, and especially, truck driving, at home or away, attracts many. Girls leaving school at fifteen often go back to the croft for a year or two and then move away. The best girl students either go into office work or take advantage of the Ministry of Labor apprenticeship program, especially in dressmaking, hairdressing, and domestic science. Some go to pre-nursing schools. Others find employment in stores or hotels on Skye or in Lowland Scotland.

At eighteen it is very difficult to keep a boy at home. Those who have remained and have not taken a university course

167 will be called into National Service. It has become very
702 hard to obtain a deferment. One reason is that the government believes too many have been dodging their obligation. There was a man, for example, who applied for a deferment for his son on the ground that he was needed on the croft. Ordinarily the boy might have been deferred, but not when the officer found his father was collecting unemployment compen-
167 sation. The most popular field for girls at eighteen is
464 nursing. One family has sent three girls through nursing school. Another popular profession, for both boys and girls, is teaching. The boys who go to university take their degrees in pure science, medicine, and agriculture.

873 There is an interesting contrast here between the Highlands and the rest of Great Britain, especially England. In England few working men consider sending their children on to college. On Skye, the majority of those who go to the university from
[565] the local schools are from poor homes. The landed gentry send their children to preparatory schools in England, and most of the doctors send their sons to private schools. Somehow the
702 boys and girls from the crofts scrape through. An additional fact I might mention is that despite the government's interest in maintaining the Highland population because, among other reasons, it is a reservoir for the armed forces, very few boys and even fewer girls voluntarily select a military career. Indeed, few men have seen service with the Army or Navy. The previously mentioned sample of the marital status of males also revealed that only 57 of the 270 men have seen active service in units other than the Territorial Army or Home Guard. This

525 (a Gaelic group), the Masonic Order, the Eastern Star, and a post of the British Legion, which have representatives
524 from all walks of life. But by far the most interesting
525 group is the village bridge club. If bridge clubs in America are status conscious, those in Britain are especially aware of "social" and "cultural" distinctions. In Portree such
524 differences matter very little. Like all of the above
575 mentioned organizations, the membership of the bridge club
167 is predominantly newcomers. It includes members of the gentry, teachers, shop keepers and shop assistants, office workers, and a mechanic. Once a week they come together for an evening of cards and a few drinks. In all formal organizations the roles of leadership are left to newcomers or the gentry. One young man, to give an extreme example, wondered one day why he spent so much time attending committee meetings. On reflection, he found that he was an officer in no less than eleven clubs. It is to the gentry, however, that we must turn to see the real expression of leadership.

The County Families

565 The landed gentry have been considered separately be-
184 cause they belong to the neighborhood in which they reside; to the trade-center village, where they spend much of their time either visiting each other or performing some social service; and to the community as a whole. Even more than belonging to Skye, they form a part of the national class system of Britain. They are the "county families." Next

contrast the friendly and homely atmosphere of the English "pub" with the austerity of the public bar on Skye. The same man who went into the "Coach and Four" to play a game of darts and sing a few songs over his pint of beer goes down to the local hotel bar on Skye to toss off his dram, follow it with a pint of beer, and chaff his neighbors. "There is nothing else to do." Skye exiles in Glasgow, and not only the youngest of them, often complain about the lack of opportunity for social intercourse at home. What they really mean is that "there is nothing else to do" unless they do not care about the reaction of their "people and friends." Moreover, they may want to return some day to stay, and, then, they will have to face the judgment of the old men in their neighborhood.

Another contrast of the Welsh and the Sgiathanach can be found in their respective attitudes towards gambling. Traditionally, both enjoyed forms of recreation in which competition plays a major part, but the Welshman today does little gambling, implicitly because of his religious outlook.[27] The Sgiathanach, too, is not an open gambler, but the football pools find many interested individuals on the Misty Isle. There was, for example, the deacon in one church who forgot he had a meeting to attend. Much to his dismay, when another member of the kirk stopped by to see why he was late, he was busy filling out his football coupon. Dissimilarities, of course, are not particularly significant. In both regions

[27] Ibid.

The growth of the population ended with a prolonged famine. The proprietors, finding that the people's only justification for crowding the estates and looking to their landlords for help were some nebulous customary usages, facilitated the decline by disregarding custom and throwing as much land into sheep farming as was possible. While evictions were not new, only after the famine did they result in an absolute reduction in numbers. The Sgiathanach, fettered by a lack of capital and an inability to break with the past, could not make the final adjustment required by the process of commercialization, specialization. In addition to emigration, the Clearances and general economic hardship forced a postponement of marriage. There was neither land nor regular employment to provide a livelihood.

Later in the nineteenth century new influences began to play a role in the continuing decline of the population. Following the passage of the Crofters' Act, the nature of emigration changed. Seasonal migration became negligible. The provisions of the Act, and ensuing legislation, made it possible for a man to remain away during his active years and return to the parental croft to spend his old age. The extention of education not only equipped the youth for life in the larger society but also created demands for objectives which could not be attained at home under the existing order. Thus, as in the period of population growth, the persistence of many features of the old traditional culture, and the renewed importance of others, were factors of no little consequence.

On the one hand, they stimulated emigration, because
means of achieving upward mobility was through outwa
On the other hand they deterred a complete abandonme
way of life which offered so few material rewards.
us face to face with the problem of cultural contin

Cultural Continuity on the Isle of Skye
A Restatement of Theoretical Considerations

In the opening chapter, I presented a series o
retical assumptions on which I have based my analysi
evidence for cultural continuity on the Isle of Sky
of my presuppositions and my approach to the proble
dite my final quest for proof that marked populatio
not a criterion of cultural discontinuity.

If society and culture are separate though co
concepts, cultural and social integration must be i
variables. They tend to find mutual expression, bu
not necessarily found together. Nor can they be me
the same criteria. Cultures are considered integra
the extent that their traits, complexes, patterns,
are meaningful to the people. The content of all c
continually modified by the disappearance of once c
istic trait complexes and the addition of new ones.
of doing things lose meaning and are disregarded; i
find acceptance and are given meaning within the co
of the culture. The form of the culture, its essen
distinctiveness, persists. The carriers of a cultu

barley have been replaced by grass and hay. Conceivably, this is a more complete adjustment to the environment, which has been made possible by integration with a commercial economy, than an adjustment to the demands of the outside world. Whereas the objective of the local economy once was the export of cattle, today the purpose is the breeding of cattle and sheep for the national markets. We have seen that there are a host of limitations and difficulties in the economic aspect of the culture. Many of these are due to the persistence of conservative practices. Each crofter must keep pace with his tradition-practicing neighbors, with the old men of the township. Others are the result of an inhospitable environment. The economy does not run smoothly, but this is not conclusive evidence for disorganization. Integration does not mean smooth functioning. In the spring and autumn the crofter is confronted with a variety and succession of tasks which would fill a specialist with dismay. Very often, these pastoral and agricultural chores have to be carried on in conjunction with outside employment. In return for his labor, the crofter receives a meager income, frequently supplemented by contributions from his children or the government. As a further result of the partial adjustment to the wider society and culture, the people leave the island to seek employment and to achieve an upward mobility impossible on Skye. Economically, Skye, along with most of the Highlands, may be viewed as presenting a picture of the Lowlands of Scotland 200 years ago. That is the extent of the economic adaptation of the Sgiathanach to the national culture.

Both have remained devoted to the old tradition which is epitomized by their religion. Further, they are each bound together by a common language and vocation and by strong ties of consanguinity and affinity. Moreover, the Sgiathanach and the Amish have similarly rejected the deviant. On Skye emigration has affected all levels of social organization, the conjugal family, the extended family, the township, the neighborhood and village, and the community. Still the Amish and the Skyemen have maintained social and cultural integration. Standing in a contrasting position is the town of Landaff, New Hampshire.[4] Although Skye and Landaff have experienced similar trends, including an original ecological adaptation, disturbance resulting from population pressure, an unsuccessful attempt to meet the crisis through commercialization, and a chronic high rate of emigration, especially by the youth, Landaff has been described as an example of social instability and cultural disintegration.[5] The farmer of Landaff remained only as long as his interests were compatible with those of his neighbors, and local opportunities existed to satisfy his ambitions. He had no attachment for the land to offset the inadequacies of persistent economic limitations. He abandoned the associations which had supported the community by giving the group a sense of security.

Like European peasants in general the Skye crofter has lost his former self-sufficiency and political autonomy, but he has retained a strong attachment for the land and its

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[4] MacLeish and Young, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Landaff, New Hampshire.

[5] Ibid., pp. 113-117

maintain their position by intermarriage, by educating their children in England, and by interacting with people of similar status within the community and beyond. 182 571 554 565

The crofters continue to stand at the opposite pole. They seldom achieve status within their neighborhood. Upward mobility is possible only through outward mobility. Leadership fails to find expression among them in the township or the neighborhood. The rare exception is the crofter's son who becomes a minister and returns to lead his people spiritually. When the crofters must select a leader, from their own number, the status is accorded to an elder of the church. The elder already has high status because of his advanced age and his position in the kirk. As I have said, the continued operation of primitive democracy means a minimum of authority and a maximum of equality. [795] [794] [794]

The intermediate group in the social hierarchy cannot be profitably used in this discussion. They are primarily newcomers, people from the Lowlands or England, who have joined with the relatively few Skyemen who have left the croft. Sufficient time has not elapsed for a class oriented structure to emerge. Then, too, they are not a numerous group. Still, status is important in the village. As in the crofting neighborhood, ministers, doctors, and teachers achieve high status through their occupation. For the remainder of the population of Portree, status depends more on personal qualities and outside activities, especially in the kirk, than on the way one may make his living. 182 554 56 167

While we are on the topic of status and ranking, let us 121 554

see what Linton, the most explicit exponent of the concept of status and role, has to say about societies which are faced with changing conditions and disorganization.[15] Linton believes that such societies attempt to develop new social patterns by allowing individual initiative, thought, and competition free rein. They are characterized by a wealth of achievable statuses. With adjustment, ascribed statuses again become common. The conclusion seems inescapable that Skye has adjusted. Perhaps a few additional illustrations will make my point clearer. The crofter who assumes a role of leadership is regarded as an eccentric, someone to poke fun at no less than the village idiot. The crofters' children who find their status too confining must leave the island to achieve status. Some succeed, to a limited degree, by moving to Portree, but they are never free of suspicion. Since the majority of achieved statuses on Skye are left to newcomers, it might be said that the Sgiathanach has selected place of birth as a means to ascribe status. Not infrequently the newcomer's acceptance is followed by his being placed in roles of responsibility in both formal organizations and informal groups. The reader may remember the case of the young man from the East Coast who found himself on no less than eleven committees. In Kilmuir the people are represented on the County Council by a minister and the Crofters' Club is run by the school teacher.

I believe that the most important feature of the concept of anomie is the loss of social control which is said to follow

[15] Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 113-131.

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE *PT. I*

Emigration set in, both individually and by help of schemes for group settlement in Canada, and in 1931 rural Lewis returned only 21,200 and Harris 4500. The curve of average yields increases illustrates the fairly steadily numerical increase to the close of the last century, then the lessening increase, and after 1921 a fall, recorded in 1931:

The census of April 1931, which recorded the population of Stornoway burgh as nearly gone (a net increase of 16 per cent since April 1931), recorded little or no change in the population of rural Stornoway parish but losses of 11 to 19 per cent in the Islands' four outlying parishes. The average net rural loss approached 9 per cent. But—as indicated in the curves drawn for Fig. 12 which are based upon statistical estimates that corroborate observation—the loss did not take place smoothly over the twenty-year period to 1931. Much of the loss occurred in the two decade years, 1921 to 1931. Although it was due to a long term trend, this loss was greatly caused by crisis.

2. Present Population Trends and the Outlook

After 1921, as a result of the trade depression in the Empire and the United States, many emigrants returned, frequently putting what was left of their savings into the purchase of a loom, getting some months to the building of a new house with the help of Government loans, and setting about the improvement of their parents' holding for the reduction of a new allotment. Soon after 1931—at a time when the Press read the census results as a portent of steady and drastic Island depopulation—Islanders remarked that unless unexpected attraction came from outside the Island, accompanied by lessened prosperity in

weaving and fishing, the fall in population would probably be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was due to a net decrease in the number of family units, not to the number per family. The Island was only then following the restriction of population that began half a century before in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is land of South Uist's population, by net of ruin and abandonment; of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agricultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were at work: first, loans, grants and unemployment insurance and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly, the money sent to elderly parents and children, home and abroad, by young folk in Glasgow or abroad, or savings brought back by the young people themselves. Yet there is some fishing and agriculture still. Above all, 'hand-weaving' has grown, even if this be partly 'artificial'. Recently it was done only by the elders who had returned to the island, but men and women in the prime of life, so that the question of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to be re-examined afresh.

The emigration which took place from 1949 to 1951 followed directly upon the losses and the unemployment in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted from the imposition in 1949 of a Purchase Tax on handwoven Harris tweed of 666 per cent. If the tax had been maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects on population would have been far-reaching.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT *PT. II*

was to share; the children needed milk and the women wool to work, while the men fished. As the Crofters' Commission put it at the time, "Necessity has no law and it is scarcely possible to carry out . . . the Grazings Acts in this island ". The position remains little changed. Still, in spite of sixty years' delay, and the law's failure to restore an executive, the Crofters, to perform specified duties as a member of the community, the Grazings Committees do perform useful functions with credit. They form media with which progressive Government or co-operative agency actually deal, and the voluntary Clerk may shoulder considerable responsibility.

With regard to small occupiers paying less than £6 rent per annum and holding less than 10 acres and 250 acres of grazing (or share of pasture), the Napier Commission declined to recommend the bestowal of rights or immunities tending "to set them in a condition from which they ought to be relentlessly though gently withdrawn". The Act, however, did grant small occupiers immunity from eviction, and made it hard for other landlord, State or fellow-crofters even to refuse house sites or fresh holdings, particularly in the crowded Lewis. The squatter continuum; indeed is hard to control, by escaping the payment of rent and rates though he shares in benefits. The ratepayers are proportionately and unjustly handicapped. But as isolation has diminished, landless squatters have been allowed to 'resume' portions of the common grazing for new holdings, as by common consent at Ness and in Locha, after Lord Leverhulme's death.

A further recommendation of the Napier Commission was to aid emigration. Only Sir James Matheson's aid in 1863 proved successful, but his later efforts met with no response. There were then, and still may be, in the Island

some whose feelings and interests opposed emigration. Free Church ministers foresaw that the beliefs they had introduced would be shaken by travel; and their income, like that of Presbyterian ministers in Scotland, was in part a result of depopulation. The Congested Districts Board, however, sponsored two schemes of colonisation in 1888–89. In the first scheme thirty families, and in the second, fifty families were taken to Canada, mostly from the Island.[1] The first and smaller group prospered and their loans and received their lands; but the second failed to do so, and the State was only reimbursed by sale of the land.

The only of the many measures to promote the material and social welfare of the community "The material provisions of the Deed allow for the promotion of industry—including fishing, of course—of agriculture and afforestation, and of means of housing (or share of pasture), the land and sea. Medical service is not forgotten. The encouragements of social life and education is considerable, and provision is made to enable deserving scholars to proceed to secondary schools and universities.

It is felt by the trustees that some of the things done should be properly co-ordinated. Development of resources and social life, they feel, could be combined with education and training of young people, so that young people would return to the Island and use their capacities to serve their own community. Thus among the development schemes which have been mooted are the reclamation of peat, the reclamation of the sandy inlet just north of Stornoway, and local afforestation. All these technical jobs require training, at the levels of engineer and skilled foreman or working hand. Bursaries might take the form of education for such rural tasks. The 'export' of talent may be necessary when no outlet is possible at home; but in the end it can drain away the community's youth. Hence a policy for the return of talent is required. For fishing, for industry and for crafts, for the weaving arts, training is required in preparation for gainful careers at home. Lastly

APPENDIX III

for planning preceded by adequate survey became publicly recognised, this crisis seems to have caused a change to comprehensive planning and the creation of the Trust. It led to the election of a new member of the Trust on a planning platform, and to a change of attitude to planning and land in the community.

Meanwhile the movement for town planning which had spread from the bombed cities to the rest of the country, led to a closer co-ordination of planning aims between the Trust and the Town Council, and there is now hope of progress in collaboration with the County Council as the statutory planning authority.

In brief, the opportunity arose for the Trust to frame a comprehensive policy, one binding together the objects separately listed in the Deed, which were "to promote the material and social welfare of the community". The 'material'—provisions in the Deed allow for the promotion of industry—including fishing, of course—of agriculture and afforestation, and of means of housing (or share of pasture), the land and sea. Medical service is not forgotten. The encouragements of social life and education is considerable, and provision is made to enable deserving scholars to proceed to secondary schools and universities.

In the Barvas district, by the 1870's, only Timson, Ness and Branahlee (on the Stornoway road) and Borve and Gravirig (on the Barvas road) were left of the Lower Barvas. Moreover their traditional manpower grazings, which had been the mainstay of the Lower Barvas crofters, had been taken away in the years about 1890. Apparently their use of the old arable was also lost. Thus, in the Lower Barvas, the crofters had lost both the north of the present road and which they have since made into a fertile area, and the grazings which they had had for generations. In the Upper Barvas, by which they by many years had been ousted, the crofters had lost the arable land, which they had been forced to take up in the 1880's, and the grazings which they had had for generations. In the Upper Barvas, the crofters had lost the beach, now empty, was for long occupied by squatters and the only beach around it still bears part of a large modern building.

It is noteworthy that almost all the conservator areas in the Barvas and South Dip districts and Ness (in Ness the population changed between 1841 and 1891, shown in table 1)

The planned areas included extensive hill and common grazings and some of the best arable available for including and the machines except Vatten and Breaig. The East Loch Roag and Carloway districts were less attractive to the new farmers: as to be commonly the case in Lewis, these crofts grazings by the sea and the arable land was in the hands of the crofters. In the Carloway district, the crofters were left on a 19th Century estate and were not evicted to crofter-occupiers. In many cases they had been wholly cleared of crofters. Consequently, the Barvas, Ness and Carloway districts were left with the crofters. In the Barvas

landlords by landlords to
[423] lattiate agricultural reform and develop capitalist
[424] Farmers led to a destruction of the differentiated
semantry on the joint farms (cf. Gray 1952: 51-55).
and a proliferation of very small units, none of which
was adequate to provide a reasonable subsistence.
These small units became fixed as individual holdings
by the 1886 Crofters Act, and the only important
distinction thereafter was between smallholders with
security of tenure (crofters), and non-crofters who
built homes on the common grazing land but had no
specified rights. Although various agencies were
established after 1886 to enable holdings to be
enlarged, only in the last fifteen years have such
possibilities between officially developed on the form
of official subletting and individual apportionments.
[017] By the second half of the 19th century, a trend
[423] against laissez-faire was manifest in the writings of
European scholars. As landslim broke down, small-
holders throughout Europe were being dispossessed of
their land, which was then consolidated and enclosed.
[17] In Denmark, legislation was passed as early as 1682
to prevent landlords from taking steps to increase the
efficiency of their farm production by replacing the

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

171 three-field system with improved rotation methods
involving consolidation of land. The Danish govern-
ment feared that consolidation of land would have
meant a reduction in taxes and fighting men.
175 The British government was faced with the same threat
423 in the migration from the Highlands, as the Highlands
[166] had long been a source of good fighting men.

A reaction against the materialism of the
industrial revolution developed in England as small-
holders sold their land to large landholders to become
laborers. The Taylor Report (1954: 9) reflects the
[181] value which is still placed on country life by maintaining
that crofting communities "embody a free and independent
way of life which in a civilisation predominantly urban
and industrial in character is worth preserving for its
own intrinsic quality."

175 The various acts protecting smallholdings were also
241 attempts to keep labor dispersed: to diversify and
423 improve the use of land, and thus to increase Britain's
[54] self-sufficiency in food production. Various marketing
agencies and subsidies were introduced around World War II
to achieve such aims. Among the many agriculturalists
affected by these encouragements emanating from the
central government were crofters.

175 On one of the crofts along the strand are the
228 ruins of two curing houses, where the fish were salted
[348] and dried. Ling, cod, skate and halibut were cured
[439] and sold to local merchants for export. "The same as
[171] they do in Iceland this very day. That was the main
175 industry. Then the English came with their steam
648 trawlers; they ruined the fishing here, and then went
228 west to Iceland and the Faroes. In Iceland they get
fined for poaching, but here the trawlers often ignore
[433] the three-mile limit. But the fishing was the mainstay
here, before the Harris Tweed came along."

175 One man returned from sailing in 1932 and bought a
228 boat for L24. He had 32 lobster pots, and made L7 one
435 June by selling the lobsters at a shilling apiece.
501 Another man, who returned from the United States in 1934
[454] because of the depression, bought a share in a 14-foot
[491] boat. It was made in Ness, at the northern tip of Lewis,
[434] and cost about L14. He and his partners went out every
night possible; the fish provided an important part of
their income. The boat was sold in the 50's. "It wasn't
175 being kept up anyway." Around World War II there were as
228 many as twenty boats; men fished at night, after a day's
501 work. Today there are four 12-foot boats in Shawbost,
178 each shared by four or five men. The boats are used
501 intensively for fishing during certain times of the year,
228

173 "Then the tweeds got
243 going and the barley took too much trouble; so they had
252 no use for the mill."
829

173 A 60-year-old woman remembers, "They depended on th
262 potato and fished a lot. I was raised on oatcakes, bar
bannocks, and salt herring. There were no vans and no
school canteens when I was young; you had to carry your
[264] own 'piece' to school. We had porridge with fresh milk
for breakfast, oatcakes and butter for lunch. Dinner w
at 4:00, of potatoes and fish and milk. We had meat ma
once a week. My father poached a lot. We ate the head
[251] and the roe of the salmon fresh, and salted the rest."
Once among the cleanest, Hebridean teeth now vie with
164 British cities in extent of decay. It is not uncommon
759 a child in his first year of school to have six teeth
pulled by the travelling dentist.

261 Various customs associated with food which exist t
272 reflect the days when fare was meager. Tea-drinking is
[171] omnipresent in Britain, but in the islands it has
272 special significance. The taking of tea constitutes
574 the denouement of a visit, and almost always occurs whe
someone steps over someone else's threshold. To refuse
[576] tea has some of the connotations of an insult; and to
take only tea, without food, is to have a copan falamh
(empty cup).

which official records are kept by the mills. If you say jokingly to a fisherman who has brought in a large catch that he should put some money aside for the income tax man, he is likely to reply, "He'll have to catch me first." A tradesman may be earning large sums of money doing local work as a skilled specialist at the same time that he is collecting social security. A man may move in and out of a number of different jobs, and never report his income. "Occupational pluralism" (cf. Brox 1968) rather than economic specialization has developed as a strategy in various countries along the North Atlantic fringe, such as Iceland, the Faroes, northern Norway and Newfoundland, as well as the west coast and islands of Scotland. In these marginal areas, income from specialized occupations is, in the long run, unpredictable and inconsistent.

In times of national economic depression, strikes, shifts between socialist and conservative governments, and other crises, crofting provides an alternative strategy. During the last war, many islanders who had left the island (including some who had been quite prosperous in the cities) returned to spend the duration of the war in the village, glad of the relative security provided by the relative abundance of food and less strict rationing. During a huge snow-fall that occurred on

PREFACE

It was after the end of the First World War and the home-coming of the men—all too few in number after heavy losses—that I first came to know Lewis-and-Harris. Later, in the years between the two World Wars and during the Second World War, I returned to study the people's heritage and survey the Island problems and, if it might be, find solutions. Work on a West Highland farm had already made me aware of the hardships and potentialities of land and sea; of the meaning of life in field and home for farm-team and family; of the reality of the Gaelic heritage—communal, bardic and religious. Wider surveys made me aware of common elements throughout Scotland and the North and West of the British Isles, despite the historic contrasts from the Hebrides to the Lowlands, and beyond. In the Hebrides are found an elemental simplicity of environment; an early crystallisation of culture and religion, with continuity; a recent and contemporary coming of revolutionary change. These form an interpretative chain of evidence—geographical, traditional and historical—unique in the British Isles. Hence throughout this book, from the basic maps and explanatory text to the later chapters, an interpretation of the Island and its community is linked to that of the Highlands, Scotland and the British Isles as a whole.

As many a Scot of crofting stock has found, when he shares in the work of a glen by day—on the low ground and the hill, alone or with others of a team—and joins in the fireside talk and Gaelic song when night has fallen, he

181 some by characteristics which may seem unique. But it
171 will interest others by features of underlying universality.
133 These might be compared to the Archaean rock, overlain toward the south-east by a succession of younger strata, but forming their foundation.

181 In this rocky land, the roots of Island life are laid
182 bare; the rhythm of work responds to the day's weather and the cycle of the year. Yet the flowering of communal life in song and spiritual tradition may offer a fresh vision of regional, even of national, being. Indeed it is in characteristics latent in the evolution of the whole 'North and West' of the British Isles that Island life is most revealing.

131 Rising in imagination to a point above the summits of
133 the Harris hills, and viewing the British Isles from the 'far' north-west, we gain a new perspective (Fig. 1). The Island below us is now the nearest; the 'Outer' Isles,
129 the innermost. To us now, as to the Islesmen, their Island home is no mere fringe, but a heart of Britain.

01 Thence, looking to the lands across the Minch, each
33 further from the Isles of home, there appear, in turn, three regions: (1) the rest of the Highlands and Isles; (2) the Lowlands and Uplands of Scotland; and (3) Ireland, Wales and Cornwall, and Northern England—all sculptured in rocks older than those of the Lowland or 'Plain' of England beyond. These three roughly concentric regions, from Harris to the edge of the 'Plain', may be grouped together with the intervening estuarine lowlands—not only Clydeside and the Solway but the 'firth-land' of Mersey-and-Deeside, and that of the Bristol Channel. To these, one might add the shores of an outer Minch, the *Manche* or 'English' Channel, which once linked Devon and Cornwall to Armorica. Beyond

24 with its tied cottages and frequently a 'bothy' for the un-
36 married. Next to this comes the full-time small-holding,
(184) important in the North-east and the Southern Highlands of Scotland. Great as are the differences between these types of unit today, they go back, to a considerable extent,
(174) to common origins. The sites of the farms are ancient. And their people, though since divided into masters and men, are the successors to those who were once the 'kindly co-operators' of older 'farm groups', of Lowland *ferm-toun* and
(184) Gaelic *baile* (pronounced like 'ballie'). The island counterpart of these, and their life, will be described in Part Two. Hence, before we turn to further analysis of the Highlands and Isles, a word more should be said of Lowland types.

An important social index in the Lowlands of Scotland
24 is the number composing the farm labour-team, averaged
36 for each county. Villages and even hamlets are few,
46 largely because farmers and farm servants live on the farms. Compared to those of most of England, Scots labour-
• (171) teams are small. Yet, as the map indicates, there is a
(184) wide range from the 'large' teams of South-east Scotland, through the 'medium' teams of adjacent areas, to the 'small' teams of the West and North-east. Not only do the contacts of employer with employees partly depend upon the number in the team, but so do the farm servants' relations to one another. On the whole, the larger the team, the more formal its organisation; and the smaller
(554) the team, the greater a worker's own responsibility. The
(178) 'family farmer' of the West and North-east is often an ex-farm servant. From Burns's time, his character and enterprise have been recognised in Scotland, and in the last forty years have become well known in South-east England. But the isolation of these little farms brought its problems and its hardships.

i (see map p. 16 .. analysis)[20]

175 reclamation, which Dean Monro has described as he saw it.
311 Technique and economic return must be balanced against
185 the factors of nature. Although natural conditions are
(182) difficult, they may not form a complete explanation of the relative arrest of reclamation in the nineteenth century; for here separation from the agricultural advances of the Lowlands by barriers of mountain and sea caused the retention of unprogressive methods until the wave of agricultural improvement had spent itself by the middle of
(178) last century. To this cause must be added other influences
• (171) contrasted to those leading to peasant advance in the rest of Western Europe: the political history of the Gaeldom after 1745, the revolution in land tenure and in the social life of the upper classes, the commercial, industrial and imperial development of Great Britain. All these factors help to explain the contrast offered to the Lews by western Denmark and western Norway, lands in which the soil and climate are comparable to those of the Island. Yet reclamation is proceeding, as on skinned land at Ness, where plots of ground have been steadily broken in by pick and by spade or plough.

226 Settlement and agricultural land are placed around
(361) the coasts with their fishing grounds. In spite of what was often said—that the Lewisman is and has always been
(311) primarily a fisherman—fishing alone is not enough to account for this distribution, for the agricultural conditions
(241) on the whole are also best along the coasts, or were so for early settlers. As Stevens remarked, the light sandy 'machar' lands are there, and the fringe of partially improved soil close by; drainage is, on the whole, better, while shell-sand and sea-ware are to be had for manure.
241 The sea-ware also serves still as fodder, while one or two
824 sorts are sometimes cooked for human food; carragheen

233 away, and for a shorter period. The sheep wander over
311 the moors all the year round, though they hang about the crofts when the winter is severe.

221 A comparison with mountainous Norway or the Alps
132 and their high summer pastures suggests itself; but in Lewis altitude is almost negligible, and the shielings may
• 171 lie only two to five hundred feet above that of the crofts
(133) beside the shore. The difference between winter and
(311) summer is in any case less, snow being rare and the conditions being such that even in summer the shieling pasture remains poor. Hence it is that while modern Norse and Alpine economy still maintain the summer pasture, the shielings have died out in the Highlands and are slowly decaying in Lewis. Seasonally, stock are transported over longer distances, from Highland to Lowland pastures.

181 Reasons for the continuance of these and other crofting
(178) ways, or for their abandonment, are not of an economic
(461) order alone: not only the remuneration received for labour, but the feeling for the work counts enormously. Visiting a couple of distant shielings in the summer of 1919, I found that two lads newly home from the Navy had come up from their village 'for a holiday', bringing rods for trout-fishing and high spirits for play. By day they fished or flirted. By night they slept in one of the two shielings, while the two laughing lasses they had come to visit shared the none too wide couch of the other shieling with the two older women there. One of these was a matron with a motherly twinkle in her eye, the other was a spinster in whose eyes there shone a memorably vivid light; she was the sister (as I found later) of a noted minister on the mainland. The bare simplicity of shieling life is traditionally softened by fellowship and a gaiety that is not beyond
(538) control. A Lowland poet once coined a famous phrase,

342 yard and occasionally a barley-kiln in which to dry grain
343 before malting it for home-brewed beer. A 'black mill',
351 with its primitive horizontal water-wheel, stands apart by
(251) some burnside.
(273) Round the circular hearth, a large company can assemble in very social fashion for talk, story and song, the meeting
354 *together* (*ceilidh*). By the transfer of the hearth from the
571 centre and the substitution of a gable fireplace and regular
538 chimney, the social circle is halved, while meantime the
(178) tales of the *ceilidh* are forbidden or forgotten. Happily the bench still stands against the wall, near to the open
(353) door, through which neighbours slip in with a word of greeting to find a customary welcome.

342 The dwellings on the summer pastures out on the
361 moors show great variety, illustrated in Fig. 10(B). A simple type in use is built of turf and stones, lightly roofed with
(178) turf placed on spars. A more primitive 'beehive' type
• (171) (which fell out of use before 1900) was stone-built and corbelled, probably for lack of timber. And whereas the lighter type always stands by itself, the corbelled type was added to until a dozen cells formed a single mass, suggestive of ancient 'neolithic' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney, described by Childe, and of the domed, corbelled huts of the ancient East.

(343) A further type was the 'spring house' of Tolsta, NE. Lewis, in which both cattle and folk sheltered in spring a little way from the village, before going out to the more
(174) distant moor. Mr. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S., a
(178) native of Tolsta, informs me that the spring house was in use until 1936. He remembers vividly how life in the shieling restored health and colour after the winter.

16 manent absence from the Island are chiefly the Merchant Service and hydro-electric contracts, and for the women hotel and domestic service, nursing and fish-curing. The ultimate return of many men after prolonged absence contributes to the higher proportion of men of retired and pensionable age (16 per cent in rural Lewis, 11 in Stornoway and 10 in Scotland). What could not be shown on either pyramid for Lewis is the high ratio of unmarried women, owing to the losses of the war, to migration, and to the need for a daughter to devote herself to ageing parents on the croft. The ratio of widows, with or without children, is also considerable, for all three reasons, as well as a fourth, the desirability for an island home, rather than a city, as a place in which to bring up fatherless children.

Turning now to Scotland (b) (d), the same tendencies
(171) are seen as in Lewis, though in less extreme form. The difference is of quantity rather than of kind: somewhat as Lewis had lost her men to Scotland mainly, so Scotland
(171) had lost to England and beyond. On an average, mothers in Lewis have more children than mothers in Scotland, and still more so than in England. Thus the facts of population in the Island do not suggest a voluntary extinction of its community, but rather the will to live.

CHAPTER V

FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP: THE CONTINUING COMMUNITY AND ITS SOCIAL ECONOMY TO 1815

INTRODUCTION (TO CHAPTERS V AND VI)

121 THE family, the 'conjoint' or 'farm group' of
593 four or five families, and the larger group clustered
476 in a glen or along a shoreland, are, in ascending
632 order, the three concentric units whose mutual relation-
621 ships we must visualise to understand the past. Enduring elements of life in family and neighbourhood today, with their own special qualities and limitations, can only be understood in terms of past needs and the relationships they evoked.

121 Having seen their relationships in family, team and
613 township, we can next turn to the reciprocal relations of
62 the people to their chief or lord, whose position dominates
(171) European, indeed world, history and prehistory. Here our concern must be the meaning of 'clanship' to the chiefs, the joint farm-groups (or 'small tenantry') and, latterly, the tacksmen placed above them.

121 We may find, throughout this study, that features and
194 functions which at first sight seem peculiar to the Island
198 are really local variants, more perfectly crystallised, of
(184) forms which we know existed at earlier periods in Scotland and in much of northern and western Britain. In the Isles,

175 natural zone, could not be extended. In any case, the re-
433 clamation of clay land tended to slacken as efforts turned
434 to fishing and kelp-making. The introduction or increased growing of potatoes added to the human, but hardly to the
(182) animal, food supply. Finally, while the beginnings of
(311) medical knowledge and vaccination had aided the growth of population after 1750, veterinary science had made no
232 progress, nor did it advance in the Island for many years to come. We may conclude that an average stock per Island
(422) family about 1720 was rather more than that of 1790, and the acreage relatively larger, while both were greater than the average of today, particularly in the Lews.

175 What, then, could a family have to eat, from such crops
262 and stock? While in winter even now there is almost no
244 milk to be had on a croft, and there would be little then, there was salt meat, dried or salted cod (or herring) and fish oil; oat and barley meal and some rye meal; cabbages; and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, potatoes. Martin included potatoes among the crops grown even on far St. Kilda in 1697. A century later it was written that the people of Uig, for instance, had, though 'unwilling', been induced to grow and eat them 'forty years before'; and the years tend to be under-estimated where changes are slow and memories long! But it was written of Harris that by June the meal and potatoes had mostly been consumed, "and such as cannot afford to purchase imported meal subsist chiefly on the milk of their cows and sheep, with what fish they may chance to catch, till their wants are relieved by the first fruits of their potato crops early in Harvest".

175 We conclude that with even less money but a little
511 more grain the population in the Island had fluctuated
762 about a mean for some centuries before, as it had in so
171

175 much of Britain and Europe until about 1700. A modern
511 parallel may be found in Asiatic lands with the frequency
162 of famines alternating with periods of recovery or, in others,
171 the long-drawn misery of chronic under-nutrition and endemic disease. In modern Europe, only international
(731) or civil war can now bring such extreme widespread misery. And as peace brings partial healing, so in the Island past, when good seasons returned after famines, the life of the family renewed itself.[1]

175 The narrow margin of survival even in good seasons,
593 the risks of the bread-winner's death and of his family's destitution, and the need of co-operation in so many tasks made the family too small, weak and precarious a unit to stand alone. Even with relatively little division (or specialisation) of labour, and in spite of its apparent self-sufficiency, the family had perforce to link itself with wider circles of community life.

(B) JOINT LABOUR BY SMALL TEAMS: THE EVIDENCE OF TENURE IN 1715–26

175 Romance is hidden among the rent-rolls of the Seaforth
241 estates, all of which were forfeited when the Earl rose for
429 'King James VIII' in 1715. For of the rents withheld from the government until 1720, on the mainland at least
(642) the loyal clansmen paid a considerable portion to their
(613) exiled chief, styled 'Marquis' by 'King James'. But the

[1] 'The ' ups and downs ' of a peasantry living on the margin of subsistence and subject to severe disease can be studied in India, 1871–1941, where the ' net ' or mean change has to be correlated with the ' variability '. This wide problem was reviewed in a series of papers to 1948; "The Social and Psychological Significance of Variability in Regional Changes of Population", with examples taken from Indian villages. (A. Geddes, *Human Relations*, Vol. 1, 2, 1947–48; cf. *Geog. Rev.* 1942 and 1948; and *Geog. Journal*, 3, vol. 98, 1941).

CHAPTER VI

CLANSHIP: PEOPLE, CHIEF AND TACKSMEN

(A) COMMUNAL EQUALITY AND LORDLY PRIVILEGE

175 THE equalitarian customs of hamlet and township
632 astonish many to whom the crofting villages are
647 unknown and whose picture of the Gaelic past is
631 derived from tales of the 'Forty-five. The widespread historic fact of lordship over a subject peasantry has obscured that of peasant-neighbourhood, more ancient, it would seem, and, in the Isles, still more enduring. The very existence of 'rural democracies' such as those just described has been doubted by certain scholars on the theoretic ground that they would be humanly unwork-
(614) able! Yet it is none the less true that the peasants as clansfolk gave loyalty to their chief. The fervent loyalty given to the exiled kinsmen-kings, the Stewarts, was a scarlet thread interwoven—or entangled—in the homespun
(533) web of community, of clanship. Wherever the Gaelic is spoken, the Jacobite songs are sung with passion, and their echo has gone round the world.

171 So in the life of the Gael, without doubt—and in varying degree throughout Britain and the rest of Europe—we have to envisage a composite, perhaps a contradictory, state of things, in which communal equality is overlaid by

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175 It is ironic that the attempts by landlords to
423 initiate agricultural reform and develop capitalist
429 farmers led to a destruction of the differentiated
178 tenantry on the joint farms (cf. Gray 1952: 51-56), and a proliferation of very small units, none of which was adequate to provide a reasonable subsistence. These small units became fixed as individual holdings by the 1886 Crofters Act, and the only important distinction thereafter was between smallholders with security of tenure (crofters), and non-crofters who built homes on the common grazing land but had no specified rights. Although various agencies were established after 1886 to enable holdings to be enlarged, only in the last fifteen years have such possibilities between officially developed in the form of official subletting and individual apportionments.

17 By the second half of the 19th century, a trend
123 against laissez-faire was manifest in the writings of European scholars. As feudalism broke down, smallholders throughout Europe were being dispossessed of their land, which was then consolidated and enclosed.
171 In Denmark, legislation was passed as early as 1682 to prevent landlords from taking steps to increase the efficiency of their farm production by replacing the

175 631 632 642 [171] [621]

lordly rank: a working, equalitarian democracy dominated by an aristocracy proudly refusing to work. The fascination of Gaelic community is, first, that its elements stand out so clearly, and, secondly, that links were forged in clanship which made its living chain, though heavy, a thing that shone with pride, and beauty too.

(B) CLANSHIP, COMMON DESCENT AND CLAN-HELP ('CUIDEACHY')

621 172 621 177 173 621 631 [177]

To what extent is it now possible to disentangle the two contrasted elements of the lord or chief and the farm-teams and townships? Prehistory is hard to unravel; but the successive waves of conquest flung upon the Island shores have left their jetsam, unmistakably. The circle of huts found near a broch or commanding *dùn* recalls the tenants' village grouped close to the castle of a chief, from early history down to the 'Forty-five, and suggests a primitive form of feudalism or of clanship. Traditions add their part. In Uist one may still hear the ancient heroic lays traditionally ascribed to Ossian, Oisean, son of Fionn or Fingal—lays of which Macpherson's sonorous prose gave free rendering. The Fingalian tales differ from the lays, being frankly fantastic. Lewis had its own cycle of Fingalian tales; examples are given by W. C. Mackenzie (1919). Both lays and legends tell of an aristocracy or warrior class, the Fenians, of their enjoyment of the chase, and of their relative comfort, with wealth in gold and silver, in banners and flowing mantles. The chase combined with riches implies the existence of a community to feed and clothe the huntsmen. The traditions of the Cuchulainn cycle, with closer approximation to historical and archaeological truth, tell the same tale. Historically, in-

from the old chiefs' families, as in the genealogies of MacDonald of the Isles and the MacLeods. A special feature contrasting with English history is that claims to differences of descent, instead of being maintained—as between the Saxon and the conqueror of Norman blood—were fused. Even when the ancestor of the chief was alien to the locality, the people and the chiefs ultimately claimed to be of one and the same descent. Neighbourhood softened the impositions of the hunting herdsman upon his human herd, and the feeling of kinship brought reconciliation.

How far, then, can the family name, which proclaims every 'son' and 'daughter' of Leod to be of the *clann*, the 'children'[1] of the first Leod, really betoken a blood tie? Both the differences of race to be found in clanship and the ties it formed are well brought out in a tale of Highland pride, still told with Highland laughter across the Minch in Kintail. A French skipper (an importer of claret) touching at Kintail three hundred years ago, met a short, dark man and asked him of whose clan he was. "The Clan Rae," was the reply, "but we are of two kinds, the tall, fair MacRaes and" (a little pityingly) "the short, dark MacRaes." "And which are you?" "I," said the wee, black fellow, drawing himself up, "am one of the tall, fair MacRaes!" "Then God help the short, dark MacRaes!" said the skipper. Even one link with the blood of the chief—and that not necessarily legitimate—was enough for a man to found a claim to kinship, not merely as a MacRae, but with the tall, fair chief through

[1] In Gaelic, as a man is called MacLeoid (son of Leod), so a woman is NicLeoid (daughter), and the clan, *Clann Leoid*. The absurd addition of 'son' to a woman's name (as in English surnames such as 'Johnson') is unthinkable in Gaelic, in which a woman would be named 'John's daughter', *NicIain*.

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rage of an heir by a clanswoman formed the
ole tie to at least one family of the people
to recent times. For it linked the heir by
hough not by equal obligation—to elders
s in childhood and his contemporaries in later

te this 'contradiction' of equality and privi-
e thus a hierarchy of 'class' imposed upon
society. For the joint farms and the township
lly classless. The two classes, the lord and
ere primarily opposed, war having placed the
ove those who fed him. This state of things
e 'class-war', for the armistice could endure
y means of the bargain made between the
me exchange of services; none the less, it
n class conquest.

hould ultimately claim the lineage of their
narkable solution to the hereditary opposition
nan who knew the Islanders well, John Lane
93), noted how in conditions of the utmost
poorest addressed each other as 'lady and
ean-uasal and *duine-uasal*, a courtesy not lost
every clansman had a right to shake the hand
s Edmund Burt observed in his vivid *Letters*
th (written after 1721). Indeed the sense
ligation implicit in Gaelic society is well
the homely word *coir*, usually translated
equally used for right's correlative, duty—as
or Irish crofter may say "You've a right (a
your mother"—and for a 'right' (privilege)
hief's hand. An English equivalent would
lege, or duty-right. Similarly, the same

221 clothing was begun and blessed by poetic, rhythm
or 'runes'. The words were usually reinfor
symbolic gesture or simple rite. By help of the
people sought spiritual preparation for work, in
and finally consecrated the thing made for use.

221 Wherever work was rhythmic it was carri
461 working songs. Songs of hunting or herding re
hill and pasture, or praised the landscape with an
[171] flow unequalled in any tongue we know but old I
which Scots Gaelic is so closely linked, or
which the nature classics are linked to the epi
sixth and seventh century thought to be com
Strathclyde.[1]

788 Yet it was not these but the rhythmic prayer
461 which initiated labour, stage by stage. They are
among many peoples, but those of the Gael po
[171] fullness of meaning and beauty of imagery, words
When labour was ended, the food won or the clot
was consecrated for the use of family and frien
poor and the stranger-guest.

788 In the struggle for food, the sowing and reapi
241 ranked highest, followed by its parching and
(*Carmina*, Nos. 88-92). The preparation of se
sowing was accompanied by its consecration, *an co*
sioil. Similarly for reaping: "Laying his bonn
ground, the father of the family took up his s

[113] [1] Examples of these nature poems are given in scholarly pros
by Kenneth H. Jackson (1937 and 1950). Songs with their mel
found in Arthur Geddes (Ed.), *The Songs of Craig and Ben*, v

CH. VII SPIRITUAL LIFE OF COMMUNITY

The care of cattle was accompanied by prayer. As an Erskine Highlander said to me, 'Our cattle would have hair now tethered without a mumbled, "Saint Columba be herding you" (*Buachaille o'Chalaim-cille ort*). The curing of animal sickness, and its prevention, was accompanied by prayers. And prayer was used to avert the evil eye, symbol of suspicions born of unremaining fear which, psychologists tell us, beset the modern but little less than the ancient! The thought or act of prayer which links a man to his fellow-men links him to the church beast. "The man who is merciful to a soul will not be merciless to a beast." (*Fa fear a bhithas trucatach ri anam, cha bhith e mithcasach ri bheist*).

Throughout Christendom back task of the annual rhythm was marked, at its start and close, by a day of seasonal festival (*La Fèill*). These Christian festivals replaced earlier celebrations of seasonal events of their features, often in play. Yet concerted seasonal activities could not be related to the supreme festival of the Christian Church, Easter, owing to its movable date. This is one reason for the great importance of other, fixed Festivals to rural community life. This point, not always appreciated by latter-day individualism, is made clear by M. M. Banks in describing *British Calendar Customs*, vol. i, *Scotland* (1937). Remembering that the Old Style Calendar dates were ten days later than the New Style (when officially adopted in Scotland in 1752), they may be compared with the annual rhythm of climate and labour (Fig. 9). Until 1600, the New Year began in spring on 25th March. After the Reformation and the abolition of Christmas or *Noel*, *Nollaig*, New Year's Day on 1st January took its place as the day which, as the Protestant Highlands and Lowlands, remarkably humble but spiritually rich, as the rest of a clan-community.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

of the Old Testament made itself felt, as in Lewis-and-Harris in the nineteenth century, this narrower patriarchal concept became partly effaced thought.' Rooted in a wider form of family than a patriarchate, and reverencing a Holy Family and all fellowship, Gaelic society honoured age and parenthood for their inheritance, and childhood and youth for their promise.

Such bands of human relationship led to the veneration of the Saints of the Gospels and of later history, and also of those of legend, especially Bride. Dedications to Bride or "Brighde" are widespread from Wales to the Lewis; yet her memory has been all but lost in Britain, except in the Lowlands. Carmichael records that "Bride and her services" are dear to the hearts of the people. She is called "Bride of the white feet . . . of calmness . . . of the kine; mantling-mother . . . and shielding-mother . . ." "I am in the keeping of my Saint Mary: My companion believed in Bride." Carmichael, p. 103, adds that in joy, mindfulness and attainment are generally linked to one notable stage in the life of each 'holy companion', the example of and fellowship of each saint in turn was especially sought, at a corresponding stage or crisis of one's life.

The Gaeli's veneration for saintly men and women was shared by Catholic peasantry throughout Christendom; in Ireland, Brittany, and Wales, it was the closeness of

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fellowship. "The Irish Church", a Roman is said to have exclaimed to a Gaelic Catholic in scorn, "has von no martyr's crown!" "Ireland was named the Isle of Saints not by Roman but by Gaelic Christians of the elect", was the reply. The Celtic Church linked the lands across St. Patrick's Channel; and what was true of Brehon Jurisprudence and canons is have been as true of Celtic Britain, the land of his birth. Kilpatrick on the Roman Wall of Clyde has been claimed as the birthplace of one who was certainly a Cymric Celt by birth and baptism, a Gaul by training, and an Irishman by mission.

The Gaelic Christian was nurtured from personal to divine relationships in walking or rest, with an intimacy of fellowship, and of invasion, of which we can begin, "I shall lie down with God, and God lie down with me. . . ." A simple and universal gesture of love, in which parent, child or lover joined, was the kiss of peace. This, and the dedicatory prayer at rest, "the arm of the Father", or "the arm of the Spirit", under my head." This prayer was the inspiration of one of the loveliest of Christian tombs, preserved by clan loyalty, respect for the dead, dirance and later fossilization on the Island of Grimshiva, where the Highlands meet the Lowlands at the Lake of Menteith. As an example of medieval monuments, height and lady are sculptured side by side. But here the two lie each with "an arm under the other's head", the free array of the knight reaching over to clasp hands

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1309. Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness. The following year, he had fought at the commencement of "the three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King Alexander III, "that Scotland led in love and law", peace within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing Celtic Christian traditions and Norman arts. After this death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars can tell, one, this almost unnoticed monument, represents the "Celtic Renaissance" in the world.' The arts of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement, were absorbed by invasion, and Gaelic traditions were only to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all time, we have become.

At the age of twelve God's Mercy and peace were sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the "Mercy of God", under my head." This prayer was the inspiration of one of the loveliest of Christian tombs, preserved by clan loyalty, respect for the dead, dirance and later fossilization on the Island of Grimshiva, where the Highlands meet the Lowlands at the Lake of Menteith. As an example of medieval monuments, height and lady are sculptured side by side. But here the two lie each with "an arm under the other's head", the free array of the knight reaching over to clasp hands

[1] *A unique medieval tomb at Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.) [2] In modern times the Old Welsh "eye of God" (*dewch ahad*).

[3] Spiritual Songs: by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs of Mary, Bride, and Christ, and Christmas carols. Protestant Gaels, like Catholic origin (e.g. in Tyr. Ross, Sutherland, Argyll, Lochaber, Lochaber, Lochaber

CH. 12

CONCLUSION

The importance of the 'regional' movement is inter-regional and inland international. In the case of the Highland, international order is required for its fisheries to recover, and for its weaving to find purchasers abroad as well as at home. The Highland crofter, who small-holding to find an inland market is its little bough, Stornoway. Without this triple basis of fishing, weaving and crofting for its economy, inland society will be hard up and its culture remain, not evolve. It is no less true that only by the development of each regional economy and regional society as we find them, will problems be held in check at home, and prevent the exploitation of one region the sweat of others.

A pioneer American Report acknowledges the debt of regional survey for the New Deal not only to France and Germany, but to a great English tradition, to the geographers, biologists and sociologists in Britain.[1] If anybody we can be proud of Scots and British initiative in planning, we must own, with Geddes, to humiliating slowness in its execution, and in the mobilisation of regional resources for social ends. The chief of our planning must be the re-making of society. In Britain it is not always realised that in the great developments of the New Deal the execution of concrete schemes which include civil engineering, industrial expansion and agricultural conservation, is accompanied by a social experiment, both urban and rural. Not only are geographers and economists, technicians, industrialists and officials called to survey and plan the Tennessee Valley, but sociologists and educationists are required to complete the work. Not only are the Highland Line, the Scots-Welsh Border, the edge of the other rocks of Britain and, only the place but the people are to be studied, represented and helped.

The planning movement is gathering impetus in Britain, as it spreads outwards from bombed towns to countrysides, embracing regions as a whole. It is certainly destruction, in war that has clubbed the nation into a spirit 'broad scale', awake to features of economic and social disintegration that preceded actual war-damage. It is certain that defeat of the common enemy called for common effort round the nation to face the economic and social consolidation at home. Yet the seeds of the planning movement were sown in peace, and only in peace can they germinate to fruition. Planning, prepared for by the survey of each region as a whole, must lead towards the freeing of its people not only from physical want but from economic insecurity. Based on the provision of work and a livelihood for individuals, planning should envisage a social and economic strength to realise the deepest cravings of each community and serve their highest ideals. It is a means to the end of the fullest realisation of the unity of life.

This book begins by viewing the 'Outer' Isles as a heart of 'the North and West' of the British Isles, the innermost of a series of regions extending from the North-east Isles to the backland margin of the English 'Plain'. Differences in landscape and community, in history and culture, in the ways of life and the work engrossing unique in itself, yet—it was suggested—all possess certain features of landscape and community, which marked them off from the 'Plain' of the South-east. Some fear physical and cultural disintegration or fundamentalism divide these regions. South-eastward from the Minch four were selected: the Highland Line, the Scots-Welsh Border, the edge of the other rocks of Britain and, only the place but the people are to be studied, represented and helped.

The planning movement is gathering impetus in Britain, as it spreads outwards from bombed towns to countrysides, embracing regions as a whole. It is certainly destruction, in war that has clubbed the nation into a spirit 'broad scale', awake to features of economic and social disintegration that preceded actual war-damage. It is certain that defeat of the common enemy called for common effort round the nation to face the economic and social consolidation at home. Yet the seeds of the planning movement were sown in peace, and only in peace can they germinate to fruition. Planning, prepared for by the survey of each region as a whole, must lead towards the freeing of its people not only from physical want but from economic insecurity. Based on the provision of work and a livelihood for individuals, planning should envisage a social and economic strength to realise the deepest cravings of each community and serve their highest ideals. It is a means to the end of the fullest realisation of the unity of life.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT

APPENDIX I

only recognised relation of culture and environment.[1]

The economic foundation for the present day culture is commonly referred to as "the crofting system," a system of "peculiarly tenure of individually held small pieces of cultivated land combined with communal use of grazing land. On his small plot, typically under five and seldom over ten acres, the crofter grows a little oats and bar for his stock, a few potatoes for his family and dairy cattle, and, in some cases, a few garden vegetables. Anyone who is acquainted with the British small holdings will recognise the crofting relationship of the two systems." The connected element in the crofting system on Skye, however, is a distinguishing feature. In addition to the individual, the township has a common, communal right to a share in a specified area of land. Shares average for all British workers in employment are taken for October of both years. Then, taking the 1938 figure, 1 cwt. of oats, 1 lb. of tea, 1 lb. of sugar were 1d. or 16% per cent of the first, a figure to be related to the cost of living index, which had only risen from 100 to 101 per cent. The total wage-bill gave a still higher increase for Britain, from 100 to 104 per cent. Yet, as Sir Arthur Salter, the Economic Adviser to the Government, has pointed out, "the crofter's income from food does not greatly relieve them. The loss of employment following the loss of the cattle trade in 1930 and the rise in rents employment beyond the island.

Summing up the facts of this Appendix, it may be said that the Island Families (1) means for partial subsistence for the family, (2) means for a supplementary income; and (3) a home from which many go forth to earn a living, for themselves (and their families) northern—country contributing to national and local income there. Of these, many return later, either to found a home, if they have made a fortune during periods of ill-health or unemployment, or to retire upon the Island.

[1] Barnes, The History of Western Civilisation, Vol. I, p.636.

[2] Lewis and Maude, The British Middle Classes, pp. 169-170.

CHAPTER V

THE INLANDER'S HOUSEWIFE

The basis of the local economy, in terms of the contribution of the Inlanders[1] to the national economy and the number who depend on the land for all or part of their livelihood, is the crofting system. So much, therefore, explore the economic aspects of this cultural pattern in detail. As the system of land use and tenancy, crofting is an anachronistic survival in Western Europe. In Scandinavia, the medieval agrarian systems have been regretterred along four principal lines.[2] In central and some parts of northern Europe peasant proprietorship became the characteristic feature. In southern Europe the *mezzaro*, a peasant who paid a rent plus a share of his crop, appeared. Northern Europe became an area of large farms. In England and Scotland tenant farmers received most of the land. There is only one survival of the feudal open field village farm in England.[3] Despite individual efforts of Highland landlords to bring about at least a partial rationalisation of the inherited peasant economic patterns with those of rural British, crofting has been preserved. Certainly, the legal system of land tenure, which was

While
the Irish and Scottish Highland systems of land use, [illegible]
[illegible] and agricultural, they are distinguished by their respective systems of land tenure. The Irish small farmers of Ireland [illegible] tenure, in its 19 to seven clauses,[1] human groups for the end to attempt to maintain their accustomed habits and attitudes while the profit endeavour to free association for our ideas." For it is unique for the younger members of the society to resent the restraints imposed by the older people to punish deviation from traditional behaviour. Of Tairbert phases, a family, an activities the temps of interaction at smallton or tea time by saying grace and returning the chanks. This is part of the hospitality [illegible] of Kirkhamlands. The visitor is always asked to say grace.

What is true of the township on Skye, is also partly [illegible] true of the wider community. The Inlanders[illegible] the same church go out to know one another better because of a common faith, or their particular interpretation of a faith common to all. Some of the Inlanders belong to the Free Church, the minister, for 13 years there was no Free Church congregation. Our three Fieldfare attended the Free Presbyterian Church, and the minister at one Sabbath service held forth on the shortcomings of the Free Church. They left and began holding services in the Court House. In time the congregation grew, a church was built and there was a minister. More recently, a minister of the Free Presbyterian Church, who was noted for a certain amount of leniency, was so

[1] Ayrshire, The Irish Countryman, pp. 122-129.

[2] Brooke, Agricultural, p. 274-277.

[3] Brooke, Agricultural, p. 274-277.

[4] Arnold Van Gennep, Les Rites de Passage (Paris: E. Nourry, 1909) [illegible]

Rites of Passage

Rites of Passage function in all societies to mark the [illegible]

[1] Ayrshire, The Irish Countryman, pp. 122-129.

[2] Brooke, Agricultural, p. 274-277.

[3] Brooke, Agricultural, p. 274-277.

[4] Arnold Van Gennep, Les Rites de Passage (Paris: E. Nourry, 1909) [illegible]

chapel and its group.[1] In Skye the people can be as much attached to the sect or their minister as the group. The reason for this difference between Skye and Ruhra may be the control of the supernatural by several churches on Skye. As presently constituted, all the churches were formed at the turn of the century or later. The first Free Presbyterian congregation was formed in 1893. The present Free Church, one called the Free Church (continued), dates from 1900. The Church of Scotland is the result of unions with the Free Church in 1900 and with the United Church in 1929.

By assertion that attachment is sect and minister [illegible] can be substantiated by two events, one in Portree and the other in Dunvegan. In Dunvegan the Church of Scotland gave the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church unites, the Free Church minister in Portree lost his congregation over to the United Presbyterian Church. In both these policemen. Moreover, it means the outside, the socially transmitted attitudes, behavior patterns, and techniques which are distinctiveness among the members of the community

gious groups." As a result of urbanization almost all 171
l areas have experienced the pangs of social mobility and 182
have escaped unscathed from a clash with the economic 771
es which impinge from the outside. This predisposes the 786
le to the appeal of an emotional religion, revivalism. 781
uently, the sect becomes uncompromising and rejects the
ide world in an attempt to bolster group security. The
ence of events on Skye enables me to add that the sect
also reject a great deal of the former content of the
ure. Be that as it may, the authors show how emotional [571]
gious movements restore or replace meaningful patterns
nteraction among groups whose social systems have deteri-
ed. Revivalism is a counter agent for anomie.

The first period of social and cultural disequilibrium 175
h the Sgiathsgrach experienced may be placed in the first 178
of the nineteenth century, with a climax around 1840. 771
paraphrase Loomis and Beegle, it was no mere coincidence 786
an emotional religious movement should have appeared and 182
d so many converts. The closing years of the eighteenth
ury had witnessed numerous changes in the content of the
ure and the collapse of the old social heirarchy. While
e events doubtlessly had an influence on all levels of
society, it was not until the turn of the century that
broke forth upon the masses. Within a decade a revival
reached effective proportions. This was a time of estate
ganization. The tacksmen, the traditional leaders, were
kly disappearing. The runrig farm was being abolished.
p were beginning to replace men in one parish (Eracadale).

172

172 ARCHEOLOGY--prehistoric culture sequences and chronology (e.g., as determined by geological and paleontological evidence, stratigraphy, typology, tree-ring dating); archeological supplementation of the historical record; evidence from epigraphy; historical inferences from archeological data; description of archeological sites or artifacts; etc. See also:
Archeology as a discipline. 814

131 Lewis is about 40 miles long. The distance from Stornoway to the west side of the island is about 15 miles. Along a tar-macadam road through Barvas parish 361 491 from its northeast tip toward the southwest, about 18 villages are clustered along a relatively flat coast for as many miles until the land becomes hilly. The road then narrows and takes hairpin twists around blind, 361 stony corners. Villages become fewer, and nestle in protected coves or string haphazardly across the face of the hills.

Shawbost (from the Norse sja or sjo meaning "sea" [632] and bost or bolstadhr meaning "dwelling" or "homestead") a village in the parish of Barvas, lies on three low hills on the west coast. Shawbost is 18 miles from Stornoway on a circular route in which Stornoway and Shawbost are antipodes.

172 On the south side of Shawbost bay, huddled beside the sea strand, is a cluster of ruins called Sean Bhaile (the old village), believed to have been occupied over 200 years ago when fishing was important in the local [348] economy. Banks of the streams are dotted with the ruins of old grinding mills and ovens for drying grain. [312] Fresh-water springs are still kept clear of rushes, although water is now piped to most houses from a nearby loch. Hundreds of place names are known to the villager

ing thieves, patches of heather, deer-grasses or moorland plants live as they can on thin layers of peaty soil. To relieve the hard scenery there are, on sunny days, glintings of water, lochs or rivers flowing uneasily over beds of primordial rock.

Area (in acres)

	Land	Inland water	Saltmarsh	Foreshore	Tidal water	TOTAL
Harris	123,752	3,110	—	6212	105	133,178
Lewis	404,184	24,863	230	7775	150	437,200
						570,378

PEAT AND RIVERS

The peat overlays of the island are reckoned to be not much more than 7,000 years old. To strengthen this figure, when the megalithic circle of Callernish, on the west of Lewis, was excavated by Sir James Matheson in 1857-8, a depth of 5 ft of peat was removed to expose the giant stones. Only the tops of these stones were showing before excavation was begun; the resultant calculation confirmed the age of this infertile blanket. Peat is decomposed organic matter without the sweetening of lime. The resulting material is sour, and highly acid in character, which checks the bacterial action necessary for good soil to be made. With compaction and age, peat becomes colloidal in texture, with a water content of about 92 per cent. Peat is still being formed in Lewis, though its progress is imperceptibly slow.

Frequent diggings have uncovered evidence that the island was once densely wooded. The remains of trees, and the bones of certain animals and birds associated with savannah and woodland, add point to this. Under the blanket of peat lies what is called boulder clay, glacially deposited on the gneiss rock; many acres of this clay have been exposed through centuries of digging up peat for fuel. Such skinned ground is called *gearraidh*, and it forms the basis of a soil which, when worked together with shell sand and seaweed, becomes quite fertile. Of natural soil, so much taken for granted in richer places in Britain, there are a few patches in Lewis, at Garrabost and Ness; the valley of Strond, near Rodel in Harris, has much strong red loam.

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

3 HISTORY

FOR all that Harris and Lewis are remote and relatively inaccessible, their history has not been particularly insular. Out of all proportion to its size, the island has made a significant contribution to each developing phase of Scottish, British and Commonwealth history. Even European and American history have Hebridean touches. In a local context, each district in the island has a parti-coloured backcloth of history, of tradition, and of story against which life and events were enacted by each succeeding generation.

Before the era of charters, Harris was a political part of Lewis. The name is derived from 'heradh', meaning a district (equivalent to the modern parish). The word 'Lewis' has been tackled by etymologists who have extracted such meanings as 'light', 'Liot's dwelling', 'wharf' and the romantic 'songhouse'. But nearer the mark is 'a place abounding in pools', which it is. In its earliest form 'Lewis' appears in an Irish MS, the original of which is ascribed to a contemporary of the Irish king Brian Boroimhe (Brian Boru of the pipes fame).

The MS describes the Battle of Clontarf in 1014, at which Norsemen from Lewis fought against the Irish. It has been suggested that even before this time there was another name for Lewis. Pliny, Ptolemy and Solinus all place on their maps a variation of 'Hebrides': Hebudes, Ebudae. According to a Gaulish glossary, 'ebudae' means *terrains incultes*; and 'ebeid' is a British word meaning cornless. Solinus, writing in the third century BC, states that the inhabitants of the Hebrides did not know the use of corn, and lived entirely on fish and milk.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS

Where does history begin? That there was a pre-history is evidenced mainly by the multilithic and monolithic erections to be found in various parts of the island. The abundance and character

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172 of these prehistoric remains indicates that before the Christian
era began the island supported a considerable population. Gener-
ally speaking, the remains left by unrecorded history indicate three
phases of cultural and economic development: the Stone Age, the
Bronze Age, and the Iron Age. The dates usually associated with
these 'ages' are approximate where the island is concerned. Be-
cause of their remoteness and isolation, the inhabitants may well
have reached, say, the Bronze Age state of civilisation at a much
later date than did people living in more direct contact with civili-
sing influences. It has been conjectured that, where Lewis is con-
33 cerned, peat several feet thick may have covered much of the
34 ground which, in another time, was cultivated and lived on;
and that the peat blanket hides the remains of very old construc-
tions. Chambered cairns, duns or forts (round towers) built in
lochs, by the seashore and on promontories, galleried duns, earth
houses, standing stones, stone circles and ecclesiastical ruins are
all to be found.

The duns, or brochs, are believed to have had a defensive
112 function, acting as lookout towers. Primitive dwellings would have
been scattered nearby, with generally free-ranging livestock. If
attack threatened, inhabitants and cattle together entered the
tower, whose double walls held rough but welcome compartments
for temporary living during the siege. Sometimes a dun was built
on an islet in a freshwater loch, such as Dun Cromore in the Lochs
district of Lewis; there is a similar example in Loch Bharabhat
in Uig. A stone causeway connects each with the nearest point
on the loch shore. Many of these causeways had a rocking-stone,
a stepping stone so placed that the weight of a foot on it rocked
it enough to warn the inmates of the dun that someone was
approaching.

The most famous of the round towers is at Carloway, perched
on the crest of a rocky slope on the west coast of Lewis near the
crofting township of that name and overlooking much of Loch
Roag. Its average external diameter is 47 ft, the walls varying in
thickness from 10 to 12 ft. Though in a ruinous state, one side of
its wall is still some 30 ft high. Dun Carloway is, after the broch
on the Shetland isle of Mousa, the finest example of its kind in the
country. About eight miles from Carloway, at Bragar, is Dun

PREHISTORIC REMAINS

Loch an Duna, now just a ruin. However, when Martin Martin 172
saw it in 1695 (he seems to have ignored Dun Carloway), he
described it as 'of a round form, made taperwise towards the top,
and is three stories high: the wall is double, and hath several
doors and stairs, so that one may go round within the wall.'

Most people have heard of the Callernish stones, and rightly
so. For of all the world's megalithic monuments, only Callernish
in Lewis is known to be arranged in the form of the Christian

The ruined broch or dun at Dun Carloway, on the west of Lewis. It was inhabited until the early eighteenth century, and ranks with the broch at Mousa, Shetlands, as a fine example of this type of structure. The purpose of these buildings is still debated

cross: a stone circle and four avenues of stones leading from it.
It is reckoned that this stone circle was a great religious centre on
a par with Stonehenge, Avebury and Carnac. There are a number
of standing stones elsewhere in the island, both in Harris and
Lewis; these stand singly or in small groups. Within four miles of
Callernish are no less than seven smaller stone circles, and of these,
including Callernish, three surround burial cairns. The Callernish
circle is placed on a small rocky promontory of Loch Roag, easy
to reach from both north and south parts of the island, with good

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• 172 anchorage in the Loch. The circle enclosing the cairn consists of
thirteen stones and has a diameter of some 37 ft. The avenue,
which approaches from the north, contains nineteen stones. It is
27 ft wide and 270 ft long; it forms the long limb of the cross plan
of the design. Southward was another shorter avenue of twelve
stones; and eastwards and westwards two lines of four stones each,
thus completing the cross design. The stones range in height from
3½ to 15½ ft. Each is packed in at its base with small stones to
keep it firmly in position. There are signs that Callernish, like
Stonehenge, was built in stages. The material, unlike that used for
Stonehenge, was from local sources (often Lewisian gneiss).

In the Sound of Harris, on the small island of Berneray, there
are two stone circles of some interest. Scattered through Harris
and Lewis there are also many solitary stones to be seen: at Borve-
more, in Harris, which appears to have been one of a circle, and
at Nisabost, also in Harris, where stands Clach Mhic-Leoid (Mac-
Leod's Stone). Another standing stone is on the edge of the rocks
by the shore, just below the church, on Boreray, one of the now-
uninhabited islands in the Harris Sound. In Lewis, the menhir
which figures most in story and legend is the Clach an Truiseil,
on the gentle slope of a hillside near to Balanraisal, on the west
coast. Nineteen feet of this stone are above ground. It is about 6 ft
in width; nearly 4 ft at its maximum thickness. The tradition in
Lewis is that the stone was erected to commemorate a victory by
the Morisons of Ness over their long-standing enemies the Mac-
Aulays of Uig; of course the stone is older than any of the Lewis
clans.

[113] For a full inventory of the ancient and historical monuments,
one is referred to the 1928 Report of the Royal Commission
which was set up to record such conductions in the Outer
172 Hebrides. Apart from those items of pre-Christian years, there are
346 a number of other structures with an ecclesiological reference:
Teampull Eoin, at Bragar; Teampull Pheadair, at Shader; Tem-
pull Bhrighid, at Mid-Borve; Teampull na Cille, at Ceann a' Mhais-
ton; Teampull Ronaidh, at Europie, and others. These latter, to-
gether with the Tigh nan Cailleachan Dubh (house of the black old
women), indicate a reasonable degree of saturation by some form
of religious recognition; the names suggest a period about halfway

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 37]

PREHISTORIC REMAINS

to AD 1000. The base of the missionary work was most probably 172 •
Iona. The old Celtic Church, with its monastic basis, sent out 346
many who sought the hardship and solitude of life in the islands [197]
of the Hebrides as a means of example to the inhabitants. Today,
the ancient cell sites, churches, burial-places, are in ruins, no more
than a heap of grass-covered stones meriting scarcely a glance.
Even on the outlier islands, such as the Shiants in the Minch and
the Flannans in the Atlantic, are found these relics of ancient sites
where the religious elements were overriding enough to be
carried to the present day in traditional form.

From time to time archaeological finds are made in various 172
parts of the island. Perhaps the most famous was the discovery of
the Uig Chessmen, to be seen today in the Museum of Antiquities
in Edinburgh and in the Ivory Room of the British Museum. In
the spring of 1831 an exceptionally high tide, with a gale wind,
undermined and carried away a considerable portion of a sand-
bank at Ardroil, in Uig. A small stone building, like an oven, was
exposed at some depth below the surrounding ground level. A
crofter who happened to be working nearby saw this and, excited
by curiosity, broke into the structure. On seeing what he thought
to be an assembly of elves and gnomes, he fled home in great dis-
tress. His wife, of a bolder nature, went to see for herself and
recovered ninety-two pieces of ivory figures: fourteen draughts-
men, eight kings, eight queens, thirteen bishops, fifteen knights,
and twelve footmen or pawns. These chess pieces, carved out of
walrus ivory, date from about 1140 to 1160; they are of Norse
origin, though probably carved by monastics who knew in detail
the dress of the dignitaries which make up the set.

Some details of how the people of the Western Isles lived 3,800
years ago were revealed in an archaeological excavation in North-
ton in 1966. This site showed evidence of more or less continuous
habitation from the late Stone Age onwards; as each succeeding
layer of sand was taken away (it was excavated to a depth of some
14 ft), centuries-old stages of habitation were revealed. The higher
levels of the site belong to the Iron Age; the earliest level dates
back to the late Neolithic/early Bronze Age (about 1800 BC). Such
sites as this are extremely rare in Europe, and Northton is the only
one of its date in Scotland. Many fragments of the pottery known

HISTORY

• 172

Artist's impression of some of the twelfth-century walrus-ivory chess pieces found at Uig in 1831

as beaker ware, from its distinctive shape, were recovered. The
diet of these early Harris folk appears to have been largely shell-
fish, particularly limpets. The house of the latest period is ruined;
three courses of walling were revealed.

103 Placenames have often been a mirror of history. The biggest
648 event in Harris and Lewis's history was the Norse invasion, com-
memorated in the names of many townships that still exist:
Ness (nes, headland), Arnish (Ari's nes), Erisort (Eri's firth), Car-
loway (Karli's bay). But the Gaelic is there too: Loch Shell (Sealg,
chase or hunt, thus endorsing Dean Monro's statement that this
lock bordered a deer-forest), and similar topographical features.
While the Norse names are to be found on the island coasts (the
bosts and stads), the Gaelic names are largely found in the interior
(eg, Airidhs—shielings).

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. 1

184 Comparisons at the present day are most illuminating.
[191] In the Hebrides one may pass from Calvinist Lewis-and-
Harris to Catholic Barra, through South Uist, where
Presbyterian and Roman Catholic dwell, side by side, in
mutual respect. Although their home life, economy and
language are the same, the influence of a comparatively
[121] recent divergence in religion is marked. Such Island
evidence, present and past, forces one to re-examine con-
clusions upon life in the Lowlands accepted until recently,
and to seek for the truth upon earlier forms of life in
common and for their meaning today throughout 'the
North and West'.

175 Ancient elements of unity, and later ways in which
172 these were broken, adapted or remade, region by region,
are being unravelled. The Old Estate Plans, made at the
427 outset of the agricultural revolution, show these immedi-
(21 ately before the re-planning of fields and farms (*circa*
196 1750–90). These plans also reveal the existence of still
[184] earlier types, not otherwise recognisable even on the spot.
With their rentals (when available) they reveal the ways
in which old joint farms were placed under a single tenant,
as in Lathain, or were split up among several tenants, as
in Ayrshire.[1] From such geographical data, both the
economic and the deeper social aspects of rural life emerge
with new clarity. Such data may be linked to Planning
Surveys of land and rural life for tomorrow.

621 Now, although so fundamentally equalitarian within
• 427 themselves, these hamlet communities of the Gael were
subjected to the overlordship of a chief or laird, either
directly or through an intermediate gentleman-tenant, a
[174] tacksman'. History, with archaeology read in history's
[192] [1] For Lothian, see Arthur Geddes (1938 and 1951); for Ayrshire, see
[113] J. H. G. Lebon, *Stat. Geog. Mag.*, Vols. 62, 1943 (pp. 7-13); 63, 1946
(pp. 100-110). Further references in Bibliography.

CH. I ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

621 light, suggests that such lordship goes back to early con-
427 quests of self-supporting agricultural and pastoral com-
174 munities by well-armed raiders of many races, including
• (172 the Celtic-speaking swordamen of the Iron Age. The last
and most notable of these conquering raiders were the
Norsemen. Their influence was profound, whether, sailing
direct from the Scandinavian forest settlements and fjords,
they raided and settled as heathen Viking crews, or, at a
later stage, they invaded England from Normandy—that
fertile province which they had made theirs in fact and
name—under the panoply of civilisation and with Papal
benediction. A generation after the Conquest they com-
menced the penetration of Scotland.

183 The paradox of loyalty to one's fellows with loyalty
181 to a lord, of stoutly equalitarian thinking bound up with
fervid admiration for an aristocracy, is nowhere more
[614] marked than among the Gael. They sought to reconcile
these conflicting loyalties by claiming common ancestry for
chief and people, as the children (*clann*) of a hero of
history or myth. The years 1945–47, which marked a
centenary of the last of the desperate Jacobite Risings,
stood at the close of the latest of many wars in which fame
has been won for the symbol of clanship—the tartan, long
proscribed (by the Act of 1747) 'to every man and boy
in the Highlands'. At such a time, the Gaels' loyalty to
the death cannot be forgotten although old kings, old
[121] chiefs have gone. But its paradox must not only be re-
[182] membered but understood, from its roots in communal
[184] life and environment through history. Not until this is
done can important phases of our own time be under-
stood, such as the failure of Lord Leverhulme's seven
years' endeavour in Lewis; nor can the present oppor-
tunity of Highland renewal be grasped by the help of

133 most northerly outlier, yet, in the main, one is struck
not by the variety of rocks (except for the 'Stornoway
Beds') but by their homogeneity. It is structure, causing
the uplift of certain masses relatively to others, more than
differences in rock-type, which has guided the work of
erosion, in sculpturing both the Island's plan and the
details of its forms. Submergence of the land has fretted
the coastline into a zigzag line of ridge-capes alternating
with valley-mouths flooded or 'drowned' by the sea, as
inlet and loch.

316 Historically the gneisses were of little value. The fact
(174) that they tend to split still helps the Islander in building,
as it helped his ancestors when they raised the great stone
• (172) circles at Callanish on East Loch Roag. Except where
they are very basic (non-acid) in composition, they make
(135) poor road metal. Yet the gneisses are not quite devoid
of economic minerals, which include masses of pegmatite,
and the only large body of anorthosite or lime-feldspar
rock in Britain, conceivably a source of alumina for glass
(139) manufacture.[1] Two feldspar quarries opened at Linga, bay
and Northton in South Harris in 1941 employed sixty men
during the war, the mineral being despatched from Lever-
burgh for use in the Staffordshire Potteries in the manu-
(178) facture of porcelain insulators. The higher grade mineral
in Scandinavia and the better transport facilities there led
to closing the quarries, with little hope of their reopening.[2]

4. *Land-forms and Sea Floor*

133 To the faulted structure is due not only the Island
plan, but the highland in middle and south, uplifted rela-
(113) tively from the sea to be supernatural. The fishing, too, is

[1] C. F. Davidson, "The Archean Rocks of the Rodel District", *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.*, vol. 61, 1943, pp. 71-112.
[2] J. B. Caird, "The Isle of Harris", *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67, 2, 1951, p. 92.

511 coat, was thought to be supernatural. The fishing, too, is
236 of good standard: a typical annual catch including 1700
511 salmon, 5000 sea-trout and 1800 brown trout; and it was
for this, as well as for the shootings, that the moors per-
taining to the different shooting or fishing lodges and hotels
137 were bought at Lord Leverhulme's sale. The absence of
233 foxes was important to sheep-rearing before the introduc-
tion of guns, and is still a favourable factor.

5. *Sea-fishing*

226 Fish have always contributed to the diet of the Islesfolk,
198 whether they fished from coracles or boats, or with 'lang
(262) wands' from the shore as they still do, and as they did in
the days of Dean Monro and, no doubt, right back to
(135) neolithic times. The relative importance of fishing and
(241) agriculture, however, has always varied according to place
and time.

182 Fishing in modern and historic, and also in prehistoric,
226 times—to judge from the kitchen middens of Uig—has
241 always flourished more where there were deep sea-lochs;
(178) and settlement resulted, even though rocky hillsides made
ploughing difficult or impossible. Conversely, agriculture
• (172) has offered better opportunity on smooth coasts with a
variety of soils, though fishing was poorer there. Thus
the men of Stornoway Bay and Eye, of eastern lochs and
of the Harris bays, like those of Loch Roag on the west,
have long been partly fishermen. In the extreme north,
too, men of Ness—with the chance of choosing their fishing
grounds on the north, west or east of the island and with
their little rocky port giving shelter, of a sort, from south-
(467) west gales—were good fishermen; they are good seamen
(829) still. "The fishing of the Barvas folk" is an old gibe,

361 luck in land, but a disadvantage where control of a single
(423) area is desired by one man. Regularisation of roads,
(182) houses and holdings is relatively modern, for crofts and
dwellings were once grouped in hamlets usually close to
the seashore. The early hamlets can still be made out
• (172) from their ruins among the rocks, sometimes sketched in
the 'six inch to mile' Ordnance Survey plans. They were
without formal order or arrangement, each homestead
within its boundary wall. Where ploughing was and is too
difficult, the soil is heaped up in ridges, 'lazy-beds', and dug.

361 Shawbost, on a rocky part of the west coast (six miles
491 south of Barvas) consists of three main sections: a scatter
of houses and ruins by the enclosed loch, two main streets
linking the loch to the main coastal road, and inland another
short street. The three can be made out on a 'quarter-
(175) inch' map. The two main streets were laid out by the
311 Estate Officers following removals in the mid-nineteenth
century from another part of the island, Uig, and the third
running inland was laid out still later, when population was
growing and land was needed. When the third street was
laid out, the landlord, Matheson, lent good plough-horses
for preliminary reclamation. The irregularly placed black
houses near the sea are tending to be rebuilt close to the
main road.

361 In addition to this type of movement, farms 'broken
178 up' once more into crofts have been laid out on a regular
grid plan, each house placed on a corner of its five, ten,
311 or twenty-acre plot (*e.g.* Galson, Dalebeg, etc.). 'Skinned'
(254) land may also be reclaimed for crofts by squatters tolerated
by the community, or on a regular grid by agreement of the
assembled crofters, guided by the Department of Agri-
(191) culture. Thus two distinct tendencies are seen: the grid
plan in new settlements, road alinement in existing ones.

175 the eighteenth century these 'black houses' would be
342 replaced by houses of stone and lime, and a few of those
361 survive.

Of the fort built by Cromwell on the Point, no signs
• 172 remain. For tactical reasons, the best site would seem
194 to be the neck of the Point, from which the guns of the
fort could defend the houses, stores and quays. The
712 irregular building line near the point marked T, a
Town House at a later period, may correspond to the
175 northern angle of the fort. The fort appears to have been
standing when the original drawing was made for the
712 engraving in the Old (or First) Statistical Account of
Stornoway, *c.* 1793.

By the time Wood drew his plan in 1820, houses on
175 the Point no longer looked exclusively on to the axial
361 street. The main alinement of interest came to be the
shore, marked by a properly built quay. Today, the Point
Street houses have fallen into decay but many older houses
still stand in fair repair along the 'Beach' or Quay.

175 Thirdly, from the nineteenth century, until 1914, two-
361 storey, flatted tenements, hotels and houses of middle-class
34 people were built upon a grid that followed upon the old
field plans. In an alternative plan, proposed about 1820
but not adopted, a diagonal vista opened out to the Estab-
lished Church, built in 1794 on rising ground. The
modest Seaforth Lodge which had stood across the harbour
was replaced in 1850 by Stornoway (or Lews) Castle, its
pseudo-Tudor style designed to please the new improving
landlord, Sir James Matheson, who had purchased Lewis
in 1844. Presented to the people on the break-up of the
Leverhulme Estates in 1925, a new technical school has
175 taken it over. A few villas also grew up on outlying roads.
361 Thus, a mere village in 1801, and among the smaller burghs
662
226

174 of the Norsemen, lay a succession of earlier periods. A
23 phase of primitive settlements is traceable in archaeo-
• 172 logical remains and in recent and contemporary survivals.
174 It is shown in the physical race-traits distinguishing
those in one part of the Island from those in another.
Fragments of tradition telling of the first Christian
missionaries survived the Norse invasions and settlements,
dated from A.D. 800 or before, down to Haco's defeat on
the Clyde at Largs in 1263. These fragments can be
linked to chronicles and to later tradition, on which they
throw fresh light.

(140) A survey of the archaeology has been published,[1] but
comparatively little, as yet, on race. Yet different com-
munities are distinguished by marked racial types or strains.
Although many, indeed most, of the race-strains of the
Island must have entered it in prehistoric times, some are
linked to tradition, and history accounts for the more
(141) recent immigrants. The striking element of race in the
Outer Hebrides is a broad-headed type prevailing from
Barra to the Lews, accompanied by medium stature and
dark hair; it is also found across the Northern Minch.
But within the Island are notable differences.

829 Variety of race being accentuated by difference in ways,
the communities still comment pointedly upon one
another! For instance, an old saying is not forgotten:
(538) "The folk of Cladach, but the gentlemen of Uig!"
(*Muinntir a'm Chladaich, ach daoin' uasaile Uig*).
(143) 'Cladach,' being the western 'Beach' district possessing
(232) ploughland but poor fishing, which covers the modern
(133) parish of Barvas (excluding the north-west cliff-promontory

[1] Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, *Outer Hebrides, Skye etc.*; 1928. V. G. Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, 1935; *Scotland Before the Scots*, 1946.

829 of Ness), while Uig is the most westerly promontory with
(433) its natural fishing harbours. The authorship of the pro-
(637) verb may be ascribed to the ladies and gentlemen of Uig;
(133) yet the personal appearance of the victims, who are more
broad-headed, gives the proverb a physical foundation.
174 Again, the tall men of Ness, dark or fair, and rather longer-
• 172 headed, still form a group apart from those of Cladach,
141 each having taken root in prehistory, *i.e.* earlier than
surviving record.
144 Such facts correct several current misconceptions as to
race and heredity in their relation to Gaelic society, past
and possible. First, it is still common to contrast a
'Celtic' with a 'Norse race'. Now, Norse immigrants
belonged to several races, and when they arrived, several
race-streams were already mixing and eddying in the
Isles. After the immigration of Norsemen, the next re-
corded was in 1611, consisting of gentlemen-tacksmen from
Kintail and burghal settlers to Stornoway, who were com-
posed of Gaelic-speaking families from Easter Ross, where
the people of today resemble some Scandinavian types
rather than typical broad-headed Lewismen.

Second, it follows that no sweeping generalisations can
yet be made as to the ways and habits of particular races.
The "Celtic race", one reads, have "never taken to the
sea" as have the Norsemen.[1] The facts in the Island are
that though the men of Ness, with a possible Norse ad-
mixture, were considered better fishermen than those of
Cladach, and the present generation includes a great
number of seamen, their opportunities have been greater
—their cape commanding wider fishing grounds and their
little port providing relative safety in storm. And the men
of Lochs and of the 'Bays' of Harris, though they show

[1] For example, in the Brand Report on Lewis (1902).

141 little sign of Norse blood, can hold their own as fishers wit
• 172 the men of Ness.
174 Third, it is still commonly stated not only that th
"great majority" under the clan system were "witho
174 any legal status", but that their tenure "depended on th
(613) good will of the chief or tacksman".[1]

As the last lawbooks of the Gael were taken from Lew
174 by its first mainland lord in 1611—never to be heard
again—it may well be that, as recognised in the Northe
675 Isles, so in the Western Isles, peasant tenure was perm
(175) nent according to regional law. In practice, mere 'goo
will' is so uncertain a quantity that if this statement ha
been true, it is hardly credible that communities cou
have remained so stably rooted as their race-types sho
them to be. Evictions of groups or individuals at th
whim of chief or tacksman would have broken down the
(178) homogeneity of race. In the Lowlands, where evictio
(189) had become so frequent by 1500 and insecurity for th
mass of the country people has prevailed ever since, suc
localisations of race would be unthinkable and do not exi
except in certain fishing communities who possess a prid
almost a caste-code, of their own: the Newhaven fishe
within Edinburgh remain apart, with a dialect and a dre
of their own. Great stability of tenure—in fact as
customary claim—is shown by the racial homogeneity
Gaelic communities.

174 Lastly, it is common to state that the nobility an
gentry of a countryside constitute its 'old' or 'origina
families. It is true that some land-owning families see
'old' compared to recent purchasers—successively th
merchants and lawyers, venturers and planters of th
(113) [1] From a representative report on the Highlands and Islands, that of t
Scottish Economic Committee, 1938 (Historical Preface, p. 9).

171 ●
182

than on business. The fraternal orders were gone. ch attendance had become sparse and irregular. These ges led to a decline in the strength of interpersonal ments and a feeling of indifference toward one another. third conclusion is that these changes were followed by ecline in the extent to which norms are common and clear." class membership is defined on the basis of interaction, activities are much alike, and the interests of class ers coincide. Ranking is based upon norms, in particular status and role of leadership in community affairs. A ase in community activity had resulted in a weakening oth norms and ranking. His last conclusion is that the ges in the intensity of everyday relationships have led loss of social control by the group over its members. tions were not punished by avoidance. All action was left e state. Here, then, is anomie. Let us compare the porary behavior patterns of the Sgiathanach with the owners.

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There is evidence that the Sgiathanach no longer collabo- in group activities as much as he once did. There has a decline in the amount of cooperation in the work of ting. In many activities, of course, the need has disap- d. The individual family can easily perform many of the , such as the ploughing of a few acres of land. In some ships it has become the practice to pay the sheep club shareholders to insure the presence of enough men and to handle the dippings and shearings. In others,

else the spouse is likely to lose status.

The most powerful of all agents for social control are the old men of the neighborhood. Through their position in the church, a religious sanction for their prestige status, they enforce conformity to the norms of behavior which religion has sanctioned either positively or negatively. No one, nor any group, has been successful in questioning the right of these venerable men to maintain their habits and statuses which have been preserved over the generations. The baptism of a man's children and his own salvation depends on acceptance of the authority of the elders, for they will be his judges.

As far as the contemporary scene is concerned, there is no anomie. The content of the culture has been greatly modified, but the form, the underlying distinctive pattern, has been preserved. We are dealing with a single tradition in which the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them have remained common and clear. This is all the more striking because there have been periods in which cultural and social disintegration threatened to overwhelm the Sgiathanach. This brings us back to the role of religion in preserving cultural continuity.

Loomis and Beegle have employed Durkheim's theory to analyze the growth and spread of fundamentalist religious sects in contemporary United States.[16] They conclude: "It is no mere coincidence that various types of emotional religious sects are now among the most rapidly expanding

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[16] Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 401-407.

lordly rank: a working, equalitarian democracy dominated by an aristocracy proudly refusing to work. The fascination of Gaelic poetry, romantic, full of the elements stand out so clearly, and, secondly, that links were forged in clanship which made its living stable, though heavy, a thing that alone with pride, and beauty too.

06 CLANSHIP, COMMUN. DESCENT AND CLAN-HELP ('CUIDEACHT')

To what extent is it now possible to disentangle the two contrasted elements of the old clan, the tribal and the farm-estate and township? Prehistory is hard to unravel; but the successive waves of conquest flung upon the Island shores have left their jetsam, unmistakably. The circle of hors [illegible] near a bench or commanding site recalls the tenants' village grouped close to the castle of the chief, from early history down to the Forty-five, and suggests a primitive form of feudalism or of Celtic clan-organisation add their part. In Uist one may still hear the ancient heroic lays traditionally ascribed to Cuchan, Cuanna, son of Finn or Fingal—lays of which Macpherson's sonorous prose gave the reinforcing. The Fingalian tales differ from the lays, being frankly fantastic. Levis had its own cycle of Fingalian tales; examples are given by W. C. Mackenzie (1919). Both lays and legends tell of an aristocracy or warrior class, the Fenians, of their enjoyment of the chase, and of their relative comfort, with wealth of gold and silver in banners and flowing mantles. The chase combined with riches implies the existence of the necessary means to feed and clothe the huntsmen. The traditions of the Cuchulainn cycle, with clear approximation to historical and archaeological truth, tell the same tale. Historically, in-

coming Viking chiefs, who often intermarried with women of the older aristocracy, seem to have retained some elements of a pre-existing order, as did their successors, the Scots-Norman lords.

So, from history back to 'proto-history', there is increasingly discerned the stages of superimposition, in the Isles as elsewhere. In Central Europe archaeology has recapitulated the stages by which peasant-villagers were raided, then conquered by a warrior horseman, on horseback or battering better arms, who had ridden in from the drying grasslands further east. In the Isles the later conquerors were the fierce raiders from the sea, sailing in from the fjords of the North. An unbroken chain of tradition from Viking to Scot, from a vividly conveyed in the stirring saga of the Galley or Britian of Cleasamal, composed only a year or two before the Battle of Largs, Forty-five (epitomised in Chapter VI (ii).

When the conqueror had won the submission of the conquered and secured his livelihood, comfort and leisure by their work, he came in time to bring their interests nearer to his own. Yet whenever the Clansfolk of Finn or Fingal—lays of which Macpherson's sonorous prose gave the reinforcing. The Fingalian tales differ from the lays, being frankly fantastic. Levis had its own cycle of Fingalian tales; examples are given by W. C. Mackenzie (1919). Both lays and legends tell of an aristocracy or warrior class, the Fenians, of their enjoyment of the chase, and of their relative comfort, with wealth of gold and silver in banners and flowing mantles. The chase combined with riches implies the existence of the necessary means to feed and clothe the huntsmen. The traditions of the Cuchulainn cycle, with clear approximation to historical and archaeological truth, tell the same tale. Historically, in-

warfare—disarmed its intimates do with the home, with peace. The web the women had spun, woven and bleached together—the sheets to be a sarament when the tartan was prescribed to men—the tartan worn as a uniform with "England's cruel red."

The frames of this law, which stood on the statute book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they [illegible] Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath which reverend every benediction said by the women at their work: "I do swear, as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, any gun, sword, pistol or any other weapon, and never use targe, plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do, may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and property—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and be without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come across me if I break my oath." This Act, as law and symbol, struck full at the community life of the Highland clan, and clan community, in which labour and prayer had been indissolubly bound.

07 WORSHIP, CONGREGATION AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

Little remains of the tradition of worship in the two centuries subsequent to 1746 ; temples' whose ruins stud the shores

of the Isles, and in which the people met, though far from any thing. On the sandy machrins, amongst bent, orchids and shrines and chapels seems to have been lost, as small are the remains of the cells and oratories worn as a uniform with the shrines and chapels where the services conducted by the women, who organised and sustained the work, whose written accounts have come down chiefly from those who were out of touch with rural needs or ignorant of the language spoken in intimate, and whose other training had removed them from sympathy." As for those whose private memoirs, stripped or subservient to system bound them to prelate, lord or king, they roundly condemned free congregations.

Nevertheless, fragmentary records have come down, such as those of Martin and Pennant, related in Chap. xiv and described the little church where the people still kept a [illegible] Sabbath, assembling together, without the presence of a clergyman. Napier's Memoirs of Macdonald by St. Kilda's fabulous isolation led Martin to describe the inhabitants as worshipping God in a way that can be mentions similar worship elsewhere. Thus in lonely North Rona, isolated for the last five hundred years

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

time, as we saw in the preceding chapter, archaeology reveals the significant facts, textual not least and a cultural aspect of cultural economy are of great antiquity.

It is generally believed that the Scots arrived in the Hebrides from Ireland in the ninth century. Even though tradition belief rests on broad and some obvious early chronicles, the specific mention of Skye in the Annals of Ulster between 581, when the people are said to be paying tribute to the King of Erin and Alban, and 794, when the Norse pillaged Skye, indicates some affiliation. During this early period Skye may have been inhabited by a Dalriadic (tribal), a member of which formed a Gaelic (literally a great tribe) or province. In that as it may, the Norse who had some of Ireland, an ambition that was stimulated by a conflict of pagan and Catholic religious ideals, in the eighth century, began to settle in the Isles in the ninth. Since they had been driven out by Harald Fairhair, the first king to establish political unity in Norway, the entire earth proceeded to harass Harald's territories until an expedition reduced them and annexed the Hebrides to Norway.

[1] Jean I. Robertson, Clachan Milnfield: Family Farming and Life of Ordinary People, Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Ltd, 1988, 1988, p. 1.

[2] William C. Mounsey (ed.), Epitis of Glasgow (4 vols.); Publisher: Kin Mapper's Stationery Office, 1867-1903, Vol. 1, pp. 323, 349, 354, 372.

[3] Peter, W.A., Robert D. Mair, An Outline of the Scottish Language and Scottish Culture, Edinburgh: Publisher: Scottish Cultural Press, 1995, pp. 182, 183; Ronald Cunliffe, Scottish Place-Names, Publisher: Chambers Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 36-37.

(7) TRADITIONAL HISTORY—oral historical traditions and evidence as to their reliability. Genealogy, land and genealogies, historical inferences from myth and tradition, etc. See also:

Tradition of the group	35	Genealogy
Myth lore	36	Historian and genealogists
Clansmen genealogy	37	

Hundreds of place names are known to the villagers which are not marked on any map. These place names constitute part of the oral tradition of a population which has lived in a confined geographical area for generations.

In most of Lewis, village and township coincide. The village of Shawbost is composed of two townships, South Shawbost in which the crofts spread outward like a fan from one side which curve over an uneven landscape, and North Shawbost which is composed of linear strands (see Map C), in which the crofts are perpendicular. Each township has its own common grazing land, and its own grazing committee. All of South Shawbost and part of North Shawbost belong to one private estate (which includes other townships to the southward), and most of North Shawbost belongs to an estate which extends to Barvas. Beyond the fact that non-crofters in South Shawbost have found it difficult to obtain grazing status, little difference between the two townships appears to be due to their belonging to different estates. As elsewhere in crofting regions, the landlords of the two estates are concerned mainly with the sporting potential of their land.

The two townships are themselves divided into named neighbourhoods (cf. Valles 1955 for a discussion of "natural neighbourhoods" in crofting areas).

In the last half of the 19th century, many families were "cleared" from the district of Big and resettled in Shawbost. According to a local version of village history, the Crofters Commission gave some North Shawbost and resettled them in New Shawbost. "The people from Big were fishermen, so they needed to be by the sea. They wouldn't take a croft in New Shawbost at all." According to another version, the crofts once extended all the way across from Carnan to the loch; when the Big people came, the crofts were chopped in half, and the street called Sráid Dúigh was created.

Map error effect the Constables had on land use and animal husbandry, they are now referred to as "tyrants," who went mad or committed suicide after the Crofters Act of 1886.

Carts and horses were tethered or hooted within easy walking distance from the township; sheep could be left on the moor without much surveillance. At a much earlier time another dike existed out beyond the township dike. The dikes were used according to principles that are grating schemes today: the sheep were kept far out on the moor, beyond the second dike, until midsummer when they were moved in closer to the village. At this point they were still out of the arable land of the

For example,
a Widow Catherine lost "one red
cow and the Cnal (£10), one dun cow (£3/10), and one
grey mare (£1/10)." The family is said to have paid rent
by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir
James Matheson), thus earning the patronymic, "Fiddler."
Their income stopped abruptly when the Fiddler at the
time, a great-great-grandfather of Gerecmaine now living,
converted to the Free Church and emanded his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1905 it was noted in the rent ledger
that two crofters wanted "first choice of a vacant croft
in the township." In the first quarter of the century,
a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighbouring
township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too
precious to take out of cultivation and give to the dead
of another village.

A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living
from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was
young. They used the dung of the cattle to fertilize the
soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was
only 3½ acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight
stacks of barley to see us through the year." There was
a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the streams
to grind the barley. The "old horse mill" which was
recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project
was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got

"Then the tweeds got
going and the barley took too much trouble; so they had
no use for the mill."

A 60-year-old woman remembers, "They depended on the
potato and fished a lot. I was raised on oatcakes, barley
bannocks, and salt herring. There were no vans and no
stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate
chaff and grain; rope nets of plaited heather and straw.
Each spring the byre was cleaned and its accumulated dung
was carted out and then turned into the ground along
with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among
the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be
mobilized under changed conditions, as when alternatives
to crofting are no longer available or desirable.

However, the longer crofting is neglected, the more it
will provide an alternative strategy. "The artificial
fertilizers are ruining the land; that's why the
turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to
water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and
streams—rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and
cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep—
the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather
plant the land than let it lie idle, but we can't plant the
potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them
all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

The only occasions on which it is considered fun to feed
someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as peat-
cutting. In such occasions the preparation of meals is
done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual scrutiny,
and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, the
requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled by
giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but
which were much more abundant when the land was cultivated
and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcakes,
clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foods
are highly offered as the hospitality ritual ends, and in the
past this custom served to minimize the economic disparities
between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A similar
function was served by the practice of giving part of
each catch of fish to old citizens and other villagers in
need of aid. Even though food is more abundant and diverse
today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during a
visit is still very important.

A 30-year-old man "married into" a croft recalls,
"I came from a family of two children. Everyone had to
leave, or marry a girl with a croft. Only the eldest son
could inherit the croft." There was little room for
competition in the fight for scarce land among the sons
of large crofters and non-crofter families. "The most

costly, that the Common Market will soon drive up milk
and beef prices, and that income from the weaving has become too
uncertain.

Many tools and techniques associated with crofting
have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (see
pieces of straw plaited with heather); the sheepskin
stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate
chaff and grain; rope nets of plaited heather and straw.
Each spring the byre was cleaned and its accumulated dung
was carted out and then turned into the ground along
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the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be
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the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather
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potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them
all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

collected, and an annual report on morals, which usually
mentioned drinking and "the decline in moral standards."
Ministers are trained in a college in Edinburgh. Many
are Gaelic speakers, although the number is said to be
declining.

When a congregation loses a minister because of death
or other reasons, it issues a "call" to some other minister.
The congregation is familiar with the names and preaching
styles of a number of ministers, who have in the past
visited the community as guest speakers. The congregation
votes for a minister from a list made by the lay officers
of the church. The minister may or may not accept the call.

The Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church, two
fundamentalist Protestant sects which have survived the
unchanged in their traditional form since the early 19th
century, are strongest in the Highlands and Islands.
Shawbost contains a few people who belong to the Church of
Scotland, but most villagers belong to the Free Church.
The only church (in the sense of a building in which sermons
are preached) is a Free Church which was built in 1893,
supposedly after sen from Shawbost helping to repair the
fences at the minister's manse in Carloway, where they then
attended church, were refused boiling water for their oatmeal
"broos" by the minister's wife. A building in which
members of the Church of Scotland worshipped was built

Oxford University, with an estimated date of 1653,
the year in which the English gardener was placed in Lewis. Nothing now remains of that fort built by Crispe's soldiers, though the whole area on the south side of the loch, present-day Point Street, is redolent of historical atmosphere, despite new buildings.

Ecclesiology is a home of many different colours in the island. Traditionally the right hand side belongs to the early strongs of Christianity in Scotland. Indeed, one of the most important religious sites on the island is St Columba's at Eye, near Aignish, some seven miles from Stornoway. Though the name might suggest it, there is no proof that the Gaelic abbot visited Lewis. But it is more than likely that a follower of his did so in his name. Part of the church at Eye is Norman, which gives an approximate date of origin; though it is necessary to take some account of the long interval between a development phase in one country and its adoption in another country and the Norman Conquest of Lewis in the Hebrides lies in medieval times. According to tradition, the church was built on the site of a Celtic monastery founded by Celtic Saint, who is believed to have lived in the sixth or seventh century. Possibly this is the same Saint Columba to whom a shrine is dedicated at Meshaven in Uig, close by which the remains of a nunnery have been found, called by a Gaelic name meaning "the house of the old black woman".

St Columba's is mentioned in records from 1556, when it is described as a 'rectory'. At present, though in a ruined state, it still shows its former strength of character, both as a building, a place of sanctuary, and a place of worship. It is also been called the Valhalla of Lewis, for tradition says that some nineteen Chiefs of the Clan Mac Leod of Lewis, are buried in its grounds. William, the fifth Earl of Seaforth, also found there an unmarked bed beside the enormous of his ancestors, who wrested Lewis from the MacLeods.

Another significant church is St Olaf's, or St Molua's at Ecreepie, at the Butt of Lewis. Recorded evidence first indicates the existence of the church in 1630, where it occurs in a report

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

by Captain Dymes. The island subsequently became known as the Hebrides; [175] it was also called in the north of Scotland and was buried at Rosemarkie; [176] in the Scottish mainland. Tradition ascribes the building of Iona (175) church to the tenth century by King Chief of Norway; though [177] a more reliable date for its foundation is the sixth century. That it occupies, as so many other small churches do, the site of a Roman cell is quite acceptable. The church has always been called a 'sanctum sanctorum', so holy in fact that no women were allowed to enter it.

In Harris, the outstanding religious building is St Clement's, at Rodel, described by Charles Thomas as 'a cruciform church of a measured lugsaw, small ruins of chapels, cells, oratories and wells'; but only tradition has clothed these buildings with the mantle of the once-living. A map of the island will show up these sites, which are well worth a visit if only to see the beauty of the island, too under the island dry beach ancient scenes.

Other old ruins are to be found on the island of Calum Cille (Columba) in Loch Eriseart. It is on record that the monks who came from Iona to convert the island found the pagan ways hard of religion to Christianity landed on the island about the middle of the 16th century. They founded a chapel, which is still in ruins, which they dedicated to their master, hence the Gaelic name: Eaglais Cille, agus Eilean Chaluim Cille. Tradition has mentioned a tall, McLennan-as-master, but there is not one stone left on another to indicate its exact site. Tradition has handed down the parish of Locke for many generations until about a century ago. The people of the island were by tradition and inclination more profoundly religious; this reverence was more often than not carried over into the half-world of fairies.

Though the tangible remains of religion's progress are to be [178] seen, the monetary influence of religion, with its ups and downs, [179] developments, is scant. One can only assume that it was the Columbian Church which first introduced the Gaelic language to the Lewis folk. The earlier religion was the stock on to which the new was grafted. The result was a compromise, and there is nothing it not strange to those many visitors who came to compost on the island scene; for it was neither Christian nor pagan. The result, a strong thread of veneration ran through the product

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

LIKE a Siamese twin, Harris is joined to Lewis in eternal geographical union. The junction is at the body, however, the head of each island is quite separate. The island been due to develop its own characteristic. Thus, Harris has a quite separate personality which has even been the common feature it has with Lewis. Both have the same historical origin: the Clan Leod. The clan comprised two branches, namely, the Siol Tormoil (MacLeods of Lewis) and the Siol Tormod (MacLeods of Harris). Tradition has accorded to them a common ancestor, but there is though by the time history in the Western Isles was old enough the old-general feeling was that the Lewis branch was distinct and independent of each other. Malcolm, son of Tormod MacLeod, head of Siol Tormod, was given the island of Harris by the Bishop of Glasgow, on the Scotish mainland, which he and his successors held from the Crown. Both the Lewis and the Harris branches were Harris, which came to his family after the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles in 1493. Lewis was held from the Crown, rather strangely, their clan seat at Dunvegan on Skye, and are more commonly known as the MacLeods of Dunvegan on Skye, though 'of Harris' is their correct title.

The MacLeods were, by and large, good proprietors. They held much fertile land and the clan was reasonably wealthy. Tenants' rents were paid mostly in kind, and, to a lesser extent, in such farm produce as oats, barley, cheese, butter, wool. Cow and sheep skins in delicate service. Many tenants were hard for the tenants their rents were often 'eased' by the chief in the hope that some tenants would pay the rent, and that the chief's cousin rents would be paid in time. In 1705, a bad year, MacLeod actually conceded 'seeing that the Hope Harvest was so greatly to them. In 1712, when some sheaves had visited the St Kilders (the islands belonged to MacLeod), the chief granted them with a new boat and the islanders were allowed a two-year delay in payment of their rents to help the recovery of the community.

THE OTHER ISLANDS

Elsewhere, there was one family there, that of the person employed by the owner to look after the livestock. The rent was a 'boxe' Bachelaman who paid £4 sterling rent per annum. The island prosperous was corn, butter, cheese, a few cattle, a few sheep, a few goats and some wild fowl and feathers.

In 1844 Rona was uninhabited, in fact inhabitant being, in the seventh year of Queen Victoria's reign, the 'King of Rona', Donald MacLeod, who lived in about the most primitive conditions. Rona was without inhabitants until 1884, when a last attempt was made to settle people from Rona from Ness. This was a self-supported exile, after a different of opinion with the minister of their parish; in spite of this, they had lived in Ness. In 1881 a relief boat called and found both men dead, one from natural causes, the other from suicide, or typically, from shot mind, and (on the pronunciation) a shortage of pasture, it is thought by the family of the survivor, they had been distinct and independent of each other. Malcolm, son of Tormod MacLeod, head of Siol Tormod, was given the island of Harris by the bishop of Glasgow, on the Scotish mainland, which he and his successors held from the Crown. Both the Lewis and the Harris branches were Harris, which came to his family after the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles in 1493. Lewis was held from the Crown, rather strangely, their clan seat at Dunvegan on Skye, and are more commonly known as the MacLeods of Dunvegan on Skye, though 'of Harris' is their correct title.

Eaglais [illegible]

[illegible] is twelve miles west of North Rona, a lonely rock in blue Atlantic, bleak and grassless, and tenantled by cows and goats. The only life it has, more correctly speaking, is the sea. Yet one of the old buildings is said to be a chapel and is called 'Teghnaomhaidh' (Church of Saint Kenneth). According to Nan tradition, Solangaig was once used as a prison for sheep-stealers, and it is also said that Benedict, sister to St Kenneth, lived on the island to perish. Yet another tradition claims that it was at this rock that Prince Charlie Edward made his last contact with his Scots chieftains, when the ship that carried him to Scotland was spoken to by a Nun boat making for North Rona.

THE SEASONS

[Chondrus], for example, is used as a thickener of milk to make a cheese-like mould. Dulse is also plucked.[1]

The chief crops of cereal farm and vegetation above the relative importance of crofting and fishing—and the balance of the relative importance of crofting and fishing—and the balance of the relative importance of crofting and fishing—and the balance of

tion, as we saw in the preceding chapter, archaeology reveals the two significant facts, coastal set-tlement and a cultural arrival contingent economy are of great antiquity.

It is generally believed that the Scots arrived in the Hebrides from Ireland in the ninth century. Even though this belief rests on learned and some modern early chronicles, the accredit mention of Skye in the Annals of Ulster for 853, when the people are said to be paying tribute to the king of Dria and Alban, and 798, when the Norse pillaged Skye, indicates some civilization. During this early period Skye may have been inhabited by a tuath (tribe), a number of which formed a mortuath (literally a great tribe) or province. In that as it may, the Norse who had come to plunder, as contrast that was eliminated by a combination of local and Gaelic religious ideals, in the eighth century, began to settle in the Isles in the ninth. Since they had been driven out by Harald Fairhair, the first king to establish political unity in Norway, the early exile proscribed to Norse Hebride territories until an expedition redrove them and annexed the Hebrides to Norway.

[1] James A. Robertson, Scottish Highland Family Relations and Clan Histories (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd 1947) Introduction and Appendix, Appendix pp. 31-32.

[2] Ibid., Appendix pp. 32-34.

[3] Ibid., Appendix pp. 34-35. Gaelic of Clanny (4 vols.) Dublin: Hodges Smith and Company, 1849-1851, Vol. 1, pp. 161, 164, 174, 175.

[4] Rees, W.J., Robert D. Pelt, An Outline of the Reticular Ethnology of Scotland and Ireland, Cardiff: Cardiff Publishing Company, 1951. Stuart Piggott, The Druids, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968. Stuart Piggott, Ancient Britain and the Antiquarian Tradition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967. Fox, Cyril, Pattern and Purpose, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1958.

25

Geddes (1965: 56) gives evidence that joint farms were abolished in Lewis early in the 19th century. Gray (1957: 50) says that by 1819 there was little run-rig left in Lewis. The factor's notebook for Bruacleitar, on the west side of the island, shows the elimination of clachans around 1830, and their replacement by linear townships.

In the Napier Commission's "Evidence" (1884) for the parish of Barvas, it was mentioned that the rent had been increased because of improvements made by the landlord, Sir James Matheson, between 1840 and 1880. Land had been drained and new townships created; and both old and new townships were lotted and rented in 1850 and 1851 (Napier 1884: 999). The Ordnance Survey of 1851 shows the new townships, and interesting features of Shawbost: "New Shawbost" has recently been laid out; and in an area now incorporated by only a few separate crofts on "Carnan," a cluster of houses appears, perhaps the clachan in which joint tenants lived, and from which they went out to farm their various strips of land, before Matheson reorganized the land in linear strips with dispersed housing. The peat banks on Carnan area are already established, indicating a long period of settlement in this area.

174 HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION:—inference as to origins, migrations, contacts, prehistory and culture history from various types of evidence (e.g., anthropometry and language); see: Rees www:
Classical Gaelic 66

CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

(a) THE GEOGRAPHIC SETTING: THE BRITISH ISLES, SCOTLAND AND THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLES

1. A "Heart" of the North and West" of Britain

n the 'Outer' Hebrides, commonly regarded as the most 'outlying' inhabited island of the British Isles, are revealed not only the most ancient of British rocks, the Archaean, but probably the oldest form of continental life in Britain. This life, in present and past, of continental

Fig. 1.—Global view of the 'Outer' Hebrides, seen as the heart of the "North and West" of Britain.

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from prehistory to the present day, these geographic ways have played their parts as factors in evolution, although the border-lines have changed at different historic epochs, and have been modified by economic and social change. At times the Hebrides have been more closely linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Central Scotland. By viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in historic events, but comparability in stage and transition, even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of view, the social character of Island life has not only in static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the Islands and vividly described as "the Past in the Present", Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic strength of its continuity—notably of early or prehistoric Celtic—and also by the late occurrence of changes when, at last, they came.

The social consequences of those regional differences in evolution are profound. In the 'Plain', to the southeast of the Seven-Tree line, large village communities with common fields prevailed; forming the later manor villages. To the north and west, the more varied, hillier lands encouraged the continuance of the clachan: these hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no more than four or five to a dozen relations or 'friends'—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word 'friend' frequently implies kinship. Each small group farmed its own. Together the men ploughed the rig-and-furrow ridges (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and the crops they raised their boat as its crew. The women, too, did much together, as when they spun their yarns, and folled or 'washed' the cloth that one of them had woven, helping by turn in clachan after clachan.—Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

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pastoral group, the germ (in the Hebrides) of the present township with its common grazing. Hamlets and township alike formed units of clachans and religious life in common. These 'sociable hamlets', or 'little commonwealths', as they were called by outstanding writers on the Highlands, lived on in the Hebrides almost until a century ago. In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in historic events, but comparability in stage and transition, even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of view, the social character of Island life has not only in static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the Islands and vividly described as "the Past in the Present", Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic strength of its continuity—notably of early or prehistoric Celtic—and also by the late occurrence of changes when, at last, they came.

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to notice the absorption or suppression of rights held in common in 'the North and West', together with the abolition of the duties of fellow-workers to one another. Too frequently they have not troubled to enquire into the nature and existence of common rights and fellowship duties, the observances of which have so much to teach. Yet to judge from the complexness of the Hebridean evidence, and from wider evidence to be touched upon with reference to Norse and Lowland conditions, suppression caused the profound social and moral revolution.

Indeed, the profound character of that revolution makes it hard to recognise the common origin of features which may differ greatly today. To choose four examples, the long succession from father to son, found from end to end in the hamlet and township, contrasts with a serious movement of farm servants, and even tenant-farmers, all too common until 1939 in Lowland Scotland and parts of Northern England. The ideals held by fellow-workers in a clachan tradition, of kindly and courteous co-operation, contrast with the ideals of competition, sometimes made on every farm even of the southern Highlands today, and certainly of the Lowlands and Northern England. Languages have changed as English has advanced during 150 years: the Lewis crofters' children still speak Gaelic, but children in Stornoway cease to do so forty or fifty years ago. And in the recorded religious life of Gaelic hamlets far wider ranges of relationship, of the part of revered men and women is very different from the part played in Calvinism by the Minister and the male Elders of the Kirk. All these four contrasts are due to revolutionary changes in home, work, language and religion. Such changes, of which all trace may be lost elsewhere, are traceable from the fullest evidence among the Gaels.

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Comparisons at the present day are most illuminating in the Hebrides one may pass from Calvinist Lewis-and-Harris to Catholic Barra, through South Uist, where Presbyterian and Roman Catholic dwell, side by side, in mutual respect. Although their home life, economy and language are the same, the influence of a comparatively recent divergence in religion is marked. Such Island evidence, present and past, may serve to re-examine conclusions upon life in the Lowlands accepted too readily, and to seek for the truth upon earlier forms of life in prehistoric times. Of such work much remains to be done in fact and name—under the panoply of civilisation and with Papal benediction. A generation after the Conquest they commenced the penetration of Scotland.

The paradox of loyalty to one's fellows with loyalty to a lord, of stoutly equalitarian thinking bound up with fervid admiration for an aristocracy, is nowhere more marked than among the Gael. They sought to reconcile all three conflicting loyalties by claiming common ancestry for chief and people, as the children (clann) of a hero of history or myth. The years 1945-47, which marked a centenary of the last of the desperate Jacobite Rising, stood at the close of a long period of change in which Lowlands have been won for the symbol of clanship—the tartan, long proscribed (by the Act of 1747) 'to every man and boy in the Highlands'. At such a time, the Gaels' loyalty to the death cannot be forgotten although old kings, old chiefs have gone. But its paradox must not only be remembered but understood, from its roots in communal life and environment through history. Not until this is done can important phases of our own time be understood, such as the failure of Lord Leverhulme's seven years' endeavour in Lewis; nor can the present opportunity of Highland renewal be grasped by the help of

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lights, suggests that such lochkipp goes back to early contents of self-supporting agricultural and pastoral communities, by well-armed raiders of many races, including the Celtic-speaking swordsmen of the Iron Age. The last and most notable of these conquering raiders were the Norsemen. Their influence was profound, whether, sailing direct from the Scandinavian forest settlements and fjords, they raided and settled as bonthan Viking crews, or at a later stage, they invaded England from Normandy—that fertile province which they had made theirs in fact and name—under the panoply of civilisation and with Papal benediction. A generation after the Conquest they commenced the penetration of Scotland.

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[1] For Lochaber, see Arthur Geddes (1938 and 1951); for Ayrshire, see R. H. G. Lethbridge, Rent Day Ceilidh, Ayr, 1949, 1951 (pp. 7-8); Dy. 1948 (pp. 100-110). Further references in Bibliography.

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democratic reorganisation, with loyalty to one's fellows and to a leader.

Here again, Lewis-and-Harris may have something to teach, as one of the last communities in Britain in which the tooth of anarchy has gnawed right over land and sea, but upheld. Trust ownership of Stornoway estate has strengthened the possibilities of rural planning there, while the fisheries are a public resource which are partially protected for local fishermen inshore and further out are closed to others. The Gaelic Lewis Association has published models of local survey for social and economic planning. At a time when democracy is struggling to see its way towards reorganisation, the Gaelic communal institutions have more than local significance.

This sketch of environments and questions in rural life raised by Hebridean evidence, through a wide and varied region of the British Isles, must serve to indicate the geographic setting in the Hebrides and relate the historic and contemporary problems of its own community to wider fields. That both the environment and the social, economic and industrial problems of the fifth-sixth and 'included plains' within the varied land of 'the North and West' of Britain, deeply though they affect the hard-hit fishermen of the Isles and the Island migrants—seamen or labourers, tradesmen or factory workers, nurses, teachers or clerks. Even for the migrants' sake, it is vital to maintain the economic balance, and restore the cultural and spiritual life within each industrial region, in order to maintain that of Britain as a whole. It was not enough to schedule 'the southern uplands' of Scotland, Wales, Lancashire or Clydeside as 'Distressed', 'Special Areas' or 'Development Areas'. The balance of Britain as a whole must be restored.

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(b) THE ENVIRONMENT

1. Ancient Rocks and Modern Life

The Hebrides, commonly regarded as the most 'outlying' inhabited island of the British Isles, are revealed not only the most ancient of British rocks, the Archaean, but probably the oldest form of continental life in Britain. This life, in present and past, of continental

175 the eighteenth century these 'black houses' would be
342 replaced by houses of stone and lime, and a few of those
361 survive.

Of the fort built by Cromwell on the Point, no signs
192 remain. For tactical reasons, the best site would seem
• 194 to be the neck of the Point, from which the guns of the
712 fort could defend the houses, stores and quays. The irregular building line near the point marked T, a Town House at a later period, may correspond to the
175 northern angle of the fort. The fort appears to have been standing when the original drawing was made for the
712 engraving in the Old (or First) Statistical Account of Stornoway, *c.* 1793.

By the time Wood drew his plan in 1820, houses on
175 the Point no longer looked exclusively on to the axial
361 street. The main alinement of interest came to be the shore, marked by a properly built quay. Today, the Point Street houses have fallen into decay but many older houses still stand in fair repair along the 'Beach' or Quay.

Thirdly, from the nineteenth century, until 1914, two-
175 storey, flatted tenements, hotels and houses of middle-class
361 people were built upon a grid that followed upon the old
34 field plans. In an alternative plan, proposed about 1820 but not adopted, a diagonal vista opened out to the Established Church, built in 1794 on rising ground. The modest Seaforth Lodge which had stood across the harbour was replaced in 1850 by Stornoway (or Lews) Castle, its pseudo-Tudor style designed to please the new improving landlord, Sir James Matheson, who had purchased Lewis in 1844. Presented to the people on the break-up of the Leverhulme Estates in 1925, a new technical school has
175 taken it over. A few villas also grew up on outlying roads.
361 Thus, a mere village in 1801, and among the smaller burghs
162
226

CHAPTER IV

THE EVOLUTION OF ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN THE ISLAND ENVIRONMENT

829 FROM the first approach we saw that while the 'Outer' Hebrides may seem to strangers a distant *Ultima Thule*, the Islesmen may regard their home as lying at the core of our country and its life: of ancient ways, be they foolish or wise; and of deeply rooted faiths, be they superstition or truth. The purpose in this Part is to view the essential phases in the occupation of the land and coasts, and in the development of the people's means of subsistence, 'work ways', society and spiritual life. We shall find enduring traits, important at the present time, and which affect the future. Distance over sea and moor is still significant, as every Islesman knows; and position affected the peopling of the Island, its races and their long-continued customs. It must be asked whether sites first chosen upon the Island are still significant with regard to land-use and to sea-fishing. Did the types of class and community, the bonds of co-operation and kinship formed, correspond to needs we can still understand? Can we enter into the life of our forebears in black house and township, the thought-world of mingled fact, myth and religion, in which they carried on their work on land and sea?

• 174 Before what may be called the age of clanship, which
[613] dawned as Gaelic culture reasserted itself after the defeat

• 174 of the Norsemen, lay a succession of earlier periods. A
613 phase of primitive settlements is traceable in archaeo-
192 logical remains and in recent and contemporary survivals.
194 It is shown in the physical race-traits distinguishing those in one part of the Island from those in another. Fragments of tradition telling of the first Christian missionaries survived the Norse invasions and settlements, dated from A.D. 800 or before, down to Haco's defeat on the Clyde at Largs in 1256. These fragments can be linked to chronicles and to later tradition, on which they throw fresh light.

[144] A survey of the archaeology has been published,[1] but comparatively little, as yet, on race. Yet different communities are distinguished by marked racial types or strains. Although many, indeed most, of the race-strains of the Island must have entered it in prehistoric times, some are linked to tradition, and history accounts for the more
[141] recent immigrants. The striking element of race in the Outer Hebrides is a broad-headed type prevailing from Barra to the Lews, accompanied by medium stature and dark hair; it is also found across the Northern Minch. But within the Island are notable differences.

829 Variety of race being accentuated by difference in ways, the communities still comment pointedly upon one
[538] another! For instance, an old saying is not forgotten: "The folk of Cladach, but the gentlemen of Uig!" (*Muinntir a' Chladaich, ach daoin' uasaile Uig*),
433 'Cladach' being the western 'Beach' district possessing
632 ploughland but poor fishing, which covers the modern
133 parish of Barvas (excluding the north-west cliff-promontory

113 [1] Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, *Outer Hebrides, Skye* etc.); 1928. V. G. Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, 1935; *Scotland Before the Scots*, 1946.

829 of Ness), while Uig is the most westerly promontory with
433 its natural fishing harbours. The authorship of the pro-
632 verb may be ascribed to the ladies and gentlemen of Uig;
133 yet the personal appearance of the victims, who are more broad-headed, gives the proverb a physical foundation.
• 194 Again, the tall men of Ness, dark or fair, and rather longer-
192 headed, still form a group apart from those of Cladach,
141 each having taken root in prehistory, *i.e.* earlier than
144 surviving record.

Such facts correct several current misconceptions as to race and heredity in their relation to Gaelic society, past and possible. First, it is still common to contrast a 'Celtic' with a 'Norse race'. Now, Norse immigrants belonged to several races, and when they arrived, several race-streams were already mixing and eddying in the Isles. After the immigration of Norsemen, the next recorded was in 1611, consisting of gentlemen-tacksmen from Kintail and burghal settlers to Stornoway, who were composed of Gaelic-speaking families from Easter Ross, where the people of today resemble some Scandinavian types rather than typical broad-headed Lewismen.

Second, it follows that no sweeping generalisations can yet be made as to the ways and habits of particular races. The "Celtic race", one reads, have "never taken to the sea" as have the Norsemen.[1] The facts in the Island are that though the men of Ness, with a possible Norse admixture, were considered better fishermen than those of Cladach, and the present generation includes a great number of seamen, their opportunities have been greater —their cape commanding wider fishing grounds and their little port providing relative safety in storm. And the men of Lochs and of the 'Bays' of Harris, though they show

[1] For example, in the Brand Report on Lewis (1902).

141 144 172 174 174 174 [613] 174 675 [175] [178] [184] 174 114 174 [113]

little sign of Norse blood, can hold their own as fishers with the men of Ness.

Third, it is still commonly stated not only that the "great majority" under the clan system were "without any legal status", but that their tenure "depended on the good will of the chief or tacksman".[1]

As the last lawbooks of the Gael were taken from Lewis by its first mainland lord in 1611—never to be heard of again—it may well be that, as recognised in the Northern Isles, so in the Western Isles, peasant tenure was permanent according to regional law. In practice, mere 'goodwill' is so uncertain a quantity that if this statement had been true, it is hardly credible that communities could have remained so stably rooted as their race-types show them to be. Evictions of groups or individuals at the whim of chief or tacksman would have broken down their homogeneity of race. In the Lowlands, where eviction had become so frequent by 1500 and insecurity for the mass of the country people has prevailed ever since, such localisations of race would be unthinkable and do not exist except in certain fishing communities who possess a pride, almost a caste-code, of their own: the Newhaven fishers within Edinburgh remain apart, with a dialect and a dress of their own. Great stability of tenure—in fact as in customary claim—is shown by the racial homogeneity of Gaelic communities.

Lastly, it is common to state that the nobility and gentry of a countryside constitute its 'old' or 'original' families. It is true that some land-owning families seem 'old' compared to recent purchasers—successively the merchants and lawyers, venturers and planters of the

[1] From a representative report on the Highlands and Islands, that of the Scottish Economic Committee, 1938 (Historical Preface, p. 9).

174 174 114 174 [113]

Commercial Revolution, and the manufacturers and financiers of the later Industrial Revolution. Along one or more lines, the chiefs may record a thread of ancestry continuing for twenty-five generations or more; but almost invariably it is intertwined with others spun by fortune and added at each generation from outside the region. This is true even in the Highlands, where the gentry of one or two particular clans used to meet regularly until the nineteenth century to court and wed, so that inter-marriage established physical traits still recognisable in their descendants. But as for the nobility or leading chiefs, their principal claims go back, almost invariably, to conquerors, Norse or Norman, and later, alien commanders sent by the Crown, although certain chiefs traditionally claim descent—at least through the maternal line—from legendary heroes and early Gaelic kings, a claim which may symbolise a real link with native strains. As for the people, in the Scottish Lowlands few original communities survive. But particularly in the Long Island, the long pedigrees of the crofter families show them to be pure in every thread for generations past; while the racial homogeneity of communities, isle by isle and township by township, marks them as truly 'original'.

These facts have been recognised by anthropology, but too often the full, cultural significance is missed. Sixty years ago Sir G. L. Gomme included evidence from Harris in 1790, and from Carmichael's memoranda to the Crofters' Commission of 1884, in his pioneer study, *The Village Community, with special reference to the Origin and Form of its Survivals in Britain* (1890). Gomme fully appreciated the ancient origins of custom and races. Indeed he shows analogies of primitive communal customs in the Hebrides and Britain with others of 'backward' pre-Aryan

114 174 174 613 [14] [175] [113]

aborigines in India—lovable people when unspoiled by tyranny, caste or industrial exploitation, as I can testify.[1] Yet Gomme, like many since, leaves the reader with an impression which must be re-examined: that the Islesfolk are the representatives of a backward race who have clung to predominantly superstitious, pre-Christian customs and beliefs. As a people, the Gael received and welcomed Christianity in one of its earliest historic forms, and maintained its spirit through poverty and famine. To this inheritance we shall turn in Chapter VII, when the rhythm of life and its changes have been followed out in the following chapters.

To begin with, the briefest outline of historic sequence is all that can be recapitulated, the Island annals having been recorded in the excellent Brand Report (1902), and by W. C. Mackenzie (1903 to 1937). Politically and strategically, the age of clanship may be thought of as a period of struggle between the Islands and the Mainland to the south or east. The long-drawn conflict of Clan Campbell of Argyll with Clan Donald—whose Chief was the Lord of the Isles of which Islay and Skye were the two dominant, western keys, and Lewis and Harris the northern outposts—offers a parallel to the conflict of MacKenzie of Kintail with the last MacLeods of Lewis. Obscurity veils the early origins of the Island clans, with their mingled Norse and Gaelic lineage, but chronicles are more reliable by the time of forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles to the Crown in 1493. The MacLeods of Dunvegan, chiefs in north-west Skye, continued to hold Harris until late in the eighteenth century, and they maintained an indirect connection until the nineteenth.

[1] A. Geddes, *Au pays de Tagore: la civilisation rurale du Bengale Occidental*, Paris, 1927.

174 613 [175] [178]

But the last MacLeods of Lewis, torn by family dissensions, fell fighting before the power of King James VI (and I), who backed the 'capitalist' fishery enterprise of 'the Fife Adventurers'. Although these were routed by the Islanders, a Highland lord and chief, MacKenzie of Kintail, received Lewis from the Crown in 1611, taking his title from Loch Seaforth, near which he had built his Lewis hunting-lodge. Except for a period of forfeiture after 1715, the Seaforth family held the Island until its purchase by a wealthy and beneficent tea merchant, Matheson, in 1844. From Seaforth's tenure and the Papers of the Forfeited Estates are left records of ancient life and of the introduction of changes, temporal and spiritual. These are reviewed in the next five chapters. Chapter X brings the Island story to the year 1953, and its prospects.

CHAPTER V

FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP THE CONTINUING COMMUNITY AND ITS SOCIAL ECONOMY TO 1815

INTRODUCTION (TO CHAPTERS V AND VI)

121 593 476 632 621 121 613 621 [171] 121 174 178 [184]

THE family, the 'conjoint' or 'farm group' of four or five families, and the larger group clustered in a glen or along a shoreland, are, in ascending order, the three concentric units whose mutual relationships we must visualise to understand the past. Enduring elements of life in family and neighbourhood today, with their own special qualities and limitations, can only be understood in terms of past needs and the relationships they evoked.

Having seen their relationships in family, team and township, we can next turn to the reciprocal relations of the people to their chief or lord, whose position dominates European, indeed world, history and prehistory. Here our concern must be the meaning of 'clanship' to the chiefs, the joint farm-groups (or 'small tenantry') and, latterly, the tacksmen placed above them.

We may find, throughout this study, that features and functions which at first sight seem peculiar to the Island are really local variants, more perfectly crystallised, of forms which we know existed at earlier periods in Scotland and in much of northern and western Britain. In the Isles,

174 The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely
184 significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to
179 developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in
55 ferm-toun and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons
178 throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat
121 scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged in planning for post-war housing and community life.
185 But sound planning must be based on survey, long overdue; though elementary, this key map appears to be the first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units of farm-team and township that Scots rural society must be rebuilt, region by region.

184 One further contrast between the farming and the
241 crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the
36 types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-
166 nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World —return home to their native township when they can, and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand, though they usually spend their lives in the county or region of their birth, have been on the move from farm to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the
[464] English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new hiring, the married once a year. Families were annually uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all!
[722] The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to
[178] check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence many men have few ties, their wives still fewer. The children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they could look back to no "Auld Lang Syne", of which the

i [see p. 16 -- analyst]

178 follows that as the descendants of the crofters of the South-west and East Highlands could and did change their ways within the space of a lifetime, so those of the North-west
114 Highlands and the Isles can change too. Given the co-
178 operative leadership which is arising in the twentieth century and was totally lacking in the ideals and training
185 typical of the nineteenth, that change may be not only for the better in the development of 'individual' qualities, such as the power to do hard work for 'success'; change may also maintain and develop what still remains of the old characteristics which gave the community life of the Gael, with all its faults, elements of beauty and sanctity.

In an article on "The Human Geography of Lewis", A. Stevens (1925) described the Island and people. His comparison of the cold, wet 'desert' of Lewis and its corn-patch 'oases' with the desert of heat and drought
[182] and its oases of palms, is ingenious and suggestive. One
[241] might follow up the analogy and compare irrigation to the drainage of moorland and its fertilisation, which form the means of reclamation at home, and draw parallels between their immediate results on the land and the ultimate effects on work and social life.

174 Until the agricultural revolution, the unwritten story
241 of Scotland was in great part that of a long, uneven struggle
134 to make sour soils fit for cultivation and productive of a livelihood. Most of all is this true for North-west Scot-
178 land; moreover, there, for eighty years past, the struggle has been a losing one, in the sense that arable land has been
241 decreasing and rough pasture deteriorating. In spite of
134 subsidies, the 'marginal farms' of Scotland have a tough fight. Yet lands from Scandinavia to Finland and North
178 Germany are giving a lead in peat-reclamation, where

[654]

131 Before the making of
174 roads, it was ease of sailing which united island peoples
and their territories. One can wade or drive, at low tide,
491 over the fords that unite the Isle of Benbecula with the
two Uists, North and South: in fact, a bridge now connects
505 Benbecula with South Uist. But only the roughest of
491 hill tracks led through the hills of North Harris from the
'Tarbert' or Isthmus of Harris to the nearest habitation
at the head of Loch Seaforth or Loch Erisort, in the Lews.
This is a distance of some twenty miles, or a fair day's
tramp for an unloaded man, and far too much for a return
823 journey in one day. Hence separation of territory and
131 name was natural. This separation no longer exists as
there is now a good 'bus service from Rodel via Tarbert
178 to Stornoway which links Harris with the daily Kyle to
823 Stornoway steamer. In this book, the Island, or the
494 Islanders, refers to Lewis-and-Harris with its people,
as one.

101 Lewis is included in Ross-shire (of which the county
town is Dingwall, north of Inverness) and Harris in
131 Inverness-shire, together with the rest of the 'Long
634 Island'. The county boundary cuts across the six-mile
isthmus north of the hills of North Harris, from the
in-reaching Loch Seaforth WNW. to Loch Resort
(Fig. 8). All the Outer Hebrides are now included in the
Parliamentary constituency of the Western Isles. Pro-
posals to unite the Island under one District Council, or
the Outer Hebrides under one County Council, are more
favourably viewed in Stornoway than in Harris or the
632 Southern Isles. Harris forms one civil parish, while Lewis
is divided into four: Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs.
133 The Lewis parish boundaries traversing the moors are inset
131 in Fig. 8 so that their trends can be readily grasped, and
the inhabited portions of the parishes quickly located (p. 50).

133 most northerly outlier, yet, in the main, one is struck
not by the variety of rocks (except for the 'Stornoway
Beds') but by their homogeneity. It is structure, causing
the uplift of certain masses relatively to others, more than
differences in rock-type, which has guided the work of
erosion, in sculpturing both the Island's plan and the
details of its forms. Submergence of the land has fretted
the coastline into a zigzag line of ridge-capes alternating
with valley-mouths flooded or 'drowned' by the sea, as
inlet and loch.

316 Historically the gneisses were of little value. The fact
174 that they tend to split still helps the Islander in building,
as it helped his ancestors when they raised the great stone
172 circles at Callanish on East Loch Roag. Except where
they are very basic (non-acid) in composition, they make
135 poor road metal. Yet the gneisses are not quite devoid
of economic minerals, which include masses of pegmatite,
and the only large body of anorthosite or lime-feldspar
rock in Britain, conceivably a source of alumina for glass
439 manufacture.[1] Two feldspar quarries opened at Lingarbay
and Northton in South Harris in 1941 employed sixty men
during the war, the mineral being despatched from Lever-
burgh for use in the Staffordshire Potteries in the manu-
178 facture of porcelain insulators. The higher grade mineral
in Scandinavia and the better transport facilities there led
to closing the quarries, with little hope of their reopening.[2]

4. *Land-forms and Sea Floor*

133 To the faulted structure is due not only the Island
plan, but the highland in middle and south, uplifted rela-

113 [1] C. F. Davidson, "The Archaean Rocks of the Rodel District", *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.*, vol. 61, 1943, pp. 71-112.
[2] J. B. Caird, "The Isle of Harris", *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67, 2, 1951, p. 92.

182 Let us begin with the economic and the social signi-
184 ficance of the Highlands and Isles with which we are
311 concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space' is
the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown black)
[241] which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore waters,
and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by line
[427] C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or com-
[361] munities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainland
and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazing;
the line C also encloses a small area devoted to other
grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, main-
land, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill country
are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small farms
and small-holdings.

174 In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint labour-
621 team on land formed the communal units contained within
632
423
241
226

Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C .... C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black areas: strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings
(in the Lowlands)

The symbols show the average number of employees per team in each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

(a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm
— 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
◆ 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
■ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(b) Per Full-time Small Holding
• 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

102
131
133
311
[241]
[361]

226 the township; and
241 common grazing an
423 a century the croft
the townships the c
621 Beyond these 'hon
past those of seafa
632 today of fishing and
[178] urban occupations
In the Lowland
182 holdings. For (A)
184 ticular type of symb
241 employed on a far
farm the employed
'Labour-Team'.
'large'. The Scot
cated in the inset
and seven workers
counted as equival
farmers' wives are
Lowland counties
[593] shown separately.
full-time worker e
of the small-holder
241 As to the relati
farms and small-h
[162] land-holders numb
part-time holdings
'full-time farms',
time small-holding
types of less impor
of improved land,
[311] production. As t
[464] cultural land. Th
[162] [refer to map p.

to each were allotted the rights of the
d the fishing grounds. For more than
has been held individually, though in
ommon grazing is still held in common.
nely' limits lie wider horizons, in the
ring and of droving or the chase, and
gillieing at home, or of ocean journeys,
or colonisation.

A regions each symbol represents 100
A 'mixed and dairy farming', the par-
ol shows the average number of workers
m-holding in each county. On each
workers form what may be called the
A team may be 'small', 'medium' or
tish averages of these three types (indi-
key to the map) are roughly three, five
per team. Four 'casual' workers are
lent to one 'permanent' worker, but
excluded. Under (B), for the same
and areas, full-time small-holdings are
The Scottish average of less than one
mployed, most often a son or daughter
, is typical of all the counties.

ve importance of the different classes of
oldings in Scotland, true agricultural
er 68,000, of which fully one-third hold
s (like the Island crofters), one-third
and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold 'full-
gs'. The remainder accounts for other
tance. The farms predominate in terms
full-time employment, and of course of
area, farms cover 80 per cent of agri-
e farmers employ nearly 90,000 workers,

16 ·· analyst 18]

24 with its tied cottages and frequently a 'bothy' for the un-
36 married. Next to this comes the full-time small-holding,
[184] important in the North-east and the Southern Highlands
of Scotland. Great as are the differences between these
types of unit today, they go back, to a considerable extent,
• [174] to common origins. The sites of the farms are ancient.
And their people, though since divided into masters and men,
are the successors to those who were once the 'kindly co-
operators' of older 'farm groups', of Lowland *ferm-toun* and
[184] Gaelic *baile* (pronounced like 'ballie'). The island counter-
part of these, and their life, will be described in Part Two.
Hence, before we turn to further analysis of the Highlands
and Isles, a word more should be said of Lowland types.

24 An important social index in the Lowlands of Scotland
36 is the number composing the farm labour-team, averaged
464 for each county. Villages and even hamlets are few,
largely because farmers and farm servants live on the farms.
[171] Compared to those of most of England, Scots labour-
teams are small. Yet, as the map indicates, there is a
[184] wide range from the 'large' teams of South-east Scotland,
through the 'medium' teams of adjacent areas, to the
'small' teams of the West and North-east. Not only do
the contacts of employer with employees partly depend
upon the number in the team, but so do the farm servants'
relations to one another. On the whole, the larger the
team, the more formal its organisation; and the smaller
[554] the team, the greater a worker's own responsibility. The
[178] 'family farmer' of the West and North-east is often an
ex-farm servant. From Burns's time, his character and
enterprise have been recognised in Scotland, and in the
last forty years have become well known in South-east
England. But the isolation of these little farms brought
its problems and its hardships.

A [see map p. 16 ·· analyst] 20

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343
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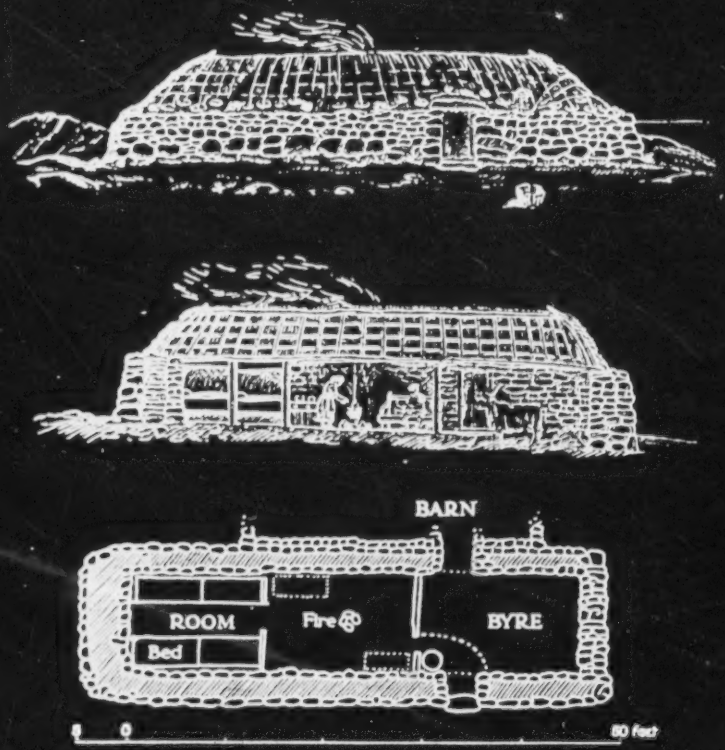
FIG. 10(A)



[178] The primitive 'Black House', universal fifty years ago in Western Lewis. Very few now have the central fire. (In Harris, byres were separated from houses about 1880.)

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[361]

FIG. 10 (B) (*facing*).—The summer shieling, past and present, and the spring house. (From the writer's field sketches, and after Thomas Curwen, L. MacDougal and D. Macdonald, Tolsta.)

A. The modern turf shieling (*àirigh*). B. The ancient beehive shieling. C. The spring house (*tigh earraich*). D. Beehive shielings added to each other to form a single mass.

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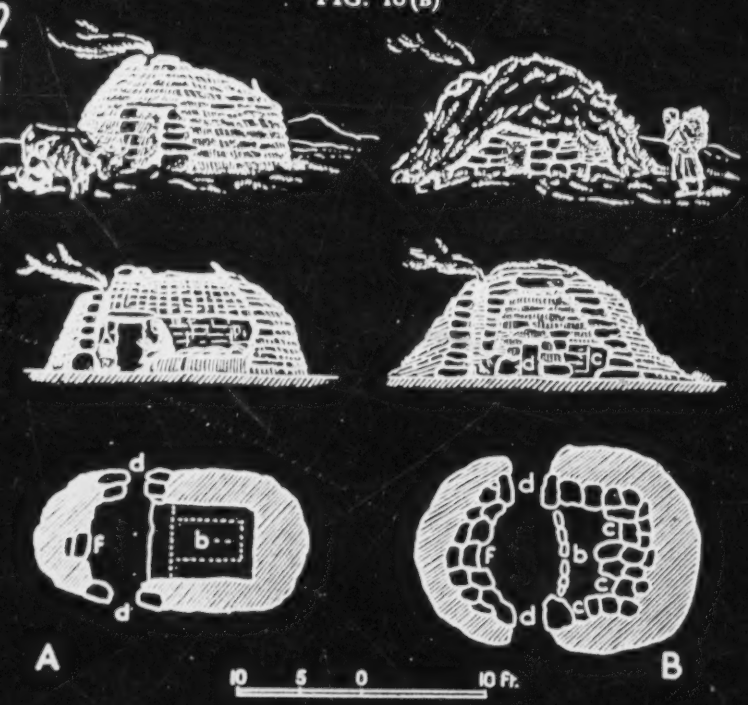
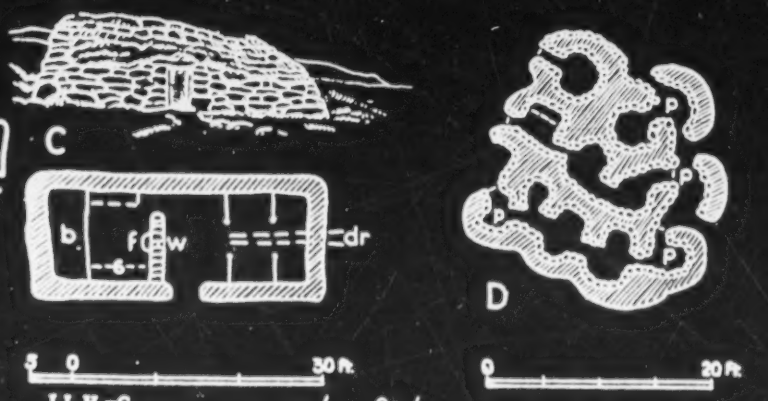
174
178
353

FIG. 10 (B)



b. bed. c. cupboard. f. fireplace. d. door. w. wall. s. settle. dr. drain. p. porch.

[361]



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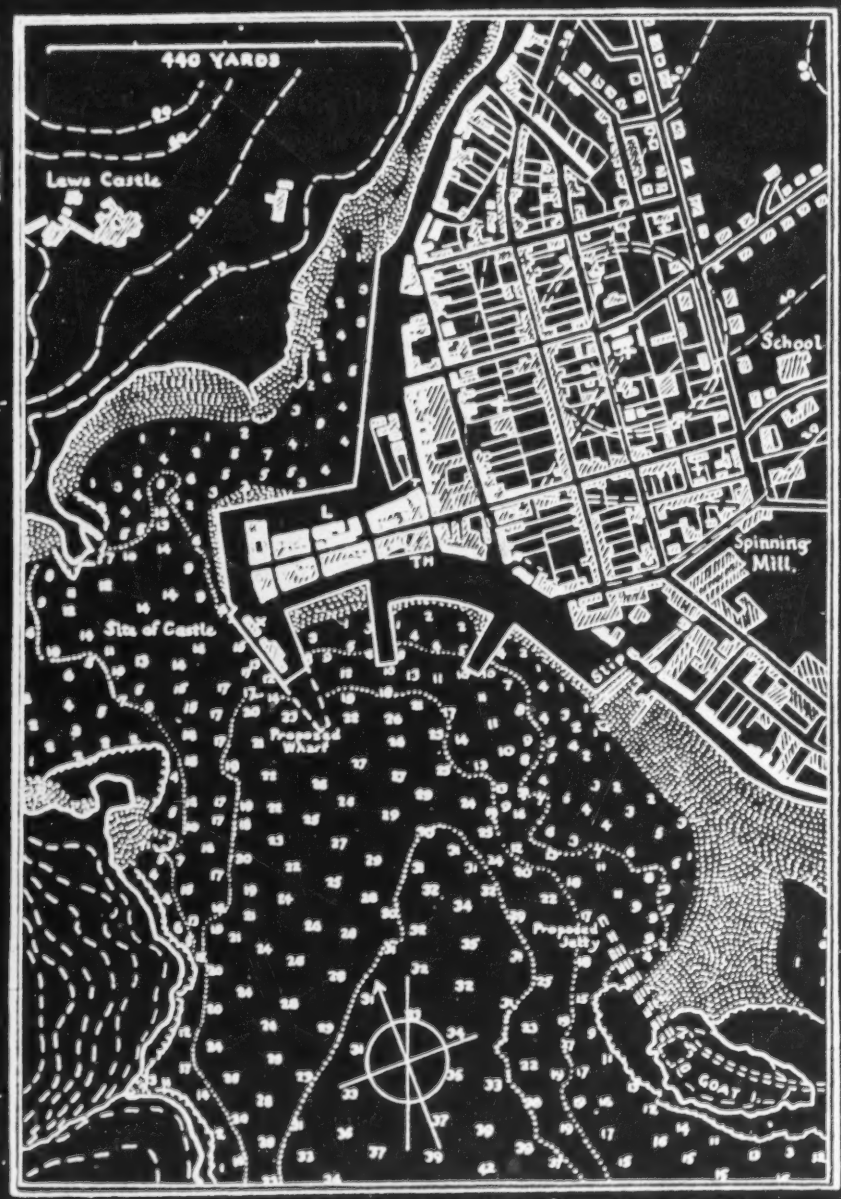

FIG. 11.—Plan of Stornoway and its Development (*key opposite*).

/p. 88/

31 Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

361 in solid black, and the third in hatching (Fig. 11). First,
174 upon the little peninsula or 'Point' which protects the
361 inner fishing harbour of the river there grew the nucleus
226 of the town, with its Castle upon the rocky islet now con-
504 cealed by the steamer pier. Sheltered from the waves by
the peninsula and from enemies by the Castle, MacLeod's
galleys and the early fishing fleet must have congregated
in the inner harbour. Protection from storm was specially
needed until, in the nineteenth century, a quay was built,
with space for marketing and handling the herring.

174 Inland from the Castle was the little church of the burgh,
361 dedicated to Saint Lennan (L). The little town can be
imagined stretching inland from the church, its dwellings
[346] built along the 'Point Street' axis, until it met the track,
road or street crossing the neck of the Point. The largest
church of Lewis proper, now in ruins, stood apart from
the burgh, at the south-west extremity of Eye Peninsula.
Until trade developed, the backs of the houses would have
been turned to the shore. To north, on the landward
side from which cattle would come, the market developed.

175 Secondly, in the seventeenth century, thatched houses
361 were strung out along Point Street and the shore for the
342 Gaelic settlers, the fisher- and craftsman-crofters brought
here to found a burgh and commercialise fishing. During

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361
174

Key to Fig. 11 (opposite)

Buildings on John Wood's plan of 1821 are shown in black and radial streets then proposed by pecked lines. Existing buildings are shown hatched. The harbour development plan of 1946 (pecked lines) is shown by courtesy of the Stornoway Pier and Harbour Commission; it is now in execution.

L = site of St. Lennan's. T = former Town House. TH = Town House.
× = site of Castle. + = modern churches.

(Based on a British Admiralty chart with the permission of the Controller o, H.M. Stationery Office and of the Hydrographer of the Navy.)

In Lochs it occupies only one-quarter of arable and grass. Barley, mostly four-row, or bere, is less important as a food today than formerly, and now occupies only 6 per cent, and, though it reaches 13 per cent in Barvas, with its machar, hardly any is grown in Lochs. Rye (*seagal*), still found in the machars of the Uists, is little grown in the Lews. Potatoes grow well everywhere, occupying about 15 per cent of the area, though townships with plentiful machar land grow most. Turnips are being gradually introduced, and though their liability to disease has somewhat discouraged the crofters, the proportion is now about 2·3 per cent. Cabbages occupy a small area (1 per cent), latterly along with lettuces, carrots and the like.

Rotation hay and turnips being almost unused up to 1919, oats was grown repeatedly before rotation with barley or potatoes, and with no bare fallow. While heavy manuring maintained the fertility, the crop by July was ablaze with corn marigold (and other weeds) through which the thin oats struggled to rear its head. Thickly sown, the return was exceedingly small. Except for the machar (if any) there was no 'out-field' as elsewhere in old Scotland.

The smallness of the crofts and the poorness of the crops explain the very small total return. Hence little oats is now ground for meal and the potatoes do not last through the year, though few are sold. The low out-turn also explains why even fodder is scarce, though much more of the crop is secured for wintering than formerly. Summing up, a croft of 6 acres—though a little too large to be quite typical—includes a couple of acres of grass and hay, almost as much of oats, and the remainder bears potatoes and barley, with turnips, cabbages and garden produce.

In the past, the cropped land was unfenced and unwalled. At present, the rule is to encourage the con-

rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide for the lord's desires.

(10) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

The peaceful round of daily life formed the most enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tensest ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must speak for them. Many a song of the Isles conveys the team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men. And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portraying the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who warred against the waves and won. Alexander MacDonald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic, and probably in English, verse for the intimacy of the crew in action, from steersman to 'look-out'. The flowing metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with "the Blessing of the Ship", the prayers and the chant. Then the bard, speaking for the stately skipper, "incites the sixteen oarsmen to row" out of the bay, and they row to a roaring shanty, a *Iorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and

[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (2nd ed.), 1890 (pp. 1-28); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 65-83), 1940. Cf. A. MacLean (Ed.), *Sun Gleam: Three Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1933. The different themes of its sections, each in its own metre, have been published separately, as *The Songs of the Hebrides*, and elsewhere.

with words of heartening but well-weighed praise, each point with its duties is apportioned to the man best fitted for it by his temper, strength and skill—or even by some special weakness! First the steersman:

"Let this broad heavy hero sit at the helm, powerful and limber . . .
Light handed on a helm, watchful and wary, cautious yet quick . . ."

Then others "Put this great-fisted and shrewd man to grapple with the rigging. . . . Windwise, he'll work with him that holds the shrouds . . . a thick-set, broad and crogey champion . . . and with him that grips the sheet, a neat and handy fellow. Set at the prow our pilot, keen-eyed for the airts, and with a sure sight for each landmark like a guiding star. And at the halyard his self-reliant seaman, tried and clear-headed, grimly alert. . . ." They put to sea, and as the sea roughens, the steersman cries, "Quick at my ear a man to watch for the rain-squalls! Choose me a fellow who's half-genteel, yet not a real coward . . . for he must be quick to shout when he sights a big sea bearing down on us. But let no other but himself be by me, lest there be babble and hubbub to bewilder us." Then, as the seas break over the open vessel:

"To bale her let this strong man rise, active and brave,
Who will not blanch or yield or tremble for the shouting wave. . . ."

Next, "Let two stout fellows, these thick-boned, rough and hairy chaps, haul on the ropes behind the sails, to raise or lower them as we're forced or uplifted by the surging seas. . . ." And last, for fear one fail or be dashed overboard by a wave, six nimble men are picked to stand by,

ready to leap fore or aft: "Quick to move as the mountain hare . . . or the hounds after him; quick to climb as a squirrel in the spring-time". Then comes the stirring evocation of the storm, testing each man's mettle and the discipline of all, until at last, their ship battered and themselves bruised and weary but undaunted, the crew reach Islay and round the sheltering point of Carrickfergus. There, with thanks to the High King, they drop anchor, the *birlinn* rides in peace, and all find meat and drink and rest.

As at sea, so in war, loyalty could rise to heroism in individuals and corps. Young men were attached to their chiefs by chivalrous leadership in warfare, both before 1745 and later. The Highlanders' high character contrasted with that of most Regiments of the Line, too often disciplined with the lash while demoralised by debauchery. From Lewis the Islesmen went out to the Seaforth or the Ross-shire Buffs, Clanranald's Regiment, Sir Samuel Gaith, historian of the Highland regiments and people, wrote of these two regiments that again and again their courage and coolness in battle were proved.[1]

Not less striking was the record of Gaels among civil populations, whether in Britain, as in the 'Forty-five, or abroad. In Germany in 1761 and 1762 much was said of the Highlanders' kindness,[2] for the boors were much better treated by those savages than by the polished English and French[3]. Similarly in the Low Countries in 1814 and 1815, they were *enfants de la famille* and "kind as well as brave". The mayor of Brussels declared that they "called forth the attachment and esteem of all"; and the inhabitants requested him "to endeavour to detain the 78th (and battalion Ross-shire) regiment of Scotchmen in the town, and to prevent their being replaced by other troops".

of the Old Testament made itself felt, as in Lewis-and-Harris in the nineteenth century, this narrower patriarchal example hardly affected thought.[1] Rooted in a wider form of family than a patriarchate, and reverencing a Holy Family and all fellowship, Gaelic society honoured age and parenthood for their inheritance, and childhood and youth for their promise.

Such ideals of human relationship led to the veneration of the Saints of the Gospels and of later history, and also of those of legend, especially Bride. Dedications to Bride or 'Bridget' are widespread from Wales to the Lews; yet her memory has been all but lost in Britain, except in the Isles. Carmichael wrote that "Bride and her service" are dear to the hearts of the people. She is called "Bride of the white feet . . . of calmness . . . of the kine; woman-comrade . . . and woman-helper . . ." "I am in the keeping of my Saint Mary: My companion beloved is Bride" (Nos. 79-71 (p. 185-184)). As joy, steadfastness and attainment are generally linked to one notable stage in the life of each 'holy companion', the example, aid and fellowship of each saint in turn was especially sought, at a corresponding stage or crisis of one's own life.

The Gael's veneration for saintly men and women was shared by Catholic peasantry throughout Christendom; but its special quality seems to have been closeness of

[1] Clanship has repeatedly been said to be 'patriarchal', as an ideal and a system. A different conclusion, that community is the root of clanship (even in its political forms), may come as a surprise. The English or Lowland reader has had scores only to the writings of strangers such as Burt. Not knowing Gaelic, these derived their information from Highland spokers of English who, deliberately or unconsciously, were biased by seeking an ideal of society, and not unnaturally explained their position as patriarchal. Thus strangers ignored the co-parcelary life of farm-groups and township, economically humble but spiritually rich, as the root of a clan-community.

fellowship. "The Irish Church", a Roman is said to have exclaimed to a Gaelic Celtic bishop, "has won no martyr's crown!" "Ireland was named the Isle of Saints not by persecuting but by cherishing God's elect", was the reply. The Celtic Church linked the lands across St. Patrick's Channel; and what was true of Patrick's missionary field seems to have been as true of Celtic Britain, the land of his birth. Kilpatrick on the Roman Wall of Clyde has been claimed as the birthplace of one who was certainly a Cymric Celt by birth and baptism, a Gael by training, and an Irishman by mission.[1]

This closeness of fellowship ranged from personal to divine relationships in waking or rest, with an intimacy of expression all its own. A prayer for rest begins, "I shall lie down with God, and God lie down with me." A simple and universal gesture of love, in which parent, child or lover slips an arm under the loved one's head, is carried into prayer at rest, "the arm of the Father", or joy, steadfastness and attainment are generally linked to one notable stage in the life of each 'holy companion', the example, aid and fellowship of each saint in turn was especially sought, at a corresponding stage or crisis of one's own life.

[1] Within in Scotland the name Bride is now rare as a Christian name, that of Patrick is still found among Gaels, Campbells, Macdonalds and others. It is even commoner than English speakers might suppose, owing to the practice—almost the necessity—of giving an English form to a Gaelic name when it is commonly used by English speakers. Cf. for Dunchad (Dunkeld), Ansuas for Anughus (August) or Ceotter Pattrick for Padhraig (Patrick). Many a Gael in the Lowlands felt obliged to relinquish his baptismal (and ancestral) name, with their link to Celtic Christian tradition.

with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1294. Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness. The following year, 1295, saw the commencement of "the three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King Alexander III, "that Scotland led in love and law", peace within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing Gaelic and Celtic traditions and Scoto-Norman arts. After his death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars can tell me, this almost unnoticed monument remains unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts of Scotland, historic and in touch with European achievement, were shattered by invasions, and Gaelic tradition was only to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all time, we have become.

As the approach of death God's mercy and peace were sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[1] In early non-conformist times the people of the time than of willingly to the 'Soul-friend', followed by Benediction. When death had come, the mourners sang of sleep and home. In Lewis today funerals are conducted in silence to the graveside, where the last service is held; but

[1] *A unique mediæval tomb in Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.)

[1] 'It would be of deep interest to compare the attitudes to death found in 'Spiritual Songs' by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs on death which, through maybe of post-Reformation date, are of Roman-Catholic origin (e.g. in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, poems on the Day of Judgment, and of Wrath; on age and on death; and on Purgatory; pp. 31, 85, 146; 34, 19, 21; 23). Many have much in common, both by virtue of the earlier traditions they share and still more because of parallel trends of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Cf. *Carmina*.

magic is always efficacious—however desperate the need, however pure the motives of those who ask. These men were said to be the most successful fishers in the place; they were also Elders of the Kirk, who saw no wrong in what they did. They did not inform the minister; but the good man was not a fisherman and did not understand either the mysterious ways of fish or the incitement of a crew!

While this *neid fire* was kindled in all earnestness, a miming song-dance I have seen in Eriskay is pure fun: 'the Carline or Witch-wife of the Mill-dust' (*Cailleach an Dudain*), who falls down dead and is brought to life again! Once, perhaps, a half-remembered symbolic 'play' of the seasonal fall and resurrection of seed, it is certainly in form and spirit a thing of happy laughter now! Tales were retold by Martin and a seventeenth-century English skipper, of offerings made to a sea-god, Shony, at Eoropie, Ness, for the sake of seaweed, followed by feasting and drinking in the chapel there.[1] The story may be garbled or, if true, may record a pre-Christian survival turned to merriment and of no religious significance to the people of the time than 'the Carline of the Mill-dust'. The prayers for the seaweed necessary for agriculture and daily bread are Christian in spirit.

Often the people were at the mercy of periodic famines, diseases and sudden death, there were ample grounds for fears. Hence a word must be said of a belief widespread and ancient in the Old World, 'the evil eye' (*droch shuil*). In the absence of clinical diagnosis, a malady, or a misfortune to oneself or a valued possession, might cast suspicion on someone present when it occurred; and

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 143-208. Contrast *Carmina*, vol. iv, pp. 23-25.

stubborn and suspicious; he never believed it. He realised that the backwardness of the Island arose from lack of opportunity, and that opportunity he would do his best to provide. Wherever he went he found the same story—things half attempted, nothing done.[1] Leverhulme, one felt in 1919, wanted to do all he could for the Islanders. A greater man would have wanted to work not only for, but with, the Islanders. Then, even if the fisheries had been ruined, as they were, by forces outside his control, he would have shared a moral victory, not shared and suffered economic loss, with moral defeat.

In the Isles for centuries before, a family and well-tried friends were valued above all other things. What was more, this was still true in the lifetime both of the elder men and the women. Marriage was for a home, and of the absent men, at war. The foundation for this friendly life was a plot of land and work to do, a home and the leisure to enjoy it. Leverhulme, too, valued these things in his own way. He cared for human homes and gardens, and had proved it at Port Sunlight and elsewhere. A pioneer of industry and efficiency, he pled for 'a six-hour day' and leisure afterwards, and he had done much to realise the ideal in his own works. Moreover, he was not without respect for spiritual values, freedom, and a congregation's right to choose their pastor.[1] All these things should have helped to put him into sympathy with Island life, and up to a point they had done.

It is clear that Leverhulme had considered the possibilities of improving the local fisheries, village by village; and an engineer had reported on possible harbour improvements at Tarbert, Barvas, and elsewhere. But he came to the

[1] Leverhulme (1927), p. 211; and Leverhulme (1st Baron), *The Six-Hour Day and Other Industrial Questions*, 1919.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

Visits at Tarbert and another was erected in 'the Bays' district by Leverhulme. Leverhulme also appears to have introduced 'Automatic' hand looms into Lewis. Today as in the past, the weavers possess a little croft or a few, a cow, and a few sheep on the outrun, and perhaps a small boat.

Commercial fishing and weaving cannot, however, be satisfactorily combined, for seasonal alternation of occupation entails waste of gear and plant, and interferes with efficiency. Thus in the North Lochs fishing 'creek' (Leurbost neighbourhood, immediately south of Stornoway), weaving became important, but none of the seven large herring fishing boats (all registered in 1939) had been fitted with motors after 1918; they were idle and rotting, and by 1938 only one was still registered. In South Lochs, however, motor-boats were purchased, but there is little weaving. An obvious reason for the difference is the accessibility of the North Lochs area by road to Stornoway. Light passenger carts bring yarn to the village, besides groceries, etc., and take away rolls of tweed. South Lochs, on the other hand, considerably further from Stornoway by road, is still within reach for marketing fish. In North Lochs, merchant seamen at home and young men on their return from three months' work on East Coast fishing boats, turned increasingly to the 'Automatic' looms, manipulation being easily learnt; but such intermittent work alone gives little hope of progress. There is no more fascinating problem than the future of improved weaving.

a. Unemployment and the Island Budget

In the past, the storms of the Atlantic washed up on the Island shores the wreckage of world commerce; and

CH. X BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

fragments of spars and other needful things lacking on croft and moor were picked up and carefully stored. So, after 1919, from the wreckage of modern industry horse on the ground-swell of 'Depressions', there came to the Islands the frail raft of unemployment relief, doled out like driftwood long ago.

Some assessment is therefore required. The total amounts of relief disbursed before 1931 were comparatively bountiful; and they certainly exceeded the sum of the crofters' contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund. After a couple of months of wage labour at roadmending, harbour-repair, or the like, young men were qualified for 'the dole'. Furnished with this, they returned to the croft when paid employment gave out, to cart in their peat, collect stones for a new house or another out with a rod for a little fishing from the rocks. All this was done 'on the dole', work complete legality, so long as their names were duly inscribed at Stornoway Labour Exchange as seeking fresh employment. Not a few prayed that 'employment' would not come inconveniently soon, as they would then be legally bound to accept it and to leave the croft. No doubt, even if only part of the money received was urgently needed, the surplus was not squandered, as it might have been in a town. Extra cash, if any, served to buy a bum here, feeding for the gander there, and other things of permanent use. Yet morally it constituted misappropriation of relief. As a result, through no real fault of their own, young men began to lose independence and self-respect. This general problem for youth was widespread in years of 'depression', and it was peculiarly severe both in industrial Clydeside and the fishing villages of Scotland, and also throughout the 'depressed areas' of northern and western Britain, of which the Isles form the outermost fringe.

[illegible] and of lifting and Dramatic, the past in this [illegible] been stripped to reveal a [illegible] Sky. In such places a black loamy soil has [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

121 by help of oral tradition and of the living witness of con-
174 tinuing usage, we can reconstitute Gaelic life from the
178 view-points of both people and chief. Elsewhere, even in Scotland, only fragments of early life are recorded, in
175 parchments written by the lawyers of landlord and king, and almost always from the privileged side. History is
814 indebted to modern lawyers who have deciphered and
127 published the faded documents of their predecessors. But the very training as solicitor-factors which fitted them for this specialised task, in no way prepared them to view life as seen, experienced and felt by the men and women of the past, or even by the elders or youth of the townships today, with whom they have rarely laboured and whose mother tongue they rarely understand.

(A) THE LABOURS OF MAN AND WIFE, AND THE REWARD

621 We have seen that until the nineteenth century the
632 township in the main was self-contained. Its people grew,
175 reared or caught their food, and also found the raw materials
133 for their clothing; they built their own shelter, and cut their own firing. As a result, both men and women had
174 each to develop "a wide range of simple skills", in the
175 apt phrase of a Lewisman, Mr. Donald MacLean, M.A. Beyond the co-operative effort within a family, a farm
462 group, or a body of 'fellow-townsmen'—in which each was competent to take a share according to sex and age—aptitude and family tradition initiated some local division
463 of labour. The resident smith and the 'caird' (usually a wandering craftsman or tinker) appear in the oldest tales and in the first rent-rolls. In addition there were honorary
759 tasks. The smith might act as the village surgeon, ready

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

174 to bleed or to set bones, while some elderly woman would
175 serve as physician and midwife. Spiritual consolation
462 and renewal too could be found, even in the absence of
monk or nun, or of priest, minister or catechist. Enough
[463] here, that with agriculture and fishing, most crafts, except
[759] metal-work, were practised in every family. The 'range
of skills' was therefore wider and richer in latent art than
[793] might be supposed from those needed on a little croft today.
[593] Hence the importance of understanding the roles of husbandman and housewife, of "the man and the woman of the house".

174 Their labours through the annual rhythm of the seasons
462 might be classed as efforts for the man and endurance for
the women (Fig. 9). Man's muscular strength and free-
221 dom of limb rouse him to efforts demanded by the thrust
[181] and lift of peat-cutting, digging in stony soil, or pushing the foot-plough, step by step obliquely down a rocky slope. In the past an archer's chase of stag, wolf or boar demanded all a man's effort, and courage too, as fishing still does in the stormy north-western seas. With this facing of danger there came a gaiety that sparkled like the crest of a breaking wave. Women's work demanded by its unceasing activity a cheerful endurance, whether at labour on the croft, at corn-grinding, butter-making and peat-carrying, or carding, spinning and weaving; and with every task of day or season came the constant tending of cattle, of menfolk and children.

[538] This allotment of seasonal tasks and skills is neatly put in the proverb, "A man's cow won't yield milk, nor a woman's horse ploughing" (*Cha bhi bainn' aig bo fir, 's cha bhi treabhadh 'an each mnatha*). Yet women have always taken a share of work on the croft—too heavy a share when the men were much away—and the habit of

encouraging them to rest when the men returned was fondly indulged. Much can be learned from the first (or 'old') "Statistical Accounts of the parishes of Scotland drawn up from the communications of the Ministers of the different parishes", *circa* 1790–96. Of the parish of Stornoway, where by 1790 many men had become crofter-fishers and others were at sea, the Minister wrote, "The women labour at least as hard as the men", even pulverising the ground with heavy hand-rakes (harrows being seldom used), and digging both with crooked and straight spades. That the men's debt was repaid in acts of manly service is true. A man would carry wife or sweetheart on his shoulders across a river in spate, whose rushing waters might have swept her away. But in her turn, a woman would wade into the cold sea, her coats high, bearing on her hips husband or son out to his open boat, so that he could start his night of exposure dry-shod and warm. This act of service was noted and illustrated by Burt at Inverness (about 1726), and it was common in the Lews before the building of stout piers, that is within living memory. Strong common sense, sheer necessity in fact, enforced such mutual service; but the sacrifice entailed was nerved by anxiety for those in danger, by personal pride and love. It was also true that it bore hardly on women, with their readiness for self-sacrifice and their ordeal of childbirth.

What return for their labours did the people get in the past, it will be asked, and what approach to sufficiency in a normal year? For the Island, the most thorough of the five Parish Accounts is that of Harris, with its fascinating retrospective notes (vol. x, p. 368). There the yield of a typical family share, a 'fourth' or 'farthing' land, was computed at "from four to five bolls" (which in Scotland

175 single tack, for which the tacksman, who was a relative
423 of Seaforth's Chamberlain, paid £247/10/8, 10 sheep,
247 9 stones butter, and 3 bolls of meal. The Bragar rental
mentions scallags who were not listed because they
were not smallholders; rather, they worked for the
tacksman for a certain number of days per week, in
return for which they received ground to cultivate and
on which they might build a house. There were probably
scallags in Shawbost as well; a section of common land
near the sea, which bears the marks of old cultivation,
is today called Blar na Scallag (field of the scallags).

The evidence is that, rather than being the
egalitarian society portrayed by many idealistic
proponents of crofting society today, the society living
in the area we now know as the crofting counties was
composed of fairly differentiated tenants and subtenants.
Allotments of land were called penny, half-penny, and
farthing lands (Walker 1812; 56; Gray 1952: 48); place
names such as "Five-penny Borve" indicate this history
of land tenure in Lewis. The 43 tenants in Shawbost in
1726 paid rents varying from £3/10/4 to £6/7/4 (Scots
money, which was 1/12 of the English). The differences
in rent gave them different shares in the arable ground
and different shares in grazing rights on the common ground.

●175 Thus some tenants were relatively more prosperous than
423 others. A large class of subtenants (scallags) did
429 corvée labor in return for a small amount of arable
land and the right to graze a few livestock. Their
land was intermixed with that of their masters in the
prevailing system of run-rig. "Crofters" had economic
standing similar to that of scallags, but had permanent,
compact allotments (Gray 1952: 49).

G. Joint Farm vs. "Crofting Township"

The 1726 rental indicates that the "town" of
632 Shawbost was a corporate unit and thus that "crofting
townships" have a long history. However, Geddes (1948)
argues that the form of the 1726 rental was due to the
method by which it was collected. In 1726, officials
toured the island and made a list in large public
hearings of the rents of those assembled, thereby attempting
to make certain that no tenants were excluded from the
rent roll. The major cooperative work unit seems to
168 have been not the township but the joint farm, which
176 contained enough men to make up a crew for ploughing
and fishing.

In the Lothians and eastern Lowlands, the land could
be worked in larger units than in the Highlands, and a

●175 typical homestead or "farmtoun" consisted of a
423 "ploughgate" occupied by eight tenants, each of whom
247 contributed one animal to the common plough and thus
had an eighth of a share of land or one "oxgate"
(Gray 1930: 97).

In the Highlands and particularly in Lewis, about
175 four six men and their families worked together and
254 shared land which was held in run-rig. The Old
460 Statistical Account (1796) lists 90 ploughs in the
parish of Barvas or about one plough per five families
(Geddes 1948: 57). Geddes maintains that joint tenants
175 paid an equal share of the rent and had equal "ecumings"
423 (the number of stock allowed on the common grazing land).
233 In contrast, Walker (1812: 56) says that joint tenants
paid different rents according to the share which they
had in the arable land, and that the number of cattle
which a tenant had on the common grazing land was soumed
or proportioned to his rent; all the tenants worked the
arable land together, and received a percentage of the
produce which was appropriate to their share. Geddes'
description (1948) emphasizes equality within the joint
farm; Walker (1812) and Gray (1952) point to differences
between tenants and subtenants.

●175 In any case, the "town" or township was not the
423 effective work unit, but rather was the larger
247 neighborhood in which several joint farms existed.
233 The tenants of several joint farms grazed their stock
on the surrounding moorland (i.e., on common grazing
land).

H. From Run-rig to Crofting

175 Run-rig was an agricultural system suited to a
423 pastoral people, who required the use of open, common
241 pasture for grazing their livestock; the arable land
311 was limited, and of varying fertility (According to Day
(1918: 12), 54% of the land in crofting counties was
mountain and heath used for grazing, and only 56 was
arable land). Residents worked several strips of
different quality, and the strips (in drained beds of
423 earth a few feet wide and many feet long called lazy-
424 beds or flannagan) were usually re-allocated every few
422 years. A "constable" acting for the landlord ensured
825 that proper husbandry was maintained.

The joint farm, and the stratification of tenants
175 and subtenants within the farm, disappeared as
241 "progressive" landlords began, in the second half of
423 the 18th century, to substitute compact holdings for
the "mingle-mangle of dispersed strips (Gray 1952: 46)"
000 which characterized run-rig. Hamlets or clachans

●175 Hamlets or clachans
241 (small clustered settlements) were broken up, and
306 houses were isolated on strips of land in linear,
176 single-street villages.

Gray (1952, 1957) argues that the main factor
175 behind the reorganization of land use in the Highlands
was the progressive, individualistic, laissez-faire
ideology of the 18th century. Grant (1930: 97)
attributes the reorganization to the high demand for
cattle which existed during the Napoleonic wars.
177 Highland landlords, who were very much in contact
241 with the society of the Scottish Lowlands, were
influenced by agricultural practices there. The
trend to change run-rig, which had once dominated the
whole of Scotland, to fixed, compact holdings began
in the Lowlands.

According to the "progressive" ideology of the
423 time, the giving of land to individual farmers in much
424 larger pieces than they had previously held would
422 serve to stimulate agricultural development and give
rise to a class of capitalist farmers. To give land
to a relatively few people, however, meant the removal
of a large number of tenants who had hitherto been
able to survive under the system of run-rig.

●175 Around this time, various factors had encouraged
(164) an increase in population. After Scotland's union
with England in 1707, the prohibition on the import of
cattle into England was lifted, and trade in cattle
became economically more important (Day 1918: 26).
The numerous wars of this period caused the price of
cattle to double between 1735 and 1766 (Day 1918: 180).
Clan warfare diminished; the potato was introduced;
and vaccine for smallpox became available.

175 The increase in population led to an extreme
164 crowding of land in some areas, which made agricultural
reform difficult. Many landlords tried to encourage
168 tenants of their estates to emigrate. The appearance of
a market for kelp, which lasted from the middle of the
18th century to about 1815, discouraged landlords from
implementing policies of depopulation that would
175 eliminate their labor force. An alkaline extract of
824 kelp was used in a variety of manufactured goods, such
423 as soap and glass. The seaweed was gathered by men,
424 women and children living along the coasts, and burned
388 in rough open kilns. Tenants who worked at this
(465) occupation received 1½-4, and the landlords £16-20,
per ton (Mackinlay 1878: vii); the landlord received
as high an income as £10,000 to £20,000 a year from the
burning of kelp (Gray 1957: 42).

●175 Factors which led to further crowding were the
423 development of industry and an increased demand for
241 wool in the south, which occurred when traditional
(167) sites between laird and tenant had been loosened. The
clans had been disbanded after the Jacobite rebellions
of 1715 and 1745; those landlords who had not
forfeited their estates received huge sums of money
as compensation for the abolition of hereditary
jurisdiction. They had experienced travel and the
luxuries of other countries, and were not eager to
remain on their estates. They accepted the huge rents
offered to them by sheep farmers to the south, and
turned vast amounts of land into sheep tracts. Tenants
were crowded together along the seashore, or lived on
361 tiny holdings dispersed among the larger farms or on
moorland, earning their living by doing wage labor.

Despite the factors which encouraged a high level
175 of population to remain on the land, proprietors
423 attempted to destroy the joint farm with its small,
176 dispersed holdings and collective rights. Run-rig
(166) agriculture was abolished in Argyll in 1775 (Day 1918:
180; Gray 1957: 49), and over the next 80 years it
disappeared from the Highlands (cf. Gray 1952: 49-50),
to be replaced by townships of compact holdings
surrounded by undivided hill grazing lands.

●175 Geddes (1948: 56) gives evidence that joint farms
423 were abolished in Lewis early in the 19th century.
241 Gray (1952: 50) says that by 1819 there was little
423 run-rig left in Lewis. The factor's notebook for
Breasclete, on the west side of the island, shows the
destruction of clachans around 1850, and their replacement
by linear townships.

In the Napier Commission's "Evidence" (1884) for
175 the parish of Barvas, it was mentioned that the rent
423 had been increased because of improvements made by the
632 landlord, Sir James Matheson, between 1849 and 1852.
176 Land had been drained and new townships created; and
both old and new townships were lotted and rented in
1850 and 1851 (Napier 1884: 999). The Ordinance Survey
175 map drawn up in 1852-53 reveals several interesting
423 features of Shawbost: "New Shawbost" has recently been
422 laid out; and in an area now incorporated by only a
few separate crofts on "Carnan," a cluster of houses
appears, perhaps the clachan in which joint tenants
lived, and from which they went out to farm their various
strips of land, before Matheson reorganized the land
in linear strips with dispersed housing. The peat banks
(314) in the Carnan area are almost exhausted, indicating a
(174) long period of settlement in this area.

●175 It is ironic that the attempts by landlords to
423 initiate agricultural reform and develop capitalist
424 farmers led to a destruction of the differentiated
422 tenantry on the joint farms (cf. Gray 1952: 51-56),
and a proliferation of very small units, none of which
was adequate to provide a reasonable subsistence.
These small units became fixed as individual holdings
by the 1886 Crofters Act, and the only important
distinction thereafter was between smallholders with
security of tenure (crofters), and non-crofters who
built homes on the common grazing land but had no
specified rights. Although various agencies were
established after 1886 to enable holdings to be
enlarged, only in the last fifteen years have such
possibilities been officially developed in the form
of official subletting and individual apportionment.

17 By the second half of the 19th century, a trend
423 against laissez-faire was manifest in the writings of
European scholars. As feudalism broke down, small-
holders throughout Europe were being dispossessed of
their land, which was then consolidated and enclosed.
171 In Denmark, legislation was passed as early as 1682
to prevent landlords from taking steps to increase the
efficiency of their farm production by replacing the

three-field system with improved rotation methods involving consolidation of land. The Danish government feared that consolidation of land would have meant a reduction in taxes and fighting men.

The British government was faced with the same threat as the migration from the Highlands, as the Highlands had long been a source of good fighting men.

A reaction against the materialism of the industrial revolution developed in England as small-holders sold their land to large landholders to become labourers. The Taylor Report (1954: 9) reflects the value which is still placed on country life by maintaining that crofting communities "embody a free and independent way of life which in a civilisation predominantly urban and industrial in character is worth preserving for its own intrinsic quality."

The various acts protecting smallholdings were also attempts to keep labor dispersed; to diversify and improve the use of land, and thus to increase Britain's self-sufficiency in food production. Various marketing agencies and subsidies were introduced around World War II to achieve such aims. Among the many agricultural-ists affected by these encouragements emanating from the central government were crofters.

In 19th-century Scotland, the cause of the Highland tenants and crofters was taken up, as part of the trend of the times and because a series of famines occurring in the Highlands caught the attention of Britain. After the kelp industry was destroyed at the beginning of the 19th century, landlords maintained high rents on the assumption that the depression was only temporary, which caused tenants to borrow their capital by selling their cattle (Gray 1957: 38). A number of reports were published on the plight of Highland smallholders: Fullarton and Baird (1845), MacNeil (1851), Macaulay (1878), and finally the Napier Commission's report of 1884 which was followed by the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886.

The 1884 Napier Commission Report tried to resolve the conflict between the rights of the individual smallholder and the maintenance of agricultural efficiency in a situation which still had communal elements of social organization, by recommending an organization much along the lines of the old joint farm. The township was defined as a farm, or part of a farm, which was occupied in common or in division by several tenants. The township, seen as an agricultural unit, was to be given various immunities and powers by which to achieve

stability and improvement; e.g., an executive officer, the Constable, was to be elected annually by the community, and he would oversee various improvements in the township (Napier 1884: Dep 1884: 187-9).

However, the Crofters Act of 1886 did not make the township a unit of local government. It was more concerned with protecting the individual crofter's rights than with the creation of a self-sustaining, self-correcting economic unit. The Napier Commission had recommended the consolidation of crofts which were rented at less than 16 a year, and a policy of permission by which the excess population would be encouraged to emigrate or specialize as laborers, fishermen, and so on.

Instead, the 1886 Act provided security of tenure for a large number of crofters, as well as a fixed fair rent and compensation for improvements if the crofter chooses to leave the croft. These assurances, and the creation of a variety of agencies (such as the Congested Districts Board, the Crofters Commission, and the Board of Agriculture) whose purpose was to encourage agricultural improvement by providing funds, equipment, breeding animals, seeds, advice and so on, constituted a set of incentives. These incentives combined with a number of other factors including improved transportation and the spread of

information via the technology of mass society to affect the choices made by succeeding generations. For example, young people are able to leave the island and work in British cities or abroad, sending money home to sustain their aged parents who by law cannot be removed from the croft.

E. Changing Land Use

Darling (1955) described the previous Highland way of life as a well-adapted, ecologically balanced system, in which proper use of land was attempted by limiting the number of livestock, preserving a proper ratio between cattle and sheep, and regulating the flow of stock on the land throughout the year. Ditches (farmers of turf or stone) and drains were communally repaired and cleaned. Although continuity with the previous way of life is evident today, the overall picture is one of partial use, and misuse, of natural resources. Various pressures from government, organizations and colleges have been brought in to encourage effective husbandry and land use.

a. Specialization and Individualism: The change from an ecologically adapted, intensively regulated community in which land was used intensively for subsistence

of the normal capitalist farmer in the West; but in crofting areas, these pressures reveal a strain between communal and individual tendencies.

a. Pasturage:

Although run-rig was replaced by fixed, compact holdings, the method of animal husbandry was not affected until the land began to be fenced. A single dry-stone dike enclosed the township, keeping livestock on the moor and away from the arable land. In different parts of the Hebrides, various types of herdsmen were hired to protect both the livestock and the growing crops (cf. Owen 1956-59 for a discussion of cattle, calf and sheep herdsmen in North Uist).

The township Constable had a great deal of power, which included the right to evict people from their crofts, to enforce rules of good husbandry. The last Constable of Shawbost, who died at the turn of the century, has been credited with many of legendary stature. Such as forcing an old woman with a sore leg to take her cow to the moor along with all the others. Old widows who had no one going to the fishing and hence no means of paying their rent might be evicted in favor of other permanent, land-hungry members of the village.

In the last half of the 19th century, many families were "cleared" from the district of Uig and resettled in Shawbost. According to a local version of village history, the Constable evicted persons from North Shawbost and resettled them in New Shawbost. "The people from Uig were fishermen, so they needed to be by the sea. They wouldn't take a croft in New Shawbost at all." According to another version, the crofts once extended all the way across from Carnan to the loch; when the Uig people came, the crofts were chopped in half, and the street called Sulie Bhigh was created.

Whatever effect the Constables had on land use and animal husbandry, they are now referred to as "tyrants," who went mad or committed suicide after the Crofters Act of 1886.

Cattle and horses were tethered or herded within easy walking distance from the township; sheep could be left on the moor without much surveillance. At a much earlier time another dike existed out beyond the township dike. The dikes were used according to principles found in grazing schemes today: the sheep were kept far out on the moor, beyond the second dike, until midsummer when they were moved in closer to the village. At this time they were still out of the arable land of the

township, but on land which had been rested and which thus provided better grazing. During the winter the sheep were allowed past the township dike, to graze along with the other livestock on the stubble of corn and barley, and mineral-rich seaweed by the shore.

After World War II, the individual crofts began to be fenced, and the township dike was no longer required. The fact that sheep were still grazed communally on the moor meant that everyone had to go out together on a particular day rather than individually, but fencing allowed more individual variability in land use. Less use was made of crofts for raising crops, and they could be used for grazing sheep all year round.

b. Grazing schemes and apportionment:

Another illustration of the individualism of land use is provided by comparing the number of apportionments granted by the Crofters Commission for Lewis in the last 10 years with the number of township grazing schemes carried out during the same time (see Table 37). A crofter may apply to the Commission for an area of land (apportionment) to be sliced out of the township's common grazing land and given to him for his own use; theoretically, his share in the township's common grazing land is reduced if his application is granted. [See pyk-ciuj/st]

Chapter 3

CHANGING ECONOMIC STRATEGIES:

LAND, SEA AND LOOM

In Lewis, the change from a relatively self-sufficient community in which land and sea provided the economic base occurred in the context of the phenomenal rise of the Harris Tweed industry. In the following pages, the history of Harris Tweed is discussed in relation to changing strategies involving exploitation of land, sea and loom. Associated features of social life are discussed. Social boundary systems are defined and discussed in Chapter 4.

a. The Sea

Around World War I, mine boats, as long as 27 to 30 feet, driven by sails, used to go out regularly from the Shawbost harbor. From five to seven men, usually neighbors, had "shares" in a boat. They would go out fishing during the night and return the next day. "We baited our lines with eel, for ling. We would catch maybe two or three hundred. I remember once we caught 1300."

On one of the crofts along the strand are the ruins of two curing houses, where the fish were salted and dried. Ling, cod, skate and halibut were cured and sold to local merchants for exports. "The name as Lewis" in Ireland was very dry. Then was the main industry. Then the English came with their steam trawlers; they ruined the fishing here, and then went west to Ireland and the Faroes. In Ireland they got fined for poaching, but here the trawlers often ignore the three-mile limit. But the fishing was the mainstay here, before the Harris Tweed came along."

One man returned from sailing in 1934 and bought a boat for £2. He had 30 lobster pots and made 17 one pots by selling the lobsters at a shilling apiece. Another man, who returned from the United States in 1934 because of the depression, bought a share in a 14-foot boat. It was made in Ness, at the northern tip of Lewis, and cost about £14. He and his partners went out every night possible; the fish provided an important part of their income. The boat was sold in the 30's. "It wasn't being kept up enough." Around World War II there were as many as twenty boats; six fished at night, after a day's work. Today there are four 12-foot boats in Shawbost, each shared by four or five men. The boats are used intensively for fishing during certain times of the year,

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but not as often as in the past. In the past boats were in danger of being smashed by the strong east winds that gained easy access to the Shawbost harbor; but today, because so many cars are available, the boats can be sheltered in the more protected bays of Carloway, five miles up the coast to the southwest of Shawbost. Despite this protection and the increase in income since World War II which would enable more people to buy boats, the number of boats remains small.

In the past certain people were esteemed for "knowing the wind and the sea." The sound of the surf coming from different directions presaged different kinds of weather; a line of white across the bay meant bad weather in a few days. A fifty-year-old man says, "My father and grandfather could tell when a storm was coming. They needed to know, and they didn't have radio and television to tell them. I would know the signs, too, if I had listened to them."

Not only was there local fishing, but the men used to hire themselves as crew on other fishing boats. Many surnames reflect this history. One family is known by the nickname "Urachan," the surname of a man who lived on the east coast of Scotland and on whose boat the head of the Shawbost family had once worked as

a crew member. Another family is called "cook," the first job which a novice had to assume when he joined the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The man came back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats, barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods. They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover the stone-walled or wood-lined high dubh (black house) for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a season. While the men were away at the fishing, the remaining members of the family lived on credit from the local shops, and depended on the good will of their neighbors.

Many men joined the armed services, and were especially sought after by the Navy and the Merchant Service. In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in the Naval Reserve.

Around the turn of the century, until the first world war and the growth of the weaving industry, the girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to the boats to see you off. You could go all the way to Aberdeen for 12/6 on a special fish-worker ticket."

The girls went from the south of England to Shetland in the far north.

In the far north. "There were two fishing seasons. For one season you went to Fraserburgh, Stornoway, Berwick and Peterhead; and then the winter fishing was in England, at Yarmouth, Scarborough and Lowestoft. I remember in Yarmouth we didn't kiss the English girls. They smelled, it was such a dull color. We liked the pure white Scotch breed."

They lived in small huts, and the work was hard but full of fun. Neighborhood girls used to get together, bringing bedding and different items in large chests to share in the housekeeping. Three girls worked together in a crew, and there were as many as six sharing a room, in double bunks. Some of the huts were so small that there was barely enough room for the beds and the cupboards. At night the boys would come in off the boats. "You were so tired from being up since early morning; but you were always able to dance. You were treated with respect; the youngsters today aren't so good." The women who married non-islanders that they met at the fishing were not likely to return.

When the weaving started on a large scale, the girls were glad enough to have work at home, even though the pay was hard." But many continued their temporary absences from the island, working in hotels or as

domestic servants among the well-to-do families in Glasgow and other cities on the mainland (see Appendix Island).

When the weaving started, some men settled at home permanently, but many continued to come and go between the sea and the loom. In 1931, the ratio of men to women in Lewis and Harris was 100:111. The men came home for temporary jobs, such as the construction of roads or houses. Jobs are told of the common practice of sending for an extension of leave. The man found it easy to join the Royal Reserve because of their fishing experience; and it brought them a crofter's fee and expenses-paid trips to places off the island for several weeks of training during the year. But when the wars came, the loss of men to the Navy and to the Merchant Service was heavy.

B. The Land

The number of arrears in rent in the Barvas rent ledger at the turn of the century indicates the small amount of money in circulation at the time. Between 1899 and 1914, several crofters paid part of their rent "by work," and six had some of their stock "uplifted by decree." For example, a Widow Catherine lost "one red

For example,
a Widow Catherine lost "one red
mare and foal (£10), one dun one (1/3/10), and one dun
heifer (11/10)." One family is said to have paid rent
by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir
James Matheson), thus earning the patronage. "Fiddler."
Their income stopped abruptly when the fiddler at the
time, a great-grandfather of descendants now living,
converted to the Free Church and smashed his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1901 it was noted in the rent ledger
that two crofters wanted "first chance of a vacant croft
in the township." In the first quarter of the century,
a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighboring
township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too
precious to take out of cultivation and give to the dead
of another village.

A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living
from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was
young. They used to bring of the cattle to fertilize the
soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was
only 2½ acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight
stacks of barley to see us through the year." There were
a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the stream
to grind the barley. The "old Horse mill" which was
recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project
was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got

People kept several cattle, some of which were dry most
of the time. But because everyone was keeping cattle,
milk would be gotten from a neighbor. One man was
planting eight or nine hundredweights of potatoes before
the war, some of which would be used to feed the livestock.
"You couldn't buy milk then, so you had to keep a cow.
and even though people were weaving, they weren't getting
so much money as they are now. It was the barter system
here for a long time. So they didn't have the money to
buy feeding stuff. It was better to spend the time
planting potatoes. Now of course there's more money in
the weaving."

After the war, an act was passed which provided free
milk for school children. Milk for the Shawbost school
was supplied by a farm near Carloway. The school first
started buying the milk from the school milk van. A strike
held by weavers during the war had increased the payments
for weaving, and the barter system had stopped. More
money was available. As the loom was more profitable,
more people stopped keeping cows, and relied on their
neighbors for milk, or got their milk from the van bringing
milk to the school. And as the cattle got fewer, the
market for bottled milk expanded. A dairy was started on
the west side of the island in the mid-1950's which carries
milk from Uig to Ness.

The number of cattle diminished as milk became
available by other means; and when the township receding
crofts came into extensions, the need to go to the
shellings for an "early bite" was removed. The shellings
that remain in use today are huts of tin, wood and
concrete within easy walking distance from the highway,
used on weekends and during summer holidays. Most of
these modern shellings are close to Stornoway, and serve
as summer retreats for the relatively harried urban
dwellers such as publicans. On the west side, the
shellings are no longer used, but remain as a theme of
songs and in nostalgic memories.

C. The Loom

Gle Mor, the big cloth, was woven in the Highlands
and Islands for hundreds of years. Martin Martin,
who travelled through the Outer Hebrides in the late 17th
century, describes the export of "plaiding," and the
practice of washing or shrinking the woven length of
cloth (Martin 1716). Weaving was done on wooden looms,
and produced only for local markets until the middle of
the 19th century.

By the middle of the 19th century, the failure of
the kelp industry, decline of fishing, and destruction

of potato crops by blight had contributed to widespread
poverty. The production of cloth for non-local markets
was promoted initially by philanthropic proprietors in
an effort to ameliorate such conditions. Lady Dunmore,
wife of the Dunmore family that owned Harris during most of
the 19th century, was largely responsible for developing
a market in London and elsewhere for cloth woven in Harris.
The cloth was popular first among the aristocracy, who
wore it for hunting and other sporting occasions. The
romantic image of a cottage industry promoted for charitable
purposes contributed to the market value of the tweed.

The market expanded in the second half of the 19th
century, aided by ladies of leisure who followed the example
set by Lady Dunmore (cf. Hunter 1964: 24-26). The
production of cloth for a commercial market spread from
Harris to the southern Isles, but was slow in coming to
Lewis, where the proprietary, Sir James Matheson, provided
the people with construction jobs. After Matheson died in
1876, weaving for outside markets began in Lewis in the
parish bordering Harris, and the name "Harris Tweed" was
used because a market for cloth of this name had already
been established. By World War I, weaving for outside
markets was being done in all four parishes in Lewis. In
1899 there were 55 looms in Lewis and over 200 in Harris.

By 1911, the number of looms in Lewis had increased to
300-500 (Hunter 1964: 32).
By the late 19th century small mills had replaced
domestic spinning and weaving in the Highlands on the
mainland. Weaving continued to be a home industry in
the Hebrides where it was encouraged by the support of
non-profit-making organizations such as the Highland
Home Industries and Arts Association, the Scottish Home
Industries Association, and the Crofters Agency--all
established at the end of the 19th century--and also
encouraged by the patronage of the aristocracy, who
wore it for hunting and other sporting occasions. The
romantic image of a cottage industry promoted for charitable
purposes contributed to the market value of the tweed.

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1. The Harris Tweed Industry in Shawbost: Coinneach

Ban, a man who started a tweed business on the west side
of the island eventually developed into a large mill
with equipment for spinning yarn and finishing tweeds.
was said to have been a rink-taker, a man who lost the
first £50 he borrowed, but borrowed another £50 and never
looked back, a man who throughout his life gave fellow

238 175 157 472 businessmen nervous breakdowns because of the risks he continued to take. "He was planning to start some business. At one point it was going to be either distilling or the tweed, and he just happened to go for the tweed."

Some say Coinneach Rod had physical disabilities, developed or aggravated by military service, which made him unable to work like other men, and hence he was forced to find other ways of earning a living. He was a merchant, like other islands who became entrepreneurs in the tweed business.

According to one version of Coinneach Rod's life, he began to handle tweed on a large scale as the result of an accident, when an agent selling tweed for a merchant on the east side of the island arrived on Lewis for the first time, asked for a "Kenneth Macleod, merchant," and was directed to Coinneach Rod of Shawbost.

"He was also an earthy, natural, easy man to get on with. He never changed, even after the money came. He would sit the buyers down with a plateful of cuddies and say 'Dig in,' 'Eat up.' He always ate them whole, and never spat out the bones. The buyers liked that. They liked his easy manner."

175 441 452 Between the first and second world wars, the merchant was an extremely powerful figure. When men and women

175 441 462 went away to the fishing, their families bought groceries on credit. "If the merchant thought the fishing season would be good, he let them have as much as they wanted; otherwise he restricted them in their buying."

288 175 157 444 437 472 The barter system continued in Shawbost long after it stopped in Stornoway. A weaver was given credit in Coinneach Rod's store, until it closed in 1948, for the exact amount of the tweed. He never gave money. "You had to get just the right amount of goods, even down to tuppence in matches." People were forced to buy huge jars of jam which they did not really want or need. Some "cunning" fellows would slip a two-pound pair of shoes into a shoebox marked 15 shillings. "Coinneach Rod would ask if you wanted a wireless, or would a tweed jacket fit your son. You couldn't refuse, or you wouldn't do any weaving for him for a long time."

Coinneach Rod bought looms for many weavers, and they 288 175 157 444 472 452 would weave only for him to pay off the debt. "People living on the dole with a large family would go to his store and ask him to buy them a loom. He would get the man a loom, and then get him a lot of tweeds to weave so the man could pay him off. It was two tweeds for yourself and one for the loom."

288 175 441 2. Centralisation and Specialisation: Centralization and specialization in handling the production of the tweed

288 175 441 462 developed from the concentration of power in the hands of the merchants. In the early days of the industry, all the processes involved in the production of a finished length of tweed were carried out by individual families. A man used wool from his own flock, and with the aid of other family members, dyed it with vegetable dyes, carded and spun it by hand, wove it, washed and shrunk it, and found his own buyer. Dyeing wool, spinning yarn, and washing ("waulking") the finished length of tweed 286 232 175 462 was usually done by women. In Harris, the entire process of producing a tweed was carried out by women, but in Lewis the weaving was done largely by men.

175 286 A woman in her 80's recalls the process of weaving when she was young. Hand-spinning had died out by this time, although the question of whether tweeds woven with such yarn could legitimately be called Harris Tweed was not resolved until 1934.

"About 1916 or so it took about two weeks to a month 175 283 to do a tweed. You bought the wool from the Agricultural 175 Board. Sixteen bags of wool, costing about 120, would 433 do four tweeds. You needed four one-stone bags per 433 tweed. Then you would spend a day gathering a bag of 288 286 324 crotal (lichen scraped from rocks and used for dye). One bag per one bag of wool was required for the dye. After

175 283 175 283 175 283 432 dyeing the wool it was spread out, dried and sent to Stornoway to be made into yarn. The yarn was then sent back, and the weaver wove and washed it. About six women were required to do the waulking (the process by which the cloth was washed and shrunk).

175 284 432 "In those days the weavers designed their own patterns, and sold their own finished tweeds. I remember going into town with my brother, we had two tweeds in the cart. We went into a shop to sell the tweed, and the man said it was poor weaving. He didn't want to pay the full price for it. I told my brother to roll it back up, we would take it somewhere else. As we left the shop, he told me I had 'good cheek.' In the next shop the merchant didn't say anything, and gave my brother the regular price. We went home with £60."

286 288 175 176 176 433 433 433 433 386 The great demand for tweed encouraged the development of more efficient methods of production. One by one the various processes of production were taken over by specialists, and gradually these specialists were brought together under one roof. Large boilers for dyeing wool were supplied as a result of actions taken by the Congested Districts Board, which was formed in 1897. The Scottish Home Industries provided chemical dyes. The most 286 288 324 difficult and time-consuming processes were carding and 243 spinning, which small mills on the mainland began to do

286 288 175 176 176 178 433 433 433 433 386 on commission for weavers around the turn of the century. By the early 1920's, four mills on the island were carding and spinning wool on commission; and one mill brought looms into its premises. Lord Leverhulme, who bought Lewis in 1918, saw the value of concentrating weavers in one place and of improving the technology. He encouraged the introduction of Hatteraley domestic 463 looms, which eventually replaced the wooden looms. The individual weaver also did his own warping, but after World War II the mills began to hire warpers to work full time on mill premises. Transporting the tweeds, which used to be the responsibility of the weavers, is now the responsibility of the mills. Today all processes except the actual weaving are handled by mills, most of which are located in Stornoway.

Such steps in specialization and centralization made sense to the weaver. One of the older weavers recalls, 175 175 "In the late 20's or 30's you could buy a yard of Harris 286 288 433 Tweed for about two shillings. It wasn't economical for 433 any crofter to dye and spin the yarn, weave it and sell it 435 for only two shillings a yard. As the mills enlarged, they could make it with the machinery because they could make it an economic proposition."

However, the tendency toward specialization and 175 centralization was in direct conflict with the reasons 286 288 322

175 175 288 288 288 433 433 433 433

288 paucity of passengers, which provided rides to and
175 from town many times a day; but with the "development,"
178 that is, the centralization, of industry, public trans-
472 portation deteriorated. Visitors to the island unfamiliar
494 with this history are struck by practices which they interpret as coming out of a clockless past, such as the present custom of stopping the bus midway in its journey to Stornoway so that the driver can eat dinner in his mother's house while all passengers wait on board. Such a custom is fairly recent, and indicates the deterioration of public services to populations which are marginal to the centralized source of these services.

288 During World War II, when the demand for tweed was
175 high and the number of weavers small, the weavers staged
[468] an effective strike by which they received an increase in pay and the burden of cartage was shifted from them
[178] to the mills. This did not affect the system of trans-
[494] portation until the mills realized it would be cheaper to run their own transport rather than to pay the independ-
[493] ent drivers a "cartage fee." The mills then began to use their own vans to deliver yarn and collect tweeds directly
175 to and from the weavers. Once the mills took over trans-
288 portation, they tended to deliver tweeds to weavers
178 closest to the mills rather than to uphold the principle
[494] of equal distribution. This practice (made possible by
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[361]

175 the 1934 decision to change th
178 "islander") led to the weavers
288 houses in town and working in
[361] houses. Unequal distribution
to Shawbost's relative prosper
of weaving in more remote part
[464] unequal distribution of tweeds
to maintain a large labor forc
the growth and development of

288 3. Instability of the Inc
433 industry has undergone a numbe
178 depression have alternated wi
[458] (See Appendix B for the fluctu
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mark.) The very conditions w
[435] market value—the decentraliz
[466] element—also limit the possi
industry, and contribute to t

288 When a business remains
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he previous world war;
years after, tweeds could
ed, because any cloth
business can keep weavers

288 441 458 in Shawbost: a very small business, which until recently did not even have its own transport but hired facilities when they were needed and simply went into hibernation when orders stopped coming; a medium-sized business, which went into liquidation in 1971; and a large business, which continues to survive despite a depression which has continued since the late 1960's.

288 441 464 [439] Harris Tweed is sent to markets all over the world; but because of the difficulty of maintaining a large labor force, the filling of orders is sometime slow. If large orders cannot be met, weaving as an island-wide occupation cannot be maintained. The number of weavers on the island fluctuates, as slack periods come and men adopt the time-tested strategy of temporary migration in search of other jobs. One of the factors which aided the weavers during their strike of 1943 was the fact that so many other jobs were available during the war that the future of the industry was jeopardized.

[468] [175]

288 464 [178] In the last five years the number of mill employe has decreased from 800 to 500. The decrease is due in part to the introduction of more efficient techniques and new equipment, but there is little room for improv ment in the production of tweeds because the human element, the weaver, is essential to its product

sheep were let out of the pens, and a fight broke out between the two groups of people.

3. Crofters vs. Non-crofters: Another division within the township has developed largely because of the attention paid by outside agencies to "crofting." The Crofters Act of 1886 defined crofters and gave them a protected, privileged status. In fact, very little distinction existed between non-crofters (sometimes called squatters and/or cottars) and crofters, and in some places, such as the Isle of Scalpay, non-crofters even out-numbered crofters. Both categories were linked to each other by bonds of kinship and mutual dependence. Non-crofters were in fact favored economically. They did not have to pay rent, but had the same opportunities to graze stock and plough land as did crofters. Many crofters themselves had bualls, units of land not recognized as part of the croft and not included in the land for which rent was paid but recognized as property by the villagers themselves to the extent that these bits of moorland passed down through families or could be given by one person to another. Even today, a young girl thinking of getting married says her future husband might build their house on her father's bualls, and a man may build a house on moorland "given" to him by his wife's aunt. Officially, a non-crofter had no "rights" to a house which he built on the common

241 grazing land and he could not transfer such property in
175 a will. Similarly a crofter had no right to his bualls,
423 and could not formally protest if another crofter sought to appoint this land for his own use (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of appurtenancies). But in both
[229] situations, informal understandings superseded legal rights.

Various legislative acts which followed the 1886 act focussed attention on the crofter. Various matters associated with crofting are handled by a Crofters Commission. Crofters have access to grants and loans to improve land and build fences and homes. They may buy goods at low prices in a nearby cooperative store. As crofts were fenced, land around the townships became scarce and non-crofters found it difficult to keep large numbers of cattle and horses.

Within recent years it has become possible for non-crofters to gain title to the small plots of land on which their houses are built. Some loans are available to them for building houses. Non-crofters have access
[654] to the various subsidies available to all agriculturalists, such as the subsidies for raising hill sheep and beef cattle. There is still the feeling, however, that
[329] crofters have rights which non-crofters do not have and that in conflicts over scarce goods crofters have

175 F. The Decline in Self-Sufficiency
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Until the second world war, when weavers began to
175 earn larger sums of money for their weaving, the
175 township was relatively self-sufficient. The land was
[241] more thoroughly cultivated, and the village boasted a
175 number of local specialists. These specializations
463 were linked with particular family lines. Certain
592 families were blacksmiths; others were undertakers, joiners, cobblers, or midwives. As generations succeeded one another, occupations were not thrown open in the competitive, individualistic way of the mobile city. Certain occupations were seen to be "naturally" linked with particular families. Sometimes it was said that people of a particular family (which might include quite a number of collateral lines) had hereditary characteristics which suited them for particular occupations.

"Tagey" was an expert bone-setter. He wasn't a doctor
[969] at all, but he could set bones better than any doctor. And he used to let blood, when people were dizzy with threatening strokes, or had pneumonia. It was in the people. He was a direct descendent, through his mother, [827] of the Murrays of South Shawbost, the people who had the still and were the blacksmiths for generations. He got that ability from them."

105 Whatever the rationalization, cobbler Fathers begot
463 cobbler sons. The present postmaster's grandfather was
[205] the first postmaster in Shawbost, and when help is needed in delivering the mail it is the postmaster's first
[164] cousins who are likely to help out. As late as the 1950's, the township still had its own undertaker, a man who had learned from his father the art of laying out and dressing the body but who didn't like the job very much and was happy enough to turn it over to an undertaker who travelled from Stornoway.

The island has had a veterinarian, based in Stornoway,
463 for the past 30 years or so. Earlier, certain blacksmiths
[232] and farmers treated ailing livestock when the crofters
[230] needed them. For human ailments, there were many cures
[298] by plant and spell.
[463] The man who was the last village blacksmith died
[324] that long ago. His smithy was in the center of the village. His home and smithy were mortared stone buildings with
[142] corrugated iron roofs that were once estate houses for the men who worked the experimental farm established by Sir James Matheson in what is now New Shawbost. The blacksmith was also a shopkeeper and butcher. As a
462 blacksmith, his work was principally shoeing horses and
324 making harrows and peat-cutters, which he did with the
874 aid of one and sometimes two apprentices. One of his

Chapter 5

GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL MARGINALITY

182 Despite the growth of the Harris Tweed industry and the gradual disappearance of some of the techniques and expectations associated with heavy reliance on the land and the sea, an important factor which helps to sustain some of these patterns is the social and geographical marginality of the islanders.

When the young men who survived the second world
105 war returned to the island, most households still had
[128] horses to cultivate the croft, but a few years later
[230] the tractors replaced the horses. The labor government,
[298] which came into power after the war, passed legislation
[463] which extended the processes of centralization that had
[324] proceeded since the breakdown of the clan system. The National Health Service was established. Free milk became available in schools. More scholarships (called "bursaries") became available for further schooling.
[207] Television came in the 1950's. In short, the islander was exposed to a number of new alternatives.

132 To the extent that persons became involved in these possibilities, the island became peripheral or marginal. The island has become more dependent upon central

45 which official records are kept by the mills. If you
437 may jokingly to a fisherman who has brought in a large catch that he should put some money aside for the income tax man, he is likely to reply, "We'll have to
463 catch me first." A tradesman may be earning large sums
[232] of money doing local work as a skilled specialist at the same time that he is collecting social security. A man may move in and out of a number of different jobs, and never report his income. "Occupational pluralism" (cf. Brox 1966) rather than economic specialization has developed as a strategy in various countries along the North Atlantic fringe, such as Iceland, the Faroes, northern Norway and Newfoundland, as well as the west coast and islands of Scotland. In these marginal areas, incomes from specialized occupations is, in the long run, unpredictable and inconsistent.

In times of national economic depression, strikes,
[178] shifts between socialist and conservative governments,
[298] and other crises, crofting provides an alternative
105 strategy. During the last war, many islanders who had
[772] left the island (including some who had been quite
[142] prosperous in the cities) returned to spend the duration of the war in the village, glad of the relative security provided by the relative abundance of food and less strict
000 rationing. During a huge snow-fall that occurred on

175 During a huge snow-fall that occurred on
241 roads in the 1950's, the mobile grocery vans and other
[229] supply vehicles could not come out to the west side,
[449] and a group of men had to make an expedition into town for provisions, after which many families made certain that they always had a good supply of meal, salted mackerel and herring. Many villagers have gotten deep freezers to store beef and mutton; others say they do
[464] not trust the freezers, that a failure in electricity—which occasionally happens in this region of gales and far-away repairmen—would bring disaster if they depended fully on them for keeping their meat. When the tweed industry is going through one of its periodic depressions, more men go out more often to fish. "I've been going out every night for the last week or so. I don't have a tweed, and I won't have one for the next six weeks. I don't know what I'm going to do; maybe I'll go back to sea. Three of us caught one hundred mackerel last night. I salted my share, and didn't give any of them away. These are the hard times. We're going to need them during the next six weeks.

A few people raise beef cattle, depending largely on subsidies for encouragement to do so. A few are beginning to keep cows again for milk, giving as their reasons that freight charges make the bottled milk too

522 In nation-wide comic strips and jokes, the Highlander
181 plays the role of the clown, the rustic country cousin. The comic strip "Angus Og" portrays a kilted Highlander, sly and canny behind his apparent simplicity, tricking the landlord and searching for the Loch Ness monster. Stories of the lazy, dour crofter abound.[1]

164 When young men go away to the Army or Navy or to
181 work on the mainland, they say that they feel like
"Foreigners." "Thirty years ago the island was very
175 isolated. It was difficult to get away. There were
182 so few education grants available. I got my teaching
871 certificate and wanted to get a post back on the island, but was told there wouldn't be a vacancy for another fifteen years. So I went down to England, and found I had to be at least as good as an Englishman if not better in my school work."

"When I went into the RAF, I had never seen light
172 switches because we used paraffin lamps. An English
364 chap told me to turn the light on, and I didn't know which way meant on or off. That memory still sticks in me."

[1]Even a high official in the Highlands and Islands Development Board tells a joke; that he "presently going round Westminster, of all the places, with a group of Highlanders." He goes on to explain that "Gaelic is brusque." Gaelic, if there was a corresponding word in Gaelic, "Tir Gaelic," replied the Highlander, "we have no word that conveys such a sense of urgency."

172 "I was in the Navy during the last war. We were
156 in Norway, and got an invitation to visit the palace. I didn't go. I was afraid I'd make a mess of things."

"This place has an inferiority complex. It's mainland-oriented; so you feel outlandish."

The new director of an association which promotes
595 the speaking of Gaelic is a Lowland Scot who learned
197 Gaelic when he was in England. He was working in England
186 and, as a Scotsman, felt so much like a foreigner that
181 he decided "to be a real foreigner"—so he studied Gaelic. Motives which prompted legislation protecting crofting also lie behind the development of organizations which attempt to protect and preserve the Gaelic language.

An Common Cuidhealach, the Highland Association
105 which promotes the speaking of Gaelic, was founded in
1892 in a town on the mainland, and has always been urban-based. Eighty years passed before the association established its headquarters in Stornoway; but the headquarters were relegated to bindquarters when the director found that he needed to be on the mainland to exert pressure on influential organizations for aid and support. The organization is condemned by ministers on the island, who see it as an organization that sponsors light-hearted
[993] singing. The magazines and books which it publishes or
[214] sponsors are seldom read by the rural islanders. The

197 behavior characteristic of the dominant group; but for
[illegible] those that remain in the village, the language serves a
[illegible] unifying function, although its form is limited in
576 diversity of elements.

Jokes are most humorous when told in Gaelic; and
197 conversation is punctuated with Gaelic proverbs and old
528 stories. There is a vast oral lore, expressed in Gaelic,
[illegible] of the village and generations of its members and their
[illegible] characteristics and escapades, a dense map of human events.

All of these tales, proverbs and jokes have been told a
829 thousand times, but retain their unifying function. When
speaking of today's children who do not go to the shelling,
a man says sadly, "They won't have our memories; this
place will mean less to them than it does to us." The
moor is not an empty wasteland, but a map of memories.
103 Thousands of place names are known, and behind every place
175 name is a story. The major landmarks such as mountains,
lochs and headlands tend to have Norse names, from the
days when the Norsemen raided and settled along the island
coasts; but the smaller hillocks and fields and bends in
the stream have Gaelic names, for example, Shelling of
the One Night, Field of the Slaves, Slope of the Stone
[129] Boys, Hillock of William's Shelling. To know these place
names and their histories is to participate in a distinct
community, which has been made even more distinct by contrast
with the dominant society.

Chapter 6

THE REELS AND THE BOTTLE

571 Two of the most important networks in the village are
[illegible] the converted members of the Free Church, and the drinking
[illegible] fraternity of the males, especially the unmarried males
who lack the obligations of married men, and who can
therefore drink with greater freedom.

A. The Bottle

293 The word "whiskey" (or "whisky," as it is spelled in
175 Scotland) is almost synonymous with "Scotland," despite
the fact that the earliest reference to whiskey in that
country appears only in the late 15th century. The word
is derived from the Gaelic uisge beatha, "water of life,"
a translation from the Latin aqua vita.

Martin Martin (1716: 3) describes the types of liquor
made from "corn" in the Outer Hebrides as Common Usquebaugh,
Treatarig (three times distilled), and Usquebaugh-baugh
(four times distilled). He states, "...two spoonfuls of
this last liquor is a sufficient Dose; and if any Man
drinks more, it would presently stop his Breath and
endanger his life."

Excise taxes were first levied on whiskey in 1644,
and stills of less than 500-gallon capacity were prohibited.
Local, illegal distillation continued for a long time
after 1644, and throughout the Highlands and Islands
tales are told of "the excise man" and how he was outwitted.
The Island of Fabbay in the Sound of Harris was evacuated
in 1843, supposedly because of illegal distillation that
was being carried on there. The ruins of old distilling
houses are found throughout Shawbost. Villagers say
that these were used in the time of their grandfather
or great-grandfather to distill whiskey for occasions
such as weddings.

In Shawbost, until recent times whiskey was associated
mainly with special ceremonial occasions: the birth of
[527] a child, weddings, and wakes. When a baby was born, the
father went into town for whiskey to be given to visitors
[illegible] coming to see the baby. Having whiskey at a funeral was
[illegible] so important that many a widow sold her cow to provide
it, so that people would not say it was a bad funeral.
A course of stitch up all night in the house of the
deceased has stopped, probably in part because a prayer
meeting lasting from midnight until 2 a.m. was introduced
with the intention, according to one minister, of preventing
the wake from becoming too joyful an occasion. Whiskey
was abundant at New Year's, and at weddings. "The dance

293 (at a wedding) would be held in the barn, with sheets
175 lining the walls so that if a man staggered against the
[illegible] wall he wouldn't dirty himself. There were four and
one-half gallons jugs of beer and a few bottles of
whiskey. Sometimes someone would spew on the floor.
People got drunk on very little, because they didn't
have it so often."

Occasionally the word went out that someone had
[illegible] brought a jug of beer from town, and the men gathered in
someone's barn or weaving shed, usually on a Saturday
night.

"The war changed that. When you were at sea, you
293 had to think of day to day. There was no tomorrow." When
175 her brother was away at sea, most of the money he earned
[illegible] was saved for him, and when he got back up gave it to his
to do whatever he liked with it. The men would go into
town drinking. They had money, and they had nothing else
to do; and they had learned to drink during the war.
Maybe if the TV had been around then they wouldn't have
started that kind of drinking."

A. Bothans: Because most parishes in Lewis were
[illegible] "dry," that is, no licensed purveyors were allowed, a
[illegible] journey of many miles had to be made to purchase beer and
[illegible] whiskey in Stornoway. Around 1930, Hessnen (many of whom
were sailors) began to bring back from town several kegs

[illegible] of beer at one time to avoid having to make the 50-mile
[illegible] round trip very often. Men met to drink in barns or in
[illegible] high relief, the houses in which people gathered for
evening visiting, but for this purpose eventually built
huts of stone or concrete, or used shelters already
available such as the shells of old buses or Nissen huts
built by the armed forces but no longer used by them.
[341] These shelters, separate from the rest of the village,
were called bothans. One or a few men brought the drink
205 from town, and the drinks were sold at cost. In 1963
[illegible] a bothan was raided by the police and the men fined.
[illegible] But in 1967, a court case found six men not guilty of
[illegible] trafficking in excisable liquor because there was no
evidence that money had changed hands. The lawyer for
the accused man argued that the drink was not "for sale."
It was simply made available, and drinkers made "voluntary"
contributions to a common kitty.
175 The first bothan in Shawbost was started after the
205 second world war, by a sailor home on leave. Liquor was
[illegible] brought to an old Nissen hut, which eventually was replaced
by a small concrete hut with gas lighting. ("It was
built overnight, because if anyone knew it was being built,
they would protest." "It was built inside the Nissen hut
so no one would know. On the day they were tearing down
the Nissen hut, a minister was passing by and he praised

[illegible] the Lord that his prayers had been answered.") Another
[illegible] bothan was started in an old bus.
[illegible] Today only one bothan exists in Shawbost. It is a
[591] concrete structure, lit by gas and heated with coal,
which is burned in an expensive fireplace. Like most
bothans, the one entrance faces away from the main road.
Unlike most bothans, it has a small window which is
curtained but nevertheless reveals whether or not the light
is on inside. Most bothans present blank, windowless and
doorless faces that give no indication whether or not the
building is occupied.

[208] Every three years a poll may be taken within a parish
to determine whether the parish should be wet or dry.
[166] After the parish of Uig voted itself "wet," the Doune Braes
Hotel was opened in Carloway, only five miles from Shawbost.
[329] One of the arguments for making the parish "wet" was that
if drinking in the bothans would cease, and men would drink
under more controlled circumstances. "The married men
usually went home from the bothan at a reasonable hour,
but the single men just stayed there talking all night.
At the hotel, they have to go home at 10:00."

Despite the opening of the hotel so close to Shawbost,
the bothan remained open. The drink was cheaper and the
atmosphere less formal. Unlike the bothans in Reas, however,
[591] the Shawbost bothan was usually open only on Saturday, the

B. The Bible

791 1. The Free Church: "A man in my great-grandfather's
[illegible] time," said a 65-year-old man, "talked about the great
178 change within his generation, from the days when fanks
were held on Sundays to such strict observance on the
Sabbath that not even a cow could be tethered."

The first evangelical minister on Lewis came to the
105 parish of Uig in 1824. The Rev. Alexander Macleod belonged
[illegible] to the Church of Scotland, but Lesmaster Macleod belonged
[illegible] it broke away from the Church of Scotland in the "Disruption"
of 1843. When he came in 1824, he found "superstition,"
"spiritual darkness," and "polluted remains of Popery,
[illegible] since it was the religion in this place...the only notion
they had of Christianity (Dalton 1925: 7-8)." The southern
[illegible] isles of the Outer Hebrides are still Catholic, but in the
[illegible] Protestant isles of the north, holidays associated with
[illegible] Catholicism are avoided, and stories are still told of the
burning of Protestant martyrs by Catholics. Catholics are
disliked "because they believe that they can buy their
way out of sin," or that the bread and wine of Communion
is really the blood and body of Christ. "A Catholic is
anointed with oil and left to die without food or water.
We are privileged that we are not like them."

In the Disruption of 1843, about one-third of the
[illegible] people and 39% of the ministers left the established church

[illegible] to join the Free Church (Donaldson 1960: 100). The Free
[illegible] Presbyterians left the Free Church in 1893 because they
found it too "liberal." Several dissenting groups,
including most of the members of the Free Church, formed
the United Free Church at the turn of the century. After
[658] a long court case, the church property was left with the
Free Church, which continues to support itself without aid
[illegible] from the state. Collections and funds solicited by
[illegible] villagers who visit the homeless periodically are sent
[illegible] to a central office in Edinburgh, which pays all ministers
an equal salary, despite variations in the size of their
congregations. About one-fourth of the church's income
comes from Lewis. A minister's salary is between 1900-
1,000, and the upkeep and fuelling of his manse is included.
The present minister in Shawbost uses oil and coal, but at
an earlier time received loads of peat from the villagers.
The villagers bring extra food to the manse when visitors
are held, although the church donates about L20 to be used
to provide for visiting ministers.

[illegible] The Free Church contains a number of presbyteries,
[illegible] of which Lewis and Harris are one. An Assembly is held
each year which parallels the Assembly held by the Church
of Scotland. (According to one minister of the Free Church,
"A strait wall divides the two.") The Free Church publishes
a monthly report of church activities and amount of money

[illegible] sailed on an awful lot to give prayers in church, and
[illegible] hard for some of them to get up and speak." The Reverend
[illegible] Scotland notes in his diary that private meetings were
[illegible] instituted on the Island in 1824.

A quarterly meeting (quinne raish) is held in Stornoway
[illegible] to which many of the converted from the villages go. The
[illegible] Communions are held twice a year. "Special services," or
"small communions," held soon after the Communions, are
intended as evangelical services for young people, that
[illegible] services explaining people to convert. These services,
which last from Monday through Friday, were started in
Reas after the first world war.

[illegible] A. The Communions (Cuisinhean): Communions are gi
[illegible] twice a year, during autumn and late winter. They are
scheduled for different weeks in different parts of the
island, and neighboring congregations close their churc
when Communions are being held nearby, so that during th
Communion season some persons may attend a number of
services at different churches.

In the days when transportation was limited, visitors
[illegible] coming from a distance away stayed for an entire weekend
[illegible] All households prepared food and made ready for any over
[illegible] night visitors who might arrive without prior warning.
[illegible] Guests often slept on mattresses laid on the floor.
[illegible] Facilities of transportation improved

2: Thompson

- 175

[For information on the culture history of the island
23-24, 29-31, 39-52, 55-70, 73-87, 91-95, 97-105, 1
154-155, 157-166, 168-171, 176-190 and 193-196.]

l of Lewis and Harris, see category 116, pp. 14, 19,
09, 111-124, 127-131, 134-137, 139, 142, 145-151,

Dean Monro, in his 15
of wild fowl and mention
stay for seven or eight da
wild fowl and feathers. T
'There is in Ness a most a
years back, at the hazard
six-oared boat without eve
the *Account*, could not be
while some of the men w
stay in the boat on the
island. This custom of hun
geir still continues. Under
the gannet is protected b
continue their old custom
a special exemption (from
close season) of the gann
Sulasgeir is one of the gre
seabirds.

The Loch Roag islands

The one large inhabit
Bernera, though technical
connected to the mainland
of the parish of Uig, as
population reached a pea
to about half that figure.
Bernera, which in Dean M
but which has had no pop
Monro describes it as ful
earth between.

Also in Loch Roag are
supported families: Pabb
and none since; Vacsay
Orasay in 1891 had one

The Flannans

Belonging again to the
known as the Flannans,

49 account, refers to the vast numbers 175*
ns that the men of Ness sail there, and 223
ys and bring back a boat full of dried
he *Old Statistical Account* (1796) says:
dventurous set of people who, for a few
l of their lives, went there in an open
en the aid of a compass.' The boat, says
pulled up out of the sea, and therefore,
vorked on the birds, the others had to
most sheltered side of the sheer-cliffed
ting young gannets (or 'guga') on Sulas- [185]
the Protection of Wild Birds Act, 1954, [671]
y law, but so that the Ness men could
, a Statutory Order was passed making
31 August each year at the end of the
nets on Sulasgeir. With North Rona, [136]
at breeding grounds for British oceanic

ed island off the Lewis coast is Great 361
lly it is not now an island, having been 162
d of Lewis in 1953 by a bridge. It is part 175
are the other islands in Loch Roag. Its [131]
k of 730 in 1911, but has now fallen [631]
Off the west of Great Bernera is Little
Monro's time was 'inhabit and manurit',
pulation recorded since the 1861 Census.
l of rough little craigs, but with fertile

three islands which, now deserted, once
ay had 17 people in 1861, 9 in 1881,
had nine men in 1861, and none since;
man and one woman, but none since.

e parish of Uig is the group of islands 131
or Seven Hunters, some twenty miles

175 342 361 the eighteenth century these 'black houses' would be replaced by houses of stone and lime, and a few of those survive.

172 174 712 Of the fort built by Cromwell on the Point, no signs remain. For tactical reasons, the best site would seem to be the neck of the Point, from which the guns of the fort could defend the houses, stores and quays. The irregular building line near the point marked T, a Town House at a later period, may correspond to the northern angle of the fort. The fort appears to have been standing when the original drawing was made for the engraving in the Old (or First) Statistical Account of Stornoway, *c.* 1793.

175 361 By the time Wood drew his plan in 1820, houses on the Point no longer looked exclusively on to the axial street. The main alinement of interest came to be the shore, marked by a properly built quay. Today, the Point Street houses have fallen into decay but many older houses still stand in fair repair along the 'Beach' or Quay.

175 361 34 Thirdly, from the nineteenth century, until 1914, two-storey, flatted tenements, hotels and houses of middle-class people were built upon a grid that followed upon the old field plans. In an alternative plan, proposed about 1820 but not adopted, a diagonal vista opened out to the Established Church, built in 1794 on rising ground. The modest Seaforth Lodge which had stood across the harbour was replaced in 1850 by Stornoway (or Lews) Castle, its pseudo-Tudor style designed to please the new improving landlord, Sir James Matheson, who had purchased Lewis in 1844. Presented to the people on the break-up of the Leverhulme Estates in 1925, a new technical school has taken it over. A few villas also grew up on outlying roads. Thus, a mere village in 1801, and among the smaller burghs

175 361 162 226

175 361 162 226 of Ross and Cromarty, with populations of from 1000 to 2300 in 1841, Stornoway leapt ahead by 1851, growing with the rise of the fishing trade. Including the literally floating population of fishers, its numbers exceeded 4000 in the summer of 1921, though falling below this in 1931 when the census was held in the spring.

175 778 361 Still another stage, a fourth, seemed in sight when, in 1918, the first Lord Leverhulme made his bid to centralise the scattered, failing fishing industry of the Island at Stornoway. A canning factory was started (south of the area shown on the plan), only to be dismantled before its completion, then recommenced and again dismantled at "Leverburgh", South Harris. New housing commenced. When this great venture closed and population stagnated, the grandiose proposal to reopen the diagonal vista on Wood's plan and centre it on some great new building, remained a dream. The failure of Leverhulme's great enterprise and its hopes led to discouragement for some years. Yet it is possible that the vision of change given to the Island may have contributed to a renewed capacity for enterprise, individual and communal.

175 361 [288] Later extension had to await the growth of the Harris tweed industry, and the erection of spinning-mills to provide yarn for the rural hand-weavers. The town has extended beyond the plan in two main directions: to north-east with villas and housing schemes and to ESE. with the great new mills where kippering sheds were numerous from the mid-nineteenth century until after 1919.

361 366 [162] Although Tarbert is a shopping centre for Harris and has its spinning-mill, Stornoway has no rival on the Island. The adequate depth of its harbour, combined with its position and access from sea and land, have given

361 369 632 [656] [654] by co-operation of three authorities: the
the Piers and Harbour Commission, and
Trust as owner of property, including Le
its grounds. The social situation is of qu
interest, and an attempt to describe some o
made in Appendix II, on the Stornoway
Lewis Association.

(c) CHANGES IN ISLAND POPULAT THE FUTURE

1. *From 1801 to 1939*

175 162 [731] Until the middle of the eighteenth centu
of population was periodically checked or ev
famines and epidemics, such as smallpox,
In 1801 the total population of the Outer
round numbers) was 21,700, and in 1831
Of this total, Lewis carried 9200 and Harri
and, a generation later, in 1831, respective
3900. In the graph (Fig. 12) the curve
average for the five landward or rural p
Island (excluding Stornoway Burgh) indic
steady numerical increase there, almost to t
[731] century. Following the evictions after 1831
famine of 1846–48, emigration caused a fall i
islands (*e.g.* in South Uist, Fig. 12). Forty
1871, the Outer Hebridean total reached
of which Lewis alone, with 21,000, now g
half the total, and Harris—in spite of an int
owing to evictions—4800. By 1901, in spi
the southern isles, the total for the Outer He
a peak of 46,200. Of this, Lewis already cont

29,000 and Harris 5270. From 1901 to 1911 rural growth slowed down and ceased thereafter; but even by 1921 there had been little change (rural Lewis, 28,380; Harris, 5280).

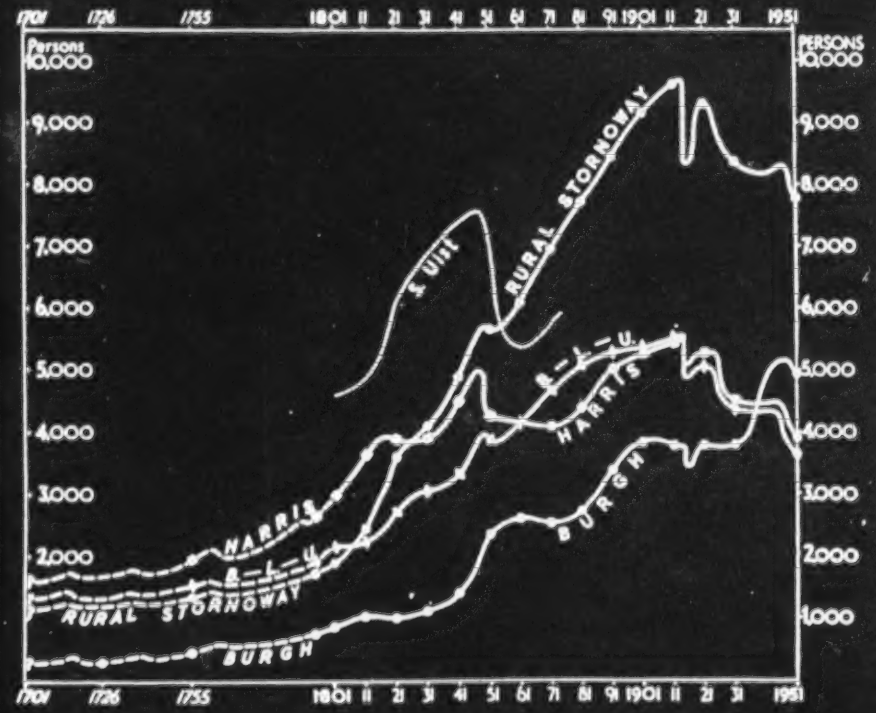

FIG. 12.—Graph showing changes of population in Lewis-and-Harris from *c.* 1701 to 1951. (Because of boundary changes the curves for the parishes of Barvas, Lochs and Uig have been averaged and are shown as B.-L.-U.)

The great exodus from the Island came three years after, in 1924–25, when Leverhulme's expenditure on labouring wages was over, the war bounties had been spent —partly upon the refitting of boats—and when fishing was hard hit by the destruction of the Russian market. Simultaneously, a wet summer spoiled the crops and prevented even the drying of the peats.

little sign of Norse blood, can hold their own as fishers with the men of Ness.

Third, it is still commonly stated not only that the "great majority" under the clan system were "without any legal status", but that their tenure "depended on the good will of the chief or tacksman".[1]

As the last lawbooks of the Gael were taken from Lewis by its first mainland lord in 1611—never to be heard of again—it may well be that, as recognised in the Northern Isles, so in the Western Isles, peasant tenure was permanent according to regional law. In practice, mere 'goodwill' is so uncertain a quantity that if this statement had been true, it is hardly credible that communities could have remained so stably rooted as their race-types show them to be. Evictions of groups or individuals at the whim of chief or tacksman would have broken down their homogeneity of race. In the Lowlands, where eviction had become so frequent by 1500 and insecurity for the mass of the country people has prevailed ever since, such localisations of race would be unthinkable and do not exist except in certain fishing communities who possess a pride, almost a caste-code, of their own: the Newhaven fishers within Edinburgh remain apart, with a dialect and a dress of their own. Great stability of tenure—in fact as in customary claim—is shown by the racial homogeneity of Gaelic communities.

Lastly, it is common to state that the nobility and gentry of a countryside constitute its 'old' or 'original' families. It is true that some land-owning families seem 'old' compared to recent purchasers—successively the merchants and lawyers, venturers and planters of the

[1] From a representative report on the Highlands and Islands, that of the Scottish Economic Committee, 1938 (Historical Preface, p. 9).

137 by reclamation, notably at the Macaulay Demonstration
311 Farm on the 'peat moss' of Arnish Moor (south of
185 Stornoway), then too small to be shown, and in South-west Harris where new crofts were laid out in the thirties.

137 The six main types of vegetation in the Island may be grouped as three. First are the Hill Pastures and Moors: (1) 'Rocky' among the bare hill-tops of Harris and Uig, and (2) 'Fair' on favourable slopes, which merge into (3) 'Marshy Grass Moors' of coarse grass and sedges, heath and rushes. Secondly come (4) the vast brown 'Peat Mosses and Moors', either smooth and wet, with sedge and cotton grass, or channelled and cut up into hags; near the broken edges of the island cliffs this expanse is often fringed by (5) the 'Heather Moor'. Thirdly, by the sandy bays, are (6) the 'Machar lands', *i.e.* the 'Sandy Pastures', rich with clover; though narrow, this coastal plain is all important to stock-rearing and potato-growing, and so to settlement. In traditional terms, these three groups form hill moor, peat moss and sandy shores: *monadh*, *mòine* and *machair*.

(c) CROFTING AND THE CROFTERS' YEAR

1. *Place of Settlement and Choice of Work—Past and Present*

175 Lewis and 'Harrey', as they were called four centuries
114 ago, were well described by Dean Monro,[1] and his descrip-
311 tion is fundamental to the present scene. "Harrey is very fertile and fruitful for corne, store and fishing, twice mair of delving is in or of teilling", which appears to mean

[113] [1] Dean Monro, *The Western Islands of Scotland . . . in 1549*, reprinted by A. Mackay, Stirling, 1934.

175 that the spade and foot-plough (*cas chrom*) were used for
114 double the area ploughed. From Monro and from the
311 precise Statistical Accounts of the eighteenth century, it is clear that pony-drawn ploughs were usual in the smoother
[241] parts of Lewis. In North Harris are 'abundance of
[127] Deir'. We must not forget here that 'faire' and fertile
[136] are comparative terms for the West. "Lewis is faire and weill inhabit at the coste, ane fertile and fruitful countrey, for the maist part beire [barley], with 4 Paroche Kirkes."
[226] There is "ane castell callit Stornoway . . . with 3 salt loches, very fine for take of herrings . . . [and] infinite fresh water loches. In the Lewis there are 8 waters with take of salmont. . . ." There were also "Whales . . ." In "a cove 2 fadoms deep at the ebb sea, uses Whytuns (whitings) to be slain with huiks", there were "very many haddocks and Men with their wandes sitting [as today] upon the Craiges of that cove, and Lades [boys] and Women
[136] also. . . . In this Ile there are many Sheip for it is very guid for the same. For they lay furth ever one mures and glens and never enters in a house and their wool is bot anes in the zeire pluckit off them in some fauldes."
[236] In Zetland wool is still plucked, not sheared.

The description of reclamation is specially worthy of note: "In this countrey all is peit mossland at the Sea cost, and the plaice where he wins his peitts this zeire [year] . . . there he sawes his corne the nixt zeire, after that he guidds it weill with Sea ware" [*i.e.*, improves or
[245] manures it with seaweed]. On "Ellan Colm Cill [an islet apparently on the east coast south of Stornoway at the mouth of Loch Erisort] Macloyd of the Lewis has ane faire Orchard, and he that is Gardener has that Ile [rent] free. . . ."

175 Around the coast of Lewis no absolute limit is set to
185
311

175 reclamation, which Dean Monro has described as he saw it
311 Technique and economic return must be balanced agains
185 the factors of nature. Although natural conditions ar
[182] difficult, they may not form a complete explanation of th relative arrest of reclamation in the nineteenth century for here separation from the agricultural advances of th Lowlands by barriers of mountain and sea caused the re tention of unprogressive methods until the wave of agri cultural improvement had spent itself by the middle o
[178] last century. To this cause must be added other influence
[171] contrasted to those leading to peasant advance in the rest o Western Europe: the political history of the Gaeldon after 1745, the revolution in land tenure and in the socia life of the upper classes, the commercial, industrial an imperial development of Great Britain. All these factor help to explain the contrast offered to the Lews by wester Denmark and western Norway, lands in which the so and climate are comparable to those of the Island. Ye reclamation is proceeding, as on skinned land at Nes where plots of ground have been steadily broken in b pick and by spade or plough.

226 Settlement and agricultural land are placed aroun
[361] the coasts with their fishing grounds. In spite of wha was often said—that the Lewisman is and has always bee
[311] primarily a fisherman—fishing alone is not enough t account for this distribution, for the agricultural conditio
[241] on the whole are also best along the coasts, or were so fo early settlers. As Stevens remarked, the light sand 'machar' lands are there, and the fringe of partially im proved soil close by; drainage is, on the whole, bette while shell-sand and sea-ware are to be had for manur
241 The sea-ware also serves still as fodder, while one or tw
824 sorts are sometimes cooked for human food; carraghee

(Chondrus), for example, is used as a thickener of milk to make a cheese-like mould. Dulse is also plucked.[1]

The type of coastal form and vegetation alters the relative importance of crofting and fishing—and the balance chosen is significant. (1) Where the coastline is smooth, and leads inland from sandy machar with its clover to sand-ameliorated 'black land' of smooth topography lending itself to ploughing, and the whole is backed by extensive pastures, the tract is relatively well-off for crofting but may be ill-placed for fishing. (2) Where the coast is either indented or salient with rocky loch-sides or steep promontory cliffs, a rolling or rocky topography, little shell sand, and (on the promontories) a shortage of pasture, it is ill-placed for crofting; but it is favourable to fishing either by virtue of sheltered sea lochs or of salient promontories, one or other side of which tends to give relative shelter to the fishing ground (chosen according to the direction of the wind, to avoid being blown on to a dangerous, lee shore). Hence the site of a settlement has had much to do with the choice and opportunities for a communal vocation, from prehistory to the present time, as we shall see.

Significant local characteristics emerge in the names of the ancient districts (inset with the Map of Vegetation, Fig. 8). In the north is Ness (Norse, 'nose' or cape); along the west is Cladach (Gaelic, a stony beach); while in South Harris the western 'Machar' contrasts with the eastern 'Bays'. 'Park', a sheep-run in the early nineteenth century, was the Norse 'East-fell'. In contrast, the parishes of Lewis centre on four churches, linked to the road-system. This radiates from Stornoway in five directions: east, NE., NW., SW., and south to Tarbert,

[1] Pulling dulse (*Rhodymenia*) is one of the 'delights' of Iona as told in a poem long attributed to Saint Columba!

Harris; South Harris is ringed by a road, extended recently to take in the more isolated 'Bays' townships.

2. *The Crofts and Crofting Ways*

The prevailing modern unit of cultivation and tenure in the Islands is the croft, the land held individually by each small landholder or 'crofter'. The Anglo-Scottish term croft (Gaelicised as *croit*) meant steadily cropped, infield land, manured and never left fallow, and distinguished from the unmanured outfield with its long fallows and poor out-turn. This term came into common use in the Highlands and Isles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the splitting up of the older unit of cultivation and tenure, the small joint farm, with its little team of fellow-workers or 'small tenants'. By 1830 group tenure had been replaced by individual holding of crofts, but with the pasture still held in common, as it is to the present day, and an allotted strip of the machar.

The Lewis croft consists of a nominal five acres of crops, of oats, barley (or bere) and potatoes, sometimes with recent additions of turnips, and more often a small hay crop. The word 'nominal' is used because during the nineteenth century the croft had often been subdivided between two or more sons, without addition by reclamation to bring each subdivision up to the acreage of the original croft. Moreover, in the hilly southern part of the Island, cultivation is in little patches instead of in continuous fields. There, narrow ditches have been dug and the soil heaped up to form little ridges about ten feet by four, banked up by turf. These are known as *feannagan* in Gaelic, or in English, 'lazy-beds'—a term in use as early as the time of Burt, two hundred years ago. Thus only about two-

461 part-time or (to use a convenient phrase) 'overtime',
462 meaning by this a special effort such as cannot be maintained for long. Women's work, on the other hand, has a continuous element of 'part-time' occupations, which can be simplified to 'light' work, when a woman's services are also needed at harvest or to carry in peats, and the like.

462 One vital point in the life of peasant women is too often uncontrolled: maternity, with its crisis of childbirth.
000 Among wild creatures the young are normally born in spring, when food is abundant and daylight long; but among mankind there is no clear season for parenthood.
462 This has its compensations, for neighbour-wives can, and do, help one another, turn about. It also has its drawbacks where women have a large share in the seasonal round; and a heavy period of work, such as creeling peat, may strain a woman for life if it comes when she should have light occupation. It may well be that old Gaelic customs, from courtship through marriage, provided protection.

462 The seasons being still the same, the earlier sequence of
221 traditional tasks is maintained through the year with certain differences. The upper graph shows the men ploughing
• 175 or delving, as the land permitted, from February to a full-time peak in March–April. From then, women helped increasingly. By March, nets had to be got ready and the boats put in order for the fishing season, closing in September. In townships well situated for cod-fisheries, fishing for sale must have been almost full-time work for many crews, in the season; elsewhere it seems to have been no more than light work for food alone. Ashore, women baited the lines and dried the cod. In April–May the women would see that their few ewes bore their lambs and suckled them in safety; and in spring the cows would

[see p. 91-analyst]

462 calve. For peat-cutting, the men took advantage of the
221 driest months, with a peak in May–June; and after the peat stacked on the moor had dried through the midsummer
• 175 months, the women set out to creel it in, before the autumn rain should have made the bogs too soft, and stacked it near their doors. The fishing season usually closed with some herring fishing in August–September. The clipping, or rather pulling off, of the wool as it began to be shed, was done chiefly by men, in July–August. Then, too, the absence of fences made herding doubly necessary to protect the growing crops.

Some relief was given by the departure of many of the cattle to the shielings, where a few girls and women would stay through July and August, once men and women together had driven the cattle there. Cows kept at home were, and still are, tethered, or herded close at hand.
[178] Even now the hay harvest is insignificant, and until this century it hardly existed, except for a little put by in a
221 tiny barn. Towards the end of the summer, roofs were stripped of their thin thatch, and fresh turf was laid on
175 the light rafters and covered with barley straw. Then as now, harvest came in September–October, all helping in reaping the oats with the scythe or the sickle, and pulling up the barley by the root. With the onset of winter winds, rain and cold, the chief outdoor tasks of the year were over.

Throughout the year there were small jobs to be done, and in the past, owing to the imperfection of implements,
[462] constant small repairs were necessary. Indoors in winter
[286] the women prepared the wool together and wove it. Baskets were also made then, the coarser types by men. By all these means the essentials of subsistence were largely met, so long as the seasons were reasonably good. Except for salt for the housewife and iron for the smith, the food

221 and clothing, firing and shelter produced met local needs.
• 175 Further questions of early economy belong to Part Two, as do those of the festivals by which the seasons were initiated and closed, along with the phases of human life.

221 A century later (as indicated in the lower graph), agri-
[178] cultural tasks were much the same, but the character of fishing had altered greatly. Herring fishing was at its
[433] height in the Island for some fifteen years, or half a generation, before 1914; but it never recovered from the difficulties of the war and after-war periods. The curves of the summer, autumn and winter fishing indicate the 'full-time' activity of summer, and the 'part-time' work of
[462] early winter. Not only the men, but the women participated, the women being employed in gutting and kippering. Boats and men fished further afield. Women were employed in gutting in early summer in the Scots East Coast fishing, which preceded that of the West Coast and was followed by the East Anglian autumn fishing. Some line-fishing continued locally in summer, but it has now almost ceased. The building and repair of roads increased after the middle of the century. The carting of peats, stacked by the roadsides, lessened 'creeling'; but it is particularly haulage by lorry which has replaced carrying by the creel, so lightening women's labour.

[178] Indoors, primitive crafts tended to be superseded as
[571] machine-made articles replaced those of native material and manufacture; but the *ceilidh* ('*cailey*'), the meeting 'together', continued, though the arts of song and poetic
462 improvisation declined. In Harris the women had woven
283 and spun for centuries and have continued to do so for home use and sale; in Lewis the women gave up weaving in the last
286 century, few spinning since then and none weaving. Thirty
178 years ago only an occasional weaver, always a man, could be

2. *From Black House to White House*

342 Discontent with the old black house grew with the
177 knowledge and experience of better housing in Stornoway
178 and on the mainland. The congestion which developed
during the nineteenth century meant that often one house
• 175 was fouled by another above it, leading to typhoid epi-
342 demics. While the smoky atmosphere of the 'black
161 houses' inflamed the eyes and irritated the respiratory
164 system, the roof was high and the fire kept the air in
motion by day, ventilating it to the chimney hole, while
[354] the lack of glass often made it necessary to work with the
door open. The ravages of tuberculosis came towards the
end of the nineteenth century, when Islanders went to our
crowded towns and, not being immunised, were danger-
ously infected. Returning home, too often to linger and
die in a house now provided with tiny, fixed panes which
permitted a closed door and made it stuffier than before,
178 patients spread infection. Flight to a tiny, air-tight
342 wooden cabin or to a small white house of stone and lime
often followed. The availability for the first time of planks
[313] and timber, a certain practice in boat-repairing, and pos-
[177] sibly acquaintance at first- or second-hand with Canadian
wooden houses, may have influenced the choice of wood.
The early 'white' houses, with an attic lit by skylight,
were airtight, for the windows were too often fixed or only
[354] opened at the bottom. The door was left open in warm
weather, but it was not high enough to allow the escape
of the stale, upper layer of air which the women breathed
as they did their cooking and baking.

342 In the inter-war period, particularly in its last decade,
746 the 'black house' was being abandoned, not for something
178 worse, but far better. The Government-aided houses have
656

361 luck in land, but a disadvantage where control of a single
[423] area is desired by one man. Regularisation of roads,
[182] houses and holdings is relatively modern, for crofts and
dwellings were once grouped in hamlets usually close to
[172] the seashore. The early hamlets can still be made out
from their ruins among the rocks, sometimes sketched in
the 'six inch to mile' Ordnance Survey plans. They were
without formal order or arrangement, each homestead
within its boundary wall. Where ploughing was and is too
difficult, the soil is heaped up in ridges, 'lazy-beds', and dug.

361 Shawbost, on a rocky part of the west coast (six miles
491 south of Barvas) consists of three main sections: a scatter
of houses and ruins by the enclosed loch, two main streets
linking the loch to the main coastal road, and inland another
short street. The three can be made out on a 'quarter-
• [175] inch' map. The two main streets were laid out by the
[311] Estate Officers following removals in the mid-nineteenth
century from another part of the island, Uig, and the third
running inland was laid out still later, when population was
growing and land was needed. When the third street was
laid out, the landlord, Matheson, lent good plough-horses
for preliminary reclamation. The irregularly placed black
houses near the sea are tending to be rebuilt close to the
main road.

361 In addition to this type of movement, farms 'broken
178 up' once more into crofts have been laid out on a regular
311 grid plan, each house placed on a corner of its five, ten,
or twenty-acre plot (*e.g.* Galson, Dalebeg, etc.). 'Skinned'
[654] land may also be reclaimed for crofts by squatters tolerated
by the community, or on a regular grid by agreement of the
assembled crofters, guided by the Department of Agri-
[491] culture. Thus two distinct tendencies are seen: the grid
plan in new settlements, road alinement in existing ones.

361 in solid black, and the third in hatching (Fig. 11). First,
174 upon the little peninsula or 'Point' which protects the
inner fishing harbour of the river there grew the nucleus
361 of the town, with its Castle upon the rocky islet now con-
226 cealed by the steamer pier. Sheltered from the waves by
the peninsula and from enemies by the Castle, MacLeod's
504 galleys and the early fishing fleet must have congregated
in the inner harbour. Protection from storm was specially
needed until, in the nineteenth century, a quay was built,
with space for marketing and handling the herring.

174 Inland from the Castle was the little church of the burgh,
361 dedicated to Saint Lennan (L). The little town can be
imagined stretching inland from the church, its dwellings
[346] built along the 'Point Street' axis, until it met the track,
road or street crossing the neck of the Point. The largest
church of Lewis proper, now in ruins, stood apart from
the burgh, at the south-west extremity of Eye Peninsula.
Until trade developed, the backs of the houses would have
been turned to the shore. To north, on the landward
side from which cattle would come, the market developed.

• 175 Secondly, in the seventeenth century, thatched houses
361 were strung out along Point Street and the shore for the
Gaelic settlers, the fisher- and craftsman-crofters brought
342 here to found a burgh and commercialise fishing. During

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102 *Key to Fig. 11* (opposite)

361 Buildings on John Wood's plan of 1821 are shown in black and radial
174 streets then proposed by pecked lines. Existing buildings are
shown hatched. The harbour development plan of 1946 (pecked
lines) is shown by courtesy of the Stornoway Pier and Harbour
Commission; it is now in execution.

L = site of St. Lennan's. T = former Town House. TH = Town House.
× = site of Castle. + = modern churches.

(Based on a British Admiralty chart with the permission of the Controller o, H.M. Stationery Office and of the Hydrographer of the Navy.)

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

184 Comparisons at the present day are most illuminating.
[791] In the Hebrides one may pass from Calvinist Lewis-and-Harris to Catholic Barra, through South Uist, where Presbyterian and Roman Catholic dwell, side by side, in mutual respect. Although their home life, economy and language are the same, the influence of a comparatively
[121] recent divergence in religion is marked. Such Island evidence, present and past, forces one to re-examine conclusions upon life in the Lowlands accepted until recently, and to seek for the truth upon earlier forms of life in common and for their meaning today throughout 'the North and West'.

175 Ancient elements of unity, and later ways in which
423 these were broken, adapted or remade, region by region,
427 are being unravelled. The Old Estate Plans, made at the outset of the agricultural revolution, show these immedi-
621 ately before the re-planning of fields and farms (*circa* 1750–90). These plans also reveal the existence of still
178 earlier types, not otherwise recognisable even on the spot.
[184] With their rentals (when available) they reveal the ways in which old joint farms were placed under a single tenant, as in Lothian, or were split up among several tenants, as in Ayrshire.[1] From such geographical data, both the economic and the deeper social aspects of rural life emerge with new clarity. Such data may be linked to Planning Surveys of land and rural life for tomorrow.

621 Now, although so fundamentally equalitarian within
427 themselves, these hamlet communities of the Gael were subjected to the overlordship of a chief or laird, either directly or through an intermediate gentleman-tenant, a
174] 'tacksman'. History, with archaeology read in history's

[1] For Lothian, see Arthur Geddes (1938 and 1951); for Ayrshire, see
172] J. H. G. Lebon, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, Vols. 62, 1945 (pp. 7-13); 63, 1946 (pp. 100-110). Further references in Bibliography.

13]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

184 verses would ring false to them! Before 1939, two-fifths
241 of the rural pupils of most non-crofting counties came or
361 went in the school year—most of them the children of
166 farm servants. Their schooling suffered, and their
teachers might be reduced to despair; indeed it is to
[182] educationists, rather than to agriculturists, that we owe a
[871] survey of these facts. When they leave home to be 'hired',
[155] the young folk learn to fend for themselves but may suffer
in the learning: stability of character and endurance in
attachment are hard to form.

It would be difficult to overstress the tragedy of the long-continued break-up of rural communities in the Low-
175 lands. From the later years of the English invasions, as
178 when Major wrote with his knowledge of Scotland in 1500,
241 this break-up continued through the early, largely unre-
361 corded phases of the agricultural revolution, down to the
later phases from 1750 or 1800 to the present day. No
166 one who has worked with fellow-servants on Scots farms
155 will under-estimate their sterling qualities. But the break-
up, the tragedy, happened. It was boldly sketched by the
[114] Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston (to 1929) and verified by
Miss I. F. Grant (1924 onward). Beginning from intimate study of well recorded and surviving ways in the Highlands and the Hebrides, Miss Grant realised the significance of earlier Lowland life in the farm-hamlet or ferm-toun, as Lowlanders themselves could hardly have done. Comprehension of this break-up of community brings out the value of the enduring elements of communal life still recorded, remembered and surviving in the 'Outermost' Hebrides, at the core of 'the North and West'.[1]

[1] Ideas outlined in this section are developed in A. Geddes (1938–54). Detailed references will be found in the Bibliography.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

182 meaning that the men of that village, and its immediate
226 neighbourhood, were the last to put to sea and the first to
241 return. The Barvas folk could retort that they would
have been fools to do anything else on a straight exposed
329] coast; and that anyway their pony-drawn ploughs were
461] of more use than the foot ploughs of the rocky south.
A form of provender taken indirectly from the sea was the
sea-birds and eggs from the sea-cliffs and islets like Rona,
north-west of the Butt. This helped to support a few
families in St. Kilda and on the rocky Shiant Islands south-
east of Harris.

175 Fishing remained backward and primitive, however,
226 until the nineteenth century. After developing in a
178] promising way, it was checked before the First World
War, and fell into decay during and after it. Decay has,
504 of course, been widespread. In 1935 the chief ports of
501 the East Coast, from Leith with Granton northward by
Fraserburgh to Wick—a round dozen—had still an average
of 250 to 300 vessels, 3000 in all. These were chiefly of
steam or motor auxiliary power and valued (with fishing
gear) at £2,750,000. Orkney and Zetland, too, had each
their 300 boats. The whole West Coast, however, from
Stornoway to Ballantrae, had only 2000 boats, valued at less
than one-tenth of the fleet of the East, and worth only a
fraction of this, to judge from prices in the open market.
Nearly 400 boats were still on the register for Lewis and
Harris (Stornoway district) and another 300 for the rest of
the Outer Isles. But fewer put to sea each year, even from
Stornoway itself.

182 A major drawback to herring fishing in the Stornoway
226 district is the uncertainty in the movements of the herring
shoals. On the Clyde, moreover, herring can be sent fresh
to the city but further north they must be cured. Whereas

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (19

182 on the East Coast a
226 comparatively well-m
can be expected, Sto
their main migration
varies and curers ha
curing stations such a
influx at the height
partial compensation
fishing in winter.

226 While fishing fro
mackerel still supplie
[178] with long lines in win
white fish, sun-dried
ant export though de
importance since 191
small boats with two
and two ponds have b
and the other at Stoc
Conditions in 1935 a
I (iii) and II (iii).

6. The

221 It is appropriate
fitted together into t
ago, and shortly be
[182] The Lewisman's yea
[175] with their temperat
century wrought ch
[178] herring fishing grew
away again after the
[286] become important, t
between the brief pe

461 Men's work can
462

[TEXT CONT

nd in Orkney and Zetland there are
harked seasons at which the herring
ornoway appears to lie marginally to
ns. Thus the amount of the catch
ave been disinclined to set up large
s those which deal with the enormous
of the season on the East Coast. A
is found in the continuance of herring

m rowing boats for saith, lythe and
es food for home in summer, fishing
ter and spring brought cod and other
and salted, which became an import-
clining sharply after 1900 and of no
9. Lobster fishing is undertaken in
or three men from many townships,
een reopened, one on Bernera, Lewis,
kinish in Harris to store the lobsters.
d 1951–53 are compared in Appendix

Annual Rhythm of Life

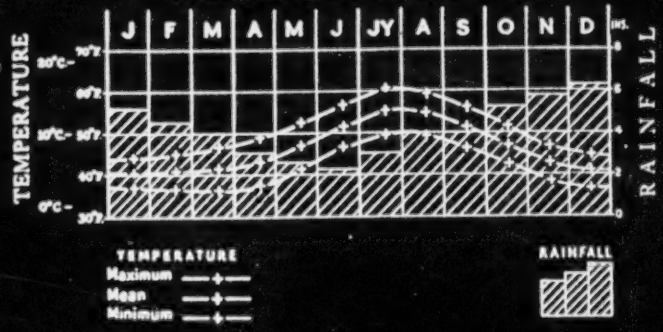
here to show how fishing and crofting
he seasonal calendar a hundred years
fore and after the war of 1914–18.
shows its relationship to the seasons,
are, rainfall and wind (Fig. 9). A
anges: cod fishing declined as the
in importance; but the latter fell
war. Partly as a result, weaving has
he men fitting into the idle periods
ks of spring and harvest work.
be roughly estimated as either light,

NUED ON PAGE 22

132

(a) TEMPERATURE AND PRECIPITATION

Monthly averages for Lewis (Stornoway)



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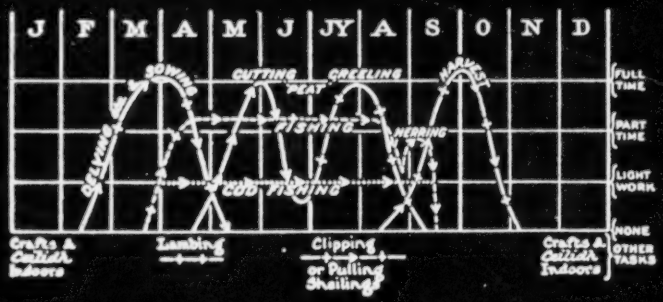
(b) ANNUAL RHYTHM OF SEASONAL LABOUR c. 1800



[178]

(c) ANNUAL RHYTHM OF SEASONAL LABOUR 1900–1930

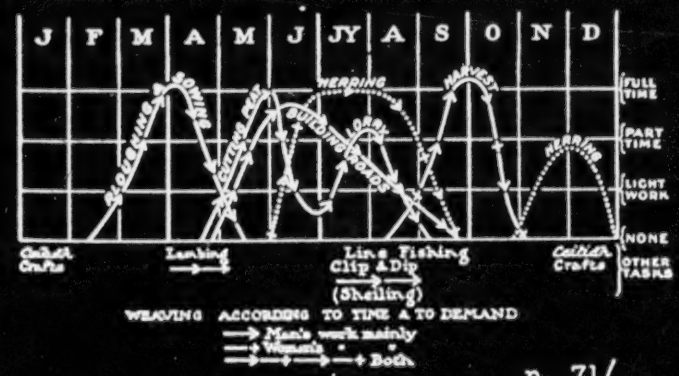


FIG. 9

p. 71/

(c) FARM-TEAM AND BOAT'S CREW

The strictly equal division of rent on each joint farm shows the equality of sharing among its workers by 'run-rig'. By this system, periodic pooling and redivision kept the land in convenient blocks, a wet part here and a dry one there, all shared out to give each man an equal chance whatever the weather might bring. Such sharing was not mere static division of goods: it was the means for co-operative work, in ploughing and harvesting, or cutting peats, on land, and in manning a boat for the fishing.

For ploughing, two or three men were needed—one leading the horses (walking backward and singing his encouragement), a second to hold the plough and perhaps a third to turn the sods; but four ponies abreast were needed to haul the plough, and each tenant possessed only one or two. In addition, the plough might be preceded by an instrument to clear the ground, a 'reestle', requiring two horses and one man. A Gaelic proverb notes the selection needed in the horse team, and one disabled by age could be replaced as leader by another. Ploughing was necessarily co-operative.

The rockiness and hilly ground of Uig and Lochs diminished the usefulness and, no doubt, the number of ploughs, but the importance of their fishing was some compensation for poor agriculture. In 1790 there were ninety ploughs in Barvas parish, where they were no doubt of ancient usage: a ratio of one plough to five families, or one per joint farm. To judge from the smoothness of Stornoway parish, ploughs were probably used there in a similar ratio.

While some jobs were done by no more than two people, —as when a ridge or 'lazy-bed' was put in order, the

couple advancing one on either side of it—many other tasks were definitely team-work. Such was peat-cutting. "When they are making peats, five people are employed. One cuts the peat, another places it on the brink of the ditch where it is dug; a third spreads it on the field, a fourth pares and cleans the moss; and a fifth man is resting, ready to relieve the man that cuts. The women are seldom at this work, but the men help one another alternately; sometimes they must rest satisfied with fewer hands; but the above is the full complement of men required to perform the work, according to their tastes." Buchanan's description was written 160 years ago (1793); it remained true till recently and generally it is so still. There was thus a normal team practice for work—even a man to rest was not forgotten! As the Gaelic proverb puts it: "They won't make power (add strength) without a threesome and they'll limp without a foursome!" (*Cha deanar treine gun triuir, 's bidh iad crubach gun cheathrar*). In Gaelic, as in Scots, one speaks of a team according to its number, as "a pair, a threesome, foursome" and so on, up to a tensome (*deichnear*). In Lewis the farm-team was usually a foursome or fivesome.

Only in exceptional cases was land worked and held singly—as when a smith was kept busy at his anvil in ploughing-time and harvest. Thus in 1715 one or two rural smiths had single holdings of average value or more (£1), and one artificer or tin-smith (caird) a holding of minimum value (5s.); and in the burgh all the small plots were held singly. As the women wove, at home mostly, no male rural weaver held a single plot; his weaving could be done at slack times, so long as there was light; at busy times he worked on the land with the rest of his team.

On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an

On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an outlying reclaimable patch of arable, lying near distant, little-used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chance of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the man and his family; but there might be advantages such as an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as hunting 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunter-bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft was known as *Ruigh* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of poverty with individuality in isolation were handed down, for example, from one of my forebears who held such a *ruigh*, Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-feet contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the last of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *ruigh* may have originally been a summer shieling, only occupied when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with new possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led to settlement there.

At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of North Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lodges and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth, as they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such as one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small islets. But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single crofts are rare. And the clearest distinction must be drawn between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage or croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or even two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers; for even a few families form the germ of a community, in work and in leisure.

The potentialities of co-operative practice were overlooked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough. For when new methods were required, run-rig kept back the pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. Soon

after 1800, John Walker wrote that run-rig, "formerly very general in Scotland, was abolished with improvements but still subsists in many parts of the North. A number of tenants of the same farm have a common pasture for their cattle, and the arable is divided among them, by ridge and ridge alternately, which each cultivates for his own behoof. This gives them all a common interest in the crop and, when there was no inclosure by dyke or hedge, might be of some advantage" in giving each person some protection "against the encroachments of his neighbour's cattle". Speaking of joint possession this time, though without reference to survivals, Walker wrote that in the Lowlands "in old times a large farm might be occupied by a number of conjoint tenants who cultivated the farm in common and divided the produce. In this way the interest of each became the interest of the whole. They were ready, and were frequently called upon, to defend the common crop and cattle against depredations. There was then a necessity for such an allotment of land, especially in the Border country and in the Highlands." The team, in other words, was a unit of defence. But "nothing like improvement can be expected from farmers placed in this situation . . . [and] no community can ever equal the carefulness and industry of an individual in the management of his affairs".[1]

So far as it goes, such an analysis is incontrovertible; for Walker was one of many contemporary observers who could contrast both the "improvement, industry and carefulness" of the best individuals under a vigorous landlord, with the sluggishness of old-fashioned ways on backward estates. The fundamental reason for sluggishness was that

[1] John Walker, *Oeconomical History* [descriptive account] *of the Hebrides*, 1808.

the cultivable land and pasture having been shared out to minimal fractions, they called for a minimum of labour by the men—though housewives and mothers had always plenty to do. The morrow's tryst for work might prove a tryst with no work done. The men might foregather on the moor to cut peats, for instance, but if one of their number was late, become so absorbed by telling stories of the Fenians that, ere work had begun, it was time to go home—resolved to meet for work some other day! As a result, reformers advocated breaking-up the joint-holdings; and this was done in Lewis by 1830, as noted in the Brand Report. But mere division of the land did not increase its total amount.

Yet while noting the progress made by the liberation of individual initiative, we can see the drawbacks of individualism: the evictions made with no provision for new homes, and later the monotony and the loneliness of modern farm life, the mutual distrust of employer and employee, and the general inability of farmers, as yet, to co-operate. At the present, when planning, purchase and sale are required on a large scale, particularly among smallholders, the interest of each is still "the interest of the whole". The team-spirit must be recovered from the work (not simply the play) of school onwards to further education and communal effort.

To sum up, every farm-hamlet was held jointly and on equal terms, each joint holder being responsible for an equal share of the rent, and the movable run-rig system ensuring equal quality, as well as equal quantity, of land. Common interest was assured, and there was mutual support in distress or sickness, as when one member, named in a deposition of 1718, was 'valetudinary'. Lastly, work was done in common not only when it led to efficiency

through division of labour or united effort, but simply for the sake of mutual stimulus and pleasure!

(c) THE SHARING OF MACHAR, MOOR AND SEA

Embracing several joint-farms, each with its team or crew, came the township. The township had not only its common pasture, it had a special extensive system of run-rig on sandy, coastal machars, as in parts of the Island and in Uist—a system continued to this day.

On the machar of Barvas, cultivation strips are still re-allotted periodically, as they were annually on all the Island machars. The machars behind the 'storm-beach' dunes of the Outer Hebrides closely resemble one another, from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head. The immemorial system was noted by Walker and more fully by Carmichael, who called it 'intermediate run-rig' to distinguish it from the run-rig of older joint farms on boulder clay, and it persists at the present day.[1] In North Uist the machar land is laid off in large scatts or fields. Each scatt is divided into as many rigs as there are crofts in the township. There may be a dozen scatts in all, and usually half the number are lying out in natural pasture, but they are put under crop in rotation, so that each year one or two scatts will be brought into cultivation, and the others left out after a course of cropping. When a scatt is to be brought into cultivation the township 'constable' (who holds sway under the district ground officer) appoints a day for allocating the rigs.

[1] Walker (1808); Alexander Carmichael, appendix xlviii and xcix, pp. 213 ff. and 451 ff., Report of the Crofters' Commission, 1884. Socially these form the most significant evidence in this great Report. See also "Grasing and Agrestic Customs", *Celtic Review*, 1905. Cf. C. Macdonald, *Scot. J. Agric.*, 1919. See also his lively accounts of machar and pasture: *Highland Journey: Suil air ais*, 1943.

rigs. The rigs are numbered and then balloted for by a double ballot. First the men approach the hat in any order and pick out a number: this is to decide the order in which they will approach the hat in the second draw. The second draw then decides the number of the rig. The crofter retains the rig while this particular scatt remains in cultivation, usually for a period of two or three years. The machar is shared by the whole township. The crops grown include a light type of oats, barley, a little rye, and potatoes; and clover may be cut.

In the division of the machar for potatoes at Barvas, there are now no such hard-and-fast rules. The Common Grazings Committee select a certain area for cultivation and each crofter is allowed to take as much land as he requires within this area. This land is only cultivated for one year in six to ten years, and then reverts to grass. If cultivated for two or more years in succession there is a danger of the sand being blown away, and grass would be difficult to establish again. Potatoes are now the only crop grown on the Barvas machar.

Beyond the machar of the Isles lies the moor with its fringe of reclaimed croft land. By Carmichael's day this was held in individual portions, though, as he said, most of it was once held in 'farms' in run-rig practised by small units, not by the whole township. Why this difference between the arable of the machar and of the moorland? Carmichael did not explain it.

Three explanatory points are, first, that the whole cultivated land of the scatt or the machar is continuous, whereas the moorland is hummocky and boggy by turns, and cultivation is therefore patchy; secondly, that, unlike the stony clays, the light shell sand is easily forked or ploughed and needs no 'team' to plough it; and thirdly,

that no initial reclamation had been needed on the scatt. In each year of cultivation, it is true, manures of a sort, principally seaweed and sooty sods from the roof, are applied; but they form a temporary improvement only for the crop to be taken, and do not constitute reclamation. After manuring, the grasses and clovers are simply turned over and the land, 'rested' and manured by cattle, straightway gives its best crop.

It is otherwise with what is won from the moorland. As Dean Monro wrote of the reclaiming Lewisman in 1549: "In this country all is peat moss-land at the sea coast" (the long machars of the west of Uist give place to rocky coasts round much of Lewis), "and the place where he wins his peats this year, there he sows his corn the next year; after that he guids it weill with sea-ware". Even where the slopes are fairly smooth, the peat land has not the uniformity of the machar and the continuity of its arable strips. In addition to sea-ware, sand may be brought by creel or by pony pannier to reclaim peat, forming a heavy burden. Moreover, the first crop is always a poor one, and may be almost lost. Although in his brief notes Monro used the singular 'he', we know that the peat was usually cut co-operatively by teams. Hence most of the hard labour of reclamation may, indeed must, have been done co-operatively too, but by small teams, not by the members of a whole township together.

The sharing of common pastures is the last, but important, feature of land holding in common. The two kinds of pasture required were, firstly, those close at hand, animals being tethered or herded in the crop-growing season, and secondly, the more distant summer pastures. The people of certain townships, which were without a large outrun close at hand, had to go some distance to

reach their shielings. From Point district (Eye Peninsula) the cattle are still brought inland to the moors south-west of Stornoway. And from Bernera on the west the cattle are swum to the hills of the main island, just as they once were swum from Bute to the hill-pastures of Cowal in Argyllshire across the Kyle at the 'Strait of the Swimming', Colintraive (Caol-an-t-snaimh). Nothing could be more natural, indeed inevitable, than pasture in common where large, open moors were to be found. The number of animals allowed to each holding was duly apportioned and then, as now, was known as the summing or 'souming', still checked at the annual gathering (*coigoradh*).

Thus a cluster of conjoint farms shared "the grass on the Ben and the tillage on the machar" (*Fiar air beinn agus peighinn air machair*). Along the shore, sea-ware, drift-wood and the like were allotted, too. And, as Carmichael put it, there was even "run-rig at sea", for the fishing banks were allotted among the available crews. Most of these rights are still shared by the members of a township. But any crew can now fish freely where they choose, and no township can legally keep away strange boats, nor even steamers beyond the three-mile limit. This loss of communal rights stands in the way of remunerative fish-farming and its promise.

Profound social implications distinguished these three concentric circles of community: the family; the farm-team and boat's crew; and the larger, township group. These implications concerned labour, duty and right. The labour of reclamation gave a 'right' to the land thus won from the moor; and the duty of labour together, for fruits equally shared, gave the farm-team and fishing crew cohesion on land or sea—team and crew working for a common purpose. On the other hand, as individual sharers in the common

embracing several hamlets. Yet the strength of community life sprang from co-operation in the farm-team and in the boat's crew.

With the passing of the joint farm the greatest disciplinary factor for work in common passed away from agriculture. The fact that fishing still remained as a social discipline, and actually developed in importance as the farm-team declined and was abolished, was to prove all the more significant to the vitality of social life until 1914 and even to the present.

(e) THE COMMUNITY ORGANISED: STEERSMAN AND CONSTABLE

As small groups of two to half a dozen men could manage their agricultural affairs informally, by common consent, no official was formally chosen to manage the affairs of the fellow-workers on a farm. Where prompt decisions are needed, however, even a small group should be led: a boat's crew therefore choose their helmsman-skipper and obey him at sea. And where several farm-groups made up a township, more formal deliberations were required and to carry out their decisions they chose a responsible man, the constable.

Of the crofters' manner of deciding communal affairs in Uist, Carmichael wrote, in 1884, that these meetings "were highly interesting, as showing the ability of the people, their logical and legal acumen, their readiness of resources and, I can happily add, their invariable courtesy towards one another. There was one regular official known as the constable on whom there lay the chief executive responsibility. When a crofter is elected constable of his town-land, he takes off his shoes and stockings and, taking

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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121 by help of oral tradition and of the living witness of con-
174 tinuing usage, we can reconstitute Gaelic life from the
178 view-points of both people and chief. Elsewhere, even in Scotland, only fragments of early life are recorded, in
• 175 parchments written by the lawyers of landlord and king,
814 and almost always from the privileged side. History is indebted to modern lawyers who have deciphered and
127 published the faded documents of their predecessors. But the very training as solicitor-factors which fitted them for this specialised task, in no way prepared them to view life as seen, experienced and felt by the men and women of the past, or even by the elders or youth of the townships today, with whom they have rarely laboured and whose mother tongue they rarely understand.

(A) THE LABOURS OF MAN AND WIFE, AND THE REWARD

621 We have seen that until the nineteenth century the
632 township in the main was self-contained. Its people grew,
175 reared or caught their food, and also found the raw materials
[433] for their clothing; they built their own shelter, and cut their own firing. As a result, both men and women had
174 each to develop "a wide range of simple skills", in the
175 apt phrase of a Lewisman, Mr. Donald MacLean, M.A. Beyond the co-operative effort within a family, a farm
462 group, or a body of 'fellow-townsmen'—in which each was competent to take a share according to sex and age—aptitude and family tradition initiated some local division
[463] of labour. The resident smith and the 'caird' (usually a wandering craftsman or tinker) appear in the oldest tales and in the first rent-rolls. In addition there were honorary
[759] tasks. The smith might act as the village surgeon, ready

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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174 to bleed or to set bones, while some elderly woman would
175 serve as physician and midwife. Spiritual consolation
462 and renewal too could be found, even in the absence of
[463] monk or nun, or of priest, minister or catechist. Enough
[759] here, that with agriculture and fishing, most crafts, except
[793] metal-work, were practised in every family. The 'range
[593] of skills' was therefore wider and richer in latent art than might be supposed from those needed on a little croft today. Hence the importance of understanding the roles of husbandman and housewife, of "the man and the woman of the house".

174 Their labours through the annual rhythm of the seasons
462 might be classed as efforts for the man and endurance for
221 the women (Fig. 9). Man's muscular strength and free-
[181] dom of limb rouse him to efforts demanded by the thrust and lift of peat-cutting, digging in stony soil, or pushing the foot-plough, step by step obliquely down a rocky slope. In the past an archer's chase of stag, wolf or boar demanded all a man's effort, and courage too, as fishing still does in the stormy north-western seas. With this facing of danger there came a gaiety that sparkled like the crest of a breaking wave. Women's work demanded by its unceasing activity a cheerful endurance, whether at labour on the croft, at corn-grinding, butter-making and peat-carrying, or carding, spinning and weaving; and with every task of day or season came the constant tending of cattle, of menfolk and children.

[538] This allotment of seasonal tasks and skills is neatly put in the proverb, "A man's cow won't yield milk, nor a woman's horse ploughing" (*Cha bhi bainn' aig bo fir, 's cha bhi treabhadh 'an each mnatha*). Yet women have always taken a share of work on the croft—too heavy a share when the men were much away—and the habit of

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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194 462 221 encouraging them to rest when the men returned was fondly indulged. Much can be learned from the first (or 'old') "Statistical Accounts of the parishes of Scotland 175 drawn up from the communications of the Ministers of the different parishes", *circa* 1790–96. Of the parish of 462 Stornoway, where by 1790 many men had become crofter-127 fishers and others were at sea, the Minister wrote, "The women labour at least as hard as the men", even pulverising the ground with heavy hand-rakes (harrows being seldom used), and digging both with crooked and straight spades. That the men's debt was repaid in acts of manly service is true. A man would carry wife or sweetheart on his shoulders across a river in spate, whose rushing waters might have swept her away. But in her turn, a woman would wade into the cold sea, her coats high, bearing on her hips husband or son out to his open boat, so that he could start his night of exposure dry-shod and warm. This act of service was noted and illustrated by Burt at Inverness (about 1726), and it was common in the Lews before the building of stout piers, that is within living memory. Strong common sense, sheer necessity in fact, enforced such mutual service; but the sacrifice entailed was nerved by anxiety for those in danger, by personal pride and love. It was also true that it bore hardly on women, with their readiness for self-sacrifice and their ordeal of childbirth.

175 What return for their labours did the people get in the 431 past, it will be asked, and what approach to sufficiency in a normal year? For the Island, the most thorough of the [129] five Parish Accounts is that of Harris, with its fascinating retrospective notes (vol. x, p. 368). There the yield of a typical family share, a 'fourth' or 'farthing' land, was computed at "from four to five bolls" (which in Scotland

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175 usually corresponded to six imperial bushels). The stock 434 was "four milch cows, three to perhaps four horses, and as many sheep on the common as the tenant has luck to rear". Although such estimates, especially of crop yields, are apt to err on the favourable side, a comparison with the same writer's statistics of stock (and rental) shows that this estimate gives only a little over the modern average per family in Harris, and allows an average sheep flock of one score ewes.

175 The briefer Statistical Accounts of Lewis indicate the 431 average stock per family, suggesting comparisons both with the present, and with an earlier time (Chapter II). In 1790 422 the cattle and horses, though small, were greater in number per family than now. In Lewis there were eight head of cattle per rural family, compared to 2·5 today; there were one or two ponies per family (according to the topography and ploughland of the parish) instead of an average of only one horse to five or six families today; the small family sheep-stock was similar; and there were also some goats, 175 say, one to every second family. In addition to these 226 resources, there was fishing; and the number of boats in Stornoway parish, giving one boat to four families, is a guide for the rest. Fishing, with net-making, was a predominant occupation in all parishes by that time, and boat-building was significant too.

175 As to changes, fishing had grown in importance since 433 about 1720, and kelp-making added an important new 434 resource. But one may doubt if the Island supported an appreciably larger live-stock in 1790 than seventy years before; one must rather assume smaller shares per family, [182] for population had increased. A basis for agricultural security was an adequate balance of sandy machar to 'black', peaty, clay land; and the area of machar, a limited

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 natural zone, could not be extended. In any case, the re-433 clamation of clay land tended to slacken as efforts turned 434 to fishing and kelp-making. The introduction or increased growing of potatoes added to the human, but hardly to the [182] animal, food supply. Finally, while the beginnings of [311] medical knowledge and vaccination had aided the growth of population after 1750, veterinary science had made no [232] progress, nor did it advance in the Island for many years to come. We may conclude that an average stock per Island [422] family about 1720 was rather more than that of 1790, and the acreage relatively larger, while both were greater than the average of today, particularly in the Lews.

175 What, then, could a family have to eat, from such crops 262 and stock? While in winter even now there is almost no 244 milk to be had on a croft, and there would be little then, there was salt meat, dried or salted cod (or herring) and fish oil; oat and barley meal and some rye meal; cabbages; and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, potatoes. Martin included potatoes among the crops grown even on far St. Kilda in 1697. A century later it was written that the people of Uig, for instance, had, though 'unwilling', been induced to grow and eat them 'forty years before'; and the years tend to be under-estimated where changes are slow and memories long! But it was written of Harris that by June the meal and potatoes had mostly been consumed, "and such as cannot afford to purchase imported meal subsist chiefly on the milk of their cows and sheep, with what fish they may chance to catch, till their wants are relieved by the first fruits of their potato crops early in Harvest".

175 We conclude that with even less money but a little 511 more grain the population in the Island had fluctuated 162 about a mean for some centuries before, as it had in so 171

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 much of Britain and Europe until about 1700. A modern 511 parallel may be found in Asiatic lands with the frequency 162 of famines alternating with periods of recovery or, in others, the long-drawn misery of chronic under-nutrition and 171 endemic disease. In modern Europe, only international [731] or civil war can now bring such extreme widespread misery. And as peace brings partial healing, so in the Island past, when good seasons returned after famines, the life of the family renewed itself.[1]

175 The narrow margin of survival even in good seasons, 593 the risks of the bread-winner's death and of his family's destitution, and the need of co-operation in so many tasks made the family too small, weak and precarious a unit to stand alone. Even with relatively little division (or specialisation) of labour, and in spite of its apparent self-sufficiency, the family had perforce to link itself with wider circles of community life.

(B) JOINT LABOUR BY SMALL TEAMS: THE EVIDENCE OF TENURE IN 1715–26

175 Romance is hidden among the rent-rolls of the Seaforth 241 estates, all of which were forfeited when the Earl rose for 'King James VIII' in 1715. For of the rents withheld 427 from the government until 1720, on the mainland at least [642] the loyal clansmen paid a considerable portion to their [613] exiled chief, styled 'Marquis' by 'King James'. But the

[1] The 'ups and downs' of a peasantry living on the margin of subsistence and subject to severe disease can be studied in India, 1871–1941, where the 'net' or mean change has to be correlated with the 'variability'. This wide problem was reviewed in a series of papers to 1948; "The Social [113] and Psychological Significance of Variability in Regional Changes of Population", with examples taken from Indian villages. (A. Geddes, *Human Relations*, Vol. 1, 2, 1947–48; cf. *Geog. Rev.* 1942 and 1948; and *Geog. Journal*, 3, vol. 98, 1941).

175 241 427 [476] rent-rolls record something of more vital and enduring concern, the unit of community life in the Lews. This was the 'conjoint' or 'group' farm of the labouring peasantry —though it was overlaid in parts of the Island by the formation of tacks held by gentleman rent-farmers.

175 241 427 656 Both rolls are Judicial Rentals, that is to say, the tenants, great and small, were convened by the Government Commissioners and examined on oath as to the rents they formerly paid; the accounts were then entered and totalled. Because of the Jacobite resistance, the small amounts of rent and the maladministration of the Forfeited Estates, doubt was cast upon the first rental, of 1718. A second rental was therefore compiled in 1726, upon a different system, which confirms the correctness of the first.[1] All were named, including those absent or 'valetudinary'.

175 361 [182] [184] [433] [476] Owing to the Island's comparatively smooth land surface and access to the sea, the people could group themselves as they chose. Whereas in the Highland mainland many a pocket of land is too small to keep more than two or three families alive and no fishing grounds are available, in Lewis the people could join together in teams of four, five or six, to work a hamlet-farm or penny-land, definable as a joint-farm of unit size, and to man a boat with "four to row and one to steer".

175 241 427 [436] [113] The first point of interest is the equality of the shares, each man paying exactly the same as his fellow-tenants for his 'farthing',—a fourth, or other equal share of the farm. An average share of rent was a little over 10 shillings sterling with additional payments in farm produce, though not (as

[1] A. Geddes, "Conjoint Tenants", etc., *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Series, vol. i, no. 1, 1948, pp. 54-60. This reconciles the evidence of 1718, reproduced in the Brand Report (1902), Appx. O, and that of 1726, edited by J. R. N. Macphail (1916).

175 241 427 436 might be thought) in cured fish. Here is a sample Deposition from Borve (W. Lewis), a township then composed of five hamlet-farms, or 'pennylands', with their share of outrun, peats and fishing grounds over the whole and known as Five-Penny Borve.

Donald McGillimichaell, William McHomas, Gillichallum McCoilog, and John McConnell in five penny land of Borrow and Parish of Cladach afor^d MAKE OATH severally that neither of them has any Tack of their possessions, But that each of them pay yearly to ye above Mr. Zachary McAuly for behoof of ye Countes (of Seaforth) for^d Nyne Pounds Scots (*i.e.* 15/- sterling), Two Bolls one Lipie meall, Fifteen pound weight of Butter, and three-fourths of a mutton. Depone they and each of them are someqt in arrear but know not the Particullars, and this is ye truth as they and each of them shall answer to God, and depone they can't write.

(Signed) DAVID BETHUNE
(Sheriff Substitute of Ross).

175 241 427 451 [642] [613] The only point on which these good fellows must have had to face qualms in 'answering to God' was their lapse of memory as to 'Particullars of arrears'! None of the 222 small tenants could remember this! Although the Chamberlain or Factor, Zachary MacAulay, denied it, he may have exhorted or compelled payment of rent in order to forward it to the exiled 'Marquis'. Mainland rents were actually despatched to France from Leith in broad daylight under an armed guard of clansmen! At the same time, neither MacAulay nor the joint tenants were of Clan Kenneth, the MacKenzies. MacAulay himself was a man of high character—and a poet too—and not one to collect rents in order to embezzle them. His affirmation has the ring of truth, with little alloy. To the Government Commissioners he wrote that what made it impossible for Lewis peasant-fishers to have paid rent in full during civil war,

175 241 427 451 and still more to pay arrears, was "the rugged Hag, Poverty, that would resist both King and Government". We may guess that MacAulay passed a hint to the tenantry that (in a good Gaelic idiom) they had better 'disremember' details of arrears: and this they did.

175 551 613 [178] Of the four names on the deposition quoted, one or two may have been surnames, others the patronymics of kinsmen. As is still the custom, clansmen knew one another by names of many kinds. Stature or colour was used to distinguish a big John from a little one, a fair from a dark, or a pale from a swarthy; occupations such as smith or caird (artificer, not necessarily travelling tinker as now) were used, and also mere nicknames. Of the eighty-one crofters or fisher-burghers in Stornoway, fourteen were MacKenzies; and other mainland surnames, such as Fraser and Gunn, Matheson and MacLennan, also showed their descent from the immigrants brought in when MacKenzie of Kintail founded the burgh to encourage fisheries after 1611. Each held a single holding, usually rented at two shillings sterling.

[241] [226]

175 241 427 631 To conclude, rentals about 1715 show (1) the characteristic equalitarian grouping of small peasants as fellow-workers in the hamlet-farms still held directly from the superior, Seaforth; (2) the eighty-one small burghers of Stornoway; and (3) tacksmen, responsible for the larger part of the Island rent, but under whom we know that the labouring peasantry, though without the local independence of the others, also continued to dwell and to work together. The tacksmen were to pass away, as many of them had originally come, at the desire of a mainland lord, and the lord, in his turn, was to leave; but the small peasantry of immemorial stock still hold and work their land.

aborigines in India—lovable people when unspoiled by tyranny, caste or industrial exploitation, as I can testify.[1] Yet Gomme, like many since, leaves the reader with an impression which must be re-examined: that the Islesfolk are the representatives of a backward race who have clung to predominantly superstitious, pre-Christian customs and beliefs. As a people, the Gael received and welcomed Christianity in one of its earliest historic forms, and maintained its spirit through poverty and famine. To this inheritance we shall turn in Chapter VII, when the rhythm of life and its changes have been followed out in the following chapters.

To begin with, the briefest outline of historic sequence is all that can be recapitulated, the Island annals having been recorded in the excellent Brand Report (1902), and by W. C. Mackenzie (1903 to 1937). Politically and strategically, the age of clanship may be thought of as a period of struggle between the Islands and the Mainland to the south or east. The long-drawn conflict of Clan Campbell of Argyll with Clan Donald—whose Chief was the Lord of the Isles of which Islay and Skye were the two dominant, western keys, and Lewis and Harris the northern outposts—offers a parallel to the conflict of MacKenzie of Kintail with the last MacLeods of Lewis. Obscurity veils the early origins of the Island clans, with their mingled Norse and Gaelic lineage, but chronicles are more reliable by the time of forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles to the Crown in 1493. The MacLeods of Dunvegan, chiefs in north-west Skye, continued to hold Harris until late in the eighteenth century, and they maintained an indirect connection until the nineteenth.

[1] A. Geddes, *Au pays de Tagore: la civilisation rurale du Bengale Occidental*, Paris, 1927.

174 613 But the last MacLeods of Lewis, torn by family dissensions, fell fighting before the power of King James VI (and I), who backed the 'capitalist' fishery enterprise of 'the [175] Fife Adventurers'. Although these were routed by the Islanders, a Highland lord and chief, MacKenzie of Kintail, received Lewis from the Crown in 1611, taking his title from Loch Seaforth, near which he had built his Lewis hunting-lodge. Except for a period of forfeiture after 1715, the Seaforth family held the Island until its purchase by a wealthy and beneficent tea merchant, Matheson, in 1844. From Seaforth's tenure and the Papers of the Forfeited Estates are left records of ancient life and of the introduction of changes, temporal and [178] spiritual. These are reviewed in the next five chapters. Chapter X brings the Island story to the year 1953, and its prospects.

175 621 622 427 184 565

rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide for the lord's desires.

(E) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

174 614 577 [501] [726]

The peaceful round of daily life formed the most enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tensest ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must speak for them. Many a song of the Isles conveys the team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men.

174 614 501 538

And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portraying the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who warred against the waves and won. Alexander Macdonald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic, and probably in English, verse for its portraits of the crew in action, from steersman to 'look-out'. The flowing metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

174 614 501 539 577 [113]

The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with "the Blessing of the Ship", the arms and the crew. Then the bard, speaking for the stately skipper, "incites the sixteen oarsmen to row" out of the bay, and they row to a rousing shanty, a *Iorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and

[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (2nd ed.), 1890 (pp. 1-28); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 65-85), 1940. Cf. A. Macleod (Ed.), *Sar Orain: Three Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1933. The different themes of its sections, each in its own metre, have been published separately, in *The Songs of the Hebrides*, and elsewhere.

174 614 501 539 577

ready to leap fore or aft: "Quick to move as the mountain hare . . . or the hounds after him; quick to climb as a squirrel in the spring-time". Then comes the stirring evocation of the storm, testing each man's mettle and the discipline of all, until at last, their ship battered and themselves bruised and weary but undaunted, the crew reach Islay and round the sheltering point of Carrickfergus. There, with thanks to the High King, they drop anchor, the *birlinn* rides in peace, and all find meat and drink and rest.

175 614 721 703

As at sea, so in war, loyalty could rise to heroism in individuals and corps. Young men were attached to their chiefs by chivalrous leadership in warfare, both before 1745 and later. The Highlanders' high character contrasted with that of most Regiments of the Line, too often disciplined with the lash while demoralised by debauchery. From Lewis the Islesmen went out to the Seaforth or the Ross-shire Highlanders. General David Stewart of Garth, historian of the Highland regiments and people, wrote of these two regiments that again and again their courage and coolness in battle were proved.[1]

175 618

Not less striking was the record of Gaels among civil populations, whether in Britain, as in the 'Forty-five, or abroad. In Germany in 1761 and 1762 much was said of the Highlanders' kindness, "for the boors were much better treated by those savages than by the polished English and French". Similarly in the Low Countries in 1814 and 1815, they were *enfants de la famille* and "kind as well as brave". The mayor of Brussels declared that they "called forth the attachment and esteem of all", and the inhabitants requested him "to endeavour to detain the 78th (2nd battalion Ross-shire) regiment of Scotchmen in the town, and to prevent their being replaced by other troops".

[113]

Sketches of the Highlanders, 2 vols, 1822-23

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and to prevent their being repl

175 703

Such discipline was only p
trusted to feelings and character
Highlanders, though some not
land corps, and a Welshman
Highlanders with success. Ste
the regiment, after recounting
battle in India, wrote: "Th
attracted by the temperate habit
Mackenzie's mode of punishm
his parents of the misconduct
a bad character of him to his
twenty-five years of peace and
battalion had been established,
among the men enlisted in the
in this battalion nearly 300
estate in the Lewis. Several
these men were charged with
punishment. In 1799 a man
This so shocked his comrades
society as a degraded man w
kindred. The unfortunate ou
desperate, and Colonel Macke
struction, applied and got him
disgrace would be unknown an
quite recovered his character."

If the officers' regard for the
the men's expectations of high
brought forth leadership in the
in peace. When Stewart of Ga
as a young ensign, his colonel
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[551]

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possible when their officers
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able Lowlanders led High-
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ewart, who had served with
their disciplined courage in
e notice of all India was
s of the soldiers and Colonel
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of a delinquent, or to send
native country ". In the
war during which the first
there had not been desertion
Highlands. " There were
men from Lord Seaforth's
years elapsed before any of
a crime deserving severe
was tried and punished.
that he was put out of their
ho brought shame to his
tcast became unhappy and
nzie, to save him from de-
sent to England, where his
d unnoticed . . . [and] he

ir men led to true discipline,
conduct from their officers
field. Mutual regard began
rth first joined his regiment
assigned to him an elderly
t, according to regulations,
r. Stewart tells how this

175 703 [551] private naturally addressed him in Gaelic by his Christian name, and writes of him with the warmth and respect due to an elderly relation. Something of this mutual regard remains; and young Englishmen of education have told me of their surprised admiration for the character of the best traditional type of 'Regular' Scottish, and particularly Highland, non-commissioned officer, before and during the two world wars.

175 829 Such bravery and character abroad led Stewart to the conviction that their foundation must be the character of the peasantry at home. He held that the Highlanders' home life demanded support, and having served with the Sutherland Highlanders, he felt the deepest grief and anger at the clearances of the Sutherland estates by an English [727] proprietor. When Stewart remarked that a few deaths mattered little when compared to the nation's renown, for this 'endures for ever', he referred to deaths in battle, which he analysed as typically of 1 to 2 per cent of the men. Whereas upon long voyages or in unhealthy stations, 25 per cent of soldiers or civilians might die of disease.

175 703 614 Yet, to the Gael, discipline did not mean blind submission to injustice. "Accustomed to obey their immediate chiefs, who durst not break a compact with them, and to have promises punctually fulfilled, implicit submission was not yielded when they had rights to preserve." For the bond by which, of old, the Highlanders "were held to their superiors and one another" was "the bond [648] of fidelity and affection. . . . In later times, when they entered the King's service, they considered themselves as contracting parties", and resented breaches of faith. Of eight mutinies in as many regiments, that of the Seaforth in 1778 should be instanced here. The regiment included many Lewismen, with Mackenzies and Macraes, and also

175 703 614 648 some 200 men enlisted at Perth. When, shortly after the had been embodied, the men were quartered in Leith prio to embarkation, complaints arose about infringement o engagements. "The regiment refused to embark, an marching out of Leith, with pipes playing and two plaid fixed on poles instead of colours, took a position on Arthur' Seat at Dunsappie, of which they kept possession fo several days." The inhabitants of Edinburgh, who ha encouraged them, supplied them with provisions and am munition. "After much negotiation, a proper under standing was brought about . . . and they marched dow the hill . . . with pipes playing and with the Earls o Seaforth and Dunmore, and General Skene, at their head They entered Leith, and went on board the transport [721] with the greatest readiness. . . ." None of the men wer tried or confined. Seaforth, as their colonel, set out wit them to India—although his fortune and title would hav allowed him ease at home, or the purchase of highe military rank. His death on the long voyage contribute to the men's "prostration of mind which made ther succumb more easily to the effects of disease", scurvy, o which 230 out of 1100 fit men died before reaching Madra and others soon after. As we have told, the survivor fought with disciplined courage.

175 702 614 To a chief, recruitment was financially important, fo he, and not only the recruits, received a handsome bounty Simultaneously it provided him with a commission with out the cost of purchase—previous training and promotio being considered unnecessary. The clansmen knew thes facts of bounty and command, and generally responded t an appeal. When Stewart of Garth was recruiting for th Ross-shire Regiment, a band of young Lewismen joined for half the bounty offered by a Lowland regiment!

CHAPTER VI

CLANSHIP: PEOPLE, CHIEF AND TACKSMEN

(a) COMMUNAL EQUALITY AND LORDLY PRIVILEGE

175 632 612 631 THE equalitarian customs of hamlet and township astonish many to whom the crofting villages are unknown and whose picture of the Gaelic past is derived from tales of the 'Forty-five. The widespread historic fact of lordship over a subject peasantry has obscured that of peasant-neighbourhood, more ancient, it would seem, and, in the Isles, still more enduring. The very existence of rural democracies' such as those just described has been doubted by certain scholars on the theoretic ground that they would be humanly unworkable! Yet it is none the less true that the peasants as clansfolk gave loyalty to their chief. The fervent loyalty given to the exiled kinsmen-kings, the Stewarts, was a scarlet thread interwoven—or entangled—in the homespun web of community, of clanship. Wherever the Gaelic is spoken, the Jacobite songs are sung with passion, and their echo has gone round the world.

(641) (533)

(171) So in the life of the Gael, without doubt—and in varying degree throughout Britain and the rest of Europe—we have to envisage a composite, perhaps a contradictory, state of things, in which communal equality is overlaid by

175 631 632 647 820 171 621 lordly rank: a working, equalitarian democracy dominated by an aristocracy proudly refusing to work. The fascination of Gaelic community is, first, that its elements stand out so clearly, and, secondly, that links were forged in clanship which made its living chain, though heavy, a thing that shone with pride, and beauty too.

(b) CLANSHIP, COMMON DESCENT AND CLAN-HELP ('CUIDEACHT')

621 To what extent is it now possible to disentangle the two contested elements of the lord or chief and the farm-teams and townships? Prehistory is hard to unravel; but the successive waves of conquest flung upon the Island shores have left their jetsam, unmistakably. The circle of huts found near a broch or commanding *dùn* recalls the tenants' village grouped close to the castle of a chief, from early history down to the 'Forty-five, and suggests a primitive form of feudalism or of clanship. Traditions add their part. In Uist one may still hear the ancient heroic lays traditionally ascribed to Ossian, Oisean, son of Fionn or Fingal—lays of which Macpherson's sonorous prose gave free rendering. The Fingalian tales differ from the lays, being frankly fantastic. Lewis had its own cycle of Fingalian tales; examples are given by W. C. Mackenzie (1919). Both lays and legends tell of an aristocracy or warrior class, the Fenians, of their enjoyment of the chase, and of their relative comfort, with wealth in gold and silver, in banners and flowing mantles. The chase combined with riches implies the existence of a community to feed and clothe the huntsmen. The traditions of the Cuchulainn cycle, with closer approximation to historical and

173 621 614 622 820 171 621 archaeological truth, tell the same tale. Historically, in-

173 621 614 622 820 171 621 his near kin. Again, much as in the medieval *gentes* of France, fosterage of an heir by a clanswoman formed the closest possible tie to at least one family of the people from ancient to recent times. For it linked the heir by sympathy—though not by equal obligation—to elders and playmates in childhood and his contemporaries in later life.

565 To re-state this 'contradiction' of equality and privilege, we have thus a hierarchy of 'class' imposed upon a 'classless' society. For the joint farms and the township were essentially classless. The two classes, the lord and the people, were primarily opposed, war having placed the conqueror above those who fed him. This state of things was not active 'class-war', for the armistice could endure indefinitely by means of the bargain made between the classes for some exchange of services; none the less, it was built upon class conquest.

175 565 614 622 (570) (577) That all should ultimately claim the lineage of their chief was a remarkable solution to the hereditary opposition of class. A man who knew the Islanders well, John Lane Buchanan (1793), noted how in conditions of the utmost poverty the poorest addressed each other as 'lady and gentleman', *bean-uasal* and *duine-uasal*, a courtesy not lost today. And every clansman had a right to shake the hand of his chief, as Edmund Burt observed in his vivid *Letters from the North* (written after 1721). Indeed the sense of mutual obligation implicit in Gaelic society is well illustrated by the homely word *coir*, usually translated 'right'; it is equally used for right's correlative, duty—as when a Scots or Irish crofter may say "You've a right (a duty) to help your mother"—and for a 'right' (privilege) to shake the chief's hand. An English equivalent would be duty-privilege, or duty-right. Similarly, the same

175 565 614 622 175 582 words are used for neighbourly help among crofters and for services to the chief.[1]

Full freedom of choice in marriage prevailed among the people, who honoured marriage and enjoined continence; but the position of the chief placed him apart from the rest of the community. Now, the more equalitarian the community, the more free are a couple to choose one another on grounds of mutual affection, passion and respect; the parents, too, are more likely to encourage or support a suitor for their child because of character and virility, rather than means.

175 565 582 The lads of the clan, chief and people, grew up together in an isle or glen. But in manhood, while a labouring lad sought a wife from the girl playmates of his childhood and his fellow-workers at the peats, at the harvest, or in the shielings, a chief's choice was confined to his own class. In pre-feudal clanship, tanistry, *i.e.* the choice of a chief among the higher kin, gave a wider choice for marriage near home than feudal primogeniture, irrespective of the wishes of the chief's kin except in extreme cases of unfitness. In Scotland, tanistry prevailed even in the royal line until the eleventh century. But with the dominance of primogeniture, the young chief chose a bride outside his own community for reasons other than those of human feeling, honoured by Gaelic lyrical and religious tradition and even by the Church.

As a result, the chieftain's son was granted a licence forbidden to the rest, a temptation to maidens and a bad

[1] *Coiḋ* (cognate with gosta) means a portion, lot or share, or what is one's own (*e.f.*, gen. *coḋaiḋ*); and the associated verb (*coiḋiḋ*) means not simply to share but actively to help. The opportunist lodging given to the chief and his 'suil' of 'lads' was the 'cuideachy'—*cuid-eiḋiḋe*; while the famous motto of the Seaforth Highlanders is Help the King!—*Cuidich an Righ!*

175 565 582 example to lads! Often of tall, fair stock, physically superior from better feeding, accustomed to have his own way, better taught, finely dressed, free and welcomed wherever he went in the glen that fed and fostered him, the young chief had favour on his side; moreover he was protected from the vengeance of jealousy. A song in praise of a young chief of Clan Leod boasts that "the girls would give their snoods for Rory"! When she lost her maiden snood to him, a girl would be excused, and her 'natural' child not diahonoured, but granted a share of paternal affection and inheritance. After marriage, a chief's lady made allowances for his past. But licence, once a habit, is hard to change, and the bitter tales of jealous wives, married for policy, and their revenge upon a rival. One gathers that where there were enough gentry to meet, choose and inter-marry freely, as among the Island tacksmen, decency was better observed; but among landlords in the Highlands, as in other lands, local licence was common down to the last century. Then, whereas a Minister of the Established Church could hardly blame his own Patron (or his son), a Free Church Minister could speak out from the pulpit!

(834) 175 837

175 585 Of the legendary *jus primae noctis*, the 'law of the first night' of Boece and other old historians by which a lord had at one time the 'right' to rape the bride of any of his serfs or tenants, there is no authentic record. Yet from the primal right or wrong of conquest, some such 'law' was forced upon the Gael, as upon other peoples. Boswell records MacQuarrie of Ulva's belief that the custom of paying him a sheep when a tenant married was followed in lieu of such a right! Obligatory hospitality also lent itself to abuse. In all relations of chief to people, there were adjustments. In more complex society, poverty makes

175 585 womanhood a prey to prostitution. The licence of a chief among young women was preferable to this; but evils were inherent in the fact of lordship.

(c) TWO ISLAND BARDS: MARY MACLEOD AND THE BLIND HARPER

175 613 621 While in Lewis the continuity of clanship was sorely shaken by the fall of the chiefs, the Torquil-MacLeods, in Harris it was maintained in the family of the Norman-MacLeods of Dunvegan in Skye. The family of Dunvegan is famed for chivalry and gentleness, not only in the songs of the past but in the speech of Skyemen to the present day. Harris did not suffer the bloodshed endured in Lewis from the death of Torquil until after the accession of MacKenzie in 1611; and Harris was not involved, like Lewis, in the troubles of 1715. MacLeod of Dunvegan retained Harris until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was purchased by a cadet of the family who had made his fortune in the East; and it only passed out of MacLeod hands half a century later. Hence it is that while in Lewis there is still talk of the 'give and take' between later laird and people, in Harris there is more. In "the hereditary Hall of MacLeod" of Dunvegan, two Island bards gave birth to immortal song. Together, the tales of Lewis and the songs of Harris and Skye give us an authentic record of clanship in fact and feeling, linked with community today.

(562) (533) (678) In spite of the break in continuity, ease and warmth of feeling could spring up between a MacKenzie of Seaforth and the Lewismen, though Seaforth was a peer of the realm, and of a mainland name, not a MacLeod by direct descent. Playful rhyming, chaffing contests between titled laird and small tenant, are recorded by A. Carmichael and W. C.

175 613 621 (824) 197 565 576 Mackenzie. For all that, in 1900 a crofter said: "We called the old proprietor Seaforth, but I believe his right name was the Prince of Welsh". To him the Earls were royal!

Freedom of intercourse is embodied in the language to this day. With 'a stranger', a little spoken Gaelic lessens 'strangeness' and quickens intimacy, because Gaelic conveys essential human relationships as English rarely can—even the English of the 'democratic' Lowlands. For instance, a well-dressed stranger, though young, is usually addressed in English as 'sir' by a senior crofter, and, just as in the South, without the expectation of 'sir' or 'ma'am' in return. In English, that is, respect is given to class. In Gaelic, age receives respect: it is the stranger, if the younger, who adopts the respectful 'you' (the second person plural, *sibh*), while the crofter, if the older, uses the friendly singular, 'thou' (*thu*). If they are of equal age, and neither is elderly, 'thou' would be used by both. Similarly, respect is given to womanhood; and an older woman who would say 'Sir' in English will say 'My dear' in Gaelic.[1]

(562) 614

It is not only by daily contacts that we may understand the relationship of people to chief, but by the height of feeling it may attain, and by the beauty of its expression. Among the finest of the later songs of praise to Gaelic clanship and its chiefs are those composed by two Island bards, a woman of Harris and a man of the Lewis. Mary MacLeod, *Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh*, was a kinswoman of the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris, and a beloved

(175) (533) (173)

[1] Calling on the sub-postmaster in a Highland place where I was known to be a friend of the laird, I was addressed as "Sir". But hardly had we passed to Gaelic when this woman, my elder and a person of culture, habitually used an expression then strange to me. Hesitant, and suddenly shy at being forced to translate, she said at last, "When thou wast a *bump* [just a boy]! 'twas *thu* the *gasp*!" But rightly, she would have been slightly shocked had I said 'thou' to her.

175 nurse in the family. Born about 1615 in Rodel (south-east
533 Harris), she composed her last elegy (to Sir Norman
[614] MacLeod of Island Berneray, Harris) in 1705; she may
even have composed her last great song (on the birth of
the nineteenth chief) a year later.[1] Towards the end of
the century (between 1664 and 1693), Mary's younger
contemporary, Rory Morison was bard at Dunvegan, being
known as the Blind Harper, *An Clarsair Dall*. A Lewis-
man, Rory could not have found adequate patronage as a
bard in that Island, the chiefs of Lewis having passed
away. Morison is stated to have been a descendant of
the Gaelic judges or *brieves* of Ness and the son of a
minister, and he was to have entered the Church along
with two brothers, later ministers. But smallpox blinded
him, and he turned to oral, not to written 'literature',
perhaps to our ultimate gain.[2]

Here then were two bards, man and woman, whose
fame is growing, rather than waning, in our own day.
While Mary was illiterate, however rich in lore, Rory, with
his clerical home and family tradition of Gaelic jurisprud-
ence, must have begun to read Latin and English, perhaps
Greek, and also Gaelic, though not reaching Hebrew (as
his brothers would) before he was struck blind. Mary, so
far as is known, was the first to compose what may be called
'court' song in simple words and in the 'strophic' verse-
form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels, Scots
and Irish, since her time. Lacking the learning of the
dying school of classical bards, Mary is more personal
[614] than they, "a lyrist not less than panegyrist"; and she is
more spontaneous. The same seems true of Rory. Yet
[622] the themes of the classical bards were renewed by these
[113]

[1] James Carmichael Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod*, 1934.
[2] John Mackenzie, *Sar Obair: Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, 1877.

175 two singers, as in the portrayal of a chief, "blue-eyed and
533 with clustering, golden locks . . . and brown, ruddy
614 cheeked"; in descriptions of "his wisdom, prowess and
622 justice" or of his traits—his "joyous, fresh, and shame-
fast cheek", and as a friend to the poor seeking justice,
and to men of learning, musicians and bards. In the halls
of chiefs where ancient joys and traditions were main-
tained, the ideal of chiefship was essentially that of man-
hood. Nor is the chief's lady forgotten either by Mary
or by older bards, though womanhood is a theme rather
for lyrics and for sacred song.

Even at Dunvegan the stream of clan life was once
interrupted in the lifetime of these two bards, as the
Clarsair told in his satire on the anglicised seventeenth
chief (1693–99), and as Mary hinted in her haunting
'Croon' or *Cronan*. Happily, the stream was renewed
[173] by this chief's successor. Tradition and song show that
such renewal was primarily due to the strength of com-
munal life among the 'people' which called out leadership
from the chiefs, in justice, in war, and in the encouragement
of the oral arts. High conduct from the chiefs was invoked
[577] by the expectations of their people. More important still,
it was the warmth of feeling among the people as a group,
and their ties to one another, which lit their personal loyalty
to a chief and called forth his loyal leadership in return.[1]

[1] Gaelic loyalty was burned away in the Jacobite Risings, but as the last Rising left the Island relatively unscathed, one may simply refer to two works: Audrey Cunningham's *The Loyal Clans*, 1932; and J. L. Campbell's *Highland Songs of the Forty-five*, 1933 (Gaelic and translation). The first work analyses the need for a personal relationship to Scottish kingship, felt so keenly by the clansmen. The second gives authentic evidence of the spirit of loyalty. (Both the sense and a hint of the rhythm, with several of the airs, are available for the English reader.)

I know of no explicit statement of the conclusion given above, for lack of the sociological approach attempted here; but it is surely implicit in the thought of many a Gael.

(b) TACKSMEN AND SUBTENANTRY, FACTOR AND LORD: 1611–1800

175 We saw that in the Rent-roll of Lewis in 1718 the first
427 sixty-four entries, signed personally, recorded comparatively large holdings (tacks), the annual rentals of which were
614 from £3:6:8 to over £10, the occupant of one (or more)
621 of which would be styled 'Tacksman or 'Man of the Farm-town' (*Fear Baile*). While one or two tacks were shared, a few tacksmen may have held more than one tack—though one cannot be sure, owing to the recurrence of the same
[551] Christian names in each clan. It is striking that half the tacks—though mostly small ones—were held by men of undoubted mainland names, of which there were twenty-two MacKenzies, four MacLennans and three Matheisons.
[1142] These were doubtless the descendants of gentlemen from the mainland who in 1611 had helped to win and hold the
[551] Island for MacKenzie of Kintail, later Lord Seaforth. Of native Lewis names the principal are MacAulay, Morison and perhaps MacIver.[1] Only three small tacks were held by MacLeods, who may have been of Island stock. Lochs and Eye on the east coast had largely been granted in tack to the new-comers; on the south-west and west coast MacAulays and MacIvers held much of Uig and a few farms in Cladach; but more of Cladach and most of Ness (in the north) were still held by joint tenants. Stornoway was held by burghers, of whom perhaps two-thirds bore mainland names. The peasantry remained as unnamed subtenants on these holdings, of which the total rents show
[114]

[1] The writers of the Brand Report (1901) assumed that MacIver is a native name. This would seem to be borne out by its frequency as a surname today, in contrast to MacKenzie, Matheson or MacLennan, though W. C. Mackenzie (1919, p. 90) thought the MacIver tacksmen arrived with Seaforth.

175 they were composed of at least one to four or five hamlet-
427 farms. The tacksmen also had cottars for service.
614 Thus in Lewis a special reason, the accession of Sea-
621 forth, had led to the granting of many tacks to his own clansmen and to natives. Elsewhere in the Highlands the
175 procedure is noteworthy during the sixteenth[1], seventeenth
427 and eighteenth centuries, for the collection of rents from
614 the peasantry by means of large tenants had financial
184 advantages for the greater landlords (I. F. Grant, 1930).
The tacksman's continuation as tenant depended on his
[661] paying regularly, for the lease was not a hereditary grant.
A tack could also provide for a long younger sons or
[565] immediate relations, such as formed the gentry of the clan. Along with smaller lairds, these furnished the cadres of officers who led the clan regiments down to the 'Forty-five, and later the Highland Regiments of the line and the Fencibles down to Waterloo. Like MacKenzie, other great chiefs such as Argyle or Breadalbane leased tacks when they acquired the status of peers and took possession of fresh lands with Royal support, after vain resistance from native chiefs and their followers. In Lewis, the fiscal status of tacksmen was applied both to MacKenzie's supporters from the mainland and to those with ancient roots in the west of the Island. The latter may have thought a mere lease a poor substitute for hereditary tenure, though a legal compromise necessary if their possession was to be
[1142] continued. The lack of permanent tenure ultimately led to the departure of their descendants.

175 From the families of these tacksmen have sprung most
621 of those of Lewis birth or descent who achieved fame
614 before the twentieth century. Of the MacAulays, we saw
554 Zacharias was Chamberlain during and after the 'Fifteen.
[468] Thomas Babington Macaulay came of the same line, as

175 did another Zacharias, closer than Thomas to the Lewis
554 tree, who worked nobly with Wilberforce for the emanci-
614 pation of the slaves.[1] Still another connection was a
621 Canadian emigrant, grandfather of the late T. B. Macaulay,
[668] LL.D. Alexander Mackenzie, the explorer of the Mac-
kenzie River, was a descendant of Lewis tacksmen.
MacIvers and Morisons also distinguished themselves.
[1108] But the sons and daughters of crofters had to await the
[870] provision of education in English before they could rise in trade, learning or war; hence few Lewismen of the greatest Lewis name, MacLeod, achieved eminence until the twentieth century.

175 As for the peasantry, the interposition of a new or
554 enlarged class of tenantry between themselves and the
565 superior must have meant that they had to labour on the
427 tacksman's home farm, and no doubt pay more in produce or cash. Hence the Gaelic saying that if the position of the small (joint) tenants was bad, that of the subtenants was worse, "the Evil One itself". Following the long fight with the Fife Adventurers, hardship may have been greatest where mainland tacksmen were placed above the joint tenants; but even under MacAulays and MacIvers rents may have been raised and some of the joint freedom lost which was still enjoyed in Ness. Whatever adjustments had been made in an earlier period had to be re-made with the beginning of Seaforth's new order.

In the following generations, contradictory accounts of lairds, factors and tacksmen are given by contemporary observers. Certain of these insisted that, given the poverty of the lands as a whole, the chiefs and landlords, factors and tacksmen, were the saviours of their people. Yet even among those who supported authority in general, there was
[113]

[1] Charles Booth, *Zachary Macaulay*, 1934.

175 seldom agreement as to which of these three types brought
554 the greater good or wrought the lesser evil. As elsewhere,
565 tacksmen declined by the end of the eighteenth century.
427 Buchanan wrote in 1793, "The greatest tacksman in Lewis is the Laird's ground officer"; but he added that the Island was for the most part inhabited by tenants holding directly from Seaforth, who "easily perceived the folly, as well as the inhumanity, of lending out the people on his island to imperious tacksmen, for the purpose of raising fortune to themselves on the ruins of the unfortunate subtenants". At a later date a former Chamberlain of the Lewis estate, John Munro Mackenzie of Calgarry, held otherwise. To the Napier Crofters' Commission in 1883, he said: "Till the beginning of this century the greater part of the Lewis was in the hands of tacksmen, or middlemen, who got in some cases from their subtenants in money, produce, and labour, what nearly paid their rents". Their names were those of the seventeenth century. Early in the century, "when Mr. Stewart-Mackenzie married the Hon. Lady Hood, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and took the management of the estate into his own hands, he did away with the middlemen, and let the land direct to the crofters.
[232] This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction, but it had its disadvantages, as the example of a good middleman, who looked after his people, and who was industrious in farming . . . and stock-breeding, was beneficial to the people, though in some cases they may have been petty tyrants." He might no doubt have added that they could, if need be, stand between a bad factor and the crofters.
[278] When they lost their tacks, some of these 'middlemen' turned to the growing fishing industry and helped to supply capital and enterprise as curers; their successors were active through the nineteenth century and I spoke with

175 the last of these in outlying villages after 1918. When
554 Matheson purchased the Island in 1844 he left the fishing
565 industry to the curers, great and small. Particularly before
427 most fishermen could speak and write English, the local
228 curers were best fitted to take action not only in marketing but in approaching the Government to aid the construction of piers and harbours. On the whole, their long ties with place and people, coupled with education, made them useful leaders of a community in which leaders were needed to adapt life to a changing economy. Here and there one or two small farmers survive, a little apart from the main townships. Aided by a long cultural tradition, they meet changing times by combining with their inheritance a sane selection of new elements.

Looking beyond the Island to the mainland, the time is
175 approaching for a fair assessment to be made of the historic
621 parts of chief and landlord, factor and tacksman. Not only
622 is there an enlarging body of documentation, but a growing
427 understanding of communal strands in tradition and of
184 changing social economy seen in relation to geographic factors of place and region. And in the Gaeldom, condi-
[178] tions varied greatly between bordering areas from Mar to
[182] Kintyre and the heartland of tradition in the Hebrides. In the Island, one must consider the fundamental opposition, yet the recurrent readjustments of chiefs and people. These, and not only individual differences in character and conduct, explain the differences of experience and opinion
[829] quoted above. The people's belief, so frequently given to me thirty years ago, that it was bad factors, not the landlord, who taxed and harried them unjustly, expressed an idealistic faith in a chief, rather than the facts of economy
[565] and history. For lordship begins with the imposition of
[113]

[1] A. McKerral, *Sept. Hist. Rev.*, 1950.

175 his bonnet in his hand and bowing low and reverently, he
622 declares on honour in presence of earth and heaven, in
[782] presence of God and men—*Am fianuis uir agus adhair, am*
fianuis Dia agus daoine—that he shall be faithful to his
[178] trust. This simple declaration of office is extremely impressive, though now, alas, becoming obsolete from the fears of the shallow thoughtless and the scoffs of the severely
[626] wise. The duties of the constables were to divide a new peat-moss into banks for which lots are cast, to see that every crofter does his share of free labour in road building and repair, to engage herds and the like." (*Napier Crofters' Commission*, 1884.)

Naturally such duties called not only for tact, firmness and authority, temporal and spiritual, on the part of the constable, but for strong backing by the crofters, as a body,
175 of the man they had freely elected. But hence too, the
622 advantage to a covetous landlord of superseding free
557 election by appointing his own nominee. Martin found
427 that this had been done in St. Kilda shortly before his visit (about 1695) and the people complained bitterly, as well they might. We shall see that the same suppression of liberty was resented in Lewis less than a century ago. As a mere estate employee, moreover, the constable's position between the landlord's factor (or ground officer) and his fellow-crofters, was always difficult; and it might be cruelly hard, as when he was forced to help in destroying a neighbour's house at an eviction. Neighbourly union in a township was damaged by this duality of function, when he who should have been their own impartial executive was in the landlord's pay. When affairs got too bad in a Lewis township the people would appoint their own constable in addition to the landlord's; even so, rivalry and dual functions weakened the community. Such weakness

175 in communal organisation, historically brought about by
622 landlord or steward over a wide period, has commonly
557 been ascribed to some inherent feebleness in Gaelic
427 communal spirit. It is all the more vital to realise the
strength of community and its self-governance by neigh-
[623] bourly 'parliament' and chosen constable, by which the people put their ideals into practice. These may be given in the three traditional terms of fellowship, fairness and freedom, summing up the Gaelic watchwords.[1] Unless the struggle for freedom was too severe, fraternity, followed by equality, came first.

[538] [1] *Companas, caidreabh* or *cairdeas*; *ceartas, coir, cead cothrom*, or *co-roinn*; and *saorsa*.

175 614 577 621 principle of duty-right or *coir*. Further, in so far as chief and people claimed unity as the children, the clan, of one ancestor, they had crystallised a fair ideal, realised by an exchange of services ('cuideachy'). Gaelic clanship was not without its Lowland counterpart in 'kindness' which linked those of one 'kind'—'kinsfolk' and neighbours—to their ferm-toun and parish, to one another, and to the laird. Tyranny and betrayal by chief and laird make one share the bitterness of grief once felt as competition for scarce land broke up 'kindness'. Yet the people's endeavour and attainment in the past give hope for the future.

175 614 621 622 All have heard of the hereditary Highland chief and many have read of the gentlemen-farmers, but too few have heard of team and crew, and township-parliament. It is time we learned not only of the aristocratic chief but of the chosen helmsman and the democratic constable. So long as the fallacy is repeated that the Highlanders "never co-operated, and could not act together except under the orders of a chief", so long will it be easy to add, "and they never will"! Historic truth may have much to teach [642] for the renewal of leadership for life together. And beyond the Highlands, the example of this aristo-democracy, at its worst and its best, may contribute to new concepts of community.

788 241 facing the sun, he cut a handful of corn. Putting the handful three times round his head, the man raised the '*Iollach Buana*', reaping salutation,—and the whole family [175] [178] then took up the strain." While these notes by Carmichael describe the custom after the abolition of the farm-team, he also tells of "all the people of the Townland going together to reap" (*Carmina*, No. 89, cf. Note to No. 90). In the days of close partnership this was no doubt a team blessing, said by the chief reaper among his neighbours in mutual aid.

782 264 [114] Grace before meals survives in Presbyterian households; and ancient graces are recorded in *Carmina*, vol. iii. The unpublished examples given here are from Miss Annie Johnston (or NicIain), Barra, to whose knowledge Gaelic lore owes so much:

1. O God, bless our portion, and our people.
2. O God, be about the beginning of our life (or food) and about the end of our life (*lit.* of our world).
3. O God, let nothing enter our bodies that may harm our souls.

A Dhia, beannaich ar cuid 'us ar cuideachd.
A Dhia, bi mu thus ar bithe (or *bidhe*)
'us mu dheireadh ar saoghail.
A Dhia, na leig dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n'anam.[1]

[114] [192] [1] The reader will note the meaning in translation; but he should also scan the Gaelic, and the assonance of the vowels. In the first and shortest there is a simple play upon sound and meaning: *ar cuid 'us cuideachd*—"our share (of things) and our (share of) people, friends and family". In the second, Miss Johnston thinks there may be a play upon the words 'life' and 'food' (of which the sound is almost the same), reminding one that food is the means of life and of all that life means. In the third the apposition of ideas is characteristically emphasised in the pattern of the accented vowels in the words "*dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n-anam*"; here again the form, by means of which it sank through the senses into the heart, marks its native origin. Contrast with these the translation into Gaelic of a common English Grace. As in the English original, its prose lacks poetic form: *Tha sinn a toirt taing dhuit, A Thigearna, airson nan tiodhlaicean a tha Do mhathas a' buileachadh oirnn, troimh Iosa Criosda ar Tighearna.* Amen.

782 233 The care of cattle was accompanied by prayer. As a Eriskay housewife said to me, she would never leave he cow tethered without a murmured, "Saint Columba b herding you" (*Buachaille a'Chaluim-cille ort*). The curin of animal sickness, as of human ailments, was accompanie by prayers. And prayer was used to avert the evil ey symbol of suspicions born of unreasoning fear which psychologists tell us, beset the modern but little less tha the ancient! The thought or act of prayer which link a man to his fellow-men links him to the dumb beasts "The man who is merciful to a soul will not be merciles to a brute" (*Am fear a bhitheas trocaireach ri anam, ch bhith e mithrocaireach ri bhruid*).

796 171 779 Throughout Christendom each task of the annua rhythm was marked, at its start and close, by a day o seasonal festival (*Lá Feill*). These Christian festivals re placed earlier celebrations and continued some of thei features, often in play. Yet concerted seasonal activitie could not be related to the supreme festival of the Christia Church, Easter, owing to its movable date. This is on reason for the great importance of other, fixed Festivals t [114] rural community life. This point, not always appreciate by latter-day individualism, is made clear by M. M. Bank in describing *British Calendar Customs*, vol. i, *Scotlan* 175 (1937). Remembering that the Old Style Calendar date 178 were ten days later than the New Style (when officiall adopted in Scotland in 1600), they may be compared wit 796 the annual rhythm of climate and labour (Fig. 9). Unti 1600, the New Year began in spring on 25th March. Afte the Reformation and the abolition of Christmas or Noel *Nollaig*, New Year's Day on 1st January took its place a the day which, in the Protestant Highlands and Lowlands still keeps alive some of the old friendly visiting an

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 796 178 'first-footing'. In the past the lads came in bands singing carols, and once admitted—refusal of hospitality being out of the question—any misunderstandings and quarrels of the past year had to be forgiven and forgotten. With individual visits this is no longer possible, for though these maintain friendship, they cannot easily and naturally heal a quarrel.

175 796 533 [127] From Lewis three fine carols once sung by youths are recorded, of which the fidelity of Carmichael's translation goes far to render both sense and feeling (Nos. 55-57).[1] In Ness I have sought in vain for the old melodies from the descendants of Angus Gunn. Born about 1800, Gunn had lived for many years as a shepherd on the islet of North Rona, unreached by the burning zeal of the Evangelists, so that his traditional piety survived. Could they be found, these melodies would enrich the remnant of authentic Christian lore in Britain, for even the well-known English carols are mostly of modern reconstruction.

The first Christmas Hail opens, "*Ho Ri*, Hail to the King, Blessed is He. . . . Blessed be the house and all therein. . . . Lasting . . . and healthy round the hearth be ye. . . ." It goes on, "This night is the eve of the great Nativity, the great Noel [*Nochd oidhche Nollaige moire* . . .]; Born is the Son. . . ." It closes, "Shone the mountains . . . earth, and land, Heard was the wave upon the strand. . . . Blessed be the King . . . to all ages, to all time." A fragment from Tolsta, Lewis, sung by boys on New Year's Eve as they begged for a Noel bannock from house to house, latterly began and ended with playful nonsense, yet it retained its traditional climax: "[On the first day of the New Year] I saw the Threesome [The Trinity] going to the shore. The land shone, the

[113] [1] No. 59 is set to an Eriskay chant in *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, p. 159.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 796 533 earth shone, The wave shone on the shore; The deer of the mountain steep shone. . . ."[1]

"The Christ Child's Lullaby" is a lovely carol narrating the Christmas tale. Legend tells that it was sung by 175 796 533 773 'Mary-Mother' herself to an unwanted stepchild lost on the moors, where his stepmother found him in the arms of Mary, who sang as she lulled him. The stepmother cherished this song with the lost child, henceforth loved as her own.[2] The poetry of the Gael, like the odes of Greece and the Psalms of the Hebrews, is luminous with the vision of mountains, land and sea, reflecting a light within that of sun or moon, and sonorous with the rhythm of wave, tide and season which are "of all ages and to all time, [181] *gach linn gu brath*". Its adoration is full of nature and of humanity, yet it soars above mere nature worship or anthropomorphism.

175 796 While Christmas, more than any, was a festival of leisure, others were closely linked to labour. The festival dates of Candlemas or Lent, of Saint Bride's, Saint Patrick's or Lady Day, marked the stages of spring's coming and the duties they brought. Summer came in at Beltane—held in May, though the word included other dates connected with spring fire; and on St. John's Day

113 [1] Donald Macdonald, M.A., MS. essay for the Royal Scot. Geog. Society.

[2] A short version is published in the *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. A translator may choose from its 29 stanzas—though all are true to the Gospel and worth translation. Of the simple choral variant of the air (as published) Fr. Allan Macdonald told Miss Amy Murray his grief that it had superseded the melodic variety given to the Lullaby when sung by one singer at a time (*Celtic Review*, 1905–6). From three variants noted from oral singing one can arrange a melodic sequence. To pass from a major variant (set to stanzas on Jesus's mother, the shepherds and the 'kings') to minor variants (set to the tale of Herod's evil deeds) restores much of the dramatic intensity of this noble carol. Only deep feeling for the Gospels could create and maintain, without written help, so full a version of the words and variety of associated melody. (The complete words, *Taladh Chriosta*, are in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, p. 7.)

175 at midsummer came joyous departure to the shielings.
796 Michaelmas at the end of September was a festival of horsemanship, when the ponies, rested and well fed, could race madly along the machar. As long nights brought in the winter, Haliowe'en came on 31st October, and on the morrow the solemnity of All Hallows (*Samhain*). On 11th November came St. Martin's Day, and in December Christmas once again.

175 When the Islesmen put out to sea, prayers were chanted
782 to Father, Son and Holy Spirit and to the Disciples, "the Fishers of Men". While some of these might be individual (*Carmina*, Nos. 117-120), others were chanted by the skipper at the helm, as celebrant, the crew giving the
[178] responses (No. 121). As self-sustained community life
[779] weakened and customs were endangered, this prayer was encouraged by a few clergy, Catholic and Protestant. At
175 the start of the season's fishing in Eriskay, Fr. Allan Macdonald went out in the boats and chanted a rune taught
226 to him by elders, the men responding.[1] One of the 'Ocean
788 Blessings' or prayers recorded by Carmichael (No. 119) is found in Bishop Carswell's *Liturgy in Gaelic*, of 1569, and is quoted by Martin as "a form of prayer used by many of the islanders at sea after the sails are set".[2] Most of Carswell's *Liturgy* was translated from that of John Knox, but not this prayer, of which the earlier and later-recorded version are the same, except for one revealing difference.

[178] [1] In so doing, 'Father Allan' may have been restoring a pious service of an older school of Gaelic priests trained upon the College of Lismore, an island in Loch Linnhe. Lismore was the birthplace of Carmichael, and in the home of his Protestant parents the young priests were hospitably received.

[2] *Foirm nan Urnaighthe* (ed. M'Lauchlan), 240, and Martin, 1703 (edition of 1934, pp. 186-189). A new text of Carswell is in preparation by the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society.

175 As recorded by Carswell (and Martin), this prayer,
226 after calling upon the Trinity, tells that the Three-in-One,
788 ever living, guided Clan Israel through the Red Sea,
773 brought Jonah to land from the belly of the great ocean beast, and led Paul and his companions from the torment of the sea; after these three stanzas it closes with a general supplication. As heard by Carmichael three centuries after Carswell, the first three stanzas are identical, but they are
[539] followed by the culmination. Recalling the hour "when the storm poured on the Sea of Galilee . . .", the poem goes on, "Be Thou, King of the elements, seated at our helm, And lead us in peace to our voyage's end. . . ." It is significant that the Reformation Liturgy includes the story of Clan Israel's flight from their enemy whose drowning forms the climax of the tale, and the absurd miracle of the whale—a late interpolation in the convincing original Hebrew poem on Jonah's voyage,[1]—but that it omits the Christian climax, of the storm allayed by Christ, the Helmsman of peace.

[539] Another fishers' rune (No. 120) concludes, "To whom trembles the voice of the wind? To whom become tranquil strait and ocean? To Jesus Christ, Chief of each saint, Son of Mary, Root of Victory." These blessings, though they refer to the Old Testament, dwell lovingly on the New. Their thought is of the fishermen friends, Peter, Andrew and John, of the Baptist and of Christ's mother, of Saint Martin and later apostles to the Gael, and the Archangels, and of Christ, Rock of rocks (*Carraig Ail*), and the Trinity.
226 These bring strength in danger, peace after strife with the
778 elements, remembrance of the poor, and fellowship to the crews. Peace and strength pervade the "Dawn Prayer of

[1] R. G. Moulton, *Modern Reader's Bible* (reissue, 1925, pp. 1423-1424; cf. Note to Matt. xii. 40, p. 1696).

286 Make smooth and even the warp of my loom
788 And grant thy blessing, God, on me,
539 On all who here find shelter and room
And dwelling . . .

Thine arm be round each woman here
Who waulks this web of mine,
O aid her in her hour of need . . .

Keep the flock that we may win
Sweet and nourishing milk to drink
And wool to give, to weans and kin,
For wear!

Even now in Harris or the Lews, a brief good wish may be uttered—a "Health and strength to the wearers!" as the perspiring women end the waulking; but in the past the web was finally consecrated. Each of the family who was to wear a portion of it was named by the weaver herself, who led the consecration (*Carmina*, No. 113).

May the well-loved wearer of my web
Never be wounded . . .
May the sanctuary shield of the Lord be his. . . .

286 The significance of this gift of hard-won cloth can now
532 be seen, first for the family but next for the neighbourly
614 team. We can understand how each 'set' or pattern of tartan stood for the spirit of the family and the group of
[593] kin and homeland, the clan. We conceive what it meant
[621] to the Gael when the tartan, with "the Highland dress . . . or any part of it whatsoever", was forbidden "to
[291] any man or boy" in the Highlands. Women were still allowed to wear it, it was true, but the dress ceased to be a symbol of community when its wear was confined to
[714] one sex. As a single exception, the Highland dress was
175 retained for soldiers, but the militarisation of the tartan—though it seized upon one strand of clanship, that of

286 warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, with
532 peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven and
614 waulked together ceased to be a sacrament when the tartan
714 was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform with
[178] "England's cruel red".
[648] The framers of this law, which stood on the statute book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they
175 did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath which
648 reversed every benediction said by the women at their
286 work: "I . . . do swear, as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, any
291 gun, sword, pistol or arm whatever, and never use tartan,
782 plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do,
641 may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and property—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and be without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come across me if I break my oath". This Act, as law and symbol, struck full at the sacramental life of family, neighbour-team and clan community, in which labour and prayer had been indissolubly bound.[1]

(c) WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

178 Little remains of the tradition of worship in the tiny
771 oratories, chapels or 'temples' whose ruins stud the shores

346 [1] The collaboration of friends in Lewis may allow mention of the Gaelic
172 version of A. Geddes, *The Spirit of the Tartan, a Song Drama* (English
[113] Version); *Souvenir Programme and Book of Songs* (Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, 1932). In this the spirit of this labour sequence embodied in its songs and runes is dramatised in its setting of custom and history. The Gaelic version was prepared by the generous labours of James Thomson, M.A., Bayble, and the late Duncan Macdonald, M.A., Sandwick, Lewis.

172 of the Isles, and in which the people met, though far from
178 any clergy. On the southern mainland most trace of
346 shrines and chapels seems to have been lost, so small are
[771] the rings of unhewn stone that marked their sites. Little
was recorded by salaried clergy about the services conducted
• 175 there; those who approved tended to let well alone. Hence
814 written accounts have come down chiefly from those who
were out of touch with rural needs or ignorant of the
language spoken in intimacy, and whose alien training had
[219] removed them from sympathy.[1] As for those whose private
interests, stipend or subservience to patrons bound them
to prelate, lord or king, they roundly condemned free
congregations.

175 Nevertheless, fragmentary records have come down,
814 such as those of Martin, who visited St. Kilda in 1697 and
771 described the little church where the people still kept a
fine brass crucifix and worshipped together, without the
[184] presence of a clergyman. Naturally, the curiosity stimu-
lated by St. Kilda's fabulous isolation led Martin to de-
scribe its little community more fully than any other; but
he mentions similar worship elsewhere. Thus in lonely
North Rona, inhabited by only five families, Martin had

[133] [1] The difficulty of initiation to intimate usages of language is exemplified in a scholarly and patriotic work, the *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (Gaelic-English, and English-Gaelic) by Malcolm Maclennan, D.D., 1925. This standard work incorporates all the words of three previous dictionaries,
[192] with many additions. Yet key words of the people's religious heritage, of immemorial age, of living usage, and recorded a generation or so before in the collections cited here, are either absent, or are given the more prosaic or debased of two shades of meaning (not the *higher*). See "*caim*, a case, sheath" or *shrine*; "*tionnsgann*, a beginning" (a *dedication*); *earna*, *Hail* or *salutation*; "*ora*, *orra*, or *ortha*, a charm . . . amulet . . . or imposture of any kind . . . Irish . . . prayer in verse—from Latin, *oratio*" (why prayer in 'Irish' only?); and other vital words. According to this scholarly dictionary, the title of the supreme Scottish collection of Gaelic religious tradition, Carmichael's *Ortha nan Gaidheal* (Latin, *Carmina Gadelica*), is to be translated, not *Prayers*, but "*Charms* . . . or Impostures . . . of the Gael"!

• 175 visited the chapel of St. Rona. It was fenced, and was
814 swept every day, suggesting daily worship; and the Lord's
771 Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments were repeated
there every Sunday morning. This led Martin to say that
[788] the people had no vices; and indeed the Gael's own
prayers insist upon the beauty of virtues rather than on
the evil of vices. In Lewis at that time (1695) there were
two ministers, at Stornoway and at Barvas; and the Barvas
minister visited Rona yearly. Isolated though they were
from their fellow-Lewismen, the Rona folk thus had annual
contact with organised religion, such as was lacking even
on the main island during periods of stress in Scotland.
[648] Invasions, repeated destruction and prolonged intrigue by
the Norsemen or the English Kings, led to, and intensified,
[798] internal strife. And in Lewis forty years of warring inter-
regnum had followed the 'Reformation'.

175 These and other notes of worship given by Martin,
771 such as those of the Lewismen's devotions when touching
at the Flannan Isles, show that the worshippers relied
798 greatly upon themselves and one another. They did so
even after their primitive Christian modes of worship had
been blamed and derided by Reformers, and the new modes
in their turn condemned by such ordained priests as secretly
made their way north from Armagh to Uist, Harris and
probably to Lewis. How much more stable must their
community's faith have been before the tragic upheavals
[797] which began at the Reformation. Some four centuries
earlier, the Roman Church supplanted the institutions
developed by the early Celtic missionaries from regional
and rural growth, by a formal organisation developed upon
an imperial and civic model. Thus they may already have
shaken faith by undermining the authority of communal
[795] sanctions and traditions. But the break caused by medieval

• 175 Roman Catholicism was far less complete than that ulti-
771 mately brought about by Protestantism—Episcopalian or
798 Calvinist.
795 At least twenty-five churches, chapels and tiny oratories
are named by Martin in Lewis and his list is incomplete
175 (1934, p. 106). Harris and its islets also had their comple-
346 ment of 'temples', in addition to the priory church of
Rodel. We may perhaps assume that before the Reforma-
[162] tion Lewis had a population of some 4000 persons,
or 1000 families, and contained some thirty chapels or
[794] oratories in inhabited areas. If so, then one church or
'temple', on an average served thirty to thirty-five families,
or six or seven farm-groups. Yet only the larger congre-
gations at Eye, Stornoway, Ness or Uig and Rodel would
normally be served by clergy; the people of smaller congre-
gations would be without, for weeks and months or even
years.

175 When the people were too distant from priests (and
79 later ministers) to hear the Lessons, they handed down
the Word orally. Their power of retaining memorable
[153] thought, even in prose, is still remarkable; and verse
175 strengthened memory. For example, 'the Ten Com-
788 mandments' paraphrased in rhyme are recorded in Fr.
779 Allan Macdonald's little collection, "as given by the God
of graces to Moses in the wilderness" (*Na Fainteau*,
p. 62). Moses, had he understood Gaelic, would have
protested at the omission of the Second Commandment,
but no sculptor of Iona, Rodel or Eye would have felt a
need for it, being unafraid that a Christian could bow
down to a golden calf. Believing, with Solomon, that a
craftsman's work is his prayer, the artist-monks held that
an 'image' should represent, though never replace, God's
creation, and may even quicken our concept of the Creator

• 175 in whose 'image' mankind was made. As for the number
779 ten, it was simply restored by subdividing the Tenth
788 Commandment into two parts! Thus the letter of the
Mosaic Law, be it frankly admitted, is modified! There
are also extensions of certain Commandments. Yet, re-
calling Jesus's insistence upon the unspoken thought which
prompts man's conduct, one may feel that the blunt Seventh
Commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery", is
strengthened by the form of its paraphrase: "Avoid *all
thought, or wish*, or deed immoral (*mi-bheusach*, immodest
or vicious)". The Sixth becomes, "Commit no murder
nor sin of wrath". And the paraphrase of the Fourth,
rendered as "Keep the Lord's Day *and each festival*",
completes the Commandment as it was obeyed by Jesus
and His friends at the Passover, and by Celts and Romans
at Easter. The memories of the people were impregnated
with abiding truths from the Old Testament, and still more
with the teaching and spirit of the Gospels.

175 All this was incorporated in their lives. As each
771 symbol of nature was truer to Gaelic worshippers because
it was not borrowed but experienced, so their interpreta-
tion of the story of the Son of Man was the truer because
they looked for Him among themselves. Spiritual fears
are imaged from bodily perils they knew in the 'Rough-
bounds' and at sea; and spiritual ignorance is seen as a
peat bog's 'black morass', not as a waterless desert beyond
Jordan or the Dead Sea. Comfort is rarely suggested by
the biblical 'shade from heat', but rather by the 'sun's
[776] mild healing rays'. When Christmastide, Old Style,
brought lengthening days and mantled the Bens with snow,
the glow upon their summits in earlier dawns told the
[776] Islesmen that the Light of the World was born again. In
their thought Jesus shared their communal life with His

885 in thy kertch!" and counsels her to be hospitable yet wise,
539 and courageous though calm; to be frank yet tactful, dignified though kind. The themes of this ode's melodious
885 verse recall the virtues of a wife enumerated mnemonically
538 in the acrostic which concludes the Book of Proverbs.
593 For in that, too, there is mention of "strength and dignity, wisdom and kindness", and the poor are not forgotten as the wife goes tirelessly about her work, sets her servants to their tasks and sells her merchandise at a profit. Yet the acrostic's emphasis on the wife's work and its gain reveal the writer as a shrewd citizen seeking to train a wife to ceaseless exertion and business dealing, with her husband's private profit and public honour as a most important end! The singer of 'The Kertch'—man or woman, one cannot tell—thought of conduct not for its profit first, but for its virtue, and dwelt upon motive, mind and heart.[1]

• 175 To tide over the supreme crisis of childbirth the mother
844 was strengthened in confidence, courage and calm. The need was the greater before modern midwifery. In Sutherland as late as 1908, a good professional nurse tending a difficult case of childbirth, anxious and powerless without a doctor, found herself indebted to older wisdom. The patient's mother first filled a small basin with water into
[788] which she put trinkets of gold and silver. "She then held the basin to her dying daughter's lips, and made her drink three mouthfuls of the water, each mouthful in the name of Father, and of Son, and of Spirit, 'the three Persons of the Trinity of kindness and power, *Tri Pears na Trianaid chaoimh chumhachdaich*'. Soon after, the child came . . .

[113] [1] *Am Breid*, 'The Kertch'. *Carmina*, No. 215. A short paraphrase by Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser, set to a lovely air and refrain, will be found in *From the Hebrides*. First published (imperfectly) in *Nether Lochabor* by the Rev. Alexander Stewart (1883, p. 4) with delightful notes.

• 175 and all was well. . . . 'How the trinkets in the water
844 could affect the case', continued the nurse, 'I do not know, but that some occult power was at work . . . I am
788 certain.'"[1] As to the gold, did not the Magi offer the same 'magic' at the Nativity? Is a drink of water not the
844 simplest physic to cool a fevered system? Is not each
788 Name of the Trinity, breathed by a mother to her daughter in labour in her turn, a Word of tender power and courage: while the slow rhythm of the three Names may calm the wild heart-beats which had brought on haemorrhage, and lead to safe delivery?

771 Throughout life there prevailed the concept of God as 'encompassing' man, woman or child, old or young, in their weakness. This image is ancient, and is found in the Psalms (10, 12, 32, 142). So long as faith were alive the Lord's aid might be called upon for another in need of help, or for one's own protection. To clarify the concept, unseen, by help of a thing seen, a circle was drawn with the hand round oneself or another, in fear, danger or distress.[2] By such innocent aid the people strengthened confidence in sickness and resistance in temptation, and concentrated prayer for delivery from evil.

888 As age approached, its gifts were honoured. For in age, memory, kneaded by labour, is leavened by leisure; the experience won on land and sea, or in group-farm and home, can be weighed. And gifts of feeling, sown in childhood and growing through life, ripen as grandchildren come in from their herding or play to listen and learn.
[538] When manuscripts or books were unobtainable, readings rarely heard, and the people illiterate, teaching could only

[1] *Carmina*, vol. iv, p. 283.
[2] *Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes; cf. Nos. 248-250, etc. Encircling or circuiting symbolically, was also known by a word of which only the literal meaning is now known to most: *cuartachadh*.

888 be given by ear and learning come by heart. Henc
539 were the holders of an inheritance of treasures whi be sought from them or be lost for ever. But to b mitted, the word must remain alive in the mind. both the faculty of memory and the fruit it bor elder's mind brought respect, even veneration. A in retelling is still immensely valued, but so, to thoughtful commentary and poetic enrichment. for elders, though general, was not given blin personally and by choice.

888 As handed down, the Fifth Commandmen
771 "Honour thy parents and hold them in loving (*Striochd dha do pharantan 's thoir speis dhaibh*
562 community was pervaded by the Christian conc Holy Family, rather than by that of a patriarchat concept took root from the first missions to th community, with which it harmonised and which fertile ground for this Christian seed. Hence t no general assertion of paternal, still less of pa authority at the expense of youth. Where equa is due to both parents, the mother finds equal regard with the father. And although the fathe is close at hand while the mother's may be a little away, her parents are likely to be the younger more active and helpful to their grandchildren, influence of all four grandparents fairly balanced.

[184] The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob a
[773] in a hymn of the Lews, sung when going up with and herds to the shielings; even this may be a Pre
[199] adaptation (*Carmina*). But until the overwhelmi
• [175]

[1] Rev. Allan Macdonald, p. 62, *Na Faintean*. The omission o paternal precedence may be a courtesy to motherhood implyin parenthood.

888 of the Old Testament made itself felt, as in Lewis-and-
771 Harris in the nineteenth century, this narrower patriarchal
562 example hardly affected thought.[1] Rooted in a wider form
(184) of family than a patriarchate, and reverencing a Holy Family
(773) and all fellowship, Gaelic society honoured age and parent-
(177) hood for their inheritance, and childhood and youth for
(175) their promise.

Such ideals of human relationship led to the veneration of the Saints of the Gospels and of later history, and also of those of legend, especially Bride. Dedications to Bride
773 or 'Bridget' are widespread from Wales to the Lews;
776 yet her memory has been all but lost in Britain, except in the Isles. Carmichael wrote that "Bride and her services" are dear to the hearts of the people. She is called "Bride of the white feet . . . of calmness . . . of the kine; woman-comrade . . . and woman-helper . . ." "I am in the keeping of my Saint Mary: My companion beloved is Bride" (*Carmina*, Nos. 70-71; 263-264). As joy, steadfastness and attainment are generally linked to one notable stage in the life of each 'holy companion', the example, aid and fellowship of each saint in turn was especially sought, at a corresponding stage or crisis of one's own life.

776 The Gael's veneration for saintly men and women was
171 shared by Catholic peasantry throughout Christendom;
174 but its special quality seems to have been closeness of

(64) [1] Clanship has repeatedly been said to be 'patriarchal', as an ideal and a system. A different conclusion, that community is the root of clanship (even in its political forms), may come as a surprise. The English or Lowland reader has had access only to the writings of strangers such as Burt. Not knowing Gaelic, these derived their information from Highland speakers of English who, deliberately or unconsciously, were biased by ranking as chief or gentry, and not unnaturally explained their position as patriarchal. (621) Thus strangers ignored the co-parental life of farm-groups and townships, economically humble but spiritually rich, as the root of a clan-community.

779 with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of
764 Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1294.
532 Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness. The following year, 1295, saw the commencement of "the
• 175 three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction
644 of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King
(829) Alexander III, "that Scotland led in luve and law", peace within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing
(648) Gaelic Christian traditions and Scoto-Norman arts. After his death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars
181 can tell me, this almost unnoticed monument remains
764 unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement, were shattered by invasions, and Gaelic tradition was only to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all time, we have become.

763 At the approach of death God's mercy and peace were
782 sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[2]
(174) In early times confession seems to have been made as willingly to the 'Soul-friend', followed by Benediction. When death had come, the mourners sang of sleep and
764 home. In Lewis today funerals are conducted in silence to the graveside, where the last service is held; but

(113) [1] *A unique medieval tomb at Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.)
[2] It would be of deep interest to compare the attitudes to death found in 'Spiritual Songs' by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs on death which, though maybe of post-Reformation date, are of Roman Catholic origin (*e.g.* in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, poems on the Day of Judgment, and of Wrath; on age and on death; and on Purgatory:
(171) pp. 31, 85, 146; 34, 19, 21; 27). Some have much in common, both by virtue of the earlier traditions they shared and still more because of parallel trends of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Cf. *Carmina*.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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The families of the young men might be willing to encourage enlistment. But they pled or bargained for an assurance that after service was over their sons should be returned to their homes and have land on which to settle down. The receipt of the bounty and their savings would help the men to pay rent later.

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Passive resistance was offered at times, however, as when the Macleod Highlanders were raised in 1757, only a decade after the 'Forty-five. An Island friend has told me of a family tradition, that, as a young man at that time, his own great-grandfather was concealed to escape conscription. And the press gang was busy in Stornoway when the *Old Statistical Account* was written. Protest had usually to be made in secrecy or silence; but a revolt was organised by Stornoway men in 1793.[1] And the voice of one unwilling conscript has come down to us in a song, well known in the Isles (though little known in English), with the refrain—*Och ho ro*, brown lad, so bonnie (*'ille dhuinn*). Although it bears no sign of Jacobitism, it begins, "My grief to be wearing King George's red clothing!" It continues, "The short-coated sailors bore us to Holland. It was a Saturday evening when we fought; and many a wife was widowed ere dawn broke on the Lord's Day, their husbands ta'en, whom gold can never restore, stretched out among the rushes, blood pouring over their shoulders. . . .

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'O'er the hills bear my greeting to Mull of the mountains;
Where cuckoos are cooing, on the braes before Beltane.'

'Bear my greeting to my mother, who nurtured me, to my sister who weeps for me, and to my sweetheart; I'll be home if death spares me."[2]

[1] Public Record Office, H.O. 50/2. Letters of Francis Humberstone Mackenzie (16th and 19th May 1793), communicated by Mr. J. R. Western.
[2] Charles Stewart, *The Killin Collection*.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 701 [614] Such are the mingled traditions of the Highland regiments which served in so many wars, for right or for wrong. Of all the desperate alternatives before the Gael —famine at home, semi-slavery in the factory towns, death-stricken sea voyages, pioneering in the forested hills of Eastern North America, or war, it was this last which offered the men not only the trappings and glamour of clanship but continuing fellowship. In the regiment a Gael was among friends. Modern civilisation offered him no other life promising social continuity and the hope of a return to croft and township, " if death should spare him ".

175 701 565 554 [703] It would be wrong to suggest that only the gentry could rise to command, for as English and literacy were acquired, the sons of small tenants received commissions. British military discipline has too often driven a breach between the men and the non-commissioned officers, spoiling the latter's fitness for higher leadership. But among Highlanders " the bond of faith and affection " led naturally to commissioned rank. For generations, historic precedent was carried on in living tradition.[1] Given education, the sons of Island crofters have risen to command on land and sea; but education came late.

[178] [871]

CONCLUSION

175 621 631 577 614 Thus in the ' little commonwealths ' of the farm-hamlets grouped within the township, personal right and equal shares were balanced by common duty, summed up in the principle of duty-right or coir.

[1] The tradition of leadership calls for review but here one can only cite examples. For instance, descendants of his neighbours in Strath Spey told me that my paternal grandfather, as a penniless lad speaking Gaelic and English (in which he was literate), enlisted in the Black Watch about 1829. He was known as a N.C.O. for his power of quiet, reasoning discipline. He thrice refused the offer of a commission, which was then given to others, of whom more than one rose to high command in the battalion.

175 widowed mother and her family, working in farm and town-
771 ship, sending merriment at Christmas, and comforting
776 sorrow at Easter or All Souls. And even as He had told the Disciples to heal by faith, so, they thought, had He bidden them. Who could have told the people, in their ignorance, that in a later age they would suffer for this faith?

175 Thus upon the Lessons read in church (or out of doors)
771 and cherished as the root and stock of faith, there were grafted three types of native shoot. These were the para-
78 phrases, the meditations or commentaries, and the parables
538 or legends. The paraphrases should need no justification here, in so far as the four Gospels are each incomplete and complementary—the Celtic clergy may have known the fragments of a fifth; these 'fulfilled' the older Law and the Prophets. Of the meditations, few would be censured by a Protestant or Catholic theologian on points on which both would agree; points of disagreement in the meditations hardly concerned them. (Cf. in the Rev. Allan Macdonald's collection, "Thoughts on Death", *Smaointean air a' Bhas*, or *Carmina*, No. 7, and many more.) As a theologian might criticise the parables, legends or marginal tales of which so many were told in medieval Christendom, a word should be said of these.

771 Legends were told of the appearance of Saints to be-
773 lievers, such as that of "The Christ-Child's Lullaby", and of the life of the Holy family. The Gaelic sense of parable was strong (*Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes, *Caim*). In these legends was expressed what the people themselves would have felt and thought in joy or suffering. Legitimately, a preacher suggests a motive or circumstance to bridge the gap in a Bible record; the people did the same. When reverently retold, some suggested circumstance would in time grow to be a legend taking a place close to the Gospel story. A

175 The advent of the Reformers to the Island may at first
798 have seemed less revolutionary to the people than has
generally been suggested by historians of either the new
181 Church or the old. Ministering to one another, the people
777 had not, like the city-dwellers of their time, enjoyed—or
suffered—a multiplicity of offices, administered by priests
whose ways of living might be a scandal. The Mass heard
in Latin was incomprehensible to those of Celtic (or
Teutonic) speech without the aid of translation into the
vernacular—an aid now universal among literate Roman
Catholics. Most of these offices, such as auricular con-
fession to a priest to obtain absolution, with masses for the
dead, indulgences and the like, were performed for pay-
ments prohibitive to the poor. The Islesfolk, for the most
part, lived far both from the orthodox practices of the Latin
Church and from the more flagrant abuses against which
a minority of the old Church had protested in vain. Hence
the transition to early Protestant liturgy would not be too
painful. In prolonged isolation, the Gaelic people, per-
force, had lived the life of the Lollard and Protestant
doctrine of "the Priesthood of all believers".

175 After the Reformation the people were bewildered by
181 the mutual condemnation of Presbyterian, Episcopalian
798 and Jesuit, and torn to the quick when all three parties in
turn denounced so much that they themselves held dear.
The more the rival clergy confused and wounded their
minds, the harder it was for younger generations to discern
ancient Gaelic wisdom and discard superstition; and
the easier to fall into credulous and secretive repetition of
rhymes and strings of holy names. The scorn of the
wealthy for simple rites and of the book-learned for the
symbols of old speech would add to confusion rather than
aid discrimination. As pious and understanding crofters

175 complained in Carmichael's own time, mockery is hard to
181 withstand. One can only guess, as yet, what were the real
798 effects of the decadence of Rome and the impact of the
Reformation upon the landward communities of the Low-
lands and Northern Isles. But the records of the Western
Isles leave no doubt as to the onset of this spiritual tragedy
among the Gael, of which Carmichael and others saw the
later acts and of which one still finds the epilogue.

175 The grim desperation of the religious and civil wars,
798 and their persecutions—crucifixions made by every side
in the name of the Cross—caused faith to be disastrously
shaken. Superstition rushed into the widening cracks in
older belief, aided by important sects of clergy. In the
Highlands, 'witch' torture was never carried to the
lengths it reached in the cities, though the last 'witch'-
burning in Scotland may have occurred in east Sutherland
(P. Hume Brown, *History*, ii, 1912, p. 451). But the frenzy
of witch-hunting by ministers in the Lowlands, during the
widespread evictions and social anarchy of the post-
Reformation period, suggests that the Adventurers' invasion
of the Lews, followed by the arrival of new masters and
Presbyterian ministers after 1600, must have aroused mor-
bid, anti-social fears. Lewis certainly suffered from fear of
the evil eye as late as the nineteenth, and even this, century.

We have to face the effects on the people of religious
strife. To ardent Reformers the Blessed Sacrament of
the Roman Church was a 'Jack-in-the-box'; and at the
climax of the Mass, the elevation of the Host—the moment
of 'transubstantiation' with its literal interpretation of the
words, "This is my flesh" (*Hoc est corpus meum*)—was so
much 'hocus-pocus'.[1] Conversely, to Roman Catholics

[113] [1] J. H. Matthews, *The Folklore of the Mass*, p. 96, 1903 (Catholic Truth Society).

175 much of Protestantism was a denial of Christianity.
798 Holders of all these forms of Trinitarian belief have united
in condemning Unitarianism as heresy, its earlier Arian
771 form having been stamped out in blood. The 'heterodox'
are held by the orthodox of many Churches to be awaiting
eternal torture. To a thoughtful humanist like Sir James
Frazer, on the other hand, the belief that one alone by
suffering can atone for the sins of others is of the deepest
significance, as being an ancient, widespread and 'pathetic
[795] fallacy'. Happily, one finds the greatest tolerance and
sympathy where Protestant and Catholic are mixed in the
[181] Isles. Elsewhere, too, sympathy and reverent enquiry are
taking the place of dogmatic assertion.[1] It is in this spirit
that we can best understand Gaelic beliefs at their highest,
and so distinguish their lowered use—or misuse for selfish
ends—from the highest use of sacrament and prayer by the
pure of mind and heart.

(e) RELIGION, MAGIC AND SUPERSTITION IN DAILY LIFE

789 Evil ends might be sought by means of the ancient
runes: the power of their poetry and associations could
tempt to perverted use. Carmichael tells how in Uist a
malefactor, in terror of the law, went to a needy woman,
and by appealing to her pity—and in exchange for a small
sum—learned from her an "Invocation for Justice".
Strengthened by its rhythm and imagery, and by his own
associated belief in its magical power as a charm, he stood
up boldly in Court, firmly asserted his innocence and got

[113] [1] Cf. the friendly theological arguments between a Bernera Presbyterian and a Roman Catholic from Berra (*Bodach Bharradh*—vii, viii), sketched in Gaelic by I. N. Macleoid, *Litricheam Alasdair Mhoir*, Stornoway, 1932.

121 to the world within. Above all, harmony of relations, at
771 every stage of life, in man and woman, was felt to pre-
181 figure relations with the Divine. The religious poetry of
which the Gael were the creators and heirs, promoted
courage and calm. True, its very power could lead to
superstitious respect for mere forms of words, debased as
'magical' charms. Such misuse was 'superstitious',
being false in itself and falling short of the clearest thought,
the highest aspiration, of the time and the community.
Worse still, use with evil intent could concentrate ill-will
and evoke mutual fears. Yet at its best, thought was
clearer, less confused, than is commonly imagined. To
the aspiration and attainment of the Gael—in congregation
or solitude, in meditation or labour, in love and faith or in
works—the fragments of their oral heritage bear witness.

(c) LITERACY AND EVANGELISM: 'THE MEN' AND THE DISRUPTION

175 From before 1680 "a school for the gentlemen's sons
178 and daughters" was open in Stornoway. Latin and
871 English were taught, and a century later even Greek had
been added, as recorded by W. J. Gibson, for many years
Rector of Stornoway's high school, the Nicolson Institute,
in his *Education in Scotland*, 1912 (chap. v). Particularly
towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Gaelic School
Society and other bodies, like the Society for the Propaga-
tion of Christian Knowledge, sent out schoolmasters to
teach the reading of the Scriptures. Industrial schools were
set up at the same time by Lady Seaforth, to teach spinning
[671] by the wheel, replacing the slow distaff. It was not till
nearly a century later that teaching of English was widely
taken advantage of—partly by the compulsion of the

175 Education Act of 1872, for the people "did not want to
178 give their children wings to leave them".[1]
871 The reading of Gaelic progressed fairly rapidly after
[671] 1800, in order that the Bible might be read. By 1833
something like one in three or four of the population, or
more than half of the younger people, could read Gaelic.
The Hon. Mrs. Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth, it seems,
had a 'warm sympathy' both with teaching to read the
175 Scriptures and with evangelical preaching. The coming
114 to Lewis in 1824 of the first evangelical minister, the Rev.
793 Alexander MacLeod, an Assynt man, is described in his
memoir in a striking volume, *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands*, edited by J. Greig (1877).

"At the distance of more than half a century it is not
175 easy to form a conception of the religious and moral
771 condition of Lewis previous to the year 1824. The present
793 writer has heard a still living minister of the Free Church,
who is a native of Uig, declare publicly that only two or
three copies of the Bible could be found within the wide
extent of the parish, and that he himself travelled a journey
in search of a copy of the blessed book, and all in vain. . . .
The densest intellectual and spiritual darkness held uni-
versal sway. Notwithstanding the pleasing features that
characterise Highlanders, even in their most primitive con-
dition, this state of things could not fail to be attended
with baleful fruits. Despite their constitutional warmth
of heart and loyalty of nature, unbending fidelity to what
they esteemed to be honour, and their unbounded kindness
and hospitality, many gross vices were found commingling
in the characters and lives of the Lewis people. For,
however strange it may appear, at the first prayer-meeting

[1] Quotations to this effect, dating from the *Old Statistical Account* until 1883, are given in the Brand Report of 1902.

175 which Mr. Macleod attempted to hold at Uig, one of the
771 former elders actually offered a request that a wreck should
793 be cast ashore in the neighbourhood;[1] while another
elder, referring to the death of our Lord as a misfortune,
used strong expressions of deprecation of its having at
all occurred.[2] . . . The reason is easily furnished; the Lewis
ministry was not evangelical. Moderatism held the land
in sole possession. . . . Nor did it act merely in a negative
indifferentist manner. Moderatism contained in itself
elements of positive distaste to Gospel truth, and enmity
towards gracious influences and experience. As a matter
of course, it was perfectly compatible with this system to
grant toleration to superstitious and superstitious obser-
vances, which had been handed down through the Dark
Ages of Popery from the still darker ages of Druidical
idolatry. Acts of adoration, having for their object the
heavenly bodies, were common. It is scarcely necessary
to state that family worship was unknown among the
people, and even at the manse. For although the public
ordinances were dispensed as a matter of form, they exerted
no practical influence upon the conduct. They rather
tended to lull more profoundly asleep by imparting and
maintaining a feeling of security to the poor dark benighted
souls who participated in them."

People did come to church "in tolerable numbers"
from the very outset of Mr. Macleod's ministry, but "Here
for the first time was a preacher who showed by his whole

[829] [1] Shipwreck was still thought of as an 'act of God', and a dire 'misfortune'. Not only is there no hint of deliberate wrecking ever taking place, as on some other British coasts, but abundant record of aid to the shipwrecked and respect for their property in the absence of the skipper and crew. (Martin, 1695; and later.)
[784] [2] According to Evangelical theory the punishment of guilty and innocent alike was part of the Divine plan. How different this, from the faith of the Islanders till then!

195 manner that he had in hand business of eternal moment
791 to his hearers. That business was to warn them of the
793 wrath to come, which impended over unpardoned Christless
sinners, and to proclaim the way of escape by the open
(192) door of a crucified and risen Saviour. Not more than
two months had elapsed since Mr. Macleod's admission
when the 'stupid attention' and vacant stare passed into
the wistful anxious listening, the suffused eye, the tender
subdued manner, and in some cases the heart-wringing
enquiry, 'What must I do to be saved?'

(183) "For something like two years this minister 'refused
to dispense the Lord's Supper'. . . . A very early effect
of his work was the extinction of various worldly and
pernicious customs and amusements to which the people
had been previously addicted, and the substitution of
meetings for prayer, diets of catechising, day and evening
schools, family worship, and other spiritual exercises in
their room. Many at the outset felt greatly aggrieved at
the new order of things. Meanwhile the Lord stood by
his servant, and the word mightily prevailed against all
opposition. Incredible efforts were made by earnest souls
in all parts of the island to be present at the preaching of
the Word, even on ordinary Sabbaths." By 1838 "the
whole island seemed to be moved by one powerful spiritual
impulse" and 9000 people flocked from all parts to the
Uig communion. "When the memorable 18th of May
1843 dawned"—that of the Disruption—"no part of the
country was readier to rally round the banner then displayed,
because of the truth, than the island of Lewis
almost to a man." It was "an unspeakable relief to the
ministers' spirits to escape by one decided step at once
from the bondage of State control and the chilling atmosphere
of Moderatism. . . . Even where evangelical preach-

195 ing was lacking, and the minister of the parish remained
791 in the Establishment, the popular movement inclined
793 unanimously towards the cause of the suffering and pro-
testing Church of Scotland, with the exception of a small
handful of people in Stornoway."

794 The part of elder folk in religious life continued to be
796 important, but in new ways. Masculine influence now domi-
198 nated the family and the congregation. The 'Men' in
the Highlands were Elders of the Church who often spoke
as lay preachers and who rose to speak on 'Question Day'
—that is on the Friday of the Communion Services, which
extended, and still do, from Thursday, the Fast Day, to
Monday, the Thanksgiving Day. The presiding minister,
after opening devotions, invited any Elder of the Parish to
rise and propose the Question; the Elder having read a
text from Scripture, would say he wished to hear the
'marks' of the true Believer, drawn from the text. After
the minister had himself "opened out the text", he would
name visiting Elders, calling upon them in turn to speak.
One by one, each would rise and give his picture of the
real Christian in terms of the qualities suggested by the
text. "And so the hour sped under the pleasing and
helpful variety of a dozen speakers or more. The 'Men'
spoke out of rich experience. . . .' Question Day' was a
self-searching season, when every hearer examined his
heart by the 'marks' adduced . . . and as this went on
there was a sweet glow on the face of the Congregation as
the presiding Minister summed up and closed the holy
Convocation." [1]

175 The 'Men' had long been a recognised Order in the
178 Highlands, and their foundation is traced to Thomas Hog,
794 the famous minister of Killearn, "born in Tain in the

[1] Rev. N. C. Macfarlane, *The 'Men' in the Lews* (1924).

175 year in which John Bunyan was born". Archbishop Sharp
178 "banished him to the dungeons of the Bass Rock for
twenty-eight years, and it was during his imprisonment
794 that the meetings of communicants were kept going by a
parishioner,—a reformed tinker and a gifted and consecrated
lieutenant". This tradition of the 'Men' renewed
itself and spread with each wave of 'Revival'. It sprang
up in the Islands more than a century ago, as it had on
the north-western mainland during the later eighteenth
century, and in 'Easter' Ross two hundred years before.

(198) The spiritual crises of the Reformation and of the
Cromwellian and Covenanting age are still profoundly
influential; yet they seem hard for those from the Low-
lands and England to understand because they occurred so
long ago. But in Lewis, Macfarlane writes of the 'Men'
whom he knew and admired, in order to keep their memory
green. Once more, life in the Isles throws fresh light on
the past, revealing its significance.

(b) EVANGELISM AND ERASTIANISM, WRATH AND WOE

175 The Disruption [1] gave a powerful urge to the move-
668 ment for freedom, in matters spiritual. Throughout Scotland
(195) the people were made to feel that both landlordism and the

[1] 'The issues of Disruption, for the sake of freedom from the choice of a minister by the landlord's patronage and from State control, were reviewed by the Rev. Prof. G. D. Henderson, in *Heritage of the Disruption*, 1943 (published at the centenary, and nearly half a generation after the Union of 1929). While the Free Church still maintains a strong hold in the Island—and among a small minority elsewhere who feel that even the terms of the Union could not secure full moral freedom—it is claimed by the Church of Scotland that its constitution now goes far to solve "the age-long antinomy of establishment and freedom", a view widely held abroad, both in Germany and in the smaller lands of North-west Europe occupied by the invader, at the time of the centenary.

175 State were in the wrong: the people were with God and,
668 most of all when they suffered, God was with them! The
sense of liberation brought to the Highlanders and Isles-
men encouraged them to press their claim to the land they
worked, strengthening the agrarian movement of 1880–86.
The moral victory of 1843 contributed to legal victory in
1886.

175 The influence of Evangelism continued for some time
178 at fever heat. "Even down to the present time (1877)
there are tokens of the gracious working of the Spirit on
791 men's minds, although it is a day of small things com-
795 pared with the past and, in the case of some, a day of
stumbling and instability. How humbling to behold the
first reaction in favour of worldly and Erastian [1] principles,
manifesting itself on the spot where the gospel banner was
first unfurled in Lewis! But there is a God that judgeth
in the earth, and his time to vindicate his cause shall come.
'Offences must come, but woe unto that man by whom
they shall come!'" [2]

181 What comment can be made on this? One shudders
at first, to hear of 'gross vices' among the people, only to
find that by these 'vices' was meant fidelity to the religious
past. It may seem strange that Highlanders such as these
writers on the Disruption Worthies', who were almost
as proud of Columba as of the Covenanters, were blinded
to the enduring values in Columban tradition. They
were certainly unable to foresee the effects of their
preaching.

[1] 'Erastianism' is the doctrine of the supremacy of the State in ecclesiastical causes, a term which came into use in Britain in the seventeenth century. Actually the problem is one which Erastus, 1524–83, nowhere entered upon; none the less, the name is established, and it denotes a major issue of principles.

[2] J. Grieig (ed.), *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands* (1877).

795 but still more to their repeated justification in the name
771 of the Lord 'God'. 'God' the universal (*Elohim*) came
(796) to be identified with the tribal god Jahveh or Yahweh,
altered, late in Jewish history, to "the LORD God",
000 term still used in Bibles. The war cry of the Jewish tribes,
as they swept in from the desert or tightened their hold
upon citizens and cultivators, was that of many wild
wanderers, before and since, who have cried upon their
God of Battles, upon Jahveh, or Allah. Magnificent in its
affirmations of righteousness, the Old Testament can be
terrible in its denials of pity.

795 The Bible (literally *Biblia*, the Books) reflects the search
791 of a people through centuries towards the idea of God;
but the tragedy of the Bible, or rather of its historic misuse,
536 came with the acceptance of all 'Scripture' as equal in
inspiration and truth. The early and the late were accepted
together, the mixed or false with the true. The custom of
seeking Divine guidance by simply opening a page of 'the
blessed Book'—that is, any text on any page of any one
of its books—was an example of such acceptance; and it
(195) was only possible for the literate. In Lewis, Macfarlane
records the custom, practised by 'The Men', late in the
nineteenth century.

Reading came late to the Islanders, but its effects were
195 as direct as among the Puritans or Covenanters at an earlier
178 period. The people, whose hearts had long since been
791 wrung with pity at the Crucifixion and who were steeped
(538) in reverence for the Gospels, became 'changed' indeed.
(212) Once their minds had been crushed by the Old Testa-
ment's massive weight, the 'change' was reinforced by the
vision of a world to come, limned by fevered imagination
(195) in the New Testament's finale, the Apocalypse. The
'change' was brought by Evangelicals who had themselves

175 undergone the same crushing experience, at a time when
178 communal life was being overthrown by the Industrial
791 Revolution. "Terrible old men!" exclaimed a wise Lewis
schoolmaster, of these 'Disruption Worthies'. It was not
795 that they were inhuman—that is clear from the warmth
felt for them by so many of the people, who would never
have taken kindly to the unkind.

195 Nor were the first Evangelicals invariably severe. Of
198 the Rev. Mr. Macrae, long in Lewis, it is told that, when
791 young he had rebuked an older fellow-minister for levity
at a ministers' supper on Communion Monday. Leaping
795 up, the minister seized Macrae by the shoulders and danced
behind him, till Macrae was forced to join in the laugh!
181 Macrae never forgot the sane and kindly words spoken
to him after: and he saw he had been wrong to identify
cheerfulness with irreligion. Yet much joy was extinguished or found illicit vent. To such ruthless zeal, there
came inevitably reaction, noted even by 1877, and still
more notable during the war of 1914–18 and after. Con-
flict or compromise was inevitable where Churchmen em-
phasised terror and inveighed against the calm heritage of
their forebears and the happiness for which human nature
198 asks. The days of emotional 'Revival' are by no means
791 over and from them the pendulum may swing from excess
back to relieved but wearied unconcern. Moreover, with
the emigration of so many of the men, the balance of family
life was upset. Some thoughtful men and women feel that
the 'Revival' which swept their Island (with the rest of the
Presbyterian Hebrides) before, 1939 and during the war
was partly due to the excessive influence of spinsters, to
whom strict Presbyterianism offered little outlet for
motherly emotion or sisterly service.

(c) SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN CHANGE

178 In spite of 'the wrath to come', life had to go on, work
181 be done, and natural affection find an outlet in youth.
183 How could the women waulk the cloth without a chorus
to keep their beating hands in time? Songs had to be
allowed by the sternest for this work in common. In a
land where marriage was not an affair of dowries, but
chiefly of love choice among the young folk, the old courting customs could not wholly be denied. Curiously enough,
drinking was not severely looked upon by Scots rural
Evangelists; in one story in the Old Testament, it is
not the drunkard, but his mocker whom the Lord punished! In a city, a drunk man is a prey to thieves and
harpies; but in a township none will do him harm. But
today there are Evangelical ministers who think that drink
should be frowned on at weddings and *ceilidhs*, while song
and dance might be tolerated.

(175) Not all the people gave in willingly to the severity of
the new creed. In Uig there is a cave, the 'Pipe's Cave',
791 to which a crofter was wont to resort on dark nights, his
795 pipes in his oxter, when the wind blew *from* the manse and
183 out to sea! Ultimately the least willing were forced to
give in, first, by the appalling threat of the refusal of communion, and secondly, by denunciation from the pulpit
(198) and the ostracism of the Elders. Much was destroyed
that can never be recovered now, and many a fine heart
saddened or broken. It was the most intimate expression
of their lives, their religious lore, which suffered most.[1]
178 Yet something remains, preserved by the good sense,
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[1] Carmichael gives an infinitely pathetic account of a conversation in a home in Ness about 1880–85. *Carmina*, pp. xxvii–xxxii.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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testant' and perhaps 'Catholic' too, or sacked by the King's Adventurers, there seems to have been little effort to build or rebuild the four 'paroche kirkis', one of the terms of the Royal grant or infeftment of the Lews to Kintail (Seaforth). But the evidence in the previous chapter makes one doubt that the maintenance of Celtic Christianity by the people in their thatched 'temples', in their homes and fields, or at sea, was "a lapse into heathenism". The term had been better applied to the acts of certain chiefs, and of the King and his Adventurers.

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[829]

Although imbued with their traditional faith, the people were intensely aware of their isolation from the great world, and humble as to their own oral learning and religious culture. Moreover, since the arrival of Christianity they believed that they belonged to the Church Catholic. But by the sixteenth century their lords had misappropriated funds, clerical absenteeism was common, and they cannot have been unaware of faults in the Church of Rome. They were the more eager to welcome any cleric who read the revered Scriptures, whether he came as a Calvinist or Episcopalian from Edinburgh or by perilous journeys from Armagh, Spain or Rome itself.[1] Living far from the worst theological controversies and persecutions inflicted for a century after 1560, the Islesfolk revered a good cleric for his own sake, as they did Macrae and, later, the minister of Barvas (and Martin himself) in lonely North Rona in 1695.

[1] Catholic missions to the Isles in the penal times are described in Compton Mackenzie's *The Book of Barra*, 1936. Martin (1695) refers to some Harris fishermen recently reconverted by priests, and to the mockery of their 'Protestant' neighbours because in spite of Roman prayers, their fishing had been less successful! Some of the MacKenzie tacksmen and no doubt their tenantry remained Roman Catholics until after the 'Forty-five, notably MacKenzie of Kildun near Stornoway, who gave shelter to Prince Charles in 1746. (W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 126-130.)

(v) A CHANGING CHURCH: 1820–1943

175 Underneath the doctrinal severity of the Presbyterian
795 Gael, there has continued some of the cheerful faith in
living, the belief in mutual aid, the tolerance and calm,
[178] breathed in our native religious lore. The sternest Presbyterianism, which swept the North-west after 1820, still makes the Gaelic North its fortress in Scotland. Yet the maintenance in the Scottish Church of a doctrine of universal love was due, no less, to Gaelic ministers, and seems to have owed its rebirth to Gaelic tradition through these men. The question of continuity is important: for this doctrine, embracing all mankind, not only the predestined few, has profoundly influenced the attitude to life in all Protestant lands, throughout a century crucial to human development.

195 The most notable of the Scots ministers concerned
with the doctrine of the Atonement were John McLeod
795 Campbell and his younger friend, Norman Macleod. Born
793 in Argyllshire in 1800, McLeod Campbell was ordained in 1825, and preached the assurance that God loved, and Christ died, for all men. For this he was charged with heresy by the Church of Scotland, and deposed in 1831, a trial he bore "with saintly charity and patience", refusing to found a new sect. In 1832 he went through the Highlands and Skye, preaching everywhere in Gaelic. A Moderate minister, John Maciver, who attended his services, said to him: "I never understood so much of your views before; now in the strength of God I will enquire more into them". It was very different when he met his own cousin, Roderick McLeod, who eight years later swept the island of Skye into the Free Church and led the Evangelicals in the Hebrides. To his sister

175 Campbell wrote, "My reception by those who are called
795 'professors'", the lay leaders who 'professed' the
Evangelical doctrines, "was trying to the last. Holding
793 that Christ died for all seemed to them so fundamental an error as to poison all my teaching." Thereafter,
175 Campbell retired, in Glasgow, to read, preach to a few,
793 and write, keeping in touch with Norman Macleod and
814 Erskine in Scotland, and in England with J. F. D. Maurice (1805–72). After *Christ, the Bread of Life*, Campbell wrote *The Nature of the Atonement* (1856). Readers felt not only that he was one of the most lovable of men, but a profound theologian, a view reinforced today. "Of all books that have ever been written on the Atonement", wrote Dr. Denney, "McLeod Campbell's is probably that which is most completely inspired by the spirit of the truth with which it deals. Its originality is spiritual as well as intellectual. In speculative power he cannot be compared to Schleiermacher, nor in historical learning to Ritschl; but he walks in the light all the time, and everything he touches lives."

175 Here then was a man who seemed to have been born
793 "in advance of his time", yet who came of a community
159 of deeply traditional cast. His life's thought was attuned to that of his forebears, and expressed itself most intimately perhaps in their own tongue. Campbell was born and reared in Lorne, Argyllshire, which had first received Protestantism through Carswell, who, in translating Knox's "Liturgy" into Gaelic, incorporated the old Gaelic labour prayer of the fishermen (Chapter VII (a)). The gentler form of Protestantism brought in by Carswell may have allowed the spirit of Celtic Christianity to survive among the people of 'Mid-Argyll' and Lorne, down to Campbell's boyhood. It may thus have contributed to the making of "a Scottish

175 saint, a character so eminently Christ-like",
793 intimate beliefs, doctrine and wide influence.
159 Highland roots and deep charity characterised
Macleod, author of the popular classic, *The*
Gael (*Caraid nan Gaidheal*).

121 If a student of community ventures upon a
tion of theology, it is because, to him, any attem
stand "the relations of God to mankind" must
of men's relations to one another. Ideas are
by human experience during economic and so
tions, and in their turn they transform society
contact with reality, theology must regard n
175 must be integrated with sociology. Because
178 bond with communal life, the religious spirit,
Gaelic lore, was jarred, almost overwhelmed,
182 munity was shaken to its foundations by the
agricultural and industrial revolution. Happil
178 of communal Christianity has been acknowled
79 Roman Catholics—notably (among Gaels) b
Allan Macdonald of Eriskay—and by Prote
the Scottish Presbyterian Church today, the
which seems most deeply aware of the need
society has acknowledged its debt to commu
where this has been best maintained, that is,
Seeking to aid Christian endeavour, intern
national, this movement has turned for inspira
[171] In Iona, of which the noble cathedral belongs to
of Scotland but is open for service to all den
Presbyterians have found a new symbol.

[113] [1] Canon Vaughan, cited by the Rev. Norman Mac
21st Aug. 1943).
[2] "The Church should interpret the Love of God by a
the redress of the social order." (The Very Rev. Pro
Moderator of the Church of Scotland, at St. Andrews, 194

CONCLUSION

(CHAPTERS V TO VIII)

175 178 105 Manifestly, prevailing views of the relationships of chief and people, and above all, of the people to one another, must be revised, even reversed. So must widespread views of the relation of clerical to 'lay' members in the living, though unseen, Church. The enduring character of the people's primitive faith, from its early arrival to our time, may be almost unique in Western Christendom; distance and sheer physical poverty proved to be its protection. Had they been better preserved, the temporal and spiritual traditions of the Eastern Gael, and also of Scots Lowlanders, might well justify a revision of views. In the Isles again and again the people were placed under 'Authority'—under laird and soldier, legislator and official, priest and pastor, orthodox cleric and unorthodox 'intellectual'. Should not each of these ask with humility whether they and their predecessors have not often misled those who might have led them, mistaught those from whom they might have learned?

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

(A) TRANSITION: MIGRATION, FISHING AND KELP-MAKING

175 433 [621] [427] [794] [437] UNTIL the 'Forty-five the township had lived a almost self-contained life. Its traditional econom was self-sufficient except for two indispensabl commodities—salt for the housewife and iron for the smith Beyond this, the chief demand for payment was the ren to the lord, with tithes for the kirk. For these needs an demands a step towards production for exchange was re quired, the more so that what was exported might includ the very necessities of life in 'bad years'. The rent wa paid largely by the sale of a surplus steer or two, an 175 317 436 [435] [251] 175 433 [326] [443] drovers called for the cattle. By 1790, if not before, tw or three open boats set out annually from Uig, for instanc for Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish Although salt seems of little account today, it once bulke large in the Budget, its price being heightened by duty especially after 1707: "as dear as salt", was a saying, *ch daor ris an t-salluinn*. Salt was needed to preserve th carcase of a 'cattle-beast' or sheep killed in autumn, an for cod and herring curing. Wrecks were valuable, as o all infertile undeveloped coastlands, both for their timbe and their iron. Cairds or tinkers occasionally brough metal goods; or a packman called, as strange a figure the

CHAPTER VIII

CHANGE IN RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

(A) COMMUNAL CHRISTIANITY, THE ROMAN CHURCH AND THE REFORMATION

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WHEN the Reformation broke upon Scotland and the Church of Rome was driven out, the new Church was slow to replace the priests and conventual clergy by its ministers. More than two hundred years later the minister of Harris wrote, with reason, that in contemplating "the decayed monuments of the piety of our Christian ancestors . . . the pious mind is affected with a mixture of awe and sorrow, while it can hardly admit that the overturning of the ancient church establishment ought to be considered as reformation here". These words were honestly spoken. The minister continued: "In Harris, where, till within a few years back (from 1790), there has not been since the *aera* of our reformation from popery, so much as . . . one decent house for public worship; there were of old no less than twelve churches and chapels of which . . . the walls are yet standing, besides others . . . while tradition has preserved their names and dedications".[1] These are those of monastic *cella* or *cill*, of parochial or collegiate *ecclesia* or *eagleis*,

[1] *Old Statistical Account*, x, 376. No doubt many churches had lacked a priest for a considerable time before the Reformation; but taking a long view, the minister's conclusion was sound.

and of a township's tiny chapel, oratory or *teampull*.

In Lewis, as in the Northern Isles, the early years of the Reformation period had been years of invasion by the King's Adventurers, of resistance, bloodshed and ruin. Hence when Mackenzie brought a Protestant clergyman to minister to the people they flocked to hear him. Naturally the new lord chose one of his important tenants from Kintail, the Rev. Farquhar Macrae. "For forty years prior to the visit (about 1611) no one in Lewis appears to have been baptized or married,"—or rather, no ceremonies had been performed by professional clergy, an important distinction. "'The population', we are told, 'had lapsed into heathenism', but 'Mr. Farquhar's' mission proved thoroughly successful. 'Large numbers of the people were baptized, some of them being fifty years of age, and many men and women were married who had already lived together for years.' The author also stated that the success of this mission went far to reconcile the inhabitants of Lewis to Lord Kintail's rule. According to a Kintail tradition, 'the number of people that came to be baptized by Mr. Farquhar was so great that, being unable to take them individually, he was obliged to sprinkle the water at random on the crowd with a heather besom'"[1] —much as it still is on certain festivals in the Roman Church.

The tale of the Rev. Farquhar Macrae shows both the spiritual prestige of one who could read the Scriptures and must understand them, and the people's belief that a lord who brought a Gaelic clergyman must indeed be a Christian and was to be welcomed, or at least accepted. After the larger churches had been rifled by lairds, 'Pro-

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. xii; from Alexander Macrae, the *History of the Clan Macrae*, Dingwall, 1899, p. 57.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

as some Indian pedlar one meets on the road may seem now. An older packman's tale of his long tramps, of the people's poverty and hospitality, must have resembled the mingled plaints and praise one hears from an Indian pedlar today! But in the past only a speaker of Gaelic could find his way among the people. Almost until 1900, if not still later, Gaelic speech was to provide a social bond, but ignorance of English speech an economic barrier.

The transition to increased exchange, with migration, and seasonal work, was temporary, tended to make for pauperisation. About 1795, *Statistical Accounts* enumerated, for every hundred families, two or three smiths, wrights (or spoke-makers), a shipwright or some boat-makers, a few weavers, tailors, and perhaps a miller. Each of these held some corn land, individually or in shares, with rights on the common. The line between plain crofters (to use a later term) and crofter-craftsmen was not easily drawn, and different writers wrote as they judged best. In Lochs, 80 per cent were fishers and net-makers. On the isles shores of the west, in Barvas parish (in which three-fourths of the men were also 'fishers'), kelp-making was a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s. to 60s. in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tackesmen at 5d. each, earned £3 a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s. per ton, and roads at 8d. a day.

In Harris in 1795 the eight 'bred' (or trained male) weavers worked only for 'the gentry': the laird, the tackesmen and their families. The rest of the weaving was done by the women, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. But in Lewis male weavers were commoner—one to every twenty to thirty families was the ratio—as if the practice of home weaving by the women was less universal there, even at that date.

CH. II ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

About the seventeenth century there was introduced the making of *aqua vitae*, *uisge-beatha* or 'whisky', an addition to the ancient drink of home-brewed beer or ale, a pleasant brew still tolerated by the Excise. In order to pay the rent, the making of whisky from home-grown barley must have consumed a precious fuel—peat. Illicit whisky-making facilitated export by tackesman or Factor, and it also served to tickle the palate, cure the ills and cheer the spirits of the crofters themselves. Sir Walter Scott, after the Clearances, was in the land, though there were undoubtedly whisky stills that escaped his eye. In some of the old houses a hollow space was left at a selected spot between a chimney-flue and the outer walls, to conceal what was not meant to be seen. A pleasant picture survives of the eighteenth century. It is told of a man of exceptional prosperity, that when he laid his hand on a pillow he could hear on the one side the clacking of his corn mill and on the other the babble of his still.[1] What more could he pray for in the dawn of life? Nevertheless, the increase of distillation as a legitimate home industry by which to pay the rent (in kind or by sale), followed by legislation prohibiting all stills, encouraged the landlords in a trade for strong drink, then tempted them to smuggling and breaking the law.[2] Seaforth started two distilleries at Stornoway, importing barley for the purpose. By 1824 there had ousted the illicit stills, but they were closed about 1830.[3]

From a perilously narrow margin of subsistence, periodically overstepped in famines, the Islanders passed to a larger measure of production for sale, and in the second half of the eighteenth century population increased. Its

[1] Cf. D. Stewart of Garth, *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 1822, vol. i, pt. ii, sec. v.

[2] Brand Report, 1901.

CH. II ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

growth followed the increases in potato-growing and fishing, in income and food production, and the introduction of vaccination against smallpox, which had formerly taken a heavy toll of child life.[1] This increase found an outlet in emigration to the Colonies, of an led by departing tacksmen though discouraged at first by the Island lairds. For example, in July 1773, 840 people sailed from Lewis. "Alarmed by this, their master . . . came down from London to treat with the remainder of his tenants. What were the grounds, they asked, think you? 'The land at the old rents, the augmentation paid for three years back to be refunded, and his Factor to be immediately dismissed!'" Although the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, from which this quotation is taken, went on to say that it was expected that the demands would be acceded to, or the Island would become a desert, the Factor was retained.

The pressure of population can be imagined when the appalling conditions of transport overseas are remembered. Even as late as 1841 Gaelic emigrants sailed from Greenock to the Clyde across the Atlantic in a vessel for which the maximum human cargo of negro slaves permissible was 400. The regulations governing the transport of slaves did not apply to the transport of 'freemen'. In quoting this case, D. F. Macdonald suggests that while it was in the interest of slave-owners that their slaves should arrive in the Plantations alive, it was rather in the interest of manufacturers to discourage emigration so as to keep a supply of labour at home with which to meet their growing demands and fill the gaps due to a high mortality, particularly among workers newly arrived from the country.[2] It would also seem as if it had not been in the interests of landlords to impose passenger regulations at that time.

[1] Brand Report, 1901, p. 10.

[2] *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1750–1850* (1940).

CH. II ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time. This brought enlistment in the Highland regiments, the Navy and Merchant Marine. Owing to migrations of all kinds, males came to be outnumbered by females, then to have a heavy toll of child life.[1] This increase found an outlet in emigration to the Colonies, of an led by departing tacksmen though discouraged at first by the Island lairds. For example, in July 1773, 840 people sailed from Lewis. "Alarmed by this, their master . . . came down from London to treat with the remainder of his tenants. What were the grounds, they asked, think you? 'The land at the old rents, the augmentation paid for three years back to be refunded, and his Factor to be immediately dismissed!'" Although the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, from which this quotation is taken, went on to say that it was expected that the demands would be acceded to, or the Island would become a desert, the Factor was retained.

The pressure of population can be imagined when the appalling conditions of transport overseas are remembered. Even as late as 1841 Gaelic emigrants sailed from Greenock to the Clyde across the Atlantic in a vessel for which the maximum human cargo of negro slaves permissible was 400. The regulations governing the transport of slaves did not apply to the transport of 'freemen'. In quoting this case, D. F. Macdonald suggests that while it was in the interest of slave-owners that their slaves should arrive in the Plantations alive, it was rather in the interest of manufacturers to discourage emigration so as to keep a supply of labour at home with which to meet their growing demands and fill the gaps due to a high mortality, particularly among workers newly arrived from the country.[2] It would also seem as if it had not been in the interests of landlords to impose passenger regulations at that time.

[1] Brand Report, 1901, p. 10.

[2] *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1750–1850* (1940).

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small savings, if any, have been put to the purchase of fishing gear and boats, for fishing, too, was summer work. By 1833 the poverty of the Outer Islands and the bankruptcy of the landlords were such that Parliament intervened, then was called to the aid of the Hebrides. Poverty continued to be extreme, but need turned the people to fishing. The loss of revenue to the lairds led to their making sheep farms—somewhat unwillingly—with local evictions: in Lewis chiefly from Park and from north of Stornoway, and in Harris notably from the western Machars to the eastern Bays. In spite of this, it also brought about the sale of Harris by Macleod, and finally of Lewis by Seaforth in 1844.[1]

(6) NEW OWNERSHIP AND CAPITAL IN LEWIS: 1844–76

Lewis was bought by Mr. James Matheson, a gentleman who had formerly made a fortune in the East India trade in China. Sir James (as he became) put much capital, effort and goodwill into the management and improvement of the island. Of the amounts expended we may distinguish, so far as possible, what he spent as a rich man for his private pleasure from what he spent for the people. No sooner had Matheson bought the Island than the 'great famine' of 1845–46 broke out. The terrible loss of life in Ireland, and the depopulation of that country which followed, would have been equalled in the Isles but for the action of landowners like Matheson—who were the descendants of 'kinsmen', not of alien conquerors—and also of subscribers

[1] In 1841 the ratio in Lewis was 100 males to 114 females, and in Harris, 100 to 116.

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in Scottish cities, who came forward again in 1888 and in 1891 built and laid out for himself at the time, houses sent was not reclamation. This contrasts with his provision for those whose homeland he had bought—the sum spent upon his own mansions and grounds being nearly half that spent directly for the good of some 20,000 fellow-Gaels.

Matheson was not technically equipped for his chosen task of 'reconstruction'. Nor was he fitted by trade in the East for the leadership of a people accustomed, in spite of dire poverty, to considerable freedom. Ignorant, not gathers, of the language of the people, his choice of a later Factor was hardly a happy one. Tradition in Lewis speaks of this Donald Munro as an 'autocrat', and evidence in 1872 confirms it. In addition to being the Factor for an ageing man and so holding economic sway over the people, he held seventeen public and semi-public offices (e.g. Clerk of Peace, Clerk from Justice of the Peace to Captain of the Volunteers, still other offices being held by his clerk! The extent of his sway is also shown by his having served successively as Factor upon fifty-six farms, under his own authority. As a result of the treatment of the officer sent to serve the summonses, three crofters were tried on a charge of "assault committed on an officer of the law in revenge for having executed his duty". When asked in court if Sir James would not have disapproved of this step in defence of the executors, Munro replied that it was his practice "never to trouble Sir James with small matters". "Then you consider the eviction of fifty-six families a small matter?" was the retort. These "Bernera rioters" were found not guilty, they and their neighbours were left in possession, and soon after the Factor demitted office.[1] Lewismen felt the result to be a moral victory.

[1] Brand Report, 1901, p. 160.

which heartened them for resistance in common against landlord and State, both in the agitation for reform of the Land Laws during the next ten years and in their demands for 'the return' of sheep farms to crofting, which continued until all these were divided soon after 1919 and the ex-Servicemen's return.

Expenditure of capital in Lewis during more than a generation, from the purchase of the estate in 1844 down to the death of Sir James in 1878, helped to maintain the people and provide relief in bad seasons. It left Lewis greatly improved in roads and paths, in new dwelling-houses and in buildings of various sorts. Two real efforts had been made to utilise Lewis peat, industrially for parafin oil, and agriculturally by reclamation for tillage, manure and knowledge of a century ago, these attempts did their initiator credit. Yet failure left the Islanders to continue crofting without either an additional occupation or the extension of croft land, even at the high population density (per acre of arable) which Matheson had found on his purchase in 1844.

Subdivision of crofts was the first result. A father would simply divide his croft between himself and a son, and might not even be entered on the rent-roll of the estate, and the two would inevitably need more stock than before upon the common. The second result was simply 'squatting': the building of a house, perhaps with a tiny kailyard, on a piece of the 'skinned' land. As building went on overcrowding old sites, fifth accumulated and springs were contaminated, crofting was hindered and cows became fewer per family, in spite of overstocking. By 1886 about two-thirds the number of the cottars and squatters found in 1914 were already in occupation. In 1914 there were over 3000 statutory crofts in Lewis, their

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

not averaging 32s. in addition to which there were over 1000 houses of the cottar class and 300 houses of the squatter class.[1]

Lastly, Sir James trained no successor to follow up or improve upon his experience. At his death in 1878 Sir James was succeeded by his widow, and, nearly twenty years after, she was followed by a nephew and his son. But the expenses of Stornoway Castle and its burdens, accompanied by lower rents, weighed down the new proprietors. In 1918 the estate was sold to Lord Leverhulme, who shortly afterwards purchased Harris too, with a view to his great schemes of fishery development.

(c) FISHERIES: 1750–1914

For the greatest expanding industry of the northern coastlands, Matheson had done comparatively little even at Stornoway. In 1883, a former Factor (Mr. Mackenzie of Calgary) stated that he had constantly asked for aid to the fisheries, especially by the building of harbours, pointing out that the landlord would reap benefit in rent.[1] But Matheson had replied that the fishermen and landowners, the people engaged in the trade, should do this work for themselves. By the end of the century, harbours were being planned and built with Brand aid in the north, west and south-east of the Island (at Ness, Carloway and Uig, and Turbert, Harris). In 1900 the Islanders possessed 150 herring boats, and in that year five boats from the Stornoway District sailed for the first time to Yarmouth, and two to Lerwick. For the next dozen years there were

[1] *Royal Commission on Housing*, 1917, p. 211. Cf. *Evidence Report on Crofters in Lewis*, 1888, based on *Royal Commission on Crofters and Cottars in Scotland*, 1884, and on *Royal Commission on Agriculture in Scotland*, 1919, pp. 56-63, 79-77.

[1] Brand Report (1901).

[175] ed hopes that prosperity could be maintained. In 1914
[220] war came, followed by sweeping changes in international
[221] trade. These changes left the Island fishermen workless,
[222] and with wrecked and rotting boats. In twenty years the
[639] number of Scotland's fishermen was halved, and the remainder all but ruined. For guidance, past progress and past losses should be reviewed, in order to see what measures can be taken to restore prosperity.

For the slow growth of a native fishing industry, two
[121] factors were to blame: the Island's poverty of investment, together with the unsettled state of the Isles, and also, it
[224] seems, the jealousy of urban interests. "The mere report
[225] sented, to 1893 and even after, by the Royal Burghs, and
[226] from 1907 by the British Parliament. The Royal Burghs certainly developed Scottish trade and industry through their own ports, but they feared competition, and opposed any direct contact of other ports, such as Stornoway, with foreign fishers and traders. From the days of the Maclean
[418] this difficulty had hampered regional development. It was in spite of royal prohibition that Seaforth encouraged Dutch curers to settle, an arrangement interrupted by war with Holland in 1653 and 1665.[1] Curers from Caithness and the East Coast were encouraged to replace the Dutch; men, and from time to time through the succeeding century efforts were made from the south to form fishing companies, and in the Island to encourage local fishers to profit from example in the catching of herring and of ling, hake and cod.[2] The people fished for food, with fishing-rods from the shore, and in frail boats in the lochs, and if they
[418] landed, they also sold a surplus. Fish were not only taken direct to Glasgow, but sold at home, first to Scots and foreign and later to British boats, of which ninety visited Lochs in

[1] F. D. Dow, *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918.

[2] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, p. 65 ff.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

[121] 1794, for instance, their crews not only fishing but also
[228] buying from local merchants. Islanders occasionally earned a pittance as pilots, for until the charting of these rocky coasts navigation was most dangerous.

The herring industry was in the hands of 'adventurers'
[175] who 'ventured' their capital, and the Islanders benefited
[478] little. The British export was aided by a bounty which
[470] helped to capture the Continental market; but, as Adam
[471] Smith pointed out, the bounty was given to the small, open
[175] boats suitable for the north-west lochs. These favourites
[175] of the Salt Duty after 1797 and of the bounty system from
[139] 1808 were, in the Island, a minority. The new steam-
[175] lights upon "Public Administration" in the Isles. As they
[175] wrote, these interests have had to suffer "either deliber-
[175] ately, for the benefit of other Islands, or other Islands in the kingdom, or inadvertently from ignorance".[1] Although the bounty system was widened to include small boats after 1786, the Salt Tax remained until 1817.

To overcome difficulties, the British Fisheries Society
[175] was founded with Government support in 1786. Although
[175] Stornoway then seemed too far afield, the Society's concentration upon larger boats nevertheless shadowed Lord Leverhulme's principles after 1918. At Ullapool, Tobermory
[311] and Lochboy (Skye), and at Wick, quays and stores were constructed and awaited the boats, with good land and grass for a cow, to be reclaimed. Although concentration at Wick led to the sale of the station's crofter women's produce in 1842, the Society had done some good work in the West. The chief difficulty of the West Coast north of the Clyde area and among of Stornoway District remained: the lack of a well-marked seasonal migration of herring.

[175] From the Napoleonic Wars to 1914 the amount of
[228] herring cured on the West Coast of Scotland rose and fell.
[175] In 1820–24 the East Coast cure was half the West Coast
[471] cure, but the place of 1842 brought the capture of the
[455] Continental markets and the East Coast herring export leapt up. It averaged 500,000 barrels from 1850 to 1870, a million from 1880 to 1900, and one to two million barrels
[139] until 1914. With the decline in the export to the Plantations, the West Coast cure fell, to rise by 1890 and reach a peak from 1900 to 1914. Thus, although no more than
[175] from a tenth to a fifth of the East Coast yield, that of the West Coast had risen greatly.[1] Of this, the Stornoway cure formed the major part.

The chief single type of catch, of white fish (cod, ling
[175] and hake), was developed too, and settled to a peak by
[175] 1900, then dwindled and fell. The average Stornoway
[175] District catch of white fish for a dozen years to 1900 was valued at over £100,000, much of it caught by local boats, and some of it cured at small 'creeks' (e.g. on the west of the Island, on Loch Roag, near Carloway). The
[175] cure, a strong coarse food, was shipped to Ireland and the Clyde; but after 1900 fresh fish and fresh sheep and
[175] lambs could graze in their thousands. In many estates the introduction of additional sheep, with the crofters' cattle, was tried and worked; but in others the people were
[175] ruthlessly evicted. Although offset by many acts of wise economy and generous aid, evictions were too frequent during the next half-century, and they engendered frequent bitterness.

Whereas in other Isles, and on the machar of Harris, the small joint tenantry and subtenantry were evicted in

[1] Figures 1898–9 quoted from J. F. Dow, *Public Administration*, 1918; other figures from Statistical R. Report, 1901; 1912–14 from *Fishery Board for Scotland* Tables E-II, 1914–6, and Table 13 and A.L. 1918.

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[175] though also by State loans. The efforts of the Island
[175] fishermen in the sixty years from 1880 to 1939 can be
[471] summed up by the story of the sheep-farming boom.
[470] one of the Seaforths had been offered 'double rents', and
[175] believed that they would turn the people away. Later
[175] on, when the wars were over, and when the Seaforth fortunes were failing, subtenants and their cattle had been
[175] replaced by sheep stock in three tacks around Ardvourlie (at Coll and Gress and at Aignish at the base of Eye Peninsula) in defiance of help-burning and the potato
[175] famine brought acute want in rocky parts of the Isle, but led to the destruction of their homes by certain communities.
[175] In 1891–2 there were a total of forty crofters in a township of Barvas parish, more than half emigrated by help of Sir James Matheson. Local resettlement was aided by Sir James, who provided loans and supplies for Uig people, who moved to Shawbost (6 miles north of Loch Roag). Abandoned farms became farms; and although agricultural prices fell and Sir James made little profit from the
[175] erection of buildings and the draining, dyking and fencing of the newly reclaimed land, the fresh sheep and lambs could graze in their thousands. In many estates the introduction of additional sheep, with the crofters' cattle, was tried and worked; but in others the people were
[175] ruthlessly evicted. Although offset by many acts of wise economy and generous aid, evictions were too frequent during the next half-century, and they engendered frequent bitterness.

[175] the legal recognition, improvement and enlargement of the
[175] 'crofting township', defined as a farm, or part of a farm, occupied
[175] in common or divided by tacks between tenants, and
[620] number. The executive officer of the township, the Con-
[621] stable, was to be elected annually by the community.

The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 did
[175] embody three of the chief recommendations made, but the first, the recognition of the township, was omitted. The
[175] Crofters Act gave security of tenure, compensation for
[175] improvements, and some facilities for enlargement of holdings. Security was perpetual and rent was fixed by the crofter within his family, though renouncable by him
[175] upon one year's notice, upon fair statutory conditions. The chief conditions were payment of rent, fair maintenance of the holding, and respect of land and community, the township, with an executive officer, the Constable, working for the improvement of the township, by fencing, draining and other works, with the assistance of the proprietor; "the whole scheme enforceable by " legal compulsion on either side." As early as 1886, the Aignish crofters were found guilty and sentenced to terms of from nine to fifteen months' imprisonment, for the crime of "deforcement" actually passed away. Yet the seeds of trouble only lay dormant; they were to spring up a generation later, and again after the end of 1914–18.

In defending the Napier Commission's plan to recog-
[175] nize the township, one may accept their definition of it as
[175] a farm held by tenants, singly or in common. Yet it must be remembered that the word 'farm' had come to have a
[175] very elastic meaning. The joint farm group was more the active group for labour in common; but if the 'township' included several joint farms, as is generally had in the Island, its people formed a relatively 'passive' community. Members of the township enjoyed rights in common, and shared in duties of observance; but they had seldom to

[1] A useful summary of the legislation is given by the Rect. Elim. Commission's Report, 1918, pp. 12–21, and a more full one in J. F. Dow's *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918, a work of real social insight.

[2] Act of 1919 is still the main enactment under which local authorities exercise their statutory functions in Scotland; but the Agriculture (Scotland) Act 1948 included new provisions to allow the Secretary of State for Scotland to intervene in extent and form of the Scottish Agricultural Wages Board. The Act of 1919 contained provisions with regard to settlement of ex-Service men. Some progress has been made in carrying out these provisions, and there are many applications in the Hebrides and elsewhere where the demand for crofts exceeds the supply.

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[175] Death of Sir James had left his widow in possession of the
[473] estate, but she married a lady with little training for administration. In south-east Lewis, in November 1887, a body of landless men attempted to settle on the peninsula of Park, Loch
[472] Seaforth, after which some of the illegal settlers or raiders were tried and acquitted, and fourteen small crofts with
[474] outrun were provided. In January 1888, 50 men marched from Barvas to petition Lady Matheson that the steep farm of Galson should be allotted to some of them at a fair
[475] valuation, so that they could be made into crofts. Lady Matheson refused to consider the petition until the arrears of rent due by the petitioners were paid. Less than a week after, sheep were driven off Aignish (1500 sheep) and were
[476] recovered by marines and soldiers, arrested eleven men. Two days later, more sheep runs were invaded. Some demolished, and sheep driven off. On January 20, 500 men marched to Lewis (of whom 200 actually sailed). On February 1, the Aignish raiders were found guilty and sentenced to terms of from nine to fifteen months' imprisonment. Other 'raids' on sheep runs actually passed away. Yet the seeds of trouble only lay dormant; they were to spring up a generation later, and again after end of 1914–18.

[175] In defending the Napier Commission's plan to recog-
[175] nize the township, one may accept their definition of it as
[175] a farm held by tenants, singly or in common. Yet it must be remembered that the word 'farm' had come to have a
[175] very elastic meaning. The joint farm group was more the active group for labour in common; but if the 'township' included several joint farms, as is generally had in the Island, its people formed a relatively 'passive' community. Members of the township enjoyed rights in common, and shared in duties of observance; but they had seldom to

[175] co-operate in active endeavour. It was all the more
[477] important to have an elected 'official'; the Constable,
[478] one of themselves but placed in authority. There could
[479] be no restitution of the old joint farms where they had
[480] existed in the past; but the Crofters Act should have been
[481] still possible to extend the old spirit to the larger townships
[482] as the Commissioners held.

Again, the constitution of the township is bound up
[175] with the rights of common pasture upon the moor all the
[175] year, and on the 'infield' or enclosed arable; but the
[175] Crofters' Act failed to regulate the rights of the exercise
[671] of Common Grazings. It slackened the authority of the state without giving the power to the local community upon its members. After five years the Government began to recognize the mistake, and passed the first Crofters' Common Grazings Regulation Act, providing for crofters to elect a Common Grazings Committee. But it was illconsidered—it was not compulsory, it was permissive, and crofters and squatters without legal tenure, were not bound by the Regulations. On one hand they could not get permission to graze the common grazings without the Board, in order to reclaim it as a croft, without first obtaining the unanimous consent of the township's crofters; and in large
[233] townships there might always be an objector. Yet each
[427] crofter could, and did, put on stock, a cow or two and a
[428] few sheep, on the common land, without permission.

In 1908 a second Act was passed; but twenty years
[429] had allowed tradition to lapse and difficulties to accumulate. In Isle Scalpay (Tarbert) for instance, by 1909 there
[430] were only forty legitimate crofts, but eighty tenants; and
[431] the large crofters would not make part in depriving any
[432] crofter of such grazing liberties as he exercised. All were
[433] neighbours and most were relations, and their principle

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

192 The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" huts, some still in good repair, are of uncertain date. The best preserved are on the Moregail Deer Forest, in remote situations which make it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; those on the Garynahine common pasture are associated with assymmetrically ridged, curving, lazybeds. This, however, need not imply permanent occupation of the site, nor does it solve the problem of age; such lazy-beds are certainly old, possibly pre-potato (c. 1790 here) - but the huts do not decay with age and may be very much older.

195 Early in the eighteenth century the present area of the parish of Uig was held from the
42 Seaforth clan chief by 26 tacksmen, whose names are recorded in the judicial-rental of
64 1718, (Fig.4). They, presumably, had sub-tenants but of these there is no record. Elsewhere in Lewis the same rental records many small tenants holding direct off the chief but in Uig, apparently, the tacksman and sub-tenant system remained intact. Although we cannot be certain of their precise extent, the distribution of the tacks
[241] coincides fairly well with that of the better agricultural ground (Fig.2).[1] Five of them cluster round Uig bay, four were in the Valtos-Reef area, and three around the strait of Little Berneray. All these districts have machair; together they accounted for three quarters of the meal and more than half the sheep and money rents. What is more, these rents represented 27% of the total rental of Lewis, whereas by 1887 Uig yielded only 17%
[178] of the rental and by 1901 the proportion was reduced to 14%. The relative decline of
369 Uig is largely due to the growth of Stornoway; this shift in the centre of gravity of Lewis has tended to exaggerate the remoteness and isolation of Uig in the present century.

161 By the end of the eighteenth century the tacksmen seem to have disappeared; at any
175 rate they are not mentioned in the remarkably detailed account of the parish given
in the Old Statistical Account, 1792. Meanwhile the small tenants had multiplied:
[632] whereas in 1755 the old parish * had supported 1,312 persons, in 1792 the
407 minister recorded 1,898 . At this time there was neither plough nor cart
494 in the parish. The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them
800

TABLE 3

AVERAGE STOCK HELD BY EACH FAMILY

162
178
233
422

	1792	1959
Cattle and calves	9.2	8.1
Sheep	13	37
Horses	1.8	-
Goats	0.8	-
No. of families	387	450

Note: the figures for both dates refer to the area of the old parish.

[632] * The old parish of Uig excluded the Loch Carloway district, from Kirivick north; this area lay in Lochs parish until 1891. Unless the old parish is specified figures quoted have been corrected to conform with the modern boundaries.

1, [See p. 2--Analyst]

102
175
311
361

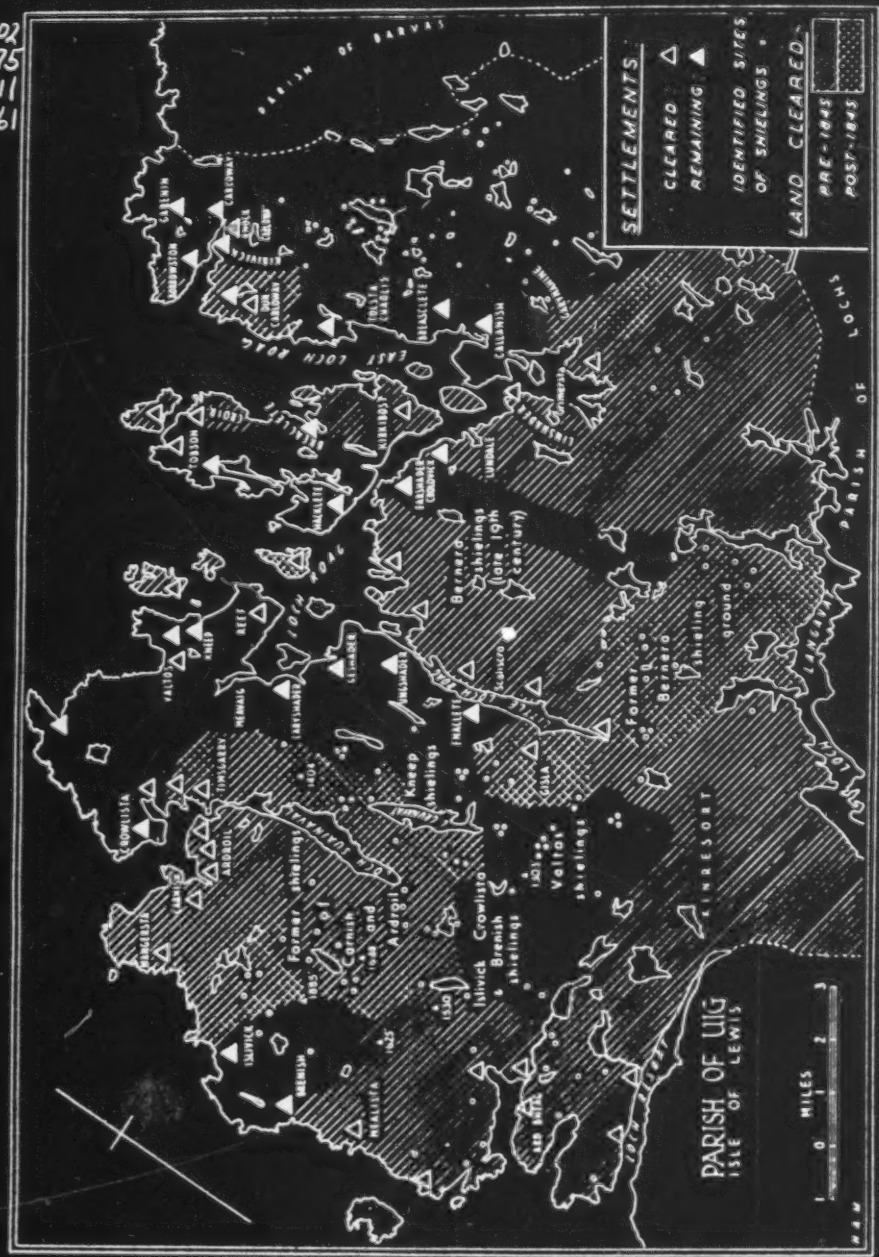

Figure 5

175 for a firmer hold upon the land and for a return to aban-
178 doned sites. The communal possession of joint farms, held
433 directly or under tacksmen, gave place to individual pos-
(731) session of crofts. Yet the legal recognition of perpetual
[166] tenure in 1886 gave not only the crofter's home but the
crofting neighbourhood a security unequalled in Britain.
The use of moor and machar in common was retained;
[167] but its control for improvement or reclamation by the
175 estate or the township was weakened, rather than strength-
178 ened, by the Crofters' Acts. Confusion grew—both upon
the arable land, subdivided, unenlarged and unimproved,
423 and also upon the common grazing, sorely overstocked in
427 spite of ever diminishing 'soumings' (or family shares) of
cattle. Rating difficulties and anomalies appeared. Com-
munal discipline, maintained at sea by fishing, was weak-
ened on land after the abolition of the joint farm-group,
and almost nullified in the townships by subdivision and
squatting.

175 A year before the potato famine of 1845, a new landlord
178 had brought good-will, capital and pioneering effort to
433 Lewis. These had been directed to experiments in the
427 reclamation and the industrial utilisation of deep peat.
(311) Helped by employment on these and other works, the
[161] population of Lewis continued to increase, when increase
in Harris was arrested for a generation. Yet while neither
experiment with peat met with success, little aid had been
given to develop fisheries. In both parts of the Island a
growing population was supported from the 'seventies
onwards by help of earnings derived from the seasonal
herring fishing on the East Coast and from inshore line
fishing at home. Women added to the Island income by
seasonal 'gutting' and, in Harris, by their spinning and
167 weaving. Money was earned by work on the mainland,

178 and savings were sent by emigrants who remained faithful
433 to parents and home.

167 If it be asked why most of the people kept to their
Island home in spite of its poverty and earned so little
175 away from it, one answer must be that their native tongue
178 formed a barrier encircling them as a community at home
and cutting them off from the rest of the nation. Seventy-
197 five years ago the new Education Acts were not yet in
full operation. Comparing the relative well-being in the
(671) Shetlands with the extreme poverty in the Hebrides at that
[871] time, a northern agriculturist wrote that in Scotland, only
in the Hebrides "is the food obtained by the peasant
[511] occasionally so scanty" as to be unable "to maintain a
[184] labouring man in vigorous health". Inquiring why there
175 should be so great a difference between the Shetlanders
178 and the Hebrideans, living in similar, distant isles, he
wrote, "We think the answer may be given in one word—
197 *language*. . . . The population of the Hebrides cling to
their ancient Gaelic with consequences most disastrous to
182 themselves. . . . It handicaps them in the race for life . . .
is a hindrance in the cities and a check to the emigration
of both sexes to those world-wide regions where all who
speak the English tongue find themselves at home."[1] He
concurred with the Census Report of 1871, which stated:
"The Gaelic language may be what it likes, both as to
antiquity and beauty, but it decidedly stands in the way
of the civilisation of the natives making use of it, and shuts
them out from the paths open to their fellow-countrymen
who speak the English tongue". The Report concludes:
"It ought therefore to cease being taught in all our national
schools. We are one people and we ought to have but one

[1] James Mollison, in the Highland and Agricultural Society's *Report on the Present State of the Agriculture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878), pp. 136-38.

175 language." Many Islanders would agree with the state-
178 ment that Gaelic was a barrier to economic progress.
It was not only Lowland schoolmasters, ignorant of Gaelic
197 but an educated, sensible class of men in their day, who
182 used the strap on the palms of the little children "for
their good" because they could not understand English.
(511) An active Lewis country schoolmaster, who had considerable
175 rural knowledge and experience, said to me: "I know what
197 I have suffered through life from being brought up on
Gaelic. If I had my way, I would *punish* [with the strap]
871 every child I heard speaking Gaelic in the playground!"
Had the Island School Boards wished Gaelic to be con-
sistently taught with English, they could have prevailed.

114 One may not only disagree strongly with the means—
197 the strap—but hold that enlightened bilingual teaching is
both worth while culturally and also of assistance to
871 intelligence without interfering with use in English of the
three Rs, and of secondary and higher education. Yet in
153 Lewis recent non-verbal tests in English and Gaelic show
a mean intelligence quotient depressed by about 15 points.[1]
153 The conclusion seems to be that under the present system
197 the Gaelic school child is still at a disadvantage compared
182 to other school children. But even more important to the
121 child's development would seem to be the expression of
his response to his rural environment in his own tongue.
For this the school tests and the educational code do not
fully provide; nor do the tests of life when the adolescent
Islander suddenly finds himself at work in a Glasgow
175 factory or abroad in city streets. What concerns us here
197 is the economic drawback of a lack of ready English among
182

[1] Christina A. Smith, M.A., B.Ed., *Mental Testing of Hebridean Children in Gaelic and English*. (Scot. Council on Research in Education, vol. xxvii
(113) (London, 1948); J. L. Campbell, *Gaelic in Scotland* (and ed.) (Edinburgh, 1948).

182 rural Islanders throughout the nineteenth century and even
197 today.

From 1887 the State made efforts to improve the
175 crofters' lot. Crofters' claims to stake shares upon the only
available reclaimed land in the Island, that of a few farms,
654 had been refused in the 'eighties, but came to be granted,
241 in principle and in fact, after 1900. During the war of
427 1914–18 the Government reaffirmed its promise to divide
sheep farms into crofts for men returning from the Services,
and the Land Settlement Act became law in 1919. Yet in
spite of tentative experiments and schemes, a determined
effort to see the Island possibilities and face its problems,
as a whole, still remained to be made in the twentieth
century.

175 When war broke out in 1914 over 5000 men left Lewis
161 to join the Services, and corresponding numbers left from
Harris. Others, too, served in the Merchant Marine, ex-
72 posed to U-boat warfare. From the first months of the
701 war, Lewismen in the Seaforth Highlanders, and men from
Harris in the Camerons, fought in the Highland Division
as shock troops in the attacks which cost the Division
the highest casualties of any in the British Army. The
Lovat Scouts, the Mountain Battery, the Garrison Artillery
and other units, also enrolled their men, and suffered loss.
175 The last blow to the Island came after anxiety had ceased.
161 Early in 1919 the transport *Iolaire* struck a rock and sank
at the entrance to Stornoway harbour; and 200 men who
731 had withstood dangers and hardships during four years
of war went down in the dark of a winter's night, almost
within call of their waiting relatives massed on the pier to
welcome them.

423 —or by a compromise between. But as it is, if one crofter,
431 or a small group of crofters like those of a township or
427 parish of Lewis, were to become owner-occupiers (even by
632 gift), they would be penalised as compared to others.
829 Hence the Lewismen preferred to go on paying rent as statutory crofting tenants. Leverhulme sold the land and received the price; the new owners paid for it and received an investment; and the only 'loser' on this curious transaction was the Local Authority, the County, which failed to make more in rates!

(623) Further reasons why the great majority of crofters declined Leverhulme's offer have been given by the Lewis Association's Economic Committee (1944):

(a) As individual proprietors, they would lose the advantages of the jurisdiction of the Scottish Land Court in dealing with their disputes, and any litigation would take a more costly form.

(b) They would be debarred from obtaining loans from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland for the improvement of their holdings or houses; as the Department would no longer have the "Corner Stone" of a landlord to fall back upon in the event of renunciation.

(c) The crofters were afraid that as individual proprietors they would forfeit their share of the Common Grazing rights.

(d) Should they wish to quit their holdings they would be compelled to find a buyer in the open market, instead of renouncing to their landlords and getting valuation.

(e) There is a feeling among Lewis crofters that they prefer to have a landlord before whom they can lay their difficulties and disputes, and who will attend to their wants; an authority that relieves them of responsibility.

(181) As the historical evidence has shown, a lack of responsi-
(624) bility has been greatly due to the undermining and then the
(175) abolition of the authority of the township's own elected Constable.

311 illustrates the narrow margin of habitability on these frag-
241 mented holdings.

423 Now, in Lewis periodic pooling and exchange, or the practice of *movable* run-rig on the small joint-tenants' farms, was abolished early in the nineteenth century, except
241
423 upon the machar, where it still continues. Apparently the
476 strips were simply fixed where they had last been appor-
178 tioned by lot. Subdivision of the little crofts among sons and grandsons followed, owing to inheritance without re-
(175) clamation. Fairness gave 'the patchwork quilt' described; but it was fairness pushed to the point of folly, for differences in soil from one adjacent strip to another were slight! It is otherwise with the long, narrow plough-strips which run from the houses on the pure boulder clay down to the sandy shore: run-rig, movable or fixed, is understandable and necessary there. The case just cited shows how a sensible communal tradition, such as that of '*movable* run-rig' with periodic pooling, may degenerate into absurdity by fixation. Happily the machar still shows the sane maintenance of a tradition, the pooling of resources:[1]

182 In 1924–25, widespread distress in the Isles, the failure
161 of the Leverhulme endeavour, the crofters' refusal to own their own crofts, and the emigration which followed, caused many outsiders to forecast rapid depopulation. It was all
182 the more interesting to note the confidence in the Island's
161 future shown by buyers of the great estate, all of whom
471 knew what they were about, for they were men with experience of the Island, of its rates and rentals and of its people. To a wealthy man who repurchased a sporting

(113) [1] Apportionment of lands held in run-rig in the Carloway estate is described, and the principle discussed, in *Scottish Land Court Reports*. (See *Scottish Law Rev.* vol. 28, 7; July 1940, pp. 51-54.) At the same time 'mechanisation', or the co-operative utilisation of tractors had led to pleas for 'collective farming'. (*Stornoway Gazette*, February 1944.)

APPENDIX III

(A) THE STORNOWAY TRUST: A COMMUNAL OPPORTUNITY

632 THE people of Stornoway town and rural parish are in a
175 position to control their own future to a degree unusual in
178 Britain since the general loss of common lands in the eighteenth century. Three or four bodies or groups are important in local governance, and in addition to these an effort to arouse
632 citizenship has taken shape in the Lewis Association. As else-
623 where, the Town Council acts for the burgh and, it should be added, the Grazing Committees for the townships, the District
423 Council and County Council acting for wider spheres. The
361 Harbour Trust has its special charge. In addition, the fact of corporate ownership is important, as vested in the Stornoway Trust. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor north to Tolsta. It should not be forgotten that the resources of the sea are public property and that the inshore fishings, owing to a considerable measure of protection, are virtually in the possession of the coastal communities. Freshwater fishing is also in the hands of the Trust. Thus, not only building property but essential sources of production on land and sea are in communal possession. The Trust was formed in 1924.

623 During the first five years of its existence the Trust was
433 burdened with a growing deficit, but since 1929 it accumulated a credit balance, due partly to agricultural derating and partly to the registration of the Trust as a charity and the resulting relief from income tax. Possession without prevision can do little, however; and hence the need for the citizens of town and country to regroup themselves as thinkers for the common

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4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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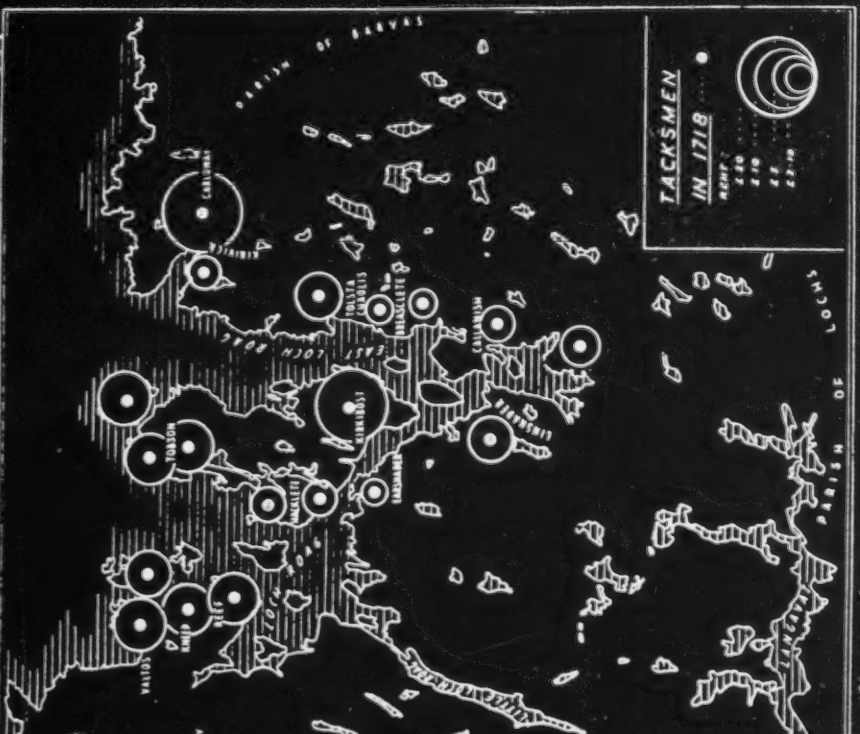

Figure 4

The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them as an example to the crofters who were still reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70 boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch Roag for they were small open boats greatly outnumbered in good herring seasons by boats from other parts of the kingdom. To encourage curing, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up two storehouses to supply salt; he, or his agents, were probably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, who visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the estate factor held a monopoly for trading in cattle, dried fish and other products. The absolute power of the clan chieftain seems to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844. But it was kelp, more than fishing, that helped to support the people of Uig in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lewis made little kelp compared with the Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of particularly good quality and commanded more than the average price. Further, many people from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time, the intrinsic resources of the parish appear to have been inadequate to support the population. In this connection it is worth noting the change in the average stock held by each family since 1792 as shown in table 3.

175 244 226 251 441 614 175 221 233 162 178

Clearance and Congestion.

Even after the end of the tremendous boom in kelp, brought about throughout the Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some production continued in Uig. In 1825, when the land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses, yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereafter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attempting industrial developments and agricultural improvements. The former included short lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants in order to introduce mainland farmers. For these Uig was particularly attractive, the extensive mountain pasture offering good prospects for sheep graziers. The exact date of the formation of the earliest farms are not remembered nor are they precisely recorded but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Macrae of Kintail had the tack of Scaliscro, with the extensive grazings (now partly occupied by Bernera summer pastures) east of Little Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants of Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of Mealasta Island, which suggests that a sheep farmer was already installed in that district. About 1838 all the small tenants were cleared out of Mealasta, six families being put into Breanish; the remainder are said to have been sent to America.

175 228 175 233 166 427 274

In Bernera island, Kirkibost was cleared about 1822, having been lotted in individual crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkibost formed part of the large farm of Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed part of this farm. On the mainland, opposite Bernera, small tenants were cleared from the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Strome and Drovernish) in the early nineteenth century, and a tacksman was installed at west Earshader. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and Linshader.

175 427

By 1844 the kelp shores were almost valueless to the proprietor (though seaweed as fertiliser remained a vital necessity to the small cultivators, often working the same land year after year). In 1841 the Chamberlain of the Lews suggested to the Select Committee on Emigration that some 6,000 persons should emigrate because the land was inadequate to support them. In 1844, of necessity, Seaforth sold the island. The population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,316); little did the Chamberlain imagine that in the following ten years it would increase by 16%, and that by the turn of the century would reach almost 30,000, (Uig 4,462 Figure 8).[1]

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1. [See p. 18--Analyst]

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FICHE

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was to share; the children needed milk a
wool to work, while the men fished. A
Commission put it at the time, "Necessity
. . . it is scarcely possible to carry out . .
Acts in this island". The position remains
Still, in spite of sixty years' delay, and the
restore an executive, the Constable, to pe
duties as a member of the community, the
mittees do perform useful functions with
form nuclei with which proprietor, Gove
operative agency actually deal, and the v
may shoulder considerable responsibility.

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With regard to small occupiers paying
rent per annum and holding less than 10
acres of souming (or share of pasture), the
mission declined to recommend the bestow
immunities tending "to fix them in a condit
they ought to be resolutely though gently
The Act, however, did grant small occup
from eviction, and made it hard for either
or fellow-crofters even to refuse house sites
ings, particularly in the crowded Lews.
continues; indeed he is favoured, by escapi
of rent and rates though he shares in benef
payers are proportionately, and unjustly,
But as isolation has diminished, landless
been allowed to 'resume' portions of the co
for new holdings, as by common consent a
Lochs, after Lord Leverhulme's death.

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A further recommendation of the Napi
was to aid emigration. Now Sir James Ma
1863 proved successful, but his later effort
response. There were then, and still may b

some whose feelings and interests opposed emigration. Free Church ministers foresaw that the beliefs they had introduced would be shaken by travel; and their income, like that of the merchants, would have disappeared as a result of depopulation. The Congested Districts Board, however, sponsored two schemes of colonisation in 1888–89. In the first scheme thirty families, and in the second, fifty families were taken to Canada, mostly from the Island.[1] The first and smaller group repaid their loans and received their lands; but the second failed to do so, and the State was only reimbursed by sale of the land.

The story of the schemes suggests the lack of four elements needed for success: promptitude in organisation; sympathy with strictness, and a sufficiency of funds; a year's experience of new conditions or technical guidance, rather than segregation of the inexperienced without leadership; and choice of vocation as farmer or as farm servant. Many a crofter-emigrant has succeeded as a shepherd and farm hand or as an independent farmer; but not every Islesman, particularly a cottar or landless squatter, is fit to conduct a farm. Technically, an all-round experience of part-time crofting and fishing by rule of thumb does not train a man for farming in a new environment without even a year's apprenticeship. Success is possible in schemes which overcome initial difficulties by providing training, companionship and community life, in a suitable physical environment.

One further principle of communal life was the spiritual, which Parliament and administration failed to grasp. The most significant evidence in the Napier Commission was that of A. Carmichael; and from this the Commissioners

[1] J. P. Day, 1918, pp. 123-125, from Reports of Congested Districts Board, and Crofters and Colonisation Commissioners (Fifteenth Report).

to one another, to the landlord and to the State would have been profoundly different.

(B) STATE AID, THE LAND, AND THE CROFTERS' RESPONSE

Until 1914 the congestion in each Island township dotted between the wide, lonely moors, had increased, and it was still increasing. To every two legal crofters, either a cottar or a landless squatter was to be found, on the 'skinned land' outside the crofts. Parliament, in 1886, had discarded the Napier Commission's recommendations to give powers to extend the crofts from portions of the common, or to supply a house site and garden space for men of independent occupations such as fishermen. This congestion embarrassed Government and local services.

The associated rating system was also at fault; indeed it has still to be put right. For instance, a crofter's son—able to make a living, say, as a fisherman, and about to marry but having no croft—was penalised by high rates, should he take up his proper status of a legal cottar at a small rent. Throughout the crofting counties, the legal crofter, as an agricultural landholder, was (and is) de-rated, and had only to pay one-eighth the rates for a non-agricultural holding of the same rental. Only since 1938 has the value of the house been assessed. A recognised cottar paying rent to an estate was rated as owner and occupier, being treated in fact as a feuar;[1] and as such he had to bear a heavy burden of rates, possibly of over 30s. in the £. Whereas if he 'lay low' and shared his father's or brother's

[1] *Feuar*, in Scotland one who holds real estate in consideration of a stipulated annual payment; lit. on *feudal* tenure. Cf. J. P. Day (1918), pp. 383-384.

croft by subdivision, he would pay little, indirectly and by arrangement; while if he simply built a hut or house on a vacant spot he paid neither rates nor rent. Either course was illegal; yet it was too expensive for the landlord, however 'hard-hearted', to take legal proceedings to turn off a squatter. As for wholesale expropriation the suffering caused and the odium incurred would have involved—and would still involve—both landlord and State in insurmountable difficulties by starting fresh agitation, perhaps with outbreaks of law-breaking, repression and bad blood. Yet these anomalies still discourage, and the normal illegalities demoralise, all concerned.

Because of the provision by State and local authorities of a growing range of services in other regions, and also because of the special reasons of Insular poverty, State action was increasingly taken in the Isles. To what extent have the Islanders responded, it may be asked; or how far may they have failed, in return for aid offered and benefits received? Let us begin with mutual aid practised among the people up to 1900, and then consider the repayment of loans and grants under different conditions. Observations by those in touch with the Island for many years, officially or privately, allow one to read between the lines and attempt an impartial judgment.

As to the strength of independent mutual aid there could be no doubt. Up to the beginning of this century, the amounts expended on parish relief were 'almost nothing', and had shown no increase in preceding years. General poverty, anomalies in the rating system, and the mistakes such as the erection of poorhouses by the central administration, diminished resources; but the people generously gave help to their poorer neighbours in work and gifts. Except for a year of overwhelming crisis,

perhaps once in a generation, the neighbours were best administrators for poor relief. On the whe remained true to 1914.

As to financial assistance from the Governme evidence seems at first bewildering in its contrad suggesting utter inconsistency on the part of the Thus, the record of the Lewis-and-Harris fisher repaying loans for the purchase of boats, was th honourable in the North-west. In 1900, of th capital on barely 100 loans made to them, 83 per c been repaid, whereas on 150 loans elsewhere le 60 per cent had been repaid.

Yet as to the record of Lewismen with regard to ance for road-making, the Brand Report was signi reticent. In 1891 a road was planned direct to Sto from Loch Roag on the west coast at Carloway short-cut of sixteen miles was to shorten the dista seven miles and so facilitate the transit of fish la Carloway. Crofter labour was employed as a m 'self-help'. The road was, mistakenly, printed a plete on 'base maps' and other recent 'quarte maps. By 1901, £15,500 had been spent, a sum exceeded the estimated cost, but only eight miles had been completed and five miles partially made three miles were quite incomplete. The estimate been exceeded and "financial difficulties having ari the contractor had gone bankrupt and the engine dismissed—the work came to a standstill, £10,00 having been estimated as necessary to complete th Of that sum £8000 was granted.[1] But the road unfinished. These figures alone might not co

[1] J. P. Day (1918), p. 328. Day added that "the work should n than twenty years after its start, be approaching completion"!

the work done—or rather not done—by the local labourers; for deep peat has misled road engineers elsewhere. But impartial observers have left no doubt that the work was shirked—partly from the labourers' lack of will, in other words from laziness, and partly from the not unnatural desire that further grants might continue, offering easy money. Inspection revealed deliberate and combined concealment of bad work, road metal being thrown on to give a surface which had no foundation. The Carloway road, which was to help the Loch Roag fishermen by rapid transport of fresh catches, was never completed. The bad work of many contributed to the undoing of all.

How are these two apparently contradictory responses to help to be explained? The answer lies in the completely different methods of expending the grants. A loan to fishermen for a boat was put into their own responsible hands. The hope of profit in which each could share stimulated their enterprise; and where both the private honour of each member and the corporate honour of each crew was at stake, mutual obligation and team-spirit spurred them to work. But road-making—a work many had done for contractors elsewhere as navvies under degrading conditions—was different. A Gael responds when his imagination is fired, whether for selfish or unselfish ends; but he can also enjoy leisure as to the manner born! Not only was personal skill or effort in road-making of no advantage to an individual; there was little to call out either personal prowess or team-spirit in the work. Moreover, little effort appears to have been made by the administration to arouse ardour. The ultimate advantage of a good road to the people on the west of the Island, as a whole, was clear. Yet since bad work and delay led (at first) to further

grants, then, in the absence of an immediate goal, the combination of the corporate interest in bad work with natural inclination to an easy time proved overwhelming! The problem of assuring good work and prompt repayment is real: it calls for the right appeal to team-spirit coupled with personal responsibility. Many short roads to small new settlements have been economically built.

With regard to loans for settlement and housing, similar contrasts are found. Near Stornoway the farm of Aignish (Eye) was divided in 1905 into thirty-two fishermen's holdings (rented at £3). The Congested Districts Board lent £3600 for housing and spent £1600 on fencing and £450 on administrative expenses, a total of about £180 per holding; but in seven years the holders had paid only one-seventh of the annuities due, and were in arrears with the rent.[1] Yet on the housing loans made on a wide scale since 1919, there was mutual aid among neighbours and the repayment has been satisfactory.

SUMMARY: 1750—1914—1919

The transition from the old economy of mutual aid in self-support, little changed down to the 'Forty-five, to the development of production for sale had proceeded far by 1914. Yet change had not continued steadily. There had been fluctuations, from the land and back again, or towards individualism with returns to common action. Kelp-making, migration, and commercial fishing alternated in importance as means to earn a living without losing the anchorage of home. After the potato famine, a century ago, the people tended to move away from the outlying townships and emigrate; but the next generation agitated

[1] J. P. Day (1918), pp. 312-314.

p. 221

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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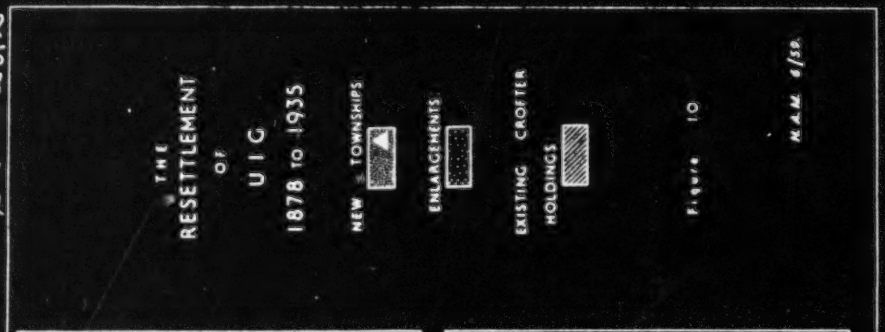

The new proprietor was no better placed than Seaforth to change the fundamental causes of rural poverty and distress. But at least he had funds to ameliorate his tenants' lot and to allow experiments in land reclamation and industrial development. Existing sheep farms were extended and others formed. Land reclamation went forward hand in hand with industrial experiments such as distillation of paraffin from peat and brick and tile-making. A programme of road building was begun (the first roads beyond Stornoway were begun in 1791, but there were only 45 miles of road by 1834). In Uig the results were very obvious. Further clearances took place particularly from Timsgarry, Carnish (21 tenants), Reef (22 tenants), Garynahine, Dun Carloway. The small tenants of Valtos and Kneep were only saved from eviction by the intervention of the Fisheries Board. Nor they were important places for white fishing. By the 1850's, although the population of Uig was more than double that in 1755, and 60% greater than in 1800, it was crowded into little more than half the area. Emigration enforced by clearances reduced the population of Bernera and South Uig by nearly 500 between 1851 and 1861.

No other part of Lewis saw so many farms; nowhere else did the small tenants suffer so much from eviction. That was not all. Those who remained undisturbed were deprived of some of their traditional grazings and access to the rest was sometimes restricted. Moreover they had to make room for many of the evicted families in their own townships, thereby further increasing the problem of congestion caused by the rapid natural increase of population. Thus, for example, about 1825 there had been 22 families in Valtos and Kneep. By about 1880 there were almost 100. But, during the same period these townships were deprived of their island grazings - Pabay, Vacsay, Floday and Wiay - formerly used for wintering cattle - and of part of their hill grazings (the traditional shielings). Use of the hill-grazings was restricted, too. Thus, for example, only one day was allowed to pull heather for ropes; if men were away fishing or for other reasons, could not attend on that day, they risked punishment by going on any other. Such stories could be multiplied many times.

In the Bernera district, by the 1850's only Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete (on the island) and Earshader and Cruiivig (on the mainland) were left for the crofter families. Moreover their traditional summer grazings, which lay south east of the Deer Forest which was formed out of the Scalliscro sheep farm about 1850. Apparently their use of the old shielings was tolerated until 1878, after which date they were directed to the area now of the present road and which they have continued to use until the present day. Thus the shieling huts shown in fig.5 all post-date 1878; the area in which they lie may have been part of the West Earshader tacksman's holding. The date of discontinuance of that tack is not known but the houses, now empty, was for long occupied by squatters and the old issy beds around it still form part of a large squatter holding.

It is noteworthy that almost all the clearances were in the Bernera and South Uig districts and this is reflected in population changes between 1841 and 1851, shown in table 4.

The cleared areas included extensive hill and mountain grazings and some of the best wintering ground, including all the machairs except Valtos and Kneep. The East Loch Roag and Carloway districts were less attractive to the new farmers; as is so commonly the case in Lewis, their rough grazings lay on gently sloping low plateaux and were consequently ill-drained and of poor quality. About 1852 Dun Carloway was let as a tack but was never successfully farmed and was soon returned to crofter-occupation; it may never have been wholly cleared of crofters. Garynahine, at the southern end of East Loch Roag, next to Linshader, was also turned into a farm about 1852. Here the hill grazing was more extensive and, though seriously reduced by a crofter settlement scheme c. 1936, it remains

175 a well cultivated small farm, a striking example of what can be done with this unpromising
427 terrain. It is probably true that one of the objects of forming farms was to introduce
311 improved methods and so set an example to the small tenants. The contrast, today, between Garynahine Farm and the nearby crofts, suggests that more than example is required.

TABLE 4

161 POPULATION CHANGES 1841-1851
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District	1841	1851	Change	(%)
Carloway	554	659	+105	(+19)
E. L. Roag	581	717	+136	(+23)
Bernera	670	676	+6(1)	(+1)
L. L. Roag	217	259	+42	(+19)
Valtos etc.	711	484	-227(2)	(-32)
Uig Bay	520	426	-94(3)	(-18)
South	384	348	-36	(-9)

Notes: (1) Vuasmore - 46 (-100%). Kirkibost, Linshader, etc. had already been cleared.
(2) Reef -180 (-96%).
(3) Carnish - 60 (-36%) - but completely cleared before 1861.
(Township figures are not available before 1841).

The birth of the crofting landscape.

175 A further mid-nineteenth century attempt to improve the productivity of the small-
427 tenants' holdings was the lotting of runrig lands to form individual crofts. In a report to
311 Seaforth c.1800, the Rev. Headwick had recommended the abolition of runrig* and some
634 lotting of crofts took place about 1811 ** about which time runrig was being abolished in North and South Uist - but many townships in Uig, as elsewhere in Lewis, escaped this lotting. In Bernera, Kirkibost was probably lotted at this time and the crofts fenced; in 1852 despite clearance, the first Ordnance surveyors were able to record the old fences (which were used as the croft divisions when Kirkibost was re-settled in 1878). The now much divided crofts of Kneep (see also fig.22) are probably of the same date. Reef
[62] appears, also, to have been lotted early, for the remnants of fence recorded by the Ordnance Surveyors in 1850-1852, (Reef was cleared in 1850), show crofts of the same general form as those of Kirkibost, and quite unlike those of the 1850 lotting. Consequently, in many townships until this date, the houses remained huddled together in tight little groups, often inter-communicating one with another. The groups, or clachans, were usually set in the midst of the arable land. The runrig system had certain disadvantages, but, as a basic agricultural structure for small holders, it had two considerable advantages which may be relevant to modern conditions. Firstly, it was flexible: within it the individual's holdings varied in size and rent and it was possible, at the periodic re-allocation, to adjust the size according to family needs. An elderly person did not need to be burdened with a holding larger than he required, or was able, to cultivate; a young man with a

[113]** Report.... on the Condition of the Cottar Population of the Lews. (C.5265), 1888, p.37

* The essence of runrig was that any individual's arable land was in many pieces, scattered promiscuously amongst those of his neighbours. Periodic re-allocation of pieces was usual, but the period varied and in some cases was infrequent.

NEXT COMMUNICATION PAGE 15

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Figure 6.

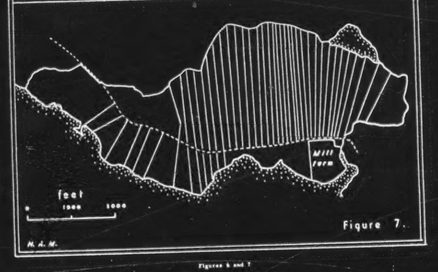

Figure 7.

Figures 6 and 7

THE LOTTING OF BREACLETE

Figure 6 shows the irregular clusters of old houses and patches of arable land (hatched) within the infield ring. On the right the first of the new houses, standing in a row each on its own 'lot' (or 'croft'), are shown.

Figure 7, from the contemporary Factor's notebook, shows the new crofts as lotted in 1850. Note that these were not fenced.

175 growing family could increase the size of his holding. Secondly, in the absence of fences
427 a certain discipline of agricultural management had to be maintained; moreover the
311 proprietor, through the factor, grounds officers and township constables, saw to it that
632 it was. This "good husbandry", albeit at a rather low level, was maintained in the interests of tenants and land-owner alike. After the arable land was lotted permanently to individuals, there was less flexibility and less need for communal management. But the absence of fences between the new lots, or crofts, meant that they were still common land during the winter months. In some cases the proprietors paid the tenants to erect fences round the newly lotted inbye land of the whole township but, even when a ring fence existed, stock was allowed to graze indiscriminately within it from November until April.

It is fortunate that the first Ordnance surveyors were at work in Lewis just as the lotting was coming into effect. The new lots were not divided by fences, therefore they were not marked by the surveyors, but in several townships they arrived in time to plot the clachans and in some - Breaclete, for example (fig. 6) - the first edition six-inch map shows some of the new houses, neatly spaced out on the new lots. The arrangement of the latter is recorded in the Factor's sketch books, of which fig. 7 is an example.

175 Thus whilst we have little evidence of the appearance of the former rural landscape,
632 we have an excellent record of the birth of the new. The characteristic units of the new
178 lotting were townships divided into long narrow strips, arranged parallel and fan-wise more or less in the direction of steepest slope. Such an arrangement was simple to lay out; it tended to give everyone a fair share of the land of each kind - ill-drained and well-drained, high and low. And, if a road or track passed through the township it was usually possible to give each lot or croft direct access to it without the necessity for side-roads.
[367] Consequently the houses, when re-built, were usually put on the crofts. Despite the pattern of settlement replaced the little huddles of the clachans. The extent to which it was dispersed depended on the width of the lots; the greater the number of tenants to be accommodated in a given area, the narrower were the lots. In extreme cases they might be as little as 20-30 yards in width and then the houses, aligned along the road or access track might form a virtually continuous terrace or street.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CROFTING STRUCTURE

424 In the parish of Uig about 90% of the families are crofters. That is to say, they owe
[428] their presence in Uig to their hereditary tenancy of a small-holding of croft status. To these holdings they have a deep attachment; many of them have been inherited through several generations. Others were obtained more recently during the process of re-settlement of farm land which followed the Napier Commission report and 1886 Act. Many older crofters regard the resettled townships as the fruits of a hard-won victory. Nevertheless, we have seen, very few of the holdings are in fact more than 110 years
[167] old. And, whilst some families can certainly trace their ancestors in the district for several centuries, there has always been a good deal of movement between townships. Thus the claim that they occupy holdings which were carved out of the barren moor by the toil and sweat of their ancestors is, in most cases, metaphor rather than strict truth.

427 Nevertheless, the attachment to the holdings is very real and must be given careful con-
511 sideration when assessing their present utilisation and potential value. It is particularly significant because it leads to large numbers of tenants retaining holdings which are far
[440] too small to yield a living. Inevitably they seek other sources of income either at home (as by weaving or casual road labour) or away (as in the Merchant Navy, armed forces, police or other skilled or unskilled work). As a consequence the croft is neglected and
[29] the potential resources, small as they are, are not realised. The decline in cattle numbers since the late nineteenth century gives some indication of the scale of this lost productivity over the parish as a whole. This is the crofter's own loss. Individually one can appreciate the problem - "four cows will not give me a living - better to get work on the hydro-scheme and sell the cows". And when one hydro-scheme finishes
[248] another will take its place, or there will be casual road work or other labour and, between times, the unemployment benefit which the self-employed crofter does not get.

Certainly the land is of poor quality, the climate in some respects severe, and the cost of transport, from Uig even to Stornoway let alone to the mainland, a perpetual prob-
[421] lem. But the root of the problem is the small size of most of the crofter-holdings, on
[281] the one hand, and, on the other, the importance which most crofters attach to the possession of a holding, no matter how small and how neglected it may be. How has this come to be?

TABLE 5

The multiplication of crofter-tenants, and their increasing rents, 1850-1890.

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	Tenants:		Rental:	
	1850	1890	1850	1890
Garenin	15	27	£70	£78
Tolsta Chaolis	29	40	£86	£96
Knock Carloway	16	33	£52	£66
Upper Carloway	25	53	£81	7
Breaclete	38	61	£111	£121
Breaclete Park	4	9	£3	£14
Callanish	38	52	£82	£104
Brenish	25	28	£94	£28
Islivick	13	10	£23	7
Aird	9	10	£30	£29
Valtos	29	40	£149	7
Kneep	18	23	£89	£80

Congestion and Sub-division.

195 The crofting population of Uig started the second half of the nineteenth century with
311 far less land than had been occupied by their forebears fifty years before, and, although
161 famine, clearance and emigration had slightly reduced the population between 1841 and
162 1861, (from 3,828 to 3,630) thereafter it again increased, reaching about 4,600 in 1891.
427 Rising agricultural prices after 1850 favoured farmers and crofters alike but, whilst the
farmers prospered the crofters merely multiplied, thus in effect reducing the land
available to each family. In 14 townships recorded in the 1850 sketch book the 273 hold-
ings at that date had become 402 by about 1890, to which should be added a considerable
number of cottars and squattars, many of them keeping stock and some sharing the rent
427 of the crofts on which they had built their cottages. Detailed comparison of the rentals
195 for the two dates shows that the increase had come about in two ways: firstly, it appears
161 that, from time to time, where a new rent ledger was being made up, the factor would
record separately cottars who actually shared the rent of the croft and, secondly, he
162 would recognise and enter some of the squatters who had obtained rent-free (and illegal)
holdings by enclosing and reclaiming from the common. The latter were added to the
souning of the townships according to the rent put upon them. Table 5 (page 16),
illustrates the process. The recognition of squatters, usually at £1-£2 per annum, led
to the small increases in total rental. For the rest, the increasing numbers were
caused by subdivision. Only in a few cases does the proprietor seem to have actively
encouraged land reclamation by crofters. On April 17, 1850, four of the families which
had been cleared out of Resf were allowed to settle on the Callanish common near the
Breasclete boundary (hence the settlement became known as 'Breasclete Park'. Their
rent was fixed at 15/- per acre for five years, thereafter increasing 1/- per annum until
it reached 29/- per acre; they shared, according to their rent, in the Callanish common
pasture. But forty years later one of these crofts had been divided into three, another
into two, and two new ones had been carved out of the common; the total rental had risen
to £13:19/-. Again, when Breanish was lotted in the spring of 1850, ten new lots were
marked out and the rental is annotated "there are ten young men starting ... these lots
as soon as the season commences". This appears to have been too optimistic; few, if
any, of the new lots were ever broken in.

The farms, by contrast, prospered and the proprietor was able to share that prosperity by increasing rents as shown in the table:

TABLE 6

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Farm:	Rental in the period: 1840's	1850's	1860's	1870's
Mealasta	£90	£105	£105	£130
Ardroil	£100	£105	£187	£255
Garnish	(£75: crofters)	£55		
Timsgarry	£78	£84	£88	£108
Linnshader	£250	£297	£400	£425

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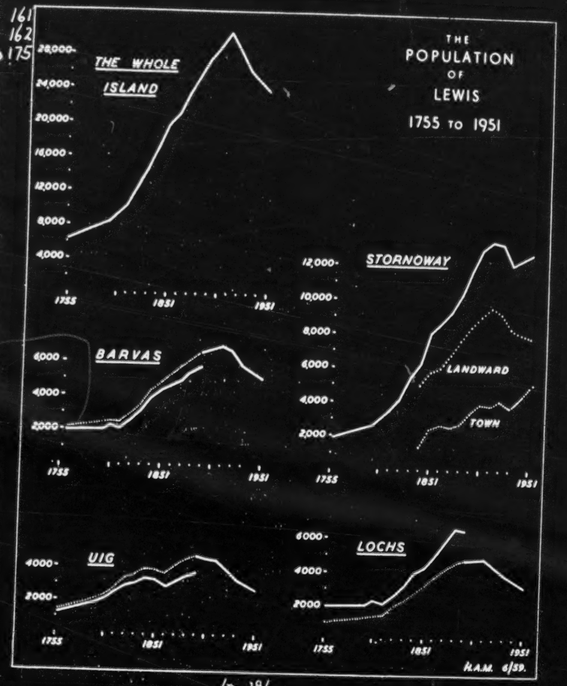

/p. 18/

Figure 8.

175 It is worth noting that the rental charged for the newly cleared farm of Carnish was
427 £55 - being £20 less than had been paid by the crofters. Thus it cannot be said that the latter were evicted purely in order to obtain more rent. The proprietor must have been taking a long term view, looking for land improvement rather than immediate gain. By the 1870's the farm rentals had increased by 55%, those of the crofting townships by only 15%. And the latter often remained unpaid.

175 Thus, whilst the farmers prospered, the tenants became crowded in their townships
427 which were correspondingly less and less able to support their increasing numbers.
511 The crofts became so reduced that in an average year the produce of the land might keep a crofter and his family for only six months; for the rest he had to find other means of
195 support. Fortunately, after the hungry years of the 'forties', fishing provided just this.
226 Starting in 1851, an annual migration began, first to Caithness and later to the whole east
466 coast of Scotland and England. By the 1880's not only were most of the able-bodied young
166 men following the herring as hired men on east coast boats, but many of the women-folk,
who had learned gutting, packing and kippering from English girls brought to Stornoway
222 for the purposes, were also earning. This was summer work, and fitted well between seed-time and harvest. In the winter, small local open boats worked long lines for white fish which were dried and salted for local curers as they still are today on the
517 Norwegian coast. Between the 1850's and 1880's there was a "condition of plenty" in Lewis "which would not have been credited by those who judged of the condition of the people by the external aspect or sanitary arrangement of their dwellings".* It was this "condition of plenty" which encouraged the people to stay at home, to sub-divide their crofts, and to live on the proceeds of paid labour rather than on the produce of the croft.

Re-settlement, 1878-1935.

175 The process of sub-division ceased only when economic conditions became less
427 favourable and emigration began to exceed natural increase. In the 1880's fishing and
466 farming suddenly became less profitable. Simultaneously, and given extra point by the
226 particular distress of the time, agitation for land reform, and in particular for the
241 relief of the most congested districts, became a political issue. This began in Uig in
175 1874 when an attempt was made to evict 56 crofters from Bernera; hundreds of crofters
668 resisted by force and subsequently marched on Stornoway. They were well received by the proprietors - who appear to have been unaware of the summary and inhumane behaviour of their chamberlain - and to the credit of all concerned the matter ended peacefully. But land agitation continued.

175 The position in Bernera was eased in 1878 when Linshader farm was deprived of the
427 old township of Kirkibost which was resettled by crofters from Bosta, the latter being let to the Tobson crofters as an enlargement to their pasture. In 1880 new holdings were formed in Hacklete, which had been the grounds-officer's farm (but which, judging from its population, had always contained a number of cottars or sub-tenants). The grazing of Laimshader was probably returned to the Borroston crofters about 1886, having been part of Linshader farm and, in 1891, six new holdings were formed at Lundale, also part of the same farm. At the same period, under the new Act, the crofters of Crowlista, Valtos, and Kneep applied unsuccessfully for enlargements from the farms, but during the nineties the islands of Little Bernera and Eilean Kearstay were taken off Linshader farm and added to the townships of Bernera, and Valtos obtained Pabay Mor.

*Report....on the Condition of the Cottar population in the Lewis. (C.5265), 1888, p.4.

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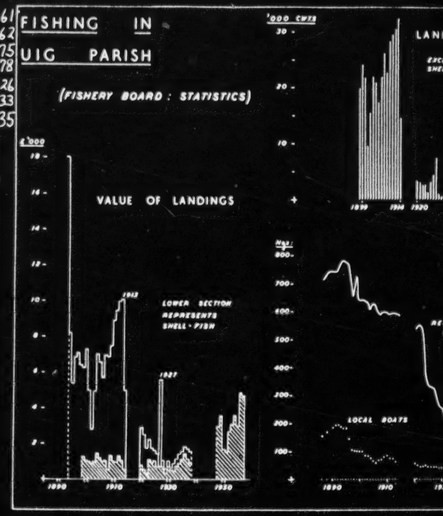

Figure 9.

/p. 20/

TABLE 8

THE RE-SETTLEMENT OF UIG, ISLE OF LEWIS

(See also Fig. 10).

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This table may not be complete for the earlier years; acreages are approximate

Date:	Farm:	Township	New Holdings	Holdings enlarged	Area (Acres)
1878	Linshader	Kirkibost	26(1)	-	c.1,300
1880	Hacklete	Hacklete	20	-	c.1,000
1886 (?)	Linshader	Borroston	-	-	500
1886	Dalemore	Carloway	-	-	60
1891	Linshader	Lundale	6		1,156
1892	Linshader	Kirkibost	-	26	1,000
1893	Linshader	Hacklet & Breaclet	-	32	314
		Valtos	-	30	c.300
1910	Mangersta	Mangersta	13	-	2,250
1912	Dalemore	Garenin	-	27	c.700
1921	Reef	Reef	15	-	1,254
		Aird & Reef	-	10	206
		Crowlista & Kneep	-	43	105
		Garyshader	-	13	88
1921	Timsgarry	Timsgarry	8	-	4,113 (2)
		Enaclete	-	9	621
		Geshader	-	11	} 603 (3)
		Ungshader	-	4	
1921	Croir	Croir	8	-	522
1921	Carnish & Ardroil	Carnish	6	-	288
		Ardroil	14	-	797
		Carnish & Ardroil common grazing			7.153
1921	Mealasta	Mangersta	-	10	1,866
		Brenish	-	29	4,116
1921	Dalemore	Garenin	-	27	c.300
1925	Linshader	Linshader	10	-	11,109
1932	Uig Lodge	Ard Bheag	2	-	809
1935	Garynahine	Garynahine	12	-	1,915
			140	245	about 45,000

Notes: (1) Crofters were moved to Kirkibost from Bosta (425 acres), which was given as an enlargement to Tobson crofters.
(2) Partly off Timsgarry.
(3) Partly off Carnish and Ardroil.

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[471]

After the first World War re-settlement schemes went ahead with renewed vigour. Men serving in the Forces expected land to be available for them on their return and they were impatient to get it. By this time the Lewis estate belonged to the Lewis and Harris Development Co. - in other words to Lord Leverhulme. The farms of Mealasta, Reef, Carnish and Ardroil were all without tenants; Leverhulme agreed to break them into crofts, the Board of Agriculture surveyors were speedily put to work, and the new settlers were able to commence cultivation on March 1, 1921. Timsgarry farm, with which was the Uig shooting lodge, was in the hands of a tenant; but the Board obtained possission, reserving a small area around the lodge for amenity. Croir farm, Bernera, was also broken up. More than 50 new holdings received enlargements to their common pastures; details are given in Figure 10 and table 8, (pages 22 and 23). The schemes were done in haste, the Secretary for Scotland pushed them forward in the face of some opposition from Leverhulme. Here, as elsewhere, the ex-servicemen were restive; land raids and violence, with inevitable political repercussion, were feared.

In 1924, Linshader farm was threatened by land raiders. As a result this, too, was broken up and 10 new holdings were occupied as from Whitsuntide, 1925. This was part of the Grimersta sporting estate and the proprietors required that all the ghillies be given crofts. Linshader was not particularly suited to crofter-management: it consisted of 49 acres of old arable land and more than 8.000 acres of rough pasture, the furthest part of which was five miles distant and without road access. When the Land Court fixed the souming the following remark was recorded:

"Under a club stock" (i.e. a single flock) the moor "might have been exploited to a very different extent, but in view of the fact that individual stocks are to be kept" (i.e. each crofter his own shepherd) "which is not conducive to hefting, ... 30 sheep per share will be ample. If the whole outside ground were being fully made use of by the sheep stock the grazing of ten cows should do no harm .... but the wintering afforded on the holdings does not justify a larger souming" (than one cow). It had, in fact, been the practise at Linshader farm to buy in young cattle for summer grazing, and to send away the lambs to the Dingwall area for their first winter.

Finally, in the thirties, two long established cottar families at Aird Bheag an isolated spot on the Uig shootings, applied for and obtained recognition as crofters. Their holdings have since been abandoned and now form part of the sheep farm operated by a syndicate of four Breanish and Islivig crofters. Finally, in 1935 a further 12 new holdings were formed by a partial break-up of Garynahine farm. Thus in all, 140 new crofts and 45,000 acres have been added to the crofter holdings of Uig since 1878. During that period the population of the parish has declined from 4,500 to 2,700. Neither the formation of new crofts, nor the enlargement the old, has prevented depopulation. Little, if any, more land is available and depopulation continues. The only hope, now, is to make the existing land - individual holdings and commons alike - more productive.

[161]
[162]

Table 8 and the map, figure 10, illustrate the progress of resettlement.

Crofts and Crofters.

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The parish of Uig is now mainly owned by five small limited companies: Uig Crofters, Bernera Crofters, Grimersta Estate, Carloway Estate, and Lewis Island Crofters. In addition, when Lord Leverhulme sold the Lewis estate a few crofters accepted their holdings as free gifts; consequently they lost legal crofter status (which is confined to tenants) although they continue to share in their respective townships. More recently four crofters in the south purchased some 2,000 acres of rough sheep grazings, including the now defuncf settlement of Ard Bheag. There is no official record of the extent of crofters' land, but we accounted for some 95,000 acres (table 9). The remainder con-

e in area, then the amount of stock allowed, per pound sterling of rent, ought to be
ed, too.

his does not appear to have been done in Uig although in Stornoway parish the soum
ound was increased after rents were reduced in the late nineteenth century. More
tly, the Crofters Commission, in re-stating soumings for some townships, has
ally (but not invariably) applied the soum to the 1886 rent, regardless of the wording
1912 regulations. This may appear to have the merit of consistency and, insofar as
ers pay any attention to the Regulations, it satisfies them because the greater (1886)
gives them a larger soum and less likelihood of being criticised or penalised for
stocking. However, it perpetuates inconsistencies which originated during the nine-
h century when the stock allowed per pound sterling rent was not reduced although
rentals were increasing as squatters' and cottars' holdings were added (see page
e). Moreover, the old souming referred to the old type of highland cattle which were
h smaller beasts than those kept today, and it assumed that the shieling pastures would
n full use. A further complication arises because about 1920 some townships acquired
stantial enlargements but the soumings do not appear to have been adjusted. Altogether
little wonder that the Grazing Regulations are seldom observed, for they seldom bear
close relationship to the grazing capacity of township lands. Proper observance of
efully revised Regulations, in which unlimited substitution of sheep in place of cattle
specifically forbidden, would be of considerable benefit to the crofters.

The inbye, or croft, land is invariably separated from the common pasture by a ring
ce, the gates of which are generally closed for protection of crops from May to
vember. Progressive townships are installing grids to obviate the twin nuisances of
ffic interference and straying stock. The fencing of individual crofts was rare until the
0's and is still by no means general. The inbye land is, in many townships, the best
nter grazing and its division into innumerable tiny fenced patches, whilst advantageous
r cultivation, would restrict the movement of stock in search of water and shelter; in a
edominantly pastoral economy complete enclosure of individual holdings is not
cessarily an advantage. This problem will be discussed in Part III but, in the present
ntext, it is relevant to point out that the small crofts of Lewis contrast strongly with
e larger ones of, for example, the Uists and Tiree. Therefore, what may be
dvantageous in the latter may be retrograde in much of Lewis.

The lay-out of the crofts aggravates this problem. The long narrow strips of the 1850
otting, well-suited to spade cultivation and common winter grazing, may require four or
ve times the length of fencing required by an equi-dimensional croft of similar area. If
enced the stock may be deprived of both water and shelter; since arable cultivation has
ecome relatively unimportant a suitable solution to this problem might be to fence a small
otato plot near the house and to put the rest of the inbye down to sown grass in three or
our communal parks in which grazing could be properly controlled. A particular problem
s posed by crofts which have been sub-divided. These may take the form of strips as much
s half a mile long by 10 yards wide or, more commonly (and much worse), of piece-meal
haring of innumerable plots, a system known locally, but incorrectly, as 'run-rig'. This
s seen at its height in Kneep (fig 22), where every croft in the township is affected. The
problem does not arise in townships with large crofts, which are usually more nearly
equi-dimensional. These are mostly the result of re-settlement schemes and have long
been fenced, (see, for example, figure 15).

Crofter-tenants.

An analysis of crofter-tenants according to age, sex and occupation (table12) provides

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ATLANTIC COAST

(Brenish, Islivig, and Mangersta)

by

Pamela M. Gough.

131 Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta are situated in the extreme south-west of Lewis, on the Atlantic coast of the parish of Uig and forty miles from Stornoway.

133 Brenish has a south-westerly aspect whilst Islivick faces north-west; in both the elevation of the crofts decreases seawards from about 125 ft. in the east to 50 - 25 ft. in the west. Only one croft in Islivig, and the eight most southerly crofts in Brenish, run to the sea - the rest obtain some shelter from a line of low hills about 300 yards wide and rising to a little over 100 feet, which forms their western boundary. The land terminates in low cliffs from 25' - 100' in height, and a rocky foreshore. Behind these townships to the east a range of mountains from 1,500' - 1,800' in height and dominated by the highest hill in Lewis, Mealisval, (1,885'), gives protection from easterly influences.

134 Mangersta lies to the north of these mountains; here the crofts lie in a sheltered valley to the west of which the land rises to over 200 feet. The valley opens southwards to the sea where there is a sandy beach and machair. The crofts range from about 150 feet to 100 feet above sea level; those nearest the sea have soils which contain a substantial proportion of machair sand.

Soils are generally deep, and there are few rocky outcrops on the crofts which are fairly level. In Brenish and Islivig the soils are mainly peaty, becoming wetter in the west. Where visible the sub-soil is gravel or stony boulder clay. In Mangersta the transition from peaty soils on the northern crofts to sandy soils on the southern crofts, is marked by the increasingly continuous cultivation, drains being unneccessary on the latter.

137 There are no trees or shrubs, and vegetation consists of marshy grass moors in the Mealasta area with a considerable amount of cotton grass bog further north. West and south of Mangersta the machair area is characterised by a calceole plant community similar in content to that found in many parts of the chalk and limestone areas of England.

361 Brenish and Islivig are old settlements, never cleared. In both, the sites of the
[172] original clachans can still be seen clustered around the mouths of their respective streams. The houses are now situated at the east end of the crofts, near to the road.

175 To the south, Mealasta - cleared in the 1840's to make a sheep farm - was divided in
632 1921 to give enlargements to the common grazings of both Brenish and Mangersta. The
311 arable land was divided into twenty-nine shares as enlargements to Brenish crofts, and is held in a modified form of runrig.

Mangersta was cleared in 1837 to make a farm; subsequently fishermen-cottars settled on the farm but they moved to Dun Carloway in 1873. In 1910, however, a new township of thirteen crofts was set up by the Congested Districts Board; the new settlers were cottars, mainly from Brenish.

233 no road and access by foot is difficult. To reach the grazings the crofters travel by boat from Mealasta several times a year and stay in one of the two houses at Aird Bheag which, although vacant, is still in repair. These houses were formerly occupied by estate employees who had crofter status.

511 From the above account, it is evident that in this district as in others, a single croft is not sufficient to support a crofter and his family. On an average, each resident crofter has acquired the equivalent of two crofts, and in addition each crofter supplements the meagre income obtained from his croft by some other occupation, e.g. weaving, labouring, or driving.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE UIG BAY DISTRICT

(Carnish, Ardroil, Timegarry and Crowlista)

by

Elizabeth Blowers.

134 Uig bay, in which low tide reveals several hundred acres of pure white sand, is surrounded by crofting townships. There are no extensive machair plains but the shell-sand forms a fringe of easily cultivated, lime-rich soils on all sides except Crowlista, and, blown inland by the Atlantic winds, it modifies and improves the texture and acidity of the
361 peaty soil as much as 2,000 yards from the shore. It is not to be wondered at then, that
[175] this bay at one time formed one of the most important centres of population in Lewis. Signs of ancient cultivation, and the ruins of old clachans, are widespread, but most of the present settlements are less than forty years old: almost the whole area was cleared to make farms in the early nineteenth century. Only in Crowlista, with its thin, rocky, arable land and almost complete absence of machair, were the small tenants left undisturbed.
[121] Consequently the district provides an opportunity to compare "old" and "new" townships, both as to lay-out and operation.

133 Carnish, in the south-west, is dominated by a huge gravel ridge - probably an esker, -
361 over a mile long and sloping steeply to the estuary of Amhuinn Chaslabhat with the rocky headland of Machair Carnish to the north. The arable land and houses of Ardroil are situated to the landward side of the hummocky machair land between the esturies of Amhuinn Chaslabhat and the Forsa river which drains Lochs Suainaval and Stacsavat. To the north of the bay the old settlement of Crowlista is situated on the rocky headland to the west of the Rethall embayment; there is a good deal of level land in the centre of the township but the slope to the estuary in the north is steep and rocky outcrops occur on the headland. Timegarry, to the east of Rethall, stretches inland between the headlands of Tolanish and Borranish along the valley of the Erista river.

134 There is a mantle of gravelly drift over this area; the Carnish esker has been mentioned and exposures of up to 120' were also seen in gravel pits in Ardroil and Timegarry. Along the coast blown shell sand rests on this drift and reaches inland for up to half a mile.

175 427 Thus, towards the end of th
pressure of population within,
to their small tenantry. It ma
agricultural prices and declini
farms would not find tenants at

Farm:	
Mealasta	
Mangersta	
Ardroil & Carnish	
Timsgarry	
Linshader	

Notes: (1) Small reduction for
(2) £22 reduction for L

525 526 [161] [162] The crofters of south Uig w
declined earlier than elsewher
Breanish and Islivig had 14 co
tenants), and three of squatter
ceased and the people were alr
[231] from home. In Valtos and Kn
sheep flocks. Here, too, fish
288 commercial weaving was devel
175 early as 1900 Uig was classed
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out so that enough wool could b
[653] one tweed. The C. D. B. also
Amongst the latter the pier at
but it came too late.

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disposal to aid the crofting tow
Road (or Pentland Road as it i
posal for a railway from Loch
enable trawlers and other larg
Stornoway and so to the mainla
175 delay. The road, an excellen
effective C. D. B. - aided schem
657 the rent of which had fallen to
427 Thirteen new buildings were fo
[241] settlers in 1911. The crofter
to purchase the sheep stock an
the same time the Board paid
enlargement to their pasture,
holding resettlement schemes
experts regarded the areas as

he nineteenth century, the proprietors were obliged, by
, and of public opinion without, to made some concessions
ay be relevant to point out that this was a period of falling
ing farm rentals; indeed the time was not far off when some
t any rental:

TABLE 7

Rental at c. 1875/80	Rental at c. 1885/90	
£130	£85	
£132	£95	
£285	£245	
£108	£80	(1)
£349	£278	(2)

enlargement to Glebe.
Laimeshader and Grimersta Lodge.

vere in particular difficulty at this time for here fishing
e but the townships remained greatly overcrowded. In 1910
ottar families, (most of them sharing crofts with the official
s, i.e. on the common pasture. Here fishing had almost
nost entirely dependent on their crofts or on employment away
eep there were 21 cottar families; they had 31 cattle and
ing was on the decline. It was perhaps because of this that
oped in South Uig earlier than in most parts of Lewis. As
with Harris, by the local committee of the Congested Dis-
uperior quality of tweed. Two 30 gallon iron pots were sent
e dyed at one boiling to obviate irregular colouring in any
made grants for roads, footpaths and "marine works".
Valtos (1899) was an attempt to resuscitate local fishing,

oard was the first government agency with funds at its
nships. One of its largest grants went in aid of the Carloway
now known). This scheme arose out of an abortive pro-
Carloway to Stornoway. It was thought that this could
fishing boats to land their catch for quick transport to
nd whilst the fishing vessels returned to sea with minimum
ly engineered one, is still not properly surfaced. A more
e was the resettlement of crofters on Mangersta Farm,
£70 and which the proprietors were willing to break up.
rmed here and the first harvest was taken by the new
' rent was fixed at £73 and the C.D.B. paid £566 in grants
d improvements, and towards the cost of fencing. About
grant to the township of Garenin for fencing a substantial
obtained off Dalbeg. Here, and at Reef farm, small-
were vetoed by the Crofters Commission whose
unsuitable. Both have since been re-settled by crofters.

235 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogge but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whole
[427] is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hogge on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hogge
[232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hogge that are sent. The minister at Timsgarry, who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well; the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked.
[235] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.[1]

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
175 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on
[361] each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grazed, are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Amhuinn Thoraghain and Allt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area, still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

464 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment.
228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil, three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

464 Mitchels's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
[316] ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present.
[712] The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two
[377] Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric shceme
[446] site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

* The minister's swes gave 103%.

1. [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

511 It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Aird; the only two families
[46] without ancillary occupations are those where all the members are elderly. Of the others
[288] with members in the working age-groups, five have one or more members employed in a civilian capacity at the R.A.F. station and there are five regular weavers.

621 Aird used to be a self-contained community; the land was fully cultivated and a certain
178 amount of fishing was carried on in spite of the difficulty of drawing up the boats over the rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the R.A.F. station, and if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search of other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF

by

David G. Symes.

131 On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a secondary
133 peninsula of more moderate, but none-the-less broken relief. This, together with an adjacent area of the main peninsula, the islands of Pabay, Vacsay, Vuia Mor and several smaller islands, comprises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Kneep and Reef.

133 This secondary peninsula is accidented in the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock and steeply angled small hills. The relief is greater in the west (summit 450') than in the east (summit 275'). Relatively level land is to be found only on the machairs of Reef and
133 Cliff (the latter only poorly developed) and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair,
134 about 180 acres, consists of a succession landwards of tidal sands, a belt of sand dunes (c. 20' O.D.) and a sandy plain sloping gently inland towards a reed filled lagoon. The machair at Cliff is approximately 40 acres in extent; here there are fixed dunes and, in addition, the sand has been blown inland to at least 100 ft. O.D. Except where the machair sand has drifted upslope to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin soils of the Valtos peninsula are predominantly peaty. Although the length of the peninsula faces north the extremes of Atlantic weather are moderated by the protection afforded by the Aird peninsula and the islands of Pabay and Vacsay.

175 In the period before the lotting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some five
427 clachans - Valtos, Cliff, Kneep, Uigean and Reef - some of which shared common pasture
361 During the early part of the nineteenth century and earlier, apparently, than the 1850 lotting
[633] carried out in most of Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clachan areas: Valtos and Cliff shared a common pasture and so became one township; similarly Kneep and Uigean were combined.

175 In Kneep it seems that the croft boundaries were not accepted by the crofters. Certain
311 basic divisions between groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today,
427 and within these basic divisions a certain regularity of distribution of strips persists, but

the crofts at Kneep are still highly fragmented: the fifteen crofts comprise over one hundred and eighty separate arable plots. The lotted crofts at Reef were cleared in 1842 to provide land for a sheep farm. Plans to clear the remainder of the Valtos peninsula were thwarted by the Fisheries Board because Valtos and Kneep were then good centres for the white fish industry. As late as 1892 Valtos and Kneep had forty boats, providing employment for one hundred and forty-five men. Valtos with thirty-two boats and one hundred and twenty fisher-men was second only to Carloway as a fishing centre in Uig. With the prosperity of the fishing industry, the population of Valtos and Kneep had risen rapidly - from 467 in 1841 to 659 in 1891. Some, at least, of the subdivisions of Kneep date from this period. Reef was scheduled by the Deer Forest Commission (1896) for resettlement by crofters and in 1908 an attempt was made to do this, but agricultural experts advised against it, on the grounds of poor water supply, scarcity of arable land (only ninety-three acres old arable) and the risk that, if cultivated, the machair would suffer wind erosion. Nevertheless, in 1921, Reef was resettled by ex-servicemen from Valtos and Kneep. At the time the sheep farm was only carrying a stock of one hundred and seventy sheep - less than half the crofters' sheep stock in 1959.

Tables 15 - 18 summarise the more significant points of the economy of the Valtos peninsula. Table 16 illustrates the fact that the economy is in decline. Only two-thirds of the total possible units are being worked. Many of the crofters have abandoned their crofts and the younger generations are unwilling to take over. Of those remaining to work the crofts 18% are over sixty-five, and a further 47% are between forty-five and sixty-four.

TABLE 16

Crofts and Crofters

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
Legal crofts:	40	18	15	73
No. in joint tenancy	2	4	0	6
Total possible units:	42	22	15	79
No. of operative units 8/59:	29 (60%)	15 (68%)	8 (53%)	52 (66%)
Joint tenancy crofts as one unit:	1	3	0	4
Cases of subletting:	8 (+2 part crofts)	4	6	18
Family combination of crofts:	2	1	1	4
Derelict crofts:	2	1	0	3
Crofts worked by: Full time crofter	3	1	1	5
crofter with regular work	8	7	0	15
crofter with periodic work	13	3	4	20
crofter over 65 (or invalid)	5	1	3	9

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND

ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF

LEWIS

('Bernera and Bernera Shore')

by

P. Wheeler

Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of Bernera Island (Breaclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the "Shore" (Earshader, Crulivig and Lundale together with the isolated township of Linshader), presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isol Bernera Island, though central to most of Uig and easily accessible over the sheltered waters of Loch Roag, yet remained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent building of the road bridge; even now it is necessary to travel over six miles to get fr the bridge to the main Uig road and a further four miles to Garynahine. Consequentl the island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements, has a very close-knit a self-sufficing population. Whether this community retains sufficient vitality to resist the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces erodin rural and especially Highland life, remains to be seen.

The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the Intro duction. Like the other districts it has virtually no valuable mineral resources (1), a the herring and white fish industries have all but disappeared and seem unlikely to resuscitated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted with vigour and enterprise; i provides a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on regular or casual employment to eke out the proceeds of the croft. The kinds of work available, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employme are common to the whole parish; thus this account is mainly concerned with the probl of crofting agriculture.

Settlement: history and patterns.

The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is part very old, and partly very recent. At least four brochs are known on Bernera and var standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous settlement has survived from th early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form a in the graveyard on little Bernera, or in oral tradition. All this contributes towards very close network of family relationships that binds the island folk and to a lesser ex those of the adjacent mainland.

With the exceptions of Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete, all Bernera Island had been cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1878 when twelve families were moved from Bosta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere. Occasionally (as at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance lotting patterns were re-adopted, bu usually settlement was laid out afresh. The townships of Bernera Shore, were also affected: all the small tenants except those of Earshader and Crulivig were cleared, leaving the land under the sheep farms of West Earshader and Linshader. However, Bernera Island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of sheilings on mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these grazings to their present position marked

(1) A small deposit of diatomite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

eginning of the resettlement movement which has given the modern crofters of the istrict almost all the lands formerly occupied by small tenants. This process was ompleted in the Bernera region soon after 1918, and the problem now - one which is bviously going to become increasingly important - is not to give the crofters more land, ut to find active crofters for the existing holdings (see Chapter III for more detailed nformation on clearance and resettlement).

The ground plans of the existing settlements vary considerably, depending mainly on he terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coast the natural endency is for the croft boundaries to run at right angles to the coast and for each house o be set on its own croft. The best examples of this are Hacklete and Kirkibost, where n early nineteenth century (i.e. pre-clearance) lotting was readopted when the township vas re-settled in 1878. Linshader, Lundale, Crulivig and Earshader also follow the ame type of layout as nearly as possible, but Tobson, with the exception of Valasay, is ntermediate between a lotted and an unconsolidated township. Croir also differs: it vas laid out in 1921 but the disposition of the potential arable forbade a coastwise rganisation. The site of Breaclete is greatly broken by lochs and a sea inlet, and onsequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Breaclete - Loch eg Breaclete axis, appears somewhat complicated. The accompanying diagrams ontrast the control exercised by physical conditions at Croir with the subordination of hysical conditions to a simple lotting plan at Hacklete, (Figure 28).

Within the townships, with the exception of Kirkibost, the distribution of settlement eems to have changed little since the original lottings, for in most cases the sites of the ld and present dwellings are little further apart than is dictated by constructional roblems. It would appear generally that black houses were universal in the nineteenth entury except for the farmhouse at 1 Croir (the oldest 'white' house in Bernera), Thule House, (18 Tobson), possibly the tacksman's house at 11 Hacklete, the former farmhouses t 20 Kirkibost and at West Earshader. However, with the establishment of Congested Districts Board and of Board of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, early examples eing 5 Hacklete and 10 Breaclete. The resettled townships generally had improved ccommodation from the start. Improvement has greatly accelerated since 1951. In most cases at the present time housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and one near blackhouse are still occupied.

Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their rivate water supply, thought it is hoped that mains schemes may be constructed within he next few years. Sanitation varies in standard and in places there are still open ditches, but all the newer houses have water closets. It is worth remarking in this connection that tuberculosis is almost eliminated. Electricity has been available since 1952 o all crofts and most are connected, though not necessarily in every room. Cooking is ometimes by electricity but more commonly by Calor gas and a peat-fired range or stove open or enclosed). Peat is cheap to those able to gather it themselves. Where, however, help is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road, difficulties may arise. The cost of hiring labour for peat cutting may be such that it is cheaper to buy coal.

Access to Bernera by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Roag provided the highway of communication, the road built to Earshader after the Great War, and the £87,000 bridge to Bernera Island, built in 1953, have caused a revaluation of sites. Linshader is approached by a tarred branch road and the other Bernera shore townships lie upon the narrow and twisting main road, though four of the six Lundale crofts have no connection with it, and two of the Crulivig crofts, and West Earshader, are somewhat isolated. On Bernera Island the old cart track from the pier at Barraglom across to Tobson and Croir has been somewhat re-aligned since the construction of the bridge. This is a good tarred road, as is part of the branch to crofts 3...8 Croir. The old road to Kirkibost was tarred in 1959, though three outlying crofts near Barraglom were still without a road suited to vehicles, and the branch within Breaclete remained untarred. There is a new road to Hacklete from Breaclete which provides tolerable, though circuitous, communication. Valasay is one of the most isolated settlements in Bernera, linked with Breaclete rather than with Tobson by the footbridge and causeway paid for by Congested Districts Board grant about 1903.

CHAPTER TEN

EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Garynahine, Callanish, Breasclete, and Tolsta Chaolis)

GARYNAHINE by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury.

131 Garynahine is a townships of twelve crofts which are situated on the eastern arm of
632 Loch Ceann Thulabhig. The crofts nowhere extend more than one-third of a mile from the coast. There is a hinterland of about 1,800 acres of common grazing, which is
133 mostly about 100 ft above sea-level, though it rises to 200 ft in a few isolated areas; the crofts are lower, and maximum elevation is 80 ft.

Most of the croft land is drained by the stream Allt Mhurchaidh which flows through
134 all but two of the crofts. But the soils are heavy, and several crofters cut peat on their crofts. Many crofters complained that their land was too peaty for cultivation.

361 The crofts form a regular pattern beside the south side of the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, with two small feus and a 21 acre freeholding on the north side of the road. In addition there is a farm (Garynahine Lodge) of 400 acres east of the crofts, and likewise stretching along the south side of the Stornoway road. The main road to Uig passes through the farm, dividing the cultivated area in the west from the grazing section.

195 The regular lay-out of the crofts dates from the formation of the township in 1935.
361 On the same site, but long cleared, there had been an older village about the same size i.e. twelve crofts, known to be in existence in the 1850's. The crofts were in a similar position, but were a different shape, and the ruins of some of the croft houses still remain. This village was completely burnt out one gusty winter evening when, it is said, a spark from a crofter's pipe was blown onto one of the thatched roofs, and the wind quickly spread the blaze to consume the entire village. The crofters left the area, many going to the neighbouring township of Callanish; Garynahine then became one large farm until 1935 when the land was re-allocated into crofts. The new crofters came from a variety of areas, several coming from Crulivig, others from Breasclete and Callanish. The owners of the farm had also opened an hotel which prospered until 1945 when the farm was sold to its present owner Admiral Drummond, who has since used the house of a
241 private house. Nine acres of the farm land is cultivated, and the remaining 391 acres
311 are used for grazing. In contrast to the usual practice in this area the oats have been undersown with rye grass. Another beneficial innovation at the farm is the introduction of shelter belts. Trees have been successfully planted, making it possible to produce good crops of soft fruits such as raspberries, strawberries etc. Both the crops and the stock on the farm are of a high standard, showing that with capital and correct management the land can be remarkably productive.

In contrast to the large scale economy of the farm, the twelve crofts (ten operative units) are each between 4.6 and 6.2 acres, and the total reputed arable is 67.3 acres. In all there are only 9.5 acres under crop (oats 6 acres and potatoes 3.5 acres), and 2.25 acres under sown grass. The crofts are worked either by spade, horse (hire from croft 40 Callanish) or by tractor (hire from the Lodge). The seasonal rhythm of cultivation and of stock rearing is that in Callanish.

Enquiries soon reveal that crofting is not the main occupation of the croft tenants. Another indication of the declining interest in the land is the fencing of the crofts. All were fenced when they were formed in 1935; since then there has been no refencing. Now a grant is available to pay 75% of the cost of re-fencing but little has been done.

231 Stock totals (see Appendix C) have declined recently and this trend will probably continue. There are only four cows and two calves in the township (plus six at the farm).

There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters exceed their souming (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 166 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had electricity since 1954. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway and also one bus from Uig and one from Bernera passing through Garynahine. These good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the remaining two being to old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about 125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide) which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing; it is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the highest point is 425 ft.

The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century, and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader to work for one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the more exposed westward facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced by the 90 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which now forms the boundary between the croftland and the common pasture. The croftland varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertilizer and manure are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial fertilizer. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on a small peninsula from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland at high tide.

The croft houses were then in two nuclei; one on each side of the narrow neck. Much later a third nuclei developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Bernera; they had put to sea in small boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common grazing. For example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the croft has now almost 10 acres of land, of which the remaining 3 acres have been 'acquired' by enclosing part of the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pieces, and in some cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor's wife, Lady Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because they were too close to the standing stones. Croft houses 25 and 26, then near the stones, were moved to the other side of the village and given parts of crofts 1 and 2 for their houses. Crofts 1 and 2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the parts of their crofts they had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its croftland close to the stones so that an enclosure could be made around the stones. About the same period, before the passing of the Crofter's Act (1886), when the village was still 'ruled' by the township constable, and several other changes took place. Croft 27 and 28 used to be where the croft houses are at present and the surrounding adjacent area only; but it is said that the tenants of these two houses, being influential with the constable, obtained part of Callanish Farm. Similarly the tenants of crofts 30, 31 and 35 divided part of croft 19; these changes have become permanent. The most recently formed croft was taken from the common pasture in 1890. Since then three feus have been created, but two of these are holiday houses and the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed arable. All but 4 croft units grow oats, and there are 20 acres under oats (appendix C). Of the remaining cultivated land 9 acres are potatoes and 5 acres sown hay. Most of the land is cultivated by tractor; there are 6 tractors in the township. In the past there were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still cultivate by spade. The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August and the oats a month later according to the weather.

Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to graze one of their neighbour's cows for part of the year in exchange for milk. There is a beef-type shorthorn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Callanish Farm.

The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned stock of 904 sheep and 561 lambs. Several crofters exceed their souming, but there is no shortage of grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garynahine township pasture. Callanish also has the use of the pasture on Orasay island; each year some of the sheep (one sheep or ram per croft) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes are brought in for tupping on November 14th, after the harvest is complete, and lambing takes place in April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November 1st to May 10th; in addition Callanish Farm (which has no sheep) is open for winter grazing. The sheep are sheared in July, and the lambs are taken from the ewes a month later. The lambs are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at Flodavat are known to have been in use until 1921.

Communications are quite good; the village is close to a main road to Stornoway, and there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-called roads are merely rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by motor vehicle; it is over a mile from the nearest track, separated from it by rough peat land. This year a grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a road to this croft; but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land refused to allow a road to be built; and so croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of the village. There are two shops in Callanish (one with a petrol pump); grocery, butchers' and fish vans deliver frequently. Callanish also has a stone jetty which in the past was important. There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and Bernera calling at Linshader, which gradually declined in importance until the 1920s when it ceased to call at Linshader. The ferry to Bernera finally ceased in 1940 when the ferryman (who lived at Callanish Farm) left for war service. After this the jetty was still used by small private boats (e.g. Callanish church serves Linshader, and many people came to church by boat until recently), but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry wea water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a Bendix electric wa r only to find that there was not sufficient water to us rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and eve remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are car worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. El weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates accor prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several yo young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of perm dent adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanis been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prospe communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips

Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by p from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have bee making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there vation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the B Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some c grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-se acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considere that township.

The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve thro middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles awa road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still u Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the jou by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to S high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next fe at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or thr weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

by

Brian Loughbrough

131 The seven crofting townships of Upper Carloway, (including Carloway Park), Borrowston,
133 Garenin, Knock Carloway, Dun Carloway and Kirivick form a compact area of land in the
north of the Parish of Uig bordering the coast and Loch Carloway. Here the Lewisian
[103] gneiss has a thin discontinuous covering of glacial drift which is most extensively
developed immediately above the head of Loch Carloway. Three valleys help to deter-
361 mine the layout of the townships and settlements (figure 37). The townships to the north-
west of the Carloway river are found on more gentle slopes than those to the south east
133 where the slopes are less uniform and are less uniform and are often broken by short
steep rocky faces. The north western area therefore offers an environment where almost
continuous cultivation is possible whereas in the south east the frequent rock outcrops
have led to fragmented cultivation on minute plots which are inaccessible to the tractor
or other mechanised implements.

131 The soils are heavy and acid even on the skinned land of the boulder clay slopes nor
is there any machair to mitigate the acidity of the peaty areas which descend almost to
the shores. Only in one place is there any trace of the influence of the sand and this is
to be found where the crofts numbered 1 to 3 Garenin border the small bay in the north of
that township. Here the fierce gales have blown some of the finer beach deposits on to
the croft land.

Much of the peat has been cut from the inner common pastures except in the case of
Upper Garloway where active cutting is still taking place in the valley whose flanks are
131 occupied by squatter settlements, to the east of the football pitch. On the common
311 pasture the vegetation varies from peat moss and heather with bracken to fescue and
close turf on the skinned land by the road to Dalemore. On the upper common pasture
heather and bracken have increased since the abandonment of the shielings and the
reduction of the cattle stock; many inhabitants remember that the hills once had a much
greener aspect. Nor is this a feature confined to the common pastures; on one croft in
Upper Carloway 1.9 acres are completely covered by heather whilst a neighbouring croft
has a good crop of oats on similar land. At the loch in both Knock and Upper Carloway
areas of former arable land have reverted to moss, the old lazy beds being picked out by
lines of reeds.

361 Settlement. The settlement pattern is one of great interest for it shows in a clear way
the effects of the distrinct phases in the historical geography of the area. The evidence
of success and failure stands side by side. Before attempting to justify this assertion it
is necessary to give a brief account of the physical evolution and distribution of settle-
ment.

361 The origin of permanent settlement is believed * to have been the permanent occu-
pation of shielings used by people from Bernera until the eighteenth century. Until about
175 1850 arable land was held run-rig and the houses were huddled together in tight little
clusters. When individual crofts were lotted, about 1850, the houses werescattered,
each on its croft and generally up to fifty yards from the present road (which was then
361 no more than a rough track). Sea access was then most important but since the advent
441 of modern road transport new houses have been built nearer to the roads, producing the
178 modern markedly linear plan. The roads extend at different heights across the slopes

* based on information supplied by Mr Macleod of 27 Garenin.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

APPENDIX E

175 (i) Stock carried about 80 years ago compared with that carried today.
178
233
311
632

(a) Old Townships

	Cattle (more than 1 year old) 1883	1959	Soum	Sheep (all ages) 1883	1959	Soum
Brenish *	131	33	84	447	1,700	508
Islivig	46	9	43	93	500	228
Crowliste	101	18	89	632	1,200	414
Aird	40	6	34	137	600	206
Valtos	158	42	220	647	2,300	1,033
Kneep	84	22	76	341	1,000	455
Caryshader	42	9	45	267	500	183
Ungshader *	20	4	38	107		110
Geshader *	46	19	31	330	1,800	237
Enaclete *	48	16	17	172	900	298
Breaclete	53	25	59	215	630	312
Kirkibost	143	49	144	449	1,300	866
Hacklete	89	52	122	290	1,400	661
Tobson	116	36	97	534	950	784
Earshader	20	7	17	109	480	104
Crulivig	25	14	25	116	600	163
Callanish	160	41	161	397	1,600	795
Breasclete	188	52	191	629	1,600	567
Tolsta Chaolis	176	30	96	501	1,550	573
Lochganvich	31	9	33	125	414	155
Dun Carloway	121	35	130	530	1,550	460
Kirivich	63	15	60	280	550	202
Knock Carloway	118	39	132	524	950	530
Carloway	208	63	130	715	1,000	671
Borrowston	62	15	98	368	950	392
Garenin	110	24	98	401	1,000	341

(b) New Townships compared with former farms

	Cattle (more than 1 year old) 1879	1959	Soum	Sheep (all ages) 1879	1959	Soum
Mangersta *	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	25	68	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	1,200	385
Carnish		5	26		1,200	270
Ardroil		20	62		650	625
Timsgarry		8	23		800	275
Reef		10	45		380	225
Croir		11	36		550	96
Londale		11	36		750	192
Linshader		8	15		250	330
Garynahine		6	18		914	180
Farms etc.	404	44	-	4,400		

Note These soums given do not allow for enlargements which should substantially increase the stock capacity of townships marked *.

Sources 1879: Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture.
1883: Evidence given to the Napier Commission.

Fig. 1. Park in the Early Nineteenth Century
/facing p. 2/

102
175
511
361

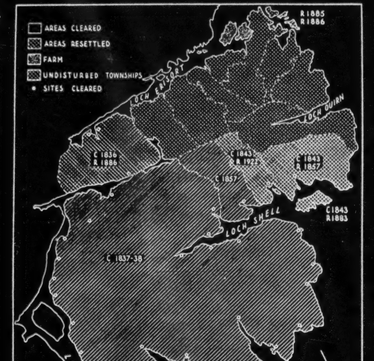

Fig. 2. Clearance and Resettlement in Park
/facing p. 3/

17 or summer pastures for the tenants of Laxay and Earnish respectively, townships on the north
175 shores of the loch. In 1775, there were four tenants in Kershader, but their place of origin
162 is unknown. In 1805, five tenants are recorded, two of them from Uig; by 1824 there were 10
341 tenants. Thus the growth of population in Lewis during the second half of the eighteenth century
311 may well have been the major reason for the colonisation of one of the least agriculturally
161 attractive districts of the island.

From Figure 1, which shows most of the thirty-four occupied places south of Loch Shell about 1828, it is evident that colonisation had extended south into the mountainous area. The evictions, which commenced in Harris in 1814, may have increased the population already there as early as 1660, for many of these families came from Harris. The numerous Mitchells in South Park speak of a vigorous community; it is possible that South Park was more densely populated than the northern area up till 1800.

162 During the period 1818 to 1842, when the grazier, Donald Stewart, and his brothers had a lease
175 of South Park, most of these settlements were cleared (Fig 2); in addition, between 1838 and
341 1843, 68 tenants and sub-tenants in Shiladernish, Cleiter, Seafprthead, Lemreway, Oronsay,
311 Stiomrabagh and Isginn were removed, in all about 436 people.[1] Some 27 families were sent to
161 Crossbost in North Lochs; others went to Tolsta and Tong in Stornoway parish, and some emigrated. The main body of those evicted settled in the townships in North Park: Marivig in 1838 had 6 tenants; by 1850, 22 are recorded. Thus the present distribution of population crystallised about 1840 and by then the townships along the shore of Loch Erisort from Habost to Garyvard were well established. The Minch coast townships from Cromore to Gravir, first settled about 1800, were greatly expanded, and Park south of Gravir became a sheep grazing devoid of small tenantry.

175 In 1844, the Seaforth family, which had held Lewis for over two centuries, sold the island to
423 Sir James Matheson. The estate management soon wrought great changes in the landscape. Until
311 1850-52, the run-rig system prevailed, a system whereby a group of joint tenants, or a tacksman
341 and subtenants, cultivated in small patches what arable land had been reclaimed, each share
241 being periodically re-allocated. The crofts, or individually held land, date from 1850-52, when the land was lotted and most of the present crofts were formed at this period. The settlement pattern associated with run-rig was one of closely nucleated groups of houses but when run-rig was abolished, houses were built on the individual crofts.

In 1858, Lemreway was once again made available to crofters, most of whom came from the
175 fishing townships where population pressure was building up. After the disastrous potato famine
162 of 1846-7, and the final failure of the kelp industry from 1840 to 1844, the population of the Outer
423 Isles experienced great hardship. By the early 1850's, the lotting of the crofts and the rapid
731 development of the fishing industry brought a period of prosperity and the population grew rapidly
241 especially in the fishing townships of the Minch coast. The prosperity was such that numerous
161 cottars built houses on the lotted crofts, and their stock-keeping on the common was tolerated because of the demand for fishing crews. About 1884, the system whereby each boat was tied to individual fish merchants, who advanced meal and provisions against the catch, was discontinued. When this system was replaced by the auctioning of catches, such was the privation in Lewis that the Royal Commission investigating the poverty of the population in 1888 found conditions almost as severe as those prevailing during the potato famine forty years earlier. It was during this period that the Park Deer Raid occurred: Park became a Deer Forest in 1883 at the end of the grazier's
[685] lease. In 1888, as a demonstration of their grievances, a large number of crofters from the Park townships went into the Deer Forest and killed about 200 deer, cooking the meat in the open for all to see. Some were arrested but after trial acquitted.[2] A few good fishing seasons remedied this unhappy situation and the population of the fishing townships rose to a peak in 1911.

[115] 1 Evidence given to Royal Commission of Inquiry into Crofters and Cottars 1883. (Also known as the Napier Commission).

[113] 2 Report on the Conditions of the Cottar Population in the Lewis, 1888.

[113] 3 Stornoway Gazette, 27.1.59.

175 While the Royal Commission of 1883-6 was investigating Crofting conditions in Scotland, the
423 farm of Seafortlhead and Shiaidervish was restored to six crofters. Six years later, the Royal
311 Commission of Enquiry into the Highlands and Islands scheduled the following land as suitable for new crofting townships: Stiemreway, Eilean Calum Cille, Crobeg, and the islands of Oronsaich and Rossaidh, a total area of 153 acres arable and 3,502 acres grazing. A further 163 acres of arable and 46,135 acres of grazing in the Park Deer Forest were scheduled as land suitable for the extension of existing holdings. The Report of the Commission considered "that in the case of Lewis, it cannot be left out of view that the congestion is very great, and the demand by crofters for access to lands now scheduled is of a very urgent nature ..... The Deer Forest Commissioners do not believe that the lands now scheduled are suitable for new holdings but were these lands occupied as common pasture by crofters, under a properly adjusted system of management, their occupation would be of much advantage to the occupants and more than outweigh the disadvantages."[4] As a result of this recommendation, the islands of Rossaidh, Oronsaidh and Iubhairt, in all 90 of the 43,728 acres scheduled, were given to Marivig, Calbost, and Lemreway, respectively, as additions to the common pasture; the sheep farm comprising Crobeg, Oronsay and Stiemreway, and the Deer Forest were left undisturbed.

175 In 1924, after raiding, Oronsay was reconstituted as a crofting township, all but one of the new
423 tenants coming from the overcrowded crofts of Lemreway. An unsuccessful attempt was made by
432 squatters who had built houses at Stiemreway, to have their unofficial lots recognised, but some
311 families remained there till 1949. In 1934, fifteen small lots were cut out of the Gravir common
241 pasture to relieve pressure on the Gravir crofts: this Department of Agriculture scheme marked
[162] the end of a century of population redistribution.

Thus the full recommendations of the Deer Forest Commission have never been implemented, but one can only conclude, after a study of the crofting economy, that greater participation by the crofters in the Deer Forest grazing would bring increased viability to the crofting community.

175 The landscape of Park has thus experienced four formative periods. Of the prehistoric era and
423 the early historical period, when the Norsemen held sway, a few archaeological sites and a large
341 number of place-names remain. From 1660 until the early nineteenth century settlement was
432 slowly established and spread over all the coastal fringe: this period saw the maximum areal distribution of the small tenantry. From 1828 to 1843, eviction stripped the entire area south of Gravir and west of Habost of population, and large scale sheep farming was extended at the expense of the small tenants. The fishing townships from Cromore to Gravir were greatly expanded at
[161] this time. From 1884-1924, three of the cleared townships were reconstituted: the population in the majority of the fishing townships continued to grow till 1911. Since 1924, fifteen new lots have been formed in Park but the population has progressively declined.

The absence of large scale resettlement since 1884 differentiates Park from most other crofting districts, but the exodus of population since 1918 and the existence of a population constantly struggling for viability in an area deficient in resources are features common to the entire crofting area.

[119] 4 Report of the Royal Commission Highlands and Islands, 1892. (often known as the "Deer Forest Commission").

THE PATTERN OF CROFTING

423 Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire,
241 Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties of
[178] Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some
423 districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the
477 nearest equivalent to peasant communities in Britain, although only a small minority of crofters own their holdings, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, has all but disappeared.

175 Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to
427 compensation for improvements. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural
341 holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where the
423 annual rent paid was less than £30. Security of tenure, and compensation for improvements were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £50. In all, there are about 20,000 crofts in Scotland today[1] and Collier[2] estimated the crofting population at
[161] about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms
[162] a 1 per cent sample of the crofts, and a 0.9 per cent sample of the estimated crofting population.

Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

423 The characteristic settlement unit is the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal
427 distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the
341 individually held croft land, and the common grazings. The number of crofts per township
311 ranges from 6 in Cawarsta to 43 in Gravir.

432 The individually held croft land (1,839 acres) is partly 'outrun' or permanent pasture and the
233 holdings are usually but not always consolidated - in Gravir (Fig. 4) and Cromore some of the crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated from neighbouring units by a drystone dyke or fence but in Park, such demarcation is the exception rather than the rule.

The croft land is separated from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wa
The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor, ill-
drained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park, only Oronsay common pasture is fenced, the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by crumbled turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured, a term comparable to the obsolescent 'gaies' of northern England. In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young bea up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per £1 rent. There is also a system of state equivalences (Gaelic 'coilpeachadh') in most townships whereby substitution of cattle for sheep an sheep for cattle is permissible: in Gravir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Souming and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed souminga were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming of their croft.

[115] 1 Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

[115] 2 Adam Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1953.

Although the croftland is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six months of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole township stock graze indiscriminately over the crofts. Thus basically the whole area of the township, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear that the agricultural revolution with its system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Crofting Area.

Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic - 'airigh'). The sites of the shielings are usually on slopes commanding a view of the surrounding area near a spring or stream and usually two to nine huts belonging to the same township are grouped together as a sub-isolated shielings are rather rare. In order to conserve the pasture within the township dyke for wintering and to protect the unfenced crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in June, and the younger members of the household went out to live in small stone or turf-walled huts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter or cheese at the shieling. The distance of shielings from the crofts varied from one to five miles in Park.

The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the township and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in the past related mainly to the enforcement of soumings, but are now reduced to the disbursement of subsidies, although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the township bull (usually lent by the Department of Agriculture but sometimes communally owned) are also the province of the Committee.

The layout of the townships varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned in strips from the moor to the sea (figures 4 and 5). Most croft houses are built on the crofts; in former times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the cultivable land was required for crops, but nowadays the houses tend to be sited near the road.

The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing in the rights and duties of the township. Table I gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 Park crofts. It will be noted that only one-fifth of the crofts are tenanted by those in the 15-44 age group: a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 65 years of age. Absentee tenants account for 14 per cent of the total. Women form under 10 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of the women tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The intrinsic worth of the holdings can be inferred from the fact that two-thirds of the male tenants in the insurable age group take supplementary work, two-fifths of them farth of Lewis. With such a large proportion of the tenants either fully employed in ancillary occupations in Park or elsewhere it is hardly surprising that the theoretical township organisation exists mainly in name alone.

Each croft, however, is not necessarily an agricultural unit; some are sublet by absentee tenants or by tenants who are too old or too infirm to work their crofts. Of the 215 crofts, one-fifth are wholly or partly sublet. In addition to the legal crofts, there are unofficial holdings which fall into three categories, cottars, squatters and feusrs, all legally without grazing rights. A cottar[1] is a person, usually a close relative of the tenant, who builds another house on

1 These are the de facto definitions. Section 34 of the Crofters' Act of 1886 defines a cottar as follows:- "Cottar" means the occupier of a dwelling-house situate in a crofting parish with or without land who pays no rent to the landlord, as also the tenant from year to year of a dwelling house situated in a crofting parish who resides therein, and who pays to the landlord therefor an annual rent not exceeding six pounds in money, whether with or without garden ground, but without arable or pasture land". For fuller treatment, see Scott, J., "The Law of Smallholdings in Scotland," 1933, pages 152-155.

There is no legal definition of a squatter, and the above definition does not include any distinction between houses built on a croft and houses built on the Common Grazings.

TABLE VI

TOWNSHIP STOCKING: 1883[1] AND 1958

	1883		1958	
	Cattle	Sheep	Cattle	Sheep
Habost	65	215	34	1,044
Kershader	67	205	34	822
Garyvard	55	200	26	736
Caverstia	27	109	12	264
Crossora	127	310	48	905
Marivig	84	207	23	830
Calbost	71	220	4	326
Leurasay	158	481	58	1,139
TOTAL	654	1,947	239	6,066

1. Royal Commission on Crofting - mss. data, 1883.

Register House, Edinburgh.

Information was not complete for Grwvir, and the remaining townships were not in crofting tenure in 1883.

/p. 8-a/

TABLE VII

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS[1]: Parish of Lochs[2]

CROPS	1913	1920	1938	1947	1958
Oats	487	383	879	757	467
Barley	191	156	15	4	-
Potatoes	455	772	330	239	189
Sown Grass for Hay	26	126	78	78	161
Sown Grass for Pasture	-	6	74	72	101
Total Cultivation	1134	1341	1622	1150	918
Permanent Grass for Hay	44	32	573	791	730
Permanent Pasture	2650	2644	1661	1367	1766
Others[3]	22	6	268	86	77
TOTAL Crops and Grass:	3850	3813	3306	3394	3671
STOCK:					
Horses	102	101	49	39	11
Cattle	2089	1701	1612	1150	996
Sheep[4]	9450 (3888)	9750 (3952)	25434 (9909)	29698 (14256)	39580 (15989)
Poultry	?	?	8173	12502	8756

1. By courtesy of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.
2. As Park is part of Lochs Parish, these are the only statistics available.
3. Roots (negligible acreage), fallow.
4. Figures in brackets are breeding ewes.

/p. 8-b/

Table III reveals that there are 177 agricultural units with a souming; ten units are crofts in Glengravir without a souming and the remainder of the 219 units have no grazing rights. From this Table, it is clear that full stocking and over-stocking increase with the size of the croft, the units of 20 acres and over, on the basis of stock carry, would appear to be the most intensively worked. In all, just over half of the units take in their full souming. Table IV gives an analysis of employment ancillary to croft work. Of the 219 units and it would appear that neither ancillary employment nor age is significant, related to the intensity of croft working. Table V points to the fact that more full-time crofters are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables III, IV and V underline the fact that the larger units are also the more successful and it is significant that the larger units are almost all on the better land in the agricultural townships. The average size of holding in the agricultural townships is nine acres; compared with less than eight acres in the fishing townships, where the land is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

The trends in agriculture are illustrated by Tables VI and VII. The Crofters' Commission made a survey of the crofts through the medium of Estate Factors in 1883; from Table VI it is evident that the number of cattle was much higher at that time and that the cattle-sheep ratio in the selected townships was 1:3 as compared with 1:25 in 1958. Table VII gives agricultural statistics for the parish of Lochs as a whole; separate figures for Park are not available. Since 1913, radical changes in the crop and stock patterns have taken place; here (Hordeum vulgare) has disappeared as a crop, and sown grass and permanent grass for hay have since 1947 become the leading crops. Horses have all but disappeared, and the cattle-sheep ratio has risen from less than 1:4 to 1:39 for the whole parish. Since 1938, cultivation in Lochs Parish has declined by 36 per cent. Large areas of hay-beds, no longer cultivated, are visible landscape signs of these changes; seaweed, the sole quasi-manure for lazybed cultivation, is no longer carried to the upper parts of the crofts. In fact, many of the crofts no longer use seaweed as a fertiliser.

From the foregoing account, it is clear that there are two major agricultural problems in Park, the lack of sufficiently large crofts with good arable land and an insufficiency of common grazing; these deficiences bring in their train the problem of overstocking, and the existence of uneconomic holdings.

The more progressive crofters, significantly, resident on the better crofts of the agricultural townships, have shown how croft land can be improved by re-seeding and sowing down to grass, practices which could be fruitfully extended throughout Park. In addition, several townships by co-operative effort, have reseeded small areas of the commons grazings with spiketail.

However it is clear that it is not possible for 219 viable agricultural units to be maintained on the present crofting area. The optimum size of croft which maintains a family is a moot point, for the location and situation of a croft and the quality of the land and common pasture would all have to be taken into account in making an assessment.

This problem was referred to a practical agriculturalist who was asked to state what size of croft and number of stock would be required to provide an annual income of £300, excluding croft benefit (milk, eggs and potatoes consumed on the croft) and any costing for labour. To fulfil these conditions, one of the fishing townships was carefully analysed, and the expert came to the following approximations, assuming that the rules of good husbandry were in force after the croft had been brought up to a good standard of cultivation and re-seeding had been carried out where possible on the outrun and Common Pasture, and provided there was no overstocking, and that present favourable subsidies and prices continue:-

[Habost]

Drift is found near the shore and laps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, barley was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks. Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shieldersnish and took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Alisan Tailear came from Toraisay, Harris, to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1904, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who lease it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Croftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

The land is heavily overstocked: the soum is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in Park Deer Forest by arrers of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garyvard in November and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Creigeal, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since before 1852. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Beinn Bhuidhe and below Loch na Ciste but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural townships and fishing is only for domestic use; lobsters are to be found on only four crofts and trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new houses have been built in close proximity to the old houses site. All have piped water either from the well or from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

[Kershader]

233 (b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices,
911 however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the former
221 case they heft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand.
231 Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

[432] There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

231 Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces
[236] about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average
[435] sheep carcase weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

241 Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as
161 full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category,
162 and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable
167 population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this
166 township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption
464 only) and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The
[463] only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought
[501] away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person has entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the
[175] optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 80 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907
[178] and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard,
[871] Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

182 It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilizing the
241 population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in
[313] agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Kershader] [Garyvard]

182 common grazings - at present approximately correctly stocked - and cannot therefore provide
241 much employment. Hence it is the standard of agriculture that must be improved. Since the
[313] land does not permit striking extension or improvement of the cultivated area, development must be directed towards improving pasture, with more re-seeding and controlled grazing
400 similar to that already described. All this, however, is of little avail if prices for cattle, sheep and wool remain low, or at least lower than prices prevailing on the mainland. The first priority therefore, in the establishment of a prosperous agriculture is a guaranteed market-price. Given this, it might become worthwhile to take steps to increase the carrying capacity of the crofts. It may be assumed that this would involve an all-round improvement which could give a firm basis to the economic existence of the community; until this is achieved, stability and continuity are out of the question.

GARYVARD

Gwenyth R. Page, B. A.

131 The landscape of the south-east coast of Loch Erisort is a sombre and rugged one. The
133 Quaternary ice sheets left in their wake troughs now filled by the sea loch, innumerable lochs covered in water lilies, a massive area of indeterminate drainage and expanses of bare gneiss.

Garyvard is set on the fringe of this landscape on a 20 to 25° slope with the crofts aligned
551 from the moor to the sea, on a mantle of drift. Here is the home of the MacLeods, the Mackinnon
121 and the Montgomerys. Life beats out its regular pattern of existence during the winter months
231 on the croft, followed by an increasing tempo and variety of work during the rest of the year. In
241 January and February the animals must be fed on hay or lose the battle to survive. In February there are preparations for the year's tasks, making repairs and improvements to the croft. Next month will find the crofter on the land, making or clearing drains and putting fences and dykes in order. The tempo of life quickens with the year; April sees the first sheep dipping, the land turned over, potatoes and oats sown. From mid-May, the sheep leave the crofts to fend
[344] for themselves on the common grazing. The following three or four months are times of tremendous activity on the moors when the peats are cut, to be stacked later, first in fours, then in eights, so that the wind may dry them, till eventually bee-hive-shaped stacks - some four feet high - can be seen near the peat banks in August. Then begins the wearisome task of carrying the peats home, all too frequently in creels carried on the back, since the peat workings of Garyvard are on the moors up to half a mile from road. Altogether some two miles of roads are needed to prevent the villagers patronising the coal merchants of Stornoway. Two crofters, however, cut peat on their crofts, whilst others have permission to cut from Cromore or Caversta common grazings close to the road. All the while croft work continues, varying from hoeing, weeding and cutting hay to the gathering of sheep for shearing. As there are no fences between the various commons, crofters must travel from one township fank to another, seeking their own. In August the lambs are weaned. Hay making generally ends in August and is immediately followed by the oat harvest in September. By the time both oats and hay have been gathered in, the potatoes are lifted and the sheep are brought in from the common grazing about October 12th. The last sheep dipping takes place in November and is followed by tupping.

241 There are eleven crofts altogether, though one is divided, each portion having a legal tenant
423 who has a half share in the common grazing. Two crofts are 12 acres in extent, the half crofts 2.75 acres only, though the acre cultivated on the common grazing by one of the latter crofters since 1923, has recently been officially recognized. Most crofts are in strips running from the sea-shore up the slope some 500 yards to the township dyke, and are clearly demarcated by fences erected just after the last war. Three crofts have additional strips whilst one croft was
[175] an extra strip belonging to another croft. The additional strips date back about 100 years to a time when the township grew rapidly as a result of evictions in southern Park. One croft is divided and worked in three separate parts so in effect there are fourteen operative units in Garyva

[Garyvard] [Caversta]

532 At the moment Garyvard appears to be a go-ahead village, carrying out communal schemes
[62] which will benefit the township as a whole. However, the age structure of the population is abnormal
since 60 per cent of the population is over 45 years. The future in Garyvard offers young people
192 hard work, little money and no entertainment, making the attractions of the cities and industries
of the mainland quite irresistible. Unless some industry can be started the future bodes ill for the
area, since most crofters are of the opinion that a weekly wage packet would more than compensate
191 the loss of their independence. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the age of National Assistance and
subsidies that man cares more for momentary rewards and the luxuries of life. This is well
understood by parents who encourage their children to leave the islands to seek employment either
in Britain or within the Commonwealth. The Lewisman is no sentimentalist clinging to dying traditions
and a way of life. His present desires have been re-cast as a result of his increasing contact with
the world beyond the Hebrides and he is prepared to abandon his home where it defeats his aims
and purpose. Unless prosperity can be brought in by way of industry, tourism or increased croft
efficiency, possibly through co-operation in working and marketing, it is possible that we are
witnessing the end of a community.

CAVERSTA

Helen Mackenzie

131 Caversta lies along a southern inlet of Loch Erisort, five miles from the Minch and is partially
sheltered from east winds by the Cromore peninsula and Eilean Chaluim Chille.

133 The physical nature of the terrain is irregular, rising steeply from the water's edge to a level
of approximately 225 feet. To the west and to the east, the land slopes to the river estuary and it
361 is here that the settlement occurs. Particularly in the north-west, two marked breaks in slope are
visible at 75 feet and 100 feet above the loch, which is here bordered by a 25 foot rock face. The
resulting platforms are separated by faces of bare rock. The valley of the Caversta River is a
noteworthy feature. Below a small loch, the river follows an irregular course though a wide and
shallow moraine-strewn depression and a quarter-of-a-mile from its estuary, has cut through some
low hills rising about 30 feet above the depression. At this point, its course becomes steeper as
it passes through a small gorge, which is probably an overflow channel.

137 Trees are non-existent and the natural vegetation consists of Sphagnum on the peat bogs in the
hollows and grasses and sedges on the gentler slopes. The steeper, less waterlogged slopes, often
broken by rocky bluffs, have heather cover; bracken growth is kept in check by heavy grazing.
134 Forty-six acres of land have been reclaimed by clearing heather and removing peat to form the
311 crofts, but the soil, which varies in depth from a few inches to a few feet, is very acid.

The six legal crofts vary in acreage from 4.75 to 8.5 acres and a squatter has 5.5 acres of
129 enclosed land. The township is in two parts: Torista, with the two smallest crofts, lies at the east-
241 ern extremity, while the other five holdings, also bounded by a dyke, border Tob Caversta, an
632 inlet of Loch Erisort. The crofts, which run from the shore to the township dyke, were set prior
[175] to 1861; originally the township formed part of Crobeg Farm. The legal units are, in fact, operative
units except that one of the Torista crofts, now unoccupied, is used for wintering lambs by the
absentee's brother, a resident of Caversta.

542 There are no occupied black houses remaining in either Torista or Caversta, as during the
past fifty years new dwellings have been erected in dressed stone or corrugated iron, usually with
roofs of asbestos slate, tarred felt, or corrugated iron. Several old thatched houses are now used
as barns and byres.

[Marivig] [Calbost]

000 In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Marivig's future, and that of other crofti
townships, is not only one of adverse aspect, soil and weather conditions, and of distance fro
markets, but a problem of the population finding a stable and viable level where agricultural u
are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain,
a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

131 Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Gravir on the Minch coast of Park. It o
133 a basin-like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is open to the sea on the east. T
361 croft houses are scattered over a shelf 50 feet above sea-level round the sides of the hollow a
along the valleys which enter the township to the north and south-west.

134 The cultivable soil, a mixture of peat and well-drained gravelly drift, is on the higher gro
137 although here the rock outcrops in many places. On land formerly cultivated, bracken is spr
rapidly and now covers a large proportion of the surface, although twenty to thirty years ago
was unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-
central area. There are a few willows and rowans round the old buildings, probably planted
wind-breaks.

175 Calbost was originally a single farm but the township was formed about 1820. The pattern
241 the crofts differs from the usual shore-to-dyke alignment, as six crofts were allotted extra la
311 in the valley which enters from the north, when a part of the common grazing was brought wit
361 the township dyke. There are now fourteen crofts of which four are worked by resident crofte
189 and two by squatters. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to cr
in Calbost and other townships.

241 Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2.6 acres now in cultivation, potatoes account f
[240] 2.37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduced cattle stock of only two c
[246] two calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut as winter feed for the 225 sheep which
in the township.

311 The lazy-beds in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly encroached on by bracken.
prevalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to clear it, is likely to deter any attempt
renewed cultivation.

178 Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats h
228 be taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing indust
504 has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Calbost, les
only a few boats now used only for leisure purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only t
434 the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there ar
563 productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not so wid
232 in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and al
361 to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills aro
417 Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosures were made adjoining th
dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes befor
the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wa
[178] over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the cro

Whatever signs there were of social or cultural disorganization, or threatened disintegration, in the nineteenth century they have disappeared. Steward's theory that folk societies do not entirely disappear but are rather modified by way of a readaptation to the higher level of socio-cultural organization of which they become a part is borne out by the evidence from the Isle of Skye.[17] At the same time, on the basis of events in the culture history of the Sgiathanach, I would qualify his theory by introducing a new condition. Isolated, relatively simple, kinship oriented societies and cultures which must achieve a reintegration if they are to preserve their continuity readapt, not only to the higher socio-cultural level, but also to the older way of life.

In conclusion, I regard Skye as a community which has maintained a continuity of culture despite marked population change. The continued distinctiveness has been made possible by a reintegration of the culture and a restoration of the network of relationships which make for harmonious living together. As in any socio-cultural group which has passed through periods of threatened disintegration, the joints of repair may be weak. Conflicts are tending to appear. The crofter, who has refused to fully adapt to commercialism, is seasonally faced with a variety and succession of tasks which no agriculturalist in the wider society would tolerate. There is the desire of the youth, who are too few in numbers to form a sodality, for a share in the mundane pleasures of

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[17] Steward, Area Research, p. 111; see also Wagley and Harris, op. cit., p. 441.

d the other changes of this period. Significantly, 175
as no simple correlation of revivalism and 178
e. The Revival began during a time of population 182
ation; it reached effective proportions during 771
igration seems to have almost stopped; and it 786
ation during years marked by destitution and
depopulation. No purpose will be served by
have already said about the nature of the
companied the coming of the dynamic, evangelical
sufficient to emphasize that the ministers
forced the desirable fabric of the culture
ture a new focus.

period of anomie on Skye is less well marked.
he end of the "Clearances." Again destitution
nd. Although the vital, emotional religion
people to bear the hardships of the "Clearances"
sistance, they now openly defied the landlords
More than a series of government commissions
ame to Skye. A still more intense religion
rizon to reaffirm the focus of the culture.
s no more coincidence that the new church should
acceptance by the people in the areas of
the areas which required the presence of
Marines. It was a fact of no little signifi-
ew denomination should have been founded on
, the area of greatest unrest in all the

176

176 INNOVATION--analyses or general summaries of discoveries and inventions originating within the cultural group; factors involved (e.g., accident, genius, cultural base); number, range, and frequency of innovations, inventors and innovators; etc. For specific inventions see the appropriate descriptive category. See also:

Patents and copyrights 424

241 here and there in small patches of less than a quarter acre and therefore do not appear in our summaries, appendices A (1) and C (1).

The amount of cultivation carried out depends on three factors:

(i) stock, particularly cattle, to be carried through the winter,
(ii) size of family, which influences the amount of potatoes grown,
(iii) available labour, because cultivation is mostly by hand, especially in South Uig and Bernera.

The size of the effective agricultural unit has little influence on the area cultivated although it may bear some relation to the amount of natural hay taken. This can hardly be regarded as 'cultivated' and the acreage is difficult to estimate; the custom is to cut as and when weather permits, and wherever there is a convenient stand of natural grass.

Hand labour is a necessity on most crofts in the Bernera district and on many elsewhere. The traditional 'lazy-bed' - a long narrow strip of cultivation bounded by deep ditches which may be half as wide as the bed - is a necessity on broken, rocky ground on which the only soil is peat which often has to be gathered into hollows in order to get sufficient depth. The small size and long narrow shape of most crofts do not lend themselves to tile drainage, which is almost unknown. If it could be extended it would be a great advantage but, in general, it would have to be organised by townships, or at least by groups of crofts, and the whole trend in management of croft land is towards individual occupation and use.

241 This may not always be a good thing. Fencing is a case in point. Until the last
417 ten years fenced crofts were rare altough small parts of crofts might be fenced and, in some cases, a group of crofts might be fenced off from the rest. But, in general, the crofts were common land in the winter and used individually only from May to October.
178 Fencing grants, and the encouragement of sown grass in rotation with oats, have changed this. A great rash of fencing is appearing. This may not be altogether a good
[233] thing, particularly for the sheep in winter and spring; even if gates are still left open, stock are deprived of the ability to move for shelter. There may also be watering difficulties. Co-operative draining, cultivation and grazing, of groups of crofts if not of townships, would be more efficient and more productive.

241 Finally, we may remark on the curious insistence on hand cultivation of oats and potatoes for consumption on the croft, whilst cash crops well suited to hand labour, and
[439] which would be far more rewarding, are neglected. Flowers, vegetables and potatoes are imported into Stornoway daily on the mail steamer and even by 'plane. Neither climate nor soil prevents their production in Lewis. Moreover such crops could provide a much needed source of additional income. A few croft gardens produce excellent soft fruit and as the local season differs slightly from that on the mainland
[176] there would seem to be possibilities here, too. There have been virtually no agricultural innovations since the potato.

Economic and Technical Factors.

434 The agricultural income of a croft arises from:

(i) the sale of livestock, mostly store stock at the spring and autumn sales,
(ii) the sale of the annual wool clip,
(iii) the receipt of certain annual subsidies and grants.

These are the main items; in addition some may sell small amounts of potatoes, eggs and standing hay; a very few sell a little milk although strictly this is illegal. Such an annual income comes in three or four annual instalments, uncertain as to date and amount. Moreover, a crofter may suddenly and unexpectedly find himself deprived of a large portion of his income due to casualties amongst his stock or poor demand at the seasonal sales. Unlike the mainland farmer, should an islander withdraw his store

231 Table III reveals that there are 177 agricultural units with a souming; ten units are crofts in Glengravir without a souming and the remainder of the 219 units have no grazing rights. From this Table, it is clear that full stocking and overstocking increase with the size of the croft; the units of ten acres and over, on the basis of stock carry, would appear to be the most intensiv
[469] worked. In all, just over half of the units take up their full souming. Table IV gives an
[561] analysis of employment ancillary to croft work for 141 of the 219 units and it would appear that
[887] neither ancillary employment nor age is significantly related to the intensity of croft working. Table V points to the fact that more full-time crofters are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables
[811] III, IV and V underline the fact that the larger units are also the more successful and it is significant that the larger units are almost all on the better land in the agricultural townships. The average size of holding in the agricultural townships is nine acres, compared with less than eight acres in the fishing townships, where the land is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

175 The trends in agriculture are illustrated by Tables VI and VII. The Crofters' Commission m
178 a survey of the crofts through the medium of Estate Factors in 1883; from Table VI it is evident
241 that the number of cattle was much higher at that time and that the cattle-sheep ratio in the
231 selected townships was 1:3 as compared with 1:25 in 1958. Table VII gives agricultural statistic for the parish of Lochs as a whole; separate figures for Park are not available. Since 1913, radical changes in the crop and stock patterns have taken place; bere (Hordeum vulgare) has disappeared as a crop, and sown grass and permanent grass for hay have since 1947 become the leading crops. Horses have all but disappeared, and the cattle-sheep ratio has risen from less than 1:4 to 1:39 for the whole parish. Since 1938, cultivation in Lochs Parish has declined by 36
[518] per cent. Large areas of lazy-beds, no longer cultivated, are visible landscape signs of these
[824] changes; seaweed, the sine quae non for lazybed cultivation, is no longer carried to the upper pa of the crofts. In fact, many of the crofts no longer use seaweed as a fertiliser.

233 From the foregoing account, it is clear that there are two major agricultural problems in Pa
241 the lack of sufficiently large crofts with good arable land and an insufficiency of common grazing these deficiences bring in their train the problem of overstocking, and the existence of uneconom holdings.

241 The more progressive crofters, significantly resident on the better crofts of the agricultural
242 townships, have shown how croft land can be improved by re-seeding and sowing down to grass,
176 practices which could be fruitfully extended throughout Park. In addition, several townships by c operative effort, have reseeded small areas of the commons grazings with splendid results.

241 However it is clear that it is not possible for 219 viable agricultural units to be maintained a the present crofting area. The optimum size of croft which could maintain a family is a moot point, for the location and situation of a croft and the quality of the land and common pasture would all have to be taken into account in making an assessment.

231 This problem was referred to a practical agriculturalist who was asked to state what size of
241 croft and number of stock would be required to provide an annual income of £300, excluding croft
242 benefit (milk, eggs and potatoes consumed on the croft) and any costing for labour. To fulfil the conditions, one of the fishing townships was carefully analysed, and the expert came to the following approximations, assuming that the rules of good husbandry were in force after the croft had been brought up to a good standard of cultivation and re-seeding had been carried out where possible on the outrun and Common Pasture, and provided there was no overstocking, and that present favourable subsidies and prices continue:-

177

177 ACCULTURATION AND CULTURE CONTACT--number, character, and intensity of contacts with alien cultures; factors affecting cultural receptivity; instances of cultural borrowing; adaptive modification of introduced elements; agencies and agents of culture change; etc. See also:

Immigration 167
Loan words 192
Foreign trade 439
Ethnic stratification 865
Colonial administration 436
Foreign relations 648
Missions 797

I: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

175 Hamelts or clachans
241 (small clustered settlements) were broken up, and
361 houses were isolated on strips of land in linear,
178 single-street villages.

114 Gray (1952, 1957) argues that the main factor
178 behind the reorganization of land use in the Highl
was the progressive, individualistic, laissez-fair
ideology of the 18th century. Grant (1930: 97)
attributes the reorganization to the high demand f
cereals which existed during the Napoleonic wars.
• 177 Highland landlords, who were very much in contact
241 with the society of the Scottish Lowlands, were
influenced by agricultural practices there. The
trend to change run-rig, which had once dominated
whole of Scotland, to fixed, compact holdings bega
in the Lowlands.

423 According to the "progressive" ideology of th
425 time, the giving of land to individual farmers in
829 larger pieces than they had previously held would
serve to stimulate agricultural development and gi
rise to a class of capitalist farmers. To give la
to a relatively few people, however, meant the rem
of a large number of tenants who had hitherto been
able to survive under the system of run-rig.

[Calbost] [Gravir] [Glengravir]

The present situation in Calbost is best illustrated by reference to the population statistics. There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are squatters and only eight houses are occupied within the dyke. Of the male population, there are three children under fourteen years, one man in the 15-44 age group, three between 45 and 64 years and two over 65. This clearly shows the lack of active men from 15-44 years, necessary for the continuing economic success of the community. However, even these figures are not so striking as the numbers of emigrants as no less than 39 men and 40 women have left Calbost since 1939.

A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the younger people have left to find employment in Stornoway and on the mainland. The present population structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride the major east-west inlet of Loch Ouirn, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The site of the township is perhaps the most picturesque in all Park, but the steep slopes, lack of cover, the small area of good arable land, and the considerable population existing on slim resources, problems common to Park as a whole, are all epitomised in Gravir.

On the south-facing slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough in the valley to the west, the majority of the crofts have been carved from moor to sea, some before 1800, and some in the process of the abolition of run-rig which was accomplished in the years 1850 to 1852. Originally, there appears to have been thirty crofts, but four were added during the nineteenth century, two at each end of the line, and in 1934 a further fifteen were cut out of the common grazing, a mile to the west of Gravir. On the south side of the loch, the 'clachan' of Tom an Fhuadain, established about 1800, has since developed into a further nine crofts. Thus there are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir and a further fifteen in Glengravir making fifty-eight in all.

The layout of Glengravir, a line of crofts from 3.6 to five acres, typifies the small post-1918 Department of Agriculture holdings. The arrangement of the Gravir crofts is illustrated in Figure 4, and it will be seen that not all the crofts are consolidated. There are three areas of former arable commons which have been lotted in unfenced strips and they may well be reclamations which were necessary to supplement the food producing capacity of the holdings. The method of division and allocation speaks of a period when a subsistence economy under severe pressure from over-population, necessitated fair shares for all. The last of these commons was in cultivation until 1891. Although subsistence crofting has been obsolete since then, there is as yet no move towards a regularisation of the layout.

178 The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable commons developed mainly
145 as a result of a successful fishing industry which prospered from 1860 to 1914 and at one time there
228 were two curing stations in Gravir. With relative prosperity from an ancillary industry, cottars
[161] were tolerated and the population rose from 197 in 1830, to 368 in 1881 reaching a peak of 468
[162] in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has certainly not yet ceased. Gravir reverted from 1918 to a township of agriculturalists and a base for employment furth of Lewis, although there have been spasms of successful fishing activity since.

Stock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and conditions
241 are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir crofts
[231] vary between 3.5 and 26.5 acres in size: no croft has more than four acres of 'old arable'. In the days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in narrow lazy-beds banked up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more extensive. All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed cut as far away
[324] Cromore or the coast south of Kebock Head. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed area is
[137] cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture; some of the laz

[Gr-vir] [Glengr-vir]

241 beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other lazy-beds are permanently in natural
[197] hay; only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'old arable' is now in oats and potatoes. If natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the old arable (ninety acres) after 1850-52. As in all the fishing townships the area of sown grass is infinitesimal for only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of under-sowing.

241 There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives.
423 All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and squatters and feuars, besides the fifteen legal Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir common. The common
[532] has been encroached on by several feus for Gravir is the functional centre of Park: the Free
[346] Church of Scotland and Manse, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionaries
[759] (assistant ministers) are all located in Gravir.
[795]

Gravir and Glengravir thus have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than
233 half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty per cent of
311 the soum, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 2,652 acres is in general of poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957, a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded: only twelve of the operative units participated in this reclamation work, and the ages of the participants ranged between 27 and 58 years; this is significant as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended annually; if potential improvements to the crofts are limited, pasture amelioration is virtually
[435] without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater numbers; at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the sheep soum, and a ewe and lamb sell for as little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the consequences of over-stocking. The cattle stock is below the souming and this paucity of cattle is one of the notable changes in the agriculture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the souming by thirty-five per cent.

231 The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from
241 the souming of one cow and follower and eight sheep per pound sterling of rent in a township where
434 only seven crofts pay more than £2 rent, they were never intended to be self-supporting agricultural units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, bere or oats, locally milled by the three Gravir water mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family. Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and
[228] eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for lobsters.

463 If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of insurable age and
288 service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupation are sufficiently available or attractive to keep the insurable population in the district. Twelve of
[166] the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in
[167] permanent employment furth of Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential male resident population.

175 The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute
228 after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the hey-day of the fishing most of the men fished
434 all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sal of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted
[233] the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the souming, the income of the largest croft including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

[Lemreway]

vulgaris is dominant. Ling, which can tolerate considerable soil water, often occurs with Nardus, Molinia, Scirpus caespitosus and Eriophorium. A few rowans, usually near the shore, and a few willows, usually within stone enclosures, are the only trees to be seen.

Of the thirty-three legal crofts in Lemreway, nine comprise less than five acres, while seventeen are between five and ten acres. Of the remainder, only two exceed fifteen acres and one of these is 30 acres. Six unoccupied crofts are worked by persons other than their tenants, so actually the 290 acres of croft land are shared by twenty-seven holdings. The seventeen-acre 'outend' was originally divided between fifteen tenants but confused sub-letting has resulted in four separate holdings directly occupying nine acres, and working another four acres. Thus the outend today must be regarded as the monopoly of four 'unofficial' holders.

Little more than a quarter of the croft land is cultivable and even less is actually cultivated today: Figure 9 illustrates the crofting year. The broken terrain and the stony nature of the soil has permitted the cultivation of tiny 'lazybeds' and the total cultivated area is now about 48 acres. Only the strips of land on the gentler slopes, where the soils are deeper, are now cultivated, but every croft shows signs of former, more extensive, lazybed cultivation, often covering at least two acres. For example, on the east side, natural hay is cut on the well-marked lazybeds at about 225 feet.

Oats and potatoes, 29.5 and 16 acres respectively,occupy almost all of the cultivated ground. Most crofts grow about half an acre of potatoes and one acre of oats; both acreages have declined, the former with a declining population and the latter with a reduction in the numbers of cattle; hay has increased in importance. No bere is now grown, though before 1900 it was preferred to oats. Ruins of the bere mill, which ceased to function at the beginning of the century, can still be seen. Fifty-nine acres of natural grass are cut for hay but only four crofters had sown grass for hay in 1958, about three acres in all. Few vegetables other than potatoes are grown though carrots are said to grow well, and formerly turnips and cabbages were grown. The soil needs careful preparatio to be productive and almost every crofter used some seaweed and at least twenty drew subsidies for l and artificial fertilisers in 1958.

Stock totals have declined recently but the township has 36 cows and 22 calves. Only one croft s without cattle and 22 of the 33 working units have a cow and a calf. The township has an Ayrshire bull on loan from the Department of Agriculture; one of the few remaining elements of the co-operati ownship system is that this animal is fed by the crofters, in rotation, during the winter.

All but two crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between ten and 120 per holding but the majority have about 23 ewes with ten lambs. Although numbers have declined recently, the 3,025 acres of very moderate common pasture support a flock of about 1,150 sheep, including about 650 breeding ewes and about 300 lambs.

The souming is not enforced in Lemreway and it is remarkable that the total stock tallies almost exactly to the souming. An examination of the sheep soum reveals that the stock of 917 (excluding lambs) considerably exceeds the sheep soum of 626. It is interesting that it is nearly always the working units of over 10 acres that are overstocked; of twelve such units, eight keep more sheep than they are entitled to. Most of these crofts are grouped on the eastern side of the township where the crofts have a larger outrun.

Thus, while overgrazing is not so severe as in many townships, it represents a potential threat, particularly if the common pasture is not improved. However, in 1958 ten acres of the common pasture have been enclosed and re-seeded. Six acres were sown with ordinary mixed grass seed, two acres with pelletted seed and two acres with pelletted and inoculated seed. The eleven crofters taking part in the scheme put on 100 tons of sand to help drain and aerate the peaty soil, 2½ tons of ground mineral phosphate and 2 tons of concentrated compound fertiliser, grades 1 and 2 - all of it by hand. The area was sown in May 1958: by the following August, there was a striking difference between it and the untreated pasture. Next Spring, eleven cows will be grazed on this area. With the success of this scheme, it is hoped that more of the crofters will co-operate in re-seeding further areas.

[Lemreway] [Orinsay]

228 The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominan
196 township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 t
434 boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for
435 and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township.
504 one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipme nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

161 An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when
162 those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 f considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast townships in Park.

463 Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find wor
241 occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft w
238 employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and seve
228 over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merc
205 nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.
494
166 Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving
167 Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most
505
357

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are g
392 has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs a
377 of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to
312 of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either
361 up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the p Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.
351

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway wi
484 attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the inco they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors,
485 of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be

000 It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment
407 enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man return is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, e
311 outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to ne
242 all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter- being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-
463 contemporary employment combinations.

181 The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemrew
000 is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to chan it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful co

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

131 Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe,
361 a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situat
241 of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the sho

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. Fo
113 tents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

[Orinsay]

233 The future existence of the common pasture for grazing is being seriously endangered by overstocking. The souming is not enforced in Orinsay and the actual sheep stock exceeds the soum by 300 per cent. Peat-cutting is gradually destroying valuable grazing areas; in the last three years there has even been some peat cutting on the better grazing on the island. The dangers both of overstocking and of indiscriminate peat cutting cannot be overstressed.

[314]

311 No evidence was seen of attempts to improve the quality of the common pasture. The establish-
242 ment of shelter belts would provide not only shelter but a means of stopping the peat from 'slumping' down slopes if they were carefully sited. Much of the common pasture could be improved by a hill drainage scheme and by re-seeding, after sanding and liming, a project well within the capacity of the resident labour force.

241 Good crops on a few of the crofts suggest that the land is not inherently sterile, however, and it would seem that if the holdings were reduced to a maximum of four, an economic existence might be feasible on these crofts. The stony nature of the soil limits the possibilities of tractor cultivation but with an improvement in drainage, one might be used in the two valleys.

464 It is not so easy to be optimistic about the employment of surplus population resulting from such an enlargement of holdings, although a revival in the fishing industry could absorb most of the men. A present there are no looms in Orinsay and providing the Harris tweed industry can hold its own, there are possibilities in weaving. Seaweed is in plentiful supply, indeed Lemreway people also obtain supplies and should its quality prove adequate, the establishment of a processing plant would provide valuable employment.

[288]

[824]

000 Nevertheless it is becoming increasingly obvious that unless the holdings can be enlarged, whethe officially or by sub-letting, and some further employment created, Orinsay is liable to stagnate, and depopulation to continue. The township which was developed to relieve congestion is now itself congested.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

121 The aim of the Glasgow University Department of Geography Crofting Survey is to record and analyse material relevant to the crofting districts, and in so doing provide a clear and impartial statement of the present situation. In inviting us to undertake a survey of Park, the Pairc Association hoped that a body of fact would be assembled and conclusions drawn which would assist the Association in their admirable aims of advancing the well-being of the area. Their two Progress Reports, of 1956 and 1957, indicate that they have already investigated many of the possibilities for development. This summary refers to Park alone, and, it must be emphasised that until the survey of crofting is completed, no final assessment of the Crofting Area as a whole can be made.

182 The district of Park is one of the more isolated and difficult crofting environments. The ruggedn of the terrain, the high proportion of land of very low agricultural value and sheer isolation make the
●175 existence of human communities precarious. In addition, many of the Park communities were first
311 established as a result of population pressure in more favourable areas of Lewis, and the original small settlements grew rapidly as a result of a change in land use which was a national trend - the conversion of poorer areas from subsistence farming to an extensive sheep-rearing economy. The impact of this change came to Park in the form of the eviction of a large body of small farmers in favour of an extension of the grazing area. Thus the present conditions are a legacy of the relatively recent past, and of legislation, particularly in the Crofters' Act of 1886, which accepted, and tacitly agreed to the maintenance of a larger population than the land could reasonable carry[1]. Two World
[141] Wars and fluctuating economic factors have had repercussions in Park and resulted in a change in
[142] economic and social values, and depopulation has resulted: the 1951 population was 60 per cent of the 1911 total.

1. The Commissioners proposed that only holdings rented at £6 and over should have security of tenure, with a view to discouraging the perpetuation of grossly uneconomic holdings; in the Act, all holdings were given security of tenure.

acceptance of the potato, a much more productive and dependable 161 175 178 241 464 subsistence item than grain on Skye, made it possible for more people to live on less land. The introduction of a new industry, kelping, provided many with employment and freed them from complete dependence on a subsistence economy. Vaccination reduced 757 165 the mortality rate, especially among infants whose chances of reaching maturity and procreating were thus enhanced. Another 514 important factor was the Skyeman's share in the general prosperity of British agriculturalists during the early years of the Industrial Revolution and during the Napoleonic Wars. An 423 592 especially important factor was the practice of subdividing the land which made early marriage possible, in particular after the installation of the crofting system. Finally, but by no 161 175 178 182 means least significant, there was the persistence of many typical features of the culture in the days of the clan. The sentimental ties of kinship and attachment to the soil had remained.

The population decrease, partially a result of the Skyeman's 161 175 178 184 involvement in the process of commercialization, was primarily a result of a failure to fully adjust to the higher, more heterogeneous socio-economic level. By the end of the second period of the modern epoch, 1845, the people had become hostages to the potato and their own fertility. When the potato failed them, they had nothing to fall back upon, except the generosity of their landlords. The cattle and kelp markets had collapsed at the end of the Wars, and the subdivided land could not produce sufficient grain. The belief of many that the population had over-run the limited local resources was confirmed.

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ty impossible on Skye. Economically, [175]
e Highlands, may be viewed as
Lowlands of Scotland 200 years ago.
conomic adaptation of the Sgiathanach

religious groups." As a result of urbanization almost all 171
rural areas have experienced the pangs of social mobility and 182
few have escaped unscathed from a clash with the economic 771
forces which impinge from the outside. This predisposes the 786
people to the appeal of an emotional religion, revivalism. 781
Frequently, the sect becomes uncompromising and rejects the
outside world in an attempt to bolster group security. The
sequence of events on Skye enables me to add that the sect
can also reject a great deal of the former content of the
culture. Be that as it may, the authors show how emotional [571]
religious movements restore or replace meaningful patterns
of interaction among groups whose social systems have deteri-
orated. Revivalism is a counter agent for anomie.

The first period of social and cultural disequilibrium 175
which the Sgiathanach experienced may be placed in the first 178
half of the nineteenth century, with a climax around 1840. 771
To paraphrase Loomis and Beegle, it was no mere coincidence 786
that an emotional religious movement should have appeared and 182
found so many converts. The closing years of the eighteenth
century had witnessed numerous changes in the content of the
culture and the collapse of the old social heirarchy. While
these events doubtlessly had an influence on all levels of
the society, it was not until the turn of the century that
they broke forth upon the masses. Within a decade a revival
had reached effective proportions. This was a time of estate
reorganization. The tacksmen, the traditional leaders, were
quickly disappearing. The runrig farm was being abolished.
Sheep were beginning to replace men in one parish (Bracadale).

161 Table XIX summarises the population structure and trends for the four districts. It is signific
162 that the two districts without service centres, which provide a range of ancillary employment, hav
166 experienced more severe depopulation since 1939. This table also underlines the fact that earning
167 from seasonal employment are insufficient: the incidence of permanent employment furth of the
434 districts is three times as great as the incidence of seasonal employment.
464

APPENDIX B

SHIELINGS - A NOTE

John E. Wearmouth with illustrations by Beth Blowers

175 From Figure 1, compiled from the First Edition six-inch map of the Ordnance Survey (1850
233 to 1852) and from personal observations, it is clear that the shieling system was at one time an overall feature of Park for the whole peninsula has traces of this transhumant economy.

361 The rudimentary structures, some of turf, others of stones and roofed with bracken or
342 heather thatch, are all sited on well drained sites, the majority on mounds. Almost all the sites are close to lochs or streams. The majority are in loose groups of from two to nine buildings, although there are some in isolation; no site has as many as twenty-six buildings as found at Airidh na Gaolthe in North Uist.

342 There appears to be two distinctive shapes of building - oval and rectangular (Fig.10). All shielings measured exhibited a remarkable similarity in dimensions, from 17½ by 9 feet to 13 by 12 feet. The oval structures are generally larger than the rectangular ones. Most of the shielings had two entrances, often, but not always, opposite each other.

195 The shieling system died out in Park about 1880 but the cattle continued to graze around the
283 shielings on the better grass, and the crofters had still to go out to milk the cattle at the shieling, although they no longer lived there. The sheep still use the mounds for shelter and grazing. These features of an obsolete economy are still easily recognisable from the luxuriant grass cover in a wilderness of peat bog and bare rock.

APPENDIX C

NORSE SETTLEMENTS NAMES IN NORTHERN PARK, LEWIS

Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt.

103 See: Magne Oftedal, The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides; in Norsk Tidskrift for
113 Sprogvidenskap, vol. XVII, 1954, (Oslo), pp. 363 ff.

103 Professor Oftedal points out the difficulties of these Norse-Gaelic settlement names: inaccurate spellings even in modern times, and lack of any useful evidence from older sources, make almost all the derivations a matter of conjecture. Sometimes two or more ON equivalents are possible (e.g. for Calbost), sometimes no satisfactory solution can be found (e.g. for Lemreway). Since Professor Oftedal frequently bases his explanation on pronunciations not recorded in written forms, his evidence is largely followed here.
SHIELDERNISH: the second element is N nes, 'headland'. Oftedal's explanation of the first as silda, genitive plural of N sild, 'herring', is satisfactory linguistically, but seems unlikely in meaning.

6: Ducey

175

[For information on the history of Skye, see Category 116, pp. 62-109, 111-155,

and 159-166.]

the fourth degree of relationship. Although the extended family is now rather amorphous compared to what it must have been a century or two ago, it is still very real to the Sgiathanach. Once, perhaps, the townships and their historic antecedents were patrilocal settlements. Then, of course, the question of the availibility of land and the legality of subdivision were of small importance. Now the rigid system of land use enforces neo-local post-marital residence, often at a great distance from the parents, and very often means that the younger generation must join the constant outward movement of the population. Thus, the extended family is seldom, if ever, found intact. Indeed, the only times its members come together as a group is at a funeral or a wedding. On these occasions the strong patrilineal emphasis becomes apparent, and the fact that the individual always remains a member of his or her family group is revealed. It is, then, a stem family.

In structure the extended family includes all males and females out to, and including, third cousins. The kinship terminology is descriptive. Excepting grandchildren, all relatives are distinguished by sex and generation. Members of the parental generation and lineal descendents of the parents collateral kin are distinguished by their relationship to the individual's parents. Members of the grandparental and great-grandparental generations and their lineal descendents are similarly distinguished. The same descriptive technique extends to kinsmen of the first and second descending generations.

Beginning with a population which is believed to have been relatively stable due to recurrent crises, including epidemic famines, and wars, the pendulum of population growth and decl for the Sgiathanach has been found to be highly responsive to cultural innovations and social adjustments. Between 1750 and 1841 the Skyemen increased in numbers from 10,671 to 23,0 an increase of more than 100 percent. From 1851 to 1951 the population has steadily decreased from 22,536 to 8,603, a decrease of 62 percent from maximum. Associated with the decline were changes in the age structure. In 1861 34 percen of the population was under fifteen and only seven percent was over sixty-five; today only 22 percent of the population is under fifteen while 19 percent is over sixty-five. How can we account for these changes, or, more correctly, how can we account for the changes in the birth, death, and emigration rates?

Broadly speaking, the increase was favored by the direct and indirect involvement of the Sgiathanach in the process of commercialization, with all of its associated consequences. One by one, the natural checks on population growth declined in importance. The pressure on the means of subsistence was eased. The former clan chiefs, preferring the society of Edinburgh and London, absented themselves. After converting rents from kind to money, they provoked the withdrawal of the tacksmen by resorting to rackrenting. The former clansmen, who became joint-tenants, received a larger share in the land and were freed from the obligation of feeding both their own families and those of the superiors. At the same time the

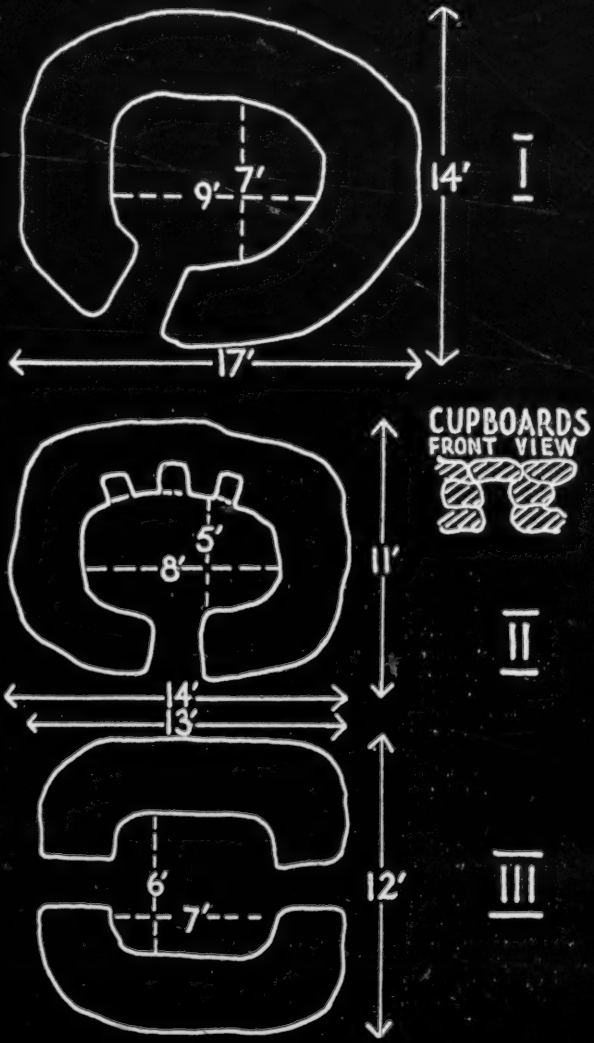

Fig. 10

/facing p. 39/

being determined by conditions of culture, such as political and economic conditions. Under conditions of gradual centralization of economic and political systems, the geographically isolated crofting areas have evolved strategies, some of which puzzle agencies concerned with development or other aspects of governmental processes.

Before the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board began to operate in the crofting counties, not more than one croft in every hundred had electricity; but by the end of 1955, one in every three croft holdings had been supplied (Taylor 1956: 20). "The light" came to Shawbost in 1951. Before then, the islanders used Tilley lamps, a Canadian invention, and before them double-wick paraffin lamps. Pipes water came a few years later, around 1955; it was brought from a nearby loch, and the community work gave urgency jobs to local people. The availability of these services facilitated the building of county council houses, which many welcomed as providing a relief on the congestion caused in part by rules against building more than one house on a croft. But, paradoxically, the "pattern" of consumption of all these services came a decrease in the advantages of living in a crofting township: property was assessed and people began paying rates or taxes.

In nation-wide conic strips and zones, the Highlander plays the role of the clown, the rustic country cousin. The comic strip "Gaston Gay" portrays a skilled Highlander, sly and canny behind his apparent simplicity, tricking the landlord and searching for the Loch Ness monster. Stories of the lazy, dour crofter abound.

When young men go away to the Army or Navy or to work on the mainland, they say that they feel like

"Kangaroos." "Thirty years ago the island was very isolated. It was difficult to get to Stornoway, and a few education grants available. I got my teaching certificate and wanted to get a post back on the island, but was told there was no vacancy. I waited for another fifteen years. So I went down to England, and found I had to be at least as good as an Englishman if not better in my job as I had to be here."

"When I went into the RAF, I had never seen light switches because we used paraffin lamps. An English man told me to turn the light on, and I didn't know which way meant on or off. They seemed still stuck in me."

* From a high official in the Highlands and Islands Development Board, 1970. Cf. Hunter (1974): "Highlanders are trained to be dependent, to be conditioned to accept what is given them, to be trained not to question, to be trained not to "don't do today what you can put off till tomorrow." Cf. Hunter (1974): "Highlanders live in a Gaelic, "no worries," "what's the hurry" culture. We need no word that conveys such a sense of urgency."

"I was in the Navy during the last war. We were in Norway, and got an invitation to visit the palace. I didn't go. I was afraid I'd make a mess of things."

"Stornoway is a dreary place. Crofting (Gaelic: IV'S, mainland-oriented) so you feel outsiders."

The new director of an association which promotes the speaking of Gaelic in a Lowland Scot town learned a little Gaelic when he was in England. He was working in England and, as a Scotsman, felt as much like a foreigner that he decided "to be a real foreigner"—to be another Gaelic. Motives which prompted legislation protecting crofting also lie behind the development of organizations which attempt to protect and preserve the Gaelic language.

As Comas Carmichael, the leading spokesman for Comunn Eilean Leodhais (Lewis Island Association) which promotes the speaking of Gaelic, was founded in 1971 "I came on the mainland, and has always been interested. Eighty years ago (actually before the Association was established its headquarters in Stornoway) but the headquarters were relegated to bindquarters when the director found that he needed to be on the mainland to exert pressure on influential organizations for aid and support. The organization is condemned by ministers on the island, who see it as an organization that encourages litigiousness and "rights." Its publications and books which it publishes or sponsors are seldom read by the ordinary islanders.

FLORA

Pursuing a 'scorched-earth' policy, a Norse leader, Magnus Barefoot, on a punitive expedition, came to 1098 destroying much of the island's natural surface resources. Trees were a particular target. Although the Norse settlements, the origins of which are lost in the island was accelerated by the requirements of the Scandinavian Crown. Cattle, particularly Cattle, Dutch, or Englishmen who visited Lewis in 1830 in connection with Charles II's history schemes, reported 'there are many eagles and hawks in the isle which breed in the clefts of rocks, for this place is so destitute of wood that there is not one tree growing in the island' Martin Martin almost confirmed this a generation later: 'I saw big roots of trees in the head of Loch Erisort, and there is about a hundred young birch and hazel trees on the southwest side of Loch Stornoway' and in 10 years time Dr. Johnson and Mr. Boswell Before Sir James and Lady Mackinnon came to Lewis in 1844, the Mackinnons had purchased the old Seaforth Lodge, Seaforth Lewis Castle now stands, had many floating apple trees.

The economy in 1600 of the Highlands and Islands is interesting, for it is here that today stands the greatest concentration of trees in the country. In 1600 the ground in Lewis (Pryde 1965) had some 100 acres of trees here, mostly conifers, but with some hardwoods and birch. Lewis was then a forest of 100 acres. Highlands and Islands Development Board, 1970 Lewis Island Association

4 COMMUNICATIONS

FROM the earliest times, the private or public communications between one form or another has been a matter full of incidents and of the hazards of crossing the important waters of the Minch. One of the most spectacular events in the history of the island was the 17th century, to do much to determine and stabilize shipping developments, both passenger and cargo service were to be based on the island Seaforth in Lewis; it is said that he was drowned through the workings of his own 'treasure' or farmer-crofter, who employed several famous witches to raise the tempest in which his ship foundered.

For well over a century the subject of adequate communication has occupied the attention of the island's people. The island community lies in its ability to live within itself, while accepting the need to maintain a link with the mainland, and to maintain its living or for work. A Lochmaddy once expressed uneasiment at the isolation of Scarp, in the Outer Hebrides, stating that in 1890 they would not know what was happening in London. The indispensable expiate the island, and the 'Lewis' Lewis Island Association, 1970 Lewis Island Association

SEA ROUTES

When in the early 1800s formal sea communications were being established between the island and ports on the west coast of Scotland, down as far as the Clyde, most of the islanders were of course land people, living in the interior, cultivating their inter-chaum, ministers and the like), they had little use for the sea links with the mainland. Sea communication was for the adventurous and travel was thus a luxury they could not afford. As the nature of local life began to change with the infiltration of some of the trappings of nineteenth-century civilization, however, they began to depend more and more on the mainland for supplies of essential domestic utensils and the like and to export their surplus produce in exchange. Sea communication, the change of sea port in return; then as now, any transport operator struggling with the law of the sea, and the law of the land. Freight charges must pay for the double voyage. Though the fishing industry and the Clyde, and its intermittent service of Lewis and Harris

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

trappings of nineteenth-century civilization, however, they began to depend more and more on the mainland for supplies of essential domestic utensils and the like and to export their surplus produce in exchange. Sea communication, the change of sea port in return; then as now, any transport operator struggling with the law of the sea, and the law of the land. Freight charges must pay for the double voyage. Though the fishing industry and the Clyde, and its intermittent service of Lewis and Harris

The plough, which is used here, and in most places of the long island, is of a very peculiar construction. It is made of a piece of 7 inches, and is drawn by four horses abreast. It has but one handle, and a long beam, which is fastened to the handle by a long leather strap, and the sake and counter are bound together at the point by a strong piece of iron. There is little one takes which combine to make an islander must be found elsewhere than in the landscape. And as they are the islanders' people, their way of living, their economic patterns, their attitudes, and the moves connected with the island's development, the island and the moves connected with the island's development, the island and the moves of it and of tracks; or that a river or stream runs need not for the island's people. Harris, Harris, Harris, Harris, Harris, The island shade off the shores of Britain, and has been fortunate in its isolation, and has been fortunate in its isolation, and has been fortunate in its isolation

CH. II THE SEASONS

827 Islanders themselves sometimes talk of a lowered stamina and poorer health today than in the past. Inbreeding is widely held to account for this. Even if health 822 be really poorer, this explanation is unreasonable; since marriage outside the village has greatly increased in the last century. Everywhere there is movement along the roads; a school placed half-way between two villages 811 fosters early acquaintance; immigrants trickle in from the mainland, and emigration continually leaves the island. Moreover, the people of certain villages were transplanted in large numbers eighty years ago, as from 143 Valtos, Uig, mainland to Bernera. In any case, inbreeding itself does not produce degeneration; for though it may "fix" or bring out harmful tendencies where these 128 is already some poor or dangerous strain, it can also fix good characteristics in a healthy population.[1]

All these changes were hastened and reinforced by two 128 new, revolutionary means. First, the physical mobility 128 of the township was given a new impetus by the motor 128 car, van and light lorry-bus; then, towards the end of the 128 inter-war years, the penetration of the Gaelic-speaking 143 home by the cacophonous voices of broadcast.

[1] J. A. Thomson and P. Geddes, *Life: Outlines of General Biology*, 1931, vol. I, p. 475.

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. I

2. From Black House to White House

197 Discontent with the old black house grew with the 198 knowledge and experience of better housing in Stornoway 198 and on the mainland. The congestion which developed 198 during the nineteenth century meant that often one house 198 was fouled by another above it, leading to typhoid epi- 198 demics. While the smoky atmosphere of the "black 198 houses" inflamed the eyes and irritated the respiratory 198 system, the roof was high and the fire kept the air in 198 motion by day, remaining in the house under the beds, and the lack of glass meant that it necessary to work with the 198 door open. The ravages of tuberculosis came towards the 198 end of the nineteenth century, when Islanders were too 198 crowded towns and, not being immunised, were dangerously infected. Returning home, too often to linger and 198 die in a house now provided with tiny, fixed panes which 198 permitted a closed door and made it stuffier than before, 198 patients spread infection. Right to a tiny, air-tight 198 wooden cabin or to a small white house of stone and lime 198 often followed. The availability for the first time of planks 198 and lumber, a certain practice in house-repairing, and 198 ably acquaintance at first- or second-hand with Canadian 198 wooden houses, may have influenced the choice of wood. 198 The early "white" houses, with an attic lit by skylight, 198 were airtight, for the windows were too often fixed or only 198 opened at the bottom. The door was left open in warm 198 weather, but it was not high enough to allow the escape 198 of the stale, upper layer of air which the women breathed 198 while cooking and baking.

198 In the inner-war period, particularly in its last decade, 198 the "black house" was being abandoned, not for something 198 worse, but for better. The Government-aided houses have

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. I

V. 198 manent shapes from the island, the chief being the Merchant 198 Service and hydro-electric contracts, and for the remain- 198 borel and domestic service, nursing and fish-curing. The 198 ultimate returns of many other, that links were forged in 198 tributes to the higher proportion of men of retired and 198 pensionable age (16 per cent in rural Lewis, 11 in Stornoway 198 and 10 in Scotland). What could not be shown on either 198 pyramid for Lewis is the high ratio of unmarried women, 198 owing to the loses of the war, to migration, and to the 198 need for a daughter to remain behind to keep a home on 198 the croft. The ratio of widows, with or without children, 198 is also considerable, for all three reasons, as well as a 198 fourth, the desirability for a man to bring home, rather than a 198 city, as a place in which to bring up fatherless children.

Turning now to Scotland (b) (d), the same tendencies 198 are seen as in Lewis, though in less extreme form. The 198 difference is of quantity rather than of kind: somewhat 198 in Lewis had lost her more to Scotland mainly, so Scotland 198 had lost to England and beyond. On an average, mothers 198 in Lewis have more children than mothers in Scotland, 198 and still more so than in England: Thus the face of 198 population in the Island do not suggest a voluntary extinction of its community, but rather the will to live.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

198 hostly rank: a working, equalitarian democracy dominated 198 by an aristocracy proudly refusing to work. The fascination of Gaelic community is, first, that its elements stand 198 out so sharply, and, second, that links were forged in 198 clanship which made its living chain, though heavy, a 198 thing that shone with pride, and beauty too.

CH. VI CLANSHIP

173 coming Viking chiefs, who often intermarried with women 173 of the older aristocracy, seem to have retained some elements of the aristocracy proudly refusing to work. The fascination of Gaelic community is, first, that its elements stand 173 out so sharply, and, second, that links were forged in clanship which made its living chain, though heavy, a 173 thing that shone with pride, and beauty too.

So, from history back to 'proto-history', there is 173 increasingly discerned the stages of superimposition, in 173 the Isles as elsewhere. In Central Europe archaeology has 173 recapitulated the stage by which peasant-villagers were raided, then conquered by desperate herdsmen, on horse- 173 back or bearing better arms, who had taken to the land 173 during prolonged bouts of warfare. In the Isles the later conquerors were the factor renders from the sea, sailing in from 173 the fjords of the North. An unbroken chain of tradition 173 from Viking to Gael is visibly conveyed in the stirring 173 saga of the Galley or Birlinn of Clanranald, composed 173 only a hundred years before the Clearances (optimized, Chapter VI (ii)).

173 The conqueror had won the submission of the 173 conquered and secured his livelihood, comfort and leisure 173 by their work, he came in time to bring their interests 173 nearer to his own. Yet whenever the ancient sacred lays 173 traditionally ascribed to Ossian, Oisean, son of Fionn or 173 Fingal—lays of which Macpherson's notorious prose gave 173 new rendering. The Fingalian tales differ from the lays, 173 being frankly fantastic. Lewis had its own cycle of 173 Fingalian tales; examples are given by W. C. Mackenzie 173 (1919). Both lays and legends tell of an aristocracy or 173 warrior class, the Fenians, of their enjoyment of the chase, 173 and of their relative comfort, with wealth in gold and silver, 173 in banners and flowing mantles. The chase combined with 173 tribute implies the existence of a community to feed 173 and clothe the huntsmen. The traditions of the Cuchulainn cycle, with closer approximation to historical and 173 archaeological truth, tell the same tale. Historically, in-

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

173 from the old chiefs' families, as in the genealogies of 173 MacDonald of the Isles and the MacLeods. A special 173 interest centuring with English history is that claims to 173 differences of descent, instead of being manufactured in 173 between the Saxon and the conqueror of Norman blood— 173 were faned. Even when the ancestor of the chief was always 173 to the locality, the people and the chiefs ultimately claimed 173 to be of one and the same descent. Neighbourhood 173 influenced the composition of the hunting, herding upon 173 his human herd, and the feeling of kinship brought 173 sentimentalism.

173 How far, then, can the family name, which proclaims 173 every 'son,' and 'daughter' of Leod to be of the *clan*, 173 the 'children' of the first Leod, imply the blood relationship? Both the differences of race to be found in clanship 173 and the ties it formed are well brought out in a tale of 173 Highland pride, still told in the Highlands and given 173 the Mitch in Kintail. A French skipper (an importer of 173 claret) touching at Kintail brought a cargo of claret, and 173 short, dark man and asked him of whose clan he was. 173 "The Clan Rae," was the reply, "but we are of two kinds, 173 the tall, fair MacRaes and the short, dark people." 173 "Then I 173 dark MacRaes." "And which are you?" "I," said the 173 *black fellow*, drawing himself up, "am one of the 173 tall, fair MacRaes!" "Then God help the short, dark 173 MacRaes!" said the skipper. Even one link with the 173 blood of the Clanchattan, Isaac and Jacob are named 173 in a hymn of the Lews, sung when going up with the flocks 173 and herds to the shielings; even this may be a Presbyterian 173 and Hyperborean tale, but it has the unverifiable weight

[1] Rev. Allan Macdonald, p. 81, *No Fictionism*. The omission of the Manx paternal precedence may be a courtesy to motherhood implying equality in sonhood.

CH. VIII SPIRITUAL LIFE OF COMMUNITY

888 be given by ear and learning come by heart. Hence elders 888 were the holders of an inheritance of treasures which must 888 be sought from them or be lost for ever. But no tradition 888 mistaken, the ancient tradition remains alive in the mind. Thus 888 both the faculty of memory and the fruit it bore in an 888 elder's mind brought respect, even veneration. Accuracy in retelling is still immensely valued, but so, too, were 888 thoughtful commentary and poetic enrichment. Respect 888 for elders, though general, was not given blindly, but 888 personally and by choice.

888 In Scottish Island, the Fifth Commandment runs: 888 Honour thy parents and hold them in loving regard "(*Strioichd dha do pharanton 'r thoir gràs dhabh*)." The 888 Commandment was interpreted by the Christian concept of a 888 Holy Family, rather than by that of a patriarchate. This 888 concept took root from the first missions to the Celtic 888 Christians, and was disciplined and which formed 888 fertile ground for this Christian seed. Hence there was 888 general assertion of paternal, not of patriarchal, authority at the expense of youth. Where equal honour 888 is due to both parents, the mother finds equal duty and 888 regard with the father. And, although "the man is home 888 is close at hand while the mother's may be a little distance 888 away, her parents are dear to her as the younger and the 888 more active and helpful to their grandchildren, and the 888 influence of all four grandparents fairly balanced.

888 Moses of the Pentateuch, Isaac and Jacob are named 888 in a hymn of the Lews, sung when going up with the flocks 888 and herds to the shielings; even this may be a Presbyterian 888 and Hyperborean tale, but it has the unverifiable weight

[1] Clanship has repeatedly been said to be 'patriarchal', as an ideal and a system. A different conclusion, that communality is the root of clanship, seems to be indicated by the Celtic evidence, and by the Celtic evidence. The Highlands, unlike the Lowlands, have had scores only in the writings of strangers such as Boas. Not only is the Celtic family not patriarchal, but it is not even patrilineal. Descent is bilateral, and the mother's side is of equal importance with the father's. Marriage is not a contract, but a sacrament, and not automatically enforced their position as patriarchal, and the woman's name is not automatically dropped. Nor is the woman's name is not automatically dropped. Nor is the woman's name is not automatically dropped. Nor is

As we shall see in the next chapter, there is hostility between the Portree dwellers and the crofters. One reason for this is the fact that the village pays more in property tax than the rest of the island put together while they receive relatively little in return. The feeling that the crofter is "aye wantin', but never pays a cooper" (a penny in taxes) is not at all unusual.

Summary

If the economic aspect of the culture is judged in terms of the standard of living it affords, it cannot be considered as satisfactory. There are persistent environmental obstacles, among them geographical isolation and an unfavorable climate for pastoral-agriculture. We have seen that few can hope for anything which would approach a desirable income in the surrounding commercial society. The crofters have been caught between two cultural patterns. The old system of land use has persisted. A new system has been superimposed. From this new system, however, the Sgiathanach has accepted few innovations of more recent origin than the eighteenth century, except those of a material or technological nature. Still, he has ceased to be self-sufficient, and, in doing so, he has become dependent on the commercial world for the very essentials of physical existence. For many of the crofters this means seasonal migration in the quest of employment. For some it means part-time or full-time work locally. For a relatively large proportion of the population it means dependence on contributions of their children and government agencies. This dependence has not led to a full

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at which the youth can join together as a sodality; hence, they hardly ever have a chance to question the control of the "elect." Only once in recent years has the control of the old people been criticized. After World War II, the men who returned to the neighborhood wanted to erect a village hall. This threatened both family unity and the solidarity of the neighborhood. The young people were divided between the time honored obligation to honor their parents and their own desires for a fuller life. The parents were torn between religious beliefs and their affection for their children. The minister and his elders were faced with a situation which threatened the fundamental tenets of the faith and the continued ability of the religious expression to sanction the existing order. How strong are age controls? The youth did not get their village hall. Many of them left Skye for the Lowlands where social life is less restricted.

The difficulty is that until, say, forty years ago the traditional outlets were sufficient. Middle-aged people remember how the youth used to drop in on the old widow for a visit on an evening and then make their way off in couples for a bit of courting. Two World Wars and the continuing program of National Service, not to speak of the influence of the schools, have given the youth a new perspective. They have spent one or two years in an environment where recreational activities are considered not only innocent but also wholesome. The radio and magazines have contributed to the demands of the youth for amusements. As if this were not enough, there are

several agencies who have taken the task of bringing movies 178
to the remote crofters in the belief that the Highlander is 883
more likely to stay if he has a share in the life of the 177
Lowlander and the Englishman. These agencies want to "create" 52
a more adequate social organization."

Out of boredom, some young men try to add some spirit 273
to their lives by turning to "the drink." Although the 779
religion of the Skyeman is strikingly similar to that of the rural dweller in Wales, I found the Welshman and the Sgiathanach have quite different views on the subject of temperance.[26] All churches support temperance, from the pulpit and from the kirk collections, but abstinence or prohibition has never been accepted. Perhaps, their main reason for consistently rejecting the idea is their wont to base many of their decisions on Biblical directions. There can be nothing inherently wrong in the infallible Word of God. Then, too, to the Sgiathanach, whiskey is not Scotch; 273
it is the "water of life." The importance attached to the dram can be judged from its functions at birth, marriage, and death. It is also the means of thanking a man for doing a favor which cannot be repaid. Thus, while abstinence is a major religious tenet for the Welsh, temperance is the aim of the Skyeman.

The temperance movement has had an effect, all over 275
Scotland. The "pubs" are no more than a long bar set in a 185
bare room. Young men who have spent time in England, where the local "pub" is a closely knit club for the villagers, frequently

[26]Rees, op. cit., p. 127

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178 SOCIOCULTURAL TRENDS--changes in fundamental underlying conditions; linear trends (e.g., cultural drift); cyclical trends (e.g., fashions and vogues); dynamic processes (e.g., integration, selective elimination, cultural evolution); evidence of cultural lag; evidence of cultural continuity o stability; etc. See also:

Demographic trends 161
Linguistic drift 197
Clothing fashions 291
Trends in urban development 369
Political movements. 668

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

177 most of the young men of the Islands were away. Hitherto,
[464] though people from the Isles had gone out into the world and rubbed shoulders with all sorts of men and women, from best to worst, their own homes and townships had remained inviolate. Now, however, there came men in numbers from distant homes, with little to do when off duty and with money to spend, either on tweeds, which were virtually free of controls, or on pleasures, if they could find them. The temptations offered to a community so unaccustomed to town ways were considerable.

729 Those who returned least changed in their outlook upon
178 rural life were ex-prisoners-of-war, from the 51st Highland Division. At their own wish, they had received instruction
[423] in modern small-holding; and the demand from prison camps for land when the Highlanders would come home was upheld. It is especially among these men that agencies such as *An Comunn Gaidhealach* kept Gaelic tradition alive, linking it to the Highlanders' long thoughts of home. Next to these come naval seamen, while those most subject to urban influences were those who worked in factories. But whatever their experiences, home exerted a strong attraction. If work and a fair wage can be found in the township and on the crofts, and if social life can be renewed, many who returned will stay.

726 As in the First World War, so in the Second: few communities in Britain have had so large a proportion of their men in the Forces, in the fighting line and at sea,
[177] from the outbreak of hostilities. The Island community is almost without the exemptions due to 'essential occu-
[167] pations' such as commercial agriculture in the country, or war industry and administration in the towns. The toll
[729] has been heavy, and the nation's debt to the Islanders should be remembered.

us journey over to the "Capital of Skye" which stands on 621
Portree Loch.

The village of Portree, as stated earlier, represents the only successful attempt to introduce a nucleated settlement to the island. It was created by a landlord in the [656] early nineteenth century and has been fostered by the national and county government, especially within the last twenty years. Nothing has disturbed the English and the Lowland Scots more 621 than the alien nature of town life in the cultural heritage 648 of the Sgiathanach. Ever since the sixteenth century the Hebrideans have been resisting the introduction of villages. The Scottish and, later, the British, government has been only slightly less adamant in its determination that the country people should have a town, if not a burgh, come what may.

Indicative of its calculated creation, Portree has been 621 built "on the square," like so many English villages. Around 368 the square are found the police station, courthouse, and jail; 177 two banks and one private home; two churches and the Masonic building; and a hotel and two boarding houses. Equally indicative of the alien nature of the village, the square is normally used only when the people are going to or coming from their place of worship or business, or when they are entering or leaving Portree by the road which cuts across the square. The exceptions are an occasional civil ceremony and performance put on for the benefit of the summer tourists.

In reality, the village might best be described as an 621 overgrown hamlet, even though it was planned. The main function 368 of the village as far as the whole island is concerned is that

Parish of Ba

Agricultural

(Scottish Rec

	1870	1881	18
Potatoes (acres)	856	875	11
Barley (acres)	854	1486	11
Oats (acres)	920	530	5
Milk Cows	1605	1992	17
Beef Cattle			
Sheep (in thousands)	16	16.4	1

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

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231
243
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Table III

rvas, Isle of Lewis:

Statistics, 1870-1970

ord Office, Edinburgh)

	91	1902	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1970
	05	1280	1146	1126	1043	679	576	413	144
	72	1226	959	1149	823	401	94	14	1.5
	56	728	1107	1039	2045	2451	2327	1432	486
	71	1949	1951	1932	1846	1544	1295	960	451
						50	47	1273	760
	47.7	19.9	19.5	16.9	21.3	22.7	41	37	35

175 632 241 In any case, the "town" or township was not the effective work unit, but rather was the larger neighborhood in which several joint farms existed. [233] The tenants of several joint farms grazed their stock on the surrounding moorland (i.e., on common grazing land).

D. From Run-rig to Crofting

175 233 241 311 Run-rig was an agricultural system suited to a pastoral people, who required the use of open, common pasture for grazing their livestock; the arable land was limited, and of varying quality (according to Day (1918: 12), 54% of the land in crofting counties was mountain and heath used for grazing, and only 5% was [423] arable land). Residents worked several strips of different quality, and the strips (in drained beds of earth a few feet wide and many feet long called lazy-beds or fiannagan) were usually re-allocated every few [625] years. A "constable" acting for the landlord ensured that proper husbandry was maintained.

175 241 178 427 The joint farm, and the stratification of tenants and subtenants within the farm, disappeared as "progressive" landlords began, in the second half of the 18th century, to substitute compact holdings for the "mingle-mangle of dispersed strips (Gray 1952: 46)" 000 which characterized run-rig. Hamlets or clachans

175 241 361 178 Hamelts or clachans (small clustered settlements) w houses were isolated on strips single-street villages.

114 178 Gray (1952, 1957) argues t behind the reorganization of la was the progressive, individual ideology of the 18th century. attributes the reorganization t cereals which existed during th 177 241 Highland landlords, who were ve with the society of the Scottis influenced by agricultural prac trend to change run-rig, which whole of Scotland, to fixed, co in the Lowlands.

423 425 829 According to the "progress time, the giving of land to ind larger pieces than they had pre serve to stimulate agricultural rise to a class of capitalist f to a relatively few people, how of a large number of tenants wh able to survive under the syste

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ho had hitherto been
em of run-rig.

175 Factors which led to further crowding were the
423 development of industry and an increased demand for
427 wool in the south, which occurred when traditional
[161] ties between laird and tenant had been loosened. The clans had been disbanded after the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745; those landlords who had not forfeited their estates received huge sums of money as compensation for the abolition of hereditary jurisdiction. They had experienced travel and the luxuries of other countries, and were not eager to remain on their estates. They accepted the huge rents offered to them by sheep farmers to the south, and turned vast amounts of land into sheep tracts. Tenants
[361] were crowded together along the seashore, or lived on tiny holdings dispersed among the larger farms or on moorland, earning their living by doing wage labor.

175 Despite the factors which encouraged a high level
423 of population to remain on the land, proprietors
241 attempted to destroy the joint farm with its small,
●178 dispersed holdings and collective rights. Run-rig
[656] agriculture was abolished in Argyll in 1776 (Day 1918: 180; Gray 1957: 49), and over the next 80 years it disappeared from the Highlands (cf. Gray 1952: 49-50), to be replaced by townships of compact holdings surrounded by undivided hill grazing lands.

175 178 241 423 Geddes (1948: 56) gives evidence that joint farms were abolished in Lewis early in the 19th century. Gray (1952: 50) says that by 1819 there was little run-rig left in Lewis. The factor's notebook for Breasclete, on the west side of the island, shows the destruction of clachans around 1850, and their replacement by linear townships.

175 423 427 632 178 In the Napier Commission's "Evidence" (1884) for the parish of Barvas, it was mentioned that the rent had been increased because of improvements made by the landlord, Sir James Matheson, between 1849 and 1852. Land had been drained and new townships created; and both old and new townships were lotted and rented in 1850 and 1851 (Napier 1884: 959). The Ordinance Survey map drawn up in 1852-53 reveals several interesting features of Shawbost: "New Shawbost" has recently been laid out; and in an area now incorporated by only a few separate crofts on "Carnan," a cluster of houses appears, perhaps the clachan in which joint tenants lived, and from which they went out to farm their various strips of land, before Matheson reorganized the land in linear strips with dispersed housing. The peat banks in the Carnan area are almost exhausted, indicating a long period of settlement in this area.

175 361 423 427 178 [314] [194]

175 423 427 178 It is ironic that the attempts by landlords to initiate agricultural reform and develop capitalist farmers led to a destruction of the differentiated tenantry on the joint farms (cf. Gray 1952: 51-56), and a proliferation of very small units, none of which was adequate to provide a reasonable subsistence. These small units became fixed as individual holdings by the 1886 Crofters Act, and the only important distinction thereafter was between smallholders with security of tenure (crofters), and non-crofters who built homes on the common grazing land but had no specified rights. Although various agencies were established after 1886 to enable holdings to be enlarged, only in the last fifteen years have such possibilities between officially developed in the form of official subletting and individual apportionments.

17 423 By the second half of the 19th century, a trend against laissez-faire was manifest in the writings of European scholars. As feudalism broke down, smallholders throughout Europe were being dispossessed of their land, which was then consolidated and enclosed. 171 In Denmark, legislation was passed as early as 1682 to prevent landlords from taking steps to increase the efficiency of their farm production by replacing the

175 423 656 stability and improvement; e.g., an executive officer, the Constable, was to be elected annually by the community, and he would oversee various improvements in the township (Napier 1884; Day 1918: 187-9).

175 423 671 However, the Crofters Act of 1886 did not make the township a unit of local government. It was more concerned with protecting the individual crofter's rights than with the creation of a self-sustaining, self-correcting economic unit. The Napier Commission had recommended the consolidation of crofts which were rented at less than L6 a year, and a policy of persuasion by which the excess population would be encouraged to emigrate or specialize as laborers, fishermen, and so on. [656] [168]

175 423 671 178 [656] Instead, the 1886 Act provided security of tenure for a large number of crofters, as well as a fixed fair rent and compensation for improvements if the crofter chose to leave the croft. These assurances, and the creation of a variety of agencies (such as the Congested Districts Board, the Crofters Commission, and the Board of Agriculture) whose purpose was to encourage agricultural improvement by providing funds, equipment, breeding animals, seeds, advice and so on, constituted a set of incentives. These incentives combined with a number of other factors including improved transportation and the spread of

175 423 671 178 [464] [457] information via the technology of mass society to affect the choices made by succeeding generations. For example, young people are able to leave the island and work in British cities or abroad, sending money home to sustain their aged parents who by law cannot be removed from the croft.

E. Changing Land Use

311 175 182 Darling (1955) described the previous Highland way of life as a well-adapted, ecologically balanced system, in which proper use of land was attempted by limiting the number of livestock, preserving a proper ratio between cattle and sheep, and regulating the flow of stock on the land throughout the year. Dikes (fences of turf or stone) and drains were communally repaired and cleaned. Although continuity with the previous way of life is evident today, the overall picture is one of partial use, and misuse, of natural resources. Various advisors from government organizations and colleges have been brought in to encourage effective husbandry and land use. 178 311 [182] [654]

1. Specialization and Individuation: The change from an ecologically adapted, internally regulated community in which land was used intensively for subsiste

178 311 purposes, to a community which, as an agricultural entity, requires transfusions from the larger society, is accompanied by patterns of specialization and individuation. The following table (Table III)[1] of agricultural statistics for the parish of Barvas demonstrates the change, over the past 100 years, from intensive subsistence agriculture to specialized production. From a broad-based subsistence use of the croft (as revealed by the number of acres cultivated for barley, potatoes and oats; and by the number of cattle, especially milk cows), there emerges a tendency [231] toward specialized production. The number of sheep, [236] which require less attention than cattle, has increased [241] since the late 1920's when the weaving of Harris Tweed [246] commenced in earnest; and around this time there also occurs a differentiation in cultivation, between the production of barley and potatoes (used largely for human consumption) and the production of oats (used largely for [231] feeding livestock). After 1931 agricultural returns began to distinguish between beef and dairy cattle. During the past ten years the number of beef cattle in the parish of Barvas has increased.

241 654 An important factor which crofters on Lewis now take into account when making decisions about their

1. [See p.ix--Analyst]

241 654 continuing investment in crofting activities is the availability of various subsidies which, in the form of fencing grants, calf subsidies, and so on, are available to other agriculturalists as well as to crofters. The certainty of support which subsidy offers is important in the decision-making of crofters because of their generally fluctuating, low-level income, in contrast to the decision-making of farmers who keep sheep or cattle on a large scale. The latter are likely to be more affected by market prices. Many Lewis crofters [648] indicate that they would hesitate to support Britain's entry into the European Economic Community, despite the higher level of prices for beef, because their subsidies might be jeopardized. Subsidies can be important as incentives for specialized production, but do not themselves sustain crofting as a socioeconomic pattern. [178] And in general, despite the incentives, all agricultural production is declining in the face of more appealing alternatives available to the emerging generations.

178 241 476 A decline in township communalism, or an increase in the individuation of agricultural practices, is another index of change in economic strategy. The fencing of individual land and purchase of personal farming machinery are everyday occurrences in the life

178 241 476 of the normal capitalist farmer in the West; but in crofting areas, these practices reveal a strain between communal and individual tendencies.

a. Fencing:

233 Although run-rig was replaced by fixed, compact [178] holdings, the method of animal husbandry was not affected [417] until the land began to be fenced. A single dry-stone [333] dike enclosed the township, keeping livestock on the moor and away from the arable land. In different parts [184] of the Hebrides, various types of herdsmen were hired to protect both the livestock and the growing crops (cf. Owen 1958-59 for a discussion of cattle, calf and sheep herdsmen in North Uist).

175 625 The township Constable had a great deal of power, which included the right to evict people from their crofts, to enforce rules of good husbandry. The last Constable of Shawbost, who died at the turn of the century, has been credited with a number of ignoble actions, such as forcing an old woman with a sore leg to take her cow to the moor along with all the others. Old widows who had no one going to the fishing and hence no means of paying their rent might be evicted in favor of other persuasive, land-hungry members of the village.

175 166 In the last half of the 19th century, many famil were "cleared" from the district of Uig and resettled Shawbost. According to a local version of village 173 625 history, the Constable evicted persons from North 166 Shawbost and resettled them in New Shawbost. "The people from Uig were fishermen, so they needed to be the sea. They wouldn't take a croft in New Shawbost all." According to another version, the crofts once extended all the way across from Carnan to the loch; when the Uig people came, the crofts were chopped in half, and the street called Baile Stigh was created.

175 625 Whatever effect the Constables had on land use animal husbandry, they are now referred to as "tyran who went mad or committed suicide after the Crofters of 1886.

175 311 233 Cattle and horses were tethered or herded withi easy walking distance from the township; sheep coul be left on the moor without much surveillance. At a much earlier time another dike existed out beyond th [178] township dike. The dikes were used according to pri [221] found in grazing schemes today: the sheep were kept out on the moor, beyond the second dike, until midsu when they were moved in closer to the village. At t point they were still out of the arable land of the

Table IV

Isle of Lewis:

Individual Apportionments and Township R

1960-1969 (Crofters Commiss

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Township Schemes:	30	29	38	17	4
Apportionments:	1	22	32	34	22

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

232
242
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Reseeding Schemes,
ion)

1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
8	4	4	3	2
30	49	42	43	64

entex grazing for cattle, but by that time the cattle were already on the sea.

"The original idea was to provide an early hire for the cattle, because everyone had cattle then. Otherwise they would need to buy more baled hay to see them through the winter."

"Almost everyone in New Shawbost had a share in the 1959 schemes, about 26 altogether. Then it was mostly cattle. We took turns bringing them in at night, and I remember taking 31 home, with some left behind for the night. The cattle were grazed over the summer, and the lambs were put on from August 10 to October 10. Many dropped out after the first four or five years, when they stopped keeping so many cattle. When the number dropped to 13 or 14, they started using the schemes for sheep grazing, and then some took up their shares again. When we only had the cattle and lambs, we didn't need a scoutmig; but when the mixed grazing started, we had to keep down the number of sheep. Last year we had difficulty with disease."

A forty-acre scheme in North Shawbost started with about eighteen crofters and non-crofters participating; there were 37 cattle altogether. Now only four have cattle; the rest have sheep. The sheep-keepers say,

"The cattle give too much trouble." A smaller scheme is grazed only by sheep. On the schemes where mixed grazing is practiced, a number of conflicts arise between those who have only sheep, and those who have cattle as well. To accommodate different demands, one township scheme was divided with a fence; cattle were put in for a month in one part, and then shifted to the second part. The sheep were then brought into the first half. All stock had to be removed from the scheme a month before the lambs were weaned, so that all worm eggs and other harmful elements in the dung of animals previously present would have time to die. When was once used for a single purpose by everyone now has to be divided.

"I paid one pound a head to put cattle on the reseeding," says a man named Iain. "Now I have to move them off already. Those sheep people want it for their sheep. I won't use it if they're going to be like that. Next year I'll have the use of two crofts and my apportionment. And now that I have my own tractor I can put a load of sand at the bottom of the croft to make the grazing better."

According to another person, who also keeps cattle on the reseeding, "Some people want to move their livestock on and off the schemes when it suits them, like Iain,

who wanted to keep his bullock on the reseeding for another week because he wasn't ready to sell it; but he should have known the rules. Some people want to keep both cattle and sheep on at the same time, although the agricultural advisor says cattle should go on first, because sheep go for shorter grass. Other people want to put on twice as many sheep as those who have both cattle and sheep. When they stop keeping cattle, they think they're not getting a proper share of the reseedings.

"The Crofters Commission wanted communal township schemes. But people have different demands. It's better to go for an apportionment. You can do what you want with your own land."

The number of township members participating in the communal schemes is diminishing to the point where it is less expensive, and much less subject to conflict, to arranging over differences in stock-keeping, to invest in individual holdings of land rather than try to sustain communal practices.

Chapter 3

CHANGING ECONOMIC STRATEGIES:

LAND, SEA AND LOOM

In Lewis, the change from a relatively self-sufficient community in which land and sea provided the economic base occurred in the context of the phenomenal rise of the Harris Tweed industry. In the following pages, the history of Harris Tweed is discussed in relation to changing strategies involving exploitation of land, sea and loom. Associated features of social life are discussed. Social boundary systems are defined and discussed in Chapter 4.

A. The Sea

Around World War I, nine boats, as long as 27 to 30 feet, driven by sails, used to go out regularly from the Shawbost harbor. From five to seven men, usually neighbors, had "shares" in a boat. They would go out fishing during the night and return the next day. "We baited our lines with eel, for long. We would catch maybe two or three hundred. I remember once we caught 1300."

On one of the crofts along the strand are the ruins of two curing houses, where the fish were salted and dried. Ling, cod, skate and halibut were cured and sold to local merchants for export. "The same as they do in Iceland this very day. That was the main industry. Then the English came with their steam trawlers; they ruined the fishing here, and then went west to Iceland and the Faroes. In Iceland they got fined for poaching, but here the trawlers often ignore the three-mile limit. But the fishing was the mainstay here, before the Harris Tweed came along."

One man returned from sailing in 1932 and bought a boat for £12. He had 10 lobster pots, and made 12 one pounds by selling the lobsters at a shilling apiece. Another man, who returned from the United States in 1934 because of the depression, bought a share in a 16-foot boat. It was made in Ness, at the northern tip of Lewis, and cost about £12. He and his partners went out every night possible; the fish provided an important part of their income. The boat was sold in the 50's. "It wasn't being kept up anyway." Around World War II there were as many as twenty boats; sum fished at night, after a day's work. Today there are four 12-foot boats in Shawbost, each shared by four or five men. The boats are used intensively for fishing during certain times of the year,

but not as often as in the past. In the past boats were in danger of being smashed by the strong seas and winds that gained easy access to the Shawbost harbor; but today, because so many cars are available, the boats can be sheltered in the more protected bays of Carloway, five miles up the coast to the southwest of Shawbost. Despite this protection and the increase in income since World War II which would enable more people to buy boats, the number of boats remains small.

In the past certain people were esteemed for "knowing the wind and the sea." The sound of the surf coming from different directions presaged different kinds of weather; a line of white across the bay meant bad weather in a few days. A fifty-year-old man says, "My father and grandfather could tell when a storm was coming. They needed to know, and they didn't have radio and television to tell them. I would know the signs, too, if I had listened to them."

Not only was there local fishing, but the men used to hire themselves as crew on other fishing boats. Several surnames reflect this history. One family is known by the nickname "Stornaig," the surname of a man who lived on the east coast of Scotland and on whose boat the head of the Shawbost family had once worked as

a crew member. "There were two fishing seasons. One season you went to Fraserburgh, Stornoway, Lerwick and Peterhead; and then the winter fishing was in England, at Yarmouth, Scarborough and Lowestoft.

I remember in Yarmouth we didn't like the English herring, it was such a dull color. We lived the pure white Scotch herring."

They lived in small huts, and the work was hard but full of fun. Neighborhood girls used to go together, bringing bedding and different items in large chests to share in the housekeeping. Three girls worked together in a crew, and there were as many as six sharing a room, in double bunks. Some of the huts were so small that there was barely enough room for the beds and the cupboards. At night the boys would come in off the boats. "You were so tired from being up since early morning; but you were always able to dance. You were treated with respect; the youngsters today aren't so good." The women who married non-islanders that they met at the fishing were not likely to return.

When the weaving started on a large scale, the girls "were glad enough to have work at home, even though the work was hard." But many continued their temporary absences from the island, working in hotels or as

the cattle
know their own shellings; sometimes
they came back before milking time and stuck their heads
in the door. Stay outside the shelling at night, and
that's how you can tell where a shelling once was, even
though the walls have fallen, by the rich green grass.
Calves were born during the summer. A hollow was scooped
out in the peat, and lined with turf and moss. People
had as many as four or five cows. It was like Switzerland,
only didn't have the bells on the cows. There was lots
of milk, fresh thick cream and crowdie (clotted sour
milk); the old people knew how to make cheese.

The women were very early at night, with the sound of
the birds. There were only a few hours of darkness
anyway, and I'm sure we didn't get much sleep, but somehow
we were always fresh. It was the air, the moor air is
very health-giving. This was the best milk that I
people benefited from the change. Sometimes a person
with TB would stay out there all summer. The air is heavy
by the sea.

"There was no sense of time the way there is today.
Life was not lost in the snow or fog, you followed the cows
home. You had all summer to take home the peats, to work
the croft, to harvest the corn. There wasn't a world,
there was only ourselves. That has changed since the war.

people kept several cattle, some of which were dry most
of the time. But because everyone was keeping cattle,
milk could be gotten from a neighbor. One man was
planting eight or nine hundredweights of potatoes before
the war, some of which would be used to feed the livestock.
"Now couldn't buy milk then, so you had to keep a cow.
And even though people were wanting, they weren't getting
so much money as they are now. It was the barter system
here for a long time. So they didn't have the money to
buy feeding stuff. It was better to spend the time
planting potatoes. Now of course there's more money in
the wearing."

After the war, an act was passed which provided free
milk for schoolchildren. Milk for the Shawbost school
was supplied by a farm near Stornoway, and villagers first
started buying milk from the school milk van. A little
bald by weavers during the war had increased the payments
for weaving, and the barter system had stopped. More
money was available. As the loom was more profitable,
more people stopped keeping cows, and relied on their
neighbors for milk, or got their milk from the van bringing
milk to the school. And as the cattle got fewer, the
market for bottled milk expanded. A dairy was started on
the west side of the island in the mid-1950's which carries
milk from Big to Ness.

The number of cattle diminished as milk became
available by other means; and when the township reseeding
schemes came into existence, the need to go to the
shellings for an "early hire" was removed. The shellings
that remain in use today are huts of tin, wood and
concrete within easy walking distance from the highway,
used on weekends and during summer holidays. Most of
these modern shellings are close to Stornoway, and serve
as summer retreats for the relatively harried urban
dwellers such as publicans. On the west side, the
shellings are no longer used, but remain as a theme of
songs and in nostalgic memories.

C. The Loom

Ula Mor, the big cloth, was woven in the Highlands
and Islands for hundreds of years. Martin Martin,
who travelled through the Outer Hebrides in the late 17th
century, describes the export of "plaiding," and the
practice of washing or shrinking the woven length of
cloth (Martin 1716). Weaving was done on wooden looms,
and produced only for local markets until the middle of
the 19th century.

By the middle of the 19th century, the failure of
the kelp industry, decline of fishing, and destruction

175 dyeing the wool it was spread out, dried and sent to
283 Stornoway to be made into yarn. The yarn was then sent
172 back, and the weaver wove and washed it. About six women
367 (462) were required to do the waulking (the process by which the cloth was washed and shrunk).

175 "In those days the weavers designed their own
286 patterns, and sold their own finished tweeds. I remember
432 going into town with my brother, we had two tweeds in the cart. We went into a shop to sell the tweed, and the man said it was poor weaving. He didn't want to pay the full price for it. I told my brother to roll it back up, we would take it somewhere else. As we left the shop, he told me I had 'good cheek.' In the next shop the merchant didn't say anything, and gave my brother the regular price. We went home with £60."

The great demand for tweed encouraged the development
286 of more efficient methods of production. One by one the
268 various processes of production were taken over by
178 specialists, and gradually these specialists were brought
453 together under one roof. Large boilers for dyeing wool
434 were supplied as a result of actions taken by the Congested
463 Districts Board, which was formed in 1897. The Scottish
396 Home Industries provided chemical dyes. The most
226 difficult and time-consuming processes were carding and
283 spinning, which small mills on the mainland began to do

286 on commission for weavers around the turn of the century.
283 By the early 1920's, four mills on the island were
178 carding and spinning wool on commission; and one mill
226 (283) brought looms into its premises. Lord Leverhulme, who bought Lewis in 1918, saw the value of concentrating weavers in one place and of improving the technology. He encouraged the introduction of Hattersley domestic
(463) looms, which eventually replaced the wooden looms. The individual weaver also did his own warping, but after World War II the mills began to hire warpers to work full time on mill premises. Transporting the tweeds, which used to be the responsibility of the weavers, is now the responsibility of the mills. Today all processes except the actual weaving are handled by mills, most of which are located in Stornoway.

Such steps in specialization and centralization made
175 sense to the weaver. One of the older weavers recalls,
286 "In the late 20's or 30's you could buy a yard of Harris
288 Tweed for about two shillings. It wasn't economical for
(435) any crofter to dye and spin the yarn, weave it and sell it for only two shillings a yard. As the mills enlarged, they could make it with the machinery because they could make it an economic proposition."

However, the tendency toward specialization and
175 centralization was in direct conflict with the reasons
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175 behind the tweed's popularity. The tweed was more than
178 a cloth; it was peat smoke and windswept moorland, the
288 image of the free man who had escaped city life and
(324) machines and was the master of his own destiny. Steps had been taken all along the way to preserve the image of home-crafted goods, as when, in an effort to prevent machine-spinning, carding mills were built in Lewis and Harris at the turn of the century to prevent wool from being sent to mills on the mainland, where it was both carded and spun. As early as 1906, a man was convicted
(485) in London of selling power-loomed tweed under the name "Harris Tweed." Today power-driven looms can produce
288 double-width cloth 54 inches wide, a width much preferred
402 to the 28-inch cloth produced on the Hattersley looms because there is less waste when the cloth is cut. But because "Harris Tweed" must be hand-woven, new looms of light-weight metal are being designed on which double-
(435) width cloth can be hand-woven. The new looms will cost so much that many weavers may they would be unlikely to invest in them, especially given the uncertain future of the industry.

The Harris Tweed Association, formed in 1909, was
175 granted a certification mark by the Board of Trade which
286 was stamped on tweeds that were hand-spun and hand-woven
141 (424) in the islands. During World War I, hand-spinning died
226

175 out in Lewis, and the Harris Tweed Association was
178 ineffective in enforcing its standards. In 1934,
288 weavers were allowed to use yarn spun in island mills,
434 and production increased; but no weaving was allowed to be done in the mills. All looms were removed from those mills which had tried to centralize this stage of production. The actual process of weaving remained, by legal definition, decentralized, although the word "crofter" was changed to "islander," thus widening the category of persons who could weave "Harris Tweed," and paving the way for centralization of weavers in the town of Stornoway.

Any person can purchase his own yarn, weave his own tweeds, and sell them to tailors or summer tourists; but before a weaver can weave for the mills, he must be registered with the Weavers Union. The Weavers Union is a branch of the Transport and General Workers Union, which includes mill employees, hospital workers, lorry
288 drivers, and others. It is an anomaly of the Harris
467 Tweed industry that workers classed as self-employed should join a union of employees and is another indication of the centralization of control and power in the mills, with whom the weavers, along with the mill workers, bargain for higher wages. Weavers receive a basic sum in island mills,
288 £10 for each length of tweed, which is usually 38 weaver's
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434
804

288 rotation to the weavers who are registered with
466 them.

Other factors also hinder equal distribution of
(402) tweeds. Personal considerations enter; for example, the managers of the Shawbost mills feel a responsibility for the weavers in their own village, who are usually kinsmen. Exclusive distribution to local weavers is rationalized by saying that the tweeds must be done urgently; hence they are distributed only to the weavers who are known to do tweeds quickly.

The major factor hindering equal distribution of
288 tweeds is the expense which derives from the decentrali-
466 zation of weavers, that is, the cost of petrol and upkeep of the vans, which is born by the mills. Before World
(195) War II, the weavers rather than the mills were responsible
(494) for transporting the tweeds, by cart and horse at first, and then by motorized transport.

288 During this period, independent entrepreneurs
195 carried tweeds in vans and buses at four shillings each,
492 a practice which stimulated the development of public
494 transportation. Although the number of passengers using much vans and buses for public transport fluctuated, the income derived from the cartage of tweeds was in itself large enough to be profitable and to maintain the
(178) enterprises. An efficient service existed, despite the

288 paucity of passengers, which provided rides to and
195 from town many times a day; but with the "development,"
• 178 that is, the centralization, of industry, public trans-
288 portation deteriorated. Visitors to the island unfamiliar
412 with this history are struck by practices which they
494 interpret as coming out of a clockless past, such as the present custom of stopping the bus midway in its journey to Stornoway so that the driver can eat dinner in his mother's house while all passengers wait on board. Such a custom is fairly recent, and indicates the deterioration of public services to populations which are marginal to the centralized source of these services.

During World War II, when the demand for tweed was
288 high and the number of weavers small, the weavers staged
(468) an effective strike by which they received an increase in pay and the burden of cartage was shifted from them
(195) to the mills. This did not affect the system of trans-
(178) portation until the mills realized it would be cheaper
(494) to run their own transport rather than to pay the independent drivers a "cartage fee." The mills then began to use
(493) their own vans to deliver yarn and collect tweeds directly
195 to and from the weavers. Once the mills took over trans-
288 portation, they tended to deliver tweeds to weavers
178 closest to the mills rather than to uphold the principle
(494) of equal distribution. This practice (made possible by
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(341)

195 the 1934 decision to change the word "crofter" to
• 178 "islander") led to the weavers living in council
288 houses in town and working in loomsheds behind the
(341) houses. Unequal distribution has also contributed to Shawbost's relative prosperity, and to the decline of weaving in more remote parts of the island. The
(464) unequal distribution of tweeds has made it difficult to maintain a large labor force, which in turn limits the growth and development of the industry.

3. Instability of the industry: The Harris Tweed
288 industry has undergone a number of crises. Periods of
178 depression have alternated with periods of prosperity.
(494) (See Appendix B for the fluctuation in the number of yards stamped each year with the Harris Tweed trade-
mark.) The very conditions which give the tweed its
(435) market value--the decentralized, non-mechanized human
(464) element--also limit the possibilities of growth in the industry, and contribute to the industry's instability.

When a business remains small, it must collect
288 orders before it can provide work to have the orders
441 filled (except when demand for an item is strong, as occurred around the time of the previous world war; during the war and for a few years after, tweeds could be made first and then marketed, because any cloth
(491) could be sold). Only a large business can keep weavers

288 in Shawbost; a very small business, which until
441 recently did not even have its own transport but
452 hired facilities when they were needed and simply
434 went into hibernation when orders stopped coming;
a medium-sized business, which went into liquidation
in 1971; and a large business, which continues to survive despite a depression which has continued since the late 1960's.

Harris Tweed is sent to markets all over the
288 world; but because of the difficulty of maintaining
441 a large labor force, the filling of orders is sometimes
(434) slow. If large orders cannot be met, weaving as an island-wide occupation cannot be maintained. The number of weavers on the island fluctuates, as slack periods come and men adopt the time-tested strategy of temporary migration in search of other jobs. One
(452) of the factors which aided the weavers during their
(178) strike of 1941 was the fact that so many other jobs were available during the war that the future of the industry was jeopardized.

In the last five years the number of mill employees
288 has decreased from 800 to 500. The decrease is due in
• 178 part to the introduction of more efficient techniques and new equipment, but there is little room for improvement in the production of tweeds because the human element, the weaver, is essential to its production.

township, but on land which had been rested and which thus provided better grazing. During the winter the sheep were allowed past the township dike, to graze along with the other livestock on the stubble of corn and barley, and mineral-rich seaweed by the shore.

After World War II, the individual crofts began to be fenced, and the township dike was no longer repaired. The fact that sheep were still grazed communally on the moor meant that everyone had to go out together on a particular day rather than individually, but fencing of individual land facilitated variability in land use. Less use was made of crofts for raising crops, and they could be used for grazing sheep all year round.

b. Reseeding schemes and apportionments:

Another illustration of the individuation of land use is provided by comparing the number of apportionments granted by the Crofters Commission for Lewis in the last 10 years with the number of township reseeding schemes carried out during the same time (see Table IV).[1] A crofter may apply to the Commission for an area of land (apportionment) to be sliced out of the township's common grazing land and given to him for his own use; theoretically, his share in the township's common grazing land is reduced if his application is granted.

[See p.x--Analyst]

178 311 232 233 land is reduced if his application is granted. Also, a group of men in a township may apply to the Crofters Commission for permission to fence off a portion of the common grazing land and improve it as grazing for their mutual use. Grants are available for both schemes. The township reseeding schemes, adopted widely after their introduction, have been superseded by the number of individual apportionments.

The first township reseeding schemes in Lewis were tried as an experiment in Ness, Harris, Barras and Bragar. "The Department of Agriculture fellow [654] watched us every step because it was an experiment. Oh, there were times we cursed him and wanted him away." In Shawbost, a few interested crofters went around the village to see if others were interested. "We got a bad name for it; no one could see anything to it. But those people got the benefit of it." According to one man, initial reluctance to participate in the schemes was overcome when the agricultural advisor pointed out that if they overstated their costs, they would not have to pay much money themselves.

Between 1959 and 1962, seven township reseeding schemes were developed in North and New Shawbost, and four in South Shawbost. They were intended to give

288 Questions about the state of
57 "the tweed" permeate all discussions, and often
458 constitute an initial greeting. "Have you got a
521 tweed in the loom? How many do you have? Did you
576 see Stickey's tweed van going into Pairc? Did you hear that Newalls has an order for about 800 pieces.

"The mills brought me two tweeds, and I got two in town myself. I stuck those two in the attic so that anyone who came in would be none the wiser," sa one person in a whisper. Neighbors are in and out o each others' houses and loomsheds, observant and questioning, on the lookout for any indication that they have missed out on some transaction in the competition for scarce goods.

D. Weaving as Strategy

286 When weaving was done on a wooden hand loom, th
178 weaver required a longer period of apprenticeship.
402 Weaving was "more of an art," as some of the older weavers remember it today. Not only was the shuttle thrown back and forth by hand, but the lifting of different threads in the warp was done by manipulati four foot pedals in the correct order. Today, the
288 process of weaving is very much simplified: the wea
178 pushes only two foot pedals, and simply keeps an eye
402

the automatic shuttle; all other processes have been built into the design of the Hattersley loom (cf. Thomson 1969). In other words, weaving does not entail very specialized skills and is not difficult to learn. A caller can come home and learn to weave in a short period of time, or pick up the trade again with ease after having been absent from the loom for a long time. Others substitute for each other when someone is ill or a tweed is "urgent." Wives help their husbands, and young boys their fathers and uncles. Such low-level specialization and substitutability are complementary to crofting activities and the maintenance of neighborhood ties, and may be seen to favor continuance of the occupation of weaving.

The Lews Castle College in Stornoway, established in 1963 and accredited in 1971 is a building that was formerly the home of Sir James Matheson, offers training courses in weaving for adults which last for ten weeks and qualify a person for membership in the Weavers Union (cf. Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). The College also sends weaving instructors to all the public schools on the island to instruct young boys in the rudiments of weaving. The Highlands and Islands Development Board have in the past offered loans and grants with which to purchase looms, and government aid has protected the mills.

241 The competition between the loom and the croft is
208 evident in the few communal township practices which
225 still exist. One of the rules of township organization is that all households must bring their sheep in from the moor on the same day. Other rules are that no one
231 should go out on the moor at any other time with a dog, and everyone who has sheep should go out on the day designated by the township grazings committee to collect them. The moor is extensive, and the sheep wander over a wide area. Only if a large number of men go out together and come in with their dogs like a wide net can the sheep be brought in with a minimum of effort over the stream-cut, uneven ground. Anyone who goes out alone disturbs the grazing animals and probably drives them farther away from the village.

These rules have strong ethical import and are
233 much more in the nature of procedural rules prescribed
185 by the Crofters Commission. "There is a code of ethics which you learn as you grow up, as you go with your
578 elders out to the moor. You can fight with a man over a woman and make it up next week; but if you fight with a man over a sheep, you won't make it up for thirty years." These rules are weakening in importance
198 is indicated by situations in which only two or three men have gone out in the early morning to bring in the

233 sheep. These can arrive back in the village hours
18 later to find the moor lined with the cars of men who
178 have come to look for their own sheep among the flock but who had not bothered to spend the time collecting them. Many have gotten rid of their sheep to "concentrate on the weaving."

2. Sheep vs. Cattle: As mentioned in the section
233 entitled "Changing Land Use" (cf. Chapter 2), a split
518 has emerged between those who keep cattle, and those who keep only sheep. Cattle now are the predominant, but the number of sheep has greatly increased. The conflict between raisers of sheep and of cattle extends beyond the use of the reseeding schemes (see Chapter 2).

Cattle are usually brought in from the reseedings or from the common grazing lands where they are tethered, and put on the unfenced, arable inner grazing land of the township. At the same time that the sheep are brought in from the moor. In one township on the west side of Lewis, the cattle were released a few days before the fank,[1] which resulted in the formation of two groups, sheep-only people and sheep-and-cattle people, which opposed each other. At the fank held a few days later,

[1] The word "fank" refers to the process of bringing the sheep in from the moor, and to the wooden pen in which the sheep are gathered and claimed by their owners.

233 sheep were let out of the pens, and a fight broke out
18 between the two groups of people.
578

241 2. Crofters vs. Non-crofters: Another division
167 within the township has developed largely because of
575 the attention paid by outside agencies to "crofting." The Crofters Act of 1886 defined crofters and gave them
195 a protected, privileged status. In fact, very little
691 distinction existed between non-crofters (sometimes called squatters and/or cottars) and crofters, and in some places, such as the Isle of Scalpay, non-crofters even out-numbered crofters. Both categories were linked to each other by bonds of kinship and mutual dependence. Non-crofters were in fact favored economically. They did not have to pay rent, but had the same opportunities to graze stock and plough land as did crofters. Many crofters themselves had huckle, units of land not recognized as part of the croft and not included in the land for which rent was paid but recognized as property by the villagers themselves to the extent that these bits of moorland passed down through families or could be given by one person to another. Even today, a young girl thinking of getting married says her future husband might build their house on her father's huckle, and a man may build a house on moorland "given" to him by his wife's aunt. Officially, a non-crofter had no "rights" to a house which he built on the common

241 grazing land and he could not transfer such property in
115 a will. Similarly a crofter had no right to his huckle,
423 and could not formally protest if another crofter sought
423 to apportion this land for his own use (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of apportionments). But in both
620 situations, informal understandings superseded legal rights.

241 Various legislative acts which followed the 1886
167 act focussed attention on the crofter. Various matters
575 associated with crofting are handled by a Crofters Commission. Crofters have access to grants and loans
654 to improve land and build fences and homes. They may
174 buy goods at low prices in a nearby cooperative store. As crofts were fenced, land around the townships became scarce and non-crofters found it difficult to keep large numbers of cattle and sheep.

241 Within recent years it has become possible for non-
178 crofters to gain title to the small plots of land on
423 which their houses are built. Some loans are available
423 to them for building houses. Non-crofters have access
654 to the various subsidies available to all agriculturalists, such as the subsidies for raising hill sheep and beef cattle. There is still the huckle, however, that crofters have rights which non-crofters do not have and that in conflicts over scarce goods crofters have

241 the edge over non-crofters. "Squatters can do what
167 they like, cut peats, put sheep and cattle on the common
423 grazing, but this is a privilege, not a right."

The clerk of a grazings committee says, "When it comes to an argument between a crofter and a squatter, the crofter always wins. A squatter has rights only with the grazing committee's permission. If one crofter disagrees, the squatter is out."

A squatter muses bitterly, "I wanted crofting status because I wanted to get a Department of Agriculture
241 grant to build a house. I work on the peat road; I go
578 to all the ceilidhs. But at a township meeting, they didn't want me to get crofting status. They were afraid I would start grabbing peat banks or opportunismesis in the common grazing or something. There's your brotherly love for you."

4. Subsidies: In the section entitled "Changing
311 Land Use" I suggested that the availability of subsidies
654 has encouraged a more specialized investment in agricultural activities.

654 The villagers are keenly aware of outside institutions
229 which give money. They speak to each other about forms
241 which they receive from the Department of Agriculture and the Crofters Commission, in much the same way as they are curious about the number of tweeds which another

654 person has. The gigantic bureaucracy of government
423 agencies is mysterious and unpredictable. One can
224 never be certain when or for what reason another economic increment may come. "I used to throw away a form from the Department of Agriculture until I found out from somebody that you could get money with it. You may you're planting so much of your land in oats, and later you fill out another form saying you didn't get a very good return, and they send you a deficiency payment."

For some crofters, the requirements of the subsidies
241 have affected the extent and techniques of agricultural
654 activity. For example, one man used to work his land
178 in the way that his ancestors learned would bring best results: lazybeds were aligned in strips that would drain well and catch the sun, and stones were left in the soil to capture the sun's warmth and thereby facilitate the growth of potatoes. Now he has merged the separate strips, cleared the stones, and divided the land into units that allow him easily to calculate how much he has used for what crops, because to be eligible for a particular grant, a certain percentage of arable land must be ploughed with grass seed and rotated with other crops.

241 The Department of Agriculture and the Crofters
654 Commission often overlap in their subsidy-giving functions.

443 One of his
326 apprentices was his sister's son, who built another
192 smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip.
423 People gathered there while he shoed horses that came
521 from Barvas to Carloway."

444 A number of shops were established in Shawbost
178 that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At one time they numbered six altogether. These shops also ran the first buses between the village and
444 Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared
443 because of competition with larger companies. Mobile grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in large parts of the island, undercutting the local businesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and
423 sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on
521 local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of, town-
44 dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major
743 proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers,
178 fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage
423 collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal
521 dealers and others extend goods and services from centralized sources to a market which has money to pay for them. The island's participation in this extensive market system is affected by its marginality to the

121 of the township with the larger society, and examines
128 the effect of geographical and social marginality on the boundedness of the township network. Chapter 6 discusses two important networks of social relations within the township.

B. Township as Social Boundary System

The township constitutes a relatively firmly bounded
632 system, although its boundaries are weaker than formerly
178 when the township was relatively self-sufficient
494 economically. Township members worked together in small fishing crews, and families relied on each other for help when members of the family were away from the island "at the fishing."

621 Relatives were expected to give priority to helping
178 each other. According to one proverb, "A relative is
605 your best friend." First and second cousins were considered especially close, but knowledge of one's
605 kinsmen extended to at least the fourth generation.

602 Ties of kinship became evident in ceremonies such as
576 funerals and weddings. One Gaelic proverb says, "You
585 know who your relatives are at weddings and funerals."
164 At weddings the onus was on the members of the bridal
638 party to remember their relatives. "You have to sit and calculate who is closely related, and all those

people will be doing the same. If they think they're close enough to be invited, they'll be annoyed if you don't include them." At funerals, relatives of the deceased to about third cousins were expected to participate.

When a population has lived in a small area for generations, a dense network of kinship develops. This fact, and the importance placed on mutual aid among fellow villagers, fostered the feeling that the network of township members, who ploughed, fished and tended cattle and sheep together, was also a network of kinsmen. "We're all the same people." "It's all one family here." Occupational and kinship spheres of social activity commingled. The importance of neighbors in contrast with relatives was reflected in such proverbs as, "A neighbor close at hand is better than a relative in a distant land."

The nuclear family did not, according to Cohen's criteria, constitute a firmly bounded system. Then as now, women preferred the company of their "own kind," that is, the company of other women. The men worked and spent periods of recreation with other men. Children spent about as much time in the homes of grandparents, uncles or fellow villagers as they did in their own homes. A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a

common practice, when she was young, for children from large families to live for as long as six weeks with other families who were relatively better off. They would help harvest the hay or the potatoes or bring in the peat in return for food, lodging and perhaps some clothing. "They usually ate better than they did at home." The children were not necessarily relatives of the families with which they lived.

Strong friendship, that is, the kind of friendship associated with mobile urban life in which persons confide in each other and share secrets and build up an individual relationship based on extensive knowledge of one another, was nonexistent. A "friend" was a relative, or someone who gave aid when it was needed.

Today it is sometimes said, "It used to be that if your relatives were your best friends; now your best friends are better than your relatives." An old man will meet another on the road and say, "I used to see more of you when you needed me." Neighbors used to share sheep that were killed; now households kill and consume their own sheep, and freeze the meat which they cannot use immediately. Groups that walked out together to the peat to finish the job in a single day are being replaced by individual family units that can gather out and do the job in stages. People prefer to give money

with the decision which they know is to be made usually do not attend the meeting. Thus, apparent consensus is always maintained.

Changes in the character of the township as social boundary systems are apparent in ceremonial occasions such as weddings and funerals, which will be discussed in the following pages.

A. Courtship and Marriage: Courtship occurred during the dark hours when the older members of a household had gone to bed. A great deal of courting was done in company. Because transportation was limited, groups of young people went together to dances; and on other nights, bands of young men would visit a house in which unmarried girls were sleeping together, climb in through a window, and perhaps lie beside the girls, fully dressed, filling the dark with whispered jokes. Such a custom, a form of bundling, was called "night visiting" (nuith na b-uaidhean): the male visitor was called gearaid na b-uaidhe, "companion of the night."

When couples began serious courting, they would meet outside at night, or the girl would let her braogar (sweetheart) into the house after the old people had gone to bed. A couple would never consider walking hand in hand along the road during the day. Boys and girls were seated separately in school, went around in separate

in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat-cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendships are still weak, relative to friendships in urban settings. Most information which is shared between individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip. Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutual aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to confide and keep secrets.

Today many of the younger villagers do not know their relatives to the extent that their elders did. In one family, a girl who was about to get married had to ask her brother, who was the only one of the siblings interested in kinship ceremonies, how to invite to the wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and Australia that I've never met, but if I ever go there I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in transportation and income, more islanders are taking brief trips away from the island. During these trips, they almost always stay with relatives.

It is frequently said that children are now "cheekier," less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, and that they prefer to watch television or read books by themselves to playing with each other.

child may come to spend nights or longer periods of time with them.

To some extent villagers are still dependent on each other for various kinds of help. It is considered extremely bad manners to refuse labor, a tool, or food to anyone who requests them. If someone refuses to aid another, people say, "What will he do when he needs help?" This attitude has made the island a paradise for the few salesmen who, in the last few prosperous years, have started to visit its communities; villagers find it difficult to say no to anyone who comes to their door with a request, including the request that they buy something.

A woman in childbirth was formerly attended by a local midwife, and kept in bed for two or three weeks. Neighbors and relatives, both relatives and friends, came and stayed with them at night, fixing them warm tea and milk, whispering bhronne bochd (poor soul), how awful you look..." Just as today the neighbors gather at times of illness and death. It is more difficult for neighbors to come to the bedsides of young mothers of today, who are all taken to the hospital in Stornoway to have their babies; but the neighbors manage to visit the hospital, which has no choice but to ignore its rule of only two visitors per bed at a time.

groups on the shellings or within the village as they were growing up, and even during courtship maintained a joking, somewhat rude interaction. "If he says he wouldn't touch her with a barge pole, he's obviously smitten." Someone considering the dangers of marrying an outsider* commented, "A devil you know is better than a devil you don't know."

Now that facilities for transportation have increased, couples tend to pair off in cars rather than go in groups. They may even be seen together on a date in town. Activities such as dances still begin late in the night, lasting from about 12:30 a.m. until early morning. The seriousness of a relationship is kept secret for as long as possible, but weddings today require long-term planning because wedding dinners are held in hotels rather than within the village. At an earlier time, serious intentions were announced only a few weeks before the wedding, at a rainteach or dinner party which signified a betrothal. Rainteach also means "disentangling" or "reconciling," and was described by one person as a means of "pouring oil

*The term "outsider" usually connotes non-Gaelic-speaking, but may also refer to someone from outside the village.

on these occasions. At some point during the night the bride and groom were prepared for their wedding night together. The bride's female companions undressed her, prepared her for bed, and put her into the bed with a hot water bottle. The shared some sherry with them, and they went out, whereupon the groom was brought in by his male companions. After much joking the couple were left together.

On the third night, a dinner was given for the older persons who had not been able to come to the "big" wedding.

For some time after the wedding, the married couple visited relatives and neighbors who had been unable to come to the wedding, taking a bottle of whiskey with them.

House weddings declined in number during the war when food was rationed, and as more persons changed from the "black house" to the less easily cleaned and more elaborately furnished "white house." Most weddings are now held in hotels, and consist of a single wedding dinner and dance; they are often held on Thursdays, the day of the hamsie in the past. The emphasis on community participation still exists: even though the practice of holding hotel weddings has limited the number of guests, an effort is made to invite someone from each household in the neighborhood. In part to avoid disappointing the

In part to avoid disappointing the vast number of relatives who by custom must be invited but for whom there is now not enough room, many weddings are held away from the island in places such as Inverness and Glasgow. Gifts are still given in great numbers and displayed, despite the decrease in numbers attending the wedding dinner and the feeling that only those who are invited to the wedding should give presents. The custom still exists of neighborhoods or entire villages placing flags outside their homes on the day of a villager's wedding (except when the wedding is held away from the village), and of a distant lass within a village signify that the household is related to someone in a neighboring village who is getting married. And when the wedding car has picked up the bride and is leaving for the hotel in town, the road is often littered with barrels and other barriers.

Couples now often leave the wedding dinner and dance and go to undisclosed destinations for their honeymoon. But when they return to the community they must undergo a simple rite of passage that gives assistance to their new social status. On the first Sunday following their return, they are expected to come to church with the other members of the bridal party, a process called airisaidh (a slightly Gaelicized rendition of Scottish "airing").

For some weeks after returning, the couple goes visiting with a bottle. The scope of visits seems to have narrowed to close relatives unable to attend the wedding, and sometimes the custom is referred to as old-fashioned. The bride usually mails pieces of bridal cake to relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

D. Death: At a time of illness or injury, an individual may see persons he has not seen for years. The house is filled with a constant flow of visitors, and the visitors recount every detail of a sick person's caller and movement. The room is usually occupied by visitors when a person breathes his last.

In the past, work ceased in every house in the surrounding neighborhood when a person died. This no longer occurs, but a story is told of a weaver who called a mill in Stornoway to say that he could not finish an urgent tweed because there had been a death in the village, and was told, "You keep on weaving till the weaver dies." However, dances in the village are cancelled, and the bothan (an isolated hut in which liquor is sold illegally) may close. Outdoor work, such as peat-cutting, which would be widely seen is avoided.

Word of the death spreads throughout the village and beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulated inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

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CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

763 relived and shared. The person's exact age and the
764 identity of his closest kin are discussed. A van is
764 immediately dispatched to bring benches from the church,
764 which are set up throughout the house of the deceased,
764 and every one each few days a constant stream of visitors
764 fills the benches. The visitors bring tea, sugar,
764 biscuits and other provisions for the days and nights
764 of communal trial. The high Chairs, "house of watching,"
764 as this wake is called, continues until the day of the
764 funeral.

764 In the past, persons sat up all night with the body.
764 "It took so long to get a coffin. You didn't want to
764 go in and find half the face eaten away by rats." This
764 practice is dying out, but lights are usually left on in
764 the room in which the coffin is placed. When an all-night
764 wake occurs, the atmosphere is one of relaxed story-telling
764 and the laughter of reminiscence.

764 At least two nights of "waking" usually precede the
764 funeral. During this time, hundreds of villagers stand
764 the high Chairs. Grief is expressed throughout the vast
764 network in which the dead person was enmeshed. On rare
764 occasions when a single night precedes burial, the house
764 is filled to overflowing.

764 Throughout the day and evening, waves of newcomers
764 enter, and other sitters slip quietly away. Kinswomen of

764 funeral procession in which the coffin is carried for
764 about half a mile from the house to the waiting hearse.
764 Over 100 men usually walk in these processions. The
764 more well-known the person or unexpected the death,
764 the larger the procession is likely to be. Relatives
764 of the deceased walk at the head of the procession,
764 at the head and foot of the coffin, while other villagers
764 take turns carrying the bier. The pallbearers serve in
764 relays. Eight men carry the coffin. Four on each side,
764 and are replaced frequently by pairs of men who assume
764 the rear positions. The two who have been displaced at
764 the head of the coffin stand outside the line, facing
764 outward, until the procession has filed past them,
764 whereupon they join the end of the procession.

764 In the past, coffins were carried for miles from
764 the house to the cemetery. The procession rested period-
764 ically, and the men usually carried an earthenware jug
764 of whisky (ciaar uisge beatha) "to ward off the cold."
764 The custom of giving a glass of whisky to men as they
764 left the house to carry the coffin was still recently
764 followed in Skyes; and in some areas a funeral is still
764 evaluated by the amount of whisky available for consumption
764 ("that was a good funeral"). Taxis are sold of
764 coffins buried without bodies.

764 Today coffins are brought to the cemetery in a
764 hearse, but the procession still carries the coffin
764 for a half mile or so to the hearse. The women gather
764 outside the house in the biting wind, huddled together,
764 beginning to sob as the heavy line of dark-coated,
764 slowly-moving men bear part of themselves away. In one
764 village on the west side, the women circled the coffin
764 as it left the house, chanting, "You are leaving us, you
764 are leaving us."

764 Graveyards are maintained by members of the community.
764 A cemetery committee collects dues of five shillings a
764 year from all households for the upkeep of the cemetery.
764 Relatives and neighbors dig the graves of their fellow
764 villagers.

767 In 1911, a funeral society called the West of Lewis
767 Funeral Association was founded with the original
767 intension of bringing back the bodies of men and women
767 who had died when they were away from the island "on the
767 fishing." Persons from Borve to Barnaray pay two
767 shillings a year to the Association, which at present
767 has about 14,000 invested in bonds. A similar association
767 exists in other parts of the island. A person may join
767 between the ages of 12 and 40, after which he is not
767 eligible for membership. A member who has left the
767 island must continue to send in his dues, or members of

121 being determined by conditions of culture, such as
121 political and economic conditions. Under conditions
121 of stagnant economic and political
122 systems, the geographically marginal crofting areas
122 have evolved strategies, some of which puzzle agencies
122 concerned with development or other aspects of
122 governmental process.

178 Before the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board
365 began to operate in the crofting counties, not more
511 than one croft in every hundred had electricity; but
511 by the end of 1971, one in every six holdings had been
511 supplied (Taylor 1974: 20). "The lights came to
354 Shawbost in 1951. Before then, the islanders used
194 Tilley lamps, a Canadian invention; and before then,
312 double-wick paraffin lamps. Piped water came a few
344 years later, around 1955; it was brought from a nearby
344 loch, and the construction work gave temporary jobs to
344 local people. The availability of these services
344 facilitated the building of county council houses,
344 which many welcomed as providing a relief to the
344 congestion caused in part by rules against building
344 more than one house on a croft. But, paradoxically,
651 with larger, better homes and all these services came
a decrease in the advantages of living in a crofting
township: property was assessed and people began paying
rates or taxes.

651 which official records are kept by the mills. If you
439 may jokingly to a fisherman who has brought in a large
catch than he should put some money aside for the
rainy day, he is likely to reply, "Well have to
catch me first." A tradesman may be earning large sums
of money doing local work as a skilled specialist at
the same time he is collecting social security.

A man may serve in and out of a number of different jobs,
and never report his income. "Occupational pluralism"
(cf. Brox 1966) rather than economic specialization has
developed as a strategy in various countries along the
North Atlantic fringe, such as Iceland, the Faroes,
northern Norway and Scandinavia, as well as the west
coast and islands of Scotland. In these marginal areas,
income from specialized occupations is, in the long run,
unpredictable and inconsistent.

In times of national economic depression, strikes,
shifts between socialist and conservative governments,
and other crises, crofting provides an alternative
strategy. During the last war, many islanders who had
left the island (including some who had been quite
prosperous in the cities) returned to spend the duration
of the war in the village, glad of the relative security
provided by the relative abundance of food and less strict
rationing. During a huge snow-fall that occurred on

233 mostly, that the Commun Market will soon drive up milk
233 prices, and that income from the weaving has become too
248 unpredictable.

412 Many tools and techniques associated with crofting
176 have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (two
pieces of wood joined with leather); the sheepskin
strawbed over wood with holes burned into it, to separate
chaff and grain; rope made of plaited heather and straw.
Each spring the byre was cleaned of its accumulated dung
and urine, and this was turned into the ground along
with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among
the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be
mobilized under changed conditions, as when alternatives
to crofting are no longer available or are too costly.
However, the longer crofting is neglected, the less it
can provide a viable alternative strategy. The artificial
fertilizers are ruining the land; that's why the
turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to
water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and
streams—rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and
cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep—
the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather
work the land than the blinkin' loom, but we tried the
potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them
all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

241 Crofting constitutes a dormant strategy which can
176 be mobilized if deterioration of land has not proceeded
too far, and if the skills of land use are not lost by
succeeding generations who have grown up in an
environment which presented them with more appealing
strategies.

B. Social Marginality

166 1. Linguistic Distinctiveness: Social marginality
166 began when the Highlander had to leave his place of
origin and go to the cities of the south in search of
191 employment. The feature which most distinguished him
191 was his Gaelic speech.

In Glasgow the common word for Highlander is
101 "Geuchter," a slang word with derogatory implications
101 which, according to one theory, developed when Gaelic
1965) speakers coming into English-speaking cities mispronounced
the word "sagar" so that it sounded like "teuchter."
329 Glasgow Highlanders have developed their own defensive
explanation: when the civilized Highlanders came down
among the uneducated barbarians of the south, they came
as tutors, a word which their uneducated Lowland pupils
mispronounced.) According to a university student from
the islands, the word was once used by the English to
refer to the Scottish Lowlanders.

469 on the island who had spoken English in school and had
197 not given much thought to which language she was speaking.
178 "I remember the first time I met the other girls couldn't under-
197 stand me. They always used to shout at me, making sure
197 Gaelic, even though they understand it, and parents tend
to speak only English to their children, believing this
will help them "get on." In the next generation, the
language is lost. Village children attending school in
197 Stornoway often prefer talking to their Gaelic-speaking
197 counterpart in English. A young island woman, married and
167 living in Edinburgh, says she would like her baby son
to learn Gaelic but feels that if he had a mixture of the
two languages the other children would laugh at him.

English is the language of the larger society, the
197 language in school and the language required in
197 most jobs and in dealing with most officials. In Gaelic-
197 speaking areas, the speaking of English connotes high
554 status. If an English speaker mispronounces Gaelic words
676 he is quickly forgiven, praised for trying to learn such
578 a difficult language, and asked why he bothers with a
language that "isn't any use anyway." But if a Gaelic
speaker makes mistakes in English, he is treated merciless
151 Many nicknames derive from such mistakes; for example,
"Water Squash" got his name by mispronouncing the word
"picturesque." People "win points" by competing with
324 each other in speaking English. "See how good you are!"

154 sympathetic with each others' idiosyncrasies. A constant
572 joking keeps people at arm's length and discourages the
(522) development of sympathy.

Accompanying this style of indirect, inhibited
154 expressiveness and the low level of stimulation are
culturally prescribed opportunities for relatively
uninhibited expressiveness. Such opportunities include
the ceilidh ("visit"), the drinking situation (mainly
for men), the role of clown or "character," and holidays
(144) such as New Year's. Although young villagers and
(484) emigrants often describe the village as "dull" and "dead,"
(181) the emigrants are happy enough to return to the island
for short periods of time, during which they participate
in these situations in which expressiveness and limited
license are accepted.

154 1. Ceilidh, Clown, and New Year's Festivities: Only
on certain occasions is relatively spontaneous and unin-
574 hibited expressiveness condoned or encouraged within the
township, and even then the form which this expressiveness
takes is fairly narrowly circumscribed. The traditional
(170) ceilidh was such an occasion. In the past, people gathered
(170) regularly at night in the high ceilidh (the ceilidh house,
538 or home of someone in which a genial atmosphere existed;
(533) the high ceilidh was often the home of someone who lived
alone), where stories were endlessly repeated and elaborated,

154 genealogies told, and old songs were sung or new ones
154 composed. The concentration of expressiveness in these
(170) forms resulted in a well-developed, oral repertoire of
(533) literature and music.

The ceilidh still exists today in the form of less
(538) regular gatherings. Stories and genealogies are seldom
(533) recited, but songs are still sung. A few new songs are
being composed. The word ceilidh is used as both a noun
and a verb to mean "a visit" or "to visit," but implies
(144) a casual, relaxed atmosphere rather than a formal visit.
(484) A formal visit is made by relatives living in Stornoway,
(181) government officials or businessmen, and is characterized
by more constrained behavior.

154 The ceilidh of today is often accompanied by the
154 drinking of beer or whiskey, but a distinction may be
574 made between a gathering which includes both males and
females, and a drinking situation at which only males are
present. In the past, men often gathered in barns or
weaving sheds to share beer made locally from barley or
(273) brought from town in a large keg. The drinking of whiskey
(178) was reserved for special occasions, such as births, weddings,
(178) funerals, and the festivities surrounding the New Year, but
(538) increased income has resulted in the consumption of whiskey
(533) on an almost daily occasion. Heavy drinking is still an
(249) activity engaged in largely by males, and occurs in extra-
village locations such as hotels and bothans (see
Chapter 6).

74 given at Christmas; in Lewis, Christmas is identified
(48) with Catholicism, and is an insignificant event in
187 comparison with New Year. To give two examples, a New
527 Year's dance is given, but not a Christmas dance; and
74 the mills continue working on Christmas if it occurs
187 on a week day, but close for at least two days at New
Year's. In Shawbost, bannag is defined as a party
associated with Hogmanay (New Year's eve).

In the recent past, until about ten years ago,
527 the boys dressed in women's clothes or wore masks. They
• 172 took turns wearing a cow's skin as they went from house
to house. In each house, the boy wearing the skin was
(538) hit by the others as he chanted the rann na bannag (rhyme
of the bannag):

Here I come again renewing Christmas.
(In another version: This is the New Year's night.)
I'll take the bread without the butter,
I'll take the butter without the bread,
Then we won't be empty-handed.
Then we won't be empty-handed.
One thing I refuse is a mangy potato.
It gives a heavy feeling.
It's not healthy.
Everyone can't give me my bit of butter and my lump of
cheese.
Everyone can possess will be gotten by the crows
on St. Patrick's Day.

527 As the heinich na bannagan left the house in which
43 they had received gifts, they blessed it. All food and
(538) money was given to the woman who prepared the bannag.
(269)

Today children tend to receive money more often than
food, and use some of the money to buy sweets at the post
takes her with him on his all-night visiting.

527 office or general store, preferring to divide the prot
• 178 between themselves for use at a later time. A 50-year-
431 old woman observed, "They don't appreciate the bannag
like we used to. They get this kind of rich food all
the time." The practices of wearing costumes and speaking
527 the rhyme are disappearing. Children used to have the
178 bannag until they left school at age 14 or 15; now only
the younger children go. "Children grow up more quickly
today."

New Year's is celebrated perhaps most intensively
527 by the men, who after seeing the New Year in by watching
(178) a special New Year's program on television go visiting
574 neighbors and relatives with bottles of whiskey. The
custom of "first-footing" on New Year's eve is held
throughout Scotland; but in the Hebrides much visiting
and heavy drinking may last from New Year's eve until
the following Sunday. During this time, the woman of the
house, who usually refrains from drinking and to some
extent controls the drinking done by the males in her
house, relaxes her attitude, and may even participate.
The comment, "It's only once a year," is often heard.
(538) During this time, the shyest and most retiring bachelor
becomes a Romeo; this is the only time of year he may
be heard to mention the word marriage. For example, one
bachelor in his 60's chooses a "bride" each New Year, and
takes her with him on his all-night visiting.

203 while. It would be an insult not to take a drink with
571 them; you mustn't miss your round."
(504)

The usual practice when drinking with friends is
203 for one person to buy the drinks; everyone drinks
571 together, and then someone else buys the next round. To
431 drink slowly is to indicate that you intend to miss your
round. A relative who returns to the island for a holiday
usually pays for more rounds than he receives, and may
spend as much as L80 in a single week.

If a man wants more drink than his fellows, he has
203 to buy more rounds. He may step up the pace of drinking by
571 buying more rounds, which means that he is likely to pay
a larger share than the others during the evening as they
will be ready to quit before he is; or he may keep a bottle
hidden outside the room, and disappear periodically for a
private nip, after which he returns to the group.

203 Drinking occurs at night behind the grey, concrete
571 shield of the bothan or in hotels. Drinking situations
154 provide opportunities, rare in the repressive arena of the
154 village, to express emotions and ideas. These expressions
can always be retracted in the cold, sober light of day.

"I want to be an alcoholic. Now I spend most of my
weekends feeding my brother lager so he won't get the DT's.
When something good happens, I wish like hell I could get

[Page 159 is blank; text continues on p.160
--Admlyst]

203 differentiation and differentiation in personal experience,
571 but to use it in the community, as social coin. The few
154 people who refuse to get involved in drinking episodes that
154 would deplete their available funds are called "mean"
and "tight-fisted."

"If I had a wish, I'd choose to live the same life all
over again, maybe a wee bit rougher. We don't get a chance
here. The poverty keeps us down. But what does it matter
to be a schoolteacher or a minister? What good does it do
you? If I have a shilling in my pocket, I've got to spend
it. I remember ten years ago, I went into town with L60
in tweed payments to buy a new stove. I met some of my
(435) pals, so I put down on a L50 stove and spent the rest.
What a time we had."

"I went for a holiday on the mainland and came back
with nothing in my pocket because it's no use drinking in a
place where you don't know people. You want a yarn."

Drinking occurs at night behind the grey, concrete
203 shield of the bothan or in hotels. Drinking situations
571 provide opportunities, rare in the repressive arena of the
154 village, to express emotions and ideas. These expressions
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"I want to be an alcoholic. Now I spend most of my
weekends feeding my brother lager so he won't get the DT's.
When something good happens, I wish like hell I could get

B. The Bible

701 1. The Free Church: "A man in my great-grandfather's
195 time," said a 65-year-old man, "talked about the great
(195) change within his generation, from the days when fanks
were held on Sundays to such strict observance on the
Sabbath that not even a cow could be tethered."

195 The first evangelical minister on Lewis came to the
783 parish of Uig in 1824. The Rev. Alexander Macleod belonged
(783) to the Church of Scotland, but joined the Free Church when
it broke away from the Church of Scotland in the "Disruption"
of 1843. When he came in 1824, he found "superstition,"
"spiritual darkness," and "polluted remains of Popery,
since it was the religion in this place...the only notion
they had of Christianity (Beaton 1925: 7-8)." The southern
195 tales of the Outer Hebrides are still Catholic, but in the
783 Protestant isles of the north, holidays associated with
(783) Catholicism are avoided, and stories are still told of the
burning of Protestant martyrs by Catholics. Catholics are
disliked "because they believe that they can buy their
way out of sin," or that the bread and wine of Communion
is really the blood and body of Christ. "A Catholic is
anointed with oil and left to die without food or water.
We are privileged that we are not like them."

195 In the Disruption of 1843, about two-third of the
783 people and 39% of the ministers left the established church

795 collected, and an annual report on morals, which usually
condemns drinking and "the decline in moral standards."
Ministers are trained in a college in Edinburgh. Many
(199) are Gaelic speakers, although the number is said to be
declining.

When a congregation loses a minister because of death
783 or other reasons, it issues a "call" to some other minister.
The congregation is familiar with the names and preaching
styles of a number of ministers, who have in the past
visited the community as guest preachers. The congregation
votes for a minister from a list made by the lay officers
of the church. The minister may or may not accept the call.

The Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church, two
(783) fundamentalist Protestant sects which have nuptured the
tendencies toward unification evident since the turn of
the century, are strongest in the Highlands and Islands.
Shawbost contains a few people who belong to the Church of
Scotland, but most villagers belong to the Free Church.
The only church (in the sense of a building in which sermons
795 are preached) is a Free Church which was built in 1883,
346 supposedly after men from Shawbost helping to repair the
(193) fence at the minister's manse in Carloway, where they then
attended church, were refused holiday water for their oatmeal
"brose" by the minister's wife. A building in which
members of the Church of Scotland worshipped was built

786 miscarriage occurring before marriage also requires
(48) standing even when the child to be baptised was conceived
849 by the couple after marriage. A marriage was also
(337) imperfect unless a woman who is not his wife must undergo
this ordeal before he can have his own children baptised.

It is the responsibility of the entire community to
ensure that this punishment is carried out. On one occasion
the minister forgot to lecture a couple, and afterwards
(203) the community was upset that they would have to stand; but
they insisted, afraid that people would say that they
were getting special treatment.

According to one minister, the manse is a kind of
(203) "research center" to which all gossip is reported. Some
(520) ministers use this information in the pulpit, chiding
(504) people and calling attention to wrong-doings in front of
the congregation. In contrast, a different minister
(184) in parts of Stornoway, where villagers have approached
(165) doctors in the maternity ward for information regarding
miscarriages and premarital births only to be told that
this information is confidential. The ordeal of standing
in church does not exist in Stornoway. In 1971 a person
• (194) in Shawbost was accidentally scooped from this ordeal
and his exemption was seen by some as providing an
opportunity to stop what is considered by many to be an
archaic custom.

871 875 771 [465] Education in the local school has included a great deal of religious instruction; in other words, religious and educational spheres commingle. Because of the relative prestige which the teaching profession offers to persons from the island, and because the islands are considered "isolated" by most persons looking for jobs (teaching posts on the island include an added sum which is designated as "isolation payment"), most of the island's teachers are themselves islanders. Education [554] is one method by which one's position in the community is elevated. The high status derived from having advanced education also reflects favorably on the parents and position of the family. But teachers and others who return to the island are expected not to deviate from island norms in important matters, such as fundamentalist religious beliefs; hence teachers tend to perpetuate fundamentalist religious beliefs within the classroom.

871 771 773 178 Formerly the minister visited the school once each year to examine the children on their catechism, thus testing the state of religious instruction in the school. Several years ago this practice was stopped by the education authorities of the County Council, and the minister now gives a sermon in the school about once a month but is not allowed to examine the children. Many ministers are dissatisfied with the arrangement, as they are afraid that

871
791 the children might not receive proper
793 instruction.
178

"Family worship" is considered a
771 of daily life. Prayers should be sai
782 and teas, and the head of the househo
593 passages from the Bible to the assemb
household every morning and evening.

[178] "reading the books" prevails in house
[592] older men, but is less common among i
younger men.

794 3. The Clique of the Converted:
632 within the religious sphere is a spec
621 group, the clique of the converted (
clique constitutes a relatively stron
which to some extent competes with th
system. Owen (Rees 1960) has noted t
become more involved with religion in
Hebrides, they tend to remove themsel

Intense involvement with the ch
with township activities since peopl
at times when a fank is planned, lea
done by others. When elders of the
at activities, such as fanks, which
boisterous and full of humor, behavi
"properly" restrained.

called on an awful lot to give prayers in church, and it's hard for some of them to get up and speak." The Reverend Macleod notes in his diary that private meetings were initiated on the island in 1826.

A quarterly meeting (coinne raith) is held in Stornoway, to which many of the converted from the villages go. The Communions are held twice a year. "Special services," or "small communions," held soon after the Communions, are intended as evangelical services for young people, that is, services enjoining people to convert. These services, which last from Monday through Friday, were started in Ness after the first world war.

4. The Communions (Orduighean): Communions are given twice a year, during autumn and late winter. They are scheduled for different weeks in different parts of the island, and neighboring congregations close their churches when Communions are being held nearby, so that during the Communion season some persons may attend a number of services at different churches.

In the days when transportation was limited, visitors coming from a distance away stayed for an entire weekend. All households prepared food and made ready for any overnight visitors who might arrive without prior warning. Guests often slept on mattresses laid on the floor. After facilities of transportation improved, it became common for people to drive down for the day in private cars and return to their own homes at night.

service, believers remain in the church where they receive tokens given to them by the elder of their street. These are pieces of metal on which is printed the name of the church and village, and a verse from Corinthians, "Do this in remembrance of me." Communicants planning to take Communion in other villages take with them tokens which they have received from their own minister, or ask the local minister for one.

The Communion Services begin on Sunday morning at about 11:30. Persons not taking Communion sit in the back of the church or in the balcony. Communicants give their tokens to the elders who stand in the aisles, and are allowed to sit in seats in the front section of the church, which are marked off from the other seats by white tableclothes. The service lasts for three to four hours. Many communicants also spend a half hour to an hour in informal prayer before the ministers arrive to begin the service. In the past, a prayer meeting was also held at 8:00 in the morning, a custom still practiced in some places, such as the island of Scalpay.

Sunday is the only day of Communion on which standardized selections of Biblical verses are spoken and psalms are sung. On other days the ministers are allowed wide variation in the contents of their services. On Sunday, Psalm 22 is followed by the reading of Isaiah 53, and

into tiny squares. The ministers and the elders partake first. A final hymn is full of rejoicing, and the minister then exhorts the communicants to return to the world and give witness and to live exemplary lives.

The evening service on Sunday is evangelical, intended for non-believers. After this service the communicants conduct a brief prayer meeting to give thanks.

On Monday, the minister again tells the communicants to go out into the world and declare publically their experiences of the preceding day; and to demonstrate in everything they do and say that they are believers. In the past, only a morning service was given, as most people had a long journey ahead of them to return home; but now that cars are available, a similar evening service is also conducted.

2. The Process of Conversion: The process of conversion may be slow or sudden, but conversion is most common at middle age and among women. One informant wryly observed, "Only recently women were allowed to have socks. But from the looks of the Communion table, mostly women are going to heaven." Many of the women taking Communion are dressed from head to foot in black, a color which indicates their widowed status.

The first sign that a person is "following" (leanntail) the church is that he begins to attend the weekly prayer

Chapter 7

Conclusions:

Summary and Theoretical Considerations

A. Summary

Crofting townships of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland are within a few hours' travel of the major cities of Britain. An extremely high percentage of the young people in the crofting counties attend universities and other institutions of higher education. Politically, administratively, economically and in other ways, the crofting population participates in the larger urban-industrial society of Britain.

Despite this participation, the township-qua-village-community is a relatively strongly bounded system. This thesis investigates factors contributing to the strong boundedness. From a relatively self-sufficient economic unit using agricultural practices suited to the extensive cultivation of marginal land by smallholders, the township has during recent decades changed to one dependent on goods and services provided by the larger society.

Crofting activities nevertheless persist, in part because of the incentives offered by government bodies such as the Crofters Commission and the Department of Agriculture. The

of the converted, who occasionally neglect township and neighborly duties in favor of religious activities. The increase in private transportation during the past 25 years has facilitated the maintenance of closer ties within the clique. The existence of such a strongly bounded subsystem is an example of a trend toward the weakening of the township as a social boundary system, but this trend is countered by other factors that strengthen or help preserve the township as a bounded system.

People come and go from the township, but this appears to maintain rather than weaken township boundaries because behavior different from that prescribed within the township can be performed outside it, and conformist behavior reassumed upon reentry. Those unable to conform with standards of behavior prescribed within the township are not likely to return.

Township members who have settled away from the island come back periodically for recreation and a sense of belonging. They increase the value of the township and its way of life in the eyes of the inhabitants, and provide them with subject matter for conversation until the next holiday season, when the exiles again return.

The boundedness of the township is thus a qualified boundedness that, over the past 100 years and especially since the second world war, has decreased in strength but is nevertheless strong today.

Appendix B

Number of Yards of Harris Tweed Stamped per Year With the Harris Tweed "Orb" Mark

(Harris Tweed Association Ltd.)

Year	Yards
1934	95,241
1935	1,489,246
1936	2,331,740
1937	3,682,775
1938	2,897,104
1939	3,987,676
1940	4,188,822
1941	3,201,137
1942	2,212,816
1943	1,722,307
1944	1,928,393
1945	2,191,423
1946	3,049,680
1947	3,967,920
1948	4,163,713
1949	4,101,029
1950	3,779,570
1951	2,799,774
1952	4,034,351
1953	4,929,898
1954	5,120,333
1955	5,840,158
1956	6,623,529
1957	6,328,043
1958	4,348,433
1959	6,200,000
1960	5,410,000
1961	4,954,090
1962	5,081,407
1963	5,556,426
1964	5,901,800
1965	6,587,555
1966	7,620,003
1967	5,490,000
1968	6,700,000
1969	6,948,342
1970	5,120,000

LAND USE AND CROFTING

agrarian order. Crofting townships were created which contained holdings of a uniform size, often fit to provide only a bare subsistence living. This is still so today. There were and are no means of achieving ambition through some kind of agricultural promotion. no ladder to climb to prove one's ability to win the land over to one's side to increase its yield. And as each family increased, the progeny demanded land. The family acres were divided, subdivided and fragmented to a vicious mathematical system: more people, less land.

In the nineteenth century, many estates were sold. The newcomers, with no kinship ties with the small tenantry, saw that the only way to make their estates economic was to establish large farms, which meant the eviction, by force if necessary, of the small tenants. This is what happened. For those who did not emigrate, it was a life of huddling around a weak fire, whose flame itself could hardly stand, and thinking of the prospect of starvation and the 'old days'. Thoughts nourished on these old days became the root of action; and a fierce agitation for land reform started. The Minutes of Evidence of the Napier Commission (1882-4), of the Deer Forest Commission (1894-6) and the several official reports on the conditions of the crofters and cottars, give ample evidence of bitterness and despair as the result of poverty and lack of opportunity. About 1870, unrest in the congested areas of crofting townships became a political issue. The flames of ideals were burning high and bright. Ideals were transformed into action: take the land!

By 1880, the ripples from the stone flung into the agrarian pond were reaching the general public. Sides were taken: one stood either on the economic touchline, or on that dangerous thin red line of sentiment based on high feelings and a deep sense of wrongs being perpetrated on fellow humans. The landowners naturally insisted on the right to move into an era of land use in which management was not hampered by affairs of sentiment or philanthropy. Governed by the cold principles of business, they hardened themselves in the face of their attackers. And though they pointed to arrears in rent, and their inability to improve their land agriculturally while they had tenants not of their own choosing, they faced mounting antagonism.

HISTORY

was made in the Crofters (Scotland) Bill of 1961; this had a mixed reception. In general, today, small crofts predominate in most areas. Out of some 18,000 (the number is decreasing annually) about 15 per cent exceed 20 acres (see Chapter 5). But size has little to do with the type of land; whether arable or rough grazing. In fact, the proportion indicates that some 85 per cent of all crofts in Scotland, and this applies to Harris and Lewis, cannot be considered as full-time now or as potentially full-time.

EDUCATION

In general, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland owe their introduction to letters to the early Christian missionaries. One of the main provisions in the early monastic Church in Ireland and Scotland was for the cultivation of learning and the training of its members in sacred and profane literature. Associated as they were so closely with the common folk on the one hand and the aristocracy on the other, something of this learning and desire for learning rubbed off to advantage on to willing recipients. Literacy however, has had many ups and downs since the dawning of the Christian era in the Hebrides. Though it is impossible to ascertain to what extent the common folk participated in the knowledge imparted by the early Celtic monasteries, there are many references to a class of cleric called 'scoloca', whose learning was accessible to the poorer classes of the emergent Highland society. The 'scoloc' is still retained in Gaelic as 'sgalag', a farm servant, the poor searcher after knowledge who received education in the monasteries in return for services as labourer on the church lands, and who appears in monastic records as late as the fourteenth century.

As late as the sixteenth century, however, after the influence of the Church had diminished, the inhabitants were almost wholly illiterate. When the Fife Adventurers came to Lewis in 1598, they brought a schoolmaster with them; though it can be taken that his services were intended for the improvement of the incomers rather than the islesfolk. Old Roderic MacLeod, doughty chief of the MacLeods of Lewis at the time of the Fifers' arrival, was unable to sign his name. Two of his sons, on the other hand, were

CROFTING CHANGES

The removal of crofters from good to poorer ground was a significant factor in the destitution years of the nineteenth century, with the self-sufficiency factor becoming smaller and the dependence on imports (when there was money to buy these) increasing. Today, the crofter is of course not self-supporting, his economy being based on fishing and weaving with the produce of the croft yielding an annual average of some £2000.

Acreages under certain crops show this trend to dependence on the produce of mainland farmers. In the island in 1911 some 3,673 acres were under potatoes, the present acreage being about one-third of that. The number of people per acre of potatoes for Scotland as a whole is 22:1. In the island it is about 15:1, indicating a heavy domestic consumption. Yet substantial imports of this crop are required to satisfy demand; a relevant point is that the milking cow commonly shares the potatoes. The barley crop, once much used in Lewis's former small distilleries, has been reduced to some 10 per cent during the past fifty years. On the other hand, the acreage of sheaf crops, oats, rye and mixed corn, generally fed to cattle, has about doubled. Oats in particular are in favour for cattle fodder; even before the turn of the present century oats were not widely used for human food, and oatmeal has for centuries been imported into the region. The turnip acreage has halved over the past fifty years, perhaps the result of the gradual disappearance of the horse, its steady labour and its dung being required to put good heart in to the land.

As the crofters' cropping policy has changed over the past half century, so has their animal husbandry. Animals are a main selling product, particularly cows and sheep. Horses, of course, have been drastically reduced from their total of 1,672 in 1911, as tractor, lorry and van have taken over their work. And though some cattle are raised, the numbers are now about 60 per cent below those of 1911. At that time the density of cattle per 1,000 acres was heavy (46-60) in the north-east of Lewis, less (31-45) in the north-west, and still less further south. The present average is around 18 beasts per 1,000 acres. This decline, in particular in the milk-yielding animals, has compelled Lewis to import 1,000 gallons of milk a day from the mainland.

It is sheep which today claim pride of place on the croft, valued

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

for mutton and for wool, the right type for translation into Harris Tweed; the predominant breed is the blackface, whose fleece is hard, wiry and long-lasting. The demand for raw wool has also encouraged larger flocks among crofters in such places as Barra, where virtually no weaving is done in the immediate locality. In general there has been since 1911 a 40 per cent increase in the livestock carried on the island's crofts, about twice as big a rise as found anywhere in the seven crofting counties of Scotland.

In an attempt to reduce Lewis's milk imports, in 1962 three crofters at Garrabost on the Eye Peninsula combined to set up a small dairy farm using the lands of their three crofts. A new dairy byre and dairy premises were built and equipped with the necessary electrical equipment. Grants were given by the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland, the Crofters Commission, and the Highland Fund Limited. The first year of operation was closely supervised by the Lands staff of the Department at Stornoway and guidance given as necessary. The milk is retailed in Stornoway and district and amounts to about 5 per cent of Lewis's daily consumption. This little scheme has shown that the island could with some organised effort become independent of milk imports, which have been estimated at upwards of £100,000 worth per annum. Over £70,000 per annum is also spent on imported butter and cheese.

In 1947 the number of crofts in Harris and Lewis was 4,020. In 1971 the figure was 4,146 (3,592 being in Lewis), representing a slight increase in a quarter of a decade. Thus, crofting as a land use activity in the island provides a fairly stable element in the economy, although it is subsidised by the crofters' participation in the fishing and tweed industries. A crofter, it should be mentioned, is often a tenant of more than one croft, working them together as a unit. These units vary in size, the greatest bulk of them (about 60 per cent) having up to 5 acres of arable land. About 2 per cent contain over 30 acres of arable land. In recent years there have been proposals for the better use of the reclaimed moorland, particularly for cattle-raising, which would offer the crofter an increased cash yield from his interests. The annual reports of the Crofters Commission indicate, indeed, that the trend to the small croft obtained from the fragmentation

CROFTING CHANGES

of larger and more economic working units of over 30 acres of arable land is also apparent in the southern Hebrides, the west mainland of Ross & Cromarty, Argyll (mainland and islands) and Caithness.

The acreage of common grazings held per holding varies from under 50 to some 200. The crofts, as already mentioned, are in townships, of which the island has 168, half being fenced and half consisting of individually fenced crofts. During the winter most of the crofts are laid open for winter grazing by sheep of general ownership. Manure resources are mainly dung, seaweed, shell sand and of course artificials where necessary.

A new aspect of crofting in Lewis is its extension into forestry. A recent survey by the Forestry Commission indicated that under 400 acres of the land not being used for crofting were suitable for afforestation, and that these acres were made up from twenty-three different plots. At Garynahine Estate can be seen the beginnings of a real afforestation unit of some 500 acres, a scheme of the utmost significance for the economic future of Lewis and for the relationship between crofter and landlord. Too often in the past this relationship has been biting, hard and inflexible; in particular the crofter was understandably unwilling to release good land for planting trees. But the crofters of Callernish agreed that the right of usage of 285 acres of the common grazings belonging to their township should revert to the landlord, this land being thrown in with 220 acres of the Garynahine Estate. Labour comes from the affected township and others in the area.

FISHING

Early beginnings

It is the humble herring that has contributed so much to the island's economy and its history. At a very early date in history, the Hebridean fishings were worked by Frenchmen and Spaniards who must have found them rich enough to repay the long journey and weeks away from home in the cold Minch waters. It was not, however, until the end of the sixteenth century that the wealth of the Minch was really discovered, this time by the fishermen on the mainland of Scotland who copied the tricks of their trade

SINCE THE SECOND WAR

furnished less than 1 per cent of Scottish landings. The war's aftermath brought too many changes for the island to cope with. Markets had disappeared; food habits had changed; capital was scarce; and many ex-servicemen saw the writing on the wall for fishing as a full-time activity. Also, many sea-going crofters of the pre-war fishing fleet were now dead, memories on fading photographs. Nor had the Western Isles fisheries ever fully caught up with those of the main fishing bases of Britain and the east coast of Scotland. Hence the decline of the herring fishing hit them hardest of all. Today, Stornoway District is handicapped geographically, by distance from the markets; historically, by its late entry into the industry; and economically, in that it failed to participate in the trend towards the centralisation of the industry in share-holding companies within easy reach of London.

In the old days of sail it was easy for men to combine the two occupations of crofting and fishing. When in the early years of this century power replaced sail (the first motor fishing boats went to work in 1907) and the steam drifter took over from the sail-boat, the whole nature of the fishing industry changed. Modern boats and gear had to be acquired if the work was to be profitable. But the islesmen, partly because of lack of capital, partly because of the lack of suitable anchorages and harbours, and partly because the combination of crofting and fishing had created a seasonal tradition incompatible with the use of expensive boats (which needed to be kept continually at sea if they were to pay at all), were unable to adjust themselves to meet the new challenges. In the inter-war years they had no option but to carry on as best they could in their old traditional role. The resultant decline meant that when opportunities did arise for fishermen generally in the form of grants and loan schemes (introduced in 1945 by the Fisheries Division of the Scottish Home Department and subsequently by the White Fish Authority and the Herring Industry Board), the bulk of the men living in the isles were unable to take advantage of them: they lacked the necessary qualifying experience in handling modern boats and equipment, as well as confidence in fishing as a full-time occupation. By 1959 there were only twenty-five boats of 40 ft or more in length based on Hebridean ports. Lewis had only six full-time crews; Harris had five.

This lack of a local fleet fishing in the Minch and associated waters on a full-time basis has inevitably brought reluctance on the part of Government bodies to invest capital in, say, harbour improvements, knowing that they would fail to yield an eventual return. Just after the first world war Lord Leverhulme formulated ambitious plans for a full-time fishing fleet based on Stornoway. More than thirty years later, in 1954, the Taylor Commission, set up to investigate the problems of crofting, summed up:

> Gone are the days when the crew of the fishing boat could haul up their craft on the beach and leave it there in safety. The modern seine-netter is much too heavy to be beached in that way and far too costly to be exposed to risk in unsafe anchorages . . . The capital outlay required for their purchase is such that it is not possible to operate them except on a full-time basis. It is still possible for smaller boats to be employed in fishing for lobster or crab, but the general trend of development is against the man who combines fishing with the work of the croft. We do not think it possible to reverse this trend; it should be accepted and an attempt made to establish a full-time fishing industry in Western waters.

The first vital step to do just this was taken in January 1959 when the MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust announced the introduction of a scheme to 'increase the number of modern boats with efficient crews operating from or based on Lewis'. This Trust was set up under the will of the late Murdo MacAulay of Ness, who left Lewis with little English, less money, but plenty of Gaelic and enterprising spirit, to acquire a considerable fortune in Rhodesia. He bequeathed the bulk of it to be applied for the good of his island home. Anyone applying for assistance under the scheme was required to give an undertaking that he would prosecute fishing on a full-time basis; further, no one would be assisted unless, in the opinion of the trustees, he was likely to make 'an energetic and successful fisherman'. This pioneering venture directly assisted three young men in Kirkibost, Bernera, to acquire one of the best-equipped lobster boats in Scotland; and secondly it acted as a useful prototype for the Government scheme which was to augment and largely replace it a year later. In January 1960 the Government officially instituted the Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme. Free training was offered to men pre-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

6 TRADE AND INDUSTRY

IN the earliest times, the folk of the island of Harris and Lewis were self-supporting; all that they needed for life as it was lived in those days was available at near hand; their existence was self-contained, the economy virtually self-sufficient. By and large, the only commodities often imported were salt, iron, and, to a certain extent, wood. Rents were paid largely in kind: the produce of agriculture, fishing and labour. Surplus produce was directed to southern markets to bring in the odd shilling or two for which there was really very little need in the island. But once money became important in the national economy, it was not long before it was required in the island economy too. By 1790, if not well before, two or three open boats set out each year from Uig to Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. At about this time, too, changes were making their slow appearance in the island way of life and living. Specialists were being required: smiths, tinkers, shipwrights, netmakers, boatbuilders, weavers, tailors and millers. Each of these craftsmen generally held some cornland, either individually or in shares, and also had some rights in the common ground of the township in which he lived.

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

From the pure crofter class there emerged the crofter-craftsmen. In Lochs, for instance, by the turn of the seventeenth century 80 per cent were registered as fishers and netmakers. In the west, in the parish of Barvas, some 70 per cent were also fishers, with kelp-making as a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s to 60s in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tacksmen at 5d each, earned 20s a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s a ton, and worked on roads for 8d per day.

In Harris in 1895, the eight trained male weavers worked for the gentry only. Weaving for the populace was done by the

found in a warehouse in Leith some years ago; a few found their way back to Stornoway, where one can be seen in the Public Library.

HARRIS TWEED

Today, with kelp long forgotten and fishing of minor importance, it is the Harris Tweed industry which supports many of the island people, either directly or indirectly; an island cottage industry with exports earnings exceeding £2,500,000 a year. Harris Tweed is exported to some thirty countries, including America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and all the European nations. The industry is in fact the basis of prosperity in the area, both dependent upon and supporting the crofter-weaver working at the handloom in his home. Seven million yards of tweed are woven annually by the independent weavers 'on the books' of the various mills. The weavers must finance themselves, buying their own looms and bobbins, equipping and maintaining their workshops. Though they receive their supplies of yarn from the mills, they are graded as self-employed persons and as such are not entitled to unemployment benefit—a subject which has caused much argument.

One of the most outstanding facts about the cloth is that its essential qualities have remained unchanged since the industry's early formative years. But it has astonishing versatility and over 5,000 patterns are available, including the crotal browns and the heather colours.

A weaver on average can produce about 2½ webs, or tweeds, each week, a web measuring about 80 yd by 28½ in, and gets a reward of some £8 per web, according to the intricacies of the design or the number of colours involved. The money is paid out by a mobile bank making the rounds of the townships throughout the island. It is reckoned that the mills, for their part, make 1d to 6d a yard profit, depending on turnover; the total annual value of the industry's output is in the region of £4,000,000.

Between them, the five mills in Stornoway and the one in Shawbost consume two-thirds of the Scottish wool clip—the native Western Islands' crop is sufficient for less than a month's production. A thousand pounds of raw wool end up as 885 yards of finished cloth.

sary. In the end, an application was made in 1909 to that body for a trade mark defining Harris Tweed as 'tweed, hand-spun, hand-woven and dyed and finished by hand in the Outer Hebrides', with 'made in Harris' or 'made in Lewis' added as appropriate. The Harris merchants had to join forces with their former rivals in the tweed-marketing business, the voluntary non-profit-making Associations. To inspect the cloth and stamp it with a trade mark—an orb surmounted by a cross—a Harris Tweed Association was formed, consisting of representatives of each of the Harris merchants, the Crofters Agency and the Scottish Home Industries Association. Cloth was first stamped in 1911. In 1912, some Stornoway merchants were granted representation in the Harris Tweed Association, which still exists for the benefit of the industry.

In 1934, the definition of 'Harris Tweed' was eased to include any cloth 'made from pure virgin wool, produced in Scotland, spun, dyed and finished in the Outer Hebrides and hand-woven by the Islanders at their own homes in the islands of Lewis, Harris, Uist, Barra and their several purtenances and all known as the Outer Hebrides'. It was further provided that 'Woven in Harris', 'Woven in Lewis', etc, could be added, and also 'Handspun' in the case of tweeds made entirely from hand-spun yarns.

Today, a few Harris families maintain the old tradition, hand-dyeing and carding, spinning on the wheel, hand-weaving and finishing, producing a high-quality article mainly for individual customers. These tweeds rightly command up to three times the price for the general run of tweed.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

It was not until the era of Sir James Matheson that anything like a truly industrial activity was attempted. Matheson, a native of Shinness in the parish of Lairg, Sutherland, was born in 1796. Aged seventeen, he decided on a commercial career and took himself to London. After two years in a mercantile house, he went to Calcutta, where he worked in the counting-house of MacKintosh

178 Most of the outward changes which have occurred in the island
262 took place in the two decades just after the first world war. Food, for instance, now tends to be better balanced and contains more nutrients. Staple diets in the past were mostly confined to a few items, and based on the potato. Fish, particularly those with essential oils (eg cod) were, of course, available; but only if the fishermen were lucky in the catch. As for vegetables and fresh fruit, it was not until after the 1920s that these became generally available all the year round.

178 Another outward change has been in dress. Until the beginning
291 of the twenties, the women wore a black petticoat striped with colours, a dark blouse, often with stays, and a knitted muffler round the neck and over the head. In summer, the tartan shawl was more typical of Sunday-wear than of weekdays. Men's clothes tended to be of the homespun type, rich in water-resisting oil. Later these were replaced, so far as the fishermen were concerned, with oilskins, waterproofs and rubber boots. Dress nowadays of course tends to conform to what is displayed in magazines, on the film screen and on television.

178 The changes in the mental characteristics of a people are not
181 so obvious. Centuries of generations of long-dead forbears have contributed their accretions to the character of the island people today. It is a complex one. Impressions of the island people as such are few, mainly because observers looked for those economic aspects which gave the society its *raison d'être*. That islandfolk of
175 former times were fond of music and dancing was the observa-
181 tion of the Rev John Lane Buchanan, who was 'Missionary Minister to the Isles from the Church of Scotland' from 1782 to 1790. In a volume published in 1793, in which he describes his Hebridean experiences, he says that the British laws had been introduced to the Island of Lewis by the Seaforth of that period.
[535] The Lewis people, he says, 'since their late happy change from servitude to freedom, by the present noble-minded proprietor, are animated with such life as to meet in companies, regularly each week, at stated places, where both old and young take their turn in this agreeable past-time [dancing], when they exercise themselves with amazing alertness and spirit.' Martin Martin mentions that in his time (*c* 1695) the Lewis people were 'very dextrous in the exercises of swimming, archery, vaulting,
134 or leaping'.

*175 centre of the mud floor through tons and tons of decomposing
165 organic matter or manure.'
164 The island, for all its ills and chills, had a high birth-rate and
*175 a low death-rate. Martin Martin (1695) declared: 'It is a general
163 observation of such as live on the sea coast that they are more
165 prolific than any other people whatsoever.' In some areas of the island the birth-rate was as high as 35 per cent with a death-rate of about 12 per cent. The longevity of the islanders is well known, a fact confirmed by a glance any week at the Deaths columns of the *Stornoway Gazette*, regularly recording the decease of octogenarians, nonagenarians and some reaching their century.

*175 In 1795 the island had only one surgeon. In Stornoway, 'In-
759 oculation is performed here with success by the skill and atten-
[951] tion of Mr Robert Millar, Surgeon.' Later, another doctor came to Stornoway, who attended to the sick in all parts of the island. By the turn of the century there were resident medical officers in each parish, with five doctors in practice in Stornoway.

*175 Just after the turn of the century, there was a medical club
759 in the north of Harris. This had been formed by the proprietor,
743 Sir Samuel Scott, whose crofters were supposed to pay 5s per annum and cottars 2s 6d; this subscription covered dependents. In return, Scott guaranteed the salary of a medical officer, thus securing the services of a resident doctor in the district. But there was apparently considerable reluctance to call a doctor, whether
*175 the patient belonged to the club or not. The salary of the district
759 Medical Officer of Health was £35 per annum, and from the
465 North Harris Club he received some £200. Scott also provided
• 178 him with a home. Dr Fletcher reported in 1906 that a complete
262 change had taken place in the diet of the people within the memory of the older inhabitants, whose accounts of what they called new diseases and lowered virility he found very interesting. Good, plain wholesome diet 'has been replaced by cheap stuff, of
[212] questionable quality and purity. To this change there is another nondescript article which goes by the name of tea, in the use, or rather abuse, of which they are quite intemperate and from which they extract the last dregs by boiling. The result is disastrous to the strongest digestive system.'

*175 In 1892 'a well-equipped medical and surgical hospital was
743

an urgent necessity for the island of Lewis', and a co
appointed to collect funds, the subscription list bein
Lady Matheson; for a period of three years donati
from all parts of the world. The Lewis cottage hospita
on 1 February 1896, starting with only fifteen beds
was increased to twenty in 1915. An extension wa
1925, and the hospital was provided with a surgeon a
lance. Another extension in 1929 was the result
£3,000 from Mr John Bain, of Chicago, a Lewis
President of no less than fourteen banks in the Mi
Lewis Sanatorium was started in 1926.

Tuberculosis was at one time in the island's hist
that caused many deaths and much sorrow. About 19
ant Medical Officer of Health was appointed, Dr
Doig (who died in 1965), who spent his career-life in
ing out what was called in the island the 'white scou
long enough to see the introduction of preventive m
the decline of the killing and crippling diseases he
first years in Lewis.

In dental health, progress has, as in so many
reversed. At one time the island teeth were so we
their strength and beauty that a film was made by
showing to audiences considered in need of dental-h
tion. In 1966 the picture had changed: a survey
95 per cent of Lewis children were in need of dent
The mainland addiction to sugary foods has spread.

As distinct from the island's general medical serv
on Stornoway, the psychiatric services are based
What was formerly the Inverness District Asylum
Craig Dunain Hospital, is the only mental hospital
lands area, with a few long-term beds in the Institu
maddy; the general hospital at Stornoway conducts
patient clinics. Over the area served, the rate of
Craig Dunain Hospital is around 3·3 persons per 1,
lation, compared with a figure of 4·68 for Scotland a
for Lewis and 2 for Harris.

The drink problem and Lewis's relatively high ra
sions to mental hospital both stem from the backg

HOUSING

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SOCIAL LIFE

571 In common with other aspects of island life, the social side has
• 178 undergone considerable change. The world has been brought nearer the crofter's home by radio, television and film screen, reducing the social need for meeting with neighbours and friends
574 for the ceilidh. The ceilidh was once the principal means of re-
178 creation and instruction. There is no precise English equivalent for it, and it may be loosely described as an 'at home' to which all are welcome. It may be held in any house; in the past, the favourite resort was a home where the head (*fear an tigh*—man of the house) was an intelligent, communicative man; and if he had a number of eligible daughters so much the better. Ceilidhean were held after nightfall. Old tales were told, and songs sung, and public questions of the day were discussed. All women attending took with them an ample amount of work, sewing or knitting, to see them through the evening. Ceilidhean nowadays tend to be
[545] more organised, taking the form of popular 'concerts' which did not take root in the island until the turn of the century, though they were a common way of entertainment on the mainland at the time. Social life in the past was thus very intense, and was a natural evolution from the basic desire to forget the day's work and to have some pleasure of a kind.

546 The pattern of recreation facilities has since become fairly varied. Films came early to Lewis, or rather Stornoway; the first Picture House was located in Keith Street, and presented both
[536] films and stage turns. A new Playhouse was opened in 1934 with *The Good Companions* and *Falling for You*, starring Jack Hulbert and Cicely Courtnedge. Films in the rural districts were a rarity, however, until in 1946 the Highlands & Islands Film Guild came into existence to bring the magic of the screen to
[207] scattered communities. This body ran several mobile cinema outfits in the deep crofting areas, until the advent of television in the region killed it off in 1971. While it existed, however, the Guild provided an essential service to remote communities and brought not only the world to their doorstep but ensured that they felt part and parcel of a much larger scheme of things.

207 The first television service in Lewis began in 1959, 'piped' by

an enterprising radio firm in Stornoway; its customers receive 207
both BBC and Grampian Television programmes.

Some youth organisations are represented on the island. The 883
first troop of Boy Scouts was connected with the Stornoway 575
YMCA and was founded by forty boys in 1921. Founded (in 883
1912) on the island's close association with the sea was the Boys' 708
Brigade (Naval), later to become the Stornoway Naval Corps and 575
the Stornoway Boys' Naval Brigade. Its objects were to provide instruction in drilling, signalling, seamanship and first aid; and to foster a spirit of manliness and comradeship among its members. The founder was Canon H. Anderson Meaden, of the Episcopal Church in Stornoway (St Peter's). During the first war the boys acted as signallers at the Stornoway Battery.

But the provision of some organised recreational facilities for 529
young people on the island has long been a thorny question. After the first world war, the Rector of the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, proposed that village halls be built for village education and recreation. This scheme was never fully realised—except at Sandwick, just outside Stornoway—mainly because of the strength of puritanical opposition. This attitude has been breaking down, [178
however, and it is now generally realised that the wealth of any community is based on its youth. Most of the efforts to set afoot activities for young people began after the second war; the work was hard and challenging with not a few failures on the way; perseverance has won to the extent that there is now a full-time youth leader. Most of the cultural and recreational activities are to be found in Stornoway, with a full range of interests. Evening non-vocational classes during the winter are also widely attended for a variety of subjects.

In 1965, an excellent Youth Hostel was established at Stock- 485
inish, Harris, with the help of the Inverness-shire Education Department. In its first season it recorded between 600 and 700 visitors (1,070 bed-nights). Also involved in the establishment of [57
the hostel was the Harris Society of Social Service; practical help was given by the 2nd Stornoway Boy Scouts, who made a wall map, cleared up grounds and shifted furniture. A group of English enthusiasts have in previous years arranged a hotel at Rhenigidale, Harris (see Chapter 9), which provides for some fifty to

PREFACE

121 It was after the end of the First World War and the
[101] home-coming of the men—all too few in number after
heavy losses—that I first came to know Lewis-and-
Harris. Later, in the years between the two World Wars
and during the Second World War, I returned to study the
people's heritage and survey the Island problems and, if
it might be, find solutions. Work on a West Highland
farm had already made me aware of the hardships and
potentialities of land and sea; of the meaning of life in
field and home for farm-team and family; of the reality
of the Gaelic heritage—communal, bardic and religious.
121 Wider surveys made me aware of common elements
171 throughout Scotland and the North and West of the British
Isles, despite the historic contrasts from the Hebrides to
• [178] the Lowlands, and beyond. In the Hebrides are found an
elemental simplicity of environment; an early crystallisa-
tion of culture and religion, with continuity; a recent and
contemporary coming of revolutionary change. These
form an interpretative chain of evidence—geographical,
traditional and historical—unique in the British Isles.
Hence throughout this book, from the basic maps and
explanatory text to the later chapters, an interpretation of
the Island and its community is linked to that of the
Highlands, Scotland and the British Isles as a whole.
121 As many a Scot of crofting stock has found, when he
181 shares in the work of a glen by day—on the low ground and
the hill, alone or with others of a team—and joins in the
fireside talk and Gaelic song when night has fallen, he

PREFACE

121 discovers the strength of community life. And by his
[181] renewal of 'racial' experience he may rediscover sides of
his own nature untouched by an urban task or a rural
[128] holiday. Hence a book such as this inevitably, and I think
rightly, contains much that has been felt in a personal way.
Yet to offset personal limitations, there is needed objective
survey, geographical and social, applied with an open mind
and submitted to searching criticism. These two sides,
personal and impersonal, I have tried to combine.
114 The initiation of this work owes much to others, in
ways of which they were never to know: to the chieftain,
farmer and scholar, James Archibald Campbell of Barbreck,
to my brother Alasdair, to my father, Patrick Geddes, who
suggested in 1919 to the first Lord Leverhulme that
Marcel Hardy, scientist and farmer, should survey the land
in Lewis-and-Harris; to Lord Leverhulme, and to Dr.
Hardy himself, whom I then assisted. To Mr. T. B.
Macaulay, LL.D., was due the suggestion and the plea,
made ten years later, that I should bring up to date Dr.
Hardy's MS. report.
121 It was because of Dr. Macaulay's faith in the Island's
future and the aid he generously gave to experiments in the
reclamation of peat, and also because of the Islanders' own
response to his lead, that I accepted this voluntary task.
Acceptance, as it proved, was rash. Except for certain
valuable findings included under Dr. Hardy's name, a new
[101] work had to be written. These circumstances led to the
making of the book, stretched over thirty-five years. Certain
• [178] early hopes recorded here have been frustrated. On the
other hand, developments have taken place which few
could have foreseen but for their faith in the future of the
Island and its people. I trust that in this book the advan-
tages of slow growth outweigh the drawbacks, for time

PREFACE

121 allows one to revise judgments in a way not possible in a
• 178 short-term study. And only by prolonged knowledge of
the Island can one hope to appreciate the changes which
have been taking place, and the trends of today.
123 My chief debts are the hardest of all to acknowledge,
namely the patient guidance, information and hospitality
so freely given, as I tramped from end to end of the Island
or stayed in chosen townships. Indeed, my debt extends
beyond the Island, from glens in the mainland to the
southern Hebrides. The debt for specific information
received is the harder to acknowledge since, again and
again, I was invited to utilise information on condition of
silence as to its source. Many statements given here
would gain in authority if their source, whether private or
semi-official, could be given; but this has frequently been
impossible without violation of confidence. Hence my
thanks go out to many anonymous crofters, schoolmasters
and residents and also to officials, particularly of the
Boards or Departments of Agriculture, Fisheries, Labour
000 and the Post Office. There are also those whom I cannot
leave unnamed, particularly the late Mr. W. J. Gibson,
C.B.E., Mr. Angus MacLeod, B.Sc. (Agric.), Dr. R. M. Craig,
Miss Bruce of the Highland Home Industries, Mr. J. S.
Grant of the *Stornoway Gazette*, Mr. Malcolm MacLeod,
D.Litt., Mr. A. M. Macmillan, C.I.E., Mr. John Forbes and
Professor A. C. O'Dell. The late Professor Alan G. Ogilvie,
Professor H. J. Fleure, LL.D., F.R.S., Professor W. Croft
Dickinson, M.C., and the late Mr. Adam Collier also
advised me most helpfully.
For the loan of blocks I am indebted to Professor A.
Stevens and Dr. R. M. Craig, and to the Editors of the
Scottish Geographical Magazine and of the *Transactions of
the Royal Society of Edinburgh*.

133 line; and there can be no doubt of the contrast found at
131 the extremes. How strikingly different from any view
over the English Plain is this, from the air or a mountain-
top! It overlooks the ice-scraped rock of the fells; the
drift-heaped, ill-drained hollows studded with gleaming
lochs and deeply overgrown with peat; and the indented,
insular coastline with its widely spaced crofting townships
looking seaward, where a few fishers' sails may dot the
161 vast expanse of ocean. In 1951 the population of Lewis-
162 and-Harris numbered only 28,000 persons, and that of the
entire Outer Hebrides some 36,000; but the small num-
182 bers need not lessen the geographical significance of the
community.
18 Men have long recognised the homogeneity of the
English 'Plain', with its recurring vale and wold, compact
within a rounded coastline. In spite of the local variety
of landscape, history or dialect, which enriched its heritage
and compose its grandeur and charm, men have sensed the
unity inherent in this land of a single tongue, centred upon
a single capital. By contrast, the diversities in landscape,
life and tongues of the lands far-flung to north and west
have obscured the elements of a profound, underlying
unity in geographic origins and in historic and social
(121) evolution. To understand the civilisation of the British
Isles, it is vital first to perceive the complementary qualities
found in the two great regions, and face their corresponding
• [178] weaknesses or limitations. Second, within the less under-
stood of the two regions, 'the North and West', it is vital
to study the almost bewildering variety in regional types
of life—distinguishing, for instance, the uprooted popu-
lations all too typical of the rural Lowlands of Scotland
or Northumberland from the still deep-rooted communi-
ties of the Highlands and Isles.

121 From prehistory to the present day, these geographic
• 178 zones have played their parts as factors in evolution,
although the border-lines have changed at different historic
178 crises, and have been modified by economic and social
182 phase. At times the Hebrides have been more closely
184 linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Central Scotland.
In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in
historic events, but comparability in stage and transition,
even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of
view, the revealing character of Island life lies not only in
static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the
Isles and vividly described as "the Past in the Present",
Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic
strength of its continuity—notably of early or primitive
Christianity—and also by the late occurrence of changes
when, at last, they came.
18 The social consequences of these regional differences
in evolution are profound. In the 'Plain', to the south-
62 east of the Severn-Tees line, large village communities
174 with 'common fields' prevailed, forming the later manor
[173] villages. To the north and west, the more varied, hillier
[197] lands encouraged the continuance of hamlets. These
hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no
more than four or five to a dozen relations or 'friends'—
—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word
'friend' frequently implies kinship. Each small group
[462] formed a team. Together the men ploughed their mingled
476 rigs (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and
[247] on the coast they rowed their boat as its crew. The
[286] women, too, did much together, as when they spun their
[423] yarn, and fulled or 'waulked' the cloth that one of them
had woven, helping by turn in childbirth and child-care.
Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

18 pastoral group, the germ (in the Hebrides) of the present
62 township with its common grazing. Hamlets and town-
174 ship formed circles of cultural and religious life in common.
[423] These 'sociable hamlets', or 'little commonwealths', as
they were called by understanding writers on the High-
lands, lived on in the Hebrides almost until a century ago.
Features of their form and life have long been known, but
their life has not yet been envisaged in its full dynamic
significance.
127 The homesteads, informally grouped in these small
361 hamlets, have been mistakenly described as solitary or
174 'dispersed' by scholars accustomed to larger and more
compact grouping. The mistake was made by geographers
of the nineteenth century, such as Meitzen with reference
[173] to the hamlets of Brittany. Similarly, because of the
[476] small number composing a typical joint team, the vital
fact of team-work and joint holding has frequently been
overlooked; yet a fundamental mistake is made when such
close-knit team-work and joint tenure are described as
174 'individualistic'. Moreover, these teams were linked to-
62 gether in larger, more loosely bound pastoral communities
63 of township and district. In Scotland and elsewhere, it is
true, such hamlets came historically to be split up in various
[241] ways, into smaller farms and scattered cottages. The
larger link of common life was also superseded by the
• [178] proprietor's estate. Indeed, the twofold revolution in-
volved caused a fundamental regional cleavage within 'the
North and West'.
[182] Partly as a result of their small size, the tenure of farm-
[184] hamlets was frequently informal. In northern England,
the hamlets and their lands were not entered in Domesday
Book; still less are early entries complete in Scotland.
[178] For this and other reasons, jurist and historian may fail

to notice the absorption or suppression of rights held in common in 'the North and West', together with the abolition of the duties of fellow-workers to one another. Too frequently they have not troubled to enquire into the former existence of common rights and fellowship duties, the observances of which have so much to teach. Yet to judge from the completeness of the Hebridean evidence, and from wider evidence to be touched upon with reference to Norse and Lowland conditions, suppression caused a profound social and moral revolution.

Indeed, the profound character of that revolution makes it hard to recognise the common origin of features which may differ greatly today. To choose four examples, the long succession from father to son, found from end to end of an Island township, contrasts with a restless movement of farm servants, and even tenant-farmers, all too common until 1939 in Lowland Scotland and parts of Northern England. The ideals held by fellow-workers in Gaelic tradition, of kindly and courteous co-operation, contrast with the avowals of rugged individualism made on many a farm even of the southern Highlands today, and certainly of the Scottish Lowlands and Northern England. Languages have changed as English has advanced during 1500 years: the Lewis crofters' children still speak Gaelic, but children in Stornoway ceased to do so forty or fifty years ago. And in the recorded religious life of Gaelic hamlets far from any priest (or later, minister), the part of revered men and women is very different from the part played in Calvinism by the Minister and the male Elders of the Kirk. All these four contrasts are due to revolutionary changes in home, work, language and religion. Such changes, of which all trace may be lost elsewhere, are traceable from the fullest evidence among the Gael.

Comparisons at the present day are most illuminating. In the Hebrides one may pass from Calvinist Lewis-and-Harris to Catholic Barra, through South Uist, where Presbyterian and Roman Catholic dwell, side by side, in mutual respect. Although their home life, economy and language are the same, the influence of a comparatively recent divergence in religion is marked. Such Island evidence, present and past, forces one to re-examine conclusions upon life in the Lowlands accepted until recently, and to seek for the truth upon earlier forms of life in common and for their meaning today throughout 'the North and West'.

Ancient elements of unity, and later ways in which these were broken, adapted or remade, region by region, are being unravelled. The Old Estate Plans, made at the outset of the agricultural revolution, show these immediately before the re-planning of fields and farms (*circa* 1750–90). These plans also reveal the existence of still earlier types, not otherwise recognisable even on the spot. With their rentals (when available) they reveal the ways in which old joint farms were placed under a single tenant, as in Lothian, or were split up among several tenants, as in Ayrshire.[1] From such geographical data, both the economic and the deeper social aspects of rural life emerge with new clarity. Such data may be linked to Planning Surveys of land and rural life for tomorrow.

Now, although so fundamentally equalitarian within themselves, these hamlet communities of the Gael were subjected to the overlordship of a chief or laird, either directly or through an intermediate gentleman-tenant, a 'tacksman'. History, with archaeology read in history's

[1] For Lothian, see Arthur Geddes (1938 and 1951); for Ayrshire, see J. H. G. Lebon, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, Vols. 62, 1945 (pp. 7-13); 63, 1946 (pp. 100-110). Further references in Bibliography.

democratic reorganisation, with loyalty to one's fellows and to a leader.

Here again, Lewis-and-Harris may have something to teach, as one of the last communities in Britain in which much of ancient common right over land and sea has been upheld. Trust ownership of Stornoway estate has strengthened the possibilities of rural planning there, while the fisheries are a public resource which are partially protected for local fishermen inshore and farther out are closed to none. The useful Lewis Association has published models of local survey for social and economic planning. At a time when democracy is struggling to see its way towards economic and social freedom, such communal initiatives have more than local significance.

This sketch of comparisons and questions in rural life raised by Hebridean evidence, through a wide and varied region of the British Isles, must serve to indicate the geographic setting of the Island and relate the historic and contemporary problems of its own community to wider fields. This book is not directly concerned with the urban and industrial problems of the firth-sides and 'included plains' within the varied land of 'the North and West' of Britain, deeply though they affect the hard-hit fishermen of the Isles and the Island migrants—seamen or labourers, tradesmen or factory workers, nurses, teachers or clergy. Even for the migrants' sake, it is vital to maintain the economic balance, and restore the cultural and spiritual life within each industrial region, in order to maintain that of Britain as a whole. It was not enough to schedule 'the murdered towns' of Tyneside, Wales, Lancashire or Clydeside as 'Distressed', 'Special or Development Areas'. The balance of Britain as a whole must be restored.

cannot be changed, as for the future which can—lies in the intensity of its communal traditions, extinguished elsewhere. Much has gone—many of the fishing crews are disbanded and team-work has weakened—but much lives on, and much has been learned. The Gaels have still to make their full offering to English-speaking civilisation. To do so, they must find their own fulfilment within the framework of the Highlands of Scotland.[1]

2. *Scottish Crofts, Farms and Labour-teams: the Rural Unit Today*

When, in thinking of Scots countrymen, we differentiate between the men of the Highlands and Isles, the Lowlands and the Borders, what stamp of occupation, society and economic class best characterises the three regional types? The differences we note between them are due not only to their place of birth and region, but to their occupational discipline and social ways. Imagine, for example, a Gael, a Lowlander and a Borderer, all three of whom follow the same calling—say, a trio of farmers, of shepherds or farm servants, or of independent, full-time small-holders. When brought together each trio would find they shared similar interests and aims in their work, and all that follows from it. In fact, they might have more in common than three Gaelic-speaking men who differed from one another in vocation, although, as Gaels, the latter group would find a bond in culture and kinship. But a fourth type of Scot, the crofter of the North-west townships with whom this book is concerned, would stand out, distinctively, from any other, whether his home were Zetland or the Hebrides. Thus not only their home or region differentiates Scots countrymen, but their calling or class; and their families

[1] A. Geddes and F. D. N. Spaven, *The Highlands and Isles* (1949).

the township; and to each were allotted the rights of the common grazing and the fishing grounds. For more than a century the croft has been held individually, though in the townships the common grazing is still held in common. Beyond these 'homely' limits lie wider horizons, in the past those of seafaring and of droving or the chase, and today of fishing and gillieing at home, or of ocean journeys, urban occupations or colonisation.

In the Lowland regions each symbol represents 100 holdings. For (A)$_{16}$ 'mixed and dairy farming', the particular type of symbol shows the average number of workers employed on a farm-holding in each county. On each farm the employed workers form what may be called the 'Labour-Team'. A team may be 'small', 'medium' or 'large'. The Scottish averages of these three types (indicated in the inset key to the map) are roughly three, five and seven workers per team. Four 'casual' workers are counted as equivalent to one 'permanent' worker, but farmers' wives are excluded. Under (B), for the same Lowland counties and areas, full-time small-holdings are shown separately. The Scottish average of less than one full-time worker employed, most often a son or daughter of the small-holder, is typical of all the counties.

As to the relative importance of the different classes of farms and small-holdings in Scotland, true agricultural land-holders number 68,000, of which fully one-third hold part-time holdings (like the Island crofters), one-third 'full-time farms', and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold 'full-time small-holdings'. The remainder accounts for other types of less importance. The farms predominate in terms of improved land, full-time employment, and of course of production. As to area, farms cover 80 per cent of agricultural land. The farmers employ nearly 90,000 workers,

[1] A [refer to map p. 16 -- analyst]

with its tied cottages and frequently a 'bothy' for the unmarried. Next to this comes the full-time small-holding, important in the North-east and the Southern Highlands of Scotland. Great as are the differences between these types of unit today, they go back, to a considerable extent, to common origins. The sites of the farms are ancient. And their people, though since divided into masters and men, are the successors to those who were once the 'kindly co-operators' of older 'farm groups', of Lowland *ferm-toun* and Gaelic *baile* (pronounced like 'ballie'). The island counterpart of these, and their life, will be described in Part Two. Hence, before we turn to further analysis of the Highlands and Isles, a word more should be said of Lowland types.

An important social index in the Lowlands of Scotland is the number composing the farm labour-team, averaged for each county. Villages and even hamlets are few, largely because farmers and farm servants live on the farms. Compared to those of most of England, Scots labour-teams are small. Yet, as the map indicates, there is a wide range from the 'large' teams of South-east Scotland, through the 'medium' teams of adjacent areas, to the 'small' teams of the West and North-east. Not only do the contacts of employer with employees partly depend upon the number in the team, but so do the farm servants' relations to one another. On the whole, the larger the team, the more formal its organisation; and the smaller the team, the greater a worker's own responsibility. The 'family farmer' of the West and North-east is often an ex-farm servant. From Burns's time, his character and enterprise have been recognised in Scotland, and in the last forty years have become well known in South-east England. But the isolation of these little farms brought its problems and its hardships.

A [see map p. 16 -- analyst]

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

going concern to a trust which was set up to receive the gift and whose first object is to assist aged and infirm residents in the burgh. In effect, all profits earned by the shop are passed to the trust for distribution to those in need.

Almost half the houses in Stornoway were built by the local authority. The Town Council has never been afraid of rooting out unfit houses. By 1937, under the 1930 Slum Clearance Act, one person in four in the town lived in a council house. The housing schemes, though large, have still that element of community with personality, something often lacking in newly developed areas of other towns and cities. The Council also supports private housing by taking up sites, clearing and servicing them and then feuing them to private owners. The rents policy is to have no housing deficit beyond the statutory rate contribution (which works out at between £6,000 and £7,000 per annum). The Council's tenants co-operate with rent collection to a unique degree: collection figures are something like 99 per cent and on occasion 100 per cent. A vigorous housing policy is important to the town, as its population is now over 5,300 and still growing, mainly at the expense of the rural areas. Development plans at present envisage a 1981 population of about 9,100 persons within the parish boundary and including the burgh.

Stornoway is an island town and is an island's town: its rhythms of life are those of the island, regular and timed by nature, but with an added syncopation—the result of an urban outlook. In this context, Gaelic is the language, though English is the lingua franca. Deeper still in the methods used for communication is a kind of patois based on Gaelicised English, Anglicised Gaelic, with some other words that defy investigation into their origin. Many words find their natural forebears in Scots, American and the maritime tongues of Europe, which might be expected in view of Stornoway's importance as a sea-port of significance a century or two ago. The Stornoway language, as spoken by true-born natives, recognisable anywhere by another native, reflects the life of the cosmopolitan, sea-faring people.

Apart from its industrial opportunities, Stornoway has many of the more sophisticated urban facilities that people everywhere seem to crave, particularly with regard to education. The senior

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

vision of adequate educational facilities in remote spots becomes increasingly difficult.

In its time Scarp has contributed more per head of population to the professions than has any other community of similar size. The last of the native Scarp population left the island in November 1971 : two families totalling seven people. The island has now attracted the attentions of a hippie community.

Scalpay

Scalpay Island, on the east side of Harris, was formerly occupied by two or three tacksmen in succession before being 'crofted out'. About 1843 the Harris factor settled twenty crofting families who managed to make a fair living there, but five years later another twenty families were added; some had been evicted from the island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris. This led to some subdivision of the available land. The 1861 population was 388, but the figure rose to a peak of 624 in 1921; in 1951 it had declined to 541. It is now in the region of 450.

Island Scalpay is in fact one of the few places in the Highlands and Islands area in which the normal trends associated with remote regions are operating in reverse. The island despite its smallness—it is a mere 3 miles long and 1½ miles across—supports a thriving and dynamic community and is the envy of its neighbours. Scalpay is retaining its young folk; and it boasts some of the finest homes in the Hebrides. From the agricultural point of view it is not greatly different from other islands in the Hebrides. Its forty crofts produce a good crop of oats; but less than 20 acres of the land are re-seeded.

The land being as poor as it is, the men of Scalpay have turned their faces to the sea—for a living, not for emigration. Scalpay has the largest number of full-time fishermen and a total of thirty-three boats, twelve of which are ringnetters of over 40 ft. Native enterprise is also shown in the ship-owning firm whose vessels carry freight and passengers to many parts of Scotland and on occasion to the Continent. A Harbour Association was formed on the island in 1966 to work for local amenities for fishermen and

10 THE OTHER ISLANDS

361 162 175 178 182 THE continued evacuation of islands is a problem peculiar to Scotland. In the eighteenth century some 8 per cent of Scots lived on islands; today the figure is less than 2 per cent. Island populations today account for about 30 per cent of the total Highland (crofting counties) population. The difficulty for most islands is the relationship between population density and potential for economic development.

As though reflecting the relationship of man to man on Lewis-with-Harris—keeping together in community for survival—the other islands round the larger island mass have played some role at one time or another in recorded history. Most of the socially-significant islands of Harris have been described in Chapter 9. Lewis has very few, and these are mostly far-flung oceanic outliers.

North Rona

133 131 To begin at the northern point of the Lewis parish, about 45 miles NNE of the Butt of Lewis is North Rona, a block of horne-blende schist with pegmatite intrusions. Though the island has [361] never figured in any Census reports, since the Census began, it has been inhabited from time to time. Of about 300 acres in extent, it is cliff-bound and reaches 355 ft at its highest point. It lies in a part of the Atlantic where a deep swell seems perpetual, and landings can be difficult.

361 175 Dean Monro comments: 'Towards the north northeist from Lewis, three score myles of sea, lyes and little ile callit Roney, laiche maine land, inhabit and manurit be simple people, scant of ony religione.' The Dean's 'simple people' were no recent settlers. They were in fact the continuation of a community which had inhabited North Rona for at least 700 years previously. Tradition has it that the first inhabitant was St Ronan, who built a [712] small monastic cell or hermitage there some time during the eighth century, but there may have been earlier inhabitants.

361 162 *175 [262] [427] The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars was the staple diet of the St Kildans; the oil and feathers were the vital exports that paid the island rent to MacLeod of Harris, the owner of the group. These exports also helped to pay for the purchase of such foodstuffs as salt, sugar and tea, and other items which the island could not itself supply. The St Kildans owned some hundreds of sheep, the wool being spun and woven into [236] tweed, and a few cattle were also kept. But the seabirds were the foundation of the island economy.

The factor which led ultimately to the desertion of the island group was isolation. The community there was throughout its history undoubtedly the most isolated in the British Isles, though until the present century this mattered little to the St Kildans. All that was deemed necessary for the continuation of the com- [438] munity was that, once a year, MacLeod of Harris should send his factor over from Skye to collect the island goods that were to be sold, and to bring with him those provisions which would see them through another twelvemonth. However, as the demand for • [178] the island's products declined, communications became more im- [464] portant: to support the family a man had to leave to find work on the Scottish mainland. Large-scale emigration began in 1852 [167] when thirty-six islanders (with State aid) left for Australia. Island life was punctuated by loss of life; boating disasters and cliff-falls in particular deprived the community of the vital male elements needed for survival. Tetanus infantus, known on St Kilda as the [164] 'eight-days' sickness', strangled two of every three babies born; [165] this disease ravaged the island for almost a century and again struck harder at the male sex. About 1810 the population was about 200, a definite overcrowding. By 1861 it had fallen to 78; in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 73. A decade later it was nil.

484 361 *175 Isolation tended to make the St Kildans a human menagerie. With the improvement in boat services, St Kilda became a 'must' on tourist itineraries. The tourist trade took on an economic importance for the population after July 1877, when the *Dunera Castle* steamed north and west for a voyage to the 'romantic Western Isles and lone St Kilda'. The steamers continued to call throughout the three summer months annually for sixty years, their passengers eager to buy souvenirs: tweed, quern stones, spinning wheels, stuffed birds and eggs; indeed, anything to remind them,

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the 484 hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the 361 world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psycho- 175* logical evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'One [155] cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with pocketsful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a [434] profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required 436 money as an exchange commodity because the original native 178 • produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered [232] steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St [364] Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with [461] others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the food they required, provided communications with the mainland were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, as [161] St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to 166 the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to the care and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be repeated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island [712] is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, 175* poor folk, scarece learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin 181 published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the company of a minister who had been summoned to the island to denounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180 inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Baptist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy [825] and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds,

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As in other Highland areas, some of the island's problems have 114
become so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. They have been
the *raison d'être* of so many commissions and committees of in-
quiry that their existence is now almost forgotten by the islander
—if indeed he ever understood their nature. Some results have [671]
been seen, such as the Crofters Act of 1886 which gave High- [175] *
land crofters security of tenure, perhaps the most valuable [429]
measure of the last century or two. But somehow all things have
not progressed so well since that date; at any rate not so fast that
crofting, for instance, is now seen to be an economic form of
land use of benefit to both local community and nation at large.
Many problems have been virtually ignored by successive central 657
Governments; at least, remoteness seems to qualify a topic for
the office 'pending' tray. It has yet to be fully realised that the
island, with other Highland communities, is part and parcel of
the area generally administered from London and Edinburgh,
and merits as much attention to its welfare as other European
governments, such as Norway, give to their remote mainland and
island communities.

As usual, charity and self-help begin at home, and one of the 178 •
most dramatic changes in island life has been the result of the [241]
agricultural revolution of recent years which is changing once-
brown moors to lush green pastures: reclamation by re-seeding.
This revolution is still going on. Lewis crofters in particular are
showing the way, with other Highland crofting areas following
suit. The change in the Lewis scene is being emphasised by the [245]
planting of shelter-belts of hardy trees and the first of the new [313]
plantations of timber-producing trees. These show the promise of
the future: a lively future for a lively community. The fishing in- [228]
dustry also has a future, brighter on the horizon than it has been
for many a poor year. The Harris Tweed industry, the staple em- [288]
ployment-source in Lewis, is maintaining its ability to retain the
interest of the market. And tourism, once a perfunctory and [484]
casual affair, promises to emerge as a useful sector in the
economy. There are, in addition, many small pockets of native
initiative and enterprise which, given sufficient encouragement

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• 178 and practical support, could win through to make marks on the island scene.

185 A significant event occurred in 1964: the establishment of
654 the Highlands & Islands Development Board. This was Britain's
433 first regional development authority run by members who are
either full- or part-time. The Board is grant-aided and has two
broad functions: to improve the social and economic condition
of the Highland people and assist in making the region more
significant in a national context. The Board's attention in the
Western Isles has been concentrated in the expansion of the
[184] fishing industry and the development of tourism. In both these
[505] fields there has been a considerable success: upwards of 100,000
visitors per annum visit the islands; and a fleet of over thirty
boats, equipped with the latest gear, operate out of Stornoway.

433 Also in 1964 was produced the Development Plan for the
County of Ross & Cromarty. So far as Lewis was concerned, the
185 Plan was based on an average decrease in population of some
[167] 1,500 persons for every year in the future of the island. This, if
carried to its logical conclusion, will see complete desertion in
fifteen years or so! However, even if nothing further is done to
halt emigration, particularly in the landward areas of the island,
the population will remain around a stable 15,000. The
County Development Plan contains much food for thought, but
as with most county plans, does not indicate actual development
projects. Rather, it lists all the resources of the island for the
attention of those concerned. Potential developments include the
setting up and exploitation of predominantly-fulltime crofts,
shell-fishing, and inshore white fishing, herring and offshore white
fishing, forestry, tourism and holiday accommodation, minerals,
peat utilisation, hill-land improvement, marine reclamation and
seaweed resources. This list is significant and merits the attention
of the Highlands & Islands Development Board.

Harris, on the other hand, presents possibilities on a much
smaller and limited scale. However, there are expansion potentials
in tweed, knitwear, and craft industries, with tourism promising
to be a good base for the island's economy. As the age-structure
of the crofting population changes, there will be a useful re-
organisation and enlargement of existing holdings to make for

• 178
668

[For information on the Reformation and its effect upon the church in Scotland, see category 798, pp. 193-198.]

174 The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely
184 significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to
179 developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in
55 ferm-toun and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons
178 throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed
121 out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat
185 scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged in planning for post-war housing and community life. But sound planning must be based on survey, long overdue; though elementary, this key map appears to be the first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units of farm-team and township that Scots rural society must be rebuilt, region by region.

184 One further contrast between the farming and the
241 crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the
361 types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-
166 nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World—return home to their native township when they can, and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand, though they usually spend their lives in the county or region of their birth, have been on the move from farm to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the
(464) English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new hiring, the married once a year. Families were annually uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all!
[922] The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to
[178] check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence many men have few ties, their wives still fewer. The children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they could look back to no "Auld Lang Syne", of which the

i [see p. 16 -- analyst]

verses would ring false to them! Before 1939, two-fifths of the rural pupils of most non-crofting counties came or went in the school year—most of them the children of farm servants. Their schooling suffered, and their teachers might be reduced to despair; indeed it is to educationists, rather than to agriculturists, that we owe a survey of these facts. When they leave home to be 'hired', the young folk learn to fend for themselves but may suffer in the learning: stability of character and endurance in attachment are hard to form.

It would be difficult to overstress the tragedy of the long-continued break-up of rural communities in the Lowlands. From the later years of the English invasions, as when Major wrote with his knowledge of Scotland in 1500, this break-up continued through the early, largely unrecorded phases of the agricultural revolution, down to the later phases from 1750 or 1800 to the present day. No one who has worked with fellow-servants on Scots farms will under-estimate their sterling qualities. But the break-up, the tragedy, happened. It was boldly sketched by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston (to 1929) and verified by Miss I. F. Grant (1924 onward). Beginning from intimate study of well recorded and surviving ways in the Highlands and the Hebrides, Miss Grant realised the significance of earlier Lowland life in the farm-hamlet or ferm-toun, as Lowlanders themselves could hardly have done. Comprehension of this break-up of community brings out the value of the enduring elements of communal life still recorded, remembered and surviving in the 'Outermost' Hebrides, at the core of 'the North and West'.[1]

[1] Ideas outlined in this section are developed in A. Geddes (1938–54). Detailed references will be found in the Bibliography.

3. *The Significance of Lewis-and-Harris*

181 The Highlands and Western Isles today, "The Land
184 of the Gael", may thus be grouped as two regions. The
361 North-west is mainly of 'township crofting' and distant
101 from the Lowlands—the other mainly of farming, living
[197] nearer to the Lowlands and in touch with them. Through-
[178] out the North-west, Gaelic is still the common speech, even of the children. The old community feeling is strong; it is that, indeed, which keeps the people attached to the villages.

101 From the plains and cities of the South it is a far cry
131 to *Ultima Thule*, as Lewis, like Zetland, is sometimes called even by its own people. Lying some twenty-five to thirty miles across the Minch from the mainland, its nearest links
[496] with the South lie even farther away. From Stornoway it is some seventy-five miles to Kyle of Lochalsh, the railhead for Inverness and North-east Scotland, and 100 miles to Mallaig, the railhead for Fort William and Glasgow. To reach Stornoway over the moors from the west coast
[504] townships is itself a journey. Stornoway is the Island's only port, though passengers are put off at Tarbert, at
[177] Stockinish and at Rodel in Harris. Isolation has always been a dominant factor in the Island's life. From pre-
[178] history through the Middle Ages to modern times, that factor played its changing part.

178 In Lewis, conditions had changed less than elsewhere during the last century; for example, the *New Statistical Account* of South-west Argyll in 1830-35 reads like a description of conditions in Lewis as they were until after 1914! Hence, as already said, the contrasts are very great indeed in the aspect of the country, its fields and houses, and in the number, character and ways of the people. It

178 follows that as the descendants of the crofters of the South-
west and East Highlands could and did change their ways within the space of a lifetime, so those of the North-west
114 Highlands and the Isles can change too. Given the co-
178 operative leadership which is arising in the twentieth century and was totally lacking in the ideals and training
185 typical of the nineteenth, that change may be not only for the better in the development of 'individual' qualities, such as the power to do hard work for 'success'; change may also maintain and develop what still remains of the old characteristics which gave the community life of the Gael, with all its faults, elements of beauty and sanctity.

In an article on "The Human Geography of Lewis", A. Stevens (1925) described the Island and people. His comparison of the cold, wet 'desert' of Lewis and its corn-patch 'oases' with the desert of heat and drought
[182] and its oases of palms, is ingenious and suggestive. One
[241] might follow up the analogy and compare irrigation to the drainage of moorland and its fertilisation, which form the means of reclamation at home, and draw parallels between their immediate results on the land and the ultimate effects on work and social life.

174 Until the agricultural revolution, the unwritten story
241 of Scotland was in great part that of a long, uneven struggle
134 to make sour soils fit for cultivation and productive of a livelihood. Most of all is this true for North-west Scot-
178 land; moreover, there, for eighty years past, the struggle has been a losing one, in the sense that arable land has been
241 decreasing and rough pasture deteriorating. In spite of
134 subsidies, the 'marginal farms' of Scotland have a tough fight. Yet lands from Scandinavia to Finland and North
178 Germany are giving a lead in peat-reclamation, where
[654]

241 Scotland had begun to lag since her pioneering ef
134 1750 to 1880.

178 Fortunately, Scotland is now recognising tha
[654] reclamation, on the one hand, and the improv
rough grazing, or at least its maintenance, on t
[185] there lies a problem of national importance. M
half the land surface of the country consists of
311 and heath land used for grazing, not includi
forests' from which sheep had been altogether
The arable land of Scotland is less than one-six
whole, with about one-twelfth in addition under p
grass. Moreover, since most of the enclosed land
from the area of rough grazing, the latter is partl
The difficulties of soil and sea and of the whole
situation are great, and must be understood.

(B) THE ISLAND LANDSCAPE, LAND-F AND GEOLOGY

1. *Aspects of the Isle*

131 Lewis-and-Harris, the most northerly isl
Outer Hebrides, and the largest, is roughly lozeng
Although only thirty miles in width, it is over s
in length. Attached to Harris parish is the lit
[103] Berneray, half a dozen miles farther south. I
the stranger that, while the archipelago of t
[823] Hebrides is best known to the inhabitants as "
Island", Lewis (or the Lews) and Harris, whic
form one island, are spoken of as separate islan
nothing could be more natural. Before the

[113] [1] "The Long Island", Gaelic *An Eilean Fada*, as a name f
Hebrides has the sanction of traditional usage, as Alexander
noted in his Introduction to *Carmina Gadelica* (vol. i, 1900; an

38 Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

Before the making of roads, it was ease of sailing which united island peoples and their territories. One can wade or drive, at low tide, over the fords that unite the Isle of Benbecula with the two Uists, North and South: in fact, a bridge now connects Benbecula with South Uist. But only the roughest of hill tracks led through the hills of North Harris from the 'Tarbert' or Isthmus of Harris to the nearest habitation at the head of Loch Seaforth or Loch Erisort, in the Lews. This is a distance of some twenty miles, or a fair day's tramp for an unloaded man, and far too much for a return journey in one day. Hence separation of territory and name was natural. This separation no longer exists as there is now a good 'bus service from Rodel via Tarbert to Stornoway which links Harris with the daily Kyle to Stornoway steamer. In this book, the Island, or the Islanders, refers to Lewis-and-Harris with its people, as one.

Lewis is included in Ross-shire (of which the county town is Dingwall, north of Inverness) and Harris in Inverness-shire, together with the rest of the 'Long Island'. The county boundary cuts across the six-mile isthmus north of the hills of North Harris, from the in-reaching Loch Seaforth WNW. to Loch Resort (Fig. 8). All the Outer Hebrides are now included in the Parliamentary constituency of the Western Isles. Proposals to unite the Island under one District Council, or the Outer Hebrides under one County Council, are more favourably viewed in Stornoway than in Harris or the Southern Isles. Harris forms one civil parish, while Lewis is divided into four: Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs. The Lewis parish boundaries traversing the moors are inset in Fig. 8 so that their trends can be readily grasped, and the inhabited portions of the parishes quickly located (p. 50).

these communities of 'fisher-crofters' settled at the meeting of sea and land, yet differences of topography and situation are still accompanied by differences of emphasis in their dual way of life. Although insularity might lead one to presuppose homogeneity, actually the seaways by which an island may be reached may bring groups of different race to land at different spots, each spot appropriate to their way of life. Differing social economies may develop there, and differences of race may be maintained; divergences are found along with the convergence due to the elements common to the whole island and to its history. From prehistory to the coming of Leverhulme we shall find this crossing of influences in the Island microcosm, the Island drama.

2. *Structure and Rock-types of the Western Highlands and Isles*

In Fig. 3 are sketched those features of structure and rock-type which have guided the work of ages of erosion, influencing both the 'plan' and coastlines of Western Scotland and the surfaces and scenery of the land. In their turn, both surface and mineral composition have influenced the life of plants and animals. This sketch map should be compared to an atlas map of relief, settlements and routes. This less familiar aspect has been selected both because rock-type is a factor in the causation of land-forms and soils, and because rock structure is basic to the forms and coasts of the mainland and the Isles.

The parallelism of the main trends on either side of the Minch is seen in the structural boundaries of its coasts, which are of Archaean rock or Archaean foundation (A on Fig. 3), as are Coll and Tiree, and South-west Islay.

133 most northerly outlier, yet, in the main, one is struck
not by the variety of rocks (except for the 'Stornoway
Beds') but by their homogeneity. It is structure, causing
the uplift of certain masses relatively to others, more than
differences in rock-type, which has guided the work of
erosion, in sculpturing both the Island's plan and the
details of its forms. Submergence of the land has fretted
the coastline into a zigzag line of ridge-capes alternating
with valley-mouths flooded or 'drowned' by the sea, as
inlet and loch.

316 Historically the gneisses were of little value. The fact
[174] that they tend to split still helps the Islander in building,
as it helped his ancestors when they raised the great stone
[172] circles at Callanish on East Loch Roag. Except where
they are very basic (non-acid) in composition, they make
[135] poor road metal. Yet the gneisses are not quite devoid
of economic minerals, which include masses of pegmatite,
and the only large body of anorthosite or lime-feldspar
[439] rock in Britain, conceivably a source of alumina for glass
manufacture.[2] Two feldspar quarries opened at Lingarbay
and Northton in South Harris in 1941 employed sixty men
during the war, the material being despatched from Loverburgh for use in the Staffordshire Potteries in the manu-
• [178] facture of porcelain insulators. The higher grade mineral
in Scandinavia and the better transport facilities there led
to closing the quarries, with little hope of their reopening.[3]

4. *Land-forms and Sea Floor*

133 To the faulted structure is due not only the Island
plan, but the highland in middle and south, uplifted rela-
[113]

[2] C. F. Davidson, "The Archaean Rocks of the Rodel District", *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.*, vol. 61, 1943, pp. 71-118.
[3] J. B. Caird, "The Isle of Harris", *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67, 2, 1951, p. 92.

133 clay is exposed, leaving what is vividly called 'skinned'
314 land. And where drift is exposed, the mineral constituents
134 are leached out, and a hard 'moor pan' is left a few inches
[352] below the surface.

Seen from the edge of the crofts, the typical 'skinned
134 lands' of bare, blue or brownish clay, littered with stones,
131 suggest a desert. Often, only a few blades of grass or tufts
of heather grow on them. Indeed, 'skinned land' seems
at first too mild a term, for on it the stones—thickest on
top when undisturbed, and bleached by the acids of the
peat that overlay them—suggest the prophet's 'field of
bones'. One can only ask, is the rest of his vision ever
to be fulfilled and life to spring again? In some hilly parts
to south and west, not only the 'skin', the topmost layer
of peat, but the very soil, the flesh as it were, is still being
[144] stripped bare to the bone, the actual rock. The evacuation
of the inlet of Bernera Beag (Uig) was largely due to this
stripping. In the more level parts to the north, however,
roadside pits show sections of clay with few stones, covered
with perhaps six inches of clay with many stones. It is
this top layer which gives the skinned land such a hopelessly
stony appearance, and shows that reclamation is less
miraculous than it seems.

134 With the coming of carts and lorries the increasing use
of shell sand has become possible, whether for spreading
242 on the land or for slipping into pockets, together with
• [178] fertilizers, for potato seed. As to soils, shell sand and
[493] boulder clay possess complementary qualities in texture
and chemical composition. The shell sand of the machars
provided an early home for man, the light soil allowing
rye, a poor variety of oats, and herbage, to ripen early
and mature in late, wet seasons when the clays are sodden
with rain. Yet the sand itself is so light that drought is

175 reclamation, which Dean Monro has described as he saw it.
311 Technique and economic return must be balanced against
185 the factors of nature. Although natural conditions are
[182] difficult, they may not form a complete explanation of the
relative arrest of reclamation in the nineteenth century;
for here separation from the agricultural advances of the
Lowlands by barriers of mountain and sea caused the re-
tention of unprogressive methods until the wave of agri-
cultural improvement had spent itself by the middle of
• [178] last century. To this cause must be added other influences
[171] contrasted to those leading to peasant advance in the rest of
Western Europe: the political history of the Gaeldom
after 1745, the revolution in land tenure and in the social
life of the upper classes, the commercial, industrial and
imperial development of Great Britain. All these factors
help to explain the contrast offered to the Lews by western
Denmark and western Norway, lands in which the soil
and climate are comparable to those of the Island. Yet
reclamation is proceeding, as on skinned land at Ness,
where plots of ground have been steadily broken in by
pick and by spade or plough.

226 Settlement and agricultural land are placed around
[361] the coasts with their fishing grounds. In spite of what
311 was often said—that the Lewisman is and has always been
[241] primarily a fisherman—fishing alone is not enough to
account for this distribution, for the agricultural conditions
on the whole are also best along the coasts, or were so for
early settlers. As Stevens remarked, the light sandy
'machar' lands are there, and the fringe of partially im-
proved soil close by; drainage is, on the whole, better,
while shell-sand and sea-ware are to be had for manure.
241 The sea-ware also serves still as fodder, while one or two
824 sorts are sometimes cooked for human food; carragheen

103 Harris; South Harris is ringed by a road, extended
639 recently to take in the more isolated 'Bays' townships.
175
491

2. *The Crofts and Crofting Ways*

241 The prevailing modern unit of cultivation and tenure
in the Islands is the croft, the land held individually by
each small landholder or 'crofter'. The Anglo-Scottish
term croft (Gaelicised as *croit*) meant steadily cropped,
infield land, manured and never left fallow, and distin-
guished from the unmanured outfield with its long fallows
[175] and poor out-turn. This term came into common use in
the Highlands and Isles in the eighteenth and nineteenth
[827] centuries with the splitting up of the older unit of cultiva-
tion and tenure, the small joint farm, with its little team of
[423] fellow-workers or 'small tenants'. By 1830 group tenure
had been replaced by individual holding of crofts, but with
the pasture still held in common, as it is to the present day,
and an allotted strip of the machar.

The Lewis croft consists of a nominal five acres of
crops, of oats, barley (or bere) and potatoes, sometimes
with recent additions of turnips, and more often a small
175 hay crop. The word 'nominal' is used because during
426 the nineteenth century the croft had often been subdivided
between two or more sons, without addition by reclamation
to bring each subdivision up to the acreage of the original
croft. Moreover, in the hilly southern part of the Island,
cultivation is in little patches instead of in continuous fields.
There, narrow ditches have been dug and the soil heaped
up to form little ridges about ten feet by four, banked up
• [178] by turf. These are known as *feannagan* in Gaelic, or in
English, 'lazy-beds'—a term in use as early as the time
of Burt, two hundred years ago. Thus only about two-

241 thirds of an area nominally under crops actually grows
them. It need hardly be said that such crofts do not
support a family.

The means of cultivation have been either pony-drawn
ploughs in the smoother north, or else the foot-plough
[407] (*cas chrom*), and the straight spade in the hilly south. I saw
the almost obsolete foot-plough used on hilly ground near
Rodel, Harris, in 1919. In the smoother lands from Stornoway and Barvas northward, however, the crofts then were
already laid out in parallel strips, no more than twelve to
fifteen feet wide, divided by open drains. Open drains have
increasingly been converted into underground drains over
which pony and plough can pass. The cattle feed on the
rough pasture or on the grass about the crofts, supple-
mented by hay cut with a sickle from the grassy edges of
• [178] the 'lazy-beds'. Quite recently, rotation grass has been
[407] grown on the arable strips, and mown for hay by the scythe.
Tractors were introduced in war-time, in 1942.

233 In many of the villages, cattle are still taken to the
221 summer pastures out on the moors some miles from the
311 crofts. Those who herd the cattle live in huts or shiel-
ings, annually re-roofed. In the congested 'Point dis-
trict' (the Eye Peninsula), the cattle must go to the moor
on the main island, or be taken on to their owners' crofts
from late May or early June to about the 10th of August,
in order to clear the common grazing and allow the grass
to recover. This migration takes place, of course, because
233 of the restricted area of common pasture. On the other
311 hand, pasture is plentiful in the parish of Lochs, lying all
round some of the villages, and here the use of the shieling
has been practically abandoned. In almost all villages,
with the exception of those of the Eye Peninsula, there is
less summer pasturing than formerly; fewer cattle are sent

233 away, and for a shorter period. The sheep wander over
311 the moors all the year round, though they hang about the
crofts when the winter is severe.

221 A comparison with mountainous Norway or the Alps
132 and their high summer pastures suggests itself; but in
171 Lewis altitude is almost negligible, and the shielings may
lie only two to five hundred feet above that of the crofts
133 beside the shore. The difference between winter and
311 summer is in any case less, snow being rare and the condi-
tions being such that even in summer the shieling pasture
remains poor. Hence it is that while modern Norse and
Alpine economy still maintain the summer pasture, the
shielings have died out in the Highlands and are slowly
decaying in Lewis. Seasonally, stock are transported over
longer distances, from Highland to Lowland pastures.

181 Reasons for the continuance of these and other crofting
• [178] ways, or for their abandonment, are not of an economic
[461] order alone: not only the remuneration received for labour,
but the feeling for the work counts enormously. Visiting
a couple of distant shielings in the summer of 1919, I
found that two lads newly home from the Navy had come
up from their village 'for a holiday', bringing rods for
trout-fishing and high spirits for play. By day they fished
or flirted. By night they slept in one of the two shielings,
while the two laughing lasses they had come to visit shared
the none too wide couch of the other shieling with the
two older women there. One of these was a matron with a
motherly twinkle in her eye, the other was a spinster in
whose eyes there shone a memorably vivid light; she was
the sister (as I found later) of a noted minister on the main-
land. The bare simplicity of shieling life is traditionally
softened by fellowship and a gaiety that is not beyond
[538] control. A Lowland poet once coined a famous phrase,

181 "the lone shieling of the misty island". Traditional
[539] Gaelic songs tell rather of shielings grouped within hail,
[533] with their sweetheating and good cheer!

3. *Crops and Stock*, circa 1938

• 178 As the thirties mark a transition between early condi-
241 tions prevailing until 1939 and those of 1947–53 (Appendix I),
the present tense is used.

311 Of the Island's 528,000 acres, including deer forests
632 on the Harris border partly grazed, there are 24,000
acres of arable and grass land. Barvas parish leads with
6500 acres, then come Stornoway, Uig and Lochs, Harris
being last with 3300 acres. Roughly one-third of the
Island's arable and grass land, or 32 per cent, is per-
manent grass, chiefly machar, with a maximum of 39
per cent in Uig, but a minimum of 9 per cent in rocky
311 Lochs, most of this on one small farm. About 10 per
242 cent of the arable and grass land area is given to hay
production; of this, rather less than one-third is rotation
hay grown on the plough rigs or parks, and rather more
than two-thirds is hay from permanent grass. Lochs,
lacking machar, has 20 per cent hay, while Barvas, better
[632] off for machar, has only 4 per cent. Even this proportion
of rotation hay shows an increase on the crofts since 1919.
Stornoway parish, it will be noted, occupies an inter-
mediate place, but if the facts for Point (Eye) district were
contrasted with those for the villages along the machar,
the differences between them would emerge clearly. As
it is, they can be guessed from the vegetation map showing
311 the machar. Oats is the chief crop, and occupies 33 per
242 cent or just one-third of the arable and grass of the Island;
excluding the permanent grass, it constitutes half the crop.

311 In Lochs it occupies only one-quarter of arable and grass.
243 Barley, mostly four-row, or bere, is less important as a food today than formerly, and now occupies only 6 per cent, and, though it reaches 13 per cent in Barvas, with its
[632] machar, hardly any is grown in Lochs. Rye (*seagal*), still found in the machars of the Uists, is little grown in the Lews. Potatoes grow well everywhere, occupying about 15 per cent of the area, though townships with plentiful machar land grow most. Turnips are being gradually introduced, and though their liability to disease has somewhat discouraged the crofters, the proportion is now about
311 2·3 per cent. Cabbages occupy a small area (1 per cent),
244 latterly along with lettuces, carrots and the like.

Rotation hay and turnips being almost unused up to
241 1919, oats was grown repeatedly before rotation with barley or potatoes, and with no bare fallow. While heavy manuring maintaining the fertility, the crop by July was ablaze with corn marigold (and other weeds) through which the thin oats struggled to rear its head. Thickly sown, the return was exceedingly small. Except for the machar (if any) there was no 'out-field' as elsewhere in old Scotland.

The smallness of the crofts and the poorness of the crops explain the very small total return. Hence little oats is now ground for meal and the potatoes do not last
[198] through the year, though few are sold. The low out-turn
[244] also explains why even fodder is scarce, though much more of the crop is secured for wintering than formerly. Summing up, a croft of 6 acres—though a little too large to be quite typical—includes a couple of acres of grass and hay, almost as much of oats, and the remainder bears potatoes and barley, with turnips, cabbages and garden produce.

[194] In the past, the cropped land was unfenced and un-
[178] walled. At present, the rule is to encourage the con-

241 struction of a single ring fence round the croft land, which also circumscribes a good deal of rough grass, the ground
[178] being generally rough in parts. Individual crofts are fenced only where exceptionally large, or when the pos-
[654] sessor is unusually enterprising or is isolated. Depart-
[632] mental help is given in the provision of fencing materials for a township, the crofters supplying labour. As the
233 animals are allowed to graze freely in winter, this limits crops to those sown and harvested in the summer half-year
241 —a serious matter for any man of enterprise who cannot afford a fence of his own. Cattle kept on the croft when the fields are under crops have to be either tethered or driven to a common pasture. A drystone dyke may enclose a small patch of garden, rarely well tended, the school gardens providing a laudable exception.

233 Shortly before 1939, the stock included under 1000 agricultural horses and well over 10,000 cattle (of which more than 6500 were milch-cows), but practically no pigs. Sheep number 42,000 ewes, or 94,000 ewes and followers in June. Thus there are 2·5 cattle on an average holding, of which more than 1·5 are milch cows; and there are
233 half a score ewes or about a score of sheep in June. The
178 size and the quality of the cattle have greatly improved since first I visited the island in 1919; at that time the mongrel Highland breed must have been the very poorest in Britain. The Blackface sheep are small, either through underfeeding or because of traces left from the old, smaller Hebridean breed, or from both causes. On an average there is, or was, one horse, or pony, to every five or six
231 crofter holdings, but their number is much reduced.
235 Actually, such Island averages for horses and sheep are somewhat misleading. In particular, either there are more
[182] horses than the average in a given district, or almost none,

511 coat, was thought to be supernatural. The fishing, too, is
226 of good standard: a typical annual catch including 1700
511 salmon, 5000 sea-trout and 1800 brown trout; and it was for this, as well as for the shootings, that the moors pertaining to the different shooting or fishing lodges and hotels
137 were bought at Lord Leverhulme's sale. The absence of
233 foxes was important to sheep-rearing before the introduction of guns, and is still a favourable factor.

5. *Sea-fishing*

226 Fish have always contributed to the diet of the Islesfolk,
198 whether they fished from coracles or boats, or with 'lang wands' from the shore as they still do, and as they did in
[262] the days of Dean Monro and, no doubt, right back to
[433] neolithic times. The relative importance of fishing and
[241] agriculture, however, has always varied according to place and time.

182 Fishing in modern and historic, and also in prehistoric,
226 times—to judge from the kitchen middens of Uig—has always flourished more where there were deep sea-lochs;
241 and settlement resulted, even though rocky hillsides made
[178] ploughing difficult or impossible. Conversely, agriculture
[192] has offered better opportunity on smooth coasts with a variety of soils, though fishing was poorer there. Thus the men of Stornoway Bay and Eye, of eastern lochs and of the Harris bays, like those of Loch Roag on the west, have long been partly fishermen. In the extreme north, too, men of Ness—with the chance of choosing their fishing grounds on the north, west or east of the island and with their little rocky port giving shelter, of a sort, from south-
[461] west gales—were good fishermen; they are good seamen
[829] still. "The fishing of the Barvas folk" is an old gibe,

182 meaning that the men of that village, and its immediate
226 neighbourhood, were the last to put to sea and the first to
241 return. The Barvas folk could retort that they would have been fools to do anything else on a straight exposed
[829] coast; and that anyway their pony-drawn ploughs were
[461] of more use than the foot ploughs of the rocky south. A form of provender taken indirectly from the sea was the sea-birds and eggs from the sea-cliffs and islets like Rona, north-west of the Butt. This helped to support a few families in St. Kilda and on the rocky Shiant Islands south-east of Harris.

195 Fishing remained backward and primitive, however,
226 until the nineteenth century. After developing in a promising way, it was checked before the First World
[178] War, and fell into decay during and after it. Decay has,
504 of course, been widespread. In 1935 the chief ports of
501 the East Coast, from Leith with Granton northward by Fraserburgh to Wick—a round dozen—had still an average of 250 to 300 vessels, 3000 in all. These were chiefly of steam or motor auxiliary power and valued (with fishing gear) at £2,750,000. Orkney and Zetland, too, had each their 300 boats. The whole West Coast, however, from Stornoway to Ballantrae, had only 2000 boats, valued at less than one-tenth of the fleet of the East, and worth only a fraction of this, to judge from prices in the open market. Nearly 400 boats were still on the register for Lewis and Harris (Stornoway district) and another 300 for the rest of the Outer Isles. But fewer put to sea each year, even from Stornoway itself.

182 A major drawback to herring fishing in the Stornoway
226 district is the uncertainty in the movements of the herring shoals. On the Clyde, moreover, herring can be sent fresh to the city but further north they must be cured. Whereas

182 on the East Coast and in Orkney and Zetland there are
226 comparatively well-marked seasons at which the herring can be expected, Stornoway appears to lie marginally to their main migrations. Thus the amount of the catch varies and curers have been disinclined to set up large curing stations such as those which deal with the enormous influx at the height of the season on the East Coast. A partial compensation is found in the continuance of herring fishing in winter.

226 While fishing from rowing boats for saith, lythe and
[178] mackerel still supplies food for home in summer, fishing with long lines in winter and spring brought cod and other white fish, sun-dried and salted, which became an important export though declining sharply after 1900 and of no importance since 1919. Lobster fishing is undertaken in small boats with two or three men from many townships, and two ponds have been reopened, one on Bernera, Lewis, and the other at Stockinish in Harris to store the lobsters. Conditions in 1935 and 1951–53 are compared in Appendix I (iii) and II (iii).

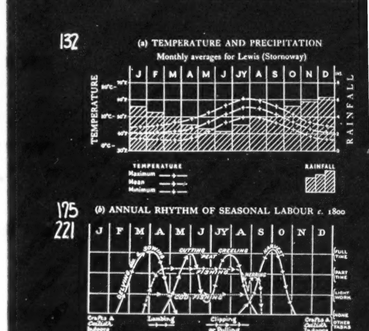
6. *The Annual Rhythm of Life*

221 It is appropriate here to show how fishing and crofting fitted together into the seasonal calendar a hundred years ago, and shortly before and after the war of 1914–18.
[182] The Lewisman's year shows its relationship to the seasons,
[175] with their temperature, rainfall and wind (Fig. 9). A
[178] century wrought changes: cod fishing declined as the herring fishing grew in importance; but the latter fell
[286] away again after the war. Partly as a result, weaving has become important, the men fitting into the idle periods between the brief peaks of spring and harvest work.

461 Men's work can be roughly estimated as either light,
462

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 22]

132



175 (b) ANNUAL RHYTHM OF SEASONAL LABOUR c. 1800
221

[178] (c) ANNUAL RHYTHM OF SEASONAL LABOUR 1900–1930

FIG 9

P. 71/

462 calve. For peat-cutting, the men took advantage of the
221 driest months, with a peak in May–June; and after the
peat stacked on the moor had dried through the midsummer
175 months, the women set out to creel it in, before the autumn rain should have made the bogs too soft, and stacked it near their doors. The fishing season usually closed with some herring fishing in August–September. The clipping, or rather pulling off, of the wool as it began to be shed, was done chiefly by men, in July–August. Then, too, the absence of fences made herding doubly necessary to protect the growing crops.

Some relief was given by the departure of many of the cattle to the shielings, where a few girls and women would stay through July and August, once men and women together had driven the cattle there. Cows kept at home were, and still are, tethered, or herded close at hand.
[178] Even now the hay harvest is insignificant, and until this century it hardly existed, except for a little put by in a
221 tiny barn. Towards the end of the summer, roofs were
175 stripped of their thin thatch, and fresh turf was laid on the light rafters and covered with barley straw. Then as now, harvest came in September–October, all helping in reaping the oats with the scythe or the sickle, and pulling up the barley by the root. With the onset of winter winds, rain and cold, the chief outdoor tasks of the year were over.

Throughout the year there were small jobs to be done, and in the past, owing to the imperfection of implements,
[462] constant small repairs were necessary. Indoors in winter
[286] the women prepared the wool together and wove it. Baskets were also made then, the coarser types by men. By all these means the essentials of subsistence were largely met, so long as the seasons were reasonably good. Except for salt for the housewife and iron for the smith, the food

178 The dress of the people has changed. The men com-
291 monly wear overalls instead of the fisherman's blue jersey. Till 1919 every woman and girl wore the black petticoat striped with colours, dark blouse, often with stays, and a knitted muffler round her neck and over her head. In summer the tartan shawl was more typical of Sundays than week days (Plate IX). In clothing, a change for the worse preceded a change for the better. The abandonment of homespun, rich in wet-resisting oil, for machine-made cloth was at first a loss; but oilskins, waterproofs, and rubber boots are a surer protection to all on land or sea. For much of the year the women went barefoot but for the *osanan*, worn except in warm weather; these are stockings leaving the sole bare and kept over the foot by a band passing under the middle toes. In a wet climate with much soft ground this was a sensible custom, for wet feet, easily washed, were warm and dry as soon as the women came indoors. They moved hardily, yet a little warily, for fear of stones and, when not fatigued, with a short, springing step which was a pleasure to watch. At the same time their feet were sorely tried by rough heather or stony ground, especially when they were carrying a laden creel. Now nearly all except elderly women wear shoes (or rubbers) and stockings. They have given up the dark, striped full skirt and petticoat worn till 1919 and adopted the skirt and blouse or jumper of the towns, or the short frock so much simplified since Edwardian times. In fine weather the head is bare, though often netted because of the wind.

[369] As dress changes, it is often said that the country copies the town; the reverse were truer, in essentials. By 1914 the townswoman had begun to copy her sister in the country, seeking for common sense and simplicity; and what is true of dress may be true of other things.

827 Islanders themselves sometimes talk of a lowered stamina and poorer health today than in the past. In-
178 breeding is widely held to account for this. Even if health
582 be really poorer, this explanation is untenable, since marriage outside the village has greatly increased in the
166 last century. Everywhere there is movement along the roads; a school placed half-way between two villages
[871] fosters early acquaintance; immigrants trickle in from the mainland, and emigrants occasionally marry beyond the Island. Moreover, the people of certain villages were transplanted in large numbers eighty years ago, as from
143 Valtos, Uig, northward to Shawbost. In any case, inbreeding itself does not produce degeneration; for though it may "fix" or bring out harmful tendencies where there is already some poor or dangerous strain, it can also fix good characteristics in a healthy population.[1]

178 All these changes were hastened and reinforced by two
177 new, revolutionary means. First, the physical mobility suddenly brought to an area with no railway by the motor-
166 car, van and light lorry-bus; then, towards the end of the inter-war years, the penetration of the Gaelic-speaking home by the ceaseless voices of broadcasting.

[113] [1] J. A. Thomson and P. Geddes, *Life: Outlines of General Biology*, 1931, vol. i, p. 473.

342 maintained—once an important aid to the surviv
343 starved cattle. A slope from the dwelling-quart to the byre facilitates drainage: normally the len
[178] homestead follows the slope. The separation from byre took place in Harris and Uist over seve ago by County Council decision, but in most even in 1947, about 40 per cent of the homest
342 of the primitive type, outwardly but little change separate cottage, as in Harris, is a shapely little roughly symmetrical and particularly pleasing walls are whitewashed below the pale-gold thatch

342 The surviving 'black house' is a stone struc
343 Stevens has written, "the rock of the island is
[314] work, and hard to win", and may be covered Undressed stones are collected and sometimes c
[324] long distances. Before dynamite came into us large stone could be broken up by lighting a pe it, then dashing cold water over it. By an o custom, the bachelors of a township used to help the house for one of their friends who was about
[333] Lime for mortar being absent from the island, are built dry. The wall is double, the space being filled with earth. Hence it may be six f
[354] at the base, though barely six feet high. Typical houses lacked windows, only a little light entering the smoke vent and through a piece of oiled skin, latterly by a pane of glass let into the thatch of or by a deep window aperture in the wall.

342 Roof building is a difficult problem in cons
343 on account of the scarcity of timber and the str the winds, and explains the narrow plan. Woo
313 scarce that when a house was abandoned the fram
[182] roof was removed, the spars being the tenant's
[422]
[178]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

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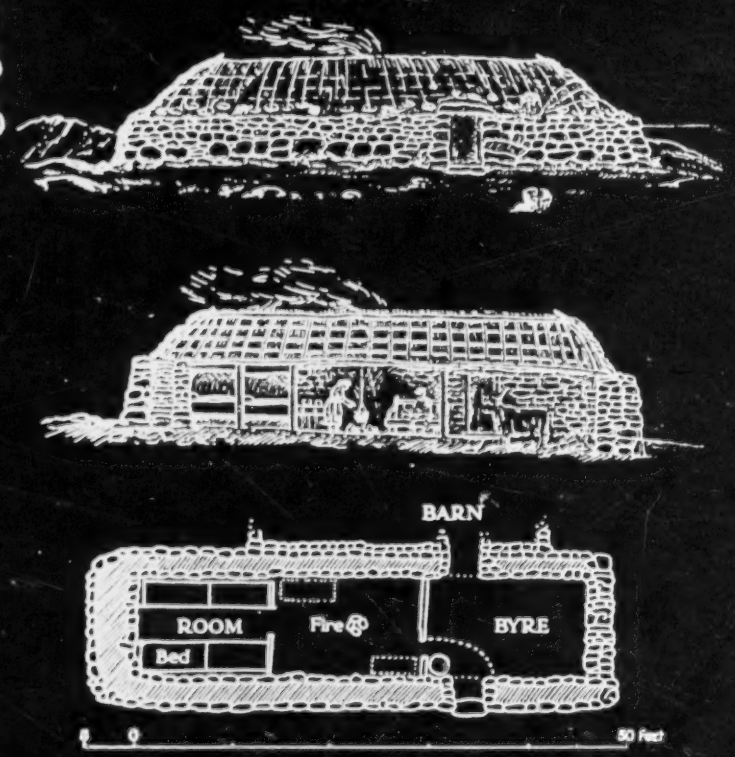
FIG. 10(A)



• [178] The primitive 'Black House', universal fifty years ago in Western Lewis. Very few now have the central fire. (In Harris, byres were separated from houses about 1880.)

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174
178
[361]

FIG. 10 (B) (*facing*).—The summer shieling, past and present, and the spring house. (From the writer's field sketches, and after Thomas Curwen, L. MacDougal and D. Macdonald, Tolsta.)

A. The modern turf shieling (*àirigh*). B. The ancient beehive shieling. C. The spring house (*tigh earraich*). D. Beehive shielings added to each other to form a single mass.

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• 178
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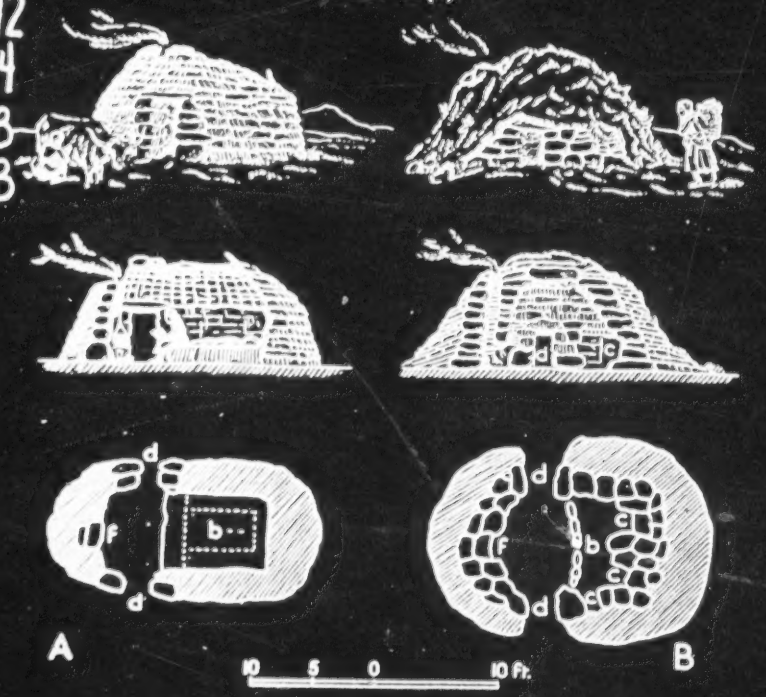
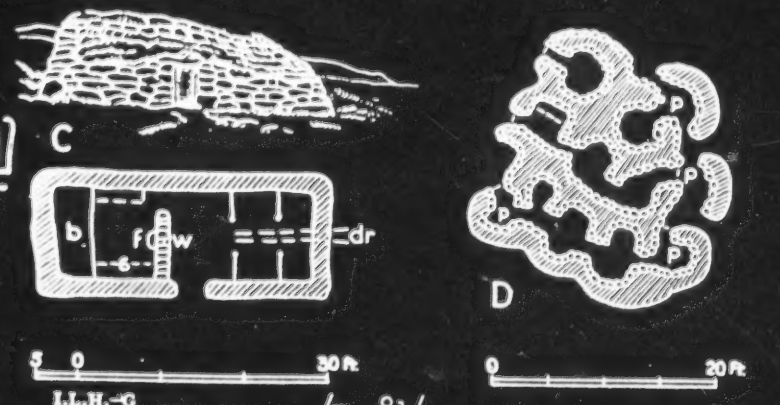
FIG. 10 (B)



b. bed. c. cupboard. f. fireplace. d. door. w. wall. s. settle. dr. drain. p. porch.

[361]



later times the landlord might supply timber. Long ago a main source of timber was the shore. The length of the house may be fifty to sixty feet, and the inside breadth ten to twelve feet, spanned by ten or a dozen pairs of couples on which are laid transverse 'cabers', which may be tree trunks, branches, odd wood, old oars, or, exceptionally, sawn timber. The tops of the walls are finished with turf, to keep the filling from being washed out, and to provide a smooth bearing for the couples, the ends of which are pushed into the turf so as to bear on the inner half of the wall; the rounded form and absence of overhanging eaves prevent a gale obtaining purchase on the roof, but a gable with chimney is now usual on the end wall of the inner room. The rafters are annually covered with turf, and the roof is thatched with thin, short barley straw, which was pulled up, not cut, after the ears were picked off, the roots gripping well, and the stem hanging outward and down.

The door gives direct access to the byre (*bathach*), through which one reaches the middle part, or living-room, 'at the fire' (*aig an teine*), from which there opens the inmost part, the 'room' with bed-closets. There is no ceiling to the primitive house, the row of box beds having tops to keep off the drips of rain water. In the middle of the earthen, sanded floor of the living-room is the circular hearth, built of stones with clay between, and raised a few inches, with no chimney.

In the byre, the manure accumulates from spring to spring, and a breach is made in the end of the house for the annual removal of the manure. There are no privies. Where there is fodder and straw in any quantity a barn is added. Stacks are rare because of wind. A low wall, continuous with the house and barn, may enclose the kale-

yard and occasionally a barley-kiln in which to dry grain before malting it for home-brewed beer. A 'black mill', with its primitive horizontal water-wheel, stands apart by some burnside.

Round the circular hearth, a large company can assemble in very social fashion for talk, story and song, the meeting *together* (*ceilidh*). By the transfer of the hearth from the centre and the substitution of a gable fireplace and regular chimney, the social circle is halved, while meantime the tales of the *ceilidh* are forbidden or forgotten. Happily the bench still stands against the wall, near to the open door, through which neighbours slip in with a word of greeting to find a customary welcome.

The dwellings on the summer pastures out on the moors show great variety, illustrated in Fig. 10(B). A simple type in use is built of turf and stones, lightly roofed with turf placed on spars. A more primitive 'beehive' type (which fell out of use before 1900) was stone-built and corbelled, probably for lack of timber. And whereas the lighter type always stands by itself, the corbelled type was added to until a dozen cells formed a single mass, suggestive of ancient 'neolithic' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney, described by Childe, and of the domed, corbelled huts of the ancient East.

A further type was the 'spring house' of Tolsta, NE. Lewis, in which both cattle and folk sheltered in spring a little way from the village, before going out to the more distant moor. Mr. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S., a native of Tolsta, informs me that the spring house was in use until 1936. He remembers vividly how life in the shieling restored health and colour after the winter.

2. *From Black House to White House*

Discontent with the old black house grew with the knowledge and experience of better housing in Stornoway and on the mainland. The congestion which developed during the nineteenth century meant that often one house was fouled by another above it, leading to typhoid epidemics. While the smoky atmosphere of the 'black houses' inflamed the eyes and irritated the respiratory system, the roof was high and the fire kept the air in motion by day, ventilating it to the chimney hole, while the lack of glass often made it necessary to work with the door open. The ravages of tuberculosis came towards the end of the nineteenth century, when Islanders went to our crowded towns and, not being immunised, were dangerously infected. Returning home, too often to linger and die in a house now provided with tiny, fixed panes which permitted a closed door and made it stuffier than before, patients spread infection. Flight to a tiny, air-tight wooden cabin or to a small white house of stone and lime often followed. The availability for the first time of planks and timber, a certain practice in boat-repairing, and possibly acquaintance at first- or second-hand with Canadian wooden houses, may have influenced the choice of wood. The early 'white' houses, with an attic lit by skylight, were airtight, for the windows were too often fixed or only opened at the bottom. The door was left open in warm weather, but it was not high enough to allow the escape of the stale, upper layer of air which the women breathed as they did their cooking and baking.

In the inter-war period, particularly in its last decade, the 'black house' was being abandoned, not for something worse, but far better. The Government-aided houses have

adequate air-space, and windows opening at the top and usually kept open by day, in which a woman can work at ease. The Department of Agriculture aided the building of a good standard type. The quality of joinery and masonry or concrete work improved, one fairly skilled workman usually directing the householder and friends as amateur builders. The cost of materials was met by a grant, generally of £250, half being repayable by an annual rent of £6: 10s. for twenty years. Repayments proceeded satisfactorily. No scheme organised by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland won so general a commendation as this of house improvement. It made good use of family initiative and responsibility, with neighbourly co-operation not called for upon a large scale, a township at a time, but in quite a small, personal way. Nevertheless, had more guidance been provided to the builders, the houses could have been really well built. For lack of this, perhaps, crofters increasingly prefer to pay for skilled work, though helping actively. Appendices I (ii) and II (ii) gives pre-War and post-War statistics.

3. *The Township and its Changing Plan*

Where absence of rock and boulder permits ploughing, the village land is laid out in a series of parallel strips, aligned with the slope. The road runs either parallel with shore or river, or at right angles to it. The intermixed possession of strips by 'run-rig' characterised the Lowlands before the Enclosures, and is frequent in the Highlands and Isles. The apparent regularisation of field lines may conceal the fact that an individual holder's plots may be scattered amongst those of others in fixed run-rig. This is an advantage where quality of land is so patchy, and each man thus gets his share of good and bad

361 luck in land, but a disadvantage where control of a single
[423] area is desired by one man. Regularisation of roads,
[182] houses and holdings is relatively modern, for crofts and
dwellings were once grouped in hamlets usually close to
(172) the seashore. The early hamlets can still be made out
from their ruins among the rocks, sometimes sketched in
the 'six inch to mile' Ordnance Survey plans. They were
without formal order or arrangement, each homestead
within its boundary wall. Where ploughing was and is too
difficult, the soil is heaped up in ridges, 'lazy-beds', and dug.

361 Shawbost, on a rocky part of the west coast (six miles
491 south of Barvas) consists of three main sections: a scatter
of houses and ruins by the enclosed loch, two main streets
linking the loch to the main coastal road, and inland another
short street. The three can be made out on a 'quarter-
(175) inch' map. The two main streets were laid out by the
[311] Estate Officers following removals in the mid-nineteenth
century from another part of the island, Uig, and the third
running inland was laid out still later, when population was
growing and land was needed. When the third street was
laid out, the landlord, Matheson, lent good plough-horses
for preliminary reclamation. The irregularly placed black
houses near the sea are tending to be rebuilt close to the
main road.

361 In addition to this type of movement, farms 'broken
• 178 up' once more into crofts have been laid out on a regular
311 grid plan, each house placed on a corner of its five, ten,
or twenty-acre plot (*e.g.* Galson, Dalebeg, etc.). 'Skinned'
[654] land may also be reclaimed for crofts by squatters tolerated
by the community, or on a regular grid by agreement of the
assembled crofters, guided by the Department of Agri-
(491) culture. Thus two distinct tendencies are seen: the grid
plan in new settlements, road alinement in existing ones.

361 The chief advantage of moving uphill to the road has been
• 178 ease of communication and access to grocers' vans and mill-
311 spinners' lorries; but the disadvantage proves to be the
491 laying on of running water. A much-needed scheme for
water supply is now being applied by the Department of
[654] Health for Scotland. Scrutiny of a 'quarter-inch' map
will indicate the chief facts and tendencies and the condi-
tions they involve.

4. *Distribution of Population*

162 The distribution of rural population can be closely
311 estimated by inspection of a 'quarter-inch' map, where
both the area of cultivation and the house dots are noted.
Comparison with parish populations shows that on an
average one dot represents seven or eight houses or families
and thirty to thirty-five persons. Since there are now no
large farms, cultivation indicates crofting, and, therefore,
a typical density of one person to a little over half an acre,
or 1000–1200 per square mile. Rural numbers over the
whole Island show a density of about twenty-five persons
per square mile. If the fishing grounds, with a sail here
and there on the wide sea, were added, the density would
be lower still! A single dot found with cultivation indi-
cates crofts, which are hardly ever found singly. Where
no cultivation is shown around a single dot, this generally
indicates an isolated stalker's house, a shooting lodge by a
road, or a shieling (*airigh*) out on the moor.

(B) STORNOWAY

1. *Site, Plan and Development*

361 The plan of Stornoway and its harbour shows three
stages in the growth of the town, the first two picked out

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

162 weaving and fishing, the fall in population would probably
(167) be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was
not so much a decrease in the number of families as in the
[168] number per family. The Island was only then following
the restriction of population begun half a century before
in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social
and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did
occur to change either the rural situation or that of
Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

162 Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is
• 178 a land of house-building, not of ruin and abandonment;
369 of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agri-
(659) cultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were
at work: first, loans, grants and unemployment insurance
[593] and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly,
the money sent to elderly parents and dependants at home
[888] by young folk in Glasgow or abroad, or savings brought
back by the young people themselves. Yet there is some
[226] fishing and agriculture still. Above all, 'hand-weaving'
has grown, even if this be partly 'artificial'. Recently it
[241] was not only the elders who had returned to the Island, but
[286] men and women in the prime of life, so that the question
of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to
be re-examined afresh.

167 The emigration which took place from 1949 to 1951
(464) followed directly upon the losses and the unemployment
[651] in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted
from the imposition in 1949 of a Purchase Tax on hand-
[162] woven Harris tweed of 666 per cent. If the tax had been
maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects
on population would have been far-reaching.

141 little sign of Norse blood, can hold their own as fishers with
144 the men of Ness.
172

174 Third, it is still commonly stated not only that the
"great majority" under the clan system were "without
174 any legal status", but that their tenure "depended on the
[613] good will of the chief or tacksman".[1]

As the last lawbooks of the Gael were taken from Lewis
174 by its first mainland lord in 1611—never to be heard of
675 again—it may well be that, as recognised in the Northern
[175] Isles, so in the Western Isles, peasant tenure was perma-
nent according to regional law. In practice, mere 'good-
will' is so uncertain a quantity that if this statement had
been true, it is hardly credible that communities could
have remained so stably rooted as their race-types show
them to be. Evictions of groups or individuals at the
whim of chief or tacksman would have broken down their
• [178] homogeneity of race. In the Lowlands, where eviction
[184] had become so frequent by 1500 and insecurity for the
mass of the country people has prevailed ever since, such
localisations of race would be unthinkable and do not exist
except in certain fishing communities who possess a pride,
almost a caste-code, of their own: the Newhaven fishers
within Edinburgh remain apart, with a dialect and a dress
of their own. Great stability of tenure—in fact as in
customary claim—is shown by the racial homogeneity of
Gaelic communities.

174 Lastly, it is common to state that the nobility and
gentry of a countryside constitute its 'old' or 'original'
families. It is true that some land-owning families seem
'old' compared to recent purchasers—successively the
merchants and lawyers, venturers and planters of the

[113] [1] From a representative report on the Highlands and Islands, that of the Scottish Economic Committee, 1938 (Historical Preface, p. 9).

CHAPTER V

FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP: THE CONTINUING COMMUNITY AND ITS SOCIAL ECONOMY TO 1815

INTRODUCTION (TO CHAPTERS V AND VI)

121 THE family, the 'conjoint' or 'farm group' of
593 four or five families, and the larger group clustered
476 in a glen or along a shoreland, are, in ascending
632 order, the three concentric units whose mutual relation-
621 ships we must visualise to understand the past. Enduring
elements of life in family and neighbourhood today, with
their own special qualities and limitations, can only be
understood in terms of past needs and the relationships
they evoked.

121 Having seen their relationships in family, team and
613 township, we can next turn to the reciprocal relations of
the people to their chief or lord, whose position dominates
621 European, indeed world, history and prehistory. Here
[171] our concern must be the meaning of 'clanship' to the
chiefs, the joint farm-groups (or 'small tenantry') and,
latterly, the tacksmen placed above them.

121 We may find, throughout this study, that features and
174 functions which at first sight seem peculiar to the Island
are really local variants, more perfectly crystallised, of
• 178 forms which we know existed at earlier periods in Scotland
[184] and in much of northern and western Britain. In the Isles,

St Geddes K-4, 3 (1919-1932) 1953 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

221 and clothing, firing and shelter produced met local needs.
175 Further questions of early economy belong to Part Two, as do those of the festivals by which the seasons were initiated and closed, along with the phases of human life.

221 A century later (as indicated in the lower graph), agri-
[178] cultural tasks were much the same, but the character of
[433] fishing had altered greatly. Herring fishing was at its height in the Island for some fifteen years, or half a generation, before 1914; but it never recovered from the difficulties of the war and after-war periods. The curves of the summer, autumn and winter fishing indicate the 'full-time' activity of summer, and the 'part-time' work of
[462] early winter. Not only the men, but the women participated, the women being employed in gutting and kippering. Boats and men fished further afield. Women were employed in gutting in early summer in the Scots East Coast fishing, which preceded that of the West Coast and was followed by the East Anglian autumn fishing. Some line-fishing continued locally in summer, but it has now almost ceased. The building and repair of roads increased after the middle of the century. The carting of peats, stacked by the roadsides, lessened 'creeling'; but it is particularly haulage by lorry which has replaced carrying by the creel, so lightening women's labour.

178 Indoors, primitive crafts tended to be superseded as
571 machine-made articles replaced those of native material and manufacture; but the *ceilidh* ('*cailey*'), the meeting 'together', continued, though the arts of song and poetic
462 improvisation declined. In Harris the women had woven
283 and spun for centuries and have continued to do so for home
286 use and sale; in Lewis the women gave up weaving in the last
178 century, few spinning since then and none weaving. Thirty years ago only an occasional weaver, always a man, could be

found in a Lewis village; but in the ten to twenty years before 1939, the so-called 'Harris' tweed industry spread enormously in Lewis, accompanied by the construction of large spinning mills in Stornoway which supply yarn to male weavers. One further activity, kelp-making, was important for a time, although—not being strictly a traditional task—it is not represented in the upper graph, nor yet in the lower one, having declined after 1825 and disappeared (in the Island) long before the present century. Such was the annual rhythm of seasonal labour prevalent during the last generation, and a hundred years before.

7. *Rural Changes in Diet, Dress and Inter-marriage, and in Mobility: 1919–39*

Many outward changes occurred in the twenty years after the close of the First World War. Till the Island was able to benefit from the commercial advances of the mainland, it had no adequate relief from the famines of early times; in recent years the quantity of food has been rather more adequate. With the import of new foods, the consumption of vitamins at first declined; there was greater consumption of white bread from Glasgow and less of fresh vegetables (as ruined garden walls bear witness), and less, too, of cod-liver oil with the cessation of cod-fishing. Latterly, fenced gardens with vegetables and lettuce are providing vitamins, and fresh fruit (unobtainable even after 1919) is commonly on sale all the year round, so that a more rational dieting, when it can be afforded, is tending to recover lost ground and perhaps more.[1]

[1] E. P. Cathcart (*et al.*), *Studies in Nutrition: an Enquiry into the Diet of Families in the Highlands and Isles: III, Lewis* (Medical Research Council, Special Reports, Series 242. H.M.S.O.), London, 1940.

121 by help of oral tradition and of the living witness of con-
174 tinuing usage, we can reconstitute Gaelic life from the
view-points of both people and chief. Elsewhere, even in
• 178 Scotland, only fragments of early life are recorded, in
175 parchments written by the lawyers of landlord and king,
and almost always from the privileged side. History is
814 indebted to modern lawyers who have deciphered and
127 published the faded documents of their predecessors. But
the very training as solicitor-factors which fitted them for
this specialised task, in no way prepared them to view life
as seen, experienced and felt by the men and women of the
past, or even by the elders or youth of the townships today,
with whom they have rarely laboured and whose mother
tongue they rarely understand.

(A) THE LABOURS OF MAN AND WIFE, AND THE REWARD

621 We have seen that until the nineteenth century the
632 township in the main was self-contained. Its people grew,
175 reared or caught their food, and also found the raw materials
[433] for their clothing; they built their own shelter, and cut
their own firing. As a result, both men and women had
174 each to develop "a wide range of simple skills", in the
175 apt phrase of a Lewisman, Mr. Donald MacLean, M.A.
Beyond the co-operative effort within a family, a farm
462 group, or a body of 'fellow-townsmen'—in which each
was competent to take a share according to sex and age—
aptitude and family tradition initiated some local division
[463] of labour. The resident smith and the 'caird' (usually
a wandering craftsman or tinker) appear in the oldest tales
and in the first rent-rolls. In addition there were honorary
[759] tasks. The smith might act as the village surgeon, ready

175 and still more to pay arrears, was "the rugged Hag,
241 Poverty, that would resist both King and Government".
427 We may guess that MacAulay passed a hint to the tenantry
451 that (in a good Gaelic idiom) they had better 'disremember'
details of arrears: and this they did.

175 Of the four names on the deposition quoted, one or
two may have been surnames, others the patronymics of
551 kinsmen. As is still the custom, clansmen knew one another
613 by names of many kinds. Stature or colour was used to
• [178] distinguish a big John from a little one, a fair from a dark,
or a pale from a swarthy; occupations such as smith or
caird (artificer, not necessarily travelling tinker as now) were
[241] used, and also mere nicknames. Of the eighty-one crofters
[726] or fisher-burghers in Stornoway, fourteen were Mac-
Kenzies; and other mainland surnames, such as Fraser and
Gunn, Matheson and MacLennan, also showed their
descent from the immigrants brought in when MacKenzie
of Kintail founded the burgh to encourage fisheries after
1611. Each held a single holding, usually rented at two
shillings sterling.

175 To conclude, rentals about 1715 show (1) the character-
istic equalitarian grouping of small peasants as fellow-
241 workers in the hamlet-farms still held directly from the
427 superior, Seaforth; (2) the eighty-one small burghers of
631 Stornoway; and (3) tacksmen, responsible for the larger
part of the Island rent, but under whom we know that the
labouring peasantry, though without the local independence
of the others, also continued to dwell and to work together.
The tacksmen were to pass away, as many of them had
originally come, at the desire of a mainland lord, and the
lord, in his turn, was to leave; but the small peasantry of
immemorial stock still hold and work their land.

175 couple advancing one on either side of it—many other
476 tasks were definitely team-work. Such was peat-cutting.
"When they are making peats, five people are employed.
175 One cuts the peat, another places it on the brink of the
476 ditch where it is dug; a third spreads it on the field, a
314 fourth pares and cleans the moss; and a fifth man is resting,
ready to relieve the man that cuts. The women are seldom
[462] at this work, but the men help one another alternately;
sometimes they must rest satisfied with fewer hands; but
the above is the full complement of men required to per-
[127] form the work, according to their tastes." Buchanan's
[178] description was written 160 years ago (1793); it remained
true till recently and generally it is so still. There was thus
a normal team practice for work—even a man to rest was not
[538] forgotten! As the Gaelic proverb puts it: "They won't
make power (add strength) without a threesome and they'll
limp without a foursome!" (*Cha deanar treine gun triuir,*
[802] *'s bidh iad crubach gun cheathrar*). In Gaelic, as in Scots,
one speaks of a team according to its number, as "a pair,
a threesome, foursome" and so on, up to a tensome
(*deichnear*). In Lewis the farm-team was usually a foursome
or fivesome.

175 Only in exceptional cases was land worked and held
473 singly—as when a smith was kept busy at his anvil in
ploughing-time and harvest. Thus in 1715 one or two
241 rural smiths had single holdings of average value or more
[326] (£1), and one artificer or tin-smith (caird) a holding of
minimum value (5s.); and in the burgh all the small plots
[286] were held singly. As the women wove, at home mostly,
[462] no male rural weaver held a single plot; his weaving could
be done at slack times, so long as there was light; at busy
times he worked on the land with the rest of his team.

000 On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an

593 On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an
outlying reclaimable patch of arable, lying near distant, little-
423 used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chance
[241] of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the man
[311] and his family; but there might be advantages such as
an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as hunting
[184] 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunter-
[224] bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft was
known as *Ruigh* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of poverty
[823] with individuality in isolation were handed down, for
example, from one of my forebears who held such a *ruigh*,
175 Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-feet
361 contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the last
[511] of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *ruigh* may
have originally been a summer shieling, only occupied
when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with new
possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led to
settlement there.

• 178 At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of North
361 Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lodges
224 and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth, as
they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such as
233 one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small islets.
But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single crofts
361 are rare. And the clearest distinction must be drawn
621 between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage or
184 croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or even
two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers; for
even a few families form the germ of a community, in work
and in leisure.

175 The potentialities of co-operative practice were over-
178 looked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough. For
when new methods were required, run-rig kept back the
654 pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. Soon
476

175 after 1800, John Walker wrote that run-rig, "formerly very
• 178 general in Scotland, was abolished with improvements but
241 still subsists in many parts of the North. A number of
476 tenants of the same farm have a common pasture for their
654 cattle, and the arable is divided among them, by ridge
423 and ridge alternately, which each cultivates for his own
behoof. This gives them all a common interest in the
crop and, when there was no inclosure by dyke or hedge,
might be of some advantage" in giving each person some
protection "against the encroachments of his neighbour's
cattle". Speaking of joint possession this time, though
without reference to survivals, Walker wrote that in the
Lowlands "in old times a large farm might be occupied
by a number of conjoint tenants who cultivated the farm
in common and divided the produce. In this way the
interest of each became the interest of the whole. They
were ready, and were frequently called upon, to defend
the common crop and cattle against depredations. There
was then a necessity for such an allotment of land, especially
in the Border country and in the Highlands." The team,
in other words, was a unit of defence. But "nothing like
improvement can be expected from farmers placed in this
situation . . . [and] no community can ever equal the
carefulness and industry of an individual in the manage-
ment of his affairs".[1]

[127] So far as it goes, such an analysis is incontrovertible;
for Walker was one of many contemporary observers
[181] who could contrast both the "improvement, industry and
carefulness" of the best individuals under a vigorous land-
lord, with the sluggishness of old-fashioned ways on backward
estates. The fundamental reason for sluggishness was that

[113] [1] John Walker, *Oeconomical History* [descriptive account] *of the Hebrides*, 1808.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

621 embracing several hamlets. Yet the strength of com-
476 munity life sprang from co-operation in the farm-team and
632 in the boat's crew.

178 With the passing of the joint farm the greatest dis-
461 ciplinary factor for work in common passed away from
476 agriculture. The fact that fishing still remained as a social discipline, and actually developed in importance as the farm-team declined and was abolished, was to prove all the more significant to the vitality of social life until 1914 and even to the present.

(E) THE COMMUNITY ORGANISED: STEERSMAN AND CONSTABLE

621 As small groups of two to half a dozen men could manage their agricultural affairs informally, by common consent, no official was formally chosen to manage the affairs of the
622 fellow-workers on a farm. Where prompt decisions are needed, however, even a small group should be led: a boat's crew therefore choose their helmsman-skipper and obey him at sea. And where several farm-groups made up a township, more formal deliberations were required, and to carry out their decisions they chose a responsible man, the constable.

175 Of the crofters' manner of deciding communal affairs
621 in Uist, Carmichael wrote, in 1884, that these meetings
181 "were highly interesting, as showing the ability of the people, their logical and legal acumen, their readiness of resources and, I can happily add, their invariable courtesy
175 towards one another. There was one regular official known
622 as the constable on whom there lay the chief executive
[782] responsibility. When a crofter is elected constable of his town-land, he takes off his shoes and stockings and, taking

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

his bonnet in his hand and bowing low and reverently, he declares on honour in presence of earth and heaven, in presence of God and men—*Am fianuis uir agus adhair, am fianuis Dia agus daoine*—that he shall be faithful to his trust. This simple declaration of office is extremely impressive, though now, alas, becoming obsolete from the fears of the shallow thoughtless and the scoffs of the severely wise. The duties of the constables were to divide a new peat-moss into banks for which lots are cast, to see that every crofter does his share of free labour in road building and repair, to engage herds and the like." (*Napier Crofters' Commission*, 1884.)

Naturally such duties called not only for tact, firmness and authority, temporal and spiritual, on the part of the constable, but for strong backing by the crofters, as a body, of the man they had freely elected. But hence too, the advantage to a covetous landlord of superseding free election by appointing his own nominee. Martin found that this had been done in St. Kilda shortly before his visit (about 1695) and the people complained bitterly, as well they might. We shall see that the same suppression of liberty was resented in Lewis less than a century ago. As a mere estate employee, moreover, the constable's position between the landlord's factor (or ground officer) and his fellow-crofters, was always difficult; and it might be cruelly hard, as when he was forced to help in destroying a neighbour's house at an eviction. Neighbourly union in a township was damaged by this duality of function, when he who should have been their own impartial executive was in the landlord's pay. When affairs got too bad in a Lewis township the people would appoint their own constable in addition to the landlord's; even so, rivalry and dual functions weakened the community. Such weakness

COMMUNIFY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 Such are the mingled traditions of the Highland
701 regiments which served in so many wars, for right or for
[214] wrong. Of all the desperate alternatives before the Gael
—famine at home, semi-slavery in the factory towns, death—
stricken sea voyages, pioneering in the forested hills of
Eastern North America, or war, it was this last which
offered the men not only the trappings and glamour of
clanship but continuing fellowship. In the regiment a
Gael was among friends. Modern civilisation offered him
no other life promising social continuity and the hope of a
return to croft and township, "if death should spare him".

It would be wrong to suggest that only the gentry could
175 rise to command, for as English and literacy were acquired,
701 the sons of small tenants received commissions. British
565 military discipline has too often driven a breach between
554 the men and the non-commissioned officers, spoiling the
[103] latter's fitness for higher leadership. But among High-
landers "the bond of faith and affection" led naturally to
commissioned rank. For generations, historic precedent
• [108] was carried on in living tradition.[1] Given education, the
[811] sons of Island crofters have risen to command on land and
sea; but education came late.

CONCLUSION

175 Thus in the 'little commonwealths' of the farm-hamlets
621 grouped within the township, personal right and equal
[631] shares were balanced by common duty, summed up in the
[1] The Highland Society of London, composed of descendants of his neighbours in South Spey told
[illegible] Highlanders, speaking Gaelic and

COMMUNIFY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

788 facing the sun, he cut a handful of corn. Putting the
241 handful three times round his head, the man raised the
'*Iollach Buana*', reaping salutation,—and the whole family
[175] then took up the strain.[1] While these notes by Carmichael
• [178] describe the custom after the abolition of the farm-team,
he also tells of "all the people of the Townland going
together to reap" (*Carmina*, No. 89, cf. Note to No. 90).
In the days of close partnership this was no doubt a team
blessing, said by the chief reaper among his neighbours in
mutual aid.

782 Grace before meals survives in Presbyterian house-
264 holds; and ancient graces are recorded in *Carmina*, vol. iii.
[114] The unpublished examples given here are from Miss Annie
Johnston (or NicIain), Barra, to whose knowledge Gaelic
lore owes so much:

1. O God, bless our portion, and our people.
2. O God, be about the beginning of our life (for food) and
   about the end of our life (*lit.* of our world).
3. O God, let nothing enter our bodies that may harm our
   souls.

A Dhia, beannaich ar cuid 'us ar cuideachd.
A Dhia, bi mu thus ar bithe (or *bidhe*)
'us mu dheireadh ar saoghail.
A Dhia, na leig dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n-anam.[1]

[1] The reader will note the meaning in translation; but he should also
[114] scan the Gaelic, and the assonance of the vowels. In the first and shortest
[192] there is a simple play upon colour and meaning: *ar cuid 'ar cuideachd*—"our
share (of things) and our (share of) people, friends and family". In the
second, Miss Johnston thinks there may be a play upon the words 'life'
and 'food' (of which the sound is almost the same), reminding one that
food is the means of life and of all that life means. In the third the opposition
of ideas is characteristically emphasised in the pattern of the accented vowels
in the words "*dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n-anam*"; here again the
[illegible] by means of which it sank through the senses into the heart, marks its
[illegible] tradition into Gaelic of a common

CH. VII SPIRITUAL LIFE OF COMMUNITY

782 The care of cattle was accompanied by prayer. As an
233 Eriskay housewife said to me, she would never leave her
cow tethered without a mummured, "Saint Columba be
herding you" (*Buachaille a'Chaluim-cille ort*). The curing
of animal sickness, as of human ailments, was accompanied
by prayers. And prayer was used to avert the evil eye,
symbol of suspicions born of unreasoning fear which,
psychologists tell us, beset the modern but little less than
the ancient! The thought or act of prayer which links
a man to his fellow-men links him to the dumb beasts.
"The man who is merciful to a soul will not be merciless
to a brute" (*Am fear a bhitheas trocaireach ri anam, cha
bhith e milbrocaireach ri bhruid*).

796 Throughout Christendom each task of the annual
191 rhythm was marked, at its start and close, by a day of
779 seasonal festival (*Lá Feill*). These Christian festivals re-
placed earlier celebrations and continued some of their
features, often in play. Yet concerted seasonal activities
could not be related to the supreme festival of the Christian
Church, Easter, owing to its movable date. This is one
reason for the great importance of other, fixed Festivals to
[114] rural community life. This point, not always appreciated
by latter-day individualism, is made clear by M. M. Banks
in describing *British Calendar Customs*, vol. i, *Scotland*
175 (1937). Remembering that the Old Style Calendar dates
• 176 were ten days later than the New Style (when officially
adopted in Scotland in 1600), they may be compared with
796 the annual rhythm of climate and labour (Fig. 9). Until
1600, the New Year began in spring on 25th March. After
the Reformation and the abolition of Christmas or Noel,
Nollaig, New Year's Day on 1st January took its place as
the day which, in the Protestant Highlands and Lowlands,
[illegible] some of the old friendly visiting and

[1] No. 89 is set to an Eriskay chant in *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, p. 159.

COMMUNIFY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 'first-footing'. In the past the lads came in bands singing
796 carols, and once admitted—refusal of hospitality being out
• 176 of the question—any misunderstandings and quarrels of
the past year had to be forgiven and forgotten. With
individual visits this is no longer possible, for though these
maintain friendship, they cannot easily and naturally heal
a quarrel.

175 From Lewis three fine carols once sung by youths are
796 recorded, of which the fidelity of Carmichael's translation
533 goes far to render both sense and feeling (Nos. 55-57).[1]
In Ness I have sought in vain for the old wedding
[127] the descendants of Angus Gunn. Born about 1800, Gunn
had lived for many years as a shepherd on the islet of North
Rona, unreached by the burning zeal of the Evangelists, so
that his traditional piety survived. Could they be found,
these melodies would enrich the remnant of authentic
Christian lore in Britain, for even the well-known English
carols are mostly of modern reconstruction.

The first Christmas Hail opens, "*Ho Ri*, Hail to the
King. Blessed is He. . . . Blessed be the house and all
therein. . . . Lasting . . . and healthy round the hearth
be ye. . . ." It goes on, "This night is the eve of the
great Nativity, the great Noel [*Nochd uidhche Nollaige
moire* . . .]; Born is the Son. . . ." It closes, "Shone
the mountains . . . earth, and land, Heard was the wave
upon the strand. . . . Blessed be the King . . . to all
ages, to all time." A fragment from Tolsta, Lewis, sung
by boys on New Year's Eve as they begged for a Noel
bannock from house to house, latterly began and ended
with playful nonsense, yet it retained its traditional climax:
"[On the first day of the New Year] I saw the Threesome
[The Trinity] going to the shore. The land shone, the
[113]

[1] In a song, 'Father Allan' may have been restoring a pious service
[108] of an older school of Gaelic priests trained upon the College of Lismore,
an island in Loch Linnhe. Lismore was the birthplace of Carmichael, and
in the home of his Protestant parents the young priests were hospitably
received.

2 *Fairs was Urnaighthe* (ed. M'Lauchlan), 240, and Martin, 1703
(edition of 1934, pp. 186-189). A new text of Carswell is in preparation by
the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society.

175 at midsummer came joyous departure to the shielings.
796 Michaelmas at the end of September was a festival of
horsemanship, when the processions paraded and well fed, could
race madly along the machar. As long nights brought in
the winter, Hallowe'en came on 31st October, and on the
morrow the solemnity of All Hallows (*Samhain*). On
11th November came St. Martin's Day, and in December
Christmas once again.

175 When the Islesmen put out to sea, prayers were chanted
787 to Father, Son and Holy Spirit and to the Disciples, "the
Fishers of Men". While some of these might be individual
(*Carmina*, Nos. 117-120), others were chanted by the
skipper at the helm, as celebrant, the crew giving the
• [178] responses (No. 121). As self-sustained community life
[779] weakened and customs were endangered, this prayer was
encouraged by a few clergy, Catholic and Protestant. At
175 the start of the season's fishing in Eriskay, Fr. Allan
796 Macdonald went out in the boats and chanted a rune taught
to him by elders, the men responding.[1] One of the "Ocean
788 Blessings" or prayers recorded by Carmichael (No. 119)
is found in Bishop Carswell's *Liturgy in Gaelic*, of 1569,
and is quoted by Martin as "a form of prayer used by
many of the islanders at sea after the sails are set".[2] Most
of Carswell's liturgy was translated from that of John
Knox, but not this prayer, of which the earlier and later-
recorded version are the same, except for one revealing
difference.

175 warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, with
28/ peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven and
533 waulked together ceased to be a sacrament when the tartan
614 was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform with
• 614 "England's cruel red".

The framers of this law, which stood on the statute
[648] book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they
175 did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath which
648 reversed every benediction said by the women at their
786 work: "I . . . do swear, as I shall answer to God at
21 the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, any
782 plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do,
641 may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and property—
relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and be
without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the
graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come across
me if I break my oath". This Act, as law and symbol,
struck fatal at the sacramental life of family, neighbour-team
and clan community, in which labour and prayer had been
indissolubly bound.[1]

(c) WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

178 Little remains of the tradition of worship in the tiny
71 oratories, chapels or 'temples' whose ruins stud the shores
34/ [illegible] collaboration of friends in Lewis may allow mention of the Gaelic
172 version of A. Geddes, *The Spirit of the Tartan, a Song Drama* (English
172 Version); *Souvenir Programme and Book of Songs* (Outlook Tower, Edin-
burgh, 1931). In this the spirit of this labour sequence embodied in its
[113] songs and runes is dramatised in its setting of customs and history. The Gaelic
version was prepared by the generous labours of James Thomson, M.A.,
Baylde, and the late Duncan Macdonald, M.A., Sandwick, Lewis.

172 of the Isles, and in which the people met, though far from
• 178 any clergy. On the southern mainland most trace of
34/ shrines and chapels seems to have been lost, so small are
[illegible] the rings of unhewn stone that marked their sites. Little
175 was recorded by salaried clergy about the services conducted
814 there; those who approved tended to let well alone. Hence
were out of touch with rural needs or ignorant of the
language spoken in intimacy, and whose alien training had
[219] removed them from sympathy.[1] As for those whose private
interests, stipend or subservience to patrons bound them
to prelate, lord or king, they roundly condemned free
congregations.

175 Nevertheless, fragmentary records have come down,
814 such as those of Martin, who visited St. Kilda in 1697 and
described the little church where the people still kept a
771 fine brass crucifix and worshipped together, without the
[184] presence of a clergyman. Naturally, the curiosity stimu-
lated by St. Kilda's fabulous isolation led Martin to de-
scribe its little community more fully than any other; but
he mentions similar worship elsewhere. Thus in lonely
North Rona, inhabited by only five families, Martin had
[133]

[1] The difficulty of initiation to intimate usages of language is exemplified
in a scholarly and patriotic work, the *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*
[illegible] (English-Gaelic) by Malcolm MacLennan, D.D., 1925.
This standard work incorporates all the words of three previous dictionaries,
[192] with many additions. Yet key words of the people's religious heritage, of
[illegible] ages, of living usage, and recorded a generation or so before in
the collections cited here, are either absent, or are given the more prosaic
or debased shades of meaning (not the higher). See "*naiss*, a cave,
shaft" or *skeine*; "*nionagaess*, a beginning" (*a dedication*); *earna*,
Hail or salutation; "*ard*, arse, or orbs, a charm . . . amulet . . . or
impostures of any kind . . . Irish . . . prayer or verse—from Latin,
oratio" (why prayer in 'Irish' only?); and other strange words. According
to the modern dictionary, the title of the supreme Scottish collection of
Gaelic religious tradition, Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* (Latin, *Carmina
Gadelica*), is to be translated, not *Prayers*, but "*Charms* . . . or Impostures
. . . of the Gael."

539 And so, after every good wish for days, years and life,
867 the Invocation closes: "Peter has come and Paul" . . .
869 the Disciples and the Archangels. . . . Jesus the mild and
the Spirit of guidance have come,

And the King of kings has come on the helm,
To bestow on thee their affection and their love,
A bhaireadh duit-se gráidh as ruin.

The ideal of choice maidenliness which this Invocation
portrays, culminates in the thought of the loveliness that
867 was Christ. It rises, too, to stirring virility: "the island
[539] at sea, the fortress on land", or "the step of the steed on
the plain". Yet when all is said, it is a womanly image
which prevails: after the fortress comes the well in the
desert, and after the charger's step, the gracious calm of a
floating swan. It is all the more significant that the Invo-
cation was addressed both 'to boys and girls' in one ale,
and 'to youths and maidens' in another. Not simply
was boyhood taught to honour girlhood: ideal womanhood
was invoked to raise manhood itself to fullness.

885 Upon marriage, the husband replaced the maiden's
[242] snood or *stiom* that bound her uncovered hair by the wifely
[585] kerchief, *am breid*. Folded diagonally, its three-cornered
[539] shape came to symbolise the Trinity, in benediction on
her dual course[1], commences, "A thousand hails to thee
[538] the bride's head.[2] A poem to a bride, "now beginning
[142] likeness. The short second stanza given stands out alone: the poem, having attained in climax by a rhythm sustaining the upward, sonorous movement, is hushed by its few simple words. *In Praise the Hebridder*, Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser rearranged one or two of these lovely stanzas, as one of her lyrics with refrain'. *Cf.* A. Geddes, *The Bagpipe Group and Bire*, vol. ii, 1955.

[1] The kertch is spoken of in many songs, in which a lover hopes to plait his wife. When first I knew the Lews, the kertch was still commonly worn under the more recent Lowland mutch, and either framed a young face, or an
● [198] old one, charmingly. The two have not quite vanished, though memories of what the kertch once symbolised are hard to find.

[2] For contemporary record, descriptions of sunsets have appeared in the *Stornoway Gazette* from the pen of a crofter in retirement, N. Morrison.

[3] *Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes, *Neid Fire*.

114 dwell in them—to a sun or moon spirit. If the people once
776 believed in a 'moon-spirit', nothing is left to show it.
Either the moon is addressed as if she could hear her
praise, or—more commonly—"The King of the Ele-
ments" or "of life" is thanked for sending her light.
The Archangel Michael is associated with the sun's rays;
but symbolism only in relation to heart and mind, rather than
as literal belief. The response to sunrise and sunset was
real; and it is not lost among the people, as a watcher
may see.[1]

● 198 It remains true that pre-Christian rites were re-enacted,
791 sometimes in fear and desperation when things had gone
788 wrong, and sometimes in mere play. A Lewisman in
Carmichael's hearing spoke of 'going between the two
great fires of Baul" (or Baal), his phrase expressing no
more than a faded memory. But in Reay, in hard times
bordering on famine, a fishing skipper was seen by his
small son, supposed to be asleep, to assemble his crew and,
after putting out the fire on the hearth, kindle the *neid*
fire by rubbing two pieces of wood vigorously together.
Each man then carried a kindling back to his own home.[2]
121 Was this a religious ritual of human energy, heat and light,
symbolic of forces held to be under Divine control but to
be used as they used wind and tide by strenuous effort
at the oars? Or was it magic, pure and simple? When
men are shaken by failures and the fear of famine, prayer
in word and ritual may restore hope for better things—for
safety in storm and for fish in abundance as in a miraculous
draught—and confidence in their powers for their work.
But the same can be true of magic. And neither prayer nor

[113] [1] For contemporary record, descriptions of sunsets have appeared in the *Stornoway Gazette* from the pen of a crofter in retirement, N. Morrison.

[2] *Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes, *Neid Fire*.

121 magic is always efficacious—however desperate the need,
however pure the motives of those who ask. These men
791 were said to be the most successful fishers in the place;
788 they were also Elders of the Kirk, who saw no wrong in
what they did. They did not inform the minister; but
the good man was not a fisherman and did not understand
either the mysterious ways of fish or the incitement of a
crew!

While this *neid fire* was kindled in all earnestness, a
miming song-dance I have seen in Eriskay is pure fun:
'the Carline or Witch-wife of the Mill-dust' (*Cailleach an*
Dudain), who falls down dead and is brought to life again!
[194] Once, perhaps, a half-remembered symbolic 'play' of the
● [198] seasonal fall and resurrection of seed, it is certainly in
form and spirit a thing of happy laughter now! Tales were
retold by Martin and a seventeenth-century English skipper,
of offerings made to a sea-god, Shony, at Eoropie, Ness,
for the sake of seaweed, followed by feasting and drinking
[194] in the chapel there.[1] The story may be garbled or, if true,
may record a pre-Christian survival turned to merriment
and of no more significance to the people of the time than
[241] 'the Carline of the Mill-dust'. The prayers for the sea-
weed scenery for agriculture and daily bread are Christian
in spirit.

791 When the people were at the mercy of periodic famines,
731 diseases and sudden death, there were ample grounds for
fears. Hence a word must be said of a belief widespread
171 and ancient in the Old World, 'the evil eye' (*droch shuil*).
791 In the absence of clinical diagnosis, a malady, or the mis-
fortune to oneself or a valued possession, might cast
suspicion on someone present when it occurred; and

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 143-208. Contrast *Carmina*, vol. iv, pp. 23-25.

171 trouble. "Everything seems to go wrong"; and the
776 peasant falls asleep at night in fear of ills to come. First
in his dreams and next in his day-dreams, these take shape
171 as an offended, hostile 'spirit'. The spirit of the place
776 —of the place-work—has become angry. So also, if the
787 peasant's wife pursues her household work 'in the right
spirit', then in her dreams and reveries she is helped by
kindly presences; but if not, things go wrong, objects
malaid have been taken by 'antmone' and a tormenting
house-imp plays havoc with her home. These figures of
day-dreams were involuntary and 'shady', without the
clarity either of earthly things or of heavenly visions.
Yet they personified moods of real significance.

776 The Uruisg of the Gael helped about the farm and
household—like the Tonte of Sweden and the Lubber-
fiend of Merrie England in Milton's *L'Allegro*. Each
task may have its own symbol. Of one of these, the cattle-
trading *Glaistic* of the Highlands and Isles, Brock quotes
from Mrs. E. Carmichael Watson: "Harmless and
lovable as a rule—especially in the older stories—in a few
stories it is represented as irritable. . . .
776 The more recent stories depict the Glaistic are rather
● 178 unpleasant. She no longer plays with the children or
sings rhymes—she has degenerated into a kind of female
ruffian. Probably it would be nearer the truth to say that
the change has been in 'the Highlands rather than in the
Glaistic." Brock comments, "This last remark is signifi-
[155] cant. The increasing irritability of tutelary nature-deities
means that the spirit of the old economic life—the equi-
librium between Highlanders and Highlands—is being
upset"; and so too is that between Highlander and High-
lander! In Lewis *Ni Chlach Urlar* (She Ior Ie) of the
Hearth Stone), who personified domestic strife, makes
trouble; and neighbours come to suffer too!

121 to the world within. Above all, harmony of relations, at
771 every stage of life, in man and woman, was felt to pre-
figure relations with the Divine. The religious poetry of
181 which the Gael were the creators and heirs, promoted
courage and calm. True, its very power could lead to
superstitious respect for mere forms of words, debased as
'magical' charms. Such misuse was 'superstitious',
being false in itself and falling short of the clearest thought,
the highest aspiration, of the time and the community.
Worse still, to use with evil intent could concentrate ill-will
and evoke mutual fears. Yet at its best, thought was
clearer, less confused, than is commonly imagined. To
the aspiration and attainment of the Gael—in congregation
or solitude, in meditation or labour, in love and faith or in
works—the fragments of their oral heritage bear witness.

(c) LITERACY AND EVANGELISM: 'THE MEN' AND THE DISRUPTION

175 From before 1680 "a school for the gentlemen's sons
● 178 and daughters" was open in Stornoway. Latin and
871 English were taught, and a century later even Greek had
been added, as recorded by W. J. Gibson, for many years
Rector of Stornoway's high school, the Nicolson Institute,
in his *Education in Scotland*, 1912 (chap. v). Particularly
towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Gaelic School
Society and other bodies, like the Society for the Propaga-
tion of Christian Knowledge, sent out schoolmasters to
teach the reading of the Scriptures. Industrial schools were
set up at the same time by Lady Seaforth, to teach spinning
[671] by the wheel, replacing the slow distaff. It was not till
nearly a century later that teaching of English was widely
taken advantage of—partly by the compulsion of the

175 Education Act of 1872, for the people "did not want to
● 178 give their children wings to leave them".[1]
871 The reading of Gaelic progressed fairly rapidly after
[671] 1800, in order that the Bible might be read. By 1833
something like one in three or four of the population, or
more than half of the younger people, could read Gaelic.
The Hon. Mrs. Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth, it seems,
175 had a 'warm sympathy' both with teaching to read the
Scriptures and with evangelical preaching. The coming
114 to Lewis in 1824 of the first evangelical minister, the Rev.
Alexander MacLeod, an Assynt man, is described in his
173 memoir in a striking volume, *Disruption Worthies of the*
Highlands, edited by J. Greig (1877).

175 "At the distance of more than half a century it is not
791 easy to form a conception of the religious and moral
condition of Lewis previous to the year 1824. The present
173 writer has heard a still living minister of the Free Church,
who is a native of Uig, declare publicly that only two or
three copies of the Bible could be found within the wide
extent of the parish, and that he himself travelled a journey
in search of a copy of the blessed book, and all in vain. . . .
The densest intellectual and spiritual darkness held uni-
versal sway. Notwithstanding the pleasing features that
characterise Highlanders, even in their most primitive con-
dition, this state of things could not fail to be attended
with baleful fruits. Despite their constitutional warmth
of heart and loyalty of nature, unbending fidelity to what
they esteemed to be honour, and their unbounded kindness
and hospitality, many gross vices were found commingling
in the characters and lives of the Lewis people. For,
however strange it may appear, at the first prayer-meeting

175 manner that he had in hand business of eternal momen-
791 to his hearers. That business was to warn them of the
178 wrath to come, which impended over unpardoned Christless
sinners, and to proclaim the way of escape by the open
● [198] door of a crucified and risen Saviour. Not more than
two months had elapsed since Mr. Macleod's admission
when the 'stupid attention' and vacant stare passed into
the wistful anxious listening, the suffused eye, the tender
subdued manner, and in some cases the heart-wringing
[283] enquiry, 'What must I do to be saved?'

"For something like two years this minister refused
to dispense the Lord's Supper'. . . . A very early effect
of his work was the extinction of various worldly and
pernicious customs and amusements to which the people
had been previously addicted, and the substitution of
meetings for prayer, diets of catechising, day and evening
schools, family worship, and other spiritual exercises in
their room. Many at the outset felt grievously at
the new order of things. Meanwhile the Lord stood by
his servant, and the word mightily prevailed against all
opposition. Incredible efforts were made by earnest souls
in all parts of the island to be present at the preaching of
the Word, even on ordinary Sabbaths." By 1828 "the
whole island seemed to be moved by one powerful spiritual
impulse" and Gospel people flocked from all parts to the
Uig communion. "When the memorable 18th of May
1843 dawned"—that of the Disruption—"no part of the
country was readier to rally round the banner then dis-
played, because of the truth, that the island
almost to

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 the cultivable land and pasture having been shared out to
178 minimal fractions, they called for a minimum of labour by
241 the men—though housewives and mothers had always
476 plenty to do. The morrow's tryst for work might prove
654 a tryst with no work done. The men might foregather
423 on the moor to cut peats, for instance, but if one of their
181] number was late, become so absorbed by telling stories of the Fenians that, ere work had begun, it was time to go home—resolved to meet for work some other day! As a result, reformers advocated breaking-up the joint-holdings; and this was done in Lewis by 1830, as noted in the Brand Report. But mere division of the land did not increase its total amount.

175 Yet while noting the progress made by the liberation
178 of individual initiative, we can see the drawbacks of
654 individualism: the evictions made with no provision for
362 new homes, and later the monotony and the loneliness of modern farm life, the mutual distrust of employer and employee, and the general inability of farmers, as yet, to
423 co-operate. At the present, when planning, purchase and
476 sale are required on a large scale, particularly among small-
829 holders, the interest of each is still "the interest of the whole". The team-spirit must be recovered from the work (not simply the play) of school onwards to further education and communal effort.

175 To sum up, every farm-hamlet was held jointly and on
241 equal terms, each joint holder being responsible for an
427 equal share of the rent, and the movable run-rig system ensuring equal quality, as well as equal quantity, of land.
476 Common interest was assured, and there was mutual sup-
423 port in distress or sickness, as when one member, named in a deposition of 1718, was 'valetudinary'. Lastly, work was done in common not only when it led to efficiency

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

241 through division of labour or united effort, but simply for
423 the sake of mutual stimulus and pleasure!
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(D) THE SHARING OF MACHAR, MOOR AND SEA

175 Embracing several joint-farms, each with its team or
632 crew, came the township. The township had not only its
241 common pasture, it had a special extensive system of
423 run-rig on sandy, coastal machars, as in parts of the Island and in Uist—a system continued to this day.

632 On the machar of Barvas, cultivation strips are still
241 re-allotted periodically, as they were annually on all the
423 Island machars. The machars behind the 'storm-beach' dunes of the Outer Hebrides closely resemble one another, from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head. The immemorial
[178] system was noted by Walker and more fully by Carmichael,
[127] who called it 'intermediate run-rig' to distinguish it from the run-rig of older joint farms on boulder clay, and it persists at the present day.[1] In North Uist the machar land is laid off in large scatts or fields. Each scatt is divided into as many rigs as there are crofts in the township. There may be a dozen scatts in all, and usually half the number are lying out in natural pasture, but they are put under crop in rotation, so that each year one or two scatts will be brought into cultivation, and the others left out after a
[625] course of cropping. When a scatt is to be brought into cultivation the township 'constable' (who holds sway under the district ground officer) appoints a day for allocating the rigs.

[113] [1] Walker (1808); Alexander Carmichael, appendix xlviii and xcix, pp. 213 ff. and 451 ff., Report of the Crofters' Commission, 1884. Socially these form the most significant evidence in this great Report. See also "Grazing and Agrestic Customs", *Celtic Review*, 1905. Ct. C. Macdonald, *Scot. J. Agric.*, 1919. See also his lively accounts of machar and pasture: *Highland Journey: Suil air ais*, 1943.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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reach their shielings. From Point district (Eye Peninsula) the cattle are still brought inland to the moors south-west of Stornoway. And from Bernera on the west the cattle are swum to the hills of the main island, just as they once were swum from Bute to the hill-pastures of Cowal in Argyllshire across the Kyle at the 'Strait of the Swimming', Colintraive (Caol-an-t-snaimh). Nothing could be more natural, indeed inevitable, than pasture in common where large, open moors were to be found. The number of animals allowed to each holding was duly apportioned and then, as now, was known as the summing or 'souming', still checked at the annual gathering (*cosgoradh*).

Thus a cluster of conjoint farms shared "the grass on the Ben and the tillage on the machar" (*Fiar air beinn agus peighinn air machair*). Along the shore, sea-ware, driftwood and the like were allotted, too. And, as Carmichael put it, there was even "run-rig at sea", for the fishing banks were allotted among the available crews. Most of these rights are still shared by the members of a township. But any crew can now fish freely where they choose, and no township can legally keep away strange boats, nor even steamers beyond the three-mile limit. This loss of communal rights stands in the way of remunerative fish-farming and its promise.

Profound social implications distinguished these three concentric circles of community: the family; the farm-team and boat's crew; and the larger, township group. These implications concerned labour, duty and right. The labour of reclamation gave a 'right' to the land thus won from the moor; and the duty of labour together, for fruits equally shared, gave the farm-team and fishing crew cohesion on land or sea—team and crew working for a common purpose. On the other hand, as individual sharers in the common

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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(668)

did another Zacharias, closer than Thomas to the Lewis tree, who worked nobly with Wilberforce for the emancipation of the slaves.[1] Still another connection was a Canadian emigrant, grandfather of the late T. B. Macaulay, LL.D. Alexander Mackenzie, the explorer of the Mackenzie River, was a descendant of Lewis tacksmen. MacIvers and Morisons also distinguished themselves. But the sons and daughters of crofters had to await the provision of education in English before they could rise in trade, learning or war; hence few Lewismen of the greatest Lewis name, MacLeod, achieved eminence until the twentieth century.

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As for the peasantry, the interposition of a new or enlarged class of tenantry between themselves and the superior must have meant that they had to labour on the tacksman's home farm, and no doubt pay more in produce or cash. Hence the Gaelic saying that if the position of the small (joint) tenants was bad, that of the subtenants was worse, "the Evil One itself". Following the long fight with the Fife Adventurers, hardship may have been greatest where mainland tacksmen were placed above the joint tenants; but even under MacAulays and MacIvers rents may have been raised and some of the joint freedom lost which was still enjoyed in Ness. Whatever adjustments had been made in an earlier period had to be re-made with the beginning of Seaforth's new order.

In the following generations, contradictory accounts of lairds, factors and tacksmen are given by contemporary observers. Certain of these insisted that, given the poverty of the lands as a whole, the chiefs and landlords, factors and tacksmen, were the saviours of their people. Yet even among those who supported authority in general, there was

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[1] Charles Booth, *Zachary Macaulay*, 1934.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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175 the last of these in outlying villages after 1918. When
554 Matheson purchased the Island in 1844 he left the fishing
565 industry to the curers, great and small. Particularly before
427 most fishermen could speak and write English, the local
228 curers were best fitted to take action not only in marketing but in approaching the Government to aid the construction of piers and harbours. On the whole, their long ties with place and people, coupled with education, made them useful leaders of a community in which leaders were needed to adapt life to a changing economy. Here and there one or two small farmers survive, a little apart from the main townships. Aided by a long cultural tradition, they meet changing times by combining with their inheritance a sane selection of new elements.

175 Looking beyond the Island to the mainland, the time is
621 approaching for a fair assessment to be made of the historic
622 parts of chief and landlord, factor and tacksman. Not only
427 is there an enlarging body of documentation, but a growing
184 understanding of communal strands in tradition and of changing social economy seen in relation to geographic factors of place and region. And in the Gaeldom, condi-
[178] tions varied greatly between bordering areas from Mar to
[182] Kintyre,[1] and the heartland of tradition in the Hebrides. In the Island, one must remember the fundamental opposition, yet the recurrent readjustments of chiefs and people. These, and not only individual differences in character and conduct, explain the differences of experience and opinion
[829] quoted above. The people's belief, so frequently given to me thirty years ago, that it was bad factors, not the landlord, who taxed and harried them unjustly, expressed an idealistic faith in a chief, rather than the facts of economy
[565] and history. For lordship begins with the imposition of
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[1] A. McKerral, *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, 1947.

795 The Evangelicals, so insistent in condemning the beliefs
771 and worship of ancient Christianity as 'vice' and 'super-
stition', comparatively rarely condemned words and rites
designed to bring punishment upon a person believed to
have wronged one—that is upon a person one hated! Of
such was the practice, widespread in the Old World, of
moulding a clay figure representing the person to be harmed,
and either sticking pins into it, exposing it to fire, or leaving
it in a stream, with a prayer that as the figure wasted away
so would the object of hatred. An educated Lewisman
I knew, Dr. Norman Morrison, stated that an aunt of
his own performed this rite. No doubt she persuaded
herself that if the desired injury took place, natural or
Divine law was at work and she herself was therefore
• [178] innocent or actually just. What is striking is that in the
twentieth century, long after the healing beauty and
Christian calm of runes and rites had been banished and the
healthy laughter of gay custom silenced, this pre-Christian
rite of ill-will had lived on. One hardly knows whom to
pity the more: the hated, for the fear they would feel if
they knew the rite was at work, or the hater. The extreme
Evangelicals made so little appeal to reason based on fact,
that the irrational element in superstition was not firmly
[829] replaced by a sane, scientific outlook. Indeed 'science'
was condemned as 'unbelief'. The constant evocation of
wrath, anger and "the punishment of just and unjust"
played havoc with the emotions.

Those brought up on the precepts of Presbyterianism
—especially in its milder forms—and familiar from infancy
with a selection of Old Testament readings, can hardly
appreciate the shock to a sensitive heart of first hearing
[776] the whole of the Old Testament read Book by Book. The
shock is due not only to the acts of vengeance or massacre,

795 but still more to their repeated justification in the name
771 of the Lord 'God'. 'God' the universal (*Elohim*) came
[776] to be identified with the tribal god Jahveh or Yahweh,
altered, late in Jewish history, to "the LORD God", the
000 term still used in Bibles. The war cry of the Jewish tribes,
as they swept in from the desert or tightened their hold
upon citizens and cultivators, was that of many wild
wanderers, before and since, who have cried upon their
God of Battles, upon Jahveh, or Allah. Magnificent in its
affirmations of righteousness, the Old Testament can be
terrible in its denials of pity.

795 The Bible (literally *Biblia*, the Books) reflects the search
771 of a people through centuries towards the idea of God;
but the tragedy of the Bible, or rather of its historic misuse,
538 came with the acceptance of all 'Scripture' as equal in
inspiration and truth. The early and the late were accepted
together, the mixed or false with the true. The custom of
seeking Divine guidance by simply opening a page of 'the
blessed Book'—that is, any text on any page of any one
of its books—was an example of such acceptance; and it
[175] was only possible for the literate. In Lewis, Macfarlane
records the custom, practised by 'The Men', late in the
nineteenth century.

175 Reading came late to the Islanders, but its effects were
as direct as among the Puritans or Covenanters at an earlier
• 178 period. The people, whose hearts had long since been
771 wrung with pity at the Crucifixion and who were steeped
[538] in reverence for the Gospels, became 'changed' indeed.
Once their minds had been crushed by the Old Testa-
[212] ment's massive weight, the 'change' was reinforced by the
vision of a world to come, limned by fevered imagination
[795] in the New Testament's finale, the Apocalypse. The
'change' was brought by Evangelicals who had themselves

175 undergone the same crushing experience, at a time wh
• 178 communal life was being overthrown by the Indust
Revolution. "Terrible old men!" exclaimed a wise Le
771 schoolmaster, of these 'Disruption Worthies'. It was
795 that they were inhuman—that is clear from the warm
felt for them by so many of the people, who would ne
have taken kindly to the unkind.

175 Nor were the first Evangelicals invariably severe.
the Rev. Mr. Macrae, long in Lewis, it is told that, wh
178 young he had rebuked an older fellow-minister for lev
771 at a ministers' supper on Communion Monday. Leap
795 up, the minister seized Macrae by the shoulders and danc
behind him, till Macrae was forced to join in the laug
181 Macrae never forgot the sane and kindly words spok
to him after: and he saw he had been wrong to ident
cheerfulness with irreligion. Yet much joy was ext
guished or found illicit vent. To such ruthless zeal, th
came inevitably reaction, noted even by 1877, and s
more notable during the war of 1914–18 and after. Co
flict or compromise was inevitable where Churchmen e
phasised terror and inveighed against the calm heritage
their forebears and the happiness for which human natu
178 asks. The days of emotional 'Revival' are by no mea
771 over and from them the pendulum may swing from exc
back to relieved but wearied unconcern. Moreover, w
the emigration of so many of the men, the balance of fam
life was upset. Some thoughtful men and women feel th
the 'Revival' which swept their Island (with the rest of t
Presbyterian Hebrides) before 1939 and during the w
was partly due to the excessive influence of spinsters,
whom strict Presbyterianism offered little outlet
motherly emotion or sisterly service.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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(2) SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN CHANGE

178 In spite of 'the wrath to come', life had to go on, work
181 be done, and natural affection find an outlet in youth.
183 How could the women waulk the cloth without a chorus to keep their beating hands in time? Songs had to be allowed by the sternest for this work in common. In a land where marriage was not an affair of dowries, but chiefly of love choice among the young folk, the old courting customs could not wholly be denied. Curiously enough, drinking was not severely looked upon by Scots rural Evangelists; in one story in the Old Testament, it is not the drunkard, but his mocker whom the Lord punished! In a city, a drunk man is a prey to thieves and harpies; but in a township none will do him harm. But today there are Evangelical ministers who think that drink should be frowned on at weddings and *ceilidhs*, while song and dance might be tolerated.

175 Not all the people gave in willingly to the severity of
771 the new creed. In Uig there is a cave, the 'Piper's Cave',
795 to which a crofter was wont to resort on dark nights, his pipes in his oxter, when the wind blew *from* the manse and
183 out to sea! Ultimately the least willing were forced to give in, first, by the appalling threat of the refusal of communion, and secondly, by denunciation from the pulpit
(178) and the ostracism of the Elders. Much was destroyed that can never be recovered now, and many a fine heart saddened or broken. It was the most intimate expression of their lives, their religious lore, which suffered most.[1]

178 Yet something remains, preserved by the good sense,
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[1] Carmichael gives an infinitely pathetic account of a conversation in a home in Ness about 1880–85. *Carmina*, pp. xxvii-xxxii.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

178 intuitive and traditional, of the people, and their love for
(181) the good and beautiful. Song collectors from outside the Island have found little and assumed that song had been
(114) swept away. Discretion is certainly needed for song col-
(533) lection! Years ago in Bernera I had been told of a pretty love lament I had not heard. Calling with my hosts to
125 invite him to their house that evening, we found the singer,
533 a burly crofter of fifty or so. We had been about to
183 mention the word 'song', when the word was checked on our lips by a swift, warning glance. The singer lived with his old mother and she must not be told that her son went
533 out on such an errand! Nevertheless, Islanders them-
178 selves are collecting many unpublished songs, where strangers failed. The Laxdale School choir wins prizes at
(814) many a national gathering or *Mod*, for their spirited singing of songs, many of them unpublished. Owing in part to their very isolation, these songs have remained as pure in form as in the Catholic Isles, whether in time and rhythm or in scale and mode. Thus the sub-intervals or 'quarter-tones' of the modal scale add subtlety to the melodic line of an air, as in the melodies of Wales or of distant India.[1] These intervals are rarely heard on concert platforms, being unrecognised by many 'Mod medallists'. They are rarely known to professional musicians trained to the mechanical scale of the piano, and who are asked, as adjudicators, to award praise or criticism by alien standards.

181 Courtesy and modesty are noticeable among the young

[1] M. Kennedy-Fraser, Preface, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. Cf. Glyn-Williams, *Welsh Song and Dance* (Curwen, 1936). For India see A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindustan* (1914), pp. 104 ff., and H. A. Popley, *The Music of India* (1921); cf. A. Geddes in A. Karpelès (ed.), *L'Inde et son âme*, Paris, 1927. While published phonographic records of Indian singing normally illustrate these intervals, those of Gaelic Hebridean singers rarely do, as they are accustomed to alter to suit a piano.

ing was lacking, and the minister of the parish remained in the Establishment, the popular movement inclined unanimously towards the cause of the suffering and protesting Church of Scotland, with the exception of a small handful of people in Stornoway."

The part of elder folk in religious life continued to be important, but in new ways. Masculine influence now dominated the family and the congregation. The 'Men' in the Highlands were Elders of the Church who often spoke as lay preachers and who rose to speak on 'Question Day' —that is on the Friday of the Communion Services, which extended, and still do, from Thursday, the Fast Day, to Monday, the Thanksgiving Day. The presiding minister, after opening devotions, invited any Elder of the Parish to rise and propose the Question; the Elder having read a text from Scripture, would say he wished to hear the 'marks' of the true Believer, drawn from the text. After the minister had himself "opened out the text", he would name visiting Elders, calling upon them in turn to speak. One by one, each would rise and give his picture of the real Christian in terms of the qualities suggested by the text. "And so the hour sped under the pleasing and helpful variety of a dozen speakers or more. The 'Men' spoke out of rich experience. . . . 'Question Day' was a self-searching season, when every hearer examined his heart by the 'marks' adduced . . . and as this went on there was a sweet glow on the face of the Congregation as the presiding Minister summed up and closed the holy Convocation." [1]

The 'Men' had long been a recognised Order in the Highlands, and their foundation is traced to Thomas Hog, the famous minister of Killearn, "born in Tain in the

[1] Rev. N. C. Macfarlane, *The 'Men' in the Lewis* (1924).

State were in the wrong: the people were with God and, most of all when they suffered, God was with them! The sense of liberation brought to the Highlanders and Islesmen encouraged them to press their claim to the land they worked, strengthening the agrarian movement of 1880–86. The moral victory of 1843 contributed to legal victory in 1886.

The influence of Evangelism continued for some time at fever heat. "Even down to the present time (1877) there are tokens of the gracious working of the Spirit on men's minds, although it is a day of small things compared with the past and, in the case of some, a day of stumbling and instability. How humbling to behold the first reaction in favour of worldly and Erastian [1] principles, manifesting itself on the spot where the gospel banner was first unfurled in Lewis! But there is a God that judgeth in the earth, and his time to vindicate his cause shall come. 'Offences must come, but woe unto that man by whom they shall come!'" [2]

What comment can be made on this? One shudders at first, to hear of 'gross vices' among the people, only to find that by these 'vices' was meant fidelity to the religious past. It may seem strange that Highlanders such as these writers on the 'Disruption Worthies', who were almost as proud of Columba as of the Covenanters, were blinded to the enduring values in Columban tradition. They were certainly unable to foresee the effects of their preaching.

[1] 'Erastianism' is the doctrine of the supremacy of the State in ecclesiastical causes, a term which came into use in Britain in the seventeenth century. Actually the problem is one which Erastus, 1524–83, nowhere entered upon; none the less, the name is established, and it denotes a major issue of principles.

[2] J. Greig (ed.), *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands* (1877).

(e) A CHANGING CHURCH: 1820–1943

Underneath the doctrinal severity of the Presbyterian
195 Gael, there has continued some of the cheerful faith in
795 living, the belief in mutual aid, the tolerance and calm,
(198) breathed in our native religious lore. The sternest Presby-
terianism, which swept the North-west after 1820, still
makes the Gaelic North its fortress in Scotland. Yet the
maintenance in the Scottish Church of a doctrine of uni-
versal love was due, no less, to Gaelic ministers, and seems
to have owed its rebirth to Gaelic tradition through these
men. The question of continuity is important: for this
doctrine, embracing all mankind, not only the predestined
few, has profoundly influenced the attitude to life in all
Protestant lands, throughout a century crucial to human
development.

195 The most notable of the Scots ministers concerned
795 with the doctrine of the Atonement were John McLeod
793 Campbell and his younger friend, Norman Macleod. Born
in Argyllshire in 1800, McLeod Campbell was ordained
in 1825, and preached the assurance that God loved, and
Christ died, for all men. For this he was charged with
heresy by the Church of Scotland, and deposed in 1831,
a trial he bore "with saintly charity and patience", re-
fusing to found a new sect. In 1832 he went through
the Highlands and Skye, preaching everywhere in Gaelic.
A Moderate minister, John Maciver, who attended his
services, said to him: "I never understood so much of
your views before; now in the strength of God I will
enquire more into them". It was very different when he
met his own cousin, Roderick McLeod, who eight years
later swept the island of Skye into the Free Church and
led the Evangelicals in the Hebrides. To his sister

175 saint, a character so eminently Christ-like",[1] and to his
793 intimate beliefs, doctrine and wide influence. The same
159 Highland roots and deep charity characterised Dr. Norman
Macleod, author of the popular classic, *The Friend of the
Gael* (*Caraid nan Gaidhal*).

121 If a student of community ventures upon an interpreta-
tion of theology, it is because, to him, any attempt to under-
stand "the relations of God to mankind" must take account
of men's relations to one another. Ideas are transformed
by human experience during economic and social revolu-
tions, and in their turn they transform society. To make
contact with reality, theology must regard mankind: it
175 must be integrated with sociology. Because of its close
• 178 bond with communal life, the religious spirit, recorded in
182 Gaelic lore, was jarred, almost overwhelmed, when com-
munity was shaken to its foundations by the commercial,
agricultural and industrial revolution. Happily, the value
178 of communal Christianity has been acknowledged both by
79 Roman Catholics—notably (among Gaels) by the Rev.
Allan Macdonald of Eriskay—and by Protestants.[2] In
the Scottish Presbyterian Church today, the movement
which seems most deeply aware of the need for a new
society has acknowledged its debt to communal tradition
where this has been best maintained, that is, in the Isles.
Seeking to aid Christian endeavour, international and
national, this movement has turned for inspiration to Iona.
(177) Iona, of which the noble cathedral belongs to the Church
of Scotland but is open for service to all denominations,
Presbyterians have found a new symbol.

(113) [1] Canon Vaughan, cited by the Rev. Norman Macleod (*Scotsman*, 21st Aug. 1943).
[2] "The Church should interpret the Love of God by a flaming zeal for the redress of the social order." (The Very Rev. Prof. John Baillie, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, at St. Andrews, 1943.)

CONCLUSION
(CHAPTERS V TO VIII)

Manifestly, prevailing views of the relationships of chief
175 • 178 and people, and above all, of the people to one another, must
105 be revised, even reversed. So must widespread views of the
relation of clerical to 'lay' members in the living, though
unseen, Church. The enduring character of the people's
primitive faith, from its early arrival to our time, may be
almost unique in Western Christendom; distance and
sheer physical poverty proved to be its protection. Had
they been better preserved, the temporal and spiritual
traditions of the Eastern Gael, and also of Scots Low-
landers, might well justify a revision of views. In the Isles
again and again the people were placed under 'Authority'
—under laird and soldier, legislator and official, priest and
pastor, orthodox cleric and unorthodox 'intellectual'.
Should not each of these ask with humility whether they
and their predecessors have not often misled those who
might have led them, mistaught those from whom they
might have learned?

175 as some Indian pedlar one meets on the road may seem
133 now. An older packman's tale of his long tramps, of the
132 people's poverty and hospitality, must have resembled
the mingled plaints and praise one hears from an Indian
143 pedlar today! But in the past only a speaker of Gaelic
(191) could find his way among the people. Almost until 1900,
(197) if not still later, Gaelic speech was to prove a social bond,
but ignorance of English speech an economic barrier.

The transition to increased exchanges, with migration,
175 permanent and temporary, tended to make for specialisa-
133 tion. About 1795, *Statistical Accounts* enumerated, for
463 every hundred families, two or three smiths, wrights (or
carpenters), a shipwright or some boat-makers, a few
• (178) weavers, tailors, and perhaps a miller. Each of these held
some corn land, individually or in shares, with rights on
the common. The line between plain crofters (to use a
later term) and crofter-craftsmen was not easily drawn, and
different writers wrote as they judged best. In Lochs,
80 per cent were fishers and net-makers. On the open
shores of the west, in Barvas parish (in which three-fourths
of the men were also 'fishers'), kelp-making was a seasonal
(470) occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid
30s. to 60s. in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling
to their tacksmen at 5d. each, earned £1 a month on herring
boats, made kelp at 30s. per ton, and roads at 8d. a day.

In Harris in 1795 the eight 'bred' (or trained male)
175 weavers worked only for 'the gentry': the laird, the
284 tacksmen and their families. The rest of the weaving
462 was done by the women, giving a ratio of only one male
weaver to fifty-five families. But in Lewis male weavers
were commoner—one to every twenty to thirty families
It would also seem as if it had not been in the interests of
landlords to improve passages (quays) at sea-lochs,
(113) [1] Brand Report, 1902, p. xiv.
[2] *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1750–1850* (1941).

175 growth followed the increases in potato-growing and fish-
• 178 ing, rises in income and food production, and the introduction
431 of vaccination against smallpox, which had formerly taken
a heavy toll of child life.[1] This increase found an outlet
433 in emigration to the Colonies, often led by departing tack-
men though discouraged at first by the Island lairds. For
(761) example, in July 1773, 840 people sailed from Lewis.
175 "Alarmed by this, their master . . . came down from
431 London to treat with the remainder of his tenants. What
167 are the terms asked, think you? 'The land at the old
rents, the augmentation paid few three years back to be
refunded, and his Factor to be immediately dismissed!'"
(214) Although the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, from which this
quotation is taken, went on to say that it was expected that
the demands would be acceded to, or the Island would
become a desert, the Factor was retained.

175 The pressure of population can be imagined when the
167 appalling conditions of transport overseas are remembered.
505 A case is known of 700 Gaelic emigrants setting out from
the Clyde across the Atlantic in a vessel for which the
maximum human cargo of negro slaves permissible was
400. The regulations governing the transport of slaves
did not apply to the transport of 'freemen'. In quoting
this case, D. F. Macdonald suggests that while it was in
the interest of slave-owners that their slaves should arrive
in the Plantations alive, it was rather in the interest of
manufacturers to discourage emigration so as to keep a
supply of labour at home with which to meet their growing
demands and fill the gaps due to a high mortality, par-
ticularly among workers newly arrived from the country.[2]
It would also seem as if it had not been in the interests of
landlords to improve passages (quays) at sea-lochs, time,

175 real hopes that prosperity could be maintained. In 1914
228 war came, followed by sweeping changes in international
178 trade. These changes left the Island fishermen workless,
• 176 and with wrecked and rotting boats. In twenty years the
(430) number of Scotland's fishermen was halved, and the re-
458 mainder all but ruined. For guidance, past progress and
past losses should be reviewed, in order to see what
measures can be taken to restore prosperity.

121 For the slow growth of a native fishing industry, two
175 factors were to blame: the poverty of environment, to-
182 gether with the unsettled state of the Isles, and also, it
seems, the jealousy of urban interests. These were repre-
228 sented, in 1603 and even after, by the Royal Burghs, and
from 1707 by the British Parliament. The Royal Burghs
certainly developed Scottish trade and industry through
their own ports, but they feared competition, and opposed
any direct contact of other ports, such as Stornoway, with
foreign fishers and traders. From the days of the MacLeods
(648) this difficulty had hampered regional development. It
was in spite of royal prohibition that Seaforth encouraged
Dutch curers to settle, an arrangement interrupted by war
with Holland in 1653 and 1665. Curers from Caithness
and the East Coast were encouraged to replace the Dutch-
• (198) men, and from time to time through the succeeding century
efforts were made from the south to form fishing com-
panies, and in the Island to encourage local fishers to profit
175 from example in the catching of herring and of ling, hake
236 and cod.[1] The people fished for food, with fishing-rods
427 from the shore, and in frail boats in the lochs, and if they
(648) could, they also sold a surplus. Fish were not only taken
direct to Glasgow, but sold at home, first to Scots and foreign
and later to British boats, of which ninety visited Lochs in

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, p. 65 ff.

175 though also by State loans. The efforts of the Island
228 fishermen in the sixty years from 1880 to 1939 can be
471 summed up in the values of their boats. From 1880 to
1900 values rose by one-half, but had fallen somewhat
458 before the war of 1914–18 (to £20,000). Immediately after,
the purchase of steam drifters at Stornoway and the fitting
their herring boats with motors by the fishermen had
tripled the value (close on £70,000 in 1920). But markets
fell almost at once, and losses continued. By 1938 the
Island fishing fleet was valued (or overvalued) at a quarter
that figure, and was worth less than the fleet of sixty years
before.[1]

(f) THE CROFTERS ACTS, 1886–1919: TOWNSHIP, LAND LORD AND STATE

175 Centuries of cattle-keeping having left the grass moors
236 in good condition, the profits of sheep-farming rose after
1770 with the price of wool for manufacture. Protected
from foxes by modern guns, and handled in large flocks,
the newly introduced Cheviot and Blackface sheep and
• (198) lambs could graze in their thousands. In many estates the
introduction of additional sheep, with the crofters' cattle,
175 was tried and worked; but in others the people were
236 ruthlessly evicted. Although offset by many acts of wise
economy and generous aid, evictions were too frequent
during the next half-century, and they engendered growing
427 bitterness.

Whereas in other Isles, and on the machar of Harris,
the small joint tenantry and subtenantry were evicted in

(113) [1] Figures 1848–53 quoted from J. P. Day, *Public Administration*, 1918; 1888–1900 from Appendix K, Report, 1902; 1912–1938 from *Fishery Board for Scotland* Tables (Table E-IR, 1912–21, and Table 15 and A.I., 1938).

429 croft by subdivision, he would pay little, indirectly and by
656 arrangement; while if he simply built a hut or house on
a vacant spot he paid neither rates nor rent. Either course
was illegal; yet it was too expensive for the landlord,
however 'hard-hearted', to take legal proceedings to turn
off a squatter. As for wholesale expropriation the suffering
caused and the odium incurred would have involved—and
would still involve—both landlord and State in insurmount-
able difficulties by starting fresh agitation, perhaps with
outbreaks of law-breaking, repression and bad blood. Yet
these anomalies still discourage, and the normal illegalities
demoralise, all concerned.

656 Because of the provision by State and local authorities
• 178 of a growing range of services in other regions, and also
511 because of the special reasons of Insular poverty, State
action was increasingly taken in the Isles. To what extent
12 have the Islanders responded, it may be asked; or how
far may they have failed, in return for aid offered and
(1162) benefits received? Let us begin with mutual aid practised
among the people up to 1900, and then consider the repay-
ment of loans and grants under different conditions. Ob-
servations by those in touch with the Island for many
years, officially or privately, allow one to read between the
lines and attempt an impartial judgment.

As to the strength of independent mutual aid there
175 could be no doubt. Up to the beginning of this century,
176 the amounts expended on parish relief were 'almost
(652) nothing', and had shown no increase in preceding years.
General poverty, anomalies in the rating system, and the
mistakes such as the erection of poorhouses by the central
administration, diminished resources; but the people
generously gave help to their poorer neighbours in work
and gifts. Except for a year of overwhelming crisis,

181 grants, then, in the absence of an immediate goal, the
combination of the corporate interest in bad work with
natural inclination to an easy time proved overwhelming!
The problem of assuring good work and prompt repay-
ment is real: it calls for the right appeal to team-spirit
coupled with personal responsibility. Many short roads
to small new settlements have been economically built.

175 With regard to loans for settlement and housing, similar
(257) contrasts are found. Near Stornoway the farm of Aignish
(Eye) was divided in 1905 into thirty-two fishermen's
476 holdings (rented at £3). The Congested Districts Board
lent £3600 for housing and spent £1600 on fencing and
£450 on administrative expenses, a total of about £160
per holding; but in seven years the holders had paid only
one-seventh of the annuities due, and were in arrears with
the rent.[1] Yet on the housing loans made on a wide scale
since 1919, there was mutual aid among neighbours and
the repayment has been satisfactory.

SUMMARY: 1750–1914–1919

175 The transition from the old economy of mutual aid in
• 178 self-support, little changed down to the 'Forty-five, to the
433 development of production for sale had proceeded far
by 1914. Yet change had not continued steadily. There
had been fluctuations, from the land and back again, or
towards individualism with returns to common action.
Kelp-making, migration, and commercial fishing alternated
in importance as means to earn a living without losing the
(931) anchorage of home. After the potato famine, a century
(166) ago, the people tended to move away from the outlying
(167) townships and emigrate; but the next generation agitated

[1] J. P. Day (1918), pp. 312-314.

175 for a firmer hold upon the land and for a return to aban-
• 178 doned sites. The communal possession of joint farms, held
433 directly or under tacksmen, gave place to individual pos-
(731) session of crofts. Yet the legal recognition of perpetual
(162) tenure in 1886 gave not only the crofter's home but the
(167) crofting neighbourhood a security unequalled in Britain.
The use of moor and machar in common was retained;
but its control for improvement or reclamation by the
175 estate or the township was weakened, rather than strength-
(257) ened, by the Crofters' Acts. Confusion grew—both upon
178 the arable land, subdivided, unenlarged and unimproved,
423 and also upon the common grazing, sorely overstocked in
427 spite of ever diminishing 'soumings' (or family shares) of
cattle. Rating difficulties and anomalies appeared. Com-
munal discipline, maintained at sea by fishing, was weak-
ened on land after the abolition of the joint farm-group,
and almost nullified in the townships by subdivision and
squatting.

175 A year before the potato famine of 1845, a new landlord
178 had brought good-will, capital and pioneering effort to
433 Lewis. These had been directed to experiments in the
(427) reclamation and the industrial utilisation of deep peat.
311 Helped by employment on these and other works, the
(161) population of Lewis continued to increase, when increase
in Harris was arrested for a generation. Yet while neither
experiment with peat met with success, little aid had been
given to develop fisheries. In both parts of the Island a
growing population was supported from the 'seventies
onwards by help of earnings derived from the seasonal
herring fishing on the East Coast and from inshore line
fishing at home. Women added to the Island income by
(167) seasonal 'gutting' and, in Harris, by their spinning and
weaving. Money was earned by work on the mainland,

175 and savings were sent by emigrants who remained faithful
• 178 to parents and home.
433 If it be asked why most of the people kept to their
167 Island home in spite of its poverty and earned so little
away from it, one answer must be that their native tongue
175 formed a barrier encircling them as a community at home
178 and cutting them off from the rest of the nation. Seventy-
197 five years ago the new Education Acts were not yet in
(671) full operation. Comparing the relative well-being in the
(871) Shetlands with the extreme poverty in the Hebrides at that
511 time, a northern agriculturist wrote that in Scotland, only
(184) in the Hebrides "is the food obtained by the peasant
occasionally so scanty" as to be unable "to maintain a
175 labouring man in vigorous health". Inquiring why there
178 should be so great a difference between the Shetlanders
197 and the Hebrideans, living in similar, distant isles, he
182 wrote, "We think the answer may be given in one word—
language. . . . The population of the Hebrides cling to
their ancient Gaelic with consequences most disastrous to
themselves. . . . It handicaps them in the race for life . . . .
is a hindrance in the cities and a check to the emigration
of both sexes to those world-wide regions where all who
speak the English tongue find themselves at home."[1] He
concurred with the Census Report of 1871, which stated:
"The Gaelic language may be what it likes, both as to
antiquity and beauty, but it decidedly stands in the way
of the civilisation of the natives making use of it, and shuts
them out from the paths open to their fellow-countrymen
who speak the English tongue". The Report concludes:
"It ought therefore to cease being taught in all our national
schools. We are one people and we ought to have but one

[1] James Mollison, in the Highland and Agricultural Society's *Report on the Present State of the Agriculture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878), pp. 136-38.

175 language." Many Islanders would agree with the state-
• 178 ment that Gaelic was a barrier to economic progress.
197 It was not only Lowland schoolmasters, ignorant of Gaelic
182 but an educated, sensible class of men in their day, who
used the strap on the palms of the little children "for
(511) their good" because they could not understand English.
An active Lewis country schoolmaster, who had considerable
175 rural knowledge and experience, said to me: "I know what
197 I have suffered through life from being brought up on
(671) Gaelic. If I had my way, I would *punish* [with the strap]
871 every child I heard speaking Gaelic in the playground!"
Had the Island School Boards wished Gaelic to be con-
sistently taught with English, they could have prevailed.

114 One may not only disagree strongly with the means—
197 the strap—but hold that enlightened bilingual teaching is
871 both worth while culturally and also of assistance to
intelligence without interfering with use in English of the
153 three Rs, and of secondary and higher education. Yet in
Lewis recent non-verbal tests in English and Gaelic show
a mean intelligence quotient depressed by about 15 points.[1]
153 The conclusion seems to be that under the present system
197 the Gaelic school child is still at a disadvantage compared
182 to other school children. But even more important to the
(71) child's development would seem to be the expression of
his response to his rural environment in his own tongue.
For this the school tests and the educational code do not
fully provide; nor do the tests of life when the adolescent
Islander suddenly finds himself at work in a Glasgow
175 factory or abroad in city streets. What concerns us here
197 is the economic drawback of a lack of ready English among

[1] Christina A. Smith, M.A., B.Ed., *Mental Testing of Hebridean Children in Gaelic and English*. (Scot. Council on Research in Education, vol. xxvii (London, 1948); J. L. Campbell, *Gaelic in Scotland* (and ed.) (Edinburgh, 1948).

159 stubborn and suspicious; he never believed it. He realised
473 that the backwardness of the Island arose from lack of
opportunity, and that opportunity he would do his best
433 to provide. Wherever he went he found the same story
—things half attempted, nothing done." Leverhulme, one
felt in 1919, wanted to do all he could for the Islanders.
A greater man would have wanted to work not only for,
but with, the Islanders. Then, even if the fisheries had
been ruined, as they were, by forces outside his control,
he would have shared a moral victory, not shared and
suffered economic loss, with moral defeat.

174 In the Isles for centuries before, a family and well-tried
183 friends were valued above all other things. What was more,
this was still true in the lifetime both of the elder men and
• (178) the women he found at home, and of the absent men, at
war. The foundation for this friendly life was a plot of
159 land and work to do, a home and the leisure to enjoy it.
433 Leverhulme, too, valued these things in his own way. He
cared for human homes and gardens, and had proved it at
461 Port Sunlight and elsewhere. A pioneer of industry and
efficiency, he pled for 'a six-hour day' and leisure after-
wards, and he had done much to realise the ideal in his
own works. Moreover, he was not without respect for
spiritual values, freedom, and a congregation's right to
choose their pastor.[1] All these things should have helped
to put him into sympathy with Island life, and up to a
point they did so.

159 It is clear that Leverhulme had considered the possi-
433 bilities of improving the local fisheries, village by village;
and an engineer had reported on possible harbour improve-
228 ments at Ness, Barvas, and elsewhere. But he came to the

[1] Leverhulme (1927), p. 211; and Leverhulme (1st Baron), *The Six-Hour Day and Other Industrial Questions*, 1919.

159 in the country, and foreseeing that the only sure way to
473 avoid irritation, friction and law-breaking was to grant
the farms and have done with it, the Secretary of State for
433 Scotland and the Board felt that they could not withdraw
the Government's promise of land. The Secretary for
Scotland, Mr. Munro (later Lord Alness), spoke with
knowledge as a Highlander. A general promise of small-
holdings had been made to all Scotsmen in the Services,
and could not easily be set aside at the wish of one man,
then approaching the age of seventy, however well-inten-
tioned, wealthy and in earnest. Yet Leverhulme declared
that while he would relinquish farms on the west side of
Lewis, his schemes could not go on unless he retained
the farms on Broad Bay to supply fresh milk for Stornoway.
If the farms were divided, he said, he must close the whole
scheme forthwith.

159 Of his earnestness Leverhulme left no doubt. He not
473 only planned but set up a retail agency, Mac Fisheries, and
433 he purchased drifters and trawlers, the Mac Line, to fish
far afield and bring the catch to Stornoway, there to be
228 transhipped by his own carrying service. He set about
building model dwellings in Stornoway itself, each with
its quarter-acre allotment. 'Work and Wages' from
capitalised fisheries were his offer, in further token of
which, road-making and other wage-providing work was
• (178) begun. Until 1920 the farms remained undivided. The
farmers, for their part, could only wait for the expiry of
159 their leases, or for the transactions by which their leases
473 would be foreclosed and compensation awarded. Prices
433 of stock were high at the time, and the valuation would
correspond to these. Hence tenants felt they could afford
427 to wait. Meantime crofters' stock wandered over their
farms—whether because of the wilfulness of the stock or

The Trustees of the Stornoway Trust have not found it easy to meet the cost of keeping up the valuable property of the Castle and Park, nor to carry the burden of its rates, no adequate income being available for the purpose. Today, however, Lewerhulme's gift is being put to good use as a Technical College, opened in September 1952.

Division of the available farms, after providing about 200 small crofts (of 10 acres or so), still left the problem of finding legal homes on legal tenure for the remaining crofters and squatters.[1] The Department of Agriculture managed to fix plots of 'allotted land' on the estate not far certain townships, including one in the extreme north and others in Lochs. About 200 of these little holdings with potato ground were provided. On the holders' behalf the Department feued land from the owner, after obtaining the consent of the Common Grazing Committee of the township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', i.e. for enclosure of a portion of the common. The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem disproportionate to the economic value of the holdings. Yet definition of land and custom had been allowed to go from bad to worse during the past eighty years; and these difficulties were overcome.

To encourage better housing in the crofting counties, loans are made to crofters and fishermen feuers' personally. Local stone, or cheaply concrete, is used, and much of the building is done by the 'man of the house' himself, and his friends. From 1920 to 1940, nearly 1400 loans were made in Lewis and Harris for the erection (or improvement) of houses, and in a few cases for the erection

[1] Estimated at 1200 to 1300 shortly before, the open question was whether subdivision during the previous eighty years was to be recognized and accepted.

illustrates the narrow margin of habitality on these fragmented holdings.

Now, in Lewis precisely peeling and exchange, or the practice of annual re-allotment on the small joint-tenants' farms, was abolished early in the nineteenth century, except upon the machar, where it still continues. Apparently the strips were simply fixed where they had last been approximated by lot. Subdivision of the little crofts among sons and daughters, or their descendants, is still the problem of finding legal homes on legal tenure for the remaining outsters and squatters.[1] The Department of Agriculture managed to fix plots of 'allotted land' on the estate not far certain townships, including one in the extreme north and others in Lochs. About 200 of these little holdings with potato ground were provided. On the holders' behalf the Department feued land from the owner, after obtaining the consent of the Common Grazing Committee of the township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', i.e. for enclosure of a portion of the common. The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem disproportionate to the economic value of the holdings. Yet definition of land and custom had been allowed to go from bad to worse during the past eighty years; and these difficulties were overcome.

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[1] Approximately 200 such holdings in the Lewis estate are described, and the principle discussed, in *Scottish Land Court Reports*. (See *Scottish Law Rev.* vol. 58, p. 240; 1942, p. 51-54.) At the same time 'mechanization', or the co-operative utilization of tractors had led to plans for 'collective farming'. (*Stornoway Gazette*, February 1944.)

left the Island. Yet after 1931 many returned, owing to losses and unemployment both in British towns and overseas. When emigrants began to come home the 'Harris' tweed industry had spread to Lewis and offered increasing employment. Some men still fished in family-owned Island boats, and others as paid hands (the owners being the East Coast), though losses and unemployment were suffered.

Post-war changes were hastened not only by movement beyond the Island—an influence at work for three or four generations before—but by mobility within it. In 1939 a small mail car made its way daily from Stornoway along each of the five main roads, with an occasional passenger. Where motors crossed the Island by Stornoway roads, on foot or took the pony and cart at a slow walk; it was a day's journey. Ten years later, Ford vans, bought second-hand, ran daily to Stornoway, with some passenging. Frequency, ease and relative cheapness of movement came about in an Island where hardly the necessities of life were the same maintenance of a tradition, the pooling of resources.[1]

In 1924-25, widespread distress in the Isles, the failure of the Leverhulme endeavour, the crofters' land agitation, gave to the women, and the emigration which followed, caused many considers to formulate a new social organization. It was all the more interesting to note the confidence in the Island's future shown by buyers of the great estate, all of whom knew what they were about, for they were men with experience of the Island, of its rates and rentals and of its people. To a wealthy man who repurchased a sporting

[1] Approximately 200 such holdings in the Lewis estate are described, and the principle discussed, in *Scottish Land Court Reports*. (See *Scottish Law Rev.* vol. 58, p. 240; 1942, p. 51-54.) At the same time 'mechanization', or the co-operative utilization of tractors had led to plans for 'collective farming'. (*Stornoway Gazette*, February 1944.)

exists at Tarbert and another was erected in 'the Bays' district by Lord Leverhulme. Agricultural experts have introduced 'Automatic' hand-looms into Lewis. Today as in the past, the weavers possess a little croft or few, a cow, and a few sheep on the outrun, and perhaps a small boat.

Commercial fishing and weaving cannot, however, be satisfactorily combined, for seasonal alternation of occupation entails waste of gear and plant, and interferes with economic efficiency. The poverty of Island, Lewis (Leurbost neighbourhood, immediately south of Stornoway), weaving became important, but not of the same kind as the fishing boats (still represented in 1930) had been fitted with motors after 1918; they were idle and rotting, and by 1938 only one was still regular. In South Lochs, however, motor-boats were purchased, but there is little weaving. An obvious reason for the difference is the accessibility of the North Lochs area by road to Stornoway. Light passenger cars bring yarn to the village, besides groceries, etc., and take away rolls of tweed. South Lochs, on the other hand, considerably further from Stornoway by road, is still within reach for marketing fish. In North Lochs, improvement at home and young men, on their return from three months' work on East Coast fishing boats, turned increasingly to the 'Automatic' looms, manipulation being easily learnt; but such intermittent work alone gives little hope of progress. There is no more fascinating problem than the future of improved weaving.

(c) THE OUTLOOK: 1939-54 AND SINCE

How then did the situation be assessed, as it was before the outbreak of war and since then? By 1939 tweeds had been partly lost; for the after-war years of the 'Leverhulme boom' were followed by discouragement and poverty. During that time many people have hoped for half a generation of reconstruction and progress. On the other hand the core question of dividing the farm lands was settled, as bringing nothing to an end. Congestion on the existing crofts is less than it was, owing to this fact, and to the emigration of the young. The poverty of many Islanders who had migrated to the cities first cut down the amounts remitted to their Island dependents, and then (in consequence) A croft, or even a garden site, and the opportunity of building a good house there made life still worth while, when other employment had failed. Unemployment relief, though tempting some to idleness, gave a respite which many utilized to make a fresh start. As fishing gear was lost, men took advantage of any new beginning offered to learn a new trade—weaving. This has made many feel that the Island may be found on the labour market, given alternation of 'wage-earning' with unemployment, in Glasgow or abroad. They believe the situation in the Island improved, and weaving in Gaelic has remains little better than before, many, even of the younger people, still care for the Island life among their own kin. Given a clear lead, these could reorganize themselves, and undertake the developments needed in fishing, weaving and reclamation. The homes are sound, 'good neighbourhood' endures, and given fresh opportunity, the community could awaken to new life.

During and since the war, co-operative marketing was

developed through the township Grazing Committee, the Crofters' Agricultural Organisation Society and its associated Crofters' Agency. Lime and fertilizers were purchased, and wool and other products sold, co-operatively. The co-operative marketing of lobsters, taking advantage of fluctuating London prices, has led to the reconstruction of ponds for storage. By these and other means, government assistance is utilized but not squandered; earlier initiative and self-reliance, encouraged in reinforced; and communal tradition is revived, linked to personal responsibility through the crofters' lifelong knowledge of one another.

As to the future, all agreed that unless the Harris Tweed industry flourished, there was little prospect for Lewis. The work would be abandoned by the young, perhaps with no return such as hatherto on 'retirement'. Many young people are content with the Island life, provided they can get a living there, though not all, for they are somewhat divided; and work elsewhere, even in the mills of Stornoway, is not unpleasant.

Social life is undergoing changes which operate both against and in favour of the retention of Gaelic. On one hand, household interchange of conversation, song and story, the *ceilidh*, has declined. On the other hand, one found that, as regards religious prohibitions, and in spite of the nervous tension expressed in 'Revivals', the young have won greater freedom. Near one village a Nissen hut, handed over to the Home Guard, was also used by young people for monthly dances. When I asked a young crofter who resided from the Navy whether the Elders of the Kirk would put a stop to such, he replied that they had, but had to give it up: 'They see that we aren't stand for it'[1] This would have been unthinkable during the First World War.

[1] W. J. Gibson, "Social Amenities in the Western Isles", *Dunedipedia* Rev. (Jan. 1950).

so creating a small leak in the purse and in the mind, by serving little amusement, and little, in consequence, to make a man's home attractive. The Elders, in the main, are not unsympathetic to the dances, in the main. The reports of the B.B.C., on the other hand, emphasise their cultural endeavours, and the lightening of house-work and of rural monotony or solitude. Every effort is needed to aid a happy selection in home and neighbourhood.

Improvements are taking place in war were of very differing types. Many men spent the war years in the Navy, without being transferred to other work, or from the Merchant Marine. Of combatants in the land forces, the Territorials of the original 51st Highland Division experienced a few months of training, and then went home on leave, then of a brief but bitter campaign, followed by long years in prison camps, while other soldiers underwent a prolonged training in Britain, followed by severe fighting for long periods, far afield. Lastly, a limited number of men served in engineering or other units, for the most part in Britain, though labouring, at high wages, kept many of the older men employed at home. Of the women called up for service, one has to remember that, if it would be a pity if it can be renewed, many were transferred to other work.

As in the First World War, so in the Second: few communities in Britain have had so large a proportion of their men in the Forces, in the fighting line and at sea, during the outbreak of hostilities. The Island community is almost without the exemptions due to 'essential occupations' such as commercial agriculture in the country, or heavy industry and administration in the towns. The toll has been heavy, and the nation's debt to the Islanders should be remembered.

For a year or two after the war many men and women returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found, though people from the Island had gone out into the world and rubbed shoulders with all sections, that life was hard, but some—not all—made a fresh start, with help from the family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and the fishing industry was stagnant for years. Few women wished to return to the hard, uncertain weekly getting. The whaling station, lost to the Island in 1939, remained idle, and open for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950, and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed. Yet the Island's fishing industry, in 1950, was in better condition. The war-time construction of air-fields had ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was undertaken by contractors.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders' main source for earnings, was crippled by the imposition of a 66 per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds. Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export to urban clothing was a luxury, and taxable. Vesting the position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there was some sympathetic understanding of the plight of the Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artisan favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the end, the mass-production is an unacknowledging debtor. The obvious economic handicaps of hand hand-weaving may surely permit some latitude. The export trade in Harris Tweed, in which the imponderable 'sentimental

APPENDIX I

128 An effort has been made to separate crofting from other income, and also to average the income from the sources given of the total rural households, numbering 4,990, composed of those on the 36,500 acreage crofts plus an estimated 1030 others, namely, cottars and squatters, and ' feuars '—i.e. holding land in fee.

431 Finally, to the productive income earned on the Island there should be added that received by earnings sent or brought home by dependants, together with pensions, unemployment relief and the like. I am greatly indebted to the appropriate officials for the figures cited for 1937-38 or the year immediately preceding. These sources average £45 per rural household.

128 The figures tabled all apply to Lewis alone; but many figures have been obtained for Harris also, conclusions are similar there. The concluding Table (pp. 314-315) bears a note on other sources of income, with a similar table for 1953.

(i) *Tweed Industry*

176 After deducting the cost of wool imported from the mainland and certain other costs, the net productive income was taken to be £307,000. The estimate may still err on the high side but it indicates the prime importance of the industry in the Lews. For 1938 the quantity of tweed stamped, and certified as hand-woven by the Harris Tweed Association Ltd., was 2,850,000 imperial yards, rising in 1939 and 1940 to 4,000,000 yards, though falling thereafter. The value of the tweed produced in 1938 was approximately £500,000. The total wages paid in 1938 amounted to £140,000 (£139,600), rather more than half of which was paid to the weavers working at home. In 1940 this had risen to nearly £200,000, a slightly higher proportion falling to the weavers.

345 In addition to the wages paid and the price paid for local wool, the industry is a valuable customer of the Electricity Company and directly or indirectly provides much other employment

651 in the Island. The industry also provided a market for a large quantity of Scottish wool and contributed to taxation.

1158 The productivity and earnings of the industry continued to

APPENDIX I

176 be high until 1948. The year 1947 was the peak year for the production of Harris Tweed, with over 5,000,000 yards (of which 3,765,000 yards were stamped, and some 1,500,000 unstamped). In 1948 the production of unstamped tweed had fallen to 500,000 yards but stamped tweed came to 4,380,000 yards.

Then, in the year 1948 the imposition of a 66½ per cent purchase tax struck the industry a crippling blow. The rise in prices of wool increased difficulties, and by 1950 few orders were being booked and tweed was being paid off. A few small men who had relatively large stocks frozen by the purchase tax were able to pay them off, but this minor compensation for losses was short-lived. The outlook is disquieting.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House-building.*

131 (a) *Revenue.*—The estimated agricultural output shows

131 a total value of £189,000, and of this total the quantity fed to animals was valued at £103,000. This leaves £86,000 as the value of the net output of crop produce consumed on the Island. Adding this figure to the gross livestock output we arrive at a total income of the agricultural productions of Lewis of approximately £194,100. To arrive at the average output per croft there was deducted the fodder production, estimated at £8,100 by calculation from known crop and stock returns. This gives a figure for crofts alone of £184,400. By dividing by 3730, we obtain an average value of the gross annual production by crofters as £49, or say £50. The inclusion of squatters' produce would add so slightly to the total figure as hardly to affect the average for rural households. Outlays being small, most of this net output may be regarded as ' net earnings '.

(b) *Peat.*—To the sum must be added firing and some share

431 in housing. The peat cut has been valued at £50,000, an

431 average of £14 per croft; it demands much labour. As peat is freely cut by cottars and squatters, etc. (estimated at 1030 or so), the average value might be given as £19 per rural household. In Stornoway the chief fuel is coal.

(c) *House-building.*—From 1920 to 1940 the Department of

APPENDIX I

228 boats; value, £15,400. Of this, the greater part came into

130 Lewis creels (Table 17), making £10,000 for Lewis.

Finally, we may add a round figure for whole or part-time occupations associated with the fisheries, including what accrues by the visiting fleet and its business, of, say, £20,000. This gives a total net output approaching £80,000 from fisheries for a typical year just before 1939.

462 We now turn to an estimate of the earnings of fishermen and of the women engaged in curing. To some extent these figures overlap, for the value of the net output includes the value of fishermen's earnings; but the sums included 'other' (*i.e.* 'stranger' vessels—reduced now to some £3000—and the Stornoway Trawler earnings averaged £16 in the local summer fishing but only £15 at the East Anglia fishing. The latter is a small return, but allowance must be made for the wear and the discomfort she endures. The women work in small groups together, and their efficiency is partly due to their comradeship.

228 The figures for cured herring have already been the conclusion of

228 £30,000 for herring and £10,000 for white fish and shell-fish.

When the net earnings derived, after subtracting the working expenses of boats and outlays for gear, were very much less than this gross sum, a substantial part should be counted as earnings of fishermen (see Statistical Table 21).

Summing up the total net earnings, we arrive at the following for Lewis proper. The women's total net earnings are taken as £25,000. We add to the probable earnings of the men at the herring fishing an allowance for their profits from other catches, making a total of £130,000.

The industry was still declining here as elsewhere in Scotland. About 1930 the earnings of hired hands alone reached £30,000 and that of women twice as much, say £60,000. Besides this was the important sum earned by men with share of boats. The local white fish and shell-fish catches were also considerably higher at that period. As to the future, much will depend on what can be done to rehabilitate the industry by compensation for losses incurred in war, and by assurance that government policy will encourage local fishermen to embark on their enterprise without the risk of the

APPENDIX I

176 crippling losses suffered after 1914-18. A beginning has

228 certainly been made. The Herring Industry Board's scheme for

228 'Queen of Scots' kippers will help the Minch fishing. It will

not necessarily help the ports of Stornoway or Tarbert, because herring can be landed at mainland ports and transted there or else taken by road to the Moray Firth, kippered there, and still qualify under the scheme. The Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society has aided the marketing of lobsters to good purpose.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island*

It is to be hoped that members of the Lewis community may ascertain these figures, perhaps with University research workers. This, in turn, might instructively be related with the imports and exports of the Island, which are recorded and ascertainable with a precision approximate to a similar area on the mainland. Thus the facts would throw light on the economics of other crofting districts.

(v) *Allowances, Pensions, Unemployment Assistance and Insurance*

With regard to money received by the crofting communities of Lewis from other than ' productive ' sources, figures have been given in the preceding Appendix and Statistical Table 21. Allowances made to members of the Forces and their dependents, and Pensions, (b) Unemployment Insurance and Money Orders and Postal Orders. The yearly periods for which figures are available are close enough to permit of reasonable comparisons. Among other sources, Bank Drafts form an insignificant fraction of monies received by crofters from outside

608 Besides this was the important sum earned by men with share

144 of boats. The local white fish and shell-fish catches were also

654 considerably higher at that period. As to the future, much

will depend on what can be done to rehabilitate the industry by compensation for losses incurred in war, and by assurance that government policy will encourage local fishermen to embark on their enterprise without the risk of the

APPENDIX I

434 The significant figure here is the average total payment per

434 head in the rural or ' landward ' area, a sum of ten pounds

sterling, the complexity of urban conditions, even in a small town, making the total for the Burgh less significant. To put it differently, an average rural household of 4·5 persons thus received a sum of £44·5 a year from these sources.

All these figures—pointers to the complete facts, unascertained as yet—show that even with the help of these sources the average income of the rural Islanders was small. Comparisons of such figures with those for the rest of Britain would, of course, be misleading. To have to supplement their working lives outside their native isle, Lewis is no more than a home; and for them is absolutely necessary to remit to some urban suburb or ' dormitory ', rather than to an urban centre of production or a typical agricultural district in the Lowlands.

434 Any help to compare the conditions of life with those

171 of 1951 if, say, average weekly wage earnings for all British

171 workers in employment are taken for October of both years.

Thus, taking the 1938 earnings of 53s. 3d. as 100, those of 1951 were 141·1; or, if 25 per cent of the first, a figure to be related to the 1951 figure, the 1938 figure would be raised from 100 to 202 per cent. The total wage-bill gave a still higher increase for Britain, from 100 in 1938 to 298 per cent in 1951. As food formed a much smaller proportion of living to people in poverty or near it, the crofters' own food does not affect the comparison. The loss of amenities following the close of the mills left little for them but to seek employment beyond the Island.

434 Summing up the facts of this Appendix, it may be said

311 that the Island furnishes (1) means for partial subsistence for most; (2) means of earning a livelihood, for some; and (3) a home from which many go forth to earn a living for themselves (and their families) elsewhere—steamine contributing to national and local revenue. Of these, some return later, either to found a home, to pay visits on holiday or during periods of ill-health or unemployment, or to retire upon the Island.

APPENDIX II

RECENT STATISTICS (1953-54)

128 In brief form, the basic economic data can now be reviewed,

135 in the same order, for 1953, or the period April 1952 to March

135 1954, as available. The results are shown on the second pair

of Tables, pp. 318-319.

(i) *Tweed Industry* (1953-54)

434 Taking 5,000,000 yards as the 1952-54 total, and accepting

434 an estimate of 12. 2d. paid to weavers per finished, mill-shrunk

434 yard, payments to weavers in Lewis-and-Harris (and a few in

434 the northern Hebrides) would amount to some £292,700. After

434 subtracting the output from Harris, this corresponds to an

434 informal estimate by the Lewis Association for Lewis proper,

434 of well over £250,000 and more, probably £275,000 for the

434 period. Adding the wages of spinners in Stornoway mills,

434 and also of carters, dockers, etc., it is thought safe to double

434 the figure, with £550,000, for Lewis, rural and urban. Most

434 of the wages go to the rural population, and the rural population allows rural dwellers to come to Stornoway daily to earn and so has increased the ratio of rural to urban wages by spinning and other labour. For rural carriers and mill-

434 employees, a fifth of £275,000 is taken here, making £55,000.

434 As no estimate for the ' net earnings ' in Lewis is available,

434 the same ratio to wages is taken as in 1938, making £1,200,000.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House Building* (1953)

176 (a) *Agriculture.*—First, the trend of crop and stock pro-

176 duction can be indicated by selected figures for the Island for

1918, 1939 and 1953. The areas both of oats and rotation

434 grass increased, the three successes totals in acres were: for

434 oats: 4460, 5020, 5440; and for rotation grass: 3390, 1385,

APPENDIX II

176 8110. The acreage under potatoes declined steadily: 3940,

434 3730, 1650. Barley dwindled from 2330 acres to 1340, and

130 1320. Turnips reached a maximum of 510 acres in 1939, but

241 were not worth noting by 1953. These crop acreages reflect

the change in stock-rearing, with the decline in the number of

176 cattle to the great increase in the number of sheep. Taking

the three successive totals for 1918, 1939 and 1953, we

434 numbered 13,600, 9060 and 6540 head; but this diminution

434 by more than half was chiefly due to the small number of

241 bullocks reared. Cows and heifers, 7650 in 1918, still stood at

about 4500 in 1953, and they are now of far better quality in

weight and milk production. The totals of sheep were successively, 78,150, 114,350, 185,860; by use of mainland rams their average weight has increased, while the wool is much more abundant but coarser. Taking the Lewis Association's equivalent of 1 cattle beast to 8 sheep, the stock-units were increased by nearly 25 per cent; and if we add the increased value of the cattle the livestock increase counts for very much more. Horses, 1 to 12 in 1918, fell to 1 to 30 in 1951; before, most had been bought in from Uist, not bred. Hence a new charge on agriculture, the purchase and use of the 63 tractors owned by farmers and crofters, and their running costs, is relatively not heavy that is would be in a horse-breeding area. The poultry are still deplorably neglected, or, or about 20 per cent.

The Table on p. 316 sums up the conditions, apparently well established for the time being, produced by peat, and previous comparison with Chapter II, pp. 67-68.

(b) and (c) *Peat-making and House-building.*—While *peat-cutting* is still important, more coal is used than formerly, and hence the peat is valued here much as in 1938. *Housing* is

241 most important: Local Authority housing by the Burgh

222 struggles to meet the need of a growing urban and ' suburban '

138 population as in other towns in Britain, but with an additional

342 ' remote area subsidy ' to meet mainland contractors' extra

costs. There is little truly rural housing by the County Council

241 and was in the high for the houses in fully occupied. The

figures for Stornoway Burgh for the ten years 1945-54 exceed

162

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

/p. 22/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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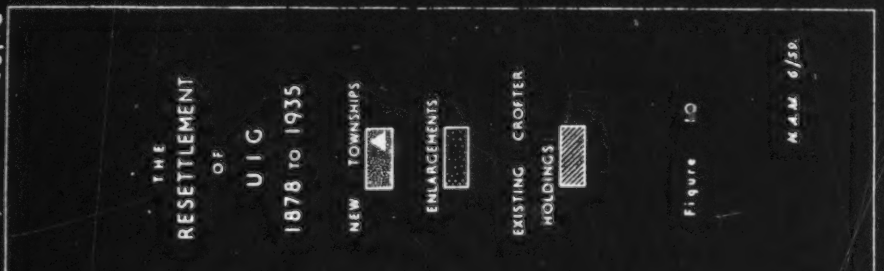


233 change in area, then the amount of stock allowed, per pound sterling of rent, ought to be
427 changed, too.
656
175 This does not appear to have been done in Uig although in Stornoway parish the sum per pound was increased after rents were reduced in the late nineteenth century. More recently, the Crofters Commission, in re-stating soumings for some townships, has generally (but not invariably) applied the soum to the 1886 rent, regardless of the wording of the 1912 regulations. This may appear to have the merit of consistency and, insofar as crofters pay any attention to the Regulations, it satisfies them because the greater (1886) rent gives them a larger soum and less likelihood of being criticised or penalised for overstocking. However, it perpetuates inconsistencies which originated during the nineteenth century when the stock allowed per pound sterling rent was not reduced although total rentals were increasing as squatters' and cottars' holdings were added (see page above). Moreover, the old souming referred to the old type of highland cattle which were much smaller beasts than those kept today, and it assumed that the shieling pastures would be in full use. A further complication arises because about 1920 some townships acquired substantial enlargements but the soumings do not appear to have been adjusted. Although it is little wonder that the Grazing Regulations are seldom observed, for they seldom bear any close relationship to the grazing capacity of township lands. Proper observance of carefully revised Regulations, in which unlimited substitution of sheep in place of cattle was specifically forbidden, would be of considerable benefit to the crofters.

241 The inbye, or croft, land is invariably separated from the common pasture by a ring
233 fence, the gates of which are generally closed for protection of crops from May to
412 November. Progressive townships are installing grids to obviate the twin nuisances of
• 178 traffic interference and straying stock. The fencing of individual crofts was rare until the 1930's and is still by no means general. The inbye land is, in many townships, the best winter grazing and its division into innumerable tiny fenced patches, whilst advantageous for cultivation, would restrict the movement of stock in search of water and shelter; in a predominantly pastoral economy complete enclosure of individual holdings is not necessarily an advantage. This problem will be discussed in Part III but, in the present
189 context, it is relevant to point out that the small crofts of Lewis contrast strongly with the larger ones of, for example, the Uists and Tiree. Therefore, what may be advantageous in the latter may be retrograde in much of Lewis.

The lay-out of the crofts aggravates this problem. The long narrow strips of the 1850 lotting, well-suited to spade cultivation and common winter grazing, may require four or five times the length of fencing required by an equi-dimensional croft of similar area. If fenced the stock may be deprived of both water and shelter; since arable cultivation has become relatively unimportant a suitable solution to this problem might be to fence a small potato plot near the house and to put the rest of the inbye down to sown grass in three or four communal parks in which grazing could be properly controlled. A particular problem is posed by crofts which have been sub-divided. These may take the form of strips as much as half a mile long by 10 yards wide or, more commonly (and much worse), of piece-meal sharing of innumerable plots, a system known locally, but incorrectly, as 'run-rig'. This is seen at its height in Kneep (fig 22), where every croft in the township is affected. The problem does not arise in townships with large crofts, which are usually more nearly equi-dimensional. These are mostly the result of re-settlement schemes and have long been fenced, (see, for example, figure 15).

Crofter-tenants.

162 An analysis of crofter-tenants according to age, sex and occupation (table 12) provides
427 several important clues as to the present unsatisfactory state of crofting. More than
463 one-third of the tenants are over 65 years of age; a further 16% are absent, some of these may also be over 65, others are younger people working away from home, a few are tenants

511 It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Aird; the only two families
46 without ancillary occupations are those where all the members are elderly. Of the others
262 with members in the working age-groups, five have one or more members employed in a civilian capacity at the R.A.F. station and there are five regular weavers.

621 Aird used to be a self-contained community; the land was fully cultivated and a certain
• 178 amount of fishing was carried on in spite of the difficulty of drawing up the boats over the rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the R.A.F. station, and if this should ever close down, most of the young people would have to leave in search of other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF

by

David G. Symes.

131 On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a secondary
133 peninsula of more moderate, but none-the-less broken relief. This, together with an adjacent area of the main peninsula, the islands of Pabay, Vacsay, Vuia Mor and several smaller islands, comprises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Kneep and Reef.

133 This secondary peninsula is accidented in the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock and steeply angled small hills. The relief is greater in the west (summit 450') than in the east (summit 275'). Relatively level land is to be found only on the machairs of Reef and
133 Cliff (the latter only poorly developed) and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair,
134 about 180 acres, consists of a succession landwards of tidal sands, a belt of sand dunes (c. 20' O.D.) and a gently plain sloping gently inland towards a reed filled lagoon. The machair at Cliff is approximately 40 acres in extent; here there are fixed dunes and, in addition, the sand has been blown inland to at least 100 ft. O.D. Except where the machair sand has drifted upslope to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin soils of the Valtos peninsula are predominantly peaty. Although the length of the peninsula faces north the extremos of Atlantic weather are moderated by the protection afforded by the Aird peninsula and the islands of Pabay and Vacsay.

175 In the period before the lotting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some five
424 clachans - Valtos, Cliff, Kneep, Uigean and Reef - some of which shared common pastures.
341 During the early part of the nineteenth century and earlier, apparently, than the 1850 lotting
• 63 carried out in most of Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clachan areas: Valtos and Cliff shared a common pasture and so became one township; similarly Kneep and Uigean were combined.

175 In Kneep it seems that the croft boundaries were not accepted by the crofters. Certain
311 basic divisions between groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today,
427 and within these basic divisions a certain regularity of distribution of strips persists, but

175 the crofts at Kneep are still highly fragmented: the fifteen crofts comprise over one hundred
311 and eighty separate arable plots. The lotted crofts at Reef were cleared in 1862 to provide
427 land for a sheep farm. Plans to clear the remainder of the Valtos peninsula were thwarted
228 by the Fisheries Board because Valtos and Kneep were then good centres for the white fish
50 industry. As late as 1892 Valtos and Kneep had forty boats, providing employment for one
464 hundred and forty-five men. Valtos with thirty-two boats and one hundred and twenty fisher-men was second only to Carloway as a fishing centre in Uig. With the prosperity of the fishing industry, the population of Valtos and Kneep had risen rapidly - from 467 in 1841 to 659 in 1891. Some, at least, of the subdivisions of Kneep date from this period. Reef was scheduled by the Deer Forest Commission (1896) for resettlement by crofters and in 1908 an attempt was made to do this, but agricultural experts advised against it, on the grounds of poor water supply, scarcity of arable land (only ninety-three acres old arable) and the risk that, if cultivated, the machair would suffer wind erosion. Nevertheless, in 1921, Reef was resettled by ex-servicemen from Valtos and Kneep. At the time the sheep
233 farm was only carrying a stock of one hundred and seventy sheep - less than half the crofters' sheep stock in 1959.

427 Tables 15 - 18 summarise the more significant points of the economy of the Valtos
• 178 peninsula. Table 15 illustrates the fact that the economy is in decline. Only two-thirds of the total possible units are being worked. Many of the crofters have abandoned their crofts
162 and the younger generations are unwilling to take over. Of those remaining to work the crofts 18% are over sixty-five, and a further 47% are between forty-five and sixty-four.

TABLE 16

Crofts and Crofters

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
427 463 632 Legal crofts:	40	18	15	73
No. in joint tenancy	2	4	0	6
Total possible units:	42	22	15	79
No. of operative units 8/59:	29 (60%)	15 (68%)	8 (53%)	52 (66%)
Joint tenancy crofts as one unit:	1	3	0	4
Cases of subletting:	8 (+2 part crofts)	4	6	18
Family combination of crofts:	2	1	1	4
Derelict crofts:	2	1	0	3
Crofts worked by: Full time crofter	3	1	1	5
crofter with regular work	8	7	0	15
crofter with periodic work	13	3	4	20
crofter over 65 (or invalid)	5	1	3	9

An attempt has been made in
Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on
231 the individual croft to the size of holding and to the availability and age of the labour force.
311 In both diagrams there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0 - 7 units)
464 and the commercial holding (11+ units), but there is no definite relationship between stock
471 and size of holding or labour availability. The inclusion of the points of equilibrium for
233 certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected state of affairs: in the case of
162 crofters with regular work and full time crofters, those over the age of forty-five carry a larger stock than those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to the economic problem of crofting lies in the amalgamation of holdings in order to create a more viable economic unit, but the indication from these diagrams is that an increase in
443 the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to an increase in stock. It is the absence of accessible markets that deter the crofter from increasing his agricultural production.

In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihood
511 for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters under sixty-five almost 90% supplement the
467 croft income by other employment. Of these casual labour (at present mainly at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57% regular work - particularly weaving - 43%. The combination of crofting and weaving provides probably the best return for the labour: one crofter with a croft of 3.5 acres, carrying two cows, two followers and ninety sheep (sixty ewes) made the following estimates for 1958:

231 FROM THE CROFT:
434 Sale of two year-old calves £80
236 Cow and calf subsidies £40
286 Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb. £75
£ 195 (1)

FROM WEAVING -
at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p. w.) £550

GROSS INCOME £745

434 Weaving about 30 hours a week apparently leaves him sufficient time to run the croft
262 efficiently; at present a crofter supplementing his income by a labourer's wage at Gisla
46 hydro electric scheme would have to put in nearly sixty hours per week to achieve the
46 same financial reward.

433 The economy of the Valtos peninsula has been changing, and contracting, for several
• 178 years. The number of unoccupied crofts is increasing; commercial fishing ended at the
228 time of the first World War; the shielings have been abandoned as summer cattle pastures.
237 The Valtos shielings near Loch Scanadale were abandoned during the 1939 - 45 war, due mainly to the lack of manpower in the township, though some was used intermittently until 1953. The shielings of Kneep and Reef were abandoned in the late 1930's, at which time Kneep had some fifty milk cows as compared with fourteen in 1959.

[1] Against this figure, must be set the costs of production (i.e. fertilisers, new seed, winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

241 The area under cultivation has contracted in the past twenty years. Before 1939 most
• 178 crofts had about twice as much land under cultivation and at Valtos some were cultivating small patches outside the township fence. The cultivation of the common machair at Valtos ceased in 1939. The land had been "too long in labour" (potatoes had been planted on the same ground for nearly one hundred years), and the soil had been affected by over-liberal applications of sulphate of ammonia which replaced the traditional soot-impregnated thatch from the black-houses. Moreover the Cliff machair was particularly vulnerable to "blow outs" after ploughing. Cultivation of the Kneep common arable has all but ceased, and if fifty-two acres of arable machair in the township of Reef have been untouched since the 1930s. It is noticeable that the common machair cultivation and the shieling economy
231 ended about the same time. Smaller numbers of better-quality cattle were needed to meet the daily milk requirements of the croft; a much smaller area of cultivation was therefore needed to provide winter fodder and consequently more land was available on the croft for potato cultivation. Consequently the more distant machair was replaced by cultivation within the croft.

433 Contraction and decline of the economy is common to all three townships, but the form
• 178 and cause of this decline is different for each, and where the township consists of two separate settlement nuclei there is frequently a difference between the two parts:

633 The township of Valtos is in two distinct parts: crofts 1 - 34 are a succession of narrow
427 strips about ¼ mile in length stretching from the shore to about 200' O.D.. The boundary
361 of the outer crofts (nos. 1 and 34) if projected to a point on Pabay, form an angle of 45°,
311 so that the crofts are narrower at the shore (40 - 70') than at the upper limit (100 - 180'). Of these 34 crofts, 19 are in so-called runrig, eight in pairs and one group of three. (Fig. Cultivation is carried out on numerous intermixed small patches, held permanently; the gratings are interchanged at the year end. Fragmentation imposes a severe limitation on the economic efficiency of the croft. None of the crofts at Valtos is individually fenced
241 though some groups of two or three are fenced together. With the contraction of cultivation only the less steep areas are cultivated, to facilitate ploughing.[1] As a result, the bulk of the cultivated plots are to found at either end of the croft - near the shore and on the hill top against the township fence.

The remaining five crofts of Valtos, and a squatter, are at Cliff in the valley separating the Valtos peninsula from that of Aird. Here the crofts are fenced, more compact and slightly larger (4.8 acres as against 3.8 acres) and they occupy more level terrain than those in Valtos. Two of the crofts are worked in runrig - these being situated on the
241 machair. The houses are set back about a hundred yards from the road, along the west township fence.

Kneep township is again in two parts: Crofts 16 - 18 together with the Manse and two cottars, are situated across the neck of the Glebe promontory, on the south side of the peninsula. The five legal crofts are today worked as three units, fenced, reasonably compact and with holdings of exceptional size for the area - average 15.1 acres. Crofts
433 1 - 15 at Kneep on the northern side of the peninsula adjoin those of Valtos. Here is a climax of land fragmentation, which imposes severe limits upon croft efficiency. Twelve of the fifteen crofts are worked; of these only numbers 4 and 5 are compact homogeneous crofts; numbers 3 and 6 are compact except that part of the land which lies within their boundaries belongs to croft no. 13. The remaining eight crofts comprise a hundred and eight separate plots of croftland and fifty-two separate plots on the common machair. One croft with 2.8 acres arable the average size of each piece is a mere 0.15 acres!
233 The grazing land on the croft is divided into strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into

1. Pre-1939 much of Valtos was cultivated in lazy beds - by spade. Today 9% is cultivated by spade; 43% by horse plough + 48% by tractor.

427 joint tenants of one have moved to Geshader while continuing to work the Ungshader land.
137 Another is preparing to move to Enaclete and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Chroistean
311 Cottage. At present, three working units remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with ten units, one being rented by joint tenants.

221 The rhythm of work is similar to that in other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oats are planted in April followed by lambing and peat cutting in May. In June and July the sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to the common grazings. In August the peats are carted, once they are dry, by lorry direct to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lambs are weaned in September, harvest is then carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take place in November. The sheep are then returned to the township grazing though the lambs
241 may be fed with hay on the croft. There is little regular crop rotation and only a small number of crofters seem to undersow oats, thus improving the quality of future hay crops. Gardens are not important and only provide for family needs but Caryshader particularly has a number, some growing flowers as well as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely from croft to croft as well township to township. Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the shore and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshader are usually fed on artificials.

231 Most crofters keep one milk cow with a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn sales in Caryshader. However, some now rely on their neighbours for milk in return for grazing and one croft has turned to goats, as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on Geshader - Ungshader common grazing as it is completely fenced; and Geshader is responsible for its upkeep.

233 Lambing seems to have been generally good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact figures. The Moresgail Estate and Gisla farm also run considerable flocks. The common pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlargement, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acres
for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader near Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres
3,119 on Floday island. The shielings have been disused since the war. Peat is normally cut to the west of the road but at least one elderly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his croft for this purpose to save the effort of working further afield.

241 Generally speaking the land now cropped only represents one third to one half of that
178 worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when the crofting population was larger and when much greater numbers of cattle were kept through the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and
231 more oats. The cattle numbers are much less than the total souming but sheep are in excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazing by sheep has caused a decline in grazing quality.

464 Clearly in these townships, apart from the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the means of livelihood is sought elsewhere. At present there are altogether fifty-three men in the working age group (15 - 64) in all four townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine permanently and five periodically. Thirty have regular or periodic employment besides crofting and of these seven work at Gisla on the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, some of them part-time, four hire out vans, two do post-office work and others have varied occupations while only three are full-time crofters. At present there are few men in the Merchant Navy and fishing does not provide an occupation although many share rowing-boats in their spare time, and fish for domestic use.

162 The population as a whole is ageing and of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four
169 (roughly 30%) work away permanently or have emigrated. It is noticeable that these are few crofts worked by people with young families

000 In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that the fate of the crofting townships depends more

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND

ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF

LEWIS

('Bernera and Bernera Shore')

by

P. Wheeler

131 Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of
103 Bernera Island (Breaclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the "Shore"
(Earshader, Crulivig and Lundale together with the isolated township of Linshader),
94 presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isolation. Bernera Island, though central to most of Uig and easily accessible over the sheltered waters of Loch Roag, yet remained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent building of the road bridge; even now it is necessary to travel over six miles to get from
101 the bridge to the main Uig road and a further four miles to Garynahine. Consequently the island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements, has a very close-knit and self-sufficing population. Whether this community retains sufficient vitality to resist the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces eroding rural and especially Highland life, remains to be seen.

13 The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the intro-
228 duction. Like the other districts it has virtually no valuable mineral resources (1), and
the herring and white fish industries have all but disappeared and seem unlikely to
139 resuscitated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted with vigour and enterprise; it
464 provides a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on regular or casual employment to eke out the proceeds of the croft. The kinds of work
14 available, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employment are common to the whole parish; thus this account is mainly concerned with the problems of crofting agriculture.

Settlement: history and patterns.

12 The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is partly
361 very old, and partly very recent. At least four brochs are known on Bernera and various
standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous settlement has survived from the
early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form as
7 in the graveyard on little Bernera, or in oral tradition. All this contributes towards the very close network of family relationships that binds the island folk and to a lesser extent those of the adjacent mainland.

195 With the exceptions of Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete, all Bernera island had been
361 cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1878 when twelve families were moved from Bosta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere. Occasionally (as at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance lotting patterns were re-adopted, but usually settlement was laid out afresh. The townships of Bernera Shore, were also affected: all the small tenants except those of Earshader and Crulivig were cleared, leaving the land under the sheep farms of West Earshader and Linshader. However, the Bernera island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of shielings on the mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these grazings to their present position marked the

316 (1) A small deposit of diatomite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a few men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

195 beginning of the resettlement movement which has given the modern crofters of the
361 district almost all the lands formerly occupied by small tenants. This process was completed in the Bernera region soon after 1918, and the problem now - one which is obviously going to become increasingly important - is not to give the crofters more land, but to find active crofters for the existing holdings (see Chapter III for more detailed information on clearance and resettlement).

361 The ground plans of the existing settlements vary considerably, depending mainly on
632 the terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coast the natural
tendency is for the croft boundaries to run at right angles to the coast and for each house
427 to be set on its own croft. The best examples of this are Hacklete and Kirkibost, where an early nineteenth century (i.e. pre-clearance) lotting was readopted when the township was re-settled in 1878. Linshader, Lundale, Crulivig and Earshader also follow the same type of layout as nearly as possible, but Tobson, with the exception of Valasay, is intermediate between a lotted and an unconsolidated township. Croir also differs: it was laid out in 1921 but the disposition of the potential arable forbade a cosetwise organisation. The site of Breaclete is greatly broken by lochs and a sea inlet, and consequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Breaclete - Loch Beg Breaclete axis, appears somewhat complicated. The accompanying diagrams contrast the control exercised by physical conditions at Croir with the subordination of physical conditions to a simple lotting plan at Hacklete. (Figure 28).

Within the townships, with the exception of Kirkibost, the distribution of settlement
361 seems to have changed little since the original lottings, for in most cases the sites of the
392 old and present dwellings are little further apart than is dictated by constructional
problems. It would appear generally that black houses were universal in the nineteenth
178 century except for the farmhouse at 1 Croir (the oldest 'white' house in Bernera), Thule House, (18 Tobson), possibly the tacksman's house at 11 Hacklete, the former farmhouses
632 at 20 Kirkibost and at West Earshader. However, with the establishment of Congested Districts Board and of Board of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, early examples being 5 Hacklete and 10 Breaclete. The resettled townships generally had improved accommodation from the start. Improvement has greatly accelerated since 1951. In most cases at the present time housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and one near blackhouse are still occupied.

312 Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their
private water supply, thought it is hoped that mains schemes may be constructed within
the next few years. Sanitation varies in standard and in places there are still open
514 ditches, but all the newer houses have water closets. It is worth remarking in this con-
164 nection that tuberculosis is almost eliminated. Electricity has been available since 1952
to all crofts and most are connected, though not necessarily in every room. Cooking is
354 sometimes by electricity but more commonly by Calor gas and a peat-fired range or stove (open or enclosed). Peat is cheap to those able to gather it themselves. Where, however, help is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road, difficulties may arise. The cost of hiring labour for peat cutting may be such that it is cheaper to buy coal.

491 Access to Bernera by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Roag
provided the highway of communication, the road built to Earshader after the Great War,
494 and the £67,000 bridge to Bernera Island, built in 1953, have caused a revaluation of sites. Linshader is approached by a tarred branch road and the other Bernera shore townships lie upon the narrow and twisting main road, though four of the six Lundale crofts have no connection with it, and two of the Crulivig crofts, and West Earshader, are somewhat isolated. On Bernera Island the old cart track from the pier at Barraglom across to Tobson and Croir has been somewhat re-aligned since the construction of the bridge. This is a good tarred road, as is part of the branch to crofts 3...8 Croir. The old road to Kirkibost was tarred in 1959, though three outlying crofts near Barraglom were still without a road suited to vehicles, and the branch within Breaclete remained untarred. There is a new road to Hacklete from Breaclete which provides tolerable, though circuitous, communication. Valasay is one of the most isolated settlements in Bernera, linked with Breaclete rather than with Tobson by the footbridge and causeway paid for by Congested Districts Board grant about 1903.

493 Problems of communication are not, however, solved merely by providing better
494 roads: at least one household in four has a car or van, and this, with the fall in population,
has caused a fatal decline in the use of public transport. The Bernera 'bus service was
178 discontinued in August, 1959, for lack of demand. This is not, of course, an isolated example; the problem is common to all the Highlands, and indeed, to all the rural areas of Britain: in Sutherland, for example, the number of registrations of private cars has risen to very nearly 250% since 1945, and the total number of registrations for all classes of vehicles up to 1958 had risen to almost 200%, while the number of hackney carriages, after reaching a peak in 1952, has since declined by 70%.

TABLE 21

241
233
311
427

Bernera District

Land related to tenants and working units

(all figures, except last column, are acres)

	Inbye: per tenant	Inbye: per working unit:	Common grazing per tenant	Common grazing per working unit:	Total land: per tenant	Total land: per working unit:	Ratio of inbye to total land
Breaclete	8.0	7.4	99	92	107	99	1:13.3
Croir	29.2	33.4	78	89	107	122	1: 3.6
Hacklete	12.7	12.7	96	96	108	108	1: 8.5
Kirkibost	15.9	15.3	92	89	108	104	1: 6.8
Tobson	7.8	9.0	94	109	102	118	1:13.1
ISLAND TOTAL	13.2	13.5	93	95	106	108	1: 9.9
Earshader	11.5	9.5	264	220	275	230	1:24.1
Crulivig	14.0	14.0	220	220	234	234	1:16.7
Lundale	25.9	25.9	166	167	193	193	1: 7.4
Linshader	5.6	6.9	873	1,067	879	1,074	1:155.1
SHORE TOTAL	12.8	13.3	473	491	486	504	1:35.1
DISTRICT TOTAL	13.1	13.5	183	188	196	201	1:15.0

Note: in this table, "working units" include all crofts, whether stocked or not, and all other agricultural holdings. Two or more crofts worked together, whether registered under the same tenant or not, are counted as single working units. An agricultural holding is defined as one with at least one cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation.

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

APPENDIX II

300 houses, with nearly 30 built by "private enterprise"; in addition the Local Authorities built 140 in the immediate 'suburbs' (of which 50 were temporary), a total of over 470 and an average of, say, 47. Another 115 were built in the rural townships. If we give a round total of £125,000 as the value

	Barvas	Lochs	Stornoway	Uig	Lewis Total	Harris
Holdings						
Full-time	5	12	8	21	49	34
Part- and spare-time	1,050	580	1,160	630	3,420	510
June 1953 (acres)						
Oats	2,080	520	1,220	900	4,730	710
Potatoes	550	180	450	260	1,440	210
Tillage	2,860	730	1,810	1,196	6,590	1,280
Rotation Grass	580	300	690	290	1,850	260
Permanent Grass	2,870	2,460	3,250	3,150	11,730	4,030
Grass	3,450	2,760	3,940	3,440	12,580	4,290
Rough Grazing	93,580	107,180	56,480	111,250	368,490	111,170
(head)						
Cattle	1,350	860	1,330	1,360	4,900	1,640
Sheep	38,110	37,810	23,670	42,890	142,280	43,580
Pigs	10	2	110	3	130	..
Poultry	25,370	9,880	25,910	13,060	74,220	12,240
Horses	180	25	60	60	320	60
February 1954						
Tractors	24	4	24	5	57	8

for an average year (such as 1953) for Local Authority Housing, we may allot half this to net output of local materials and to wages earned by Lewismen, some £65,000, of which rural wages were a small fraction, say £20,000.

For crofters and cottars, however, in 1953, a fairly typical year, there was much local effort and achievement, by help of 180 loans and grants from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, totalling £81,000 for new houses or house improvements (with a very few steadings). £80,000 may be allotted to local materials and to labour paid or given by householders themselves.

APPENDIX II

(iii) *Fishing Industry* (1953)

The renewed Russian contracts for herring have meant loading of Baltic shipping at Stornoway with barrels of herring cured both in Stornoway and Ullapool. Catching power in Scotland generally is hardly enough to meet this contract. Thus, while the numbers of boats continued to decline after the war, leaving only one steam and 33 motor drifters (over 30 feet keel) registered by 1953, the fishermen employed rose to 610, of whom some 520 were crofter-fishermen. Many worked much of the year; on the other hand, most of the winter catch went for 'oil and meal' at about 50s. per cran instead of the top price of over 80s. For local boats a figure of £30,000 is suggested for the catch of herring, say £10,000 for white fish, with £5560 for shellfish. For "curing and associated income" the pre-war figures may be doubled.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island* (1953)

In mid-1953, of just 5000 registered for the Island as employed—and other than the self-employed, *i.e.* the farmers and crofters, the hand-weavers and the boat-sharing fishers—1130 earned by the three industries first named, the rest by other trades and professions, 3870 in all. The unemployed numbered 1180. Analysis of wage-rates would throw light on total earnings. As to unemployment, the fact that, like crofters and many fishers, hand-weavers count as 'self-employed' means that when out of work they are not covered by unemployment insurance, and have to be helped, at low rates, by public assistance.

(v) *Allowances, etc.* (1953)

Turning now to Remittances, to the manifold categories of Pensions, National Insurance and National Assistance, and to Unemployment Benefit (a small item), the Table B, 1953–54, shows the totals kindly furnished for this study, with £1,017,110 for all Lewis and an estimated £977,010 for rural Lewis.

APPENDIX III

(A) THE STORNOWAY TRUST: A COMMUNAL OPPORTUNITY

THE people of Stornoway town and rural parish are in a position to control their own future to a degree unusual in Britain since the general loss of common lands in the eighteenth century. Three or four bodies or groups are important in local governance, and in addition to these an effort to arouse citizenship has taken shape in the Lewis Association. As elsewhere, the Town Council acts for the burgh and, it should be added, the Grazing Committees for the townships, the District Council and County Council acting for wider spheres. The Harbour Trust has its special charge. In addition, the fact of corporate ownership is important, as vested in the Stornoway Trust. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor north to Tolsta. It should not be forgotten that the resources of the sea are public property and that the inshore fishings, owing to a considerable measure of protection, are virtually in the possession of the coastal communities. Freshwater fishing is also in the hands of the Trust. Thus, not only building property but essential sources of production on land and sea are in communal possession. The Trust was formed in 1924.

During the first five years of its existence the Trust was burdened with a growing deficit, but since 1929 it accumulated a credit balance, due partly to agricultural derating and partly to the registration of the Trust as a charity and the resulting relief from income tax. Possession without prevision can do little, however; and hence the need for the citizens of town and country to regroup themselves as thinkers for the common

192 The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" huts, some still in good repair, are of uncertain date. The best preserved are on the Morsgail Deer Forest, in remote situations which make it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; those on the Garynahine common pasture are associated with assymmetrically ridged, curving, lazybeds. This, however, need not imply permanent occupation of the site, nor does it solve the problem of age: such lazy-beds are certainly old, possibly pre-potato (c. 1790 here) - but the huts do not decay with age and may be very much older.

175 427 604 Early in the eighteenth century the present area of the parish of Uig was held from the Seaforth clan chief by 26 tacksmen, whose names are recorded in the judicial-rental of 1718, (Fig.4). They, presumably, had sub-tenants but of these there is no record. Elsewhere in Lewis the same rental records many small tenants holding direct off the chief but in Uig, apparently, the tacksman and sub-tenant system remained intact. Although we cannot be certain of their precise extent, the distribution of the tacks 241 coincides fairly well with that of the better agricultural ground (Fig.2). Five of them cluster round Uig bay, four were in the Valtos-Reef area, and three around the strait of Little Bernera. All these districts have machair; together they accounted for three quarters of the meal and more than half the sheep and money rents. What is more, these rents represented 27% of the total rental of Lewis, whereas by 1887 Uig yielded only 17% 178 of the rental and by 1901 the proportion was reduced to 14%. The relative decline of Uig is largely due to the growth of Stornoway; this shift in the centre of gravity of Lewis 369 has tended to exaggerate the remoteness and isolation of Uig in the present century.

161 175 241 407 494 000 By the end of the eighteenth century the tacksmen seem to have disappeared; at any rate they are not mentioned in the remarkably detailed account of the parish given in the Old Statistical Account, 1792. Meanwhile the small tenants had multiplied: whereas in 1755 the old parish * had supported 1,312 persons, in 1792 the minister recorded 1,898. At this time there was neither plough nor cart in the parish. The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them

TABLE 3

AVERAGE STOCK HELD BY EACH FAMILY

162 178 233 422

	1792	1959
Cattle and calves	9.2	2.1
Sheep	13	37
Horses	1.8	-
Goats	0.8	-
No. of families	387	450

Note: the figures for both dates refer to the area of the old parish.

632 * The old parish of Uig excluded the Loch Carloway district, from Kirivick north; this area lay in Loche parish until 1891. Unless the old parish is specified figures quoted have been corrected to conform with the modern boundaries.

1. [See p. 2--Analyst]

The minister
was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them

175 241 422 251 441 614 as an example to the crofters who were still reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70 boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch Roag for they were small open boats greatly outnumbered in good herring seasons by boats from other parts of the kingdom. To encourage curing, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up two storehouses to supply salt; he, or his agents, were probably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, who visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the estate factor held a monopoly for trading in cattle, dried fish and other products. The absolute power of the clan chieftain seems to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844. But it was kelp, more than fishing, that helped to support the people of Uig in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lewis made little kelp compared with the 175 232 221 Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of particularly good quality and commanded more than the average price. Further, many people from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time, the intrinsic resources of the parish appear 233 to have been inadequate to support the population. In this connection it is worth noting 162 178 the change in the average stock held by each family since 1792 as shown in table 3.

Clearance and Congestion.

175 228 175 233 166 427 274 Even after the end of the tremendous boom in kelp, brought about throughout the Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some production continued in Uig. In 1825, when the land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses, yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereafter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attempting industrial developments and agricultural improvements. The former included short-lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants in order to introduce mainland farmers. For these Uig was particularly attractive, the extensive mountain pasture offering good prospects for sheep graziers. The exact dates of the formation of the earliest farms are not remembered nor are they precisely recorded, but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Macrae of Kintail had the tack of Scalascro, with the extensive grazings (now partly occupied by Bernera summer pastures) east of Little Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants of Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of Mealasta Island, which suggests that a sheep farmer was already installed in that district. About 1838 all the small tenants were cleared out of Mealasta, six families being put into Breanish; the remainder are said to have been sent to America.

175 427 In Bernera Island, Kirkibost was cleared about 1822, having been lotted in individual crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkibost formed part of the large farm of Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed part of this farm. On the mainland, opposite Bernera, small tenants were cleared from the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Strome and Drovernish) in the early nineteenth century, and a tacksman was installed at west Earshader. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and Linshader.

175 By 1844 the kelp shores were almost valueless to the proprietor (though seaweed as fertiliser remained a vital necessity to the small cultivators, often working the same land year after year). In 1841 the Chamberlain of the Lews suggested to the Select Committee on Emigration that some 6,000 persons should emigrate because the land was inadequate to support them. In 1844, of necessity, Seaforth sold the island. The 162 population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,316); little did the Chamberlain imagine that in the following ten years it would increase by 16%, and that by the turn of the century would reach almost 30,000, (Uig 4,463 Figure 8).

1. [See p. 18--Analyst]

175 427 311 632 growing family could increase the size of his holding. Secondly, in the absence of fences a certain discipline of agricultural management had to be maintained; moreover the proprietor, through the factor, grounds officers and township constables, saw to it that it was. This "good husbandry", albeit at a rather low level, was maintained in the interests of tenants and land-owner alike. After the arable land was lotted permanently to individuals, there was less flixibility and less need for communal-management. But the absence of fences between the new lots, or crofts, meant that they were still common land during the winter months. In some cases the proprietors paid the tenants to erect fences round the newly lotted inbye land of the whole township but, even when a ring fence existed, stock was allowed to graze indiscriminately within it from November until April.

It is fortunate that the first Ordnance surveyors were at work in Lewis just as the lotting was coming into effect. The new lots were not divided by fences, therefore they were not marked by the surveyors, but in several townships they arrived in time to plot the clachans and in some - Breasclete, for example (fig. 6) - the first edition six-inch maps show some of the new houses, neatly spaced out on the new lots. The arrangement of the latter is recorded in the Factor's sketch books, of which fig. 7 is an example.

175 632 178 Thus whilst we have little evidence of the appearance of the former rural landscape, we have an excellent record of the birth of the new. The characteristic units of the new lotting were townships divided into long narrow strips, arranged parallel and fan-wise more or less in the direction of steepest slope. Such an arrangement was simple to lay out; it tended to give everyone a fair share of the land of each kind - ill-drained and well-drained, high and low. And, if a road or track passed through the township it was usually possible to give each lot or croft direct access to it without the necessity for side-roads. 367 Consequently the houses, when re-built, were usually put on the crofts. A dispersed pattern of settlement replaced the little huddles of the clachans. The extent to which it was dispersed depended on the width of the lots; the greater the number of tenants to be accommodated in a given area, the narrower were the lots. In extreme cases they might be as little as 20-30 yards in width and then the houses, aligned along the road or access track might form a virtually continuous terrace or street.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CROFTING STRUCTURE

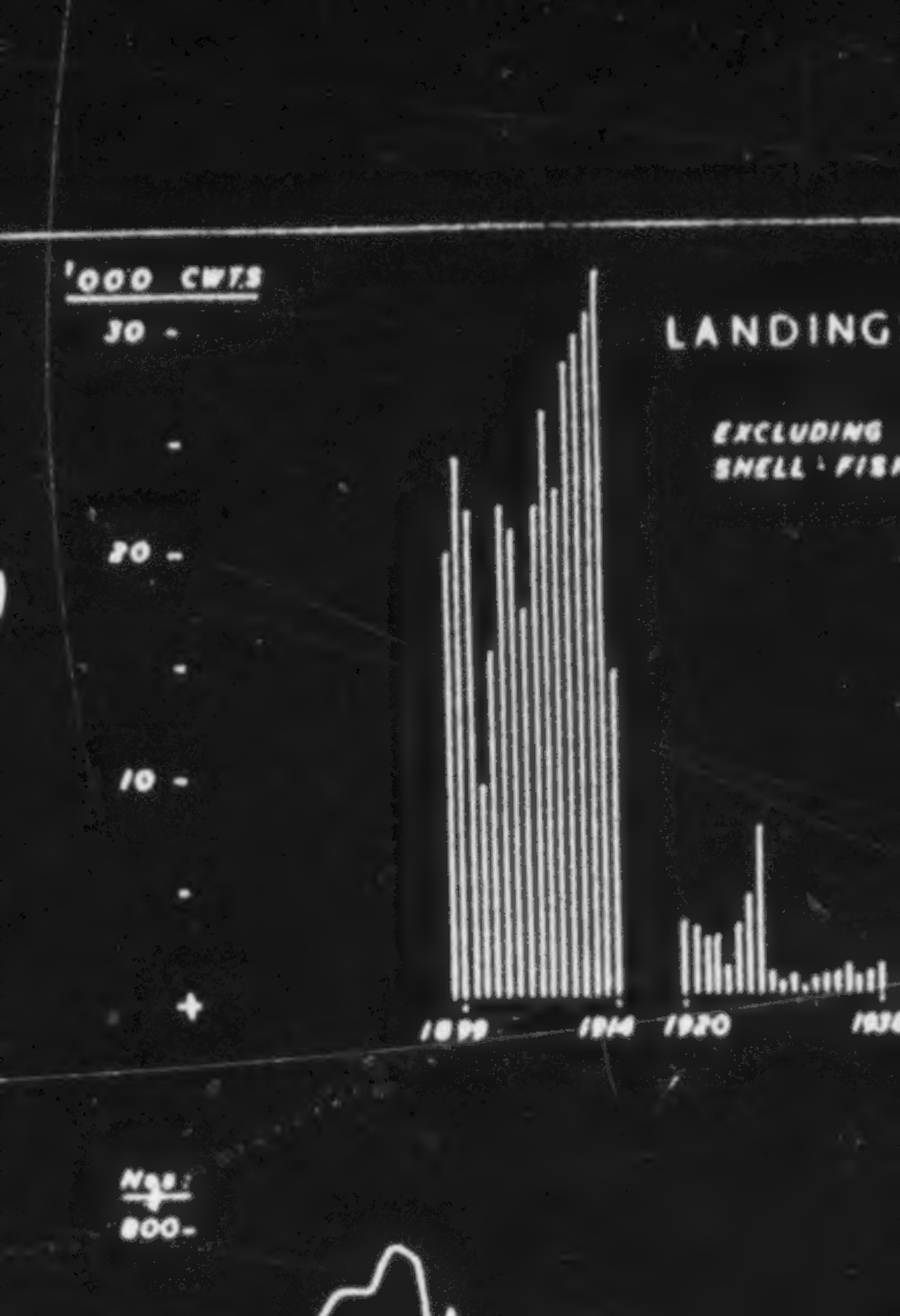
427 In the parish of Uig about 90% of the families are crofters. That is to say, they owe their presence in Uig to their hereditary tenancy of a small-holding of croft status. To these holdings they have a deep attachment; many of them have been inherited through 428 several generations. Others were obtained more recently during the process of re-settlement of farm land which followed the Napier Commission report and 1886 Act. Many older crofters regard the resettled townships as the fruits of a hard-won victory. Nevertheless, we have seen, very few of the holdings are in fact more than 110 years 162 old. And, whilst some families can certainly trace their ancestors in the district for several centuries, there has always been a good deal of movement between townships. Thus the claim that they occupy holdings which were carved out of the barren moor by the toil and sweat of their ancestors is, in most cases, metaphor rather than strict truth.

NG IN

PARISH

ISHERY BOARD : STATISTICS

VALUE OF LANDINGS


'000 CWTS
30
20
10
LANDING
EXCLUDING
SHELL FISH
1909
1914
1920
800

103
175
178
361
427
632

This table may not be

Date:	Farm:
1878	Linshader
1880	Hacklete
1886 (?)	Linshader
1886	Dalemore
1891	Linshader
1892	Linshader
1893	Linshader
1910	Mangersta
1912	Dalemore
1921	Reef
1921	Timegarry
1921	Croir
1921	Carnish & Ardroil
1921	Mealasta
1921	Dalemore
1925	Linshader
1932	Uig Lodge
1935	Garynahine

Notes: (1) Crofters were
given as an
(2) Partly off Tir
(3) Partly off Car

(See also Fig. 10).

complete for the earlier years; acreages are app

Township	New Holdings	Holdings enlarged
Kirkibost	26[1]	-
Hacklete	20	-
Borroston	-	-
Carloway	-	-
Lundale	6	-
Kirkibost	-	26
Hacklet & Breaclet	-	32
Valtos	-	30
Mangersta	13	-
Garenin	-	27
Reef	15	-
Aird & Reef	-	10
Crowlista & Kneep	-	43
Garyshader	-	13
Timsgarry	8	-
Enaclete	-	9
Geshader	-	11
Ungshader	-	4
Croir	8	-
Carnish	6	-
Ardroil	14	-
Carnish & Ardroil common grazing		
Mangersta	-	10
Brenish	-	29
Garenin	-	27
Linshader	10	-
Ard Bheag	2	-
Garynahine	12	-
	140	245 abo

moved to Kirkibost from Bosta (425 acres), whi
enlargement to Tobson crofters.
nsgarry.
rnish and Ardroil.

importance to most working units of the shielings. Th
st decade with the construction of the bridge, for wher
ual ferrying operation to the mainland, tedious, unplea
and man, nowadays droving to the hills is an easy matt

somewhat different picture emerges when land is relat
(table 21). If the inbye per croft tenant is calculated
st, (29 acres), rivalled only by Lundale, (26 acres), H
rulivig form an intermediate group (11 to 16 acres), w
ader have but eight acres or less. However, the aver
ling if calculated in relation to working units: then the
to range from 7 acres (Breaclete) to 33 (Croir) while o
res, the others having 14 or less. For the whole islau
(13.2 acres) is close to that for the Shore (12.8 acres
13.5 acres: 13.3 acres) is almost identical. Thus, t
amount of inbye land available per tenant and the amal
ng units does not seriously change this distribution.

one of the Bernera Island townships has as much comm
orking unit, as any of the Bernera Shore townships, (li
ed to never less than 160 acres). The Bernera Shore
five times more pasture per tenant and per working un
. Breaclete stands out as the township with the great

e various forms of subdivision and amalgamation of cr
holdings, are summarised in Table 22. In the small t
arshader, with four crofters, has non-crofting holding
amation. In Bernera Island, however, only Hacklete
g units as of registered croft holders and Breaclete, t
ge of land, is also the township with the greatest degre
ission. In contrast, Tobson, in spite of its unconsoli
. Breaclete also has the largest number of feus, incl
ning as agricultural units. This emphasises its functi
both manses, both churches, the War Memorial, the s

ese changes must however be seen in perspective. Th
d from the type of amalgamation which is the result of
decay; the actual change is not very great. The num
98% of the number of crofter-tenants. It is illumina
therland where many former crofts, quite abandoned t
ff the rentals. Apart from changes due to clearances,
either type. Of 575 holdings examined in thirty-one
mation has reduced the number of effective crofting un
mal figure. Amalgamations by family co-operation a
and (26 out of 173 known examples) whereas subletting
e may be taken from one of the Shetland islands where
ginal number of holdings from something like 350 to ab

TABLE 27

Bernera District: Cattle

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of cattle soum actually carried.

	Number of units with:										Aver. all units
	Less than 100% of soum:					Less than 100% of soum:					
	Nil	1-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	101-125	126-150	151-200	200+		
Breaclete	-	6	2	2	1	-	-	-	-		33%
Croir	1	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-		32%
Hacklete	1	6	10	2	-	-	1	-	-		34%
Kirkibost	1	7	15	4	1	-	-	-	-		29%
Tobson	1	5	9	1	2	-	-	-	-		34%
ISLAND	4	24	42	9	4	-	1	-	-		32%
Earshader	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-		62%
Crulivig	-	-	3	-	2	1	-	-	-		72%
Lundale	1	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-		38%
Linshader	4	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	-		96%
SHORE	5	1	9	2	4	1	2	1	-		60%
DISTRICT	9	25	51	11	8	1	3	1	-		37%

is probable that the constant but rather low incidence of cattle on the Island is governed by two factors: first the shortage of common grazing near the township and the neglect of the only alternative source, the shielings, and second, the memory of past isolation - and the present impossibility otherwise of getting milk save from a neighbour - which makes a milch-cow a necessary part of the equipment of almost every household. On the mainland, where the common grazings are contiguous with the inbye, summer grazing of cattle is much easier particularly, as in Crulivig and Linshader, where there are special fences to divide the near and far pastures (cf. the old Norwegian spring-autumn and high summer seters.

We may compare fifteen Sutherland townships, in which 89% of the stock held is sheep, with the Bernera District in which 80% of the total stock is sheep. That this balance of stock is not old-established is revealed by comparison with the stock figures collected for

TABLE 28

Bernera District: Sheep.

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of Sheep soum actually carried.

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311
632

	Number of units with:									Average all units
	Less than 100% of soum:					More than 100% of soum:				
	nil	1-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-100%	101-125%	126-150%	151-200%	more than 200%	
Breaclete	1	-	-	1	3	3	-	2	-	100%
Croir	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	4	210%
Hacklete	-	2	2	4	2	1	5	1	3	89%
Kirkibost	1	3	2	4	9	3	2	3	1	79%
Tobson	2	1	3	8	2	2	-	-	-	56%
ISLAND	4	6	7	17	16	9	8	8	8	88%
Earshader	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	237%
Crulivig	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3	184%
Lundale	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	140%
Linshader	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	1	3	128%
SHORE	1	-	1	2	2	2	4	4	9	156%
DISTRICT	5	6	8	19	18	11	12	12	17	103%

231 the Napier Commission in 1883; these show that the Bernera region now keeps less than
233 half the former number of full grown cattle beasts but only a slightly higher percentage
311 of sheep. It is an unavoidable conclusion that resettlement and enlargement has not led
632 to greater agricultural efficiency: since it was carried out for social and not economic
reasons, this is perhaps not unreasonable, but it augurs ill for the future of a community
[178] which must be largely dependent on agriculture.

Land Use and Cultivation*.

241 Before considering the details of stock management it is well to review land-use, for
[231] cultivation is subsidiary to, and directed at, stock keeping. Few crofts have no culti-

* Details of crops and grass by townships will be found in Appendix A.

TABLE 29

Bernera District: cultivation

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632

	'Old arable as % of inbye (%)	Av. area of inbye per unit (acres)	Crops as % of inbye (%)	No. of units according to acres of crop: Nil	less than 0.5	0.6 to 1.0	1.1 to 1.5	1.6 to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	more than 7.5
Breaclete	14	7.4	26	1	1	2	2	6	2	-	-
Croir	7	33.4	4	-	-	1	4	1	1	-	-
Hacklete	18	12.7	15	1	-	1	6	9	3	-	-
Kirkibost	17	15.3	13	-	-	4	9	8	6	1	-
Tobson	26	9.0	17	2	-	2	7	7	1	-	-
ISLAND	21	13.5	18	4	1	10	28	31	13	1	-
Earshader	38	9.5	15	1	-	1	2	1	1	-	-
Crulivig	24	14.0	16	-	-	1	-	3	1	1	-
Lundale	35	25.9	10	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-
L nshader	67	6.9	30	-	1	1	1	3	3	-	-
SHORE	39	13.3	16	1	1	3	3	11	7	1	-
DISTRICT TOTAL	26	13.5	17	5	2	13	31	42	20	2	-

241 vation at all, but even fewer have more than 2.6 acres (table 29). Expressed as a percentage,
little more than a quarter of the total inbye area is even "old arable", of which only about two-
thirds is cultivated. Oats are every-where the most important crop: they are used almost
exclusively for fodder. Potatoes, mainly for domestic use, are the only other significant
crop; the absence of turnips is noteworthy. The crops are in general subject to some sort
of rotation within the physical limits of each croft unit; oats are usually undersown with grass
when the arable is to be left unploughed for a period but the "sown grass for pasture" is
[314] largely reseeded pasture land. The rest of the croft is left for pasture and hay, and, in
many cases the cutting of peat - a sure sign of agricultural decline. The inbye economy
depends upon so many unpredictable variables that it becomes extremely difficult to generalise
about the areas thus used. Forty-seven gardens exist in the Bernera region, but many of them
are almost 'notional' and others are merely potato patches: perhaps half-a-dozen are at all
well cultivated, for flowers or food.

241 The main change in the crops grown, apart from the introduction of sown grass, has
178 been in the corn crops, where barley has been completely displaced by oats. Barley was
grown up to 1936 - at least in Crulivig - and gave a good crop. It used to be pulled, (not
scythed), stacked, then the ears cut off with a sickle and the stalks used for thatching.
Probably the disappearance of thatch and the replacement of barley bread by the products of
the town bakery account for the decline in barley. Fewer potatoes are grown than formerly:
this directly reflects the decline in population. The absence of turnips is due at least in
part to the heavy incidence of finger-and-toe disease.

Stock Management.

221 The annual rhythm of stock keeping has lost the clear definition it used to some extent
235 to possess. The decline in summer residence at shielings has already been mentioned:
178 most were in use up to 1914, and many were visited after the Great War, but the decline
continued during the inter-war period until practically the last visits were made between
1936 (Lundale) and 1939 (Tobson): very few shielings have been visited since. There
are one or two isolated examples of a summer visit to the pastures still surviving, but
[476] they are not carried out by regular crofters having normal grazing rights. The
construction, since 1908, of ring fences around the inbye and the more recent fencing of
certain common grazings has further lessened the necessity of herding and co-operating
regularly on the commons. The importance of fencing may be judged by the fact that it
was estimated that, whereas prior to the construction of the fence there were about 4,000
sheep grazing over the Earshader - Crulivig - Lundale area, including about 2,000 from
the Bernera Shielings and about 200 from Uig, there are now only about 1,500. Figure
10 indicates both the periods when the sheep are on the hills and the variation in the
dates of movement. This applies mainly to the Island townships, for mainland townships
which are contiguous with the grazings, may keep sheep on the hill for as long as six
months each year. The rest of the year is spent on the township pasture and inbye.
Hacklete, Kirkibost and all but seven of the Tobson crofts are open in the winter to common
grazing. When the custom was more widespread the dates were clearly stated and
adhered to, now there is more variation, and November 7th or 14th (Hacklete) or 17th
(Kirkibost) have become indications rather than rules, depending on weather and the
lifting of crops. On the mainland, ('Bernera Shore') the sheep may be brought merely
nearer to the crofts rather than right onto the arable, where fences have been constructed
separating off an area of common grazing next the head dyke of the township, as at
Earshader (1908)*, Crulivig (1908, and 1939), and Lundale, this practice may be formalised, so that only certain classes of sheep are ever taken on the croft. The movement
from the croft to the hills is governed mainly by the weather: the old sheep will be sent
off to the hills some time in April if at all possible, and the ewes in lamb often there-
upon taken into the inbye if they are not there already. During May, when lambing is
safely accomplished, the beasts able to support themselves and when the weather is
suitable, the ewes with lambs are sent to the hill.

There are some places with special practices, notably Little Bernera which is closed
to grazing in July, August and September. Similarly each holding may graze a certain
proportion of replacement hogge upon the township common grazing of Breaclete while
the other stock is on the hill: this may formerly have been a more widespread custom:
it certainly has contemporary parallel in Kirkibost where some sheep remain on the
township common pasture to compensate for the much reduced numbers of cattle grazing
there in summer.

The individual crofter, or two or more in co-operation, keeps tups buying a new beast
from a different source every three years, unlike Sutherland where it is almost universal
to hire them. These are usually tethered upon the croft from August until tupping in
December. This again takes place on the croft (compare Sutherland, where, since the
tups are generally hired by the township, the tupping is usually done upon the hill and
often entails a good deal of herding). The ewes are not generally hand fed except in
emergency, though here, as in all other crofting areas, opinion is divided on the advisable
extent of this practice. It is however, more general to hand feed the hoggs which, indeed,
may be kept under-cover at night in the worst weather, even though they are on the croft
[132] or (Bernera Shore) on the nearer common grazing during the day. It is clear, though,
that, in spite of the occasional hard weather, there is not generally the amount of snow
and frost in winter to cause that amount of hand feeding and care which is a necessity in
many parts of the mainland Highlands.

*Since 1950 about 120 acres have been divided in four and individually fenced.

221 Since so much of the year is spent either upon or near the crofts it is but to be
233 expected that greatest losses of island sheep will take place in the summer when they are far from supervision upon the hills; this contrasts with the mainland Highlands where heaviest losses, apart from those due to sudden snow falls, generally come about lambing time, when this takes place upon the hill, or soon after, in cases when the ewes and lambs are put to the hill too soon. On Bernera Shore on the other hand losses are heaviest on the hill in winter. Losses are extremely uneven in their incidence in time and from croft to croft. The cause of loss varies: there are no serious endemic diseases now, and there are few coastal cliffs - a frequent cause of loss in other places. There are however some boggy areas in the interior and some rugged: whether or not there are losses due to vermin particularly eagles, is a debatable point. Probably the fundamental cause of loss is lack of shepherding and adequate day-to-day oversight upon the hill.

There are certain special pastures that show interesting features. The Flannan
233 Islands have excellent pasture, especially for the poorer male shearlings which need bringing on. There is all-the-year-round grazing for fifty sheep, which is shared by two crofters in Crulivig and one in Earshader. Unfortunately, the difficulty of getting a boat to go across has meant that for the last two years no visits have been made, and, after one or two years unattended, the animals become quite wild. Since 1949, when the Croir tenants were first permitted to cut peat upon the Bernera shielings, they have ceased to do so on Vacasay Island, where they now each send two sheep for summer grazing. They also send one sheep each to Euglam Island from 15th May to 16th August. One croft in Tobson includes certain small islands:

Bearsay Island (16.4 acres; soumed for 12 sheep per annum)

Eilean Fir Crothair (4.6 acres; soumed for 5 sheep per annum)

Seildeim (1.0 acres; soumed for 3 wedders per summer)

Similarly, Valassay (part of Tobson), has Eilean Liongain Valassay which provides summer pasture for two young cattle beasts or five sheep (one per croft). One crofter in Crulivig has a small offshore island taking two hogge during tupping and at least one crofter in Crulivig also grazing on Ben Sgurain, but there has been no success in the attempts to heft stock there. It is distant and unfenced; losses can be heavy.

231 Lewis is a very restricted market for livestock: the general practice in the Bernera area is to sell cast ewes at five or six or even more years to the butchers in Stornoway. Lambs may be sold on occasion, but generally they are kept either for replacement or for sale as three-year wedders.* The losses which occur, plus a certain amount of slaughter for domestic use, prevent long-term accumulation, though periodic fluctuations may be severe. Occasionally when there is a surplus of summer grazing, the Bernera Shore townships may buy in lambs from the western coast of Lewis, carefully eschewing those raised on the machair lands, which are said to be too "soft" for the hills. These are reckoned a gamble, they may or may not "take". The practice may be compared with that of the former Linshader Farm where, to take up the summer surplus of feed, young cattle were bought from the crofters.

236 The wool from the Lewis Blackface sheep generally varies from three to four lbs.
[178] per fleece. There is no longer any hand spinning; most wool is either sold outright or
[234] sent to the mills for spinning and dyeing. This practice is of long-standing. Even before the Great War, when the rent formed by far the most important item in the monetary affairs of the croft, the wool was either sold outright or, more commonly, sent to the mills for spinning and then taken to a weaver; the tweed was then sold either locally or to a merchant in Stornoway, the proceeds being used for the rent and other items.

231 Cattle, as has been pointed out, have declined greatly in relative importance since
178 1883: they are fewer in number - though far better in quality - and consequently subject

[234] *Three-year wedders in good condition fetch about £6 for slaughter. Carcase weight is about 44/45 lbs., sometimes as little as 38 and sometimes as much as 55 lbs.

231 to less regular routines than was the case when the shielings formed an essential part of
178 the grazing regime. The old "Black Cattle" strain is completely bred out, nor is there much trace of Highland blood. The cattle are almost exclusively of Shorthorn or of Aberdeen Angus or of cross blood in order to qualify for the bull cattle subsidy. The exceptions, like the Jersey cow in Crulivig, are very few. The cows are dual purpose beasts, kept for milk and for production of calves for sale. The latter are sold either within a week or so of birth, or at the age of up to six months (i.e. in autumn) or at about eighteen months age, after which the regulations usually specify that followers must be counted as full-grown beasts in the soum. They may be sold either in Stornoway or at the biannual sale at Breaclete. Cows unless they are being passed on to another crofter, are usually sold to the Stornoway slaughter house. Again, owing to the restricted market available, prices are lower than on the mainland, though undoubtedly greatly improved since 1939.

The problem of winter feed is still a governing factor in cattle management: cattle kept through the winter need a good deal of fodder, and happy the crofter and fortunate the year when it is not necessary to buy in a certain amount of cake, bruised oats, other feed or even hay. However, it is generally reckoned that the croft will supply the most if not all of the hay and oats. In any case, the amount generally bought in is a great deal less than that necessary in the mainland Highlands. This is largely due to the fact that, on many days, the cattle can be let out for foraging and will, in fact, manage to gain some natural feed.

Here, in contrast with Sutherland (where frequently a bull upon a neighbouring farm is used for service), and even with Park (where each township has its own bull) there is but one bull. In order to get round the problems of maintenance which have occasionally bedevilled Lewis townships, there is a recognised practice: the bull spends July to October upon the Tobson township common grazing, and the rest of the year on Little Bernera.*

Horses have never occupied a very important place in the economy of the area. It is said that the first horse on Bernera Island was taken to Hacklete bout 1923: previous to that and for some time after, most of the cultivation was by hand. This is understandable: in an area where most of the arable land is in lazy beds, and where, owing to dependence upon and nearness to the sea, problems of long distance land transport did not arise, there was little place for the horse, a fact which was recognised by the omission of horses from all the soums save that of Linshader itself. There is no recollection in the area of the keeping of goats. Nor is there a tradition of pig-keeping, though there were undoubtedly a few kept in the past. Poultry are kept almost entirely for domestic use.

Population - ages and occupations.**

162 Questions of land use cannot be separated from questions of population. The permanently resident population of the Bernera region is but three hundred and sixty and it is not balanced as to age-distribution (see Fig. 30). Appendix C(3) shows that out of 85
464 croft-holders on Bernera there are 34 full-time crofters: 21 are men, only seven of whom are less than 65; 13 are women, only six of whom are less than 65. The situation is even worse on Bernera Shore: out of 25 croft holders, only 11 are full-time, all men but all are over 65. The term 'full-time crofter' really implies crofter with no other occupation, and cannot be taken as necessarily involving a full-time unit of effective agricultural labour. Of the croft holders with full-time employment, 33 on the Island and six on the Shore, all but one, as would be expected, are less than 65. Therefore a large part of the active labour force is siphoned off into other occupations, for, increasingly, a man with a regular job has neither the energy nor the inclination to work a croft in

*The introduction of Artificial Insemination may soon change this.

**Appendix D(1) contains details of population by townships, appendices D(2) and (3) give further details of occupations and emigration.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 81

464 his little spare time. In addition there are a few croft holders with periodic employment. It is noteworthy that the incidence of employment bears no direct relationship to the size of croft holding - there is not, for example, a preponderance of holders of small crofts taking permanent employment.*

162 However, the croft holders are not the only source of labour: Appendix C(4) shows
464 that there is a total force of fairly regular labour for the crofts amounting to 147, or rather less than half the total resident population. Of these, 78 undertake regular employment, 24 have employment on occasion, and thus only 45 are full-time, of whom 25 are
288 over 65. The forms of employment are indicated on Appendix D(2): weaving, with 49
226 persons regularly involved, is by far the most important single source of full-time employment, the only other being fishing (24 persons). Estate work (mostly gamekeepers, ghillies, etc. at Grimersta Lodge) gives regular employment to ten persons in the townships of the Shore. No other form of employment accounts for more than three residents between 15 and 65 years of age; the category 'casual' covers a variety of unskilled labour and there are five non-employable invalids.

288 About 50 households, out of 130, have looms. Yarn is distributed by the Stornoway
283 producers for weaving on commission; they collect, finish, and market the cloth. Hand spinning has all but died out and such yarn is more likely to be used for handknitting than for weaving; at least one lady supplements her income in this way. There is some evidence that Bernera weavers receive less work than those more accessible to Stornoway; the reason for this may lie partly in individual contacts between weavers and producers, and partly in the particular skills of particular weavers but transport is an important factor. Such a small isolated group of weavers does not justify frequent journeys by the Stornoway vans; in fact most yarn is put out, and tweeds collected, by a weekly carrier.

Table 31

Fishing in Bernera District 1892-1956

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226
435

	Numbers engaged:		Value of Catch:
	Boats:	Men:	
1892	39	133	?
1900	36	164	?
1913	39	163	£1,300
1920	36	151	£1,400
1930	27	145	£670
1938	33	114	£699
1948	40	84	£2,850
1956	25	26	£4,949

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Not all the boats returned were necessarily engaged in regular fishing. Nor is the value of the catch shown necessarily attributable entirely to Bernera.

* Editorial Note: this is an inevitable result of the rigid structure of crofter land holdings. See Part I, page 30 and table 12. The age of the crofter, and his family circumstances are decisive.

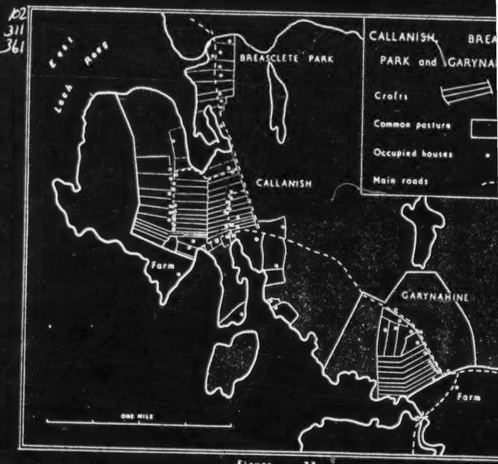

Figure 33

361 Contrasting patterns of crofts: the main block of Callanish crofts was lotted befo
178 1850. The group of crofts known as Breasclete Park was added in April 1850 for families evicted from Reef in south Uig. These, and many of the original Callani crofts were later subdivided. The irregular shaped crofts in the south of Callani were added at later dates, probably originating as squatters on the common pastu The Garynahine crofts were formed in 1935; they have a large area of common pasture south of the farm.

/p. 86/

23/There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

233 Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters exceed their wintering (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 166 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

312 The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mburchaidh, and has had electricity since 1951. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway
391 and also one bus from Uig and one from Berneray passing through Garynahine. These
427 good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

463 There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the remaining two being 65 and 70 old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only
● 178 two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

172 Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle
135 is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about 125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide)
367 which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing; it is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the highest point is 425 ft.

195 The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century,
427 and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader
34 to work for one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the more exposed westward facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced in the 90 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which
241 now forms the boundary between the crofthland and the common pasture. The crofthland varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertiliser and manure are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial fertiliser. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on a small peninsula from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland at high tide.

175 The croft houses were then in two nuclei; one on each side of the narrow neck. Much
361 later a third nucleI developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the
427 Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Berneray; they had put to sea in small boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became
311 squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

427 There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

000 weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Mains electricity was installed
354 7 years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas and peat. The chief source of fuel for heating purposes is peat, although a little coal may be used.

427 There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions, a small-holding of 15
acres formerly the Mill, and 10 feet, all of which are worked as 54 units. The crofts
341 lie an long narrow strips in a NE - SW direction from the moorland to the sea. All are at least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some crofters are, at the moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land completely.

241 The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a little clover mixture is sown for hay most crofters find that the natural grass is sufficient for their needs. Vegetables are produced in a few gardens, but most people do not have enough time or interest to bother with them. Flowers rarely flourish owing to the lack of shelter.

311 Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and the land nearest the shore,
● 178 part of which was once cultivated on a run-rig system is now unfenced and used entirely for grazing together with some peat cutting. A piece of the common grazing has been improved by application of shell sand and chemical fertilisers and reseeded. This
improvement is one which almost the whole township took part in and has proved very successful and there are plans for further reseeding. Details of crops are given in Appendix C.

167 Although the tractors of which there are two in the township are used wherever possible,
the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for potatoes. Much hay is
29 cut by mower but scythes are used to a large extent. There is still one horse in the township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its owner.

233 The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e. 2½ times the wintering which here is 2 cows and 5 sheep per £1 sterling rent. 40 crofters keep sheep but
● 178 only about half of these are sufficient to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Many lambs are lost on the moors during the summer and more fail to survive the winter. The number of cattle
231 kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each household to keep 1 cow and 1 calf which is generally sold after 6 months when a subsidy can be claimed. Breasclete has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Most households keep sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1938. Now it is not necessary as fewer cows are kept than formerly. With the reduction in numbers of stock the common pasture close to the village are being colonized by heather.

221 The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditches are cleaned and the
231 land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilised and sown with oats and
233 potatoes. The sheep are plotted out on the 10th of May and the cows are put out on the
394 crofts are then closed to common grazings. Soon after this peats are cut on the moors
few or less far from the village. After about 20 days the peats are lifted and carried
to the Pentland Road by tractor where they are stacked to await the lorry which takes them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the fank for shearing and the cows are usually brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the croft is not fenced they must be tethered. At the end of June the clover is cut, while the potatoes must be cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped. Natural grass is cut for hay and if there is any first-year sown grass this may yield a second crop in
September, together with the corn harvest. When the potatoes have been lifted in October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for the winter. Final dipping takes place in November.

162 Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 years and 57 are over 65
years of age. Of the resident tenants 9 are between 15 and 44 years, 19 are between
44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on persons are periodically
000 away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 39 are permanently away. Since 1939,

241 are usually all the potatoes. Between the road and Loch a' Bhaile and between the unmade road and Loch Shader on crofts 22 to 25 the land is probably more intensively cultivated than ever before, but strips now overgrown with rushes and coarse grasses, especially near the cemetery give an idea of the former extent of cultivation. The working of strips nearer the sea is no longer worth the labour involved. Crofts 22 to 25 are further divided by the small Loch Shader; no. 28 however makes good use of a small alluvial flat at the head of Loch a' Bhaile.

237 Artificial fertilisers are in general use together with lime and dung. However some
B24 crofts were using seaweed, in particular now. 1A, 1B, 1C, 4, 5, and 19 - i.e. those
423 crofts with easiest access to the sea. The seaweed is gathered in the New Year and trodden into the ground in the spring and apparently gives excellent results, but tuomch labour is involved in carrying it to crofts in the centre of the township. Forty years ago each croft had rights to the "red" and "black" seaweed along the coast.

The crop acreages for the whole township will be found detailed in Appendix C (1) The area of oats for each croft varied between 0.25 and 2.50 acres while the maximum for sown grass was 1.5 acres. The excellent crops of hay from sown grass would
133 suggest its further extension, but unfortunately most of the land suitable for cultivation is already under oats and potatoes. The practice of undersowing oats was not particularly widespread whilst only two small strips of oats-rye mixture were found. One crofter had also obtained good results in a small patch with seven different vegetables, whilst soft fruits are to be planted next year. The two sets of 'run-rig'crofts practise a fixed run-rig with the usual rotation of oats and ley on the strips.

231 In cattle stock (Appendix C) the township has 28 three year-old beasts, 2 one
year-olds, and 24 calves. Only 6 registered occupied crofts have no cow, two crofters
● 178 have two cows each, and one crofter has two cows and two calves. The township has no bull however and the nearest is at Carloway or Callanish. Many lambs are lost on the moors during the summer and more fail to survive the winter. The number of cattle
231 kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each household to keep 1 cow and 1 calf which is generally sold after 6 months when a subsidy can be claimed. Breasclete has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Most households keep sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

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000 away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 39 are permanently away. Since 1939,

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

by

Brian Loughbrough

131 The seven crofting townships of Upper Carloway, (including Carloway Park), Borroweston,
128 Garenin, Knock Carloway, Dun Carloway and Kirivirie form a compact area of land in the
103 south of the Parish of Uig bordering the East Loch and Loch Carloway. Here the Lewisian gneiss has a thin discontinuous covering of glacial drift which is most extensively
developed immediately above the head of Loch Carloway. Crofting is largely to deter-
341 mine the layout of the townships and settlements (figure 37). The townships to the north-
133 west of the Carloway river are found on more gentle slopes than those to the south east where the slopes are less uniform and are use uniform and are often broken by short steep rocky faces. The north western area therefore offers an environment where almost continuous cultivation is possible whereas in the south east the frequent rock outcrops have led to fragmented cultivation on minute plots which are inaccessible to the tractor or other mechanised implements.

13/ The soils are heavy and acid even on the skinned land of the boulder clay slopes nor
is there any machair to mitigate the acidity of the peaty areas which dominate the land
in the shores. Only in one place is there any trace of the influence of the sand and this is to be found where the crofts numbered 1 to 3 Garenin border the small bay in the north of that township. Here the fierce gales have blown some of the finer beach deposits on to the croft land.

Much of the peat has been cut from the inner common pastures except in the case of Upper Carloway where active cutting is still taking place in the valley whose flanks are
311 occupied by squatter settlements, to the east of the football pitch. On the common
311 pasture the vegetation varies from peat moss and heather with bracken to fescue and close turf on the skinned land by the road to Dalcmore. On the upper common pasture heather and bracken have increased since the abandonment of the shielings and the reduction of the cattle stock; many inhabitants remember that the hills once had a much greener aspect. Nor is this a feature confined to the common pastures; on one croft in Upper Carloway 1.5 acres are completely covered by heather whilst a neighbouring croft has a good crop of oats on similar land. At the lock in both Knock and Upper Carloway areas of former arable land have reverted to moss, the old lazy beds being picked out by the peat cutters.

361 Settlement. The settlement pattern is one of great interest for it shows in a clear way the effects of the district phases in the historical geography of the area. The evidence of success and failure stands side by side. Before attempting to justify this assertion it is necessary to give a brief account of the physical evolution and distribution of settlement.

361 The origin of permanent settlement is believed * to have been the permanent occu-
178 pation of shielings used by people from Bernera until the eighteenth century. Until about
1850 arable land was held run-rig and the houses were huddled together in tight little clusters. When individual crofts were lotted, about 1850, the houses werescattered, each on its croft and generally up to fifty yards from the present road which was then
340 no more than a rough track). Sea access was then most important but since the advent
of modern road transport new houses have been built nearer to the roads, producing a
178 modern markedly linear plan. The roads extend at different heights across the slopes

* based on information supplied by Mr Macleod of 27 Garenin.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

361 and across the croft boundaries and it is along these that the majority of the houses are
491 to be found so that as the roads followed the easiest course open to them so the settlement
● 178 has moved to the roads.

A particularly interesting example of this kind can be drawn from Upper Carloway where a twofold movement of settlement has taken place; the original houses were built, there was an uphill movement to the upper of the two roads which cross the township at from 150 to 170 feet above sea level, and, secondly (and more recently), there has been a move to build at from 25 to 30 feet above sea level along the lower road which has become the main axis for the public
342 services. Three main types of building exist then in this township. The first is the blackhouse of which only one or two now remain. Even these are not the primitive type of blackhouse, for they all have proper chimneys. The second is an ill-defined group which includes buildings erected during the later years of the fishing boom and in the period up to the Second World War. These houses are either one or two storied often with the traditional dormer windows; they form the majority. Finally there is the development of the modern bungalows which are built by the Crofters Commission but have no plans supplied by the Department of Agriculture. Few have ventured to build away from the level of the lower road.

How then does this pattern of settlement illustrate the changes referred to at the beginning of this section? The original houses were abandoned gradually as the temporar
178 prosperity of the fishing enabled the crofters to build the better houses. These have seen great changes, but in most cases they are still occupied. Some have been extended and improved by their owners whilst others remain without additions almost as they were when first built. That the crofter owns his own house has certainly encouraged replacement
694 in recent times. The generous grants and loans provided by the Department of Agriculture have been utilised to construct the modern bungalows on crofts where the original croft house stands as a byre and where the second house is sometimes inhabited by some relative or parent of the crofter. In this way the district phases have left their mark on the croft, it is rare to see an isolated croft house, the landscape reflecting the varying fortunes of economic enterprise and the influence of government subsidies now so much a part of the life of the crofting township.

Roads and public services.

Carloway's importance as a centre for West Lewis is accounted for by the fact that
491 at the turn of the nineteenth century the coastline caused by East Loch Roag the main road southwards from Barvas turns inland to Breasclete. Near the point where it crosses the Carloway river at Carloway bridge it is joined by a number of local township roads to create a focal point of community services (figure 38). Here also the line of the still unfinished 'Pentland' road, projected as a direct link with Stornoway during the fishing boom, reaches Loch Carloway and passes along its north shore to the pier at Borroweston. This substantial pier was the scene of great activity during the period of commercial fishing before the First World War.

The six hundred residents of the immediate Carloway area are served by eight travel-
369 ling shops visit us by the local carrier. Bread, fish, meat, groceries, hardware, ironmongery, liquor
494 and bank all come to the end of the croft if not to the croft's door. Of the vans one is
based on Carloway, one on Breasclete and the rest on Stornoway. A mobile film unit
162 visits once each fortnight. The churches and school rightly reflect their importance in the community by the commanding position which they occupy just above the bridge. Here too is the showground; the annual show attracts people from all over the island, being as much a social as an agricultural gathering. Other services are more dispersed but not far away. They include doctor and district nurse, policeman, post office, and football

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 103]

1,[Presumably the author means figure 39--Analyst]

241 Oats are the main fodder crop and although the practice of undersowing is not familiar it is increasing with the incentive of cultivation grants. Potatoes are the other major crop, the main crop being Kerr's Pink and the 'earlies' several varieties. Domestic gardens, common in nearly all the crofts, grow cabbages and carrots. Turnips only succeed occasionally and there were many reports of poor yields. Two crofters had grown sugar beet successfully for fodder but did not see much future for it.

Sown grasses are being used increasingly and several areas of varied quality were noticed ranging from an indifferent field of Italian rye grass that had been down for five years to mixtures recommended by the Agricultural Advisor. These mixtures are used in rotations thus:- oats - potatoes - oats - sown grass - sown grass - sown grass. Some surface reseeding has been attempted and has succeeded on the crofts but none has yet been tried upon the common pasture, which is shared with Park Carloway. The chief problem has been that of finding a suitable area readily accessible to all the crofts. With the example of Breaclete and some of the townships in Ness in mind all agree that reseeding would be beneficial.*

Fertilisers are used on all the crofts and a clear pattern of their use emerged. With the obvious exception of dung the traditional types of fertiliser have been abandoned. Only one person uses shell sand in preference to lime for normal crops. For surface reseeding sand is obtained from the north west coast though transport costs are high. Contracts were given of regular liming, the only dissenter significantly having his croft by the river. Seaweed is not now in use though there were good reports of its
[254] value; labour, to obtain it was not available. With the incentive of the cultivation grants there is a regular application of blended artificial fertilisers by the majority of holders.

The Carloway hill common has not been cultivated within living memory but the cultivation of every possible piece of croft land was remembered by many. Several crofters recalled the period before the First World War when all cultivation was by spade
233 alone. The abandonment of the shielings some forty years ago reflects the decrease in cattle stocks; the smaller the numbers of cattle the less important is it to obtain additional grazing during the summer so that the croft land may recover from the winter and spring grazing. All that remains of the shielings are small, almost circular, mounds
● [178] of stones surrounded by a green sward. The decrease in cattle stocks, then three times larger than now, and the primitive life of the shielings are probably the chief reasons for their demise.

A comparison of the percentages of the souming taken up reveals this decline in cattle and the relative and absolute increase in sheep stocks. On six of the forty one units on the crofts the total souming is exceeded, one is at par and the rest are understocked. The sheep figures show a slightly different situation; eight of the forty one are exceeding their souming, two are at par and the rest are below, but not far below, if sheep are kept at all: but, whereas only six of the fifty six total units have no cattle, twenty three are without sheep (14 crofts and 9 feus). For an analysis of the statistics for the whole area see tables I, II, & III. The most interesting feature of the comparative figures is the figure for sheep, for in spite of the fact that Park Carloway has an excess of sheep, the joint figures do not exceed the total joint souming for the townships.

CARLOWAY PARK

361 In contrast with the excessive elongation of the crofts in Upper Carloway those of
427 Park Carloway form compact blocks. Another unusual feature is that when the crofts were lotted five field drains per croft were laid at a depth of eighteen inches: this may have something to do with the good quality of the land. Nineteen acres of croft land is worked in five effective units that form a distinct block of cultivation. Croft 6, which

* In 1960 and 1962 172 acres of common pasture were reseeded.

DUN CARLOWAY

361 Dun Carloway though clearly of a similar type to the other townships south of Loch
427 Carloway has certain features peculiar to itself. The croft land may be divided into two sections; crofts 18 to 23 occupy the deep trench which extends from the Dun Carloway
241 school to Loch Carloway itself. These holdings are larger than the average discussed above and are divided in broad rectangular block. To the west there is a less deeply entrenched zone where the crofts are long and narrow lying up and down slope like those
241 of Borrowston. Short steep and narrow lazy beds characterise the cultivation which follows the pattern set in the other townships, although the areas, as has been noted above, are much larger in some cases; the largest have up to twenty acres. Despite this increased size no croft has more than two acres of oats. The low percentage of land under cultivation is only in part explained by the difficult nature of the ground and
461 the limited use which can be made of the tractor. Few crofters are willing to attempt
● 178 more cultivation (to provide extra feed for store cattle or some other form of stock enterprise) so long as the income from weaving is satisfactory. The concept of the croft as an ancillary employment appears to have defeated its own end for with the population at its present level, and with the income from weaving as it is, very few crofters are prepared to do more than provide milk for the family, (with the animal and calf subsidies), and the proceeds of the sale of the annual calf as by-products) and to derive what income Providence rather than goodmanagement may allow from the sheep.

427 The total area of individually held crofland is 194 acres which is worked in twenty
427 five agricultural units derived from twenty six crofts, nine feus, one 'free gift' holding
311 and one squatter. The cultivation is accomplished by one horse and one tractor, each fo which is owned within the township.

311 The total souming is exceeded, the main reason for this being the gross overstocking of sheep: 187.4% of the souming. This overstocking cannot fail to have a harmful effect on the common pasture, promoting an increase in the bracken already visible on some of the crofttland itself, under-nourishment and disease. The poor quality of the hill pasture is brought home by a comparison with the grazings of North Uist where the most striking feature of the landscape is its greenness after the heavier browns of Western Lewis. Regeneration by surface seeding would certainly be helpful here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

178 The tables given in appendices C and D form the basis for much of the comment in the preceding pages. They must now be considered in the light of the general tendencies which they illustrate in the changing livestock economy unite.

241 Appendix C (1) elucidates the working of the crofts. The picture is somewhat com-
311 plicated by the large number of non-crofting holdings in the area, of which 43 carry
231 stock (a quarter of these sublet crofttland). The number of feus also tends to mask the process of amalgamation of crofts to form larger working units; a process which has
435 been taking place for some time. There are in this connection one or two cases of the
427 cross working of crofts between individuals in neighbouring townships. The figures for these units have been included with those of the township where the tenant is resident.

241 Oats are the most important arable crop. The acreages of sown grass for hay and pasture are much lower in comparison. Permanent grass, mostly old arable land, is to be found on 58% of the total area of land occupied as crofts and feus. A large proportion of this is on very thin soil where bare rock is exposed and on wet land, but even so it does show that much more of the land might be under cultivation or improved grass.
● 178 The decrease in cultivation since the late nineteenth century is probably much less than that for the Valtos area of South Uig where about 70% of the inbys and outrun is under

241 permanent grass. The pre-eminence of the Carloway area is then only a relative one
● 178 where the decline in cultivation is taking place at a slower rate. Isolation, the decline in fishing and the lack of alternative employment leading to a greater decline in population may explain the more rapid decline in the Valtos area. Whether Carloway will see a similar decline remains to be seen.

Table 35

Stock carried as a proportion of total souming of each township - Carloway district, August 1959

TOWNSHIP	All Stock	Cattle	Sheep*
Carloway	63%	53%	70%
Carloway Park	87%	64%	119%
Borrowston	74%	15%	121%
Garenin	97%	30%	160%
Knock Carloway	64%	30%	90%
Kirivick	73%	25%	124%
Dun Carloway	104%	21%	187%

* As recorded in some cases these figures are too low (see Appendix C (2)); the maximum error is probably around 10%.

231 Table 35 summarises the agricultural system; further details of the relations between
311 size of unit, status of tenant, stock of cultivation, will be found in Appendix C (3), (4), (5)
231 and (6). Though the total soumings (that is the conversion of both cattle and sheep units
233 to 'cow units' expressed as a percentage of the souming) never fall below 60% the sheep
311 souming is exceeded in five townships and that grossly in two cases. Once again however this is not as serious as it is in the Valtos area where soumings are exceeded by up to three times the figure allowed. Nor does the mere statistical analysis reveal all the picture for it is essential that a proportionate number of cattle be kept so that the grazing of both cattle and sheep may regulate the growth of the grass. As it is, the relative and absolute increase in the numbers of sheep is having a serious effect on the quality of the pastures.

Sheep are given less attention that the cattle whether they need it or not and few of the present generation are prepared to tolerate the life of the shieling in its old form where the cattle were taken in the summer. In consequence the grazing on the outer zones is almost entirely given up to sheep. The shielings are now only marked by small broken stone mounds which were once the shelters and by the small surrounding areas of greener sward. The changing aspect of the hill landscape has already been mentioned.

231 Comparison of the totals given in Appendix C (1) shows how the present pattern is develop-
ping. 167 milk cows are being raised on 171 agricultural units and with these are 113 calves. Appendices C (5) & (6) indicate that the agricultural unit farming the basis of farming is the single milk cow and annual calf which carries a subsidy if it passes the inspector of the Department of Agriculture. A few crofters are raising young beasts for sale but there is A general unwillingness to grow more fodder to raise cattle for an uncertain market which may be affected at any moment by an increase in transport costs which are already high. Without the subsidy such enterprises would hardly be possible at all and indeed one could say this of many aspects of life in the island today. Some of the calves are wintered, but the usual practice is to sell off late in the year.

233 Little close attention is paid to shepherding though several crofters profess to lifting
● 178 the great losses in the moor (often amounting to one third of the lambs each year) does not seem to cause much worry. The chief income from the sheep is the fleece which
435 sells at up to 4/- per pound, an average fleece weighing from three to four pounds. This
280 wool is not used for the tweed industry since it is too coarse being more suited to carpet manufacture. Appendix C (6) shows that the majority of flocks are small averaging from 10-20. The overgrazing is the result of a smaller number of owners keeping larger flocks. Thirteen of the working units have between 50 and 100 sheep. As to those without sheep, several crofters declared themselves to be too old to bother with them, a fact which serves as an illustration and introduction to the population problems.

162 Appendices D (1) shows the twofold nature of the difficulties which confront the community.
Twenty-two per cent of the residents are over 65 years of age and no less than 56% are
164 over 45 years old. With the sole exception of one man who works on the power develop-
● 178 ment project at Gisla in South Uig, the main focus of employment is local. A small number
435 of people are engaged in services to the community including shopkeeping, but the main source of income is weaving since crofting itself (by definition in this area at least) does not yield sufficient to maintain a family. Yet there are 31 full time crofters who are being supported in some other way, either by relations temporarily or permanently absent or by
162 interest on capital accumulated during periods of employment away from the island.

162 There is an insufficiency of women of child-bearing age to offer hope of an increase in
164 the population or even a sufficient number to guarantee a level of replacement. This fact together with the emphasis on one form of employment gives rise to anxiety among the crofters, who recollect what happened when the fishing finally collapsed during the First World War after a period of steady decline. In 1913 twenty boats sailed from Carloway
● 178 and gave employment to 295 men. If the weaving fails (at present a weaver making three
435 yards per week) an alarm up to 1 for them there will be similar results and the net emigration from an area already none too attractive to young people will certainly become more marked than it is at present.

Table 36

Fishing in the Carloway District 1892-1956

	Numbers engaged		
	Boats	Men	Value of catch:
1892	65	300	?
1900	27	318	?
1913	20	295	£8,700
1920	14	266	£560
1930	10	83	£262
1938	10	40	£470
1948	14	40	£174
1956	15	18	nil

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Boats returned may not have been in regular use; many of the men were mainly engaged as hands on east coast boats.

(3) Destination of Emigrants, 1939 - 1959

● 106 167 178

Destination:	Male	Female (1)	Total
BERNERA DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	6	4 (3)	10
Other Lewis	2	10 (9)	12
Other crofting counties	3	6 (5)	9
Glasgow	3	7 (7)	10
Other Scotland	14	7 (7)	21
Other U.K.	2	4 (4)	6
Overseas	4	1 (1)	5
All emigrants	34	39 (36)	73
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	10	10 (8)	20
Other Lewis	8	17 (12)	25
Other crofting counties	7	10 (8)	17
Glasgow	23	21 (17)	44
Other Scotland	14	22 (12)	36
Other U.K.	4	11 (10)	15
Overseas	6	2 (2)	8
All emigrants	72	93 (69)	165
CARLOWAY DISTRICT:			
Stornoway	5	13 (7)	18
Other Lewis	12	17 (8)	29
Other crofting counties	5	9 (6)	14
Glasgow	18	17 (13)	35
Other Scotland	12	15 (9)	27
Other U.K.	4	4 (4)	8
Overseas	10	7 (2)	17
All emigrants	66	82 (49)	148

Note: (1) the figure in parenthesis refers to females who emigrated on marriage.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

TABLE 38

Stock carried 80 years ago compared with that carried today and with the soumings

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	Cattle (more than 1 year old): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum	Sheep (all ages): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum
OLD TOWNSHIPS						
South Uig	716	178	677	3,173	10,500	3,557
Bernera	446	183	464	1,713	5,400	2,890
E.L. Roag	555	132	481	1,652	5,200	2,090
Carloway	682	191	648	2,818	6,000	2,596
NEW TOWNSHIPS	-	104	329	-	5,800	2,858
FARMS etc.	404	44	-	4,400	900	-

Note: Figures for individual townships are given in Appendix B.

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[178]

not have crofter status. Thus, despite the rigidity imposed by crofting legislation, the crofting structure is evolving; whether the larger units so formed are agriculturally more productive than the smaller, statutory, units is another question.

Cattle and sheep stocks

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The production of cattle and sheep is the main function of the croft, from the agricultural point of view, and the main function of the crofting parish. In this respect a great change has occurred in the last 80 years: about 1880 some 3,300 cattle and 14,000 sheep (of all ages) were kept; in 1959 the corresponding figures were 1,281 and 35,000. This change is by no means the result of the re-settlement of crofters on former farms; in 1879, according to the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the sheep:cattle ratio was 2.3:1 on the crofting townships and 9.6:1 on the farms: now it is 27:1 over the whole parish. The change (Table 38) has been fairly uniform over the parish except that, whereas sheep stocks generally have more or less trebled, in the Carloway district they have little more than doubled.

[161]
[162]

The decline of cattle numbers has been at the same rate as that of the human population and this, together with the much lower sheep:cattle ratio on crofting townships than on farms in 1879, suggests that, 80 years ago just as to-day, the main object of cattle keeping was subsistence rather than commerce. The increase in sheep numbers on the other hand is probably no more than a reflection of increasing disregard of the soumings.

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If we compare the cattle and sheep stocks with the soumings shown in Table 38 and Appendix E we find that 80 years ago, except in Bernera, there was rough agreement between stock and soum. To-day cattle stocks are around one-third of those allowed by the soum whereas sheep stocks are greatly in excess. Examination of the soumings leads one to question their validity in the light of modern conditions: the sheep soums bear no regular relation to the available areas of common pastures (Appendices A(2) and

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STOCK HELD AS PROPORTION OF SOUM
Nil
Less than 50%
50% - 100%
101% - 200%
More than 200%
All units

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TABLE 39

Stock carried by working units

Percentage of units in each district with stock indicated:					
South Uig	Bernera	East Loch Roag	Carloway	WHOLE PARISH	
%	%	%	%	%	(No.)
3	1	7	5	4	(20)
26	25	32	36	31	(153)
32	43	29	31	35	(173)
31	30	19	22	26	(131)
8	2	14	6	4	(40)
100	100	100	100	100	(499)

le soums appear impossibly high unless large quantities of winter fodder in the old townships the soums of each croft are still based on minor additional "1 cow and follower and 8 sheep per pound rent"; the rents, alculated on the potential value of the croft in days when an inexhaustible was available for production of winter fodder by cultivation. This is no nd the old assumption no longer holds.

tures are seldom, if ever, used to best advantage. Because the rally allow unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle, the soumings are xceeded by the presence of the increased flocks of sheep. In practice, ation is quite different. In the first place the difference between the zing of sheep and cattle on the hills is not widely appreciated. In crofters remarked on the change during the present century in the nearer hill pastures - "they were green when I was a boy, now they are was seldom correlated with the decline in cattle and increase in sheep. doubt that the increase in the ratio of sheep to cattle has generally led to the grazings. Further, there are almost five hundred separate sheep sh pastures, most of them with less than 20 ewes; at some fanks the men outnumber the sheep! Little real sheep-herding is done - nor can it be other regular employment. Consequently the hills are not grazed evenly: rossly over-grazed whilst others are neglected. This situation has the decline in cattle numbers and consequent abandonment of the upation of which ensured that use was made of the more distant pastures.

ctor inhibiting proper use of township pastures is their situation and vnships, particularly in South Uig, have detached areas of hill pasture, These are often singularly inaccessible now that the custom of huts has ceased. Other township pastures are long narrow strips up to seven miles. Straying from one township's lands to those of re common. Individual allocation of the hill pastures is not certain amount of fencing and, possibly, the employment of a paid l (as in the nineteenth century), would help.

the stocking of individual working units, Table 39, we find that only 30% heir total soum, 35% carry between a half and a full soum and a further an half their soum. The situation does not vary very much as between although there appears to be a slight tendency for working units in

TABLE 45

Principal croft workers by size of effective agricultural units

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Size of unit (acres):	Nil to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	7.6 to 10.0	10.1 to 15.0	15.1 to 20.0	more than 20
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Males under 65:							
regular employment	55	61	47	60	52	57	60
casual employment	7	11	13	12	17	9	12
no other work	16	7	7	7	15	11	12
Males over 65	11	13	23	16	11	18	15
Females	10	9	9	4	4	4	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Appendices A(4) and C(4)

of unit; the result (Table 45) does not suggest that the possession of a large agricul unit encourages a man to become a full-time rather than a spare-time agricultural Indeed, the possession of a large unit, built up by amalgamation, is often a fortuit result of marriage, death, or inheritance, rather than a matter of individual choic only significant correlation in the table seems to be the understandable tendency fo female croft workers to work the smaller, rather than the larger, crofts.

[462]

241 The cultivated land
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The chief crops are hay, oats and potatoes, in that order:

DISTRICT	Acreage of: Oats	Potatoes	Hay	All Crops	Average p
South Uig	149	50	209	407	2.5
Bernera	121	38	69	228	2.0
East Loch Roag	83	35	170	288	2.1
Carloway	113	42	202	357	2.2
TOTAL	466	165	650	1,280	2.2

241 Barley, which in the form of bere was important until the 1920's, has almost disappeared. Turnips, marigolds, rape and other animal food crops are only gro
[178]

TABLE 55

Proportion of resident males, aged 15-64, in Major categories of employment

See Appendices B(2) and D(2) for details.

	Croft-work only	Croft-work and weaving	Croft and other regular work	Croft and periodic work	No croft work	Total (100%)
Uig Parish	11	43	16	15	14	(635)
Districts						
South Uig	13	27	22	24	13	(188)
Bernera	8	36	25	19	12	(130)
East Loch Roag	9	50	11	11	19	(146)
Carloway	16	61	6	6	13	(171)

Table 55 and figure 47 summarise the main sources of employment. The small group engaged in 'croft-work only' may be briefly dismissed. A large proportion of these men are elderly or otherwise infirm; a few are pensioners (e.g. retired police or service men); very few indeed are fully occupied in the agricultural work of their crofts, thus 'full-time crofters' is a misnomer in this area.

The most important category, in all districts, is 'croft-work and weaving', but it is relatively far less important in the south where there is correspondingly greater reliance on other forms of regular employment or on periodic work, i.e. casual labour.* It is difficult to overestimate the significance of weaving in all districts. It is the only substantial source of income in the parish and it should be clear from the previous chapter that weaving is not an ancillary occupation to croft work except in a few cases in the south. The weavers are not 'crofter-weavers' so much as 'weaver-crofters'. A curious distinction between Carloway and the rest of the parish is that, whereas generally weaving is young mens' work, the great majority being under 45, in the Carloway area two-thirds of the weavers are over 45. The historical reason for this may be the earlier spread of weaving into Carloway than elsewhere for, although some weaving has always been done throughout the area, it only became a major source of employment south of Carloway in the last 20 years or so. Thus few of the older men in the south learned weaving when they were young. A corollary is greater dependance on the Merchant Navy as a source of employment for young men from Carloway than for those from the south.

Other sources of regular local employment are lobster fishing (Bernera only), gamekeeping and other estate work (Bernera shore and South Uig), and government establishments (South Uig). In addition there are the usual services - postmen, haulage contractors,

* For a detailed discussion of the significance of weaving see Moisley, H.A., Harris Tweed - a growing Highland industry. Economic Geography, 37, 1961, pages 353 - 370.

TEXT CONTINUES ON PAGE 152

APPENDIX E

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(1) Stock carried about 80 years ago compared with that carried today.

(a) Old Townships

	Cattle (more than 1 year old) 1883	1959	Soum	Sheep (all ages) 1883	1959	Soum
Brenish *	131	33	84	447	1,700	508
Islivig	46	9	43	93	500	228
Crowlista	101	18	89	632	1,200	414
Aird	40	6	34	137	600	206
Valtos	158	42	220	647	2,300	1,033
Kneep	84	22	76	341	1,000	455
Caryshader	42	9	45	267	500	183
Ungshader *	20	4	38	107	1,800	110
Geshader *	46	19	31	330		237
Eneclete *	48	16	17	172	900	298
Breaclete	53	25	59	215	630	312
Kirkibost	143	49	144	449	1,300	866
Hacklete	89	52	122	290	1,400	661
Tobson	116	36	97	534	950	784
Earshader	20	7	17	109	480	104
Crulivig	25	14	25	116	600	163
Callanish	160	41	161	397	1,600	795
Breaclete	188	52	191	629	1,600	567
Tolsta Chaolis	176	30	96	501	1,550	573
Lochganvich	31	9	33	125	414	155
Dun Carloway	121	35	130	530	1,550	460
Kirivich	63	15	60	280	550	202
Knock Carloway	118	39	132	524	950	530
Carloway	208	63	130	715	1,000	671
Borrowston	62	15	98	368	950	392
Garenin	110	24	98	401	1,000	341

(b) New Townships compared with former farms

	Cattle (more than 1 year old) 1879	1959	Soum	Sheep (all ages) 1879	1959	Soum
Mangersta *	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	25	68	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	1,200	385
Carnish		5	26		1,200	270
Ardroil		20	62			
Timagarry		8	23		650	625
Reef		10	45		800	275
Croir		11	36		380	225
Lundale		11	36		550	96
Linshader		6	15		750	192
Garynahine		6	18		250	330
Farms etc.	404	44	-	4,400	914	180

Note These soums given do not allow for enlargements which should substantially increase the stock capacity of townships marked *.

Sources 1879: Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture.
1883: Evidence given to the Napier Commission.

THE PATTERN OF CROFTING

427 241 178 423 477 Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties of Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the nearest equivalent to peasant communities in Britain, although only a small minority of crofters own their holdings, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, has all but disappeared.

175 427 241 423 Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to compensation for improvements. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where the annual rent paid was less than £30. Security of tenure, and compensation for improvements were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £50. In all, there are about 20,000 crofts in Scotland today[1] and Collier[2] estimated the crofting population at [161] about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms [162] a 1 per cent sample of the crofts, and a 0.9 per cent sample of the estimated crofting population.

Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

423 427 361 311 The characteristic settlement unit is the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the individually held croft land, and the common grazings. The number of crofts per township ranges from 6 in Caversta to 43 in Gravir.

632 233 The individually held croft land (1,839 acres) is partly 'outrun' or permanent pasture and the holdings are usually but not always consolidated - in Gravir (Fig. 4) and Cromore some of the crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated from neighbouring units by a drystone dyke or fence but in Park, such demarcation is the exception rather than the rule.

The croft land is separated from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wall. The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor, ill-drained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park, only Oronsay common pasture is fenced, the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by crumbled turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture; the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured, a term comparable to the obsolescent 'gates' of northern England. In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young beast, up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per £1 rent. There is also a system of stated equivalences (Gaelic 'coilpeachadh') in most townships whereby substitution of cattle for sheep and sheep for cattle is permissible: in Gravir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumings and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed, soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming of their croft.

[113] 1 Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

[113] 2 Adam Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1953.

427 241 [22] 423 178 233 Although the croftland is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six months of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole township stock graze indiscriminately over the crofts. Thus basically the whole area of the township, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear that the agricultural revolution with its system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Crofting Area.

175 233 Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic - 'airigh'). The sites of the shielings are usually on slopes commanding a view of the surrounding area near a spring or stream and usually two to nine huts belonging to the same township are grouped together on a site; isolated shielings are rather rare. In order to conserve the pasture within the township dyke for wintering and to protect the unfenced crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in June, and the younger members of the households went out to live in small stone or turf-walled huts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter or cheese at the shieling. The distance of shielings from the crofts varied from one to five miles in Park.

632 The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the township and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in the past related mainly to the enforcement of soumings, but are now reduced to the disbursement of subsidies, although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the township bull (usually lent by the Department of Agriculture but sometimes communally owned) are also the province of the Committee.

[361] [342] [78] The layout of the townships varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned in strips from the moor to the sea (figures 4 and 5). Most croft houses are built on the crofts; in former times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the cultivable land was required for crops, but nowadays the houses tend to be sited near the road.

162 361 427 241 [464] The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing in the rights and duties of the township. Table I gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 Park crofts. It will be noted that only one-fifth of the crofts are tenanted by those in the 15-44 age group: a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 65 years of age. Absentee tenants account for 14 per cent of the total. Women form under 10 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of the women tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The intrinsic worth of the holdings can be inferred from the fact that two-thirds of the male tenants in the insurable age group take supplementary work, two-fifths of them furth of Lewis. With such a large proportion of the tenants either fully employed in ancillary occupations in Park or elsewhere it is hardly surprising that the theoretical township organisation exists mainly in name alone.

427 241 Each croft, however, is not necessarily an agricultural unit; some are sublet by absentee tenants or by tenants who are too old or too infirm to work their crofts. Of the 215 crofts, one-fifth are wholly or partly sublet. In addition to the legal crofts, there are unofficial holdings which fall into three categories, cottars, squatters and feuars, all legally without grazing rights. A cottar[1] is a person, usually a close relative of the tenant, who builds another house on

1 These are the de facto definitions. Section 34 of the Crofters' Act of 1886 defines a cottar as follows:- "Cottar" means the occupier of a dwelling-house situate in a crofting parish with or without land who pays no rent to the landlord, as also the tenant from year to year of a dwelling house situated in a crofting parish who resides therein, and who pays to the landlord therefor an annual rent not exceeding six pounds in money, whether with or without garden ground, but without [113] arable or pasture land". For fuller treatment, see Scott, J., "The Law of Smallholdings in Scotland," 1933, pages 152-155.

There is no legal definition of a squatter, and the above definition does not include any distinction between houses built on a croft and houses built on the Common Grazings.

TABLE VII

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS[1]: Parish of Lochs[2]

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	1913	1920	1938	1947	1958
CROPS					
Oats	487	383	879	757	467
Bere	191	154	15	4	-
Potatoes	455	772	330	239	189
Sown Grass for Hay	1	26	124	78	161
Sown Grass for Pasture	-	6	74	72	101
Total Cultivation	1134	1341	1422	1150	918
Permanent Grass for Hay	44	32	573	791	730
Permanent Pasture	2650	2464	1041	1367	1746
Others[3]	22	6	268	86	77
TOTAL Crops and Grass:	3850	3843	3306	3394	3471
STOCK:					
Horses	102	101	49	39	11
Cattle	2489	1701	1412	1150	996
Sheep[4]	5450 (3688)	9750 (3952)	23434 (9929)	29688 (14256)	39580 (15989)
Poultry	?	?	8173	12302	8756

1. By courtesy of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.
2. As Park is part of Lochs Parish, these are the only statistics available.
3. Roots (negligible acreage), fallow.
4. Figures in brackets are breeding ewes.

/p. 8-E/

231 Table III reveals that there are 177 agricultural units with a souming; ten units are crofts in Glengravir without a souming and the remainder of the 219 units have no grazing rights. From this Table, it is clear that full stocking and overstocking increase with the size of the croft: the units of ten acres and over, on the basis of stock carry, would appear to be the most intensively worked. In all, just over half of the units take up their full souming. Table IV gives an analysis of employment ancillary to croft work for 141 of the 219 units and it would appear that neither ancillary employment nor age is significantly related to the intensity of croft working. Table V points to the fact that more full-time crofters are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables III, IV and V underline the fact that the larger units are also the more successful and it is significant that the larger units are almost all on the better land in the agricultural townships. The average size of holding in the agricultural townships is nine acres, compared with less than eight acres in the fishing townships, where the land is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

[463] [561] [887] [311]

175 178 241 231 The trends in agriculture are illustrated by Tables VI and VII. The Crofters' Commission made a survey of the crofts through the medium of Estate Factors in 1883; from Table VI it is evident that the number of cattle was much higher at that time and that the cattle-sheep ratio in the selected townships was 1:3 as compared with 1:25 in 1958. Table VII gives agricultural statistics for the parish of Lochs as a whole; separate figures for Park are not available. Since 1913, radical changes in the crop and stock patterns have taken place; bere (Hordeum vulgare) has disappeared as a crop, and sown grass and permanent grass for hay have since 1947 become the leading crops. Horses have all but disappeared, and the cattle-sheep ratio has risen from less than 1:4 to 1:39 for the whole parish. Since 1938, cultivation in Lochs Parish has declined by 36 per cent. Large areas of lazy-beds, no longer cultivated, are visible landscape signs of these changes; seaweed, the sine quae non for lazybed cultivation, is no longer carried to the upper parts of the crofts. In fact, many of the crofts no longer use seaweed as a fertiliser.

[512] [824]

233 241 From the foregoing account, it is clear that there are two major agricultural problems in Park, the lack of sufficiently large crofts with good arable land and an insufficiency of common grazing; these deficiences bring in their train the problem of overstocking, and the existence of uneconomic holdings.

241 242 176 The more progressive crofters, significantly resident on the better crofts of the agricultural townships, have shown how croft land can be improved by re-seeding and sowing down to grass, practices which could be fruitfully extended throughout Park. In addition, several townships by co-operative effort, have reseeded small areas of the commons grazings with splendid results.

241 However it is clear that it is not possible for 219 viable agricultural units to be maintained on the present crofting area. The optimum size of croft which could maintain a family is a moot point, for the location and situation of a croft and the quality of the land and common pasture would all have to be taken into account in making an assessment.

231 241 242 This problem was referred to a practical agriculturalist who was asked to state what size of croft and number of stock would be required to provide an annual income of £300, excluding croft benefit (milk, eggs and potatoes consumed on the croft) and any costing for labour. To fulfil these conditions, one of the fishing townships was carefully analysed, and the expert came to the following approximations, assuming that the rules of good husbandry were in force after the croft had been brought up to a good standard of cultivation and re-seeding had been carried out where possible on the outrun and Common Pasture, and provided there was no overstocking, and that present favourable subsidies and prices continue:-

166 167 464 However, not all such employment is available in Park: 47 percent of the insurabl leave the Hebrides to find employment; one third take seasonal emplo permanent employment furth of Park (See Table VIII).

Employment within Park

298 464 Table IX shows that opportunities for local employment are strictl Harris tweed is the most important single source of employment. It engaging in it are almost all crofters working in their abundant spare adjunct to croft work as it is unaffected by weather or hours of dayli formed during periods of agricultural inactivity. The vagaries of the make the occupation precarious; Park is one of the more inaccessible mills are apt to give their commissions to the weavers nearer at hand work is scarce. Since 1952, the number of weavers in the fishing tow Marivig, Calbost and Gravir has grown from 11 to 22 and much of the the activities of the Pairc Association. Fishing, on the other hand, h period: the number of fishermen has declined in these townships from weaving, service occupations form the only other employment availab and road maintenance being the chief occupations in the service group craftsmen: with such a small population, and the long established trad builds his house and is his own tradesman, there is little opportunity or even shoemaker to make a livelihood. The professional class is s of the minister and missionaries, the doctor and several schoolmaste

[178] [228] 463 464

[462] There is little opportunity for women to find employment in Park, shop-keeping and school teaching, and a few domestic service posts (

Employment furth of Park

166 167 462 463 464 The persons in the 15-44 age group form the main body of those w The distinction made between 'seasonally away' and 'regularly away' i spend part of the year elsewhere, the men on whalers in South Georgi Fisheries at Perth, or labouring on the mainland. The women are in in hotels. A majority of the men in the latter category are in the Mer these men take leave to coincide with the spring work and the harvest. women are in domestic service (See Tables IX and XI).

An interesting comparison in the 'regularly away' group exists bet the professional classes (Tables IX and XI). The sample is small, but women than men attain professional status. The number of domestic merchant seamen is a reminder that the crofting districts provide a po vital occupations, some none too popular in Britain as a whole. In peo that Park makes a distinct contribution to the fabric of the national eco is much more apparent outside Park than within the district. At the s those who are temporarily or permanently away eventually marry and and thus a most valuable section of the community is constantly moving per cent of the men in the 15-44 age group are wholly resident in Park, women in the same age group, a reflection of the poor prospects and u resources on the most of the crofts.

1 The 1952 figures are abstracted from the Lewis Survey Report on

Types of ancillary employment

241 464 The question of the desirability of ancillary employment in a crofting district is often debated. On the one hand, engaging in such work means less time for croft work and makes wholehearted participation in the agricultural life of the township a virtual impossibility. On the other hand, crofters who take ancillary employment are better able to make capital investment in their croft. Table IV shows that in Park, croft efficiency, as expressed by the sowing to actual stock ratio, is not necessarily related to participation in ancillary employment. If 000 the township is to be re-established as a working entity, a clearer dichotomy in the population seems desirable; those who wish to work the croft on a full-time basis might be given full use of the available land, and those who wish to earn their living in non-crofting employment could take out feu charters for their houses. It is clear that the agricultural resources of Park are insufficient to maintain the present number of crofts as viable economic units but the problem of finding industrial employment for any large non-crofting population is very great.

184 464 The Park Association, in their keen search to attract industry, met with little response for high freight rates and distance from markets made economic industrial costing well-nigh impossible. The Chairman of the Crofters' Commission has recently suggested that some of the Glasgow Overspill of "tradesmen and small businesses" might find "an opportunity to prosper in the West Highlands and Islands"[1] but even with Government grants for the establishment of small factories, it is clear that present freight charges would be a severe deterrent.

178 228 One possibility is that the fishing industry might be revived. In 1945, 16 large motor vessels were fishing from the townships between Cromore and Gravir; by 1952, three boats remained;[2] only one boat was still fishing in 1958. The recent Fishing Board Scheme guarantee, which provides a flat weekly rate for every boat turning out, brings hope as this guarantees a minimum livelihood. The major problem is the finding of the initial capital [445] required to buy and fit out a modern boat, at present about £20,000. Eighty-five per cent of [452] this sum can already be found in the form of grants and loans from the Herring Industry Board but the remaining fifteen per cent or £3,000 is often the more difficult sum to raise. The Murdo Macaulay (Rhodesia) Trust has offered assistance to a limited number of fishermen towards the raising of the £3,000[3], and this offer is a real opportunity. If fishing is not re-started soon in Park, few of the original fishermen will remain to instruct the new generation.

484 [312] Tourism is an industry hardly developed at all in Park. Lack of running water has made the householders shy to offer accommodation, but it should be remembered that there are city dwellers who are delighted to accept inexpensive accommodation away from the crowded resorts. Dr. Stig Jaatinen, in his "Human Geography of the Outer Hebrides"[4], states that this fact has made the Aaland Islands prosperous, and believes that tourism on simple lines could be successfully developed in the Outer Hebrides. Tourism need not bring in its train the desecration of the Sabbath for people who are willing to journey far in search of a quiet holiday usually conform to local observances.

464 Unless new sources of employment are brought to Park, it is clear that ancillary employment must continue to be sought elsewhere. The higher 'spending standard' in industrial employment, and the opportunities to find entertainment in urban areas (tastes often resulting from experience during school days in Stornoway or National Service), militate against a large population of young people, but basically lack of employment and the uneconomic nature of the crofts are the real reasons for the high degree of temporary and permanent employment away from Park.

1 Letter to the Glasgow Herald 27.1.59
2 South Lochs Survey Report.
3 Stornoway Gazette 27.1.59
[113] 4 Stig Jaatinen, Acta Geographica XVI, No. 2. 1957.

TABLE XIII

THE CHANGING AGE STRUCTURE OF PARK 1939 - 1958

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

161 162 178

1939[1]

0 - 4		5 - 14		15 - 44		45 - 64		65+		To
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
65	76	135	125	262	345	142	150	95	111	
141		260		607		292		206		15
(9.4)		(17.3)		(40.4)		(19.4)		(13.5)		(100

1958[2]

21	24	59	66	128	139	146	155	71	99	
45		125		267[3]		301[3]		170		
(5.0)		(13.8)		(29.4)		(33.1)		(18.7)		(1

Comparative Statistics[4]

Lewis (excluding Stornoway Burgh)						
1951	(9.0)	(15.7)	(35.1)	(24.3)	(15.9)	(
Scotland						
1951	(9.0)	(15.0)	(43.0)	(23.0)	(10.0)	(

Sources:-

1. National Identity Card Survey (1939).
2. Source - Enumeration.
3. Includes those persons in seasonal employment furth of Park.
4. Census, 1951.

/p. 12-D/

[Seaforthhead]

161 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural
162 and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend,
166 significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment furth of Park, and a smaller loss by
167 migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric,
241 there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration
222 losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of
232 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seaforthhead and Shielderniah are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

135 Seaforthhead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a
361 gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being
[247] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

134 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat
137 accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely
[255] for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Balallan and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

[244] The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and
the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed.
[407] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be
[314] in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being
[251] only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep soum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the soum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in
162 1886. In Seaforthhead and Shielderniah as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the
241
178

[Seaforthhead] [Shielderniah] [Habost]

161 suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now
162 given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out
of the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two have migrated
241 since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males
178 between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

241 In Seaforthhead and Shielderniah all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on
[407] slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's, 'Seaforth Castle',
[275] now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled,
[241] communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives
[78] access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHIELDERNISH

131 Shielderniah, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs
361 road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the
[142] road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

241 Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put
311 together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes,
[246] preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the
[131] lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a
[304] further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although
[224] gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total
[288] stocking of the Shielderniah crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the township and this isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to grazing. Shielderniah appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing
[185] fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Shielderniah is better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

131 Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement
135 stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained
241 valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to
361 flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place.
[134] Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin soils.

[Habost] [Kershader]

464 Of the 53 residents, 19 are over 65 and only 5 under 15 years, leaving a working population
161 of 29: seven are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily
162 declining since its peak of 121 in 1901.
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Since 1946, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely fenced and the
178 method of cultivation has changed from spade and horse-plough to tractor and cultivators. A further fence has been erected for a lamb park and much land has been re-seeded; an increasing
241 area has been put down to hay. It would seem that fattening of stock for market is intended, and better attention is being paid to stock. Yet the population is ageing and there are few young men
[407] to take the place of the older crofters; when working units become larger and stock decreases to
[162] a figure nearer the real carrying capacity of the grazing, the croft could become a profitable concern: at the moment, the croft is only maintained through grants and ancillary earnings. Should that happen, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivation to provide winter fodder.

KERSHADER

Philip W. Wheeler, M. A.

131 Kershader is a township of forty-three permanent residents on thirteen crofts, which stretch
161 for a mile along the southern shore of Loch Erisort. The crofts extend up to one-third of a
162 mile from the coast with a two-and-a-half mile deep hinterland of common grazing. The extreme
135 elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arranged
361 in rectangular strips at right angles to the coast, are lower (maximum 125 feet) and include three main zones (Fig. 8):

241 (a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly below 50 feet,
134 dissected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone have a
361 distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and unsuited to fertilisation by seaware. The smaller hillocks in this zone have thinner soils of the same sort, but the main hill (crofts 10/11) is an extension of zone (c).

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with hills rising to over 100 feet. The lower areas have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a) and (b), with peaty-loam characteristics, overlying aquiferous gravels. The higher areas have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there are signs of former skinning.

(c) A zone of hollows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reacting well to heavy fertilisation with seaware and intervening heights covered with blanket bog, partly skinned, heather and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with gentler slopes over 50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irregular shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

241 In Kershader, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts vary bet-
311 ween 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23.45 acres reputed arable and 110.35 acres outrun. 24.5 acres are in fact under crop (oats 18.5, potatoes 6.0), and 9.5 acres under sown grass; and of the remaining 99.8 acres, mainly natural grass

[Kershader]

241 with heather and peat on the higher areas, hay is taken off 19.25 acres. Four acres, mainly for
311 potatoes, are worked by spade but most of the cultivation is by tractor hired from Balallan or,
[407] in 1958, from Habost. Lazybeds are common and in some cases are carefully renewed, but the present tendency, reaching its extreme in a field of about two acres on one croft, is towards the formation of larger, ploughable fields for ease of tractor operation. Most cultivation is in
244 zones (a) and (b), with little development of (c) at present. The only crops are oats and potatoes,
246 with some garden plots of cabbages, turnips and carrots. The potato main crop is generally Kerr's Pink (Golden Wonder on one croft), with a couple of rows of Skerry Blue or Edzell Blue for earlies. There is no memory of Black Oats (Avena strigosa), and bere (Hordeum vulgare)
198 has certainly not been grown since 1930, and probably not since 1909. The oats are grown
[256] exclusively for winter feed and are hand-threshed with stock and comb as the need arises; the
[255] last water mill in the locality went out of use after 1914, the last handmill in 1916; no grain has been sent to Stornoway since about 1930. Rotations are extremely irregular: some lazy-beds are still cultivated with alternate crops of oats and potatoes and have heavy seaware and manure fertilisation, but most other arable areas have some sort of oats, potatoes, oats, sown
[224] grass sequence. Fertilisers used are seaware and manure (ten crofts), manure (eleven crofts), a
[247] sand (one croft), lime (ten crofts) and artificials - 'Potato manure' and sulphate of ammonia - on eight crofts. Artificial fertilisers and much of the seed are obtained through the Crofters' Agency.

241 The only two horses ever owned by this township were kept on croft 11 from 1936 to 1953. The
[407] plough was first introduced in 1936. When a tractor from Balallan became available for hiring
[242] in 1953, the horses were disposed of. The present soums are by cow, young beast and sheep per croft in proportion to rents and range from 3 cows, 3 young beasts, 69 sheep down to 1 cow, 1 young beast and 23 sheep. Eight crofts exceed their entitlement but no croft hasless than half the souming and the deficiency is mainly in cattle, especially young beasts. On the other hand, no operative unit is entirely without cattle as manure is extremely important. Cattle are kept for
254 domestic milk supply, and calves, having qualified for subsidy, are normally sold at 6 to 8 months
[52] old. 10 acres of the common grazing were re-seeded in 1957 and the following rhythm for milk cows
[22] is developing:-
131
255
311

(a) As soon as the weather allows in May, the cows are put out in the park for about three weeks.

(b) Next, about 6 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the new outer fence erected in 1957.

(c) Back to the re-seeded park for about five weeks.

(d) Return to the crofts for the winter, being let out either to the park or to the common grazings whenever the weather is suitable.

[78] The young beasts spend much of their time on the outer common grazings. As most of the crofts, beginning with one in 1938 and ending in sequence with 10, 11 and 12 probably in 1959, are fenced, the old arrangements for township commoning from 15th October to 10th May are now obsolescent. Another park was also fenced for general purposes and for weaning in 1957. Prices for calves
[185] and cattle are very low and this discourages cattle breeding; on the other hand, lack of winter keep enforces an occasional sale.

The rhythm of sheep husbandry is largely independent of that of cattle:-

(a) By 20th November all sheep, except possibly the lambs, are cleared from the crofts for the tupping of breeding ewes thereon till 31st December. Every crofter now keeps his own ram, exchanging it or buying another at least once in five years.

18

[Kershader]

289 (b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices, however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the former case they hefit near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand. Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

292 There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

294 Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces
295 about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average
296 sheep carcass weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost
297 never above £4. Bracy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

298 Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as
299 full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category,
300 and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable
301 population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this
302 township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft
303 work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption
304 only) and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The
305 only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought
306 away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939
or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person has entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the
307 optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907
308 and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard,
309 Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly
310 constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

312 It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilizing the
313 population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of
314 tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in
315 agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision,
316 cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed
320 clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably
321 by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining
322 lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofts have
323 vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced
324 crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

325 The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not
326 enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throught the winter and
327 no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only
328 seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the soum. Lambing takes
329 place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are
330 clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and then dipped; November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The cows are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Crobeg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on fank days.

332 Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until
333 the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under
334 cultivation and from an an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips
335 above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but
336 this year ten crofters have formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazing;
337 it is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the
338 road between Caversta and Gravir, about three miles south- south-east of Cromore and one mile north of Gravir.

339 Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore
340 fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men
341 who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this,
342 however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and,
343 in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

344 In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by
345 road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airidhvruach. At present the average production is
346 only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. During
347 the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime
348 but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

349 In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the
350 middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have
351 been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting
352 with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

353 Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by
354 road a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a van
355 which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by
356 boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the
357 haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recent
358 additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no
359 shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday.

[Marivig] [Calbost]

360 In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Marivig's future, and that of other crofting
361 townships, is not only one of adverse aspect, soil and weather conditions, and of distance from
362 markets, but a problem of the population finding a stable and viable level where agricultural units
363 are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain, and
364 a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

365 Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Gravir on the Minch coast of Park. It occupies
366 a basin-like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is open to the sea on the east. The
367 croft houses are scattered over a shelf 50 feet above sea-level round the sides of the hollow and along the valleys which enter the township to the north and south-west.

368 The cultivable soil, a mixture of peat and well-drained gravelly drift, is on the higher ground,
369 although here the rock outcrops in many places. On land formerly cultivated, bracken is spreading
370 rapidly and now covers a large proportion of the surface, although twenty to thirty years ago it
371 was unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-lying central area. There are a few willows and rowans round the old buildings, probably planted as wind-breaks.

372 Calbost was originally a single farm but the township was formed about 1820. The pattern of
373 the crofts differs from the usual shore-to-dyke alignment, as six crofts were allotted extra land
374 in the valley which enters from the north, when a part of the common grazing was brought within
375 the township dyke. There are now fourteen crofts of which four are worked by resident crofters
376 and two by squatters. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters
377 in Calbost and other townships.

378 Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2. 6 acres now in cultivation, potatoes account for
379 2. 37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduced cattle stock of only two cows and
380 two calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut as winter feed for the 225 sheep which graze
381 in the township.

382 The lazy-beds in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly encroached on by bracken. The
383 prevalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to clear it, is likely to deter any attempt at renewed cultivation.

384 Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats have to
385 be taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing industry which
386 has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Calbost, leaving
387 only a few boats now used only for leisure purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only two of
388 the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are a few
389 productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

390 The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not so widely used
391 in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed
392 to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around
393 Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosures were made adjoining the main
394 dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before
395 the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander
396 over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

[Calbost] [Gravir] [Glengravir]

397 The present situation in Calbost is best illustrated by reference to the population statistics.
398 There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are squatters and only eight houses are occupied within the dyke. Of the male population, there are three children under fourteen years, one man in the 15-44 age group, three between 45 and 64 years and two over 65. This clearly shows the lack of active men from 15-44 years, necessary for the continuing economic success of
399 the community. However, even these figures are not so striking as the numbers of emigrants as
400 no less than 39 men and 40 women have left Calbost since 1939.

401 A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the younger
402 people have left to find employment in Stornoway and on the mainland. The present population
403 structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

404 Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride the major
405 east-west inlet of Loch Ouirn, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The site of the township is perhaps the most picturesque in all Park, but the steep slopes, lack of cover, the small area of good arable land, and the considerable population existing on slim resources, problems common to Park as a whole, are all epitomized in Gravir.

406 On the south-facing slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough in the valley to the
407 west, the majority of the crofts have been carved from moor to sea, some before 1800, and some
408 in the process of the abolition of run-rig which was accomplished in the years 1850 to 1852.
409 Originally, there appears to have been thirty crofts, but four were added during the nineteenth
410 century, two at each end of the line, and in 1934 a further fifteen were cut out of the common grazing, a mile to the west of Gravir. On the south side of the loch, the 'clachan' of Tom an Fhuadain, established about 1800, has since developed into a further nine crofts. Thus there are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir and a further fifteen in Glengravir making fifty-eight in all.

The layout of Glengravir, a line of crofts from 3. 6 to five acres, typifies the small post-1918 Department of Agriculture holdings. The arrangement of the Gravir crofts is illustrated in Figure 4, and it will be seen that not all the crofts are consolidated. There are three areas of former arable common which have been lotted in unfenced strips and they may well be reclamations which were necessary to supplement the food producing capacity of the holdings. The method of division and allocation speaks of a period when a subsistence economy under severe pressure from over-population necessitated fair shares for all. The last of these commons was in cultivation until 1891. Although subsistence crofting has been obsolete since then, there is as yet no move towards a regularization of the layout.

411 The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable commons developed mainly
412 as a result of a successful fishing industry which prospered from 1860 to 1914 and at one time there were two curing stations in Gravir. With relative prosperity from an ancillary industry, cottars
413 were tolerated and the population rose from 197 in 1830, to 366 in 1881 reaching a peak of 466
414 in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has certainly not yet ceased. Gravir reverted from 1918 to a township of agriculturalists and a base for employment
415 furth of Lewis, although there have been spasms of successful fishing activity since.

416 Stock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and conditions
417 are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir crofts
418 vary between 3. 5 and 26. 5 acres in size: no croft has more than four acres of 'old arable'. In the days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in narrow lazy-beds, backed up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more extensive.
419 All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed cut as far away as
420 Cromore or the coast south of Kebock Head. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed area is now
421 cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture; some of the lazy-

here and there in small patches of less than a quarter acre and therefore do not appear in our summaries, appendices A (1) and C (1).

The amount of cultivation carried out depends on three factors:

(i) stock, particularly cattle, to be carried through the winter,
(ii) size of family, which influences the amount of potatoes grown,
(iii) available labour, because cultivation is mostly by hand, especially in South Uig and Bernera.

The size of the effective agricultural unit has little influence on the area cultivated although it may bear some relation to the amount of natural hay taken. This can hardly be regarded as 'cultivated' and the acreage is difficult to estimate; the custom is to cut as and when weather permits, and wherever there is a convenient stand of natural grass.

Hand labour is a necessity on most crofts in the Bernera district and on many elsewhere. The traditional 'lazy-bed' - a long narrow strip of cultivation bounded by deep ditches which may be half as wide as the bed - is a necessity on broken, rocky ground on which the only soil is peat which often has to be gathered into hollows in order to get sufficient depth. The small size and long narrow shape of most crofts do not lend themselves to tile drainage, which is almost unknown. If it could be extended it would be a great advantage but, in general, it would have to be organised by townships, or at least by groups of crofts, and the whole trend in management of croft land is towards individual occupation and use.

This may not always be a good thing. Fencing is a case in point. Until the last ten years fenced crofts were rare altough small parts of crofts might be fenced and, in some cases, a group of crofts might be fenced off from the rest. But, in general, the crofts were common land in the winter and used individually only from May to October. Fencing grants, and the encouragement of sown grass in rotation with oats, have changed this. A great rash of fencing is appearing. This may not be altogether a good thing, particularly for the sheep in winter and spring; even if gates are still left open, stock are deprived of the ability to move for shelter. There may also be watering difficulties. Co-operative draining, cultivation and grazing, of groups of crofts if not of townships, would be more efficient and more productive.

Finally, we may remark on the curious insistence on hand cultivation of oats and potatoes for consumption on the croft, whilst cash crops well suited to hand labour, and which would be far more rewarding, are neglected. Flowers, vegetables and potatoes are imported into Stornoway daily on the mail steamer and even by 'plane. Neither climate nor soil prevents their production in Lewis. Moreover such crops could provide a much needed source of additional income. A few croft gardens produce excellent soft fruit and as the local season differs slightly from that on the mainland there would seem to be possibilities here, too. There have been virtually no agricultural innovations since the potato.

Economic and Technical Factors.

The agricultural income of a croft arises from:

(i) the sale of livestock, mostly store stock at the spring and autumn sales,
(ii) the sale of the annual wool clip,
(iii) the receipt of certain annual subsidies and grants.

These are the main items; in addition some may sell small amounts of potatoes, eggs and standing hay; a very few sell a little milk although strictly this is illegal. Such an annual income comes in three or four annual instalments, uncertain as to date and amount. Moreover, a crofter may suddenly and unexpectedly find himself deprived of a large portion of his income due to casualties amongst his stock or poor demand at the seasonal sales. Unlike the mainland farmer, should an islander withdraw his store

TOWNSHIP STOCKING: 1883[1] AND 1958

	1883		1958	
	Cattle	Sheep	Cattle	Sheep
Habost	65	215	34	1,044
Kershader	67	205	34	822
Caryvard	55	200	26	736
Caversta	27	109	12	264
Cromore	127	310	48	905
Marivig	84	207	23	830
Calbost	71	220	4	326
Laurensay	158	481	58	1,139
TOTAL	654	1,947	239	6,066

1. Royal Commission on Crofting - mss. data, 1883.

   Register House, Edinburgh.

   Information was not complete for Gravir, and the remaining townships were not in crofting tenure in 1883.

/p. 8-D/

n Claigan, for example, the crofters felt they would do 234
atter with private flocks than with a club stock. Although 476
ach man now has his own sheep on the township grazing, they 178
re cared for like any club stock. The four crofters are
seded for success at the dippings, marking, and shearing,
nd they are always at the fank on these occasions. In larger 234
ownships, those with ten or more holdings, the need for all 476
he crofters to help out at the fank is less pressing while 621
he felt need for auxiliary employment is stronger. In con- 632
sequence, the cooperative work habits run less smoothly. In
n attempt at adjustment, many townships have resorted to
aying the share holders for their labor from the profits.
o the best of my knowledge, only one township has witnessed
he total suppression of the cooperative spirit; all the
rofters are too busy with full-time employment to bother with
he steadily declining sheep stock.

Nevertheless, it has become commonplace for the crofters [179]
o complain of at least one individual in the township who
oes not pull his full share, someone who is "trying to
abotage the whole thing."

Independence is a personality trait, but it is best 157
escribed as a steadfast determination not to conform for the 476
ere sake of conformity when an innovation handed down from 829
he outside commercial world is at stake. The old ways are the 888
est ways, even if only the old men think so. It is the old
en who uphold the traditional practices. As long as they do,
nd as long as unanimous consent is required for any change,

Township Government. The township system has another marked 621
influence on the economy of the Sgiathanach. By far the larges 632
obstacle in the path of reform is the persistence of primitive 178
democracy, distinguished from the democracy of Western Civili- 182
zation by the requirement of unanimous consent rather than 626
majority rule. The individual who comes to realize that it is
possible to improve on the ways his father did things is
deterred from attempting to introduce innovations. He cannot,
for example, erect a fence around his croft unless everyone
in his township approves such a departure from tradition. The
dissenting voice of one old man is sufficient to thwart any
plan. Unanimous decisions on all township affairs mean that
the most progressive worker must keep pace with the most con-
servative. This fact goes a long way in explaining the
essential agricultural disharmony of Skye, and most of the
Highlands, with the rest of Great Britain. It is also a singu-
lar example of the incomplete adaptation of the culture to
the higher socio-cultural organization.

When coupled with the many limitations on the economy, 621
township government helps the outsider to understand why many 632
younger crofters feel that the primary value of their few 233
arable acres is their use as pasture. Even in townships which 626
have been fenced, the prevailing practice is to open the crofts
after the harvest. All winter long the stock is free to
graze where it will. "My arable is no use at all, except to
winter my sheep," said one young crofter. Another asserted,
"I have three crofts and the use of one more, but it's not

worth while to cultivate any of the arable, so I use it for 626
grazing." A case which aptly illustrates the influence of 632
the township system as an agent of conservatism is the breeding 621
of pigs. Although several old crofters told me how many 233
people during the times of the "Clearances" kept a pig, they 179
are rarely found anywhere in the Highlands today. The Biblical 183
injunction against the flesh of swine has been taken literally. 632
The older people simply have a strong aversion to handling 621
pigs. One man, a very successful cattle and sheep breeder, 626
put it this way: "Pigs are filthy brutes. I just don't
want to touch them -- I never have kept any and never will."
At the same time, there are men who believe that the prices
these animals bring at the mainland markets more than compen-
sate for the individual's revulsion, especially as long as
the Ministry of Food pays for the cost of transportation.
These men cannot try branching out because they have no way
to restrict the foraging animals. "Skye is ideal for pigs," one
young fellow told me, "but I don't have the freedom to work
the croft to suit myself."

Smaller deviations from the traditional methods of land 621
use face the same difficulties. A progressive crofter who 632
attempts to improve the value of his stock by growing scientific 626
mixtures of grasses is always penalized. As soon as the harvest 232
is over, the stock of all his neighbors will show their ap- 241
preciation by concentrating on his croft, trampling his fields, 178
and overgrazing his grass. Nor is this his only penalty. His
neighbors will regard him with skepticism for his departure
from the ways handed down from the past.

241 the economy by subjecting many fertile acres to disuse because
427 of his infirmity. The other factor is the absentee tenant,
887 an individual who has obtained possession of a croft, normally
887 by inheritance, but who has failed to take up his inalienable
311 rights of tenancy. Let us very briefly review the economic
[128] trends of the last fifty odd years and, then, try to assess
the importance of the absent and the aged.

Although the Sgiathanach has refused to become a
436 specialist, fully involved in a money economy, he has become
433 increasingly dependent on the products of the wider commercial
241 society. Long ago he gave up growing the old staples, barley
178 and oats. Not for many years has he grown enough potatoes
437 or turnips to feed himself and his cattle. In place of these
home grown subsistence crops, he now imports a great deal of
his food. In an average year Skye imports over 700 tons of
bread, 10 tons of vegetables, 300 tons of canned goods, 300
tons of potatoes, 500 tons of flour, and 100 tons of milk.
To pay for these products, he exports cattle, once his only
marketable produce, and an ever increasing number of sheep.

Hance, writing about the Outer Hebrides, sees the growing
436 tendency of the crofters to buy their food as indicative of an
241 increasing cash income.[16] To a certain extent, this may be
233 true. There are, however, additional factors involved. Ecolo-
433 gical limitations have played their role. That the climate and
soil together make Skye a grassland suitable for stock breeding
rather than an island fit for cultivation is an often repeated

[16] Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 82.

427 fine to go home to Skye to die." I might add, "and to live on
888 a pension."

427 It is not only the tenant crofters who are non-resident.
428 about 20 percent of the owner-occupiers in Glendale are non-
resident. Only two townships have no derelict crofts. Those
who have sublet their homes and land have an additional problem.
Apparently unaware of the full implications of the Small
Landholders legislation, they have received a rude awakening.
The people whom they thought were their subtenants are, in the
eyes of the Land Court, crofters entitled to security of
tenure.

511 One reason for absenteeism, as for emigration, is a
427 felt need for a higher standard of living than the croft can
[178] provide. This desire, common to almost all European peasants,
as well as American farmers, has assumed increasing importance
with the extension of communication and education. The out-
standing exception in Europe is Italy. There the métayer
population has increased markedly since World War I. Today
92 percent in the métayer category have a substandard livelihood, judged in terms of sheer necessity.[18] Only 800,000
families out of 5,000,000 have enough land to meet subsistence
needs. The difference between the European peasant and the
American farmer is that the American lacks any traditional

[18] Information from the files of the Italian Statistical Institute, as reported in the Glasgow Herald, Feb. 22, 1954.

As we shall see in the next chapter, 232
there is hostility between the Portree dwellers and the crofters.
One reason for this is the fact that the village pays more in
property tax than the rest of the island put together while they
receive relatively little in return. The feeling that the
crofter is "aye wantin', but never pays a cooper" (a penny in
taxes) is not at all unusual.

Summary

If the economic aspect of the culture is judged in terms
of the standard of living it affords, it cannot be considered
as satisfactory. There are persistent environmental obstacles,
among them geographical isolation and an unfavorable climate
for pastoral-agriculture. We have seen that few can hope for
anything which would approach a desirable income in the sur-
rounding commercial society. The crofters have been caught
between two cultural patterns. The old system of land use
has persisted. A new system has been superimposed. From this
new system, however, the Sgiathanach has accepted few innovations
of more recent origin than the eighteenth century, except those
of a material or technological nature. Still, he has ceased to
be self-sufficient, and, in doing so, he has become dependent
on the commercial world for the very essentials of physical
existence. For many of the crofters this means seasonal migration
in the quest of employment. For some it means part-time or full-
time work locally. For a relatively large proportion of the
population it means dependence on contributions of their children
and government agencies. This dependence has not led to a full

233
adjustment to the higher society in which the successful individu-
al is the specialist. The Sgiathanach has remained a pastoral-
agriculturalist, and when he does seek employment, it is typically
as an unskilled laborer.

It is far easier to point out the traits and trait-com-
plexes he has lost than those which he has accepted during the
two hundred years since 1745. The sad economic condition
under which he labors is not conclusive evidence for disorganization.
Integration does not mean smooth functioning. Nor do the
changes, important as they are, point to discontinuity. The
contemporary economic system reveals a fundamental continuity.
As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, there is some-
thing far deeper involved than economic considerations. Let
us now turn to the social aspect of the culture in order to
seek an answer to the question why has the Sgiathanach remained
in the face of all the inadequacies and insufficiencies we
have reviewed.

236
tourists, and newcomers who carry with them ideas of reform.
Further, as well as being mutually dependent commercially, the
crofters and the villagers interact formally and informally
in social, political, and, especially, religious activities.
The consciousness of common interest of the villagers, however,
stems more from a knowledge that they are different from the
crofters than from any common symbol. The 1000 villagers
are from diverse backgrounds. They find solidarity in being
different rather than in "neighboring" or all attending the
same church. The village also lacks the time depth of the
rural settlements, being a creation of an individual in the
last century.

For community I prefer an inclusive definition on the
order of Redfield's.[8] A community is characterized by con-
ventional understandings, the occupation of a territory, and
the possession of a culture. Thus, we shall refer to the
Isle of Skye as the community.

It will be noted that I have not used the term parish.
Although the parish was once important politically and religiously,
as the older baronies were replaced, it lost these functions
in 1929.[9] People reside within parishes and they, along with
their crops and stock, are enumerated by parishes, but the
parish is now little more than a statistical convenience. Church
organization and political administrative units cross-cut
and override parish boundaries. Indeed, I doubt if the people
ever thought of themselves as members of a parish.

[8] Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, pp. 15-16.

[9] See, e.g., C. De B. Murray, How Scotland is Governed (Glasgow: Art and Educational Publishers, Ltd., 1947), pp. 113-118, et passim.

240
by leaving, for if he fails to conform to the traditional norms
and patterns of behavior, he will be locked upon as an eccentric.
This fact has continuity through all periods of Skye's history.

We have already seen how the age and sex structure of the
population has changed in response to social and economic
conditions and how this change has influenced the ascription
of statuses within the crofters' division of labor. Briefly,
there has been a contraction of the number of opportunities
for ascribing status. This had made it necessary for some
men to perform tasks once the exclusive domain of women and for
women to participate in activities which formerly were the
responsibility of their men folk. Older people must now
function in ways which once were the responsibilities of the
youth and young adults. These changes, however, have been
accompanied by persistencies, in particular a continuity of
basic status values. I think this will become clear through
a discussion of the family structure. We shall begin with
the nuclear family.

The Nuclear Family. Since my interest is in status, I shall
adopt the unorthodox procedure of considering the nuclear
family in terms of the changing status of the individual members
from birth to maturity. This will give us a dynamic picture
of family life. At birth the individual's relationships with-
in the crofting family and, to a lesser degree, within the
township are established. Like those of his parents, who
now have the ascribed statuses of mother and father, his
relationships will remain unchanged until he marries and founds

requirements of adulthood, and also old age, are still boys
and girls.

Status Equality within the Township. The ascription of stat
on the basis of age and sex has resulted in a straightforwar
system of status. The facts are simple. Men are the social
superiors of women. Youth are socially inferior to their se
Men, or women, of a common age category are equals. We shal
now examine a few interpersonal relationships to see how the
system operates. Unless a man and his wife are eating alone,
women never eat with men. They wait until the men have finis
before taking their meal. When neighbors come to visit, the
man of the house does not rise for a woman. He does rise for
a man and shakes him by the hand. The woman of the house, on
the other hand, rises for both men and women. Furthermore,
when a couple comes to call, the woman greets the man first.
Only after he has been offered a chair does she greet the
woman. Young people are seen but seldom heard. They do not
speak unless addressed.

All societies allow some deviation from traditional
norms of expected behavior. On Skye, as elsewhere, excessive
deviation is censured. Neither increased opportunities for
education nor the steady flow of Skye men and women to the
four corners of the earth, accompanied by the slow returning
trickle, have disturbed these fundamental values. Like the
youth who leaves home to achieve upward mobility through out-
ward mobility, the man who returns must conform to the
traditional norms, which he learned as a child, or be regarded

The labor in this pastoral-agricultural economy is provided by the crofter's family, periodically aided by some or all of the families who share in the common grazing.[11] Under the direction of the father, the mother and children care for the crops and cattle. Heavy work, such as ploughing, reaping, and feeding the cattle in the winter, is left to the men. The women milk the cattle, help at the harvest by raking and stacking, and care for the garden. Although men never do any work in the house, in the absence of a son the wives and daughters are expected to fill in the gaps in man's work in addition to running the household. Inter-family cooperation centers on the handling of the sheep. Frequently, the families who share the common own the sheep collectively, as a "club stock," and share in the expenses and profits as well as the labor. The only basic pattern in the division of labor is that women never shear, and it is their responsibility to feed the group.

Formerly, the annual economic cycle was adjusted to the demands of crop cultivation and cattle breeding. Within the last hundred years, however, sheep have assumed commercial importance and now determine the seasonal tempo of labor. The old year ends and the new begins with the bringing in of the rams from the hill. In March the sheep are dipped and then the preparations are made for the lambing season, in April. From spring until autumn there is a rapid succession of duties: ploughing, planting, peat cutting, dipping and shearing the sheep, stock sales, harvesting, and similar tasks. After the

[11] cf. Ibid., pp. 63-64, 70-74.

one or more country stores, a few workshops, and a post office. Kilmuir will serve as an example of these larger settlements.

Along the shore of Loch Snizort, on the peninsula of Trotternish, there is a broad, fertile plain. Including old Loch Chaluim Chille, there are approximately ten square miles of good land. Although the soil is not cultivated as intensively as in the days when Kilmuir was "the granary of Skye," this is regarded as the best agricultural region on the island. In all there are 122 crofts, held by 105 crofters, in 9 townships. There are also two small farms. The population is slightly over 300.

The crofters' cottages are loosely strung around the old loch and across the plain in an irregular "Y" shaped pattern (Figure 3). Basically the pattern resembles the French line village, but there are several features reminiscent of the British open country neighborhood. Most of the cottages, it would seem, were originally built on the landward fringe of the plain and along the shore of a small bay, known as Camus Mor, without any regard for road access. In recent years, increasing dependence on motor transport has led to demands for roads. Now almost all the crofters, except those in Borneskietaig, have a paved road running by their door. About a third of the houses are on the county road which encircles the peninsula and links Kilmuir with the outside world via Portree.

In the center of Kilmuir, in the township of Balgown, stand two spireless churches, a church hall, a two room school,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

mainly because there are enough young people to form a strong age grade of their own. The more liberal outlook of the villagers is, however, tempered by the old men.

Religion

The attachment to the past embodied in the social and economic aspects of the culture carries over into the religious life of the Sgiathanach. He is a Presbyterian who continues to worship and view the world within a pattern which characterized the Scots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The doctrine and theology are derived from the teachings of Calvin as interpreted by John Knox and refined by the Covenanters of the seventeenth century. To the original ethical code a strong measure of influence from the English Puritan movement has been added. The guiding principles are still foreordination and election. The dominant motivating factor is asceticism.

One of the outstanding features of the island today is the large number of churches for such a limited population. To serve the 8,600 people there are 21 churches with ministers and 13 mission stations. A hundred years ago, when the population was almost triple the present number, there were only seven ministers on Skye. The present abundance is the outcome of a series of religious schisms of the past century. There are now four Presbyterian sects. Of all the neighborhoods on Skye, only Glendale is religiously homogeneous.

Portree has three Presbyterian churches and, in addition, an occasionally used Episcopal church and small Catholic chapel for newcomers. Kilmuir has two Presbyterian churches, and the population includes affiliates of three denominations. In contrast to the pattern of schism in the United States and, indeed, in most of the Western World, the schisms on Skye have been due to a strong desire to maintain cultural conservatism. Each time a church has tended to become more lenient in official policy, there has been dissension and disruption. This does not, however, mean that the several sects are dissimilar in practice and outlook. In Scotland the local kirk is governed by the congregation in accordance with the democratic principles laid down at the Reformation. The people call their minister and elect the lay officials of the church.

Religion is of supreme importance for an understanding of the configuration of the local culture. In fact, beyond being a highly integrated and systematized pattern in itself, religion has come to provide a focus for the culture. Through the religious pattern the culture achieved a reintegration and found continuity at a time when the people were faced with the prospect of enduring instability, if not total social and cultural disintegration. Although it has the appearance of being an extremely negative institution, in that much of the former secular life has been circumscribed by clerical censure, religion has sanctioned the fundamental values and patterns of

Although the Sgiathanach accepts his religion without question, unless he is willing to abandon his cultural heritage for the outside world, many Scots are disturbed by the influence of religion on the lives of the people. It has become commonplace to call the people narrow and bigoted, and the people well know this, but if the Calvinist and Puritan ethic had not been developed with such logic and vigo I probably would not be able to assert that through religion the culture has maintained continuity while the content has changed.

lambing season, the crofter and his family go out on the moor to cut their peat for the following winter. The man uses a "tusker," a two-bladed spade, to cut the peat. His wife or his children follow behind, tossing the peats out of the ditch and building small, loose stacks for drying. After the lambs have been marked and the sheep dipped in June and the shearing finished in July, the family returns to the banks to carry the peats to the nearest road, actually a beaten cart path, in creels. They are then carted home and stacked near the door. There is a growing tendency for both the part-time and spare-time crofter to give up cutting peat. It is not because coal is cheaper or he needs time for other pressing chores. His auxiliary occupation will not permit his devoting the necessary time to this long and arduous task. He is caught between the traditional economic patterns and the money economy of which he has become a part.

The year for our part-time crofter, as for all active crofters ends in November. By then the oat and hay harvest has been stacked by the house and the potatoes and turnips stored in the ground, the wool shipped off to market, the surplus sheep and cattle have gone to market, and the rams are on the hill. Now follows a period of enforced idleness, broken by feeding the cattle. As we have seen many go away to find employment, leaving the care of the croft to their wives who have shared the work of crofting in addition to their own womanly responsibilities. We must turn to the spare-time crofter to discover just how heavy the burden of labor may depend upon the women of Skye.

division of labor. During the summer, she will milk the cows, and in the winter she will see that they are fed. If there is to be a harvest in the autumn, she will care for the crops.

Some women, in particular the older ones, plough with the caschrom, the foot plough. Other women use a small power driven plough or contract with the Department of Agriculture to have the ploughing done. The Department will also provide the men and machinery to harrow, cultivate, spread lime and manure, mow hay, cut and bind oats, dig potatoes, and thresh grain. By utilizing these services, if they can be afforded, the small crofter can free himself or, at least his wife, from many arduous tasks. The need for cooperation of the family and neighbors is thereby reduced. Although traditional mutual aid is being replaced by cash payment for labor, it is not the labor of a landless working class which commercialization often creates, but rather state provided services. Significantly, most Department employees are newcomers. The Skye man who works for the Department is a better worker away from the island. Since few are able to pay for these services, the wife digs the potatoes, and some women use the scythe to reap hay and oats. The scythe, it will be remembered is really a man's tool. Frequently, the break with tradition is avoided by the return of a son from the mainland or the sea. Running the household and working the croft is not all some women do. They also take in summer visitors, by the day or week, and provide teas for travellers.

In summary, it may be said that crofting is anything but an easy life with ample rewards. We have seen how meager the

fruits of labor are for the vast majority. Although they establish their own tempo, the crofters, both men and women, must follow the dictates of the seasons. Inclement weather imposes prolonged periods of idleness. There are conflicts. These are not conflicts of meaning, but they pose serious problems. The small crofter has to decide how he can best allocate his time. He may want to get in his hay or try making silage, but his sheep, his main source of income, must come first. This does not mean that there is economic disintegration. Integration does not mean smooth functioning. Perhaps, a further discussion of cooperation will clarify the situation.

Cooperation

Today it is commonplace to assert that the Sgiathanach, and the Highlander in general, is "independent" and "just not cooperative." Certainly they have come a long way from the days when the old four horse plough made cooperation essential and the use of the caschrom made it welcome. Population instability, subdivision of the crofts and the change from a subsistence economy to an export economy based on sheep and cattle could not have left the old pattern of mutual, reciprocal dependence undisturbed. But does this mean they no longer cooperate? I think not. In fact, I think critics of the Highland Problem have exaggerated,[9] and the people, always ready to glorify the past, have been influenced by stories of an ideal

[9] Cf. F. Fraser Darling and Averil Morley, "The Social Situation," The West Highland Survey, Part VI, p. 2.

world.

More than one crofter told me that one of the biggest changes on Skye in the last thirty or forty years was that their neighbors are "less Christian," in the sense of being neighborly and helping each other, than they used to be. Once no one said, "I've finished my work," until everyone in the township had stacked his grain. "Colin is harvesting today and Murdo tomorrow; we'll go over and lend them a hand," was the expected attitude. Toward the end of the season, the whole township would be seen working on an old widow's croft. "Now when a man has cleared his land, he says, 'I'm finished,' and that's that." such a statement has to be followed by asking if they now forget about the sick and the aged. The answer is always the same: "When a person needs help, his neighbors will help out. Perhaps they can't do his corn, but they help by just leaving a few fish by the door or a pail of milk in his cottage." In short, they continue to give mutual aid, but it is anonymous. The Highlander never looks for thanks and never offers it. I remember our landlady complaining about an Eastcoaster in Portree whom she had helped by giving some outgrown children's clothes. The recipient had thanked her profusely. "You know, Paul," she said, "If anyone did that for me, I'd be too choked up to say anything."

Not all use the same colors to paint the scene. I was also told that the harvest was formerly a time of friendly rivalry. The gobhair-bhacaig, two sheaths of oats tied at right angles, used to be thrown on the unfinished fields within

more recent to the west, and in the industrial area of the Great Glen the trend is reversing itself. To the north and south depopulation has been more serious. To the east the general trend has been similar to that of Skye. We need not be troubled by statistics at this time, but for convenience the population figures are given in Table 1. The Outer Hebridean have preserved more of the social aspect of the old culture than the Skye people while the Mainlander has felt the effects of the processes of acculturation with more obvious results than the people of Skye. In short, the Highlands are not a homogeneous region. They represent a great diversity of conditions.

My information on the contemporary culture of the Isle of Skye was provided by the residents of three communities, the villagers of Portree and the crofters of Glendale and Kilmuir. Portree is a small nucleated village with a population of a thousand. It is important to the study because in many ways it represents an alien way of life. Here are found the county and national government offices, staffed mainly by newcomers to Skye, which serve the whole island. Here too, are the grocery, drug, clothing, and hardware stores which depend on the people of at least, northern Skye for a large part of their trade. There are a number of craftsmen who are equally dependent on the rural population. For the most part, the members of both groups are newcomers from the Lowlands or elsewhere in the Highlands. As the terminus for the mail steamer which links Skye with the mainland, and the hub of the daily bus service which connects the rural

each township as a sign of contempt.[10] This suggests that the practice of helping one's neighbors with the harvest was relatively recent. Again in the matter of cutting peats, frequently described as cooperative, and a communal undertaking as late as 20 years ago, there is disagreement. All in the township used to work together, cutting for each crofter in turn and enjoying a festive picnic. "Sure they would," others told me," but first they would cut for the minister and then for the shopkeeper." The shopkeeper was more important to them in those days because they would all be in perennial debt to him, and he might extend a little more credit if they were in his good graces. They would then cut for each other. By the time they got around to the old widow with no one to cut for her, they were all too busy. The sheep had to be dipped or the fields needed attention. I have heard conflicting versions of these stories from neighbors. Are we to conclude that cooperation varied from door to door and township to township?

The growth in importance of sheep as a major source of income, associated with the decline of the old subsistence economy, led to new patterns of cooperation. To be economic sheep must be raised in numbers. As we have seen, physical cooperation is imperative, and many crofters cooperate financially, pooling their capital and dividing the profits. This is true of the nine townships of Kilmuir. Moreover, even in townships where the crofters have rejected the club stock plan the individual flocks are generally handled as club stock.

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[10]Cf. William MacKenzie, Skye: Iochdar-Trotternish, p.59.

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The religion of the Sgiathanach may also be regarded as 771
logical outcome of a movement which began two centuries 122
when the all inclusive bonds of kinship and affection were 178
laced with tenets introduced from the wider contractual
ety. This movement, as we know, bore its first fruits
r a hundred years ago. The people themselves turned from 793
ministers who were supporting symbols and values no longer
ningful to the crofters. They embraced the preachers of a 793
mic gospel as a means of consolation in their distress.
, the religious pattern derived elsewhere and superimposed 184
the Sgiathanach has been refined with logic and vigor. 771
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as become the one insurmountable barrier to assimilation
Great Britain. No less than four times religious schism 798
demonstrated the essential unchangeableness of their
gion. The process has been carried on with such dedication
success that it now disturbs the unsympathetic laity and
clergy of the Church of Scotland no less than the re-
ance of the people to Presbyterianism did in the remote
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We saw in Chapter IV how an understanding of the re- 128
ous history of Skye is indispensible for the comprehension 121
he larger problem, the means by which the culture has
tained continuity. In Chapter V and again in Chapter VI
aw how this continuity has been preserved. We have at
come to the point at which we can ask why has there been
inuity. The following analysis is concerned with the
tions of the Presbyterian ethic, particularly as it
cts the social structure, religious behavior, and the
s of the ministers and the religious laity in the

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121 functioning in diverse ways, religion reinforces standards
of behavior. As a supraposial and cultural regulator of
social life, it sanctions the way of life of a group and its
basic social forces.[5] While the great world conscious religions
have been influential in redirecting whole civilizations,
their success has been largely due to an ability to function
in harmony with local cultural conditions. The symbols
and values they extend must be meaningful to the people.

121 Failure to protect certain values brought about the rejection
178 of Catholicism and the acceptance of Calvinism in Scotland.[6]
798 Continued sanctification of values no longer meaningful to
the Sgiathanach cost the Church of Scotland its hold over
121 the people. The influence of religion, especially once it
has ceased to work for change and has become conservative,
as all organized religions are wont to do,[7] is expressed
in terms of what particular traits it singles out for
sanctioning and, conversely, what traits it refuses to
sanction or places under taboo. Obviously, this is but a
part of the primary function of religion, its role in
bolstering group solidarity.[8]

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[5] Cf., e.g., Kroeber, loc. cit.; and MacIver, Society, p. 120.

[6] Notestein, The Scot in History, pp. 103-114.

[7] Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 405.

[8] Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 395-401.

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same as in the crofting areas. When a young girl presented 794
herself for instruction in the significance and meaning of 796
church membership, preparatory to her acceptance of Communion, 301
she refused to take the final step not because of any personal 626
religious problem, but rather because such a step would upset
her normal associations. What her Free Church and Free
Presbyterian friends would say was her main concern. Who was
she to become an "elect" member? Here, then, is the answer
to how the elders of the other sects are able to control
behavior of the larger group, through the fear of gossip as
a negative social sanction and, perhaps, rejection.

The semi-annual Communion celebrations are rites of 794
intensification par excellence. Although some churches 796
celebrate only one commemoration of the sacrament, and it
may be as early as February or as late as November, the
months from late April until early September, are commonly
referred to as the "Communion Season." The activities of
the people during this period cast additional light on the
influence of religion in ordering social relationships. While 573
clique membership based on sectarian affiliation is a secondary 71
factor in determining the patterns of interaction in the extended
family in the local group, it is very important in determining
one's wider relationships, the relationships between the
neighborhoods and between the Sgiathanach and the mainland
Highlander.

Within living memory thousands used to come to the 178
Communion celebrations from all parts of Skye and many nearby 794
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mainland villages and crofting areas. Ministers from 178
neighboring and even distant churches used to come to take 794
part in conducting the services. There was no church to hold 796
so many people, so the Communion was celebrated outside. Then,
of course, the population was much larger and the majority
belonged to one church, the Free Church.

The Communion Season is still marked by large gatherings 794
of people at each church in turn. The "elect" from the 796
neighboring churches and the ministers from churches near and
far exchange visits. The adherents also participate in the
celebration of the Lord's Supper. From Thursday until 794
Monday the homes of the people in the vicinity are open to 796
their relatives and friends who have come to partake of the 574
sacrament or who find the highly emotional atmosphere and
gregariousness stimulating. Some, especially the "elect"
stay for the five days. Others will spend one or more nights.
During the day and in the evening, whenever they are not 571
attending religious services, they visit their "people" and
"friends" to renew ties which in many cases have been allowed
to languish since the last Communion. Thus, we find religion 182
sanctioning the time-honored custom of Highland hospitality.
It is interesting to note that many a woman who depends on 495
the tourist trade for a good share of her income will not accept
paying guests at this time. The local people have a further 794
share in extending hospitality to their visitors. All who 796
are able send food to the manse (parsonage) to lessen the 574
burden on the minister who extends hospitality to the 713
visiting clergy and as many of the laity as he can. This

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794 thanksgiving service. The visiting ministers, the "elect,"
796 and the adherents go their own separate ways. They have spent
five days in intense, emotional spiritual communion and they
carry away with them definite, vivid remembrances. Many of
them will meet again in a few weeks when they will exchange
571 the roles of guests and hosts. The reciprocal nature in all
interpersonal activity on Skye is well developed. In many
ways, the Communion season parallels the Welsh Song Festivals.[18]

794 We noted earlier in our discussion of the Communion
796 season that there has been a decline in the number who attend
178 the Communions. I should like to add a few general consider-
ation to what I have already said on this point. Aside from
the influence of depopulation, there have been several influ-
ential factors in operation. The smaller attendance is
traceable to some extent to an almost imperceptible movement
by the youth away from the more conservative denominations.
The ever-increasing necessity of working for a wage, es-
pecially since most employment opportunities are in summer time
programs, is another cause. This factor is not, however,
important within the local kirk district because most ad-
herents and all the "elect" who work take a vacation in order
to attend. It does mean that visitors may only be able to
attend on the Sabbath.

178 The custom of visiting has almost disappeared in some
794 churches, including the Church of Scotland in Portree where
796 the fellowship meeting is no longer significant because the
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[18] Rees, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

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"elect" are predominantly newcomers and the elders are either 179
members of the landed gentry or newcomers. I was rather 794
amazed one day when a Skyeman told me, "the 'Free-Frees' 796
and 'Seceders' are no better than the Mohammedans giving 574
gifts to idols," when they sent food to the manse for the 349
minister's guests at the Communion. Over in Bracadale the 798
custom is also losing its importance, except in the Free
Presbyterian Church, and the fellowship meeting has been
abandoned in the United Free Church because of the reluctance
of the members to engage in public displays, either at
Communions or at prayer meetings. The custom of visiting
has entirely disappeared in Sleat and Strath. One of the
ministers ascribed this to the isolation of the two parishes
from the rest of the island and from each other. Certainly
the Sgiathanach on the south end of the island seldom looks
to Portree and the northern crofter hardly ever goes to
Sleat, but this does not explain why people from the mainland
will go to Bracadale, by-passing Strath.

The vitality of religion can over-ride considerations 771
of family and friendship if a Sgiathanach deviates from the 626
accepted norm. We may recall the young girl who stole church
funds and was ostracized by her "people" and the whole com-
munity. Let us consider another example. Marriage vows, as 584
we know, are held to be sacred on Skye. Divorce is all but 771
unknown and separation is uncommon. To be precise there are 626
four known cases of separation. Nevertheless, if a husband
or wife were to break a taboo, it is expected that the offender
would be cast-out. Forgiveness is not compatible with a

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glens a family, newcomers to Skye, prevailed on the local 191
school teacher to hold a Sabbath school for the children. 771
The local missionary objected. If they were going to have 621
Sabbath school, it should be in Gaelic. His prestige and
control over the population secured his position. The
children of the people who originated and organized the
program were excluded because they did not "have the Gaelic."

Another problem which is beginning to stem from the 191
use of Gaelic as the language of religion is the difficulty 773
of securing a minister. Traditionally, it was an ideal to 182
send a son to study for the ministry. This ideal remains, 794
but in the last few years only one young man from Skye
has shown a desire to become a minister. Indeed, the
majority of ministers on Skye are not Skyemen. I believe
the only minister who serves his own neighborhood, the
neighborhood in which he was born and raised, is the Free
Presbyterian minister in Glendale. It is becoming more
and more difficult to fill charges as they go vacant.
Each year several Highland charges are changed from "Gaelic
121 essential" to "Gaelic preferred." If we go beyond the role
771 of religion as it orders human relationships, through its
626 more formal aspects, and consider the influence of religion
178 on the secular behavior of the Sgiathanach, we can come
closer to an understanding of why the youth are slowly
turning away. At the same time we shall be able to round
out our picture of the expression given to the Presbyterian
ethic on Skye.

at which the youth can join together as a soodality; hence, they 322
hardly ever have a chance to question the control of the "elect." 153
Only once in recent years has the control of the old people 146
been criticized. After World War II, the men who returned to 578
the neighborhood wanted to erect a village hall. This threatened 153
both family unity and the solidarity of the neighborhood. The 126
young people were divided between the time honored obligation
to honor their parents and their own desires for a fuller life.
The parents were torn between religious beliefs and their
affection for their children. The minister and his elders
were faced with a situation which threatened the fundamental
tenets of the faith and the continued ability of the religious
expression to sanction the existing order. How strong are age
controls? The youth didnot get their village hall. Many of 167
them left Skye for the Lowlands where social life is less
restricted.

The difficulty is that until, say, forty years ago the 178
traditional outlets were sufficient. Middle-aged people 383
remember how the youth used to drop in on the old widow for 177
a visit on an evening and then make their way off in couples 52
for a bit of courting. Two World Wars and the continuing
program of National Service, not to speak of the influence of
the schools, have given the youth a new perspective. They
have spent one or two years in an environment where recreational
activities are considered not only innocent but also wholesome.
The radio and magazines have contributed to the demands of the
youth for amusements. As if this were not enough, there are

several agencies who have taken the task of bringing movies 178
to the remote crofters in the belief that the Highlander is 283
more likely to stay if he has a share in the life of the 177
Lowlander and the Englishman. These agencies want to "create" 72
a more adequate social organization."

Out of boredom, some young men try to add some spirit 173
to their lives by turning to "the drink." Although the 779
religion of the Sayeman is strikingly similar to that of
the rural dwellers in Wales, I found the Welshman and the
Sriathanach have quite different views on the subject of
temperance. 26 All churches support temperance, from the
pulpit and from the kirk collections, but abstinence or
prohibition has never been accepted. Perhaps, their main
reason for consistently rejecting the idea is their want
to base many of their decisions on Biblical directions.
There can be nothing inherently wrong in the infallible Word
of God. Then, too, to the Sriathanach, whisky is not Scotch;
it is the "water of life." The importance attached to the 273
dram can be judged from its functions at birth, marriage,
and death. It is also the means of thanking a man for doing
a favor which cannot be repaid. Thus, while abstinence is
a major religious tenet for the Wee Bheil, temperance is the
aim of the Sayeman.

The temperance movement has had an effect, all over 276
Scotland. The "pubs" are no more than a long bar set in a 185
bare room. Young men who have spent time in England, where
the local "pub" is a closely knit club for the villagers, frequently

26 Rees, op. cit., p. 127

may need just one more dry day to finish his harvest. If the 178
next day is the Sabbath, his one dry day may be two or three 774
weeks away and the hay a sodden heap. Nor did the Sriathanach, 241
or any newcomer with a craft, change during the war despite
all the pleas of the government for full agricultural pro-
duction. This is the one time that the Older Order Amish 774
slogan "And be not conformed to this world" fully applies
to the island. Circumspect behavior on this day functions
to remind the people of all the negations and all the sanctions
which religion has bestowed on the culture.

As in the case of Communions, there has been a gradual
lessening of the importance of Sabbitarianism, especially 178
since the return of many young men and women from the war. 774
Again, the rather spontaneous relaxation of the rules is 349
most common in Portree. It does not have the encouragement
of the ministers of any church nor the elders of any church,
except the Church of Scotland. Thirty or forty years ago 422
the ministers and the lay kirk officers had enough influence
to stop the running of trains throughout the western Highlands,
shipping in the Western Isles, and the Kyle-Kylesskin ferry
on the Sabbath. Public transportation is still at a stand- 178
still on the first day of the week, but the Sunday papers 774
appear in Portree after the evening services, despite all the
efforts of the ministers. They come by car from Inverness, by
row boat across the strait, and by car to the village.

Before the war no one in Portree would let their 178
children out of the house, except to go to church with their 774
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parents and to Sabbath school, nor would they allow children 178
to play games in the home. Today the children of the Church 774
of Scotland people are allowed to go for a walk, read, or 257
play games. Tourists, frequently, if not always, intolerant 484
of the strict Sabbath, have no doubt contributed to the 178
relaxation of taboos. Although a further development of the 774
tourist industry would be advantageous economically, tourists
are a threat not only to the Sabbath but also to the whole
religious complex. They set examples which the youth are
only too ready to emulate. Before the war every hotel on 495
the Island, including all in Portree, and every boarding 774
house posted notices requesting visitors to refrain from
using their cars for touring on the Sabbath. In many of the
guest homes the request was the equivalent of a warning of
removal. Today the signs are gone. Still not content, the
tourist agencies in England and the Lowlands continue to make
snide remarks in their literature, suggesting "a little more
tolerance is needed in certain quarters." The youth and some 178
adults of Portree now have begun to go off for a drive around 774
the island. One reason why the Sabbath is still strong in 484
Kilmuir and Glendale is that tourists are not accepted in
either district.

Strict Sabbath observance distinguishes three broad
groups on the Island. Portree is set apart from the crofters 774
by laxity, and the county people are set apart from the 545
crofters by using the day for visiting and having afternoon 349
teas together. The gentry, of course, are not under the 571

control of the "elect" crofters. They are the "elect," 774
and their status is independent of the control of the vener- 545
able old men. 349

Summary

Whereas the culture of the Sriathanach was oriented
around the clan system in the remote past and was intelli- 771
gible only by an awareness of the all-pervasive influence 178
of the clan, today congregational religion provides the
focus for the culture. If we are to understand the Sriathanach 571
we must fathom his religion, that is, the interpretation
which he has given to Calvinism. Moreover, this highly 172
integrated and systematized aspect of his culture has pro- 771
vided the means for preserving cultural continuity. Economics
and social organization aid us in recognizing how cultural
continuity has been maintained. Religion puts at our finger
tips the how and the why.

The basic status values have held good because religion 771
has sanctioned them. The old men of the neighborhood have 564
been successful in sustaining their statuses and habits 172
through their position in the esoteric religious hierarchy. 424
By holding the father responsible for the spiritual welfare 543
of his family, and judging a man's spiritual enlightenment
on his renunciation of mundane pleasures as well as his
knowledge of religious terms, the elders exercise judicial
and authoritarian functions. At the same time, the status
of the father within the family is strengthened. After a

man is no longer concerned with the necessity of having his 771
children baptized, the venerable old men, the family-head 172
elders, prolong their social control by sitting in judgment 424
on those who seek salvation. The strength of age controls 178
is indicated by the continued ability of the elders to resist
all attempts to introduce secular innovations to the crofting
neighborhoods. Even in Portree the majority of the people
are under the watchful eyes of the old men.

Many of the meaningful patterns of interaction are 771
religious. The rites of passage function to augment social 172
control, restore disturbed equilibriums, and establish new 424
ascribed statuses. The rites of intensification, including
those associated with death, function to restore disturbed
patterns of interaction in the family, nuclear and extended,
and the larger social groups and to establish meaningful
relationships when large congregations gather for the
celebration of communion. Religion for the majority is not 771
merely dependent on attending church on the Sabbath and 782
attending Wednesday night prayer meetings. Every day of
the week begins with a prayer and ends with family worship.
All social activity outside the home is ideally limited to 52
the church, and the church is never used for mundane activity.
Only in Portree are there a number of social activities to 349
tempt the people. Kilmuir has no more than a Crofters' 575
Club for men, and Glendale has no social activities, unless
one would include the annual meeting of the share holders
in the farm.

Although asceticism, epitomized in Sabbatarianism, 771
is a marked characteristic of the expression of the 172
Presbyterian ethic, it is not completely negative. It is
one of the means for sustaining cultural continuity.
Religion has centered on the home and family. It has
preserved the Gaelic. There have been significant changes 178
in the content of the culture, but by using asceticism as
an observable test of spiritual enlightenment the limitations
of the socio-economic life have been sanctioned. The form,
the basic configuration, of the culture is still recognizable.

Beginning with a population which is believed to have been
relatively stable due to recurrent crises, including epidemic
famines, and wars, the pandemic of population growth and decl
for the Sriathanach has been found to be highly responsive
to cultural innovations and social adjustments. Between 1750
and 1341 the Sayemen increased in numbers from 10,671 to 23,0
an increase of more than 100 percent. From 1831 to 1911 the
population has steadily decreased from 22,536 to 8,603. A
decrease of 62 percent from maximum. Associated with the
decline were changes in the age structure. In 1861 34 percen
of the population was under fifteen and only seven percent
was over sixty-five; today only 22 percent of the population
is under fifteen while 19 percent is over sixty-five. How
can we account for these changes, or more correctly, how
can we account for the changes in the birth, death, and emi-
gration rates?

Broadly speaking, the increase was favored by the direc
and indirect involvement of the Sriathanach in the process
of commercialization, with all of its associated consequence
One by one, the natural checks on population growth declined
in importance. The pressure on the means of subsistence was
eased. The former clan chiefs, preferring the society of
Edinburgh and London, absented themselves. After converting
rents from kind to money, they provoked the withdrawal of the
tacksmen by resorting to rackrenting. The former clansmen,
who became joint-tenants, received a larger share in the land
and were freed from the obligation of feeding both their own
families and those of the superiors. At the same time the

the social superiors of women. The aged are the social superiors of the youth and young adults. The father determines how his wife and children will behave as long as they remain under his control. The old man, or men, determine what changes will be accepted or rejected. There is no way to question their decisions, unless one leaves the croft. Still, at the bottom, there is equality. No man can step forward as a leader. We are now in a position to look at the larger social grouping, the neighborhood.

Kith and Kin within the Neighborhood

During the days of the clan, the residents of the neighborhood were bound together by real and fictitious ties of consanguinity and affinity, which were reinforced by the strong attachment to the soil and propinquity. Only the fictitious bonds have been forgotten. Like the township, the neighborhood consists of an aggregate of conjugal families whose inter-personal relationships are reinforced by a complicated network of kinship. Once, perhaps as late as 100 years ago, the neighborhood was a highly cooperative social unit. When the local mills were in use and the church had not been broken by schism, the people must have had a more definite focus for their common interests. In more remote times, it was a defensive entity. Today the neighborhood is no longer a cooperative unit. On the analogy of the old horse plough and the caschrom, cooperation is essential to the township but superfluous to this larger group. That the neighborhoods have not lost the potential for concerted action in times of crisis is attested by the uprisings

piuthar; that is, father, mother, brother, and sister. He calls his father's brothers bràthair athar and his father's sisters piuthar athar. His mother's brothers and sisters are bràthair màthar and piuthar màthar. Grandaprents, as I pointed out, are addressed by classificatory terms. Grandfather is seanair (old father), and grandmother, seanmhair (old mother).

Turning to the more remote relatives, we find that a nephew is mac bràthar or mac peathar. In other words, brother's son or sister's son. Similarly, a niece is nighean bràthar or nighean peathar. The extent to which the descriptive principle is carried is most clearly shown by the terms for cousins. Long ago, I was told, there were classificatory terms for cousins, but they have disappeared. Today when an individual speaks about these collateral relatives, he must employ an ascending order of circumlocution. The general term for first cousins is anns na h-oghaichean (in the state of being grandchildren). Specifically, a first cousin is clann an dà bhràthar (children of the two brothers), clann an dà pheathar (children of the two sisters), or clann na peathar 's a' bhràthar (children of the sister and brother). Second cousins can be referred to as anns na h-iar-oghaichean (in the state of being great-grandchildren), but again there are denotive terms: oghaichean an dà bhrathar, oghaichean an dà pheathar, and oghaichean na peathar 's a' bhràthar. For third cousins, we have noted that the general term is anns na dubh-oghaichean. Specifically, the terms for third cousins are: iar-oghaichean an dà bhràthar, iar-oghaichean an

dà peathar, and iar-oghaichean na peathar 's a' bhràtha

Within the group which the Sgiathanach calls his we find that husband is fear, and wife is bean. Their are mac and nighean. Marriage, of course, extends the of relatives. Both members of the married pair refer their spouse's "people" as athair-céile for father-in- màthair-céile for mother-in-law, bràthair-céile for br in-law, and piuthar-céile for sister-in-law. Céile me mate's, in these cases. This leaves us with two class catory terms which ignore sex. A grandchild is ogha, son-in-law or daughter-in-law is cliamhain.[21]

Although this nomenclature is correlated with ex patterns of ideal behavior, in reality, as I have said system has broken down under the impact of economic fo

With neo-local residence the township has come to be o by what the Sgiathanach calls "friends" rather than "p Not uncommonly, brothers and sisters take up residence marriage not only in different townships but also in d neighborhoods. The sharing of work, then, mainly invo cousins. Unlike Ireland,[22] there is no strong taboo a marrying a cousin. Cousins marry "to keep the money i the family," and remote cousins were apparently prefer

[21] Although Arensberg and Kimball look upon the I System as essentially similar to that of northern and Europe and the United States, excepting minor variatio cit., p.97), I was struck by the dissimilarity of the system of the Sgiathanach to that of the United States. underlying principles are, of course, the same, but th ramifications set the two apart; see, e.g., Talcott Pa "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States, American Anthropologist, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (Mar., 1943), and David M. Schneider and George C. Homans, "Kinship and the American Kinship System," American Anthropolo Vol. LVII, No. 6 (Dec., 1955), pp. 1194-1208.

[22] Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 83-86.

procreation does not absolve the individuals from their obli- 602 593
gations to their "people."

Although the wake and the post-interment feast have been 593 764 178
given up under religious censure, and the ministers refuse to consecrate burial, the method of burial is fundamentally the same as it was before the Reformation. At the time of interment the coffin is carried out of the house by the closest relatives. Ideally, for a man this means his father walks in front of the 604
coffin, his oldest son (over fifteen) walks behind, and his brothers and uncles (paternal) carry the body. For a married woman the ideal is to have her husband walk in front, her father behind, and her brothers and uncles carry. When a child 604
dies, his father walks in front; his oldest brother walks behind, and the father's brothers for a boy and the mother's brothers for a girl are the carriers. Outward mobility, as well as infirmity and death, has had its influence. The nearest male relative not only walks in front of his deceased kinsman but also takes charge of the funeral. A few cases of who has filled this function will indicate how the situation is handled when the ideal cannot be fulfilled. For a man this role normally passes first to his oldest son and then to his brother. I have 607
seen a grandson take charge, and at one very atypical funeral, a brother-in-law. He was the nearest surviving male relative who could be contacted in time.

Arrangements for the burial of a widow are made by her son or brother. There was, however, one widow, a woman from the Outer Isles, who was returned to her native island for burial

by a second cousin. The striking thing to realize here is that 593 764
the nearest surviving relative always knows his obligation and 602
is ready to fulfill it, without question. Fatherless children 603
are buried by either their paternal or maternal uncle. I have
not forgotten the existence of women. The simple fact is, 562
women play no part as mourners. Indeed, the rare woman who goes to the grave becomes the subject of lasting gossip.

Fundamentally, the system of kinship is patrilineal. 611
Linguistically, the terms for relatives may be bilateral, and 601
inheritance of possessions other than the name may be matters 478
of small importance, but the patrilineal emphasis remains. The Sgiathanach lives in a man's world. I shall explore this 128
male dominance further in the following chapter. At present, I want to briefly discuss two additional cliques.

Religious and Age-Grade Cliques. Like the members of any 573
society, the Sgiathanach associates most frequently with those who share his interests and attitudes. It is natural, then, for his associates, other than his kinsmen, to be people who attend his church and people of his own age group. We need not explore the nature of these cliques at this time; but we should have some understanding of their function. The 794 573
religious clique is primarily a mutual aid group. There is 476
reason to believe that this particular group has lost much 178
of its importance of late, with the coming of the welfare state. Many feel that the government pays people to look after the aged and infirm. As far as doing a favor for someone is concerned, few of the same kirk, other than close friends,

s an eccentric. Included among these norms is a willingness to atisfy the curiosity of one's neighbors. Although the old woman ho acts in mysterious ways is no longer regarded as a witch, wo of the loneliest people I knew on Skye were two old pinsters who had kept their past concealed. No one in the ownship would have anything to do with them. Were it not for eriodic visits by the local Red Cross, they could have died nd hardly been missed.

This status equality for all of the same sex and age rade leaves no room for the status and role of a leader.[15] ccasionally, an individual fancies himself as a self-elected eader, but he is always resented by the remainder of the ownship and his neighbors do not hesitate to show their dis-leasure. As an eccentric, he is dubbed with a cynical title, uch as "the sheriff." If he can keep himself immune to the aunts and jibes of the people, he is accepted in time or, rather, omes to be tolerated. He gives the people something to talk bout. The aspiring leader becomes the subject of numerous okes. Any human failing he displays is immediately taken s a means to censure him. These are negative social sanctions ess drastic than ostracism. I only knew one of these self-tyled leaders. He was a well traveled man and a walking ncycleopedia of miscellaneous facts. Walking the hill with im, I was told how Boston compared with Glasgow; how the ritish fought the Crimean War; how the money they received from he Turks helped Skye during the potato famine; and how the

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[15]Cf. Darling and Morley, "The Social Situation," The est Highland Survey, pt. VI, pp. 24-25.

he growth of the population ended with a prolonged famine. 161
he proprietors, finding that the people's only justification 731
or crowding the estates and looking to their landlords for 427
elp were some nebulous customary usages, facilitated the
ecline by disregarding custom and throwing as much land into
heep farming as was possible. While evictions were not new, 427
nly after the famine did they result in an absolute reduction
n numbers. The Sgiathanach, fettered by a lack of capital 182
nd an inability to break with the past, could not make the
nal adjustment required by the process of commercialization,
pecialization. In addition to emigration, the Clearances 167
nd general economic hardship forced a postponement of 582
arriage. There was neither land nor regular employment to 464
rovide a livelihood.

Later in the nineteenth century new influences began 161
play a role in the continuing decline of the population. 167
llowing the passage of the Crofters' Act, the nature of 178
igration changed. Seasonal migration became negligible. 427
671
e provisions of the Act, and ensuing legislation, made it
ssible for a man to remain away during his active years and
turn to the parental croft to spend his old age. The ex- 871
ntion of education not only equipped the youth for life in
e larger society but also created demands for objectives
ich could not be attained at home under the existing order.
us, as in the period of population growth, the persistence of 161
ny features of the old traditional culture, and the renewed 167
portance of others, were factors of no little consequence. 182

371

nomie is an additional support for my position. With 121
e theoretical assumptions in mind, we are prepared for
nal interpenetration of the culture of the Sgiathanach.

Evidence for Cultural Continuity

If I were to view the Isle of Skye from the single 178 182
spective of the culture as it functioned two hundred years
in an organization-disorganization framework, I might
cally argue that there is evidence for cultural disorgan-
ion. The clan system, which had pervaded all aspects
he culture, was rendered inoperative by the intolerance
he British government and the cupidity of the patriarchs.
tenure was divorced from considerations of reciprocal
ndence and real or fictitious kinship. The contractual
ciples of the wider commercial society, in which the
lords found a more satisfactory status, were introduced.
ime, the customary rights of the tacksmen, who had supported
structure of the clan, and the former clansmen were
tioned and repudiated. The older folktales, songs, and
of the superstitions were obliterated. The traditional
gious and secular festivities associated with events in the
cycle were abandoned or allowed to survive in a much
fied form. The traditional customs of cooperating and
ting were either altered or disregarded. The list of
ts and complexes which were dropped from the content of
culture could be continued. It is, indeed, a long one,
it includes elements from every aspect of the culture. If

ance of the potato, a much more productive and dependable 161
175
ence item than grain on Skye, made it possible for more 178
to live on less land. The introduction of a new industry, 241
, provided many with employment and freed them from com- 464
lependence on a subsistence economy. Vaccination reduced 757
rtality rate, especially among infants whose chances of 165
ng maturity and procreating were thus enhanced. Another 511
ant factor was the Skyeman's share in the general pros-
of British agriculturalists during the early years of
dustrial Revolution and during the Napoleonic Wars. An 423
ally important factor was the practice of subdividing 582
nd which made early marriage possible, in particular after
stallation of the crofting system. Finally, but by no 161
least significant, there was the persistence of many 175
l features of the culture in the days of the clan. The 178
ental ties of kinship and attachment to the soil had 182
ed.

The population decrease, partially a result of the Skyeman's 161
vement in the process of commercialization, was primarily 175
lt of a failure to fully adjust to the higher, more 178
genecus socio-economic level. By the end of the second 184
of the modern epoch, 1845, the people had become hostages
potato and their own fertility. When the potato failed
they had nothing to fall back upon, except the generosity
eir landlords. The cattle and kelp markets had collapsed
end of the Wars, and the subdivided land could not
ce sufficient grain. The belief of many that the pop-
tn had over-run the limited local resources was confirmed.

were to adapt this argument, I might even be convincing, but 178 182
dissertation would have a fallacious conclusion. Emphatically,
reparable cultural disorganization is not a characteristic of
culture history of Skye.

Continuity has been maintained through a reintegration. 178 182
part, Skye has made an adjustment to the higher socio-cultural 184
ganization of Great Britain and Western Civilization. This
ase of the culture's readaptation, however, is an incomplete
justment. The Sgiathanach has remained enisled geographically
culturally. A readaptation has also been made in the older,
ditional culture.

The national culture has played no insignificant role in 178 182
readaptation. Parliament turned back the process of com- 423
rcialization in 1886 and undertook to rechannel the trends 427
ward ever increasing commercialization of the land, ulti- 657
tely leading to the socialization of the land. The essentials of
old system of land use and tenure were not only reaffirmed
also given legal sanction to insure their stability. The
tion confirmed the customary usages. In many townships and
whole neighborhoods the crofting system was restored. As
as the Sgiathanach is concerned, he has never known any
er economic structure than communal use and tenure of the
d. There are only three significant differences between the
rig farm, whether the farm was a tacksman's or the common
ding of several joint-tenants, and the crofting township.
arable acreage is held in compact, permanent blocks instead
dispersed and shifting strips; the crofter pays a money
t in place of goods in kind and services; and national laws

of tenure function to
abuses by a landlord w
need. Moreover, even
grants all the rights
to bequeath the house
for more than half the

The Sgiathanach
a specialist, not even
land has always had a
a means of livelihood.
sentimental attachment
the affectionate bonds
the tribal tie of the
patriarchs disclaimed
the landlords on Skye
have only because of
tude of the largest la
is that the crofting
for no other reason,
industrial civilizati
other reasons. The I
human reservoir for t
Lowland industry.

As a result of
socio-cultural level,
The British market ha
ecological limitation

protect the individual from potential 178
here customary usages once fulfilled the 182
though the tenure of the cultivated soil 423 427
of a landholder, including the rights 657
and land to a member of one's family,
year it is used communally.
has never adjusted sufficiently to become 178
a specialized grazier. For him the 423
more fundamental value than merely being
It is the ancestral home. There is a
to the land which is an expression of
of kinship. The people have never lost
land and the group. Although the former
any sympathy with this point of view,
today have kept what little land they
its sentimental value. Indeed the atti- [656]
andholder, the government of Scotland,
tradition is worth while preserving, if
because in the predominantly urban and
on it has a romantic value. There are
slands have long been looked upon as a [702]
he armed forces, and, more recently, for [464]

their partial adjustment to the higher 178
there have been changes in crops and stock. 231 241
s influenced the crofters' output, within 433
s. The old subsistence crops of oats and

barley have been replaced by grass and hay. Conceivably, this 178
is a more complete adjustment to the environment, which has been 231 241
made possible by integration with a commercial economy, than 433
an adjustment to the demands of the outside world. Whereas
the objective of the local economy once was the export of
cattle, today the purpose is the breeding of cattle and sheep
for the national markets. We have seen that there are a host 182
of limitations and difficulties in the economic aspect of the 231 241
culture. Many of these are due to the persistence of con- 433
servative practices. Each crofter must keep pace with his [624]
tradition-practicing neighbors, with the old men of the town-
ship. Others are the result of an inhospitable environment.
The economy does not run smoothly, but this is not conclusive
evidence for disorganization. Integration does not mean
smooth functioning. In the spring and autumn the crofter is
confronted with a variety and succession of tasks which would
fill a specialist with dismay. Very often, these pastoral
and agricultural chores have to be carried on in conjunction
with outside employment. In return for his labor, the crofter [434]
receives a meager income, frequently supplemented by con- [651]
tributions from his children or the government. As a further [167]
result of the partial adjustment to the wider society and
culture, the people leave the island to seek employment and
to achieve an upward mobility impossible on Skye. Economically, [175]
Skye, along with most of the Highlands, may be viewed as
presenting a picture of the Lowlands of Scotland 200 years ago.
That is the extent of the economic adaptation of the Sgiathanach
to the national culture.

375

Additional modifications have been found in the division 178 182
of labor. Although no Skyeman has shown a disposition to assume 162
responsibility for domestic work, unless he lives alone, the
women of Skye are expected to function in roles which once were
filled exclusively by men. Old men and women for many years [561]
now have continued to perform tasks which formerly were their
duties as youths and young adults. These changes, like those
we have described, are partially traceable to an incomplete
adjustment to the contractual, commercial world. This has led [162]
to striking alterations in the age structure of the population
for it is the youth who forsake the island and the aged who
yearn to return. Nevertheless, there have been no observable [559]
changes in the status system of the rural neighborhoods.
Primitive democracy, distinguished from our form of democracy 421
by the principle of unanimous consent rather than majority rule 554 182
continues to operate in the townships. The existence of such
an institution implies a maximum of equality co-existing with
a minimum of authority. The continued ability of the crofters
to maintain primitive democracy in a nation like Great Britain
is possible only because there is a high degree of social
integration. The simple system of ranking, on the basis of [561]
age and sex, has persisted. Men are the social superiors of [562]
women; old men are the social superiors of their juniors. I
believe we shall understand how continuity of status has been
preserved if we turn to a consideration of the role of religion
in the island.

If I am right in asserting that a belief in clan brother- 178 182
hood was an all pervading cultural pattern in bygone days and 614

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that the clan ceased to provide a focus for the culture almost 178
two centuries ago, the reader may ask how can a culture without 182
a focus find continuity, how can a culture without a central 614
theme, something around which to orient itself, achieve inte-
gration? Religion provides the answer. Congregational religion [771]
has taken the place of the clan.

The acceptance of the new religious focus curtailed 178
many traits and complexes characteristic of the old culture. 182
This is why the older folktales, songs and superstitions, the 771
festive celebrations held at times of birth, baptism, marriage,
and death, the traditional social patterns of visiting, and
all frivolous activities were abandoned or modified. In a
time of acute distress the Sgiathanach turned to religion
as a means of consolation. His religion required circumspect
behavior. Perhaps, the sheer impossibility of supporting the
traditional forms of social interaction had forced a change in
cultural content when the religious leaders placed these forms
under censure. I have suggested that religion did no more than
sanction poverty. This much is certain: religion provided the
means for the culture to maintain its continued distinctiveness.
The Scots of the Presbyterian image of the days of Knox, of [795]
the times of the Covenanters, and the year of the Glorious
Revolution continue to exert their influence on the Sgiathanach.
While the ministers and the venerable old men of the laity
stamped out all practices which they considered pagan or
Catholic, as well as modifying the social aspect of the culture,
the process was not completely negative. The religious expression

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sanctioned the qualities which had given the people their 178
characteristic strength of character. 182
771

The churches of Skye made conservatism an official
policy in 1843, and in 1892 reaffirmed this policy. For well
over 100 years religion has had a strength and vitality which
has enabled the Skyeman to pass through times of extreme
distress, not to mention chronic economic deficiencies. Among 182
the most important religious sanctions are those which reinforce 554
the status values of the culture. The father's status in the 771
nuclear family was reaffirmed at a time when his socio-economic 543
importance was declining. He has been held responsible for
the spiritual welfare of his wife and children. The prestige 182
of the old men, the family-head elders, and their control over 554
the neighborhood group was similarly bolstered by making them 771
the judges of a man's spiritual enlightenment. Spiritual 888
enlightenment is weighed on a scale which will not balance
unless a person's religious knowledge is matched by conformity
to the ways the old men think a man should behave. Again we 182
are not dealing with a completely negative attitude. In the 771
place of frivolous amusements, religion has offered highly [787]
emotional, spiritual patterns of behavior. Religion has pre- [191]
served the Gaelic language by using it in formal worship and
within the home for family worship. In these and other ways
relizion has indeed enabled the culture to achieve a reorien-
tation and maintain its continuity.

How similar Skye is to the Old Order Amish in this respect.[3]

[3] Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

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other than on business. The fraternal orders were gone. 171
Church attendance had become sparse and irregular. These 182
changes led to a decline in the strength of interpersonal
sentiments and a feeling of indifference toward one another.
His third conclusion is that these changes were followed by
a "decline in the extent to which norms are common and clear."
Since class membership is defined on the basis of interaction,
class activities are much alike, and the interests of class
members coincide. Ranking is based upon norms, in particular
the status and role of leadership in community affairs. A
decrease in community activity had resulted in a weakening
of both norms and ranking. His last conclusion is that the
changes in the intensity of everyday relationships have led
to a loss of social control by the group over its members.
Deviations were not punished by avoidance. All action was left
to the state. Here, then, is anomie. Let us compare the
contemporary behavior patterns of the Sgiathanach with the
Hilltowners.

There is evidence that the Sgiathanach no longer collabo- 178
rates in group activities as much as he once did. There has 182
been a decline in the amount of cooperation in the work of
crofting. In many activities, of course, the need has disap-
peared. The individual family can easily perform many of the
tasks, such as the ploughing of a few acres of land. In some
townships it has become the practice to pay the sheep club
stock shareholders to insure the presence of enough men and
women to handle the dippings and shearings. In others,

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including almost all with private flocks, the crofters continue 178 182
to cooperate. The church has been broken by schism, not once 795
but four times. On Skye, however, the schisms have had as 182
their purpose conservatism, not greater leniency as in Hilltown.
Moreover, the schisms have been solidifying factors. The
progressively more dynamic world denying sects, after a period
of communal strife, have given the people an emotional unity.
The crofters have become dependent on the trade-center village 182
and the wider national markets. Many must seek employment beyond
the island. The interests of the Sgiathanach are not outside
the neighborhood, except in so far as events from the outside
affect them and, especially, to the extent that ties of kinship
and religious brotherhood reach beyond the local group. We
are hardly talking about the same situation as Homans. As we
continue to explore this condition we may also ask has there
been a decline in the frequency of interaction in the internal
sphere of activity?

The old ceilidh has disappeared under clerical bann, but 182
it has been replaced by "going to have a crack," going to visit 571
and gossip with one's friends and "people." The people may 178
no longer gather to hear the old men tell stories of clan battles.
They now discuss the latest local gossip and the news of the
outside world. The Islander has never been given to formal [575]
social organizations; they half distrust such orders as the
Masons and Eastern Star. Still there are chapters of both in
Portree. In the crofting neighborhoods face to face relation-
ships continue to preserve strong interpersonal sentiments. The [203]
postman's van and the grocer's trucks have relieved the people

else the spouse is likely to lose status. 436 284

The most powerful of all agents for social control are 436 878 the old men of the neighborhood. Through their position in 878 the church, a religious sanction for their prestige status, 779 they enforce conformity to the norms of behavior which religion has sanctioned either positively or negatively. No one, nor any group, has been successful in questioning the right of these venerable men to maintain their habits and statuses which have been preserved over the generations. The baptism of a man's children and his own salvation depends on acceptance of the authority of the elders, for they will be his judges.

As far as the contemporary scene is concerned, there 182 is no anomie. 178 The content of the culture has been greatly modified, but the form, the underlying distinctive pattern, has been preserved. We are dealing with a single tradition in which the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them have remained common and clear. This is all the more striking because there have been periods in which cultural and social disintegration threatened to overwhelm the Sgiathanach. This brings us back to the role of religion in preserving cultural continuity.

Loomis and Beegle have employed Durkheim's theory to 171 analyze the growth and spread of fundamentalist religious 182 sects in contemporary United States.[16] They conclude: "It 771 is no mere coincidence that various types of emotional 786 religious sects are now among the most rapidly expanding 781

[16] Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 401-407.

religious groups." As a result of urbanization almost all 171 rural areas have experienced the pangs of social mobility and 182 few have escaped unscathed from a clash with the economic 771 forces which impinge from the outside. This predisposes the 786 people to the appeal of an emotional religion, revivalism. 781 Frequently, the sect becomes uncompromising and rejects the outside world in an attempt to bolster group security. The sequence of events on Skye enables me to add that the sect can also reject a great deal of the former content of the culture. Be that as it may, the authors show how emotional [571] religious movements restore or replace meaningful patterns of interaction among groups whose social systems have deteriorated. Revivalism is a counter agent for anomie.

The first period of social and cultural disequilibrium 175 which the Sgiathanach experienced may be placed in the first 178 half of the nineteenth century, with a climax around 1840. 771 To paraphrase Loomis and Beegle, it was no mere coincidence 786 that an emotional religious movement should have appeared and 182 found so many converts. The closing years of the eighteenth century had witnessed numerous changes in the content of the culture and the collapse of the old social heirarchy. While these events doubtlessly had an influence on all levels of the society, it was not until the turn of the century that they broke forth upon the masses. Within a decade a revival had reached effective proportions. This was a time of estate reorganization. The tacksmen, the traditional leaders, were quickly disappearing. The runrig farm was being abolished. Sheep were beginning to replace men in one parish (Bracadale).

We know these and the other changes of this period. Significantly, 175 however, there was no simple correlation of revivalism and 178 population change. The Revival began during a time of population 182 growth and emigration; it reached effective proportions during 771 a period when emigration seems to have almost stopped; and it 786 found its culmination during years marked by destitution and the beginning of depopulation. No purpose will be served by repeating what I have already said about the nature of the changes which accompanied the coming of the dynamic, evangelical message. It is sufficient to emphasize that the ministers and the Men reinforced the desirable fabric of the culture and gave the culture a new focus.

The second period of anomie on Skye is less well marked. It appeared at the end of the "Clearences." Again destitution gripped the island. Although the vital, emotional religion had enabled the people to bear the hardships of the "Clearances" without overt resistance, they now openly defied the landlords and the state. More than a series of government commissions and committees came to Skye. A still more intense religion loomed on the horizon to reaffirm the focus of the culture. Once again it was no mere coincidence that the new church should have found ready acceptance by the people in the areas of greatest unrest, the areas which required the presence of police and Royal Marines. It was a fact of no little significance that the new denomination should have been founded on the Isle of Skye, the area of greatest unrest in all the Highlands.

Whatever signs there were of social or cultural dis- 175 organization, or threatened disintegration, in the nineteenth 178 century they have disappeared. Steward's theory that folk 182 societies do not entirely disappear but are rather modified 771 by way of a readaptation to the higher level of socio-cultural 786 organization of which they become a part is borne out by the 121 evidence from the Isle of Skye.[17] At the same time, on the basis of events in the culture history of the Sgiathanach, I would qualify his theory by introducing a new condition. Isolated, relatively simple, kinship oriented societies and cultures which must achieve a reintegration if they are to preserve their continuity readapt, not only to the higher socio-cultural level, but also to the older way of life.

In conclusion, I regard Skye as a community which has 178 maintained a continuity of culture despite marked population 182 change. The continued distinctiveness has been made possible [661] by a reintegration of the culture and a restoration of the [571] network of relationships which make for harmonious living together. As in any socio-cultural group which has passed through periods of threatened disintegration, the joints of repair may be weak. Conflicts are tending to appear. The crofter, who has refused to fully adapt to commercialism, is seasonally faced with a variety and succession of tasks which no agriculturalist in the wider society would tolerate. There is the desire of the youth, who are too few in numbers to form a sodality, for a share in the mundane pleasures of

[17] Steward, Area Research, p. 111; see also Wagley and Harris, op. cit., p. 441.

the world. So far, rather than having an influence on the 178 norms of behavior, the youth have been faced with the decision 182 to conform or leave. Cultural continuity on Skye has been a sad experience for many and an expensive proposition for the government. The youth leave; the aged return. If additional changes are forced upon the culture, and there is no doubt in my mind that they will be, the culture and society may not be able to preserve the delicate warp and woof. The threads already hanging loose may unravel the basic fabric. Only time will tell.

At the present time, the culture is disturbing to many 181 people. The sentimentalists in the Lowlands worry about the loss of the old songs and the decay of the informal ceilidh. Agricultural economists commonly look upon the crofting system with dismay. Ministers, some of them born Skyemen, express a dislike for the form which religion takes among the Sgiathanach. Well meaning agencies are determined to create an "adequate social organization" by bringing a share of the urban recreational facilities to Skye. Government commissions and agencies take a dim view of a system of tenure which allows the aged and the absentee to hold on to the land. They advocate the severance of the house and croft and a modification of the crofter's security of tenure. If one or more of these changes are made, it may no longer be possible to conclude that the culture is growing old with the aging population. I do not believe that the culture will ever fully adjust to the national socio-cultural organization. Before it will do so, the Gael

133 line; and there can be no doubt of the contrast found at
131 the extremes. How strikingly different from any view over the English Plain is this, from the air or a mountain-top! It overlooks the ice-scraped rock of the fells; the drift-heaped, ill-drained hollows studded with gleaming lochs and deeply overgrown with peat; and the indented, insular coastline with its widely spaced crofting townships looking seaward, where a few fishers' sails may dot the
161 vast expanse of ocean. In 1951 the population of Lewis-
162 and-Harris numbered only 28,000 persons, and that of the entire Outer Hebrides some 36,000; but the small num-
182 bers need not lessen the geographical significance of the community.

• 18 Men have long recognised the homogeneity of the English 'Plain', with its recurring vale and wold, compact within a rounded coastline. In spite of the local variety of landscape, history or dialect, which enriched its heritage and compose its grandeur and charm, men have sensed the unity inherent in this land of a single tongue, centred upon a single capital. By contrast, the diversities in landscape, life and tongues of the lands far-flung to north and west have obscured the elements of a profound, underlying unity in geographic origins and in historic and social
[121] evolution. To understand the civilisation of the British Isles, it is vital first to perceive the complementary qualities found in the two great regions, and face their corresponding
[178] weaknesses or limitations. Second, within the less understood of the two regions, 'the North and West', it is vital to study the almost bewildering variety in regional types of life—distinguishing, for instance, the uprooted populations all too typical of the rural Lowlands of Scotland or Northumberland from the still deep-rooted communities of the Highlands and Isles.

121 From prehistory to the present day, these geographic
178 zones have played their parts as factors in evolution, although the border-lines have changed at different historic
174 crises, and have been modified by economic and social
182 phase. At times the Hebrides have been more closely linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Central Scotland.
184 In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in historic events, but comparability in stage and transition, even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of view, the revealing character of Island life lies not only in static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the Isles and vividly described as "the Past in the Present". Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic strength of its continuity—notably of early or primitive Christianity—and also by the late occurrence of changes when, at last, they came.

• 18 The social consequences of these regional differences in evolution are profound. In the 'Plain', to the south-
62 east of the Severn-Tees line, large village communities
174 with 'common fields' prevailed, forming the later manor
[423] villages. To the north and west, the more varied, hillier lands encouraged the continuance of hamlets. These
[192] hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no more than four or five to a dozen relations or 'friends'—
—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word 'friend' frequently implies kinship. Each small group
[462] formed a team. Together the men ploughed their mingled
[476] rigs (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and on the coast they rowed their boat as its crew. The
[241] women, too, did much together, as when they spun their
[286] yarn, and fulled or 'waulked' the cloth that one of them had woven, helping by turn in childbirth and child-care.
[423] Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

• 18 pastoral group, the germ (in the Hebrides) of the present
621 township with its common grazing. Hamlets and town-
174 ship formed circles of cultural and religious life in common.
[423] These 'sociable hamlets', or 'little commonwealths', as they were called by understanding writers on the Highlands, lived on in the Hebrides almost until a century ago. Features of their form and life have long been known, but their life has not yet been envisaged in its full dynamic significance.

127 The homesteads, informally grouped in these small
36 hamlets, have been mistakenly described as solitary or
174 'dispersed' by scholars accustomed to larger and more compact grouping. The mistake was made by geographers
[423] of the nineteenth century, such as Meitzen with reference to the hamlets of Brittany. Similarly, because of the
[476] small number composing a typical joint team, the vital fact of team-work and joint holding has frequently been overlooked; yet a fundamental mistake is made when such close-knit team-work and joint tenure are described as
174 'individualistic'. Moreover, these teams were linked to-
62 gether in larger, more loosely bound pastoral communities
63 of township and district. In Scotland and elsewhere, it is true, such hamlets came historically to be split up in various
[241] ways, into smaller farms and scattered cottages. The larger link of common life was also superseded by the
[178] proprietor's estate. Indeed, the twofold revolution involved caused a fundamental regional cleavage within 'the North and West'.

[182] Partly as a result of their small size, the tenure of farm-
[184] hamlets was frequently informal. In northern England, the hamlets and their lands were not entered in Domesday Book; still less are early entries complete in Scotland.
[178] For this and other reasons, jurist and historian may fail

131 summits of up to 2622 feet. South of this chain of hill
133 the ground drops again on a peninsula some twelve mile long and only seven miles wide. This forms the mor populous part of Harris with its 'sandy shore', the Machar facing the Atlantic, and its rocky bays and fishing hamlet
[134] on the Minch.[1] Lewis has its 'machars' too, areas o
[504] white shell sand, which is so light that it blows up th hillsides, thus improving the pasture-land; but there i little 'machar' on the eastern coast, save for the south western shores of the great sandy North or Broad Bay enclosed by the peninsula of I, or Eye, which also acts a the outer breakwater for the harbour of Stornoway.

131 Landing at Stornoway and leaving behind us the pines
133 and the wind-pruned sycamore woods around Lew Castle, we find ourselves among the small fields of th
36 villages which are partly suburban to Stornoway. Inlan
[137] stretch the gently rolling, brown and somewhat melancholy moors that cover so much of the Lews. From the But of Lewis to the beginning of the Harris hills one coul make a bee-line SSW., midway through the Island for ove thirty miles, without passing a house or a strip of corn, an seeing only a tiny, ramshackle hut, a shieling (or *àirigh*) used for six weeks in the year when the cattle are taken t the summer pasture. All the villages are in sight of th sea, and generally close to it, with only one inland ex ception, Achmore, south-west of Stornoway, founded afte 1850. The hills of Harris are not less lonely than th moors of the Lews.

• 18 Diversity is one of the fascinations of such an island
131 as this. Although, like the founders of Stornoway, al
133

[1] *Am machair* ('ch' as in 'loch', also anglicised as 'macher'), n.f. th plain, smooth beach-land or links. A sandy beach or ebb-strand, *tràigh* n.f., backed by *machair*, contrasts with a pebbly beach, *cladach*, n.m., backed by rougher beach-land, as in the Cladach district of W. Lewis.

18

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

126 only the place but the people are to be understood, respected and helped.

127 The planning movement is gathering impetus in Britain, as it spreads outwards from bombed towns to countrysides, embracing regions as a whole. It is certainly destruction in war that has stabbed the nation's spirit "broad awake", 128 awake to features of economic and moral disintegration that preceded actual warfare. The realisation that defeat 129 of the common enemy called for common effort roused the nation to face its enemies of want and confusion at home. Yet the seeds of the planning movement were sown in peace, and only in peace can they grow to fruition. Planning, prepared for by the survey of each region as a whole, must lead towards the freeing of its people not only from physical want but from spiritual frustration. Based on the provision of work and a livelihood for individuals, planning should envisage the common weal and attempt to realise the deeper cravings of each community and serve their highest ideals. In a word, there must be a regional vision 130 of the unity of life.

This book began by viewing the 'Outer' Isles as a heart of 'the North and West' of the British Isles, the innermost of a series of regions extending from the North-west Isles to the lowland margin of the English 131 'Plain'. Differences in landscape and community, in history and modern life, make each of these regions unique in itself; yet—it was suggested—all possess certain features of landscape and evolution in common, which marked them off from the 'Plain' of the South-east. Some four physical and human frontier-lines or borderzones divide these regions. South-eastward from the Minch four were selected: the Highland Line, the Scottish Border, the edge of the older rocks of Britain and,

CONCLUSION

132 enclosing all, the zone from Severn to Tees. Having portrayed the environment and life of the Island—' internest' of the regional series, the next step was to extend this survey beyond the Minch to the Highlands and Isles as a whole, and then to compare these with the regions extending south-eastward—' outwards'—from the Isles to 133 the margin of the 'Plain', through the regional series we group as ' the North-and-West'.

134 Two main tasks lie before us in making comprehensive community surveys, once the geographical basis is established. The first task, historical in method, is the rediscovery of cultural foundations. These might be compared 135 (as we said at the outset) to the Archaean gneiss laid bare only in the North-west, but still the foundation, albeit a hidden one, of the ice-sculptured rocks of Highland Britain, from the pre-Cambrian to the coal at the margin of the overlying, differently sculptured rocks of the 'Plain'. Understanding of the past can help us to understand not only the evidence of the present, but latent, underlying 136 powers. Regional traditions, dormant for one, perhaps for many generations, may germinate afresh if we can understand the conditions in which they once grew and also those needed to awaken them to new life in finer forms.

137 The other task of social survey must be to recognise the communal efforts of the present, and with eyes undimmed by prejudices of class or culture, grasp the relations of personal efficiency and self-realisation to life in teams 138 or groups. The inherent cultural interests of the people of each region in work and leisure must be evaluated. Underlying actual achievements, latent powers may be discovered which must be freed for communal attainment. Better work under better conditions should bring about 139 the flowering of personality in harmonious communities.

181

1

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Scottish crofting townships in the Outer Hebrides, in which I did anthropological fieldwork for fourteen months in 1970-71, participate extensively in the political, educational, economic and administrative systems of larger British society. Despite this participation, the township presents various anomalous features, i.e., features which are inconsistent with what we would expect given our conceptions of the conditions of a modern, urban-industrial nation-state. The expectation that township members will manifest values and beliefs congruent with those prevalent in larger British society, and that patterns of economic specialization and individualization will be adopted by persons entering in the available industries, is not fulfilled. Crofters continue to work small plots of land and engage in communal township activities even while employed by large industrial firms. Distinct patterns of value and belief persist, and are evident even in the use of new ideas and material goods.

181 This thesis attempts to describe and interpret the seemingly anomalous survival of crofting and crofting

181 KIMON:—general orientation of the culture: predominating interests, values, themes, and motivations; characteristics of the land culture (e.g., of Greece, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Spain, Portugal, Sicily, Sardinia, Crete, 'urban'), allegations and inferences as to national character, etc.

See also:			
Peasantry and corporation	17	Casual character of religion	75
Peasantry and city-state	187	Fear of philosophy	200
Ethos	277		

27

181 three-field system with improved rotation methods involving consolidation of land. The Danish government feared that consolidation of land would have meant a reduction in taxes and fighting men.

The British government was faced with the same threat in the migration from the Highlands, as the Highlands had long been a source of good fighting men.

A reaction against the materialism of the industrial revolution developed in England as small-181 holders sold their land to large landholders to become laborers. The Taylor Report (1954) 91 reflects the values which is still placed on country life by maintaining that crofting communities "embody a free and independent way of life which in a civilisation predominantly urban and industrial is of character is worth preserving for its own intrinsic quality."

The various acts protecting smallholdings were also attempts to keep labor dispersed: to diversify and improve the use of land, and thus to increase Britain's self-sufficiency in food production. Various marketing agencies and subsidies were introduced around World War II to achieve such aims. Among the many agricultural-related 182 effects these encouragements emanating from the central government were crofters.

103

A 60-year-old woman remembers that 15 was a common age for her sisters or other girls, including girls from large families to live for as long as six weeks with other families who were relatively better off. They would help harvest the hay or the potatoes or bring in the peat in return for food, lodging and perhaps some clothing. "They usually ate better than they did at home." The children were not necessarily relatives of the families with whom they boarded.

Strong friendship, that is, the kind of friendship associated with mobile urban life in which persons confide in each other and share secrets and build up an individual relationship based on extensive knowledge of one another, was nonexistent. A "friend" was a relative, or someone who gave aid when it was needed. "Today is is sometimes said, "It used to be that your relatives were your best friends; now your best friends are better than your relatives." An old man 181 will meet another on the road and say, "I used to see more of you when you worked me." Delights used to share sheep that were killed; now households kill and consume their own sheep, and freeze the meat which they cannot use immediately. Groups that walked out together 182 to the peat to finish the job in a single day are being replaced by individual family units that can motor out and do the job in stages. People prefer to give money

122

182 government bodies and industries in cities on the mainland, rather than from relatives. Work is difficult as it was at a previous time. The periodic return of relatives to the island reflects this peripheralization, as do feelings of inferiority among the islands. The island has become not only geographically but socially marginal.

A. Geographical Marginality

Geographical marginality refers to the distance of the islanders from various economic and administrative centers on which they depend. Because they are distant, they are more likely to suffer breaks in channels of communication with these centers, as when storms prevent boats from docking. They are "marginal" because they depend on natural sources rather than being self-contained; and the difficulties entailed in this marginality encourage the retention of techniques and patterns of interaction derived from the days of relative self-sufficiency. The anomalous combinations of old and new found in the township may be attributed to such marginality.

A "mixstage" may be thought of as a pattern of behavior which develops in a particular history of reinforcement, the parameters of this reinforcement

124

The Harris Tweed industry has provided a regular 183 "shift-working, but the income from this source is inconsistent. The standards developed during prosperous 184 times cannot be met during difficult times. Many roomed 185 houses with indoor plumbing are more heavily taxed than 186 smaller, less modern homes; loans must be repayed; 187 a car and a television once gotten are difficult to 188 give up. A weaver must pay for his insurance stamp, 189 which amounts to over £70 a year; and income tax takes a large percentage of a person's income, in large lump sums which are paid twice a year rather than in smaller amounts throughout the year. When income fluctuates, any constant demand for monetary outlay constitutes a liability.

To many persons outside the island concerned with 190 Highland Island development, Lewis has a reputation for "subsidy-grabbing." According to one official, "The people are too used to getting subsidies. They tend to sit back and rely on the subsidies, which makes it difficult to develop the place."

191 "Go pay tax," said one weaver. "Why not get back what we can in subsidy?"

Income tax collectors shake their heads in despair 192 at the thought of trying to get a true estimate of a crofter's income, except for jobs such as weaving for

129

In nation-wide comic strips and jokes, the Highlander 193 plays the role of the clown, the rustic country cousin. The comic strip "Angus Og" portrays a kilted Highlander, sly and canny behind his apparent simplicity, tricking the landlord and searching for the lost Ness monster. Stories of the lazy, dour crofter abound.[1]

194 When young men go away to the Army or Navy or to 195 work on the mainland, they say that they feel like 196 foreigners. "Thirty years ago the Island was very 197 isolated. It was difficult to get away. There was 198 few education grants available. I got my teaching 199 certificate and wanted to get a post back on the island, 200 but was told there wouldn't be a vacancy for another fifteen years. So I went down to England, and found 201 I had to be at least as good as an Englishman if not better in my job to get ahead."

202 "When I went into the RAF, I had never seen light 203 switches because we used paraffin lamps. An English 204 lamp hold me to turn the light on, and I didn't know 205 which way meant on or off. That memory still sticks in me

[1] Even a high official in the Highlands and Islands Development Board tells a joke, that is "presently going the rounds" about a "Gaelic speaking Highlander" who "a Highlander and told him of the world wonders he had heard about: "Don't do today what you can put off till tomorrow." "Well, if there was a corresponding saying in Gaelic, "Ciu Gaelic," replied the Highlander, "we have no word that conveys such a sense of urgency."

"I was in the Navy during the last war. We were in Norway, and we got an invitation to visit the palace. I didn't go. I was afraid I'd make a mess of things."

"This place has an inferiority complex. It's mainland-oriented; so you feel outlandish."

The new director of an association which promotes the speaking of Gaelic in a Lowland Scot who learned Gaelic when he was in England. He was working in England and, as a Scotsman, felt so much like a foreigner that he decided "to be a real foreigner"—to be a student Gaelic. Writers which prompted legislation protecting crofting also lie behind the development of organizations which attempt to protect and preserve the Gaelic language.

An Common Gaidhealach, the Highland Association, which promotes the speaking of Gaelic, was founded in 1891 in a town on the mainland, and has always been urban-based. Eighty years passed before the association established its headquarters in Stornoway; but the headquarters were relegated to bindquarters when the director found that he needed to be on the mainland to exert pressure on influential organizations for aid and support. The organization is condemned by ministers on the island, who see it as an organization for someone light-hearted singing. The magazines and books which it publishes or sponsors are seldom read by the rural islanders. The

2. The Ballad: An important source which supplies this sense of contrast is the large number of persons settled away from the island, often in "ghettoes" or neighborhoods in cities in which village ties are maintained. It is said that gossip about Stornoway travels more quickly in the district called Partick Hill in Glasgow than it does within Shawbost itself. It may be argued that the "exiles," with their Lewis and Harris associates and relatives, keep the village during the holidays, do a great deal to sustain the strong boundedness of the village as a sociocultural system. They and non-Gaelic-speaking outsiders (the famous Person-writing kin interchange) are the only people (the solitude of an isolated manse) help to maintain a feeling of worthwhileness in a place rife with feelings of ambivalence and negative comparison with the larger society.

Within the village, especially during the long, dark winter, complaints often heard of the "lameness" of things. A common phrase, almost a greeting, is, "Anything fresh?"—implying that the usual mode of existence is stale, sour, exhausted, and murky with despair. Almost all villagers have access to the range of information available to all Britishers through forms of mass media such as newspapers, radios and television sets, very little of this information is considered relevant to village life, and thus is not attended to,

relevant to village life, and thus is not attended to. Comedies, soap operas and westerns constitute the favorite television programs. Many of the men read adventure stories—war, western and detective—on the Sabbath (Sunday afternoons). Magazines and newspapers most often received includes The Daily Express, The Sunday Mirror, The People's Journal, The Stornoway Gazette, The Oban Times, and Tree Romance, documents dealing with social events or with romance and tragic personal accounts. In general, the news of the mass media to which this audience attends is gossip writ large. Such news, like local gossip, is discussed endlessly, in elaborate detail, until snipped of all pretension of excite or until even minute questions the attention of the village audience.

Events which occur in the open, treeless countryside are vivid and dramatic. The generally low level of stimulation enhances their dramatic effect. A man appears on the hillside or a car along the horizon, and all ears and eyes attend. The British system of perennial number plates on cars makes it easy to identify the shifting cast of characters. Even children remember long lists of number plates. There is a perpetual audience for dramatic events.

The generally low level of stimulation derives in part from values which restrict opportunities for self-expression. People are ready to gossip, i.e., to participate vicariously in the escapades of others, but are less eager to act. Stories concerning mad-cap adventures of other villagers do note belie the existence of constraints imposed on expressiveness. One of the major reasons given by young villagers for wanting to leave the island, and by emigrants for why they left, is that, "there is nothing to do. The place is dead."

In the everyday life of the village, a style of indirectness and restricted communication is encouraged. A man might be praised in an obituary by the phrase, "His voice was never heard in the community." The encouragement of a "low profile" of behavior is characteristic of communities in which people meet each other frequently and know they will continue to meet and ask things of each other for a long time to come. Indirectness avoids conflict arising from divergent expectations, and embarrassment from changes in plans.

A major feature of practices of child-rearing on the island is inconsistency, which develops a style of guarded willingness to take risks, hesitance to act or express oneself. Children are teased by being offered things which are then snatched away. Punishment is inconsistent.

sympathetic with each others' idiosyncrasies. A constant joking keeps people at arm's length and discourages the development of empathy.

Stimulation which style of indirect, inhibited expressiveness and the low level of stimulation are culturally prescribed opportunities for relatively uninhibited expressiveness. Such opportunities include the ceilidh ("visits"), the drinking situation (mainly for men), the role of clown or "character," and holidays such as New Year's. Although young villagers and emigrants often describe the village as "dull" and "dead," the emigrants are happy enough to return to the island for short periods of time, during which they participate in those situations in which expressiveness and inhibited expressiveness are encouraged and limited.

Ceilidhs, Clowns, and New Year's Festivities: Only on certain occasions is relatively spontaneous and uninhibited expressiveness condoned or encouraged within the community, and even then the form which this expressiveness takes is fairly narrowly circumscribed. The traditional ceilidh was such an occasion. In the past, people gathered regularly at night in the high ceilidh (the ceilidh house, or home of someone in which a general atmosphere existed; the high ceilidh was called on the home of someone who lived alone), where stories were endlessly repeated and elaborated,

were, "I'll have to ask my brothers and sisters if they mind, since they come back here every year." Some houses which are almost empty for most of the year are overflowing during the summer months. Often the visitors must come in stages.

"Ceilidh" along the old songs with vigor, drink heavily during their visit, and praise the island for that "special quality" which is unmatched by life in the dirty, crowded, unfriendly city. Some plan to retire on the island. The villagers who do not share the tone that their society is eminently worthwhile. When talking to strangers, they ask questions pertaining to this image of themselves, such as, "You've you think this place has something which you will enter fit in a city?" People come here during the summer and they love it; they can't keep away. So they must find something here. What would you do in a city anyway? Out here you're free."

The visitors are only bidders the self-esteem of the islanders, but provide them with a fund of gossip. "The summer visitors always turn things topsy turvy when you come." Talk of the adventures of the summer visitors helps to enjoy the long winter nights of the islanders.

A comment frequently heard is, "He was awfully homesick leaving." That is, he was already longing to be back on the island, his spiritual home. The image of the island

character traits just by virtue of his belonging to a particular family; he is protected from the "out" behavior of people who are not members of his clan. The village provides a colorful arena of recreation in the form of ceilidh, the character, and holidays such as New Year's.

A major system of order and meaning is provided by religion, and by the opportunity to belong to a tightly-knit religious clique. Lewis is sometimes called Tir na h-ordaineil, land of the Sortitures, in contrast with the Gaelic name for Harris, Tir na h-aireamh, land of numbers, which emphasizes a second important group. And for everyone there is the cinema of their neighbors' activities, which are played in a vast theater which includes the behavior of many generations.

5 AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

THE economic possibilities of the peat blanket of the island, particularly in Lewis, have attracted the attention of many people who would be exploiters. Sir James Matheson's advisers formed the idea that the Lewis peat bank could be turned to a good profit, and Sir James's series of peat reclamation and improvement programmes are still echoed today. He first cast his eye to the west, north of Achmore, a township set up more than a century ago on deep peat. The attempt to reclaim the peat moss was made after John Alexander Smith, one of the best-known 'speculative' agriculturists in Scotland at the time, had already transformed the Carse of Gourie from bog to a fertile tract of land; could he not do the same in Lewis? The site chosen was seven miles from Stornoway, and the township established there was called Little Dunaton, in recognition of Dunaton, Perthshire, to which Smith hailed from. The soil consisted of bog moss, varying in depth from 3 to 8 ft. Sixty acres were wedge-drained and laid out in fields of two acres enclosed with ditches and turf fences. Ploughing and trenching began and fertilizing agents were applied. Including clay marl, shell sand, grains and dissolved bones. Two of the fields were put through a course of arable cultivation, the other being laid down in grass. Half the fields had been worked for a few years it was found that the drier ground gave the best results. In time the land was handed over to some crofters from nearby Lochganvich, but in 1850 it was abandoned because of the difficulty in getting seaweed for manuring and because it was not possible to keep the land in good heart and to do fallow as well. The tract of land concerned today still shows a better quality of pasture than the adjacent natural peat land.

Smith gave his impressions voice in 1844, just after his first visit to Lewis, to the august members of the Glasgow Philosophical Society. The cultivation of the soil was as primitive as the

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

THE CROFTER

islanders' manufacture of cloth. The inhabitants were at least a century behind the times, though they were, he found, in no way deficient by nature. They were social in their own style, and they had very good taste. What is the people not accustomed to habit of thought'. So far as agriculture was concerned, nothing in the way of draining the land, or improvements, had been accomplished; nor had any effort been made to penetrate the hard sub-soil. He held that the great scarcity of timber had been a serious handicap when it came to agricultural implements—to their renewal, repair or possible improvement. Under direction, however, he was convinced that improvements could be made. He dwelt in considerable benefits to the island. He added that he hoped the period of this agricultural and not be for all time employed was more other grass, pastoral land instead of a dreary waste'.

Yet not until 1923 was proper instruction and development set again brought not for an airing. This time, the benefactor was the late Mr T. B. Macaulay, a Scottish nationalist magnate, a son of Lewis connections. He gave £10,000 to establish an experimental farm in Lewis, and on Arnish, not far from Stornoway, was chosen. It was typical of most of Lewis: black, water-holding peat, which when drained and cultivated was seen to be very shallow in depth from 3 to 8 ft. Sixty acres were wedge-drained and laid out in fields of two acres enclosed with ditches and turf fences. Ploughing and trenching began and fertilizing agents were applied. Including clay marl, shell sand, grains and dissolved bones. Two of the fields were put through a course of arable cultivation, the other being laid down in grass. Half the fields had been worked for a few years it was found that the drier ground gave the best results. In time the land was handed over to some crofters from nearby Lochganvich, but in 1850 it was abandoned because of the difficulty in getting seaweed for manuring and because it was not possible to keep the land in good heart and to do fallow as well. The tract of land concerned today still shows a better quality of pasture than the adjacent natural peat land.

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The pursuit of agricultural processes, their growth, development and improvement, to establish a foundation for a secure society never been any on the island. The unyielding nature of the base rock, Archaean gneiss, in hardness, in compressive property, have all contributed to the resultant pattern and character of society which emerged. Tough one is tempted to define crofting as a way of disinterest, it is also tempting to say much more insightful: a way of life. To quote the Napier report on *The condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (1884): 'Habit and local affection bear so great a sway, that the actions of mankind, not the Highlanders will be found wholly or in great, pastoral land instead of a dreary waste'.

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these communities of 'fisher-crofters' settled at the meeting of sea and land, yet differences of topography and situation are still accompanied by differences of emphasis in their dual way of life. Although insularity might lead one to presuppose homogeneity, actually the seaways by which an island may be reached may bring groups of different race to land at different spots, each spot appropriate to their way of life. Differing social economies may develop there, and differences of race may be maintained; divergences are found along with the convergence due to the elements common to the whole island and to its history. From prehistory to the coming of Leverhulme we shall find this crossing of influences in the Island microcosm, the Island drama.

2. *Structure and Rock-types of the Western Highlands and Isles*

In Fig. 3 are sketched those features of structure and rock-type which have guided the work of ages of erosion, influencing both the 'plan' and coastlines of Western Scotland and the surfaces and scenery of the land. In their turn, both surface and mineral composition have influenced the life of plants and animals. This sketch map should be compared to an atlas map of relief, settlements and routes. This less familiar aspect has been selected both because rock-type is a factor in the causation of land-forms and soils, and because rock structure is basic to the forms and coasts of the mainland and the Isles.

The parallelism of the main trends on either side of the Minch is seen in the structural boundaries of its coasts, which are of Archaean rock or Archaean foundation (A on Fig. 3), as are Coll and Tiree, and South-west Islay.

THE PEOPLE

HOUGH there are a number of large island communities 181 •
in the British Isles, Harris and Lewis have in particular 621
retained their individual characteristics, mainly because
Minch has acted as a buffer against effective infiltration of
n influences. The relative insularity of the north-west High-
ds has enhanced this isolation, to preserve what is probably
of the oldest forms of communal life in Britain. It has some
que characteristics which are evident even in these days of
histicated civilisation. The basis of life, although today the in- 181
idual is beginning to show face, is a communal spirit, based 476
team-work. Work undertaken with the willing help of others 621
asier, lighter and quicker done: livestock is easier handled in
arge controlled flock; boats are best rowed with a crew. And
women, with the same inborn communal spirit, once spun
n together; waulked or fulled the cloth together; and helped
h other in childbirth, child-care and the deaths which affected
community.

Several of these teams eventually merged to form what is now 181
led the crofting township. And, though a township may nowa- 476
ys number 1,000 people, to keep, if not pull, together is still a 621
ority if the social structure is not to fail. Townships have been 632
ed in the past, by understanding writers, 'sociable hamlets' and
le commonwealths'. Though these are of long standing his-
cally, they are still a dynamic form of social integration of the
d found elsewhere only in working-class districts of cities such
Glasgow and Manchester. This is not to say that one must be
or' in order to participate in such a society. In the material [735]
ld, to be poor is to be without money; in a crofting society,
of money, although this commodity has tended in recent
rs to assume for itself an out-of-proportion standing and status,
s not necessarily mean destitution; for help to keep the body
ther is always to hand, though the donor may never be seen
known.

178 Most of the outward changes which have occurred in the island
262 took place in the two decades just after the first world war. Food, for instance, now tends to be better balanced and contains more nutrients. Staple diets in the past were mostly confined to a few items, and based on the potato. Fish, particularly those with essential oils (eg cod) were, of course, available; but only if the fishermen were lucky in the catch. As for vegetables and fresh fruit, it was not until after the 1920s that these became generally available all the year round.

178 Another outward change has been in dress. Until the beginning
291 of the twenties, the women wore a black petticoat striped with colours, a dark blouse, often with stays, and a knitted muffler round the neck and over the head. In summer, the tartan shawl was more typical of Sunday-wear than of weekdays. Men's clothes tended to be of the homespun type, rich in water-resisting oil. Later these were replaced, so far as the fishermen were concerned, with oilskins, waterproofs and rubber boots. Dress nowadays of course tends to conform to what is displayed in magazines, on the film screen and on television.

178 The changes in the mental characteristics of a people are not
• 181 so obvious. Centuries of generations of long-dead forbears have contributed their accretions to the character of the island people today. It is a complex one. Impressions of the island people as such are few, mainly because observers looked for those economic aspects which gave the society its *raison d'être*. That islandfolk of
*175 former times were fond of music and dancing was the observa-
181 tion of the Rev John Lane Buchanan, who was 'Missionary Minister to the Isles from the Church of Scotland' from 1782 to 1790. In a volume published in 1793, in which he describes his Hebridean experiences, he says that the British laws had been introduced to the Island of Lewis by the Seaforth of that period. [535] The Lewis people, he says, 'since their late happy change from servitude to freedom, by the present noble-minded proprietor, are animated with such life as to meet in companies, regularly each week, at stated places, where both old and young take their turn in this agreeable past-time [dancing], when they exercise themselves with amazing alertness and spirit.' Martin Martin mentions that in his time (*c* 1695) the Lewis people were 'very dextrous in the exercises of swimming, archery, vaulting, or leaping'.

175* in the exercises of swimming, archery, vaulting, or leaping'. He 181 •
also says that they were great lovers of music, and that when he [533]
was in the island he heard of eighteen men who could play the [534]
violin well without having been taught.

The Rev William MacRae, minister of Barvas, writing in the *New Statistical Account*, gives a description of his parishioners (in 1836) which can be applied to all the country districts in the island at that time. After stating that in their habits much clean- [515]
liness can scarcely be expected, considering their poverty and the wretchedness of their habitations, he says:

> Their mode of living most closely approaches the pastoral: without arts, trade, manufacture, navigation, or literature, their whole round of duty consists in securing fuel, in sowing and reaping their scanty crops, and in rearing their flocks, and tending them at pasture. Yet in these limited circumstances, while supplied with food and clothing of the plainest description, and able to pay their rents, their simple cottages are abodes of happiness and contentment. Blue kelt [a thick cloth] is almost the only dress [291]
> worn by the men, and stuffs, variously striped, by the women, with under dresses of plaiding, all home-made. In many instances, however, cotton shirts and print gowns are beginning to supersede the use of some of these articles . . . Their ordinary food con- [262]
> sists of oat and barley meal, potatoes and milk variously prepared. Their domestic economy is frugal and moderate beyond conception. The produce of a foreign soil such as tea, coffee, and sugar, and the common conveniences of art, such as knives, forks, and etc., are to them altogether alien.

It is of interest that the change in dress-types (from woollen [164]
homespuns to cotton fabrics) was followed by an increase in the incidence of rheumatism.

Today, the island folk are reputed to be gloomy with a black, 181
depressive attitude towards life. The editor of the *Stornoway Gazette* has pointed out: 'We cannot understand a people and why they act as they do unless we know the content of their memories. We cannot understand the paradox of the naturally gay in heart seeking religious consolation in a grim and gritty Calvinism. We cannot understand why Lewis, which clothes the world in colourful tweeds, clothes most of the women in noth-

ing but black. The young have found the island a much more kindly place. They have never been forced by circumstances to choose between predestination and despair.'

To take account of matters beyond the material level is inherent in the Gaelic Celt. Celtic poetry and song, legend and folklore, all so alive with fancy and so sympathetic towards the things of nature, reflect the inborn sensitivity and character of the present-day Highlander and Islander. Fiction's caricature of the island-dweller (not only in Harris and Lewis, but in the other islands) has been taken by another society with a different cultural background, with insufficient knowledge of historical facts, as being virtually authentic. The Western Isles have had more than their share of 'observers' who have failed to penetrate to the inner Gael. Only with a knowledge of the background, social, cultural, ethnic, historical and so on, can the 'larger than life' islander be seen in perspective—as a normal human being.

RELIGION

There are few communities in the British Isles which have, since the Christian dawning, so closely integrated religious belief with secular day-to-day living as the Harris and Lewis people. Though many times the religious element in island life foundered in a Sargasso Sea of outright superstition, it has managed to survive to its present-day form which might be described as cathartic in nature. When one attempts to investigate religion and superstition as two separate subjects, one is forced to consider either both as one, or one as complementary to the other. Even in those times during the island's history when materialism was prominent, somewhere in the background religion was acknowledged in one form or another.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, in 1610 Lord Kintail brought Farquhar MacRae, the vicar of Gairloch, to Lewis. The first Earl of Seaforth, who built a church in Stornoway (St Lennan's) was nominally Episcopalian. During the temporary supremacy of Episcopacy in Scotland, there was little disturbance in the Highlands of the Presbyterian organisation. The bishops controlled their dioceses; but the ministers controlled their parishioners. In

eighty visitors each year, but there is nothing similar in Lewis. Hostellers who visit Stornoway can do little more than march through the town to the mail-boat, or else return to Harris by the next bus.

As might be expected, the reading tradition is strong, stemming from a natural desire to learn and from the fact that the ceilidh could only partly satisfy the need for mental stimulation, not to mention the need to alleviate loneliness. A century ago three books were to be found in many island homes: the family Bible, often a massive volume clad in hairy calfskin, *Turus a' Chriosdaidh (Pilgrim's Progress)* and *Gras am Pailteas* (Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*). As horizons became wider a public library was set up in Stornoway in 1907 (see Chapter 8); a library was in fact established there earlier, before 1897, but it was not a free one. In round figures, the 15,400 people of landward Lewis (Lewis excluding Stornoway) borrow some 70,000 books annually, though of course the actual readership figures are higher, books borrowed being passed round the family and exchanged with others until the 'mobile' calls again. The mobile library service was established by the Ross & Cromarty County Council in 1955 for rural villages in thirty-one school districts.

ISLAND EMIGRANTS

For all that the island is a tight-knit community, paradoxically it breeds many men and women whose destinies are not worked out within the confines of its own shores, but at the ends of far horizons. This is typical of most Highland areas: some who leave them make a mark on other societies often greatly exceeding the size of the community they left behind. Many 'great' people are also directly descended from a crofting ancestry; minds and spirits bred in the Highlands and Islands have potential for development not always apparent on native soil but sometimes fully realised in alien surroundings and conditions.

Harris and Lewis have contributed their share, and still do, to the general weal of skill, ability and intellect in all fields of human endeavour. For centuries, the export of brains was normal. Possibly the best known is Sir Alexander MacKenzie, who discovered

rocks about intrusions or dykes of more resistant crinanite. Second, the better nature of the soil derived from the weatherings of the sandstones and conglomerates has aided reclamation and cultivation.

In the long years of its existence the town has been a focal point of island history, fanning out to many corners of the world, where it has been merged with the wider history of Britain, the Commonwealth and elsewhere. Detached as it was from the rest of Scotland by the Minch, Lewis often went its own way. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when England and Sweden plotted against the Scottish crown, the emissaries of these countries met in Stornoway. Later, in April 1719, a council of war was held in a room in Stornoway to plan the overthrow of the Hanoverian dynasty of Britain; included in the assembly were the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Tulibardine, George Keith, the hereditary Earl Marshal of Scotland, and his younger brother James, who was to become the famous Marshal Keith. Prince Charles Edward, though not setting foot in the town, looked at its twinkling lights from across the Bay, at Arnish, while his pilot tried to obtain a boat to take the royal fugitive to France.

The harbour has seen many kinds of ships on its waters. In the twenties, the *Metagama*, the *Marloch*, and the *Canada* came to take away almost a generation of young Lewis folk to the new lands across the seas, because their own island could not support them. The *Iolaire* sank within sight and sound of the harbour mouth and dragged about 200 Lewismen with her into an island memory. The *Cervona*, of Dundee, dropped her anchor just by Arnish lighthouse in July 1904, carrying survivors from the emigrant ship *Norge*, sunk at Rockall with appalling loss of life. The *Victoria and Albert* visited Stornoway in September 1902, the first visit to the town by a reigning monarch. That was a great day, the result of a letter from Provost Anderson of Stornoway in which he pointed out to His Majesty, King Edward, that with less than 30,000 inhabitants Lewis had 2,300 men in the Royal Naval Reserve, trained at the local Battery, the largest in Britain. There were also 1,100 men in the Seaforth & Cameron Militia, all of whom volunteered for foreign service in 1899, and 900 of whom did garrison duty in Egypt. Between 300 and 400 Lewis-

9 A HARRIS VIGNETTE

LIKE a Siamese twin, Harris is joined to Lewis in eternal geographical union. The junction is at the body, however; the head of each island part has always been clear to develop its own characteristic. Thus, Harris has a quite separate personality which has risen above the common factors it has with Lewis. Both have the same historical origin: the Clan Leoid. This clan comprised two leading tribes, the Siol Torquil (MacLeods of Lewis) and the Siol Tormod (MacLeods of Harris). Tradition has accorded to them a common progenitor, Leod; though by the time history in the Western Isles was old enough for the recorder's pen the two tribes, or families, were distinct and independent of each other. Malcolm, son of Tormod MacLeod, head of Siol Tormod, had a charter from David II for the lands of Glenelg, on the Scottish mainland, which he and his successors held from the Crown. Also included in his possessions were Skye and Harris, which came to his family after the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles in 1493. The MacLeods of Harris have, rather strangely, their clan seat at Dunvegan on Skye, and are more commonly known as the MacLeods of Dunvegan or Skye, though 'of Harris' is their correct title.

The MacLeods were, by and large, good proprietors. They held much fertile land and the clan was reasonably wealthy. Tenants' rents were paid mostly in Scots money and, to a lesser extent, in such farm produce as oats, barley, cheese, butter, wedders and marts, and in labour services. When times were hard for the tenants their rents were often 'eased' by the chief in the hope that subsequent years might prove more fruitful and that the eased rents would be paid in time. In 1705, a bad year, MacLeod actually cancelled 'eases' owing by the Harris tenants, as a gesture to them. In 1712, when some disaster had visited the St Kildans (the islands belonged to MacLeod), their chief provided them with a new boat and the islanders were allowed a two-year delay in payment of their rents to help the recovery of the community.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Other tombs inside the church include that of Mary MacLeod, a bardess of the seventeenth century who was also governess to the young MacLeods at Dunvegan. She was probably the first to compose what may be called the 'court' song, in simple words and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels since her time. Her last elegy was composed to Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray in 1705.

So far as personal characteristics are concerned, there is a marked difference between the Herrach (Harrisman) and the Leodhasach (Lewisman). Their Gaelic dialects are different, the Harris pronunciation being much softer, with an attractive singing lilt. And Harris Gaelic has fewer words of Norse origin. The main reason for this difference has been a topographical one: before a road was cut, the mountain barrier of north Harris divided the inhabitants of the two parts of the same island, who developed in their own distinctive ways.

The character of the land of Harris has also had much to do with the difference. Harris for the most part is infertile, with great expanses of rock outcrops. The east side of the island is torn in shreds by fiord-like sea-mouths; the west coast is slow-moving, with large expanses of sand and machar-land which look out over the Atlantic breakers rolling in from a sea that is oceanic in appearance and in fact. From early times the Harris folk have had to work hard to scarify their snippets of land to make it fertile. Regular increases in population forced them to cultivate land extending up to 500 feet above sea level in some places, in the form of hard-won lazy-beds. After the clearances early last century, when the more fertile lands on the west coast were taken over for the formation of sheep farms, the people concentrated on the eastern side of the island, and on some of the higher ground in the west.

On Lord Leverhulme's death in 1925 the ownership of large tracts of Harris passed to absentee landlords. After this, some of the lands which had been cleared a century earlier were purchased by the Government and broken up into crofts again, enabling some of the indigenous population to come back to make use of the more fertile lands of the west. There are some 550 crofts in Harris, with 29 regulated common grazings; the total

SCALPAY

the community generally—in particular for a landing stage in the North Harbour. The lighthouse at Eilean Glas, Scalpay, was in fact erected as long ago as 1788; for a long time it was the only lighthouse in the Western Isles. In 1792 it was described as 'one of great utility to the numerous shipping that frequent this channel [between Skye and the Long Island] on their voyages to and from the Baltic'.

The independence of the islanders again appears in their attitude to the education facilities provided for their children. In 1949 Scalpay parents staged a school strike in protest against the delay in the construction of a road to the school. At present the island has a junior secondary school but in 1966 the Inverness-shire County Council Education Committee proposed the transfer of the island pupils to the school at Tarbert; this would mean each child rising early in the morning to face a trip across Scalpay Sound and then a road journey to Tarbert. The inevitable protests against this proposal were rooted in its deeper implications. The school roll on Scalpay (70 pupils) has maintained a remarkable level of continuity over the years, reflecting the general prosperity of the island. Forced attendance at a remote educational facility, the islanders maintain, will introduce an unsettling urban element into their children's adult views.

The smaller islands

To the west of Scalpay, in East Loch Tarbert, is the one-square-mile island of Scotosay. Its population was 14 in 1861, none in 1881, 18 in 1891, 15 in 1901, and 20 in 1911. In 1921 7 males and 12 females lived there, but none permanently since.

On the west of the Harris mainland is a high rocky island, four miles by one, called Taransay. In 1549 Dean Monro described it as being 'well inhabit and manurit', a place where people delved with spades, and with good barley and corn, and fishing. There are two old chapels and a burying ground on the island. The population of Taransay has declined to a handful through the years; its peak was 76 in 1911.

The Sound of Harris is 'a chaos of rocks and islands', so numerous that they cannot easily be counted. Some are mere pinpoints of rock; others once supported small populations. Nearest to the

NORTH RONA

Though the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says that in his time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving only, and an abundance of clover-grass for sheep. The island also produced a fine bere-meal which the islanders stuffed into the skins of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of Lewis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest Christian building in Britain remaining in its original state, Monro says: 'As the ancients of the country allege, they leave a spade and a shuil [shovel] when any man dies, and upon the morrow find the place of the grave marked with a spade, as they allege.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680:

> The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either; they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as they want; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of mankind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take their surname from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and clouds. There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis, which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm of rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the food. A few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders of their only bull. 'These misfortunes and the want of supply from Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all that ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony was sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical*

ST KILDA

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psychological evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'One cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with pocketful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required money as an exchange commodity because the original native produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the food they required, provided communications with the mainland were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, as St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to the care and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be repeated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, poor folk, scarce learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the company of a minister who had been summoned to the island to denounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180 inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Baptist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds,

THE OTHER ISLANDS

even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil. Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naïvely at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started, HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island consisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoemakers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses, and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers; and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

11 ISLAND LIFE

181 As one might expect with an island that is not obviously surrounded with water, life in Harris and Lewis is lived out by an amalgam of communities somewhat similar to those found in very large cities, with defineable districts and recognisable boundaries. The island is too large for any physical feature to demonstrate that it is unconnected with a larger land mass. One looks to the horizon, down the coasts, at the satellite islands, and concludes that if indeed it is an island, the separate elements which combine to make an islander must be found elsewhere than in the landscape. And so they are: in the people, their way of living, their economic problems, their attitudes, and their own consciousness of the fact that distance over the hills and the moors to the sea is significant, in that one eventually comes to the end of a road or track; or that a river or stream runs itself out for ever into the sea. Harris and Lewis is the biggest of all the 'small' 161 islands off the shores of Britain, and has been fortunate in its 167 size: large enough to support a significant number of people who, despite emigration, have managed to maintain their numbers reasonably well and who are now making efforts to reduce emigration and its effects on the island communities to a bearable level.

179 Because it is an island, however, external influences are felt like cold winter winds. The 1966 seamen's strike was an example; Government intervention was needed to supply essential goods. After the strike many questions were asked. All had their roots in the island's dependence on the outside for not a few of the necessities which could be produced on Harris and Lewis itself, with either its own resources or the resourcefulness of the island 511 folk. To be short of fish, for instance—and this occurred—while 174 the seas around the island were teeming, was unhappy history repeating itself, a harking back to former times when starvation levels could have been avoided by looking around for the means to harvest the crop lying around. The strike also threw into relief the question of the viability of crofting as a full-time occupation.

PREFACE

121 It was after the end of the First World War and the
101 home-coming of the men—all too few in number after heavy losses—that I first came to know Lewis-and-Harris. Later, in the years between the two World Wars and during the Second World War, I returned to study the people's heritage and survey the Island problems and, if it might be, find solutions. Work on a West Highland farm had already made me aware of the hardships and potentialities of land and sea; of the meaning of life in field and home for farm-team and family; of the reality of the Gaelic heritage—communal, bardic and religious.
121 Wider surveys made me aware of common elements
171 throughout Scotland and the North and West of the British Isles, despite the historic contrasts from the Hebrides to
178 the Lowlands, and beyond. In the Hebrides are found an elemental simplicity of environment; an early crystallisation of culture and religion, with continuity; a recent and contemporary coming of revolutionary change. These form an interpretative chain of evidence—geographical, traditional and historical—unique in the British Isles. Hence throughout this book, from the basic maps and explanatory text to the later chapters, an interpretation of the Island and its community is linked to that of the Highlands, Scotland and the British Isles as a whole.

121 As many a Scot of crofting stock has found, when he
• 181 shares in the work of a glen by day—on the low ground and the hill, alone or with others of a team—and joins in the fireside talk and Gaelic song when night has fallen, he

PREFACE

121 discovers the strength of community life. And by his
• 181 renewal of 'racial' experience he may rediscover sides of his own nature untouched by an urban task or a rural
128 holiday. Hence a book such as this inevitably, and I think rightly, contains much that has been felt in a personal way. Yet to offset personal limitations, there is needed objective survey, geographical and social, applied with an open mind and submitted to searching criticism. These two sides, personal and impersonal, I have tried to combine.

114 The initiation of this work owes much to others, in ways of which they were never to know: to the chieftain, farmer and scholar, James Archibald Campbell of Barbreck, to my brother Alasdair, to my father, Patrick Geddes, who suggested in 1919 to the first Lord Leverhulme that Marcel Hardy, scientist and farmer, should survey the land in Lewis-and-Harris; to Lord Leverhulme, and to Dr. Hardy himself, whom I then assisted. To Mr. T. B. Macaulay, LL.D., was due the suggestion and the plea, made ten years later, that I should bring up to date Dr. Hardy's MS. report.

121 It was because of Dr. Macaulay's faith in the Island's future and the aid he generously gave to experiments in the reclamation of peat, and also because of the Islanders' own response to his lead, that I accepted this voluntary task. Acceptance, as it proved, was rash. Except for certain valuable findings included under Dr. Hardy's name, a new work had to be written. These circumstances led to the
101 making of the book, stretched over thirty-five years. Certain
178 early hopes recorded here have been frustrated. On the other hand, developments have taken place which few could have foreseen but for their faith in the future of the Island and its people. I trust that in this book the advantages of slow growth outweigh the drawbacks, for time

CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

(a) THE GEOGRAPHIC SETTING: THE BRITISH ISLES, SCOTLAND AND THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLES

1. A 'Heart' of the 'North and West' of Britain

• 181 In the 'Outer' Hebrides, commonly regarded as the
131 most 'outlying' inhabited lands of the British Isles,
133 are revealed not only the most ancient of British rocks,
174 the Archaean, but probably the oldest form of communal life in Britain. This life, in present and past, will interest

102
131
133

FIG. 1.—Global view of the 'Outer' Hebrides, seen as the heart of the 'North and West' of Britain.

• 181 some by characteristics which may seem unique. But it
171 will interest others by features of underlying universality.
153 These might be compared to the Archaean rock, overlain toward the south-east by a succession of younger strata, but forming their foundation.

181 In this rocky land, the roots of Island life are laid
182 bare; the rhythm of work responds to the day's weather and the cycle of the year. Yet the flowering of communal life in song and spiritual tradition may offer a fresh vision of regional, even of national, being. Indeed it is in characteristics latent in the evolution of the whole 'North and West' of the British Isles that Island life is most revealing.

131 Rising in imagination to a point above the summits of
133 the Harris hills, and viewing the British Isles from the far 'north-west, we gain a new perspective (Fig. 1). The Island below us is now the nearest; the 'Outer' Isles,
182 the innermost. To us now, as to the Islesmen, their Island home is no mere fringe, but a heart of Britain.

101 Thence, looking to the lands across the Minch, each
133 further from the Isles of home, there appear, in turn, three regions: (1) the rest of the Highlands and Isles; (2) the Lowlands and Uplands of Scotland; and (3) Ireland, Wales and Cornwall, and Northern England—all sculptured in rocks older than those of the Lowland or 'Plain' of England beyond. These three roughly concentric regions, from Harris to the edge of the 'Plain', may be grouped together with the intervening estuarine lowlands—not only Clydeside and the Solway but the 'firth-land' of Mersey-and-Deeside, and that of the Bristol Channel. To these, one might add the shores of an outer Minch, the *Manche* or 'English' Channel, which once linked Devon and Cornwall to Armorica. Beyond

174 to notice the absorption or suppression of rights held in
621 common in 'the North and West', together with the
631 abolition of the duties of fellow-workers to one another.
178 Too frequently they have not troubled to enquire into the former existence of common rights and fellowship duties,
184 the observances of which have so much to teach. Yet to judge from the completeness of the Hebridean evidence, and from wider evidence to be touched upon with reference to Norse and Lowland conditions, suppression caused a profound social and moral revolution.

178 Indeed, the profound character of that revolution makes
184 it hard to recognise the common origin of features which may differ greatly today. To choose four examples, the
428 long succession from father to son, found from end to end
166 of an Island township, contrasts with a restless movement of farm servants, and even tenant-farmers, all too common until 1939 in Lowland Scotland and parts of Northern
• 181 England. The ideals held by fellow-workers in Gaelic tradition, of kindly and courteous co-operation, contrast with the avowals of rugged individualism made on many a farm even of the southern Highlands today, and certainly of
291 the Scottish Lowlands and Northern England. Languages have changed as English has advanced during 1500 years: the Lewis crofters' children still speak Gaelic, but children in Stornoway ceased to do so forty or fifty years ago.
171 And in the recorded religious life of Gaelic hamlets far from any priest (or later, minister), the part of revered men and women is very different from the part played in Calvinism by the Minister and the male Elders of the Kirk. All these four contrasts are due to revolutionary changes in home, work, language and religion. Such changes, of which all trace may be lost elsewhere, are traceable from the fullest evidence among the Gael.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

621 light, suggests that such lordship goes back to early con-
427 quests of self-supporting agricultural and pastoral com-
174 munities by well-armed raiders of many races, including
[172] the Celtic-speaking swordsmen of the Iron Age. The last and most notable of these conquering raiders were the Norsemen. Their influence was profound, whether, sailing direct from the Scandinavian forest settlements and fjords, they raided and settled as heathen Viking crews, or, at a later stage, they invaded England from Normandy—that fertile province which they had made theirs in fact and name—under the panoply of civilisation and with Papal benediction. A generation after the Conquest they commenced the penetration of Scotland.

183 The paradox of loyalty to one's fellows with loyalty
• 181 to a lord, of stoutly equalitarian thinking bound up with fervid admiration for an aristocracy, is nowhere more
[614] marked than among the Gael. They sought to reconcile these conflicting loyalties by claiming common ancestry for chief and people, as the children (*clann*) of a hero of history or myth. The years 1945–47, which marked a centenary of the last of the desperate Jacobite Risings, stood at the close of the latest of many wars in which fame has been won for the symbol of clanship—the tartan, long proscribed (by the Act of 1747) 'to every man and boy in the Highlands'. At such a time, the Gaels' loyalty to the death cannot be forgotten although old kings, old
[121] chiefs have gone. But its paradox must not only be re-
[182] membered but understood, from its roots in communal life and environment through history. Not until this is
[184] done can important phases of our own time be understood, such as the failure of Lord Leverhulme's seven years' endeavour in Lewis; nor can the present opportunity of Highland renewal be grasped by the help of

• 181 democratic reorganisation, with loyalty to one's fellows and
185 to a leader.

Here again, Lewis-and-Harris may have something to
178 teach, as one of the last communities in Britain in which
185 much of ancient common right over land and sea has been upheld. Trust ownership of Stornoway estate has strength-
[174] ened the possibilities of rural planning there, while the
[423] fisheries are a public resource which are partially protected for local fishermen inshore and farther out are closed to none. The useful Lewis Association has published models of local survey for social and economic planning. At a time when democracy is struggling to see its way towards economic and social freedom, such communal initiatives have more than local significance.

121 This sketch of comparisons and questions in rural life
131 raised by Hebridean evidence, through a wide and varied region of the British Isles, must serve to indicate the geo-
182 graphic setting of the Island and relate the historic and contemporary problems of its own community to wider fields. This book is not directly concerned with the urban and industrial problems of the firth-sides and 'included plains' within the varied land of 'the North and West' of Britain, deeply though they affect the hard-hit fishermen of the Isles and the Island migrants—seamen or labourers, tradesmen or factory workers, nurses, teachers or clergy.
121 Even for the migrants' sake, it is vital to maintain the
185 economic balance, and restore the cultural and spiritual life within each industrial region, in order to maintain that of Britain as a whole. It was not enough to schedule 'the murdered towns' of Tyneside, Wales, Lancashire or Clydeside as 'Distressed', 'Special or Development Areas'. The balance of Britain as a whole must be restored.

3. *The Significance of Lewis-and-Harris*

• 181 The Highlands and Western Isles today, "The Land
184 of the Gael", may thus be grouped as two regions. The
361 North-west is mainly of 'township crofting' and distant
101 from the Lowlands—the other mainly of farming, living nearer to the Lowlands and in touch with them. Through-
[197] out the North-west, Gaelic is still the common speech,
[178] even of the children. The old community feeling is strong; it is that, indeed, which keeps the people attached to the villages.

101 From the plains and cities of the South it is a far cry
to *Ultima Thule*, as Lewis, like Zetland, is sometimes called
131 even by its own people. Lying some twenty-five to thirty miles across the Minch from the mainland, its nearest links
[496] with the South lie even farther away. From Stornoway it is some seventy-five miles to Kyle of Lochalsh, the rail-
head for Inverness and North-east Scotland, and 100 miles to Mallaig, the railhead for Fort William and Glasgow. To reach Stornoway over the moors from the west coast
[504] townships is itself a journey. Stornoway is the Island's only port, though passengers are put off at Tarbert, at
[177] Stockinish and at Rodel in Harris. Isolation has always
[178] been a dominant factor in the Island's life. From pre-history through the Middle Ages to modern times, that factor played its changing part.

178 In Lewis, conditions had changed less than elsewhere during the last century; for example, the *New Statistical Account* of South-west Argyll in 1830–35 reads like a description of conditions in Lewis as they were until after 1914! Hence, as already said, the contrasts are very great indeed in the aspect of the country, its fields and houses, and in the number, character and ways of the people. It

233 away, and for a shorter period. The sheep wander over
311 the moors all the year round, though they hang about the crofts when the winter is severe.

221 A comparison with mountainous Norway or the Alps
132 and their high summer pastures suggests itself; but in Lewis altitude is almost negligible, and the shielings may
171 lie only two to five hundred feet above that of the crofts
[133] beside the shore. The difference between winter and
[311] summer is in any case less, snow being rare and the conditions being such that even in summer the shieling pasture remains poor. Hence it is that while modern Norse and Alpine economy still maintain the summer pasture, the shielings have died out in the Highlands and are slowly decaying in Lewis. Seasonally, stock are transported over longer distances, from Highland to Lowland pastures.

• 181 Reasons for the continuance of these and other crofting
[178] ways, or for their abandonment, are not of an economic order alone: not only the remuneration received for labour,
[461] but the feeling for the work counts enormously. Visiting a couple of distant shielings in the summer of 1919, I found that two lads newly home from the Navy had come up from their village 'for a holiday', bringing rods for trout-fishing and high spirits for play. By day they fished or flirted. By night they slept in one of the two shielings, while the two laughing lasses they had come to visit shared the none too wide couch of the other shieling with the two older women there. One of these was a matron with a motherly twinkle in her eye, the other was a spinster in whose eyes there shone a memorably vivid light; she was the sister (as I found later) of a noted minister on the mainland. The bare simplicity of shieling life is traditionally softened by fellowship and a gaiety that is not beyond
[538] control. A Lowland poet once coined a famous phrase,

• 181 "the lone shieling of the misty island". Traditional
[538] Gaelic songs tell rather of shielings grouped within hail,
[533] with their sweethearting and good cheer!

3. *Crops and Stock*, circa *1938*

178 As the thirties mark a transition between early condi-
241 tions prevailing until 1919 and those of 1947–53 (Appendix I), the present tense is used.

311 Of the Island's 528,000 acres, including deer forests
632 on the Harris border partly grazed, there are 24,000 acres of arable and grass land. Barvas parish leads with 6500 acres, then come Stornoway, Uig and Lochs, Harris being last with 3300 acres. Roughly one-third of the Island's arable and grass land, or 32 per cent, is permanent grass, chiefly machar, with a maximum of 39 per cent in Uig, but a minimum of 9 per cent in rocky
311 Lochs, most of this on one small farm. About 10 per cent of the arable and grass land area is given to hay
24 production; of this, rather less than one-third is rotation hay grown on the plough rigs or parks, and rather more than two-thirds is hay from permanent grass. Lochs, lacking machar, has 20 per cent hay, while Barvas, better
[632] off for machar, has only 4 per cent. Even this proportion of rotation hay shows an increase on the crofts since 1919. Stornoway parish, it will be noted, occupies an intermediate place, but if the facts for Point (Eye) district were contrasted with those for the villages along the machar, the differences between them would emerge clearly. As it is, they can be guessed from the vegetation map showing
311 the machar. Oats is the chief crop, and occupies 33 per
243 cent or just one-third of the arable and grass of the Island; excluding the permanent grass, it constitutes half the crop.

174 to bleed or to set bones, while some elderly woman would
175 serve as physician and midwife. Spiritual consolation
462 and renewal too could be found, even in the absence of monk or nun, or of priest, minister or catechist. Enough
[463] here, that with agriculture and fishing, most crafts, except
[759] metal-work, were practised in every family. The 'range of skills' was therefore wider and richer in latent art than
[793] might be supposed from those needed on a little croft today.
[593] Hence the importance of understanding the roles of husbandman and housewife, of "the man and the woman of the house".

174 Their labours through the annual rhythm of the seasons
462 might be classed as efforts for the man and endurance for the women (Fig. 9). Man's muscular strength and free-
221 dom of limb rouse him to efforts demanded by the thrust
• [181] and lift of peat-cutting, digging in stony soil, or pushing the foot-plough, step by step obliquely down a rocky slope. In the past an archer's chase of stag, wolf or boar demanded all a man's effort, and courage too, as fishing still does in the stormy north-western seas. With this facing of danger there came a gaiety that sparkled like the crest of a breaking wave. Women's work demanded by its unceasing activity a cheerful endurance, whether at labour on the croft, at corn-grinding, butter-making and peat-carrying, or carding, spinning and weaving; and with every task of day or season came the constant tending of cattle, of menfolk and children.

[538] This allotment of seasonal tasks and skills is neatly put in the proverb, "A man's cow won't yield milk, nor a woman's horse ploughing" (*Cha bhi bainn' aig bo fir, 's cha bhi treabhadh 'an each mnatha*). Yet women have always taken a share of work on the croft—too heavy a share when the men were much away—and the habit of

after 1800, John Walker wrote that run-rig, "formerly very general in Scotland, was abolished with improvements but still subsists in many parts of the North. A number of tenants of the same farm have a common pasture for their cattle, and the arable is divided among them, by ridge and ridge alternately, which each cultivates for his own behoof. This gives them all a common interest in the crop and, when there was no inclosure by dyke or hedge, might be of some advantage" in giving each person some protection "against the encroachments of his neighbour's cattle". Speaking of joint possession this time, though without reference to survivals, Walker wrote that in the Lowlands "in old times a large farm might be occupied by a number of conjoint tenants who cultivated the farm in common and divided the produce. In this way the interest of each became the interest of the whole. They were ready, and were frequently called upon, to defend the common crop and cattle against depredations. There was then a necessity for such an allotment of land, especially in the Border country and in the Highlands." The team, in other words, was a unit of defence. But "nothing like improvement can be expected from farmers placed in this situation . . . [and] no community can ever equal the carefulness and industry of an individual in the management of his affairs".[1]

So far as it goes, such an analysis is incontrovertible; for Walker was one of many contemporary observers who could contrast both the "improvement, industry and carefulness" of the best individuals under a vigorous landlord, with the sluggishness of old-fashioned ways on backward estates. The fundamental reason for sluggishness was that

[1] John Walker, *Oeconomical History* [descriptive account] *of the Hebrides*, 1808.

the cultivable land and pasture having been shared out to minimal fractions, they called for a minimum of labour by the men—though housewives and mothers had always plenty to do. The morrow's tryst for work might prove a tryst with no work done. The men might foregather on the moor to cut peats, for instance, but if one of their number was late, become so absorbed by telling stories of the Fenians that, ere work had begun, it was time to go home—resolved to meet for work some other day! As a result, reformers advocated breaking-up the joint-holdings; and this was done in Lewis by 1830, as noted in the Brand Report. But mere division of the land did not increase its total amount.

Yet while noting the progress made by the liberation of individual initiative, we can see the drawbacks of individualism: the evictions made with no provision for new homes, and later the monotony and the loneliness of modern farm life, the mutual distrust of employer and employee, and the general inability of farmers, as yet, to co-operate. At the present, when planning, purchase and sale are required on a large scale, particularly among small-holders, the interest of each is still "the interest of the whole". The team-spirit must be recovered from the work (not simply the play) of school onwards to further education and communal effort.

To sum up, every farm-hamlet was held jointly and on equal terms, each joint holder being responsible for an equal share of the rent, and the movable run-rig system ensuring equal quality, as well as equal quantity, of land. Common interest was assured, and there was mutual support in distress or sickness, as when one member, named in a deposition of 1718, was 'valetudinary'. Lastly, work was done in common not only when it led to efficiency

embracing several hamlets. Yet the strength of community life sprang from co-operation in the farm-team and in the boat's crew.

With the passing of the joint farm the greatest disciplinary factor for work in common passed away from agriculture. The fact that fishing still remained as a social discipline, and actually developed in importance as the farm-team declined and was abolished, was to prove all the more significant to the vitality of social life until 1914 and even to the present.

(8) THE COMMUNITY ORGANISED: STEERSMAN AND CONSTABLE

As small groups of two to half a dozen men could manage their agricultural affairs informally, by common consent, no official was formally chosen to manage the affairs of the fellow-workers on a farm. Where prompt decisions are needed, however, even a small group should be led: a boat's crew therefore choose their helmsman-skipper and obey him at sea. And where several farm-groups made up a township, more formal deliberations were required, and to carry out their decisions they chose a responsible man, the constable.

Of the crofters' manner of deciding communal affairs in Uist, Carmichael wrote, in 1884, that these meetings "were highly interesting, as showing the ability of the people, their logical and legal acumen, their readiness of resources and, I can happily add, their invariable courtesy towards one another. There was one regular official known as the constable on whom there lay the chief executive responsibility. When a crofter is elected constable of his town-land, he takes off his shoes and stockings and, taking

a night of black mistiness . . . he waded nearly breast-high" through the dangerous South Ford of Benbecula, "conscious only of the roll and the singing of waters and the rhythm of a poem he had taken down a few hours before"—"The Invocation of the Graces", so nearly lost with him! Much that Carmichael learned was given him under a seal of confidence he never broke, although he mourned the loss this meant. The confidence he inspired—which even those who knew him only in their childhood remember for life—was a source of his quiet, unfailing power.

The following begins with the runes and rites of labour, throughout the day, week and year, on land and sea and at home. Turning to the day of rest and to congregational worship, one must enquire as to the presence of the clergy, and question closely how far the people had access to the Bible throughout the centuries: were they really cut off from its riches, from its essence, as the Reformers and the Evangelicals of last century asserted with such vehemence? One can then turn to the runes and rites which opened the phases of life, from birth to maturity, marriage and parenthood, leading at last to life's close.

But no social inheritance is without its burden. Having told of the foundations of faith, something must be said in the next chapter of the negative or superstitious side of Island belief, of temptations and evils which the people could face, and of others to which they submitted in ignorance. From the evidence of faith and wisdom, or error, one must attempt some evaluation of attainment by single souls and by the community, and of the power and fullness of life in common.

175 earth shone, The wave shone on the shore; The deer of
796 the mountain steep shone. . . ."[1]

533 "The Christ Child's Lullaby" is a lovely carol narrat-
ing the Christmas tale. Legend tells that it was sung by
175 'Mary-Mother' herself to an unwanted stepchild lost on
796 the moors, where his stepmother found him in the arms
533 of Mary, who sang as she lulled him. The stepmother
773 cherished this song with the lost child, henceforth loved as her own.[2] The poetry of the Gael, like the odes of Greece and the Psalms of the Hebrews, is luminous with the vision of mountains, land and sea, reflecting a light within that of sun or moon, and sonorous with the rhythm of wave, tide and season which are "of all ages and to all time,
•[181] *gach linn gu brath*". Its adoration is full of nature and of humanity, yet it soars above mere nature worship or anthropomorphism.

175 While Christmas, more than any, was a festival of
796 leisure, others were closely linked to labour. The festival dates of Candlemas or Lent, of Saint Bride's, Saint Patrick's or Lady Day, marked the stages of spring's coming and the duties they brought. Summer came in at Beltane—held in May, though the word included other dates connected with spring fire; and on St. John's Day

113 [1] Donald Macdonald, M.A., MS. essay for the Royal Scot. Geog. Society.
[2] A short version is published in the *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. A translator may choose from its 29 stanzas—though all are true to the Gospel and worth translation. Of the simple choral variant of the air (as published) Fr. Allan Macdonald told Miss Amy Murray his grief that it had superseded the melodic variety given to the Lullaby when sung by one singer at a time (*Celtic Review*, 1905–6). From three variants noted from oral singing one can arrange a melodic sequence. To pass from a major variant (set to stanzas on Jesus's mother, the shepherds and the 'kings') to minor variants (set to the tale of Herod's evil deeds) restores much of the dramatic intensity of this noble carol. Only deep feeling for the Gospels could create and maintain, without written help, so full a version of the words and variety of associated melody. (The complete words, *Taladh Chriosta*, are in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, p. 7.)

776 fellowship. "The Irish Church", a Roman is said to
171 have exclaimed to a Gaelic Catholic in scorn, "has won
174 no martyr's crown!" "Ireland was named the Isle of Saints not by persecuting but by cherishing God's elect", was the reply. The Celtic Church linked the lands across St. Patrick's Channel; and what was true of Patrick's missionary field seems to have been as true of Celtic Britain, the land of his birth. Kilpatrick on the Roman Wall of Clyde has been claimed as the birthplace of one who was certainly a Cymric Celt by birth and baptism, a Gaul by training, and an Irishman by mission.[1]

771 This closeness of fellowship ranged from personal to divine relationships in waking or rest, with an intimacy of
[782] expression all its own. A prayer for rest begins, "I shall lie down with God, and God lie down with me. . . ." A
•[181] simple and universal gesture of love, in which parent, child or lover slips an arm under the loved one's head, is carried into prayer at rest, "the arm of the Father", or
779 of Jesus or Mary, "under my head". This image must be the inspiration of one of the loveliest of Christian tombs,
764 preserved by clan loyalty, respect for the dead, distance
532 and later forgetfulness on the priory isle of Inchmahome, where the Highlands meet the Lowlands at the Lake of Menteith. As on a number of medieval monuments, knight and lady are sculptured side by side. But here the two lie each with "an arm under the other's head", the free arm of the knight reaching over to clasp hands

[1] While in Scotland the name Bride is now rare as a Christian name, that of Patrick is still found among Grants, Campbells, Macdonalds and others. It is even commoner than English speakers might suppose, owing to the practice—almost the necessity—of giving an English form to a Gaelic name when it is turned to English speech—as Daniel for Domhnuil (Donald), Aeneas for Aonghas (Angus) or Peter for Padhruig (Patrick). Many a Gael in the Lowlands felt obliged to relinquish his baptismal (and ancestral) names, with their link to Celtic Christian tradition.

779 with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of
764 Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1294.
532 Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness.

175 The following year, 1295, saw the commencement of "the
644 three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King
[829] Alexander III, "that Scotland led in luve and law", peace within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing
[648] Gaelic Christian traditions and Scoto-Norman arts. After his death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars
•181 can tell me, this almost unnoticed monument remains
764 unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement, were shattered by invasions, and Gaelic tradition was only to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all time, we have become.

763 At the approach of death God's mercy and peace were
782 sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[2]
[174] In early times confession seems to have been made as willingly to the 'Soul-friend', followed by Benediction.
764 When death had come, the mourners sang of sleep and home. In Lewis today funerals are conducted in silence to the graveside, where the last service is held; but

[113] [1] *A unique medieval tomb at Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.)
[2] It would be of deep interest to compare the attitudes to death found in 'Spiritual Songs' by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs on death which, though maybe of post-Reformation date, are of Roman Catholic origin (*e.g.* in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, poems on the Day of Judgment, and of Wrath; on age and on death; and on Purgatory:
[171] pp. 31, 85, 146; 34, 19, 21; 27). Some have much in common, both by virtue of the earlier traditions they shared and still more because of parallel trends of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Cf. *Carmina*.

175 The advent of the Reformers to the Island may at first
798 have seemed less revolutionary to the people than has generally been suggested by historians of either the new
• 181 Church or the old. Ministering to one another, the people
779 had not, like the city-dwellers of their time, enjoyed—or suffered—a multiplicity of offices, administered by priests whose ways of living might be a scandal. The Mass heard in Latin was incomprehensible to those of Celtic (or Teutonic) speech without the aid of translation into the vernacular—an aid now universal among literate Roman Catholics. Most of these offices, such as auricular confession to a priest to obtain absolution, with masses for the dead, indulgences and the like, were performed for payments prohibitive to the poor. The Islesfolk, for the most part, lived far both from the orthodox practices of the Latin Church and from the more flagrant abuses against which a minority of the old Church had protested in vain. Hence the transition to early Protestant liturgy would not be too painful. In prolonged isolation, the Gaelic people, perforce, had lived the life of the Lollard and Protestant doctrine of "the Priesthood of all believers".

175 After the Reformation the people were bewildered by
181 the mutual condemnation of Presbyterian, Episcopalian
798 and Jesuit, and torn to the quick when all three parties in turn denounced so much that they themselves held dear. The more the rival clergy confused and wounded their minds, the harder it was for younger generations to discern ancient Gaelic wisdom and discard superstition; and the easier to fall into credulous and secretive repetition of rhymes and strings of holy names. The scorn of the wealthy for simple rites and of the book-learned for the symbols of old speech would add to confusion rather than aid discrimination. As pious and understanding crofters

complained in Carmichael's own time, mockery is hard to withstand. One can only guess, as yet, what were the real effects of the decadence of Rome and the impact of the Reformation upon the landward communities of the Lowlands and Northern Isles. But the records of the Western Isles leave no doubt as to the onset of this spiritual tragedy among the Gael, of which Carmichael and others saw the later acts and of which one still finds the epilogue.

The grim desperation of the religious and civil wars, and their persecutions—crucifixions made by every side in the name of the Cross—caused faith to be disastrously shaken. Superstition rushed into the widening cracks in older belief, aided by important sects of clergy. In the Highlands, 'witch' torture was never carried to the lengths it reached in the cities, though the last 'witch'-burning in Scotland may have occurred in east Sutherland (P. Hume Brown, *History*, ii, 1912, p. 451). But the frenzy of witch-hunting by ministers in the Lowlands, during the widespread evictions and social anarchy of the post-Reformation period, suggests that the Adventurers' invasion of the Lews, followed by the arrival of new masters and Presbyterian ministers after 1600, must have aroused morbid, anti-social fears. Lewis certainly suffered from fear of the evil eye as late as the nineteenth, and even this, century.

We have to face the effects on the people of religious strife. To ardent Reformers the Blessed Sacrament of the Roman Church was a 'Jack-in-the-box'; and at the climax of the Mass, the elevation of the Host—the moment of 'transubstantiation' with its literal interpretation of the words, "This is my flesh" (*Hoc est corpus meum*)—was so much 'hocus-pocus'.[1] Conversely, to Roman Catholics

[1] J. H. Matthews, *The Folklore of the Mass*, p. 96, 1903 (Catholic Truth Society).

much of Protestantism was a denial of Christianity. Holders of all these forms of Trinitarian belief have united in condemning Unitarianism as heresy, its earlier Arian form having been stamped out in blood. The 'heterodox' are held by the orthodox of many Churches to be awaiting eternal torture. To a thoughtful humanist like Sir James Frazer, on the other hand, the belief that one alone by suffering can atone for the sins of others is of the deepest significance, as being an ancient, widespread and 'pathetic fallacy'. Happily, one finds the greatest tolerance and sympathy where Protestant and Catholic are mixed in the Isles. Elsewhere, too, sympathy and reverent enquiry are taking the place of dogmatic assertion.[1] It is in this spirit that we can best understand Gaelic beliefs at their highest, and so distinguish their lowered use—or misuse for selfish ends—from the highest use of sacrament and prayer by the pure of mind and heart.

(B) RELIGION, MAGIC AND SUPERSTITION IN DAILY LIFE

Evil ends might be sought by means of the ancient runes: the power of their poetry and associations could tempt to perverted use. Carmichael tells how in Uist a malefactor, in terror of the law, went to a needy woman, and by appealing to her pity—and in exchange for a small sum—learned from her an "Invocation for Justice". Strengthened by its rhythm and imagery, and by his own associated belief in its magical power as a charm, he stood up boldly in Court, firmly asserted his innocence and got

[1] Cf. the friendly theological arguments between a Bernera Presbyterian and a Roman Catholic from Barra (*Bodach Bharraidh*—vii, viii), sketched in Gaelic by I. N. Macleoid, *Litrichean Alasdair Mhoir*, Stornoway, 1932.

trouble; and neighbours come to suffer too!

Turning to natural things, how far could the people observe and think rationally, free from the intervention of imaginary beliefs? The Gael possess common sense, keen observation, ready wits and accurate memory. They show powers of tracing effects to their cause; and on the whole, their agricultural practices were based on good sense, and their knowledge of nature was wide. Before taking a social decision, they reasoned together to good purpose.

In the ordering of family life, their ideals were founded on common sense and human feeling, little interfered with by superstitions. Irrational prohibitions too often restrict the issues of life where it is already severely limited by environment. A word should therefore be said of the bearing of beliefs upon the physical aspects of mating and parenthood, and of Gaelic teaching upon these. To begin with an early experience among all peasantry, during calving and lambing today shepherds, cattlemen and dairy-maids show delighted tenderness—there is no other word for it—in the care of mother and new-born offspring, though at other times they may be quite rough-and-ready at their work. What is true of hired farm-hands is still truer of a crofter's family tending their own precious stock. When out herding, boys and girls, before and after puberty, have to be exact in reporting when a bull has served a cow, so as to tell whether or no a calf is to be looked for next spring.

At the same time, human facts were not left to be learned only by observation of animals, but were simply and frankly taught. In a parent's verses to a maiden, for instance, marriage is spoken of tenderly but frankly, in words which can hardly be translated literally without over-emphasis to most English ears. There is a place for

gentle frankness, as there is for reticence.[1] But since Augustine, orthodox religion, Catholic and Protestant, has overstressed and misunderstood the folk-lore of 'the Fall'—originally, it seems, a legend of fertility and fulfilment! In part as a result of the teaching of the doctrine of the 'Fall', there has arisen an attitude to parenthood which falls short of rational understanding and reverence for human life.[2] If fact be the best guard against superstitious fancy, and if sensibility and tact can soften the first shock of adolescence, then the Gael knew wisdom.

Returning to the main theme, it is clear that primitive religion and folk-lore alike show misunderstandings of cause and effect, and of the action of 'mind' on 'body' and 'matter'. What are facts to faith may be symbols to science; yet if these symbols prefigure truth, they may outlast the present stage of scientific recognition. Gaelic belief and practice show a recognition of communal as well as individual spirituality; of the depth of consciousness below its upper surface, and its upwelling power; and of the visible world without, in all its beauty, as a gate

[1] Needless to say, Gaelic verse has its moments of coarse freedom like that of any tongue. Of the lively lilts (*puirt-a-beul*) sung when there is no piper or fiddler to play for dancing, most of the words are delightful, but a few are not. A rather 'drinky' dissolute fellow—a small contractor on one of the Isles whose apprenticeship in the cities had not improved his character—once quoted a coarse jingle to me, only to see little amusement at his song and some contempt for its singer. He excused himself by saying, "It's rough . . . it's rough—but it's not dirty"! His excuse sums up the cruder expressions of animal spirits found in Gaelic jingles. One may adapt it as "Sometimes coarse, but rarely or never vicious".

[2] A. Geddes, "The Origin of Sin in Genesis and a Missing Legend", *Hibbert J.* vol. 44, Nos. 1 and 3, 1945-46. Cf. *The Legends of Creation: an Anthropo-Geographical Interpretation of Genesis*, i-iii (with map); *Man*, vol. 45 (104), 1945.

The Churches have given attention to the second chapter of Genesis, at the expense of the first. Gaelic spiritual tradition seems to have been singularly unwarped by such confused mythology, and to have held firmly to the first chapter, in its noble simplicity.

to the world within. Above all, harmony of relations, at every stage of life, in man and woman, was felt to prefigure relations with the Divine. The religious poetry of which the Gael were the creators and heirs, promoted courage and calm. True, its very power could lead to superstitious respect for mere forms of words, debased as 'magical' charms. Such misuse was 'superstitious', being false in itself and falling short of the clearest thought, the highest aspiration, of the time and the community. Worse still, use with evil intent could concentrate ill-will and evoke mutual fears. Yet at its best, thought was clearer, less confused, than is commonly imagined. To the aspiration and attainment of the Gael—in congregation or solitude, in meditation or labour, in love and faith or in works—the fragments of their oral heritage bear witness.

(c) LITERACY AND EVANGELISM: 'THE MEN' AND THE DISRUPTION

From before 1680 "a school for the gentlemen's sons and daughters" was open in Stornoway. Latin and English were taught, and a century later even Greek had been added, as recorded by W. J. Gibson, for many years Rector of Stornoway's high school, the Nicolson Institute, in his *Education in Scotland*, 1912 (chap. v). Particularly towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Gaelic School Society and other bodies, like the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, sent out schoolmasters to teach the reading of the Scriptures. Industrial schools were set up at the same time by Lady Seaforth, to teach spinning by the wheel, replacing the slow distaff. It was not till nearly a century later that teaching of English was widely taken advantage of—partly by the compulsion of the

most of all when they suffered, God was w
sense of liberation brought to the Highla
men encouraged them to press their claim
worked, strengthening the agrarian movem
The moral victory of 1843 contributed to
1886.

The influence of Evangelism continue
at fever heat. "Even down to the pres
there are tokens of the gracious working
men's minds, although it is a day of sm
pared with the past and, in the case of
stumbling and instability. How humblin
first reaction in favour of worldly and Eras
manifesting itself on the spot where the go
first unfurled in Lewis! But there is a G
in the earth, and his time to vindicate his c
'Offences must come, but woe unto that
they shall come!'"[2]

What comment can be made on this?
at first, to hear of 'gross vices' among the
find that by these 'vices' was meant fidelity
past. It may seem strange that Highlande
writers on the 'Disruption Worthies', w
as proud of Columba as of the Covenante
to the enduring values in Columban t
were certainly unable to foresee the
preaching.

[1] 'Erastianism' is the doctrine of the supremacy of
astical causes, a term which came into use in Britain
century. Actually the problem is one which Erastus
entered upon; none the less, the name is established, a
issue of principles.

[2] J. Greig (ed.), *Disruption Worthies of the Highland*

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

115 undergone the same crushing experience, at a time when
193 communal life was being overthrown by the Industrial
771 Revolution. "Terrible old men I" exclaimed a wise Lewis
195 schoolmaster, of these 'Disruption Worthies'. It was not
that they were inhuman—that is clear from the warmth
felt for them by so many of the people, who would never
have taken kindly to the unkind.

Nor were the first Evangelicals invariably severe. Of
115 the Rev. Mr. Macrae, long in Lewis, it is told that, when
790 young he had rebuked an older fellow-minister for levity
771 at a ministers' supper on Communion Monday. Leaping
up, the minister seized Macrae by the shoulders and danced
behind him, till Macrae was forced to join in the laugh!
181 Macrae never forgot the sane and kindly words spoken
to him after: and he saw he had been wrong to identify
cheerfulness with irreligion. Yet much joy was extinguished or found illicit vent. To such ruthless zeal, there came inevitably reaction, noted even by 1877, and still more notable during the wave of joy of 1949 and after. Conflict or compromise was inevitable where Churchmen emphasised terror and inveighed against the calm heritage of their forebears and the happiness for which human nature yeaks. The days of emotional 'Revival' are by no means over and from them the pendulum may swing from excess back to relieved but wearied unconcern. Moreover, with the emigration of so many of the men, the balance of family life was upset. Some thoughtful men and women feel that the 'Revival' which swept their Island (with the rest of the Presbyterian Hebrides) before 1939 and during the war was partly due to the excessive influence of spinsters, to whom strict Presbyterianism offered little outlet for motherly emotion or sisterly service.

CH. VIII RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

(c) SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN CHANGE

178 In spite of 'the wrath to come', life had to go on, work
be done, and natural affection find an outlet in youth.
181 How could the women waulk the cloth without a chorus
195 to keep their beating hands in time? Songs had to be
allowed by the stronger for this work in common. In a
land where marriage was not an affair of dowries, but
chiefly of love choice among the young folk, the old courting customs could not wholly be denied. Curiously enough,
drinking was not severely looked upon by Scots rural
Evangelists; in one story in the Old Testament, it is
not the drunkard, but his mocker whom the Lord punished! In a city, a drunk man is a prey to thieves and
harpies; but, in a township none will do him harm. But
today there are Evangelical ministers who think that drink
should be frowned on at weddings and *ceilidhs*, while song
and dance might be tolerated.

115 Not all the people gave in willingly to the severity of
the new creed. In Uig there is a cave, the 'Piper's Cave',
771 to which a crofter was wont to resort on dark nights, his
195 pipes in his oxter, when the wind blew *from* the manse and
185 out to sea! Ultimately the least willing were forced to
give in, first, by the appalling threat of the refusal of communion, and secondly, by denunciation from the pulpit
178 and the ostracism of the Elders. Much was destroyed
that can never be recovered now, and many a fine heart
saddened or broken. It was the most intimate expression
of their lives, their religious lore, which suffered most.[1]
178 Yet something remains, preserved by the good sense,
181

[1] Carmichael gives an infinitely pathetic account of a conversation in a house in Ness about 1880-85, *Carmina*, pp. xxvii-xxxii.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

178 intuitive and traditional, of the people, and their love for
181 the good and beautiful. Song collectors from outside the
114 Island have found little and assumed that songs had been
swept away. Discretion is certainly needed for song col-
533 lection! Years ago in Bernera I had been told of a pretty
love lament I had not heard. Calling with my hosts to
175 invite him to their house that evening, we found the singer,
533 a burly crofter of fifty or so. We had been about to
183 mention the word 'song', when the word was checked on
our lips by a swift, warning glance. The singer lived with
his old mother and she must not be told that her son went
533 out on such an errand! Nevertheless, Islanders them-
814 selves are collecting many unpublished songs, where
strangers failed. The Laxdale School choir wins prizes at
the national gathering or *Mod*, for their spirited singing
of songs, many of them unpublished. Owing in part to
their very isolation, these songs have remained as pure in
form as in the Catholic Isles, whether in time and rhythm
or in scale and mode. Thus the sub-intervals or 'quarter-tones' of the modal scale add subtlety to the melodic line
of an air, as in the melodies of Wales or of distant India.[1]
These intervals are rarely heard on concert platforms,
being unrecognised by many. Mod medallists[2] They
are rarely known to professional musicians trained to
the mechanical scale of the piano, and who are asked,
as adjudicators, to award praise or criticism by alien
standards.

181 Courtesy and modesty are noticeable among the young

[1] *M. Kennedy-Fraser, Preface, Songs of the Hebrides, vol. i. Cf. Glyn-Williams, Welsh Song and Dance (Cardiff, 1928). For India see A. H. Fox Strangways, The Music of Hindostan (1914), pp. 104 ff., and H. A. Popley, The Music of India (1921); cf. A. Geddes (ed.), Kathleen Ferrier, Sa vie, son art, Paris, 1957. While published phonographic records of Indian singing normally illustrate these intervals, those of Gaelic Hebridean singers rarely do, as they are accustomed to alter to suit a piano.*

CH. VIII RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

181 people, although life in crowded quarters and daily con-
cern with the rearing of animals make for a frankness not
193 readily understood by strangers in Victorian times. The
195 standard of morality in the Isles is high, and the rate
564 of illegitimacy low. A courting custom, once common
through the northern and western coasts of Britain, as in
Norway and New England, was 'bundling', a preliminary
to marriage, or bed-fellowship (*leabaidh*). This is noted
(832) with disarming frankness by various writers.[1] After the
ceremonial and festivities of the betrothal, *reiteach*, a young
man was allowed to sleep beside his betrothed; but the
marriage ceremony was to follow, before consummation.
At wedding festivities, sweethearts found their way
to the barn and took their rest together on the straw. In
the shielings, too, courtship was given some freedom:
trust is a necessity where there could not be total
restraint.

585 To what extent marriage sometimes took place or may
still occur after consummation and the expectation of a
first child is not known to any people, knowledge could say.
'Hand-fasting', marriage made binding only by the con-
ception of a first child, was an ancient custom. Two things
must be remembered. First, the strength of parental
benediction and authority, backed by community in
which all know one another from childhood, gave binding
force to betrothal and its obligations; and ceremonies
such as that of the ketching effectually replaced legal and
ecclesiastical marriage when there was neither registrar,
minister nor priest. Secondly, marriages blest with children
tend to be happy ones. Fulfilling the cycle of life, children
also provided the support to old age needed among
peasants living on the edge of poverty.

(115) [1] W. A. Smith, *Lessons*; and Brand Report, 1902.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

121 had learned that the spiritual sanctions of the township's
181 activities were not yet dead. Legal recognition of the
771 township's social economy would complement constructive action in common. Communal responsibility,
not merely private morality, would have had to be upheld.
As it was, the people's acts of charity or justice modified
the growing individualism of tenure and economic relationships. But with township duties to perform relative to
standard of office to fulfil, the congregations could have
maintained a common purpose; religion would have retained a deeper social meaning, binding neighbours as one.
It is true that divisions rent the Island communities, as a
result of the Evangelical reaction both from the lay patronage of the Moderates and their easy-going tolerance.
Protestantism broke with the communal religion of the
past and replaced it by individual faith, faith and doctrine, at the cost of schism. Hence, it appears less able
to aid the renewal of the township than Catholicism, with
its greater emphasis upon corporate unity, mutual aid and
Christian worship in common. Yet, if men of the township
had been chosen to bear communal responsibility, then,
'living the life', would they not have re-learned 'the
doctrine'? Ministers did not share in common responsibility, it is true, nor do they now. The Established Clergy
dwelt apart upon their glebes, and the Evangelicals are
housed in the village, but without a croft or a share of the
scatt and a common grazing. Yet in youth as the sons of
crofters, and after ordination also, they might have learned
from experience.

000 Altogether, for reasons not only temporal but spiritual,
the township with its elected officers should have won
recognition. Given the responsibility which those who
knew it believed it could still fulfil, the crofters' relations

CH. IX ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750-1919

115 some whose feelings and interests opposed emigration.
193 Free from social economy would have been the beliefs they had
195 introduced would be shaken by travel; and their income,
167 like that of the merchants, would have disappeared as a
(647) result of depopulation. The Congested Districts Board,
however, sponsored two schemes of colonisation in 1888-89.
In the first scheme thirty families, and in the second, fifty
families were taken to Canada, mostly from the Island.[1] The
(832) first and smaller group repaid their loans and received their
lands; but the second failed to do so, and the State
was only reimbursed by sale of the land.

121 The story of the schemes suggests the lack of four
181 elements needed for success: promptitude in organisation;
sympathy with environment, and, in Canada; a
year's experience of new conditions or technical guidance,
rather than segregation of the inexperienced without
leadership; and choice of vocation as farmer or as farm
servant. Many, contrary-minded, emigrant has succeeded as a
shepherd and farm hand or as an independent farmer;
but not every Islesman, particularly a cottar or landless
squatter, is fit to conduct a farm. Technically, an all-round
experience of crofting and of fishing by rule of
thumb does not train a man for farming in a new environment without even a year's apprenticeship. Success is
possible in schemes which overcome initial difficulties by
providing. Manning, contrary-minded and community life, in
a suitable physical environment.

One further principle of communal life was the spiritual,
121 which Parliament and administration failed to grasp. The
181 most significant evidence for the Upper Commission was
771 that of A. Carmichael; and from this the Commissioners

(113) [1] J. P. Day, 1918, pp. 123-125, from Reports of Congested Districts Board, and Crofters and Colonisation Commissioners (Fifteenth Report).

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

perhaps once in a generation, the neighbours were still the
175 best administrators for poor relief. On the whole, this
4% 257 remained true to 1914.

As to financial assistance from the Government, the
175 evidence seems at first bewildering in its contradictions,
257 suggesting utter inconsistency on the part of the people.
4% Thus, the record of the Lewis-and-Harris fishermen, in
repaying loans for the purchase of boats, was the most
honourable in the North-west. In 1900, of the total
capital on barely 100 loans made to them, 83 per cent had
been repaid, whereas on 150 loans elsewhere less than
60 per cent had been repaid.

Yet as to the record of Lewismen with regard to assis-
175 tance for road-making, the Brand Report was significantly
253 reticent. In 1891 a road was planned direct to Stornoway
from Loch Roag on the west coast at Carloway. This
short-cut of sixteen miles was to shorten the distance by
seven miles and so facilitate the transit of fish landed at
Carloway. Crofter labour was employed as a means of
'relief-help'. The road was, mistakenly, printed as complete on 'base maps' and other recent 'quarter-inch'
maps. By 1901, £15,500 had been spent, a sum which
exceeded the estimated cost, but only eight miles of road
had been completed and five miles partially made, while
three miles were incomplete. The estimate having
been exceeded and "financial difficulties having arisen"—
the contractor had gone bankrupt and the engineer was
dismissed—the work came to a standstill, £10,000 more
having been estimated as necessary to complete the road.
(191) Of that sum £8000 was granted.[1] But the road was left
761 unfinished. These figures alone might not condemn

[1] J. P. Day (1918), p. 328. Day added that "the work should now, more than twenty years after its start, be approaching completion."[1]

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 the work done—or rather not done—by the local labourers;
253 for deep peat has misled road engineers elsewhere.
But impartial observers have left no doubt that the work
was shirked—partly from the labourers' lack of will,
181 in other words from laziness, and partly from the not
unnatural desire that further grants might continue,
offering easy money. Inspection revealed deliberate and
combined concealment of bad work, road metal being
thrown on to give a surface which had no foundation.
The Carloway road, which was to help the Loch Roag
fishermen by rapid transport of fresh catches, was never
completed. The bad work of many contributed to the
undoing of all.

175 How far are these two apparently contradictory responses
257 to help to be explained? The answer lies in the completely
253 different methods of expending the grants. A loan to
121 fishermen for a boat was put into their own responsible
hands. The hope of profit in which each could share
stimulated their enterprise; and where both the private
honour of each member and the corporate honour of each
crew was at stake, mutual obligation and team-spirit
spurred them to better work. But road-making—a work many
had done for contractors elsewhere as navvies under degrading conditions—was different. A Gael responds when
his imagination is fired, whether for selfish or unselfish
ends; but he can also enjoy leisure as to the manner born!
Not only was personal skill or effort in road-making of no
advantage to an individual; there was little to call out either
personal prowess or team-spirit in the work. Moreover,
little effort appears to have been made by the administration
to arouse ardour. The ultimate advantage of a good road
to the people on the west of the Island, as a whole, was
clear. Yet since bad work and delay led (at first) to further

181 grants, then, in the absence of an immediate goal, the combination of the corporate interest in bad work with natural inclination to an easy time proved overwhelming! The problem of assuring good work and prompt repayment is real: it calls for the right appeal to team-spirit coupled with personal responsibility. Many short roads to small new settlements have been economically built.

175 With regard to loans for settlement and housing, similar
657 contrasts are found. Near Stornoway the farm of Aignish
476 (B36) was divided in 1905 into thirty-two fishermen's holdings (rented at £3). The Congested Districts Board lent £3600 for housing and spent £1600 on fencing and £450 on administrative expenses, a total of about £380 per holding; but in seven years the holders had paid only one-seventh of the annuities due, and were in arrears with the rent.[1] Yet on the housing loans made on a wide scale since 1919, there was mutual aid among neighbours and the repayment has been satisfactory.

SUMMARY: 1750–1914–1919

175 The transition from the old economy of mutual aid in
178 self-support, little changed down to the 'Forty-five, to the
433 development of production for sale had proceeded far by 1914. Yet change had not continued steadily. There had been fluctuations, from the land and back again, or towards individualism with returns to common action. Kelp-making, migration, and commercial fishing alternated in importance as means to earn a living without losing the
731 anchorage of home. After the potato famine, a century
144 ago, the people tended to move away from the outlying
167 townships and emigrate; but the next generation agitated

[1] J. P. Day (1918), pp. 312-314.

159 weighed the estimated expenditure necessary to complete
433 the unfinished projects, and their prospects of success,
226 comparing these with similar conditions on the East Coast and at Fleetwood, and with the trend of prices. His decision was to close the venture, and Harris was sold.
1423 The skeletons of the works were left to rust beside the quay, while the wreck of a coal steamer was left unsalvaged, to break up slowly upon the rocks outside, a symbol of a lost enterprise.

2. *An All-Round Policy for Sea and Land*

185 From the 'start' in Lewis, the first Lord Leverhulme
114 had shown his vision and grasp as a planner. Bureaucracy conceded plan, and decisions were swiftly put into action.
185 Why then had abandonment and failure followed? Per-
114 sonal factors have been over-stressed. 'Crofters' have been accused of stubbornness, the Scottish Office of procrastination and Leverhulme of impatience or obstinacy. Stornoway shopkeepers have also been apportioned their share of blame; and while all of them welcomed the advent of Leverhulme as sure to bring money through the crofters' pockets to their own tills, it is possible that later on, some of them did prove Devil's Advocates, having come to fear the rise of competition by co-operative or other large-scale concerns, should the town expand at a
● 181 rapid rate. Stressing other factors of character and incompatibility, one popular Scots author went so far as to praise the Lewis crofter for preferring a spiritual life with poverty on a croft, to easy work and high wages in a town. There was a story, well vouched for, which might seem to confirm this. After Leverhulme had held forth upon 'work for wages', in a township where there had been pressing

185 applications for shares in the division of a farm, but where
114 Leverhulme now felt sure of his success, an old crofter spoke up slowly: "My Lord, what the crofter wants is
185 *Contemplation*". Now, fondness for contemplation is
114 found not only among crofters as they age, but among older fishermen all round the shores of Britain, even if it
● 181 mellows in the Isles especially. Yet, as Leverhulme saw for himself, there was abundant activity among men in their prime, as they strove to refit their boats on their return. In 1919 hope, not contemplation, was their prevailing mood: hope for an active, fisherman's life.

With all these hopeful human factors on the side of common effort at the start, why then did differences of view-point come to be accentuated, not harmonised, and 'incompatibilities' lead so soon to friction, deadlock and
159 breakdown? Surely one basic fact remains. In 1917–18,
433 when Leverhulme framed his policy and made his plans,
226 the Scottish fisheries, to judge from pre-war years, could still expect to hold high place in providing for a brisk
185 market in herring and white fish. True, the value of the
235 Island cure of white fish had fallen from £100,000 in 1900 to one-tenth, £10,000, in 1913; but Leverhulme saw that since fresh fish were now demanded, his capitalisation of equipment with accelerated transit of the catch should bring quick recovery. The herring trade had been active at the end of the war; and although the Islanders had made leeway following the introduction of steam and of larger motor drifters, Leverhulme thought he saw an opportunity to capitalise the industry, providing 'work for wages'. This forecast was wrong. Consumption declined, and the market fell. Not only so; the proportion contributed by Scots fishermen to the shrinking market declined even more.

185 construction of the Island must rest upon the improvement
311 of the land": and secondly, that by this means "it was
185 imperative to raise the traditional community spirit, the
114 essential feature of Hebridean civilisation". Those words still hold good. Yet the land itself is too barren and the soil too poor to provide a living for many by export of
● 181 fresh agricultural produce to the mainland. Only a local
159 market could pay a fair price for most of the products of
433 intensive small-holding. Judging from the free, untram-
226 melled trade before 1914, Leverhulme held that fishing could be set upon a commercial basis in the Isles; and there could be few better judges of commercial possibilities than this keen industrial thinker and organiser. If he was right, as surely he was, to begin with, then the local market to be created, or enlarged by growth of population and prosperity at Stornoway, could have purchased the fresh milk and eggs, the fresh greens and fruit, raised on enlarged small-holdings and marketed co-operatively.

A final comment remains to be made. The community
● 181 spirit of Scots fishers from Berwickshire to Barra has gone
470 far to make co-operation among the men of the crews a living thing. 'Work for Wages' offered little outlet for this, indeed it virtually suppressed it; and 'co-partnership' on the Port Sunlight model was a very different matter from the co-partnership of a crew. Even if at that time it had been proved impossible to organise free co-operation in fishing, co-operation in small-holding township might have kept the communal spirit alive, for later renewal at sea.

114 It is not easy to assess the after-effects of Leverhulme's
433 activity. Leverhulme certainly helped hundreds of families by the provision of wages for the building or rebuilding of roads and other works, of which some were completed

114 and are of lasting advantage. Yet his projects were con-
433 ceived, planned, and put into effect from the people, and to be valued in terms of money alone. Was it to be wondered that more permanent values were liable to be overlooked?
● 181 Immediate payment and the prospect of further wages rather than a home to build and a boat to adapt, suggested immediate prosperity, for example. The unsettling influences of War, and the natural wish for a big spree after four years of it, led to some squandering of money; and there was heavy drinking at Stornoway by fishers there and from round about. In the end, when payments ceased, the prospects of the crofters and fishers were as bright as ever. Above all, the somewhat conservative though sensible outlook of the people having already been disturbed by the impact of War, their sense of values was further shaken by seeing the control of immense capital resources in the hands of one man, whose efforts seemed, by comparison, to dwarf their own independent struggles and group co-operation. Of definitely spiritual values little was heard, for 'enlightened self-interest' was Leverhulme's declared motive in life. Remembering this, there are men and women of insight in Lewis today to whose judgment a lifetime's disinterested work with the people gives some authority, who believe that in the end Leverhulme's incursion brought
114 little lasting good. Leverhulme certainly showed how to
433 plan boldly and on a great scale. He drove straight for a vital issue, but in an ill-balanced way. The result raises a
000 major question. Can balanced planning be achieved by one man whose personal fortune and pride are at stake, in opposition to a free community, and in face of an international situation of which the prime social issues oppose his desires and declared principles of 'enlightened self-interest'?

423 —or by a compromise between. But as it is, if one crofter,
431 or a small group of crofters like those of a township or
477 parish of Lewis, were to become owner-occupiers (even by
637 gift), they would be penalised as compared to others.
824 Hence the Lewisman preferred to go on paying rent as statutory crofting tenants. Leverhulme sold the land and received the price; the new owners paid for it and received an investment; and the only 'loser' on this curious transaction was the Local Authority, the County, which failed to make more in rates!

Further reasons why the great majority of crofters
623 declined Leverhulme's offer have been given by the Lewis Association's Economic Committee (1944):

(a) As individual crofters they could lose the advantages of the jurisdiction of the Scottish Land Court in dealing with their disputes, and any litigation would take a more costly form.

(b) They would be debarred from obtaining loans from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland for the improvement of their holdings or houses; as the Department would no longer have the "Corner Stone" of a landlord to fall back upon in the event of reconversion.

(c) The crofters were afraid that as individual proprietors they would forfeit their share of the Common Grazing rights.

(d) Should they sell their holdings they would be compelled to find a buyer in the open market, instead of renouncing to their landlords and getting valuation.

(e) There is a feeling among Lewis crofters that they prefer to have a landlord before whom they can lay their difficulties and grievances, and who will attend to their wants; an authority that relieves them of responsibility.

As the historical evidence has shown, a lack of responsi-
● 181 bility has been greatly due to the undermining and then the
624 abolition of the authority of the township's own elected
195 Constable.

458 problem remains that Island seamen may thus continue
746 indefinitely to be crofters receiving partial relief, seamen only in name. Without doubt, part-time work on a croft is socially a lesser evil than prolonged unemployment in a slum or semi-slum. The crofter's family, too, is relatively better reared than that of many a poor seaman in Glasgow, Liverpool or Cardiff. Yet if this were all, it would be no adequate life for a man, while continuing to be an expense
(461) to the State. The more satisfactory side of such relief is
311 that the Islanders, when unemployed, turn to building new 'white houses', and either to making small improvements on their croft, or, as in Ness (a progressive island with a high proportion of seamen), to the reclamation of new holdings on 'skinned land'. In all such cases a means test provides against full payment to those who could do without it.

To women normally employed in 'gutting', unem-
458 ployment relief is given only at such time as there is no
746 work during the season when it might be expected, *i.e.* 462 from May or June to December. Gutters from the Island are busiest for the months from June to August on the
728 West and East Coast of Scotland, and again for two months, from October to November, in East Anglia. The number of Lewis women normally employed was over 1500 in a typical season (1930), the earnings averaging £9 each for the summer fishing in Stornoway, and as much again for the gutting in East Anglia. But the demand fell, and by 1932, for instance, some 250 women were obtaining relief, although Stornoway, in early August, the number doubling during the slack months from mid-August.

● 181 The tragedy and the danger of any means test are that
458 in effect it asks, not "How prosperous can you become
746 if given help?" but "How poor can you become to qualify

● 181 for help?" In one of the Outer Isles, I know of one or
458 two crofters holding fifteen acres of arable, with a share of
746 a good outrun, who have let their stock dwindle and deteriorate, and their croft lie mostly fallow, plans whereby these could support a horse or two, several cows, and fifty sheep. After having found some casual labour, they discovered they could live mostly idle 'on the dole'. Self-respecting neighbours who prefer to be independent of 'Assistance' and to improve their croft
(492) and stock, and the outrun too. These find their stock deteriorating for lack of co-operation in breeding, fencing, and marketing, or as in Ness (a progressive island) their croft is invaded by weeds, blown from a lazy neighbour's plot. While an idle neighbour benefits by their industry, they themselves are losers.

In another island, a hard-working crofter lost a score
458 of good lambs through 'worrying' by the dogs of an idle
746 neighbour, whose own stock had dwindled to a trifle. He was finally awarded legal compensation; but he found it wiser not to exact it, for the unspoken threat of exaction
(492) was shown in the case of the idle 'dole-drawer'. The whole
(622) could still insist that the idler pay his share of the cost of
(492) posts and wire for a fence on the outrun, or contribute the minimum hours of labour due for fencing and other
(481) communal work on the township. Men like that idler sap
(481) the urge to work. They lower communal morality to a semblance of the social code once too commonly seen by Islanders in the domestic service of the upper and middle classes, in which the idler, by which deterioration is signified as 'leisure' and conspicuous dependence upon the work of others was honoured as 'independent means'.[1]

[1] A summary of production, and figures of productive and non-productive income, are given in Appendix I.

or after it. After 1914–18, the Rector of the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, proposed village halls for village education and recreation.[1] The scheme was never fully realised except in one township, Sandwick, near Stornoway, owing to the strength of puritanical opposition. In particular, dancing by young folk was condemned as "dancing upon the graves of their brothers". This attitude is breaking down; social standards, in becoming less repressive, may encourage young people to stay.

Broadcasting—a factor of change everywhere—came to the townships as a revolution. Newspapers had already filtered in; but for the first time the Gaelic-speaking home was entered and dominated by an English-speaking voice. It has made itself heard there almost ceaselessly ever since—in broadcast talks, discussions, announcements of news, entertainment, singing and prayers. Only the Sabbath imposes general silence. In the Scottish Home Service great trouble has been taken to meet all tastes at the highest level for each, from 'low-brow' to 'high-brow' and from Clydeside to the Isles. To a thoughtful, selective Island listener the new opportunity for imaginative human contacts and for initiation of all kinds is immense. And the purely Gaelic listener is not forgotten. He welcomes Gaelic song or story; and worship in Gaelic has reached many an elderly person's bedside.

Yet few listeners select: much broadcasting is designed for those whose only picture-galleries are advertisement hoardings and whose only drama and music are to be found at "the Pictures". And through no fault of the B.B.C., the Sports News offers temptations for those in poverty to acquire wealth innocently through luck in a football pool,

[1] W. J. Gibson, "Social Amenities in the Western Isles", *Sociological Rev.* (Jan. 1932).

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

ISLAND, REGION AND NATION. REGIONAL SURVEY FOR COMMUNAL SERVICE IN 'THE NORTH AND WEST'

THE aim of this study has been the survey of a region for the service of its society. Survey is fundamental. As treatment should follow diagnosis, so should decision for action be based on balanced knowledge. Until now this has too seldom been the case. In Scotland particularly our land and resources are as yet imperfectly surveyed; our activities are still too haphazard and chaotic. There is work to be done and there are hands to do it, but they have been kept unemployed; the workless slackened in body and mind, and their spirits failed; and our communities are still without clear aims in common. The first five years of peace have seen an increased awakening to integrated planning. Planning must be preceded by survey and be linked to international order; it must be aimed towards better living and finer purpose. This study is part of a world-wide movement of survey and planning directed, not first to private gain but to common ends. In Western Europe until the war, in the United States and (in a different way) in the war-ravaged Soviet Union, men and women of good-will have striven to prepare for a 'New Deal', region by region.

he attachment to the holdings is very real and must be given careful con-
assessing their present utilisation and potential value. It is particularly
se it leads to large numbers of tenants retaining holdings which are far
d a living. Inevitably they seek other sources of income either at home
r casual road labour) or away (as in the Merchant Navy, armed forces,
killed or unskilled work). As a consequence the croft is neglected and
urces, small as they are, are not realised. The decline in cattle
e late nineteenth century gives some indication of the scale of this lost
the parish as a whole. This is the crofter's own loss. Individually
e the problem - "four cows will not give me a living - better to get
-scheme and sell the cows". And when one hydro-scheme finishes
ts place, or there will be casual road work or other labour and, between
oyment benefit which the self-employed crofter does not get.

and is of poor quality, the climate in some respects severe, and the
from Uig even to Stornoway let alone to the mainland, a perpetual prob-
of the problem is the small size of most of the crofter-holdings, on
on the other, the importance which most crofters attach to the posses-
o matter how small and how neglected it may be. How has this come

TABLE 5

a of crofter-tenants, and their increasing rents, 1850-1890.

Tenants:		Rentals	
1850	1890	1850	1890
15	27	£70	£78
29	40	£86	£96
16	33	£52	£66
25	53	£81	?
38	61	£111	£121
4	9	£3	£14
38	52	£82	£104
25	28	£94	£94
13	10	£25	£28
9	10	£30	£29
29	40	£149	?
18	23	£89	£80

231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' shielings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig shielings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Mealasta farm, until about 1939, shielings were used in that area.

314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears
241 evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation. Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres
312 of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a
377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very
301 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers -
286 nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy;
464 in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside
[334] the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R.A.F. station and at least
[467] one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns at tractor which he hires
[493] out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Moire peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF LEWIS

('Bernera and Bernera Shore')

by

P. Wheeler

131 Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of
[103] Bernera Island (Breaclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the "Shore"
[49] (Earshader, Crulivig and Lundale together with the isolated township of Linshader), presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isol
Bernera Island, though central to most of Uig and easily accessible over the sheltered waters of Loch Roag, yet remained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent building of the road bridge; even now it is necessary to travel over six miles to get fr
[181] the bridge to the main Uig road and a further four miles to Garynahine. Consequently the island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements, has a very close-knit an self-sufficing population. Whether this community retains sufficient vitality to resist the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces eroding rural and especially Highland life, remains to be seen.

13 The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the Intro-
[23] duction. Like the other districts it has virtually no valuable mineral resources (1), and
[17] the herring and white fish industries have all but disappeared and seem unlikely to resuscitated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted with vigour and enterprise; it
464 provides a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on regular or casual employment to eke out the proceeds of the croft. The kinds of work
[164] available, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employment are common to the whole parish; thus this account is mainly concerned with the problem of crofting agriculture.

Settlement: history and patterns.

172 The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is partly
361 very old, and partly very recent. At least four brochs are known on Bernera and various standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous settlement has survived from the
[73] early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form as in the graveyard on little Bernera, or in oral tradition. All this contributes towards the very close network of family relationships that binds the island folk and to a lesser extent those of the adjacent mainland.

175 With the exceptions of Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete, all Bernera Island had been
361 cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1878 when twelve families were moved from Bosta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere. Occasionally (as at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance lotting patterns were re-adopted, but usually settlement was laid out afresh. The townships of Bernera Shore, were also affected: all the small tenants except those of Earshader and Crulivig were cleared, leaving the land under the sheep farms of West Earshader and Linshader. However, the Bernera Island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of shellings on the mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these grazings to their present position marked the

[313] (1) A small deposit of diatomite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a few men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

511 attachment to the land, or his attachment is not strong enough
429 to offset his desire for material rewards.[19] Regionally, a possible exception in the United States is to be found in the Southern Appalachians, where the majority have a net annual income of less than $500.00.[20] These mountaineers, significantly, are largely of Irish and Scottish derivation.[21] The Skyeman who leaves in his youth returns in his old age, if he can. We may logically ask what opportunities exist on the island for employment which might enable the Sgiathanach to raise his standard of living without forsaking the land.

Fishing

226 Fishing, it will be remembered, was once a traditional
181 and functional activity in the economic cycle of the Sgiathanach, but as far as the Skyeman was concerned, it was no more than a supplement to crofting. It was fine to be able to bring home some fish to be smoked or salted for the winter. The wages earned as a hand on an east coast vessel during the summer months were also welcome. Beyond this, he did not care to become involved with the sea as an occupation. His attachment to the land was too strong.

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[19] Cf. Homans, The Human Group, pp. 343, 353, 358; and MacLeish and Young, The Culture of a Contemporary Community: Landaff, N.H., pp. 114-117.

[20] H. W. Hawthorne, "Farm Organization and Management," Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians, pp. 41-72; and T. B. Manny, "Population Distribution and Change," ibid., pp. 120-136.

[21] Campbell, The Southern Highlander and His Homeland.

the world. So far, rather than having an influence on the 178
norms of behavior, the youth have been faced with the decision 182
to conform or leave. Cultural continuity on Skye has been a sad experience for many and an expensive proposition for the government. The youth leave; the aged return. If additional changes are forced upon the culture, and there is no doubt in my mind that they will be, the culture and society may not be able to preserve the delicate warp and woof. The threads already hanging loose may unravel the basic fabric. Only time will tell.

At the present time, the culture is disturbing to many 181
people. The sentimentalists in the Lowlands worry about the loss of the old songs and the decay of the informal ceilidh. Agricultural economists commonly look upon the crofting system with dismay. Ministers, some of them born Skyemen, express a dislike for the form which religion takes among the Sgiathanach. Well meaning agencies are determined to create an "adequate social organization" by bringing a share of the urban recreational facilities to Skye. Government commissions and agencies take a dim view of a system of tenure which allows the aged and the absentee to hold on to the land. They advocate the severance of the house and croft and a modification of the crofter's security of tenure. If one or more of these changes are made, it may no longer be possible to conclude that the culture is growing old with the aging population. I do not believe that the culture will ever fully adjust to the national socio-cultural organization. Before it will do so, the Gael

will have made his final retreat from one of his last outposts. 181
The belief of an old minister in Glasgow, a Sgiathanach who serves his fellow exiles, that "the Gael wants out" will be confirmed.

We have now finished our exploration of the thesis 121
that marked population change is not a criterion for cultural discontinuity. If my arguments have not been convincing, I shall feel very much like another minister who served the Sgiathanach as best he could. When his worn and torn Bible fell from the pulpit during his sermon one Sabbath many years ago, he looked down at his congregation and said, "I have spent myself and my Bible on you, and you are still not converted."

182

182 FUNCTION--internal cultural consistency or its lack; allegations of integration or disintegration; adjustments of parts of the culture to one another; relation of cultural forms to biological and social needs and to physical environment; etc. See also:

Integrative process in culture change . . . 178 Functional integration of kinship systems. . . 601

632 578 to neglect crofting and to concentrate on weaving. Those who still participate in crofting activities may neglect their communal obligations, such as going out on the moor after sheep, and may prefer to harvest crops, cut peat or perform other agricultural activities independent of other villagers.

632 182 462 Despite these tendencies, certain criteria of firm boundedness are still found in the township network. All the adult males of the township, including non-crofters, are responsible for serving as officers in the township grazing committee. The committee draws up rules for the [654] organization of communal crofting activities, and applies for grants from the Crofters Commission or Department of Agriculture, for example, to build a new township fence, plant trees as shelter belts for livestock, extend a peat road, or to fence and reseed areas of moorland in "township reseeding schemes" (see Chapter 2). All adult males of [464] the township are expected to provide labor to implement such plans.

632 571 666 Township meetings, chaired by the clerk of the grazing committee, are held twice a year. A vote is taken when any decision is to be made. The vote is usually unanimous, as all discussion, argument and persuasion have occurred before the meeting, and those who disagree

Chapter 5

GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL MARGINALITY

182 Despite the growth of the Harris Tweed industry and the gradual disappearance of some of the techniques and expectations associated with heavy reliance on the land and the sea, an important factor which helps to sustain some of these patterns is the social and geographical marginality of the islanders.

175 [729] [231] [407] When the young men who survived the second world war returned to the island, most households still had horses to cultivate the croft, but a few years later the tractors replaced the horses. The Labor government, 175 657 which came into power after the war, passed legislation which extended the processes of centralization that had proceeded since the breakdown of the clan system. The National Health Service was established. Free milk [871] became available in schools. More scholarships (called "bursaries") became available for further schooling. [207] Television came in the 1960's. In short, the islander was exposed to a number of new alternatives.

182 To the extent that persons became involved in these possibilities, the island became peripheral or marginal. The island has become more dependent upon central

182 government bodies and industries in cities on the mainland, rather than being relatively self-sufficient as it was at a previous time. The periodic return of relatives to the island reflects this peripheralness, as do feelings of inferiority among the islands. The island has become not only geographically but socially marginal.

[166] [181]

A. Geographical Marginality

121 Geographical marginality refers to the distance of the islanders from various economic and administrative centers on which they depend. Because they are distant, they are more likely to suffer breaks in channels of communication with these centers, as when storms prevent boats from docking. They are "marginal" because they depend on central sources rather than being self-contained; and the difficulties entailed in this marginality encourage the retention of techniques and patterns of interaction derived from the days of relative self-sufficiency. The anomalous combinations of old and new found in the township may be attributed to such marginality.

131 182

121 A "strategy" may be thought of as a pattern of behavior which develops in a particular history of reinforcement, the parameters of this reinforcement

121 being determined by conditions of culture, such as political and economic conditions. Under conditions of gradual centralization of economic and political systems, the geographically marginal crofting areas have evolved strategies, some of which puzzle agencies concerned with development or other aspects of governmental process.

121 178 182

178 Before the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board began to operate in the crofting counties, not more than one croft in every hundred had electricity; but by the end of 1951, one in every six holdings had been supplied (Taylor 1954: 20). "The light" came to Shawbost in 1951. Before then, the islanders used Tilley lamps, a Canadian invention; and before then, double-wick paraffin lamps. Piped water came a few years later, around 1955; it was brought from a nearby loch, and the construction work gave temporary jobs to local people. The availability of these services facilitated the building of county council houses, which many welcomed as providing a relief to the congestion caused in part by rules against building more than one house on a croft. But, paradoxically, with larger, better homes and all these services came a decrease in the advantages of living in a crofting township: property was assessed and people began paying rates or taxes.

365 511 [354] [177] [312] [464] [344] [342] [651]

South Uig and Park seem to suffer in the same way even though the larger producers, using mills, are able to distribute weaving equally to all districts. The weaving earnings vary from individual to individual, according to the amount of work they get, and also from year to year according to the fortunes of the trade, especially of the American export trade. A good weaver, in a good year, might earn from £400 to £500 but an average weaver, in an average year in Bernera, probably earns between £250 and £300, whereas in the Carloway district (more accessible to producers based in Stornoway and Shawbost), the comparable figure is around £400. Most weavers try to maintain connections with several producers and this difference in earnings may be between those who obtain additional work for 'small-producers' (i.e. tweed merchants who do not spin their own yarn), and those who do not.

Fishing has greatly declined since the late nineteenth century (table 3) 1, neither white fish nor herring are of any significance, nor do Bernera men contribute significantly to the island's economy by working on east coast boats, as was formerly the case. But Bernera has become one of the most important centres of Scottish lobster fishing. The value of landings having increased from £983 in 1937 to £4,949 in 1956. There are six locally owned lobster boats and others use the facilities at Kirkibost. The vessels generally have seven to a crew (c.f. the usual five in Sutherland) and work the whole length of the Atlantic coast and out to the Flannan Islands and St. Kilda. They carry 100 to 160 lobster pots and one (also called a creel) crab; crabs are almost entirely ignored because they are difficult to transport to the distant, mostly English, markets.

One very important factor in the present prosperity of the Bernera lobster fishing is the Kirkibost lobster pond. This was built by a local crofter in the 1920's. It was closed during the war, and was afterwards taken over by the Crofters' Supply Agency, though the original proprietor is still employed whole-time in looking after the pond and re-fishing the lobsters. There is naturally some loss of fish in the pond, and when high prices are being obtained at Oban the local fishers feel rather disgruntled at their loss favourable market here. Hence, if there is a good catch, say over 2,000 lbs to a boat, and reasonably good weather prevails, the lobsters may be taken straight to Oban where up to twice the local price may be obtained. The C.S.A. pay 2s less per lb than Oban because of the cost of the upkeep of the pond, and the wages for two men with their boat. There was an experiment in flying lobsters direct from Lewis to Billingsgate, but the cost was too high. The problems of isolation here are very severe for the lobsters have to be sent by Macbrayne's steamer and by British Railways upon which there are no cold wagons reserved for the small quantities in question - a hazardous course for a highly perishable cargo.

Conclusions.

This part of Uig, therefore, has had a long and complex history of human settlement, exploitation, and adaptation. Much of the more recent part of this history is vividly remembered and still plays a part in the making of modern decisions. The sense of kinship and a common past is an important element of society, for where natural resources are so limited a mystique of other than a material type is necessary if society is to retain its self-respect. However, the natural resources are indeed so limited that economic self-improvement is extremely difficult. The egalitarian tendencies of Gaelic society and crofting legislation are not now sufficient to resist the tendencies of the times and to prevent some of the crofters making adjustments in their holdings, but unfortunately there is insufficient good land to allow much adjustment without a drastic reduction of population which would be equally damaging to the well-being of the local society. It seems unlikely that alternative sources of employment could easily be found - the isolation within Lewis, the isolation from markets of Lewis itself, and the lack of local resources have combined on previous occasions to defeat plans for development. Weaving is the most important means of supplementary livelihood, but it is too vulnerable to politics and fashion; fishing is greatly decayed from its former dominating position; only agriculture remains locally, and perhaps the greatest possibilities there lie in better standards of cultivation (especially drainage and fertilisation), a better standard of animal husbandry, and more seeseeding. But whatever developments are undertaken will need careful selection and encouragement: results cannot be hurried but nevertheless something must be done soon if the local society is to maintain itself. This great and paradoxical element of the "crofting problem" is as important here as elsewhere in the seven "Crofting Counties".

464 full-time crofters; 19 males have other regular employment and two have periodic
165 employment. 8 crofters are aged over 65. It seems that the most successful combination
208 of employment is weaving and crofting; weaving is carried on in twenty of the holdings.
208 Lobster fishing in the evening is still popular but regular small-boat fishing has disappeared:
167 one crofter took up regular fishing when weaving was slack in the autumn of 1958.
166

Of a resident population of 125, 32 males and 32 females are between the ages of 15 and 64, these representing the effective labour force. Thirteen persons are temporarily away and 16 permanently away whilst at least 46 have emigrated since 1939 and 6 have immigrated. Thus twice as many that have emigrated is nearly three times the number that are merely permanently away. With a population of 125 and an effective labour force of 64 to work 35 operative units Tolsta Chaolais would seem to be far from a dying township.

131 If not exactly progressive the township economy seems stable and moderately pros-
181 perous, in spite of the fact that the settlement is rather isolated, for the roads which
000 join the Carloway-Breaaclete road are both very steep and have bad corners. To add to the apparent isolation there is only one Post Office-shop in the village but most commodities are bought from vans. A realisation of the smaller crofts to younger, more ambitious tenants at the deaths of the older tenants could reduce the number of operative units to about 25. Admittedly, little can be done with the rougher terrain, and although cattle stocks could be increased there would be the added problem of sufficient winter feed. With better drainage more land could be taken into cultivation - especially between the two lochs - where marsh is wasted at the moment - whilst weaving might supply a surer source of income, especially in the winter. Tourism on a small scale might be a further possibility for the coastal scenery is very fine and the immediate setting of the village is very attractive. It would be more realistic however for Tolsta Chaolais to find future prosperity within its own boundaries.

341 is attached to the Free Church Manse, is sublet to two ewans and is used entirely for
427 hay. One remarkably well stocked croft has one horse, two cows in milk, one calf and a heifer together with a sheep stock of twenty breeding ewes, twenty lambs and twenty other sheep (this was the first 100% lambing for many years). Labour is provided by one full-time crofter with assistance from two others one of whom is a weaver. On another croft an elderly lady was preparing to rouse an application for a cultivation grant.

241 The intensity of cultivation may be attributed to two factors; first the sheltered position of the land, the moderate slope and good drainage and second to the energy and enterprise of the crofters.

BORROWSTON

361 Borrowston exhibits many of the characteristics that have been noted in Upper Carloway
427 and which are common on the north west of Loch Carloway. It consists of sixteen registered crofts and there are no feus. The crofts are plotted in narrow strips which rise steeply from the western shore of Loch Carloway to a head dyke at about 200 feet O.D. The drift cover thins as the ground rises until an upper zone with exposures of bare rock is reached. The result is that most of the cultivation takes place below the road which passes through the croft land and along which the settlement is located. All the crofts are fenced below the road, but are only partly fenced above it, presenting a pattern similar to that at Upper Carloway. Because of the steepness of the crofts the only way that the tractor can gain access to the land is by way of the lower road which passes from the bridge to the pier.

241 Fifty four acres of crofland are worked in fourteen operative units on which the oats
427 are cultivated by tractor and the potatoes by spade. Though all the crofts have immediate access to the shore none are fertilised with seaweed at the present time; following the common practice in the past a artificial fertilisers are used to supplement lime and manure
233 from the byres. None of the crofts are open for common grazing in the winter; this is because of the use of the old farm of Laimsbader, granted to the township as an enlargement. The former arable land is now used as additional common pasture. The normal practice is to use the former farm land in conjunction with the croft land in the summer, the cattle being maintained on Laimsbader as late in the season as is possible.

241 Borrowston is intensively cultivated, presenting a prosperous picture when viewed
427 from the opposite shore of the loch, but in spite of its apparent prosperity the majority
181 of the population is over 45 years of age. Herein lies one of the main causes of concern in this part of Uig parish, for though Carloway is in many ways more prosperous than it
163 is South Uig and has a larger and more active population working in much more favourable conditions, the population is an aging one that has not the potential for maintaining a level of replacement. In Borrowston eight of the crofters depend on weaving, four are full-time crofters and seven of the twelve are over sixty five. Yet these men are active and maintain large sheep stocks, ten of the twelve exceeding their summing though only one of them has an excess of cattle.

Figure 40 has been drawn to illustrate the land use on particular crofts in this
233 northwestern area; one is in Borrowston and one is in Upper Carloway. The stock data
427 have also been added to give the complete picture of the agricultural unit. Each croft though prosperous, has an elderly tenant.

GARENIN

361 The township of Garenin, whose main area of crofland is situated a little apart from
427

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

λ. [Presumably the author means figure 41--Annlyst]

361 the main area of cultivation at the head of Loch Carloway, is similarly divided into long
427 narrow crofts which traverse the broad valley which falls to the sea from the low water-mark marking the boundaries of Upper Carloway, Borrowston and Garenin. The settlement is to be found on either side of the road which rises from the bay to join the two major township roads of Upper Carloway.

181 The township has a very individual character, especially at the seaward end which is
427 exposed to violent winds and spray in the winter and where the dwellings are mostly black houses. Tenanted by old ladies two of these are partly sublet and the future seems to suggest that a complete subletting will take place, which contrasts with the activity of many of the other crofters in the township. One man was prepared to rent all the fertiliser for the croft on his back because it was impossible to gain access for the tractor.

427 The twenty eight crofts, one feu and one allotment are worked in twenty five units.
311 Extensive improvements have been made on two crofts with the introduction of sown grasses in their rotations. A general increase in fencing is now taking place with the consequent closure of the crofts which were formerly open for common grazing in the winter. By far the most striking feature in the figures gathered for the township are those for the sheep stock. Although the total summing for all stock is not quite reached, the sheep sum is exceeded by 65.3%. This does not worry the crofters one of whom spoke of a 'natural summing' pointing to the fact that the total summing was not exceeded and he continued that "if the land is overstocked animals die"; this they do all too frequently. The assertion seems to be based on the belief that the equivalence of one cow equals three or even five sheep gives an accurate assessment of the potential of the grazing. The evidence of the heavy sheep losses does not bear this out. That sheep eat a different herbage and in a different manner to cattle seems to be either unknown or is ignored.

The whole agricultural operation of the township is complicated by its situation; long
286 journeys were necessary by boat to the shielings and are still the rule for herding purposes the
74 people. Once again the emphasis is on weaving as an occupation and many of these people
164 are ageing. It is a measure of the decline in the population that now only fifteen children go to school whereas one crofter could remember up to fifty in the school before the First War.

The main features which emerge from this examination of the townships to the north west of Loch Carloway may be summed up quite briefly. The crofland is a compact area of well cultivated land on the seven slopes which rise to over 200 ft. O.D. It is divided into long narrow holdings which ensures that each has a fair share of the different types of land. Careful attention to much of the land shows that this is far from being a dying community. In spite of the defects which can be noted in the animal husbandry, the decreased population and the reduced number of working units (a result of the subletting) could allow of a much more efficient working than does take place at the present time. The potential is there. Carloway has many of the basic social services which help to stabilise a community and with the advantage of its strategic position the concentration of settlement could be assured if additional employment and/or more efficient agricultural methods could be adopted.

KNOCK CARLOWAY

133 If the north west presents a picture of relative prosperity the area to the south may
181 be described as one that is showing signs of decay and decline. Knock Carloway itself of the township extends to the northern flank of Loch Carloway). The eastern section rises steeply to a rocky crest which marks the beginning of the common pasture. In
361 consequence the crofts are less regular than those already described and three are
427 worked in 'fixed runrig' with a pattern of much more fragmented cultivation. Situated on the lower shoulder of the ridge are the churches and school close to the road junction

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

000 2) Further depopulation is inevitable but is not necessarily bad. The special privileges
163 of crofting tenure have tended to delay the inevitable because the agricultural structure
311 has been unable to adapt itself to changed circumstances. The island as a some was less productive than it was 80 years ago. But, as population does decline, eventually more
433 land ought to be available for each remaining family and, if properly used, should enable them to increase the proportion of their incomes derived from agriculture. Thus depopulation could have beneficial effects provided it were not haphazard nor complete. The rate and ultimate extent of depopulation could be controlled to some extent if a realistic assessment of the possibilities of each district were made, followed by a vigorous attempt to realise these possibilities. This must be done locally because the problems and possibilities of each district, sometimes of each township, are different. How can this be done

289 3) It is not realistic to plan for any extensive development of industry nor for any sub-
427 stantial further development of forestry or fishing. Lewis is suitable for the development of industry - the phenomenal growth of the Harris Tweed industry, with an annual output worth £5 million, much of it for export, is proof enough of that. But when it is difficult to get industrialists to invest in lowland Scotland there is little point in living in perpetual hope in Lewis. To constantly cry, as some politicians do, that 'the government should send industry to Lewis', is not helpful, either, for no government has ever had sufficient power, nor is it desirable that it should have, to force a firm to invest against its will. If there is to be some industrial development it must come willingly; it would be unwise to depend on it. It follows, therefore, that agriculture must be the main source of livelihood, though not the sole basis, of most crofting communities. The present heavy dependence on casual or seasonal employment, and on permanent employment away from home, can never provide the base for a truly viable community though it may provide a useful outlet for some younger folk. On its present scale it leads to the neglect of the only widespread natural resource, the land, as well as encouraging permanent emigration

311 3) Crofting agriculture, as at present carried on, on most crofts, does not make the
433 best use of the local resources. The land is marginal in many respects and the development of its potentials demands the following:

(a) particular skill in farm management, including initiative and technical ability to take advantage of new materials and methods, and

(b) a marketing system on which the crofter believes he can depend. At present it is the uncertainty, as much as the poverty, of the reward that deters young men from taking up agriculture seriously.

427 4) The small size of holdings need not be a serious disadvantage. Since the time of our
survey subletting is no longer necessarily contrary to the conditions of crofting tenure; since it represents a voluntary evolution towards larger holdings it, rather than wholesale reorganisation, should be further encouraged.

5) It should be recognised that if a croft is not properly stocked it cannot justifiably be the subject of any of the privileges of crofting tenure. Failure to maintain a properly balanced stock is damaging to the land and to the ultimate well-being of the community as a whole. At one time the factors, through their ground officers, maintained a degree of control over the stocking of township lands and this could, in some way, be resumed - if not by the proprietors then by the Crofters Commission, - though the best way would be, initially, through the township committees. This would depend on establishing summings which fairly represented the grazing capacity of the township lands; and on restricting the unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle. At present many summings depend on estimates of old ones the validity of which is very dubious; summings are unlikely to be respected unless they are reasonable.

181 6) Few crofters possess sufficient technical knowledge and confidence to make the best
427 use of their land. It is particularly difficult for men with such limited resources of land and ready cash to embark on new agricultural enterprises; they are naturally reluctant to take risks and therefore tend to be excessively conservative. This cannot be put right quickly nor so long as the majority of those working the crofts are middle aged or older men who have spent the greater part of their working lives in other occupations. Such men require special help but, above all, some of the younger men must be encouraged to

[Garyvard] [Caversta]

At the moment Garyvard appears to be a go-ahead village, carrying out communal schemes which will benefit the township as a whole. However, the age structure of the population is abnormal since 60 per cent of the population is over 45 years. The future in Garyvard offers young people hard work, little money and no entertainment, making the attractions of the cities and industries of the mainland quite irresistible. Unless some industry can be started the future bodes ill for the area, since most crofters are of the opinion that a weekly wage packet would more than compensate the loss of their independence. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the age of National Assistance and subsidies that man cares more for momentary rewards and the luxuries of life. This is well understood by parents who encourage their children to leave the islands to seek employment either in Britain or within the Commonwealth. The Lewisman is no sentimentalist clinging to dying traditions and a way of life. His present desires have been re-cast as a result of his increasing contact with the world beyond the Hebrides and he is prepared to abandon his home where it defeats his aims and purposes. Unless prosperity can be brought in by way of industry, tourism or increased croft efficiency, possibly through co-operation in working and marketing, it is possible that we are witnessing the end of a community.

CAVERSTA

Helen Mackenzie

Caversta lies along a southern inlet of Loch Erisort, five miles from the Minch and is partially sheltered from east winds by the Cromore peninsula and Eilean Chaluim Chille.

The physical nature of the terrain is irregular, rising steeply from the water's edge to a level of approximately 225 feet. To the west and to the east, the land slopes to the river estuary and it is here that the settlement occurs. Particularly in the north-west, two marked breaks in slope are visible at 75 feet and 100 feet above the loch, which is here bordered by a 25 foot rock face. The resulting platforms are separated by faces of bare rock. The valley of the Caversta River is a noteworthy feature. Below a small loch, the river follows an irregular course though a wide and shallow moraine-strewn depression and a quarter-of-a-mile from its estuary, has cut through some low hills rising about 30 feet above the depression. At this point, its course becomes steeper as it passes through a small gorge, which is probably an overflow channel.

Trees are non-existent and the natural vegetation consists of Sphagnum on the peat bogs in the hollows and grasses and sedges on the gentler slopes. The steeper, less waterlogged slopes, often broken by rocky bluffs, have heather cover; bracken growth is kept in check by heavy grazing. Forty-six acres of land have been reclaimed by clearing heather and removing peat to form the crofts, but the soil, which varies in depth from a few inches to a few feet, is very acid.

The six legal crofts vary in acreage from 4.75 to 8.5 acres and a squatter has 5.5 acres of enclosed land. The township is in two parts: Toristа, with the two smallest crofts, lies at the east-erm extremity, while the other five holdings, also bounded by a dyke, border Tob Caversta, an inlet of Loch Erisort. The crofts, which run from the shore to the township dyke, were set prior to 1861; originally the township formed part of Crobeg Farm. The legal units are, in fact, operative units except that one of the Toristа crofts, now unoccupied, is used for wintering lambs by the absentee's brother, a resident of Caversta.

There are no occupied black houses remaining in either Toristа or Caversta, as during the past fifty years new dwellings have been erected in dressed stone or corrugated iron, usually with roofs of asbestos slate, tarred felt, or corrugated iron. Several old thatched houses are now used as barns and byres.

[Lemreway] [Orinsay]

The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939. Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. Ruins of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs. Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents, they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling, is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the Individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

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employment as hands on fishing vessels. The young women followed these fleets seeking work as gutters and curers in the ports. Some may have made their way to Portree, where a woolen mill had been erected by the Highland Destitution Committee. The population of Portree increased during these years from 510, in 1841, to 893, in 1881, but this can hardly be regarded as a significant trend.

The really striking aspect of this period is the almost complete lack of protest by the Sriathanach against the violation of his presumptive right to the land. The disappearance of the tacksmen, of course, had left the people without their counselors and leaders in secular affairs, and many of the ministers, especially those who were themselves sheep farmers, counseled submission to the will of God. Then, too, the ethos of the Skyemen would not allow them to ventilate their grievances. They despised the Sassanach and felt that "the landlord was bad enough, but the factor was the Devil himself." Still those who knew them well and those who rambled by their cottages wrote unanimously of a people who endured overwhelming sufferings in patience and reticence.[69] The betrayal of any weakness, especially before the cursed Sassanach, was a breach of propriety.[70]

The Skyeman had not lost his capacity to respond to leadership. Throughout the nineteenth century there had been widespread and growing discontent all over Europe with the

[69] Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82; and Cummings, op. cit., p. 136. See also Robert Buchanan, The Hebride Isles (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883), p. 324; and Malcolm Ferguson, Rambles in Skye (Irvine: Charles Murchland, 1885), pp. 121, 122.

[70] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 136.

155

District Council was established, but the only functions left to the Islanders were such minor ones as providing recreation grounds and maintaining footpaths. Today the members of the Council can only make the local needs known to the county council and carry out the functions of the county council.

In more recent years the functions of the county and national governments have increased still more. Government employees have multiplied. After the Second World War, the county became a landlord, building subsidized housing. Since the county has built these houses at Portree and at a few centers such as Broadford, Uig, and Dunvegan, where the police have their stations, they are still persisting in the attempt to bring villages to the island. Roads have become the concern of the county. Within this period, then, the crofter became dependent on the county and national government for the satisfaction of many of his needs. Although he resents authority, he has not shown any resentment at the continual encroachment of the government's services. To him the government is a "rich man" who has bestowed many favors and may be asked to bestow a few more, like electricity and plumbing.

Like European peasants in general, the Skye crofters have lost three important things: isolation, political independence, and self-sufficiency. At the same time, they have retained a good deal of their former identity, a continuity of culture, and an attachment to the land and to the traditional way of life. The culture has been modified by adaption to the higher socio-cultural organization, especially in material

522 In nation-wide comic strips and jokes, the Highla
181 plays the role of the clown, the rustic country cousi
The comic strip "Angus Og" portrays a kilted Highland
sly and canny behind his apparent simplicity, trickin
the landlord and searching for the Loch Ness monster.
Stories of the lazy, dour crofter abound.[1]

166 When young men go away to the Army or Navy or to
181 work on the mainland, they say that they feel like
175 "foreigners." "Thirty years ago the island was very
166 isolated. It was difficult to get away. There were
182 so few education grants available. I got my teaching
871 certificate and wanted to get a post back on the isla
but was told there wouldn't be a vacancy for another
fifteen years. So I went down to England, and found
I had to be at least as good as an Englishman if not
better in my job to get ahead."

177 "When I went into the RAF, I had never seen ligh
365 switches because we used paraffin lamps. An English
354 chap told me to turn the light on, and I didn't know
which way meant on or off. That memory still sticks

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[1]Even a high official in the Highlands and Islan
Development Board tells a joke, that is "presently go
round Westminster," of the Spaniard who approached th
Highlander and told him of the word mañana which he t
lated as "Don't do today what you can put off till
tomorrow," asking if there was a corresponding word i
Gaelic. "In Gaelic," replied the Highlander, "we hav
no word that conveys such a sense of urgency."

culture which can hardly be distinguished from that of the Lowland rural areas, but it has by no means disappeared.

Socially, these changes, particularly the introduction of national laws of land tenure, involved a leveling of the social hierarchy. The old polarity of the land lord and tenant, with an intermediate group of doctors, ministers, and tradesmen, was restored. The place of the tacksman, of course, has been filled by the government. The bulk of the population was once again undifferentiated socially or economically. Land lost much of its commercial value for the proprietors. It once again had more of an intrinsic value, almost as in the days of the clan. The status of the proprietors, locally and as a horizontal segment of the total British population, depended on land ownership. The graziers and the proprietors who had appeared during the "Clearances" withdrew, selling out to the national government.

These changes did not work to halt the continuous outward flow of the Sgiathanach. To the contrary, increasing integration with the national culture created new needs, such as a demand for a higher standard of living and an opportunity to achieve status, and provided the training necessary for the youth to find roles more suitable to their talents elsewhere in the world. The young men and women of Skye journeyed to the Lowlands to join the national labor force, to enter the professio or to seek other permanent employment. Thus, emigration changed from a movement by families to a movement by individuals. At the same time, the benefits of the crofters' legislation and the program of government assistance made it possible for the

427 511 than the bare essentials, these people just get along. Even so, they would be unable to get by were it not for some form of [464 654] supplementary income. This essential prerequisite for the individual or family who upholds the crofting tradition may take the form of seasonal employment on the island or away from home; contributions from a child or, less frequently, a brother or sister; or payments from the government in the form of unemployment compensation, relief, or a pension.

427 181 Many a Sgiathanach thinks of his croft as a home more than anything else. There are men who have found full time employment. Some in this catagory work the croft in the evening. Others expect their wives to care for the crops [887] and stock, or they leave the land untouched. Then, there are the old men and women who have returned to their an- [167] cestral homes to spend the twilight of their lives. These exiles come back from cities as near as Inverness and from places as far away as the sheep ranches of Montana or the cities of Australia. Perhaps, the most significant point is that for all Skyemen the croft cannot be evaluated merely in terms of acreage and income. As we shall see, it is a way of life in which an attachment to the land, as an embodiment of kinship, plays a very important part.

427 511 The incomes of three representative crofts clearly reveal the financial difficulties under which the crofting family labors. Although I have somewhat arbitrarily divided the holdings into small, medium and large on the basis of acres of arable land, it should be remembered that this

175 information via the technology of mass society to
423 affect the choices made by succeeding generations.
671 For example, young people are able to leave the island
178 and work in British cities or abroad, sending money
[464] home to sustain their aged parents who by law cannot
[457] be removed from the croft.

E. Changing Land Use

311 Darling (1955) described the previous Highland way
175 of life as a well-adapted, ecologically balanced system,
182 in which proper use of land was attempted by limiting the number of livestock, preserving a proper ratio between cattle and sheep, and regulating the flow of stock on the land throughout the year. Dikes (fences of turf or stone) and drains were communally repaired
178 and cleaned. Although continuity with the previous way
311 of life is evident today, the overall picture is one of
[182] partial use, and misuse, of natural resources. Various
[154] advisors from government organizations and colleges have been brought in to encourage effective husbandry and land use.

1. Specialization and Individuation: The change from an ecologically adapted, internally regulated community in which land was used intensively for subsisten

181 some by characteristics which may seem unique. But it
171 will interest others by features of underlying universality.
133 These might be compared to the Archaean rock, overlain
toward the south-east by a succession of younger strata,
but forming their foundation.

181 In this rocky land, the roots of Island life are laid
182 bare; the rhythm of work responds to the day's weather
and the cycle of the year. Yet the flowering of communal
life in song and spiritual tradition may offer a fresh
vision of regional, even of national, being. Indeed it is
in characteristics latent in the evolution of the whole
'North and West' of the British Isles that Island life is
most revealing.

131 Rising in imagination to a point above the summits of
133 the Harris hills, and viewing the British Isles from the
'far' north-west, we gain a new perspective (Fig. 1). The
Island below us is now the nearest; the 'Outer' Isles,
329 the innermost. To us now, as to the Islesmen, their
Island home is no mere fringe, but a heart of Britain.

101 Thence, looking to the lands across the Minch, each
33 further from the Isles of home, there appear, in turn,
three regions: (1) the rest of the Highlands and Isles;
(2) the Lowlands and Uplands of Scotland; and (3) Ireland, Wales and Cornwall, and Northern England—all
sculptured in rocks older than those of the Lowland or
'Plain' of England beyond. These three roughly concentric regions, from Harris to the edge of the 'Plain',
may be grouped together with the intervening estuarine
lowlands—not only Clydeside and the Solway but the
'firth-land' of Mersey-and-Deeside, and that of the
Bristol Channel. To these, one might add the shores of
an outer Minch, the *Manche* or 'English' Channel, which
once linked Devon and Cornwall to Armorica. Beyond

133 line; and there can be no doubt of the contrast found at
131 the extremes. How strikingly different from any view
over the English Plain is this, from the air or a mountain-
top! It overlooks the ice-scraped rock of the fells; the
drift-heaped, ill-drained hollows studded with gleaming
lochs and deeply overgrown with peat; and the indented,
insular coastline with its widely spaced crofting townships
looking seaward, where a few fishers' sails may dot the
161 vast expanse of ocean. In 1951 the population of Lewis-
162 and-Harris numbered only 28,000 persons, and that of the
• 182 entire Outer Hebrides some 36,000; but the small num-
bers need not lessen the geographical significance of the
community.

18 Men have long recognised the homogeneity of the
English 'Plain', with its recurring vale and wold, compact
within a rounded coastline. In spite of the local variety
of landscape, history or dialect, which enriched its heritage
and compose its grandeur and charm, men have sensed the
unity inherent in this land of a single tongue, centred upon
a single capital. By contrast, the diversities in landscape,
life and tongues of the lands far-flung to north and west
have obscured the elements of a profound, underlying
unity in geographic origins and in historic and social
(121) evolution. To understand the civilisation of the British
Isles, it is vital first to perceive the complementary qualities
found in the two great regions, and face their corresponding
(198) weaknesses or limitations. Second, within the less under-
stood of the two regions, 'the North and West', it is vital
to study the almost bewildering variety in regional types
of life—distinguishing, for instance, the uprooted popu-
lations all too typical of the rural Lowlands of Scotland
or Northumberland from the still deep-rooted communi-
ties of the Highlands and Isles.

121 From prehistory to the present day, these geographic
198 zones have played their parts as factors in evolution,
although the border-lines have changed at different historic
174 crises, and have been modified by economic and social
• 182 phase. At times the Hebrides have been more closely
linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Central Scotland.
184 In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in
historic events, but comparability in stage and transition,
even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of
view, the revealing character of Island life lies not only in
static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the
Isles and vividly described as "the Past in the Present",
Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic
strength of its continuity—notably of early or primitive
Christianity—and also by the late occurrence of changes
when, at last, they came.

18 The social consequences of these regional differences
in evolution are profound. In the 'Plain', to the south-
62 east of the Severn-Tees line, large village communities
174 with 'common fields' prevailed, forming the later manor
473 villages. To the north and west, the more varied, hillier
lands encouraged the continuance of hamlets. These
192 hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no
more than four or five to a dozen relations or 'friends'—
—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word
'friend' frequently implies kinship. Each small group
462 formed a team. Together the men ploughed their mingled
476 rigs (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and
on the coast they rowed their boat as its crew. The
241 women, too, did much together, as when they spun their
384 yarn, and fulled or 'waulked' the cloth that one of them
423 had woven, helping by turn in childbirth and child-care.
Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

18 pastoral group, the germ (in the Hebrides) of the present
621 township with its common grazing. Hamlets and town-
174 ship formed circles of cultural and religious life in common.
473 These 'sociable hamlets', or 'little commonwealths', as
they were called by understanding writers on the High-
lands, lived on in the Hebrides almost until a century ago.
Features of their form and life have long been known, but
their life has not yet been envisaged in its full dynamic
significance.

127 The homesteads, informally grouped in these small
361 hamlets, have been mistakenly described as solitary or
174 'dispersed' by scholars accustomed to larger and more
compact grouping. The mistake was made by geographers
473 of the nineteenth century, such as Meitzen with reference
to the hamlets of Brittany. Similarly, because of the
476 small number composing a typical joint team, the vital
fact of team-work and joint holding has frequently been
overlooked; yet a fundamental mistake is made when such
close-knit team-work and joint tenure are described as
174 'individualistic'. Moreover, these teams were linked to-
621 gether in larger, more loosely bound pastoral communities
131 of township and district. In Scotland and elsewhere, it is
true, such hamlets came historically to be split up in various
241 ways, into smaller farms and scattered cottages. The
larger link of common life was also superseded by the
198 proprietor's estate. Indeed, the twofold revolution in-
volved caused a fundamental regional cleavage within 'the
North and West'.

• 182 Partly as a result of their small size, the tenure of farm-
184 hamlets was frequently informal. In northern England,
the hamlets and their lands were not entered in Domesday
178 Book; still less are early entries complete in Scotland.
For this and other reasons, jurist and historian may fail

621 light, suggests that such lordship goes back to early con-
427 quests of self-supporting agricultural and pastoral com-
174 munities by well-armed raiders of many races, including
172 the Celtic-speaking swordsmen of the Iron Age. The last
and most notable of these conquering raiders were the
Norsemen. Their influence was profound, whether, sailing
direct from the Scandinavian forest settlements and fjords,
they raided and settled as heathen Viking crews, or, at a
later stage, they invaded England from Normandy—that
fertile province which they had made theirs in fact and
name—under the panoply of civilisation and with Papal
benediction. A generation after the Conquest they com-
menced the penetration of Scotland.

183 The paradox of loyalty to one's fellows with loyalty
181 to a lord, of stoutly equalitarian thinking bound up with
fervid admiration for an aristocracy, is nowhere more
614 marked than among the Gael. They sought to reconcile
these conflicting loyalties by claiming common ancestry for
chief and people, as the children (*clann*) of a hero of
history or myth. The years 1945–47, which marked a
centenary of the last of the desperate Jacobite Risings,
stood at the close of the latest of many wars in which fame
has been won for the symbol of clanship—the tartan, long
proscribed (by the Act of 1747) 'to every man and boy
in the Highlands'. At such a time, the Gaels' loyalty to
the death cannot be forgotten although old kings, old
121 chiefs have gone. But its paradox must not only be re-
• 182 membered but understood, from its roots in communal
184 life and environment through history. Not until this is
done can important phases of our own time be under-
stood, such as the failure of Lord Leverhulme's seven
years' endeavour in Lewis; nor can the present opportunity of Highland renewal be grasped by the help of

183 democratic reorganisation, with loyalty to one's fellows and
181 to a leader.
185 Here again, Lewis-and-Harris may have something to
178 teach, as one of the last communities in Britain in which
185 much of ancient common right over land and sea has been
upheld. Trust ownership of Stornoway estate has strength-
174 ened the possibilities of rural planning there, while the
423 fisheries are a public resource which are partially protected
for local fishermen inshore and farther out are closed to
none. The useful Lewis Association has published models
of local survey for social and economic planning. At a
time when democracy is struggling to see its way towards
economic and social freedom, such communal initiatives
have more than local significance.

121 This sketch of comparisons and questions in rural life
131 raised by Hebridean evidence, through a wide and varied
region of the British Isles, must serve to indicate the geo-
• 182 graphic setting of the Island and relate the historic and
contemporary problems of its own community to wider
fields. This book is not directly concerned with the urban
and industrial problems of the firth-sides and 'included
plains' within the varied land of 'the North and West'
of Britain, deeply though they affect the hard-hit fishermen
of the Isles and the Island migrants—seamen or labourers,
tradesmen or factory workers, nurses, teachers or clergy.
121 Even for the migrants' sake, it is vital to maintain the
185 economic balance, and restore the cultural and spiritual
life within each industrial region, in order to maintain
that of Britain as a whole. It was not enough to schedule
'the murdered towns' of Tyneside, Wales, Lancashire
or Clydeside as 'Distressed', 'Special or Development
Areas'. The balance of Britain as a whole must be
restored.

184 share their characteristics. So to gain a sense of pro-
105 portion from the start, we must map the location of Scots
countrymen, their numerical importance, and their types
[128] of grouping. Let us begin with the first of these three
[102] aspects, their regional location (Fig. 2).

The base map on which the data are plotted shows the boundaries dividing the hill masses of the Highlands and
102 Southern Uplands from true 'lowland'. This hill country
13 is mostly covered by rough pasture (left blank on the map)
311 within which lie strips of 'Isolated Arable' with other improved land in the valleys and along the outlying coastlands (shown in black). This hill country includes the Scottish Isles, with the exception of Orkney, which falls
[241] rather into the category of 'lowland'. It is largely devoted
[429] to sheep farming and crofting, or left to grouse and deer. The lowland area from the Orkneys to the Tweed and Solway is devoted to mixed and dairy farming with lowland types of small-holding, except, of course, for 'Industrial Regions', which include most of the urban area of Scotland.

[226] Within the 'three-mile' territorial limit from the coast lie the inshore waters, in which local fishing was once important, and might again become so; these are left white on the map (Fig. 2). By contrast to their narrow extent on the East Coast, their width is notable in the Northern Isles and on the West Coast.

102 The problem set in making this map is to show two
13 different worlds, as it were: the Highland and the Lowland.
[84] The two are rarely envisaged together, and much confusion
of thought and policy results. To master the map, the
128 reader may scrutinise first one part, the Highlands (cover-
ing the other with one hand), then the other part, the
• 182 Lowlands (in the same way): thus each will appear clearly in turn. Both can then be envisaged together.

• 182 Let us begin with the economic and the social signi-
184 ficance of the Highlands and Isles with which we are
311 concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space' is the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown black)
[241] which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore waters,
and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by line
[429] C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or com-
[341] munities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainland and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazing; the line C also encloses a small area devoted to other grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, mainland, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill country are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small farms and small-holdings.

174 In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint labour-
62 team on land formed the communal units contained within

Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C .... . . C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black areas: strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings
(in the Lowlands)

The symbols show the average number of employees per team in each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

(a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm
— 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
● 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
■ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(b) Per Full-time Small Holding
• 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

174 the township; and to each were allotted the rights of the
226 common grazing and the fishing grounds. For more than
241 a century the croft has been held individually, though in
423 the townships the common grazing is still held in common.
621 Beyond these 'homely' limits lie wider horizons, in the
632 past those of seafaring and of droving or the chase, and
today of fishing and gillieing at home, or of ocean journeys,
[178] urban occupations or colonisation.

In the Lowland regions each symbol represents 100
• 182 holdings. For (A)$_a$ 'mixed and dairy farming', the par-
184 ticular type of symbol shows the average number of workers
241 employed on a farm-holding in each county. On each farm the employed workers form what may be called the 'Labour-Team'. A team may be 'small', 'medium' or 'large'. The Scottish averages of these three types (indicated in the inset key to the map) are roughly three, five and seven workers per team. Four 'casual' workers are counted as equivalent to one 'permanent' worker, but farmers' wives are excluded. Under (B), for the same Lowland counties and areas, full-time small-holdings are
[543] shown separately. The Scottish average of less than one full-time worker employed, most often a son or daughter of the small-holder, is typical of all the counties.

241 As to the relative importance of the different classes of
[162] farms and small-holdings in Scotland, true agricultural land-holders number 68,000, of which fully one-third hold part-time holdings (like the Island crofters), one-third 'full-time farms', and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold 'full-time small-holdings'. The remainder accounts for other types of less importance. The farms predominate in terms of improved land, full-time employment, and of course of
[311] production. As to area, farms cover 80 per cent of agri-
[164] cultural land. The average employ nearly 90,000 workers,
[162] A [refer to map p. 16 - analysis 18]

184 verses would ring false to them! Before 1939, two-fifths
241 of the rural pupils of most non-crofting counties came or
went in the school year—most of them the children of
361 farm servants. Their schooling suffered, and their
166 teachers might be reduced to despair; indeed it is to
• [182] educationists, rather than to agriculturists, that we owe a survey of these facts. When they leave home to be 'hired',
[891] the young folk learn to fend for themselves but may suffer
in the learning: stability of character and endurance in
[156] attachment are hard to form.

It would be difficult to overstress the tragedy of the long-continued break-up of rural communities in the Low-
175 lands. From the later years of the English invasions, as
178 when Major wrote with his knowledge of Scotland in 1500,
241 this break-up continued through the early, largely unre-
361 corded phases of the agricultural revolution, down to the
166 later phases from 1750 or 1800 to the present day. No
155 one who has worked with fellow-servants on Scots farms will under-estimate their sterling qualities. But the break-
[114] up, the tragedy, happened. It was boldly sketched by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston (to 1929) and verified by Miss I. F. Grant (1924 onward). Beginning from intimate study of well recorded and surviving ways in the Highlands and the Hebrides, Miss Grant realised the significance of earlier Lowland life in the farm-hamlet or ferm-toun, as Lowlanders themselves could hardly have done. Comprehension of this break-up of community brings out the value of the enduring elements of communal life still recorded, remembered and surviving in the 'Outermost' Hebrides, at the core of 'the North and West'.[1]

[1] Ideas outlined in this section are developed in A. Geddes (1938-54). Detailed references will be found in the Bibliography.

178 follows that as the descendants of the crofters of the South-
west and East Highlands could and did change their ways
within the space of a lifetime, so those of the North-west
114 Highlands and the Isles can change too. Given the co-
178 operative leadership which is arising in the twentieth
century and was totally lacking in the ideals and training
185 typical of the nineteenth, that change may be not only for the better in the development of 'individual' qualities, such as the power to do hard work for 'success'; change may also maintain and develop what still remains of the old characteristics which gave the community life of the Gael, with all its faults, elements of beauty and sanctity.

In an article on "The Human Geography of Lewis", A. Stevens (1925) described the Island and people. His comparison of the cold, wet 'desert' of Lewis and its corn-patch 'oases' with the desert of heat and drought
• [182] and its oases of palms, is ingenious and suggestive. One
[241] might follow up the analogy and compare irrigation to the drainage of moorland and its fertilisation, which form the means of reclamation at home, and draw parallels between their immediate results on the land and the ultimate effects on work and social life.

Until the agricultural revolution, the unwritten story
174 of Scotland was in great part that of a long, uneven struggle
241 to make sour soils fit for cultivation and productive of a
134 livelihood. Most of all is this true for North-west Scot-
178 land; moreover, there, for eighty years past, the struggle has been a losing one, in the sense that arable land has been
241 decreasing and rough pasture deteriorating. In spite of
134 subsidies, the 'marginal farms' of Scotland have a tough
178 fight. Yet lands from Scandinavia to Finland and North Germany are giving a lead in peat-reclamation, where
[654]

133 tively to the rolling upland in the north. Ages of 'normal' denudation by running water must have worn away most of what later rocks may have overlain the gneiss, smoothing the Island's forms. Glaciation, however, played the latest part in this process, roughly planing its lower surface as it flowed out to the open sea, or widening the stream-veined valleys and gouging out the corries which make the craggy beauty of the Deer Forest of Harris.

A characteristic of many of the lower hills of South Lewis and of Harris is the greater steepness of their slopes to west than to east (or south-east) and the drift material heaped there. Scenically, this lends a feeling of rhythm to the skyline when viewed from north or south, as of westward moving waves. It was the ice-sheet, working upon structure and pre-existing form, which steepened the western slopes 'to lee' of its westward flow, by its 'plucking' action.

133 The chief and most important characteristic of the
137 major surface of the Island is its rolling, hummocky
topography, so different from that of a river-sculptured
• [182] land. Negative as is its influence upon the life of plant
communities, animals and men, its importance can hardly be exaggerated. Whereas river and stream drain a land, as they etch their way into its surface, and their deposits are laid down in gentle, regular slopes, glacier and
[134] ice-sheet leave an irregular, ill-drained surface. Upon this surface, waterlogging takes place, the life of plants and soil bacteria is slowed down, and so peat accumulates, rather than the humus which might enrich the soil in a similar temperate climate upon better drained slopes. Not only the climate of the present, but of the past, hinders the processes of plant life, and all that these can mean to man.

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an industry which is compatible with crofting. Because weavers are self-employed, they can set their own schedule of work and thus continue to participate in croft work and fulfill various township obligations. The effects of this industry on the township as a social boundary system were investigated. The income available from weaving is unpredictable, which encourages the retention of crofting practices and other patterns of behavior, such as "occupational pluralism," that were found to be adaptive in the past. Such strategies also strengthen township boundaries; for example, they encourage mutual aid and communal township practices. But weaving also offers a high level of income; and some weavers, preferring to spend most of their time weaving, have neglected crofting, or have invested in tractors or other motorized transport which enables them to harvest crops, cut peat and perform other activities independent of other township members.

The fundamentalist Free Church constitutes an important boundary-maintaining mechanism, serving to exclude various external influences of the larger society from the township. However, a smaller network of persons engaged in the religious sphere of social activity, a subsystem within the township system, also exists which has the appearance of a firmly bounded system. These are members of the clique

ISLAND REGIMENTS

For a number of years it had been the practice for a considerable proportion of the older schoolboys during their attendance at the Secondary School to put in their training with the local body of Territorials—the Ross Mountain Battery. At the School Prize-giving of 1914, these boys attended in their uniform to be ready to go off the same evening by steamer en route for the annual training camp. Before the School re-opened, the Territorial Force was mobilised, and for some of these lads there intervened four long years of toil, of fighting, and of sickness overseas, before they ever saw their homes again.

Later (1938), the unit became the 203rd (Ross) Battery of the 51st (West Highland) Anti-tank Regiment. It was whilst fighting as an anti-tank battery that, with other units of the 51st Division, the men were taken prisoner at St Valery in 1940. Today, after more changes, the battery is the oldest in 540 LAA Regt RA, TA (the Lovat Scouts). In 1960 the Ross Battery received the Freedom of the Burgh of Stornoway in recognition of a century of voluntary service to the community and the nation.

LAND USE AND CROFTING

The history of land use and the crofting system in the Highlands and Islands (see Chapter 5) is full of difficulties. In the older days of the clan system, before the rot set in, though the clan members belonged to the chief, they also belonged to the land and the land to them. In such a climate, the agricultural system, for it was such then, was in a reasonably healthy state; the land was worked to the full. Good land was available for the support of the clan, and as often as not in good years there was ample produce, crops, and livestock, to send south to well-paying markets. That fertile lands abounded is indicated by the reports of visitors in various centuries. But times changed. The increase in population after the breakdown of the clan system by statutory legislation, and the policy of population placement carried out with a rigorous enthusiasm, planted seeds of discontent—in particular a hunger for land. The land was in any case becoming ever more inadequate to support those already on it.

The story of the agrarian troubles in the Highlands area is well

documented; and Harris and Lewis played out their part in the agitation for more land. Briefly, when the clan system was broken down, the clansman found himself freed of the obligation of service to the chief. The chief, on his side, found himself thrown to the economic dogs. Payments in kind were no currency; a house in London or in Edinburgh had to be paid for in cash, and a London hairdresser would hardly accept half a dozen eggs for his services. The effect of the Heritable Jurisdictions Act was like a butcher's chopper. With a stroke a social organisation was given notice to change overnight, with no period of transition allowed. The chiefs looked to the land for their money. In the old system, their prosperity had been largely measured in fighting men. Now the pressures of economics demanded increased rents from those who were being called tenants. Increased rents can, however, be paid only when the land's productivity rises. The agricultural changes percolating through the Lowlands of Scotland had not even begun to penetrate to the Highlands area. Many tenants found that, unable to pay the increased rent demands, they were ejected from the lands which, incidentally, they had held by traditional understanding—written deeds were rare. Emigration started, and the vacant lands went to sheep-farmers, well able to pay good money for the grazings.

Some chiefs did give their tenants time to change to new methods of land use, and were careful not to make a breach between agriculture and grazing. Their tenants in turn improved the land, changing in particular from the old run-rig system, whereby a man working a piece of ground one year had the same piece the following year only if the dice were thrown his way. But the class of farmers' tenants called crofters (who had no security of tenure) or cottars (a squatter type with no legal recognition) found themselves on the verge of starvation. The few acres of ground they had, or to which they had been removed, were quite unsuitable for intensive cultivation to produce even the basic necessities of life.

The picture of land use was that of a great black pot boiling furiously with a brew of which the final taste was quite uncertain. When the boiling was controlled, the land began to be parcelled out, a share to each family. This led to a rigid, almost monolithic,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

10 THE OTHER ISLANDS

THE continued evacuation of islands is a problem peculiar to Scotland. In the eighteenth century some 8 per cent of Scots lived on islands; today the figure is less than 2 per cent. Island populations today account for about 30 per cent of the total Highland (crofting counties) population. The difficulty for most islands is the relationship between population density and potential for economic development.

As though reflecting the relationship of man to man on Lewis-with-Harris—keeping together in community for survival—the other islands round the larger island mass have played some role at one time or another in recorded history. Most of the socially-significant islands of Harris have been described in Chapter 9. Lewis has very few, and these are mostly far-flung oceanic outliers.

North Rona

To begin at the northern point of the Lewis parish, about 45 miles NNE of the Butt of Lewis is North Rona, a block of hornblende schist with pegmatite intrusions. Though the island has never figured in any Census reports, since the Census began, it has been inhabited from time to time. Of about 300 acres in extent, it is cliff-bound and reaches 355 ft at its highest point. It lies in a part of the Atlantic where a deep swell seems perpetual, and landings can be difficult.

Dean Monro comments: 'Towards the north northeist from Lewis, three score myles of sea, lyes and little ile callit Roney, laiche maine land, inhabit and manurit be simple people, scant of ony religione.' The Dean's 'simple people' were no recent settlers. They were in fact the continuation of a community which had inhabited North Rona for at least 700 years previously. Tradition has it that the first inhabitant was St Ronan, who built a small monastic cell or hermitage there some time during the eighth century, but there may have been earlier inhabitants.

133 137

2. *Plant Life in Lewis-and-Harris*

Lewis has been dismissed by many as a floating peat bog, and its name has even been derived from *leodus*, a bog! For good or ill, peat influences the Island, its history, the distribution of its people and the economic and social features of their life. In Lewis, peat once covered everything except the narrow fringes of sandy machar, the surface of the inland waters, jutting rocks and steeper hills where drainage is rapid. Man's encroachment on that carpet has so far been mere nibbling. Except for the machar lands, every acre of ground occupied or cultivated by man has been reclaimed from peat.

133 137 182 [185] [311]

137

The Map of Vegetation and its Key portray the distribution of the main plant communities (Fig. 8).[1] All plants are of low habit with small leaves, well protected from excessive transpiration. They are mostly perennials or biennials; annuals are comparatively few. There is no burst of flowering save where the heather blooms on better-drained slopes, or where shell sand has blown, enabling clovers, vetches and meadow-sweet to give colour and scent. Moss, sedge and dwarfed heather prevail widely in tussocks.

137 233 [311]

Constant cropping by sheep and cattle, and also deer, tends to keep vegetation low, but on the wide, boggy moors this is a minor factor. Nor is there much systematic heather-burning. Even upon the islets of inland lochs, untouched by grazing animals, and in spite of better drainage due to the undercutting of the waves, growth is not really luxuriant. Bracken, however, is found on the islets, and a little on some former sheep farms, but not on the heavily grazed common pastures, for cattle keep down bracken.

[1] [see p. 50 -- analyst]

175 311 185 182

reclamation, which Dean Monro has described as he saw it. Technique and economic return must be balanced against the factors of nature. Although natural conditions are difficult, they may not form a complete explanation of the relative arrest of reclamation in the nineteenth century; for here separation from the agricultural advances of the Lowlands by barriers of mountain and sea caused the retention of unprogressive methods until the wave of agricultural improvement had spent itself by the middle of last century. To this cause must be added other influences contrasted to those leading to peasant advance in the rest of Western Europe: the political history of the Gaeldom after 1745, the revolution in land tenure and in the social life of the upper classes, the commercial, industrial and imperial development of Great Britain. All these factors help to explain the contrast offered to the Lews by western Denmark and western Norway, lands in which the soil and climate are comparable to those of the Island. Yet reclamation is proceeding, as on skinned land at Ness, where plots of ground have been steadily broken in by pick and by spade or plough.

[178] [171]

226 [361] [311] [241]

Settlement and agricultural land are placed around the coasts with their fishing grounds. In spite of what was often said—that the Lewisman is and has always been primarily a fisherman—fishing alone is not enough to account for this distribution, for the agricultural conditions on the whole are also best along the coasts, or were so for early settlers. As Stevens remarked, the light sandy 'machar' lands are there, and the fringe of partially improved soil close by; drainage is, on the whole, better, while shell-sand and sea-ware are to be had for manure. The sea-ware also serves still as fodder, while one or two sorts are sometimes cooked for human food; carragheen

241 824

241 824 222 182 241 226

(Chondrus), for example, is used as a thickener of make a cheese-like mould. Dulse is also plucked.[1]

The type of coastal form and vegetation alt relative importance of crofting and fishing—and the chosen is significant. (1) Where the coastline is and leads inland from sandy machar with its cl sand-ameliorated 'black land' of smooth topograp ing itself to ploughing, and the whole is backed by e pastures, the tract is relatively well-off for croft may be ill-placed for fishing. (2) Where the coast indented or salient with rocky loch-sides or ste montory cliffs, a rolling or rocky topography, lit sand, and (on the promontories) a shortage of past ill-placed for crofting; but it is favourable to fishi by virtue of sheltered sea lochs or of salient prom one or other side of which tends to give relativ to the fishing ground (chosen according to the dir the wind, to avoid being blown on to a dangerous, le Hence the site of a settlement has had much to the choice and opportunities for a communal from prehistory to the present time, as we shall se

103 634 175 [491]

Significant local characteristics emerge in the the ancient districts (inset with the Map of Ve Fig. 8). In the north is Ness (Norse, 'nose' along the west is Cladach (Gaelic, a stony beach in South Harris the western 'Machar' contrasts eastern 'Bays'. 'Park', a sheep-run in the ea teenth century, was the Norse 'East-fell'. In the parishes of Lewis centre on four churches, the road-system. This radiates from Stornowa directions: east, NE., NW., SW., and south to

[173]

[1] Pulling dulse (*Rhodymenia*) is one of the 'delights' of Ion a poem long attributed to Saint Columba!

struction of a single ring fence round the croft land, which also circumscribes a good deal of rough grass, the ground being generally rough in parts. Individual crofts are fenced only where exceptionally large, or when the possessor is unusually enterprising or is isolated. Departmental help is given in the provision of fencing materials for a township, the crofters supplying labour. As the animals are allowed to graze freely in winter, this limits crops to those sown and harvested in the summer half-year —a serious matter for any man of enterprise who cannot afford a fence of his own. Cattle kept on the croft when the fields are under crops have to be either tethered or driven to a common pasture. A drystone dyke may enclose a small patch of garden, rarely well tended, the school gardens providing a laudable exception.

Shortly before 1939, the stock included under 1000 agricultural horses and well over 10,000 cattle (of which more than 6500 were milch-cows), but practically no pigs. Sheep number 42,000 ewes, or 94,000 ewes and followers in June. Thus there are 2·5 cattle on an average holding, of which more than 1·5 are milch cows; and there are half a score ewes or about a score of sheep in June. The size and the quality of the cattle have greatly improved since first I visited the island in 1919; at that time the mongrel Highland breed must have been the very poorest in Britain. The Blackface sheep are small, either through underfeeding or because of traces left from the old, smaller Hebridean breed, or from both causes. On an average there is, or was, one horse, or pony, to every five or six crofter holdings, but their number is much reduced.

Actually, such Island averages for horses and sheep are somewhat misleading. In particular, either there are more horses than the average in a given district, or almost none,

according to the relief, as explained. Thus the Barvas parish with its smooth topography permits of ploughing, and there is, or rather was, one horse between two crofts, or one pair between four or five. In rocky Uig or in Lochs, however, there is only one pony between ten or twelve crofts. Lending or hiring of horses has still to be practised, but within manageable limits, though the increase in 'cars' had lessened the number of horses, even before the war-time introduction of tractors. Hiring is often done for cash, though this conflicts with older communal custom. Yet lending had its difficulties: "The borrowed horse", says the lender bitterly, in the Gaelic proverb, "is never tired!"

The number of sheep per holding is noticeably highest in Harris, with one score ewes per holding. The sheep pasture of North Harris was well spoken of by Dean Monro, and the link with the home industry of Harris, its weaving, is evident.

Comparisons with the western mainland show, in holdings of similar or rather large size, the diminished amount of cereals now grown there even by crofters. The increased proportion of grass reflects both the greater dependence on bought provisions, and also the fact that the West is not a land to ripen crops, but that it can grow grass for stock.

4. *The Moors as Pasture: Game and Sport*

In order to estimate the relative value of the rough grazings of Lewis and Harris, it will be well to compare these with the moors lying across the Minch and east of Cape Wrath. There also may be found crofting communities whose economics are similar to those of Lewis, so that the stock carried on their pastures will furnish some

175 usually corresponded to six imperial bushels). The stock
434 was "four milch cows, three to perhaps four horses, and as many sheep on the common as the tenant has luck to rear". Although such estimates, especially of crop yields, are apt to err on the favourable side, a comparison with the same writer's statistics of stock (and rental) shows that this estimate gives only a little over the modern average per family in Harris, and allows an average sheep flock of one score ewes.

175 The briefer Statistical Accounts of Lewis indicate the
434 average stock per family, suggesting comparisons both with the present, and with an earlier time (Chapter II). In 1790
422 the cattle and horses, though small, were greater in number per family than now. In Lewis there were eight head of cattle per rural family, compared to 2·5 today; there were one or two ponies per family (according to the topography and ploughland of the parish) instead of an average of only one horse to five or six families today; the small family sheep-stock was similar; and there were also some goats,
175 say, one to every second family. In addition to these
226 resources, there was fishing; and the number of boats in Stornoway parish, giving one boat to four families, is a guide for the rest. Fishing, with net-making, was a predominant occupation in all parishes by that time, and boat-building was significant too.

175 As to changes, fishing had grown in importance since
433 about 1720, and kelp-making added an important new
434 resource. But one may doubt if the Island supported an appreciably larger live-stock in 1790 than seventy years before; one must rather assume smaller shares per family,
[182] for population had increased. A basis for agricultural security was an adequate balance of sandy machar to 'black', peaty, clay land; and the area of machar, a limited

175 natural zone, could not be extended. In any case, the re-
433 clamation of clay land tended to slacken as efforts turned
434 to fishing and kelp-making. The introduction or increased growing of potatoes added to the human, but hardly to the
[182] animal, food supply. Finally, while the beginnings of
[311] medical knowledge and vaccination had aided the growth of population after 1750, veterinary science had made no
[232] progress, nor did it advance in the Island for many years to come. We may conclude that an average stock per Island
[422] family about 1720 was rather more than that of 1790, and the acreage relatively larger, while both were greater than the average of today, particularly in the Lews.

175 What, then, could a family have to eat, from such crops
262 and stock? While in winter even now there is almost no milk to be had on a croft, and there would be little then,
244 there was salt meat, dried or salted cod (or herring) and fish oil; oat and barley meal and some rye meal; cabbages; and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, potatoes. Martin included potatoes among the crops grown even on far St. Kilda in 1697. A century later it was written that the people of Uig, for instance, had, though 'unwilling', been induced to grow and eat them 'forty years before'; and the years tend to be under-estimated where changes are slow and memories long! But it was written of Harris that by June the meal and potatoes had mostly been consumed, "and such as cannot afford to purchase imported meal subsist chiefly on the milk of their cows and sheep, with what fish they may chance to catch, till their wants are relieved by the first fruits of their potato crops early in Harvest".

175 We conclude that with even less money but a little
511 more grain the population in the Island had fluctuated
162 about a mean for some centuries before, as it had in so
171

175 rent-rolls record something of more vital and enduring
241 concern, the unit of community life in the Lews. This was
427 the 'conjoint' or 'group' farm of the labouring peasantry
[476] —though it was overlaid in parts of the Island by the formation of tacks held by gentleman rent-farmers.

Both rolls are Judicial Rentals, that is to say, the
175 tenants, great and small, were convened by the Govern-
241 ment Commissioners and examined on oath as to the rents
427 they formerly paid; the accounts were then entered and
656 totalled. Because of the Jacobite resistance, the small amounts of rent and the maladministration of the Forfeited Estates, doubt was cast upon the first rental, of 1718. A second rental was therefore compiled in 1726, upon a different system, which confirms the correctness of the first.[1] All were named, including those absent or 'valetudinary'.

175 Owing to the Island's comparatively smooth land sur-
361 face and access to the sea, the people could group themselves
[182] as they chose. Whereas in the Highland mainland many a pocket of land is too small to keep more than two or three
[184] families alive and no fishing grounds are available, in Lewis the people could join together in teams of four, five or six,
[433] to work a hamlet-farm or penny-land, definable as a
[476] joint-farm of unit size, and to man a boat with "four to row and one to steer".

175 The first point of interest is the equality of the shares,
241 each man paying exactly the same as his fellow-tenants for
427 his 'farthing',—a fourth, or other equal share of the farm.
[436] An average share of rent was a little over 10 shillings sterling
[113] with additional payments in farm produce, though not (as

[1] A. Geddes, "Conjoint Tenants", etc., *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Series, vol. i, no. 1, 1948, pp. 51-60. This reconciles the evidence of 1718, reproduced in the Brand Report (1902), Appx. O, and that of 1726, edited by J. R. N. Macphail (1916).

(c) FARM-TEAM AND BOAT'S CREW

175 The strictly equal division of rent on each joint farm
241 shows the equality of sharing among its workers by 'run-
427 rig'. By this system, periodic pooling and redivision kept the land in convenient blocks, a wet part here and a dry
476 one there, all shared out to give each man an equal chance
423 whatever the weather might bring. Such sharing was not mere static division of goods: it was the means for co-operative work, in ploughing and harvesting, or cutting peats, on land, and in manning a boat for the fishing.

175 For ploughing, two or three men were needed—one
241 leading the horses (walking backward and singing his en-
476 couragement), a second to hold the plough and perhaps a third to turn the sods; but four ponies abreast were needed to haul the plough, and each tenant possessed only one or two. In addition, the plough might be preceded by an instrument to clear the ground, a 'reestle', requiring two horses and one man. A Gaelic proverb notes the selection needed in the horse team, and one disabled by age could be replaced as leader by another. Ploughing was necessarily co-operative.

175 The rockiness and hilly ground of Uig and Lochs
241 diminished the usefulness and, no doubt, the number of
[182] ploughs, but the importance of their fishing was some compensation for poor agriculture. In 1790 there were
134 ninety ploughs in Barvas parish, where they were no doubt
226 of ancient usage: a ratio of one plough to five families, or one per joint farm. To judge from the smoothness of Stornoway parish, ploughs were probably used there in a similar ratio.

175 While some jobs were done by no more than two people,
476 —as when a ridge or 'lazy-bed' was put in order, the

175 the last of these in outlying villages after 1918. When
554 Matheson purchased the Island in 1844 he left the fishing
565 industry to the curers, great and small. Particularly before
427 most fishermen could speak and write English, the local
228 curers were best fitted to take action not only in marketing but in approaching the Government to aid the construction of piers and harbours. On the whole, their long ties with place and people, coupled with education, made them useful leaders of a community in which leaders were needed to adapt life to a changing economy. Here and there one or two small farmers survive, a little apart from the main townships. Aided by a long cultural tradition, they meet changing times by combining with their inheritance a sane selection of new elements.

175 Looking beyond the Island to the mainland, the time is
621 approaching for a fair assessment to be made of the historic
622 parts of chief and landlord, factor and tacksman. Not only
427 is there an enlarging body of documentation, but a growing
184 understanding of communal strands in tradition and of changing social economy seen in relation to geographic factors of place and region. And in the Gaeldom, condi-
[178] tions varied greatly between bordering areas from Mar to
[182] Kintyre,[1] and the heartland of tradition in the Hebrides. In the Island, one must remember the fundamental opposition, yet the recurrent readjustments of chiefs and people. These, and not only individual differences in character and conduct, explain the differences of experience and opinion
[829] quoted above. The people's belief, so frequently given to me thirty years ago, that it was bad factors, not the landlord, who taxed and harried them unjustly, expressed an idealistic faith in a chief, rather than the facts of economy
[565] and history. For lordship begins with the imposition of
[113]

[1] A. McKerral, *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, 1947.

175 saint, a character so eminently Christ-like",[1] and to his
793 intimate beliefs, doctrine and wide influence. The same
159 Highland roots and deep charity characterised Dr. Norman
Macleod, author of the popular classic, *The Friend of the Gael* (*Caraid nan Gaidheal*).

121 If a student of community ventures upon an interpretation of theology, it is because, to him, any attempt to understand "the relations of God to mankind" must take account of men's relations to one another. Ideas are transformed by human experience during economic and social revolutions, and in their turn they transform society. To make contact with reality, theology must regard mankind: it
175 must be integrated with sociology. Because of its close
178 bond with communal life, the religious spirit, recorded in
• 182 Gaelic lore, was jarred, almost overwhelmed, when community was shaken to its foundations by the commercial,
178 agricultural and industrial revolution. Happily, the value
79 of communal Christianity has been acknowledged both by Roman Catholics—notably (among Gaels) by the Rev. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay—and by Protestants.[2] In the Scottish Presbyterian Church today, the movement which seems most deeply aware of the need for a new society has acknowledged its debt to communal tradition where this has been best maintained, that is, in the Isles. Seeking to aid Christian endeavour, international and national, this movement has turned for inspiration to Iona.
(771) In Iona, of which the noble cathedral belongs to the Church of Scotland but is open for service to all denominations, Presbyterians have found a new symbol.

(113) [1] Canon Vaughan, cited by the Rev. Norman Maclean (*Scotsman*, 21st Aug. 1943).
[2] "The Church should interpret the Love of God by a flaming zeal for the redress of the social order." (The Very Rev. Prof. John Baillie, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, at St. Andrews, 1943.)

175 real hopes that prosperity could be maintained. In 1914
228 war came, followed by sweeping changes in international
178 trade. These changes left the Island fishermen workless,
(439) and with wrecked and rotting boats. In twenty years the number of Scotland's fishermen was halved, and the remainder all but ruined. For guidance, past progress and past losses should be reviewed, in order to see what measures can be taken to restore prosperity.

121 For the slow growth of a native fishing industry, two
175 factors were to blame: the poverty of environment, to-
• 182 gether with the unsettled state of the Isles, and also, it seems, the jealousy of urban interests. These were repre-
228 sented, to 1603 and even after, by the Royal Burghs, and from 1707 by the British Parliament. The Royal Burghs certainly developed Scottish trade and industry through their own ports, but they feared competition, and opposed any direct contact of other ports, such as Stornoway, with foreign fishers and traders. From the days of the MacLeods
(648) this difficulty had hampered regional development. It was in spite of royal prohibition that Seaforth encouraged Dutch curers to settle, an arrangement interrupted by war with Holland in 1653 and 1665. Curers from Caithness and the East Coast were encouraged to replace the Dutchmen, and from time to time through the succeeding century efforts were made from the south to form fishing companies, and in the Island to encourage local fishers to profit from example in the catching of herring and of ling, hake and cod.[1] The people fished for food, with fishing-rods from the shore, and in frail boats in the lochs, and if they
(648) could, they also sold a surplus. Fish were not only taken direct to Glasgow, but sold at home, first to Scots and foreign and later to British boats, of which ninety visited Lochs in

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, p. 65 ff.

178 and savings were sent by emigrants who remained faithful
433 to parents and home.
167 If it be asked why most of the people kept to their Island home in spite of its poverty and earned so little
175 away from it, one answer must be that their native tongue formed a barrier encircling them as a community at home
178 and cutting them off from the rest of the nation. Seventy-
197 five years ago the new Education Acts were not yet in full operation. Comparing the relative well-being in the
(671) Shetlands with the extreme poverty in the Hebrides at that
(871) time, a northern agriculturist wrote that in Scotland, only in the Hebrides "is the food obtained by the peasant
(511) occasionally so scanty" as to be unable "to maintain a
(184) labouring man in vigorous health". Inquiring why there should be so great a difference between the Shetlanders
175 and the Hebrideans, living in similar, distant isles, he
178 wrote, "We think the answer may be given in one word—
197 *language*. . . . The population of the Hebrides cling to their ancient Gaelic with consequences most disastrous to
• 182 themselves. . . . It handicaps them in the race for life . . . is a hindrance in the cities and a check to the emigration of both sexes to those world-wide regions where all who speak the English tongue find themselves at home."[1] He concurred with the Census Report of 1871, which stated: "The Gaelic language may be what it likes, both as to antiquity and beauty, but it decidedly stands in the way of the civilisation of the natives making use of it, and shuts them out from the paths open to their fellow-countrymen who speak the English tongue". The Report concludes: "It ought therefore to cease being taught in all our national schools. We are one people and we ought to have but one

[1] James Mollison, in the Highland and Agricultural Society's *Report on the Present State of the Agriculture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878), pp. 136-38.

175 language." Many Islanders would agree with the state-
178 ment that Gaelic was a barrier to economic progress.
197 It was not only Lowland schoolmasters, ignorant of Gaelic but an educated, sensible class of men in their day, who
• 182 used the strap on the palms of the little children "for their good" because they could not understand English.
(511) An active Lewis country schoolmaster, who had considerable rural knowledge and experience, said to me: "I know what
175 I have suffered through life from being brought up on
197 Gaelic. If I had my way, I would *punish* [with the strap]
871 every child I heard speaking Gaelic in the playground!" Had the Island School Boards wished Gaelic to be consistently taught with English, they could have prevailed.

114 One may not only disagree strongly with the means—
197 the strap—but hold that enlightened bilingual teaching is
871 both worth while culturally and also of assistance to intelligence without interfering with use in English of the three Rs, and of secondary and higher education. Yet in
153 Lewis recent non-verbal tests in English and Gaelic show a mean intelligence quotient depressed by about 15 points.[1]
153 The conclusion seems to be that under the present system
197 the Gaelic school child is still at a disadvantage compared
182 to other school children. But even more important to the child's development would seem to be the expression of
121 his response to his rural environment in his own tongue. For this the school tests and the educational code do not fully provide; nor do the tests of life when the adolescent Islander suddenly finds himself at work in a Glasgow
175 factory or abroad in city streets. What concerns us here
197 is the economic drawback of a lack of ready English among
182 [1] Christina A. Smith, M.A., B.Ed., *Mental Testing of Hebridean Children in Gaelic and English*. (Scot. Council on Research in Education, vol. xxvii
(113) (London, 1948); J. L. Campbell, *Gaelic in Scotland* (2nd ed.) (Edinburgh, 1948).

• 182 rural Islanders throughout the nineteenth century and even
197 today.
From 1887 the State made efforts to improve the
175 crofters' lot. Crofters' claims to stake shares upon the only
654 available reclaimed land in the Island, that of a few farms,
241 had been refused in the 'eighties, but came to be granted, in principle and in fact, after 1900. During the war of
427 1914–18 the Government reaffirmed its promise to divide sheep farms into crofts for men returning from the Services, and the Land Settlement Act became law in 1919. Yet in spite of tentative experiments and schemes, a determined effort to see the Island possibilities and face its problems, as a whole, still remained to be made in the twentieth century.

175 When war broke out in 1914 over 5000 men left Lewis
161 to join the Services, and corresponding numbers left from
72 Harris. Others, too, served in the Merchant Marine, ex-
701 posed to U-boat warfare. From the first months of the war, Lewismen in the Seaforth Highlanders, and men from Harris in the Camerons, fought in the Highland Division as shock troops in the attacks which cost the Division the highest casualties of any in the British Army. The Lovat Scouts, the Mountain Battery, the Garrison Artillery and other units, also enrolled their men, and suffered loss.
175 The last blow to the Island came after anxiety had ceased.
161 Early in 1919 the transport *Iolaire* struck a rock and sank at the entrance to Stornoway harbour; and 200 men who
731 had withstood dangers and hardships during four years of war went down in the dark of a winter's night, almost within call of their waiting relatives massed on the pier to welcome them.

511 coat, was thought to be supernatural. The fishing, too, is
226 of good standard: a typical annual catch including 1700
511 salmon, 5000 sea-trout and 1800 brown trout; and it was for this, as well as for the shootings, that the moors pertaining to the different shooting or fishing lodges and hotels
137 were bought at Lord Leverhulme's sale. The absence of
233 foxes was important to sheep-rearing before the introduction of guns, and is still a favourable factor.

5. *Sea-fishing*

226 Fish have always contributed to the diet of the Islesfolk,
178 whether they fished from coracles or boats, or with 'lang wands' from the shore as they still do, and as they did in
[262] the days of Dean Monro and, no doubt, right back to neolithic times. The relative importance of fishing and
[433] agriculture, however, has always varied according to place
[241] and time.

182 Fishing in modern and historic, and also in prehistoric,
226 times—to judge from the kitchen middens of Uig—has always flourished more where there were deep sea-lochs;
241 and settlement resulted, even though rocky hillsides made ploughing difficult or impossible. Conversely, agriculture
[178] has offered better opportunity on smooth coasts with a
[172] variety of soils, though fishing was poorer there. Thus the men of Stornoway Bay and Eye, of eastern lochs and of the Harris bays, like those of Loch Roag on the west, have long been partly fishermen. In the extreme north, too, men of Ness—with the chance of choosing their fishing grounds on the north, west or east of the island and with their little rocky port giving shelter, of a sort, from south-
[461] west gales—were good fishermen; they are good seamen
[829] still. "The fishing of the Barvas folk" is an old gibe,

182 meaning that the men of that village, and its immediate
226 neighbourhood, were the last to put to sea and the first to
241 return. The Barvas folk could retort that they would have been fools to do anything else on a straight exposed
[829] coast; and that anyway their pony-drawn ploughs were
[461] of more use than the foot ploughs of the rocky south. A form of provender taken indirectly from the sea was the sea-birds and eggs from the sea-cliffs and islets like Rona, north-west of the Butt. This helped to support a few families in St. Kilda and on the rocky Shiant Islands south-east of Harris.

175 Fishing remained backward and primitive, however,
226 until the nineteenth century. After developing in a promising way, it was checked before the First World
[178] War, and fell into decay during and after it. Decay has,
504 of course, been widespread. In 1935 the chief ports of
501 the East Coast, from Leith with Granton northward by Fraserburgh to Wick—a round dozen—had still an average of 250 to 300 vessels, 3000 in all. These were chiefly of steam or motor auxiliary power and valued (with fishing gear) at £2,750,000. Orkney and Zetland, too, had each their 300 boats. The whole West Coast, however, from Stornoway to Ballantrae, had only 2000 boats, valued at less than one-tenth of the fleet of the East, and worth only a fraction of this, to judge from prices in the open market. Nearly 400 boats were still on the register for Lewis and Harris (Stornoway district) and another 300 for the rest of the Outer Isles. But fewer put to sea each year, even from Stornoway itself.

182 A major drawback to herring fishing in the Stornoway
226 district is the uncertainty in the movements of the herring shoals. On the Clyde, moreover, herring can be sent fresh to the city but further north they must be cured. Whereas

182 on the East Coast and in Orkney and Zetland there are
226 comparatively well-marked seasons at which the herring can be expected, Stornoway appears to lie marginally to their main migrations. Thus the amount of the catch varies and curers have been disinclined to set up large curing stations such as those which deal with the enormous influx at the height of the season on the East Coast. A partial compensation is found in the continuance of herring fishing in winter.

226 While fishing from rowing boats for saith, lythe and
[178] mackerel still supplies food for home in summer, fishing with long lines in winter and spring brought cod and other white fish, sun-dried and salted, which became an important export though declining sharply after 1900 and of no importance since 1919. Lobster fishing is undertaken in small boats with two or three men from many townships, and two ponds have been reopened, one on Bernera, Lewis, and the other at Stockinish in Harris to store the lobsters. Conditions in 1935 and 1951–53 are compared in Appendix I (iii) and II (iii).

6. *The Annual Rhythm of Life*

221 It is appropriate here to show how fishing and crofting fitted together into the seasonal calendar a hundred years ago, and shortly before and after the war of 1914–18.
[182] The Lewisman's year shows its relationship to the seasons,
[175] with their temperature, rainfall and wind (Fig. 9). A century wrought changes: cod fishing declined as the
[178] herring fishing grew in importance; but the latter fell
[286] away again after the war. Partly as a result, weaving has become important, the men fitting into the idle periods between the brief peaks of spring and harvest work.

461 Men's work can be roughly estimated as either light,
462

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 22]

342 maintained—once an important aid to the survival of half-
343 starved cattle. A slope from the dwelling-quarters down to the byre facilitates drainage: normally the length of the
[178] homestead follows the slope. The separation of house from byre took place in Harris and Uist over seventy years ago by County Council decision, but in most of Lewis, even in 1947, about 40 per cent of the homesteads were
342 of the primitive type, outwardly but little changed. This separate cottage, as in Harris, is a shapely little structure, roughly symmetrical and particularly pleasing when the walls are whitewashed below the pale-gold thatch.

342 The surviving 'black house' is a stone structure. As
343 Stevens has written, "the rock of the island is hard to
[314] work, and hard to win", and may be covered by peat. Undressed stones are collected and sometimes carried for
[324] long distances. Before dynamite came into use, a very large stone could be broken up by lighting a peat fire on it, then dashing cold water over it. By an old Gaelic custom, the bachelors of a township used to help to build the house for one of their friends who was about to marry.
[333] Lime for mortar being absent from the island, the walls are built dry. The wall is double, the space between being filled with earth. Hence it may be six feet thick
[354] at the base, though barely six feet high. Typical primitive houses lacked windows, only a little light entering through the smoke vent and through a piece of oiled skin, replaced latterly by a pane of glass let into the thatch of the roof or by a deep window aperture in the wall.

342 Roof building is a difficult problem in construction,
343 on account of the scarcity of timber and the strength of
313 the winds, and explains the narrow plan. Wood was so scarce that when a house was abandoned the frame of the
[182] roof was removed, the spars being the tenant's; but in
[422]
[178]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

342 adequate air-space, and windows opening at the top and
746 usually kept open by day, in which a woman can work at
178 ease. The Department of Agriculture aided the building of a good standard type. The quality of joinery and
656 masonry or concrete work improved, one fairly skilled
[335] workman usually directing the householder and friends as
[333] amateur builders. The cost of materials was met by a grant, generally of £250, half being repayable by an annual rent of £6: 10s. for twenty years. Repayments proceeded satisfactorily. No scheme organised by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland won so general a commendation as this of house improvement. It made good use of family initiative and responsibility, with neighbourly co-operation not called for upon a large scale, a township at a time, but in quite a small, personal way. Nevertheless, had more guidance been provided to the builders, the
[464] houses could have been really well built. For lack of this, perhaps, crofters increasingly prefer to pay for skilled work, though helping actively. Appendces I (ii) and II (ii) gives pre-War and post-War statistics.

3. *The Township and its Changing Plan*

361 Where absence of rock and boulder permits ploughing,
[182] the village land is laid out in a series of parallel strips,
[491] aligned with the slope. The road runs either parallel with shore or river, or at right angles to it. The inter-mixed possession of strips by 'run-rig' characterised the Lowlands before the Enclosures, and is frequent in
[423] the Highlands and Isles. The apparent regularisation of field lines may conceal the fact that an individual holder's plots may be scattered amongst those of others in fixed
[182] run-rig. This is an advantage where quality of land is so patchy, and each man thus gets his share of good and bad

361 luck in land, but a disadvantage where control of a single
[423] area is desired by one man. Regularisation of roads,
[182] houses and holdings is relatively modern, for crofts and dwellings were once grouped in hamlets usually close to
[172] the seashore. The early hamlets can still be made out from their ruins among the rocks, sometimes sketched in the 'six inch to mile' Ordnance Survey plans. They were without formal order or arrangement, each homestead within its boundary wall. Where ploughing was and is too difficult, the soil is heaped up in ridges, 'lazy-beds', and dug.

361 Shawbost, on a rocky part of the west coast (six miles
491 south of Barvas) consists of three main sections: a scatter of houses and ruins by the enclosed loch, two main streets linking the loch to the main coastal road, and inland another short street. The three can be made out on a 'quarter-
[175] inch' map. The two main streets were laid out by the
[311] Estate Officers following removals in the mid-nineteenth century from another part of the island, Uig, and the third running inland was laid out still later, when population was growing and land was needed. When the third street was laid out, the landlord, Matheson, lent good plough-horses for preliminary reclamation. The irregularly placed black houses near the sea are tending to be rebuilt close to the main road.

361 In addition to this type of movement, farms 'broken
178 up' once more into crofts have been laid out on a regular grid plan, each house placed on a corner of its five, ten,
311 or twenty-acre plot (*e.g.* Galson, Dalebeg, etc.). 'Skinned'
[654] land may also be reclaimed for crofts by squatters tolerated by the community, or on a regular grid by agreement of the assembled crofters, guided by the Department of Agri-
[491] culture. Thus two distinct tendencies are seen: the grid plan in new settlements, road alinement in existing ones.

311 illustrates the narrow margin of habitability on these frag-
241 mented holdings.
423 Now, in Lewis periodic pooling and exchange, or the
practice of *movable* run-rig on the small joint-tenants'
241 farms, was abolished early in the nineteenth century, except
423 upon the machar, where it still continues. Apparently the
476 strips were simply fixed where they had last been appor-
178 tioned by lot. Subdivision of the little crofts among sons
and grandsons followed, owing to inheritance without re-
[175] clamation. Fairness gave 'the patchwork quilt' described;
but it was fairness pushed to the point of folly, for differ-
ences in soil from one adjacent strip to another were slight!
It is otherwise with the long, narrow plough-strips which
run from the houses on the pure boulder clay down to the
sandy shore: run-rig, movable or fixed, is understandable
and necessary there. The case just cited shows how a
sensible communal tradition, such as that of '*movable*
run-rig' with periodic pooling, may degenerate into ab-
surdity by fixation. Happily the machar still shows the
sane maintenance of a tradition, the pooling of resources:[1]

182 In 1924–25, widespread distress in the Isles, the failure
161 of the Leverhulme endeavour, the crofters' refusal to own
their own crofts, and the emigration which followed, caused
many outsiders to forecast rapid depopulation. It was all
182 the more interesting to note the confidence in the Island's
161 future shown by buyers of the great estate, all of whom
471 knew what they were about, for they were men with
experience of the Island, of its rates and rentals and of its
people. To a wealthy man who repurchased a sporting

[113] [1] Apportionment of lands held in run-rig in the Carloway estate is described, and the principle discussed, in *Scottish Land Court Reports*. (See *Scottish Law Rev.* vol. 28, 7; July 1940, pp. 51-54.) At the same time 'mechanisation', or the co-operative utilisation of tractors had led to pleas for 'collective farming'. (*Stornoway Gazette*, February 1944.)

182 estate, or where a single lodge was bought as a home for
161 retirement, depopulation might not matter. Certain popu-
471 lated parishes, however, were bought as investments by
men of comparatively modest means. The principal
471 reasons for his purchase given to me by a retired man,
formerly connected with the administration of the Lews
124 estate, were two. Asked if he had found, and expected,
steady, remunerative payment of rent, he replied: "Cer-
tainly!" Next, in view of Press forecasts of general
emigration, I referred to the fact that if large numbers
of crofters decided to give a year's legal notice of departure
and apply for compensation for improvements, including
the erection of a 'white house' (otherwise than by Govern-
ment aid), the landowner would be faced by heavy lia-
bilities while deprived of income. Had the purchaser no
fear of such an eventuality? "Certainly not!" was the
reply, "the crofters will stick to their homes for many a
long year."

829 These examples show that, while the defeat, or non-
realisation of Leverhulme's schemes, seemed to many out-
458 siders the beginning of a not distant 'end' to the Island
community, the Islanders themselves did not contemplate
a final exodus. They were quite uncertain what was to
come, it is true. Who was not, in those years of discour-
agement for Scotland and her people, for Wales, for
Tyneside and Lancashire? The years of Leverhulme's de-
parture from Lewis and of his death brought bad seasons.
In 1924 storms destroyed crops and the peat would not dry.
Herring catches and prices, though they had risen a little
since 1921–22, had not allowed recovery from the losses
sustained. The cessation of Leverhulme's wage-payments
meant a gap in income which the Islanders could not fill
[135] at home. To relieve poverty in 1924-25, a Highlands and

178 exists at Tarbert and another was erected in
286 district by Leverhulme. Leverhulme also
have introduced 'Automatic' hand-looms i
[423] Today as in the past, the weavers possess a li
[422] a feu, a cow, and a few sheep on the outrun, a
a small boat.

121 Commercial fishing and weaving cannot, h
satisfactorily combined, for seasonal alternation
286 tion entails waste of gear and plant, and inte
228 efficiency. Thus in the North Lochs fishi
(Leurbost neighbourhood, immediately south
182 way), weaving became important, but none o
178 large herring fishing boats (still registered in
been fitted with motors after 1918; they we
[501] rotting, and by 1938 only one was still registered
Lochs, however, motor-boats were purchased
is little weaving. An obvious reason for the
the accessibility of the North Lochs area
[493] Stornoway. Light passenger cars bring yarn to
besides groceries, etc., and take away rolls of tw
Lochs, on the other hand, considerably fu
Stornoway by road, is still within reach for ma
In North Lochs, merchant seamen at home and
on their return from three months' work on
fishing boats, turned increasingly to the 'Autom
manipulation being easily learnt; but such
work alone gives little hope of progress. There
fascinating problem than the future of improve

2. Unemployment and the Island Budge

174 In the past, the storms of the Atlantic wa
731 the Island shores the wreckage of world com
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3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

121 The importance of the 'regional' movement is inter-
185 regional and indeed international. In the case of the
Island, international order is required for its fisheries to
438 recover, and for its weaving to find purchasers abroad as
well as at home. This in turn could allow small-holding
to find an Island market in its little burgh, Stornoway.
Without this triple basis of fishing, weaving and crofting
for its economy, Island society will break up and its culture
[182] vanish, not evolve. It is no less true that only by the best
utilisation of each regional environment, economy and
society as we find them, will profiteers be held in check
at home, and powerful peoples cease to exploit the sweat
of others.

121 A pioneer American Report acknowledges the debt of
171 regional survey for the New Deal not only to France and
Germany, but to a group of practical idealists, of geo-
[185] graphers, biologists and sociologists in Britain.[1] If nation-
[433] ally we can be proud of Scots and British initiative in
[184] planning, we must own, until recently, to humiliating
slowness in its execution, and in the mobilisation of regional
resources for social ends. The chief end of our planning
must be the re-making of society. In Britain it is not
always realised that in the great developments of the New
Deal the execution of concrete schemes which include civil
engineering, industrial expansion and agricultural con-
servation, is accompanied by real cultural achievements,
both urban and rural. Not only are geographers and
economists, technicians, industrialists, and officials called
to survey and plan the Tennessee Valley, but sociologists
and educationists are required to complete the work. Not

[113] [1] *Regional Factors in National Planning*, National Resources Committee, U.S.A., December 1935. Cf. Lewis Mumford (U.S.A.); and P. Geddes, P. Abercrombie, L. D. Stamp, E. A. Gutkind, G. H. J. Dayah, and others (Britain).

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

28 South Uig and Park seem to suffer in the same way even though the larger producers,
434 mostly mills, endeavour to distribute weaving equally to all districts. The weavers'
earnings vary from individual to individual, according to the amount of work they get, and
also from year to year according to the fortunes of the trade, especially of the American
export trade. A good weaver, in a good year, might earn from £400 to £500 but an
average weaver, in an average year in Bernera, probably earns between £250 and £300,
whereas in the Carloway district (more accessible to producers based in Stornoway and
Shawbost), the comparable figure is around £400. Most weavers try to maintain con-
nections with several producers and this difference in earnings may be between those who
obtain additional work for 'small-producers' (i.e. tweed merchants who do not spin their
own yarn), and those who do not.

228 Fishing has greatly declined since the late nineteenth century (table 31), neither white
[226] fish nor herring are of any significance, nor do Bernera men contribute significantly to
433 the island's economy by working on east coast boats, as was formerly the case. But
Bernera has become one of the most important centres of Scottish lobster fishing, the
value of landings having increased from £983 in 1937 to £4,949 in 1956. There are six
locally owned lobster boats and others use the facilities at Kirkiboat. The vessels
generally have seven to a crew (c.f. the usual five in Sutherland) and work the whole lengt
of the Atlantic coast and out to the Flannan Islands and St. Kilda. They carry 100 to 160
lobster pots and may also catch ling; crabs are almost entirely ignored because they are
difficult to transport to the distant, mostly English, markets.

One very important factor in the present prosperity of the Bernera lobster fishing is
the Kirkiboat lobster pond. This was built by a local crofter in the 1920's. It was close
during the war, and was afterwards taken over by the Crofters' Supply Agency, though th
original proprietor is still employed whole-time in looking after the pond and re-fishing
the lobsters. There is naturally some loss of fish in the pond, and when high prices are
being obtained at Oban the local fishers feel rather disgruntled at their less favourable
market here. Hence, if there is a good catch, say over 2,000 lbs to a boat, and reasona
good weather prevails, the lobsters may be taken straight to Oban where up to twice the
local price may be obtained. The C.S.A. pay 2s less per lb than Oban because of the
cost of the upkeep of the pond, and the wages for two men with their boat. There was an
experiment in flying lobsters direct from Lewis to Billingsgate, but the cost was too high
The problems of isolation here are very severe for the lobsters have to be sent by
Macbrayne's steamer and by British Railways upon which there are no cold wagons reser-
ved for the small quantities in question - a hazardous course for a highly perishable carg

Conclusions.

182 This part of Uig, therefore, has had a long and complex history of human settlement,
exploitation, and adaptation. Much of the more recent part of this history is vividly
remembered and still plays a part in the making of modern decisions. The sense of kin-
ship and a common past is an important cement of society, for where natural resources
are so limited a mystique of other than a material type is necessary if society is to retai
51 its self-respect. However, the natural resources are indeed so limited that economic
181 self-improvement is extremely difficult. The egalitarian tendencies of Gaelic society a
crofting legislation are not now sufficient to resist the tendencies of the times and to pre-
vent some of the crofters making adjustments in their holdings, but unfortunately there i
insufficient good land to allow much adjustment without a drastic reduction of population
[447] which would be equally damaging to the well-being of the local society. It seems unlikel
that alternative sources of employment could easily be found - the isolation within Lewis,
the isolation from markets of Lewis itself, and the lack of local resources have combine
on previous occasions to defeat plans for development. Weaving is the most important
288 means of supplementary livelihood, but it is too vulnerable to politics and fashion; fishin
is greatly decayed from its former dominating position; only agriculture remains locally
228 and perhaps the greatest possibilities there lie in better standards of cultivation (especia
drainage and fertilisation), a better standard of animal husbandry, and more reseeding.
But whatever developments are undertaken will need careful selection and encouragemen
results cannot be hurried but nevertheless something must be done soon if the local socie
is to maintain itself. This great and paradoxical element of the "crofting problem" is a
important here as elsewhere in the seven "Crofting Counties".

[Kershader] [Garyvard]
182 common grazings - at present approximately correctly stocked - and cannot therefore provide
241 much employment. Hence it is the standard of agriculture that must be improved. Since the
[213] land does not permit striking extension or improvement of the cultivated area, development
must be directed towards improving pasture, with more re-seeding and controlled grazing
100 similar to that already described. All this, however, is of little avail if prices for cattle, sheep and wool remain low, or at least lower than prices prevailing on the mainland. The first priority, therefore, in the establishment of a prosperous agriculture is a guaranteed market-price. Given this, it might become worthwhile to take steps to increase the carrying capacity of the crofts. It may be assumed that this would involve an all-round improvement which could give a firm basis to the economic existence of the community; until this is achieved, stability and continuity are out of the question.

GARYVARD

Gwenyth R. Page, B. A.

131 The landscape of the south-east coast of Loch Erisort is a sombre and rugged one. The
133 Quaternary ice sheets left in their wake troughs now filled by the sea loch, innumerable lochs covered in water lilies, a massive area of indeterminate drainage and expanses of bare gneiss.

Garyvard is set on the fringe of this landscape on a 20 to 25° slope with the crofts aligned
[551] from the moor to the sea, on a mantle of drift. Here is the home of the MacLeods, the Mackinnon
221 and the Montgomerys. Life beats out its regular pattern of existence during the winter months
231 on the croft, followed by an increasing tempo and variety of work during the rest of the year. In
241 January and February the animals must be fed on hay or lose the battle to survive. In February there are preparations for the year's tasks, making repairs and improvements to the croft. Next month will find the crofter on the land, making or clearing drains and putting fences and dykes in order. The tempo of life quickens with the year; April sees the first sheep dipping, the land turned over, potatoes and oats sown. From mid-May, the sheep leave the crofts to fend
[147] for themselves on the common grazing. The following three or four months are times of tremendous activity on the moors when the peats are cut, to be stacked later, first in fours, then in eights, so that the wind may dry them, till eventually bee-hive-shaped stacks - some four feet high - can be seen near the peat banks in August. Then begins the wearisome task of carrying the peats home, all too frequently in creels carried on the back, since the peat workings of Garyvard are on the moors up to half a mile from road. Altogether some two miles of roads are needed to prevent the villagers patronising the coal merchants of Stornoway. Two crofters, however, cut peat on their crofts, whilst others have permission to cut from Cromore or Caversta common grazings close to the road. All the while croft work continues, varying from hoeing, weeding and cutting hay to the gathering of sheep for shearing. As there are no fences between the various commons, crofters must travel from one township fank to another, seeking their own. In August the lambs are weaned. Hay making generally ends in August and is immediately followed by the oat harvest in September. By the time both oats and hay have been gathered in, the potatoes are lifted and the sheep are brought in from the common grazing about October 12th. The last sheep dipping takes place in November and is followed by tupping.

241 There are eleven crofts altogether, though one is divided, each portion having a legal tenant
423 who has a half share in the common grazing. Two crofts are 12 acres in extent, the half crofts 2.75 acres only, though the acre cultivated on the common grazing by one of the latter crofters since 1923, has recently been officially recognised. Most crofts are in strips running from the sea-shore up the slope some 500 yards to the township dyke, and are clearly demarcated by fences erected just after the last war. Three crofts have additional strips whilst one croft was
[75] an extra strip belonging to another croft. The additional strips date back about 100 years to a time when the township grew rapidly as a result of evictions in southern Park. One croft is divided and worked in three separate parts so in effect there are fourteen operative units in Garyva

The future existence of the community depends on its ability to develop a viable economy integrated by
10 overcrowding. The housing is not enforced in Crowdley and the actual sheep stock exceeds the ceiling
745 of 1000 per year. Crowdley possesses a highly valuable grazing area; the hinterland is a rough
place where they even have some peat cutting on the Ledger grazing on the island. The degree both
of overcrowding and of inadequate cutting cannot be measured in the environment.

The evidence must seek of attempts to improve the quality of the common pasture. The establishment of a crofters' association to control the use of the common pasture and to carry out improvements
746 seems chance if they were carefully sited. Much of the common pasture could be improved by a skilled
drainage scheme and by re-seeding, after seeding and liming, a project well within the capacity of
the contract labour force.

Good crops on a few of the crofts suggest that the land is not inherently sterile, however, and
it would seem that if the drainage had been reduced to a minimum of time, an considerable crop
be feasible on lesser crofts. The steep nature of the soil limits the possibilities of tractor cultivation
and with no improvement in drainage, soils are might be used in the two cultivs.

It is not up easy to be optimistic about the establishment of surplus population resulting from
the proposed crofting improvements. Although crofting is a traditional occupation in the Highlands
747 and there are some signs of a growing interest in crofting among people who have no other
prospects of employment in the Highlands. Renewed to be plausible supply, indeed Lanverney people also stress
that regions and should be given priority in grants enhancement of a processing plant would provide
suitable employment.

The problem is of be becoming increasingly obvious that unless the holdings can be enlarged, shrink
officially or by sub-letting, and some further employment created, Dirnsay is liable to stagnate, and
the population to continue. The township was developed to relieve congestion in some round
congested.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the Glasgow University Department of Geography Crofting Survey is to record and
analyse material relevant to the crofting districts, and in so doing provide a clear and impartial
assessment of the crofting scene. The survey has been carried out over a period of two years and
has found that a lotty of fact could be assembled and conclusions drawn which would invite the
Association to their admirable aims of advancing the well-being of the area. Their two Prizegiver
Lectures of 1955 and 1957, indicate that they have already investigated most of the problems
748 of the crofting counties. The Department of Geography Crofting Survey, which is a continuation of the survey
of crofting in Lewisland, on final assessment of the Crofting Area as a whole can be made.

The economic of Fluch is one of the more isolated and difficult crofting environments. The rugged
and mountainous terrain, the lack of good arable land, the inaccessibility and the unfavourable climate
749 are extremely unfavourable conditions. In addition, many of the Fluch communities were first
established as a result of population pressures in more favourable areas of Lewis, and the original
settlers were not attracted to Fluch by the prospect of a good living from the land, but by the
750 necessity of survival under Fluch subsistence farming in an unknown, harsh environment. The
impact of Fluch change ceases to Fluch in the form of the solution of a large body of small farmers in
favour of an enlargement of the grazing area. Thus the present conditions are a legacy of the necessary
751 adjustment to Fluch life. The problem of the future of Fluch is a legacy proportion of solutions
reached in the nineteenth century. Population then the land could reasonable carry. Two World
Wars and fluctuating economic factors have had repercussions in Fluch and resulted in a change in
economic and social values, and depopulation has resulted the 1951 population was 60 per cent of
752 the 1881 population.

The Commissioners proposed that only holdings created at 12 and over should have security of
tenure, with a view to discouraging the perpetuation of grossly uneconomic holdings; in the Ard.
all holdings were given security of tenure.

97

As a consolidation of the agricultural situation reveals that there are insufficient resources to
make the present number of crofts viable. Overstocking in sheep, an attempt to increase cash
745 crops and a reluctance to adopt a high subsidy regime, contribute grazing stress. In the island, croft
land is faced with a classic dilemma. If by part of its efforts into the working of the croft, the crofter
is prepared to work off the croft, the croft cannot be enlarged to provide a living for the family.
The Crofting Industry. Normally the chief reason of a livelihood rather than the croft itself, has
been the employment of men and women in the Crofting Industry. Unfortunately, the crofting industry
has been in decline and is not likely to find any employment in the area when have been events
and the Crofting Industry. Unfortunately, the crofting industry

SUMMARY. The first period of culture change following the abortive rebellion established a series of trends which have contributed to the present culture. The social hierarchy was modified by the degradation of the chiefs and their absenteeism. In order to maintain their status in the larger commercial society, they replaced the former bonds of kinship and affection with contractual relationships. Indignation with the landlords and the lack of replacement of the tacksmen led to the decline of the tacksmen as an important element in the social hierarchy. The people were left without their traditional leaders, and the fiction of kinship which had bound the members of the clan together could no longer be maintained.

The subsistence economy was strengthened by the clansmen's receiving a larger share in the land, the introduction of the potato and helping, and by the booming cattle markets. The social and economic changes allowed an increase in the population, which was facilitated by the introduction of vaccination. In time, the population over-ran the means of subsistence. Seasonal migration for employment, and emigration to the New World became a necessity. As far as the people were concerned, the significant thing is that the introduction of commercialism did not mean the conversion of the estates into large farms.

Two processes are observable in the religious facet of the culture, the relaxation of the rigor of Presbyterianism and the beginning of a conservative movement. A combination of economic depression, threatened social disintegration, and cultural instability disposed the people to accept the more

dynamic evangelical form of worship in preference to the moderate, humanistic preaching of their own ministers.

Period II (1811-1845)

The year 1811 marks a turning point in the culture history of the Isle of Skye. During the second period the processes we have observed in the initial period gained strength and began to unfold in their characteristic forms. By this time the Industrial Revolution was nearly 100 years old. Britain was on the verge of victory in her wars for the freedom of the seas, and her commercial empire was her major concern. Since the government remained disinterested in the Highlands, the sources for culture change must again be sought in the attitudes and policies of the local landlords.

Exercising their legal powers to separate and reunite the intermixed strips of arable into permanent, compact holdings, the proprietors began a reorganization of their estates.[24] Between 1811 and 1819 runrig was virtually abolished.[25] In the Lowlands and Eastern Highlands this alteration of the traditional system of land use and tenure had been only a step in the direction of a more sweeping reform, consolidation of

[24] Cameron Macleod, The Book of Duntreath, Vol. I, p. 118; Lachlan Shaw, History of the Province of Moray, (Edinburgh: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1827) by the author, 1826; Admts 5-11, 20-21; Admts 1, 2, 23.

[25] Joan MacCulloch, A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1824), Vol. IV, pp. 304-305.

The land into large commercial farms.[26] Even had the landlords desired to emulate the results achieved elsewhere, it is doubtful that the persistent demands of the steadily increasing numbers of people who lived on the land could have been disregarded at this time. On Skye, as in most of the Western Highlands, the arable of the old farms was simply divided into as many equal shares of five to ten acres as possible. The grazing lands continued to be held in common and used under a system of stinted rights, and the arable was used communally between harvesting and spring ploughing. Leasing and legally recognized traditional or written right to the land, the people remained tenants at will, enjoying hereditary tenure as long as they had the good will of the landlord and, especially, that of his factor.

The people, then, were each given a precisely equal share, which was often assigned by lot, in the old farms. Just as the old infield and outfield system had functioned to provide each man with a bit of the worst and a bit of the best soil, the shares were set out in long strips. After the former joint-tenants had received their allotments, they were moved their dwellings from the small hamlet-like clusters near the center of each farm to the individual plots. The township settlement patterns, as we now know it, came into existence.

The effects of this rather superficial reorganization

[26] See, e.g., Malcolm Gray, "The Abolition of Runrig in the Highlands of Scotland," pp. 52-53; Ray Burnett, Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 190-200.

soon became apparent. There was a leveling of the social hierarchy. The former joint-tenants, subtenants, and cottars had become crofters. Whatever socio-economic distinctions had once marked off people in the land could no longer be discerned at this time. On Skye, as in most of the Western Highlands, the arable of the old farms was simply divided into as many equal shares of five to ten acres as possible. The grazing lands continued to be held in common and used under a system of stinted rights, and the arable was used communally between harvesting and spring ploughing. Leasing and legally recognized traditional or written right to the land, the people remained tenants at will, enjoying hereditary tenure as long as they had the good will of the landlord and, especially, that of his factor.

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in Scotland, it lasted the same effects elsewhere. There is a significant correlation in the Highlands and Islands, as in Ireland, of the disproportion of the population to the means of subsistence, the rise of a cottar class, and the decline of the tacksmen. Whatever socio-economic distinctions had once marked off people in the land could no longer be discerned at this time. On Skye, as in most of the Western Highlands, the arable of the old farms was simply divided into as many equal shares of five to ten acres as possible. The grazing lands continued to be held in common and used under a system of stinted rights, and the arable was used communally between harvesting and spring ploughing. Leasing and legally recognized traditional or written right to the land, the people remained tenants at will, enjoying hereditary tenure as long as they had the good will of the landlord and, especially, that of his factor.

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The effects of this rather superficial reorganization

The process to be observed in the religious facet of the culture during the second period is conservatism. Itinerant ministers, catechists, and a religious brotherhood known as the "Men" supplemented the regular clergy. As the Revival grew strong, the "Men," as tenacious defenders of the evangelical cause, began to wage an anti-clerical campaign.[44] They usually remained within the Church, opposing and separatist movement, but they drew a sharp distinction between the Church and the people. To be a member of the "Men" was to dissociate oneself from the death-dealing moderate ministers,[45] who were said to have had more interest in their farms than in their congregations.[46] The "Men" conceived their function to be one of delivering powerful testimonies of evangelical truth.[47] They rebuked and constantly reminded the people of their religious duties. They made Sabbatarianism an observable test of religious obedience, separating the respectable Christians from the godless. Prayer meetings were held at which the "Men" engaged in short, earnest prayers, and exhorted the people to read their Bibles and to be honest in family worship.

The growing influence of the Revival did not leave the clergy unmoved. At least two areas to recreate the spirit of vital religion and revive emotional enthusiasm in their congregations.[48] It was no accident that these ministers should

[44] Macinnes, op. cit., pp. 151, 165; MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

[45] MacCowan, op. cit., p. 53.

[46] Macinnes, op. cit., pp. 217-215.

[47] Thomas Brown, Annals of the Disruption in 1841 (Edinburgh: Maclaren and Wallace, 1867), pp. 7-8.

appear in the parishes of Bracadale and Duisort. Bracadale had already seen the beginnings of the final stage in commercialization; Duisort had been sold piecemeal to new landlords. The Evangelical Presbyterian created a new pattern of social and religious life on Skye. It gave the culture a new focus to replace the dead clan system. Much of the form of religious worship and behavior characteristic of the Island today was established during this Revival Movement. The "Men" became the dominant members of the community. An esoteric religious hierarchy evolved. There were the unfriendly few who were in a state of saving grace and acceptable at Communion, and the eminent "Men," the aged, venerable spiritual laity.[49]

The Revival, unlike many nativistic movements, neither held out the promise of cultural regeneration nor fostered the dream of prosperity. To the contrary, the attack against the folk culture characteristic of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was renewed with vigor. While religious enthusiasm grew, social life beyond a family level was restricted. Perhaps, the years of destitution and the ever present threat of famine had made hospitality a luxury which few could afford. Perhaps, it was no longer possible for the people to provide whiskey and food for large numbers at a funeral or a wedding. The Irish ministers assert that the changes were due to the activities of the "Men." It would seem that the "Men" were

[49] MacCowan, op. cit., p. 211.

agents for what have been called "cries of intensification."[50] They restored the equilibrium of interaction by creating new behavior patterns. This was probably particularly true during the famine, when the people's relatives and friends were dying and emigrating in large numbers. While the patient, an evening of spinning folk tales, singing, and dancing, was condemned, and the children of parents who would not conform to the dictates of one minister and the "Men" were refused baptism, prayer meetings and other church services were providing emotional outlets.[51]

Like the Welsh,[52] the Skye crofters found the Bible revealed unto them their own past history and their present difficulties. As the "Men" preached from Scripture and interpreted the meaning, often using allegorical interpretations, of the word, the people became familiar with a story which was striking similar to their own. The present social and economic conditions were but a prosage of the coming dissolution. It was all there in the Old Testament, in the books of Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Psalms, and Prophets. The omen was all the more vivid because the transgressors in the Bible lived a life much like the crofters. Both the ancient peoples and the Skyemen had a pastoral economy, a patriarchal family structure,

[50] Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), pp. 399-400.

[51] Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, Vol. VII, p. 166; and Horace Fenwick, Life Story (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 14-15.

[52] Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

ruled by elders, and a heritage which had never admitted compact, non-rural population centers. These basic cultural values and patterns were given religious sanction.

Year by year throughout this period the following and the influence of the "Men" increased. As the ministers were moved, especially as the old hereditary families of ministers were closely related to the old gentry were replaced by ministers from the people,[53] the "Men" became influential in the Church as elders. Now they could not only exhort the people but also judge them, by determining who was worthy of communion and whose children might be baptized. The strength of their control, however, did not require holding office. In Duirinish where an old moderate minister remained, Communion had not been celebrated for eleven years in 1840, and there were 200 baptisms in 1841.[54] Many preferred to walk miles to worship under an evangelical minister rather than put themselves in peril by hearing the local moderate minister. Dissension was becoming a significant factor and was paving the way for personal secession from the Church. As the official Church was weakened, the stage was set for the Disruption, but we shall leave that for the following period.

SUMMARY. The second period of the modern epoch saw the continuation of the trends established in the initial period. The process of commercialization was carried one step further. The old runrig system was replaced by the crofting system.

[53] Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

[Kershader]

(b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices, however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the forr case they heft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand. Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average sheep carcase weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category, and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption only)and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person h entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907 and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard, Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilizing the population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Garyvard] [Caversta]

At the moment Garyvard appears to be a go-ahead village, carrying out communal schemes which will benefit the township as a whole. However, the age structure of the population is abnormal since 60 per cent of the population is over 45 years. The future in Garyvard offers young people hard work, little money and no entertainment, making the attractions of the cities and industries of the mainland quite irresistible. Unless some industry can be started the future bodes ill for the area, since most crofters are of the opinion that a weekly wage packet would more than compensate the loss of their independence. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the age of National Assistance and subsidies that man cares more for momentary rewards and the luxuries of life. This is well understood by parents who encourage their children to leave the islands to seek employment either in Britain or within the Commonwealth. The Lewisman is no sentimentalist clinging to dying traditions and a way of life. His present desires have been re-cast as a result of his increasing contact with the world beyond the Hebrides and he is prepared to abandon his home where it defeats his aims and purpose. Unless prosperity can be brought in by way of industry, tourism or increased croft efficiency, possibly through co-operation in working and marketing, it is possible that we are witnessing the end of a community.

CAVERSTA

Helen Mackenzie

Caversta lies along a southern inlet of Loch Erisort, five miles from the Minch and is partially sheltered from east winds by the Cromore peninsula and Eilean Chaluim Chille.

The physical nature of the terrain is irregular, rising steeply from the water's edge to a level of approximately 225 feet. To the west and to the east, the land slopes to the river estuary and it is here that the settlement occurs. Particularly in the north-west, two marked breaks in slope are visible at 75 feet and 100 feet above the loch, which is here bordered by a 25 foot rock face. The resulting platforms are separated by faces of bare rock. The valley of the Caversta River is a noteworthy feature. Below a small loch, the river follows an irregular course though a wide and shallow moraine-strewn depression and a quarter-of-a-mile from its estuary, has cut through some low hills rising about 30 feet above the depression. At this point, its course becomes steeper as it passes through a small gorge, which is probably an overflow channel.

Trees are non-existent and the natural vegetation consists of Sphagnum on the peat bogs in the hollows and grasses and sedges on the gentler slopes. The steeper, less waterlogged slopes, often broken by rocky bluffs, have heather cover; bracken growth is kept in check by heavy grazing. Forty-six acres of land have been reclaimed by clearing heather and removing peat to form the crofts, but the soil, which varies in depth from a few inches to a few feet, is very acid.

The six legal crofts vary in acreage from 4.75 to 8.5 acres and a squatter has 5.5 acres of enclosed land. The township is in two parts: Torista, with the two smallest crofts, lies at the eastern extremity, while the other five holdings, also bounded by a dyke, border Tob Caversta, an inlet of Loch Erisort. The crofts, which run from the shore to the township dyke, were set prior to 1861; originally the township formed part of Crobeg Farm. The legal units are, in fact, operative units except that one of the Torista crofts, now unoccupied, is used for wintering lambs by the absentee's brother, a resident of Caversta.

There are no occupied black houses remaining in either Torista or Caversta, as during the past fifty years new dwellings have been erected in dressed stone or corrugated iron, usually with roofs of asbestos slate, tarred felt, or corrugated iron. Several old thatched houses are now used as barns and byres.

The Part-time Crofter. The part-time crofter follows much the same schedule and shares the same succession and variety of chores. Indeed, some are not so much part-time crofters as they are part-time employees. As such, they are successfully preserving a traditional economy no longer en rapport with the surrounding twentieth century commercial world by depending upon economic benefits of contractual relationships to the smallest possible degree. One fellow saw the situation this way: "We don't need factories and the like; what we need is something that will give us time to attend to our crofts." Others feel that if they have to abandon the traditional way of life, they might just as well leave the island for places where greater opportunities for social activity are joined with relative economic prosperity.

The part-time crofter has less land than the full-time crofter and less need for cultivating all of it because he has fewer cattle to feed during the winter. He, therefore, devotes less time to tilling his soil. On the other hand, although he has fewer sheep, the collective flock of his township is almost always larger than the stock of a large croft. Consequently, he spends more time dipping, marking, and shearing sheep in cooperation with his neighbors. Hired labor plays a minor role in the townships. Often the only hired hand is one of their number who assumes the responsibility of shepherding the flock. Some of the townships with club stocks, however, have adopted the practice of paying each shareholder for his labor out of the profits to encourage cooperation or to penalize those who do not do their full share.

Township Government. The township system has another marked influence on the economy of the Sgriathanach. By far the largest obstacle in the path of reform is the persistence of primitive democracy, distinguished from the democracy of Western Civilization by the requirement of unanimous consent rather than majority rule. The individual who comes to realize that it is possible to improve on the ways his father did things is deterred from attempting to introduce innovations. He cannot, for example, erect a fence around his croft unless everyone in his township approves such a departure from tradition. The dissenting voice of one old man is sufficient to thwart any plan. Unanimous decisions on all township affairs mean that the most progressive worker must keep pace with the most conservative. This fact goes a long way in explaining the essential agricultural disharmony of Skye, and most of the Highlands, with the rest of Great Britain. It is also a singular example of the incomplete adaptation of the culture to the higher socio-cultural organization.

When coupled with the many limitations on the economy, township government helps the outsider to understand why many younger crofters feel that the primary value of their few arable acres is their use as pasture. Even in townships which have been fenced, the prevailing practice is to open the crofts after the harvest. All winter long the stock is free to graze where it will. "My arable is no use at all, except to winter my sheep," said one young crofter. Another asserted, "I have three crofts and the use of one more, but it's not

mainland for the summer. For many of these people, unemployment is a misnomer. It means they are receiving a weekly allowance from the government while they wait for the next seasonal opportunity to turn from crofting to wage labor. Moreover, providing work and paying unemployment compensation is by no means all the government does for the Island's economy. Through the National Assistance Program many more are aided financially. In 1954, for example, there were no fewer than 726 individuals receiving some form of national assistance.[33] Most of this number were recipients of a non-contributory old age pension. The next largest category were young women required at home to care for aged and infirm parents. Of the total number, only thirty were Portree residents. Then, too, there are the previously mentioned subsidies and grants for agricultural improvement and fuller exploitation of the land.

We may conclude, then, that cultural continuity is an expensive proposition with a double-edged penalty. On the one hand, there is the sentimental distress which depopulation involves. Both the man who leaves Skye and those he leaves behind feel the loss of their loved ones. On the other hand, there is the expense to the government, which must be staggering and out of all proportion to the amount contributed by the people in taxes. It is not that the islands receive any special grants, but, as one newcomer said, "They just happen to qualify for all the grants, doles, and subsidies there are." He, of course, was exaggerating. As we shall see in the next chapter,

[33] Information extracted from the files of the National Assistance Board in Scotland, Edinburgh.

As we shall see in the next chapter, there is hostility between the Portree dwellers and the crofters. One reason for this is the fact that the village pays more in property tax than the rest of the island put together while they receive relatively little in return. The feeling that the crofter is "aye wantin', but never pays a cooper" (a penny in taxes) is not at all unusual.

Summary

If the economic aspect of the culture is judged in terms of the standard of living it affords, it cannot be considered as satisfactory. There are persistent environmental obstacles, among them geographical isolation and an unfavorable climate for pastoral-agriculture. We have seen that few can hope for anything which would approach a desirable income in the surrounding commercial society. The crofters have been caught between two cultural patterns. The old system of land use has persisted. A new system has been superimposed. From this new system, however, the Sgriathanach has accepted few innovations of more recent origin than the eighteenth century, except those of a material or technological nature. Still, he has ceased to be self-sufficient, and, in doing so, he has become dependent on the commercial world for the very essentials of physical existence. For many of the crofters this means seasonal migration in the quest of employment. For some it means part-time or full-time work locally. For a relatively large proportion of the population it means dependence on contributions of their children and government agencies. This dependence has not led to a full

adjustment to the higher society in which the successful individual is the specialist. The Sgriathanach has remained a pastoral-agriculturalist, and when he does seek employment, it is typically as an unskilled laborer.

It is far easier to point out the traits and trait-complexes he has lost than those which he has accepted during the two hundred years since 1745. The sad economic condition under which he labors is not conclusive evidence for disorganization. Integration does not mean smooth functioning. Nor do the changes, important as they are, point to discontinuity. The contemporary economic system reveals a fundamental continuity. As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, there is something far deeper involved than economic considerations. Let us now turn to the social aspect of the culture in order to seek an answer to the question why has the Sgriathanach remained in the face of all the inadequacies and insufficiencies we have reviewed.

554 626 829 New Zealanders breed sheep and make linen. One might say he knew more about the world than about Skye. He could not understand why so many people made fun of him when he was only trying to help.

626 632 In the absence of any traditionally valued status and role of leadership, administration of the common interests of the township members is the concern of all. We say in the last chapter that primitive democracy is the guiding rule. Each crofter has an equal voice in deciding any question which affects the group and all, without exception, have to agree before any action is taken. Consent is expressed by silence. Typically, the crofters will have talked the [624] matter over among themselves beforehand. At such times the fact clearly emerges that the grazing clerk and the grazing committee are no more than figureheads required by law. They have no coercive or disciplinary powers. In any group situation, their views are taken no more seriously than those of any other man.

887 888 626 632 It is the old men who gather at one anothers' homes or on the hill on a summer evening to weigh the innovation which the youth want introduced. If they find the change acceptable, they approve it at a meeting of the township by keeping silent. If they believe it will upset the communal system, they disapprove it. The dissenting voice of one old crofter is all that is required to maintain the conservative patterns, economically and socially.

182 626 In summary, we may say that within the township and on the croft the cultural patterns reveal a fundamental continuity. As of old, status is ascribed. Men have remained

182 626 583 882 559 the social superiors of women. The aged are the social superiors of the youth and young adults. The father determines how his wife and children will behave as long as they remain under his control. The old man, or men, determine what changes will be accepted or rejected. There is no way to question their decisions, unless one leaves the croft. Still, at the bottom, there is equality. No man can step forward as a leader. We are now in a position to look at the larger social grouping, the neighborhood.

Kith and Kin within the Neighborhood

182 621 During the days of the clan, the residents of the neighborhood were bound together by real and fictitious ties of consanguinity and affinity, which were reinforced by the strong attachment to the soil and propinquity. Only [602] the fictitious bonds have been forgotten. Like the township, the neighborhood consists of an aggregate of conjugal families whose inter-personal relationships are reinforced by a complicated network of kinship. Once, perhaps as late as 178 182 621 100 years ago, the neighborhood was a highly cooperative social unit. When the local mills were in use and the church had not been broken by schism, the people must have had a more definite focus for their common interests. In more remote times, it was a defensive entity. Today the neighbor- 182 621 hood is no longer a cooperative unit. On the analogy of the old horse plough and the caschrom, cooperation is essential to the township but superfluous to this larger group. That the neighborhoods have not lost the potential for concerted action in times of crisis is attested by the uprisings

during the "Clearences." 182 621

Strong in-group feeling is manifested not only in a belief that people of other neighborhoods are not quite as good somehow, but also by the tendency to withhold social acceptance. 186 621 571 182 There is, for example, a family of newcomers in Kilmuir. One day when they were being discussed one old crofter remarked, "Well, when they have been here as long as Jock over there, they will be just like one of us." It turned out that Jock's family had come to Kilmuir three generations ago. More than once I was reminded of the story of the Yorkshire man who moved from one village to another. He persisted in calling everybody a foreigner, and when asked why, he replied, "I've lived here sixty years, and they still call me a foreigner." The newcomer to Skye is known only by his nationality. The few Polish war refugees are "the Poles." The man from England is "the Englishman" or, in Gaelic, Sassenach, a term also applied to Lowlanders. They have no real place in the scheme of things.

Within the neighborhood, there are invariably established 571 602 social circles within which the people habitually move. These cliques take several forms on Skye,[16] as in most cultures, and cross cut each other as well as the townships. The most important clique consists of "my people and friends," the individual's kinsmen. The Sgiathanach carefully distinguishes between his "family," his wife and children; his "people,"

[16] Although I consider "clique" to be an unfortunate choice of terms, because it has unfavorable connotations in the lay mind, it has been introduced into the vocabulary of the social sciences; see, e.g., Steward, Area Research, pp. 40, 49; Murdock, op. cit., p. 88; Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 135.

distinction. During the war when Skye had its own little 875 554 576 army, he came to know many of the old crofters quite well. Finally, he came to use personal names when speaking to them and asked to be called by his first name. The people explained that they might be older than he, but he was too important to be spoken to as anything other than mister.

The tradesmen and the shopkeepers in Glendale and 554 443 Kilmuir are not any different from any other man. They are not specialists. They are part-time crofters. We have to turn to Portree to see what status position they fill in the society of Skye. I might just add that they are on a first name basis with their neighbors, and, like the crofters, they are known beyond the neighborhood by their first name and township, such as Ian Borve or Murdo Stein.

To summarize, there is additional evidence for cultural 576 182 continuity in the structure of the neighborhood. The extended family, although very unstable and, therefore, somewhat amorphous, is still a reality in the minds of the people. It still has two functions which it must have had in the remote past: seeing that all are cared for and given a decent burial. The ascription of status noted for the township 554 182 carries over to the neighborhood, as does the underlying status equality and need for unanimous consent. Among the crofters leadership is still undeveloped. The old men can enforce [882] conformity but they cannot lead. Although prestige ranking is developed, in the form of the achieved statuses of ministers, doctors, and teachers, it is significant that, except for the minister in Glendale, all holders of prestige status are

alien to their heritage. There was little local need for roads and steamships, but they were paving the way for the final stage in commercialization, the conversion of the island into sheep farms. 175* 178* 621

The record suggests that the culture was suffering from disorganization and the society had been threatened by disintegration. The Revival, which began at the close of the initial period, became full blown. This movement confirms what the record suggests. A new pattern of social behavior and religious life came into being. The traditional secular patterns of interaction were being replaced by patterns of sacred interaction. New values, new statuses, and new roles were evolving to give religious sanction to the old patterns. The result was an esoteric religious hierarchy. The religious leaders, both the "Men" and the ministers, were coming from the people rather than the old hereditary families who had been closely related to the gentry. Religion replaced the clan as the focus for the culture. The similarity of the story unfolded in the Bible and the past and present conditions of the crofters made the presage of the coming dissolution vivid. By the end of the period, dissension within the Church had become a significant factor and was paving the way for individual secession. The third period of the modern era was to witness more than a social and economic transformation; there was to be religious schism. 175* 178* 182 786 [797] [793] 175* 178* 182 771 786 [798]

Period III (1845-1886)

By the beginning of the third epoch of the modern phase of Skye's culture history, all the elements necessary for a social and economic readapatation to the wider commercial, contractual society had begun to function. The socio-economic changes in the preceding periods, especially the partial commercialization of the land, the abolition of the tacksman system of tenure and runrig farming, the establishment of a village, and the extension of regular communications, had paved the way for the final stage in the process of commercialization. It was now an aforesaid fact that industrialization in Scotland was to be a Lowland phenomenon. The disparity between the Eastern and Western Highlands was already well developed.[54] The former had become a region of commercial farmers, men with the incentive and ability to make technological advances. Now economic deterioration led the landlords to attempt a basic change.

The bankrupt proprietors, anxious to recoup their losses, found sheep farmers eager to buy or lease the virgin grazings of Skye. Sheep farming meant the landlord would have a secure rental several times that his rackrented crofters and cottars could pay, and he would not have to spend any capital either on behalf of the incoming tenant or on behalf of an indigent tenant unable to make his own way. The sheep farmer had the capital and, even more important, the incentive to adopt scientific methods. The crofter, obviously, had neither the

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[54] Cf., e.g., Collier, The Crofting Problem, pp. 43-51.

compared with 34.9 for Scotland. The death rate among Skyemen, however, was 17.4 compared with 22.0 for Scots in general. But Scotland had a net emigration rate of only 3.6 while the Skyemen were leaving at a rate of 16.5. In this decade no fewer than 3,115 left Skye.

By the end of the third period an additional influence of the process of commercialization had become apparent. The social hierarchy was modified in the direction of greater socio-economic differentiation.[68] At the time of the "Forty-five" Skye was inhabited by the families of three clan chiefs, 139 tacksmen, 517 joint-tenants, 1031 subtenants, and 444 servants. There were now 10 landlords. The tacksmen had been replaced by 29 graziers and 12 small farmers. The joint-tenants, subtenants, and servants had become 2043 crofters and 1227 cottars. In the past there may have been one innkeeper, at Portree, and a few millers; now there were 32 innkeepers, millers, and merchants.

The changes which we have been considering could not have left the patterns of interaction undisturbed. Cooperation among the members of the township would have been unnecessary. Since all were affected by prolonged destitution, mutual aid must have been severely curtailed. The extended family was broken by emigration. The nuclear family was seldom intact for more than part of the year. It seems the majority of the able-bodied men were travelling to the east coast each spring to find

[68] Lachlan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, pp. 4-5, 6-7, 11-12, 14-15; and J. G. MacKay, "Social Life in Skye from Legend and Story," TGSI, Vol. XXIX (1922), pp. 260-290.

employment as hands on fishing vessels. The young women followed these fleets seeking work as gutters and curers in the ports. Some may have made their way to Portree, where a woolen mill had been erected by the Highland Destitution Committee. The population of Portree increased during these years from 510, in 1841, to 893, in 1881, but this can hardly be regarded as a significant trend.

The really striking aspect of this period is the almost complete lack of protest by the Sgiathanach against the violation of his presumptive right to the land. The disappearance of the tacksmen, of course, had left the people without their counselors and leaders in secular affairs, and many of the ministers, especially those who were themselves sheep farmers, counseled submission to the will of God. Then, too, the ethos of the Skyemen would not allow them to ventilate their grievances. They despised the Sassanach and felt that "the landlord was bad enough, but the factor was the Devil himself." Still those who knew them well and those who rambled by their cottages wrote unanimously of a people who endured overwhelming sufferings in patience and reticence.[69] The betrayal of any weakness, especially before the cursed Sassanach, was a breach of propriety.[70]

The Skyeman had not lost his capacity to respond to leadership. Throughout the nineteenth century there had been widespread and growing discontent all over Europe with the

[69] Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82; and Cummings, op. cit., p. 136. See also Robert Buchanan, The Hebride Exiles (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883), p. 324; and Malcolm Ferguson, Rambles in Skye (Irvine: Charles Murchland, 1889), pp. 121, 122.

[70] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 136.

over this and an associated question, the principle of the spiritual independence of the Church from civil authority. Although the Revival might have created or even renewed a belief in the right of a congregation to call their own minister, it is difficult to see how the principle of spiritual non-intrusion, by courts and parliament, could have mattered much to the people. The significance of the Disruption is that it continued the trend toward conservatism established by the Revival and made it an official policy of the Free Church of Scotland. The overwhelming acceptance of the Free Church manifests a strong correlation with the suggested amount of social and cultural disorganization at the close of the second period. It was no accident that the first Free Church congregation should have been in Bracadale, the first parish to be cleared for sheep. It was not by chance that the people of Kilmuir and Glendale, like so many others, turned to this new source of hope. The ministers left the Church in the true tradition of the Covenanters: "in a state of toil and privation, whether within or without the Established Church, and under persecution if need be."[74] The people followed them because of emotional attachments which they had formed with the seceding ministers during the Revival. Only the seceding ministers were successfully restoring group solidarity. Their emotional and dynamic approach was giving the people the means to maintain cultural continuity. The Old Testament, which they were wont to use, was an additional factor. It

[74] Brown, op. cit., p. 1.

told about a people not unlike the crofters, and the prophesies were being fulfilled before the peoples' very eyes. Is it any wonder that thousands gathered on the hillsides to listen to a minister whose dynamic appeals moved them to tears?

As the people turned to the new church and the emotionalism of the large outdoor gatherings, they continued to forsake their old customs and folklore. The songs, except in some cases the waulking songs which provided the tempo for shrinking homespun, and the tales were placed under clerical bann.[75] The ministers and the "Men" insisted on the prerequisite of gravity in all aspects of life for salvation.[76] The communion roles were purged. In Bracadale, for example, there had been 258 communicant members. Following the Disruption there were less than ten.[77] The same pattern was repeated elsewhere on the island.[78]

The religious patterns which had evolved were, nevertheless, reinforcing much of the traditional way of life. The "Men" of Skye had become elders in the Free Church. This status sanctioned their position in the community. Although the age structure of the population had not yet altered

[75] Norman MacLean, Set Free (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 11-12, 14.

[76] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 35; and Daniel Lamont, Strath: In Isle of Skye (Glasgow: A. Sinclair, 1913), pp. 27-30.

[77] Norman MacLean, The Years of Fulfillment (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1953) pp. 115-119.

[78] Norman MacLean, Set Free, pp. 14-15, 18, 203-212. See also his The Former Days (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1945), pp. 40-49, 80.

sufficiently to make age controls an irresistible force, the prestige status of the small number of the "elect," those who had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the elders gave them complete control over all social and religious activity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about these facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now is that the religious patterns provided a framework in which the culture could find continuity and through which the society could achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like customs resulted in a change of content, but there were positive results as well. Above all, there was a change in focus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in clan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a known religious brotherhood.

Summary. The third period of the modern phase of Skye's culture history saw the culmination of the process of commercialization of the land. All the influences necessary for the conversion of the subsistence economy, albeit a much deteriorated economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming, on a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy. Newcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved methods of land utilization were replacing the conservative and impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial farmers consolidated their holdings, the communal townships were being obliterated. The concept of individual possession of the land was replacing the customary rights of the small tenants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.

These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now was a spare-time pursuit. The Sgiathanach was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any marked movement into the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was being lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the "Men" became an official policy of a new church. The emotional approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium. Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

Period IV (1886 - 1953)

The year 1886 is a chronological hinge in the culture history of the Sgiathanach. The British government began to play a positive, continuing role in local affairs for the first time in history. Hitherto, the interest of the government had been confined to proscriptions, recruiting, and taxation, occasionally interspersed with relief for the destitute. With the change in policy, we enter the realm of the contemporary culture; therefore, all I wish to do is indicate the direction the processes, which we have been following, took under the national attempt to rechannel them. The major trends to be noted are two. The proprietors' influence in determining how the land was to be used was curtailed, and, with a redirection of the commercialization of the estates, many of the traits and complexes characteristic of the traditional culture assumed renewed importance.

Since the Napier Commission had been mainly concerned with the disregard of the customary rights of the crofters and their inconsiderate treatment by proprietors, the recommendations which were presented to Parliament sought a land reformation within the framework of local custom.[79] Unlike the Continental Commune, a local, self-governing body, the Highland township had never legally existed. Elsewhere in Scotland this communal agricultural unit had been replaced by individual farm occupancy, just as had been happening on Skye. The major proposal was a retrogressive step; the township system should be given legal

[79] Napier Report, pp. 7-15.

people of the Island must have had a premonition of the calamity that was befalling them when they resisted the coming of Presbyterianism with all their might."[91] For him, the form of religion which splits up communities, divides families, and breaks villages into fragments can scarcely be regarded as Christian. Over the years, however, the battle has been won by one church or the other, as in Glendale where the Free Presbyterian Church is the only kirk, or the battle scars have been forgotten.

Unions of the churches replaced the former tendency toward disruption. In 1901 the Free Church joined the United Presbyterian Church, and in 1929 the United Free Church joined the Church of Scotland. On both occasions there were ministers who refused to become a part of either united church, and people who were reluctant to join new congregations. In Kilmuir, for example, the Free Church congregation split. Some joined the Church of Scotland, while others remained true to their sect. Although all the churches on the island are similar in outlook and to the uninvolved observer their differences are unimportant, doctrinal differences have remained important to the people. Nevertheless, the common tradition of conservatism, standing in opposition to the increasing impingements of the outside world, has been the paramount factor in reinforcing the values of the people. I repeat, the culture has maintained continuity through religion.

[91] Ibid., p. 212.

crofting districts. Shops, schools, inns, and churches increased in number, but they have not clustered to form a village nucleus. In more recent years the county has tried to stimulate village growth by building houses at a few centers. Someday they may succeed in altering the settlement pattern.

As a consequence of the increasing integration of the Sgiathanach within the national scene, government regulations have expanded and have come to be enforceable by a local police. Government services too have increased in scope. Many of the traditional functions of the family and the local group are now functions of an ever increasing number of government employees. Nevertheless, the traditional statuses of the members of the group have persisted and social control has not been reduced in favor of action by the state.

The class structure has changed several times. It has vacillated between a leveling of socio-economic differentiation and a growing polarity of status. At present there is no local class structure beyond the old polarity of landed gentry and crofters. Those who fall between these groups are ranked on prestige values of long standing. Even though many of the intermediate group would be working or middle class if they lived elsewhere in Britain, on Skye personal factors play a more important role in determining prestige than socio-economic differences. Leadership and political power remain in the hands of the gentry.

If the foregoing material suggests that there is evidence on Skye for Redfield's concepts of disorganization

and individualization, there is little, if any, reason to speak of secularization. Many of the existing features of the culture can only be understood when viewed from the perspective of the religious aspect. Certainly, the state church has been weakened by schism and rational practices have replaced superstitious rites and beliefs, but this has not produced a secular society. The religious patterns have reinforced the traditional culture, or those parts of it which were considered worth preserving, by giving the culture a suprasocial sanction.[93] Religion has bolstered the status values, especially those of the father in the family and the old men in the community. Religion has provided many of the occasions at which the people come together to find solidarity and security. Finally, religion has provided the focus for the culture. Although the factors of cultural change have led to modifications in the culture's content, there has been continuity. For a more complete understanding of how Skye has readapted to the higher level of socio-cultural organization and preserved its distinctiveness, I shall devote the remainder of the present study to an analysis of the contemporary culture.

[93] After writing the above account, I discovered that Arthur Geddes, a geographer at Edinburgh University, has recently discussed some of the evidence for cultural continuity on the Isle of Lewis and Harris, one of the Outer Hebrides. Although he takes important notice of the all-pervading influence of religion in the lives of the Hebrideans, past and present, I feel he overlooks the function of religion as an agent for maintaining cultural continuity. See Arthur Geddes, The Isle of Lewis and Harris: A Study in British Community (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1955). A. [See 1: Geddes, this file--Analyst]

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comers to the neighborhood, if not the island. Let us 554 182
turn to Portree to see how important status is in this
n village.

The Trade-Center Village

We come now to a consideration of the trade center 632
age of Portree. We have seen how this small settlement
created by a landlord in the early mineteenth century
now it has been fostered by the government. We have
seen how the village has assumed a host of important
tions. Primarily, it exists to serve the rural neighbor- 632
s and to provide a link with the outside world. For the 368
ting neighborhoods it is, in order of importance, an
nistrative, economic, religious, and social center. Here
found the Ministry of Labor, the Department of Agriculture,
National Assistance Board, the sanitary and road engineers,
local Registrar, the central police headquarters, the
post office and telephone exchange, the court of the
ice of the peace, and the seldom functioning sheriff's
t. It is to Portree that the Land Court comes to decide
uch important matters as rents and succession to the
t. As a seat of education, Portree's influence extends
wider, for it is the only secondary school in all of the
nds of the county of Inverness. For people on the southern
of the island the village exists only for administrative
oses.

The crofters of northern Skye are dependent upon the 600

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miserable they have left the island. Adultery, as we have 626
seen, is an excellent illustration. Another example is
church going. Almost everyone goes to church. It is expected.
Several newcomers frankly admitted that they only go because
the people would talk about them.

Gossip has another important social function. It is a 626
means of social sanction, and as such reinforces the "unconscious 182
system of meanings," to use Herskovits' words.[40] Through its
positive and negative aspects, the use of gossip as a social
sanction contributes to the solidarity of the group by creating
a feeling of oneness. It can also accord status to individuals,
and it can either make an individual with high status more
secure in his belief of superiority or make a person of low
status feel less inferior.

The crofters relish stories of human failings among 554
those of high status. The landed gentry seldom give them 626
much to talk about, but the few unexpected things they do,
such as marrying outside their circle, are long remembered.
The villagers often provide them with choice stories. Anyone, especially a native son, who moves into Portree or returns to Portree and sets up a business is bound to be talked about. "Do you know what I heard? Well, I heard that he got his money down south and just beat the police out of town." Men who have shops which their fathers or grandfathers established escape, but the founder of the business is still remembered. "You know where the old man got his money? He was going home one night after a cattle sale with a group of

[40] Herskovits, Man and His Works, p. 222.

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a question about a certain man I was told: "I can't help you 203
on that. Whenever I go into a shop or meet them on the street, 554
they change their conversation." Another told me I should ask 715
the doctor, "He's the one who really knows their problems."

Summary

The society of the Sgiathanach reveals additional evidence 182
for cultural continuity. In family structure, both nuclear 596
and extended, the patrilineal emphasis has been preserved. Even
though both suffer from chronic instability and the extended
family has become rather amorphous, kinship remains an important
regulator of interpersonal relationships. It involves obligations and privileges which few take lightly. Within the 182
social units based on territory, the township and neighborhood, 621 554
status continues to be ascribed on the basis of age, sex,
and kinship. Women have remained socially inferior to the
men. As the father controls his family, the old men of the
township and neighborhood exercise a power over their juniors
to force conformity to traditional ways. Fundamentally, all
of the same age and sex are equals. This status equality
underlies the entire social structure. There is no room for a
leader. When essential, the newcomer, normally the teacher or
minister, and the landed gentry are expected to assume the role
of leadership. In the village the emphasis on ascribed status
for the Sgiathanach is also important. The majority of achieved
statuses are left to be filled by newcomers. In the community,
as a whole, beyond the polarity of the landed gentry and the

crofters, an individual's prestige depends more on what he does for the group than on occupation. 182 621 554

The society has a strong degree of integration. This is shown by the requirement of unanimous consent on all undertakings, even in the village, and by the continued success of the group in exercising social control by positive concerted action and by employing gossip as a negative social sanction. The norms of behavior and the values have remained common and clear. 182 621 626

We are now closer to an understanding of how the Sgiathanach has maintained a continuity. For a full understanding of the social organization and to answer the question why there has been continuity we must take one final step. The religious aspect of the culture holds the key to the unanswered questions. 128

CHAPTER VII

THE ISLANDERS' RELIGION

Synopsis

The strength and vitality of religion on the Isle of Skye, and all along the West Coast of Scotland, has been an outstanding characteristic of the culture for well over a century. It is no less distinctive of the culture today than the crofting system and the socio-economic way of life which crofting embodies. Moreover, the religious patterns not only reflect a continuity of culture in themselves, but the religious aspect has provided the means by which the culture, as an integrated whole, has been able to maintain a genuine continuity. Here on the very fringe of Western Europe in one of the few remaining outposts of the Gael, Calvinism, as interpreted by John Knox and Andrew Melville, as refined by the Scottish Covenanters, and as modified by the influence of the English Puritans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, stands as one of the few examples of marginal intensity in Western Civilization. 771 182 [795]

Until the nineteenth century religion was an indomitable acculturating influence. A new code of ethics, morals, and behavior was superimposed on the old. As the influence of the traditional leaders declined, the scope of the

ministers increased. The church became the most powerful institution in the Hebrides. In the nineteenth century the pattern of religious expression gradually changed. Although the acculturative process was still carried on, the approach became negative in regards to many aspects of life. The realization that the old folk beliefs had not been stamped out led to a renewed attack on all aspects of the culture which showed the slightest taint of pagan or Catholic belief. At the same time, conservatism became the underlying principle in Presbyterian practice. The ministers and their congregations were carried back to the persecution of the Covenanters under the Stuart kings, back to the days of Knox, and back to the very beginnings of Christianity. This conservatism has reinforced much of the religiously desirable fabric of the culture. Change or compromise has become unthinkable for the majority. 771 182 [798]

Various interpretations of the present day religion can be attempted. It has been characterized as "moribund theology," a spurious movement wrongly equated with Calvinism and no longer "en rapport with the mind of the twentieth century," by one minister of the Church of Scotland.[1] This reflects the view that the Highlanders' religion has been a form of "black Presbyterianism."[2] Others are wont to write of the "tyranny of religion" which has driven away the youth and destroyed social life, except the art of conversation.[3]

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[1] M. E. M. MacDonald, "The Nerve of the Hebridean Problem," Scotland, No. 30 (Oct., 1953), pp. 66-68.

[2] Collier, The Crofting Problem, p. 54.

[3] Darling and Morley, "The Social Situation," The West Highland Survey, pt. VI, pp. 21-22.

The religion of the Sgiathanach may also be regarded as 771
the logical outcome of a movement which began two centuries 182
ago when the all inclusive bonds of kinship and affection were 178
replaced with tenets introduced from the wider contractual
society. This movement, as we know, bore its first fruits
over a hundred years ago. The people themselves turned from [793]
the ministers who were supporting symbols and values no longer
meaningful to the crofters. They embraced the preachers of a [793]
dynamic gospel as a means of consolation in their distress.
Thus, the religious pattern derived elsewhere and superimposed 184
on the Sgiathanach has been refined with logic and vigor. 771
It has become the one insurmountable barrier to assimilation 182
with Great Britain. No less than four times religious schism [798]
has demonstrated the essential unchangeableness of their
religion. The process has been carried on with such dedication
and success that it now disturbs the unsympathetic laity and
the clergy of the Church of Scotland no less than the re-
sistance of the people to Presbyterianism did in the remote
past.

We saw in Chapter IV how an understanding of the re- 128
ligious history of Skye is indispensible for the comprehension 121
of the larger problem, the means by which the culture has
maintained continuity. In Chapter V and again in Chapter VI
we saw how this continuity has been preserved. We have at
last come to the point at which we can ask why has there been
continuity. The following analysis is concerned with the
sanctions of the Presbyterian ethic, particularly as it
affects the social structure, religious behavior, and the
roles of the ministers and the religious laity in the

equality of the sexes. On Skye, where women are the social 585
inferiors of men, its omission is curious. The ministers have 562
taken the promise of the ceremony out because, as one said, "The 779
man may be a rogue, irresponsible, making it impossible for
the woman to obey." She nevertheless promises to be "loving,
truthful, and dutiful."

Election, as a passage rite, marks the attainment of the 794
status of the elderly. We already know that to become one of 888
the "elect" the individual, man or woman, must not only [626]
experience a soul-saving change but also manifest steadfast
conformity to the ideals of behavior which have religious
approval. These ideals are the habits and statuses which
the old people are striving to maintain. Thus religion 794
sanctions the status of the venerable old people. Their 888
interpretation of "Effectual Calling" functions to provide 626
the elders, the most eminent of the "elect" with an additional [182]
means to exercise their judicial and authoritarian roles.
There can be no rapid conversion. Whether or not the pro-
bationary period of three years imposed by the "Men" in the
last century is still enforced I do not know. The person who
believes he has experienced a saving change, "a visitation
from the Holy Spirit," is examined by the minister and his
elders. Like the father who is seeking baptism for his child,
such an old man or woman is judged on his knowledge of the
Bible and the Shorter Catechism and on his conformity to the
righteous life. No one can experience a saving change unless
he is known, by observation, to have lived an upright life.
The person who continues to pursue his own mundane pleasures

of Scotland in Portree. Only one girl appeared for instruction. 794
After the significance of her preparation had been fully explained 484
she declined to take the final step. She did not disagree
with the minister's view that she was prepared for membership
and communion, but she was afraid of what her friends in the
Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church might say. She was
probably wondering what the middle-aged adherents of her church
might have to say, too. When the Sgiathanach takes his first
Communion, in Glendale, Kilmuir, or Portree, the people must
be able to look up to him.

The second exception to the age-grade requirement rules 626
among the county people. Because of their social position 888
in the community, which rests on the expression of their statuses, 794
as roles, as landlords, village and neighborhood representatives 565
and leaders, and members of the national class system, and
because of their education in England, the county people
attain membership in the church at an early age. Some have
become elders of the church at twenty-one. To subject them
to the control of the crofters would, obviously, be incompati-
ble with their social standing. Although they are all Church [182]
of Scotland, here again religion is a reinforcing factor for
the structure of the society.

Dying, the final act of living, reveals a host of traits 743
which only receive covert expression during an individual's 829
life. While the youth is censured for his spontaneous
pleasures and the adult is criticized for his behavior, the
deceased is always respected. As one woman said, "It is the
one time in a person's life that the people have nothing but

eternity. If he was one of the "elect," he will enjoy eternal 763
life. If he was not one of these venerable old men and women, 554
he can expect to suffer eternal damnation. Although baptism 775
is a sacrament and removes original sin, it is only the initial [851]
step in the direction of salvation, which election alone con- [783]
firms. Neither the minister nor any member of the bereaved
family offers a prayer. "What more can you do than bury him," 764
one woman asked. An old man said, "They are just as well [793]
remembered without praying for them." In a community which [762]
is dominated by the old people, and in the crofting neighbor-
hoods where so many of the crofters are very old, death can
be expected to disturb the equilibrium of social interaction.
In Glendale during November and December of 1953 funeral
processions made their way through the glen no less than nine
times. The function of the minister is to restore the dis- [793]
turbed patterns, both in the family and in the neighborhood [182]
(or village). All work stops in the township for three days
from the time of death. Some of the cosmopolitans of the [369]
village, seeking to justify their deviating behavior, assert 829
that the lazy crofter looks forward to a funeral because it
means three days of idleness. In the village, of course, it [369]
is no longer possible to bring daily life to a standstill be-
cause the villagers serve a wide area. The "people" of the
deceased do stop work and close their shops. On the day of the
funeral all blinds are drawn until after the procession has
passed.

As he would if there were illness in the family, the 793
minister calls on the bereaved family and leads them in family 764

The Role of Religion on the Croft

As the prestige of the old people and the control of the 593
family-head elders over the social activities of the people has 771
persisted with religious sanction, the status of the father
within the nuclear family has been reinforced by the religious
expression of his role. As we know, the older inter-family
patterns of economic cooperation have been disturbed by the
changes stemming from the process of commercialization. This
has not disturbed the position of the father as the source of
authority and discipline. He continues to play a basic role
in establishing the tempo of interaction within the home, the
township, neighborhood, and community. He decides who will
do the work and when. He determines in what social activities
his wife and children will participate, always, of course,
ultimately guided by the venerable old men. His status is
confirmed at baptism, when he is judged, and it is commonly
reaffirmed every day in the home. For the majority of crofters, 764
though by no means all of any sect, the day begins with the 782
saying of grace before breakfast and the returning of thanks [512]
after breakfast. The same pattern is repeated at the taking
of any food, including a cup of tea. The form of grace may
be used to cast light on the religious outlook of the Sgiathanach:
"Gracious God, we have sinned against Thee, and are unworthy
of Thy mercy; pardon our sins, and bless these mercies for
our use, and help us to eat and drink to Thy glory, for Christ's
sake. Amen."

mainland villages and crofting areas. Ministers from 178
neighboring and even distant churches used to come to take 794
part in conducting the services. There was no church to hold 746
so many people, so the Communion was celebrated outside. Then,
of course, the population was much larger and the majority
belonged to one church, the Free Church.

The Communion Season is still marked by large gatherings 794
of people at each church in turn. The "elect" from the 746
neighboring churches and the ministers from churches near and
far exchange visits. The adherents also participate in the
celebration of the Lord's Supper. From Thursday until 794
Monday the homes of the people in the vicinity are open to 746
their relatives and friends who have come to partake of the 574
sacrament or who find the highly emotional atmosphere and
gregariousness stimulating. Some, especially the "elect"
stay for the five days. Others will spend one or more nights.
During the day and in the evening, whenever they are not [571]
attending religious services, they visit their "people" and
"friends" to renew ties which in many cases have been allowed
to languish since the last Communion. Thus, we find religion [182]
sanctioning the time-honored custom of Highland hospitality.
It is interesting to note that many a woman who depends on [485]
the tourist trade for a good share of her income will not accept
paying guests at this time. The local people have a further 794
share in extending hospitality to their visitors. All who 746
are able send food to the manse (parsonage) to lessen the 574
burden on the minister who extends hospitality to the 793
visiting clergy and as many of the laity as he can. This

for the approaching evening and many nights to come. 794

Saturday is a day of preparation. After a morning 796
service, those who have been examined by the elders and ad- 545
mitted to church membership, and the visitors who satisfy the 573
elders of the kirk that they are worthy to receive Communion,
receive tokens which will admit them to the Lord's Table on
the following day.

On the Sabbath the service is oriented around an "Action Sermon." The minister speaks of the sufferings and blessings of Christ. At the conclusion of the sermon, the Lord's Table is "fenced." Once all the Highland churches gave communion at a table with a rail around it. Now there is only one kirk on Skye with the fenced table, the old parish church in Bracadale. Today the first few pews are used. The minister 794
draws a sharp distinction between those who are entitled to 796
sit at the "table" and those who do not have the right to 573
partake of Christ's body and drink of His blood. The former are reminded of the dangers which neglecting to come forward involves. The latter are warned of their promised damnation as a consequence of partaking unworthily. Since only the 688
old men and women are worthy of the sacrament, the minister's 626
exhortations and denouncements function to sanction the prestige 693
of the old people before the congregation and the wider community. After reading from the Bible, offering a prayer, and 794
addressing the communicants on their humble position, the bread 796
and wine is distributed.

The Communion is concluded on Monday morning with a

control of the "elect" crofters. Today, are the "elect," 796
and their status is independent of the control of the venera- 545
ble old men. 626
594

Summary

Whereas the culture of the Griathanach was oriented 771
around the clan system in the remote past and was intelli- 178
gible only by an awareness of the all-pervasive influence of the clan, today congregational religion provides the focus for the culture. If we are to understand the Griathanach 127
we must fathom his religion, that is, the interpretation which he has given to Calvinism. Moreover, this highly 182
integrated and systematized aspect of his culture has pro- 771
vided the means for preserving cultural continuity. Economics and social organization aid us in recognizing how cultural continuity has been maintained. Religion puts at our finger tips the how and the why.

The basic status values have held good because religion 771
has sanctioned them. The old men of the neighborhood have 554
been successful in sustaining their statuses and habits 182
through their position in the esoteric religious hierarchy. 626
By holding the father responsible for the spiritual welfare 593
of his family, and judging a man's spiritual enlightenment on his renunciation of mundane pleasures as well as his knowledge of religious tenets, the elders exercise judicial and authoritarian functions. At the same time, the status 593
of the father within the family is strengthened. After a

man is no longer concerned with the necessity of having his 771
children baptized, the venerable old men, the family-head 554
elders, prolong their social control by sitting in judgment 182
on those who seek salvation. The strength of age controls 626
is indicated by the continued ability of the elders to resist 178
all attempts to introduce secular innovations to the crofting neighborhoods. Even in Portree the majority of the people are under the watchful eyes of the old men.

Many of the meaningful patterns of interaction are 771
religious. The rites of passage function to augment social 182
control, restore disturbed equilibriums, and establish new 626
ascribed statuses. The rites of intensification, including those associated with death, function to restore disturbed patterns of interaction in the family, nuclear and extended, and the larger social groups and to establish meaningful relationships when large congregations gather for the celebration of communion. Religion for the majority is not 771
merely dependent on attending church on the Sabbath and 782
attending Wednesday night prayer meetings. Every day of the week begins with a prayer and ends with family worship. All social activity outside the home is ideally limited to 52
the church, and the church is never used for mundane activity. Only in Portree are there a number of social activities to 349
tempt the people. Kilmuir has no more than a Crofters' 575
Club for men, and Glendale has no social activities, unless one would include the annual meeting of the share holders in the farm.

Although asceticism, epitomized in Sabbatarianism, 771
is a marked characteristic of the expression of the 785
Presbyterian ethic, it is not completely negative. It is 182
one of the means for sustaining cultural continuity. Religion has centered on the home and family. It has preserved the Gaelic. There have been significant changes 178
in the content of the culture, but by using asceticism as an observable test of spiritual enlightenment the limitations of the socio-economic life have been sanctioned. The form, the basic configuration, of the culture is still recognizable.

acceptance of the potato, a much more productive and dependable 161
subsistence item than grain on Skye, made it possible for more 175
people to live on less land. The introduction of a new industry 241
helping, provided many with employment and freed them from com- 363
plete dependence on a subsistence economy. Vaccination reduced 757
the mortality rate, especially among infants whose chances of 165
reaching maturity and procreating were thus enhanced. Another 541
important factor was the Skyeman's share in the general pros-
perity of British agriculturalists during the early years of
the Industrial Revolution and during the Napoleonic Wars. An 423
especially important factor was the practice of subdividing 592
the land which made early marriage possible, in particular after
the installation of the crofting system. Finally, but by no 161
means least significant, there was the persistence of many 175
typical features of the culture in the days of the clan. The 178
sentimental ties of kinship and attachment to the soil had 182
remained.

The population decrease, partially a result of the Skyeman's 161
involvement in the process of commercialization, was primarily 175
a result of a failure to fully adjust to the higher, more 178
heterogeneous socio-economic level. By the end of the second 189
period of the modern epoch, 1845, the people had become hostages
to the potato and their own fertility. When the potato failed
them, they had nothing to fall back upon, except the generosity
of their landlords. The cattle and kelp markets had collapsed
at the end of the Wars, and the subdivided land could not
produce sufficient grain. The belief of many that the pop-
ulation had over-run the limited local resources was confirmed.

The growth of the population ended with a prolonged famine. 161
The proprietors, finding that the people's only justification 731
for crowding the estates and looking to their landlords for 427
help were some nebulous customary usages, facilitated the
decline by disregarding custom and throwing as much land into
sheep farming as was possible. While evictions were not new, 427
only after the famine did they result in an absolute reduction
in numbers. The Griathanach, fettered by a lack of capital 182
and an inability to break with the past, could not make the
final adjustment required by the process of commercialization,
specialization. In addition to emigration, the Clearances 167
and general economic hardship forced a postponement of 582
marriage. There was neither land nor regular employment to 469
provide a livelihood.

Later in the nineteenth century new influences began 161
to play a role in the continuing decline of the population. 167
Following the passage of the Crofters' Act, the nature of 178
emigration changed. Seasonal migration became negligible. 427
The provisions of the Act, and ensuing legislation, made it 671
possible for a man to remain away during his active years and
return to the parental croft to spend his old age. The ex- 871
tention of education not only equipped the youth for life in
the larger society but also created demands for objectives
which could not be attained at home under the existing order.
Thus, as in the period of population growth, the persistence of 161
many features of the old traditional culture, and the renewed 167
importance of others, were factors of no little consequence. 182

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On the one hand, they stimulated emigration, because the only 161
means of achieving upward mobility was through outward mobility. 167
On the other hand they deterred a complete abandonment of a 182
way of life which offered so few material rewards. This brings us face to face with the problem of cultural continuity.

Cultural Continuity on the Isle of Skye
A Restatement of Theoretical Considerations

In the opening chapter, I presented a series of theo- 121
retical assumptions on which I have based my analysis of the evidence for cultural continuity on the Isle of Skye. A review of my presuppositions and my approach to the problem may expedite my final quest for proof that marked population change is not a criterion of cultural discontinuity.

If society and culture are separate though complimentary concepts, cultural and social integration must be independent variables. They tend to find mutual expression, but they are not necessarily found together. Nor can they be measured by the same criteria. Cultures are considered integrated to the extent that their traits, complexes, patterns, and aspects are meaningful to the people. The content of all cultures is continually modified by the disappearance of once characteristic trait complexes and the addition of new ones. Old ways of doing things lose meaning and are disregarded; innovations find acceptance and are given meaning within the configuration of the culture. The form of the culture, its essential distinctiveness, persists. The carriers of a culture, or the

sanctioned the qualities which had given the people their characteristic strength of character.

The churches of Skye made conservatism an official policy in 1843, and in 1892 reaffirmed this policy. For well over 100 years religion has had a strength and vitality which has enabled the Skyeman to pass through times of extreme distress, not to mention chronic economic deficiencies. Among the most important religious sanctions are those which reinforce the status values of the culture. The father's status in the nuclear family was reaffirmed at a time when his socio-economic importance was declining. He has been held responsible for the spiritual welfare of his wife and children. The prestige of the old men, the family-head elders, and their control over the neighborhood group was similarly bolstered by making them the judges of a man's spiritual enlightenment. Spiritual enlightenment is weighed on a scale which will not balance unless a person's religious knowledge is matched by conformity to the ways the old men think a man should behave. Again we are not dealing with a completely negative attitude. In the place of frivolous amusements, religion has offered highly emotional, spiritual patterns of behavior. Religion has preserved the Gaelic language by using it in formal worship and within the home for family worship. In these and other ways religion has indeed enabled the culture to achieve a reorientation and maintain its continuity.

How similar Skye is to the Old Order Amish in this respect.[3]

[3]Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

Both have remained devoted to the old tradition which is epitomized by their religion. Further, they are each bound together by a common language and vocation and by strong ties of consanguinity and affinity. Moreover, the Sgiathanach and the Amish have similarly rejected the deviant. On Skye emigration has affected all levels of social organization, the conjugal family, the extended family, the township, the neighborhood and village, and the community. Still the Amish and the Skyeman have maintained social and cultural integration. Standing in a contrasting position is the town of Landaff, New Hampshire.[4] Although Skye and Landaff have experienced similar trends, including an original ecological adaptation, disturbance resulting from population pressure, an unsuccessful attempt to meet the crisis through commercialization, and a chronic high rate of emigration, especially by the youth, Landaff has been described as an example of social instability and cultural disintegration.[5] The farmer of Landaff remained only as long as his interests were compatible with those of his neighbors, and local opportunities existed to satisfy his ambitions. He had no attachment for the land to offset the inadequacies of persistent economic limitations. He abandoned the associations which had supported the community by giving the group a sense of security.

Like European peasants in general the Skye crofter has lost his former self-sufficiency and political autonomy, but he has retained a strong attachment for the land and its

[4]MacLeish and Young, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Landaff, New Hampshire.

[5]Ibid., pp. 113-117

group.[6] He has maintained cultural integration and continuity. At the same time his conservative religion has not gone quite as far as the Amish Order.[7] The Sgiathanach has rejected only those patterns which would disturb the equilibrium of life in the neighborhood. The penalty for his failure to completely adjust is depopulation; others, like the people of Yap and the Aleuts, are paying a similar penalty.[8]

Further Evidence for Cultural Continuity

Various approaches to the problem of cultural continuity can be attempted in addition to the historical approach which has formed the point of departure for my study. The most obvious would be a comparative study of two basically similar people, the Welsh and the Irish. In the chapter entitled "The Setting" and throughout this study I have called attention to the similarities between the Skyeman, the Welshman,[9] and the Irishman.[10] In a host of cultural features the three are strikingly identical. Some of these common patterns may be remembered, for instance, the alien nature of nucleated villages, the strong patrilineal emphasis, the importance of the old man, and a pastoral

[6]Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 262, 264; and Young, Sociology, p. 23.

[7]Kollmorgen, op. cit., p. 1.

[8]Keesing, The South Seas in the Modern World, pp. 52-53; Furnas, The Anatomy of Paradise, p. 304; and Jefferson, "An Aleutian Village," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 1, pp.49-59.

[9]Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside.

[10]Arensberg, The Irish Countryman; and Arensberg and Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland.

agricultural economy. Some may share my feeling that a further exploration of these similarities would reveal evidence indicative of cultural continuity. We have three peoples who have had ample opportunity for divergence and yet have retained many essentials of Celtic culture. Moreover, all have been losing population since the middle of the last century. Unfortunately, at the present time, I am not prepared to extend this comparative approach. I am deterred by a recognition of two facts.[11] First there is the difficulty that peasant peoples all over the world seem very similar despite their distinctive cultural and historical backgrounds. There is, of course, diversity within similarity. Second there is the truism that the higher socio-cultural level of which the peasant is a part influences the form peasant life may take.[12] Although Anglo-Saxon and Norman influence impinged on the Welsh several centuries before it seriously threatened the Irish and Skyemen, the three groups have been subjected to basically similar stimuli for several hundred years.

Another question which may be asked is, has the culture continued to provide meaningful patterns of interaction for the Sgiathanach? One means of answering this question is provided by Durkheim's theory of anomie. According to Durkheim,

[11]Cf., e.g., Oscar Lewis, "Peasant Culture in India and Mexico: A Comparative Analysis," Village India, ed. McKim Marriott ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," Memoir No. 83, 1955), pp. 145-148.

[12]Cf., e.g., Wagley and Harris, "A Typology of Latin American Subcultures," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 3, pp. 431-442.

a disorganized society has the following characteristics: a deterioration of the traditional patterns of interaction within the group, a low degree of social contact among the members of the group, and a loss of social control by the group over the individual members.[13] As a result, the individual is faced with a situation in which the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them become less common and clear. To restate my position, although cultural and social integration are independent variables, the absence of this condition of normlessness is evidence that the cultural disruptions of the past have, in each case, been followed by a reintegration within the culture, as well as within the society. In other words, if the norms and sanctions are common and clear and are those of a single tradition, the absence of anomie means the individuals, as an organized aggregate bound together by a network of relationships and a sense of belongingness, are fully enculturated. Moreover, it means the culture, the socially transmitted attitudes, behavior patterns, and techniques which are distributed among the members of the society in accordance with their status positions and sub-group memberships, has maintained continuity. In order to investigate the question of anomie, let us compare my evidence from Skye with the findings of several social scientists who have worked with this concept.

Homans has used Durkheim's theory to analyze a small New Hampshire hill farming community.[14] Hilltown, like its

[13]Durkheim, Le Suicide, pp. 272-282.

[14]Homans, The Human Group, pp. 336-367.

neighbor, Landaff, shares many features which have been found to characterize the Isle of Skye. These include a similar population cycle; a religion which is Calvinistic in tone; a period of religious schism; and original dependence on a subsistence economy. There are, of course, significant cultural differences between the two. The most important of these are the presence of English institutions of town government in Hilltown; the fact that the original settlers were individual nuclear families who were relatively free to develop their own reciprocal patterns without the limitations which long standing tradition might have imposed; and the "Yankee" lack of traditional attachment to the land. Obviously, it should not be forgotten that the one is a town and the other a much larger community.

Using an historical approach similar to my approach to the Sgiathanach, Homans traced the path of what he calls "community disintegration" and reached a number of conclusions about anomie. His first conclusion is that the number and strength of the sentiments that led the members of the group to collaborate had declined. There was a decrease in the number of activities that the individuals carried on together. Need for social self-sufficiency and mutual aid lessened. Schism disrupted the church. The town meeting ceased to be important. In short, the interests of the people were outside the town. His second conclusion is that there had been a decrease in the frequency of interaction in the internal sphere of activity. There was less visiting and fewer parties. Some people, especially members of the upper class, seldom saw anyone,

other than on business. The fraternal orders were gone. 171
Church attendance had become sparse and irregular. These 182
changes led to a decline in the strength of interpersonal
sentiments and a feeling of indifference toward one another.
His total conclusion is that these changes were followed by
a "decline in the extent to which norms are common and clear."
Since class membership is defined on the basis of interaction,
class activities are much alike, and the interests of class
members coincide. Ranking is based upon norms, in particular
the status and role of leadership in community affairs. A
decrease in community activity had resulted in a weakening
of both norms and ranking. His last conclusion is that the
changes in the intensity of everyday relationships have led
to a loss of social control by the group over its members.
Deviations were not punished by avoidance. All action was left
to the state. Here, then, is anomie. Let us compare the
contemporary behavior patterns of the Sgiathanach with the
Hilltoners.

There is evidence that the Sgiathanach no longer collabo- 178
rates in group activities as much as he once did. There has 182
been a decline in the amount of cooperation in the work of
crofting. In many activities, of course, the need has disap-
peared. The individual family can easily perform many of the
tasks, such as the ploughing of a few acres of land. In some
townships it has become the practice to pay the sheep club
stock shareholders to insure the presence of enough men and
women to handle the dippings and shearings. In others,

including almost all with private flocks, the crofters continue 178
to cooperate. The church has been broken by schism, not once 182
but four times. On Skye, however, the schisms have had as 785
their purpose conservatism, not greater leniency as in Hilltown. 782
Moreover, the schisms have been solidifying factors. The
progressively more dynamic world denying sects, after a period
of communal strife, have given the people an emotional unity.
The crofters have become dependent on the trade-center village 182
and the wider national markets. Many must seek employment beyond
the island. The interests of the Sgiathanach are not outside
the neighborhood, except in so far as events from the outside
affect them and, especially, to the extent that ties of kinship
and religious brotherhood reach beyond the local group. We
are hardly talking about the same situation as Homans. As we
continue to explore this condition we may also ask has there
been a decline in the frequency of interaction in the internal
sphere of activity?

The old ceilidh has disappeared under clerical bann, but 182
it has been replaced by "going to have a craic," going to visit 571
and gossip with one's friends and "people." The people may 179
no longer gather to hear the old men tell stories of clan battles.
They now discuss the latest local gossip and the news of the
outside world. The Islander has never been given to formal
social organizations; they half distrust such orders as the
Masons and Eastern Star. Still there are chapters of both in
Portree. In the crofting neighborhoods face to face relation-
ships continue to preserve strong interpersonal sentiments. The 243
postman's van and the grocer's trucks have relieved the people

from the necessity of daily calls at the post office and shop, 182
but the drivers serve the function of passing on the news of the 571
day at each stop. 703

Standing in the place of many of the traditional social 182
outlets which have disappeared or been modified, there are the 784
religious occasions for joining together as a small group. We
have found the Sgiathanach to be very religious. Everyone is 784
expected to go to church on the Sabbath, and everyone goes to
church. Irregular attendance soon becomes noticed by one's
neighbors, the kirk elders, and the minister. Concern over 626
what one's neighbors may think, in itself a strong motivating
factor, is reinforced by a forbidding fear of what the venerable
old men may do whenever an opportunity presents itself. There
are Wednesday night prayer meetings for further social inter-
course. Above all, there are the semi-annual Communions which, 182
except in Sleat and Strath and one Bracadale sect, bring to- 784
gether the people of the kirk, the members of the same sect from 784
other neighborhoods, and affiliates of the denomination from
the mainland. Even the adherent, the individual who has not
experienced a saving change because he is not old enough, normally
takes his vacation, if he is employed, at the time of the
Communions in order to attend.

The decline in interpersonal religious strife does not 182
mean that strong personal sentiments are not present. No one 571
other than the eccentric, is indifferent to his neighbors or 243
others with whom he may have dealings. The crofter and his 647
village cousin may not bother to vote, but they closely watch 665
and freely discuss their representatives. Gossip has retained

a tremendous strength. There are villagers who dislike the 182
crofters, but few would intentionally slight an old crofter's 571
wife because it might give her something to talk about. I 703
shall elaborate this point shortly when I come to social control.

If there had been a decrease in the frequency of inter- 182
action, the traditional norms and sanctions should have become 584
less common and clear. In particular, social ranking based 645
on leadership in communal activities should have become less 571
definite. Although anomie, as used by Homans, is an internal
condition, I shall introduce a consideration of cross-group
norms in order to present a clearer picture of the status
system. Despite the extreme fluidity between the county people
and the members of the intermediate social heirarchy in informal
clique groups, such as the bridge club, there has been no
tendency to obscure the lines of cleavage. The class structure,
in terms of the whole community, has remained rigid. The county
people are at the apex of the prestige status and class hierarchy.
They are, of course, members of a group which extends across
the length and breadth of Great Britain. In any neighborhood
where there is a member of the landed gentry resident, he is
always looked to for leadership. In Glenisle, a privately owned
neighborhood, a nearby landlord is their political spokesman.
In Portree the gentry have done more than uphold social ranking
based on leadership; they have created and introduced new
activities in which they express their role. Those are the
Skye Council of Social Service, the village council, and the
Old People's Welfare Committee. They may be aided by others,
but their decisions are the others to be followed. The gentry

maintain their position by intermarriage, by educating their 182
children in England, and by interacting with people of similar 571
status within the community and beyond. 545

The crofters continue to stand at the opposite pole. They
seldom achieve status within their neighborhood. Upward mobility
is possible only through outward mobility. Leadership fails
to find expression among them in the township or the neighbor-
hood. The rare exception is the crofter's son who becomes a 785
minister and returns to lead his people spiritually. When the 784
crofters must select a leader, from their own number, the
status is accorded to an elder of the church. The elder 784
already has high status because of his advanced age and his
position in the kirk. As I have said, the continued operation
of primitive democracy means a minimum of authority and a
maximum of equality.

The intermediate group in the social hierarchy cannot be 182
profitably used in this discussion. They are primarily newcomers 584
people from the Lowlands or England, who have joined with the 645
relatively few Skyemen who have left the croft. Sufficient time 147
has not elapsed for a class oriented structure to emerge. Then,
too, they are not a numerous group. Still, status is important
in the village. As in the crofting neighborhood, ministers,
doctors, and teachers achieve high status through their occupation.
For the remainder of the population of Portree, status depends
more on personal qualities and outside activities, especially
in the kirk, than on the way one may take his living.

While we are on the topic of status and ranking, let us 121
554

see what Linton, the most explicit exponent of the concept of 121
status and role, has to say about societies which are faced with 554
changing conditions and disorganization.[15] Linton believes that
such societies attempt to develop new social patterns by allowing
individual initiative, thought, and competition free rein. They
are characterized by a wealth of achievable statuses. With
adjustment, ascribed statuses again become common. The con- 584
clusion seems inescapable that Skye has adjusted. Perhaps a 626
few additional illustrations will make my point clearer. The
crofter who assumes a role of leadership is regarded as an
eccentric, someone to poke fun at no less than the village
idiot. The crofters' children who find their status too con- 584
fining must leave the island to achieve status. Some succeed, 626
to a limited degree, by moving to Portree, but they are never 147
free of suspicion. Since the majority of ascribed statuses
on Skye are left to newcomers, it might be said that the
Sgiathanach has selected place of birth as a means to ascribe
status. Not infrequently the newcomer's acceptance is followed
by his being placed in roles of responsibility in both formal
organizations and informal groups. The reader may remember
the case of the young man from the East Coast who found himself
on no less than eleven committees. In Kilmuir the people are
represented on the County Council by a minister and the Crofters'
Club is run by the school teacher.

I believes that the most important feature of the concept 626
of anomie is the loss of social control which is said to follow 182

[15] Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 113-131.

disequilibrium. I find it difficult to understand how any
group could have a low rate of interaction without a loss of
social control. Conversely, I feel that it is also hard to
conceive that a group could continue to exercise social cont
without a high frequency of face to face contact. On Skye
social control is a very potent factor. Gossip is a double
edged weapon. It not only continues to enforce acceptance
of the traditional norms by the Sgiathanach and, to a lesser
extent, the newcomer but also can be used to punish the
deviant. People have been known to leave the island after
a deviation which rendered them inacceptable. Gossip become
a source of misery from which there was no escape other than
flight. Exactly how powerful the dread of gossip is in Port
can be judged from the experience of my wife and myself. We
have played chaperons to people much our superiors in age.
Nor can one escape gossip by secrecy. The person who remain
a mystery is rejected as a deviant.

The amount and influence of social control, of course,
depends on the values of the Sgiathanach. Poaching is rather
good sport, but the theft of stock is a serious offense. The
one is the concern of the police and the justices of the peac
the other is a matter which the people prefer to handle them-
selves. It is quite wrong to burgle a home, but theft from
a shop is a different matter, especially when the store is
owned by a Lowland corporation. A similar dichotomy applies
in the case of illicit sexual activities. A pattern has
evolved to protect the unwed mother, but the married can or
woman who violates the taboo is severely censured. Ideally,
the offender is cast out by the community and his spouse, or

omie is an additional support for my position. With 121
theoretical assumptions in mind, we are prepared for
al interpenetration of the culture of the Sgiathanach.

Evidence for Cultural Continuity

If I were to view the Isle of Skye from the single 178
ective of the culture as it functioned two hundred years 182
in an organization-disorganization framework, I might
ally argue that there is evidence for cultural disorgan-
on. The clan system, which had pervaded all aspects
e culture, was rendered inoperative by the intolerance
e British government and the cupidity of the patriarchs.
tenure was divorced from considerations of reciprocal
dence and real or fictitious kinship. The contractual
iples of the wider commercial society, in which the
ords found a more satisfactory status, were introduced.
me, the customary rights of the tacksmen, who had supported
tructure of the clan, and the former clansmen were
icned and repudiated. The older folktales, songs, and
of the superstitions were obliterated. The traditional
ious and secular festivities associated with events in the
cycle were abandoned or allowed to survive in a much
ied form. The traditional customs of cooperating and
ing were either altered or disregarded. The list of
s and complexes which were dropped from the content of
ulture could be continued. It is, indeed, a long one,
t includes elements from every aspect of the culture. If

f tenure function to protect the individual from potential 178
buses by a landlord where customary usages once fulfilled the 182
eed. Moreover, even though the tenure of the cultivated soil 423 427
rants all the rights of a landholder, including the rights 657
o bequeath the house and land to a member of one's family,
or more than half the year it is used communally.

The Sgiathanach has never adjusted sufficiently to become 178
specialist, not even a specialized grazier. For him the 423
and has always had a more fundamental value than merely being
means of livelihood. It is the ancestral home. There is a
entimental attachment to the land which is an expression of
he affectionate bonds of kinship. The people have never lost
he tribal tie of the land and the group. Although the former
atriarchs disclaimed any sympathy with this point of view,
he landlords on Skye today have kept what little land they
ave only because of its sentimental value. Indeed the atti- [656]
ude of the largest landholder, the government of Scotland,
s that the crofting tradition is worth while preserving, if
or no other reason, because in the predominantly urban and
ndustrial civilization it has a romantic value. There are
ther reasons. The Islands have long been looked upon as a [702]
uman reservoir for the armed forces, and, more recently, for [464]
owland industry.

As a result of their partial adjustment to the higher 178
ocio-cultural level, there have been changes in crops and stock. 231 241
he British market has influenced the crofters' output, within 433
ecological limitations. The old subsistence crops of oats and

barley have been replaced by grass and hay. Conceivably, this 178
is a more complete adjustment to the environment, which has been 231 241
made possible by integration with a commercial economy, than 433
an adjustment to the demands of the outside world. Whereas
the objective of the local economy once was the export of
cattle, today the purpose is the breeding of cattle and sheep
for the national markets. We have seen that there are a host 182
of limitations and difficulties in the economic aspect of the 231 241
culture. Many of these are due to the persistence of con- 433
servative practices. Each crofter must keep pace with his [624]
tradition-practicing neighbors, with the old men of the town-
ship. Others are the result of an inhospitable environment.
The economy does not run smoothly, but this is not conclusive
evidence for disorganization. Integration does not mean
smooth functioning. In the spring and autumn the crofter is
confronted with a variety and succession of tasks which would
fill a specialist with dismay. Very often, these pastoral
and agricultural chores have to be carried on in conjunction
with outside employment. In return for his labor, the crofter [134]
receives a meager income, frequently supplemented by con- [657]
tributions from his children or the government. As a further [167]
result of the partial adjustment to the wider society and
culture, the people leave the island to seek employment and
to achieve an upward mobility impossible on Skye. Economically, [175]
Skye, along with most of the Highlands, may be viewed as
presenting a picture of the Lowlands of Scotland 200 years ago.
That is the extent of the economic adaptation of the Sgiathanach
to the national culture.

Additional modifications have been found in the division of labor. Although no Skyeman has shown a disposition to assume responsibility for domestic work, unless he lives alone, the women of Skye are expected to function in roles which once were filled exclusively by men. Old men and women for many years now have continued to perform tasks which formerly were their duties as youths and young adults. These changes, like those we have reviewed, are partially traceable to an incomplete adjustment to the contractual, commercial world. This has led to striking alterations in the age structure of the population for it is the youth who forsake the island and the aged who yearn to return. Nevertheless, there have been no observable changes in the status system of the rural neighborhoods. Primitive democracy, distinguished from our form of democracy by the principle of unanimous consent rather than majority rule, continues to operate in the townships. The existence of such an institution implies a maximum of equality co-existing with a minimum of authority. The continued ability of the crofters to maintain primitive democracy in a nation like Great Britain is possible only because there is a high degree of social integration. The simple system of ranking, on the basis of age and sex, has persisted. Men are the social superiors of women; old men are the social superiors of their juniors. I believe we shall understand how continuity of status has been preserved if we turn to a consideration of the role of religion on the island.

If I am right in asserting that a belief in clan brotherhood was an all pervading cultural pattern in bygone days and

that the clan ceased to provide a focus for the culture almost two centuries ago, the reader may ask how can a culture without a focus find continuity, how can a culture without a central theme, something around which to orient itself, achieve integration? Religion provides the answer. Congregational religion has taken the place of the clan.

The acceptance of the new religious focus curtailed many traits and complexes characteristic of the old culture. This is why the older folktales, songs and superstitions, the festive celebrations held at times of birth, baptism, marriage, and death, the traditional social patterns of visiting, and all frivolous activities were abandoned or modified. In a time of acute distress the Sgiathanach turned to religion as a means of consolation. His religion required circumspect behavior. Perhaps, the sheer impossibility of supporting the traditional forms of social interaction had forced a change in cultural content when the religious leaders placed these forms under censure. I have suggested that religion did no more than sanction poverty. This much is certain: religion provided the means for the culture to maintain its continued distinctiveness. The Scots of the Presbyterian image of the days of Knox, of the times of the Covenanters, and the year of the Glorious Revolution continue to exert their influence on the Sgiathanach. While the ministers and the venerable old men of the laity stamped out all practices which they considered pagan or Catholic, as well as modifying the social aspect of the culture, the process was not completely negative. The religious expression

were to adapt this argument, I might even be convincing, but 178 182
dissertation would have a fallacious conclusion. Emphatically,
reparable cultural disorganization is not a characteristic of
e culture history of Skye.

Continuity has been maintained through a reintegration. 178
part, Skye has made an adjustment to the higher socio-cultural 182 184
ganization of Great Britain and Western Civilization. This
ase of the culture's readaptation, however, is an incomplete
justment. The Sgiathanach has remained enisled geographically
d culturally. A readaptation has also been made in the older,
aditional culture.

The national culture has played no insignificant role in 178
e readaptation. Parliament turned back the process of com- 182
rcialization in 1886 and undertook to rechannel the trends 423
ward ever increasing commercialization of the land, ulti- 427
tely leading to the socialization of the land. The essentials of 657
e old system of land use and tenure were not only reaffirmed
t also given legal sanction to insure their stability. The
tion confirmed the customary usages. In many townships and
whole neighborhoods the crofting system was restored. As
r as the Sgiathanach is concerned, he has never known any
her economic structure than communal use and tenure of the
nd. There are only three significant differences between the
hrig farm, whether the farm was a tacksman's or the common
lding of several joint-tenants, and the crofting township.
e arable acreage is held in compact, permanent blocks instead
dispersed and shifting strips; the crofter pays a money
nt in place of goods in kind and services; and national laws

Whatever signs there were of social or cultural disorganization, or threatened disintegration, in the nineteenth century they have disappeared. Steward's theory that folk societies do not entirely disappear but are rather modified by way of a reshaping in the higher level of socio-cultural organization of which they become a part is borne out by the evidence from the Isle of Skye.[37] At the same time, on the basis of events in the culture history of the Reidhagaich, would qualify his theory by introducing a new condition. Isolated, relatively stable, kinship oriented societies and cultures which must achieve a reintegration if they are to preserve their continuity readapt, not only to the higher socio-cultural level, but also to the older way of life.

In conclusion, I regard Skye as a community which has 178 maintained a continuity of culture despite marked population 184 change. The continued distinctiveness has been made possible 187 by a reintegration of the culture and a restoration of the texture of relationships which make for harmonious living together. As in any socio-cultural group which has passed through a period of marked disintegration, the points of pain may be weak. Conflicts are tending to appear. The latter, who has refused to fully adapt to commercialism, is seasonally faced with a variety and succession of tasks in which agriculturalists in the wider society would tolerate. Yet in the desire of the youth, who are too few in number to form a sodality, for a share in the manifold pleasures of

[37] Steward, Area Research, p. 111; see also Bagley and Jarvie, Sociology, p. 441.

the world. So far, rather than having an influence on the norms of behavior, the youth have been faced with the dilemma of conform or leave. Cultural continuity on Skye has been a sad experience for many and an expensive proposition for the government. The youth leave; the aged return. If additional changes are made upon the culture, and there is no doubt in my mind that they will be, the culture and society may not be able to preserve the delicate warp and woof. The threads already hanging loose may unravel the basic fabric. Only time will tell.

At the present time, the culture is disturbing to many 178 people. The sensitivities in the Lowlands worry about the loss of the old songs and the decay of the informal ceilidh. Agricultural economists commonly look upon the crofting system with dismay. Ministers, some of them born Skyemen, express a dislike for the form which religion takes among the Reidhagaich. Well meaning associations are determined to create an "adequate social organization" by reinjecting a sense of the urban recreational facilities to Skye. Government commissions and agencies take a dim view of a system of tenure which allows the aged and the absentee to hold on to the land. They advocate the severance of the house and croft and a codification of the croft for security of tenure. If one or more of these changes are made, it may no longer be possible to conclude that the culture is growing old with the aging population. I do not believe that the culture will ever fully adjust to the national socio-cultural organization. Before it will do so, the Gael

291 The competition between the loom and the croft is
233 evident in the few communal township practices which
● 183 still exist. One of the rules of township organization
225 is that all households must bring their sheep in from
the moor on the same day. Other rules are that no one
[B31] should go out on the moor at any other time with a
dog, and everyone who has sheep should go out on the
day designated by the township officer responsible to
collect them. The moor is extensive, and the sheep
wander over a wide area. Only if a large number of men
go out together and come in with their dogs like a wide
net can the sheep be brought in with a minimum of effort
over the stream-cut, uneven ground. Anyone who goes
out on the moor to tend grazing animals and probably
drives them farther away from the village.

These rules have strong ethical import and are
233 much more than a set of procedural rules prescribed
185 by the Crofters Commission. "There is a code of ethics
which you learn as you grow up, as you go with your
[578] elders out to the moor. You can fight with a man over
a woman and make it up next week; but if you fight
with a man over a sheep, you won't make it up for thirty
[178] years." That these rules are weakening in importance
is indicated by situations in which only two or three
men have gone out in the early morning to bring in the

18) NORMS--native and scientific definitions of custom (e.g., an ideal pattern, an range of variation within limits, as statistical indications from observed behavior); positive and negative norms (e.g., folkways, taboos); verbalized and unverbalized norms; conversion of norms with affect and symbolic value (e.g., morse, idealization, sublimation, rationalization); ambivalence; norms; configurations of norms (e.g., culture complexes, institutionalized, the ritualized, the ceremonial . . . . . 200 Tones 56
Conformity to norms (e.g., ritual, ceremonial, etc.) 201 Transmission of social norms . . . 207
Legal norms 272

233 sheep. These men arrive back in the village hours
185 later to find the road lined with the cars of men who
178 have come to look for their own sheep among the flock
but who had not bothered to spend the time collecting
them. Many have gotten rid of their sheep to
"concentrate on the weaving."

2. Sheep vs. Cattle: As mentioned in the section
233 entitled "Changing Land Use" (cf. Chapter 2), a split
516 has emerged between those who keep cattle, and those
who keep only sheep. Cattle were once prominent,
but the number of sheep has greatly increased. The
conflict between raisers of sheep and of cattle extends
beyond the use of the reseeding schemes (see Chapter 2).

Cattle are usually brought in from the reseedings
or from the common grazing lands where they are tethered,
fed, and watered. Cattle require lower grazing land of
the township at the same time that the sheep are brought
in from the moor. In one township on the west side of
Lewis, the cattle were released a few days before the
fank,[1] which resulted in the formation of two groups,
sheep-only people and sheep-and-cattle people, which
opposed each other. At the fank held a few days later,

[1] The word "fank" refers to the process of bringing the sheep in from the moor, and to the wooden pen in which the sheep are gathered and claimed by their owners.

● 183 The generally low level of stimulation derives in
181 part from values which restrict opportunities for self-
[B21] expression. People are ready to gossip, i.e., to participate vicariously in the escapades of others, but are less
[628] ready to act. Stories concerning sad-sap adventures of
some villagers do not belie the existence of constraints
[166] imposed on expressiveness. One of the major reasons
given by young villagers for wanting to leave the island,
and by emigrants for why they left, is that, "There is
nothing to do. The place is dead."

In the everyday life of the village, a style of
156 indirectness and restricted communication is encouraged.
181 A man might be praised in an obituary by the phrase, "His
[B21] voice was never heard in the community." The encouragement
of a "low profile" behavior is characteristic of
communities in which people meet each other frequently
and know they will continue to meet and see things of
each other for a long time to come. Indirectness avoids
conflict arising from divergent expectations, and embarrassment from changes in plans.

A major feature of practices of child-rearing on
156 the island is inconsistency, which develops a style of
96 guarded watchfulness and hesitance to act or express
oneself. Children are teased by being offered things
which are then snatched away. Punishment is inconsistent.

secondary school, the 'Nicolson', has had since its inception a 632
formidable academic record. Back in 1907 work from the school 871
was included in the educational section of an International Ex- [648]
hibition held in Christchurch, New Zealand: this was appropriate [1479]
because emigrants from the west Highlands, mainly from Harris
and Lewis, were among the pioneers of New Zealand education
a century ago. In 1957 new extensions were opened, costing about
£300,000 and making the school the largest of its kind in the
Highlands area. It is co-educational, its primary and junior
secondary departments taking only Stornoway children and its
senior secondary department catering for those from both Storno-
way and rural Lewis. Many board out in the town during the
week, returning home at weekends.

In providing social facilities, the town has placed itself in the 632
position of an agent for those things deemed necessary for life, 871
and is a middle-ground between the rural repression of the Free [77]
Church and the city abandon of the mainland, with resulting 183
dilemma. The public houses, the cinema, youth clubs, dances and [1428]
juke boxes are all in direct opposition to the preaching of the Free
Church. The result is tension between the town's desire to act as
a host for tourists and its wish to fulfil its duty on a religious
plane; to instance this, the Stornoway Sabbath is less strict than [184]
the Lewis Sabbath. In keeping with the rest of Lewis, social
standards are extremely high. Home is the centre of life, as it
always was; the sense of community and communal responsibility 592
is there. Divorce is practically unheard of, and the incidence of 562
crime, as such, is extremely low. [674]

42 light, suggests that such lordship goes back to early con-
[42] quests of self-supporting agricultural and pastoral com-
[172] munities by well-armed raiders of many races, including
the Celtic-speaking swordsmen of the Iron Age. The last
and most notable of these conquering forces were the
Norsemen. Their influence was profound, whether, sailing
direct from the Scandinavian forest settlements and fjords,
they raided and settled as heathen Viking crews, or, at a
later stage, they invaded England from Normandy—that
fertile province which they had made theirs in fact and
name—under the panoply of civilization and with Papal
benediction. A generation after the Conquest they com-
menced the penetration of Scotland.

● 183 The paradox of loyalty to one's fellows with loyalty
181 to a lord, of mostly equalitarian thinking bound up with
121 tyrannical administration, is nowhere more
[64] marked than among the Gael. They sought to reconcile
these conflicting loyalties by claiming common ancestry for
chief and people, as the children (*clann*) of a hero of
history or myth. The years 1945–47, which formed a
centenary of the last of the desperate Jacobite Risings,
stood at the close of the latest of many wars in which fame
has been won for the symbol of clansfolk, and long
proscribed (by the Act of 1747) 'to every man and boy
in the Highlands'. At such a time, the Gaels' loyalty to
the death cannot be forgotten although old kings, old
121 chiefs have gone. But its paradox must not only be re-
[64] membered but understood, from its roots in communal
121 life and environment through history. Not until this is
185 done can important phases of our own time be under-
stood, such as the failure of Lord Leverhulme's seven
years' endeavour in Lewis; nor can the present opportunity of Highland renewal be grasped by the help of

● 183 democratic reorganisation, with loyalty to one's fellows and
181 to a leader.
185 Here again, Lewis-and-Harris may have something to
178 teach, as one of the last communities in Britain in which
185 much of ancient common right over land and sea has been
[174] upheld. Trust ownership of Stornoway estate has strength-
[174] ened the possibilities of rural planning there, while the
[423] fabrics are a public resource which are partially protected
by local fishermen inshore and further out are closed to
none. The useful Lewis Association has published models
of local survey for social and economic planning. At a
time when democracy is struggling so in its way towards
economic and social freedom, such communal initiatives
have more than local significance.

121 This sketch of comparisons and questions in rural life
131 raised by Hebridean evidence, through a wide and varied
182 region of the British Isles, must serve to indicate the geo-
graphic setting of the Island and relate the historic and
contemporary problems of its own community to wider
fields. This book is not directly concerned with the urban
and industrial problems of the fish-ladder and 'individual
plains' within the varied land of 'the North and West'
of Britain, deeply though they affect the hard-hit fishermen
of the Isles and the Island migrants—seamen or labourers,
tradesmen or factory workers, nurses, teachers or clergy.
Even for the migrants' sake, it is vital to maintain the
economic balance, and restore the cultural and spiritual
121 life within each industrial region, in order to maintain
185 that of Britain as a whole. It was not enough to schedule
'the murdered towns' of Tyneside, Wales, Lancashire
or Clydeside as 'Distressed', 'Special or Development
Areas'. The balance of Britain as a whole must be
restored.

In spite of 'the wrath to come', life had to go on, work be done, and social affection find an outlet in youth. How could the women wash the cloth without a chorus to keep their beating hands in time? Songs had to be allowed to the servants for this work in common. In a land where marriage was not an affair of dowries, but chiefly of love choice among the young folk, the old courting customs could not wholly be denied. Curiously enough, drinking was not severely looked upon by Scots rural Evangelicals; in one story in the Old Testament, it is not the drunkard, but the mocker whom the Lord punished! In a city, a drunk man is a prey to thieves and harpies; but in a township none will do him harm. But today there are Evangelical ministers who think that drink should be frowned on at weddings and *ceilidhs*, while song and dance might be tolerated.

Not all the people gave in willingly to the severity of the new creed. In Uig there is a cave, the 'Piper's Cave', to which a crofter was wont to resort on dark nights, his pipes in his arms, when the wind blew *from* the manse and *to* the cottage. In Harris, the last spelling were forced to give in, first, by the appalling threat of the refusal of communion, and secondly, by denunciation from the pulpit and the ostracism of the Elders. Much was destroyed that can never be recovered now, and many a fine heart saddened or broken. It was the most intimate expression of their lives, their religious love, which suffered most.[1] Yet something remains, preserved by the good sense,

[1] Carmichael gives an infinitely pathetic account of a conversation in a home in Nun about 1880–85. *Carmina*, pp. xxvii–xxxi.

people, although life in crowded quarters and daily concern with the rearing of animals make for a frankness not readily understood by strangers in Victorian times. The standard of morality in the Isles is high, and the rate of illegitimacy low. A courting custom, once common throughout the northern and western coasts of Britain, as in Norway and New England, was 'bundling', a preliminary to marriage, or bed-fellowship (*leapachas*). This is noted with disarming frankness by various writers.[1] After the ceremonial and festivities of the betrothal, *retainsh*, a young man was allowed to sleep beside his betrothed; but the strange experiment failed. The Lazdale School choir wins prizes at many a national gathering, but *Mod*, for their spirited singing of songs, many of them unpublished. Owing in part to their very isolation, these songs have remained as pure in form as in the Catholic Isles, whether in time and rhythm or in scale and mode. Thus the sub-intervals or 'quarter-tones' of the modal scale add subtlety to the melodic line of an air, as in the singing of Wales or of distant India.[2] These intervals are rarely heard on concert platforms, being unrecognized by many 'Mod medallists'. They are rarely known to professional musicians trained to the mechanical scale of the piano, and who are asked, as adjudicators, to award praise or criticism by alien standards.

Courtesy and modesty are noticeable among the young

[1] M. Kennedy-Fraser, *Preface, Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. Cf. Gilchrist, *Witchcraft and Second Sight* (Curwen, 1936). For India see A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindoostan* (1914), p. 74; E. and H. A. Popley, *The Music of India* (1921), cf. A. Coomaraswamy, Marguerite Eliot, *Ethnomusicology*, 1937. While published phonographic records of Indian singing normally illustrate these intervals, those of Celtic Hebridean singers rarely do, as they are accustomed to *sheir* to suit a group.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT *PT. II*

intuitive and traditional, of the people, and their love for the good and beautiful. Song collectors from outside the Island have found little and assumed that song had been swept away. Discretion is certainly needed for song collection! Years ago in Berneray I had been told of a pretty love lament I had not heard. Calling with my hosts to visit one house in their house that evening, we found the singer, a burly crofter of 50 or so. We had been about to mention the word 'song', when the word was checked on our lips by a swift, warning glance. The singer lived with his old mother and she was not be told that her son went out on such an errand! Nevertheless, Islanders themselves are collecting many unpublished songs, where strangers failed. The Laxdale School choir wins prizes at many a national gathering, but *Mod*, for their spirited singing of songs, many of them unpublished. Owing in part to their very isolation, these songs have remained as pure in form as in the Catholic Isles, whether in time and rhythm or in scale and mode. Thus the sub-intervals or 'quarter-tones' of the modal scale add subtlety to the melodic line of an air, as in the singing of Wales or of distant India.[1] These intervals are rarely heard on concert platforms, being unrecognized by many 'Mod medallists'. They are rarely known to professional musicians trained to the mechanical scale of the piano, and who are asked, as adjudicators, to award praise or criticism by alien standards.

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[Surveys] [Surveys]

In the Internal Carryout appears to be a good-sized village, carrying out communal industrial work, with income and outcome in over 40 years. The future in Carry is dependent on population increasing and

390

the spouse is likely to lose status. 626 684

The most powerful of all agents for social control are 626
old men of the neighborhood. Through their position in 882
church, a religious sanction for their prestige status, 794
enforce conformity to the norms of behavior which religion
sanctioned either positively or negatively. No one, nor
group, has been successful in questioning the right of
venerable men to maintain their habits and statuses
have been preserved over the generations. The baptism
man's children and his own salvation depends on acceptance
e authority of the elders, for they will be his judges.

As far as the contemporary scene is concerned, there 182
anomie. The content of the culture has been greatly 178
ied, but the form, the underlying distinctive pattern,
een preserved. We are dealing with a single tradition
ich the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them
remained common and clear. This is all the more striking
se there have been periods in which cultural and social
tegration threatened to overwhelm the Sgiathanach. This
s us back to the role of religion in preserving cultural
nuity.

Loomis and Beegle have employed Durkheim's theory to 171
ze the growth and spread of fundamentalist religious 182
in contemporary United States.[16] They conclude: "It 771
mere coincidence that various types of emotional 786
ious sects are now among the most rapidly expanding 781

[16] Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 401-407.

religious groups." As a re
rural areas have experience
few have escaped unscathed
forces which impinge from t
people to the appeal of an
Frequently, the sect become
outside world in an attempt
sequence of events on Skye
can also reject a great dea
culture. Be that as it may
religious movements restore
of interaction among groups
orated. Revivalism is a co

The first period of s
which the Sgiathanach exper
half of the nineteenth cent
To paraphrase Loomis and Be
that an emotional religious
found so many converts. Th
century had witnessed numer
culture and the collapse of
these events doubtlessly ha
the society, it was not unt
they broke forth upon the m
had reached effective propo
reorganization. The tacksm
quickly disappearing. The
Sheep were beginning to rep

sult of urbanization almost all 171
l the pangs of social mobility and 182
from a clash with the economic 771
he outside. This predisposes the 786
emotional religion, revivalism. 781
s uncompromising and rejects the
to bolster group security. The
enables me to add that the sect
l of the former content of the
, the authors show how emotional [571]
or replace meaningful patterns
whose social systems have deteri-
unter agent for anomie.
ocial and cultural disequilibrium 175
ienced may be placed in the first 178
ury, with a climax around 1840. 771
egle, it was no mere coincidence 786
movement should have appeared and 182
e closing years of the eighteenth
cus changes in the content of the
the old social heirarchy. While
d an influence on all levels of
il the turn of the century that
asses. Within a decade a revival
rtions. This was a time of estate
en, the traditional leaders, were
runrig farm was being abolished.
lace men in one parish (Bracadale).

We know these and the other changes of this period. Significantly, 175
however, there was no simple correlation of revivalism and 178
population change. The Revival began during a time of population 182
growth and emigration; it reached effective proportions during 771
a period when emigration seems to have almost stopped; and it 786
found its culmination during years marked by destitution and
the beginning of depopulation. No purpose will be served by
repeating what I have already said about the nature of the
changes which accompanied the coming of the dynamic, evangelical
message. It is sufficient to emphasize that the ministers
and the Men reinforced the desirable fabric of the culture
and gave the culture a new focus.

The second period of anomie on Skye is less well marked. It appeared at the end of the "Clearances." Again destitution gripped the island. Although the vital, emotional religion had enabled the people to bear the hardships of the "Clearances" without overt resistance, they now openly defied the landlords and the state. More than a series of government commissions and committees came to Skye. A still more intense religion loomed on the horizon to reaffirm the focus of the culture. Once again it was no mere coincidence that the new church should have found ready acceptance by the people in the areas of greatest unrest, the areas which required the presence of police and Royal Marines. It was a fact of no little significance that the new denomination should have been founded on the Isle of Skye, the area of greatest unrest in all the Highlands.

286 By 1911, the number of looms in Lewis had increased to
44] 250-300 (Hunter 1964: 42).
175

[288] By the late 19th century small mills had replaced
•[184] domestic spinning and weaving in the Highlands on the mainland. Weaving continued to be a home industry in the Hebrides where it was encouraged by the support of non-profit-making organizations such as the Highland Home Industries and Arts Association, the Scottish Home Industries Association, and the Crofters Agency--all established at the end of the 19th century--and also encouraged by local merchants who had begun to act as middlemen in marketing the cloth. These merchants owned small general stores throughout the island and either bought the tweed from local weavers or gave them goods from their stores in exchange. Many of the tweed firms in Lewis grew from such small general stores and from the barter system.

288 1. The Harris Tweed Industry in Shawbost: Coinneach
195 Rod, a man who started a tweed business on the west side
159 of Lewis which eventually developed into a large mill
472 with equipment for spinning yarn and finishing tweeds, was said to have been a risk-taker, a man who lost the first L50 he borrowed, but borrowed another L50 and never looked back, a man who throughout his life gave fellow

574 on troubled waters," or bringing the two families
584 together.[2]

585 The most important of the ceremonies surrounding marriage was not the church service (posadh) but the wedding dinner and dance following the church service (banais, from bean meaning "woman" or "wife," and feis meaning "feast").

"House weddings," as they were called, were held
[431] in the home of the bride. For several weeks beforehand, neighbors and relatives brought gifts to the bride's house, where they were displayed in a room set aside for them along with the dresses to be worn by the bride and

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574 [2]Morag Macleod of the School of Scottish Studies
584 describes a custom still existing on the Isle of
•184 Scalpey off the Isle of Harris, called reiteach mor (big reiteach), in contrast with the reiteach bheag (small reiteach) or simple dinner party which existed until fairly recently on mainland Harris. The reiteach mor is a dramatic event involving a humorous exchange between male speakers for "the groom's side," and male spokesmen for "the bride's side." The bride is hidden, and the groom's men ask for the bride indirectly. They desire a sheep, perhaps, or a length of tweed. The desired object constitutes a theme which is developed in humorous give-and-take between the two sides, as various females are brought out one by one by the bride's people, from the most undesirable old maid to the bridesmaid and finally to the bride. Until the bride finally appears, the groom's spokesmen must find something wrong with each female presented, along the lines of the chosen theme. The sheep's fleece is not curly enough, and so on. The bride sits at the table after she appears, is given a glass of whiskey which she sips and then passes to her fiance, and the performance is over.

197 English, no Gaelic allowed. I can beat you any time...."
191 One person observed, "People here make fun of each other
554 all the time. They're always trying to be superior, to
626 get one over the other person. Speaking English gives
578 you a feeling of superiority."
[529]

If a Gaelic speaker chooses to speak English in a village situation where there are no officials present or other cues which make English-speaking appropriate, this indicates that he considers himself a cut above everyone else. "I went to help Calum pull his tractor out of the mud, and Malina was there with her husband. She was speaking English. Oh, I says to myself, lady, you're not for this place. You don't belong to this village."

In evaluating whether or not a particular woman is "snobbish," villagers may decide, "She must be; whenever I've seen her in the post office, she never speaks any Gaelic."

The sanctions against speaking English when all
197 persons present speak Gaelic indicate the effect of inter-
191 action between a socially marginal group and the dominant
554 group. The effect is to increase the emphasis on uniform
571 behavior within the marginal group. The existence of a
•184 higher social stratum has diminished social differentiation
578 within the village setting. Individuals may move out of that setting and adopt the language and other forms of

197 behavior characteristic of the dominant group; but for
19 those that remain in the village, the language serves a
555 unifying function, although its form is limited in
571 diversity of elements.
•184
578

184 Jokes are most humorous when told in Gaelic; and
197 conversation is punctuated with Gaelic proverbs and old
538 stories. There is a vast oral lore, expressed in Gaelic,
[522] of the village and generations of its members and their
[521] characteristics and escapades, a dense map of human events. All of these tales, proverbs and jokes have been told a
829 thousand times, but retain their unifying function. When speaking of today's children who do not go to the sheiling, a man says sadly, "They won't have our memories; this place will mean less to them than it does to us." The moor is not an empty wasteland, but a map of memories.
103 Thousands of place names are known, and behind every place
175 name is a story. The major landmarks such as mountains, lochs and headlands tend to have Norse names, from the days when the Norsemen raided and settled along the island coasts; but the smaller hillocks and fields and bends in the stream have Gaelic names, for example, Sheiling of the One Night, Field of the Slaves, Slope of the Stone
[184] Boys, Hillock of William's Sheiling. To know these place names and their histories is to participate in a distinct community, which has been made even more distinct by contrast with the dominant society.

796 given at Christmas; in Lewis, Christmas is identified
431 with Catholicism, and is an insignificant event in
•184 comparison with New Year. To give two examples, a New
527 Year's dance is given, but not a Christmas dance; and
796 the mills continue working on Christmas if it occurs
184 on a week day, but close for at least two days at New Year's. In Shawbost, bannag is defined as a party associated with Hogmanay (New Year's eve).

527 In the recent past, until about ten years ago,
292 the boys dressed in women's clothes or wore masks. They
178 took turns wearing a cow's skin as they went from house to house. In each house, the boy wearing the skin was
[539] hit by the others as he chanted the rann na bannag (rhyme of the bannag):

Here I come again renewing Christmas.
(Or, in another version: This is the New Year's nigh
I'll take the bread without the butter,
And the butter without the bread,
And the cheese by itself.
Then we won't be empty-handed.
One thing I refuse is a mangy potato.
It gives a heavy feeling.
It's not healthy.
If you don't give me my bit of butter and my lump of cheese,
Everything you possess will be gotten by the crows on St. Patrick's Day.

527 As the balaich na bannagan left the house in which
431 they had received gifts, they blessed it. All food and
178 money was given to the woman who prepared the bannag.
[788]

Today children tend to receive money more often than food, and use some of the money to buy sweets at the post

527 office or general store, preferring to divide the rest
178 between themselves for use at a later time. A 50-year-
431 old woman observed, "They don't appreciate the bannag
like we used to. They get this kind of rich food all
527 the time." The practices of wearing costumes and speaking
178 the rhyme are disappearing. Children used to have the
bannag until they left school at age 14 or 15; now only
the younger children go. "Children grow up more quickly
today."

527 New Year's is celebrated perhaps most intensively
562 by the men, who after seeing the New Year in by watching
273 a special New Year's program on television go visiting
574 neighbors and relatives with bottles of whiskey. The
• [184] custom of "first-footing" on New Year's eve is found
throughout Scotland; but in the Hebrides such visiting
and heavy drinking may last from New Year's eve until
the following Sunday. During this time, the woman of the
house, who usually refrains from drinking and to some
extent controls the drinking done by the males in her
house, relaxes her attitude, and may even participate.
The comment, "It's only once a year," is often heard.
[589] During this time, the shyest and most retiring bachelor
becomes a Romeo; this is the only time of year he may
be heard to mention the word marriage. For example, one
bachelor in his 60's chooses a "bride" each New Year, and
takes her with him on his all-night visiting.

B. The Bible

771 1. The Free Church: "A man in my great-grandfather's
175 time," said a 65-year-old man, "talked about the great
178 change within his generation, from the days when fanks
were held on Sundays to such strict observance on the
Sabbath that not even a cow could be tethered."

175 The first evangelical minister on Lewis came to the
793 parish of Uig in 1824. The Rev. Alexander Macleod belonged
795 to the Church of Scotland, but joined the Free Church when
it broke away from the Church of Scotland in the "Disruption"
of 1843. When he came in 1824, he found "superstition,"
"spiritual darkness," and "polluted remains of Popery,
since it was the religion in this place...the only notion
they had of Christianity (Beaton 1925: 7-8)." The southern
795 isles of the Outer Hebrides are still Catholic, but in the
829 Protestant isles of the north, holidays associated with
• 184 Catholicism are avoided, and stories are still told of the
798 burning of Protestant martyrs by Catholics. Catholics are
disliked "because they believe that they can buy their
way out of sin," or that the bread and wine of Communion
is really the blood and body of Christ. "A Catholic is
anointed with oil and left to die without food or water.
We are privileged that we are not like them."

175 In the Disruption of 1843, about one-third of the
795 people and 39% of the ministers left the established church

796 miscarriage occurring before marriage also requires
851 standing even when the child to be baptised was conceived
626 by the couple after marriage. A married man who has
849 impregnated a woman who is not his wife must undergo
[837] this ordeal before he can have his own children baptised.

It is the responsibility of the entire community to
ensure that this punishment is carried out. On one occasion,
the minister forgot to lecture a couple, and afterwards
sent them a note that they would not have to stand; but
they insisted, afraid that people would say that they
were getting special treatment.

[203] According to one minister, the manse is a kind of
[521] "research center" to which all gossip is reported. Some
[793] ministers use this information in the pulpit, chiding
[794] people and calling attention to wrong-doings in front of
the congregation. In contrast, a different attitude exists
• [184] in parts of Stornoway, where villagers have approached
[759] doctors in the maternity ward for information regarding
miscarriages and premarital births only to be told that
this information is confidential. The ordeal of standing
[178] in church does not exist in Stornoway. In 1971 a person
in Shawbost was accidentally exempted from this ordeal
and his exemption was seen by some as providing an
opportunity to stop what is considered by many to be an
archaic custom.

796 service, believers remain in the church where they
794 receive tokens given to them by the elder of their st
These are pieces of metal on which is printed the nam
of the church and village, and a verse from Corinthia
"Do this in remembrance of me." Communicants plannin
to take Communion in other villages take with them to
which they have received from their own minister, or
the local minister for one.

The Communion Services begin on Sunday morning
about 11:30. Persons not taking Communion sit in the
back of the church or in the balcony. Communicants
their tokens to the elders who stand in the aisles,
are allowed to sit in seats in the front section of
church, which are marked off from the other seats by
tableclothes. The service lasts for three to four h
Many communicants also spend a half hour to an hour
informal prayer before the ministers arrive to begin
[178] service. In the past, a prayer meeting was also hel
• [184] 8:00 in the morning, a custom still practiced in som
places, such as the island of Scalpay.

Sunday is the only day of Communion on which st
ized selections of Biblical verses are spoken and p
are sung. On other days the ministers are allowed
variation in the contents of their services. On Su
Psalm 22 is followed by the reading of Isaiah 53, a

his occupation matters very little. Unlike the Welsh,[35] the Sgiathanach does not particularly look up to the man who prospers. Indeed, the people are more than likely to attribute his success to dishonesty or find fault with his character. I shall have more to say about this when we consider the topic of gossip.

3 At the same time, occupation is a factor in the formation of cliques. The school teachers form one clique which has tended to become more and more exclusive in recent years. The shop keepers also have their small clique. Once a year they have a dance at the Royal Hotel. Within both social circles there are, of course, special groups of friends who associate regularly. Age grades provide another basis for clique formation. Clerks, shop assistants, and employees of the government are divided on this basis. Since it is government and, apparently, business and banking house policy to use theremote rural areas for a training ground and to make promotions, most of the newcomers and local residents who work for these agencies are young men.

Neither occupation nor age-grades are exclusive factors in determining the social structure of Portree as they are for the crofters. If they were, I could not support the assertion that there is fluidity among the village population. There are several clubs and fraternal organizations, such as a drama society, the Women's Rural Institute, An Comun

[35] Rees, op. cit., p. 127.

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

685 then, is theft handled?

685 625 The police who are charged with the responsibility of protecting and restoring the property of the local citizens are faced with many difficulties. To begin with, the local people will not always complain to them. Even if the help of the police is sought, the person seeking it will not tell who might have committeed the crime. Even if he knows who is guilty, he will not tell. The police must build their case with care. If the facts are clear and straightforward, the 685 692 defender invariably confesses. One reason for this is the fact that a confession means a local trial by a justice of the peace rather than one before a sheriff. The defendant can hope for sympathy, and he rests secure in his knowledge that his sentence will be lighter because of statutory 685 625 limitations. If witnesses are required, the police must almost put words in their mouths, and they are never free from the possibility that a witness may change his story when he is put on oath. One policeman said, "They hold their church services up there," pointing to the court room, which was being used by one sect while their church was being repaired, "on the Sabbath from 10:30 until 2:00 and they're back again at 6:30, but they tell the damnedest lies in the same room."

685 183 We are dealing with a dichotomy like that we noted in the case of poaching. As far as I was able to determine, those cases which come to court involve activities which do not affect the norms of the group. There was for example, a girl in Portree who stole the equivalent of some five or six thousand dollars in cash and material over a period of two

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

685 183 years from her employer, an outside concern. She spent t money on clothes and holidays in London, and gave the mat to her friends. She was brought to trial and given a sen of six months. Upon her return, she was welcomed with op arms. The sympathy of the people was with her rather tha the organization with its main office in far off Edinburg As they said, "Poor Jane, she was a good girl." "Poor Ja died not long after being released.

When traditional norms are involved the situation i handled quite differently. There was another young girl the village who was guilty of a similar petty crime, on a smaller scale. During the last war, one of the local min organized a group of girls from the school hostel to make door to door collection for a charity. One of the girls, "foster child," had never been given any spending money. temptation was too great. She spent her collection. To replace the money, she stole from a fellow hosteler. Whe was found out, she was expelled from the hostel. The sch year had two remaining weeks, at the end of which she was graduate. Not one Sgiathanach, including her "people" an "friends" of her relatives, would have anything to do wit As far as they were concerned she had exiled herself. She an outcast.

685 627 Now let us turn to the crofting neighborhood to see a crime is handled there. In most cases the neighborhood the fundamental locus of social control,[38] is able to dea

[38] Cf. Murdock, op. cit., p. 84.

685 deviants without recourse to the court. Indeed in Kilmuir
627 they do so well that I never heard of any theft. Still, there has been some theft in Glendale. Shortly before each cattle sale the shepherds on the club farm found one or two cattle had disappeared. At first they thought the cattle might have gone over the cliff, but coincidence soon indicated they had a thief in their midst. One of the crofters, a retired Glasgow policeman, took a hand in discovering the guilty party. At length he found out who it was. At the annual meeting several weeks later, he stood up and told the shareholders exactly what he had seen. Here were the facts, in detail. He did not, however, name the guilty person. After he had finished, the crofters calmly asked him to retell several parts of his story, and then there was a period of silence. Finally, the man publicly confessed and expressed repentance. He was not cast out or handed over to the police -- I doubt if the police know of this even now. His humiliation was sufficient punishment.

682 Among such crimes and the forms of social control which
[74] they prompt, however, murder is almost unknown, deterred by the tales which tell of being plagued by the man's ghost to the grave, and suicide is extremely rare, with only three cases in many, many years. Much more important, however, is the influence of social control over public behavior.

683 During my stay on Skye, I was struck by the lack of overt
183 aggression. Aggression was an outstanding characteristic of the
157 culture during the days of the clan, as the Crown ruefully

683 discovered on many occasions. I once entertained the thought
183 that its absence was indicative of a decadent culture. Then
157 I discovered that it was a traditional norm of behavior. Only once during the modern period has there been any aggressive behavior, during the closing years of the "Clearances." Some who remember these "old warriors" who were not afraid to stand up for their rights wonder why their descendents have changed.
[793] Today only the ministers are aggressive in their dealing with their congregations, and they reserve their aggressive pose for their Sunday sermons. Naturally, the people quarrel among themselves and a couple of drunken men may come to blows with each other or the policeman who interferes. In any group situation or in any dealings with outsiders, however, dislike or resentment takes the form of placid resistance. The Islander
683 remains courteous and suffers in silence. This is "affect
183 suppression," resultant from Protestantizing the crofters.[39]
157
626 Even the talkative individual, unless he stands among the gentry or has achieved prestige status through his profession, is considered an eccentric. He must stand the snickers of the group and bear the title of a "worthy," a man who does not act his age.

152 Real anger, manifested by a loud or quavering voice, or
626 table pounding, clenching one's fist or other recognizable signs,
156 is not characteristic of the Sgiathanach in public. The man who forgets himself is always taken in hand by the minister, an old man, or a teacher. He may feel righteous indignation, but if he

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[39] I am indebted to Conrad Arensberg for calling my attention to this fact.

rol of the "elect" crofters. They, are the "elect," 796
their status is independent of the control of the vener- 565
old men. 626 554

Summary

Whereas the culture of the Sgiathanach was oriented 771
d the clan system in the remote past and was intelli- [178]
only by an awareness of the all-pervasive influence
e clan, today congregational religion provides the
for the culture. If we are to understand the Sgiathanach, [121]
st fathom his religion, that is, the interpretation
he has given to Calvinism. Moreover, this highly 182
rated and systematized aspect of his culture has pro- 771
the means for preserving cultural continuity. Economics
ocial organization aid us in recognizing how cultural
nuity has been maintained. Religion puts at our finger
the how and the why.

The basic status values have held good because religion 771
anctioned them. The old men of the neighborhood have 554
successful in sustaining their statuses and habits 183 626
gh their position in the esoteric religious hierarchy.
lding the father responsible for the spiritual welfare [593]
s family, and judging a man's spiritual enlightenment
s renunciation of mundane pleasures as well as his
edge of religious tenets, the elders exercise judicial
uthoritarian functions. At the same time, the status [593]
e father within the family is strengthened. After a

man is no longer concerned with the necessity of having his 771
children baptized, the venerable old men, the family-head 554
elders, prolong their social control by sitting in judgment 183 626
on those who seek salvation. The strength of age controls [178]
is indicated by the continued ability of the elders to resist
all attempts to introduce secular innovations to the crofting
neighborhoods. Even in Portree the majority of the people
are under the watchful eyes of the old men.

Many of the meaningful patterns of interaction are 771
religious. The rites of passage function to augment social 182
control, restore disturbed equilibriums, and establish new 626
ascribed statuses. The rites of intensification, including
those associated with death, function to restore disturbed
patterns of interaction in the family, nuclear and extended,
and the larger social groups and to establish meaningful
relationships when large congregations gather for the
celebration of communion. Religion for the majority is not 771
merely dependent on attending church on the Sabbath and [782]
attending Wednesday night prayer meetings. Every day of
the week begins with a prayer and ends with family worship.
All social activity outside the home is ideally limited to [52]
the church, and the church is never used for mundane activity.
Only in Portree are there a number of social activities to [369]
tempt the people. Kilmuir has no more than a Crofters' [575]
Club for men, and Glendale has no social activities, unless
one would include the annual meeting of the share holders
in the farm.

1

184 CULTURAL PARTIC
degree of proliferati
statuses; extent to
Social stratification . .
Individual roles within sta
Dialectic differentiation
Urban and rural difference
Regional specialization in

84

CIPATION--prevalence of "specialties" and "alternatives";
tion of subcultures, intra-cultural differences, and special
which the entire culture is socially shared; etc. See also:

. . . . .	56	Occupational specialization	463
atuses	156	Differences in standard of living	511
. . . . .	197	Ascribed and achievable statuses.	554
es	369	Ethnic stratification	563
n production. . . .	138		

178 of the normal capitalist farmer in the West; but in
241 crofting areas, these practices reveal a strain between
476 communal and individual tendencies.

a. Fencing:

233 Although run-rig was replaced by fixed, compact
[178] holdings, the method of animal husbandry was not affected
[417] until the land began to be fenced. A single dry-stone
[333] dike enclosed the township, keeping livestock on the
moor and away from the arable land. In different parts
[184] of the Hebrides, various types of herdsmen were hired
to protect both the livestock and the growing crops
(cf. Owen 1958-59 for a discussion of cattle, calf and
sheep herdsmen in North Uist).

175 The township Constable had a great deal of power,
625 which included the right to evict people from their
crofts, to enforce rules of good husbandry. The last
Constable of Shawbost, who died at the turn of the century,
has been credited with a number of ignoble actions, such
as forcing an old woman with a sore leg to take her cow
to the moor along with all the others. Old widows who
had no one going to the fishing and hence no means of
paying their rent might be evicted in favor of other
persuasive, land-hungry members of the village.

178 The number of cattle diminished as milk became
231 available by other means; and when the township reseeding
234 schemes came into existence, the need to go to the
233 sheilings for an "early bite" was removed. The sheilings
178 that remain in use today are huts of tin, wood and
342 concrete within easy walking distance from the highway,
used on weekends and during summer holidays. Most of
these modern sheilings are close to Stornoway, and serve
as summer retreats for the relatively harried urban
[184] dwellers such as publicans. On the west side, the
sheilings are no longer used, but remain as a theme of
songs and in nostalgic memories.

C. The Loom

175 Clo Mor, the big cloth, was woven in the Highlands
286 and Islands for hundreds of years. Martin Martin,
who travelled through the Outer Hebrides in the late 17th
century, describes the export of "plaiding," and the
practice of waulking or shrinking the woven length of
cloth (Martin 1716). Weaving was done on wooden looms,
and produced only for local markets until the middle of
the 19th century.

[731] By the middle of the 19th century, the failure of
[735] the kelp industry, decline of fishing, and destruction

lens a family, newcomers to Skye, prevailed on the local 191
chool teacher to hold a Sabbath school for the children. 771
he local missionary objected. If they were going to have 621
abbath school, it should be in Gaelic. His prestige and
ontrol over the population secured his position. The
hildren of the people who originated and organized the
rogram were excluded because they did not "have the Gaelic."

Another problem which is beginning to stem from the 191
se of Gaelic as the language of religion is the difficulty 793
f securing a minister. Traditionally, it was an ideal to [183]
end a son to study for the ministry. This ideal remains, [874]
ut in the last few years only one young man from Skye
as shown a desire to become a minister. Indeed, the
ajority of ministers on Skye are not Skyemen. I believe
he only minister who serves his own neighborhood, the
eighborhood in which he was born and raised, is the Free
resbyterian minister in Glendale. It is becoming more
nd more difficult to fill charges as they go vacant.
ach year several Highland charges are changed from "Gaelic
ssential" to "Gaelic preferred." If we go beyond the role 121
f religion as it orders human relationships, through its 771
ore formal aspects, and consider the influence of religion 626
n the secular behavior of the Sgiathanach, we can come 178
loser to an understanding of why the youth are slowly
urning away. At the same time we shall be able to round
ut our picture of the expression given to the Presbyterian
thic on Skye.

asceticism is fundamental to the peoples' lives. A brief 785
discussion of the Sabbath will serve to conclude my discussion [796]
of religion and to indicate some additional difficulties which [128]
the Sgiathanach faces in his attempt to preserve his culture.

Sunday does not exist on Skye. There is the "Continental 796
Sunday" and the Sabbath. On any other day of the week, the [576]
greeting is, "It's a fine day," or, more often, "It's a wet
day." The Sabbath, however, is "no day to be speaking of [576]
days." Keeping the Sabbath is almost a fetish among the
people. It is a readily observable test of an individual's
religious capacity. All unnecessary work, all unnecessary
words, and all unnecessary thought is taboo. Only the
barest minimum of worldly activities are permissible. This
does not mean a day spent in idleness; the time should be
spent in public worship at the kirk, private spiritual con-
templation and family worship. The Skyeman's estimation of [183]
a newcomer may depend on his keeping the Sabbath. One man
was very surprised to learn how long a memory the people have
when a man deviates from the expected. A visitor asked a
crofter what kind of a man a certain newcomer to Kilmuir
was, to which the crofter replied, "He's all right, except
six years ago he played the pipes on the Sabbath." Most
newcomers, including the few Catholics, respect the Sabbath.

No crofter would ever think of doing any work on this [461]
day beyond feeding his cattle as an act of mercy. After [231]
weeks of rain, the crop of oats or hay may be ready for 796
harvesting on the Sabbath, but he will not touch it. A man 241

174 to notice the absorption or suppression of rights held in
62 common in 'the North and West', together with the
63 abolition of the duties of fellow-workers to one another.
178 Too frequently they have not troubled to enquire into the
184 former existence of common rights and fellowship duties, the observances of which have so much to teach. Yet to judge from the completeness of the Hebridean evidence, and from wider evidence to be touched upon with reference to Norse and Lowland conditions, suppression caused a profound social and moral revolution.

178 Indeed, the profound character of that revolution makes
184 it hard to recognise the common origin of features which
428 may differ greatly today. To choose four examples, the
166 long succession from father to son, found from end to end of an Island township, contrasts with a restless movement of farm servants, and even tenant-farmers, all too common until 1939 in Lowland Scotland and parts of Northern
181 England. The ideals held by fellow-workers in Gaelic tradition, of kindly and courteous co-operation, contrast with the avowals of rugged individualism made on many a farm even of the southern Highlands today, and certainly of
191 the Scottish Lowlands and Northern England. Languages have changed as English has advanced during 1500 years: the Lewis crofters' children still speak Gaelic, but children in Stornoway ceased to do so forty or fifty years ago.
171 And in the remoter religious life of Gaelic hamlets far from any priest (or later, minister), the part of revered men and women is very different from the part played in Calvinism by the Minister and the male Elders of the Kirk. All these four contrasts are due to revolutionary changes in home, work, language and religion. Such changes, of which all trace may be lost elsewhere, are traceable from the fullest evidence among the Gael.

• 184 Comparisons at the present day are most illuminating.
191 In the Hebrides one may pass from Calvinist Lewis-and-Harris to Catholic Barra, through South Uist, where Presbyterian and Roman Catholic dwell, side by side, in mutual respect. Although their home life, economy and language are the same, the influence of a comparatively
121 recent divergence in religion is marked. Such Island evidence, present and past, forces one to re-examine conclusions upon life in the Lowlands accepted until recently, and to seek for the truth upon earlier forms of life in common and for their meaning today throughout 'the North and West'.

175 Ancient elements of unity, and later ways in which
172 these were broken, adapted or remade, region by region,
427 are being unravelled. 'The Old Estate Plans, made at the outset of the agricultural revolution, show these immedi-
62 ately before the re-planning of fields and farms (*circa*
176 1750–90). These plans also reveal the existence of still
184 earlier types, not otherwise recognisable even on the spot. With their rentals (when available) they reveal the ways in which old joint farms were placed under a single tenant, as in Lothian, or were split up among several tenants, as in Ayrshire.[1] From such geographical data, both the economic and the deeper social aspects of rural life emerge with new clarity. Such data may be linked to Planning Surveys of land and rural life for tomorrow.

62 Now, although so fundamentally equilitarian within
427 themselves, these hamlet communities of a Gael were subjected to the overlordship of a chief or laird, either directly or through an intermediate gentleman-tenant, a
174 tacksman'. History, with archaeology read in history's
172 [1] For Lothian, see Arthur Geddes (1938 and 1951); for Ayrshire, see
113 J. H. G. Lebon, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, Vols. 62, 1945 (pp. 7-13); 63, 1946 (pp. 100-110). Further references in Bibliography.

62 light, suggests that such lordship goes back to early con-
427 quests of self-supporting agricultural and pastoral communities by well-armed raiders of many races, including
194 the Celtic-speaking swordsmen of the Iron Age. The last
172 and most notable of these conquering raiders were the Norsemen. Their influence was profound, whether, sailing direct from the Scandinavian forest settlements and fjords, they raided and settled as heathen Viking crews, or, at a later stage, they invaded England from Normandy—that fertile province which they had made theirs in fact and name—under the panoply of civilisation and with Papal benediction. A generation after the Conquest they commenced the penetration of Scotland.

183 The paradox of loyalty to one's fellows with loyalty
181 to a lord, of stoutly equalitarian thinking bound up with fervid admiration for an aristocracy, is nowhere more
614 marked than among the Gael. They sought to reconcile these conflicting loyalties by claiming common ancestry for chief and people, as the children (*clann*) of a hero of history or myth. The years 1945–47, which marked a centenary of the last of the desperate Jacobite Risings, stood at the close of the latest of many wars in which fame has been won for the symbol of clanship—the tartan, long proscribed (by the Act of 1747) 'to every man and boy in the Highlands'. At such a time, the Gaels' loyalty to the death cannot be forgotten although old kings, old
121 chiefs have gone. But its paradox must not only be re-
182 membered but understood, from its roots in communal life and environment through history. Not until this is
• 184 done can important phases of our own time be understood, such as the failure of Lord Leverhulme's seven years' endeavour in Lewis; nor can the present opportunity of Highland renewal be grasped by the help of

121 And region by region, a fairer balance must be struck
185 between country and town. In Lewis, the part of Storno-way town, with its population nearing 5000 (in 1951), is
162 important. Its port, its fisheries, its spinning mills for the crofters' hand-loom weaving, its merchants' shops, and its
• 184 local, administrative and professional services, are essential to the Island. Its economic and social evolution, too, are
162 interesting. Stornoway's plans for the future are active and ambitious, and these, it is realised, depend upon the prosperity of the 19,000 crofting people of Lewis proper.

121 But the subject of this book is primarily rural. It is to
128 see with fresh eyes what, from our Harris mountain-top, we viewed as a unit at the core of 'the North and West'. After the island has been described in terms of its physical and human geography (Part One), the endeavour (in Part Two) will be to give a completer account than may yet have been given of the nature of Gaelic community, with
621 its temporal duties and its spiritual sanctions. The three concentric circles of community are described: the family, the farm team and boat's crew, and the larger township groups. The relations of this threefold grouping of livelihood and society to Chiefs and Church are studied, and followed out in later evolution, until today. Elsewhere I have endeavoured to show how the Island can worthily maintain itself, and thereby find a new freedom. The final chapter returns to the broader aspects of society and region touched on here.

If this intensive study of a single isle and community can throw fresh light upon certain essential characters of the less-understood region of the British Isles—that lying outside the south-eastern 'Plain'—it may help to con-
121 tribute to more than economic reorientation. The significance of the Island life—not so much for the past, which

121 cannot be changed, as for the future which can—lies in
the intensity of its communal traditions, extinguished else-
178 where. Much has gone—many of the fishing crews are disbanded and team-work has weakened—but much lives
• 184 on, and much has been learned. The Gaels have still to make their full offering to English-speaking civilisation. To do so, they must find their own fulfilment within the framework of the Highlands of Scotland.[1]

2. *Scottish Crofts, Farms and Labour-teams: the Rural Unit Today*

184 When, in thinking of Scots countrymen, we differentiate
105 between the men of the Highlands and Isles, the Lowlands and the Borders, what stamp of occupation, society and economic class bestows best characters the three regional types? The differences we note between them are due not only to their place of birth and region, but to their occupational
433 discipline and social ways. Imagine, for example, a Gael, a Lowlander and a Borderer, all three of whom follow the same calling—say, a trio of farmers, of shepherds or farm servants, or of independent, full-time small-holders. When brought together each trio would find they shared similar interests and aims in their work, and all that follows from it. In fact, they might have more in common than three Gaelic-speaking men who differed from one another in vocation, although, as Gaels, the latter group would find a bond in culture and kinship. But a fourth type of Scot, the crofter of the North-west townships with whom this book is concerned, would stand out, distinctively, from any other, whether his home were Zetland or the Hebrides. Thus not only their home or region differentiates Scots countrymen, but their calling or class; and their families
113 [1] A. Geddes and F. D. N. Spaven, *The Highlands and Isles* (1949).

• 184 share their characteristics. So to gain a sense of pro-
165 portion from the start, we must map the location of Scots
countrymen, their numerical importance, and their types
128 of grouping. Let us begin with the first of these three aspects, their regional location (Fig. 2).

102 The base map on which the data are plotted shows the
boundaries dividing the hill massifs of the Highlands and
102 Southern Uplands from true 'lowland'. This hill country
13 is mostly covered by rough pasture (left blank on the map)
311 within which lie strips of 'Isolated Arable' with other improved land in the valleys and along the outlying coastlands (shown in black). This hill country includes the Scottish Isles, with the exception of Orkney, which falls
241 rather into the category of 'lowland'. It is largely devoted
429 to sheep farming and crofting, or left to grouse and deer. The lowland area from the Orkneys to the Tweed and Solway is devoted to mixed and dairy farming with lowland types of small-holding, except, of course, for 'Industrial Regions', which include most of the urban area of Scotland.

226 Within the 'three-mile' territorial limit from the coast
lie the inshore waters, in which local fishing was once
important, and might again become so; these are left
white on the map (Fig. 2). By contrast to their narrow extent on the East Coast, their width is notable in the Northern Isles and on the West Coast.

102 The problem set in making this map is to show two
13 different worlds, as it were: the Highland and the Lowland.
184 The two are always envisaged together, and much confusion
of thought and policy results. To master the map, the
128 reader may scrutinise first one part, the Highlands (cover-
182 ing the other with one hand), then the other part, the Lowlands (in the same way): thus each will appear clearly in turn. Both can then be envisaged together.

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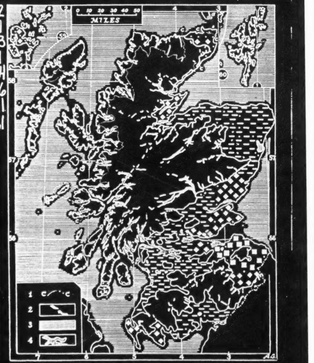

FIG. 2.—Map to show (i) the use of land and sea in and around Scotland, with special reference to the Crofting Townships Zone of the NW. Highlands and Isles, and (ii) the average size in each country of labour-teams of farms and small-holdings in the Lowlands

182 Let us begin with the economic and the social signi-
184 ficance of the Highlands and Isles with which we are
concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space' is
311 the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown black)
[241] which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore waters,
[427] and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by line
[361] C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or com-
munities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainland
and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazing;
the line C also encloses a small area devoted to other
grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, main-
land, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill country
are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small farms
and small-holdings.

174 In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint labour-
62 team on land formed the communal units contained within
632
423
241
226

Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C . . . . . C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Common'.
2. Black areas: strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

102 *Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings*
131 *(in the Lowlands)*
133
311 The symbols show the average number of employees per team in
each county.
[241] (1 symbol = 100 teams)
[362] (a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm
= 2·2 to 3·6 (3·1)
◆ 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
◆ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)
(b) Per Full-time Small Holding
◆ 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)
(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

174 the township; and to each were allotted the rights of the
226 common grazing and the fishing grounds. For more than
241 a century the croft has been held individually, though in
423 the townships the common grazing is still held in common.
427 Beyond these 'homely' limits lie wider horizons, in the
62 past those of seafaring and of droving or the chase, and
632 today of fishing and gilleing at home, or of ocean journeys,
[178] urban occupations or colonisation.

In the Lowland parts, each symbol represents 100
182 holdings. For (A), a[1] mixed and dairy farming', the par-
184 ticular type of symbol shows the average number of workers
241 employed on a farm-holding in each county. On each
farm the employed workers form what may be called the
'Labour-Team'. A team may be 'small', 'medium' or
'large'. The Scottish averages of these three types (indi-
cated in the inset key to the map) are roughly three, five
and seven workers per team. Four 'casual' workers are
counted as equivalent to one 'permanent' worker, but
farmers' wives are excluded. Under (B), for the same
Lowland counties and areas, full-time small-holdings are
[543] shown separately. The Scottish average of less than one
full-time worker employed, most often a son or daughter
of the small-holder, is typical of all the counties.

241 As to the relative importance of the different classes of
[162] farms and small-holdings in Scotland, true agricultural
land-holders number 68,000, of which fully one-third hold
part-time holdings (like the Island crofters), one-third
'full-time farms', and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold 'full-
time small-holdings'. The remainder accounts for other
types of less importance. The farms predominate in terms
[311] of improved land, full-time employment, and of course of
[364] production. As to area, farms cover 80 per cent of agri-
[162] cultural land. The farmers employ nearly 90,000 workers,

i [refer to map p. 16 .. analyst][28]

24 with its tied cottages and frequently a 'bothy' for the un-
32 married. Next to this comes the full-time small-holding,
[184] important in the North-east and the Southern Highlands
of Scotland. Great as are the differences between these
types of unit today, they go back, to a considerable extent,
[174] to common origins. The sites of the farms are ancient.
And their people, though since divided into masters and men,
are the successors to those who were once the 'kindly co-
operators' of older 'farm groups', of Lowland *ferm-toun* and
[184] Gaelic *baile* (pronounced like 'ballie'). The island counter-
part of these, and their life, will be described in Part Two.
Hence, before we turn to further analysis of the Highlands
and Isles, a word more should be said of Lowland types.

241 An important social index in the Lowlands of Scotland
361 is the number composing the farm labour-team, averaged
464 for each county. Villages and even hamlets are few,
largely because farmers and farm servants live on the farms.
[171] Compared to those of most of England, Scots labour-
[184] teams are small. Yet, as the map indicates, there is a
wide range from the 'large' teams of South-east Scotland,
through the 'medium' teams of adjacent areas, to the
'small' teams of the West and North-east. Not only do
the contacts of employer with employees partly depend
upon the number in the team, but so do the farm servants'
relations to one another. On the whole, the larger the
team, the more formal its organisation; and the smaller
[554] the team, the greater a worker's own responsibility. The
[178] 'family farmer' of the West and North-east is often an
ex-farm servant. From Burna's time, his character and
enterprise have been recognised in Scotland, and in the
last forty years have become well known in South-east
England. But the isolation of these little farms brought
its problems and its hardships.

i [see map p. 16 .. analyst][29]

174 The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely
184 significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to
241 developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in
78 farm-town and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons
55 throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed
128 out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat
scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged
121 in planning for post-war housing and community life.
185 But sound planning must be based on survey, long over-
due; though elementary, this key map appears to be the
first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units
of farm-team and township that Scots rural society must
be rebuilt, region by region.

184 One further contrast between the farming and the
crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the
175 types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-
198 nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their
241 croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World
361 —return home to their native township when they can,
166 and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand,
though they usually spend their lives in the county or
155 region of their birth, have been on the move from farm
to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland
seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the
[164] English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired
for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new
hiring, the married once a year. Families were annually
[122] uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all!
[178] The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to
check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence
many men have few ties, their wives still fewer. The
children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they
could look back to no "Auld Lang Syne", of which the

i [see p. 16 .. analyst]

184 verses would ring false to them! Before 1939, two-fifths
241 of the rural pupils of most non-crofting counties came or
361 went in the school year—most of them the children of
farm servants. Their schooling suffered, and their
166 teachers might be reduced to despair; indeed it is to
educationists, rather than to agriculturists, that we owe a
[182] survey of these facts. When they leave home to be 'hired',
[811] the young folk learn to fend for themselves but may suffer
in the learning: stability of character and endurance in
[156] attachment are hard to form.

It would be difficult to overstress the tragedy of the
long-continued break-up of rural communities in the Low-
lands. From the later years of the English invasions, as
when Major wrote with his knowledge of Scotland in 1500,
[178] this break-up continued through the early, largely unre-
241 corded phases of the agricultural revolution, down to the
361 later phases from 1750 or 1800 to the present day. No
one who has worked with fellow-servants on Scots farms
166 will under-estimate their sterling qualities. But the break-
155 up, the tragedy, happened. It was boldly sketched by the
Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston (to 1929) and verified by
[114] Miss I. F. Grant (1924 onward). Beginning from intimate
study of well recorded and surviving ways in the Highlands
and the Hebrides, Miss Grant realised the significance of
earlier Lowland life in the farm-hamlet or ferm-toun, as
Lowlanders themselves could hardly have done. Compre-
hension of this break-up of community brings out the
value of the enduring elements of communal life still
recorded, remembered and surviving in the 'Outermost'
Hebrides, at the core of 'the North and West'.[1]

[1] Ideas outlined in this section are developed in A. Geddes (1938-54). Detailed references will be found in the Bibliography.

3. *The Significance of Lewis-and-Harris*

181 The Highlands and Western Isles today, "The Land
184 of the Gael", may thus be grouped as two regions. The
361 North-west is mainly of 'township crofting' and distant
from the Lowlands—the other mainly of farming, living
101 nearer to the Lowlands and in touch with them. Through-
[197] out the North-west, Gaelic is still the common speech,
even of the children. The old community feeling is
[178] strong; it is that, indeed, which keeps the people attached
to the villages.

From the plains and cities of the South it is a far cry
101 to *Ultima Thule*, as Lewis, like Zetland, is sometimes called
131 even by its own people. Lying some twenty-five to thirty
miles across the Minch from the mainland, its nearest links
[184] with the South lie even farther away. From Stornoway
it is some seventy-five miles to Kyle of Lochalsh, the rail-
head for Inverness and North-east Scotland, and 100 miles
to Mallaig, the railhead for Fort William and Glasgow.
To reach Stornoway over the moors from the west coast
[504] townships is itself a journey. Stornoway is the Island's
[171] only port, though passengers are put off at Tarbert, at
Stockinish and at Rodel in Harris. Isolation has always
been a dominant factor in the Island's life. From pre-
[178] history through the Middle Ages to modern times, that
factor played its changing part.

178 In Lewis, conditions had changed less than elsewhere
during the last century; for example, the *New Statistical*
Account of South-west Argyll in 1830-35 reads like a
description of conditions in Lewis as they were until after
1914! Hence, as already said, the contrasts are very great
indeed in the aspect of the country, its fields and houses,
and in the number, character and ways of the people. It

233 according to the relief, as explained. Thus the Barvas
182 parish with its smooth topography permits of ploughing,
231 and there is, or rather was, one horse between two crofts,
or one pair between four or five. In rocky Uig or in Lochs,
however, there is only one pony between ten or twelve crofts.
487 Lending or hiring of horses has still to be practised, but
420 within manageable limits, though the increase in 'cars' had
lessened the number of horses, even before the war-time in-
troduction of tractors. Hiring is often done for cash, though
this conflicts with older communal custom. Yet lending
had its difficulties: "The borrowed horse", says the lender
bitterly, in the Gaelic proverb, "is never tired!"

233 The number of sheep per holding is noticeably highest
184 in Harris, with over 300 sheep per holding. The sheep
pasture of North Harris was well spoken of by Dean
Monro, and the link with the home industry of Harris, its
weaving, is evident.

241 Comparisons with the western mainland show, in
311 holdings of similar or rather large size, the diminished
amount of cereals now grown there even by crofters. The
increased proportion of grass reflects both the greater
dependence on bought provisions, and also the fact that
the West is not a land to ripen crops, but that it can grow
grass for stock.

4. *The Moors as Pasture: Game and Sport*

311 In order to estimate the relative value of the rough
531 grazings of Lewis and Harris, it will be well to compare
these with the moors lying across the Minch and east of
Cape Wrath. There also may be found crofting communi-
ties whose economics are similar to those of Lewis, so
that the stock carried on their pastures will furnish some

121 From prehistory to the present day, these geographic
178 zones have played their parts as factors in evolution,
174 although the border-lines have changed at different historic
182 crises, and have been modified by economic and social
184 phase. At times the Hebrides have been more closely linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Central Scotland. In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in historic events, but comparability in stage and transition, even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of view, the revealing character of Island life lies not only in static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the Isles and vividly described as " the Past in the Present ". Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic strength of its continuity—notably of early or primitive Christianity—and also by the late occurrence of changes when, at last, they came.

18 The social consequences of these regional differences
62 in evolution are profound. In the ' Plain ', to the south-
174 east of the Severn-Tees line, large village communities
[423] with ' common fields ' prevailed, forming the later manor villages. To the north and west, the more varied, hillier
[192] lands encouraged the continuance of hamlets. These hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no more than four or five to a dozen relations or ' friends '—
—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word ' friend ' frequently implies kinship. Each small group
[462] formed a team. Together the men ploughed their mingled
[476] rigs (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and on the coast they rowed their boat as its crew. The
[241] women, too, did much together, as when they spun their
[286] yarn, and fulled or ' waulked ' the cloth that one of them had woven, helping by turn in childbirth and child-care.
[423] Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

18 pastoral group, the germ (in the Hebrides) of the present
621 township with its common grazing. Hamlets and town-
174 ship formed circles of cultural and religious life in common.
[423] These 'sociable hamlets', or 'little commonwealths', as they were called by understanding writers on the Highlands, lived on in the Hebrides almost until a century ago. Features of their form and life have long been known, but their life has not yet been envisaged in its full dynamic significance.

127 The homesteads, informally grouped in these small
36 hamlets, have been mistakenly described as solitary or
174 'dispersed' by scholars accustomed to larger and more compact grouping. The mistake was made by geographers
[423] of the nineteenth century, such as Meitzen with reference to the hamlets of Brittany. Similarly, because of the
[476] small number composing a typical joint team, the vital fact of team-work and joint holding has frequently been overlooked; yet a fundamental mistake is made when such close-knit team-work and joint tenure are described as
174 'individualistic'. Moreover, these teams were linked to-
62 gether in larger, more loosely bound pastoral communities
63 of township and district. In Scotland and elsewhere, it is true, such hamlets came historically to be split up in various
[241] ways, into smaller farms and scattered cottages. The larger link of common life was also superseded by the
[178] proprietor's estate. Indeed, the twofold revolution involved caused a fundamental regional cleavage within 'the North and West'.

[182] Partly as a result of their small size, the tenure of farm-
[184] hamlets was frequently informal. In northern England, the hamlets and their lands were not entered in Domesday Book; still less are early entries complete in Scotland.
[178] For this and other reasons, jurist and historian may fail

ing, 73 per cent have the language, which has been introduced by immigrant country folk and their descendants.

HEALTH AND HOUSING

Despite the harsh conditions of centuries, the physical health of the island was good in early times. Epidemics were rare due to isolation, though on occasion smallpox carried away many children. The commonest diseases were fevers, jaundice, dysentery and diarrhoea. Bloodletting (as in many another more advanced community) was the usual cure for fevers and dysentery. For coughs the people took a 'brochan' or soup of roots of nettles and reeds boiled in water with yeast; the meal of a black bean, mixed with boiled milk, was a useful cure for dysentery. Reports describe the folk as being well-proportioned, free from bodily imperfections and of good stature; healthful and strong-bodied.

But privations, particularly the frequent recurrences of near-famine, coupled with the primitive housing conditions, began to take their toll. The increasing sickness rate aroused the concern of authority. The most primitive dwellings had but one room, with the cattle at one end and the family at the other. In 1830 Seaforth sought at least to put an end to this, ordering that a partition must be erected between beast and man, 'and that more light should be admitted into the dark recesses of their habitation'. This type of one-room dwelling was not confined to the island, being found with many variants throughout the Highlands and Islands area. The old Lewis house was, as a rule, an oblong structure, varying in length according to the means and requirements of the occupier. It had but one door, and frequently had no windows. Chimneys did not find favour, mainly because any opening for the escape of smoke from the centrally-sited hearth tended to reduce the quality of soot produced; and soot was regarded as a valuable manurial product. If there was a hole in the roof to admit some light, a small pane of glass was fixed into it: this soon had a coating of soot, and the sole source of light was the doorway—when the door was open. The family and the cattle used the same entrance; and the cows' dung was removed once a year in the springtime.

secondary school, the 'Nicolson', has had since its inception a formidable academic record Back in 1907 work from the school was included in the educational section of an International Exhibition held in Christchurch, New Zealand: this was appropriate because emigrants from the west Highlands, notably from Harris and Lewis, were among the pioneers of New Zealand education a century ago. In 1957 new extensions were opened, costing about £300,000 and making the school the largest of its kind in the Highlands area. It is co-educational, its primary and junior secondary departments taking only Stornoway children and its senior secondary department catering for those from both Stornoway and rural Lewis. Many board out in the town during the week, returning home at weekends.

In providing social facilities, the town has placed itself in the position of an agent for those things deemed necessary for life, and is a middle-ground between the rural repression of the Free Church and the city abandon of the mainland, with resulting dilemma. The public houses, the cinema, youth clubs, dances and juke boxes are all in direct opposition to the preaching of the Free Church. The result is tension between the town's desire to act as a host for tourists and its wish to fulfil its duty on a religious plane; to instance this, the Stornoway Sabbath is less strict than the Lewis Sabbath. In keeping with the rest of Lewis, social standards are extremely high. Home is the centre of life, as it always was; the sense of community and communal responsibility is there. Divorce is practically unheard of, and the incidence of crime, as such, is extremely low.

The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an industry which is compatible with crofting. Because weavers are self-employed, they can set their own schedule of work and thus continue to participate in croft work and fulfill various township obligations. The effects of this industry on the township as a social boundary system were investigated. The income available from weaving is unpredictable, which encourages the retention of crofting practices and other patterns of behavior, such as "occupational pluralism," that were found to be adaptive in the past. Such strategies also strengthen township boundaries; for example, they encourage mutual aid and communal township practices. But weaving also offers a high level of income; and some weavers, preferring to spend most of their time weaving, have neglected crofting, or have invested in tractors or other motorized transport which enables them to harvest crops, cut peat and perform other activities independent of other township members.

The fundamentalist Free Church constitutes an important boundary-maintaining mechanism, serving to exclude various external influences of the larger society from the township. However, a smaller network of persons engaged in the religious sphere of social activity, a subsystem within the township system, also exists which has the appearance of a firmly bounded system. These are members of the clique

105 of the converted, who occasionally neglect township and
794 neighborly duties in favor of religious activities. The
621 increase in private transportation during the past 25 years
632 has facilitated the maintenance of closer ties within the
184 clique. The existence of such a strongly bounded subsystem
[494] is an example of a trend toward the weakening of the township as a social boundary system, but this trend is countered by other factors that strengthen or help preserve the township as a bounded system.

105 People come and go from the township, but this appears
632 to maintain rather than weaken township boundaries because
621 behavior different from that prescribed within the township
166 can be performed outside it, and conformist behavior
184 reassumed upon reentry. Those unable to conform with standards of behavior prescribed within the township are not likely to return.

[528] Township members who have settled away from the island come back periodically for recreation and a sense of
[829] belonging. They increase the value of the township and its way of life in the eyes of the inhabitants, and provide them with subject matter for conversation until the next holiday season, when the exiles again return.

105 The boundedness of the township is thus a qualified
632 boundedness that, over the past 100 years and especially
621 since the second world war, has decreased in strength but
184 is nevertheless strong today.
[178]

is nevertheless strong today. The relatively strong boundedness derives from a number of factors. Important among these are economic adaptations to modern conditions, which consist in part of the retention in modified form of traditional economic activities in response to various constraints and incentives presented by larger British society. Also important are institutionalized bonds of affect, particularly of kinship and community, and ties of religious affiliation and identification. These ties continue to be functionally important in part because of the geographical and social marginality of the crofting township. This combination of factors has resulted in the persistence of a relatively strongly bounded system which retains distinctive features in an extensively urbanized and industrialized nation.

B. Theoretical Considerations

In the United States, the concept of "peasant" has provided the main conceptual tool by which rural communities which are structurally integrated with the larger nation-state may be studied (cf. Foster 1967, Wolf 1966). The Scottish crofting township has some of the characteristics of a closed corporate peasant community (Wolf 1957), but it is difficult to apply the word "peasant" to such a community. Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in

little sign of Norse blood, can hold their own as fishers with the men of Nesa.

Third, it is still commonly stated not only that the 'great majority' under the clan system were "without any legal status", but that their tenure "depended on the good will of the chief or tacksman".[1]

As the last lps books of the Clan were taken from Lewis by its first mainland lord in 1611—never to be heard of again—it would seem that, as recognised in the Northern Isles, so in the Western Isles, permanent tenure was permanent according to regional law. In practice, mere 'goodwill' is an uncertain a property, but if this statement had been true, it is hardly credible that communities could have remained so stably rooted as their race-types show them to be. Evictions of groups or individuals at the whim of chief or tacksman would have broken down their homogeneity of race. In the Highlands, where eviction had become so frequent by 1500 and insecurity for the tenant of the country people has prevailed ever since, such fluctuations of race would be unthinkable and do not exist except in certain fishing communities who possess a pride, almost a caste-code, of their origin. Northern fishers within Edinburgh remain apart, with a dialect and a dress of their own. Great stability of tenure—in fact as in customary claim—is shown by the racial homogeneity of Gaelic communities.

Lastly, it is common to state that the nobility and gentry of a countryside constitute its 'old' or 'original' families. It is true that some land-owning families seem 'old' compared to recent purchasers—successively the merchants and lawyers, venturers and planters of the

[1] From a representative report on the Highlands and Islands, that of the Scottish Economic Committee, 1938 (Financial Preface, p. 9).

CHAPTER V

FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP: THE CONTINUITY OF COMMUNITY AND ITS SOCIAL ECONOMY TO 1815

INTRODUCTION (TO CHAPTERS V AND VI)

THE family, the 'conjoint' or 'farm group' of four or five families, and the larger group combined in a glen or along a shoreland, are, in ascending order, the concentric units whose social relations and ships we must visualise to understand the past. Enduring elements of life in family and neighbourhood today, with their own special features, can only be understood in terms of past needs and the relationships they evolved.

Having seen their relationships in family, team and township, we can next turn to the reciprocal relations of such units of land and sea. Lewis and Harris contained European, indeed world, history and prehistory. Here the people could trace back the meaning of 'clansfolk' to the chiefs, the joint farm-groups (or 'small tenantry') and, latterly, the tacksmen placed above them.

We may find, throughout this study, that features and functions which at first sight seem peculiar to the Island are really local variants, more perfectly crystallised, of forms which we know existed at earlier periods in Scotland and in much of northern and western Britain. In the Isles,

CH. V FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP

rent-rolls record something of more vital and enduring concern, the unit of community life in the Island. This was the 'conjoint' or 'group' farm of the labouring peasantry—though it was confined in parts of the Island by the formation of tacks held by gentlemen-tacksmen.

Both rolls are Judicial Rentals, that is to say, the tenants, great and small, were convened by the Government Commissioners and examined on oath as to the rents they normally paid; the accounts were then entered and tendled. Because of the Jacobite rebellion, the small amounts of rent and the maladministration of the Forfeited Estates, the rentals were not drawn up in 1716 but in 1718. A second rental was therefore compiled in 1726, upon a different system, which confirms the correctness of the first.[1] Both were annual rentals, including chief shares of 'valuation'.

Owing to the Island's comparatively smooth land surface and access to the sea, the people could group themselves as they chose. Whereas in the Highland mainland many a pocket of land is very broad, whereas more than two or three families alive and no fishing grounds are available, in Lewis and Harris the people could group together in twos or threes, to stock a hamlet-farm or penny-land, definable as a joint-farm of unit size, and to man a boat with "four to row and one to steer".

The first point of interest is the equality of the shares, each man paying exactly the same as his fellow-tenants for his 'farthing'—a fourth, or other equal share of the farm. The average share of rent was a little over 20 shillings sterling with additional payments in kind, though not fixed (or

[1] A. Geddes, "Conjoint Tenures," *ante*, *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Series, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 62. The rents were compiled, running largely back into space to that of the Revest Report (1492). Appx. D, and that of 1726, edited by J. R. N. Macphail (1918).

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

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CONCLUSION

The importance of the industrial movement is inter-regional and inter-national. The development of the island, international order is required for its fisheries to recover, and for its weaving to find purchasers abroad as well as at home. This in turn could allow small-building to find an Island market in its little Burgh, Stornoway. Without this triple basis of fishing, weaving and crofting for its economy, Island society will break up and its culture vanish, not evolve. It is no less true that only by the best interests of each regional and international, country and society as we first them, will profiteers be held in check and powerful peoples cease to exploit the worst of others.

A pioneer Ayrshire Report acknowledges the debt of regional survey to the Ruhr. Coal not only in France and Germany, but in a group of practical idealists, of geographers, lachapin and academics, Ruhr Report, is long as their names were duly inscribed at Stornoway Labour Exchange as sending fresh opinions, to ensure that the less alowness in its execution, and in the mobilization of regional resources for social ends. The chief end of our planning must be the creation of a Scotland, as in Britain it is not always evolved that in the great developments of the New Deal the execution of concrete schemes which include civil engineering, industrial expansion and agricultural conservation, is accompanied by a social development. Not certain total misapprehension of relief. As a result, through no real fault of their own, many men began to lose independence and self-respect. This general problem for youth was widespread in years of depression, and is not particularly severe both in industrial Clydeside and the fishing villages of Scotland, and also throughout the "depressed areas" of northern and western Britain, of which the Isles form the outermost fringe.

fragments of sports and "medical" ability lacking on credit and more were picked up and carefully allotted. So, after 1929, from the wreckage of modern industry, bones on the ground-swell of 'Depressions', there came to the Islands the frail raft of unemployment relief, doled out like driftwood long ago.

Some assessment is therefore required. The total number of Insured Persons under National Insurance Fund. After a couple of months of wage labour at road-mending, harbour repair, or the like, young men were qualified for 'the dole'. Furnished with this, they returned to the croft when paid employment gave out, to cart in their peat, cultivate their land, or to seek employment with a rod for a little fishing from the rocks. All this was done 'on the dole', with unemployed for as long as their names were duly inscribed at Stornoway Labour Exchange as sending fresh opinions, to ensure that the less alowness in its execution, and in the mobilization of regional resources for social ends. The chief end of our planning must be the creation of a Scotland, as in Britain it is not always evolved that in the great developments of the New Deal the execution of concrete schemes which include civil engineering, industrial expansion and agricultural conservation, is accompanied by a social development. Not certain total misapprehension of relief. As a result, through no real fault of their own, many men began to lose independence and self-respect. This general problem for youth was widespread in years of depression, and is not particularly severe both in industrial Clydeside and the fishing villages of Scotland, and also throughout the "depressed areas" of northern and western Britain, of which the Isles form the outermost fringe.

only the place but the people are to be understood, regional and global.

The planning movement is gathering impetus in Britain, as in areas as far apart as from Ireland to Sutherland, embracing regions as a whole. It is certainly destruction to the Islands that it be allowed to find purchasers abroad as well as at home. This in turn could allow small-building to find an Island market in its little Burgh, Stornoway. Without this triple basis of fishing, weaving and crofting for its economy, Island society will break up and its culture vanish, not evolve. It is no less true that only by the best interests of each regional and international, country and society as we first them, will profiteers be held in check and powerful peoples cease to exploit the worst of others.

APPENDIX II

200 houses, with nearly 30 built by "private enterprise"; in addition the Authorities built 1 house in the immediate "suburbs" (of which 30 were temporary), a total of over 230 houses, or approx. 1 house for every 1 in 1 of the town's population. If we give a round total of £115,000 as the value

Holdings	Rent	Rates	Insurance	Tip	Total Year	Rents
Fish-curing and agricultural	£	£	£	£	£	£
Zone 1(2)	1,000	300	1,400	300	3,000	750
Zone 2	1,000	300	1,400	300	3,000	750
Zone 3	1,000	300	1,400	300	3,000	750
Business Crofts	1,000	300	1,400	300	3,000	750
Crofts	1,000	300	1,400	300	3,000	750
Crofts	3,400	1,800	3,600	3,600	12,400	4,250
Rough Grazing	16,000	16,000	28,400	111,000	171,000	16,000
Total	23,400	19,600	38,000	115,800	196,800	23,250
Zone 1	11,000	11,800	19,000	11,000	52,800	11,000
Zone 2	11,000	11,800	19,000	11,000	52,800	11,000
Zone 3	11,000	11,800	19,000	11,000	52,800	11,000
Business Crofts	11,000	11,800	19,000	11,000	52,800	11,000
Crofts	11,000	11,800	19,000	11,000	52,800	11,000
Crofts	11,000	11,800	19,000	11,000	52,800	11,000
Rough Grazing	11,000	11,800	19,000	11,000	52,800	11,000
Total	11,000	11,800	19,000	11,000	52,800	11,000
Grand Total	23,400	19,600	38,000	115,800	196,800	23,250

for an average year (such as 1953) for Local Authority Housing, we may allow half this to net output of local materials and to wages earned by Lewisians, some £60,000, of which rural Lewis would receive a fair share.

For crofters and cotters, however, in 1953, a fairly typical year, the income from the Crofting Grant, £50,000 by help of 180 lines and grants from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, totaling £80,000 for new houses or house improvements (with a very few steadings). £80,000 may be for imported materials and as labour paid or given by householders themselves.

APPENDIX III

for planning preceded by adequate survey became publicly known, and was taken up by the spirit of the people, and the generative policy on the part of the Trust. It led to the choice of a Lewis man, Mr. Murdo Macleod, as Planning officer, and to a general searching of heart and mind in the community.

Meanwhile, a new spirit was stirred in Stornoway which had spread from the bombed cities to the rest of the country, led to a closer co-ordination of planning since Second World War the Trust and the Town Council, and there is real hope of progress in collaboration with the Trust's officers and the statutory planning authority.

In brief, the opportunity arose for the Trust to frame a comprehensive policy, one binding together the objects separately based in the Trust's Deed of Trust, and the natural and social welfare of the community". The' material' provisions of the Trust Deed are: "Fishing, Crofting, Agriculture—including fishing, of course—of agriculture and afforestation, and of communications by land, sea and air, and of the Harbour as well fingerpiers. The encouragement of social life and education in the Island, and the provision of a fund for special capital projects scholars to proceed to secondary schools and universities.

The Trust's Deed of Trust, and the spirit in which it was drafted be properly co-ordinated. Development of resources and social life in the Island, and the mobilization of resources and material deliberately designed to equip young people to return to the Island and use their experience to serve their own community. Thus among the development schemes which have been started are the reforestation of peat, the reclamation of the sandy inlet just north of Stornoway, and local afforestation. The Trust's Deed of Trust, and the spirit in which it was drafted and skilled foreman or working head. Bursaries might take the form of apprenticeship to the rural trades. The 'report' of taken may be necessary when no outlet is possible at home, but in the end it is not good for the Island community. Hence a policy for the return of talent is required. For fishing, for industrial development, for the weaving arts, training is required in preparation for possible careers at home. Lately

CHAPTER II

A FIRST IMPRESSION OF SKYE

131 Scotland includes among her distinctive characteristics
33 the possession and jurisdiction of more islands, 787, than any other nation in Europe. Stretching along Scotland's west coast for 200 miles in an inner and outer archipelago, the Hebrides account for over 500 of these islands. The Isle of Skye is the largest of the Inner Hebrides. Reference to the map (Figure 2) will show that Skye is forty-nine miles long and from three to twenty-two wide. The coastline measures
1350 miles. The total area is 643 square miles. Although less than a mile separates Skye from the mainland at Kyle Akin and Kyle Rhea, the inhabitants are enisled geographically by the sea and culturally by the peripheral position of the Island to the main stream of British society and culture.

The isolation of Skye is due to two basic facts. The topography of the Highland region, with its scenic valleys, cut by sea lochs and flanked by precipitous mountains, has created natural barriers to communication with the cities of Lowland
87 Scotland and England. The second fact is that the transportation
31 facilities of the Western Highlands have never been integrated
33 with Great Britain's main communication system. The problem, then, is not as much one of distance from the centers of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30]

tradesmen are respected, but since most are crofters, they are 554
treated like all other men.

The Village. The village contains a heterogeneous population. 621
At least a third of the families have arrived in the recent 162 167
past. They have come to fill positions in the county and national government offices; in Lowland directed banks or business houses which have extended their field of operations to Skye; and in the professions as doctors, lawyers, ministers, and schoolteachers. A few have come to Skye to open a shop or offer their services as tradesmen. The remainder are either Skye folk who have recently moved into the village to see employment or families that have been in Portree for one or more generations. Very few families seem to have lived in the village for more than three generations.

While there are many opportunities for an individual to 554 184
achieve status in Portree, the cultural heritage and the economic limitations under which the Sgiathanach labors has not allowed him to compete with the newcomers. His ability to compete is further restricted by the prevailing policy of the government and the national corporations to bring in managerial and, often, clerical personnel from the outside. All share one socio-economic trait; they are non-crofting. As 565
yet there is no class structure beyond the polarity of the landed gentry and the crofters who participate in village life. There is verticality. Highest prestige status is accorded to those who have been accepted among the local aristocracy. Below them rank the ministers, doctors, and school teachers.

or the remainder of the population, as a general rule, it may 534 184
e said that a person's status depends on personal qualities
ather than on occupation. This is especially true of men who
ake an active part in the church. In terms of interaction,
he social hierarchy is extremely fluid. People who elsewhere [545]
n Britain would be "working" or "middle" class not infrequently
oin with members of the "upper" class in both formal and in-
ormal social groups.[22] This underlying equalitarian pattern [57]
as always characterized the interpersonal relations of Skye's
ociety. There is, of course, cleavage between the upper [582]
evel of the society and the bulk of the population; inter-
arriage is impossible.

The social life of the village revolves around the new- 571 184
omers and the landed gentry. In addition to the social 554
ircles based upon age, sex, kinship, and religion, the indi-
idual belongs to several small groups of friends and, perhaps,
few formally organized clubs. When the native-born take
art in the formal activities they do so as participants rather
han as organizers or directors. The necessary roles of leader- [565]
hip are left to the newcomers or to the landed gentry. The
atter, in particular, are responsible for community affairs,
ust as the chief and his kinsmen were formerly looked to as
he leaders of the people. Occasionally, an influential new-
omer gives them able assistance. The influence of the old [888]
en is not as marked in the village as in the crofting communities,

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[22] Roy Lewis and Angus Maude, The English Middle Classes London: Phoenix House, 1949), pp. 13-26, 87-110.

inly because there are enough young people to form a strong 571
e grade of their own. The more liberal outlook of the 184
llagers is, however, tempered by the old men. 554 888

Religion

The attachment to the past embodied in the social and 771
conomic aspects of the culture carries over into the religious
fe of the Sgiathanach. He is a Presbyterian who continues 775
worship and view the world within a pattern which charac-
rized the Scots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
e doctrine and theology are derived from the teachings of
lvin as interpreted by John Knox and refined by the Covenanters
the seventeenth century. To the original ethical code
strong measure of influence from the English Puritan move-
nt has been added. The guiding principles are still fore-
lination and election. The dominant motivating factor is [785]
eticism.

One of the outstanding features of the island today is 348
large number of churches for such a limited population. 775
serve the 8,600 people there are 21 churches with ministers
13 mission stations. A hundred years ago, when the [178]
ulation was almost triple the present number, there were
y seven ministers on Skye. The present abundance is the out- 775
e of a series of religious schisms of the past century.
re are now four Presbyterian sects. Of all the neighbor- [184]
ds on Skye, only Glendale is religiously homogeneous.

Period III

By the beginning of the
of Skye's culture history, all
social and economic readapatat
contractual society had begun
changes in the preceding perio
commercialization of the land,
system of tenure and runrig fa
village, and the extension of
the way for the final stage in
It was now an aforesaid fact t
was to be a Lowland phenomenon
Eastern and Western Highlands
The former had become a region
with the incentive and ability
Now economic deterioration led
basic change.

The bankrupt proprietors,
found sheep farmers eager to b
of Skye. Sheep farming meant
rental several times that his
could pay, and he would not ha
on behalf of the incoming tena
tenant unable to make his own
capital and, even more importa
scientific methods. The croft

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[54] Cf., e.g., Collier, Th

(1845-1886)

third epoch of the modern phase 175* 178* 182
the elements necessary for a
ion to the wider commercial,
to function. The socio-economic
ds, especially the partial
the abolition of the tacksman
rming, the establishment of a
regular communications, had paved
the process of commercialization.
hat industrialization in Scotland 175* 178* 184
. The disparity between the
was already well developed.[54]
of commercial farmers, men
to make technological advances.
the landlords to attempt a

anxious to recoup their losses, 175* 178*
y or lease the virgin grazings 427
the landlord would have a secure 233
ackrented crofters and cottars
e to spend any capital either
t or on behalf of an indigent
ay. The sheep farmer had the
t, the incentive to adopt
r, obviously, had neither the

Crofting Problem, pp. 43-51.

*175 sufficiently to make age controls an irresistible force, the
*178 prestige status of the small number of the "elect," those
182 795 who had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the
793 554 elders gave them complete control over all social and religious activity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about these facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now is that the religious patterns provided a framework in which the culture could find continuity and through which the society could achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like customs resulted in a change of content, but there were positive results as well. Above all, there was a change in
[64] focus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in clan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a known religious brotherhood.

*175 Summary. The third period of the modern phase of Skye's
*178 culture history saw the culmination of the process of
427 423 commercialization of the land. All the influences necessary for the conversion of the subsistence economy, albeit a much
[233] deteriorated economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming, on a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy.
[167] Newcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved
[184] methods of land utilization were replacing the conservative
[311] and impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial
[621] farmers consolidated their holdings, the communal townships
[554] were being obliterated. The concept of individual possession of the land was replacing the customary rights of the small tenants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

As we shall see in the n
178 there is hostility between t
651 One reason for this is the f
657 property tax than the rest o
receive relatively little in
crofter is "aye wantin', but
taxes) is not at all unusual

511 If the economic aspect
182 of the standard of living i
184 as satisfactory. There are
178 among them geographical isol
for pastoral-agriculture. I
anything which would approa
rounding commercial society.
between two cultural patter
[177] has persisted. A new syste
new system, however, the Sg
of more recent origin than
of a material or technologi
be self-sufficient, and, in
on the commercial world for
existence. For many of the
in the quest of employment.
time work locally. For a r
population it means depende
and government agencies. T

ext chapter, 232
he Portree dwellers and the crofters.
act that the village pays more in
f the island put together while they
return. The feeling that the
never pays a cooper" (a penny in
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Summary

of the culture is judged in terms
affords, it cannot be considered
persistent environmental obstacles,
lation and an unfavorable climate
e have seen that few can hope for
ch a desirable income in the sur-
. The crofters have been caught
ns. The old system of land use
has been superimposed. From this
iathanach has accepted few innovations
the eighteenth century, except those
cal nature. Still, he has ceased to
doing so, he has become dependent
the very essentials of physical
crofters this means seasonal migration
For some it means part-time or full-
elatively large proportion of the
nce on contributions of their children
his dependence has not led to a full

511 adjustment to the higher society in which the successful indivi
182
184 al is the specialist. The Sgiathanach has remained a pastoral-
178 agriculturalist, and when he does seek employment, it is typica
as an unskilled laborer.

It is far easier to point out the traits and trait-complexes he has lost than those which he has accepted during the two hundred years since 1745. The sad economic condition under which he labors is not conclusive evidence for disorganiz Integration does not mean smooth functioning. Nor do the changes, important as they are, point to discontinuity. The contemporary economic system reveals a fundamental continuity. As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, there is some-
[28] thing far deeper involved than economic considerations. Let us now turn to the social aspect of the culture in order to seek an answer to the question why has the Sgiathanach remained in the face of all the inadequacies and insufficiencies we have reviewed.

575 (a Gaelic group), the Masonic Order, the Eastern Star, and a post of the British Legion, which have representatives
574 from all walks of life. But by far the most interesting
575 group is the village bridge club. If bridge clubs in America are status conscious, those in Britain are especially aware of "social" and "cultural" distinctions. In Portree such
574 differences matter very little. Like all of the above
575 mentioned organizations, the membership of the bridge club
167 is predominantly newcomers. It includes members of the gentry, teachers, shop keepers and shop assistants, office workers, and a mechanic. Once a week they come together for an evening of cards and a few drinks. In all formal organizations, the roles of leadership are left to newcomers or the gentry. One young man, to give an extreme example, wondered one day why he spent so much time attending committee meetings. On reflection, he found that he was an officer in no less than eleven clubs. It is to the gentry, however, that we must turn to see the real expression of leadership.

The County Families

565 The landed gentry have been considered separately be-
184 cause they belong to the neighborhood in which they reside; to the trade-center village, where they spend much of their time either visiting each other or performing some social service; and to the community as a whole. Even more than belonging to Skye, they form a part of the national class system of Britain. They are the "county families." Next

565 184 to the aristocracy they are among the foremost citizens of the nation, and two of the local gentry are included among the nation's peerage. Although I doubt if any of these land owners can validate a claim to being direct descendants of the clan chiefs or descendants of the cadets of the clans, several of them are related in one way or another to the central derbfine of the old clans.

Occupying the highest status positions, the county families manifest many social and cultural expressions which distinguish them from the remainder of the population. The men are always given the distinction of a military title; they are major, colonel, or general. One man has not seen 565 184 576 military service, but he is given a rank anyhow. In indirect speech their title often includes their residence or estate, such as Col. Macleod Mulgrave or Mrs. Macleod Mulgrave. Behind their backs, they may be referred to by their first name, prefixed by the title, but never in direct speech. 565 184 795 Religiously, many tend to be Episcopal sympathizers, in contrast to the staunchly Protestant crofters. The men all attend the local kirk of the Church of Scotland and serve as elders of the kirk, but their outlook is quite different from that of their conservative tenants. One family is 565 184 423 Catholic. As would be expected, all are property owners. This is not a question of socio-economic status as much as one of social differentiation. The loss of large parts of their estates, under the pressure of debt contracted by their ancestors, has not reduced their prestige.

184 565 There must be enough interaction between the relatively small number of people of similar standing within the local group and beyond if the consanguinial and affinal basis of the class is to be maintained, and they are not [582] to lose their identity as a group apart. They must not only interact with other county families, but the county families 184 565 535 584 must be endogamous. Once a year the county families of Skye are given this needed opportunity to reaffirm their solidarity, to cement their relationship with the upper class of British society, and to arrange suitable matches for their sons and daughters. A Skye County Ball is held in November. The "county people" come from near and far to attend the affair, one of a series of local balls held throughout the nation. If anyone has any doubts about his acceptance among the holders of highest status, he receives his simple but explicit answer at this time. He must be invited to the ball. For three days and two nights the festivities continue. High society has come to Skye and has brought with it its caterers from Edinburgh. The local people say the "Ya-ya's" have taken over Portree.

On the first night of the ball, the young people are escorted from the homes of the Skye aristocracy, who act as hosts, or the more fashionable hotels to the Skye Gathering Hall by their parents. During the dance and the supper which follows, suitable introductions are arranged for their sons and daughters. On the second night of the ball, the young people appear in couples. If I were asked to characterize

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continuity. The follo
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affects the social str
roles of the ministers

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the Sgiathanach may also be regarded as 771
a movement which began two centuries 182
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sive bonds of kinship and affection were
ntroduced from the wider contractual
t, as we know, bore its first fruits
go. The people themselves turned from [793]
supporting symbols and values no longer
ters. They embraced the preachers of a [793]
ans of consolation in their distress.
ttern derived elsewhere and superimposed 184 ●
been refined with logic and vigor. 771
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insurmountable barrier to assimilation
less than four times religious schism [798]
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has been carried on with such dedication
disturbs the unsympathetic laity and
ch of Scotland no less than the re-
to Presbyterianism did in the remote

IV now an understanding of the re- 128
is indispensible for the comprehension 121
the means by which the culture has
In Chapter V and again in Chapter VI
ity has been preserved. We have at
at which we can ask why has there been
ing analysis is concerned with the
terian ethic, particularly as it
cture, religious behavior, and the
and the religious laity in the

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cannot be spiritually enlightened. The individual who is asked 794
about the nature of his visitation is not judged on his ability 888
626
to raise his family in the nurture of the church. He is rather
judged on his preparation to carry on the tradition. He must
be worthy of the respect due to one of his status. While old [562]
women are numbered among the "elect," their exclusion from any
active role in the church has kept them socially inferior to
the old men.

I wish I could give some examples of the nature of this 124
"visitation;" however, Skye is a land where the direct question 576
is not used. One can ask a direct question without offending,
but the code of hospitality requires an either affirmative
answer or the answer you think your guest expects. My
circuitous promptings on this topic only succeeded in arousing
concern for my soul.

Two groups escape from the control of the elders as it 626
is exercised through acceptance of an individual into the 888
794
"elect." As mentioned earlier, the newcomers to Skye have 167
come from different backgrounds. Beyond the Highlands, the [184] ●
meaning of "Effectual Calling" has changed over the years. The
youth attend a young communicants' class in which they are
taught the meaning of church membership. Notestein, writing
about the national character of the Scot, maintains that
interest in "election" has disappeared.[14] Most of the members
of the Church of Scotland in Portree would no doubt agree with
him. One attempt has been made on Skye to hold a young 794
communicants' class. It took place, of course, in the Church 779
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[14] Notestein, op. cit., p. 153.

322

of Scotland in Portree. Only one girl appeared for instruction. 794
After the significance of her preparation had been fully explained 779
she declined to take the final step. She did not disagree
with the minister's view that she was prepared for membership
and communion, but she was afraid of what her friends in the
Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church might say. She was
probably wondering what the middle-aged adherents of her church
might have to say, too. When the Sgiathanach takes his first
Communion, in Glendale, Kilmuir, or Portree, the people must
be able to look up to him.

The second exception to the age-grade requirement rules 626
among the county people. Because of their social position 888
565
in the community, which rests on the expression of their statuses, 79
as roles, as landlords, village and neighborhood representatives
and leaders, and members of the national class system, and
because of their education in England, the county people
attain membership in the church at an early age. Some have
become elders of the church at twenty-one. To subject them
to the control of the crofters would, obviously, be incompati-
ble with their social standing. Although they are all Church [182]
of Scotland, here again religion is a reinforcing factor for
the structure of the society.

Dying, the final act of living, reveals a host of traits 763
which only receive covert expression during an individual's 829
life. While the youth is censured for his spontaneous
pleasures and the adult is criticized for his behavior, the
deceased is always respected. As one woman said, "It is the
one time in a person's life that the people have nothing but

worship. If the deceased is a Sgiathanach, the minister will call every night, if he can. Otherwise, he may call only once. His participation in family worship helps to refocus the patterns of interaction within the nuclear family and within the small circle of "people," "friends," and neighbors who come to visit and take part. Some sophisticated villagers take this opportunity to justify their own deviations, such as going to a concert; for them this is all "a religious ceilidh with all their psalm singing, praying, and greeting." The people do not keen, as they do in Ireland, but the women are seldom dry-eyed. Again the villager may comment that the minister at least should say a few kind words about the dead, "just to comfort his family."

On the day of burial a second and more inclusive rite of intensification is held. On this occasion the function of the minister, often aided by an elder, is to restore the equilibrium within the total sphere in which the deceased habitually moved during his life. If the person had High prestige status, the ministers of two churches conduct the family worship. All the "people," "friends," and neighbors, both men and women, attend. The minister begins with a prayer for the family, asking God's guidance. This is followed by the singing of a few verses of psalm by all who have gathered. Next the minister reads from Scripture. He concludes with another prayer for the family. If there are two ministers, or a minister and an elder present, they alternate in leading the group. If there are any present who do not "have the Gaelic," they also alternate between English and Gaelic. We have seen how

much more productive and dependable 161
on Skye, made it possible for more 175
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. The introduction of a new industry, 241
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employment and freed them from com-
tence economy. Vaccination reduced 757
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ly among infants whose chances of
ating were thus enhanced. Another 511
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alists during the early years of
d during the Napoleonic Wars. An 423
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was the practice of subdividing
arriage possible, in particular after
fting system. Finally, but by no 161
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se, partially a result of the Skyeman's 161
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lly adjust to the higher, more 184
level. By the end of the second
1845, the people had become hostage
fertility. When the potato failed
all back upon, except the generosity
ttle and kelp markets had collapsed
the subdivided land could not
The belief of many that the pop-
mited local resources was confirmed.

I were to adapt this argument, I might even be convincing, but my dissertation would have a fallacious conclusion. Emphatical irreparable cultural disorganization is not a characteristic of the culture history of Skye.

Continuity has been maintained through a reintegration. In part, Skye has made an adjustment to the higher socio-cultur organization of Great Britain and Western Civilization. This phase of the culture's readaptation, however, is an incomplete adjustment. The Sgiathanach has remained enisled geographicall and culturally. A readaptation has also been made in the older traditional culture.

The national culture has played no insignificant role in the readaptation. Parliament turned back the process of commercialization in 1886 and undertook to rechannel the trends toward ever increasing commercialization of the land, ultimately leading to the socialization of the land. The essential the old system of land use and tenure were not only reaffirmed but also given legal sanction to insure their stability. The nation confirmed the customary usages. In many townships and in whole neighborhoods the crofting system was restored. As far as the Sgiathanach is concerned, he has never known any other economic structure than communal use and tenure of the land. There are only three significant differences between the runrig farm, whether the farm was a tacksman's or the common holding of several joint-tenants, and the crofting township. The arable acreage is held in compact, permanent blocks instea of dispersed and shifting strips; the crofter pays a money rent in place of goods in kind and services; and national laws

culture which can hardly be distinguished from that of the Lowland rural areas, but it has by no means disappeared.

Socially, these changes, particularly the introduction of national laws of land tenure, involved a leveling of the social hierarchy. The old polarity of the land lord and tenant, with an intermediate group of doctors, ministers, and tradesmen, was restored. The place of the tacksman, of course, has been filled by the government. The bulk of the population was once again undifferentiated socially or economically. Land lost much of its commercial value for the proprietors. It once again had more of an intrinsic value, almost as in the days of the clan. The status of the proprietors, locally and as a horizontal segment of the total British population, depended on land ownership. The graziers and the proprietors who had appeared during the "Clearences" withdrew, selling out to the national government.

These changes did not work to halt the continuous outward flow of the Sgiathanach. To the contrary, increasing integration with the national culture created new needs, such as a demand for a higher standard of living and an opportunity to achieve status, and provided the training necessary for the youth to find roles more suitable to their talents elsewhere in the world. The young men and women of Skye journeyed to the Lowlands to join the national labor force, to enter the professions, or to seek other permanent employment. Thus, emigration changed from a movement by families to a movement by individuals. At the same time, the benefits of the crofters' legislation and the program of government assistence made it possible for the

Summary: The Cultural Trends

During the fourth period, in which the crofter re-emerged as the characteristic feature in the social and economic aspects of the culture, all the influences necessary for a readaptation to the wider socio-cultural level of organization were functioning for the Sgiathanach.[92] These influences were the presence of potential exports, access to markets, credit facilities, and a gradually improved technology. Several of these go far back in the local history. Cattle were being exported in the sixteenth century, being received by the clan chief and his tacksmen as partial payment for rent. Access to markets was available by the droving trade, but the subsistence economy precluded dependence on imports. Credit in the form of loans to the clan chiefs, on security of the clan territory, could be obtained, but it was directed to the support of the dignity of the clan rather than to agricultural improvements. At the close of the first period of the modern era sheep became commercially important. By the third period men with capital and the incentive to adopt new techniques were replacing the indigent tenantry. Communications had been improved. Access to markets by road, rail and steamship replaced the old drove roads, which would not serve for sheep. It was not until the government stepped in to halt the process of commercialization of the land, however, that the Sgiathanach was given an opportunity to directly benefit

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[92] I am indebted to Julian Steward for the point of view which follows. Those who are familiar with his conclusions on cross-cultural regularities will discover many correlations between the cultural trends on Skye and those described for Puerto Rico.

from these influences. Now the government provided the capital, by grant, subsidy, and loan, and the guidance necessary for a fuller utilization of the land. The crofters who had already seen their subsistence economy disappear became a part of the national system of commerce. What effect have these influences had on the culture?

175* 178* 184 241

Throughout the modern epoch there has been a tendency to increase the production of exports, first cattle and then sheep, at the expense of the traditional subsistence crops. Within ecological limits, the national markets have determined what the Sgiathanach might produce. Since the environment has made Skye a pastoral land and agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years, abandonment of a subsistence economy has meant dependence on stock breeding for export. Commercialization of the land and increasing dependence on imported food has resulted in a growth of the importance of money. The decline in household industries, caused by economic deterioration, has also played its part in the people's dependence on currency. As a measurement of values, however, the importance of money has declined since the period of the large sheep farms. The crofter's margin of profit is small, and his opportunities to earn a wage are limited. Economic differentiation no longer affects the traditional status values, except within the traditional polarity of landed gentry and tenant.

175* 178* 439 175* 178* 439 436 [554]

In a comparable way, the utilization of more efficient methods of production is less important now than it was during the period of the "Clearances." Techniques have improved for the majority in so far as labor saving devices are available, but the achieving of modern efficiency is precluded by the

175* 178* 427 241

*175 *178 crofting system. Both the communal nature of the system and the smallness of the crofts deter improvement. Although the 427 241 government reversed the trend toward making the land an im- [84] portant source of wealth and individualization of the land, by replacing customary forms of tenure with national laws of tenure, and has tried to correct the disadvantages under which the crofter labors, if not always successfully, the Skye crofter has made only a partial adjustment to the larger, [31] specialized national culture. In fact, the land is used less systematically than it was in the past, in the times of the [31] shielings. The crofters have not only ceased trying to reclaim arable but also have allowed much of the arable to go back to grass.

*175 *178 464 Ever since the closing years of the first period of the modern era, Skyemen have sought employment as a part of the national labor force. During the third and fourth periods, they joined the landless labor force in the Lowlands. There is practically no local opportunity for a landless man to support a family. The majority must remain pastoral agriculturalists who depend on seasonal employment, or some other form of financial assistance, to augment their income.

*175 *178 361 Improved communications and the ensuing development of commerce has brought a village to the island. It functions as a market center and as the administrative center for the island. It has not served to bring the island together; it is still something alien to their heritage. Accompanying the growth of the village, there was local development in the

SINCE THE SECOND WAR

pared to make fishing their career, together with financial assist- 228
ance to those who satisfactorily completed their training and 452
who wished to acquire boats of their own. This Scheme is now 654
run by the Highlands & Islands Development Board. The Board's participation in the expansion of the fishing potential around the island has been first-class, with commensurate results from an investment of some £500,000.

Illegal fishing

Like goldfields, the seas around the island have always attracted 685
the unscrupulous, those for whom the word 'conservation' has no 226
meaning, and who are careless of the dangers of over-fishing. 175*
Illegal trawling began around the year 1894 and by now has [185]
drastically impoverished the inshore fishings to which the Harris and Lewis crofters once looked for a supplement to diet and income. The rapid adoption of efficient trawlers was attended by an increasing number of reports of their poaching within the three-mile territorial limit. Though the islanders tried many times to involve the Government's cruisers for the protection of their shores, the poaching went on, and still continues today. Even some of the violence which attended the early attempts to clear the scum from the sea, as it were, continues, part and parcel of the island's sea-life.

Fish processing

A former freezing plant in Stornoway, run by the Herring 228
Industry Board has been converted into a fish-processing factory.
This facility, of great value to the port, is run by Rolf Olsen A/S, [648]
a long-established Norwegian company with a successful background in fish processing. The company has received investment aid from the Highlands & Islands Development Board, the Highland Fund and the Stornoway Trust; the latter's interest is significant in that it is the first time in which the funds of the Trust have been invested in a private concern, to help retain Stornoway as a successful fishing port.

The most regular shore-side as distinct from maritime industry is the processing of prawns (scampi, or *nephrops norvegicus*). Two firms buy the prawns at the pierhead, shell, cook and freeze them,

THE OTHER ISLANDS

* 175 *Account*, there was one family there, that of the person employed
162 by the owner to look after the livestock. The owner was a Ness
[427] tacksman who paid £4 sterling rent per annum. The island produce was corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep and sometimes a cow, and some wild fowl and feathers.

*175 In 1844 Rona was evacuated, its last inhabitant being, in the
166 seventh year of Queen Victoria's reign, the 'King of Rona', Donald MacLeod, who lived in almost prehistoric conditions. Rona was without inhabitants until 1884, when a last attempt
[185] at resettlement was made by two men from Ness. This was a self-imposed exile, after a difference of opinion with the minister of their parish; in penance, they hied themselves off to Rona. In 1885 a relief boat called and found both men dead, one from natural causes, the other from starvation and exhaustion after nursing his friend. By the fireside of their hut was a pot ready for the preparation of a meal they never ate.

236 Today, man's connection with the island is maintained by the
221 small party of Lewis shepherds who each year make the journey to shear the sheep which still graze on the green slopes around the now-ruined village. Otherwise, only the occasional traveller now
659 lands there. In June 1956, North Rona with its associated rock,
185 Sulasgeir, was declared a National Nature Reserve on account of its importance as a breeding ground for colonies of oceanic birds—guillemots, puffins, kittiwakes, and fulmars—and for its seal colony.

Sulasgeir

133 Sulasgeir is twelve miles west of North Rona, a lonely rock in
[131] the Atlantic, bleak and grassless, and tunnelled by caves and gullies. The only life it has ever supported is seabirds—officially.
[346] Yet one of the old buildings is said to be a chapel and is called
173 'Tigh Beannaicht' (House of Blessing). According to Ness tradition, Sulasgeir was once used as a prison for sheep-stealers, and it is also said that Brenhilda, sister to St Ronan, was left on the island to perish. Yet another tradition claims that it was at this rock that Prince Charles Edward made his first contact with his Scots clansmen, when the ship that carried him to Scotland was spoken to by a Ness boat making for North Rona.

Dean Monro, in his 1549 ac
of wild fowl and mentions tha
stay for seven or eight days an
wild fowl and feathers. The *Ol*
'There is in Ness a most advent
years back, at the hazard of t
six-oared boat without even the
the *Account*, could not be pulle
while some of the men worke
stay in the boat on the most
island. This custom of hunting
geir still continues. Under the P
the gannet is protected by law
continue their old custom, a St
a special exemption (from 31 A
close season) of the gannets
Sulasgeir is one of the great br
seabirds.

The Loch Roag islands

The one large inhabited isl
Bernera, though technically it
connected to the mainland of L
of the parish of Uig, as are th
population reached a peak of
to about half that figure. Off
Bernera, which in Dean Monro
but which has had no populatio
Monro describes it as full of
earth between.

Also in Loch Roag are three
supported families: Pabbay ha
and none since; Vacsay had n
Orasay in 1891 had one man a

The Flannans

Belonging again to the pari
known as the Flannans, or S

SULASGEIR

count, refers to the vast numbers 175*
t the men of Ness sail there and 223
d bring back a boat full of dried
d Statistical Account (1796) says:
urous set of people who, for a few
heir lives, went there in an open
aid of a compass.' The boat, says
d up out of the sea, and therefore,
l on the birds, the others had to
sheltered side of the sheer-cliffed
oung gannets (or 'guga') on Sulas- [185] •
rotection of Wild Birds Act, 1954, [671]
, but so that the Ness men could
atutory Order was passed making
August each year at the end of the
on Sulasgeir. With North Rona, [136]
eeding grounds for British oceanic

and off the Lewis coast is Great 361
is not now an island, having been 162
ewis in 1953 by a bridge. It is part 175
e other islands in Loch Roag. Its [131]
730 in 1911, but has now fallen [631]
he west of Great Bernera is Little
's time was 'inhabit and manurit',
on recorded since the 1861 Census.
ough little craigs, but with fertile

islands which, now deserted, once
ad 17 people in 1861, 9 in 1881,
ine men in 1861, and none since;
nd one woman, but none since.

sh of Uig is the group of islands 131
even Hunters, some twenty miles

ISLAND LIFE

178 and practical support, could win through to make marks on the island scene.

• 185 A significant event occurred in 1964: the establishment of
654 the Highlands & Islands Development Board. This was Britain's
433 first regional development authority run by members who are either full- or part-time. The Board is grant-aided and has two broad functions: to improve the social and economic condition of the Highland people and assist in making the region more significant in a national context. The Board's attention in the Western Isles has been concentrated in the expansion of the fishing industry and the development of tourism. In both these [484] fields there has been a considerable success: upwards of 100,000 [505] visitors per annum visit the islands; and a fleet of over thirty boats, equipped with the latest gear, operate out of Stornoway.

433 Also in 1964 was produced the Development Plan for the
185 County of Ross & Cromarty. So far as Lewis was concerned, the Plan was based on an average decrease in population of some [167] 1,500 persons for every year in the future of the island. This, if carried to its logical conclusion, will see complete desertion in fifteen years or so! However, even if nothing further is done to halt emigration, particularly in the landward areas of the island, the population will remain around a stable 15,000. The County Development Plan contains much food for thought, but as with most county plans, does not indicate actual development projects. Rather, it lists all the resources of the island for the attention of those concerned. Potential developments include the setting up and exploitation of predominantly-fulltime crofts, shell-fishing, and inshore white fishing, herring and offshore white fishing, forestry, tourism and holiday accommodation, minerals, peat utilisation, hill-land improvement, marine reclamation and seaweed resources. This list is significant and merits the attention of the Highlands & Islands Development Board.

Harris, on the other hand, presents possibilities on a much smaller and limited scale. However, there are expansion potentials in tweed, knitwear, and craft industries, with tourism promising to be a good base for the island's economy. As the age-structure of the crofting population changes, there will be a useful re-organisation and enlargement of existing holdings to make for

LIFE TODAY

better economic units. There could well be plants for fish meal 433
and canning, working in conjunction with fish-farming ventures. 185 •

Perhaps one of the most significant events which have occurred was the formation in 1972 of the Lewis Development Fund Limited. The Company has the following aims:

1. To strengthen and expand the economy of Lewis and in consequence that of the Western Isles by promoting and encouraging the development of all the natural, economic and industrial resources of Lewis and the Western Isles.
2. To encourage the repopulation of the Western Isles and to encourage industries in the island to obtain the necessary staff and labour.
3. To encourage the building of shops, factories, public works, churches, places of amusement and any other works which the company might think fit.
4. To encourage tourism.
5. To promote and carry on businesses such as building, fishing, buying and selling, agriculture and manufacturing, etc.

The Company has given itself wide powers to lend and borrow money. A target of £150,000 is envisaged, which funds will then be used to help all kinds of economic and socio-economic ventures.

Surveys carried out in the Minch area in 1971 by British 315
Petroleum and the Gas Council have indicated the possibility of oil. While there are no signs of the traditional anticlines—the dome-shaped geological structures—which normally signify the presence of commercial quantities of oil or gas, there are hopes for secondary sources in the more complicated rock-structures which could be oil-bearing. The sea-bed of the Minch is young rock of the type which bears oil in other parts of the world.

The assumption, in 1974, by the Western Isles Regional 185
Authority of most of the functions of the mainland local authori- 433
ties is thought by many to be a chance to sink or swim. Having been for so many decades under the thumb of external influences, the islands now are being given the opportunity to devise relevant methods for ensuring their socio-economic viability in the future.

All in all, the island is going through a period of re-stocking,

oth have remained devoted to the old tradition which is 183
pitomized by their religion. Further, they are each bound 771
ogether by a common language and vocation and by strong ties
f consanguinity and affinity. Moreover, the Sgiathanach [184]
nd the Amish have similarly rejected the deviant. On Skye [167]
migration has affected all levels of social organization,
he conjugal family, the extended family, the township, the
eighborhood and village, and the community. Still the Amish
nd the Skyemen have maintained social and cultural integration.
tanding in a contrasting position is the town of Landaff,
ew Hampshire.[4] Although Skye and Landaff have experienced
imilar trends, including an original ecological adaptation,
isturbance resulting from population pressure, an unsuccessful
ttempt to meet the crisis through commercialization, and a
ronic high rate of emigration, especially by the youth,
ndaff has been described as an example of social instability
d cultural disintegration.[5] The farmer of Landaff remained
ly as long as his interests were compatible with those of
s neighbors, and local opportunities existed to satisfy his
bitions. He had no attachment for the land to offset the
adequacies of persistent economic limitations. He abandoned
e associations which had supported the community by giving
e group a sense of security.

Like European peasants in general the Skye crofter has
t his former self-sufficiency and political autonomy, but
has retained a strong attachment for the land and its

[4] MacLeish and Young, Culture of a Contemporary Rural
mmunity: Landaff, New Hampshire.

[5] Ibid., pp. 113-117

185

185 CULTURAL GOALS--social foresight; concept of progress; reform movements and utopian goals; prevention of waste; social planning; conservation policies; etc. See also:

Organization of production and distribution	47	Land reform	423
Individual achievement	55	Economic planning and development	433
Specific government projects	65	Saving and investment	464
Population policy	160	Political doctrines, policies, and programs	688
Dynamics of culture change	178	Social insurance	745
City planning	381	Social philosophy	829

288 at work producing tweeds which it then tries to market.
441 The latter method requires the investment of a great deal
491 of capital to make the tweeds and pay the weavers before
a buyer is found. The small mills require an immediate
return for their capital investment, which is ensured
[434] by not investing unless there is a definite order. The
fortunes of the weavers oscillate with the luck and skill
of the mills in soliciting orders; thus, the mills do
not provide a constant, stable source of income. The
288 nature of the tweed, as a high-priced luxury item rather
434 than a basic necessity, contributes to the instability of
the demand. When fashions change or when world-wide
economic depressions come, the high-priced tweed with
its specialized image as a cloth for aristocratic,
• [185] sporty dress is forgotten for awhile. Efforts are being
made to change this image; but the product's status as
a high-priced luxury item persists.

288 An extremely small business can survive periods of
441 depression when capital outlay in the form of machinery,
458 running costs, and so on is not large. An extremely
large business that has cornered a large share of the
market can often survive an erratic schedule of orders
because it has a larger accumulation of capital, but a
medium-sized business has too much overhead to survive
long periods of depression. Examples of all three exist

592 unmarried sibling. Eleven households consist only of
siblings who have never married, men and women who in
1971 were 45 years old or older. Two widows live with
[589] their unmarried siblings. Sixteen widows or widowers
live alone, and sixteen unmarried persons live alone.

241 The large number of households occupied by single,
592 elderly people reflects the use of the croft as a place
423 of residence rather than as an agricultural unit, a
671 view of the croft that was given legal expression in
888 1968 by the Miscellaneous Provisions Act. Before 1968,
[428] the croft went automatically to the eldest son if a
crofter died intestate. Since 1968, the rights of
different claimants must be considered and tenancy by
a new person must be confirmed. District and county
councillors argued for this change, saying that a widow
was often left on the croft and her security endangered
because the eldest son was usually far away from the
island, in Canada or some other country. In other words,
rather than an agricultural unit which should naturally
be taken over and worked by the male head of the house-
hold, the croft is seen as a place of residence for
the infirm and for the aged, and especially for the aged
female.

657 The Crofters Commission has suggested that elderly
• 185 people be allowed to rent small plots of land on which
423
888
311

657 their houses are located, and that most of the land be
185 freed for use by more active crofters, but the ideology
423 associated with possession of the croft makes such a
888 plan extremely difficult to implement. "The croft is
311 your base, the only thing you have. You don't want it taken away, even if someone else is using it already anyway. Our county councillor suggested amalgamating the unused crofts at a recent meeting. No one said anything, but no one wants it."

592 Of the five households that have the use of three
241 crofts each, one consists of a bachelor who uses the
311 crofts for grazing a large number of sheep. A second household is composed of two brothers who had stayed at home to take care of their aged parents. One of these brothers recently married, after the last parent died. These men keep cattle and sheep, and both weave.

592 A third household is headed by a married man who
241 has recently sold most of his livestock in order to
311 "concentrate on the weaving." His father, who used to
288 haul peat with a horse and cart in exchange for the use of grazing land so that his family never had to go to the sheilings, died a few years ago. "My father was a crofter only. The weaving didn't start until the 30's. He was wounded in the war. He got a pension and sold a cow or a few sheep each year. But I didn't

197 One of the
793 richest sources of Gaelic vocabulary now available is
779 the Gaelic Bible, but many villagers, especially the younger ones, complain that they are unable to understand many of the Gaelic words used by the minister in his sermons.

197 Although provision for teaching Gaelic in the schools
871 was made in the Education Act of 1918, only within the last ten years have schools incorporated classes in which Gaelic is taught at both primary and secondary levels. Gaelic is taught as a foreign language like French or Latin, rather than used as a medium of instruction, which would require a much larger vocabulary than most teachers possess.

[875] The present schoolmaster in Shawbost differs from past
[551] schoolmasters in that he addresses the children by their Gaelic names,[2] and devises projects intended to encourage a sense of pride in "Celtic culture."

873 The Department of Celtic Studies at the University of
197 Glasgow, which includes in its staff a Lewis poet and
185 several Scottish Nationalists, is described as "progressive." According to an islander who is a student in the Department, "They believe that if Gaelic is to survive as a language, it must be written as it is spoken. At school we were taught to write 'proper' Gaelic, Gaelic that's considered

[2]Persons who come from Gaelic-speaking areas are addressed and referred to by Gaelicized names, such as "Murchadh" rather than "Murdo," and usually these names take the form of patronymics, which may or may not include nicknames (for example, Iain Dhomhnuill Bhain, i.e., John the son of fair Donald).

873 old-fashioned if you were speaking it. I wrote like that
197 in my first few papers, and my professor stroked through
185 words and asked, 'Would you say that?' We can even put in an English word now and then."

197 One result of this restriction in the scope of
185 experience in which Gaelic is used, and of the treatment of Gaelic by government bodies and voluntary associations as a rare zoo animal that must be preserved rather than allowed to change, is a decline in written creative
197 expression in Gaelic. There are perhaps three major
536 writers of Gaelic plays in Scotland, whose major battle is to be considered serious writers rather than colorful freaks or queer saints out to redeem Gaelic culture. "Once you become self-conscious about the language you speak," says one writer, "the language is dead." It has then become an artificial showpiece, a museum relic instead of a living, changing, flexible human tool.

197 Outside the village the maintenance of the Gaelic language
186 and other customs identified with "Celtic culture" occurs
[571] mainly as a result of interaction between "Gaels" and "Galls" (a Gaelic word meaning outsider or foreigner), as Gaelic speakers become self-conscious of their distinctiveness and either abandon their heritage (for example, MacIver 1968) or invest in it.

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

ISLAND LIFE

185 to recover from the inhibiting influences of centuries-old history,
432 economic isolation, and the ravages of two world wars. The emergent community, though smaller, will be as rich in quality and personal ideals as it has ever been. To say that of an island, of any island, indicates that its community is more than worthy of support in its endeavours to remain true to itself and its long-standing heritage of island life and living.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

183
181 democratic reorganisation, with loyalty to one's fellows and
• 185 to a leader.

Here again, Lewis-and-Harris may have something to
178 teach, as one of the last communities in Britain in which
185 much of ancient common right over land and sea has been upheld. Trust ownership of Stornoway estate has strength-
[174] ened the possibilities of rural planning there, while the
[423] fisheries are a public resource which are partially protected for local fishermen inshore and farther out are closed to none. The useful Lewis Association has published models of local survey for social and economic planning. At a time when democracy is struggling to see its way towards economic and social freedom, such communal initiatives have more than local significance.

121 This sketch of comparisons and questions in rural life
131 raised by Hebridean evidence, through a wide and varied region of the British Isles, must serve to indicate the geo-
182 graphic setting of the Island and relate the historic and contemporary problems of its own community to wider fields. This book is not directly concerned with the urban and industrial problems of the firth-sides and 'included plains' within the varied land of 'the North and West' of Britain, deeply though they affect the hard-hit fishermen of the Isles and the Island migrants—seamen or labourers, tradesmen or factory workers, nurses, teachers or clergy.
121 Even for the migrants' sake, it is vital to maintain the
185 economic balance, and restore the cultural and spiritual life within each industrial region, in order to maintain that of Britain as a whole. It was not enough to schedule 'the murdered towns' of Tyneside, Wales, Lancashire or Clydeside as 'Distressed', 'Special or Development Areas'. The balance of Britain as a whole must be restored.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

121 And region by region, a fairer balance must be struck
• 185 between country and town. In Lewis, the part of Storno-way town, with its population nearing 5000 (in 1951), is
[162] important. Its port, its fisheries, its spinning mills for the
[184] crofters' hand-loom weaving, its merchants' shops, and its local, administrative and professional services, are essential to the Island. Its economic and social evolution, too, are
[162] interesting. Stornoway's plans for the future are active and ambitious, and these, it is realised, depend upon the prosperity of the 19,000 crofting people of Lewis proper.

121 But the subject of this book is primarily rural. It is to
128 see with fresh eyes what, from our Harris mountain-top, we viewed as a unit at the core of 'the North and West'. After the island has been described in terms of its physical and human geography (Part One), the endeavour (in Part Two) will be to give a completer account than may yet have been given of the nature of Gaelic community, with
[621] its temporal duties and its spiritual sanctions. The three concentric circles of community are described: the family, the farm team and boat's crew, and the larger township groups. The relations of this threefold grouping of livelihood and society to Chiefs and Church are studied, and followed out in later evolution, until today. Elsewhere I have endeavoured to show how the Island can worthily maintain itself, and thereby find a new freedom. The final chapter returns to the broader aspects of society and region touched on here.

If this intensive study of a single isle and community can throw fresh light upon certain essential characters of the less-understood region of the British Isles—that lying outside the south-eastern 'Plain'—it may help to con-
121 tribute to more than economic reorientation. The significance of the Island life—not so much for the past, which

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

174 The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely
184 significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to
279 developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in
55 ferm-toun and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed
128 out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged
121 in planning for post-war housing and community life.
• 185 But sound planning must be based on survey, long overdue; though elementary, this key map appears to be the first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units of farm-team and township that Scots rural society must be rebuilt, region by region.

184 One further contrast between the farming and the
241 crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the
361 types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-
466 nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World —return home to their native township when they can, and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand, though they usually spend their lives in the county or region of their birth, have been on the move from farm to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the
[464] English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new hiring, the married once a year. Families were annually uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all!
[722] The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to
[178] check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence many men have few ties, their wives still fewer. The children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they could look back to no "Auld Lang Syne", of which the

i [see p. 16 -- analyst]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

178 follows that as the descendants of the crofters of the South-
west and East Highlands could and did change their ways within the space of a lifetime, so those of the North-west
114 Highlands and the Isles can change too. Given the co-
178 operative leadership which is arising in the twentieth century and was totally lacking in the ideals and training
• 185 typical of the nineteenth, that change may be not only for the better in the development of 'individual' qualities, such as the power to do hard work for 'success'; change may also maintain and develop what still remains of the old characteristics which gave the community life of the Gael, with all its faults, elements of beauty and sanctity.

In an article on "The Human Geography of Lewis", A. Stevens (1925) described the Island and people. His comparison of the cold, wet 'desert' of Lewis and its corn-patch 'oases' with the desert of heat and drought
[182] and its oases of palms, is ingenious and suggestive. One
[241] might follow up the analogy and compare irrigation to the drainage of moorland and its fertilisation, which form the means of reclamation at home, and draw parallels between their immediate results on the land and the ultimate effects on work and social life.

194 Until the agricultural revolution, the unwritten story
241 of Scotland was in great part that of a long, uneven struggle
134 to make sour soils fit for cultivation and productive of a livelihood. Most of all is this true for North-west Scot-
178 land; moreover, there, for eighty years past, the struggle has been a losing one, in the sense that arable land has been
241 decreasing and rough pasture deteriorating. In spite of
134 subsidies, the 'marginal farms' of Scotland have a tough fight. Yet lands from Scandinavia to Finland and North
178 Germany are giving a lead in peat-reclamation, where
[654]

Scotland had begun to lag since her pioneering effort from 1750 to 1880.

Fortunately, Scotland is now recognising that in peat reclamation, on the one hand, and the improvement of rough grazing, or at least its maintenance, on the other, there lies a problem of national importance. More than half the land surface of the country consists of mountain and heath land used for grazing, not including 'deer forests' from which sheep had been altogether excluded. The arable land of Scotland is less than one-sixth of the whole, with about one-twelfth in addition under permanent grass. Moreover, since most of the enclosed land is distant from the area of rough-grazing, the latter is partly wasted. The difficulties of soil and sea and of the whole economic situation are great, and must be understood.

(B) THE ISLAND LANDSCAPE, LAND-FORMS AND GEOLOGY

1. *Aspects of the Isle*

Lewis-and-Harris, the most northerly isle of the Outer Hebrides, and the largest, is roughly lozenge-shaped. Although only thirty miles in width, it is over sixty miles in length. Attached to Harris parish is the little isle of Berneray, half a dozen miles farther south. It puzzles the stranger that, while the archipelago of the Outer Hebrides is best known to the inhabitants as "The Long Island", Lewis (or the Lews) and Harris, which actually form one island, are spoken of as separate islands.[1] Yet nothing could be more natural. Before the making of

[1] "The Long Island", Gaelic *An Eilean Fada*, as a name for the Outer Hebrides has the sanction of traditional usage, as Alexander Carmichael noted in his Introduction to *Carmina Gadelica* (vol. i, 1900; and 1928).

2. *Plant Life in Lewis-and-Harris*

Lewis has been dismissed by many as a floating peat bog, and its name has even been derived from *leodus*, a bog! For good or ill, peat influences the Island, its history, the distribution of its people and the economic and social features of their life. In Lewis, peat once covered everything except the narrow fringes of sandy machar, the surface of the inland waters, jutting rocks and steeper hills where drainage is rapid. Man's encroachment on that carpet has so far been mere nibbling. Except for the machar lands, every acre of ground occupied or cultivated by man has been reclaimed from peat.

The Map of Vegetation and its Key portray the distribution of the main plant communities (Fig. 8).[1] All plants are of low habit with small leaves, well protected from excessive transpiration. They are mostly perennials or biennials; annuals are comparatively few. There is no burst of flowering save where the heather blooms on better-drained slopes, or where shell sand has blown, enabling clovers, vetches and meadow-sweet to give colour and scent. Moss, sedge and dwarfed heather prevail widely in tussocks.

Constant cropping by sheep and cattle, and also deer, tends to keep vegetation low, but on the wide, boggy moors this is a minor factor. Nor is there much systematic heather-burning. Even upon the islets of inland lochs, untouched by grazing animals, and in spite of better drainage due to the undercutting of the waves, growth is not really luxuriant. Bracken, however, is found on the islets, and a little on some former sheep farms, but not on the heavily grazed common pastures, for cattle keep down bracken.

[1] [see p. 50 -- analyst]

blows away, no doubt because the humus rots and quite fails to bind the sand. These two types together form the true machar.

(c) From the machar rise the slopes of drift-covered rock which bear a top dressing of blown shell fragments, more or less mixed with the soil by treading and cultivation, and imperceptibly giving place to the undiluted 'black soils' of moor and croft with their corresponding vegetation or crops. The shell-sand is often blown onto the rough pastures high above a bay.

Where a portion of the true machar has been cultivated it is allowed to seed itself. A sprinkling of weeds is followed by the re-establishment of a mixed flora. In both the sand and the consolidated sand-covered drift grow wild white clover and vetches; and among the grasses are rye grass (*Lolium*), Yorkshire fog (*Holcus*), cat's-tail (*Phleum*) and meadow grass (*Poa*). Other plants include familiar weeds and wild-flowers like yarrow, cow-parsnip, golden rod (*Solidago*), silverweed, wild carrot, thyme, plantain, sorrel, yellow rattle, harebell, eyebright, pansy and many more. Arrival from the bare brown moorland to the sand-blown slopes or dells is made a pleasure by stream-side flowers like meadow-sweet.

Woods and Cultivation.—In addition to the woods indicated on the map,[1] in Stornoway Castle policies, shelter-belts or plantations occur at certain lodges. Cultivation, as will be explained in the section on crofting, is rarely continuous; and the map shows areas as cultivated which are far from being either continuous crop land or even permanent grass of the first quality. Yet since this map was drawn the improved area has been extended somewhat

[1] [see map on p. 50 -- analyst]

by reclamation, notably at the Macaulay Demonstration Farm on the 'peat moss' of Arnish Moor (south of Stornoway), then too small to be shown, and in South-west Harris where new crofts were laid out in the thirties.

The six main types of vegetation in the Island may be grouped as three. First are the Hill Pastures and Moors: (1) 'Rocky' among the bare hill-tops of Harris and Uig, and (2) 'Fair' on favourable slopes, which merge into (3) 'Marshy Grass Moors' of coarse grass and sedges, heath and rushes. Secondly come (4) the vast brown 'Peat Mosses and Moors', either smooth and wet, with sedge and cotton grass, or channelled and cut up into hags; near the broken edges of the island cliffs this expanse is often fringed by (5) the 'Heather Moor'. Thirdly, by the sandy bays, are (6) the 'Machar lands', *i.e.* the 'Sandy Pastures', rich with clover; though narrow, this coastal plain is all important to stock-rearing and potato-growing, and so to settlement. In traditional terms, these three groups form hill moor, peat moss and sandy shores: *monadh*, *mòine* and *machair*.

(C) CROFTING AND THE CROFTERS' YEAR

1. *Place of Settlement and Choice of Work—Past and Present*

Lewis and 'Harrey', as they were called four centuries ago, were well described by Dean Monro,[1] and his description is fundamental to the present scene. "Harrey is very fertile and fruitful for corne, store and fishing, twice mair of delving is in or of teilling", which appears to mean

[1] Dean Monro, *The Western Islands of Scotland . . . in 1549*, reprinted by A. Mackay, Stirling, 1934.

THE SEASONS

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115 that the spade and foot-plough (*cas chrom*) were used for
311 double the area ploughed. Even in the Mounts and from the
311 precise Statistical Accounts of the eighteenth century, it is
182 clear that pony-drawn ploughs were unknown in most parts of Lewis. In North Harris are 'abundance of Peat'. We must not forget here that 'faire' and fertile are comparative terms for the West. "Lewis is fairer and well inhabit at the coste, are fertile and fruitful countrey, for the maist part betes [battles], with a Pareolse Kirke." There is "are cattell enough, ... ane ... with 3 salt lochs, very fear for take of herrings . . . [and] infinite fresh water lochs. In the Lewis there are 8 lochs with lake of salmont. . . ." There were also "Whales . . ." In "a cove a fadoma deep at the ebb sea, uses Whytuns (whitings) to be taken with huks," there were "very many haddocks and Men with their wandes setting [as today] upon the Craigos of that cove, and Ladds [boys and Women] also. . . ." In this He there are many Sheip for it is very guid for the same. For they lay furth ever one maers were plots of grass and never eaten in a hunst and thif tied in bot anes in the zeire pluckit off them in some fashion." In Zetland wool is still plucked, not shorn.

The description of reclamation is specially worthy of note: "In this country all is peit noualand at the Sea side, and the place where he wins his peitte this zeire [year] . . . there he sawes his corne the nixt zeire, after that he guidds it well with Sea ware" [*i.e.*, improves or manures it with seaweed]. On Tiree Colin Campbell (an oilet apparently on the east coast of Stornoway at the mouth of Loch Erisort) Maclaird of the Lewis has his own barley Orchard, and he that is Gardener hat that Ile [rent] free. . . ."

Around the coast of Lewis no absolute limit is set to

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reclamation, which Dean Monro has described as we saw it. Technique and economic return must be balanced against the factors of nature. Although natural conditions are difficult, they may not form a complete explanation of the relative arrest of reclamation in the nineteenth century; for here separation from the agricultural advances of the Lowlands by barriers of mountain and sea caused the retention of unprogressive methods until the wave of agricultural improvement had spent itself by the middle of last century. To this cause must be added other influences contrasted to those leading to peasant advance in the rest of Western Europe. In Zetland's history of the Gardens after 1745, the revolution in land tenure and in the social life of the upper classes, the commercial prosperity and imperial development of Great Britain. All these factors help to explain the contrast offered to the Lews by western Denmark and western Norway, lands in the same latitude and climate are comparable to those of the Island. Yet reclamation is proceeding, as in Aasness and Stryn, Stornoway shopkeepers have also been apportioned their share of blame; and while all of them welcomed the advent of Leverhulme as sure to bring increased trade, their crofters' pockets to their own tills, it is possible that, later on, some of them did grieve Devil's Advocate, having come to fear the rise of competition by co-operative or other large-scale concerns, should the town expand at a rapid rate. Stressing other factors of character and incompatibility, one popular Scots author went so far as to praise the Lewis crofter for preferring a spiritual life with poverty on a croft, to any work for a high wage. Perhaps, if he had run a story, well vouched for, which might seem to confirm this. After Leverhulme had built houses upon "waste for wages", in a township where there had been pressing

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT

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159 weighed the estimated expenditure necessary to complete
311 the unfinished projects, and their prospects of success,
311 comparing these with similar conditions on the East Coast
182 and at Fleetwood, and with the trend of prices. His decision was to close the venture, and Harris was sold. The skeletons of the works were left to rot beside the quay, while the wreck of a coal steamer was left unshipped, to break up slowly upon the rocks outside, a symbol of a lost enterprise.

2. An All-Round Policy for Sea and Land

185 From the 'start' in Lewis, the first Lord Leverhulme
311 showed his vision and grasp as a pioneer. Surrey proceeded plan, and decisions were swiftly put into action.
151 Why then had abandonment and failure followed? Ter-
311 Lewis Leverhulme have been over-stressed. Crofters have been accused of stubbornness, the Scottish Office of procrastination and Leverhulme of impatience or obstancy. Stornoway shopkeepers have also been apportioned their share of blame; and while all of them welcomed the advent of Leverhulme as sure to bring increased trade, their crofters' pockets to their own tills, it is possible that, later on, some of them did grieve Devil's Advocate, having come to fear the rise of competition by co-operative or other large-scale concerns, should the town expand at a rapid rate. Stressing other factors of character and incompatibility, one popular Scots author went so far as to praise the Lewis crofter for preferring a spiritual life with poverty on a croft, to any work for a high wage. Perhaps, if he had run a story, well vouched for, which might seem to confirm this. After Leverhulme had built houses upon "waste for wages", in a township where there had been pressing

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185 applications for shares in the division of a farm, but where
311 Leverhulme now felt sure of his success, an old crofter
311 spoke up slowly: "My Lord, what the crofter wants is
182 *Cumhalaigh*." Now, familiarity for contemplation is found not only among crofters as they age, but among older fishermen all round the shores of Britain, even if it mellows in the Isles especially. Yet, as Leverhulme saw for himself, there was abundant activity among men in their prime, who had yet to settle down on their return. In 1919 hope, not contemplation, was their prevailing mood: hope for an active, fulfilling life.

Amongst Europe's peasants human factors on the side of common effort at the start, why then did differences of opinion show his vision and grasp as a pioneer. Surrey proceeded plan, and decisions were swiftly put into action. Why then had abandonment and failure followed? Ter-
151 Lewis Leverhulme have been over-stressed. Crofters have been accused of stubbornness, the Scottish Office of procrastination and Leverhulme of impatience or obstancy. Stornoway shopkeepers have also been apportioned their share of blame; and while all of them welcomed the advent of Leverhulme as sure to bring increased trade, their crofters' pockets to their own tills, it is possible that, later on, some of them did grieve Devil's Advocate, having come to fear the rise of competition by co-operative or other large-scale concerns, should the town expand at a rapid rate. Stressing other factors of character and incompatibility, one popular Scots author went so far as to praise the Lewis crofter for preferring a spiritual life with poverty on a croft, to any work for a high wage. Perhaps, if he had run a story, well vouched for, which might seem to confirm this. After Leverhulme had built houses upon "waste for wages", in a township where there had been pressing

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In 1919, when the men came home to Lewis they could
115 still see matters for hope. "They found a strange proprietor,
311 known first for his outstanding—some said ruthless—
159 business ability, and, only secondly for his philanthropy. They heard his plans and were inclined to listen.
311 Yet, remembering their pre-war losses and the notorious fluctuations of prices and employment in the fisheries, they wished for a policy of insurance, as it were; so, if their home by agriculture and fishing, of which they had long meant to claim a share, they claimed this forthwith. Only
185 too soon after, in the early years of Leverhulme's adventure, they fell in mind and body and spirit, the latter from sheer
151 loss to the keenest and hardest working of the fishermen, and to their financial backers in Stornoway. Those men warned others of the uncertainties of fishing. Now the fall in the fishing industry is not so much as mentioned in the geography of Lewis, yet it made his plans, and word of it in Leverhulme's speeches. One finds no data
311 to show a substantial share in the fishing industry, but
311 the operation with Leverhulme in framing policies either to change the trend of European markets or to make local adaptations to counter the downward trends. The Fishery Reports certainly record the losses, year by year. As for the Island fishermen, they shared that feeling expressed by other Scots fishermen, that the old markets across the North Sea, eastward to what had been St. Petersburg, could and should be reopened, not closed. For party reasons by English politicians. Although ostensibly Leverhulme ignored it, he cannot really have been unaware of the effect of the downward trend of the fishing industry in his own prospects of success, and upon the hopes and confidence of the fishermen. Having been so outspoken upon the shortcomings of Government with regard to local

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185 schemes, and knowing how much local fishing depended
311 upon international policy, particularly the resumption of
311 trade relations with the chief customers of the past, Lever-
159 hulme's balance, one feels, should have dealt in generalities. They heard his plans and were inclined to listen.
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185 reports of early speeches by Leverhulme, Professor Patrick
311 Geddes had quickly come to feel that his old acquaintance,
473 Leverhulme the industrialist, might have overlooked such
311 agricultural potentialities as existed, and that he had quite
311 overlooked the social significance of land. Reports, in May or June 1919, Geddes proposed that a survey be made by one who knew the Highlands botanically, who was experienced in agriculture, and who had some knowledge of Highlanders at home and of sociological factors. Geddes
123 recommended Dr. M. Hardy for the task. Leverhulme forthwith accepted the suggestion and commissioned Hardy. The survey proceeded, an intelligent and well-fed Scots
311 Examination of the Island, so hotly debated, showed that they possessed little or no initial superiority over neighbouring crofting counties. It was clear that farms were placed in the best coastal tracts for agriculture is true, but their shares are at the same time the poorest in harbours and fishing facilities. As a result, the Lewis dwelling near the farms along parts of the same stretches and smooth bays were "quite a new phenomenon" in Scottish crofting, a fisherman with a house-site and a potato patch. As Hardy wrote (in his MS. Report): "The chief superiority of the Island lies in its distinct advantage in climate and life, and landlord and farmer, sixty or seventy years before. The improved land both of farms and adjacent crofts was reclaimed from peat and moorlands, or from an admixture of both. "How then", asked Hardy, "did so much value come to be attached to the farms? The traditional grievance (of eviction) led neighbouring crofters to turn their eyes towards the green patches of the abandoned villages and towards the good land with special interest. After the Crofters' agitation of the 'eighties, successive Boards came with their eyes already focused on the farms, by the

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185 Leverhulme grasped the problem in this fresh way, comple-
311 menting his first policy of the sea for the seamen by one
311 of the land for the landsmen, he could cheerfully have allowed the Government to honour their promise to divide the farms, and thus he would have brought peace to all.
311 In giving up the farms he would surely have had to reconcile himself to additional imports of fresh milk from Easter Ross, at an extra cost of a penny an imperial pint. To do Leverhulme justice, experiments on peat were begun (about 1920) upon a small scale, partly, it is understood, as a result of his interest in the Island, and partly to make this reclamation an integral part of his plans, in refusing to adopt Sunday observance given and to agree to the wishes of many applicants, Leverhulme had a deep-rooted peace to be wrecked. Why he should have stopped work in Lewis in order to move to Harris is not clear. There is nothing to show that crofter-fishermen in the creeks of Lochs and other fishing tracts of Lewis believed less firmly in fishing than those of the Bays of South Harris." Nor was there extensive land for dairying in Harris. To make a sound profit on farms, "intensive", involving fresh expense, at Obbe (on the exposed south-west coast), a much less favourable point on the Island than Stornoway, was to court disaster, not to plan his way through the difficulties of falling markets to success.

Leverhulme, it is true, had made use of the "all-round policy required: the need for a plot of land for the Lewis fishermen and his family. In Hardy's words, "A
311 Thousand souls of the sea should not perish from lack of
311 century knowledge and equipment. Slopes were to be found, favourable to reclamation, where peat had been cleared by cutting, where it was shallow for good drainage, or lighter in texture from admixture with sand. Had

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cotters' claims." Thus a few of the settlements reclaimed out of the common peat by some scores of people, hundreds of years ago, long worked by joint tenants, then by subtenants, "and later turned into modern farms, came to be regarded as the only available land open to crofters in the Island."

Hence, Hardy concluded, it was important to tackle some reclamation of peat or of land partially covered by peat, along with the development of the main commercial industry, fishing. The specialisation of commercial fishing was "a most problematical and fundamental departure in a constructive policy framed to deal with the Island as a whole. One saw that the formula "All Lewis-men are fishermen" was an exaggeration. That the farms were placed in the best coastal tracts for agriculture is true, but their shares are at the same time the poorest in harbours and fishing facilities. As a result, the Lewis dwelling near the farms along parts of the same stretches and smooth bays were "quite a new phenomenon" in Scottish crofting, a fisherman with a house-site and a potato patch. As Hardy wrote (in his MS. Report): "The chief superiority of the Island lies in its distinct advantage in climate and life, and landlord and farmer, sixty or seventy years before. The improved land both of farms and adjacent crofts was reclaimed from peat and moorlands, or from an admixture of both. "How then", asked Hardy, "did so much value come to be attached to the farms? The traditional grievance (of eviction) led neighbouring crofters to turn their eyes towards the green patches of the abandoned villages and towards the good land with special interest. After the Crofters' agitation of the 'eighties, successive Boards came with their eyes already focused on the farms, by the

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corner he can call his own', a kailyard or garden. His womenfolk might wish to keep poultry, and even a cow. More than this . . . might tend to make the old amphibious life begin over again." Where Hardy went further was to use the need for a complementary policy; the development of crofting into skilled craftsmen. Semi-particularly, he went on, "the development of small-holdings, by those who chose the land for a money or, should not prevent his spending a leisure hour fabing fifim the shore, or in a neighbour's boat, for haddock, saithe, or flounders for the marrow's dinner." Yet the aim of all, need for a higher standard of living involved new emphasis on one chosen occupation, and Leverhulme gives and is agree to the wishes of many applicants, Leverhulme had a deep-rooted peace to be wrecked. Why he should have stopped work in Lewis in order to move to Harris is not clear. There is nothing to show that crofter-fishermen in the creeks of Lochs and other fishing tracts of Lewis believed less firmly in fishing than those of the Bays of South Harris." Nor was there extensive land for dairying in Harris. To make a sound profit on farms, "intensive", involving fresh expense, at Obbe (on the exposed south-west coast), a much less favourable point on the Island than Stornoway, was to court disaster, not to plan his way through the difficulties of falling markets to success.

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[1] In his father's biography, the second Viscount suggests that there was a difference of character between the (nineteenth) men of Lewis and the (twentieth) men of Harris. The Lewis men were independent, the Harris men were more inclined to follow. This may be comparable to any similar tracts of Lewis, but in neither were they important.

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present writer) came to the Island in August 1919, and still more by November 1919 when Hardy's Report had been completed. Leverhulme had begun to fight for his plan, rather than use it in a supple way. Yet there was still a chance to put things right had the concept of a balanced community been clearly visualized by Government and people, by working fishers and crofters and the educated. Had an active 'Lewis Association' existed at that time, it might have turned the scales.[1]

Lastly, during the war and after it, Leverhulme had said, again and again, that it was his admiration of the people which had called him to the Lews. By means of this 'all-round' plan, the very root of Island character could have been renewed, namely, communal life. The fusion with their communal life in mind that Hardy—in spite of his horror of bad husbandry and of the physical dirt of the byres and black houses—wrote, first, that "rural life

[1] Quotations from the MS. Report having been published (unpublished) in extenso, I deal with them here. Perhaps the following extract from the conclusion should be made to show to discourage the need for survey and collaboration with Leverhulme in the first three years of his proposed plan, and the importance of survey for action today. In 1919 Mr. W. C. Mackenzie (to whom hospitable remembrance lovers of Lewis owe so much) had published his belief that "Under the new proportionship . . . the results [of development] will be at once fruitful and far-reaching", without the slightest any constructive movement. By 1932 he wrote very differently, criticising Leverhulme's policy and also Hardy's (unofficial) report. At that later time, Mr. Mackenzie would have it that 'the Lewismen' was a crofter and fisherman in one, and that for him to become "mainly a fisherman" or "mainly a crofter" (in Hardy's words) would be false to his character and tradition. Surely, the contrast of opinion between the two men, Hardy and Mackenzie, shows how differently the Lewis and Harris 'Man' of Hebrides have long been rather different from the fisher-crofter of Barvas, or of Coll and Tiree. Specialization was strongly marked by 1919-23. It still is. Further, Hardy (and the present writer) had not pled for complete diversion of the two occupations of sea and land. We urged that crofting be given its chance as well as fishing; and that the two callings should be complementary. Allowance being made for a quarter of a century of change, the facts and the steel remain. Cf. W. C. Mackenzie, 1919 (p. 187) and 1932, for the contentious given.

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185 construction of the Island must rest upon the improvement of the land"; and secondly, that by this means "it was imperative to revive the traditional community spirit, the essential feature of Hebridean civilisation". Those words still hold good. Yet the land itself is too barren and the soil too poor to provide a living for many by export of fresh agricultural produce to the mainland. Only a local market could pay a fair price for most of the products of intensive small-holding. Judging from the free, untrammelled trade before 1914, Leverhulme held that fishing could be set upon a commercial basis in the Isles; and there could be the better judges of commercial possibilities than this keen industrial thinker and organiser. If he was right, as surely he was, to begin with, then the local market to be created, or rather enlarged by growth of population and prosperity at Stornoway, could have purchased the fresh milk and eggs, the fresh greens and fruit, raised on enlarged small-holdings and marketed co-operatively.

An final comment remains to be made. The community spirit of Scotia fishers from Berwickshire to Barra has gone 185 with the co-operation among the men of the crews in a living thing. 'Work for Wages' offered little outlet for this, indeed it virtually suppressed it; and 'co-partnership' on the Port Sunlight model was a very different matter from the co-partnership of a crew. Even if at that time it had been proved impossible to organise free co-operation in fishing, co-operation in small-holding township might have kept the communal spirit alive, for later renewal at sea.

It is too early to assess the after-effects of Leverhulme's activity. Leverhulme certainly helped hundreds of families 185 to the provision of wages for the building or rebuilding of roads and other works, of which some were completed

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

ISLAND, REGION AND NATION. REGIONAL SURVEY FOR COMMUNAL SERVICE IN THE NORTH AND WEST

THE AIM of this study has been the survey of a region for the service of its society. Survey is fundamental. As treatment should follow diagnosis, so should decision for action be based on balanced knowledge. Until now this has too seldom been the case. In Scotland particularly our land and resources are as yet imperfectly surveyed; our activities are still too haphazard and chaotic. There is work to be done and many 185 are hands to do it, but they have been kept unemployed; the workless slackened in body and mind, and their spirits failed; and our communities are still without plan and 185 in common. The first five years of peace have seen an increased awakening to integrated planning. Planning knowledge, based by survey and be linked to international order; it must be aimed towards better living and finer purpose. This study is part of a world-wide movement of survey and planning, directed not first to private gain but to common ends. In Western Europe until the war, in the United States and (in a different way) in the warravaged Soviet Union, men and women of good-will have striven to prepare for a 'New Deal', region by region.

CH. XI CONCLUSION

The importance of the 'regional' movement is interregional and indeed international. In the case of the Island, international order is required for its fisheries to recover, and for its weaving to find purchasers abroad as well as at home. This in turn could allow small-holding to find an Island market in its little bough. Stornoway. Without this triple basis of fishing, weaving and crofting for its economy, Island society will break up and its culture 185 will not evolve. It is less true that only by the best utilisation of each regional environment, economy and society as we find them, will profiteers be held in check at home; and powerful peoples cease to exploit the sweat of others.

A pioneer American Report acknowledges the debt of regional survey for the New Deal not only to France and Germany, but to a group of practical idealists, of geographers, biologists and sociologists in Britain.[1] If nationwide planning be proved to succeed and survey assist in planning, we must own, until recently, to humiliating slowness in its execution, and in the mobilisation of regional and social survey. The chief end of planning should be the re-making of society. In Britain it is not always realised that in the great developments of the New Deal the value of concrete schemes which include civil engineering, ...dustrial expansion and agricultural conservation, is accompanied by real cultural achievements, both urban and rural. Not only are geographers and economists, technicians, industrialists, and officials called to survey and plan the Tennessee Valley, but sociologists and nationists are required to complete the work. Not

[1] *Regional Factors in National Planning*, National Resources Committee, December 1935. Cf. Lewis Mumford (U.S.A.); and H. Geddes, P. Abercrombie, L. D. Stamp, E. A. Gutkind, G. H. J. Daysh, and others (Britain).

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

only the place but the people are to be understood, respected and helped.

The planning movement is gathering impetus in Britain, as it spreads outwards from bombed towns to countrysides, embracing regions as a whole. It is certainly destruction in war that has stabbed the nation's spirit 'broad Anglia', awake to features of economic and moral disintegration that preceded actual warfare. The realisation that defeat of the common enemy called for common effort round the nation to face its enemies of want and confusion at home. Yet the seeds of the planning movement were sown in peace, and only in peace can they grow to fruition. Planning, prepared for by the survey of each region as a whole, must lead towards the freeing of its people not only from physical want but from the frustration. Based on the provision of work and a livelihood for individuals, planning should envisage the common weal and attempt to realise the deepest craving of social life—equality of social or fostered, and bureaucrats may be provided to enable deserving 185 people to proceed to secondary and university education.

It is felt by far-sighted citizens that these aims should be properly co-ordinated. Development of resources and social life, they feel, should be co-ordinated. The chief end of planning deliberately designed to equip young people to return to the family and use their capacities to serve their own community. Thus among the development schemes which have been mooted are the reclamation of peat, the reclamation of the sandy inlet just north of Stornoway, and local afforestation. All these technical jobs require training, at the levels of engineer and skilled foreman or working hand. Bursaries might take the form of education for such rural tasks. The 'export' of such talent may be necessary when outlet is provided for home, but in the end it can drain away the community's youth. Hence a policy for the return of talent is required. For fishing, for industry and particularly for the weaving arts, training is required in preparation for remote careers at home. Lastly

APPENDIX III

for planning preceded by adequate survey became publicly recognised, this crofter seems to have caused a change to constructive policy on the part of the Trust. It led to the election of a new member of the Trust on a planning platform, and to a general searching of heart and mind in the community.

Meantime the movement for town planning which had spread from the bombed cities to the rest of the country, led to a closer co-ordination of planning aims between the Trust and the Town Council, and to a real hope of progress in collaboration with the County Council as the statutory planning authority.

In brief, the opportunity arose for the Trust to frame a comprehensive policy, one binding together the objects separately listed in the Deed, "to promote the material and social welfare of the community". The 'material' provisions of the Deed allow for the promotion of industry—including fishing, of course—of agriculture and afforestation, and of communications by land, sea and air. Medical service is not forgotten. The disabled citizens in time of war, that forgotten or 185 It is felt by far-sighted citizens that these aims should be properly co-ordinated. Development of resources and social life, they feel, should be co-ordinated. The chief end of planning deliberately designed to equip young people to return to the family and use their capacities to serve their own community. Thus among the development schemes which have been mooted are the reclamation of peat, the reclamation of the sandy inlet just north of Stornoway, and local afforestation. All these technical jobs require training, at the levels of engineer and skilled foreman or working hand. Bursaries might take the form of education for such rural tasks. The 'export' of such talent may be necessary when outlet is provided for home, but in the end it can drain away the community's youth. Hence a policy for the return of talent is required. For fishing, for industry and particularly for the weaving arts, training is required in preparation for remote careers at home. Lastly

APPENDIX III

185 for the social arts, education could be won abroad by those who have imbibed at least some part of their native heritage but who cannot easily learn how to make the best of their birthright. At this time, change of outlook must be radical for all, but most of all perhaps for those communities who are in process of changing from one tongue to another, and for whom there is therefore so much to lose, so much—potentially —to keep, and so much to be gained.

In the Island there is a strong feeling that reorientation is required to direct surveys which may enlighten policy and lead to action in consequence. It was as a result of this that the Lewis Association came to be formed.

(a) THE LEWIS ASSOCIATION

In the constitution of the Lewis Association are embodied 'six fundamental principles' which illustrate the feeling quickened among thoughtful citizens in time of war, that first Christian considerations require the guidance of the spiritual. They run as follows: "(1) There is a law of God, to which all men must conform in their social, economic and political relationships. (2) The Resources of this Island should be used as God's gift and for future generations. . . . (3) Every citizen should by 185 subjects discussed, and their relation to issues which had aroused heated public argument and even led to lawsuits. It was thought that conveners of committees might have difficulty in maintaining harmony, but this had not been the case; discussion had been frank and warm, but not overheated. Preparatory discussions, followed by publicity, had done much to arouse the townsfolk, in particular, to questions of planning. The result contributed to greater keenness in the elections to the Trust, and led to new activity in Trust and Council. As a local association such as this is somewhat unusual as yet, is it an early sign, as one would hope, of a widespread movement for survey and service? Their example is being followed elsewhere.

When formed, the personnel of the Association, compared to that of many war-time bodies, was comparatively young; and prominent members found a welcome and a role to fill on their return from the Forces. The Association owes its inception both to men and women, to natives and residents of long standing, and to comparative newcomers. The first Chairman, a minister of the Church of Scotland with experience of local government in a great Lowland county, was the Rev. Ian Carmichael, D.S.O., M.C. The Honorary Secretary, Mr. J. B. Grant, is the editor of the weekly *Stornoway Gazette* in succession to his father. An able journalist, Mr. Grant is reputed throughout Scotland as a writer of plays on themes rooted in national life. To start with, the membership was largely urban, though country schoolmasters and others whose duties lie in the landward townships took an active part. Meetings were then held in villages to enlarge the rural membership and justify the name and aims of the Association, by making it truly "representative of each district in the island of Lewis". In publications are models of their kind.

APPENDIX III

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CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

[Re-Structured] [Horizontal] [Lower]

Highlanders and Highlands are collectively known by the Gaelic-speaking people of Scotland as the Gaidhealtachd. Highlanders are distinguished by the regional heating lodge of the Scottish Gaelic Centre, which is a meeting place for Highlanders and Highlands. Highlanders are distinguished by the Highland Games, which are held every year in Glasgow. Highlanders are distinguished by the Highland Dancing Competition, which takes place every year in the Tartan Dancing Competition and then each other every year.

[illegible]

Highlands, also consisting of three crofts, is further situated on the Park and South Lochs road. The three houses are situated on a relatively big open space, half-way between the road and the shore. And the three crofts are so better land and greater accessibility has led to greater prosperity and comfort.

Highlanders are distinguished by their dress, which is a kilt and a tartan plaid, together with a sporran and a sporran.

tenure in vassalage.[12] By the time Skye was placed under the [175A]
sovereignty of Scotland, the old tribal organization had
completely disappeared, and the nation was sharply separated by
a hierarchy which imitated English use. There was, however,
an important difference between the feudalism of Scotland and
England. Although the landed aristocracy was Anglo-Norman,
the Normans had not conquered Scotland. They were unable to
work out the refinements of feudalism, essentially the manorial
system.[13] There was also an important difference in the form
of the two governments. The Scottish king granted his charters
and ruled with the advice of his bishops, earls, and barons,
leaving the Parliament almost devoid of power, while in England
Parliamentary government had been firmly established even the
two nations were placed under a common monarch. Nor had the
Scottish Parliament become any more important when it was
united with the English body in 1707.[14]

It is against the background of this varied history [175B]
that the Scottish culture must be viewed. We may expect to find
features which are reminiscent of the old Celtic tribal organi-
zation, Norse influence, and Scottish feudalism. English [175C]
influence would have appeared too late to be counted as a
factor in the moulding of the culture, and the demand dislike
of the Highlanders for the English, evidenced by their
successive rebellions and their persistent effort to support

[12] Harry E. Barnes, The History of Western Civilization (2 vols.; Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937) Vol. II, pp. 534-535.

[13] Walter Notestein, The Rise in History (Tom Slemen Trim University Press, 1946), p. 90.

[14] Terry, op. cit., p. 37.

the Scottish kings against the demands of the English Parliament, [175D]
would have restricted English influence to a negligible role
until the final Highland uprising was crushed in 1746.

Social and Political Organization

The characteristic unit of the social and political organi- [175E]
zation of the Isle of Skye during the Feudal period of Scottish
history was the clan. All who have theorized about the clan
agree that it was a social, political and economic entity.
There is, however, no single, universally accepted interpre-
tation of the nature of the clan. Unfortunately, interest in
its structure and function is late. Many assertions suffer
from the prejudices and sympathies of the authors toward the
Highlands at the time of the eighteenth century rebellions
or the nineteenth century land clearances. Leaving Scottish
sources, historians turned to the Irish codes of law and
imposed the Irish clan system without asking whether or not
four centuries of Norse domination might have resulted in
at least a partial assimilation of the old Celtic tribal
organization with the Norse political organization. Nor has
allowance always been made for internal development during
the five centuries in which the clan was the dominant
organizational unit. Today historians are almost apologetic
about the Highland clan system. The subject has become the
province of amateur antiquarians.

Anthropologists apparently look upon the clan as a
social unit hardly worthy of comment. As far as I know,

employment as hands on fishing vessels. The young women [175F]
followed these fleets seeking work as gutters and curers in
the ports. Soon may have made their way to Portree, where
a woolen mill had been erected by the Highland Destitution
Committee. The population of Portree increased from [175G]
[illegible] from 750, in 1841, to 893, in 1881, but this can hardly
be regarded as a significant trend.

The really striking aspect of this period is the almost [175H]
complete lack of protest by the Kniathmach against the
infiltration of his presumptive right to the land. The disappearance
of the Kniathmach, of course, had left the people without their
counselors and leaders in secular affairs, and many of the
ministers, especially those who were themselves sheep farmers,
counseled submission to the will of God. Then, too, the ethos
of the Skyeman would not allow them to ventilate their grievances.
Very despised the Sassenach and felt that "the Lowland was
bad enough, but the factor was the Devil himself." Still
those who knew them well and those who rumbled by their cottages
wrote unanimously of a people who endured overwhelming sufferings
in patience and resignation.[69] The betrayal of any weakness,
especially before the cursed Sassenach, was a breach of propriety.[70]

The Skyeman had not lost his capacity to respond to
leadership. Throughout the nineteenth century there had been
widespread and growing discontent all over Europe with the

[69] Maurice Bennett, Appendix I, pp. 1-82; and Campbell, op. cit., p. 136. See also Robert Buchanan, The Outcasts (London: Ward, Lock and Tyler, 1875), p. 1-3; and Donald Macleod, Sketches in Skye (Inverness: Charles Carrubbers, 1910), pp. 121, 122.

[70] Norman Macleod, op. cit., p. 136.

wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars. [175I]
These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and
the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted
emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work
away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate.
Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now
was a spare-time pursuit. The Kniathmach was dependent on
money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most
of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few
potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the
crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force
appeared. Portree had grown and was still growing small,
but there does not seem to have been any carried movement into
the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was being [175J]
lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the
Skyeman was not affected by the social upheaval. The
approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders
in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor
meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium.
Although the extended family, township, and moieser family
suffered from instability, the people found intellectual roles
within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was
reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the
old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits
which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture
found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to
maintain a continuity while the content changed.

[illegible] 450 respectively.[illegible] [illegible]

Within the township, the neighborhood typically has no [illegible]
formal organization and is not necessarily a cooperating, [illegible]
economic, or even social unit. Always, of course, there is the consciousness
of common interest. In the case of Glendale this is spiritually [illegible]
symbolized by the church and economically, by the large club [illegible]
farm in which all the owner-occupiers have a share. In Kilmuir [illegible]
there are two churches, standing close together, and the crofters [illegible]
have a somewhat economic focus in the drained loch which all use [illegible]
in equal shares for seaweed. There is also a crofters' club. [illegible]
Further symbolization of their common interest is provided [illegible]
by traditions, memories of notable happenings and events [illegible]
peculiar to themselves. Always, the consciousness of common [illegible]
interest is expressed by a feeling of superiority over the [illegible]
members of other neighborhoods. [illegible]

There is but one trade-center village on the island, [illegible]
the village of Portree.[71] It is the only true nucleated settle- [illegible]
ment. Built on the square, but still retaining the appearance [illegible]
of an elongated main street, it is a small community with commercial,
cultural dwellings, government offices, churches, shops, a school, [illegible]
and the homes of those who make their living by serving the [illegible]
rural area. In addition to its function of providing goods and [illegible]
services for the surrounding neighborhoods, it also links the [illegible]
island with the outside world. Although thirty-six miles from [illegible]
the mainland, it is the entry port for the government officials, [illegible]

[illegible] Bennett, loc. cit.; and Linton, loc. cit.

[illegible] For a discussion of the importance of the trade-center village, see Lemmin and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 108-197.

tourists, and newcomers who carry with them ideas of reform. [71]
Further, as well as being mutually dependent economically, the
crofters and the villagers interact formally and informally
to avoid, or minimize, conflict and, more positively, to maintain
the consciousness of common interest of the villagers, however. [72]
stems more from a knowledge that they are different from the [73]
crofters than from any common symbol. The 3000 villagers [74]
are from diverse backgrounds. They find solidarity in being
different and more than in "neighboring" or all attending the
same church. The village also lacks the time depth of the
rural settlements, being a creation of an individual in the
last century.

For community I prefer an inclusive definition: the [75]
order of Redfield's, A community is characterized by con-
ventional understandings, the occupation of a territory, and
the possession of a culture. Thus, we shall refer to the
Isle of Skye as the community.

It will be noted that I have not used the term parish. [76]
Although the parish is a meaningful unit politically and religiously, [77]
the older baronies were replaced, it lost these functions [78]
in 1929.[72] People reside within parishes and they, along with
their crops and stock, are enumerated by parishes, but the
parish is now little more than a statistical convenience. Church
organizations and political administrative units cross-cut
the parishes, but in the entry port for the government officials, [79]
ever-thought of themselves as members of a parish.

[72] Chapple and Coon, Principles of Anthropology, pp. 386-399.

during the "clearances." [73]

Strong in-group feeling is manifested not only in a belief [74]
that people of other neighborhoods are not quite as good some-
how, but also by the tendency to address strangers as "Mister."
There is, for example, a family of newcomers in Kilmuir. One
day when they were being discussed one old crofter remarked,
"Well, when they have been here as long as Jock over there,
they will be just like one of us." It turned out that Jock's
family had come to Kilmuir three generations ago. Even then
one was reminded of the story of the Yorkshire man who moved
from one village to another. He persisted in calling every-
body a foreigner, and when asked why, he replied, "I've lived
here sixty years, and they still call me a foreigner." The
newcomer to Skye is common only by his nationality. The few
Polish war refugees are "the Poles." The man from England is
"the Englishman" or, in Gaelic, Bassanach, a term also applied
to Lowlanders. They have no real place in the scheme of things.

Within the neighborhood, there are invariably established [75]
social circles which are almost always in pairs, some three in [76]
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[72] Chapple and Coon, Principles of Anthropology, pp. 386-399.

duty of a wife was to weave her winding sheet. Nor is the cost [74]
of burial merely buying a coffin. As at birth and marriage, [75]
the people who attend a funeral must have their dram. Just as [76]
they do not want nakedness to begin life, they do not want to
be buried with public assistance. They hoard their money, even
if it is only a few pounds, to assure thousands of a decent
burial. Another thing that disturbs the welfare officers is [77]
the determination of the old and infirm to remain on their [78]
croft in spite of all efforts to move them to a "Twilight
Home." Some of these people may have returned to Skye for
no other reason than the feeling, "If I could get back to Skye
to die it would be fine." I know many people who had come to
America as young adults and "liked it fine." Why did they
return? The answer is always the same, "I was drifting, you
know, and began to think of home." This, of course, is another
expression of the sentimental attachment for the land and its
identity with one's "people."

Paradoxically, for a people who are so aware of death [79]
and look upon it so significantly, the churches, one and all, [80]
have refused to consecrate burial. There [illegible] prayers for [81]
the dead. There is no service for the dying [illegible] the grave
as the body is lowered into the soil. The ritual which accompanies
this final act of living is better described as a rite of
intensification rather than as a passage rite, to adopt the
terminology of Chapple and Coon.[73]

[73] Chapple and Coon, Principles of Anthropology, pp. 386-399.

Religion has done more to keep the Gaelic language [75]
alive than any of the numerous outside agencies dedicated [76]
to the preservation of the language, such as the Common [77]
Guidebaidh, a national organization which sponsors a series
of local, regional, and national programs in an attempt to
maintain and stimulate an interest in the Highlands and their
songs and stories. Except in Portree and at Dunvegan, church [78]
services are mostly conducted in Gaelic. The newcomer who [79]
wishes to attend church services in the crofting areas, and
he had better, must either learn Gaelic or be content with
the few words the minister may speak in English for his
benefit if the minister is aware of the presence of someone
who does not "have the Gaelic." Some might feel that this
is rude since most Sayeann are bi-lingual, but the crofter
seems to think quicker in his own tongue. Many crofters' [80]
children learn English only when they begin to attend school
or pick it up from an older sibling who is going to school.
Family relations are almost always in Gaelic, unless there is [81]
a visitor. We have already seen that the family relationship
at the time of death is in Gaelic or in Gaelic and English.
Again we have a parallel with Wales, in that Welsh has been
mainly preserved through religion.[74]

[74] Regarding the Gaelic language of their religion has [81]
however, had its several problems. It has contributed to the [77]
solidarity on occasion. There are many isolated townships
beyond the reach of a minister. In one of these such

[74] Ibid., p. 129

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175 as some Indian pedlar one meets on the road may seem
433 now. An older packman's tale of his long tramps, of the
374 people's poverty and hospitality, must have resembled
413 the mingled plaints and praise one hears from an Indian
191 pedlar today! But in the past only a speaker of Gaelic
197 could find his way among the people. Almost until 1900,
if not still later, Gaelic speech was to prove a social bond,
but ignorance of English speech an economic barrier.

The transition to increased exchange, with migration,
175 permanent and temporary, tended to make for specialisa-
433 tion. About 1795, *Statistical Accounts* enumerated, for
413 every hundred families, two or three smiths, wrights (or
178 carpenters), a shipwright or some boat-makers, a few
weavers, tailors, and perhaps a miller. Each of these held
some corn land, individually or in shares, with rights on
the common. The line between plain crofters (to use a
later term) and crofter-craftsmen was not easily drawn, and
different writers wrote as they judged best. In Lochs,
80 per cent were fishers and net-makers. On the open
shores of the west, in Barvas parish (in which three-fourths
of the men were also 'fishers'), kelp-making was a seasonal
(429) occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid
30s. to 60s. in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling
to their tackesman at 5d. each, earned £1 a month on herring
boats, made kelp at 30s. per ton, and roads at 8d. a day.

175 In Harris in 1795 the eight 'bred' (or trained male)
283 weavers worked only for 'the gentry': the laird, the
462 tackesman and their families. The rest of the weaving
was done by the women, giving a ratio of only one male
weaver to fifty-five families. But in Lewis male weavers
were commoner—one to every twenty to thirty families
was the ratio—as if the practice of home weaving by the
women was less universal there, even at that date.

367

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benefit if the minister is aware of the presence of someone
who does not "have the Gaelic." Some might feel that this
is rude since most Skyemen are bi-lingual, but the crofter
seems to think quicker in his own tongue. Many crofters' 191
children learn English only when they begin to attend school
or pick it up from an older sibling who is going to school.
Family worship is almost always in Gaelic, unless there is 782
a visitor. We have already seen that the family worship
at the time of death is in Gaelic or in Gaelic and English.
Again we have a parallel with Wales, in that Welsh has been
mainly preserved through religion.[19]

Making Gaelic the language of their religion has, 191
however, led to several problems. It has weakened township 771
solidarity on occasion. There are many isolated townships 121
beyond the reach of a minister. In one of these remote

[19] Ibid., p. 129

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191 ● sions a family, newcomers to Skye, prevailed on the local
771 school teacher to hold a Sabbath school for the children.
121 The local missionary objected. If they were going to have
Sabbath school, it should be in Gaelic. His prestige and
control over the population secured his position. The
children of the people who originated and organized the
program were excluded because they did not "have the Gaelic."

Another problem which is beginning to stem from the 191
use of Gaelic as the language of religion is the difficulty 715
of securing a minister. Traditionally, it was an ideal to 103
send a son to study for the ministry. This ideal remains, 370
but in the last few years only one young man from Skye
has shown a desire to become a minister. Indeed, the
majority of ministers on Skye are not Skyemen. I believe
the only minister who serves his own neighborhood, the
neighborhood in which he was born and raised, is the Free
Presbyterian minister in Glendale. It is becoming more
and more difficult to fill charges as they go vacant.
Each year several Highland charges are changed from "Gaelic
essential" to "Gaelic preferred." If we go beyond the role 121
of religion as it orders human relationships, through its 771
more formal aspects, and consider the influence of religion 178
on the secular behavior of the Gràidhannaoh, we can come
closer to an understanding of why the youth are slowly
turning away. At the same time we shall be able to round
out our picture of the expression given to the Presbyterian
ethic on Skye.

377

sanctioned the qualities which had given the people their 178
characteristic strength of character. 182
771
The churches of Skye made conservatism an official 777
policy in 1843, and in 1892 reaffirmed this policy. For well
over 100 years religion has had a strength and vitality which
has enabled the Skyeman to pass through times of extreme
distress, not to mention chronic economic deficiencies. Among 182
the most important religious sanctions are those which reinforce 771
the status values of the culture. The father's status in the 595
nuclear family was reaffirmed at a time when his socio-economic
importance was declining. He has been held responsible for
the spiritual welfare of his wife and children. The prestige 182
of the old men, the family-based elders, and their control over 559
the neighborhood group was similarly bolstered by making them 777
the judges of a man's spiritual enlightenment. 191
Spiritual
enlightenment is weighed on a scale which will not balance
unless a person's religious knowledge is matched by conformity
to the ways the old men think a man should behave. Again we 182
are not dealing with a completely negative attitude. In the 771
place of frivolous amusements, religion has offered highly 149
emotional, spiritual patterns of behavior. Religion has pre- (149) ●
served the Gaelic language by using it in formal worship and
within the home for family worship. In these and other ways
religion has indeed enabled the culture to achieve a reorien-
tation and maintain its continuity.

How similar Skye is to the Old Order Amish in this respect,[3]

[3] Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

192 VOCABULARY:—paucity or richness of vocabulary; range of vocabulary in ordinary use; receptivity to loan words; elaboration of vocabulary in particular directions; special vocabularies (e.g., sacred words, slang, legal language, technical words, occupational argot); words and phrases with strong emotional connotations; etc. See also:

Place names	193	Kinship terms	221
Elements of native words frequently used in descriptive accounts	194	Numerals	225
Personal names	221	Native terms for plants and animals	226, 232

192

15

Chapter 2

HISTORY OF THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

A. "Crofting"

241 The word "croft," meaning an enclosed field, comes
429 from Old English. In 1363, a rental of the bishopric
175 of Moray mentions the lease of two crofts (Grant 1930:
● 192 272). Walker (1812: 51) refers to "cottars or crofters"
as subtenants of Highland farms. The word croft appears
in Gibbon's historical novel, A Scots Quair, and is still
in common use around Aberdeenshire. In the Hebrides,
a number of Gaelic words are used to refer to units of
land (e.g., faich, feorann, fiadhairn, and riannaq),
but the word for "croft" remains in Gaelic vocabulary
as a foreign word, slightly Gaelicized as croit or lot
(from "allotment").

(522) A cynical definition of a croft, given by some
academicians and administrators concerned with crofting,
and supposedly first proposed by the son of a crofter,
is "a piece of land entirely surrounded by legislation."
241 Crofting, as a particular method of land use, was
429 introduced by "progressive" landlords in the mid-18th
175
(476)

132

469 on the island she had spoken English in school and had
197 not given much thought to which language she was speaking.
186 "I suppose it was because the other girls couldn't under-
571 stand us. They always used to mimic us, making noises
like they were talking it. It was nice to be able to
talk about things and not have anyone else understand,
especially when they teased us so much."

197 But on the island itself, the number of persons
178 speaking Gaelic is declining; and the scope of the language,
● 192 i.e., the range of situations to which it applies (as
reflected in the diversity of vocabulary used), is becoming
(196) more restricted. A psychological experiment in which the
(191) semantic differential was used to study the organisation
of English and Gaelic vocabulary in the cognitive processes
of Gaelic speakers suggests that Gaelic speakers are not
bilingual but monolingual in particular situations (Macleod
197 1966). Gaelic is the language of hearth, home, family and
191 community. English is the language of education, the
business world, and various transactions with the larger
197 society. Most Gaelic speakers spoke only Gaelic when they
191 entered school, but were required to speak only English in
the classroom. One islander recalls, "The first English
(196) words you learned were 'Sit' and 'Stand.' Those were the
ones you got strapped if you spoke any Gaelic." Children
000 were addressed by their full English names. One of the

ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

121 From prehistory to the present day, these geographic
178 zones have played their parts as factors in evolution,
although the border-lines have changed at different historic
174 crises, and have been modified by economic and social
182 phase. At times the Hebrides have been more closely
184 linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Central Scotland.
In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in
historic events, but comparability in stage and transition,
even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of
view, the revealing character of Island life lies not only in
static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the
Isles and vividly described as "the Past in the Present",
Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic
strength of its continuity—notably of early primitive
Christianity—and also by the late occurrence of changes
when, at last, they came.

18 The social consequences of these regional differences
62 in evolution are profound. In the 'Plain', to the south-
174 east of the Severn-Tees line, large village communities
with 'common fields' prevailed, forming the later manor
178 villages. To the north and west, the more varied, hilly
182 lands encouraged the continuance of hamlets. These
● 192 hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no
more than four or five to a dozen relations or 'friends'—
—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word
'friend' frequently implies kinship. Each small group
462 formed a team. Together the men ploughed their mingled
476 rigs (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and
on the coast they rowed their boat as its crew. The
241 women, too, did much together, as when they spun their
429 yarn, and fulled or 'waulked' the cloth that one of them
268 had woven, helping by turn in childbirth and child-care.
475 Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

175 545 622 words are used for neighbourly help among crofters and
175 587 for services to the chief.[1]

Full freedom of choice in marriage prevailed among the people, who honoured marriage and enjoined continence; but the position of the chief placed him apart from the rest of the community. Now, the more equalitarian the community, the more free are a couple to choose one another on grounds of mutual affection, passion and respect; the parents, too, are more likely to encourage or support a suitor for their child because of character and virility, rather than means.

The lads of the clan, chief and people, grew up together in an isle or glen. But in manhood, while a labouring lad sought a wife from the girl playmates of his childhood and
175 545 582 his fellow-workers at the peats, at the harvest, or in the shielings, a chief's choice was confined to his own clan. In pre-feudal clanship, tanistry, *i.e.* the choice of a chief among the higher kin, gave a wider choice for marriage near home than feudal primogeniture, irrespective of the wishes of the chief's kin except in extreme cases of unfitness. In Scotland, tanistry prevailed even in the royal line until the eleventh century. But with the dominance of primogeniture, the young chief chose a bride outside his own community for reasons other than those of human feeling, honoured by Gaelic lyrical and religious tradition and even by the Church.

As a result, the chieftain's son was granted a licence forbidden to the rest, a temptation to maidens and a bad

[1] *Ceiel* (cognate with *geale*) means a portion, lot or share, or what is one's own (*e.f.*, *gen. ceileach*); and the associated verb (*ceileth*) means not simply to share but entirely to help. The expression *ceileth* by lodging given to the chief and his 'tail' of 'lads' was the 'ceileachy'—*ceil-eilibh*; while the famous motto of the Seaforth Highlanders is *Help the King!—Ceileih an Righ!*

788 241 facing the sun, he cut a handful of corn. Putting the
[175] [178] handful three times round his head, the man raised the '*Iollach Buana*', reaping salutation,—and the whole family then took up the strain.[1] While these notes by Carmichael describe the custom after the abolition of the farm-team, he also tells of "all the people of the Townland going together to reap" (*Carmina*, No. 89, cf. Note to No. 90). In the days of close partnership this was no doubt a team blessing, said by the chief reaper among his neighbours in mutual aid.

780 261 [114] Grace before meals survives in Presbyterian households; and ancient graces are recorded in *Carmina*, vol. iii. The unpublished examples given here are from Miss Annie Johnston (or Niclain), Barra, to whose knowledge Gaelic lore owes so much :—

1. O God, bless our portion, and our people.
2. O God, be about the beginning of our life (or food) and about the end of our life (*lit.* of our world).
3. O God, let nothing enter our bodies that may harm our souls.

A Dhia, beannaich ar cuid 'us ar cuideachd.
A Dhia, le mo dhia ar bith (or bidhe)
'us mu dhéireadh ar saoghail.
A Dhia, na leig dod 'n ar cohsion a ni lochd do'r n'anam.[1]

[1] 'The reader will note the meaning in translation : but he should also scan the Gaelic, and the assonance of the vowels. In the lyric and abstract lines the Gaelic play upon sound and meaning : *ar cuid 'us cuideachd*—" our share of things and our (share of) people, friends and family ". In the second line Miss Johnston thinks there may be a play upon the words 'lith' and 'fuad' (of which the sound is almost the same), reminding one that food is the means of life and of all that life means. In the third the opposition of ideas is characteristically emphasized in the pattern of the assonant vowels : the words '*dod 'n ar cohsion a ni lochd do'r n-anam* ', here again the form, by means of which it could change, the sense the heart, made in native again. Contrast with these the translation into Gaelic of a common English Grace, as it is in the English original, its prose lacks poetic form : *Tha sonn a mart tuing dhuit, d' Thigerna, airson nan tiodhlacanan a tha Do nabachd a' bailtachadh sinn, trueich Fear Crionda ar Tighearna.* Amen.

172 178 314 [174] 175 814 [217] of the isles, and in which the people met, though far from any clergy. On the southern mainland most trace of shrines and chapels seems to have been lost, so small are the rings of unhewn stone that marked their sites. Little was recorded by salaried clergy about the services conducted there ; those who approved tended to let well alone. Hence written accounts have come down chiefly from those who were out of touch with rural needs or ignorant of the language spoken in intimacy, and whose alien training had removed them from sympathy.[1] As for those whose private interests, stipend or subservience to patrons bound them to prelate, lord or king, they roundly condemned free congregations.

175 814 [184] Nevertheless, fragmentary records have come down, such as those of Martin, who visited St. Kilda in 1697 and described the little church where the people still kept a fine brass crucifix and worshipped together, without the presence of a clergyman. Naturally, the curiosity stimulated by Kilda's fabulous isolation led Martin to describe its little community more fully than any other ; but he mentions similar worship elsewhere. Thus in lonely
[183] North Rona, inhabited by only five families, Martin had

[1] 'The difficulty of imitation to intimate usage of language is exemplified in a clearly and patriotic work, the *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (Gaelic—Gaelic, and English-Gaelic) by Malcolm Macleman, D.D., 1925. This standard work incorporates all the words of three previous dictionaries, with some additions.[2] Yet how words of the people's religious heritage, of immemorial age, of living usage, and recorded a generation or so before in the collections cited here, are either absent, or are given the more remote or debased of two shades of meaning (not the higher). See " calm, a case, shaath " or *shetse* : " *sionagaun*, a beginning " (*a definition*) : *sorra, Hell* or *sulkanion*. " *ora, orra*, or *orbe*, a charm . . . *amulet* . . . or *talisman* of any kind . . . *Ora* is the word used in the version—from Latin, *orbis* " (*orbe* proper in 'Irish' *ordyl*) : and other vital words. According to a job analysis of the entire dictionary, the total of the meanings in Gaelic of Gaelic religious tradition, Carmichael's *Orthe son Guidhael* (Latin, *Carmina Gadelica*), is to be 'a unfamed, not *Prayers*, but " *Charms* . . . or Impetrators . . . of the Gael ".

869 538 867 869 . . . of whole-souled loveliness . . . of winning speech." Then, after the tender image of the brown swan and farewell on departure to a new home, comes a string of exquisite comparisons : to shade and shelter in need, to safety of isle and strength of fortress, to gift of health for the ailing. Each grace, each image, expresses not simply individual qualities but relationships and service for others. After eight choice lines in praise of the girl's womanly gifts—from "Thine is the faith of Mary", through chosen attributes of Bride, the Fairy Woman, Penelope, Emir, Darthula and Maeve, to "the charm of the sweet singer (*Bónne-Mewl*)"—the poem, in Gaelic that is sonorous and succinct, passes beyond the realm of comparison with things or even personal qualities. It acclaims her joyous girlhood as one with the powers of life-giving, life-abundant things, and as a reflection of the Divine :

Thou'rt the joy in every delight,
Thou the mirror of Bride's radiant light ;
Thou't the gate of a welcoming chief,
Thou the clearest star to lead ;
Thou'rt the step of the deer on a height,
Thou the pace of a steed ere the fight ;
Thou'rt the calm of a gliding swan ;
of longings thou'rt the loveliness.

The lovely likeness of the Lord
Is in thy pure face,
The loveliest form
Was ere on earth.[1]

[1] Poetic form is integral to the conception ; hence this translation in verse. But alternatives to Carmichael's choice of English prose may complement his own, in bringing out the meaning. Line 1, '*joy*', *mean*—and a delightful or a delight—is a better word than '*gem*' or '*ornament*' in line 1 : *dá*, guidance, land-mark, way : l. 6, *steed*, steed, would imply, in *blár*, 'a field' of battle, and, by contrast, l. 7, *steak ad*, calm (rather than 'peace') of a floating, swimming swan ; l. 8, *ros*, secret incitation, longing, and hence too, a person beloved ; ll. 9, 11, *crush*, force, shapeliness (and by implication),

538 867 869 And so, after every good wish for days, years and life, the Invocation closes : "Peter has come and Paul" . . . the Disciples and the Archangels. . . . Jesus the mild and the Spirit of guidance have come.

And the King of kings has come on the helm,
To bestow on thee their affection and their love,
A bhuineadh duit-se gráidh sa ruin.

The ideal of choice maidenliness which this Invocation portrays, culminates in the thought of the beauty of that was Christ. It rises, too, to stirring virility : "the island
867 [539] at sea, the fortress on land ", or " the step of the steed on the plain ". Yet when all is said, it is a womanly image which prevails : after the fortress comes the well in the desert, and after the charger's step, the gracious calm of a floating swan. It is all the more significant that the Invocation was addressed both " to boys and girls ' in one tale, and ' to youths and maidens ' in another. Not simply was boyhood taught to honour girlhood : ideal womanhood was invoked to raise manhood itself to fullness.

885 [212] 585 [539] Upon marriage, the husband replaced the maiden's mood of grace that had her concerned hair by the widely kerchief, *am breid*. Folded diagonally, its three-cornered shape came to symbolise the Trinity, in benediction on the bride's head.[1] A poem to a bride, now forgotten, was
[538] [192] 142 [192] sung in her honour. The short second stanza gives small note of the poem, having attained in climax by a rhythm sustaining the upward, successive movement, is hushed by its few simple words. In *From the Hebrides*, Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser rearranged one or two of these lovely stanzas, as one of her lyrics with refrain. Cf. A. Gaskin, *The Songs of Craig and Ben*, 1931, 192.

[1] The kerch is spoken of in many songs, in which a lover hopes to place it on his bride's head. In Barra, it was a husband who placed the kerchief on his wife. When first I knew the Lews, the kerch was still commonly worn under the more recent head-dress, and either fastened round a young face, or as a floating, swimming swan ; l. 8, *ros*, secret incitation, longing, and hence too, a person beloved ; ll. 9, 11, *crush*, force, shapeliness (and by implication), of old sea, charmingly. The two have not quite vanished, though memories of what the kerch once symbolized are hard to find.

[172] [142] 142 142 142

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197 Within the village there are no branches of An Comunn
178 Gaidhealach and few books written in Gaelic. Once a rural
166 family moves to Stornoway, children often refuse to speak
191 Gaelic, even though they understand it, and parents tend
to speak only English to their children, believing this
will help them "get on." In the next generation, the
[871] language is lost. Village children attending school in
Stornoway often prefer talking to their Gaelic-speaking
[867] roommates in English. A young island woman, married and
living in Edinburgh, says she would like her baby son
to learn Gaelic but feels that if he had a mixture of the
two languages the other children would laugh at him.

197 English is the language of the larger society, the
191 language spoken in school and the language required in
most jobs and in dealing with most officials. In Gaelic-
197 speaking areas, the speaking of English connotes high
191 554 status. If an English speaker mispronounces Gaelic words,
626 he is quickly forgiven, praised for trying to learn such
578 a difficult language, and asked why he bothers with a
language that "isn't any use anyway." But if a Gaelic
speaker makes mistakes in English, he is teased mercilessly.
[551] Many nicknames derive from such mistakes; for example,
"Peter Squeak" got his name by mispronouncing the word
[524] "picturesque." People "win points" by competing with
each other in speaking English. "See how good you are in

197 English, no Gaelic allowed. I can beat you any time.
191 One person observed, "People here make fun of each o
554 all the time. They're always trying to be superior,
626 get one over the other person. Speaking English giv
578 you a feeling of superiority."
[524]

If a Gaelic speaker chooses to speak English in
village situation where there are no officials prese
other cues which make English-speaking appropriate,
indicates that he considers himself a cut above ever
else. "I went to help Calum pull his tractor out of
mud, and Malina was there with her husband. She was
speaking English. Oh, I says to myself, lady, you'r
for this place. You don't belong to this village."

In evaluating whether or not a particular woman
"snobbish," villagers may decide, "She must be; whe
I've seen her in the post office, she never speaks a
Gaelic."

The sanctions against speaking English when all
197 persons present speak Gaelic indicate the effect of
191 554 action between a socially marginal group and the dom
571 group. The effect is to increase the emphasis on un
184 behavior within the marginal group. The existence o
578 higher social stratum has diminished social differen
within the village setting. Individuals may move ou
that setting and adopt the language and other forms

behavior characteristic of the dominant group; but for those that remain in the village, the language serves a unifying function, although its form is limited in diversity of elements.

Jokes are most humorous when told in Gaelic; and conversation is punctuated with Gaelic proverbs and old stories. There is a vast oral lore, expressed in Gaelic, of the village and generations of its members and their characteristics and escapades, a dense map of human events. All of these tales, proverbs and jokes have been told a thousand times, but retain their unifying function. When speaking of today's children who do not go to the sheiling, a man says sadly, "They won't have our memories; this place will mean less to them than it does to us." The moor is not an empty wasteland, but a map of memories. Thousands of place names are known, and behind every place name is a story. The major landmarks such as mountains, lochs and headlands tend to have Norse names, from the days when the Norsemen raided and settled along the island coasts; but the smaller hillocks and fields and bends in the stream have Gaelic names, for example, Sheiling of the One Night, Field of the Slaves, Slope of the Stone Boys, Hillock of William's Sheiling. To know these place names and their histories is to participate in a distinct community, which has been made even more distinct by contrast with the dominant society.

emphasis is laid on evangelical preaching. The Free Church claims 'the free exercise of all its spiritual functions, while it fully admits the State authority in purely temporal concerns'.

THE GAELIC LANGUAGE

Closely tied in with the background of the island folk is the Gaelic language. For many years this has been dying, yet it is still vigorous enough to make a significant contribution to the mental make-up of the people. It is a living language in that it is used for personal communication, though English is often and universally resorted to when the talk turns to technical subjects. As the Gaelic language stands today, by itself it is agreed by most Gaelic speakers to be a barrier to economic progress. The Gaelic-speaking child who also knows English, however, is found to be at no significant disadvantage over the monoglot; indeed, tests have shown, particularly in other multilingual countries, that the bilingual child tends to assimilate knowledge at a greater rate and to a greater depth. Two decades ago a pamphlet issued by the Scottish Council for Research in Education showed that while there were no 'statistically significant' differences between the four areas into which they divided Scotland, the Highlands and Islands came out best in a study of the average level of intelligence :

	Mean	*Standard deviation*
The four Scottish cities	100·86	15·29
The industrial belt	99·19	16·18
The rural areas	100·92	14·52
The Highlands and Islands	101·79	13·13

The pamphlet comments: 'It is interesting that the mean of the most remote and isolated districts is the highest, and the standard of deviation the lowest.'

The Hebrides are now the only area in Scotland where the language, once Scotland's national language, is spoken by a Gaelic-characterised community. On average 95 per cent of the inhabitants of all the island districts are Gaelic-speaking; even in the town of Stornoway, never regarded as wholly Gaelic-speak-

2. The Exiles: An important source which supplies this sense of contrast is the large number of persons settled away from the island, often in "ghettoes" or neighborhoods in cities in which village ties are maintained. It is said that gossip about Shawbost travels more quickly in the district called Partick Hill in Glasgow than it does within Shawbost itself. It may be argued that the "exiles," with their Lewis and Harris Societies and pilgrimages back to the village during the holidays, do a great deal to sustain the strong boundedness of the village as a sociocultural system. They and non-Gaelic-speaking outsiders (the Eminent Person writing his inevitable book in the romantic solitude of an isolated manse) help to maintain a feeling of worthwhileness in a place rife with feelings of ambivalence and negative comparison with the larger society.

Within the village, especially during the long, dark winter, complaints are often heard of the "sameness" of things. A common phrase, almost a greeting, is, "Anything fresh?"—implying that the usual mode of existence is stale, sour, exhausted, and mucky with overuse. Although the villagers have access to the range of information available to all Britishers through forms of mass media such as newspapers, radios and television sets, very little of this information is considered relevant to village life, and thus is not attended to.

good to say about him." Death is one of the two occasions for 763
an extended family gathering. Indeed, a man's prestige is best 829
seen at his funeral. Without exaggeration, death is the most 584 584
significant event of living. It is constantly visualized and
discussed. "Second Sight," the ability to foresee future 763
events, is mainly concerned with the death of one's "people"
and friends. Since the ministers have been striving to wipe
out this belief, it is difficult to get the people to talk
about it, except in retrospect. Still most of the people,
including many of the newcomers, and not a few of the ministers,
continue to believe that some old people,—they are always
old men and women,—are afflicted with this power. There
was an old man in one township who would not go out at dusk
for fear of seeing a funeral, and there was an old woman who
foretold her daughter's death. Lights seen in strange places
also tell of death. Even the sophisticated Sgiathanach who
has been born and raised in Portree sometimes forgets himself.
A current story on the island tells of a "ghost bus." The
headlights suddenly appear behind a driver on the Sligihan
road. For the newcomers this is a fanciful tale, but for
several of the natives it has a meaning, death.

All plans are prefixed with the phrase "if spared." 763
"If spared, we'll shear the sheep on Thursday." "If spared, 195 ●
I'll go down to see my brother soon." Many of the newcomers
are made to feel very uneasy by this habit, which is as much
a form of speech as greeting people with, "It's wet," or,
"It's cold." When a Sgiathanach asks to have something done

or inquires about a person's plans, he says, "You'll do it 763
tomorrow, then, if spared." 195 ●

Occasionally, a man's prestige status can be judged by 764
the foretaste the people have of his funeral. This, too, is 584
disturbing for the newcomers who prefer to face death when
the time comes. There is one member of the county people who
is extremely popular. Many speak of him as a "true Skyeman."
One day he was being discussed by a small group of women.
After talking about his interest in Skye and what a good man
he was, one summed up their estimation by saying, "Aye, what
a wonderful funeral he'll have." What higher compliment could
there be? The number who attend a person's funeral and,
recently, the number who drive to his funeral are indicative
of his status. Even though having a car does not give the 893
owner prestige - to the contrary it may give the people cause
to wonder where he got his money - to have "friends" with cars
does give prestige. When 200 or 300 men join in the funeral
procession to carry the body to the grave, all the "people"
of the deceased take pride in telling of the "mobs who came."

In death we find one aspect of the crofter's way of life 764
which puzzles the newcomer, especially the government officials, 454
more than anything else. The old people hoard their money.
Welfare workers frequently say, "You never know how much they
have until they die." There are a few crofters, mainly returned
exiles, who are known to have money but continue to live in
tumbled down houses. The newcomer says, "They must like to
live that way." Quite to the contrary, the Sgiathanach has 741
traditionally prepared for death early in life. Once the first

196

196 SEMANTICS--general problems of meaning and linguistic symbolism; semantics of morphological and lexical elements; affectual connotation (e.g., tone of voice, rapidity of delivery); multiple contextual definitions of words and phrases; semantic drift; etc.

000 "natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas). The
363 northernmost street of North Shawbost is called Carnan
103 (carn = a heap of stones), and the street parallel to
it, by the loch and the sea, is Baile Stigh ("the town
within," i.e., in toward the sea. In everyday speech,
● 196 one goes "in" to the sea and "out" to the moor, a
reference which probably derives from the days when
fishing was extremely important. The sea was then the
focus, from which the village expanded "outward." Today
the road is the source of goods and transport). Part of
the Baile Stigh is sometimes called Gearraidh Buidhe
(buidhe means "yellow"; gearraidh is the land from which
peat has been stripped). The Baile Stigh intersects
the main road and continues toward the moor, where it
becomes New Shawbost. New Shawbost, once called New North
Shawbost, is also called Pairc, referring to a farm which
existed there before the land was turned into crofts.

632 The neighborhood regions of South Shawbost are less easily
363 recognizable as the land is not divided into linear
103 streets. To the people of North Shawbost, South Shawbost
is simply Baile Thall, "the town over yonder." (Residents
of South Shawbost also refer to North Shawbost as Baile
Thall, but also frequently refer to the different streets.)
Within South Shawbost, several neighborhoods are
distinguished on the basis of the clustering of houses,

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186 "I suppose it was because the other girls couldn't under-
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192 i.e., the range of situations to which it applies (as
reflected in the diversity of vocabulary used), is becoming
● 196 more restricted. A psychological experiment in which the
191 semantic differential was used to study the organization
of English and Gaelic vocabulary in the cognitive processes
of Gaelic speakers suggests that Gaelic speakers are not
bilingual but monolingual in particular situations (Macleod
197 1966). Gaelic is the language of hearth, home, family and
191 community. English is the language of education, the
business world, and various transactions with the larger
197 society. Most Gaelic speakers spoke only Gaelic when they
871 entered school, but were required to speak only English in
191 the classroom. One islander recalls, "The first English
876 words you learned were 'Sit' and 'Stand.' Those were the
days you got strapped if you spoke any Gaelic." Children
000 were addressed by their full English names. One of the

1

197 LINGUISTIC IDENT
with other language
differentiation; pro
facial affinities . . .

97

IFICATION--dominant language or languages; affiliation
; position within a linguistic stock or family; dialectic
cesses of linguistic change (e.g., drift); etc. See also:
. . . . . 144 Cultural affiliations 171

121 individuals; rather, causal primacy in human action is given to the sociocultural environment, which determines what choices are available to be made and what behavior is valued. Because the exercise of choice is a human universal, i.e., a constant, it cannot be used to explain variation (cf. Barth 1966).

Actors within a community which is marginal to a larger industrial society make choices within an environment characterized by constraints and incentives which derive from both the local sociocultural system and the larger system. The state of boundedness of the local system is maintained or modified as a result of the strategies adopted by its members. I have suggested that the Scottish crofting township persists as a relatively strongly bounded system not because it is inherently static, isolated, or resistive of change, but because of the constraints and incentives stemming from the larger society. For example, the [657] British government has provided various incentives to • [197] encourage the persistence of crofting and township [554] communalism; and to a certain extent, Gaelic speech or English spoken with a "Hielan'" (Highland) accent constitute social stigma (Goffman 1963) by which a person from the Highlands and Islands is assigned a somewhat lower social status in British social structure.

634 The Outer Hebrides, a chain of islands over a [137] hundred miles long which lie to the northwest of the Scottish mainland, are part of "Ross and Cromarty" and "Inverness," two of the seven crofting counties of Scotland (see Map A). The seven crofting counties [103] (Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland) constitute the scenically beautiful but agriculturally marginal land often referred to as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. 101 The word "Highland" also refers to features of social • 197 life such as crofting tenure, strong community feeling and Gaelic-speaking which are characteristic of many communities in both the Highlands and Islands as well as in cities such as Glasgow in which persons from the Highlands and Islands have settled. For example, a Gaelic speaker whose parents came from the Islands and settled in Glasgow may be called a "Glasgow Highlander." The first four crofting counties listed above have a large percentage of Gaelic speakers. In the national [162] census of 1961, 82.3% of the 32,607 inhabitants of the Outer Hebrides were Gaelic speakers.

131 Lewis and Harris, a single body of land which is 133 sometimes referred to as two islands because the mountainous southern section called Harris differs markedly from the flat, northern moorland of Lewis, is the northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides (see Map B).

000 24,863 acres. The value of this boggy property, as 423 far as the landlords are concerned, is determined by 427 its fishing potential. The landlords generally reside 226 away from their property, and brave the buffeting gales several times a year to return to fish for trout and [463] salmon. For the rest of the year they hire river- [685] watchers to prevent their tenants from poaching. As [171] in Wales (Emmett 1964), the islanders continue to poach, in part as an expression of their identity as independent countrymen, a minority group in a nation-state.

161 Lewis is the most populated area in the Outer 162 Hebrides, containing 21,934 of the 32,607 Outer Hebrideans 634 numbered in the 1961 census. It is part of the County of Ross and Cromarty, whose headquarters are on the 632 mainland near Inverness. Lewis has four administrative areas called civil parishes in which births, deaths and other vital statistics are recorded. Stornoway • [197] parish is the largest, containing the town of Stornoway on the east side of the island in which many non-Gaelic speakers live. Of the other three parishes, the largest [162] is Barvas which stretches along the west side of the [197] island and contains 4,331 persons, of whom 94.6% are Gaelic speakers. The people of Stornoway refer to someone [186] from the west side as a siarach (west-sider), a term which connotes rusticity.

764 the deceased or the remaining family assist in preparing 574 endless cups of tea, using the provisions that are brought by the visitors. The newcomers enter, exchange greetings, memories, sighs and moral judgements in rapid whispers. "Oich, oich... that should teach us, we're all going to go. That's how it was meant to be. It makes you wonder why we live at all, well, well." They recall other deaths. "That was a bad death. His liver was bad, and he turned yellow, then all black...." [152] They weep, circumspectly observe the appearance of the • [198] room and its occupants, and speak only in Gaelic, the language of hearth and heart.

764 The minister usually attends a prayer meeting which 793 is held in the tigh fhaire around midnight of the night before the funeral, but his presence is not necessary. The prayer meeting may be conducted by the elders. The elders may also hold the service which precedes the burial. The minister may walk for a short distance in the funeral procession or speak a brief few words at the graveside, but his role in the community drama is minimal.

764 At least one person from all households within the 621 village is expected to go to the tigh fhaire of someone 592 who has died within the village, "to show respect." The male head of the household is expected to attend the

241 Crofting constitutes a dormant strategy which can 178 be mobilized if deterioration of land has not proceeded too far, and if the skills of land use are not lost by succeeding generations who have grown up in an environment which presented them with more appealing strategies.

B. Social Marginality

166 1. Linguistic Distinctiveness: Social marginality 464 began when the Highlander had to leave his place of origin and go to the cities of the south in search of • [197] employment. The feature which most distinguished him was his Gaelic speech.

101 In Glasgow the common word for Highlander is 186 "teuchter," a slang word with derogatory implications 648 which, according to one theory, developed when Gaelic speakers coming into English-speaking cities mispronounced the word "sugar" so that it sounded like "teuchter."

[829] Glasgow Highlanders have developed their own defensive explanation: when the civilized Highlanders came down among the uneducated barbarians of the south, they came as tutors, a word which their uneducated Lowland pupils mispronounced.) According to a university student from the islands, the word was once used by the English to refer to the Scottish Lowlanders.

177 "I was in the Navy during the last war. We were
156 in Norway, and got an invitation to visit the palace.
I didn't go. I was afraid I'd make a mess of things."

"This place has an inferiority complex. It's mainland-oriented; so you feel outlandish."

575 The new director of an association which promotes
• 197 the speaking of Gaelic is a Lowland Scot who learned
186 Gaelic when he was in England. He was working in England
[181] and, as a Scotsman, felt so much like a foreigner that he decided "to be a real foreigner"--so he studied Gaelic. Motives which prompted legislation protecting crofting also lie behind the development of organizations which attempt to protect and preserve the Gaelic language.

[175] An Comunn Gaidhealach, the Highland Association which promotes the speaking of Gaelic, was founded in 1891 in a town on the mainland, and has always been urban-based. Eighty years passed before the association established its headquarters in Stornoway; but the headquarters were relegated to hindquarters when the director found that he needed to be on the mainland to exert pressure on influential organizations for aid and support.

[173] The organization is condemned by ministers on the island, who see it as an organization that sponsors light-hearted
[214] singing. The magazines and books which it publishes or sponsors are seldom read by the rural islanders. The

575 organization receives a large proportion of its funds
• 197 from the Scottish Education Department, whose statutory
186 duty is to foster the speaking of Gaelic in Gaelic-
[659] speaking areas. In 1970-71 a series of evening meetings were sponsored by An Comunn in Stornoway; but the serious meetings, such as readings of Gaelic poetry, were attended largely by schoolmasters.

Associations which sponsor Highland dancing and the opportunity to get together with other Gaelic speakers thrive in Glasgow, London, Toronto and Detroit, everywhere
[648] but in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands. Such associations serve important functions in situations of interaction between Gaelic speakers and members of the dominant society; they provide identity and self-defense against those who react to them as members of a lower-status minority group.

535 A girl who teaches Gaelic in Glasgow and comes home
186 to the island only for holidays never goes to the island
648 dances, but loves going to the dances sponsored by the Lewis and Harris Society in Glasgow. All the young people from the islands come, and dance away accumulated insults in a fiery sense of belonging.

464 A girl who worked in hotels on the mainland found
197 herself speaking Gaelic with her fellow workmates who
186 came from Lewis or other Gaelic-speaking areas, although
571

464 on the island she had spoken English in school and had
• 197 not given much thought to which language she was speaking.
186 "I suppose it was because the other girls couldn't under-
571 stand us. They always used to mimic us, making noises like they were talking it. It was nice to be able to talk about things and not have anyone else understand, especially when they teased us so much."

197 But on the island itself, the number of persons
198 speaking Gaelic is declining; and the scope of the language,
[492] i.e., the range of situations to which it applies (as reflected in the diversity of vocabulary used), is becoming
[196] more restricted. A psychological experiment in which the
[191] semantic differential was used to study the organization of English and Gaelic vocabulary in the cognitive processes of Gaelic speakers suggests that Gaelic speakers are not bilingual but monolingual in particular situations (Macleod
197 1966). Gaelic is the language of hearth, home, family and
191 community. English is the language of education, the business world, and various transactions with the larger
197 society. Most Gaelic speakers spoke only Gaelic when they
891 entered school, but were required to speak only English in
191 the classroom. One islander recalls, "The first English
[876] words you learned were 'Sit' and 'Stand.' Those were the days you got strapped if you spoke any Gaelic." Children ooo were addressed by their full English names. One of the

• 197 One of the
793 richest sources of Gaelic vocabulary now available is
779 the Gaelic Bible, but many villagers, especially the younger ones, complain that they are unable to understand many of the Gaelic words used by the minister in his sermons.

197 Although provision for teaching Gaelic in the schools
871 was made in the Education Act of 1918, only within the last ten years have schools incorporated classes in which Gaelic is taught at both primary and secondary levels. Gaelic is taught as a foreign language like French or Latin, rather than used as a medium of instruction, which would require a much larger vocabulary than most teachers possess.

[875] The present schoolmaster in Shawbost differs from past
[551] schoolmasters in that he addresses the children by their Gaelic names,[2] and devises projects intended to encourage a sense of pride in "Celtic culture."

873 The Department of Celtic Studies at the University of
197 Glasgow, which includes in its staff a Lewis poet and
185 several Scottish Nationalists, is described as "progressive." According to an islander who is a student in the Department, "They believe that if Gaelic is to survive as a language, it must be written as it is spoken. At school we were taught to write 'proper' Gaelic, Gaelic that's considered

[2] Persons who come from Gaelic-speaking areas are addressed and referred to by Gaelicized names, such as "Murchadh" rather than "Murdo," and usually these names take the form of patronymics, which may or may not include nicknames (for example, Iain Dhomhnuill Shain, i.e., John the son of fair Donald).

873 old-fashioned if you were speaking it. I wrote like that
• 197 in my first few papers, and my professor stroked through
185 words and asked, 'Would you say that?' We can even put in an English word now and then."

197 One result of this restriction in the scope of
185 experience in which Gaelic is used, and of the treatment of Gaelic by government bodies and voluntary associations as a rare zoo animal that must be preserved rather than allowed to change, is a decline in written creative
197 expression in Gaelic. There are perhaps three major
536 writers of Gaelic plays in Scotland, whose major battle is to be considered serious writers rather than colorful freaks or queer saints out to redeem Gaelic culture. "Once you become self-conscious about the language you speak," says one writer, "the language is dead." It has then become an artificial showpiece, a museum relic instead of a living, changing, flexible human tool.

197 Outside the village the maintenance of the Gaelic language
186 and other customs identified with "Celtic culture" occurs
[571] mainly as a result of interaction between "Gaels" and "Galls" (a Gaelic word meaning outsider or foreigner), as Gaelic speakers become self-conscious of their distinctiveness and either abandon their heritage (for example, MacIver 1968) or invest in it.

•197 Within the village there are no branches of An Comunn
178 Gaidhealach and few books written in Gaelic. Once a rural
166 family moves to Stornoway, children often refuse to speak
191 Gaelic, even though they understand it, and parents tend
to speak only English to their children, believing this
will help them "get on." In the next generation, the
[871] language is lost. Village children attending school in
Stornoway often prefer talking to their Gaelic-speaking
[867] roommates in English. A young island woman, married and
living in Edinburgh, says she would like her baby son
to learn Gaelic but feels that if he had a mixture of the
two languages the other children would laugh at him.

197 English is the language of the larger society, the
191 language spoken in school and the language required in
most jobs and in dealing with most officials. In Gaelic-
197 speaking areas, the speaking of English connotes high
191 554 status. If an English speaker mispronounces Gaelic words,
626 he is quickly forgiven, praised for trying to learn such
578 a difficult language, and asked why he bothers with a
language that "isn't any use anyway." But if a Gaelic
speaker makes mistakes in English, he is teased mercilessly.
[551] Many nicknames derive from such mistakes; for example,
"Peter Squeak" got his name by mispronouncing the word
[524] "picturesque." People "win points" by competing with
each other in speaking English. "See how good you are in

•197 behavior characteristic of the dominant group; but for
191 554 those that remain in the village, the language serves a
571 unifying function, although its form is limited in
183 578 diversity of elements.

184 Jokes are most humorous when told in Gaelic; and
197 538 conversation is punctuated with Gaelic proverbs and old
stories. There is a vast oral lore, expressed in Gaelic,
[522] of the village and generations of its members and their
[521] characteristics and escapades, a dense map of human events.
All of these tales, proverbs and jokes have been told a
829 thousand times, but retain their unifying function. When
speaking of today's children who do not go to the sheiling,
a man says sadly, "They won't have our memories; this
place will mean less to them than it does to us." The
moor is not an empty wasteland, but a map of memories.
103 Thousands of place names are known, and behind every place
175 name is a story. The major landmarks such as mountains,
lochs and headlands tend to have Norse names, from the
days when the Norsemen raided and settled along the island
coasts; but the smaller hillocks and fields and bends in
the stream have Gaelic names, for example, Sheiling of
the One Night, Field of the Slaves, Slope of the Stone
[184] Boys, Hillock of William's Sheiling. To know these place
names and their histories is to participate in a distinct
community, which has been made even more distinct by contrast
with the dominant society.

795 collected, and an annual report on morals, which usually
condemns drinking and "the decline in moral standards."
Ministers are trained in a college in Edinburgh. Many
•[197] are Gaelic speakers, although the number is said to be
declining.

794 When a congregation loses a minister because of death
793 or other reasons, it issues a "call" to some other minister.
The congregation is familiar with the names and preaching
styles of a number of ministers, who have in the past
visited the community as guest speakers. The congregation
votes for a minister from a list made by the lay officers
of the church. The minister may or may not accept the call.

795 The Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church, two
[198] fundamentalist Protestant sects which have survived the
tendencies toward unification evident since the turn of
the century, are strongest in the Highlands and Islands.
Shawbost contains a few people who belong to the Church of
Scotland, but most villagers belong to the Free Church.

795 The only church (in the sense of a building in which sermons
346 are preached) is a Free Church which was built in 1883,
[193] supposedly after men from Shawbost helping to repair the
fence at the minister's manse in Carloway, where they then
attended church, were refused boiling water for their oatmeal
"brose" by the minister's wife. A building in which
members of the Church of Scotland worshipped was built

FIRE AND SWORD

FIRE AND SWORD

Recorded history begins with the Icelandic sagas. In 1098 Magnus 175
Bareleg plundered Lewis and devastated the island with both fire
and sword. A skald named Bjorr Cripplehand, who accompanied
Magnus on the expedition, reported that 'Fire played in the fig-
trees of Liodhus; it mounted up to heaven. Far and wide the
people were driven to flight. The fire gushed out of the houses.'
The *Irish Annals* tell us that Skye was pillaged by the Norse in
794, and no doubt Lewis did not escape their attentions, then or
earlier. Towards the end of the ninth century a stream of Norse 174
folk left their homes to start the work of colonisation. Iceland, 648
the Faroes, the Orkneys, the Shetlands and the Hebrides soon 167
became thriving communities in which the earlier native popula-
tion were as thralls, serving ruthless masters.

By about AD 1000, the island, with others as far south as Man,
was in the sure and steady grip of men of Scandinavian or semi-
Scandinavian origin, who were destined to become premier
clans such as Clan Donald. It was not until the Battle of Largs in
1263 that this grip was loosened. In 1266 the Western Isles
were ceded by Norway to Scotland, following which event the
Gaelic people and their former Norse masters were soon to be
merged in the marriage bed. As for the common language, it was [19
the Celtic elements which took over after, one supposes, some
generations of suppression. The result in any case was a highly
individual people, strong in character, and resilient enough to
take the rough times with the smooth.

In the thirteenth century, Harris was in the possession of the 17
MacLeods of Harris, and Lewis belonged to three powerful clans: 61
the Morisons in Ness, the MacAulays in Uig, and the MacLeods [55
of Lewis in the remainder of the island. Other smaller clans were
the MacIvers, the MacRaes, and the Nicolsons. The Harris Mac-
Leods were allied by kinship to the Lewis MacLeods, though the
relationship was to become quite distant—and their destiny more
fortunate. History from this time is one of disputes, internecine
warfare, murders, and similar crises deemed to be of the highest
importance by the clans, both inside the island and between the
islanders and strangers. An enormous amount of blood was spilled

369 of the place, even the schoolmaster and ministers being
632 mostly Islanders, in Stornoway an important minority of the officials and business men hail from the mainland, and some of them from the Lowlands. New blood has undoubtedly been needed to promote enterprise, to foresee new possibilities, and even, at times, to make the best of the past. At the same time, the cleavage between town and country is marked in ways of thought and feeling as in
369 livelihood. To take a single criterion, that of speech, most
632 of the children of the town speak no Gaelic and many hardly understand it. While the percentage of Gaelic
197 speakers was 95 in the three outlying parishes in 1931, in the burgh only 70 per cent could still speak the old tongue. By 1951 the ratio, still almost unchanged in the outlying parishes and townships, had considerably lowered in the burgh.

369 The attempt to harmonise the interests of country and
632 town forms a hopeful aspect of the activities both of the Stornoway Trust, which holds the rural and urban property
[656] presented to the people of Stornoway parish by the first
[427] Lord Leverhulme, and of the Lewis Association, formed in 1943 to undertake studies of the Island to guide action
[654] for the future. The maintenance of the town's prosperity will depend greatly upon its industries of fishing and of
[228] spinning; and these are almost inseparable from the
[288] maintenance of the rural population for whom Stornoway acts as regional centre, and who weave with the yarn spun in the mills. Unity in constructive purpose could go far to build up the prosperity of the community.

361 With the recognition of the need for planning aroused
369 by the problems which faced the country with the return of peace, it is proposed, at the centre of the Burgh, to
632 rebuild the whole of the peninsular area of Point Street,

175 as some Indian pedlar one meets on the road may seem
433 now. An older packman's tale of his long tramps, of the
[326] people's poverty and hospitality, must have resembled
[443] the mingled plaints and praise one hears from an Indian pedlar today! But in the past only a speaker of Gaelic
[191] could find his way among the people. Almost until 1900, if not still later, Gaelic speech was to prove a social bond,
[197] but ignorance of English speech an economic barrier.

The transition to increased exchange, with migration,
175 permanent and temporary, tended to make for specialisa-
433 tion. About 1795, *Statistical Accounts* enumerated, for every hundred families, two or three smiths, wrights (or
463 carpenters), a shipwright or some boat-makers, a few
[178] weavers, tailors, and perhaps a miller. Each of these held some corn land, individually or in shares, with rights on the common. The line between plain crofters (to use a later term) and crofter-craftsmen was not easily drawn, and different writers wrote as they judged best. In Lochs, 80 per cent were fishers and net-makers. On the open shores of the west, in Barvas parish (in which three-fourths of the men were also 'fishers'), kelp-making was a seasonal
[427] occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s. to 60s. in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tacksmen at 5d. each, earned £1 a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s. per ton, and roads at 8d. a day.

175 In Harris in 1795 the eight 'bred' (or trained male)
286 weavers worked only for 'the gentry': the laird, the tacksmen and their families. The rest of the weaving
462 was done by the women, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. But in Lewis male weavers were commoner—one to every twenty to thirty families was the ratio—as if the practice of home weaving by the women was less universal there, even at that date.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

and savings were sent by emigrants who remained faithful to parents and home.

If it be asked why most of the people kept to their Island home in spite of its poverty and earned so little away from it, one answer must be that their native tongue formed a barrier encircling them as a community at home and cutting them off from the rest of the nation. Seventy-five years ago the new Education Acts were not yet in full operation. Comparing the relative well-being in the Shetlands with the extreme poverty in the Hebrides at that time, a northern agriculturist wrote that in Scotland, only in the Hebrides "is the food obtained by the peasant occasionally so scanty" as to be unable "to maintain a labouring man in vigorous health". Inquiring why there should be so great a difference between the Shetlanders and the Hebrideans, living in similar, distant isles, he wrote, "We think the answer may be given in one word—*language*. . . . The population of the Hebrides cling to their ancient Gaelic with consequences most disastrous to themselves. . . . It handicaps them in the race for life . . . is a hindrance in the cities and a check to the emigration of both sexes to those world-wide regions where all who speak the English tongue find themselves at home."[1] He concurred with the Census Report of 1871, which stated: "The Gaelic language may be what it likes, both as to antiquity and beauty, but it decidedly stands in the way of the civilisation of the natives making use of it, and shuts them out from the paths open to their fellow-countrymen who speak the English tongue". The Report concludes: "It ought therefore to cease being taught in all our national schools. We are one people and we ought to have but one

[1] James Mollison, in the Highland and Agricultural Society's *Report on the Present State of the Agriculture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878), pp. 136-38.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

language." Many Islanders would agree with the statement that Gaelic was a barrier to economic progress. It was not only Lowland schoolmasters, ignorant of Gaelic but an educated, sensible class of men in their day, who used the strap on the palms of the little children "for their good" because they could not understand English. An active Lewis country schoolmaster, who had considerable rural knowledge and experience, said to me: "I know what I have suffered through life from being brought up on Gaelic. If I had my way, I would *punish* [with the strap] every child I heard speaking Gaelic in the playground!" Had the Island School Boards wished Gaelic to be consistently taught with English, they could have prevailed.

One may not only disagree strongly with the means—the strap—but hold that enlightened bilingual teaching is both worth while culturally and also of assistance to intelligence without interfering with use in English of the three Rs, and of secondary and higher education. Yet in Lewis recent non-verbal tests in English and Gaelic show a mean intelligence quotient depressed by about 15 points.[1] The conclusion seems to be that under the present system the Gaelic school child is still at a disadvantage compared to other school children. But even more important to the child's development would seem to be the expression of his response to his rural environment in his own tongue. For this the school tests and the educational code do not fully provide; nor do the tests of life when the adolescent Islander suddenly finds himself at work in a Glasgow factory or abroad in city streets. What concerns us here is the economic drawback of a lack of ready English among

[1] Christina A. Smith, M.A., B.Ed., *Mental Testing of Hebridean Children in Gaelic and English*. (Scot. Council on Research in Education, vol. xxvii (London, 1948); J. L. Campbell, *Gaelic in Scotland* (2nd ed.) (Edinburgh, 1948).

166 2. The Exiles: An important source which supplies 138
this sense of contrast is the large number of persons
settled away from the island, often in "ghettoes" or
neighborhoods in cities in which village ties are main-
[521] tained. It is said that gossip about Shawbost travels
more quickly in the district called Partick Hill in
166 Glasgow than it does within Shawbost itself. It may be
621 argued that the "exiles," with their Lewis and Harris
Societies and pilgrimages back to the village during
the holidays, do a great deal to sustain the strong
boundedness of the village as a sociocultural system.
They and non-Gaelic-speaking outsiders (the Eminent
Person writing his inevitable book in the romantic
solitude of an isolated manse) help to maintain a feeling
of worthwhileness in a place rife with feelings of
ambivalence and negative comparison with the larger society.
181 Within the village, especially during the long, dark
621 winter, complaints are often heard of the "sameness" of
[195] things. A common phrase, almost a greeting, is,
"Anything fresh?"--implying that the usual mode of
existence is stale, sour, exhausted, and mucky with
621 overuse. Although the villagers have access to the
● 20 range of information available to all Britishers through
829 forms of mass media such as newspapers, radios and tele-
vision sets, very little of this information is considered
relevant to village life, and thus is not attended to.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

632
361 strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of
427 the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to
311 accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.
[233]

[133] The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly
developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke
[312] running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been
cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other
parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is
almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the
edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in
1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face
south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from
2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15)
are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size
is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house
[241] is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the
[407] machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse
and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse
plough.

433 The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen
crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over
[729] sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today
seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among
the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

[233] Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan
Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

162 Fig: 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells
a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five
years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the popu-
lation has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the
163 most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the
consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older genera-
tions.

131 By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years
● 20 ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep
was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef
was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at
[443] Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are
supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the
local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the
[346] peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos
and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

202

202 TRANSMISSION OF MESSAGES--signaling devices (e.g., fire, smoke, blinker, semaphore); signal codes (e.g., drum language, flag codes, Morse code); cryptography; use of carrier birds and animals; messengers and courier systems; etc. See also:

Oral communication 191
Travel 484
Post and relay stations 499
Railway signaling systems 496
Embassies 648
Scouts in warfare 738

585 178 [602] [43] [202]

In part to avoid disappointing the vast number of relatives who by custom must be invited but for whom there is now not enough room, many weddings are held away from the island in places such as Inverness and Glasgow. Gifts are still given in great numbers and displayed, despite the decrease in numbers attending the wedding dinner and the feeling that only those who are invited to the wedding should give presents. The custom still exists of neighborhoods or entire villages placing flags outside their homes on the day of a villager's wedding (except when the wedding is held away from the island); isolated flags within a village signify that the household is related to someone in a neighboring village who is getting married. And when the wedding car has picked up the bride and is leaving for the hotel in town, the road is often littered with barrels and other barriers.

Couples now often leave the wedding dinner and dance and go to undisclosed destinations for their honeymoon. But when they return to the community they must undergo a simple rite of passage that gives sanction to their new social status. On the first Sunday following their return, they are expected to come to church with the other members of the bridal party, a process called kirkadh (a slightly Gaelicized rendition of Scottish "kirking").

203

203 DISSEMINATION OF NEWS AND INFORMATION--informal verbal transmission (e.g., rumor, grapevine); criers and heralds; bulletins and newsletters; etc.
See also:
Advertising . . . . . 447 Conversation 521

585 [43] [203] [602]

bridesmaid(s). The house was filled each night with visitors bringing new gifts or coming to see the latest additions. Enough presents were given during this time to set up a household. Invitations to the wedding were issued verbally, by persons going around to each house. Anyone could come to the church ceremony, which was relatively informal and jovial, but only the "closest" relatives were invited to the sumptuous wedding dinner which followed the service: the bride and groom, their parents, aunts and uncles, first cousins and usually second cousins. Many more were invited to the wedding supper which started after the dinner, at about 10:00 p.m., and continued throughout the night.

585 252

Three main nights were distinguished, although preparations and festivities might go on for weeks. The first night was the night before the wedding, when women of the village brought hundreds of chickens, which they plucked and cooked. Meat, usually mutton, was also cooked and sliced. Butter was rolled into balls. Neighbors brought milk and other provisions and assisted in the baking for a week beforehand.

585 [535] [533] [273]

On the second night, hundreds of villagers ate the chickens and mutton prepared for the wedding supper, and danced to the music of a piper or other musicians. Many young boys had their first taste of beer or whiskey on these occasions.

STORNOWAY

going concern to a trust which was set up to receive the gift and whose first object is to assist aged and infirm residents in the burgh. In effect, all profits earned by the shop are passed to the trust for distribution to those in need.

Almost half the houses in Stornoway were built by the local authority. The Town Council has never been afraid of rooting out unfit houses. By 1937, under the 1930 Slum Clearance Act, one person in four in the town lived in a council house. The housing schemes, though large, have still that element of community with personality, something often lacking in newly developed areas of other towns and cities. The Council also supports private housing by taking up sites, clearing and servicing them and then feuing them to private owners. The rents policy is to have no housing deficit beyond the statutory rate contribution (which works out at between £6,000 and £7,000 per annum). The Council's tenants co-operate with rent collection to a unique degree: collection figures are something like 99 per cent and on occasion 100 per cent. A vigorous housing policy is important to the town, as its population is now over 5,300 and still growing, mainly at the expense of the rural areas. Development plans at present envisage a 1981 population of about 9,100 persons within the parish boundary and including the burgh.

Stornoway is an island town and is an island's town: its rhythms of life are those of the island, regular and timed by nature, but with an added syncopation—the result of an urban outlook. In this context, Gaelic is the language, though English is the lingua franca. Deeper still in the methods used for communication is a kind of patois based on Gaelicised English, Anglicised Gaelic, with some other words that defy investigation into their origin. Many words find their natural forebears in Scots, American and the maritime tongues of Europe, which might be expected in view of Stornoway's importance as a sea-port of significance a century or two ago. The Stornoway language, as spoken by true-born natives, recognisable anywhere by another native, reflects the life of the cosmopolitan, sea-faring people.

Apart from its industrial opportunities, Stornoway has many of the more sophisticated urban facilities that people everywhere seem to crave, particularly with regard to education. The senior

Other tombs inside the church include
a bardess of the seventeenth century wh
the young MacLeods at Dunvegan. She
compose what may be called the 'court
and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm
by all Gaels since her time. Her last ele
Norman MacLeod of Berneray in 1705.

So far as personal characteristics ar
marked difference between the Herrac
Leodhasach (Lewisman). Their Gaelic d
Harris pronunciation being much softer,
ing lilt. And Harris Gaelic has fewer wo
main reason for this difference has been a
fore a road was cut, the mountain barrie
the inhabitants of the two parts of the sam
in their own distinctive ways.

The character of the land of Harris h
with the difference. Harris for the most p
expanses of rock outcrops. The east side
shreds by fiord-like sea-mouths; the we
with large expanses of sand and machar-
the Atlantic breakers rolling in from a
appearance and in fact. From early tim
had to work hard to scarify their snippe
tile. Regular increases in population force
extending up to 500 feet above sea leve
form of hard-won lazy-beds. After the c
tury, when the more fertile lands on th
over for the formation of sheep farms, th
the eastern side of the island, and on so
in the west.

On Lord Leverhulme's death in 1925
tracts of Harris passed to absentee landl
the lands which had been cleared a co
chased by the Government and broken
abling some of the indigenous populatio
use of the more fertile lands of the we
crofts in Harris, with 29 regulated com

RRIS VIGNETTE

that of Mary MacLeod, 175*
no was also governess to 346
was probably the first to 764
t' song, in simple words [533]
n and assonance enjoyed
gy was composed to Sir

e concerned, there is a 181
h (Harrisman) and the 197
lialects are different, the
with an attractive sing-
rds of Norse origin. The
topographical one: be-
r of north Harris divided
ne island, who developed

has also had much to do 181
art is infertile, with great 133
e of the island is torn in
st coast is slow-moving,
land which look out over
sea that is oceanic in
nes the Harris folk have 175*
ts of land to make it fer- 181
ed them to cultivate land 133
el in some places, in the 241
clearances early last cen- [236]
e west coast were taken
e people concentrated on
me of the higher ground

the ownership of large 423
ords. After this, some of [659]
entury earlier were pur-
up into crofts again, en-
n to come back to make
st. There are some 550 423
mon grazings; the total 241

3. *The Significance of Lewis-and-Harris*

181 The Highlands and Western Isles today, "The Land
184 of the Gael", may thus be grouped as two regions. The
361 North-west is mainly of 'township crofting' and distant
101 from the Lowlands—the other mainly of farming, living
nearer to the Lowlands and in touch with them. Through-
[197] out the North-west, Gaelic is still the common speech,
even of the children. The old community feeling is
[178] strong; it is that, indeed, which keeps the people attached
to the villages.

101 From the plains and cities of the South it is a far cry
to *Ultima Thule*, as Lewis, like Zetland, is sometimes called
131 even by its own people. Lying some twenty-five to thirty
miles across the Minch from the mainland, its nearest links
[496] with the South lie even farther away. From Stornoway
it is some seventy-five miles to Kyle of Lochalsh, the rail-
head for Inverness and North-east Scotland, and 100 miles
to Mallaig, the railhead for Fort William and Glasgow.
To reach Stornoway over the moors from the west coast
[504] townships is itself a journey. Stornoway is the Island's
only port, though passengers are put off at Tarbert, at
[177] Stockinish and at Rodel in Harris. Isolation has always
been a dominant factor in the Island's life. From pre-
[178] history through the Middle Ages to modern times, that
factor played its changing part.

178 In Lewis, conditions had changed less than elsewhere
during the last century; for example, the *New Statistical*
Account of South-west Argyll in 1830-35 reads like a
description of conditions in Lewis as they were until after
1914! Hence, as already said, the contrasts are very great
indeed in the aspect of the country, its fields and houses,
and in the number, character and ways of the people. It

emphasis is laid on evangelical preaching. The Free Church claims 'the free exercise of all its spiritual functions, while it fully admits the State authority in purely temporal concerns'.

THE GAELIC LANGUAGE

Closely tied in with the background of the island folk is the Gaelic language. For many years this has been dying, yet it is still vigorous enough to make a significant contribution to the mental make-up of the people. It is a living language in that it is used for personal communication, though English is often and universally resorted to when the talk turns to technical subjects. As the Gaelic language stands today, by itself it is agreed by most Gaelic speakers to be a barrier to economic progress. The Gaelic-speaking child who also knows English, however, is found to be at no significant disadvantage over the monoglot; indeed, tests have shown, particularly in other multilingual countries, that the bilingual child tends to assimilate knowledge at a greater rate and to a greater depth. Two decades ago a pamphlet issued by the Scottish Council for Research in Education showed that while there were no 'statistically significant' differences between the four areas into which they divided Scotland, the Highlands and Islands came out best in a study of the average level of intelligence:

	Mean	*Standard deviation*
The four Scottish cities	100·86	15·29
The industrial belt	99·19	16·18
The rural areas	100·92	14·52
The Highlands and Islands	101·79	13·13

The pamphlet comments: 'It is interesting that the mean of the most remote and isolated districts is the highest, and the standard of deviation the lowest.'

The Hebrides are now the only area in Scotland where the language, once Scotland's national language, is spoken by a Gaelic-characterised community. On average 95 per cent of the inhabitants of all the island districts are Gaelic-speaking; even in the town of Stornoway, never regarded as wholly Gaelic-speak-

ing, 73 per cent have the language, which has been introduced by immigrant country folk and their descendants.

HEALTH AND HOUSING

Despite the harsh conditions of centuries, the physical health of the island was good in early times. Epidemics were rare due to isolation, though on occasion smallpox carried away many children. The commonest diseases were fevers, jaundice, dysentery and diarrhoea. Bloodletting (as in many another more advanced community) was the usual cure for fevers and dysentery. For coughs the people took a 'brochan' or soup of roots of nettles and reeds boiled in water with yeast; the meal of a black bean, mixed with boiled milk, was a useful cure for dysentery. Reports describe the folk as being well-proportioned, free from bodily imperfections and of good stature; healthful and strong-bodied.

But privations, particularly the frequent recurrences of near-famine, coupled with the primitive housing conditions, began to take their toll. The increasing sickness rate aroused the concern of authority. The most primitive dwellings had but one room, with the cattle at one end and the family at the other. In 1830 Seaforth sought at least to put an end to this, ordering that a partition must be erected between beast and man, 'and that more light should be admitted into the dark recesses of their habitation'. This type of one-room dwelling was not confined to the island, being found with many variants throughout the Highlands and Islands area. The old Lewis house was, as a rule, an oblong structure, varying in length according to the means and requirements of the occupier. It had but one door, and frequently had no windows. Chimneys did not find favour, mainly because any opening for the escape of smoke from the centrally-sited hearth tended to reduce the quality of soot produced; and soot was regarded as a valuable manurial product. If there was a hole in the roof to admit some light, a small pane of glass was fixed into it: this soon had a coating of soot, and the sole source of light was the doorway—when the door was open. The family and the cattle used the same entrance; and the cows' dung was removed once a year in the springtime.

rural Islanders throughout the nineteenth century and even today.

From 1887 the State made efforts to improve the crofters' lot. Crofters' claims to stake shares upon the only available reclaimed land in the Island, that of a few farms, had been refused in the 'eighties, but came to be granted, in principle and in fact, after 1900. During the war of 1914–18 the Government reaffirmed its promise to divide sheep farms into crofts for men returning from the Services, and the Land Settlement Act became law in 1919. Yet in spite of tentative experiments and schemes, a determined effort to see the Island possibilities and face its problems, as a whole, still remained to be made in the twentieth century.

When war broke out in 1914 over 5000 men left Lewis to join the Services, and corresponding numbers left from Harris. Others, too, served in the Merchant Marine, exposed to U-boat warfare. From the first months of the war, Lewismen in the Seaforth Highlanders, and men from Harris in the Camerons, fought in the Highland Division as shock troops in the attacks which cost the Division the highest casualties of any in the British Army. The Lovat Scouts, the Mountain Battery, the Garrison Artillery and other units, also enrolled their men, and suffered loss. The last blow to the Island came after anxiety had ceased. Early in 1919 the transport *Iolaire* struck a rock and sank at the entrance to Stornoway harbour; and 200 men who had withstood dangers and hardships during four years of war went down in the dark of a winter's night, almost within call of their waiting relatives massed on the pier to welcome them.

hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center for tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependence on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villagers participate in a number of social activities which are not tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious asceticism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each with a population of about 300. All, except the ministers and school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle and sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potatoes and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All are bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither community has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. Glendale has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch which has been divided among the small farmers. The significant differences between them are three. The Glendale people are land owners. In this respect they are rather unique in the Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, rent their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glendale is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church-goers of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social activities other than an annual meeting of the share-holders in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a club organization for the men who gather for lectures and discussion of economic problems.

70 is, perhaps, one reason for the government's attitude regarding deferments.

192 561 [197] Since the majority of the people converse among themselves in the Gaelic, I should like to conclude this study of the crofting family with a brief discussion of status in Gaelic terminology. The Gaelic language reveals the significance of several aspects of the relationship of family members and clearly marks the changing status of the individual. At birth both boys and girls are leanabh. If the parents are feeling protective towards the child, at time of illness or some mishap, they use this term until the age of three or four, but, normally, at two the children are called clann. Specifically, a small boy is balach, and a small girl is caileag. At puberty, when the clann and their associates become conscious of the physical changes accompanying adolescence, a boy becomes gille, and a girl, nighean. With this change, the boy puts on his first pair of long trousers, and the girl receives her first long skirt. Gille and nighean apply until marriage. A brother and sister, however, often use them throughout life, as synonyms for bràthair (brother) and piuthar (sister). There is one additional fact which we should note at this time. Nighean means both girl and daughter. Boys, on the other hand, are distinguished. Any boy is gille, but a son is mac. Only at marriage does the gille become a duine, a man, and the nighean, a bean, a woman. Just as the girl and daughter are not distinguished, neither are woman and wife. Bean means both. A man is not only a duine; he is also a fear, a husband. In the Gaelic, many people who have all the physiological

20

20 COMMUNICATION--general statements dealing with several aspe
munication over space. For communication over time, by means
see 21.

585 For some weeks after returning, the couple goes visiting
178 with a bottle. The scope of visits seems to have narrowe
to close relatives unable to attend the wedding, and
sometimes the custom is referred to as old-fashioned.
[431] The bride usually mails pieces of bridal cake to
[205] relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

758 2. Death: At a time of illness or injury, an
574 individual may see persons he has not seen for years.
The house is filled with a constant flow of visitors,
and the visitors recount every detail of a sick person's
[763] pallor and movement. The room is usually occupied by
visitors when a person breathes his last.

763 In the past, work ceased in every house in the
46 surrounding neighborhood when a person died. This no
[178] longer occurs. (The story is told of a weaver who calle
[288] a mill in Stornoway to say that he could not finish an
urgent tweed because there had been a death in the
village, and was told, "You keep on weaving till the
[535] weaver dies.") However, dances in the village are
[444] cancelled, and the bothan (an isolated hut in which
liquor is sold illegally) may close. Outdoor work, such
as peat-cutting, which would be widely seen is avoided.

763 Word of the death spreads throughout the village an
[203] beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulated
inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

796 miscarriage occurring before marriage also requires
851 standing even when the child to be baptised was conceive
626 by the couple after marriage. A married man who has
848 impregnated a woman who is not his wife must undergo
[837] this ordeal before he can have his own children baptised

It is the responsibility of the entire community to ensure that this punishment is carried out. On one occa the minister forgot to lecture a couple, and afterwards sent them a note that they would not have to stand; but they insisted, afraid that people would say that they were getting special treatment.

[203] According to one minister, the manse is a kind of
[521] "research center" to which all gossip is reported. Som
[793] ministers use this information in the pulpit, chiding
[794] people and calling attention to wrong-doings in front o the congregation. In contrast, a different attitude ex
[184] in parts of Stornoway, where villagers have approached
[759] doctors in the maternity ward for information regarding miscarriages and premarital births only to be told that this information is confidential. The ordeal of standi
[178] in church does not exist in Stornoway. In 1971 a perso in Shawbost was accidentally exempted from this ordeal and his exemption was seen by some as providing an opportunity to stop what is considered by many to be an archaic custom.

162

23 pouses not too long ago. Perhaps, more than any other
actor, it is the tendency of the aged parents to hold on
o the croft until they die that is strongly the kinship
ystem. Still the extended family is a strong mutual aid
roup. Anyone with a recognised degree of kinship is
ntitled to hospitality. When the exiles return to visit
he Misty Isle, they always try to make the rounds of their
insmen. This is more than a question of not becoming an
conomic burden on a favorite aunt; they do not want to
e guilty of slighting anyone. There is reciprocity here.
o return for food and shelter, the visitor freely gives
s Kinsman all the news he has gathered about the activities
f their distant kin. He acts like a roving reporter, cementing
he solidarity of an otherwise fragmented group.

The expression given to the degree of consanguinity and
finity is revealed most completely at a funeral. As one
f the two occasions on which the extended family comes to-
ther, the other being a wedding, it reveals a host of sig-
ficant features. The first thing I noticed was that although
e inavailability of land and the illegality of subdivision
forces neo-local post marital residence, burial is ideally
tirilocal. On more than one occasion the steamer came in at
ight with a body which had been shipped home from Glasgow or
isburgh for interment in the deceased's neighborhood. This
so means that the husband and wife remain integral members
their respective families. The founding of a family of

23 Morgan Macleod, Reminiscences of a Highland Parish, p. 196

163

522 added that the stories are frequently heard elsewhere in
the Highlands. This particular tale is also told in the Outer
Isles, where the central figure is a famous drover, drovers
still being important in the Outer Island cattle trade.

Stories about well-liked doctors getting the best of
ministers are also told by members of the Church of Scotland.
There is, for example, the tale about the doctor who went to
the service of one of the seceder ministers. The sermon was
on the Immoral dress of women. After church the minister asked
the doctor how he liked the service. Holding up his Bible,
the doctor replied, "I enjoyed it fine, but I brought the
wrong book. I should have had one of those mail order catalogues."

We should not, of course, overlook the fact that gossip 203
is the main form of communication on Skye. There are few
aspects of life which do not interest the people enough to
become matters of gossip. Now, then, does gossip travel? All
are carriers of gossip, but several occupational groups are
primary carriers, especially the food van drivers, bus drivers
and tradesmen. Perhaps, it is a widespread phenomenon that
the gossip spreader does not know his role. One day a tradesman
returned from the far end of the island. Following the pattern,
he was asked "what's fresh?" and replied "nothing" and then
proceeded to give the news he had picked up. After he had
finished, he paused and said, "you'd wonder where those people
get all the news."

In its less emotional aspect, gossip has been formalized 204
by one agency, the Skye Clarion, a local monthly newspaper.

164

Founded in 1951 as a single sheet of 200 words it has grown 204
to sixteen pages. It has the distinction of being the only
news magazine in Great Britain written in Inagnaeh. The 203
shopkeepers also pass along the local ben, as it is called.
There is a common belief that the telephone operators are
another source. I have known people to drive several miles
to make a call from a box in another exchange district because
they were sure the people of their neighborhood would have the
news before they had hung up the receiver, if they made the
call locally. The post office is also said to be a transmitter 275
in the bush telegraph; some say the post mistresses steam open 208
their letters. On shopping days in Portree the women carry
home more than the week's groceries. Down at the square at
night, they gather in small groups to transmit their tantalizing
tidbits of news and, perhaps, scandal.

Two status groups are left out of the normal gossip 203
cycle. These are the county people and the ministers. The 554
former may get a bit of ben from time to time, but much of the 715
local news passes without reaching them. The ministers'
information is generally limited to questions of health, events
in the life cycle, or cases of moral or religious backsliding
on the part of their congregations. The degree to which the
landed gentry participates in the verbal spread of news and
rumor depends to a great extent on personal qualifications.
There are one or two who have contacts through whom gossip
carries across the lines of cleavage in the social hierarchy.
Ministers are probably the least well informed of anybody on
the happenings of everyday life. Once when asking a minister

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a question about a certain man I was told: "I can't help you 203
on that. Whenever I go into a shop or meet them on the street, 182
they change their conversation." Another told me I should ask 715
the doctor, "He's the one who really knows their problems."

Summary

The society of the Baithanach reveals additional evidence 182
for cultural continuity. In family structure, both nuclear 576
and extended, the patrilineal emphasis has been preserved. Even
though both suffer from chronic instability and the extended
family has become rather amorphous, kinship remains an important
regulator of interpersonal relationships. It involves obli-
gations and privileges which few take lightly. Within the 182
social units based on territory, the township and neighborhood 641
status continues to be ascribed on the basis of age, sex, 554
and kinship. Women have remained consistently inferior to the
men. As the father controls his family, the old men of the
township and neighborhood exercise a power over their juniors
to force conformity to traditional ways. Fundamentally, all
of the same age and sex are equals. This status equality
underlies the entire social structure. There is no room for a
leader. When essential, the newcomer, normally the teacher or
minister, and the landed gentry are expected to assume the role
of leadership. In the village the emphasis on ascribed status
for the Baithanach is also important. The majority of achieved
statuses are left to be filled by newcomers. In the community,
as a whole, beyond the polarity of the landed gentry and the

166

including almost all with private floods, the crofters continue 182
to cooperate. The church has been broken by schism, not once 571
but four times. On Skye, however, the schisms have had as 715
their purpose conservatism, not greater leniency as in Stilltown. 712
Moreover, the schisms have been solidifying factors. The
progressively more dynamic world despising sects, after a period
of communal strife, have given the people an emotional unity.
The crofters have become dependent on the trade-crofter village 192
and the wider national markets. Many must seek employment beyond
the island. The interests of the Baithanach are not outside
the neighborhood, except in so far as events from the outside
affect them and, especially, to the extent that ties of kinship
and religious brotherhood reach beyond the local group. We
are hardly talking about the same situation as Lomnas. As we
continue to explore this condition we may also ask has there
been a decline in the frequency of interaction in the internal
sphere of activity?

The old ceilidh has disappeared under clerical bann, but 182
it has been replaced by "going to have a craic," going to visit 571
and gossip with one's friends and "people." The people may 715
no longer gather to hear the old men tell stories of clan battles.
They now discuss the latest local gossip and the news of the
outside world. The Islander has never been given to formal 575
social organizations; they half distrust such orders as the
Masons and Eastern Star. Still there are chapters of both in
Portree. In the crofting neighborhoods face to face relation-
ships continue to preserve strong interpersonal sentiments. The 243
postman's van and the grocer's trucks have relieved the people

167

from the necessity of daily calls at the post office and shop, 182
but the drivers serve the function of passing on the news of the 243
day at each stop.

Standing in the place of many of the traditional social 182
outlets which have disappeared or been modified, there are the 774
religious occasions for joining together as a small group. We
have found the Baithanach to be very religious. Everyone is 716
expected to go to church on the Sabbath, and everyone goes to
church. Irregular attendance soon becomes noticed by one's
neighbors, the kirk elders, and the minister. Concern over 626
what one's neighbors may think, in itself a strong motivating
factor, is reinforced by a forbidding fear of what the venerable
old men may do whenever an opportunity presents itself. There
are Wednesday night prayer meetings for further social inter-
course. Above all, there are the semi-annual Communions which, 182
except in Glest and Strath and one Broadale sect, bring to- 571
gether the people of the kirk, the members of the same sect from 716
other neighborhoods, and affiliates of the denomination from
the mainland. Even the adherent, the individual who has not
experienced a saving change because he is not old enough, normally
takes his vacation, if he is employed, at the time of the
Communions in order to attend.

The decline in interpersonal religious strife does not 182
mean that strong personal sentiments are not present. No one 571
other than the eccentric, is indifferent to his neighbors or 243
others with whom he may have dealings. The crofter and his 646
village cousin may not bother to vote, but they closely watch 664
and freely discuss their representatives. Gossip has retained

204 PRESS--newspapers and magazines; gathering of news and information (e.g., reporters, press releases, news services); content (e.g., news, stories, features); publication and distribution; ownership, organization, and personnel; financial support (e.g., subscriptions, advertising, subsidies); regulations, etc. See also:

Printing	518	Typesetting and printing machinery	408
Publishing	514	Advertising	487
Printing supplies	518	Literature	100

204

139

000 Pulevant to village life, and thus is not attended to.
517 Comedies, soap operas and westerns constitute the
(207) favorite television programs. Many of the men read
(508) adventure stories--war, western and detective--on the
(204) quiet Sunday afternoons. Magazines and newspapers most often received include The Daily Express, The Sunday Mirror, The People's Journal, The Stornoway Gazette, The Oban Times, and True Romance, documents dealing with local events or with scandal and dramatic personal accounts. In general, the news of the mass media to 521 which this audience attends is gossip writ large. Such 181 news, like local gossip, is discussed endlessly, in elaborate detail, until mapped of all potential to excite or until new events capture the attention of the village audience.

517 Events which occur in the open, treeless countryside
181 are vivid and dramatic. The generally low level of stimulation enhances their dramatic effect. A man appears on the hillside or a car along the horizon, and all ears and eyes attend. The British system of perennial number plates on cars makes it easy to identify the shifting cast of characters even at night. Even children memorize long lists of number plates. There is a perpetual audience looking for a play.

166 The image of the island 149
484 as spiritual home is fostered by The Stornoway Gazette,
823 and by nostalgic songs, most of which were written by
104 islanders who emigrated to Canada in the first quarter
533 of the century.

632 The crofting township as a strongly bounded network
241 continues to exist, although crofting as a socioeconomic
pattern which evolved in a situation of limited social
and geographical mobility, low cash reserves, and the
restriction of a large population to a region of limited
resources, is very different from crofting as defined by
an office in Inverness. As far as the crofter is con-
cerned, to be defined as a crofter by the Crofters Commission
and other government agencies is to have access to
resources which affect the environment in which he makes
his living.

241 The individual is faced with the semi-security of
288 crofting and weaving, in contrast with the exciting but
risk-laden opportunities offered by the dominant urban-
654 industrial mainland. Crofting and Harris Tweed have been
protected by government legislation. Various subsidies
and loans are available. In times of unemployment, social
745 security is available. Extremely important as contributors
621 to boundedness are the non-economic incentives: the
156 individual has a place in a human community; he is given

BRICKS, PRINTING, WHISKY

800 tons and had a steam-driven winch. The ship has also 396
vanished—except for the name of the Parent Ship Wool Mills, 795
which produce Harris Tweed.

Other small industrial activities in the island during the nine- 195
teenth century included the business of Alexander MacPherson, 204
chemist, druggist, stationer and printer, who set up in Stornoway
in 1842. He brought across the Minch with him Lewis's first
demy-size hand printing press, which was still in use on 1 January
1889 to produce the first issue of the short-lived *The Lewisman*.
Copies of this earlier Lewis newspaper can be seen at Stornoway
Public Library. Early in the 1890s Thomas Nicolson also
set up as a printer.

Whisky was once an important product, not only for local 273
consumption but also for export. One of the Port Ellen distilling 741
main indicators against the islanders in the Hebrides in 1622 175
was that they mixed any cargo of wine and aqua 'beide dayis and 431
nightis in thair excessie of drinking'. The council therefore ordained
that masters of vessels sailing Hebridean waters should carry no
more wine than was suggested that this and other measures
were responsible for the beginning of illicit distilling, which in
Lewis continued overtly as late as 1827. One of the two principal
stills established by Lord Seaforth in the island at that time
was at Coll, a few miles from Stornoway, the other at Grean, a
few miles further on. Such was the fame of these stills, both for
output and quality, that it was hard to choose between 'Coll' or
'Grean'. Sometimes the product passed as an article of exchange 536
in the island, and the factor received a considerable part of the 431
rents in it instead of money; but the stills were closed about 1870.
The Inverness Courier of 14 November 1827 remarks virtuously: 431
'Owing to the vigilance of Captain Oliver, of the Revenue cutter
"Prince of Wales", and the new Excise Officers on shore, smuggling
is so completely put down in the Long Island that there is
actually not a drop of illicit whisky to be got from the Butt of
Lewis to Barra Head; and there is probably at this moment a
larger supply of legal whisky from Greenock for the supply of
Stornoway alone, than was ever imported into the Hebrides before.'

CH. X BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

Soon after it. After 1914-18, the Rector of the Nicolson 771
Institute, Stornoway, proposed village halls for village 341
education and recreation.[1] The scheme was never fully 540
realized except in one township, Sandwick, near Storno- 540
way, owing to the strength of puritanical opposition. In 540
particular, dancing by young folk was considered as 540
'dancing upon the graves of their brothers". This atti- 540
tude is breaking down; social standards, in becoming less 540
repressive, may encourage young people to stay.

Broadcasting—a factor of change everywhere—came to 176
the townships as a revolution. Newspapers had already 431
filtered in; but for the first time the Gaelic-speaking 741
home was entered and dominated by an English-speaking 741
voice. It has made itself heard there almost ceaselessly 431
ever since—in broadcast talks, discussions, announcements
of news, entertainment, singing and prayers. Only the 176
Sabbath imposes general silence. In the Scottish Home 176
Service great trouble has been taken to meet all tastes at 176
the highest level for each, from 'low-brow' to 'high- 176
brow' and from Clydeside to the Isles. To a thoughtful, 176
selective Island listener the new opportunity for comparative
human contacts and for initiation of all kinds is immense.
And the purely Gaelic listener is not forgotten. He wel-
comes Gaelic song or story; and worship in Gaelic has
reached many an elderly person's bedside. 176

Yet few listeners select: much broadcasting is designed 176
for those whose only picture-galleries are advertisement 176
hoardings and whose only drama and music are to be found 176
in "Pictures". And through no fault of the B.B.C., 176
the Sports News offers temptations for those in poverty to
wager upon the horses (in spite of the Betting Tax) to
seek wealth innocently through luck in a football pool,

[1] W. J. Gibson, "Social Amenities in the Western Isles", *Sociological Rev.* (Jan. 1950).

301

added that the stories are frequently heard elsewhere in 521
the Highlands. This particular tale is also known in the Outer
Isles, where the central figure is a famous drover, drovers
still being important in the Outer Island cattle trade.

Stories about well-liked doctors getting the best of
ministers are also told by members of the Church of Scotland.
There is, for example, the tale about the doctor who went to
the service of one of the sander ministers. The sermon was
on the immoral dress of women. After church the minister asked
the doctor how he liked the service. Holding up his B.Bible,
the doctor replied, "I enjoyed it fine, but I thought the
wrong book. I should have had one of those mail order catalogues."

We should not, of course, overlook the fact that gossip 203
is the main form of communication on Skye. There are few
aspects of life which do not interest the people enough to
become matters of gossip. How, then, does gossip travel? All
are carriers of gossip, but several occupational groups are
primary carriers, especially the food van drivers, bus drivers
and tradesmen. Perhaps, it is a widespread phenomenon that
the gossip spreader does not know his role. One day a tradesman
returned from the far end of the island. Following the pattern,
he was asked "what's (news)?" and replied "nothing" and then
proceeded to give the news he had picked up. After he had
finished, he paused and said, "you'd wonder where these people
get all the news."

In its less emotional aspect, gossip has been formalized 204
by one agency, the Skye Chronicle, a local monthly newspaper.

Founded in 1951 as a single sheet of 200 words it has grown 204
to sixteen pages. It has the distinction of being the only
news magazine in Great Britain written in longhand. The 203
shopkeepers also pass along the local news, as it is called.
There is a common belief that the telephone operators are
another source. I have known people to drive several miles
to make a call from a box in another exchange district because
they were sure the people of their neighborhood would have the
news before they had hung up the receiver, if they made the
call locally. The post office is also said to be a gossip source
in the bush telegraph; some say the post mistresses steam open
their letters. On shopping days in Portree the women carry
home more than the week's groceries. Down at the square at
night, they gather in small groups to transmit their tantalizing
titbits of news and, perhaps, scandal.

Two status groups are left out of the normal gossip 203
cycle. These are the county people and the ministers. The 203
former may get a bit of news from time to time, but much of the
local news passes without reaching them. The ministers'
information is generally related to questions of health, events
in the life cycle, or cases of moral or religious backsliding
on the part of their congregations. The degree to which the
landed gentry participates in the verbal spread of news and
rumor depends to a great extent on personal individualities.
There are one or two who have contacts through which greatly
increase their knowledge of events in the social hierarchy.
Ministers are probably the least well informed of anybody on
the happenings of everyday life. Once when asking a minister

205

74 may need just one more dry day to finish his harvest. If the
241 next day is the Sabbath, his one dry day may be two or three
weeks away and the hay a sodden heap. But God the Brikthanich,
in my personal with a croft, change during the war despite
all the pleas of the government for full agricultural pro-
duction. This is the one time that the Older Order Amish
slogan "And be not conformed to this world" fully applies
to the island. Circumspect behavior on this day functions
to disassociate people of all the negations and all the sanctions
which religion has bestowed on the community.

178 As in the case of Communions, there has been a gradual
431 lessening of the importance of Sabbitarianism, especially
since the return of many young men and women from the war.
Laxity, the rather spontaneous relaxation of the rules is
most common in Portree. It does not have the enforcement
of the ministers of any church nor the elders of any church,
542 except the Church of Scotland. Thirty or forty years ago
the ministers and the kirk officers had enough influence
to stop the running of trains throughout the western Highlands,
shipping in the Western Isles, and the Kyle-Kyleakin ferry
on the Sabbath. Public transportation is still at a stand-
178 still on the first day of the week, but the Sunday papers
appear in Portree after the evening services, despite all the
efforts of the ministers. They come by car from Inverness, by
car both ways from the sleepers in the social hierarchy.
178 Before the war no one in Portree would let their
267 children out of the house, except to go to church with their

205 POWDAL SYSTEM—mail services in g., collection, delivery; transportation of mail (e.g., by pony express, foot, air); special equipment; postal pouch, mail bag; registration and permanent; finance (e.g., postal rates, subsidies); etc. See also:
Engine and freight services . . . 48, 49, 50 Postal savings 450
Postalite buildings . . . . . 500 Stamporam receptacle 555

Whatever the rationalization, cobbler fathers begot
cobbler sons. The present postmaster's grandfather was
the first postmaster in Shawbost, and when help is needed
in delivering the mail it is the postmaster's first
105 cousins who are likely to help out. As late as the 1950's,
205 relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

Death: At a time of illness or injury, an
individual may see persons he has not seen for years.
The house is filled with a constant flow of visitors,
and the visitors recount every detail of a sick person's
163 pallor and movement. The room is usually occupied by
230 visitors when a person breathes his last.

In the past, work ceased in every house in the
surrounding neighborhood when a person died. This no
longer occurs. (The story is told of a weaver who called
163 at a cobbler's in Stornoway to say that he could not finish an
202 urgent tweed because there had been a death in the
village, and was told, "You keep on weaving till the
536 weaver dies.") However, dances in the village were
431 cancelled, and the bothan (an isolated hut in which
liquor is sold illegally) may close. Outdoor work, such
as peat-cutting, which would be widely seen the evening
463 of the death spreads throughout the village and
202 beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulated
inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

For some weeks after returning, the couple goes visiting
with a bottle. The scope of visits seems to have narrowed
to close relatives unable to attend the wedding, and
sometimes the custom is so old-fashioned.
The bride usually mails pieces of bridal cake to
relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

Death: At a time of illness or injury, an
individual may see persons he has not seen for years.
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463 of the death spreads throughout the village and
202 beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulated
inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

2: Thompson H-4,5 (no date) 1973 ES10 H
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779 This is only relaxed if emergency
486 the second world war attempts we
505 isters to stop the movement of shi
*[175] needless to say the war effort took p
[724]

THE SH

*175 When Sir James Matheson boug
505 munications were still erratic: a m
[501] thrice weekly between Stornoway
west coast. Sir James decided tha
would serve more efficiently both f
to-mainland transport, and he prov
• [205] As this craft, the *Mary Jane*, was to
the Post Office should promote the
that department for some years, ev
sidy of £1,300. Though the schem
won no other financial support,
James being surety for the whole c
Another of his ships was the PS *O*
tween Ullapool and Stornoway d

Quite apart from the Matheson
ring in the south; the sea commun
and Islands were about to be comm
[501] first ships on a regular run betwee
the *Ben Nevis*, a small wooden pa
south of Campbeltown in 1831
Stornoway. G. & J. Burns was one
ing the early West Highland tr
vagaries of fortune until 1851, w
David Hutcheson, its chief clerk, o
nephew, David MacBrayne, bec
was the beginning of the compan
David MacBrayne Ltd. The ne
building programme and gave bir
of whose names were to become

501 The PS *Clansman* was the firs
505 one of Glasgow, Oban, Skye and
*175

sailings are necessary. During
re made by Free Church min-
ps in Stornoway harbour, but
recedence.

IPS

ght Lewis in 1844, sea com-
ailboat or packet was running
and Poolewe on Scotland's
t a craft based on Stornoway
or general trade and for island-
vided a regular steamer service.
carry mails, Sir James thought
service, and he struggled with
entually being promised a sub-
e was to cost far more and had
the service began in 1846, Sir
oncern. He lost some £17,000.
ndine, which carried mails be-
uring the 1870s and '80s.
ventures, things had been stir-
ications of the West Highlands
nercially developed. One of the
n Stornoway and the south was
ddle vessel later to be wrecked
while homeward bound from
of the main companies operat-
ade, managing to survive the
hen its interests were passed to
n the condition that the Burns's
ame one of the partners. This
y so well known today, Messrs
w' company started off with a
th to a long line of ships, many
ywords in the Western Isles.
t. Her route was the strenuous
Stornoway. Alexander Smith's

clipper bow, figurehead, and bowsprit with ornamental carving at both bow and stern. The *Clansman* left Glasgow every Monday and arrived back on Saturday mornings, a regular pattern maintained from 1870 to 1909. She was 211 ft long, 27 ft broad, with a draw of 13 ft of water, her engines having a nominal horsepower of 171; her gross tonnage was latterly 619.

The SS *Locheil*, two-masted with a straight stem and single funnel, in her early career ran the Stornoway mails from Ullapool, in the late 1870s. In 1884 she was fitted out for a three-months' cruise in the neighbourhood of Skye, a gunboat in attendance with a view to suppressing any riots likely to result from the then recently-initiated legislation introduced by the London Land Reform Association. She was also on the Dunvegan service, via Harris and Lochmaddy. In 1907 she ran aground at Portree and was afterwards broken up.

In 1879, David MacBrayne became sole partner and owner of the fleet of David Hutcheson & Co, and the name of the company was changed to David MacBrayne Limited. The first ship built for the fleet by MacBrayne was launched in July 1881 : the iron screw steamer *Claymore*. Her machinery consisted of a heavy two-cylinder compound engine supplied with steam from a pair of single-ended Scotch boilers; she never attained her full speed of 15 knots, at least not in service. She was 227 ft long, 29½ ft broad and drew 14½ ft of water. Her gross tonnage was latterly 776, and the indicated horsepower of her engines 1,400. She was sold in 1931 for breaking up. So high a regard did those on the west coast have for the *Claymore* that many parts of the ship went to places throughout Britain as souvenirs.

The PS *Great Western* was among MacBrayne's bought tonnage. This ship belonged to the GWR and spent most of her time on the Milford/Waterford route, though from 1878-85 she was transferred to Weymouth and ran across the Channel to Cherbourg. She came to northern waters as a straight-stemmed, two-masted, and two-funnelled cross-Channel steamer—both funnels being abaft the paddle boxes. MacBrayne placed her on the Stornoway mail service from Strome Ferry, which she maintained until being withdrawn temporarily in 1893 for a facelift in the MacBrayne standard design, emerging renamed *Lovedale*. She

was returned to the Stornoway rout
Skye line of the old Highland Ra
Kyle of Lochalsh in 1897, the lat
terminus in the mail service to Lew
up in 1904.

Yet another ship with fond con
the SS *Shiela*, the second steamer o
Both hull and machinery were th
house, and she had the distinction
the MacBrayne fleet to be fitted
She was launched in January 190
after a character in William Blac

Though of only 280 tons, she
the Stornoway folk and their countr
fair weather or foul for over twe
sengers, cargo and mails between
way. Purely a functional craft, sh
passengers a rough time crossing t
often late—many times the seas a
way at all, though steaming to the
port. This Stornoway/Kyle route
MacBrayne fleet; a Minch crossing
four hours, with a weekend rest o
The sturdy *Shiela* met a tragic fa
regular Captain Cameron was a
days' well-earned rest. The ship w
officer, who was not as familiar
Highland waters as he should have
of the accident are not available
officer of the watch never saw the
passage from Stornoway in the ea
ary 1927. Thinking he had run
with a view to making the Apple
his error until too late and the *Shi*
on the shores of Cuaig Bay, just so
were lost, but the ship was a write-

From 1927 to 1929 Stornoway
including the *Clydesdale II*, desig

e and, on the extension of the 501
ilway from Strome Ferry to 505
ter port became the southern 175*
is, as it still is. She was broken [205] •

nections with Lewis folk was
f the new MacBrayne family.
e product of Inglis of Point-
of being the first steamer in
with triple-expansion engines.
4, a fine-looking craft, named
's novel *A Princess of Thule*.
fulfilled an important role for
y cousins. Summer and winter,
enty years *Shiela* carried pas-
Kyle of Lochalsh and Storno-
e gave her many thousands of
he Minch; but though she was
nd winds prevented any head-
limit—she never failed to make
is the hardest-worked of all the
is made twice in every twenty-
less than a day in Stornoway.
te: she deserved a better. Her
way on leave, enjoying a few
as in the hands of a temporary
with the devious ways of West
been. Though the exact details
to the writer, it seems that the
south Rona light on the inward
rly hours of Saturday, 1 Janu-
his distance, he altered course
cross call. He did not discover
ela ran aground in the darkness
uth of Loch Torridon. No lives
off.

was served by a number of ships
ned and built for the Glasgow/

501 Inverness cargo and passenger service, and the SS *Chieftain*. This
505 latter was over 1,000 tons gross, with a clipper bow, single funnel,
*175 two masts, extensive passenger accommodation, triple-expansion engines, and silent-working electric winches.

• [205] In 1929, the TSS *Lochness* was put into commission for the Mallaig/Kyle/Stornoway mail service. Of 777 tons gross, and built of steel, she was 200 ft long, 34 ft broad and drew 10½ ft. Her propelling machinery consisted of two sets of 150 nhp triple-expansion engines supplied by steam from single-ended, oil-fired Scotch boilers. These gave a full speed of about 14 knots. Many questions were raised in Parliament about the alleged inadequacy of the *Lochness* accommodation, particularly for third-class passengers, and the complaints led to the promise of a better ship. But the second world war intervened and it was not until 1945 that the *Loch Seaforth* (TMSV) was ordered. She was on duty in December 1947 and the *Lochness* transferred to the Islands route from Oban.

[205] MacBrayne's mail contract of December 1938 stipulated that the company would provide two vessels, one to be for the Stornoway mail service. This proposed ship was delayed until 1945 when the order for *Loch Seaforth* was placed with Messrs Denny's shipyard. This vessel was the first of the MacBrayne fleet to be fitted with radar and was much larger than any of her predecessors on the Stornoway mail service. She had a gross tonnage of 1,089 and was 229ft in length. In 1972 the *Loch Seaforth* was withdrawn from the Stornoway service. Her place was taken by the *Clansman* ferry for a short period until the *'Iona'* took over to inaugurate a new ferry service between Ullapool and Stornoway rather than the traditional Kyle-Stornoway link. The facilities on the *Iona* for vehicles are good but the passenger accommodation is indifferent.

The first official hint of the coming of drive-on/drive-off car ferries for the Western Isles was made at the commissioning of David MacBrayne's *Loch Arkaig* in 1960. Under the Highlands and Islands Shipping Services Act, 1960, three vessels were built for the Secretary of State for Scotland, and were chartered by him to David MacBrayne Ltd for the new ferry services. One of these ships is the *Hebrides*, a twin-screw passenger and vehicle ferry

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 73]

2:: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

boat-builders; many of the bodies were 'fearfully and wonderfully made', an understatement that did not go unnoticed by those who had to travel in the emergent public transport. Combined interests led to the formation of the Lewis Motor Owners' Association which agitated for better roads; existing highways were being pot-holed with alarming and uncomfortable rapidity to the detriment of their vehicles. 491 493 175*

Very slowly did public transport become co-ordinated for the benefit of the travelling country folk. Routes were planned and approved. In 1932 there were daily tours for visitors to the island, a series begun by the late John Mitchell, a pioneer in the provision of bus services, with Stornoway as the 'Rome' of Harris and Lewis. In 1935 he was granted permission by the Traffic Commissioners to run daily services between Stornoway and Rodel. 494 175*

The expansion of the Harris Tweed industry was responsible for developing transport, both for conveying yarn to weavers throughout the island and for mill-workers. In May 1933 John Mitchell began a suburban bus service for the people of Stornoway, though more for the conveyance of workers in the fish trade; tweed-mill workers and others were not slow to take advantage of it. In the following month, June, Mitchell ran a bus from Stornoway to the Market Place just outside the town at Bannadrove (Beinn na Drobh—hill of the market), for a 6d fare. In October of the same year, Peter MacAulay provided a twenty-seater Bedford bus for the Carloway to Stornoway run, and this vehicle was not a home-made affair. Meanwhile in Stornoway, a traffic census showed that, on average, 628 vehicles crossed Cromwell Street, the main thoroughfare, every day—and 799 pedal cyclists. [288] [493]

POSTAL SERVICES

Until the late years of the nineteenth century, the lack of postal facilities were not considered a great disadvantage: few people wrote letters. 205 175*

The *Scots Magazine* in 1756 noted that 'A Post Office is to be established at Stornoway, in the island of Lewis, from the fifth of July next, with packet-boats for maintaining a regular com-

205 *175 munication with the mainland. The mail will be dispatched from Edinburgh every Thursday at eight o'clock at night, and should arrive at Edinburgh every Tuesday morning, but the arrival will sometimes be uncertain.' The development of a postal service in the hinterland of Stornoway was slow. In 1833 only one mail packet ran each week to Lewis, sailing from Poolewe to Stornoway, weather permitting (see Chapter 8), and the island still had only the one post office. By 1880, of course, more contact with the outside world was expected and there were eleven post offices in rural Lewis, with Stornoway's promoted to Head Office status. [454] The latter had been for some time equipped with a money order and Savings Bank department. The telegraph had also been introduced, though no connection to any of the country offices existed; 205 206 *175 telegrams for all parts of the island other than Stornoway were, as a rule, forwarded by the first mail dispatched after the receipt of the message. By 1902 there were twelve telegraph offices in the country districts of Lewis (Harris was incommunicado with Stornoway, coming under the Inverness-shire arrangements). Some of these offices were set up under orders of the Highlands & Islands Work Board, the service being carried on by the Post Office without guarantee against loss. The office at Port of Ness was subsidised by the Fishery Board and Lloyd's, who had a signalling station at the lighthouse there.

205 *175 Until 1926, when the long-universal red vans appeared, all mail was transported between the rural areas and Stornoway by private contractors, who used horses and latterly Albion coaches. [494] A motor-launch operated between Callernish and Bernera; mails [505] for South Lochs were conveyed across Loch Erisort from Crossbost to Cromore, and from Laxay to Kershader. In the early [494] 1930s this area was served by mail van working between Stornoway and Lemreway. In 1950 full use was made of the existing [509] BEA air service and, in order that mail from the rural areas could be included, additional main vans were outstationed at Lemreway, Callernish, and Port of Ness. These worked in to meet others working out from the town.

The Harris area was taken under the control of the head postmaster at Stornoway in 1937, having before this date been served by the head postmaster at Lochmaddy, North Uist. A mounted

craft belonging to the Midland and Scottish Air Ferries Limited came down at the golf course near Melbost; three or four attempts were made to land, but each time it touched down a small boy ran out to meet it and it was forced to rise again. The directors of the company were interested in establishing an air contact with the island. In September of the same year a giant RAF seaplane landed in Stornoway Bay, the S1589, the largest naval flying boat in the world at the time. 509 506 175*

In 1933, Highland Airways Limited proposed an air link between Stornoway and Inverness. The following year, in March, saw the first commercial flight, piloted by an air pioneer in the north of Scotland, Captain E. E. Fresson. The service was intermittent, however. Then in September 1935 there was an agreement between the trustees of the Stornoway Estate and Captain Glyn Roberts of the West of Scotland Air Services Limited to establish an air service between Renfrew and Stornoway as soon as possible. The trustees gave this company the sole right to operate the service from the landing ground of Melbost golf course for a period of five years. Initially the service was to be thrice weekly, at £3 4s single fare. The interesting connection here was that Captain Roberts was the first man to operate an air mail service on behalf of the Canadian Government, along the route of the MacKenzie River, discovered by Stornoway's Sir Alexander MacKenzie; he carried mails to many of the settlements along the river which had previously been served irregularly. At the same time, survey flights over Lewis were being carried out by Captain Fresson of Highland Airways. These led to the construction of 600-yard runways at Melbost, with a radio station to be installed when the airport was complete. 509 175* [508]

In March 1938, the *Lochgarry*, an old cumbersome, single-screw vessel, was on the Stornoway run. When a sixty-mile an hour gale blew up she was unable to leave Kyle of Lochalsh. The Post Office, with commendable enterprise, chartered a Highland Airways plane to fly the mails from Inverness to Stornoway and return with island mails. But no regular air service for mails on this route was introduced until 1948. No special mark was introduced by the GPO, but first covers were marked 'First Lewis Air Mail, Feb 16th 1948. Stornoway to Inverness'. 509 205 • 175*

COMMUNICATIONS

There were, of course, other types of flights before 1948. In 1937, Captain Fresson took the first sick person off the island on charter—the beginning of the air-ambulance service so valuable to the islanders. During World War II, certain RAF mails were flown between Glasgow and Stornoway, on which there were first covers (December 1943, Glasgow/Stornoway; December 1943, Stornoway/Glasgow; and January 1944, Glasgow/Stornoway). The present air services are supplied by BEA and Loganair Ltd. The BEA plane route is Glasgow/Benbecula/Inverness and return. Loganair offer a service Glasgow/Benbecula/Stornoway and return. In recent years this small firm has built up a most valuable inter-island air link.

OVERLAND ROUTES

The history of overland communications in the island is a short one, though it does, like American history, have many characteristic highlights. In early times getting from one place to another was simply a matter of following well-worn tracks across the moorland, skirting lochsides and marshy lands and just taking the shortest distance possible between starting point and destination. Considering the length and breadth of the island, it is surprising that it was not until Sir James Matheson's appearance in Lewis that road-making was undertaken with any determination. This activity stemmed largely from the desire to get something in return for the outlay involved in keeping literal death from starvation clear of the doors of the island folk.

The report of the Rev James Headrick (prepared for Lord Seaforth in 1800 and published about 1820) indicated that the provision of roads would be of great benefit to the island. A footnote in the report (of probable date 1816) urges assistance from Parliament or the Board of Fisheries to complete the road from Stornoway to Loch Roag, which had been begun by Lord Seaforth. There is a bitter complaint that though the Seaforth property bears a large share in the county assessment, 'not a penny of public money has ever been laid out in Lewis'. Another footnote records that the road from Stornoway to Aignish in the east was made in 1815. No large undertakings followed Mr Headrick's

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and footpaths. Until this time, the greater part of the district of Park was accessible only on foot. Roads were 'at best rough narrow paths where rushes and grass grew between the tracks'. The Act improved the old *frith-rathad* (rough tracks) to such an extent that, says a report of 1902, 'a marked improvement has taken place in school attendance by their formation'. The opening up of the island certainly benefited the people. Though the moor tracks might give a more direct route to Stornoway, the roads at least offered a hard surface for horse-drawn cars and carts. The numbers of vehicles accordingly rose, and for long after the turn of the century the horse enjoyed a monopoly. Motor cars were beginning to be read about in the days-late newspapers brought to the island, but not until 1917 were the first complaints heard about cars tearing up the surfaces of the roads. Slowly but surely the inevitable pioneers emerged with their 'tin lizzies'. By 1925 there were an estimated 250 vehicles in Lewis—and traffic congestion was beginning to be a problem. The relative speed of cars was still something to be wondered at too: it was progress indeed to be able to travel from Ness to Stornoway and back again between a late breakfast and an early tea. But for all this progress, one could still buy a good dog-cart in excellent condition, to seat six people, for £9. A two-seater trap could be had for £6 10s; a set of harness cost 30s. And as for fuel—the best quality oats were 10s 6d per cwt. Indeed, it was not until 1943 that Stornoway Town Council sold its last horse—and only because no one could be found to look after it.

When Sir James Matheson came to Lewis in 1844 there was only one horse-drawn vehicle on the whole island. By 1872 eighty-seven wheeled vehicles were using his new roads. A pioneer of the wheel-carriage service, D. K. Henderson, began business in the 1850s. He was the first to carry mails and held a contract for the Stornoway to Tarbert run until the GPO introduced its own vehicles. As the motor took hold Henderson changed over and was the first to establish a motor-transport business on the island. Not all the local vehicles were of recognised makers' designs. A writer in the *Stornoway Gazette* in the mid-twenties commented on the fact that only the engine and the chassis of the local buses were imported. Bodies were then erected by carpenters . . . and

POSTAL SERVICES

A mounted postman was at that time working between Tarbert and Floddabay, halfway down the east coast of South Harris. Before this transfer there was no direct mail link between Harris and Lewis. With the introduction of a bus service, a local mail was introduced between Stornoway, Tarbert and Leverburgh, and up to 1955 all mails for Harris were dealt with at Tarbert and Leverburgh, being dispatched to and received from mainland offices direct on a three-days-a-week basis. In 1955 a daily delivery service was introduced throughout Harris (with the exception of Scarp), all its mails being handled at Stornoway. 205 • 175* [492] [494]

TELEGRAPH, TELEPHONE AND RADIO

The first telephone in Lewis was installed in 1897. The first telegraphic cable was laid in 1872; its continual breakdowns were a constant source of annoyance, particularly to local businessmen and fishcurers. Another cable for morse telegraph was laid about 1910, between Broad Bay in Lewis and Inverasdale on the Scottish mainland. This worked duplex to Aberdeen, the 'B' leg of the cable being used for an Inverness link. At about the same time, a morse-operated Stornoway-Lochmaddy-Castlebay (Barra) telegraph circuit was introduced which had to be balanced every morning before sending could begin. This was the last morse link in Scotland until its withdrawal in 1948. Though latterly it went only to Lochmaddy, originally it worked with one wire to Castlebay, Lochboisdale, and Lochmaddy, and thence to Tobermory and Oban. It was a four-wire circuit to Tarbert and single-wire to Castlebay; the batteries were housed in the attic of Stornoway Post Office. A new trunk telephone service between Lewis and the mainland began on 21 March 1933, celebrated by an inaugural call from the Provost of Stornoway to the GPO in Edinburgh. A four-core cable was laid between Loch Erisort and Staffin in Skye, complemented with some 25 miles of overland wire. It had to be balanced after every shower of rain! The first teleprinter was worked over this cable in the early 1930s. The use to which the fishing trade put the connection can be gauged by the fact that at the height of the fishing season up to 20,000 messages were handled each month. The first trans-Atlantic call came in 206 175*

STORNOWAY

701 men served in the various regiments at the front in South Africa, and over 300 in the Royal Navy.

*175 In 1796 there were sixty-seven slated inhabited houses in the 632 burgh, twenty-six of which had been built since 1784. Before this (362) date most of the houses followed the constructional pattern of those found in rural Lewis. In 1838,

Stornoway was, within the last twenty years, only a small fishing village, but from the spirited and patriotic exertions of Lord Seaforth, the proprietor, and the grant of irredeemable feus for building, it has become a place of considerable importance as a fishing station. It has a post office; and a packet sails regularly (205) once a week with mail and passengers. No place in the North of (505) Scotland, and in an insulated situation also, has made more rapid strides at improvement, both in a domestic and commercial point of view, than Stornoway.

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*175 Mention of the sailing packet indicates the tedious manner in 206 which mails came to the town for subsequent distribution in the 632 island. Letters went by mailcoach north to Dingwall, thence by 505 mail-gig west to Achnasheen. Because there was no road from (188) Achnasheen to Poolewe, about thirty miles away, they had to be carried on horseback. The weekly sailing packet then picked up the bags, for which cargo the owners were paid £150 per annum. A letter from London to Stornoway cost 1s 5½d; the smallest enclosure made it double that amount. The mail-packet was often held up by bad weather. It was a wind-blown sailing ship that brought Stornoway the result of the Battle of Trafalgar and the death of Nelson, an event in which a number of Lewismen also took part and died; in St Columba's churchyard at Eye there can still be seen a Trafalgar officer's gravestone. A fortnight after this news arrived, the packet from Poolewe brought its stale message.

*175 In 1844 seventy boats, ranging from 15 to 150 tons, were work- 439 ing out from Stornoway. The *Gazetteer* for Scotland for that year 632 says, 'The grand trade of the place consists in the exchange of (501) the produce of the fisheries and the kelp shores, for British manufactured goods and foreign produce.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

316 Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in 464 the services sector.

The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be 484 tapped. Mr Grayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity (505) of 50 cars and 600 passengers, makes two or three trips a day between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than two hours. The mainstays of tourist accommodation in Harris are 484 the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning 485 fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist 629 attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by offering (226) full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant lets.

An interesting tourist venture has been started at Rhenigidale. 484 A rough, stony track, one of the most tortuous and exciting in 187 Britain, takes its leave from the main road over a ridge. It twists 529 and turns in and out of gullies, over cliff sides and across the steep heather-clad slopes of the Toddun, a dramatic little hill of 1,730 ft which protects Rhenigidale village from the Atlantic gales. The (205) seven-mile track is the only marked route, though crofters take a shorter way to the north over pathless bogs; the local postman makes a round of about 60 foot miles in the week, walking this track and on to Tarbert three times in all weathers. The village 504 relies on its sheltered harbour with a good natural rock pier: 361 most communication is by water, all food and fuel coming that 505 way. In past times every household owned a boat for lobster and 501 shell fishing to supplement both diet and finances. Today the 226 interest in fishing has declined, as has the population. But in 1946 485 Mr Herbert Gatliff paid his first visit to Harris, discovered what the island had to offer, and started a campaign to convince hostelling interests of the need to make some investment in the Western Isles. A croft house in Rhenigidale was in 1961 equipped as a hostel, and under what is now the Gatliff Trust it is maintained for hardy trekkers, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association making a grant for running costs. Many visitors have found that the place offers a degree of happiness corresponding with its remoteness from civilisation.

2: Thompson H-4,5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

The small shop 443 stocks essential household items, and extensive use is made of mail-order. A few years ago a telephone to the mainland was supplied, 206 much valued in emergencies.

Scarp in fact has a small place of its own in the history of com- *175 munications: on 28 July 1934 one of three British rocket-mail 205 experiments (for which special stamps were printed) was held 713 there. The inventor of the rocket, Herr Zucker, was later to become prominent in V-rocket work during the second German war. Herr Zucker personally conducted the firings. His rocket, a large cylinder with pointed nose, something like a heavy shell, was 3 ft long and weighed 30 lb, with capacity for several thousand letters. The motive force was ordinary high explosive contained in a large cartridge about 18 in long; the device was designed to burn with a series of rapid explosions and produce a flight speed of 1,000 mph. The firing apparatus was a flimsy wooden structure providing a runway rising at an angle from the ground, an elastic sling giving the rocket an initial impulse. The first rocket was fired on Scarp, to the mainland: it exploded prematurely and most of the mail was damaged. The postmaster applied to the backs of the damaged covers a three-line cachet in violet: 'Damaged by first explosion at Scarp—Harris.' In order that this mail should be actually flown, it was re-transmitted by the second firing made in the opposite direction, Harris—Scarp. The whole experiment was deemed a failure, however. The route taken by the mail addressed to Kirkwall was unique; rocket, ferryboat, motorcar, mail steamer, railway train, and finally by Highland Airways to Kirkwall.

Depopulation in Scarp was encouraged by the lack of 166 employment prospects, and centralised education, of the type 891 which has already played havoc with remote rural communities (464) elsewhere, is felt to be a black cloud darkening the future. Much the same problem faces Scalpay Island, mentioned later. Children are removed from their home environments for higher secondary education at a central school: for Harris children this is at Portree, Skye. Many islanders argue that the scheme tends to destroy the family unit, urbanising the children so that they become unsuited to, and with no inclination for, rural life. Some sympathy must be felt for the education authorities, of course, as the pro-

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

CH. X BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

167 left the Island. Yet after 1931 many returned, owing to losses and unemployment both in British towns and overseas. When emigrants began to come home the 'Harris' (288) tweed industry had spread to Lewis and offered increasing (182) employment. Some men still fished in family-owned (464) Island boats, and others as paid hands (on boats from (226) the East Coast), though losses and unemployment were suffered.

178 Inter-war changes were hastened not only by movement 177 beyond the Island—an influence at work for three or four 493 generations before—but by mobility within it. In 1919 a small mail car made its way daily from Stornoway along (205) each of the five main roads, with an occasional passenger. When crofters crossed the Island to Stornoway they went on foot or took the pony and cart at a slow walk: it was a day's journey. Ten years later, Ford vans, bought second-hand, ran daily to Stornoway from every township. Frequency, ease and relative cheapness of movement came late in an Island with no railway: the mobility of the motor for marketing and shopping brought rapid change.

178 'Hand-loom' weaving had become an important, if 286 precarious, resource, important because of the capital (433) invested and the labour employed, yet precarious because (462) of its dependence upon name and sentiment, not only upon intrinsic value. In Harris many women had spun and woven for sale for over a generation before 1914, mostly weaving pure hand-spun yarn, and they continued to do so. For many years before 1914, an occasional weaver was to be found in villages in Lewis too, generally weaving a handspun weft upon a mill-spun warp. By 1939 it was estimated that there were about 1200 looms in the Island, chiefly weaving mill-spun yarn, most of it spun in the two principal Stornoway mills. A carding mill

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

184 Breanish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from
[illegible] Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight
[illegible] about half-a-crown for a hundredweight, but because of competition from privately owned
[illegible] vans the bus service ceased in 1960. Mangersta is reached from the same road by about
[illegible] a mile of unfurrowed side-road of indifferent quality; formerly the only access to it was by
[illegible] the footpath over the sands to the south. General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied
[illegible] by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig: banking facilities
[illegible] are supplied by a mobile bank.

31/ The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being some-
472 what more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about
[illegible] four acres. Breanish and Islivig each have about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or
[illegible] croft-units - are fenced, the work having been completed in Breanish in 1959. There are
[illegible] twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Breanish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta;
[illegible] in all, owing to amalgamations of various kinds the number of operative units is considerably
[illegible] less - fourteen in Breanish, five in Islivick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

134 As soils are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable
[illegible] patches are large enough to be cultivated with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in
[illegible] Breanish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are
123 hired for ploughing and carting peats. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike
[illegible] many of the other Uig townships.

233 While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas,
[illegible] horses like sheep are wintered up on the hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts.
[illegible] Breanish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hoggs, or four year-old
[illegible] heifers), on Melaleata Island - hoggs are usually sent since their loss, by falling over the
[illegible] cliffs, is less serious than the loss of heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta
[illegible] crofters, who are allowed two sheep each in summer.

241 The only crops grown are potatoes and oats, with 'black oats' (Avena strigosa) on the
[illegible] sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed for 'black oats' is unobtainable commercially,
[illegible] the crofters save their own. A grass mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay,
[illegible] to qualify for the subsidy.

233 The extensive hill and mountain pastures are not separately fenced; sheep from all
[illegible] three townships graze over all. If the total sheep stock of the township (about 3,300) is
[illegible] compared with the sowing figures it is found to exceed the sum by about 5.0%. On the
[illegible] other hand, fewer cattle and horses are kept than formerly so that taking the total stock
[illegible] for all animals (horses, cattle and sheep) and comparing with the actual stock now carried,
[illegible] the area carries only 87% of the stock which the sum allowed. In the two older townships
[illegible] the sowing was reduced accordingly; otherwise it has to be sold early, the ewes and hoggs
[illegible] sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, however, the sum was one horse, three cows, one
[illegible] heifer, two stirks and twenty-five sheep for each croft.

Lambing percentage is about 80, and ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers
234 (excluding lambs). In this district some wedders are kept for three years and then sold
235 for meat, but the main income is from wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep,
which sells at up to four shillings a pound.

231 Most crofters keep one or two cows, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn
or spring sales. Breanish and Mangersta each have a bull, and in the three townships there
are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks in

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

361 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new
497 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all
[illegible] but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
[illegible] two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timaspirry. Vans call
[illegible] but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor -
[illegible] two wells only are in use.

Carinish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. The
[illegible] supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses.
[illegible] The roads serving Timaspirry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile
[illegible] away. The 'main road' from Carinish to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all
[illegible] except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has
[illegible] a store and Timaspirry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly
[illegible] and the travelling bus formerly, but the thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (fares
[illegible] are almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars.

The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the
241 smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now. Timaspirry, Ardroil and
[illegible] Carinish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from
[illegible] Breanish or Enacleit. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small
[illegible] patches of turnips are sown and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing
[illegible] on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Peas
[illegible] and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation
[illegible] grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the cut harvest, and left
[illegible] for hay for several years - some sown twelve years ago was said still to be giving very
[illegible] good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The area of
[illegible] natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour avail-
[illegible] able. Crofters find the difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularity shaped
[illegible] places are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be
grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few
crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

242 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts
[illegible] the compound fertilizer was used for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the
[illegible] crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal
[illegible] fertilizers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to
obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for do-
mestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the
croft during the summer the number of cattle may be increased accordingly. The regular sale
cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four
were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One
crofter was rearing a bid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is
wintered on the Ardroil machair.

It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult
233 to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was
available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' -
but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos
233 in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land island is peaty, and Aird
65 lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village
there is now an R.A.F. radar station on Rudha Cuil, built on what was part of the common
pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the
inhabitants.

34 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
99 at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
99 butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the R.A.A.F.L.
93 within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100
ft. contour; all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds
and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below
245 the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the
305 houses are stone with slate roofs and lately large, though some of them have been built for
35 more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
312 modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an
374 elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so
that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions,
449 but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to
the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

24 The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown
grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial
fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the machair land near the village. No
140 cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse.
Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
246 tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
vated; here was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
82 extensively used as a fertilizer and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that
there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow
for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses
no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

253 On the other hand, the sheep scum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement
of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The
lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Cuil (Air Force use has not permitted
this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many
in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 55 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there
are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most
of them are complete families: only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
166 periodically working away, no man and only two women are permanently away. Neither
has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the
parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 -
44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

[Marivig]

231 There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with
no saw rate on neighbours, or on them, for their milk supply. A bull two of the crofters keep
cheap, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred
and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore
islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while
180 all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the croft. Most crofters
keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of
the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft,
228 and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating slightly from Stornoway
and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which was regular
before the war. A second boat, owned for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others
are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes inshore
during the winter and marketes them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their income by weaving, one by working on the
roads (while several men work partly on the crofts) and one by periodic work in the township. Marivig is a fairly
flat, flashing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual
migration of the young from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the
permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school - over one hundred pupils in 1920, thirty-nine
(including pupils from Calbost) in 1946, but only nine from Marivig in 1958. The young
people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway,
while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a
shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There
is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back; the return is over 10/-. The road
which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface in much
better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig
and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the
sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while
the related houses found on most crofts are those to the rear. Only two bungalows remain
and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron.
All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply;
rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a
well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the
drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the
croft more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more
intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk,
potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought
from the mainland. Such developments, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival
of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest
house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wished scenic beauty, might bring pros-
perity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the
capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

[Lemreway]

229 The West Highland Survey Township Card describes Lemreway as "pre-dominantly a fishing
195 township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve
boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for deep-sea
645 and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is
249 one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring
netting, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

181 An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with
182 those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large
considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house
and the extra population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this
resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 54. With over forty
resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other trawling
townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary
occupations such as weaving, fishing and crofting. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular
197 employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just
195 twenty people work away from the township permanently. Fourteen in the Merchant Navy and
nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939.
Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most township.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house
has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most
of the present houses were constructed in the 1930's and they are usually near to the road. Ruins
of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and there were built either along the shore or
up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs.
Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most
attractive beaches and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish
Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents,
they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives
of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable
enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from obtaining
an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the
machair. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensive tenancy of Ardroil
will reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is
being adapted into modern times with crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the
contemporary employment combinations.

181 The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this
is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions,
it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

[Orinsay]

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

151 Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of
a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards
241 of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access
to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed con-
tents of the cards, see West Highland Survey, p. 247.

302

Founded in 1951 as a single sheet of 200 words it has grown 204
to sixteen pages. It has the distinction of being the only
news magazine in Great Britain written in longhand. The 203
shopkeepers also pass along the local ken, as it is called.
There is a common belief that the telephone operators are
another source. I have known people to drive several miles
to make a call from a box in another exchange district because
they were sure the people of their neighborhood would have the
news before they had hung up the receiver, if they made the
call locally. The post office is also said to be a transmitter 275
in the bush telegraph; some say the post mistresses steam open 276
their letters. On shopping days in Portree the women carry
home more than the week's groceries. Down at the square at
night, they gather in small groups to transmit their tantalizing
tidbits of news and, perhaps, scandal.

Two status groups are left out of the normal gossip 203
cycle. These are the county people and the ministers. The 554
former may get a bit of ken from time to time, but much of the 775
local news passes without reaching them. The ministers'
information is generally limited to questions of health, events
in the life cycle, or cases of moral or religious backsliding
on the part of their congregations. The degree to which the
landed gentry participates in the verbal spread of news and
rumor depends to a great extent on personal qualifications.
There are one or two who have contacts through whom gossip
carries across the lines of cleavage in the social hierarchy.
Ministers are probably the least well informed of anybody on
the happenings of everyday life. Once when asking a minister

206

10

432 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the
363 sea: Ceann a Stigh (or Ceann a Stigh Bhaile, or Baile
103 Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the
sea), Busilebhir (an area identified with the keeping
of cattle), Gearraidh Mor, Creazan, Pluic, and Mach a
Chul ("out the back," by a road built relatively recent
A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the
moor, or common grazing land, is called Grinanbhat, from
the name of a nearby loch.

511 The presence of a large Harris Tweed mill in
348 Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living
208 within the village. It is estimated that only 25% of
493 the households of rural Lewis have cars; about 50% of
the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970
342 Shawbost had only one occupied tigh dubh, or "black
house" built of dry stone and roofed with thatch, which
many islanders symbolizes a past life of poverty and
adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators
404 deep freezers and electric toasters are common in
251 Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and
207 many have telephones.
206

288 The mill in Shawbost employs between 60 and 70
463 persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn
in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work
in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the

206 TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH--technology; use of equipment; facilities and services; organization and personnel; public and private systems; finance (e.g., rates, subsidies); regulation; etc. See also:

Telegraphic codes	500	Description of equipment	603
Municipal telephone and telegraph systems	668	Military signal corps	708
Manufacture of equipment	989	Military communications equipment	718

COMMUNICATIONS

205 munication with the mainland. The mail will be dispatched from
*175 Edinburgh every Thursday at eight o'clock at night, and should arrive at Edinburgh every Tuesday morning, but the arrival will sometimes be uncertain.' The development of a postal service in the hinterland of Stornoway was slow. In 1833 only one mail packet ran each week to Lewis, sailing from Poolewe to Stornoway, weather permitting (see Chapter 8), and the island still had only the one post office. By 1880, of course, more contact with the outside world was expected and there were eleven post offices in rural Lewis, with Stornoway's promoted to Head Office status.
[454] The latter had been for some time equipped with a money order and Savings Bank department. The telegraph had also been intro-
205 duced, though no connection to any of the country offices existed;
• 206 telegrams for all parts of the island other than Stornoway were,
*175 as a rule, forwarded by the first mail dispatched after the receipt of the message. By 1902 there were twelve telegraph offices in the country districts of Lewis (Harris was incommunicado with Stornoway, coming under the Inverness-shire arrangements). Some of these offices were set up under orders of the Highlands & Islands Work Board, the service being carried on by the Post Office without guarantee against loss. The office at Port of Ness was subsidised by the Fishery Board and Lloyd's, who had a signalling station at the lighthouse there.

205 Until 1926, when the long-universal red vans appeared, all
*175 mail was transported between the rural areas and Stornoway by
[494] private contractors, who used horses and latterly Albion coaches.
[505] A motor-launch operated between Callernish and Bernera; mails for South Lochs were conveyed across Loch Erisort from Crossbost to Cromore, and from Laxay to Kershader. In the early
[494] 1930s this area was served by mail van working between Stornoway and Lemreway. In 1950 full use was made of the existing
[509] BEA air service and, in order that mail from the rural areas could be included, additional main vans were outstationed at Lemreway, Callernish, and Port of Ness. These worked in to meet others working out from the town.

The Harris area was taken under the control of the head postmaster at Stornoway in 1937, having before this date been served by the head postmaster at Lochmaddy, North Uist. A mounted

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transfer there was
With the introduct
duced between Sto
1955 all mails for
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direct on a three-da
vice was introduce
Scarp), all its mails

TELEGRA

The first telephone
graphic cable was
constant source of
and fishcurers. Ano
1910, between Broa
tish mainland. This
cable being used fo
a morse-operated S
graph circuit was
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in Scotland until its
only to Lochmaddy
bay, Lochboisdale,
and Oban. It was
to Castlebay; the b
Post Office. A new
the mainland bega
augural call from
in Edinburgh. A fo
and Staffin in Skye,
wire. It had to be
teleprinter was wor
to which the fishing
fact that at the heig
were handled each

POSTAL SERVICES

time working between Tarbert and Flod- 205
the east coast of South Harris. Before this 175*
direct mail link between Harris and Lewis. [492]
on of a bus service, a local mail was intro- [494]
noway, Tarbert and Leverburgh, and up to
arris were dealt with at Tarbert and Lever-
ched to and received from mainland offices
ys-a-week basis. In 1955 a daily delivery ser-
throughout Harris (with the exception of
eing handled at Stornoway.

PH, TELEPHONE AND RADIO

in Lewis was installed in 1897. The first tele- 206 •
aid in 1872; its continual breakdowns were a 175*
annoyance, particularly to local businessmen
ther cable for morse telegraph was laid about
ad Bay in Lewis and Inverasdale on the Scot-
worked duplex to Aberdeen, the 'B' leg of the
or an Inverness link. At about the same time,
Stornoway-Lochmaddy-Castlebay (Barra) tele-
introduced which had to be balanced every
nding could begin. This was the last morse link
s withdrawal in 1948. Though latterly it went
y, originally it worked with one wire to Castle-
, and Lochmaddy, and thence to Tobermory
a four-wire circuit to Tarbert and single-wire
batteries were housed in the attic of Stornoway
w trunk telephone service between Lewis and
gan on 21 March 1933, celebrated by an in-
m the Provost of Stornoway to the GPO
four-core cable was laid between Loch Erisort
e, complemented with some 25 miles of overland
balanced after every shower of rain! The first
orked over this cable in the early 1930s. The use
g trade put the connection can be gauged by the
ight of the fishing season up to 20,000 messages
h month. The first trans-Atlantic call came in

COMMUNICATIONS

• 206 The first trans-Atlantic call came in
*175 1935, when the Lewis Woollen Mills were called up by a Toronto
288 mill.

Beam radio came in 1938-39 with two circuits. The stations
207 were on Bennadrove Hill, outside Stornoway, and at Ullapool.
*175 In 1942 a twelve-channel link was opened to Gairloch. Outlying
villages worked into Stornoway on single-wire circuits, with an
earth return, Great Bernera being the last exchange to be served
[206] single-wire. One of the island's most remote inhabited satellite
[167] islands, Scarp, received its first telephone service only in 1947.
Scarp was deserted by its native population in 1971.

206 The rate of increase in the use of telephone services in the
island has been considerable. In 1965 some 1400 customers of
the Post Office made almost 250,000 trunk calls. In 1972, the
number of subscribers was 2,300. The projected number for 1975
is in the region of 3,500 subscribers who will make an estimated
500,000 calls per annum. In each case, the figure for local calls
is very much higher. Every telephone exchange on the island
has grown in size; of the twenty-one exchanges, the three
largest are at Back, Carloway and Shawbost. In 1964 the Post
Office set up a working party to examine the development o
the telephone service in the Highlands and Islands. As a resul
of the party's report a scheme of improvement involving
capital expenditure of £7½ million will be spent on new building
and access roads, exchange equipment, underground cables an
radio equipment.

Stornoway has been provided with a new telephone exchange
and underground cables have been laid both in the town an
in the outlying districts. Smaller exchanges in the country area
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tween Stornoway and Tarbert is being constructed. To link th
island with the South, a new underground cable, costing £
million, will link Inverness to Ullapool and Gairloch. It is est
mated that by 1975 most townships in Lewis and Harris (th
latter through a new Exchange building) will be on STD, at
cost of £500 for every connected subscriber in the island.

632 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the
362 sea: Ceann a Stigh (or Ceann a Stigh Bhaile, or Baile
102 Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the sea), Buailebhir (an area identified with the keeping of cattle), Gearraidh Mor, Creagan, Pluic, and Mach a Chul ("out the back," by a road built relatively recently). A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the moor, or common grazing land, is called Grinnbhat, from the name of a nearby loch.

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318 Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living
208 within the village. It is estimated that only 256 of
193 the households of rural Lewis have cars; about 50% of the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970
342 Shawbost had only one occupied high rubh, or "black house" built of dry stone and roofed with thatch, which to many islanders symbolizes a past life of poverty and adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators,
1404 deep freezers and electric toasters are common in
1251 Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and
207 many have telephones.
2206

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463 persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the

Chapter 5

GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL MARGINALITY

182 Despite the growth of the Harris Tweed industry and the gradual disappearance of some of the techniques and expectations associated with heavy reliance on the land and the sea, an important factor which helps to sustain some of these patterns is the social and geographical marginality of the islanders.

175 When the young men who survived the second world
1728 war returned to the island, most households still had
1251 horses to cultivate the croft, but a few years later
1604 the tractors replaced the horses. The labor government,
175 which came into power after the war, passed legislation
457 which extended the processes of centralization that had proceeded since the breakdown of the clan system. The National Health Service was established. Free milk
1871 became available in schools. More scholarships (called "bursaries") became available for further schooling.
1207 Television came in the 1950's. In short, the islander was exposed to a number of new alternatives.

182 To the extent that persons became involved in these possibilities, the island became peripheral or marginal. The island has become more dependent upon central

COMMUNICATIONS

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1207 will have new equipment fitted. A modern radio system between Stornoway and Tarbert is being constructed. To link the island with the South, a new underground cable, costing £1 million, will link Inverness to Ullapool and Gairloch. It is estimated that by 1975 most townships in Lewis and Harris (the latter through a new Exchange building) will be on STD, at a cost of £500 for every connected subscriber in the island.

THE PEOPLE

SOCIAL LIFE

571 In common with other aspects of island life, the social side has
188 undergone considerable change. The world has been brought nearer the crofter's home by radio, television and film screen, reducing the social need for meeting with neighbours and friends for the ceilidh. The ceilidh was once the principal means of re-
574 creation and instruction. There is no precise English equivalent
198 for it, and it may be loosely described as an "at home" to which all are welcome. It may be held in any house; in the past, the favourite resort was a home where the head *(far an tigh)*—man of the house was an intelligent, communicative man; and if he had a number of eligible daughters so much the better. Ceilidhean were held after nightfall. Old tales were told, and songs sung, and public questions of the day were discussed. All women attending took with them an ample amount of work, sewing or knitting, to see them through the evening. Ceilidhean nowadays tend to be more organized, using the form of popular 'concerts' which did
1415 not take root in the island until the turn of the century, though they were a common way of entertainment on the mainland at the time. Social life in the past was thus very intense, and was a natural evolution from the basic desire to forget the day's work and to have some pleasure of a kind.

546 The pattern of recreation facilities has since become fairly varied. Films came early to Lewis, or rather Stornoway; the first Picture House was located in Keith Street, and presented both
1536 fictions and stage turns. A new Playhouse was opened in 1934 with *The Good Companions* and *Falling for You*, starring Jack Hulbert and Cicely Courtenedge. Films in the rural districts were a rarity, however, until in 1946 the Highlands & Islands Film Guild came into existence to bring the magic of the screen to scattered communities. This body ran several mobile cinema out-
1207 fits in the deep crofting areas, until the advent of television in the region killed it off in 1971. While it existed, however, the Guild provided an essential service to remote communities and brought not only the world to their doorstep but ensured that they felt part and parcel of a much larger scheme of things.

207 The first television service in Lewis began in 1959, 'piped' by

178 or after it. After 1914-18, the Rector of the Nicolson
571 Institute, Stornoway, proposed village halls for village
771 education and recreation.[4] The scheme was never fully
1583 realised except in one township, Sandwick, near Storno-
1342 way, owing to the strength of puritanical opposition. In
1345 particular, dancing by young folk was condemned as
1583 "dancing upon the graves of their brothers". This atti-
1675 tude is breaking down; social standards, in becoming less
538 repressive, may encourage young people to stay.

178 Broadcasting—a factor of change everywhere—came to
207 the townships as a revolution. Newspapers had already
204 filtered in; but for the first time the Gaelic-speaking home was entered and dominated by an English-speaking voice. It has made itself heard there almost ceaselessly ever since—in broadcast talks, discussions, announcements
178 of news, entertainment, singing and prayers. Only the
207 Sabbath imposes general silence. In the Scottish Home
795 Service great pains have been taken to meet all tastes at the highest level for each, from 'low-brow' to 'high-brow' and from Clydeside to the Isles. To a thoughtful, selective Island listener the new opportunity for imaginative human contacts and for initiation of all kinds is immense. And the purely Gaelic listener is not forgotten. He welcomes Gaelic song or story; and worship in Gaelic has reached many an elderly person's bedside.

178 Yet few listeners select: much broadcasting is designed
207 for those whose only picture-galleries are advertisement
572 hoardings and whose only drama and music are to be found at "the Pictures". And through no fault of the B.B.C., the Sports News offers temptations for those in poverty to acquire wealth innocently through luck in a football pool,

[4] W. J. Gibson, "Social Amenities in the Western Isles", *Sociological Rev.* (Jan. 1932).

SOCIAL LIFE

an enterprising radio firm in Stornoway; its customers receive 207
both BBC and Grampian Television programmes.

Some youth organisations are represented on the island. The 583
first troop of Boy Scouts was connected with the Stornoway 575
YMCA and was founded by forty boys in 1921. Founded (in 583
1912) on the island's close association with the sea was the Boys' 675
Brigade (Naval), later to become the Stornoway Naval Corps and the Stornoway Boys' Naval Brigade. Its objects were to provide instruction in drilling, signalling, seamanship and first aid; and to foster a spirit of manliness and comradeship among its members. The founder was Canon H. Anderson Meadows, of the Episcopal Church in Stornoway (St Peter's). During the first war the boys acted as signallers at the Stornoway Battery.

But the provision of recreational facilities for 529
young people on the island has long been a thorny question. After the first world war, the Rector of the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, proposed that village halls be built for village education and recreation. This scheme was never fully realised—except at Sandwick, just outside Stornoway—mainly because of the strength of puritanical opposition. This attitude has been breaking down 178
however, and it is now generally realized that the wealth of any community is based on its youth. Most of the efforts to set school activities for young people began after the second war; the work was hard and challenging with not a few failures on the way; perseverance has won to the extent that there is now a full-time youth leader. Most of the cultural and recreational activities are to be found in Stornoway, with a full range of interests. Evening non-vocational classes during the winter are also widely attended for a variety of subjects.

In 1965, an excellent Youth Hostel was established at Stock- 485
inish, Harris, with the help of the Inverness-shire Education Department. In its first season it recorded between 600 and 700 visitors (1,070 bed-nights). Also involved in the establishment of 515
the hostel was the Harris Society of Social Service; practical help was given by the 2nd Stornoway Boy Scouts, who made a wall map, cleared up grounds and shifted furniture. A group of English enthusiasts have in previous years arranged a hotel at Rhenigidale, Harris (see Chapter 9), which provides for some fifty to

178 so creating a small leak in the purse and in the mind,
207 leaving both a little emptier, week by week. Surveys made
525 by teacher-members of the Educational Institute of Scot-
1270 land describe the effects on listeners in Highland parishes as pernicious, in the main. The reports of the B.B.C., on the other hand, emphasise their cultural endeavours, and the lightening of house-work and of rural monotony or solitude. Every effort is needed to aid a happy selection in home and neighbourhood.

72 Experiences undergone in war were of very differing
721 types. Many men spent the war years in the Navy, without contact with decent town life, or others in the Merchant Marine. Of combatants in the land forces, the Territorials of the original 51st Highland Division experienced a few months of relative inactivity in France, then of a brief but bitter campaign, followed by long years in prison camps, while other soldiers underwent prolonged training in Britain, followed by severe fighting for long periods, far afield. Lastly, a limited number of men served in engineering or other works of war-time industry, though labouring work, at high wages, kept many of the older men employed at
1462 home. Of the women called up for service, some were posted to the Forces, some to the Land Army, and some were
1462 sent to factories. The greater opportunities for women to earn a living wage away from the Island tend to equalise the ratio of the sexes.

178 An experience new to the Western Isles came with the
207 establishment of Air Bases. Not only did their construc-
1464 tion provide high wages for labouring for the older resident crofters, brought daily to the Bases by bus from their townships, but for the first time a heterogeneous mass of men from every part of urban Britain was put down at the doors of these quiet communities—at a time when

the Lord that his prayers had been answered.*) Another bothan was started in an old bus.

Today only one bothan exists in Shawbost. It is a small concrete structure, lit by gas and heated with coal, which is burned in an expensive fireplace. Like most bothans, the one entrance faces away from the main road. Unlike most bothans, it has a small window which is curtained but nevertheless reveals whether or not the light is on inside. Most bothans present blank, windowless and doorless faces that give no indication whether or not the building is occupied.

Every three years a poll may be taken within a parish to determine whether the parish should be wet or dry. However, has had many ups and downs since the dawning of the Christian era in the Hebrides. Though it is impossible to ascertain to what extent the common folk participated in the knowledge imparted by the early Celtic monasteries, there are many references to a class of cleric called 'scolocs', whose learning was accessible to the upper classes of the empire; likely the sons of chiefs and next in line to succeed their father, there being no male the poor searcher after knowledge who received education in the monasteries in return for service as labourer on the church lands, and who appears in monastic records as late as the fourteenth century.

As late as the sixteenth century, however, after the influence of the Church had diminished, the inhabitants were almost wholly illiterate. When the Fife Adventurers came to Lewis in 1598, they brought a schoolmaster with them; though it can be taken that his services were intended for the improvement of the clan, it cannot rather than the isleifolk. Old Roderic MacLeod, doughty chief of the MacLeods of Lewis at the time of the Fifers' arrival, was unable to sign his name. Two of his sons, on the other hand, were

HISTORY

105 (667) (668) (669) (670) (671) (672) (673) (674) (675) (676) (677) (678) (679) (680) (681) (682) (683) (684) (685) (686) (687) (688) (689) (690) (691) (692) (693) (694) (695) (696) (697) (698) (699) (700) (701) (702) (703) (704) (705) (706)

231 Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now
[288] fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great de
this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected w
the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numb
had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 3
breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the futu

221 All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For mos
233 the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre is
in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in Novem
the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft
boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are en
ged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

311 The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hum
233 waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700
sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically ov
stocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

231 No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, no
235 just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are
435 to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is fa
from profitable.

434 It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and
464 family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people
228 in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "pri
a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter s
does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

161 There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that
162 than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males betwe
these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the townshi
the Eishken estate.

366 As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no availabl
368 occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 a
166 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another
167 are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age wo
464 domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assi
505 their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent h
228 together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has con
462 steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.
352
434

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is
372 only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is withou
372 Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a
206 telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the la
366 decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east,
491 serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty mile
494 distant.

161 Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of con
162 gestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the
situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants o
holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land,
Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twe

207

207 RADIO AND TELEVISION--radio, television, radar, sonar, etc.; technology; use of equipment; facilities and services; organization and specialized personnel; programs and their preparation; audience; finance (e.g., advertising, subsidies); regulation; etc. See also:

Electric power 377
Manufacture of radio and television equipment 393
Description of equipment 403
Advertising 447
Use of radio and radar in aviation 507
Military radio and radar equipment 718

The small shop stocks essential household items, and extensive use is made of mail-order. A few years ago a telephone to the mainland was supplied, much valued in emergencies.

Scarp in fact has a small place of its own in the history of communications: on 28 July 1934 one of three British rocket-mail experiments (for which special stamps were printed) was held there. The inventor of the rocket, Herr Zucker, was later to become prominent in V-rocket work during the second German war. Herr Zucker personally conducted the firings. His rocket, a large cylinder with pointed nose, something like a heavy shell, was 3 ft long and weighed 30 lb, with capacity for several thousand letters. The motive force was ordinary high explosive contained in a large cartridge about 18 in long; the device was designed to burn with a series of rapid explosions and produce a flight speed of 1,000 mph. The firing apparatus was a flimsy wooden structure providing a runway rising at an angle from the ground, an elastic sling giving the rocket an initial impulse. The first rocket was fired on Scarp, to the mainland: it exploded prematurely and most of the mail was damaged. The postmaster applied to the backs of the damaged covers a three-line cachet in violet: 'Damaged by first explosion at Scarp—Harris.' In order that this mail should be actually flown, it was re-transmitted by the second firing made in the opposite direction, Harris—Scarp. The whole experiment was deemed a failure, however. The route taken by the mail addressed to Kirkwall was unique; rocket, ferryboat, motorcar, mail steamer, railway train, and finally by Highland Airways to Kirkwall.

Depopulation in Scarp was encouraged by the lack of employment prospects, and centralised education, of the type which has already played havoc with remote rural communities elsewhere, is felt to be a black cloud darkening the future. Much the same problem faces Scalpay Island, mentioned later. Children are removed from their home environments for higher secondary education at a central school: for Harris children this is at Portree, Skye. Many islanders argue that the scheme tends to destroy the family unit, urbanising the children so that they become unsuited to, and with no inclination for, rural life. Some sympathy must be felt for the education authorities, of course, as the pro-

[Marivig]

231 There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while [235] all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

314 Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of 482 the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

228 Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft, 501 and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

363 Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the 364 roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual 366 migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the 367 permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine 362 (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young 371 people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

205 The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a 206 shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There 366 is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road 490 which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much 488 better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig 491 and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.
346

363 Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the 361 sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain 342 and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron. 379 All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply; 312 rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

829 The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the 900 crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

213

CHAPTER III

BEYN IN THE DAYS OF THE CLAN

If we are to understand the continuing distinctiveness 121
a contemporary culture, we must attempt to reconstruct
culture of the twenty past and point out the plausible
ns for the more distinctive traits and patterns which,
ebeating integrated, became characteristic of the culture.
nsequer, then, is devoted to a description of the social 128
tatic, economics, and religion of the Eriskimbopb
n the influence of the commercial and rapidly expanding
rial society of Great Britain assumed significant
ctions.

Sources of Information

There is an almost complete dearth of information about 127
nternal conditions in the Hebrides before the eighteenth
ry, except for sharp accounts of intrigues and rebellions
st the Scottish Crown. A combination of causes is re-
nsible. First is the relative lateness of the introduction 127
writing. Second, there is the fact that the Western Isles 128
cluded by the Norse from the ninth to the thirteenth century,
d the destruction of Scottish records. The ecclesiastical

214

CH. X BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

159 of the owners—but farmers knew it was futile to protest,
173 and they suffered with a wry smile and a shrug of the
133 shoulders. After all, most of the farmers had stayed at
127 home and their affairs had prospered, in war-time; whereas
all but the older crofters had had years of seafaring or
fishing, and the nation's debt to them had not yet been
forgotten. The farmers kept quiet and waited.

151 Meantime, Leverhulme made public war upon the
Government. Speaking in Edinburgh in November 1919,
666 he declared that "Reports, thick as leaves in Vallombrosa,
433 have been the dominating feature of Government policy
in the Highlands and Islands . . . but the invariable rule
seems to have been, whenever expenditure of public money
was recommended, for the Government either to ignore
the reports or to cut down expenditure so penuriously
as only to result in waste . . . by not spending to the
full amount . . . Lewis and Harris have too long been
(213) the Cinderella of the Government pantomime."[1] The
crofters, reading this in the daily papers, and again in the
weekly *Stornoway Gazette* a day or two later, chuckled
with glee, rolling the phrase on their tongues. They
might not all have been able to explain the strange words,
like Vallombrosa or Cinderella, though they sounded fine;
but all knew what a pantomime, and some might even
have seen one, without saying too much about it to the
minister. About 'penurious expenditure' they could
have no doubt. Yes, a fine speech, they felt! Yet in
spite of the string of truth contained in such orations, these
did not make it easier for Government to co-operate with
the orator, to prevent raiding or to deal with it should it
begin.

000 Raiding did begin in the spring of 1920. Applicants

[1] Lecture at Edin. Phil. Inst., 1920. Quoted in Leverhulme (1927).

130

"I was in the Navy during the last war. We were
in Norway, and got an invitation to visit the palace.
I didn't go. I was afraid I'd make a mess of things."

"This place has an inferiority complex. It's
mainland-oriented; so you feel outlandish."

The new director of an association which promotes
the speaking of Gaelic is a Lowland Scot who learned
Gaelic when he was in England. He was working in England
and, as a Scotsman, felt so much like a foreigner that
he decided "to be a real foreigner"—to be studying Gaelic.
Motives which prompted legislation protecting crofting
also lie behind the development of organisations which
attempt to protect and preserve the Gaelic language.

An Comunn Gaidhealach, the Highland Association
which promotes the speaking of Gaelic, was founded in
1891 in a town on the mainland, and has always been urban-
based. Only recently has it established a branch in Lewis; it
established its headquarters in Stornoway; but the head-
quarters were relegated to hindquarters when the director
found that he needed to be on the mainland to exert
pressure on influential organisations for aid and support.
(213) The organisation is condemned by ministers on the island,
who see it as an organisation that sponsors light-hearted
singing. The magazines and books which it publishes or
sponsors are seldom read by the rural islanders. The

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 growth followed the increase in potato-growing and fish-
178 ing, in income and food production, and the introduction
434 of vaccination against smallpox, which had formerly taken
1 in every toll of child life.[1] This increase found an outlet
433 in emigration to the Colonies, often led by departing tacks-
(75) men though discouraged at first by the Island lairds. For
example, in July 1773, 840 people sailed from Lewis.
"Alarmed by this, their master . . . came down from
175 London to treat with the remainder of his tenants. What
428 were the terms asked, think you? 'The land at the old
(74) rents, the augmentation paid for three years back to be
refunded, and his Factor to be immediately dismissed!'"
(214) Although the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, from which this
quotation is taken, went on to say that it was incorrect that
the demands would be acceded to, or the Island would
become a desert, the Factor was retained.

The pressure of population can be imagined when the
appalling conditions of transport overseas are remembered.
A case in point of 19th century Scottish emigrants setting out from
the Clyde across the Atlantic in a vessel for which the
maximum human cargo of negro slaves permissible was
(122) 130. The regulations governing the transport of slaves
did not apply to the transport of "freemen." In connecting
this case, D. F. Macdonald suggests that while it was in
the interest of slave-owners that their slaves should arrive
in the Plantations alive, it was rather in the interest of
manufacturers to discourage emigration so as to keep a
supply of labour at home with which to meet their growing
demands and fill the gaps due to a high mortality, par-
ticularly among workers newly arrived from the country.[2]
It would also seem as if it had not been in the interests of
landlords to encourage emigration at a time when
(112) the Napoleonic Wars were at their height.

[1] Broad Bayard, 1950, p. 20.
[2] *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1750-1850* (1949).

217

217 ARCHIVES—repositories of records (e.g., libraries, art galleries, museums);
state archives (e.g. court records, administrative records); making collec-
tions; accessions; filing and indexing; curatorial activities; services (e.g.,
exhibits, tours); organisation and operational personnel; sources of support
(e.g., public, private); etc. See also:
Archives, general . . . . . 215 Cataloging 222
Land records . . . . . 216 Collections 223
Financial records . . . . . 220 Exhibits 224

HISTORY

175 scriptions flowed in. In 1709 the Queen granted Letters Patent
(74) under the Great Seal for erecting certain of the subscribers into
(243) a corporation. Thus did the SSPCK come into being, with an
initial capital fund of £1,000. Its progress was rapid. In 1711, it
supported twelve schools; in 1795, 323 schools. In addition to
paying the teachers' salaries, the Society supplied the children
with school books, established public libraries in various parishes,
and defrayed the expenses of printing Gaelic Bibles and other
books.

Harris here enters in an interesting sideline. In the records
(217) of the Presbytery of Moll, 1730, it is reported that 'Mr M'Aula . . .
carried off the library to Harris, because he was not paid for his
expenses in bringing them [the books of the Society] to Coll.' This
MacAulay was the great-grandfather of the English man of letters,
Lord Macaulay.

The Gaelic School Society was founded in 1811 and existed
until 1892. It supported a large number of schools, as the desire
for education had exceeded the capacity of the SSPCK. In 1790
(174) there were two schools and a spinning school in the parish of
(174) Stornoway. The minister of Barvas, writing in that year, says
that there had not been a parochial school in that parish for many
years, but that there was a Society school at Ness, attended by
about twenty pupils, instead of twelve that number had all the
(174) children been made to attend. The minister of Uig stated that
the spinning schools were established by the Lady Dunmore
but he does not refer to ordinary schools in his parish at that time.
(174) According to the minister of Lochs, a parochial school was built
there in 1759, and a Society school some three years earlier.

By the middle of the nineteenth century matters had improved
considerably, though there were still complaints that education
was not appreciated. In fact, education tended to be discouraged
(82) for a very practical reason. Back in 1811 an observer in the island
stated in his report that the great mass of the Lewis people would
not send their children to school. 'When reproached on this head
they answer "If we give them education, they will leave us."'
Seventy-two years later (1883), the Napier Commission was told
that 'Sir James (Matheson) supported and contributed to seven-
teen schools in the Island, many of which he built with teachers'

CRIME

CRIME

Serious crime is rare in the island, though it was not always so.[175]
Some light on the life lived in Lewis nearly two centuries ago is
found in the old records of the Sheriff Court of Ross County. The
first minute in the records concerns the appointment of George
Munro, Writer in Dingwall, as the first Sheriff-Substitute 'within
the Island of Lewis'. The date is 1788. Munro's commission em-
powered him to sit 'in the town of Stornoway or anywhere else
he may find most eligible at the time within the said Island of
Lewis and hold Sheriff courts there, judge, decide and determine
in all causes civil and criminal coming before him.' In those days
a case might be raised in any of the county courts. In 1788, a
regulation was made to save defenders from unnecessary trouble,
hardship and expense in travelling to relatively distant courts
where actions were raised against them; litigants had, before
Munro's appointment, been faced with a long and hazardous
journey to either Dingwall or Tain on the Scottish mainland.

The old Court Records date from 1788 and 1826 and record
a number of interesting cases. Sheep-stealing was common, but
other forms of theft less so; this is indicated by the fact that much
of the Court Records are taken up with the minutes of court
appointments. In a case concerning wrecking, Lloyd's of London
are mentioned as being represented in Stornoway as early as 1824
(174) In 1825 the defendants were fined £5 by Lord Gillespie, the
most of a ship found by them in Lemreway, in Lochs.

In a report dated 1902, a survey of crimes (offences against
the person and offences against property) revealed that Lewis and
Stornoway had good characters; considering the population num-
ber compared with the large influx of strangers to Stornoway
during the fishing season, local people emerge as more law-abiding
than the national average. Miscellaneous petty crimes were
numerous enough, however: minor assaults, breaches of the
peace and disorderly conduct, occurring mainly in Stornoway.
Much of this 'crime' was traceable to drink. The island's first fine
and only murder occurred a year or two ago.

THE PEOPLE

485 Many visitors each year, but there is nothing similar in Lewis. Hostellers who visit Stornoway can do little more than march through the town to the mail-boat, or else return to Harris by the next bus.

212 As might be expected, the reading tradition is strong, stimulating from a natural desire to learn and from the fact that the oatfield could only partly satisfy the need for mental stimulation, just to mention the need to alleviate loneliness. A century ago three books were to be found in many island homes: the family Bible, often a massive volume (had it been Catholic, *Turse of Christendoth* (*Pilgrim's Progress*) and *Cruz an Pailiteas* (Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*). As horizons became wider a public library was set up in Stornoway in 1907 (see Chapter 8); a library was in fact established three years before, before 1897, but it was not a free one. In round figures, the 15,600 people of landward Lewis (Lewis excluding Stornoway) borrow some 70,000 books annually, though of course the actual readership figures are higher, books borrowed being passed round the family and exchanged with others until the 'middle' calls again. The mobile library service was established by the Ross & Cromarty County Council in 1955 for rural villages in thirty-one school districts.

ISLAND EMIGRANTS

131 For all that the island is a tight-knit community, paradoxically it has produced many and women whose destinies are not worked out within the confines of its own shores, but at the ends of far horizons. This is typical of most Highland areas: most who leave them make a mark on other societies often greatly exceeding the size of the community they left behind. Many 'great' people are also directly descended from a crofting ancestry; minds and spirits bred in the Highlands and Islands have potential for development not always apparent on native soil but sometimes fully realised in their surroundings and conditions.

Harris and Lewis have contributed their share, and still do, to the general weal of skill, ability and initiative in all fields of human endeavour. For centuries, the export of brains was normal. Possibly the best known is Sir Alexander MacKenzie, who discovered

STORNOWAY The previous building was only an idea in 1907; it took shape when Dr Andrew Carnegie offered to contribute £1,000 towards the construction of a library, provided the town adopted the Public Libraries Act. This was done, and the Council decided to incorporate the library into a larger structure, erected at a cost of £11,000 and opened in September 1905 by Lord Rosebery. Carnegie increased his contribution to £3,500, with other large donations from public-spirited industrialists of the time (eg Coats of Paisley, who also financed school libraries in the island).

Being a seaport, Stornoway has been home to the town's livelihood. In the eighteenth century trade flourished between Stornoway and the Baltic, Scandinavia, Holland, France and Spain (see Chapter 6), and in the first half of the nineteenth century, fish was exported as far away as ports on the Mediterranean. The advent of steam killed the Stornoway sailing craft. At one time in its history, the shipyard (at Matheson's Pastur Slip, now the site of the textile mill) turned out many fine vessels. The scent of tar and pitch, the crunch of a busy grindstone, the shaping of a ship's timbers, the scanning of her planks, the driving of pins and bolts, the music of mallet and caulking-iron, the hum from the saw-pits and the rigger's adze, all made this town a centre of seamen with an interest in the bay. Then there were the schooners, brigs and barques of foreigners who put in for repairs or for merchandise. It was a time of glory that has now given way to nostalgia and has disappeared from the high seas. Ship-masters, ship-owners and crews all added colour and variety to the town as they mingled with the local population—which numbered 1,000 in 1801. Stornoway captains were world-known for their skipping: MacLeods, MacIvers, MacKenzies, Ryrie, MacLeans, Morisons, Allans. Time were the names that were once rolled off to be paired with the famous ships of the day: *Sir Lancelot*, *D. L. MacKenzie*, and *Ainsye*.

While large numbers of its sons were sailing the high seas, many in ships of Stornoway origin, the town began to take on the first shape of a port, with piers. On 9 August 1864, Sir James Matheson subscribed the instrument which took the Stornoway Harbour Commission into being. On 9 August 1866, on 22 June 1885, the Commission was incorporated by Act of Parliament. Matheson had shown a great interest in the development of the existing

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT

172 of the Isles, and in which the people met, though far from
173 any clergy. On the southern mainland most trace of
174 shrines and chapels seems to have been lost, so small are
175 the rings of unhewn stone that marked their sites. Little
176 was recorded by salaried clergy about the services conducted
177 there; those who approved tended to let well alone. Hence
178 written accounts have come down chiefly from those who
179 were out of touch with rural needs or ignorant of the
180 language spoken in intimacy, and whose alien training had
181 removed them from sympathy.[1] As for those private
182 chapels, erected as an observance to patrons bound them
183 to prelate, lord or king, they roundly condemned free
184 congregations.

185 Nevertheless, fragmentary records have come down,
186 such as those of Martin, who visited St. Kilda in 1697 and
187 described the little church where the people still kept a
188 fine brass crucifix and worshipped together, without the
189 presence of a clergyman. Martin's account of seamen who
190 landed by St. Kilda's fabulous isolation led Martin to de-
191 scribe its little community more fully than any other; but
192 he mentions similar worship elsewhere. Then in lonely
193 North Rona, inhabited by only five families, Martin had

[1] The science of religion is intimately sought of language in a community, as probably and particular work, the *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (Gaelic-English, and English-Gaelic) by Malcolm MacKinnon, D.D., 1911. This extended work incorporates all the words of three previous dictionaries, and many additions. We here make use of the people's religious tradition in pronounced age, of living usage, and of the Gaelic Bible (the Old Testament translated by Dr Stewart of Luss, and the New Testament, or parts thereof, as are given the more primitive and different sense of meaning (not the higher). See "*cuim*, a cam; shunk" or shrine—"*iomnguas*, a beginning" (a dedication); *sorm*, *fiad* or submission; "*ceu*, any, or only, a chance; . . . *ainsiu*, . . . *ainsiu*, . . . *ainsiu*, impostor of any kind . . . *lioh* . . . prayer in a church . . . *ceudsgrioba*, a beginning of a prayer, or the first part of a prayer, or words. According to the "*Gaelic Dictionary*, the title of the separate Scottish collection of Gaelic religious tradition, Carmichael's *Ordna nan Gaidheal* (Latin, *Carmina Gadelica*), is to be translated, *our Prayers*, but "*Charm* . . . or Supplication . . . of the God"!

221

122 In the last half of the 19th century, many families
123 were transferred from the district of Sig and resettled in
124 Shawbost. According to a local version of village
125 history, the Constable evicted persons from North
126 Shawbost and resettled them in New Shawbost. "The
127 people from Uig were fishermen, so they needed to be by
128 the sea. They wouldn't take a croft in New Shawbost at
129 all." According to another version, the crofts once
130 occupied all the way across from Carnan to the loch;
131 when the Uig people came, the crofts were chopped in
132 half, and the street called Bella Glas was created.

Whatever effect the Constables had on land use and
134 animal husbandry, they are now referred to as "tyrants,"
135 who went mad or committed suicide after the Crofters Act
136 of 1886.

137 Little and horses were tethered or herded within
138 easy walking distance from the township; sheep could
139 be left on the moor without much surveillance. At a
140 much earlier time another dike existed out beyond the
141 township dike. The dikes were used according to principles
142 found in grazing schemes today: the sheep were kept far
143 out on the moor, beyond the second dike, until midsummer
144 when they were moved in closer to the village. At this
145 point they were still out of the arable land of the

146 township, but on land which had been rested and which
147 thus provided better grazing. During the winter the
148 sheep were allowed past the township dike, to graze
149 along with the other livestock on the stubble of corn
150 and barley, and mineral-rich seaweed by the shore.

151 After World War II, the individual crofts began
152 to be fenced, and the township dike was no longer
153 required. The fact that sheep were still grazed
154 communally on the moor meant that everyone had to go
155 out together on a particular day rather than individually,
156 but fencing of individual lots facilitated improvements
157 in land use. Less use was made of crofts for raising
158 crops, and they could be used for grazing sheep all
159 year round.

By Repeating schemes and opportunistic

Information about the distribution of land
161 uses is provided by comparing the number of opportunistic
162 grants by the Crofters Commission for Lewis in the last
163 10 years with the number of township reseeding schemes
164 carried out during the same time (Table 171). A
165 further map supply to the Commission for an area of land
166 (opportunistic) to be sliced out of the township's
167 common grazing land and given to him for his own use;
168 theoretically, his share in the township's common grazing
169 is cut down if his application is granted.
170 [Ian p.xx—Analysis]

171 extra grazing for cattle, but by that time the cattle
172 were already on the wane.

173 The original idea was to provide an early bite
174 for the cattle, because everyone had cattle then.
175 Otherwise they would need to buy more baled hay to see
176 them through the winter.

177 Almost everyone in New Shawbost had a share in the
178 1959 schemes, about 26 altogether. Then it was mostly
179 cattle. We took turns bringing them in at night, and I
180 remember taking 33 home, with some left behind for the
181 night. The cattle were grazed over the summer, and the
182 lambs were put on from August 10 to October 10. Many
183 dropped out after the first four or five years, when they
184 stopped keeping so many cattle. When the number dropped
185 to 13 or 14, they started using the schemes for mixed
186 grazing, then allowed people to take up their shares again. When
187 we only had the cattle and lambs, we didn't need a
188 scaring; but when the mixed grazing started, we had to
189 keep down the number of sheep. Last year we had difficulty
190 with disease."

A forty-acre scheme in North Shawbost started with
192 about eighteen crofters and non-crofters participating;
193 there were 37 cattle altogether. Now only four have
194 cattle; the rest have sheep. The sheep-keepers say,

175 a crew member. Another family is called "cook," the
176 first job which a novice had to assume when he joined
177 the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go
178 to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The men
179 came back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats,
180 barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent
181 and purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods.
182 They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover
183 the stone-walled or wood-lined high dykh (black house)
184 for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a
185 season. While the men were away at the fishing, the
186 women put on from August 10 to October 10. Many
187 dropped out after the first four or five years, when they
188 stopped keeping so many cattle. When the number dropped
189 to 13 or 14, they started using the schemes for mixed
190 grazing, then allowed people to take up their shares again. When
191 we only had the cattle and lambs, we didn't need a
192 scaring; but when the mixed grazing started, we had to
193 keep down the number of sheep. Last year we had difficulty
194 with disease." [Ian p.xx—Analysis]

A forty-acre scheme in North Shawbost started with
196 about eighteen crofters and non-crofters participating;
197 there were 37 cattle altogether. Now only four have
198 cattle; the rest have sheep. The sheep-keepers say,

66 in the far north. "There were two fishing seasons.
67 For one season you went to Fraserburgh, Stornoway,
68 Lerwick and Peterhead; and then the winter fishing was
69 in England, at Yarmouth, Scarborough and Lowestoft.
70 I remember in Yarmouth we didn't like the English
71 bread, it was such a dull color; We liked the pure
72 white Scotch bread."

They lived in small huts, and the work was hard but
74 full of fun. Neighborhood girls used to go together,
75 bringing bedding and different items in large chests to
76 share in the housekeeping. Three girls worked together
77 in a crew, sleeping in a small room, and cooking a room,
78 in double bunks. Some of the huts were so small that
79 there was barely enough room for the beds and the cup-
80 boards. At night the boys would come in off the boats.
81 "You were so tired that you had being up since early
82 morning."

Yes you were always able to dance. You were treated with
84 respect; the youngsters today aren't so good." The
85 women who married non-islanders that they met at the
86 fishing were not likely to return.

87 When shipowners started hiring large scale, the girls
88 were glad enough to have work at home, even though the
89 work was hard." But many continued their temporary
90 absences from the island, working in hotels or as
91 nurses.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

ONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

233 were taken out to small huts in the central moorlands
233 for several months during the summer. These moorland
342 dwellings, called shellings or airidh, were tiny stone
structures, as small as seven by five feet. They had
double stone walls filled with clay, and a rounded
thatched roof. There were two doors opposite each other
in the longer walls, one of which was filled with turf
depending on the direction of the wind. A fireplace
[364] was built into one end of the hut; shelves in the stone
[362] walls held basins of milk and other items; and the major
part of the shelling constituted a grass-and-heather-lined
[361] cavity which served as a bed. The shellings were usually
clustered together near a stream, duplicating neighbor-
hoods within the village.

• 221 Ploughing and planting were finished in the spring
before the young men and women went off to the fishing,
and before the cattle were taken to the shelling. Some
families went to the shelling as early as March for a
"fresh bite" of grass. Many went out in the middle of
May, and returned at the end of July or beginning of
August.

233 "During the week, young girls or boys stayed out on
85 the shellings, depending on who was available in the
887 family; maybe old people who couldn't do anything else,
462

512 The cattle
233 knew their own shellings; sometimes
[425] they went before selling time and stuck their heads
[425] inside. They stood outside the shelling at night, and
that's how you can tell where a shelling once was, even
though the walls have fallen, by the rich green grass.
Calves were born during the summer. A hollow was scooped
233 out in the peat, and lined with turf and moss. People
[429] would stay out for four or five cows. It was like Switzerland,
[429] only we didn't have the bells on the cows. There was lots
[429] of milk, fresh thick cream and crowdie (clotted sour
[429] milk); the cows would know how to make cheese.
233 "The moor was very eerie at night, with the sound of
78 the birds. There were only a few hours of darkness
[513] anyway, and I'm sure we didn't get much sleep, but somehow
it was always fresh; it was the air, the moor air is
more health-giving. The air is different there. Ill
people benefited from the change. Sometimes a person
with TB would stay out there all summer. The air is heavy
by the sea.

305 "There was no sense of time the way there is today.
233 If you got lost in the snow or fog, you followed the cows
• 221 home. You had all summer to take home the peats, to work
829 the croft, to harvest the corn. There wasn't a world,
178 there was only ourselves. That has changed since the war.

233 As these quotations bring out, the subsidy enables
659 people to risk rearing cattle under conditions that
would otherwise make success very uncertain.

476 2. Communalism: Despite the decline in various
591 agricultural activities and the individuation of land
use, some activities persist which require mutual aid.
[484] Conditions of low geographical mobility, in which mutual
watchfulness and competitive gamesmanship have developed
(see section on "Social Marginality"), contribute to
the strong boundedness of the township network. There
is still competition over who begins an agricultural
[164] activity at a particular time of the year. No one wants
• 222 to be so early that he stands out like an over-eager
novice running risks of frost or other bad weather, but
he also shows pride in being the first to
314 harvest potatoes or bring in the peat. Almost everyone
591 cute peat, a time-consuming and back-breaking job made
476 pleasanter with a large labor force; and every aspect
of the activity--the time of cutting and bringing in,
the length of time required to cut peats, the size of
the peats when dry, the type of moss served to the work
• 221 horses, the evenness of the final peat stack--is subject
to intense scrutiny.

233 costly, that the Common Market will soon drive up milk
659 prices, and that income from the weaving has become too
484 uncertain.

476 Many tools and techniques associated with crofting
178 have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (two
pieces of wood joined with leather); the sheepskin
stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate
chaff and grain; rope made of plaited heather and straw.
Each spring the byre was cleaned of its accumulated dung
[241] and ashes, and this was turned into the ground along
[429] with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among
[164] the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be
• 222 mobilized under changed conditions, as when alternatives
[175] to crofting are no longer available or are too costly.
[387] However, the longer crofting is neglected, the less it
will provide an alternative strategy. This is a special
241 fertilizer for raising the land; that's why the
824 turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to
[233] water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and
streams--rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and
cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep--
the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather
work the land than the blinkin' loom, 'cause we tried the
potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them
all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

529 Whereas at other times of the year there are specific
[164] times which are considered appropriate for visiting,
574 especially if the visit includes a bottle, at New Year's
visitors may appear in the middle of the night or at
any time during the day. Some men may stay up for four
[513] nights in a row, going back home for a few hours of sleep
522 or a bite to eat before setting off again. Various pranks
[521] are played. Men climb through the windows of darkened
574 houses, or wake up sleepers by making animal sounds. One
man went around the village showing a pig's foot to women
as though it were a penis.

527 But whether lasting for one night or for five,
festivities end with the arrival of Sunday; and the usual
comment is, "Thank God it's Sunday."

The "exiles" prefer to return at such times as New
• 221 Year's, or during the summer months when the beaches are
[521] inviting and the gales absent. They remember the
[520] "characters" and other features of village life which
give it color, often forgetting the drab background out
of which the color was forged. Some villagers whose
children have married and left the island continue to live
alone in the house simply to keep the house in order for
their return. "I wouldn't close the house on them. They
come back every summer." A man thinking of emigrating

164 says, "I'll have to ask my brothers and sisters if they
[484] need, since they come back every year." Some houses
426 which are almost empty for most of the year are over-
flowing during the summer months. Often the visitors
must come in stages.

164 The "exiles" sing the old songs with vigor, drink
[484] heavily during their visit, and praise the island for
[521] that "special quality" which is unmatched by life in the
574 dirty, crowded, unfriendly city. Some plan to retire in
the village. The villagers take up the tune that their
society is eminently worthwhile. When talking to strangers,
they ask questions pertaining to this image of themselves,
such as, "Don't you think this place has something which
you will never find in a city?" "People come here during
the summer and they love it; they can't keep away. So
they must find something here. What would you do in a
city anyway? Out here you're freer."

The visitors not only bolster the self-esteem of the
[164] islanders, but provide them with a fund of gossip. "You
[484] summer visitors always turn things topsy turvy when you
574 come." Talk of the adventures of the summer visitors
helps to occupy the long winter nights of the islanders.

164 A comment frequently heard is, "We was awfully home-
[484] sick leaving." That is, he was already longing to be back
548 on the island, his spiritual home. The image of the island

273 One night of the week in which controls are imposed, by
[176] the arrival of Sunday when no one may buy or drink.
[176] The bothan was occasionally open on Friday night, and
on Monday night. "If there's anything left from Saturday
• [221] night, we finish it on Monday.") During the summer of
1971, when the days were long and filled with communal
township activities such as peat-cutting, the bothan was
open every night of the week. The bothan closed when the
man supplying it with drink suddenly died, and has not
reopened.

273 2. Functions of Drinking: If a man decides not to
571 participate in drinking, he is not praised for his self-
[176] control or his ability to abstain; rather, people say,
"What's the matter with him that he doesn't mix?" A man
goes off to the hotel or to a bothan "for a wee nip" or
"for a pint" (the pint of beer which serves as a chaser
for glasses of straight whiskey). Both phrases are
euphemisms for the huge amount of whiskey and beer which
must be consumed if a man is to satisfy the canons of
social intercourse which obtain. A man can drink alone
or, in the company of others, drink very little only at
great social cost.

"You can't go in for a casual pint in a place like
the bothan because it's a place where people mix, and
you're bound to meet old friends you haven't seen for

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

286 womenfolk, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five
[462] families. In Lewis, male weavers were more common: one to
• 175 every twenty-five families. The making of whisky was introduced
433 about the seventeenth century. This was in addition to the old
[433] drink of home-brewed beer or ale (*lionn*), and much of it was
273 made to pay rents; it must have consumed a considerable quan-
175 tity of valuable foodstuff. However, the spread of distillation was
[433] a legitimate home industry by which the rent could be paid, in kind
[433] or by sale, was followed by legislation prohibiting all but very
[438] large stills; illegal distilling of course went on in a small way.
• 175 It was then, by a very narrow margin that subsistence was won
511 in the island some two centuries ago. Many times famine showed
that the kelp was the real wealth in the island down. The introduction of
the potato, and the interest in the fishing industry led to an in-
crease in the population, though as discussed in Chapter 3 this in
turn brought more problems. Basically, the island economy had
never been organized on a sound foundation, with the result that
winds of change blew where they would with little or no control.

A new factor in the island economy was introduced after 1750.
• 195 This was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed on the
224 shore for subsequent use in the manufacture of alkali for the glass
[224] and soap industries. The first tentative move in the island was
433 made by MacLeod of Harris in 1748, when he allowed his Irish
[433] Irish labourers to make kelp on his shores; so little was the pro-
duct's value realized at the time that he only charged them 2s per
ton manufactured. As the burning of kelp came to be understood,
and the marketable value of the product ascertained, the native
population set in. Between 1772 and 1964, about 50 tons were
produced in Lewis each year, compared with some 800 tons per
annum in the Uists; the Harris figure was 500-600 tons. The
growth of the industry began to snowball, and the Minister of
Locks, writing in the *Old Statistical Account*, states that at the
time (1796) some 50 tons were being produced in that parish
per annum. In Stornoway parish, though no figure is available,
• [221] the minister reports that kelp-burning was the principal manu-
facture, and that everyone able to fill a creel, or carry one, was
employed at it for about three months of the year. Little of it
seems to have been done in Barvas parish. The price of kelp varied

THE OTHER ISLANDS

175 Account, there was one family there, that of the person employed
162 by the owner to look after the livestock. The owner was a Nee
Mackaman who paid £4 sterling rent per annum. The land pro-
duce was corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep and sometimes a cow,
and some wild fowl and feathers.

In 1844 Rona was evacuated, its last inhabitant being, in the
175 seventh year of Queen Victoria's reign, the 'King of Rona',
Donald MacLeod, who lived in almost prehistoric conditions.
Rona was without inhabitants until 1884, when a last attempt
195 at settlement was made by two men from Neu. This was a self-
imposed exile, after a difference of opinion with the minister of
their parish; in penance, they held themselves off to Rona. In
1885 a relief boat called and found both men dead, one from
natural causes, the other from starvation and exhaustion after
nursing his friend. By the footmarks of their hut was a pot ready
for the preparation of a meal they never ate.

234 Today, man's connection with the island is maintained by the
221 annual party of Lewis shepherds who each year make the journey
to shear the sheep which still graze on the green slopes around the
open-ended village. Otherwise, only the occasional traveller now
lands there. In June 1956, North Rona with its associated rock,
185 Sulasgeir, was declared a National Nature Reserve on account
of its importance as a breeding ground for colonies of oceanic
birds—guillemots, puffins, kittiwakes, and fulmars—and for its
seal colony.

Sulasgeir

133 Sulasgeir is twelve miles west of North Rona, a lonely rock in
131 the Atlantic, bleak and grassless, and tunnelled by caves and
gullies. The only life it has ever supported is seabirds—officially.
196 Yet one of the old buildings is said to be a chapel and is called
'Tigh Beannaich' (House of Blessing). According to Nen tradi-
175 tion, Sulasgeir was once used as a prison for sheep-stealers, and
it is also said that Bernhilda, sister to St Ronan, was left on the
island to perish. Yet another tradition claims that it was at this
rock that Prince Charles Edward made his first contact with his
Scots clansmen, when the ship that carried him to Scotland was
spoken to by a Nen boat making for North Rona.

241 thirds of an area nominally under crops actually grows
240 barley and hardly be said that such crofts do not
support a family.

The means of cultivation have been either pony-drawn
ploughs in the smoother north, or else the foot-plough
(197) (cas chrom), and the straight spade in the hilly south. I saw
the almost obsolete foot-plough used on hilly ground near
Bodach, Harris, in 1950. In the smoother lands from Stornoway and Barvas northward, however, the crofts then were already laid out in parallel strips, no more than twelve to fifteen feet wide, bounded by open drains. Open drains have increasingly been converted into underground drains over which pony and plough can pass. The cattle feed on the rough pasture or on the grass about the crofts, supplemented by hay cut with a sickle from the grassy edges of the 'lazy-beds'. Quite recently, rotation grass has been sown on the arable strips, and mown for hay by the scythe.
(198) (197) It is important as a breeding ground for colonies of oceanic birds—guillemots, puffins, kittiwakes, and fulmars—and for its seal colony.

In many of the villages, cattle are still taken to the
233 summer pastures out on the moors some miles from the
311 village, to which they herd the cattle live in huts or shelings, annually re-roofed. In the congested 'Point district' (the Eye Peninsula), the cattle must go to the moor on the main island or be taken on to their owners' crofts from late May or early June to about the 10th of August, in order to clear the common grazing and allow the grass to recover. This migration takes place, of course, because
233 of the restricted area of common pasture. On the other
311 hand, pasture is plentiful in the parish of Lochs, lying all round about the village, and here the use of the shieling has been practically abandoned. In almost all villages, with the exception of those of the Eye Peninsula, there is less summer pasturing than formerly; fewer cattle are sent

233 away, and for a shorter period. The sheep wander over
311 the moors all the year round, though they hang about the
crofts when the winter is severe.

221 A comparison with mountainous Norway or the Alps
152 and their high summer pastures suggests itself; but in
Lewis altitude is almost negligible, and the shelings may
171 lie only two to five hundred feet above that of the crofts
133 beside the shore. The difference between winter and
311 summer is in any case less, now being rare and the conditions being such that even in summer the shieling pasture remains poor. Hence it is that while modern Norse and Alpine economy still maintains the summer pasture, the shielings have died out in the Highlands and are slowly decaying in Lewis. Seasonally, stock are transported over longer distances, from Highland to Lowland pasture.

Reasons for the continuance of these and other crofting
181 ways, or for their abandonment, are not of an economic
order alone: not only the remuneration received for labour,
178 but the desire for the work counts enormously. Visiting
233 a couple of distant shielings in the summer of 1950, I
311 found that two lads newly home from the Navy had come up from their village 'for a holiday', bringing rods for trout-fishing and high spirits for play. By day they fished or flirted. By night they slept in one of the two shielings, while the two laughing lasses they had come to visit shared the none too wide couch of the other shieling with the two older women there. One of these was a matron with a motherly twinkle in her eye, the other was a spinster in whose eyes there shone a memorably vivid light; she was the sister (as I found later) of a noted minister on the mainland. The bare simplicity of shieling life is traditionally softened by fellowship and a gaiety that is not beyond
(538) control. A Lowland poet once coined a famous phrase,

182 on the East Coast and in Orkney and Zetland there are
222 comparatively well-marked seasons at which the herring can be expected, Stornoway appears to lie marginally to their main migrations. Thus the amount of the catch varies and curers have been disinclined to set up large curing stations such as those which deal with the enormous influx at the height of the season on the East Coast. A partial compensation is found in the continuance of herring fishing in winter.

While fishing from rowing boats for saith, lythe and
175 ling provided much of the fish needed for home consumption,
221 with long lines in winter and spring brought cod and other
(198) white fish, sun-dried and salted, which became an important export through declining sharply after 1900 and of no importance since 1919. Lobster fishing is undertaken in small boats with two or three men from many townships, and two ponds have been stocked, one on Bernera, Lewis, and the other at Stockinish in Harris to store the lobsters. Conditions in 1935 and 1951-53 are compared in Appendix I (iii) and II (iii).

6. The Annual Rhythm of Life

221 It is appropriate here to show how fishing and crofting
182 fitted together in the seasonal calendar a hundred years
175 ago, and shortly before and after the war of 1914-18.
176 The Lewisman's year shows its relationship to the seasons,
198 with their temperature, rainfall and wind (Fig. 9). A
(286) carefully wrought changes: cod fishing declined as the herring fishing grew in importance; but the latter fell away again after the war. Partly as a result, weaving has become important, the men fitting into the idle periods between the brief peaks of spring and harvest work.

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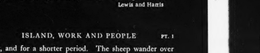
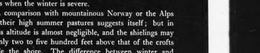


175 (b) ANNUAL RHYTHM OF SEASONAL LABOUR c. 1800
221 J F M A M J J A S O N D


(c) ANNUAL RHYTHM OF SEASONAL LABOUR 1900-1920
J F M A M J J A S O N D
Cod-fishing
Lobster-fishing
Herring-fishing
Crofting
Weaving
Cattle-herding
Cattle-feeding
Cattle-dressing
Cattle-dressing
Cattle-feeding
Cattle-herding
Crofting
Weaving
Herring-fishing
Lobster-fishing
Cod-fishing
WEAVING ACCORDING TO THE 'WEAVING DEMAND'
Weaving
Weaving
Weaving

to bleed or to set bones, while some elderly woman would serve as physician and midwife. Spiritual consolation and renewal too could be found, even in the absence of monk or nun, or of priest, minister or catechist. Enough here, that with agriculture and fishing, most crafts, except metal-work, were practised in every family. The 'range of skills' was therefore wider and richer in latent art than might be supposed from those needed on a little croft today. Hence the importance of understanding the roles of husbandman and housewife, of "the man and the woman of the house".

Their labours through the annual rhythm of the seasons might be classed as efforts for the man and endurance for the women (Fig. 9). Man's muscular strength and freedom of limb rouse him to efforts demanded by the thrust and lift of peat-cutting, digging in stony soil, or pushing the foot-plough, step by step obliquely down a rocky slope. In the past an archer's chase of stag, wolf or boar demanded all a man's effort, and courage too, as fishing still does in the stormy north-western seas. With this facing of danger there came a gaiety that sparkled like the crest of a breaking wave. Women's work demanded by its unceasing activity a cheerful endurance, whether at labour on the croft, at corn-grinding, butter-making and peat-carrying, or carding, spinning and weaving; and with every task of day or season came the constant tending of cattle, of menfolk and children.

This allotment of seasonal tasks and skills is neatly put in the proverb, "A man's cow won't yield milk, nor a woman's horse ploughing" (*Cha bhi bainn' aig bo fir, 's cha bhi treabhadh 'an each mnatha*). Yet women have always taken a share of work on the croft—too heavy a share when the men were much away—and the habit of

encouraging them to rest when the men returned was fondly indulged. Much can be learned from the first (or 'old') "Statistical Accounts of the parishes of Scotland drawn up from the communications of the Ministers of the different parishes", *circa* 1790-96. Of the parish of Stornoway, where by 1790 many men had become crofter-fishers and others were at sea, the Minister wrote, "The women labour at least as hard as the men", even pulverising the ground with heavy hand-rakes (harrows being seldom used), and digging both with crooked and straight spades. That the men's debt was repaid in acts of manly service is true. A man would carry wife or sweetheart on his shoulders across a river in spate, whose rushing waters might have swept her away. But in her turn, a woman would wade into the cold sea, her coats high, bearing on her hips husband or son out to his open boat, so that he could start his night of exposure dry-shod and warm. This act of service was noted and illustrated by Burt at Inverness (about 1726), and it was common in the Lews before the building of stout piers, that is within living memory. Strong common sense, sheer necessity in fact, enforced such mutual service; but the sacrifice entailed was nerved by anxiety for those in danger, by personal pride and love. It was also true that it bore hardly on women, with their readiness for self-sacrifice and their ordeal of childbirth.

What return for their labours did the people get in the past, it will be asked, and what approach to sufficiency in a normal year? For the Island, the most thorough of the five Parish Accounts is that of Harris, with its fascinating retrospective notes (vol. x, p. 368). There the yield of a typical family share, a 'fourth' or 'farthing' land, was computed at "from four to five bolls" (which in Scotland

CHAPTER VII

THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF T COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

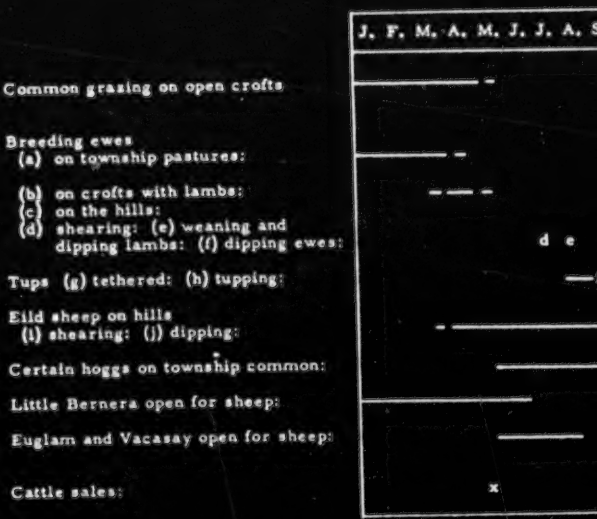
771 As in every form of religion rooted in co
[221] the sacraments and prayers of the Gae
[796] to labour and to the phases of life's c
some of the 'runes' or prayers were essenti
and others were breathed only in the close
many were shared by a group of families: th
of the men or women of a joint farm, the
[621] neighbourhood and township or wider group.
munities being so small and isolated, their r
pended greatly upon themselves and upon
[794] As in worship in common, so in healing of b
and in the invocation of grace upon youth, n
another might lead in praise and prayer.
leader of a little team would lead in the dedica
work, and, when it was completed, be 'the
of its fruit.

771 Where no clergy were at hand, neighbou
794 practised the saying of one they called th
brother': that if no more than "two of y
earth about anything you pray for, it will be
by my Father in heaven. For where two o
gathered in my name, I am there among th

FIGURE 30

Calendar of stock

movements in the Bernera d



4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

221
231
233
236

district

S. O. N. D.

Traditional dates: Nov.1 - May 12
(Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson)

(Bernera shore: on nearer hill
pastures)

Traditional dates: May 15 - Nov.30

f

g h

Breaclete and Hacklete

Croir

x

a night of black mistiness . . . he waded nearly breast-high" through the dangerous South Ford of Benbecula, "conscious only of the roll and the singing of waters and the rhythm of a poem he had taken down a few hours before"—"The Invocation of the Graces", so nearly lost with him! Much that Carmichael learned was given him under a seal of confidence he never broke, although he mourned the loss this meant. The confidence he inspired—which even those who knew him only in their childhood remember for life—was a source of his quiet, unfailing power.

The following begins with the runes and rites of labour, throughout the day, week and year, on land and sea and at home. Turning to the day of rest and to congregational worship, one must enquire as to the presence of the clergy, and question closely how far the people had access to the Bible throughout the centuries: were they really cut off from its riches, from its essence, as the Reformers and the Evangelicals of last century asserted with such vehemence? One can then turn to the runes and rites which opened the phases of life, from birth to maturity, marriage and parenthood, leading at last to life's close.

But no social inheritance is without its burden. Having told of the foundations of faith, something must be said in the next chapter of the negative or superstitious side of Island belief, of temptations and evils which the people could face, and of others to which they submitted in ignorance. From the evidence of faith and wisdom, or error, one must attempt some evaluation of attainment by single souls and by the community, and of the power and fullness of life in common.

(A) SACRAMENTS AND RUNES OF LABOUR, IN FAMILY, TEAM AND TOWNSHIP

788 Labour given to the winning of food, shelter and
• 221 clothing was begun and blessed by poetic, rhythmic prayers or 'runes'. The words were usually reinforced by a symbolic gesture or simple rite. By help of the runes the people sought spiritual preparation for work, invoked aid and finally consecrated the thing made for use.

221 Wherever work was rhythmic it was carried on by
461 working songs. Songs of hunting or herding recalled the
[171] hill and pasture, or praised the landscape with an exuberant flow unequalled in any tongue we know but old Irish, with which Scots Gaelic is so closely linked, or Welsh, of which the nature classics are linked to the epics of the sixth and seventh century thought to be composed in Strathclyde.[1]

788 Yet it was not these but the rhythmic prayers or runes
461 which initiated labour, stage by stage. They are paralleled
[171] among many peoples, but those of the Gael possess rare fullness of meaning and beauty of imagery, words and form. When labour was ended, the food won or the clothing made was consecrated for the use of family and friends, of the poor and the stranger-guest.

788 In the struggle for food, the sowing and reaping of corn
241 ranked highest, followed by its parching and grinding (*Carmina*, Nos. 88-92). The preparation of seed for its sowing was accompanied by its consecration, *an coisreageadh sioil*. Similarly for reaping: "Laying his bonnet on the ground, the father of the family took up his sickle and,

[113] [1] Examples of these nature poems are given in scholarly prose translation by Kenneth H. Jackson (1937 and 1950). Songs with their melodies will be found in Arthur Geddes (Ed.), *The Songs of Craig and Ben*, vol. i, 1951.

CALENDAR OF

	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APR.	MAY
Gates					‖ s
Oats				ploughing /sowing	
Potatoes				planting ····· earlies/main crop	
Hay					
Peats					cutting
Cattle					···· main calv
Sheep				lambing ①	

① Hoggs removed from mach
② Lambs weaned
③ Dipping

Figure

/facing p. 38/

4: Noisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

221
231
233
241

CROFT WORK

JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
ut					open	
.....		harvest				
.....	lifting ..... earlies / main crop					
	. . ..					
....drying	.....carting					
ing period						
shearing wedders / ewes		②	③		④	⑤

ir ④ Tupping
⑤ Rams to common pasture

771 "The Iona Community is a Brotherhood of men within
792 the Church of Scotland seeking to find the implications of
794 the Kingdom of God for modern society. During the summer months they worship, work and live together on
621 Iona, rebuilding the ruined Abbey on a co-operative basis. Half the Brotherhood are young clergy pledged to work for two years in the difficult places of the cities (after three months in Iona), emphasising the place of the Church in the New Community that is emerging in the world. The other half are skilled artisans who desire to express their labour as a ministry within the Priesthood of all Believers and create—in the building—a microcosmic witness of how labouring is transformed when seen as a Sacrament. The Brotherhood is based on Reformation principles.
21] Several members of the Community are married. At present the artisans return to the ordinary labour market in the winter time." [1]

61] In the Iona Community, theology is linked to communal labour and the re-shaping of society; and its symbolic centre, Iona, is more than a literary name, or a historic ruin, to those who have set about rebuilding its cathedral tower, cloister and surrounding dwellings. Continuity is exemplified in its leader, the Rev. George F. Macleod, a descendant of Dr. Norman Macleod, the friend of McLeod Campbell. The significance of this Community to the theme of this chapter lies in the endeavour of its members to learn, by help of ancient native ways, new ways of Christian life in their own land. The attempt to link industrial Scotland, and lands beyond, to the Gaelic West, is a notable recognition of what Celtic Christianity, maintained and renewed by communal tradition, has yet to give the world.

[1] From the magazine of the Iona Community, *The Coracle*.

133 townships and at Islivig and Breanish, the peat is thin (or has been stripped) to reveal a
134 gravelly dirft,[1] free-draining on suitable slopes. In such places a black loamy soil has
134 been developed by cultivation; the many ditches of laxybed cultivation are not necessary
24] and, if the area is large enough, it can be worked by tractor. Such soils, in the climate
[40] of west Lewis, are eminently suitable for rotation grass, for hay or pasture, and much more could be done with them under knowledgeable management. Where shell sand has been blown inland on to peaty soils the natural top-dressing has had a remarkable ameliorating effect on texture and acidity. Such areas are all too limited, the most important are at Valtos, Kneep and Reef, and around Uig bay; smaller areas are at
134 Mealasta, Mangersta and Bosta (Bernera). The hill grazings are dominated by a thin
134 heather cover, blue moor grass and, in wetter places, sphagnum and cotton grass. Since
[23] the cattle population has been declining many older residents claim that the pastures, particularly near the townships, have deteriorated, the proportion of grass declining and coarse heather increasing. "The hills that were green when I was a boy", said one, "are now black". Neglected arable and pasture land, too, soon reverts. Rushes and flags invade the ditches between the old lazy beds and, if the ground is at all waterlogged, soon invade the beds as well. Drier ground, if not well grazed, soon reverts to heather. The limited machairs are little better; almost devoid of humus, they show little development of soil profile, only a thin grey layer of turf roots; rabbits, or injudicious cultivation readily set off wind erosion. Only where the wind has provided a natural blend of peat and machair are conditions better. Such areas are very limited.

132 The climate is in many respects severe; no local statistics are available, but some for Stornoway and Benbecula are appended. The frequency of high winds has a bad effect on both vegetation and stock, but to some extent wind counteracts excessive moisture. Near sea-level, where all the townships are situated, frost and snow are almost unknown. Thus it is exposure to the wind that limits the outwintering of stock, not low temperatures; this suggests that if pastures could be improved in suitably sheltered places far more advantage might be taken of the relatively mild winter temperatures. It is believed that the sunshine record is particularly poor in the south, where clouds can frequently be seen hanging over the mountains when the sun is shining on Bernera and the area north
[248] east of East Loch Roag. The relatively dry and sunny period which commonly occurs in
[221] May and June ought to make for a good hay harvest; unfortunately the natural meadows, such as they are, are late starters, and the custom is to cut the grass when it has gone to seed. Thus hay is often being taken in September - one of the wettest months in the year.

CHAPTER TWO

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS

172 Evidence of pre-historic and other early settlements in the parish is afforded by the occurence of standing stones, brochs and duns. The Callanish circle and its satellites are by far the most remarkable ancient monument in the Hebrides, and testify to the former importance of the site even though today their precise significance may not be clear. Most of the duns are now little more than circular heaps of stones, but in that at
[174] Dounc Carloway the double walls still stand to a considerable height. A later phase of
103 settlement is recorded in the place names, a very large proportion of which contain Norse
[162] elements such as -nish, -vick, -bost and -shader; it seems probable that most of the present township sites have been more or less continuously occupied since Norse times.

7.

1. [Presumably the author means "drift"--Analyst]

The minister
was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them
175 as an example to the crofters who were still reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70
[247] boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch Roag for they were small open boats greatly
[226] outnumbered in good herring seasons by boats from other parts of the kingdom. To
[251] encourage curing, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up two storehouses
441 to supply salt; he, or his agents, were probably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, who
[614] visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the estate factor held a monopoly for trading in cattle, dried fish and other products. The absolute power of the clan chieftain seems to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844. But it was kelp, more than fishing, that helped to support the people of Uig in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lewis made little kelp compared with the
175 Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of particularly good quality and commanded more than
[221] the average price. Further, many people from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time, the intrinsic resources of the parish appear
[233] to have been inadequate to support the population. In this connection it is worth noting
[162] the change in the average stock held by each family since 1792 as shown in table 3.
[178]

Clearance and Congestion.

175 Even after the end of the tremendous boom in kelp, brought about throughout the
228 Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some production continued in Uig. In 1825, when the land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses,
175 yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereafter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attempt-
233 ing industrial developments and agricultural improvements. The former included short-
166 lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants in order to introduce mainland farmers. For these Uig was particularly attractive, the
427 extensive mountain pasture offering good prospects for sheep graziers. The exact dates of the formation of the earliest farms are not remembered nor are they precisely recorded,
[274] but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Macrae of Kintail had the tack of Scaliscro, with the extensive grazings (now partly occupied by Bernera summer pastures) east of Little Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants of Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of Mealasta Island, which suggests that a sheep farmer was already installed in that district. About 1838 all the small tenants were cleared out of Mealasta, six families being put into Breanish; the remainder are said to have been sent to America.

175 In Bernera island, Kirkibost was cleared about 1822, having been lotted in individual
427 crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkibost formed part of the large farm of Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed part of this farm. On the mainland, opposite Bernera, small tenants were cleared from the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Strome and Drovernish) in the early nineteenth century, and a tacksman was installed at west Earshader. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and Linshader.

175 By 1844 the kelp shores were almost valueless to the proprietor (though seaweed as fertiliser remained a vital necessity to the small cultivators, often working the same land year after year). In 1841 the Chamberlain of the Lews suggested to the Select Committee on Emigration that some 6,000 persons should emigrate because the land was inadequate to support them. In 1844, of necessity, Seaforth sold the island. The
[162] population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,316); little did the Chamberlain imagine that in the following ten years it would increase by 16%, and that by the turn of the century would reach almost 30,000, (Uig 4,463 Figure 8).[1]

1. [See p. 18--Analyst]

175 It is worth noting that the rental charged for the newly cleared farm of Carnish was
427 £55 - being £20 less than had been paid by the crofters. Thus it cannot be said that the latter were evicted purely in order to obtain more rent. The proprietor must have been taking a long term view, looking for land improvement rather than immediate gain. By the 1870's the farm rentals had increased by 55%, those of the crofting townships by only 15%. And the latter often remained unpaid.

175 Thus, whilst the farmers prospered, the tenants became crowded in their townships
427 which were correspondingly less and less able to support their increasing numbers.
511 The crofts became so reduced that in an average year the produce of the land might keep a crofter and his family for only six months; for the rest he had to find other means of
175 support. Fortunately, after the hungry years of the 'forties', fishing provided just this.
226 Starting in 1851, an annual migration began, first to Caithness and later to the whole east
464 coast of Scotland and England. By the 1880's not only were most of the able-bodied young
166 men following the herring as hired men on east coast boats, but many of the women-folk,
[221] who had learned gutting, packing and kippering from English girls brought to Stornoway for the purposes, were also earning. This was summer work, and fitted well between seed-time and harvest. In the winter, small local open boats worked long lines for white fish which were dried and salted for local curers as they still are today on the
[511] Norwegian coast. Between the 1850's and 1880's there was a "condition of plenty" in Lewis "which would not have been credited by those who judged of the condition of the people by the external aspect or sanitary arrangement of their dwellings".* It was this "condition of plenty" which encouraged the people to stay at home, to sub-divide their crofts, and to live on the proceeds of paid labour rather than on the produce of the croft.

Re-settlement, 1878-1935.

175 The process of sub-division ceased only when economic conditions became less
427 favourable and emigration began to exceed natural increase. In the 1880's fishing and
[166] farming suddenly became less profitable. Simultaneously, and given extra point by the
[234] particular distress of the time, agitation for land reform, and in particular for the
[241] relief of the most congested districts, became a political issue. This began in Uig in
175 1874 when an attempt was made to evict 56 crofters from Bernera; hundreds of crofters
668 resisted by force and subsequently marched on Stornoway. They were well received by the proprietors - who appear to have been unaware of the summary and inhumane behaviour of their chamberlain - and to the credit of all concerned the matter ended peacefully. But land agitation continued.

175 The position in Bernera was eased in 1878 when Linshader farm was deprived of the
427 old township of Kirkibost which was resettled by crofters from Bosta, the latter being let to the Tobson crofters as an enlargement to their pasture. In 1880 new holdings were formed in Hacklate, which had been the grounds-officer's farm (but which, judging from its population, had always contained a number of cottars or sub-tenants). The grazing of Laimshader was probably returned to the Borroston crofters about 1886, having been part of Linshader farm and, in 1891, six new holdings were formed at Lundale, also part of the same farm. At the same period, under the new Act, the crofters of Crowlista, Valtos, and Kneep applied unsuccessfully for enlargements from the farms, but during the nineties the islands of Little Bernera and Eilean Kearstay were taken off Linshader farm and added to the townships of Bernera, and Valtos obtained Pabay Mor.

*Report....on the Condition of the Cottar population in the Lews. (C.5265), 1888, p.4.

Stock Management.

22/ 178 The annual rhythm of stock keeping has lost the clear definition it used to some extent to possess. The decline in summer residence at shielings has already been mentioned; most were in use up to 1914, and many were visited after the Great War, but the decline is continued during the inter-war period until practically the last visits were made between 1936 (Lundale) and 1939 (Tobson): very few shirlings have been visited since. There are one or two isolated examples of a summer visit to the pastures still surviving, but they are not carried out by regular crofters having normal grazing rights. The 147 construction, since 1908, of ring fences around the inbye and the more recent fencing of certain common grazings has further lessened the necessity of herding and co-operating regularly on the commons. The importance of fencing may be judged by the fact that it was estimated that, whereas prior to the construction of the fences there were about 4,000 sheep grazing over the Earshader - Crulivig - Lundale area, including about 2,000 from the Bernera Shielings and about 200 from Uig, there are now only about 1,500. Figure 10 indicates both the periods when the sheep are on the hill and the variation in the dates of movement. This applies mainly to the island townships, for mainland townships which are contiguous with the grazings, may keep sheep on the hill for as long as six months each year. The rest of the year is spent on the township pasture and inbye. Hacklete, Kirkibost and all but seven of the Tobson crofts are open in the winter to common grazing. When the custom was more widespread the date was not clearly stated and adhered to, now there is more variation, and November 7th or 14th (Hacklete) or 17th (Kirkibost) have become indications rather than rules, depending on weather conditions and the lifting of crops. On the mainland, ('Bernera Shore') the sheep may be brought merely nearer to the crofts rather than right onto the arable; where the pastures have been fenced separating off an area of common grazing next the head dyke of the township, as at Earshader (1908), Crulivig (1908, and 1939), and Lundale, this practice may be formalised, so that only certain classes of sheep are ever taken on the croft. The movements (from the croft to the hills is governed mainly by the weather: the eild sheep will be sent off to the hills some time in April if at all possible, and the ewes in lamb often thereupon taken into the inbye if they are not there already. During May, when lambing is fairly accomplished, the beasts able to support themselves and when the weather is suitable, the ewes with lambs are sent to the hill.

There are some places with special practices, notably Little Bernera which is closed to grazing in July, August and September. Similarly each holding may graze a certain proportion of replacement hogs upon the township common grazing of Breaclete while the other stock is on the hill: this may formerly have been a more widespread custom: it certainly has contemporary parallel in Kirkibost where some sheep remain on the township common pasture to compensate for the much reduced numbers of cattle grazing there in summer.

The individual crofter, or two or more in co-operation, keeps tups buying a new beast from a different source every three years, unlike Sutherland where it is almost universal to hire them. These are usually tethered upon the croft from August until tupping in December. This again takes place on the croft (compare Sutherland, where, since the tups are generally hired by the township, the tupping is usually done upon the hill and often entails a good deal of herding). The ewes are not generally hand fed except in emergency, though here, as in all other crofting areas, opinion is divided on the desirable extent of this practice. It is however, more general to hand feed the hogs which, indeed, may be kept under cover at night in the worst weather, even though they are on the croft 132 or (Bernera Shore) on the nearer common grazing during the day. It is clear, though, that, in spite of the occasional hard weather, there is not generally the amount of snow and frost in winter to cause that amount of hand feeding and care which is a necessity in many parts of the mainland Highlands.

*Since 1950 about 120 acres have been divided in four and individually fenced.

22/ 178 Since so much of the year is spent either upon or near the crofts it is but to be expected that greatest losses of island sheep will take place in the summer when they are far from supervision upon the hills. The contrasts with the mainland Highlands where heaviest losses, apart from those due to sudden snow falls, generally come about lambing time, when this takes place upon the hill, or soon after, in cases where the ewes and lambs are put to the hill too soon. On Bernera Shore on the other hand losses are heaviest on the hill in winter. Losses are extremely uneven in their incidence in time and from croft to croft. The cause of loss varies: there are no serious endemic diseases now, and there are few coastal cliffs - a frequent cause of loss in other places. There are losses in some boggy areas of the interior and some rugged: whether or not there are losses due to vermin particularly eagles, is a debatable point. Probably the fundamental cause of loss is lack of shepherding and adequate day-to-day oversight upon the hill.

233 There are certain special pastures that show interesting features. The Flannan Islands have sessional pasture, especially for the summer male wethers/lambs which need bringing on. There is all-the-year-round grazing for fifty sheep, which is shared by two crofters in Croidhly and one in Earshader. Unfortunately, the difficulty of getting a boat to go across has meant that for the last two years no visits have been made, and, after one or two years unattended, the animals become quite wild. Since 1949, when the Crofters Commission first made arrangements to cull the stock, fewer have been taken, they have ceased to do so on Vacassay Island, where they now each send two sheep for summer grazing. They also send one sheep each to Eiglam Ileland from 15th May to 16th August. One croft. The revenues from the sessional pasture are:

Bearsay Ileland	(16.4 acres; soumed for 12 sheep per annum)
Eilean Fir Crothair (4.6 acres; soumed for 5 sheep per annum)	
Seildeim	(1.0 acres; soumed for 3 wedders per summer)

Similarly, Vaiasay (part of Tobson), has Eilean Liongain Vaiasay which provides summer pasture for two young cattle beasts or five sheep (one per croft). One crofter in Crulivig has Eilean Ceallaidhe which is used for lambing and tupping and at least one crofter in Crulivig also grazing on Ben Sgurain, but there has been no success in the attempts to heft stock there. It is distant and unfenced; losses can be heavy.

231 Lewis is a very restricted market for livestock: the general practice in the Bernera area is to sell at Stornoway in the autumn, unlike Sutherland where it is almost universal to hire them. These are usually tethered upon the croft from August until tupping in December. This again takes place on the croft (compare Sutherland, where, since the tups are generally hired by the township, the tupping is usually done upon the hill and often entails a good deal of herding). The ewes are not generally hand fed except in emergency, though here, as in all other crofting areas, opinion is divided on the desirable extent of this practice. It is however, more general to hand feed the hogs which, indeed, may be kept under cover at night in the worst weather, even though they are on the croft 132 or (Bernera Shore) on the nearer common grazing during the day. It is clear, though, that, in spite of the occasional hard weather, there is not generally the amount of snow and frost in winter to cause that amount of hand feeding and care which is a necessity in many parts of the mainland Highlands.

427 311 127 Authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common grazing. For example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the croft has now almost 10 acres of land, of which the remaining 3 acres have been 'peat', although a little coal may be used 195 the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pieces, and in some cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor's wife, Lady 311 Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because they were too close 127 to the standing stones. Croft houses 25 and 26, then near the stones, were moved to the other side of the village and given parts of crofts 1 and 2 for their houses. Crofts 1 and 2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the parts of their crofts they had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its crofland when the stones too that an entrance could be made around the stones. About the same period, before the passing of the Crofter's Act (1886), when the village was still 'ruled' by the township constable, and several crofts were unoccupied, croft 21 and 28 had their houses moved to a better site. Croft 21 and 28 had their houses moved to a better site. Croft houses are at present and the surrounding adjacent area only; but it is said that the tenants of these two houses, being influential with the constable, moved part of Callanish Farm. Similarly the tenants of crofts 30, 31 and 35 divided part of croft 19; these changes have become permanent. The most recently formed croft was taken from the common pasture in 1890. Four other croft houses have been created, but two of these are holiday houses and the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

241 There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed arable. All but 4 croft units grow oats, and there are 20 acres under oats (appendix C). Of the remaining cultivated land, 9 acres are potatoes, 9 acres are sown hay. Of the rest of the land is cultivated by tractor; there are 6 tractors in the township. In the past there were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still cultivate by spade. The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August and the oats a month later according to the weather.

231 Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the croft. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to graze one of their neighbours' cows during part of the year in return for milk. There is a bull, a pure-bred horn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Callanish Farm.

233 The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned stock of 904 sheep 317 and 561 lambs. Several crofters exceed their souming, but there is no shortage of grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garynahine township pasture. Callanish has the use of the pasture on Orasay island; each year some of the sheep (one sheep or ram 22/ per croft) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes are brought in for 232 tupping on November 14th, after the harvest is complete, and they take place in 232 April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November 1st to May 10th; in addition, Callanish has a long-term agreement (which has not lapsed) in open fashion. The sheep are sheared in July, and the lambs are taken from the ewes a month later. The lambs are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at Flodavat are known, but have been in use since 1921.

19/ 13 Communications are quite good; the village is close to a main road to Stornoway, and 149 there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-called roads are merely rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by motor vehicle; it is 1/2 mile from the nearest track, separated from it by rough peat bog. This year a 149 grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a road to this croft; but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land refused to allow a road to be built; and so croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of the village.

131 There are two shops in Callanish (one with a petrol pump); grocery, butchers' and fish 346 vans deliver frequently. Callanish also has a stone jetty which in the past was important. 346 There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and Bernera calling 346 at Linshader, which gradually declined in importance until the 1920s when it ceased to 506 call at Linshader. The ferry to Bernera finally ceased in 1940 when the ferryman (who 506 lived at Callanish Farm) left for war service. After this the jetty was still used by small 506 private boats (e.g. Callanish church serves Linshader, and many people came to church by boat until recently), but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

000 354 weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Mains electricity was installed 7 years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas and peat. The chief source of fuel for heating purposes is peat, although a little coal may be used.

127 There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions, a small-holding of 15 acres formerly the Mill, and 10 feus, all of which are worked as 54 units. The crofts 340 lie as long narrow strips in a NE - SW direction from the moorland to the sea. All are at least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some crofters are, at the moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land completely.

241 The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a little clover mixture is sown for hay, many crofters find that the natural grass is sufficient for their needs. Vegetables are grown in the garden, but not many, as the croft houses are not interest to bother with them. Flowers rarely flourish due to the lack of shelter.

241 178 Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and the land nearest the shore, part of which was once cultivated on a run-rig system is now unfenced and used entirely for grazing, either with some permission or without. The permanent grazing has been improved by application of shell sand and chemical fertilisers and reseeded. This experiment in which almost the whole township took part has proved very successful and there are plans for further reseeding. Details of crops are given in Appendix C.

167 231 Although the tractors of which there are two in the township are used wherever possible, the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for potatoes. Much hay is cut by mower but scythes are used to a large extent. There is still one horse in the township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its owner.

233 The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e. 2½ times the souming 178 which here is 2 cows and 5 sheep per £1 sterling rent. 40 crofters keep sheep but none have sufficient to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Many lambs are lost on the 231 township pasture and more lambs are lost than ewes. The age is a bit less than a year. The kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each household to keep 1 cow and 1 calf which is sold annually; sold after 8 months when a suitable can be obtained. Breaclete has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Most households keep sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1938. Now it is not necessary as fewer cows are kept than formerly, and, in addition, the reduction in numbers of stock the common pastures close to the village are being colonised by heather.

22/ 231 The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditches are cleaned and the 232 land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilised and sown with oats and 232 potatoes. The sheep are dipped and by the 10th of May must be out on the moors as the 134 crofts are then closed to common grazing. Soon after the sheep are cut on the moors 134 two or three miles from the village. After about 20 days the peats are lifted and carried home to Bernera Road by tractor where they are stacked to await the lorry which takes them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the fank for shearing and the cows are usually brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the croft is not fenced they must be tethered. At the end of June the clover is cut, while the potatoes must be cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped. Natural grass is cut for hay and if there is any first year sown grass this may yield a second crop in September, together with the grain harvest. When the potatoes have been lifted in October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for the winter. Final dipping takes place in November.

162 Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 years and 57 are over 55 years of age. Of the resident tenants 7 are between 15 and 44 years, 16 are between 44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on persons are periodically 000 away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 29 are permanently away. Since 1939,

241 are usually all the potatoes. Between the road and Loch a' Bhaile and between the unmade road and Loch Shader on crofts 22 to 25 the land is probably more intensively cultivated than ever before; but grazing now overgrown with rushes and coarse grasses, especially near the cemetery give an idea of the former extent of cultivation. The working of strips nearer the sea is no longer worth the labour involved. Crofts 22 to 25 are further divided by the small Loch Shader; no. 28 however makes good use of a small alluvial flat at the head of Loch a' Bhaile.

237 Artificial fertilisers are in general use together with lime and dung. However some 178 crofts were using seaweed, in particular nos. 1A, 1B, 1C, 4, 5, and 23 - i.e. those 178 nearest to the sea. The seaweed is gathered in the sea. The Yrave Ness has been 423 trodden into the ground in the spring and apparently gives excellent results, but too much labour is involved in carrying it to crofts in the centre of the township. Forty years ago 423 each croft had rights to the "red" and "black" seaweed along the coast.

The crop acreages for the whole township will be found detailed in Appendix C (i) The area of oats for each croft varied between 0.25 and 2.50 acres whilst the maximum for sown grass was 1.5 acres. The excellent crops of hay from sown grass have been suggest to the Commission, unfortunately most of the land suitable for cultivation is already under oats and potatoes. The practice of undersowing oats was not particularly widespread whilst only two small strips of oats-rye mixture were found. One croft had also obtained good results in a small patch with seven different vegetables, whilst soft fruits are to be treated. The two sets of 'run-rig'crofts practise a fixed run, with the same crops of oats and grass on the strips.

231 In cattle stock (Appendix C) the township has 28 three year-old beasts, 2 one 233 year-olds, and 24 calves. Only 6 registered occupied crofts have no cow, two crofters have two cows each, and one crofter has two cows and two calves. The township has no 178 bull however and the nearest is at Carloway or Callanish. With a much smaller number of cattle than that of thirty years ago there is now no need to make the annual summer visit to the shielings, a practice which died out in Tolsta Chaolais between 1920 and 1930. 233 Each of 1 cow and 6 sheep per £1 rent is now apparently ignored. The approximate total of sheep for the township is 1,500 whilst for 1958 it was about 1,470. The stock of lambs was approximately 520 but most crofters found it difficult to give an accurate figure since some might have been lost on the moor during the summer. The highest number of breeding ewes for any one year was 1110, of lambs was 34, and of other sheep was 26; five crofters, however have no sheep at all. Before 1939 a shepherd was employed by the township when the harvest was complete to help with the sheep; this was usually a young boy just left school and was paid by each crofter according to the number of sheep the latter 231 sent to the moor. This has been discontinued but a levy, of 5s. per croft and 2½d. per sheep, is still made for the upkeep of the township fence. Finally, almost every crofter keeps at least a dozen poultry.

22/ 23/ 233 The movement of stock over the grazing areas is summarised as follows:

(1) From November 13th to May 1st, cattle are usually in the byre, depending on the weather, and sheep can wander anywhere. Crofts should be open to common grazing unless all the crofter's stock remains within his own croft boundary.

(2) From May 1st. to May 20th. sheep are in the outer park.

(3) On May 20th. sheep are sent to the moor.

(4) Throughout the summer cattle are in both the inner and the outer parks.

(5) On October 1st. the sheep are brought into the outer park.

(6) On November 13th. the sheep are brought into the inner park.

464 463 Details of population and employment will be found in Appendix D. It is a very striking comment on the status of crofting in this township that only four persons are

The Agricultural Year in the Carloway District.

Month	General	Land	Cattle	Sheep
January and February	Preparation of land. Bitching.		In byres - cut on fine days.	On crofts and inner common pasture.
March		Ploughing and manuring.	On crofts and inner common pasture.	FANK - dipping. Put on outer common pasture.
April	Peat cutting.	Sowing oats. Sowing potatoes. Cleaning potatoes.	Sales.	
May	Lifting peat.			
June	Peat taken to roads.	Cultivating.		
July	Little croft work until late in July or early August.	Hay cutting and drying.		
August	Bringing home peat.	Oats cut and dried.		FANKS - for shearing and weaning.
September		Grain and hay brought to stack enclosure and byre.	Sales.	
October		Lifting the potatoes.	Cattle brought into byres.	Brought to crofts and inner common pasture. Dipping and tupping.
November and December	Little croft work.		Feeding in byres; outside when possible.	

Figure 40.

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TABLE 40

Individual sheep and cattle stocks by districts

Stock:	Holdings: Proportion of units with stock as indicated: South Uig	Bernera	East Loch Roag	Carloway	Whole Parish
	%	%	%	%	% (No.)
CATTLE: nil	12	13	21	8	14 (65)
1	54	56	70	70	65 (314)
2	29	24	9	13	18 (86)
more than 2	5	7	-	1	3 (15)
All units	100	100	100	100	100 (478)
SHEEP: nil	6	5	16	26	14 (68)
1 - 5	1	3	4	6	4 (17)
6 - 10	8	6	14	9	9 (43)
11 - 20	9	10	24	19	16 (78)
21 - 50	35	48	32	29	34 (164)
51 - 100	34	29	10	7	19 (89)
more than 100	7	1	-	3	3 (14)
	100	100	100	100	100 (473)

Berners and South Uig to carry more stock than those in East Loch Roag and Carloway. The women tenants in the sole (about four crofts together) occurers some aspects of the livestock economy. If we examine cattle and sheep separately quite a different picture emerges (Table 40). As to cattle over one year old, two-thirds of the units carry but one cow, 14% have none, and only 3% carry two or more. In all districts the majority of units carry but one cow, but in South Uig and Berners a significant proportion carry two - either a second milk cow or a young beast, the latter probably for sale in the autumn. Clearly, the great majority keep a cow mainly as a walking dairy; experience in other areas confirms this and in the Point and Tolsta districts of Stornoway parish many crofts have caused to keep cattle at all since organized milk supplied became available. Sheep stocks, on the other hand, vary far more from unit to unit (Table 40). There is a marked tendency for the flocks to be bigger in the south and Bernera districts, where units without sheep are also rare, whereas in the north a quarter of the units in the Carloway district are without sheep and few have more than 50. In other words, agricultural production per working unit is greater in the two southern districts than in the north.

The management of the 500 or more sheep flocks deserves some comment, even from the non-agriculturalist. Lambing takes place in April on the crofts or on nearby common land; the ewes, with lambs, go to the hills in May, weaning takes place at the end of August and at the end of October or early November all sheep return to the croft land or near-by common pastures. The lambing percentages (80% - 90%, see appendices A(2) and C(2)) as reported to us appear optimistic, even for a good year, but this is probably because they were given to us before weaning, at least a 10% reduction of the figures given would be realistic. Except for certain South Uig flocks few lambs are sold; the

Although the crofland is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six months of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole township stock graze indeterminately over the crofts. Those basically the whole area of the township, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear that the agricultural revolution with its system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Crofting Area.

Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic - 'airigh'). The sites of the shielings are usually on slopes commanding a view of the surrounding area near a spring or stream and usually two to nine huts belonging to the same township are grouped together on a site; isolated shielings are rather rare. In order to conserve the pasture within the township dyke for wintering and to protect the unfenced crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in June, and the younger members of the households went out to live in small stone or turf-walled huts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter or cheese at the shieling. The distance of shielings from the crofts varied from one to five miles in Park.

The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the township and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in the past related mainly to the enforcement of soumings, but are now reduced to the disbursement of subsidies, although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the township bull (usually lent by the Department of Agriculture but sometimes communally owned) are also the province of the Committee.

The layout of the townships varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned in strips from the moor to the sea (figures 4 and 5). Most croft houses are built on the crofts; in former times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the cultivable land was required for crops, but nowadays the houses tend to be sited near the road.

The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing in the rights and duties of the township. Table 1 gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 croft crofts. It will be noted that only one-fifth of the crofts are tenanted by those in the 15-44 age group; a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 65 years of age. Absentee tenants account for 14 per cent of the total. Women form under 10 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of the women tenants is the sole (about four crofts together) occurers some aspects of the livestock economy. The intrinsic worth of the holdings can be inferred from the fact that two-thirds of the male tenants in the insurable age group take supplementary work, two-fifths of them forth of Lewis. With such a large proportion of the tenants either fully employed in ancillary occupations in Park or elsewhere it is hardly surprising that the theoretical township organization exists mainly in name alone.

Each croft, however, is not necessarily an agricultural unit; some are sublet by absentee tenants or by tenants who are too old or too infirm to work their crofts. Of the 215 crofts, one-fifth are wholly or partly sublet. In addition to the legal crofts, there are unofficial holdings which fall into three categories, cottars, squatters and feuars. All legally without grazing rights. A cottar[1] is a person, usually a close relative of the tenant, who builds another house on

1 These are the de facto definitions. Section 34 of the Crofters' Act of 1886 defines a cottar as follows:- "Cottar" means the occupier of a dwelling-house situate in a crofting parish with or without land who pays no rent to the landlord, as also the tenant from year to year of a dwelling house situated in a crofting parish who resides therein, and who pays to the landlord therefor an annual rent not exceeding six pounds in money, whether with or without garden ground, but without arable or pasture land'. For fuller treatment, see Scott, J., "The Law of Smallholdings in Scotland," 1933, pages 152-155.

There is no legal definition of a squatter, and the above definition does not include any distinction between houses built on a croft and houses built on the Common Grazings.

[Sebost]

Drift is found near the shore and lapa round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, hay was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks. Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shiolderinish and took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Allean Tailear came from Taranesay, Harris, to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Crofthamsters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

The land is heavily overstocked; the sown is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in Park Deer Forest by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garrynard in November and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 55-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since 1882. There have to be stalalgos on the far side of the common at Beinn Bhuidhe and below Loch na Ciste but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

[Kershader]

with heather and peat on the higher areas, hay is taken off 19.25 acres. Four acres, mainly potatoes, are worked by spade but most of the cultivation is by tractor hired from Balallan or in 1958, from Habost. Lazybeds are common and in some cases are carefully renewed, but the present tendency, reaching its extreme in a field of about two acres on one croft, is toward the formation of larger, pinnphable fields for ease of tractor operation. Most cultivation is in zones (a) and (b), with little development of (c) at present. The only crops are oats and potatoes with some garden plots of cabbages, turnips and carrots. The potato main crop is generally Kerr's Pink (Golden Wonder on one croft), with a couple of rows of Sherry Blue or Edzell Blue for earlies. There is no memory of Black Oats (Avena strigosa), and here (Hordeum vulgare) has certainly not been grown since 1930, and probably not since 1909. The oats are grown exclusively for winter feed and are hand-threshed with stock and comb as the need arises; the last water mill in the locality went out of use after 1914, the last handmill in 1916; no grain has been sent to Stornoway since about 1930. Rotations are extremely irregular: some lazybeds are still cultivated with alternate crops of oats and potatoes and have heavy seaweed manure fertilisation, but most other arable areas have some sort of oats, potatoes, oats, sown grass sequence. Fertilisers used are seaware and manure (ten crofts), manure (eleven crofts) and dung (one croft), lime (ten crofts) and artificials - 'Potato manure' and sulphate of ammonia - on eight crofts. Artificial fertilisers and much of the seed are obtained through the Crofters' Agency.

The only two horses ever owned by this township were kept on croft 11 from 1936 to 1953. A plough was first introduced in 1936. When a tractor from Balallan became available for hiring in 1953, the horses were disposed of. The present soums are by cow, young beast and sheep per croft in proportion to rents and range from 3 cows, 3 young beasts, 69 sheep down to 1 cow 1 young beast and 23 sheep. Eight crofts are sed their entitlement but no croft hasless than half the souming and the deficiency is mainly in cattle, especially young beasts. On the other hand, no operative unit is entirely without cattle as manure is extremely important. Cattle are kept for domestic milk supply, and calves, having qualified for subsidy, are normally sold at 6 to 8 months. 10 acres of the common grazing were re-seeded in 1957 and the following rhythm for milk cows is developing:-

(a) As soon as the weather allows in May, the cows are put out in the park for about three weeks.

(b) Next, about 4 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the outer fence erected in 1957.

(c) Back to the re-seeded park for about five weeks.

(d) Return to the crofts for the winter, being let out either to the park or to the common grazings whenever the weather is suitable.

The young beasts spend much of their time on the outer common grazings. As most of the crofts beginning with one in 1938 and ending in sequence with 10, 11 and 12 probably in 1959, are less the old arrangements for township commoning from 15th October to 15th May are now decided. Habost park was also fenced for general purposes and for weaning in 1957. Prices for calves and cattle are very low and this discourages cattle breeding; on the other hand, lack of winter keep enforces an occasional sale.

The rhythm of sheep husbandry is largely independent of that of cattle:-

(a) By 20th November all sheep, except possibly the lambs, are cleared from the crofts for the tupping of breeding ewes thereon till 31st December. Every crofter now keeps his own ram, exchanging it or buying another at least once in five years.

427 joint tenants of one have moved to Geshad
632 Another is preparing to move to Enaclete
311 Cottage. At present, three working unit
ten units, one being rented by joint tenant

221 The rhythm of work is similar to that
are planted in April followed by lambing a
sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to
carted, once they are dry, by lorry direc
are weaned in September, harvest is then
place in November. The sheep are then
241 may be fed with hay on the croft. There
number of crofters seem to undersow oat
Gardens are not important and only provid
has a number, some growing flowers as w
croft to croft as well township to township
and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshad

231 Most crofters keep one milk cow with
sales in Caryshader. However, some no
grazing and one croft has turned to goats,
district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on
completely fenced; and Geshader is respo

233 Lambing seems to have been generally
figures. The Morsgail Estate and Gisla
pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlarge
for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader nea
[314] on Floday island. The shielings have bee
to the west of the road but at least one eld
croft for this purpose to save the effort of

241 Generally speaking the land now cropp
178 worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when th
greater numbers of cattle were kept throu
231 more oats. The cattle numbers are muc
excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazin

464 Clearly in these townships, apart from
means of livelihood is sought elsewhere.
in the working age group (15 - 64) in all fo
permanently and five periodically. Thirt
crofting and of these seven work at Gisla
of them part-time, four hire out vans, two
pations while only three are full-time crof
Navy and fishing does not provide an occup
spare time, and fish for domestic use.

162 The population as a whole is ageing an
[164] (roughly 30%) work away permanently or h
few crofts worked by people with young fa

r while continuing to work the Ungshader land, and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Chroistean remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with .

n other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oats nd peat cutting in May. In June and July the he common grazings. In August the peats are to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lambs carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take eturned to the township grazing though the lambs s little regular crop rotation and only a small , thus improving the quality of future hay crops. e for family needs but Caryshader particularly ell as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely from . Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the shore er are usually fed on artificials.

a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn w rely on their neighbours for milk in return for as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole Geshader -Ungshader common grazing as it is nsible for its upkeep.

good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact arm also run considerable flocks. The common ment, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acres r Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres n disused since the war. Peat is normally cut erly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his working further afield.

ed only represents one third to one half of that e crofting population was larger and when much gh the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and h less than the total souming but sheep are in g by sheep has caused a decline in grazing quality.

the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the At present there are altogether fifty-three men ur townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine have regular or periodic employment besides n the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, some do post-office work and others have varied occu- ters. At present there are few men in the Merchant ation although many share rowing-boats in their

d of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four ave emigrated. It is noticeable that there are nilies

[Kershader]

(b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices, however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the form case theyheft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand. Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average sheep carcase weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category, and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption only)and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person ha entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907 and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard, Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilising the population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Kershader] [Garyvard]
common grazings - at present approximately correctly stocked - and cannot therefore provide much employment. Hence it is the standard of agriculture that must be improved. Since the land does not permit striking extension or improvement of the cultivated area, development must be directed towards improving pasture, with more re-seeding and controlled grazing similar to that already described. All this, however, is of little avail if prices for cattle, sheep and wool remain low, or at least lower than prices prevailing on the mainland. The first priority, therefore, in the establishment of a prosperous agriculture is a guaranteed market-price. Given this, it might become worthwhile to take steps to increase the carrying capacity of the crofts. It may be assumed that this would involve an all-round improvement which could give a firm basis to the economic existence of the community; until this is achieved, stability and continuity are out of the question.

GARYVARD

Gwenyth R. Page, B.A.

The landscape of the south-east coast of Loch Erisort is a sombre and rugged one. The Quaternary ice sheets left in their wake troughs now filled by the sea loch, innumerable lochs covered in water lilies, a massive area of indeterminate drainage and expanses of bare gneiss.

Garyvard is set on the fringe of this landscape on a 20 to 25° slope with the crofts aligned from the moor to the sea, on a mantle of drift. Here is the home of the MacLeods, the Mackinnons and the Montgomerys. Life beats out its regular pattern of existence during the winter months on the croft, followed by an increasing tempo and variety of work during the rest of the year. In January and February the animals must be fed on hay or lose the battle to survive. In February there are preparations for the year's tasks, making repairs and improvements to the croft. Next month will find the crofter on the land, making or clearing drains and putting fences and dykes in order. The tempo of life quickens with the year; April sees the first sheep dipping, the land turned over, potatoes and oats sown. From mid-May, the sheep leave the crofts to fend for themselves on the common grazing. The following three or four months are times of tremendous activity on the moors when the peats are cut, to be stacked later, first in fours, then in eights, so that the wind may dry them, till eventually bee-hive-shaped stacks - some four feet high - can be seen near the peat banks in August. Then begins the wearisome task of carrying the peats home, all too frequently in creels carried on the back, since the peat workings of Garyvard are on the moors up to half a mile from road. Altogether some two miles of roads are needed to prevent the villagers patronising the coal merchants of Stornoway. Two crofters, however, cut peat on their crofts, whilst others have permission to cut from Cromore or Caversta common grazings close to the road. All the while croft work continues, varying from hoeing, weeding and cutting hay to the gathering of sheep for shearing. As there are no fences between the various commons, crofters must travel from one township fank to another, seeking their own. In August the lambs are weaned. Hay making generally ends in August and is immediately followed by the oat harvest in September. By the time both oats and hay have been gathered in, the potatoes are lifted and the sheep are brought in from the common grazing about October 12th. The last sheep dipping takes place in November and is followed by tupping.

There are eleven crofts altogether, though one is divided, each portion having a legal tenant who has a half share in the common grazing. Two crofts are 12 acres in extent, the half crofts 2.75 acres only, though the acre cultivated on the common grazing by one of the latter crofters since 1923, has recently been officially recognised. Most crofts are in strips running from the sea-shore up the slope some 500 yards to the township dyke, and are clearly demarcated by fences erected just after the last war. Three crofts have additional strips whilst one croft was an extra strip belonging to another croft. The additional strips date back about 100 years to a time when the township grew rapidly as a result of evictions in southern Park. One croft is divided and worked in three separate parts so in effect there are fourteen operative units in Garyvard.

amount of time which is allotted to each activity and in the 221
pressure on the crofters to complete each chore within a relatively definite period. There are also differences in the number of non-crofting activities in which the individual can or must engage. Let us follow several crofters through the year to see what these differences are.

The Full-time Crofter. One might say the year for the full- 221 236 232
time crofter begins during the first week of January when he goes out to the hill to bring in his rams. This is the first break in the monotony of his winter schedule, but it is only a momentary break. Not until March does his season of prolonged labor begin with the first "dipping" of the sheep to rid the animals of tick and parasites. He and his wife, [476]
their children, if they are old enough, and their neighbors or hired hands, crofters from nearby townships, join forces. Several of the men go off to the hill to gather the sheep and herd them down to the "fank," a stone or sheet iron inclosure consisting of either two or three pens, a trough for the "dip," and a shearing platform. While waiting for the sheep, the remaining men and women prepare the "fank" for the day's work. One by one the sheep move through the pens until all have been picked up bodily and submerged in the medicinal bath. The women not only help their fathers and husbands at [462]
the "fank" but also prepare a noon meal for the group.

Following the dipping, the crofter turns his attention 221 241
to the soil. By late March or early April he has ploughed,

manured, harrowed, and limed his fields. Normally, he will 221 241 [463]
have a tractor to speed his work. In the meantime his wife prepares her small kitchen garden. By the time he has sown his oats and set his potatoes and turnips, the ewe sheep are 221 231
ready for lambing. Lambing begins during the last week or two of April and runs through the middle of May. This is one [462]
activity which is exclusively man's work. It is also a chore which demands an early start from individuals who are normally late risers, seldom getting started before eight or nine in the morning. Now, all day long, from early morning until late at night, day after day, the crofter or his shepherd are found on the hill watching and waiting for the lambs and their natural enemies, the crow, the hawk, and the fox. During this time, he does not neglect feeding his cattle nor finishing putting in his crop if inclement weather has hindered his progress. Then, too, he may have a cow ready to calve. His [462]
wife will then add milking to her regular household duties. Men have only recently begun to milk.

After lambing, the family must decide whether or not 221 314
they are going to take time out for cutting peat. As I have already said, it is unlikely that the man of the house will want to bother. He has enough to do caring for the sheep and 221 231
lambs and preparing his cattle for the May markets. Although 432
he could attend the local sales which are held at convenient locations around the island, the large crofter has found the mainland market of Dingwall attracts buyers willing to pay higher prices.

If May is considered a busy month, June duties are even 221 231 [132]
more pressing. Although the winter sales are over, the rainfall has begun to increase. A succession and variety of demands are made on the crofter's time. Once again the sheep must be brought down to the "fank." This time the purpose is to mark the lambs. The males, unless one or two healthy specimens are selected for future use as rams, are castrated and smeared with a dye to indicate their ownership. The females are smeared and have their ears cut to signify both ownership and age. Like the dipping, this operation requires [476]
the cooperation of the crofter and his family, the neighbors, and hired hands. Next the sheep without lambs are dipped [232]
once again and given a dose of medicine for liver fluke and a variety of diseases. At the same time, the early hay and, [241]
perhaps, the early potatoes are ready for harvesting. The end [543]
of June brings the Highland Wool Fair in Inverness. If he [233]
has Cheviot sheep, as most crofters do, the man must go to arrange for their wintering on the milder and drier east coast. Although Cheviots produce a finer wool than the more common Blackface sheep, they do not stand up to the incessant wind and rain of a Skye winter. If his wife can leave the children behind, she will accompany her husband. The old [534] [656]
function of the Fair, the sale of wool, has disappeared under government price control legislation.

It is not unusual to have the early harvest delayed 221 236
until July, but even then the mowing may have to wait because [241]
sheep must come first. On one of the dry days during the first

or second week, t
other cooperative
with only one sig
never shear. The
and fold the flee
other chore is ad
He must begin to

The haying
ing on the weathe
this dipping pres
males) are sent t
favorable and the
begins. The man
wife helps by bin
stoops in the fie
stacks for winter
requires attenti
and old rams are
at Kyle, on the m
to be sold at auc
island in Septem
crofter prefers t
now, as noted, re
October, November,
to dig potatoes a
yet to be complete
statutory dipping

the ewe sheep are sheared. Shearing is an- 221
e task. The men and women work together 236
gnificant division in their labor. Women [162]
eir task is to run the sheep through the pens
nce after the two men shear the animal. An-
dded to the crofter's schedule at this time.
watch his sheep for maggot.
season runs through July and August, depend- 221
r. In August the sheep have to be dipped again 241
cribed by law, and the wedder lambs (castrated [232]
o market. In September, if the weather is
season has been good, the harvest of oats
works with a scythe. Women never cut. His [462]
ding the corn in sheaths by hand and making
ld. Later she helps her husband build the
storage. As in any summer month, the stock 221
n. Cast ewe sheep (sheep over six years old) 231
sent to the Ministry of Food grading station
ainland, to be graded for meat or to Dingwall
tion. Cattle sales are also held on the [432]
r and again in November, but the full-time
e Dingwall auction. The rainy season is [132]
ching its height. The pace becomes slower.
and, perhaps, even December are spent trying 221
d turnips. Too often the oat harvest has 241
d and the sheep must receive their second [232]
Sometime before the end of November the 221
236

wool must be packed for shipment. As November ends the rams 221
are put out with the flock. 236
[233]

Winter is a slow season for men, but it is not an idle 221
season. The cattle must be fed. The man fetches oats or hay 233
from his stacks and some turnips or potatoes from his storage
pits and carries the feed on his back to his cattle on the hill.
Very rarely does he keep them in a byre because to do so he
would lose the government subsidy on hill cattle. Although [232]
the sheep are now free from pests and most diseases, he must
continue to periodically walk the hill to check their condition.
Very few bother to feed the sheep in winter. Another task is [231]
the butchering of a few sheep. While not quite legal until
last year, one crofter justified his activity by asking,
"What would we eat if we didn't kill our sheep?" Once in a
while, he may also kill a steer, but unless several families
share the meat, salt beef becomes rather monotonous.

The crofter's wife keeps busy all winter. Her routine, 221
broken by helping at the fank a half dozen times a year and 462
with the harvest, continues through all seasons. As far as [231]
the actual work on the croft goes, she milks the cows, feeds [241]
the poultry, and cultivates her garden. When she is not cleaning
the house, cooking meals, making butter or cheese, caring for
the children, or looking after her husband's needs, she knits.
She also does the shopping, either from a food van or on a [432]
weekly visit to Portree. Men are as disinclined to shop as they
are to wash dishes.

The Part-time Crofter. The part-time crofter follows much the 221
same schedule and shares the same succession and variety of
chores. Indeed, some are not so much part-time crofters as 464
they are part-time employees. As such, they are successfully 182
preserving a traditional economy no longer en rapport with the
surrounding twentieth century commercial world by depending upon
economic benefits of contractual relationships to the smallest
possible degree. One fellow saw the situation this way: "We
don't need factories and the like; what we need is something
that will give us time to attend to our crofts." Others feel [829]
that if they have to abandon the traditional way of life, they
might just as well leave the island for places where greater
opportunities for social activity are joined with relative
economic prosperity.

The part-time crofter has less land than the full-time 221
crofter and less need for cultivating all of it because he 241
has fewer cattle to feed during the winter. He, therefore,
devotes less time to tilling his soil. On the other hand, 221
although he has fewer sheep, the collective flock of his town- 231
ship is almost always larger than the stock of a large croft. 476
Consequently, he spends more time dipping, marking, and shearing
sheep in cooperation with his neighbors. Hired labor plays 231
a minor role in the townships. Often the only hired hand is 464
one of their number who assumes the responsibility of shepherding
the flock. Some of the townships with club stocks, however,
have adopted the practice of paying each shareholder for his
labor out of the profits to encourage cooperation or to penalize
those who do not do their full share.

those who do not do their full share.

The year for the part-time crofter begins with the prepa- 22
ration of his fields. As a general rule both the man who spends 24
his winter working for the British Railways or away at sea, and
the one who finds summer employment near home is found on his
croft during this period. Following the example of the large
crofter some use a tractor while others continue to plough by
horse. More and more are tending to take advantage of the con-
tracting service of the Department of Agriculture and hire a
tractor and driver. Once the crops are in, the majority are
free until the lambing season. Conservative in his belief 221
that too much handling of the sheep is harmful or individually 231
faced with the almost prohibitive task of singling a small [232]
flock out of several hundred sheep, he tends to omit the March
dipping. During the lambing season, the several crofters of [476]
the township either take turns on the hill or hire a shepherd.
The first chore, then, which brings them together as a group
is the marking of the lambs and the first dipping of the sheep
without lambs. The July shearing and the statutory dips in [476]
August and November are cooperative ventures shared by all
crofters no matter what size croft they occupy.

In sundry ways, economic interests, judged in terms of 231
commercial efficiency, play a smaller part in determining the 432
economic cycle of the part-time crofter than in the case of the
full-time crofter. The part-time crofter does not think it
worthwhile to ship his few head of stock to the mainland
auction markets. He sells them locally at the tri-annual sales.

[Caversta]

Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for fanking or other purposes and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes are normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered, and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for black leg, braxy and louping ill, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third week of May.

The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep soum, but the overall stocking is only 88 per cent of the total souming. Two crofts only exceed their individual soums, while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however, poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuable for wintering the hoggs. Lewis Blackface sheep are the predominant breed and the wool, clipped in July, is sold to the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter house. The 1958 loss at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the growth of grass for the ewes. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early-born calves may be sold in the Autumn at six months old, those born later must be wintered to eight months until the Spring sales. The cows are served by the Department of Agriculture Highland bull at Habost, but although good prices are obtained for beef cattle, it is felt that for the family milk supply, a dairy bull would produce a better strain.

In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. In most cases the land under each crop is less than half an acre and nowhere does it exceed two acres. The land has been built up into lasybeds about six to ten feet wide, separated by open drainage channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor (hired from Habost) is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not altogether suitable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by marsh and steep faces of bare rock.

Neither Torista nor Caversta is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the road near Cromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and an inferior footpath joining the main road at Garyvard. The lack of a good road within the dyke acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilisers. Byre manure is used on all the crofts and seaweed is brought from the shore and spread on the lasybeds. Artificial manures, used on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. This lack of incentive to improve is perhaps even more marked by the fact that on one holding alone is a rotation practised - potatoes, oats undersown with clover, then hay for three or four years. Apart from this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the same strips for many years. Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay and is often cut from lasybeds that were formerly cultivated. On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridges can be seen to have a crescentic shape and are thought to date back more than one hundred years. A short distance beyond the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonised by heather.

Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch within the dyke, is cut on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and later brought home by creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens and all keep up to twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the larders, are also maintained.

In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Caversta and seven at Torista. After 1881, when maximum figures of fifty-nine and nineteen were noted, there was a secondary peak in 1911 in Caversta, followed by a steady drop to twenty in 1951 and eighteen in 1958.

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofts have vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throught the winter and no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the soum. Lambing takes place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and then dipped; November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The cows are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Crobeg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on fank days.

Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under cultivation and from an an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazing; it is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the road between Caversta and Gravir, about three miles south- south-east of Cromore and one mile north of Gravir.

Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this, however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and, in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

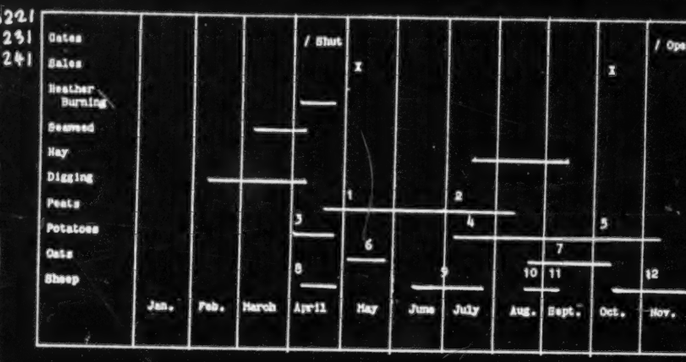
In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airidhvruach. At present the average production is only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. During the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a van which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recent additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday;

LEMREWAY

Distribution of work through the year



1. Cutting. 2. Carting. 3. Planting. 4. 'Earlies' and mid-season potatoes. 5. Main harvest. 6. planting. 7. Harvest. 8. Lambing. 9. Shearing. 10. Lambs weaned. 11. Dipping. 12. Tupping.

FIG. 9

/facing p. 31/

Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky, waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realized that most of these people working away assist their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home, together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it. Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles distant.

Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of congestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

/p. 35/

The labor in this pastoral-agricultural economy is provided by the crofter's family, periodically aided by some or all of the families who share in the common grazing.[11] Under the direction of the father, the mother and children care for the crops and cattle. Heavy work, such as ploughing, reaping, and feeding the cattle in the winter, is left to the men. The women milk the cattle, help at the harvest by raking and stacking, and care for the garden. Although men never do any work in the house, in the absence of a son the wives and daughters are expected to fill in the gaps in man's work in addition to running the household. Inter-family cooperation centers on the handling of the sheep. Frequently, the families who share the common own the sheep collectively, as a "club stock," and share in the expenses and profits as well as the labor. The only basic pattern in the division of labor is that women never shear, and it is their responsibility to feed the group.

Formerly, the annual economic cycle was adjusted to the demands of crop cultivation and cattle breeding. Within the last hundred years, however, sheep have assumed commercial importance and now determine the seasonal tempo of labor. The old year ends and the new begins with the bringing in of the rams from the hill. In March the sheep are dipped and then the preparations are made for the lambing season, in April. From spring until autumn there is a rapid succession of duties: ploughing, planting, peat cutting, dipping and shearing the sheep, stock sales, harvesting, and similar tasks. After the

[11] Cf. Ibid., pp. 63-64, 70-74.

rams are put out in November, the pace becomes slower, the main job being the feeding of cattle.

The economy is neither a subsistence nor a self-sufficie economy for the majority. All but a few large crofters have to supplement their income from the croft with some form of outside employment or independent source of income, for example, contributions from a child or a pension. For many the croft is no more than a home. For an aged person, it provides a means of living cheaply. The rent, which is fixed by law, is only nominal, and the taxes are negligible. There is more crofting than simple economic considerations. Indeed, if it were only a matter of economy, the system would have been abandoned long ago. It is a way of life in which the individu finds meaningful patterns of interaction and an ascribed statu compatible with his aspirations. The land is more than a potential source of income. It is the ancestral home. The tie to the land is an expression of the sentimental bond of kinship.[12] Many, perhaps the majority, have spent a good part of their lives in other parts of the world working for a wage and looking forward to the day they might return to the Misty Isle. Although only the Glendale crofters are land owners, the law has given the tenants complete security of tenure and the right to bequeath the croft to a member of their family. Thus, they can return to their township and find solidarity.

[12] Cf. Ibid., pp. 64, 81.

As far as I know only one attempt has ever been made by the smaller holders to sell their cattle at the large mainland markets since the last drove left Skye in 1906. There was a feeling at the close of the Second World War among the crofters that they were not receiving a fair price at the local sales. The Scottish Wholesale and Cooperative Society, which had become interested in the Highland Problem, offered to handle the marketing. Their cattle buyer, a man of wide experience, found the Skye cattle to be of high quality and suggested shipping them to the Stirling market. This is one of the largest in Scotland has the advantage of attracting a full range of buyers. Since the cattle were not at their best after the long sea voyage, they were provided with hay and pasture for a week after arrival. Unfortunately, a disease epidemic in the South forced a postponement of the market. Nevertheless, they arrived at the auction block in good condition. The prices obtained, an average of £1 or £2 more than they normally received at the local sales, convinced the crofters that there was no advantage in selling on the mainland. Actually, if the Society had not paid the expenses of shipment and feed, the crofters would have suffered a slight loss. Those who attend the Dingwall sales say they used the wrong market.

While the man who devotes all of his time to his pastoral-agricultural occupation finds it uneconomical to bother with gathering seaweed for manure, fishing, or cutting peat, the crofter of the category we are discussing often adheres more closely to the traditional cycle. After the

lambing season, the crofter and his family go out on the moor to cut their peat for the following winter. The man uses a "tusker," a two-bladed spade, to cut the peat. His wife or his children follow behind, tossing the peats out of the ditch and building small, loose stacks for drying. After the lambs have been marked and the sheep dipped in June and the shearing finished in July, the family returns to the banks to carry the peats to the nearest road, actually a beaten cart path, in creels. They are then carted home and stacked near the door. There is a growing tendency for both the part-time and spare-time crofter to give up cutting peat. It is not because coal is cheaper or he needs time for other pressing chores. His auxiliary occupation will not permit his devoting the necessary time to this long and arduous task. He is caught between the traditional economic patterns and the money economy of which he has become a part.

The year for our part-time crofter, as for all active crofters ends in November. By then the oat and hay harvest has been stacked by the house and the potatoes and turnips stored in the ground, the wool shipped off to market, the surplus sheep and cattle have gone to market, and the rams are on the hill. Now follows a period of enforced idleness, broken by feeding the cattle. As we have seen many go away to find employment, leaving the care of the croft to their wives who have shared the work of crofting in addition to their own womanly responsibilities. We must turn to the spare-time crofter to discover just how heavy the burden of labor may depend upon the women of Skye.

222

222 COLLECTING--edible materials gathered (e.g., roots, fruits, seeds, seaweed, insects, honey, sap, syrup, eggs); techniques and artifacts employed; economic importance of collecting; organization of activities; division of products; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:

Natural resources in fauna and flora 13
Collection of nonedible raw materials and salt . 31
Collection of marine fauna 226
Diet 262

241 824 (Chondrus), for example, is used as a thickener of milk to make a cheese-like mould. Dulse is also plucked.[1]

222 The type of coastal form and vegetation alters the relative importance of crofting and fishing—and the balance chosen is significant. (1) Where the coastline is smooth, and leads inland from sandy machar with its clover to sand-ameliorated 'black land' of smooth topography lending itself to ploughing, and the whole is backed by extensive pastures, the tract is relatively well-off for crofting but may be ill-placed for fishing. (2) Where the coast is either indented or salient with rocky loch-sides or steep promontory cliffs, a rolling or rocky topography, little shell sand, and (on the promontories) a shortage of pasture, it is ill-placed for crofting; but it is favourable to fishing either by virtue of sheltered sea lochs or of salient promontories, one or other side of which tends to give relative shelter to the fishing ground (chosen according to the direction of the wind, to avoid being blown on to a dangerous, lee shore). Hence the site of a settlement has had much to do with the choice and opportunities for a communal vocation, from prehistory to the present time, as we shall see.

182 241 226

103 634 175 Significant local characteristics emerge in the names of the ancient districts (inset with the Map of Vegetation, Fig. 8). In the north is Ness (Norse, 'nose' or cape); along the west is Cladach (Gaelic, a stony beach); while in South Harris the western 'Machar' contrasts with the eastern 'Bays'. 'Park', a sheep-run in the early nineteenth century, was the Norse 'East-fell'. In contrast, the parishes of Lewis centre on four churches, linked to the road-system. This radiates from Stornoway in five directions: east, NE., NW., SW., and south to Tarbert,

[491]

[173] [1] Pulling dulse (*Rhodymenia*) is one of the 'delights' of Iona as told in a poem long attributed to Saint Columba!

178 434 288 458 (651) 434 241 434 222 314 (372)

APPENDIX I

be high until 1948. The year 1947 was the peak year for the pr duction of Harris Tweed, with over 5,000,000 yards (of whi 3,765,000 yards were stamped, and some 1,500,000 unstampe In 1948 the production of unstamped tweed had fallen 500,000 yards but stamped tweed came to 4,380,000 yards.

Then, in the year 1948 the imposition of a 66⅔ per ce purchase tax struck the industry a crippling blow. The ri in prices of wool increased difficulties, and by 1950 few orde were being booked and men were being paid off. A few sma men who had relatively large stocks frozen by the purchase t were able to sell them off, but this minor compensation f losses was short-lived. The outlook is disquieting.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House-building*, 1938

(a) *Agriculture.*—The estimated agricultural output show a total value of £189,100, and of this total the quantity fa to animals was valued at £103,000. This leaves £86,100 as th estimated value of crop produce consumed on the Islan Adding this figure to the gross livestock output we arrive a total valuation of the agricultural production of Lewis approximately £194,100. To arrive at the average output p croft there was deducted the farm production, estimated $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total by calculation from known crop and stoc returns. This gives a figure for crofts alone of £184,400. F dividing by 3750, we obtain an average value of the gro annual production by crofters as £49, or say £50. The inclusio of squatters' produce would add so slightly to the total figure hardly to affect the average for rural households. Outlays bein small, most of this net output may be regarded as 'net earnings

(b) *Peat.*—To this sum must be added firing and some sha in housing. The peat cut has been valued at £90,000, a average of £24 per croft; it demands much labour. As pe is freely cut by cottars and squatters, etc. (estimated at 10 or so), the average value might be given as £19 per rur household. In Stornoway the chief fuel is coal.

(c) *House-building.*—From 1920 to 1940 the Department

The estimated income from the sale of stock and produce amounts to some £66 per holding. One of my informants, an agriculturalist of wide experience, thought that the estimate was too high. He would put it at £126,000, or £55 per holding. In addition to the actual production, we must consider government subsidies and grants. 434 231 241

The most important subsidies are those on hill sheep and hill cattle. Each of these average over £30,000 annually. There are also calf rearing subsidies, marginal land grants, and several other available sources of aid which amount to some £20,000 each year. Thus, the total income for the Skye crofters and farmers is increased by roughly £80,000. Production and subsidies together give an average income of about £100 per holding. We have already seen that the crofter's income may be either a fraction of this figure or several times the average income depending upon the size of his croft. To fully understand the significance of this fact and to explore further the evidence for cultural continuity, it is desirable to inquire into the seasonal routine of the crofters of Skye. 654 231

The Annual Economic Cycle

As crofts are delimited according to size and potential income, the crofters may be classified as full-time, part-time, and spare-time pastoral agriculturalists. Obviously, all crofters who work the land will follow a similar schedule, performing more or less the same variety and succession of tasks. There are, however, significant differences in the 221

SULASGEIR

Dean Monro, in his 1549 account, refers to the vast numbers of wild fowl and mentions that the men of Ness sail there and stay for seven or eight days and bring back a boat full of dried wild fowl and feathers. The *Old Statistical Account* (1796) says: 'There is in Ness a most adventurous set of people who, for a few years back, at the hazard of their lives, went there in an open six-oared boat without even the aid of a compass.' The boat, says the *Account*, could not be pulled up out of the sea, and therefore, while some of the men worked on the birds, the others had to stay in the boat on the most sheltered side of the sheer-cliffed island. This custom of hunting young gannets (or 'guga') on Sulasgeir still continues. Under the Protection of Wild Birds Act, 1954, the gannet is protected by law, but so that the Ness men could continue their old custom, a Statutory Order was passed making a special exemption (from 31 August each year at the end of the close season) of the gannets on Sulasgeir. With North Rona, Sulasgeir is one of the great breeding grounds for British oceanic seabirds.

The Loch Roag islands

The one large inhabited island off the Lewis coast is Great Bernera, though technically it is not now an island, having been connected to the mainland of Lewis in 1953 by a bridge. It is part of the parish of Uig, as are the other islands in Loch Roag. Its population reached a peak of 730 in 1911, but has now fallen to about half that figure. Off the west of Great Bernera is Little Bernera, which in Dean Monro's time was 'inhabit and manurit', but which has had no population recorded since the 1861 Census. Monro describes it as full of rough little craigs, but with fertile earth between.

Also in Loch Roag are three islands which, now deserted, once supported families: Pabbay had 17 people in 1861, 9 in 1881, and none since; Vacsay had nine men in 1861, and none since; Orasay in 1891 had one man and one woman, but none since.

The Flannans

Belonging again to the parish of Uig is the group of islands known as the Flannans, or Seven Hunters, some twenty miles

THE OTHER ISLANDS

north-west of Gallan Head. There are seven main islands, all small, high and cliffbound, and a number of rock stacks and islets. All are uninhabited. Eilean Mhor, the largest, of 39 acres, has an automatic light. Dean Monro's description of the islands as 'nouder manurit, nor inhabit, but full of grein high hills and scheipe' still holds, for sheep are taken annually from Lewis to the grazing on the Flannans. Their name is said to be derived from the ninth-century St Flann, whose saintly influence was recognised during the centuries when men from Lewis visited the islands for their harvest of wool, wild fowl and feathers.

The Flannans were the scene of a great sea-mystery: the complete and utter disappearance of three men from the lighthouse at the turn of this century. In December 1900, the lighthouse, with its 140,000-candlepower beam 283 ft above sea level, was a year old. It had taken four years to build instead of the estimated two. All the materials had to be swung up piecemeal from the boats and hauled up the almost sheer 70 ft cliffs to the top. That month a passing ship, the *Archer*, noticed that the Flannans light was out; a message was sent to the Flannans shore station at Breasclete, Lewis, and the *Hesperus*, preparing to pay a Christmas visit to the lighthouse, got under weigh.

Its crew landed and searched the island, but found no trace of the missing keepers. In the lighthouse was an uncanny silence. The fire was dead. The clock had stopped ticking. The beds had been made up in the clean, clinical way of all sailors. And in the galley, the pots, pans and dishes sparkled their welcome to the searchers. In the lamp-room the lamp was cold. The wicks had been trimmed and the lenses polished. The logbook showed a last entry on 0900 hours, Saturday 15 December. In the subsequent investigation some theories were offered in explanation of the disappearance, but none quite fitted. The mystery remains, a haunting, unexorcised cloud hovering over the island.

The Shiant Isles

Turning to the east coast of Lewis, in the parish of Lochs are the Shiant Isles, about 4 miles off-shore, across the Sound of Shiant (Gaelic: charmed, enchanted). There are three islands in the group: Eilean an Tigh (House Island), Garbh Eilean (Rough

224

224 HUNTING AND TRAPPING--animals sought; hunting methods and techniques (e.g., stalking, collective drive); description and use of traps and snares; use of domestic animals (e.g., dogs, ferrets); special elaborations (e.g., trapping for the fur trade); hunting trips; economic importance of hunting; organisation of labour and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; hunting for sport; regulation (e.g., game laws, open seasons); etc. See also:

Native fauna . . . . . 136 Transportation of animal carcasses 483
Weapons 411

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an outlying reclaimable patch of arable, lying near distant, little-used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chance of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the man and his family; but there might be advantages such as an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as hunting 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunter-bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft was known as *Ruigh* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of poverty with individuality in isolation were handed down, for example, from one of my forebears who held such a *ruigh*, Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-feet contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the last of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *ruigh* may have originally been a summer shieling, only occupied when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with new possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led to settlement there.

At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of North Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lodges and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth, as they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such as one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small islets.

But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single crofts are rare. And the clearest distinction must be drawn between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage or croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or even two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers; for even a few families form the germ of a community, in work and in leisure.

The potentialities of co-operative practice were overlooked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough. For when new methods were required, run-rig kept back the pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. Soon

226

226 FISHING--species sought (e.g., fish, shellfish); gathering of marine fauna; fishing methods and techniques (e.g., hook and line, nets, poison); description and use of traps and weirs; special elaborations (e.g., fishing for sport); economic importance of fishing; organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; fishing for sport; regulation (e.g., licenses); etc.
See also:

Native fauna	136	Net manufacture	286
Manufacture of poisons	278	Boats	501

000 is the northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides (see
161 Map B). The population is concentrated along the
162
361 coast, like a hat-brim around the great inner core of the island's heather-covered bogland, a population belt classified as "dense rural" (50-400 persons per
• [226] square mile) in a map based on the 1951 census. The pattern of land settlement reflects the importance of fishing in the economy of the island.

131 Lewis lies between 6°10' and 7°20' west longitude, and between 47°50' and 58°30' north latitude. Lewis
131 is as far north as Newfoundland and farther north than
132 Mongolia, but the temperature is mild because of the North Atlantic Drift, or Gulf Stream, which passes the
132 west coast of Scotland. The temperature averages 55°F. in summer, and 44°F. in January. A constant climatic feature of life on the treeless island is the wind, a relentless, insidious presence which often reaches gale force. Winds of 60 m.p.h. and more are common.

Rain, which comes in downpours or light mist,
[123] averages 55 to 65 inches per year. The water may be held in colloidal suspension with decomposed organic matter in the compact, spongy material called peat, or pour as rivers and streams off the island's shelf of
131 non-porous Archaean gneiss into the sea. Of Lewis'
133 total area of 437,200 acres, inland water comprises 24,863 acres.

000 24,863 acres. The value of this boggy property, as
423 far as the landlords are concerned, is determined by
427 its fishing potential. The landlords generally reside
• 226 away from their property, and brave the buffeting gales several times a year to return to fish for trout and
[463] salmon. For the rest of the year they hire river-
[685] watchers to prevent their tenants from poaching. As
[171] in Wales (Emmett 1964), the islanders continue to poach, in part as an expression of their identity as independent countrymen, a minority group in a nation-state.

161 Lewis is the most populated area in the Outer
162 Hebrides, containing 21,934 of the 32,607 Outer Hebrideans
634 numbered in the 1961 census. It is part of the County of Ross and Cromarty, whose headquarters are on the
632 mainland near Inverness. Lewis has four administrative areas called civil parishes in which births, deaths and other vital statistics are recorded. Stornoway
[197] parish is the largest, containing the town of Stornoway on the east side of the island in which many non-Gaelic speakers live. Of the other three parishes, the largest
[162] is Barvas which stretches along the west side of the
[197] island and contains 4,331 persons, of whom 94.6% are Gaelic speakers. The people of Stornoway refer to someone
[186] from the west side as a <u>siarach</u> (west-sider), a term which connotes rusticity.

175 During a huge snow-fall that occurred on
261 Lewis in the 1950's, the mobile grocery vans and other
[132] supply vehicles could not come out to the west side,
[443] and a group of men had to make an expedition into town for provisions, after which many families made certain that they always had a good supply of meal, salted
[404] mackerel and herring. Many villagers have gotten deep
[365] freezers to store beef and mutton; others say they do not trust the freezers, that a failure in electricity--which occasionally happens in this region of gales and far-away repairmen--would bring disaster if they depended
458 fully on them for keeping their meat. When the tweed
• 226 industry is going through one of its periodic depressions, more men go out more often to fish. "I've been going out every night for the last week or so. I don't have a tweed, and I won't have one for the next six weeks. I don't know what I'm going to do; maybe I'll go back to sea. Three of us caught one hundred mackerel last
[251] night. I salted my share, and didn't give any of them away. These are the hard times. We're going to need them during the next six weeks."

233 A few people raise beef cattle, depending largely
[654] on subsidies for encouragement to do so. A few are
[234] beginning to keep cows again for milk, giving as their
485 reasons that freight charges make the bottled milk too
434
648

APPENDIX II

178 2110. The acreage under potatoes declined steadily: 3940,
434 3730, 1650. Barley dwindled from 2350 acres to 1340, and
130. Turnips reached a maximum of 510 acres in 1939, but
241 were not worth noting by 1953. These crop acreages reflect
the change in stock-rearing, with the decline in the number of
178 cattle but the great increase in the number of sheep. Taking
434 the three successive totals for 1918, 1939 and 1953, cattle
numbered 13,620, 9060 and 6540 head; but this diminution
231 by more than half was chiefly due to the small number of
bullocks reared. Cows and heifers, 7650 in 1918, still stood at
about 4500 in 1953, and they are now of far better quality in
weight and milk production. The totals of sheep were successively, 78,150, 114,330, 185,860; by use of mainland rams
their average weight has increased, while the wool is rather
more abundant but coarser. Taking the Lewis Association's
equivalent of 1 cattle beast to 8 sheep, the livestock carry
increased by nearly 25 per cent; and if we add the increased
value of the cattle the livestock increase counts for very much
more. Horses, it is true, fell to 380 by 1953; as before, most
had been bought in from Uist, not bred. Hence a new charge
on agriculture, the purchase and use of the 65 tractors owned
by farmers and crofters, and their running costs, is relatively
less heavy than it would be in a horse-breeding area. The
poultry are still deplorably few: 86,460, or about 20 per croft.
[632] The Table on p. 316 sums up the conditions, apparently
somewhat stabilised for the time being, parish by parish, and
invites comparison with Chapter II, pp. 67-68.

178 (b) and (c) *Peat-making and House-building.*—While *peat-*
222 *cutting* is still important, more coal is used than formerly, and
hence the peat is valued here much as in 1938. *Housing* is
314 most important; Local Authority housing by the Burgh
struggles to meet the need of a growing urban and 'suburban'
178 population as in other towns in Britain, but with an additional
362 "remote area subsidy" to meet mainland contractors' extra
547 costs. There is little truly rural housing by the County Council
and rents are too high for the houses to be fully occupied. The
3 figures for Stornoway Burgh for the ten years 1945–54 exceed
62]

some townships the larg
proportion to his rent.
the crofter to gather s
and to cut peat for fue
peat areas. In a numbe
to pasture his rams in
park." These are lowly
is the general picture.

There are three in
means of land tenure. F
who own their land. Eac
and the members of each
lectively. Before the l
benefits of crofting sta
crofter is a small farme
are the crofters of six
areas of "outrun," good l
to the normal crofter's h
crofters are landowners a
own cattle pasture, they
Third, there are a few la
contained units. The ind
pasture, and rough grazing
holdings are farms, but as
exceed £50, the benefits c
The crofter, of course, st
While the Irish and Scotti

crofter is given an allocation in 427
The payment of his rent also entitles 241 233
aweed along the coast for fertilizer 222
on the common grazing or in special 314
of townships he has a further right 233
"tup park" and his horses in a "horse
ng areas of improved pasture. There

portant exceptions to the typical 427
irst, there are the Glendale crofters 423 421
h individual has purchased his croft,
township own the common grazing col-
aw they are no longer entitled to the 656
tus because, by legal definition, the
r who rents his land. Second, there 233
Kilmuir townships who have individual
lowlying cattle pastures, in addition
holding. Even though the Glendale
and the Kilmuir crofters have their
are subject to "souming" regulations.
arge, isolated crofts which are self-
dividual has his own cultivated land,
ng. In reality, many of these large
as long as the annual rent does not
of crofting status are not withdrawn.
stocks his holding as he thinks best.
tish Highland systems of land use

223

223 FOWLING--birds sought; methods and techniques (e.g., nets, snares, bird-lime, decoys); special elaborations (e.g., falconry); organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; regulation (e.g., game laws); etc. See also:

Native fauna . . . . . 136 Weapons 411

CROFTING CHANGES

of larger and more economic working units of over 30 acres of arable land is also apparent in the southern Hebrides, the west mainland of Ross & Cromarty, Argyll (mainland and islands) and Caithness.

The acreage of common grazings held per holding varies from under 50 to some 200. The crofts, as already mentioned, are in townships, of which the island has 168, half being fenced and half consisting of individually fenced crofts. During the winter most of the crofts are laid open for winter grazing by sheep of general ownership. Manure resources are mainly dung, seaweed, shell sand and of course artificials where necessary.

A new aspect of crofting in Lewis is its extension into forestry. A recent survey by the Forestry Commission indicated that under 400 acres of the land not being used for crofting were suitable for afforestation, and that these acres were made up from twenty-three different plots. At Garynahine Estate can be seen the beginnings of a real afforestation unit of some 500 acres, a scheme of the utmost significance for the economic future of Lewis and for the relationship between crofter and landlord. Too often in the past this relationship has been biting, hard and inflexible; in particular the crofter was understandably unwilling to release good land for planting trees. But the crofters of Callernish agreed that the right of usage of 285 acres of the common grazings belonging to their township should revert to the landlord, this land being thrown in with 220 acres of the Garynahine Estate. Labour comes from the affected township and others in the area.

FISHING

Early beginnings

It is the humble herring that has contributed so much to the island's economy and its history. At a very early date in history, the Hebridean fishings were worked by Frenchmen and Spaniards who must have found them rich enough to repay the long journey and weeks away from home in the cold Minch waters. It was not, however, until the end of the sixteenth century that the wealth of the Minch was really discovered, this time by the fishermen on the mainland of Scotland who copied the tricks of their trade

AGRICULTURE AND FIS

from the enterprising Dutch. Dutch fis
off the island coast as early as the reig
Hollanders made their first recorded
licence from Scotland's James VI w
outside a limit of twenty-eight miles.

It was, indeed, partly the success c
attracted the Gentlemen Adventurers
in their unsuccessful endeavours to
son, Charles I, was similarly enticed
being put forward for the purchase c
for the formation of a new corporati
which would develop the island's
founded in 1633, was the 'Company
Great Britain and Ireland' and its ma
be in Lewis. As Lord Seaforth was ow
he was invited to join the company's b
his influence, 'keep the islanders in
stations set up in the Hebrides was on
the Sound of Harris. Martin Martin,
close of the same century, says that
house built by the English, in King
one of their magazines to lay up the
on the fishery, which was then begu
but this design miscarried because o
broke out.' The scheme indeed fell
Charles II tried to revive it on a comm
caused it again to come to nothing.

Where were the islanders in all t
fishings around them? Strangely, the
tion to fish until the Dutch, by thei
fish could become a new factor in the
was vitally interested on his own ac
Lewis (in 1610) he set about establi
principality quite independent of re
contravention of the laws and privile
up Stornoway as a fishing port, intro
fishermen to prosecute the fishings i
Commissioners of Royal Burghs comp

SINCE THE SECOND WAR

pared to make fishing their career, together with financial assistance to those who satisfactorily completed their training and who wished to acquire boats of their own. This Scheme is now run by the Highlands & Islands Development Board. The Board's participation in the expansion of the fishing potential around the island has been first-class, with commensurate results from an investment of some £500,000.

Illegal fishing

Like goldfields, the seas around the island have always attracted the unscrupulous, those for whom the word 'conservation' has no meaning, and who are careless of the dangers of over-fishing. Illegal trawling began around the year 1894 and by now has drastically impoverished the inshore fishings to which the Harris and Lewis crofters once looked for a supplement to diet and income. The rapid adoption of efficient trawlers was attended by an increasing number of reports of their poaching within the three-mile territorial limit. Though the islanders tried many times to involve the Government's cruisers for the protection of their shores, the poaching went on, and still continues today. Even some of the violence which attended the early attempts to clear the scum from the sea, as it were, continues, part and parcel of the island's sea-life.

Fish processing

A former freezing plant in Stornoway, run by the Herring Industry Board has been converted into a fish-processing factory. This facility, of great value to the port, is run by Rolf Olsen A/S, a long-established Norwegian company with a successful background in fish processing. The company has received investment aid from the Highlands & Islands Development Board, the Highland Fund and the Stornoway Trust; the latter's interest is significant in that it is the first time in which the funds of the Trust have been invested in a private concern, to help retain Stornoway as a successful fishing port.

The most regular shore-side as distinct from maritime industry is the processing of prawns (scampi, or *nephrops norvegicus*). Two firms buy the prawns at the pierhead, shell, cook and freeze them,

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway, and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes sixteen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Roadwork gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in the services sector.

The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be tapped. MacBrayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity of 50 cars and 600 passengers, makes two or three trips a day between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than two hours. The mainstays of tourist accommodation in Harris are the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by offering full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant lets.

An interesting tourist venture has been started at Rhenigidale. A rough, stony track, one of the most tortuous and exciting in Britain, takes its leave from the main road over a ridge. It twists and turns in and out of gullies, over cliffsides and across the steep heather-clad slopes of the Toddum, a dramatic little hill of 1,730 ft which protects Rhenigidale village from the Atlantic gales. The seven-mile track is the only marked route, though crofters take a shorter way to the north over pathless bogs; the local postman makes a round of about 60 foot miles in the week, walking this track and on to Tarbert three times in all weathers. The village relies on its sheltered harbour with a good natural rock pier: most communication is by water, all food and fuel coming that way. In past times every household owned a boat for lobster and shell fishing to supplement both diet and finances. Today the interest in fishing has declined, as has the population. But in 1946 Mr Herbert Gatliff paid his first visit to Harris, discovered what the island had to offer, and started a campaign to convince hostelling interests of the need to make some investment in the Western Isles. A croft house in Rhenigidale was in 1961 equipped as a hostel, and under what is now the Gatliff Trust it is maintained for hardy trekkers, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association making a grant for running costs. Many visitors have found that the place offers a degree of happiness corresponding with its remoteness from civilisation.

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which is about half a mile across at its narrowest, coursed by strong tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter, rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides; the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser population at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was severely limited by the minute amount of land available for tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict the range and quality of crops grown.

Scarp was originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access to good pasturage on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1823 thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Resort, Harris, and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate their families and friends from elsewhere. In 1861 the population was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951 it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat, plying between two stone-built jetties.

The local economy was essentially a subsistence one, with self-sufficiency in such products as potatoes, turnips, cabbages, oats, milk and fish. After a break of some years lobster-fishing has recently been reinstated as an occupation. Oil lamps are the only lighting, though a few houses have piped water. The small shop

166 vision of adequate educational facilities in remote spots becomes
871 increasingly difficult.

In its time Scarp has contributed more per head of population to the professions than has any other community of similar size. [162] The last of the native Scarp population left the island in November 1971: two families totalling seven people. The island [178] has now attracted the attentions of a hippie community.

Scalpay

*175 Scalpay Island, on the east side of Harris, was formerly occu-
361 pied by two or three tacksmen in succession before being 'crofted
429 out'. About 1843 the Harris factor settled twenty crofting families who managed to make a fair living there, but five years later another twenty families were added; some had been evicted from the island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris. This led to some sub-division of the available land. The 1861 population was 388, but [162] the figure rose to a peak of 624 in 1921; in 1951 it had declined to 541. It is now in the region of 450.

178 Island Scalpay is in fact one of the few places in the Highlands
621 and Islands area in which the normal trends associated with remote regions are operating in reverse. The island despite its small-[131] ness—it is a mere 3 miles long and 1½ miles across—supports a thriving and dynamic community and is the envy of its neighbours. [162] Scalpay is retaining its young folk; and it boasts some of the finest homes in the Hebrides. From the agricultural point of view it is [241] not greatly different from other islands in the Hebrides. Its forty crofts produce a good crop of oats; but less than 20 acres of the land are re-seeded.

• 226 The land being as poor as it is, the men of Scalpay have turned their faces to the sea—for a living, not for emigration. Scalpay has the largest number of full-time fishermen and a total of thirty-three boats, twelve of which are ringnetters of over 40 ft. Native
505 enterprise is also shown in the ship-owning firm whose vessels carry freight and passengers to many parts of Scotland and on [441] occasion to the Continent. A Harbour Association was formed on the island in 1966 to work for local amenities for fishermen and

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots Lewis and Harris

184 share their characteristics. So to gain a sense of pro-
105 portion from the start, we must map the location of Scots countrymen, their numerical importance, and their types [128] of grouping. Let us begin with the first of these three aspects, their regional location (Fig. 2).

[102] The base map on which the data are plotted shows the boundaries dividing the hill masses of the Highlands and
102 Southern Uplands from true 'lowland'. This hill country
13 is mostly covered by rough pasture (left blank on the map)
311 within which lie strips of 'Isolated Arable' with other improved land in the valleys and along the outlying coastlands (shown in black). This hill country includes the Scottish Isles, with the exception of Orkney, which falls [241] rather into the category of 'lowland'. It is largely devoted to sheep farming and crofting, or left to grouse and deer. [427] The lowland area from the Orkneys to the Tweed and Solway is devoted to mixed and dairy farming with lowland types of small-holding, except, of course, for 'Industrial Regions', which include most of the urban area of Scotland.

• [226] Within the 'three-mile' territorial limit from the coast lie the inshore waters, in which local fishing was once important, and might again become so; these are left white on the map (Fig. 2). By contrast to their narrow extent on the East Coast, their width is notable in the Northern Isles and on the West Coast.

102 The problem set in making this map is to show two
13 different worlds, as it were: the Highland and the Lowland.
184 The two are rarely envisaged together, and much confusion of thought and policy results. To master the map, the
128 reader may scrutinise first one part, the Highlands (cover-ing the other with one hand), then the other part, the
182 Lowlands (in the same way): thus each will appear clearly in turn. Both can then be envisaged together.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots Lewis and Harris

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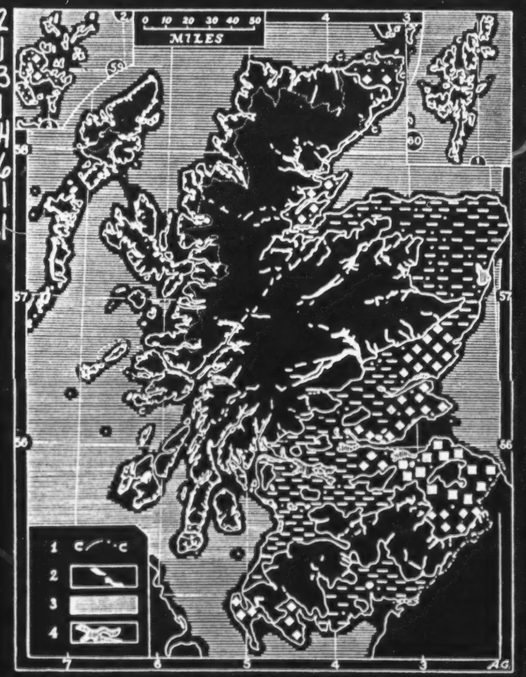

FIG. 2.—Map to show (i) the use of land and sea in and around Scotland, with special reference to the Crofting Townships Zone of the NW. Highlands and Isles, and (ii) the average size in each county of labour-teams of farms and small-holdings in the Lowlands

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots Lewis and Harris

CH. I ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

182 Let us begin with the economic and the social signi-
184 ficance of the Highlands and Isles with which we are concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space' is
311 the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown black) [241] which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore waters, and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by line [427] C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or com-[361] munities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainland and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazing; the line C also encloses a small area devoted to other grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, mainland, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill country are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small farms and small-holdings.

174 In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint labour-
621 team on land formed the communal units contained within
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423
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• 226
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133
[311]
[241]
[361]

Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C .... C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black areas: strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings
(in the Lowlands)

The symbols show the average number of employees per team in each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

(a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm
— 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
◆ 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
■ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(b) Per Full-time Small Holding
• 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

226 the township; and to each were allotted the rights of the
241 common grazing and the fishing grounds. For more than
a century the croft has been held individually, though in
423 the townships the common grazing is still held in common.
621 Beyond these 'homely' limits lie wider horizons, in the
past those of seafaring and of droving or the chase, and
632 today of fishing and gillieing at home, or of ocean journeys,
[178] urban occupations or colonisation.

In the Lowland regions each symbol represents 100
182 holdings. For (A), 'mixed and dairy farming', the par-
184 ticular type of symbol shows the average number of workers
241 employed on a farm-holding in each county. On each
farm the employed workers form what may be called the
'Labour-Team'. A team may be 'small', 'medium' or
'large'. The Scottish averages of these three types (indi-
cated in the inset key to the map) are roughly three, five
and seven workers per team. Four 'casual' workers are
counted as equivalent to one 'permanent' worker, but
farmers' wives are excluded. Under (B), for the same
Lowland counties and areas, full-time small-holdings are
[593] shown separately. The Scottish average of less than one
full-time worker employed, most often a son or daughter
of the small-holder, is typical of all the counties.

241 As to the relative importance of the different classes of
farms and small-holdings in Scotland, true agricultural
[162] land-holders number 68,000, of which fully one-third hold
part-time holdings (like the Island crofters), one-third
'full-time farms', and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold 'full-
time small-holdings'. The remainder accounts for other
types of less importance. The farms predominate in terms
of improved land, full-time employment, and of course of
[311] production. As to area, farms cover 80 per cent of agri-
[464] cultural land. The farmers employ nearly 90,000 workers,
[162] [refer to map p. 16 -- analyst]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 that the spade and foot-plough (*cas chrom*) were used for
114 double the area ploughed. From Monro and from the
311 precise Statistical Accounts of the eighteenth century, it is
[241] clear that pony-drawn ploughs were usual in the smoother
[127] parts of Lewis. In North Harris are 'abundance of
[136] Deir'. We must not forget here that 'faire' and fertile
are comparative terms for the West. "Lewis is faire and
weill inhabit at the coste, ane fertile and fruitful countrey,
for the maist part beire [barley], with 4 Paroche Kirkes."
[226] There is "ane castell callit Stornoway . . . with 3 salt
loches, very fine for take of herrings . . . [and] infinite fresh
water loches. In the Lewis there are 8 waters with take
of salmont. . . ." There were also "Whales . . ." In
"a cove 2 fadoms deep at the ebb sea, uses Whytuns
(whitings) to be slain with huiks", there were "very many
haddocks and Men with their wandes sitting [as today]
upon the Craiges of that cove, and Lades [boys] and Women
[136] also. . . . In this Ile there are many Sheip for it is very
guid for the same. For they lay furth ever one mures
and glens and never enters in a house and their wool is
bot anes in the zeire pluckit off them in some fauldes."
[236] In Zetland wool is still plucked, not sheared.

The description of reclamation is specially worthy of note: "In this countrey all is peit mossland at the Sea cost, and the plaice where he wins his peitts this zeire [year] . . . there he sawes his corne the nixt zeire, after that he guidds it weill with Sea ware" [*i.e.*, improves or
[245] manures it with seaweed]. On "Ellan Colm Cill [an islet apparently on the east coast south of Stornoway at the mouth of Loch Erisort] Macloyd of the Lewis has ane faire Orchard, and he that is Gardener has that Ile [rent] free. . . ."

175 Around the coast of Lewis no absolute limit is set to
185
311

175 the eighteenth century these 'black houses' would be
342 replaced by houses of stone and lime, and a few of those
361 survive.

Of the fort built by Cromwell on the Point, no signs
172 remain. For tactical reasons, the best site would seem
174 to be the neck of the Point, from which the guns of the
712 fort could defend the houses, stores and quays. The irregular building line near the point marked T, a Town House at a later period, may correspond to the
175 northern angle of the fort. The fort appears to have been standing when the original drawing was made for the
712 engraving in the Old (or First) Statistical Account of Stornoway, *c.* 1793.

By the time Wood drew his plan in 1820, houses on
175 the Point no longer looked exclusively on to the axial
361 street. The main alinement of interest came to be the shore, marked by a properly built quay. Today, the Point Street houses have fallen into decay but many older houses still stand in fair repair along the 'Beach' or Quay.

Thirdly, from the nineteenth century, until 1914, two-
175 storey, flatted tenements, hotels and houses of middle-class
361 people were built upon a grid that followed upon the old
34 field plans. In an alternative plan, proposed about 1820 but not adopted, a diagonal vista opened out to the Established Church, built in 1794 on rising ground. The modest Seaforth Lodge which had stood across the harbour was replaced in 1850 by Stornoway (or Lews) Castle, its pseudo-Tudor style designed to please the new improving landlord, Sir James Matheson, who had purchased Lewis in 1844. Presented to the people on the break-up of the Leverhulme Estates in 1925, a new technical school has
175 taken it over. A few villas also grew up on outlying roads.
361 Thus, a mere village in 1801, and among the smaller burghs
• 226

175 of Ross and Cromarty, with populations of from 1000 to
342 2300 in 1841, Stornoway leapt ahead by 1851, growing
162 with the rise of the fishing trade. Including the literally
• 226 floating population of fishers, its numbers exceeded 4000 in the summer of 1921, though falling below this in 1931 when the census was held in the spring.

175 Still another stage, a fourth, seemed in sight when, in
226 1918, the first Lord Leverhulme made his bid to centralise
361 the scattered, failing fishing industry of the Island at Stornoway. A canning factory was started (south of the area shown on the plan), only to be dismantled before its completion, then recommenced and again dismantled at "Leverburgh", South Harris. New housing commenced. When this great venture closed and population stagnated, the grandiose proposal to reopen the diagonal vista on Wood's plan and centre it on some great new building, remained a dream. The failure of Leverhulme's great enterprise and its hopes led to discouragement for some years. Yet it is possible that the vision of change given to the Island may have contributed to a renewed capacity for enterprise, individual and communal.

175 Later extension had to await the growth of the Harris
342 tweed industry, and the erection of spinning-mills to
361 provide yarn for the rural hand-weavers. The town has
[288] extended beyond the plan in two main directions: to north-east with villas and housing schemes and to ESE. with the great new mills where kippering sheds were numerous from the mid-nineteenth century until after 1919.

361 Although Tarbert is a shopping centre for Harris and
366 has its spinning-mill, Stornoway has no rival on the
Island. The adequate depth of its harbour, combined
[162] with its position and access from sea and land, have given

162 weaving and fishing, the fall in population would probably
[167] be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was
[168] not so much a decrease in the number of families as in the number per family. The Island was only then following the restriction of population begun half a century before in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

162 Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is
178 a land of house-building, not of ruin and abandonment;
361 of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agri-
[650] cultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were at work: first, loans, grants and unemployment insurance
[593] and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly,
[888] the money sent to elderly parents and dependants at home by young folk in Glasgow or abroad, or savings brought
• 226 back by the young people themselves. Yet there is some fishing and agriculture still. Above all, 'hand-weaving' has grown, even if this be partly 'artificial'. Recently it
[241] was not only the elders who had returned to the Island, but
[286] men and women in the prime of life, so that the question of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to be re-examined afresh.

167 The emigration which took place from 1949 to 1951
[464] followed directly upon the losses and the unemployment
[651] in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted from the imposition in 1949 of a Purchase Tax on hand-
[162] woven Harris tweed of 666 per cent. If the tax had been maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects on population would have been far-reaching.

175 usually corresponded to six imperial bushels). The stock
434 was "four milch cows, three to perhaps four horses, and as many sheep on the common as the tenant has luck to rear". Although such estimates, especially of crop yields, are apt to err on the favourable side, a comparison with the same writer's statistics of stock (and rental) shows that this estimate gives only a little over the modern average per family in Harris, and allows an average sheep flock of one score ewes.

175 The briefer Statistical Accounts of Lewis indicate the
434 average stock per family, suggesting comparisons both with
434 the present, and with an earlier time (Chapter II). In 1790
422 the cattle and horses, though small, were greater in number per family than now. In Lewis there were eight head of cattle per rural family, compared to 2·5 today; there were one or two ponies per family (according to the topography and ploughland of the parish) instead of an average of only one horse to five or six families today; the small family sheep-stock was similar; and there were also some goats,
175 say, one to every second family. In addition to these
• 226 resources, there was fishing; and the number of boats in Stornoway parish, giving one boat to four families, is a guide for the rest. Fishing, with net-making, was a predominant occupation in all parishes by that time, and boat-building was significant too.

175 As to changes, fishing had grown in importance since
433 about 1720, and kelp-making added an important new
434 resource. But one may doubt if the Island supported an appreciably larger live-stock in 1790 than seventy years before; one must rather assume smaller shares per family,
[182] for population had increased. A basis for agricultural security was an adequate balance of sandy machar to 'black', peaty, clay land; and the area of machar, a limited

175 and still more to pay arrears, was "the rugged Hag,
241 Poverty, that would resist both King and Government".
427 We may guess that MacAulay passed a hint to the tenantry
451 that (in a good Gaelic idiom) they had better 'disremember' details of arrears: and this they did.

175 Of the four names on the deposition quoted, one or
551 two may have been surnames, others the patronymics of
613 kinsmen. As is still the custom, clansmen knew one another
[198] by names of many kinds. Stature or colour was used to distinguish a 'Big John from a little one, a fair from a dark, or a pale from a swarthy; occupations such as smith or caird (artificer, not necessarily travelling tinker as now) were
[241] used, and so were nicknames. Of the eighty-one crofters
or fishermen burghers in Stornoway, fourteen were Mac-
• [226] Kenzie and other mainland surnames, such as Fraser and Gunn, Matheson and MacLennan, also showed their descent from the immigrants brought in when MacKenzie of Kintail founded the burgh to encourage fisheries after 1611. Each held a single holding, usually rented at two shillings sterling.

175 To conclude, rentals about 1715 show (1) the character-
241 istic equalitarian grouping of small peasants as fellow-
427 workers in the hamlet-farms still held directly from the
631 superior, Seaforth; (2) the eighty-one small burghers of Stornoway; and (3) tacksmen, responsible for the larger part of the Island rent, but under whom we know that the labouring peasantry, though without the local independence of the others, also continued to dwell and to work together. The tacksmen were to pass away, as many of them had originally come, at the desire of a mainland lord, and the lord, in his turn, was to leave; but the small peasantry of immemorial stock still hold and work their land.

(c) FARM-TEAM AND BOAT'S CREW

175 The strictly equal division of rent on each joint farm
241 shows the equality of sharing among its workers by 'run-
427 rig'. By this system, periodic pooling and redivision kept
476 the land in convenient blocks, a wet part here and a dry one there, all shared out to give each man an equal chance
423 whatever the weather might bring. Such sharing was not mere static division of goods: it was the means for co-operative work, in ploughing and harvesting, or cutting peats, on land, and in manning a boat for the fishing.

175 For ploughing, two or three men were needed—one
241 leading the horses (walking backward and singing his en-
476 couragement), a second to hold the plough and perhaps a third to turn the sods; but four ponies abreast were needed to haul the plough, and each tenant possessed only one or two. In addition, the plough might be preceded by an instrument to clear the ground, a 'reestle', requiring two horses and one man. A Gaelic proverb notes the selection needed in the horse team, and one disabled by age could be replaced as leader by another. Ploughing was necessarily co-operative.

175 The rockiness and hilly ground of Uig and Lochs
241 diminished the usefulness and, no doubt, the number of
[182] ploughs, but the importance of their fishing was some compensation for poor agriculture. In 1790 there were
[134] ninety ploughs in Barvas parish, where they were no doubt of ancient usage: a ratio of one plough to five families, or
• 226 one per joint farm. To judge from the smoothness of Stornoway parish, ploughs were probably used there in a similar ratio.

175 While some jobs were done by no more than two people,
476 —as when a ridge or 'lazy-bed' was put in order, the

175 at midsummer came joyous departure to the shielings.
796 Michaelmas at the end of September was a festival of horsemanship, when the ponies, rested and well fed, could race madly along the machar. As long nights brought in the winter, Hallowe'en came on 31st October, and on the morrow the solemnity of All Hallows (*Samhain*). On 11th November came St. Martin's Day, and in December Christmas once again.

175 When the Islesmen put out to sea, prayers were chanted
782 to Father, Son and Holy Spirit and to the Disciples, "the Fishers of Men". While some of these might be individual (*Carmina*, Nos. 117-120), others were chanted by the skipper at the helm, as celebrant, the crew giving the
(178) responses (No. 121). As self-sustained community life
(779) weakened and customs were endangered, this prayer was encouraged by a few clergy, Catholic and Protestant. At
175 the start of the season's fishing in Eriskay, Fr. Allan Macdonald went out in the boats and chanted a rune taught
• 226 to him by elders, the men responding.[1] One of the 'Ocean
788 Blessings' or prayers recorded by Carmichael (No. 119) is found in Bishop Carswell's *Liturgy in Gaelic*, of 1569, and is quoted by Martin as "a form of prayer used by many of the islanders at sea after the sails are set".[2] Most of Carswell's *Liturgy* was translated from that of John Knox, but not this prayer, of which the earlier and later-recorded version are the same, except for one revealing difference.

(178) [1] In so doing, 'Father Allan' may have been restoring a pious service of an older school of Gaelic priests trained upon the College of Lismore, an island in Loch Linnhe. Lismore was the birthplace of Carmichael, and in the home of his Protestant parents the young priests were hospitably received.

[2] *Foirm nan Urnaighthe* (ed. M'Lauchlan), 240, and Martin, 1703 (edition of 1934, pp. 186-189). A new text of Carswell is in preparation by the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society.

175 As recorded by Carswell (and Martin), this prayer,
• 226 after calling upon the Trinity, tells that the Three-in-One,
788 ever living, guided Clan Israel through the Red Sea,
773 brought Jonah to land from the belly of the great ocean beast, and led Paul and his companions from the torment of the sea; after these three stanzas it closes with a general supplication. As heard by Carmichael three centuries after Carswell, the first three stanzas are identical, but they are
(539) followed by the culmination. Recalling the hour "when the storm poured on the Sea of Galilee . . .", the poem goes on, "Be Thou, King of the elements, seated at our helm, And lead us in peace to our voyage's end. . . ." It is significant that the Reformation Liturgy includes the story of Clan Israel's flight from their enemy whose drowning forms the climax of the tale, and the absurd miracle of the whale—a late interpolation in the convincing original Hebrew poem on Jonah's voyage,[1]—but that it omits the Christian climax, of the storm allayed by Christ, the Helmsman of peace.

(539) Another fishers' rune (No. 120) concludes, "To whom trembles the voice of the wind? To whom become tranquil strait and ocean? To Jesus Christ, Chief of each saint, Son of Mary, Root of Victory." These blessings, though they refer to the Old Testament, dwell lovingly on the New. Their thought is of the fishermen friends, Peter, Andrew and John, of the Baptist and of Christ's mother, of Saint Martin and later apostles to the Gael, and the Archangels, and of Christ, Rock of rocks (*Carraig Ail*), and the Trinity.
226 These bring strength in danger, peace after strife with the
778 elements, remembrance of the poor, and fellowship to the crews. Peace and strength pervade the "Dawn Prayer of

[1] R. G. Moulton, *Modern Reader's Bible* (reissue, 1935, pp. 1423-1424; cf. Note to Matt. xii. 40, p. 1696).

788 Clanranald"[1] and echo in the opening benediction of
• 226 Alexander Macdonald's "*Birlinn* of Clanranald", without which his 'Galley', for all the glory of its strife with storm, would never have won its place in the heart of the seafaring Gael.

788 As for journeys over sea, so for those over land, "Tra-
484 versing corries, traversing foresta, traversing valleys, long and wild . . .", the traveller or pilgrim, the drover or emigrant, leaving home and his friends, would have their prayers. They would accompany him on the first steps of his way with cheer and laughter or with tears, as those have told me who remembered my grandfather's leaving
(539) his home in Strath Spey more than a century ago. These journey-blessings were spoken by the traveller: "Life be in my speech, sense in what I say . . .", or by those to whom he was dear. (*Carmina*, No. 116; *Guidheachan Turais*, Nos. 266-276.) In these prayers, bodily travel and spiritual quest are sustained on the mountain-track by the strength of home-ties and fellowship, and by the hospitality of Christians on the path ahead.

788 When family and neighbour-team were closely knit,
574 their own harmony drew the stranger in. "The Rune of Hospitality", threaded together from old fragments by the Rev. Kenneth MacLeod, breaks out into the refrain of the lark as she sings to the listening heart of the host:
(539) "Many, a many, a many a time, Comes the Christ in the stranger's guise!"[2] Hospitality is truest when its sacrifice—so real in a land of poverty—is given as a duty but with a smile!

[1] *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, pp. ix-x.

[2] "*Gur minig, a minig, a minig . . .!*" "*Duan na h-oighreachd*". (*An Guidhal*, Dec. 1941.)

167 left the Island. Yet after 1931 many returned, owing to losses and unemployment both in British towns and over-
(288) seas. When emigrants began to come home the 'Harris'
178 tweed industry had spread to Lewis and offered increasing
(464) employment. Some men still fished in family-owned
(464) Island boats, and others as paid hands (on boats from
• 226 the East Coast), though losses and unemployment were suffered.

178 Inter-war changes were hastened not only by movement
177 beyond the Island—an influence at work for three or four
493 generations before—but by mobility within it. In 1919 a small mail car made its way daily from Stornoway along
(205) each of the five main roads, with an occasional passenger. When crofters crossed the Island to Stornoway they went on foot or took the pony and cart at a slow walk: it was a day's journey. Ten years later, Ford vans, bought second-hand, ran daily to Stornoway from every township. Frequency, ease and relative cheapness of movement came late in an Island with no railway: the mobility of the motor for marketing and shopping brought rapid change.

178 'Hand-loom' weaving had become an important, if
286 precarious, resource, important because of the capital
(433) invested and the labour employed, yet precarious because
(462) of its dependence upon name and sentiment, not only upon intrinsic value. In Harris many women had spun and woven for sale for over a generation before 1914, mostly weaving pure hand-spun yarn, and they continued to do so. For many years before 1914, an occasional weaver was to be found in villages in Lewis too, generally weaving a handspun weft upon a mill-spun warp. By 1939 it was estimated that there were about 1200 looms in the Island, chiefly weaving mill-spunyarn, most of it spun in the two principal Stornoway mills. A carding mill

(c) THE OUTLOOK: 1939-54 AND SINCE

458 How then can the situation be assessed, as it was before
178 the outbreak of war and since then? By 1939 twenty years had been partly lost; for the after-war years of the 'Lever-hulme boom' were followed by discouragement and poverty. During that time one might have hoped for half
(423) a generation of reconstruction and progress. On the other hand the sore question of dividing the farms was settled, so bringing raiding to an end. Congestion on the existing crofts is less than it was, owing to this fact, and to the
(166) provision of feus. The poverty of many breadwinners who had migrated to the cities first cut down the amounts remitted to their Island dependents, then drove them home.
(433) A croft, or even a garden site, and the opportunity of building a good house there made life still worth while,
(746) when other employment had failed. Unemployment relief, though tempting some to idleness, gave a respite
286 which many utilised to make a fresh start. As fishing
• 226 waned, many had taken advantage of the easy beginning offered to learn a new trade—weaving. This has made many feel that the living to be found on the Island is better than alternation of 'wage-earning' with unemployment, in Glasgow or abroad. They believe the situation
(311) of the Island community to be hopeful. While the land remains little better than before, many, even of the younger people, still care for the Island life among their own kin. Given a clear lead, these could reorganise themselves, and undertake the developments needed in fishing, weaving and reclamation. The homes are sound, 'good neighbourhood' endures, and given fresh opportunity, the community could awaken to new life.

178 During and since the war, co-operative marketing was
44
476 I.L.H.-U 289

464 For a year or two after the war many men and women
(288) returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found
(179) employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry. This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving at home—work in which the male weaver was helped by
• (226) his family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen
178 dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses
(462) such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to return to the hard, uncertain work of gutting. The whaling station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950, and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed
(241) in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised
(722) cultivation. The war-time construction of air-fields had ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was
(654) assisted by government grants.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders' main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of
288 a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds.
651 Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export
648 sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the
(433) position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there were strong arguments for the extension of the tax to
(171) Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artist favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the end, the mass-production is an unacknowledging debtor. The obvious economic handicaps of Island hand-weaving
(439) may surely permit some latitude. The export trade in
(458) Harris Tweed, in which the imponderable 'sentimental

175 reclamation, which Dean Monro has described as he saw it.
311 Technique and economic return must be balanced against
185 the factors of nature. Although natural conditions are
[182] difficult, they may not form a complete explanation of the relative arrest of reclamation in the nineteenth century; for here separation from the agricultural advances of the Lowlands by barriers of mountain and sea caused the retention of unprogressive methods until the wave of agricultural improvement had spent itself by the middle of
[178] last century. To this cause must be added other influences
[171] contrasted to those leading to peasant advance in the rest of Western Europe: the political history of the Gaeldom after 1745, the revolution in land tenure and in the social life of the upper classes, the commercial, industrial and imperial development of Great Britain. All these factors help to explain the contrast offered to the Lews by western Denmark and western Norway, lands in which the soil and climate are comparable to those of the Island. Yet reclamation is proceeding, as on skinned land at Ness, where plots of ground have been steadily broken in by pick and by spade or plough.

• 226 Settlement and agricultural land are placed around
[361] the coasts with their fishing grounds. In spite of what was often said—that the Lewisman is and has always been
[311] primarily a fisherman—fishing alone is not enough to
[241] account for this distribution, for the agricultural conditions on the whole are also best along the coasts, or were so for early settlers. As Stevens remarked, the light sandy 'machar' lands are there, and the fringe of partially improved soil close by; drainage is, on the whole, better, while shell-sand and sea-ware are to be had for manure.
241 The sea-ware also serves still as fodder, while one or two
824 sorts are sometimes cooked for human food; carragheen

241 (Chondrus), for example, is used as a thickener of milk to
824 make a cheese-like mould. Dulse is also plucked.[1]

222 The type of coastal form and vegetation alters the relative importance of crofting and fishing—and the balance
182 chosen is significant. (1) Where the coastline is smooth,
241 and leads inland from sandy machar with its clover to
• 226 sand-ameliorated 'black land' of smooth topography lending itself to ploughing, and the whole is backed by extensive pastures, the tract is relatively well-off for crofting but may be ill-placed for fishing. (2) Where the coast is either indented or salient with rocky loch-sides or steep promontory cliffs, a rolling or rocky topography, little shell sand, and (on the promontories) a shortage of pasture, it is ill-placed for crofting; but it is favourable to fishing either by virtue of sheltered sea lochs or of salient promontories, one or other side of which tends to give relative shelter to the fishing ground (chosen according to the direction of the wind, to avoid being blown on to a dangerous, lee shore). Hence the site of a settlement has had much to do with the choice and opportunities for a communal vocation, from prehistory to the present time, as we shall see.

103 Significant local characteristics emerge in the names of
634 the ancient districts (inset with the Map of Vegetation,
175 Fig. 8). In the north is Ness (Norse, 'nose' or cape); along the west is Cladach (Gaelic, a stony beach); while in South Harris the western 'Machar' contrasts with the eastern 'Bays'. 'Park', a sheep-run in the early nineteenth century, was the Norse 'East-fell'. In contrast, the parishes of Lewis centre on four churches, linked to
[491] the road-system. This radiates from Stornoway in five directions: east, NE., NW., SW., and south to Tarbert,

[173] [1] Pulling dulse (*Rhodymenia*) is one of the 'delights' of Iona as told in a poem long attributed to Saint Columba!

511 coat, was thought to be supernatural. The fishing, too, is
• 226 of good standard: a typical annual catch including 1700
511 salmon, 5000 sea-trout and 1800 brown trout; and it was for this, as well as for the shootings, that the moors pertaining to the different shooting or fishing lodges and hotels
137 were bought at Lord Leverhulme's sale. The absence of
233 foxes was important to sheep-rearing before the introduction of guns, and is still a favourable factor.

5. *Sea-fishing*

226 Fish have always contributed to the diet of the Islesfolk,
178 whether they fished from coracles or boats, or with 'lang wands' from the shore as they still do, and as they did in
[262] the days of Dean Monro and, no doubt, right back to
[433] neolithic times. The relative importance of fishing and
[241] agriculture, however, has always varied according to place and time.

182 Fishing in modern and historic, and also in prehistoric,
226 times—to judge from the kitchen middens of Uig—has always flourished more where there were deep sea-lochs;
241 and settlement resulted, even though rocky hillsides made
[178] ploughing difficult or impossible. Conversely, agriculture has offered better opportunity on smooth coasts with a
[172] variety of soils, though fishing was poorer there. Thus the men of Stornoway Bay and Eye, of eastern lochs and of the Harris bays, like those of Loch Roag on the west, have long been partly fishermen. In the extreme north, too, men of Ness—with the chance of choosing their fishing grounds on the north, west or east of the island and with their little rocky port giving shelter, of a sort, from south-
[461] west gales—were good fishermen; they are good seamen
[829] still. "The fishing of the Barvas folk" is an old gibe,

182 meaning that the men of that village, and its immediate
• 226 neighbourhood, were the last to put to sea and the first to
241 return. The Barvas folk could retort that they would
have been fools to do anything else on a straight exposed
[829] coast; and that anyway their pony-drawn ploughs were
[461] of more use than the foot ploughs of the rocky south.
A form of provender taken indirectly from the sea was the sea-birds and eggs from the sea-cliffs and islets like Rona, north-west of the Butt. This helped to support a few families in St. Kilda and on the rocky Shiant Islands south-east of Harris.

175 Fishing remained backward and primitive, however,
226 until the nineteenth century. After developing in a
promising way, it was checked before the First World
[178] War, and fell into decay during and after it. Decay has,
504 of course, been widespread. In 1935 the chief ports of
501 the East Coast, from Leith with Granton northward by Fraserburgh to Wick—a round dozen—had still an average of 250 to 300 vessels, 3000 in all. These were chiefly of steam or motor auxiliary power and valued (with fishing gear) at £2,750,000. Orkney and Zetland, too, had each their 300 boats. The whole West Coast, however, from Stornoway to Ballantrae, had only 2000 boats, valued at less than one-tenth of the fleet of the East, and worth only a fraction of this, to judge from prices in the open market. Nearly 400 boats were still on the register for Lewis and Harris (Stornoway district) and another 300 for the rest of the Outer Isles. But fewer put to sea each year, even from Stornoway itself.

182 A major drawback to herring fishing in the Stornoway
226 district is the uncertainty in the movements of the herring shoals. On the Clyde, moreover, herring can be sent fresh to the city but further north they must be cured. Whereas

182 on the East Coast and in Orkney and Zetland there are
• 226 comparatively well-marked seasons at which the herring can be expected, Stornoway appears to lie marginally to their main migrations. Thus the amount of the catch varies and curers have been disinclined to set up large curing stations such as those which deal with the enormous influx at the height of the season on the East Coast. A partial compensation is found in the continuance of herring fishing in winter.

226 While fishing from rowing boats for saith, lythe and
[178] mackerel still supplies food for home in summer, fishing with long lines in winter and spring brought cod and other white fish, sun-dried and salted, which became an important export though declining sharply after 1900 and of no importance since 1919. Lobster fishing is undertaken in small boats with two or three men from many townships, and two ponds have been reopened, one on Bernera, Lewis, and the other at Stockinish in Harris to store the lobsters. Conditions in 1935 and 1951–53 are compared in Appendix I (iii) and II (iii).

6. *The Annual Rhythm of Life*

221 It is appropriate here to show how fishing and crofting fitted together into the seasonal calendar a hundred years ago, and shortly before and after the war of 1914–18.
[182] The Lewisman's year shows its relationship to the seasons,
[175] with their temperature, rainfall and wind (Fig. 9). A century wrought changes: cod fishing declined as the
[178] herring fishing grew in importance; but the latter fell
[286] away again after the war. Partly as a result, weaving has become important, the men fitting into the idle periods between the brief peaks of spring and harvest work.

461 Men's work can be roughly estimated as either light,
462

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 22]

361 in solid black, and the third in hatching (Fig. 11). First,
174 upon the little peninsula or 'Point' which protects the inner fishing harbour of the river there grew the nucleus
361 of the town, with its Castle upon the rocky islet now con-
• 226 cealed by the steamer pier. Sheltered from the waves by the peninsula and from enemies by the Castle, MacLeod's
504 galleys and the early fishing fleet must have congregated in the inner harbour. Protection from storm was specially needed until, in the nineteenth century, a quay was built, with space for marketing and handling the herring.

174 Inland from the Castle was the little church of the burgh,
361 dedicated to Saint Lennan (L). The little town can be imagined stretching inland from the church, its dwellings
[346] built along the 'Point Street' axis, until it met the track, road or street crossing the neck of the Point. The largest church of Lewis proper, now in ruins, stood apart from the burgh, at the south-west extremity of Eye Peninsula. Until trade developed, the backs of the houses would have been turned to the shore. To north, on the landward side from which cattle would come, the market developed.

175 Secondly, in the seventeenth century, thatched houses
361 were strung out along Point Street and the shore for the Gaelic settlers, the fisher- and craftsman-crofters brought
342 here to found a burgh and commercialise fishing. During

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102 *Key to Fig. 11* (opposite)
361 Buildings on John Wood's plan of 1821 are shown in black and radial
174 streets then proposed by pecked lines. Existing buildings are shown hatched. The harbour development plan of 1946 (pecked lines) is shown by courtesy of the Stornoway Pier and Harbour Commission; it is now in execution.

L = site of St. Lennan's. T = former Town House. TH = Town House.
× = site of Castle. + = modern churches.

(Based on a British Admiralty chart with the permission of the Controller o, H.M. Stationery Office and of the Hydrographer of the Navy.)

The minister
was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them
175 as an example to the crofters who were still reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70
244 boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch Roag for they were small open boats greatly
226 outnumbered in good herring seasons by boats from other parts of the kingdom. To
251 encourage curing, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up two storehouses
441 to supply salt; he, or his agents, were probably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, wh
619 visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the estate factor held a monopoly for trading in cattle, dried fish and other products. The absolute power of the clan chieftain seems to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 184 But it was kelp, more than fishing, that helped to support the people of Uig in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lewis made little kelp compared with the
175 Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of particularly good quality and commanded more than
221 the average price. Further, many people from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time, the intrinsic resources of the parish appear
233 to have been inadequate to support the population. In this connection it is worth noting
162 the change in the average stock held by each family since 1792 as shown in table 3.
178

Clearance and Congestion.

175 Even after the end of the tremendous boom in kelp, brought about throughout the
228 Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some production continued in Uig. In 1825, when the land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses,
175 yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereafter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attem
233 ing industrial developments and agricultural improvements. The former included short lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants in
166 order to introduce mainland farmers. For these Uig was particularly attractive, the extensive mountain pasture offering good prospects for sheep graziers. The exact date
427 of the formation of the earliest farms are not remembered nor are they precisely recorc but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Macrae of Kintail had the tack of Scalisero, with
274 the extensive grazings (now partly occupied by Bernera summer pastures) east of Little Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants of Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of Mealasta Island, which suggests that a sheep farmer was already installed in that district. About 1838 all the small tenants were cleared out of Mealasta, six families being put into Breanish; the remainder are said to have been sent to America.

In Bernera island, Kirkibost was cleared about 1822, having been lotted in individual
175 crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkibost formed part of the large farm of
427 Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed part of this farm. On the mainland, opposite Bernera, small tenants were cleared from the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Stoome and Drovernish) in the early nineteenth century, and a tacksman was installed at west Earshader. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and Linshader.

By 1844 the kelp shores were almost valueless to the proprietor (though seaweed as
175 fertiliser remained a vital necessity to the small cultivators, often working the same land year after year). In 1841 the Chamberlain of the Lews suggested to the Select Committee on Emigration that some 6,000 persons should emigrate because the land wa inadequate to support them. In 1844, of necessity, Seaforth sold the island. The
162 population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,316); little did the Chamberlain imagine tha in the following ten years it would increase by 16%, and that by the turn of the century would reach almost 30,000, (Uig 4,463; Figure 8).[1]

1. [See p. 18--Analyst]

[Garyvard]

407 Only a fraction of the total arable land is cultivated by tractor and this is divided among seven crofts. In spite of an emphatic statement by one of these cultivators to the effect that he will never use it again, the use of the tractor will increase as soon as the pioneers are able to prove to their neighbours its capabilities and as soon as the lazy-beds are joined together, an improvement which has already taken place in Habost. The main objection to the use of the tractor by the disappointed user was the inevitable one that the yields were smaller than in former years when he had used the spade. The answer to this was given by one of the other pioneers, who thought that time saved could be devoted to some other profitable occupation, for example, weaving. Six of the crofters practise a five-year crop rotation, sowing potatoes
242 first, followed by oats under-sown with clover which for the following three years is cut for hay.

An interesting experiment has been that of the improvement of two acres of common grazing land by the road on the west side of the township, by nine of the crofters working together during the evenings. The work began early in Spring when 6 tons of lime, 10 cwts. of mineral phosphates and 8 cwts. of compound fertiliser were spread evenly over the land. The grass seed was sown in July, the most favourable time for sowing since there is less danger of a drought than earlier in the year, and more convenient too, in that the sheep had been gathered for shearing and 250 of them were available to be driven back and forth over the land to tramp the seeds in. In theory this land should be ready for grazing next Spring, but in practice it will be ready in November. It is planned to re-seed twelve acres in all.

231 Most crofters have a cow to provide milk for their own needs. The Black Poll bull at Gravir
234 is preferred to the other township bulls since its progeny command higher prices. Sales are held
432 in the district twice per year, once on the old lake-level on the east side of the township, and once
435 at Balallan. Prices for calves are normally better in Spring than at the Autumn sale, nevertheless prices offered tend to be low. Even so, it is usually to the advantage of the crofter to part with the animal rather than bear the cost of taking it back to the croft and wintering it there. Naturally there is some bitterness that the middlemen who buy these animals will sell them at much higher prices on the mainland at Dingwall. Sheep are normally sold in Stornoway to the butchers but also at the local sales.

241 Crofting is not in itself a lucrative form of employment and in most households there is at
434 least one other source of income. A majority of the crofters have regular employment, two
463 working in quarries or on the roads for the County Council, another is postman, three are weavers,
464 another both weaver and contractor, while yet another works in Antarctic waters aboard a whaling factory ship for eight months of the year. Weaving is undoubtedly the most lucrative of the an-
[288] ciliary occupations, though the weavers are suffering at the moment from the slump in the Harris Tweed Industry which is also affecting the prices for wool. Contracting is also a paying proposition for one or two persons only, since the amount of freight is obviously limited.

241 Most crofters own a small rowing boat and it is not uncommon to see half a dozen nets set to
226 catch mackerel and other demersal fish. There is not one large fishing boat, however, partly
501 because of the scarcity of fish near the coasts, and partly because of the isolation of the area and
[228] the subsequent difficulty in marketing. The Fleetwood trawlers are regarded as pirates in the Minch, and one has to its credit the destruction of two long lines - the sum total of the tackle belonging to a local boat. To have eighteen pounds worth of gear lost in one night is ruin to a crofter-fisherman. Lobster fishing has died out at Garyvard though it could be quite extensively practised.

361 The main road from South Lochs to Stornoway through the village has obviously had a profound
491 effect on the township. The sites of the old 'black houses' have been abandoned when new houses have been built, in favour of sites conveniently near to the road. The Road Age has greatly
[241] limited man's capacity for carrying goods. This is well illustrated by the fact that the majority of crofters in Garyvard use artificial fertilisers, whereas they are scarcely used at all in Caversta where the road ends about 50 yards from the nearest house.

[Caversta]

241 Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter
231 holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for fanking or other purposes and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes
[121] are normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered, and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for black leg, braxy and louping ill, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third week of May.

231 The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep soum, but the overall
235 stocking is only 88 per cent of the total souming. Two crofts only exceed their individual soums, while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however, poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuable for wintering the
[236] hogg. Lewis Blackface sheep are the predominant breed and the wool, clipped in July, is sold to the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter house. The 1958 loss at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the growth of grass for the ewes. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on
[121] the crofts. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early-born calves may be sold in the Autumn at six months old, those born later must be wintered to eight months until the Spring sales. The cows are served by the Department of Agriculture Highland bull at Habost, but although good prices are obtained for beef cattle, it is felt that for the family milk supply, a dairy bull would produce a better strain.

241 In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. In
244 most cases the land under each crop is less than half an acre and nowhere does it exceed two acres.
246 The land has been built up into lazybeds about six to ten feet wide, separated by open drainage
247 channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor (hired from Habost)
407 is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not altogether suitable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by marsh and steep faces of bare rock.

[191] Neither Torista nor Caversta is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the road near Cromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and an inferior footpath joining the main road at Garyvard. The lack of a good road within the dyke
[235] acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilisers. Byre manure is used on all
222 the crofts and seaweed is brought from the shore and spread on the lazybeds. Artificial manures, used on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. This lack of incentive to improve is perhaps even more marked by the fact that on one holding alone is a rotation practised - potatoes, oats undersown with clover, then hay for three or four years. Apart from this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the same strips for many years. Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay and is often cut from lazybeds that were formerly cultivated. On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridges can be seen to have a crescentic shape and are thought to date back more than one hundred years. A short distance beyond the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonised by heather.

Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch within the dyke, is cut
374 on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and later brought home by
[172] creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens and all keep up to
244 twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the larders, are also maintained.
[501]

In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Caversta and seven at
[501] Torista. After 1881, when maximum figures of fifty-nine and nineteen were noted, there was a
161 secondary peak in 1911 in Caversta, followed by a steady drop to twenty in 1951 and eighteen in 1958.
142

to import grain to feed his clansmen.[72] Other local exports included wool, hides, tallow, furs, goats, sheep, butter, cheese, and "Skye Champagne" (whiskey).[73] How the trade was carried on is uncertain. In 1630 it was said that the inhabitants traded with Glasgow, but a navigator's handbook written in 1599 asserts that the lack of trade with the Hebrides was due to the ignorance of most navigators about the seas.[74] By 1695, all the previously mentioned products were being sold or bartered at the semi-annual fair at Portree.[75] No doubt the drovers were bringing in various mainland goods. There were also some peddlers from Morayshire who had settled on Skye and travelled through the Islands.[76] In 1750 a government officer who visited the island claimed that until 1700 the people had ferried their exports across to the mainland at Glenelg and then went by horse to Inverness where they obtained their merchant goods for the year.[77] Trade by sea with Glasgow was said to be relatively recent.

Fishing. In terms of subsistence, fish were more important to the Skye folk than their stock.[78] The seas, lochs and rivers

[72] Plant, op. cit., p. 97.

[73] Mitchell, loc. cit.; and William MacKay, "Industrial Life in the Highlands in Olden Times," Home Life of the Highlanders, p. 66.

[74] Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, ed. Edmund Goldsmid (3 vols.; Edinburgh: E. and G. Goldsmid, 1884), Vol. I, p. 37.

[75] Martin, op. cit., pp. 244-245 [76] Ibid., p. 357

[77] Lang, op. cit., p. 45.

[78] Martin, op. cit., pp. 198-203; and Mitchell, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 220.

175* 226

provided a plentiful supply of numerous varieties of fish, including herring, cod, ling, mackerel, salmon, trout, oysters, mussels, whelks, cockles, and limpets. Lobsters were also plentiful, but they were not taken from the sea. Herring was the most important of all. It alone was taken in nets. During the summer, fresh herring was important in the diet. Beginning in September, the people preserved and dried the herring without salt, which was almost impossible to obtain because of the high tariff and the lack of custom houses. The fish were simply gutted and hung in pairs on a heather rope strung across the house. The peat smoke was no doubt a factor in their keeping all winter. Shell fish were gathered along the shore by the women. In addition to being of some importance in the diet, shell fish were used to cure many forms of sickness. All other fish was taken by anglers, using raw fish for bait. Most fish was eaten fresh. The cuddy provided oil for the lamps. Generally, fishing was restricted to the summer months.

Commercially, the seas were not exploited by the local inhabitants.[79] Indeed, the fishing industry was late in developing all over Scotland. The political unrest of the times and the general economic depression of Scotland tended to suppress the industry until the seventeenth century. However, some enterprising fish curers from the royal burghs and many foreign fishermen found the Hebridean seas profitable, especially from the sixteenth century on. The clansmen profited from the

[79] James Anderson, An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides and West Coasts of Scotland (Edinburgh: C. Elliot, 1785), pp. i-xxvii; See also Ronald MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

175* 226

enterprise of these fishermen who were active on the west coast.[80] In 1586 the royal burghs complained against the excessive tariffs imposed on fishermen by the leading men of Skye, the general hindrance of the people, and the theft of boats and gear. Similar complaints continued through the early seventeenth century. The chiefs insisted they had a right as heritors to impose duties. In 1622 the Island chiefs agreed to desist from stopping, impeding, molesting and oppressing fishermen, to protect them from harm by their clansmen, and to be answerable for their people. It made no difference. The people probably gave the English, French, and especially the Dutch, who were the main competitors in the Hebrides, as much trouble.

The Skye inhabitants had a deep regard for the sea.[81] Fishing was surrounded with many prescriptions. A quarrel on the coast, in particular if blood were drawn, would send the herring away for the season. Any landing place which freed them from the dangers of the sea was not to be defiled. Many carried a piece of turf with them when at sea. Upon putting to sea, the ship was always blessed, by invoking the Holy Trinity for protection and safe conduct. Prayers were also said when a sail was hoisted. Some took special care to turn a ship sunwise. These practices show a curious amalgamation of the early Druidical worship and Catholicism. Norse influence is apparent in all activities regarding the sea. The

[80] Alexander Nicolson, History of Skye (Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren and Sons, 1930), pp. 97-98.

[81] Martin, op. cit., pp. 97, 178, 186-188, 199-200.

511 attachment to the land, or his attachment is not strong enough
427 to offset his desire for material rewards.[19] Regionally, a possible exception in the United States is to be found in the Southern Appalachians, where the majority have a net annual income of less than $500.00.[20] These mountaineers, significant are largely of Irish and Scottish derivation.[21] The Skyeman who leaves in his youth returns in his old age, if he can. We may logically ask what opportunities exist on the island for employment which might enable the Sgiathanach to raise his standard of living without forsaking the land.

Fishing

226 Fishing, it will be remembered, was once a traditional
181 and functional activity in the economic cycle of the Sgiathanach but as far as the Skyeman was concerned, it was no more than a supplement to crofting. It was fine to be able to bring home some fish to be smoked or salted for the winter. The wages earned as a hand on an east coast vessel during the summer months were also welcome. Beyond this, he did not care to become involved with the sea as an occupation. His attachment to the land was too strong.

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[19] Cf. Homans, The Human Group, pp. 343, 353, 358; and MacLeish and Young, The Culture of a Contemporary Community: Landaff, N.H., pp. 114-117.

[20] H. W. Hawthorne, "Farm Organization and Management," Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians, pp. 41-72; and T. B. Manny, "Population Distribution and Change," ibid., pp. 120-136.

[21] Campbell, The Southern Highlander and His Homeland.

228

228 MARINE INDUSTRIES--commercial elaboration of the fishing industry; cultiv
tion of fish and shellfish; nonfood marine industries (e.g., sponge collection,
pearl diving, shell gathering); specialized equipment and apparatus; organiz
tion of labor and production; regulation; fish packing industry; scientific fis
eries research; etc. See also:

Canning industry . . . . . 256 Work in shell. 321

The new proprietor was no better placed than Seaforth to change the fundamental causes of recurrent poverty and distress. But at least he had funds to ameliorate his tenants' lot and to allow experiments in land reclamation and industrial development. Existing sheep farms were extended and others formed. Land reclamation went forward hand in hand with industrial experiments such as distillation of paraffin from peat and brick and tile-making. A programme of road building was begun (the first roads beyond Stornoway were begun in 1791, but there were only 45 miles of road by 1836). In Uig the results were very obvious. Further clearances took place particularly from Timsgarry, Carnish (21 tenants), Reef (22 tenants), Garynahine, Dun Carloway. The small tenants of Valtos and Kneep were only saved from eviction by the intervention of the Fisheries Board, for they were important places for white fishing. By the 1850's, although the population of Uig was more than double that in 1755, and 60% greater than in 1800, it was crowded into little more than half the area. Emigration enforced by clearances reduced the population of Bernera and South Uig by nearly 500 between 1851 and 1861.

No other part of Lewis saw so many farms; nowhere else did the small tenants suffer so much from eviction. That was not all. Those who remained undisturbed were deprived of some of their traditional grazings and access to the rest was sometimes restricted. Moreover they had to make room for many of the evicted families in their own townships, thereby further increasing the problem of congestion caused by the rapid natural increase of population. Thus, for example, about 1825 there had been 22 families in Valtos and Kneep. By about 1880 there were almost 100. But, during the same period these townships were deprived of their island grazings - Pabay, Vacsay, Floday and Wiay - formerly used for wintering cattle - and of part of their hill grazings (the traditional shielings). Use of the hill-grazings was restricted, too. Thus, for example, only one day was allowed to pull heather for ropes; if men were away fishing or for other reasons, could not attend on that day, they risked punishment by going on any other. Such stories could be multiplied many times.

In the Bernera district, by the 1850's, only Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete (on the island) and Earshader and Crulivig (on the mainland) were left for the crofter families. Moreover their traditional summer grazings, which lay south east of the Deer Forest which was formed out of the Scaliscro sheep farm about 1850. Apparently their use of the old shielings was tolerated until 1878, after which date they were directed to the area north of the present road and which they have continued to use until the present day. Thus the shieling huts shown in fig.5 all post-date 1878; the area in which they lie may have been part of the West Earshader tacksman's holding. The date of discontinuance of that tack is not known but the house, now empty, was for long occupied by squatters and the old lasy beds around it still form part of a large squatter holding.

It is noteworthy that almost all the clearances were in the Bernera and South Uig districts and this is reflected in population changes between 1841 and 1851, shown in table 4.

The cleared areas included extensive hill and mountain grazings and some of the best wintering ground, including all the machairs except Valtos and Kneep. The East Loch Roag and Carloway districts were less attractive to the new farmers; as is so commonly the case in Lewis, their rough grazings lay on gently sloping low plateaux and were consequently ill-drained and of poor quality. About 1852 Dun Carloway was let as a tack but was never successfully farmed and was soon returned to crofter-occupation; it may never have been wholly cleared of crofters. Garynahine, at the southern end of East Loch Roag, next to Linshader, was also turned into a farm about 1852. Here the hill grazing was more extensive and, though seriously reduced by a crofter settlement scheme c. 1936, it remains

175 It is worth noting that the rental charged for the newly cleared farm of Carnish was
427 £55 - being £20 less than had been paid by the crofters. Thus it cannot be said that the latter were evicted purely in order to obtain more rent. The proprietor must have been taking a long term view, looking for land improvement rather than immediate gain. By the 1870's the farm rentals had increased by 55%, those of the crofting townships by only 15%. And the latter often remained unpaid.

Thus, whilst the farmers prospered, the tenants became crowded in their townships
175 which were correspondingly less and less able to support their increasing numbers.
427 The crofts became so reduced that in an average year the produce of the land might keep
511 a crofter and his family for only six months; for the rest he had to find other means of
175 support. Fortunately, after the hungry years of the 'forties', fishing provided just this.
226 Starting in 1851, an annual migration began, first to Caithness and later to the whole east
464 coast of Scotland and England. By the 1880's not only were most of the able-bodied young
[166] men following the herring as hired men on east coast boats, but many of the women-folk,
who had learned gutting, packing and kippering from English girls brought to Stornoway
[22] for the purposes, were also earning. This was summer work, and fitted well between seed-time and harvest. In the winter, small local open boats worked long lines for white fish which were dried and salted for local curers as they still are today on the
[511] Norwegian coast. Between the 1850's and 1880's there was a "condition of plenty" in Lewis "which would not have been credited by those who judged of the condition of the people by the external aspect or sanitary arrangement of their dwellings".* It was this "condition of plenty" which encouraged the people to stay at home, to sub-divide their crofts, and to live on the proceeds of paid labour rather than on the produce of the croft.

Re-settlement, 1878-1935.

175 The process of sub-division ceased only when economic conditions became less
427 favourable and emigration began to exceed natural increase. In the 1880's fishing and
[166] farming suddenly became less profitable. Simultaneously, and given extra point by the
[226] particular distress of the time, agitation for land reform, and in particular for the
[241] relief of the most congested districts, became a political issue. This began in Uig in
175 1874 when an attempt was made to evict 56 crofters from Bernera; hundreds of crofters
668 resisted by force and subsequently marched on Stornoway. They were well received by the proprietors - who appear to have been unaware of the summary and inhumane behaviour of their chamberlain - and to the credit of all concerned the matter ended peacefully. But land agitation continued.

175 The position in Bernera was eased in 1878 when Linshader farm was deprived of the
427 old township of Kirkibost which was resettled by crofters from Bosta, the latter being let to the Tobson crofters as an enlargement to their pasture. In 1880 new holdings were formed in Hacklete, which had been the grounds-officer's farm (but which, judging from its population, had always contained a number of cottars or sub-tenants). The grazing of Laimshader was probably returned to the Borroston crofters about 1886, having been part of Linshader farm and, in 1891, six new holdings were formed at Lundale, also part of the same farm. At the same period, under the new Act, the crofters of Crowlista, Valtos, and Kneep applied unsuccessfully for enlargements from the farms, but during the nineties the islands of Little Bernera and Eilean Kearstay were taken off Linshader farm and added to the townships of Bernera, and Valtos obtained Pabay Mor.

*Report....on the Condition of the Cottar population in the Lewis. (C.5265), 1888, p.4.

175 427 Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the proprietors were obliged, by pressure of population within, and of public opinion without, to made some concessions to their small tenantry. It may be relevant to point out that this was a period of falling agricultural prices and declining farm rentals; indeed the time was not far off when some farms would not find tenants at any rental:

TABLE 7

Farm:	Rental at c. 1875/80	Rental at c. 1885/90	
Mealasta	£130	£85	
Mangersta	£132	£95	
Ardroil & Carnish	£285	£245	
Timsgarry	£108	£80	(1)
Linshader	£349	£278	(2)

Notes: (1) Small reduction for enlargement to Glebe.
(2) £22 reduction for Laimeshader and Grimersta Lodge.

125 226 The crofters of south Uig were in particular difficulty at this time for here fishing declined earlier than elsewhere but the townships remained greatly overcrowded. In 1910 [161] Breanish and Islivig had 14 cottar families, (most of them sharing crofts with the official [162] tenants), and three of squatters, i.e. on the common pasture. Here fishing had almost ceased and the people were almost entirely dependent on their crofts or on employment away [231] from home. In Valtos and Kneep there were 21 cottar families; they had 31 cattle and sheep flocks. Here, too, fishing was on the decline. It was perhaps because of this that 288 commercial weaving was developed in South Uig earlier than in most parts of Lewis. As 175 early as 1900 Uig was classed with Harris, by the local committee of the Congested Districts Board, as producing a superior quality of tweed. Two 30 gallon iron pots were sent out so that enough wool could be dyed at one boiling to obviate irregular colouring in any [653] one tweed. The C. D. B. also made grants for roads, footpaths and "marine works". Amongst the latter the pier at Valtos (1899) was an attempt to resuscitate local fishing, but it came too late.

175 The Congested Districts Board was the first government agency with funds at its 653 disposal to aid the crofting townships. One of its largest grants went in aid of the Carloway Road (or Pentland Road as it is now known). This scheme arose out of an abortive proposal for a railway from Loch Carloway to Stornoway. It was thought that this could enable trawlers and other large fishing boats to land their catch for quick transport to Stornoway and so to the mainland whilst the fishing vessels returned to sea with minimum 175 delay. The road, an excellently engineered one, is still not properly surfaced. A more effective C. D. B. - aided scheme was the resettlement of crofters on Mangersta Farm, 657 the rent of which had fallen to £70 and which the proprietors were willing to break up. 427 Thirteen new buildings were formed here and the first harvest was taken by the new settlers in 1911. The crofters' rent was fixed at £73 and the C. D. B. paid £566 in grants [241] to purchase the sheep stock and improvements, and towards the cost of fencing. About the same time the Board paid a grant to the township of Garenin for fencing a substantial enlargement to their pasture, obtained off Dalbeg. Here, and at Reef farm, small-holding resettlement schemes were vetoed by the Crofters Commission whose experts regarded the areas as unsuitable. Both have since been re-settled by crofters.

231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' shellings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig shellings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Mealasta farm, until about 1939, shellings were used in that area.

314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears 241 evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation. Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres 312 of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a 377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very 501 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers - 286 nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy; 461 in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady [634] income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R. A. F. station and at least 407 one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns at tractor which he hires 448 out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Moire peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

464 his little spare time. In addition there are a few croft holders with periodic employment. It is noteworthy that the incidence of employment bears no direct relationship to the size of croft holding - there is not, for example, a preponderance of holders of small crofts taking permanent employment. *

162 However, the croft holders are not the only source of labour: Appendix C(4) shows 464 that there is a total force of fairly regular labour for the crofts amounting to 147, or rather less than half the total resident population. Of these, 78 undertake regular employment, 24 have employment on occasion, and thus only 45 are full-time, of whom 25 are 388 over 65. The forms of employment are indicated on Appendix D(2): weaving, with 49 persons regularly involved, is by far the most important single source of full-time employment, the only other being fishing (24 persons). Estate work (mostly gamekeepers, 226 ghillies, etc. at Grimersta Lodge) gives regular employment to ten persons in the townships of the Shore. No other form of employment accounts for more than three residents between 15 and 65 years of age; the category 'casual' covers a variety of unskilled labour and there are five non-employable invalids.

288 About 50 households, out of 130, have looms. Yarn is distributed by the Stornoway 283 producers for weaving on commission; they collect, finish, and market the cloth. Hand spinning has all but died out and such yarn is more likely to be used for handknitting than for weaving; at least one lady supplements her income in this way. There is some evidence that Bernera weavers receive less work than those more accessible to Stornoway; the reason for this may lie partly in individual contacts between weavers and producers, and partly in the particular skills of particular weavers but transport is an important factor. Such a small isolated group of weavers does not justify frequent journeys by the Stornoway vans; in fact most yarn is put out, and tweeds collected, by a weekly carrier.

Table 31

Fishing in Bernera District 1892-1956

178 226 435

	Numbers engaged: Boats:	Men:	Value of Catch:
1892	39	133	?
1900	36	164	?
1913	39	163	£1,300
1920	36	151	£1,400
1930	27	145	£670
1938	33	114	£699
1948	40	84	£2,850
1956	25	26	£4,949

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Not all the boats returned were necessarily engaged in regular fishing. Nor is the value of the catch shown necessarily attributable entirely to Bernera.

* Editorial Note: this is an inevitable result of the rigid structure of crofter land holdings. See Part I, page 30 and table 12. The age of the crofter, and his family circumstances are decisive.

South Uig and Park seem to suffer in the same way even though the larger producers, mostly mills, endeavour to distribute weaving equally to all districts. The weavers' earnings vary from individual to individual, according to the amount of work they get, and also from year to year according to the fortunes of the trade, especially of the American export trade. A good weaver, in a good year, might earn from £400 to £500 but an average weaver, in an average year in Bernera, probably earns between £250 and £300, whereas in the Carloway district (more accessible to producers based in Stornoway and Shawbost), the comparable figure is around £400. Most weavers try to maintain connections with several producers and this difference in earnings may be between those who obtain additional work for 'small-producers' (i.e. tweed merchants who do not spin their own yarn), and those who do not.

Fishing has greatly declined since the late nineteenth century (table 31), neither white fish nor herring are of any significance, nor do Bernera men contribute significantly to the island's economy by working on east coast boats, as was formerly the case. But Bernera has become one of the most important centres of Scottish lobster fishing, the value of landings having increased from £583 in 1937 to £4,949 in 1956. There are six locally owned lobster boats and others use the facilities at Kirkibost. The vessels generally have seven to a crew (c.f. the usual five in Sutherland) and work the whole length of the Atlantic coast and out to the Flannan Islands and St. Kilda. They carry 100 to 160 lobster pots and may also catch ling; crabs are almost entirely ignored because they are difficult to transport to the distant, mostly English, markets.

One very important factor in the present prosperity of the Bernera lobster fishing is the Kirkibost lobster pond. This was built by a local crofter in the 1920's. It was closed during the war, and was afterwards taken over by the Crofters' Supply Agency, though the original proprietor is still employed whole-time in looking after the pond and re-fishing the lobsters. There is naturally some loss of fish in the pond, and when high prices are being obtained at Oban the local fishers feel rather disgruntled at their less favourable market here. Hence, if there is a good catch, say over 2,000 lbs to a boat, and reasonably good weather prevails, the lobsters may be taken straight to Oban where up to twice the local price may be obtained. The C.S.A. pay 2s 1d per lb than Oban because of the cost of the upkeep of the pond, and the wages for two men with their boat. There was an experiment in flying lobsters direct from Lewis to Billingsgate, but the cost was too high. The problems of isolation here are very severe for the lobsters have to be sent by Machrayne's steamer and by British Railways upon which there are no cold wagons reserved for the small quantities in question - a hazardous course for a highly perishable cargo.

Conclusions.

This part of Uig, therefore, has had a long and complex history of human settlement, exploitation, and adaptation. Much of the more recent part of this history is vividly remembered and still plays a part in the making of modern decisions. The sense of kinship and a common past is an important cement of society, for where natural resources are so limited a mystique of other than a material type is necessary if society is to retain its self-respect. However, the natural resources are indeed so limited that economic self-improvement is extremely difficult. The egalitarian tendencies of Gaelic society and crofting legislation are not now sufficient to resist the tendencies of the times and to prevent some of the crofters making adjustments in their holdings, but unfortunately there is insufficient good land to allow much adjustment without a drastic reduction of population which would be equally damaging to the well-being of the local society. It seems unlikely that alternative sources of employment could easily be found - the isolation within Lewis, the isolation from markets of Lewis itself, and the lack of local resources have combined on previous occasions to defeat plans for development. Weaving is the most important means of supplementary livelihood, but it is too vulnerable to politics and fashion; fishing is greatly decayed from its former dominating position; only agriculture remains locally, and perhaps the greatest possibilities there lie in better standards of cultivation (especially drainage and fertilisation), a better standard of animal husbandry, and more reseeding. But whatever developments are undertaken will need careful selection and encouragement: results cannot be hurried but nevertheless something must be done soon if the local society is to maintain itself. This great and paradoxical element of the "crofting problem" is as important here as elsewhere in the seven "Crofting Counties".

full-time crofters; 19 males have other regular employment and two have periodic employment. 8 crofters are aged over 65. It seems that the most successful combination of employment is weaving and crofting; weaving is carried on in twenty of the holdings. Lobster fishing in the evening is still popular but regular small-boat fishing has disappeared: one crofter took up regular fishing when weaving was slack in the autumn of 1958.

Of a resident population of 125, 32 males and 32 females are between the ages of 15 and 64, these representing the effective labour force. Thirteen persons are temporarily away and 16 permanently away whilst at least 46 have emigrated since 1939 and 6 have immigrated. Thus the number that have emigrated is nearly three times the number that are merely permanently away. With a population of 125 and an effective labour force of 64 to work 35 operative units Tolsta Chaolais would seem to be far from a dying township.

If not exactly progressive the township economy seems stable and moderately prosperous, in spite of the fact that the settlement is rather inaccessible, for the roads which join the Carloway-Breasclete road are both very steep and have bad corners. To add to the apparent isolation there is only one Post Office-shop in the village but most commodities are bought from vans. A reallocation of the smaller crofts to younger, more ambitious tenants at the deaths of the older tenants could reduce the number of operative units to about 25. Admittedly, little can be done with the rougher terrain, and although cattle stocks could be increased there would be the added problem of sufficient winter feed. With better drainage more land could be taken into cultivation - especially between the two lochs, an area largely wasted at the moment - whilst weaving might supply a surer source of income, especially in the winter. Tourism on a small scale might be a further possibility for the coastal scenery is very fine and the immediate setting of the village is very attractive. It would be more realistic however for Tolsta Chaolais to find future prosperity within its own boundaries.

[Se-forthhead] [Shieldernish] [Habost]

suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out of the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two have migrated since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

In Seforthhead and Shieldernish all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's,'Seaforth Castle', now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled, communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHIELDERNISH

Shieldernish, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes, preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total stocking of the Shielderniah crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the township and this isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to grazing. Shielderniah appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Shieldernish is better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place. Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin soils.

[Habost]

Drift is found near the shore and laps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks. Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shieldernish and took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Ailean Tailear came from Taransay, Harris, to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Craftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

The land is heavily overstocked: the soum is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in Park Deer Forest but these are Habost sheep. Sales of cattle are held at Garyvaird in November and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since before 1852. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Beinn Bhuidhe and below Loch na Claise but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

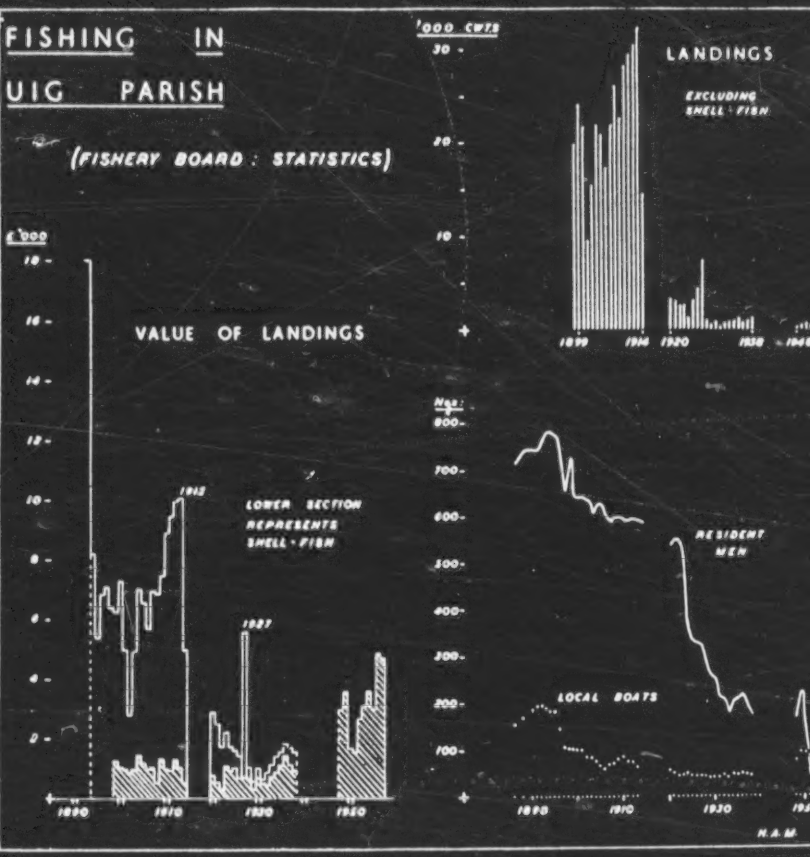
FISHING IN
UIG PARISH
(FISHERY BOARD : STATISTICS)
£'000
VALUE OF LANDINGS
1915
LOWER SECTION
REPRESENTS
SHELL-FISH
1927
1890
1910
1930
1950
'000 CWTS
LANDINGS
EXCLUDING
SHELL-FISH
1899
1914
1920
1938
Nos.
RESIDENT
MEN
LOCAL BOATS
1890
1910
1930
H.A.M.

Figure 9.

/p. 20/

175 Skye galleys were similar in construction to the Norse ships,
226 and the majority of terms referring to the use of the sea are of Norse derivation.[82]

175

Summary. The bulk of the population, as tenants of the land-owning chief or subtenants of the tacksmen and joint tenants, were clustered in hamlet-like farming settlements to exploit the arable, grazing and pasture land by individual and co-operative effort. The land suitable for cultivation was divided into infield and outfield, as the Norwegians still do. Each man had a concurrent right to the whole farm. Periodically, the shares, known as rigs, long strips, were redistributed by ballot among the holders. The remainder of the farm was used communally under a system of stinted rights. The environment and the land forms restricted the arable areas to the coast and a few internal glens. Hence, the settlements were coastal.

The crops were oats and barley, with some rye and a little flax. The stock was cattle, raised for export as a means of paying the rent and securing a limited number of necessities, and a few sheep which were kept to provide wool for clothing and occasionally meat. There were also horses and goats and, probably, pigs.

The techniques of land use were rudimentary and laborious. Most of the land was prepared with a foot plough. The cumbersome four horse plough was also used on better land. Co-operation was essential for the horse plough and an accessory for the foot plough. The yields were small, and periodically

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[82] Henderson, op. cit., pp. 136-137.

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In Lewis, sufficient co the economic phenomenal ri the following discussed in exploitation features of s systems are d

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Around W 30 feet, driv the Shawbost neighbors, ha fishing durin

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baited our li maybe two or 1300."

Chapter 3

CHANGING ECONOMIC STRATEGIES: LAND, SEA AND LOOM

, the change from a relatively self-
mmunity in which land and sea provided
base occurred in the context of the
se of the Harris Tweed industry. In
pages, the history of Harris Tweed is
relation to changing strategies involvi
of land, sea and loom. Associated
ocial life are discussed. Social bound
efined and discussed in Chapter 4.

A. The Sea

orld War I, nine boats, as long as 27
en by sails, used to go out regularly
harbor. From five to seven men, usual
d "shares" in a boat. They would go o
g the night and return the next day.
nes with eel, for ling. We would catc
three hundred. I remember once we cau

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On one of the crofts along the strand are the ruins of two curing houses, where the fish were salted and dried. Ling, cod, skate and halibut were cured and sold to local merchants for export. "The same as they do in Iceland this very day. That was the main industry. Then the English came with their steam trawlers; they ruined the fishing here, and then went west to Iceland and the Faroes. In Iceland they get fined for poaching, but here the trawlers often ignore the three-mile limit. But the fishing was the mainstay here, before the Harris Tweed came along."

One man returned from sailing in 1932 and bought a boat for L24. He had 32 lobster pots, and made L7 one June by selling the lobsters at a shilling apiece. Another man, who returned from the United States in 1934 because of the depression, bought a share in a 14-foot boat. It was made in Ness, at the northern tip of Lewis, and cost about L14. He and his partners went out every night possible; the fish provided an important part of their income. The boat was sold in the 50's. "It wasn't being kept up anyway." Around World War II there were as many as twenty boats; men fished at night, after a day's work. Today there are four 12-foot boats in Shawbost, each shared by four or five men. The boats are used intensively for fishing during certain times of the year,

but not as often as in the past. In the past boats were in danger of being smashed by the strong seas and winds that gained easy access to the Shawbost harbor; but today, because so many cars are available, the boats can be sheltered in the more protected bays of Carloway, five miles up the coast to the southwest of Shawbost. Despite this protection and the increase in income since World War II which would enable more people to buy boats, the number of boats remains small.

In the past certain people were esteemed for "knowing the wind and the sea." The sound of the turf coming from different directions presaged different kinds of weather; a line of white across the bay meant bad weather in a few days. A fifty-year-old man says, "My father and grandfather could tell when a storm was coming. They needed to know, and they didn't have radio and television to tell them. I would know the signs, too, if I had listened to them."

Not only was there local fishing, but the men used to hire themselves as crew on other fishing boats. Several nicknames reflect this history. One family is known by the nickname "Strachan," the surname of a man who lived on the east coast of Scotland and on whose boat the head of the Shawbost family had once worked as

175 228 464 [551] a crew member. Another family is called "cook," the first job which a novice had to assume when he joined the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The men [221] [241] [434] came back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats, barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods. [353] They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover the stone-walled or wood-lined tigh dubh (black house) [434] for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a season. While the men were away at the fishing, the [452] [571] remaining members of the family lived on credit from the local shops, and depended on the good will of their neighbors.

175 701 706 505 Many men joined the armed services, and were especially sought after by the Navy and the Merchant Service. In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in the Naval Reserve.

175 228 484 [571] [435] Around the turn of the century, until the first world war and the growth of the weaving industry, the girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to the boat to see you off. You could go all the way to Aberdeen for 12/6 on a special fish-worker ticket." The girls went from the south of England to Shetland in the far north.

000 175 228 [221] in the far north. "There were two fishing seasons. For one season you went to Fraserburgh, Stronsay, Lerwick and Peterhead; and then the winter fishing was in England, at Yarmouth, Scarborough and Loucester. I remember in Yarmouth we didn't like the English [262] bread, it was such a dull color. We liked the pure white Scotch bread."

They lived in small huts, and the work was hard but full of fun. Neighborhood girls used to go together, bringing bedding and different items in large chests to share in the housekeeping. Three girls worked together in a crew, and there were as many as six sharing a room, in double bunks. Some of the huts were so small that there was barely enough room for the beds and the cupboards. At night the boys would come in off the boats. "You were so tired from being up since early morning; [577] [178] but you were always able to dance. You were treated with respect; the youngsters today aren't so good." The women who married non-islanders that they met at the fishing were not likely to return.

175 288 464 When the weaving started on a large scale, the girls "were glad enough to have work at home, even though the work was hard." But many continued their temporary 175 464 166 357 absences from the island, working in hotels or as

from the enterprising Dutch. Dutch fishing-busses were constantly off the island coast as early as the reign of James V. In 1594 the Hollanders made their first recorded visit to Lewis; they had a licence from Scotland's James VI which allowed them to fish outside a limit of twenty-eight miles.

It was, indeed, partly the success of the Dutch fishings which attracted the Gentlemen Adventurers of Fife, backed by the King in their unsuccessful endeavours to colonise Lewis. James VI's son, Charles I, was similarly enticed by the Minch, proposals being put forward for the purchase of Lewis by the Crown and for the formation of a new corporation, under English auspices, which would develop the island's fisheries. The corporation, founded in 1633, was the 'Company of the General Fishery of Great Britain and Ireland' and its main seat of operation was to be in Lewis. As Lord Seaforth was owner of the island at the time, he was invited to join the company's board, so that he could, with his influence, 'keep the islanders in awe'. One of the fishing stations set up in the Hebrides was on the island of Hermetray in the Sound of Harris. Martin Martin, writing of this island at the close of the same century, says that he saw 'the foundation of a house built by the English, in King Charles the First's time, for one of their magazines to lay up the cask, salt, etc, for carrying on the fishery, which was then begun in the Western Islands; but this design miscarried because of the civil wars which then broke out.' The scheme indeed fell flat (in 1640), and though Charles II tried to revive it on a commercial basis, lack of capital caused it again to come to nothing.

Where were the islanders in all this activity to develop the fishings around them? Strangely, there was a definite disinclination to fish until the Dutch, by their example, illustrated how fish could become a new factor in their economy. Lord Seaforth was vitally interested on his own account. When he acquired Lewis (in 1610) he set about establishing what amounted to a principality quite independent of recognised authority; and in contravention of the laws and privileges of Royal Burghs, he set up Stornoway as a fishing port, introducing a number of Dutch fishermen to prosecute the fishings in the Minch. In 1629, the Commissioners of Royal Burghs complained to the Privy Council

of Lord Seaforth's conduct in this matter. They alleged that he 'draiv in hither an number of strangers who daylie resorts to and fra Holland to the Lewes and continent next adjacent (the Ross mainland presumably) and has caused them be answered of all such commodities as these bounds affords, as nameli with fishes and beeves quhilkis with the hyde and tallow, with manie utheris commodities they transport to Holland.'

To satisfy the Royal Burghs, Seaforth had some of his Dutch friends sent away. But several Dutch families remained in Stornoway until the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland in 1653.

In Harris, similar efforts were promoted by Captain Alexander MacLeod, who in 1779 bought Harris, together with St Kilda, for £15,000 from the commissioners acting on behalf of General Norman MacLeod. The latter had, in 1772, inherited from his grandfather both the chiefship of Harris and a debt on the property amounting to some £50,000. Captain MacLeod, who skippered the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, did much to stimulate better conditions in Harris, and advocated the generation of a fishing industry. In the face of opposition and ridicule he showed by practical example what could be done to make a success of the herring fishings, introducing a number of east-coast fishermen with Orkney trawls to teach the inhabitants, and reaping a good harvest from the fishings off Rodel, despite the dismal auguries uttered by the Harris-folk. He improved the local harbour accommodation and erected a storehouse for salt, casks and the like, he built a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread, and twine for herring-nets; he advanced money to those fishermen who were interested for the purchase of boats and gear; and he provided them with rent-free cottages with a ground-patch on which they could grow potatoes. He built roads between the village of Tarbert and the two jetties he made there, and he erected a schoolhouse and an inn. But all this hard work to put Harris on some realistic economic basis came to little. The native population were slow to appreciate the potential income lying about them.

The potential of the sea was of course eventually realised, particularly where the fishing grounds were favourable, Stornoway

and its neighbourhood becoming the centre of the growing industry. In 1793, the Lewis Parish contributors to the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* indicated that upwards of 183 boats were fishing off the island. In Uig no less than 275 netmakers were recorded, showing that the fishing industry was prosecuted with some measure of enthusiasm. 'All the people dwell in little farm-villages and they fish in the summer season. The women do not fish; but almost at all times when there is occasion to go to sea, they never decline that service, and row powerfully.' In the parish of Barvas in the eighteenth century some 9,000 Scotch pints of oil were taken each year from dog-fish livers and sold to Stornoway merchants at from 6d to 8d per pint; it is related that the tenants of Ness were able for a long time to pay their rents with the oil proceeds. Cod and ling were the principal fish caught by the men of Lochs, an annual average of 24 tons being cured and sold in Stornoway. Generally, other fish caught were consumed locally.

Loch Roag on the west of Lewis proved to be about the best fishing ground; in 1794 about '90 sail' from all parts of the United Kingdom were at the herring fishing there. At one time Loch Roag-cured herring was exported exclusively to Sweden. The minister of Stornoway, contributing to the *Old Statistical Account*, gives figures showing the quantities of fish shipped from the port from 1791 to 1796. During these six years some 14,000 barrels of herring were exported to the Continent, and 20,000 sent for consumption in Britain; some 350 tons of cod and ling were destined for Continental markets. Herring, cod, and ling were thus pursued during the following years with growing vigour, though the inshore white fish took favour. The herring fishing did not make great strides, mainly because to the middle of the nineteenth century catches were confined to the inland sea lochs; the people for the most part were not familiar with deep-sea fishing, and their boats and nets were not suitable for it.

Indeed, when Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, he gave scant attention to the potential in the fishings round his island. Though he expended considerable amounts in securing a regular steamer communication between the mainland and the island, and spent over £2,000 in building a quay at Stornoway

for the steamers, he thought that any improvements in connection with the fishing industry should be paid for largely by the fish-curers themselves—though he did spend about £1,000 on constructing fish-curing houses. Why Sir James, with his experience of business, should have taken this attitude is not clear; certainly the fishing industry could have been given just the right impetus with his interest, personal and financial. As it was, the industry was left to develop on its own lines, with odd injections from time to time.

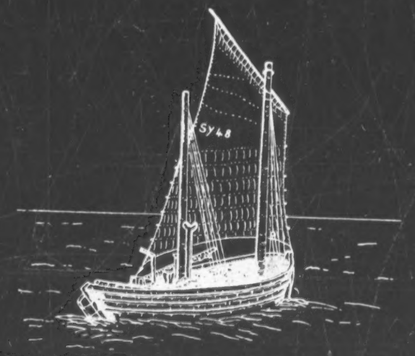
Fluctuating prosperity

That the potential in the fishing grounds of the Minch was enormous was realised before 1850 by fish-curers from the Scottish mainland. But deep-sea-going boats were needed, and so new designs were called for. James Methven of Leith, a pioneer of deep-sea herring fishing, sank capital into the development of a large class of boats known as the 'Anstruther build', or in the islands as 'Eanstrach'. These craft served the islanders well, and Lewis prospered, as did Stornoway. In the five years 1870 to 1875, for example, the average number of barrels of herring cured at Stornoway for export was some 80,000. From 1875 to 1900 the average Stornoway district catch of white fish, much of it caught by local boats and some of it cured at Carloway, was worth over £100,000; it was sent to Ireland and the Clyde. After 1900, fresh-trawled fish replaced the cured and the market fell away. In 1921, the market value of cured fish from Stornoway was about £500, ½ per cent of the 1900 value.

The herring fishing held its own, against the decline of the white fish. Stornoway, as Lochboisdale in the Southern Isles, became for a while one of the world's most important fishing ports. Prosperity was in the air; even when the fishings did eventually fall away, there still remained, decades later, the whiff of past success among the neglected curing sheds, the hangdown boats in the quays, and the silent kippering houses. From 1917 to 1935, the annual landings of herrings (in crans) varied from 25,486 (in 1934) to 221,519 (in 1927). In that year, a record one, it was reported that 'even landsmen could hear the roar of herrings in Loch Erisort. So dense were the shoals that their progress in the

228 *175 [433] water could be heard on shore.' Yet cash returns were poor: demand was falling off as foreign markets organised their own fleets, and the Scottish fishing industry as a whole was not commercially efficient. In 1936 landings were 40,829 crans; in 1937, 31,969.

From about 1850, Stornoway had begun to see the nucleus of what was to be a great fishing fleet in its harbours; but it had



[501] A 'Zulu', a type of old fishing wherry used in Lewis at the turn of this century

something of the sort much before then. A pamphlet on the fishing industry published in 1790 tells us that the trade of the Stornoway merchants began to grow after the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, when Scottish herring were first admitted to the English colonial market. 'Some twenty-five or thirty years ago, all the fish they caught were carried for them to their port of destination by hired vessels. Now they can show in their own harbour, in the fishing time, upwards of thirty sail of stout handsome vessels, from 20 to 70 tons burden, all their own property.'

[501] Towards the turn of the nineteenth century, the number of

FLUCTUATING PROSPERITY

herring boats belonging to Lewis was about 165, reaching a peak of 197 in 1889; the number of boats used for cod and ling fishing reached a peak of 704 in 1895. The figures, however, fluctuate considerably from year to year. The main reason for this was probably that these boats were not personally owned, but largely belonged to fish-curers and businessmen, to whom the boat crews were in debt, having received capital advances from them and from the State for boats and gear. Crews who had bad luck at the fishing had their boats impounded and sold to recover the amount of the loan. Many boats were also wrecked, for navigation in bad weather is still difficult even in these days of advanced directional aids. 228 • 501 175* 501 228 175* 452 [502]

The state loans to fishermen are worthy of note here, because they foreshadowed a similar scheme in the 1960s. They were made under the Crofters Holding Act 1886. Section 32 of the Act authorised the Fishery Board for Scotland to make advances, by way of loan, to persons engaged in the prosecution of the fishing industry, whether crofters or others in crofting parishes. For new boats, the maximum sum advanced was £312. The loans carried an interest of 3½ per cent; repayments of principal and interest were over a period of from four to ten years. Loans for the improvement of existing boats were also advanced, varying according to the condition of the boat or other circumstances affecting the necessary security requirements. New boats were mortgaged to the Fishery Board. 228 175* 452

Ninety-three Lewis fishermen received loans totalling some £12,000, and a sum of £18,000 was distributed in loans throughout all the crofting counties. In a report issued in 1901, it was indicated that these ninety-three Lewis fishermen had repaid about 82 per cent of their principal and interests, but in other counties the repayment percentage was under 60 per cent. The Lewis figure would have been higher were it not for the loans made to the Barvas fishers, on which the repayment figure was only 24 per cent. When borrowers failed to observe their part of the contract the Fishery Board seized the boats. Many of these loans were originally made to aid a deserving class of men in adverse circumstances and surroundings. To achieve the high overall percentage of repayment (some indeed managed to pay

• 228 452 *175 off all their debts) much hard work was called for, as well as skill in locating herring shoals. The seasonal migration of herring is still a puzzle to marine biologists; it contributed to many a Lewis fisherman drawing a blank, to his ruin, while his neighbour came home flushed with success.

228 *175 435 The financial values of the fishings of the island, particularly Lewis, are some index to its fluctuating prosperity. In a *Guide for Scotland*, intending visitors to Stornoway were told that the annual figures for herring exports were, in 1860, some £60,000; for cod and ling, £13,600; smoked haddocks were valued at £1,600; lobsters at £1,396. Herrings caught in Harris and Lewis in 1889 were valued at £57,071. Two years later, the figure was £90,738, but after that year it steadily declined to reach a little over £20,000 in 1894. Increasing again, the catch in 1898 was valued at £128,707. There was a subsequent decline, picking up a little at irregular intervals, which continued until the effective demise of the industry just before the second world war, that is so far as Lewis was concerned. These catches of valuable herrings were not made solely by Lewis boats; the catches of many stranger boats, from the east of Scotland, must also be taken into account, to leave about 20 per cent as direct return to the island.

In 1938, the total catches of herring amounted to £98,000 for fresh fish and £162,400 for cured herring. This catch was obtained by 111 steam-drifters, five of which were locally registered at Stornoway, and some motor-boats, of which one-third were strangers. Harris has never been particularly prominent in the herring-fishing industry; shell fishing has been more profitable. In the years just before 1900, the average annual value of shellfish caught in Harris was £2,306, only £500 below the Lewis figure. The Harris proportion of the aggregate herring and whitefish returns in the same period was just over £17,000, compared with the Lewis figure of £1,137,000.

228 *175 [433] [435] *Since the second war*

Just before the second world war, Stornoway Fishery District furnished some 10 per cent of the Scottish cure of herrings, which averaged well over half a million barrels in 1937 and 1938, valued at about £1,500,000. Of demersal (sea-bottom) fish, the District

SINCE THE SECOND WAR

furnished less than 1 per cent of Scottish landings. The war's aftermath brought too many changes for the island to cope with. Markets had disappeared; food habits had changed; capital was scarce; and many ex-servicemen saw the writing on the wall for fishing as a full-time activity. Also, many sea-going crofters of the pre-war fishing fleet were now dead, memories on fading photographs. Nor had the Western Isles fisheries ever fully caught up with those of the main fishing bases of Britain and the east coast of Scotland. Hence the decline of the herring fishing hit them hardest of all. Today, Stornoway District is handicapped geographically, by distance from the markets; historically, by its late entry into the industry; and economically, in that it failed to participate in the trend towards the centralisation of the industry in share-holding companies within easy reach of London. 228 175

In the old days of sail it was easy for men to combine the two occupations of crofting and fishing. When in the early years of this century power replaced sail (the first motor fishing boats went to work in 1907) and the steam drifter took over from the sailboat, the whole nature of the fishing industry changed. Modern boats and gear had to be acquired if the work was to be profitable. But the islesmen, partly because of lack of capital, partly because of the lack of suitable anchorages and harbours, and partly because the combination of crofting and fishing had created a seasonal tradition incompatible with the use of expensive boats (which needed to be kept continually at sea if they were to pay at all), were unable to adjust themselves to meet the new challenges. In the inter-war years they had no option but to carry on as best they could in their old traditional role. The resultant decline meant that when opportunities did arise for fishermen generally in the form of grants and loan schemes (introduced in 1945 by the Fisheries Division of the Scottish Home Department and subsequently by the White Fish Authority and the Herring Industry Board), the bulk of the men living in the isles were unable to take advantage of them: they lacked the necessary qualifying experience in handling modern boats and equipment, as well as confidence in fishing as a full-time occupation. By 1959 there were only twenty-five boats of 40 ft or more in length based on Hebridean ports. Lewis had only six full-time crews; Harris had five. 228 501 178

228 This lack of a local fleet fishing in the Minch and associated
501 waters on a full-time basis has inevitably brought reluctance on
178 the part of Government bodies to invest capital in, say, harbour
(654) improvements, knowing that they would fail to yield an eventual return. Just after the first world war Lord Leverhulme formulated ambitious plans for a full-time fishing fleet based on Stornoway. More than thirty years later, in 1954, the Taylor Commission, set up to investigate the problems of crofting, summed up:

> Gone are the days when the crew of the fishing boat could haul up their craft on the beach and leave it there in safety. The modern seine-netter is much too heavy to be beached in that way and far too costly to be exposed to risk in unsafe anchorages . . . The capital outlay required for their purchase is such that it is not possible to operate them except on a full-time basis. It is still possible for smaller boats to be employed in fishing for lobster or crab, but the general trend of development is against the man who combines fishing with the work of the croft. We do not think it possible to reverse this trend; it should be accepted and an attempt made to establish a full-time fishing industry in Western waters.

228 The first vital step to do just this was taken in January 1959
429 when the MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust announced the introduc-
452 tion of a scheme to 'increase the number of modern boats with efficient crews operating from or based on Lewis'. This Trust was set up under the will of the late Murdo MacAulay of Ness, who left Lewis with little English, less money, but plenty of Gaelic and enterprising spirit, to acquire a considerable fortune in Rhodesia. He bequeathed the bulk of it to be applied for the good of his island home. Anyone applying for assistance under the scheme was required to give an undertaking that he would prosecute fishing on a full-time basis; further, no one would be assisted unless, in the opinion of the trustees, he was likely to make 'an
228 energetic and successful fisherman'. This pioneering venture
452 directly assisted three young men in Kirkibost, Bernera, to acquire
654 one of the best-equipped lobster boats in Scotland; and secondly it acted as a useful prototype for the Government scheme which was to augment and largely replace it a year later. In January 1960 the Government officially instituted the Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme. Free training was offered to men pre-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

pared to make fishing their career, together with financial assist- 228
ance to those who satisfactorily completed their training and 452
who wished to acquire boats of their own. This Scheme is now 654
run by the Highlands & Islands Development Board. The Board's participation in the expansion of the fishing potential around the island has been first-class, with commensurate results from an investment of some £500,000.

Illegal fishing

Like goldfields, the seas around the island have always attracted 685
the unscrupulous, those for whom the word 'conservation' has no 226
meaning, and who are careless of the dangers of over-fishing. 175
Illegal trawling began around the year 1894 and by now has (185)
drastically impoverished the inshore fishings to which the Harris and Lewis crofters once looked for a supplement to diet and income. The rapid adoption of efficient trawlers was attended by an increasing number of reports of their poaching within the three-mile territorial limit. Though the islanders tried many times to involve the Government's cruisers for the protection of their shores, the poaching went on, and still continues today. Even some of the violence which attended the early attempts to clear the scum from the sea, as it were, continues, part and parcel of the island's sea-life.

Fish processing

A former freezing plant in Stornoway, run by the Herring 228
Industry Board has been converted into a fish-processing factory. This facility, of great value to the port, is run by Rolf Olsen A/S, (648)
a long-established Norwegian company with a successful background in fish processing. The company has received investment aid from the Highlands & Islands Development Board, the Highland Fund and the Stornoway Trust; the latter's interest is significant in that it is the first time in which the funds of the Trust have been invested in a private concern, to help retain Stornoway as a successful fishing port.

The most regular shore-side as distinct from maritime industry is the processing of prawns (scampi, or *nephrops norvegicus*). Two firms buy the prawns at the pierhead, shell, cook and freeze them,

228 subsequently despatching them to various dea
The local trawlers catch white fish and praw
gear, but whereas most of the prawns are landed
fish goes to Gairloch on the mainland for tra
228 Aberdeen market. Attempts have been made
439 distance between the island and good-paying
by collaboration between Stornoway fishermen
Fish Merchants' Association, a consignment of
was sent direct from Stornoway to Billingsgate
deen. The fish was first frozen, then taken by
Mallaig railhead and thence to London by rail.
six hours after leaving Stornoway, in ample time
customers. The experiment is to be repeated
occasions in the past, shellfish such as lobsters
to Continental markets.

Lobster and crab fishing is an important par
in the island. In the past it tended to be rendere
the heavy losses (sometimes up to 25 per cent)
tween Stornoway and Billingsgate, but storag
retain a reserve for market demands: a lobster-
in Harris can hold about 25,000 fish, and the
Loch Roag, can take 30,000. Marketing is don
(435) behalf of the fishermen, the value per ann
£50,000 for lobsters caught in the Stornoway
and some £40,000 for prawns. The value of
£30,000 and of herring about £35,000.

according to the amount of barilla (its great competitor, a carbonate of soda made from plant ashes) which found its way into the British market. When the American war interfered with the imports the kelp price was as high as £22 per ton. Prices began to decline about 1810, and from 1822 successive reductions in duties on salt and barilla resulted in the decline and demise of the kelp industry. As a consequence great distress appeared in those districts which had founded their whole economy on seaweed.

The weeds of most value to the industry, because they yielded most salts, included *laminaria digitata, laminaria bulbosa, ascophyllum nodosum* and *fucus serratus*. One ton of kelp yielded an average of 8 lb of iodine, with certain quantities of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, and carbonate of soda. When subjected to special treatment and distillation, 2-3 cwts of sulphate of ammonia, and several gallons of naphtha, paraffin oil, and volatile oil were also derived.

The fishing industry, discussed in the previous chapter, took over where the kelp-making industry left off and became another king-pin in the island economy. By the end of the last century it seemed set fair for continuing prosperity. In 1900, harbours were being planned and built with State aid in Uig, at Carloway, Ness and Tarbert. Then 1914 came, and with it sweeping changes in international trade. Island fishermen were left workless with wrecked and rotting fishing boats. In twenty years the number of Scotland's fishermen was halved; the remainder were all but ruined. The islanders' fate mirrored this pattern.

Yet another significant source of income for island families for almost 200 years came from the men in military service, who either sent money home or returned home with their gratuities and pay. In the wars of the last century many enlisted in the Highland regiments, the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Even today, the income from this external activity is not insignificant.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

Information and statistics about the economy of the island in the middle of the eighteenth century are to be found in Walker's *Economical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland*; his MS is in the British Museum.

but their negligence even in ye article appears from their sending out annual above 2000 of wool out of the country unmanufacture.'

Harris was rented at £600. Exports were some 100 tons of kelp (£325), and the value of 250 black cattle exported alive, with 100 salted, was £445. Small quantities of cheese, wool, and the skins of sheep, otters and seals were exported. Grain was neither imported nor exported.

The plough, which is used here, and in most places of the long island, is of a very peculiar construction. Its length is but 4 feet 7 inches, and is drawn by four horses abreast. It has but one handle by which it is directed; the mold board is fastened with two leather thongs, and the soke and coulter are bound together at the point by a rim of iron. Beside kelp, there is little else manufactured, except a little coarse woolen yarn, and some blanketing, which they send yearly to Glasgow. They raise a little flax of which they make some coarse linen for their own use, but import all the fine linen which they consume. In the year 1756, an American vessel in distress was obliged to put out three hogsheads of lintseed in Harris, which was sown and afforded crops of lint which were above double the value of the usual crops. The east and west of Loch Tarbert in the Harris are every year revisited by the herring shoals. During the five years from 1743 to 1747, the west loch was the principal seat of the herring fishery. About thirty vessels from 18 to 40 tons, belonging to Campbelltown, Greenock, and Irvine, were completely loaded each of these years at this place.

With even a modest amount of business taking place, it was a natural step to establish commercial facilities. Stornoway men who once acted as agents became shopkeepers. The increase in the use of money attracted banks. During the Seaforth ownership of Lewis, the island had its own currency or notes, designed and printed from plates in the same style as the modern banknote. The wording ran: 'I promise to pay on demand to the Chamberlain of the Lewis or Bearer ONE POUND Sterling at the Counting Room here.' The notes carried a date and were signed by the proprietor, J. A. Stewart MacKenzie. It is not known for certain how long the notes remained in currency, when they ceased to be used, or even whether they were officially acceptable. At one time, as rare items, they fetched high prices from collectors. A number were

SEA ROUTES

trappings of nineteenth-century civilisation, however, they grew to depend on items brought by sea. Imported food, clothing, wood, metal domestic utensils and the like were slowly assimilated as indispensable everyday articles. But there was relatively little export in return; then as now, any transport operator struggled with the fact that traffic was one-way and the freight charges must pay for the double voyage. Though the fishing industry and later the Harris Tweed industry were, around the turn of the century, to do much to determine and stabilise shipping developments, both passenger and cargo services were always facing loss rather than profit.

On the social side of the picture, the regular call of ships to the island, to Stornoway in particular, was a welcome, quickening sign that the island was significant in some way to the outside world. The ships brought visitors who made the island, and the Hebrides in general, better known to other prospective travellers. The exposure of the island and its folk to the gaze of the mainland led to a wider knowledge and understanding which without doubt brought improvements in social welfare and a basis for economic development. When many islanders found it necessary to go to Glasgow and the south for work, the ships of the Minch served as a firm link with home, to which they returned whenever they could. This feeling for home is still manifest today in the Lewismen in Canada who charter an aircraft to Prestwick each year so that they can holiday on the island. Since 1900 or so, passenger traffic has been two-way : emigrants, migrants, visitors and business travellers. When the fishing industry was in its heyday, the ships carried hundreds of fisherfolk across the Minch to ports as far south as Great Yarmouth to 'follow the herring' round the shores of Britain and back to the Minch again. Traffic today is still considerable, with the air-link with the island being used to its capacity.

In a community where Sabbath observance is an integral strand of religious belief, ministers have on occasions tried to preserve the Mosaic sanctity of the Sabbath Day by restricting the movement of ships in Stornoway harbour. In deference to local feeling the Stornoway steamer has always docked for twenty-four hours over Sunday, to leave port for Kyle just after midnight.

ations, and though some road making began in 491
s slow; in the course of fifty years, only 45 miles 499
ated, less than a mile for each year. When Sir 175*
took over in 1844 and planned to open up the
with these 45 miles. On his death in 1878 there
200 miles of road on which, with the necessary
s, he spent £25,593.

umn of 1882, a great gale swept away the hay 731
his, added to the complete failure of the potato 175*
tress throughout the island. At a meeting called
December it was resolved that a memorial be for- [746]
adstone, then Prime Minister, craving aid from [653]
urces, or that some form of public works be
diate response was made to this appeal. How- 653
r had been raised, investigations were made and 175*
estern Highlands and Islands (Scotland) Works
into law. It authorised, *inter alia*, the expendi-
t exceeding £15,000 on constructing and im-
between Carloway and Stornoway, and certain
ved by the Secretary for Scotland.

was chosen as a terminus from Stornoway is 491
time it was probably the best fishing centre on 228
Lewis. Loch Carloway, which branches eastward 175*
of Loch Roag, is a safe harbour and offers easy
attempt to develop the real fishing potential of
step in the right direction. At the time, the road
Stornoway was a wandering one, 23 miles long,
many parts and ill-suited to heavy traffic. The
as to be only 16 miles long and would, it was
nd quick access to Stornoway; fish would arrive
ndition, suitable for transportation by boat to
As soon as the necessary plans were prepared
rawn up, the work started. Progress was rapid,
culties arose. The contractor went bankrupt and
dismissed. The undertaking came to a complete
16 miles, only 8 were completed. About 5 miles
ade; the remaining 3 miles lay untouched.

brought into existence a number of minor roads 491
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 175*

Two Stornoway scenes from the 'Grand Collotype Album of Views in Lewis' published c 1900 by Samuel Lawrence, 'Chemist, Druggist, Perfumer, Stationer and Tobacconist', Cromwell Street, Stornoway. (*above*) The herring fleet in Stornoway harbour, showing the wherries or 'Zulu' type craft; (*below*) Cromwell Street

/p. 89/

501
228

(*above*) Driftnet fishing boats in Stornoway harbour. The new boats to form the basis for the island fleet of the future will be seine-net and dual-purpose

/p. 36/

(*below*) The Lewis village of Gravir, showing small fishing boats in Loch Odhairn, 1932

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TRADE AND INDUSTRY

834 useful crofting ancillary which, unlike many others, is soundly
387 based on a definite commercial demand. Various industries use
the extracted acid for some 150 products. The Scottish alginate
industry, the second largest in the world, is based on the process
of E. C. Stanford, who discovered alginic acid in 1883, though
today modern methods are used. Far raw materials it has turned
to the old kelping shores of the Hebrides and Northern Isles. On
the island it has a factory at Keole on Loch Eriboll, a site chosen
for the easy access afforded to puffers; the factory receives the
weed, dries, mills and bags it, and the beats then carry 200-ton
loads to Girvan. The factory itself involved some £350,000 of
1935 capital layout and has a capacity of 120 wet tons per week—4
wet tons producing 1 dry ton. About a dozen Harris and
1939 Lewis crofters gather the seaweed crop, the most useful type being
Maidderweak or rockweed (*ascophyllum nodosum*), from the
shores at Loch Eyisort, East Loch Roag and Bernera in Lewis,
Husinish and Scarp in Harris, and Loch Seaforth. Where there is
1949 road access the weed is cut by sickle and loaded into a lorry, but
more often it is cut at low water to be floated with the incoming
tide and rafted to Keose, hauled by motor boat.

249 A product of the land not readily associated with the Hebrides
is bulbs. Bulb-growing deserves a mention, however, if only be-
1935 cause the experiment to see whether it could become a commer-
cial possibility in Lewis was abandoned out by the children of Lionel
(Nen) Junior Secondary School. The MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust
made an investment of £150 to cover initial expenses, and success
followed. When the original project was completed it was ex-
tended, sales bringing the school a useful sum. But an attack of
disease brought production to a standstill in 1966.

312 Another small industry is the aerated-water plant at Ness,
which is operating with reasonable success, and could do better if
• 226 imports of aerated waters from abroad were reduced. A number
of recent surveys made in the island have found great interest in
such activities as shellfish processing in Harris to produce semi-
preserves, using mostly cockles and mussels. Local knitting already
has a name for its products and a potential for extension on a
1976 commercial scale; this latter project in late 1966. Some forty years
ago knitting specialists went to Lewis to investigate the possibilities

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Lands were not allowed to become waste; in 1710, a Roderick 614
Campbell in North Uist was paid to come north and settle in the 1725
island of Ensay, Sound of Harris. 1727

It is regrettable that of MacLeod's rents was paid in 731
money rather than produce, for it emphasises the great value of
the cattle trade in the Highlands, in which Harris played a not in-
significant part—that is, compared with neighbouring Lewis. It
was sound economy for the Highlands, and far in advance of the
liberation of the so-called 'improvers' of a later age. The rents of the
MacLeod estates were collected by chamberlains, and part of the
work of Malcolm Macleod, the chamberlain for Harris at the
beginning of the eighteenth century, was the ferrying of Harris
cattle to Skye. In Rodel, MacLeod had a 'keeping house', which
provided cattle and rooms for the chief while in Harris; there
was also a brew-house.

To introduce more efficient communications and to interceo- 614
nect all the small holdings on the lands of the estate, a boat was 1725
chased for a Lauchlan MacLean in 1705; he was empowered to 505
maintain a regular ferry between Harris and Skye. This also
operated between the mainland of Harris and the populated
islands in the Sound, such as Berneray, Ensay, Killegray and 614
Pabbay. In 1730 the estate was Presbyterian, and MacLeod 1795
had the burden of providing both suitable residences for the
ministers and the lesser servants. As mentioned earlier, the
Rev Aulay MacAulay, the great-grandfather of Lord MacAulay,
the English writer, was once minister in Harris.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw great changes in 614
the ownership of the various islands comprising the Outer 795
Hebrides. MacLeod of Harris retained Harris until the end of the 425
eighteenth century, when it was purchased by a cadet of the
family, a son of Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray, for £15,000.
This son, Captain MacLeod, who had made a fortune in the Far 228
East and ploughed some of it back into his native soil, was the
man who introduced fishing as an industry to the Harris people.
In 1834 the Harris estate passed to the Earl of Dunmore for
£60,000. Dunmore sold north Harris to Sir Edward Scott in
1868 for £155,000. In 1919 Lord Leverhulme bought south
Harris and St Kilda for £36,000.

1. [See map, pp.8-9--Analysis]

ISLAND LIFE

Research into markets and rope-co-operative effort, into better 467
use of the land with the application of subsidies and grants, are
scheduled for the Western Isles Crofters' Union.

228 •

Fishing as an industry, although now receiving the necessary
shot in the arm by the establishment of the nucleus of a local
fishing fleet, is still bothered with the perennial problem of poach-
ing. The Minch remains one of the great fishing areas of Britain,
but, it is argued, its fertility is forever being depleted by fishing
inside the three-mile limit. This limit was originally chosen because
it was the effective range of a cannon ball about two centuries
ago. Fish, however, when they choose their spawning grounds are
unaffamoured by twentieth-century artillery, paying
far more attention to the nature of the sea-bed, which varies as
much inshore as it does offshore.

POLITICAL ORGANISATION

In 1918, the Outer Hebrides became a separate Parliamentary 631
constituency known as the Western Isles, a recognition of their
distinctive character and of the many islands off the Scottish
west coast of Scotland. Before this constituency came into being,
Lewis formed part of the County of Ross & Cromarty for Parlia-
mentary purposes in Lewis and its own islands of Harris, the
Taransay, Scalpay and the isles in the Sound of Harris were in-
cluded in Inverness-shire.

For the purposes of local administration, however, Lewis still
forms part of Ross-shire (part of Ross & Cromarty), with its centre
at Dingwall, the Ross & Cromarty county town; while Harris,
North Uist, South Uist, Benbecula and the Barra Isles belong to
Inverness-shire, and are administered from far-away Inverness.
The Lewis association with Ross-shire is a historical one. When 1715 •
the boundaries of the Earldom of Ross were changed in 1661, 1
Lewis went with Ross as part of the possession of the Lords of
the Isles. The present districts recognised for administrative pur-
poses do not in fact greatly differ from the divisions, or parishes,
set up about the beginning of the Christian era in the north
century, the Lewis-parishes being Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and
Lochs. The County Council attends to finances, education, roads,

LIFE TODAY

LIFE TODAY

As in other Highland areas, some of the island's problems have 114
become so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. They have been
the raison d'être of many commissions and committees of in-
quiry that their existence is now almost forgotten by the island-
—if indeed he ever understood their nature. Some results have 631
been seen, such as the Crofters Act of 1886 which gave High- 1785 •
land crofters security of tenure, perhaps the most valuable 1407
measure of the last century or two—for another all things have
not progressed so well since that date; at any rate not so fast that
crofting, for instance, is now seen to be an economic form of
land use of any value to the Highlands, particularly and nation at large.
Highlanders have been virtually ignored by successive central 657
governments, or least, remunerate seems to qualify a topic for
the office 'pending'. If they yet to be fully realised that the
island, with other Highland communities, is part and parcel of
the area governed in Westminster from London and Edinburgh,
and merits as much attention to its welfare as other European
governments, such as Norway, give to their remote mainland and
islands.

As usual, charity and self-help begin at home, and one of the 178
most commendable, if not the most, efforts in the field of 2491
agricultural revolution of recent years which is changing one-
brown moors to lush green pastures: reclamation by re-seeding.
This revolution is still going on. Lewis crofters in particular are
showing the way, with other Highland crofting districts lagging
out. The change in the Lewis scene is being emphasised by the 1785
planting of shelter-belts of hardy trees and the first of the new 1315
plantations of timber-producing trees. These show the promise of
the future; a lively future for a lively community. The fishing in 1928 •
dustry also has a future, brighter on the horizon than it has been
for many a poor year. The Harris Tweed industry, the staple 1808
industry of the island, is showing ability to retain pre-war 1884
interest of the market. And tourism, once a perfunctory and
casual affair, promises to emerge as a further source of
economy. There are, in addition, many small pockets of native
initiative and enterprise which, given sufficient encouragement

LIFE TODAY

CH. III THE ISLAND HOME

of Ross and Cromarty, with populations of from 1000 to
2300 in 1841, Stornoway kept ahead by 1871, growing
with the rise of the fishing trade. Including the basically
369 floating population of fishers, its numbers exceeded 4000
in the summer of 1921, though falling below this in 1931
when the census was held in the spring.

Still another stage, a fourth, seemed in sight when, in
1918, the first Lord Leverhulme made his bid to centralise
the industry, establishing a fishing port of the Island at
364 Stornoway. A canning factory was started (south of the
area shown on the plan), only to be dismantled before its
completion, was 95 miles north of the mainland, at
"Leverburgh", South Harris. New housing commenced.
When this great venture closed and population stagnated,
the grandiose proposal to reopen the Lewis visits on
Wood's plan and centre it on some great new building,
remained a dream. The failure of Leverhulme's great
enterprise and its hopes led to discouragement for some
years. Yet it is possible that the vision of change given
to the Island may have contributed to a renewed capacity
for enterprise, individual and communal.

Later events had to await the growth of the Harris
tweed industry, and the erection of spinning-mills to
provide yarn for the rural hand-weavers. The town has
extended beyond the plan in two main directions: to
north-east with villas and housing schemes and to ESE.
with the great new mills where kippering sheds were
numerous from the mid-nineteenth century until after
1919.

Although Tarbert is a separate burgh of Harris and
the island's second town, it is still the port of call for the
Island. The adequate depth of its harbour, combined
with its position and access from sea and land, have given

CH. III CLANSHIP

175 seldom agreement as to which of these three types brought
the people to Lewis, or wrought the greatest change in the
54.5 tacksmen declined by the end of the eighteenth century.
697 Buchanan wrote in 1793: "The greatest tackesman in Lewis
is the Laird's ground officer"; but he found that the
Island was for the most part inhabited by tenants holding
directly from Seaforth, who "easily perceived the folly,
as well as the inhumanity, of leading out the people on his
Island to dangerous tackesmen, for the purpose of raising
fortune to themselves on the ruins of the unfortunate
subtenants". At a later date a former Governor of Hong
Kong, John Stewart Macleod of Calgary, held
otherwise. To the Napier Crofters' Commission in 1883,
he said: "Till the beginning of this century the greater
part of the Island was held by tacksmen, generally speaking
men, who got in some cases from their subtenants in money,
produce, and labour, what nearly paid their rents." These
tacksmen were those of the seventeenth century. Early in
the century, "when Mr. Stewart-Mackenzie married the
Hon. Lady Hood, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and took the
management of the estate into her hands, Lord Hood, along
with the middlemen, and let the land direct to the crofters.
1232 This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction, but it
had given a hopeless blow to the class of tacksmen
who looked after his people, and who was industrious in
farming . . . and stock-breeding, was beneficial to the
people, though in some cases they may have been petty
tyrants." He might no doubt have added that they could,
if need be, stand between a bad factor and the crofters.

• 1278 When they lost their tacks, some of these 'middlemen'
turned to the prospering industry of herring fishing and helped to supply
capital and enterprise as curers; their successors were
active beneath the shelter of the peninsular area of Point Street,

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 the last of these in outlying villages after 1918. When
Matheson purchased the Island in 1844 he left the fishing
594 industry to the curers, and turned his attention before
695 most fishermen could speak and write English, the local
1278 curers were best fitted to take action not only in marketing
but in approaching the Government to aid the construc-
tion of piers and harbours. On the whole, their long ties
with place and people, coupled with education, made them
useful leaders of a community, and, in the aftermath, enabled
to adapt life to a changing economy. Here and there one
or two small farmers survive, a little apart from the main
township. Aided by a grant from Highland Scots
changing times by combining with their inheritance a same
selection of new elements.

Looking beyond the Island to the mainland, the time is
approaching for a fair assessment to be made of the historic
parts of chief and landlord, factor and tacksman. Not only
is there an enlarging body of documentation, but a growing
175 understanding of communal strands in tradition and of
174 changing social economy seen in relation to geographic
184 factors of place and region. Lewis, the Gaeldom, cents
178 points out that the landlord would keep benefits to rent i
1882 Kintyre,[1] and the heartland of tradition in the Hebrides.
In the Island, one must remember the fundamental opposi-
tion, yet the recurrent reciprocities of chiefs and people.
These, and not only individual differences in character and
conduct, explain the differences of experience and opinion
1829 quoted above. The people's belief, so frequently given
to me thirty years ago, that it was bad factors, not the
landlord, who taced and harried them unjustly, expressed
an idealistic faith in a Lordship of Lewis, based on tradition
1565 and history. For lordship begins with the imposition of

1. A. McKerral, *Stat. Hist. Rev.*, 1947.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 rent averaging 31s. in addition to which there were over
475 1000 cows kept on the cottar class and 500 horses of the
1000 squatter class.[1]

Lastly, Sir James trained no successor to follow up or improve upon his enterprise. At his death in 1878 Sir James was succeeded by his widow, and, nearly twenty years after, she was followed by a nephew and his son. But the expenses of Stornoway Castle and its burdens, accompanied by lower rents, weighed down the new proprietors. In 1918 the estate was sold to Lord Leverhulme, who shortly afterwards purchased Harris too, with a view to 1278 • his great schemes of fishery development.

(c) FISHERIES: 1750-1914

175 For the greatest expanding industry of the northern
174 Highlands, Matheson had done comparatively little even
178 at Stornoway. In 1882, a former Factor (Mr. Mackenzie
of Calgary) stated that he had constantly asked for aid
to the fisheries, especially by the building of harbours,
pointing out that the landlord would reap benefits in rent:
1649 But Matheson had replied that the fishermen and fish-
curers, the people engaged in the trade, should do this work
for themselves. By the end of the nineteenth century
being planned and built with State aid in the north, west
1839 and south-east of the Island (at Ness, Carloway and Uig,
and Tarbert, Harris). In 1900 the Islanders possessed
150 herring boats, and in that year five boats from the
Stornoway District sailed for the first time to Yarmouth,
1113 and two to Lowestoft. Lewis fishermen were known for
their skill and enterprise.[2]

1. Royal Commission on Crofters and Cottars in the Outer Hebrides and Other Parts of the Highlands and Islands, 1883, and the recommendations by the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee, Report on Rural Housing in Scotland, 1937, pp. 50-6, 72-77.

2. Board Report (1901).

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

175 real hopes that prosperity could be maintained. In 1914
226 war came, followed by sweeping changes in international
• trade. These changes left the Island fishermen workless,
170 and with wrecked and rotting boats. In twenty years the
(439) number of Scotland's fishermen was halved, and the re-
mainder all but ruined. For guidance, past progress and
past losses should be reviewed, in order to see what
measures can be taken to restore prosperity.

121 For the slow growth of a native fishing industry, two
175 factors were to blame: the poverty of environment, to-
226 gether with the unsettled state of the Isles, and also, it
182 seems, the jealousy of urban interests. These were repre-
226 sented, to 1603 and even after, by the Royal Burghs, and
from 1707 by the British Parliament. The Royal Burghs
certainly developed Scottish trade and industry through
their own ports, but they feared competition, and opposed
any direct contact of other ports, such as Stornoway, with
foreign fishers and traders. From the days of the MacLeods
(418) this difficulty had hampered regional development. It
was in spite of royal prohibition that Seaforth encouraged
Dutch curers to settle, an arrangement interrupted by war
with Holland in 1653 and 1665. Curers from Caithness
and the East Coast were encouraged to replace the Dutch-
men, and from time to time through the succeeding century
efforts were made from the south to form fishing com-
panies, and in the Island to encourage local fishers to profit
from example in the catching of herring and of ling, hake
and cod.[1] The people fished for food, with fishing-rods
from the shore, and in frail boats in the lochs, and if they
(418) could, they also sold a surplus. Fish were not only taken
direct to Glasgow, but sold at home, first to Scots and foreign
and later to British boats, of which ninety visited Lochs in

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, p. 64 ff.

121 1794, for instance, their crews not only fishing but also
175 buying from local fishers. Islanders could easily earned
• 226 a pittance as pilots, for until the charting of these rocky
coasts navigation was most dangerous.

175 The herring industry was in the hands of 'adventurers'
226 (who 'ventured' their capital), and the Islanders benefited
little. The British export was aided by a bounty which
(477) helped to capture the Continental market; but, as Adam
(439) Smith pointed out, no bounty was given to the small, open
boats suitable for the north-west lochs. Thus the operation
of the Salt Duty after 1707 and of the bounty system from
175 before 1745 until 1786, illustrates two of the recurrent
226 blights upon "Public Administration" in the Isles. As Day
256 wrote, their interests have had to suffer "either deliber-
ately, for the benefit of other parts, or other classes in the
kingdom, or inadvertently from ignorance".[1] Although the
bounty system was widened to include small boats after
1786, the Salt Tax remained until 1817.

To overcome difficulties, the British Fisheries Society
was founded with Government support in 1786. Although
Stornoway then seemed too far afield, the Society's concen-
tration upon larger settlements foreshadowed Lord Lever-
(311) hulme's principles after 1918. At Ullapool, Tobermory
and Lochbay (Skye), and at Wick, quays and stores were
constructed and dwelling-houses built, with croft land and
grass for a cow, to be reclaimed. Although concentration at
Wick led to the sale of the three western properties about
1842, the Society had done some good work in the West.
The chief difficulty of the West Coast north of the Clyde
area and south of Stornoway District remained: the lack
of a well-marked seasonal migration of herring.

[1] J. P. Day, *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918.

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

175 From the Napoleonic Wars to 1914 the amount of
• 226 herring cured on the West Coast of Scotland rose and fell.
251 In 1810–14 the East Coast cure was half the West Coast
455 cure, but the peace of 1815 brought the capture of the
Continental markets and the East Coast herring export
leapt up. It averaged 500,000 barrels from 1830 to 1870,
a million from 1880 to 1900, and one to two million barrels
(439) until 1914. With the decline in the export to the Plantations, the West Coast export fell, to rise by 1890 and reach
a peak from 1900 to 1914. Thus, although no more than
from a tenth to a fifth of the East Coast yield, that of the
West Coast had risen greatly.[1] Of this, the Stornoway
cure formed the major part.

175 The chief early type of catch, of white fish (cod, ling
226 and hake), was developed too, and swelled to a peak by
1900, then dwindled and fell. The average Stornoway
District catch of white fish for a dozen years to 1900 was
valued at over £100,000, much of it caught by local boats,
and some of it cured at small 'creeks' (*e.g.* on the west of
the Island, on Loch Roag, notably at Carloway). The
cure, a strong coarse food, was shipped to Ireland and the
Clyde; but after 1900, fresh trawled fish replaced the
cured. From £100,000 before 1900 the value fell to below
over £10,000 in 1912–13, £1000 in 1920, and half that in
1921–4 per cent of the value in 1900!

Thus the herring fishing became the most important
to the Islanders, at first by employment on East Coast boats.
(477) Later they purchased boats and gear for themselves, helped
(452) principally by advances from Island and East Coast banks,
(452) which, in 1900, alone had £1,000 by 'Small Loans'.

[1] *Fishery Board for Scotland*, Table 25 (1938), and Table 23: 6000 barrels in 1790–92; Buchan in 1870–71: 100,000 in 1912, and 160,000 in 1913. For fuller comparison with Table 25, about 25 per cent should be added to quantities, as explained in the notes to the Tables, on the 'cantick', and final reduced, or 'bungarded', state of barrelled herring (listed in Table 23).

175 though also by State loans. The efforts of the Island
• 278 fishermen in the sixty years from 1880 to 1939 can be
471 summed up in the values of their boats. From 1880 to
458 1900 values rose by one-half, but had fallen somewhat
before the war of 1914–18 (to £20,000). Immediately after,
the purchase of steam drifters at Stornoway and the fitting
their herring boats with motors by the fishermen had
tripled the value (close on £70,000 in 1920). But markets
fell almost at once, and losses continued. By 1938 the
Island fishing fleet was valued (or overvalued) at a quarter
that figure, and was worth less than the fleet of sixty years
before.[1]

(9) THE CROFTERS ACTS, 1886–1919: TOWNSHIP, LANDLORD AND STATE

175 Centuries of cattle-keeping having left the grass moors
234 in good condition, the profits of sheep-farming rose after
1770 with the price of wool for manufacture. Protected
from foxes by modern guns, and handled in large flocks,
the newly introduced Cheviot and Blackface sheep and
(178) lambs could graze in their thousands. In many estates the
introduction of additional sheep, with the crofters' cattle,
was tried and worked; but in others the people were
175 ruthlessly evicted. Although offset by many acts of wise
234 economy and generous aid, evictions were too frequent
427 during the next half-century, and they engendered growing
bitterness.

Whereas in other Isles, and on the machar of Harris,
the small joint tenantry and subtenantry were evicted in
(113)

[1] Figures 1848–53 quoted from J. P. Day, *Public Administration*, 1918; 1888–1900 from Appendix K, Report, 1902; 1912–1938 from *Fishery Board for Scotland* Tables (Table E-1B, 1912–40, and Table 13 and A.1, 1938).

159 stubborn and suspicious; he never believed it. He realised
423 that the backwardness of the Island arose from lack of
opportunity, and that opportunity he would do his best
433 to provide. Wherever he went he found the same story
—things half attempted, nothing done." Leverhulme, one
felt in 1919, wanted to do all he could for the Islanders.
A greater man would have wanted to work not only for,
but with, the Islanders. Then, even if the fisheries had
been ruined, as they were, by forces outside his control,
he would have shared a moral victory, not shared and
suffered economic loss, with moral defeat.

In the Isles for centuries before, a family and well-tried
174 friends were valued above all other things. What was more,
183 this was still true in the Island at the time both of the elder men and
(108) the women he found at home, and of the absent men, at
war. The foundation for this friendly life was a plot of
159 land and work to do, a home and the leisure to enjoy it.
433 Leverhulme, too, valued these things in his own way. He
461 cared for human homes and gardens, and had proved it at
Port Sunlight and elsewhere. A pioneer of industry and
efficiency, he pled for 'a six-hour day' and leisure after-
wards, and he had done much to realise the ideal in his
own works. Moreover, he was not without respect for
spiritual values, freedom, and a congregation's right to
choose their pastor.[1] All these things should have helped
to gain him, too, sympathy with Island life, and up to a
point they did so.

159 It is clear that Leverhulme had considered the possi-
423 bilities of improving the local fisheries, village by village;
and an engineer had reported on possible harbour improve-
• 278 ments at Ness, Barvas, and elsewhere. But he came to the

[1] Leverhulme (1927), p. 211; and Leverhulme (1st Baron), *The Six-Hour Day and Other Industrial Questions*, 1919.

BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

159 conclusion—undoubtedly a sound one—that the most
433 effective action for commercial fisheries (as then known)
• 228 must be taken at one Island centre, Stornoway. As a
direct result he considered how to feed the growing town,
in particular how to give its children fresh milk. He saw
the farms round Broad Bay ready to be turned to high-
class dairy farms, if capitalised, and for this purpose they
were swiftly scheduled in his mind.

"The early days were happy ones"—wrote his son—
433 "but they were not to last for long. He encountered the
first obstacle on his path in the late summer of 1918, when
423 the Scottish Board of Agriculture declared its intention to
(417) take over the few crofting farms in the Island for crofts."[1]
By this declaration the Board spoke for many Islesmen in
the Forces. The voices of Servicemen, not those of either
a Government or a philanthropic millionaire, counted over-
(177) whelmingly, on the Island and beyond. When the war
was over and the men came home, many set about examin-
ing their boats and fitting them up with motors, and in a
few months the evening's departure for the fishing from
Stornoway had lost some of the picturesqueness of the old,
stately procession of sail moving out to the Minch at
sunset, but had gained in efficiency as the motorised boats
went puffing out to find the shoals, sure of return without
delay after the catch was hauled in. Yet fishing was still
precarious: there might be no catch, and even if there
were, prices were a gamble. Hence many a cottar-fisher-
man wished to ensure a home for himself and applied for a
croft, with his eyes on the farms. Farms were few, and
not enough to go round more than some 10 to 15 per cent
of squatters and cottars. Still, a promise is a promise:
the farms were there, why not have them and be done with
it? Knowing this feeling in the Island, aware of its support

159 in the country, and foreseeing that the only sure way to
423 avoid irritation, friction and law-breaking was to grant
the farms and have done with it, the Secretary of State for
433 Scotland and the Board felt that they could not withdraw
the Government's promise of land. The Secretary for
Scotland, Mr. Munro (later Lord Alness), spoke with
knowledge as a Highlander. A general promise of small-
holdings had been made to all Scotsmen in the Services,
and could not easily be set aside at the wish of one man,
then approaching the age of seventy, however well-inten-
tioned, wealthy and in earnest. Yet Leverhulme declared
that while he would relinquish farms on the west side of
Lewis, his schemes could not go on unless he retained
the farms on Broad Bay to supply fresh milk for Stornoway.
If the farms were divided, he said, he must close the whole
scheme forthwith.

159 Of his earnestness Leverhulme left no doubt. He not
423 only planned but set up a retail agency, Mac Fisheries, and
he purchased drifters and trawlers, the Mac Line, to fish
433 far afield and bring the catch to Stornoway, there to be
• 228 transhipped by his own carrying service. He set about
building model dwellings in Stornoway itself, each with
its quarter-acre allotment. 'Work and Wages' from
capitalised fisheries were his offer, in further token of
which, road-making and other wage-providing work was
(178) begun. Until 1920 the farms remained undivided. The
159 drifters, for their part, could only wait for the expiry of
their leases, or for the transactions by which their leases
423 would be foreclosed and compensation awarded. Prices
of stock were high at the time, and the valuation would
433 correspond to these. Hence tenants felt they could afford
427 to wait. Meantime crofters' stock wandered over their
farms—whether because of the wilfulness of the stock or

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

Lord Leverhulme's fisheries

The era of Lord Leverhulme, the soap magnate, is well documented; a complicated story and not yet told in full. The confrontation of a dynamic industrialist from England with the deep-thinking crofter of Lewis has formed the subject of much speculation, particularly with regard to the non-success—rather than failure—of Leverhulme's schemes for the island. Leverhulme bought Lewis in 1918. He had visited the island about twenty years before and had no doubt thought that with proper direction and adequate capital much could be done to bring it out into a fresh, lively economic air, profitable both to himself and the inhabitants. He was a visionary; but he was also a practical man, with great successes in the commercial world to prove it. In 1919, contracts were placed with Sir Robert MacAlpine Limited to begin operations in Stornoway: excavating, levelling and building in preparation for the new town and its factories. The Leverhulme Syndicate bought deep-sea trawlers in Aberdeen, Hull, Fleetwood and other ports, and also retail fish shops in many towns on the mainland. This side of the enterprise was known as The Mac Fisheries Limited, and the island developments were under the direction of the 'Lewis & Harris Welfare & Development Company Limited'.

Leverhulme's main idea was to establish Stornoway as the centre of a great fishing and fish-processing industry. As he put it, acre for acre the seas surrounding the Hebrides were infinitely richer than the land. He maintained that in any programme for the improvement of the islanders' economic position, fishing must become their primary if not their only activity. Such, however, was the land hunger of returning ex-servicemen that his attentions were almost wholly given over to trying to persuade those wanting crofts that they would be, materially at least, better off in his canning factories. But farms were broken up to satisfy the demand for land until the time came when Leverhulme felt he had to abandon Lewis. The Board of Agriculture and the Scottish Office were also principal actors in the play, mostly on the side of the land raiders who squatted on farm land in the island so causing the farms' eventual fragmentation into small units of economic insignificance. When he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris,

When he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris,

LORD LEVERHULME'S FISHERIES

he offered—such was the character of the man—as thanks for the '98 per cent support' he got from the people of Lewis, to each Lewis crofter his own croft as a free gift, and the Lews Castle, together with all his property in Stornoway, to the people of the town.

In 1919, Leverhulme became proprietor of Harris, and concentrated his efforts in Obbe, now called Leverburgh, in South Harris. The harbour at Obbe lacked the natural advantage which Stornoway had, so he spent large sums on making it navigable. Rocky obstacles were blasted away; numerous buoys and beacons were set up to guide vessels into harbour; new quays were built; and kippering sheds, and other buildings necessary for packing and curing herring were erected. Among his other undertakings in Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he bore half the cost of the 5½ miles of road between Leverburgh and Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Brussels. His Harris schemes came to an abrupt end. And the remains of industrial history are still to be seen in the quietness of the little township named after one of the most stormy of business petrels that Britain has ever seen.

Tourism

Tourism has always been a perfunctory and casual affair, until the introduction of the fast ferries which now link the mainland (via Skye) with the Outer Isles. Some 10,000 cars cross each year from Skye to the Hebrides. In 1913, the Stornoway Tourist Association had a struggle to increase the number of visitors to the town, to establish it as a tourist resort. It is much the same today with the Western Isles Tourist Association, which is having difficulty in integrating tourist facilities with crofting activities. In Lewis, the Stornoway Trust has assisted in establishing pony-trekking, a venture which has the potential to mirror the success of a similar one in the Isle of Skye.

PRESENT INDUSTRY

Almost an echo of the kelp-burning industry is the alginate industry. It provides employment for only small numbers, but is a

and he was unable to make plans or promises for the future. Meantime, it should be said, the Island herring catch and prices fell rapidly (the catch by 50 per cent and prices by 60 per cent from 1920 to 1921). As a result, crofts now seemed more precious than ever to the applicants.

With what Leverhulme regarded as 'almost indecent haste', the Secretary for Scotland proceeded to fulfil the promise to divide the farms. Most of the farms remaining were divided into some fifty crofts, of ten acres or so with outrun, supplying little more than 10 per cent of the landless men. The Manor dairy farm, near Stornoway Castle and town, though raided by a few men, was retained to contribute to the town's supply of milk, along with two or three smaller farms close to Stornoway (Melbost, and Stoneyfield with Holm). Leverhulme felt that his offer to Lewis had been turned down, and he then concentrated his efforts upon Harris.

At the extreme south of Harris (midway along the south-west coast), in the 'Hope' or natural harbour of Obbe, Leverhulme built new piers. He transferred the machinery of the canning factory and the kippering sheds he had commenced to build at Stornoway. He started to build houses, a number being provided on generous terms; and "at the people's wish", the settlement was renamed Leverburgh. With the transference of his energy from Lewis to Harris, Leverhulme's "optimism and determination were intensified", wrote his son. They were not to last long. After a visit to the Congo in 1925, Leverhulme died suddenly in Brussels. How far the new plans might have succeeded had Leverhulme lived, his son has commented, "remains uncertain". What is certain is that the second Lord Leverhulme toured Harris, visiting the works on hand and examining the accounts. No doubt he also

weighed the estimated expenditure necessary to complete the unfinished projects, and their prospects of success, comparing these with similar conditions on the East Coast and at Fleetwood, and with the trend of prices. His decision was to close the venture, and Harris was sold. The skeletons of the works were left to rust beside the quay, while the wreck of a coal steamer was left unsalvaged, to break up slowly upon the rocks outside, a symbol of a lost enterprise.

2. *An All-Round Policy for Sea and Land*

From the 'start' in Lewis, the first Lord Leverhulme had shown his vision and grasp as a planner. Survey preceded plan, and decisions were swiftly put into action. Why then had abandonment and failure followed? Personal factors have been over-stressed. 'Crofters' have been accused of stubbornness, the Scottish Office of procrastination and Leverhulme of impatience or obstinacy. Stornoway shopkeepers have also been apportioned their share of blame; and while all of them welcomed the advent of Leverhulme as sure to bring money through the crofters' pockets to their own tills, it is possible that, later on, some of them did prove Devil's Advocates, having come to fear the rise of competition by co-operative or other large-scale concerns, should the town expand at a rapid rate. Stressing other factors of character and incompatibility, one popular Scots author went so far as to praise the Lewis crofter for preferring a spiritual life with poverty on a croft, to easy work and high wages in a town. There runs a story, well vouched for, which might seem to confirm this. After Leverhulme had held forth upon 'work for wages', in a township where there had been pressing

applications for shares in the division of a farm, but
Leverhulme now felt sure of his success, an old c
spoke up slowly: "My Lord, what the crofter wan
Contemplaition". Now, fondness for contemplati
found not only among crofters as they age, but a
older fishermen all round the shores of Britain, ever
mellows in the Isles especially. Yet, as Leverhulm
for himself, there was abundant activity among m
their prime, as they strove to refit their boats on
return. In 1919 hope, not contemplation, was their
vailing mood: hope for an active, fisherman's life.

With all these hopeful human factors on the si
common effort at the start, why then did differenc
view-point come to be accentuated, not harmonised
'incompatibilities' lead so soon to friction, deadloc
breakdown? Surely one basic fact remains. In 191
when Leverhulme framed his policy and made his
the Scottish fisheries, to judge from pre-war years,
still expect to hold high place in providing for a
market in herring and white fish. True, the value
Island cure of white fish had fallen from £100,000 in
to one-tenth, £10,000, in 1913; but Leverhulme sa
since fresh fish were now demanded, his capitalisat
equipment with accelerated transit of the catch should
quick recovery. The herring trade had been act
Stornoway up to the eve of the war; and althou
Islanders had made leeway following the introduct
steam and of larger motor drifters, Leverhulme th
he saw an opportunity to capitalise the industry, pro
'work for wages'. This forecast was wrong. Con
tion declined, and the market fell. Not only so; th
portion contributed by Scots fishermen to the sh
market declined even more.

In 1919, when the men came home to Lewis they could still see reasons for hope. They found a strange proprietor, known first for his outstanding—some said ruthless—business ability, and only secondly for his philanthropy. They heard his plans and were inclined to listen.

Yet, remembering their pre-war losses and the notorious fluctuations of prices and employment in the fisheries, they wished for a policy of insurance, as it were; so, if their home lay near a promised farm, of which they had long meant to claim a share, they claimed this forthwith. Only too soon after, in the early years of Leverhulme's adventure, the fall in total sales and prices of fish brought immediate loss to the keenest and hardest working of the fishermen, and to their financial backers in Stornoway. These losses warned others of the uncertainties of fishing. Now the fall in the fishing industry is not so much as mentioned in the biography of Leverhulme; nor do we remember a word of it in Leverhulme's speeches. One finds no data to show a substantial endeavour by the Scottish Office to co-operate with Leverhulme in framing policies either to change the trend of European markets or to make local adaptations to combat downward trends. The Fishery Reports certainly record the losses, year by year. As for the Island fishermen, they shared the feeling expressed by other Scots fishermen, that the old markets across the North Sea, eastward to what had been St. Petersburg, could and should be reopened, not closed 'for party reasons' by 'English politicians'. Although ostensibly Leverhulme ignored it, he cannot really have been unaware of the effect of the downward trend of the fisheries upon his own prospects of success, and upon the hopes and confidence of the fishermen. Having been so outspoken upon the shortcomings of Government with regard to local

schemes, and knowing how much local fishing depended upon international policy, particularly the resumption of trade relations with the chief customers of the past, Leverhulme, one feels, should have dealt no less outspokenly with these. The removal of trade barriers lay not in the hands of the Scottish Office or of Scots officials (however internationally minded these might be as private citizens), but in the hands of Ministers of Cabinet rank and leading financiers, of whom Leverhulme himself was one.

In brief, the Scots fisheries suffered after the war as neither Leverhulme nor others had foreseen when first he laid his plans for the Island's prosperity. It seems clear that had this major change been squarely faced by Leverhulme and Government alike, in 1920, 1921 or even later, they could never have fallen apart about a relatively minor issue, that of the farms. Both sides turned their faces away from this disquieting factor of the Baltic markets, though both knew it to be fundamental to the success of Scots fisheries and the Island's future. Had they faced it together frankly, then, even if powerless to effect a remedy, their sincerity might have prevented a deadlock upon a secondary matter.

To Leverhulme, given his large scale of expenditure and return, the division of a few farms formed a minor issue. But to a number of ex-Servicemen, 'crofters' without a croft, the division meant a home and relative stability. Moreover, what was merely a matter for personal decision to Leverhulme, was a lifelong issue to many people brought up in congestion on the wrong side of the boundary fence. Meantime, milk from Easter Ross was available in Stornoway, at town if not at country prices. Lastly, further possibilities of land-development lay open to Leverhulme, though not so readily to the unaided people. In reading

(c) House-building. — From 1920 to 1940 the Department of

647 Agriculture advanced loans for the erection of 760 new houses
654 and the repair of 220 other houses. This, with the erection
746 or repair of 40 steadings, may be taken as the equivalent of
1000 houses in the 20 years of peace, of which three-fourths
362 were new. Rural building was at its height in the early 'thirties,
but 1938 was a typical year. Taking the value of each house
356 as £600 and subtracting half for imported materials, we may
assume that for 50 houses built that year the labour given
431 produced an output of £15,000. In addition, some house-
building and repair was done without State aid, for which a
362 guess of £15,000 may be made. Such sums may not appear
356 large, but they correspond to the enduring fulfilment of a prime
[435] need, a 'real wage', of importance when compared to rents
and costs elsewhere. Of the expenditure on house-building
in Stornoway burgh during 1938, the value may be assessed as
£10,000, of which £9000 was for Local Authority housing.
Most of the total was produced by local labour.

(iii) *Fishing Industry—Net Output and Earnings*

434 (*a*) For 1938 the total catches, prices and quantities of
fresh cured fish landed in Stornoway District show a value of
• 228 nearly £100,000 (£98,000) for the herring catch, and of £162,400
for the cured herring. Our problem is to estimate what fraction
of these sums may be included in the net output of the Island
[127] industry proper. The Fishery Board's *Statistical Tables* and
Annual Report extract the produce brought in by local boats
from the total, separating it from that due to 'strangers', and
so permitting a fairly reliable estimate, checked by local enquiry.

228 Of the herring taken, nearly 80 per cent were caught in the
summer fishing, June to August (*Annual Report*, p. 13). The
501 week of maximum local activity in herring fishing for Stornoway
District may be taken to be characteristic of this pre-war period
(Table 8). There were then 111 steam-boats engaged; and as
only five were locally registered (at Stornoway itself), the
remaining 106 were strangers. There were also 66 motor-
boats engaged and though 81 motor herring-boats are locally

• 228 registered at the various 'creeks', obviously all cannot have
501 been engaged; moreover, some strangers are invariably present,
for which a guess of one-third would probably be conservative.
The two sailing-boats were, of course, local.

Now, the average net tonnage of a drifter or a good East Coast motor-boat approached 40 tons, almost double the average tonnage of a local motor herring-boat (20 tons), and the catch was much in this ratio. During such a week and period, the total net tonnage of the 106 stranger drifters was thus about 106 × 40 tons, or say 4000 tons. That of stranger motor-boats may have been, say, 22 × 40 tons, or 800 to 900 tons, but the local tonnage was only 44 × 20 tons, another 800 to 900 tons, or, say, 1000 tons in all. This formed a fifth of the 'stranger' total of close on 5000 tons. As the Stornoway Fishing District includes Harris which provided a third of the herring fleet, there remained only some 600 tons for Lewis, barely an eighth of the stranger tonnage. A fifth, say, of the tonnage probably means less than a fifth of the catch but a still smaller fraction of the sums paid for it, for the cream of the prices is skimmed by the boats first in, generally the bigger
[434] and faster of the fleet. If we set against the catches probably due to the Harris boats, the catches of the winter fishing (about 15 per cent of the year's total), we shall still err on the safe side in estimating the annual catch due to boats from Lewis proper as no more than a fifth of the total (worth nearly £100,000), say £20,000.

228 To complete the estimate we add the curing of all herring
brought into the District, almost all of it done in Stornoway.
434 The difference between the value of the total catch (£98,000)
and the gross value of cured herring (£162,000) is £64,000;
but from this is deducted £26,000 for the imported barrels,
salt, etc. This leaves an increment of £38,000 for the District
curings, or, say, £35,000 for Lewis alone.

The landings of white fish (£13,600) and shell-fish (£6500) totalled £20,100 (Table 17). Of that, white fish valued at £4700 were brought into Stornoway port by East Coast 'great liners' (Table 13), but the remainder was caught by local

• 228 boats; value, £15,400. Of this, the greater part came into
Lewis creeks (Table 17), making £10,000 for Lewis.
434 Finally, we may add a round figure for whole or part-time
occupations associated with the fisheries, including what
accrues by the visiting fleet and its business, of, say, £20,000.
This gives a total net output approaching £85,000 from
fisheries for a typical year just before 1939.

[462] We now turn to an estimate of the earnings of fishermen
and of the women engaged in curing. To some extent these
figures overlap, for the value of the net output includes the
wages of fishermen and women; but the sums earned on
'stranger' vessels—reduced now to some £3000—and the
wages earned by women gutters and curers in East Anglia
[434] (about £10,000) are additions to Lewis income. Some of this
was, no doubt, sent home in the form of postal orders, etc.,
causing a further overlap, but much of it was probably sent
in the form of notes or brought home in cash. In order to
show the real net earnings of rural Lewis, these are separated
from the output shown in the first column ((A, i) on p. 314)
and are tabled under "Earnings by Crofting and Associated
Rural Occupations only" (A, ii).

[127] (*b*) *Fishers' Earnings.*—As no figures of local earnings are
separately published, estimates must be based upon the colla-
tion of the Fishery Board's *Annual Statistical Tables* and
[178] accompanying *Annual Reports* with careful local enquiries. By
1938 the fishermen on Stornoway District herring fishing
vessels were reduced to about 350 men and boys in the summer
season, of whom only a few worked in autumn and winter.
Their earnings included the earnings of share owners of boats
and of nets, and of those without shares, the latter being only
a fraction, say a quarter, of the total. Nearly 100 District
men still worked on 'stranger' (East Coast) vessels at the
summer fishing and rather fewer at the East Anglia autumn
fishing. The sum so earned may have been a third or more
of the earnings on District vessels. Altogether the total net
earnings from herring fisheries received by all fishermen from
Lewis proper came to little more than £8000. By 1938 the

• 228 average wage for the summer season dropped to about £25.
434 The number of women engaged in gutting and packing
(and kippering) herrings varies from year to year. In 1938 1000
228 were engaged locally in summer, most of whom also went to
434 East Anglia. As always, the greater part of the wages was
462 earned in the summer and the remainder in the East Anglia
(autumn) fishing season. The net average earnings per worker
of the Scottish gutters and packers were estimated at £16 at the
Scottish summer fishings and £17 at the East Anglian fishing
(*Annual Report*, p. 12). This figure included 'arles' (*i.e.*
earnest money), but excluded travelling expenses. The
Stornoway District earnings averaged £16 at the local summer
fishing but only £15 at the East Anglia fishing. The latter is a
small return to place against the skill of the worker and
the discomfort she endures. The women work in small teams
together, and their efficiency is partly due to their comradeship.

228 Figures for catches have already been given as approaching
434 £20,000 for herring and £10,000 for white fish and shell-fish.
While the net earnings derived, after subtracting the working
expenses of boats and outlays for gear, were very much less
than this gross sum, a substantial part should be counted as
equivalent to earnings (Statistical Table 21).

Summing up the total net earnings, we arrive at the follow-
[462] ing for Lewis proper. The women's total net earnings may be
taken as £25,000. We add to the probable earnings of the men
at the herring fishing an allowance for their profits from other
catches, making a total of say £15,000.

178 The industry was still declining here as elsewhere in
228 Scotland. About 1930 the earnings of hired hands alone
434 reached £30,000 and that of women twice as much, say £60,000.
Besides this was the important sum earned by men with share
of boats. The local white fish and shell-fish catches were also
[656] considerably higher at that period. As to the future, much
will depend on what can be done to rehabilitate the local
industry by compensation for losses incurred in war, and by
assurance that government policy will encourage local fisher-
men to embark on their enterprise without the risk of the

178 crippling losses suffered after 1914–18. A beginning has
certainly been made. The Herring Industry Board's scheme for
• 228 'Queen of Scots' kippers will help the Minch fishing. It will
434 not necessarily help the ports of Stornoway or Tarbert, because
herring can be landed at mainland ports and treated there or else
taken by road to the Moray Firth, kippered there, and still qualify
under the scheme. The Scottish Agricultural Organisation
Society has aided the marketing of lobsters to good purpose.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island*

114 It is to be hoped that members of the Lewis Association
814 may ascertain these, perhaps in collaboration with University
research workers. This, in turn, might instructively be col-
lated with the imports and exports of the Island, which are
recorded and ascertainable with a precision impossible for a
similar area on the mainland. Thus the facts would throw
light on the economy of other crofting districts.

(v) *Allowances, Pensions, Unemployment Assistance and Remittances*

657 With regard to money received by the crofting communities
434 of Lewis from other than 'productive' sources, figures have
436 kindly been made available regarding three sources, namely, (*a*)
729 Allowances made to members of the Forces and their depend-
434 ents, and Pensions, (*b*) Unemployment payments, and (*c*)
Money Orders and Postal Orders. The yearly periods for which
figures are available are close enough to permit of reasonable
comparisons. Among other sources, Bank Drafts form an in-
[508] significant fraction of monies received by crofters from outside
the Island. It is impossible to say how much cash is brought
[441] home by men paid off from the Merchant Service and other
employment, or how much may be sent through the post in the
form of notes, whether registered or unregistered. The amount
is known to be large, however, and an estimate based on the
number of insured employed, and other figures, would be of value.
A token figure is suggested in a note to the concluding Table.

APPENDIX II

(iii) *Fishing Industry* (1953)

434 228 The renewed Russian contracts for herring have meant
• loading of Baltic shipping at Stornoway with barrels of herring
[439] cured both in Stornoway and Ullapool. Catching power in
Scotland generally is hardly enough to meet this contract.
Thus, while the numbers of boats continued to decline after the
war, leaving only one steam and 33 motor drifters (over 30 feet
keel) registered by 1953, the fishermen employed rose to 610,
of whom some 520 were crofter-fishermen. Many worked
much of the year; on the other hand, most of the winter catch
went for 'oil and meal' at about 50s. per cran instead of the
top price of over 80s. For local boats a figure of £30,000 is
suggested for the catch of herring, say £10,000 for white fish,
[178] with £5560 for shellfish. For "curing and associated income"
the pre-war figures may be doubled.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island* (1953)

434 In mid-1953, of just 5000 registered for the Island as
465 employed—and other than the self-employed, *i.e.* the farmers
and crofters, the hand-weavers and the boat-sharing fishers—
1130 earned by the three industries first named, the rest by
other trades and professions, 3870 in all. The unemployed
numbered 1180. Analysis of wage-rates would throw light on
[657] total earnings. As to unemployment, the fact that, like crofters
and many fishers, hand-weavers count as 'self-employed'
means that when out of work they are not covered by un-
employment insurance, and have to be helped, at low rates, by
public assistance.

(v) *Allowances, etc.* (1953)

434 Turning now to Remittances, to the manifold categories of
657 Pensions, National Insurance and National Assistance, and to
Unemployment Benefit (a small item), the Table B, 1953-54,
436 shows the totals kindly furnished for this study, with £1,017,110
729 for all Lewis and an estimated £977,010 for rural Lewis.

The minister
was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them
as an example to the crofters who were still reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70
174 boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch Roag for they were small open boats greatly
[447] outnumbered in good herring seasons by boats from other parts of the kingdom. To
327 encourage curing, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up two storehouses
252 to supply salt; he, or his agents, were probably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, who
visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the estate factor held a monopoly for trading in
141 cattle, dried fish and other products. The absolute power of the clan chieftain seems
[614] to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844.
But it was kelp, more than fishing, that helped to support the people of Uig in the late
135 eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lewis made little kelp compared with the
• 132 Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of particularly good quality and commanded more than
[227] the average price. Further, many people from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in
Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time, the intrinsic resources of the parish appear
[233] to have been inadequate to support the population. In this connection it is worth noting
163 the change in the average stock held by each family since 1792 as shown in table 3.
[178]

Clearance and Congestion.

175 Even after the end of the tremendous boom in kelp, brought about throughout the
228 Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some production continued in Uig. In 1825, when the
land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses,
175 yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereafter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attempt-
233 ing industrial developments and wage-earning enterprises. The former included short-
146 lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants in
order to introduce mainland farmers. For these Uig was particularly attractive, the
427 extensive mountain pasture offering good prospects for sheep graziers. The exact dates
of the formation of the earliest farms are not necessarily on record nor are they precisely recorded,
[274] but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Macrae of Kintail had the tack of Scalisclo, with
the extensive grazings (now partly occupied by Bernera summer pastures) east of Little
Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants of Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of
Mealasta Island, which suggests that a shieling farmer was already installed in that
district. About 1838 all the small tenants were cleared out of Mealasta, six families
being put into Breanish; the remainder are said to have been sent to America.

175 In Bernera island, Kirkibost was cleared about 1822, having been lotted in individual
427 crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkibost formed part of the large farm of
Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed part of this farm. On the mainland, opposite
Bernera, small tenants were cleared from the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Stome and
Drovernish) in the early nineteenth century, and a tacksman was installed at west
Earshader. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and
Linshader.

175 By 1844 the kelp shores were almost valueless to the proprietor (though seaweed as
fertiliser remained a vital necessity to the small cultivators, often working the same
land year after year). In 1841 the Chamberlain of the Lews suggested to the Select
Committee on Emigration that some 6,000 persons should emigrate because the land was
inadequate to support them. In 1844, of necessity, Seaforth sold the island. The
[162] population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,316); little did the Chamberlain imagine that
in the following ten years it would increase by 16%, and that by the turn of the century
would reach almost 30,000. (Uig 4,463 Figure 8).

[See p. 18--Analyst]

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty.
Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the omitton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogs
but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The scum as a whole
[429] is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry
Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hogs
on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hogs
[232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hogs that are sent. The minister at Timsgarry
who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by
crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well;
the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local
crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant
upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but
because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total
soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep
soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked.
[239] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts
keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
175 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on
[361] each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grassed,
are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Ambuinn Thoraghain
and Alit a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area,
still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

464 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in
these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment.
• 228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen
frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port'
shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former
importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is
more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil,
three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were
in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is
irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris
tweed industry.

464 Mitchels's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
316 ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present.
312 The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two
371 Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric scheme
[162] site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the
particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks
and other necessary work.

* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

[Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

175 the crofts at Kneep are still highly fragmented: the fifteen crofts comprise over one hundred
317 and eighty separate arable plots. The lotted crofts at Reef were cleared in 1842 to provide
342 land for a sheep farm. Plans to clear the remainder of the Valtos peninsula were thwarted
• 229 by the Fisheries Board because Valtos and Kneep were then good centres for the white fish
[50] industry. As late as 1892 Valtos and Kneep had forty boats, providing employment for one
464 hundred and forty-five men. Valtos with thirty-two boats and one hundred and twenty
fisher-men was second only to Carloway as a fishing centre in Uig. With the prosperity
of the fishing industry, the population of Valtos and Kneep had risen rapidly - from 467 in
1841 to 659 in 1891. Some, at least, of the subdivisions of Kneep date from this period.
Reef was scheduled by the Deer Forest Commission (1896) for resettlement by crofters
and in 1908 an attempt was made to do this, but agricultural experts advised against it, on
the grounds of poor water supply, scarcity of arable land (only ninety-three acres old arable)
and the risk that, if cultivated, the machair would suffer wind erosion. Nevertheless, in
1921, Reef was resettled by ex-servicemen from Valtos and Kneep. At the time the sheep
[233] farm was only carrying a stock of one hundred and seventy sheep - less than half the crofters'
sheep stock in 1959.

427 Tables 15 - 18 summarise the more significant points of the economy of the Valtos
178 peninsula. Table 16 illustrates the fact that the economy is in decline. Only two-thirds of
the total possible units are being worked. Many of the crofters have abandoned their crofts
[167] and the younger generations are unwilling to take over. Of those remaining to work the
crofts 18% are over sixty-five, and a further 47% are between forty-five and sixty-four.

TABLE 16

Crofts and Crofters

427
413
632

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
Legal crofts:	40	18	15	73
No. in joint tenancy	2	4	0	6
Total possible units:	42	22	15	79
No. of operative units 8/59:	29 (60%)	15 (68%)	8 (53%)	52 (66%)
Joint tenancy crofts as one unit:	1	3	0	4
Cases of subletting:	8 (+2 part crofts)	4	6	18
Family combination of crofts:	2	1	1	4
Derelict crofts:	2	1	0	3
Crofts worked by: Full time crofter	3	1	1	5
crofter with regular work	8	7	0	15
crofter with periodic work	13	3	4	20
crofter over 65 (or invalid)	5	1	3	9

An attempt has been made in
Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size
23 the individual croft to the size of holding and
317 In both diagrams there is a significant divi
464 and the commercial holding (1½ units), but
47 and size of holding or labour availability.
233 certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewh
crofters with regular work and full time cro
162 larger stock from those under forty-five.
economic problem of crofting lies in the are
but a viable economic unit, but the indicatio
[447] the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to
accessible markets that deter the crofter fro

511 In their present state the crofts in the Va
for the crofter and his family. Of the crofts
464 croft income by other employment. Of these
Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57
The combination of crofting and weaving prov
one crofter with a croft of 3.3 acres, carryin
(sixty ewes) made the following estimates for

231 FROM THE CROFT:
434 Sale of two year-old calves
236 Cow and calf subsidies
286 Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb.

FROM WEAVING -

at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p.w.)

GROSS INCOME

434 Weaving about 30 hours a week apparently
262 efficiently; at present a crofter supplementing
464 hydro-electric scheme would have to put in nea
same financial reward.

433 The economy of the Valtos peninsula has b
178 years. The number of unoccupied crofts is in
time of the first World War; the shielings hav
• 228 The Valtos shielings near Loch Scanadale were
237 mainly to the lack of manpower in the township
1953. The shielings of Kneep and Reef were
Kneep had some fifty milk cows as compared w

1 Against this figure, must be set the costs of
winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

ONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

669 for crofts in Tongue, a township north of Stornoway, took
423 the law into their own hands, seized one of the fields of the adjacent farms, and threatened to take the remainder. It is easy to understand that when a man has come home from the war to his sweetheart, and after being promised a site on which to build a home (even a black house for a start), with a plot for potatoes, and 'a cow's grass', a year's vain delay may breed impatience! Leverhulme motored to the township, and with his customary vigour and persuasiveness spoke of his plans for 'work and wages' to be concentrated at Stornoway. He again declared that if the farms were divided this would cripple his schemes, and work would stop at once. The majority there agreed to fall in with his plans; in any case, only a
159 minority could find crofts on the farms. Leverhulme felt
433 that he had carried his point. He forgot not only that his oratory deserved applause and had won it for its own
669 sake, but that the people could not lightly afford to say 'no', if this meant immediate stoppage of wages. It was the after-thoughts on the morrow and in the following months, rather than agreement at the moment, that signi-
[228] fied. In 1920 herring fetched a fair price, the herring fishery prospects were encouraging, and work was resumed for a time. Yet one raid having begun and "the die having been cast, lawlessness spread rapidly". Leverhulme stopped expenditure, and obtained an interdict against the
[423] 'raiders', though he did not prosecute. After further parley, the Secretary for Scotland agreed to suspend
[654] division for ten years, and in 1921 Leverhulme resumed
159 operations. "Unfortunately very soon afterwards", wrote
433 his biographer, owing to "the general industrial depression which followed the boom in trade after the war", Lever-
458 hulme felt impelled to close down work for the time being,

exists at Tarbert and another was erected in 'the Bays' district by Leverhulme. Leverhulme also appears to have introduced 'Automatic' hand-looms into Lewis. Today as in the past, the weavers possess a little croft or a feu, a cow, and a few sheep on the outrun, and perhaps a small boat.

Commercial fishing and weaving cannot, however, be satisfactorily combined, for seasonal alternation of occupation entails waste of gear and plant, and interferes with efficiency. Thus in the North Lochs fishing 'creek' (Leurbost neighbourhood, immediately south of Stornoway), weaving became important, but none of the seven large herring fishing boats (still registered in 1930) had been fitted with motors after 1918; they were idle and rotting, and by 1938 only one was still registered. In South Lochs, however, motor-boats were purchased, but there is little weaving. An obvious reason for the difference is the accessibility of the North Lochs area by road to Stornoway. Light passenger cars bring yarn to the village, besides groceries, etc., and take away rolls of tweed. South Lochs, on the other hand, considerably further from Stornoway by road, is still within reach for marketing fish. In North Lochs, merchant seamen at home and young men on their return from three months' work on East Coast fishing boats, turned increasingly to the 'Automatic' looms, manipulation being easily learnt; but such intermittent work alone gives little hope of progress. There is no more fascinating problem than the future of improved weaving.

2. *Unemployment and the Island Budget*

In the past, the storms of the Atlantic washed up on the Island shores the wreckage of world commerce; and

problem remains that Island se
indefinitely to be crofters receiv
only in name. Without doubt,
is socially a lesser evil than pro
a slum or semi-slum. The crofte
better reared than that of many a
Liverpool or Cardiff. Yet if this
adequate life for a man, while co
to the State. The more satisfact
that the Islanders, when unem
new 'white houses', and either t
ments on their crofts, or as in N
with a high proportion of seame
new holdings on 'skinned land
means test provides against full
could do without.

To women normally employ
ployment relief is given only at
work during the season when it
from May or June to December.
are busiest for the months from
West and East Coast of Scotland, a
from October to November, in Ea
of Lewis women normally emplo
typical season (1930), the earning
the summer fishing in Stornoway
the gutting in East Anglia. But
1932, for instance, some 250 wom
through Stornoway, in early Augu
during the slack months from mid

The tragedy and the danger o
in effect it asks, not "How pros
if given help?" but "How poor c

men may thus continue
ing partial relief, seamen
part-time work on a croft
longed unemployment in
's family, too, is relatively
poor seaman in Glasgow,
were all, it would be no
ntinuing to be an expense
ory side of such relief is
ployed, turn to building
o making small improve-
ess (a progressive village
n), to the reclamation of
'. In all such cases a
payment to those who

ed in 'gutting', unem-
such time as there is no
might be expected, *i.e.*
Gutters from the Island
June to August on the
nd again for two months,
ast Anglia. The number
yed was over 1500 in a
s averaging £19 each for
, and as much again for
the demand fell, and by
en were obtaining relief,
st, the number doubling
l-August.
f any means test are that
perous can you become
an you become to qualify

178 developed through the township Grazing Committees by
476 the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society and its
44 associated Crofters' Agency. Lime and fertilisers were
[654] purchased, and wool and other products sold, co-oper-
atively. The co-operative marketing of lobsters, taking
[228] advantage of fluctuating London prices, has led to the
reconstruction of ponds for storage. By these and other
[654] means, government assistance is utilised but not squan-
dered; earlier initiative in agricultural organisation is
reinforced; and communal tradition is revived, linked
to personal responsibility through the crofters' lifelong
knowledge of one another.

178 As to the future, all agreed that unless the Harris Tweed
288 industry flourished, with work at reasonable wages, the
villages would be abandoned by the young, perhaps with
[829] no return such as hitherto on 'retirement'. Many young
people are content with life in the townships, provided
they can get a living there, though not all, for they are
somewhat divided; and work elsewhere, even in the mills
of Stornoway, is a counter-attraction.

178 Social life is undergoing changes which operate both
597 for and against the retention of the young. On one hand,
538 household interchange of conversation, song and story,
the *ceilidh*, has declined. On the other hand, one found
178 that, as regards religious prohibitions, and in spite of the
nervous tension expressed in 'Revivals', the young have
771 won greater freedom. Near one village a Nissen hut,
577 handed over to the Home Guard, was also used by young
[535] people for monthly dances. When I asked a young crofter
invalided from the Navy whether the Elders of the Kirk
made no protest, he replied that they had, but had to give
it up: "They see that we won't stand for it"! This
would have been unthinkable during the First World War,

185 construction of the Island must rest upon the improvement
311 of the land": and secondly, that by this means "it was
114 imperative to revive the traditional community spirit, the essential feature of Hebridean civilisation". Those words still hold good. Yet the land itself is too barren and the soil too poor to provide a living for many by export of
439 fresh agricultural produce to the mainland. Only a local market could pay a fair price for most of the products of
159 intensive small-holding. Judging from the free, untram-
433 melled trade before 1914, Leverhulme held that fishing could be set upon a commercial basis in the Isles; and
228 there could be few better judges of commercial possibilities
438 than this keen industrial thinker and organiser. If he was right, as surely he was, to begin with, then the local market to be created, or rather enlarged by growth of population and prosperity at Stornoway, could have purchased the fresh milk and eggs, the fresh greens and fruit, raised on enlarged small-holdings and marketed co-operatively.

181 A final comment remains to be made. The community
476 spirit of Scots fishers from Berwickshire to Barra has gone far to make co-operation among the men of the crews a living thing. 'Work for Wages' offered little outlet for this, indeed it virtually suppressed it; and 'co-partnership' on the Port Sunlight model was a very different matter from the co-partnership of a crew. Even if at that time it had been proved impossible to organise free co-operation in fishing, co-operation in small-holding townships might have kept the communal spirit alive, for later renewal at sea.

114 It is not easy to assess the after-effects of Leverhulme's
433 activity. Leverhulme certainly helped hundreds of families by the provision of wages for the building or rebuilding of roads and other works, of which some were completed

TABLE 47

Population of Gig Parish 1901 - 1959

	(a)				(b)	
1901	1911	1921	1931	1939	1951	1959
3,000	2,900	2,700	3,104	3,770	2,750	2,900

(a) National Registration, not strictly comparable with decennial Census figures.

(b) Our own survey count.

Figures of principal owners and families from the mainland and overseas. Thus we found, in 1959, the population of Gig was [illegible] than in one year since 1851. Nevertheless it has still double that reported by Webster in 1755, before the potato, kelp and fishing led to inflation.

These changes have not affected all parts of the parish at the same time, nor to the same extent. The position is summarized in table 48 and figure 45. Summarise by [illegible] seem a good drop of the truth, such as would by [illegible] be individual history and the two are alike. Township figures are given in Appendix 2.

TABLE 48

Changes in the relative distribution of population 1841 - 1959

For details by township see figure 45.

	Proportion of the total in each district in the year				
	1841	1911	1931	1951	1959
South Hay District	32	32	33	28	27
Dornoch District	16	15	13	18	18
East South Hay District	17	23	23	21	21
Gallowgate District	35	30	31	34	34
	100	100	100	100	100

South Hay, in 1841, had more than half the population of Gig, despite the rainy/inaccessa. Its now little more than a quarter, and is still declining more rapidly. In Aird and Crosdale, for example, where there were 121 persons in 1951, we counted but 71 in 1959. Gallowgate has grown from 1,000 in 1841 to 1,000 in 1951 and 1,000 in 1959. Dornoch Bay Reserve Store has slightly increased their share of the population of Gig, since 1841, although the total number has fallen from 500 to 420. Clearances seem to have had the same depopulating effect in Dornoch as they had in the south, and fishing contained prosperous [illegible] in the Gallowgate District, which has grown from 1,000 in 1841 to 1,000 in 1951 and 1,000 in 1959. Crofts, tenants, landlords, has resulted in population gain remarkably. Many go away to find work but few leave for ever. The development of inland fishing has helped.

17 or summer pasture for the tenants of Lossy and Garrish respectively, townships on the north shore of the loch. In 1770, there were four tenants in Earnhaber, but their place of origin is unknown. In 1850, five tenants are recorded, two of them from Gig. In 1851 there were 18 tenants. Then the growth of population in Lewis during the second half of the eighteenth century may well have been the main reason for the colonization of one of the least potentially attractive districts of the island.

From Figure 1, which shows most of the thirty-four accepted places south of Loch Shiel about 1828, it is evident that colonization had extended south into the mountainous area. The sections, which stand in the district in 1819, may have increased the population already there as early as 1800, for many of these families came from Harris. The numerous sheilings in South Park suggest a different community. It is possible that South Park was never populated from the interior, but from the south.

During the period 1818 to 1841, when the greater, Donald Stewart, and his brothers had a lease of South Park, most of these settlements were cleared (Fig 2). In addition, between 1838 and 1841, 18 tenants were cleared from Aird, Crosdale, Clatter, Sandiegarrow, Gallowgate, Dornoch, Bunwrangh and Ugine were removed, in all about 430 people. Some 27 families were sent to Cromarty and Ardnamurchan, where most in Tulloch and The Ross Reserve in Dornoch Bay, and Gallowgate, Dornoch and Ugine were settled in the townships in North Park. Marriage in 1838 had a tenancy, in 1850, 22 were recorded, in 1851 the population was 1,000 and overcrowded crofting land of Park, but the township stay the share of Lord Brilliant Gilbert in Gerrycard were well established. The Black cows township from Cromarty to Grestir, first settled about 1800, was greatly expanded, and Park made of Gerrycard became a sheep grazing and a small tenantry.

In 1844, the Seaforth family, which had held Lewis for three centuries, sold the island to Sir James Matheson. The estate management soon wrought great changes in the landscape. Until 1850-51, the estate was a mixed economy, a system observed by Webster in 1755, with a tacksman and subtenants, cultivated in small patches what arable land had been reclaimed, such share. Rent was paid in cattle, produce, the crofts, or individually held land, data from 1800-51, when the tacksman was dispossessed, the present crofts were formed at this period. The settlement pattern associated with crofting was established, and the increased acreage of land under cultivation and the number of cattle made to be individual crofts.

In 1858, Lamroway was once again made available to crofters, most of whom came from the fishing townships where population pressure was building up. After the disastrous potato famine of 1846 - 1851, the population of Lewis was 31,000 in 1851 and 29,000 in 1861. Lamroway was a very popular settlement. In the same period, the Isle of Harris was cleared for sheep. Crofting development of the fishing industry brought a period of prosperity and the population increased rapidly in the fishing townships of the Minch coast. The property was such that one-quarter of the cotters built houses on the inland crofts, and their stock-keeping on the common was interrupted because of the demand for fishing crews. About 1884, the system whereby each boat was tied to a crofter-fisherman's holdings, also attracted men and prentisses against the catch, was discontinued. When this system was ended, the crofters had to pay for the boats, and the fishing was left to the Herring Commission investigating the poverty of the population found that the crofters were worse off than the serves as those promising during the potato famine forty years earlier. It was during this period that the Park Deer Raid occurred. Park became a Deer Forest in 1883 at the end of the greater's lease. In 1886, as a demonstration of their grievances, a large number of crofters from the Park and neighbouring Aird and Crosdale shot 1,000 of the deer and killed about 50 men. Some of the men, it was said, were shot in the back while fleeing. A few good fishing seasons remedied this unhappy situation and the population of the fishing townships rose to a peak in 1911.

[1] Evidence given to Royal Commission of Inquiry into Crofters and Cotters 1883. (Also known as the Napier Commission).

[2] Report on the Conditions of the Cotter Population in the Lewis, 1888.

[3] Burnaway Gazette, 27.1.39.

281 Sum of croft: 5 acres arable, 10 in crop, 2 in sown grass), 18 acres meron and
282 rights in Common Grazing to carry:-

Income		Expenses	
Sale of cattle, 5 calves, 18 ewes and 2 wethers	224	Rent, cess, service of bull, grass, oat, potato and turnip seed, manure	38
Sale of wool, 18 fleeces	18	Hire of bull	10
Subsidies on cows, calves and cropping	141	Land feeding	49
	383	Net profit	286

In order to work such a croft efficiently, the family would need one tinker required with the particular tenancy studies, the number of crofts would have to be reduced to almost one third of present total. Considering Park and Aird, the agricultural units would have to be reduced to half of their present number but this latter figure is only approximate as it was based on general evidence. It is clear, however, that small 100 viable agricultural units could be maintained on the present crofting area of Park.

From a detailed study of the agriculture of Park one can only conclude that the present crofting situation is not the most efficient use of the available resources. Agriculture is the chief trade, crofting economic, and such reorganization would have to be coupled with the development of a non-crofting sector of the island economy, particularly the fishing industry. The physical basis for a fishing industry are discussed in the next section. The social implications of such a development are considered in the final section. A detailed effort could be made to the spheres of recreation and education. Finally, we must be considering the existing non-adjacent pieces of certain crofts. A reduction of the sheep stocks, with an emphasis on quality instead of quantity, and the improvement of dairy cattle, surrening the problem of the tainter-sheep raids, are policies which could be followed with profit.

ANCILLARY OCCUPATIONS

In most crofting areas, ancillary employment is necessary to compensate for the low craft income. Some near-subsistence crofters, that is, those without a livelihood have never been characteristic of crofting areas except in times of privation. At the time of the abolition of rin-rig, most crofting areas had a greater population than the land could support, and a subsistence level, and as a result, on many potatoes, crofts were created smaller than the optimum size it seems to be the opinion of the survey. Since the abolition of rin-rig, the population of the crofting areas has fallen to a level sufficient because of the demand for fishing crews. About 1884, the system whereby each boat was tied to a crofter-fisherman's holdings, also attracted men and prentisses against the catch, was discontinued. When this system was ended, the crofters had to pay for the boats, and the fishing was left to the Herring Commission investigating the poverty of the population found that the crofters were worse off than the serves as those promising during the potato famine forty years earlier. It was during this period that the Park Deer Raid occurred. Park became a Deer Forest in 1883 at the end of the greater's lease. In 1886, as a demonstration of their grievances, a large number of crofters from the Park and neighbouring Aird and Crosdale shot 1,000 of the deer and killed about 50 men. Some of the men, it was said, were shot in the back while fleeing. A few good fishing seasons remedied this unhappy situation and the population of the fishing townships rose to a peak in 1911.

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[3] Burnaway Gazette, 27.1.39.

1966 Herring, not all stuff
1967 employment is available in Park; 47 percent of the inhabitable male population
1968 rights in Common Grazing to carry:- Fishing provides only seasonal employment, and therefore
1969 the population of the Isle of Park (See Table VIII)

Employment within Park

1998 Table IX shows that opportunities for local employment are strictly limited. Weaving of
1999 Harris tweed is the only manufacturing industry of importance. Crofting and fishing are
1999 engaging in it are almost all crofters working in their abundant spare time. Weaving is an ideal
1999 adjunct of croft work as it is unaffected by weather or hours of daylight and can be performed during periods of agricultural inactivity. The vagaries of the Harris tweed market
2000 are well known to crofters. Park is one of the more inaccessible areas of Lewis and the
2001 main use is gin-gin [illegible] Harris tweed. Fishing is a seasonal occupation, and the
2002 Stornoway and Ullapool are the only ports in Lewis. Fishing is a seasonal occupation, and the
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Types of ancillary employment

The question of the desirability of ancillary employment in a crofting district is ambivalent. On the one hand, it means that the crofter-fisherman is not tied to the land and makes wholesomer participation in the agricultural life of the township a virtual impossibility. On the other hand it suffers who have ancillary employment are able to enjoy the benefits of investment in their craft. Table IV shows that in Park, craft efficiency, as expressed by the ensuing of a crofter, is not a function of the number of hours of ancillary employment. The ability to do a good job of work is independent of the number of hours of ancillary employment. The ability to do a good job of work is independent of the number of hours of ancillary employment. The ability to do a good job of work is independent

Only a fraction of the [illegible] crop is cultivated by tractor and this is divided among [illegible] of a sample, undertaken by one of these contractors, showed that only about half the soil was sown [illegible] acres. The use of the tractor will increase as soon as the pioneers are able to [illegible] neighbours into a cooperative venture. But even on the [illegible] together, an [illegible] tractor is not economically sound. The cost of the tractor and its upkeep, the [illegible] the crop, the [illegible] the tractor will be [illegible] the crop. The answer to the man who wants to do [illegible] is, of course, the tractor. But if he can [illegible] to some other particular occupation, [illegible] the tractor. Many of the crofters are [illegible] to some other particular occupation, [illegible] the tractor. But if the crofters are

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF LEWIS

('Bernera and Bernera Shore')

by

P. Wheeler

Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of Bernera Island (Breaclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the "Shore" (Earshader, Crulivig and Lundale together with the isolated township of Linshader), presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isolation. Bernera Island, though central to most of Uig and easily accessible over the sheltered waters of Loch Roag, yet remained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent building of the road bridge; even now it is necessary to travel over six miles to get from the bridge to the main Uig road and a further four miles to Garynahine. Consequently the island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements, has a very close-knit and self-sufficing population. Whether this community retains sufficient vitality to resist the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces eroding rural and especially Highland life, remains to be seen.

The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the introduction. Like the other districts it has virtually no valuable mineral resources (1), and the herring and white fish industries have all but disappeared and seem unlikely to resuscitated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted with vigour and enterprise; it provides a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on regular or casual employment to eke out the proceeds of the croft. The kinds of work available, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employment are common to the whole parish; thus this account is mainly concerned with the problems of crofting agriculture.

Settlement: history and patterns.

The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is partly very old, and partly very recent. At least four brochs are known on Bernera and various standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous settlement has survived from the early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form as in the graveyard on little Bernera, or in oral tradition. All this contributes towards the very close network of family relationships that binds the island folk and to a lesser extent those of the adjacent mainland.

With the exceptions of Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete, all Bernera Island had been cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1878 when twelve families were moved from Bosta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere. Occasionally (as at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance lotting patterns were re-adopted, but usually settlement was laid out afresh. The townships of Bernera Shore, were also affected: all the small tenants except those of Earshader and Crulivig were cleared, leaving the land under the sheep farms of West Earshader and Linshader. However, the Bernera Island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of sheilings on the mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these grazings to their present position marked the

(1) A small deposit of diatomite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a few men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

28 434 South Uig and Park seem to suffer in the same way even though the larger producers, mostly mills, endeavour to distribute weaving equally to all districts. The weavers' earnings vary from individual to individual, according to the amount of work they get, and also from year to year according to the fortunes of the trade, especially of the American export trade. A good weaver, in a good year, might earn from £400 to £500 but an average weaver, in an average year in Bernera, probably earns between £250 and £300, whereas in the Carloway district (more accessible to producers based in Stornoway and Shawbost), the comparable figure is around £400. Most weavers try to maintain connections with several producers and this difference in earnings may be between those who obtain additional work for 'small-producers' (i.e. tweed merchants who do not spin their own yarn), and those who do not.

• 228 [226] [433] Fishing has greatly declined since the late nineteenth century (table 31), neither white fish nor herring are of any significance, nor do Bernera men contribute significantly to the island's economy by working on east coast boats, as was formerly the case. But Bernera has become one of the most important centres of Scottish lobster fishing, the value of landings having increased from £983 in 1937 to £4,949 in 1956. There are six locally owned lobster boats and others use the facilities at Kirkibost. The vessels generally have seven to a crew (c.f. the usual five in Sutherland) and work the whole length of the Atlantic coast and out to the Flannan Islands and St. Kilda. They carry 100 to 160 lobster pots and may also catch ling; crabs are almost entirely ignored because they are difficult to transport to the distant, mostly English, markets.

One very important factor in the present prosperity of the Bernera lobster fishing is the Kirkibost lobster pond. This was built by a local crofter in the 1920's. It was closed during the war, and was afterwards taken over by the Crofters' Supply Agency, though the original proprietor is still employed whole-time in looking after the pond and re-fishing the lobsters. There is naturally some loss of fish in the pond, and when high prices are being obtained at Oban the local fishers feel rather disgruntled at their less favourable market here. Hence, if there is a good catch, say over 2,000 lbs to a boat, and reasonably good weather prevails, the lobsters may be taken straight to Oban where up to twice the local price may be obtained. The C.S.A. pay 2s less per lb than Oban because of the cost of the upkeep of the pond, and the wages for two men with their boat. There was an experiment in flying lobsters direct from Lewis to Billingsgate, but the cost was too high. The problems of isolation here are very severe for the lobsters have to be sent by Macbrayne's steamer and by British Railways upon which there are no cold wagons reserved for the small quantities in question - a hazardous course for a highly perishable cargo.

Conclusions.

182 This part of Uig, therefore, has had a long and complex history of human settlement, exploitation, and adaptation. Much of the more recent part of this history is vividly remembered and still plays a part in the making of modern decisions. The sense of kinship and a common past is an important cement of society, for where natural resources are so limited a mystique of other than a material type is necessary if society is to retain 511 its self-respect. However, the natural resources are indeed so limited that economic [181] self-improvement is extremely difficult. The egalitarian tendencies of Gaelic society and crofting legislation are not now sufficient to resist the tendencies of the times and to prevent some of the crofters making adjustments in their holdings, but unfortunately there is insufficient good land to allow much adjustment without a drastic reduction of population [469] which would be equally damaging to the well-being of the local society. It seems unlikely that alternative sources of employment could easily be found - the isolation within Lewis, the isolation from markets of Lewis itself, and the lack of local resources have combined [288] on previous occasions to defeat plans for development. Weaving is the most important [228] means of supplementary livelihood, but it is too vulnerable to politics and fashion; fishing is greatly decayed from its former dominating position; only agriculture remains locally, and perhaps the greatest possibilities there lie in better standards of cultivation (especially drainage and fertilisation), a better standard of animal husbandry, and more reseeding. But whatever developments are undertaken will need careful selection and encouragement: results cannot be hurried but nevertheless something must be done soon if the local society is to maintain itself. This great and paradoxical element of the "crofting problem" is as important here as elsewhere in the seven "Crofting Counties".

233 Little close attention is paid to shepherding though several crofters profess to liking it. The great losses on the moor (often amounting to one third of the lambs each year) [435] does not seem to cause much worry. The chief income from the sheep is the fleece which [288] sells at up to 4/- per pound, an average fleece weighing from three to four pounds. This wool is not used for the tweed industry since it is too coarse being more suited to carpet manufacture. Appendix C (6) shows that the majority of flocks are small averaging from 10-20. The overgrazing is the result of a smaller number of owners keeping larger flocks. Thirteen of the working units have between 50 and 100 sheep. As to those without sheep, several crofters declared themselves to be too old to bother with them, a fact which serves as an illustration and introduction to the population problems.

162 Appendices D (1) shows the twofold nature of the difficulties which confront the community. Twenty-two per cent of the residents are over 65 years of age and no less than 56% are 464 over 45 years old. With the sole exception of one man who works on the power development project at Gisla in South Uig, the main focus of employment is local. A small number [434] of people are engaged in services to the community including shopkeeping, but the main source of income is weaving since crofting itself (by definition in this area at least) does not yield sufficient to maintain a family. Yet there are 31 full time crofters who are being supported in some other way, either by relations temporarily or permanently absent or by interest on capital accumulated during periods of employment away from the island.

162 There is an insufficiency of women of child-bearing age to offer hope of an increase in 464 the population or even a sufficient number to guarantee a level of replacement. This fact toegther with the emphasis on one form of employment gives rise to anxiety among the crofters, who recollect what happened when the fishing finally collapsed during the First World War after a period of steady decline. In 1913 twenty boats sailed from Carloway [435] and gave employment to 295 men. If the weaving fails (at present a weaver making three tweeds per week can earn up to £16 for them) there will be similar hardship and the net emigration from an area already none too attractive to young people will certainly become more marked than it is at present.

Table 36

Fishing in the Carloway District 1892-1956

198 228 435

	Numbers engaged		
	Boats	Men	Value of catch:
1892	65	300	?
1900	27	318	?
1913	20	295	£8,700
1920	14	266	£560
1930	10	83	£262
1938	10	40	£470
1948	14	40	£174
1956	15	18	nil

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Boats returned may not have been in regular use; many of the men were mainly engaged as hands on east coast boats.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT

H. A. Moisley

Growth and decline.

161 162 [824] [464] In its demography as in so many other aspects the parish of Uig is characteristic of the Hebrides in general rather than of Lewis in particular. Throughout the Hebrides the late eighteenth century saw a rapid rise in population followed, in the early nineteenth century, by clearances, emigration and decline (Fig. 44). The growing population, sustained by the newly-introduced potato, found employment in kelp-making. Lewis made little kelp compared with the Uists and such as was made came largely from Uig, i.e. from Loch Roag; consequently, whilst the population of Barvas only increased by 15% between 1755 and 1801, that of Uig increased by 58%, (c.f. North Uist 60%, South Uist 73%). Clearances and emigration reversed this trend in population after 1821 (Mull and North Uist), after 1831 (Islay), and after 1841 (Skye, Harris, North Uist and Barra), a reversal which was not experienced in Lewis except in Uig (see Part I, Figure 8). Thereafter, in the outer, but not in the inner Hebrides, growth was resumed, to reach new maxima in 1881 (the Uists) and 1911 (Lewis, Harris and Barra); Uig, alone of Lewis parishes, reached its maximum population in 1891. Subsequent loss of population has been particularly severe, as may be seen from Table 46 and Figures 8 and 45.

TABLE 46

Loss of population, since maximum, to 1951

	Date of maximum	Loss as percentage of maximum
Uig	1891	41.2%
Lochs	1911	34.4%
Barvas	1911	26.5%
Stornoway	1911	18.6%

(Stornoway Burgh is excluded)

The early on-set of decline makes Uig somewhat comparable with the Uists, where final decline set in after 1881, rather than with Barra and Harris, where growth continued until 1911. This may be connected with the vicissitudes of fishing, particularly in south Uig where, by the 1890's, the annual Fishery Reports comment repeatedly on the decay of great line fishing and of the dried white fish trade. Re-settlement of crofters on farm land in Uig in the present century again affords a parallel with the southern Outer Hebrides rather than with the rest of Lewis; as elsewhere, it failed to arrest the decline although it did bring about a re-distribution which afforded welcome relief in the more overcrowded townships. But decline still continues; the loss appears to have been around 40 per annum in the 1950's (table 47) compared with 30 in the 1930's where there was some

[228]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 140]

Apart from this time honored principle and other legal
lderations, closure of the Minch will not be fessible until
Hebrideans have a larger catching potential. This potential
nds not only on capital for building fleets and facilities,
also on a casting off of conservative attitudes regarding
rn innovations and techniques. In short, a fuller ad-
ment to the demands of the commercial world is required.
tional problems to be faced include efficient handling of
highly perishable item. At present boats from the northern
of Skye have only a limited local market. If they miss the
her in the morning, they might just as well throw the
overboard. A consideration of lobster fishing will in-
te the nature of these problems.

Lobster fishing is an especially suitable part-time
pation for crofters. Particularly in favor of the industry
he fact that it can be turned to whenever croft work is
t. Then, too, there is a fairly constant demand for
ters at a high price. In recent years the value of
ters and whelks, the only other shell fish exported in
ity, has exceeded that of all other fish combined.
tering adds substantially to the incomes of the crofters
d Broadford and Kyleakin, in the Staffin area of Kilmuir
h, and in the Braes and Portree districts of Portree
h. It was formerly important in Glendale. Indeed, be-
1942 and 1949 there were few crofter-fishing townships
did not share in the profits from the sale of lobsters.
hould be noted that shell fish are exclusively an export

228 [262] [501] item. No fish without scales is eaten by the Skyeman.

The crofters use small boats, under thirty feet keel, and work in pairs. By contributing creels and sharing the risks as well as the profits, the cost of equipment for each [476] individual is modest. Here, of course, is an additional form of cooperation which has not disappeared. The techniques have remained conservative. The use of small boats restricts operations to sheltered areas, and conservation is not an important consideration.[30] One order, for example, issued by the government prohibited the sale of berried lobsters (females with eggs) without success. The eggs are simply scrubbed off. The law will be useless as long as there are men among them who continue to believe that: "In the old days we took berried lobsters, and the lobsters thrived." Another order has made it illegal to take lobsters under nine inches, the favorite size in the London and Paris markets. This has not only spoiled the market but also is difficult on the crofters because they use small creels. Still, the real trouble is said to be the lack of a closed season. Bretons come over and work the waters during the summer when the Sgiathanach is busy on the land. Crofters from southern Skye are accused of poaching the northern lochs. This leaves few lobsters for the local residents who only go after lobster between November and March.

Although international considerations do not pertain to the question of a closed season, the British government considers

[30] Cf. Darling and Morley, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

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economy. There i
Their peak years,
when the area was
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Society in 1790, h
are beached, look
the decline in fis
population. Other
"Few realize how r

etrimental to the best interests of the national 228
is no doubt that the Skye crofters would benefit.
, culminating in 1947, coincided with a time
restricted for reasons of security during the
Additional problems include the loss of
es and transportation difficulties. It takes
r a lobster to reach the London market when
re made. The high cost of shipment and the
te reduce the crofters' profits.
e of the government concerning the domestic 654
228
couraging the local fisheries may be summed
ng question by a fishery expert: "Can we
ize the livelihoods of men who devote their
in favor of an industry which may never
no official policy yet, but I don't think
r try to revive the industry on Skye." Al- 228
ly exaggerate the situation, a few state- 829
sum up the present condition of this activity
ne estate the landlord who has seen fishing
the last few years, said: "There are no boats
or lobsters. Even young men gave it up.
just died, stopped." A man from Stein, an
llage established by the British Fishery
s also seen fishing cease, "The few boats
t them rotting on the beach." He believes
ing is one reason for the continued de-
share his belief. A school teacher said,
cent the decline in fishing really is.

Something has to be done to keep the people here." A Glendale 228
crofter put it more forcibly: "There aren't enough men in 829
Glendale to man a row boat. They've lost experience. One
crew after the last war lost their boat because they didn't
know how to use it. If depopulation isn't stopped, there soon
will be no need for any of these remedies." Fishing, then, is
one of those subjects which is often discussed and about which
little is done. Let us turn to a consideration of the less [128]
traditional occupations open to the men of Skye and their
womenfolk.

Minor Supplementary Industries

Diatomite. Diatomite, the siliceous remains of minute organisms 317
laid down in fresh water lake beds, is found in quantity in
drained Loch Cuithir, near Staffin. After extracting, drying,
and pulverizing, during which process it loses 70 percent of
its weight, it has innumerable industrial uses, ranging from
filters for the manufacture of beer, sugar, fruit juices, and
petroleum products, through abrasives, to fillers and insulation
material. Attempts to work this large and high quality deposit
go back seventy years. To date, however, the success has been
indifferent. The omnipresent lack of capital, difficult access
through rugged terrain, and technological barriers have been
limiting factors. Within the last few years outside investment,
about £180,000, with a limited amount of local capital has
stimulated the industry once again. A road was built by the
government to replace the old tramway, long in disrepair and

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231 DOMESTICATED ANIMALS--captive and tamed animals; domesticated i
(e.g., silkworms, bees); pets (e.g., dogs, cats); domestic animals;
treatment and uses of each; taming and training; care and feeding; gro
slaughtering; associated beliefs and rituals; economic and social impor
of animal husbandry; diseases; etc. See also:

Work in furs, hides, and skins 281
Work in bone and horn 321
Animal shelters 343
Use of animals in transportation 492
Names of animals . . . . . .
Animals as wealth . . . . . .
Ethnozoology . . . . . .

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Table III

Parish of Barvas, Isle of Lewis:

Agricultural Statistics, 1870-1970

(Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh)

	1870	1881	1891	1902	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1970
Potatoes (acres)	856	875	1105	1280	1146	1126	1043	679	576	413	144
Barley (acres)	854	1486	1172	1226	959	1149	823	401	94	14	1.5
Oats (acres)	920	530	556	728	1107	1039	2045	2451	2327	1432	486
Milk Cows	1605	1992	1771	1949	1951	1932	1846	1544	1295	960	451
Beef Cattle								50	47	1273	760
Sheep (in thousands)	16	16.4	17.7	19.9	19.5	16.9	21.3	22.7	41	37	35

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

178 purposes, to a community which, as an agricultural
311 entity, requires transfusions from the larger society, is accompanied by patterns of specialization and individuation. The following table (Table III)[1] of agricultural statistics for the parish of Barvas demonstrates the change, over the past 100 years, from intensive subsistence agriculture to specialized production. From a broad-based subsistence use of the croft (as revealed by the number of acres cultivated for barley, potatoes and oats; and by the number of cattle, especially milk cows), there emerges a tendency
• [23] toward specialized production. The number of sheep,
[236] which require less attention than cattle, has increased
[241] since the late 1920's when the weaving of Harris Tweed
[246] commenced in earnest; and around this time there also occurs a differentiation in cultivation, between the production of barley and potatoes (used largely for human consumption) and the production of oats (used largely for
[231] feeding livestock). After 1931 agricultural returns began to distinguish between beef and dairy cattle. During the past ten years the number of beef cattle in the parish of Barvas has increased.

241 An important factor which crofters on Lewis now
654 take into account when making decisions about their
[1]. [See p.ix--Analyst]

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

233 "You got away from village life when you went to
829 the sheiling. The youngsters ran wild. Everyone talked more freely somehow. It didn't feel like a Sunday out
233 there--the minister couldn't see that far. Only the
883 young men and women in their late teens or 20's were out at the weekends. They would send the younger ones home. They came out in their good clothes, from Saturday night to Monday morning. Groups of young people walked out and back together, the girls in one group and the boys in
[533] another, joking and teasing. They sang the old songs and learned new ones from each other. Some were good at making up songs. You wouldn't believe how many people could sleep together in a single sheiling. It was a
[829] heaven on earth. Everybody was one family. The hills were filled with the sound of voices."

233 Not every family in the village went to the sheiling. Some families had enough land within the township to graz their cattle. But they usually went out at the weekends, for the fun and company.

237 One of the most important products of the cow was
241 not milk but dung, which was used to keep the poor land
• 231 productive. Because people did not have the enriched
234 animal feeds available today, a cow might not have a calf and thus did not give milk, for four or five years.

23 [234] People kept several cattle, some of which were dry most of the time. But because everyone was keeping cattle, [244] [246] milk could be gotten from a neighbor. One man was planting eight or nine hundredweights of potatoes before the war, some of which would be used to feed the livestock. 511 [234] 231 288 437 "You couldn't buy milk then, so you had to keep a cow. And even though people were weaving, they weren't getting so much money as they are now. It was the barter system here for a long time. So they didn't have the money to buy feeding stuff. It was better to spend the time planting potatoes. Now of course there's more money in the weaving."

175 272 234 178 After the war, an act was passed which provided free milk for schoolchildren. Milk for the Shawbost school was supplied by a farm near Stornoway, and villagers first started buying the milk from the school milk van. A strike 175 178 288 [468] [437] held by weavers during the war had increased the payments for weaving, and the barter system had stopped. More money was available. As the loom was more profitable, more people stopped keeping cows, and relied on their [231] [272] neighbors for milk, or got their milk from the van bringing milk to the school. And as the cattle got fewer, the 178 23 434 234 market for bottled milk expanded. A dairy was started on the west side of the island in the mid-1960's which carries milk from Uig to Ness.

178 23 234 233 The number of cattle diminished as milk became available by other means; and when the township reseeding schemes came into existence, the need to go to the 178 342 sheilings for an "early bite" was removed. The sheilings that remain in use today are huts of tin, wood and concrete within easy walking distance from the highway, used on weekends and during summer holidays. Most of these modern sheilings are close to Stornoway, and serve as summer retreats for the relatively harried urban [184] dwellers such as publicans. On the west side, the sheilings are no longer used, but remain as a theme of songs and in nostalgic memories.

C. The Loom

175 286 Clo Mor, the big cloth, was woven in the Highlands and Islands for hundreds of years. Martin Martin, who travelled through the Outer Hebrides in the late 17th century, describes the export of "plaiding," and the practice of waulking or shrinking the woven length of cloth (Martin 1716). Weaving was done on wooden looms, and produced only for local markets until the middle of the 19th century.

[173] [175] By the middle of the 19th century, the failure of the kelp industry, decline of fishing, and destruction

592 241 31 288 like to leave the loom for the time it took to look after the sheep."

592 23 24 [233] [246] [288] [463] A fourth household consists of three unmarried siblings in their 40's and 50's who recently sold their cattle and now keep only sheep for their own consumption. They cultivate a small amount of oats and hay to feed the sheep during the winter. The brother who was largely responsible for taking care of the livestock is now "concentrating on the loom," and his brother works in the mill. Their sister, who used to work in hotels on [407] [404] the mainland, now keeps house for them. Described as a "self-contained family," they have a tractor and a deep-freeze and take care of their peat and the harvesting 654 423 of crops by themselves. One of their crofts has become too waterlogged even for grazing and was sold recently to the son of a local crofter, not for agriculture but as a prerequisite for applying to the Department of Agriculture for a housing grant. Only tenants of crofts can apply for such grants. As this particular croft is too wet to be cultivated or used as a house site, the only motive which the new tenant has to become a crofter is to gain access to governmental subsidy.

592 233 311 The fifth household is composed of a retired couple and their son and his wife and family. They have no cattle, and use the crofts for grazing sheep.

241 288 183 233 The competition between the loom and the croft i evident in the few communal township practices which still exist. One of the rules of township organizati is that all households must bring their sheep in from the moor on the same day. Other rules are that no on [231] should go out on the moor at any other time with a dog, and everyone who has sheep should go out on the day designated by the township grazings committee to collect them. The moor is extensive, and the sheep wander over a wide area. Only if a large number of m go out together and come in with their dogs like a wi net can the sheep be brought in with a minimum of eff over the stream-cut, uneven ground. Anyone who goes out alone disturbs the grazing animals and probably drives them farther away from the village.

233 183 These rules have strong ethical import and are much more than a set of procedural rules prescribed by the Crofters Commission. "There is a code of ethi which you learn as you grow up, as you go with your [578] elders out to the moor. You can fight with a man over a woman and make it up next week; but if you fight with a man over a sheep, you won't make it up for thir [178] years." That these rules are weakening in importance is indicated by situations in which only two or three men have gone out in the early morning to bring in the

Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre Island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky, waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home, together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it. Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles distant.

Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of congestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

/p. 35/

241 182 An examination of the agricultural situation reveals that there are insufficient resources to make the present number of crofts viable. Overstocking in sheep, an attempt to increase cash income, has resulted in a high mortality rate, and consequent losses. The tenant of a small croft [434] [464] is faced with a classic dilemma. If he puts all his efforts into the working of the croft, the area of potential arable land is insufficient to maintain a large stock and even if the best rules of husbandry were operated, croft income alone would be insufficient to provide a reasonable living. The fishing industry, formerly the chief means of a livelihood rather than the croft itself, has virtually disappeared, and he is forced to find ancillary employment in an area where little exists and thus migration in search of employment is the only solution. The croft becomes a base for non-agricultural activity and a means of providing produce for home consumption rather than an effective agricultural unit. On the larger crofts, it is clearly possible to make a living if sufficient additional grazing in the non-crofting area is available - the agricultural townships, especially Seaforthhead, Shiadernish, Habost and Kershader, which comprise units sufficiently large and fertile, bear out this contention. Yet better husbandry is possible, and reclamation of the common grazings for improved stock rearing has started. The agricultural townships as a whole are better favoured by situation, soils and communications, and appear to possess a much greater degree of stability.

288 434 463 Since the decline of the fishing industry, the fishing townships have progressively declined. Income from weaving has replaced earnings from fishing as a means of combining croft work and ancillary employment to provide a living, but, as has been pointed out, the supply of weaving contracts is not regular and greatly depends on the state of the world market. The present centralisation of the Harris Tweed Industry in Stornoway is not favourable to the Park weavers: the suggestion by the Park Association[1] that a spinning mill be set up in Park would certainly help the local weavers.

464 [166] [167] [162] If the present number of agricultural units and level of husbandry on them is to be maintained, ancillary employment on a large scale will continue to be necessary, and, as weaving and the service occupations alone certainly cannot provide it in sufficient quantity, temporary and regular employment furth of Park is bound to continue, and as this grades into permanent migration, the population must continue to decline and age. The capacity of the area for tourism is also limited. With the overheads which branches of parent lowland factories would have to face, the establishment of manufacturing or assembling employment is also unlikely.

228 A revival of the fishing industry holds out most hope but must take place before all the accrued skill has disappeared with the older generation of fishermen. The fishing grounds are within reach of the modern £20,000 boat: by co-operation between crews, fish could be taken to mainland markets such as Ullapool as indeed happens at present. Lobster fishing could be integrated with herring and white fishing. Such a combination of several types of fishing would ensure a more balanced economy and the Herring Subsidy would be a guaranteed element of income. It must be agreed that if mainland boats do come to the coast and sea lochs of Park, there seems little reason why local boats could not also be successful.

000 As far as the land is concerned, the survey leaves no doubt that improvements in husbandry and pastures are definitely possible. Yet, until viable agricultural units have been created, there is little incentive for large scale improvement in either sphere. It is an expert's opinion that no crofter working on a croft in Park which would bring in £300 a year would have time to engage in ancillary work and at the same time fully work his holding in accordance with the rules of good husbandry. If this opinion is accepted, and if it is also accepted that such crofts are desirable and the present successful crofts in the agricultural townships where there is a higher proportion of full-time crofters than elsewhere would bear this out, it follows that ancillary employment on such units would have to be ruled out.

1. Park Association Annual Report, 1956.

228 162 Throughout th
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228 men with 120 boats.
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[113] 22"Creek Retu
Fisheries Division,
Scotland (in the fi
23Hance, op.
24Ibid., pp.

e present century, the commercial importance
on the basis of income, numbers of crofter-
s, has steadily declined. The number of
as decreased at a faster rate than the de-
. In recent years its significance as a
also been reduced. Wage labor has replaced
omic pattern. In 1900 there were 1,015
ith 485 boats.[22] While the number of fisher-
n 1905, from then until now their number
. In 1953 there were 237 crofter-fisher-
Despite higher prices, the value of fish
d is one-third that of 1900. In 1952 the
of fishing to the local economy was £10,091.
ontrast to the Outer Hebrides where fishing
y than crofting.[23] Fish have, of course,
in the diet. All the crofters have their
ing, purchased from mainland curers. Their
sold for fish meal.
considered the "Highland Problem" have
r some form of secondary employment to
Fishing has enjoyed great popularity as
ry. This is due to the long tradition and
shing in the Outer Isles.[24] There are
the program as far as Skye is concerned.

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rns for the Isle of Skye,--1890-1953,"
Scottish Home Department, Edinburgh,
es of the Division).

cit., pp. 81, 89, 134.

89-110.

The factors which brought about centralization of the industry 228
in Scotland, including commercialization, availability of credit, access to markets, and local populations ready to specialize,[25] have also operated locally. The number of West Highland fishermen has actually increased, but the increase occurred at a few centers. Skye, like most of the region,[26] [504] has numerous isolated coves but no harbor adapted for commercial fishing. Further, the changes in the economic pattern have severed the former relatedness and consistency of fishing with pastoral-agriculture. Moreover, fishing today, to be remunerative, has to be diligently followed. It must be a specialized occupation. The Sgiathanach has not been able to make the adjustment necessary to become a full-time fisherman.

Of the 182 townships on Skye, fishing is important in 98.[27] In a few of these townships fish are an export item. [439] There is no longer any fishing done in eighty-four townships. Portree, with its sheltered bay, is the base for a few full-time fishermen who sell locally. Uig Bay, Loch Pooltiel, and [504] Loch Bracadale, all once considered excellent harbors, are neglected. The lack of fishing in Loch Bracadale is striking. It is there that sixty families of Harris crofter-fishermen were settled and purposefully given small crofts with the expectation that they would continue to fish as they had on their native isle. They never tried exploiting the inshore

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[25]Collier, The Crofting Problem, pp. 75-83.

[26]Ibid., pp. 78-83.

[27]Darling and Morley, op. cit., pp. 42-45.

228 waters around Skye.

228 I have very briefly reviewed the factors responsible
829 for the present condition of Skye's fisheries. These are
important to the people of Skye, many of whom regard the
situation dolefully. As far as the crofters are concerned
the decline in fishing is due to the following factors: (
trawlers commit depredations, destroying the spawning beds
and fish food in the Minch, poaching the lochs, and sweepi
away the gear of the local inshore fishermen; (2) seine
netters are just as guilty, especially in depredating shal
waters; (3) there is a lack of harbor facilities; (4) the
crofter-fishermen cannot take advantage of the partial grant
toward boats and equipment offered by the Herring Industry
and White Fishing Industry Boards; (5) the high cost of tra
tation reduces their profits, especially on lobsters and wh
The net result is that fishing is dead. As one man put it:
"Fishing is as dead as a dodo."

In order to restore the inshore fishing, the crofters
advocate, above all, the closing of the Minch to all foreig
and British trawlers and seine net fishermen for ten years.
Next that "rich man, the government" should provide piers,
slips, jetties, and break waters and institute a system of
grants and loans for the purchase of boats and gear. Heavy
penalties on trawlers who fish illegally, including the
confiscation of boats, are also considered desirable. A
closed season on lobsters is their final recommendation.

228 In so far as the local white fishing is concerned, th

621 571 476 A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a common practice, when she was young, for children from large families to live for as long as six weeks with other families who were relatively better off. They would help harvest the hay or the potatoes or bring in the peat in return for food, lodging and perhaps some clothing. "They usually ate better than they did at home." The children were not necessarily relatives of the families with whom they boarded.

621 572 Strong friendship, that is, the kind of friendship associated with mobile urban life in which persons confide in each other and share secrets and build up an individual relationship based on extensive knowledge [602] of one another, was nonexistent. A "friend" was a relative, or someone who gave aid when it was needed.

621 178 572 181 [602] Today it is sometimes said, "It used to be that your relatives were your best friends; now your best friends are better than your relatives." An old man will meet another on the road and say, "I used to see more of you when you needed me." Neighbors used to [231] [251] share sheep that were killed; now households kill and consume their own sheep, and freeze the meat which they cannot use immediately. Groups that walked out together [464] to the peat to finish the job in a single day are being replaced by individual family units that can motor out 000 and do the job in stages. People prefer to give money

Chapter 5

GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL MARGINALITY

182 Despite the growth of the Harris Tweed industry and the gradual disappearance of some of the technique and expectations associated with heavy reliance on the land and the sea, an important factor which helps to sustain some of these patterns is the social and geographical marginality of the islanders.

175 [729] [231] [407] When the young men who survived the second world war returned to the island, most households still had horses to cultivate the croft, but a few years later

175 657 the tractors replaced the horses. The Labor governmen which came into power after the war, passed legislatio which extended the processes of centralization that ha proceeded since the breakdown of the clan system. The National Health Service was established. Free milk

[871] became available in schools. More scholarships (calle "bursaries") became available for further schooling.

[207] Television came in the 1960's. In short, the islander was exposed to a number of new alternatives.

182 To the extent that persons became involved in the possibilities, the island became peripheral or margina The island has become more dependent upon central

228

is no doubt that trawlers and seine netters have swept away lines and gear, particularly earlier in the century. There is evidence that the use of the trawl net has led to more extensive and intensive fishing, causing a depletion of the quantity of marketable fish.[28] On the other hand, there is also conclusive evidence that the seine net and the new, large mesh trawl net allows the smaller fish to escape unharmed. The crofter, who continues to use hand lines, accounts for a negligible share of the catch. This is not a local problem, however. It concerns the entire European continental shelf.

The International Fisheries Convention has prescribed changes in mesh sizes in the interest of conservation, but agreement on the limit of territorial waters is another problem. Unless Great Britain decides to follow the precedent established by Iceland and Norway and extend her present three mile limit, only agreed limitation by the ratifiers of the Convention can reduce the intensity of fishing in the Minch, as in any extra-territorial waters. Fully aware of the advantages which would accrue to inshore fishermen from closing the Minch, the British Government has taken the position that it would be contrary to the best interests of the nation.[29] Such an infringement on the "freedom of the seas" might be followed by adverse effects on her naval, maritime, and fishing interests for other nations might follow

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[28] C. M. Younge, Professor of Zoology, University of Glasgow, "International Measures to Limit Overfishing," Glasgow Herald, Feb. 23, 1954.

[29] Glasgow Herald, Dec. 15, 1953 and Jan. 27, 1954.

[113]

conditions backward. He tells us that the Island of Lewis had been fruitful in corn until late years of scarcity and bad seasons. The crops were barley, oats, rye, flax and hemp. The natives showed great industry in digging the ground with spades—a practice which he invariably associates with a large return. He even records that the abundance of corn had once been such that it encouraged them to 'brew several sorts of liquor'. For manure, sea-ware and soot were used. And harrows had two rows of teeth and rough heather in the third row. Pennant's visit to the island in 1772 found that the produce of the land was insufficient to support the population. Distress was rife.

In Martin's time, although the economy was more or less self-sufficient, a certain amount of produce was available for export or for translation into 'several sorts of liquors, as common usquebaugh, another called trestarig id est, three times distilled, which is strong and hot.' One assumes that this produce was surplus to the requirements of the island's population. The livestock consisted of 'cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs'.

TACKSMEN AND TENANTS

Most of those who held land had leases: tacksmen, who paid rent for large tracts of land and who, by settling suitable tenants there, received rents, in money or in labour, as an additional income from their farms. These smaller tenants had no leases: they could not write and were subject to the tacksman's favour. In the early eighteenth century, the rental rolls for Lewis, preserved among the Seaforth Papers in the Register House in Edinburgh, show that most of the tacksmen—sixty-four in number—were MacKenzies, indicating that they were adherents of the Seaforth (MacKenzie) family on the mainland, who had received the lands from royal hands as the reward for their fidelity. The smaller tenants, who generally lacked surnames but were known by their personal characteristics, numbered over 200; there were also above eighty tenants in Stornoway.

Rents were paid either in money or, more often, in meal, mutton, sheep, butter, tallow or salmon. When it was proposed to sell the Seaforth estate of Lewis in 1772, particulars of the Lewis

The removal of crofters from good to poorer ground was a significant factor in the destitution years of the nineteenth century, with the self-sufficiency factor becoming smaller and the dependence on imports (when there was money to buy these) increasing. Today, the crofter is of course not self-supporting, his economy being based on fishing and weaving with the produce of the croft yielding an annual average of some £200.

Acreages under certain crops show this trend to dependence on the produce of mainland farmers. In the island in 1911 some 3,673 acres were under potatoes, the present acreage being about one-third of that. The number of people per acre of potatoes for Scotland as a whole is 22 : 1. In the island it is about 15 : 1, indicating a heavy domestic consumption. Yet substantial imports of this crop are required to satisfy demand; a relevant point is that the milking cow commonly shares the potatoes. The barley crop, once much used in Lewis's former small distilleries, has been reduced to some 10 per cent during the past fifty years. On the other hand, the acreage of sheaf crops, oats, rye and mixed corn, generally fed to cattle, has about doubled. Oats in particular are in favour for cattle fodder; even before the turn of the present century oats were not widely used for human food, and oatmeal has for centuries been imported into the region. The turnip acreage has halved over the past fifty years, perhaps the result of the gradual disappearance of the horse, its steady labour and its dung being required to put good heart in to the land.

As the crofters' cropping policy has changed over the past half century, so has their animal husbandry. Animals are a main self-ing product, particularly cows and sheep. Horses, of course, have been drastically reduced from their total of 1,672 in 1911, as tractor, lorry and van have taken over their work. And though some cattle are raised, the numbers are now about 60 per cent below those of 1911. At that time the density of cattle per 1,000 acres was heavy (46-60) in the north-east of Lewis, less (31-45) in the north-west, and still less further south. The present average is around 18 beasts per 1,000 acres. This decline, in particular in the milk-yielding animals, has compelled Lewis to import 1,000 gallons of milk a day from the mainland.

It is sheep which today claim pride of place on the croft, valued

for mutton and for wool, the right type for translation into Harris Tweed; the predominant breed is the blackface, whose fleece is hard, wiry and long-lasting. The demand for raw wool has also encouraged larger flocks among crofters in such places as Barra, where virtually no weaving is done in the immediate locality. In general there has been since 1911 a 40 per cent increase in the livestock carried on the island's crofts, about twice as big a rise as found anywhere in the seven crofting counties of Scotland.

In an attempt to reduce Lewis's milk imports, in 1962 three crofters at Garrabost on the Eye Peninsula combined to set up a small dairy farm using the lands of their three crofts. A new dairy byre and dairy premises were built and equipped with the necessary electrical equipment. Grants were given by the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland, the Crofters Commission, and the Highland Fund Limited. The first year of operation was closely supervised by the Lands staff of the Department at Stornoway and guidance given as necessary. The milk is retailed in Stornoway and district and amounts to about 5 per cent of Lewis's daily consumption. This little scheme has shown that the island could with some organised effort become independent of milk imports, which have been estimated at upwards of £100,000 worth per annum. Over £70,000 per annum is also spent on imported butter and cheese.

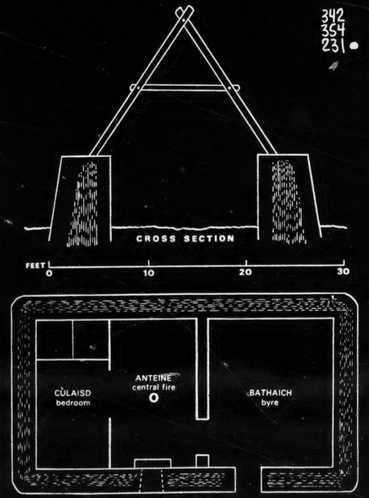
In 1947 the number of crofts in Harris and Lewis was 4,020. In 1971 the figure was 4,146 (3,592 being in Lewis), representing a slight increase in a quarter of a decade. Thus, crofting as a land use activity in the island provides a fairly stable element in the economy, although it is subsidised by the crofters' participation in the fishing and tweed industries. A crofter, it should be mentioned, is often a tenant of more than one croft, working them together as a unit. These units vary in size, the greatest bulk of them (about 60 per cent) having up to 5 acres of arable land. About 2 per cent contain over 30 acres of arable land. In recent years there have been proposals for the better use of the reclaimed moorland, particularly for cattle-raising, which would offer the crofter an increased cash yield from his interests. The annual reports of the Crofters Commission indicate, indeed, that the trend to the small croft obtained from the fragmentation

ing, 73 per cent have the language, which has been introduced by immigrant country folk and their descendants.

HEALTH AND HOUSING

Despite the harsh conditions of centuries, the physical health of the island was good in early times. Epidemics were rare due to isolation, though on occasion smallpox carried away many children. The commonest diseases were fevers, jaundice, dysentery and diarrhoea. Bloodletting (as in many another more advanced community) was the usual cure for fevers and dysentery. For coughs the people took a 'brochan' or soup of roots of nettles and reeds boiled in water with yeast; the meal of a black bean, mixed with boiled milk, was a useful cure for dysentery. Reports describe the folk as being well-proportioned, free from bodily imperfections and of good stature; healthful and strong-bodied.

But privations, particularly the frequent recurrences of near-famine, coupled with the primitive housing conditions, began to take their toll. The increasing sickness rate aroused the concern of authority. The most primitive dwellings had but one room, with the cattle at one end and the family at the other. In 1830 Seaforth sought at least to put an end to this, ordering that a partition must be erected between beast and man, 'and that more light should be admitted into the dark recesses of their habitation'. This type of one-room dwelling was not confined to the island, being found with many variants throughout the Highlands and Islands area. The old Lewis house was, as a rule, an oblong structure, varying in length according to the means and requirements of the occupier. It had but one door, and frequently had no windows. Chimneys did not find favour, mainly because any opening for the escape of smoke from the centrally-sited hearth tended to reduce the quality of soot produced; and soot was regarded as a valuable manurial product. If there was a hole in the roof to admit some light, a small pane of glass was fixed into it: this soon had a coating of soot, and the sole source of light was the doorway—when the door was open. The family and the cattle used the same entrance; and the cows' dung was removed once a year in the springtime.



Hebridean type of 'black house': plan and cross-section

In 1899, the Medical Officer of Health for the Parish of Barvas described the typical Lewis crofter's house of the time. It had three apartments, two for the family, and a third for the cattle; this new arrangement was the result of the Regulations issued by Sir James Matheson for the betterment of the estate. The low thick walls were built of stone, or stone and turf, with a packing of loose earth, and were perennially damp. The roof, composed of a framework of wooden rafters and couples resting on the inner edge of these walls, was covered over with turf divots and straw, bound with ropes of straw, heather or coarse thatching rope, and weighted down with stones. It was never air- or water-tight, and roof water usually soaked into the packing of the walls and thus oozed into the house. Further, only the slightest attention was given to situation and drainage. The floor of the dwelling apartment was composed of a pavement of rough stones covered over with clay—and a cold damp floor it was. The cattle apartment had no pavement, so that the manure liquids and slop water percolated into the ground and at times found their way into neighbouring dwelling houses and even into the drinking wells. Many of the houses were built back-to-back and sometimes in rows three deep. Lighting was deficient and the windows, fixed either in walls or roof, were not made to open.

Some houses had round portholes in the roof at the top of the wall which might be opened or closed at pleasure; these served for lighting and ventilation at the byre end of the house, though occasionally they were present also at the living end. Draughts coming in through the roof and walls, and the blazing peat fire in the centre of the middle apartment, helped to keep the air in motion, but the smoke from the fire frequently filled the upper portions of the room and, there still being no chimney or other outlet as a rule, it pervaded the whole atmosphere of the house. From a sanitary point of view such houses had the gravest of defects: it amazed visiting doctors that infectious diseases were ever absent. Yet generally the inmates compared well in physique, general well-being and immunity from serious disease with those more favourably situated. Tuberculosis was the most prevalent enemy.

In 1879, improving leases were offered to those who were will-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

ing to put their houses into better condition. The leases required, *inter alia*, that the thatch was not to be stripped off or removed for manurial purposes; that the byre was to be a separate building; and that the dung was to be removed regularly to a distant dung-heap. A Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1896 noted that the new houses being erected were following the old traditional patterns. And though the introduction of statutory requirements did bring real improvements, as late as 1902 it was reported: 'The insanitary houses and the impure water to which the people have long been accustomed, would lead an enquirer to expect a high death-rate. That is not so, however. The island is occasionally visited by epidemics of measles, or whooping-cough, like other parts of the country; and there are sometimes outbreaks of dung-fever—a preventable malady—but altogether the general health is good."

The Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1898 described certain water supplies in the island as 'little better than cesspools for surface soakings'. And five years earlier the water supply of Cromore was 'merely a few holes dug out amongst the arable land next to the houses; and polluted with the manure dissoved off their arable ground; and in some cases contaminated with liquid sewage percolating through the soil from their houses.' In 1893 an outbreak of typhoid fever in some townships in Uig was traced to the contaminated stream whose water was used as a drinking-water supply. Improvements in the water supplies were eventually put into effect, with a marked decrease in the ailments which the people had come to expect as normal to their way of life.

The rate of infant mortality was high. The weaklings died young. Only the strong survived to withstand the insanitary surroundings. A peculiar form of disease was associated with the island: it seized a child about the fifth night after its birth and was consequently called the 'fifth night's sickness'. According to medical opinion this was infant lockjaw *(tetanus neonatorum)*. The doctor of Lochs in 1892 reported that it was common among the infants of his parish, being 'most frequently met with in those dwelling houses where sanitation in its most rudimentary form is entirely ignored; where we have to walk to the fireplace in the

Lands were not allowed to become waste; in 1710, a Roderick Campbell in North Uist was paid to come north and settle in the island of Ensay, Sound of Harris.

It is significant that much of MacLeod's rents was paid in money rather than produce, for it emphasises the great value of the cattle trade in the Highlands, in which Harris played a not insignificant part—that is, compared with neighbouring Lewis. It was sound economy for the Highlands, and far in advance of the theories of the so-called 'improvers' of a later age. The rents of the MacLeod estates were collected by chamberlains, and part of the work of Malcolm Campbell, the chamberlain for Harris at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was the ferrying of Harris cattle to Skye. In Rodel, MacLeod had a 'keeping house', which probably consisted of rooms for the chief while in Harris; there was also a brew-house.

To introduce more efficient communications and to interconnect all the small Hebridean islands of the estate, a boat was purchased for a Lauchlan MacLean in 1705; he was empowered to maintain a regular ferry between Harris and Skye. This also operated between the mainland of Harris and the populated islands in the Sound, such as Berneray, Ensay, Killegray and Pabbay. In religion the estate was Presbyterian, and MacLeod had the burden of providing both suitable residences for the ministers and the communion elements. As mentioned earlier, the Rev Aulay MacAulay, the great-grandfather of Lord MacAulay, the English writer, was once minister in Harris.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw great changes in the ownership of the various islands comprising the Outer Hebrides. MacLeod of Harris retained Harris until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was purchased by a cadet of the family, a son of Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray, for £15,000. This son, Captain MacLeod, who had made a fortune in the Far East and ploughed some of it back into his native soil, was the man who introduced fishing as an industry to the Harris people. In 1834 the Harris estate passed to the Earl of Dunmore for £60,000. Dunmore sold north Harris to Sir Edward Scott in 1868 for £155,000. In 1919, Lord Leverhulme bought south Harris and St Kilda for £36,000.

1. [See map, pp.8-9--Analyst]

Though the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says that in his time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving only, and an abundance of clover-grass for sheep. The island also produced a fine bere-meal which the islanders stuffed into the skins of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of Lewis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest Christian building in Britain remaining in its original state, Monro says: 'As the ancients of the country allege, they leave a spade and a shuil [shovel] when any man dies, and upon the morrow find the place of the grave marked with a spade, as they allege.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680:

> The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either; they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as they want; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of mankind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take their surname from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and clouds. There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis, which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm of rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the food. A few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders of their only bull. 'These misfortunes and the want of supply from Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all that ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony was sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical*

struction of a single ring fence round the croft land, which also circumscribes a good deal of rough grass, the ground being generally rough in parts. Individual crofts are fenced only where exceptionally large, or when the possessor is unusually enterprising or is isolated. Departmental help is given in the provision of fencing materials for a township, the crofters supplying labour. As the animals are allowed to graze freely in winter, this limits crops to those sown and harvested in the summer half-year—a serious matter for any man of enterprise who cannot afford a fence of his own. Cattle kept on the croft when the fields are under crops have to be either tethered or driven to a common pasture. A drystone dyke may enclose a small patch of garden, rarely well tended, the school gardens providing a laudable exception.

Shortly before 1939, the stock included under 1000 agricultural horses and well over 10,000 cattle (of which more than 6500 were milch-cows), but practically no pigs. Sheep number 42,000 ewes, or 94,000 ewes and followers in June. Thus there are 2·5 cattle on an average holding, of which more than 1·5 are milch cows; and there are half a score ewes or about a score of sheep in June. The size and the quality of the cattle have greatly improved since first I visited the island in 1919; at that time the mongrel Highland breed must have been the very poorest in Britain. The Blackface sheep are small, either through underfeeding or because of traces left from the old, smaller Hebridean breed, or from both causes. On an average there is, or was, one horse, or pony, to every five or six crofter holdings, but their number is much reduced.

Actually, such Island averages for horses and sheep are somewhat misleading. In particular, either there are more horses than the average in a given district, or almost none,

according to the relief, as explained. Thus the Barvas parish with its smooth topography permits of ploughing, and there is, or rather was, one horse between two crofts, or one pair between four or five. In rocky Uig or in Lochs, however, there is only one pony between ten or twelve crofts. Lending or hiring of horses has still to be practised, but within manageable limits, though the increase in 'cars' had lessened the number of horses, even before the war-time introduction of tractors. Hiring is often done for cash, though this conflicts with older communal custom. Yet lending had its difficulties: "The borrowed horse", says the lender bitterly, in the Gaelic proverb, "is never tired!"

The number of sheep per holding is noticeably highest in Harris, with one score ewes per holding. The sheep pasture of North Harris was well spoken of by Dean Monro, and the link with the home industry of Harris, its weaving, is evident.

Comparisons with the western mainland show, in holdings of similar or rather large size, the diminished amount of cereals now grown there even by crofters. The increased proportion of grass reflects both the greater dependence on bought provisions, and also the fact that the West is not a land to ripen crops, but that it can grow grass for stock.

4. *The Moors as Pasture: Game and Sport*

In order to estimate the relative value of the rough grazings of Lewis and Harris, it will be well to compare these with the moors lying across the Minch and east of Cape Wrath. There also may be found crofting communities whose economics are similar to those of Lewis, so that the stock carried on their pastures will furnish some

and pearlwort are all to be found. It is not often that a plant is given some measure of authority over the affairs of man: but the marram grass—known as 'bent', but not to be confused with the grass botanically referred to as bent *(Agrostis sp)*—is vital in stabilising the sand of the machar-lands; unless grazed or cut, with its dense network of roots it anchors the sand in perpetuity. With the marram, the sea-sedge works hard to form a green coverlet over the sand, and acts as host to other plants, the shell-sand grassland offering excellent grazing for crofters' stock.

The richness of the flora of the macharland has been sung many times, and little wonder. It holds a multitude of what can be called plebian plants such as ragwort, buttercup, daisy, kidney vetch, bird's-foot trefoil, tufted vetch, gentian and primrose. Unfortunately the heavy grazing of these stretches of land results in many plants never being given the opportunity to develop and flower for the plentiful propagation of their species.

FAUNA

The entomologist will also find much of interest. The Hebrides have their own bumble-bee *(Bombus jonellus* var. *hebridensis)*, found nowhere else in the world. Other insects too have found an insular form, adding their rich thread to the weave of natural history in the region: the Dark Green Fritillary butterfly and the Green-veined White. Moths there are in abundance, some such as the Gray Dagger perhaps indicating the existence of woodland conditions in a past time. The abundance of lochs, streams and marshy grounds gives an abundance of dragon-flies and caddis-flies, eight species of which are represented.

Of wild animal life, however, the list is short, due to lack of shelter and poor ground. The red deer is found in the hilly fastnesses of Harris and the Park district of Lewis, though the deer are small, and well poached as one might expect where the density of human population is high. The pine marten, until the 1810s, lived in the region near the Clisham. A rare bat, the pipistrelle, has been found at Rodel. Rats, mice, rabbits, hares and otters are of course to be found.

The interior of the island is poor in bird life, but round the

islanders' manufacture of cloth. The inhabitants were at least a century behind the times, though they were, he found, in no way deficient by nature. They were social in their own style, and they had very good heads, 'that is, for people not accustomed to habits of thought'. So far as agriculture was concerned, nothing in the way of draining the land had ever been accomplished; nor had any effort been made to penetrate the hard sub-soil. He held that the great scarcity of timber had been a serious handicap when it came to agricultural implements—to their renewal, repair or possible improvement. Under direction, however, he was convinced that improvements in land use would result in considerable benefits to the island. He added that he hoped the period of this improvement would not be far off and that visitors would find 'a green, pastoral land instead of a dreary waste'.

Yet not until 1928 was peat reclamation and development again brought out for an airing. This time, the benefactor was the late Mr T. B. MacAulay, a Montreal magnate, a son of Lewis connections. He gave £10,000 to establish an experimental farm in Lewis, and a site on Arnish moor, not far from Stornoway, was chosen. It was typical of most of Lewis: black, water-holding peat, which when squeezed, instead of allowing water to escape from it like a sponge, oozes itself through the fingers. The aims of the farm were to provide additional arable land on which to grow winter fodder, and to improve, at as low a cost as possible, the grazing on the moorland. Fifty acres were certainly converted from moorland to arable, and this formed a basis for an experimental extension to another 100 acres. By 1936 the farm had a sales income from produce of about £1,400. The stock in that year included 40 head of thriving cattle, including 15 dairy cows, 20 poultry, 140 blackfaced sheep, and some fattening pigs. The sheep were a late addition, made with the dual aim of pasturing on moorland too deep and soft for cattle in wet weather, and of improving the sheep strain of the island.

By 1938, it had been shown that some lasting improvement on moorland of reasonably favourable slope could be effected at a materials cost of about £3 per acre, and without heavy labour costs. Thus, the common grazings held by the crofting townships could be improved, if a co-operative effort were organized. So

APPENDIX II

178 2110. The acreage under potatoes declined steadily: 3940,
434 3730, 1650. Barley dwindled from 2350 acres to 1340, and
241 130. Turnips reached a maximum of 510 acres in 1939, but were not worth noting by 1953. These crop acreages reflect the change in stock-rearing, with the decline in the number of
178 cattle but the great increase in the number of sheep. Taking the three successive totals for 1918, 1939 and 1953, cattle
434 numbered 13,620, 9060 and 6540 head; but this diminution
231 by more than half was chiefly due to the small number of bullocks reared. Cows and heifers, 7650 in 1918, still stood at about 4500 in 1953, and they are now of far better quality in weight and milk production. The totals of sheep were successively, 78,150, 114,330, 185,860; by use of mainland rams their average weight has increased, while the wool is rather more abundant but coarser. Taking the Lewis Association's equivalent of 1 cattle beast to 8 sheep, the livestock carry increased by nearly 25 per cent; and if we add the increased value of the cattle the livestock increase counts for very much more. Horses, it is true, fell to 380 by 1953; as before, most had been bought in from Uist, not bred. Hence a new charge on agriculture, the purchase and use of the 65 tractors owned by farmers and crofters, and their running costs, is relatively less heavy than it would be in a horse-breeding area. The poultry are still deplorably few: 86,460, or about 20 per croft.

[632] The Table on p. 316 sums up the conditions, apparently somewhat stabilised for the time being, parish by parish, and invites comparison with Chapter II, pp. 67-68.

178 (b) and (c) *Peat-making and House-building.*—While *peat-*
222 *cutting* is still important, more coal is used than formerly, and hence the peat is valued here much as in 1938. *Housing* is
314 most important; Local Authority housing by the Burgh struggles to meet the need of a growing urban and 'suburban'
178 population as in other towns in Britain, but with an additional
362 "remote area subsidy" to meet mainland contractors' extra costs. There is little truly rural housing by the County Council
647 and rents are too high for the houses to be fully occupied. The
63 figures for Stornoway Burgh for the ten years 1945–54 exceed

(162)

300 houses, with nearly 30 built by "private enterprise"; in addition the Local Authorities built 140 in the immediate 'suburbs' (of which 50 were temporary), a total of over 470 and an average of, say, 47. Another 115 were built in the rural townships. If we give a round total of £125,000 as the value

	Barvas	Lochs	Stornoway	Uig	Lewis Total	Harris
Holdings						
Full-time	5	12	8	21	49	34
Part- and spare-time	1,050	580	1,160	630	3,420	510
June 1953 (acres)						
Oats	2,080	520	1,220	900	4,730	710
Potatoes	550	180	450	260	1,440	210
Tillage	2,860	730	1,810	1,196	6,590	1,280
Rotation Grass	580	300	690	290	1,850	260
Permanent Grass	2,870	2,460	3,250	3,150	11,730	4,030
Grass	3,450	2,760	3,940	3,440	12,580	4,290
Rough Grazing	93,580	107,180	56,480	111,250	368,490	111,170
(head)						
Cattle	1,350	860	1,330	1,360	4,900	1,640
Sheep	38,110	37,810	23,670	42,690	142,280	43,580
Pigs	10	2	110	3	130	..
Poultry	25,370	9,880	25,910	13,060	74,220	12,240
Horses	180	25	60	60	320	60
February 1954						
Tractors	24	4	24	5	57	8

for an average year (such as 1953) for Local Authority Housing, we may allot half this to net output of local materials and to wages earned by Lewismen, some £65,000, of which rural wages were a small fraction, say £20,000.

For crofters and cottars, however, in 1953, a fairly typical year, there was much local effort and achievement, by help of 180 loans and grants from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, totalling £81,000 for new houses or house improvements (with a very few steadings). £80,000 may be allotted to local materials and to labour paid or given by householders themselves.

491 Brenish, at the end of the tarred
[434] Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus
cost half-a-crown for a hundredweigh
vans the bus service ceased in 1960.
a mile of untarred side-road of indiff
[366] a footpath over the sands to the south.
[205] by weekly vans; there are no shops.
[453] are supplied by a mobile bank.

311 The majority of the crofts are lon
what more compact. The area range
427 four acres; in Brenish and Islivick or
croft-units - are fenced, the work hav
twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Br
but, owing to amalgamations of variou
less - fourteen in Brenish, five in Isli

134 As soils are reasonably good and c
patches are large enough to be cultiva
401 Brenish, and four horses, a horse in
[231] hired for ploughing and carting peats,
many of the other Uig townships.

233 While the general rhythm of townsh
here the sheep are wintered up on the
Brenish crofters are allowed to winter
heifers), on Mealasta Island - hoggs a
cliffs, is less serious than the loss of
crofters, who are allowed two sheep e

241 The only crops grown are potatoes
sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed
the crofters save their own. A grass
to qualify for the subsidy.

233 The extensive hill and mountain pas
three townships graze over all. If the
compared with the souming figures it is
other hand, fewer cattle and horses are
for all animals (horses, cattle and shee
the area carries only 87% of the stock w
the souming was reckoned according to
sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, how
heifer, two stirks and twenty-five sheep

Lambing percentage is about 80, and
[236] (excluding lambs). In this district som
[435] for meat, but the main income is from w
which sells at up to four shillings a poun

231 Most crofters keep one or two cows,
or spring sales. Brenish and Mangerst
are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves.

oad which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from
the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight
, but because of competition from privately owned
Mangersta is reached from the same road by about
rent quality; formerly the only access to it was by
General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied
There is a post-office at Islivig; banking facilities

narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being some-
from two to nine acres, with an average of about
ly about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or
ing been completed in Brenish in 1959. There are
enish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta;
kinds the number of operative units is considerably
vick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

omparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable
ed with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in
Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are
Very little work is done with the spade, unlike

ip work through the year is similar to other areas,
hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts.
eight sheep, (or sixteen hogg, or four year-old
re usually sent since their loss, by falling over the
heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta
ch in summer.

and oats, with "black oats" (Avena strigosa) on the
for "black oats" is unobtainable commercially,
mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay.

tures are not separately fenced; sheep from all
total sheep stock of the townships (about 3,300) is
found to exceed the soum by about 50%. On the
kept than formerly so that taking the total stock
p) and comparing with the actual stock now carried,
which the soum allowed. In the two older townships
rent, being one cow, one two-year old and eight
ever, the soum was one horse, three cows, one
for each croft.

d ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers
e wedders are kept for three years and then sold
wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep,
nd.

, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn
ta each have a bull, and in the three townships there
. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks in

Over most of the parish the natural landscape is a series of low plateaux, generally below 250' O.D. around East Loch Roag, but rising westwards to an extensive platform with many summits around 500'-700'. Into this platform, towards its western edge, is incised the narrow trough containing Little Loch Roag. Above it rise the deeply dissected mountains of North Harris and south west Uig, with many precipitous slopes reaching to 1,500' or more and summits to 1,885'. The discontinuity between plateau and mountain is particularly well displayed along the Atlantic coast, where it corresponds roughly with the junction of granite and gneiss; an even more severe discontinuity, but formed entirely in gneiss; is to be seen near the south end of Loch Langavat. Liuthaid (1,611' O.D.) rises more than 1,400' in less than a mile. The mountains, although lacking height, are therefore spectacular in appearance. The low plateaux are far from featureless, too; their surfaces have been roughened and scraped bare by ice action and numerous hollows preserve shallow lochans and a few larger lakes. Occasional rocky hillocks rise 20'-100' above the plateaux; their abrupt discontinuity with the smooth surfaces is entirely comparable, though in miniature, with that of the mountains. They resemble nothing more than tropical inselberge and have no apparent structural explanation.

Unconsolidated superficial material, such as would provide sub-soil drainage and suitable raw material for soil formation, is rare. The characteristic surface almost everywhere is bare rock, often blanketed by peat at lower levels and on gentle slopes. Morainic material is most commonly preserved in hollows; peri-glacial conditions and, more recently, heavy rainfall have swept clear most of the higher and steeper places. In the east and north east, e.g. around Loch Carloway, a sticky grey clay with large boulders is sometimes seen; the coarse gravelly drifts of south Uig have already been mentioned. It is impossible to make any useful generalisations regarding the characteristics and distribution of the boulder clays because their occurrence is so sporadic and exposures, beneath the peat blanket, are rare. Very occasionally, e.g. in Bernera, a finely bedded dull bluish or greenish grey clay is seen which is said to have been used for coarse pottery. This may be a lacustrine deposit of late glacial or early post glacial times or it might be a marine clay of the same period; there is however, no clear example of a raised beach in the area, which, were it present, might support the latter suggestion. Since our visit a lacustrine deposit of diatomite has been exploited on a small scale in Bernera.

Extensive deposits of fine white sand occur around Uig bay and in the Valtos-Kneep-Reef area; smaller deposits occur at Mangersta and Mealasta. Except at Cliff bay, Valtos, where it contains a high mineral content, the sand consists largely of finely broken shell debris. This blows readily and is found inland for half a mile or more and as high as 100' O.D., thus providing a natural surface dressing rich in lime. There are extensive machairs (sandy plains) at Kneep and Reef, and smaller ones at Uig bay, Mangersta, and Bosta (Bernera). Little cultivation takes place on the machairs nowadays.

In the whole parish little soil, such as would be recognised by a lowland farmer, is to be found. The most usual surface features are bare rock and blanket bog; arable land, hay meadows and improved pastures are generally made on peat, gathered together into long narrow beds - so-called "lazy beds" - separated by deep ditches. This expedient may mean that the use of tractors is impossible; since horses have almost disappeared, cultivation in such cases, if carried out at all, must now be by the spade alone. This is the traditional method of lazy-bed work; it may be very productive in terms of yield per square yard but it is pathetically unproductive in terms of man-hours. In some areas it is clear that it has led to soil erosion. Even where the size and lay-out of the beds permits tractor work the tractor probably spends as much time manoeuvering into position and turning, as it does ploughing. In a few places, e.g. some of the East Loch Roag

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

townships and at Islivig and Breanish, the peat is thin (or has been stripped) to reveal a gravelly dirft,[1] free-draining on suitable slopes. In such places a black loamy soil has been developed by cultivation; the many ditches of lazybed cultivation are not necessary and, if the area is large enough, it can be worked by tractor. Such soils, in the climate of west Lewis, are eminently suitable for rotation grass, for hay or pasture, and much more could be done with them under knowledgeable management. Where shell sand has been blown inland on to peaty soils the natural top-dressing has had a remarkable ameliorating effect on texture and acidity. Such areas are all too limited, the most important are at Valtos, Kneep and Reef, and around Uig bay; smaller areas are at Mealasta, Mangersta and Bosta (Bernera). The hill grazings are dominated by a thin heather cover, blue moor grass and, in wetter places, sphagnum and cotton grass. Since the cattle population has been declining many older residents claim that the pastures, particularly near the townships, have deteriorated, the proportion of grass declining and coarse heather increasing. "The hills that were green when I was a boy", said one, "are now black". Neglected arable and pasture land, too, soon reverts. Rushes and flags invade the ditches between the old lazy beds and, if the ground is at all waterlogged, soon invade the beds as well. Drier ground, if not well grazed, soon reverts to heather. The limited machairs are little better; almost devoid of humus, they show little development of soil profile, only a thin grey layer of turf roots; rabbits, or injudicious cultivation readily set off wind erosion. Only where the wind has provided a natural blend of peat and machair are conditions better. Such areas are very limited.

The climate is in many respects severe; no local statistics are available, but some for Stornoway and Benbecula are appended. The frequency of high winds has a bad effect on both vegetation and stock, but to some extent wind counteracts excessive moisture. Near sea-level, where all the townships are situated, frost and snow are almost unknown. Thus it is exposure to the wind that limits the outwintering of stock, not low temperatures; this suggests that if pastures could be improved in suitably sheltered places far more advantage might be taken of the relatively mild winter temperatures. It is believed that the sunshine record is particularly poor in the south, where clouds can frequently be seen hanging over the mountains when the sun is shining on Bernera and the area north east of East Loch Roag. The relatively dry and sunny period which commonly occurs in May and June ought to make for a good hay harvest; unfortunately the natural meadows, such as they are, are late starters, and the custom is to cut the grass when it has gone to seed. Thus hay is often being taken in September - one of the wettest months in the year.

CHAPTER TWO

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS

Evidence of pre-historic and other early settlements in the parish is afforded by the occurence of standing stones, broche and duns. The Callanish circle and its satellites are by far the most remarkable ancient monument in the Hebrides, and testify to the former importance of the site even though today their precise significance may not be clear. Most of the duns are now little more than circular heaps of stones, but in that at Doune Carloway the double walls still stand to a considerable height. A later phase of settlement is recorded in the place names, a very large proportion of which contain Norse elements such as -nish, -vick, -bost and -shader; it seems probable that most of the present township sites have been more or less continuously occupied since Norse times.

1. [Presumably the author means "drift"--Analyst]

427 511 Nevertheless, the attachment to the holdings is very real and must be given careful consideration when assessing their present utilisation and potential value. It is particularly significant because it leads to large numbers of tenants retaining holdings which are far [461] too small to yield a living. Inevitably they seek other sources of income either at home (as by weaving or casual road labour) or away (as in the Merchant Navy, armed forces, police or other skilled or unskilled work). As a consequence the croft is neglected and [231] its potential resources, small as they are, are not realised. The decline in cattle numbers since the late nineteenth century gives some indication of the scale of this lost productivity over the parish as a whole. This is the crofter's own loss. Individually one can appreciate the problem - "four cows will not give me a living - better to get [745] work on the hydro-scheme and sell the cows". And when one hydro-scheme finishes another will take its place, or there will be casual road work or other labour and, between times, the unemployment benefit which the self-employed crofter does not get.

Certainly the land is of poor quality, the climate in some respects severe, and the cost of transport, from Uig even to Stornoway let alone to the mainland, a perpetual prob- [421] lem. But the root of the problem is the small size of most of the crofter-holdings, on the one hand, and, on the other, the importance which most crofters attach to the posses- [781] sion of a holding, no matter how small and how neglected it may be. How has this come to be?

TABLE 5

The multiplication of crofter-tenants, and their increasing rents, 1850-1890.

	Tenants:		Rental:	
	1850	1890	1850	1890
Garenin	15	27	£70	£78
Tolsta Chaolis	29	40	£86	£96
Knock Carloway	16	33	£52	£66
Upper Carloway	25	53	£81	?
Breasclete	38	61	£111	£121
Breasclete Park	4	9	£3	£14
Callanish	38	52	£82	£104
Brenish	25	28	£94	£94
Islivick	13	10	£23	£28
Aird	9	10	£30	£29
Valtos	29	40	£149	?
Kneep	18	23	£89	£80

175 427 Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the proprietors were obliged, by pressure of population within, and of public opinion without, to made some concessi to their small tenantry. It may be relevant to point out that this was a period of fallin agricultural prices and declining farm rentals; indeed the time was not far off when s farms would not find tenants at any rental:

TABLE 7

Farm:	Rental at c. 1875/80	Rental at c. 1885/90	
Mealasta	£130	£85	
Mangersta	£132	£95	
Ardroil & Carnish	£285	£245	
Timsgarry	£108	£80	(1)
Linshader	£349	£278	(2)

Notes: (1) Small reduction for enlargement to Glebe.
(2) £22 reduction for Laimeshader and Grimersta Lodge.

525 526 The crofters of south Uig were in particular difficulty at this time for here fishing [161] declined earlier than elsewhere but the townships remained greatly overcrowded. In 1 [162] Breanish and Islivig had 14 cottar families, (most of them sharing crofts with the offic tenants), and three of squatters, i.e. on the common pasture. Here fishing had almo ceased and the people were almost entirely dependent on their crofts or on employment [231] from home. In Valtos and Kneep there were 21 cottar families; they had 31 cattle and sheep flocks. Here, too, fishing was on the decline. It was perhaps because of this 288 commercial weaving was developed in South Uig earlier than in most parts of Lewis. 175 early as 1900 Uig was classed with Harris, by the local committee of the Congested Di tricts Board, as producing a superior quality of tweed. Two 30 gallon iron pots were sen out so that enough wool could be dyed at one boiling to obviate irregular colouring in an [653] one tweed. The C.D.B. also made grants for roads, footpaths and "marine works". Amongst the latter the pier at Valtos (1899) was an attempt to resuscitate local fishing, but it came too late.

175 663 The Congested Districts Board was the first government agency with funds at its disposal to aid the crofting townships. One of its largest grants went in aid of the Car Road (or Pentland Road as it is now known). This scheme arose out of an abortive pro posal for a railway from Loch Carloway to Stornoway. It was thought that this could enable trawlers and other large fishing boats to land their catch for quick transport to Stornoway and so to the mainland whilst the fishing vessels returned to sea with minimu 175 delay. The road, an excellently engineered one, is still not properly surfaced. A mo 657 effective C.D.B. - aided scheme was the resettlement of crofters on Mangersta Farm, the rent of which had fallen to £70 and which the proprietors were willing to break up. 427 Thirteen new buildings were formed here and the first harvest was taken by the new settlers in 1911. The crofters' rent was fixed at £73 and the C.D.B. paid £566 in gra [241] to purchase the sheep stock and improvements, and towards the cost of fencing. Abou the same time the Board paid a grant to the township of Garenin for fencing a substanti enlargement to their pasture, obtained off Dalbeg. Here, and at Reef farm, small-holding resettlement schemes were vetoed by the Crofters Commission whose experts regarded the areas as unsuitable. Both have since been re-settled by crofters

231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but no
are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a
mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' sheilings, about six miles to the south
east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the
adjoining Islivig sheilings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its origi
shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obta
the enlargement from Mealasta farm, until about 1939, sheilings were used in that area

314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are
the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts
241 evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grow
it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many
cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultiv
Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the lar
used solely for hay and grazing.

342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have
kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey by
312 of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment
and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private pl
water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting,
377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now
301 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to t
off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weave
286 nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept
444 in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a s
[434] income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outsi
the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at
Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R.A.F. station and at leas
[467] one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns a tractor which he hires
[493] out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total
twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school a
one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residen
and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%)
children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15
(12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants
thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils
for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared w
some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone fu
The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the
sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of
people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. F
crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shoo
estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Moire peninsulas, five m
south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. Ther

Figure 13

Table 14

TOWNSHIP (farm etc	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: adjacent:	detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Carnish	67	177 44(M)	6,708	6	-	5
Ardroil	338	320 131(M)		14	-	5
Timsgarry	81	3,297	-	8	-	8
Crowlista	101	1,840 240(G)	1,352*	24	-	19
Aird	49	1,163	556*	10	-	9
Non-crofting	8.3	-	-	-	2	-
	306	7,212	8,616	62	2	55**

NOTES:
M : machair; G : part of Glebe; *shielings;
**: of whom nine are absent.

/facing p. 35/

361 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that ne
491 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - al
487 but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
493 two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans
205 but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor
368 two wells only are in use.
494
312

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to thi
supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the hou
The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mil
away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all
366 except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil
205 a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly
453 and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (retur
494 fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and c

241 The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the
231 smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, a
407 Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors fro
Brenish or Enaclete. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small
patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen gr
ing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful.
and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivati
grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and lef
for hay for several years - some sown twelve years age was said still to be giving very
good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of
natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour av
able. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped
pieces are cut and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can
grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few
crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

242 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts
134 the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on t
324 crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the idea
fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to
obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for don
estic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on
croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until
cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago fo
were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. O
crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is
wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficul
to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was
available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' -
but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to tw

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CALENDAR OF CROFT WORK

	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APR.	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
Gates						shut					open	
Oats				ploughing /sowing					harvest			
Potatoes				planting earlies/main crop				lifting earlies /main crop				
Hay												
Peats					cutting		drying		carting			
Cattle					main calving period							
Sheep				lambing ①		shearing wedders/ewes		②	③		④	⑤

① Hoggs removed from machair
② Lambs weaned
③ Dipping
④ Tupping
⑤ Rams to common pasture

Figure 16

/facing p. 38/

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogge but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whole 429 is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry Giebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hogge on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hogge 232 on the machair - in practice it is the best hogge that are sent. The minister at Timsgarry, who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well; the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep 239 soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked. Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16. overleaf[1]

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the 427 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on 461 each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grazed, are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Amhuinn Thoraghain and Alit a'Charaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area, still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

164 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment. 228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

88 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil, three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

Mitchele's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to 164 ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present. 162 The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two 122 Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric sheme 177 site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the 122 particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

1. [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

484 As yet the tourist trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting relations but many 485 houses offer suitable accommodation for people who would appreciate quiet holidays in these very beautiful surroundings. The distance from Stornoway, the difficulty of obtain- 429 ing varied food supplies - and the weather - were cited as disadvantages! Passengers on a weekly coach tour from Stornoway are supplied with meals at an Ardroil house which has good access to the beach but otherwise the crofters show little interest in the possibilities of tourism.

162 In common with other crofting townships, the greatest problem here is that of an ageing 166 population because the younger people seek employment outside their township. The 464 diagrams illustrate the age-heavy structure of the permanent resident group and also the numbers of the insurable population periodically or permanently away. The lack of suitable work for young women particularly, is also shown. The ages of the tenants also illustrate this problem. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty or 54% are over sixty-five. Serious, too, is the loss by emigration of people between fifteen and sixty-five. Of the total 'working population', 35% have left this region since 1939. The corresponding figure for Crowlista alone, the older settlement with smaller crofts, is as high as 42%.

241 We found in this part of Uig some crofts efficiently and energetically worked by young 231 tenants, and if reasonable stock prices are obtained the larger crofts can be worked 427 profitably. However no croft will fully support a family; ancillary employment is always 317 sought by crofters with growing families yet many crofts are carrying less stock than they 000 might because some tenants are not interested in, or able for, agriculture. The croft is increasingly thought of as a home, as part-time employment - often for older members of the family - and as a place for retirement.

It is easy to list schemes for improvement and change:- dairying to supply Stornoway with milk, poultry and pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivation under glass, the tourist industry, forestry on a small scale, lobster and crab fishing, etc. Such schemes would require capital not available in the townships, careful planning, and tactful administration by people with real knowledge of this area and its people. Meanwhile even the potential production of the crofts is by no means realised.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

131 The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along 133 the western side of the steep and narrow valley of the Amhuinn Gil na h-Airde three miles 427 north of Crowlista. After leaving Loch Meacheit, the river flows northward through a 133 gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then across a narrow flood-plain into the rocky bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in arrangement and varying in size from 3½ to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the right bank of the river, up the steep, rocky slope above the left bank and widening out over the more gently slopes between the 100 ft. and 200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently enlarged, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional ground to the north or south.

1. [See figures 12 (facing p.34) and 17 (facing p.39)--Analyst]

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across 231 the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos 654 in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village there is now an R.A.F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the inhabitants.

341 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road 447 at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a 443 butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N.A.A.F.I. within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100 ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below 245 the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than 342 have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the 359 houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for 112 more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently 317 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an 447 elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions, but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

241 The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown 407 grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial 324 fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the 824 cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse. 231 Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was cultivated; bere was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

233 On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females. Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as 166 periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 - 44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

102 311 632

Figure 18

Table 15

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Valtos	149	1,482*	3,905**	40	1	36
Kneep	155	459*	1,806**	19	-	18
Reef	94	207 101(M)	770	15	-	14
	598	2,249	6,481	74	1	68***

NOTES: * including some machair; ** shielings; M machair; *** Of whom 14 absent.

/facing p. 41/

231 233 311 427 471

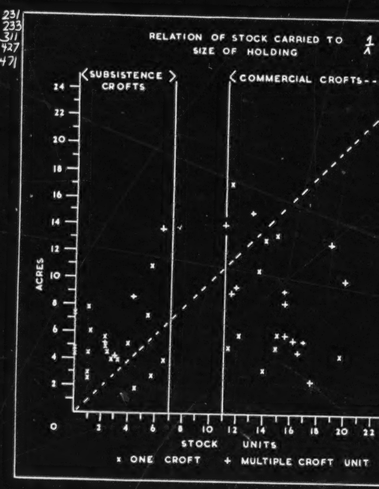

Figure 19

/facing p. 42/

1. [See p. 42 for discussion of chart--Analyst]

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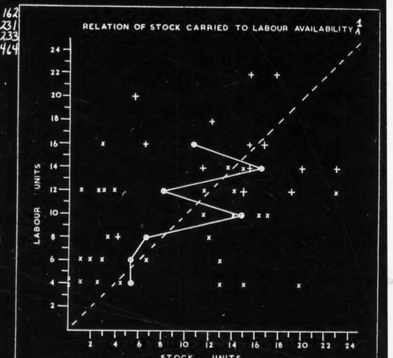

INDEX	LABOUR UNITS
FULL TIME CROFTER	UNDER 45 - 16 UNITS
" " "	OVER 45 - 14 "
CROFTER WITH REGULAR WORK	UNDER 45 - 12 "
"	OVER 45 - 10 "
CROFTER WITH IRREGULAR WORK	UNDER 45 - 8 "
"	OVER 45 - 6 "
CROFTER	OVER 65 - 4 "

Figure 20

/facing p. 43/

[See p. 45 for discussion of chart--Analyst]

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TABLE 17

Livestock

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
a) No. of crofts with 3 cows	0	1	0	1
" " 2 "	13	2	2	17
" " 1 "	14	7	3	24
" " 0 "	2	5	3	10
" " 50 + sheep	11	6	5	22
" " 1-50 "	15	5	2	22
" " 0 "	3	3	1	7
b) " " 20 + cow units	1	2	0	3
" " 10-20 "	14	4	6	24
" " 1-10 "	14	5	1	20
" " 0 "	0	3	1	4
c) " " oversoumed (total stock)	7/29	9/11	5/7	21/47
" " " sheep	14/29	8/11	7/7	29/47
Sheep soum for township	1038	152	225	
Sheep stock in township	1154	537	410	

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● 231
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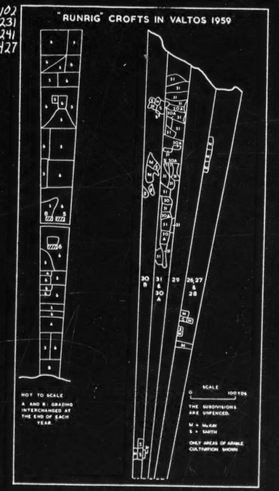

Figure 21

/facing p. 44/

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● 231
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241
427
231

Tables 16 and 18 support the definition of a croft as a small livestock-economy unit, primarily concerned with the provision of milk for the family and young cattle and wool for sale. There are no cash sales of crops - the whole of the land-use is directed towards the subsistence of the crofter and his stock. The cereals (almost entirely oats) and the hay (occupying a very small proportion of land for a livestock farming region) are grown for winter fodder for the cattle and sheep. The larger part of the croft is given over to grazing - usually of poor to medium quality - which receives very little attention from the crofter. Less than one third of the holdings have sown grassland (and in these few cases it is normally less than half an acre) - a fact which suggests a passive rather than active attitude of the crofter towards his land.

241 In addition, every croft has its own small potato plot - rarely more than half an acre to provide for family needs, and most crofts (98%) possess a vegetable garden - again for house use.

437 Nearly all the crofts carry one or two cows - the second cow ensures a milk supply all the year round. Young stock are sold at one year to eighteen months old, rather than as calves - a result of the incentive offered by the calf-rearing subsidy. The milking stock is replaced very infrequently.

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Where one croft differs from the next is in the numbers of sheep stock. Table 17 shows an even distribution of crofts with more than fifty and less than fifty sheep; but, in fact, over one third of all crofts have less than twenty-five sheep. Sheep are the only source of money income on the croft, except for the annual sale of the calf, and subsidies, and there is a considerable difference in the size of sheep stock between the truly subsistence and "retirement" crofts on the one hand and the "commercial" crofts on the other. Hence the souming figures, and here note the contrast between Valtos with the sheep stock equal to 111% of the soum and Kneep - 353%!

An attempt has been made in Figs19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on

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244
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311
427
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TABLE 18

LAND USE

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef
Average size of holding:			
Old arable	2.5	4.1	11.0
Outrun	2.8	6.2	
Percentage of croftland under:			
cereals	7.5	7.0	6.0
potatoes	2.5	5.0	3.0
Sown grass (hay)	5.5	1.0	5.5
natural hay	3.5	10.0	4.0
natural grazing	75.5	76.0	75.0

Figure 22

An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on the individual croft to the size of holding and to the availability and age of the labour force. In both diagrams there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0 - 7 units) and the commercial holding (11+ units), but there is no definite relationship between stock and size of holding or labour availability. The inclusion of the points of equilibrium for certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected state of affairs: in the case of crofters with regular work and full time crofters, those over the age of forty-five carry a larger stock from those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to the economic problem of crofting lies in the amalgamation of holdings in order to create a more viable economic unit, but the indication from these diagrams is that an increase in the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to an increase in stock. It is the absence of accessible markets that detez the crofter from increasing his agricultural production.

In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihood for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters under sixty-five almost 90% supplement the croft income by other employment. Of these casual labour (at present mainly at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57% regular work - particularly weaving - 43%. The combination of crofting and weaving provides probably the best return for the labour: one crofter with a croft of 3.3 acres, carrying two cows, two followers and ninety sheep (sixty ewes) made the following estimates for 1958:

FROM THE CROFT:

Sale of two year-old calves	£80
Cow and calf subsidies	£40
Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb.	£75
	£ 195 (1)

FROM WEAVING -

at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p.w.)	£550
GROSS INCOME	£745

Weaving abour 30 hours a week apparently leaves him sufficient time to run the croft efficiently; at present a crofter supplementing his income by a labourer's wage at Gisla hydro electric scheme would have to put in nearly sixty hours per week to achieve the same financial reward.

The economy of the Valtos peninsula has been changing, and contracting, for several years. The number of unoccupied crofts is increasing; commercial fishing ended at the time of the first World War; the shielings have been abandoned as summer cattle pastures. The Valtos shielings near Loch Scanadale were abandoned during the 1939 - 45 war, due mainly to the lack of manpower in the township, though some was used intermittently until 1953. The shielings of Kneep and Reef were abandoned in the late 1930's, at which time Kneep had some fifty milk cows as compared with fourteen in 1959.

1 Against this figure, must be set the costs of production (i.e. fertilisers, new seed, winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

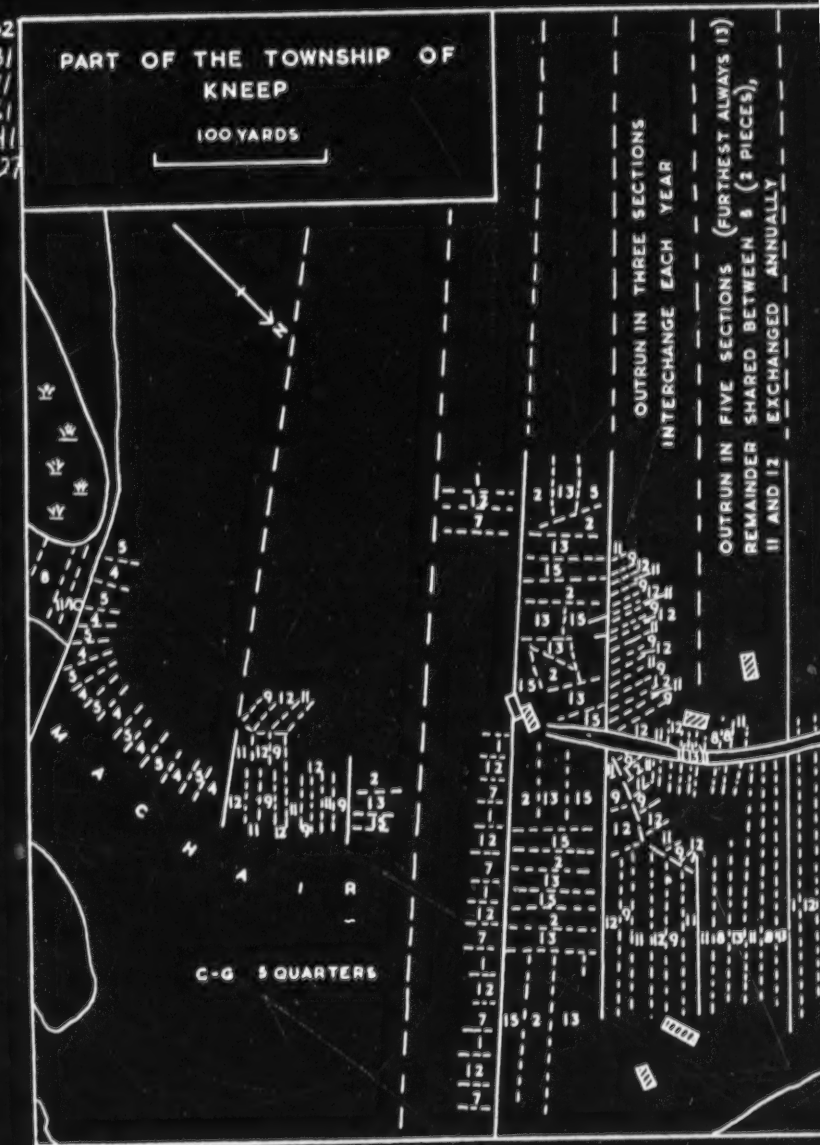

Figure 23

/facing p. 46/

241/198 The area under cultivation has contracted in the past twenty years. Before 1939 most crofts had about twice as much land under cultivation and at Valtos some were cultivating small patches outside the township fence. The cultivation of the common machair at Cliff ceased in 1939. The land had been "too long in labour" (potatoes had been planted on the same ground for nearly one hundred years), and the soil had been affected by over-liberal applications of sulphate of ammonia which replaced the traditional soot-impregnated thatch from the black-houses. Moreover the Cliff machair was particularly vulnerable to "blow-outs" after ploughing. Cultivation of the Kneep common arable has all but ceased, and the fifty-two acres of arable machair in the township of Reef have been untouched since the 1930s. It is noticeable that the common machair cultivation and the shieling economy ended about the same time. Smaller numbers of better-quality cattle were needed to meet the daily milk requirements of the croft; a much smaller area of cultivation was therefore needed to provide winter fodder and consequently more land was available on the croft for potato cultivation. Consequently the more distant machair was replaced by cultivation within the croft. [231]

433/178 Contraction and decline of the economy is common to all three townships, but the form and cause of this decline is different for each, and where the township consists of two separate settlement nuclei there is frequently a difference between the two parts:

632/427/361/311 The township of Valtos is in two distinct parts: crofts 1 - 34 are a succession of narrow strips about ½ mile in length stretching from the shore to about 200' O.D.. The boundaries of the outer crofts (nos. 1 and 34) if projected to a point on Pabay, form an angle of 45°, so that the crofts are narrower at the shore (40 - 70') than at the upper limit (100 - 180'). Of these 34 crofts, 19 are in so-called runrig, eight in pairs and one group of three. (Fig. 21). Cultivation is carried out on numerous intermixed small patches, held permanently; the grazings are interchanged at the year end. Fragmentation imposes a severe limitation on the economic efficiency of the croft. None of the crofts at Valtos is individually fenced though some groups of two or three are fenced together. With the contraction of cultivation only the less steep areas are cultivated, to facilitate ploughing.[1] As a result, the bulk of the cultivated plots are to be found at either end of the croft - near the shore and on the hill top against the township fence. [241]

The remaining five crofts of Valtos, and a squatter, are at Cliff in the valley separating the Valtos peninsula from that of Aird. Here the crofts are fenced, more compact and slightly larger (4.8 acres as against 3.8 acres) and they occupy more level terrain than those in Valtos. Two of the crofts are worked in runrig - these being situated on the machair. The houses are set back about a hundred yards from the road, along the western township fence. [24]

Kneep township is again in two parts: Crofts 16 - 18 together with the Manse and two cottars, are situated across the neck of the Glebe promontory, on the south side of the peninsula. The five legal crofts are today worked as three units, fenced, reasonably compact and with holdings of exceptional size for the area - average 15.1 acres. Crofts 1 - 15 at Kneep on the northern side of the peninsula adjoin those of Valtos. Here is a climax of land fragmentation, which imposes severe limits upon croft efficiency. Twelve of the fifteen crofts are worked; of these only numbers 4 and 5 are compact homogenous crofts; numbers 3 and 6 are compact except that part of the land which lies within their boundaries belongs to croft no. 13. The remaining eight crofts comprise a hundred and eight separate plots of croftland and fifty-two separate plots on the common machair. One croft with 2.8 acres arable the average size of each piece is a mere 0.15 acres! The grazing land on the croft is divided into strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into [433] [233]

1. Pre-1939 much of Valtos was cultivated in lazy beds - by spade. Today 9% is cultivated by spade; 43% by horse plough + 48% by tractor.

102/233/241/311/632

Figure 25

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

ENL.: Enlargement to common pasture.

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 19

231/241/427/632

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Caryshader	44	1,260	-	14	1	14
Ungshader	35	435		4	-	4
Geshader	114	850	598	11	-	11
Enaclete	73	662	617	9	-	8
Non-crofting	c.40	800+	-	-	4	-
	306	4,007+	1,215	38	5	37*

NOTES: + also unrecorded areas of grazing on deer forests
* Of whom four are absent.

/facing p. 48/

427 632 311 joint tenants of one have moved to Geshader while continuing to work the Ungshader land. Another is preparing to move to Enaclete and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Chroistea Cottage. At present, three working units remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with ten units, one being rented by joint tenants.

221 The rhythm of work is similar to that in other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oat are planted in April followed by lambing and peat cutting in May. In June and July the sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to the common grazings. In August the peats are carted, once they are dry, by lorry direct to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lam are weaned in September, harvest is then carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take place in November. The sheep are then returned to the township grazing though the lamb 241 may be fed with hay on the croft. There is little regular crop rotation and only a small number of crofters seem to undersow oats, thus improving the quality of future hay crops. Gardens are not important and only provide for family needs but Caryshader particularly has a number, some growing flowers as well as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely fron croft to croft as well township to township. Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the sh and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshader are usually fed on artificials.

231 Most crofters keep one milk cow with a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn sales in Caryshader. However, some now rely on their neighbours for milk in return for grazing and one croft has turned to goats, as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on Geshader - Ungshader common grazing as it is completely fenced; and Geshader is responsible for its upkeep.

233 Lambing seems to have been generally good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact figures. The Morsgail Estate and Gisla farm also run considerable flocks. The commo pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlargement, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acre for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader near Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres [314] on Floday island. The shielings have been disused since the war. Peat is normally cut to the west of the road but at least one elderly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his croft for this purpose to save the effort of working further afield.

241 178 Generally speaking the land now cropped only represents one third to one half of that worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when the crofting population was larger and when much greater numbers of cattle were kept through the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and 231 more oats. The cattle numbers are much less than the total souming but sheep are in excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazing by sheep has caused a decline in grazing qualit

464 Clearly in these townships, apart from the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the means of livelihood is sought elsewhere. At present there are altogether fifty-three men in the working age group (15 - 64) in all four townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine permanently and five periodically. Thirty have regular or periodic employment besides crofting and of these seven work at Gisla on the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, som of them part-time, four hire out vans, two do post-office work and others have varied occu pations while only three are full-time crofters. At present there are few men in the Merc Navy and fishing does not provide an occupation although many share rowing-boats in their spare time, and fish for domestic use.

162 [164] The population as a whole is ageing and of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four (roughly 30%) work away permanently or have emigrated. It is noticeable that there are few crofts worked by people with young families

000 In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that the fate of the crofting townships depends m

APPENDIX

(1) Agricultural statistics for South

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pasture: (acres)	Gardens	CATTLE: Sour:	Milk:	T
ARD BHEAG	-	1	1	-	-	-	-		-	-	
BREMISH	28	-	13	16	4	20	100	11	84	18	
ISLIVIG	10	-	5	7	2	11	30	3	43	6	
MANGERSTA	13	-	10	12	3	17	23	3	68	16	
CARNISH	6	-	3	2	1	4	61	4	26	4	
ARDROLL	14	-	12	7	2	21	321	13	62	15	
TIMSGARRY	8	-	7	5	1	12	63	7	23	8	
NAMIE ETC.	-	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	-	2	
AIRD	10	-	8	4	1	9	35	8	34	6	(
CROWLISTA	24	-	13	16	7	19	59	6	89	15	
VALTOS	48	1	29	22	7	15	104	19	220	41	
SHEEP	13	-	13	11	7	19	118	10	76	14	
BEEF	15	-	8	5	2	9	77	7	45	7	
GARTSHADER	14	1	12	6	4	9	24	3	31	8	(
GESHADER	11	-	11	14	3	16	82	10	38	15	
UNGSHADER	4	-	3	5	1	7	23	3	17	3	
ENACLETT	9	-	9	13	3	13	44	6	31	14	
OTHERS (non-crofting)	-	5	5	3	1	7	54	2	-	7 (16 pi	

Notes:

(a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in

(b) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the da
other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

(c) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions (ewes/l

(d) Where there is a specific soum for a horse this has been added, (half t
allowing for any horses actually present.

(e) Where there is a soum for two-year old cattle this has been included in

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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A

Uig - August, 1959.

			SHEEP:					
Others:	Calves:	Sows:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Rams	Castrates
-	-	-	4,500	?	?		
15	13	508	703	493	568	4	1
3	4	228	224	174	105	2	-
9	13	385	474	334	371	1	-
1	4	270	110	89	40	1	-
5	9	625	358	277	172	1	-
-	4	275	177	143	108	1	-
-	1	-	38	35	5	-	-
2 Goats)	1	206	226	193	166	-	-
3	9	414	487	374	227	-	-
1	29	1,033	916	781	534	-	-
6	9	455	403	337	247	1	-
3	9	225	249	201	190	-	-
1 Goats)	4	183	199	176	110	1	-
4	11	337	594	442	415	-	-
1	2	150	130	125	123	-	-
2	12	323	335	247	308	-	-
16 s & 2 goats)	12	-	295	210	231	-	1

the text.

te when the grazing regulations were first made unless some

ambs/others) are as reported (see Appendix A (2)),
e the cattle sows and half to the sheep sows) after

the cattle sows at the rate of 2 two-year olds to one sow.

APPENDIX A continued

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(5) Stocking and cultivation by size of effective units, South Uig, August 1959.

Stocking is assessed according to proportion of the scum held, cultivation according to acreage of arable crops, i.e. excluding hay; some units are omitted for lack of data, (consequently totals do not correspond.)

	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units								Actual number of units
	1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0	All sizes	
Proportion of scum held:									
Nil	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	3	4
Less than 50%	1	8	5	3	3	3	2	26	40
50%-100%	1	6	9	6	5	1	5	32	50
100%-200%	1	8	5	6	6	3	2	31	57
More than 200%	-	4	1	1	2	1	1	8	13
All units	3	28	21	15	16	8	9	100	
Area cropped:									
Less than 0.5 acre	1	5	3	2	1	1	-	13	19
0.5-1.0 acres	1	7	2	-	1	-	-	11	16
1.1-2.5 acres	1	12	13	9	8	1	5	50	74
2.6-5.0 acres	-	5	3	4	2	3	5	22	33
More than 5.0 acres	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	4	6
All units	3	28	21	16	14	7	11	100	148

Owing to rounding, percentage figures may not equal totals.

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(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit*

	Under 65 years: Full-time crofter	Croft and regular work	Croft and periodic work	Over 65 years: Male	Female	ALL UNITS *
CATTLE **						
nil	2	5	2	6	1	16
1	9	31	18	8	3	69
2	5	19	9	4	-	37
3	-	2	2	1	-	5
more than 3	-	-	-	1	-	1
SHEEP						
nil	2	1	2	3	-	8
less than 6	1	-	-	-	-	1
6-10	2	4	2	1	1	10
11-20	1	4	3	2	2	12
21-50	5	21	11	7	1	45
51-100	5	22	10	6	-	43
more than 100	-	5	3	1	-	9

* a few working units are omitted for lack of data.
** over 2 years

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Figure 27

THE BERNERA DISTRICT

Table

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TOWNSHIP:	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: (acres)			AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:
Cenlr	234	280		Bernera shielings 4,341 a.	8	-
Brenolete	104	481	Little Bernera 314 acres		13	3
Hacklete	254	731			20	1
Kirkibost	429	924	E. Keratay 178 a.		26	4
Tobson	171	689	Bosta 425 a.		24	-
Karshader	57	2,640			4	2
Crulivig	84				6	-
Lundale	156	1,000			6	-
Linshader	62	9,412	E. an Tighe 14 a.		10	-

TABLE 24

Bernera District

Common Pastures, Soumings, and actual stock.

(Stock in "cow units" calculated according to the Grazing Regulations)

231 233 423 311 632

	AREA:	SOUMING:		ACTUAL STOCK:		
	Acres	Cow units	Acres per cow	Cow units	As % of soum	Acres per cow unit
Breaclete	1,284	105	12.3	88	84	14.6
Croir	622	43	14.1	49	114	12.6
Hacklete	1,913	259	7.4	189	73	10.1
Kirkibost	2,491	303	8.2	188	63	13.3
Tobson	2,050	253	8.2	120	48	17.1
ISLAND	8,363	962	8.7	634	66	13.2
Earshader	1,320	38	35.1	65	174	20.2
Crulivig	1,320	51	26.8	70	140	18.6
Lundale	1,000	72	13.9	62	86	16.1
Linshader	9,426	95	100.0	92	96	102.5
SHORE	13,066	255	51.5	290	114	45.2
BERNERA DISTRICT	21,451	1,237	17.5	924	74.7	23.4

423 Stock - potential and actual. *

427 231 311 632 The croft is in almost every case primarily a stock raising unit and cultivation apart from certain items - particularly potatoes for domestic use - is connected with stock rearing. The basis of the stock system is the soum, the share of the common pastures in terms of horses, cattle and sheep. The largest total soums (more than two hundred cow-units) are held by Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson; all the other townships have a hundred or less cow-units (Table 24). This has some relation to the size of common grazing. The very large area of Linshader is that of the former farm: the present

* Details of actual stock and souming for each township will be found in Appendix A.

231 423 427 311 632 soum is less than the capacity of the grazing and represents the Land Court's estimate of the stock the crofters would be able to keep: the consequent discrepancy and retrogression in total stocking is a typical result of the replacement of commercial farms by crofting subjects (c.f. page 25 above). It is better however to consider the area of common grazing and soum combined: in fact, the average acreage per cow-unit is fairly uniform for Bernera Island, (8.7 acres). Bernera Shore has a wider variation of from 11.6 to 100.9 acres per cow-unit: obviously, either the Bernera Island townships grazings, particularly Bernera shielings, were originally estimated as of superior value, or, for whatever cause, the common grazings of Bernera Shore are relatively under-used. How is this reflected in practice?

TABLE 25

Bernera District

Comparison of soums and actual stock, by townships.

	Average soum per working unit	Actual stock per working unit	Soum held per working unit	Working units with less than 50% of their soum
Bearclete	6.5	5.5	84%	19%
Croir	6.2	7.0	114%	nil
Hacklete	12.9	9.5	73%	25%
Kirkibost	10.8	6.7	63%	29%
Tobson	13.3	6.3	46%	58%
BERNERA ISLAND	10.6	5.5	66%	43%
Earshader	6.3	10.9	174%	nil
Crulivig	8.4	11.8	140%	nil
Lundale	9.0	10.4	86%	nil
Linshader	10.6	10.2	96%	22%
BERNERA SHORE	9.8	11.6	114%	8%
BERNERA DISTRICT	10.6	6.5	75%	20%

Note: all soums and stock are calculated in "cow units", using the sheep equivalence as given in the Grazing Regulations.

TABLE 26

Bernera District

Souming calculated in sheep units

	Basic soums in sheep units				
	Horses	Cattle	Horses & Cattle	Sheep	Special Grazings
Breaclete	-	9	9	8	8
Croir	-	21	21	12	-
Hacklete	-	9	9	8	8
Kirkibost	-	9	9	8	-
Tobson	-	9	9	8	16
Earshader	-	21	21	26	1
Crulivig	-	21	21	27	-
Lundale	-	28	28	32	-
Linshader	6	7	13	30	-

Table 27 shows the cattle soum and holding: there is a marked similarity between the Island townships, (all holding about one third of their soum), and the Shore townships, (three of which range from 60% to 100% and only one of which, Lundale, has less than 40%. That these averages are not misleading is proved by the fact that the scatter of percentages of cattle-soum held per working unit is less wide for the Bernera Island townships than for those of the Bernera Shore, bearing in mind the smaller number of units in the latter.

It is a little difficult to account for this, particularly when it is observed (Table 28) that there is no correlation with the percentages of the sheep stock held; the Island townships vary from having half their soum of sheep)Tobson) to double (Croir), and those of the Shore from a little over the correct figure to well over twice as many; but whereas the number of oversoumings for sheep is everywhere high and non-sheep-keeping crofters are rare, there are 10 agricultural units with no cattle and 25 with only one cattle beast. It

TABLE 27

Bernera District: Cattle

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of cattle soum actually carried.

	Number of units with:									Aver. all units
	Less than 100% of soum:					Less than 100% of soum:				
	Nil	1-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	101-125	126-150	151-200	200+	
Breaclete	-	6	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	33%
Croir	1	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	32%
Hacklete	1	6	10	2	-	-	1	-	-	34%
Kirkibost	1	7	15	4	1	-	-	-	-	29%
Tobson	1	5	9	1	2	-	-	-	-	34%
ISLAND	4	24	42	9	4	-	1	-	-	32%
Earshader	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	62%
Crulivig	-	-	3	-	2	1	-	-	-	72%
Lundale	1	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	38%
Linshader	4	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	-	96%
SHORE	5	1	9	2	4	1	2	1	-	60%
DISTRICT	9	25	51	11	8	1	3	1	-	37%

is probable that the constant but rather low incidence of cattle on the Island is governed by two factors: first the shortage of common grazings near the township and the neglect of the only alternative source, the shielings, and second, the memory of past isolation - and the present impossibility otherwise of getting milk save from a neighbour - which makes a milch-cow a necessary part of the equipment of almost every household. On the mainland, where the common grazings are contiguous with the inbye, summer grazing of cattle is much easier particularly, as in Crulivig and Linshader, where there are special fences to divide the near and far pastures (cf. the old Norwegian spring-autumn and high summer seters.

We may compare fifteen Sutherland townships, in which 89% of the stock held is sheep, with the Bernera District in which 80% of the total stock is sheep. That this balance of stock is not old-established is revealed by comparison with the stock figures collected for

TABLE 28

Bernera District: Sheep

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of Sheep soum actually carried.

	Number of units with:									Average all units
	Less than 100% of soum:					More than 100% of soum:				
	nil	1-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-100%	101-125%	126-150%	151-200%	more than 200%	
Breaclete	1	-	-	1	3	3	-	2	-	100%
Croir	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	4	210%
Hacklete	-	2	2	4	2	1	5	1	3	89%
Kirkibost	1	3	2	4	9	3	2	3	1	79%
Tobson	2	1	3	8	2	2	-	-	-	56%
ISLAND	4	6	7	17	16	9	8	8	8	88%
Earshader	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	237%
Crulivig	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3	184%
Lundale	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	140%
Linshader	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	1	3	128%
SHORE	1	-	1	2	2	2	4	4	9	156%
DISTRICT	5	6	8	19	18	11	12	12	17	103%

the Napier Commission in 1883; these show that the Bernera region now keeps less than half the former number of full grown cattle beasts but only a slightly higher percentage of sheep. It is an unavoidable conclusion that resettlement and enlargement has not led to greater agricultural efficiency: since it was carried out for social and not economic reasons, this is perhaps not unreasonable, but it augurs ill for the future of a community which must be largely dependent on agriculture.

Land Use and Cultivation*.

Before considering the details of stock management it is well to review land-use, for cultivation is subsidiary to, and directed at, stock keeping. Few crofts have no culti-

* Details of crops and grass by townships will be found in Appendix A.

241 Table 30 shews the present use of fertilisers and manure. It will be seen that
[237] dung is still widely used but seaware is used in a minority of cases, particularly
[824] in Breaclete and Earshader. The first at least may be related to the various troubles
that have afflicted the township, and to the fact that several holdings are in effect
very small with but plots of cultivation. This also relates to the large number in
[134] Breaclete who use no form of fertiliser at all. Shell sand is neglected for reasons
of inaccessibility: it is present on Little Bernera, and more particularly and of
excellent quality, at Bosta. It is difficult to get from within the Island the large
quantities of sand needed to qualify for the lime subsidy; it would be possible to get
it from Bosta sands, there is a township road to within about a hundred yards of the
beach, but the township is unwilling to open it to the wear and tear of lorry transport.

[654] Artificial fertilisers are increasingly used. The first consideration at the present is
undoubtedly that certain amounts have to be applied in order to qualify for the ploughing
subsidies. This has overcome a reluctance engendered by early over-enthusiastic
applications of sulphate of ammonia. Lime, in the powdered form or as nitro-chalk, is
commonly applied. There is undoubtedly considerable ignorance in the application and
use of artificials: they are often used only because of subsidy conditions, and the crofter
is surprised, though gratified, when they have any practical effect. Certainly most
crofters have no programme of their own of regular balanced applications to crop land.
They need further advice.

The best balanced fertiliser policies are followed on the reseeded pastures, mainly
because the crofters are careful to follow the directions they receive. They will follow
advice in these matters when they can get it. In 1959 reseeding had been undertaken by
16 individuals, (20 acres) and by one township (Breaclete). Reseeding has definitely
"caught on" as a means of improving the stock carrying capacity of a croft, with com-
paratively little outlay in labour or machinery.(1) It is, however, a new project: one
may wonder whether the crofters will have sufficient pertinacity and funds to continue
indefinitely. Reseeding is not cheap; it may cost £18 to £28 an acre and it is reckoned
to cost £3 per annum to maintain. A considerable increase in output will have to be
evident to make it worth the crofters' while to continue.

The methods of cultivation still include much spade digging, and some crofts depend
[231] entirely upon this. Horse and plough, though basically unsuited to the cultivation of lazy
[40] beds, can generally be used on most but the smallest beds, but the problem now is to get
hold of a horse for ploughing. Hence - as in at least one instance at Croir - where it is
impossible to hire a horse and the land is unsuited to tractor operation - the choice may
well be between spade cultivation or no cultivation at all. The situation is not eased by
the difficulty of hiring any one of the three tractors in the area at a time when the land is
in the best condition. This is all doubly unfortunate because of the universality of the
lazy bed; this might be regarded as a symbol of a backward or even a primitive agricul-
tural system, but is, in fact, an excellent adaptation to natural conditions of climate and
soil - so long as there is plenty of hand labour. It is only when labour becomes expensive,
or difficult to obtain, that the lazy bed becomes uneconomical. This is, of course, another
way of saying that the lazy bed was the concomitant of a designedly self-sufficient agricul-
tural system; if it is well kept up, the lazy bed is a good means of conserving soil vitality
and maintaining adequate drainage. In the past the hollows between the beds were cleared
every year or two and the soil spread on top. Thus lazy beds, particularly those on
slopes, need a good deal of hand labour as well as heavy fertilization.

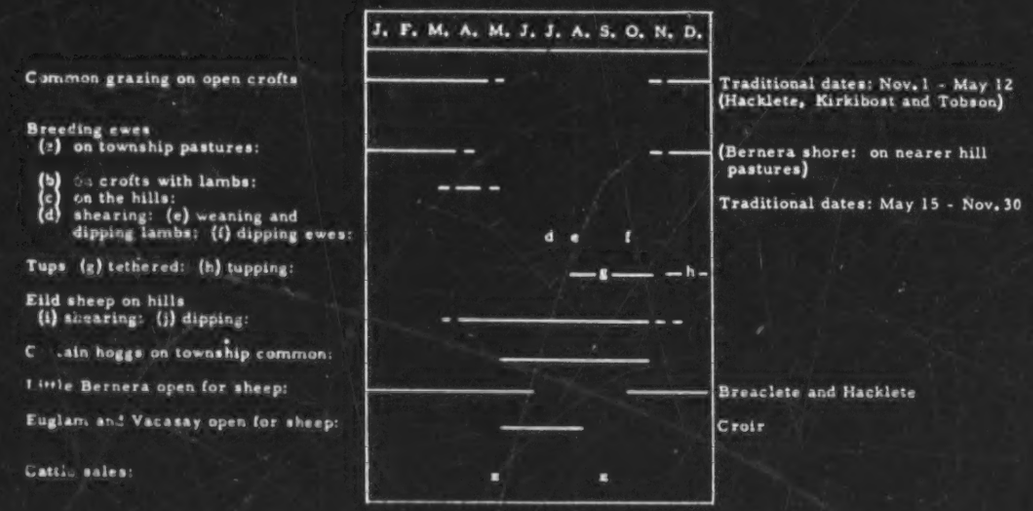
It is very difficult to see the answer to the cultivation problem now labour is no
longer freely available: there could certainly be more small tractors and cultivators, but
even they lead to the throwing together of lazy beds, and - except in places such as Croir
where drains may be laid below the loam on clay, or in certain favoured sites like part
of 4 Cruiliv where the peaty soil overlies a firm gravel substratum - it is impossible
both to throw the lazy beds together and maintain drainage. One is faced with all the
difficulties of drainage of peat in an area of heavy precipitation. The hill lazy beds,
though they are better drained, all too often have too little depth of soil to make cultivation
by tractor a practical proposition.

(1) Editorial note: This remark has been borne out by events; in 1960 township schemes totalling 88 acres were thus improved.

FIGURE 30

Calendar of stock

movements in the Bernera district



4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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221 Since so much of the year is spent either upon or near the croits it is but to be
335 expected that greatest losses of island sheep will take place in the summer when they are far from supervision upon the hills; this contrasts with the mainland Highlands where heaviest losses, apart from those due to sudden snow falls, generally come about lambing time, when this takes place upon the hill, or soon after, in cases when the ewes and lambs are put to the hill too soon. On Bernera Shore on the other hand losses are heaviest on the hill in winter. Losses are extremely uneven in their incidence in time and from croft to croft. The cause of loss varies: there are no serious endemic diseases now, and there are few coastal cliffs - a frequent cause of loss in other places. There are however some boggy areas in the interior and some rugged: whether or not there are losses due to vermin particularly eagles, is a debatable point. Probably the fundamental cause of loss is lack of shepherding and adequate day-to-day oversight upon the hill.

233 There are certain special pastures that show interesting features. The Flannan Islands have excellent pasture, especially for the poorer male shearlings which need bringing on. There is all-the-year-round grazing for fifty sheep, which is shared by two crofters in Crulivig and one in Earshader. Unfortunately, the difficulty of getting a boat to go across has meant that for the last two years no visits have been made, and, after one or two years unattended, the animals become quite wild. Since 1949, when the Croir tenants were first permitted to cut peat upon the Bernera shielings, they have ceased to do so on Vacassy Island, where they now each send two sheep for summer grazing. They also send one sheep each to Euglam Island from 15th May to 16th August. One croft in Tobson includes certain small islands:

Bearasy Island (16.4 acres; soumed for 12 sheep per annum)

Eilean Fir Crothair (4.6 acres; soumed for 5 sheep per annum)

Seildeim (1.0 acres; soumed for 3 wedders per summer)

Similarly, Valassy (part of Tobson), has Eilean Liongain Valassy which provides summer pasture for two young cattle beasts or five sheep (one per croft). One crofter in Crulivig has a small offshore island taking two hogs during tupping and at least one attempts to heft stock there. It is distant and unfenced; losses can be heavy.

● 231 Lewis is a very restricted market for livestock: the general practice in the Bernera area is to sell cast ewes at five or six or even more years to the butchers in Stornoway. Lambs may be sold on occasion, but generally they are kept either for replacement or for sale as three-year wedders.* The losses which occur, plus a certain amount of slaughter for domestic use, prevent long-term accumulation, though periodic fluctuations may be severe. Occasionally when there is a surplus of summer grazing, the Bernera Shore townships may buy in lambs from the western coast of Lewis, carefully eschewing those raised on the machair lands, which are said to be too "soft" for the hills. These are reckoned a gamble, they may or may not "take". The practice may be compared with that of the former Linshader Farm where, to take up the summer surplus of feed, young cattle were bought from the crofters.

236 The wool from the Lewis Blackface sheep generally varies from three to four lbs.
288 per fleece. There is no longer any hand spinning; most wool is either sold outright or
434 sent to the mills for spinning and dyeing. This practice is of long-standing. Even before the Great War, when the rent formed by far the most important item in the monetary affairs of the croft, the wool was either sold outright or, more commonly, sent to the mills for spinning and then taken to a weaver; the tweed was then sold either locally or to a merchant in Stornoway, the proceeds being used for the rent and other items.

231 Cattle, as has been pointed out, have declined greatly in relative importance since
178 1883: they are fewer in number - though far better in quality - and consequently subject

434 *Three-year wedders in good condition fetch about £6 for slaughter. Carcase weight is about 44/45 lbs., sometimes as little as 38 and sometimes as much as 55 lbs.

● 231 to less regular routines than was the case when the shielings formed an essential part of
178 the grazing regime. The old "Black Cattle" strain is completely bred out, nor is there much trace of Highland blood. The cattle are almost exclusively of Shorthorn or of Aberdeen-Angus or of cross blood in order to qualify for the hill cattle subsidy. The exceptions, like the Jersey cow in Crulivig, are very few. The cows are dual purpose beasts, kept for milk and for production of calves for sale. The latter are sold either within a week or so of birth, or at the age of up to six months (i.e. in autumn) or at about eighteen months age, after which the regulations usually specify that followers must be counted as full-grown beasts in the soum. They may be sold either in Stornoway or at the biannual sale at Breaclete. Cows unless they are being passed on to another crofter, are usually sold to the Stornoway slaughter house. Again, owing to the restricted market available, prices are lower than on the mainland, though undoubtedly greatly improved since 1939.

The problem of winter feed is still a governing factor in cattle management: cattle kept through the winter need a good deal of fodder, and happy the crofter and fortunate the year when it is not necessary to buy in a certain amount of cake, bruised oats, other feed or even hay. However, it is generally reckoned that the croft will supply the most if not all of the hay and oats. In any case, the amount generally bought in is a great deal less than that necessary in the mainland Highlands. This is largely due to the fact that, on many days, the cattle can be let out for foraging and will, in fact, manage to gain some natural feed.

Here, in contrast with Sutherland (where frequently a bull upon a neighbouring farm is used for service), and even with Park (where each township has its own bull) there is but one bull. In order to get round the problems of maintenance which have occasionally bedevilled Lewis townships, there is a recognised practice: the bull spends July to October upon the Tobson township common grazing, and the rest of the year on Little Bernera.*

Horses have never occupied a very important place in the economy of the area. It is said that the first horse on Bernera Island was taken to Hacklete bout 1923: previous to that and for some time after, most of the cultivation was by hand. This is understandable: in an area where most of the arable land is in lazy beds, and where, owing to dependence upon and nearness to the sea, problems of long distance land transport did not arise, there was little place for the horse, a fact which was recognised by the omission of horses from all the soums save that of Linshader itself. There is no recollection in the area of the keeping of goats. Nor is there a tradition of pig-keeping, though there were undoubtedly a few kept in the past. Poultry are kept almost entirely for domestic use.

Population - ages and occupations.**

162 Questions of land use cannot be separated from questions of population. The permanently resident population of the Bernera region is but three hundred and sixty and it
161 is not balanced as to age-distribution (see Fig. 30). Appendix C(3) shows that out of 85
162 croft-holders on Bernera there are 34 full-time crofters: 21 are men, only seven of whom are less than 65; 13 are women, only six of whom are less than 65. The situation is even worse on Bernera Shore: out of 23 croft holders, only 11 are full-time, all men
464 but all are over 65. The term 'full-time crofter' really implies crofter with no other occupation, and cannot be taken as necessarily involving a full-time unit of effective agricultural labour. Of the croft holders with full-time employment, 33 on the Island and six on the Shore, all but one, as would be expected, are less than 65. Therefore a large part of the active labour force is siphoned off into other occupations, for, increasingly, a man with a regular job has neither the energy nor the inclination to work a croft in

*The introduction of Artificial Insemination may soon change this.

**Appendix D(1) contains details of population by townships, appendices D(2) and (3) give further details of occupations and emigration.

TABLE 32

Some Changes in Stock and Population

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● 231
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	POPULATION		CATTLE(1)		SHEEP(1)	
	1891	1959	1883(2)	1959	1883(2)	1959
Breaclete	84	53	53	25	215	462
Croir	3	18	7(3)	11	7(3)	270
Hacklete	122	90	143	52	449	905
Kirkibost	148	79	89	49	290	916
Tobson	178	71	116	36	534	610
ISLAND	535	311	401	173	1,498	3,243
Earshader	24	32	20	7	109	317
Crulivig	72	26	25	14	116	406
Lundale	-	19	26	11	368	538
Linshader	10	22	20(4)	8	2,000(4)	534

Notes: (1) More than one year old.
(2) According to the evidence to the Napier Commission (except Linshader).
(3) Included in Linshader.
(4) According to local memory.

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The Population of Bernera (island only)

1841	474	1911	730
1851	518	1921	605
1861	453	1931	514
1871	539	1939	10,500
1881	596	1951	384
1891	535	1959	311
1901	560		

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311
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Figure 32

EAST

LOCH ROAG

DISTR

● 231
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423
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TOWNSHIP ETC.	INSET: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	Others (No.)
Callanish	237	----- 5,302 -----		57	1
Breaclete	374	----- 3,861 -----		63	2
Tolsta Chaolis	396	----- 2,700 -----		43	3
Garynahine	95	----- 1,824 -----		12	1
Lochganvich	67	----- 2,000 -----		8	-
Others	506	-	-	-	3

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CHAPTER TEN

EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Garynahine, Callanish, Breasclete, and Tolsta Chaolis)

GARYNAHINE by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury.

131 Garynahine is a township of twelve crofts which are situated on the eastern arm of
632 Loch Ceann Thulabhig. The crofts nowhere extend more than one-third of a mile from
the coast. There is a hinterland of about 1,800 acres of common grazing, which is
133 mostly about 100 ft above sea-level, though it rises to 200 ft in a few isolated areas; the
crofts are lower, and maximum elevation is 80 ft.

Most of the croft land is drained by the stream Allt Mhurchaidh which flows through
134 all but two of the crofts. But the soils are heavy, and several crofters cut peat on their
crofts. Many crofters complained that their land was too peaty for cultivation.

361 The crofts form a regular pattern beside the south side of the main road from
Stornoway to Breasclete, with two small feus and a 21 acre freeholding on the north side
of the road. In addition there is a farm (Garynahine Lodge) of 400 acres east of the
crofts, and likewise stretching along the south side of the Stornoway road. The main
road to Uig passes through the farm, dividing the cultivated area in the west from the
grazing section.

The regular lay-out of the crofts dates from the formation of the township in 1935.
195 On the same site, but long cleared, there had been an older village about the same size
361 i.e. twelve crofts, known to be in existence in the 1850's. The crofts were in a similar
position, but were a different shape, and the ruins of some of the croft houses still remain.
This village was completely burnt out one gusty winter evening when, it is said, a spark
from a crofter's pipe was blown onto one of the thatched roofs, and the wind quickly spread
the blaze to consume the entire village. The crofters left the area, many going to the
neighbouring township of Callanish; Garynahine then became one large farm until 1935
when the land was re-allocated into crofts. The new crofters came from a variety of
areas, several coming from Crulivig, others from Breasclete and Callanish. The
owners of the farm had also opened an hotel which prospered until 1945 when the farm
was sold to its present owner Admiral Drummond, who has since used the house of a
241 private house. Nine acres of the farm land is cultivated, and the remaining 391 acres
311 are used for grazing. In contrast to the usual practice in this area the oats have been
undersown with rye grass. Another beneficial innovation at the farm is the introduction
of shelter belts. Trees have been successfully planted, making it possible to produce
good crops of soft fruits such as raspberries, strawberries etc. Both the crops and
the stock on the farm are of a high standard, showing that with capital and correct
management the land can be remarkably productive.

In contrast to the large scale economy of the farm, the twelve crofts (ten operative
units) are each between 4.6 and 6.2 acres, and the total reputed arable is 67.3 acres.
In all there are only 9.5 acres under crop (oats 6 acres and potatoes 3.5 acres), and
2.25 acres under sown grass. The crofts are worked either by spade, horse (hire from
croft 40 Callanish) or by tractor (hire from the Lodge). The seasonal rhythm of culti-
vation and of stock rearing is that in Callanish.

Enquiries soon reveal that crofting is not the main occupation of the croft tenants.
Another indication of the declining interest in the land is the fencing of the crofts. All
were fenced when they were formed in 1935; since then there has been no refencing.
Now a grant is available to pay 75% of the cost of re-fencing but little has been done.

● 231 Stock totals (see Appendix C) have declined recently and this trend will probably
continue. There are only four cows and two calves in the township (plus six at the farm).

Table 33

RAL S: Other (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
1	56
2	61
3	43
1	12
-	7
3	-

● 231 There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is
borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from
Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters
233 exceed their souming (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always
been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 166 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common
pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

312 The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had elec-
311 tricity since 1954. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway
and also one bus from Uig and one (from Bernera passing through Garynahine. These
444 good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the
463 remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the
remaining two being to old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only
[178] two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The
croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest
in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

172 Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts
an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle
133 is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about
125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide)
[361] which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six
miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing;
it is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the
highest point is 425 ft.

195 The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The
area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century,
427 and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader
to work for one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the
34 more exposed westward facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced by the
90 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then
spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which
now forms the boundary between the croftland and the common pasture. The croftland
241 varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertilizer and manure
are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the
labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial
fertilizer. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the
drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on
a small peninsulk (from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland
at high tide.

The croft houses were then in two nuclei; one on each side of the narrow neck. Much
175 later a third nuclei developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the
361 Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Bernera; they had put to sea in small
427 boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became
squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some
427 of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any
311

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89

427 authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common grazing. For
311 example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the croft has now almost
10 acres of land, of which the remaining 3 acres have been 'acquired' by enclosing part of
the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pieces, and in some
195 cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor's wife, Lady
311 Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because they were too close
427 to the standing stones. Croft houses 25 and 26, then near the stones, were moved to the
other side of the village and given parts of crofts 1 and 2 for their houses. Crofts 1 and
2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the parts of their crofts they
had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its croftland close to the stones so that an enclosure
could be made around the stones. About the same period, before the passing of the
Crofter's Act (1886), when the village was still 'ruled' by the township constables, and
several other changes took place. Croft 27 and 28 used to be where the croft houses ar
at present and the surrounding adjacent area only; but it is said that the tenants of these
two houses, being influential with the constable, obtained part of Callanish Farm. Simi-
larly the tenants of crofts 30, 31 and 35 divided part of croft 19; these changes have
become permanent. The most recently formed croft was taken from the common pastu
in 1890. Since then three feus have been created, but two of these are holiday houses
the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

241 There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed arable. All b
4 croft units grow oats, and there are 20 acres under oats (appendix C). Of th
remaining cultivated land 9 acres are potatoes and 5 acres sown hay. Most of
land is cultivated by tractor; there are 6 tractors in the township. In the past there
were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still cultivate by spade.
The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August and the oats a
month later according to the weather.

● 231 Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township and tethered
of the year on the crofts. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to graze one of th
neighbour's cows for part of the year in exchange for milk. There is a beef-type sho
horn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Callanish Far

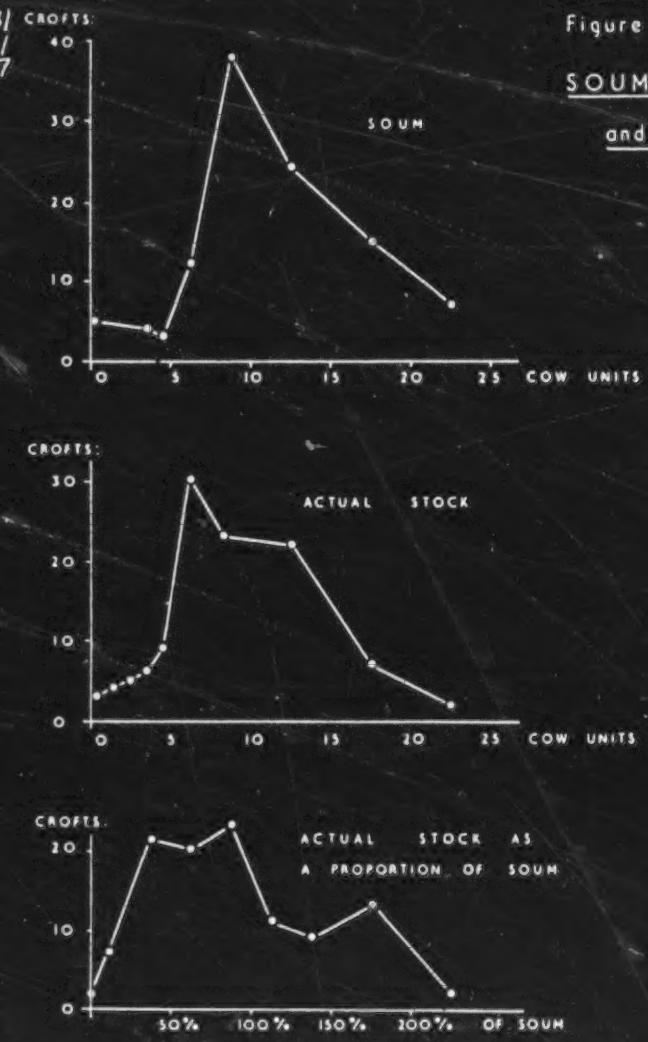
The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned stock of 904 sh
233 and 561 lambs. Several crofters exceed their souming, but there is no shortage of
311 grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garynahine township pasture. Callanish also
the use of the pasture on Orasay island; each year some of the sheep (one sheep or
per croft) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes are brought i
222 tupping on November 14th, after the harvest is complete, and lambing takes place in
233 April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November 1st to May
in addition Callanish Farm (which has no sheep) is open for winter grazing. The sh
are sheared in July, and the lambs are taken from the ewes a month later. The la
are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at Fiodavat a
known to have been in use until 1921.

Communications are quite good; the village is close to a main road to Stornow
491 there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-called roa
131 merely rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by motor vehicle;
[144] over a mile from the nearest track, separated from it by rough peat land. This y
grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a road to this
but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land refused t
a road to be built; and so croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of the villag

131 There are two shops in Callanish (one with a petrol pump); grocery, butchers' and
vans deliver frequently. Callanish also has a stone jetty which in the past was in
[366] There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and Bernera
at Linshader, which gradually declined in importance until the 1920s when it cease
[504] call at Linshader. The ferry to Bernera finally ceased in 1940 when the ferryma
lived at Callanish Farm) left for war service. After this the jetty was still used
[505] private boats (e.g. Callanish church serves Linshader, and many people came to
by boat until recently), but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

Figure 29

SOUMS and STO



231 Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobso
311 eclipsed in regard to percentage o
632 Bernera Shore townships. In fact
as against 114% on the Shore. If
therefore, Tobson is less than 50%
Linshader and Lundale 75 to 100%,
falling at 75%.

It is also interesting to remark
held. This shows that, in effect,
from their use of one main commo
The Bernera Shore townships appa
the excessively large area shown

[427] Figure 29 summarises the inc
seen that, although there are som
units, the majority lie between th
class. The largest soums tend to
the soum held. Almost a quarter
and must therefore be considered
about one third have 50 - 100% an

The incidence from township t
Shore townships have more unifor
townships, though the range of si
more comparable. Table 25 sho
and Croir are similar with only ju
None of the Bernera Shore townsh
one of them, Earshader has no m
stand out as far the most generou

Expressed in terms of cow un
Island, only Croir is really effici
Hacklete and Kirkbost are satisfa
only 45% of its soum. This is a ve
townships, only one of which drop
though smaller, are better taken
individual working units on Berne
three out of sixteen at Breaclete
eight out of twenty-eight at Kirkib
Bernera Shore there are only two
presently vacant with a dispute ov

But so far, only the total sour
231 the elements of that soum, for in
233 suitably balanced as between catt
311 lated this was borne in mind and
originally planned, the balance of
shows the stock equivalents in sh
preponderance of cattle +, in Lin
there is a rough balance in the so
[656] Occasionally there are special pe
instance, on Breaclete township
graze thereon, free of charge, d
sterling of rent, for replacing th
not allowed on a fenced area of 8
disallowed. But generally the v
freely interchangeable. How do

[698] + Editorial Note: this was proba
Croir had no share in Bernera Sh
be made when the Crofters Comm

on have by far the largest total holdings of stock but are
of soum actually held by Breaclete, Croir, and all the
t the average percentage soum held is 66% on the Island
efficiency is interpreted in terms of stock rearing
% efficient, Hacklete and Kirkibost 50% to 75% Breaclete
, and the rest 100% to 175% efficient, the average

k the area of common grazing per cow-unit actually
the Bernera Island townships, as might be expected
on grazing, have much the same amount of land per beast
arently need rather larger areas of land per cow-unit;
for Linshader indicates understocking.

idence of soums and actual stock carried. It will be
e crofts with soums of under five and over fifteen cow-
ose limits with a marked peak in the 7.5 to 10 cow-unit
be under-utilised. Figure 28 shows the percentage of
of the working units have less than 50% of their soum
as inefficient in their chief function of stock raising,
d rather less than 1/3 have over 100%

o township varies (table 25) but generally the Bernera
m individual soums than the older and larger Island
e of stock holdings and consequently of soums held is
ws the average soum per croft or working unit: Breaclete
st over half the average for the rest of Bernera Island.
ips have soums as large as the bigger Island ones, and
ore than Breaclete or Croir. Kirkibost and Tobson
sly treated townships, but is this justified in practice?

ts, (table 25) the total soums reveal that, on Bernera
ent with just over 100% of its soum: Breaclete,
tory - and no more - with 60 - 80%; but Tobson has
ry much poorer showing than that for the Bernera Shore
s much below 100%. Therefore on the Shore the soums,
p than on the Island. Further it is clear that, of the
a Island, none of those of Croir are unsatisfactory,
re not satisfactory, five out of twenty at Hacklete,
ost and eleven out of nineteen at Tobson, whereas on
unsatisfactory units - at Linshader - one of which is
er the tenancy.

has been considered: in fact it is necessary to consider
order to maintain the pasture one must have a stock
and sheep. When the soums were originally calcu-
ere every soum fully occupied in the proportions
grazing would presumably be satisfactory. Table 26
ep units. In Croir the soum would indicate a marked
hader (with its extensive hill lands) of sheep; otherwise
mings between large and small hooved beasts.
rmissive or restrictive clauses in the regulations. For
ommon grazing, "...a landholder...shall be entitled to
ring summer and autumn, two hoggs for every pound
cast ewes...". Similarly, in Linshader horses are
0 acres, and on Little Bernera horses are specifically
rious classes of stock have clear equivalents which are
this work in practice?

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ly because, when the Land Court determined the soum,
illings. This now calls for adjustment, which should
ssion re-enact the local Grazing Regulations.

There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is a water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one member of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and well worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-let to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of them young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people and young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resident adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous crofting communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided, making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no cultivation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete-Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover being grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of that township.

The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people over 65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, but high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but, at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

APPENDIX C continued

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(2) Additional data relating to township sheep stocks, August 1959

TOWNSHIP:	TOTAL STOCK: (including lambs) as recorded:	TOTAL STOCK: (including lambs) as estimated:	LAMBING: as reported:	STOCKING RATIO: (per 100 acres of grazing common) estimated:	STOCKING RATIO: (per 100 acres of grazing common) soum:
Bresolete	626	630	74%	49	24
Croir	380	380	83%	64	20
Hacklete	1,375	1,400	80%	73	35
Kirkibost	1,297	1,300	77%	52	35
Tobson	915	950	84%	46	38
Earshader	438	480	81%	36	8
Crulivig	574	600	87%	45	12
Lundale	505	550	85%	55	19
Linshader	752	750	71%	8	4
Garynahine	223	250	96%	15	11
Callanish (including Bresolete Park)	1,465	1,600	91%	30	15
Bresolete	1,448	1,600	80%	41	15
Tolsta Chaolis	1,490	1,550	74%	57	21
Lochganvich	414	?	85%	(20)	8
Dun Carloway	1,504	1,550	65%	70	21
Kirivick	460	550	79%	71	26
Knock Carloway	848	950	74%	70	39
Carloway (including C.Park)	944	1,000	81%	42	28
Borrowston	867	950	76%	114	59
Garenin	957	1,000	67%	55	19

[128]

NOTES: (a) The last two columns cannot be directly compared because the sheep soum per 100 acres of common grazing does not include lambs.

(b) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the grazing regulations were first made unless some other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

APPENDIX C continued

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(5) Stock and cultivation by size of effective units, August 1959.

(a) STOCK

Stock as proportion of soum of each unit:	0.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0 acres	All sizes	Actual number of units
	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units								
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Nil	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
Less than 50%	-	5	3	4	6	3	4	25	27
50%-100%	1	5	2	11	13	5	6	43	46
100%-200%	1	3	3	4	9	6	4	30	32
More than 200%	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	2
All units	2	13	8	19	29	14	15	100	108
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Nil	2	3	2	1	-	-	-	7	9
Less than 50%	2	8	9	4	5	2	2	32	42
50%-100%	1	6	8	5	6	2	2	29	39
100%-200%	-	5	4	6	2	1	-	19	25
More than 200%	-	7	2	2	2	2	-	14	18
All units	4	30	25	17	15	6	3	100	133
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Nil	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	5	6
Less than 50%	4	16	9	2	3	1	1	36	44
50%-100%	2	11	12	2	2	2	-	31	38
100%-200%	2	12	5	2	2	-	-	22	27
More than 200%	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	6	7
All units	10	43	29	7	7	4	1	100	122

(b) CULTIVATION

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Acres cultivated:	0.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0 acres	All sizes	Actual number of units
	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units								
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	5	6
0.5-1.0	1	3	2	2	1	-	2	10	12
1.1-2.5	2	6	5	10	19	9	6	58	66
2.6-5.0	-	1	1	5	8	3	6	24	27
More than 5.0	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	3
All units	4	13	8	18	28	13	15	100	114
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	4	6
0.5-1.0	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	4	6
1.1-2.5	1	15	9	4	1	-	-	30	43
2.6-5.0	-	12	13	8	11	4	4	52	74
More than 5.0	-	-	1	4	2	1	1	9	13
All units	6	29	24	16	15	6	5	100	142
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	10	5	3	-	1	-	-	18	28
0.5-1.0	10	11	7	1	1	1	1	32	48
1.1-2.5	3	20	13	5	2	1	-	43	66
2.6-5.0	-	3	1	-	1	1	-	7	10
More than 5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All units	22	38	24	5	6	3	1	100	152

APPENDIX C continued

162
231
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(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit*

STOCK CARRIED	Under 65 years: Full-time crofter	Under 65 years: Croft and regular work	Under 65 years: Croft and periodic work	Over 65 years: Male	Over 65 years: Fe
BERNERA DISTRICT:					
CATTLE** nil	3	2	1	4	
1	8	24	8	3	1
2	4	13	1	1	
3	-	4	1	-	
more than 3	-	1	-	-	
SHEEP nil	2	-	-	-	
less than 6	1	-	1	-	
6-10	2	2	-	1	
11-20	-	3	2	3	
21-50	8	23	4	2	
51-100	2	15	4	2	
more than 100	-	1	-	-	
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT:					
CATTLE** nil	3	13	5	4	
1	12	53	6	16	1
2	2	9	-	-	
3	-	-	-	-	
more than 3	-	-	-	-	
SHEEP nil	2	10	4	3	
less than 6	1	2	-	2	
6-10	6	5	1	5	
11-20	4	22	1	3	
21-50	2	25	5	7	
51-100	4	9	-	-	
more than 100	-	-	-	-	
CARLOWAY DISTRICT:					
CATTLE** nil	3	6	-	2	1
1	21	72	5	11	4
2	5	10	1	2	1
3	-	1	-	-	
more than 3	-	-	-	-	
SHEEP nil	9	17	2	6	4
less than 6	2	5	-	2	
6-10	4	8	-	1	1
11-20	6	17	2	2	1
21-50	5	32	1	3	1
51-100	2	6	1	1	
more than 100	1	3	-	-	

* some units are omitted for lack of data.
** two years and over.

TABLE 38

Stock carried 80 years ago compared with that carried today and with the soumings

	Cattle (more than 1 year old): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum	Sheep (all ages): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum
OLD TOWNSHIPS						
South Uig	716	178	677	3,173	10,500	3,557
Bernera	446	183	464	1,713	5,400	2,890
E.L. Roag	555	132	481	1,652	5,200	2,090
Carloway	682	191	648	2,818	6,000	2,596
NEW TOWNSHIPS	-	104	329	-	5,800	2,858
FARMS etc.	404	44	-	4,400	900	-

Note: Figures for individual townships are given in Appendix E.

not have crofter status. Thus, despite the rigidity imposed by crofting legislation, the crofting structure is evolving; whether the larger units so formed are agriculturally more productive than the smaller, statutory, units is another question.

Cattle and sheep stocks

The production of cattle and sheep is the main function of the croft, from the agricultural point of view, and the main function of the crofting parish. In this respect a great change has occurred in the last 80 years: about 1880 some 3,300 cattle and 14,000 sheep (of all ages) were kept; in 1959 the corresponding figures were 1,281 and 35,000. This change is by no means the result of the re-settlement of crofters on former farms: in 1879, according to the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the sheep:cattle ratio was 2.3:1 on the crofting townships and 9.6:1 on the farms; now it is 27:1 over the whole parish. The change (Table 38) has been fairly uniform over the parish except that, whereas sheep stocks generally have more or less trebled, in the Carloway district they have little more than doubled.

The decline of cattle numbers has been at the same rate as that of the human population and this, together with the much lower sheep:cattle ratio on crofting townships than on farms in 1879, suggests that, 80 years ago just as to-day, the main object of cattle keeping was subsistence rather than commerce. The increase in sheep numbers on the other hand is probably no more than a reflection of increasing disregard of the soumings.

If we compare the cattle and sheep stocks with the soumings shown in Table 38 and Appendix E we find that 80 years ago, except in Bernera, there was rough agreement between stock and soum. To-day cattle stocks are around one-third of those allowed by the soum whereas sheep stocks are greatly in excess. Examination of the soumings leads one to question their validity in the light of modern conditions: the sheep soums bear no regular relation to the available areas of common pastures (Appendices A(2) and

a legal croft, a squatter builds a house on the common grazing, and a feuar pays a feu-duty or ground-annual to the proprietor. Such unofficial holdings with stock on the common grazing are "agricultural units" in the same way as the crofts, for in fact some cottars keep more stock than the crofters. In these classes are 84 families and 32 of them keep stock. Thus instead of 215 legal units, there are 219 working units[1]. The more usual situation in depopulated crofting areas, where the number of agricultural units is much smaller than the number of crofts, is certainly not prevalent in Park. The official pattern of crofting and the real pattern are very different indeed both in Park and throughout the Crofting Area.

Crofting Agriculture

By definition, the function of crofting is agricultural production. The small area of cultivable land, the poverty of the immature soils and the inhibiting characteristics of the climate, severely limit the range of crops. Of the 1838 acres of croft land in Park, less than 400 acres are classed as arable land. The measurement of the arable land was carried out about 1850 but reclamation after that date increased the arable area. Only in the townships of Shiellderrnish, Habost, Kershader, (Figure 5), and Garyvard where there are deeper deposits of glacial drift, is ploughing practised; elsewhere cultivation is entirely in 'lazy-beds', a system of narrow ridges 4 to 6 feet in width, separated by open drains, and cultivated by spade. Natural grass for hay is the chief crop, and and accounts for 52 per cent of the 638 acres of cropped land (See Table II). As only 400 acres of the croft land are classed as arable, some of this hay is taken from areas which were brought into cultivation after 1850. Oats (26 per cent), occupy the largest cultivated area, followed by potatoes (13 per cent). The small area of sown grass (9 per cent) of which four fifths is cut for hay, is symptomatic of the low standard of husbandry: only one fifth of the agriculture units sow grass. The average cropped area per agricultural unit is only 3 acres and only one-third of the units have gardens in cultivation. The hay and oats are grown for winter fodder, and the potatoes for household use. No detailed conclusions as to the use made of the crofts for cropping can be drawn, as the potential of each croft is extremely variable, but the low proportion of sown grass is indicative of the husbandry. There is a clear distinction between the 'agricultural' townships (Seaforthhead, Shiellderrnish, Habost, Kershader, Garyvard and Caversta), and the 'fishing' townships (Cromore, Marivig, Calbost, Gravir and Glengravir, Lemreway and Orinsay) in the extent and utilisation of the arable land: one measure of this distinction is that 55 per cent of the units in the agricultural townships sow grass; the figure for the fishing townships is only 22 per cent.

More valuable conclusions can however be reached from a study of the stocking. With the exception of Glengravir township, each croft has a defined soum, and thus the stock entitlement for each operative unit can be calculated. By using the equivalence, the soum can be converted to "cow units". In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower, and 8 sheep per £1 rent: the equivalence is 1 cow to 5 sheep. The number of cow units per £1 rent is therefore 2.6; in the calculation, followers are ignored. The actual stock of the agricultural unit can also be converted to cow units and thus a comparison can be made between the soum and the actual stock of each unit. The percentage of the soum taken up can thus be used as an indication of the extent to which the unit is worked.

In the Crofting Area, as in all Highland Britain, stock rearing is the main function of agriculture. In Park, all the agricultural income, subsidies for cropping excluded, is derived from cattle and sheep.

1 Of the 215 legal units, 28 are sublet: thus if there was no unofficial stock-keeping by cottars and squatters there would be 187 agricultural units. However, there are 32 additional stock-keepers and thus in fact there are 219 agricultural units.

(iii) Agricultural Statistics of Berneray District,

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: (acres) Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pastures:	Cartsheds (No.)	CATTLE: Sgum:	Milk:
Breaclete	15	3	14	13	3	8	80	10	59	14
Creir	8	-	7	6	2	4	222	1	37	7
Backlete	20	1	20	26	6	12	210	-	122	30
Kirkibost	26	4	28	26	9	22	373	9	146	35
Tabsen	24	-	19	22	7	3	160	7	57	30
BERNERA ISL.	91	8	88	93	27	49	1045	27	452	116
Earsbader	4	2	6	7	1	7	43	4	17	6
Crulivig	6	-	6	9	3	4	68	-	25	8
Lundale	6	-	6	6	3	2	144	3	34	7
Limsbader	10	-	9	6	4	7	45	9	13	6
'SHORE'	26	2	27	28	11	20	300	16	89	27
FARMS etc.	-	4	4	-	-	-	7	2	-	5
TOTAL BERNERA DISTRICT	117	14	119	121	38	69	1345	45	548	148

Notes: (a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are give

(b) Croft holdings include duplicate tenancies; other holdings include squatters if carrying crops or stock; effective agricultural units cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation; duplicate tenan not counted twice.

(c) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at th unless some other date is specified.

(d) Additional sheep figures are given in Appendix G(2).

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APPENDIX C

August 1959

Others:	Calves:	SHEEP: Sows:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Horses	Tractors
11	15	312	221	164	241	-	-
4	7	96	133	110	137	-	-
22	19	661	486	390	499	2	1
14	27	866	496	381	420	5	1
6	24	784	362	305	248	-	-
57	92	2719	1690	1350	1545	7	2
1	6	104	149	121	168	-	-
6	5	163	193	168	213	-	-
4	7	192	197	167	141	-	1
2	4	330	307	218	227	-	-
13	22	789	846	674	749	-	1
33	5	-	180	130	205	-	-
103	119	5308	2724	2154	2499	7	3

n in the text.

de facto holdings such as cottars and
include only holdings with at least a
rmies and privately sub-let crofts are

e date when the regulations were made

(1b) Agricultural Statistics of East Loch Roag and Carloway distri

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: (Acres) Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pasture:	Gardens	CATTLE: Soum:	Milk:	O
EAST LOCH ROAG:											
Garynahine	12	1	11	2	1	19	66	7	18	4	
Callanish	48	-	32	20	9	34	177	13	124 (232?)	28	
Breasclete Pt.	9	1	5	3	2	6	21	7	17	3	
Breasclete	63	3	54	34	11	58	273	43	191	48	
Tolsta Chaolis	43	3	30	17	9	47	222	13	96	28	
Lochganvich	8	-	7	4	2	12	48	4	11	7	
Others	-	3	3	5	1	8	493	1	-	8	
CARLOWAY DISTRICT											
Dun Carloway	24	6	25	18	7	29	141	13	130 (164?)	25	
Kirivick	14	2	13	8	2	20	50	8	60	13	
Knock Carloway	33	7	33	13	6	28	131	33	132	33	
Carloway	53	18	50	39	14	67	99	35	116	54	
Carloway Park	6	-	5	5	1	8	5	4	14	6	
Borrowston	16	-	13	8	3	25	18	12	98 (116?)	12	
Garenin	28	2	23	22	9	27	53	7	38 (154?)	24	

Notes: (a), (b), and (c) - as for Appendix C(1a).

(d) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions are a

(e) Where an alternative figure is shown beneath the soum there is doubt a regulation.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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APPENDIX C continued

cts, August, 1959

			SHEEP:					
thers:	Calves:		Sows:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Horses	Tractors
-	2		180	98	94	31	-	-
5	23		671 (928?)	549	509	253	1	2
1	2		124	68	52	34	-	1
4	32		567	601	479	368	1	-
2	24		573	700	520	270	1	2
1	4		155	140	134	48	-	2
1	5		-	42	40	17	-	1
10	17		460 (574?)	612	400	492	1	1
2	8		202	205	163	92	-	-
6	25		530	407	301	140	-	-
2	34		590	314	248	197	3	1
1	5		81	70	62	53	1	-
3	8		392 (464?)	362	277	228	-	-
-	16		341 (539?)	419	281	257	3	-

reported. See also Appendix C(2).

to the interpretation of the

5:	Caird et al.	K-S	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

TABLE VI

TOWNSHIP STOCKING: 1883[1] AND 1958

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	1883		1958	
	Cattle	Sheep	Cattle	Sheep
Habost	65	215	34	1,044
Kershader	67	205	34	822
Garyvard	55	200	26	736
Caversta	27	109	12	264
Cromore	127	310	48	905
Marivig.	84	207	23	850
Calbost	71	220	4	326
Leurasay	158	481	58	1,139
TOTAL	654	1,947	259	6,066

1. Royal Commission on Crofting - mss. data, 1883.

Register House, Edinburgh.

Information was not complete for Gravir, and the remaining townships were not in crofting tenure in 1883.

/p. 8-9/

TABLE VII

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS[1]: Parish of Loche[2]

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CROPS	1913	1920	1930	1947
Oats	487	383	879	757
Bere	191	154	15	4
Potatoes	455	772	330	239
Sown Grass for Hay	1	26	124	78
Sown Grass for Pasture	-	6	76	72
Total Cultivation	1134	1341	1622	1150
Permanent Grass for Hay	44	32	573	791
Permanent Pasture	2650	2464	1041	1367
Others[3]	22	6	268	86
TOTAL Crops and Grass:	3850	3843	3306	3394
STOCK:				
Horses	102	101	49	39
Cattle	2489	1701	1412	1150
Sheep[4]	9450 (3608)	8750 (3952)	23434 (9929)	29988 (14256)
Poultry	?	?	8173	12302

1. By courtesy of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.
2. As Park is part of Loche Parish, these are the only statistics availab
3. Roots (negligible acreage), fallow.
4. Figures in brackets are breeding ewes.

/. 8-E/

000 weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Mains electricity was install
354 7 years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas and peat. The chief source of fuel for heating purposes is peat, alghough a little coal may be used.

427 There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions, a small-holding of 15 acres formerly the Mill, and 10 feus, all of which are worked as 54 units. The crofts
[361] lie as long narrow strips in a NE - SW direction from the moorland to the sea. All are at least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some crofters are, at the moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land completely.

241 The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a little clover mixture is sown for hay, many crofters find that the natural grass is sufficient for their needs. Vegetables are produced in a few gardens, but most people do not have enough time or interest to bother with them. Flowers rarely flourish owing to the lack of shelter.

311 Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and the land nearest the shore
[178] part of which was once cultivated on a run-rig system is now unfenced and used entirely for grazing together with some peat cutting. A piece of the common grazing has been improved by application of shell sand and chemical fertilizers and reseeded. This experiment in which almost the whole township took part has proved very successful and there are plans for further reseeding. Details of crops are given in Appendix C.

[460] Although the tractors of which there are two in the township are used wherever possib
[231] the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for potatoes. Much hay is cut by mower but scythes are used to a large extent. There is still one horse in the township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its owner.

233 The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e. 2½ times the souming which here is 2 cows and 5 sheep per £1 sterling rent. 40 crofters keep sheep but none have sufficient to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Many lambs are lost on the
231 moors during the summer and more fail to survive the winter. The number of cattle kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each household to keep 1 cow and 1 calf which is generally sold after 6 months when a subsidy can be claimed. Breasclete has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Most households keep sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1938. Now it is not necessary as fewer cows are kept than formerly. With the reduction in numbers of stock the common pastures close to the village are being colonised by heather.

221 The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditches are cleaned and the
241 land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilised and sown with oats and
233 potatoes. The sheep are dipped and by the 10th of May must be out on the moors as the
314 crofts are then closed to common grazings. Soon after this peats are cut on the moors two or three miles from the village. After about 20 days the peats are lifted and carried to the Pentland Road by tractor where they are stacked to await the lorry which takes them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the fank for shearing and the cows are usually brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the croft is not fenced they must be tethered. At the end of June the clover is cut, while the potatoes must be cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped. Natural grass is cut for hay and if there is any first year sown grass this may yield a second crop in September, together with the corn harvest. When the potatoes have been lifted in October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for the winter. Final dipping takes place in November.

162 Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 years and 57 are over 65 years of age. Of the resident tenants 9 are between 15 and 44 years, 19 are between 44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on persons are periodically
00 away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 29 are permanently away. Since 1939,

are usually all the potatoes. Between the road and Loch a' Bhaile and between the unmade road and Loch Shader on crofts 22 to 25 the land is probably more intensively cultivated than ever before, but strips now overgrown with rushes and coarse grasses, especially near the cemetery give an idea of the former extent of cultivation. The working of strips nearer the sea is no longer worth the labour involved. Crofts 22 to 25 are further divided by the small Loch Shader; no. 28 however makes good use of a small alluvial flat at the head of Loch a' Bhaile.

Artificial fertilisers are in general use together with lime and dung. However some crofts were using seaweed, in particular nos. 1A, 1B, 1C, 4, 5, and 25 - i.e. those crofts with easiest access to the sea. The seaweed is gathered in the New Year and trodden into the ground in the spring and apparently gives excellent results, but too much labour is involved in carrying it to crofts in the centre of the township. Forty years ago each croft had rights to the "red" and "black" seaweed along the coast.

The crop acreages for the whole township will be found detailed in Appendix C (1) The area of oats for each croft varied between 0.25 and 2.50 acres whilst the maximum for sown grass was 1.5 acres. The excellent crops of hay from sown grass would suggest its further extension, but unfortunately most of the land suitable for cultivation is already under oats and potatoes. The practice of undersowing oats was not particularly widespread whilst only two small strips of oats-rye mixture were found. One crofter had also obtained good results in a small patch with seven different vegetables, whilst soft fruits are to be planted next year. The two sets of 'run-rig' crofts practise a fixed run-rig with the usual rotation of oats and grass on the strips.

In cattle stock (Appendix C) the township has 28 three year-old beasts, 2 one year-olds, and 24 calves. Only 6 registered occupied crofts have no cow, two crofters have two cows each, and one crofter has two cows and two calves. The township has no bull however and the nearest is at Carloway or Callanish. With a much smaller number of cattle than that of thirty years ago there is now no need to make the annual summer visit to the shielings, a practice which died out in Tolsta Chaolais between 1920 and 1930. Pastures could however carry three times the present amount of cattle. The souming of 1 cow and 6 sheep per £1 rent is now apparently ignored. The approximate total of sheep for the township is 1,500 whilst for 1958 it was about 1,470. The total of lambs was approximately 520 but most crofters found it difficult to give an accurate figure since some might have been lost on the moor during the summer. The highest number of breeding ewes for any one croft was 112, of lambs was 34, and of other sheep was 26; five crofters, however have no sheep at all. Before 1939 a shepherd was employed by the township when the sheep were sent to the moor. The shepherd was usually a young boy just left school and was paid by each crofter according to the number of sheep the latter sent to the moor. This has been discontinued but a levy, of 5s. per croft and 2½d. per head of sheep, is made for the upkeep of the township fence. Finally, almost every crofter keeps at least a dozen poultry.

The movement of stock over the grazing areas is summarised as follows:

(1) From November 13th to May 1st: cattle are usually in the byre, depending on the weather, and sheep can wander anywhere. Crofts should be open to common grazing unless all the crofter's stock remains within his own croft boundary.

(2) From May 1st. to May 20th. sheep are in the outer park.

(3) On May 20th. sheep are sent to the moor.

(4) Throughout the summer cattle are in both the inner and the outer parks.

(5) On October 1st. the sheep are brought into the outer park.

(6) On November 13th. the sheep are brought into the inner park.

Details of population and employment will be found in Appendix D. It is a very striking comment on the state of crofting in this township that only four persons are

The Agricultural Year in the Carloway District.

Month	General	Land	Cattle	Sheep
January and February	Preparation of land. Ditching.		In byres - out on fine days.	On crofts and inner common pasture.
March		Ploughing and manuring.	On crofts and inner common pasture.	FANK - dipping. Put on outer common pasture.
April	Peat cutting.	Sowing oats. Sowing potatoes. Cleaning potatoes.	Sales.	
May	Lifting peat.			
June	Peat taken to roads.	Cultivating.		
July	Little croft work until late in July or early August.	Hay cutting and drying.		
August	Bringing home peat.	Oats cut and dried.		FANKS - for shearing and weaning.
September		Grain and hay brought to stack enclosure and byre.	Sales.	
October		Lifting the potatoes.	Cattle brought into byres.	Brought to croft and inner common pasture. Dipping and tupping.
November and December	Little croft work.		Feeding in byres; outside when possible.	

Figure 40.

DUN CARLOWAY

361 Dun Carloway though clearly of a similar type to the other townships south of Loch
Carloway has certain features peculiar to itself. The croft land may be divided into
427 two sections; crofts 18 to 23 occupy the deep trench which extends from the Dun Carloway
school to Loch Carloway itself. These holdings are larger than the average discussed
above and are divided in broad rectangular block. To the west there is a less deeply
entrenched zone where the crofts are long and narrow lying up and down slope like those
241 of Borrowston. Short steep and narrow lazy beds characterise the cultivation which
follows the pattern set in the other townships, although the areas, as has been noted
above, are much larger in some cases; the largest have up to twenty acres. Despite
this increased size no croft has more than two acres of oats. The low percentage of
land under cultivation is only in part explained by the difficult nature of the ground and
461 the limited use which can be made of the tractor. Few crofters are willing to attempt
more cultivation (to provide extra feed for store cattle or some other form of stock
[288] enterprise) so long as the income from weaving is satisfactory. The concept of the
croft as an ancilliary employment appears to have defeated its own object, for with the
population at its present level, and with the income from weaving as it is, very few
crofters are prepared to do more than provide milk for the family, (with the annual cow
and calf subsidies, and the proceeds of the sale of the annual calf as by-products) and to
derive what income Providence rather than goodmanagement may allow from the sheep.

427 The total area of individually held croftland is 194 acres which is worked in twenty
five agricultural units derived from twenty six crofts, nine feus, one 'free gift' holding
311 and one squatter. The cultivation is accomplished by one horse and one tractor, each
fo which is owned within the township.

311 The total souming is exceeded, the main reason for this being the gross overstocking
of sheep; 187.4% of the soum. This overstocking cannot fail to have a harmful effect
on the common pasture, promoting an increase in the bracken already visible on some
of the croftland itself, under-nourishment and disease. The poor quality of the hill
pasture is brought home by a comparison with the grazings of North Uist where the most
striking feature of the landscape is its greenness after the heavier browns of Western
Lewis. Regeneration by surface seeding would certainly be helpful here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

128 The tables given in appendices C and D form the basis for much of the comment in the
preceding pages. They must now be considered in the light of the general tendencies
which they illustrate in the changing livestock economy units

241 Appendix C (1) elucidates the working of the crofts. The picture is somewhat com-
311 plicated by the large number of non-crofting holdings in the area, of which 43 carry
stock (a quarter of these sublet croftland). The number of feus also tends to mask the
231 process of amalgamation of crofts to form larger working units; a process which has
423 been taking place for some time. There are in this connection one or two cases of the
427 cross working of crofts between individuals in neighbouring townships. The figures for
these units have been included with those of the township where the tenant is resident.

241 Oats are the most important arable crop. The acreages of sown grass for hay and
pasture are much lower in comparison. Permanent grass, mostly old arable land, is
to be found on 52% of the total area of land occupied as crofts and feus. A large propor-
tion of this is on very thin soil where bare rock is exposed and on wet land, but even so
it does show that much more of the land might be under cultivation or improved grass.
[118] The decrease in cultivation since the late nineteenth century is probably much less than
that for the Valtos area of South Uig where about 70% of the inbye and outrun is under

permanent grass. The pre-eminence of the Carloway area is then only a relative one where the decline in cultivation is taking place at a slower rate. Isolation, the decline in fishing and the lack of alternative employment leading to a greater decline in population may explain the more rapid decline in the Valtos area. Whether Carloway will see a similar decline remains to be seen.

Table 35

Stock carried as a proportion of total soum of each township - Carloway district, August 1959

TOWNSHIP	All Stock	Cattle	Sheep*
Carloway	63%	53%	70%
Carloway Park	87%	64%	119%
Borrowston	74%	15%	121%
Garenin	97%	30%	160%
Knock Carloway	64%	30%	90%
Kirivick	73%	25%	124%
Dun Carloway	104%	21%	187%

* As recorded in some cases these figures are too low (see Appendix C (2)); the maximum error is probably around 10%.

Table 35 summarises the agricultural system; further details of the relations between size of unit, status of tenant, stock of cultivation, will be found in Appendix C (3), (4), (5) and (6). Though the total soumings (that is the conversion of both cattle and sheep units to 'cow units' expressed as a percentage of the souming) never fall below 60% the sheep souming is exceeded in five townships and that grossly in two cases. Once again however this is not as serious as it is in the Valtos area where soumings are exceeded by up to three times the figure allowed. Nor does the mere statistical analysis reveal all the picture for it is essential that a proportionate number of cattle be kept so that the grazing of both cattle and sheep may regulate the growth of the grass. As it is, the relative and absolute increase in the numbers of sheep is having a serious effect on the quality of the pastures.

Sheep are given less attention that the cattle whether they need it or not and few of the present generation are prepared to tolerate the life of the shieling in its old form where the cattle were taken in the summer. In consequence the grazing on the outer moor is almost entirely given up to sheep. The shielings are now only marked by small broken stone mounds which were once the shelters and by the small surrounding areas of greener sward. The changing aspect of the hill landscape has already been mentioned.

Comparison of the totals given in Appendix C (1) shows how the present pattern is developing. 167 milk cows are being raised on 171 agricultural units and with these are 113 calves. Appendixes C (5) and C (6) indicate that the agricultural unit farming the basis of farming is the single milk cow and annual calf which carries a subsidy if it passes the inspector of the Department of Agriculture. A few crofters are raising young beasts for sale but there is a general unwillingness to grow more fodder to raise cattle for an uncertain market which may be affected at any moment by an increase in transport costs which are already high. Without the subsidy such enterprises would hardly be possible at all and indeed one could say this of many aspects of life in the island today. Some of the calves are wintered, but the usual practice is to sell off late in the year.

CROFT SIZE RELATED TO INTENSIT

(Figures in brackets are percenta

Acres	Legal Crofts	Operative Units	PERCENTAGE OF SOUMING TAKEN UP Less than 50%	50 - 100%	Over 100%
0 - 5	80(37)	88(40)	14(16)	20(23)	20(23)
5 - 10	90(42)	69(32)	13(19)	17(25)	31(44)
10 - 15	28(13)	39(18)	5(13)	14(36)	20(51)
15 -	17(8)	23(10)	2(9)	7(30)	14(61)
	215(100)	219(100)	34(15)	58(26)	85(41)

1. The Glengravir crofts have no souming.

2. Cottars, feuars, and squatters who have no grazing rights.

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Y OF STOCKING

ges)

Units[1] Unscomed	Non-craft operative[2] Units with stock
6(7)	20(31)
4(6)	4(6)
-	-
-	-
10(5)	32(13)

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S: Caird et al. K-S (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Park

TABL

AGRICULTURAL TOTALS BY OPER

TOWNSHIP	No. of Legal Crofts[1]	No. of other holdings with stock[2]	No. of Agricultural Units[3]	Arable	Outrun (acres)	Common Pasture	[illegible]
Swordle(Crossad and Ghildavrinish)	6	1	5	39.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bunessan	13	4	14	26.5	95.0	1233	[illegible]
Earnhander	13	-	11	26.0	125.3	1959	[illegible]
Carnyard	10	7	17	37.8	59.2	1256	[illegible]
Carnravia	6	1	6	11.0	34.8	842	[illegible]
Crossore	28	6	35	68.4	85.1	2104	[illegible]
Fearing	26	8	25	56.3	120.1	863	[illegible]
Fallmont	14	6	9	16.3	34.2	1725	[illegible]
Glengrasip	15	-	10	40.[illegible]		-	[illegible]
Grasir	43	10	44	86.3	277.0	[illegible]	[illegible]
Orisaig	14	-	12	161.[illegible]		1475	[illegible]
Learaway	33	4	33	78.1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
TOTALS:	[illegible]	39	419	516.5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

1. A legal croft is any piece of land registered as a croft - a township may consist of two or more crofts. There are 415 townships.

2. Cottars, feuars, squatters with stock.

3. An agricultural unit is defined as any unit, whether a legal croft or a number of legal crofts owned and/or sublet, or a cottar, feuar or squatter having stock. Agricultural units may include crofts in other townships worked from the home unit; the gross and grossings of such crofts are added to the township

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LE II

ATIVE UNITS IN TOWNSHIPS - 1958

	Land Use			Dressed (cow & units)	Total Stock	Sheep Ewes (No.)	STOCK Breeding Ewes	Lambs	Other Sheep
	Potatoes (Acres)	Hay	Pasture						
.0	3.3	33.3	37.6	106	975	258	330	308	119
.5	8.8	46.3	43.0	78	164[5]	179	514	380	418
.0	6.3	27.0	97.8	119	123[5]	187	371	181	270
.1	5.8	18.0	57.0	90	68[5]	336	369	150	235
.0	8.1	8.3	50.6	51	46	159	187	68	35
.3	12.3	35.6	85.3	173	468	444	468	258	187
.6	9.6	36.8	119.7	70	99	807	611	254	185
.3	1.0	8.3	57.0	30	61	90	145	76	57
.8	3.3	17.3	36.6	18	31	89	80	39	40
.1	18.8	76.0	255.6	109	842	504	855	616	607
.3	6.5	85.6	131.7	56	99	160	374	238	95
.5	15.8	68.1	206.8	185	183	615	866	877	246
.2	86.7	373.8	1146.1	1147	1889	3380	4773	4679	2598

from which they are operated and subtracted from the township in which they are situated.

4. See page 5 for definition.

5. Some tenants in the townships of Deaforthmead and Ehlidennish, Rabnott, Barnhamber, Garryward, rent grazing in Park Deer Forest and therefore this stock is not related only to their respective Duncan Fergure Dowings.

6. Arable and outrun are not statistically differentiated; in the totals, the proportions of arable to outrun in the other townships have been used.

/ Section p. 8 /

[Gryvard]

Only a fraction of the total arable land is cultivated by tractor and this is divided among seven crofts. In spite of an emphatic statement by one of these cultivators to the effect that he will never use it again, the use of the tractor will increase as soon as the pioneers are able to prove to their neighbours its capabilities and as soon as the lazy-beds are joined together, an improvement which has already taken place in Habost. The main objection to the use of the tractor by the disappointed user was the inevitable one that the yields were smaller than in former years when he had used the spade. The answer to this was given by one of the other pioneers, who thought that time saved could be devoted to some other profitable occupation, for example, weaving. Six of the crofters practise a five-year crop rotation, sowing potatoes first, followed by oats under-sown with clover which for the following three years is cut for hay.

An interesting experiment has been that of the improvement of two acres of common grazing land by the road on the west side of the township, by nine of the crofters working together during the evenings. The work began early in Spring when 6 tons of lime, 10 cwts. of mineral phosphates and 8 cwts. of compound fertiliser were spread evenly over the land. The grass seed was sown in July, the most favourable time for sowing since there is less danger of a drought than earlier in the year, and more convenient too, in that the sheep had been gathered for shearing and 250 of them were available to be driven back and forth over the land to tramp the seeds in. In theory this land should be ready for grazing next Spring, but in practice it will be ready in November. It is planned to re-seed twelve acres in all.

Most crofters have a cow to provide milk for their own needs. The Black Poll bull at Gravir is preferred to the other township bulls since its progeny command higher prices. Sales are held in the district twice per year, once on the old late-level on the east side of the township, and once at Baiallan. Prices for calves are normally better in Spring than at the Autumn sale, nevertheless prices offered tend to be low. Even so, it is usually to the advantage of the crofter to part with the animal rather than bear the cost of taking it back to the croft and wintering it there. Naturally there is some bitterness that the middlemen who buy these animals will sell them at much higher prices on the mainland at Dingwall. Sheep are normally sold in Stornoway to the butchers but also at the local sales.

Crofting is not in itself a lucrative form of employment and in most households there is at least one other source of income. A majority of the crofters have regular employment, two working in quarries or on the roads for the County Council, another is postman, three are weavers, another both weaver and contractor, while yet another works in Antarctic waters aboard a whaling factory ship for eight months of the year. Weaving is undoubtedly the most lucrative of the ancillary occupations, though the weavers are suffering at the moment from the slump in the Harris Tweed industry which is also affecting the prices for wool. Contracting is also a paying proposition for one or two persons only, since the amount of freight is obviously limited.

Most crofters own a small rowing boat and it is not uncommon to see half a dozen nets set to catch mackerel and other demersal fish. There is not one large fishing boat, however, partly because of the scarcity of fish near the coasts, and partly because of the isolation of the area and the subsequent difficulties in marketing. The Stornoway trawlers do not operate in the Minch, and one has to its credit the destruction of two long lines - the sum total of the tackle belonging to a local boat. To have eighteen pounds worth of gear lost in one night is ruin to a crofter-fisherman. Lobster fishing has died out at Garryard though it could be quite extensively practised.

The main road from South Lochs to Stornoway through the village has obviously had a profound effect on the township. The sites of the old 'black houses' have been abandoned when new houses have been built, in favour of sites conveniently near to the road. The Road Age has greatly limited man's capacity for carrying goods. This is well illustrated by the fact that the majority of crofters in Garryard use artificial fertilisers, whereas they are scarcely used at all in Caversta where the road ends about 50 yards from the nearest house.

[Caversta]

Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for lambing or other purposes and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes are normally brought in at the topping in mid-October and December when crops have been gathered, and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for black leg, braxy and louping ill, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third week of May.

The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep sum, but the overall stocking is only 88 per cent of the total sum. Two crofts only exceed their individual sums, while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however, poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuable for wintering the sheep. Lewis Blackface sheep are the predominant breed and the wool, clipped in July, is sold to the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter house. The 1958 loss at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the growth of grass for the ewes. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early-born calves may be sold in the Autumn at six months old, those born later must be wintered to eight months until the Spring sales. The cows are served by the Department of Agriculture Highland bull at Habost, but although good prices are obtained for beef cattle, it is felt that for the family milk supply, a dairy bull would produce a better strain.

In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. In most cases the land under each crop is less than half an acre and nowhere does it exceed two acres. The lazy-beds have been built up into broads about six to ten feet wide, separated by open drainage channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor (hired from Habost) is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not altogether favourable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by marsh and steep faces of bare rock.

Neither Toriota nor Caversta is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the road near Cromore, while the latt: has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and an inferior footpath joining the main road at Garryard. The lack of a good road within the dyke acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilisers. Byre manure is used on all the crofts and seaweed is brought from the shore and spread on the lazybeds. Artificial manures, used on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. This lack of incentive to improve is perhaps even more marked by the fact that on one holding alone is a rotation practised - potatoes, oats undersown with clover, then hay for three or four years. Apart from this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the same strips for many years. Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay and is often cut from lazybeds that were formerly cultivated. On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridges can be seen to have a crescentic shape and are thought to date back more than two hundred years. A short distance beyond the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonised by heather.

Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch within the dyke, is cut on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and later brought home by creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens and all keep up to twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the larders, are also maintained.

In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Caversta and seven at Toriota. After 1881, when maximum figures of fifty-nine and nineteen were noted, there was a secondary peak in 1911 in Caversta, followed by a steady drop to twenty in 1951 and eighteen in 1958.

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manures are widely used. Only seven crofts have vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain through the winter and no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the souming. Lambing takes place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own flock. The crofter sells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and then dipped. November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March so that they are six months old in October for the Garryard sales. The cows are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Croisg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on lank days.

Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under cultivation and from an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazing. It is unfortunate that all crofters were not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the road between Caversta and Gravir, about three miles south-south-east of Cromore and one mile north of Gravir.

Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this, however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and, in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airidhvouich. At present the average production is only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. During the past year there has been a considerable increase in the demand for tweed. Knitting is a winter pastime but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by road a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a van which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recent additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday.

[Marivig]

There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep; there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the croft, while peats from the north end of the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft, and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away working in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school - over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that 'there is nothing for the young people here'.

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a pier, also a partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron. All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply; rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing tins of evaporated milk from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

[Calbost] [Gravir] [Glengravir]

There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are squatters and only eight houses are occupied within the dyke. Of the male population, there are three children under fourteen year one man in the 15-44 age group, three between 45 and 64 years and two over 65. This clearly shows the lack of active men from 15-44 years, necessary for the continuing economic success of the community. However, even these figures are not so striking as the numbers of emigrants as no less than 39 men and 40 women have left Calbost since 1939.

A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the younger people have left to find employment in Stornoway and on the mainland. The present population structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride the major east-west road, the Gravir-Garry Ostern, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The site of the township is perhaps the most picturesque in all Park, but the steep slopes, lack of cover, the small area of good arable land, and the considerable population existing on slim resources, problems common to Park as a whole, are all epitomised in Gravir.

On the south-facing slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough in the valley to the west, the majority of the crofts have been carved from moor to sea, some before 1800, and some in the process of the abolition of run-rig which was accomplished in the years 1850 to 1852. Originally, there appears to have been thirty crofts, but four were added during the nineteenth century, two at each end of the line, and in 1934 a further fifteen were cut out of the common grazing, a mile to the west of Gravir. On the south side of the loch, the 'clachan' of Tom an Fhuaskie established about 1800, has since developed into a further nine crofts. Thus there are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir and a further fifteen in Glengravir making fifty-eight in all.

The layout of Glengravir, a line of crofts from 3.6 to five acres, typifies the small post-1918 Department of Agriculture holdings. The arrangement of the Gravir crofts is different as indicated in Figure 4; and it will be seen that not all the crofts are consolidated. There are three areas of former arable commons which have been lotted in unfenced strips and they may well be reminiscent of those which were necessary to supplement the food-producing capacity of the holdings. The method of distribution and allocation speaks of a period when a subsistence economy under severe pressure from overpopulation necessitated 1800 lazy-beds for all. The last of these commons was in cultivation until 1891. Although subsistence crofting has been obsolete since then, there is as yet no move toward a regularization of the layout.

The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable commons developed mainly as a result of a successful fishing industry which prospered from 1860 to 1914 and at one time there were two curing stations in Gravir. With relative prosperity came an military industry, cottars were brought into the township and the population rose from 197 in 1830, to 368 in 1881 reaching a peak of 411 in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has certainly not yet ceased. Gravir was visited from 1918 to a township of agricultural labourers and a few crofters, but the hopes of a revival of fishing activity since.

Stock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and conditions are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir crofts vary between 3.5 and 26.5 acres in size: no croft has more than four acres of 'old arable'. In the days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in narrow lazy-beds, was backed up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more extensive. All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed cast far away. At Cromore on the coast south of Rubha Hisaf. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed area is no cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture; some of the lazy-

[Gr-vtr] [Glengr-vtr]

beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other lazy-beds are permanently in natural hay; only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'old arable' is now in oats and potatoes. If natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the old arable (ninety acres) after 1850-52. As in all the fishing townships the area of sown grass is infinitesimal for only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of under-sowing.

There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives. All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and squatters and feuars, besides the fifteen legal Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir common. The common has been encroached on by several feus for Gravir is the functional centre of Park: the Free Church of Scotland and Manse, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionaries (assistant ministers) are all located in Gravir.

Gravir and Glengravir thus have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty per cent of the soum, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 2,652 acres is in general of poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957, a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded: only twelve of the operative units participated in this reclamation work, and the ages of the participants ranged between 27 and 58 years; this is significant as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended annually; if potential improvements to the crofts are limited, pasture amelioration is virtually without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater numbers; at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the sheep soum, and a ewe and lamb sell for as little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the consequences of over-stocking. The cattle stock is below the souming and this paucity of cattle is one of the notable changes in the agriculture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the souming by thirty-five per cent.

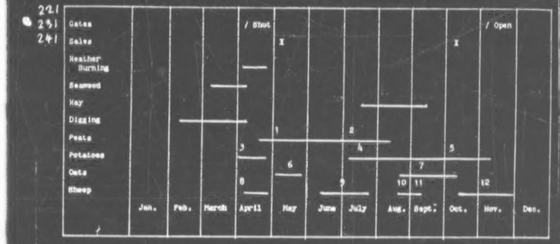
The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from the souming of one cow and follower and eight sheep per pound sterling of rent in a township where only seven crofts pay more than £2 rent, they were never intended to be self-supporting agricultural units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, bere or oats, locally milled by the three Gravir water mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family. Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for lobsters.

If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of insurable age and service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupation are sufficiently available or attractive to keep the insurable population in the district. Twelve of the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in permanent employment furth of Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential male resident population.

The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914, in the hay-day of the fishing most of the men fished all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sale of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the souming, the income of the largest croft including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

LEMREWAY

Distribution of work through the year



1. Cutting. 2. Carting. 3. Planting. 4. 'Earlies' and mid-season potatoes. 5. Main harvest. 6. Planting. 7. Harvest. 8. Lambing. 9. Shearing. 10. Lambs weaned. 11. Dipping. 12. Tupping.

FIG. 9

/facing p. 31/

[Lemreway]

vulgaris is dominant. Ling, which can tolerate considerable soil water, often occurs with Nardus, Molinia, Scirpus cespitosus and Eriophorium. A few rowans, usually near the shore, and a few willows, usually within stone enclosures, are the only trees to be seen.

Of the thirty-three legal crofts in Lemreway, nine comprise less than five acres, while seventeen are between five and ten acres. Of the remainder, only two exceed fifteen acres and one of these is 40 acres. Six unoccupied crofts are worked by persons other than their tenants, so actually the 290 acres of croft land are shared by twenty-seven holdings. The seventeen-acre 'outend' was originally divided between fifteen tenants but confused sub-letting has resulted in four separate holdings directly occupying nine acres, and working another four acres. Thus the outend today must be regarded as the monopoly of four 'unofficial' holders.

Little more than a quarter of the croft land is cultivable and even less is actually cultivated today: Figure 9 illustrates the crofting year. The broken terrain and the stony nature of the soil has permitted the cultivation of tiny 'lazybeds' and the total cultivated area is now about 46 acres. Only the strips of land on the gentler slopes, where the soils are deeper, are now cultivated, but every croft shows signs of former, more extensive, lazybed cultivation, often covering at least two acres. For example, on the east side, natural hay is cut on the well-marked lazybeds at about 225 feet.

Oats and potatoes, 29.5 and 16 acres respectively, occupy almost all of the cultivated ground. Most crofts grow about half an acre of potatoes and one acre of oats; both acreages have declined, the former with a declining population and the latter with a reduction in the numbers of cattle; hay has increased in importance. No bere is now grown, though before 1900 it was preferred to oats. Ruins of the bere mill, which ceased to function at the beginning of the century, can still be seen. Fifty-nine acres of natural grass are cut for hay but only four crofters had sown grass for hay in 1958, about three acres in all. Few vegetables other than potatoes are grown though carrots are said to grow well, and formerly turnips and cabbages were grown. The soil needs careful preparation to be productive and almost every crofter used some seaweed and at least twenty drew subsidies for lime and artificial fertilisers in 1958.

Stock totals have declined recently but the township has 36 cows and 22 calves. Only one croft is without cattle and 22 of the 33 working units have a cow and a calf. The township has an Ayrshire bull on loan from the Department of Agriculture; one of the few remaining elements of the co-operative township system is that this animal is fed by the crofters, in rotation, during the winter.

All but two crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between ten and 120 per holding but the majority have about 23 ewes with ten lambs. Although numbers have declined recently, the 3,025 acres of very moderate common pasture support a flock of about 1,150 sheep, including about 650 breeding ewes and about 300 lambs.

The souming is not enforced in Lemreway and it is remarkable that the total stock tallies almost exactly to the souming. An examination of the sheep soum reveals that the stock of 917 (excluding lambs) considerably exceeds the sheep soum of 626. It is interesting that it is nearly always the working units of over 10 acres that are overstocked; of twelve such units, eight keep more sheep than they are entitled to. Most of these crofts are grouped on the eastern side of the township where the crofts have a larger outrun.

Thus, while overgrazing is not so severe as in many townships, it represents a potential threat, particularly if the common pasture is not improved. However, in 1958 ten acres of the common pasture have been enclosed and re-seeded. Six acres were sown with ordinary mixed grass seed, two acres with pelleted seed and two acres with pelleted and inoculated seed. The eleven crofters taking part in the scheme put on 100 tons of sand to help drain and aerate the peaty soil, 2½ tons of ground mineral phosphate and 2 tons of concentrated compound fertiliser, grades 1 and 2 - all of it by hand. The area was sown in May 1958; by the following August, there was a striking difference between it and the untreated pasture. Next Spring, eleven cows will be grazed on this area. With the success of this scheme, it is hoped that more of the crofters will co-operate in re-seeding further areas.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

[Habost] [Kershader]

Of the 53 residents, 19 are over 65 and only 5 under 15 years, leaving a working population of 29: seven are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily declining since its peak of 121 in 1901.

Since 1946, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely fenced and the method of cultivation has changed from spade and horse-plough to tractor and cultivators. A further fence has been erected for a lamb park and much land has been re-seeded; an increasing area has been put down to hay. It would seem that fattening of stock for market is intended, and better attention is being paid to stock. Yet the population is ageing and there are few young men to take the place of the older crofters; when working units become larger and stock decreases to a figure nearer the real carrying capacity of the grazing, the croft could become a profitable concern; at the moment, the croft is only maintained through grants and ancillary earnings. Should that happen, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivation to provide winter fodder.

KERSHADER

Philip W. Wheeler, M.A.

Kershader is a township of forty-three permanent residents on thirteen crofts, which stretch for a mile along the southern shore of Loch Erisort. The crofts extend up to one-third of a mile from the coast with a two-and-a-half mile deep hinterland of common grazing. The extreme elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arranged in rectangular strips at right angles to the coast, are lower (maximum 125 feet) and include three main zones (Fig. 8):

(a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly below 50 feet, dissected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone have a distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and unsuited to fertilization by seaware. The smaller hillocks in this zone have thinner soils of the same sort, but the main hill (crofts 10/11) is an extension of zone (c).

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with hills rising to over 100 feet. The lower areas have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a) and (b), with peaty-loam characteristics, overlying aquiferous gravels. The higher areas have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there are signs of former skinning.

(c) A zone of hollows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reacting well to heavy fertilization with seaware and intervening heights covered with blanket bog, partly skinned, heather and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with gentler slopes over 50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irregular shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

In Kershader, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts vary between 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23.45 acres reputed arable and 110.35 acres outrun. 24.5 acres are in fact under crop (oats 18.5, potatoes 6.0), and 9.5 acres under sown grass; and of the remaining 99.8 acres, mainly natural grass

[Kershader]

with heather and peat on the higher areas, hay is taken off 19.25 acres. Four acres, mainly for potatoes, are worked by spade but most of the cultivation is by tractor hired from Balallan or, in 1958, from Habost. Lazybeds are common and in some cases are carefully renewed, but the present tendency, reaching its extreme in a field of about two acres on one croft, is towards the formation of larger, ploughable fields for ease of tractor operation. Most cultivation is in zones (a) and (b), with little development of (c) at present. The only crops are oats and potatoes, with some garden plots of cabbages, turnips and carrots. The potato main crop is generally Kerr's Pink (Golden Wonder on one croft), with a couple of rows of Skerry Blue or Edzell Blue for earlies. There is no memory of Black Oats (Avena strigosa), and bere (Hordeum vulgare) has certainly not been grown since 1930, and probably not since 1909. The oats are grown exclusively for winter feed and are hand-threshed with stock and comb as the need arises; the last water mill in the locality went out of use after 1914, the last handmill in 1916; no grain has been sent to Stornoway since about 1930. Rotations are extremely irregular: some lazybeds are still cultivated with alternate crops of oats and potatoes and have heavy seaware and manure fertilization, but most other arable areas have some sort of oats, potatoes, oats, sown grass sequence. Fertilisers used are seaware and manure (ten crofts), manure (eleven crofts), sand (one croft), lime (ten crofts) and artificials - 'Potato manure' and sulphate of ammonia - on eight crofts. Artificial fertilisers and much of the seed are obtained through the Crofters' Agency.

The only two horses ever owned by this township were kept on croft 11 from 1936 to 1953. The plough was first introduced in 1936. When a tractor from Balallan became available for hiring in 1953, the horses were disposed of. The present soums are by cow, young beast and sheep per croft in proportion to rents and range from 3 cows, 3 young beasts, 69 sheep down to 1 cow, 1 young beast and 23 sheep. Eight crofts exceed their entitlement but no croft hasless than half the souming and the deficiency is mainly in cattle, especially young beasts. On the other hand, no operative unit is entirely without cattle as manure is extremely important. Cattle are kept for domestic milk supply, and calves, having qualified for subsidy, are normally sold at 6 to 8 months. 10 acres of the common grazing were re-seeded in 1957 and the following rhythm for milk cows is developing:-

(a) As soon as the weather allows in May, the cows are put out in the park for about three weeks.

(b) Next, about 6 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the new outer fence erected in 1957.

(c) Back to the re-seeded park for about five weeks.

(d) Return to the crofts for the winter, being let out either to the park or to the common grazings whenever the weather is suitable.

The young beasts spend much of their time on the outer common grazings. As most of the crofts, beginning with one in 1938 and ending in sequence with 10, 11 and 12 probably in 1959, are fenced, the old arrangements for township commoning from 15th October to 10th May are now obsolescent. Another park was also fenced for general purposes and for weaning in 1957. Prices for calves and cattle are very low and this discourages cattle breeding; on the other hand, lack of winter keep enforces an occasional sale.

The rhythm of sheep husbandry is largely independent of that of cattle:-

(a) By 20th November all sheep, except possibly the lambs, are cleared from the crofts for the tupping of breeding ewes thereon till 31st December. Every crofter now keeps his own ram, exchanging it or buying another at least once in five years.

[Kershader]

233 (b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices,
311 however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the former
221 case they heft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand.
231 Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

[432] There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

231 Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces
[236] about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average
[435] sheep carcase weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

241 Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as
161 full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category,
162 and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable
167 population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this
166 township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption
464 only) and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The
[463] only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought
[501] away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person has entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the
[125] optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907
[193] and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard,
[371] Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

182 It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilizing the
241 population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in
[313] agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Kershader] [Garyvard]

182 common grazings - at present approximately correctly stocked - and cannot therefore provide
241 much employment. Hence it is the standard of agriculture that must be improved. Since the
[313] land does not permit striking extension or improvement of the cultivated area, development must be directed towards improving pasture, with more re-seeding and controlled grazing
400 similar to that already described. All this, however, is of little avail if prices for cattle, sheep and wool remain low, or at least lower than prices prevailing on the mainland. The first priority, therefore, in the establishment of a prosperous agriculture is a guaranteed market-price. Given this, it might become worthwhile to take steps to increase the carrying capacity of the crofts. It may be assumed that this would involve an all-round improvement which could give a firm basis to the economic existence of the community; until this is achieved, stability and continuity are out of the question.

GARYVARD

Gwenyth R. Page, B.A.

131 The landscape of the south-east coast of Loch Erisort is a sombre and rugged one. The
133 Quaternary ice sheets left in their wake troughs now filled by the sea loch, innumerable lochs covered in water lilies, a massive area of indeterminate drainage and expanses of bare gneiss.

Garyvard is set on the fringe of this landscape on a 20 to 25° slope with the crofts aligned
[551] from the moor to the sea, on a mantle of drift. Here is the home of the MacLeods, the Mackinnons
221 and the Montgomerys. Life beats out its regular pattern of existence during the winter months on the croft, followed by an increasing tempo and variety of work during the rest of the year. In
231 January and February the animals must be fed on hay or lose the battle to survive. In February
241 there are preparations for the year's tasks, making repairs and improvements to the croft. Next month will find the crofter on the land, making or clearing drains and putting fences and dykes in order. The tempo of life quickens with the year; April sees the first sheep dipping, the land turned over, potatoes and oats sown. From mid-May, the sheep leave the crofts to fend
[344] for themselves on the common grazing. The following three or four months are times of tremendous activity on the moors when the peats are cut, to be stacked later, first in fours, then in eights, so that the wind may dry them, till eventually bee-hive-shaped stacks - some four feet high - can be seen near the peat banks in August. Then begins the wearisome task of carrying the peats home, all too frequently in creels carried on the back, since the peat workings of Garyvard are on the moors up to half a mile from road. Altogether some two miles of roads are needed to prevent the villagers patronising the coal merchants of Stornoway. Two crofters, however, cut peat on their crofts, whilst others have permission to cut from Cromore or Caversta common grazings close to the road. All the while croft work continues, varying from hoeing, weeding and cutting hay to the gathering of sheep for shearing. As there are no fences between the various commons, crofters must travel from one township fank to another, seeking their own. In August the lambs are weaned. Hay making generally ends in August and is immediately followed by the oat harvest in September. By the time both oats and hay have been gathered in, the potatoes are lifted and the sheep are brought in from the common grazing about October 12th. The last sheep dipping takes place in November and is followed by tupping.

241 There are eleven crofts altogether, though one is divided, each portion having a legal tenant
423 who has a half share in the common grazing. Two crofts are 12 acres in extent, the half crofts 2.75 acres only, though the acre cultivated on the common grazing by one of the latter crofters since 1923, has recently been officially recognized. Most crofts are in strips running from the sea-shore up the slope some 500 yards to the township dyke, and are clearly demarcated by fences erected just after the last war. Three crofts have additional strips whilst one croft was an extra strip belonging to another croft. The additional strips date back about 100 years to a
[125] time when the township grew rapidly as a result of evictions in southern Park. One croft is divided and worked in three separate parts so in effect there are fourteen operative units in Garyvard.

Cattle are kept on 162 of the 219 units, in all there are 180 cows of three years and over, 47 ng cattle, and 110 calves. The usual practice is to suckle the calves, and sell them as soon they qualify for the calf subsidy; lack of winter-keep is one of the reasons for this practice. breeds of cattle are mainly Shorthorn and Aberdeen Angus with a few Highland cattle. The er function of the cow is to provide milk for the household; households without a cow rely inly on tinned milk. Cattle are sold at the twice-yearly market held at Garyvard, but prices tuate greatly. The townships of Park certainly do not carry a full souming of cattle.

Sheep are more important than cattle in the crofting economy in Park. The breed is the is Blackface, a small, lighter type of the Scottish Blackface breed. The sheep are pastured he common grazings in summer, and are grazed on the croft land in winter. The standard of p husbandry is also low as few crofters dispose of cast ewes or have a defined breeding cy as all stocks mingle freely on the commons. The lambing percentage for 1958 was about er cent and the number surviving in August compared to the total ewe stock was 52 per cent, it was generally agreed that 1958 was a poor year. A further indication of the quality of sheep is that in the fishing townships, a ewe fetches from 35 to 50 shillings, and a lamb t 20 shillings locally. The low lambing percentage and poor prices can be partly ascribed e lack of good grazing and to overgrazing, but disease and losses in a treacherous common ure raise the mortality rate. In general the sheep are left to fend for themselves with a mum of shepherding although the more progressive crofters hand-feed the ewes and hoggs in weather.

The majority of the crofters in Habost and Kershader, and a minority in Garyvard, rent addi- l grazing in Park Deer Forest, paying a fixed sum for each sheep. Sheep from these townships better prices; in the other townships a few wedders and fewer cast ewes are sold to the oway butchers. In many flocks, wool provides the only income from sheep.

is evident from Table II that the sheep souming is greatly exceeded. In the calculations, ewes ken as one unit, and 'other sheep', wedders and gimmers, have been calculated at half rate. is basis, the overall sheep souming is exceeded by 70 per cent and in only one township is ock comparable to the souming. Overstocking has been encouraged in crofting districts by e subsidy which was in operation till 1956 and it is notable that the rise in numbers of sheep ded in the Outer Isles coincided with the introduction of the Hill Sheep subsidy in 1938.[1] tocking is without doubt the chief reason for the high mortality rate in sheep. Calculation of erall relation of the actual cattle and sheep stock to the soum shows that the common grazings k are overstocked by 14 per cent. It is, however, impossible to calculate an exact figure, as mber of sheep grazed in Park Deer Forest was not enumerated. It is also evident from the ual croft surveys that the cottars, squatters and feuars, who have no rights of grazing, have equivalent to 157 cow units or 12 per cent of the total stocking. Thus the crofts of Park are ining an average stock fairly close to the souming, but the cattle-sheep ratio of 1:28 is too r proper management of the pastures.

general, a low standard of husbandry obtains in Park but it is clear that the agricultural ips are much more efficiently operated than the fishing townships. Overstocking occurs in of the twelve townships and sheep stocks are, with one exception, higher than the sheep souming

Scotland as a whole, the number of sheep recorded declined from 8,007,134 in 1938 to 336,000 in 1955.

231 Table III reveals that there are 177 agricultural units with a souming; ten units are crofts in Glengravir without a souming and the remainder of the 219 units have no grazing rights. From this Table, it is clear that full stocking and overstocking increase with the size of the croft: the units of ten acres and over, on the basis of stock carry, would appear to be the most intensively worked. In all, just over half of the units take up their full souming. Table IV gives an [463] analysis of employment ancillary to croft work for 141 of the 219 units and it would appear that [561] neither ancillary employment nor age is significantly related to the intensity of croft working. [887] Table V points to the fact that more full-time crofters are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables [311] III, IV and V underline the fact that the larger units are also the more successful and it is significant that the larger units are almost all on the better land in the agricultural townships. The average size of holding in the agricultural townships is nine acres, compared with less than eight acres in the fishing townships, where the land is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

175 The trends in agriculture are illustrated by Tables VI and VII. The Crofters' Commission made 178 a survey of the crofts through the medium of Estate Factors in 1883; from Table VI it is evident 241 that the number of cattle was much higher at that time and that the cattle-sheep ratio in the 231 selected townships was 1:3 as compared with 1:25 in 1958. Table VII gives agricultural statistics for the parish of Lochs as a whole; separate figures for Park are not available. Since 1913, radical changes in the crop and stock patterns have taken place; bere (Hordeum vulgare) has disappeared as a crop, and sown grass and permanent grass for hay have since 1947 become the leading crops. Horses have all but disappeared, and the cattle-sheep ratio has risen from less than 1:4 to 1:39 for the whole parish. Since 1938, cultivation in Lochs Parish has declined by 36 [511] per cent. Large areas of lazy-beds, no longer cultivated, are visible landscape signs of these [824] changes; seaweed, the sine quae non for lazybed cultivation, is no longer carried to the upper parts of the crofts. In fact, many of the crofts no longer use seaweed as a fertiliser.

233 From the foregoing account, it is clear that there are two major agricultural problems in Park, 241 the lack of sufficiently large crofts with good arable land and an insufficiency of common grazing; these deficiences bring in their train the problem of overstocking, and the existence of uneconomic holdings.

241 The more progressive crofters, significantly resident on the better crofts of the agricultural 242 townships, have shown how croft land can be improved by re-seeding and sowing down to grass, 176 practices which could be fruitfully extended throughout Park. In addition, several townships by co-operative effort, have reseeded small areas of the commons grazings with splendid results.

241 However it is clear that it is not possible for 219 viable agricultural units to be maintained on the present crofting area. The optimum size of croft which could maintain a family is a moot point, for the location and situation of a croft and the quality of the land and common pasture would all have to be taken into account in making an assessment.

231 This problem was referred to a practical agriculturalist who was asked to state what size of 241 croft and number of stock would be required to provide an annual income of £300, excluding croft 242 benefit (milk, eggs and potatoes consumed on the croft) and any costing for labour. To fulfil these conditions, one of the fishing townships was carefully analysed, and the expert came to the following approximations, assuming that the rules of good husbandry were in force after the croft had been brought up to a good standard of cultivation and re-seeding had been carried out where possible on the outrun and Common Pasture, and provided there was no overstocking, and that present favourable subsidies and prices continue:-

231 Size of croft: 6 acre
241 rights in Common Gr
242

6 cows, 2 young

231 Income
241
242 Sale of 1 cow, 5 calves, 10 ca
634 3 wedders, and 28 lambs say
Sale of wool
Subsidies on cows, calves and

Total income

In order to work such a croft ef and would require the assistance of particular township studied, the nu present total. Considering Park as half of their present number but thi general evidence. It is clear, howe the present crofting area of Park.

000 From a detailed study of the agr situation is far from being an optim crofting economic, and such reorga crofting sector of the community de ancillary industry are discussed on continued depopulation. In the mean seeding and pasture improvement, a crofts. A reduction of the sheep sto introduction of more cattle, narrowi be followed with profit.

464 In most crofting areas, ancillary income: total dependence on the croft [161] areas except in times of privation. [162] a greater population than the land cou estates, crofts were created smaller 464 possible a share in the land. First th 228 divisions of crofts, already too small 423 the case of kelp, the landlord require 241 fishing industry, the land was a secon of the catches.

161 In Park, it is noteworthy that the 162 that since 1901, when the decline in th 464 rapid depopulation. No other home-b economy. In Park as a whole only 18 full-time crofters today - a striking c 000 However, not all such employment is

rable, (3 in crop, 3 in sown grass), 18 acres outrun and
ng to carry:-

tle, 50 ewes, 12 wedders, 12 *own hogge and a ram.*

	£	Expenses	£
ewes and		Rent, ram, service of bull,	
	224	grass, oat, potato and	
	33	turnip seed, manures and	
ropping	141	hand feeding say	98
		Excess of income	300
	£398		398

ciently, the tenant could not take regular ancillary employment
is family at busy periods. If such holdings were formed in the
ber of crofts would have to be reduced to almost one third of
whole, the agricultural units would have to be reduced to
latter figure is only very approximate as it was based on
er, that about 100 viable agricultural units could be maintained on

culture of Park one can only conclude that the present crofting
m one. Only reorganisation on a major scale could made
isation would have to be coupled with the development of a non-
endent on ancillary industry. The prospects for the growth of
age 12. Larger crofts might well evolve as a result of
time, a determined effort could be made in the spheres of re-
nd in consolidating the existing non-adjacent pieces of certain
cks, with an emphasis on quality instead of quantity, and the
ng the present 1:25 cattle-sheep ratio, are policies which could

ANCILLARY OCCUPATIONS

employment is necessary to compensate for the low croft
t for a livelihood has never been characteristic of many crofting
At the time of the abolition of run-rig, most crofting areas had
uld support, even at subsistence level, and as a result, on most
than the optimum size in order to give as many persons as
he kelp industry and at a later period fishing, resulted in sub-
l, and the establishment of a cottar and squatter population. In
ed as many hands as he could muster and in the hey-day of the
ndary consideration as meal could be bought with the proceeds

most congested areas in 1883 were the fishing townships and
the fishing industry began, these townships have experienced
based ancillary industry has successfully filled the gap in the
8 per cent of the total male population of insurable age (15-64) are
confirmation of the fact that ancillary employment in necessary.
available in Park: 47 per cent of the insurable male population

[Seaforthhead]

161 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural
162 and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend,
166 significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment furth of Park, and a smaller loss by
167 migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric,
241 there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration
228 losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of
632 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seaforthhead and Shieldernish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

133 Seaforthhead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a
361 gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being
[241] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

134 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat
137 accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely
[233] for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Balallan and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

[244] The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed.
[407] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be
[314] in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being
[231] only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep soum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the soum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in
162 1886. In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the
241
178

[Seaforthhead] [Shieldernish] [Habost]

161 suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now
162 given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out
241 of the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two have migrated
178 since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

361 In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on
[349] slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's, 'Seaforth Castle',
[505] now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled,
[491] communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives
[178] access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHIELDERNISH

131 Shieldernish, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs
361 road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the
342 road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

241 Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put
311 together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes,
[246] preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the
[231] lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a
[244] further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total
[226] stocking on the Shieldernish crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use
[8 8] though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the township and this isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to grazing. Shieldernish appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing
[185] fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Shieldernish is better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

131 Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement
133 stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained
241 valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to
361 flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place.
[134] Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin soils.

134 Drift is found near the shore and laps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks.
137 Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

175 Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shieldernish and
692 took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Allean Tailear came from Taransay, Harris,
621 to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

241 Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and
409 ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Croftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced
233 off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

[244] Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed
[246] parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in
231 June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but
[324] elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

231 The land is heavily overstocked: the soum is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is
233 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in
[432] Park Deer Forest by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garyvard in November
[221] and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

241 The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since
[311] before 1852. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Beinn Bhuidhe and
[226] below Loch na Ciste but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural
[288] townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and
[493] trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

361 Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has
[312] been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or
[354] from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

ONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

[Orinsay]

361 which rises steeply, exceeding 375 feet in the west and 150 feet to the north and east. From
24 the north-west and north-east two glacially deepened valleys drain southwards, their lower ends
[188] being "drowned" by northward extensions of the loch.

134 Although peat covers most of the surface it is only in the hollows that it is significantly deep, for even on the gentler slopes the peat cover is frequently so thin as to expose a layer of morainic sub-soil containing many stones and boulders.

137 Two rowans and a dozen willows represent the only tree growth, but tree stumps frequently exposed in peat-cuttings suggest that woodland was formerly more evident. Whether this former woodland disappeared as a result of human action or of climatic change it is not possible to say, but it is certain that a century of overgrazing has not favoured natural regeneration. Moorland grasses, sedges and a little poor heather characterise much of the area, and reflect the poor grazing capacity of much of the moorland. Bracken has established itself in one limited area on a patch of neglected croft land.

195 Orinsay is unique in Park, for the present township is entirely a twentieth century development.
632 In the early 19th century there was a settlement at the head of the loch, but in 1843 the residents were removed and the area enclosed and added to Crobeg sheep farm. In 1916, there was a proposal to establish fourteen crofts, but the applicants were requested to wait until after the war. At the end of the war the return of many young men with a desire to settle down led to serious overcrowding in Lemreway. Several of them 'raided' the Orinsay area. At first living in huts, they built their own houses, and in 1922 the Department of Agriculture intervened, recognizing and fencing off fourteen legal crofts, and at the same time providing a good footpath. Seeing the success of their neighbours, four other Lemreway families, comprising 26 people, went to Stiemreway, about a mile to the west of Orinsay. Here, however, the Department of Agriculture did not intervene and with the community remaining isolated, most of the settlers returned to Lemreway within three years, although one family remained until 1939.

241 Six of the crofts have an area of less than ten acres, six have between ten and fifteen acres, while the remaining two occupy eighteen and twenty-five acres: the largest croft originally belonged to the shepherd on the sheep farm. Three of these crofts are not occupied, although worked by other crofters, with the result that eleven operative units share 161 acres.

241 Only a small part of the croft acreage is actually cultivable; even less is cultivated in practice.
311 The broken and rocky terrain combined with the peaty soil allows nothing but the cultivation by spade of tiny lazy-beds. The total area now cultivated does not exceed 25 acres, although in the past it may have been nearer 40 acres.

241 Oats and potatoes are the staple crops, occupying 9 and 6½ acres respectively in 1958. Individual
244 croft acreages of these crops vary in relation to the requirements for winter stock-feed, and in the
246 case of potatoes, to domestic consumption. Nevertheless to produce even these meagre returns the soil requires careful preparation. A plentiful supply of seaweed is obtained from the shore and is the most frequently used fertilizer, while a little sulphate of ammonia is applied. Only two crofters use lime.

[291] In the last two decades a marked reduction in the amount of oats grown has accompanied a decrease in the numbers of cattle and an increasing use of hay for fodder. Nevertheless only about 17½ acres of hay altogether are cut, and only five of the crofters sow any grass seed.

231 In August 1958, the township supported only 13 cows, 3 young beasts and 8 calves. Half of the crofters have a cow and a calf, but three have no cattle at all, and one even used condensed milk, a sad commentary on the state of crofting in Orinsay, but a phenomenon by no means uncommon in crofting areas.

231 Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kep
[288] fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A gre
this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be conne
the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended,
had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has
breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in th

221 All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. Fo
233 the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen a
in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in N
the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the
boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they
ged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

311 The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists
233 waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Ove
sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastic
stocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

231 No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few he
235 just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remai
[435] to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens
from profitable.

434 It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the croft
464 family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result,
228 in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay
a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one cr
does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

161 There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveal
162 than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident male
these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the t
the Elishken estate.

366 As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no a
369 occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages
166 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while an
167 are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar
664 domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working aw
505 their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of mone
228 together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas
462 steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.
352
454 On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. T
312 only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is
372 Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township
312
[208] telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed withi
366 decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-
431 serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thi
494 distant.

161 Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impressio
162 gestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux o
situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many te
holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivat
Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in

/p. 35/

The labor in this pastoral-agricultural economy is provided by the crofter's family, periodically aided by some or all of the families who share in the common grazing.[11] Under the direction of the father, the mother and children care for the crops and cattle. Heavy work, such as ploughing, reaping, and feeding the cattle in the winter, is left to the men. The women milk the cattle, help at the harvest by raking and stacking, and care for the garden. Although men never do any work in the house, in the absence of a son the wives and daughters are expected to fill in the gaps in man's work in addition to running the household. Inter-family cooperation centers on the handling of the sheep. Frequently, the families who share the common own the sheep collectively, as a "club stock," and share in the expenses and profits as well as the labor. The only basic pattern in the division of labor is that women never shear, and it is their responsibility to feed the group.

Formerly, the annual economic cycle was adjusted to the demands of crop cultivation and cattle breeding. Within the last hundred years, however, sheep have assumed commercial importance and now determine the seasonal tempo of labor. The old year ends and the new begins with the bringing in of the rams from the hill. In March the sheep are dipped and then the preparations are made for the lambing season, in April. From spring until autumn there is a rapid succession of duties: ploughing, planting, peat cutting, dipping and shearing the sheep, stock sales, harvesting, and similar tasks. After the

[11] Cf. Ibid., pp. 63-64, 70-74.

rams are put out in November, the pace becomes slower, the main job being the feeding of cattle.

The economy is neither a subsistence nor a self-sufficient economy for the majority. All but a few large crofters have to supplement their income from the croft with some form of outside employment or independent source of income, for example, contributions from a child or a pension. For many the croft is no more than a home. For an aged person, it provides a means of living cheaply. The rent, which is fixed by law, is only nominal, and the taxes are negligible. There is more to crofting than simple economic considerations. Indeed, if it were only a matter of economy, the system would have been abandoned long ago. It is a way of life in which the individual finds meaningful patterns of interaction and an ascribed status compatible with his aspirations. The land is more than a potential source of income. It is the ancestral home. The tie to the land is an expression of the sentimental bond of kinship.[12] Many, perhaps the majority, have spent a good part of their lives in other parts of the world working for a wage and looking forward to the day they might return to the Misty Isle. Although only the Glendale crofters are land owners, the law has given the tenants complete security of tenure and the right to bequeath the croft to a member of their family. Thus, they can return to their township and find solidarity.

[12] Cf. Ibid., pp. 64, 81.

rs. In the spring they were turned loose on the moors. For entification their owner either cut their ears or burned their ns with a hot iron.

As soon as possible after the spring sowing, the stock moved to the rough grazing lands. Although there is no dence to suggest that the sheiling (from the Norse skalinr) e formed a part of the annual routine, its later importance es it plausible. Rude huts of stone or timber were erected the higher mountain pastures to which the cattle were driven the people of each farm. In the sheilings the women cared the stock and spent their time making dairy produce. For young men and women it was a time for courting. The able ied men must have taken only a limited part in the sheiling e; they were kept occupied with other duties.

Droving Trade. The chief industry of the Skye was the le trade with mainland Scotland and, after the Union of , England. As early as 1502, "marts," surplus cattle sold in the autumn, were being exported from the barony of ternish.[66] By the middle of the century, the Highland trade grown to such proportions that the Privy Council was forced nact measures for the preservation of order at the markets. he close of the sixteenth century, a MacDonald chief had blished a regular trade in cattle and ponies between the r Isles, Skye, and the east coast of Scotland. By the of the Union, Skye had become the largest producer of

[66] For details on the droving trade, see A. R. B. Haldane, rove Roads of Scotland (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, , pp. 2-35, 60-63.

While the process of commercialization proceeded against the persistent efforts of the people to maintain their traditional way of life, events in Great Britain were beginning to have a pronounced adverse effect on the local economy. The end of the Napoleonic Wars brought the cattle boom to an end. Although the droving trade remained brisk, the value of the stock declined markedly.[37] An increase in the number of cattle on the grazings, as a means to maintain an economic equilibrium, was impossible. The island was already overstocked and had been devastated by this practice. At the same time, development of large scale commercial farming in the Lowlands had encroached on the right of way of the drovers, and the Skye cattle were suffering at the markets from competition with improved, better nourished breeds from the northeast and southwest. The end of the wars also witnessed a decline in the kelp market.[38] Parliament finally completely undermined kelping by recurrently reducing the tariffs on foreign substitutes.

The crofters, who had suffered rackrenting to get their small strips of arable, found themselves without the means to pay the rents which had been set at the peak of the cattle and kelp markets and without enough land to meet subsistence needs.[39] The striking thing is that in spite of increasing economic hardship, the population continued to grow. They became hostages

[37] Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland, pp. 205-221.

[38] Malcolm Gray, "The Kelp Industry in the Highlands and Islands," The Economic History Review, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1951), pp. 197-209.

[39] Canon MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. II, p. 115.

wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.

These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now was a spare-time pursuit. The Sgiathanach was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any marked movement into the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was being lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the "Men" became an official policy of a new church. The emotional approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium. Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

enlargements when the proprietor would not lease it on reasonable terms. Thus, the government began to protect the crofter from potential abuses and to restore the land to the descendants of the clanna, who had, to say the least, manifested a persistent disinclination to accept any other system of land use. A complete reformation, however, was not yet possible.

The crux of the problem of maintaining the crofting population was succinctly stated in 1851 by the chairman of the Highland Destitution Board. The people could not support themselves, at a subsistence level, unless each crofting family were given ten acres of arable land plus pasture. Not only was there not enough land, but without credit facilities, a man could not find local employment until the land began to produce, and, if he sought employment at a distance, he could not work his land to free himself from the necessity of working for a wage. In 1883 it was estimated that a 50 percent reduction in population would not leave enough land to give each family an adequate holding, ten acres of arable and 277 acres of grazing land.[81] How right they were. Today the population is less than half that of 1883, and still very few have what was considered an adequate holding a hundred years ago. Let us see what measures the government took in the attempt to solve this problem.

At first the land reorganization program was thwarted by a lack of available land and by the continued tendency of

[81] Napier Report, pp. 100-101.

the people to overstock. No land could be assigned as an enlargement if it would inpair the value of a sheep farm or deer forest. The remainder of the island was already possessed by crofters. Moreover, there was no one to regulate the use of the common grazings. As the Crofters Commission usurped the functions of the landlord, estate management became lax. The township constable had disappeared. The cottars, 36 percent of the population, had been omitted from the provisions of the Crofters Act. Later when the government provided for a grazing committee to draft voluntary regulations forsharing the common grazing and, finally, coerced the crofters to elect a grazing committee, the regulations could not be enforced, except by appealing to the sheriff.

At length another commission of inquiry visited the Highlands to decide how the resettlement program might be extended. Then, in 1897, the Congested Districts Board was created. The Board was given power to purchase land for enlargements and for creating new holdings, to resettle crofters and cottars from congested districts, to foster the development of stock breeding, agriculture, fishing, and home industries, and to improve communications. It was not intended that the government should become a landlord. The crofters, like the Irish small farmers, were supposed to have acquired a desire to own their own land. In 1904 the estates of Glendale, the present twelve townships, and Kilmuir, the whole parish and part of the parish of Snizort, were purchased. On the Kilmuir Estate there were 450 crofts in 35 townships and 10 large farms.

Heavy rackrenting in the past had led to dissatisfaction and arrears in rent, the crofters' weapon against the landlord. The rents were revised and most of the arrears were cancelled. All the farms but one were subdivided to form 79 new holdings in 7 reorganized townships and to make enlargements to the other townships. The Glendale estate received similar treatment, being made over into 147 crofts in 12 townships plus a jointly held club farm. Both estates were sold to the crofters on a fifty year annunity basis. Then came a rude awakening. Within ten years the crofters found ownership to be a dubious privilege, especially since it excluded them from the benefits of legislation favoring the small tenant. The Kilmuir crofters were released from the contract, but the government refused to accept the petition of the Glendale people, who still are not pleased with their rather unique position. Private ownership of the land might be said to be as alien to their heritage as village settlements.

Land settlement continued, with the introduction of certain refinements, the most important of which was the power to use compulsion to acquire land for crofting in the national interest. Today over half the Island is owned by the national government and administered by the Department of Agriculture. The tendency in recent years has been to create more adequate holdings. On the Kilmuir estate the number of crofts has been reduced from 530 to 442. The process of resettlement, or de-commercialization, has been carried further on Skye than in any other Highland area.[82] It has also included the only major

[82] Cf., e.g., Collier, op. cit., pp. 90-113; and Hance, op. cit., pp. 61-62, 64-68.

migration scheme to be attempted. In 1923 sixty-eight families from the Isle of Harris, in the Outer Hebrides, were brought over to Skye and settled in Bracadale. Probably, close to 300 new holdings and in the neighborhood of 200 enlargements have been made since 1897. This clearly reflects the limited space available for crofting at the end of the "Clearances."

In addition to land settlement, the government has continued to stimulate improvements in stock breeding techniques and to foster more efficient land utilization. Credit facilities, by grant and loan, were offered to enable the crofters to purchase stock, especially sheep, and to build new cottages. Grants and subsidies, in an ever increasing number, have been made available to promote a fuller use of the land. Initially, under the Congested Districts Board, these facilities were devised specifically for the Highlands. By the time the Congested Districts Board was abolished, the crofters had become officially integrated with the national agricultural scene so that specific subsidies, grants, and loans were replaced with an opportunity to apply for assistance within the national program of agricultural development. Instruction in scientific methods of agriculture has been another continuing function of the government through a series of advisory services and, more recently, by a program of demonstration crofts and farms. Access to markets has similarly been facilitated by improving communications by land and, to a lesser extent, by sea.

Security and protection for the crofters has been another unfailing interest of the government. Again, with official integration, the scope of legislation has been extended to

include all small tenants in Scotland. The landlords have lost their right to evict a crofter for breach of conditions. Since 1911 only the Land Court, which replaced the Crofters Commission, can remove a tenant who is guilty of bad husbandry. Moreover, such action can only be taken after the general circumstances of the crofter and his need of the croft for a home have been considered. To date, no Highland crofter has been removed. In fact, security of tenure has been carried to the extreme that the individual no longer has to reside in Scotland much less on his croft. Although this change is now regarded as inadvertent, the courts have ruled in favor of the small tenant. The only remaining functions of the landlord in estate management are to collect his rents and pay compensation should a tenant desire to leave. Both the rents and the compensation are determined by the Land Court.

Accompanying the integration of the Island with the national scene, politically and economically, were extensions of social services. Prior to 1872 education was the responsibi of the church, charitable agencies, and, especially in the Highlands, the local proprietors and their financially secure tenantry.[83] Although the parish school-system was national, the administration of each parochial school was local. The ideal of a school in each parish was neither adequate nor easily obtainable. The result was a few regularly taught schools.[84]

[83] OSA, XVI, 156-157, 226, 539; XVIII, 188; XXI, 430.

[84] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 771-774.

427 acre of turnips. All of the oats and a large share of the
241 potatoes and turnips are used to feed the cattle during the late
231 winter and early spring. Some crofters, by no means all, have a small kitchen garden for cabbage, onions, and other vegetables. Usually, at least half the croft is left under grass, part of
427 which is cut for hay. After all the people in the township
233 have finished their harvest, on a day set by the grazing committee, the individual holdings in all but thirty of the townships are opened to communal use as winter grazings.[4] It might be added that the sheep and cattle often find the village of Portree a very lucrative pasture. It is not only the grass which entices the cows. More than one villager has had a tug-of-war with a cow bent on devouring clothes off the line. Another favorite food for the cattle is coal. As one man in the Braes said: "We burn half the coal; the cows eat the rest."

The Value of the Croft

427 What does a croft mean to the Sgiathanach? In terms of
511 everyday economics, there can be no simple answer. For a few, probably no more than fifty families, the sale of cattle, sheep, and wool provides an ample income. The families are able to obtain the necessities of life and enjoy a comparatively high standard of living. The majority live on crofts which cannot begin to support a solitary individual. Expecting little more

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[4] F. Fraser Darling, G. G. Hayes, and Averil Morley, "The Agricultural Situation," The West Highland Survey, F. F. Darling et al. (mimeographed, 1951), Part V, pp. 14-15.

etermines the "souming," the number of stock which
is entitled to carry on the common.
small croft has less than ten acres of arable and
rass land. The average "souming" is two cows and
heifer or bullock calves) and usually ten to twenty
roximately 2000 of the crofts fall into this classi-
The medium croft, representing about 250 land-
jects, has between ten and twenty acres of land
p cultivation and improved grass. The typical
s two to seven cows and followers, forty or fifty
occasionally, a horse. We might recall that the
e either a club stock or a private flock. The
consists of almost 100 arable acres and, even
ant in the predominately pastoral economy, an
, self-contained grazing of 200 to well over 1000
se diminutive ranches easily carry ten or more
llowers and several hundred sheep.
hose who prefer to think in terms of area rather
the relative magnitude of these self-contained
be stressed by adding the fact that only thirty
Skye have more than 200 acres of common grazing.
or example, Linicro with 729 acres of grazing in
otescore with 500 acres in 12 shares, and
with 273 acres in 47 shares. Over half the town-
ess than 100 acres of grazing land.[5]

, Table 3.

427 241 231 434 The Income of a Small Croft. The small croft is regarded b
local agricultural experts as having a potential income of
£20 a year. In addition, it provides a home, potatoes, som
vegetables, milk, eggs, and the right to cut peat. Even if
not quite legal until June, 1954, it frequently supplies
mutton and, less often, beef for the family. The budget fo
this type of holding in my sample reveals that even when
fully stocked and the ground tilled, the income may be negl
gible. Let us look at the cash income and net profit for
1952 and 1953.

In 1952 the cash income for the croft was £8 13s. 11d
The net profit, which takes into account depreciation and
stock valuation after sales was £2 1s. 11d. In 1953 the
cash income was £12 8s. 9d., and the net profit was £5 8s-.
These figures include money from the sale of stock, govern-
ment subsidies and grants, and home grown produce eaten by
the family. Unfortunately, I do not know the number of hou
which were spent earning this meager return. The crofter's
wife said about 300 hours of her labor. To this we must ad
seasonal cooperative labor.

This particular croft is rented by a middle-aged marr
[463] couple and a spinster sister of the wife. The man works ful
[593] time as truck driver, leaving most of the work on the croft
to his wife. The stock is two cows and followers and sixte
to eighteen sheep. There are six acres of arable land, hal
of it under hay and grass. The remainder is planted in oat
potatoes, and turnips. The budget may not be typical. For

eighteen to twenty pennies equalling an ounce of silver, the land valuation on Skye was based on the number of cattle which a farm could support.[65] All other stock and the amount of cultivatable land was disregarded, being considered as necessary to the support of the tenants. Wealth was measured by the number of cattle an individual possessed; quality was a secondary consideration. The number placed on the land, therefore, was regulated by how many could be carried over the most favorable part of the year. As a natural consequence, a chief agricultural defect was overstocking.

The tacksmen left their cattle and horses on the hill the year round. No attempt was made to separate the beef and dairy cattle, and, except for milch cows, which were given some straw, boiled chaff, and, in late winter, a few sheaths of oats, the cattle were not fed. Many had to be lifted to their feet in the spring. The process of gladden, of course, destroyed much of the straw which could have provided winter feed for the cattle. It was not until 1735 that any hay was grown on the island; it was used to feed the stirks (young cattle). The small tenant and subtenant shared his house, and his oats, with his cow. Distemper and malnutrition was common. If a cow calved before the beginning of March, it was four or five weeks before she had enough milk for the calf, and the yield from the best cows was small.

Sheep were housed at night to protect them from the foxes. During the winter they received about the same care as milch

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[65] John Walker, An Economical History of the Hebrides and Highlands of Scotland (2 vols.; Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1808), Vol. I, pp. 76-79.

127 one thing, an attempt is being made to build up the value of
241 the sheep and cattle stock. Then too it is hard to obtain
231 information on personal income. Not a few Highlanders are
134 reluctant to share in the cost of maintaining the government
124 and, consequently, equally reluctant to discuss their income.
82 Still, it does give some indication of the potential income for 80 percent of the Skye crofters. It should not be forgotten that a large proportion of the small crofters will have absolutely no income from the land.

The Income of a Medium Croft. The medium croft, according to experts, has a potential income of £150 to £200 a year. Like the small croft, it provides a home, potatoes, vegetables, milk, eggs, meat, and peat. The budgets for one croft of this classification for 1952 and 1953 show a cash income of £203 17s 2d. and £170 15s. 11d., and a net profit of £169 12s. 1d. and £96- 11d. The marked fall in net profit is accounted for by a decrease in the acreage under oats, increased expenses, and the sale of fewer and younger stock, which also affected the cash income. The total hours devoted to crofting are estimated at 600 to 800 hours.

This croft supports a family, a married couple and their children, supplemented by seasonal auxiliary employment on the part of the father. As presently worked and stocked, it could not be left to a woman with any expectation of the same return. The stocking is two cows and followers and fifty sheep. There are 16½ acres of cultivated land, all but a quarter under grass

427 This budget is nearer the estimate of the local Depar
241
231 Agriculture officers and may be regarded as typical.
434 reveals that crofting is not a dependable livelihood.
budget for the large croft manifests the pitfalls in
by an even more striking contrast between the two yea

The Income of a Large Croft. The large croft is said t
a potential income of £800 or more each year. The hol
will be a full-time pastoral-agriculturalist. In real
as mentioned earlier, the large crofter is a small farr
often has more land than some Skye farmers. His holdi
cannot be regarded as providing a home, even though hi
and taxes will be extremely low compared to the farmer
Nor does it normally, if ever, provide peat for fuel.
peat is there, of course, but the crofter does not hav
to dig it. Indeed, if he were to take the time or hir
one to do the digging for him, the cost of peat, in te
man hours approximately £10 a ton, would make it uneco
especially since it has only a quarter the caloric val
coal which he can and does buy for less. Like the sma
subjects, the large croft provides vegetables, meat, m
and eggs for the table. The sample budgets which I ob
for a large croft show a cash income of £536 11s.5d. f
and £802 7s.1d. for 1953. The difference is explained
part by increased sales of stock and in part by increa
government subsidies. The net profit for the two year
a far different story. In 1952 it was £829 6s.5d., bu

Barley was pulled by the roots. The oats were either stored in a byre or built up in a stack near the house to be used as needed. The process of dressing was known as gladden. A woman took a handful of stalks and set fire to it. As the husks burned, she beat the grain with a flail, a stick or bunch of heather. Using gladden, it was possible to dress, winnow, grind, and bake the oats into cakes within an hour. Kilns came into use in the late seventeenth century, but kiln dried grain was considered inferior to grain prepared by gladden. A few water mills had also been built at the close of the century, but they were also unpopular. The barley was stripped from the stalks, which were used for house thatch, and ground in a stone morter for griddle cakes or, later, for whiskey. The rye, like much of the Oats, was used as porridge.

Stock and Its Importance. The Skyeman, in contrast to the Lowlander, was primarily a pastoralist. The stock included a small, hardy, shaggy breed of cattle well adapted to the rough terrain and excessively wet and windy climate, a small, narrow framed sheep of limited value for meat or wool, ponies, goats, and pigs. The importance of the cattle may be judged from the valuation of the farms. Although the Norse system of land measure had replaced the pre-Feudal Scottish measure known as a devach,[64] the amount of land required to support ten head of cattle, with a monetary measure of mark lands, which were divided into penny lands and smaller units based on

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[64] John Cameron, op. cit., pp. 170-171.

during the summer, ou
fourteen acres, usual
I regard the large cr
typical of less than

The Income of a Farm.
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ject. The budget I o
one farms each with i
farmed under differin
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We may be certain tha
Despite an expense fo

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oft in my sample as typical, bu
l percent of all Skye crofters.

For comparative purposes, I s
der the cash income of one farm
btained is far from typical. W
ts own peculiar advantages and
g technological conditions, I d
could be singled out. Moreove
in a farmer's budget was to sec
efore, I do not know the detai
r who derive their support from
t it is one of the larger sheep
r hired labor of over £1000 eac

h income was £1044 3s 3d for 1952 and £1527 3s 9d for 1953 427 241 231 434
t know the net profit.

. The foregoing facts and figures should make it
tly clear that a man with less than ten acres of arable
d with a "souming" of less than three or four cows and
heep can expect only a meager and definitely inadequate
for his investment of time and money. Several crofters
thirty or forty acres were required. This would mean
ing" of 10 or 12 cows and 200 sheep, if the present pro-
of grazing land to cultivated area were maintained.
id 300 to 500 sheep would be closer to the mark in order
a good living on the land. The budget for the large
confirms this view, but even then we have seen crofting
ain a precarious element of risk. Most crofters felt
ith twice their present acreage and "souming" they would
d with a less hopeless proposition.[6] This, of course,
involve a further, coerced reduction in population. But
all a matter for future planning. What we want to know
contribution of crofting to the local and national
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The Contribution of Crofting to the Economy

f we are to determine the value of agricultural pro- 231 241
from crofting, we must consider not only the crops and 651 657

[6]It is not only the Skyemen who want more land; see The
of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions
rgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954), pp.18-19.

stock grown for local household consumption and export but 241
also the subsidies and grants provided by the national govern- 231
ment. I hasten to add that it is impossible to estimate 651
accurately the specific contribution of crofting to the 657
economy of Skye. There is no available means of distinguishing the status of crofter from that of farmer in the annual returns of crops and stock or in the applications of farmers and crofters for subsidies and grants. Before getting down to pounds and shillings, we may find a brief digression to review the acreages of land devoted to crop and stock raising and the yields to be expected helpful in our attempt to understand the many problems under which the Skyeman labors.

The total area of Skye is approximately 447,000 acres. 311
Of this area, 422,415 acres were classified, in 1953, as rough 131
grazing.[7] The land under cultivation, excluding grasses, 238
was only 3,254 acres. There were 6,258 acres of grass intended 241
for use as hay and 12,339 acres of permanent grass or improved pasture. The remainder, about 2,500 acres, was unclassified.

The stock, in 1953, was 1808 dairy cows and heifers, 231
8,108 cattle, 143,422 sheep, 41,888 fowls, 436 horses, and 319 pigs.[8] The dairy cows are mainly beef breeds which give a low yield of milk. The sheep are primarily the hardy blackface variety but some crofters have cheviots, which produce a finer wool. For each sheep there are about three acres of grazing

[7]Agricultural Returns, June 4, 1953, Department of Agriculture for Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland (in the files of the Department). These figures include adjacent small isles.

[8]Ibid.

and for each head of cattle, some forty-five acres. 231

The crops are not only limited in acreage but also in 241
variety. Since there were less than ten acres of barley, which was cut green for silage, it may be said that the only grain is oats. The yield of the 2292 acres of oats was a low twenty-nine bushels per acre. The variety grown (Sandy) is not a threshing oat. It is fed to the cattle in the sheaf. This, of course, means seed oats must be purchased in the spring. The only other crops of any importance were 587 acres of potatoes and 99 acres of turnips. The yield for potatoes was about five tons per acre and for turnips, fourteen tons per acre. These yields do not satisfy the needs of the Skyeman and his cattle. The hay was poor in both bulk and quality.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that the 231
livestock industry is the basic factor in the economy. The 241
production of crops is of no more than limited secondary importance. Let us now look at the value of the agricultural 128
production on Skye in terms of locally consumed produce and exports. The following figures represent a collation of facts and figures generously provided by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, the North of Scotland Agricultural College, and local officers of these bodies. For brevity, I have set them out in Table 2.

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435
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TABLE 2

ESTIMATED VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION ON THE ISLE OF SKYE

Produce	Total Marketable Production[a]	Local Consumption[b] (Household & Croft)	Exports
Oats	£ 3,500	£ 3,500	£ ....
Potatoes	23,500	23,500	....
Turnips	2,000	2,000	....
Hay	24,000	24,000	....
Sheep and Lambs	70,000	20,000	50,000
Wool	50,000	10,000	40,000
Cattle	90,000	20,000	70,000
Milk	30,000	30,000	....
Poultry and Eggs	40,000	40,000	....
Pigs	6,000	....	6,000
Miscellaneous	5,000	5,000	....
Totals	£ 344,000	£ 178,000	£ 166,000

[a]Based upon assumed yields from crop acreages and stock reported to the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

[b]Consumption includes an allowance for loss of stock.

The estimated income from the sale of stock and produce 434 231 241 amounts to some £66 per holding. One of my informants, an agriculturalist of wide experience, thought that the estimate was too high. He would put it at £126,000, or £55 per holding. In addition to the actual production, we must consider government subsidies and grants.

The most important subsidies are those on hill sheep 654 231 and hill cattle. Each of these average over £30,000 annually. There are also calf rearing subsidies, marginal land grants, and several other available sources of aid which amount to some £20,000 each year. Thus, the total income for the Skye crofters and farmers is increased by roughly £80,000. Production and subsidies together give an average income of about £100 per holding. We have already seen that the crofter's income may be either a fraction of this figure or several times the average income depending upon the size of his croft. To fully understand the significance of this fact and to explore further the evidence for cultural continuity, it is desirable to inquire into the seasonal routine of the crofters of Skye.

The Annual Economic Cycle

As crofts are delimited according to size and potential 221 income, the crofters may be classified as full-time, part-time, and spare-time pastoral agriculturalists. Obviously, all crofters who work the land will follow a similar schedule, performing more or less the same variety and succession of tasks. There are, however, significant differences in the

If May is considered a busy month, June duties are even 221 231 more pressing. Although the winter gales are over, the rainfall [132] has begun to increase. A succession and variety of demands are made on the crofter's time. Once again the sheep must be brought down to the "fank." This time the purpose is to mark the lambs. The males, unless one or two healthy specimens are selected for future use as rams, are castrated and smeared with a dye to indicate their ownership. The females are smeared and have their ears cut to signify both ownership and age. Like the dipping, this operation requires [476] the cooperation of the crofter and his family, the neighbors, and hired hands. Next the sheep without lambs are dipped [232] once again and given a dose of medicine for liver fluke and a variety of diseases. At the same time, the early hay and, [241] perhaps, the early potatoes are ready for harvesting. The end [543] of June brings the Highland Wool Fair in Inverness. If he [233] has Cheviot sheep, as most crofters do, the man must go to arrange for their wintering on the milder and drier east coast. Although Cheviots produce a finer wool than the more common Blackface sheep, they do not stand up to the incessant wind and rain of a Skye winter. If his wife can leave the children behind, she will accompany her husband. The old [534] function of the Fair, the sale of wool, has disappeared under [656] government price control legislation.

It is not unusual to have the early harvest delayed 221 236 until July, but even then the mowing may have to wait because [241] sheep must come first. On one of the dry days during the first

or second week, the ewe sheep are sheared. Shearing is an- 221 236 other cooperative task. The men and women work together [462] with only one significant division in their labor. Women never shear. Their task is to run the sheep through the pens and fold the fleece after the two men shear the animal. Another chore is added to the crofter's schedule at this time. He must begin to watch his sheep for maggot.

The haying season runs through July and August, depend- 221 241 ing on the weather. In August the sheep have to be dipped again [232] this dipping prescribed by law, and the wedder lambs (castrated males) are sent to market. In September, if the weather is favorable and the season has been good, the harvest of oats begins. The man works with a scythe. Women never cut. His [462] wife helps by binding the corn in sheaths by hand and making stoops in the field. Later she helps her husband build the stacks for winter storage. As in any summer month, the stock 221 231 requires attention. Cast ewe sheep (sheep over six years old) and old rams are sent to the Ministry of Food grading station at Kyle, on the mainland, to be graded for meat or to Dingwall to be sold at auction. Cattle sales are also held on the [432] island in September and again in November, but the full-time crofter prefers the Dingwall auction. The rainy season is [132] now, as noted, reaching its height. The pace becomes slower. October, November, and, perhaps, even December are spent trying 221 241 to dig potatoes and turnips. Too often the oat harvest has [232] yet to be completed and the sheep must receive their second statutory dipping. Sometime before the end of November the 221 236

must be packed for shipment. As November ends the rams 221 224
out out with the flock. 233
Winter is a slow season for men, but it is not an idle 221
on. The cattle must be fed. The man fetches oats or hay 233
his stacks and some turnips or potatoes from his storage
and carries the feed on his back to his cattle on the hill.
rarely does he keep them in a byre because to do so he
l lose the government subsidy on hill cattle. Although [232]
heep are now free from pests and most diseases, he must
ime to periodically walk the hill to check their condition.
few bother to feed the sheep in winter. Another task is [231] ●
utchering of a few sheep. While not quite legal until
year, one crofter justified his activity by asking,
t would we eat if we didn't kill our sheep?" Once in a
, he may also kill a steer, but unless several families
the meat, salt beef becomes rather monotonous.
The crofter's wife keeps busy all winter. Her routine, 221
n by helping at the fank a half dozen times a year and 462
the harvest, continues through all seasons. As far as [231]
actual work on the croft goes, she milks the cows, feeds 241
poultry, and cultivates her garden. When she is not cleaning
house, cooking meals, making butter or cheese, caring for
children, or looking after her husband's needs, she knits.
also does the shopping, either from a food van or on a [432]
ly visit to Portree. Men are as disinclined to shop as they
to wash dishes.

The Part-time Crofter. The part-time crofter follows much the 221
same schedule and shares the same succession and variety of
chores. Indeed, some are not so much part-time crofters as 469
they are part-time employees. As such, they are successfully 182
preserving a traditional economy no longer en rapport with the
surrounding twentieth century commercial world by depending upon
economic benefits of contractual relationships to the smallest
possible degree. One fellow saw the situation this way: "We
don't need factories and the like; what we need is something
that will give us time to attend to our crofts." Others feel [227]
that if they have to abandon the traditional way of life, they
might just as well leave the island for places where greater
opportunities for social activity are joined with relative
economic prosperity.

The part-time crofter has less land than the full-time 221
crofter and less need for cultivating all of it because he 241
has fewer cattle to feed during the winter. He, therefore,
devotes less time to tilling his soil. On the other hand, 221
although he has fewer sheep, the collective flock of his town- 231 ● 476
ship is almost always larger than the stock of a large croft.
Consequently, he spends more time dipping, marking, and shearing
sheep in cooperation with his neighbors. Hired labor plays 231
a minor role in the townships. Often the only hired hand is 464
one of their number who assumes the responsibility of shepherding
the flock. Some of the townships with club stocks, however,
have adopted the practice of paying each shareholder for his
labor out of the profits to encourage cooperation or to penalize
those who do not do their full share.

those who do not do their full share. 000

The year for the part-time crofter begins with the prepa- 221
ration of his fields. As a general rule both the man who spends 241
his winter working for the British Railways or away at sea, and
the one who finds summer employment near home is found on his
croft during this period. Following the example of the large
crofter some use a tractor while others continue to plough by
horse. More and more are tending to take advantage of the con-
tracting service of the Department of Agriculture and hire a
tractor and driver. Once the crops are in, the majority are
free until the lambing season. Conservative in his belief 221
that too much handling of the sheep is harmful or individually 233
faced with the almost prohibitive task of singling a small [232]
flock out of several hundred sheep, he tends to omit the March
dipping. During the lambing season, the several crofters of [476]
the township either take turns on the hill or hire a shepherd.
The first chore, then, which brings them together as a group
is the marking of the lambs and the first dipping of the sheep
without lambs. The July shearing and the statutory dips in
August and November are cooperative ventures shared by all
crofters no matter what size croft they occupy.

In sundry ways, economic interests, judged in terms of 231 ●
commercial efficiency, play a smaller part in determining the 432
economic cycle of the part-time crofter than in the case of the
full-time crofter. The part-time crofter does not think it
worthwhile to ship his few head of stock to the mainland
auction markets. He sells them locally at the tri-annual sales.

As far as I know only one attempt has ever been made by the 231 ●
smaller holders to sell their cattle at the large mainland 432
markets since the last drove left Skye in 1906. There was a
feeling at the close of the Second World War among the crofters
that they were not receiving a fair price at the local sales.
The Scottish Wholesale and Cooperative Society, which had be-
come interested in the Highland Problem, offered to handle the
marketing. Their cattle buyer, a man of wide experience, found
the Skye cattle to be of high quality and suggested shipping
them to the Stirling market. This is one of the largest in
Scotland has the advantage of attracting a full range of buyers.
Since the cattle were not at their best after the long sea
voyage, they were provided with hay and pasture for a week
after arrival. Unfortunately, a disease epidemic in the
South forced a postponement of the market. Nevertheless, they
arrived at the auction block in good condition. The prices
obtained, an average of £1 or £2 more than they normally re-
ceived at the local sales, convinced the crofters that there
was no advantage in selling on the mainland. Actually, if
the Society had not paid the expenses of shipment and feed,
the crofters would have suffered a slight loss. Those who
attend the Dingwall sales say they used the wrong market.

While the man who devotes all of his time to his 221
pastoral-agricultural occupation finds it uneconomical to 314
bother with gathering seaweed for manure, fishing, or cutting 241
peat, the crofter of the category we are discussing often
adheres more closely to the traditional cycle. After the

depend upon the women of Skye. 000

The Spare-time Crofter. Under this type we must include not 231 ●
only the able-bodied, married man who tends to become a full- 241
time wage earner, but also the old, pensioned, married and 287
unmarried men and women who are no longer able to perform
the necessary chores. For the latter, whether they have a
small or medium-sized croft, the croft becomes a means of
living within a pension rather than a potential source of
livelihood. For the former, the croft becomes a means of
living cheaply.

When the crofter goes out to work, he either tends to 231
neglect the croft or expects his wife to manage it. Oc- 241
casionally, the husband will help with the ploughing or the 313
harvest in the evening, but he never lends his wife a helping 462
hand in her domestic duties. The only men on the island that
I knew who helped their wives with the dishes or the care of
the children, except disciplinary measures, were a minister
from the Outer Isles and several Lowlanders in Portree. Since 312
very few crofters have plumbing, the wife must fetch water
from a well and dispose of waste in the nearest stream. If
there is to be a supply of peats, she must cut them. If
there are cattle and sheep, she looks after them. Lambing
may be left to the township shepherd if the crofters can afford
one, and shearing is usually left to the men of the township.
An exceptional spinster or widow may shear, but it is indeed
an unusual married woman who will break with the traditional

division of labor. During the summer, she will milk the cows, 231 ●
and in the winter she will see that they are fed. If there is 241
to be a harvest in the autumn, she will care for the crops. 313
462

Some women, in particular the older ones, plough with 241
the caschron, the foot plough. Other women use a small power 454
driven plough or contract with the Department of Agriculture 462
to have the ploughing done. The Department will also provide
the men and machinery to harrow, cultivate, spread lime and
manure, mow hay, cut and bind oats, dig potatoes, and thresh
grain. By utilizing these services, if they can be afforded,
the small crofter can free himself or, at least his wife,
from many arduous tasks. The need for cooperation of the family 476
and neighbors is thereby reduced. Although traditional mutual 453
aid is being replaced by cash payment for labor, it is not the [18]
labor of a landless working class which commercialisation often
creates, but rather state provided services. Significantly,
most Department employees are newcomers. The Skye man who
works for the Department is a better worker away from the island.
Since few are for sale for these services, the wife digs the 241
potatoes, and some women use the scythe to reap hay and oats. 462
The scythe, it will be remembered is really a man's tool.
Frequently, the break with tradition is avoided by the return of
a son from the mainland or the sea. Running the household and
working the croft is not all some women do. They also take in [185]
summer visitors, by the day or week, and provide teas for travellers.

In summary, it may be said that crofting is anything but 241
an easy life with ample rewards. We have seen how meager the

manured, harrowed, and limed his fields. Normally, he will 221
have a tractor to speed his work. In the meantime his wife 241
prepares her small kitchen garden. By the time he has sown [462]
his oats and set his potatoes and turnips, the ewe sheep are 221
ready for lambing. Lambing begins during the last week or two 231 ●
of April and runs through the middle of May. This is one [462]
activity which is exclusively man's work. It is also a chore
which demands an early start from individuals who are normally
late risers, seldom getting started before eight or nine in
the morning. Now, all day long, from early morning until late
at night, day after day, the crofter or his shepherd are found
on the hill watching and waiting for the lambs and their
natural enemies, the crow, the hawk, and the fox. During this
time, he does not neglect feeding his cattle nor finishing
putting in his crop if inclement weather has hindered his
progress. Then, too, he may have a cow ready to calve. His [463]
wife will then add milking to her regular household duties.
Men have only recently begun to milk.

After lambing, the family must decide whether or not 221
they are going to take time out for cutting peat. As I have 314
already said, it is unlikely that the man of the house will
want to bother. He has enough to do caring for the sheep and 221
lambs and preparing his cattle for the May markets. Although 231 ●
he could attend the local sales which are held at convenient 432
locations around the island, the large crofter has found the
mainland market of Dingwall attracts buyers willing to pay
higher prices.

361 The number of holdings which can be carved from the land
631 in any one place and the proximity of these clusters of crofts
162 to each other are determined to a large degree by the limiting influences of the environment. Landforms, climate, and soil have always restricted settlement to the coastal fringe and a few internal glens. Although the Sgiathanach has abandoned his former dependence on a subsistence economy, the original cultural adjustment, these natural features continue to exert a negative influence. Each man must have some arable land to provide winter feed for his cattle and to winter his sheep.

If the low-lying area is small and isolated, only a few holdings can be laid out. If the fertile area is large, the influence of the environment is less direct. In either case social and economic factors are important. The small isolated townships are invariably unsuccessful. A few, like Point of Sleat, are completely empty. Others are all but derelict. There is Kylerhea in Sleat where no children have been born in over fifteen years. Suisinish in Strath, a township well remembered from the days of the "Clearances," when a minister's sheep replaced the inhabitants, is now inhabited by an old man and his two elderly bachelor sons. All of these
427 failing townships are at the end of a road. Whereas the
231 minimum size was once four able-bodied men, the number in a
162 plough team or a boat crew,[12] it is now three. This functional trio is indispensible for the care of a sheep stock large enough to be worth keeping. Even three families do seem to satisfy the social minimum.

[12] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

241 where the population has suffered the greatest decline and,
161 therefore, where enlargements, by legal or illegal means,
433 have been the most extensive, crop production has declined the most. Nor has the decline in population, accompanied by land redistribution, altered the fundamental problem.

427 The cottars (subtenants) have almost disappeared there-
241 by easing the excessive pressure on the land and removing the threat of recurring destitution. Today they are found only in a few scattered dwellings and isolated clusters. Most of them have secured some form of employment or have reached the age when a government pension is sufficient to satisfy
427 their needs. The number of crofters, on the other hand, has
241 increased. If the figures 2043 and 1227 can be accepted as
161 nearly correct for the respective numbers of crofters and
162 cottars in 1886,[15] they have increased at the expense of the latter and, also, the sheep farmer, whom they have replaced.

632 To briefly summarize the foregoing discussion of the
621 township, let us look at Kilmuir. Table 3 shows the number
161 of crofts and crofters in each of the nine townships together
162 with the acreage and "souming" rights available to each indi-
241 vidual. Although replanning during the past fifty years has
427 benefited many of the local residents, crowding upon the land
241 is still apparent.

[15] L. MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 6, 17.

TABLE 3

161 CROFTS, CROFTERS, ARABLE ACREAGE, AND SOUMING RIGHTS
162 IN THE KILMUIR TOWNSHIPS

Township	Crofts	Crofters	Arable Acres[a]	Common Grazing	Souming
Bornesketaig	47	35	4	273	2 cows, 1 calf, 12 sheep
Hunglladder	14	9	5	236	2 cows, 1 calf, 10 sheep
Balgown	4	5	13, 14, 36, 46, 66	177	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Kilvaxter	12	11	27	...b	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Linicro	19	17	15	729	5 cows, 5 calves 40 sheep 1 horse
Peingown	3	4	18	187	7 cows, 7 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Herbusta	8	8	12	308	3 cows, 3 calves 26 sheep 1 horse
Totescore	12	13	21	500	3 cows, 3 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Monkstadt	3	3	27, 27, 5	420	9 cows, 9 calves 40 sheep 2 horses

[a] Arable acres are given in average acres per holding, unless otherwise indicated. Except in Bornesketaig and Hunglladder, arable land includes outrun, improved pasture land individually held.

[b] Shared with Kilvaxter.

[13] Sources: Compiled from The Valuation Roll of the County of Inverness, 1951; information extracted from the files of the Department of Health for Scotland; and data supplied by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

worth while to cultivate any of the arable, so I use it for 636
grazing." A case which aptly illustrates the influence of 633
the township system as an agent of conservatism is the breeding 621
of pigs. Although several old crofters told me how many 632
people during the times of the "Clearances" kept a pig, they 774
are rarely found anywhere in the Highlands today. The Biblical 163
injunction against the flesh of swine has been taken literally. 621
The older people simply have a strong aversion to handling 636
pigs. One man, a very successful cattle and sheep breeder, put it this way: "Pigs are filthy brutes. I just don't want to touch them -- I never have kept any and never will." At the same time, there are men who believe that the prices these animals bring at the mainland markets more than compensate for the individual's revulsion, especially as long as the Ministry of Food pays for the cost of transportation. These men cannot try branching out because they have no way to restrict the foraging animals. "Skye is ideal for pigs," one young fellow told me, "but I don't have the freedom to work the croft to suit myself."

Smaller deviations from the traditional methods of land 621
use face the same difficulties. A progressive crofter who 632
attempts to improve the value of his stock by growing scientific 626
mixtures of grasses is always penalized. As soon as the harvest 232
is over, the stock of all his neighbors will show their ap- 241
preciation by concentrating on his croft, trampling his fields, 178
and overgrazing his grass. Nor is this his only penalty. His neighbors will regard him with skepticism for his departure from the ways handed down from the past.

83 Arduous is difficult to determine. In the winter of 1953, I
241 helped a small crofter thrash oats, a cooperative enterprise
123 even with a mechanical thrasher, supplied by the Department of Agriculture. The neighbors who came over to lend a hand were two men and three women. The youngest woman would never see fifty again; her seniors were seventy-seven and seventy-eight. The youngest man, who had just been married, was sixty-three; the other seventy-three. These crofters not only showed more endurance than I did, but put me to shame by carrying the sacks of grain from the field to the byre
162 at the end of the day. Nevertheless, most of those over seventy, about 15 percent of the population, do not make use
827 of the land for more than growing a few potatoes. An old
231 man cannot keep a cow because, as one man said, "You can't
462 have a cow unless you have a woman to milk it." If he is married or lives with a sister, there may be a cow and a couple of sheep. An old woman may have her cow and sheep if she is strong enough. There comes a time, however, when all the old people will only remember the work involved. Still, they will say, "Och, but they were good for all that."

427 Absentee tenants are responsible for depopulation on
241 the one hand and falling production on the other. A reasonable
161 estimate would be 300. Their number could be as high as 400.
433 Some townships have over 50 percent of the crofters absentee. The only townships which do not have this problem are the few which contain large crofts. On one small estate there are seventy-six crofts, held by seventy-two crofters. Only thirty

427 of the holders reside on their land for more than half the
241 year. The lowest rate of absenteeism is found among the tenants
162 of the Department of Agriculture. There are 76 absentees out of a total of 667 tenants. Most of the non-resident crofters are permanently absent. On the small estate mentioned above thirty-seven of the forty-two absentees have not been seen in years. Five of them usually return to Skye to spend their summer vacation.

427 Thus, we have a situation in which, perhaps, a third
241 of the crofts are held by people who either cannot work them
311 because of old age or infirmity, or do not choose to work
827 them because of greater opportunities elsewhere. What, then,
231 happens to this land? Some of the old people allow a neighbor to use the land. Almost invariably this means the few fertile acres will be used for grass and hay. Absentees "entrust" the
670 croft, house and land, to a landless family. While Parliament inadvertently gave the crofter a right to keep his holding whether he resided on it or not, it is illegal to sublet. So far, this has not concerned the crofters. Other absentees "entrust" the land to someone in the township who uses it for grass.

427 Turning to the influence of old age and absenteeism on
241 stocking, we find a series of entanglements. If the township
231 inhabited solely by old people, like Aird in Sleat, the township becomes derelict. More commonly, the absentee and the old person allows someone else to take over his "souming" so
329 that some crofters have far more than their share. Not infrequently, this gives the crofter a chance to outwit that

427 "rich man, the government." Since subsidies depend
887 number of stock, he may forget that all or part of h
231
829 has been given away. One old crofter, for example,
ago asked a young lady to fill out his agricultural
She knew his estimates gave a great deal of reason
his veracity, but, preferring not to question the p
entered his figures. When it came time to sign the
he was canny. "Och," he said, "just put a tremble
and sign it yourself." There are other crofters wh
the authorities by returning the same number of cat
sheep year after year. Although even the best croft
farmers lose a few sheep and an occasional cow, the
[625] that their stock has produced as many as have been
a means of protecting the government from paying fo
existent stock, the police have to be notified when
stock counts are to be made. Even when they do sup
counting, allowances for stragglers have to be made.

654 So pernicious is the effect of non-residence
427 crofts, that a recent government commission has rec
888 severance of the house from the land in the case of
and the eviction of the absentee, as a means of bol
economy and alleviating the widespread condition of
427 husbandry.[17] This could be the final blow for the c
888 uncommonly, the croft is subjected to both absentee
infirmity of old age. The heir does not return unt
passed the age of retirement and begins to think, "

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[17] Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Cro
Conditions, pp. 42-43, 46-47, ct.

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311
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Table IV

Isle of Lewis:

Individual Apportionments and Township Reseeding Schemes,

1960-1969 (Crofters Commission)

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Township Schemes:	30	29	38	17	4	8	4	4	3	2
Apportionments:	1	22	32	34	22	30	49	42	43	64

233
311

[For further information on land use by crofters, see category 241.]

178 311 232 233 land is reduced if his application is granted. Also, a group of men in a township may apply to the Crofters Commission for permission to fence off a portion of the common grazing land and improve it as grazing for their mutual use. Grants are available for both schemes. The township reseeding schemes, adopted widely after their introduction, have been superseded by the number of individual apportionments.

The first township reseeding schemes in Lewis were tried as an experiment in Ness, Harris, Barvas and Bragar. [654] "The Department of Agriculture fellow watched us every step because it was an experiment. Oh, there were times we cursed him and wanted him away." In Shawbost, a few interested crofters went around the village to see if others were interested. "We got a bad name for it; no one could see anything to it. But those people got the benefit of it." According to one man, initial reluctance to participate in the schemes was overcome when the agricultural advisor pointed out that if they overstated their costs, they would not have to pay much money themselves.

Between 1959 and 1962, seven township reseeding schemes were developed in North and New Shawbost, and four in South Shawbost. They were intended to give

171 175 427 241 typical homestead or "farmtoun" consisted of a "ploughgate" occupied by eight tenants, each of whom contributed one animal to the common plough and thus had an eighth of a share of land or one "oxgate" (Grant 1930: 97).

175 427 241 [476] [407] In the Highlands and particularly in Lewis, about four to six men and their families worked together and shared land which was held in run-rig. The Old Statistical Account (1796) lists 90 ploughs in the parish of Barvas or about one plough per five families (Geddes 1948: 57). Geddes maintains that joint tenants 175 427 241 114 233 paid an equal share of the rent and had equal "soumings" (the number of stock allowed on the common grazing land). In contrast, Walker (1812: 56) says that joint tenants paid different rents according to the share which they had in the arable land, and that the number of cattle which a tenant had on the common grazing land was soumed or proportioned to his rent; all the tenants worked the arable land together, and received a percentage of the produce which was appropriate to their share. Geddes' description (1948) emphasizes equality within the joint farm; Walker (1812) and Gray (1952) point to differences between tenants and subtenants.

311 who wanted to keep his bullock on the reseeding for
233 another week because he wasn't ready to sell it; but
●232 he should have known the rules. Some people want to
829 keep both cattle and sheep on at the same time, although the agricultural advisor says cattle should go on first, because sheep go for shorter grass. Other people want to put on twice as many sheep as those who have both cattle and sheep. When they stop keeping cattle, they think they're not getting a proper share of the reseedings.

"The Crofters Commission wanted communal township schemes. But people have different demands. It's better to go for an apportionment. You can do what you want with your own land."

178 The number of township members participating in
311 the communal schemes is diminishing to the point where
232 it is less expensive, and much less subject to conflict
423 arising over differences in stock-keeping, to invest in
476 individual holdings of land rather than try to sustain communal practices.

175 Whatever the rationalization, cobbler fathers begot
827 cobbler sons. The present postmaster's grandfather was
463 the first postmaster in Shawbost, and when help is needed
[205] in delivering the mail it is the postmaster's first
[767] cousins who are likely to help out. As late as the 1950's, the township still had its own undertaker, a man who had learned from his father the art of laying out and dressing the body but who didn't like the job very much and was happy enough to turn it over to an undertaker who traveled from Stornoway.

463 The island has had a veterinarian, based in Stornoway,
●[232] for the past 30 years or so. Earlier, certain blacksmiths and farmers treated ailing livestock when the crofters
[278] needed them. For human ailments, there were many cures
[755] by plant and spell.

463 The man who was the last village blacksmith died
326 not long ago. His smithy was in the center of the village.
[342] His home and smithy were mortared stone buildings with corrugated iron roofs that were once estate houses for the men who worked the experimental farm established by Sir James Matheson in what is now New Shawbost. The blacksmith was also a shopkeeper and butcher. As a
463 blacksmith, his work was principally shoeing horses and
326 making harrows and peat-cutters, which he did with the
874 aid of one and sometimes two apprentices. One of his

Appendix C

Balance Sheet of a Croft

*159 "The Muillear" has one croft and a two-acre buaile.
241 In 1970 he planted one-eighth of an acre with three bags
244 of potatoes, two of which he bought for L14/16, and
433 harvested 22 hundredweights. This was sufficient for
[435] his family's needs and provided some feed for his livestock for all but two months of the year. A small plot is planted with cabbages, for domestic consumption.

[311] Seven-eighths of an acre is planted with oats; one-
[246] and-a-half acres with grass and hay; and two acres
[233] are used for rough grazing.

*159 The Muillear is interested in new ideas and technique
●232 He goes to meetings and discussion groups sponsored by the
233 North of Scotland College of Agriculture, and has bought prize rams from the mainland to improve his flock. He tries to raise a few sheep using techniques of good husban rather than a large flock which would be given less effective care. He is teased by other crofters for "over-feeding," and for keeping his sheep on the croft and the township reseeding rather than out on the moor. "His shee get homesick when they get out of sight of the croft." He wins the prizes at the Carloway Cattle Show each year, in

*159 •232 233 quietly triumphant yet unassuming way. He does not kill any of his sheep for home consumption.

*159 241 288 434 His involvement with the croft is a "hobby" because its output does not compare with the income he receives from weaving. Whereas he might make as much as L100 from his crofting activities, his income from weaving averages [651] L7-800 a year. As a married man, he can earn as much as L848 without paying income tax.

*159 233 434 654 Income:

Sheep:	L27/--	(three sheep sold to the slaughterhouse in Stornoway)
	1/16	("Fat Sheep Subsidy" for the three sheep that were sold)
	16/10	(Subsidy of 12 shillings each for 11 shearlings and six sheep)
	22/10	(Prize money from the Carloway Cattle Show)
	12/10	(Three lambs sold locally)
	12/ 8	(Fourteen fleece sold to the Wool Marketing Board, at an average of 3/11 per pound, or about 17/6 per fleece. The island tweed mills pay only 2/5 per pound. He has been sending his fleece to the Board for two years. Many crofters prefer not to bother with the Board, and sell their fleece to the mills. They are the only sheep-owners in Britain who have this option, because of the location of the Harris Tweed mills on the islands. But as of 1970-71, the mills refused to buy fleece.)
	L90/14	
Cattle:	L28/--	(Calf sold)
	11/ 5	(Subsidy for the calf)
	18/ 5	(Subsidy for the cow)
	L57/10	
Total:	L165/14	

*159 233 434 654 236

175 433 434 [182] [311] •[232] [422] natural zone, could not be extended. In any case, the reclamation of clay land tended to slacken as efforts turned to fishing and kelp-making. The introduction or increased growing of potatoes added to the human, but hardly to the animal, food supply. Finally, while the beginnings of medical knowledge and vaccination had aided the growth of population after 1750, veterinary science had made no progress, nor did it advance in the Island for many years to come. We may conclude that an average stock per Island family about 1720 was rather more than that of 1790, and the acreage relatively larger, while both were greater than the average of today, particularly in the Lews.

175 262 244 What, then, could a family have to eat, from such crops and stock? While in winter even now there is almost no milk to be had on a croft, and there would be little then, there was salt meat, dried or salted cod (or herring) and fish oil; oat and barley meal and some rye meal; cabbages; and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, potatoes. Martin included potatoes among the crops grown even on far St. Kilda in 1697. A century later it was written that the people of Uig, for instance, had, though 'unwilling', been induced to grow and eat them 'forty years before'; and the years tend to be under-estimated where changes are slow and memories long! But it was written of Harris that by June the meal and potatoes had mostly been consumed, "and such as cannot afford to purchase imported meal subsist chiefly on the milk of their cows and sheep, with what fish they may chance to catch, till their wants are relieved by the first fruits of their potato crops early in Harvest".

175 511 162 171 We conclude that with even less money but a little more grain the population in the Island had fluctuated about a mean for some centuries before, as it had in so

175 554 565 427 seldom agreement as to which of these three types brought the greater good or wrought the lesser evil. As elsewhere, tacksmen declined by the end of the eighteenth century. Buchanan wrote in 1793, "The greatest tacksman in Lewis is the Laird's ground officer"; but he added that the Island was for the most part inhabited by tenants holding directly from Seaforth, who "easily perceived the folly, as well as the inhumanity, of lending out the people on his island to imperious tacksmen, for the purpose of raising fortune to themselves on the ruins of the unfortunate subtenants". At a later date a former Chamberlain of the Lewis estate, John Munro Mackenzie of Calgarry, held otherwise. To the Napier Crofters' Commission in 1883, he said: "Till the beginning of this century the greater part of the Lewis was in the hands of tacksmen, or middlemen, who got in some cases from their subtenants in money, produce, and labour, what nearly paid their rents". Their names were those of the seventeenth century. Early in the century, "when Mr. Stewart-Mackenzie married the Hon. Lady Hood, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and took the management of the estate into his own hands, he did away with the middlemen, and let the land direct to the crofters. •[232] This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction, but it had its disadvantages, as the example of a good middleman, who looked after his people, and who was industrious in farming . . . and stock-breeding, was beneficial to the people, though in some cases they may have been petty tyrants." He might no doubt have added that they could, if need be, stand between a bad factor and the crofters.

[228] When they lost their tacks, some of these 'middlemen' turned to the growing fishing industry and helped to supply capital and enterprise as curers; their successors were active through the nineteenth century and I spoke with

have been replaced by grass and hay. Conceivably, this 178
more complete adjustment to the environment, which has been 231
possible by integration with a commercial economy, than 241
433
justment to the demands of the outside world. Whereas
bjective of the local economy once was the export of
, today the purpose is the breeding of cattle and sheep
he national markets. We have seen that there are a host 182
nitations and difficulties in the economic aspect of the 231
241
e. Many of these are due to the persistence of con- 433
tive practices. Each crofter must keep pace with his [624]
tion-practicing neighbors, with the old men of the town-
Others are the result of an inhospitable environment.
conomy does not run smoothly, but this is not conclusive
nce for disorganization. Integration does not mean
functioning. In the spring and autumn the crofter is
onted with a variety and succession of tasks which would
specialist with dismay. Very often, these pastoral
gricultural chores have to be carried on in conjunction
outside employment. In return for his labor, the crofter [134]
ves a meager income, frequently supplemented by con- [657]
tions from his children or the government. As a further [167]
of the partial adjustment to the wider society and
e, the people leave the island to seek employment and
hieve an upward mobility impossible on Skye. Economically, [175]
along with most of the Highlands, may be viewed as
nting a picture of the Lowlands of Scotland 200 years ago.
s the extent of the economic adaptation of the Sgiathanach
national culture.

232

232 APPLIED ANIMAL SCIENCE--practical and scientific knowledge about animal husbandry; veterinary science; specialized knowledge of animal nutrition and disease control; selective breeding of animals; artificial insemination; raising of hybrids; special elaborations (e.g., raising and breeding of racehorses); veterinary services and fees; etc. See also:

Horseracing . . . . . 541 Zoological science 816

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogge
[427] but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whole is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hogge on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hogge
[232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hogge that are sent. The minister at Timsgarry, who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well; the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked.
[239] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.[1]

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
195 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on
[361] each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grazed, are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Amhuinn Thoraghain and Allt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area, still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

464 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment.
228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil, three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

464 Mitchele's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
316 ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present.
312 The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two
377 Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric shceme
446 site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

1. [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

231 Cattle are kept on 162 of the 219 units; in all there are 180 cows of three years and over, 47 young cattle, and 110 calves. The usual practice is to suckle the calves, and sell them as soon as they qualify for the calf subsidy; lack of winter-keep is one of the reasons for this practice.
[254] The breeds of cattle are mainly Shorthorn and Aberdeen Angus with a few Highland cattle. The other function of the cow is to provide milk for the household; households without a cow rely
[432] mainly on tinned milk. Cattle are sold at the twice-yearly market held at Garyvard, but prices fluctuate greatly. The townships of Park certainly do not carry a full souming of cattle.

231 Sheep are more important than cattle in the crofting economy in Park. The breed is the
233 Lewis Blackface, a small, lighter type of the Scottish Blackface breed. The sheep are pastured
233 on the common grazings in summer, and are grazed on the croft land in winter. The standard of
[292] sheep husbandry is also low as few crofters dispose of cast ewes or have a defined breeding policy as all stocks mingle freely on the commons. The lambing percentage for 1958 was about 60 per cent and the number surviving in August compared to the total ewe stock was 52 per cent,
[435] but it was generally agreed that 1958 was a poor year. A further indication of the quality of the sheep is that in the fishing townships, a ewe fetches from 35 to 50 shillings, and a lamb about 20 shillings locally. The low lambing percentage and poor prices can be partly ascribed to the lack of good grazing and to overgrazing, but disease and losses in a treacherous common pasture raise the mortality rate. In general the sheep are left to fend for themselves with a minimum of shepherding although the more progressive crofters hand-feed the ewes and hogge in bad weather.

The majority of the crofters in Habost and Kershader, and a minority in Garyvard, rent additional grazing in Park Deer Forest, paying a fixed sum for each sheep. Sheep from these townships fetch better prices; in the other townships a few wedders and fewer cast ewes are sold to the
[256] Stornoway butchers. In many flocks, wool provides the only income from sheep.

It is evident from Table II that the sheep souming is greatly exceeded. In the calculations, ewes are taken as one unit, and 'other sheep', wedders and gimmers, have been calculated at half rate. On this basis, the overall sheep souming is exceeded by 70 per cent and in only one township is the stock comparable to the souming. Overstocking has been encouraged in crofting districts by the ewe subsidy which was in operation till 1956 and it is notable that the rise in numbers of sheep recorded in the Outer Isles coincided with the introduction of the Hill Sheep subsidy in 1938.[1] Overstocking is without doubt the chief reason for the high mortality rate in sheep. Calculation of the overall relation of the actual cattle and sheep stock to the soum shows that the common grazings of Park are overstocked by 14 per cent. It is, however, impossible to calculate an exact figure, as the number of sheep grazed in Park Deer Forest was not enumerated. It is also evident from the individual croft surveys that the cottars, squatters and feuars, who have no rights of grazing, have stock equivalent to 157 cow units or 12 per cent of the total stocking. Thus the crofts of Park are maintaining an average stock fairly close to the souming, but the cattle-sheep ratio of 1:28 is too low for proper management of the pastures.

In general, a low standard of husbandry obtains in Park but it is clear that the agricultural townships are much more efficiently operated than the fishing townships. Overstocking occurs in seven of the twelve townships and sheep stocks are, with one exception, higher than the sheep souming.

1 In Scotland as a whole, the number of sheep recorded declined from 8,007,134 in 1938 to 7,336,000 in 1955.

amount of time which is allotted to each activity and in the 22
pressure on the crofters to complete each chore within a relatively definite period. There are also differences in the number of non-crofting activities in which the individual can or must engage. Let us follow several crofters through the year to see what these differences are.

The Full-time Crofter. One might say the year for the full- 22
time crofter begins during the first week of January when he 23
goes out to the hill to bring in his rams. This is the first break in the monotony of his winter schedule, but it is only a momentary break. Not until March does his season of prolonged labor begin with the first "dipping" of the sheep to rid the animals of tick and parasites. He and his wife, [476
their children, if they are old enough, and their neighbors or hired hands, crofters from nearby townships, join forces. Several of the men go off to the hill to gather the sheep and herd them down to the "fank," a stone or sheet iron inclosure consisting of either two or three pens, a trough for the "dip," and a shearing platform. While waiting for the sheep, the remaining men and women prepare the "fank" for the day's work. One by one the sheep move through the pens until all have been picked up bodily and submerged in the medicinal bath. The women not only help their fathers and husbands at [46
the "fank" but also prepare a noon meal for the group.

Following the dipping, the crofter turns his attention 2
to the soil. By late March or early April he has ploughed, 24

If May is considered a busy month, June duties are even more pressing. Although the winter gales are over, the rainfall has begun to increase. A succession and variety of demands are made on the crofter's time. Once again the sheep must be brought down to the "fank." This time the purpose is to mark the lambs. The males, unless one or two healthy specimens are selected for future use as rams, are castrated and smeared with a dye to indicate their ownership. The females are smeared and have their ears cut to signify both ownership and age. Like the dipping, this operation requires the cooperation of the crofter and his family, the neighbors, and hired hands. Next the sheep without lambs are dipped once again and given a dose of medicine for liver fluke and a variety of diseases. At the same time, the early hay and, perhaps, the early potatoes are ready for harvesting. The end of June brings the Highland Wool Fair in Inverness. If he has Cheviot sheep, as most crofters do, the man must go to arrange for their wintering on the milder and drier east coast. Although Cheviots produce a finer wool than the more common Blackface sheep, they do not stand up to the incessant wind and rain of a Skye winter. If his wife can leave the children behind, she will accompany her husband. The old function of the Fair, the sale of wool, has disappeared under government price control legislation.

It is not unusual to have the early harvest delayed until July, but even then the mowing may have to wait because sheep must come first. On one of the dry days during the first

or second week, the ewe sheep are sheared. Shearing is another cooperative task. The men and women work together with only one significant division in their labor. Women never shear. Their task is to run the sheep through the pens and fold the fleece after the two men shear the animal. Another chore is added to the crofter's schedule at this time. He must begin to watch his sheep for maggot.

The haying season runs through July and August, depending on the weather. In August the sheep have to be dipped again this dipping prescribed by law, and the wedder lambs (castrated males) are sent to market. In September, if the weather is favorable and the season has been good, the harvest of oats begins. The man works with a scythe. Women never cut. His wife helps by binding the corn in sheaths by hand and making stoops in the field. Later she helps her husband build the stacks for winter storage. As in any summer month, the stock requires attention. Cast ewe sheep (sheep over six years old) and old rams are sent to the Ministry of Food grading station at Kyle, on the mainland, to be graded for meat or to Dingwall to be sold at auction. Cattle sales are also held on the island in September and again in November, but the full-time crofter prefers the Dingwall auction. The rainy season is now, as noted, reaching its height. The pace becomes slower. October, November, and, perhaps, even December are spent trying to dig potatoes and turnips. Too often the oat harvest has yet to be completed and the sheep must receive their second statutory dipping. Sometime before the end of November the

wool must be packed for shipment. As November ends the ra are put out with the flock.

Winter is a slow season for men, but it is not an idl season. The cattle must be fed. The man fetches oats or h from his stacks and some turnips or potatoes from his store pits and carries the feed on his back to his cattle on the Very rarely does he keep them in a byre because to do so he would lose the government subsidy on hill cattle. Although the sheep are now free from pests and most diseases, he mus continue to periodically walk the hill to check their condi Very few bother to feed the sheep in winter. Another task i the butchering of a few sheep. While not quite legal until last year, one crofter justified his activity by asking, "What would we eat if we didn't kill our sheep?" Once in a while, he may also kill a steer, but unless several familie share the meat, salt beef becomes rather monotonous.

The crofter's wife keeps busy all winter. Her routin broken by helping at the fank a half dozen times a year and with the harvest, continues through all seasons. As far as the actual work on the croft goes, she milks the cows, feed the poultry, and cultivates her garden. When she is not cl the house, cooking meals, making butter or cheese, caring f the children, or looking after her husband's needs, she kni She also does the shopping, either from a food van or on a weekly visit to Portree. Men are as disinclined to shop as are to wash dishes.

of tenure function to protect the individual from potential 178
abuses by a landlord where customary usages once fulfilled the 182
need. Moreover, even though the tenure of the cultivated soil 423
grants all the rights of a landholder, including the rights 427
to bequeath the house and land to a member of one's family, 657
for more than half the year it is used communally.

The Sgiathanach has never adjusted sufficiently to become 178
a specialist, not even a specialized grazier. For him the 423
land has always had a more fundamental value than merely being
a means of livelihood. It is the ancestral home. There is a
sentimental attachment to the land which is an expression of
the affectionate bonds of kinship. The people have never lost
the tribal tie of the land and the group. Although the former
patriarchs disclaimed any sympathy with this point of view,
the landlords on Skye today have kept what little land they
have only because of its sentimental value. Indeed the atti- [656]
tude of the largest landholder, the government of Scotland,
is that the crofting tradition is worth while preserving, if
for no other reason, because in the predominantly urban and
industrial civilization it has a romantic value. There are
other reasons. The Islands have long been looked upon as a [702]
human reservoir for the armed forces, and, more recently, for [464]
Lowland industry.

As a result of their partial adjustment to the higher 178
socio-cultural level, there have been changes in crops and stock. 231
The British market has influenced the crofters' output, within 241
ecological limitations. The old subsistence crops of oats and 433

extra grazing for cattle, but by that time the cattle were already on the wane.

"The original idea was to provide an early bite for the cattle, because everyone had cattle then. Otherwise they would need to buy more baled hay to see them through the winter."

"Almost everyone in New Shawbost had a share in the 1959 schemes, about 26 altogether. Then it was mostly cattle. We took turns bringing them in at night, and I remember taking 33 home, with some left behind for the night. The cattle were grazed over the summer, and the lambs were put on from August 10 to October 10. Many dropped out after the first four or five years, when they stopped keeping so many cattle. When the number dropped to 13 or 14, they started using the schemes for mixed grazing, and then some took up their shares again. When we only had the cattle and lambs, we didn't need a souming; but when the mixed grazing started, we had to keep down the number of sheep. Last year we had difficulty with disease."

A forty-acre scheme in North Shawbost started with about eighteen crofters and non-crofters participating; there were 37 cattle altogether. Now only four have cattle; the rest have sheep. The sheep-keepers say,

178 "The cattle give too much trouble." A smaller scheme
311 is grazed only by sheep. On the schemes where mixed
232 grazing is practiced, a number of conflicts arise between
233 those who have only sheep, and those who have cattle as
[578] well. To accommodate different demands, one township scheme was divided with a fence; cattle were put in for a month in one part, and then shifted to the second part. The sheep were then brought into the first half. All stock had to be removed from the scheme a month before the lambs were weaned, so that all worm eggs and other harmful elements in the dung of animals previously present would have time to die. What was once used for a single purpose by everyone now has to be divided.

[435] "I paid one pound a head to put cattle on the
[578] reseeding," says a man named Iain. "Now I have to move them off already. Those sheep people want it for themselves. I won't use it if they're going to be like that. Next year I'll have the use of two crofts and my
[409] apportionment. And now that I have my own tractor I
[242] can put a load of sand at the bottom of the croft to make the grazing better."

311 According to another person, who also keeps cattle
233 on the reseeding, "Some people want to move their live-
232 stock on and off the schemes when it suits them, like Iain,

ticism is fundamental to the peoples' lives. A brief 785
ussion of the Sabbath will serve to conclude my discussion [796]
eligion and to indicate some additional difficulties which [128]
Sgiathanach faces in his attempt to preserve his culture.

Sunday does not exist on Skye. There is the "Continental 796
ay" and the Sabbath. On any other day of the week, the [576]
ting is, "It's a fine day," or, more often, "It's a wet
" The Sabbath, however, is "no day to be speaking of [576]
." Keeping the Sabbath is almost a fetish among the
le. It is a readily observable test of an individual's
gious capacity. All unnecessary work, all unnecessary
s, and all unnecessary thought is taboo. Only the
st minimum of worldly activities are permissible. This
not mean a day spent in idleness; the time should be
t in public worship at the kirk, private spiritual con-
lation and family worship. The Skyeman's estimation of [183]
wcomer may depend on his keeping the Sabbath. One man
very surprised to learn how long a memory the people have
a man deviates from the expected. A visitor asked a
ter what kind of a man a certain newcomer to Kilmuir
to which the crofter replied, "He's all right, except
years ago he played the pipes on the Sabbath." Most
omers, including the few Catholics, respect the Sabbath.

No crofter would ever think of doing any work on this [461]
beyond feeding his cattle as an act of mercy. After [231]
s of rain, the crop of oats or hay may be ready for 796
esting on the Sabbath, but he will not touch it. A man 241

e who do not do their full share.

The year for the part-time crofter begins with the prepa- on of his fields. As a general rule both the man who spends winter working for the British Railways or away at sea, and one who finds summer employment near home is found on his t during this period. Following the example of the large ter some use a tractor while others continue to plough by e. More and more are tending to take advantage of the con- ting service of the Department of Agriculture and hire a tor and driver. Once the crops are in, the majority are until the lambing season. Conservative in his belief too much handling of the sheep is harmful or individually d with the almost prohibitive task of singling a small k out of several hundred sheep, he tends to omit the March ing. During the lambing season, the several crofters of township either take turns on the hill or hire a shepherd. first chore, then, which brings them together as a group he marking of the lambs and the first dipping of the sheep out lambs. The July shearing and the statutory dips in st and November are cooperative ventures shared by all ters no matter what size croft they occupy.

In sundry ways, economic interests, judged in terms of ercial efficiency, play a smaller part in determining the omic cycle of the part-time crofter than in the case of the -time crofter. The part-time crofter does not think it h while to ship his few head of stock to the mainland ion markets. He sells them locally at the tri-annual sales.

worth while to cultivate any of the arable, so I use it for grazing." A case which aptly illustrates the influence of the township system as an agent of conservatism is the breeding of pigs. Although several old crofters told me how many people during the times of the "Clearances" kept a pig, they are rarely found anywhere in the Highlands today. The Biblical injunction against the flesh of swine has been taken literally. The older people simply have a strong aversion to handling pigs. One man, a very successful cattle and sheep breeder, put it this way: "Pigs are filthy brutes. I just don't want to touch them -- I never have kept any and never will." At the same time, there are men who believe that the prices these animals bring at the mainland markets more than compensate for the individual's revulsion, especially as long as the Ministry of Food pays for the cost of transportation. These men cannot try branching out because they have no way to restrict the foraging animals. "Skye is ideal for pigs," one young fellow told me, "but I don't have the freedom to work the croft to suit myself."

Smaller deviations from the traditional methods of land use face the same difficulties. A progressive crofter who attempts to improve the value of his stock by growing scientific mixtures of grasses is always penalized. As soon as the harvest is over, the stock of all his neighbors will show their appreciation by concentrating on his croft, trampling his fields, and overgrazing his grass. Nor is this his only penalty. His neighbors will regard him with skepticism for his departure from the ways handed down from the past.

621 632 626 232 178 from the ways handed down from the past. We might note at this time that even the progressive crofter is not always quite en rapport with modern techniques. There was, for example, a man with two calves infested with liver fluke. Convinced that medicine was the only solution, and equally convinced that a person cannot believe everything he reads, he obtained a bottle of liver fluke medicine which was plainly marked: "for sheep only." When asked how his calves responded to the treatment, he responded, "Och, they both died."

632 621 626 178 Because of the restrictions which the township system imposes, there has been a growing, perceptible rumble of agitation for supplanting unanimous consent with majority rule. Few, however, would go as far as a retired seaman who returned to Skye after forty years. He would like to see the township system abolished. Another small group believe the Sgiathanach would be better off if the Island were given over to communal farms. Most seem to favor the continuation of the present system. Of course, the majority is composed of the conservative old men.

The Aged and the Absentee Crofter

241 427 887 888 311 No appraisal of the crofting system is complete without a discussion of two additional factors which have affected the use of the land and the present unsatisfactory economic condition of the Island. One of the factors is the aged tenant, who, as we have just seen, exercises a strong control over the younger men through township government. He has also influenced

233

233 PASTORAL ACTIVITIES--large-scale herding of grazing animals (e.g., cattle, sheep, reindeer); ranges; driving and watering; branding; roundups; special equipment; specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Nomadism . . . . . 221 Fences and corrals 417

For example, a Widow Catherine lost "one red
175 mare and foal (L10), one dun cow (L3/10), and one dun
427 heifer (L1/10)." One family is said to have paid rent
[435] by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir
[551] James Matheson), thus earning the patronymic, "Fiddler."
Their income stopped suddenly when the fiddler at the
time, a great-grandfather of descendants now living,
converted to the Free Church and smashed his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1905 it was noted in the rent ledger
that two crofters wanted "first chance of a vacant croft
in the township." In the first quarter of the century,
[628] a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighboring
[764] township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too
precious to take out of cultivation and give to the dead
of another village.

173 A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living
241 from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was
• [233] young. They used the dung of the cattle to fertilize the
[237] soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was
only 2½ acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight
stacks of barley to see us through the year." There were
173 a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the streams
243 to grind the barley. The "old Norse mill" which was
256 recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project
[251] was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got
[897]

581 "The most
584 important thing about courting was the land. If a girl
423 was going to get a croft, she could have the pick of
anyone." Stories are told of broken alliances and the
interference of parents, all related to the inheritance
of the croft. For example, the father of a 70-year-old
woman living today deserted the beautiful girl to whom
he was engaged to marry a girl with a croft. "Never
mind beauty, just a bit of land." A man would hike
fourteen miles across the moor into town to bring back the
jug of beer required for the reiteach (the dinner party
announcing an intended marriage), only to find that the
girl was having a reiteach with someone else.

• 233 Cattle were much more important than sheep in the
early economic history of the Highlands. Scottish history
is full of stories of cattle thieves, and of "the drove,"
in which large herds were driven to Lowland markets. The
[789] most common examples of witchcraft concerned spells cast
on cows. Many Lewismen still remember market days on
Lewis, the day of the drove when cattle were herded into
Stornoway from all parts of the island; when children
were taken from school to help with the drive, and shop-
keepers put up extra stalls for the occasion.

Until as recently as ten years ago, a form of
transhumance was practiced on Lewis whereby the cattle

• 233 were taken out to small huts in the central moorlands
233 for several months during the summer. These moorland
342 dwellings, called sheilings or airidh, were tiny stone
structures, as small as seven by five feet. They had
double stone walls filled with clay, and a rounded
thatched roof. There were two doors opposite each other
in the longer walls, one of which was filled with turf
depending on the direction of the wind. A fireplace
[354] was built into one end of the hut; shelves in the stone
[352] walls held basins of milk and other items; and the major
part of the sheiling constituted a grass-and-heather-lined
cavity which served as a bed. The sheilings were usually
[361] clustered together near a stream, duplicating neighbor-
hoods within the village.

221 Ploughing and planting were finished in the spring
before the young men and women went off to the fishing,
and before the cattle were taken to the sheiling. Some
families went to the sheiling as early as March for a
"fresh bite" of grass. Many went out in the middle of
May, and returned at the end of July or beginning of
August.

233 "During the week, young girls or boys stayed out on
857 the sheilings, depending on who was available in the
887 family; maybe old people who couldn't do anything else,
462

233 usually an old woman, as the women were responsible for
857 the milking, and the old men were usually fishing around
887
462 the village.

233 "We left for the sheiling early in the morning,
512 taking bed clothes and food. I walked out with my aunt,
who went back home in the morning. My mother came out
with the provisions in the evening. If no one came out
[513] that day, I went to sleep with someone else. You never
slept alone. During the day we fished for trout or
gathered small blackberries; or we looked for the nests
of grouse and other birds. You would knit or read, and
walk for miles to visit friends. The boys swam in the
loch, and sometimes the girls pinched their clothes.
From the top of the hills you could see Stornoway, the
hills of Lochs, Uig and the lighthouse in Ness; on some
days you could see the distant hills of Caithness on the
mainland. It's on the sheiling that I learned about
other parts of the island.

"I remember watching the sun and trying to will it
512 to stay high in the sky, before our mothers came out from
233
234 the village to milk in the evening. They called the
cattle--'Troit, troit, troit'--and they carried the milk
every day from the sheiling to the village, all those
miles. The cattle knew their own sheilings; sometimes

512 The cattle
knew their own sheilings; sometimes
233 they came back before milking time and stuck their heads
825
[234] inside. They stood outside the sheiling at night, and
that's how you can tell where a sheiling once was, even
though the walls have fallen, by the rich green grass.
Calves were born during the summer. A hollow was scooped
233 out in the peat, and lined with turf and moss. People
[422] had as many as four or five cows. It was like Switzerland,
only we didn't have the bells on the cows. There was lots
[272]
[262] of milk, fresh thick cream and crowdie (clotted sour
[234] milk); the old people knew how to make cheese.

233 "The moor was very eerie at night, with the sound of
821 the birds. There were only a few hours of darkness
751
[513] anyway, and I'm sure we didn't get much sleep, but somehow
we were always fresh. It was the air, the moor air is
more health-giving. The air is different there. Ill
people benefited from the change. Sometimes a person
with TB would stay out there all summer. The air is heavy
by the sea.

805 "There was no sense of time the way there is today.
233 If you got lost in the snow or fog, you followed the cows
221 home. You had all summer to take home the peats, to work
829 the croft, to harvest the corn. There wasn't a world,
[178] there was only ourselves. That has changed since the war.

233 "You got away from village life when you went to
829 the sheiling. The youngsters ran wild. Everyone talk
more freely somehow. It didn't feel like a Sunday out
233 there--the minister couldn't see that far. Only the
883 young men and women in their late teens or 20's were o
at the weekends. They would send the younger ones hom
They came out in their good clothes, from Saturday nig
to Monday morning. Groups of young people walked out
back together, the girls in one group and the boys in
[533] another, joking and teasing. They sang the old songs
learned new ones from each other. Some were good at
making up songs. You wouldn't believe how many people
could sleep together in a single sheiling. It was a
[829] heaven on earth. Everybody was one family. The hills
were filled with the sound of voices."

233 Not every family in the village went to the sheil
Some families had enough land within the township to g
their cattle. But they usually went out at the weekend
for the fun and company.

237 One of the most important products of the cow was
241 not milk but dung, which was used to keep the poor lan
productive. Because people did not have the enriched
231 animal feeds available today, a cow might not have a c
234 and thus did not give milk, for four or five years.

typical homestead or "farmtoun" consisted of a "ploughgate" occupied by eight tenants, each of whom contributed one animal to the common plough and thus had an eighth of a share of land or one "oxgate" (Grant 1930: 97).

In the Highlands and particularly in Lewis, about four to six men and their families worked together and shared land which was held in run-rig. The Old Statistical Account (1796) lists 90 ploughs in the parish of Barvas or about one plough per five families (Geddes 1948: 57). Geddes maintains that joint tenants paid an equal share of the rent and had equal "soumings" (the number of stock allowed on the common grazing land). In contrast, Walker (1812: 56) says that joint tenants paid different rents according to the share which they had in the arable land, and that the number of cattle which a tenant had on the common grazing land was soumed or proportioned to his rent; all the tenants worked the arable land together, and received a percentage of the produce which was appropriate to their share. Geddes' description (1948) emphasizes equality within the joint farm; Walker (1812) and Gray (1952) point to differences between tenants and subtenants.

175 632 241 In any case, the "town" or township was not the effective work unit, but rather was the larger neighborhood in which several joint farms existed. [233] The tenants of several joint farms grazed their stock on the surrounding moorland (i.e., on common grazing land).

D. From Run-rig to Crofting

175 233 241 311 Run-rig was an agricultural system suited to a pastoral people, who required the use of open, common pasture for grazing their livestock; the arable land was limited, and of varying quality (according to Day (1918: 12), 54% of the land in crofting counties was mountain and heath used for grazing, and only 5% was [423] arable land). Residents worked several strips of different quality, and the strips (in drained beds of earth a few feet wide and many feet long called lazy-beds or fiannagan) were usually re-allocated every few [625] years. A "constable" acting for the landlord ensured that proper husbandry was maintained.

175 241 178 427 The joint farm, and the stratification of tenants and subtenants within the farm, disappeared as "progressive" landlords began, in the second half of the 18th century, to substitute compact holdings for the "mingle-mangle of dispersed strips (Gray 1952: 46)" 000 which characterized run-rig. Hamlets or clachans

178 311 232 233 land is reduced if his application is granted. Also, a group of men in a township may apply to the Crofters Commission for permission to fence off a portion of the common grazing land and improve it as grazing for their mutual use. Grants are available for both schemes. The township reseeding schemes, adopted widely after their introduction, have been superseded by the number of individual apportionments.

The first township reseeding schemes in Lewis were tried as an experiment in Ness, Harris, Barvas and Bragar. "The Department of Agriculture fellow [664] watched us every step because it was an experiment. Oh, there were times we cursed him and wanted him away." In Shawbost, a few interested crofters went around the village to see if others were interested. "We got a bad name for it; no one could see anything to it. But those people got the benefit of it." According to one man, initial reluctance to participate in the schemes was overcome when the agricultural advisor pointed out that if they overstated their costs, they would not have to pay much money themselves.

Between 1959 and 1962, seven township reseeding schemes were developed in North and New Shawbost, and four in South Shawbost. They were intended to give

178 311 232 233 extra grazing for cattle, but by that time the cattle were already on the wane.

"The original idea was to provide an early bite for the cattle, because everyone had cattle then. Otherwise they would need to buy more baled hay to see them through the winter."

"Almost everyone in New Shawbost had a share in the 1959 schemes, about 26 altogether. Then it was mostly cattle. We took turns bringing them in at night, and I remember taking 33 home, with some left behind for the night. The cattle were grazed over the summer, and the [221] lambs were put on from August 10 to October 10. Many dropped out after the first four or five years, when they stopped keeping so many cattle. When the number dropped to 13 or 14, they started using the schemes for mixed grazing, and then some took up their shares again. When we only had the cattle and lambs, we didn't need a souming; but when the mixed grazing started, we had to keep down the number of sheep. Last year we had difficult with disease."

A forty-acre scheme in North Shawbost started with about eighteen crofters and non-crofters participating; there were 37 cattle altogether. Now only four have cattle; the rest have sheep. The sheep-keepers say,

178 311 232 233 578 "The cattle give too much trouble." A smaller scheme is grazed only by sheep. On the schemes where mixed grazing is practiced, a number of conflicts arise between those who have only sheep, and those who have cattle as well. To accommodate different demands, one township scheme was divided with a fence; cattle were put in for a month in one part, and then shifted to the second part. The sheep were then brought into the first half. All stock had to be removed from the scheme a month before the lambs were weaned, so that all worm eggs and other harmful elements in the dung of animals previously present would have time to die. What was once used for a single purpose by everyone now has to be divided.

435 578 "I paid one pound a head to put cattle on the reseeding," says a man named Iain. "Now I have to move them off already. Those sheep people want it for themselves. I won't use it if they're going to be like that. Next year I'll have the use of two crofts and my apportionment. And now that I have my own tractor I can put a load of sand at the bottom of the croft to make the grazing better."

409 242 According to another person, who also keeps cattle on the reseeding, "Some people want to move their livestock on and off the schemes when it suits them, like Iain,

311 233 232 829

311 who wanted to keep his bullock on the reseeding
233 another week because he wasn't ready to sell it;
232 he should have known the rules. Some people wan
829 keep both cattle and sheep on at the same time,
although the agricultural advisor says cattle sh
go on first, because sheep go for shorter grass.
Other people want to put on twice as many sheep
those who have both cattle and sheep. When they
keeping cattle, they think they're not getting a
share of the reseedings.

"The Crofters Commission wanted communal to
schemes. But people have different demands. It
better to go for an apportionment. You can do w
want with your own land."

178 311 232 423 476 The number of township members participatin
the communal schemes is diminishing to the point
it is less expensive, and much less subject to c
arising over differences in stock-keeping, to in
individual holdings of land rather than try to s
communal practices.

178 241 476 of the normal capitalist farmer in the West; but in crofting areas, these practices reveal a strain between communal and individual tendencies.

a. Fencing:

233 (178) (417) (333) Although run-rig was replaced by fixed, compact holdings, the method of animal husbandry was not affected until the land began to be fenced. A single dry-stone dike enclosed the township, keeping livestock on the moor and away from the arable land. In different parts (184) of the Hebrides, various types of herdsmen were hired to protect both the livestock and the growing crops (cf. Owen 1958-59 for a discussion of cattle, calf and sheep herdsmen in North Uist).

175 625 The township Constable had a great deal of power, which included the right to evict people from their crofts, to enforce rules of good husbandry. The last Constable of Shawbost, who died at the turn of the century, has been credited with a number of ignoble actions, such as forcing an old woman with a sore leg to take her cow to the moor along with all the others. Old widows who had no one going to the fishing and hence no means of paying their rent might be evicted in favor of other persuasive, land-hungry members of the village.

175 166 In the last half of t
were "cleared" from the di
Shawbost. According to a
173 625 166 history, the Constable evi
Shawbost and resettled the
people from Uig were fishe
the sea. They wouldn't ta
all." According to anothe
extended all the way acros
when the Uig people came,
half, and the street calle

175 625 Whatever effect the C
animal husbandry, they are
who went mad or committed
of 1886.

175 311 233 Cattle and horses we
easy walking distance fro
be left on the moor witho
much earlier time another
(178) (221) township dike. The dikes
found in grazing schemes
out on the moor, beyond t
when they were moved in c
point they were still out

he 19th century, many families
strict of Uig and resettled in
local version of village
cted persons from North
m in New Shawbost. "The
rmen, so they needed to be by
ke a croft in New Shawbost at
r version, the crofts once
s from Carnan to the loch;
the crofts were chopped in
d Baile Stigh was created.
Constables had on land use and
now referred to as "tyrants,"
suicide after the Crofters Act

re tethered or herded within
the township; sheep could
ut much surveillance. At a
dike existed out beyond the
were used according to principles
today: the sheep were kept far
he second dike, until midsummer
loser to the village. At this
of the arable land of the

175 311 233 township, but on land which had been rested and which thus provided better grazing. During the winter the
[221] sheep were allowed past the township dike, to graze along with the other livestock on the stubble of corn and barley, and mineral-rich seaweed by the shore.

175 178 311 417 233 After World War II, the individual crofts began to be fenced, and the township dike was no longer repaired. The fact that sheep were still grazed communally on the moor meant that everyone had to go out together on a particular day rather than individually, but fencing of individual land facilitated variability in land use. Less use was made of crofts for raising crops, and they could be used for grazing sheep all year round.

b. Reseeding schemes and apportionments:

178 311 Another illustration of the individuation of land
[241] use is provided by comparing the number of apportionments granted by the Crofters Commission for Lewis in the last 10 years with the number of township reseeding schemes carried out during the same time (see Table IV).[1] A
[425] crofter may apply to the Commission for an area of land (apportionment) to be sliced out of the township's common grazing land and given to him for his own use; theoretically, his share in the township's common grazing land is reduced if his application is granted.

1. [See p.x--Analyst].

/p. 108/ Blackface sheep: a typical Lewis scene and an essential element in the island's economy

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

133
233
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3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

(B) VEGETATION

1. *The Vegetation-types and Pastures of the Highlands and Isles*

137 311 In order to see the Island problem in true proportion, the types of vegetation and rough pasture in the Highlands and Isles should be outlined. Dr. Hardy's reconnaissance botanical survey of the Highlands, with its coloured map, has been utilised in the compilation of *A Reconnaissance Map of Vegetation of Scotland.*[1] The latter has been boldly simplified in Fig. 7.

The Highland pastures are of two main regional types, eastern and western, with the addition of a few great stretches of peat moor. East of a line from Stirling to Inverness, heather is dominant, as it is on the heights around the Dornoch Firth, from north of the Cromarty Firth and Ben Wyvis to the border of Caithness. To the west of this, heather, though still found, is mixed with [233] grass and sedges. The grazings of the North-west Coast have been the adopted home of Cheviot sheep for over a century, for Cheviots are grass-feeders which cannot thrive on heather-tips. True, acid 'Dry Grass Moors' lie inland from the Beauly Firth and Dingwall. On the rest of the West Coast from Gairloch and Loch Torridon south to Kintyre, 'Marshy Grass Moors' with but little pure [233] heather clothe the lower slopes. These give way on higher slopes to 'Mountain Pastures', reaching up to about 2500

[113] [1] M. E. Hardy, *Esquisse de la végétation des Highlands d'Écosse*, Paris, 1905; also *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, 1906, June number with map, and May number with text. A. Geddes and L. D. Stamp, *A Reconnaissance Map of the Vegetation of Scotland* (Ordnance Survey, 1/625,000: 10 miles to inch), 1953; explanatory pamphlet in the press. A résumé by L. D. Stamp has appeared in his *Land of Britain: Its Use and Misuse*, 1948, based on Tansley, *The Vegetation of the British Isles*, 1946.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

311 feet. These marshy grass moors, with their mountain
233 pastures above, are the adopted home of the hardy Black-

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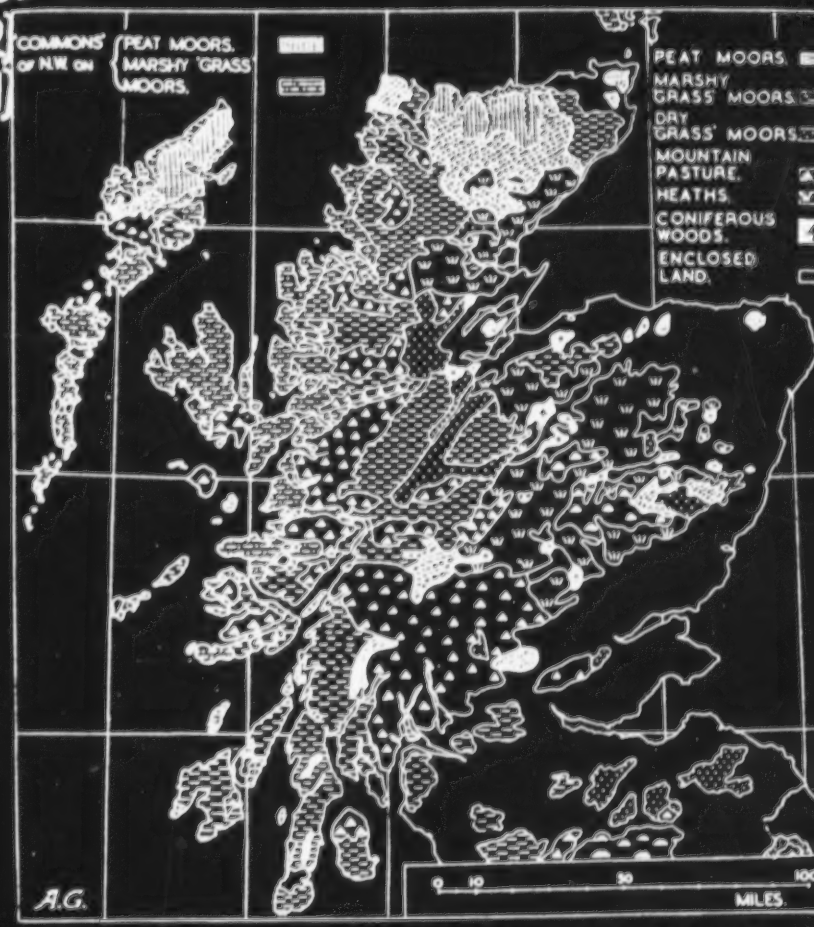

FIG. 7.—Map of vegetation-types and pastures of the Highlands and Hebrides

face sheep. Wherever in the west the slopes drop fairly steeply, good pasture grass with some heather may grow, or rather did grow until bracken overwhelmed them.

241 288 183 233 The competition between the loom and the croft is evident in the few communal township practices which still exist. One of the rules of township organization is that all households must bring their sheep in from the moor on the same day. Other rules are that no one [231] should go out on the moor at any other time with a dog, and everyone who has sheep should go out on the day designated by the township grazings committee to collect them. The moor is extensive, and the sheep wander over a wide area. Only if a large number of men go out together and come in with their dogs like a wide net can the sheep be brought in with a minimum of effort over the stream-cut, uneven ground. Anyone who goes out alone disturbs the grazing animals and probably drives them farther away from the village.

233 183 These rules have strong ethical import and are much more than a set of procedural rules prescribed by the Crofters Commission. "There is a code of ethics which you learn as you grow up, as you go with your [578] elders out to the moor. You can fight with a man over a woman and make it up next week; but if you fight with a man over a sheep, you won't make it up for thirty [178] years." That these rules are weakening in importance is indicated by situations in which only two or three men have gone out in the early morning to bring in the

233 183 178 sheep. These men arrive back in the village hours later to find the road lined with the cars of men who have come to look for their own sheep among the flock but who had not bothered to spend the time collecting them. Many have gotten rid of their sheep to "concentrate on the weaving."

233 178 578 2. Sheep vs. Cattle: As mentioned in the section entitled "Changing Land Use" (cf. Chapter 2), a split has emerged between those who keep cattle, and those who keep only sheep. Cattle were once predominant, but the number of sheep has greatly increased. The conflict between raisers of sheep and of cattle extends beyond the use of the reseeding schemes (see Chapter 2).

Cattle are usually brought in from the reseedings or from the common grazing lands where they are tethered, and put on the unfenced, arable inner grazing land of the township at the same time that the sheep are brought in from the moor. In one township on the west side of Lewis, the cattle were released a few days before the fank,[1] which resulted in the formation of two groups, sheep-only people and sheep-and-cattle people, which opposed each other. At the fank held a few days later,

[1]The word "fank" refers to the process of bringing the sheep in from the moor, and to the wooden pen in which the sheep are gathered and claimed by their owners.

233 178 578 sheep were let out of the pens, and a fight broke out between the two groups of people.

241 657 578 175 [671] 3. Crofters vs. Non-crofters: Another division within the township has developed largely because of the attention paid by outside agencies to "crofting." The Crofters Act of 1886 defined crofters and gave them a protected, privileged status. In fact, very little distinction existed between non-crofters (sometimes called squatters and/or cottars) and crofters, and in some places such as the Isle of Scalpay, non-crofters even out-numbered crofters. Both categories were linked to each other by bonds of kinship and mutual dependence. Non-crofters were in fact favored economically. They did not have to pay rent, but had the same opportunities to graze stock and plough land as did crofters. Many crofters themselves 241 175 423 had buaile, units of land not recognized as part of the croft and not included in the land for which rent was paid but recognized as property by the villagers themselves to the extent that these bits of moorland passed down through families or could be given by one person to another. Even today, a young girl thinking of getting married says her future husband might build their house on her father's buaile, and a man may build a house on moorland "given" to him by his wife's aunt. Officially, a non-crofter had no "rights" to a house which he built on the common

241 The Department of Agriculture dispenses subsidies to
654 all Scottish farmers, not just to crofters, and handles
[433] about 210,000 claims per year. Lewis produces 0.4%
of the agricultural output of Scotland, and 8.1% of the
agricultural output of the Scottish islands.

654 The major subsidies available to Scottish farmers,
• 233 including crofters, are for raising hill cattle, beef
calves, and hill and upland sheep. Sheep and cattle
subsidies were made available in 1941, in the early years
of the war, to increase their production. During wartime,
Britain was more dependent than formerly on her own
resources, and attempted to encourage production. Between
[458] the two world wars, agriculture had undergone a recession,
especially in the hills and uplands, because of a number
of events in world economics, such as competition from
New Zealand and Argentina in production of cattle. As
part of the scheme of the postwar Labor government,
agricultural support was made statutory.

For example, a man who keeps hill cattle may receive
L18.70 per cow as well as L5 for each acre cultivated to
feed his cattle during the winter. He receives L5 for
each cow which is tested for brucellosis. In the 1970-71
agricultural year, Shawbost received over L2,000 in sheep
and cattle subsidies, divided among 37 men receiving
subsidies for cattle and 36 men receiving subsidies for
sheep.

• 233 One crofter who gets subsidies says that he keeps
241 sheep and ploughs the land to feed them only as a "hobby."
654 He uses the word "hobby" because, in comparison with the
523 income he gets from working regularly in the mill, he
434 does not get a good return for his investment.

233 A crofter who has been weaving all his life says
288 that the income he receives from his cattle and sheep
434 does not compare with the income he receives from weaving.
654 Subsidies are counted as an important part of the income
he receives for the livestock. "Last year I got L28 for
a heifer--not a very good price, but then I got an L11
subsidy as well." He does not believe that anyone could
829 make a living from crofting alone. "You say some of the
434 people in Uist are able to make a living at it? They
241 might be getting social security as well, they're that
sly. Anyway, members of the family are probably sending
money home from sea or from the mainland. You need a
weekly wage. If the tweeds disappear, the only thing a
man could do would be to go to sea." (See Appendix C
for an example of the balance sheet of a croft.)

233 A few families work seriously at rearing cattle for
463 sale in local or town markets. These are usually
composed of several male adults, of which one or more
work in the mill or do weaving and someone is largely
○○○ responsible for croft work. Most of these people look

• 233 Most of these people look
829 askance at the idea of Britain joining the European
648 Economic Community. "If the Common Market comes, that
654 means no more subsidy for livestock. That'll mean the
end of crofting. They'll get good prices for their
beef, but feeding stuff will be very expensive."

"I don't know much about the Common Market, but
I'm against it. They'll do away with the subsidies.
If it weren't for the subsidies, most people just
wouldn't bother with cattle and sheep; it wouldn't be
worth their while, the feeding stuff is getting so
[246] expensive. The people here used to take in a hundred
bags or so of potatoes to feed the stock. But the climat
is so bad you don't know what kind of a return you're
going to get, and the work is so hard it just isn't worth
the bother, so people prefer to buy feeding stuff. And
if you spend more on feeding your animals than you get
for them, what's the use? Of course we've been here
all our lives. It would be hard to leave. But if the
weaving goes--"

"I was talking to my cousin in Glasgow. He says
the cattle are going to be the big thing with the Common
Market. The price of beef is going to go up. I don't
think people here can keep cattle if they don't get the
subsidy. They can't keep enough cattle, and they can't
be sure of a good price every year."

178 231 234 233 The number of cattle diminished as milk became available by other means; and when the township reseeding schemes came into existence, the need to go to the sheilings for an "early bite" was removed. The sheilings 178 342 that remain in use today are huts of tin, wood and concrete within easy walking distance from the highway, used on weekends and during summer holidays. Most of these modern sheilings are close to Stornoway, and serve as summer retreats for the relatively harried urban [184] dwellers such as publicans. On the west side, the sheilings are no longer used, but remain as a theme of songs and in nostalgic memories.

C. The Loom

175 286 Clo Mor, the big cloth, was woven in the Highlands and Islands for hundreds of years. Martin Martin, who travelled through the Outer Hebrides in the late 17th century, describes the export of "plaiding," and the practice of waulking or shrinking the woven length of cloth (Martin 1716). Weaving was done on wooden looms, and produced only for local markets until the middle of the 19th century.

[731] By the middle of the 19th century, the failure of [735] the kelp industry, decline of fishing, and destruction

592 24 31 288

like to leave the loom for the time it took to look after the sheep."

592 23 24 [233] [246] [288] [463]

A fourth household consists of three unmarried siblings in their 40's and 50's who recently sold their cattle and now keep only sheep for their own consumption. They cultivate a small amount of oats and hay to feed the sheep during the winter. The brother who was largely responsible for taking care of the livestock is now "concentrating on the loom," and his brother works in the mill. Their sister, who used to work in hotels on the mainland, now keeps house for them. Described as a "self-contained family," they have a tractor and a deep-freeze and take care of their peat and the harvesting of crops by themselves. One of their crofts has become too waterlogged even for grazing and was sold recently to the son of a local crofter, not for agriculture but as a prerequisite for applying to the Department of Agriculture for a housing grant. Only tenants of crofts can apply for such grants. As this particular croft is too wet to be cultivated or used as a house site, the only motive which the new tenant has to become a crofter is to gain access to governmental subsidy.

[402] [404]

654 423

592 233 311

The fifth household is composed of a retired couple and their son and his wife and family. They have no cattle, and use the crofts for grazing sheep.

*159 The third sister worked in domestic service in Glasgow all her life and never married.

Calum Ban had joined the Naval Reserve before the war. "There was always a sign up in the Stornoway Labor Exchange for men to join the Naval Reserve, because the islanders were such good seamen. They were fishermen or had been in the Merchant Service." Calum was in the navy for five years during the war, and became "skunnered" of *159 (tired of) the sea. He is very interested in sheep, and • 233 knows their major earmarks or brands between here and Ness. 422 "The earmarks identify tribes of people. The Macleods have a particular mark, like a slice at the base of the right ear; the other marks were added as the families divided and subdivided so that the relationship between them was lost. Even though you can't calculate the relationship, you know you were once part of the Macleods that put that original mark on; you can see it all in the ear marks."

*159 Calum also raises bullocks, without keeping a cow. 233 He buys young bulls at cattle sales, and sells them after two or three years. But recently his back has given him a lot of trouble, and he has had to limit his crofting activities.

*159 Seonag and Calum Ban have four children. The eldest is in the Merchant Service, and the second son is a teacher. A daughter is studying domestic science in

Appendix C

Balance Sheet of a Croft

*159 "The Muillear" has one croft and a two-acre buaile. 241 In 1970 he planted one-eighth of an acre with three bags 244 of potatoes, two of which he bought for L14/16, and 433 (435) harvested 22 hundredweights. This was sufficient for his family's needs and provided some feed for his livestock for all but two months of the year. A small plot is planted with cabbages, for domestic consumption.

(311) Seven-eighths of an acre is planted with oats; one- (246) and-a-half acres with grass and hay; and two acres • (233) are used for rough grazing.

*159 The Muillear is interested in new ideas and techniques. 232 He goes to meetings and discussion groups sponsored by the 233 North of Scotland College of Agriculture, and has bought prize rams from the mainland to improve his flock. He tries to raise a few sheep using techniques of good husbandry rather than a large flock which would be given less effective care. He is teased by other crofters for "overfeeding," and for keeping his sheep on the croft and the township reseeding rather than out on the moor. "His sheep get homesick when they get out of sight of the croft." He wins the prizes at the Carloway Cattle Show each year, in a

ly triumphant yet unassuming way. He does not kill
f his sheep for home consumption.

His involvement with the croft is a "hobby" because
utput does not compare with the income he receives
weaving. Whereas he might make as much as L100 from
rofting activities, his income from weaving averages
) a year. As a married man, he can earn as much as
vithout paying income tax.

:

p:	L27/--	(three sheep sold to the slaughterhouse in Stornoway)
	1/16	("Fat Sheep Subsidy" for the three sheep that were sold)
	16/10	(Subsidy of 12 shillings each for 11 shearlings and six sheep)
	22/10	(Prize money from the Carloway Cattle Show)
	12/10	(Three lambs sold locally)
	12/ 8	(Fourteen fleece sold to the Wool Marketing Board, at an average of 3/11 per pound,
	L90/14	or about 17/6 per fleece. The island tweed mills pay only 2/5 per pound. He has been sending his fleece to the Board for two years. Many crofters prefer not to bother with the Board, and sell their fleece to the mills. They are the only sheep-owners in Britain who have this option, because of the location of the Harris Tweed mills on the islands. But as of 1970-71, the mills refused to buy fleece.)
le:	L28/--	(Calf sold)
	11/ 5	(Subsidy for the calf)
	18/ 5	(Subsidy for the cow)
	L57/10	
	L165/14	

241 documented; and Harris and Lewis played out their part in the
614 agitation for more land. Briefly, when the clan system was broken
182 down, the clansman found himself freed of the obligation of ser-
311 vice to the chief. The chief, on his side, found himself thrown to
*175 the economic dogs. Payments in kind were no currency; a house in London or in Edinburgh had to be paid for in cash, and a London hairdresser would hardly accept half a dozen eggs for his services. The effect of the Heritable Jurisdictions Act was like a butcher's chopper. With a stroke a social organisation was given notice to change overnight, with no period of transition allowed. The chiefs looked to the land for their money. In the old system, their prosperity had been largely measured in fighting men. Now the pressures of economics demanded increased rents from those who were being called tenants. Increased rents can, however, be paid only when the land's productivity rises. The agricultural changes percolating through the Lowlands of Scotland had not
[427] even begun to penetrate to the Highlands area. Many tenants found that, unable to pay the increased rent demands, they were ejected from the lands which, incidentally, they had held by traditional understanding—written deeds were rare. Emigration
[167] started, and the vacant lands went to sheep-farmers, well able
• [233] to pay good money for the grazings.

Some chiefs did give their tenants time to change to new
241 methods of land use, and were careful not to make a breach be-
614 tween agriculture and grazing. Their tenants in turn improved
311 the land, changing in particular from the old run-rig system,
427 whereby a man working a piece of ground one year had the same
*175 piece the following year only if the dice were thrown his way. But the class of farmers' tenants called crofters (who had no security of tenure) or cottars (a squatter type with no legal recognition) found themselves on the verge of starvation. The few acres of ground they had, or to which they had been removed, were quite unsuitable for intensive cultivation to produce even the basic necessities of life.

*175 The picture of land use was that of a great black pot boiling
423 furiously with a brew of which the final taste was quite uncertain.
311 When the boiling was controlled, the land began to be parcelled
241 out, a share to each family. This led to a rigid, almost monolithic,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

THE CROFTER

241 The pursuit of agricultural processes, their growth, development and improvement, to establish a foundation for a secure society has never been easy on the island. The unyielding nature of the
[135] base rock, Archaean gneiss, its hardness, its non-porous property, have all contributed to the resultant pattern and character of society which emerged. Though one is tempted to define crofting as an agricultural activity, it is also something much more intan-
[113] gible: a way of life. To quote the Napier Report on *The condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scot-*
[81] *land* (1884): 'Habit and local affection bear so great a sway in the actions of mankind, that Highlanders will be found who would rather be proprietors in the mountains of Skye, or the wastes of Lewis, than on the fertile plains of Manitoba.' 'There is the Island of Lewis, with poor, peaty soil covering the Archaean gneiss, but with a crowded, lively, vivid community,' said the Taylor commision in 1955 (Commission of Inquiry into Crofting Holdings).

The Highland crofter is the subject of an extensive literature.
[657] A special authority, the Crofters Commission, exists solely for the purpose of caring for his needs. He has special rights and privileges which are safeguarded by the Land Court. Crofters' unions have formed themselves into a strong federated wall for the system's defence.

241 Socially, the term 'crofter' means, on the island at any rate, a
423 landholder who cultivates his own (arable) holding, his croft. He shares the common pastures with his fellow-crofters, each of whom
• 233 has a right to carry a sum of so much stock, the 'souming'. These
[571] common pastures or grazings are a social link of some consider-
632 able significance, forming the basis for the crofting township, as
[621] distinct from the communities set up under the influence of some agricultural land use such as hamlet or village, where there are both small-holders and true farms, and the only communal land is the village green or common. For instance, outside the crofting counties area the main unit of Scots life in the country is the farm, with its tied cottages. Then come the full-time small-holdings important in the north-east and the southern Highlands.

233 654 As these quotations bring out, the subsidy enables people to risk rearing cattle under conditions that would otherwise make success very uncertain.

476 571 5. Communalism: Despite the decline in various agricultural activities and the individuation of land use, some activities persist which require mutual aid. [484] Conditions of low geographical mobility, in which mutual watchfulness and competitive gamesmanship have developed (see section on "Social Marginality"), contribute to the strong boundedness of the township network. There is still competition over who begins an agricultural [156] [221] activity at a particular time of the year. No one wants to be so early that he stands out like an over-eager novice running risks of frost or other bad weather, but there is an element of pride in being the first to 314 571 476 harvest potatoes or bring in the peat. Almost everyone cuts peat, a time-consuming and back-breaking job made pleasanter with a large labor force; and every aspect of the activity--the time of cutting and bringing in, the length of time required to cut peats, the size of the peats when dry, the type of meal served to the work crew, the evenness of the final peat stack--is subject to intense scrutiny.

175 261 [132] [443] During a huge snow-fall that c
Lewis in the 1950's, the mobile g
supply vehicles could not come ou
and a group of men had to make an
for provisions, after which many
that they always had a good suppl
[404] [365] mackerel and herring. Many villa
freezers to store beef and mutton
not trust the freezers, that a fa
which occasionally happens in thi
far-away repairmen--would bring d
458 226 fully on them for keeping their m
industry is going through one of
more men go out more often to fis
out every night for the last week
a tweed, and I won't have one for
I don't know what I'm going to do
sea. Three of us caught one hund
[251] night. I salted my share, and di
away. These are the hard times.
them during the next six weeks."

233 [654] A few people raise beef catt
on subsidies for encouragement to
[234] [435] [434] [648] beginning to keep cows again for
reasons that freight charges make

ocurred on
rocery vans and other
t to the west side,
expedition into town
families made certain
y of meal, salted
gers have gotten deep
; others say they do
ilure in electricity--
s region of gales and
isaster if they depended
eat. When the tweed
its periodic depressions,
h. "I've been going
or so. I don't have
the next six weeks.
; maybe I'll go back to
red mackerel last
dn't give any of them
We're going to need

le, depending largely
do so. A few are
milk, giving as their
the bottled milk too

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costly, that the Common Market will soon drive up milk prices, and that income from the weaving has become too uncertain.

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Many tools and techniques associated with crofting have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (two pieces of wood joined with leather); the sheepskin stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate chaff and grain; rope made of plaited heather and straw.

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[221]
[237]
[824]
[173]
[887]

Each spring the byre was cleaned of its accumulated dung and urine, and this was turned into the ground along with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be mobilized under changed conditions, as when alternatives to crofting are no longer available or are too costly. However, the longer crofting is neglected, the less it will provide an alternative strategy. "The artificial

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fertilizers are ruining the land; that's why the turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to

[233]

water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and streams--rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep--the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather work the land than the blinkin' loom, but we tried the potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photograph by Robert M. Adam

PLATE VII. WESTERN NORTH HARRIS FROM THE ISLET OF SCARP

View due east across the Sound of Scarp to the hills of North Harris : the furthest is Tirga Mor (2227 ft.). From the crofter-fishers' homesteads (left foreground) potato patches and hayfields extend towards the hill and wall of common grazing (extreme right foreground)

there is frequently found the most thriving of the vegetation types of Lewis and the best grazing ground. It includes grasses such as those already named, together with purple *Molinea*, meadow soft grass (*Holcus*), and mat grass (*Nardus*); sedges (*Scirpus* and *Carex* spp.); with the field wood rush (*Luzula*) and a fair number of flowering plants. Heather is common in this and the following community (3).

With true 'hill' pastures, found especially to the east of the Forest of Harris and between Loch Seaforth and Loch Shell, are included fair pastures with good grasses on the rocky hillocks near the villages around Loch Roag and also on the low, steep hills northward to Shawbost. The 'skinned land' lies in strips too narrow to be shown on the map, but may form a ring of desolation round the village. The hard moor-pan resists natural seeding of plants unless broken by the pick, but broadcasting of a cheap seed-mixture with a little fertiliser can work marked improvement.

(3) *Marshy Grass Moors.*—Where the slopes are gentle, and the acid humus has accumulated to form peat, is found coarse, tussocky, damp pasture, of sedges and grasses, grading from the 'fair' and 'hill pastures' to the beginnings of hummocky peat hags and smooth sedge moss. It covers the slopes of hills such as Ben Barvas and Muirnag and the hillocks that emerge from the great central trough of brown peat moor. It also characterises the low but broken areas in southern Lewis. This type forms a belt below the 'hill' and 'rocky' pastures of Harris. At its best its prevailing hue is olive-green turning to a silvery shade and then to russet later on. Annuals are few and the grasses are coarse.

(4) *Peat Moors, Mosses and Peat Hags.*—The most

thirds of an area nominally under crops actually grows them. It need hardly be said that such crofts do not support a family.

The means of cultivation have been either pony-drawn ploughs in the smoother north, or else the foot-plough (*cas chrom*), and the straight spade in the hilly south. I saw the almost obsolete foot-plough used on hilly ground near Rodel, Harris, in 1919. In the smoother lands from Stornoway and Barvas northward, however, the crofts then were already laid out in parallel strips, no more than twelve to fifteen feet wide, divided by open drains. Open drains have increasingly been converted into underground drains over which pony and plough can pass. The cattle feed on the rough pasture or on the grass about the crofts, supplemented by hay cut with a sickle from the grassy edges of the 'lazy-beds'. Quite recently, rotation grass has been sown on the arable strips, and mown for hay by the scythe. Tractors were introduced in war-time, in 1942.

In many of the villages, cattle are still taken to the summer pastures out on the moors some miles from the crofts. Those who herd the cattle live in huts or shielings, annually re-roofed. In the congested 'Point district' (the Eye Peninsula), the cattle must go to the moor on the main island or be taken on to their owners' crofts from late May or early June to about the 10th of August, in order to clear the common grazing and allow the grass to recover. This migration takes place, of course, because of the restricted area of common pasture. On the other hand, pasture is plentiful in the parish of Lochs, lying all round some of the villages, and here the use of the shieling has been practically abandoned. In almost all villages, with the exception of those of the Eye Peninsula, there is less summer pasturing than formerly; fewer cattle are sent

away, and for a shorter period. The sheep wander over the moors all the year round, though they hang about the crofts when the winter is severe.

A comparison with mountainous Norway or the Alps and their high summer pastures suggests itself; but in Lewis altitude is almost negligible, and the shielings may lie only two to five hundred feet above that of the crofts beside the shore. The difference between winter and summer is in any case less, snow being rare and the conditions being such that even in summer the shieling pasture remains poor. Hence it is that while modern Norse and Alpine economy still maintain the summer pasture, the shielings have died out in the Highlands and are slowly decaying in Lewis. Seasonally, stock are transported over longer distances, from Highland to Lowland pastures.

Reasons for the continuance of these and other crofting ways, or for their abandonment, are not of an economic order alone: not only the remuneration received for labour, but the feeling for the work counts enormously. Visiting a couple of distant shielings in the summer of 1919, I found that two lads newly home from the Navy had come up from their village 'for a holiday', bringing rods for trout-fishing and high spirits for play. By day they fished or flirted. By night they slept in one of the two shielings, while the two laughing lasses they had come to visit shared the none too wide couch of the other shieling with the two older women there. One of these was a matron with a motherly twinkle in her eye, the other was a spinster in whose eyes there shone a memorably vivid light; she was the sister (as I found later) of a noted minister on the mainland. The bare simplicity of shieling life is traditionally softened by fellowship and a gaiety that is not beyond control. A Lowland poet once coined a famous phrase,

241 struction of a single ring fence round the croft land, which
also circumscribes a good deal of rough grass, the ground
[178] being generally rough in parts. Individual crofts are
fenced only where exceptionally large, or when the pos-
(654) sessor is unusually enterprising or is isolated. Depart-
(634) mental help is given in the provision of fencing materials
for a township, the crofters supplying labour. As the
• 233 animals are allowed to graze freely in winter, this limits
241 crops to those sown and harvested in the summer half-year
—a serious matter for any man of enterprise who cannot
afford a fence of his own. Cattle kept on the croft when
the fields are under crops have to be either tethered or
driven to a common pasture. A drystone dyke may
enclose a small patch of garden, rarely well tended, the
school gardens providing a laudable exception.

233 Shortly before 1939, the stock included under 1000
agricultural horses and well over 10,000 cattle (of which
more than 6500 were milch-cows), but practically no pigs.
Sheep number 42,000 ewes, or 94,000 ewes and followers
in June. Thus there are 2·5 cattle on an average holding,
of which more than 1·5 are milch cows; and there are
233 half a score ewes or about a score of sheep in June. The
178 size and the quality of the cattle have greatly improved
since first I visited the island in 1919; at that time the
mongrel Highland breed must have been the very poorest
in Britain. The Blackface sheep are small, either through
underfeeding or because of traces left from the old, smaller
Hebridean breed, or from both causes. On an average
there is, or was, one horse, or pony, to every five or six
23 crofter holdings, but their number is much reduced.

233 Actually, such Island averages for horses and sheep are
somewhat misleading. In particular, either there are more
(182) horses than the average in a given district, or almost none,

• 233 according to the relief, as explained. Thus the Barvas
182 parish with its smooth topography permits of ploughing,
and there is, or rather was, one horse between two crofts,
231 or one pair between four or five. In rocky Uig or in Lochs,
however, there is only one pony between ten or twelve crofts.
492 Lending or hiring of horses has still to be practised, but
426 within manageable limits, though the increase in 'cars' had
lessened the number of horses, even before the war-time in-
troduction of tractors. Hiring is often done for cash, though
this conflicts with older communal custom. Yet lending
had its difficulties: "The borrowed horse", says the lender
bitterly, in the Gaelic proverb, "is never tired!"

233 The number of sheep per holding is noticeably highest
184 in Harris, with one score ewes per holding. The sheep
pasture of North Harris was well spoken of by Dean
Monro, and the link with the home industry of Harris, its
weaving, is evident.

241 Comparisons with the western mainland show, in
311 holdings of similar or rather large size, the diminished
amount of cereals now grown there even by crofters. The
increased proportion of grass reflects both the greater
dependence on bought provisions, and also the fact that
the West is not a land to ripen crops, but that it can grow
grass for stock.

4. *The Moors as Pasture: Game and Sport*

311 In order to estimate the relative value of the rough
511 grazings of Lewis and Harris, it will be well to compare
these with the moors lying across the Minch and east of
Cape Wrath. There also may be found crofting communi-
ties whose economics are similar to those of Lewis, so
that the stock carried on their pastures will furnish some

311 indication of their worth. As above, the period is *c.* 1937–
511 1938. The Island's increased sheep stock is shown in
Appendix II (ii) (a) to 1953.

• [233] The Lewis and Harris pastures carry on an average
about one ewe to 9 or 10 acres, that is, one ewe or lamb
to 4 acres in June (the month of the agricultural returns).
A good mainland grazing like Glen Shiel carries one ewe
to 6 acres, while poorer grazings like Kintail and Farr
carry one ewe to 10 or 14 acres respectively. Nowhere,
however, can the rough grazing support the newly weaned
ewe lambs (or hoggs) throughout the winter, which have
either to be brought to the enclosed 'low ground' (of
which there is never enough to supply both grass and
winter feed) or sent to the Lowlands in autumn and
brought back in spring, at a total cost of about 10s. each
before 1939. In Lewis, for lack of grass, there is consider-
able loss in winter among the crofters' sheep. Con-
structive measures for the future must be based on an
increased supply of winter feed.

137 The game consist of red deer, grouse and hares, while
511 salmon and trout are fished in stream and loch. The deer
range over Harris, Park and the Uig hills, but are seldom
seen north of Achmore. They are of ordinary quality and
size, and before 1939 the average number of heads for the
year totalled about 190 stags and 80 hinds. It is not known
[529] when they were introduced. In the south there may be
a certain amount of 'deer stealing', as in most deer forests
surrounded by crofts, in spite of a score of keepers and
deer-stalkers, and other employees at shooting lodges.
Grouse are relatively scarce compared with those on drier
[825] mainland moors. Mountain hares have multiplied since
their introduction in 1853, when, it is said, the first hare,
seen near a village towards evening with its white winter
coat, was thought to be supernatural.

137 Inset into the Highlands are three desolate tracts of
134 boggy 'Peat Moor', in Sutherland, Rannoch Moor far to the south, and on the plateaus of Lorne and Mid-Argyll; while marginal to the Highlands are (1) the drier and more dissected plateau peat moors between Lochnagar and Stonehaven, and (2) the intermittent stretches of Lowland peat moss.

137 Finally, intermixed with these are strips of surviving or planted woodland. Below the heather moors of the western Highlands stretch the great pine woods of Atholl, Deeside, and Speyside and the Moray Firth. As the heather thins out, towards the West Coast, pine gives place to oak. Near both are found the graceful silver stems of
[177] the birch, with its small resistant leaves. These woodlands invite the modern forester, who brings in pine, larch and firs in the east and, in the west, notably the Sitka spruce, brought here from the rainy western highlands of British Columbia.

311 The uses to which the pastures are or have long been
233 put, are three: as crofters' grazings—mostly 'commons' (and so indicated on the map), as sheep farms, or as deer
137 forests. (1) On the 'commons' there is close grazing for
[136] both cattle and sheep by crofters near the townships or the holdings, and much peat-cutting. (2) On the hill sheep farms there is more or less regulated burning and some hill draining but almost no cattle pasturing; and as a result of both facts, bracken has invaded the grassier moors.
[136] (3) On the deer forests almost no care is given and the heather, scrub and bracken are coarse and strong. An indication of the margin of the commons, according to whether it 'marches' with farms or with deer forests (given in Fig. 2 by line C), is also shown in Fig. 7 because of its marked effect on vegetation.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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2. *Plant Life in Lewis-and-Harris*

Lewis has been dismissed by many as a floating peat bog, and its name has even been derived from *leodus*, a bog! For good or ill, peat influences the Island, its history, the distribution of its people and the economic and social features of their life. In Lewis, peat once covered everything except the narrow fringes of sandy machar, the surface of the inland waters, jutting rocks and steeper hills where drainage is rapid. Man's encroachment on that carpet has so far been mere nibbling. Except for the machar lands, every acre of ground occupied or cultivated by man has been reclaimed from peat.

133 137 182 [185] [311]

The Map of Vegetation and its Key portray the distribution of the main plant communities (Fig. 8). All plants are of low habit with small leaves, well protected from excessive transpiration. They are mostly perennials or biennials; annuals are comparatively few. There is no burst of flowering save where the heather blooms on better-drained slopes, or where shell sand has blown, enabling clovers, vetches and meadow-sweet to give colour and scent. Moss, sedge and dwarfed heather prevail widely in tussocks.

137

Constant cropping by sheep and cattle, and also deer, tends to keep vegetation low, but on the wide, boggy moors this is a minor factor. Nor is there much systematic heather-burning. Even upon the islets of inland lochs, untouched by grazing animals, and in spite of better drainage due to the undercutting of the waves, growth is not really luxuriant. Bracken, however, is found on the islets, and a little on some former sheep farms, but not on the heavily grazed common pastures, for cattle keep down bracken.

137 233 [311]

[see p. 50 -- analyst]

On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an outlying reclaimable patch of arable, lying near distant, little-used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chance of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the man and his family; but there might be advantages such as an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as hunting 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunter-bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft was known as *Ruigh* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of poverty with individuality in isolation were handed down, for example, from one of my forebears who held such a *ruigh*, Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-feet contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the last of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *ruigh* may have originally been a summer shieling, only occupied when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with new possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led to settlement there.

At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of North Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lodges and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth, as they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such as one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small islets. But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single crofts are rare. And the clearest distinction must be drawn between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage or croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or even two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers; for even a few families form the germ of a community, in work and in leisure.

The potentialities of co-operative practice were overlooked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough. For when new methods were required, run-rig kept back the pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. Soon

that no initial reclamation had been needed on the scatt. In each year of cultivation, it is true, manures of a sort, principally seaweed and sooty sods from the roof, are applied; but they form a temporary improvement only for the crop to be taken, and do not constitute reclamation. After manuring, the grasses and clovers are simply turned over and the land, 'rested' and manured by cattle, straightway gives its best crop.

It is otherwise with what is won from the moorland. As Dean Monro wrote of the reclaiming Lewisman in 1549: "In this country all is peat moss-land at the sea coast" (the long machars of the west of Uist give place to rocky coasts round much of Lewis), "and the place where he wins his peats this year, there he sows his corn the next year; after that he guids it weill with sea-ware". Even where the slopes are fairly smooth, the peat land has not the uniformity of the machar and the continuity of its arable strips. In addition to sea-ware, sand may be brought by creel or by pony pannier to reclaim peat, forming a heavy burden. Moreover, the first crop is always a poor one, and may be almost lost. Although in his brief notes Monro used the singular 'he', we know that the peat was usually cut co-operatively by teams. Hence most of the hard labour of reclamation may, indeed must, have been done co-operatively too, but by small teams, not by the members of a whole township together.

The sharing of common pastures is the last, but important, feature of land holding in common. The two kinds of pasture required were, firstly, those close at hand, animals being tethered or herded in the crop-growing season, and secondly, the more distant summer pastures. The people of certain townships, which were without a large outrun close at hand, had to go some distance to

reach their shielings. From Point district (Eye Peninsula) the cattle are still brought inland to the moors south-west of Stornoway. And from Bernera on the west the cattle are swum to the hills of the main island, just as they once were swum from Bute to the hill-pastures of Cowal in Argyllshire across the Kyle at the 'Strait of the Swimming', Colintraive (Caol-an-t-snaimh). Nothing could be more natural, indeed inevitable, than pasture in common where large, open moors were to be found. The number of animals allowed to each holding was duly apportioned and then, as now, was known as the summing or 'souming', still checked at the annual gathering (*cosgoradh*).

Thus a cluster of conjoint farms shared "the grass on the Ben and the tillage on the machar" (*Fiar air beinn agus peighinn air machair*). Along the shore, sea-ware, driftwood and the like were allotted, too. And, as Carmichael put it, there was even "run-rig at sea", for the fishing banks were allotted among the available crews. Most of these rights are still shared by the members of a township. But any crew can now fish freely where they choose, and no township can legally keep away strange boats, nor even steamers beyond the three-mile limit. This loss of communal rights stands in the way of remunerative fish-farming and its promise.

Profound social implications distinguished these three concentric circles of community: the family; the farm-team and boat's crew; and the larger, township group. These implications concerned labour, duty and right. The labour of reclamation gave a 'right' to the land thus won from the moor; and the duty of labour together, for fruits equally shared, gave the farm-team and fishing crew cohesion on land or sea—team and crew working for a common purpose. On the other hand, as individual sharers in the common

The care of cattle was accompanied by prayer. As an Eriskay housewife said to me, she would never leave her cow tethered without a murmured, "Saint Columba be herding you" (*Buachaille a'Chaluim-cille ort*). The curing of animal sickness, as of human ailments, was accompanied by prayers. And prayer was used to avert the evil eye, symbol of suspicions born of unreasoning fear which, psychologists tell us, beset the modern but little less than the ancient! The thought or act of prayer which links a man to his fellow-men links him to the dumb beasts. "The man who is merciful to a soul will not be merciless to a brute" (*Am fear a bhitheas trocaireach ri anam, cha bhith e mithrocaireach ri bhruid*).

Throughout Christendom each task of the annual rhythm was marked, at its start and close, by a day of seasonal festival (*Lá Feill*). These Christian festivals replaced earlier celebrations and continued some of their features, often in play. Yet concerted seasonal activities could not be related to the supreme festival of the Christian Church, Easter, owing to its movable date. This is one reason for the great importance of other, fixed Festivals to rural community life. This point, not always appreciated by latter-day individualism, is made clear by M. M. Banks in describing *British Calendar Customs*, vol. i, *Scotland* (1937). Remembering that the Old Style Calendar dates were ten days later than the New Style (when officially adopted in Scotland in 1600), they may be compared with the annual rhythm of climate and labour (Fig. 9). Until 1600, the New Year began in spring on 25th March. After the Reformation and the abolition of Christmas or Noel, *Nollaig*, New Year's Day on 1st January took its place as the day which, in the Protestant Highlands and Lowlands, still keeps alive some of the old friendly visiting and

coat, was thought to be supernatural. The fishing, too, is of good standard: a typical annual catch including 1700 salmon, 5000 sea-trout and 1800 brown trout; and it was for this, as well as for the shootings, that the moors pertaining to the different shooting or fishing lodges and hotels were bought at Lord Leverhulme's sale. The absence of foxes was important to sheep-rearing before the introduction of guns, and is still a favourable factor.

5. *Sea-fishing*

Fish have always contributed to the diet of the Islesfolk, whether they fished from coracles or boats, or with 'lang wands' from the shore as they still do, and as they did in the days of Dean Monro and, no doubt, right back to neolithic times. The relative importance of fishing and agriculture, however, has always varied according to place and time.

Fishing in modern and historic, and also in prehistoric, times—to judge from the kitchen middens of Uig—has always flourished more where there were deep sea-lochs; and settlement resulted, even though rocky hillsides made ploughing difficult or impossible. Conversely, agriculture has offered better opportunity on smooth coasts with a variety of soils, though fishing was poorer there. Thus the men of Stornoway Bay and Eye, of eastern lochs and of the Harris bays, like those of Loch Roag on the west, have long been partly fishermen. In the extreme north, too, men of Ness—with the chance of choosing their fishing grounds on the north, west or east of the island and with their little rocky port giving shelter, of a sort, from south-west gales—were good fishermen; they are good seamen still. "The fishing of the Barvas folk" is an old gibe,

175 632 427 [241] [624] co-operate in active endeavour. It was all the more important to have an elected 'official', the Constable, one of themselves but placed in authority. There could be no restitution of the old joint farms where they had been broken down by migration. Yet it should have been still possible to extend the old spirit to the larger townships, as the Commissioners held.

175 632 423 671 Again, the constitution of the township is bound up with the rights of common pasture upon the moor all the year, and in winter even on unfenced arable; but the Crofters' Act failed to regulate the rights and obligations of Common Grazings. It slackened the authority of the estate without restoring the hold of the tenant community upon its members. After five years the Government began to recognise the mistake, and passed the first Crofters' Common Grazings Regulation Act, permitting the crofters to elect a Common Grazings Committee. But it was ill-considered; most of all because non-crofters, that is, cottars and squatters without legal tenure, were not bound by the Regulations. On one hand they could not get permission to 'resume' (or enclose) a portion of the outrun, in order to reclaim it as a croft, without first obtaining the unanimous consent of the township's crofters; and in large [233] townships there might always be an objector. Yet each cottar could, and did, put on stock, a cow or two and a few sheep, so nullifying the possibility of discipline.

In 1908 a second Act was passed; but twenty years had allowed tradition to lapse and difficulties to accumulate. In Isle Scalpay (Tarbert) for instance, by 1909 there were only forty legitimate crofters, but eighty cottars; and [176] the legal crofters would not take part in depriving any [462] cottar of such grazing liberties as he exercised. All were neighbours and most were relations, and their principle

192 The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" huts, some still in good repair, are of unce
date. The best preserved are on the Morsgail Deer Forest, in remote situations w
make it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; those on the Garyna
common pasture are associated with assymmetrically ridged, curving, lazybeds.
however, need not imply permanent occupation of the site, nor does it solve the prob
of age; such lazy-beds are certainly old, possibly pre-potato (c. 1790 here) - but the
do not decay with age and may be very much older.

175 427 [624] Early in the eighteenth century the present area of the parish of Uig was held fro
Seaforth clan chief by 26 tacksmen, whose names are recorded in the judicial-rental
1718, (Fig.4). They, presumably, had sub-tenants but of these there is no record.
Elsewhere in Lewis the same rental records many small tenants holding direct off th
chief but in Uig, apparently, the tacksman and sub-tenant system remained intact.
Although we cannot be certain of their precise extent, the distribution of the tacks
[241] coincides fairly well with that of the better agricultural ground (Fig.2). Five of the
cluster round Uig bay, four were in the Valtos-Reef area, and three around the strait
Little Bernera. All these districts have machair; together they accounted for three
quarters of the meal and more than half the sheep and money rents. What is more,
rents represented 27% of the total rental of Lewis, whereas by 1887 Uig yielded only
[178] of the rental and by 1901 the proportion was reduced to 14%. The relative decline of
[369] Uig is largely due to the growth of Stornoway; this shift in the centre of gravity of Le
has tended to exaggerate the remoteness and isolation of Uig in the present century.

161 175 [624] [407] [490] [491] 000 By the end of the eighteenth century the tacksmen seem to have disappeared; at an
rate they are not mentioned in the remarkably detailed account of the parish given
in the Old Statistical Account, 1792. Meanwhile the small tenants had multiplied:
whereas in 1755 the old parish * had supported 1,312 persons, in 1792 the
minister recorded 1,898. At this time there was neither plough nor cart
in the parish. The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating th

TABLE 3

AVERAGE STOCK HELD BY EACH FAMILY

162 178 • 233 422

	1792	1959
Cattle and calves	9.2	2.1
Sheep	13	37
Horses	1.8	-
Goats	0.8	-
No. of families	387	450

Note: the figures for both dates refer to the area of the old parish.

[632] * The old parish of Uig excluded the Loch Carloway district, from Kirivick north; this area lay in Lochs parish until 1891. Unless the old parish is specified figures quoted have been corrected to conform with the modern boundaries.
1. [See p. 2--Analyst]

The minister
was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them
175 as an example to the crofters who were still reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70
[247] boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch Roag for they were small open boats greatly
[226] outnumbered in good herring seasons by boats from other parts of the kingdom. To
encourage curing, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up two storehouses
[251] to supply salt; he, or his agents, were probably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, who
[441] visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the estate factor held a monopoly for trading in
cattle, dried fish and other products. The absolute power of the clan chieftain seems
[614] to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844.
But it was kelp, more than fishing, that helped to support the people of Uig in the late
eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lewis made little kelp compared with the
175 [332] Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of particularly good quality and commanded more than
[221] the average price. Further, many people from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in
Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time, the intrinsic resources of the parish appear
[233] to have been inadequate to support the population. In this connection it is worth noting
[162] the change in the average stock held by each family since 1792 as shown in table 3.
[178]

Clearance and Congestion.

175 Even after the end of the tremendous boom in kelp, brought about throughout the
228 Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some production continued in Uig. In 1825, when the
land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses,
175 yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereafter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attempt-
233 ing industrial developments and agricultural improvements. The former included short-
166 lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants in
order to introduce mainland farmers. For these Uig was particularly attractive, the
extensive mountain pasture offering good prospects for sheep graziers. The exact dates
427 of the formation of the earliest farms are not remembered nor are they precisely recorded,
[274] but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Macrae of Kintail had the tack of Scaliscro, with
the extensive grazings (now partly occupied by Bernera summer pastures) east of Little
Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants of Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of
Mealasta Island, which suggests that a sheep farmer was already installed in that
district. About 1838 all the small tenants were cleared out of Mealasta, six families
being put into Breanish; the remainder are said to have been sent to America.

175 In Bernera island, Kirkibost was cleared about 1822, having been lotted in individual
crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkibost formed part of the large farm of
427 Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed part of this farm. On the mainland, opposite
Bernera, small tenants were cleared from the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Strome and
Drovernish) in the early nineteenth century, and a tacksman was installed at west
Earshader. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and
Linshader.

175 By 1844 the kelp shores were almost valueless to the proprietor (though seaweed as
fertiliser remained a vital necessity to the small cultivators, often working the same
land year after year). In 1841 the Chamberlain of the Lews suggested to the Select
Committee on Emigration that some 6,000 persons should emigrate because the land was
inadequate to support them. In 1844, of necessity, Seaforth sold the island. The
[162] population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,316); little did the Chamberlain imagine that
in the following ten years it would increase by 16%, and that by the turn of the century
would reach almost 30,000, (Uig 4,462 Figure 8).[1]

1. [See p. 18--Analyst]

175 The new proprietor was no better placed than Seaforth to change the fundamental
427 causes of recurrent poverty and distress. But at least he had funds to ameliorate hi
tenants' lot and to allow experiments in land reclamation and industrial development.
[233] Existing sheep farms were extended and others formed. Land reclamation went forw
[319] hand in hand with industrial experiments such as distillation of paraffin from peat and
brick and tile-making. A programme of road building was begun (the first roads bey
[397] Stornoway were begun in 1791, but there were only 45 miles of road by 1836). In Uig
[499] results were very obvious. Further clearances took place particularly from Timsga
[726] Carnish (21 tenants), Reef (22 tenants), Garynahine, Dun Carloway. The small tena
Valtos and Kneep were only saved from eviction by the intervention of the Fisheries B
[162] for they were important places for white fishing. By the 1850's, although the populat
of Uig was more than double that in 1755, and 60% greater than in 1800, it was crowde
[168] into little more than half the area. Emigration enforced by clearances reduced the p
lation of Bernera and South Uig by nearly 500 between 1851 and 1861.

175 No other part of Lewis saw so many farms; nowhere else did the small tenants su
427 so much from eviction. That was not all. Those who remained undisturbed were de
prived of some of their traditional grazings and access to the rest was sometimes
311 restricted. Moreover they had to make room for many of the evicted families in the
233 own townships, thereby further increasing the problem of congestion caused by the ra
[161] natural increase of population. Thus, for example, about 1825 there had been 22 far
[162] in Valtos and Kneep. By about 1880 there were almost 100. But, during the same
period these townships were deprived of their island grazings - Pabay, Vacsay, Flod
and Wiay - formerly used for wintering cattle - and of part of their hill grazings (the
traditional shielings). Use of the hill-grazings was restricted, too. Thus, for exar
only one day was allowed to pull heather for ropes; if men were away fishing or for o
reasons, could not attend on that day, they risked punishment by going on any other. S
stories could be multiplied many times.

[103] In the Bernera district, by the 1850's, only Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete (on the
island) and Earshader and Crulivig (on the mainland) were left for the crofter famili
Moreover their traditional summer grazings, which lay south east of the Deer Forest
which was formed out of the Scaliscro sheep farm about 1850. Apparently their use o
the old shielings was tolerated until 1878, after which date they were directed to the a
north of the present road and which they have continued to use until the present day.
the shieling huts shown in fig.5 all post-date 1878; the area in which they lie may hav
been part of the West Earshader tacksman's holding. The date of discontinuance of t
tack is not known but the house, now empty, was for long occupied by squatters and th
old lazy beds around it still form part of a large squatter holding.

It is noteworthy that almost all the clearances were in the Bernera and South Uig
districts and this is reflected in population changes between 1841 and 1851, shown in
table 4.

The cleared areas included extensive hill and mountain grazings and some of the be
wintering ground, including all the machairs except Valtos and Kneep. The East Loch
Roag and Carloway districts were less attractive to the new farmers; as is so common
the case in Lewis, their rough grazings lay on gently sloping low plateaux and were con
sequently ill-drained and of poor quality. About 1852 Dun Carloway was let as a tack b
was never successfully farmed and was soon returned to crofter-occupation; it may n
have been wholly cleared of crofters. Garynahine, at the southern end of East Loch R
next to Linshader, was also turned into a farm about 1852. Here the hill grazing was
extensive and, though seriously reduced by a crofter settlement scheme c. 1936, it ren

trouble; and neighbours come to suffer too!

Turning to natural things, how far could the people observe and think rationally, free from the intervention of imaginary beliefs? The Gael possess common sense, keen observation, ready wits and accurate memory. They show powers of tracing effects to their cause; and on the whole, their agricultural practices were based on good sense, and their knowledge of nature was wide. Before taking a social decision, they reasoned together to good purpose.

In the ordering of family life, their ideals were founded on common sense and human feeling, little interfered with by superstitions. Irrational prohibitions too often restrict the issues of life where it is already severely limited by environment. A word should therefore be said of the bearing of beliefs upon the physical aspects of mating and parenthood, and of Gaelic teaching upon these. To begin with an early experience among all peasantry, during calving and lambing today shepherds, cattlemen and dairy-maids show delighted tenderness—there is no other word for it—in the care of mother and new-born offspring, though at other times they may be quite rough-and-ready at their work. What is true of hired farm-hands is still truer of a crofter's family tending their own precious stock. When out herding, boys and girls, before and after puberty, have to be exact in reporting when a bull has served a cow, so as to tell whether or no a calf is to be looked for next spring.

At the same time, human facts were not left to be learned only by observation of animals, but were simply and frankly taught. In a parent's verses to a maiden, for instance, marriage is spoken of tenderly but frankly, in words which can hardly be translated literally without over-emphasis to most English ears. There is a place for

TABLE 9

The Agricultural Structure of the Parish of

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	Townships (no.)	Inbye (acres)	Common pasture (acres)	Agricultural holdings (on Valuation Roll) Crofts:	Others:
Atlantic Coast	3	246	14,800	51	1
Uig Bay	5	636	15,800	62	-
Valtos-Reef	3	398	8,700	74	-
Little L. Roag	4	266	4.400	38	-
Bernera Island	5	1,213	8.200	91	4
Bernera Shore	4	359	13,100	26	1
East L. Roag	6	1,101	15,700	183	1
L. Carloway	7	856	9,400	174	7
Individual holdings * (non - crofting)		161	1,200	-	9
	37	5,236	91,300	6,999	23

NOTE: *Individual holdings include only those not using the co pasture' figure is their rough grazing.

**These include individual holdings, as defined, and all allotment holders having more than a quarter acre of sheep. Their holdings are included in 'Inbye'.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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Uig, 1958

	Crofter-tenants		Agricultural unit employing one crofter or more*
	Total	(some of non-residents)	
	42	(12)	-
	55	(9)	-
	68	(14)	1
	39	(4)	1
	88	(12)	8
	26	(2)	2
	178	(26)	6
	167	(23)	35
	-		9
	663	(102)	62

ommon pastures; the 'common'

cottars, squatters, feuars and
cultivation or a cow or 5

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogge
[427] but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whole is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hogge
[232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hogge that are sent. The minister at Timsgarry, who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well; the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked.
[235] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.[1]

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
175 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on
[361] each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grazed, are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Amhuinn Thoraghain and Allt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area, still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

464 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment.
228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil, three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

464 Mitchels's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
[316] ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present.
[912] The Aird R. A. F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two
[377] Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric shcemo
[446] site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

[1] [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
[231] the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos
654 in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village there is now an R. A. F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the inhabitants.

361 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
[491] at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
[443] butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N. A. A. F. I. within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100 ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below
[205] the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
[342] have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
[354] more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
[312] modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
311 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so
[491] that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions, but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

241 The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse.
[407] Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
[354] tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
[824] vated; here was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
[231] extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

233 On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females. Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
[166] periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 - 44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

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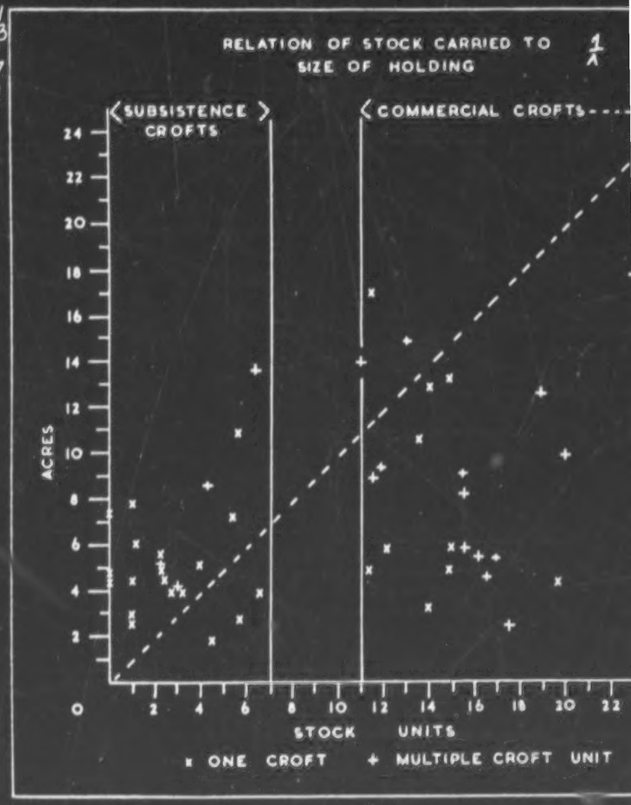

Figure 19
/facing p. 42/

[1] [See p. 45 for discussion of chart--Analyst]

175 the crofts at Kneep are still highly fragmented: the fifteen crofts comprise over one hundred
311 and eighty separate arable plots. The lotted crofts at Reef were cleared in 1842 to provide
427 land for a sheep farm. Plans to clear the remainder of the Valtos peninsula were thwarted
(228 by the Fisheries Board because Valtos and Kneep were then good centres for the white fish
(50) industry. As late as 1892 Valtos and Kneep had forty boats, providing employment for one
[464] hundred and forty-five men. Valtos with thirty-two boats and one hundred and twenty
fisher-men was second only to Carloway as a fishing centre in Uig. With the prosperity
of the fishing industry, the population of Valtos and Kneep had risen rapidly - from 467 in
1841 to 659 in 1891. Some, at least, of the subdivisions of Kneep date from this period.
Reef was scheduled by the Deer Forest Commission (1896) for resettlement by crofters
and in 1908 an attempt was made to do this, but agricultural experts advised against it, on
the grounds of poor water supply, scarcity of arable land (only ninety-three acres old arable)
and the risk that, if cultivated, the machair would suffer wind erosion. Nevertheless, in
1921, Reef was resettled by ex-servicemen from Valtos and Kneep. At the time the sheep
● [233] farm was only carrying a stock of one hundred and seventy sheep - less than half the crofters'
sheep stock in 1959.

427 Tables 15 - 18 summarise the more significant points of the economy of the Valtos
178 peninsula. Table 16 illustrates the fact that the economy is in decline. Only two-thirds of
the total possible units are being worked. Many of the crofters have abandoned their crofts
[162] and the younger generations are unwilling to take over. Of those remaining to work the
crofts 18% are over sixty-five, and a further 47% are between forty-five and sixty-four.

TABLE 16

Crofts and Crofters

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
427 463 632 Legal crofts:	40	18	15	73
No. in joint tenancy	2	4	0	6
Total possible units:	42	22	15	79
No. of operative units 8/59:	29 (60%)	15 (68%)	8 (53%)	52 (66%)
Joint tenancy crofts as one unit:	1	3	0	4
Cases of subletting:	8 (+2 part crofts)	4	6	18
Family combination of crofts:	2	1	1	4
Derelict crofts:	2	1	0	3
Crofts worked by: Full time crofter	3	1	1	5
crofter with regular work	8	7	0	15
crofter with periodic work	13	3	4	20
crofter over 65 (or invalid)	5	1	3	9

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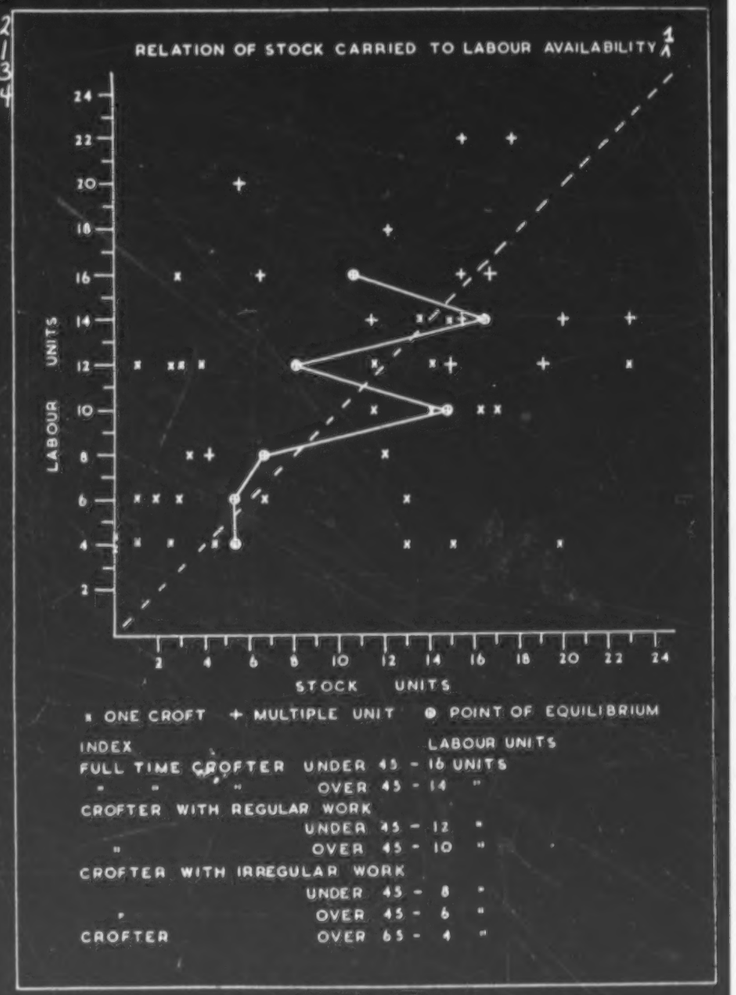

Figure 20

/facing p. 43/

1. [See p. 45 for discussion of chart--Analyst]

TABLE 17

Livestock

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● 233
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	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
a) No. of crofts with 3 cows	0	1	0	1
" " 2 "	13	2	2	17
" " 1 "	14	7	3	24
" " 0 "	2	5	3	10
" " 50 + sheep	11	6	5	22
" " 1-50 "	15	5	2	22
" " 0 "	3	3	1	7
b) " " 20 + cow units	1	2	0	3
" " 10-20 "	14	4	6	24
" " 1-10 "	14	5	1	20
" " 0 "	0	3	1	4
c) " " overwintered (total stock)	7/29	9/11	5/7	21/47
" " " sheep	14/29	8/11	7/7	29/47
Sheep sown for township	1038	152	225	
Sheep stock in township	1154	537	410	

491 311 427 sists of the sporting estates of Grimersta, Scaliscro, Morsgail and Uig Lodge, on some of which a few cattle and sheep may be grazed, and a few small farms.

632 311 427 [162] There are 37 crofting townships. In area they extend from 9,000 acres (Linshader) to about 500 acres (Croir, excluding de facto shares in Bernera Shielings). The number of crofter tenants ranged from 4 in Ungshadir and Earshadir to 61 in Breasclete, and the average amount of land available to each crofter is 7.2 acres of inbye and 126 acres of common pasture (table 10). Averages are misleading. As the table shows, between districts the amount of land available per crofter varies from about 50 to 500 acres; as between townships the range is even wider (table 11). To some extent this contrast is the result of resettlement schemes which, in general, attempted to provide new holdings sufficient to yield a family living. The extent to which they were successful in this respect was limited by political pressure, especially in the 1920's, to provide the maximum number of holdings. Nevertheless the re-settled holdings have twice the average areas of both inbye and common pasture (13.3 against 7.2 acres, and 225 against 126 acres, respectively).

TABLE 10

Average acreage of land available for each holding and working unit.

241 233 311 427

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	INBYE LAND: Holding	INBYE LAND: Working Unit	COMMON PASTURES: Holding	COMMON PASTURES: Working unit	NUMBER OF: Holdings	NUMBER OF: Working units
Atlantic Coast	4.7	8.8	285	529	51	28
Uig Bay	10.1	14.8	255	367	62	43
Valtos-Reef	5.4	7.8	118	171	74	51
Little Loch Roag	7.0	7.6	116	126	38	35
Bernera Island	12.8	13.8	86	93	91	84
Bernera Shore	13.3	13.3	484	484	26	26
East Loch Roag	6.0	8.1	85	114	183	136
Loch Carloway	4.7	5.3	52	58	174	155
Non-crofting holdings	17.9	17.9	-	-	23	22
	7.2	9.0	126	157	699	580

NOTE: The distinction between "holdings" and "working units" is explained in the text.

427 632 311 Even amongst the old-established townships there is a tremendous range in amount of land available per tenant, the southern districts being best placed and those in the north worst, a situation which still remains. Indeed, the contrast in land available as between tenants (table 11) is a fundamental one; surprisingly, it is not on the whole reflected by a corresponding contrast in stock carried. Together with the rarity of effective fences between or within township pastures, the impossibility of properly hefting sheep to the hills when each crofter keeps his own little pack, and the excessive sheep/cattle ratio, this gives rise to serious problems which will be examined in Part III.

TABLE 11

Land Available by Numbers

162 241 427 233 632

Acres:	INBYE LAND No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish: (a)	(b) in 'new' townships: (b)	Acres:
0-1.0	1		Less than 50
1.0-2.5	73	2	51-100
2.6-5.0	241	19	101-200
5.1-7.5	137	22	201-300
7.6-10	66	23	301-400
10.1-15	56	23	401-500
15.1-20	30	17	
20.1-50	29	24	940

Note: 'New' townships, for this purpose, are those sett

361 632 In detail the arrangement of the townships varies. all inbye land and, consequently, all settlements, are c has common pasture adjacent to the inbye and many have former shieling grazings - some distance inland (figure grazings is to some extent nominal because fences are o Uninhabited islands, on the other hand, require no fence for winter grazing; the smaller of them provide conveni [171] and tups when out of season. The management of all th by the township committees. Unfortunately the most im ment - control of numbers and maintenance of a proper almost universally neglected.

233 427 656 The total stock which each croft may put on the comm defined in the Regulations. In the case of townships re specific soum is placed on each croft but, in most other of stating the soum in terms of rent. Thus the soum of 1 cow, 1 two-year-old and 8 sheep per pound sterling re Such soumings have been in existence since time immem 1836*. Many of the Uig townships had their soumings e in most cases the soum was given "per pound sterling o but in a few "per pound sterling of rent payable in 1886". reduced in 1891, thus 1912 and 1886 rents were very diffe limited, stock-carrying capacity; therefore, if the total

[113] * New Statistical Account, Vol. XIV, p.148.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE

of Tenants

COMMON PASTURES No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:
(a)	(b)
88	
332	14
139	12
52	-
32	32
8	8
10	10

led since 1900.

Certain features are common:
oastal (except Lochganvich). Each
further areas of common -
1). This division of the hill
often absent or ineffective.
s, and are particularly valuable
ent natural paddocks for bulls
ese common pastures is controlled
nportant aspect of stock manage-
balance of sheep and cattle - is

mon pastures - the 'soum' - is
-settled in the present century a
cases, the old practice persists
each croft may be defined as
nt (this is a very common souming).
norial; they are mentioned in
tated by the Land Court in 1912;
f rent" (presumably 1912 rent).
. The rents had been substantially
irrent. Any township has a certain
l rental is thus changed without

233 change in area, then the amount of stock allowed, per pound sterling of rent, ought to be
427 changed, too.
656
[175] This does not appear to have been done in Uig although in Stornoway parish the soum per pound was increased after rents were reduced in the late nineteenth century. More recently, the Crofters Commission, in re-stating soumings for some townships, has generally (but not invariably) applied the soum to the 1886 rent, regardless of the wording of the 1912 regulations. This may appear to have the merit of consistency and, insofar as crofters pay any attention to the Regulations, it satisfies them because the greater (1886) rent gives them a larger soum and less likelihood of being criticised or penalised for overstocking. However, it perpetuates inconsistencies which originated during the nineteenth century when the stock allowed per pound sterling rent was not reduced although total rentals were increasing as squatters' and cottars' holdings were added (see page above). Moreover, the old souming referred to the old type of highland cattle which were much smaller beasts than those kept today, and it assumed that the shieling pastures would be in full use. A further complication arises because about 1920 some townships acquired substantial enlargements but the soumings do not appear to have been adjusted. Altogether it is little wonder that the Grazing Regulations are seldom observed, for they seldom bear any close relationship to the grazing capacity of township lands. Proper observance of carefully revised Regulations, in which unlimited substitution of sheep in place of cattle was specifically forbidden, would be of considerable benefit to the crofters.

241
233 The inbye, or croft, land is invariably separated from the common pasture by a ring
417 fence, the gates of which are generally closed for protection of crops from May to
[178] November. Progressive townships are installing grids to obviate the twin nuisances of traffic interference and straying stock. The fencing of individual crofts was rare until the 1930's and is still by no means general. The inbye land is, in many townships, the best winter grazing and its division into innumerable tiny fenced patches, whilst advantageous for cultivation, would restrict the movement of stock in search of water and shelter; in a predominantly pastoral economy complete enclosure of individual holdings is not
[184] necessarily an advantage. This problem will be discussed in Part III but, in the present context, it is relevant to point out that the small crofts of Lewis contrast strongly with the larger ones of, for example, the Uists and Tiree. Therefore, what may be advantageous in the latter may be retrograde in much of Lewis.

The lay-out of the crofts aggravates this problem. The long narrow strips of the 1850 lotting, well-suited to spade cultivation and common winter grazing, may require four or five times the length of fencing required by an equi-dimensional croft of similar area. If fenced the stock may be deprived of both water and shelter; since arable cultivation has become relatively unimportant a suitable solution to this problem might be to fence a small potato plot near the house and to put the rest of the inbye down to sown grass in three or four communal parks in which grazing could be properly controlled. A particular problem is posed by crofts which have been sub-divided. These may take the form of strips as much as half a mile long by 10 yards wide or, more commonly (and much worse), of piece-meal sharing of innumerable plots, a system known locally, but incorrectly, as 'run-rig'. This is seen at its height in Kneep (fig 22), where every croft in the township is affected. The problem does not arise in townships with large crofts, which are usually more nearly equi-dimensional. These are mostly the result of re-settlement schemes and have long been fenced, (see, for example, figure 15).

Crofter-tenants.

162
427 An analysis of crofter-tenants according to age, sex and occupation (table 12) provides
463 several important clues as to the present unsatisfactory state of crofting. More than one-third of the tenants are over 65 years of age; a further 16% are absent, some of these may also be over 65, others are younger people working away from home, a few are tenants

162 of crofts in other districts, despite the legal requirement that a tenant shall reside within
427 two miles of his croft. Thus half the crofts in the parish are tenated by persons who
463 cannot be expected to make the best use of them. This implies no criticism of the people concerned, it is a criticism of the system. Of 314 resident tenants under 65 years of age, 43 are women; of the men, 170 have regular employment including fishing or weaving, 55 take casual or seasonal work as and when they can get it. Only 46, or 7% of all tenants, are "full-time crofters" and, in fact, most of these are either invalids, disabled, or over 60 years of age. Thus in Uig, unlike the southern Outer Hebrides, most crofts are at best a spare time occupation, at worst merely a house site carying special privileges. The table also demonstrates that the size of crofts has little bearing on occupational status; this is inevitable in a rigid system under which a man has no control of varying the size of his holding according to his needs. Some young tenants inherit crofts far too small for their family needs, whilst many elderly tenants, and women, have crofts which are too large for them to maintain.

241 It is not surprising, then, that many tenants do not wish, or are not able, properly
427 to cultivate or stock their crofts. A few, however, are particularly interested in agricultural production as a means of livelihood. Some of these have acquired extra crofts, and so built up much larger units. This may be done by acquiring tenancies either in the crofter's own name or that of his wife or a close relative, or by sub-letting. About 30 crofters in Uig are tenants of more than one holding, at least 20 work holdings held in the name of close relatives, and at least 120 have sub-let holdings. These figures are certainly too low: sub-letting without the consent of the proprietor or Crofters Commission is illegal. Nevertheless it is common, and it is generally unsatisfactory because the sub-tenant has no security of tenure and no right to compensation for improvements; consequently sub-let crofts are often neglected and sometimes over-grazed as well. Controlled sub-letting, for a stated minimum period and with the right to compensation, would regularise a well established practice and encourage the formation of larger units, better able to support a family.

A converse of sub-letting is unofficial sub-division. There are a few cases of cottars - usually relatives living in a second dwelling house on the croft - sharing the croft with the t ant; but this formerly widespread practice has all but disappeared. Such de facto "crofters" share the common grazings, as do "squatters" - persons with houses on the
162 common land - who keep stock. Thus neither the number of crofter-holdings on the rental
241 (699), nor that of crofter-tenants (663), is any guide to the effective number of potential
427 agricultural units. Of the crofter-tenants, 100 are absent and some of those who are resident sub-let their crofts. After making these allowances the number of de facto holdings becomes 518; to these must be added 39 cottars, squatters and others (including a few tenants of council houses) who keep at least a cow or five sheep, and 23 agricultural holdings without crofter status. Thus there are 580 potential agricultural units in Uig.

[233] That is not all. Of these 66 have no cattle, and 162 carry less than half their soum,
241 of which 22 have no stock at all. Little more than 400 holdings can reasonably be said to
427 be agriculturally effective. This is an indictment, not of the crofters, but of the agricultural structure of the system. This neither provides viable holdings nor does it enable those who wish to acquire enough land to be agriculturalists to get it, even though much land lies unused or ill-used. In short, the system is too rigid. In consequence, de-population goes on apace whilst potential resources are neglected. Three-quarters of a century of legislation and financial aid have, in the main, encouraged the development of crofts as homes for the elderly and as hobbies for those in other employment. Very reasonably, many crofters complain. But very few realise-or are willing to admit - that the security of tenure and other privileges won in 1886, if too rigidly maintained, may ultimately bring about the decay of the very communities which they were intended to protect.

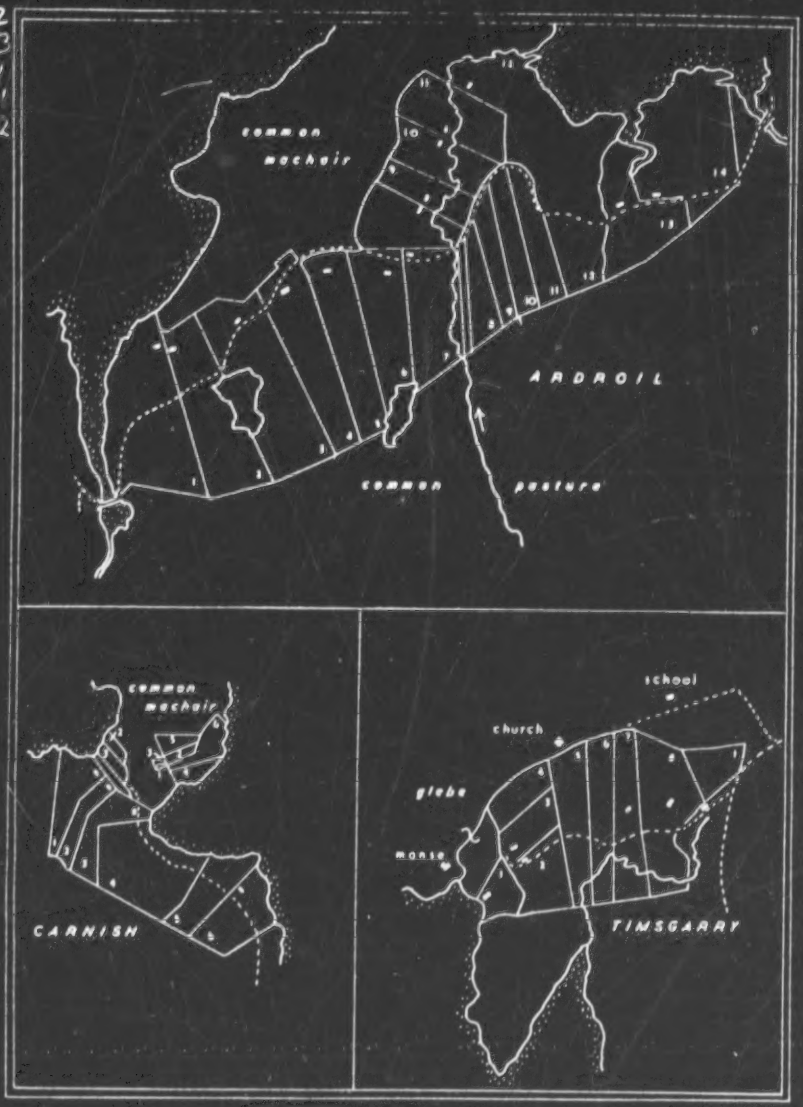

Figure 15.

ARDROIL CARNISH and TIMSGARRY - lay-out of crofts formed from farms in 1921 Compare fig. 14

/facing p. 37/

361 491 487 499 365 366 494 312 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans call but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor - two wells only are in use.

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. W supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses. The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars. 366 205 453 494

241 231 467 The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, and Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from Brenish or Enaclete. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years age was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

242 134 324 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

CALENDAR OF

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY
Oats				ploughing /sowing	
Potatoes				planting ..... earlies/main cro	
Hay					
Peats					cutting
Cattle					.... main cal
Sheep				lambing ①	

① Hoggs removed from mach
② Lambs weaned
③ Dipping

Figure

/facing p. 38/

Disley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uig

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CROFT WORK

	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
hut						open	
			harvest				
		lifting					
			earlies / main crop				
		drying	carting				
ving period							
		shearing wedders / ewes	②	③		④	⑤

air ④ Tupping

⑤ Rams to common pasture

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Figure 11.

THE ATLANTIC COAST DISTRICT

C.P. : detached common pasture (shielings).

ENL. : enlargement to common pasture

Table 13

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TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Ard Bheag	-	-	c.2,000	-	1	(4)
Brenish	140	5,693	940	28	-	22
Islivig	51	1,342	620	10	-	7
Mangersta	55	2,197	1,850	13	-	13
	246	9,432	5,410	51	1	42

/facing p. 32/

491
494 Brenish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight cost half-a-crown for a hundredweight, but because of competition from privately owned vans the bus service ceased in 1960. Mangersta is reached from the same road by about a mile of untarred side-road of indifferent quality; formerly the only access to it was by a footpath over the sands to the south. General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig; banking facilities are supplied by a mobile bank.
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427 The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being somewhat more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about four acres; in Brenish and Islivick only about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or croft-units - are fenced, the work having been completed in Brenish in 1959. There are twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Brenish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta; but, owing to amalgamations of various kinds the number of operative units is considerably less - fourteen in Brenish, five in Islivick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

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407 As soils are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable patches are large enough to be cultivated with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in Brenish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are hired for ploughing and carting peats. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike many of the other Uig townships.
231

233 While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas, here the sheep are wintered up on the hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts. Brenish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hogg, or four year-old heifers), on Mealasta Island - hogg are usually sent since their loss, by falling over the cliffs, is less serious than the loss of heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta crofters, who are allowed two sheep each in summer.

241 The only crops grown are potatoes and oats, with "black oats" (Avena strigosa) on the sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed for "black oats" is unobtainable commercially, the crofters save their own. A grass mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay, to qualify for the subsidy.

233 The extensive hill and mountain pastures are not separately fenced; sheep from all three townships graze over all. If the total sheep stock of the townships (about 3,300) is compared with the souming figures it is found to exceed the soum by about 50%. On the other hand, fewer cattle and horses are kept than formerly so that taking the total stock for all animals (horses, cattle and sheep) and comparing with the actual stock now carried, the area carries only 87% of the stock which the soum allowed. In the two older townships the souming was reckoned according to rent, being one cow, one two-year old and eight sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, however, the soum was one horse, three cows, one heifer, two stirks and twenty-five sheep for each croft.

Lambing percentage is about 80, and ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers (excluding lambs). In this district some wedders are kept for three years and then sold for meat, but the main income is from wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep, which sells at up to four shillings a pound.
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435

231 Most crofters keep one or two cows, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn or spring sales. Brenish and Mangersta each have a bull, and in the three townships there are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks in

231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' shielings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig shielings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Mealasta farm, until about 1939, shielings were used in that area.

314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears
241 evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation. Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres
312 of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a
377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very
501 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers -
286 nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy;
464 in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady
[434] income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R. A. F. station and at least
[467] one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns a tractor which he hires
[495] out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Moire peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

233 no road and access by foot is difficult. To reach the grazings the crofters travel by boat from Mealasta several times a year and stay in one of the two houses at Aird Bheag which although vacant, is still in repair. These houses were formerly occupied by estate employees who had crofter status.

511 From the above account, it is evident that in this district as in others, a single croft is not sufficient to support a crofter and his family. On an average, each resident crofter has acquired the equivalent of two crofts, and in addition each crofter supplements the meagre income obtained from his croft by some other occupation, e.g. weaving, labouring or driving.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE UIG BAY DISTRICT

(Carnish, Ardroil, Timsgarry and Crowlista)

by

Elizabeth Blowers.

134 Uig bay, in which low tide reveals several hundred acres of pure white sand, is surrounded by crofting townships. There are no extensive machair plains but the shell-sand forms a fringe of easily cultivated, lime-rich soils on all sides except Crowlista, and, blown inland by the Atlantic winds, it modifies and improves the texture and acidity of the
361 peaty soil as much as 2,000 yards from the shore. It is not to be wondered at then, that
[175] this bay at one time formed one of the most important centres of population in Lewis. Signs of ancient cultivation, and the ruins of old clachans, are widespread, but most of the present settlements are less than forty years old: almost the whole area was cleared to make farms in the early nineteenth century. Only in Crowlista, with its thin, rocky, arable land and almost complete absence of machair, were the small tenants left undisturb
[121] Consequently the district provides an opportunity to compare "old" and "new" townships, both as to lay-out and operation.

133 Carnish, in the south-west, is dominated by a huge gravel ridge - probably an esker, -
361 over a mile long and sloping steeply to the estuary of Amhuinn Chaslabhat with the rocky headland of Machair Carnish to the north. The arable land and houses of Ardroil are situated to the landward side of the hummocky machair land between the esturies of Amhuinn Chaslabhat and the Forsa river which drains Loche Suainaval and Stacsavat. To the north of the bay the old settlement of Crowlista is situated on the rocky headland to the west of the Rethall embayment; there is a good deal of level land in the centre of the township but the slope to the estuary in the north is steep and rocky outcrops occur on the headland. Timsgarry, to the east of Rethall, stretches inland between the headlands of Tolanish and Borranish along the valley of the Erista river.

134 There is a mantle of gravelly drift over this area; the Carnish esker has been mentioned and exposures of up to 120' were also seen in gravel pits in Ardroil and Timsgarry. Along the coast blown shell sand rests on this drift and reaches inland for up to half a mile

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Figure 14

CROWLISTA :
- lay out of crofts of an 'old' township lotted c. 1850.
- crofts shown hatched are held runrig by pairs of tenants

(Compare Fig. 15)

/facing p. 36/

APPENDIX A

(1) Agricultural statistics for South Ui

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pasture: (acres)	Gardens	CATTLE: Sows:	Milk:	Oth
AND BREAG	-	1	1	-	-	-	-		-	-	
BREMISH	28	-	13	16	4	20	103	11	84	18	1
ISLIVIG	10	-	5	7	2	11	30	3	43	6	
MANGERSTA	13	-	10	12	3	17	33	3	68	16	
CARNISH	6	-	3	2	1	4	61	4	26	4	
ARDROIL	14	-	12	7	2	21	321	13	62	15	
TIMSGARRY	8	-	7	5	1	12	63	7	23	8	
HAMIE ETC.	-	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	-	2	
AIRD	10	-	8	4	1	9	35	8	34	6	(Ga
CROMLISTA	24	-	13	16	7	19	59	6	89	15	
VALTOS	40	1	39	22	7	15	104	19	220	41	
ENSIP	13	-	13	11	7	19	118	10	76	14	
RISP	15	-	8	5	2	9	77	7	43	7	
CANTSHADER	14	1	12	6	4	9	24	3	31	8	(2
GESHADER	11	-	11	14	3	16	82	10	38	15	
UNGSHADER	4	-	3	5	1	7	23	3	17	3	
ENACLETT	9	-	9	13	3	13	44	6	31	14	
OTHERS (non-crofting)	-	5	5	3	1	7	54	2	-	7 (16 pigs	

Notes:

(a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in

(b) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the dat other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

(c) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions (ewes/la

(d) Where there is a specific sum for a horse this has been added, (half te allowing for any horses actually present.

(e) Where there is a sum for two-year old cattle this has been included in

4: Mosley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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r - August, 1957.

ers:	Calves:	SHEEP: Sows:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Bonnes	Tarbans
-	-	-	s.500	?	?		
5	13	508	703	443	568	4	1
3	4	228	224	174	185	2	-
9	13	385	474	334	371	1	-
1	4	270	110	89	40	1	-
5	9	625	358	277	171	1	-
-	4	275	177	143	108	1	-
-	1	-	38	35	5	-	-
2 ats)	1	206	226	193	166	-	-
3	9	414	487	374	227	-	-
1	29	1,033	916	781	524	-	-
6	9	455	403	337	247	1	-
3	9	225	249	202	190	-	-
1 oats)	4	183	199	176	110	1	-
4	11	397	594	442	415	-	-
1	2	150	130	125	125	-	-
2	12	323	335	247	308	-	-
16 & 2 goats)	12	-	295	210	231	-	1

the text.

e when the grazing regulations were first made unless some

obs/others) are as reported (see Appendix A (2)).
the cattle sows and half to the sheep sows) after

the cattle sows at the rate of 2 two-year olds to one sow.

TABLE 26

Bernera District

Souming calculated in sheep units

	Basic soums in sheep units				
	Horses	Cattle	Horses & Cattle	Sheep	Special Grazings
Breaclete	-	9	9	8	8
Croir	-	21	21	12	-
Hacklete	-	9	9	8	8
Kirkibost	-	9	9	8	-
Tobson	-	9	9	8	16
Earshader	-	21	21	26	1
Crulivig	-	21	21	27	-
Lundale	-	28	28	32	-
Linshader	6	7	13	30	-

Table 27 shows the cattle soum and holding: there is a marked similarity between the Island townships, (all holding about one third of their soum), and the Shore townships, (three of which range from 60% to 100% and only one of which, Lundale, has less than 40%. That these averages are not misleading is proved by the fact that the scatter of percentages of cattle-soum held per working unit is less wide for the Bernera Island townships than for those of the Bernera Shore, bearing in mind the smaller number of units in the latter.

It is a little difficult to account for this, particularly when it is observed (Table 28) that there is no correlation with the percentages of the sheep stock held; the Island townships vary from having half their soum of sheep)Tobson) to double (Croir), and those of the Shore from a little over the correct figure to well over twice as many; but whereas the number of oversoumings for sheep is everywhere high and non-sheep-keeping croiters are rare, there are 10 agricultural units with no cattle and 25 with only one cattle beast. It

TABLE 27

Bernera District: Cattle

Number of agricultural units according to propo

soum actually carried.

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	Number of units with:						
	Less than 100% of soum:					Less than	
	Nil	1-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	101-125	126-
Breaclete	-	6	4	2	1	-	
Croir	1	-	6	-	-	-	
Hacklete	1	6	10	2	-	-	
Kirkibost	1	7	15	4	1	-	
Tobson	1	5	9	1	2	-	
ISLAND	4	24	42	9	4	-	
Earshader	-	-	2	1	1	-	
Crulivig	-	-	3	-	2	1	
Lundale	1	1	3	1	-	-	
Linshader	4	-	1	-	1	-	
SHORE	5	1	9	2	4	1	
DISTRICT	9	25	51	11	8	1	

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is probable that the constant but rather low incidence of cattle
by two factors: first the shortage of common grazings near t
of the only alternative source, the shielings, and second, the
and the present impossibility otherwise of getting milk save f
makes a milch cow a necessary part of the equipment of almo
mainland, where the common grazings are contiguous with th
cattle is much easier particularly, as in Crulivig and Linshad
fences to divide the near and far pastures (cf. the old Norweg
summer seters.

We may compare fifteen Sutherland townships, in which 8
with the Bernera District in which 80% of the total stock is sh
stock is not old-established is revealed by comparison with t

[178]

TABLE 28

Bernera District: Sheep.

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of

Sheep soum actually carried.

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	Number of units with:									Average all units
	Less than 100% of soum:					More than 100% of soum:				
	nil	1-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-100%	101-125%	126-150%	151-200%	more than 200%	
Breaclete	1	-	-	1	3	3	-	2	-	100%
Croir	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	4	210%
Hacklete	-	2	2	4	2	1	5	1	3	89%
Kirkibost	1	3	2	4	9	3	2	3	1	79%
Tobson	2	1	3	8	2	2	-	-	-	56%
ISLAND	4	6	7	17	16	9	8	8	8	88%
Earshader	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	237%
Crulivig	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3	184%
Lundale	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	140%
Linshader	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	1	3	128%
SHORE	1	-	1	2	2	2	4	4	9	156%
DISTRICT	5	6	8	19	18	11	12	12	17	103%

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the Napier Commission in 1883; these show that the Bernera region now keeps less than half the former number of full grown cattle beasts but only a slightly higher percentage of sheep. It is an unavoidable conclusion that resettlement and enlargement has not led to greater agricultural efficiency: since it was carried out for social and not economic reasons, this is perhaps not unreasonable, but it augurs ill for the future of a community which must be largely dependent on agriculture.

Land Use and Cultivation*.

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[231]

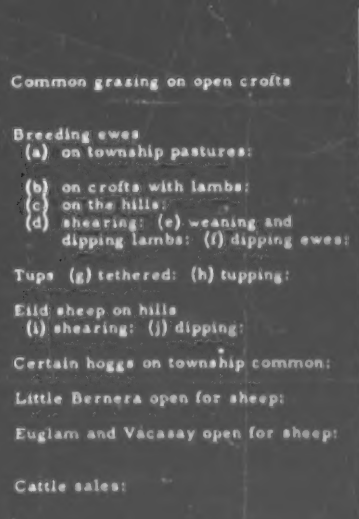
Before considering the details of stock management it is well to review land-use, for cultivation is subsidiary to, and directed at, stock keeping. Few crofts have no culti-

* Details of crops and grass by townships will be found in Appendix A.

FIG

Calend

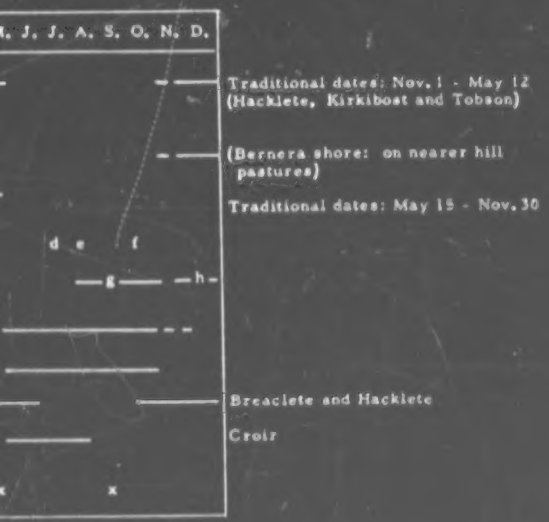
movements in t



URE 30

ar of stock

he Bernera district



4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

TABLE 24

Bernera District

Common Pastures, Soumings, and actual stock.

(Stock in "cow units" calculated according to the Grazing Regulations)

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	AREA:	SOUMING:		ACTUAL STOCK:		
	Acres	Cow units	Acres per cow	Cow units	As % of soum	Acres per cow unit
Breaclete	1,284	105	12.3	88	84	14.6
Croir	622	43	14.1	49	114	12.6
Hacklete	1,913	259	7.4	189	73	10.1
Kirkibost	2,491	303	8.2	188	63	13.3
Tobson	2,050	253	8.2	120	48	17.1
ISLAND	8,363	962	8.7	634	66	13.2
Earshader	1,320	38	35.1	65	174	20.2
Crulivig	1,320	51	26.8	70	140	18.6
Lundale	1,000	72	13.9	62	86	16.1
Linshader	9,426	95	100.0	92	96	102.5
SHORE	13,066	255	51.5	290	114	45.2
BERNERA DISTRICT	21,451	1,237	17.5	924	74.7	23.4

423 Stock - potential and actual.*

427 The croft is in almost every case primarily a stock raising unit and cultivation apart from certain items - particularly potatoes for domestic use - is connected with stock
231 rearing. The basis of the stock system is the soum, the share of the common pastures
311 in terms of horses, cattle and sheep. The largest total soums (more than two hundred cow-units) are held by Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson; all the other townships have a
632 hundred or less cow-units (Table 24). This has some relation to the size of common grazing. The very large area of Linshader is that of the former farm: the present

* Details of actual stock and souming for each township will be found in Appendix A.

231 Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson have by far the largest total holdings of stock but are
311 eclipsed in regard to percentage of soum actually held by Breaclete, Croir, and all the
632 Bernera Shore townships. In fact the average percentage soum held is 66% on the Island as against 114% on the Shore. If efficiency is interpreted in terms of stock rearing therefore, Tobson is less than 50% efficient, Hacklete and Kirkibost 50% to 75% Breaclete Linshader and Lundale 75 to 100%, and the rest 100% to 175% efficient, the average falling at 75%.

It is also interesting to remark the area of common grazing per cow-unit actually held. This shows that, in effect, the Bernera Island townships, as might be expected from their use of one main common grazing, have much the same amount of land per beast The Bernera Shore townships apparently need rather larger areas of land per cow-unit; the excessively large area shown for Linshader indicates understocking.

[427] Figure 29 summarises the incidence of soums and actual stock carried. It will be seen that, although there are some crofts with soums of under five and over fifteen cow-units, the majority lie between those limits with a marked peak in the 7.5 to 10 cow-unit class. The largest soums tend to be under-utilised. Figure 28 shows the percentage of the soum held. Almost a quarter of the working units have less than 50% of their soum and must therefore be considered as inefficient in their chief function of stock raising, about one third have 50 - 100% and rather less than 1/3 have over 100%

The incidence from township to township varies (table 25) but generally the Bernera Shore townships have more uniform individual soums than the older and larger Island townships, though the range of size of stock holdings and consequently of soums held is more comparable. Table 25 shows the average soum per croft or working unit: Breaclete and Croir are similar with only just over half the average for the rest of Bernera Island. None of the Bernera Shore townships have soums as large as the bigger Island ones, and one of them, Earshader has no more than Breaclete or Croir. Kirkibost and Tobson stand out as far the most generously treated townships, but is this justified in practice?

Expressed in terms of cow units, (table 25) the total soums reveal that, on Bernera Island, only Croir is really efficient with just over 100% of its soum: Breaclete, Hacklete and Kirkbost are satisfactory - and no more - with 60 - 80%, but Tobson has only 45% of its soum. This is a very much poorer showing than that for the Bernera Shore townships, only one of which drops much below 100%. Therefore on the Shore the soums, though smaller, are better taken up than on the Island. Further it is clear that, of the individual working units on Bernera Island, none of those of Croir are unsatisfactory, three out of sixteen at Breaclete are not satisfactory, five out of twenty at Hacklete, eight out of twenty-eight at Kirkibost and eleven out of nineteen at Tobson, whereas on Bernera Shore there are only two unsatisfactory units - at Linshader - one of which is presently vacant with a dispute over the tenancy.

231 But so far, only the total soum has been considered: in fact it is necessary to consider
233 the elements of that soum, for in order to maintain the pasture one must have a stock
311 suitably balanced as between cattle and sheep. When the soums were originally calculated this was borne in mind and were every soum fully occupied in the proportions originally planned, the balance of grazing would presumably be satisfactory. Table 26 shows the stock equivalents in sheep units. In Croir the soum would indicate a marked preponderance of cattle +, in Linshader (with its extensive hill lands) of sheep; otherwise there is a rough balance in the soumings between large and small hooved beasts.
[656] Occasionally there are special permissive or restrictive clauses in the regulations. For instance, on Breaclete township common grazing, "...a landholder...shall be entitled to graze thereon, free of charge, during summer and autumn, two hoggs for every pound sterling of rent, for replacing the cast ewes...". Similarly, in Linshader horses are not allowed on a fenced area of 800 acres, and on Little Bernera horses are specifically disallowed. But generally the various classes of stock have clear equivalents which are freely interchangeable. How does this work in practice?

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[98] + Editorial Note: this was probably because, when the Land Court determined the soum, Croir had no share in Bernera Sheilings. This now calls for adjustment, which should be made when the Crofters Commission re-enact the local Grazing Regulations.

Tables 16 and 18 support the definition of a croft as a small livestock-economy unit, primarily concerned with the provision of milk for the family and young cattle and wool for sale. There are no cash sales of crops - the whole of the land-use is directed towards the subsistence of the crofter and his stock. The cereals (almost entirely oats) and the hay (occupying a very small proportion of land for a livestock farming region) are grown for winter fodder for the cattle and sheep. The larger part of the croft is given over to grazing - usually of poor to medium quality - which receives very little attention from the crofter. Less than one third of the holdings have sown grassland (and in these few cases it is normally less than half an acre) - a fact which suggests a passive rather than active attitude of the crofter towards his land.

In addition, every croft has its own small potato plot - rarely more than half an acre to provide for family needs, and most crofts (58%) possess a vegetable garden - again for house use.

Nearly all the crofts carry one or two cows - the second cow ensures a milk supply all the year round. Young stock are sold at one year to eighteen months old, rather than as calves - a result of the incentive offered by the calf-rearing subsidy. The milking stock is replaced very infrequently.

Where one croft differs from the next is in the numbers of sheep stock. Table 17 shows an even distribution of crofts with more than fifty and less than fifty sheep; but, in fact, over one third of all crofts have less than twenty-five sheep. Sheep are the only source of money income on the croft, except for the annual sale of the calf, and subsidies, and there is a considerable difference in the size of sheep stock between the truly subsistence and "retirement" crofts on the one hand and the "commercial" crofts on the other. Hence the souming figures, and here note the contrast between Valtos with the sheep stock equal to 111% of the soum and Kneep - 353%!

An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on

TABLE 18
LAND USE

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef
Average size of holding:			
Old arable	2.5	4.1	11.0
Outrun	2.8	6.2	
Percentage of croftland under:			
cereals	7.5	7.0	6.0
potatoes	2.5	5.0	3.0
Sown grass (hay)	5.5	1.0	5.5
natural hay	3.5	10.0	4.0
natural grazing	75.5	76.0	75.0

An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on the individual croft to the size of holding and to the availability and age of the labour force. In both diagrams there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0 - 7 units) and the commercial holding (11+ units), but there is no definite relationship between stock and size of holding or labour availability. The inclusion of the points of equilibrium for certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected state of affairs: in the case of crofters with regular work and full time crofters, those over the age of forty-five carry a larger stock from those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to the economic problem of crofting lies in the amalgamation of holdings in order to create a more viable economic unit, but the indication from these diagrams is that an increase in the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to an increase in stock. It is the absence of accessible markets that deter the crofter from increasing his agricultural production.

In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihood for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters under sixty-five almost 90% supplement the croft income by other employment. Of these casual labour (at present mainly at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57% regular work - particularly weaving - 43%. The combination of crofting and weaving provides probably the best return for the labour: one crofter with a croft of 3.3 acres, carrying two cows, two followers and ninety sheep (sixty ewes) made the following estimates for 1958:

FROM THE CROFT:	
Sale of two year-old calves	£80
Cow and calf subsidies	£40
Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb.	£75
	£ 195 (1)
FROM WEAVING -	
at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p.w.)	£550
GROSS INCOME	£745

Weaving abour 30 hours a week apparently leaves him sufficient time to run the croft efficiently; at present a crofter supplementing his income by a labourer's wage at Gisla hydro electric scheme would have to put in nearly sixty hours per week to achieve the same financial reward.

The economy of the Valtos peninsula has been changing, and contracting, for several years. The number of unoccupied crofts is increasing; commercial fishing ended at the time of the first World War; the shielings have been abandoned as summer cattle pastures. The Valtos shielings near Loch Scanadale were abandoned during the 1939 - 45 war, due mainly to the lack of manpower in the township, though some was used intermittently until 1953. The shielings of Kneep and Reef were abandoned in the late 1930's, at which time Kneep had some fifty milk cows as compared with fourteen in 1959.

1 Against this figure, must be set the costs of production (i.e. fertilisers, new seed, winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

The area under cultivation has contracted in the past twenty years. Before 1939 most crofts had about twice as much land under cultivation and at Valtos some were cultivating small patches outside the township fence. The cultivation of the common machair at Cliff ceased in 1939. The land had been "too long in labour" (potatoes had been planted on the same ground for nearly one hundred years), and the soil had been affected by over-liberal applications of sulphate of ammonia which replaced the traditional soot-impregnated thatch from the black-houses. Moreover the Cliff machair was particularly vulnerable to "blow-outs" after ploughing. Cultivation of the Kneep common arable has all but ceased, and the fifty-two acres of arable machair in the township of Reef have been untouched since the 1930s. It is noticeable that the common machair cultivation and the shieling economy ended about the same time. Smaller numbers of better-quality cattle were needed to meet the daily milk requirements of the croft; a much smaller area of cultivation was therefore needed to provide winter fodder and consequently more land was available on the croft for potato cultivation. Consequently the more distant machair was replaced by cultivation within the croft.

Contraction and decline of the economy is common to all three townships, but the form and cause of this decline is different for each, and where the township consists of two separate settlement nuclei there is frequently a difference between the two parts:

The township of Valtos is in two distinct parts: crofts 1 - 34 are a succession of narrow strips about ½ mile in length stretching from the shore to about 200' O.D.. The boundaries of the outer crofts (nos. 1 and 34) if projected to a point on Pabay, form an angle of 45°, so that the crofts are narrower at the shore (40 - 70') than at the upper limit (100 - 180'). Of these 34 crofts, 19 are in so-called runrig, eight in pairs and one group of three. (Fig. 21). Cultivation is carried out on numerous intermixed small patches, hold permanently; the grazings are interchanged at the year end. Fragmentation imposes a severe limitation on the economic efficiency of the croft. None of the crofts at Valtos is individually fenced though some groups of two or three are fenced together. With the contraction of cultivation only the less steep areas are cultivated, to facilitate ploughing.[1] As a result, the bulk of the cultivated plots are to be found at either end of the croft - near the shore and on the hill top against the township fence.

The remaining five crofts of Valtos, and a squatter, are at Cliff in the valley separating the Valtos peninsula from that of Aird. Here the crofts are fenced, more compact and slightly larger (4.8 acres as against 3.8 acres) and they occupy more level terrain than those in Valtos. Two of the crofts are worked in runrig - these being situated on the machair. The houses are set back about a hundred yards from the road, along the western township fence.

Kneep township is again in two parts: Crofts 16 - 18 together with the Manse and two cottars, are situated across the neck of the Glebe promontory, on the south side of the peninsula. The five legal crofts are today worked as three units, fenced, reasonably compact and with holdings of exceptional size for the area - average 15.1 acres. Crofts 1 - 15 at Kneep on the northern side of the peninsula adjoin those of Valtos. Here is a climax of land fragmentation, which imposes severe limits upon croft efficiency. Twelve of the fifteen crofts are worked; of these only numbers 4 and 5 are compact homogenous crofts; numbers 3 and 6 are compact except that part of the land which lies within their boundaries belongs to croft no. 13. The remaining eight crofts comprise a hundred and eight separate plots of croftland and fifty-two separate plots on the common machair. One croft with 2.8 acres arable the average size of each piece is a mere 0.15 acres! The grazing land on the croft is divided into strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into

1. Pre-1939 much of Valtos was cultivated in lazy beds - by spade. Today 9% is cultivated by spade; 43% by horse plough + 48% by tractor.

632 strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of
311 the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to
427 accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.

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The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly
133 developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke
312 running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house
241 is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the
407 machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen
433 crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over
729 sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

233 Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

162 Fig. 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the
163 most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

131 By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years
20 ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at
443 Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the
346 peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

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Figure 25

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

ENL. : Enlargement to common pasture.

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 19

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TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	COMMON PASTURES: Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Caryshader	44	1,260	-	14	1	14
Ungshader	55	455	598	4	-	4
Geshader	114	850		11	-	11
Enaclete	73	662	617	9	-	8
Non-crofting	c.40	800*	-	-	4	-
	306	4,007*	1,215	38	5	37*

NOTES: * also unrecorded areas of grazing on deer forests
* Of whom four are absent.

/facing p. 48/

427 joint tenants of one have moved to Geshader while continuing to work the Ungshader land.
632 Another is preparing to move to Enaclete and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Chroistean
311 Cottage. At present, three working units remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with ten units, one being rented by joint tenants.

221 The rhythm of work is similar to that in other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oats are planted in April followed by lambing and peat cutting in May. In June and July the sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to the common grazings. In August the peats are carted, once they are dry, by lorry direct to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lambs are weaned in September, harvest is then carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take place in November. The sheep are then returned to the township grazing though the lambs
241 may be fed with hay on the croft. There is little regular crop rotation and only a small number of crofters seem to undersow oats, thus improving the quality of future hay crops. Gardens are not important and only provide for family needs but Caryshader particularly has a number, some growing flowers as well as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely from croft to croft as well township to township. Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the shor and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshader are usually fed on artificials.

231 Most crofters keep one milk cow with a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn sales in Caryshader. However, some now rely on their neighbours for milk in return for grazing and one croft has turned to goats, as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on Geshader - Ungshader common grazing as it is completely fenced; and Geshader is responsible for its upkeep.

233 Lambing seems to have been generally good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact figures. The Morsgail Estate and Gisla farm also run considerable flocks. The common pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlargement, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acres for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader near Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres
344 on Floday island. The shielings have been disused since the war. Peat is normally cut to the west of the road but at least one elderly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his croft for this purpose to save the effort of working further afield.

241 Generally speaking the land now cropped only represents one third to one half of that
178 worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when the crofting population was larger and when much greater numbers of cattle were kept through the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and
231 more oats. The cattle numbers are much less than the total souming but sheep are in excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazing by sheep has caused a decline in grazing quality

464 Clearly in these townships, apart from the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the means of livelihood is sought elsewhere. At present there are altogether fifty-three men in the working age group (15 - 64) in all four townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine permanently and five periodically. Thirty have regular or periodic employment besides crofting and of these seven work at Gisla on the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, some of them part-time, four hire out vans, two do post-office work and others have varied occupations while only three are full-time crofters. At present there are few men in the Merch Navy and fishing does not provide an occupation although many share rowing-boats in their spare time, and fish for domestic use.

162 The population as a whole is ageing and of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four
166 (roughly 30%) work away permanently or have emigrated. It is noticeable that there are few crofts worked by people with young families

000 In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that the fate of the crofting townships depends m

33 (2) Additional data relating to township sheep stocks, August, 1959

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TOWNSHIP:	TOTAL STOCK: as recorded: (including lambs)	TOTAL STOCK: as estimated: (including lambs)	LAMBING: as reported:	STOCKING RATIO: estimated: (per 100 acres of common grazing)	STOCKING RATIO: scum: (per 100 acres of common grazing)
BRENISH	1,714	1,700	63%	25	7
ISLIVIG	503	500	78%	26	11
MANGERSTA	1,179	1,200	70%	30	10
CARNISH & ARDROIL	1,045	1,200	70%	16	12
TIMSGARRY	428	650	81%	20	8
AIRD	565	600	85%	35	12
CROWLISTA	1,088	1,200	77%	35	12
VALTOS	2,721	2,500	66%	43	19
ITEAR	987	1,000	84%	44	20
BEAST	641	800	82%	74	21
CARYSHADER	485	500	88%	40	15
UNGSHADER & GESHADER	1,831	1,800	78%	95	26
BNACLETE	890	900	74%	70	26

NOTES: (a) The ratio of estimated sheep stock to each 100 acres of common grazings cannot be compared directly with the scum per 100 acres because the latter takes no account of the lambs of the current season.

(b) Notes (b) and (d) to Appendix A (1) apply to this table also.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES

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(5) Stocking and cultivation by size of effective unit

Stocking is assessed according to proportion of the scum he of arable crops, i.e. excluding hay; some units are omitte totals do not correspond.)

	Percentage of total number of effective ag: 1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 1 acres
Proportion of scum held:					
Nil	-	1	1	-	-
Less than 50%	1	8	5	3	3
50%-100%	1	6	9	6	5
100%-200%	1	8	5	6	6
More than 200%	-	4	1	1	2
All units	3	28	21	15	16
Area cropped:					
Less than 0.5 acre	1	5	3	2	1
0.5-1.0 acres	1	7	2	-	1
1.1-2.5 acres	1	12	13	9	8
2.6-5.0 acres	-	5	3	4	2
More than 5.0 acres	-	-	-	-	1
All units	3	28	21	16	14

Owing to rounding, percentage figures may not equal total

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(6) Stock carried according to classi principal croft worker of each work

	Under 65 years: Full-time crofter	Croft and regular work	Croft and periodic work
CATTLE **			
nil	2	5	2
1	9	31	18
2	5	19	9
3	-	2	2
more than 3	-	-	-
SHEEP			
nil	2	1	2
less than 6	1	-	-
6-10	2	4	2
11-20	1	4	3
21-50	5	21	11
51-100	5	22	10
more than 100	-	5	3

* a few working units are omitted for lack of data.
** over 2 years

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Problems of communication are not, however, solved merely by providing better roads: at least one household in four has a car or van, and this, with the fall in population, has caused a fatal decline in the use of public transport. The Bernera bus service was discontinued in August, 1959, for lack of demand. This is not, of course, an isolated example: the problem is common to all the Highlands, and indeed, to all the rural areas of Britain: in Sutherland, for example, the number of registrations of private cars has risen to very nearly 250% since 1945, and the total number of registrations for all classes of vehicles up to 1938 had risen to almost 200%, while the number of hackney carriages, after reaching a peak in 1952, has since declined by 70%.

TABLE 21

Bernera District

Land related to tenants and working units

(all figures, except last column, are acres)

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311
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	Inbye: per tenant	Inbye: per working unit:	Common grazing per tenant	Common grazing per working unit:	Total land: per tenant	Total land: per working unit:	Ratio of inbye to total land
Breaclete	8.0	7.4	99	92	107	99	1:13.3
Croir	29.2	33.4	78	89	107	122	1: 3.6
Hacklete	12.7	12.7	96	96	108	108	1: 8.5
Kirkibost	15.9	15.3	92	89	108	104	1: 6.8
Tobson	7.8	9.0	94	109	102	118	1:13.1
ISLAND TOTAL	13.2	13.5	93	95	106	108	1: 9.9
Earshader	11.5	9.5	264	220	275	230	1:24.1
Grulivig	14.0	14.0	220	220	234	234	1:16.7
Lundale	25.9	25.9	166	167	193	193	1: 7.4
Linshader	5.6	6.9	873	1,067	879	1,074	1:155.1
SHORE TOTAL	12.8	13.3	473	491	486	504	1:35.1
DISTRICT TOTAL	13.1	13.5	183	188	196	201	1:15.0

Note: in this table, "working units" include all crofts, whether stocked or not, and all other agricultural holdings. Two or more crofts worked together, whether registered under the same tenant or not, are counted as single working units. An agricultural holding is defined as one with at least one cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation.

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The Agricultural Year in the Carloway District.

Month	General	Land	Cattle	Sheep
January and February	Preparation of land. Ditching.		In byres - out on fine days.	On crofts and inner common pasture.
March		Ploughing and manuring.	On crofts and inner common pasture.	PAKE - clipping. Put on outer common pasture.
April	Peat cutting.	Sowing oats. Sowing potatoes.	Sales.	
May	Lifting peat.	Cleaning potatoes.		
June	Peat taken to roads.	Cultivating.		
July	Little croft work until late in July or early August.	Hay cutting and drying.		
August	Bringing home peat.	Oats cut and dried.		PAKES - for shearing and weaning.
September		Grain and hay brought to stack enclosure and byre.	Sales.	
October		Lifting the potatoes.	Cattle brought into byres.	Brought to crofts and inner common pasture. Dipping and tupping.
November and December	Little croft work.		Feeding in byres; outside when possible.	

Figure 40.

/p. 108/

241 Oats are the main fodder crop and although the practice of undersowing is not familiar it is increasing with the incentive of cultivation grants. Potatoes are the other major crop, the main crop being Kerr's Pink and the Valiant are several varieties. Domestic gardens, common to nearly all the crofts, grow cabbages and carrots. Turnips only succeed occasionally and there were many reports of poor yields. Two crofters had grown sugar beet successfully for fodder but did not see much future for it.

Sown grasses are being used increasingly and several areas of varied quality were noticed ranging from an indifferent field of Italian rye grass that had been down for five years to mixtures recommended by the Agricultural Advisor. These mixtures are used in rotations thus:- oats - potatoes - oats - sown grass - sown grass.
Some surface reseeding has been attempted and has succeeded on the crofts but none has yet been tried upon the common pasture, which is shared with Park Carloway. The chief problem has been that of finding a suitable area readily accessible to all the crofts. With the example of Breasaiete and some of the townships in Ness in mind all agree that reseeding would be beneficial.*

Fertilisers are used on all the crofts and a clear pattern of their use emerged. With the obvious exception of dung the traditional types of fertiliser have been abandoned.
Only one person uses shell sand in preference to lime for normal crops. For surface reseeding sand is obtained from the north west coast though transport costs are high.
Good reports were given of regular liming, the only dissenter significantly having his croft by the river. Seaweed is sold now in use though there were good reports of its value; labour, to obtain it was not available. With the incentive of the cultivation grants
159 there is a regular application of blended artificial fertilisers by the majority of holders.

The Carloway hill common has not been cultivated within living memory but the cultivation of every possible piece of croft land was remembered by many. Several crofters recalled the period before the First World War when all cultivation was bazapade
233 alone. The abandonment of the shielings some forty years ago reflects the decrease in cattle stocks; the smaller the numbers of cattle the less important is it to obtain additional grazing during the summer so that the croft land may recover from the winter and spring grazing. All that remains of the shielings are small, almost circular, mounds
178 of stones surrounded by a green sward. The decrease in cattle stocks, then three times larger than now, and the primitive life of the shielings are probably the chief reasons for their demise.

A comparison of the percentages of the scoming taken up reveals this decline in cattle and the relative and absolute increase in sheep stocks. On six of the forty one units on the crofts the total scoming is exceeded, one is at par and the rest are understocked. The sheep figures show a slightly different situation; eight of the forty one are exceeding their scoming, two are at par and the rest are below, but not far below, if sheep are kept at the 'par' level, whereas only six of the fifty six total units have no cattle, twenty three are without sheep (14 crofts and 9 feus). For an analysis of the statistics for the whole area see tables I, II, & III. The most interesting feature of the comparative figures is the 'par' figure for sheep, for in spite of the fact that Park Carloway has an excess of sheep, the joint figures do not exceed the total joint scoming for the townships.

CARLOWAY PARK

361 In contrast with the excessive elongation of the crofts in Upper Carloway those of
427 Park Carloway form compact blocks. Another unusual feature is that when the crofts were listed five field drains per croft were laid at a depth of eighteen inches; this may have something to do with the good quality of the land. Nineteen acres of croft land is now in 1960 and 1962 172 acres of common pasture were reseeded.

361 is attached to the Free Church Manse, is sublet to two feuars and is used entirely for
427 hay. One remarkably well stocked croft has one horse, two cows in milk, one calf and a heifer together with a sheep stock of twenty breeding ewes, twenty lambs and twenty other sheep (this was the first 100% lambing for many years). Labour is provided by one full time crofter with assistance from two others one of whom is a weaver. On another croft an elderly lady was preparing to make an application for a cultivation grant.

241 The intensity of cultivation may be attributed to two factors; first the sheltered position
427 of the land, the moderate slope and good drainage and second to the energy and enterprise of the crofters.

BORROWSTON

361 Borrowston exhibits many of the characteristics that have been noted in Upper Carloway
427 and which are common on the north west of Loch Carloway. It consists of sixteen regimented crofts and there are no feus. The crofts were listed in narrow strips which rise steeply from the western shore of Loch Carloway to a head dyke at about 200 feet O.D. The croft tower (bins as the ground rises and so upper ones with exposures of bare rock is reached. The result is that most of the cultivation takes place below the road which passes through the croft land and along which the settlement is located. All the crofts are fenced below the road, but are only partly fenced above it, presenting a pattern similar to that at Upper Carloway. Because of the steepness of the crofts the only way that the tractor can gain access to the land is by way of the lower road which passes from the bridge to the pier.

241 Fifty four acres of crofland are worked in fourteen operative units on which the oats
427 are cultivated by tractor and the potatoes by spade. Though all the crofts have immediate access to the sheep zones are fertilised and reseeded at the present time; following the common practice in the area artificial fertilisers are used to supplement lime and manure
233 from the sheep. None of the crofts are open for common grazing in the winter; this is because of the use of the old farm of Laimishadar, granted to the township as an enlargement. The former arable land is now used as additional common pasture. The normal
178 practice is to use the former farm land in conjunction with the croft land in the summer, the cattle being maintained on Laimishadar as late in the season as is possible.

241 Borrowston is intensively cultivated, presenting a prosperous picture when viewed
427 from the opposite shore of the loch, but in spite of its apparent prosperity the majority
162 of the population is over 45 years of age. Herein lies one of the main causes of concern
181 in this part of Uig parish, for though Carloway is in many ways more prosperous than its south Uig and has a larger and more active population working in much more favourable
167 conditions, the population is an aging one that has not the potential for maintaining a level of replacement. In Borrowston eight of the crofters depend on weaving, four are full-time crofters and seven of the twelve are over sixty five. Yet these men are active and maintain large sheep stocks, ten of the twelve exceeding their scoming though only one of them has an excess of cattle.

Figure 41 has been drawn to illustrate the land use on particular crofts in this
233 northwestern area; one is in Borrowston and one is in Upper Carloway. The stock data
427 have also been added to give the complete picture of the agricultural unit. Each croft is though peasant, an elderly tenant.

361 GARENIN
427 The township of Garenin, whose main area of crofland is situated a little apart from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

1. [Presumably the author means figure 41--Ajmlyst]

Figure 41.

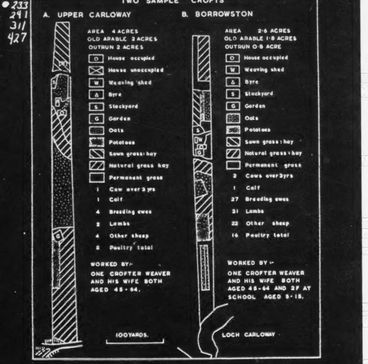
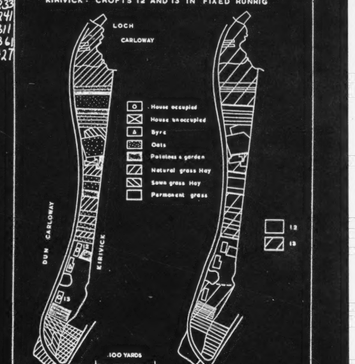


Figure 42.



241 permanent grass. The pre-eminence of the Carloway area is then only a relative one
178 where the decline in cultivation is taking place at a slower rate. Isolation, the decline in fishing and the lack of alternative employment leading to a greater decline in population may explain the more rapid decline in the Valtos area. Whether Carloway will see a similar decline remains to be seen.

Table 35

Stock carried as a proportion of total scoum of each township - Carloway district.

August 1959

TOWNSHIP	All Stock	Cattle	Sheep*
Carloway	63%	53%	70%
Carloway Park	87%	64%	119%
Borrowston	76%	15%	121%
Garenin	95%	70%	98%
Knock Carloway	64%	30%	90%
Kirivick	73%	25%	124%
Dun Carloway	104%	21%	187%

* As recorded in some cases these figures are too low (see Appendix C (2)); the maximum error is probably around 10%.

233 Table 35 summarises the agricultural system; further details of the relations between
178 units of unit, status of tenant, stock of cultivation, will be found in Appendix C (3), (4), (5)
233 and (6). Though the total scoumings (that is the conversion of both cattle and sheep units
178 to 'cow units' expressed as a percentage of the scouming) never fall below 60% the total scouming is exceeded in five townships and that grossly in two cases. Once again broken
241 this is not as serious as it is in the Valtos area where scumings are exceeded by up to three times the figure allowed. Nor does the mere statistical analysis reveal all the picture for it is essential that a proportionate number of cattle be kept so that the grazing of both cattle and sheep may regulate the growth of the grass. As it is, the relative and absolute increase in the numbers of sheep is having a serious effect on the quality of the pastures.

Sheep are given less attention that the cattle whether they need it or not and few of the present generation are prepared to tolerate the life of a shieling in the old fashion when the cattle were taken in the summer. In consequence the grazing on the outer moor is almost entirely given up to sheep. The shielings are now only marked by small broken stone mounds which were once the shelters and by the small surrounding areas of greener sward. The changing aspect of the hill landscape has already been mentioned.

233 Comparison of the totals given in Appendix C (1) shows how the present pattern is develo-
178 ping. 167 milk cows are being raised on 171 agricultural units and with these are 113 calves. Appendices C (1) and C (6) indicate that the agricultural unit farming the basis of farming is the single milk cow and annual calf which carries a subsidy if it passes the inspector of the Department of Agriculture. A few crofters are raising young beasts for sale but there is a general unwillingness to grow more fodder to raise cattle for an uncertain market which may be affected at any moment by an increase in transport costs which are already high. Without the subsidy such enterprises would hardly be possible at all and indeed one could say this of many aspects of life in the island today. Some of the calves are weaned, but the usual practice is to sell off late in the year.

233 Little close attention is paid to shepherding though several crofters profess to lifting it. The great losses on the moor (often amounting to one third of the lambs each year) does not seem to cause much worry. The chief income from the sheep is the fleece which sells at up to 4/- per pound, an average fleece weighing from three to four pounds. This wool is not used for the tweed industry since it is too coarse being more suited to carpet manufacture. Appendix C (b) shows that the majority of flocks are small averaging from 10-20. The overgrazing is the result of a smaller number of owners keeping larger flocks. Thirteen of the working units have between 50 and 100 sheep. As to those without sheep, several crofters declared themselves to be too old to bother with them, a fact which serves as an illustration and introduction to the population problems.

Appendices D (1) shows the twofold nature of the difficulties which confront the community. Twenty-two per cent of the residents are over 65 years of age and no less than 56% are over 45 years old. With the sole exception of one man who works on the power development project at Gisla in South Uig, the main focus of employment is local. A small number of people are engaged in services to the community including shopkeeping, but the main source of income is weaving since crofting itself (by definition in this area at least) does not yield sufficient to maintain a family. Yet there are 31 full time crofters who are being supported in some other way, either by relations temporarily or permanently absent or by interest on capital accumulated during periods of employment away from the island.

There is an insufficiency of women of child-bearing age to offer hope of an increase in the population or even a sufficient number to guarantee a level of replacement. This fact together with the emphasis on one form of employment gives rise to anxiety among the crofters, who recollect what happened when the fishing finally collapsed during the First World War after a period of steady decline. In 1913 twenty boats sailed from Carloway and gave employment to 295 men. If the weaving fails (at present a weaver making three tweeds per week can earn up to £16 for them) there will be similar hardship and the net emigration from an area already some too attractive to young people will certainly become more marked than it is at present.

Table 36

Fishing in the Carloway District 1892-1956

	Boats	Numbers engaged: Men	Boys	Value of catch:
1892	65	300		?
1900	27	318		?
1913	20	295		£8,700
1920	14	266		£560
1930	10	83		£262
1938	10	40		£470
1948	14	40		£174
1956	15	18		nil

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Boats returned may not have been in regular use; many of the men were mainly engaged as hands on east coast boats.

TABLE 38

Stock carried 80 years ago compared with that carried today and with the sownings

	Cattle (more than 1 year old): 1883 or 1879	1959	Sown	Sheep (all ages): 1883 or 1879	1959	Sown
OLD TOWNSHIPS						
South Uig	716	179	677	3,173	10,500	3,557
Barvas	446	103	464	1,713	5,400	2,090
E.L. Roag	555	152	481	1,652	5,300	2,090
Carloway	682	191	648	2,618	6,000	2,596
NEW TOWNSHIPS	-	104	529	-	3,400	2,858
FARMS etc.	404	44	-	4,400	900	

Notes: Figures for individual townships are given in Appendix E.

not have crofter status. Then, despite the rigidity imposed by crofting legislation, the rating structure is evolving) whether the larger units so formed are agriculturally more productive than the smaller, statutory, units is another question.

Cattle and sheep stocks

The production of cattle and sheep is the main function of the croft, from the agricultural point of view, and the main function of the crofting parish. In this respect a great change has occurred in the last 80 years: about 1880 some 3,300 cattle and 14,000 sheep (of all ages) were kept: in 1959 the corresponding figures were 1,281 and 35,000. This change is by no means the result of the re-settlement of crofters on farms (formerly farms) in 1879, according to the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, for the parish contains, in 1959, 2,31 on the crofting townships and 9,61 on the farms: now if the sheepcattle ratio was 2,31 on the crofting townships, it was then fairly uniform over the parish except that, whereas sheep outnumber cattle by more than two to one today, in Carloway District they have little more than doubled.

The decline of cattle numbers has been at the same rate as that of the human population and this, together with the much lower sheepcattle ratio on crofting townships than on farms in 1879, suggests that, 80 years ago just as to-day, the main object of cattle keeping was subsistence rather than commerce. The increase in sheep numbers on the other hand is probably no more than a reflection of increasing disregard of the sownings.

If we compare the cattle and sheep stocks with the sownings shown in Table 38 and Appendix E we find that 80 years ago, except in Barvas, there was rough agreement between stock and sown. To-day cattle stocks are around one-third of those allowed by the sown whereas sheep stocks are greatly in excess. Examination of the sownings leads one to question their validity in the light of modern conditions: the sheep sowns bear no regular relation to the available areas of common pastures (Appendices A(i) and

TABLE 39

Stock carried by working units

STOCK HELD AS PROPORTION OF SOWN	Percentage of units in each district with stock indicated: South Uig	Barvas	East Loch Roag	Carloway	WHOLE PARISH
	%	%	%	%	% (No.)
Nil	3	1	7	3	4 (20)
Less than 50%	26	25	32	36	31 (155)
50% - 100%	32	43	29	31	35 (173)
101% - 200%	31	30	19	22	26 (131)
More than 200%	8	2	14	6	4 (40)
All units	100	100	100	100	100 (499)

(2) and the cattle sowns appear impossibly high unless large quantities of winter fodder are imported. In the old townships the sowns of each croft are still based on minor variants of the traditional "1 cow and follower and 8 sheep per pound rent", the rents, however, were calculated on the potential value of the croft in days when an inexhaustible supply of labour was available for production of winter fodder by cultivation. This is no longer the case and the old assumption no longer holds.

Township pastures are seldom, if ever, used to best advantage. Because the regulations generally allow unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle, the sownings are not, in theory, exceeded by the presence of the increased flocks of sheep. In practice, however, the situation is quite different. In the first place the difference between the effects of the grazing of sheep and cattle on the hills is not widely appreciated. In discussions some crofters remarked on the change during the present century in the appearance of the nearer hill pastures - "they were green when I was a boy, now they are black". - but this was seldom correlated with the decline in cattle and increase in sheep. There can be no doubt that the increase in the ratio of sheep to cattle has generally led to a deterioration of the grazings. Further, there are almost five hundred separate sheep packs on the parish pastures, most of them with less than 20 ewes; at some banks the men and dogs seem to outnumber the sheep! Little real sheep-herding is done - nor can it be by men who have other regular employment. Conversely the hills are not grazed evenly: some areas are grossly over-grazed whilst others are neglected. This situation has grown worse with the decline in cattle numbers and consequent abandonment of the shielings, the occupation of which ensured that use was made of the more distant pastures.

Yet another factor inhibiting proper use of township pastures is their situation and shape. Many townships, particularly in South Uig, have detached areas of hill pasture, former shielings. These are often singularly inaccessible now that the custom of staying at shielings has ceased. Other township pastures are long narrow strips running inland for up to seven miles. Herding from one township's lands to those of another is therefore common. Individual allocation of the hill pastures is not practicable but a certain amount of fencing and, possibly, the employment of a paid township shepherd (as in the nineteenth century), would help.

If we examine the stocking of individual working units, Table 39, we find that only 30% carry more than their total sowns, 35% carry between a half and a full sown and a further 35% carry less than half their sowns. The situation does not vary very much as between the four districts, although there appears to be a slight tendency for working units in

TABLE 40

Individual sheep and cattle stocks by districts

Stocks: Holdings:	South Uig	Barvas	East Loch Roag	Carloway	Whole Parish
	%	%	%	%	% (No.)
CATTLE: nil	12	13	21	8	14 (65)
1	54	56	70	79	65 (314)
2	29	26	9	13	18 (86)
more than 2	5	7	-	1	3 (15)
All units	100	100	100	100	100 (478)
SHEEP: nil	6	3	16	26	14 (68)
1 - 5	1	5	4	6	4 (17)
6 - 10	8	8	14	7	9 (43)
11 - 20	16	10	24	19	16 (78)
21 - 50	35	48	32	29	34 (164)
51 -100	34	29	10	7	19 (89)
more than 100	7	1	-	7	3 (14)
	100	100	100	100	100 (473)

Barvas and South Uig to carry more stock than those in East Loch Roag and Carloway. Taking the total sown (cattle and sheep together) obscures some aspects of the livestock economy. If we examine cattle and sheep separately quite a different picture emerges (Table 40). As to cattle over one year old, two-thirds of the units carry but one cow, 18% have none, and only 3% carry two or more. In all districts the majority of units carry but one cow, but in South Uig and Barvas a significant proportion carry two - either a milk cow or a young beast, the latter presumably for sale in the autumn. Clearly, the great majority keep a cow mainly as a walking dairy: experience in other areas confirms this and in the Point and Tolsta district where the majority of crofts have ceased to keep cattle at all since organised milk supplied became available. Sheep stocks, on the other hand, vary far more from unit to unit (Table 40). There is a marked tendency for the flocks to be bigger in the south and Barvas districts, where units without sheep are also rare, whereas in the north a quarter of the units in the Carloway district are without sheep and few have more than 50. In other words, agricultural production per working unit is greater in the two southern districts than in the north.

The management of the 500 or more sheep flocks deserves some comment, even from the non-agriculturalist. Lambing takes place in April on the crofts or on nearby common land: the ewes, with lambs, go to the hills in May, weaning takes place at the end of August and at the end of October or early November all sheep return to the croft land or near-by common pastures. The lambing percentages (60% - 70%, see appendices A(i) and C(ii)) as reported is so appear optimistic, even for a good year, but this is probably because they were given to us before weaning: at least a 10% reduction of the figures given would be realistic. Except for certain South Uig flocks few lambs are sold; the

ewes are needed to maintain the flock because casualties, from diseases and accident, are heavy. Wedders are also kept, until they are two or three years old, when those that survive are supposed to be good for the pot. Again, after allowing for casualties and home consumption, the price for sale is generally small, except from a few exceptionally well-managed flocks. Likewise, the crofter who weeds out his elderly ewes is almost unknown; one man, however, claimed with pride the possession of a fifteen year old ewe! Thus it is certain that, after allowing for household consumption, very few of the little flocks of sheep yield an economic return for the time spent on them. The ideal arrangement would be to replace the 500 little individual flocks by about 50 commonally owned "slab-stocks", each with a paid shepherd. This could almost certainly be financially more rewarding but would probably be socially unacceptable because so many crofters are deeply attached to their small packs of sheep.

Table 41 has been constructed in an effort to discover whether the size of the working unit (which is greater in the southern districts) has any notable effect on stock carried. Further details will be found in appendices A(i) and C(i). It is clear that the size of the unit has no influence on the stock carried.

Finally, we may examine the stock held according to the age and employment status of croft workers (Table 42). Apart from a natural tendency for persons over 65 to have no stock, the status of the croft worker appears to have little effect. Whether a croft is worked by a full time crofter, or only casual employment does not appear to influence the amount of stock which he carries. The proportion of croft workers under 65 with no other employment carrying no stock may seem curiously high until we recall that many of these persons are elderly pensioners or invalids.

TABLE 41

Stock carried (as a proportion of sown) according to size of unit

	Percentage of Units according to sizes: 0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	more than 20.0 acres
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nil	16	5	4	1	-	5	3
Less than 50%	36	34	30	28	30	29	40
51% - 100%	24	24	39	40	30	30	46
101% - 200%	24	25	22	31	28	27	20
More than 200%	12	5	8	6	8	9	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Stock Management.

22/ 239 178 The annual rhythm of stock keeping has lost the clear definition it used to some extent to possess. The decline in summer residence at shielings has already been mentioned: most were in use up to 1914, and many were visited after the Great War, but the decline continued during the inter-war period until practically the last visits were made between 1936 (Lundale) and 1939 (Tobson): very few shielings have been visited since. There are one or two isolated examples of a summer visit to the pastures still surviving, but [476] they are not carried out by regular crofters having normal grazing rights. The construction, since 1908, of ring fences around the inbye and the more recent fencing of certain common grazings has further lessened the necessity of herding and co-operating regularly on the commons. The importance of fencing may be judged by the fact that it was estimated that, whereas prior to the construction of the fence there were about 4,000 sheep grazing over the Earshader - Crulivig - Lundale area, including about 2,000 from the Bernera Shielings and about 200 from Uig, there are now only about 1,500. Figure 30 indicates both the periods when the sheep are on the hills and the variation in the dates of movement. This applies mainly to the Island townships, for mainland townships which are contiguous with the grazings, may keep sheep on the hill for as long as six months each year. The rest of the year is spent on the township pasture and inbye. Hacklete, Kirkibost and all but seven of the Tobson crofts are open in the winter to common grazing. When the custom was more widespread the dates were clearly stated and adhered to, now there is more variation, and November 7th or 14th (Hacklete) or 17th (Kirkibost) have become indications rather than rules, depending on weather and the lifting of crops. On the mainland, ('Bernera Shore') the sheep may be brought merely nearer to the crofts rather than right onto the arable; where fences have been constructed separating off an area of common grazing next the head dyke of the township, as at Earshader (1908)*, Crulivig (1908, and 1939), and Lundale, this practice may be formalised, so that only certain classes of sheep are ever taken on the croft. The movement from the croft to the hills is governed mainly by the weather: the eild sheep will be sent off to the hills some time in April if at all possible, and the ewes in lamb often thereupon taken into the inbye if they are not there already. During May, when lambing is safely accomplished, the beasts able to support themselves and when the weather is suitable, the ewes with lambs are sent to the hill.

There are some places with special practices, notably Little Bernera which is closed to grazing in July, August and September. Similarly each holding may graze a certain proportion of replacement hoggs upon the township common grazing of Breaclete while the other stock is on the hill: this may formerly have been a more widespread custom: it certainly has contemporary parallel in Kirkibost where some sheep remain on the township common pasture to compensate for the much reduced numbers of cattle grazing there in summer.

The individual crofter, or two or more in co-operation, keeps tups buying a new beast from a different source every three years, unlike Sutherland where it is almost universal to hire them. These are usually tethered upon the croft from August until tupping in December. This again takes place on the croft (compare Sutherland, where, since the tups are generally hired by the township, the tupping is usually done upon the hill and often entails a good deal of herding). The ewes are not generally hand fed except in emergency, though here, as in all other crofting areas, opinion is divided on the advisable extent of this practice. It is however, more general to hand feed the hoggs which, indeed, may be kept under-cover at night in the worst weather, even though they are on the croft [132] or (Bernera Shore) on the nearer common grazing during the day. It is clear, though, that, in spite of the occasional hard weather, there is not generally the amount of snow and frost in winter to cause that amount of hand feeding and care which is a necessity in many parts of the mainland Highlands.

*Since 1950 about 120 acres have been divided in four and individually fenced.

221 233 Since so much of the year is spent either upon or near the crofts it is but to be expected that greatest losses of Island sheep will take place in the summer when they are far from supervision upon the hills; this contrasts with the mainland Highlands where heaviest losses, apart from those due to sudden snow falls, generally come about lambing time, when this takes place upon the hill, or soon after, in cases when the ewes and lambs are put to the hill too soon. On Bernera Shore on the other hand losses are heaviest on the hill in winter. Losses are extremely uneven in their incidence in time and from croft to croft. The cause of loss varies: there are no serious endemic diseases now, and there are few coastal cliffs - a frequent cause of loss in other places. There are however some boggy areas in the interior and some rugged: whether or not there are losses due to vermin particularly eagles, is a debatable point. Probably the fundamental cause of loss is lack of shepherding and adequate day-to-day oversight upon the hill.

233 There are certain special pastures that show interesting features. The Flannan Islands have excellent pasture, especially for the poorer male shearlings which need bringing on. There is all-the-year-round grazing for fifty sheep, which is shared by two crofters in Crulivig and one in Earshader. Unfortunately, the difficulty of getting a boat to go across has meant that for the last two years no visits have been made, and, after one or two years unattended, the animals become quite wild. Since 1949, when the Croir tenants were first permitted to cut peat upon the Bernera shielings, they have ceased to do so on Vacasay Island, where they now each send two sheep for summer grazing. They also send one sheep each to Euglam Island from 15th May to 16th August. One croft in Tobson includes certain small islands:

Bearsay Island (16.4 acres; soumed for 12 sheep per annum)

Eilean Fir Crothair (4.6 acres; soumed for 5 sheep per annum)

Seildeim (1.0 acres; soumed for 3 wedders per summer)

Similarly, Valasay (part of Tobson), has Eilean Liongain Valasay which provides summer pasture for two young cattle beasts or five sheep (one per croft). One crofter in Crulivig has a small offshore island taking two hoggs during tupping and at least one crofter in Crulivig also grazing on Ben Sgurain, but there has been no success in the attempts to heft stock there. It is distant and unfenced; losses can be heavy.

231 Lewis is a very restricted market for livestock: the general practice in the Bernera area is to sell cast ewes at five or six or even more years to the butchers in Stornoway. Lambs may be sold on occasion, but generally they are kept either for replacement or for sale as three-year wedders.* The losses which occur, plus a certain amount of slaughter for domestic use, prevent long-term accumulation, though periodic fluctuations may be severe. Occasionally when there is a surplus of summer grazing, the Bernera Shore townships may buy in lambs from the western coast of Lewis, carefully eschewing those raised on the machair lands, which are said to be too "soft" for the hills. These are reckoned a gamble, they may or may not "take". The practice may be compared with that of the former Linshader Farm where, to take up the summer surplus of feed, young cattle were bought from the crofters.

236 [Zeep] [434] The wool from the Lewis Blackface sheep generally varies from three to four lbs. per fleece. There is no longer any hand spinning; most wool is either sold outright or sent to the mills for spinning and dyeing. This practice is of long-standing. Even before the Great War, when the rent formed by far the most important item in the monetary affairs of the croft, the wool was either sold outright or, more commonly, sent to the mills for spinning and then taken to a weaver; the tweed was then sold either locally or to a merchant in Stornoway, the proceeds being used for the rent and other items.

231 178 Cattle, as has been pointed out, have declined greatly in relative importance since 1883: they are fewer in number - though far better in quality - and consequently subject

[432] *Three-year wedders in good condition fetch about £6 for slaughter. Carcase weight is about 44/45 lbs., sometimes as little as 38 and sometimes as much as 55 lbs.

TABLE 32

Some Changes in Stock and Population

161 162 231 233

	POPULATION		CATTLE(1)		SHEEP(1)	
	1891	1959	1883(2)	1959	1883(2)	1959
Breaclete	84	53	53	25	215	462
Croir	3	18	?(3)	11	?(3)	270
Hacklete	122	90	143	52	449	985
Kirkibost	148	79	89	49	290	916
Tobson	178	71	116	36	534	610
ISLAND	535	311	401	173	1,488	3,243
Earshader	24	32	20	7	109	317
Crulivig	72	26	25	14	116	406
Lundale	-	19	26	11	368	538
Linshader	10	22	20(4)	8	2,000(4)	534

Notes: (1) More than one year old.
(2) According to the evidence to the Napier Commission (except Linshader).
(3) Included in Linshader.
(4) According to local memory.

161 162

The Population of Bernera (island only)

1841	474	1911	730
1851	518	1921	605
1861	453	1931	514
1871	539	1939	c.500
1881	596	1951	384
1891	535	1959	311
1901	580		

231 There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters
● 233 exceed their souming (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 146 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

312 The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had elec-
311 tricity since 1954. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway
414 and also one bus from Uig and one from Bernera passing through Garynahine. These good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

463 There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the remaining two being to old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only
[178] two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

172 Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle
133 is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about 125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide) which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six
[361] miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing; it is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the highest point is 425 ft.

195 The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century,
427 and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader to work for one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the
361 more exposed westward facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced by the 90 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which
241 now forms the boundary between the croftland and the common pasture. The croftland varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertiliser and manure are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial fertiliser. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on a small peninsula from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland at high tide.

175 The croft houses were then in two nuclei; one on each side of the narrow neck. Much later a third nuclei developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the
361 Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Bernera; they had put to sea in small boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became
427 squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some
427 of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any
311

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

427 authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common grazing. For
311 example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the croft has now almost 10 acres of land, of which the remaining 3 acres have been 'acquired' by enclosing part of
195 the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pieces, and in some
311 cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor's wife, Lady Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because they were too close
427 to the standing stones. Croft houses 25 and 26, then near the stones, were moved to the other side of the village and given parts of crofts 1 and 2 for their houses. Crofts 1 and 2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the parts of their crofts they had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its croftland close to the stones so that an enclosure could be made around the stones. About the same period, before the passing of the Crofter's Act (1886), when the village was still 'ruled' by the township constable, and several other changes took place. Croft 27 and 28 used to be where the croft houses are at present and the surrounding adjacent area only; but it is said that the tenants of these two houses, being influential with the constable, obtained part of Callanish Farm. Similarly the tenants of crofts 30, 31 and 35 divided part of croft 19; these changes have become permanent. The most recently formed croft was taken from the common pasture in 1890. Since then three feus have been created, but two of these are holiday houses and the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

241 There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed arable. All but 4 croft units grow oats, and there are 20 acres under oats (appendix C). Of the remaining cultivated land 9 acres are potatoes and 5 acres sown hay. Most of the land is cultivated by tractor; there are 6 tractors in the township. In the past there were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still cultivate by spade. The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August and the oats a month later according to the weather.

231 Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to graze one of their neighbour's cows for part of the year in exchange for milk. There is a beef-type short-horn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Callanish Farm.

233 The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned stock of 904 sheep
● 311 and 561 lambs. Several crofters exceed their souming, but there is no shortage of grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garynahine township pasture. Callanish also has the use of the pasture on Orasay island; each year some of the sheep (one sheep or ram
221 per croft) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes are brought in for
233 tupping on November 14th, after the harvest is complete, and lambing takes place in April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November 1st to May 10th; in addition Callanish Farm (which has no sheep) is open for winter grazing. The sheep are sheared in July, and the lambs are taken from the ewes a month later. The lambs are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at Flodavat are known to have been in use until 1921.

491 Communications are quite good; the village is close to a main road to Stornoway, and
131 there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-called roads are merely rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by motor vehicle; it is
[194] over a mile from the nearest track, separated from it by rough peat land. This year a grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a road to this croft; but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land refused to allow a road to be built; and so croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of the village.
131 There are two shops in Callanish (one with a petrol pump); grocery, butchers' and fish
[366] vans deliver frequently. Callanish also has a stone jetty which in the past was important. There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and Bernera calling
[504] at Linshader, which gradually declined in importance until the 1920s when it ceased to call at Linshader. The ferry to Bernera finally ceased in 1940 when the ferryman (who
[505] lived at Callanish Farm) left for war service. After this the jetty was still used by small private boats (e.g. Callanish church serves Linshader, and many people came to church by boat until recently), but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

000 weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Mains
354 7 years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas and source of fuel for heating purposes is peat, alghough a little coal m

427 There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions, a
acres formerly the Mill, and 10 feus, all of which are worked as 54
[361] lie as long narrow strips in a NE - SW direction from the moorland at least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some crof moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land complet

241 The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a litt
sown for hay, many crofters find that the natural grass is sufficient Vegetables are produced in a few gardens, but most people do not h interest to bother with them. Flowers rarely flourish owing to the

311 Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and the
[178] part of which was once cultivated on a run-rig system is now unienc for grazing together with some peat cutting. A piece of the comme improved by application of shell sand and chemical fertilizers and experiment in which almost the whole township took part has prove there are plans for further reseeding. Details of crops are given

[463] Although the tractors of which there are two in the township are
the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for pota
[231] cut by mower but scythes are used to a large extent. There is stil township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its ow

● 233 The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e. 2½
which here is 2 cows and 5 sheep per £1 sterling rent. 40 crofter none have sufficient to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Many moors during the summer and more fail to survive the winter. Th
231 kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each ho and 1 calf which is generally sold after 6 months when a subsidy ca Breasclete has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Most sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1938. Now it is fewer cows are kept than formerly. With the reduction in number pastures close to the village are being colonised by heather.

221 The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditches
241 land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilised and
333 potatoes. The sheep are dipped and by the 10th of May must be ou
[314] crofts are then closed to common grazings. Soon after this peats two or three miles from the village. After about 20 days the peats to the Pentland Road by tractor where they are stacked to await the them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the fank for shearing and t
brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the crof must be tethered. At the end of June the clover is cut, while the cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped. for hay and if there is any first year sown grass this may yield a s September, together with the corn harvest. When the potatoes ha October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for the takes place in November.

162 Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 years
years of age. Of the resident tenants 9 are between 15 and 44 yea 44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on pers
000 away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 29 are permanently

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small-holding of 15
units. The crofts
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241 are usually all the potatoes. Between the road and Loch a' Bhaile and between the unmade road and Loch Shader on crofts 22 to 25 the land is probably more intensively cultivated than ever before, but strips now overgrown with rushes and coarse grasses, especially near the cemetery give an idea of the former extent of cultivation. The working of strips nearer the sea is no longer worth the labour involved. Crofts 22 to 25 are further divided by the small Loch Shader; no. 28 however makes good use of a small alluvial flat at the head of Loch a' Bhaile.

[237] Artificial fertilisers are in general use together with lime and dung. However some crofts were using seaweed, in particular nos. 1A, 1B, 1C, 4, 5, and 25 - i.e. those crofts with easiest access to the sea. The seaweed is gathered in the New Year and [824] trodden into the ground in the spring and apparently gives excellent results, but too much labour is involved in carrying it to crofts in the centre of the township. Forty years ago [423] each croft had rights to the "red" and "black" seaweed along the coast.

The crop acreages for the whole township will be found detailed in Appendix C (1) The area of oats for each croft varied between 0.25 and 2.50 acres whilst the maximum for sown grass was 1.5 acres. The excellent crops of hay from sown grass would suggest its further extension, but unfortunately most of the land suitable for cultivation is already under oats and potatoes. The practice of undersowing oats was not particularly widespread whilst only two small strips of oats-rye mixture were found. One crofter had also obtained good results in a small patch with seven different vegetables, whilst soft fruits are to be planted next year. The two sets of 'run-rig' crofts practise a fixed run-rig with the usual rotation of oats and grass on the strips.

231 In cattle stock (Appendix C) the township has 28 three year-old beasts, 2 one year-olds, and 24 calves. Only 6 registered occupied crofts have no cow, two crofters have two cows each, and one crofter has two cows and two calves. The township has no bull however and the nearest is at Carloway or Callanish. With a much smaller number [178] of cattle than that of thirty years ago there is now no need to make the annual summer visit to the shielings, a practice which died out in Tolsta Chaolais between 1920 and 1930. Pastures could however carry three times the present amount of cattle. The souming
● 233 of 1 cow and 6 sheep per £1 rent is now apparently ignored. The approximate total of sheep for the township is 1,500 whilst for 1958 it was about 1,470. The total of lambs was approximately 520 but most crofters found it difficult to give an accurate figure since some might have been lost on the moor during the summer. The highest number of breeding ewes for any one croft was 112, of lambs was 34, and of other sheep was 26; five crofters, however have no sheep at all. Before 1939 a shepherd was employed by the township when the sheep were sent to the moor. The shepherd was usually a young boy just left school and was paid by each crofter according to the number of sheep the latter sent to the moor. This has been discontinued but a levy, of 5s. per croft and 2½d. per [231] head of sheep, is made for the upkeep of the township fence. Finally, almost every crofter keeps at least a dozen poultry.

221 The movement of stock over the grazing areas is summarised as follows:
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233

(1) From November 13th to May 1st. cattle are usually in the byre, depending on the weather, and sheep can wander anywhere. Crofts should be open to common grazing unless all the crofter's stock remains within his own croft boundary.

(2) From May 1st. to May 20th. sheep are in the outer park.

(3) On May 20th. sheep are sent to the moor.

(4) Throughout the summer cattle are in both the inner and the outer parks.

(5) On October 1st. the sheep are brought into the outer park.

(6) On November 13th. the sheep are brought into the inner park.

464 Details of population and employment will be found in Appendix D. It is a very striking comment on the state of crofting in this township that only four persons are
[463]

102
311
632

Figure 37

THE

CARLOWAY

DISTRICT

C.P.: detached common pasture (shielings)

Table 34

● 233
241
423
427
632

TOWNSHIP ETC.		INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Other: (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
Dun Carloway		194	—— 2,219 ——		24	6	22
Kirivick		81	495	281	14	2	13
Knock Carloway	(a)	156	643	720	33	-	30
	(b)	23	-	-	-	7	-
Carloway	(a)	234	1,234	1,139	59	-	58
	(b)	43	-	-	-	18	-
Borreston		54	516	320	16	-	16
Garenin		111	954	825	28	2	27

Note: Where there is a large area of non-crofting holdings (feus, allotments, cotters or squatters) this is shown separately against (b).

Cattle are kept on 162 of the 219 units; in all there are 180 cows of three years and over, 47 young cattle, and 110 calves. The usual practice is to suckle the calves, and sell them as soon as they qualify for the calf subsidy; lack of winter-keep is one of the reasons for this practice. The breeds of cattle are mainly Shorthorn and Aberdeen Angus with a few Highland cattle. The other function of the cow is to provide milk for the household; household without a cow rely entirely on tinned milk. Cattle are sold at the twice-yearly market held at Garyward, but prices fluctuate greatly. The township of Park certainly do not carry a full souming of cattle.

Sheep are more important than cattle in the crofting economy in Park. The breed is the Lewis Blackface, a small, lighter type of the Scottish Blackface breed. The ewes are pastured on the common grazings in summer, and are grazed on the croft land in winter. The standard of Park sheepstock is also low as few crofters dispose of cast ewes or have a defined breeding policy as all stocks mingle freely on the commons. The lambing percentage for 1958 was about 60 per cent of the number surviving in August compared to the total ewe stock was 52 per cent, but it was generally agreed that 1958 was a poor year. A further indication of the quality of the sheep is that in the fishing townships, a ewe fetches from 35 to 50 shillings, and a lamb about 20 shillings locally. The low lambing percentage and poor prices can be partly attributed to the lack of good grazing and to overgrazing, bad disease and losses in a treacherous common pasture raise the mortality rate. In general the sheep are left to fend for themselves with a minimum of shepherding although the more progressive crofters hand-feed the ewes and hogg in bad weather.

The majority of the crofters in Habost and Kershader, and a minority in Garyward, rent additional grazing in Park Deer Forest, paying a fixed sum for each sheep. Sheep from these townships pay much better prices; in the other townships a few wedders and fewer cast ewes are sold to the Borrowey butchers. In many flocks, wool provides the only income from sheep.

It is evident from Table II that the sheep souming is greatly exceeded. In the calculations, ewes are taken as one unit, and 'other sheep', wedders and gimmers, have been calculated at half rate. On this basis, the overall sheep souming is exceeded by 70 per cent and in only one township is the stock comparable to the souming. Overstocking has been encouraged in crofting districts by the ewe subsidy which was in operation till 1956 when it was withdrawn. A remarkable rise in numbers of sheep recorded in the Outer Isles coincided with the introduction of the Hill Sheep subsidy in 1938.[1] Overstocking is without doubt the chief reason for the high mortality rate in sheep. Calculation of the overall relation of the actual cattle and sheep stock to the soum shows that the common grazings of Park are overstocked by 15 per cent. It is, however, impossible to calculate an exact figure, as the number of sheep grazed in Park Deer Forest was not recorded. It is also evident from the individual croft surveys that the cottars, squatters and feuars, who have no rights of grazing, have stock equivalent to 157 cow units or 12 per cent of the total stocking. Thus the crofts of Park are maintaining an average stock fairly close to the souming, but the cattle-sheep ratio of 1:28 is too low for proper management of the pastures.

In general, a low standard of husbandry obtains in Park but it is clear that the agricultural townships are much more efficiently operated than the fishing townships. Overstocking occurs in seven of the twelve townships and sheep stocks are, with one exception, higher than the sheep soumings

1 In Scotland as a whole, the number of sheep recorded declined from 8,007,134 in 1938 to 7,336,000 in 1955.

Table III reveals that there are 177 agricultural units with a souming; ten units are crofts in Glengarvie without a souming and the remainder of the 219 units have no grazing rights. From this Table, it is clear that full stocking and overstocking occurs with longer size of the croft; the six units of ten acres and over, on the basis of stock carry, would appear to be the most intensively worked. In all, just over half of the units take up their full souming. Table IV gives an indication of employment ancillary to croft work for 141 of the 219 units and it would appear that neither ancillary employment nor age is significantly related to the intensity of croft working. Table V points to the fact that more full-time crofters are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables III, IV, and V underline the fact that the larger units are also the more successful units and it is significant that the larger units are almost all on the better land in the agricultural townships. The average size of holding in the agricultural townships is nine acres, compared with less than eight acres in the fishing townships, where the land is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

The trends in agriculture are illustrated by Tables VI and VII. The Crofters' Commission made a survey of farms in Lochs parish in 1883; from this and Table VI it is evident that the number of cattle was much higher at that time and that the cattle-sheep ratio in the arable townships was 1:4 as compared with 1:28 today. Unfortunately, no agricultural statistics for the parish of Lochs as a whole; separate figures for Park are not available. Since 1913, radical changes in the crop and stock pattern have taken place. Horses have all but disappeared, and the cattle-sheep ratio has risen from less than 1:10 to 1:28 for the whole parish. Since 1938, cultivation in Lochs Parish has declined by 36 per cent. Large areas of hay-beds, no longer cultivated, are visible landscape signs of these changes. Garyward, the sole area for hay-bed cultivation, is no longer cultivated to the upper parts of the crofts. In fact, many of the crofts no longer use seaweed as a fertiliser.

From the foregoing account, it is clear that there are two major agricultural problems in Park, the lack of sufficiently large crofts with good arable land and an insufficiency of common grazing; these deficiences bring in their train the problem of overstocking, and the existence of uneconomic holdings.

The more progressive crofters, significantly resident on the better crofts of the agricultural townships, have shown how croft land can be improved by re-seeding and sowing down to grass, practices which could be fruitfully extended throughout Park. In addition, several crofters by co-operative effort, have reseeded small areas of hill land adjacent to holdings in Airidhreonach and Balallan and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

However it is clear that it is not possible for 219 viable agricultural units to be maintained on the present crofting area. The optimum size of croft which could maintain a family is a moot point; for the location and situation of a croft and the quality of the land and common pasture would all have to be taken into account in making an assessment.

This problem was referred to a practical agriculturalist who was asked to state what size of croft and number of stock would be required to provide an annual income of £300, excluding croft benefit (milk, eggs and potatoes consumed on the croft) and any costing for labour. To fulfil these conditions, one of the fishing townships was carefully analysed, and the expert came to the following approximation, assuming that the rules of good husbandry were in force after the croft had been brought up to a good standard of cultivation and re-seeding had been carried out where possible on the hirsel and common Pasture, and provided there was no overstocking, and that present favourable subsidies and prices continue:-

[Seafortthead]

Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend, the significantly lower of the population in permanent employment North of Park, and a smaller loss by migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric, there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment North of Park, and migration has been more significant. It also is significant that there is a smaller natural decrease of 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing township.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHILDERSHIN

Rachel A. Hirst

Seafortthead and Shildershin are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

Seafortthead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a gamekeeper's bothy. The township is situated between the hills and the sea, the hills rising to 700 feet immediately behind the land either steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders, or more gently in rough pasture. Shall-sand is used to fertilise the parks but generally below the road the land slopes gently and cultivation is possible to about 5-10 feet above the road, but the land is completely flat. Here, however, the hay-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the top part of the cultivation ribbon.

The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused hay-beds.

Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhreonach and Balallan and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and potatoes; the former had grown them during the last four years until 'finger and toe' decayed. Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor. After which potatoes are grown in clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several hay-beds appeared to be in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on crofts as peat is assured just outside the township fence on the common pasture. Liming has been poor for the past two years being only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep soum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crossers, are below the soum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

1884. In been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in 1883. In Seafortthead and Shildershin as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the

with heather and peat on the higher areas, hay is taken of 19.25 acres. Four acres, mainly for the Kershader crofters, are worked by spade, but most of the cultivation is by tractor hired from Balallan or, in 1958, from Habost. Lazybeds are common and in some cases are carefully renewed, but the present tendency, reaching it extreme in a field of about ten acres on one croft, is towards the formation of larger, ploughable fields for ease of tractor operation. Most cultivation is in lazybeds and land, with little manure, is cropped until it is exhausted. The only crops are oats and potatoes, with some garden plots of cabbages, turnips and carrots. The potato main crop is generally Sharpe's Flyaway (Golden Wonder on one croft), with a couple of rows of Sharpy Blue or Edzell Blue for earlier. There is no memory of Black Oats (Avena strigosa), and hare (Hordeum vulgare) has certainly not been grown since 1920, and probably not since 1909. The oats are grown exclusively for winter feed and are harvested with sickle and carried home in sheaves. The last water mill in the locality went out of use after 1914, the last handmill in 1916; no grain has been sent to Borrowey since about 1930. Rotations are extremely irregular and hay-beds are still cultivated with alternate crops of oats and potatoes and have heavy seaware and manure applications, but most crofters have a rough idea of the sequence of potatoes, oats, new grass sequence. Fertilisers used are seaware and manure (ben croft), manure (eleven crofts), shell sand (one croft), lime (two crofts) and artificials; 'Potato manure' and 'Nitrate of ammonia' on eight crofts. Artificial fertilisers and much of the seed are obtained through the Crofters' Agency.

The only two horses ever owned by this township were kept on croft 11 from 1936 to 1953. The plough was first introduced in 1936. When a tractor from Balallan became available for hiring in 1953, the horses were disposed of. The stock consists of some ewes by sire, young hogs and sheep per croft in proportion to rents and range from 3 cows, 3 young beasts, 69 sheep down to 1 cow, 1 young beast and 23 sheep. Eight crofts earned that entitlement but no croft produces hay but the souming and the deficiency is mainly in cattle, especially young beasts. On the other hand, no crofters cut in anticipation of a subsidy; only one crofter cuts a proportion of seaweed. Cattle are kept for domestic milk supply, and calves, having qualified for subsidy, are normally sold at 6 to 8 months. 18 acres of the common grazing were re-seeded in 1957 and the following rhythm for milk cows is developing:-

(a) As soon as the weather allows in May, the cows are put out in the park for about three weeks.

(b) Next, about 6 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the new fence erected in 1957.

(c) Back to the re-seeded park for about five weeks.

(d) Return to the crofts for the winter, being let out either to the park or to the common grazings whenever the weather is suitable.

The young beasts spend much of their time on the outer common grazings. As most of the crofts, beginning with one in 1938 and ending in sequence with 10, 11 and 12 probably in 1959, are fenced, the old arrangements for township commoning from 15th October to 15th May are now obsolescent. Another park was also fenced for general purposes and for weaning in 1957. Prices for calves and cattle are very low and this discourages cattle breeding; on the other hand, lack of winter keep enforces an occasional sale.

The rhythm of sheep husbandry is largely independent of that of cattle:-

(a) By 20th November all sheep, except possibly the lambs, are cleared from the crofts for the tupping of breeding ewes thereon till 31st December. Every crofter now keeps his own ram, exchanging it or buying another at least once in five years.

[Kershader]

(b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices, however, are irregular: some flocks are usually hand fed, others are left to fend for themselves; in the case they hunt near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand. Most crofters keep their lambs, probably hoeing turnips at intervals, although they may be in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather and other factors.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but in 1957 a few flocks of the Scottish Blackface breed were introduced. Crofters have not taken full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4lb, ewe fleeces about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Borrowey mills and to the West Marketing Board. Average carcass weight is reported to be 41 lb. Ewes are usually sold at 6 years and culled at 7, but never above 8½. Bracy and flake are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as full-time crofters, but probably only half of these lives on one croft and are in fact in this category; and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the invisible population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this township, but on only six crofts do any permanently resident females help with croft work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption only), and work on the roads. Income from ancillary employment is very meagre. Cattle are kept for domestic milk supply, and calves, having qualified for subsidy, are normally sold at 6 to 8 months. The only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought from the township. As a result, the population of Kershader has decreased from 1939 to 1958, and is expected to rise in the future. As a result, the population of Kershader has decreased from 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958. 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 6 periodically away, and 43 are resident. 43 are resident, 43 are resident, 43 are resident,

[Coverata]

Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for fanking or other purposes and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes are normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered, and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for black leg, braxy and tupping, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third week of May.

The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep sown, but the overall stocking is only 80 per cent of the total sources, the crofts only carrying a proportion of their sheep, while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however, good and carries a fair number of cattle, owing to the character of grass, the heather is valuable for covering the boggs. Lewis Blackface sheep are the predominant breed and the wool, clipped in July, is sold to the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter house. The 1958 lost lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preceding the greater part of the lambing of the ewes. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early-born calves may be sold in the autumn at six months old, those born later must be retained to eight months old until the Spring sales. The cows are served by the Department of Agriculture Highland bull at Habost, but although good prices are obtained for best cattle, it is felt that for the family milk supply, a dairy bull would produce a better strain.

In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. In most cases the land under each crop is less than half an acre and nowhere does it exceed two acres. The land has been built up into lazybeds about six to eight inches high, separated by open drainage channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor (hired from Habost) is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not altogether suitable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by rocks and steep faces of bare rock.

Neither Toristo nor Caverata is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the road near Cromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and an inferior footpath joining the main road at Cromore. The lack of a good road within the dyke acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilizers. Artificial manures, based on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. This lack of facilities to improve is perhaps even more marked by the fact that on one holding alone is a rotation practised (potatoes, oats underseen with clover, ley for three or four years, oats). Apart from this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the same strips for many years. Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay but in the case of the crofts with lazybeds that were formerly tillage. On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridges can be seen to have a reticulate pattern and are thought to date back more than one hundred years. A short distance beyond the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonised by heather.

Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch within the dyke, is cut on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and later brought home by creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens and all keep up to twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the larders,are also maintained.

In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Caverata and seven at Toristo. After 1881, when maximum figures of fifty-three and thirteen were noted, there was a secondary peak in 1911 in Caverata, followed by a steady drop to twenty in 1951 and eighteen in 1958.

[Coverata] [Cromore]

The 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Caverata population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left after 1911 and no comparable population has since 1939, seven people have migrated to Stornoway or the mainland, (16 per cent of the total 1939 population), and six of these were from Toristo (i.e. 50 per cent of the 1939 Toristo population). Only one family now remains in Toristo. The demographic position is becoming more acute for there are no young married couples and no youngsters growing up. The girls have left to marry and most of the men have sought temporary or permanent employment elsewhere, for with better communications, education and the radio, the pull to the towns has become stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full-time crofters, earning no supplementary income by weaving tweed on commission from the Stornoway mills.

Caverata is not one of the most progressive of the South Lochs townships. Although the crofts are fenced no attempt has been made to improve the grazing by reseeding with better grass or to improve pastures. At present, the grazing is fully stocked according to the sown, but the committee has not yet taken action. Most crofts have a cow and a calf or two heifers in the common grazing and March grass would benefit every crofter. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but even a small acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

The future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechanisation and is badly served by communications. The future of Toristo appears to be probably one of abandonment, unless it is more easily linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road being built here is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Caverata is also open to question. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the present units are not used to their full extent. Amalgamation would benefit Cromore and Toristo township a great deal, as the Caverata population is rather small to flourish in isolation. The future of Carnyard, Kershader and Habost is one of a separate township or amalgamation with Cromore. It is not difficult to see Caverata, and Toristo, following the same course as Calbost and in thirty to forty years being little more than grazing land.

CROMORE

G. Mary Swindell, B. A., and Dennis F. Fancett, B.A.

Cromore is situated on a peninsula between Loch Erisort and Loch Cromore. Approaching it from the mainland, one sees a few houses and a settlement, but in the summer months the number of houses is attained on the owner's croft. The crofts are so arranged that each has a portion of land on the common and a portion of arable land at present in the township, but formerly there was only one tweed per loom serve. Sole are poor and thin, and have not numerous outcrops of barren rock amongst the arable land. The natural vegetation is heather interlined with extensive patches of rushes and coarse grass, the latter predominant of the "intrusa" variety.

The township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two crofts are subdivided while another four form double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and the Schoolhouse fox. Outside the township dyke there are two farm and four squatters. The croft layout differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent pieces, one piece around the house, another above Creag Cromore and two pieces on another area of enclosed land on the common. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land around the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

Until this decade all the land around the houses, and much of that above Creag Cromore, was regularly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but cultivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only crops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have been experimenting with the application of fertilizers to improve the grazing. Lime and phosphate, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofts have cultivated more than half an acre but that of No. 23, partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

The sowning for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throughout the winter and so one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the sowning is exceeded by only seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the sown. Lambing takes place in April and May and there is a high proportion of ewes which lose their lambs. The sheep are clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway or hands it to a crofter who does the spinning. The lambs are dipped in the second week of August and then dipped; November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf or two heifers in the common grazing and March is the time when grass would benefit every crofter. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but even a small acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under cultivation and from an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but the Crofters Commission has not yet put into effect its proposed plan to the amalgamation of crofts; it is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the boundary between Caverata and Gravir, about three miles south-south-east of Cromore and one mile north of Gravir.

Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore fishermen work on other boats from Marvig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing, but there is little prospect of this, however. The landing-stage, completed in 1937, is regarded by many as a "white elephant" and, in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by trading tweed in exchange for yarn from Stornoway and one loom is present in the township which only one tweed per loom serve but the weavers could quite easily double their production. During the war years, the industry was relatively prosperous. Running is a winter pastime but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a van which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recent additions to the village and timetables were called, Cromore crofters contribute to vehicular traffic. There are no shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday.

[Wertrig] [Calbost]

In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Marvig's future, and that of other crofting townships, is not only one of adverse aspect, soil and weather conditions, and of distance from markets, but a problem of the population finding a stable and viable level where agricultural units are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain, and a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Gravir on the Minch coast of Park. It occupies a beautiful site on a hillside between a small loch and the sea. The lands are fertile and the soil of good tilth; croft houses are scattered over a shelf 50 feet above sea-level round the sides of the hillow and along the shore of the loch. The township is well-wooded and sheltered.

The cultivable soil, a mixture of peat and well-drained gravelly drift, is on the higher ground, although here the rock outcrops in many places. On land formerly cultivated, bracken is spreading rapidly and now covers a large proportion of the surface, although twenty to thirty years ago it was unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-lying and waterlogged land. The Fifty-eight operative units participated in this reclamation work, and the plots participated in have an average size of 58 acres, but, as the land is sufficient as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended annually, if adequate manpower and capital were available. Pasture improvements, however, are not without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater stocking, at present the sown is fully stocked and there is a plan on the common to allow a cow and lamb call for as little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the consequences of over-stocking. The cattle stock is below the sowning and the number of cattle is one of the lowest in Park. The agricultural crofters since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the sowning by thirty-five per cent.

The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from the sowning, the average size of holdings is about 7 sheep per pound sterling of rent; in Gravir, where only seven crofts pay more than £2 rent, they were never intended to be sail-supporting agricultural units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in formerly days, hens or ducks, locally milled by the three Gravir water mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family. Fishing was the complementary occupation, and in 1951 there were more than nineteen boats and eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for lobsters.

Calbost is primarily a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats have to be moored in the adjacent sea-loch because of being exposed to the bay. The decline of the fishing industry which has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Calbost, leaving only a few boats now used only for inshore work. Croft income is supplemented by only two of the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are a few productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

The township dyke is very close to the cultivated ground and in the past shielings were not so widely used in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosures were made adjoining the main dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

[Gravir] [Glengravir]

[illegible]ongarite is dominant. Ling, which has created considerable soil water, often occurs with Molinia, Nardus caespitosa and Eriophorium. A few rowans, usually near the shore, and willows, usually within stone enclosures, are the only trees to be seen.

Of the thirty-three legal crofts in Lemravay, nine comprise less than five acres, while the rest range between five and ten acres. Of the remainder, only two exceed fifteen acres and one of these, at 35 acres. Six unoccupied crofts are owned by persons other than their former tenants, so actually 27 acres of croft land are shared by twenty-seven holdings. The seventeen-acre 'outcast' was subdivided between fifteen tenants but combined with letting has resulted in four separate holdings occupying nine acres, and working another four acres. Thus the outcast today must be regarded the monopoly of four 'unofficial' holders.

Lemravay forms a quarter of the croft land in cultivable and even less is actually cultivated today: Figure 9 illustrates the crofting layout. The township lies on the stony slope of a hill and permitted the cultivation of tiny 'lazybeds' and the total cultivated area is now about 48 acres. The best soil is found on the gentle slopes, where the soil is deep and free from stones. Croft shows signs of former, more extensive, lazybed cultivation, often covering at least two acres. For example, on the south side, extensive ruins of lazybeds at about 225 feet.

Oats and potatoes, 29.5 and 16 acres respectively,occupy almost all the cultivated ground. Most crofts grow about half an acre of potatoes and one acre of oats; both acreages have been increased in importance. No hens is now grown, though before 1900 it was grown in quantity. Plants of the hare moll, which caused no function at the beginning of the century, can still be seen in Lemravay, and the plant is particularly abundant. Only four crofts had sown grass in the last three years in all. Few vegetables other than potatoes are grown though carrots are said to grow well and turnips are sown for the cattle. Lemravay is a very wet township and cannot be productive and almost every crofter used some seaweed and at least twenty drew shelldrift and artificial fertilizers in 1958.

Stock totals have declined recently but the township has 36 cows and 22 calves. Only one crofter without cattle and 22 of the 33 working units have a cow and a calf. The township has an Agricultural Department of Agriculture; one of the few remaining stallions of the Cross Lewis breed in the township system is that this animal is fed by the crofters, in rotation, during the winter.

All but two crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between ten and 120 per holding but the majority have about 25 ewes with two lambs. Although numbers have declined recently, the 3,025 acres of very moderate common pasture support a stock of about 1,150 sheep, including about 650 ewes and about 300 lambs.

The sowning is not enforced in Lemravay and it is remarkable that the total stock tallies almost exactly to the sowning. An examination of the sheep records shows that the stock (including the lambs) considerably exceeds the sheep sown of 620. It is interesting that it is nearly always the working units of over 10 acres that are responsible for the excess of the sown, eight crofters of which they are entitled to. Most of these crofts are grouped on the eastern side of the township where crofts have a larger share.

Thus, while overgrazing is not so severe as in many townships, it represents a potential danger particularly if the common pasture is not improved. However, in 1958 ten acres of the common pasture have been enclosed and re-seeded. Six acres were sown with ordinary mixed grass seed, two acres with pelleted seed and two acres with pelleted and inoculated seed. The sowing was taking part in the scheme put on 100 tons of seed to help drain and aerate the peaty soil, 25 tons of ground mineral phosphate and 2 tons of concentrated compound fertilizer, grades 1 and 2 - 40 per cent by head. The area was sown in May 1958; by the following August, there was a striking difference between it and the unreseeded pasture. Next Spring, eleven cows will be grazed on this area. If success of this scheme, it is hoped that more of the crofters will co-operate in re-seeding further areas.

re and there in small patches of less than a quarter acre and therefore do not appear our summaries, appendices A (1) and C (1).

The amount of cultivation carried out depends on three factors:

) stock, particularly cattle, to be carried through the winter,
i) size of family, which influences the amount of potatoes grown,
ii) available labour, because cultivation is mostly by hand, especially in South Uig and Bernera.

he size of the effective agricultural unit has little influence on the area cultivated ithough it may bear some relation to the amount of natural hay taken. This can hardly e regarded as 'cultivated' and the acreage is difficult to estimate; the custom is to cut and when weather permits, and wherever there is a convenient stand of natural grass.

Hand labour is a necessity on most crofts in the Bernera district and on many lsewhere. The traditional 'lazy-bed' - a long narrow strip of cultivation bounded by eep ditches which may be half as wide as the bed - is a necessity on broken, rocky round on which the only soil is peat which often has to be gathered into hollows in order o get sufficient depth. The small size and long narrow shape of most crofts do not lend hemselves to tile drainage, which is almost unknown. If it could be extended it would e a great advantage but, in general, it would have to be organised by townships, or at east by groups of crofts, and the whole trend in management of croft land is towards ndividual occupation and use.

This may not always be a good thing. Fencing is a case in point. Until the last en years fenced crofts were rare altough small parts of crofts might be fenced and, in ome cases, a group of crofts might be fenced off from the rest. But, in general, the rofts were common land in the winter and used individually only from May to October. Fencing grants, and the encouragement of sown grass in rotation with oats, have hanged this. A great rash of fencing is appearing. This may not be altogether a good hing, particularly for the sheep in winter and spring; even if gates are still left open, tock are deprived of the ability to move for shelter. There may also be watering difficulties. Co-operative draining, cultivation and grazing, of groups of crofts if not of townships, would be more efficient and more productive.

Finally, we may remark on the curious insistence on hand cultivation of oats and potatoes for consumption on the croft, whilst cash crops well suited to hand labour, and which would be far more rewarding, are neglected. Flowers, vegetables and potatoes are imported into Stornoway daily on the mail steamer and even by 'plane. Neither climate nor soil prevents their production in Lewis. Moreover such crops could provide a much needed source of additional income. A few croft gardens produce excellent soft fruit and as the local season differs slightly from that on the mainland there would seem to be possibilities here, too. There have been virtually no agricultural innovations since the potato.

Economic and Technical Factors.

The agricultural income of a croft arises from:

(i) the sale of livestock, mostly store stock at the spring and autumn sales,
(ii) the sale of the annual wool clip,
(iii) the receipt of certain annual subsidies and grants.

These are the main items; in addition some may sell small amounts of potatoes, eggs and standing hay; a very few sell a little milk although strictly this is illegal. Such an annual income comes in three or four annual instalments, uncertain as to date and amount. Moreover, a crofter may suddenly and unexpectedly find himself deprived of a large portion of his income due to casualties amongst his stock or poor demand at the seasonal sales. Unlike the mainland farmer, should an islander withdraw his store

APPENDIX E

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(1) Stock carried about 80 years ago compared with that carried today.

(a) Old Townships

	Cattle (more than 1 year old)			Sheep (all ages)		
	1883	1959	Soum	1883	1959	Soum
Brenish *	131	33	84	447	1,700	508
Ialivig	46	9	43	93	500	228
Crowlista	101	18	89	632	1,200	414
Aird	40	6	34	137	600	206
Valtos	158	42	220	647	2,300	1,033
Kneep	84	22	76	341	1,000	455
Caryshader	42	9	45	267	500	183
Ungshader *	20	4	38	107	1,800	110
Geshader *	46	19	31	330		237
Ensclete *	48	16	17	172	.900	298
Breaclete	53	25	59	215	630	312
Kirkibost	143	49	144	449	1,300	866
Hacklete	89	52	122	290	1,400	661
Tobson	116	36	97	534	950	784
Earshader	20	7	17	109	480	104
Crulivig	25	14	25	116	600	163
Callanish	160	41	161	397	1,600	795
Breasclete	188	52	191	629	1,600	567
Tolsta Chaolis	176	30	96	501	1,550	573
Lochganvich	31	9	33	125	414	155
Dun Carloway	121	35	130	530	1,550	460
Kirivich	63	15	60	280	550	202
Knock Carloway	118	39	132	524	950	530
Carloway	208	63	130	715	1,000	671
Borrowston	62	15	98	368	950	392
Garenin	110	24	98	401	1,000	341

(b) New Townships compared with former farms

	Cattle (more than 1 year old)			Sheep (all ages)		
	1879	1959	Soum	1879	1959	Soum
Mangersta *	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	25	68	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	1,200	385
Carnish		5	26		1,200	270
Ardroil		20	62		650	625
Timsgarry		8	23		800	275
Reef		10	45		380	225
Croir		11	36		550	96
Lundale		11	36		750	192
Linshader		8	15		250	330
Garynahine		6	18		914	180
Farms etc.	404	44	-	4,400		

Note These soums given do not allow for enlargements which should substantially increase the stock capacity of townships marked *.

Sources 1879: Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture.
1883: Evidence given to the Napier Commission.

THE PATTERN OF CROFTING

427 241 178 423 477

Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties of Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the nearest equivalent to peasant communities in Britain, although only a small minority of crofters own their holdings, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, has all but disappeared.

175 427 241 423

Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to compensation for improvements. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where the annual rent paid was less than £30. Security of tenure, and compensation for improvements were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £50. In all, there are about 20,000 crofts in Scotland today[1] and Collier[2] estimated the crofting population at about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms a 1 per cent sample of the crofts, and a 0.9 per cent sample of the estimated crofting population.

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Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

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The characteristic settlement unit is the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the individually held croft land, and the common grazings. The number of crofts per township ranges from 6 in Caversta to 43 in Gravir.

The individually held croft land (1,839 acres) is partly 'outrun' or permanent pasture and the holdings are usually but not always consolidated - in Gravir (Fig. 4) and Cromore some of the crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated from neighbouring units by a drystone dyke or fence but in Park, such demarcation is the exception rather than the rule.

The croft land is separated from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wa The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor, ill-drained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park, only Oronsay common pasture is fenced, the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by crumbled turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture; the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured, a term comparable to the obsolescent 'gates' of northern England. In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young beas up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per £1 rent. There is also a system of stated equivalences (Gaelic 'coilpeachadh') in most townships whereby substitution of cattle for sheep and sheep for cattle is permissible: in Gravir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumings and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed, soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming o their croft.

[15] 1 Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

[13] 2 Adam Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1953.

427 241 [22] 423 [17] [23] 175 235 Although the croftland is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six months of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole township stock graze indiscriminately over the crofts. Thus basically the whole area of the township, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear that the agricultural revolution with its system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Crofting Area.

Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic - 'airigh'). The sites of the shielings are usually on slopes commanding a view of the surrounding area near a spring or stream and usually two to nine huts belonging to the same township are grouped together on a site; isolated shielings are rather rare. In order to conserve the pasture within the township dyke for wintering and to protect the unfenced crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in June, and the younger members of the households went out to live in small stone or turf-walled huts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter or cheese at the shieling. The distance of shielings from the crofts varied from one to five miles in Park.

632 The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the township and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in the past related mainly to the enforcement of soumings, but are now reduced to the disbursement of subsidies, although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the township bull (usually lent by the Department of Agriculture but sometimes communally owned) are also the province of the Committee.

[361] [342] [78] The layout of the townships varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned in strips from the moor to the sea (figures 4 and 5). Most croft houses are built on the crofts; in former times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the cultivable land was required for crops, but nowadays the houses tend to be sited near the road.

162 361 427 241 [464] The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing in the rights and duties of the township. Table I gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 Park crofts. It will be noted that only one-fifth of the crofts are tenanted by those in the 15-44 age group: a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 65 years of age. Absentee tenants account for 14 per cent of the total. Women form under 10 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of the women tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The intrinsic worth of the holdings can be inferred from the fact that two-thirds of the male tenants in the insurable age group take supplementary work, two-fifths of them furth of Lewis. With such a large proportion of the tenants either fully employed in ancillary occupations in Park or elsewhere it is hardly surprising that the theoretical township organisation exists mainly in name alone.

427 241 Each croft, however, is not necessarily an agricultural unit; some are sublet by absentee tenants or by tenants who are too old or too infirm to work their crofts. Of the 215 crofts, one-fifth are wholly or partly sublet. In addition to the legal crofts, there are unofficial holdings which fall into three categories, cottars, squatters and feuars, all legally without grazing rights. A cottar[1] is a person, usually a close relative of the tenant, who builds another house on

1 These are the de facto definitions. Section 34 of the Crofters' Act of 1886 defines a cottar as follows:- "Cottar" means the occupier of a dwelling-house situate in a crofting parish with or without land who pays no rent to the landlord, as also the tenant from year to year of a dwelling house situated in a crofting parish who resides therein, and who pays to the landlord therefor an annual rent not exceeding six pounds in money, whether with or without garden ground, but without arable or pasture land". For fuller treatment, see Scott, J., "The Law of Smallholdings in Scotland," 1933, pages 152-155. [115]

There is no legal definition of a squatter, and the above definition does not include any distinction between houses built on a croft and houses built on the Common Grazings.

TABLE III

CROFT SIZE RELATED TO INTENSITY OF STOCKING

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

Acres	Legal Crofts	Operative Units	PERCENTAGE OF SOUMING TAKEN UP: Less than 50%	50 - 100%	Over 100%	Units[1] Unsoumed	Non-croft operative[2] Units with stock
0 - 5	80(37)	88(40)	14(16)	20(23)	20(23)	6(7)	28(31)
5 - 10	90(42)	69(32)	13(19)	17(25)	31(44)	4(6)	4(6)
10 - 15	28(13)	39(18)	5(13)	14(36)	20(51)	-	-
15 -	17(8)	23(10)	2(9)	7(30)	14(61)	-	-
	215(100)	219(100)	34(15)	58(26)	85(41)	10(5)	32(13)

1. The Glengravir crofts have no souming.

2. Cottars, feuars, and squatters who have no grazing rights.

231 233 311

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TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONS AND AGES OF CROFT WORKER

RELATED TO INTENSITY OF STOCKING

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	PERCENTAGE OF SOUMING TAKEN UP			TOTAL[1]
Labour Force	50% or less	50 - 100%	Over 100%	
Fulltime Croft Worker	8 (17)	16 (33)	24 (50)	48 (100)
Croft Worker with Regular Employment	8 (16)	18 (35)	25 (49)	51 (100)
Croft Worker with Periodic Employment	2 (20)	3 (30)	5 (50)	10 (100)
Croft Worker aged 65 and over	2 (9)	8 (36)	12 (55)	22 (100)
Woman Croft Worker	5 (50)	3 (30)	2 (20)	10 (100)
Total	25 (17)	48 (34)	68 (49)	141 (100)

1. It is not possible to relate all units for this purpose as some units have no souming, and in other cases the unit is worked by more than one person: such units have been omitted from the table.

/p. 8-B/

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OCCUPATION

Size of Operative u
(acres)

0 - 5
5 - 10
10 - 15
over 15

Total

1. It is not possib
are in fact run

K-5	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots Park	ES10

TABLE V

S OF MALES (15-64) RELATED TO CROFT SIZE

it	Full time croft work	Croft work with Regular employment	Croft work with periodic employment	Total[1]
	14(30)	27(59)	5(11)	46(100)
	19(42)	22(49)	4(9)	45(100)
	14(50)	12(43)	2(7)	28(100)
	7(54)	3(23)	3(23)	13(100)
	54(41)	64(48)	14(11)	132(100)

le to relate occupations to size of operative unit in every case as many units by more than one person - such units have been omitted from the table.

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5: Caird et al.	K-5	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots Park

TABLE VI

175
178
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233
311

TOWNSHIP STOCKING: 1883[1] AND 1958

	1883		1958	
	Cattle	Sheep	Cattle	Sheep
Habost	65	215	34	1,044
Kershader	67	205	34	822
Garyvard	55	200	26	736
Caversta	27	109	12	264
Cromore	127	310	48	905
Marivig	84	207	23	830
Calbost	71	220	4	326
Lemreway	158	481	58	1,139
TOTAL	654	1,947	239	6,066

1. Royal Commission on Crofting - mss. data, 1883.

Register House, Edinburgh.

Information was not complete for Gravir, and the remaining townships were not in crofting tenure in 1883.

/p. 8-D/

well recognized relation of culture and environment.[9]

The economic foundation for the present day culture is commonly referred to as "the crofting system," a system of hereditary tenure of individually held small patches of cultivated land combined with communal use of grazing land. On his small plot, typically under five and seldom over ten acres, the crofter grows a little oats and bar for his stock, a few potatoes for his family and dairy cattle, and, in some cases, a few garden vegetables. Anyone who is acquainted with the Irish small farmer will recognize the underlying similarity of the two systems.[10] The communal element in the crofting system on Skye, however, is a distinguishing feature. In addition to his croft, the individual has a common, communrent right to a share in an extensive area of grazing land. Here he keeps a couple of cows and a score or two of sheep. After the harvest, the stock are frequently brought down from the hill and allowed to indiscriminately graze the arable land of the crofters who share the communal lands. Thus, the efficient economic unit is not the croft, the few acres of arable land, but rather a "township," a collection of crofts and the common grazing lands. The system dirtes from the township system which prevailed two centuries ago only by the holding of permanent, compact blocks rather than dispersed and shifting strips of arable land. It is a unique survival in Europe.

See, for example, Gresham, Schofield and Kitchener, Land Use in Native North America, p. 4.

[10]Cf. Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), pp. 5-7, 31-35.

to the traditions of the past. I shall discuss this further when I describe the extended family.

The Township. The township is a cooperating economic unit. Communal use of an interest in the common grazing lands gives the township its focus. Living on the several crofts, there still be found an aggregate of nuclear families and unmarried individuals who, especially in the older townships, are related and re-related on both sides. Only in the more modern townships does the degree of relationship become tenuous and finally disappear. In interpersonal activities the neighbors have a rate of interaction second only to that of the nuclear family.

The dominant social trait is the strong emphasis on the ascription of status on the basis of kinship, sex and age. There are no socially valued achieved statuses. The facts are simple. Males enjoy higher prestige than females, and the old men and women are respected by the youth. All of the same age grade and sex are essentially equal. Again we have a parallel with the Irish small farmer.[11]

There is no room for the expression of a role of leadership in economic activities. The governing principle of township administration is so-called primitive democracy. All males have an equal voice in determining the acceptance of any policy or action which concerns the group, and unanimous consent is necessary for the adoption of any change. Although each township has an elected grazing clerk and a grazing

[11]Cf. Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 45, 109-110; and Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63, 101-103.

Barley was pulled by the roots. The oats were either stored in a byre or built up in a stack near the house to be used as needed. The process of drying was known as kiln-dry. A woman took a handful of stalks and set fire to it. As the husks burned, she beat the grain with a flail, a stick or bunch of heather. Using kiln-dry, it was possible to dress, winnow, grind, and bake the oats into cakes within an hour. Kilns came into use in the late seventeenth century, but kiln dried grain was considered inferior to grain prepared by kiln-dry. A few water mills had also been built in the close of the century, but they were also unpopular. The barley was stripped from the stalks, which were used for house thatch, and ground in a stone corrie for griddle cakes or, later, for whisky. The rye, like much of the oats, was used as porridge.

The Stock and its Importance. The Skyeman, in contrast to the Highlander, was primarily a pastoralist. The stock included a small, hardy, scrawny breed of cattle well adapted to the rough terrain and excessively wet and windy climate, a small, narrow fronted sheep of limited value for meat or wool, ponies, goats, and pigs. The importance of the cattle can be judged from the valuation of the farms. Although the Norse system of land measure had replaced the pre-Feudal Scottish measure known as a davach, the amount of land required to support one head of cattle, with a cognizy measure of each lands, which were divided into penny lands and smaller units based on

[12]John Cameron, op. cit., pp. 170-171.

eighteen to twenty pennies equalling an ounce of silver, the land valuation on Skye was based on the number of cattle which a farm could support.[13] All other stock and the amount of cultivatable land was disregarded, being considered as necessary to the support of the tenants. Wealth was measured by the number of cattle an individual possessed; quality was a secondary consideration. The number placed on the land, therefore, was regulated by how many could be carried over the most favorable part of the year. As a natural consequence, a chief agricultural defect was overstocking.

The tacksman left their cattle and horses on the hill the year round. To attempt was made to separate the beef and dairy cattle, and, except for milch cows, which were given some straw, boiled chaff, and, in late winter, a few scantlins of oats, the cattle were not fed. Dung had to be lifted to their feet in the spring. The process of clapping, of course, destroyed much of the straw which could have provided winter feed for the cattle. It was until 1750 that any hay was grown on the island; it was used to feed the strays (young cattle). The small tenant and subtenant shared his house, and his cats, with his cow. Distemper and salmutrition was common. If a cow calved before the beginning of March, it was four or five weeks before she had enough milk for the calf, and the yield from the best cows was small.

Sheep were housed at night to protect them from the foxes. During the winter they received their the same care as milch

[13]John Walker, An Economical History of the Hebrides and Highlands of Scotland in 1764, (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1803), Vol. I, pp. 304-7.

cows. In the spring they were turned loose in the moors. For identification their owner either cut their ears or burned their horns with a hot iron.

As soon as possible after the spring sowing, the stock was turned to the rough grazing lands. Although there is no evidence to suggest that the shelling (from the Norse skeilig) life formed a part of the annual routine, its later importance seems it plausible. Rude huts of stone or timber were created in the higher mountain pastures to which the cattle were driven by the people of each farm. In the shellings the women cared for the stock and spent their time making dairy produce. For the young men and women it was a time for courting. The milk boiled (ses) must have taken only a limited part in the shelling life; they were kept occupied with other duties.

The Spring Trade. The chief industry of the Skye was the cattle trade with mainland Scotland and, after the Union of 1707, England. As early as 1502, "marts," surplus cattle sold off in the autumn, were being exported from the barony of Trotternish.[14] By the middle of the century, the Highland trade had grown to such proportions that the Privy Council was forced to enact measures for the preservation of order at the marts. At the close of the sixteenth century, a MacDonald chief had established a regular trade in cattle and ponies between the Outer Isles, Skye, and the east coast of Scotland. By the time of the Union, Skye had become the largest producer of

[14]For details on the spring trade, see A. R. B. Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1952), pp. 2-13, 82-83.

Period III (1845-1926)

By the beginning of the third epoch of the modern phase of Skye's culture history, all the elements necessary for a social and economic readaptation to the wider commercial, contractual society had begun to function. The socio-economic changes in the preceding period, especially the period of commercialization of the land, the abolition of the tacksman system of tenure and runrig farming, the establishment of a village, and the extension of regular communications, had paved the way for the final stage in the process of commercialization. It was now an aforesaid fact that industrialization in Scotland was to be a Lowland phenomenon. The disparity between the Eastern and Western Highlands was already well developed.[15] The former had become a region of commercial farmers, men with the incentive and ability to make technological advances. Now economic deterioration led the landlords to attempt a basic change.

The bankrupt proprietors, anxious to recoup their losses, found sheep farmers eager to buy or lease the virgin grazing of Skye. Sheep farming meant the tenant would have a secure rental several times that his redrented crofters and cottars could pay, and he would not have to spend any capital either on behalf of the incoming tenant or on behalf of an indigent tenant unable to take over his own farm. The sheep farmer had the capital and, even more important, the incentive to adopt scientific methods. The crofter, obviously, had neither the

[15]Cf., e.g., Collier, The Crofting Problem, pp. 43-51.

means to acquire capital because he worked on very narrow margins nor the ability to specialize because his communal grazing system forced him to conform to traditional techniques.

The trend to sheep farming, developing from an early as 1810, led to a sweeping discord for the customary rights of the Skyeman. The factors (estate managers) of the absentee landed gentry, the new landlords, and the graziers had no associations with the tenantry and no use for their labor. Thinking only in commercial terms, they were only interested in seeing the higher prestige, the crofters' shelling, under the control of the factor in summer and the lower prestige, the crofters' arable, in use during the winter. The "Clearances" took two directions.[16] The majority of the people seem to have lost their common grazings. In Kilmuir, according to several informants, they were left with only one small area of hill. Glendale suffered from the same policy. Many of the tenants were removed from their township, by force or persuasion. To be exact, no fewer than sixty-two townships were cleared by the end of this period.[17] The evicted crofters were left to their own devices to reclaim a piece of the open moor, settled in existing townships, or banished from the island. In the area immediately to the north of Portree, forty crofters and

[16]For details on the "Clearances," see Alexander Mackenzie, The History of the Highland Clearances (Inverness: A. and J. Mackenzie, 1883), pp. 1-4.

[17]Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars of the Highlands and Islands (Edinburgh: Queen's Printer, 1884), Appendix A, p. 1. Hereafter, Report of Commissioners. Although it is commonly referred to in Great Britain, see also Donald Macdonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, Sheets 9-11, 21-22.

eighty cottars in four townships were replaced by two shepherds brought in from the mainland.[18]

As the interests of the proprietors and their tacksmen had clashed at an earlier time, those of the landlords and their tenantry were now irreconcilably opposed. The appearance of the Land League in England has been described as being characterized by absentee landlords, pastoralism, and a decline in the rural population through death and migration.[19] A process which had begun three centuries earlier in England and which had reached the Scottish Borders two centuries earlier had at last become operative on Skye. Let us examine the effects of full scale commercialization on the Skyeman.

The effects are evident. Commercialization and the evictions, which were a necessary counterpart, prompted emigration and confined the people within narrow limits, often, on inferior land.[20] By 1865 it was possible to describe Skye as a quiet pastoral land, desolate and deserted.[21] The people had been pushed into a few isolated, badly subdivided townships. In Bracadale, the first parish to be fully commercialized, there were once thirty-six runrig farms; in 1872 there were six large grazing farms.[22] The bulk of the population, 922, were

[18]William MacDonald, Skye Township-Crofterdom and District (Glasgow: A. Sinclair and John Macleod, 1930), pp. 8-9.

[19]James Irving, The Land of Burns (Glasgow: Blackie, Son, Harrison Co., 1880), pp. 1-2. Quoted in Gordon Connell, The Land Question (London: Chatto and Windus, 1881) pp. 140-141. It is commonly referred to in Great Britain. See also Lachlan Macdonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, Sheets 9-11, 21-22.

quatters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families had enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[23] In one Glendale township, Holmisdale, some crofts of from on acres had as many as fifteen people to support.[24] Part of this extreme congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing one's croft when a child married. Although the population in 1831 had fallen to 17,660, from 23,054 in 1841, almost every township had two or three times the number of families which had lived in them in 1841.[25]

The loss of the summer shellings and the common grazings meant few could keep sheep.[26] The looms were silent. Since the rent could not be raised on the value of livestock and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all else, which the graziers' sheep did not eat, went to feed the cattle. The stills were all but idle. The people had to buy flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to have been newcomers with more associations with the graziers than the crofters and cottars. Milk became a luxurious commodity. Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unable to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They carried

[23]Ibid., p. 112.

[24]Alexander Macdonald, op. cit., p. 43-420.

[25]Smith, op. cit., p. 117; Commines, op. cit., p. 140; and Baxter Memoir, p. 13.

[26]See, for example, the loss of the income from the sheep as described in the Report of Commissioners, p. 1; Baxter Memoir, Appendix A, pp. 1-20.

the dung from the byre, the peats from the moor, and the cattle from the fields. When the land had been turned by ploughs, they poked themselves to a barrow. The crofters, in Kilmuir, as elsewhere, lost the right to the rivers for fish, to the moors for game, and to the coast for sea weed. The land became exhausted from over tillage. They had clung tenaciously to the old methods. Even if they could have obtained credit and could have broken with the ways of their forefathers, the fear of reckoning would have deterred them.

A degree of preciseness can be given to this general picture by comparing the arable acreage and stocking of Skye in 1810, the year grazing first appeared, and 1870. In 1810, 30,000 acres were listed as arable, either cultivated or susceptible to it; there were 18,000 cattle and 40,000 sheep. By 1870 no more than 8,383 acres were considered as arable; there were only 9,341 cattle, but there were 136,077 sheep. The magnitude of this change can be emphasized by adding the fact that there were less than 14,000 sheep on the Island at the turn of the century.[67]

The end of the shieling life brought an end to the traditional season for courting. Destitution forced a postponement of marriage and an absolute reduction in the number of marriages. As a natural consequence the birth rate declined. In the decade 1861-1870 the birth rate of Skye stood at 26.1 compared with 24.4 for Scotland.

[67] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 748, 754.

[68] Ibid., II, 553; III, 247; IV, 131; XVI, 148, 225, 537; XVIII, 184.

sufficiently to make age controls an irresistible force, the prestige status of the small number of the "elect," those who had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the elders gave them complete control over all social and religious activity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about these facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now is that the religious patterns provided a framework in which the culture could find continuity and through which the society could achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like customs resulted in a change of content, but there were positive results as well. Above all, there was a change in focus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in clan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a kneeling religious brotherhood.

Summary. The third period of the modern phase of Skye's culture history saw the culmination of the process of commercialization of the land. All the influences necessary for the conversion of the subsistence economy, albeit a much deteriorated economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming, on a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy. Newcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved methods of land utilization were replacing the conservative and impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial farmers consolidated their holdings, the communal townships were being obliterated. The concept of individual possession of the land was replacing the customary rights of the small tenants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

crofter pays only half of the assessment, which is based on rental value, and he is granted an additional benefit by having the land devalued seven-eighths for purposes of taxation. The majority pay £3 a year, or less, in rent, and, with a rateable value of 5s. or less, between 1s and 2s in taxes annually. Many pay no taxes.

On his small plot of land the crofter has his cottage. Here we find another rather unique interpretation of the laws of land tenure. Although the crofter is an occupier of the land, he is the owner of his dwelling. If he or one of his ancestors did not build the house, frequently with a grant and/or loan from the government, he will have paid "compensation" to his landlord for the dwelling upon accepting occupancy. Should he, at any time, relinquish his right to the croft, the crofter, in turn, will be entitled to full "compensation" for the value of the improvements on the holding as determined by the Land Court. The crofter's home is not entered on the county valuation roll and, therefore, is not subject to assessment.

In addition to the land under crops and improved grass, the crofter's rent entitles him to a share in the unimproved township grazing lands which are held in common and used under a system of allocation known as "souming." In each township, the collection of individual holdings, the crofters elect a grazing clerk and committee. They determine the number of cattle, sheep, and horses the individual is allowed to put out to graze. Usually each crofter has an equal share, but in

some townships the large crofter is given an allocation in proportion to his rent. The payment of his rent also entitles the crofter to gather seaweed along the coast for fertilizer and to cut peat for fuel on the common grazing or in special peat areas. In a number of townships he has a further right to pasture his rams in a "tup park" and his horses in a "horse park." These are lowlying areas of improved pasture. There is the general picture.

There are three important exceptions to the typical means of land tenure. Although the crofter is an occupier of the land, he is the owner of his dwelling. If he or one of his ancestors did not build the house, frequently with a grant and/or loan from the government, he will have paid "compensation" to his landlord for the dwelling upon accepting occupancy. Should he, at any time, relinquish his right to the croft, the crofter, in turn, will be entitled to full "compensation" for the value of the improvements on the holding as determined by the Land Court. The crofter's home is not entered on the county valuation roll and, therefore, is not subject to assessment.

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here of turnips. All of the oats and a large share of the potatoes and turnips are used to feed the cattle during the late winter and early spring. Some crofters, by no means all, have a small kitchen garden for cabbage, onions, and other vegetables. Usually, at least half the croft is left under grass, part of which is cut for hay. After all the people in the township have finished their harvest, on a day set by the grazing committee, the individual holdings in all but thirty of the townships are opened to communal use as winter grazings.[8] It might be added that the sheep and cattle often find the village of Portree a very lucrative pasture. It is not only the grass which entices the cows. More than one villager has had a tug-of-war with a cow bent on devouring clothes off the line. Another favorite food for the cattle is coal. As one man in the Braes said: "Ee burn half the coal; the cows eat the rest."

The Value of the Croft

What does a croft mean to the Gaelic? In terms of everyday economics, there can be no simple answer. For a few, probably no more than fifty families, the sale of cattle, sheep, and wool provides an ample income. The families are able to obtain the necessities of life and enjoy a comparatively high standard of living. The majority live on crofts which cannot begin to support a solitary individual. Expecting little more

[7] T. Fraser Darling, G. C. Hayes, and Averil Worley, "The Agricultural Situation," The West Highland Survey, F. F. Darling et al. (mimeographed, 1952), Part V, pp. 1-13.

[8] Ibid.

stock grown for local household consumption and export but also the subsidies and grants provided by the national government. I hesitate to add that it is impossible to estimate accurately the specific contribution of crofting to the economy of Skye. There is no available means of distinguishing the status of crofter from that of farmer in the annual returns of crops and stock or in the applications of farmers and crofters for subsidies and grants. Before getting down to pounds and shillings, we say find a brief digression to review the acreages of land devoted to crop and stock raising and the yields to be expected helpful in our attempt to understand the many problems under which the Skyemen labors.

The total area of Skye is approximately 447,000 acres. Of this area, 422,412 acres were classified, in 1953, as rough grazing.[7] The land under cultivation, excluding grasses, was only 3,254 acres. There were 6,258 acres of grass intended for use as hay and 12,339 acres of permanent grass or improved pasture. The remainder, about 2,500 acres, was unclassified.

The stock, in 1953, was 1608 dairy cows and heifers, 8,108 cattle, 143,422 sheep, 41,888 fowls, 436 horses, and 319 pigs.[8] The dairy cows are mainly beef breeds which give a low yield of milk. The sheep are primarily the hardy blackface variety but some crofters have cheviots, which produce a finer wool. For each sheep there are about three acres of grazing

[7] Agricultural Returns, June 4, 1953, Department of Agriculture for Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland (in the files of the Department). These figures include adjacent small isles.

[8] Ibid.

If May is considered a busy month, June duties are even more pressing. Although the winter sales are over, the rainfall has begun to increase. A succession and variety of demands are made on the crofter's time. Once again the sheep must be brought down to the "fank." This time the purpose is to mark the lambs. The males, unless one or two healthy specimens are selected for future use as rams, are castrated and smeared with a dye to indicate their ownership. The females are smeared and have their ears cut to signify both ownership and age. Like the dipping, this operation requires the cooperation of the crofter and his family, the neighbors, and hired hands. Next the sheep without lambs are dipped once again and given a dose of medicine for liver flukes and a variety of diseases. At the same time, the early hay and, perhaps, the early potatoes are ready for harvesting. The end of June brings the Highland Wool Fair in Inverness. If he has Cheviot sheep, as most crofters do, the man must go to arrange for their wintering on the milder and drier east coast. Although Cheviots produce a finer wool than the more common Blackface sheep, they do not stand up to the incessant wind and rain of a Skye winter. If his wife can leave the children behind, she will accompany her husband. The old function of the Fair, the sale of wool, has disappeared under government price control legislation.

It is not unusual to take the early harvest delayed until July, but even then the mowing may have to wait because the sheep must come first. On one of the dry days during the first

wool must be packed for shipment. As November ends the rams are put out with the flock.

Winter is a slow season for men, but it is not an idle season. The cattle must be fed. The man fetches oats or hay from his stacks and some turnips or potatoes from his storage pits and carries the feed on his back to his cattle on the hill. Very rarely does he keep them in a byre because to do so he would lose the government subsidy on hill cattle. Although the sheep are now free from pests and most diseases, he must continue to periodically walk the hill to check their condition. Very few bother to feed the sheep in winter. Another task is the butchering of a few sheep. While not quite legal until last year, one crofter justified his activity by asking, "What would we eat if we didn't kill our sheep?" Once in a while, he may also kill a steer, but unless several families share the meat, salt beef becomes rather monotonous.

The crofter's wife keeps busy all winter. Her routine, broken by helping at the fank a half dozen times a year and with the harvest, continues through all seasons. As far as the actual work on the croft goes, she milks the cows, feeds the poultry, and cultivates her garden. When she is not cleaning the house, cooking meals, making butter or cheese, caring for the children, or looking after her husband's needs, she knits. She also does the shopping, either from a food van or on a weekly visit to Portree. Men are as disinclined to shop as they are to wash dishes.

175
233
342

GROUND PLANS OF SHIELINGS

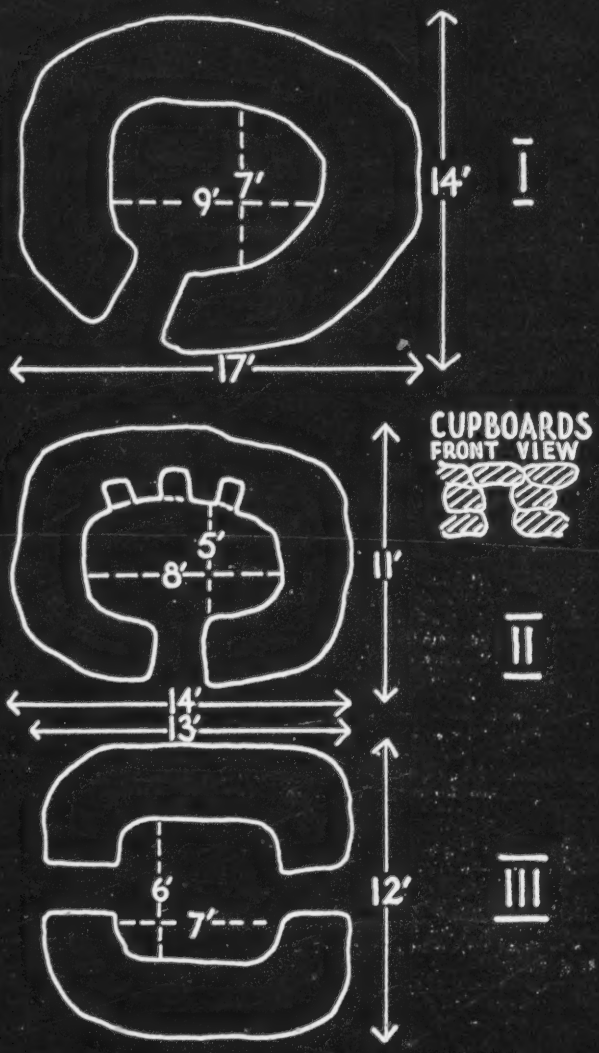

Fig. 10

/facing p. 39/

Table XIX summarises the population structure and trends for the four districts. It is significa that the two districts without service centres, which provide a range of ancillary employment, have experienced more severe depopulation since 1939. This table also underlines the fact that earnings from seasonal employment are insufficient: the incidence of permanent employment furth of the districts is three times as great as the incidence of seasonal employment.

APPENDIX B

SHIELINGS - A NOTE

John E. Wearmouth with illustrations by Beth Blowers

From Figure 1, compiled from the First Edition six-inch map of the Ordnance Survey (1850 to 1852) and from personal observations, it is clear that the shieling system was at one time an overall feature of Park for the whole peninsula has traces of this transhumant economy.

The rudimentary structures, some of turf, others of stones and roofed with bracken or heather thatch, are all sited on well drained sites, the majority on mounds. Almost all the sites are close to lochs or streams. The majority are in loose groups of from two to nine buildings, although there are some in isolation; no site has as many as twenty-six buildings as found at Airidh na Gaoithe in North Uist.

There appears to be two distinctive shapes of building - oval and rectangular (Fig.10). All shielings measured exhibited a remarkable similarity in dimensions, from 17½ by 9 feet to 13 by 12 feet. The oval structures are generally larger than the rectangular ones. Most of the shielings had two entrances, often, but not always, opposite each other.

The shieling system died out in Park about 1880 but the cattle continued to graze around the shielings on the better grass, and the crofters had still to go out to milk the cattle at the shieling, although they no longer lived there. The sheep still use the mounds for shelter and grazing. These features of an obsolete economy are still easily recognisable from the luxuriant grass cover in a wilderness of peat bog and bare rock.

APPENDIX C

NORSE SETTLEMENTS NAMES IN NORTHERN PARK, LEWIS

Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt.

See: Magne Oftedal, The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides; in Norsk Tidskrift for Sprogvidenskap, vol. XVII, 1954, (Oslo), pp. 363 ff.

Professor Oftedal points out the difficulties of these Norse-Gaelic settlement names: inaccurate spellings even in modern times, and lack of any useful evidence from older sources, make almost all the derivations a matter of conjecture. Sometimes two or more ON equivalents are possible (e.g. for Calbost), sometimes no satisfactory solution can be found (e.g. for Lemreway). Since Professor Oftedal frequently bases his explanation on pronunciations not recorded in written forms, his evidence is largely followed here.
SHIELDERNISH: the second element is N nes, 'headland'. Oftedal's explanation of the first as silda, genitive plural of N síld, 'herring', is satisfactory linguistically, but seems unlikely in meaning.

Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than teen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of is increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with e war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers d already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 eeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of e year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November e gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft undaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encoura- d to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky, terlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 eep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically over- ocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally st sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far om profitable.

It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his mily with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still es a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less an half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between ese ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on e Eishken estate.

As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available cupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44 e permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third e seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in omestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist eir families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home, gether with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued eadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is ly one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it. ater supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a lephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last ecade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it rves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles stant.

Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of con- estion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the tuation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on oldings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, rinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

[Orinsay]

The future existence of the common pasture for grazing is being seriously endangered by overstocking. The souming is not enforced in Orinsay and the actual sheep stock exceeds the soum by 300 per cent. Peat-cutting is gradually destroying valuable grazing areas; in the last three years there has even been some peat cutting on the better grazing on the island. The dangers both of overstocking and of indiscriminate peat cutting cannot be overstressed.

No evidence was seen of attempts to improve the quality of the common pasture. The establishment of shelter belts would provide not only shelter but a means of stopping the peat from 'slumping' down slopes if they were carefully sited. Much of the common pasture could be improved by a hill drainage scheme and by re-seeding, after sanding and liming, a project well within the capacity of the resident labour force.

Good crops on a few of the crofts suggest that the land is not inherently sterile, however, and it would seem that if the holdings were reduced to a maximum of four, an economic existence might be feasible on these crofts. The stony nature of the soil limits the possibilities of tractor cultivation, but with an improvement in drainage, one might be used in the two valleys.

It is not so easy to be optimistic about the employment of surplus population resulting from such an enlargement of holdings, although a revival in the fishing industry could absorb most of the men. A present there are no looms in Orinsay and providing the Harris tweed industry can hold its own, there are possibilities in weaving. Seaweed is in plentiful supply, indeed Lemreway people also obtain supplies and should its quality prove adequate, the establishment of a processing plant would provide valuable employment.

Nevertheless it is becoming increasingly obvious that unless the holdings can be enlarged, whether officially or by sub-letting, and some further employment created, Orinsay is liable to stagnate, and depopulation to continue. The township which was developed to relieve congestion is now itself congested.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the Glasgow University Department of Geography Crofting Survey is to record and analyse material relevant to the crofting districts, and in so doing provide a clear and impartial statement of the present situation. In inviting us to undertake a survey of Park, the Pairc Association hoped that a body of fact would be assembled and conclusions drawn which would assist the Association in their admirable aims of advancing the well-being of the area. Their two Progress Reports, of 1956 and 1957, indicate that they have already investigated many of the possibilities for development. This summary refers to Park alone, and, it must be emphasised that until the survey of crofting is completed, no final assessment of the Crofting Area as a whole can be made.

The district of Park is one of the more isolated and difficult crofting environments. The ruggedne of the terrain, the high proportion of land of very low agricultural value and sheer isolation make the existence of human communities precarious. In addition, many of the Park communities were first established as a result of population pressure in more favourable areas of Lewis, and the original small settlements grew rapidly as a result of a change in land use which was a national trend - the conversion of poorer areas from subsistence farming to an extensive sheep-rearing economy. The impact of this change came to Park in the form of the eviction of a large body of small farmers in favour of an extension of the grazing area. Thus the present conditions are a legacy of the relatively recent past, and of legislation, particularly in the Crofters' Act of 1886, which accepted, and tacitly agreed to the maintenance of a larger population than the land could reasonable carry[1]. Two World Wars and fluctuating economic factors have had repercussions in Park and resulted in a change in economic and social values, and depopulation has resulted: the 1951 population was 60 per cent of the 1911 total.

1. The Commissioners proposed that only holdings rented at £6 and over should have security of tenure, with a view to discouraging the perpetuation of grossly uneconomic holdings; in the Act, all holdings were given security of tenure.

[136] belief. Since agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years,
[137] the present tendency to use more and more of the land for grass
[138] and hay can be regarded as a more complete adjustment to the
environment. The partial involvement in the outside contractual
world encouraged and made possible the change. The mass
reasoning applies to stock production, including the declining
number of horses, cattle, and, especially, dairy cows. The
exports, obviously, reflect market demands. A couple of
[142] crofters have unsuccessfully tried market gardening. The
Kristabaugh is not a vegetable eater, and the commercial
establishments, apparently, find a more dependable supply
[144] elsewhere. A few crofters do sell potatoes in Portree, but
[145] they will not compete with the large, east coast potato
[146] farmer. In 1953, as soon as the price fell below the pre-
season high, the crofters decided it was not worth the trouble
[147] to dig the tubers for sale. The same held true for eggs.
[148] Many crofters barter eggs with the food vans which serve the
[149] rural areas for tea and meat. When the Scottish market was
glutted in the summer of 1953, the crofters refused to trade
at lower prices. They preferred to obtain their protein from
the eggs, believing that the spring egg prices were the fair
prices. For the sake of emphasis, I repeat, the involvement
[154] of the Kristabaugh in the world of commerce is only partial.
Finally, in accounting for these changing economic trends,
the aged and the absentee crofter must be taken into account.
[157] The old people frequently cannot work their crofts or
[158] cannot use them fully. The age at which the work becomes too

234

234 DAIRYING--milking; handling and processing of milk; manufacture of butter and cheese; dairy equipment; special care of dairy animals; creameries; specialized distribution of milk products; organization and regulation of the dairy industry, etc. See also:

Ice cream manufacture	184	Dairy machine	427
Cows	385	Milk inspections	744
Butter	243		

[233] usually an old woman, as the women were responsible for
[887] the milking, and the old men were usually fishing around
[462] the village.

[233] "We left for the shelling early in the morning,
[512] taking bed clothes and food. I walked out with my aunt,
who went back home in the morning. My mother came out
with the provisions in the evening. If no one came out
[513] that day, I went to sleep with someone else. You never
slept alone. During the day we fished for trout or
gathered small blackberries; or we looked for the nests
of grouse and other birds. You would knit or read, and
walk for miles to visit friends. The boys swam in the
loch, and sometimes the girls pinched their clothes.
From the top of the hills you could see Stornoway, the
hills of Lochs, Uig and the lighthouse in Ness; on some
days you could see the distant hills of Caithness on the
mainland. It's on the shelling that I learned about
other parts of the island.

"I remember watching the sun and trying to will it
[512] to stay high in the sky, before our mothers came out from
[233] the village to milk in the evening. They called the
[234] cattle--'Troit, troit, troit'--and they carried the milk
every day from the shelling to the village, all those
miles. The cattle knew their own shellings; sometimes

[512] the cattle
[233] knew their own shellings; sometimes
[235] they came back before milking time and stuck their heads
[233] inside. They stood outside the shelling at night, and
that's how you can tell where a shelling once was, even
though the walls have fallen, by the rich green grass.
Calves were born during the summer. A hollow was scooped
[233] out in the peat, and lined with turf and moss. People
[422] had as many as four or five cows. It was like Switzerland,
only we didn't have the bells on the cows. There was lots
[192] of milk, fresh thick cream and crowdie (clotted sour
[242] milk); the old people knew how to make cheese.
[234]

[233] "The moor was very eerie at night, with the sound of
[221] the birds. There were only a few hours of darkness
[238] anyway, and I'm sure we didn't get much sleep, but somehow
[513] we were always fresh. It was the air, the moor air is
more health-giving. The air is different there. Ill
people benefited from the change. Sometimes a person
with TB would stay out there all summer. The air is heavy
by the sea.

[805] "There was no sense of time the way there is today.
[233] If you got lost in the snow or fog, you followed the cows
[231] home. You had all summer to take home the peats, to work
[239] the croft, to harvest the corn. There wasn't a world,
[78] there was only ourselves. That has changed since the war.

[233] "You got away from village life when you went to
[239] the shelling. The youngsters ran wild. Everyone talked
more freely somehow. It didn't feel like a Sunday out
[233] there--the minister couldn't see that far. Only the
[233] young men and women in their late teens or 20's were out
at the weekends. They would send the younger ones home.
They came out in their good clothes, from Saturday night
to Monday morning. Groups of young people walked out and
[192] brought back the girls in one group and the boys in
[242] another, joking and teasing. They sang the old songs and
[533] learned new ones from each other. Some were good at
making up songs. You wouldn't believe how many people
could sleep together in a single shelling. It was a
[829] heaven on earth. Everybody was one family. The hills
were filled with the sound of voices."

[233] Not every family in the village went to the shellings.
Some families had enough land within the township to graze
their cattle. But they usually went out at the weekends,
for the fun and company.

[237] One of the most important products of the cow was
[241] not milk but dung, which was used to keep the poor land
productive. Because people did not have the enriched
[233] animal feeds available today, a cow might not have a calf,
[234] and thus did not give milk, for four or five years.

[231] People kept several cattle, some of which were dry most
[234] of the time. But because everyone was keeping cattle,
[244] milk could be gotten from a neighbor. One man was
[244] planting eight or nine hundredweights of potatoes before
the war, some of which would be used to feed the livestock.
[511] "You couldn't buy milk then, so you had to keep a cow.
[239] And even though people were weaving, they weren't getting
[231] so much money as they are now. It was the barter system
[239] here for a long time. So they didn't have the money to
[237] buy feeding stuff. It was better to spend the time
[194] planting potatoes. Now of course there's more money in
the weaving."

[175] After the war, an act was passed which provided free
[172] milk for schoolchildren. Milk for the Shawbost school
[244] was supplied by a farm near Stornoway, and villagers first
[192] started buying the milk from the school milk van. A strike
[175] held by weavers during the war had increased the payments
[176] for weaving, and the barter system had stopped. More
[228] money was available. As the loom was more profitable,
[243] more people stopped keeping cows, and relied on their
[237] neighbors for milk, or got their milk from the van bringing
[231] milk to the school. And as the cattle got fewer, the
[198] market for bottled milk expanded. A dairy was started on
[231] the west side of the island in the mid-1950's which carries
[254] milk from Uig to Ness.

[178] The number of cattle diminished as milk became
[231] available by other means; and when the township reseeding
[233] schemes came into existence, the need to go to the
[175] shellings for an "early bite" was removed. The shellings
[242] that remain in use today are huts of tin, wood and
concrete within easy walking distance from the highway,
used on weekends and during summer holidays. Most of
these modern shellings are close to Stornoway, and serve
as summer retreats for the relatively married urban
[194] dwellers such as publicans. On the west side, the
shellings are no longer used, but remain as a theme of
songs and in nostalgic memories.

G. The Loom

[175] Clo Mor, the big cloth, was woven in the Highlands
[226] and Islands for hundreds of years. Martin Martin,
who travelled through the Outer Hebrides in the late 17th
century, describes the export of "plaiding," and the
practice of washing or shrinking the woven length of
cloth (Martin 1716). Weaving was done on wooden looms,
and produced only for local markets until the middle of
the 19th century.

[121] By the middle of the 19th century, the failure of
[195] the kelp industry, decline of fishing, and destruction

[175] During a huge snow-fall that occurred on 126
[26] Lands in the 1950's, the mobile grocery vans and other
[132] supply vehicles could not come out to the west side,
[143] and a group of men had to make an expedition into town
for provisions, after which many families made certain
that they always had a good supply of meal, salted
mackerel and herring. Many villagers have gotten deep
[144] freezers to store beef and mutton; others say they do
[145] not trust the freezers, that a failure in electricity--
which occasionally happens in this region of gales and
far-away repairmen--would bring disaster if they depended
[45] fully on them for keeping their meat. When the tweed
[226] industry is going through one of its periodic depressions,
more men go out more often to fish. "I've been going
out every night for the last week or so. I don't have
a tweed, and I won't have one for the next six weeks.
I don't know what I'm going to do; maybe I'll go back to
sea. Three of us caught one hundred mackerel last
[251] night. I salted my share, and didn't give any of them
away. These are the hard times. We're going to need
them during the next six weeks."

[233] A few people raise beef cattle, depending largely
[234] on subsidies for encouragement to do so. A few are
[234] beginning to keep cows again for milk, giving as their
[192] reasons that freight charges make the bottled milk too
[243] [243] [248]

costly, that the Common Market will soon drive up milk prices, and that income from the weaving has become too uncertain.

Many tools and techniques associated with crofting have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (two pieces of wood joined with leather); the sheepskin stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate chaff and grain; rope made of plaited heather and straw. Each spring the byre was cleaned of its accumulated dung and urine, and this was turned into the ground along with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be mobilised under changed conditions, as when alternatives to crofting are no longer available or are too costly. However, the longer crofting is neglected, the less it will provide an alternative strategy. "The artificial fertilisers are ruining the land; that's why the turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and streams—rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep—the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather work the land than the blinkin' loon, but we tried the potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

far as the reclamation of arable land from moorland was concerned, however, requiring as it did under-draining and cultivation, the labour costs were heavy, approaching the £20 per acre mark including the liming and fertilizing.

Though the farm was used for dairying with some reasonable results, the moorland acres put into good heart at Arnish were left to deteriorate. The run-down of the experiment followed the depression of 1933. Funds dried up, and in 1939 the farm was let to a tenant. But the lesson obtained from the MacAulay farm was a good one. By simple but hard work, and by using which large quantities are available on the shore-lands, applying some form of phosphate and seeding with cheap clover or ryegrass—involving no cultivation—large areas of moorland can be persuaded to do a good job. The work at present being undertaken by crofters to improve moorland grazing is worth mention. Areas of land have been given a surface application of approved compound fertilizers, phosphates, lime or shell sand, and selected grass-seed mixtures. The results are literally a sight for sore eyes, and bring Alexander Smith's 'green, pastoral land' close to realisation. Although individual crofters have taken advantage of the help given to regenerate rough grazings, the most spectacular results have been seen on the township common grazings; most of these have been fenced off and improved. Today, something like 14,000 acres of lush green pastures are steadily spreading over deep peat where formerly grew only sedges and brown heather.

To end this aspect of land use in Lewis on a historical note, the story of re-seeding had its beginnings during the time of the Napoleonic Wars. A minister who had some land at Barvas, on the west coast of the island, decided to attempt the reclamation of useless heather-bound and bracken-choked land. He sanded the area with shell sand, seeded it with a good strain of grass and sheep to tamp in the seed. One can imagine what Lewis would be like today if the Barvas minister's work had been followed up by Alexander Smith and those who set up the farm at Arnish.

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for mutton and for wool, the right type for translation into Harris Tweed; the predominant breed is the blackface, whose fleece is hard, wiry and long-lasting. The demand for raw wool has also encouraged larger flocks among crofters in such places as Barra, where virtually no weaving is done in the immediate locality. In general there has been since 1911 a 40 per cent increase in the livestock carried on the island's crofts, about twice as big a rise as found anywhere in the seven crofting counties of Scotland.

In an attempt to reduce Lewis's milk imports, in 1962 three crofters at Garrabost on the Eye Peninsula combined to set up a small dairy farm using the lands of their three crofts. A new dairy byre and dairy premises were built and equipped with the necessary electrical equipment. Grants were given by the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland, the Crofters Commission, and the Highland Fund Limited. The first year of operation was closely supervised by the Lands staff of the Department at Stornoway and guidance given as necessary. The milk is retailed in Stornoway and district and supplied to about 5 per cent of Lewis's daily consumption. This little scheme has shown that the island could with some organised effort become independent of milk imports, which have been estimated at upwards of £100,000 worth per annum. Over £70,000 per annum is also spent on imported butter and cheese.

In 1917 the number of crofts in Harris and Lewis was 4,020. In 1971 the figure was 4,146 (3,592 being in Lewis), representing a slight increase in a quarter of a decade. Thus, crofting as a land use activity in the island provides a fairly stable element in the economy, although it is subsidised by the crofters' participation in the Harris Tweed industry. Other activities, it should be mentioned, is often a tenant of more than one croft, working them together as a unit. These units vary in size, the greatest bulk of them (about 60 per cent) having up to 5 acres of arable land. About 5 per cent contain over 30 acres of arable land. In recent years there have been proposals for the better use of the reclaimed moorland, particularly for cattle-raising, which would offer the crofter an increased cash yield from his interests. The annual reports of the Crofters Commission indicate, indeed, that the trend to the small croft obtained from the fragmentation

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which is about half a mile wide, and its narrowest, cleared by strong tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter, rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides; the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser population at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was severely limited by the paucity of good land available for tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict the range and quality of crops grown.

Scarp originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access to good pasture on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1825 thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Seaforth, Harris, and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate their families and friends from elsewhere. In 1861 the population was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951 it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat, plying between two stone-built jetties.

The local economy was essentially a subsistence one, with self-sufficiency in such products as potatoes, turnips, cabbages, oats, milk and fish. After a break of some years lobster-fishing has recently been resuscitated as an occupation. Oil lamps are the only lighting, though a few houses have piped water. The small shop

Cattle are kept on 162 of the 219 units; in all there are 180 cows of three years and over, 47 young cattle, and 7 bulls. The usual practice is to mate the cattle, and sell them as cows as they qualify for the calf subsidy, the sale of which—only in one of the reasons for this practice. The breeds of cattle are mainly the black-and-white Aberdeen Angus with a few Highland cattle. The other function of the cow is to provide milk for the crofter's family, and to provide a low cash income on blood sales. The cattle are kept on the twice-yearly market held at Gerrynesk, but prices fluctuate greatly. The township of Park certainly do not carry a full complement of cattle.

Sheep are more important than cattle in the crofting economy in Park. The breed is the Lewis Blackface; a small, lighter type of the Scottish Blackface breed. The sheep are pastured on the common grazings in summer, and are grazed on the croft land in winter. The standard of the sheep is not high, and the crofters do not generally pay much attention to breeding, the priority so all stocks mingle freely on the commons. The lambing percentages for 1958 was about 90 per cent, the amount surviving to August compared to the total ewes stock was 54 per cent, and the lambing percentage for the year 1958 was 2 per year. A further indication of the quality of the sheep is that the average fleece weight was 3½ ounces, and the average sale price was 18 shillings. The sheep are kept for wool, for lambs, for mutton and for sale, and prices can be partly ascribed to the lack of good grazing and to overgrazing. The sheep are kept on the common grazings in summer, and are given a special ration of concentrates to accustom them to the unfamiliar food. The sheep are kept on the crofts in winter

e who do not do their full share. 000

The year for the part-time crofter begins with the prepa- 221 241
on of his fields. As a general rule both the man who spends
winter working for the British Railways or away at sea, and
one who finds summer employment near home is found on his
t during this period. Following the example of the large
ter some use a tractor while others continue to plough by
e. More and more are tending to take advantage of the con-
ting service of the Department of Agriculture and hire a
tor and driver. Once the crops are in, the majority are
until the lambing season. Conservative in his belief 221 233 [232]
too much handling of the sheep is harmful or individually
d with the almost prohibitive task of singling a small
k out of several hundred sheep, he tends to omit the March
ing. During the lambing season, the several crofters of [474]
township either take turns on the hill or hire a shepherd.
first chore, then, which brings them together as a group
he marking of the lambs and the first dipping of the sheep
out lambs. The July shearing and the statutory dips in [476]
st and November are cooperative ventures shared by all
ters no matter what size croft they occupy.

In sundry ways, economic interests, judged in terms of 231 432
ercial efficiency, play a smaller part in determining the
omic cycle of the part-time crofter than in the case of the
-time crofter. The part-time crofter does not think it
h while to ship his few head of stock to the mainland
ion markets. He sells them locally at the tri-annual sales.

lambing season, the crofter and his family go out on the moor 221 241 314 [4 12]
to cut their peat for the following winter. The man uses a
"tusker," a two-bladed spade, to cut the peat. His wife or
his children follow behind, tossing the peats out of the ditch
and building small, loose stacks for drying. After the lambs
have been marked and the sheep dipped in June and the shearing
finished in July, the family returns to the banks to carry
the peats to the nearest road, actually a beaten cart path,
in creels. They are then carted home and stacked near the door.
There is a growing tendency for both the part-time and spare- 341 178
time crofter to give up cutting peat. It is not because coal 241 [464]
is cheaper or he needs time for other pressing chores. His
auxiliary occupation will not permit his devoting the necessary
time to this long and arduous task. He is caught between the
traditional economic patterns and the money economy of which
he has become a part.

The year for our part-time crofter, as for all active 221
crofters ends in November. By then the oat and hay harvest has [241] [341] [232] [233]
been stacked by the house and the potatoes and turnips stored
in the ground, the wool shipped off to market, the surplus
sheep and cattle have gone to market, and the rams are on the
hill. Now follows a period of enforced idleness, broken by
feeding the cattle. As we have seen many go away to find [464]
employment, leaving the care of the croft to their wives who [593]
have shared the work of crofting in addition to their own
womanly responsibilities. We must turn to the spare-time [462]
crofter to discover just how heavy the burden of labor may
depend upon the women of Skye.

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

The maximum is harder to determine, economically. There is some limit to the number who can stock a common grazing with individually owned stock without becoming involved in complicated entanglements over right, obligations, and questions of ownership. The few townships containing more than thirty crofts in the Western Highlands (91 out of 957),[13] and the negligible number on Skye (only ten), suggests that less than thirty holdings per township, no matter how much fertile land surrounds the cluster, has been found to be the optimum. Most of the townships contain between five and twenty crofts. The fact that many large, adjacent townships, such as Borneskettaig in Kilmuir and all those in the Braes, are losing their population is a reflection of a many faceted condition we have been exploring throughout this chapter--the vast majority of the crofts are too small to provide an adequate livelihood. One of the primary causes for this state of affairs would seem to be overcrowding on the land.

Congestion. In almost all but the recently established or replanned townships, congestion is a legacy of the increase in population during the first century of the modern period, often aggravated by coerced subdivision during the period of the "Clearances." Because of this, over-all statistics have little meaning. It is quite correct to say there are some 2300 crofts on Skye and approximately 2200 crofters, but this does not mean each family has a croft to itself. To take

[13] Ibid., table 1.

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

Township Government. The township system has another marked influence on the economy of the Sgiathanach. By far the largest obstacle in the path of reform is the persistence of primitive democracy, distinguished from the democracy of Western Civilization by the requirement of unanimous consent rather than majority rule. The individual who comes to realize that it is possible to improve on the ways his father did things is deterred from attempting to introduce innovations. He cannot, for example, erect a fence around his croft unless everyone in his township approves such a departure from tradition. The dissenting voice of one old man is sufficient to thwart any plan. Unanimous decisions on all township affairs mean that the most progressive worker must keep pace with the most conservative. This fact goes a long way in explaining the essential agricultural disharmony of Skye, and most of the Highlands, with the rest of Great Britain. It is also a singular example of the incomplete adaptation of the culture to the higher socio-cultural organization.

When coupled with the many limitations on the economy, township government helps the outsider to understand why many younger crofters feel that the primary value of their few arable acres is their use as pasture. Even in townships which have been fenced, the prevailing practice is to open the crofts after the harvest. All winter long the stock is free to graze where it will. "My arable is no use at all, except to winter my sheep," said one young crofter. Another asserted, "I have three crofts and the use of one more, but it's not

orth while to cultivate any of the arable, so I use it for 626 632
razing." A case which aptly illustrates the influence of 621 233
he township system as an agent of conservatism is the breeding 231
f pigs. Although several old crofters told me how many 779
eople during the times of the "Clearances" kept a pig, they 183 632
re rarely found anywhere in the Highlands today. The Biblical 621 626
njunction against the flesh of swine has been taken literally.
he older people simply have a strong aversion to handling
igs. One man, a very successful cattle and sheep breeder,
ut it this way: "Pigs are filthy brutes. I just don't
ant to touch them -- I never have kept any and never will."
t the same time, there are men who believe that the prices
hese animals bring at the mainland markets more than compen-
ate for the individual's revulsion, especially as long as
he Ministry of Food pays for the cost of transportation.
hese men cannot try branching out because they have no way
o restrict the foraging animals. "Skye is ideal for pigs," one
oung fellow told me, "but I don't have the freedom to work
he croft to suit myself."

Smaller deviations from the traditional methods of land 621
e face the same difficulties. A progressive crofter who 632
tempts to improve the value of his stock by growing scientific 626 232
xtures of grasses is always penalized. As soon as the harvest 241 178
over, the stock of all his neighbors will show their ap-
eciation by concentrating on his croft, trampling his fields,
d overgrazing his grass. Nor is this his only penalty. His
ighbors will regard him with skepticism for his departure
rom the ways handed down from the past.

the economy by subjecting many fertile acres to disuse because of his infirmity. The other factor is the absentee tenant, an individual who has obtained possession of a croft, normally by inheritance, but who has failed to take up his inalienable rights of tenancy. Let us very briefly review the economic trends of the last fifty odd years and, then, try to assess the importance of the absent and the aged.

Although the Sgiathanach has refused to become a specialist, fully involved in a money economy, he has become increasingly dependent on the products of the wider commercial society. Long ago he gave up growing the old staples, barley and oats. Not for many years has he grown enough potatoes or turnips to feed himself and his cattle. In place of these home grown subsistence crops, he now imports a great deal of his food. In an average year Skye imports over 700 tons of bread, 10 tons of vegetables, 300 tons of canned goods, 300 tons of potatoes, 500 tons of flour, and 100 tons of milk. To pay for these products, he exports cattle, once his only marketable produce, and an ever increasing number of sheep.

Hance, writing about the Outer Hebrides, sees the growing tendency of the crofters to buy their food as indicative of an increasing cash income.[16] To a certain extent, this may be true. There are, however, additional factors involved. Ecological limitations have played their role. That the climate and soil together make Skye a grassland suitable for stock breeding rather than an island fit for cultivation is an often repeated

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[16] Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 82.

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogg
but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whole
[42] is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsga
Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hogg
on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hogg
[232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hoggs that are sent. The minister at Timsgarr
who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by
crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well;
the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local
crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant
upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked.
[23] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all cro
keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.[1]

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
175 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on
[361] each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grazed
are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Amhuinn Thoraghai
and Allt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this are
still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

464 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in
these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment.
228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen
frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port'
shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former
importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is
more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil
three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were
in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is
irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris
tweed industry.

464 Mitchels's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
916 ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present.
712 The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two
377 Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric shceme
466 site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the
particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks
and other necessary work.

* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

1. [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

TABLE VII

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS[1]: Parish of Lochs[2]

175
198
231
235
241
244
246
311
433

CROPS	1913	1920	1938	1947	1
Oats	487	383	879	757	
Bere	191	154	15	4	
Potatoes	455	772	330	239	
Sown Grass for Hay	1	26	124	78	
Sown Grass for Pasture	-	6	74	72	
Total Cultivation	1134	1341	1422	1150	
Permanent Grass for Hay	44	32	573	791	
Permanent Pasture	2650	2464	1041	1367	1
Others[3]	22	6	268	86	
TOTAL Crops and Grass:	3850	3843	3306	3394	3
STOCK:					
Horses	102	101	49	39	
Cattle	2489	1701	1412	1150	
Sheep[4]	9450 (3688)	9750 (3952)	23434 (9929)	29688 (14256)	39 (15
Poultry	?	?	8173	12302	8

1. By courtesy of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.
2. As Park is part of Lochs Parish, these are the only statistics available.
3. Roots (negligible acreage), fallow.
4. Figures in brackets are breeding ewes.

/p. 8-E/

[Caverata]

Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for winter grazing. Breeding ewes and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Dipping is not normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered, and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for black leg, braxy and louping ill, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third week of May.

The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep roum, but the overall stocking is only 88 per cent of the total souming. Two crofts only exceed their individual soums, while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuable for wintering the stoggs. Lewis Blackface sheep are the predominant breed and the wool, clipped in July, is sold to the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter house. The 1958 lost at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the growth of grass for the ewes. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early-born calves may be sold in the Autumn at six months old, those born later must be wintered to eight months until the Spring sales. The cows are served by the Department of Agriculture Highland bull at Habost, but although good prices are obtained for best cattle, it is felt that for the family milk supply, a dairy bull would produce a better strain.

In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. In most cases the land under each crop is less than half an acre and nowhere does it exceed two acres. The land has been built up into laybeds about six to ten feet wide, separated by open drainage channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor (hired from Habost) is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not altogether suitable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by marsh and steep faces of bare rock.

Neither Toristu nor Caverata is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the road near Crossbost. While the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and an inferior footpath joining the main road at Garryard. The lack of a good road within the dyke acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilisers. Byre manure is used on all the crofts and seaweed is brought from the shore and spread on the laybeds. Artificial manures, used on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. This lack of incentive to improve is perhaps even more marked by the fact that on one holding alone is a rotation of crops practised - potatoes, oats undersown with clover, then hay for three or four years. Apart from this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the same strips for many years. Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay and is often cut from laybeds that were formerly cultivated. On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridges can be seen to have a crescentic shape and are thought to date back more than one hundred years. A short distance beyond the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonised by heather.

Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch within the dyke, is cut on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and later brought home by creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens and all keep up to twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the larder,are also maintained.

In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Caverata and seven at Toristu. After 1881, when maximum figures of fifty-nine and nineteen were noted, there was a secondary peak in 1911 in Caverata, followed by a steady drop to twenty in 1951 and eighteen in 1958.

[Marivig]

There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five ewes and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of the croft, and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies sheared up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1950, thirty-nine (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is unmarred. There is no church in Marivig and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain and the other inhabited houses are built of stone covered with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron. All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply; rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus remain. Potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - if with refrigerated transport - and surplus meat from the mainland. Such developments, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (243-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the closer pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky, waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally not sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

There are now 65 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between the ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available occupation in the 'local trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 64 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home, together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity; only one house is without it. Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township has a telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles distance beyond.

Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of congestion. The self-same bills that provide shelter also restrict crofting, the crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginalin character, is heavily worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivable land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

/p. 35/

436 belief. Since agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years,
241 the present tendency to use more and more of the land for grass
233
439 and hay can be regarded as a more complete adjustment to the environment. The partial involvement in the outside contractual world encouraged and made possible the change. The same reasoning applies to stock production, including the declining number of horses, cattle, and, especially, dairy cows. The exports, obviously, reflect market demands. A couple of
246 crofters have unsuccessfully tried market gardening. The Sgiathanach is not a vegetable eater, and the commercial establishments, apparently, find a more dependable supply
436 elsewhere. A few crofters do sell potatoes in Portree, but
241 they will not compete with the large, east coast potato
432 farmer. In 1953, as soon as the price fell below the pre-season high, the crofters decided it was not worth the trouble
437 to dig the tubers for sale. The same held true for eggs.
436 Many crofters barter eggs with the food vans which serve the
235 rural areas for tea and meat. When the Scottish market was glutted in the summer of 1953, the crofters refused to trade at lower prices. They preferred to obtain their protein from the eggs, believing that the spring egg prices were the fair prices. For the sake of emphasis, I repeat, the involvement of the Sgiathanach in the world of commerce is only partial. Finally, in accounting for these changing economic trends, the aged and the absentee crofter must be taken into account.

The old people frequently cannot work their crofts or
397
241 cannot use them fully. The age at which the work becomes too

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236 WOOL PRODUCTION--specialised raising of sheep and other animals for wool; dipping; shearing; combing and carding; special equipment and apparatus; personnel and organization; etc. See also:
Textile manufacture . . . . . 38 Tools and apparatus 41

198 purposes, to a community which, as an agricultural
311 entity, requires transfusions from the larger society,
is accompanied by patterns of specialization and
individuation. The following table (Table III) of
agricultural statistics for the parish of Barvas
demonstrates the change, over the past 100 years,
from intensive subsistence agriculture to specialized
production. From a broad-based subsistence use of
the croft (as revealed by the number of acres cultivated
for barley, potatoes and oats; and by the number of
cattle, especially milk cows), there emerges a tendency
[231] toward specialized production. The number of sheep,
• [236] which require less attention than cattle, has increased
241 since the late 1920's when the weaving of Harris Tweed
[246] commenced in earnest; and around this time there also
occurs a differentiation in cultivation, between the
production of barley and potatoes (used largely for human
consumption) and the production of oats (used largely for
feeding livestock). After 1931 agricultural returns
[221] began to distinguish between beef and dairy cattle.
During the past ten years the number of beef cattle in
the parish of Barvas has increased.

241 An important factor which crofters on Lewis now
654 take into account when making decisions about their
[See p.ix--Analyst]

288 developed from the concentration of power in the hands
195 of the merchants. In the early days of the industry,
441 all the processes involved in the production of a
286 finished length of tweed were carried out by individual
• 236 families. A man used wool from his own flock, and with the
438 aid of other family members, dyed it with vegetable dyes,
175 carded and spun it by hand, wove it, washed and shrunk
[386] it, and found his own buyer. Dyeing wool, spinning yarn,
286 and washing ("waulking") the finished length of tweed
236 was usually done by women. In Harris, the entire process
175 of producing a tweed was carried out by women, but in
462 Lewis the weaving was done largely by men.

A woman in her 80's recalls the process of weaving
175 when she was young. Hand-spinning had died out by this
286 time, although the question of whether tweeds woven with
such yarn could legitimately be called Harris Tweed was
not resolved until 1934.

"About 1916 or so it took about two weeks to a month
175 to do a tweed. You bought the wool from the Agricultural
283 Board. Sixteen bags of wool, costing about L20, would
[435] do four tweeds. You needed four one-stone bags per
[433] tweed. Then you would spend a day gathering a bag of
[389] crotal (lichen scraped from rocks and used for dye). One
[824] bag per one bag of wool was required for the dye. After

175 dyeing the wool it was spread out, dried and sent to
283 Stornoway to be made into yarn. The yarn was then sent
175 back, and the weaver wove and washed it. About six women
284 were required to do the waulking (the process by which
[462] the cloth was washed and shrunk).

"In those days the weavers designed their own
175 patterns, and sold their own finished tweeds. I remember
284 going into town with my brother, we had two tweeds in the
432 cart. We went into a shop to sell the tweed, and the man
said it was poor weaving. He didn't want to pay the full
price for it. I told my brother to roll it back up, we
would take it somewhere else. As we left the shop, he
told me I had 'good cheek.' In the next shop the merchant
didn't say anything, and gave my brother the regular
price. We went home with L60."

The great demand for tweed encouraged the development
286 of more efficient methods of production. One by one the
288 various processes of production were taken over by
195 specialists, and gradually these specialists were brought
178 together under one roof. Large boilers for dyeing wool
[433] were supplied as a result of actions taken by the Congested
[434] Districts Board, which was formed in 1897. The Scottish
[463] Home Industries provided chemical dyes. The most
[386] difficult and time-consuming processes were carding and
• 236 spinning, which small mills on the mainland began to do
[283]

286 on commission for weavers around the turn of the century.
288 By the early 1920's, four mills on the island were
195 carding and spinning wool on commission; and one mill
178 brought looms into its premises. Lord Leverhulme, who
• [236] bought Lewis in 1918, saw the value of concentrating
[283] weavers in one place and of improving the technology.
He encouraged the introduction of Hattersley domestic
[463] looms, which eventually replaced the wooden looms. The
individual weaver also did his own warping, but after
World War II the mills began to hire warpers to work full
time on mill premises. Transporting the tweeds, which
used to be the responsibility of the weavers, is now the
responsibility of the mills. Today all processes except
the actual weaving are handled by mills, most of which
are located in Stornoway.

Such steps in specialization and centralization made
195 sense to the weaver. One of the older weavers recalls,
286 "In the late 20's or 30's you could buy a yard of Harris
288 Tweed for about two shillings. It wasn't economical for
435 any crofter to dye and spin the yarn, weave it and sell it
for only two shillings a yard. As the mills enlarged,
they could make it with the machinery because they could
make it an economic proposition."

However, the tendency toward specialization and
195 centralization was in direct conflict with the reasons
286
288
323

*159 quietly triumphant yet unassuming way. He does not kill
132 any of his sheep for home consumption.
233

His involvement with the croft is a "hobby" because
*159 its output does not compare with the income he receives
241 from weaving. Whereas he might make as much as L100 from
288 his crofting activities, his income from weaving averages
434 L7-800 a year. As a married man, he can earn as much as
[651] L848 without paying income tax.

*159 Income:
233 Sheep: L27/-- (three sheep sold to the slaughterhouse
434 in Stornoway)
654 1/16 ("Fat Sheep Subsidy" for the three sheep
that were sold)
16/10 (Subsidy of 12 shillings each for 11
shearlings and six sheep)
22/10 (Prize money from the Carloway Cattle Sh
*159 12/10 (Three lambs sold locally)
233 12/ 8 (Fourteen fleece sold to the Wool Marke
Board, at an average of 3/11 per pound
• 236 L90/14 or about 17/6 per fleece. The island
434 tweed mills pay only 2/5 per pound. H
has been sending his fleece to the Boa
for two years. Many crofters prefer n
to bother with the Board, and sell the
fleece to the mills. They are the onl
sheep-owners in Britain who have this
option, because of the location of the
Harris Tweed mills on the islands. Bu
as of 1970-71, the mills refused to bu
fleece.)

*159 Cattle: L28/-- (Calf sold)
233 11/ 5 (Subsidy for the calf)
434 18/ 5 (Subsidy for the cow)
654 L57/10

Total: L165/14

found in a warehouse in Leith some years ago; a few found their way back to Stornoway, where one can be seen in the Public Library.

HARRIS TWEED

Today, with kelp long forgotten and fishing of minor importance, it is the Harris Tweed industry which supports many of the island people, either directly or indirectly; an island cottage industry with exports earnings exceeding £2,500,000 a year. Harris Tweed is exported to some thirty countries, including America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and all the European nations. The industry is in fact the basis of prosperity in the area, both dependent upon and supporting the crofter-weaver working at the handloom in his home. Seven million yards of tweed are woven annually by the independent weavers 'on the books' of the various mills. The weavers must finance themselves, buying their own looms and bobbins, equipping and maintaining their workshops. Though they receive their supplies of yarn from the mills, they are graded as self-employed persons and as such are not entitled to unemployment benefit—a subject which has caused much argument.

One of the most outstanding facts about the cloth is that its essential qualities have remained unchanged since the industry's early formative years. But it has astonishing versatility and over 5,000 patterns are available, including the crotal browns and the heather colours.

A weaver on average can produce about 2½ webs, or tweeds, each week, a web measuring about 80 yd by 28½ in, and gets a reward of some £8 per web, according to the intricacies of the design or the number of colours involved. The money is paid out by a mobile bank making the rounds of the townships throughout the island. It is reckoned that the mills, for their part, make 1d to 6d a yard profit, depending on turnover; the total annual value of the industry's output is in the region of £4,000,000.

Between them, the five mills in Stornoway and the one in Shawbost consume two-thirds of the Scottish wool clip—the native Western Islands' crop is sufficient for less than a month's production. A thousand pounds of raw wool end up as 885 yards of finished cloth.

finished cloth. About 1,000 workers are employed at the mills, representing about 95 per cent of the island's industry—not counting, of course, the 1,200 or so self-employed weavers. The Shawbost mill, started in 1915 in a very small way, employs about seventy people from the surrounding crofting community on dyeing the wool, carding it and spinning it into yarn, and has about 500 weavers on its books. In 1955 it became a limited company and a £35,000 finishing plant was added; other recent extensions have been made to the tune of £70,000. The establishment of such a large industrial complex in one of the remotest parts of Britain is an achievement to be underlined.

The early cloth industry

Coarse woollen cloth has been made in the Hebrides, as in other rural Highland areas, from time immemorial. Rents were often paid in blankets or plaiding. In 1656, 'pladding' was one of the items of trade brought by Highland boats to Glasgow for sale there. In the late eighteenth century, blackfaced sheep were introduced into the Highlands and islands; the fleece from this breed was much heavier than that of the native sheep and consequently proved ideal raw material for local woollen manufacture for trade. In the Hebrides, the product was mainly for domestic and local consumption. The people of Harris, however, were well known for the excellence of their weaving which found a limited external market. In 1844, the Earl of Dunmore, the first non-native proprietor of Harris, had the Murray tartan copied in tweed by local weavers, so successfully that the Earl and his enterprising wife encouraged improvements in the product and introduced it to their friends. The cloth, ideal for outdoor pursuits such as fishing and stalking, found ready wearers. In 1857, an Edinburgh lady went about getting orders for the Harris weavers, and business increased so much that in 1888 she moved to London and opened a small depot for tweeds.

Thus by the time the nineteenth century had reached maturity tweed was becoming well known, and weavers and local merchants, usually shopkeepers, developed sales contacts on the mainland. At that time every web of tweed produced was unique: it could never be copied exactly. This of course added to its charm

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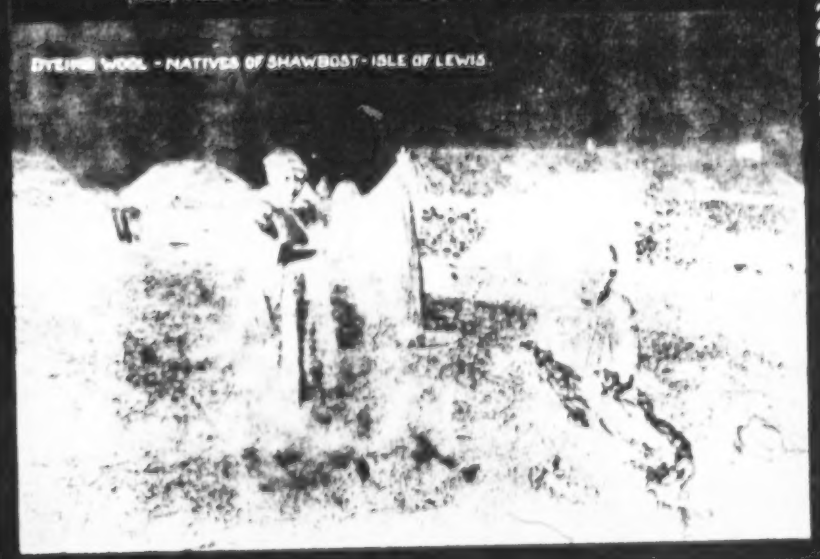
(*above*) Sheep shearing: the first stage in Harris Tweed

/p. 143/

(*below*) Natives of Shawbost, Lewis, engaged on wool dyeing, c 1910.



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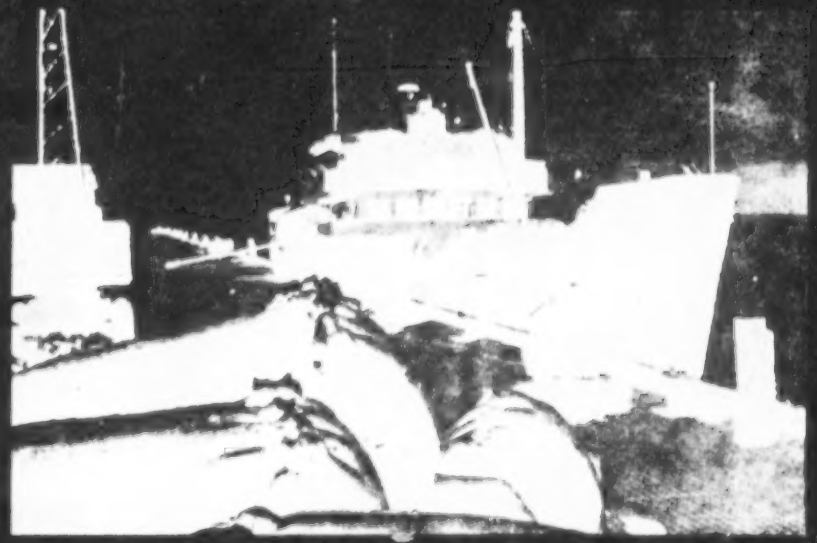

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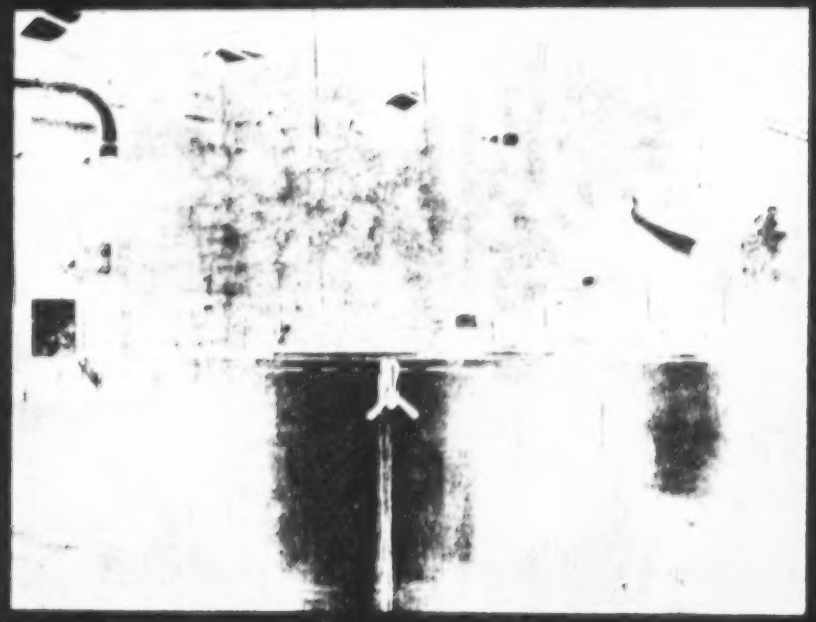
(*above*) Bales of imported Scottish wool on the quay at Stornoway for the Harris Tweed industry

/p. 144/

(*below*) Dyeing wool in a Stornoway mill.



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2:: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

/p. 108/ Blackface sheep: a typical Lewis scene and an essential element in the island's economy

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Other tombs inside the church include that of Mary MacLeod, a bardess of the seventeenth century who was also governess to the young MacLeods at Dunvegan. She was probably the first to compose what may be called the 'court' song, in simple words and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels since her time. Her last elegy was composed to Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray in 1705.

So far as personal characteristics are concerned, there is a marked difference between the Herrach (Harrisman) and the Leodhasach (Lewisman). Their Gaelic dialects are different, the Harris pronunciation being much softer, with an attractive singing lilt. And Harris Gaelic has fewer words of Norse origin. The main reason for this difference has been a topographical one: before a road was cut, the mountain barrier of north Harris divided the inhabitants of the two parts of the same island, who developed in their own distinctive ways.

The character of the land of Harris has also had much to do with the difference. Harris for the most part is infertile, with great expanses of rock outcrops. The east side of the island is torn in shreds by fiord-like sea-mouths; the west coast is slow-moving, with large expanses of sand and machar-land which look out over the Atlantic breakers rolling in from a sea that is oceanic in appearance and in fact. From early times the Harris folk have had to work hard to scarify their snippets of land to make it fertile. Regular increases in population forced them to cultivate land extending up to 500 feet above sea level in some places, in the form of hard-won lazy-beds. After the clearances early last century, when the more fertile lands on the west coast were taken over for the formation of sheep farms, the people concentrated on the eastern side of the island, and on some of the higher ground in the west.

On Lord Leverhulme's death in 1925 the ownership of large tracts of Harris passed to absentee landlords. After this, some of the lands which had been cleared a century earlier were purchased by the Government and broken up into crofts again, enabling some of the indigenous population to come back to make use of the more fertile lands of the west. There are some 550 crofts in Harris, with 29 regulated common grazings; the total

Account, there was one family there, that of the person employed by the owner to look after the livestock. The owner was a Ness tacksman who paid £4 sterling rent per annum. The island produce was corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep and sometimes a cow, and some wild fowl and feathers.

In 1844 Rona was evacuated, its last inhabitant being, in the seventh year of Queen Victoria's reign, the 'King of Rona', Donald MacLeod, who lived in almost prehistoric conditions. Rona was without inhabitants until 1884, when a last attempt at resettlement was made by two men from Ness. This was a self-imposed exile, after a difference of opinion with the minister of their parish; in penance, they hied themselves off to Rona. In 1885 a relief boat called and found both men dead, one from natural causes, the other from starvation and exhaustion after nursing his friend. By the fireside of their hut was a pot ready for the preparation of a meal they never ate.

Today, man's connection with the island is maintained by the small party of Lewis shepherds who each year make the journey to shear the sheep which still graze on the green slopes around the now-ruined village. Otherwise, only the occasional traveller now lands there. In June 1956, North Rona with its associated rock, Sulasgeir, was declared a National Nature Reserve on account of its importance as a breeding ground for colonies of oceanic birds—guillemots, puffins, kittiwakes, and fulmars—and for its seal colony.

Sulasgeir

Sulasgeir is twelve miles west of North Rona, a lonely rock in the Atlantic, bleak and grassless, and tunnelled by caves and gullies. The only life it has ever supported is seabirds—officially. Yet one of the old buildings is said to be a chapel and is called 'Tigh Beannaicht' (House of Blessing). According to Ness tradition, Sulasgeir was once used as a prison for sheep-stealers, and it is also said that Brenhilda, sister to St Ronan, was left on the island to perish. Yet another tradition claims that it was at this rock that Prince Charles Edward made his first contact with his Scots clansmen, when the ship that carried him to Scotland was spoken to by a Ness boat making for North Rona.

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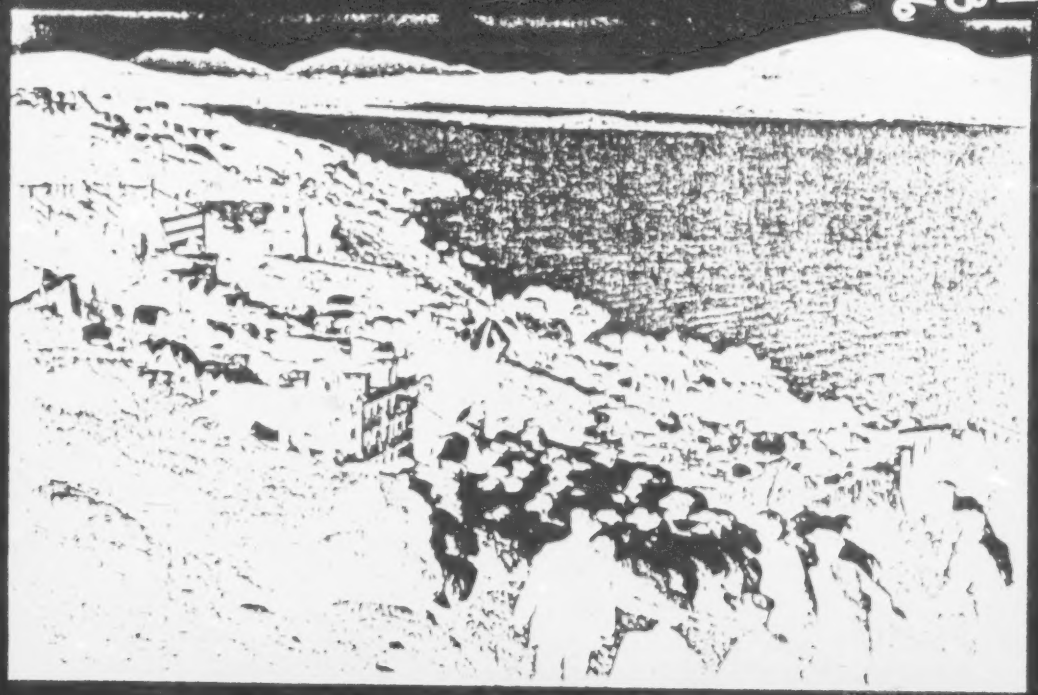


Photograph by Violet Banks

PLATE V. CROFTERS DIPPING BLACKFACE SHEEP

Across the Sound of Harris, Sollas, North Uist. The sheep have been gathered in from the "common"

St Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

/p. 40-c/

175 that the spade and foot-plough (*cas chrom*) were used for
114 double the area ploughed. From Monro and from the
311 precise Statistical Accounts of the eighteenth century, it is
clear that pony-drawn ploughs were usual in the smoother
[241] parts of Lewis. In North Harris are 'abundance of
[127] Deir'. We must not forget here that 'faire' and fertile
are comparative terms for the West. "Lewis is faire and
[136] weill inhabit at the coste, ane fertile and fruitful countrey,
for the maist part beire [barley], with 4 Paroche Kirkes."
[226] There is "ane castell callit Stornoway . . . with 3 salt
loches, very fine for take of herrings . . . [and] infinite fresh
water loches. In the Lewis there are 8 waters with take
of salmont. . . ." There were also "Whales . . ." In
"a cove 2 fadoms deep at the ebb sea, uses Whytuns
(whitings) to be slain with huiks", there were "very many
haddocks and Men with their wandes sitting [as today]
upon the Craiges of that cove, and Lades [boys] and Women
[136] also. . . . In this Ile there are many Sheip for it is very
guid for the same. For they lay furth ever one mures
and glens and never enters in a house and their wool is
bot anes in the zeire pluckit off them in some fauldes."
• [236] In Zetland wool is still plucked, not sheared.

The description of reclamation is specially worthy of note: "In this countrey all is peit mossland at the Sea cost, and the plaice where he wins his peitts this zeire [year] . . . there he sawes his corne the nixt zeire, after that he guidds it weill with Sea ware" [*i.e.*, improves or
[245] manures it with seaweed]. On "Ellan Colm Cill [an islet apparently on the east coast south of Stornoway at the mouth of Loch Erisort] Macloyd of the Lewis has ane faire Orchard, and he that is Gardener has that Ile [rent] free. . . ."

175 Around the coast of Lewis no absolute limit is set to
185
311

788 (in Gaelic) by a housewife in a Catholic isle, as our friend-
592 ship matured. It had been said nightly at her fire by her
354 father-in-law until his death (not long before), which had
539 come after that of his wife. "I smoo'r the fire tonight,
As Mary's Son smoo'red. Be it well with house and fire;
Be it well with all our household. Who are on this floor?
Peter and Paul. Who are on watch tonight? Light-white
Mary and her Son. Thus God's voice taught, And the
Angel spoke: The Angel at my house door, Until the clear
day come tomorrow. Amen." As this variant shows,
memory still lives in the Isles.[1]

788 In these runes, the key to the words "as Mary's Son
593 and as Mary did, in their day" is the example of filial duty,
796 of wifely and motherly care. In spite of lapses to 'Mario-
latry' during periods of decadence in the Roman Church,
[799] the virtual banishment of Christ's mother from Protestant-
ism has led to a loss deeper than Presbyterian Scotland has
yet realised. Her name was a daily reminder, both of a
woman's part in the spiritual life of the home, and of a son's
self-discipline and affection: in a word, of mutual love.

788 For wool, the sheep were blessed, as in the "Clipping
• [236] Blessing". There were blessings of the loom and of
[286] warping and weaving; and after neighbourly fulling or
'waulking' of the finished web, came its consecration.
[461] As the work was solitary and communal in turn, so the
prayer. Carmichael's own fine prose translations should be
[127] studied (*Carmina*, vol. i, Nos. 108-113; cf. vol. iv, pp.
[538] 88-99). Yet, those being available, we quote rhythmic

[113] [1] Cf. Rev. Allan Macdonald, *Comh-chruinneachadh*, p. 107; *Carmina* (Nos. 84-87, 324-326); and M. Kennedy-Fraser, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. ii, p. 31. Sacred lore is not to be picked up lightly by a stranger. It was only upon the second of my prolonged stays under her hospitable roof that this good woman would admit and impart her knowledge, treasured in the secret places of her heart.

788 versions to suggest the significant poetic form of the
538 original.

788 "The Clipping Blessing", being addressed to creatures,
• 236 is simple in thought and form, and its opening may be rendered:

O come back woolly, though now you're shorn,
By May, may each a lamb have borne,
May lovely Bride you endow,
And Mary fair sustain you now!

[825] It goes on to beg protection from wolf and bear, as well
[538] as fox, hoodie crow and eagle, and closes with the opening couplet.

236 From start to finish the work must be true. The wool
461 is from the sheep they reared—it is not got by 'thigging',
as a landlord takes 'gifts' from poor tenants; the yarn is
sound with no odds of thread from worn-out cloth; the
web is their very own, not the clergyman's due (*Carmina*,
786 110, 113, 109). Only so can the goodwife's web be beauti-
788 ful, and blest. "Thrums nor odds of thread, my hand
never kept nor shall keep. Every hue in the bow-of-the-
[539] shower has gone through my fingers beneath the cross."
[593] The weaver, with her household cares and her bairns about
her, to be clear in mind must be calm in heart as, thread by
[796] thread, she prepares her warp. To start, she chooses Saint Columba's Day.

[539]

Thursday of blessings
For warping and waulking,
Thrice fifty strands
To number . . .

Ward away the evil eye!
Or evil will, or aught awry,
Consecrate, O Lord on High,
My Loom . . .

175 though also by State loans. The efforts of the Island
278 fishermen in the sixty years from 1880 to 1939 can be
471 summed up in the values of their boats. From 1880 to
1900 values rose by one-half, but had fallen somewhat
458 before the war of 1914–18 (to £20,000). Immediately after, the purchase of steam drifters at Stornoway and the fitting their herring boats with motors by the fishermen had tripled the value (close on £70,000 in 1920). But markets fell almost at once, and losses continued. By 1938 the Island fishing fleet was valued (or overvalued) at a quarter that figure, and was worth less than the fleet of sixty years before.[1]

(D) THE CROFTERS ACTS, 1886–1919: TOWNSHIP, LANDLORD AND STATE

175 Centuries of cattle-keeping having left the grass moors
in good condition, the profits of sheep-farming rose after
• 236 1770 with the price of wool for manufacture. Protected
from foxes by modern guns, and handled in large flocks,
the newly introduced Cheviot and Blackface sheep and
[178] lambs could graze in their thousands. In many estates the
introduction of additional sheep, with the crofters' cattle,
was tried and worked; but in others the people were
175 ruthlessly evicted. Although offset by many acts of wise
236 economy and generous aid, evictions were too frequent
during the next half-century, and they engendered growing
427 bitterness.

Whereas in other Isles, and on the machar of Harris, the small joint tenantry and subtenantry were evicted in

[113] [1] Figures 1828–33 quoted from J. P. Day, *Public Administration*, 1918; 1888–1900 from Appendix K, Report, 1902; 1912–1938 from *Fishery Board for Scotland* Tables (Table E-IB, 1912–21, and Table 15 and A.I., 1938).

CH. IX ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750-1919

175 favour of sheep farmers, in Lewis there had been very few
236 evictions. Early in the days of the sheep-farming boom,
427 one of the Seaforths had been offered ' double rents ', and refused them rather than turn the people away. Later on, when the wars were over, and when the Seaforth fortunes were failing, subtenants and their cattle had been replaced by sheep stock in three tacks around Broad Bay (at Coll and Gress and at Aignish at the base of Eye
[731] Peninsula). The failure of kelp-burning and the potato famine brought acute want in rocky parts of the Isle, and led to the desertion of their homes by certain communities.
175 In 1863, out of a total of forty crofters in a township of
16 Barvas parish, more than half emigrated by help of Sir James Matheson. Local resettlement was aided by Sir
[423] James, who provided horses and implements for Uig people who moved to Shawbost (6 miles north of Loch Roag). Abandoned places became farms ; and although agricultural prices fell and Sir James made little profit from the erection of buildings and the drainage, dyking and fencing on farms, land was improved, and better stock was bred, of which some was available to improve that of crofters,
175 too. Twenty years later, however, increasing numbers
427 increased the demand for crofts, and the people sought to reoccupy their forebears' land. In this, the Lewismen
[171] shared in a widespread movement, extending from the Scottish Isles to Wales and Ireland.

175 As a result of the real sufferings of the people in the
654 Highlands and Isles, and of the growing interest in the land shown in the country and in Parliament, where Irish
[648] members made themselves the crofters' allies, the Government in 1883 appointed a Royal Commission of Enquiry under a fair-minded judge, Lord Napier. As a remedy, the Commissioners recommended measures based upon

491 Brenish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from
[496] Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight
cost half-a-crown for a hundredweight, but because of competition from privately owned
vans the bus service ceased in 1960. Mangersta is reached from the same road by about
a mile of untarred side-road of indifferent quality; formerly the only access to it was by
[366] a footpath over the sands to the south. General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied
[206] by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig; banking facilities
[1955] are supplied by a mobile bank.

311 The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being some-
427 what more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about four acres; in Brenish and Islivick only about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or croft-units - are fenced, the work having been completed in Brenish in 1956. There are twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Brenish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta; but, owing to amalgamations of various kinds the number of operative units is considerably less - fourteen in Brenish, five in Islivick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

131 As soils are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable
464 patches are large enough to be cultivated with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in
[231] Brenish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are hired for ploughing and carting peats. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike many of the other Uig townships.

233 While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas, here the sheep are wintered up on the hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts. Brenish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hogge, or four year-old heifers), on Mealasta Island - hogge are usually sent since their loss, by falling over the cliffs, is less serious than the loss of heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta crofters, who are allowed two sheep each in summer.

241 The only crops grown are potatoes and oats, with "black oats" (Avena strigosa) on the sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed for "black oats" is unobtainable commercially, the crofters save their own. A grass mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay, to qualify for the subsidy.

233 The extensive hill and mountain pastures are not separately fenced; sheep from all three township graze over all. If the total sheep stock of the townships (about 3,300) is compared with the scoming figures it is found to exceed the soum by about 50%. On the other hand, fewer cattle and horses are kept than formerly so that taking the total stock for all animals (horses, cattle and sheep) and comparing with the actual stock now carried, the area carries only 87% of the stock which the soum allowed. In the two older townships the scoming was reckoned according to rent, being one cow, one two-year old and eight sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, however, the soum was one horse, three cows, one heifer, two stirks and twenty-five sheep for each croft.

Lambing percentage is about 80, and ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers
[236] (excluding lambs). In this district some weddars are kept for three years and then sold
[435] for meat, but the main income is from wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep, which sells at up to four shillings a pound.

231 Most crofters keep one or two cows, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn or spring sales. Brenish and Mangersta each have a bull, and in the three townships there are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks in

An attempt has been made in
Fig 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on
23 the individual croft to the size of holding and to the availability and age of the labour force.
311 In both diagrams there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0 - 7 units)
464 and the commercial holding (11+ units), but there is no definite relationship between stock
471 and size of holding or labour availability. The inclusion of the points of equilibrium for
certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected state of affairs: in the case of
233 crofters with regular work and full time crofters, those over the age of forty-five carry a
162 larger stock from those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to the economic problem of crofting lies in the amalgamation of holdings in order to create a more viable economic unit, but the indication from these diagrams is that an increase in the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to an increase in stock. It is the absence of
[443] accessible markets that deter the crofter from increasing his agricultural production.

511 In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihood
469 for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters under sixty-five almost 90% supplement the croft income by other employment. Of these casual labour (at present mainly at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57% regular work - particularly weaving - 43%. The combination of crofting and weaving provides probably the best return for the labour: one crofter with a croft of 3.3 acres, carrying two cows, two followers and ninety sheep (sixty ewes) made the following estimates for 1958:

231 FROM THE CROFT:

Sale of two year-old calves	£80
434 236 286 Cow and calf subsidies	£40
Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb.	£75
	£ 195 (1)

FROM WEAVING -

at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p. w.)	£550
GROSS INCOME	£745

434 Weaving about 30 hours a week apparently leaves him sufficient time to run the croft
[236] efficiently: at present a crofter supplementing his income by a labourer's wage at Gisla
[286] hydro electric scheme would have to put in nearly sixty hours per week to achieve the
[164] same financial reward.

433 The economy of the Valtos peninsula has been changing, and contracting, for several
[78] years. The number of unoccupied crofts is increasing; commercial fishing ended at the
[236] time of the first World War; the shielings have been abandoned as summer cattle pastures.
[286] The Valtos shielings near Loch Scaradale were abandoned during the 1939 - 45 war, due
[231] mainly to the lack of manpower in the township, though some was used intermittently until 1953. The shielings of Kneep and Reef were abandoned in the late 1930's, at which time Kneep had some fifty milk cows as compared with fourteen in 1959.

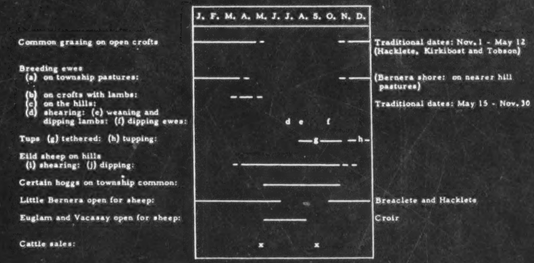
1 Against this figure, must be set the costs of production (i. e. fertilisers, new seed, winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

221 231 233 236

FIGURE 30

Calendar of stock

movements in the Bernera district



22/ Since so much of the year is spent either upon or near the crofts it is but to be
23/ expected that greatest heyfing will take place in the summer when they are far from supervision upon the hills; this contrasts with the mainland Highlands where heaviest losses, apart from those due to sudden snow falls, generally come about lambing time, when this takes place upon the hill, or soon after, in cases when the ewes and lambs are put to the hill too soon. On Bernera Shore on the other hand losses are heaviest on the hill in winter. Losses are extremely uneven in their incidence in time and from croft to croft. The cause of loss varies: there are no serious endemic diseases now, and there are few coastal cliffs - a frequent cause of loss in other places. There are however some boggy areas in the interior and some rugged: whether or not there are losses due to vermin particularly eagles, is a debatable point. Probably the fundamental cause of loss is lack of shepherding and adequate day-to-day oversight upon the hill.

233 There are certain special pastures that show interesting features. The Flannan Islands have excellent pasture, especially for the poorer male shearlings which need bringing on. There is all-the-year-round grazing for fifty sheep, which is shared by two crofters in Crulivig and one in Earshader. Unfortunately, the difficulty of getting a boat to go across has meant that for the last two years no visits have been made, and, after one or two years unattended, the animals become quite wild. Since 1949, when the Croir tenants were first permitted to cut peat upon the Bernera shielings, they have ceased to do so on Vacasay Island, where they now each send two sheep for summer grazing. They also send one sheep each to Euglam Island from 15th May to 16th August. One croft in Tobson includes certain small islands:

Bearsay Island (16.4 acres; soumed for 12 sheep per annum)

Eilean Fir Crothair (4.6 acres; soumed for 5 sheep per annum)

Seildeim (1.0 acres; soumed for 3 wedders per summer)

Similarly, Valasay (part of Tobson), has Eilean Liongain Valasay which provides summer pasture for two young cattle beasts or five sheep (one per croft). One crofter in Crulivig has a small island, Eilean Liongain Island, for lambing and at least one crofter in Crulivig also grazing on Ben Sgurain, but there has been no success in the attempts to heft stock there. It is distant and unfenced; losses can be heavy.

23/ Lewis is a very restricted market for livestock: the general practice in the Bernera area is to sell cast ewes at five or six or even more years to the butchers in Stornoway. Lambs may be sold on occasion, but generally they are kept either for replacement or for sale as three-year wedders.* The losses which occur, plus a certain amount of slaughter for domestic use, prevent long-term accumulation, though periodic fluctuations may be severe. Occasionally when there is a surplus of summer grazing, the Bernera Shore townships may buy in lambs from the western coast of Lewis, carefully eschewing those raised on the machair lands, which are said to be too "soft" for the hills. These are reckoned a gamble, they may or may not "take". The practice may be compared with that of the former Linshader Farm where, to take up the summer surplus of feed, young cattle were bought from the crofters.

236 The wool from the Lewis Blackface sheep generally varies from three to four lbs.
[236] per fleece. There is no longer any hand spinning; most wool is either sold outright or
[232] sent to the mills for spinning and dyeing. This practice is of long-standing. Even before the Great War, when the rent formed by far the most important item in the monetary affairs of the croft, the wool was either sold outright or, more commonly, sent to the mills for spinning and then taken to a weaver; the tweed was then sold either locally or to a merchant in Stornoway, the proceeds being used for the rent and other items.

23/ Cattle, as has been pointed out, have declined greatly in relative importance since
170 1883: they are fewer in number - though far better in quality - and consequently subject

[232] *Three-year wedders in good condition fetch about £6 for slaughter. Carcase weight is about 44/45 lbs., sometimes as little as 38 and sometimes as much as 55 lbs.

231 Cattle are kept on 162 of the 219 units; in all there are 180 cows of three years and over, 47 young cattle, and 110 calves. The usual practice is to suckle the calves, and sell them as soon as they qualify for the calf subsidy; lack of winter-keep is one of the reasons for this practice.
[234] The breeds of cattle are mainly Shorthorn and Aberdeen Angus with a few Highland cattle. The other function of the cow is to provide milk for the household; households without a cow rely
[232] mainly on tinned milk. Cattle are sold at the twice-yearly market held at Garyvard, but prices fluctuate greatly. The townships of Park certainly do not carry a full souming of cattle.

Sheep are more important than cattle in the crofting economy in Park. The breed is the
231/ Lewis Blackface, a small, lighter type of the Scottish Blackface breed. The sheep are pastured
233 on the common grazings in summer, and are grazed on the croft land in winter. The standard of
[232] sheep husbandry is also low as few crofters dispose of cast ewes or have a defined breeding policy as all stocks mingle freely on the commons. The lambing percentage for 1958 was about 60 per cent and the number surviving in August compared to the total ewe stock was 52 per cent,
[235] but it was generally agreed that 1958 was a poor year. A further indication of the quality of the sheep is that in the fishing townships, a ewe fetches from 35 to 50 shillings, and a lamb about 20 shillings locally. The low lambing percentage and poor prices can be partly ascribed to the lack of good grazing and to overgrazing, but disease and losses in a treacherous common pasture raise the mortality rate. In general the sheep are left to fend for themselves with a minimum of shepherding although the more progressive crofters hand-feed the ewes and hogge in bad weather.

The majority of the crofters in Habost and Kershader, and a minority in Garyvard, rent additional grazing in Park Deer Forest, paying a fixed sum for each sheep. Sheep from these townships fetch better prices; in the other townships a few wedders and fewer cast ewes are sold to the
[236] Stornoway butchers. In many flocks, wool provides the only income from sheep.

It is evident from Table II that the sheep souming is greatly exceeded. In the calculations, ewes are taken as one unit, and 'other sheep', wedders and gimmers, have been calculated at half rate. On this basis, the overall sheep souming is exceeded by 70 per cent and in only one township is the stock comparable to the souming. Overstocking has been encouraged in crofting districts by the ewe subsidy which was in operation till 1956 and it is notable that the rise in numbers of sheep recorded in the Outer Isles coincided with the introduction of the Hill Sheep subsidy in 1930.[1] Overstocking is without doubt the chief reason for the high mortality rate in sheep. Calculation of the overall relation of the actual cattle and sheep stock to the souming shows that the common grazings of Park are overstocked by 14 per cent. It is, however, impossible to calculate an exact figure, as the number of sheep grazed in Park Deer Forest was not enumerated. It is also evident from the individual croft surveys that the cottars, squatters and feuars, who have no rights of grazing, have stock equivalent to 137 cow-units or 12 per cent of the total stocking. Thus the crofts of Park are maintaining an average stock fairly close to the souming, but the cattle-sheep ratio of 1:28 is too low for proper management of the pastures.

In general, a low standard of husbandry obtains in Park but it is clear that the agricultural townships are much more efficiently operated than the fishing townships. Overstocking occurs in seven of the twelve townships and sheep stocks are, with one exception, higher than the sheep souming

1 In Scotland as a whole, the number of sheep recorded declined from 8,007,134 in 1938 to 7,336,000 in 1955.

[Kershader]

235 (b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices,
911 however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the former
231 case they heft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand.
231 Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

[232] There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

231 Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces
[236] about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average
[235] sheep carcass weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

241 Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as
161 full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category,
162 and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insured
167 population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this
166 township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft
444 work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption
[223] only) and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The
[601] only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person has entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the
[195] optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907
[192] and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard,
[271] Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

182 It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilising the
241 population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in
[215] agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Caversta]

241 Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter
[5] holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for fanking or other purposes
911 and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes
[192] are normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered, and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for black leg, braxy and louping ill, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third week of May.

The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep soum, but the overall
231 stocking is only 88 per cent of the total souming. Two crofts only exceed their individual soums,
235 while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however, poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuable for wintering the
[236] hogge. Lewis Blackface sheep are the predominant breed and the wool, clipped in July, is sold to the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter house. The 1958 loss at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the growth of grass for the ewes. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on
[236] the crofts. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early-born calves may be
[232] sold in the Autumn at six months old, those born later must be wintered to eight months until the Spring sales. The cows are served by the Department of Agriculture Highland bull at Habost, but although good prices are obtained for beef cattle, it is felt that for the family milk supply, a dairy bull would produce a better strain.

In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. In
241 most cases the land under each crop is less than half an acre and nowhere does it exceed two acres.
[236] The land has been built up into lazybeds about six to ten feet wide, separated by open drainage
[236] channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor (hired from Habost)
[197] is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not altogether suitable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by marsh and steep faces of bare rock.

[197] Neither Torista nor Caversta is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the road near Cromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and an inferior footpath joining the main road at Garyvard. The lack of a good road within the dyke
[236] acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilisers. Byre manure is used on all
[236] the crofts and seaweed is brought from the shore and spread on the lazybeds. Artificial manures,
[227] used on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. This lack of incentive to improve is perhaps even more marked by the fact that on one holding alone is a rotation practised - potatoes, oats undersown with clover, then hay for three or four years. Apart from this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the same strips for many years. Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay and is often cut from lazybeds that were formerly cultivated. On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridges can be seen to have a crescentic shape and are thought to date back more than one hundred years. A short distance beyond the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonised by heather.

241 Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch within the dyke, is cut
[236] on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and later brought home by
[236] creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens and all keep up to
[236] twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the larders, are also maintained
[236]
[236]
[236]
[236]

In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Caversta and seven at
[236] Torista. After 1881, when maximum figures of fifty-nine and nineteen were noted, there was a
161 secondary peak in 1911 in Caversta, followed by a steady drop to twenty in 1951 and eighteen in 19
162

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed
clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofts have vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throught the winter and no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the soum. Lambing takes place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and then dipped; November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March so that they are six months old in October for the Garryvard sales. The cows are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Croisg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on fank days.

Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under cultivation and from an an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazing; it is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the road between Caversta and Gravir, about three miles south- south-east of Cromore and one mile north of Gravir.

Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this, however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and, in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airidhvraach. At present the average production is only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. During the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a van which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recent additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday;

amount of time which is allotted to each activity and in the pressure on the crofters to complete each chore within a relatively definite period. There are also differences in the number of non-crofting activities in which the individual can or must engage. Let us follow several crofters through the year to see what these differences are.

The Full-time Crofter. One might say the year for the full-time crofter begins during the first week of January when he goes out to the hill to bring in his rams. This is the first break in the monotony of his winter schedule, but it is only a momentary break. Not until March does his season of prolonged labor begin with the first "dipping" of the sheep to rid the animals of tick and parasites. He and his wife, their children, if they are old enough, and their neighbors or hired hands, crofters from nearby townships, join forces. Several of the men go off to the hill to gather the sheep and herd them down to the "fank," a stone or sheet iron inclosure consisting of either two or three pens, a trough for the "dip," and a shearing platform. While waiting for the sheep, the remaining men and women prepare the "fank" for the day's work. One by one the sheep move through the pens until all have been picked up bodily and submerged in the medicinal bath. The women not only help their fathers and husbands at the "fank" but also prepare a noon meal for the group.

Following the dipping, the crofter turns his attention to the soil. By late March or early April he has ploughed,

If May is considered a busy month, June duties are even more pressing. Although the winter gales are over, the rainfall has begun to increase. A succession and variety of demands are made on the crofter's time. Once again the sheep must be brought down to the "fank." This time the purpose is to mark the lambs. The males, unless one or two healthy specimens are selected for future use as rams, are castrated and smeared with a dye to indicate their ownership. The females are smeared and have their ears cut to signify both ownership and age. Like the dipping, this operation requires the cooperation of the crofter and his family, the neighbors, and hired hands. Next the sheep without lambs are dipped once again and given a dose of medicine for liver fluke and a variety of diseases. At the same time, the early hay and, perhaps, the early potatoes are ready for harvesting. The end of June brings the Highland Wool Fair in Inverness. If he has Cheviot sheep, as most crofters do, the man must go to arrange for their wintering on the milder and drier east coast. Although Cheviots produce a finer wool than the more common Blackface sheep, they do not stand up to the incessant wind and rain of a Skye winter. If his wife can leave the children behind, she will accompany her husband. The old function of the Fair, the sale of wool, has disappeared under government price control legislation.

It is not unusual to have the early harvest delayed until July, but even then the mowing may have to wait because sheep must come first. On one of the dry days during the first

or second week, the ewe sheep are sheared. Shearing is another cooperative task. The men and women work together with only one significant division in their labor. Women never shear. Their task is to run the sheep through the pens and fold the fleece after the two men shear the animal. Another chore is added to the crofter's schedule at this time. He must begin to watch his sheep for maggot.

The haying season runs through July and August, depending on the weather. In August the sheep have to be dipped again this dipping prescribed by law, and the wedder lambs (castrated males) are sent to market. In September, if the weather is favorable and the season has been good, the harvest of oats begins. The man works with a scythe. Women never cut. His wife helps by binding the corn in sheaths by hand and making stoops in the field. Later she helps her husband build the stacks for winter storage. As in any summer month, the stock requires attention. Cast ewe sheep (sheep over six years old) and old rams are sent to the Ministry of Food grading station at Kyle, on the mainland, to be graded for meat or to Dingwall to be sold at auction. Cattle sales are also held on the island in September and again in November, but the full-time crofter prefers the Dingwall auction. The rainy season is now, as noted, reaching its height. The pace becomes slower. October, November, and, perhaps, even December are spent trying to dig potatoes and turnips. Too often the oat harvest has yet to be completed and the sheep must receive their second statutory dipping. Sometime before the end of November the

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Lewis and Harris

north-west of Gallan Head. There are seven main islands, all small, high and cliffbound, and a number of rock stacks and islets. All are uninhabited. Eilean Mhor, the largest, of 39 acres, has an automatic light. Dean Monro's description of the islands as 'nouder manurit, nor inhabit, but full of grein high hills and scheipe' still holds, for sheep are taken annually from Lewis to the grazing on the Flannans. Their name is said to be derived from the ninth-century St Flann, whose saintly influence was recognised during the centuries when men from Lewis visited the islands for their harvest of wool, wild fowl and feathers.

The Flannans were the scene of a great sea-mystery: the complete and utter disappearance of three men from the lighthouse at the turn of this century. In December 1900, the lighthouse, with its 140,000-candlepower beam 283 ft above sea level, was a year old. It had taken four years to build instead of the estimated two. All the materials had to be swung up piecemeal from the boats and hauled up the almost sheer 70 ft cliffs to the top. That month a passing ship, the *Archer*, noticed that the Flannans light was out; a message was sent to the Flannans shore station at Breasclete, Lewis, and the *Hesperus*, preparing to pay a Christmas visit to the lighthouse, got under weigh.

Its crew landed and searched the island, but found no trace of the missing keepers. In the lighthouse was an uncanny silence. The fire was dead. The clock had stopped ticking. The beds had been made up in the clean, clinical way of all sailors. And in the galley, the pots, pans and dishes sparkled their welcome to the searchers. In the lamp-room the lamp was cold. The wicks had been trimmed and the lenses polished. The logbook showed a last entry on 0900 hours, Saturday 15 December. In the subsequent investigation some theories were offered in explanation of the disappearance, but none quite fitted. The mystery remains, a haunting, unexorcised cloud hovering over the island.

The Shiant Isles

Turning to the east coast of Lewis, in the parish of Lochs are the Shiant Isles, about 4 miles off-shore, across the Sound of Shiant (Gaelic: charmed, enchanted). There are three islands in the group: Eilean an Tigh (House Island), Garbh Eilean (Rough

THE OTHER ISLANDS

The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars was the staple diet of the St Kildans; the oil and feathers were the vital exports that paid the island rent to MacLeod of Harris, the owner of the group. These exports also helped to pay for the purchase of such foodstuffs as salt, sugar and tea, and other items which the island could not itself supply. The St Kildans owned some hundreds of sheep, the wool being spun and woven into tweed, and a few cattle were also kept. But the seabirds were the foundation of the island economy.

The factor which led ultimately to the desertion of the island group was isolation. The community there was throughout its history undoubtedly the most isolated in the British Isles, though until the present century this mattered little to the St Kildans. All that was deemed necessary for the continuation of the community was that, once a year, MacLeod of Harris should send his factor over from Skye to collect the island goods that were to be sold, and to bring with him those provisions which would see them through another twelvemonth. However, as the demand for the island's products declined, communications became more important: to support the family a man had to leave to find work on the Scottish mainland. Large-scale emigration began in 1852 when thirty-six islanders (with State aid) left for Australia. Island life was punctuated by loss of life; boating disasters and cliff-falls in particular deprived the community of the vital male elements needed for survival. Tetanus infantus, known on St Kilda as the 'eight-days' sickness', strangled two of every three babies born; this disease ravaged the island for almost a century and again struck harder at the male sex. About 1810 the population was about 200, a definite overcrowding. By 1861 it had fallen to 78; in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 73. A decade later it was nil.

Isolation tended to make the St Kildans a human menagerie. With the improvement in boat services, St Kilda became a 'must' on tourist itineraries. The tourist trade took on an economic importance for the population after July 1877, when the *Dunera Castle* steamed north and west for a voyage to the 'romantic Western Isles and lone St Kilda'. The steamers continued to call throughout the three summer months annually for sixty years, their passengers eager to buy souvenirs: tweed, quern stones, spinning wheels, stuffed birds and eggs; indeed, anything to remind them,

each township as a sign of contempt.[10] This suggests that the practice of helping one's neighbors with the harvest was relatively recent. Again in the matter of cutting peats, frequently described as cooperative, and a communal undertaking as late as 20 years ago, there is disagreement. All in the township used to work together, cutting for each crofter in turn and enjoying a festive picnic. "Sure they would," others told me,* but first they would cut for the minister and then for the shopkeeper.* The shopkeeper was more important to them in those days because they would all be in perennial debt to him, and he might extend a little more credit if they were in his good graces. They would then cut for each other. By the time they got around to the old widow with no one to cut for her, they were all too busy. The sheep had to be dipped or the fields needed attention. I have heard conflicting versions of these stories from neighbors. Are we to conclude that cooperation varied from door to door and township to township?

The growth in importance of sheep as a major source of income, associated with the decline of the old subsistence economy, led to new patterns of cooperation. To be economic sheep must be raised in numbers. As we have seen, physical cooperation is imperative, and many crofters cooperate financially, pooling their capital and dividing the profits. This is true of the nine townships of Kilmuir. Moreover, even in townships where the crofters have rejected the club stock plan the individual flocks are generally handled as club stock.

10cr. William MacKenzie, Sgrs: Iochdar-Trotternish, p.59.

In Claigan, for example, the crofters felt they would do better with private flocks than with a club stock. Although each man now has his own sheep on the township grazing, they are cared for like any club stock. The four crofters are needed for success at the dippings, marking, and shearing, and they are always at the fank on these occasions. In larger townships, those with ten or more holdings, the need for all of the crofters to help out at the fank is less pressing while the felt need for auxiliary employment is stronger. In consequence, the cooperative work habits run less smoothly. In an attempt at adjustment, many townships have resorted to paying the share holders for their labor from the profits. To the best of my knowledge, only one township has witnessed the total suppression of the cooperative spirit; all the crofters are too busy with full-time employment to bother with the steadily declining sheep stock.

Nevertheless, it has become commonplace for the crofters to complain of at least one individual in the township who does not pull his full share, someone who is "trying to sabotage the whole thing."

Independence is a personality trait, but it is best described as a steadfast determination not to conform for the mere sake of conformity when an innovation handed down from the outside commercial world is at stake. The old ways are the best ways, even if only the old men think so. It is the old men who uphold the traditional practices. As long as they do, and as long as unanimous consent is required for any change,

237 ANIMAL BY-PRODUCTS...uses of animal by-products (e.g., bone, teeth, horn, hoofs, claws, eggshells, hides, fur, hair, bristles, feathers, sinew, brains, urine, dung, urine, manure); processing of such materials not elsewhere described, etc. See also:
Use of manure as fuel 341
Work in skins and furs 881
Carbon black from animal by-products 181
Fish manufacture 881
Fertilizers 287
Fertilizer industry 287
Feathers 287
Furriers, furriers, and furs 781, 798, 799
Glycerine 281

237

For example,
a Widow Catherine lost "one red
[175] mare and foal (L10), one dun cow (L3/10),
[42] [135] and one calf
[551] Seafer (L1/10)." One family is said to have paid rent by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir James Matheson), thus earning the patronymic, "Fiddler." Their income stopped abruptly when the fiddler at the time, a great-grandfather of descendants now living, converted to the Free Church and smashed his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1905 it was noted in the rent ledger that two crofters wanted "first chance of a vacant croft in the township." In the first quarter of the century, [429] [764] a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighboring township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too precious to take out of cultivation and give to the dead of another village.

A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was young. They used the dung of the cattle to fertilize the soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was only 23 acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight stacks of barley to see us through the year." There were a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the streams to grind the barley. The "old Norse mill" which was recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got

53

283 "You got away from village life when you went to
[829] the shealing. The youngsters ran wild. Everyone talked more freely somehow. It didn't feel like a Sunday out
233 there—the minister couldn't see that far. Only the
[833] young men and women in their late teens or 20's were out at the weekends. They would send the younger ones home. They came out in their good clothes, from Saturday night to Monday morning. Groups of young people walked out and back together, the girls in one group and the boys in another, joking and teasing. They sang the old songs and learned new ones from each other. Some were good at making up songs. You wouldn't believe how many people could sleep together in a single shealing. It was a [829] heaven on earth. Everybody was one family. The hills were filled with the sound of voices."

233 Not every family in the village went to the shellings. Some families had enough land within the township to graze their cattle. But they usually went out at the weekends, for the fun and company.

237 One of the most important products of the cow was
24 not milk but dung, which was used to keep the poor land
233 productive. Because people did not have the enriched
234 animal feeds available today, a cow might not have a calf, and thus did not give milk, for four or five years.

127

233 costly, that the Common Market will soon drive up milk
234 prices, and that income from the weaving has become too
434 uncertain.
412 Many tools and techniques associated with crofting
178 have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (two pieces of wood joined with leather); the sheepskin stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate chaff and grain; rope made of plaited heather and straw. Each spring the byre was cleaned of its accumulated dung
241 and urine, and this was turned into the ground along
[252] with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among
[252] the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be
[175] mobilized under changed conditions, as when alternatives
[387] to crofting are no longer available or are too costly. However, as longer crofting is neglected, the less it will provide a alternative strategy. "The artificial fertilizers are ruining the land; that's why the
241 turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to
[924] water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and
[233] streams—rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep—the land becomes unfit even for grazing cattle. "I'd rather work the land than the blinkin' loom, but we tried the potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

228 and its neighbourhood becoming the centre of the growing in-
*175 dustry. In 1793, the Lewis Parish contributors to the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* indicated that upwards of 103 boats were
[142] fishing off the island. In Uig no less than 270 netmakers were
[286] recorded, showing that the fishing industry was prosecuted with some measure of enthusiasm. 'All the people dwell in little farm-
[142] villages and they fish in the summer season. The women do not fish; but almost at all times when there is occasion to go to sea, they never decline that service, and row powerfully.' In the parish
228 of Barvas in the eighteenth century some 9,000 Scotch pints of
*[237] oil were taken each year from dog-fish livers and sold to Stornoway merchants at from 6d to 8d per pint; it is related that the tenants of Ness were able for a long time to pay their rents with
[433] the oil proceeds. Cod and ling were the principal fish caught by the men of Locha, an annual average of 24 tons being cured and sold in Stornoway. Generally, other fish caught were consumed locally.

Loch Roag on the west of Lewis proved to be about the best fishing ground; in 1794 about '90 sail' from all parts of the United Kingdom were at the herring fishing there. At one time Loch
228 Roag-cured herring was exported exclusively to Sweden. The
*175 minister of Stornoway, contributing to the *Old Statistical*
[42] *Account*, gives figures showing the quantities of fish shipped from the port from 1791 to 1796. During these six years some 14,000 barrels of herring were exported to the Continent, and 20,000 sent for consumption in Britain; some 350 tons of cod and ling were destined for Continental markets. Herring, cod, and ling were thus pursued during the following years with growing vigour, though the inshore white fish took favour. The herring fishing did not make great strides, mainly because to the middle of the nineteenth century catches were confined to the inland sea lochs; the people for the most part were not familiar with deep-sea fishing, and their boats and nets were not suitable for it.

Indeed, when Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, he
228 gave scant attention to the potential in the fishings round his
*175 island. Though he expended considerable amounts in securing a
[304] regular steamer communication between the mainland and the island, and spent over £2,000 in building a quay at Stornoway

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

283 in the eyes of the more sophisticated purchasers, as did the
*175 domestic and primitive conditions of its manufacture. All processes were carried out by hand. The wool was washed and dyed
283 out of doors beside any convenient stream where a big black pot
*175 could be set up on stones and heated by firing peats. Carding, a tedious and unpleasant task, spinning and weaving were done in the 'black houses' of the crofters, which often lacked chimneys or proper windows; the tweed acquired more by accident than design a definite 'peat reek', which was duly considered to be another of its attractions, combining with the mainland townsdwellers' pleasant thoughts of Hebridean thatched cottages, peat fires and natural dyes from island moors and shores, to give the cloth something of a romantic aura.

Development

The increased demand brought problems however. Carding by hand was a slow business and quite unable to keep up with the weavers' requirements for raw material, so wool was sent to mainland mills for carding. But this introduced an element of suspicion, for the product was not now wholly Hebridean. To get round this, Sir Samuel Scott, the proprietor of Harris in 1900, opened a water-powered carding mill at Tarbert, Harris. In 1903, this example was followed up by a Stornoway merchant, Aeneas MacKenzie, who started a carding mill near the Patent Slip (one of Matheson's enterprises) in Stornoway. Non-profitmaking bodies (the Scottish Home Industries Association and the Crofters' Agency) began to open up more depots for the receipt of tweeds. In addition to the original depots at Stornoway and Tarbert, others were established at Obbe (now Leverburgh), Uig in Lewis, and in North and South Uist.

The Congested Districts Board also took an interest, appointing a travelling instructor who was responsible for the introduction
283 of better cloth designs and other improvements including the
*[237] flying shuttle. This latter was a distinct advantage over the old method used on the 'heart bheag' (the traditional small wooden loom), where the shuttle was a sheep's shin bone thrown by hand. The board also paid grants for the improvement of looms, and large black pots were sent to Uig to enable the people there to

ST KILDA

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the [484]
hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the [485]
world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psycho- [175]
logical cost in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'they [155]
cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral
injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with
pocketful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple
people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a [134]
profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived
during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required [486]
money as an exchange commodity because the original native food [487]
produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort [198]
to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds declined [232]
steadily first, parallel ogl replaced the traditional bird oil in St [233]
Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with [240]
others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase more of the
food they required, provided communications with the mainland
were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, and [141]
St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the
mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a rainy summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to [144]
the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to the care
and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the
National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small
human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be re-
peated, in other small communities who cannot argue on the
case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island [112]
is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the
Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, [175]
poor folk, scarce learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin [51]
published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the com-
pany of a minister who had been summoned to the island to de-
nounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180
inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Bap-
tist. Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island community [225]
and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds [225]

THE OTHER ISLANDS

[105] even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of
[106] the ripening of birds' beaks as compass and as omen for good or evil.
[128] Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He
mistrust the mainlanders (and underestimate their native ways): they
were illiterate, and wondered naively at the newcomers and their
manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than
the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the
world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started, [176]
HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship [177]
among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island [178]
Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what
they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island con- [179]
sisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes
and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for
supper, porridge; when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from [180]
April onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once
or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond [181]
of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had
nine roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had [182]
been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the
habitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the
Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and
there were two wheels and one clock on the island. There were [183]
some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only
two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose
from. Most could read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoe-
makers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all [184]
their own clothing; the men also making the women's dresses,
and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and
sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in [185]
which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each
croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged
at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in [186]
kind.

Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the [187]
island. The latter sold 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers; [188]
and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

TABLE 38

Burness District

Number of crofts using various fertilizers, etc.

	Artificial	Dung	Lime	Seaweed	Shell sand	Stone
Brenclete	18	18	4			
Croir	9	9	2	1		
Stickleie	18	18	12	16		
Kirkbost	25	28	17	1	1	
Tobson	14	16	10	4	1	3
Eaxdeader	5	5	3			
Croiting	8	5	3			
Lundale	3	4	3			
Linsbader	8					
DISTRICT TOTAL	99	93	55	46	3	15

[189] The fertilizers used in the past were dung and sea-weed. The sea-weed, mainly
[190] tangle, was gathered in the winter months, when it was thrown in great quantities
[191] from the beach, though in the best sheltered creeks, particularly along Burness district,
[192] it was actually cut and towed in rafts to the crofts. There seems to have been little
[193] or no use of shell sand, or lime, in the past, though lime was used in the last century
[194] at Mary and possibly in Tobson, but elsewhere there seems to have been plenty for every-
[195] one. The actual gathering in March was a long, strenuous and unpleasant task. The
[196] sea-weed was then spread on the land, and left to rot for a year before being used, as
[197] an unusual selection of different types for different crops was grown: presumably it
[198] was merely gathered, mixed with dung to facilitate the rotting, and spread on the winter
[199] tillage. Dung was produced now that sheep did create no nuisance by the arrival in
[200] Eaxdeader and Lundale.

[201] Table 38 gives the current use of fertilizers and manure. It will be seen that
[202] dung is still widely used, but that lime is now used on only a few crofts, and sea-
[203] weed and shell sand not at all. The cost of carting lime to the crofts has increased to the
[204] point where it is not economic. The cost of carting sea-weed has increased to the extravagance
[205] that it is only used on a few crofts, and in the last year only on one croft. The
[206] fertilizers used are in fact, of fertilizer at all. Sea-weed is regarded for manure
[207] of inexceptionally: it is present on Little Berneray, and more particularly and of
[208] better quality on the Isle of Berneray, and on the Isle of Pabbay. Shell sand is
[209] not used because it is not available in quantity. Lime is not used because it is not
[210] available in quantity. The sea-weed is a valuable supplement to dung, and
[211] if from Burna sands, there is a township road to within about a hundred yards of the
[212] beach, but the township is unwilling to open it to the wear and tear of heavy transport.

[213] Artificial fertilizers are increasingly used. The first consideration at the present is
[214] the availability of transport, and the cost of transport is considerable for the dredging
[215] industry. The sea-weed is a valuable supplement to dung, but the dredging
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[Revised]

[Crofters]

[Crofters]

[Merrily]

[Crofters]

[Crofters]

[Crofters

t be packed for shipment. As November ends the rams 221 234 233
out with the flock.
nter is a slow season for men, but it is not an idle 221 233
The cattle must be fed. The man fetches oats or hay
stacks and some turnips or potatoes from his storage
carries the feed on his back to his cattle on the hill.
ely does he keep them in a byre because to do so he
se the government subsidy on hill cattle. Although 232
p are now free from pests and most diseases, he must
to periodically walk the hill to check their condition.
bother to feed the sheep in winter. Another task is 231
hering of a few sheep. While not quite legal until
r, one crofter justified his activity by asking,
uld we eat if we didn't kill our sheep?" Once in a
e may also kill a steer, but unless several families
e meat, salt beef becomes rather monotonous.
e crofter's wife keeps busy all winter. Her routine, 221 162
y helping at the fank a half dozen times a year and
harvest, continues through all seasons. As far as 231 241
al work on the croft goes, she milks the cows, feeds
ltry, and cultivates her garden. When she is not cleaning
se, cooking meals, making butter or cheese, caring for
ldren, or looking after her husband's needs, she knits.
does the shopping, either from a food van or on a 432
visit to Portree. Men are as disinclined to shop as they
wash dishes.

ambing season, the crofter and his family go out on the moor 221
o cut their peat for the following winter. The man uses a 241
tusker," a two-bladed spade, to cut the peat. His wife or 314
is children follow behind, tossing the peats out of the ditch 413
nd building small, loose stacks for drying. After the lambs
ave been marked and the sheep dipped in June and the shearing
inished in July, the family returns to the banks to carry
he peats to the nearest road, actually a beaten cart path,
n creels. They are then carted home and stacked near the door.
here is a growing tendency for both the part-time and spare- 314
ime crofter to give up cutting peat. It is not because coal 198
s cheaper or he needs time for other pressing chores. His 241
uxiliary occupation will not permit his devoting the necessary 469
ime to this long and arduous task. He is caught between the
raditional economic patterns and the money economy of which
has become a part.

The year for our part-time crofter, as for all active 221
rofters ends in November. By then the oat and hay harvest has 241
een stacked by the house and the potatoes and turnips stored 236
the ground, the wool shipped off to market, the surplus 233
heep and cattle have gone to market, and the rams are on the
ill. Now follows a period of enforced idleness, broken by
eeding the cattle. As we have seen many go away to find 464
ployment, leaving the care of the croft to their wives who 593
ve shared the work of crofting in addition to their own
manly responsibilities. We must turn to the spare-time 462
ofter to discover just how heavy the burden of labor may
epend upon the women of Skye.

finished lengths of tweed. For a tweed to be classified as "Harris Tweed," it must be hand-woven by Outer Hebrideans in their own homes, but the weavers are essentially employees of the mill. All the large Harris Tweed mills in Lewis, except the one in Shawbost, are located in Stornoway. A few smaller businesses, which design and market tweeds but have no elaborate machinery to process the tweed further, are scattered throughout the island.

The village of Shawbost is composed of 169 households, of which 110 are headed by "crofters," persons recognized as legal tenants of a croft. Of the remaining 59 households, 16 rent houses which were built and are maintained by the County (called "council houses"), 11 have erected houses on the crofts of relatives, and 32 have built homes on the common grazing lands. Non-crofters participate in the agricultural activities of the township. It would not be unusual, for example, for a non-crofter to serve as the clerk of a grazings committee. In North Shawbost, one croft house and two non-croft houses are used only when the owner returns to Shawbost from the mainland for a holiday. The school-master lives in a house adjoining the school, and the minister in a manse located between Shawbost and the neighboring village of Bragar.

3// There are 144 crofts in the village (nine of
241 which, in South Shawbost, were added after the turn of
[192] the century by non-crofters encamped on common grazing
[190] land who applied to the landlord for crofter status). Thirty-four (almost a quarter) of these crofts are vacant; that is, the holders of the crofts live elsewhere. One of the vacant crofts is used by its absentee
[202] tenant for holidays, and one sports a trailer (called
[192] a "caravan" in Britain) which may be rented to tourists
[193] during the summer. The rest are cultivated or used for grazing by crofters or non-crofters in the village who
[192] by inheritance or by formal or informal subletting have
[190] gained use of the land.

241 A little over half of the crofts are worked as individual units; 44% of the crofts are worked as combined units of two and three. Twenty-four men have the use of two crofts each, and five men the use of three crofts each.

16 A feature of crofting townships usually emphasized is their disproportionately large number of aged people and small number of young people, who tend to migrate to the cities. An age-sex "population pyramid" of the Highlands is not a pyramid but a top-heavy hourglass
241 (see Table 1). Most persons of child-bearing age have
[192] migrated from the area and the number of children is
[190] [see p.vii--analyst]

Chapter 2

HISTORY OF THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

A. "Crofting"

The word "croft," meaning an enclosed field, comes from Old English. In 1563, a rental of the Bishopric
241 of Moray mentions the lease of two crofts (Grant 1930:
[192] 278). Walker (1812: 51) refers to "cottars or crofters"
[195] as subtenants of Highland farms. The word croft appears
[193] in Gibbon's historical novel, A Scots Quair, and is still in common use around Aberdeenshire. In the Hebrides, a number of Gaelic words are used to refer to units of land (e.g., faich, fearann, fiadhairt, and riannag), but the word for "croft" remains in Gaelic vocabulary as a foreign word, slightly Gaelicized as croit or lot (from "allotment").

A cynical definition of a croft, given by some academicians and administrators concerned with crofting,
[192] and supposedly first proposed by the son of a crofter,
[190] is "a piece of land entirely surrounded by legislation."
241 Crofting, as a particular method of land use, was
[192] introduced by "progressive" landlords in the mid-18th
[195] century

241 century as an attempt to reform the previous system
[192] of run-rig; but it is usually identified with the
[195] definition given it by the Crofters Holdings (Scotland)
[193] Act of 1886, as a form of land tenure to which many protections accrue. The Act defined crofts and crofting areas in Scotland, and assured the crofter of security of tenure, hereditary succession and fair rent. The legislature which followed on the heels of this act, which is sometimes referred to as the Magna Carta of the Highlands (Day 1918: 190), is mountainous. The flow stems from two perhaps incompatible aims: the desire to provide security for the landholder, and to enhance agricultural productivity. The difficulty of developing the land as an efficient agricultural unit has always existed in an area characterized by a wet climate, unproductive soil, and smallness of holdings in heavily populated areas, and was one of the factors that prompted agricultural reform in the 18th century.

B. Stratified Tenantry vs. Egalitarian Society

At the time of the break-up of the clan system in the first half of the 18th century, three categories of persons held land under the Highland proprietor or "laird": tacksmen (gentlemen farmers, often relatives

175 Thus some tenants were relatively more prosperous than
423 others. A large class of subtenants (scallags) did
428 corvée labor in return for a small amount of arable
429 land and the right to graze a few livestock. Their
114 land was intermixed with that of their masters in the
178 prevailing system of run-rig. "Crofters" had economic standing similar to that of scallags, but had permanent, compact allotments (Gray 1952: 49).

C. Joint Farm vs. "Crofting Township"

The 1726 rental indicates that the "town" of
[632] Shawbost was a corporate unit and thus that "crofting townships" have a long history. However, Geddes (1948) argues that the form of the 1726 rental was due to the method by which it was collected. In 1726, officials toured the island and made a list in large public hearings of the rents of those assembled, thereby attempting to make certain that no tenants were excluded from the
[464] rent roll. The major cooperative work unit seems to
[474] have been not the township but the joint farm, which contained enough men to make up a crew for ploughing and fishing.

In the Lothians and eastern Lowlands, the land could
191 be worked in larger units than in the Highlands, and a
241
429

191 typical homestead or "farmtoun" consisted of a
195 "ploughgate" occupied by eight tenants, each of whom
241 contributed one animal to the common plough and thus had an eighth of a share of land or one "oxgate" (Grant 1930: 97).

In the Highlands and particularly in Lewis, about
191 four to six men and their families worked together and
241 shared land which was held in run-rig. The Old
[404] Statistical Account (1796) lists 90 ploughs in the
[406] parish of Barvas or about one plough per five families (Geddes 1948: 57). Geddes maintains that joint tenants
195 paid an equal share of the rent and had equal "mounings"
429 (the number of stock allowed on the common grazing land).
191 In contrast, Walker (1812: 56) says that joint tenants
233 paid different rents according to the share which they had in the arable land, and that the number of cattle which a tenant had on the common grazing land was soumed or proportioned to his rent; all the tenants worked the arable land together, and received a percentage of the produce which was appropriate to their share. Geddes' description (1948) emphasizes equality within the joint farm; Walker (1812) and Gray (1952) point to differences between tenants and subtenants.

175 In any case, the "town" or township was not the
632 effective work unit, but rather was the larger
241 neighborhood in which several joint farms existed.
[239] The tenants of several joint farms pooled their stock on the surrounding moorland (i.e., on common grazing land).

D. From Run-rig to Crofting

Run-rig was an agricultural system suited to a pastoral people, who required the use of open, common pasture for grazing their livestock; the arable land was limited, and of varying quality (according to Day (1918: 12), 34% of the land in crofting counties was mountain and heath used for grazing, and only 36 was
[423] arable land). Residents worked several strips of different quality, and the strips (in drained beds of earth a few feet wide and many feet long called lazy-beds or fiannagan) were usually re-allocated every few
[425] years. A "constable" acting for the landlord ensured that proper husbandry was maintained.

The joint farm, and the stratification of tenants and subtenants within the farm, disappeared as
191 "progressive" landlords began, in the second half of
175 the 18th century, to substitute compact holdings for
176 the "mingle-mangle of dispersed strips (Gray 1952: 46)"
[406] which characterized run-rig. Hamlets or clachans

175 (hamlets or clachans
632 (small clustered settlements) were broken up, and
241 houses were isolated on strips of land in a more,
178 single-street villages.

114 Gray (1952, 1957) argues that the main factor
178 behind the reorganization of land use in the Highlands was the progressive, individualistic, laissez-faire ideology of the 18th century. Grant (1930: 97) attributes the reorganization to the high demand for cereals which existed during the Napoleonic wars. Highland landlords, who were very much in contact
177 with the society of the Scottish Lowlands, were
241 influenced by agricultural practices there. The trend to change run-rig, which had once dominated the whole of Scotland, to fixed, compact holdings began in the Lowlands.

According to the "progressive" ideology of the
423 time, the giving of land to individual farmers in much
428 larger pieces than they had previously held would
429 serve to stimulate agricultural development and give rise to a class of capitalist farmers. To give land to a relatively few people, however, meant the removal of a large number of tenants who had hitherto been able to survive under the system of run-rig.

175 Factors which led to further crowding were the
425 development of industry and an increased demand for
429 wool in the south, which occurred when traditional
[141] ties between laird and tenant had been loosened. The class had been disbanded after the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745; those landlords who had not forfeited their estates received huge sums of money as compensation for the abolition of hereditary jurisdiction. They had experienced travel and the luxuries of other countries, and were not eager to remain on their estates. They accepted the huge rents offered to them by sheep farmers to the south, and turned vast amounts of land into sheep tracts. Tenants
[341] were crowded together along the seashore, or lived on tiny holdings dispersed among the larger farms or on moorland, earning their living by doing wage labor.

Despite the factors which encouraged a high level
175 of population to remain on the land, proprietors
241 attempted to destroy the joint farm with its small,
178 dispersed holdings and collective rights. Run-rig
[666] agriculture was abolished in Argyll in 1776 (Day 1918: 180; Gray 1957: 49), and over the next 80 years it disappeared from the Highlands (cf. Gray 1952: 49-50), to be replaced by townships of compact holdings surrounded by undivided hill grazing lands.

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Geddes (19u8: 56) gives evidence that joint farms were abolished in Lewis early in the 19th century. Gray (1952: 50) says that by 1819 there was little run-rig left in Lewis. The factor's notebook for Bruaraclete, on the west side of the island, shows the destruction of clachans around 1850, and their replacement by linear township.

In the Napier Commission's "Evidence" (1884) for the parish of Barvas, it is mentioned that the rent had been increased because of improvements made by the landlord, Sir James Matheson, between 1845 and 1852. Land had been divided and new townships created; and both old and new township were jotted and rented in 1850 and 1851 (Napier 1884: 999). The Ordnance Survey map drawn up in 1852-53 reveals several interesting features of Shawbost: "New Shawbost" has recently been laid out; and in an area now incorporated by only a few separate crofts on "Carnan," a cluster of houses appears, perhaps the clachan in which joint tenants lived, and from which they went out to farm their various strips of land, before Matheson reorganized the land in linear strips with dispersed housing. The peat banks in the Carnan area are almost exhausted, indicating a long period of settlement in this area.

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three-field system with improved rotation methods involving consolidation of land. The Danish government feared that consolidation of land would have meant a reduction in taxes and fighting men.

The British government was faced with the same threat in the migration from the Highlands, as the Highlands had long been a source of good fighting men.

A reaction against the materialism of the industrial revolution developed in England as small holders sold their land to large landholders to become tenants. The Taylor Report (1954: 9) reflects the value which is still placed on country life by maintaining that crofting communities "embody a free and independent way of life which in a civilisation predominantly urban and industrial in character is worth preserving for its own intrinsic quality."

The various ante protecting smallholdings were also attempts to keep labor dispersed: to diversify and improve the use of land, and thus to increase Britain's self-sufficiency in food production. Various marketing agencies and subsidies were introduced around World War II to achieve such aims. Among the many agriculturists affected by these encouragements emanating from the central government were crofters.

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purposes, to a community which, as an agricultural society, requires transformations from the larger society, is accompanied by patterns of specialization and individualism. The following table (Table III) of agricultural statistics for the parish of Barvas demonstrates the change, over the past 100 years, from intensive subsistence agriculture to specialized production. From a broad-based subsistence use of the croft (as revealed by the number of acres cultivated for barley, potatoes and oats; and by the number of cattle, especially milk cows), there emerges a tendency toward specialized production. The number of sheep, which require less attention than cattle, has increased since the late 1950's when the weaving of Harris Tweed commenced in earnest; and around this time there also occurs a differentiation in cultivation, between the production of barley and potatoes (used largely for human consumption) and the production of oats (used largely for feeding livestock). After 1931 agricultural returns began to distinguish between beef and dairy cattle. During the past ten years the number of beef cattle in the parish of Barvas has increased.

An important factor which crofters on Lewis now take into account when making decisions about their

[Item p.1x-4:mlpt]

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continuing investment in crofting activities is the availability of various subsidies which, in the form of fencing grants, calf subsidies, and so on, are available to other crofting communities as well as to crofters. The certainty of support which subsidy offers is important in the decision-making of crofters because of their generally fluctuating, low-level income, in contrast to the decision-making of farmers who keep sheep or cattle on a large scale. The latter are likely to be more affected by market prices. Many Lewis crofters indicate that they would hesitate to support Britain's entry into the European Economic Community, because the higher level of prices for beef, because their subsidies might be jeopardized. Subsidies can be important as incentives for specialized production, but do not themselves sustain crofting as a sustainable pattern. And in general, despite the incentives, all agricultural production is declining in the face of more appealing alternatives available to the emerging generations.

A decline in township cultivation, or acquiesce in the individuation of agricultural practices, is another index of change in economic strategy. The fencing of individual land and purchase of personal farming machinery are everyday occurrences in the life

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of the normal capitalist farmer in the West; but in crofting areas, these practices reveal a strain between communal and individual tendencies.

a. Fencing:

Although run-rig was replaced by fixed, compact holdings, the method of animal husbandry was not affected until the land began to be fenced. A single dry-stone dike enclosed the township, keeping livestock on the moor away from the arable land. In different parts of the Hebrides, various types of hurdles were fitted to protect both the livestock and the growing crops (cf. Owen 1958-59 for a discussion of cattle, calf and sheep herdsman in North Uist).

The township Constable had a great deal of power, which included the right to evict people from their crofts, to enforce rules of good husbandry. The last Constable of Shawbost, who died at the turn of the century, has been credited with a number of ignoble actions, such as forcing an old woman with a sore leg to take her cow to the moor along with all the others. Old widows who had no one going to the fishing and hence no means of paying their rent might be evicted in favor of other permissive, land-hungry members of the village.

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township, but on land which had been rented and which thus provided better grazing. During the winter the sheep were allowed past the township dike, to graze along with the other livestock on the stubble of corn and barley, and mineral-rich seaweed by the shore.

After World War II, the individual croft began to be fenced, and the township dike was no longer repaired. The fact that sheep were still grazed communally on the moor means that everyone had to go out together on a particular day rather than individually, but fencing of individual land facilitated variability in land use. Less use was made of crofts for raising crops, and they could be used for grazing sheep all year.

b. Reseeding schemes and apportionments:

Another illustration of the individuation of land use is provided by comparing the number of apportionments reseeded by the Crofters Commission for lewis in the last 10 years with the number of township reseeding schemes carried out during the same time (see Table IV). A crofter may apply to the Commission for an area of land (apportionment) to be sliced out of the township's common grazing land and given to him for his own use; theoretically, his share in the township's common grazing land is reduced if his application is granted.

[Item p.xx-4:mlpt]

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a crew member. Another family is called "coos," the first job which a novice had to assume when he joined the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The men came back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats, barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods. They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover the sitting-room or wood-lined kilh dam (black house) for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a mason. While the men were away at the fishing, the remaining members of the family lived on crofts from the land which had depended on the good will of their neighbors.

Many men joined the armed services, and were especially sought after by the Navy and the Merchant Marine. In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in the Naval Reserve.

Around the turn of the century, until the first world war and the growth of the weaving industry, the girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to the boat to see you off. You could go all the way to Aberdeen for 1/6 on a special fish-worker ticket." The girls went from the south of England to Shetland in the far north.

For example,

a Widow Catherine lost "one red
mare and foal (£10), one dun cow (£3/10), and one dun
heifer (£1/10)." One family is said to have paid rent
by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir
James Matheson), thus earning the patronage, "Fiddler."
Their income stopped abruptly when the fiddler at the
time, a great-grandfather of descendants now living,
converted to the Free Church and smashed his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1905 it was noted in the rent ledger
that two crofters worked "first chance of a vacant croft"
in the township.* In the first quarter of the century,
a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighboring
township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too
precious to have out of cultivation and give to the dead
of another village.

A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living
from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was
young. They used the dung of the cattle to fertilize the
soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was
only 2½ acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight
stacks of barley to use as thrash by the year." There were
a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the streams
to grind the barley. The "old Norse mill" which was
recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project
was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got

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"You got away from village life when you went to
the shelling. The youngsters ran wild. Everyone talked
about everyone else. It didn't feel like a parlay as
there—the minister couldn't see that far. Only the
young men and women in their late teens or 20's were out
at the weekends. They would send the younger ones home.
They came out in their good clothes, from Saturday night
to Monday morning. Groups of young people walked out and
back together, the girls in one group and the boys in
another, joking and teasing. They sang the old songs and
learned new ones from each other. Some were good at
making up songs. You wouldn't believe how many people
could sleep together in a single shelling. It was a
heaven on earth. Everybody was one family. The hills
were filled with the sound of voices."

Men every fall in the village went to the shellings.
Some families had enough land within the township to graze
their cattle. But they usually went out at the weekends,
for the fun and company.

One of the most important products of the cow was
not milk but dung, which was used to keep the poor land
productive. Because people did not have the enriched
animal feeds available today, a cow might not have a calf,
and thus did not give milk, for four or five years.

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

288 through alleys to rummage through the trash cans of
440 hospitals or other large institutions for food. The
147 occupational histories of the weavers support the
162 generalisation made by an official of the Harris Tweed Association that the younger weavers leave because they do not like the weaving and they are replaced mainly by older men who want to settle down after a life at sea. (See Appendix A for several life histories of weavers.)

B. Crofting as Strategy

•241 Because of the relatively high income provided by
288 the Harris Tweed industry, those who remain within the
423 township have tended to emphasize weaving and neglect
427 the croft.

592 1. Croft as Place of Residence vs. Agricultural Unit:
Most of the 169 households consist of married couples with
[582] their unmarried children. A tendency to marry rather late in life and for children not to marry while their parents are still living is evident in Table VI,A (Partial List of Households According to Type of Household and Age of Household Head).

Fourteen households of married couples and their children (not included in Table VI) include at least one

1. [This source as received did not contain this table--Analyst]

592 unmarried sibling. Eleven households consist only of
siblings who have never married, men and women who in
1971 were 45 years old or older. Two widows live with
[589] their unmarried siblings. Sixteen widows or widowers live alone, and sixteen unmarried persons live alone.

•241 The large number of households occupied by single,
592 elderly people reflects the use of the croft as a place
423 of residence rather than as an agricultural unit, a
427 view of the croft that was given legal expression in
488 1958 by the Miscellaneous Provisions Act. Before 1958,
[423] the croft went automatically to the eldest son if a crofter died intestate. Since 1958, the rights of different claimants must be considered and tenancy by a new person must be confirmed. District and county councillors argued for this change, saying that a widow was often left on the croft and her security endangered because the eldest son was usually far away from the island, in Canada or some other country. In other words, rather than an agricultural unit which should naturally be taken over and worked by the male head of the household, the croft is seen as a place of residence for the infirm and for the aged, and especially for the aged female.

The Crofters Commission has suggested that elderly
459 people be allowed to rent small plots of land on which
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459 their houses are located, and that most of the land be
185 freed for use by more active crofters, but the ideology
423 associated with possession of the croft makes such a
483 plan extremely difficult to implement. "The croft is
311 your base, the only thing you have. You don't want it taken away, even if someone else is using it already anyway. Our county councillor suggested amalgamating the unused crofts at a recent meeting. No one said anything, but no one wants it."

Of the five households that have the use of three
592 crofts each, one consists of a bachelor who uses the
•241 crofts for grazing a large number of sheep. A second
311 household is composed of two brothers who had stayed at home to take care of their aged parents. One of these brothers recently married, after the last parent died. These men keep cattle and sheep, and both weave.

A third household is headed by a married man who
592 has recently sold most of his livestock in order to
241 "concentrate on the weaving." His father, who used to
311 haul peat with a horse and cart in exchange for the
288 use of grazing land so that his family never had to go to the shellings, died a few years ago. "My father was a crofter only. The weaving didn't start until the 30's. He was wounded in the war. He got a pension and sold a cow or a few sheep each year. But I didn't

592 like to leave the loom for the time it took to look
•241 after the sheep."
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A fourth household consists of three unmarried
592 siblings in their 40's and 50's who recently sold their
241 cattle and now keep only sheep for their own consumption.
241 They cultivate a small amount of oats and hay to feed
[233] the sheep during the winter. The brother who was largely
[246] responsible for taking care of the livestock is now
[288] "concentrating on the loom," and his brother works in
[443] the mill. Their sister, who used to work in hotels on the mainland, now keeps house for them. Described as a "self-contained family," they have a tractor and a deep-
[408] freeze and take care of their peat and the harvesting
[464] of crops by themselves. One of their crofts has become
654 too waterlogged even for grazing and was sold recently
423 to the son of a local crofter, not for agriculture but as a prerequisite for applying to the Department of Agriculture for a housing grant. Only tenants of crofts can apply for such grants. As this particular croft is too wet to be cultivated or used as a house site, the only motive which the new tenant has to become a crofter is to gain access to governmental subsidy.

The fifth household is composed of a retired couple
592 and their son and his wife and family. They have no
235 cattle, and use the crofts for grazing sheep.
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•241 The competition between the loom and the croft is
288 evident in the few communal township practices which
169 still exist. One of the rules of township organization
235 is that all households must bring their sheep in from the moor on the same day. Other rules are that no one
[231] should go out on the moor at any other time with a dog, and everyone who has sheep should go out on the day designated by the township grazing committee to collect them. The moor is extensive, and the sheep wander over a wide area. Only if a large number of men go out together and come in with their dogs like a wide net can the sheep be brought in with a minimum of effort over the stream-cut, uneven ground. Anyone who goes out alone disturbs the grazing animals and probably drives them farther away from the village.

These rules have strong ethical import and are
233 much more than a set of procedural rules prescribed
183 by the Crofters Commission. "There is a code of ethics which you learn as you grow up, as you go with your elders out to the moor. You can fight with a man over
[578] a woman and make it up next week; but if you fight with a man over a sheep, you won't make it up for thirty years." That these rules are weakening in importance
[198] is indicated by situations in which only two or three men have gone out in the early morning to bring in the

233 sheep were let out of the pens, and a fight broke out
178 between the two groups of people.
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•241 1. Crofters vs. Non-crofters: Another division
659 within the township has developed largely because of
598 the attention paid by outside agencies to "crofting."
115 The Crofters Act of 1886 defined crofters and gave them
[571] a protected, privileged status. In fact, very little distinction existed between non-crofters (sometimes called squatters and/or cottars) and crofters, and in some places, such as the Isle of Scalpay, non-crofters even out-numbered crofters. Both categories were linked to each other by bonds of kinship and mutual dependence. Non-crofters were in fact favored economically. They did not have to pay rent, but had the same opportunities to graze stock
241 and plough land as did crofters. Many crofters themselves
195 had buaile, units of land not recognized as part of the
423 croft and not included in the land for which rent was paid but recognized as property by the villagers themselves to the extent that these bits of moorland passed down through families or could be given by one person to another. Even today, a young girl thinking of getting married says her future husband might build their house on her father's buaile, and a man may build a house on moorland "given" to him by his wife's aunt. Officially, a non-crofter had no "rights" to a house which he built on the common

•241 grazing land and he could not transfer such property in
115 a will. Similarly a crofter had no right to his buaile,
423 and could not formally protest if another crofter sought to apportion this land for his own use (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of apportionments). But in both
[627] situations, informal understandings superseded legal rights.

Various legislative acts which followed the 1886
241 act focussed attention on the crofter. Various matters
659 associated with crofting are handled by a Crofters
115 Commission. Crofters have access to grants and loans
[654] to improve land and build fences and homes. They may
[198] buy goods at low prices in a nearby cooperative store. As crofts were fenced, land around the townships became scarce and non-crofters found it difficult to keep large numbers of cattle and sheep.

Within recent years it has become possible for non-
241 crofters to gain title to the small plots of land on
178 which their houses are built. Some loans are available
423 to them for building houses. Non-crofters have access
[452] to the various subsidies available to all agriculturalists
[654] such as the subsidies for raising hill sheep and beef
[324] cattle. There is still the feeling, however, that crofters have rights which non-crofters do not have and that in conflicts over scarce goods crofters have

241 the edge over non-crofters. "Squatters can do what
178 they like, cut peats, put sheep and cattle on the common
423 grazing, but this is a privilege, not a right."
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The clerk of a grazings committee says, "When it comes to an argument between a crofter and a squatter, the crofter always wins. A squatter has rights only with the grazing committee's permission. If one crofter disagrees, the squatter is out."

241 A squatter muses bitterly, "I wanted crofting status
423 because I wanted to get a Department of Agriculture
578 grant to build a house. I work on the peat road; I go to all the fanks. But at a township meeting, they didn't want me to get crofting status. They were afraid I would start grabbing peat banks or apportionments in the common grazing or something. There's your brotherly love for you."

311 4. Subsidies: In the section entitled "Changing
654 Land Use" I suggested that the availability of subsidies has encouraged a more specialized investment in agricultural activites.

654 The villagers are keenly aware of outside institutions
829 which give money. They speak to each other about forms
241 which they receive from the Department of Agriculture and the Crofters Commission, in much the same way as they are curious about the number of tweeds which another

654 person has. The gigantic bureaucracy of government
829 agencies is mysterious and unpredictable. One can
241 never be certain when or for what reason another economic increment may come. "I used to throw away a form from the Department of Agriculture until I found out from somebody that you could get money with it. You say you're planting so much of your land in oats, and later you fill out another form saying you didn't get a very good return, and they send you a deficiency payment."

For some crofters, the requirements of the subsidies
241 have affected the extent and techniques of agricultural
242 activity. For example, one man used to work his land
654 in the way that his ancestors learned would bring best
178 results: lazybeds were aligned in strips that would drain well and catch the sun, and stones were left in the soil to capture the sun's warmth and thereby facilitate the growth of potatoes. Now he has merged the separate strips, cleared the stones, and divided the land into units that allow him easily to calculate how much he has used for what crops, because to be eligible for a particular grant, a certain percentage of arable land must be ploughed with grass seed and rotated with other crops.

241 The Department of Agriculture and the Crofters
654 Commission often overlap in their subsidy-giving functions.

241 The Department of Agriculture dispenses subsidies to
654 all Scottish farmers, not just to crofters, and handles about 210,000 claims per year. Lewis produces 0.4% [433] of the agricultural output of Scotland, and 8.1% of the agricultural output of the Scottish islands.

654 The major subsidies available to Scottish farmers,
233 including crofters, are for raising hill cattle, beef calves, and hill and upland sheep. Sheep and cattle subsidies were made available in 1941, in the early years of the war, to increase their production. During wartime, Britain was more dependent than formerly on her own resources, and attempted to encourage production. Between [458] the two world wars, agriculture had undergone a recession, especially in the hills and uplands, because of a number of events in world economics, such as competition from New Zealand and Argentina in production of cattle. As part of the scheme of the postwar Labor government, agricultural support was made statutory.

For example, a man who keeps hill cattle may receive L16.70 per cow as well as L5 for each acre cultivated to feed his cattle during the winter. He receives L5 for each cow which is tested for brucellosis. In the 1970-71 agricultural year, Shawbost received over L2,000 in sheep and cattle subsidies, divided among 37 men receiving subsidies for cattle and 36 men receiving subsidies for sheep.

654 Subsidies for fertiliser and for lime to neutralize
241 acidic soil also originated during wartime, when the government was trying to control scarce materials. Agricultural subsidies in the form of cropping grants and improvement grants are available both to crofters (from the Crofters Commission) and to others of the same economic status as crofters (from the Department of Agriculture). Most of the improvement grants are for fencing (rather than drainage or other improvements). To receive a cropping grant, a farmer must sow one-third of all tilled acres in grass, and apply three hundred-weights of fertilizer to each acre planted with oats, barley or wheat. Lewis is in the third or poorest category of agricultural land designated by the Department of Agriculture, and receives the highest rate of subsidy (L11 per acre, as opposed to L5 per acre for good land).

For some people, even the incentive of subsidies is not sufficient to stimulate them to farm or keep live-
654 stock. "It's too expensive to work the croft. There's
241 not enough return to make it worth it. The Department
829 of Agriculture gives you a subsidy for fertilizer, but it still costs you something if you're not doing much of anything else with the land. The croft is a sideline; it helps you keep busy; you grow some of your own food. But you've got to make a living some other way."

233 One crofter who gets subsidies says that he keeps
241 sheep and ploughs the land to feed them only as a "hobby."
654 He uses the word "hobby" because, in comparison with the
523 income he gets from working regularly in the mill, he
434 does not get a good return for his investment.

A crofter who has been weaving all his life says
233 that the income he receives from his cattle and sheep
288 does not compare with the income he receives from weaving.
434 Subsidies are counted as an important part of the income
654 he receives for the livestock. "Last year I got L28 for a heifer--not a very good price, but then I got an L11 subsidy as well." He does not believe that anyone could
829 make a living from crofting alone. "You say some of the
434 people in Uist are able to make a living at it? They might be getting social security as well, they're that sly. Anyway, members of the family are probably sending money home from sea or from the mainland. You need a weekly wage. If the tweeds disappear, the only thing a man could do would be to go to sea." (See Appendix C for an example of the balance sheet of a croft.)

233 A few families work seriously at rearing cattle for
463 sale in local or town markets. These are usually composed of several male adults, of which one or more work in the mill or do weaving and someone is largely responsible for croft work. Most of these people look

F. The Decline in Self-Sufficiency

175 Until the second world war, when weavers began to
632 earn larger sums of money for their weaving, the
433 township was relatively self-sufficient. The land was
175 more thoroughly cultivated, and the village boasted a
463 number of local specialists. These specializations
241 were linked with particular family lines. Certain
175 families were blacksmiths; others were undertakers,
463 joiners, cobblers, or midwives. As generations succeeded
592 one another, occupations were not thrown open in the competitive, individualistic way of the mobile city. Certain occupations were seen to be "naturally" linked with particular families. Sometimes it was said that people of a particular family (which might include quite a number of collateral lines) had hereditary characteristics which suited them for particular occupations.

"Taggy was an expert bone-setter. He wasn't a doctor
[159] at all, but he could set bones better than any doctor. And he used to let blood, when people were dizzy with threatening strokes, or had pneumonia. It was in the people. He was a direct descendent, through his mother,
[820] of the Murrays of South Shawbost, the people who had the mill and were the blacksmiths for generations. He got that ability from them."

651 which official records are kept by the mills. If you
434 say jokingly to a fisherman who has brought in a large catch that he should put some money aside for the income tax man, he is likely to reply, "He'll have to
463 catch me first." A tradesman may be earning large sums
434 of money doing local work as a skilled specialist at
[745] the same time that he is collecting social security.

A man may move in and out of a number of different jobs,
[171] and never report his income. "Occupational pluralism" (cf. Brox 1968) rather than economic specialization has developed as a strategy in various countries along the North Atlantic fringe, such as Iceland, the Faroes, northern Norway and Newfoundland, as well as the west coast and islands of Scotland. In these marginal areas, income from specialized occupations is, in the long run, unpredictable and inconsistent.

178 In times of national economic depression, strikes,
458 shifts between socialist and conservative governments,
241 and other crises, crofting provides an alternative
175 strategy. During the last war, many islanders who had
782 left the island (including some who had been quite
166 prosperous in the cities) returned to spend the duration of the war in the village, glad of the relative security provided by the relative abundance of food and less strict rationing. During a huge snow-fall that occurred on

241 178 Crofting constitutes a dormant strategy which can be mobilized if deterioration of land has not proceeded too far, and if the skills of land use are not lost by succeeding generations who have grown up in an environment which presented them with more appealing strategies.

B. Social Marginality

166 464 1. Linguistic Distinctiveness: Social marginality began when the Highlander had to leave his place of origin and go to the cities of the south in search of [197] employment. The feature which most distinguished him was his Gaelic speech.

101 186 648 In Glasgow the common word for Highlander is "teuchter," a slang word with derogatory implications which, according to one theory, developed when Gaelic speakers coming into English-speaking cities mispronounced the word "sugar" so that it sounded like "teuchter." [829] (Glasgow Highlanders have developed their own defensive explanation: when the civilized Highlanders came down among the uneducated barbarians of the south, they came as tutors, a word which their uneducated Lowland pupils mispronounced.) According to a university student from the islands, the word was once used by the English to refer to the Scottish Lowlanders.

166 The image of the island
484 as spiritual home is fostered by The Stornoway Gazett
823 and by nostalgic songs, most of which were written by
204 islanders who emigrated to Canada in the first quarte
[533] of the century.

632 The crofting township as a strongly bounded netw
● 241 continues to exist, although crofting as a socioecono
pattern which evolved in a situation of limited socia
and geographical mobility, low cash reserves, and the
restriction of a large population to a region of limi
resources, is very different from crofting as define
an office in Inverness. As far as the crofter is con
cerned, to be defined as a crofter by the Crofters C
and other government agencies is to have access to
resources which affect the environment in which he m
his choices.

241 The individual is faced with the semi-security
288 crofting and weaving, in contrast with the exciting
risk-laden opportunities offered by the dominant urb
[654] industrial mainland. Crofting and Harris Tweed have
protected by government legislation. Various subsid
[745] and loans are available. In times of unemployment,
security is available. Extremely important as contr
621 to boundedness are the non-economic incentives: the
156 individual has a place in a human community; he is

233 234 435 434 648 costly, that the Common Market will soon drive up milk prices, and that income from the weaving has become too uncertain.

412 178 Many tools and techniques associated with crofting have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (two pieces of wood joined with leather); the sheepskin stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate chaff and grain; rope made of plaited heather and straw. 241 [221] [237] [824] [173] [887] Each spring the byre was cleaned of its accumulated dung and urine, and this was turned into the ground along with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be mobilized under changed conditions, as when alternatives to crofting are no longer available or are too costly. However, the longer crofting is neglected, the less it will provide an alternative strategy. "The artificial 241 824 fertilizers are ruining the land; that's why the turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to [233] water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and streams--rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep--the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather work the land than the blinkin' loom, but we tried the potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

Conclusions:

Summary and Theoretical Considerations

A. Summary

105 Crofting townships of the Highlands and Islands of
[131] Scotland are within a few hours' travel of the major citi
[484] of Britain. An extremely high percentage of the young
[873] people in the crofting counties attend universities and
other institutions of higher education. Politically,
[641] administratively, economically and in other ways, the
crofting population participates in the larger urban-
industrial society of Britain.

105 Despite this participation, the township-qua-village
632 community is a relatively strongly bounded system. This
62 thesis investigates factors contributing to the strong
[121] boundedness. From a relatively self-sufficient economic
105 unit using agricultural practices suited to the extensive
178 cultivation of marginal land by smallholders, the townshi
632 has during recent decades changed to one dependent on
241 goods and services provided by the larger society.

105 Crofting activities nevertheless persist, in part because
241 of the incentives offered by government bodies such as th
654 Crofters Commission and the Department of Agriculture. T

654 land is one reason that the larger s
[311] to exploit the land. The Crofters H
[671] and subsequent legislation ensured p
incentives for continued maintenance
the crofting township.

Protective government legislati
for housing, subsidies for rearing l
low taxes, and the economic protecti
socialistic government in times of c
maintain a core of crofting families

105 The predominance of older persons in
162
632 striking, but many of the younger pe
166 the island to work on the mainland r
434
584 contribute part of their salary to t
members, and plan eventually to marr
the village or to retire there. Lon
[621] kin-linked families in a small area h
to the boundedness of the township n

105 The policy of the government, t
241 agencies such as the Highlands and I
654 Board, has been to support economic s
632 complement rather than interfere wit
the crofting township with its small
000 practices. The Harris Tweed industry

members.

105 The fundamen
621
boundary-maintain
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632 external influenc
184 However, a smalle

105 religious sphere
794 the township syst
621
632 of a firmly bound
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talist Free Church constitutes an in
ing mechanism, serving to exclude va
es of the larger society from the to
r network of persons engaged in the
of social activity, a subsystem with
em, also exists which has the appear
ed system. These are members of the

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

conditions backward. He tells us that the Island of Lewis had been fruitful in corn until late years of scarcity and bad seasons. The crops were barley, oats, rye, flax and hemp. The natives showed great industry in digging the ground with spades—a practice which he invariably associates with a large return. He even records that the abundance of corn had once been such that it encouraged them to 'brew several sorts of liquor'. For manure, sea-ware and soot were used. And harrows had two rows of teeth and rough heather in the third row. Pennant's visit to the island in 1772 found that the produce of the land was insufficient to support the population. Distress was rife.

In Martin's time, although the economy was more or less self-sufficient, a certain amount of produce was available for export or for translation into 'several sorts of liquors, as common usquebaugh, another called trestarig id est, three times distilled, which is strong and hot.' One assumes that this produce was surplus to the requirements of the island's population. The livestock consisted of 'cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs'.

TACKSMEN AND TENANTS

Most of those who held land had leases: tacksmen, who paid rent for large tracts of land and who, by settling suitable tenants there, received rents, in money or in labour, as an additional income from their farms. These smaller tenants had no leases: they could not write and were subject to the tacksman's favour. In the early eighteenth century, the rental rolls for Lewis, preserved among the Seaforth Papers in the Register House in Edinburgh, show that most of the tacksmen—sixty-four in number—were MacKenzies, indicating that they were adherents of the Seaforth (MacKenzie) family on the mainland, who had received the lands from royal hands as the reward for their fidelity. The smaller tenants, who generally lacked surnames but were known by their personal characteristics, numbered over 200; there were also above eighty tenants in Stornoway.

Rents were paid either in money or, more often, in meal, mutton, sheep, butter, tallow or salmon. When it was proposed to sell the Seaforth estate of Lewis in 1772, particulars of the Lewis

TACKSMEN AND TENANTS

rental were published for the benefit of intending purchasers, a value in sterling being placed on the items:

Money	£713	3	3
Oatmeal, 256 bolls	89	2	2
Sheep, 228	25	6	8
Butter, 173 stones	28	19	7
Tallow, 7 stones	1	3	4
Salmon, 1 barrel	3	0	0
Total =	£860	15	0

The most important event in the agricultural history of the island at this time was the introduction of the potato. Though the exact date is not known, some evidence from the writer on Lewis in the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* (1796) places it about 1757. 'With the utmost difficulty . . . the people were prevailed on to plant potatoes, but of which they now plant great quantities by the plough and by the spade, and find them to be the most useful of all crops raised in the Parish.'

The substantial tacksman seemed, in Lewis, to deal kindly with those who called him Fear Baile (Town Man—almost a mayor, without the trappings and self-elected). Serious complaints against tacksmen are few. But winds of change were blowing. John MacKenzie, who had for some years been Chamberlain of the Lewis Estate, was examined before the Napier Commission in Edinburgh in 1883. He knew the island's history well.

> Till the beginning of this century, the greater part of the Lewis was in the hands of tacksmen, or middlemen, who got in some cases from their sub-tenants in money, produce, and labour what nearly paid their rents. There were the MacIvers of the Parish of Stornoway, the Morisons and Murrays of Barvas, the MacAulays of Uig, and the MacLeods of Lochs. When Mr Stewart-MacKenzie married the Hon Lady Hood, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and took the management of the estate into his own hands, he did away with the middlemen and let the land directly to the crofters. This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction, but it had its disadvantages, as the example of a good middleman, who looked after his people, and who was industrious in farming and attentive in stock-breeding, was beneficial to the people, though in some cases they may have been petty tyrants.

CROFTING CHANGES

The removal of crofters from good to poorer ground was a significant factor in the destitution years of the nineteenth century, with the self-sufficiency factor becoming smaller and the dependence on imports (when there was money to buy these) increasing. Today, the crofter is of course not self-supporting, his economy being based on fishing and weaving with the produce of the croft yielding an annual average of some £200.

Acreages under certain crops show this trend to dependence on the produce of mainland farmers. In the island in 1911 some 3,673 acres were under potatoes, the present acreage being about one-third of that. The number of people per acre of potatoes for Scotland as a whole is 22 : 1. In the island it is about 15 : 1, indicating a heavy domestic consumption. Yet substantial imports of this crop are required to satisfy demand; a relevant point is that the milking cow commonly shares the potatoes. The barley crop, once much used in Lewis's former small distilleries, has been reduced to some 10 per cent during the past fifty years. On the other hand, the acreage of sheaf crops, oats, rye and mixed corn, generally fed to cattle, has about doubled. Oats in particular are in favour for cattle fodder; even before the turn of the present century oats were not widely used for human food, and oatmeal has for centuries been imported into the region. The turnip acreage has halved over the past fifty years, perhaps the result of the gradual disappearance of the horse, its steady labour and its dung being required to put good heart in to the land.

As the crofters' cropping policy has changed over the past half century, so has their animal husbandry. Animals are a main selling product, particularly cows and sheep. Horses, of course, have been drastically reduced from their total of 1,672 in 1911, as tractor, lorry and van have taken over their work. And though some cattle are raised, the numbers are now about 60 per cent below those of 1911. At that time the density of cattle per 1,000 acres was heavy (46-60) in the north-east of Lewis, less (31-45) in the north-west, and still less further south. The present average is around 18 beasts per 1,000 acres. This decline, in particular in the milk-yielding animals, has compelled Lewis to import 1,000 gallons of milk a day from the mainland.

It is sheep which today claim pride of place on the croft, valued

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

for mutton and for wool, the right type for translation into Harris Tweed; the predominant breed is the blackface, whose fleece is hard, wiry and long-lasting. The demand for raw wool has also encouraged larger flocks among crofters in such places as Barra, where virtually no weaving is done in the immediate locality. In general there has been since 1911 a 40 per cent increase in the livestock carried on the island's crofts, about twice as big a rise as found anywhere in the seven crofting counties of Scotland.

In an attempt to reduce Lewis's milk imports, in 1962 three crofters at Garrabost on the Eye Peninsula combined to set up a small dairy farm using the lands of their three crofts. A new dairy byre and dairy premises were built and equipped with the necessary electrical equipment. Grants were given by the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland, the Crofters Commission, and the Highland Fund Limited. The first year of operation was closely supervised by the Lands staff of the Department at Stornoway and guidance given as necessary. The milk is retailed in Stornoway and district and amounts to about 5 per cent of Lewis's daily consumption. This little scheme has shown that the island could with some organised effort become independent of milk imports, which have been estimated at upwards of £100,000 worth per annum. Over £70,000 per annum is also spent on imported butter and cheese.

In 1947 the number of crofts in Harris and Lewis was 4,020. In 1971 the figure was 4,146 (3,592 being in Lewis), representing a slight increase in a quarter of a decade. Thus, crofting as a land use activity in the island provides a fairly stable element in the economy, although it is subsidised by the crofters' participation in the fishing and tweed industries. A crofter, it should be mentioned, is often a tenant of more than one croft, working them together as a unit. These units vary in size, the greatest bulk of them (about 60 per cent) having up to 5 acres of arable land. About 2 per cent contain over 30 acres of arable land. In recent years there have been proposals for the better use of the reclaimed moorland, particularly for cattle-raising, which would offer the crofter an increased cash yield from his interests. The annual reports of the Crofters Commission indicate, indeed, that the trend to the small croft obtained from the fragmentation

CROFTING CHANGES

of larger and more economic working units of over 30 acres of arable land is also apparent in the southern Hebrides, the west mainland of Ross & Cromarty, Argyll (mainland and islands) and Caithness.

The acreage of common grazings held per holding varies from under 50 to some 200. The crofts, as already mentioned, are in townships, of which the island has 168, half being fenced and half consisting of individually fenced crofts. During the winter most of the crofts are laid open for winter grazing by sheep of general ownership. Manure resources are mainly dung, seaweed, shell sand and of course artificials where necessary.

A new aspect of crofting in Lewis is its extension into forestry. A recent survey by the Forestry Commission indicated that under 400 acres of the land not being used for crofting were suitable for afforestation, and that these acres were made up from twenty-three different plots. At Garynahine Estate can be seen the beginnings of a real afforestation unit of some 500 acres, a scheme of the utmost significance for the economic future of Lewis and for the relationship between crofter and landlord. Too often in the past this relationship has been biting, hard and inflexible; in particular the crofter was understandably unwilling to release good land for planting trees. But the crofters of Callernish agreed that the right of usage of 285 acres of the common grazings belonging to their township should revert to the landlord, this land being thrown in with 220 acres of the Garynahine Estate. Labour comes from the affected township and others in the area.

FISHING

Early beginnings

It is the humble herring that has contributed so much to the island's economy and its history. At a very early date in history, the Hebridean fishings were worked by Frenchmen and Spaniards who must have found them rich enough to repay the long journey and weeks away from home in the cold Minch waters. It was not, however, until the end of the sixteenth century that the wealth of the Minch was really discovered, this time by the fishermen on the mainland of Scotland who copied the tricks of their trade

THE GAELIC LANGUAGE

ing, 73 per cent have the language, which has been introduced by immigrant country folk and their descendants.

HEALTH AND HOUSING

Despite the harsh conditions of centuries, the physical health of the island was good in early times. Epidemics were rare due to isolation, though on occasion smallpox carried away many children. The commonest diseases were fevers, jaundice, dysentery and diarrhoea. Bloodletting (as in many another more advanced community) was the usual cure for fevers and dysentery. For coughs the people took a 'brochan' or soup of roots of nettles and reeds boiled in water with yeast; the meal of a black bean, mixed with boiled milk, was a useful cure for dysentery. Reports describe the folk as being well-proportioned, free from bodily imperfections and of good stature; healthful and strong-bodied.

But privations, particularly the frequent recurrences of near-famine, coupled with the primitive housing conditions, began to take their toll. The increasing sickness rate aroused the concern of authority. The most primitive dwellings had but one room, with the cattle at one end and the family at the other. In 1830 Seaforth sought at least to put an end to this, ordering that a partition must be erected between beast and man, 'and that more light should be admitted into the dark recesses of their habitation'. This type of one-room dwelling was not confined to the island, being found with many variants throughout the Highlands and Islands area. The old Lewis house was, as a rule, an oblong structure, varying in length according to the means and requirements of the occupier. It had but one door, and frequently had no windows. Chimneys did not find favour, mainly because any opening for the escape of smoke from the centrally-sited hearth tended to reduce the quality of soot produced; and soot was regarded as a valuable manurial product. If there was a hole in the roof to admit some light, a small pane of glass was fixed into it: this soon had a coating of soot, and the sole source of light was the doorway—when the door was open. The family and the cattle used the same entrance; and the cows' dung was removed once a year in the springtime.

Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in part stems from government-defined privileges and duties regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides and thus is protected from competition, has provided work for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger members of croft families live in cities on the mainland, and send part of their wages home; they return regularly to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus the township supplies urban workers who remain very much attached to the rural townships, which are composed of aged family members and a rural proletariat. The standard of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated savings, although much of this surplus is used by the men for alcoholic drinks.

In Britain, rural communities have been interpreted as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf. Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall presented "an operational theory of role" by which he suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analyzed and compared. He developed the concept "density of role texture" to describe societies which lie along a continuum from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southall's concept along with other concepts to present a more complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "models" of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially lists

Appendix C

Balance Sheet of a Croft

"The Muillear" has one croft and a two-acre buaile. In 1970 he planted one-eighth of an acre with three bags of potatoes, two of which he bought for L14/16, and harvested 22 hundredweights. This was sufficient for his family's needs and provided some feed for his livestock for all but two months of the year. A small plot is planted with cabbages, for domestic consumption.

Seven-eighths of an acre is planted with oats; one-and-a-half acres with grass and hay; and two acres are used for rough grazing.

The Muillear is interested in new ideas and techniqu He goes to meetings and discussion groups sponsored by th North of Scotland College of Agriculture, and has bought prize rams from the mainland to improve his flock. He tries to raise a few sheep using techniques of good husba rather than a large flock which would be given less effective care. He is teased by other crofters for "over feeding," and for keeping his sheep on the croft and the township reseeding rather than out on the moor. "His she get homesick when they get out of sight of the croft." H wins the prizes at the Carloway Cattle Show each year, in

*159 232 233 quietly triumphant yet unassuming way. He does not kill any of his sheep for home consumption.

*159 241 288 434 His involvement with the croft is a "hobby" because its output does not compare with the income he receives from weaving. Whereas he might make as much as L100 from his crofting activities, his income from weaving averages [651] L7-800 a year. As a married man, he can earn as much as L848 without paying income tax.

*159 233 434 654 Income:

Sheep:	L27/--	(three sheep sold to the slaughterhouse in Stornoway)
	1/16	("Fat Sheep Subsidy" for the three sheep that were sold)
	16/10	(Subsidy of 12 shillings each for 11 shearlings and six sheep)
	22/10	(Prize money from the Carloway Cattle Show)
	12/10	(Three lambs sold locally)
	12/ 8	(Fourteen fleece sold to the Wool Marketing Board, at an average of 3/11 per pound, or about 17/6 per fleece. The island tweed mills pay only 2/5 per pound. He has been sending his fleece to the Board for two years. Many crofters prefer not to bother with the Board, and sell their fleece to the mills. They are the only sheep-owners in Britain who have this option, because of the location of the Harris Tweed mills on the islands. But as of 1970-71, the mills refused to buy fleece.)
	L90/14	

*159 233 434 654

Cattle:	L28/--	(Calf sold)
	11/ 5	(Subsidy for the calf)
	18/ 5	(Subsidy for the cow)
	L57/10	
Total:	L165/14	

*159 435 246 Costs:

L50/--	(Fodder used from December to August; a hundredweight bag costing L2/14 is used almost every two weeks. Other crofters do not use this much.)
8/--	(Stack of oats)
6/ 8	(Oat seed for 7/8 acres)
6/--	(Tractor hired)
9/--	(Six hundredweights of fertilizer for oats and grass. For a cropping grant of L17/10, three hundredweights of fertilizer must be put on each acre of hay.)
L79/ 8	

[427] [407] [241] [654]

*159 434 435

Income:	L165/14
Costs:	79/ 8
Profit:	L 86/ 6 (or about L2 back for every L1 he invested)

*159 434 Net cash income or profit from the croft thus represents 9% to 10% of his gross earnings from weaving. If computed as cash, uncalculated income from the croft in the forms of garden vegetables and milk products would raise the croft income by L30 to L40. In those households that consume their own sheep, the croft contributes an even greater amount.

136 coasts there is a wonderful richness—one might well spend an
137 hour or so with J. A. Harvie-Brown's *A Fauna of the Outer Hebrides*. The Hebrides area is one of the twelve faunal regions of Scotland, and is becoming increasingly the spotting-ground for amateur and professional ornithologists. They see birds such as the skua and red-necked phalarope, breeding at the southernmost limits of their range. The golden eagle, corncrake and red-throated diver, though found in other parts of Scotland, are more plentiful in the region because of the low incidence of human interference; buzzard, merlin and peregrine falcon are also found. Many birds are peculiar to the area: there are Hebridean subspecies of twite, dunnock, song-thrush and wren. Since 1962 the blue tit has begun to colonise the Stornoway woods. And 1960 saw the first arrival of the collared dove, an incomer which, like many a human, has taken a liking to the place and settled down to establish its flourishing community. On Gallows Hill, a low rising overlooking Stornoway, is a large rookery; rooks first reached the island in 1893. Jackdaws arrived at the turn of the century and are now quite numerous. As might be expected, the adjacent harbour and foreshore of Stornoway provide a suitable area for purple sandpipers, turnstone, heron and redshank. Gulls abound. The estuary area just north of Stornoway is the haunt of widgeon, shellduck and teal, among many other birds; a ruff was seen there in 1956. Melbost beach has the largest ternery in the islands, with arctic, common and little terns sharing life together.

The birds on the shore line are mostly waders, divers, ducks and seabirds. Cormorant, shag, gannet, fulmar, arctic skua, terns, gulls of all kinds and oyster-catchers can be found. The full variety of the island's bird life can be seen by visiting not only those sloping lands to the sea, but the cliff-tops, which often have their own numerous bird colonies. The sea's edge, with the push-pull tides, is indeed another area with abundant life of all kinds. Bladderwrack *(fucus vesiculosus)* and knotted wrack *(ascophyllum nodosum)* are there in great quantity, the latter now a significant factor
137 in seaweed-processing activities (Chapter 6). From time im-
324 memorial, seaweeds have been a natural resource in the island's
241 economy, used as manure to supply the necessary element of organic matter to keep the land in good heart. Keeping the sea-

For a number of years it had been the practice for a consider- 175*
able proportion of the older schoolboys during their attendance at 702
the Secondary School to put in their training with the local body 704
of Territorials—the Ross Mountain Battery. At the School Prize-
giving of 1914, these boys attended in their uniform to be ready
to go off the same evening by steamer en route for the annual
training camp. Before the School re-opened, the Territorial Force
was mobilised, and for some of these lads there intervened four
long years of toil, of fighting, and of sickness overseas, before they
ever saw their homes again.

Later (1938), the unit became the 203rd (Ross) Battery of the 51st (West Highland) Anti-tank Regiment. It was whilst fighting as an anti-tank battery that, with other units of the 51st Division, the men were taken prisoner at St Valery in 1940. Today, after more changes, the battery is the oldest in 540 LAA Regt (Ross, TA (the Lovat Scouts). In 1960 the Ross Battery received the Freedom of the Burgh of Stornoway in recognition of a century of voluntary service to the community and the nation.

LAND USE AND CROFTING

241 •
614
182
311
175*

The history of land use and the crofting system in the Highlands and Islands (see Chapter 5) is full of difficulties. In the older days of the clan system, before the rot set in, though the clan members belonged to the chief, they also belonged to the land and the land to them. In such a climate, the agricultural system, for it was such then, was in a reasonably healthy state; the land was worked to the full. Good land was available for the support of the clan, and as often as not in good years there was ample produce, crops and livestock, to send south to well-paying markets. That fertile lands abounded is indicated by the reports of visitors in various centuries. But times changed. The increase in population after the breakdown of the clan system by statutory legislation, and the policy of population placement carried out with a rigorous enthusiasm, planted seeds of discontent—in particular a hunger for land. The land was in any case becoming ever more inadequate to support those already on it.

The story of the agrarian troubles in the Highlands area is well

• 241 documented; and Harris and Lewis played out their part in the
614 agitation for more land. Briefly, when the clan system was broken
182 down, the clansman found himself freed of the obligation of ser-
311 vice to the chief. The chief, on his side, found himself thrown to
*175 the economic dogs. Payments in kind were no currency; a house in London or in Edinburgh had to be paid for in cash, and a London hairdresser would hardly accept half a dozen eggs for his services. The effect of the Heritable Jurisdictions Act was like a butcher's chopper. With a stroke a social organisation was given notice to change overnight, with no period of transition allowed. The chiefs looked to the land for their money. In the old system, their prosperity had been largely measured in fighting men. Now the pressures of economics demanded increased rents from those who were being called tenants. Increased rents can, however, be paid only when the land's productivity rises. The agricultural changes percolating through the Lowlands of Scotland had not
(427) even begun to penetrate to the Highlands area. Many tenants found that, unable to pay the increased rent demands, they were ejected from the lands which, incidentally, they had held by
(167) traditional understanding—written deeds were rare. Emigration
(233) started, and the vacant lands went to sheep-farmers, well able to pay good money for the grazings.

241 Some chiefs did give their tenants time to change to new
614 methods of land use, and were careful not to make a breach be-
311 tween agriculture and grazing. Their tenants in turn improved
427 the land, changing in particular from the old run-rig system,
*175 whereby a man working a piece of ground one year had the same piece the following year only if the dice were thrown his way. But the class of farmers' tenants called crofters (who had no security of tenure) or cottars (a squatter type with no legal recognition) found themselves on the verge of starvation. The few acres of ground they had, or to which they had been removed, were quite unsuitable for intensive cultivation to produce even the basic necessities of life.

*175 The picture of land use was that of a great black pot boiling
423 furiously with a brew of which the final taste was quite uncertain.
311 When the boiling was controlled, the land began to be parcelled
241 out, a share to each family. This led to a rigid, almost monolithic,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

agrarian order. Crofting townships were created which contained 175*
holdings of a uniform size, often fit to provide only a bare sub- 423
sistence living. This is still so today. There were and are no means 311
of achieving ambition through some kind of agricultural promotion, 241 •
no ladder to climb to prove one's ability to win the land over to (108)
one's side to increase its yield. And as each family increased, the progeny demanded land. The family acres were divided, subdivided and fragmented to a vicious mathematical system: more people, less land.

In the nineteenth century, many estates were sold. The new-
(427) comers, with no kinship ties with the small tenantry, saw that the only way to make their estates economic was to establish large farms, which meant the eviction, by force if necessary, of the small tenants. This is what happened. For those who did not 175*
emigrate, it was a life of huddling around a weak fire, whose flame 423
itself could hardly stand, and thinking of the prospect of starva- 268
tion and the 'old days'. Thoughts nourished on these old days 420
became the root of action; and a fierce agitation for land reform (511)
started. The Minutes of Evidence of the Napier Commission (1882-4), of the Deer Forest Commission (1894-6) and the several official reports on the conditions of the crofters and cottars, give ample evidence of bitterness and despair as the result of poverty and lack of opportunity. About 1870, unrest in the congested areas of crofting townships became a political issue. The flames of ideals were burning high and bright. Ideals were transformed into action: take the land!

By 1880, the ripples from the stone flung into the agrarian pond were reaching the general public. Sides were taken: one stood either on the economic touchline, or on that dangerous thin red line of sentiment based on high feelings and a deep sense of wrongs being perpetrated on fellow humans. The landowners naturally insisted on the right to move into an era of land use in which management was not hampered by affairs of sentiment or philanthropy. Governed by the cold principles of business, they hardened themselves in the face of their attackers. And though they pointed to arrears in rent, and their inability to improve their land agriculturally while they had tenants not of their own choosing, they faced mounting antagonism.

1901, the average was only 5·086, the county average being 3·983. 161
The population was still to reach its peak in Lewis, some 30,000, 162
in 1911. Emigration was at a fairly high rate, some 2,000 every 175*
decade, but this was no relief with births between 8,000 and (167)
9,000 during the same period. In 1894 it was estimated that the number of cottars (or squatters) as distinct from crofters was in the region of 1,000. These people, mostly relatives of crofters, constituted a serious incubus on every crofting township.

Elsewhere in the Highlands, the enlargement of crofting hold- 175*
ings relieved the land-hunger situation. It was not possible for 423
the same to be done in Lewis, and Harris possessed even less 241 •
useful land to share out. Many applications were made by crofters either for an increase in their own holdings or an increase in the acreage of common grazings held by each township. Though some 500 acres were in fact handed over by the estate management for crofting purposes, there was a steady refusal to diminish the acreage of farms.

The Congested Districts Board was appointed in 1897, super- 175*
vising public works to relieve the people of a certain amount of 657
their ills. It carried on until 1912, when it passed into the newly- 656
formed Board of Agriculture. The Congested Districts Board 423
could have achieved much more than it did. It scraped away 427
only a little of the vast problem. The next major landmark in the 241
history of crofting legislation was the Small Landholders (Scot- (363)
land) Act of 1911. It extended certain provisions introduced for the crofter in 1886, and further increased the class of tenants who benefited by bringing in the tenants of holdings rented at not more than £50 (£30 in Lewis) or not exceeding 50 acres (30 acres in Lewis). The 1911 Act also brought into existence the Scottish Land Court in place of the Crofters Commission. In Lewis, however, the hunger for more land went on unabated and reached a not insignificant peak during the later years of Lord Leverhulme's regime.

A new Crofters Commission was set up in 1955, following on the report of a Commission of Enquiry under the chairmanship of the then Principal T. M. Taylor of Aberdeen University. Fresh provision for the reorganisation, development and regulation of the crofting system in the seven crofting counties of Scotland

*175 was made in the Crofters (Scotland) Bill of 1961; this had a mixed
657 reception. In general, today, small crofts predominate in most
656 areas. Out of some 18,000 (the number is decreasing annually)
423 about 15 per cent exceed 20 acres (see Chapter 5). But size has
420 little to do with the type of land; whether arable or rough grazing.
• 24 In fact, the proportion indicates that some 85 per cent of all crofts
(178) in Scotland, and this applies to Harris and Lewis, cannot be considered as full-time now or as potentially full-time.

EDUCATION

*175 In general, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland owe their intro-
799 duction to letters to the early Christian missionaries. One of the
871 main provisions in the early monastic Church in Ireland and Scotland was for the cultivation of learning and the training of its members in sacred and profane literature. Associated as they were so closely with the common folk on the one hand and the aristocracy on the other, something of this learning and desire for learning rubbed off to advantage on to willing recipients. Literacy
(212) however, has had many ups and downs since the dawning of the Christian era in the Hebrides. Though it is impossible to ascertain to what extent the common folk participated in the knowledge imparted by the early Celtic monasteries, there are many references to a class of cleric called 'scolocs', whose learning was accessible to the poorer classes of the emergent Highland society. The 'scoloc' is still retained in Gaelic as 'sgalag', a farm servant, the poor searcher after knowledge who received education in the monasteries in return for services as labourer on the church lands, and who appears in monastic records as late as the fourteenth century.

*175 As late as the sixteenth century, however, after the influence of
212 the Church had diminished, the inhabitants were almost wholly illiterate. When the Fife Adventurers came to Lewis in 1598, they brought a schoolmaster with them; though it can be taken that his services were intended for the improvement of the incomers rather than the islesfolk. Old Roderic MacLeod, doughty chief of the MacLeods of Lewis at the time of the Fifers' arrival, was unable to sign his name. Two of his sons, on the other hand, were

5 AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

THE economic possibilities of the peat blanket of the island, particularly in Lewis, have attracted the attention of many would-be exploiters. Sir James Matheson's advisers formed the idea that the Lewis hags could be turned to a good profit, and Sir James's series of peat reclamation and improvement programmes are still echoed today. He first cast his eye to the west, north of Achmore, a township set up more than a century ago on deep peat. The peat reclaimer he employed was none other than Alexander Smith, one of the best-known 'speculative' agriculturalists in Scotland at the time. Smith had already transformed the Carse of Gowrie from bog to a fertile tract of land; could he not do the same in Lewis? The site chosen was seven miles from Stornoway and the little hamlet established there was called Little Deanston, in recognition of Deanston, Perthshire, to which Smith belonged. The soil consisted of bog-moss, varying in depth from 3 to 8 ft. Sixty acres were wedge-drained and laid out in fields of ten acres enclosed with ditches and turf fences. Ploughing and trenching began and fertilizing agents were applied, including clay marl, shell sand, guano and dissolved bones. Two of the fields were put through a course of arable cultivation, the others being laid down in grass. After the fields had been worked for a few years it was found that the driest ground gave the best results. In time the land was handed over to some crofters from nearby Lochganvich, but in 1850 it was abandoned because of the difficulty in getting seaweed for manuring; and besides it was not possible to keep the land in good heart and to do fishing as well. The tract of land concerned today still shows a better quality of pasture than the adjacent natural moorland.

Smith gave his impressions voice in 1844, just after his first visit to Lewis, to the august members of the Glasgow Philosophical Society. The cultivation of the soil was as primitive as the

islanders' manufacture of cloth. The inhabitants were at least a century behind the times, though they were, he found, in no way deficient by nature. They were social in their own style, and they had very good heads, 'that is, for people not accustomed to habits of thought'. So far as agriculture was concerned, nothing in the way of draining the land had ever been accomplished; nor had any effort been made to penetrate the hard sub-soil. He held that the great scarcity of timber had been a serious handicap when it came to agricultural implements—to their renewal, repair or possible improvement. Under direction, however, he was convinced that improvements in land use would result in considerable benefits to the island. He added that he hoped the period of this improvement would not be far off and that visitors would find 'a green, pastoral land instead of a dreary waste'.

Yet not until 1928 was peat reclamation and development again brought out for an airing. This time, the benefactor was the late Mr T. B. MacAulay, a Montreal magnate, a son of Lewis connections. He gave £10,000 to establish an experimental farm in Lewis, and a site on Arnish moor, not far from Stornoway, was chosen. It was typical of most of Lewis: black, water-holding peat, which when squeezed, instead of allowing water to escape from it like a sponge, oozes itself through the fingers. The aims of the farm were to provide additional arable land on which to grow winter fodder, and to improve, at as low a cost as possible, the grazing on the moorland. Fifty acres were certainly converted from moorland to arable, and this formed a basis for an experimental extension to another 100 acres. By 1936 the farm had a sales income from produce of about £1,400. The stock in that year included 40 head of thriving cattle, including 15 dairy cows, 20 poultry, 140 blackfaced sheep, and some fattening pigs. The sheep were a late addition, made with the dual aim of pasturing on moorland too deep and soft for cattle in wet weather, and of improving the sheep strain of the island.

By 1938, it had been shown that some lasting improvement on moorland of reasonably favourable slope could be effected at a materials cost of about £3 per acre, and without heavy labour costs. Thus, the common grazings held by the crofting townships could be improved, if a co-operative effort were organized. So

far as the reclamation of arable land from moorland was concerned, however, requiring as it did under-draining and cultivation, the labour costs were heavy, approaching the £20 per acre mark including the liming and fertilizing.

Though the farm was used for dairying with some reasonable results, the moorland acres put into good heart at Arnish were left to deteriorate. The run-down of the experiment followed the depression of 1933. Funds dried up, and in 1939 the farm was let to a tenant. But the lesson obtained from the MacAulay farm was a good one. By simply dressing with shell sand, of which large quantities are available on the shore-lands, applying some form of phosphate and seeding with cheap clover or ryegrass—involving no cultivation—large areas of moorland can be persuaded to do a good job. The work at present being undertaken by crofters to improve moorland grazing is worth mention. Areas of land have been given a surface application of approved compound fertilizers, phosphates, lime or shell sand, and selected grass-seed mixtures. The results are literally a sight for sore eyes, and bring Alexander Smith's 'green, pastoral land' close to realisation. Although individual crofters have taken advantage of the help given to regenerate rough grazings, the most spectacular results have been seen on the township common grazings; most of these have been fenced off and improved. Today, something like 14,000 acres of lush green pastures are steadily spreading over deep peat where formerly grew only sedges and brown heather.

To end this aspect of land use in Lewis on a historical note, the story of re-seeding had its beginnings during the time of the Napoleonic Wars. A minister who had some land at Barvas, on the west coast of the island, decided to attempt the reclamation of useless heather-bound and bracken-choked land. He sanded the area with shell sand, seeded it with a good strain of grass and used sheep to tamp in the seed. One can imagine what Lewis would be like today if the Barvas minister's work had been followed up by Alexander Smith and those who set up the farm at Arnish.

THE CROFTER

The pursuit of agricultural processes, their growth, development and improvement, to establish a foundation for a secure society has never been easy on the island. The unyielding nature of the base rock, Archaean gneiss, its hardness, its non-porous property, have all contributed to the resultant pattern and character of society which emerged. Though one is tempted to define crofting as an agricultural activity, it is also something much more intangible: a way of life. To quote the Napier Report on *The condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (1884): 'Habit and local affection bear so great a sway in the actions of mankind, that Highlanders will be found who would rather be proprietors in the mountains of Skye, or the wastes of Lewis, than on the fertile plains of Manitoba.' 'There is the Island of Lewis, with poor, peaty soil covering the Archaean gneiss, but with a crowded, lively, vivid community,' said the Taylor commision in 1955 (Commission of Inquiry into Crofting Holdings).

The Highland crofter is the subject of an extensive literature. A special authority, the Crofters Commission, exists solely for the purpose of caring for his needs. He has special rights and privileges which are safeguarded by the Land Court. Crofters' unions have formed themselves into a strong federated wall for the system's defence.

Socially, the term 'crofter' means, on the island at any rate, a landholder who cultivates his own (arable) holding, his croft. He shares the common pastures with his fellow-crofters, each of whom has a right to carry a sum of so much stock, the 'souming'. These common pastures or grazings are a social link of some considerable significance, forming the basis for the crofting township, as distinct from the communities set up under the influence of some agricultural land use such as hamlet or village, where there are both small-holders and true farms, and the only communal land is the village green or common. For instance, outside the crofting counties area the main unit of Scots life in the country is the farm, with its tied cottages. Then come the full-time small-holdings important in the north-east and the southern Highlands.

EARLY AGRICULTURE

In the past the land was worked with reasonable efficiency, at least to produce a subsistence economy. The reports of various observers on the islander point to this. But they also record a slow deterioration in the use of land with an agricultural element, as distinct from crofting. First, to Donald Monro, Dean of the Isles. His account of the Western Isles (*c* 1549) indicates that the population was very much greater then than now, and methods of agriculture were not far behind those used on the mainland. In addition to the raising of cattle, cereal crops were grown. Harris was 'very fertile and fruitfull of corne store and fisching, twisse mair of delving in it nor of teilling'. Lewis was 'faire and waill inhabit at the coste, ane fertile fruitfull countrey, for the most part all beire [barley] . . . in this ile ther are many shiep, for it is verey guid for the same.' Taransay (on the west of Harris) is reported as 'ane rough ile with certain tounes weil inhabit and manurit; but all this fertill is delved with spaides excepting as meikell as ane horse pleuch will teill and zet they have maist abundance of beir, meile of corne, store and fishing.' One must, however, regard the Dean's account in the light of his mission, which was to visit the Hebrides in a pastoral capacity. His concern was thus chiefly with Church lands which, agriculturally speaking, were the best. There is evidence also that the clergy in the islands were as good farmers as they were theologians and, as elsewhere, stimulated agriculture by example and precept.

The next reporter was Captain Dymes, sent from London *c* 1630, to report on the islanders, their agriculture and their ways of fishing. He confirms much of what the Dean said, even though one suspects that a pinch or two of adjectival seasoning has been added, for was not King Charles interested in Lewis and its resources? Again Lewis is described as 'very profitable and fertile alswell of corns as all kinds of bestiall wild fowl and fishes and specialie of beir sua that thair will grow commonlie 20, 18 or at leist 16 bolls beir yeirlie after ilk bolls sawing'. Harris was 'fertile, commodious and profitable in all sorts'.

About half a century later (*c* 1695) Martin Martin paints a different picture. Agriculture is in a shameful state of neglect and

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Other tombs inside the church include that of Mary MacLeod, a bardess of the seventeenth century who was also governess to the young MacLeods at Dunvegan. She was probably the first to compose what may be called the 'court' song, in simple words and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels since her time. Her last elegy was composed to Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray in 1705.

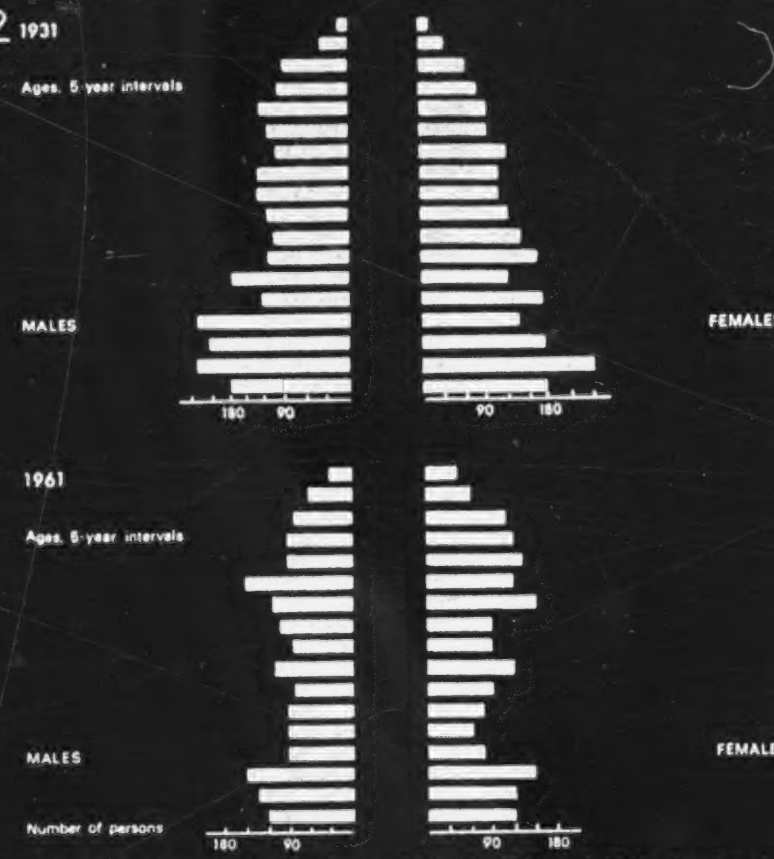
So far as personal characteristics are concerned, there is a marked difference between the Herrach (Harrisman) and the Leodhasach (Lewisman). Their Gaelic dialects are different, the Harris pronunciation being much softer, with an attractive singing lilt. And Harris Gaelic has fewer words of Norse origin. The main reason for this difference has been a topographical one: before a road was cut, the mountain barrier of north Harris divided the inhabitants of the two parts of the same island, who developed in their own distinctive ways.

The character of the land of Harris has also had much to do with the difference. Harris for the most part is infertile, with great expanses of rock outcrops. The east side of the island is torn in shreds by fiord-like sea-mouths; the west coast is slow-moving, with large expanses of sand and machar-land which look out over the Atlantic breakers rolling in from a sea that is oceanic in appearance and in fact. From early times the Harris folk have had to work hard to scarify their snippets of land to make it fertile. Regular increases in population forced them to cultivate land extending up to 500 feet above sea level in some places, in the form of hard-won lazy-beds. After the clearances early last century, when the more fertile lands on the west coast were taken over for the formation of sheep farms, the people concentrated on the eastern side of the island, and on some of the higher ground in the west.

On Lord Leverhulme's death in 1925 the ownership of large tracts of Harris passed to absentee landlords. After this, some of the lands which had been cleared a century earlier were purchased by the Government and broken up into crofts again, enabling some of the indigenous population to come back to make use of the more fertile lands of the west. There are some 550 crofts in Harris, with 29 regulated common grazings; the total

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

acreage of regulated common grazings amounts to 65,000 acres. The working units (as distinct from crofts) in Harris are classified according to the arable acreage; the majority have up to 10 acres arable land. Less than 250 acres of land have been improved.



The age stucture of the Harris population in 1931 and 1961, showing th decline in numbers and rise in age

There are four districts in Harris: North Harris, with it islands; the Bays of Harris on the east coast; the Leverburgl area, with the islands of the Sound of Harris; and the west coast North Harris is mountainous country, dominated by the Clishan

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

621 has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway
631 and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway,
[505] and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West
[494] Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes six-
[361] teen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population
[366] within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a
[368] post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a
[873] masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a
[504] fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

464 The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as
[167] Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing
463 ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The
[241] main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being
[434] augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from
[286] their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow
[386] on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the
[226] tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Road-
[464] work gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

316 An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

361 Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which is about half a mile across at its narrowest, coursed by strong
[133] tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter, rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides; the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a
361 tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green
311 shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the
[134] Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds
[241] in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser population at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was severely limited by the minute amount of land available for tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict the range and quality of crops grown.

*175 Scarp was originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by
361 eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access to good pasturage on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1823
[166] thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Resort, Harris, and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate
[162] their families and friends from elsewhere. In 1861 the population was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951 it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat, plying between two stone-built jetties.

433 The local economy was essentially a subsistence one, with self-
241 sufficiency in such products as potatoes, turnips, cabbages, oats,
234 milk and fish. After a break of some years lobster-fishing has
226 recently been reinstated as an occupation. Oil lamps are the only lighting, though a few houses have piped water. The small shop
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336
000

verses would ring false to them! Before 1939, two-fifths of the rural pupils of most non-crofting counties came or went in the school year—most of them the children of farm servants. Their schooling suffered, and their teachers might be reduced to despair; indeed it is to educationists, rather than to agriculturists, that we owe a survey of these facts. When they leave home to be 'hired', the young folk learn to fend for themselves but may suffer in the learning: stability of character and endurance in attachment are hard to form.

It would be difficult to overstress the tragedy of the long-continued break-up of rural communities in the Lowlands. From the later years of the English invasions, as when Major wrote with his knowledge of Scotland in 1500, this break-up continued through the early, largely unrecorded phases of the agricultural revolution, down to the later phases from 1750 or 1800 to the present day. No one who has worked with fellow-servants on Scots farms will under-estimate their sterling qualities. But the break-up, the tragedy, happened. It was boldly sketched by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston (to 1929) and verified by Miss I. F. Grant (1924 onward). Beginning from intimate study of well recorded and surviving ways in the Highlands and the Hebrides, Miss Grant realised the significance of earlier Lowland life in the farm-hamlet or ferm-toun, as Lowlanders themselves could hardly have done. Comprehension of this break-up of community brings out the value of the enduring elements of communal life still recorded, remembered and surviving in the 'Outermost' Hebrides, at the core of 'the North and West'.[1]

[1] Ideas outlined in this section are developed in A. Geddes (1938–54). Detailed references will be found in the Bibliography.

follows that as the descendants of the crofters of the South-west and East Highlands could and did change their ways within the space of a lifetime, so those of the North-west Highlands and the Isles can change too. Given the co-operative leadership which is arising in the twentieth century and was totally lacking in the ideals and training typical of the nineteenth, that change may be not only for the better in the development of 'individual' qualities, such as the power to do hard work for 'success'; change may also maintain and develop what still remains of the old characteristics which gave the community life of the Gael, with all its faults, elements of beauty and sanctity.

In an article on "The Human Geography of Lewis", A. Stevens (1925) described the Island and people. His comparison of the cold, wet 'desert' of Lewis and its corn-patch 'oases' with the desert of heat and drought and its oases of palms, is ingenious and suggestive. One might follow up the analogy and compare irrigation to the drainage of moorland and its fertilisation, which form the means of reclamation at home, and draw parallels between their immediate results on the land and the ultimate effects on work and social life.

Until the agricultural revolution, the unwritten story of Scotland was in great part that of a long, uneven struggle to make sour soils fit for cultivation and productive of a livelihood. Most of all is this true for North-west Scotland; moreover, there, for eighty years past, the struggle has been a losing one, in the sense that arable land has been decreasing and rough pasture deteriorating. In spite of subsidies, the 'marginal farms' of Scotland have a tough fight. Yet lands from Scandinavia to Finland and North Germany are giving a lead in peat-reclamation, where

Scotland had begun to lag since her pioneering effort from 1750 to 1880.

Fortunately, Scotland is now recognising that in peat reclamation, on the one hand, and the improvement of rough grazing, or at least its maintenance, on the other, there lies a problem of national importance. More than half the land surface of the country consists of mountain and heath land used for grazing, not including 'deer forests' from which sheep had been altogether excluded. The arable land of Scotland is less than one-sixth of the whole, with about one-twelfth in addition under permanent grass. Moreover, since most of the enclosed land is distant from the area of rough grazing, the latter is partly wasted. The difficulties of soil and sea and of the whole economic situation are great, and must be understood.

(B) THE ISLAND LANDSCAPE, LAND-FORMS AND GEOLOGY

1. *Aspects of the Isle*

Lewis-and-Harris, the most northerly isle of the Outer Hebrides, and the largest, is roughly lozenge-shaped. Although only thirty miles in width, it is over sixty miles in length. Attached to Harris parish is the little isle of Berneray, half a dozen miles farther south. It puzzles the stranger that, while the archipelago of the Outer Hebrides is best known to the inhabitants as "The Long Island", Lewis (or the Lews) and Harris, which actually form one island, are spoken of as separate islands.[1] Yet nothing could be more natural. Before the making of

[1] "The Long Island", Gaelic *An Eilean Fada*, as a name for the Outer Hebrides has the sanction of traditional usage, as Alexander Carmichael noted in his Introduction to *Carmina Gadelica* (vol. i, 1900; and 1928).

Except for the sandy bays hidden beyond the headlands, or the long machar of west South Harris, the coast of the Island at high tide rises straight from the undermining breakers, rugged and uncompromising. A series of sandy 'storm-beaches' links the lower promontories, but the series of raised beaches found on the mainland and the inner isles seem absent round the Island. Along the western mainland and the Inner Hebrides, a secret harmony links the lines of the sea with those of the land, even on their wildest coasts of gneiss. Above the level plane of the sea, the shores of the mainland rise in rhythmic curves, tier above tier, some 10, 25, 50 and 100 feet, above the present line of waves and the triple band of colour which marks the shore at ebb-tide, formed of golden tangle, grey barnacles and pitch-black rock. These tiers are the 'raised beaches' of a coast which has emerged, by stages, to some 100 feet above the sea.

Lacking the raised beaches of an emerged coast, the Outer Hebrides show no clean-cut terraces like those of the mainland, inviting little communities to lay out their homesteads in an orderly way. For this reason, the older, unplanned crofts spot the landscape in an irregular way which is sometimes picturesque, yet often almost uncouth. The raised beaches have given the Gaels living east of the Minch a few precious acres of passable ploughland which would otherwise be lacking. In the Outer Isles compensation is found on the smooth machars of shell sand. These machars lie mostly on the stormy Atlantic shore, so that the more cultivable fringes of the Outer Hebrides turn their back to the mainland—except round Stornoway, a reason for their isolation.

In detail, the coasts may be grouped in three types: (1) sloping to the sea, by the sides of sheltered lochs

121 From prehistory to the present day, these geographic
178 zones have played their parts as factors in evolution,
although the border-lines have changed at different historic
174 crises, and have been modified by economic and social
182 phase. At times the Hebrides have been more closely
linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Central Scotland.
184 In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in
historic events, but comparability in stage and transition,
even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of
view, the revealing character of Island life lies not only in
static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the
Isles and vividly described as " the Past in the Present ".
Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic
strength of its continuity—notably of early or primitive
Christianity—and also by the late occurrence of changes
when, at last, they came.

18 The social consequences of these regional differences
62 in evolution are profound. In the ' Plain ', to the south-
174 east of the Severn-Tees line, large village communities
with ' common fields ' prevailed, forming the later manor
423 villages. To the north and west, the more varied, hillier
192 lands encouraged the continuance of hamlets. These
hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no
more than four or five to a dozen relations or ' friends '—
—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word
462 ' friend ' frequently implies kinship. Each small group
476 formed a team. Together the men ploughed their mingled
241 rigs (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and
286 on the coast they rowed their boat as its crew. The
423 women, too, did much together, as when they spun their
yarn, and fulled or ' waulked ' the cloth that one of them
had woven, helping by turn in childbirth and child-care.
Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

18 pastoral group, the germ (in the Hebrides) of the present
621 township with its common grazing. Hamlets and town-
174 ship formed circles of cultural and religious life in common.
[423] These ' sociable hamlets ', or ' little commonwealths ', as
they were called by understanding writers on the High-
lands, lived on in the Hebrides almost until a century ago.
Features of their form and life have long been known, but
their life has not yet been envisaged in its full dynamic
significance.

127 The homesteads, informally grouped in these small
36 hamlets, have been mistakenly described as solitary or
174 ' dispersed ' by scholars accustomed to larger and more
compact grouping. The mistake was made by geographers
[423] of the nineteenth century, such as Meitzen with reference
to the hamlets of Brittany. Similarly, because of the
[476] small number composing a typical joint team, the vital
fact of team-work and joint holding has frequently been
overlooked ; yet a fundamental mistake is made when such
close-knit team-work and joint tenure are described as
174 ' individualistic '. Moreover, these teams were linked to-
621 gether in larger, more loosely bound pastoral communities
63 of township and district. In Scotland and elsewhere, it is
true, such hamlets came historically to be split up in various
• [241] ways, into smaller farms and scattered cottages. The
larger link of common life was also superseded by the
[178] proprietor's estate. Indeed, the twofold revolution in-
volved caused a fundamental regional cleavage within ' the
North and West '.

[182] Partly as a result of their small size, the tenure of farm-
hamlets was frequently informal. In northern England,
[184] the hamlets and their lands were not entered in Domesday
Book ; still less are early entries complete in Scotland.
[178] For this and other reasons, jurist and historian may fail

184 share their characteristics. So to gain a sense of pro-
105 portion from the start, we must map the location of Scots
countrymen, their numerical importance, and their types
[128] of grouping. Let us begin with the first of these three
[102] aspects, their regional location (Fig. 2).

The base map on which the data are plotted shows the
boundaries dividing the hill masses of the Highlands and
102 Southern Uplands from true ' lowland '. This hill country
13 is mostly covered by rough pasture (left blank on the map)
311 within which lie strips of ' Isolated Arable ' with other
improved land in the valleys and along the outlying coast-
lands (shown in black). This hill country includes the
Scottish Isles, with the exception of Orkney, which falls
• [241] rather into the category of ' lowland '. It is largely devoted
to sheep farming and crofting, or left to grouse and deer.
[429] The lowland area from the Orkneys to the Tweed and Sol-
way is devoted to mixed and dairy farming with lowland
types of small-holding, except, of course, for ' Industrial
Regions ', which include most of the urban area of Scotland.

[226] Within the ' three-mile ' territorial limit from the coast
lie the inshore waters, in which local fishing was once
important, and might again become so ; these are left
white on the map (Fig. 2). By contrast to their narrow
extent on the East Coast, their width is notable in the
Northern Isles and on the West Coast.

102 The problem set in making this map is to show two
13 different worlds, as it were : the Highland and the Lowland.
184 The two are rarely envisaged together, and much confusion
of thought and policy results. To master the map, the
128 reader may scrutinise first one part, the Highlands (cover-
ing the other with one hand), then the other part, the
182 Lowlands (in the same way) : thus each will appear clearly
in turn. Both can then be envisaged together.

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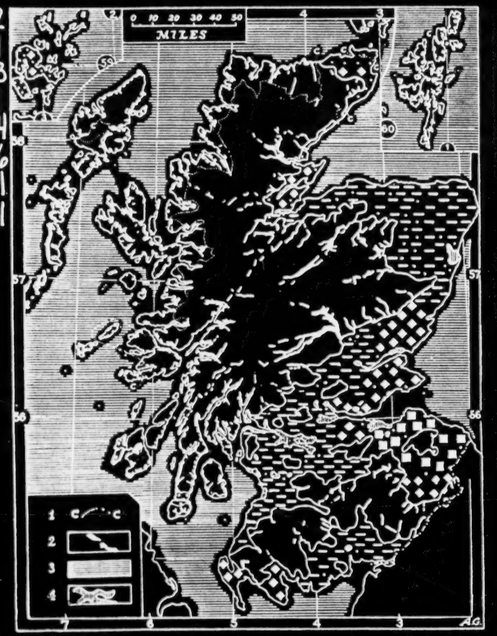

FIG. 2.—Map to show (i) the use of land and sea in and around Scotland, with special reference to the Crofting Townships Zone of the NW. Highlands and Isles, and (ii) the average size in each county of labour-teams of farms and small-holdings in the Lowlands

182 Let us begin with the economic and the social signi-
184 ficance of the Highlands and Isles with which we are
concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space' is
311 the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown black)
(241) which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore waters,
(427) and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by line
C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or com-
(361) munities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainland
and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazing;
the line C also encloses a small area devoted to other
grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, main-
land, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill country
are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small farms
and small-holdings.

174 In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint labour-
621 team on land formed the communal units contained within
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423
241
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Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C .... C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black areas; strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling; open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling; urban and industrial regions.

Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings
(in the Lowlands)

The symbols show the average number of employees per team in each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

(a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm
— 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
◆ 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
■ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(b) Per Full-time Small Holding
• 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

102
131
133
(311)
(241)
(361)

226 the township; and to each were allotted the rights of the
common grazing and the fishing grounds. For more than
• 241 a century the croft has been held individually, though in
423 the townships the common grazing is still held in common.
621 Beyond these 'homely' limits lie wider horizons, in the
past those of seafaring and of droving or the chase, and
632 today of fishing and gillieing at home, or of ocean journeys,
(178) urban occupations or colonisation.

In the Lowland regions each symbol represents 100
182 holdings. For (A), 'mixed and dairy farming', the par-
184 ticular type of symbol shows the average number of workers
241 employed on a farm-holding in each county. On each
farm the employed workers form what may be called the
'Labour-Team'. A team may be 'small', 'medium' or
'large'. The Scottish averages of these three types (indi-
cated in the inset key to the map) are roughly three, five
and seven workers per team. Four 'casual' workers are
counted as equivalent to one 'permanent' worker, but
farmers' wives are excluded. Under (B), for the same
Lowland counties and areas, full-time small-holdings are
(543) shown separately. The Scottish average of less than one
full-time worker employed, most often a son or daughter
of the small-holder, is typical of all the counties.

241 As to the relative importance of the different classes of
farms and small-holdings in Scotland, true agricultural
(162) land-holders number 68,000, of which fully one-third hold
part-time holdings (like the Island crofters), one-third
'full-time farms', and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold 'full-
time small-holdings'. The remainder accounts for other
types of less importance. The farms predominate in terms
of improved land, full-time employment, and of course of
(311) production. As to area, farms cover 80 per cent of agri-
(464) cultural land. The farmers employ nearly 90,000 workers,
(162) [refer to map p. 16 -- analyst]

• 241 and with the addition of 10,000 workers on full-time small-
162 holdings, these constitute a labour force of nearly 100,000.
464 Nevertheless, there are more crofts than farms in Scotland,
and more small (part-time) crofters than farmers, besides
241 'full-time small-holders', of whom so many are crofters,
north of the Highland line. Thus the number of crofter
427 families forms an important item of Scotland's rural popu-
162 lation. Of these, the families of Lewis-and-Harris form
fully one-fifth, owing to the remarkable growth of popula-
tion until 1925. Even in the little burgh of Stornoway
many families hold a plot of land, and at heart they may
be almost as much 'crofters' as townsmen.

241 Socially, what is meant in the Island by the term
427 'crofters'? Although each Island crofter cultivates his
own arable holding (his croft), he shares the common
621 pastures with fellow-crofters, each having a right to a
'sum' of so much stock, 'his souming'. Open, sandy
land by the shore, if any, may also be shared. These
common grazings, shared together by the crofters of one
community—a hamlet, a village or township—form a social
link of great significance. They distinguish what we shall
call 'township crofting' from individual holding, whether
of part-time or full-time small-holdings, or of true farms.
The common grazings, enclosed by line C (Fig. 2), thus
(361) form an important social index. About 75 per cent of the
area included forms Common (or other Crofters') Grazings.
The close dots of the dotted line divide the 'Commons'
from Deer Forests, as in the Island and inland from the
north-western coasts. Widely spaced dots divide the
Commons from the Sheep Farms and other mixed holdings
further south.

241 Outside the tract of 'township crofting' in the north
361 and west, the chief unit of Scots rural life is the farm,
[see p. 16 -- analyst]

• 241 with its tied cottages and frequently a 'bothy' for the un-
362 married. Next to this comes the full-time small-holding,
important in the North-east and the Southern Highlands
(184) of Scotland. Great as are the differences between these
types of unit today, they go back, to a considerable extent,
(174) to common origins. The sites of the farms are ancient.
And their people, though since divided into masters and men,
are the successors to those who were once the 'kindly co-
operators' of older 'farm groups', of Lowland *ferm-toun* and
(184) Gaelic *baile* (pronounced like 'ballie'). The island counter-
part of these, and their life, will be described in Part Two.
Hence, before we turn to further analysis of the Highlands
and Isles, a word more should be said of Lowland types.

241 An important social index in the Lowlands of Scotland
is the number composing the farm labour-team, averaged
361 for each county. Villages and even hamlets are few,
464 largely because farmers and farm servants live on the farms.
Compared to those of most of England, Scots labour-
(171) teams are small. Yet, as the map indicates, there is a
(184) wide range from the 'large' teams of South-east Scotland,
through the 'medium' teams of adjacent areas, to the
'small' teams of the West and North-east. Not only do
the contacts of employer with employees partly depend
upon the number in the team, but so do the farm servants'
relations to one another. On the whole, the larger the
team, the more formal its organisation; and the smaller
(554) the team, the greater a worker's own responsibility. The
(178) 'family farmer' of the West and North-east is often an
ex-farm servant. From Burns's time, his character and
enterprise have been recognised in Scotland, and in the
last forty years have become well known in South-east
England. But the isolation of these little farms brought
its problems and its hardships.

[see map p. 16 -- analyst]

vision of adequate educational facilities in remote spots becomes increasingly difficult.

In its time Scarp has contributed more per head of population to the professions than has any other community of similar size. The last of the native Scarp population left the island in November 1971 : two families totalling seven people. The island has now attracted the attentions of a hippie community.

Scalpay

Scalpay Island, on the east side of Harris, was formerly occupied by two or three tacksmen in succession before being 'crofted out'. About 1843 the Harris factor settled twenty crofting families who managed to make a fair living there, but five years later another twenty families were added; some had been evicted from the island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris. This led to some subdivision of the available land. The 1861 population was 388, but the figure rose to a peak of 624 in 1921; in 1951 it had declined to 541. It is now in the region of 450.

Island Scalpay is in fact one of the few places in the Highlands and Islands area in which the normal trends associated with remote regions are operating in reverse. The island despite its smallness—it is a mere 3 miles long and 1½ miles across—supports a thriving and dynamic community and is the envy of its neighbours. Scalpay is retaining its young folk; and it boasts some of the finest homes in the Hebrides. From the agricultural point of view it is not greatly different from other islands in the Hebrides. Its forty crofts produce a good crop of oats; but less than 20 acres of the land are re-seeded.

The land being as poor as it is, the men of Scalpay have turned their faces to the sea—for a living, not for emigration. Scalpay has the largest number of full-time fishermen and a total of thirty-three boats, twelve of which are ringnetters of over 40 ft. Native enterprise is also shown in the ship-owning firm whose vessels carry freight and passengers to many parts of Scotland and on occasion to the Continent. A Harbour Association was formed on the island in 1966 to work for local amenities for fishermen and

ugh the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says 175*
in his time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving 241
, and an abundance of clover-grass for sheep. The island also 231
luced a fine bere-meal which the islanders stuffed into the [427]
s of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of
vis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest 181
istian building in Britain remaining in its original state, 175*
nro says: 'As the ancients of the country allege, they leave a [346]
de and a shuil [shovel] when any man dies, and upon the [764]
rrow find the place of the grave marked with a spade, as they
ge.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680:

> The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Com- [788]
> mandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have [794]
> cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly
> ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They
> know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either;
> they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as
> they want; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied
> with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very
> precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of
> them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his
> property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of man-
> kind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take [551]
> their surname from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and clouds. [62]
> There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant
> has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects [342]
> are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side
> to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and
> thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis,
> which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm 175*
of rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the food. 731
A few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders [165]
of their only bull. 'These misfortunes and the want of supply
from Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all [166]
that ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony 175*
was sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical* 162

LIFE TODAY

As in other Highland areas, some of the island's problems have become so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. They have been the *raison d'être* of so many commissions and committees of inquiry that their existence is now almost forgotten by the islander —if indeed he ever understood their nature. Some results have been seen, such as the Crofters Act of 1886 which gave Highland crofters security of tenure, perhaps the most valuable measure of the last century or two. But somehow all things have not progressed so well since that date; at any rate not so fast that crofting, for instance, is now seen to be an economic form of land use of benefit to both local community and nation at large. Many problems have been virtually ignored by successive central Governments; at least, remoteness seems to qualify a topic for the office 'pending' tray. It has yet to be fully realised that the island, with other Highland communities, is part and parcel of the area generally administered from London and Edinburgh, and merits as much attention to its welfare as other European governments, such as Norway, give to their remote mainland and island communities.

As usual, charity and self-help begin at home, and one of the most dramatic changes in island life has been the result of the agricultural revolution of recent years which is changing once-brown moors to lush green pastures: reclamation by re-seeding. This revolution is still going on. Lewis crofters in particular are showing the way, with other Highland crofting areas following suit. The change in the Lewis scene is being emphasised by the planting of shelter-belts of hardy trees and the first of the new plantations of timber-producing trees. These show the promise of the future: a lively future for a lively community. The fishing industry also has a future, brighter on the horizon than it has been for many a poor year. The Harris Tweed industry, the staple employment-source in Lewis, is maintaining its ability to retain the interest of the market. And tourism, once a perfunctory and casual affair, promises to emerge as a useful sector in the economy. There are, in addition, many small pockets of native initiative and enterprise which, given sufficient encouragement

Two sayings sum up the lag of the seasons in the Wes and its effect on crops. The first runs, " Winter come not till after New Year, nor Spring till after St. Patrick' Day " (*Cha tig Geamhradh gu cul Calluinn, no Earrach g cul Fheill Paruig*). St. Patrick's Day is the 17th of March but old-style reckoning put both dates later still. Th other runs, " A frosty winter, a misty spring, a chequere summer, and a bright, sunny autumn, never left dearth i Scotland " (*Geamhradh reodhtanach, Earrach ceothanach Samhradh breac riabhach, us Foghar geal grianach, ch d'fhag gort riamh an Alba*). The retort is that thoug western summers may often be chequered with sun an showers well suited for growing grass and grain, th autumns are not really sunny, but rainy. Hence ' dearth —of grain—must result from spoiled harvests. Not so fo grass, unharmed by a wet autumn. Hay, if ensilage is no possible, can usually be gathered unharmed in sunny spell of summer if cut in good time. Agriculturally, the climat favours ' grass ' rather than grain.

Plentiful rainfall and coolness throughout the year d not allow of complete neutral decomposition of vegetabl matter in the presence of air. Hence, year by year, residuum of acid humus accumulates as peat on the ill drained surface. Prehistorically, more favourable phase of climate permitted the growth of pines. Knowledge o present temperature and rainfall alone would suggest th growth of broad-leaved deciduous trees, but these ar absent except in the sheltered policies of Stornoway Castle About 1695 Martin noted ' hazel and birch ' occurring o the south side of Loch Stornoway, but nowhere else on th Island. Even there trees are stunted as if pruned by th wind.

The further inhibitive influence is indeed the win

The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in ferm-toun and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged in planning for post-war housing and community life. But sound planning must be based on survey, long overdue; though elementary, this key map appears to be the first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units of farm-team and township that Scots rural society must be rebuilt, region by region.

One further contrast between the farming and the crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World—return home to their native township when they can, and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand, though they usually spend their lives in the county or region of their birth, have been on the move from farm to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new hiring, the married once a year. Families were annually uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all! The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence many men have few ties, their wives still fewer. The children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they could look back to no "Auld Lang Syne", of which the

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

Harris; South Harris is ringed by a road, extended recently to take in the more isolated 'Bays' townships.

2. *The Crofts and Crofting Ways*

The prevailing modern unit of cultivation and tenure in the Islands is the croft, the land held individually by each small landholder or 'crofter'. The Anglo-Scottish term croft (Gaelicised as *croit*) meant steadily cropped, infield land, manured and never left fallow, and distinguished from the unmanured outfield with its long fallows and poor out-turn. This term came into common use in the Highlands and Isles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the splitting up of the older unit of cultivation and tenure, the small joint farm, with its little team of fellow-workers or 'small tenants'. By 1830 group tenure had been replaced by individual holding of crofts, but with the pasture still held in common, as it is to the present day, and an allotted strip of the machar.

The Lewis croft consists of a nominal five acres of crops, of oats, barley (or bere) and potatoes, sometimes with recent additions of turnips, and more often a small hay crop. The word 'nominal' is used because during the nineteenth century the croft had often been subdivided between two or more sons, without addition by reclamation to bring each subdivision up to the acreage of the original croft. Moreover, in the hilly southern part of the Island, cultivation is in little patches instead of in continuous fields. There, narrow ditches have been dug and the soil heaped up to form little ridges about ten feet by four, banked up by turf. These are known as *feannagan* in Gaelic, or in English, 'lazy-beds'—a term in use as early as the time of Burt, two hundred years ago. Thus only about two-

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highlan
Lewis and

thirds of an area nominally under crops actua
them. It need hardly be said that such croft
support a family.

The means of cultivation have been either po
ploughs in the smoother north, or else the fo
(*cas chrom*), and the straight spade in the hilly sou
the almost obsolete foot-plough used on hilly gro
Rodel, Harris, in 1919. In the smoother lands fro
way and Barvas northward, however, the crofts
already laid out in parallel strips, no more than
fifteen feet wide, divided by open drains. Open d
increasingly been converted into underground d
which pony and plough can pass. The cattle fe
rough pasture or on the grass about the crofts
mented by hay cut with a sickle from the grassy
the 'lazy-beds'. Quite recently, rotation grass
sown on the arable strips, and mown for hay by t
Tractors were introduced in war-time, in 1942.

In many of the villages, cattle are still tak
summer pastures out on the moors some miles
crofts. Those who herd the cattle live in huts
ings, annually re-roofed. In the congested '
trict' (the Eye Peninsula), the cattle must go to
on the main island or be taken on to their own
from late May or early June to about the 10th o
in order to clear the common grazing and allow
to recover. This migration takes place, of cours
of the restricted area of common pasture. On
hand, pasture is plentiful in the parish of Lochs
round some of the villages, and here the use of th
has been practically abandoned. In almost al
with the exception of those of the Eye Peninsul
less summer pasturing than formerly; fewer catt

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

"the lone shieling of the misty island". Traditional Gaelic songs tell rather of shielings grouped within hail, with their sweethearting and good cheer!

3. *Crops and Stock*, circa *1938*

As the thirties mark a transition between early conditions prevailing until 1919 and those of 1947–53 (Appendix I), the present tense is used.

Of the Island's 528,000 acres, including deer forests on the Harris border partly grazed, there are 24,000 acres of arable and grass land. Barvas parish leads with 6500 acres, then come Stornoway, Uig and Lochs, Harris being last with 3300 acres. Roughly one-third of the Island's arable and grass land, or 32 per cent, is permanent grass, chiefly machar, with a maximum of 39 per cent in Uig, but a minimum of 9 per cent in rocky Lochs, most of this on one small farm. About 10 per cent of the arable and grass land area is given to hay production; of this, rather less than one-third is rotation hay grown on the plough rigs or parks, and rather more than two-thirds is hay from permanent grass. Lochs, lacking machar, has 20 per cent hay, while Barvas, better off for machar, has only 4 per cent. Even this proportion of rotation hay shows an increase on the crofts since 1919. Stornoway parish, it will be noted, occupies an intermediate place, but if the facts for Point (Eye) district were contrasted with those for the villages along the machar, the differences between them would emerge clearly. As it is, they can be guessed from the vegetation map showing the machar. Oats is the chief crop, and occupies 33 per cent or just one-third of the arable and grass of the Island; excluding the permanent grass, it constitutes half the crop.

175 might be thought) in cured fish. Here is a sample Deposi-
• 241 tion from Borve (W. Lewis), a township then composed of
427 five hamlet-farms, or 'pennylands', with their share of
436 outrun, peats and fishing grounds over the whole and known as Five-Penny Borve.

Donald McGillimichaell, William McHomas, Gillichallum McCoilog, and John McConnell in five penny land of Borrow and Parish of Cladach afor[d] MAKE OATH severally that neither of them has any Tack of their possessions, But that each of them pay yearly to ye above Mr. Zachary McAuly for behoof of ye Countes (of Seaforth) for[d] Nyne Pounds Scots (*i.e.* 15/- sterling), Two Bolls one Lipie meall, Fifteen pound weight of Butter, and three-fourths of a mutton. Depone they and each of them are someqt in arrear but know not the Particullars, and this is ye truth as they and each of them shall answer to God, and depone they can't write.

(Signed) DAVID BETHUNE
(Sheriff Substitute of Ross).

175 The only point on which these good fellows must have
241 had to face qualms in 'answering to God' was their lapse
427 of memory as to 'Particullars of arrears'! None of the
451 222 small tenants could remember this! Although the
[642] Chamberlain or Factor, Zachary MacAulay, denied it, he
[613] may have exhorted or compelled payment of rent in order to forward it to the exiled 'Marquis'. Mainland rents were actually despatched to France from Leith in broad daylight under an armed guard of clansmen! At the same time, neither MacAulay nor the joint tenants were of Clan Kenneth, the MacKenzies. MacAulay himself was a man of high character—and a poet too—and not one to collect rents in order to embezzle them. His affirmation has the ring of truth, with little alloy. To the Government Commissioners he wrote that what made it impossible for Lewis peasant-fishers to have paid rent in full during civil war,

175 and still more to pay arrears, was "the rugged Hag,
• 241 Poverty, that would resist both King and Government".
427 We may guess that MacAulay passed a hint to the tenantry
451 that (in a good Gaelic idiom) they had better 'disremember' details of arrears: and this they did.

175 Of the four names on the deposition quoted, one or
551 two may have been surnames, others the patronymics of
613 kinsmen. As is still the custom, clansmen knew one another
[178] by names of many kinds. Stature or colour was used to distinguish a big John from a little one, a fair from a dark, or a pale from a swarthy; occupations such as smith or caird (artificer, not necessarily travelling tinker as now) were
[241] used, and also mere nicknames. Of the eighty-one crofters
[226] or fisher-burghers in Stornoway, fourteen were MacKenzies; and other mainland surnames, such as Fraser and Gunn, Matheson and MacLennan, also showed their descent from the immigrants brought in when MacKenzie of Kintail founded the burgh to encourage fisheries after 1611. Each held a single holding, usually rented at two shillings sterling.

175 To conclude, rentals about 1715 show (1) the character-
241 istic equalitarian grouping of small peasants as fellow-
427 workers in the hamlet-farms still held directly from the superior, Seaforth; (2) the eighty-one small burghers of
631 Stornoway; and (3) tacksmen, responsible for the larger part of the Island rent, but under whom we know that the labouring peasantry, though without the local independence of the others, also continued to dwell and to work together. The tacksmen were to pass away, as many of them had originally come, at the desire of a mainland lord, and the lord, in his turn, was to leave; but the small peasantry of immemorial stock still hold and work their land.

(c) FARM-TEAM AND BOAT'S CREW

175 The strictly equal division of rent on each joint farm
241 shows the equality of sharing among its workers by 'run-
427 rig'. By this system, periodic pooling and redivision kept
476 the land in convenient blocks, a wet part here and a dry
423 one there, all shared out to give each man an equal chance whatever the weather might bring. Such sharing was not mere static division of goods: it was the means for co-operative work, in ploughing and harvesting, or cutting peats, on land, and in manning a boat for the fishing.

175 For ploughing, two or three men were needed—one
241 leading the horses (walking backward and singing his en-
476 couragement), a second to hold the plough and perhaps a third to turn the sods; but four ponies abreast were needed to haul the plough, and each tenant possessed only one or two. In addition, the plough might be preceded by an instrument to clear the ground, a 'reestle', requiring two horses and one man. A Gaelic proverb notes the selection needed in the horse team, and one disabled by age could be replaced as leader by another. Ploughing was necessarily co-operative.

175 The rockiness and hilly ground of Uig and Lochs
241 diminished the usefulness and, no doubt, the number of ploughs, but the importance of their fishing was some
[182] compensation for poor agriculture. In 1790 there were
[134] ninety ploughs in Barvas parish, where they were no doubt of ancient usage: a ratio of one plough to five families, or
[226] one per joint farm. To judge from the smoothness of Stornoway parish, ploughs were probably used there in a similar ratio.

175 While some jobs were done by no more than two people,
476 —as when a ridge or 'lazy-bed' was put in order, the

175 couple advancing one on either side of it—many other
476 tasks were definitely team-work. Such was peat-cutting. "When they are making peats, five people are employed.
175 One cuts the peat, another places it on the brink of the
476 ditch where it is dug; a third spreads it on the field, a
314 fourth pares and cleans the moss; and a fifth man is resting, ready to relieve the man that cuts. The women are seldom
[462] at this work, but the men help one another alternately; sometimes they must rest satisfied with fewer hands; but the above is the full complement of men required to per-
[127] form the work, according to their tastes." Buchanan's
[178] description was written 160 years ago (1793); it remained true till recently and generally it is so still. There was thus a normal team practice for work—even a man to rest was not
[538] forgotten! As the Gaelic proverb puts it: "They won't make power (add strength) without a threesome and they'll limp without a foursome!" (*Cha deanar treine gun triuir,*
[802] *'s bidh iad crubach gun cheathrar*). In Gaelic, as in Scots, one speaks of a team according to its number, as "a pair, a threesome, foursome" and so on, up to a tensome (*deichnear*). In Lewis the farm-team was usually a foursome or fivesome.

175 Only in exceptional cases was land worked and held
423 singly—as when a smith was kept busy at his anvil in ploughing-time and harvest. Thus in 1715 one or two
241 rural smiths had single holdings of average value or more
[326] (£1), and one artificer or tin-smith (caird) a holding of minimum value (5s.); and in the burgh all the small plots
[286] were held singly. As the women wove, at home mostly,
[462] no male rural weaver held a single plot; his weaving could be done at slack times, so long as there was light; at busy times he worked on the land with the rest of his team.

000 On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an

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PLATE IXA. CROFTERS WITH FLAIL AND WINNOWING VESSEL

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PLATE IXB. A LEWIS WOMAN CREELING PEAT (*c.* 1925)

Except in cold weather (as here) the skirt is rolled up over a petticoat to form a pad at the waist just below the creel

/facing p. 64/

311 In Lochs it occupies only one-quarter of arable and grass.
213 Barley, mostly four-row, or bere, is less important as a food today than formerly, and now occupies only 6 per cent, and, though it reaches 13 per cent in Barvas, with its
[632] machar, hardly any is grown in Lochs. Rye (*seagal*), still found in the machars of the Uists, is little grown in the Lews. Potatoes grow well everywhere, occupying about 15 per cent of the area, though townships with plentiful machar land grow most. Turnips are being gradually introduced, and though their liability to disease has somewhat discouraged the crofters, the proportion is now about
311 2·3 per cent. Cabbages occupy a small area (1 per cent),
244 latterly along with lettuces, carrots and the like.

Rotation hay and turnips being almost unused up to
• 241 1919, oats was grown repeatedly before rotation with barley or potatoes, and with no bare fallow. While heavy manuring maintained the fertility, the crop by July was ablaze with corn marigold (and other weeds) through which the thin oats struggled to rear its head. Thickly sown, the return was exceedingly small. Except for the machar (if any) there was no 'out-field' as elsewhere in old Scotland.

The smallness of the crofts and the poorness of the crops explain the very small total return. Hence little oats is now ground for meal and the potatoes do not last
[198] through the year, though few are sold. The low out-turn
[242] also explains why even fodder is scarce, though much more of the crop is secured for wintering than formerly. Summing up, a croft of 6 acres—though a little too large to be quite typical—includes a couple of acres of grass and hay, almost as much of oats, and the remainder bears potatoes and barley, with turnips, cabbages and garden produce.

In the past, the cropped land was unfenced and un-
[174] walled. At present, the rule is to encourage the con-
[178]

• 241 struction of a single ring fence round the croft land, which
[178] also circumscribes a good deal of rough grass, the ground being generally rough in parts. Individual crofts are fenced only where exceptionally large, or when the pos-
[654] sessor is unusually enterprising or is isolated. Depart-
632 mental help is given in the provision of fencing materials for a township, the crofters supplying labour. As the
233 animals are allowed to graze freely in winter, this limits
241 crops to those sown and harvested in the summer half-year —a serious matter for any man of enterprise who cannot afford a fence of his own. Cattle kept on the croft when the fields are under crops have to be either tethered or driven to a common pasture. A drystone dyke may enclose a small patch of garden, rarely well tended, the school gardens providing a laudable exception.

233 Shortly before 1939, the stock included under 1000 agricultural horses and well over 10,000 cattle (of which more than 6500 were milch-cows), but practically no pigs. Sheep number 42,000 ewes, or 94,000 ewes and followers in June. Thus there are 2·5 cattle on an average holding, of which more than 1·5 are milch cows; and there are
233 half a score ewes or about a score of sheep in June. The
178 size and the quality of the cattle have greatly improved since first I visited the island in 1919; at that time the mongrel Highland breed must have been the very poorest in Britain. The Blackface sheep are small, either through underfeeding or because of traces left from the old, smaller Hebridean breed, or from both causes. On an average there is, or was, one horse, or pony, to every five or six
23 crofter holdings, but their number is much reduced.
233 Actually, such Island averages for horses and sheep are somewhat misleading. In particular, either there are more
[182] horses than the average in a given district, or almost none,

233 according to the relief, as explained. Thus the Barvas
182 parish with its smooth topography permits of ploughing, and there is, or rather was, one horse between two crofts,
231 or one pair between four or five. In rocky Uig or in Lochs, however, there is only one pony between ten or twelve crofts.
492 Lending or hiring of horses has still to be practised, but
426 within manageable limits, though the increase in 'cars' had lessened the number of horses, even before the war-time introduction of tractors. Hiring is often done for cash, though this conflicts with older communal custom. Yet lending had its difficulties: "The borrowed horse", says the lender bitterly, in the Gaelic proverb, "is never tired!"

233 The number of sheep per holding is noticeably highest
184 in Harris, with one score ewes per holding. The sheep pasture of North Harris was well spoken of by Dean Monro, and the link with the home industry of Harris, its weaving, is evident.

• 241 Comparisons with the western mainland show, in
311 holdings of similar or rather large size, the diminished amount of cereals now grown there even by crofters. The increased proportion of grass reflects both the greater dependence on bought provisions, and also the fact that the West is not a land to ripen crops, but that it can grow grass for stock.

4. *The Moors as Pasture: Game and Sport*

311 In order to estimate the relative value of the rough
511 grazings of Lewis and Harris, it will be well to compare these with the moors lying across the Minch and east of Cape Wrath. There also may be found crofting communities whose economics are similar to those of Lewis, so that the stock carried on their pastures will furnish some

511 coat, was thought to be supernatural. The fishing, too, is
226 of good standard: a typical annual catch including 1700
511 salmon, 5000 sea-trout and 1800 brown trout; and it was for this, as well as for the shootings, that the moors pertaining to the different shooting or fishing lodges and hotels
137 were bought at Lord Leverhulme's sale. The absence of
233 foxes was important to sheep-rearing before the introduction of guns, and is still a favourable factor.

5. *Sea-fishing*

226 Fish have always contributed to the diet of the Islesfolk,
198 whether they fished from coracles or boats, or with 'lang wands' from the shore as they still do, and as they did in
[262] the days of Dean Monro and, no doubt, right back to
433 neolithic times. The relative importance of fishing and agriculture, however, has always varied according to place
• 241 and time.

182 Fishing in modern and historic, and also in prehistoric,
226 times—to judge from the kitchen middens of Uig—has always flourished more where there were deep sea-lochs;
241 and settlement resulted, even though rocky hillsides made ploughing difficult or impossible. Conversely, agriculture
[178] has offered better opportunity on smooth coasts with a
[172] variety of soils, though fishing was poorer there. Thus the men of Stornoway Bay and Eye, of eastern lochs and of the Harris bays, like those of Loch Roag on the west, have long been partly fishermen. In the extreme north, too, men of Ness—with the chance of choosing their fishing grounds on the north, west or east of the island and with their little rocky port giving shelter, of a sort, from south-
[467] west gales—were good fishermen; they are good seamen
[829] still. "The fishing of the Barvas folk" is an old gibe,

182 meaning that the men of that village, and its immediate
226 neighbourhood, were the last to put to sea and the first to
• 241 return. The Barvas folk could retort that they would
(829) have been fools to do anything else on a straight exposed
[461] coast; and that anyway their pony-drawn ploughs were of more use than the foot ploughs of the rocky south. A form of provender taken indirectly from the sea was the sea-birds and eggs from the sea-cliffs and islets like Rona, north-west of the Butt. This helped to support a few families in St. Kilda and on the rocky Shiant Islands south-east of Harris.

195 Fishing remained backward and primitive, however,
226 until the nineteenth century. After developing in a
(178) promising way, it was checked before the First World War, and fell into decay during and after it. Decay has,
504 of course, been widespread. In 1935 the chief ports of
501 the East Coast, from Leith with Granton northward by Fraserburgh to Wick—a round dozen—had still an average of 250 to 300 vessels, 3000 in all. These were chiefly of steam or motor auxiliary power and valued (with fishing gear) at £2,750,000. Orkney and Zetland, too, had each their 300 boats. The whole West Coast, however, from Stornoway to Ballantrae, had only 2000 boats, valued at less than one-tenth of the fleet of the East, and worth only a fraction of this, to judge from prices in the open market. Nearly 400 boats were still on the register for Lewis and Harris (Stornoway district) and another 300 for the rest of the Outer Isles. But fewer put to sea each year, even from Stornoway itself.

182 A major drawback to herring fishing in the Stornoway
226 district is the uncertainty in the movements of the herring shoals. On the Clyde, moreover, herring can be sent fresh to the city but further north they must be cured. Whereas

162 weaving and fishing, the fall in population would probably
(167) be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was not so much a decrease in the number of families as in the
[168] number per family. The Island was only then following the restriction of population begun half a century before in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

162 Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is
178 a land of house-building, not of ruin and abandonment;
369 of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agri-
(657) cultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were at work: first, loans, grants and unemployment insurance and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly,
[593] the money sent to elderly parents and dependants at home
(888) by young folk in Glasgow or abroad, or savings brought back by the young people themselves. Yet there is some
(226) fishing and agriculture still. Above all, 'hand-weaving' has grown, even if this be partly 'artificial'. Recently it
• 241 was not only the elders who had returned to the Island, but
[286] men and women in the prime of life, so that the question of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to be re-examined afresh.

167 The emigration which took place from 1949 to 1951
(460) followed directly upon the losses and the unemployment in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted
(651) from the imposition in 1949 of a Purchase Tax on hand-
[162] woven Harris tweed of 666 per cent. If the tax had been maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects on population would have been far-reaching.

175 much of Britain and Europe until about 1700. A modern
511 parallel may be found in Asiatic lands with the frequency
162 of famines alternating with periods of recovery or, in others,
171 the long-drawn misery of chronic under-nutrition and endemic disease. In modern Europe, only international
(731) or civil war can now bring such extreme widespread misery. And as peace brings partial healing, so in the Island past, when good seasons returned after famines, the life of the family renewed itself.[1]

175 The narrow margin of survival even in good seasons,
593 the risks of the bread-winner's death and of his family's destitution, and the need of co-operation in so many tasks made the family too small, weak and precarious a unit to stand alone. Even with relatively little division (or specialisation) of labour, and in spite of its apparent self-sufficiency, the family had perforce to link itself with wider circles of community life.

(B) JOINT LABOUR BY SMALL TEAMS: THE EVIDENCE OF TENURE IN 1715–26

175 Romance is hidden among the rent-rolls of the Seaforth
• 241 estates, all of which were forfeited when the Earl rose for
427 'King James VIII' in 1715. For of the rents withheld from the government until 1720, on the mainland at least
(642) the loyal clansmen paid a considerable portion to their
[613] exiled chief, styled 'Marquis' by 'King James'. But the

[1] The 'ups and downs' of a peasantry living on the margin of subsistence and subject to severe disease can be studied in India, 1871–1941, where the 'net' or mean change has to be correlated with the 'variability'. This wide problem was reviewed in a series of papers to 1948; "The Social
(113) and Psychological Significance of Variability in Regional Changes of Population", with examples taken from Indian villages. (A. Geddes, *Human Relations*, Vol. 1, 2, 1947–48; cf. *Geog. Rev.* 1942 and 1948; and *Geog. Journal*, 3, vol. 98, 1941).

195 rent-rolls record something of more vital and enduring
• 241 concern, the unit of community life in the Lews. This was
427 the 'conjoint' or 'group' farm of the labouring peasantry
(476) —though it was overlaid in parts of the Island by the formation of tacks held by gentleman rent-farmers.

Both rolls are Judicial Rentals, that is to say, the
195 tenants, great and small, were convened by the Govern-
241 ment Commissioners and examined on oath as to the rents
427 they formerly paid; the accounts were then entered and totalled. Because of the Jacobite resistance, the small
656 amounts of rent and the maladministration of the Forfeited Estates, doubt was cast upon the first rental, of 1718. A second rental was therefore compiled in 1726, upon a different system, which confirms the correctness of the first.[1] All were named, including those absent or 'valetudinary'.

195 Owing to the Island's comparatively smooth land sur-
361 face and access to the sea, the people could group themselves as they chose. Whereas in the Highland mainland many
(182) a pocket of land is too small to keep more than two or three
(184) families alive and no fishing grounds are available, in Lewis the people could join together in teams of four, five or six,
(433) to work a hamlet-farm or penny-land, definable as a
[476] joint-farm of unit size, and to man a boat with "four to row and one to steer".

195 The first point of interest is the equality of the shares,
241 each man paying exactly the same as his fellow-tenants for his 'farthing',—a fourth, or other equal share of the farm.
427 An average share of rent was a little over 10 shillings sterling
(436) with additional payments in farm produce, though not (as

[1] A. Geddes, "Conjoint Tenants", etc., *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Series,
(113) vol. 1, no. 1, 1948, pp. 54-60. This reconciles the evidence of 1718, reproduced in the Brand Report (1902), Appx. O, and that of 1726, edited by J. R. N. Macphail (1916).

widespread plant community in Lewis is undoubtedly the *sedge and cotton grass moors* (or ' mosses ' as they would be called in the Lowlands), which overlie deep peat generally at low levels, on flat or slightly rolling grounds. The peaty floor is waterlogged and boggy, and the carpet rises into tufts, dense cushions or mops, out of which bristle innumerable stalks, thread-shaped, sheathed, fibrous and elastic. There are few flowers apart from the bog asphodel, while heather does not thrive but is stunted. On the slopes, sedges (*Scirpus* and *Carex* spp.) and cotton grass (*Eriophorum angustifolium*) dominate, and in the hollows, sphagnum moss. Owing to slope and consequent erosion, the surface may break into hags (or ' bruachs '), separated by deep and more or less broad channels of bare peat with puddles.

For reclamation by tractor and peat plough, smoothness is essential, combined with some slope for drainage. From observation of the fragments of poor pasture topping the hags in channelled eroded peat, it can be noted that drainage alone is not enough to create good pasture, though it is the first step. In order to complement the work of drainage, fertilisers must be applied to encourage plants which absorb water in quantity and transpire it freely in the course of rapid growth. For it may be said that plants like heather—adapted to withstand drought, physical or ' physiological '—do not transpire water in any great quantity. Thus they fail to ' drain the ground from above ', as juicier grasses or fodder plants do by the vigorous ascent, transpiration and renewed absorption of water.

(5) *Heather Moor.*—The common heather (*Calluna*) dominates on many steep slopes and rocky bluffs, sometimes on acid humus, or again on decomposed rock and screes, generally at low levels. Among the chief plants

that the spade and foot-plough (*cas chrom*) were used for double the area ploughed. From Monro and from the precise Statistical Accounts of the eighteenth century, it is clear that pony-drawn ploughs were usual in the smoother parts of Lewis. In North Harris are ' abundance of Deir '. We must not forget here that ' faire ' and fertile are comparative terms for the West. " Lewis is faire and weill inhabit at the coste, ane fertile and fruitful countrey, for the maist part beire [barley], with 4 Paroche Kirkes." There is " ane castell callit Stornoway . . . with 3 salt loches, very fine for take of herrings . . . [and] infinite fresh water loches. In the Lewis there are 8 waters with take of salmont. . . ." There were also " Whales . . ." In " a cove 2 fadoms deep at the ebb sea, uses Whytuns (whitings) to be slain with huiks ", there were " very many haddocks and Men with their wandes sitting [as today] upon the Craiges of that cove, and Lades [boys] and Women also. . . . In this Ile there are many Sheip for it is very guid for the same. For they lay furth ever one mures and glens and never enters in a house and their wool is bot anes in the zeire pluckit off them in some fauldes." In Zetland wool is still plucked, not sheared.

The description of reclamation is specially worthy of note: " In this countrey all is peit mossland at the Sea cost, and the plaice where he wins his peitts this zeire [year] . . . there he sawes his corne the nixt zeire, after that he guidds it weill with Sea ware " [*i.e.*, improves or manures it with seaweed]. On " Ellan Colm Cill [an islet apparently on the east coast south of Stornoway at the mouth of Loch Erisort] Macloyd of the Lewis has ane faire Orchard, and he that is Gardener has that Ile [rent] free. . . ."

Around the coast of Lewis no absolute limit is set to

reclamation, which Dean Monro has described as he saw it. Technique and economic return must be balanced against the factors of nature. Although natural conditions are difficult, they may not form a complete explanation of the relative arrest of reclamation in the nineteenth century; for here separation from the agricultural advances of the Lowlands by barriers of mountain and sea caused the retention of unprogressive methods until the wave of agricultural improvement had spent itself by the middle of last century. To this cause must be added other influences contrasted to those leading to peasant advance in the rest of Western Europe: the political history of the Gaeldom after 1745, the revolution in land tenure and in the social life of the upper classes, the commercial, industrial and imperial development of Great Britain. All these factors help to explain the contrast offered to the Lews by western Denmark and western Norway, lands in which the soil and climate are comparable to those of the Island. Yet reclamation is proceeding, as on skinned land at Ness, where plots of ground have been steadily broken in by pick and by spade or plough.

Settlement and agricultural land are placed around the coasts with their fishing grounds. In spite of what was often said—that the Lewisman is and has always been primarily a fisherman—fishing alone is not enough to account for this distribution, for the agricultural conditions on the whole are also best along the coasts, or were so for early settlers. As Stevens remarked, the light sandy 'machar' lands are there, and the fringe of partially improved soil close by; drainage is, on the whole, better, while shell-sand and sea-ware are to be had for manure. The sea-ware also serves still as fodder, while one or two sorts are sometimes cooked for human food; carragheen

(Chondrus), for example, is used as a thickener of milk to make a cheese-like mould. Dulse is also plucked.[1]

The type of coastal form and vegetation alters the relative importance of crofting and fishing—and the balance chosen is significant. (1) Where the coastline is smooth, and leads inland from sandy machar with its clover to sand-ameliorated 'black land' of smooth topography lending itself to ploughing, and the whole is backed by extensive pastures, the tract is relatively well-off for crofting but may be ill-placed for fishing. (2) Where the coast is either indented or salient with rocky loch-sides or steep promontory cliffs, a rolling or rocky topography, little shell sand, and (on the promontories) a shortage of pasture, it is ill-placed for crofting; but it is favourable to fishing either by virtue of sheltered sea lochs or of salient promontories, one or other side of which tends to give relative shelter to the fishing ground (chosen according to the direction of the wind, to avoid being blown on to a dangerous, lee shore). Hence the site of a settlement has had much to do with the choice and opportunities for a communal vocation, from prehistory to the present time, as we shall see.

Significant local characteristics emerge in the names of the ancient districts (inset with the Map of Vegetation, Fig. 8). In the north is Ness (Norse, 'nose' or cape); along the west is Cladach (Gaelic, a stony beach); while in South Harris the western 'Machar' contrasts with the eastern 'Bays'. 'Park', a sheep-run in the early nineteenth century, was the Norse 'East-fell'. In contrast, the parishes of Lewis centre on four churches, linked to the road-system. This radiates from Stornoway in five directions: east, NE., NW., SW., and south to Tarbert,

[1] Pulling dulse (*Rhodymenia*) is one of the 'delights' of Iona as told in a poem long attributed to Saint Columba!

On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an outlying reclaimable patch of arable, lying near distant, litt used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chan of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the m and his family; but there might be advantages such an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as hunti 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunt bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft w known as *Ruigh* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of pove with individuality in isolation were handed down, example, from one of my forebears who held such a *rui* Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-f contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the l of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *ruigh* m have originally been a summer shieling, only occupi when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with n possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led settlement there.

At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of No Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lod and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth, they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small isl But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single cro are rare. And the clearest distinction must be dra between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or ev two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers; even a few families form the germ of a community, in w and in leisure.

The potentialities of co-operative practice were ov looked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough. when new methods were required, run-rig kept back pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. So

through division of labour or united effort, but simply for the sake of mutual stimulus and pleasure!

(10) THE SHARING OF MACHAR, MOOR AND SEA

Embracing several joint-farms, each with its team or crew, came the township. The township had not only its common pasture, it had a special extensive system of run-rig on sandy, coastal machars, as in parts of the Island and in Uist—a system continued to this day.

On the machar of Barvas, cultivation strips are still re-allotted periodically, as they were annually on all the Island machars. The machars behind the 'storm-beach' dunes of the Outer Hebrides closely resemble one another, from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head. The immemorial system was noted by Walker and more fully by Carmichael, who called it 'intermediate run-rig' to distinguish it from the run-rig of older joint farms on boulder clay, and it persists at the present day.[1] In North Uist the machar land is laid off in large scatts or fields. Each scatt is divided into as many rigs as there are crofts in the township. There may be a dozen scatts in all, and usually half the number are lying out in natural pasture, but they are put under crop in rotation, so that each year one or two scatts will be brought into cultivation, and the others left out after a course of cropping. When a scatt is to be brought into cultivation the township 'constable' (who holds sway under the district ground officer) appoints a day for allocating the rigs.

[1] Walker (1808); Alexander Carmichael, appendix xlviii and xxix, pp. 213 ff. and 451 ff., Report of the Crofters' Commission, 1884. Socially these form the most significant evidence in this antiquarian's Report. See also "Creasing and Agrestic Customs", *Celtic Review*, 1905. Ct. C. Macdonald, *Scot. J. Agric.*, 1919. See also his lively accounts of machar and pasture: *Highland Journey: Sail air ais*, 1943.

rigs. The rigs are numbered and then balloted for by a double ballot. First the men approach the hat in any order and pick out a number: this is to decide the order in which they will approach the hat in the second draw. The second draw then decides the number of the rig. The crofter retains the rig while this particular scatt remains in cultivation, usually for a period of two or three years. The machar is shared by the whole township. The crops grown include a light type of oats, barley, a little rye, and potatoes; and clover may be cut.

In the division of the machar for potatoes at Barvas, there are now no such hard-and-fast rules. The Common Grazings Committee select a certain area for cultivation and each crofter is allowed to take as much land as he requires within this area. This land is only cultivated for one year in six to ten years, and then reverts to grass. If cultivated for two or more years in succession there is a danger of the sand being blown away, and grass would be difficult to establish again. Potatoes are now the only crop grown on the Barvas machar.

Beyond the machar of the Isles lies the moor with its fringe of reclaimed croft land. By Carmichael's day this was held in individual portions, though, as he said, most of it was once held in 'farms' in run-rig practised by small units, not by the whole township. Why this difference between the arable of the machar and of the moorland? Carmichael did not explain it.

Three explanatory points are, first, that the whole cultivated land of the scatt or the machar is continuous, whereas the moorland is hummocky and boggy by turns, and cultivation is therefore patchy; secondly, that, unlike the stony clays, the light shell sand is easily forked or ploughed and needs no 'team' to plough it; and thirdly,

that no initial reclamation had been needed on the scatt. In each year of cultivation, it is true, manures of a sort, principally seaweed and sooty sods from the roof, are applied; but they form a temporary improvement only for the crop to be taken, and do not constitute reclamation. After manuring, the grasses and clovers are simply turned over and the land, 'rested' and manured by cattle, straight-way gives its best crop.

It is otherwise with what is won from the moorland. As Dean Monro wrote of the reclaiming Lewisman in 1549: "In this country all is peat moss-land at the sea coast" (the long machars of the west of Uist give place to rocky coasts round much of Lewis), "and the place where he wins his peats this year, there he sows his corn the next year; after that he guids it weill with sea-ware". Even where the slopes are fairly smooth, the peat land has not the uniformity of the machar and the continuity of its arable strips. In addition to sea-ware, sand may be brought by creel or by pony pannier to reclaim peat, forming a heavy burden. Moreover, the first crop is always a poor one, and may be almost lost. Although in his brief notes Monro used the singular 'he', we know that the peat was usually cut co-operatively by teams. Hence most of the hard labour of reclamation may, indeed must, have been done co-operatively too, but by small teams, not by the members of a whole township together.

The sharing of common pastures is the last, but important, feature of land holding in common. The two kinds of pasture required were, firstly, those close at hand, animals being tethered or herded in the crop-growing season, and secondly, the more distant summer pastures. The people of certain townships, which were without a large outrun close at hand, had to go some distance to

reach their shielings. From Point district (Eye Peninsula) the cattle are still brought inland to the moors south-west of Stornoway. And from Bernera on the west the cattle are swum to the hills of the main island, just as they once were swum from Bute to the hill-pastures of Cowal in Argyllshire across the Kyle at the 'Strait of the Swimming', Colintraive (Caol-an-t-snaimh). Nothing could be more natural, indeed inevitable, than pasture in common where large, open moors were to be found. The number of animals allowed to each holding was duly apportioned and then, as now, was known as the summing or' souming', still checked at the annual gathering (*cogorsach*).

Thus a cluster of conjoint farms shared "the grass on the Ben and the tillage on the machar" (*Fiar air beinn agus peighinn air machair*). Along the shore, sea-ware, drift-wood and the like were allotted, too. And, as Carmichael put it, there was even "run-rig at sea", for the fishing banks were allotted among the available crews. Most of these rights are still shared by the members of a township. But any crew can now fish freely where they choose, and no township can legally keep away strange boats, nor even steamers beyond the three-mile limit. This loss of communal rights stands in the way of remunerative fish-farming and its promise.

Profound social implications distinguished these three concentric circles of community: the family; the farm-team and boat's crew; and the larger, township group. These implications concerned labour, duty and right. The labour of reclamation gave a' right' to the land thus won from the moor; and the duty of labour together, for fruits equally shared, gave the farm-team and fishing crew cohesion on land or sea—team and crew working for a common purpose. On the other hand, as individual sharers in the common

(a) SACRAMENTS AND RUNES OF LABOUR, IN FAMILY, TEAM AND TOWNSHIP

Labour given to the winning of food, shelter and clothing was begun and blessed by poetic, rhythmic prayers or 'runes'. The words were usually reinforced by a symbolic gesture or simple rite. By help of the runes the people sought spiritual preparation for work, invoked aid and finally consecrated the thing made for use.

Wherever work was rhythmic it was carried on by working songs. Songs of hunting or herding recalled the hill and pasture, or praised the landscape with an exuberant flow unequalled in any tongue we know but old Irish, with which Scots Gaelic is so closely linked, or Welsh, of which the nature classics are linked to the epics of the sixth and seventh century thought to be composed in Strathclyde.[1]

Yet it was not these but the rhythmic prayers or runes which initiated labour, stage by stage. They are paralleled among many peoples, but those of the Gael possess rare fullness of meaning and beauty of imagery, words and form. When labour was ended, the food won or the clothing made was consecrated for the use of family and friends, of the poor and the stranger-guest.

In the struggle for food, the sowing and reaping of corn ranked highest, followed by its parching and grinding (*Carmina*, Nos. 88-92). The preparation of seed for its sowing was accompanied by its consecration, *an coitreageadh sial*. Similarly for reaping: "Laying his bonnet on the ground, the father of the family took up his sickle and,

[1] Examples of these nature poems are given in scholarly prose translation by Kenneth H. Jackson (1937 and 1950). Songs with their melodies will be found in Arthur Geddes (Ed.), *The Songs of Craig and Ben*, vol. i, 1931.

facing the sun, he cut a handful of corn. Putting the handful three times round his head, the man raised the '*Iollach Buana*', reaping salutation,—and the whole family then took up the strain." While these notes by Carmichael describe the custom after the abolition of the farm-team, he also tells of "all the people of the Townland going together to reap" (*Carmina*, No. 89, cf. Note to No. 90). In the days of close partnership this was no doubt a team blessing, said by the chief reaper among his neighbours in mutual aid.

Grace before meals survives in Presbyterian households; and ancient graces are recorded in *Carmina*, vol. iii. The unpublished examples given here are from Miss Annie Johnston (or NicIain), Barra, to whose knowledge Gaelic lore owes so much:

1. O God, bless our portion, and our people.
2. O God, be about the beginning of our life (or food) and about the end of our life (*lit.* of our world).
3. O God, let nothing enter our bodies that may harm our souls.

A Dhia, beannaich ar cuid 'us ar cuideachd.
A Dhia, bi mu thus ar bithe (or *bidhe*)
'us mu dheireadh ar saoghail.
A Dhia, na leig dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n'anam.[1]

[1] The reader will note the meaning in translation; but he should also scan the Gaelic, and the assonance of the vowels. In the first and shortest there is a simple play upon sound and meaning: *ar cuid 'us cuideachd*—" our share (of things) and our (share of) people, friends and family". In the second, Miss Johnston thinks there may be a play upon the words 'life' and 'food' (of which the sound is almost the same), reminding one that food is the means of life and of all that life means. In the third the apposition of ideas is characteristically emphasised in the pattern of the accented vowels in the words "*dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n-anam*"; here again the form, by means of which it sank through the senses into the heart, marks its native origin. Contrast with these the translation into Gaelic of a common English Grace. As in the English original, its prose lacks poetic form: *Tha sinn a tsart taing dhut, A Thigearna, airson san tiodhlaicean a tha Do mhaithes a' bailseachadh sinn, troimh Iosa Criosda ar Tighearna.* Amen.

magic is always efficacious—however desperate the need, however pure the motives of those who ask. These men were said to be the most successful fishers in the place; they were also Elders of the Kirk, who saw no wrong in what they did. They did not inform the minister; but the good man was not a fisherman and did not understand either the mysterious ways of fish or the incitement of a crew!

While this *neid fire* was kindled in all earnestness, a miming song-dance I have seen in Eriskay is pure fun: "the Carline or Witch-wife of the Mill-dust' (*Cailliach an Dudain*), who falls down dead and is brought to life again! Once, perhaps, a half-remembered symbolic 'play' of the seasonal fall and resurrection of seed, it is certainly in form and spirit a thing of happy laughter now! Tales were retold by Martin and a seventeenth-century English skipper, of offerings made to a sea-god, Shony, at Eoropie, Ness, for the sake of seaweed, followed by feasting and drinking in the chapel there.[1] The story may be garbled or, if true, may record a pre-Christian survival turned to merriment and of no more significance to the people of the time than 'the Carline of the Mill-dust'. The prayers for the seaweed necessary for agriculture and daily bread are Christian in spirit.

When the people were at the mercy of periodic famines, diseases and sudden death, there were ample grounds for fears. Hence a word must be said of a belief widespread and ancient in the Old World, 'the evil eye' (*droch shuil*). In the absence of clinical diagnosis, a malady, or a misfortune to oneself or a valued possession, might cast suspicion on someone present when it occurred; and

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 143-208. Contrast *Carmina*, vol. iv, pp. 33-35.

175 death of Sir James had left his widow in possession of the
423 estate, a lady with little training for its responsibilities.
In south-east Lewis, in November 1887, a body of landless
466 men attempted to settle on the peninsula of Park, Loch
Seaforth, after which some of the illegal settlers or raiders
were tried and acquitted, and fourteen small crofts with
outrun were provided. In January 1888, 300 men marched
from Barvas to petition Lady Matheson that the sheep
farm of Galson should be allotted to some of them at a fair
valuation, as they could not live on their tiny plots. Lady
Matheson refused to consider the petition until the arrears
of rent due by Barvas tenants were paid. Less than a week
after, sheep were driven off Aignish (Eye) and police, rein-
forced by marines and soldiers, arrested eleven men. Two
days later, more sheep runs were invaded, fences de-
[701] molished, and sheep driven off. On January 20, 500
marines were ordered to Lewis (of whom 200 actually
[681] sailed). On February 2, the Aignish raiders were found
guilty and sentenced to terms of from nine to fifteen months'
imprisonment. After this the disturbances gradually
passed away. Yet the seeds of trouble only lay dormant;
they were to spring up a generation later, and again after
the war of 1914–18.

175 In defending the Napier Commission's plan to recog-
637 nise the township, one may accept their definition of it as
427 a farm held by tenants, singly or in common. Yet it must
be remembered that the word 'farm' had come to have a
very elastic meaning. The joint farm-group was once the
• [241] active group for labour in common; but if the 'township'
included several joint-farms, as it generally had in the
Island, its people formed a relatively 'passive' community.
Members of the township enjoyed rights in common, and
shared in duties of observance; but they had seldom to

175 co-operate in active endeavour. It was all the more
632 important to have an elected 'official', the Constable,
427 one of themselves but placed in authority. There could
be no restitution of the old joint farms where they had
• [241] been broken down by migration. Yet it should have been
[624] still possible to extend the old spirit to the larger townships,
as the Commissioners held.

175 Again, the constitution of the township is bound up
632 with the rights of common pasture upon the moor all the
423 year, and in winter even on unfenced arable; but the
671 Crofters' Act failed to regulate the rights and obligations
of Common Grazings. It slackened the authority of the
estate without restoring the hold of the tenant community
upon its members. After five years the Government began
to recognise the mistake, and passed the first Crofters'
Common Grazings Regulation Act, permitting the crofters
to elect a Common Grazings Committee. But it was ill-
considered; most of all because non-crofters, that is,
[733] cottars and squatters without legal tenure, were not bound
by the Regulations. On one hand they could not get per-
mission to 'resume' (or enclose) a portion of the outrun,
in order to reclaim it as a croft, without first obtaining the
unanimous consent of the township's crofters; and in large
townships there might always be an objector. Yet each
cottar could, and did, put on stock, a cow or two and a
few sheep, ignoring the possibility of discipline.

In 1908 a second Act was passed; but twenty years
had allowed tradition to lapse and difficulties to accumu-
late. In Isle Scalpay (Tarbert) for instance, by 1909 there
were only forty legitimate crofters, but eighty cottars; and
the legal crofters would not take part in depriving any
[476] cottar of such grazing liberties as he exercised. All were
[462] neighbours and most were relations, and their principle

175 rural Islanders throughout the nineteenth century and even
182 today.
197

From 1887 the State made efforts to improve the
crofters' lot. Crofters' claims to stake shares upon the only
175 available reclaimed land in the Island, that of a few farms,
654 had been refused in the 'eighties, but came to be granted,
• 241 in principle and in fact, after 1900. During the war of
429 1914–18 the Government reaffirmed its promise to divide
sheep farms into crofts for men returning from the Services,
and the Land Settlement Act became law in 1919. Yet in
spite of tentative experiments and schemes, a determined
effort to see the Island possibilities and face its problems,
as a whole, still remained to be made in the twentieth
century.

175 When war broke out in 1914 over 5000 men left Lewis
161 to join the Services, and corresponding numbers left from
72 Harris. Others, too, served in the Merchant Marine, ex-
701 posed to U-boat warfare. From the first months of the
war, Lewismen in the Seaforth Highlanders, and men from
Harris in the Cameronians, fought in the Highland Division
as shock troops in its attacks which cost the Division
the highest casualties of any in the British Army. The
Lovat Scouts, the Mountain Battery, the Garrison Artillery
and other units, also enrolled their men, and suffered loss.
175 The last blow to the Island came after anxiety had ceased.
161 Early in 1919 the transport *Iolaire* struck a rock and sank
at the entrance to Stornoway harbour; and 200 men who
731 had withstood dangers and hardships during four years
of war went down in the dark to offer him elsewhere, they stood
within call of their waiting relatives massed on the pier to
welcome them.

362 of new steadings. The average amount of loans (totalling
652 £166,000) was under £150; repayment has been satis-
factory, and the arrangements made by the Department
of Agriculture won general praise among the people. Yet
433 crofts less remunerative than the farmer they dispos-
427 sessed; even together they may show little more total
production than the farmer. Nevertheless, these ten crofts
• 241 each allow a part, at least, of the basis for a country home.
[423] Hence the weight of public opinion supported, nay, insisted
654 on 'giving back' the land to the descendants of those who
423 had worked it sixty or a hundred years before. The State
bought the farm stock at a high valuation, and till lately
without adequate reform of crofting use and wont. The
farms having now been divided, a great emotional issue,
which had smouldered for half a century, has been brought
to an end. Although the practical results are small, the
crofters feel that justice has been done, and that fact may
311 be a great gain. Now that there is no more green reclaimed
land to be had, the reclamation of the peat moor, or the
grey 'skinned' boulder clay has to be faced.

By financing the renewal of Leverhulme's brief attempt
to reclaim deep peat on Arnish Moor, south of Stornoway,
the Canadian, T. B. Macaulay, made a resolute attempt to
[241] solve the island's main agricultural problem. Good crops
were grown, potatoes and silage produced, and a dairy farm
established. But the difficulties called for continuity of
effort and research. From the practical point of view of
'demonstration' it had been a mistake to tackle deep and
almost level peat, black in colour and viscous in consistency.
[407] There was not the light machinery required for cultivation.

311 And when laid down in permanent grass for the dairy herd,
the land became water-logged in wet weather. The war
called a halt to progress; and though much was learned, the
farm was not a demonstration of success. Smaller experi-
ments were made, with some success, in improving
'skinned' land. For both types of land, the cost of fertil-
isers, even more than of labour, was the chief economic
difficulty.[1]

A difficulty which aggravates 'congestion' in crofting
311 townships is that even a small croft may consist of several
• 241 plots. This was only too well illustrated, as late as 1935,
423 by the dilemma in which a crofter found himself, in a
township north of Stornoway. This crofter's land was in
at least five separate strips, mixed up with the land of four
neighbours. The township and the plan of the holding are
known to me. As the crofter complained, he could not walk
round his present cottage, nor bring building materials for
a new house to the site, without trespassing. He could
not even put up scaffolding because the stays at each end
would project on to the holdings of his neighbours, who
objected. The Land Court has power to re-allocate the
land in self-contained holdings. This crofter had twice
asked for this to be done, but on each occasion neighbours
opposed the application, and it was not granted. As he
could not replace his present house by a modern one, he
applied to the Stornoway Estate Trustees for another croft
in a neighbouring township. When the Trustees saw a
[241] plan of the holding they described it as a jig-saw puzzle;
but having no holding to offer him elsewhere, they could
only ask the Factor to try to make an amicable arrangement
with the man's neighbours. This case is extreme; yet it

[1] W. G. Ogg and Angus Macleod, *Scottish Journal of Agriculture*, 1930–36.

311 illustrates the narrow margin of habitability on these frag-
• 241 mented holdings.
423

Now, in Lewis periodic pooling and exchange, or the
practice of *movable* run-rig on the small joint-tenants'
241 farms, was abolished early in the nineteenth century, except
423 upon the machar, where it still continues. Apparently the
strips were simply fixed where they had last been appor-
476 tioned by lot. Subdivision of the little crofts among sons
198 and grandsons followed, owing to inheritance without re-
[175] clamation. Fairness gave 'the patchwork quilt' described;
but it was fairness pushed to the point of folly, for differ-
ences in soil from one adjacent strip to another were slight!
It is otherwise with the long, narrow plough-strips which
run from the houses on the pure boulder clay down to the
sandy shore: run-rig, movable or fixed, is understandable
and necessary there. The case just cited shows how a
sensible communal tradition, such as that of '*movable* run-rig' with periodic pooling, may degenerate into ab-
surdity by fixation. Happily the machar still shows the
same maintenance of a tradition, the pooling of resources.[1]

182 In 1924–25, widespread distress in the Isles, the failure
161 of the Leverhulme endeavour, the crofters' refusal to own
their own crofts, and the emigration which followed, caused
many outsiders to forecast rapid depopulation. It was all
182 the more interesting to note the confidence in the Island's
161 future shown by buyers of the great estate, all of whom
471 knew what they were about, for they were men with
experience of the Island, of its rates and rentals and of its
people. To a wealthy man who repurchased a sporting
[113] Apportionment of lands held in run-rig in the Carloway estate is described, and the principle discussed, in *Scottish Land Court Reports*. (See *Scottish Law Rev.* vol. 58, 71: July 1940, pp. 51–54.) At the same time 'mechanisation', or the co-operative utilisation of tractors had led to plea for 'collective farming'. (*Stornoway Gazette*, February 1944.)

464 For a year or two after the war many men and women
[286] returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found
[192] employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry.
This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving
at home—work in which the male weaver was helped by
[220] his family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen
[198] dared to risk capital in new boats and risk losses
[462] such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to
return to the hard, uncertain work of gutting. The whaling
station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open
for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950,
and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed
• [241] in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised
cultivation. The war-time construction of air-fields had
[722] ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was
[654] assisted by government grants.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders'
288 main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of
[651] a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds.
[416] Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export
[433] sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the
[171] position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there
were strong arguments for the extension of the tax to
Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish
Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not
be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the
crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artist
favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional
and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the
end, the mass-production is an unacknowledging debtor.
The obvious economic handicaps of Island hand-weaving
[439] may surely permit some latitude. The export trade in
[456] Harris Tweed, in which the imponderable 'sentimental

after 1800, John Walker wrote that run-rig, " formerly very general in Scotland, was abolished with improvements but still subsists in many parts of the North. A number of tenants of the same farm have a common pasture for their cattle, and the arable is divided among them, by ridge and ridge alternately, which each cultivates for his own behoof. This gives them all a common interest in the crop and, when there was no inclosure by dyke or hedge, might be of some advantage " in giving each person some protection " against the encroachments of his neighbour's cattle ". Speaking of joint possession this time, though without reference to survivals, Walker wrote that in the Lowlands " in old times a large farm might be occupied by a number of conjoint tenants who cultivated the farm in common and divided the produce. In this way the interest of each became the interest of the whole. They were ready, and were frequently called upon, to defend the common crop and cattle against depredations. There was then a necessity for such an allotment of land, especially in the Border country and in the Highlands." The team, in other words, was a unit of defence. But " nothing like improvement can be expected from farmers placed in this situation . . . [and] no community can ever equal the carefulness and industry of an individual in the management of his affairs ".[1]

So far as it goes, such an analysis is incontrovertible; for Walker was one of many contemporary observers who could contrast both the " improvement, industry and carefulness " of the best individuals under a vigorous landlord, with the sluggishness of old-fashioned ways on backward estates. The fundamental reason for sluggishness was that

[1] John Walker, *Oeconomical History* [descriptive account] *of the Hebrides*, 1808.

175 the cultivable land and pasture having been shared out to
178 minimal fractions, they called for a minimum of labour by
241 the men—though housewives and mothers had always
476 plenty to do. The morrow's tryst for work might prove
654 a tryst with no work done. The men might foregather
423 on the moor to cut peats, for instance, but if one of their
[181] number was late, become so absorbed by telling stories of the Fenians that, ere work had begun, it was time to go home—resolved to meet for work some other day! As a result, reformers advocated breaking-up the joint-holdings; and this was done in Lewis by 1830, as noted in the Brand Report. But mere division of the land did not increase its total amount.

175 Yet while noting the progress made by the liberation
178 of individual initiative, we can see the drawbacks of
654 individualism: the evictions made with no provision for
362 new homes, and later the monotony and the loneliness of modern farm life, the mutual distrust of employer and employee, and the general inability of farmers, as yet, to
423 co-operate. At the present, when planning, purchase and
476 sale are required on a large scale, particularly among small-
829 holders, the interest of each is still "the interest of the whole". The team-spirit must be recovered from the work (not simply the play) of school onwards to further education and communal effort.

175 To sum up, every farm-hamlet was held jointly and on
241 equal terms, each joint holder being responsible for an
427 equal share of the rent, and the movable run-rig system ensuring equal quality, as well as equal quantity, of land.
476 Common interest was assured, and there was mutual sup-
423 port in distress or sickness, as when one member, named in a deposition of 1718, was 'valetudinary'. Lastly, work was done in common not only when it led to efficiency

APPENDIX I

be high until 1948. The year 1947 was the peak year for the production of Harris Tweed, with over 5,000,000 yards (of which 3,765,000 yards were stamped, and some 1,500,000 unstamped). In 1948 the production of unstamped tweed had fallen to 500,000 yards but stamped tweed came to 4,380,000 yards.

Then, in the year 1948 the imposition of a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax struck the industry a crippling blow. The rise in prices of wool increased difficulties, and by 1950 few orders were being booked and men were being paid off. A few small men who had relatively large stocks frozen by the purchase tax were able to sell them off, but this minor compensation for losses was short-lived. The outlook is disquieting.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House-building*, 1938

(a) *Agriculture.*—The estimated agricultural output shows a total value of £189,100, and of this total the quantity fed to animals was valued at £103,000. This leaves £86,100 as the estimated value of crop produce consumed on the Island. Adding this figure to the gross livestock output we arrive at a total valuation of the agricultural production of Lewis of approximately £194,100. To arrive at the average output per croft there was deducted the farm production, estimated at $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total by calculation from known crop and stock returns. This gives a figure for crofts alone of £184,400. By dividing by 3750, we obtain an average value of the gross annual production by crofters as £49, or say £50. The inclusion of squatters' produce would add so slightly to the total figure as hardly to affect the average for rural households. Outlays being small, most of this net output may be regarded as 'net earnings'.

(*b*) *Peat.*—To this sum must be added firing and some share in housing. The peat cut has been valued at £90,000, an average of £24 per croft; it demands much labour. As peat is freely cut by cottars and squatters, etc. (estimated at 1050 or so), the average value might be given as £19 per rural household. In Stornoway the chief fuel is coal.

(*c*) *House-building.*—From 1920 to 1940 the Department of

APPENDIX II

RECENT STATISTICS (1953–54)

In briefer form, the basic economic data can now be reviewed, in the same order, for 1953, or the period April 1953 to March 1954, as available. The results are shown on the second pair of Tables, pp. 318-319.

(i) *Tweed Industry* (1953–54)

Taking 5,000,000 yards as the 1953–54 total, and accepting an estimate of 1s. 2d. paid to weavers per finished, mill-shrunk yard, payments to weavers in Lewis-and-Harris (and a few in the southern Hebrides) would amount to some £291,700. After subtracting the output from Harris, this corresponds to an informal estimate by the Lewis Association for Lewis proper of well over £250,000 and more, probably £275,000 for the period. Adding the wages of spinners in Stornoway mills, and also of carriers, dockers, etc., it is thought safe to double the figure, with £550,000, for Lewis, rural and urban. Most of the weaving is rural. The increased use of daily bus transport allows rural dwellers to come to Stornoway daily to earn and so has increased the ratio of rural to urban wages by spinning and other labour. For rural carriers and mill-employees, a fifth of £275,000 is taken here, making £55,000. As no estimate for the 'net earnings' in Lewis is available, the same ratio to wages is taken as in 1938, making £1,200,000.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House Building* (1953)

(a) *Agriculture.*—First, the trend of crop and stock production can be indicated by selected figures for the Island for 1918, 1939 and 1953. The areas both of oats and rotation grass increased, the three successive totals in acres being, for oats: 4460, 5020, 5440; and for rotation grass: 390, 1385,

2110. The acreage under
3730, 1650. Barley dwindl
130. Turnips reached a ma
were not worth noting by
the change in stock-rearing,
cattle but the great increase
the three successive totals
numbered 13,620, 9060 and
by more than half was chi
bullocks reared. Cows and
about 4500 in 1953, and the
weight and milk production
cessively, 78,150, 114,330,
their average weight has in
more abundant but coarser.
equivalent of 1 cattle beas
increased by nearly 25 per
value of the cattle the livest
more. Horses, it is true, fel
had been bought in from Ui
on agriculture, the purchase
by farmers and crofters, an
less heavy than it would b
poultry are still deplorably f
The Table on p. 316 su
somewhat stabilised for the
invites comparison with Ch
(b) and (c) *Peat-making*
cutting is still important, m
hence the peat is valued h
most important; Local A
struggles to meet the need o
population as in other towns
" remote area subsidy " to
costs. There is little truly r
and rents are too high for th
figures for Stornoway Burg

ENDIX II

potatoes declined steadily: 3940, ed from 2350 acres to 1340, and aximum of 510 acres in 1939, but 953. These crop acreages reflect with the decline in the number of in the number of sheep. Taking for 1918, 1939 and 1953, cattle 6540 head; but this diminution efly due to the small number of heifers, 7650 in 1918, still stood at ey are now of far better quality in . The totals of sheep were suc- 85,860; by use of mainland rams creased, while the wool is rather Taking the Lewis Association's to 8 sheep, the livestock carry cent; and if we add the increased ock increase counts for very much l to 380 by 1953; as before, most st, not bred. Hence a new charge and use of the 65 tractors owned d their running costs, is relatively e in a horse-breeding area. The ew: 86,460, or about 20 per croft. ms up the conditions, apparently time being, parish by parish, and pter II, pp. 67-68.

and House-building.—While *peat-* re coal is used than formerly, and ere much as in 1938. *Housing* is uthority housing by the Burgh f a growing urban and 'suburban' in Britain, but with an additional meet mainland contractors' extra ral housing by the County Council houses to be fully occupied. The for the ten years 1945–54 exceed

APPENDIX II

178 300 houses, with nearly 30 built by "private enterprise"; in
362 addition the Local Authorities built 140 in the immediate
647 'suburbs' (of which 50 were temporary), a total of over 470
63 and an average of, say, 47. Another 115 were built in the rural
[439 townships. If we give a round total of £125,000 as the value

	Barvas	Lochs	Stornoway	Uig	Lewis Total	Harris
Holdings						
Full-time	5	12	8	21	49	34
Part- and spare-time	1,050	580	1,160	630	3,420	510
June 1953 (acres)						
Oats	2,080	520	1,220	900	4,730	710
Potatoes	550	180	450	260	1,440	210
Tillage	2,860	730	1,810	1,196	6,590	1,280
Rotation Grass	580	300	690	290	1,850	260
Permanent Grass	2,870	2,460	3,250	3,150	11,730	4,030
Grass	3,450	2,760	3,940	3,440	12,580	4,290
Rough Grazing	93,580	107,180	56,480	111,250	368,490	111,170
(head)						
Cattle	1,350	860	1,330	1,360	4,900	1,640
Sheep	38,110	37,810	23,670	42,690	142,280	43,580
Pigs	10	2	110	3	130	..
Poultry	25,370	9,880	25,910	13,060	74,220	12,240
Horses	180	25	60	60	320	60
February 1954						
Tractors	24	4	24	5	57	8

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178 for an average year (such as 1953) for Local Authority Housing,
362 we may allot half this to net output of local materials and to
647 wages earned by Lewismen, some £65,000, of which rural
63 wages were a small fraction, say £20,000.
435 For crofters and cottars, however, in 1953, a fairly typical
year, there was much local effort and achievement, by help
434 of 180 loans and grants from the Department of Agriculture
647 for Scotland, totalling £81,000 for new houses or house im-
654 provements (with a very few steadings). £80,000 may be
allotted to local materials and to labour paid or given by house-
426 holders themselves.

133 Over most of the parish the natural landscape is a series of low plateaux, generally below 250' O.D. around East Loch Roag, but rising westwards to an extensive platform with many summits around 500'-700'. Into this platform, towards its western edge, is inclised the narrow trough containing Little Loch Roag. Above it rise the deeply dissect mountains of North Harris and south west Uig, with many precipitous slopes reaching to 1,500' or more and summits to 1,885'. The discontinuity between plateau and mountain is particularly well displayed along the Atlantic coast, where it corresponds roughly wit the junction of granite and gneiss; an even more severe discontinuity, but formed entire in gneiss; is to be seen near the south end of Loch Langavat. Liuthaid (1,611' O.D.) rises more than 1,400' in less than a mile. The mountains, although lacking height, ar therefore spectacular in appearance. The low plateaux are far from featureless, too; their surfaces have been roughened and scraped bare by ice action and numerous hollows preserve shallow lochans and a few larger lakes. Occasional rocky hillocks rise 20'-1 above the plateaux; their abrupt discontinuity with the smooth surfaces is entirely comparable, though in miniature, with that of the mountains. They resemble nothing more than tropical inselberge and have no apparent structural explanation.

Unconsolidated superficial material, such as would provide sub-soil drainage and suitable raw material for soil formation, is rare. The characteristic surface almost everywhere is bare rock, often blanketed by peat at lower levels and on gentle slopes. Morainic material is most commonly preserved in hollows; peri-glacial conditions and,
135 more recently, heavy rainfall have swept clear most of the higher and steeper places. I the east and north east, e.g. around Loch Carloway, a sticky grey clay with large boulde is sometimes seen; the coarse gravelly drifts of south Uig have already been mentioned. It is impossible to make any useful generalisations regarding the characteristics and distribution of the boulder clays because their occurrence is so sporadic and exposures, beneath the peat blanket, are rare. Very occasionally, e.g. in Bernera, a finely bedde
[317 dull bluish or greenish grey clay is seen which is said to have been used for coarse pottery. This may be a lacustrine deposit of late glacial or early post glacial times or it might be a marine clay of the same period; there is however, no clear example of a raised beach in the area, which, were it present, might support the latter suggestion.
[317 Since our visit a lacustrine deposit of diatomite has been exploited on a small scale in Bernera.

Extensive deposits of fine white sand occur around Uig bay and in the Valtos-Kneep-Reef area; smaller deposits occur at Mangersta and Mealasta. Except at Cliff bay, Valtos, where it contains a high mineral content, the sand consists largely of finely broken shell debris. This blows readily and is found inland for half a mile or more and as high as 100' O.D., thus providing a natural surface dressing rich in lime. There are extensive machairs (sandy plains) at Kneep and Reef, and smaller ones at Uig bay, Mangersta, and Bosta (Bernera). Little cultivation takes place on the machairs nowaday

133 In the whole parish little soil, such as would be recognised by a lowland farmer, is to
134 be found. The most usual surface features are bare rock and blanket bog; arable land, h
407 meadows and improved pastures are generally made on peat, gathered together into long
[23] narrow beds - so-called "lazy beds" - separated by deep ditches. This expedient may mean that the use of tractors is impossible; since horses have almost disappeared, cultivation in such cases, if carried out at all, must now be by the spade alone. This is
133 the traditional method of lazy-bed work; it may be very productive in terms of yield per
134 square yard but it is pathetically unproductive in terms of man-hours. In some areas it
241 is clear that it has led to soil erosion. Even where the size and lay-out of the beds permits tractor work the tractor probably spends as much time manoeuvering into position and turning, as it does ploughing. In a few places, e.g. some of the East Loch Roag

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

/p. 22/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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TABLE 9

The Agricultural Structure of the P

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	Townships (no.)	Inbye (acres)	Common pasture (acres)	Agricultu holdings Valuation Crofts: C
Atlantic Coast	3	246	14,800	51
Uig Bay	5	636	15,800	62
Valtos-Reef	3	398	8,700	74
Little L. Roag	4	266	4.400	38
Bernera Island	5	1,213	8.200	91
Bernera Shore	4	359	13,100	26
East L. Roag	6	1,101	15,700	183
L. Carloway	7	856	9,400	174
Individual holdings * (non - crofting)		161	1,200	-
	37	5,236	91,300	6,999

NOTE: *Individual holdings include only those not usin pasture' figure is their rough grazing.

**These include individual holdings, as defined, allotment holders having more than a quarter sheep. Their holdings are included in 'Inbye'

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arish of Uig, 1958

ral (on Roll) thers:	Crofter-tenants Total	Crofter-tenants (of whom) non-resident	Agricultural holdings without crofter status*
1	42	(12)	-
-	55	(9)	-
-	68	(14)	1
-	39	(4)	1
4	88	(12)	8
1	26	(2)	2
1	178	(26)	6
7	167	(23)	35
9	-		9
23	663	(102)	62

g the common pastures; the 'common'

and all cottars, squatters, feuars and
acre of cultivation or a cow or 5
.

It is worth noting that the rental charged for the newly cleared farm of Carnish was £55 - being £20 less than had been paid by the crofters. Thus it cannot be said that the latter were evicted purely in order to obtain more rent. The proprietor must have been taking a long term view, looking for land improvement rather than immediate gain. By the 1870's the farm rentals had increased by 55%, those of the crofting townships by only 15%. And the latter often remained unpaid.

Thus, whilst the farmers prospered, the tenants became crowded in their townships which were correspondingly less and less able to support their increasing numbers. The crofts became so reduced that in an average year the produce of the land might keep a crofter and his family for only six months; for the rest he had to find other means of support. Fortunately, after the hungry years of the 'forties', fishing provided just this. Starting in 1851, an annual migration began, first to Caithness and later to the whole east coast of Scotland and England. By the 1880's not only were most of the able-bodied young men following the herring as hired men on east coast boats, but many of the women-folk, who had learned gutting, packing and kippering from English girls brought to Stornoway for the purposes, were also earning. This was summer work, and fitted well between seed-time and harvest. In the winter, small local open boats worked long lines for white fish which were dried and salted for local curers as they still are today on the Norwegian coast. Between the 1850's and 1880's there was a "condition of plenty" in Lewis "which would not have been credited by those who judged of the condition of the people by the external aspect or sanitary arrangement of their dwellings".* It was this "condition of plenty" which encouraged the people to stay at home, to sub-divide their crofts, and to live on the proceeds of paid labour rather than on the produce of the croft.

Re-settlement, 1878-1935.

The process of sub-division ceased only when economic conditions became less favourable and emigration began to exceed natural increase. In the 1880's fishing and farming suddenly became less profitable. Simultaneously, and given extra point by the particular distress of the time, agitation for land reform, and in particular for the relief of the most congested districts, became a political issue. This began in Uig in 1874 when an attempt was made to evict 56 crofters from Bernera; hundreds of crofters resisted by force and subsequently marched on Stornoway. They were well received by the proprietors - who appear to have been unaware of the summary and inhumane behaviour of their chamberlain - and to the credit of all concerned the matter ended peacefully. But land agitation continued.

The position in Bernera was eased in 1878 when Linshader farm was deprived of the old township of Kirkibost which was resettled by crofters from Bosta, the latter being let to the Tobson crofters as an enlargement to their pasture. In 1880 new holdings were formed in Hacklete, which had been the grounds-officer's farm (but which, judging from its population, had always contained a number of cottars or sub-tenants). The grazing of Laimshader was probably returned to the Borroston crofters about 1886, having been part of Linshader farm and, in 1891, six new holdings were formed at Lundale, also part of the same farm. At the same period, under the new Act, the crofters of Crowlista, Valtos, and Kneep applied unsuccessfully for enlargements from the farms, but during the nineties the islands of Little Bernera and Eilean Kearstay were taken off Linshader farm and added to the townships of Bernera, and Valtos obtained Pabay Mor.

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*Report....on the Condition of the Cottar population in the Lews. (C.5265), 1888, p.4.

175 427 Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the proprietors were obliged, by pressure of population within, and of public opinion without, to made some concessions to their small tenantry. It may be relevant to point out that this was a period of falling agricultural prices and declining farm rentals; indeed the time was not far off when some farms would not find tenants at any rental:

TABLE 7

Farm:	Rental at c.1875/80	Rental at c.1885/90
Mealasta	£130	£85
Mangersta	£132	£95
Ardroil & Carnish	£285	£245
Timsgarry	£108	£80 (1)
Linshader	£349	£278 (2)

Notes: (1) Small reduction for enlargement to Glebe.
(2) £22 reduction for Laimeshader and Grimersta Lodge.

175 526 [161] [162] [231] 288 175 [653] The crofters of south Uig were in particular difficulty at this time for here fishing declined earlier than elsewhere but the townships remained greatly overcrowded. In 1910 Breanish and Islivig had 14 cottar families, (most of them sharing crofts with the official tenants), and three of squatters, i.e. on the common pasture. Here fishing had almost ceased and the people were almost entirely dependent on their crofts or on employment away from home. In Valtos and Kneep there were 21 cottar families; they had 31 cattle and sheep flocks. Here, too, fishing was on the decline. It was perhaps because of this that commercial weaving was developed in South Uig earlier than in most parts of Lewis. As early as 1900 Uig was classed with Harris, by the local committee of the Congested Districts Board, as producing a superior quality of tweed. Two 30 gallon iron pots were sent out so that enough wool could be dyed at one boiling to obviate irregular colouring in any one tweed. The C.D.B. also made grants for roads, footpaths and "marine works". Amongst the latter the pier at Valtos (1899) was an attempt to resuscitate local fishing, but it came too late.

175 653 175 657 427 [241] The Congested Districts Board was the first government agency with funds at its disposal to aid the crofting townships. One of its largest grants went in aid of the Carloway Road (or Pentland Road as it is now known). This scheme arose out of an abortive proposal for a railway from Loch Carloway to Stornoway. It was thought that this could enable trawlers and other large fishing boats to land their catch for quick transport to Stornoway and so to the mainland whilst the fishing vessels returned to sea with minimum delay. The road, an excellently engineered one, is still not properly surfaced. A more effective C.D.B. - aided scheme was the resettlement of crofters on Mangersta Farm, the rent of which had fallen to £70 and which the proprietors were willing to break up. Thirteen new buildings were formed here and the first harvest was taken by the new settlers in 1911. The crofters' rent was fixed at £73 and the C.D.B. paid £566 in grants to purchase the sheep stock and improvements, and towards the cost of fencing. About the same time the Board paid a grant to the township of Garenin for fencing a substantial enlargement to their pasture, obtained off Dalbeg. Here, and at Reef farm, smallholding resettlement schemes were vetoed by the Crofters Commission whose experts regarded the areas as unsuitable. Both have since been re-settled by crofters.

241 sists of the sporting estates of Grimersta, Scaliscro, Moregail and Uig Lodge, on some
311 of which a few cattle and sheep may be grazed, and a few small farms.

632 There are 37 crofting townships. In area they extend from 9,000 acres (Linshader)
311 to about 500 acres (Croir, excluding de facto shares in Bernera Shielings). The number
427 of crofter tenants ranged from 4 in Ungshadir and Earshadir to 61 in Breasclete, and the
162 average amount of land available to each crofter is 7.2 acres of inbye and 126 acres of common pasture (table 10). Averages are misleading. As the table shows, between districts the amount of land available per crofter varies from about 50 to 500 acres; as between townships the range is even wider (table 11). To some extent this contrast is the result of resettlement schemes which, in general, attempted to provide new holdings sufficient to yield a family living. The extent to which they were successful in this respect was limited by political pressure, especially in the 1920's, to provide the maximum number of holdings. Nevertheless the re-settled holdings have twice the average areas of both inbye and common pasture (13.3 against 7.2 acres, and 225 against 126 acres, respectively).

TABLE 10

Average acreage of land available for each holding and working unit.

241 233 311 427

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	INBYE LAND: Acres per holding	INBYE LAND: Acres per working unit	COMMON PASTURES: Acres per holding	COMMON PASTURES: Acres per working unit	NUMBER OF: Holdings	NUMBER OF: Working units
Atlantic Coast	4.7	8.8	285	529	51	28
Uig Bay	10.1	14.8	255	367	62	43
Valtos-Reef	5.4	7.8	118	171	74	51
Little Loch Roag	7.0	7.6	116	126	38	35
Bernera Island	12.8	13.8	86	93	91	84
Bernera Shore	13.3	13.3	484	484	26	26
East Loch Roag	6.0	8.1	85	114	183	136
Loch Carloway	4.7	5.3	52	58	174	155
Non-crofting holdings	17.9	17.9	-	-	23	22
	7.2	9.0	126	157	699	580

NOTE: The distinction between "holdings" and "working units" is explained in the text.

427 Even amongst the old-established townships there is a tremendous range in amount of
632 land available per tenant, the southern districts being best placed and those in the north
311 worst, a situation which still remains. Indeed, the contrast in land available as between tenants (table 11) is a fundamental one; surprisingly, it is not on the whole reflected by a corresponding contrast in stock carried. Together with the rarity of effective fences between or within township pastures, the impossibility of properly hefting sheep to the hills when each crofter keeps his own little pack, and the excessive sheep/cattle ratio, this gives rise to serious problems which will be examined in Part III.

TABLE 11

Land Available by Numbers of Tenants

162 241 427 233 632

Acres:	INBYE LAND No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish: (a)	(b) in 'new' townships: (b)	Acres:	COMMON PASTURES No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish: (a)	(b) in 'new' townships: (b)
0-1.0	1		Less than 50	88	
1.0-2.5	73	2	51-100	332	14
2.6-5.0	241	19	101-200	139	12
5.1-7.5	137	22	201-300	52	-
7.6-10	66	23	301-400	32	32
10.1-15	56	23	401-500	8	8
15.1-20	30	17			
20.1-50	29	24	940	10	10

Note: 'New' townships, for this purpose, are those settled since 1900.

361 In detail the arrangement of the townships varies. Certain features are common:
632 all inbye land and, consequently, all settlements, are coastal (except Lochganvich). Each has common pasture adjacent to the inbye and many have further areas of common - former shieling grazings - some distance inland (figure 1). This division of the hill grazings is to some extent nominal because fences are often absent or ineffective. Uninhabited islands, on the other hand, require no fences, and are particularly valuable for winter grazing; the smaller of them provide convenient natural paddocks for bulls
171 and tups when out of season. The management of all these common pastures is controlled by the township committees. Unfortunately the most important aspect of stock management - control of numbers and maintenance of a proper balance of sheep and cattle - is almost universally neglected.

233 The total stock which each croft may put on the common pastures - the 'soum' - is
427 defined in the Regulations. In the case of townships re-settled in the present century a
656 specific soum is placed on each croft but, in most other cases, the old practice persists of stating the soum in terms of rent. Thus the soum of each croft may be defined as 1 cow, 1 two-year-old and 8 sheep per pound sterling rent (this is a very common souming). Such soumings have been in existence since time immemorial; they are mentioned in 1836*. Many of the Uig townships had their soumings stated by the Land Court in 1912; in most cases the soum was given "per pound sterling of rent" (presumably 1912 rent), but in a few "per pound sterling of rent payable in 1886". The rents had been substantially reduced in 1891, thus 1912 and 1886 rents were very different. Any township has a certain limited, stock-carrying capacity; therefore, if the total rental is thus changed without

113 * New Statistical Account, Vol. XIV, p.148.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

233 change in area, then the amount of stock allowed, per pound sterling of rent, ought to be
427 changed, too.
656

This does not appear to have been done in Uig although in Stornoway parish the soum
175 per pound was increased after rents were reduced in the late nineteenth century. More recently, the Crofters Commission, in re-stating soumings for some townships, has generally (but not invariably) applied the soum to the 1886 rent, regardless of the wording of the 1912 regulations. This may appear to have the merit of consistency and, insofar as crofters pay any attention to the Regulations, it satisfies them because the greater (1886) rent gives them a larger soum and less likelihood of being criticised or penalised for overstocking. However, it perpetuates inconsistencies which originated during the nineteenth century when the stock allowed per pound sterling rent was not reduced although total rentals were increasing as squatters' and cottars' holdings were added (see page above). Moreover, the old souming referred to the old type of highland cattle which were much smaller beasts than those kept today, and it assumed that the shieling pastures would be in full use. A further complication arises because about 1920 some townships acquired substantial enlargements but the soumings do not appear to have been adjusted. Altogether it is little wonder that the Grazing Regulations are seldom observed, for they seldom bear any close relationship to the grazing capacity of township lands. Proper observance of carefully revised Regulations, in which unlimited substitution of sheep in place of cattle was specifically forbidden, would be of considerable benefit to the crofters.

241 The inbye, or croft, land is invariably separated from the common pasture by a ring
233 fence, the gates of which are generally closed for protection of crops from May to
417 November. Progressive townships are installing grids to obviate the twin nuisances of traffic interference and straying stock. The fencing of individual crofts was rare until the
178 1930's and is still by no means general. The inbye land is, in many townships, the best winter grazing and its division into innumerable tiny fenced patches, whilst advantageous for cultivation, would restrict the movement of stock in search of water and shelter; in a predominantly pastoral economy complete enclosure of individual holdings is not necessarily an advantage. This problem will be discussed in Part III but, in the present
184 context, it is relevant to point out that the small crofts of Lewis contrast strongly with the larger ones of, for example, the Uists and Tiree. Therefore, what may be advantageous in the latter may be retrograde in much of Lewis.

The lay-out of the crofts aggravates this problem. The long narrow strips of the 1850 lotting, well-suited to spade cultivation and common winter grazing, may require four or five times the length of fencing required by an equi-dimensional croft of similar area. If fenced the stock may be deprived of both water and shelter; since arable cultivation has become relatively unimportant a suitable solution to this problem might be to fence a small potato plot near the house and to put the rest of the inbye down to sown grass in three or four communal parks in which grazing could be properly controlled. A particular problem is posed by crofts which have been sub-divided. These may take the form of strips as much as half a mile long by 10 yards wide or, more commonly (and much worse), of piece-meal sharing of innumerable plots, a system known locally, but incorrectly, as 'run-rig'. This is seen at its height in Kneep (fig 22), where every croft in the township is affected. The problem does not arise in townships with large crofts, which are usually more nearly equi-dimensional. These are mostly the result of re-settlement schemes and have long been fenced, (see, for example, figure 15).

Crofter-tenants.

162 An analysis of crofter-tenants according to age, sex and occupation (table 12) provides
427 several important clues as to the present unsatisfactory state of crofting. More than
463 one-third of the tenants are over 65 years of age; a further 16% are absent, some of these may also be over 65, others are younger people working away from home, a few are tenants

162 of crofts in other districts, despite the legal requirement that a tenant shall reside w
427 two miles of his croft. Thus half the crofts in the parish are tenated by persons wh
463 cannot be expected to make the best use of them. This implies no criticism of the p concerned, it is a criticism of the system. Of 314 resident tenants under 65 years o age, 43 are women; of the men, 170 have regular employment including fishing or w 55 take casual or seasonal work as and when they can get it. Only 46, or 7% of all te are "full-time crofters" and, in fact, most of these are either invalids, disabled, or 60 years of age. Thus in Uig, unlike the southern Outer Hebrides, most crofts are best a spare time occupation, at worst merely a house site carying special privilege The table also demonstrates that the size of crofts has little bearing on occupational status; this is inevitable in a rigid system under which a man has no control of varyi the size of his holding according to his needs. Some young tenants inherit crofts far small for their family needs, whilst many elderly tenants, and women, have crofts w are too large for them to maintain.

241 It is not surprising, then, that many tenants do not wish, or are not able, properl
427 to cultivate or stock their crofts. A few, however, are particularly interested in agricultural production as a means of livelihood. Some of these have acquired extra crofts, and so built up much larger units. This may be done by acquiring tenancies in the crofter's own name or that of his wife or a close relative, or by sub-letting. 30 crofters in Uig are tenants of more than one holding, at least 20 work holdings hel the name of close relatives, and at least 120 have sub-let holdings. These figures a certainly too low; sub-letting without the consent of the proprietor or Crofters Comm is illegal. Nevertheless it is common, and it is generally unsatisfactory because the tenant has no security of tenure and no right to compensation for improvements; con- sequently sub-let crofts are often neglected and sometimes over-grazed as well. Co sub-letting, for a stated minimum period and with the right to compensation, would regularise a well established practice and encourage the formation of larger units, be able to support a family.

A converse of sub-letting is unofficial sub-division. There are a few cases of co usually relatives living in a second dwelling house on the croft - sharing the croft wit tenant; but this formerly widespread practice has all but disappeared. Such de facto "crofters" share the common grazings, as do "squatters" - persons with houses on th
162 common land - who keep stock. Thus neither the number of crofter-holdings on the
241 (699), nor that of crofter-tenants (660), is any guide to the effective number of potenti
427 agricultural units. Of the crofter-tenants, 100 are absent and some of those who are resident sub-let their crofts. After making these allowances the number of de facto holdings becomes 518; to these must be added 39 cottars, squatters and others (inclu a few tenants of council houses) who keep at least a cow or five sheep, and 23 agricult holdings without crofter status. Thus there are 580 potential agricultural units in Uig

233 That is not all. Of these 66 have no cattle, and 162 carry less than half their sou
241 of which 22 have no stock at all. Little more than 400 holdings can reasonably be sai
427 be agriculturally effective. This is an indictment, not of the crofters, but of the agricultural structure of the system. This neither provides viable holdings nor does enable those who wish to acquire enough land to be agriculturalists to get it, even thou much land lies unused or ill-used. In short, the system is too rigid. In consequenc de-population goes on apace whilst potential resources are neglected. Three-quarte a century of legislation and financial aid have, in the main, encouraged the developme crofts as homes for the elderly and as hobbies for those in other employment. Very reasonably, many crofters complain. But very few realise-or are willing to admit - the security of tenure and other privileges won in 1886, if too rigidly maintained, may ultimately bring about the decay of the very communities which they were intended to protect.

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311
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Figure 11.

THE ATLANTIC COAST DISTRICT

C.P. : detached common pasture (shielings).

ENL. : enlargement to common pasture

Table 13

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TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	COMMON PASTURES: Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: others:	CROFTER TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Ard Bheag	-	-	c.2,000	-	1	(4)
Brenish	140	5,895	940	28	-	22
Islivig	51	1,342	620	10	-	7
Mangersta	55	2,197	1,850	13	-	13
	246	9,432	5,410	51	1	42

/facing p. 32/

491
494 Brenish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight cost half-a-crown for a hundredweight, but because of competition from privately owned vans the bus service ceased in 1960. Mangersta is reached from the same road by about a mile of untarred side-road of indifferent quality; formerly the only access to it was by
362 a footpath over the sands to the south. General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied
205 by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig; banking facilities
453 are supplied by a mobile bank.

311 The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being some-
427 what more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about four acres; in Brenish and Islivick only about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or croft-units - are fenced, the work having been completed in Brenish in 1959. There are twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Brenish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta; but, owing to amalgamations of various kinds the number of operative units is considerably less - fourteen in Brenish, five in Islivick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

134 As soils are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable
407 patches are large enough to be cultivated with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in
231 Brenish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are hired for ploughing and carting peats. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike many of the other Uig townships.

233 While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas, here the sheep are wintered up on the hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts. Brenish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hogge, or four year-old heifers), on Mealasta Island - hogge are usually sent since their loss, by falling over the cliffs, is less serious than the loss of heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta crofters, who are allowed two sheep each in summer.

241 The only crops grown are potatoes and oats, with "black oats" (Avena strigosa) on the sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed for "black oats" is unobtainable commercially, the crofters save their own. A grass mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay, to qualify for the subsidy.

233 The extensive hill and mountain pastures are not separately fenced; sheep from all three townships graze over all. If the total sheep stock of the townships (about 3,300) is compared with the souming figures it is found to exceed the soum by about 50%. On the other hand, fewer cattle and horses are kept than formerly so that taking the total stock for all animals (horses, cattle and sheep) and comparing with the actual stock now carried, the area carries only 87% of the stock which the soum allowed. In the two older townships the souming was reckoned according to rent, being one cow, one two-year old and eight sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, however, the soum was one horse, three cows, one heifer, two stirks and twenty-five sheep for each croft.

Lambing percentage is about 80, and ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers
236 (excluding lambs). In this district some wedders are kept for three years and then sold
435 for meat, but the main income is from wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep, which sells at up to four shillings a pound.

231 Most crofters keep one or two cows, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn or spring sales. Brenish and Mangersta each have a bull, and in the three townships there are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks in

231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealieval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' shellings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig shellings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Mealasta farm, until about 1939, shellings were used in that area.

314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts beare
241 evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation. Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres
312 of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a
377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very
301 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers -
286 nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy;
461 in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady
434 income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R.A.F. station and at least
407 one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns at tractor which he hires
495 out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Moire peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

CALENDAR OF

	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APR.	MAY
Gates					‖ sh
Oats			ploughing /sowing ·		
Potatoes			planting ····· earlies /main crop		
Hay					
Peats				cutting ··	
Cattle				···· main calvi	
Sheep			lambing ①		

① Hoggs removed from mocha
② Lambs weaned
③ Dipping

Figure

/facing p. 38/

4: Noisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

221
231
233
241

CROFT WORK

JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
ut					open	
.....		harvest				
.....		lifting ..... earlies / main crop				
... drying		carting				
ng period						
shearing wedders / ewes		②	③		④	⑤

r ④ Tupping
⑤ Rams to common pasture

142 The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" huts, some still in good repair, are of uncertain date. The best preserved are on the Morsgail Deer Forest, in remote situations which make it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; those on the Garynahine common pasture are associated with assymmetrically ridged, curving, lazybeds. This, however, need not imply permanent occupation of the site, nor does it solve the problem of age; such lazy-beds are certainly old, possibly pre-potato (c.1790 here) - but the huts do not decay with age and may be very much older.

195 42 [64] Early in the eighteenth century the present area of the parish of Uig was held from the Seaforth clan chief by 26 tacksmen, whose names are recorded in the judicial-rental of 1718, (Fig.4). They, presumably, had sub-tenants but of these there is no record. Elsewhere in Lewis the same rental records many small tenants holding direct off the chief but in Uig, apparently, the tacksman and sub-tenant system remained intact. Although we cannot be certain of their precise extent, the distribution of the tacks coincides fairly well with that of the better agricultural ground (Fig.2). 241 Five of them cluster round Uig bay, four were in the Valtos-Reef area, and three around the strait of Little Bernera. All these districts have machair; together they accounted for three quarters of the meal and more than half the sheep and money rents. What is more, these rents represented 27% of the total rental of Lewis, whereas by 1887 Uig yielded only 17% 178 of the rental and by 1901 the proportion was reduced to 14%. The relative decline of 369 Uig is largely due to the growth of Stornoway; this shift in the centre of gravity of Lewis has tended to exaggerate the remoteness and isolation of Uig in the present century.

161 175 [172] 407 [494] 000 By the end of the eighteenth century the tacksmen seem to have disappeared; at any rate they are not mentioned in the remarkably detailed account of the parish given in the Old Statistical Account, 1792. Meanwhile the small tenants had multiplied: whereas in 1755 the old parish * had supported 1,312 persons, in 1792 the minister recorded 1,898. At this time there was neither plough nor cart in the parish. The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them

TABLE 3

AVERAGE STOCK HELD BY EACH FAMILY

	1792	1959
Cattle and calves	9.2	2.1
Sheep	13	37
Horses	1.8	-
Goats	0.8	-
No. of families	387	450

Note: the figures for both dates refer to the area of the old parish.

* The old parish of Uig excluded the Loch Carloway district, from Kirivick north; this area lay in Lochs parish until 1891. Unless the old parish is specified figures quoted have been corrected to conform with the modern boundaries.

1. [See p. 2--Analyst]

33 townships and at Islivig and Breanish, the peat is thin (or has been stripped) to reveal a
34 gravelly dirft,[1] free-draining on suitable slopes. In such places a black loamy soil has
been developed by cultivation; the many ditches of lazybed cultivation are not necessary
and, if the area is large enough, it can be worked by tractor. Such soils, in the climate
of west Lewis, are eminently suitable for rotation grass, for hay or pasture, and much
more could be done with them under knowledgeable management. Where shell sand has
been blown inland on to peaty soils the natural top-dressing has had a remarkable
ameliorating effect on texture and acidity. Such areas are all too limited, the most
important are at Valtos, Kneep and Reef, and around Uig bay; smaller areas are at
34 Mealasta, Mangersta and Bosta (Bernera). The hill grazings are dominated by a thin
heather cover, blue moor grass and, in wetter places, sphagnum and cotton grass. Sin
35 the cattle population has been declining many older residents claim that the pastures,
particularly near the townships, have deteriorated, the proportion of grass declining and
coarse heather increasing. "The hills that were green when I was a boy", said one, "ar
now black". Neglected arable and pasture land, too, soon reverts. Rushes and flags
invade the ditches between the old lazy beds and, if the ground is at all waterlogged, soo
invade the beds as well. Drier ground, if not well grazed, soon reverts to heather. Th
limited machairs are little better; almost devoid of humus, they show little development
of soil profile, only a thin grey layer of turf roots; rabbits, or injudicious cultivation
readily set off wind erosion. Only where the wind has provided a natural blend of peat
and machair are conditions better. Such areas are very limited.

32 The climate is in many respects severe; no local statistics are available, but some
for Stornoway and Benbecula are appended. The frequency of high winds has a bad effec
on both vegetation and stock, but to some extent wind counteracts excessive moisture.
Near sea-level, where all the townships are situated, frost and snow are almost unknown
Thus it is exposure to the wind that limits the outwintering of stock, not low temperature
this suggests that if pastures could be improved in suitably sheltered places far more
advantage might be taken of the relatively mild winter temperatures. It is believed that
the sunshine record is particularly poor in the south, where clouds can frequently be
seen hanging over the mountains when the sun is shining on Bernera and the area north
36 east of East Loch Roag. The relatively dry and sunny period which commonly occurs in
May and June ought to make for a good hay harvest; unfortunately the natural meadows,
such as they are, are late starters, and the custom is to cut the grass when it has gone to
seed. Thus hay is often being taken in September - one of the wettest months in the year

CHAPTER TWO

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS

2 Evidence of pre-historic and other early settlements in the parish is afforded by the
occurence of standing stones, brochs and duns. The Callanish circle and its satellites
are by far the most remarkable ancient monument in the Hebrides, and testify to the
former importance of the site even though today their precise significance may not be
clear. Most of the duns are now little more than circular heaps of stones, but in that at
Doune Carloway the double walls still stand to a considerable height. A later phase of
settlement is recorded in the place names, a very large proportion of which contain Norse
elements such as -nish, -vick, -bost and -shader; it seems probable that most of the
present township sites have been more or less continuously occupied since Norse times.

1. [Presumably the author means "drift"--Analyst]

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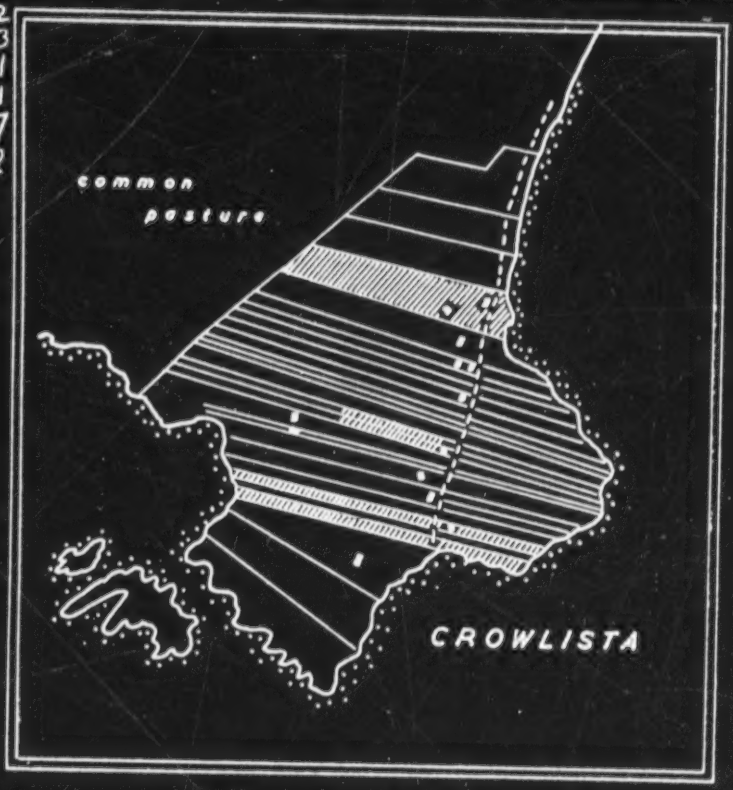

Figure 14

CROWLISTA :
- lay out of crofts of an 'old' township lotted c. 1850.
- crofts shown hatched are held runrig by pairs of tenants

(Compare Fig. 15)

/facing p. 36/

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32

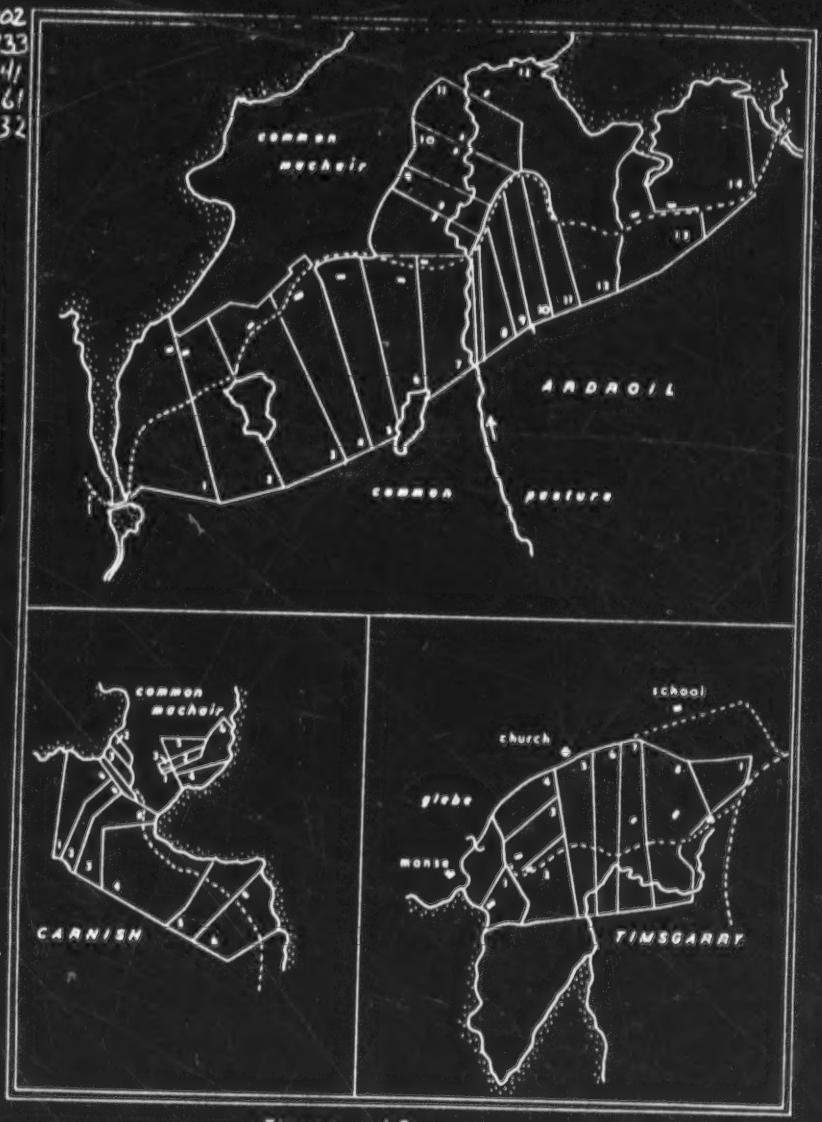

Figure 15.

ARDROIL CARNISH and TIMSGARRY - lay-out of crofts formed from farms in 1921. Compare fig. 14.

/facing p. 37/

361 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new
491 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all
[487 but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
499 two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans call
205 but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor -
366 two wells only are in use.
494
312]

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. W
supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses
The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile
away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all
[366 except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has
205 a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly
453 and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return
494 fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars.

241 The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the
[23] smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, and
407 Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from
Brenish or Enaclete. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small
patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years age was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

242 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts
[134 the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the
324 crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal
fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult
to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogg
but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whol
[427] is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Tims
Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hoggs
on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight ho
[232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hoggs that are sent. The minister at Timsga
who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs b
crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well;
the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some loca
crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependa
upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as goo

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the she soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked.
[233] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all cr keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.[1]

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
175 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses o
[361] each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now graze are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Amhuinn Thoragha and Allt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this a still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

464 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in
these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment.
228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroi three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

464 Mitchels's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
316 ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present.
712 The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two
377 Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric shceme
[426] site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

1. [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

Appendix B

	MALES																			
	RESIDENT										PERIODICALLY AWAY				PERMA					
						15-64														
VALTOS	6	9	16	16	13	3	12	14	5		-	-	-	-	4	1				
KNEEP	2	4	6	9	7	1	7	4	3		-	-	-	-	-	-				
KEEP	3	3	5	5	3	4	-	5	1		-	-	-	-	-	-				
MEAVAIG	6	-	4	3	-	-	4	-	3		-	-	-	-	-	-				
Total D	17	16	33	33	23	8	23	23	12		-	-	-	-	4	1				
CARYSHADER	5	2	11	5	2	1	7	7	1		-	-	1	-	-	-				
GESHADER	-	2	9	1	9	2	3	4	1		-	-	3	-	-	-				
UNGSHADER	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	1	-		-	-	-	-	-	-				
ENACLITE	3	3	6	5	3	1	4	3	3		-	-	-	-	-	-				
Non-crofting	4	5	1	3	1	-	4	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-				
Total E	12	12	29	14	18	4	19	15	3		-	-	6	-	-	-				

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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(1), continued.

FEMALES

| | Resident | | |

1. [For fig. 23, see "facing p. 46"--Analyst]

/facing p. 45/

4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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Figure 22

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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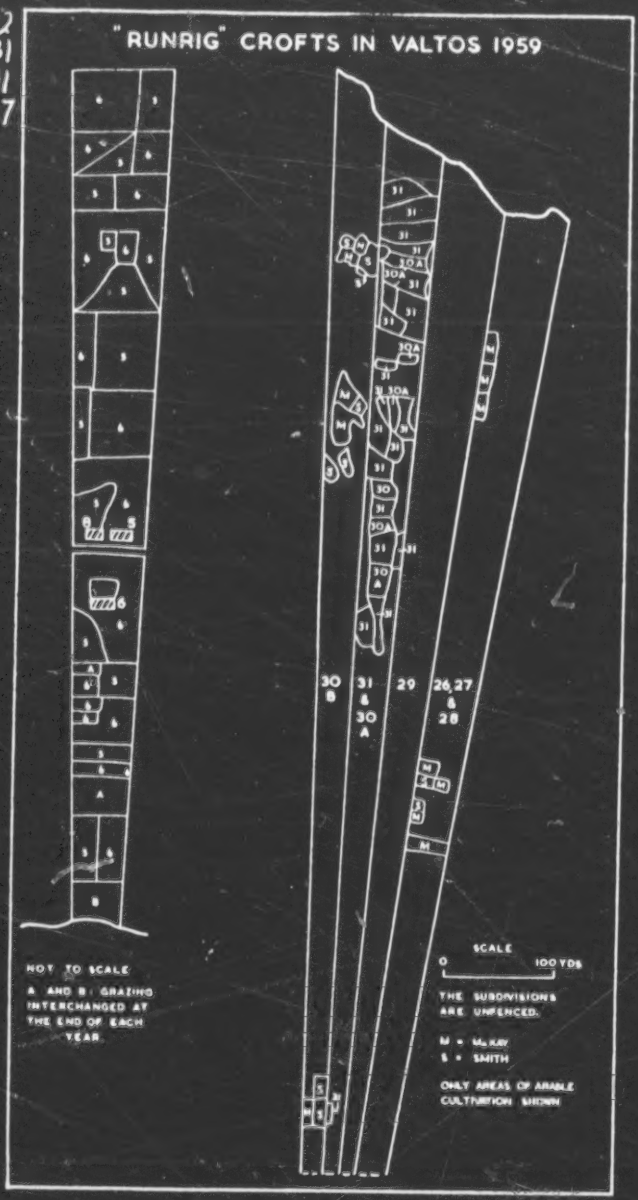

Figure 21

/facing p. 44/

427 Tables 16 and 18 support the definition of a croft as a small livestock-economy unit,
311 primarily concerned with the provision of milk for the family and young cattle and wool for
sale. There are no cash sales of crops - the whole of the land-use is directed towards
231 the subsistence of the crofter and his stock. The cereals (almost entirely oats) and the
[241] hay (occupying a very small proportion of land for a livestock farming region) are grown
for winter fodder for the cattle and sheep. The larger part of the croft is given over to
[246] grazing - usually of poor to medium quality - which receives very little attention from the
crofter. Less than one third of the holdings have sown grassland (and in these few cases
it is normally less than half an acre) - a fact which suggests a passive rather than active
attitude of the crofter towards his land.

[244] In addition, every croft has its own small potato plot - rarely more than half an acre
to provide for family needs, and most crofts (58%) possess a vegetable garden - again for
house use.

[435] Nearly all the crofts carry one or two cows - the second cow ensures a milk supply all
the year round. Young stock are sold at one year to eighteen months old, rather than as
calves - a result of the incentive offered by the calf-rearing subsidy. The milking stock
is replaced very infrequently.

427 Where one croft differs from the next is in the numbers of sheep stock. Table 17
233 shows an even distribution of crofts with more than fifty and less than fifty sheep; but, in
[434] fact, over one third of all crofts have less than twenty-five sheep. Sheep are the only
source of money income on the croft, except for the annual sale of the calf, and subsidies,
and there is a considerable difference in the size of sheep stock between the truly subsis-
tence and "retirement" crofts on the one hand and the "commercial" crofts on the other.
Hence the souming figures, and here note the contrast between Valtos with the sheep stock
equal to 111% of the soum and Kneep - 353%!

∞ An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on

TABLE 18
LAND USE

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	Valtos	Kneep	Reef
Average size of holding:			
311 427 231 Old arable	2.5	4.1	11.0
Outrun	2.8	6.2	
Percentage of croftland under:			
cereals	7.5	7.0	6.0
potatoes	2.5	5.0	3.0
Sown grass (hay)	5.5	1.0	5.5
natural hay	3.5	10.0	4.0
natural grazing	75.5	76.0	75.0

427 633 311 Joint tenants of one have moved to Geshader while continuing to work the Ungshader land. Another is preparing to move to Enaclete and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Chroistean Cottage. At present, three working units remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with ten units, one being rented by joint tenants.

221 The rhythm of work is similar to that in other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oats are planted in April followed by lambing and peat cutting in May. In June and July the sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to the common grazings. In August the peats are carted, once they are dry, by lorry direct to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lambs are weaned in September, harvest is then carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take place in November. The sheep are then returned to the township grazing though the lambs 241 may be fed with hay on the croft. There is little regular crop rotation and only a small number of crofters seem to undersow oats, thus improving the quality of future hay crops. Gardens are not important and only provide for family needs but Caryshader particularly has a number, some growing flowers as well as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely from croft to croft as well township to township. Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the shore and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshader are usually fed on artificials.

231 Most crofters keep one milk cow with a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn sales in Caryshader. However, some now rely on their neighbours for milk in return for grazing and one croft has turned to goats, as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on Geshader -Ungshader common grazing as it is completely fenced; and Geshader is responsible for its upkeep.

233 Lambing seems to have been generally good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact figures. The Morsgail Estate and Gisla farm also run considerable flocks. The common pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlargement, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acres for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader near Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres [314] on Floday island. The shielings have been disused since the war. Peat is normally cut to the west of the road but at least one elderly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his croft for this purpose to save the effort of working further afield.

241 178 231 Generally speaking the land now cropped only represents one third to one half of that worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when the crofting population was larger and when much greater numbers of cattle were kept through the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and more oats. The cattle numbers are much less than the total souming but sheep are in excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazing by sheep has caused a decline in grazing quality.

464 Clearly in these townships, apart from the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the means of livelihood is sought elsewhere. At present there are altogether fifty-three men in the working age group (15 - 64) in all four townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine permanently and five periodically. Thirty have regular or periodic employment besides crofting and of these seven work at Gisla on the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, some of them part-time, four hire out vans, two do post-office work and others have varied occupations while only three are full-time crofters. At present there are few men in the Merchant Navy and fishing does not provide an occupation although many share rowing-boats in their spare time, and fish for domestic use.

162 [164] The population as a whole is ageing and of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four (roughly 30%) work away permanently or have emigrated. It is noticeable that there are few crofts worked by people with young families

000 In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that the fate of the crofting townships depends more

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APPENDIX A

(1) Agricultural statistics for South Uig - August, 1957.

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pasture: (acres)	Gardens	CATTLE: Sum:	Milk:	Others:	Calves:	SHEEP: Sum:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Horses	Asses
AND DHEAG	-	1	1	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	0,500	?	?		
BREAKISH	28	-	13	16	4	20	100	11	84	18	15	13	508	703	443	568	4	1
ERLISTID	10	-	5	7	2	11	30	3	43	6	3	4	220	234	176	105	2	-
MANGERSTA	13	-	10	12	3	17	23	3	68	16	9	13	385	474	334	371	1	-
CARNISH	6	-	3	2	1	4	61	4	26	4	1	4	270	110	89	40	1	-
ARDROIL	14	-	12	7	2	21	321	13	62	15	5	9	625	358	277	171	1	-
TIMSGARRY	8	-	7	5	1	12	63	7	23	8	-	4	275	177	143	108	1	-
HAMIE ETC.	-	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	-	2	-	1	-	38	35	5	-	-
AIRD	10	-	8	4	1	3	35	8	34	6	1 (Goats)	1	206	226	193	166	-	-
CROMLISTA	24	-	13	16	7	19	59	6	89	15	3	9	414	487	374	227	-	-
TALTON	40	1	29	22	7	15	104	13	220	41	1	29	1,033	916	781	524	-	-
ERISP	13	-	13	11	7	19	118	10	76	14	6	9	455	403	337	247	1	-
SEIP	15	-	8	5	2	3	77	7	45	7	3	9	225	243	202	190	-	-
CARTERADER	14	1	12	6	4	3	34	3	31	8	1 (2 Goats)	4	163	139	176	110	1	-
OSSRADER	11	-	11	14	3	16	82	10	38	15	4	11	337	594	442	435	-	-
UNGSHADER	4	-	3	5	1	7	23	3	17	3	1	2	150	130	125	123	-	-
ENACLATE	9	-	9	13	3	13	44	6	31	14	2	12	323	335	247	308	-	-
OTHERS (non-crofting)	-	5	5	3	1	7	54	2	-	7	16 (16 pigs & 2 goats)	12	-	295	210	231	-	1

Notes:

(a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in the text.

(b) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the grazing regulations were first made unless some other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

(c) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions (ewes/lambs/others) are as reported (see Appendix A (2)).

(d) Where there is a specific sum for a horse this has been added, (half to the cattle sum and half to the sheep sum) after allowing for any horses actually present.

(e) Where there is a sum for two-year old cattle this has been included in the cattle sums at the rate of 2 two-year olds to one cow.

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As yet the tourist trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting relations but many houses offer suitable accommodation for people who would appreciate quiet holidays in these very beautiful surroundings. The distance from Stornoway, the difficulty of obtaining varied food supplies - and the weather - were cited as disadvantages! Passengers on a weekly coach tour from Stornoway are supplied with meals at an Ardroil house which has good access to the beach but otherwise the crofters show little interest in the possibilities of tourism.

In common with other crofting townships, the greatest problem here is that of an ageing population because the younger people seek employment outside their township. The diagrams[1] illustrate the age-heavy structure of the permanent resident group and also the numbers of the insurable population periodically or permanently away. The lack of suitable work, for young women particularly, is also shown. The ages of the tenants also illustrate this problem. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty or 34% are over sixty-five. Serious, too, is the loss by emigration of people between fifteen and sixty-five. Of the total 'working population', 35% have left this region since 1939. The corresponding figure for Crowlista alone, the older settlement with smaller crofts, is as high as 42%.

We found in this part of Uig some crofts efficiently and energetically worked by young tenants, and if reasonable stock prices are obtained the larger crofts can be worked profitably. However no croft will fully support a family; ancillary employment is always sought by crofters with growing families yet many crofts are carrying less stock than they might because some tenants are not interested in, or able for, agriculture. The croft is increasingly thought of as a home, as part-time employment - often for older members of the family - and as a place for retirement.

It is easy to list schemes for improvement and change:- dairying to supply Stornoway with milk, poultry and pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivation under glass, the tourist industry, forestry on a small scale, lobster and crab fishing, etc. Such schemes would require capital not available in the townships, careful planning, and tactful administration by people with real knowledge of this area and its people. Meanwhile even the potential production of the crofts is by no means realised.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along the western side of the steep and narrow valley of the Amhuinn Gil na h-Airde three miles north of Crowlista. After leaving Loch Meacheit, the river flows northward through a gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then across a narrow flood-plain into the rocky bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in arrangement and varying in size from 3½ to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the right bank of the river, up the steep, rocky slope above the left bank and widening out over the more gently slopes between the 100 ft. and 200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently enlarged, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional ground to the north or south.

1. [See figures 12 (facing p.34) and 17 (facing p.39)--Analyst]

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
[231] the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos
in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird
654 lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village
there is now an R. A. F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common
pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the
inhabitants.

361 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
[497] at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
[443] butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N. A. A. F. I.
within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100
ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds
and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below
[205] the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
[342] have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the
houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
[354] more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
[312] modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
311 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an
elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so
[49] that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions,
but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to
the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

241 The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown
grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial
fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the
cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse.
[407] Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
[24] tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
[824] vated; bere was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
[231] extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that
there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow
for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses
no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

233 On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement
of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The
lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented
this) and weddors are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many
in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there
are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most
of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
[166] periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither
has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the
parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 -
44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

APPENDIX B (1)

	MALES																			
	RESIDENT										PERIODICALLY AWAY					PERMANENTLY AWAY				
	15-64																			
BREELISH	5	2	12	4	5	1	14	-	1		-	1	-	-		-	-			
ISLIVIG	-	2	5	1	5	1	2	1	-		-	-	-	-		-	-			
MANGERSTA	-	4	10	5	4	1	9	2	1		-	-	-	-		-	-			
Non-crofting	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	5		-	-	-	-		-	-			
Total A	5	8	28	10	12	3	25	3	7		-	1	-	-		-	-			
CARNISH	-	2	1	2	1	-	2	1	-		-	-	-	-		-	-			
ARDROIL	-	5	6	7	8	4	8	1	-		2	-	1	-		-	-			
TIMSGARRY	-	-	3	2	6	1	4	-	-		-	-	-	-		-	-			
Non-crofting	1	2	1	1	-	-	1	-	1		-	-	-	-		-	-			
Total B	1	9	11	12	15	5	15	2	1		2	-	1	-		-	-			
ARD	-	1	5	3	6	-	8	-	-		-	-	-	-		-	-			
GROSSINISH	-	3	4	6	5	5	3	2	-		-	1	-	1		-	-			
Total C	-	4	9	9	11	5	11	2	-		-	1	-	1		-	-			

/(cont. p. 55)

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

162
166
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462
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Population totals

FEMALES

	Reported Under 30	Reported	Permanently Away	Temporarily Away	Resident	15-64	Temporarily Away	Permanently Away	Reported Under 30	Reported
	13 1	1 -	-	-	-		-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-
	-

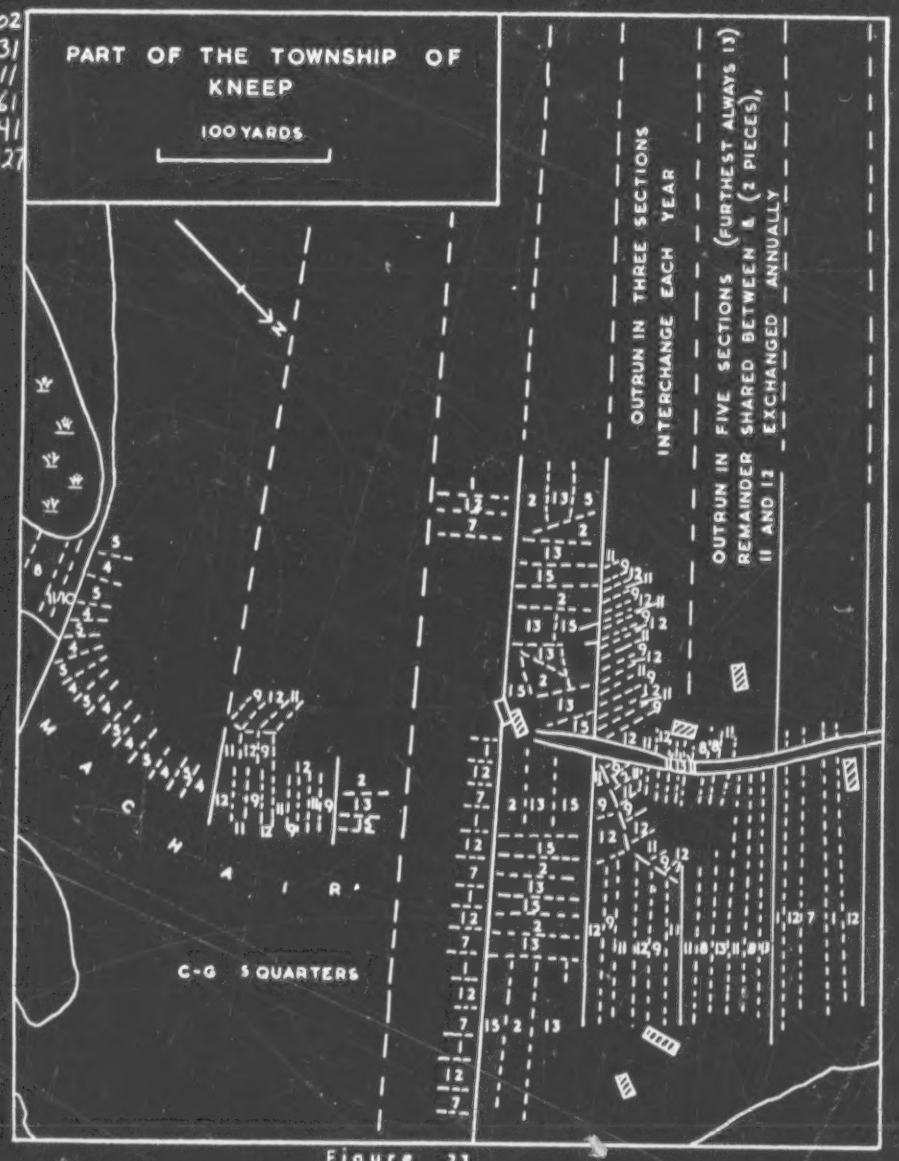

Figure 23
/facing p. 46/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

The area under cultivation has contracted in the past twenty years. Before 1939 most crofts had about twice as much land under cultivation and at Valtos some were cultivating small patches outside the township fence. The cultivation of the common machair at Cliff ceased in 1939. The land had been "too long in labour" (potatoes had been planted on the same ground for nearly one hundred years), and the soil had been affected by over-liberal applications of sulphate of ammonia which replaced the traditional soot-impregnated thatch from the black-houses. Moreover the Cliff machair was particularly vulnerable to "blow-outs" after ploughing. Cultivation of the Kneep common arable has all but ceased, and the fifty-two acres of arable machair in the township of Reef have been untouched since the 1930s. It is noticeable that the common machair cultivation and the shieling economy ended about the same time. Smaller numbers of better-quality cattle were needed to meet the daily milk requirements of the croft; a much smaller area of cultivation was therefore needed to provide winter fodder and consequently more land was available on the croft for potato cultivation. Consequently the more distant machair was replaced by cultivation within the croft.

Contraction and decline of the economy is common to all three townships, but the form and cause of this decline is different for each, and where the township consists of two separate settlement nuclei there is frequently a difference between the two parts:

The township of Valtos is in two distinct parts: crofts 1 - 34 are a succession of narrow strips about ½ mile in length stretching from the shore to about 200' O.D.. The boundaries of the outer crofts (nos. 1 and 34) if projected to a point on Pabay, form an angle of 45°, so that the crofts are narrower at the shore (40 - 70') than at the upper limit (100 - 180'). Of these 34 crofts, 19 are in so-called runrig, eight in pairs and one group of three. (Fig. 21). Cultivation is carried out on numerous intermixed small patches, held permanently; the grazings are interchanged at the year end. Fragmentation imposes a severe limitation on the economic efficiency of the croft. None of the crofts at Valtos is individually fenced though some groups of two or three are fenced together. With the contraction of cultivation only the less steep areas are cultivated, to facilitate ploughing.[1] As a result, the bulk of the cultivated plots are to be found at either end of the croft - near the shore and on the hill top against the township fence.

The remaining five crofts of Valtos, and a squatter, are at Cliff in the valley separating the Valtos peninsula from that of Aird. Here the crofts are fenced, more compact and slightly larger (4.8 acres as against 3.8 acres) and they occupy more level terrain than those in Valtos. Two of the crofts are worked in runrig - these being situated on the machair. The houses are set back about a hundred yards from the road, along the western township fence.

Kneep township is again in two parts: Crofts 16 - 18 together with the Manse and two cottars, are situated across the neck of the Glebe promontory, on the south side of the peninsula. The five legal crofts are today worked as three units, fenced, reasonably compact and with holdings of exceptional size for the area - average 15.1 acres. Crofts 1 - 15 at Kneep on the northern side of the peninsula adjoin those of Valtos. Here is a climax of land fragmentation, which imposes severe limits upon croft efficiency. Twelve of the fifteen crofts are worked; of these only numbers 4 and 5 are compact homogenous crofts; numbers 3 and 6 are compact except that part of the land which lies within their boundaries belongs to croft no. 13. The remaining eight crofts comprise a hundred and eight separate plots of croftland and fifty-two separate plots on the common machair. One croft with 2.8 acres arable the average size of each piece is a mere 0.15 acres! The grazing land on the croft is divided into strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into

1. Pre-1939 much of Valtos was cultivated in lazy beds - by spade. Today 9% is cultivated by spade; 43% by horse plough + 48% by tractor.

strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.

The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

Fig. 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

Figure 25

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

ENL. : Enlargement to common pasture.

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 19

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	COMMON PASTURES: Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Caryshader	44	1,260	-	14	1	14
Ungshader	35	435	598	4	-	4
Geshader	114	850		11	-	11
Enaclete	73	662	617	9	-	8
Non-crofting	c.40	800+	-	-	4	-
	306	4,007+	1,215	38	5	37*

NOTES: + also unrecorded areas of grazing on deer forests
* Of whom four are absent.

/facing p. 48/

APPENDIX A continued

162
423
427
464

(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, South Uig, August 1959.

Status* of tenants:-	Area of holding: 1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	20.1+ acres	TOTAL:
Regular employment M 54	5	17	11	6	1	2	2	44
Regular employment M 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Regular employment F 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Regular employment F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment M 65	4	10	5	5	3	-	-	27
Irregular employment M 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full-time crofters M 65	4	1	5	2	1	-	1	14
Full-time crofters M 65	8	13	13	8	7	5	4	58
Full-time crofters F 65	-	3	-	-	-	-	2	4
Full-time crofters F 65	1	4	1	1	-	-	1	8
Absent M	5	7	8	3	-	-	-	23
Absent F	4	7	-	2	-	-	-	13
TOTAL	31	63	43	27	12	7	10	193

162
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427
464

(4) Principal croft workers status by size of effective agricultural unit, South Uig, August 1959

Status* of croft worker	Area of effective agricultural unit (acres):- 1.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	20.1+	TOTAL:
Regular employment M 65	2	21	14	11	9	6	4	67
Regular employment M 65	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Regular employment F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Regular employment F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment M 65		13	7	5	6	-	2	33
Irregular employment M 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other employment M 65	2	4	1	-	7	2	2	18
Other employment M 65	2	8	8	7	6	5	4	40
Other employment F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other employment F 65		2	1	1	1	1	-	6
TOTAL	6	48	32	24	29	14	12	165

* Occupation, sex and age (under or over 65 years).

1. [Errata: See category 116, (introductory p.v), for corrections--Analyst]

APPENDIX A continued

231
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311
423

(5) Stocking and cultivation by size of effective units, South Uig, August 1959.

Stocking is assessed according to proportion of the scum held, cultivation according to acreage of arable crops, i.e. excluding hay; some units are omitted for lack of data, (consequently totals do not correspond.)

	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units							All sizes	Actual number of units
	1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0		
Proportion of scum held:									
Nil	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	3	4
Less than 50%	1	8	5	5	3	3	2	26	40
50%-100%	1	6	9	6	5	1	5	32	50
100%-200%	1	8	5	6	6	3	2	31	57
More than 200%	-	4	1	1	2	1	1	8	13
All units	3	28	21	15	16	8	9	100	
Area cropped:									
Less than 0.5 acre	1	5	3	2	1	1	-	13	19
0.5-1.0 acres	1	7	2	-	1	-	-	11	16
1.1-2.5 acres	1	12	13	9	8	1	5	50	74
2.6-5.0 acres	-	5	3	4	2	3	3	22	33
More than 5.0 acres	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	4	6
All units	3	28	21	16	14	7	11	100	148

Owing to rounding, percentage figures may not equal totals.

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(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit*

	Under 65 years: Full-time crofter	Croft and regular work	Croft and periodic work	Over 65 years: Male	Female	ALL UNITS *
CATTLE **						
nil	2	5	2	6	1	16
1	9	31	18	8	3	69
2	5	19	9	4	-	37
3	-	2	2	1	-	5
more than 3	-	-	-	1	-	1
SHEEP						
nil	2	1	2	3	-	8
less than 6	1	-	-	-	-	1
6-10	2	4	2	1	1	10
11-20	1	4	3	2	2	12
21-50	5	21	11	7	1	45
51-100	5	22	10	6	-	43
more than 100	-	5	3	1	-	9

* a few working units are omitted for lack of data.
** over 2 years

102
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Figure 18

VALTOS
KNEEP
and
REEF.

C.P. : Common pasture

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 15

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TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Valtos	149	1,482*	3,905**	40	1	36
Kneep	155	459*	1,806**	19	-	18
Reef	94	207 101(M)	770	15	-	14
	398	2,249	6,481	74	1	68***

NOTES: * including some machair; ** shielings; M machair; *** Of whom 14 absent.

/facing p. 41/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uig

122
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632

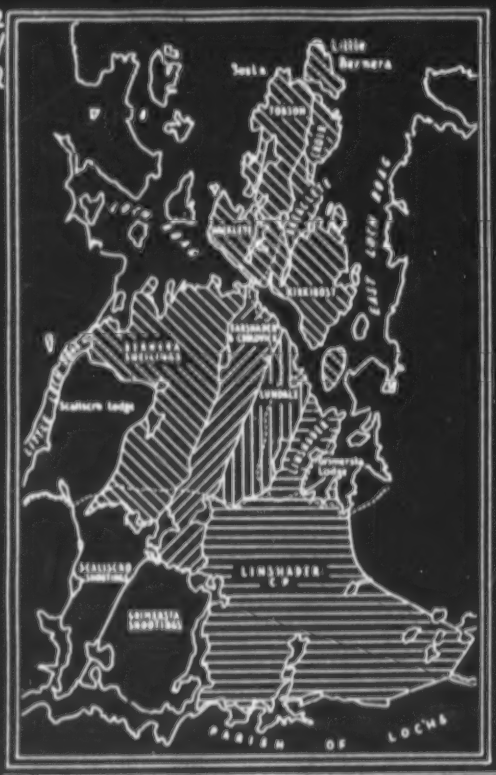

Figure 27

THE BERNERA DISTRICT

Tob

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TOWNSHIP:	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: (acres)			AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:
Croir	234	280		Bernera shielings 4,341 a.	8	-
Breanlete	104	481	Little Bernera 314 acres		13	5
Backlete	254	731			20	1
Kirkibost	429	924	E. Kershay 178 a.		26	4
Tobson	171	609	Bosta 425 a.		24	-
Kershader	57	2,640			4	2
Crulivig	84				6	-
Lundale	156	1,000			6	-
Linshader	62	9,412	E. an Tighe 14 a.		10	-

The Agricultural Year in the Carloway District.

221
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233
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Month	General	Land	Cattle	Sheep
January and February	Preparation of land. Ditching.		In byres - out on fine days.	On crofts and inner common pasture.
March		Ploughing and manuring.	On crofts and inner common pasture.	FANK - dipping. Put on outer common pasture.
April	Peat cutting.	Sowing oats. Sowing potatoes. Cleaning potatoes.	Sales.	
May	Lifting peat.			
June	Peat taken to roads.	Cultivating.		
July	Little croft work until late in July or early August.	Hay cutting and drying.		
August	Bringing home peat.	Oats cut and dried.		FANKS - for shearing and weaning.
September		Grain and hay brought to stack enclosure and byre.	Sales.	
October		Lifting the potatoes.	Cattle brought into byres.	Brought to crofts and inner common pasture. Dipping and tupping.
November and December	Little croft work.		Feeding in byres; outside when possible.	

Figure 40.

368 ground. Some of these provide for a much larger
the whole of the parish of Uig. Three buses per da
circular route provide transport to Stornoway.

UPPER CARLOWA

427 The township comprises 51 registered crofts an
133 situated on the drift covered slope which rises from
crofts are each about half a mile in length and from
downslope. The lowest portion of the croftland is
approaches 225 feet O.D. The key crofts are numb
to a point thus enabling the crofts to be accommodat
east are the crofts of Park Carloway which were lot
of croftland (numbers 1 to 40).

Only two crofts are fragmented ('fixed runrig'),
near the river where fencing would be difficult. E
completed between the roads, but above the upper r
only being undertaken by the more enterprising cro
bare rock surface of crofts 9 and 10 precludes any
fencing has taken place since 1946.

427 The 51 crofts and 28 feus and allotments are ope
311 The total land reputed arable 134.4 acres and the ou
to 217.05 acres of individually held ('croft') land.
by the relationship of slope, soil and elevation. Th
namely

(1) Below the road;

a) well drained and fairly accessible,
b) poorly drained and often far from the cr

(2) Between the roads: a main zone of cultivat

(3) Above the main road an upper zone

a) with bare rock and thin soil
b) drift covered - similar in character to

Crofts 1 - 32 occupy all three zones
" 33 - 40 and 46 occupy zones (2) and
" 49 is in zone (2)
" 41 and 42 are in zone (1)a and are in

241 In nearly all parts of these zones it is possible
[40] of oats and cutting of hay is accomplished. It is us
but only one man preferred to do all his ploughing b
tractor is in marked contrast to the townships south
impossible to use the tractor in many places. The
methods and efficiency need hardly be emphasised.

461 Life in a crofting township is governed by a ver
is so strong that it even influences the operations o
crofter, if he continues to work his croft fully, mus
operations such as the shearing or dipping of the sh
the year he will be anxious to work the croft. The
of the agricultural year in this group of townships (

rea and indeed the policeman serves
y in each direction operating on a

Y

d 28 feus and allotments which are
the head of Loch Carloway. The
5 to 25 yards in width aligned up and
ust above sea level and the highest
ers 30 and 31 whose boundaries come
ed on the arcuate hill face. In the
ted at a later date than the main area

these occupy lowlying hummocky land
sewhere fencing has been almost
oad fencing is less common, usually
lters with more promising land; the
uch attempt there. Almost all the

rated in 56 working agricultural units.
trun 82.65 acres which gives a total
The method of working is controlled
ree zones may be distinguished.

oft house
ion

2), but more exposed

3)

'fixed runrig'.

o use a tractor and so the cultivation
ual to work the potatoes by horse,
y horse. This widespread use of the
east of the Loch where it is almost
significance of this in the contrasts in

y distinctive pattern of working that
the mills in Stornoway, for each
t take time off for the communal
eep and inevitably at certain times of
table attempts to set out the pattern
igure 40).

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

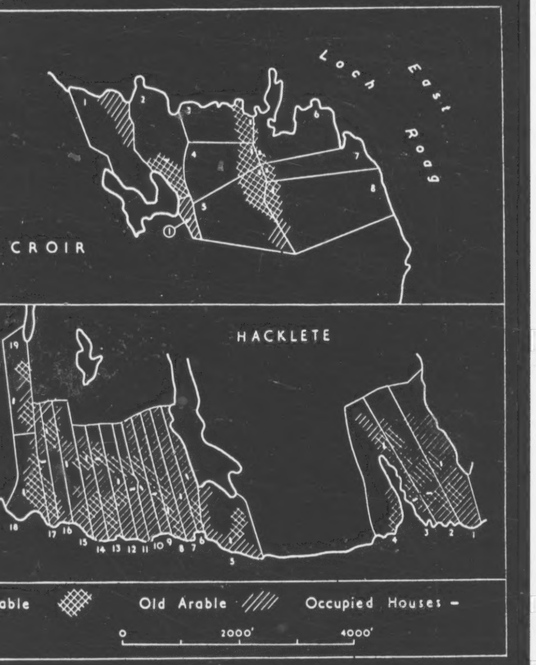

Figure 28

Contrasting lay-out of crofts in an older township (Hacklete) and one re-settled by the Department of Agriculture (Croir). Note the relationship between croft boundaries and the better (i.e. potential arable) land.

493 Problems of communication are not, however, solved merely by providing better
494 roads: at least one household in four has a car or van, and this, with the fall in population,
495 has caused a fatal decline in the use of public transport. The Bernera 'bus service was
496 discontinued in August, 1959, for lack of demand. This is not, of course, an isolated
example; the problem is common to all the Highlands, and indeed, to all the rural areas of Britain: in Sutherland, for example, the number of registrations of private cars has risen to very nearly 250% since 1945, and the total number of registrations for all classes of vehicles up to 1958 had risen to almost 200%, while the number of hackney carriages, after reaching a peak in 1952, has since declined by 70%.

TABLE 24

Bernera District

Land related to tenants and working units

(all figures, except last column, are acres)

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	Inbye: per tenant	Inbye: per working unit:	Common grasing per tenant	Common grasing per working unit:	Total land: per tenant	Total land: per working unit:	Ratio of inbye to total land
Breaclete	8.0	7.4	99	92	107	99	1:13.3
Croir	29.2	33.4	78	89	107	122	1: 3.6
Hacklete	12.7	12.7	96	96	108	108	1: 8.5
Kirkibost	15.9	15.3	92	89	108	104	1: 6.8
Tobson	7.8	9.0	94	109	102	118	1:13.1
ISLAND TOTAL	11.2	13.5	93	95	106	108	1: 9.9
Earshader	11.5	9.5	264	220	275	230	1:24.1
Crulivig	14.0	14.0	220	220	234	234	1:16.7
Lundale	25.9	25.9	166	167	193	193	1: 7.4
Linshader	5.6	6.9	873	1,067	879	1,074	1:155.1
SHORE TOTAL	12.8	13.3	473	491	486	504	1:35.1
DISTRICT TOTAL	13.1	13.5	183	188	196	201	1:15.0

Note: in this table, "working units" include all crofts, whether stocked or not, and all other agricultural holdings. Two or more crofts worked together, whether registered under the same tenant or not, are counted as single working units. An agricultural holding is defined as one with at least one cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation.

TABLE 28

Bernera District: Sheep

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of

Sheep soum actually carried.

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632

	Number of units with: Less than 100% of soum: nil	1-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-100%	More than 100% of soum: 101-125%	126-150%	151-200%	more than 200%	Average all units
Breaclete	1	-	-	1	3	3	-	2	-	100%
Croir	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	4	210%
Hacklete	-	2	2	4	2	1	5	1	3	89%
Kirkibost	1	3	2	4	9	3	2	3	1	79%
Tobson	2	1	3	8	2	2	-	-	-	56%
ISLAND	4	6	7	17	16	9	8	8	8	88%
Earshader	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	237%
Crulivig	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3	184%
Lundale	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	140%
Linshader	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	1	3	128%
SHORE	1	-	1	2	2	2	4	4	9	156%
DISTRICT	5	6	8	19	18	11	12	12	17	103%

231 the Napier Commission in 1883; these show that the Bernera region now keeps less than
233 half the former number of full grown cattle beasts but only a slightly higher percentage
311 of sheep. It is an unavoidable conclusion that resettlement and enlargement has not led
632 to greater agricultural efficiency: since it was carried out for social and not economic
[28] reasons, this is perhaps not unreasonable, but it augurs ill for the future of a community which must be largely dependent on agriculture.

Land Use and Cultivation*.

241 Before considering the details of stock management it is well to review land-use, for
[231] cultivation is subsidiary to, and directed at, stock keeping. Few crofts have no culti-

* Details of crops and grass by townships will be found in Appendix A.

TABLE 29

Bernera District: cultivation

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	'Old arable as % of inbye (%)	Av. area of inbye per unit (acres)	Crops as % of inbye (%)	No. of units according to acres of crop: Nil	less than 0.5	0.6 to 1.0	1.1 to 1.5	1.6 to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	more than 7.5
Breaclete	14	7.4	26	1	1	2	2	6	2	-	-
Croir	7	33.4	4	-	-	1	4	1	1	-	-
Hacklete	18	12.7	15	1	-	1	6	9	3	3	-
Kirkibost	17	15.3	13	-	-	4	9	8	6	1	-
Tobson	26	9.0	17	2	-	2	7	7	1	-	-
ISLAND	21	13.5	18	4	1	10	28	31	13	1	-
Earshader	38	9.5	15	1	-	1	2	1	1	-	-
Crulivig	24	14.0	16	-	-	1	-	3	1	1	-
Lundale	35	25.9	10	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-
Linshader	67	6.9	30	-	1	1	1	3	3	-	-
SHORE	39	13.3	16	1	1	3	3	11	7	1	-
DISTRICT TOTAL	26	13.5	17	5	2	13	31	42	20	2	-

241 vation at all, but even fewer have more than 2.6 acres (table 29). Expressed as a percentage,
little more than a quarter of the total inbye area is even "old arable", of which only about two-
thirds is cultivated. Oats are every-where the most important crop: they are used almost
exclusively for fodder. Potatoes, mainly for domestic use, are the only other significant
crop; the absence of turnips is noteworthy. The crops are in general subject to some sort
of rotation within the physical limits of each croft unit; oats are usually undersown with grass
when the arable is to be left unploughed for a period but the "sown grass for pasture" is
[314] largely reseeded pasture land. The rest of the croft is left for pasture and hay, and, in
many cases the cutting of peat - a sure sign of agricultural decline. The inbye economy
depends upon so many unpredictable variables that it becomes extremely difficult to generalise
about the areas thus used. Forty-seven gardens exist in the Bernera region, but many of them
are almost 'notional' and others are merely potato patches: perhaps half-a-dozen are at all
well cultivated, for flowers or food.

241 The main change in the crops grown, apart from the introduction of sown grass, has
198 been in the corn crops, where barley has been completely displaced by oats. Barley was
grown up to 1936 - at least in Crulivig - and gave a good crop. It used to be pulled, (not
scythed), stacked, then the ears cut off with a sickle and the stalks used for thatching.
Probably the disappearance of thatch and the replacement of barley bread by the products of
the town bakery account for the decline in barley. Fewer potatoes are grown than formerly:
this directly reflects the decline in population. The absence of turnips is due at least in
part to the heavy incidence of finger-and-toe disease.

TABLE 30

Bernera District

Number of crofts using various fertilisers, etc.

	Artificial	Dung	Lime	Seaweed	Shell sand	None
Breaclete	10	10	4	1	-	
Croir	7	6	4	3	-	
Hacklete	18	18	12	14	1	
Kirkibost	25	28	17	12	1	1
Tobson	14	16	10	4	1	3
Earshader	6	5	3	1	-	
Cruliveig	6	5	5	5	5	-
Lundale	5	4	3	4	1	1
Linshader	8	7	-	4	-	
DISTRICT TOTAL	99	99	58	48	3	10

The fertilisers used in the past were dung and sea-ware. The sea-ware, mainly bladder-wrack, and the tough stems of oar weed, was, wherever possible, simply gathered from the beach, though in the more sheltered areas, particularly along Bernera Shore, it was actually cut and towed in rafts to the crofts. There seems to have been little rigid allocation of the rights in sea-ware. In Breaclete each croft had its own stretch of shore and possibly in Tobson, but elsewhere there seems to have been plenty for everyone. The actual gathering in March was a long, strenuous and unpleasant task. The application of sea-ware seems to have been rather rough and ready; certainly there was no careful selection of different types for different crops and purposes: presumably it was merely gathered, mixed with dung to facilitate the rotting, and spread on the arable after sowing. It is reckoned now that about 160 creels are necessary to the acre in Earshader and Lundale.

Table 30 shows the present use of fertilisers and manure. It will be seen that dung is still widely used but seaware is used in a minority of cases, particularly in Breaclete and Earshader. The first at least may be related to the various troubles that have afflicted the township, and to the fact that several holdings are in effect very small with but plots of cultivation. This also relates to the large number in Breaclete who use no form of fertiliser at all. Shell sand is neglected for reasons of inaccessibility: it is present on Little Bernera, and more particularly and of excellent quality, at Bosta. It is difficult to get from within the Island the large quantities of sand needed to qualify for the lime subsidy; it would be possible to get it from Bosta sands, there is a township road to within about a hundred yards of the beach, but the township is unwilling to open it to the wear and tear of lorry transport.

Artificial fertilisers are increasingly used. The first consideration at the present is undoubtedly that certain amounts have to be applied in order to qualify for the ploughing subsidies. This has overcome a reluctance engendered by early over-enthusiastic applications of sulphate of ammonia. Lime, in the powdered form or as nitro-chalk, is commonly applied. There is undoubtedly considerable ignorance in the application and use of artificials: they are often used only because of subsidy conditions, and the crofter is surprised, though gratified, when they have any practical effect. Certainly most crofters have no programme of their own of regular balanced applications to crop land. They need further advice.

The best balanced fertiliser policies are followed on the reseeded pastures, mainly because the crofters are careful to follow the directions they receive. They will follow advice in these matters when they can get it. In 1959 reseeding had been undertaken by 16 individuals, (20 acres) and by one township (Breaclete). Reseeding has definitely "caught on" as a means of improving the stock carrying capacity of a croft, with comparatively little outlay in labour or machinery.(1) It is, however, a new project: one may wonder whether the crofters will have sufficient pertinacity and funds to continue indefinitely. Reseeding is not cheap; it may cost £18 to £28 an acre and it is reckoned to cost £3 per annum to maintain. A considerable increase in output will have to be evident to make it worth the crofters' while to continue.

The methods of cultivation still include much spade digging, and some crofts depend entirely upon this. Horse and plough, though basically unsuited to the cultivation of lazy beds, can generally be used on most but the smallest beds, but the problem now is to get hold of a horse for ploughing. Hence - as in at least one instance at Croir - where it is impossible to hire a horse and the land is unsuited to tractor operation - the choice may well be between spade cultivation or no cultivation at all. The situation is not eased by the difficulty of hiring any one of the three tractors in the area at a time when the land is in the best condition. This is all doubly unfortunate because of the universality of the lazy bed; this might be regarded as a symbol of a backward or even a primitive agricultural system, but is, in fact, an excellent adaptation to natural conditions of climate and soil - so long as there is plenty of hand labour. It is only when labour becomes expensive, or difficult to obtain, that the lazy bed becomes uneconomical. This is, of course, another way of saying that the lazy bed was the concomitant of a desperately self-sufficient agricultural system; if it is well kept up, the lazy bed is a good means of conserving soil vitality and maintaining adequate drainage. In the past the hollows between the beds were cleared every year and the soil spread on top. Thus lazy beds, particularly those on slopes, need a good deal of hand labour as well as heavy fertilization.

It is very difficult to see the answer to the cultivation problem now labour is no longer freely available: there could certainly be more small tractors and cultivators, but even they lead to the throwing together of lazy beds, and - except in places such as Croir where drains may be laid below the loam on clay, or in certain favoured sites like part of 4 Cruliveig where the peaty soil overlies a firm gravel substratum - it is impossible both to throw the lazy beds together and maintain drainage. One is faced with all the difficulties of drainage of peat in an area of heavy precipitation. The hill lazy beds, though they are better drained, all too often have too little depth of soil to make cultivation by tractor a practical proposition.

(1) Editorial note: This remark has been borne out by events; in 1960 township schemes totalling 88 acres were thus improved.

Figure 32

Table 33

TOWNSHIP ETC.	INDIV: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts (No.)	Other: (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
Callanish	237	----- 5,302 -----		57	1	56
Breaclete	374	----- 3,861 -----		63	2	61
Tolsta Chaolis	396	----- 2,700 -----		43	3	43
Garynahine	95	----- 1,824 -----		12	1	12
Lochgarrioch	67	----- 2,000 -----		8	-	7
Others	506	-	-	-	3	-

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CHAPTER TEN

EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Garynahine, Callanish, Breaclete, and Tolsta Chaolis)

GARYNAHINE by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

Garynahine is a township of twelve crofts which are situated on the eastern arm of Loch Carnan Thulabhig. The crofts nowhere extend more than one-third of a mile from the coast. There is a hinterland of about 1,800 acres of common grazing, which is mostly about 100 ft above sea-level, though it rises to 200 ft in a few isolated areas; the crofts are lower, and maximum elevation is 80 ft.

Most of the croft land is drained by the stream Alli Mhurchaidh which flows through all but two of the crofts. But the soils are heavy, and several crofters cut peat on their crofts. Many crofters complained that their land was too peaty for cultivation.

The crofts form a regular pattern beside the south side of the main road from Stornoway to Breaclete, with two small feus and a 21 acre freeholding on the north side of the road. In addition there is a farm (Garynahine Lodge) of 400 acres east of the crofts, and likewise stretching along the south side of the Stornoway road. The main road to Uig passes through the farm, dividing the cultivated area in the west from the grazing section.

The regular lay-out of the crofts dates from the formation of the township in 1935. On the same site, but long cleared, there had been an older village about the same size as the twelve crofts, known to be in existence in the 1850's. The crofts were in a similar position, but were a different shape, and the ruins of some of the croft houses still remain. This village was completely burnt out one gusty winter evening when, it is said, a spark from a crofter's pipe was blown onto one of the thatched roofs, and the wind quickly spread the blaze to consume the entire village. The crofters left the area, many going to the neighbouring township of Callanish; Garynahine then became one large farm until 1935 when the land was re-allocated to twelve crofts. The new crofters came from a variety of areas, several coming from Cruliveig, others from Breaclete and Callanish. The owners of the farm had also opened an hotel which prospered until 1945 when the farm was sold to its present owner Admiral Drummond, who has since used the house of a private house. Nine acres of the farm land is cultivated, and the remaining 391 acres are used for grazing. In contrast to the usual practice in this area the oats have been undersown with rye grass. Another beneficial innovation at the farm is the introduction of shelter belts. Trees have been successfully planted, making it possible to produce good crops of soft fruits such as raspberries, strawberries etc. Both the crops and the stock on the farm are of a high standard, showing that with capital and correct management the land can be remarkably productive.

In contrast to the large scale economy of the farm, the twelve crofts (ten operative units) are each between 4.6 and 6.2 acres, and the total reputed arable is 67.3 acres. In all there are only 9.5 acres under crop (oats 6 acres and potatoes 3.5 acres), and 2.25 acres under sown grass. The crofts are worked either by spade, horse (hire from croft 40 Callanish) or by tractor (hire from the College). The seasonal rhythm of cultivation and of stock rearing is that of Callanish.

Enquiries soon reveal that crofting is not the main occupation of the croft tenants. Another indication of the declining interest in the land is the fencing of the crofts. All were fenced when they were formed in 1935; since then there has been no refencing. Now a grant is available to pay 75% of the cost of re-fencing but little has been done.

Stock totals (see Appendix C) have declined recently and this trend will probably continue. There are only four cows and two calves in the township (plus six at the farm).

There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters exceed their sourning (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 166 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had electricity since 1954. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway and also one bus from Uig and one from Bernera passing through Garynahine. These good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the remaining two being too old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about 125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide) which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing. It is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the highest point is 425 ft.

The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century, and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader to work for one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the more exposed westward facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced by the 40 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breaclete, which now forms the boundary between the crofland and the common pasture. The crofland varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertiliser and manure are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial fertiliser. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on a small peninsula from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland at high tide.

The croft houses were then in two nuclei: one on each side of the narrow neck. Much later a third nuclei developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Bernera; they had had to sea in small boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

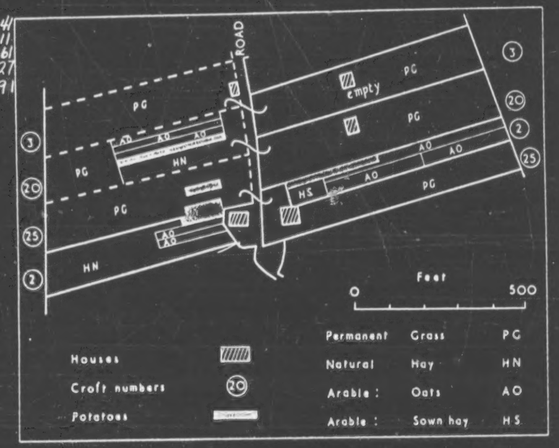

Figure 34

Land-use in four typical crofts in Callanish. Notice that each croft is in two pieces, separated by the road.

427 311 authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common grazing. For example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the croft has now almost 10 acres of land, of which the remaining 3 acres have been 'acquired' by enclosing part of
195 the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pieces, and in some
311 cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor's wife, Lady Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because they were too close
427 to the standing stones. Croft houses 25 and 26, then near the stones, were moved to the other side of the village and given parts of crofts 1 and 2 for their houses. Crofts 1 and 2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the parts of their crofts they had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its croftland close to the stones so that an enclosure could be made around the stones. About the same period, before the passing of the Crofter's Act (1886), when the village was still 'ruled' by the township constable, and several other changes took place. Croft 27 and 28 used to be where the croft houses are at present and the surrounding adjacent area only; but it is said that the tenants of these two houses, being influential with the constable, obtained part of Callanish Farm. Similarly the tenants of crofts 30, 31 and 35 divided part of croft 19; these changes have become permanent. The most recently formed croft was taken from the common pasture in 1890. Since then three feus have been created, but two of these are holiday houses and the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

241 There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed arable. All but 6 croft units grow oats, and there are 20 acres under oats (appendix C). Of the remaining cultivated land 9 acres are potatoes and 5 acres sown hay. Most of the land is cultivated by tractor; there are 6 tractors in the township. In the past there were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still cultivate by spade. The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August and the oats a month later according to the weather.

231 Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to graze one of their neighbour's cows for part of the year in exchange for milk. There is a beef-type short-horn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Callanish Farm.

233 The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned stock of 904 sheep
317 and 561 lambs. Several crofters exceed their souming, but there is no shortage of grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garynahine township pasture. Callanish also has the use of the pasture on Orasay island; each year some of the sheep (one sheep or ram
221 per croft) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes are brought in for
233 tupping on November 14th, after the harvest is complete, and lambing takes place in April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November 1st to May 10th; in addition Callanish Farm (which has no sheep) is open for winter grazing. The sheep are sheared in July, and the lambs are taken from the ewes a month later. The lambs are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at Flodavat are known to have been in use until 1921.

491 Communications are quite good; the village is close to a main road to Stornoway, and
131 there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-called roads are merely rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by motor vehicle; it is
449 over a mile from the nearest track, separated from it by rough peat land. This year a grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a road to this croft; but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land refused to allow a road to be built, and so croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of the village.

131 There are two shops in Callanish (one with a petrol pump); grocery, butchers' and fish
366 vans deliver frequently. Callanish also has a stone jetty which in the past was important. There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and Bernera calling
504 at Linshader, which gradually declined in importance until the 1920s when it ceased to
505 call at Linshader. The ferry to Bernera finally ceased in 1940 when the ferryman (who lived at Callanish Farm) left for war service. After this the jetty was still used by small private boats (e.g. Callanish church serves Linshader, and many people came to church by boat until recently), but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is a
600 water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one member of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on
358 rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and well worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-let to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In
288 addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than
166 average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of them
164 young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people and
162 young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resident adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous crofting communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

195 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared
427 from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided, making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no cultivation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

361 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete-Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover being
241 grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one
231 acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people over
65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently
133 from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

491 The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the
361 middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still uninished Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter
449 by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, but
471 high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but, at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

000 weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Mains electricity was insta
354 7 years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas and peat. The chief source of fuel for heating purposes is peat, alghough a little coal may be used.

427 There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions, a small-holding of 15
361 acres formerly the Mill, and 10 feus, all of which are worked as 54 units. The crofts lie as long narrow strips in a NE - SW direction from the moorland to the sea. All are at least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some crofters are, at the moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land completely.

241 The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a little clover mixture is sown for hay, many crofters find that the natural grass is sufficient for their needs. Vegetables are produced in a few gardens, but most people do not have enough time or interest to bother with them. Flowers rarely flourish owing to the lack of shelter.

311 Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and the land nearest the sho
178 part of which was once cultivated on a run-rig system is now unfenced and used entirely for grazing together with some peat cutting. A piece of the common grazing has been improved by application of shell sand and chemical fertilisers and reseeded. This experiment in which almost the whole township took part has proved very successful an there are plans for further reseeding. Details of crops are given in Appendix C.

467 Although the tractors of which there are two in the township are used wherever poss
the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for potatoes. Much hay is
231 cut by mower but scythes are used to a large extent. There is still one horse in the township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its owner.

233 The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e. 2½ times the souming which here is 2 cows and 5 sheep per £1 sterling rent. 40 crofters keep sheep but none have sufficient to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Many lambs are lost on th survive the winter. The number of cattle
231 kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each household to keep 1 co and 1 calf which is generally sold after 6 months when a subsidy can be claimed. Breasclete has no mill, but shares the one from Callanish. Most households keep sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1938. Now it is not necessary as fewer cows are kept than formerly. With the reduction in numbers of stock the commo pastures close to the village are being colonised by heather.

221 The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditches are cleaned and the
241 land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilised and sown with oats and
233 potatoes. The sheep are dipped and by the 10th of May must be out on the moors as the
314 crofts are then closed to common grazings. Soon after this peats are cut on the moors two or three miles from the village. After about 20 days the peats are lifted and carri to the Pentland Road by tractor where they are stacked to await the lorry which takes them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the fank for shearing and the cows are usually brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the croft is not fenced they must be tethered. At the end of June the clover is cut, while the potatoes must be cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped. Natural grass is cut for hay and if there is any first year sown grass this may yield a second crop in September, together with the corn harvest. When the potatoes have been lifted in October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for the winter. Final dippin takes place in November.

162 Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 years and 57 are over 65 years of age. Of the resident tenants 9 are between 15 and 44 years, 19 are between 44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on persons are periodically
000 away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 29 are permanently away. Since 1939,

Since 1939,
166 54 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to
462 leave home when they finish school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go into domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breasclete is also the temporary home of the families of lighthousemen on duty in the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain demand for the tweed, and although the men are nominally self-employed they rely on the mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms which, with ancillary equipment such as bobbin winders, are all owned by the crofters.

[458] As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being erected. But should there be a slump, the crofts would be unable to support the population and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

131 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch
133 a' Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs,
361 for westwards to the sea the terrain is too rocky and irregular for either settlement or cultivation, whilst to the east of Loch a' Bhaile the land slopes precipitously from 250 ft. to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle drift-covered slopes, generally of small extent.

137 Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch
a' Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader, and in the valley of the small stream
● [241] draining from the north into the head of Loch a' Bhaile. Most of the croft land is composed of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 100 ft. in height, separated by damp depressions frequently filled by reeds and rushes; bracken was apparent only on three crofts. In particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely colonised by reeds and very coarse grasses, of no use whatsoever as pasture. One enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this could certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and
311 2 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the
427 two lochs and the sea, except for nos. 28 and 29. The 53 holdings are unofficially amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The acreage of crofts varies from 2.2 to 20.75 acres - a considerable variation. Fencing of the crofts - except for 1A, B, and C, and 12A, B, and C which are held 'run-rig' - was carried out between 1945 and 1950, whilst in 1946 the common pasture of 2,700 acres was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the Carloway to Breasclete road. An area stretching from crofts 18A to 21 has, however, been most haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided amongst seventeen crofts in the southern half of the township to compensate them for lack of grazing area within their own croft boundaries. This division is said to date from about 1886.

241 Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned
[467] small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as opposed to spade cultivation, depends either on the urgency of the operation, or on the accessibility of the plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 95]

● 241 are usually all the potatoes. Between the road and Loch a' Bhaile and between the unmade road and Loch Shader on crofts 22 to 25 the land is probably more intensively cultivated than ever before, but strips now overgrown with rushes and coarse grasses, especially near the cemetery give an idea of the former extent of cultivation. The working of strips nearer the sea is no longer worth the labour involved. Crofts 22 to 25 are further divided by the small Loch Shader; no. 28 however makes good use of a small alluvial flat at the head of Loch a' Bhaile.

[232] Artificial fertilisers are in general use together with lime and dung. However some crofts were using seaweed, in particular nos. 1A, 1B, 1C, 4, 5, and 25 - i.e. those
[824] crofts with easiest access to the sea. The seaweed is gathered in the New Year and trodden into the ground in the spring and apparently gives excellent results, but too much
423 labour is involved in carrying it to crofts in the centre of the township. Forty years ago each croft had rights to the "red" and "black" seaweed along the coast.

The crop acreages for the whole township will be found detailed in Appendix C (1). The area of oats for each croft varied between 0.25 and 2.50 acres whilst the maximum for sown grass was 1.5 acres. The excellent crops of hay from sown grass would suggest its further extension, but unfortunately most of the land suitable for cultivation is already under oats and potatoes. The practice of undersowing oats was not particularly widespread whilst only two small strips of oats-rye mixture were found. One crofter had also obtained good results in a small patch with seven different vegetables, whilst soft fruits are to be planted next year. The two sets of 'run-rig' crofts practise a fixed run-rig with the usual rotation of oats and grass on the strips.

231 In cattle stock (Appendix C) the township has 28 three year-old beasts, 2 one year-olds, and 24 calves. Only 6 registered occupied crofts have no cow, two crofters have two cows each, and one crofter has two cows and two calves. The township has no
[178] bull however and the nearest is at Carloway or Callanish. With a much smaller number of cattle than that of thirty years ago there is now no need to make the annual summer visit to the shielings, a practice which died out in Tolsta Chaolais between 1920 and 1930. Pastures could however carry three times the present amount of cattle. The souming
233 of 1 cow and 6 sheep per £1 rent is now apparently ignored. The approximate total of sheep for the township is 1,500 whilst for 1958 it was about 1,470. The total of lambs was approximately 520 but most crofters found it difficult to give an accurate figure since some might have been lost on the moor during the summer. The highest number of breeding ewes for any one croft was 112, of lambs was 34, and of other sheep was 26; five crofters however have no sheep at all. Before 1939 a shepherd was employed by the township when the sheep were sent to the moor. The shepherd was usually a young boy just left school and was paid by each crofter according to the number of sheep the latter
[231] sent to the moor. This has been discontinued but a levy, of 5s. per croft and 2½d. per head of sheep, is made for the upkeep of the township fence. Finally, almost every crofter keeps at least a dozen poultry.

221 The movement of stock over the grazing areas is summarised as follows:
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(1) From November 13th to May 1st. cattle are usually in the byre, depending on the weather, and sheep can wander anywhere. Crofts should be open to common grazing unless all the crofter's stock remains within his own croft boundary.

(2) From May 1st. to May 20th. sheep are in the outer park.

(3) On May 20th. sheep are sent to the moor.

(4) Throughout the summer cattle are in both the inner and the outer parks.

(5) On October 1st. the sheep are brought into the outer park.

(6) On November 13th. the sheep are brought into the inner park.

464 Details of population and employment will be found in Appendix D. It is a very
[463] striking comment on the state of crofting in this township that only four persons are

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Figure 37

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

C.P. : detached common pasture (shielings)

Table 34

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● 241
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TOWNSHIP ETC.		INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts (No.)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Other (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
Dun Carloway		194	----- 2,219 -----		24	6	22
Kirivick		81	495	281	14	2	13
Knock Carloway	(a)	156	643	720	35	-	30
	(b)	23	-	-	-	7	-
Carloway	(a)	234	1,234	1,139	59	-	58
	(b)	43	-	-	-	18	-
Borraston		54	516	320	16	-	16
Garenin		111	994	825	28	2	27

Note: Where there is a large area of non-crofting holdings (feus, allotments, cottars or squatters) this is shown separately against (b).

(1a) Agricultural Stati

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: Oats:	Potatoes
Breaclete	13	3	14	13	3
Greir	8	-	7	6	2
Mackiete	20	1	20	26	6
Kirkibost	26	4	28	26	9
Tobson	24	-	19	22	7
BERNERA ISL.	91	8	88	93	27
Earshader	4	2	6	7	1
Crulivig	6	-	6	9	3
Lundale	6	-	6	6	3
Linshader	10	-	9	6	4
'SHORE'	26	2	27	28	11
PARKS etc.	-	4	4	-	-
TOTAL BERNERA DISTRICT	117	14	119	121	38

Notes: (a) The total areas of common and inby

(b) Croft holdings include duplicate t
squatters if carrying crops or sto
sow, or five sheep, or half an acr
not counted twice.

(c) Soumings have been calculated acco
unless some other date is specifie

(d) Additional sheep figures are given

231
241
311
413
427
632

...stics of Berners District, August 1959

	(acres)		Gardens (No.)	CATTLE:				SHEEP:				Horses	Tractors
	Hay	Pasture		Sows	Milk	Others	Calves	Sows	Ewes	Lambs	Others		
	8	80	10	59	14	11	15	312	221	164	241	-	-
	4	222	1	37	7	4	7	96	133	110	137	-	-
	12	210	-	122	30	22	19	661	486	590	499	2	1
	22	373	9	144	35	14	27	866	496	381	420	5	1
	3	160	7	97	30	6	24	784	362	305	248	-	-
	49	1045	27	459	116	57	92	2719	1698	1350	1545	7	2
	7	43	4	17	6	1	6	104	149	121	168	-	-
	4	68	-	25	8	6	5	163	193	168	213	-	-
	2	144	3	34	7	4	7	192	197	167	141	-	1
	7	45	9	13	6	2	4	330	307	218	227	-	-
	20	300	16	89	27	13	22	789	846	674	749	-	1
	-	?	2	-	5	33	5	-	180	130	205	-	-
	69	1345	45	548	148	103	119	3508	2724	2154	2499	7	3

...e land for each township are given in the text.

...nancies; other holdings include de facto holdings such as cottars and ...ck; effective agricultural units include only holdings with at least a ...e of cultivation; duplicate tenancies and privately sub-let crofts are

...rding to the rent operative at the date when the regulations were made ...l.

... in Appendix C(2).

231 241 311 423 427 632

APPENDIX C continued

(1b) Agricultural Statistics of East Loch Roag and Carloway districts, August, 1959

TOWNSHIP etc.	HOLDERS: Crofts	HOLDERS: Others	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INTE LAND (Acres): Oats	Potatoes	Hay	Pastures	Gardens	CATTLE: Sows	Milk	Others	Calves	SHEEP: Sows	Rews	Lambs	Others	Horses	Tractors
EAST LOCH ROAG:																		
Garynahine	12	1	11	2	1	19	66	7	18	4	-	2	180	98	94	51	-	-
Callanish	48	-	32	20	9	34	177	13	124 (252?)	28	5	23	671 (320?)	549	509	253	1	2
Breasclete Pt.	9	1	5	3	2	6	21	7	37	3	1	2	124	68	52	34	-	1
Breasclete	63	3	54	34	11	58	273	43	191	48	4	32	567	601	479	368	1	-
Tolsta Chaolis	43	3	30	17	9	47	222	13	36	28	2	24	373	700	520	270	1	2
Lochganvich	8	-	7	4	2	12	48	4	33	7	1	4	155	140	134	48	-	2
Others	-	3	3	5	1	8	493	1	-	8	1	5	-	42	40	17	-	1
CARLOWAY MINISTRY																		
Bun Carloway	24	6	25	18	7	29	141	13	130 (164?)	25	10	17	460 (374?)	612	400	492	1	1
Kirivick	14	2	13	8	2	20	50	8	60	13	2	8	208	305	163	92	-	-
Knock Carloway	35	7	33	13	6	28	131	33	132	33	6	25	530	407	301	140	-	-
Carloway	53	18	50	39	14	67	99	35	116	54	2	34	590	314	248	197	3	1
Carloway Park	6	-	5	5	1	8	5	4	14	6	1	5	81	70	62	53	1	-
Borrowston	16	-	13	8	3	25	18	12	98 (316?)	12	3	8	392 (464?)	362	277	228	-	-
Garenin	28	2	23	22	9	27	53	7	98 (354?)	24	-	16	341 (539?)	419	281	257	3	-

Notes: (a), (b), and (c) - as for Appendix C(1a).

(d) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions are as reported. See also Appendix C(2).

(e) Where an alternative figure is shown beneath the sows there is doubt as to the interpretation of the regulation.

APPENDIX C continued

(3) Stock and cultivation by size of effective units, August 1959.

231 311 631

(a) STOCK

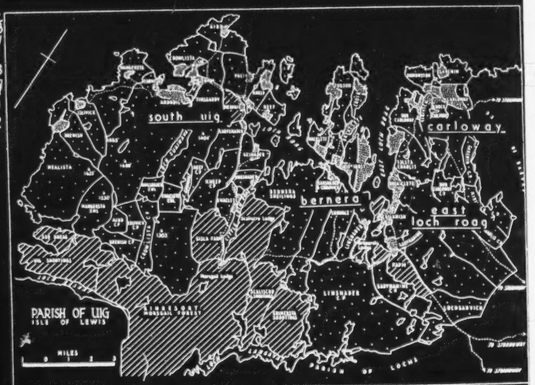
Stock as proportion of sows of each unit:	0.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0 acres	All sizes	Actual number of units
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Nil	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
Less than 50%	-	5	3	4	6	3	4	25	27
50%-100%	1	5	2	11	13	5	6	43	46
100%-200%	1	3	3	4	9	6	4	30	32
More than 200%	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	2
All units	2	13	8	19	29	14	15	100	108
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Nil	2	3	2	1	-	-	-	7	9
Less than 50%	2	8	9	4	5	2	2	32	42
50%-100%	1	6	8	5	6	2	2	29	39
100%-200%	-	5	4	6	2	1	-	19	25
More than 200%	-	7	2	2	2	2	-	14	18
All units	4	30	25	17	15	6	3	100	133
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Nil	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	5	6
Less than 50%	4	16	9	2	3	1	1	36	44
50%-100%	2	11	12	2	2	2	-	31	38
100%-200%	2	12	5	2	2	-	-	22	27
More than 200%	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	6	7
All units	10	43	29	7	7	4	1	100	122

241 311 631

(b) CULTIVATION

Acres cultivated:	0.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0 acres	All sizes	Actual number of units
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	5	6
0.5-1.0	1	3	2	2	1	-	2	10	12
1.1-2.5	2	6	5	10	19	9	6	58	66
2.6-5.0	-	1	1	5	8	3	6	24	27
More than 5.0	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	3
All units	4	13	8	18	28	13	15	100	114
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	4	6
0.5-1.0	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	4	6
1.1-2.5	1	15	9	4	1	-	-	30	43
2.6-5.0	-	12	13	8	11	4	4	52	74
More than 5.0	-	-	1	4	2	1	1	9	13
All units	6	29	24	16	15	6	5	100	142
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	10	5	3	-	1	-	-	18	28
0.5-1.0	10	11	7	1	1	1	1	32	48
1.1-2.5	3	20	13	5	2	1	-	43	66
2.6-5.0	-	3	1	1	1	1	-	7	10
More than 5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All units	22	38	24	5	6	3	1	100	152

102 233 241 311 133 529 631 632



Major categories of land use:

Intge land - arable and outrun

Common pasture

Sporting estates, farms etc

THE FOUR DISTRICTS REFERRED TO IN PART IV ARE NAMED : south uig

TABLE 37

The Crofting Structure Re-organised

241 311 631 632 423 427

(a) Holdings

District	Proportion of holdings grouped according to area of inbye land: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All holdings
South Uig	49%	36%	15%	100% (193)
Bernera	16%	27%	57%	100% (109)
East Loch Roag	53%	30%	9%	100% (172)
Carloway	72%	23%	5%	100% (155)
WHOLE PARISH	50%	32%	18%	100% (629)

[128] Note: These are the registered crofts and similar agricultural tenancies as on the 1958 valuation roll. About 50 holdings omitted for lack of data.

(b) Effective agricultural units

District	Proportion of units grouped according to area of inbye land: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All units
South Uig	33%	34%	33%	100% (165)
Bernera	13%	30%	56%	100% (105)
East Loch Roag	33%	39%	28%	100% (130)
Carloway	61%	30%	10%	100% (155)
WHOLE PARISH	30%	32%	30%	100% (555)

[128] Note: About 20 units omitted for lack of data.

(c) Summary (excluding Carloway, see note)

	Proportion of holdings (generally registered crofts):	Proportion of effective agricultural units:
Under 8 acres	72%	47%
8 acres and over	28%	53%
All holdings/units	100% (474)	100% (400)

[128] Note: The Carloway district is here excluded because about 30 small de facto agricultural units without crofter status obscure the effect of unofficial amalgamation of crofter-tenancies.

Sources: Appendices A(5) and (4) and C(5) and (4).

TABLE 45

Principal croft workers by size of effective agricultural units

162 311 464

Size of unit (acres):	Nil	2.6 to 2.5	5.1 to 5.0	7.6 to 7.5	10.1 to 10.0	15.1 to 15.0	20.1 to 20.0	more than 20
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Males under 65:								
regular employment	55	61	47	60	52	57	60	
casual employment	7	11	13	12	17	9	12	
no other work	16	7	7	7	15	11	12	
Males over 65	11	13	23	16	11	18	15	
Females	10	9	9	4	4	4	4	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Appendices A(4) and C(4)

of unit: the result (Table 49) does not suggest that the possession of a large agricultural unit encourages a man to become a full-time rather than a spare-time agriculturalist. Indeed, the possession of a large unit, built up by amalgamation, is often a fortuitous [462] result of marriage, death, or inheritance, rather than a matter of individual choice. The only significant correlation in the table seems to be the understandable tendency for female croft workers to work the smaller, rather than the larger, crofts.

241 The cultivated land

311 631

The chief crops are hay, oats and potatoes, in that order:

DISTRICT	Acreage of: Oats	Potatoes	Hay	All Crops	Average per unit
South Uig	149	50	209	407	2.5
Bernera	121	38	69	228	2.0
East Loch Roag	83	35	170	288	2.1
Carloway	113	42	202	357	2.2
TOTAL	466	165	650	1,280	2.2

241 Barley, which in the form of bere was important until the 1920's, has almost [178] disappeared. Turnips, marigolds, rape and other animal food crops are only grown

241 here and there in small patches of less than a quarter acre and therefore do not appear in our summaries, appendices A (1) and C (1).

The amount of cultivation carried out depends on three factors:

(i) stock, particularly cattle, to be carried through the winter,
(ii) size of family, which influences the amount of potatoes grown,
(iii) available labour, because cultivation is mostly by hand, especially in South Uig and Bernera.

The size of the effective agricultural unit has little influence on the area cultivated although it may bear some relation to the amount of natural hay taken. This can hardly be regarded as 'cultivated' and the acreage is difficult to estimate; the custom is to cut as and when weather permits, and wherever there is a convenient stand of natural grass.

Hand labour is a necessity on most crofts in the Bernera district and on many elsewhere. The traditional 'lasy-bed' - a long narrow strip of cultivation bounded by deep ditches which may be half as wide as the bed - is a necessity on broken, rocky ground on which the only soil is peat, which often has to be gathered into hollows in order to get sufficient depth. The small size and long narrow shape of most crofts do not lend themselves to tile drainage, which is almost unknown. If it could be extended it would be a great advantage but, in general, it would have to be organised by townships, or at least by groups of crofts, and the whole trend in management of croft land is towards individual occupation and use.

241 This may not always be a good thing. Fencing is a case in point. Until the last 417 ten years fenced crofts were rare although small parts of crofts might be fenced and, in some cases, a group of crofts might be fenced off from the rest. But, in general, the 178 crofts were common land in the winter and used individually only from May to October. Fencing grants, and the encouragement of sown grass in rotation with oats, have 233 changed this. A great rash of fencing is appearing. This may not be altogether a good thing, particularly for the sheep in winter and spring: even if gates are still left open, stock are deprived of the ability to move for shelter. There may also be watering difficulties. Co-operative draining, cultivation and grazing, of groups of crofts if not of townships, would be more efficient and more productive.

241 Finally, we may remark on the curious insistence on hand cultivation of oats and potatoes for consumption on the croft, whilst cash crops well suited to hand labour, and [43] which would be far more rewarding, are neglected. Flowers, vegetables and potatoes are imported into Stornoway daily on the mail steamer and even by 'plane. Neither climate nor soil prevents their production in Lewis. Moreover such crops could provide a much needed source of additional income. A few croft gardens produce excellent soft fruit and as the local season differs slightly from that on the mainland there would seem to be possibilities here, too. There have been virtually no [176] agricultural innovations since the potato.

Economic and Technical Factors.

434 The agricultural income of a croft arises from:

(i) the sale of livestock, mostly store stock at the spring and autumn sales,
(ii) the sale of the annual wool clip,
(iii) the receipt of certain annual subsidies and grants.

These are the main items; in addition some may sell small amounts of potatoes, eggs and standing hay; a very few sell a little milk although strictly this is illegal. Such an annual income comes in three or four annual instalments, uncertain as to date and amount. Moreover, a crofter may suddenly and unexpectedly find himself deprived of a large portion of his income due to casualties amongst his stock or poor demand at the seasonal sales. Unlike the mainland farmer, should an islander withdraw his store

17 or summer pastures for the tenants of Laxay and Harnish respectively, townships on the north
175 shores of the loch. In 1775, there were four tenants in Kershader, but their place of origin
162 is unknown. In 1805, five tenants are recorded, two of them from Uig; by 1826 there were 10
341 tenants. Thus the growth of population in Lewis during the second half of the eighteenth century
31 may well have been the major reason for the colonisation of one of the least agriculturally
161 attractive districts of the island.

From Figure 1, which shows most of the thirty-four occupied places south of Loch Shell about 1828, it is evident that colonisation had extended south into the mountainous area. The evictions, which commenced in Harris in 1816, may have increased the population already there as early as 1660, for many of these families came from Harris. The numerous shielings in South Park speak of a vigorous community; it is possible that South Park was more densely populated than the northern area up till 1800.

162 During the period 1818 to 1842, when the grazier, Donald Stewart, and his brothers had a lease
175 of South Park, most of these settlements were cleared (Fig 2): in addition, between 1838 and
341 1843, 68 tenants and sub-tenants in Shieldersish, Cleiter, Seafyrthbaed, Lemreway, Oronsay,
31 Stoinrabagh and Iagion were removed, in all about 436 people. Some 27 families were sent to
161 Crossabost in North Lochs; others went to Tolsta and Tong in Stornoway parish, and some emigrated. The main body of those evicted settled in the townships in North Park: Marivig in 1838 had 6 tenants; by 1850, 22 are recorded. Thus the present distribution of population crystallised about 1840 and by then the townships along the shore of Loch Erisort from Habost to Garryard were well established. The Minch coast townships from Cromore to Gravir, first settled about 1800, were greatly expanded, and Park south of Gravir became a sheep grazing devoid of small tenantry.

175 In 1844, the Seaforth family, which had held Lewis for over two centuries, sold the island to
423 Sir James Matheson. The estate management soon wrought great changes in the landscape. Until
311 1850-52, the run-rig system prevailed, a system whereby a group of joint tenants, or a to man
341 and subtenants, cultivated in small patches what arable land had been reclaimed, each one being periodically re-allocated. The crofts, or individually held land, date from 1850-52, when
241 the land was lotted and most of the present crofts were formed at this period. The settlement pattern associated with run-rig was one of closely nucleated groups of houses but when run-rig was abolished, houses were built on the individual crofts.

175 In 1858, Lemreway was once again made available to crofters, most of whom came from the
162 fishing townships where population pressure was building up. After the disastrous potato famine
423 of 1846-7, and the final failure of the kelp industry from 1840 to 1844, the population of the Outer
341 Isles experienced great hardship. By the early 1850's, the lotting of the crofts and the rapid
731 development of the fishing industry brought a period of prosperity and the population grew rapidly
227 especially in the fishing townships of the Minch coast. The prosperity was such that numerous
161 cottars built houses on the lotted crofts, and their stock-keeping on the common was tolerated because of the demand for fishing crews. About 1884, the system whereby each boat was tied to individual fish merchants, who advanced meal and provisions against the catch, was discontinued. When this system was replaced by the auctioning of catches, such was the privation in Lewis that the Royal Commission investigating the poverty of the population in 1888 found conditions almost as severe as those prevailing during the potato famine forty years earlier. It was during this period
685 that the Park Deer Raid occurred. Park became a Deer Forest in 1883 at the end of the grazier's lease. In 1888, as a demonstration of their grievances, a large number of crofters from the Park townships went into the Deer Forest and killed about 200 deer, cooking the meat in the open for all to see. Some were arrested but after trial acquitted. A few good fishing seasons remedied this unhappy situation and the population of the fishing townships rose to a peak in 1911.

[115] 1 Evidence given to Royal Commission of Inquiry into Crofters and Cottars 1883. (Also known as the Napier Commission).

[115] 2 Report on the Conditions of the Cottar Population in the Lews, 1888.

[115] 3 Stornoway Gazette, 27.1.59.

162 241 311 491 631

Fig. 3. The Crofting Townships of Park

/ facing p. 4/

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

4: Moisley et al. K-3 (1959) 1962 £510 Highland Sc
Uig

241 Oats are the main fodder crop and although the practice of undersow
it is increasing with the incentive of cultivation grants. Potatoes are t
crop, the main crop being Kerr's Pink and the 'earlies' several varietie
gardens, common to nearly all the crofts, grow cabbages and carrots.
succeed occasionally and there were many reports of poor yields. Two
grown sugar beet successfully for fodder but did not see much future for

Sown grasses are being used increasingly and several areas of varie
noticed ranging from an indifferent field of Italian rye grass that had be
years to mixtures recommended by the Agricultural Advisor. These m
in rotations thus:- oats - potatoes - oats - sown grass - sown grass -
Some surface reseeding has been attempted and has succeeded on the cr
yet been tried upon the common pasture, which is shared with Park Car
chief problem has been that of finding a suitable area readily accessible
With the example of Breasclete and some of the townships in Ness in mi
reseeding would be beneficial.*

Fertilisers are used on all the crofts and a clear pattern of their us
the obvious exception of dung the traditional types of fertiliser have bee
Only one person uses shell sand in preference to lime for normal crops.
reseeding sand is obtained from the north west coast though transport c
Good reports were given of regular liming, the only dissenter significan
croft by the river. Seaweed is not now in use though there were good r
[654] value; labour, to obtain it was not available. With the incentive of th
there is a regular application of blended artificial fertilisers by the maj

The Carloway hill common has not been cultivated within living mem
cultivation of every possible piece of croft land was remembered by ma
crofters recalled the period before the First World War when all cultiva
233 alone. The abandonment of the shielings some forty years ago reflects
cattle stocks; the smaller the numbers of cattle the less important is it
al grazing during the summer so that the croft land may recover from t
spring grazing. All that remains of the shielings are small, almost ci
[178] of stones surrounded by a green sward. The decrease in cattle stocks,
larger than now, and the primitive life of the shielings are probably the
their demise.

A comparison of the percentages of the souming taken up reveals thi
and the relative and absolute increase in sheep stocks. On six of the fo
the crofts the total souming is exceeded, one is at par and the rest are
The sheep figures show a slightly different situation; eight of the forty
their souming, two are at par and the rest are below, but not far below,
kept at all; but, whereas only six of the fifty six total units have no catt
are without sheep (14 crofts and 9 feus). For an analysis of the statisti
area see tables I, II, & III. The most interesting feature of the compa
the figure for sheep, for in spite of the fact that Park Carloway has an e
the joint figures do not exceed the total joint souming for the townships.

CARLOWAY PARK

361 427 In contrast with the excessive elongation of the crofts in Upper Carl
Park Carloway form compact blocks. Another unusual feature is that
were lotted five field drains per croft were laid at a depth of eighteen in
have something to do with the good quality of the land. Nineteen acres
worked in five effective units that form a distinct block of cultivation.

* In 1960 and 1962 172 acres of common pasture were reseeded.

361 is attached to the Free Church Manse, is sublet to two feuars and is used entirely for
427 hay. One remarkably well stocked croft has one horse, two cows in milk, one calf and a heifer together with a sheep stock of twenty breeding ewes, twenty lambs and twenty other sheep (this was the first 100% lambing for many years). Labour is provided by one full time crofter with assistance from two others one of whom is a weaver. On another croft an elderly lady was preparing to make an application for a cultivation grant.

241 The intensity of cultivation may be attributed to two factors; first the sheltered position of the land, the moderate slope and good drainage and second to the energy and enterprise of the crofters.

BORROWSTON

361 Borrowston exhibits many of the characteristics that have been noted in Upper Carloway
427 and which are common on the north west of Loch Carloway. It consists of sixteen registered crofts and there are no feus. The crofts were lotted in narrow strips which rise steeply from the western shore of Loch Carloway to a head dyke at about 200 feet O.D. The drift cover thins as the ground rises until an upper zone with exposures of bare rock is reached. The result is that most of the cultivation takes place below the road which passes through the croft land and along which the settlement is located. All the crofts are fenced below the road, but are only partly fenced above it, presenting a pattern similar to that at Upper Carloway. Because of the steepness of the crofts the only way that the tractor can gain access to the land is by way of the lower road which passes from the bridge to the pier.

241 Fifty four acres of croftland are worked in fourteen operative units on which the oats are cultivated by tractor and the potatoes by spade. Though all the crofts have immediate access to the shore none are fertilised with seaweed at the present time; following the common practice in the area artificial fertilisers are used to supplement lime and manure
233 from the byres. None of the crofts are open for common grazing in the winter; this is because of the use of the old farm of Laimshader, granted to the township as an enlargement. The former arable land is now used as additional common pasture. The normal practice is to use the former farm land in conjunction with the croft land in the summer, the cattle being maintained on Laimshader as late in the season as is possible.

241 Borrowston is intensively cultivated, presenting a prosperous picture when viewed from the opposite shore of the loch, but in spite of its apparent prosperity the majority
[162] of the population is over 45 years of age. Herein lies one of the main causes of concern in this part of Uig parish, for though Carloway is in many ways more prosperous than is
181 south Uig and has a larger and more active population working in much more favourable conditions, the population is an aging one that has not the potential for maintaining a
[162] level of replacement. In Borrowston eight of the crofters depend on weaving, four are full-time crofters and seven of the twelve are over sixty five. Yet these men are active and maintain large sheep stocks, ten of the twelve exceeding their souming though only one of them has an excess of cattle.

Figure 40[1] has been drawn to illustrate the land use on particular crofts in this
233 northwestern area; one is in Borrowston and one is in Upper Carloway. The stock data
427 have also been added to give the complete picture of the agricultural unit. Each croft though prosperous, has an elderly tenant.

GARENIN

361
427 The township of Garenin, whose main area of croftland is situated a little apart from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

1. [Presumably the author means figure 41--Analyst]

DUN CARLOWAY

361 Dun Carloway though clearly of a similar type to the other townships south of Loch
Carloway has certain features peculiar to itself. The croft land may be divided into
427 two sections; crofts 18 to 23 occupy the deep trench which extends from the Dun Carloway
school to Loch Carloway itself. These holdings are larger than the average discussed
above and are divided in broad rectangular block. To the west there is a less deeply
entrenched zone where the crofts are long and narrow lying up and down slope like those
241 of Borrowston. Short steep and narrow lazy beds characterise the cultivation which
follows the pattern set in the other townships, although the areas, as has been noted
above, are much larger in some cases; the largest have up to twenty acres. Despite
this increased size no croft has more than two acres of oats. The low percentage of
land under cultivation is only in part explained by the difficult nature of the ground and
46 the limited use which can be made of the tractor. Few crofters are willing to attempt
more cultivation (to provide extra feed for store cattle or some other form of stock
[288] enterprise) so long as the income from weaving is satisfactory. The concept of the
croft as an ancilliary employment appears to have defeated its own object, for with the
population at its present level, and with the income from weaving as it is, very few
crofters are prepared to do more than provide milk for the family, (with the annual cow
and calf subsidies, and the proceeds of the sale of the annual calf as by-products) and to
derive what income Providence rather than goodmanagement may allow from the sheep.

427 The total area of individually held croftland is 194 acres which is worked in twenty
five agricultural units derived from twenty six crofts, nine feus, one 'free gift' holding
311 and one squatter. The cultivation is accomplished by one horse and one tractor, each
fo which is owned within the township.

311 The total souming is exceeded, the main reason for this being the gross overstocking
of sheep; 187.4% of the soum. This overstocking cannot fail to have a harmful effect
on the common pasture, promoting an increase in the bracken already visible on some
of the croftland itself, under-nourishment and disease. The poor quality of the hill
pasture is brought home by a comparison with the grazings of North Uist where the most
striking feature of the landscape is its greenness after the heavier browns of Western
Lewis. Regeneration by surface seeding would certainly be helpful here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

128 The tables given in appendices C and D form the basis for much of the comment in the
preceding pages. They must now be considered in the light of the general tendencies
which they illustrate in the changing livestock economy units.

241 Appendix C(1) elucidates the working of the crofts. The picture is somewhat com-
311 plicated by the large number of non-crofting holdings in the area, of which 43 carry
stock (a quarter of these sublet croftland). The number of feus also tends to mask the
23 process of amalgamation of crofts to form larger working units; a process which has
43 been taking place for some time. There are in this connection one or two cases of the
427 cross working of crofts between individuals in neighbouring townships. The figures for
these units have been included with those of the township where the tenant is resident.

241 Oats are the most important arable crop. The acreages of sown grass for hay and
pasture are much lower in comparison. Permanent grass, mostly old arable land, is
to be found on 52% of the total area of land occupied as crofts and feus. A large propor-
tion of this is on very thin soil where bare rock is exposed and on wet land, but even so
it does show that much more of the land might be under cultivation or improved grass.
[148] The decrease in cultivation since the late nineteenth century is probably much less than
that for the Valtos area of South Uig where about 70% of the inbye and outrun is under

241 178 permanent grass. The pre-eminence of the Carloway area is then only a relative one where the decline in cultivation is taking place at a slower rate. Isolation, the decline in fishing and the lack of alternative employment leading to a greater decline in population may explain the more rapid decline in the Valtos area. Whether Carloway will see a similar decline remains to be seen.

Table 35

Stock carried as a proportion of total soum of each township - Carloway district, August 1959

231 311 232

TOWNSHIP	All Stock	Cattle	Sheep*
Carloway	63%	53%	70%
Carloway Park	87%	64%	119%
Borrowston	74%	15%	121%
Garenin	97%	30%	160%
Knock Carloway	64%	30%	90%
Kirivick	73%	25%	124%
Dun Carloway	104%	21%	187%

* As recorded in some cases these figures are too low (see Appendix C (2)); the maximum error is probably around 10%.

128 Table 35 summarises the agricultural system; further details of the relations between size of unit, status of tenant, stock of cultivation, will be found in Appendix C (3), (4), (5) and (6). Though the total soumings (that is the conversion of both cattle and sheep units to 'cow units' expressed as a percentage of the souming) never fall below 60% the sheep souming is exceeded in five townships and that grossly in two cases. Once again however this is not as serious as it is in the Valtos area where soumings are exceeded by up to three times the figure allowed. Nor does the mere statistical analysis reveal all the picture for it is essential that a proportionate number of cattle be kept so that the grazing of both cattle and sheep may regulate the growth of the grass. As it is, the relative and absolute increase in the numbers of sheep is having a serious effect on the quality of the pastures.

231 233 311

Sheep are given less attention that the cattle whether they need it or not and few of the present generation are prepared to tolerate the life of the shieling in its old form where the cattle were taken in the summer. In consequence the grazing on the outer moor is almost entirely given up to sheep. The shielings are now only marked by small broken stone mounds which were once the shelters and by the small surrounding areas of greener sward. The changing aspect of the hill landscape has already been mentioned.

231 Comparison of the totals given in Appendix C (1) shows how the present pattern is developing. 167 milk cows are being raised on 171 agricultural units and with these are 113 calves. Appendixes C (5) and C (6) indicate that the agricultural unit farming the basis of farming is the single milk cow and annual calf which carries a subsidy if it passes the inspector of the Department of Agriculture. A few crofters are raising young beasts for sale but there is a general unwillingness to grow more fodder to raise cattle for an uncertain market which may be affected at any moment by an increase in transport costs which are already high. Without the subsidy such enterprises would hardly be possible at all and indeed one could say this of many aspects of life in the island today. Some of the calves are wintered, but the usual practice is to sell off late in the year.

Figure 41.

TWO SAMPLE CROFTS
A. UPPER CARLOWAY
AREA 4 ACRES
OLD ARABLE 2 ACRES
OUTRUN 2 ACRES
O House occupied
House unoccupied
W Weaving shed
Δ Byre
S Stackyard
G Garden
Oats
Potatoes
Sown grass: hay
Natural grass hay
Permanent grass
1 Cow over 3 yrs
1 Calf
4 Breeding ewes
2 Lambs
4 Other sheep
8 Poultry total
WORKED BY:-
ONE CROFTER WEAVER AND HIS WIFE BOTH AGED 45 - 64.
100 YARDS.
B. BORROWSTON
AREA 2·6 ACRES
OLD ARABLE 1·8 ACRES
OUTRUN 0·8 ACRE
O House occupied
W Weaving shed
Δ Byre
S Stackyard
G Garden
Oats
Potatoes
Sown grass: hay
Natural grass: hay
Permanent grass
2 Cows over 3yrs
1 Calf
27 Breeding ewes
21 Lambs
22 Other sheep
16 Poultry total
WORKED BY:-
ONE CROFTER WEAVER AND HIS WIFE BOTH AGED 45 - 64 AND 2F AT SCHOOL AGED 5 - 15.
LOCH CARLOWAY

Figure 42.

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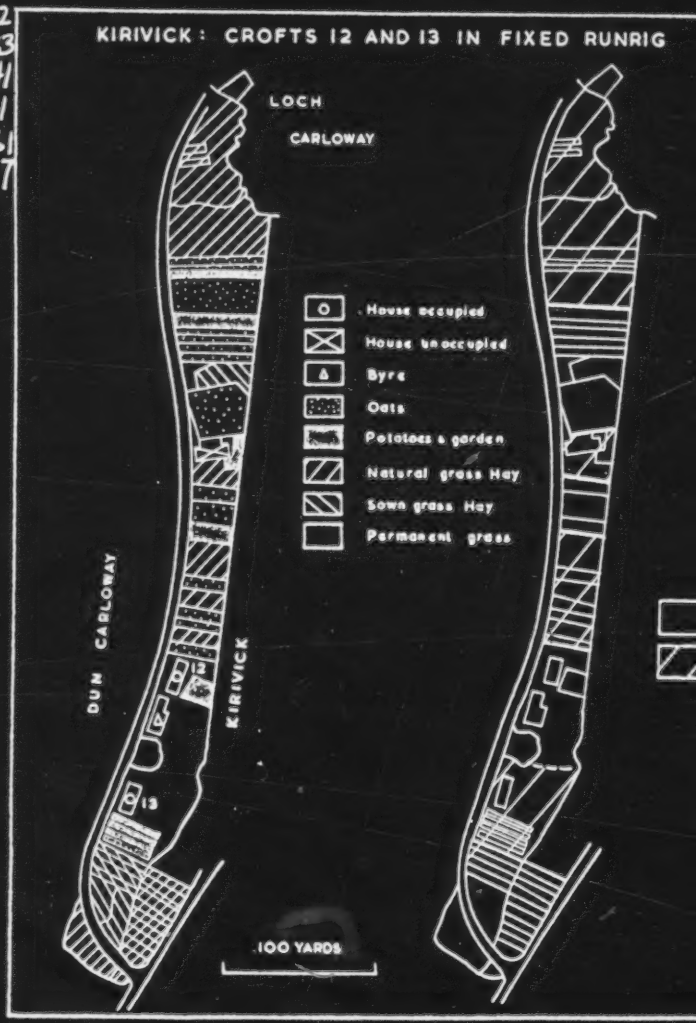

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Fig. 4. Township lay-outs - Gravir and Marivig. (Sha
distinguishes the unconsolidated pieces of three selected
crofts. In Marivig, the crofts are all consolidated).

/facing p. 5/

427 Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire,
241 Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties of
178 Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some
423 districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the
477 nearest equivalent to peasant communities in Britain, although only a small minority of crofters own their holdings, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, has all but disappeared.

175 Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to
427 compensation for improvements. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural
241 holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where the
423 annual rent paid was less than £30. Security of tenure, and compensation for improvements were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £50. In all, there are about 20,000 crofts in Scotland today[1] and Collier[2] estimated the crofting population at
[161] about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms
[162] a 1 per cent sample of the crofts, and a 0.9 per cent sample of the estimated crofting population.

Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

423 The characteristic settlement unit is the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal
427 distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the
241 individually held croft land, and the common grazings. The number of crofts per township
311 ranges from 6 in Caversta to 43 in Gravir.

432 The individually held croft land (1,839 acres) is partly 'outrun' or permanent pasture and the
233 holdings are usually but not always consolidated - in Gravir (Fig. 4) and Cromore some of the crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated from neighbouring units by a drystone dyke or fence but in Park, such demarcation is the exception rather than the rule.

The croft land is separated from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wa
The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor, ill-drained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park, only Oronsay common pasture is fenced, the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by crumbled turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture; the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured, a term comparable to the obsolescent 'gates' of northern England. In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young beas up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per £1 rent. There is also a system of stated equivalences (Gaelic 'coilpeachadh') in most townships whereby substitution of cattle for sheep and sheep for cattle is permissible: in Gravir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumings and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed, soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming o their croft.

[13] 1 Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

[13] 2 Adam Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1953.

Fig. 5. Kershader - Land use. The inset shows the complete layout of the township: A - the Croft land, B - Re-seeded Grazing Parks, C - The inner fenced area of the common grazing. The former shielings belonging to each croft are also shown: the numbers correspond to the crofts numbers. (Redrawn from 1:2500 fieldmap by P.W. Wheeler, M.A.)

Figure 2.81

Although the croftland is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six months of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole township stock graze indiscriminately over the crofts. Thus basically the whole area of the township, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear that the agricultural revolution with its system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Crofting Area.

Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic - 'airigh'). The sites of the shielings are usually on slopes commanding a view of the surrounding area near a spring or stream and usually two to nine huts belonging to the same township are grouped together on a site; isolated shielings are rather rare. In order to conserve the pasture within the township dyke for wintering and to protect the unfenced crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in June, and the younger members of the households went out to live in small stone or turf-walled huts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter or cheese at the shieling. The distance of shielings from the crofts varied from one to five miles in Park.

The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the township and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in the past related mainly to the enforcement of soumings, but are now reduced to the disbursement of subsidies, although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the township bull (usually lent by the Department of Agriculture but sometimes communally owned) are also the province of the Committee.

The layout of the townships varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned in strips from the moor to the sea (figures 4 and 5). Most croft houses are built on the crofts; in former times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the cultivable land was required for crops, but nowadays the houses tend to be sited near the road.

The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing in the rights and duties of the township. Table I gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 Park crofts. It will be noted that only one-fifth of the crofts are tenanted by those in the 15-44 age group: a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 65 years of age. Absentee tenants account for 14 per cent of the total. Women form under 10 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of the women tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The intrinsic worth of the holdings can be inferred from the fact that two-thirds of the male tenants in the insurable age group take supplementary work, two-fifths of them furth of Lewis. With such a large proportion of the tenants either fully employed in ancillary occupations in Park or elsewhere it is hardly surprising that the theoretical township organization exists mainly in name alone.

Each croft, however, is not necessarily an agricultural unit; some are sublet by absentee tenants or by tenants who are too old or too infirm to work their crofts. Of the 215 crofts, one-fifth are wholly or partly sublet. In addition to the legal crofts, there are unofficial holdings which fall into three categories, cottars, squatters and feuars, all legally without grazing rights. A cottar[1] is a person, usually a close relative of the tenant, who builds another house on

These are the de facto definitions. Section 34 of the Crofters' Act of 1886 defines a cottar as follows:- "Cottar" means the occupier of a dwelling-house situate in a crofting parish with or without land who pays no rent to the landlord, as also the tenant from year to year of a dwelling house situated in a crofting parish who resides therein, and who pays to the landlord therefor an annual rent not exceeding six pounds in money, whether with or without garden ground, but without arable or pasture land". For fuller treatment, see Scott, J., "The Law of Smallholdings in Scotland," 1933, pages 152-155.

There is no legal definition of a squatter, and the above definition does not include any distinction between houses built on a croft and houses built on the Common Grazings.

427 241 a legal croft; a squatter builds a house on the common grazing, and a feuar pays a feu-duty or ground-annual to the proprietor. Such unofficial holdings with stock on the common grazing are "agricultural units" in the same way as the crofts, for in fact some cottars keep more stock than the crofters. In these classes are 84 families and 32 of them keep stock. Thus instead of 215 legal units, there are 219 working units[1]. The more usual situation in depopulated crofting areas, where the number of agricultural units is much smaller than the number of crofts, is certainly not prevalent in Park. The official pattern of crofting and the real pattern are very different indeed both in Park and throughout the Crofting Area.

Crofting Agriculture

241 433 By definition, the function of crofting is agricultural production. The small area of cultivable land, the poverty of the immature soils and the inhibiting characteristics of the climate, severely limit the range of crops. Of the 1838 acres of croft land in Park, less than 400 acres are classed as arable land. The measurement of the arable land was carried out about 1850 but reclamation after that date increased the arable area. Only in the townships of Shieldernish, Habost, Kershader (Figure 5), and Garyvard where there are deeper deposits of glacial drift, is ploughing practised; elsewhere cultivation is entirely in 'lazy-beds', a system of narrow ridges 4 to 6 feet in width, [246] separated by open drains, and cultivated by spade. Natural grass for hay is the chief crop, and and accounts for 52 per cent of the 638 acres of cropped land (See Table II). As only 400 acres of the croft land are classed as arable, some of this hay is taken from areas which were brought [244] into cultivation after 1850. Oats (26 per cent), occupy the largest cultivated area, followed by potatoes (13 per cent). The small area of sown grass (9 per cent) of which four fifths is cut for hay, is symptomatic of the low standard of husbandry: only one fifth of the agriculture units sow grass. The average cropped area per agricultural unit is only 3 acres and only one-third of the uni have gardens in cultivation. The hay and oats are grown for winter fodder, and the potatoes for household use. No detailed conclusions as to the use made of the crofts for cropping can be drawn, as the potential of each croft is extremely variable, but the low proportion of sown grass is indicative of the husbandry. There is a clear distinction between the 'agricultural' townships (Seaforthhead, Shieldernish, Habost, Kershader, Garyvard and Caversta), and the 'fishing' townships (Cromore, Marivig, Calbost, Gravir and Glengravir, Lemreway and Orinsay) in the extent and utilisation of the arable land: one measure of this distinction is that 55 per cent of the units in the agricultural townships sow grass; the figure for the fishing townships is only 22 per cent.

231 427 433 More valuable conclusions can however be reached from a study of the stocking. With the exce of Glengravir township, each croft has a defined soum, and thus the stock entitlement for each operative unit can be calculated. By using the equivalence, the soum can be converted to "cow units". In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower, and 8 sheep per £1 rent: the equivalence is 1 cow to 5 sheep. The number of cow units per £1 rent is therefore 2.6; in the calculation, followe are ignored. The actual stock of the agricultural unit can also be converted to cow units and thus a comparison can be made between the soum and the actual stock of each unit. The percentage of the soum taken up can thus be used as an indication of the extent to which the unit is worked.

In the Crofting Area, as in all Highland Britain, stock rearing is the main function of agricultu [434] In Park, all the agricultural income, subsidies for cropping excluded, is derived from cattle and sheep.

1 Of the 215 legal units, 28 are sublet: thus if there was no unofficial stock-keeping by cottars and squatters there would be 187 agricultural units. However, there are 32 additional stock-keepers and thus in fact there are 219 agricultural units.

TABLE II

AGRICULTURAL TOTALS BY OPERATIVE UNITS IN TOWNSHIPS - 1958

TOWNSHIP	No. of Legal Crofts[1]	No. of other holdings with stock[2]	No. of Agricultural Units[3]	Arable	Outrun (Acres)	Common Pasture	Oats	Land Use: Potatoes (Acres)	Land Use: Hay	Land Use: Pasture	BOVINES (cow & units)	Total Stock	Sheep Scale (No.)	STOCK Breeding Ewes	Lambs	Other Sheep
Beaforthbeg and Ehileldernish	6	1	5	59.6		1401	2.8	3.3	35.3	37.6	106	975	256	390	208	115
Rahoat	13	4	14	24.5	95.0	1933	20.5	8.8	46.3	43.9	72	1145	172	512	320	212
Kershader	13	-	11	36.0	125.3	1559	20.0	6.5	27.0	97.8	119	1235	347	371	181	278
Garyvard	12	7	17	37.6	59.2	1256	15.1	5.8	18.0	57.0	82	825	336	349	152	235
Caverstn	6	1	6	11.8	34.8	642	5.0	2.1	8.3	30.4	51	44	185	167	62	38
Cromore	28	6	33	68.4	85.1	2104	22.3	12.3	25.6	85.3	173	148	444	468	258	187
Marvig	24	2	25	56.3	120.1	863	12.8	9.8	36.6	119.7	70	99	222	411	254	185
Calbost	14	4	9	16.3	51.2	1735	0.3	1.0	8.3	57.0	32	41	90	145	76	57
Glengarvir	15	-	10	60.8		-	5.8	3.3	17.3	34.4	12	31	29	85	39	60
Grevir	43	10	44	85.3	277.0	2692	18.1	12.8	76.8	255.6	189	242	504	855	416	407
Orinsay	14	-	12	141.8		1473	9.3	6.5	25.6	121.7	56	99	140	374	236	93
Lemreway	33	4	33	78.1	234.1	3085	29.5	15.8	62.1	204.8	185	183	615	646	477	216
TOTALS:	222	39	219	516.5	1250.7	[illegible]	191.2	88.7	373.2	1144.1	1147	1333	3380	4773	2479	2101

1. A legal croft is any piece of land registered as a croft - a tenancy may consist of two or more crofts. There are 415 tenancies.

2. Cottars, feuars, squatters with stock.

3. An agricultural unit is defined as any unit, whether a legal croft or a number of legal crofts owned and/or sublet, or a cottar, feuar or squatter having stock. Agricultural units may include crofts in other townships worked from the home unit; the areas and sownings of such crofts are added to the township from which they are operated and subtracted from the township in which they are situated.

4. See page 5 for definition.

5. Some tenants in the townships of Beaforthbeg and Ehileldernish, Rahoat, Kershader, Garyvard, rent grazing in Park Deer Forest and therefore this stock is not related only to their respective Common Pasture Sownings.

6. Arable and outrun are not statistically differentiated; in the totals, the proportions of arable to outrun in the other townships have been used.

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TABLE VII

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS[1]: Parish of Lochs[2]

	1912	1920	1928	1947	1950
CROPS					
Corn	487	352	279	737	647
Potatoes	130	135	15	4	4
Turnips	425	272	230	229	189
Corn Crops for Hay	1	85	14	75	141
Corn Crops for Pasture	-	6	76	30	120
Total Cultivation	1135	1261	1620	1130	1310
Permanent Grass for Hay	44	39	372	291	236
Permanent Pasture	2834	2845	1861	1967	1756
Orchard[3]	32	4	28	4	28
TOTAL Crops and Grass	3834	3843	3266	2295	2671
STOCKS					
Horses	102	101	69	39	31
Cattle	2429	1290	1410	1120	996
Sheep	3000	3700	2500	2000	3000
	(3600)	(3500)	(2500)	(1600)	(1200)
Poultry	7	7	8172	12500	8750

1. By method of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.
2. As Park in part of Lewis Parish, there are the only statistics available.
3. Basis (negligible acreage), Julian.
4. Figures in brackets are breeding ewes.

(p. 5-6)

Table III reveals that there are 177 agricultural units with a morning; ten units are crofts in Glengarnoch without a morning and the remainder of the 219 units have no grazing rights. From the Table, it is clear, that the stocking and overstocking increase with the size of the unit, the units of the acre and over, on the basis of stock carry, would appear to be the most intensively stocked. The Crofters' Commission has fixed the carry of a cow and her calf at 5 units, and of a yearling at 2 units. Based on similar or rich crofts in Ness and Barvas, it would appear that further ancillary employment sub-age is significantly related to the intensity of crofting. Table V points out that more full-time crofters appear are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables IV, IV and V underline the fact that the larger units are also the most intensively crofted. It is significant that the largest units are almost all in the barter land in the agricultural crofting area. It would appear that the crofter who is intensively crofting is also concerned with investment in style areas in the fishing industry, where the stock is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

The trends in agriculture are illustrated by Tables VI and VII. The Crofters' Commission made a survey of the crofts in Lewis through the medium of Estate Factors in 1951. The survey showed that in the parish of Lochs 1,620 acres were cultivated in 1928 and 1,130 in 1950. The decline in the acreage of selected tenantries was 1.2 as compared with 1:25 in 1950. Table VII gives agricultural statistics for the parish of Lochs (it is not possible to obtain a separate figure for Park over the years 1911). Cultivation in the crop and stock patterns have taken place; here (Hardman sighted) has contributed to a decline in the number of horses and cattle and a rise in the number of sheep in the trading crops. Horses have all but disappeared, and the cattle-sheep ratio has risen from less than 1:2 in 1912 to 1:3 in 1950. The decline in the number of cattle is a significant feature of the post-war period. Large areas of land, no longer cultivated, are also little-grazed by cattle and Hinger: assessed, the size span not for leashed cultivation, is no longer carried to the upper parts of the crofts. On the hill-grazing, a decrease in the number of sheep is evident.

From the foregoing account, it is clear that there are two major agricultural problems in Park, the lack of sufficiently large crofts with good arable land and no insufficiency of common grazing; the second problem is the ongoing in their trees the problem of overstocking and the decline of common holdings.

The more progressive crofters, significantly resident on the better crofts of the agricultural township, have shown how craft land can be improved by re-seeding and sowing down to grass, practicing modern crop rotations and generally improving the crofts. In addition, some crofters by co-operative effort, have reseeded the main areas of the hill-grazing, with varying success.

However it is clear that it is not possible for 219 crofts agricultural units to be maintained on the present crofting area. The optimum size of croft which could maintain a family is a moot point, for the rotation and situation of a croft and the quality of the land and common pasture would all have to be taken into account in making an assessment.

This problem was referred to a practical agriculturalist who was asked to state what size of croft and number of stock would be required to provide an annual income of £300, excluding croft benefit (milk, eggs and potatoes consumed on the croft) and any crofting fee labour. To fulfil these conditions, one of the fishing townships was carefully analysed, and the expert came to the following approximations; assuming that the value of good husbandry was to have after the croft labour, the crofting township and Commission, the expert proceeded to have carried out certain work on the croft and Commission, and provided there was no overstocking, and that present favourable schedules and prices continue:-

Size of croft: 4 acres arable. (3 in crop, 3 in sown grass), 18 acres cotton and rights in Common Grazing to carry:-

4 cows; 2 young cattle, 50 sheep, 12 wedders, 12 ewe-hogs and a ram.

Income	£	Expenses	£
Sale of 1 cow, 3 calves, 18 ewes and 12 wedders, 12 ewe-hogs	224	Rent, rem.-service of bull, grazing, etc.	20
Sale of wool	11	Turnip seed, manures and lime dressing	40
Subsidies on cows, calves and cropping	141	Excess of income	316
Total income	376		376

In order to work such a croft efficiently, the tenant could not take regular ancillary employment and would require the services of a family at home periods. If such holdings were formed in the particular township studied, the number of crofts would have to be reduced to almost one third of the present number. Even then, the income from the agricultural crofts would have to be reduced to half of their present value. The full-time crofter would be a thing of the past, as it was based on general estimates. It is clear, however, that about 100 crofts could be maintained on the present crofting area if the crofters were willing.

From a detailed study of the agriculture of Park one can only conclude that the present crofting population is not in a position to maintain itself. Only congestation on a major scale could make crofting economic, and the congestion would be in the wrong place. The problem of the non-crofting crofter is the problem of the crofter who is not in a position to maintain himself on the profits of ancillary industry are discussed on page 12. Larger crofts might well evolve as a result of continued depopulation. In the meantime, a determined effort should be made to the benefit of re-seeding and pasture improvement, and to consolidating the existing non-adjacent pieces of certain crofts. Further, the sheep stocks, with an emphasis on quality instead of quantity, and the introduction of some cattle, surveying the present 1:25 cattle-sheep ratio, are policies which could be followed with profit.

ANCILLARY OCCUPATIONS

In most crofting areas, ancillary employment is necessary to compensate for the low croft income and dependence on the croft for a livelihood has never been characteristic of many crofting areas except in Lewis and Harris. Ancillary employment has been a feature of crofting since last century and has been particularly important in the Lewis District. Tourism and not being in the trade in the Highlands of Scotland for people who are willing to journey far in search of a quiet holiday usually conducive to local observance.

Unless new sources of employment are brought to Park, it is clear that ancillary employment must continue to be sought elsewhere. The higher "spending standard" in industrial employment, and the opportunities to find entertainment in urban areas Dealer often resulting from experience during school days in Stornoway or National Service), militate against a large population of young people, but basically lack of employment and the uneconomic nature of the crofts are the real reasons for the high degree of temporary and permanent employment away from Park.

1. Letter to the Glasgow Herald 27.1.59
2. Scottish Leader 27.1.59
3. Stornoway Gazette 27.1.59
4. Maj Jackson, Acta Geographica XVI, No. 1.

Type of Ancillary employment

The question of the desirability of ancillary employment in a crofting district is often considered. Ancillary employment is considered desirable if it keeps the crofter at home and makes the croft more productive, but it is undesirable if it takes the crofter away from his croft and makes the other hand, crofters who take ancillary employment are better able to make capital investment, and the amount of assistance to the croft which can be provided by ancillary employment is not significant. Further ancillary employment sub-age is significantly related to the intensity of crofting. Table V points out that more full-time crofters appear are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables III, IV and V underline the fact that the larger units are also the most intensively crofted. It is significant that the largest units are almost all in the barter land in the agricultural crofting area. It would appear that the crofter who is intensively crofting is also concerned with investment in style areas in the fishing industry, where the stock is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

	POPULATION	
Wholly resident	246	108
Seasonally absent	18	8
In permanent employment Parts of Park	36	202
	1008	1008

	POPULATION CENSUS	
Population 1931	1,147	1,060
Population 1951	995	696
Net Decrease	31	4,25
Natural Increase/Decrease[1] 1931-51	+5	1,0
Net Migration	36	3,25
Migration as a percentage of 1931 population	3.0	306
Natural Increase (Decline) for Comparison as a percentage of 1931 population	0.4	0.26

1. Including those temporarily away: the permanently absent group would not be included in the 1931 enumeration.
2. Adjusted for War Casualties = Agricultural Township 3, Fishing Township, 20

(Facing p. 14)

TABLE XVII

SELECTED POPULATION STATISTICS FOR THE AGRICULTURAL AND FISHING TOWNSHIPS

Table XVII reveals that there is little difference in the stocking between the agricultural and fishing townships. The former are characterized by a more stable population trend, and significantly by the number of permanent employment away from Park. The fishing townships are, on the other hand, crofters who take ancillary employment are better able to make capital investment, and the amount of assistance to the croft which can be provided by ancillary employment is not significant. Further ancillary employment sub-age is significantly related to participation in ancillary employment. If young people are to be encouraged to remain in the crofting townships, a closer relationship between income desirable, those who wish to work the croft on a full-time basis might be given full use of the croft and be provided with a fair share of the income from the ancillary employment which could also not be charged for their houses. It is clear that the agricultural resources of Park are insufficient to maintain the present number of crofts as viable economic units but the problem of finding ancillary employment for any large non-crofting population is very great.

The Park Association, in their task search to attract industry, met with little response for high rates. The Chairman of the Crofters' Commission has recently suggested that the Chairman of the Crofters' Commission has recently suggested that the Chairman of the Glasgow Corporation Transport Department, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, "an opportunity is present in the West Highlands and Islands" but even with Government grants for the establishment of industry, the present crofting area is not in a position to maintain the present population.

One possibility is that the fishing industry might be revived. In 1950, 16 large motor fishing vessels belonging to Stornoway Crofters and Carloway Crofters, left the Park and never remained." only one has ever still fishing in 1958. The recent Fishing Board Scheme provides a grant of £1,000 for a new boat, and a loan of £2,000 for the boat. It brings out the guarantees a minimum livelihood. The major problem is the finding of the initial capital outlay, which is, in the case of a modern boat, in the order of about £70,000. Eight-five per cent of this sum can already be found in the form of grants and loans from the fishing industry Board. The remaining £10,000 is a big sum for the Park Crofters to find, and it would be a pity if the Park crofters were to be left out of the sheep stocks, with an emphasis on quality instead of quantity, and the introduction of some cattle, surveying the present 1:25 cattle-sheep ratio, are policies which could be followed with profit.

Tourism is an industry hardly developed at all in Park. Lack of running water has made it difficult to attract visitors to the Park. Only one chalet is available for visitors, and it is only declare who are delighted to accept inexpensive accommodation away from the crowded resorts. The Park is not on the Clachan of the Outer Hebrides[4], stance that this fact has made the Island Islands prosperous, and believes that tourists on simple interests be successfully developed in the Outer Hebrides. Tourists need not bring in to train the description of the Sabbath for people who are willing to journey far in search of a quiet holiday usually conducive to local observance.

Unless new sources of employment are brought to Park, it is clear that ancillary employment must continue to be sought elsewhere. The higher "spending standard" in industrial employment, and the opportunities to find entertainment in urban Areas Dealer often resulting from experience during school days in Stornoway or National Service), militate against a large population of young people, but basically lack of employment and the uneconomic nature of the crofts are the real reasons for the high degree of temporary and permanent employment away from Park.

1. Letter to the Glasgow Herald 27.1.59
2. Scottish Leader 27.1.59
3. Stornoway Gazette 27.1.59
4. Maj Jackson, Acta Geographica XVI, No. 1.

[Ber-Forthbad] [Ber-Forthbad]

expression of the original township appeared to six Indian. As a result, many large-bale, now grass over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and bracken. Out of the 1,620 acres cultivated in the parish of Stornoway Parish, one is presumed to be in Lewis and Harris, the remainder in the Outer Hebrides, the Lewis Parish, with a large number of stocks. Vegetation's power: there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, mainland grasses and lower grasses are found, and the Highlands are not. Bracken is a problem in the mainland sheep and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

In Scalasthwhad and Shiadebrosh all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on small elevations. In Scalasthwhad is the reputed landing place of the Seaforth's, "Seaforth Castle", and the ruins of a castle are still visible. Communication was by boat, 1920. Now a cart-track, Ferry-point, Carloway, Lochs. Communication was by boat, 1920. Now a cart-track, Ferry-point, Carloway, Lochs. Ferry-point, Carloway, Lochs. Ferry-point, Carloway, Lochs.

[Scots]

[Translation]

Of the 32 residents: 19 are over 65 and only 8 under 15 years, leaving a working population of 25, seven are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily declining, from a peak of 121 in 1861.

Since 1956, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely fenced and the common grazing has been divided into 12 crofts. Some of the crofters have cultivated their allotments and have built a new croft house and byre; a lamb pen and hoist have been erected; an increasing area has been put down to ley. It would seem that lottering of stock for market is intended, and better grazing for more stock is anticipated. Nevertheless, the crofters are not all young men, and many are part-time crofters. The population is thus larger and more stable than it was in 1956, but it is a figure below the real carrying capacity of the grazing. The croft could become a profitable unit, but, as yet, the croft is only maintained through grants and part-time employment. It is doubtful that hopper, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivation to provide winter fodder.

KESSDALE

Philip W. Wheeler, M.A.

Kessdale is a township of forty-five crofters' holdings on thirteen crofts, which attach to the Kessdale Estate of Highland Scots E310 Park. The crofts extend up to one-third of a mile from the shore with a three-and-a-half mile deep blocking of tenant grazing. The extreme elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arranged by township, are all at right angles to the coast, are never longer than 1,000 feet and vary in breadth:

(a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly below 75 feet, 2 crofts have cultivated allotments. The soils of the grazing part of this zone are sandy, and the stationary profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and smutted in fertilization by manure. The winter fodder is thus here thinner stalks of the same kind with poor growth. In the main fold (crofts 10/11) is an extension of zone (b).

(b) Mid, about 4 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the new inter fence erected in 1957.

(c) Hill, about 2 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the new inter fence erected in 1957.

(d) Return to the crofts for the winter, being let out either to the park or to the common. Grazing whatever the weather is suitable.

The township stocks yearly much of their flock on the outer common grazings. As most of the crofts, the crofting with one in 1938 and ending in sequence with 15, 11 and 12 probably in 1959. Are herded, the crofters are not permanently resident on the crofts. Only 3 of the 45 are. The 3 are: Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with greater slopes over 30 feet, crofts 1 to 9, steep slopes for parts of some 150, and crofts 13 and 14 have a steep coast line with slopes, are intermediate (Fig. 3).

In Kessdale, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts vary between 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 1 acre reported in the common grazing. The average croft is 8.4 acres, and the average croft is 8.4 acres, and the average croft is 8.4 acres, mainly mixed grass 6.32, and 0.5 acres under other uses, and the remaining 95.5 acres, mainly mixed grass

[Scots-Gaelic]

with heather and peat on the higher areas, bay is taken off 15 25 acres. Four acres, mainly for the common grazing, are in the hands of the Kessdale Estate. Crofts 1 to 9 have cultivated allotments, and the crofters are common and in some cases are carefully resort, but the winter fodder is thin stalks of the same kind with poor growth. In the main fold (crofts 10/11) is an extension of zone (b). The soils have been developed of 15.6 percent. The only crops are rare and positive, the winter fodder is thin stalks of the same kind with poor growth. The township stocks yearly much of their flock. Winter on the croft, with a maximum of 1 acre reported in the common grazing for earlier. There is no memory of Black Face (Gaelic: [illegible]), and have therefore [illegible]

[Calbost] [Gravir] [Glengravir]

The present situation in Calbost is best illustrated by reference to the population statistics. There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are squatters and only eight houses are occupied within the dyke. Of the male population, there are three children under fourteen years, one man in the 15-44 age group, three between 45 and 64 years and two over 65. This clearly shows the lack of active men from 15-44 years, necessary for the continuing economic success of the community. However, even these figures are not so striking as the numbers of emigrants as no less than 39 men and 40 women have left Calbost since 1939.

A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the younger people have left to find employment in Stornoway and on the mainland. The present population structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride the major east-west inlet of Loch Ouirn, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The size of the township is perhaps the most picturesque in all Park, but the steep slopes, lack of cover, the small area of good arable land, and the considerable population existing on slim resources, problems common to Park as a whole, are all epitomised in Gravir.

On the south-facing-slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough in the valley to the west, the majority of the crofts have been carved from moor to sea, some before 1800, and some in the process of the abolition of rundale which was accomplished in the nineteenth century. Originally, there appeared to have been thirty crofts, but four were added during the nineteenth century, two at each end of the line, and in 1934 a further fifteen were cut out of the common grazing, a mile to the west of Gravir. On the south side of the loch, the 'clachan' of Tom an Fhuadain, established about 1800, has since developed into a further nine crofts. Thus there are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir and a further fifteen in Glengravir making fifty-eight in all.

The layout of Glengravir, a line of crofts from 3.6 to five acres, typifies the small post-1918 Department of Agriculture holdings. The arrangement of the Gravir crofts is illustrated in Figure 4, and it will be seen that not all the crofts are consolidated. There are three areas of former arable commons which have been lotted in unfenced strips and they may well be reclamations which were necessary to supplement the food producing capacity of the holdings. The method of division and allocation speaks of a period when a subsistence economy under severe pressure from over-population necessitated fair shares for all. The last of these commons was in cultivation until 1891. Although subsistence crofting has been obsolete since then, there is as yet no move towards a regularisation of the layout.

The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable commons developed mainly as a result of a successful fishing industry which prospered from 1860 to 1914 and at one time there were two curing stations in Gravir. With relative prosperity from an ancillary industry, cottars were landed and the population rose from 197 in 1830, to 368 in 1881 reaching a peak of 448 in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has certainly not yet ceased. Gravir reverted from 1918 to a township of agriculturalists and a base for employment in the herring fishery although there have been spasms of successful fishing activity since.

Stock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and conditions are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir crofts vary between 3.5 and 26.5 acres in size: no croft has more than four acres of 'old arable'. In the days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in narrow lazy-beds, banked up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more extensive. All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed cut as far away as Cromore or the coast south of Kebock Head. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed area is now cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture; some of the lazy-

[Gravir] [Glengravir]

beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other lazy-beds are permanently in natural hay: only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'old arable' is now in oats and potatoes. If natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the old arable (ninety acres) after 1850-52. As in all the fishing townships the area of sown grass is infinitesimal: the only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of under-sowing.

There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives. All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and squatters and feuars, besides the fifteen legal Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir common. The common has been encroached on by several feus for Gravir is the functional centre of Park: the Free Church of Scotland and Manse, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionaries (assistant ministers) are all located in Gravir.

Gravir and Glengravir thus have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty per cent of the sum, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 2,652 acres is in general of poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957, a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded: only twelve of the operative units participated in this reclamation work, and the sown grass yield amounts ranged between 27 and 58 years: this is significant as tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater numbers; at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the consequences of over-stocking. The lamb sale for as little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the paucity of cattle is one of the notable characteristics of the first stocktaking. The sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the consequences of over-stocking. The cattle stock is below the stocking and this paucity of cattle is one of the notable characteristics of the agriculture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the stocking by thirty-five per cent.

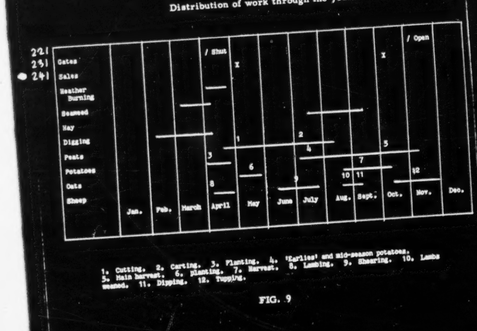
The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from the stocking of one cow and follower and eight sheep per pound sterling of rent in a township where only seven crofts pay more than £2 rent, they were never intended to be self-supporting agricultural units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, bere or oats, locally ground via the communal meal mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family. The crofts were supplemented by the three Gravir lobster mills, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats of eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for lobsters.

If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of insurable age and service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupation are sufficiently available or attractive to keep the insurable population in the district. Twelve of the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in permanent employment furth of Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential male resident population.

The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the hay-day of the fishing boats of the men fished all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sale of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the souming, the income of the crofter including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

LEMREWAY

Distribution of work through the year



1. Cutting. 2. Carting. 3. Planting. 4. 'Earlies' and mid-season potatoes. 5. Main harvest. 6. Spreading. 7. Harvest. 8. Lambing. 9. Shearing. 10. Lambs weaned. 11. Dipping. 12. Tupping.

FIG. 9

/facing p. 31/

[Gravir] [Glengravir] [Lemreway]

The urgent need in Gravir is a reduction in the number of holdings. A pre-requisite of such reorganisation would be the creation of employment for a non-crofting population. Weaving and crofting are the more obvious occupations; the former is subject to world trade fluctuations but the latter is now in a more favourable position since the introduction of the herring fishing guaranteed subsidy, although the raising of the initial capital for buying and equipping boats is a formidable problem. It is clear that a division of the community into a crofting and non-crofting sector is essential if the present population level is to be maintained. The most serious aspect of the present trend is that the migrating section of the community comprises the younger and more enterprising people. Unless holdings of economic size can be formed, and stable employment introduced, one can expect the younger men and women to remain in Gravir.

Until a major reorganisation of the crofts is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-seed large areas of the common pasture and the three former arable commons, and the development of a croft-tourist industry, are interim possibilities. It is not sufficiently realised in crofting districts that there is a demand from the city dwellers for simple accommodation and good plain fare in a clean atmosphere, with the possibility of hill walking and fishing on from and a moderate scale can hardly be contemplated. proposed water-scheme becomes a reality, tourism on a moderate scale can hardly be contemplated.

One can only conclude that until reorganisation takes place and transforms Gravir into a township of viable agricultural holdings, any stabilisation of the present trends is out of the question. A decline in the number of holdings is inevitable in the long run but a planned reduction over a number of years would bring about a more viable community than the disintegration which will occur without such planning. Until this is achieved, the young men and women have little incentive to remain in Gravir.

LEMREWAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda G. Turner
and John E. Wearmouth

Lemreway, the southernmost township of Park, comprises 290 acres arable and outrun divided into thirty-three crofts and 3,625 acres of common pasture. The township is situated on the northern side of Loch Shell round a bay in the lee shelter of Eilean Iuward.

The township consists of three distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area at about 100 feet, forms common pasture and part reclaimed as sixteen crofts, locally known as 'the Outend', forms the first subdivision. The second area, further west, is of a hummocky nature. To the east, a steep slope rises to an altitude of 400 feet, less than half a mile from the loch shore, forming the third. Two benches are to be seen at about 100 feet on the steeper slope and similar, though wider terraces occur at the same height to the north. It is suggested that the flat area is the bed of a moraine-dammed lake, and that the hummocky sector in partly morainic and partly ice-eroded rock exposure. A channel eroded through this sector allowed the lake to drain southwards leaving a relatively deeply incised valley through which the present stream flows to the sea.

Soils may be divided into two types - a peaty loam and the better drained gravelly loam which is found to the east and along the main stream; the latter is particularly suitable for potato cultivation.

Except on rocky outcrops, the very steep slopes and the drained areas, blanket bog predominates. Sphagnum here is rarely dominant but where the land is badly drained Deer's hair grass (eriophorum vaginatum) and cotton grass (Eriophorum angustifolium) are the dominants. On slightly drier land purple moor grass (Molinia caerulea) and common sedge (carex nigra) are abundant. Local dominants are bog asphodel (Narthecium ossifragum) and cross-leaved heather (Erica tetralix) with other common species such as the sundews (Drosera rotundifolia and intermedia), butterwort (Pinguicula vulgaris), Juncus sp., Carex sp. and Carex panicea occurring sporadically. Where the peat has been cut and drained, 'heather moor' usually develops and Calluna

[Lemreway]

vulgaris is dominant. Ling, which can tolerate considerable soil wash, occurs on the shore, and a few Molinia, Scirpus cespitosus and Eriophorium. A few rowans, usually near the shore, and a few willows, usually within stone enclosures, are the only trees to be seen.

Of the thirty-three legal crofts in Lemreway, nine comprise less than five acres, while seventeen are between five and ten acres. Of the remainder, only two exceed fifteen acres and one of these is 30 acres. Six unoccupied crofts are worked by persons other than their tenants, so actually the 290 acres of croft land are shared by twenty-seven holdings. The seventeen-acre 'outend' was originally divided between fifteen tenants but confused sub-letting has resulted in four separate holdings directly occupying nine acres, and working another four acres. Thus the outend today must be regarded as the monopoly of four 'unofficial' holders.

Little more than a quarter of the croft land is cultivable and even less is actually cultivated today: Figure 5 illustrates the cultivable crofting year. The broken terrain and the stony nature of the soil permitted the cultivation of tiny 'layabeds' and lazy-beds, where the soils are deeper, are now cultivated at least two acres the strips of land on the gentler slopes, where the soils are deeper, are now cultivated at least two acres croft shows signs of at least, natural hay is cut on the well-marked layabeds at about 225 feet. For example, on the east side, natural hay is cut on the well-marked layabeds at about 225 feet.

Oats and potatoes, 29.5 and 16 acres respectively, occupy almost all of the cultivated ground. Most crofts grow about half an acre of potatoes and one acre of oats; both acreages have declined. The former with a declining population and the latter with a reduction in the numbers of cattle; ha has increased in importance. No bere is now grown, though before 1900 it was preferred to oats. Ruins of the bere mill, which ceased to function at the beginning of the century, can still be seen. Fifty-nine acres of natural grass are cut for hay but only four crofters had sown grass for hay in 1958, about three acres in total. Few vegetables other than potatoes are grown though carrots are said to grow well, and formerly turnips and cabbages were grown. The soil needs careful prepa to be productive and almost every crofter used some seaweed and at least twenty drew subsidies and artificial fertilisers in 1958.

Stock totals have declined recently but the township has 36 cows and 22 calves. Only one cro is without cattle and 22 of the 33 working units have a cow and a calf. The township has an Ayre bull on lease from the Department of Agriculture; one of the few remaining elements of the co-op township system is that this animal is fed by the crofters, in rotation, during the winter.

All but two crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between ten and 120 per holding but the major have about 23 ewes with ten lambs. Although numbers have declined recently, the 3,625 acres very moderate common pasture support a flock of about 1,150 sheep, including about 650 breed ewes and about 300 lambs.

The souming is not enforced in Lemreway and it is remarkable that the total stock tallies exactly to the souming. An examination of the sheep stock reveals that the stock of 917 (exclu lambs) considerably exceeds the sheep souming of 628. It is interesting that it is nearly 50% working units of over 10 acres but not of overstocked; of twelve such units, eight keep more they are entitled to. Most of these crofts are grouped on the eastern side of the township whe crofts have a larger outrun.

Thus, while overgrazing is not so severe as in many townships, it represents a potential particularly if the common pasture is not improved. However, in 1958 ten acres of the comm pasture have been enclosed and two acres with pelletted and inoculated seed. The eleven c two acres with pelletted seed to help drain and aerate the peaty soil. It is interesting that in the scheme put on 100 tons of sand to help fertiliser, grades 1 and 2 - a making part in the scheme put on 100 tons of concentrated compound fertiliser, grades 1 and 2 - a ground mineral phosphate and 2 tons of concentrated compound. There was a striking diff by hand. The area was sown in May 1958: by the following August, there was a striking diff between it and the untreated pasture. Next Spring, eleven cows will be grazed on this area. success of this scheme, it is hoped that more of the crofters will co-operate in re-seeding areas.

[Lemreway]

The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway; working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939. Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. Ruins of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs. Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostelleys could not greatly increase the income of the residents, they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling, is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the mutend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

[Orinsay]

which rises steeply, exceeding 375 feet in the west and 150 feet to the north and east. From the north-west and north-east two glacially deepened valleys drain southwards, their lower ends being "drowned" by northward extensions of the loch.

Although peat covers most of the surface it is only in the hollows that it is significantly deep, for even on the gentler slopes the peat cover is frequently so thin as to expose a layer of morainic sub-soil containing many stones and boulders.

Two rowans and a dozen willows represent the only tree growth, but tree stumps frequently exposed in peat-cuttings suggest that woodland was formerly more evident. Whether this former woodland disappeared as a result of human action or of climatic change it is not possible to say, but it is certain that a century of overgrazing has not favoured natural regeneration. Moorland grasses, sedges and a little poor heather characterize much of the area, and reflect the poor grazing capacity of much of the moorland. Bracken has established itself in one limited area on a patch of neglected croft land.

Orinsay is unique in Park, for the present township is entirely a twentieth century development. In the early 19th century there was a settlement at the head of the loch, but in 1843 the residents were removed and the area enclosed and added to Crobeg sheep farm. In 1916, there was a proposal to establish fourteen crofts, but the applicants were requested to wait until after the war. At the end of the war the return of many young men with a desire to settle down led to serious overcrowding in Lemreway. Several of them 'raided' the Orinsay area. At first living in huts, they built their own houses, and in 1922 the Department of Agriculture intervened, recognising and fencing off fourteen legal crofts, and at the same time providing a good footpath. Seeing the success of their neighbours, four other Lemreway families, comprising 26 people, went to Siemreway, about a mile to the west of Orinsay. Here, however, the Department of Agriculture did not intervene and with the community remaining isolated, most of the settlers returned to Lemreway within three years, although one family remained until 1939.

Six of the crofts have an area of less than ten acres, six have between ten and fifteen acres, while the remaining two occupy eighteen and twenty-five acres; the largest croft originally belonged to the shepherd on the sheep farm. Three of these crofts are not occupied, although worked by other crofters, with the result that eleven operative units share 161 acres.

Only a small part of the croft acreage is actually cultivable: even less is cultivated in practice. The broken and rocky terrain combined with the peaty soil allows nothing but the cultivation by spade of tiny lazy-beds. The total area now cultivated does not exceed 25 acres, although in the past it may have been nearer 40 acres.

Oats and potatoes are the staple crops, occupying 9 and 6½ acres respectively in 1958. Individual croft acreages of these crops vary in relation to the requirements for winter stock-feed, and in the case of potatoes, to domestic consumption. Nevertheless to produce even these meagre returns the soil requires careful preparation. A plentiful supply of seaweed is obtained from the shore and is the most frequently used fertiliser, while a little sulphate of ammonia is applied. Only two crofters use lime.

In the last two decades a marked reduction in the amount of oats grown has accompanied a decrease in the numbers of cattle and an increasing use of hay for fodder. Nevertheless only about 17½ acres of hay altogether are cut, and only five of the crofters sow any grass seed.

In August 1958, the township supported only 13 cows, 3 young beasts and 8 calves. Half of the crofters have a cow and a calf, but three have no cattle at all, and one even used condensed milk, a sad commentary on the state of crofting in Orinsay, but a phenomenon by no means uncommon in crofting areas.

[Orinsay]

The future existence of the common pasture for grazing is being seriously endangered by overstocking. The souming is not enforced in Orinsay and the actual sheep stock exceeds the soum by 300 per cent. Peat-cutting is gradually destroying valuable grazing areas; in the last three years there has even been some peat cutting on the better grazing on the island. The dangers both of overstocking and of indiscriminate peat cutting cannot be overstressed.

No evidence was seen of attempts to improve the quality of the common pasture. The establishment of shelter belts would provide not only shelter but a means of stopping the peat from 'slumping' down slopes if they were carefully sited. Much of the common pasture could be improved by a hill drainage scheme and by re-seeding, after sanding and liming, a project well within the capacity of the resident labour force.

Good crops on a few of the crofts suggest that the land is not inherently sterile, however, and it would seem that if the holdings were reduced to a maximum of four, an economic existence might be feasible on these crofts. The stony nature of the soil limits the possibilities of tractor cultivation, but with an improvement in drainage, one might be used in the two valleys.

It is not so easy to be optimistic about the employment of surplus population resulting from such an enlargement of holdings, although a revival in the fishing industry could absorb most of the men. At present there are no looms in Orinsay and providing the Harris tweed industry can hold its own, there are possibilities in weaving. Seaweed is in plentiful supply, indeed Lemreway people also obtain supplies and should its quality prove adequate, the establishment of a processing plant would provide valuable employment.

Nevertheless it is becoming increasingly obvious that unless the holdings can be enlarged, whether officially or by sub-letting, and some further employment created, Orinsay is liable to stagnate, and depopulation to continue. The township which was developed to relieve congestion is now itself congested.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the Glasgow University Department of Geography Crofting Survey is to record and analyse material relevant to the crofting districts, and in so doing provide a clear and impartial statement of the present situation. In inviting us to undertake a survey of Park, the Pairc Association hoped that a body of fact would be assembled and conclusions drawn which would assist the Association in their admirable aims of advancing the well-being of the area. Their two Progress Reports, of 1956 and 1957, indicate that they have already investigated many of the possibilities for development. This summary refers to Park alone, and, it must be emphasized that until the survey of crofting is completed, no final assessment of the Crofting Area as a whole can be made.

The district of Park is one of the more isolated and difficult crofting environments. The ruggedness of the terrain, the high proportion of land of very low agricultural value and sheer isolation make the existence of human communities precarious. In addition, many of the Park communities were first established as a result of population pressure in more favourable areas of Lewis, and the original small settlements grew rapidly as a result of a change in land use which was a national trend - the conversion of poorer areas from subsistence farming to an extensive sheep-rearing economy. The impact of this change came to Park in the form of the eviction of a large body of small farmers in favour of an extension of the grazing area. Thus the present conditions are a legacy of the relatively recent past, and of legislation, particularly in the Crofters' Act of 1886, which accepted, and tacitly agreed to the maintenance of a larger population than the land could reasonable carry[1]. Two World Wars and fluctuating economic factors have had repercussions in Park and resulted in a change in economic and social values, and depopulation has resulted: the 1951 population was 60 per cent of the 1911 total.

1. The Commissioners proposed that only holdings rented at £6 and over should have security of tenure, with a view to discouraging the perpetuation of grossly uneconomic holdings; in the Act, all holdings were given security of tenure.

TABLE XVIII

Occupational Structure of Park compared with other Crofting Districts

Males 15-64

Figures in brackets are percentages

	Park	Benbecula and South Uist	Barra	Waternish (Skye)	All Districts
Fulltime Croft work	71(18.0)	231(18.7)	44(6.6)	14(17.1)	360(15.1)
Croft work with regular employment	76(19.0)	197(15.9)	54(8.2)	7(8.6)	334(14.0)
Croft work with periodic employment	14(3.5)	117(9.4)	60(9.1)	17(20.7)	208(8.8)
Non-Crofting employment	29(7.0)	288(23.2)	90(13.6)	5(6.1)	412(17.4)
Unemployed, sick or occupation not known	20(5.5)	102(8.2)	38(5.8)	2(2.4)	164(6.9)
Total Resident Population	212(53.0)	935(75.4)	286(43.3)	45(54.9)	1478(62.2)
Seasonal employment furth of the district	62(15.5)	8(6.9)	21(3.2)	9(11.0)	177(7.4)
Permanent Employment furth of the district	125(31.5)	220(17.7)	353(53.5)	28(34.1)	726(30.6)
	399(100.0)	1240(100.0)	660(100.0)	82(100.0)	2381(100.0)

121 a wider applicability of my thesis. The evidence in support of
101 my assertion was collected on the culture history of the Isle of Skye, a part of the area known as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

101 Since I shall frequently speak of the Highlands and Islands in the following pages, we should have a precise definition of the
133 region (Figure 1). Geographically, the Highland boundary should be placed at the Great Highland Fault, a series of geological faults which extend across Scotland from the River Clyde to Stonehaven, south of Aberdeen. Politically and economically,
43 however, this line has receded to the north and west. Since 1883 it has been common in Scotland to equate the Highlands and Islands with the "Seven Crofting Counties," those counties in which the
241 predominate form of land use is the crofting system. Crofting may be defined as a system of hereditary tenure of a few acres of arable land combined with common tenure of hill grazings.
634 These counties are: Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty,
632 Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney, and Zetland. Out of the 163 parishes in these counties only 12 are considered non-crofting.[1]
161 In addition to this shared socio-economic pattern, the seven counties have experienced common economic-geographical influences, a century of accelerating population growth, followed by a century of persistent depopulation.

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[1] Adam Collier, The Crofting Problem: A Social and Economic Study (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953),
794 p. 11n. A parish in Scotland is an ecclesiastical district which until 1929 was also a civil unit with self-government in such local affairs as education, relief for the poor and infirm, and health. If the British county is thought of as analogous to an American state, the parish can be thought of as a county, but one devoid of any function.

132 50 inches. The rest of the Island normally receives about 60 inches a year. The yearly variation is usually only 10 percent on either side of average; rarely is it as much as 20 percent. In northwestern Trotternish, for example, for the period 1944-1947 the annual rainfall was 51.04, 60.80, and 46.72 inches, respectively.

The important factor is the detrimentally high effectiveness of the rain. Falling as a slow drizzle, the rate of evaporation is extremely low, because of the mildness of the climate and the prevailing cloudiness. Furthermore, the rain has an unfavorable distribution. A well-distributed rainfall would mean that the spring growing season was moist enough to promote growth and the autumn harvest season was dry enough to facilitate ripening and work in the fields. On Skye the wettest months are September
132 through January. The driest are March, April and May. The
241 difficulties of securing the harvest are aggravated by the constancy of the rain. The harvest season of 1953 was marred by
132 59 consecutive days of rain. One man who was acquainted with the experience of the American troops in the Aleutians, an equally wet archipelago, during the Second World War at length asked if the Americans had taken over Skye. Actually, the pattern has been characteristic over the years. Even for the driest part of Skye in one of the driest years, 1947, the plague of incessant rain was marked. Of the 46.72 inches, 19.3 fell in September, October, and November.

The Island, then, is humid and cloudy. Hours of sunlight are few, only around 25 percent of possible. In spring and

well recognized relation of culture and environment.[9]

The economic foundation for the present day culture is commonly referred to as "the crofting system," a system of hereditary tenure of individually held small patches of cultivated land combined with communal use of grazing land. On his small plot, typically under five and seldom over ten acres, the crofter grows a little oats and hay for his stock, a few potatoes for his family and dairy cattle, and, in some cases, a few garden vegetables. Anyone who is acquainted with the Irish small farmer will recognize the underlying similarity of the two systems.[10] The communal element in the crofting system on Skye, however, is a distinguishing feature. In addition to his croft, the individual has a common, concurrent right to a share in an extensive area of grazing land. Here he keeps a couple of cows and a score or two of sheep. After the harvest, the stock are frequently brought down from the hill and allowed to indiscriminately graze the arable land of the crofters who share the communal lands. Thus, the efficient economic unit is not the croft, the few acres of arable land, but rather a "township," a collection of crofts and the common grazing lands. The system differs from the runrig system which prevailed two centuries ago only by the holding of permanent, compact blocks rather than dispersed and shifting strips of arable land. It is a unique survival in Europe.

[9]See, for example, Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, p. 6.

[10]Cf. Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), pp. 5-7, 31-35.

The labor in this pastoral-agricultural economy is provided by the crofter's family, periodically aided by some or all of the families who share in the common grazing.[11] Under the direction of the father, the mother and children care for the crops and cattle. Heavy work, such as ploughing, reaping, and feeding the cattle in the winter, is left to the men. The women milk the cattle, help at the harvest by raking and stacking, and care for the garden. Although men never do any work in the house, in the absence of a son the wives and daughters are expected to fill in the gaps in man's work in addition to running the household. Inter-family cooperation centers on the handling of the sheep. Frequently, the families who share the common own the sheep collectively, as a "club stock," and share in the expenses and profits as well as the labor. The only basic pattern in the division of labor is that women never shear, and it is their responsibility to feed the group.

Formerly, the annual economic cycle was adjusted to the demands of crop cultivation and cattle breeding. Within the last hundred years, however, sheep have assumed commercial importance and now determine the seasonal tempo of labor. The old year ends and the new begins with the bringing in of the rams from the hill. In March the sheep are dipped and then the preparations are made for the lambing season, in April. From spring until autumn there is a rapid succession of duties: ploughing, planting, peat cutting, dipping and shearing the sheep, stock sales, harvesting, and similar tasks. After the

[11]Cf. Ibid., pp. 63-64, 70-74.

of the tacksmen. Here was the essence of the clan system, t
common tie of territory and kinship. The land was not the m
means of subsistence, it was the ancestral home.

The clan was strongly patrilineal. The father of the
individual family stood to his children as the senior member
of the derbfine to his kinsmen, the tacksmen to his followe
and the chief to the body of the clan. The fundamental und
lying principle was mutual, reciprocal devotion. The system
was equalitarian. Although the chief was the landowner, and
the tacksmen received their land on lease, for which they ow
the chief the duties of service and a rent just as their
tenants owed the tacksmen, the land had no commercial value.
Rent was an ill defined and secondary consideration. The di
of the clan depended on the number of supporters, who could
be maintained on the land under the system of land use.

Economic Activities

The principles of land use and tenure on the Isle of S
up to the early years of the eighteenth century were similar
those prevailing all over Scotland.[59] The land was used unde
system of runrig agriculture. The word runrig appears to be
modification of the Gaelic roinn-ruith, a parallel or runnin
division. The bulk of the population, as tenants of the lan

[59]Henry Grey Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in th
Eighteenth Century (3rd ed.; London: Adam and Charles Black,
pp. 154-165; Malcolm Gray, "The Abolition of Runrig in the
of Scotland," The Economic History Review, Vol. V, No. 1 (1
pp. 46-57; and James E. Handley, Scottish Farming in the Ei
Century (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1953), pp. 34-73, 91

[Marivig] [Calbost]

000 In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Marivig's future, and that of other crofting townships, is not only one of adverse aspect, soil and weather conditions, and of distance from markets, but a problem of the population finding a stable and viable level where agricultural units are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain, and a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Gravir on the Minch coast of Park. It occupie a basin-like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is open to the sea on the east. The croft houses are scattered over a shelf 50 feet above sea-level round the sides of the hollow and along the valleys which enter the township to the north and south-west.

The cultivable soil, a mixture of peat and well-drained gravelly drift, is on the higher ground, although here the rock outcrops in many places. On land formerly cultivated, bracken is spreading rapidly and now covers a large proportion of the surface, although twenty to thirty years ago it was unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-lying central area. There are a few willows and rowans round the old buildings, probably planted as wind-breaks.

Calbost was originally a single farm but the township was formed about 1820. The pattern of the crofts differs from the usual shore-to-dyke alignment, as six crofts were allotted extra land in the valley which enters from the north, when a part of the common grazing was brought within the township dyke. There are now fourteen crofts of which four are worked by resident crofters and two by squatters. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters in Calbost and other townships.

Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2.6 acres now in cultivation, potatoes account for 2.37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduced cattle stock of only two cows ar two calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut as winter feed for the 225 sheep which graz in the township.

The lazy-beds in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly encroached on by bracken. The prevalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to clear it, is likely to deter any attempt at renewed cultivation.

Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats have to be taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing industry whi has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Calbost, leaving only a few boats now used only for leisure purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only two of the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are a fe productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not so widely us in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosures were made adjoining the mair dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

241 182 [434] [464] An examination of the agricultural situation reveals that there are insufficient resources to make the present number of crofts viable. Overstocking in sheep, an attempt to increase cash income, has resulted in a high mortality rate, and consequent losses. The tenant of a small croft is faced with a classic dilemma. If he puts all his efforts into the working of the croft, the area of potential arable land is insufficient to maintain a large stock and even if the best rules of husbandry were operated, croft income alone would be insufficient to provide a reasonable living. The fishing industry, formerly the chief means of a livelihood rather than the croft itself, has virtually disappeared, and he is forced to find ancillary employment in an area where little exists and thus migration in search of employment is the only solution. The croft becomes a base for non-agricultural activity and a means of providing produce for home consumption rather than an effective agricultural unit. On the larger crofts, it is clearly possible to make a living if sufficient additional grazing in the non-crofting area is available - the agricultural townships, especially Seaforthhead, Shieldernish, Habost and Kershader, which comprise units sufficiently large and fertile, bear out this contention. Yet better husbandry is possible, and reclamation of the common grazings for improved stock rearing has started. The agricultural townships as a whole are better favoured by situation, soils and communications, and appear to possess a much greater degree of stability.

288 484 463 Since the decline of the fishing industry, the fishing townships have progressively declined. Income from weaving has replaced earnings from fishing as a means of combining croft work and ancillary employment to provide a living, but, as has been pointed out, the supply of weaving contracts is not regular and greatly depends on the state of the world market. The present centralisation of the Harris Tweed Industry in Stornoway is not favourable to the Park weavers: the suggestion by the Park Association[1] that a spinning mill be set up in Park would certainly help the local weavers.

464 [166] [167] [162] If the present number of agricultural units and level of husbandry on them is to be maintained, ancillary employment on a large scale will continue to be necessary, and, as weaving and the service occupations alone certainly cannot provide it in sufficient quantity, temporary and regular employment furth of Park is bound to continue, and as this grades into permanent migration, the population must continue to decline and age. The capacity of the area for tourism is also limited. With the overheads which branches of parent lowland factories would have to face, the establishment of manufacturing or assembling employment is also unlikely.

228 A revival of the fishing industry holds out most hope but must take place before all the accrued skill has disappeared with the older generation of fishermen. The fishing grounds are within reach of the modern £20,000 boat: by co-operation between crews, fish could be taken to mainland markets such as Ullapool as indeed happens at present. Lobster fishing could be integrated with herring and white fishing. Such a combination of several types of fishing would ensure a more balanced economy and the Herring Subsidy would be a guaranteed element of income. It must be agreed that if mainland boats do come to the coast and sea lochs of Park, there seems little reason why local boats could not also be successful.

000 As far as the land is concerned, the survey leaves no doubt that improvements in husbandry and pastures are definitely possible. Yet, until viable agricultural units have been created, there is little incentive for large scale improvement in either sphere. It is an expert's opinion that no crofter working on a croft in Park which would bring in £300 a year would have time to engage in ancillary work and at the same time fully work his holding in accordance with the rules of good husbandry. If this opinion is accepted, and if it is also accepted that such crofts are desirable and the present successful crofts in the agricultural townships where there is a higher proportion of full-time crofters than elsewhere would bear this out, it follows that ancillary employment on such units would have to be ruled out.

1. Park Association Annual Report, 1956.

000 The reduction of the present number of agricultural units then becomes desirable. There are two ways in which this could come about; firstly by continued depopulation, but amalgamations con sequent on such an uncontrolled run-down of the community would lead to scattered holdings; such is the experience of other depopulated crofting districts. The second point to be made is that if overall planning were possible, it would be desirable for holdings to be amalgamated as they becor vacant as a satisfactory rearrangement of the townships would then follow.

Concurrent with such a policy would be the aim to create distinct crofting and non-crofting groups. Employment for the non-crofting section of the community, be it fishing or weaving, wou first have to be assured. As has already been stated, fishing would appear to offer the best prosp while tourism could play a minor role in providing an opportunity for the enterprising crofters' wife or non-crofting household. One problem above all remains, the maintenance of an overall viable population. A certain minimum level of population is essential to maintain the operation of local transport, post office, educational and medical services. Such considerations suggest that further research is necessary to assess the optimum number and structure of population which a district such as Park could reasonably support. In the same way, a detailed examination by an agricultural expert is desirable, in order to assess the number of economic holdings which could be supported on the land of each township.

In conclusion, it is clear that, short of unexpected industrial employment becoming available Park and unless major reorganisation of the present agricultural units and communities is carrie out, the present population trends must continue. However, if such radical changes cannot be contemplated, then considerable improvements in the standard of husbandry, the re-seeding of croft out-runs and common pastures, and the fencing and general improvements of the crofts are possible and will increase agricultural productivity. Until there are some radical changes, the present pattern of the most enterprising members of the community engaging in ancillary employr which takes them furth of the district, and the serious degree of permanent migration to Stornow and the Scottish Lowlands, will be maintained and increased.

APPENDIX A

PARK IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER CROFTING DISTRICTS.

462 464 241 Table XVIII gives an analysis of the occupational structure of the male population of insurable age in four crofting districts studied by the Crofting Survey. In all four areas, a considerable proportion of the insurable population is not resident in the crofting area for more than an annual holiday period. This proportion varies in relation to two main factors - the viability of the crofts and the availability of ancillary employment within the district. South Uist and Benbecula stand out as the districts where such permanent absences are least marked: the crofts in these islands larger and more employment is available. In Barra, there are few large agricultural units and, in Park, the decline of the fishing industry has led to economic disaster in many townships. Few than half of the men in this age group are fully resident in Barra. Park is in many respects comparable to Waternish (Skye) for both districts are isolated and have experienced serious depopulation. (see Table XIX).

It is a significant fact that in none of these districts are more than 20 per cent of the male population solely engaged in full-time croft work, and this is a measure of the inability of the croft to support a family without ancillary earnings. The amount of permanent employment available varies from district to district; in South Uist and Barra there are minor service centres which ar urban in character and 23.2 per cent and 13.6 per cent of the respective insurable males are engaged in non-crofting employment on these islands.

[166] [167] It is clear that the occupational structure of these four crofting areas is far from stable for ov one-third of the potential labour force is away for all or part of the year. It is also clear that basically the absence of sufficient natural resources, coupled with the varying degrees of isolatio from the industrial centres of Scotland, are the root causes of the present position.

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TABLE XX

	Sedgwick	Dickinson	Bakes	Earlsheder	Gaynard	Carrera	Crosses	Fairfax	Caldwell	Grayer	Glenville	Lessing	Orlinay	Tennship Totals
MALES														
RESIDENT														
0 – 4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5 – 14	1	5	1	2	5	1	7	2	1	2	1	7	2	21
15 – 44	1	5	7	6	4	4	11	6	1	11	7	16	7	98
45 – 64	1	1	5	5	12	2	14	12	5	13	5	13	5	72
65 and over	1	1	6	9	2	2	13	17	2	8	1	8	2	71
15–64														
Fulltime work week	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
Craft and regular employment	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
Craft and periodic employment	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	5	1	20
Farmerfishing	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	20
PERMANENTLY AWAY														
Students	1	1	2	1	1	1	6	1	1	2	1	1	1	10
Military Service	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	9
Others 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	1	1	1	36
Others 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	26
TEMPORARILY AWAY 15–64														
Weekend Navy 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14	5	11	1	25
Weekend Navy 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2
Professional 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
Professional 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Others 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Others 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
SUPERIMPOSED 15–64														
Emigration	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	151
Immigration	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
FEMALES														
RESIDENT														
0 – 4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	24
5 – 14	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	66
15 – 44	1	1	1	9	7	5	12	15	1	15	5	6	4	96
45 – 64	1	1	1	10	16	5	15	13	1	36	4	11	7	152
65 and over	1	1	1	5	9	1	11	11	1	7	1	17	4	99
In employment (15 – 64)	1	1	1	5	6	1	4	4	1	7	1	2	1	100
PERMANENTLY AWAY 15–64														
Students	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	41
Others 15 – 44	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
Others 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Nursing 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nursing 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
Professional 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Professional 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	25
Domestic Service 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9
Domestic Service 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
Others 15 – 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
Others 45 – 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
SUPERIMPOSED 15–64														
Emigration	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	258
Immigration	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7

/facing p. 40/

[Cromore] [Marivig]

butchers' vans call on Wednesday and Friday and a fish van once or twice during the week. Goods are also conveyed by the daily bus. Electricity was brought to the village about four years ago and the inhabitants now look forward to a supply of piped water in about two years' time. At present only three or four houses have bathrooms.

The crofts, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a satisfactory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It seems that the recent subsidies for fishing are good enough to attract fishermen from Cromore and one or two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were longer. Weaving has brought prosperity but, as the Park Association states in its Second Progress Report "there is not sufficient weaving available for the present number of weavers". The proposal to establish a spinning and processing plant in the Park District made in the 1957 Report, would undoubtedly be of great value to the people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants suggested that a hotel built on Crobeg Farm would bring some benefit to the community. However, even if these three increased sources of income became effective, one wonders whether they would be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Stornoway.

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B. A.

Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triangular sea loch opening to the north-east and sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, making the loch an ideal anchorage and harbour.

The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slopes more gradually and irregularly, with frequent precipitous rock outcrops, for two hundred to five hundred yards to rise steeply to a line of low hills, two hundred and fifty feet to three hundred feet high, surrounding the loch. All crofts thus have an easterly or north-easterly aspect, not particularly favourable for agriculture, and only one has any appreciable area of level land uninterrupted by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin, and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely dispersed.

The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common grazing, are mainly covered with heather, moor grass or sphagnum bog, while the lower areas within the township are grassy, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not yet a problem, and only small areas exist, mainly on the lower slopes of the western side of the loch. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant and worked by another crofter, and one worked from a house on the common. With the exception of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in radial fashion (Fig. 4). The size of the crofts varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and few now cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses being on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' system. Owing to the rocky nature of the terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two yards wide. Potatoes and oats are grown in rotation, and hay taken from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters sow grass for hay or undersow their crops. Dung and seaweed are used as fertilisers, with potato fertiliser as the most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce, carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

Man hours, twelve men using the *caschrom* were able to turn one acre in a day, roughly the equivalent of the work of one plough team. A man working alone could plough enough land in a day to sow a peck of oats or half a peck of barley. The yields from land prepared with the caschrom were about 16:1 for barley and 5:1 for oats compared to 12:1 and 3:1, respectively, on ploughed land.

While cooperation was an accessory when using the *caschrom*, the heavy four-horse plough required cooperative effort. The operation took four men, each of whom supplied a horse. One man held the plough; another led the horses; a third went ahead to remove thistles and stubborn weeds, and a fourth followed after to lay down the clods of earth. Frequently, a *raskan*, or clod breaker, a rake-like implement with six stout wooden teeth had to be used to break heavy clumps.[62] On heavily overgrown land a small rigtle plough, a light machine with a sickle-shaped coulter, had to be used before the soil would yield to either the plough or the *caschrom*. After ploughing, the land was harrowed with a wooden implement with two rows of wooden teeth and a heather brush. The harrow was drawn by a man harnessed with a horse hair rope or it was simply tied to a horse's tail.

To facilitate drainage the rigs were heaped up high in the center with soil from the ditches on either side and were ploughed lengthwise to allow natural seepage. The result was that the lower edges were soured by stagnate water while the crown was leached and often excessively dry during the early growing

[62] James MacDonald, General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides (Edinburgh: Sillvester Doig and Andrew Stirling, 1811), p. 151-157.

175 241 season.[63]

After ploughing, the infield was covered with sea weed. Some used old house thatch, mixed with dung, but there was a belief among the Skye folk that grain from on thatch caused jaundice if made into griddle cakes. The outfield received no manure. After three years's use, it was left fallow for seven years. Oats were sown in April or May and barley in early June, using the worst of last year's crop for seed. A rotation of barley, oats and oats was general; oats sown on newly ploughed land were believed to cause internal disorders in those who ate cakes or crank ale made from them.

The rigs were left untouched from sowing to harvest. There was too much else to occupy a man's time. Until 1650, and no doubt later, cattle forays and interclan wars kept them busy. The peat for the household for the following winter had to be cut. The cattle were moved to the higher grazings and shepherded. Droves of cattle were taken to the southern markets. Fishing took a great deal of the man's time. Seeds, regarded as a consequence of Adam's fall, were not only untouched but pains were taken to leave them standing at the harvest. Except for a few earthen dykes, there were no enclosures. Animal depredations were common. One remedy practiced on Skye was to bring the depredating cattle to the limit of the field and draw blood from each of them.

The harvest was late, normally in September and October on the few dry days. Oats were cut by men using a sickle.

[63] Cf., e.g., Hamilton, op. cit., p. 57.

175 241 Barley was pulled by the roots. The oats were either stored in a byre or built up in a stack near the house to be used as needed. The process of dressing was known as *gladden*. A woman took a handful of stalks and set fire to it. As the husks burned, she beat the grain with a flail, a stick or bunch of heather. Using *gladden*, it was possible to dress, winnow, grind, and bake the oats into cakes within an hour. Kilns came into use in the late seventeenth century, but kiln dried grain was considered inferior to grain prepared by *gladden*. A few water mills had also been built at the close of the century, but they were also unpopular. The barley was stripped from the stalks, which were used for house thatch, and ground in a stone mortar for griddle cakes or, later, for whiskey. The rye, like much of the Oats, was used as porridge.

175 241 **Stock and Its Improvements.** The Skyeman, in contrast to the 231 233 Lowlander, was primarily a pastoralist. The stock included a small, hardy, shaggy breed of cattle well adapted to the rough terrain and excessively wet and windy climate, a small, narrow framed sheep of limited value for meat or wool, ponies, goats, and pigs. The importance of the cattle may be judged from the valuation of the farms. Although the Horse system of land measure had replaced the pre-Feudal Scottish measure known as a *davach*, the amount of land required to support ten head of cattle, with a monetary measure of merk lands, which were divided into penny lands and smaller units based on

[64] John Cameron, op. cit., pp. 170-171.

to the health of the potato and their own fertility.[40] Many men turned to fishing, on a part-time basis, but once again the initial success was short-lived. Others supplemented their diminishing incomes from the croft by seasonal employment in the Lowlands. Crofting had ceased to be a subsistence economy; the people had lost their self-sufficiency. Nor were they ever again able to escape from a dependence on some form of supplementary income to provide the bare essentials of life. The difference between conditions then and now is that the pressure of the population on the means of subsistence increased until it approached a Malthusian ceiling.

175 178 241 427 233 241 In the thirties epidemic and famine began to take their toll. Destitution became widespread and there was no system of relief beyond the moral obligation of the proprietors to provide grain. The marriage rate fell. In Kilmuir the average annual number of marriages fell from twenty-one to six. Subdivision was forbidden, but it was too late. In two districts of Kilmuir there were 190 lots, crofts, and farms to support 421 families in 1840. In all of Skye, after the emigration of at least 1500 people, there were 1900 crofters and 1531 cottars. Despite the fact that oats had become as big a luxury as meat and the fact that many were living on potatoes and fish, the population continued to increase. By 1841 it reached 23,074. Finally, the economic structure collapsed.

175 178 241 427 233 241 427 233 241 In the autumn of 1846 there were no potatoes. A blight destroyed the entire crop. Although the famine was universal

[40] For details concerning the plight of the crofters at this time, see MMI, pp. 218-260.

175 178 427 233 166 167 425 162 166 quarters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families had enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[62] In one Glendale township, Holmisdale, some crofts of four to acres had as many as fifteen people to support.[63] Part of this extreme congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing one's croft when a child married. Although the population in 1831 had fallen to 17,660, from 23,034 in 1841, almost every township had two or three times the number of families which had lived in them in 1841.[64]

175 178 427 233 241 The loss of the summer shielings and the common grazings meant few could keep sheep.[65] The looms were silent. Since the rent continued to be based on the value of livestock and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all oats, which the graziers' sheep did not eat, went to feed the cattle. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to have been newcomers with more associations with the graziers than the crofters and cottars. Milk became a precious commodity. Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unable to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They carried

[62] Ibid., p. 112.

[63] Alexander MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 419-420.

[64] Smith, op. cit., p. 317; Cummings, op. cit., p. 140; and Napier Report, p. 17.

[65] The following is drawn from the evidence presented to the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of Skye; see Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82.

175 178 427 233 241 241 the dung from the byre, the peats from the moor, and the oats from the fields. When the land had been turned by *caschrom*, they yoked themselves to a harrow. The crofters, in Kilmuir, as elsewhere, lost the right to the rivers for fish, to the moors for game, and to the coast for sea weed. The land became exhausted from over tillage. They had clung tenaciously to the old methods. Even if they could have obtained credit and could have broken with the ways of their forefathers, the fear of rackrenting would have deterred them.

175 178 233 241 341 A degree of preciseness can be given to this general picture by comparing the arable acreage and stocking of Skye in 1810, the year graziers first appeared, and 1870. In 1810, 30,000 acres were listed as arable, either cultivated or susceptible to it; there were 18,000 cattle and 40,000 sheep.[66] By 1870 no more than 8,383 acres were considered as arable; there were only 9,341 cattle, but there were 136,077 sheep. The magnitude of this change can be emphasized by adding the fact that there were less than 14,000 sheep on the Island at the turn of the century.[67]

175 178 584 241 163 The end of the shieling life brought an end to the traditional season for courting. Destitution forced a postponement of marriage and an absolute reduction in the number of marriages. As a natural consequence the birth rate declined. In the decade 1861-1870 the birth rate of Skye stood at 26.1 compared with 34.9 for Scotland.

[66] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 748, 754.

[67] Ibid., II, 553; III, 247; IV, 131; XVI, 148, 225, 537; XVIII, 164.

175 178 427 233 166 167 425 162 166 241 241 241 341 wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.

These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now was a spare-time pursuit. The *Sgiathanach* was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any marked movement into the village by the crofters.

175 178 427 233 166 167 425 162 166 241 241 241 341 While much of what was meaningful to the people was being lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the "Men" became an official policy of a new church. The emotional approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium.

Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

sanction and endowed with privileges and immunities by which self-regulation, stability, expansion, and improvement might be attained. Additional provisions called for the replacement of the repudiated customary usages by national laws of land tenure.

The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 embodied many of the Commission's proposals. The crofter became, perhaps, the only class, as a horizontal segment of the population, within a minimal legal definition. He was a pastoral agriculturalist who resided on his holding, the annual rent of which was less than £30, (Later raised to £50) in a crofting parish. Such an individual was entitled to a fixed, fair rent, just compensation for improvements made by himself or his predecessors in the same family should he leave his holding, security of tenure, and modified right to bequeath the holding to a member of his family. Except for the statutory conditions that he must not alienate the holding from his family, sublet without consent, or violate the rights of his neighbors or his landlord, including withholding rent and contributing to the deterioration of the land and dwelling, the crofter was given all the privileges of a landowner with few of the responsibilities. A Crofters Commission, with executive functions, was established to carry out the provisions of the act and to assign "available" land to the townships as

[80] I owe a debt of gratitude to innumerable government officials in Portree, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London for their patience and cooperation in providing me with the necessary information to discuss this final period of the history of Skye. The facts are theirs; the interpretation is my own responsibility.

enlargements when the proprietor would not lease it on reasonable terms. Thus, the government began to protect the crofter from potential abuse and to restore the land to the descendants of the clansa, who had, to say the least, manifested a persistent disinclination to accept any other system of land use. A complete reformation, however, was not yet possible.

The crux of the problem of maintaining the crofting population was succinctly stated in 1851 by the chairman of the Highland Destitution Board. The people could not support themselves, at a subsistence level, unless each crofting family were given ten acres of arable land plus pasture. Not only was there not enough land, but without credit facilities, a man could not find local employment until the land began to produce, and, if he sought employment at a distance, he could not work his land to free himself from the necessity of working for a wage. In 1883 it was estimated that a 50 percent reduction in population would not leave enough land to give each family an adequate holding, ten acres of arable and 277 acres of grazing land.[81] How right they were. Today the population is less than half that of 1883, and still very few have what was considered an adequate holding a hundred years ago. Let us see what measures the government took in the attempt to solve this problem.

At first the land reorganization program was thwarted by a lack of available land and by the continued tendency of

[81] Napier Report, pp. 100-101.

the people to overstock. No land could be assigned as an enlargement if it would impair the value of a sheep farm or deer forest. The remainder of the island was already possessed by crofters. Moreover, there was no one to regulate the use of the common grazings. As the Crofters Commission usurped the functions of the landlord, estate management became lax. The township constable had disappeared. The cotters, 36 percent of the population, had been omitted from the provisions of the Crofters Act. Later when the government provided for a grazing committee to draft voluntary regulations for sharing the common grazing and, finally, coerced the crofters to elect a grazing committee, the regulations could not be enforced, except by appealing to the sheriff.

At length another commission of inquiry visited the Highlands to decide how the resettlement program might be extended. Then, in 1897, the Congested Districts Board was created. The Board was given power to purchase land for enlargements and for creating new holdings, to resettle crofters and cotters from congested districts, to foster the development of stock breeding, agriculture, fishing, and home industries, and to improve communications. It was not intended that the government should become a landlord. The crofters, like the Irish small farmers, were supposed to have acquired a desire to own their own land. In 1904 the estates of Glendale, the present twelve townships, and Kilmuir, the whole parish and part of the parish of Snizort, were purchased. On the Kilmuir Estate there were 450 crofts in 35 townships and 10 large farms.

heavy rackrenting in the past had led to dissatisfaction and arrears in rent, the crofters' weapon against the landlord. The rents were revised and most of the arrears were cancelled. All the farms but one were subdivided to form 79 new holdings in 7 reorganized townships and to make enlargements to the other townships. The Glendale estate received similar treatment, being made over into 147 crofts in 12 townships plus a jointly held club farm. Both estates were sold to the crofters on a fifty year annuity basis. Then came a rude awakening. Within ten years the crofters found ownership to be a dubious privilege, especially since it excluded them from the benefits of legislation favoring the small tenant. The Kilmuir crofters were released from the contract, but the government refused to accept the petition of the Glendale people, who still are not pleased with their rather unique position. Private ownership of the land might be said to be as alien to their heritage as village settlements.

Land settlement continued, with the introduction of certain refinements, the most important of which was the power to use compulsion to acquire land for crofting in the national interest. Today over half the Island is owned by the national government and administered by the Department of Agriculture. The tendency in recent years has been to create more adequate holdings. On the Kilmuir estate the number of crofts has been reduced from 530 to 442. The process of resettlement, or de-commercialization, has been carried further on Skye than in any other Highland area.[82] It has also included the only major

[82] Cf., e.g., Collier, op. cit., pp. 90-113; and Hance, op. cit., pp. 61-62, 64-65.

migration scheme to be attempted. In 1923 sixty-eight families from the Isle of Harris, in the Outer Hebrides, were brought over to Skye and settled in Braeadale. Probably, close to 300 new holdings and in the neighborhood of 200 enlargements have been made since 1897. This clearly reflects the limited space available for crofting at the end of the "Clearances."

In addition to land settlement, the government has continued to stimulate improvements in stock breeding techniques and to foster more efficient land utilization. Credit facilities, grant and loan, were offered to enable the crofters to purchase stock, especially sheep, and to build new cottages. Grants and subsidies, in an ever increasing number, have been made available to promote a fuller use of the land. Initially, under the Congested Districts Board, these facilities were devised specifically for the Highlands. By the time the Congested Districts Board was abolished, the crofters had become officially integrated with the national agricultural scene so that specific subsidies, grants, and loans were replaced with an opportunity to apply for assistance within the national program of agricultural development. Instruction in scientific methods of agriculture has been another continuing function of the government through a series of advisory services and, more recently, by a program of demonstration crofts and farms. Access to markets has similarly been facilitated by improving communications by land and, to a lesser extent, by sea.

Security and protection for the crofters has been another unfailing interest of the government. Again, with official integration, the scope of legislation has been extended to

include all small tenants in Scotland. The landlords have lost their right to evict a crofter for breach of conditions. Since 1911 only the Land Court, which replaced the Crofters Commission, can remove a tenant who is guilty of bad husbandry. Moreover, such action can only be taken after the general circumstances of the crofter and his need of the croft for a home have been considered. To date, no Highland crofter has been removed. In fact, security of tenure has been carried to the extreme that the individual no longer has to reside in Scotland much less on his croft. Although this change is now regarded as inadvertent, the courts have ruled in favor of the small tenant. The only remaining functions of the landlord in estate management are to collect his rents and pay compensation should a tenant desire to leave. Both the rents and the compensation are determined by the Land Court.

Accompanying the integration of the Island with the national scene, politically and economically, were extensions of social services. Prior to 1872 education was the responsibility of the church, charitable agencies, and, especially in the Highlands, the local proprietors and their financially secure tenantry.[83] Although the parish school system was national, the administration of each parochial school was local. The ideal of a school in each parish was neither adequate nor easily obtainable. The result was a few regularly taught schools.[84]

[83] POSA, XVI, 154-157, 226, 539; XVIII, 188; XXI, 430.

[84] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 771-774.

Summary: The Cultural Trends

During the Fourth period, in which the crofter re-emerged as the characteristic feature in the social and economic aspects of the culture, all the influences necessary for a readaptation to the wider socio-cultural level of organization were functioning for the Gaidhtanach.[92] These influences were the presence of potential exports, access to markets, credit facilities, and a gradually improved technology. Several of these go far back in the local history. Cattle were being exported in the sixteenth century, being received by the clan chief and his tacksmen as partial payment for rent. Access to markets was available by the droving trade, but the subsistence economy precluded dependence on imports. Credit in the form of loans to the clan chiefs, on security of the clan territory, could be obtained, but it was directed to the support of the dignity of the clan rather than to agricultural improvements. At the close of the first period of the modern era sheep became commercially important. By the third period men with capital and the incentive to adopt new techniques were replacing the indigent tenantry. Communications had been improved. Access to markets by road, rail and steamship replaced the old drove roads, which would not serve for sheep. It was not until the government stepped in to halt the process of commercialization of the land, however, that the Gaidhtanach was given an opportunity to directly benefit

[92] I am indebted to Julian Steward for the point of view which follows. Those who are familiar with his conclusions on cross-cultural regularities will discover many correlations between the cultural trends on Skye and those described for Puerto Rico.

CHAPTER V

THE ISLANDERS' ECONOMY

241 427 The basis of the local economy, in terms of the contribution of the Sgiathanach to the national economy and the number who depend on the land for all or part of their livelihood, is the crofting system. We must, therefore, explore 241/427 the economic aspects of this cultural pattern in detail. As 427 171 a system of land use and tenure, crofting is an anachronistic survival in Western Europe. Elsewhere, the medieval agrarian systems have been repatterned along four principal lines.[1] In central and some parts of northern Europe peasant proprietorship became the characteristic feature. In southern Europe the métayer, a peasant who paid a rent plus a share of his crop, appeared. Northern Europe became an area of large farms. In England and Lowland Scotland tenant farmers received most of the land. There is only one survival of the 241/427 old open field village farm in England.[2] Despite individual efforts of Highland landlords to bring about at least a partial assimilation of the increasingly backward economic patterns with those of rural Britain, crofting has been perpetuated. Certainly, the legal enactment of 1886 helped to

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[1]Barnes, The History of Western Civilization, Vol. I, p.636.

[2]Lewis and Maude, The English Middle Classes, pp. 169-170.

throes of disintegration, but even more
sinclination of the people to accept any
Indeed, only the following three features
g distinguish the system from that charac-
days of the clan: (1) individual arable
, permanent plots rather than dispersed
ted strips, (2) the payment of a money rent
g services and a share in the produce to
) legal protection of the tenant from the
the proprietor or an intermediary.

The Croft

jority of Skye crofters rent a small
l improved grass land from a landlord or
riculture for Scotland. Although the
l rent, their rather unique form of
the Crofters' Act of 1886 and sub-
confers upon them almost all the rights
h few of the responsibilities. The
of tenure, the right to bequeath his
is family, and relative freedom in
ll be made of the croft. His nominal
ot been increased since the time of the
Even where the Land Court has revised
ot substantially higher than those set
ntury. If his rent is nominal, his taxes
cotland property tax is paid in equal
nd occupier. Thus, as an occupier, the

427 crofter pays only half of the assessment, which is based
651 rental value, and he is granted an additional benefit by
having the land devalued seven-eighths for purposes of ta
The majority pay £3 a year, or less, in rent, and, with a
rateable value of 5s, or less, between 1s and 2s in taxes
annually. Many pay no taxes.

427 On his small plot of land the crofter has his cotta
342 Here we find another rather unique interpretation of the
423 of land tenure. Although the crofter is an occupier of t
land, he is the owner of his dwelling. If he or one of h
ancestors did not build the house, frequently with a gran
and/or loan from the government, he will have paid "compe
sation" to his landlord for the dwelling upon accepting
occupancy. Should he, at any time, relinquish his right
the croft, the crofter, in turn, will be entitled to full
"compensation" for the value of the improvements on the h
as determined by the Land Court. The crofter's home is n
entered on the county valuation roll and, therefore, is n
subject to assessment.

427 In addition to the land under crops and improved gr
241 the crofter's rent entitles him to a share in the unimpro
233 township grazing lands which are held in common and used
[623] a system of allocation known as "souming." In each towns
[624] the collection of individual holdings, the crofters elect
grazing clerk and committee. They determine the number o
cattle, sheep, and horses the individual is allowed to pu
to graze. Usually each crofter has an equal share, but

*175 been more or less autonomous and self-sufficient. Significantly,
[103] the names of these farms, as most place names for lochs and headlands, are Norse.[60]

*175 Crops and Their Care. The crops of Skye were essentially
24 those introduced during the Neolithic.[61] The staples were oats and barley. The local varieties were unproductive in comparison to the varieties common in the Lowlands, but they were regarded as better against the wind and rain than the more productive grains. A little flax and hemp was grown, but not enough for local needs. Only the chiefs and a few tacksmen had kitchen gardens; most of the people grew no vegetables.

Although cultivation was of secondary importance, it was basic to the economy. The land was prepared by a large and cumbersome four-horse plough or a small foot plough. The foot plough, called the caschrom (literally the crooked foot), was the most common implement on Skye. To a naturally curved oak or ash shaft, a long, flat coulter with an iron shoe was fastened with iron rings. At the junction of the head and the shaft a wooden peg was inserted for the foot. Although it was slow and laborious in use, the caschrom enabled the user to get better yields from his rigs than by ploughing. For many it was the only means of tilling the soil, unless a tacksman ploughed the small, rocky strip for his tenant. In terms of

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[60] Henderson, op. cit., pp. 131-133.

[61] The following description, unless otherwise documented, is drawn from the following sources: Martin, op. cit., pp.190-250; Mitchell, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 182-183, 220-221; and Ronald MacDonald, "The Isle of Skye in 1764, as Described by John Walker," TGSI, Vol. XXVIII (1918), pp. 101-130.

ng clan chief (or Lowland aristocrat) or subtenants of the 175x
holders, was clustered into hamlet-like farming settlements 241
xploit the arable, pasture, and grazing lands by individual 427
cooperative effort. The land suitable for cultivation was 427
ed into infield and outfield. Since Ireland and Wales
nued to use shifting arable, and England adopted permanent
e in the Middle Ages, the practice of dividing the land
two separate allotments must have been introduced by the
. Norway continues to use infield and outfield to the
nt day.

The infield, about one third of the arable land, was
d continuously with the aid of manure. The outfield was
d until exhausted and then left fallow while a new piece
rought into cultivation. Both were split into "rigs,"
ular strips about twenty feet wide and several hundred
long, separated by "balks," any uncultivated patch. Each
ad at least three rigs for his use. Annually, all ex-
ed at least one rig with the other holders by ballot.
all of the land was not of equal value, this periodic
tribution gave each man an opportunity to have the use
e best soil every three years. The use of the pasture
razing lands was regulated by a system of common rights.
tock of each individual was proportionate to his share
e arable land. When arbitration was needed to decide
ions of allotment, grazing rights, or rent, a "birley
," composed of the share-holders and their elected
able, was held. Economically, each farm appears to have 175*

from these influences. Now the government provided the capital, by grant, subsidy, and loan, and the guidance necessary for a fuller utilization of the land. The crofters who had already seen their subsistence economy disappear became a part of the national system of commerce. What effect have these influences had on the culture? 175* 178* 184 241

Throughout the modern epoch there has been a tendency to increase the production of exports, first cattle and then sheep, at the expense of the traditional subsistence crops. Within ecological limits, the national markets have determined what the Sgiathanach might produce. Since the environment has made Skye a pastoral land and agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years, abandonment of a subsistence economy has meant dependence on stock breeding for export. Commercialization of the land and increasing dependence on imported food has resulted in a growth of the importance of money. The decline in household industries, caused by economic deterioration, has also played its part in the people's dependence on currency. As a measurement of values, however, the importance of money has declined since the period of the large sheep farms. The crofter's margin of profit is small, and his opportunities to earn a wage are limited. Economic differentiation no longer affects the traditional status values, except within the traditional polarity of landed gentry and tenant. 175* 178* 439 175* 178* 439 436 [554]

In a comparable way, the utilization of more efficient methods of production is less important now than it was during the period of the "Clearances." Techniques have improved for the majority in so far as labor saving devices are available, but the achieving of modern efficiency is precluded by the 175* 178* 427 241

*175 crofting system. Both the communal nature of the system and
*178 the smallness of the crofts deter improvement. Although the
427 government reversed the trend toward making the land an im-
24 portant source of wealth and individualization of the land, by
[84] replacing customary forms of tenure with national laws of tenure, and has tried to correct the disadvantages under which the crofter labors, if not always successfully, the Skye crofter has made only a partial adjustment to the larger,
[31] specialized national culture. In fact, the land is used less systematically than it was in the past, in the times of the
[31] shielings. The crofters have not only ceased trying to reclaim arable but also have allowed much of the arable to go back to grass.

*175 Ever since the closing years of the first period of
*178 the modern era, Skyemen have sought employment as a part of
464 the national labor force. During the third and fourth periods, they joined the landless labor force in the Lowlands. There is practically no local opportunity for a landless man to support a family. The majority must remain pastoral agriculturalists who depend on seasonal employment, or some other form of financial assistance, to augment their income.

*175 Improved communications and the ensuing development
*178 of commerce has brought a village to the island. It functions
361 as a market center and as the administrative center for the island. It has not served to bring the island together; it is still something alien to their heritage. Accompanying the growth of the village, there was local development in the

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There of turnips. All of the oats and a large share of the potatoes and turnips are sent to feed the cattle during the late winter and early spring. Some crofters, by no means all, have a small kitchen garden for cabbage, onions, and other vegetables. Usually, at least half the croft is left under grass, part of which is cut for hay. After all the people in the township have finished their harvest, on a day set by the grazing committee, the individual holdings in all but thirty of the townships are opened to communal use as winter grazings.[1] It might be added that the sheep and cattle often find the village of Portree a very lucrative pasture. It is not only the grass which entices the cows. More than one villager has had a tug-of-war with a cow bent on devouring clothes off the line. Another favorite food for the cattle is coal. As one man in the Braes said: "We burn half the coal the cows eat the rest."

The Value of the Croft

127 What does a croft mean to the Kintallanach? In terms of everyday economics, there can be no doubt that it means a few, probably no more than fifty families, the sale of cattle, sheep, and wool provides an income. The families are able to obtain the necessities of life and enjoy a comparatively high standard of living. Without the croft, they would not begin to support a relatively comfortable existence.

[1] F. Fraser Darling, C. S. Hayes, and Averil Worley, "The Agricultural Situation," Sgo Mhail Gaelic Survey, F. T. Leitig R.A., (Mimeographed, Sgoilt, Part 1, 1954), 10.

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Morously determines the "economic," the number of stock which each tenant is entitled to carry on the commons.

127 The small croft has less than ten acres of arable and improved grass land. The average "economic" is ten cows and followers (heifer or bulloch calves) and usually ten to twenty sheep. Approximately 2000 of the crofts fall into this classification. The medium croft, representing about 250 landholding subjects, has between ten and twenty acres of land fit for crop cultivation and improved grass. The typical "economic" is ten to seven cows and followers, forty or fifty sheep, and occasionally, a horse. We might recall that the sheep may be either a club stock or a private flock. The large croft consists of almost 100 arable acres and is much more important in the predominately pastoral economy, an independent, self-contained grazing of 200 to well over 2000 acres. These diminutive crofters easily carry ten or more cows and followers and several hundred sheep.

127 For those who prefer to think in terms of area rather than stock, the relative magnitude of these self-contained holdings may be stressed by adding the fact that only thirty townships on Skye have more than 200 acres of common grazing. There are, for example, Linicro with 729 acres of grazing in 29 shares, Tuscaport with 500 acres in 12 shares, and Bornaskitaig with 273 acres in 47 shares. Over half the townships have less than 100 acres of grazing land.[2]

[2] Ibid., Table 1.

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The Income of a Small Croft. The small croft is regarded by local agricultural experts as having a potential income of £50 a year. In addition, it provides a house, potatoes, some vegetables, milk, eggs, and the right to cut peat. Even if not quite legal until June, 1954, it frequently supplies mutton and, less often, beef for the family. The budget for this type of holding in sample reveals that even when fully stocked and the ground tilled, the income may be negligible. Let us look at the cash income and net profit for 1952 and 1953.

In 1952 the cash income for the croft was £8 11s. 11d. The net profit, which takes into account depreciation and stock valuation after sales was £4 1s. 11d. In 1953 the cash income was £12 8s. 9d., and the net profit was £7 5s.. These figures include money from the sale of stock, government subsidies and grants, and home grown produce eaten by the family. Unfortunately, I do not know the number of hours which were spent earning this meager return. The crofter's wife said about 300 hours of her labor. To this we must add seasonal cooperative labor.

This particular croft is rented by a middle-aged married couple and a spinster sister of the wife. The man works full time as town driver, leaving most of the work on the croft to his wife. The stock is two cows and followers and sixteen to eighteen sheep. There are six acres of arable land, half of it under hay and grass. The remainder is planted in oats, potatoes, and turnips. The budget may not be typical. For

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those thing, an attempt is being made to build up the value of the sheep and cattle stock. Then too it is hard to obtain information on personal income. Not a few Highlanders are reluctant to share in the cost of maintaining the government and, consequently, equally reluctant to discuss their income. Still, it does give some indication of the potential income for 80 percent of the Skye crofters. It should not be forgotten that a large proportion of the small crofters will have absolutely no income from the land.

The Income of a Medium Croft. The medium croft, according to experts, has a potential income of £150 to £200 a year. Like the small croft, it provides a home, potatoes, vegetables, milk, eggs, meat, and peat. The budgets for one croft of this classification for 1952 and 1953 show a cash income of £201 17s 2d. and £170 15s. 11d., and a net profit of £169 12s. 1d. and £164 11d. The marked fall in net profit is accounted for by a decrease in the value of stock and, increased expenses, and the sale of fewer and younger stock, which also affected the cash income. The total hours devoted to crofting are estimated at 600 to 800 hours.

This croft supports a family, a married couple and their children, supplemented by seasonal ancillary employment on the part of the father. As presently stocked and stocked, it could not be left in a season with any expectation of the same return. The stocking is two cows and followers and fifty sheep. There are 16½ acres of cultivated land, all but a quarter under grass.

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This budget is nearer the estimate of the local Department of Agriculture officers and may be repeated as typical. It also reveals that crofting is not a dependable livelihood. By budget for the large croft emaiffests the pitfalls in crofting by an even more striking contrast between the two years.

The Income of a Large Croft. The large croft is said to have a potential income of £600 or more each year. The holder will be a full-time pastoral-agriculturalist. In reality, as mentioned earlier, the large crofter is a small farmer and often has more land than some Skye Farmers. His income cannot be regarded as providing a home, even though his rent and taxes will be extremely low compared to the farmer's. For does it normally, if ever, provide peat for fuel. The peat is there, of course, but the crofter does not have time to dig it. Indeed, if he were to take the time or hire someone to do the digging for him, the cost of peat, in terms of man hours expended for it, would make it uneconomical, especially since it has only a quarter the calorie value of coal which he can and does buy for less. Like the smaller subjects, the large croft provides vegetables, meat, milk, and eggs for the table. The sample budgets which I obtained for a large croft show a cash income of £536 11s.5d. for 1952 and £602 7s.1d. for 1953. The difference is explained in part by increased sales of stock and in part by increased government subsidies. The net profit for the two years tells a far different story. In 1952 it was £229 6s.5d., but in

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1953 it was only £13 2s.3d. This marked fall was due to the loss of sixty-nine sheep and one head of cattle, the effects of which would not be felt until the following year.

This croft is inhabited by a married couple, and the husband's father and younger brother. It requires the full attention of both brothers and, occasionally, hired labor, in particular in the spring when the sheep demand a great deal of attention. The income in 1953, its may be noted, was considerably more than most Scottish tradesmen and not far below that of a university lecturer. The stock average between five and ten cows with followers, ten head of beef cattle and from one hundred and 400 sheep. The cultivated acreage is fourteen acres, usually half of which is under hay and grass. I regard the large croft in my sample as typical, but it is typical of less than 1 percent of all Skye crofters.

The Income of a Farm. For comparative purposes, I should like to briefly consider the cash income of a Skye farmer subject. The budget I obtained in 1954 from typical, if not twenty-one farms each with its own peculiar advantages and each favored under differing technological conditions, I doubt that a representative type could be singled out. Nevertheless, the only way I could obtain a farmer's budget was to secure it surreptitiously; therefore, I do not know the details of stocking or the number who derive their support from the farm. We may be certain that it is one of the larger Skye farms. Despite an expense for hired labor of over £1000 each year,

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the cash income was £1044 1s 3d for 1952 and £1527 1s 3d for 1953.[1] I do not know the net profit.

Summary. The foregoing facts and figures should make it abundantly clear that a man with less than ten acres of arable land and with a "economic" of less than three or four cows and fifty sheep can expect only a meager and definitely inadequate return for his investment of time and money. Several crofters occupy thirty or forty acres were required. This would mean a "economic" of 10 or 12 cows and 200 sheep, if the present proportion of grazing land to cultivated area were maintained. Some said 300 to 500 sheep would be closer to the mark in order to make a good living on the land. The budget for the large croft confirms this view, but even then we have seen crofting to contain a precarious element of risk. Most crofters fell short within their present acreage and "economic" which must be fored with a less hopeless proposition.[2] This, of course, would involve a further, coerced reduction in population. But this is all a matter for future planning. What we want to know is the contribution of crofting to the local and national economy.

The Contribution of Crofting to the Economy

If we are to determine the value of agricultural production from crofting, we must consider not only the cash and

[1] Agricultural Returns, June 4, 1953, Department of Agriculture for Scotland, Form 1 (Farmers enrolled in the files of the Department). These figures include adjacent small lairs.

[2] Ibid.

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stock given for local household consumption and export but also the subsidies and crants provided by the national government. Unfortunately, it is not possible to estimate accurately the specific contribution of crofting to the economy of Skye. There is no available means of distinguishing the status of crofter from that of farmer in the annual returns of crops and stock or in the applications of farmers and crofters for subsidies and grants. Before getting down to pounds and shillings, we may find a brief digression to review the figures of land devoted to crop and stock raising and the yields to be expected helpful in our attempt to understand the many problems under which the Skyeman labors.

The total area of Skye is approximately 447,000 acres. Of these, 48,000 are cultivated and 399,000 are in hill, moor, and grazing.[1] The land under cultivation, excluding grasses, was only 3,254 acres. There were 6,258 acres of crops intended for use as hay and 13,924 acres of permanent grass or improved permanent grass. Of the latter, 3,500 acres, was uncultivated.

The stock, in 1953, was 1808 dairy cows and heifers, 8,108 cattle, 141,420 sheep, 41,888 ewes, 436 horses, and 139 pigs.[2] The dairy cows are mainly beef breeds which give a low yield of milk. The sheep are primarily the hardy Blackface variety but some crofters have cheviots, which produce a finer wool. For each sheep there are about three acres of grazing

[1] Agricultural Returns, June 4, 1953, Department of Agriculture for Scotland, Form 1 (Farmers enrolled in the files of the Department). These figures include adjacent small lairs.

[2] Ibid.

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and for each head of cattle, acre forty-five acres.

The crops are not only limited in acreage but also in variety. Since there were less than ten acres of barley, which was not grown for silage, it may be said that the only crops in oats. The yield of the 2292 acres of oats was a low twenty-nine bushels per acre. The variety grown (Sandy) is not a threshing oat. It is fed to the cattle in the wheat. This, of course, means used oats must be purchased in the spring. The only other crops of any importance were 597 acres of potatoes and 99 acres of turnips. The yield for potatoes was about five tons per acre and for turnips, fourteen tons per acre. These yields do satisfy the needs of the Skyeman and his cattle. The hay was poor in both bulk and quality.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that the livestock industry is the mainstay of the Skye economy. The production of crops is of no more than limited secondary importance. Let us now look at the value of the agricultural production on Skye in terms of locally consumed produce and exports. The following figures represent a collation of facts and figures generously provided by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, the North of Scotland Agricultural College, and local officers of these bodies. For brevity, I have set them out in table 2.

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TABLE 2

ESTIMATED VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION ON THE ISLE OF SKYE

Produce	Total Marketable Production*	Local Consumption* (Household & Croft)	Exports
Oats	£ 32,500	£ 32,500	£ ....
Potatoes	23,500	23,500	....
Turnips	2,000	2,000	....
Hay	24,000	24,000	....
Sheep and Lambs	70,000	30,000	50,000
Wool	50,000	10,000	40,000
Cattle	90,000	20,000	70,000
Milk	30,000	30,000	....
Poultry and Eggs	40,000	40,000	....
Pigs	6,000	....	6,000
Miscellaneous	5,000	5,000	....
Totals	£ 344,000	£ 216,000	£ 166,000

*Based upon assumed yields from crop acreages and stock reported to the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

†Consumption includes an allowance for loss of stock.

The estimated income from the sale of stock and produce 436 amounts to some £6,000 a-year holding. One of my informants, an 237 agriculturalist of wide experience, thought that the estimate 241 was too high. He would put it at £4,000, or £55 per holding. In addition to the actual production, we must consider government subsidies and grants.

The most important subsidies are those on hill sheep 457 and hill cattle. Each of these average over £30,000 annually. 231 There are also calf rearing subsidies, marginal land grants, and several other available sources of aid which amount to £20,000 each year. Thus, the total income for the Skye crofters and farmers is increased by roughly £70,000. Production and subsidies together give an average income of about £100 per holding. We have already seen that the crofter's income may be either a fraction of this figure or several times the average income depending upon the size of his croft. To fully understand the significance of this fact and to explore further the evidence for cultural continuity, it is desirable to inquire into the seasonal routine of the crofters of Skye.

The Annual Economic Cycle

As crofts are delimited according to size and potential 221 income, the crofters may be classified as full-time, part-time, and spare-time pastoral agriculturists. Obviously, all crofters who work the land will follow a similar schedule, performing more or less the same variety and succession of tasks. There are, however, significant differences in the

amount of time which is allotted to each activity and in the 221 pressure on the crofters to complete each chore within a relatively definite period. There are also differences in the number of non-crofting activities in which the individual can or must engage. Let us follow several crofters through the year to see what these differences are.

The Full-time Crofter. One night say the year for the full- 221 time crofter begins during the first week of January when he 236 goes out to the hill to bring in his ram. This is the first break in the monotony of his winter schedule, but it is only a momentary break. Not until March does his season of prolonged labor begin with the first "dipping" of the sheep to rid the animals of tick and parasites. He and his wife, their children, if they are old enough, and their neighbors or hired hands, crofters from nearby townships, join forces. Several of the men go off to the hill to gather the sheep and herd them down to the "fank," a stone or sheet iron inclosure consisting of either two or three pens, a trough for the "dip," and a shearing platform. While waiting for the sheep, the remaining men and women prepare the "fank" for the day's work. One by one the sheep move through the pens until all have been picked up bodily and submerged in the medicinal bath. The women not only help their fathers and husbands at the "fank" but also prepare a noon meal for the group. 474 447

Following the dipping, the crofter turns his attention 221 to the soil. By late March or early April he has ploughed, 241

manured, harrowed, and limed his fields. Normally, he will 221 have a farmer to speed his work. In the meantime his wife 236 prepares her small kitchen garden. By the time he has sown 221 his oats and set his potatoes and turnips, the ewe sheep are 231 ready for lambing. Lambing begins during the last week or two 463 of April and runs through the middle of May. This is one activity which is exclusively men's work. It is also a chore which demands an early start from individuals who are normally late risers, seldom getting started before eight or nine in the morning. Now, all day long, from early morning until late at night, day after day, the crofter or his shepherd are found on the hill watching and waiting for the lambs and their natural enemies, the crow, the hawk, and the fox. During this time, he does not neglect feeding his cattle nor finishing putting in his crop if inclement weather has hindered his progress. Then, too, he may have a few ewes ready to calve. His 474 wife will then add milking to her regular household duties. 463 Men have only recently begun to

After lambing, the fa[illegible] 221 decide whether or not 231 they are going to take time out for cutting peat. As I have 349 already said, it is unlikely that the man of the house will want to bother. He has enough to do caring for the sheep and 221 lambs and preparing his cattle for the May markets. Although 232 he could attend the local sales which are held at convenient locations around the island, the large crofter has found the mainland market of Dingwall attracts buyers willing to pay higher prices.

If May is considered a busy month, June duties are even 221 more pressing. Although the winter gales are over, the rain- 236 fall has begun to increase. A succession and variety of de- 221 mands are made on the crofter's time. Once again the sheep 232 must be brought down to the "fank." This time the purpose is to mark the lambs. The ewes, unless one or two healthy specimens are selected for future use as rams, are castrated and smeared with a dye to indicate their ownership. The females are removed and have their ears cut to signify both ownership and age. Like the dipping, this operation requires 474 the cooperation of the crofter and his family, the neighbors, and hired hands. Next the sheep without lambs are dipped 232 once again and given a dose of medicine for liver flukes and a variety of diseases. At the same time, the early hay and, 241 perhaps, the early potatoes are ready for harvesting. The end 221 of June brings the Highland Wool Fair in Inverness. If he 223 has Cheviot sheep, as most crofters do, the man must go to arrange for their wintering on the milder and drier east coast. Even though Cheviots produce a finer wool than the more common Blackface sheep, they do not stand up to the incessant wind and rain of a Skye winter. If his wife can leave the children behind, she will accompany her husband. The old function of the Fair, the sale of wool, has disappeared under 530 government price control legislation.

It is not unusual to have the early harvest delayed 221 until July, but even then the mowing may have to wait because 236 sheep must come first. On one of the dry days during the first 231

or second week, the ewe sheep are sheared. Shearing is another cooperative task. The men and women work together with only one significant division in their labor. Women never shear. Their task is to run the sheep through the pens and fold the fleece after the ewe shear the animal. Another chore is added to the crofter's schedule at this time. He must begin to watch his sheep for maggot.

The haying season runs through July and August, depend- 221 ing on the weather. In August the sheep have to be dipped again 241 this dipping prescribed by law, and the wether lambs (castrated males) are sent to market. In September, if the weather is favorable and the season has been good, the harvest of oats begins. The man works with a scythe. Women rake out. His wife helps by binding the corn in sheaths by hand and making stoops in the field. Later she helps her husband build the stacks for winter storage. As in any summer month, the stock 221 requires attention. Cast ewe sheep (sheep over six years old) 231 and old rams are sent to the Ministry of Food grading station at Kyle, on the mainland, to be graded for meat or to Dingwall to be sold at auction. Cattle sales are also held on the island in September and again in November, but the full-time 232 crofter prefers the Dingwall auction. The rainy season is 132 now, as noted, reaching its height. The pace becomes slower. October, November, and, perhaps, even December are spent trying 221 to dig potatoes and turnips. Too often the cut harvest has 236 yet to be completed and the sheep must receive their second 221 shearing digging. Sometime before the end of November the 231 236

wool must be passed for shipment. As November ends the rains 221 are put out with the flock. 232 232

Winter is a slow season for men, but it is not an idle 221 season. The cattle must be fed. The man fetches oats of hay 232 from his stacks and some turnips or potatoes from his storage pits and carries the feed on his back to his cattle on the hill. Very rarely does he keep them in a byre because to do so he would lose the government subsidy on hill cattle. Although the sheep are now free from pests and most diseases, he must continue to periodically walk the hill to check their condition. Very few bother to feed the sheep in winter. Another task is 221 the butchering of a few sheep. While not quite legal until 232 last year, one crofter justified his activity by asking, "What would we eat if we didn't kill our sheep?" Once in a while, he may also kill a steer, but unless several families share the meat, salt beef becomes rather monotonous.

The crofter's wife keeps busy all winter. Her routine, 221 broken by helping at the fank a half dozen times a year and 232 with the harvest, continues through all seasons. As far as 221 the actual work on the croft goes, she milks the cows, feeds 232 the poultry, and cultivates her garden. When she is not cleaning the house, cooking meals, making butter or cheese, caring for the children, or looking after her husband's needs, she knits. She also does the shopping, either from a food van or on a weekly visit to Portree. Men are as disinclined to shop as they are to wash dishes.

The Part-time Crofter. The part-time crofter follows much the 221 same schedule and shares the same succession and variety of chores. Indeed, some are not so much part-time crofters as 464 they are part-time employees. As such, they are successfully 474 preserving a traditional economy no longer in respect with the surrounding twentieth century commercial world by depending upon economic benefits of contractual relationships to the smallest possible degree. One Fallow saw the situation this way: "We don't need fertizers and the like; what we need is something that will give us time to attend to our crofts." Others feel 227 that if they have to abandon the traditional way of life, they might just as well leave the island for places where greater opportunities for social activity are joined with relative economic prosperity.

The part-time crofter has less land than the full-time 221 crofter and less need for cultivating all of it because he 236 has fewer cattle to feed during the winter. He, therefore, devotes less time to tilling his soil. On the other hand, 221 although he has fewer sheep, the collective flock of his town- 474 ship is almost always larger than the stock of a large croft. Consequently, he spends more time dipping, marking, and shearing sheep in cooperation with his neighbors. Hired labor plays 221 a minor role in the townships. Often the only hired hand is 464 one of their number who assumes the responsibility of shepherding the flock. Some of the townships with club stocks, however, have adopted the practice of paying each shareholder for his labor out of the profits to encourage cooperation or to penalize those who do not do their full share.

those who do not do their full share. 464

The year for the part-time crofter begins with the prepa- 221 ration of his fields. As a general rule both the man who spends 464 his winter working for the British Railways or away at sea, and the one who finds summer employment near home is found on his croft during this period. Following the example of the large crofter some use a tractor while others continue to plough by horse. More and more are tending to take advantage of the contracting service of the Department of Agriculture and hire a tractor and driver. Once the crops are in, the majority are free until the lambing season. Conservative in his belief that too much handling of the sheep is harmful or individually 221 faced with the almost prohibitive task of singling a small 232 flock out of several hundred sheep, he tends to wait the March 221 dipping. During the lambing season, the several crofters of 474 the township either take turns on the hill or hire a shepherd. The first chore, then, which brings them together as a group is the marking of the lambs and the first dipping of the sheep, without lambs. The July shearing and the statutory dips in 221 August and November are cooperative ventures shared by all crofters no matter what size croft they occupy.

In sundry ways, economic interests, judged in terms of commercial efficiency, play a smaller part in determining the economic cycle of the part-time crofter than in the case of the full-time crofter. The part-time crofter does not think it worth-while to ship his few head of stock to the mainland auction markets. He sells them locally at the tri-annual sales.

As far as I know only one attempt has ever been made by the smaller holders to sell their cattle at the large mainland 464 sales. The attempt was made the first time I was in Skye in 1956. There was a feeling at the close of the Second World War among the crofters that they were not receiving a fair price at the local sales. The Scottish Wholesale and Cooperative Society, which had become interested in the Highland Problem, offered to handle the marketing. Their cattle buyer, a man of wide experience, for the Skye cattle to be of high quality and suggested shipping them to the Stirling market. This is one of the largest in Scotland has the advantage of attracting a full range of buyers. Since the cattle were not at their best after the long sea voyage, they were provided with hay and pasture for a week after arrival. Unfortunately, a disease epidemic in the South forced a postponement of the market. Nevertheless, the arrived at the auction block in good condition. The prices offered were not as high as they might have been but they normally received at the local sales, convinced the crofters that their August and November are cooperative ventures shared by all crofters no matter what size croft they occupy.

In sundry ways, economic interests, judged in terms of commercial efficiency, play a smaller part in determining the economic cycle of the part-time crofter than in the case of the full-time crofter. The part-time crofter does not think it worth-while to ship his few head of stock to the mainland auction markets. He sells them locally at the tri-annual sales.

While the men who devotes all of his time to his pastoral-agricultural occupation finds it uncomfortable to bother with gathering seaweed for manure, fishing, or cutting peat, the crofter of the category we are discussing often adheres more closely to the traditional cycle. After the

townships the large crofter is given an allocation in 427
tion to his rent. The payment of his rent also entitles 233
crofter to gather seaweed along the coast for fertilizer 222
cut peat for fuel on the common grazing or in special 314
areas. In a number of townships he has a further right 233
sture his rams in a "tup park" and his horses in a "horse
" These are lowlying areas of improved pasture. There
general picture.

There are three important exceptions to the typical 427
of land tenure. First, there are the Glendale crofters 423 421
wn their land. Each individual has purchased his croft,
he members of each township own the common grazing col-
vely. Before the law they are no longer entitled to the 654
its of crofting status because, by legal definition, the
er is a small farmer who rents his land. Second, there 233
he crofters of six Kilmuir townships who have individual
of "outrun," good lowlying cattle pastures, in addition
e normal crofter's holding. Even though the Glendale
ers are landowners and the Kilmuir crofters have their
attle pasture, they are subject to "souming" regulations.
, there are a few large, isolated crofts which are self-
ined units. The individual has his own cultivated land,
re, and rough grazing. In reality, many of these large
ngs are farms, but as long as the annual rent does not
1 £50, the benefits of crofting status are not withdrawn.
rofter, of course, stocks his holding as he thinks best.
the Irish and Scottish Highland systems of land use

While
the Irish and Scottish Highland systems of land use 171
427 reveal many underlying similarities, they are distinguished
423 by their respective systems of land tenure. The Irish small
421
171 farmer owns his land, like the Glendale crofters, and has a
self-contained holding, like the large crofter on Skye.[3]

427 Croft Size. As the foregoing discussion has suggested, there is a wide range of croft sizes. Some crofters have only a few hundred square yards of the poorest soil. A few have large, relatively fertile holdings. One of these large crofters, for example, has 88 acres of arable land, 27 acres of pasture, and 1261 acres of grazing. The most common size is less than five acres, and not more than 500 of the 2200 crofters have over ten acres. If all of his land were of equal potential agricultural value, the individual with ten acres might be able
[241] to attain a satisfactory standard of production. Unfortunately, not more than half of most crofts can be considered as suitable for crop cultivation. In Glendale, for example, the average size is ten to fifteen acres, but when the boggy ground and the area in drainage ditches are subtracted, it is indeed a fortunate man who can profitably cultivate more than five acres. What, then, does he do with his land?

427 Land Use. Between spring ploughing and the harvest season, the
241 best land is planted in oats, potatoes, and, in some cases, turnips. On most crofts, for every two or three acres of oats there are a half acre of potatoes, and perhaps, a quarter

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[3]Arensberg, The Irish Countryman, pp. 36-38, 43.

427 of the holders reside on their land for more than half the
241 year. The lowest rate of absenteeism is found among the tenants
162 of the Department of Agriculture. There are 76 absentees out of a total of 667 tenants. Most of the non-resident crofters are permanently absent. On the small estate mentioned above thirty-seven of the forty-two absentees have not been seen in years. Five of them usually return to Skye to spend their summer vacation.

427 Thus, we have a situation in which, perhaps, a third
241 of the crofts are held by people who either cannot work them
311 because of old age or infirmity, or do not choose to work
887 them because of greater opportunities elsewhere. What, then, happens to this land? Some of the old people allow a neighbor to use the land. Almost invariably this means the few fertile acres will be used for grass and hay. Absentees "entrust" the [678] croft, house and land, to a landless family. While Parliament inadvertently gave the crofter a right to keep his holding whether he resided on it or not, it is illegal to sublet. So far, this has not concerned the crofters. Other absentees "entrust" the land to someone in the township who uses it for grass.

427 Turning to the influence of old age and absenteeism on
887 stocking, we find a series of entanglements. If the township is
231 inhabited solely by old people, like Aird in Sleat, the township becomes derelict. More commonly, the absentee and the old person allows someone else to take over his "souming" so [829] that some crofters have far more than their share. Not infrequently, this gives the crofter a chance to outwit that

a former school teacher. The present sponsor and chairman 573
is his successor. The teacher is automatically rated socially 875
because of his important function, educating the children of a 554
people who value education, and his university background. Further, he is from the Outer Isles and, therefore, is not expected to conform to all the traditional norms. Were he a Sgiathanach he probably would not accept the office for it would conflict with older and far deeper values.

The Glendale club farm is administered by a committee 573
of five, a secretary, and a chairman. Here all are crofters 241
from the several townships. All, therefore, are equals. Who, 554 794
then, might they have for a chairman? They have selected an elder of the church. A church elder is the highest lay official in church government and, on Skye, one of the oldest men in the neighborhood. As one man asked, "If you can't respect an elder, who can you respect?"

Selecting members for the committee and electing a secretary 573
is a real problem. Each man serves for three years. How the 241
original committee was formed I do not know, but I had an 554
opportunity to see how vacancies are filled. In 1953 there were three vacant posts. Parliamentary procedure has been introduced, but it finds limited expression. For two of the seats, the retiring members were "re-elected;" a crofter nominated them and after a long pause another man seconded the nomination. No vote is taken; silence means unanimous consent. A story slightly off the point illustrates this. At the same meeting the committee's stock report was read. Following parliamentary procedure, it

had to be accepted. Not a word was hear
crofter simply said, "No one has anythin
all are agreed." One of the former memb
could not be re-elected; he had passed a
matter. A series of men were proposed,
clined. Finally, a man was nominated an
had a chance to deny himself the honor.
was automatic.

The committee administers the farm
employs the necessary shepherds, sells t
the hunting lodge. They do so, however,
ditional framework. They have neither b
a role of independent action. They do n
decisions. They rather weigh and put in
made by the Department of Agriculture.
the elder, despite his high prestige sta
enforce social conformity rather than th
or lead men.

It is significant that while the s
own the farm and their crofts, they have
from outside control. Many of the Glend
admit they are afraid of independence.
neighborhood there are two opposing grou
someone who tries to sabotage the whole
One group has favored the guidance of th
partment. The other group resents the i
government in their affairs. At the sam
do not want to be cast off on their own.

1. At length one 573
to say, so I guess we 241 554
ers of the committee
way. This was a thorny
and each in turn de-
d seconded before he
Election, of course,

, handles stocking, 573
he stock, and rents 241 656
within the now tra-
een granted nor assumed
ot reach independent
to operation decisions
As we shall see, even 554
tus, has power to
e authority to direct

hare-holding crofters 573
not achieved independence 241 656
ale crofters frankly 829
As in any township or
os. "There always is
thing," said one man.
officers of the De-
nterference of the
time, however, they
They want some form

of farm management under a resident manager, preferably not a 573
Skyeman. The attitude of the former faction was aptly expressed 241 656
by one person who was about to leave Skye: "We need the Department. 829
If they withdrew, we wouldn't have anybody to go to for anything." This is in striking contrast to the Irish small farmer for whom land ownership is an all important factor in regulating social interaction and status.[24] On Skye land ownership has not led to 423
any change in the traditional status values. A Glendale crofter 554
is not a better man because he owns land.

Prestige Ranking within the Neighborhood. In so far as prestige 554
ranking is concerned, status is more developed within the neighborhood than within the township. In addition to the crofters and their families, there are always several individuals who are given status because of their performance of the necessary functions of ministering to the peoples' spiritual and physical needs and educating the children. These are the only achieved statuses which are valued by the crofters. Noteworthy enough, 793
only the minister of Glendale serves his own "people and friends." 554

The minister's status depends to some degree on his denomination and the religious sympathies of the people. In Glendale the minister enjoys the highest possible status. In Kilmuir, with two ministers, each is valued by his own congregation with whom he interacts. Nevertheless, all ministers are treated with respect. They are always addressed as the Reverend Mister MacDonald or Mister MacDonald. It is interesting to note that

[24] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 72-100; Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 98-144.

asceticism is fundamental to the peoples' lives. A brief discussion of the Sabbath will serve to conclude my discussi of religion and to indicate some additional difficulties whi the Sgiathanach faces in his attempt to preserve his culture

Sunday does not exist on Skye. There is the "Continen Sunday" and the Sabbath. On any other day of the week, the greeting is, "It's a fine day," or, more often, "It's a wet day." The Sabbath, however, is "no day to be speaking of days." Keeping the Sabbath is almost a fetish among the people. It is a readily observable test of an individual's religious capacity. All unnecessary work, all unnecessary words, and all unnecessary thought is taboo. Only the barest minimum of worldly activities are permissible. This does not mean a day spent in idleness; the time should be spent in public worship at the kirk, private spiritual contemplation and family worship. The Skyeman's estimation of a newcomer may depend on his keeping the Sabbath. One man was very surprised to learn how long a memory the people hav when a man deviates from the expected. A visitor asked a crofter what kind of a man a certain newcomer to Kilmuir was, to which the crofter replied, "He's all right, except six years ago he played the pipes on the Sabbath." Most newcomers, including the few Catholics, respect the Sabbath.

No crofter would ever think of doing any work on this day beyond feeding his cattle as an act of mercy. After weeks of rain, the crop of oats or hay may be ready for harvesting on the Sabbath, but he will not touch it. A man

sion of labor. During the summer, she will milk the cows, 231
in the winter she will see that they are fed. If there is 241 593
a harvest in the autumn, she will care for the crops. 462

Some women, in particular the older ones, plough with 241
caschrom, the foot plough. Other women use a small power 654
en plough or contract with the Department of Agriculture 462
ave the ploughing done. The Department will also provide
men and machinery to harrow, cultivate, spread lime and
re, mow hay, cut and bind oats, dig potatoes, and thresh
n. By utilizing these services, if they can be afforded,
small crofter can free himself or, at least his wife,
many arduous tasks. The need for cooperation of the family [476]
neighbors is thereby reduced. Although traditional mutual [593]
is being replaced by cash payment for labor, it is not the [178]
r of a landless working class which commercialization often
tes, but rather state provided services. Significantly,
Department employees are newcomers. The Skye man who
s for the Department is a better worker away from the island.
e few are able to pay for these services, the wife digs the 241
toes, and some women use the scythe to reap hay and oats. 462
scythe, it will be remembered is really a man's tool.
uently, the break with tradition is avoided by the return of
n from the mainland or the sea. Running the household and
ing the croft is not all some women do. They also take in [485]
er visitors, by the day or week, and provide teas for travellers.

In summary, it may be said that crofting is anything but 241
asy life with ample rewards. We have seen how meager the

fruits of labor are for the vast majority. Although they 241
establish their own tempo, the crofters, both men and women, must follow the dictates of the seasons. Inclement weather imposes prolonged periods of idleness. There are conflicts. These are not conflicts of meaning, but they pose serious problems. The small crofter has to decide how he can best allocate his time. He may want to get in his hay or try making silage, but his sheep, his main source of income, must come first. This does not mean that there is economic disintegration. Integration does not mean smooth functioning. Perhaps, a further discussion of cooperation will clarify the situation.

Cooperation

Today it is commonplace to assert that the Sgiathanach, 476
and the Highlander in general, is "independent" and "just not 241
cooperative." Certainly they have come a long way from the 178
days when the old four horse plough made cooperation essential 829
and the use of the caschrom made it welcome. Population instability, subdivision of the crofts and the change from a subsistence economy to an export economy based on sheep and cattle could not have left the old pattern of mutual, reciprocal dependence undisturbed. But does this mean they no longer cooperate? I think not. In fact, I think critics of the Highland Problem have exaggerated,[9] and the people, always ready to glorify the past, have been influenced by stories of an ideal

[9] Cf. F. Fraser Darling and Averil Morley, "The Social Situation," The West Highland Survey, Part VI, p. 2.

world.

More than one crofter told me that one of the biggest changes on Skye in the last thirty or forty years was that t neighbors are "less Christian," in the sense of being neighb and helping each other, than they used to be. Once no one said, "I've finished my work," until everyone in the townshi had stacked his grain. "Colin is harvesting today and Murdo morrow; we'll go over and lend them a hand," was the expecte attitude. Toward the end of the season, the whole township would be seen working on an old widow's croft. "Now when a man has cleared his land, he says, 'I'm finished,' and that' that." such a statement has to be followed by asking if they now forget about the sick and the aged. The answer is alway the same: "When a person needs help, his neighbors will hel out. Perhaps they can't do his corn, but they help by just leaving a few fish by the door or a pail of milk in his cott In short, they continue to give mutual aid, but it is anonym The Highlander never looks for thanks and never offers it. remember our landlady complaining about an Eastcoaster in Portree whom she had helped by giving some outgrown children clothes. The recipient had thanked her profusely. "You kno Paul," she said, "If anyone did that for me, I'd be too chok up to say anything."

Not all use the same colors to paint the scene. I was also told that the harvest was formerly a time of friendly rivalry. The gobhair-bhacaig, two sheaths of oats tied at right angles, used to be thrown on the unfinished fields wit

each township as a sign of contempt.[10] This suggests that the practice of helping one's neighbors with the harvest was relatively recent. Again in the matter of cutting peats, frequently described as cooperative, and a communal undertaking as late as 20 years ago, there is disagreement. All in the township used to work together, cutting for each crofter in turn and enjoying a festive picnic. "Sure they would," others told me," but first they would cut for the minister and then for the shopkeeper." The shopkeeper was more important to them in those days because they would all be in perennial debt to him, and he might extend a little more credit if they were in his good graces. They would then cut for each other. By the time they got around to the old widow with no one to cut for her, they were all too busy. The sheep had to be dipped or the fields needed attention. I have heard conflicting versions of these stories from neighbors. Are we to conclude that cooperation varied from door to door and township to township?

The growth in importance of sheep as a major source of income, associated with the decline of the old subsistence economy, led to new patterns of cooperation. To be economic sheep must be raised in numbers. As we have seen, physical cooperation is imperative, and many crofters cooperate financially, pooling their capital and dividing the profits. This is true of the nine townships of Kilmuir. Moreover, even in townships where the crofters have rejected the club stock plan the individual flocks are generally handled as club stock.

[10]Cf. William MacKenzie, Skye: Iochdar-Trotternish, p.59.

The maximum is harder to determine, economically. There is some limit to the number who can stock a common grazing with individually owned stock without becoming involved in complicated entanglements over right, obligations, and questions of ownership. The few townships containing more than thirty crofts in the Western Highlands (91 out of 957),[13] and the negligible number on Skye (only ten), suggests that less than thirty holdings per township, no matter how much fertile land surrounds the cluster, has been found to be the optimum. Most of the townships contain between five and twenty crofts. The fact that many large, adjacent townships, such as Bornesketaig in Kilmuir and all those in the Braes, are losing their population is a reflection of a many faceted condition we have been exploring throughout this chapter--the vast majority of the crofts are too small to provide an adequate livelihood. One of the primary causes for this state of affairs would seem to be overcrowding on the land.

Congestion. In almost all but the recently established or replanned townships, congestion is a legacy of the increase in population during the first century of the modern period, often aggravated by coerced subdivision during the period of the "Clearances." Because of this, over-all statistics have little meaning. It is quite correct to say there are some 2300 crofts on Skye and approximately 2200 crofters, but this does not mean each family has a croft to itself. To take

[13]Ibid., table 1.

extreme examples, Borneskeitaig in Kilmuir consists of 47 crofts held by 35 crofters, but Aird in Sleat has 39 crofters who rent 20 crofts. In one badly subdivided township, Calligary in Sleat, one holding is held in the following shares: four men each have five-twenty-fourths, one has one-sixth, and one has "a part." The whole, indeed, is more than the sum of its parts. Moreover, townships with a balance of crofts and crofters, and even those with fewer crofters than crofts, often show the effects of subdivision. Another Kilmuir township, Herbusta, is laid out in eight holdings. Although there are an equal number of landholders, several of the crofts are divided into half shares. Then, there is Kilvaxter, also a Kilmuir township, with 11 tenants and 12 crofts; one man has three full shares while two others have only half a croft each. Multiple crofts are not necessarily adjacent. Some crofters hold land in two different townships. One of my informants rents two crofts separated by over twenty miles. On foot, it takes him two days to make the trip between his two holdings.

Subdivision, frequently carried to its ludicrous extreme, is not a problem confined to the Highlands of Scotland. All over Europe the traditional laws of succession have had a similar result. In consequence, the governments of all European countries have been striving to initiate reform. Generally, the aim has been to consolidate scattered patches, but almost always the schemes have become more comprehensive, attempting to create economic farms and increase productivity. Since the

means are not infrequently thwarted by the peasants, the ends are seldom achieved.

As long ago as 1859 Norway began a redistribution of the land; by 1946 42 percent of the infield and 9 percent of the outfield had been regrouped. In Ireland attempts at consolidation date back to 1870. Because the problem was especially intricate, some holdings consisted of twenty or thirty scattered patches, the attempted approach has been comprehensive, including assistance for migration, improvements, and the purchase of farms. Today, even where the consolidated holdings are substandard, they are more productive. I do not mean to imply that the program has been uniformly and sweepingly effective. The study by Arensberg and Kimball is ample evidence to the contrary,[14] but there has been reform. Germany, too, has had an all-inclusive policy since the 1870's. There, whole villages must be replanned. Wherever possible, small holdings have been abolished by moving certain families out to new farmsteads and removing others from the land. It is significant that most of the reform took place under Hitler and, even so, there was universal peasant resistance to land reformation. What effect the partition of Germany has had on these rural villages I do not know. Many of those I visited have twice the population of prewar days. In each country, from Sweden to Italy and from France to Greece, the experiments have resulted in increased agricultural production. On Skye, as in most of the Highlands, the tillage area has fallen at a faster rate than the population. Indeed,

[14] Arensberg and Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland.

where the population has suffered the greatest decline and, therefore, where enlargements, by legal or illegal means, have been the most extensive, crop production has declined the most. Nor has the decline in population, accompanied by land redistribution, altered the fundamental problem.

The cottars (subtenants) have almost disappeared thereby easing the excessive pressure on the land and removing the threat of recurring destitution. Today they are found only in a few scattered dwellings and isolated clusters. Most of them have secured some form of employment or have reached the age when a government pension is sufficient to satisfy their needs. The number of crofters, on the other hand, has increased. If the figures 2043 and 1227 can be accepted as nearly correct for the respective numbers of crofters and cottars in 1886,[15] they have increased at the expense of the latter and, also, the sheep farmer, whom they have replaced.

To briefly summarize the foregoing discussion of the township, let us look at Kilmuir. Table 3 shows the number of crofts and crofters in each of the nine townships together with the acreage and "souming" rights available to each individual. Although replanning during the past fifty years has benefited many of the local residents, crowding upon the land is still apparent.

[15] L. MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 6, 17.

TABLE 3

CROFTS, CROFTERS, ARABLE ACREAGE, AND SOUMING RIGHTS IN THE KILMUIR TOWNSHIPS

Township	Crofts	Crofters	Arable Acres[a]	Common Grazing	Souming
Borneskeitaig	47	35	4	273	2 cows, 1 calf, 12 sheep
Hungladder	14	9	5	236	2 cows, 1 calf, 10 sheep
Balgown	4	5	13, 14, 34, 46, 66	177	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Kilvaxter	12	11	27	...b	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Linicro	19	17	15	729	5 cows, 5 calves 40 sheep 1 horse
Peingown	3	4	18	187	7 cows, 7 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Herbusta	8	8	12	308	3 cows, 3 calves 26 sheep 1 horse
Totescore	12	13	21	500	3 cows, 3 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Monkstedt	3	3	27, 27, 5	420	9 cows, 9 calves 40 sheep 2 horses

[a] Arable acres are given in average acres per holding, unless otherwise indicated. Except in Borneskeitaig and Hungladder, arable land includes outrun, improved pasture land individually held.

[b] Shared with Kilvaxter.

Sources: Compiled from The Valuation Roll of the County of Inverness, 1953; information extracted from the files of the Department of Health for Scotland; and data supplied by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

worth while to cultivate any of the arable, so I use it for grazing." A case which aptly illustrates the influence of the township system as an agent of conservatism is the breeding of pigs. Although several old crofters told me how many people during the times of the "Clearances" kept a pig, they are rarely found anywhere in the Highlands today. The Biblical injunction against the flesh of swine has been taken literally. The older people simply have a strong aversion to handling pigs. One man, a very successful cattle and sheep breeder, put it this way: "Pigs are filthy brutes. I just don't want to touch them -- I never have kept any and never will." At the same time, there are men who believe that the prices these animals bring at the mainland markets more than compensate for the individual's revulsion, especially as long as the Ministry of Food pays for the cost of transportation. These men cannot try branching out because they have no way to restrict the foraging animals. "Skye is ideal for pigs," one young fellow told me, "but I don't have the freedom to work the croft to suit myself."

Smaller deviations from the traditional methods of land use face the same difficulties. A progressive crofter who attempts to improve the value of his stock by growing scientific mixtures of grasses is always penalized. As soon as the harvest is over, the stock of all his neighbors will show their appreciation by concentrating on his croft, trampling his fields, and overgrazing his grass. Nor is this his only penalty. His neighbors will regard him with skepticism for his departure from the ways handed down from the past.

621 from the ways handed down from the past. We might note at this
432 time that even the progressive crofter is not always quite en
626 rapport with modern techniques. There was, for example, a man
232 with two calves infested with liver fluke. Convinced that
178 medicine was the only solution, and equally convinced that a person cannot believe everything he reads, he obtained a bottle of liver fluke medicine which was plainly marked: "for sheep only." When asked how his calves responded to the treatment, he responded, "Och, they both died."

632 Because of the restrictions which the township system
621 imposes, there has been a growing, perceptible rumble of
626 agitation for supplanting unanimous consent with majority rule.
178 Few, however, would go as far as a retired seaman who returned to Skye after forty years. He would like to see the township system abolished. Another small group believe the Sgiathanach would be better off if the Island were given over to communal farms. Most seem to favor the continuation of the present system. Of course, the majority is composed of the conservative old men.

The Aged and the Absentee Crofter

241 No appraisal of the crofting system is complete without
427 a discussion of two additional factors which have affected the
887 use of the land and the present unsatisfactory economic condition
888 of the Island. One of the factors is the aged tenant, who,
311 as we have just seen, exercises a strong control over the younger men through township government. He has also influenced

241 the economy by subjecting many fertile acres to disuse because
427 of his infirmity. The other factor is the absentee tenant,
887 an individual who has obtained possession of a croft, normally
888 by inheritance, but who has failed to take up his inalienable
311 rights of tenancy. Let us very briefly review the economic trends of the last fifty odd years and, then, try to assess the importance of the absent and the aged.

436 Although the Sgiathanach has refused to become a
433 specialist, fully involved in a money economy, he has become
241 increasingly dependent on the products of the wider commercial
178 society.
439 Long ago he gave up growing the old staples, barley and oats. Not for many years has he grown enough potatoes or turnips to feed himself and his cattle. In place of these home grown subsistence crops, he now imports a great deal of his food. In an average year Skye imports over 700 tons of bread, 10 tons of vegetables, 300 tons of canned goods, 300 tons of potatoes, 500 tons of flour, and 100 tons of milk. To pay for these products, he exports cattle, once his only marketable produce, and an ever increasing number of sheep.

436 Hance, writing about the Outer Hebrides, sees the growing
241 tendency of the crofters to buy their food as indicative of an
233 increasing cash income.[16] To a certain extent, this may be
439 true. There are, however, additional factors involved. Ecological limitations have played their role. That the climate and soil together make Skye a grassland suitable for stock breeding rather than an island fit for cultivation is an often repeated

[16] Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 62.

436 belief. Since agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years,
241 the present tendency to use more and more of the land for grass
233 and hay can be regarded as a more complete adjustment to the
439 environment. The partial involvement in the outside contractual world encouraged and made possible the change. The same reasoning applies to stock production, including the declining number of horses, cattle, and, especially, dairy cows. The exports, obviously, reflect market demands. A couple of crofters have unsuccessfully tried market gardening. The Sgiathanach is not a vegetable eater, and the commercial establishments, apparently, find a more dependable supply
436 elsewhere. A few crofters do sell potatoes in Portree, but
241 they will not compete with the large, east coast potato
432 farmer. In 1953, as soon as the price fell below the pre-season high, the crofters decided it was not worth the trouble
437 to dig the tubers for sale. The same held true for eggs.
436 Many crofters barter eggs with the food vans which serve the
235 rural areas for tea and meat. When the Scottish market was glutted in the summer of 1953, the crofters refused to trade at lower prices. They preferred to obtain their protein from the eggs, believing that the spring egg prices were the fair prices. For the sake of emphasis, I repeat, the involvement of the Sgiathanach in the world of commerce is only partial. Finally, in accounting for these changing economic trends, the aged and the absentee crofter must be taken into account.

887 The old people frequently cannot work their crofts or
241 cannot use them fully. The age at which the work becomes too

887 arduous is difficult to determine. In the winter of 1953, I
241 helped a small crofter thrash oats, a cooperative enterprise
128 even with a mechanical thrasher, supplied by the Department of Agriculture. The neighbors who came over to lend a hand were two men and three women. The youngest woman would never see fifty again; her seniors were seventy-seven and seventy-eight. The youngest man, who had just been married, was sixty-three; the other seventy-three. These crofters not only showed more endurance than I did, but put me to shame by carrying the sacks of grain from the field to the byre
162 at the end of the day. Nevertheless, most of those over seventy, about 15 percent of the population, do not make use
887 of the land for more than growing a few potatoes. An old
231 man cannot keep a cow because, as one man said, "You can't
462 have a cow unless you have a woman to milk it." If he is married or lives with a sister, there may be a cow and a couple of sheep. An old woman may have her cow and sheep if she is strong enough. There comes a time, however, when all the old people will only remember the work involved. Still they will say, "Och, but they were good for all that."

427 Absentee tenants are responsible for depopulation on
241 the one hand and falling production on the other. A reasonabl
161 estimate would be 300. Their number could be as high as 400.
423 Some townships have over 50 percent of the crofters absentee. The only townships which do not have this problem are the few which contain large crofts. On one small estate there are seventy-six crofts, held by seventy-two crofters. Only thirty

ng season, the crofter and his family go out on the moor 221
t their peat for the following winter. The man uses a 241
er," a two-bladed spade, to cut the peat. His wife or 314
hildren follow behind, tossing the peats out of the ditch 413
uilding small, loose stacks for drying. After the lambs
been marked and the sheep dipped in June and the shearing
ned in July, the family returns to the banks to carry
eats to the nearest road, actually a beaten cart path,
eels. They are then carted home and stacked near the door.
is a growing tendency for both the part-time and spare- 341
crofter to give up cutting peat. It is not because coal 178
eaper or he needs time for other pressing chores. His 241
ary occupation will not permit his devoting the necessary 464
o this long and arduous task. He is caught between the
ional economic patterns and the money economy of which
become a part.

The year for our part-time crofter, as for all active 221
rs ends in November. By then the oat and hay harvest has 241
tacked by the house and the potatoes and turnips stored 236
ground, the wool shipped off to market, the surplus 233
and cattle have gone to market, and the rams are on the
Now follows a period of enforced idleness, broken by
g the cattle. As we have seen many go away to find 464
ment, leaving the care of the croft to their wives who 593
hared the work of crofting in addition to their own
y responsibilities. We must turn to the spare-time 462
r to discover just how heavy the burden of labor may
nd upon the women of Skye.

depend upon the women of Skye. 000

The Spare-time Crofter. Under this type we must include not only the able-bodied, married man who tends to become a full-time wage earner, but also the old, pensioned, married and unmarried men and women who are no longer able to perform the necessary chores. For the latter, whether they have a small or medium-sized croft, the croft becomes a means of living within a pension rather than a potential source of livelihood. For the former, the croft becomes a means of living cheaply. 231 241 887

When the crofter goes out to work, he either tends to neglect the croft or expects his wife to manage it. Occasionally, the husband will help with the ploughing or the harvest in the evening, but he never lends his wife a helping hand in her domestic duties. The only men on the island that I knew who helped their wives with the dishes or the care of the children, except disciplinary measures, were a minister from the Outer Isles and several Lowlanders in Portree. Since very few crofters have plumbing, the wife must fetch water from a well and dispose of waste in the nearest stream. If there is to be a supply of peats, she must cut them. If there are cattle and sheep, she looks after them. Lambing may be left to the township shepherd if the crofters can afford one, and shearing is usually left to the men of the township. An exceptional spinster or widow may shear, but it is indeed an unusual married woman who will break with the traditional 231 241 593 462 [312]

f tenure function to protect the individual from potential 178
buses by a landlord where customary usages once fulfilled the 182
eed. Moreover, even though the tenure of the cultivated soil 423 427
rants all the rights of a landholder, including the rights 657
o bequeath the house and land to a member of one's family,
or more than half the year it is used communally.

The Sgiathanach has never adjusted sufficiently to become 178
specialist, not even a specialized grazier. For him the 423
and has always had a more fundamental value than merely being
means of livelihood. It is the ancestral home. There is a
entimental attachment to the land which is an expression of
he affectionate bonds of kinship. The people have never lost
he tribal tie of the land and the group. Although the former
atriarchs disclaimed any sympathy with this point of view,
he landlords on Skye today have kept what little land they
ave only because of its sentimental value. Indeed the atti- [656]
ude of the largest landholder, the government of Scotland,
s that the crofting tradition is worth while preserving, if
or no other reason, because in the predominantly urban and
ndustrial civilization it has a romantic value. There are
ther reasons. The Islands have long been looked upon as a [702]
uman reservoir for the armed forces, and, more recently, for [464]
owland industry.

As a result of their partial adjustment to the higher 178
ocio-cultural level, there have been changes in crops and stock. 231 241
he British market has influenced the crofters' output, within 433
cological limitations. The old subsistence crops of oats and

ey have been replaced by grass and hay. Conceivably, this 178
more complete adjustment to the environment, which has been 231
possible by integration with a commercial economy, than 241 433
djustment to the demands of the outside world. Whereas
objective of the local economy once was the export of
le, today the purpose is the breeding of cattle and sheep
the national markets. We have seen that there are a host 182
imitations and difficulties in the economic aspect of the 231
ure. Many of these are due to the persistence of con- 241 433
ative practices. Each crofter must keep pace with his [624]
tion-practicing neighbors, with the old men of the town-
. Others are the result of an inhospitable environment.
economy does not run smoothly, but this is not conclusive
ence for disorganization. Integration does not mean
th functioning. In the spring and autumn the crofter is
ronted with a variety and succession of tasks which would
a specialist with dismay. Very often, these pastoral
gricultural chores have to be carried on in conjunction
outside employment. In return for his labor, the crofter [134]
ves a meager income, frequently supplemented by con- [657]
u tions from his children or the government. As a further [167]
t of the partial adjustment to the wider society and
ure, the people leave the island to seek employment and
hieve an upward mobility impossible on Skye. Economically, [175]
along with most of the Highlands, may be viewed as
enting a picture of the Lowlands of Scotland 200 years ago.
is the extent of the economic adaptation of the Sgiathanach
e national culture.

242

242 AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE--practical and scientific knowledge of plant breeding, soils, and parasites; related practices (e.g., seed selection, hybridization, crop rotation, spraying); agricultural experiment and extension work; organization and specialized personnel; etc. See also:

Conservation policy 165
Veterinary science and stock breeding 232
Applied science 816
Ethnobotany 824
Agricultural education 874

178 "The cattle give too much trouble." A smaller scheme
311 is grazed only by sheep. On the schemes where mixed
232 grazing is practiced, a number of conflicts arise between
233 those who have only sheep, and those who have cattle as
578 well. To accommodate different demands, one township scheme was divided with a fence; cattle were put in for a month in one part, and then shifted to the second part. The sheep were then brought into the first half. All stock had to be removed from the scheme a month before the lambs were weaned, so that all worm eggs and other harmful elements in the dung of animals previously present would have time to die. What was once used for a single purpose by everyone now has to be divided.

"I paid one pound a head to put cattle on the
435 reseeding," says a man named Iain. "Now I have to move
578 them off already. Those sheep people want it for themselves. I won't use it if they're going to be like that. Next year I'll have the use of two crofts and my apportionment. And now that I have my own tractor I
409 can put a load of sand at the bottom of the croft to
242 make the grazing better."

According to another person, who also keeps cattle
311 on the reseeding, "Some people want to move their live-
233 stock on and off the schemes when it suits them, like Iain,
232
829

654 person has. The gigantic bureaucracy of government
829 agencies is mysterious and unpredictable. One can
241 never be certain when or for what reason another economic increment may come. "I used to throw away a form from the Department of Agriculture until I found out from somebody that you could get money with it. You say you're planting so much of your land in oats, and later you fill out another form saying you didn't get a very good return, and they send you a deficiency payment."

For some crofters, the requirements of the subsidies
241 have affected the extent and techniques of agricultural
242 activity. For example, one man used to work his land
654 in the way that his ancestors learned would bring best
178 results: lazybeds were aligned in strips that would drain well and catch the sun, and stones were left in the soil to capture the sun's warmth and thereby facilitate the growth of potatoes. Now he has merged the separate strips, cleared the stones, and divided the land into units that allow him easily to calculate how much he has used for what crops, because to be eligible for a particular grant, a certain percentage of arable land must be ploughed with grass seed and rotated with other crops.

The Department of Agriculture and the Crofters
241 Commission often overlap in their subsidy-giving functions.
654

5 AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

THE economic possibilities of the peat blanket of the island, 175*
particularly in Lewis, have attracted the attention of many 134
would-be exploiters. Sir James Matheson's advisers formed 311
the idea that the Lewis hags could be turned to a good profit, and Sir James's series of peat reclamation and improvement programmes are still echoed today. He first cast his eye to the west, north of Achmore, a township set up more than a century ago on deep peat. The peat reclaimer he employed was none other than Alexander Smith, one of the best-known 'speculative' agriculturalists in Scotland at the time. Smith had already transformed the Carse of Gowrie from bog to a fertile tract of land; could he not do the same in Lewis? The site chosen was seven miles from Stornoway and the little hamlet established there was called Little Deanston, in recognition of Deanston, Perthshire, to which Smith belonged. The soil consisted of bog-moss, varying in depth from 3 to 8 ft. Sixty acres were wedge-drained and laid [242] •
out in fields of ten acres enclosed with ditches and turf fences. Ploughing and trenching began and fertilizing agents were applied, including clay marl, shell sand, guano and dissolved bones. Two of the fields were put through a course of arable cultivation, the others being laid down in grass. After the fields had been worked for a few years it was found that the driest ground gave the best results. In time the land was handed over [241]
to some crofters from nearby Lochganvich, but in 1850 it was abandoned because of the difficulty in getting seaweed for manuring; and besides it was not possible to keep the land in good heart and to do fishing as well. The tract of land concerned today still shows a better quality of pasture than the adjacent natural moorland.

Smith gave his impressions voice in 1844, just after his first 175*
visit to Lewis, to the august members of the Glasgow Philosophical 241
Society. The cultivation of the soil was as primitive as the 134
311
181

*175 islanders' manufacture of cloth. The inhabitants were at least a
241 century behind the times, though they were, he found, in no way
134 deficient by nature. They were social in their own style, and they
311 had very good heads, 'that is, for people not accustomed to habits
[181] of thought'. So far as agriculture was concerned, nothing in the way of draining the land had ever been accomplished; nor had any effort been made to penetrate the hard sub-soil. He held that
[137] the great scarcity of timber had been a serious handicap when
[412] it came to agricultural implements—to their renewal, repair or possible improvement. Under direction, however, he was convinced that improvements in land use would result in considerable benefits to the island. He added that he hoped the period of this improvement would not be far off and that visitors would find 'a green, pastoral land instead of a dreary waste'.

*175 Yet not until 1928 was peat reclamation and development
• 242 again brought out for an airing. This time, the benefactor was
134 the late Mr T. B. MacAulay, a Montreal magnate, a son of Lewis
311 connections. He gave £10,000 to establish an experimental farm in Lewis, and a site on Arnish moor, not far from Stornoway, was chosen. It was typical of most of Lewis: black, water-holding peat, which when squeezed, instead of allowing water to escape from it like a sponge, oozes itself through the fingers. The aims of the farm were to provide additional arable land on which to grow winter fodder, and to improve, at as low a cost as possible, the grazing on the moorland. Fifty acres were certainly converted from moorland to arable, and this formed a basis for an experimental extension to another 100 acres. By 1936 the farm had a sales income from produce of about £1,400. The stock in that
[231] year included 40 head of thriving cattle, including 15 dairy cows, 20 poultry, 140 blackfaced sheep, and some fattening pigs. The sheep were a late addition, made with the dual aim of pasturing on moorland too deep and soft for cattle in wet weather, and of improving the sheep strain of the island.

By 1938, it had been shown that some lasting improvement on moorland of reasonably favourable slope could be effected at a materials cost of about £3 per acre, and without heavy labour costs. Thus, the common grazings held by the crofting townships could be improved, if a co-operative effort were organized. So

far as the reclamation of arable land from moorland was con- 175*
cerned, however, requiring as it did under-draining and cultiva- 242 •
tion, the labour costs were heavy, approaching the £20 per acre 134
mark including the liming and fertilizing. 311
234

Though the farm was used for dairying with some reason-
able results, the moorland acres put into good heart at Arnish were left to deteriorate. The run-down of the experiment followed the depression of 1933. Funds dried up, and in 1939 the farm was let to a tenant. But the lesson obtained from the MacAulay farm was a good one. By simply dressing with shell sand, of which large quantities are available on the shore-lands, applying some form of phosphate and seeding with cheap clover or ryegrass—involving no cultivation—large areas of moorland can be persuaded to do a good job. The work at present being undertaken by crofters 134
to improve moorland grazing is worth mention. Areas of land 311
have been given a surface application of approved compound 241
fertilizers, phosphates, lime or shell sand, and selected grass-seed 242
mixtures. The results are literally a sight for sore eyes, and bring Alexander Smith's 'green, pastoral land' close to realisation. Although individual crofters have taken advantage of the help given to regenerate rough grazings, the most spectacular results have been seen on the township common grazings; most of these have been fenced off and improved. Today, something like 14,000 acres of lush green pastures are steadily spreading over deep peat where formerly grew only sedges and brown heather.

To end this aspect of land use in Lewis on a historical note, 134
the story of re-seeding had its beginnings during the time of the 175*
Napoleonic Wars. A minister who had some land at Barvas, on 311
the west coast of the island, decided to attempt the reclamation 242
of useless heather-bound and bracken-choked land. He sanded the area with shell sand, seeded it with a good strain of grass and used sheep to tamp in the seed. One can imagine what Lewis would be like today if the Barvas minister's work had been followed up by Alexander Smith and those who set up the farm at Arnish.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

133 clay is exposed, leaving what is vividly called 'skinned'
314 land. And where drift is exposed, the mineral constituents
134 are leached out, and a hard 'moor pan' is left a few inches
[356] below the surface.

Seen from the edge of the crofts, the typical 'skinned
134 lands' of bare, blue or brownish clay, littered with stones,
137 suggest a desert. Often, only a few blades of grass or tufts of heather grow on them. Indeed, 'skinned land' seems at first too mild a term, for on it the stones—thickest on top when undisturbed, and bleached by the acids of the peat that overlay them—suggest the prophet's 'field of bones'. One can only ask, is the rest of his vision ever to be fulfilled and life to spring again? In some hilly parts to south and west, not only the 'skin', the topmost layer of peat, but the very soil, the flesh as it were, is still being
[166] stripped bare to the bone, the actual rock. The evacuation of the islet of Bernera Beag (Uig) was largely due to this stripping. In the more level parts to the north, however, roadside pits show sections of clay with few stones, covered with perhaps six inches of clay with many stones. It is this top layer which gives the skinned land such a hopelessly stony appearance, and shows that reclamation is less miraculous than it seems.

134 With the coming of carts and lorries the increasing use
of shell sand has become possible, whether for spreading
• 242 on the land or for slipping into pockets, together with
[178] fertilisers, for potato seed. As to soils, shell sand and
boulder clay possess complementary qualities in texture
[493] and chemical composition. The shell sand of the machars provided an early home for man, the light soil allowing rye, a poor variety of oats, and herbage, to ripen early and mature in late, wet seasons when the clays are sodden with rain. Yet the sand itself is so light that drought is

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

• 242 a danger, and an unseasonable gale may blow away the
134 furrow and ridge with the seed. As a partial remedy, seaweed and turf are mixed with it. On the whole, landforms and soils, and the climate of the past which helped to make them, are factors of difficulty for plant and man.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

341 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new
491 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all
[487] but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
493 two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans call
225 but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor -
368 two wells only are in use.
[497]
[312]

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. Water supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses. The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all
[342] except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has
225 a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly
455 and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return
[490] fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars.

241 The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the
[231] smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, and
[467] Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from Brenish or Enacleit. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years ago was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

• 242 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts
134 the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the
324 crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Park

231 Table III reveals that there are 177 agricultural units with a souming; ten units are crofts in Glengravir without a souming and the remainder of the 219 units have no grazing rights. From this Table, it is clear that full stocking and overstocking increase with the size of the croft: the units of ten acres and over, on the basis of stock carry, would appear to be the most intensively
[469] worked. In all, just over half of the units take up their full souming. Table IV gives an
[561] analysis of employment ancillary to croft work for 141 of the 219 units and it would appear that
[887] neither ancillary employment nor age is significantly related to the intensity of croft working. Table V points to the fact that more full-time crofters are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables
[511] III, IV and V underline the fact that the larger units are also the more successful and it is significant that the larger units are almost all on the better land in the agricultural townships. The average size of holding in the agricultural townships is nine acres, compared with less than eight acres in the fishing townships, where the land is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

195 The trends in agriculture are illustrated by Tables VI and VII. The Crofters' Commission made
178 a survey of the crofts through the medium of Estate Factors in 1883; from Table VI it is evident
241 that the number of cattle was much higher at that time and that the cattle-sheep ratio in the
231 selected townships was 1:3 as compared with 1:25 in 1958. Table VII gives agricultural statistics for the parish of Loche as a whole; separate figures for Park are not available. Since 1913, radical changes in the crop and stock patterns have taken place; bere (Hordeum vulgare) has disappeared as a crop, and sown grass and permanent grass for hay have since 1947 become the leading crops. Horses have all but disappeared, and the cattle-sheep ratio has risen from less than 1:4 to 1:39 for the whole parish. Since 1938, cultivation in Loche Parish has declined by 36
[518] per cent. Large areas of lazy-beds, no longer cultivated, are visible landscape signs of these
[324] changes; seaweed, the sine quae non for lazybed cultivation, is no longer carried to the upper part of the crofts. In fact, many of the crofts no longer use seaweed as a fertiliser.

233 From the foregoing account, it is clear that there are two major agricultural problems in Park:
241 the lack of sufficiently large crofts with good arable land and an insufficiency of common grazing; these deficiencies bring in their train the problem of overstocking, and the existence of uneconomic holdings.

241 The more progressive crofters, significantly resident on the better crofts of the agricultural
• 242 townships, have shown how croft land can be improved by re-seeding and sowing down to grass,
176 practices which could be fruitfully extended throughout Park. In addition, several townships by co-operative effort, have reseeded small areas of the commons grazings with splendid results.

241 However it is clear that it is not possible for 219 viable agricultural units to be maintained on the present crofting area. The optimum size of croft which could maintain a family is a moot point, for the location and situation of a croft and the quality of the land and common pasture would all have to be taken into account in making an assessment.

231 This problem was referred to a practical agriculturalist who was asked to state what size of
241 croft and number of stock would be required to provide an annual income of £300, excluding croft
242 benefit (milk, eggs and potatoes consumed on the croft) and any costing for labour. To fulfil these conditions, one of the fishing townships was carefully analysed, and the expert came to the following approximations, assuming that the rules of good husbandry were in force after the croft had been brought up to a good standard of cultivation and re-seeding had been carried out where possible on the outrun and Common Pasture, and provided there was no overstocking, and that present favourable subsidies and prices continue:-

231 241 242

Size of croft: 6 acres arable, (3 in crop, 3 in sown grass), 18 acres outrun and rights in Common Grazing to carry:-

6 cows, 2 young cattle, 50 ewes, 12 wedders, 12 ewe hogge and a ram.

	Income	£		Expenses	£
231 241 242 434	Sale of 1 cow, 5 calves, 10 cast ewes and 3 wedders, and 28 lambs say	224		Rent, ram, service of bull, grass, oat, potato and turnip seed, manures and hand feeding say	98
	Sale of wool	33		Excess of income	300
	Subsidies on cows, calves and cropping	141			
	Total income	£398			398

In order to work such a croft efficiently, the tenant could not take regular ancillary employment and would require the assistance of his family at busy periods. If such holdings were formed in the particular township studied, the number of crofts would have to be reduced to almost one third of present total. Considering Park as a whole, the agricultural units would have to be reduced to half of their present number but this latter figure is only very approximate as it was based on general evidence. It is clear, however, that about 100 viable agricultural units could be maintained on the present crofting area of Park.

000 From a detailed study of the agriculture of Park one can only conclude that the present crofting situation is far from being an optimum one. Only reorganisation on a major scale could made crofting economic, and such reorganisation would have to be coupled with the development of a non-crofting sector of the community dependent on ancillary industry. The prospects for the growth of ancillary industry are discussed on page 12. Larger crofts might well evolve as a result of continued depopulation. In the meantime, a determined effort could be made in the spheres of re-seeding and pasture improvement, and in consolidating the existing non-adjacent pieces of certain crofts. A reduction of the sheep stocks, with an emphasis on quality instead of quantity, and the introduction of more cattle, narrowing the present 1:25 cattle-sheep ratio, are policies which could be followed with profit.

ANCILLARY OCCUPATIONS

464 In most crofting areas, ancillary employment is necessary to compensate for the low croft income: total dependence on the croft for a livelihood has never been characteristic of many crofting [161] areas except in times of privation. At the time of the abolition of run-rig, most crofting areas had [162] a greater population than the land could support, even at subsistence level, and as a result, on most estates, crofts were created smaller than the optimum size in order to give as many persons as 464 possible a share in the land. First the kelp industry and at a later period fishing, resulted in sub-228 divisions of crofts, already too small, and the establishment of a cottar and squatter population. In 423 the case of kelp, the landlord required as many hands as he could muster and in the hey-day of the 241 fishing industry, the land was a secondary consideration as meal could be bought with the proceeds of the catches.

161 In Park, it is noteworthy that the most congested areas in 1883 were the fishing townships and 162 that since 1901, when the decline in the fishing industry began, these townships have experienced 464 rapid depopulation. No other home-based ancillary industry has successfully filled the gap in the economy. In Park as a whole only 18 per cent of the total male population of insurable age (15-64) are full-time crofters today - a striking confirmation of the fact that ancillary employment in necessary. 000 However, not all such employment is available in Park: 47 per cent of the insurable male population

[Garyvard]

407 Only a fraction of the total arable land is cultivated by tractor and this is divided among seven crofts. In spite of an emphatic statement by one of these cultivators to the effect that he will never use it again, the use of the tractor will increase as soon as the pioneers are able to prove to their neighbours its capabilities and as soon as the lazy-beds are joined together, an improvement which has already taken place in Habost. The main objection to the use of the tractor by the disappointed user was the inevitable one that the yields were smaller than in former years when he had used the spade. The answer to this was given by one of the other pioneers, who thought that time saved could be devoted to some other profitable occupation, 242 for example, weaving. Six of the crofters practise a five-year crop rotation, sowing potatoes first, followed by oats under-sown with clover which for the following three years is cut for hay.

An interesting experiment has been that of the improvement of two acres of common grazing land by the road on the west side of the township, by nine of the crofters working together during the evenings. The work began early in Spring when 6 tons of lime, 10 cwts. of mineral phosphates and 8 cwts. of compound fertilizer were spread evenly over the land. The grass seed was sown in July, the most favourable time for sowing since there is less danger of a drought than earlier in the year, and more convenient too, in that the sheep had been gathered for shearing and 250 of them were available to be driven back and forth over the land to tramp the seeds in. In theory this land should be ready for grazing next Spring, but in practice it will be ready in November. It is planned to re-seed twelve acres in all.

231 Most crofters have a cow to provide milk for their own needs. The Black Poll bull at Gravir 234 is preferred to the other township bulls since its progeny command higher prices. Sales are held 432 in the district twice per year, once on the old lake-level on the east side of the township, and once 435 at Balallan. Prices for calves are normally better in Spring than at the Autumn sale, nevertheless prices offered tend to be low. Even so, it is usually to the advantage of the crofter to part with the animal rather than bear the cost of taking it back to the croft and wintering it there. Naturally there is some bitterness that the middlemen who buy these animals will sell them at much higher prices on the mainland at Dingwall. Sheep are normally sold in Stornoway to the butchers but also at the local sales.

241 Crofting is not in itself a lucrative form of employment and in most households there is at 434 least one other source of income. A majority of the crofters have regular employment, two 463 working in quarries or on the roads for the County Council, another is postman, three are weavers, 464 another both weaver and contractor, while yet another works in Antarctic waters aboard a whaling 464 factory ship for eight months of the year. Weaving is undoubtedly the most lucrative of the an-[238] cillary occupations, though the weavers are suffering at the moment from the slump in the Harris Tweed industry which is also affecting the prices for wool. Contracting is also a paying proposition for one or two persons only, since the amount of freight is obviously limited.

241 Most crofters own a small rowing boat and it is not uncommon to see half a dozen nets set to 226 catch mackerel and other demersal fish. There is not one large fishing boat, however, partly 501 because of the scarcity of fish near the coasts, and partly because of the isolation of the area and [228] the subsequent difficulty in marketing. The Fleetwood trawlers are regarded as pirates in the Minch, and one has to its credit the destruction of two long lines - the sum total of the tackle belonging to a local boat. To have eighteen pounds worth of gear lost in one night is ruin to a crofter-fisherman. Lobster fishing has died out at Garyvard though it could be quite extensively practised.

361 The main road from South Loche to Stornoway through the village has obviously had a profound 491 effect on the township. The sites of the old 'black houses' have been abandoned when new houses have been built, in favour of sites conveniently near to the road. The Road Age has greatly [241] limited man's capacity for carrying goods. This is well illustrated by the fact that the majority of crofters in Garyvard use artificial fertilizers, whereas they are scarcely used at all in Caversta where the road ends about 50 yards from the nearest house.

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed

241 clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass c
311 by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantag
[246] lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. O
232 vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry
324 crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

221 The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep pe
231 enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to mainta
233 no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the se
seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent o
[236] place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is
clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either
spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from
week of August and then dipped. November is the tupping period and alm
own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the c
so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The
Aberdeen-Angus bull from Crubeg Farm. The township gates are open
remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced
is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on
without special permission, or on fank days.

178 Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cro
253 the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, muc
311 cultivation and from an an air photograph, it is evident that hay was bei
above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in
[242] this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acr
it is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats ar
[314] road between Caversta and Gravir, about three miles south-south-east
north of Gravir.

17 Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fis
228 fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornow
who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem
[506] however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many
in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might ha
vessels bringing goods to Park.

288 In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Twe
[493] road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airidhvruach. At present
only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily do
[236] the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. K
but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting mach

162 In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of
166 middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the tee
167 been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, return
164 with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged pa

491 Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communi
[434] road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and
which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route t
[493] boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and thi
haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the su
additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicul
366 shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesda

could be improved considerably
of the facilities for obtaining
only seven crofts have
y-stone wall) has produced

r £1 rental, but is not
ain throught the winter and
bouming is exceeded by only
f the soum. Lambing takes
lost. The sheep are
sells the fleece or has it
n the ewes during the second
nost every crofter had his
alves to be born in March
cows are served by an
ed in October and the cattle
by the Grazings Committee
to the Common grazing

more, were used until
h of the outrun was under
ng taken on the strips
the amount of arable land but
plot on the common grazing;
now being cut near the
of Cromore and one mile

hing boats. Two Cromore
ay) and there are a few men
little prospect of this,
a 'white elephant' and,
ve been used by cargo

d. Tweeds are obtained by
he average production is
ble their production. During
itting is a winter pastime
ine.

old people. Many from the
nagers, many of whom have
ing for holidays and assisting
ents.

cations with the town are by
the sub-postmaster has a van
Stornoway was once by
is used for most of the
nmer. As a result of recent
r traffic. There are no
y, Thursday and Saturday;

[Lemreway]

157 vulgaris is dominant. Ling, which can tolerate considerable soil water, often occurs with Nardus, Molinia, Scirpus caespitosus and Eriophorium. A few rowans, usually near the shore, and a few willows, usually within stone enclosures, are the only trees to be seen.

241 Of the thirty-three legal crofts in Lemreway, nine comprise less than five acres, while seventeen
423 are between five and ten acres. Of the remainder, only two exceed fifteen acres and one of these is 30 acres. Six unoccupied crofts are worked by persons other than their tenants, so actually the 290 acres of croft land are shared by twenty-seven holdings. The seventeen-acre 'outend' was originally divided between fifteen tenants but confused sub-letting has resulted in four separate holdings directly occupying nine acres, and working another four acres. Thus the outend today must be regarded as the monopoly of four 'unofficial' holders.

244 Little more than a quarter of the croft land is cultivable and even less is actually cultivated
931 today: Figure 9 illustrates the crofting year. The broken terrain and the stony nature of the soil has permitted the cultivation of tiny 'lazybeds' and the total cultivated area is now about 48 acres. Only the strips of land on the gentler slopes, where the soils are deeper, are now cultivated, but every croft shows signs of former, more extensive, lazybed cultivation, often covering at least two acres. For example, on the east side, natural hay is cut on the well-marked lazybeds at about 225 feet.

244 Oats and potatoes, 29.5 and 16 acres respectively, occupy almost all of the cultivated ground.
246 Most crofts grow about half an acre of potatoes and one acre of oats; both acreages have declined, the former with a declining population and the latter with a reduction in the numbers of cattle; hay has increased in importance. No bere is now grown, though before 1900 it was preferred to oats.
[642] Ruins of the bere mill, which ceased to function at the beginning of the century, can still be seen.
[715] Fifty-nine acres of natural grass are cut for hay but only four crofters had sown grass for hay in 1958, about three acres in all. Few vegetables other than potatoes are grown though carrots are said to grow well, and formerly turnips and cabbages were grown. The soil needs careful preparatio
251 to be productive and almost every crofter used some seaweed and at least twenty drew subsidies for i
[728] and artificial fertilisers in 1958.

281 Stock totals have declined recently but the township has 36 cows and 22 calves. Only one croft
[654] is without cattle and 22 of the 33 working units have a cow and a calf. The township has an Ayrshire bull on loan from the Department of Agriculture; one of the few remaining elements of the co-operati township system is that this animal is fed by the crofters, in rotation, during the winter.

All but two crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between ten and 120 per holding but the majority have about 23 ewes with ten lambs. Although numbers have declined recently, the 3,025 acres of very moderate common pasture support a flock of about 1,150 sheep, including about 650 breeding ewes and about 300 lambs.

283 The souming is not enforced in Lemreway and it is remarkable that the total stock tallies almost exactly to the souming. An examination of the sheep soum reveals that the stock of 917 (excluding lambs) considerably exceeds the sheep soum of 626. It is interesting that it is nearly always the working units of over 10 acres that are overstocked; of twelve such units, eight keep more sheep tha they are entitled to. Most of these crofts are grouped on the eastern side of the township where the crofts have a larger outrun.

311 Thus, while overgrazing is not so severe as in many townships, it represents a potential threat,
247 particularly if the common pasture is not improved. However, in 1958 ten acres of the common pasture have been enclosed and re-seeded. Six acres were sown with ordinary mixed grass seed, two acres with pelletted seed and two acres with pelletted and inoculated seed. The eleven crofters taking part in the scheme put on 100 tons of sand to help drain and aerate the peaty soil, 2½ tons of ground mineral phosphate and 2 tons of concentrated compound fertiliser, grades 1 and 2 - all of it by hand. The area was sown in May 1958: by the following August, there was a striking difference between it and the untreated pasture. Next Spring, eleven cows will be grazed on this area. With the success of this scheme, it is hoped that more of the crofters will co-operate in re-seeding further areas.

[Lemreway] [Orinsay]

228 The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fish
196 township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there werd
[434] boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolesce
[445] and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today ther
[504] one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway working with modern equipment, drift a
nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

161 An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared
162 those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one h and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other cr townships in Park.

[463] Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancill
241 occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with r
[288] employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weaver
[228] over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy
[205] nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.
[494]

[166] Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939.
[169] Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships
[505]
[537]

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Ever
302 has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells.
399 of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road.
[472] of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the sh
[461] up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the
Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.
[491]

484 Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scot Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the r they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.
[485]

000 It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerat
407 enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from w is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially n
311 outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted
242 all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman i being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver contemporary employment combinations.
463

181 The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditi
000 it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

131 Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the he
361 a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fif
241 of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed co
[113] tents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

ceptance of the potato, a much more productive and dependable 161 175
bsistence item than grain on Skye, made it possible for more 178 241
ople to live on less land. The introduction of a new industry, 464
lping, provided many with employment and freed them from com-
lete dependence on a subsistence economy. Vaccination reduced 757
he mortality rate, especially among infants whose chances of 165
eaching maturity and procreating were thus enhanced. Another 511
mportant factor was the Skyeman's share in the general pros-
crity of British agriculturalists during the early years of
he Industrial Revolution and during the Napoleonic Wars. An 423
specially important factor was the practice of subdividing 582
he land which made early marriage possible, in particular after
he installation of the crofting system. Finally, but by no 161
eans least significant, there was the persistence of many 175
ypical features of the culture in the days of the clan. The 178 182
entimental ties of kinship and attachment to the soil had
emained.

The population decrease, partially a result of the Skyeman's 161
nvolvement in the process of commercialization, was primarily 175
result of a failure to fully adjust to the higher, more 178 184
eterogeneous socio-economic level. By the end of the second
eriod of the modern epoch, 1845, the people had become hostages
o the potato and their own fertility. When the potato failed
hem, they had nothing to fall back upon, except the generosity
f their landlords. The cattle and kelp markets had collapsed
t the end of the Wars, and the subdivided land could not
roduce sufficient grain. The belief of many that the pop-
ulation had over-run the limited local resources was confirmed.

Table IV

Isle of Lewis:

Individual Apportionments and Township

1960-1969 (Crofters Commis

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Township Schemes:	30	29	38	17	4
Apportionments:	1	22	32	34	22

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Reseeding Schemes,
sion)

1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
8	4	4	3	2
30	49	42	43	64

may need just one more dry day to finish his harvest. If the next day is the Sabbath, his one dry day may be two or three weeks away and the hay a sodden heap. Nor did the Sgiathanach, or any newcomer with a croft, change during the war despite all the pleas of the government for full agricultural production. This is the one time that the Older Order Amish slogan "And be not conformed to this world" fully applies to the island. Circumspect behavior on this day functions to remind the people of all the negations and all the sanctions which religion has bestowed on the culture.

As in the case of Communions, there has been a gradual lessening of the importance of Sabbitarianism, especially since the return of many young men and women from the war. Again, the rather spontaneous relaxation of the rules is most common in Portree. It does not have the encouragement of the ministers of any church nor the elders of any church, except the Church of Scotland. Thirty or forty years ago the ministers and the lay kirk officers had enough influence to stop the running of trains throughout the western Highlands, shipping in the Western Isles, and the Kyle-Kyleakin ferry on the Sabbath. Public transportation is still at a standstill on the first day of the week, but the Sunday papers appear in Portree after the evening services, despite all the efforts of the ministers. They come by car from Inverness, by row boat across the strait, and by car to the village.

Before the war no one in Portree would let their children out of the house, except to go to church with their

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1922) 1955 ESIU Highland Scot
Lewis and Harris

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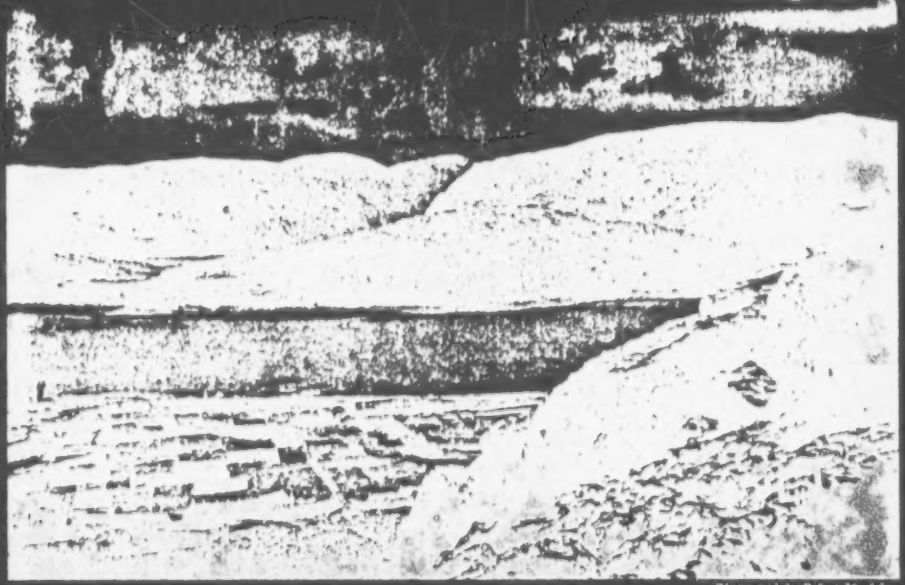

Photograph by Robert M. Adam

PLATE VII. WESTERN NORTH HARRIS FROM THE ISLET OF SCARP

View due east across the Sound of Scarp to the hills of North Harris: the furthest is Tirga Mor (2227 ft.). From the crofter-fishers' homesteads (left foreground) potato patches and hayfields extend towards the hill and wall of common grazing (extreme right foreground)

/facing p. 48/

[Orinsay]

The future existence of the common pasture for grazing is being seriously endangered by overstocking. The souming is not enforced in Orinsay and the actual sheep stock exceeds the soum by 300 per cent. Peat-cutting is gradually destroying valuable grazing areas; in the last three years there has even been some peat cutting on the better grazing on the island. The dangers both of overstocking and of indiscriminate peat cutting cannot be overstressed.

No evidence was seen of attempts to improve the quality of the common pasture. The establishment of shelter belts would provide not only shelter but a means of stopping the peat from 'slumping' down slopes if they were carefully sited. Much of the common pasture could be improved by a hill drainage scheme and by re-seeding, after sanding and liming, a project well within the capacity of the resident labour force.

Good crops on a few of the crofts suggest that the land is not inherently sterile, however, and it would seem that if the holdings were reduced to a maximum of four, an economic existence might be feasible on these crofts. The stony nature of the soil limits the possibilities of tractor cultivation, but with an improvement in drainage, one might be used in the two valleys.

It is not so easy to be optimistic about the employment of surplus population resulting from such an enlargement of holdings, although a revival in the fishing industry could absorb most of the men. A present there are no looms in Orinsay and providing the Harris tweed industry can hold its own, there are possibilities in weaving. Seaweed is in plentiful supply, indeed Lemreway people also obtain supplies and should its quality prove adequate, the establishment of a processing plant would provide valuable employment.

Nevertheless it is becoming increasingly obvious that unless the holdings can be enlarged, whethe officially or by sub-letting, and some further employment created, Orinsay is liable to stagnate, and depopulation to continue. The township which was developed to relieve congestion is now itself congested.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the Glasgow University Department of Geography Crofting Survey is to record and analyse material relevant to the crofting districts, and in so doing provide a clear and impartial statement of the present situation. In inviting us to undertake a survey of Park, the Pairc Association hoped that a body of fact would be assembled and conclusions drawn which would assist the Association in their admirable aims of advancing the well-being of the area. Their two Progress Reports, of 1956 and 1957, indicate that they have already investigated many of the possibilities for development. This summary refers to Park alone, and, it must be emphasised that until the survey of crofting is completed, no final assessment of the Crofting Area as a whole can be made.

The district of Park is one of the more isolated and difficult crofting environments. The ruggedne of the terrain, the high proportion of land of very low agricultural value and sheer isolation make the existence of human communities precarious. In addition, many of the Park communities were first established as a result of population pressure in more favourable areas of Lewis, and the original small settlements grew rapidly as a result of a change in land use which was a national trend - the conversion of poorer areas from subsistence farming to an extensive sheep-rearing economy. The impact of this change came to Park in the form of the eviction of a large body of small farmers in favour of an extension of the grazing area. Thus the present conditions are a legacy of the relatively recent past, and of legislation, particularly in the Crofters' Act of 1886, which accepted, and tacitly agreed to the maintenance of a larger population than the land could reasonable carry[1]. Two World Wars and fluctuating economic factors have had repercussions in Park and resulted in a change in economic and social values, and depopulation has resulted: the 1951 population was 60 per cent of the 1911 total.

1. The Commissioners proposed that only holdings rented at £6 and over should have security of tenure, with a view to discouraging the perpetuation of grossly uneconomic holdings; in the Act, all holdings were given security of tenure.

migration scheme to be attempted. In 1923 sixty-eight families from the Isle of Harris, in the Outer Hebrides, were brought over to Skye and settled in Bracadale. Probably, close to 300 new holdings and in the neighborhood of 200 enlargements have been made since 1897. This clearly reflects the limited space available for crofting at the end of the "Clearances."

In addition to land settlement, the government has continued to stimulate improvements in stock breeding techniques and to foster more efficient land utilization. Credit facilities, by grant and loan, were offered to enable the crofters to purchase stock, especially sheep, and to build new cottages. Grants and subsidies, in an ever increasing number, have been made available to promote a fuller use of the land. Initially, under the Congested Districts Board, these facilities were devised specifically for the Highlands. By the time the Congested Districts Board was abolished, the crofters had become officially integrated with the national agricultural scene so that specific subsidies, grants, and loans were replaced with an opportunity to apply for assistance within the national program of agricultural development. Instruction in scientific methods of agriculture has been another continuing function of the government through a series of advisory services and, more recently, by a program of demonstration crofts and farms. Access to markets has similarly been facilitated by improving communications by land and, to a lesser extent, by sea.

Security and protection for the crofters has been another unfailing interest of the government. Again, with official integration, the scope of legislation has been extended to

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43 CEREAL AGRICULTURE--specialized cultivation of cereal crops (e.g., maize, millet, rice, wheat); techniques of planting and harvesting (e.g., transplantation, threshing); use of specialized tools, equipment, and machinery; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Milling industry . . . . . 286 Harvesting and threshing machinery 407

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Table III

Parish of Barvas, Isle of Lewis:

Agricultural Statistics, 1870-1970

(Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh)

	1870	1881	1891	1902	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1970
Potatoes (acres)	856	875	1105	1280	1146	1126	1043	679	576	413	144
Barley (acres)	854	1486	1172	1226	959	1149	823	401	94	14	1.5
Oats (acres)	920	530	556	728	1107	1039	2045	2451	2327	1432	486
Milk Cows	1605	1992	1771	1949	1951	1932	1846	1544	1295	960	451
Beef Cattle								50	47	1273	760
Sheep (in thousands)	16	16.4	17.7	19.9	19.5	16.9	21.3	22.7	41	37	35

: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

For example,
175 a Widow Catherine lost "one red
427 mare and foal (L10), one dun cow (L3/10), and one dun
[435] heifer (L1/10)." One family is said to have paid rent
[551] by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir James Matheson), thus earning the patronymic, "Fiddler." Their income stopped abruptly when the fiddler at the time, a great-grandfather of descendants now living, converted to the Free Church and smashed his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1905 it was noted in the rent ledger that two crofters wanted "first chance of a vacant croft
[628] in the township." In the first quarter of the century,
[764] a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighboring township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too precious to take out of cultivation and give to the dead of another village.

173 A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living
241 from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was
[233] young. They used the dung of the cattle to fertilize the
[237] soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was only 2½ acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight stacks of barley to see us through the year." There were
173 a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the streams
• 243 to grind the barley. The "old Norse mill" which was
256 recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project
[251] was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got
[877]

173 "Then the tweeds got
• 243 going and the barley took too much
256 no use for the mill."
829

173 A 60-year-old woman remembers
262 potato and fished a lot. I was ra
bannocks, and salt herring. There
school canteens when I was young;
[264] own 'piece' to school. We had por
for breakfast, oatcakes and butter
at 4:00, of potatoes and fish and
[251] once a week. My father poached a
and the roe of the salmon fresh, a
Once among the cleanest, Hebridean
164 British cities in extent of decay.
759 a child in his first year of schoo
pulled by the travelling dentist.

261 Various customs associated wi
272 reflect the days when fare was mea
[171] omnipresent in Britain, but in the
272 special significance. The taking
574 the denouement of a visit, and al
someone steps over someone else's
[576] tea has some of the connotations
take only tea, without food, is t
(empty cup).

trouble; so they had

, "They depended on the
ised on oatcakes, barley
were no vans and no
you had to carry your
ridge with fresh milk
for lunch. Dinner was
milk. We had meat maybe
lot. We ate the heads
nd salted the rest."
teeth now vie with
It is not uncommon for
l to have six teeth

th food which exist today
ger. Tea-drinking is
islands it has
of tea constitutes
ost always occurs when
threshold. To refuse
of an insult; and to
have a copan falamh

131 632

(1) Stornoway stretches from the town north to Tolsta;
(2) Barvas from the north of the Island southwards, past Barvas village (WNW. of Stornoway) five miles further to Bragar;
(3) Uig covers the rest of the south-west coast; and
(4) Lochs, the remainder of the south-east coast.

131 133 Seen from the sea, the Island chiefly presents dark, gneissic, heath-fringed cliffs whose steep walls become gentle slopes towards the south as we enter the bays, sea lochs and firths which run far inland (Plates I to IV). As one sails northward along the east coast of Lewis, there are few hills to be seen, and these are below 1000 feet; most of the island is rolling moor, rarely rising above 300 feet. Here and there new houses stand out, the 'white houses' (*tighean geala*), which, however, are usually grey 342 or even dark in colour. These dwellings have generally been stone-built and were often slate-roofed; asbestos roofs are now common. Yet even when dark, these new cottages are conspicuous beside the low 'black houses' with their rounded forms of wall and roof, and with thatch overspread by a faint haze of blue peat reek, like the bloom 133 upon a fruit. Their plots of corn, though each may be so tiny as to appear but a spot at a distance, together form [243] a bright patch against the dark brown moor. In the sketch which forms the Key to the Map of Vegetation and Settlements (Fig. 8), an attempt has been made to bring the map and the landscape alive to the mind's eye, from the hills of North Harris north-eastward to the Butt of Lewis.

131 133 Turning the north cape of Lewis, 'the Butt', and sailing southwards along the west coast, we see hills increasing in height in the Uig district, rising to those of Harris with

"the lone shieling of the misty island". Traditional Gaelic songs tell rather of shielings grouped within hail, with their sweethearting and good cheer!

3. *Crops and Stock*, circa *1938*

As the thirties mark a transition between early conditions prevailing until 1919 and those of 1947–53 (Appendix I), the present tense is used.

Of the Island's 528,000 acres, including deer forests on the Harris border partly grazed, there are 24,000 acres of arable and grass land. Barvas parish leads with 6500 acres, then come Stornoway, Uig and Lochs, Harris being last with 3300 acres. Roughly one-third of the Island's arable and grass land, or 32 per cent, is permanent grass, chiefly machar, with a maximum of 39 per cent in Uig, but a minimum of 9 per cent in rocky Lochs, most of this on one small farm. About 10 per cent of the arable and grass land area is given to hay production; of this, rather less than one-third is rotation hay grown on the plough rigs or parks, and rather more than two-thirds is hay from permanent grass. Lochs, lacking machar, has 20 per cent hay, while Barvas, better off for machar, has only 4 per cent. Even this proportion of rotation hay shows an increase on the crofts since 1919. Stornoway parish, it will be noted, occupies an intermediate place, but if the facts for Point (Eye) district were contrasted with those for the villages along the machar, the differences between them would emerge clearly. As it is, they can be guessed from the vegetation map showing the machar. Oats is the chief crop, and occupies 33 per cent or just one-third of the arable and grass of the Island; excluding the permanent grass, it constitutes half the crop.

In Lochs it occupies only one-quarter of arable and grass. Barley, mostly four-row, or bere, is less important as a food today than formerly, and now occupies only 6 per cent, and, though it reaches 13 per cent in Barvas, with its machar, hardly any is grown in Lochs. Rye (*seagal*), still found in the machars of the Uists, is little grown in the Lews. Potatoes grow well everywhere, occupying about 15 per cent of the area, though townships with plentiful machar land grow most. Turnips are being gradually introduced, and though their liability to disease has somewhat discouraged the crofters, the proportion is now about 2·3 per cent. Cabbages occupy a small area (·1 per cent), latterly along with lettuces, carrots and the like.

Rotation hay and turnips being almost unused up to 1919, oats was grown repeatedly before rotation with barley or potatoes, and with no bare fallow. While heavy manuring maintained the fertility, the crop by July was ablaze with corn marigold (and other weeds) through which the thin oats struggled to rear its head. Thickly sown, the return was exceedingly small. Except for the machar (if any) there was no 'out-field' as elsewhere in old Scotland.

The smallness of the crofts and the poorness of the crops explain the very small total return. Hence little oats is now ground for meal and the potatoes do not last through the year, though few are sold. The low out-turn also explains why even fodder is scarce, though much more of the crop is secured for wintering than formerly. Summing up, a croft of 6 acres—though a little too large to be quite typical—includes a couple of acres of grass and hay, almost as much of oats, and the remainder bears potatoes and barley, with turnips, cabbages and garden produce.

In the past, the cropped land was unfenced and unwalled. At present, the rule is to encourage the con-

427 Tables 16 and 18 support the definition of a croft as a small livestock-economy unit,
311 primarily concerned with the provision of milk for the family and young cattle and wool for
231 sale. There are no cash sales of crops - the whole of the land-use is directed towards
[241] the subsistence of the crofter and his stock. The cereals (almost entirely oats) and the
[246] hay (occupying a very small proportion of land for a livestock farming region) are grown for winter fodder for the cattle and sheep. The larger part of the croft is given over to grazing - usually of poor to medium quality - which receives very little attention from the crofter. Less than one third of the holdings have sown grassland (and in these few cases it is normally less than half an acre) - a fact which suggests a passive rather than active attitude of the crofter towards his land.

[244] In addition, every croft has its own small potato plot - rarely more than half an acre to provide for family needs, and most crofts (58%) possess a vegetable garden - again for house use.

[433] Nearly all the crofts carry one or two cows - the second cow ensures a milk supply all the year round. Young stock are sold at one year to eighteen months old, rather than as calves - a result of the incentive offered by the calf-rearing subsidy. The milking stock is replaced very infrequently.

427 Where one croft differs from the next is in the numbers of sheep stock. Table 17
233 shows an even distribution of crofts with more than fifty and less than fifty sheep; but, in
[434] fact, over one third of all crofts have less than twenty-five sheep. Sheep are the only source of money income on the croft, except for the annual sale of the calf, and subsidies, and there is a considerable difference in the size of sheep stock between the truly subsistence and "retirement" crofts on the one hand and the "commercial" crofts on the other. Hence the souming figures, and here note the contrast between Valtos with the sheep stock equal to 111% of the soum and Kneep - 353%!

000 An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on

TABLE 18
LAND USE

243 244 240		Valtos	Kneep	Reef
	Average size of holding:			
311 427 231	Old arable	2.5	4.1	11.0
	Outrun	2.8	6.2	
	Percentage of croftland under:			
	cereals	7.5	7.0	6.0
	potatoes	2.5	5.0	3.0
	Sown grass (hay)	5.5	1.0	5.5
	natural hay	3.5	10.0	4.0
	natural grazing	75.5	76.0	75.0

244

244 VEGETABLE PRODUCTION--gardening where differentiated from field agriculture; truck gardening; specialized production of particular root crops, leaf plants, or vegetable fruits (e.g., peanuts, potatoes, cabbage, beans, tomatoes, melons); special techniques and apparatus; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Preservation and storage . . . . . 251 Canning industry 255

T

Parish of Bar

Agricultural S

(Scottish Recc

	1870	1881	189
Potatoes (acres)	856	875	110
Barley (acres)	854	1486	117
Oats (acres)	920	530	55
Milk Cows	1605	1992	177
Beef Cattle			
Sheep (in thousands)	16	16.4	1

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able III

vas, Isle of Lewis:

tatistics, 1870-1970

rd Office, Edinburgh)

01	1902	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1970
95	1280	1146	1126	1043	679	576	413	144
72	1226	959	1149	823	401	94	14	1.5
66	728	1107	1039	2045	2451	2327	1432	486
71	1949	1951	1932	1846	1544	1295	960	451
					50	47	1273	760
7.7	19.9	19.5	16.9	21.3	22.7	41	37	35

People kept several cattle, some of which were dry most of the time. But because everyone was keeping cattle, milk could be gotten from a neighbor. One man was planting eight or nine hundredweights of potatoes before the war, some of which would be used to feed the livestock. "You couldn't buy milk then, so you had to keep a cow. And even though people were weaving, they weren't getting so much money as they are now. It was the barter system here for a long time. So they didn't have the money to buy feeding stuff. It was better to spend the time planting potatoes. Now of course there's more money in the weaving."

After the war, an act was passed which provided free milk for schoolchildren. Milk for the Shawbost school was supplied by a farm near Stornoway, and villagers first started buying the milk from the school milk van. A strike held by weavers during the war had increased the payments for weaving, and the barter system had stopped. More money was available. As the loom was more profitable, more people stopped keeping cows, and relied on their neighbors for milk, or got their milk from the van bringing milk to the school. And as the cattle got fewer, the market for bottled milk expanded. A dairy was started on the west side of the island in the mid-1960's which carries milk from Uig to Ness.

Appendix C

Balance Sheet of

"The Muillear" has one cro
In 1970 he planted one-eighth o
of potatoes, two of which he bo
harvested 22 hundredweights. T
his family's needs and provided
stock for all but two months of
is planted with cabbages, for d

Seven-eighths of an acre i
and-a-half acres with grass and
are used for rough grazing.

The Muillear is interested
He goes to meetings and discuss
North of Scotland College of Ag
prize rams from the mainland to
tries to raise a few sheep usin
rather than a large flock which
effective care. He is teased b
feeding," and for keeping his s
township reseeding rather than
get homesick when they get out
wins the prizes at the Carloway

a Croft

ft and a two-acre buaile.
f an acre with three bags
ught for L14/16, and
his was sufficient for
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the year. A small plot
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s planted with oats; one-
hay; and two acres

in new ideas and techniques.
ion groups sponsored by the
riculture, and has bought
improve his flock. He
g techniques of good husbandry
would be given less
y other crofters for "over-
heep on the croft and the
out on the moor. "His sheep
of sight of the croft." He
Cattle Show each year, in a

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NEXT FICHE

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Photograph by Robert M. Adam

PLATE VII. WESTERN NORTH HARRIS FROM THE ISLET OF SCARP

View due east across the Sound of Scarp to the hills of North Harris : the furthest is Tirga Mor (2227 ft.). From the crofter-fishers' homesteads (left foreground) potato patches and hayfields extend towards the hill and wall of common grazing (extreme right foreground)

/facing p. 48/

ECOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

361 The crofting township is not quite akin to the English or Lowland village. Primarily it is a collection of dwellings of families who, as social units, gain their subsistence from the land surrounding the houses. The smallest number for a township is four
476 family units. A functional unit of four men was the minimum necessary for a boat crew, or for the teamwork necessary to cultivate land; co-operation was essential if all four families were to survive. And from this grew the same spirit of communal work which in Lewis is seen at its best in the efforts to reclaim peat bog and turn it into fertile grassland.

361 Hebridean townships come close to being the nearest approach
[565] to a classless society. The shape of a township is largely dictated by the nature of the surrounding land. The shape of most of those in Harris and in Lewis is either scattered or linear (houses disposed in line at varying distances from each other), with little natural
[491] cover, either plantation or scrub. Often the main road runs through the township; some have begun to develop lateral roads, to give, from the air, the appearance of planning on a grid system.
• 244 Where gardens are cultivated, the produce tends to be a summer vegetable supply for the household, little if any finding its way to
372 Stornoway shops for sale. Peat is the usual fuel, though in townships near to the centres of Tarbert and Stornoway coal is burned; the cost of freight, however, makes it expensive.

471 Most of the townships are owned by commercial companies; individual lairds own some five dozen; the remainder belong to public bodies and trusts. The actual distribution of ownership of land on the island is as follows. Harris is virtually owned by individual lairds; a small percentage is owned by commercial companies. The Lochs region of Lewis has a mixed ownership: commercial companies, lairds, and public trust, the former being the largest. Stornoway parish is wholly owned by public trust. The Ness district is virtually the property of commercial companies; a small fraction belongs to public trust. The Uig district is the same, the smaller proportion, less than 10 per cent, being the concern of an individual laird.

In Lewis, the public body mentioned is the Stornoway Trust,

TACKSMEN AND

rental were published for the benefit of intendi
value in sterling being placed on the items:

Money	£713	3	3
Oatmeal, 256 bolls	89	2	2
Sheep, 228	25	6	8
Butter, 173 stones	28	19	7
Tallow, 7 stones	1	3	4
Salmon, 1 barrel	3	0	0
Total =	£860	15	0

The most important event in the agricultura
island at this time was the introduction of the pot
exact date is not known, some evidence from the
in the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* (1796
1757. 'With the utmost difficulty . . . the people
on to plant potatoes, but of which they now plant
by the plough and by the spade, and find them
useful of all crops raised in the Parish.'

The substantial tacksman seemed, in Lewis, to
those who called him Fear Baile (Town Man—
without the trappings and self-elected). Serious co
tacksmen are few. But winds of change were blow
Kenzie, who had for some years been Chamberl
Estate, was examined before the Napier Comm
burgh in 1883. He knew the island's history well.

> Till the beginning of this century, the greater
> was in the hands of tacksmen, or middlemen,
> cases from their sub-tenants in money, produce,
> nearly paid their rents. There were the MacIvers
> Stornoway, the Morisons and Murrays of Barvas
> of Uig, and the MacLeods of Lochs. When Mr Ste
> married the Hon Lady Hood, daughter of Lo
> took the management of the estate into his ow
> away with the middlemen and let the land direct
> This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction,
> advantages, as the example of a good middleman,
> his people, and who was industrious in farming
> stock-breeding, was beneficial to the people, thou
> they may have been petty tyrants.

TENANTS

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writer on Lewis
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AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

With the disappearance of the middlemen, their sub-tenants became tenants of the proprietor; and the descendants of these are most of today's crofters. Mr Thomas Knox, who became Chamberlain of Lewis in 1833, was examined before a Select Committee of the Houses of Parliament on the question of emigration from the island in 1841. At that time there were 1,913 small tenants on the island who paid yearly rents varying from 63s 9d to 72s 3d. He stated that the country produced sufficient corn for the use of the people in most seasons. The years 1836-7 were exceptional and outside relief became necessary. But he did not consider that any person in Lewis was poor who had a lot of land, however small, if it were sufficiently stocked. There were, however, in the island, small tenants occupying land unsuitable for raising grain; and in order to avoid such distress as had occurred in recent years he had advocated the emigration of about 6,000 people, the vacant ground to be put under sheep. This course had been followed in 1838, when five families numbering about seventy people were removed and the land they had occupied was converted into sheep farms.

In the end, however, only a small fraction of the proposed 6,000 persons ever left Lewis under Knox's scheme. Those who were left worked their land under a cloud of increasing distress, in a system which had them in an iron grip. Eventually the bubble burst, as indicated in Chapter 3. The pressure of social conditions, and the events of historical progress, were manifested first in the social action against the agricultural system and finally in the legislation which gave the crofter certain rights.

CROFTING CHANGES

In general, the island during the last century was able to support its population, failing to do so only when disease struck at the staple potato. Each family unit in the crofting township was self-sufficient in most grown produce and the milk products from the family cow. Very poor families grew potatoes only and depended on neighbours for milk. But when the potato crops failed, distress knocked at almost every door, the fishing communities on the island tending to relieve hunger by looking to the sea. The removal

TABLE VII

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS[1]: Parish of Lochs[2]

	1913	1920	1938	1947	1958
CROPS					
Oats	487	383	879	757	467
Bere	191	154	15	4	-
Potatoes	455	772	330	239	189
Sown Grass for Hay	1	26	124	78	161
Sown Grass for Pasture	-	6	74	72	101
Total Cultivation	1134	1341	1422	1150	918
Permanent Grass for Hay	44	32	573	791	730
Permanent Pasture	2650	2664	1041	1367	1746
Others[3]	22	6	268	86	77
TOTAL Crops and Grass:	3850	3843	3306	3394	3471
STOCK:					
Horses	102	101	49	39	11
Cattle	2489	1701	1412	1150	996
Sheep[4]	3650 (3688)	9750 (3952)	23434 (9929)	29688 (14256)	39580 (15989)
Poultry	?	?	8173	12302	8756

1. By courtesy of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.
2. As Park is part of Lochs Parish, these are the only statistics available.
3. Roots (negligible acreage), fallow.
4. Figures in brackets are breeding ewes.

/p. 8-E/

[Seaforthhead]

161 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural
162 and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend,
166 significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment furth of Park, and a smaller loss by
167 migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric,
241 there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration
228 losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of
232 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Caibost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seaforthhead and Shieldernish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former
361 lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

135 Seaforthhead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a
361 gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being
[247] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

134 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat
137 accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely
[233] for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Balaiian and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

[244] The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed.
[407] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be
[319] in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being
[231] only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep soum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the soum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in
162 1886. In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the
241
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[Seaforthhead] [Shieldernish] [Habost]

161 suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now
162 given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out
241 of the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two have migrated
178 since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

361 In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on
[349] slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's, 'Seaforth Castle',
[505] now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled,
[441] communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives
[178] access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHIELDERNISH

131 Shieldernish, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs
361 road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the
432 road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

241 Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put
311 together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes,
[246] preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the
231 lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a
[244] further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total
[226] stocking of the Shieldernish crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use
[288] though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the township and this isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to grazing. Shieldernish appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing
[285] fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Shieldernish is better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

131 Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement
133 stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained
241 valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to
361 flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place.
[134] Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin soils.

[Habost]

134 Drift is found near the shore and laps round the three hills nearly up to the road, pre-
dominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks.
137 Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

195 Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shieldernish and
692 took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Ailean Tailear came from Taransay, Harris,
621 to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units, although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

241 Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and
407 ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Croftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for
233 bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

[244] Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclose
[246] parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in
231 June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but
[432] elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime
[221] are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

231 The land is heavily overstocked: the soum is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is
233 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in
[432] Park Deer Forest by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garyvard in Novem
[221] and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

241 The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal
however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used sinc
[317] before 1852. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Beinn Bhuidhe and
[226] below Loch na Claite but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural
[282] townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and
[493] trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

361 Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has
[512] been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or
[654] from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

[Kersh=der]

with heather and peat on the higher areas, hay is taken off 19.25 acres. Four acres, mainly for potatoes, are worked by spade but most of the cultivation is by tractor hired from Balallan or, in 1958, from Habost. Lazybeds are common and in some cases are carefully renewed, but the present tendency, reaching its extreme in a field of about two acres on one croft, is towards the formation of larger, ploughable fields for ease of tractor operation. Most cultivation is in sonas (a) and (b), with little development of (c) at present. The only crops are oats and potatoes, with some garden plots of cabbages, turnips and carrots. The potato main crop is generally Kerr's Pink (Golden Wonder on one croft), with a couple of rows of Skerry Blue or Edzell Blue for earlies. There is no memory of Black Oats (Avena strigosa), and here (Hordeum vulgare) has certainly not been grown since 1930, and probably not since 1909. The oats are grown exclusively for winter feed and are hand-threshed with stock and comb as the need arises; the last water mill in the locality went out of use since 1944, the last handmill in 1916; no grain has been sent to Stornoway since about 1930. Rotations are extremely irregular: some lazy-beds are still cultivated with alternate crops of oats and potatoes and have heavy seaware and manure fertilisation, but most other arable areas have some sort of oats, potatoes, oats, sown grass sequence. Fertilisers used are seaware and manure (ten crofts), manure (eleven crofts), shell sand (one croft), lime (ten crofts) and artificials - 'Potato manure' and sulphate of ammonia - on eight crofts. Artificial fertilisers and much of the seed are obtained through the Crofters' Agency.

The only two horses ever owned by this township were kept on croft 11 from 1936 to 1953. The plough was first introduced in 1936. When a tractor from Balallan became available for hiring in 1953, the horses were disposed of. The present soums are by cow, young beast and sheep per croft in proportion to rents and range from 3 cows, 3 young beasts, 69 sheep down to 1 cow, 1 young beast and 23 sheep. Eight crofts exceed their entitlement but no croft has less than half the souming and the deficiency is mainly in cattle, especially young beasts. On the other hand, no operative unit is entirely without cattle as manure is extremely important. Cattle are kept for domestic milk supply, and calves, having qualified for subsidy, are normally sold at 6 to 8 months. 10 acres of the common grazing were re-seeded in 1957 and the following rhythm for milk cows is developing:-

(a) As soon as the weather allows in May, the cows are put out in the park for about three weeks.

(b) Next, about 6 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the new outer fence erected in 1957.

(c) Back to the re-seeded park for about five weeks.

(d) Return to the crofts for the winter, being let out either to the park or to the common grazings whenever the weather is suitable.

The young beasts spend much of their time on the outer common grazings. As most of the crofts, beginning with one in 1938 and ending in sequence with 10, 11 and 12 probably in 1959, are fenced, the old arrangements for township commoning from 15th October to 10th May are now obsolescent. Another park was also fenced for general purposes and for weaning in 1957. Prices for calves and cattle are very low and this discourages cattle breeding; on the other hand, lack of winter keep enforces an occasional sale.

The rhythm of sheep husbandry is largely independent of that of cattle:-

(a) By 20th November all sheep, except possibly the lambs, are cleared from the crofts for the tupping of breeding ewes thereon till 31st December. Every crofter now keeps his own ram, exchanging it or buying another at least once in five years.

[Caverstr]

Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for fanking or other purposes and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes are normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered, and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for black leg, braxy and louping ill, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third week of May.

The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep soum, but the overall stocking is only 88 per cent of the total souming. Two crofts only exceed their individual soums, while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however, poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuable for wintering the hogge. Lewis Blackface sheep are the predominant breed and the wool, clipped in July, is sold to the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter house. The 1958 loss at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the growth of grass for the ewes. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early-born calves may be sold in the Autumn at six months old, those born later must be wintered to eight months until the Spring sales. The cows are served by the Department of Agriculture Highland bull at Habost, but although good prices are obtained for beef cattle, it is felt that for the family milk supply, a dairy bull would produce a better strain.

In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. In most cases the land under each crop is less than half an acre and nowhere does it exceed two acres. The land has been built up into lazybeds about six to ten feet wide, separated by open drainage channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor (hired from Habost) is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not altogether suitable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by marsh and steep faces of bare rock.

Neither Torista nor Caverstr is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the road near Cromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and an inferior footpath joining the main road at Garyvard. The lack of a good road within the dyke acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilisers. Byre manure is used on all the crofts and seaweed is brought from the shore and spread on the lazybeds. Artificial manures, used on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. This lack of incentive to improve is perhaps even more marked by the fact that on one holding alone is a rotation practised - potatoes, oats undersown with clover, then hay for three or four years. Apart from this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the same strips for many years. Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay and is often cut from lazybeds that were formerly cultivated. On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridges can be seen to have a crescentic shape and are thought to date back more than one hundred years. A similar distance beyond the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonised by heather.

Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch within the dyke, is cut on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and later brought home by creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens and all keep up to twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the larders, are also maintained.

In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Caverstr and seven at Torista. After 1881, when maximum figures of fifty-nine and nineteen were noted, there was a secondary peak in 1911 in Caverstr, followed by a steady drop to twenty in 1951 and eighteen in 1958.

[Caverstr] [Cromore]

The 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Caverstr population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left after 1911 and no re-population took place. Since 1939, seven people have migrated to Stornoway or the mainland, (16 per cent of the total 1939 population), and six of these were from Torista (i.e. 50 per cent of the 1939 Torista population); only one family now remains there. The demographic position is becoming more acute for there are no young married couples and no youngsters growing up. The girls have left to marry and most of the men have sought temporary or permanent employment elsewhere, for with better communications, education and the radio, the pull to the towns has become stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full-time crofters, earning no supplementary income by weaving tweed on commission from the Stronoway mills.

Caverstr is not one of the most progressive of the South Lochs townships. Although the crofts are fenced, the common pasture is not visibly delimited from either the Cromore or Garyvard pastures. At present, the grazing is fully stocked according to the soum, but the committee has not as yet initiated any re-seeding schemes. As the pasture is not of the best quality, some newly sown grass would benefit every crofter. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but even a small acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

The future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechanisation and is badly served by communications. The future of Torista appears to be probably one of abandonment, unless it is more easily linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road being built here is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Caverstr is also open to question. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the present units are not used to their full extent. Amalgamation with Garyvard might benefit the township a great deal, as the Caverstr population is rather small to flourish in isolation. The future of Garyvard, Kershader and Habost is one of hope, but unless some change takes place soon, it is not difficult to see Caverstr, and Torista, following the same course as Calbost and in thirty to forty years being little more than grazing land.

CROMORE

G. Mary Swindell, B.A., and Dennis F. Fancett, B.A.

Cromore is situated on a peninsula between Loch Erisort and Loch Cromore. Approaching it from the access road, Cromore has the appearance of a nucleated settlement, but in fact each house is situated on the owner's croft. The crofts are so arranged that each has a portion of land on the more level surface of drift deposits; houses 1 to 20 stand at the junction of the drift and the Lewisian gneiss. Soils are poor and thin, and there are numerous outcrops of barren rock amongst the arable land. The natural vegetation is heather moorland with extensive patches of rushes and cotton grass, the pattern of most of the 'outrun' around Cromore.

The township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two crofts are subdivided while another four form double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and the Schoolhouse feu. Outside the township dyke there are two feus and four squatters. The croft layout differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent pieces, one piece around the house, another above Creag Cromore and two pieces on another area of enclosed land on the common. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land around the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

Until this decade all the land around the houses, and much of that above Creag Cromore, was regularly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but cultivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only crops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed

[Cromore] [Marivig]

butchers' vans call on Wednesday and Friday and a fish van once or twice during the week. Goods are also conveyed by the daily bus. Electricity was brought to the village about four years ago and the inhabitants now look forward to a supply of piped water in about two years' time. At present only three or four houses have bathrooms.

The crofts, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a satisfactory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It seems that the recent subsidies for fishing are good enough to attract fishermen from Cromore and one or two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were longer. Weaving has brought prosperity but, as the Park Association states in its Second Progress Report "there is not sufficient weaving available for the present number of weavers". The proposal to establish a spinning and processing plant in the Park District made in the 1957 Report, would undoubtedly be of great value to the people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants suggested that a hotel built on Crobeg Farm would bring some benefit to the community. However, even if these three increased sources of income became effective, one wonders whether they would be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Stornoway

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B.A.

Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triangular sea loch opening to the north-east and sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, making the loch an ideal anchorage and harbour.

The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slopes more gradually and irregularly, with frequent precipitous rock outcrops, for two hundred to five hundred yards to rise steeply to a line of low hills, two hundred and fifty feet to three hundred feet high, surrounding the loch. All crofts thus have an easterly or north-easterly aspect, not particularly favourable for agriculture, and only one has any appreciable area of level land uninterrupted by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin, and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely dispersed.

The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common grazing, are mainly covered with heather, moor grass or sphagnum bog, while the lower areas within the township are grassy, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not yet a problem, and only small areas exist, mainly on the lower slopes of the western side of the loch. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant and worked by another crofter, and one worked from a house on the common. With the exception of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in radial fashion (Fig. 4). The size of the crofts varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and few now cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses being on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' system. Owing to the rocky nature of the terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two yards wide. Potatoes and oats are grown in rotation, and hay taken from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters sow grass for hay or undersow their crops. Dung and seaweed are used as fertilisers, with potato fertiliser as the most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce, carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

In Lochs it occupies only one-quarter of arable and grass. Barley, mostly four-row, or bere, is less important as a food today than formerly, and now occupies only 6 per cent, and, though it reaches 13 per cent in Barvas, with its machar, hardly any is grown in Lochs. Rye (*seagal*), still found in the machars of the Uists, is little grown in the Lews. Potatoes grow well everywhere, occupying about 15 per cent of the area, though townships with plentiful machar land grow most. Turnips are being gradually introduced, and though their liability to disease has somewhat discouraged the crofters, the proportion is now about 2·3 per cent. Cabbages occupy a small area (1 per cent), latterly along with lettuces, carrots and the like.

Rotation hay and turnips being almost unused up to 1919, oats was grown repeatedly before rotation with barley or potatoes, and with no bare fallow. While heavy manuring maintained the fertility, the crop by July was ablaze with corn marigold (and other weeds) through which the thin oats struggled to rear its head. Thickly sown, the return was exceedingly small. Except for the machar (if any) there was no 'out-field' as elsewhere in old Scotland.

The smallness of the crofts and the poorness of the crops explain the very small total return. Hence little oats is now ground for meal and the potatoes do not last through the year, though few are sold. The low out-turn also explains why even fodder is scarce, though much more of the crop is secured for wintering than formerly. Summing up, a croft of 6 acres—though a little too large to be quite typical—includes a couple of acres of grass and hay, almost as much of oats, and the remainder bears potatoes and barley, with turnips, cabbages and garden produce.

In the past, the cropped land was unfenced and unwalled. At present, the rule is to encourage the con-

found in a Lewis village; but in the ten to twenty years before 1939, the so-called 'Harris' tweed industry spread enormously in Lewis, accompanied by the construction of large spinning mills in Stornoway which supply yarn to male weavers. One further activity, kelp-making, was important for a time, although—not being strictly a traditional task—it is not represented in the upper graph, nor yet in the lower one, having declined after 1825 and disappeared (in the Island) long before the present century. Such was the annual rhythm of seasonal labour prevalent during the last generation, and a hundred years before.

7. *Rural Changes in Diet, Dress and Inter-marriage, and in Mobility: 1919–39*

Many outward changes occurred in the twenty years after the close of the First World War. Till the Island was able to benefit from the commercial advances of the mainland, it had no adequate relief from the famines of early times; in recent years the quantity of food has been rather more adequate. With the import of new foods, the consumption of vitamins at first declined: there was greater consumption of white bread from Glasgow and less of fresh vegetables (as ruined garden walls bear witness), and less, too, of cod-liver oil with the cessation of cod-fishing. Latterly, fenced gardens with vegetables and lettuce are providing vitamins, and fresh fruit (unobtainable even after 1919) is commonly on sale all the year round, so that a more rational dieting, when it can be afforded, is tending to recover lost ground and perhaps more.[1]

[1] E. P. Cathcart (*et al.*), *Studies in Nutrition: an Enquiry into the Diet of Families in the Highlands and Isles: III, Lewis* (Medical Research Council, Special Reports, Series 242. H.M.S.O.), London, 1940.

natural zone, could not be extended. In any case, the reclamation of clay land tended to slacken as efforts turned to fishing and kelp-making. The introduction or increased growing of potatoes added to the human, but hardly to the animal, food supply. Finally, while the beginnings of medical knowledge and vaccination had aided the growth of population after 1750, veterinary science had made no progress, nor did it advance in the Island for many years to come. We may conclude that an average stock per Island family about 1720 was rather more than that of 1790, and the acreage relatively larger, while both were greater than the average of today, particularly in the Lews.

What, then, could a family have to eat, from such crops and stock? While in winter even now there is almost no milk to be had on a croft, and there would be little then, there was salt meat, dried or salted cod (or herring) and fish oil; oat and barley meal and some rye meal; cabbages; and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, potatoes. Martin included potatoes among the crops grown even on far St. Kilda in 1697. A century later it was written that the people of Uig, for instance, had, though 'unwilling', been induced to grow and eat them 'forty years before'; and the years tend to be under-estimated where changes are slow and memories long! But it was written of Harris that by June the meal and potatoes had mostly been consumed, "and such as cannot afford to purchase imported meal subsist chiefly on the milk of their cows and sheep, with what fish they may chance to catch, till their wants are relieved by the first fruits of their potato crops early in Harvest".

We conclude that with even less money but a little more grain the population in the Island had fluctuated about a mean for some centuries before, as it had in so

rigs. The rigs are numbered and then balloted for by a double ballot. First the men approach the hat in any order and pick out a number: this is to decide the order in which they will approach the hat in the second draw. The second draw then decides the number of the rig. The crofter retains the rig while this particular scatt remains in cultivation, usually for a period of two or three years. The machar is shared by the whole township. The crops grown include a light type of oats, barley, a little rye, and potatoes; and clover may be cut.

In the division of the machar for potatoes at Barvas, there are now no such hard-and-fast rules. The Common Grazings Committee select a certain area for cultivation and each crofter is allowed to take as much land as he requires within this area. This land is only cultivated for one year in six to ten years, and then reverts to grass. If cultivated for two or more years in succession there is a danger of the sand being blown away, and grass would be difficult to establish again. Potatoes are now the only crop grown on the Barvas machar.

Beyond the machar of the Isles lies the moor with its fringe of reclaimed croft land. By Carmichael's day this was held in individual portions, though, as he said, most of it was once held in 'farms' in run-rig practised by small units, not by the whole township. Why this difference between the arable of the machar and of the moorland? Carmichael did not explain it.

Three explanatory points are, first, that the whole cultivated land of the scatt or the machar is continuous, whereas the moorland is hummocky and boggy by turns, and cultivation is therefore patchy; secondly, that, unlike the stony clays, the light shell sand is easily forked or ploughed and needs no 'team' to plough it; and thirdly,

The minister
was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them

175 as an example to the crofters who were still reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70
244 boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch Roag for they were small open boats greatly
228 outnumbered in good herring seasons by boats from other parts of the kingdom. To
251 encourage curing, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up two storehouses
441 to supply salt; he, or his agents, were probably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, who
614 visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the estate factor held a monopoly for trading in cattle, dried fish and other products. The absolute power of the clan chieftain seems to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844. But it was kelp, more than fishing, that helped to support the people of Uig in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lewis made little kelp compared with the
175 Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of particularly good quality and commanded more than
221 the average price. Further, many people from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time, the intrinsic resources of the parish appear
233 to have been inadequate to support the population. In this connection it is worth noting
162 the change in the average stock held by each family since 1792 as shown in table 3.
178

Clearance and Congestion.

175 Even after the end of the tremendous boom in kelp, brought about throughout the
228 Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some production continued in Uig. In 1825, when the land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses,
175 yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereafter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attempting industrial developments and agricultural improvements. The former included short-
233 lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants in
166 order to introduce mainland farmers. For these Uig was particularly attractive, the extensive mountain pasture offering good prospects for sheep graziers. The exact dates
427 of the formation of the earliest farms are not remembered nor are they precisely recorded,
274 but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Macrae of Kintail had the tack of Scaliscro, with the extensive grazings (now partly occupied by Bernera summer pastures) east of Little Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants of Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of Mealasta Island, which suggests that a sheep farmer was already installed in that district. About 1838 all the small tenants were cleared out of Mealasta, six families being put into Breanish; the remainder are said to have been sent to America.

175 In Bernera island, Kirkibost was cleared about 1822, having been lotted in individual
427 crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkibost formed part of the large farm of Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed part of this farm. On the mainland, opposite Bernera, small tenants were cleared from the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Stromo and Drovernish) in the early nineteenth century, and a tacksman was installed at west Earshader. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and Linshader.

175 By 1844 the kelp shores were almost valueless to the proprietor (though seaweed as fertiliser remained a vital necessity to the small cultivators, often working the same land year after year). In 1841 the Chamberlain of the Lews suggested to the Select Committee on Emigration that some 6,000 persons should emigrate because the land was inadequate to support them. In 1844, of necessity, Seaforth sold the island. The
162 population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,316); little did the Chamberlain imagine that in the following ten years it would increase by 16%, and that by the turn of the century would reach almost 30,000, (Uig 4,463; Figure 8).

1, [See p. 18--Analyst]

427 Tables 16 and 18 support the definition of a croft
311 primarily concerned with the provision of milk for t
231 sale. There are no cash sales of crops - the whole
241 the subsistence of the crofter and his stock. The c
246 hay (occupying a very small proportion of land for s
for winter fodder for the cattle and sheep. The lar
grazing - usually of poor to medium quality - which
crofter. Less than one third of the holdings have
it is normally less than half an acre) - a fact which
attitude of the crofter towards his land.

244 In addition, every croft has its own small potato
to provide for family needs, and most crofts (58%)
house use.

435 Nearly all the crofts carry one or two cows - th
the year round. Young stock are sold at one year
calves - a result of the incentive offered by the calf
is replaced very infrequently.

427 Where one croft differs from the next is in the
233 shows an even distribution of crofts with more than
434 fact, over one third of all crofts have less than twe
source of money income on the croft, except for the
and there is a considerable difference in the size of
tence and "retirement" crofts on the one hand and t
Hence the souming figures, and here note the contr
equal to 111% of the soum and Kneep - 353%!

An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to r

TABLE 16
LAND USE

	Voltos
243 244 246 Average size of holding:	
311 427 231 Old arable	2.5
Outrun	2.8
Percentage of croftland under:	
cereals	7.5
potatoes	2.5
Sown grass (hay)	5.5
natural hay	3.5
natural grazing	75.5

s a small livestock-economy unit,
he family and young cattle and wool for
of the land-use is directed towards
ereals (almost entirely oats) and the
livestock farming region) are grown
ger part of the croft is given over to
receives very little attention from the
own grassland (and in these few cases
suggests a passive rather than active

plot - rarely more than half an acre
ossess a vegetable garden - again for

e second cow ensures a milk supply all
o eighteen months old, rather than as
-rearing subsidy. The milking stock

umbers of sheep stock. Table 17
fifty and less than fifty sheep; but, in
nty-five sheep. Sheep are the only
annual sale of the calf, and subsidies,
sheep stock between the truly subsis-
he "commercial" crofts on the other.
st between Valtos with the sheep stock

elate the size of the stock carried on

Kneep	Reef
4.1	11.0
6.2	
7.0	6.0
5.0	3.0
1.0	5.5
10.0	4.0
76.0	75.0

427 a legal croft; a squatter builds a house on the common grazing, and a feuar pays a feu-duty or
241 ground-annual to the proprietor. Such unofficial holdings with stock on the common grazing are "agricultural units" in the same way as the crofts, for in fact some cottars keep more stock than the crofters. In these classes are 84 families and 32 of them keep stock. Thus instead of 215 legal units, there are 219 working units[1]. The more usual situation in depopulated crofting areas, where the number of agricultural units is much smaller than the number of crofts, is certainly not prevalent in Park. The official pattern of crofting and the real pattern are very different indeed both in Park and throughout the Crofting Area.

Crofting Agriculture

241 By definition, the function of crofting is agricultural production. The small area of cultivable
433 land, the poverty of the immature soils and the inhibiting characteristics of the climate, severely limit the range of crops. Of the 1838 acres ofcroftland in Park, less than 400 acres are classed as arable land. The measurement of the arable land was carried out about 1850 but reclamation after that date increased the arable area. Only in the townships of Shieldernish, Habost, Kershader, (Figure 5), and Garyvard where there are deeper deposits of glacial drift, is ploughing practised; elsewhere cultivation is entirely in 'lazy-beds', a system of narrow ridges 4 to 6 feet in width, [242] separated by open drains, and cultivated by spade. Natural grass for hay is the chief crop, and and accounts for 52 per cent of the 638 acres of cropped land (See Table II). As only 400 acres of the croft land are classed as arable, some of this hay is taken from areas which were brought [244] into cultivation after 1850. Oats (26 per cent), occupy the largest cultivated area, followed by potatoes (13 per cent). The small area of sown grass (9 per cent) of which four fifths is cut for hay, is symptomatic of the low standard of husbandry: only one fifth of the agriculture units sow grass. The average cropped area per agricultural unit is only 3 acres and only one-third of the units have gardens in cultivation. The hay and oats are grown for winter fodder, and the potatoes for household use. No detailed conclusions as to the use made of the crofts for cropping can be drawn, as the potential of each croft is extremely variable, but the low proportion of sown grass is indicative of the husbandry. There is a clear distinction between the 'agricultural' townships (Seaforthhead, Shieldernish, Habost, Kershader, Garyvard and Caversta), and the 'fishing' townships (Cromore, Marivig, Calbost, Gravir and Glengravir, Lemreway and Orinsay) in the extent and utilisation of the arable land: one measure of this distinction is that 55 per cent of the units in the agricultural townships sow grass; the figure for the fishing townships is only 22 per cent.

241 More valuable conclusions can however be reached from a study of the stocking. With the exception
427 of Glengravir township, each croft has a defined soum, and thus the stock entitlement for each
433 operative unit can be calculated. By using the equivalence, the soum can be converted to "cow units". In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower, and 8 sheep per £1 rent: the equivalence is 1 cow to 5 sheep. The number of cow units per £1 rent is therefore 2.6; in the calculation, followers are ignored. The actual stock of the agricultural unit can also be converted to cow units and thus a comparison can be made between the soum and the actual stock of each unit. The percentage of the soum taken up can thus be used as an indication of the extent to which the unit is worked.

In the Crofting Area, as in all Highland Britain, stock rearing is the main function of agriculture.
[434] In Park, all the agricultural income, subsidies for cropping excluded, is derived from cattle and sheep.

1 Of the 215 legal units, 28 are sublet: thus if there was no unofficial stock-keeping by cottars and squatters there would be 187 agricultural units. However, there are 32 additional stock-keepers and thus in fact there are 219 agricultural units.

CONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
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LIFE TODAY

LIFE TODAY

As in other Highland areas, some of the island's problems have 114
become so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. They have been
the *raison d'être* of so many commissions and committees of in-
quiry that their existence is now almost forgotten by the islander
—if indeed he ever understood their nature. Some results have [621]
been seen, such as the Crofters Act of 1886 which gave High- [175]*
land crofters security of tenure, perhaps the most valuable [429]
measure of the last century or two. But somehow all things have
not progressed so well since that date; at any rate not so fast that
crofting, for instance, is now seen to be an economic form of
land use of benefit to both local community and nation at large.
Many problems have been virtually ignored by successive central [657]
Governments; at least, remoteness seems to qualify a topic for
the office 'pending' tray. It has yet to be fully realised that the
island, with other Highland communities, is part and parcel of
the area generally administered from London and Edinburgh,
and merits as much attention to its welfare as other European
governments, such as Norway, give to their remote mainland and
island communities.

As usual, charity and self-help begin at home, and one of the 178
most dramatic changes in island life has been the result of the [241]
agricultural revolution of recent years which is changing once-
brown moors to lush green pastures: reclamation by re-seeding.
This revolution is still going on. Lewis crofters in particular are
showing the way, with other Highland crofting areas following
suit. The change in the Lewis scene is being emphasised by the [245] •
planting of shelter-belts of hardy trees and the first of the new [313]
plantations of timber-producing trees. These show the promise of
the future: a lively future for a lively community. The fishing in- [228]
dustry also has a future, brighter on the horizon than it has been
for many a poor year. The Harris Tweed industry, the staple em- [288]
ployment-source in Lewis, is maintaining its ability to retain the
interest of the market. And tourism, once a perfunctory and [484]
casual affair, promises to emerge as a useful sector in the
economy. There are, in addition, many small pockets of native
initiative and enterprise which, given sufficient encouragement

175 that the spade and foot-plough (*cas chrom*) were used for
114 double the area ploughed. From Monro and from the
311 precise Statistical Accounts of the eighteenth century, it is
[241] clear that pony-drawn ploughs were usual in the smoother
[127] parts of Lewis. In North Harris are 'abundance of
[136] Deir'. We must not forget here that 'faire' and fertile
are comparative terms for the West. "Lewis is faire and
well inhabit at the coste, ane fertile and fruitful countrey,
for the maist part beire [barley], with 4 Paroche Kirkes."
[224] There is "ane castell callit Stornoway . . . with 3 salt
loches, very fine for take of herrings . . . [and] infinite fresh
water loches. In the Lewis there are 8 waters with take
of salmon. . . ." There were also "Whales . . ." In
"a cove 2 fadoms deep at the ebb sea, uses Whytuns
(whitings) to be slain with huiks", there were "very many
haddocks and Men with their wandes sitting [as today]
upon the Craiges of that cove, and Lades [boys] and Women
[136] also. . . . In this Ile there are many Sheip for it is very
guid for the same. For they lay furth ever one mures
and glens and never enters in a house and their wool is
bot anes in the zeire pluckit off them in some faultes."
[234] In Zetland wool is still plucked, not sheared.

The description of reclamation is specially worthy of
note: "In this countrey all is peit mossland at the Sea
cost, and the plaice where he wins his peitts this zeire
[year] . . . thcre he sawes his corne the nixt zeire, after
that he guidds it weill with Sea ware" [*i.e.*, improves or
• [245] manures it with seaweed]. On "Ellan Colm Cill [an islet
apparently on the east coast south of Stornoway at the
mouth of Loch Erisort] Macloyd of the Lewis has ane faire
Orchard, and he that is Gardener has that Ile [rent]
free. . . ."
175 Around the coast of Lewis no absolute limit is set to
185
311

34

137 exceptional. The largest is found in the glen between Portree
[34] and Loch Sligichan. Of the total area of Skye, approximately
447,000 acres, over 400,000 acres are rough grazing, incapable
of being tilled.

The scarcity of trees is an environmental feature
worthy of special consideration. More than the mere aesthetic
appreciation of the traveler is involved. The lack of shelter
is a crucial factor in limiting the variety of crops which
can be grown. There are three "forests," but they are deer
[34] forests without trees and with very few deer. Wooded areas
exist only where landlords or, more recently, the forestry
commission have planted for amenity, shelter, and anticipated
lumbering operation. Pollen analysis, from an archaeological
find,[7] and stumps, discovered in peat bogs,[8] suggest. a once
widespread natural forest of birch, hazel, elder, oak, and
pine. All that remains are a few small areas of birch and
hazel on peat-free slopes and on sheltered escarpments beyond
the reach of the cattle and sheep, and some residual oak woods
in Sleat. So sharp is the contrast of Sleat with the rest
of Skye in so far as vegetation is concerned that this
• [45] peninsula has come to be known as "The Garden of Skye." The
proprietor has played his part in the creation of this impression by

7James Ritchie, "A Keg of 'Bog Butter' from Skye and Its Contents," Proceedings of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland, LXXV (1941), pp. 5-22.

8F. Fraser Darling, "The Ecology of Land Use," The West Highland Survey, pt. IV, p. 7.

35

137 planting birch, hazel, oak, juniper, larch, spruce, and short
• [45] pine. These are the usual trees found on the plantations.
Typically, the Sgiathanach prefers an unobstructed view to
trees. He may tolerate a mountain ash or elder near his house,
but he has little desire to be surrounded by woods.

The Climate of Skye

132 Lying in the temperate marine climatic zone and in-
flenced by the Gulf Stream, Skye is noted for its mild
winters and cool summers. The annual mean temperature range
is between 14 and 16 degrees. Temperatures above 70°F. and
below 40°F. are exceptional. Although frosts may be expected
from October into May, severe frosts are uncommon. In recent
years there have been two, one in 1954 and one in 1947. The
climate is not, however, to be considered moderate. The
spring is not appreciably warmer than the winter. With a
maximum noon temperature of 68°F. for August of 1953 (Struan),
it is hard to believe that summer exists as a season.
[34] Economically, these climatic features mean that the planting
and growing season is late and pasture growth is slow.

The outstanding characteristic of the climate is the
amount of rain. Rainfall varies from considerable to excessive,
depending on the locality and the year. The rainbearing winds
blow in from the south and southwest. Thus, in the lee of
the Cuillins, Red Hills and the ridge of Trotternish, the
annual rainfall approaches 80 inches. The driest area of Skye,
northwestern Trotternish, has an average annual rainfall of

246

246 FORAGE CROPS--specialized production of crops for animal fodder (e.g., hay, alfalfa, vetch); techniques of planting and harvesting; use of specialized tools, equipment, and machinery; organization of labor and production; processing (e.g., bailing); storage of product (e.g., in stacks, silos, barns); etc. See also:
Animal husbandry . . . . . 25 Barns and silos 343

31

178 purposes, to a community which, as an agricultural
311 entity, requires transfusions from the larger society,
is accompanied by patterns of specialization and
individuation. The following table (Table III) of
agricultural statistics for the parish of Barvas
demonstrates the change, over the past 100 years,
from intensive subsistence agriculture to specialized
production. From a broad-based subsistence use of
the croft (as revealed by the number of acres cultivated
for barley, potatoes and oats; and by the number of
cattle, especially milk cows), there emerges a tendency
[83] toward specialized production. The number of sheep,
[234] which require less attention than cattle, has increased
[241] since the late 1920's when the weaving of Harris Tweed
• [246] commenced in earnest; and around this time there also
occurs a differentiation in cultivation, between the
production of barley and potatoes (used largely for human
consumption) and the production of oats (used largely for
feeding livestock). After 1931 agricultural returns
[231] began to distinguish between beef and dairy cattle.
During the past ten years the number of beef cattle in
the parish of Barvas has increased.

241 An important factor which crofters on Lewis now
654 take into account when making decisions about their
[See p.ix--Analyst]

231 People kept several cattle, some of which were dry most
(224) of the time. But because everyone was keeping cattle,
(244) milk could be gotten from a neighbor. One man was
• (246) planting eight or nine hundredweights of potatoes before
the war, some of which would be used to feed the livestock.
511 "You couldn't buy milk then, so you had to keep a cow.
234 And even though people were weaving, they weren't getting
231 so much money as they are now. It was the barter system
288 here for a long time. So they didn't have the money to
437 buy feeding stuff. It was better to spend the time
planting potatoes. Now of course there's more money in
the weaving."

175 After the war, an act was passed which provided free
272 milk for schoolchildren. Milk for the Shawbost school
224 was supplied by a farm near Stornoway, and villagers first
178 started buying the milk from the school milk van. A strike
175 held by weavers during the war had increased the payments
178 for weaving, and the barter system had stopped. More
288 money was available. As the loom was more profitable,
468 more people stopped keeping cows, and relied on their
437 neighbors for milk, or got their milk from the van bringing
231 milk to the school. And as the cattle got fewer, the
272 market for bottled milk expanded. A dairy was started on
178 the west side of the island in the mid-1960's which carries
231 milk from Uig to Ness.
434
234

592 like to leave the loom for the time it took to look
241 after the sheep."
311
288

A fourth household consists of three unmarried
592 siblings in their 40's and 50's who recently sold their
231 cattle and now keep only sheep for their own consumption.
241 They cultivate a small amount of oats and hay to feed
(233) the sheep during the winter. The brother who was largely
• (246) responsible for taking care of the livestock is now
(288) "concentrating on the loom," and his brother works in
(463) the mill. Their sister, who used to work in hotels on
the mainland, now keeps house for them. Described as a
(402) "self-contained family," they have a tractor and a deep-
(404) freeze and take care of their peat and the harvesting
of crops by themselves. One of their crofts has become
654 too waterlogged even for grazing and was sold recently
423 to the son of a local crofter, not for agriculture but
as a prerequisite for applying to the Department of
Agriculture for a housing grant. Only tenants of crofts
can apply for such grants. As this particular croft is
too wet to be cultivated or used as a house site, the
only motive which the new tenant has to become a crofter
is to gain access to governmental subsidy.

592 The fifth household is composed of a retired couple
233 and their son and his wife and family. They have no
311 cattle, and use the crofts for grazing sheep.

233 Most of these people look
829 askance at the idea of Britain joining the European
648 Economic Community. "If the Common Market comes, that
654 means no more subsidy for livestock. That'll mean the
end of crofting. They'll get good prices for their
beef, but feeding stuff will be very expensive."

"I don't know much about the Common Market, but
I'm against it. They'll do away with the subsidies.
If it weren't for the subsidies, most people just
wouldn't bother with cattle and sheep; it wouldn't be
worth their while, the feeding stuff is getting so
• (246) expensive. The people here used to take in a hundred
bags or so of potatoes to feed the stock. But the climate
is so bad you don't know what kind of a return you're
going to get, and the work is so hard it just isn't worth
the bother, so people prefer to buy feeding stuff. And
if you spend more on feeding your animals than you get
for them, what's the use? Of course we've been here
all our lives. It would be hard to leave. But if the
weaving goes--"

"I was talking to my cousin in Glasgow. He says
the cattle are going to be the big thing with the Common
Market. The price of beef is going to go up. I don't
think people here can keep cattle if they don't get the
subsidy. They can't keep enough cattle, and they can't
be sure of a good price every year."

Appendix C

Balance Sheet of a Croft

*159 "The Muillear" has one croft and a two-acre buaile.
241 In 1970 he planted one-eighth of an acre with three bags
244 of potatoes, two of which he bought for L14/16, and
433 harvested 22 hundredweights. This was sufficient for
(435) his family's needs and provided some feed for his live-
stock for all but two months of the year. A small plot
is planted with cabbages, for domestic consumption.

Seven-eighths of an acre is planted with oats; one-
(311) and-a-half acres with grass and hay; and two acres
• (246) are used for rough grazing.
(233)

*159 The Muillear is interested in new ideas and techniques.
232 He goes to meetings and discussion groups sponsored by the
233 North of Scotland College of Agriculture, and has bought
prize rams from the mainland to improve his flock. He
tries to raise a few sheep using techniques of good husbandry
rather than a large flock which would be given less
effective care. He is teased by other crofters for "over-
feeding," and for keeping his sheep on the croft and the
township reseeding rather than out on the moor. "His sheep
get homesick when they get out of sight of the croft." He
wins the prizes at the Carloway Cattle Show each year, in a

*159 Costs:
435 L50/— (Fodder used from December to August;
• 246 a hundredweight bag costing L2/14 is
used almost every two weeks. Other
crofters do not use this much.)
(427) 8/— (Stack of oats)
(407) 6/ 8 (Oat seed for 7/8 acres)
(241) 6/— (Tractor hired)
(654) 9/— (Six hundredweights of fertilizer for
oats and grass. For a cropping grant
of L7/10, three hundredweights of
fertilizer must be put on each acre of
hay.)
L79/ 8

*159 Income: L165/14
434 Costs: 79/ 8
435 Profit: L 86/ 6 (or about L2 back for every L1 he inves

*159 Net cash income or profit from the croft thus
434 represents 9% to 10% of his gross earnings from weaving.
If computed as cash, uncalculated income from the croft
in the forms of garden vegetables and milk products
would raise the croft income by L30 to L40. In those
households that consume their own sheep, the croft
contributes an even greater amount.

181 "the lone shieling of the misty island". Traditional
538 Gaelic songs tell rather of shielings grouped within hail,
533 with their sweethearting and good cheer!

3. *Crops and Stock*, circa *1938*

178 As the thirties mark a transition between early condi-
241 tions prevailing until 1919 and those of 1947–53 (Appendix I), the present tense is used.

311 Of the Island's 528,000 acres, including deer forests
632 on the Harris border partly grazed, there are 24,000 acres of arable and grass land. Barvas parish leads with 6500 acres, then come Stornoway, Uig and Lochs, Harris being last with 3300 acres. Roughly one-third of the Island's arable and grass land, or 32 per cent, is permanent grass, chiefly machar, with a maximum of 39 per cent in Uig, but a minimum of 9 per cent in rocky
311 Lochs, most of this on one small farm. About 10 per cent of the arable and grass land area is given to hay
• 244 production; of this, rather less than one-third is rotation hay grown on the plough rigs or parks, and rather more than two-thirds is hay from permanent grass. Lochs, lacking machar, has 20 per cent hay, while Barvas, better
632 off for machar, has only 4 per cent. Even this proportion of rotation hay shows an increase on the crofts since 1919. Stornoway parish, it will be noted, occupies an intermediate place, but if the facts for Point (Eye) district were contrasted with those for the villages along the machar, the differences between them would emerge clearly. As it is, they can be guessed from the vegetation map showing
311 the machar. Oats is the chief crop, and occupies 33 per
243 cent or just one-third of the arable and grass of the Island; excluding the permanent grass, it constitutes half the crop.

311 In Lochs it occupies only one-quarter of arable and grass.
243 Barley, mostly four-row, or bere, is less important as a food today than formerly, and now occupies only 6 per cent, and, though it reaches 13 per cent in Barvas, with its
632 machar, hardly any is grown in Lochs. Rye (*seagal*), still found in the machars of the Uists, is little grown in the Lews. Potatoes grow well everywhere, occupying about 15 per cent of the area, though townships with plentiful machar land grow most. Turnips are being gradually introduced, and though their liability to disease has somewhat discouraged the crofters, the proportion is now about
311 2·3 per cent. Cabbages occupy a small area (1 per cent),
244 latterly along with lettuces, carrots and the like.

Rotation hay and turnips being almost unused up to
241 1919, oats was grown repeatedly before rotation with barley or potatoes, and with no bare fallow. While heavy manuring maintained the fertility, the crop by July was ablaze with corn marigold (and other weeds) through which the thin oats struggled to rear its head. Thickly sown, the return was exceedingly small. Except for the machar (if any) there was no 'out-field' as elsewhere in old Scotland.

The smallness of the crofts and the poorness of the crops explain the very small total return. Hence little oats is now ground for meal and the potatoes do not last
178 through the year, though few are sold. The low out-turn
• 246 also explains why even fodder is scarce, though much more of the crop is secured for wintering than formerly. Summing up, a croft of 6 acres—though a little too large to be quite typical—includes a couple of acres of grass and hay, almost as much of oats, and the remainder bears potatoes and barley, with turnips, cabbages and garden produce.

174 In the past, the cropped land was unfenced and un-
178 walled. At present, the rule is to encourage the con-

133 townships and at Islivig and Breanish, the peat is thin (or has been stripped) to reveal a
134 gravelly dirft,[1] free-draining on suitable slopes. In such places a black loamy soil has been developed by cultivation; the many ditches of lazybed cultivation are not necessary
241 and, if the area is large enough, it can be worked by tractor. Such soils, in the climate
407 of west Lewis, are eminently suitable for rotation grass, for hay or pasture, and much more could be done with them under knowledgeable management. Where shell sand has been blown inland on to peaty soils the natural top-dressing has had a remarkable ameliorating effect on texture and acidity. Such areas are all too limited, the most important are at Valtos, Kneep and Reef, and around Uig bay; smaller areas are at
134 Mealasta, Mangersta and Bosta (Bernera). The hill grazings are dominated by a thin heather cover, blue moor grass and, in wetter places, sphagnum and cotton grass. Sinc
134 the cattle population has been declining many older residents claim that the pastures,
237 particularly near the townships, have deteriorated, the proportion of grass declining and coarse heather increasing. "The hills that were green when I was a boy", said one, "are now black". Neglected arable and pasture land, too, soon reverts. Rushes and flags invade the ditches between the old lazy beds and, if the ground is at all waterlogged, soon invade the beds as well. Drier ground, if not well grazed, soon reverts to heather. The limited machairs are little better; almost devoid of humus, they show little development of soil profile, only a thin grey layer of turf roots; rabbits, or injudicious cultivation readily set off wind erosion. Only where the wind has provided a natural blend of peat and machair are conditions better. Such areas are very limited.

152 The climate is in many respects severe; no local statistics are available, but some for Stornoway and Benbecula are appended. The frequency of high winds has a bad effect on both vegetation and stock, but to some extent wind counteracts excessive moisture. Near sea-level, where all the townships are situated, frost and snow are almost unknown. Thus it is exposure to the wind that limits the outwintering of stock, not low temperatures; this suggests that if pastures could be improved in suitably sheltered places far more advantage might be taken of the relatively mild winter temperatures. It is believed that the sunshine record is particularly poor in the south, where clouds can frequently be seen hanging over the mountains when the sun is shining on Bernera and the area north
• 248 east of East Loch Roag. The relatively dry and sunny period which commonly occurs in
221 May and June ought to make for a good hay harvest; unfortunately the natural meadows, such as they are, are late starters, and the custom is to cut the grass when it has gone to seed. Thus hay is often being taken in September - one of the wettest months in the year

CHAPTER TWO

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS

172 Evidence of pre-historic and other early settlements in the parish is afforded by the occurence of standing stones, broche and duns. The Callanish circle and its satellites are by far the most remarkable ancient monument in the Hebrides, and testify to the former importance of the site even though today their precise significance may not be clear. Most of the duns are now little more than circular heaps of stones, but in that at
174 Dounе Carloway the double walls still stand to a considerable height. A later phase of
103 settlement is recorded in the place names, a very large proportion of which contain Norse
162 elements such as -nish, -vick, -bost and -shader; it seems probable that most of the present township sites have been more or less continuously occupied since Norse times.

7.

1. [Presumably the author means "drift"--Analyst]

427 Tables 16 and 18 support the definition of a croft as a small livestock-economy unit,
311 primarily concerned with the provision of milk for the family and young cattle and wool for
231 sale. There are no cash sales of crops - the whole of the land-use is directed towards
the subsistence of the crofter and his stock. The cereals (almost entirely oats) and the
[241] hay (occupying a very small proportion of land for a livestock farming region) are grown
for winter fodder for the cattle and sheep. The larger part of the croft is given over to
[246] grazing - usually of poor to medium quality - which receives very little attention from the
crofter. Less than one third of the holdings have sown grassland (and in these few cases
it is normally less than half an acre) - a fact which suggests a passive rather than active
attitude of the crofter towards his land.

[244] In addition, every croft has its own small potato plot - rarely more than half an acre
to provide for family needs, and most crofts (58%) possess a vegetable garden - again for
house use.

[433] Nearly all the crofts carry one or two cows - the second cow ensures a milk supply all
the year round. Young stock are sold at one year to eighteen months old, rather than as
calves - a result of the incentive offered by the calf-rearing subsidy. The milking stock
is replaced very infrequently.

427 Where one croft differs from the next is in the numbers of sheep stock. Table 17
235 shows an even distribution of crofts with more than fifty and less than fifty sheep; but, in
[434] fact, over one third of all crofts have less than twenty-five sheep. Sheep are the only
source of money income on the croft, except for the annual sale of the calf, and subsidies,
and there is a considerable difference in the size of sheep stock between the truly subsis-
tence and "retirement" crofts on the one hand and the "commercial" crofts on the other.
Hence the souming figures, and here note the contrast between Valtos with the sheep stock
equal to 111% of the soum and Kneep - 353%!

∞ An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on

TABLE 18
LAND USE

243 244 246		Valtos	Kneep	Reef
	Average size of holding:			
311	Old arable	2.5	4.1	11.0
427 231	Outrun	2.8	6.2	
	Percentage of croftland under:			
	cereals	7.5	7.0	6.0
	potatoes	2.5	5.0	3.0
	Sown grass (hay)	5.5	1.0	5.5
	natural hay	3.5	10.0	4.0
	natural grazing	75.5	76.0	75.0

427 a legal croft; a squatter builds a house on the common grazing, and a feuar pays a feu-duty or
241 ground-annual to the proprietor. Such unofficial holdings with stock on the common grazing are
"agricultural units" in the same way as the crofts, for in fact some cottars keep more stock than
the crofters. In these classes are 84 families and 32 of them keep stock. Thus instead of 215
legal units, there are 219 working units[1]. The more usual situation in depopulated crofting areas,
where the number of agricultural units is much smaller than the number of crofts, is certainly
not prevalent in Park. The official pattern of crofting and the real pattern are very different
indeed both in Park and throughout the Crofting Area.

Crofting Agriculture

241 By definition, the function of crofting is agricultural production. The small area of cultivable
433 land, the poverty of the immature soils and the inhibiting characteristics of the climate, severely
limit the range of crops. Of the 1838 acres of croftland in Park, less than 400 acres are classed
as arable land. The measurement of the arable land was carried out about 1850 but reclamation
after that date increased the arable area. Only in the townships of Shielderaish, Habost, Kershader,
(Figure 5), and Garyvard where there are deeper deposits of glacial drift, is ploughing practised;
elsewhere cultivation is entirely in 'lazy-beds', a system of narrow ridges 4 to 6 feet in width,
[246] separated by open drains, and cultivated by spade. Natural grass for hay is the chief crop, and
and accounts for 52 per cent of the 638 acres of cropped land (See Table II). As only 400 acres of
the croft land are classed as arable, some of this hay is taken from areas which were brought
[244] into cultivation after 1850. Oats (26 per cent), occupy the largest cultivated area, followed by
potatoes (13 per cent). The small area of sown grass (9 per cent) of which four fifths is cut for
hay, is symptomatic of the low standard of husbandry: only one fifth of the agriculture units sow
grass. The average cropped area per agricultural unit is only 3 acres and only one-third of the units
have gardens in cultivation. The hay and oats are grown for winter fodder, and the potatoes for
household use. No detailed conclusions as to the use made of the crofts for cropping can be drawn,
as the potential of each croft is extremely variable, but the low proportion of sown grass is in-
dicative of the husbandry. There is a clear distinction between the 'agricultural' townships
(Seaforthhead, Shielderaish, Habost, Kershader, Garyvard and Caversta), and the 'fishing' town-
ships (Cromore, Marivig, Calbost, Gravir and Glengravir, Lemraway and Orinsay) in the extent
and utilisation of the arable land: one measure of this distinction is that 55 per cent of the units in
the agricultural townships sow grass; the figure for the fishing townships is only 22 per cent.

231 More valuable conclusions can however be reached from a study of the stocking. With the exception
427 of Glengravir township, each croft has a defined soum, and thus the stock entitlement for each
433 operative unit can be calculated. By using the equivalence, the soum can be converted to "cow
units". In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower, and 8 sheep per £1 rent: the equivalence is 1
cow to 5 sheep. The number of cow units per £1 rent is therefore 2.6; in the calculation, followers
are ignored. The actual stock of the agricultural unit can also be converted to cow units and thus a
comparison can be made between the soum and the actual stock of each unit. The percentage of
the soum taken up can thus be used as an indication of the extent to which the unit is worked.

In the Crofting Area, as in all Highland Britain, stock rearing is the main function of agriculture.
[434] In Park, all the agricultural income, subsidies for cropping excluded, is derived from cattle and
sheep.

1 Of the 215 legal units, 28 are sublet: thus if there was no unofficial stock-keeping by cottars and squatters there would be 187 agricultural units. However, there are 32 additional stock-keepers and thus in fact there are 219 agricultural units.

TABLE VII

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS[1]: Parish of Lochs[2]

175 178 231 235 241 244 246 311 433

	1913	1920	1938	1947
CROPS				
Oats	487	383	879	757
Bere	191	154	15	4
Potatoes	455	772	330	239
Sown Grass for Hay	1	26	124	78
Sown Grass for Pasture	-	6	74	72
Total Cultivation	1134	1341	1422	1150
Permanent Grass for Hay	44	32	573	791
Permanent Pasture	2650	2464	1041	1367
Others[3]	22	6	268	86
TOTAL Crops and Grass:	3850	3843	3306	3394
STOCK:				
Horses	102	101	49	39
Cattle	2489	1701	1412	1150
Sheep[4]	9450 (3688)	9750 (3952)	23434 (9929)	29688 (14256)
Poultry	?	?	8173	12302

1. By courtesy of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.
2. As Park is part of Lochs Parish, these are the only statistics available.
3. Roots (negligible acreage), fallow.
4. Figures in brackets are breeding ewes.

/p. 8-E/

[Marivig] [Calbost]

0 In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Marivig's future, and that of other crofting townships, is not only one of adverse aspect, soil and weather conditions, and of distance from markets, but a problem of the population finding a stable and viable level where agricultural units are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain, and a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

1 Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Gravir on the Minch coast of Park. It occupies a basin-like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is open to the sea on the east. The croft houses are scattered over a shelf 50 feet above sea-level round the sides of the hollow and along the valleys which enter the township to the north and south-west.

The cultivable soil, a mixture of peat and well-drained gravelly drift, is on the higher ground, although here the rock outcrops in many places. On land formerly cultivated, bracken is spreading rapidly and now covers a large proportion of the surface, although twenty to thirty years ago it was unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-lying central area. There are a few willows and rowans round the old buildings, probably planted as wind-breaks.

Calbost was originally a single farm but the township was formed about 1820. The pattern of the crofts differs from the usual shore-to-dyke alignment, as six crofts were allotted extra land in the valley which enters from the north, when a part of the common grazing was brought within the township dyke. There are now fourteen crofts of which four are worked by resident crofters and two by squatters. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters in Calbost and other townships.

Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2.6 acres now in cultivation, potatoes account for 2.37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduced cattle stock of only two cows and two calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut as winter feed for the 225 sheep which graze in the township.

The lazy-beds in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly encroached on by bracken. The prevalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to clear it, is likely to deter any attempt at renewed cultivation.

Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats have to be taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing industry whic has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Calbost, leaving only a few boats now used only for leisure purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only two of the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are a few productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not so widely usec in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosures were made adjoining the main dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

[Lemreway]

vulgaris is dominant. Ling, which can tolerate considerable soil water, often occurs with Nardus, Molinia, Scirpus caespitosus and Eriophorium. A few rowans, usually near the shore, and a few willows, usually within stone enclosures, are the only trees to be seen.

Of the thirty-three legal crofts in Lemreway, nine comprise less than five acres, while seventeen are between five and ten acres. Of the remainder, only two exceed fifteen acres and one of these is 30 acres. Six unoccupied crofts are worked by persons other than their tenants, so actually the 290 acres of croft land are shared by twenty-seven holdings. The seventeen-acre 'outend' was originally divided between fifteen tenants but confused sub-letting has resulted in four separate holdings directly occupying nine acres, and working another four acres. Thus the outend today must be regarded as the monopoly of four 'unofficial' holders.

Little more than a quarter of the croft land is cultivable and even less is actually cultivated today: Figure 9 illustrates the crofting year. The broken terrain and the stony nature of the soil has permitted the cultivation of tiny 'lazybeds' and the total cultivated area is now about 48 acres. Only the strips of land on the gentler slopes, where the soils are deeper, are now cultivated, but every croft shows signs of former, more extensive, lazybed cultivation, often covering at least two acres. For example, on the east side, natural hay is cut on the well-marked lazybeds at about 225 feet.

Oats and potatoes, 29.5 and 16 acres respectively, occupy almost all of the cultivated ground. Most crofts grow about half an acre of potatoes and one acre of oats; both acreages have declined, the former with a declining population and the latter with a reduction in the numbers of cattle; hay has increased in importance. No bere is now grown, though before 1900 it was preferred to oats. Ruins of the bere mill, which ceased to function at the beginning of the century, can still be seen. Fifty-nine acres of natural grass are cut for hay but only four crofters had sown grass for hay in 1958, about three acres in all. Few vegetables other than potatoes are grown though carrots are said to grow well, and formerly turnips and cabbages were grown. The soil needs careful preparatio to be productive and almost every crofter used some seaweed and at least twenty drew subsidies for l and artificial fertilisers in 1958.

Stock totals have declined recently but the township has 36 cows and 22 calves. Only one croft is without cattle and 22 of the 33 working units have a cow and a calf. The township has an Ayrshire bull on loan from the Department of Agriculture; one of the few remaining elements of the co-operati township system is that this animal is fed by the crofters, in rotation, during the winter.

All but two crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between ten and 120 per holding but the majority have about 23 ewes with ten lambs. Although numbers have declined recently, the 3,025 acres of very moderate common pasture support a flock of about 1,150 sheep, including about 650 breeding ewes and about 300 lambs.

The souming is not enforced in Lemreway and it is remarkable that the total stock tallies almost exactly to the souming. An examination of the sheep soum reveals that the stock of 917 (excluding lambs) considerably exceeds the sheep soum of 626. It is interesting that it is nearly always the working units of over 10 acres that are overstocked; of twelve such units, eight keep more sheep tha they are entitled to. Most of these crofts are grouped on the eastern side of the township where the crofts have a larger outrun.

Thus, while overgrazing is not so severe as in many townships, it represents a potential threat, particularly if the common pasture is not improved. However, in 1958 ten acres of the common pasture have been enclosed and re-seeded. Six acres were sown with ordinary mixed grass seed, two acres with pelletted seed and two acres with pelletted and inoculated seed. The eleven crofters taking part in the scheme put on 100 tons of sand to help drain and aerate the peaty soil, 2½ tons of ground mineral phosphate and 2 tons of concentrated compound fertiliser, grades 1 and 2 - all of it by hand. The area was sown in May 1958: by the following August, there was a striking difference between it and the untreated pasture. Next Spring, eleven cows will be grazed on this area. With the success of this scheme, it is hoped that more of the crofters will co-operate in re-seeding further areas.

[Orinsay]

which rises steeply, exceeding 375 feet in the west and 150 feet t the north-west and north-east two glacially deepened valleys drain s being "drowned" by northward extensions of the loch.

Although peat covers most of the surface it is only in the hollows for even on the gentler slopes the peat cover is frequently so thin as sub-soil containing many stones and boulders.

Two rowans and a dozen willows represent the only tree growth. exposed in peat-cuttings suggest that woodland was formerly more e woodland disappeared as a result of human action or of climatic char it is certain that a century of overgrazing has not favoured natural r sedges and a little poor heather characterise much of the area, and capacity of much of the moorland. Bracken has established itself in of neglected croft land.

Orinsay is unique in Park, for the present township is entirely a In the early 19th century there was a settlement at the head of the lo were removed and the area enclosed and added to Crobeg sheep farm to establish fourteen crofts, but the applicants were requested to wa end of the war the return of many young men with a desire to settle ing in Lemreway. Several of them 'raided' the Orinsay area. At fi their own houses, and in 1922 the Department of Agriculture interve off fourteen legal crofts, and at the same time providing a good foot their neighbours, four other Lemreway families, comprising 26 peop a mile to the west of Orinsay. Here, however, the Department of A with the community remaining isolated, most of the settlers returne years, although one family remained until 1939.

Six of the crofts have an area of less than ten acres, six have be while the remaining two occupy eighteen and twenty-five acres: the l to the shepherd on the sheep farm. Three of these crofts are not oc other crofters, with the result that eleven operative units share 161

Only a small part of the croft acreage is actually cultivable: even The broken and rocky terrain combined with the peaty soil allows no of tiny lazy-beds. The total area now cultivated does not exceed 25 may have been nearer 40 acres.

Oats and potatoes are the staple crops, occupying 9 and 6½ acres croft acreages of these crops vary in relation to the requirements fo case of potatoes, to domestic consumption. Nevertheless to produce the soil requires careful preparation. A plentiful supply of seaweed is the most frequently used fertiliser, while a little sulphate of amm crofters use lime.

In the last two decades a marked reduction in the amount of oats decrease in the numbers of cattle and an increasing use of hay for fo 17½ acres of hay altogether are cut, and only five of the crofters sow

In August 1958, the township supported only 13 cows, 3 young be crofters have a cow and a calf, but three have no cattle at all, and o a sad commentary on the state of crofting in Orinsay, but a phenomen crofting areas.

) Highland Scots ES10
Park

o the north and east. From
outhwards, their lower ends

that it is significantly deep,
to expose a layer of morainic

but tree stumps frequently
vident. Whether this former
ge it is not possible to say, but
egeneration. Moorland grasses,
reflect the poor grazing
one limited area on a patch

twentieth century development.
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ts and 8 calves. Half of the
e even used condensed milk,
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245 ARBORICULTURE--specialized cultivation of trees and shrubs for their fruits, nuts, berries, or other edible products (e.g., apple, breadfruit, coconut, cacao, coffee, orange, raspberry, tea, hops); special care and treatment of each (e.g., grafting, picking, drying, packing); viniculture; silviculture (e.g., raising of trees for wood pulp, soil anchor, screens, shade, decoration); organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

[Seaforthhead] [Shieldernish] [Habost]

suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out of the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two have migrated since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's,'Seaforth Castle', now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled, communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHIELDERNISH

Shieldernish, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes, preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total stocking of the Shieldernish crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the township and this isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to grazing. Shieldernish appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Shieldernish is better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place. Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin soils.

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

but their negligence even in ye article appears from their sending out annual above 2000 of wool out of the country unmanufacture.'

Harris was rented at £600. Exports were some 100 tons of kelp (£325), and the value of 250 black cattle exported alive, with 100 salted, was £445. Small quantities of cheese, wool, and the skins of sheep, otters and seals were exported. Grain was neither imported nor exported.

The plough, which is used here, and in most places of the long island, is of a very peculiar construction. Its length is but 4 feet 7 inches, and is drawn by four horses abreast. It has but one handle by which it is directed; the mold board is fastened with two leather thongs, and the soke and coulter are bound together at the point by a rim of iron. Beside kelp, there is little else manufactured, except a little coarse woolen yarn, and some blanketing, which they send yearly to Glasgow. They raise a little flax of which they make some coarse linen for their own use, but import all the fine linen which they consume. In the year 1756, an American vessel in distress was obliged to put out three hogsheads of lintseed in Harris, which was sown and afforded crops of lint which were above double the value of the usual crops. The east and west of Loch Tarbert in the Harris are every year revisited by the herring shoals. During the five years from 1743 to 1747, the west loch was the principal seat of the herring fishery. About thirty vessels from 18 to 40 tons, belonging to Campbelltown, Greenock, and Irvine, were completely loaded each of these years at this place.

With even a modest amount of business taking place, it was a natural step to establish commercial facilities. Stornoway men who once acted as agents became shopkeepers. The increase in the use of money attracted banks. During the Seaforth ownership of Lewis, the island had its own currency or notes, designed and printed from plates in the same style as the modern banknote. The wording ran: 'I promise to pay on demand to the Chamberlain of the Lewis or Bearer ONE POUND Sterling at the Counting Room here.' The notes carried a date and were signed by the proprietor, J. A. Stewart MacKenzie. It is not known for certain how long the notes remained in currency, when they ceased to be used, or even whether they were officially acceptable. At one time, as rare items, they fetched high prices from collectors. A number were

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251 PRESERVATION AND STORAGE OF FOOD--techniques of food preserva (e.g., drying, smoking, pickling, refrigeration, home canning); use of preservatives and special equipment; accumulation and storage of suppl and reserves; etc. Data on culturally elaborated or commercialized tec niques of preservation and storage should be filed under the more specia ized categories below. See also:

Granaries . . . . . 343 Warehousing . . . . . .

[Habost]

Drift is found near the shore and taps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are the ruins of two peat banks. Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the croftin, moorland grasses and sedges predominate on peaty land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cock's foot. On the hills heather predominates.

Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Macleonan came from Shiolderish and took what are now No. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Aline Tallman came from Tarasay, Harris, to No. 2. By 1886 there were thirteen croftes; in 1907 four croftes were recorded, three being there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 without land been shared between two brothers since 1906, became lately 11A and 11B making fourteen croftes. There is a disused non-operative unit; although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three tenants in the township.

Only stationary lazy-beds are cultivated by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who leases it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Croftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilize the parks but these are artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

The land is heavily overstocked: the sound is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in Park from Pairt and by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garryard in November and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958. 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigiel, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since before 1852. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Baien Bhuidhe and below Loch na Ciste but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four croftes and tools in stock. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock to market and two have butcher's rounds in Locks. There are two small stores.

Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

[Kershader]

with heather and peat on the higher areas, hay is taken off 19.25 acres. Four acres, mainly for potatoes, are worked by spade but most of the cultivation is by tractor hired from Balallan as in 1958, from Habost. Lazybeds are common and in some cases are carefully renewed, but the present tendency, reaching its extreme in a field of about two acres on one croft, is towards the formation of larger, ploughable fields for ease of tractor operation. Most cultivation is in small areas (a) and, with little development of (c) at present. The only crops are oats and potatoes, with some garden plots of cabbages, turnips and carrots. The potato main crop is generally Kerr's Pink (Golden Wonder on one croft), with a couple of rows of Skerry Blue or Edzell Blue for earlies. There is no memory of Black Oats (Avena strigosa), and bere (Hordeum vulgare) has certainly not been grown since 1930, and probably not since 1909. The oats are grown for thatching and for winter feed and are hand-threshed and winnowed. The last crofter to use the last water mill in the locality went out of use after 1914, the last handmill in 1916, no grain has been ground locally since about 1930. Rotations are not practised, potatoes are set on ridges, but at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the growth of grass for the ewes. Most fertilisation, both about arable areas and on some sort of oats, potatoes, oats, sown grass sequence. Fertilisers used are seaweed and manure (ten crofts), marine sand (six crofts), shell sand (one croft), lime (ten crofts) and artificials - 'Potato manure' and sulphate of ammonia - on eight crofts. Artificial fertilisers and much of the seed are obtained through the Crofters' Agency.

The only two horses ever owned by this township were kept on croft 11 from 1936 to 1953. The plough was first introduced in 1936. When a tractor from Balallan became available for hiring in 1953, the horses were disposed of. The present seven are by cow, young heifer and sheep, per croft in proportion to rents and range from 3 cows, 3 young beasts, 69 sheep down to 1 cow, 1 young beast and 25 sheep. Eight crofts exceed their entitlement but no croft has less than half the crofting and the deficiency is mainly in cattle, especially young beasts. On the other hand, no operative unit is entirely without cattle as manure is extremely important. Cattle are kept for domestic use, for sale, for manure, for milk and calves, having qualified for subsidy, are normally sold at 8 months. 10 acres of the common grazing were re-seeded in 1957 and the following rhythm for milk cows is developing:-

(a) As soon as the weather allows in May, the cows are put out in the park for about three weeks.

(b) Next, about 6 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the new outer fence erected in 1957.

(c) Back to the re-seeded park for about five weeks.

(d) Return to the croft for the winter, being let out either to the park or to the common grazings whenever the weather is suitable.

The young beasts spend much of their time on the outer common grazings. As most of the croftes, amalgamating with one in 1938 and ending in sequence with 10, 11 and 12 probably in 1959, are fenced, the old arrangements for township commoning from 15th October to 10th May are now obsolescent. Another park was also fenced for general purposes and for weaning in 1957. Prices for calves and cattle are very low and this discourages cattle breeding; on the other hand, lack of winter keep enforces an occasional sale.

The rhythm of sheep husbandry is largely independent of that of cattle:-

(a) By 20th November all sheep, except possibly the tathes, are cleared from the croftes for the lupping of breeding ewes thereon till 31st December. Every crofter now keeps his own ram, exchanging it or buying another at least once in five years.

[Coverata]

Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed grazing for young stock. Since 1939, seven people have migrated to Canada or to other parts of the Lewis and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes are put out, sometimes, in the last week of August but more usually in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for black leg, brucy and lungy illness, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third week of May.

The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep soum, but the overall stocking is only 88 per cent of the total souming. Two crofts only exceed their individual soums, while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however, poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuable for wintering the sheep. The sheep are shorn in the week before the annual sheep dipping and are then taken to the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter houses. The 1958 lose at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the growth of grass for the ewes. Most fertilisation, both about arable areas and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the common grazing, but some have been thereout the summer months, the calves are may be sold in the Autumn at six months old, those born later must be wintered to eight months until the following sale. The cattle are inspected by the Department of Agriculture Highland hall at Habost, but although good prices are obtained for beef cattle, it is felt that for the family milk supply, a dairy bull would produce a better strain.

In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. Rotations are not practised and the area of oats under each crop is less than half an acre and potatoes is seldom more than one acre. The land has been built up into lazybeds about six to ten feet wide, separated by open drainage channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor (hired from Habost) is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not altogether suitable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by marsh and steep faces of bare rock.

Neither Toristu nor Caverata is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the road near Cromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and this inferior footpath, joining the main road at Garryard. The lack of good road within the dyke acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilisers. Byre manure is used on all croftes and seaweed is brought from the shore and spread on the lazybeds. Artificial manures, used on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. This lack of incentive to improve is further more marked by the fact that no one has lazybeds in cultivation, nor practised - potatoes, oats undersown with grass, hay for three or four years. Apart from this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the same strips for many years. Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay and is often cut from lazybeds that were formerly cultivated. On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridges can be seen to have a crescentic shape and are thought to date back more than one hundred years. A short distance beyond the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonized by heather.

Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch within the dyke, is cut on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and later brought home by creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens and all keep up to twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the tarders,are also maintained.

In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Caverata and seven at Nuista. After 1881, when both of the lazybeds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but cultivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only crops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed

[Coverata] [Cromore]

The 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Caverata population - 16 out of 56 (29 per cent) left after 1911 and no re-population took place. Since 1939, seven people have migrated to Canada or to other parts of the Lewis and, in the case of the total 1939 population, and six of these were from Toristu (i.e. 50 per cent of the 1939 Toristu population); only one family now remains there. The demographic structure of the township is, therefore, a direct result of the heavy mortality among married couples in the 1914-18 war period. The girls have left to marry and most of the men have sought temporary or permanent employment elsewhere, for with better communications, education and the lathe, pull to the towns has become stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full-time crofters, earning no supplementary income by weaving tweed on commission from the Stornoway mills.

Caverata is not one of the most progressive of the South Locks townships. Although the croftes are fenced, the common pasture is not visibly delimited from either the Cromore or Garryard pastures. The dyke is fully adequate for the purpose but it is not well maintained and many crofter has not as yet installed any re-seeding schemes. As the pasture is not of the best quality, some newly sown grass would be more profitable than the present rough grazing. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but even a small acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

The future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechanisation and is badly served by communications. The future of Toristu appears to be probably one of abandonment, unless it is closely linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road into the township being built here is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Caverata is also open to question. Amalgamation of the croftes would not necessarily make more efficient use of the land for the present units are not used to their full extent. Amalgamation with Garryard might benefit the township as a whole, but, as the Caverata population is rather small to flourish in isolation. The future of Garryard, Kershader and Habost is one of hope, but unless some change takes place soon, it is not difficult to see Caverata, and Toristu, following the same course as Calbost and in thirty to forty years being little more than grazing land.

CROMORE

G. Mary Swindell, B.A., and Dennis F. Fancett, B.A.

Cromore is situated on a peninsula between Loch Erisort and Loch Cromore. Approaching it from the access road, Cromore has the appearance of a nucleated settlement, but in fact each house is situated on the owner's croft. The crofts are so arranged that each has a portion of land on the more level surface of drift deposits; houses 1 to 20 stand at the junction of the inland and the Lewisian gneiss. Soils are poor and thin, and there are numerous outcrops of barren rock amongst the arable land. The natural vegetation is heather moorland with extensive patches of rushes and cotton grass, the pattern of most of the 'outrun' around Cromore.

The township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two crofts are subdivided while another four form double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and the Schoolmaster fac. Outside the township dyke there are two fenc and four equatarys. The croft layout differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent pieces, one piece around the house, another above Creag Cromore and two pieces on another area of enclosed land on the common. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land around the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

Until the decade all the land around the houses, and much of that above Creag Cromore, was regularly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but cultivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only crops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed

clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably by a re-seeding this practice. Several of the croffers have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and manure are widely used, the former being used for vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced crops of barley, cabbage and turnips.

The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throughout the winter and are encouraged to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only seven croffers and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the soum. Lambing takes place in April and May and offer a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are clipped in late June and after crofting tips are sent to the Stornoway mills. The cattle are then taken to spun in Stornoway before weaning it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and are fattened and sold in Stornoway and some are retained and wintered on their own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the croffers like the calves to be born in March so that they are ready to sell in October for the Garryard sales. The cattle are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Crobeg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle remain outside until May. No interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee is that each family can have only one sheep and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on fash days.

Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until 1939 when the last shieling was abandoned because of difficulties in getting the cattle back in under cultivation and from an an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the area of arable land but this year ten croffers formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazing; tread between Caverata and Grasvir, about three miles south-east of Cromore and one mile north of Grasvir.

Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore fishermen work with other boats from Marivig and one from Stornoway and there are a few men who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and, in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by the weaver from the merchant in Stornoway and one is woven for the merchant. At present the weaver is only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. During the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the twenty-eight groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a van which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recent improvements to the road, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday;

[Cromore] [Kertvig]

butchers' vans call on Wednesday and Friday and a fish van once or twice during the week. Goods are also conveyed by the daily bus. Electricity was brought to the village about four years ago and the inhabitants are now enjoying a supply of piped water in about two years' time. At present only three or four houses have bathrooms.

The croftes, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a satisfactory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It is felt that the recent subsidies for fishing are good enough to attract fishermen from Cromore and one or two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were longer. Weaving has brought prosperity but, as the Park Association states in the 1957 Progress Report 'there is not sufficient weaving available for the present number of weavers'. The proposal to establish a spinning and processing plant in the Park was discussed at the 1957 Report, weaving and knitting are well known in the people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants suggested that a hostel could be built for tourists. Tourists would be welcomed but it is doubtful if even if these three increased sources of income became effective, one wonders whether they would be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Stornoway.

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B.A.

Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triangular sea loch opening out to the sea and sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, making the loch an ideal anchorage and harbour.

The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slopes more gradually to the foot of the ridge, which forms the central portion of the township. It is five hundred yards to rise steeply to a line of low hills, two hundred and fifty feet to three hundred feet high, surrounding the loch. Land is scarce and the soil is poor and thin, but it is particularly favourable for agriculture, and only one has any appreciable area of level land uninterrupted by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin, and very stony, and cultivated areas are thus small and widely dispersed.

The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common grazing, are mainly covered with heather, moor grass or sphagnum bog, while the lower areas within the township are gravel, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not yet a problem, and only small areas exist, mainly on the lower slopes of the western side of the loch. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited and worked by another twenty-two families, one being used as a holiday home. With the exception of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which closely follows the two hundred feet contour, to the sea in radial fashion. (Fig. 4). The size of the croft varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and few now cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and equatters, five houses being on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' system. Owing to the rocky nature of the terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two yards wide. Potatoes and oats are grown in rotation, and hay taken from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters sow grass for hay or undersow their crops. Dung and seaweed are used as fertilisers, with potash fertiliser as the most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce, carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

[Hartvig] [Colbost]

[500] In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Hartvig's future, and that of other crofting
[501] townships, is not only one of adverse aspects, soil and weather conditions, and of distance from
[502] markets, but a problem of the population finding a stable and viable level where agricultural units
[503] are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain, and
[504] a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

[511] Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Gravir on the Minch coast of Park. It occupies
[512] a 'bite-in' like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is open to the sea on the east. The
[513] croft houses are scattered over a shelf 50 feet above sea-level round the sides of the hollow and
along the valleys which enter the township to the north and south-west.

[514] The cultivable soil, a mixture of peat and well-drained gravelly drift, is on the higher ground,
[515] although here the rock outcrops in many places. On land formerly cultivated, bracken is spreading
rapidly and now covers a large proportion of the surface, although twenty to thirty years ago it
was unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-lying
central area. There are a few willows and rowans round the old buildings, probably planted as
wind-breaks.

[516] Calbost was originally a single farm but the township was formed about 1820. The pattern of
the crofts differs from the usual shore-to-dyke alignment, as six crofts were allotted extra land
[517] in the valley which enters from the south, when a new part of the common pasture was allotted to
[518] the township dyke. There are now fourteen crofts of which four are worked by resident crofters
[519] and two by squatters. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters
[520] in Calbost and other townships.

[521] Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2.6 acres now in cultivation, potatoes account for
[522] 2.37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduced cattle stock of only two cows and
[523] two calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut as winter feed for the 225 sheep which graze
in the township.

[524] The lazy-beds in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly encroached on by bracken. The
[525] prevalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to clear it, is likely to deter any attempt at
renewed cultivation.

[526] Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats have to
[527] be taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing industry whi
[528] has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Calbost, leaving
[529] only a few boats now used only for inshore purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only two of
[530] the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are few
[531] productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not so widely use
[532] as Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed
[533] to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around
[534] Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosures were made adjoining the main
dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before
the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander
[535] over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

[Lemreway]

[536] Frogiaris is dominant. Ling, which has interest considerable soil water, often occurs with Nardus
Stricta, Scirpus caespitosus and Eriophorium. A few rowans, usually near the shore, and a few
willows, usually within stone enclosures, are the only trees to be seen.

[537] Of the thirty-three legal crofts in Lemreway, nine comprise less than five acres, while seventeen
[538] are between five and ten acres. Of the remainder, only two exceed fifteen acres and one of these is
[539] 30 acres. Six unoccupied crofts are worked by persons other than their tenants, so actually the 290
acres of croft land are shared by twenty-seven holdings. The seventeen-acre 'noland' was originally
divided between fifteen tenants but confused sub-letting has resulted in four separate holdings directly
occupying nine acres, and working another four acres. Thus the noland today must be regarded as
the monopoly of four 'unofficial' holders.

[540] Little more than a quarter of the croft land is cultivable and even less is actually cultivated
[541] today. Figure 9 illustrates the crofting layout. The broken terraces are the most obvious feature of the soil has
permitted the cultivation of tiny 'lazybeds' and the total cultivated area is now about 48 acres. Only
the strips of land on the gentler slopes, where the soils are deeper, are now cultivated, but every
croft shows signs of former, more extensive, lazybed cultivation, often covering at least two acres.
For example, on the east side, natural hay is cut on the well-marked lazybeds at about 225 feet.

[542] Oats and potatoes, 29.5 and 16 acres respectively, occupy almost all of the cultivated ground.
[543] Most crofts devote about half an acre of potatoes and one acre of oats; both acreages have declined,
the former with a declining population and the latter with a reduction in the numbers of cattle; hay
has increased in importance. No have is now grown, though before 1900 it was preferred to oats.
[544] Ruins of the barn mill, which ceased to function at the beginning of the century, can still be seen.
[545] Fifteen acres of natural grass are cut for hay but only four crofters had sown grass for hay in
1958, about three acres in all. Few vegetables other than potatoes are grown though carrots are
said to grow well, and formerly turnips and cabbages were grown. The most needs careful preparation
[546] to be productive and almost every crofter used some seaweed and at least twenty drew substdies for 1
[547] and artificial fertilisers in 1958.

[548] Stock totals have declined recently but the township has 36 cows and 22 calves. Only one croft
[549] is without cattle and 22 of the 33 working units have a cow and a calf. The township has an Ayrshire
[550] bull on loan from the Department of Agriculture; one of the few remaining elements of the co-operati
township system is that this animal is fed by the crofters, in rotation, during the winter.

All but two crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between ten and 120 per holding but the majority
have about 23 ewes with ten lambs. Although numbers have declined recently, the 3,025 acres of
very moderate common pasture support a flock of about 1,150 sheep, including about 550 breeding
ewes and about 300 lambs.

[551] The souming is not enforced in Lemreway and it is remarkable that the total stock (allies almost
[552] exactly to the souming. An examination of the souming records shows that the stock of 917 (including
[553] lambs) considerably exceeds the sheep souming of 826. It is interesting that it is nearly always the
working units of over 10 acres that are overstocked. Of twelve such units, eight keep more sheep tha
they are entitled to. Most of these crofts are grouped on the eastern side of the township where the
crofts have a larger outrun.

[554] Thus, while overgrazing is not so severe as in many townships, it represents a potential threat,
[555] particularly if the common pasture is not improved. However, in 1958 ten acres of the common
[556] pasture have been enclosed and re-seeded. Six acres were sown with ordinary mixed grass seed,
two acres with pelleted seed and two acres with pelleted and inoculated seed. The eleven crofters
taking part in the scheme put on 100 tons of sand to help drain and aerate the peaty soil, 2½ tons of
ground mineral phosphate and 2 tons of concentrated compound fertiliser, grades 1 and 2 - all of it
by hand. The area was sown in May 1958; by the following August, there was a striking difference
between it and the untreated pasture. Next Spring, eleven cows will be grazed on this area. With th
success of this scheme, it is hoped that more of the crofters will co-operate in re-seeding further
areas.

247

[Drinaig]

[561] which rises steeply, exceeding 375 feet in the west and 150 feet to the north and east. From
[562] the north-west and north-east two glacially deepened valleys drain southwards, their lower ends
[563] being "drowned" by northward extensions of the loch.

[564] Although peat covers most of the surface it is only in the hollows that it is significantly deep,
far even on the gentler slopes the peat cover is frequently so thin as to expose a layer of morainic
sub-soil containing many stones and boulders.

[567] Two rowans and a dozen willows represent the only tree growth, but tree stumps frequently
exposed in peat-cuttings suggest that woodland was formerly more evident. Whether this former
woodland disappeared as a result of human action or of climatic change it is not possible to say, but
it is certain that a century of overgrazing has not favoured natural regneration. Moorland grasses,
sedges and the common heather characterise most of the area, and reflect the poor nutritive
capacity of much of the moorland. Bracken has established itself in one limited area on a patch
of neglected croft land.

[568] Orinsay is unique in Park, for the present township is entirely a twentieth century development.
[569] In the early 19th century there was a settlement at the head of the loch, but in 1843 the residents
were removed and the area enclosed and added to Crofteg sheep farm. In 1916, there was a proposal
to establish fourteen crofts, but the applicants were requested to wait until after the war. At the
end of the war the return of many young men with a desire to settle down led to serious overcrowd-
ing in Lemreway. Several of them 'raided' the Orinsay area. At first living in huts, they built
their own houses, and in 1922 the Department of Agriculture intervened, recognising and fencing
[570] fifteen acres of natural grass are cut for hay but only four crofters had sown grass for hay in
their neighbours,four other Lemreway families, comprising 26 people, went to Stimreway, about
a mile to the west of Orinsay. Here, however, the Department of Agriculture did not intervene and
with the community remaining isolated, most of the settlers returned to Lemreway within three
years, although one family remained until 1939.

[571] Six of the crofts have an area of less than ten acres, six have between ten and fifteen acres,
while the remaining two occupy eighteen and twenty-five acres: the largest croft originally belonged
to the shepherd on the sheep farm. Three of these crofts are not occupied, although worked by
other crofters, with the result that eleven operate units under 15 acres.

[572] Only a small part of the croft acreage is actually cultivable:seven less is cultivated in practice.
[573] The broken and rocky terrain combined with the peaty soil allows nothing but the cultivation by spade
of tiny lazy-beds. The total area now cultivated does not exceed 25 acres, although in the past it
may have been nearer 40 acres.

[574] Oats and potatoes are the staple crops, occupying 9 and 6½ acres respectively in 1958. Individual
[575] croft acreages of the main crops vary in relation to the requirements for winter stock-feed, and in the
[576] case of potatoes, to domestic consumption. Nevertheless to produce even these meagre returns
[577] the soil requires careful preparation. A plentiful supply of seaweed is obtained from the shore and
is the most frequently used fertiliser, while a little sulphate of ammonia is applied. Only two
crofters use lime.

[579] In the last two decades a marked reduction in the amount of oats grown has accompanied a
[580] decrease in the numbers of cattle and an increasing use of hay for fodder. Nevertheless only about
17½ acres of hay altogether are cut, and only five of the crofters sow any grass seed.

[581] In August 1958, the township supported only 13 cows, 3 young beasts and 8 calves. Half of the
crofters have a cow and a calf, but three have no cattle at all, and one even seed condensed milk.
a and commentary on the state of crofting in Orinsay, is a phenomenonby no means uncommon in
crofting areas.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

[824] useful crofting ancillary which, unlike many others, is soundly
[381] based on a definite commercial demand. Various industries use
the extracted acid for some 150 products. The Scottish alginate
industry, the second largest in the world, is based on the process
of E. C. Stanford, who discovered alginic acid in 1883, though
today modern methods are used. For raw materials it has turned
to the old kelping shores of the Hebrides and Northern Isles. On
the island it has a factory at Keose on Loch Eriisort, a site chosen
for the easy access afforded to puffers; the factory receives the
weed, dries, mills and bags it, and the boats then carry 200-ton
loads to Girvan. The factory itself involved some £30,000 of
[433] capital layout and has a capacity of 120 wet tons per week—4
wet tons producing 1 dry milled ton. About a dozen Harris and
[137] Lewis crofters gather the seaweed crop, the most useful type being
bladderwrack or rockweed (*ascophyllum nodosum*). From the
[493] shores at Loch Eriisort, East Loch Roag and Bernera in Lewis,
Husinish and Scarp in Harris, and Loch Seaforth. Where there is
road access the weed is cut by sickle and loaded into a lorry, but
more often it is cut at low water to be floated with the incoming
tide and rafted to Keose, hauled by motor boat.

• 247 A product of the land not readily associated with the Hebrides
is bulbs. Bulb-growing deserves a mention, however, if only be-
[803] cause the experiment to see whether it could become a commer-
cial possibility in Lewis was carried out by the children of Lionel
(Ness) Junior Secondary School. The MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust
made an investment of £150 to cover initial expenses, and success
followed. When the original project was completed it was ex-
tended, sales bringing the school a useful sum. But an attack of
disease brought production to a standstill in 1966.

312 Another small industry is the aerated-water plant at Ness,
which is operating with reasonable success, and could do better if
228 imports of aerated waters from abroad were reduced. A number
of recent surveys made in the island have found great interest in
such activities as shell-fish processing in Harris to produce semi-
286 preserves, using mostly cockles and mussels. Local knitting already
has a name for its products and a potential for extension on a
commercial scale; this latter began in late 1966. Some forty years
* [193] ago knitting specialists went to Lewis to investigate the possibilities

248

247 FLORICULTURE--cultivation of flowering and ornamental plants, shrubs, and trees; flower gardens; greenhouses; special techniques, care, and equipment; business elaboration (e.g., florists, nurseries); etc. See also:

Residential grounds and landscape architecture 381
Flower management 383
Parks and botanical gardens 387

248 TEXTILE AGRICULTURE--specialized cultivation of crops for their fibers (e.g., cotton, flax, hemp, jute); techniques of planting and harvesting; use of specialized tools and equipment; separation of fibers (e.g., ginning); organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Textile manufacture 28
Silk production 281
Wool production 286
Description of crops; glue and other special machinery 407

632 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the
363 sea: Ceann a Stigh (or Ceann a Stigh Bhaile, or Baile
103 Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the sea), Buailebhir (an area identified with the keeping of cattle), Gearraidh Mor, Creagan, Pluic, and Mach a Chul ("out the back," by a road built relatively recently). A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the moor, or common grazing land, is called Grinnbhat, from the name of a nearby loch.

511 The presence of a large Harris Tweed mill in
[348] Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living
[288] within the village. It is estimated that only 25% of
[493] the households of rural Lewis have cars; about 50% of the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970
[342] Shawbost had only one occupied tigh dubh, or "black house" built of dry stone and roofed with thatch, which to many islanders symbolizes a past life of poverty and
[404] adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators,
• [251] deep freezers and electric toasters are common in
[207] Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and
[206] many have telephones.

288 The mill in Shawbost employs between 60 and 70
463 persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the

For example,
a Widow Catherine lost "one red
175 mare and foal (L10), one dun cow (L3/10), and one dun
427 heifer (L1/10)." One family is said to have paid rent
[435] by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir
[551] James Matheson), thus earning the patronymic, "Fiddler." Their income stopped abruptly when the fiddler at the time, a great-grandfather of descendants now living, converted to the Free Church and smashed his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1905 it was noted in the rent ledger that two crofters wanted "first chance of a vacant croft in the township." In the first quarter of the century,
[628] a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighboring
[764] township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too precious to take out of cultivation and give to the dead of another village.

173 A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living
241 from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was
[233] young. They used the dung of the cattle to fertilize the
[237] soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was only 2½ acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight stacks of barley to see us through the year." There were
173 a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the streams
243 to grind the barley. The "old Norse mill" which was
256 recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project
• [251] was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got
[877]

173 "Then the tweeds got
243 going and the barley took too much t
256
829 no use for the mill."

173 A 60-year-old woman remembers,
262 potato and fished a lot. I was rais
bannocks, and salt herring. There w
school canteens when I was young; y
[264] own 'piece' to school. We had porri
for breakfast, oatcakes and butter f
at 4:00, of potatoes and fish and mi
once a week. My father poached a lo
• [251] and the roe of the salmon fresh, and
Once among the cleanest, Hebridean t
164 British cities in extent of decay.
759 a child in his first year of school
pulled by the travelling dentist.

261 Various customs associated with
272 reflect the days when fare was meage
[171] omnipresent in Britain, but in the i
272 special significance. The taking of
574 the denouement of a visit, and almos
someone steps over someone else's th
[576] tea has some of the connotations of
take only tea, without food, is to h
(empty cup).

rouble; so they had

"They depended on the
ed on oatcakes, barley
ere no vans and no
ou had to carry your
dge with fresh milk
or lunch. Dinner was
lk. We had meat maybe
t. We ate the heads
salted the rest."
eeth now vie with
It is not uncommon for
to have six teeth

food which exist today
r. Tea-drinking is
slands it has
tea constitutes
t always occurs when
reshold. To refuse
an insult; and to
ave a copan falamh

621 A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a
571 common practice, when she was young, for children from
476 large families to live for as long as six weeks with other families who were relatively better off. They would help harvest the hay or the potatoes or bring in the peat in return for food, lodging and perhaps some clothing. "They usually ate better than they did at home." The children were not necessarily relatives of the families with whom they boarded.

621 Strong friendship, that is, the kind of friendship
572 associated with mobile urban life in which persons confide in each other and share secrets and build up an individual relationship based on extensive knowledge
[602] of one another, was nonexistent. A "friend" was a relative, or someone who gave aid when it was needed.

621 Today it is sometimes said, "It used to be that
178 your relatives were your best friends; now your best
572 friends are better than your relatives." An old man
181 will meet another on the road and say, "I used to see
[602] more of you when you needed me." Neighbors used to
[231] share sheep that were killed; now households kill and
[251] consume their own sheep, and freeze the meat which they cannot use immediately. Groups that walked out together
[464] to the peat to finish the job in a single day are being replaced by individual family units that can motor out
000 and do the job in stages. People prefer to give money

175 During a huge snow-fall that occurred on
261 Lewis in the 1950's, the mobile grocery vans and other
[132] supply vehicles could not come out to the west side,
[443] and a group of men had to make an expedition into town for provisions, after which many families made certain that they always had a good supply of meal, salted
[404] mackerel and herring. Many villagers have gotten deep
[365] freezers to store beef and mutton; others say they do not trust the freezers, that a failure in electricity--which occasionally happens in this region of gales and far-away repairmen--would bring disaster if they depended
458 fully on them for keeping their meat. When the tweed
226 industry is going through one of its periodic depressions, more men go out more often to fish. "I've been going out every night for the last week or so. I don't have a tweed, and I won't have one for the next six weeks. I don't know what I'm going to do; maybe I'll go back to sea. Three of us caught one hundred mackerel last
[251] night. I salted my share, and didn't give any of them away. These are the hard times. We're going to need them during the next six weeks."

233 A few people raise beef cattle, depending largely
[654] on subsidies for encouragement to do so. A few are
[234] beginning to keep cows again for milk, giving as their
[485] reasons that freight charges make the bottled milk too
[434]
[648]

000 return to their own homes at night. There is now less
796 need for the generalized hospitality of the past, which
794 was given to anyone who came to the door looking for fo
829 and shelter. Through these visits some families in
571 different villages have, however, established relation-
574 ships which are kept up by exchanging hospitality at
times of Communion and also in other ways. A family in
[262] Ness may send to a friendly family in Shawbost some gug
[251] goslings of solan geese which are captured by Nessmen
on the island of Rona once a year and are salted to mak
a delicacy that is in great demand. Through such conta
a family wanting to purchase a cow may receive word of
that is being offered for sale in the village of a
Communion contact.

796 Services of Communion last five days. All service
except that held on Sunday evening are intended for the
communicants or full members of the church, also called
[535] "the believers" and "good livers." During this time, n
[485] dances are held in Shawbost, and in Carloway the hotel
closed.

796 On Communion Sunday, the upper balcony of the chur
794 is filled with villagers watching to see if any of the
829 recently converted have decided and have been allowed t
take Communion. Because the villagers watch very close
the behavior of everyone else within the village, any c

later times the landlord might supply timber. Long ago a main source of timber was the shore. The length of the house may be fifty to sixty feet, and the inside breadth ten to twelve feet, spanned by ten or a dozen pairs of couples on which are laid transverse 'cabers', which may be tree trunks, branches, odd wood, old oars, or, exceptionally, sawn timber. The tops of the walls are finished with turf, to keep the filling from being washed out, and to provide a smooth bearing for the couples, the ends of which are pushed into the turf so as to bear on the inner half of the wall; the rounded form and absence of overhanging eaves prevent a gale obtaining purchase on the roof, but a gable with chimney is now usual on the end wall of the inner room. The rafters are annually covered with turf, and the roof is thatched with thin, short barley straw, which was pulled up, not cut, after the ears were picked off, the roots gripping well, and the stem hanging outward and down.

The door gives direct access to the byre (*bathach*), through which one reaches the middle part, or living-room, 'at the fire' (*aig an teine*), from which there opens the inmost part, the 'room' with bed-closets. There is no ceiling to the primitive house, the row of box beds having tops to keep off the drips of rain water. In the middle of the earthen, sanded floor of the living-room is the circular hearth, built of stones with clay between, and raised a few inches, with no chimney.

In the byre, the manure accumulates from spring to spring, and a breach is made in the end of the house for the annual removal of the manure. There are no privies. Where there is fodder and straw in any quantity a barn is added. Stacks are rare because of wind. A low wall, continuous with the house and barn, may enclose the kale-

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

CH. IX ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

175 From the Napoleonic Wars to 1914 the amount of
278 herring cured on the West Coast of Scotland rose and fell.
251 In 1810–14 the East Coast cure was half the West Coast
458 cure, but the peace of 1815 brought the capture of the
Continental markets and the East Coast herring export
leapt up. It averaged 500,000 barrels from 1850 to 1870,
a million from 1880 to 1900, and one to two million barrels
[439] until 1914. With the decline in the export to the Planta-
tions, the West Coast export fell, to rise by 1890 and reach
a peak from 1900 to 1914. Thus, although no more than
from a tenth to a fifth of the East Coast yield, that of the
West Coast had risen greatly.[1] Of this, the Stornoway
cure formed the major part.

175 The chief early type of catch, of white fish (cod, ling
228 and hake), was developed too, and swelled to a peak by
1900, then dwindled and fell. The average Stornoway
District catch of white fish for a dozen years to 1900 was
valued at over £100,000, much of it caught by local boats,
and some of it cured at small 'creeks' (*e.g.* on the west of
the Island, on Loch Roag, notably at Carloway). The
cure, a strong coarse food, was shipped to Ireland and the
Clyde; but after 1900, fresh trawled fish replaced the
cured. From £100,000 before 1900 the value fell to little
over £10,000 in 1912–13, £1000 in 1920, and half that in
1921—½ per cent of the value in 1900!

[471] Thus the herring fishing became the most important
[452] to the Islanders, at first by employment on East Coast boats.
[652] Later they purchased boats and gear for themselves, helped
principally by advances from Island and East Coast curers,
though also by State loans.

[1] *Fishery Board for Scotland*, Table 25 (1938), and Table 23: 6000 barrels in 1790–95; 80,000 in 1870–75; 100,000 in 1912, and 160,000 in 1913. For fair comparison with Table 25, about 25 per cent should be added to quantities, as explained in the notes to the Tables, on the 'seastick', and final reduced, or 'bungpacked', state of barrelled herring (listed in Table 23).

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

The minister
was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them
175 as an example to the crofters who were still reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70
247 boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch Roag for they were small open boats greatly
228 outnumbered in good herring seasons by boats from other parts of the kingdom. To
encourage curing, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up two storehouses
251 to supply salt; he, or his agents, were probably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, who
441 visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the estate factor held a monopoly for trading in
[614] cattle, dried fish and other products. The absolute power of the clan chieftain seems
to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844.
But it was kelp, more than fishing, that helped to support the people of Uig in the late
eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lewis made little kelp compared with the
133 Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of particularly good quality and commanded more than
[221] the average price. Further, many people from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in
Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time, the intrinsic resources of the parish appear
233 to have been inadequate to support the population. In this connection it is worth noting
143 the change in the average stock held by each family since 1792 as shown in table 3.
[178]

Clearance and Congestion.

175 Even after the end of the tremendous boom in kelp, brought about throughout the
228 Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some production continued in Uig. In 1825, when the
land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses,
175 yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereafter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attempt-
233 ing industrial developments and agricultural improvements. The former included short-
lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants in
166 order to introduce mainland farmers. For these Uig was particularly attractive, the
extensive mountain pasture offering good prospects for sheep graziers. The exact dates
427 of the formation of the earliest farms are not remembered nor are they precisely recorded,
but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Macrae of Kintail had the tack of Scalicro, with
[279] the extensive grazings (now partly occupied by Bernera summer pasture) east of Little
Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants of Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of
Mealasta Island, which suggests that a sheep farmer was already installed in that
district. About 1838 all the small tenants were cleared out of Mealasta, six families
being put into Breanish; the remainder are said to have been sent to America.

In Bernera Island, Kirkibost was cleared about 1822, having been lotted in individual
175 crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkibost formed part of the large farm of
427 Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed part of this farm. On the mainland, opposite
Bernera, small tenants were cleared from the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Stromo and
Drovernish) in the early nineteenth century, and a tacksman was installed at west
Karshader. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and
Linshader.

175 By 1844 the kelp shores were almost valueless to the proprietor (though seaweed as
fertiliser remained a vital necessity to the small cultivators, often working the same
land year after year). In 1841 the Chamberlain of the Lews suggested to the Select
Committee on Emigration that some 4,000 persons should emigrate because the land was
inadequate to support them. In 1844, of necessity, Seaforth sold the island. The
[162] population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,316); little did the Chamberlain imagine that
in the following ten years it would increase by 16%, and that by the turn of the century
would reach almost 30,000, (Uig 4,462 Figure 8).[1]

[1] [See p. 18--Analyst]

252

252 FOOD PREPARATION--processing of edible materials (e.g., grinding, cutting, mixing); cooking methods and techniques (e.g., broiling, roasting, baking, boiling, frying); use of special apparatus (e.g., mills, motors, earth ovens, stoves); use of cooking implements and utensils; recipes; associated beliefs and practices; etc. Data on culturally elaborated or commercialized techniques of food preparation should be filed under the more specialized categories below. See also:

Household implements and utensils	41	Meals	264
Slaughtering	231	Cookhouses	343
Manufacture of butter and cheese	234	Ovens and stoves	354
Condiments	263	Fire and fuel	372

585 bridesmaid(s). The house was filled each night with
[43] visitors bringing new gifts or coming to see the latest
additions. Enough presents were given during this
[203] time to set up a household. Invitations to the wedding
were issued verbally, by persons going around to each
[602] house. Anyone could come to the church ceremony, which
was relatively informal and jovial, but only the
"closest" relatives were invited to the sumptuous wedding
dinner which followed the service: the bride and groom,
their parents, aunts and uncles, first cousins and
usually second cousins. Many more were invited to the
wedding supper which started after the dinner, at about
10:00 p.m., and continued throughout the night.

Three main nights were distinguished, although
585 preparations and festivities might go on for weeks. The
252 first night was the night before the wedding, when women
of the village brought hundreds of chickens, which they
plucked and cooked. Meat, usually mutton, was also cooked
and sliced. Butter was rolled into balls. Neighbors
brought milk and other provisions and assisted in the
baking for a week beforehand.

585 On the second night, hundreds of villagers ate the
[535] chickens and mutton prepared for the wedding supper,
[533] and danced to the music of a piper or other musicians.
[273] Many young boys had their first taste of beer or whiskey
on these occasions.

256

256 CEREAL INDUSTRY--industrialized processing of cereal products (e.g., flour, starch, breakfast foods); storage facilities (e.g., grain elevators); mills and bakeries; technology and special equipment; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Cereal agriculture	248	Manufacture of milling machinery	395
Beverage industries	274	Manufacture of bakery equipment	396
Baking ovens	354	Milling machines	402

For example, 46
a Widow Catherine lost "one red
195 mare and foal (L10), one dun cow (L3/10), and one dun
427 heifer (L1/10)." One family is said to have paid rent
195 by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir
551 James Matheson), thus earning the patronymic, "Fiddler."
Their income stopped abruptly when the fiddler at the
time, a great-grandfather of descendants now living,
converted to the Free Church and smashed his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1905 it was noted in the rent ledger
that two crofters wanted "first chance of a vacant croft
628 in the township." In the first quarter of the century,
764 a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighboring
township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too
precious to take out of cultivation and give to the dead
of another village.

193 A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living
241 from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was
223 young. They used the dung of the cattle to fertilize the
229 soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was
only 2½ acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight
stacks of barley to see us through the year." There were
193 a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the streams
243 to grind the barley. The "old Norse mill" which was
251 recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project
897 was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got

193 "Then the tweeds got 47
243 going and the barley took too much trouble; so they had
251 no use for the mill."

193 A 60-year-old woman remembers, "They depended on the
262 potato and fished a lot. I was raised on oatcakes, barley
bannocks, and salt herring. There were no vans and no
school canteens when I was young; you had to carry your
264 own 'piece' to school. We had porridge with fresh milk
for breakfast, oatcakes and butter for lunch. Dinner was
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someone steps over someone else's threshold. To refuse
576 tea has some of the connotations of an insult; and to
take only tea, without food, is to have a copan falamh
(empty cup).

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
231 peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to Ness of Crowlista and Valtos
in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird
65 lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village
there is now an R.A.F. radar station on Rudha Cast, built on what was part of the common
pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the
inhabitants.

34 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
497 at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
193 butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N.A.A.F.I.
within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100
585 ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds
540 and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases bens are kept on the steeper slopes below
the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
359 have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the
317 houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
311 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an
499 elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so
that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions,
but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to
the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

241 The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown
grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial
fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the
cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse.
407 Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
412 tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
824 vated; bere was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that
223 there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow
for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses
no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

253 On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement
of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The
lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented
this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many
in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there
are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most
of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
146 periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither
has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the
parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 -
44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

[Kersh=der]

284 with heather and peat on the higher areas, hay is taken off 19.25 acres. Four acres, mainly for
511 potatoes, are worked by spade but most of the cultivation is by tractor hired from Balallan or,
409 in 1958, from Habost. Lazybeds are common and in some cases are carefully renewed, but
the present tendency, reaching its extreme in a field of about two acres on one croft, is towards
the formation of larger, ploughable fields for ease of tractor operation. Most cultivation is in
206 zones (a) and (b), with little development of (c) at present. The only crops are oats and potatoes,
244 with some garden plots of cabbages, turnips and carrots. The potato main crop is generally
Kerr's Pink (Golden Wonder on one croft), with a couple of rows of Skerry Blue or Edzell Blue
199 for earlier. There is no memory of Black Oats (Avena strigosa), and bere (Hordeum vulgare)
has certainly not been grown since 1930, and probably not since 1909. The oats are grown
206 exclusively for winter feed and are hand-threshed with stock and comb as the need arises; the
258 last water mill in the locality went out of use after 1914; the last handmill in 1916; no grain
has been sent to Stornoway since about 1930. Rotations are extremely irregular: some lazy-
beds are still cultivated with alternate crops of oats and potatoes and have heavy seaweed and
manure fertilisation, but most other arable areas have some sort of oats, potatoes, oats, sown
226 grass sequence. Fertilisers used are seaweed and manure (ten crofts), manure (eleven crofts), shell
250 sand (one croft), lime (ten crofts) and artificials - 'Potato manure' and sulphate of ammonia -
247 on eight crofts. Artificial fertilisers and much of the seed are obtained through the Crofters'
Agency.

251. The only two horses ever owned by this township were kept on croft 11 from 1936 to 1953. The
409 plough was first introduced in 1936. When a tractor from Balallan became available for hiring
252 in 1953, the horses were disposed of. The present soums are by cow, young beast and sheep
per croft in proportion to rents and range from 3 cows, 3 young beasts, 49 sheep down to 1 cow,
1 young beast and 23 sheep. Eight crofts exceed their entitlement but no croft hasless than half the
soumming and the deficiency is mainly in cattle, especially young beasts. On the other hand, no
254 operative unit is entirely without cattle as manure is extremely important. Cattle are kept for
257 domestic milk supply, and calves, having qualified for subsidy, are normally sold at 6 to 8 months.
10 acres of the common grazing were re-seeded in 1957 and the following rhythm for milk cows
231 is developing:-

251
255 (a) As soon as the weather allows in May, the cows are put out in the park for about three
511 weeks.

(b) Next, about 6 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the new outer fence erected in 1957.

(c) Back to the re-seeded park for about five weeks.

(d) Return to the crofts for the winter, being let out either to the park or to the common grazings whenever the weather is suitable.

The young beasts spend much of their time on the outer common grazings. As most of the crofts,
beginning with one in 1938 and ending in sequence with 10, 11 and 12 probably in 1959, are fenced,
the old arrangements for township commoning from 15th October to 10th May are now obsolescent.
Another park was also fenced for general purposes and for weaning in 1957. Prices for calves
and cattle are very low and this discourages cattle breeding; on the other hand, lack of winter
keep enforces an occasional sale.

The rhythm of sheep husbandry is largely independent of that of cattle:-

(a) By 20th November all sheep, except possibly the lambs, are cleared from the crofts for the tupping of breeding ewes thereon till 31st December. Every crofter now keeps his own ram, exchanging it or buying another at least once in five years.

/8

261

261 GRATIFICATION AND CONTROL OF HUNGER--ideas about food and ingestion, eating sparingly or to excess; attitudes toward wasting food; special adjustments to hunger or famine; dieting; cultural elaboration of food appetites (e.g., geophagy, gum chewing, epicures); etc. See also:

Famine relief 731
Religious fasting 786
Theory of digestion 827
Conception of the hunger drive 828
Food craving during pregnancy. 843
Infant feeding 853
Food training of children 862

342 yard and occasionally a barley-kiln in which to dry grain
343 before malting it for home-brewed beer. A 'black mill',
351 with its primitive horizontal water-wheel, stands apart by
[251] some burnside.
[273] Round the circular hearth, a large company can assemble in very social fashion for talk, story and song, the meeting
354 *together* (*ceilidh*). By the transfer of the hearth from the
571 centre and the substitution of a gable fireplace and regular
538 chimney, the social circle is halved, while meantime the
[178] tales of the *ceilidh* are forbidden or forgotten. Happily the bench still stands against the wall, near to the open
[353] door, through which neighbours slip in with a word of greeting to find a customary welcome.

342 The dwellings on the summer pastures out on the moors show great variety, illustrated in Fig. 10(B). A simple
361 type in use is built of turf and stones, lightly roofed with
[178] turf placed on spars. A more primitive 'beehive' type (which fell out of use before 1900) was stone-built and
[171] corbelled, probably for lack of timber. And whereas the lighter type always stands by itself, the corbelled type was added to until a dozen cells formed a single mass, suggestive of ancient 'neolithic' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney, described by Childe, and of the domed, corbelled huts of the ancient East.

[343] A further type was the 'spring house' of Tolsta, NE. Lewis, in which both cattle and folk sheltered in spring a little way from the village, before going out to the more
[124] distant moor. Mr. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S., a native of Tolsta, informs me that the spring house was in
[178] use until 1936. He remembers vividly how life in the shieling restored health and colour after the winter.

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

(A) TRANSITION: MIGRATION, FISHING AND KELP-MAKING

175 433 [621] [427] [794] [437] UNTIL the 'Forty-five the township had lived an almost self-contained life. Its traditional economy was self-sufficient except for two indispensable commodities—salt for the housewife and iron for the smith. Beyond this, the chief demand for payment was the rent to the lord, with tithes for the kirk. For these needs and demands a step towards production for exchange was required, the more so that what was exported might include the very necessities of life in 'bad years'. The rent was paid largely by the sale of a surplus steer or two, and 175 317 436 [435] drovers called for the cattle. By 1790, if not before, two or three open boats set out annually from Uig, for instance, for Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. Although salt seems of little account today, it once bulked large in the Budget, its price being heightened by duty, especially after 1707: "as dear as salt", was a saying, *cho daor ris an t-salluinn.* [251] Salt was needed to preserve the carcase of a 'cattle-beast' or sheep killed in autumn, and 175 433 [326] [443] for cod and herring curing. Wrecks were valuable, as on all infertile undeveloped coastlands, both for their timber and their iron. Cairds or tinkers occasionally brought metal goods; or a packman called, as strange a figure then

173 243 257 829 "Then the tweeds got going and the barley took too much trouble; so they had no use for the mill."

173 262 A 60-year-old woman remembers, "They depended on the potato and fished a lot. I was raised on oatcakes, barley bannocks, and salt herring. There were no vans and no school canteens when I was young; you had to carry your own 'piece' to school. We had porridge with fresh milk [264] for breakfast, oatcakes and butter for lunch. Dinner was at 4:00, of potatoes and fish and milk. We had meat maybe once a week. My father poached a lot. We ate the heads [251] and the roe of the salmon fresh, and salted the rest." Once among the cleanest, Hebridean teeth now vie with 164 759 British cities in extent of decay. It is not uncommon for a child in his first year of school to have six teeth pulled by the travelling dentist.

261 272 Various customs associated with food which exist today reflect the days when fare was meager. Tea-drinking is [171] omnipresent in Britain, but in the islands it has 272 574 special significance. The taking of tea constitutes the denouement of a visit, and almost always occurs when [576] someone steps over someone else's threshold. To refuse tea has some of the connotations of an insult; and to take only tea, without food, is to have a <u>copan falamh</u> (empty cup).

175 261 [132] [443] During a huge snow-fall that occurred on Lewis in the 1950's, the mobile grocery vans and other supply vehicles could not come out to the west side, and a group of men had to make an expedition into town for provisions, after which many families made certain that they always had a good supply of meal, salted [404] mackerel and herring. Many villagers have gotten deep [365] freezers to store beef and mutton; others say they do not trust the freezers, that a failure in electricity--which occasionally happens in this region of gales and far-away repairmen--would bring disaster if they depended 458 226 fully on them for keeping their meat. When the tweed industry is going through one of its periodic depressions, more men go out more often to fish. "I've been going out every night for the last week or so. I don't have a tweed, and I won't have one for the next six weeks. I don't know what I'm going to do; maybe I'll go back to sea. Three of us caught one hundred mackerel last [251] night. I salted my share, and didn't give any of them away. These are the hard times. We're going to need them during the next six weeks."

233 [654] A few people raise beef cattle, depending largely on subsidies for encouragement to do so. A few are [234] beginning to keep cows again for milk, giving as their [435] reasons that freight charges make the bottled milk too [434] [648]

262

262 DIET--staple and other foods consumed; seasonal changes in diet; proportion of various foods in diet; group differences in diet (e.g., by age, sex, social class); discriminations between edible and harmful foods; food preferences and avoidances; food taboos; etc. See also:

Food processing	25	Religious taboos	784
Nutritional balance	146	Food taboos during pregnancy	843
Standard of living	511	Infant feeding	853

000 in the far north. "There were two fishing seasons.
175 For one season you went to Fraserburgh, Stronsay,
228 Lerwick and Peterhead; and then the winter fishing was
[221] in England, at Yarmouth, Scarborough and Loucester.
I remember in Yarmouth we didn't like the English
• [262] bread, it was such a dull color. We liked the pure
white Scotch bread."

They lived in small huts, and the work was hard but
full of fun. Neighborhood girls used to go together,
bringing bedding and different items in large chests to
share in the housekeeping. Three girls worked together
in a crew, and there were as many as six sharing a room,
in double bunks. Some of the huts were so small that
there was barely enough room for the beds and the cup-
boards. At night the boys would come in off the boats.
"You were so tired from being up since early morning;
[579] but you were always able to dance. You were treated with
[178] respect; the youngsters today aren't so good." The
women who married non-islanders that they met at the
fishing were not likely to return.

175 When the weaving started on a large scale, the girls
288 "were glad enough to have work at home, even though the
464 work was hard." But many continued their temporary
175 absences from the island, working in hotels or as
464
162
357

173 "Then the tweeds got
243 going and the barley took too much trouble; so they had
257
829 no use for the mill."

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take only tea, without food, is to have a copan falamh
(empty cup).

264 The only occasions on which it is customary to feed
574 someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as peat-
576 cutting. On such occasions the preparation of meals is
[461] done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual scrutiny,
[476] and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, the
requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled by
giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but
which were much more abundant when the land was cultivated
• [262] and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcakes,
264 clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foods
571 are usually offered to visitors along with tea, and in the
574 past this custom served to minimize the economic disparities
between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A similar
[737] function was served by the practice of giving part of
[431] each catch of fish to old widows and other villagers in
need of aid. Even though food is more abundant and diverse
today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during a
visit is still very important.

173 A 50-year-old man who "married into" a croft recalls,
[581] "I came from a family of ten children. Everyone had to
[428] leave, or marry a girl with a croft. Only the eldest son
could inherit the croft." There was little room for
423 romanticism in the fight for scarce land among the sons
581 of large crofter and non-crofter families. "The most

512 The cattle
233 knew their own sheilings; sometimes
825 they came back before milking time and stuck their heads
[234] inside. They stood outside the sheiling at night, and
that's how you can tell where a sheiling once was, even
though the walls have fallen, by the rich green grass.
Calves were born during the summer. A hollow was scooped
233 out in the peat, and lined with turf and moss. People
[422] had as many as four or five cows. It was like Switzerland
[292] only we didn't have the bells on the cows. There was lots
• [262] of milk, fresh thick cream and crowdie (clotted sour
[234] milk); the old people knew how to make cheese.

233 "The moor was very eerie at night, with the sound of
721 the birds. There were only a few hours of darkness
751 anyway, and I'm sure we didn't get much sleep, but somehow
[513] we were always fresh. It was the air, the moor air is
more health-giving. The air is different there. Ill
people benefited from the change. Sometimes a person
with TB would stay out there all summer. The air is heavy
by the sea.

805 "There was no sense of time the way there is today.
233 If you got lost in the snow or fog, you followed the cows
221 home. You had all summer to take home the peats, to work
829 the croft, to harvest the corn. There wasn't a world,
[178] there was only ourselves. That has changed since the war.

000 return to their own home
796 need for the generalized
794 was given to anyone who
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571 and shelter. Through th
574 different villages have,
ships which are kept up
times of Communion and a
262 Ness may send to a frien
251 goslings of solan geese
on the island of Rona or
a delicacy that is in gr
a family wanting to purc
that is being offered fo
Communion contact.

796 Services of Communi
except that held on Sund
communicants or full mem
535 "the believers" and "goo
485 dances are held in Shawb
closed.

796 On Communion Sunday
794 is filled with villagers
829 recently converted have
take Communion. Because

s at night. There is now less
hospitality of the past, which
came to the door looking for food
ese visits some families in
however, established relation-
by exchanging hospitality at
lso in other ways. A family in
dly family in Shawbost some guga,
which are captured by Nessmen
ce a year and are salted to make
eat demand. Through such contact
hase a cow may receive word of on
r sale in the village of a

on last five days. All services
ay evening are intended for the
bers of the church, also called
d livers." During this time, no
ost, and in Carloway the hotel is

, the upper balcony of the church
watching to see if any of the
decided and have been allowed to
the villagers watch very closely

2 ECOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE population of the island huddles round the coastline on a central hearth. This is mainly because the island parts of the island are either barren, as in Harris, or infertile bog, as in Lewis. Much of the south Hebrides has, on the west coast, the extremely fertile machair land, but Harris and Lewis do not have these useful patches. The machairland is land built up shell sand (and hence of vital fertilizer importance); it is a fertile fringe, no more than a belt of varying width between the sea and the acid peat bog on the inland side. Where this land does not exist, mainly on the west coast of the island, townships crowd round it for the good growing it can give. The other reason for the attraction of the coast is the obvious one: the close proximity, on the doorstep, of a change of diet, shellfish and inshore fish such as whiting, cod, haddock and mackerel. The exceptions to this coastal grouping are Achmore, Claasro, and Lochgarioch in Lewis.

There is a great phytogeographical difference between the east and west coasts of the island, this apart from the incidence of machairland on the west coast. The eastern side is steeper to the sea; though there offer cover at Gallan Head, Port Nis and Ranga. The south-western coastline has high, almost sheer cliffs with few inlets or sheltered harbourages excepting Loch Roag, a magnificent inlet, sheltered as its farthest inland penetration by Great Bernera. The coast on this island side often presents rocky teeth to the Atlantic's buffeting, and often suddenly falls down to sea level to display wide stretches of sand. Uig Bay, where the Red River runs into the sea, is a breath-taking sweep of whiteness. The eastern coast is generally rocky but has more inlets, lochs which carry township mainly engaged in fishing and tweed manufacture.

THE PEOPLE

198 262 Most of the outward changes which have occurred in the island took place in the two decades just after the first world war. Food, for instance, now tends to be better balanced and contains more nutrients. Staple diet in the past were mostly confined to a few oatmeal and bread on the potato. Fish, particularly those with essential oils (cod liver), of course, available; but only if the fishermen were lucky in the catch. As for vegetables and fresh fruit, it was not until after the 1920s that these became generally available all the year round.

Another outward change has been in dress. Until the beginning of the twenties, the women wore a black petticoat striped with colours, a dark blouse, often with stays, and a knitted muffler round the neck and over the head. In summer, the tartan shawl was more usual. Men wore tweed fitted at weekdays. Much attention tended to be of the homespun type, rich in water-resisting oil. Later these were replaced, as far as the fishermen were concerned, with oilskins, waterproof and rubber boots. Even nowadays of course tends to conform to what is displayed in magazines, on the film screen and on television.

The changes in the mental characteristics of a people are not so obvious. Centuries of generations of long-dead forbears have contributed their share to the character of the island people today. It is a complex one. Impressions of the island people as they appear to the outsider, one never looked for those complex aspects which gave the society its *raison d'être*. That islandfolk of former times were fond of music and dancing was the observation of the Rev. John Lane Buchanan, who was Missionary Minister to the Isles from the Church of Scotland' from 1782 to 1790. In a volume published in 1793, in which he describes his Hebridean experiences, he says that the British laws had been introduced to the Island of Lewis by the Scaforth of that period. 195 196 He says, 'since their late happy change from servitude to freedom, by the present noble-minded proprietor, are animated with such life as to meet in companies, regularly each week, to assemble, where the old and young take their turn in this agreeable past-time (dancing), when they exercise themselves with amazing alertness and spirit.' Martin Martin mentions that in his time (c 1695) the Lewis people were very desirous in the exercises of swimming, archery, vaulting, leaping. He tells also says that they were great lovers of music, and that when he was in the island he heard of eighteen men who could play the violin well without being bred taught.

The Rev William MacRae, minister of Barvas, writing in the *New Statistical Account*, gives a description of his parishioners (in 1836) which can be applied to all the country districts in the island at that time. After stating that in their habits much clean- 195 liness can naturally be expected, considering their poverty and the wretchedness of their habitations, he says:

> These mode of living most closely approaches the pastoral state, and, therefore, manufacture, navigation, or commerce, their whole round of duty consists in securing fuel, in sowing and reaping their scanty crops, and in rearing their flocks, and feeding them at proper times. Yet in these limited concerns, while supplied with food and clothing of the plainest description, and able to pay their rents, which are generally low, cottagers are absolute of happiness and contentment. Blue kelt (a thick cloth) is almost the only dress worn by the men, and ruffle, sometimes, by the women, when they wear dresses of plaiding, all home-made. In many instances, however, cotton shirts and tartan plaid gowns are beginning to supersede the use of some of these articles . . . Their ordinary food consists of oat and barley meal, potatoes and milk variously prepared. They are generally speaking, frugal and moderate beyond conception. The produce of a foreign soil such as tea, coffee, and sugar, and the necessary commodities of art, such as knives, forks, and etc., are to them altogether alien.

It is of interest that the change in dress-types (from woollen homespun to cotton fabrics) was followed by an increase in the incidence of rheumatism.

Today, the island folk are reputed to be gloomy with a black, depressive outlook towards life. The editor of the *Stornoway Gazette* has pointed out: 'We cannot understand a people and why they act as they do unless we know the context of their memories. We cannot understand the place of the naturally gloomy in this agreeable past-time (dancing), when they exercise themselves with amazing alertness and spirit.' Martin Martin mentions that in his time (c 1695) the Lewis people were very desirous in the exercises of swimming, archery, vaulting, 134 or leaping.

THE PEOPLE

195 125 195 126 195 127 195 128 195 129 195 130 195 131 195 132 195 133 195 134 195 135 195 136 195 137 195 138 195 139 195 140 195 141 195 142 195 143 195 144 195 145 195 146 195 147 195 148 195 149 195 150 195 151 195 152 195 153 195 154 195 155 195 156 195 157 195 158 195 159 195 160 195 161 195 162 195 163 195 164 195 165 195 166 195 167 195 168 195 169 195 170 195 171 195 172 195 173 195 174 195 175 195 176

centre of the mud floor through tons and tons of decomposing organic matter or manure.'

The island, for all its ills and chills, had a high birth-rate and a low death-rate. Martin Martin (1695) declared: 'It is a general observation of much as live on the sea coast that they are more 93 more prolific than any other people whatever.' Its extension was opened in 1925, and the hospital was provided with a surgeon and an ambulance. Another extension in 1929 was the result of a gift of £3,000 from Mr John Bain, of Chicago, who was then a Lewis man 93 34 President of no less than fourteen banks in the Mid-West. The Lewis Seaman's Institute was opened in 1930.

Tuberculosis was at one time in the island's history a disease 195 that caused many deaths and much sorrow. About 1930 an Anti- 195 tuberculosis Society was formed, with Dr Robert Allan, of Ardroil, 194 as President. Later, another doctor came to the island and his factor-over from Skye to collect the island goods that were to be sold, and he lived with his white mistress in Stornoway. Both would see 194 them through another twelvemonth. However, as the demand for the island's products declined, communications became more important to keep up support the family; and he leave the Island 194 on the Scottish mainland. Large-scale emigration began in 1852 when thirty-six islanders (with Sutherland) left for America. Island life was penetrated by the outside world of life; boating disasters and cliff-falls in particular deprived the community of the vital male elements needed for survival. In 1863 a survey revealed that 25 per cent of Lewis children were in need of dental treatment. 262 This disease ravaged the island for almost a century and was brought back at the male age. About 1810 the population was about 200, a definite overcrowding. By 1861 it had fallen to 78; 195 in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 78. A decade later it was around 1. Isolation tended to make the St Kildas a human menagerie. 194 With the improvement in boat services, St Kilda became a 'must' 194 for tourist parties. The tourist trade was of considerable importance for the population after July 1877, when the *Dunera* *Castle* steamed north and we had a 1300-ton steamship called the *Dunera Castle* steamed north and we had a 1300-ton steamship called the *Dunera Castle* steamed north and we had a 1300-ton steamship called the *Dunera

(4) FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP

natural zone, could not be extended. In any case, the relenlusion of clay land tended to slacken as efforts turned to fishing and kelp-making. The introduction or increased growing of potatoes added to the human, but hardly to the animal, food supply. Finally, while the beginnings of dedicated knowledge and vocationism had shifted the growth of population after 1750, veterinary science had made no progress, nor did it advance in the Island for many years to come. We may conclude that an average stock per island family about 1750 was rather more than that of 1790, and the average relatively larger, while both were greater than the average of today, particularly in the Lews.

When then, could a family have to eat, from such crops and stock? While in winter even now there is almost no milk to be had on a croft, and there would be little then, there was salt meat, dried or salted cod (or herring) and fish oil; oat and barley meal and some rye meal; cabbages; and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, potatoes. Martin included potatoes among the crops grown even on far St. Kilda in 1697. A century later it was written that the people of Uig, for instance, had, though "struggling", been induced to grow and eat them "forty years before". The seed had to be sought and tended where changes are slow and memories long! But it was written of Harris that by June the meal and potatoes had mostly been consumed, "and such as cannot afford to purchase imported meal subsist chiefly on the milk of their cows and sheep, with what fish they may chance to catch, till their wants are relieved by the first fruits of their potato crops early in Harvest".

We conclude that with even less money but a little more grain the population in the Island had fluctuated about a mean for some centuries before, as it had in so

quarters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families had enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[60] In one Glendale township, Bohistaiste, some crofts of "not an acre had as many as fifteen people to support."[61] Part of this extreme congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing some croft when a child married. Although the population in 1841 had fallen to 17,600, from 21,000 in 1841, almost every township had two or three times the number of families which had lived in them in 1841.[62]

The loss of the summer shelings and the common grazings which they had enjoyed[63] meant the lions were silent. Since the rent continued to be based on the value of livestock and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all extra, which the proprietor didn't sell and, need for food and hospitality. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all were heavily in debt to the local merchants who seem to have been unscrupulous with more ambitious with the crofters than were the crofters and cottars. Milk became a previous commodity. Frequently, the old one had only enough for her calf. Unable to keep horses, the women hewed beasts of burden. They carried

[60]Ibid., p. 112.

[61]Alexander McKenzie, op. cit., p. 412-420.

[62]Smith, op. cit., p. 157; Cumming, op. cit., p. 140; and Report Minister P. 21.

[63]The following is drawn from the evidence presented to the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of Skye; see Report Napier, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82.

wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.

These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time crofting now was a spare-time pursuit. The Gaelic Bothan was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force appeared. Purchase had grown and there was a weakness mill, but there does not seem to have been any current movement into the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was lost, the religious revival, the renascence of the "Gaelic Bothan" became an of intial policy of a new church. The emotional approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders in the church, and the sentimalism of the large outdoor meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium. Although the extended family, township, and moiteas family suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The adherences of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

TABLE 2

ESTIMATED VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION
IN THE ISLE OF SKYE

Produce	Total Production	Local Consumption[a] (Household & Draft)	Exports
	£	£	£
Oats	3,500	3,500	....
Potatoes	23,500	23,500	....
Turnips	2,000	2,000	....
Hay	24,000	24,000	....
Sheep and Lambs	70,000	20,000	50,000
Wool	50,000	10,000	40,000
Cattle	90,000	20,000	70,000
Milk	30,000	30,000	....
Poultry and Eggs	40,000	40,000	....
Pigs	6,000	....	6,000
Miscellaneous	5,000	5,000	....
Totals	£ 344,000	£ 178,000	£ 166,000

*Based upon assumed yields from crop acreages and stock reported to the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

[a]Consumption includes an allowance for loss of stock.

mailer. Since agriculture is a poor rule in the best of years, the crofters had to supplement their income in other ways. These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time crofting now was a spare-time pursuit. The Bothan was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force appeared. Purchase had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any current movement into the village by the crofters.

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Throughout the present century, the commercial importance of deep sea fishing, judged on the basis of income, numbers of crofter-fishermen, and boats, has steadily declined. The number of crofter-fishermen has decreased at a faster rate than the decline in population. In recent years its significance as a part-time chore has also been reduced. Wage labor has replaced fishing in the economic pattern. In 1900 there were 1,015 crofter-fishermen with 485 boats.[22] While the number of fishermen rose to 1,039 in 1905, from then until now their number has fallen steadily. In 1953 there were 237 crofter-fishermen with 120 boats. Despite higher prices, the value of fish landed on the island is one-third that of 1900. In 1952 the total contribution of fishing to the local economy was £30,000. This is in marked contrast to the Outer Hebrides where fishing earnings is more among than crofting.[23] Fish have, of course, remained essential in the diet. All the crofters have their barrel of salt herring, purchased from mainland curers. Their own fish is salted for their use.

All who have considered the "Highland Problem" have stressed the need for some form of secondary employment to support the economy. Fishing has enjoyed great prestige as a recommended industry. This is due to the long tradition and the importance of fishing in the Outer Isles.[24] There are several difficults in the program as far as Skye is concerned.

[22]Thomas Bateson for the Isle of Skye,—1904-1905,"Minutes Relative, Scottish Home Department, Edinburgh, Scotland (in the files of the Division).

[23]Report, op. cit., pp. 81, 89, 134.

[24]Ibid., p. 89-110.

stem. So fish without scales is eaten by the Ulvanas.

The crofters use small boats, under thirty feet keel, and work in pairs. By contributing crew and sharing the risks as well as the profits, the cost of equipment for each individual is modest. Here, of course, is an additional form of cooperation which has not disappeared. The technique here remains conservative. The use of small boats restricts operation to sheltered areas, and conservation is not an important consideration.[25] Some order, for example, issued by the government prohibited the sale of herring lobsters (females with egg) without success. The eggs are simply scrubbed off. The law will be useless as long as there are men among them who continue to believe that: "In the old days we took herring lobsters, and the lobsters thrived." Another reason has made it difficult to enforce more sane issue, the favorite size in the London and Paris markets. This has not only spoiled the market but also is difficult on the crofters because they sell small. Still, the real trouble is said to be the lack of a closed season. Bretons come over and work the waters during the summer when the Fishermen is busy on the land. Crofters from southern Skye are accused of poaching the northern lobs. This leaves few lobsters for the local residents who only on after lobster between November and March.

Although international considerations do not pertain to the question of a closed season, the British government considers

[25]F.T. Darling and Hurley, op. cit., pp. 44-47.

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"Then the tweedy get
going and the barley took too much trouble; so they had no use for the silk."

A 60-year-old woman remembers, "They depended on the potato and fished a lot. I was raised on oatcakes, barley bannocks, and salt herring. There were no vans and no school canteens when I was young: you had to carry your own 'pieces' to school. We had porridge with fresh milk for breakfast, oatcakes and butter for lunch. Dinner was at 4:00, of potatoes and fish and milk. We had meat maybe once a week. My father grazed a lot. We ate the heads and the roe of the salmon fresh, and salted the rest."

Once among the cleanest, Hebridean teeth now vie with British cities in extent of decay. It is not uncommon for a child in Shawbost in the summer to have six teeth pulled by the travelling dentist.

Various customs associated with food which exist today reflect the days when fare was meager. Tea-drinking is omnipresent in Britain, but in the Islands it has been of special significance. The taking of tea constitutes the denouement of a visit, and almost always occurs when someone steps over someone else's threshold. Refusal to take tea some of the conversations of an hour, and to take only tea, without food, is to have a sonan Falaich (empty cup).

The only occasions on which it is customary to feed someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as peat-cutting. On such occasions the preparation of meals is done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual survival, and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, the requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled by giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but which were much more abundant when the land was cultivated and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcakes, clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foods are usually offered to visitors along with tea, and in the past this course served to minimize the economic disparities between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A similar function was served by the practice of giving part of each catch of fish to old widows and other villagers in need of aid. Fish is now more abundant and diverse today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during a visit is still very important.

A 50-year-old man who "married into" a croft recalls, "I came from a family of ten children. Everyone had to leave, or marry and get with a croft. Only the eldest son could inherit the croft." There was little room for romanticism in the fight for scarce land among the sons of large crofter and non-crofter families. "The most

Keepint the sea-
136 weeds company are the whelks, razor-fish, limpets and mussels,
[262] winkles and barnacles, many once used for food, but now left to grow in great numbers, to the delight of seabirds.

For anyone who wishes to have a full list of the richness of fishes found in the inshore waters of the island, there is the Harvie-Brown and Buckley volume (1888) in the *Vertebrate Fauna of Scotland* series. Of the ocean fauna, most famous of course are the common and the grey or Atlantic seals, the latter being one of the largest and most robust of British mammals. A great breeding place for the common seal is the island of Shillay, which lies a mile or two from Pabbay, off the western end of the Sound of Harris. All the island's outliers, North Rona, Sulasgeir and the Shiants, afford a place for breeding. The basking shark, the porpoise, and the blue shark are among other large creatures that frequently haunt Hebridean sea-waters.

LAND WEALTH

135 In minerals the island is poor. Feldspar was quarried in Harris
316 during the second world war, but it is doubtful whether the workings were economic. The feldspar quarries opened at Lingerbay and Northton in South Harris in 1941 employed some sixty men, the material being sent from Leverburgh for use in the Staffordshire Potteries, for the manufacture of porcelain insulators. The high-grade mineral found in Scandinavia, and the better transport facilities there, led to the close-down of the Harris quarries. At Lingerbay, however, a small quarry yields anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive for cleaning products. A recent survey discovered deposits of asbestos on the island of Scarp to the west of Harris.

135 For some reason there has been, through the centuries, a be-
175 lief in the mineral wealth of Lewis. As far back as 1616 the records of the Privy Council show an entry: 'Ane patent ardanit to be past to Archibald Prymrois of the copper and lead mynes in Ila, Sky and Lewis.' The Fife Adventurers and the last Lord Seaforth were also optimistic. Lord Seaforth went so far as to commission a survey on the resources of the island by a mineralogist, the Rev James Headrick, in 1800. Nothing much followed Mr

788 241 facing the sun, he cut a handful of corn. Putting the handful three times round his head, the man raised the '*Iollach Buana*', reaping salutation,—and the whole family [175] then took up the strain." While these notes by Carmichael [178] describe the custom after the abolition of the farm-team, he also tells of "all the people of the Townland going together to reap" (*Carmina*, No. 89, cf. Note to No. 90). In the days of close partnership this was no doubt a team blessing, said by the chief reaper among his neighbours in mutual aid.

782 264 [114] Grace before meals survives in Presbyterian households; and ancient graces are recorded in *Carmina*, vol. iii. The unpublished examples given here are from Miss Annie Johnston (or NicIain), Barra, to whose knowledge Gaelic lore owes so much:

1. O God, bless our portion, and our people.
2. O God, be about the beginning of our life (or food) and about the end of our life (*lit.* of our world).
3. O God, let nothing enter our bodies that may harm our souls.

A Dhia, beannaich ar cuid 'us ar cuideachd.
A Dhia, bi mu thus ar bithe (or *bidhe*)
'us mu dheireadh ar saoghail.
A Dhia, na leig dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n'anam.[1]

[114] [192] [1] The reader will note the meaning in translation; but he should also scan the Gaelic, and the assonance of the vowels. In the first and shortest there is a simple play upon sound and meaning: *ar cuid 'us cuideachd*—"our share (of things) and our (share of) people, friends and family". In the second, Miss Johnston thinks there may be a play upon the words 'life' and 'food' (of which the sound is almost the same), reminding one that food is the means of life and of all that life means. In the third the apposition of ideas is characteristically emphasised in the pattern of the accented vowels in the words "*dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n-anam*"; here again the form, by means of which it sank through the senses into the heart, marks its native origin. Contrast with these the translation into Gaelic of a common English Grace. As in the English original, its prose lacks poetic form: *Tha sinn a toirt taing dhuit, A Thigearna, airson nan tiodhlaicean a tha Do mhathas a' buileachadh oirnn, troimh Iosa Criosda ar Tighearna.* Amen.

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The Role of Religion on the Croft

As the prestige of the old people and the control of the 593
ly-head elders over the social activities of the people has 182
isted with religious sanction, the status of the father 771
in the nuclear family has been reinforced by the religious
ession of his role. As we know, the older inter-family
erns of economic cooperation have been disturbed by the
ges stemming from the process of commercialization. This
not disturbed the position of the father as the source of
ority and discipline. He continues to play a basic role
stablishing the tempo of interaction within the home, the
ship, neighborhood, and community. He decides who will
he work and when. He determines in what social activities
wife and children will participate, always, of course,
mately guided by the venerable old men. His status is
irmed at baptism, when he is judged, and it is commonly
firmed every day in the home. For the majority of crofters, 264
gh by no means all of any sect, the day begins with the 782
ng of grace before breakfast and the returning of thanks [512]
r breakfast. The same pattern is repeated at the taking
ny food, including a cup of tea. The form of grace may
sed to cast light on the religious outlook of the Sgiathanach:
cious God, we have sinned against Thee, and are unworthy
hy mercy; pardon our sins, and bless these mercies for
use, and help us to eat and drink to Thy glory, for Christ's
. Amen."

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In many homes breakfast is followed by family worship. 593
The father begins with a blessing, a prayer on behalf of his 264
family, and then leads the family in the singing of a few 782
verses of psalm. Next he reads from Scripture, apologizing 188
to the visitor because his Bible is not an English version, [512]
and comments on the meaning of the passage. He concludes with
a prayer. If the morning worship has been omitted, he holds [512]
an evening service. Some crofters have family worship both
morning and night. When the father is away, his wife or his
eldest son conducts the worship. Religious devotion on Skye, 771
then, is more than Sabbath church attendance and attendance
at weekly prayer meetings.

The Role of Religion in Township, Neighborhood, and Village

I did not attempt to devise a socio-metric scale to 795
determine the affiliation of members and adherents of the
several churches in either Glendale, Kilmuir or Portree. The
former disunity and conflicts which divided families, both
nuclear and consanguineal, townships, neighborhoods, and the
village stemmed from abandonment of tradition al religious
affiliation rather than from attachment to an established sect
which happened to differ from the denomination of one's kinsman
or neighbor. Today sectarian hostility is no longer prevalent
among the people. The Sgiathanach only chaffs his neighbor
in friendly sally and repartee, about his only slightly different
sectarian views. They refer to each other's sect by nicknames.
The Church of Scotland is the "Established Church." The

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custom is well established. Even war-time restrictions and 794
rationing had little effect on Communion attendance. Skye 776
exiles in the United States and Canada sent food parcels 793
to the ministers and their kinsmen to provide for their 574
visitors. The minister takes in as many as he can. One [167]
minister, for example, not very far from Portree has a large
manse with seventeen rooms. It is customary for him to have 264
twenty-five or thirty people for lunch and again for high
tea (the Skyeman's evening meal) on Friday and the Sabbath.
Many of his guests spend five days with him.

Some idea of the size of the gatherings may be gained 794
from the need for the Free Presbyterian Church in Portree 776
to hold duplicate services. The church, I should think,
holds around 300. During the Communion Season, the con-
gregation takes over the drill hall, normally used by the
Territorial Army for training and by the villagers for social
affairs, in addition to the kirk. In the drill hall services
are held in English; in the kirk, they are in Gaelic.

Such large gatherings of people require a means to
establish meaningful contacts and create a feeling of belonging.
Thursday is a fast day. All work stops. The people attend
services in the morning, at noon, and again in the evening.
Their minister, assisted by two visiting clergymen conducts
them in a dynamic, highly emotional appraisal of the coming
event. All the ministers participate in the sermons, stressing 783
the confession of sin and the need for humiliation. Many
ministers are known for their preaching ability, that is their

353

is a sin but because of the excessive drinking and immorality 785
which might result from a promiscuous gathering. Organized 795
dances are, in general, not objectionable, Nevertheless, in [535]
spite of the attitudes of the people to these secular activities,
the Church of Scotland crofter behaves in much the same way as
his neighbor who adheres to another sect. The elders of the 888
other sects have an influence over everyone in the neighborhood. 559
Every man must ask himself, "What will my neighbors say?"

The Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church people 785
condemn any and all social gatherings where songs, stories, 795
or other diversions are admitted. When people visit, they 571
are expected to remain circumspect in behavior. They may 574
discuss their problems and gossip about their neighbors or the
wicked newcomers. They may engage in cooperative or individual
work. They may eat together in the home. They may not engage 264
in such activities outside the home. Religion on Skye for 785
the majority has centered attention on the home. Let us look 795
at some of the activities which are condemned. There is the 575
Woman's Rural Institute, an organized woman's club dedicated
to stimulating home industries in rural areas and providing
educational programs, especially demonstrations and lectures
on domestic arts. One meeting, for example, at Uig, not far
from Kilmuir, was addressed by a school teacher on the subject
of Highland Folklore. He was followed by a knitting contest
and tea. Youth Clubs and Young Farmers Clubs do not exist,
except in Kilmuir where the Young Farmers Club is under the
Crofters' Club, and, of course, in Portree. Village halls
are dens of iniquity. While we were on Skye one was built

272

272 NONALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES--drinking of nonalcoholic beverages (e.g., tea, coffee, lemonade, milk, blood); special techniques of preparation (e.g., boiling, percolating); consumption (e.g., quantities, occasions); food values and physiological effects; drinking etiquette; etc. See also:

Dozing	234	Meals	264
Cultivation of tea, coffee, and cacao	246	Utensils	415

173 "Then the tweeds got
213 going and the barley took too much trouble; so they had
282 no use for the mill."

173 A 60-year-old woman remembers, "They depended on the
242 potato and fished a lot. I was raised on oatcakes, barley bannocks, and salt herring. There were no vans and no school canteens when I was young; you had to carry your [264] own 'piece' to school. We had porridge with fresh milk for breakfast, oatcakes and butter for lunch. Dinner was at 4:00, of potatoes and fish and milk. We had meat maybe once a week. My father poached a lot. We ate the heads [251] and the roe of the salmon fresh, and salted the rest."

Once among the cleanest, Hebridean teeth now vie with
164 British cities in extent of decay. It is not uncommon for
759 a child in his first year of school to have six teeth pulled by the travelling dentist.

261 Various customs associated with food which exist today
• 272 reflect the days when fare was meager. Tea-drinking is [171] omnipresent in Britain, but in the islands it has
272 special significance. The taking of tea constitutes
514 the denouement of a visit, and almost always occurs when someone steps over someone else's threshold. To refuse [516] tea has some of the connotations of an insult; and to take only tea, without food, is to have a copan falamh (empty cup).

512 The cattle
233 knew their own sheilings; sometimes
825 they came back before milking time and stuck their heads [237] inside. They stood outside the sheiling at night, and that's how you can tell where a sheiling once was, even though the walls have fallen, by the rich green grass. Calves were born during the summer. A hollow was scooped
233 out in the peat, and lined with turf and moss. People
422 had as many as four or five cows. It was like Switzerland, only we didn't have the bells on the cows. There was lots
• 272 of milk, fresh thick cream and crowdie (clotted sour
262 [234] milk); the old people knew how to make cheese.

233 "The moor was very eerie at night, with the sound of
821 the birds. There were only a few hours of darkness
751 [513] anyway, and I'm sure we didn't get much sleep, but somehow we were always fresh. It was the air, the moor air is more health-giving. The air is different there. Ill people benefited from the change. Sometimes a person with TB would stay out there all summer. The air is heavy by the sea.

805 "There was no sense of time the way there is today.
233 If you got lost in the snow or fog, you followed the cows
221 home. You had all summer to take home the peats, to work
829 the croft, to harvest the corn. There wasn't a world, [178] there was only ourselves. That has changed since the war.

231 People kept several cattle, some of which were dry most
[234] of the time. But because everyone was keeping cattle,
[244] milk could be gotten from a neighbor. One man was
[246] planting eight or nine hundredweights of potatoes before the war, some of which would be used to feed the livestock.

511 "You couldn't buy milk then, so you had to keep a cow.
234 And even though people were weaving, they weren't getting
231 so much money as they are now. It was the barter system
288 here for a long time. So they didn't have the money to
437 buy feeding stuff. It was better to spend the time planting potatoes. Now of course there's more money in the weaving."

175 After the war, an act was passed which provided free
• 272 milk for schoolchildren. Milk for the Shawbost school
224 was supplied by a farm near Stornoway, and villagers first
178 started buying the milk from the school milk van. A strike
175 held by weavers during the war had increased the payments
178 for weaving, and the barter system had stopped. More
288 [468] money was available. As the loom was more profitable,
[437] more people stopped keeping cows, and relied on their
[231] neighbors for milk, or got their milk from the van bringing
[272] milk to the school. And as the cattle got fewer, the
178 market for bottled milk expanded. A dairy was started on
231 the west side of the island in the mid-1960's which carries
434 milk from Uig to Ness.
234

CROFTING CHANGES

The removal
of crofters from good to poorer ground was a significant factor in 241
the destitution years of the nineteenth century, with the self- 175 *
sufficiency factor becoming smaller and the dependence on im- 438
ports (when there was money to buy these) increasing. Today, 433
the crofter is of course not self-supporting, his economy being 234
based on fishing and weaving with the produce of the croft yield- 178
ing an annual average of some £200.

Acreages under certain crops show this trend to dependence on 241
the produce of mainland farmers. In the island in 1911 some 178
3,673 acres were under potatoes, the present acreage being about 433
one-third of that. The number of people per acre of potatoes for [438]
Scotland as a whole is 22 : 1. In the island it is about 15 : 1, indicat-
ing a heavy domestic consumption. Yet substantial imports of this [231]
crop are required to satisfy demand; a relevant point is that the
milking cow commonly shares the potatoes. The barley crop, once [274]
much used in Lewis's former small distilleries, has been reduced
to some 10 per cent during the past fifty years. On the other hand,
the acreage of sheaf crops, oats, rye and mixed corn, generally fed
to cattle, has about doubled. Oats in particular are in favour for
cattle fodder; even before the turn of the present century oats
were not widely used for human food, and oatmeal has for
centuries been imported into the region. The turnip acreage has [231]
halved over the past fifty years, perhaps the result of the gradual
disappearance of the horse, its steady labour and its dung being
required to put good heart in to the land.

As the crofters' cropping policy has changed over the past half 231
century, so has their animal husbandry. Animals are a main sell- 178
ing product, particularly cows and sheep. Horses, of course, have [493]
been drastically reduced from their total of 1,672 in 1911, as
tractor, lorry and van have taken over their work. And though
some cattle are raised, the numbers are now about 60 per cent
below those of 1911. At that time the density of cattle per 1,000
acres was heavy (46-60) in the north-east of Lewis, less (31-45) in
the north-west, and still less further south. The present average
is around 18 beasts per 1,000 acres. This decline, in particular [272] •
in the milk-yielding animals, has compelled Lewis to import [438]
1,000 gallons of milk a day from the mainland.

It is sheep which today claim pride of place on the croft, valued

THE PEOPLE

*175 centre of the mud floor through tons and tons of decomposing
165 organic matter or manure.'
164

The island, for all its ills and chills, had a high birth-rate and
*175 a low death-rate. Martin Martin (1695) declared: 'It is a general
163 observation of such as live on the sea coast that they are more
165 prolific than any other people whatsoever.' In some areas of the island the birth-rate was as high as 35 per cent with a death-rate of about 12 per cent. The longevity of the islanders is well known, a fact confirmed by a glance any week at the Deaths columns of the *Stornoway Gazette*, regularly recording the decease of octogenarians, nonagenarians and some reaching their century.

*175 In 1795 the island had only one surgeon. In Stornoway, 'In-
759 oculation is performed here with success by the skill and atten-
[951] tion of Mr Robert Millar, Surgeon.' Later, another doctor came to Stornoway, who attended to the sick in all parts of the island. By the turn of the century there were resident medical officers in each parish, with five doctors in practice in Stornoway.

*175 Just after the turn of the century, there was a medical club
759 in the north of Harris. This had been formed by the proprietor,
743 Sir Samuel Scott, whose crofters were supposed to pay 5s per annum and cottars 2s 6d; this subscription covered dependents. In return, Scott guaranteed the salary of a medical officer, thus securing the services of a resident doctor in the district. But there was apparently considerable reluctance to call a doctor, whether
*175 the patient belonged to the club or not. The salary of the district
759 Medical Officer of Health was £35 per annum, and from the
488 North Harris Club he received some £200. Scott also provided
178 him with a home. Dr Fletcher reported in 1906 that a complete
262 change had taken place in the diet of the people within the memory of the older inhabitants, whose accounts of what they called new diseases and lowered virility he found very interesting. Good, plain wholesome diet 'has been replaced by cheap stuff, of
• [272] questionable quality and purity. To this change there is another nondescript article which goes by the name of tea, in the use, or rather abuse, of which they are quite intemperate and from which they extract the last dregs by boiling. The result is disastrous to the strongest digestive system.'

*175 In 1892 'a well-equipped medical and surgical hospital was
743

192 requirements of adulthood, and also old age, are still boys
561 and girls.

554 Status Equality within the Township. The ascription of status
on the basis of age and sex has resulted in a straightforward
562 system of status. The facts are simple. Men are the social
561 superiors of women. Youth are socially inferior to their seniors
Men, or women, of a common age category are equals. We shall
now examine a few interpersonal relationships to see how the
264 system operates. Unless a man and his wife are eating alone,
women never eat with men. They wait until the men have finished
576 before taking their meal. When neighbors come to visit, the
573 man of the house does not rise for a woman. He does rise for
a man and shakes him by the hand. The woman of the house, on
the other hand, rises for both men and women. Furthermore,
when a couple comes to call, the woman greets the man first.
Only after he has been offered a chair does she greet the
58 woman. Young people are seen but seldom heard. They do not
32 speak unless addressed.

326 All societies allow some deviation from traditional
78 norms of expected behavior. On Skye, as elsewhere, excessive
deviation is censured. Neither increased opportunities for
education nor the steady flow of Skye men and women to the
four corners of the earth, accompanied by the slow returning
trickle, have disturbed these fundamental values. Like the
youth who leaves home to achieve upward mobility through out-
ward mobility, the man who returns must conform to the
traditional norms, which he learned as a child, or be regarded

175 even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of
18 the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil.
826 Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naïvely at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started,
276 HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship
731 among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what
262 they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island consisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from
272 March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond
342 of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the
372 Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and
405 there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only
162 two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose
212 from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoe-
463 makers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all
294 their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses,
286 and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each
462 croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged
427 for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

439 Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the
435 island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers;
237 and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

175 squatters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish
178 parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families had
427 enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[62] In one Glendale
233 township, Holmisdale, some crofts of four or acres had as
166 many as fifteen people to support.[63] Part of this extreme
167 congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing
425 one's croft when a child married. Although the population
162 in 1831 had fallen to 17,680, from 23,084 in 1841, almost
161 every township had two or three times the number of families which had lived in them in 1841.[64]

175 The loss of the summer shielings and the common grazings
178 meant few could keep sheep.[65] The looms were silent. Since
427 the rent continued to be based on the value of livestock
233 and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all
241 oats, which the graziers' sheep did not eat, went to feed the
439 cattle. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy
242 flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all
452 were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to have been newcomers with more associations with the graziers than
272 the crofters and cottars. Milk became a precious commodity.
482 Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unable
462 to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They carried

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[62] Ibid., p. 112.

[63] Alexander MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 419-420.

[64] Smith, op. cit., p. 317; Cummings, op. cit., p. 140; and Napier Report, p. 15.

[65] The following is drawn from the evidence presented to the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of Skye; see Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82.

273

273 ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES--types of alcoholic beverages used (e.g., beer, wine, spirits); techniques of preparation (e.g., brewing, distilling); apparatus (e.g., stills); consumption (e.g., users, quantities, occasions); drinking etiquette; craving for liquor; prevalence of drunkenness and behavior under intoxication; associated beliefs and practices; social and legal controls; etc.
See also:

Industrialized manufacture of alcoholic beverages	274	Sanctions against inebriation	689
Utensils	415	Alcoholism	733
		Religious orgies	786

585 bridesmaid(s). The house was filled each night with
[43] visitors bringing new gifts or coming to see the latest additions. Enough presents were given during this
[203] time to set up a household. Invitations to the wedding were issued verbally, by persons going around to each
[602] house. Anyone could come to the church ceremony, which was relatively informal and jovial, but only the "closest" relatives were invited to the sumptuous wedding dinner which followed the service: the bride and groom, their parents, aunts and uncles, first cousins and usually second cousins. Many more were invited to the wedding supper which started after the dinner, at about 10:00 p.m., and continued throughout the night.

Three main nights were distinguished, although
585 preparations and festivities might go on for weeks. The
252 first night was the night before the wedding, when women of the village brought hundreds of chickens, which they plucked and cooked. Meat, usually mutton, was also cooked and sliced. Butter was rolled into balls. Neighbors brought milk and other provisions and assisted in the baking for a week beforehand.

585 On the second night, hundreds of villagers ate the
[535] chickens and mutton prepared for the wedding supper,
[533] and danced to the music of a piper or other musicians.
[273] Many young boys had their first taste of beer or whiskey on these occasions.

156 154 574 178 [517] [538] [533] genealogies told, and old songs were sung or new ones composed. The concentration of expressiveness in these forms resulted in a well-developed, oral repertoire of literature and music.

The ceilidh still exists today in the form of less [538] regular gatherings. Stories and genealogies are seldom [533] recited, but songs are still sung. A few new songs are being composed. The word ceilidh is used as both a noun and a verb to mean "a visit" or "to visit," but implies a casual, relaxed atmosphere rather than a formal visit. A formal visit is made by relatives living in Stornoway, government officials or businessmen, and is characterized by more constrained behavior.

156 154 574 293 178 The ceilidh of today is often accompanied by the drinking of beer or whiskey, but a distinction may be made between a gathering which includes both males and females, and a drinking situation at which only males are present. In the past, men often gathered in barns or weaving sheds to share beer made locally from barley or 273 brought from town in a large keg. The drinking of whiskey [178] was reserved for special occasions, such as births, weddings, [434] funerals, and the festivities surrounding the New Year, but increased income has resulted in the consumption of whiskey on many other occasions. Heavy drinking is still an [275] activity engaged in largely by males, and occurs in extra-village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter 6).

293 village locations such as hotels
[154] 6). Drinking situations provide
for relatively uninhibited expre
be discussed further in Chapter

522 The role of clown or "chara
156 in Hebridean townships. In an e
154 quietly watchful and somewhat an
the character is rude, raucous a
fire in cold waters. He represe
behavior. The villagers shake t
is impossible, but encourage him
when he flags, and bring up his
during moments of boredom. Ther
characters in a village.

156 Reversal of low-profile and
154 is also allowed on particular oc
527 this time among all villagers.
[522] carts, boys went around the vill
[883] stealing carts and hiding them o
shore; today they steal gates.
[574] New Year's, groups of boys visit
[431] hood, collecting tea, sugar, bis
for a party in one of the houses
796 balaich na bannagan, or boys of
431 Gaelic-speaking areas, bannag re
184

and bothans (see Chapter
an important opportunity
ssion by males, and will
6.

cter" is well developed
nvironment which encourages
xious, conformist behavior,
nd outrageous, a bite of
nts a reversal of normal
heir heads, agree that he
to continue, urge him on
escapades for discussion
e are usually several such

other "normal" behavior
casions such as New Year's,
In the days of horses and
age on New Year's night
n the moor or down by the
Between Christmas and
houses in their neighbor-
cuits, or money to be used
. Such boys are called
the bannag. In some
fers to a gift that is

527 office or general store, preferring to divide the rest
178 between themselves for use at a later time. A 50-year-
431 old woman observed, "They don't appreciate the bannag
like we used to. They get this kind of rich food all
527 the time." The practices of wearing costumes and speaking
178 the rhyme are disappearing. Children used to have the
bannag until they left school at age 14 or 15; now only
the younger children go. "Children grow up more quickly
today."

527 New Year's is celebrated perhaps most intensively
562 by the men, who after seeing the New Year in by watching
273 a special New Year's program on television go visiting
574 neighbors and relatives with bottles of whiskey. The
[184] custom of "first-footing" on New Year's eve is found
throughout Scotland; but in the Hebrides such visiting
and heavy drinking may last from New Year's eve until
the following Sunday. During this time, the woman of the
house, who usually refrains from drinking and to some
extent controls the drinking done by the males in her
house, relaxes her attitude, and may even participate.
The comment, "It's only once a year," is often heard.
[589] During this time, the shyest and most retiring bachelor
becomes a Romeo; this is the only time of year he may
be heard to mention the word marriage. For example, one
bachelor in his 60's chooses a "bride" each New Year, and
takes her with him on his all-night visiting.

585 on these occasions. At some point during the night the bride and groom were prepared for their wedding night together. The bride's female companions undressed her, prepared her for bed, and put her into the bed with a hot water bottle. She shared some sherry with them, and they went out, whereupon the groom was brought in by his male companions. After much joking the couple were left together.

[574] On the third night, a dinner was given for the older persons who had not been able to come to the "big" wedding.

[293] For some time after the wedding, the married couple [431] visited relatives and neighbors who had been unable to come to the wedding, taking a bottle of whiskey with them.

585 House weddings declined in number during the war when 178 food was rationed, and as more persons changed from the [342] "black house" to the less easily cleaned and more elaborately furnished "white house." Most weddings are [485] now held in hotels, and consist of a single wedding dinner and dance; they are often held on Thursdays, the day of the banais in the past. The emphasis on community partici pation still exists: even though the practice of holding hotel weddings has limited the number of guests, an effort is made to invite someone from each household in the neighborhood. In part to avoid disappointing the

764 [621] [592] funeral procession in which the coffin is carried for about half a mile from the house to the waiting hearse. Over 100 men usually walk in these processions. The more well-known the person or unexpected the death, the larger the procession is likely to be. Relatives [602] of the deceased walk at the head of the procession, at the head and foot of the coffin, while other village take turns carrying the bier. The pallbearers serve in relays. Eight men carry the coffin, four on each side, and are replaced frequently by pairs of men who assume the rear positions. The two who have been displaced at the head of the coffin stand outside the line, faci outward, until the procession has filed past them, whereupon they join the end of the procession.

764 178 273 In the past, coffins were carried for miles from the house to the cemetery. The procession rested peric ically, and the men usually carried an earthenware jug of whiskey (piggy uisge beatha) "to ward off the cold." The custom of giving a glass of whiskey to men as they left the house to carry the coffin was still recently followed in Skye; and in some areas a funeral is still evaluated by the amount of whiskey available for consum tion ("That was a good funeral"). Tales are told of coffins buried without bodies.

527 Whereas at other times of the year there are specifi
273 times which are considered appropriate for visiting,
574 especially if the visit includes a bottle, at New Year's visitors may appear in the middle of the night or at any time during the day. Some men may stay up for four
[513] nights in a row, going back home for a few hours of sleep
522 or a bite to eat before setting off again. Various prank
527 are played. Men climb through the windows of darkened
574 houses, or wake up sleepers by making animal sounds. One man went around the village showing a pig's foot to women as though it were a penis.

527 But whether lasting for one night or for five, festivities end with the arrival of Sunday; and the usua comment is, "Thank God it's Sunday."

166 The "exiles" prefer to return at such times as New
221 Year's, or during the summer months when the beaches are
484 inviting and the gales absent. They remember the
[527] "characters" and other features of village life which give it color, often forgetting the drab background out of which the color was forged. Some villagers whose siblings have married and left the island continue to live alone in the house mainly to keep the house in order for their return. "I wouldn't close the house on them. They come back every summer." A man thinking of emigrating

203 one night of the week in which controls are imposed, by
215 the arrival of Sunday when no one is supposed to drink.
[470] The bothan was occasionally open on Friday night, and
on Monday night. ("If there's anything left from Saturday
night, we finish it on Monday.") During the summer of
[281] 1971 when the days were long and filled with communal
township activities such as peat-cutting, the bothan was
open every night of the week. The bothan closed when the
man supplying it with drink suddenly died, and has not
reopened.

2. Functions of Drinking: If a man decides not to
203 participate in drinking, he is not praised for his self-
571 control or his ability to abstain; rather, people say,
156 "What's the matter with him that he doesn't mix?" A man
goes off to the hotel or to a bothan "for a wee nip" or
"for a pint" (the pint of beer which serves as a chaser
for glasses of straight whiskey). Both phrases are
euphemisms for the huge amount of whiskey and beer which
must be consumed if a man is to satisfy the canons of
social intercourse which obtain. A man can drink alone
or, in the company of others, drink very little only at
great social cost.

"You can't go in for a casual pint in a place like
the bothan because it's a place where people mix, and
you're bound to meet old friends you haven't seen for

203 571 a while. It would be an insult not to take a drink with
156 them; you mustn't miss your round."
[576] The usual practice when drinking with friends is
203 for one person to buy the drinks; everyone drinks
571 together, and then someone else buys the next round. To
156 drink slowly is to indicate that you intend to miss your
round. A relative who returns to the island for a holiday
usually pays for more rounds than he receives, and may
spend as much as £20 in a single week.

If a man wants more drink than his fellows, he has
several choices. He may step up the pace of drinking by
buying more rounds, which means that he is likely to pay
a larger share than the others during the evening as they
will be ready to quit before he is; or he may keep a bottle
hidden outside the room, and disappear periodically for a
private nip, after which he returns to the group.

As incomes have grown, excessive drinking, which was
once confined to a small number of occasions, has also
203 increased. In the days when money was scarce, people shared
571 with others what they had. Elaborate and relatively lavish
156 ceremonies in which all community members participated
178 were possible because of the contribution in labor and goods
1234 of members of the community. The custom prevailing today is
to use the added money not to purchase more goods and services,
to travel, or in other ways that might result in both social

203 differentiation and differentiation in personal experience,
571 but to use it in the community, as social coin. The few
156 men who refuse to get involved in drinking episodes that
[434] would deplete their available funds are called "mean"
and "tight-fisted."

"If I had a wish, I'd choose to live the same life all
over again, maybe a wee bit roughes. We don't get a chance
here. The poverty keeps us down. But what does it matter
to be a schoolteacher or a minister? What good does it do
you? If I have a shilling in my pocket, I've got to spend
it. I remember ten years ago, I went into town with £60
in tweed payments to buy a new stove. I met some of my
[435] pals, so I put £20 down on a £50 stove and spent the rest.
What a time we had."

"I went for a holiday on the mainland and came back
[484] with money in my pocket because it's no use drinking in a
place where you don't know people. You want a yarn."

Drinking occurs at night behind the gray, concrete
203 shield of the bothan or in hotels. Drinking situations
571 provide opportunities, rare in the repressive arena of the
156 village, to express emotions and ideas. These expressions
can always be retracted in the cold, sober light of day.

"I used to be an alcoholic. Now I spend most of my
weekends feeding my brother lager so he won't get the DT's.
When something good happens, I wish like hell I could get

[Page 159 is blank, text continues on p.160
--Analyst]

203 out and celebrate. There's no other way to express
571 ourselves."
156

"Now that Ruaridh has stopped drinking, he's not
very interesting to talk to. He's very dull these days.
He doesn't say a thing."

During the Communions, a sense of excitement and
203 holiday permeates the village. Among the converted
571 members of the Free Church, this feeling is expressed in
522 rigorous participation in long church services and meetings
364 in the homes of the converted. In the rest of the village,
794 the unconverted sun doon their best suits and head for the
hotel, or the bothan opens earlier in the week than usual.
All special occasions such as funk days or the arrival
of relatives generate excitement, which is most often
expressed, among the unconverted men, by drinking.

A man may propose to a woman, and the next day "forget"
203 this rash action with impunity. When a man has been
571 drinking, he is more likely than on other occasions to
[584] be openly affectionate to a woman, or to express strong
feelings of friendship to his fellows. "It's the only
time when you're really happy. You can sing, tell your
life story. It's the only time when people are really
friendly. But it's a false friendship, because when you
meet someone the next day, he's not the same person. He's
distant, cold. You feel depressed. You want to recreate
the situation, so you start drinking again."

781 3. Bible vs. Bottle: An islander living on the
273 mainland once observed that the Free Church plays cat
571 and mouse with members of the community who drink heavily.
794 Death is a common event in a community which has a large
[161] number of old people, and the theme of death appears
repeatedly in sermons and in the conversations of those
who have undergone religious conversion. The temporary
pleasures of drink are contrasted with the eternal joys
awaiting those who have been saved. The "false" friend-
781 ships of the drinking situations are contrasted with the
794 more lasting, consistent relations which characterize the
clique of the converted. "You have lots of friends when
you get converted, and they don't change overnight the
way your drinking companions do."

203 "With the drink it's easy to get started and just not
571 be able to stop drinking, especially with the money there
[534] is now. Everything's unsteady here except religion."

Many of the most deeply religious male members of
203 the church were once heavy drinkers. One villager observed,
571 "If a man went to extremes as a sinner, he'll be just as
133 fanatical when he becomes holy. Had it not been for
78 religion, some of them would have landed in Craig Dunain
[143] [the mental hospital near Inverness]. The talk is forever
on religion. That keeps their mind at rest."

781 meetings. If a woman converts when she is off the island,
273 it occasionally happens during the first year or so at
[302] university or other school, the tell-tale sign is that she
begins to let her hair grow, and wears it tied back in a
bun.

The word curam means "conversion," but is also used
in ordinary conversation to mean being careful, such as
keeping one's clothes tidy. It also means to be circum-
spect. In a religious context, it means to be careful of
one's behavior, as this behavior reflects on the state of
one's soul. When a person "has the curam," he has demon-
strated that he is "in a state of conviction," that he
781 has undergone conversion. People say, "A change has
794 come into my life." The "change" includes the cessation
795 of drinking and going to dances and concerts. Woman stop
smoking. "After you are converted, you don't watch TV on
Sunday. You should do everything for Sunday on Saturday,
like shine your shoes for church or cook the Sunday dinner."

A dramatic change in behavior is often found among
781 men who have had a history of hard drinking. One man went
293 into the bothan, raised a glass to his lips, but never
drank. "He put it down and walked out. They put the glass
of whiskey aside, expecting him to return. He was a hard-
working man, one of the hardest workers in the village,
but everything went to booze in the bothan. He slept in

781 the same room as his father. His father used to lecture
273 him, but he closed his ears. Then his father died. The
week after he walked out of the bothan, a relative sent
him some money. He had been trying to buy a suit on
installment, but always spent the money on drink. He
went into town, got the suit, and wore it to church the
next Sunday."

781 The process of conversion is often accompanied by
153 feelings of restlessness, inability to sleep, scriptural
passages running through one's mind, alienation from normal
surroundings ("A voice kept whispering, 'this is not your
home'"), and occasionally visions, all of which events
serve as signs to the person that he is indeed converted,
one of the few chosen by God for salvation. As children
[167] are taught from an early age in both school and Sunday
school to memorise Biblical passages, it is not surprising
that such passages often come to mind easily, and, during
a stressful, disorderly time of life may be interpreted
as messages from God which promise order and relief.
Evangelical services are full of doom, the imminent possi-
bility of unexpected death, and exhortations to convert.
Conversion is often traced to a minister's preaching.

"I was like an animal. I didn't care whether God
existed. Then my wife died. It was when I saw the coffin
that something happened inside. I was converted six months
later."

241 Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in
651 part stems from government-defined privileges and duties
regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed
203 industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides and
571 thus is protected from competition, has provided work
for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger
[124] members of croft families live in cities on the mainland,
and send part of their wages home; they return regularly
to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus the
[162] township supplies urban workers who remain very much
attached to the rural townships, which are composed of
511 good family members and a rural proletariat. The standard
203 of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated
[273] savings, although much of this surplus is used by the man
for alcoholic drinks.

121 In Britain, rural communities have been interpreted
as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf.
Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall
presented "an operational theory of role" by which he
suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analysed
and compared. He developed the concept "density of role
texture" to describe societies which lie along a continuum
from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southall's
concept along with other concepts to present a more
complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "models"
of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially lists

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

241 conditions backward. He tells us that the Island of Lewis had been
*175 fruitful in corn until late years of scarcity and bad seasons. The
crops were barley, oats, rye, flax and hemp. The natives showed
great industry in digging the ground with spades—a practice
which he invariably associates with a large return. He even records
* [273] that the abundance of corn had once been such that it encouraged
them to 'brew several sorts of liquor'. For manure, sea-ware and
[409] soot were used. And harrow had two rows of teeth and rough
weather in the third row. Tennant's visit to the island in 1772
found that the produce of the land was insufficient to support
the population. Distress was rife.

In Martin's time, although the economy was more or less self-
[273] sufficient, a certain amount of produce was available for export
or for translation into 'several sorts of liquors, as common usque-
baugh, another called trestarig id est, three times distilled, which
is strong and hot.' One assumes that this produce was surplus to
[237] the requirements of the island's population. The livestock con-
sisted of 'cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs'.

TACKSMEN AND TENANTS

*175 Most of those who held land had leases: tacksmen, who paid
241 rent for large tracts of land and who, by settling suitable tenants
420 there, received rents, in money or in labour, as an additional in-
come from their farms. These smaller tenants had no leases: they
could not write and were subject to the tacksman's favour. In the
early eighteenth century, the rental rolls for Lewis, preserved
among the Seaforth Papers in the Register House in Edinburgh,
show that most of the tacksmen—sixty-four in number—were
MacKenzies, indicating that they were adherents of the Seaforth
(MacKenzie) family on the mainland, who had received the lands
from royal hands as the reward for their fidelity. The smaller
tenants, who generally lacked surnames but were known by their
personal characteristics, numbered over 200; there were also
above eighty tenants in Stornoway.

Rents were paid either in money or, more often, in meal, mut-
ton, sheep, butter, tallow or salmon. When it was proposed to sell
the Seaforth estate of Lewis in 1772, particulars of the Lewis

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

286 womenfolk, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five
462 families. In Lewis, male weavers were more common: one to
*175 every twenty-five families. The making of whisky was introduced
433 about the seventeenth century. This was in addition to the old
* 273 drink of home-brewed beer or ale *(lionn)*, and much of it was
*175 made to pay rents; it must have consumed a considerable quan-
433 tity of valuable foodstuff. However, the spread of distillation as a
[409] legitimate home industry by which the rent could be paid, in kind
[237] or by sale, was followed by legislation prohibiting all but very
[280] large stills; illegal distilling of course went on in a small way.

It was, then, by a very narrow margin that subsistence was won
*175 in the island some two centuries ago. Many times famine showed
511 how close was the wolf to the island doors. The introduction of
the potato, and the interest in the fishing industry led to an in-
crease in the population, though as discussed in Chapter 3 this in
turn brought more problems. Basically, the island economy had
never been organised on a sound foundation, with the result that
winds of change blew where they would with little or no control.

A new factor in the island economy was introduced after 1750.
*175 This was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed on the
224 shore for subsequent use in the manufacture of alkali for the glass
323 and soap industries. The first tentative move in the island was
318 made by MacLeod of Harris in 1746, when he allowed some
433 Irish labourers to make kelp on his shores; so little was the pro-
duct's value realised at the time that he only charged them 2s per
ton manufactured. As the burning of kelp came to be understood,
and the marketable value of the product ascertained, the native
population set to. Between 1772 and 1864, about 50 tons were
produced in Lewis each year, compared with some 800 tons per
annum in the Uists; the Harris figure was 500-600 tons. The
growth of the industry began to snowball, with the Minister of
Lochs, writing in the *Old Statistical Account*, states that at the
time (1796) some 50 tons were being produced in that parish
[820] per annum. In Stornoway parish, though no figure is available,
the minister reports that kelp-burning was the principal manu-
facture, and that everyone able to fill a creel, or carry one, was
employed at it for about three months of the year. Little of it
seems to have been done in Barvas parish. The price of kelp varied

BRICKS, PRINTING, WHISKY

800 tons and had a steam-driven winch. The slip has also 396
vanished—except for the name of the Patent Slip Wool Mills, *175
which produce Harris Tweed.

Other small industrial activities in the island during the nine- *175
teenth century included the business of Alexander MacPherson, 204
chemist, druggist, stationer and printer, who set up in Stornoway
in 1842. He brought across the Minch with him Lewis's first
demy-size hand printing press, which was still in use on 1 January
1889 to produce the first issue of the short-lived *The Lewis-
man*. Copies of this earlier Lewis newspaper can be seen at Storno-
way Public Library. Early in the 1890s Thomas Nicolson also
set up as a printer.

Whisky was once an important product, not only for local 273 *
consumption, but also for export. One of the Privy Council's 214
main indictments against the islanders in the Hebrides in 1622 *175
was that they seized any cargo of wine and spent 'bothe days and 439
nightis in thair excesse of drinking'. The council therefore enacted
that masters of vessels sailing Hebridean waters should carry no
more wines. It has been suggested that this and other measures
were responsible for the beginning of illicit distilling, which in
Lewis continued overtly as late as 1827. One of the two prin-
cipal stills established by Lord Seaforth in the island at that time
was at Coll, a few miles from Stornoway, the other at Gress, a
few miles farther on. Such was the fame of these stills, both for
output and quality, that it was hard to choose between 'Coll' or
'Gress'. Sometimes, the product passed as an article of exchange [436]
in the island, and the factor received a considerable part of the [421]
rents in it instead of money. In 1827, a survey of crime in the island [439]
Stornoway had good characters; considering the population num-
ber compared with the large influx of strangers to Stornoway
during the fishing season, local people emerge as more law-abiding
than the national average. Miscellaneous petty crimes were
numerous enough, however: minor assaults, breaches of the
peace and disorderly conduct, occurring mainly in Stornoway. [273] *
Much of this 'crime' was traceable to drink. The island's first [682]
and only murder occurred a year or two ago.

CRIME

CRIME

Serious crime is rare in the island, though it was not always so. *175 *
Some light on the life lived in Lewis nearly two centuries ago is 204
found in the old records of the Sheriff Court of Ross County. The 673
first minute in the records concerns the appointment of George [217]
Munro, Writer in Dingwall, as the first Sheriff Substitute 'within
the Island of Lewis'. The date is 1788. Munro's commission em-
powered him to sit 'in the town of Stornoway or anywhere else
he may find most eligible at the same within the said Island of
Lewis and hold Sheriff courts there, judge, decide and determine
in all causes civil and criminal coming before him.' In those days
a case might be raised in any of the county courts. In 1788, a *175 *
regulation was made to save defenders from unnecessary trouble, 641
hardship and expense in travelling to relatively distant courts
where actions were raised against them; litigants had, before
Munro's appointment, been faced with a long and hazardous
journey to either Dingwall or Tain on the mainland.

The old Court Records date from 1788 and 1826 and record *175 *
a number of interesting cases. Sheep-stealing was common, but 264
other forms of theft less so; this is indicated by the fact that much 217
of the Court Records are taken up with the minutiae of court 685
appointments. In a case concerning wrecking, Lloyd's of London
are mentioned as being represented in Stornoway as early as 1824
if not earlier. The defendants were fined £4 for destroying the
mast of a ship found by them in Lemreway, in Lochs.

In a report dated 1827, a survey of crime part of the *175 *
the person and offences against property) revealed that Lewis and 264

342 later times the landlord might supply timber. Long
343 ago a main source of timber was the shore. The length
[313] of the house may be fifty to sixty feet, and the inside
breadth ten to twelve feet, spanned by ten or a dozen
[172] pairs of couples on which are laid transverse 'cabers',
[198] which may be tree trunks, branches, odd wood, old oars,
or, exceptionally, sawn timber. The tops of the walls are
353 finished with turf to keep the driving rain from being washed
out, and to provide a smooth bearing for the couples, the
ends of which are pushed into the turf so as to bear on
the inner half of the wall; the rounded form and absence
of overhanging eaves prevent a gale obtaining purchase
on the roof, but a gable with chimney is now usual on the
356 end wall of the inner room. The rafters are usually
covered with laths, and the roof is thatched with thin, short
barley straw, which was pulled up, not cut, after the ears
were picked off, the roots gripping well, and the stem
hanging outward and down.

353 The door gives direct access to the byre (*bathach*),
through which one reaches the middle part, or living-room,
'at the fire' (*aig an teine*), from which there opens the
innner part, or 'room' with bed-closets. There is no
ceiling to the primitive house, the row of box beds having
tops to keep off the drips of rain water. In the middle of
the earthen, sanded floor of the living-room is the circular
hearth, built of stones with clay between, and raised a few
inches, with no chimney.

313 In the byre, the manure accumulates from spring to
spring, and a breach is made in the end of the house for
the annual removal of the manure. There are no privies.
Where there is fodder and straw in any quantity a barn
342 is added. Stacks are rare because of wind. A low wall,
343 continuous with the house and barn, may enclose the kale-
351

342 yard and occasionally a barley-kiln in which to dry grain
343 before malting it for home-brewed beer. A 'black mill',
351 with its primitive horizontal water-wheel, stands apart by
[251] some burnside.

Round the circular hearth, a large company can assemble
in very social fashion for talk, story and song, the meeting
354 *together* (*ceilidh*). By the transfer of the hearth from the
571 centre and the substitution of a gable fireplace and regular
538 chimney, the social centre is shifted, while meantime the
[178] tales of the *ceilidh* are forbidden or forgotten. Happily
[353] the bench still stands against the wall, near to the open
door, through which neighbours slip in with a word of
greeting to find a customary welcome.

342 The dwellings on the summer pastures out on the
343 moors show great variety, illustrated in Fig. 10(a). A simple
361 type in use is built of turf and stones, lightly roofed with
[178] turf placed on spars. A more primitive 'beehive' type
[171] (which fell out of use before 1900) was stone-built and
corbelled, probably for lack of timber. And whereas the
lighter type always stands by itself, the corbelled type was
added to until a dozen cells formed a small mass, suggestive
of ancient 'neolithic' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney,
described by Childe, and of the domed, corbelled huts of
the ancient East.

[343] A further type was the 'spring house' of Tolsta, NE.
Lewis, in which both cattle and folk sheltered in spring a
little way from the village, before going out to the more
[124] distant moor. Mr. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S., a
[198] native of Tolsta, informs me that the spring house was in
use until 1936. He remembers vividly how life in the
shieling restored health and colour after the winter.

175 About the seventeenth century there was introduced
433 the making of *aqua vitae*, *uisge-beatha* or 'whisky', an
addition to the ancient drink of home-brewed beer or ale
* 273 (*lionn*), a pleasant brew still tolerated by the Excise. In
[172] order to pay the rent, the making of whisky from home-
[251] grown barley must have consumed a precious foodstuff.
The small bulk of whisky facilitated export by tacksman
or Factor, and it also served to tickle the palate, cure the
[651] ills and cheer the spirits of the crofters themselves. But
before 1800 'the Gauger' was in the land, though there
were undoubtedly whisky stills that escaped his eye. In
some of the old houses a hollow spot was left at a secluded
spot between the inner and the outer walls, to conceal what
was not meant to be seen. A pleasant picture survives of
[511] the eighteenth century. It is told of a man of exceptional
prosperity, that when he laid his head on a pillow "he
could hear on the one side the clacking of his corn mill and
on the other the babble of his still". What more could
[172] the good man want? Nevertheless, the increase of distilla-
[671] tion as a legitimate home industry by which to pay the rent
(in kind or by sale), followed by legislation prohibiting all
but large stills, first encouraged the Islanders in a taste for
strong drink, then tempted them to smuggling and breaking
the law.[1] Seaforth started two distilleries at Stornoway,
importing barley for the purpose. By 1825 these had ousted
the illicit stills, but they were closed about 1870.[2]

From a perilously narrow margin of subsistence, periodi-
175 cally overstepped in famines, the Islanders passed to a
176 larger measure of production for sale, and in the second
433 half of the eighteenth century population increased. Its
433
[113]

[1] Cf. D. Stewart of Garth, *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 1822, vol. i, pt. ii, sec. v.
[2] Brand Report, 1902.

Chapter 6

THE BIBLE AND THE BOTTLE

571 794 273 Two of the most important networks in the village are the converted members of the Free Church, and the drinking fraternity of the males, especially the unmarried males who lack the obligations of married men, and who can therefore drink with greater freedom.

A. The Bottle

273 175 The word "whiskey" (or "whisky," as it is spelled in Scotland) is almost synonymous with "Scotland," despite the fact that the earliest reference to whiskey in that country appears only in the late 15th century. The word is derived from the Gaelic uisge beatha, "water of life," a translation from the Latin aqua vita.

Martin Martin (1716: 3) describes the types of liquor made from "corn" in the Outer Hebrides as Common Usquebaugh, Trestarig (three times distilled), and Usquebaugh-baugh (four times distilled). He states, "...two spoonfuls of this last Liquor is a sufficient Dose; and if any Man exceed this, it would presently stop his Breath and endanger his life."

273 175 65 [656] Excise taxes were first levied on whiskey in 1814, and stills of less than 500-gallon capacity were prohibited. Local, illegal distillation continued for a long time after 1814, and throughout the Highlands and Islands tales are told of "the excise man" and how he was outwitted.

273 175 [66] The Island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris was evacuated in 1843, supposedly because of illegal distillation that was being carried on there. The ruins of old distilling houses are found throughout Shawbost. Villagers say that these were used in the time of their grandfather or great-grandfather to distill whiskey for occasions such as weddings.

[527] [846] In Shawbost, until recent times whiskey was associated mainly with special ceremonial occasions: the birth of a child, weddings, and wakes. When a baby was born, the father went into town for whiskey to be given to visitors

764 273 coming to see the baby. Having whiskey at a funeral was so important that many a widow sold her cow to provide it, so that people would not say it was a bad funeral. A custom of sitting up all night in the house of the deceased has stopped, probably in part because a prayer meeting lasting from midnight until 2 a.m. was introduced with the intention, according to one minister, of preventing

273 175 [527] [585] the wake from becoming too joyful an occasion. Whiskey was abundant at New Year's, and at weddings. "The dance

273 175 585 [at a wedding] would be held in the barn, with sheets lining the walls so that if a man staggered against the wall he wouldn't dirty himself. There were four and one-half gallons jugs of beer and a few bottles of whiskey. Sometimes someone would spew on the floor. People got drunk on very little, because they didn't have it so often."

273 175 Occasionally the word went out that someone had brought a jug of beer from town, and the men gathered i someone's barn or weaving shed, usually on a Saturday night.

273 175 829 "The war changed that. When you were at sea, you lived from day to day. There was no tomorrow." "When my brother was away at sea, most of the money he earned was saved for him, and when he got back we gave it to h to do whatever he liked with it. The men would go off town drinking. They had money, and they had nothing el to do; and they had learned to drink during the war. Maybe if the TV had been around then they wouldn't have started that kind of drinking."

175 295 273 [671] 1. Bothans: Because most parishes in Lewis were "dry," that is, no licensed purveyors were allowed, a journey of many miles had to be made to purchase beer a whiskey in Stornoway. Around 1930, Nessmen (many of wh were sailors) began to bring back from town several keg

175 of beer at one time to avoid having to make the 50-mile
275 round trip very often. Men met to drink in barns or in
273 tigh ceilidh, the houses in which people gathered for evening visiting, but for this purpose eventually built huts of stone or concrete, or used shelters already available such as the shells of old buses or Nissen huts built by the armed forces but no longer used by them.
[361] These shelters, separate from the rest of the village, were called bothans. One or a few men brought the drink
275 from town, and the drinks were sold at cost. In 1963
273 a bothan was raided by the police and the men fined.
625 But in 1967, a court case found six men not guilty of
681 trafficking in exciseable liquor because there was no evidence that money had changed hands. The lawyer for the accused men argued that the drink was not "for sale." It was simply available, and drinkers made "voluntary" contributions to a common kitty.

175 The first bothan in Shawbost was started after the
273 second world war, by a sailor home on leave. Liquor was
275 brought to an old Nissen hut, which eventually was replaced by a small concrete hut with gas lighting. ("It was built overnight, because if anyone knew it was being built, they would protest." "It was built inside the Nissen hut so no one would know. On the day they were tearing down the Nissen hut, a minister was passing by and he praised

273 the Lord that his prayers had been answered.") Another
275 bothan was started in an old bus.
[175]

Today only one bothan exists in Shawbost. It is a
[354] small concrete structure, lit by gas and heated with coal, which is burned in an expensive fireplace. Like most bothans, the one entrance faces away from the main road. Unlike most bothans, it has a small window which is curtained but nevertheless reveals whether or not the light is on inside. Most bothans present blank, windowless and doorless faces that give no indication whether or not the building is occupied.

[208] Every three years a poll may be taken within a parish to determine whether the parish should be wet or dry.
[66] After the parish of Uig voted itself "wet," the Doune Braes Hotel was opened in Carloway, only five miles from Shawbost.
[829] One of the arguments for making the parish "wet" was that drinking at the bothans would cease, and men would drink under more controlled circumstances. "The married men usually went home from the bothan at a reasonable hour, but the single men just stayed there talking all night. At the hotel, they have to go home at 10:00."

Despite the opening of the hotel so close to Shawbost, the bothan remained open. The drink was cheaper and the atmosphere less formal. Unlike the bothans in Ness, however,
[771] the Shawbost bothan was usually open only on Saturday, the

character traits just by virtue of his belonging to a particular family; he is protected from the "out" world even though he may have broken its rules. The village provides a colorful arena of recreation in the form of ceilidh, the character, and holidays such as New Year's.

A major system of order and meaning is provided by religion, and by the opportunity to belong to a tightly-knit religious clique. Lewis is sometimes called Tir an t-soisgeul, Land of the Scriptures, in contrast with the decadent outer world. The male drinking fraternity constitutes a second important group. And for everyone there is the cinema of their neighbors' activities, which are placed in a vast human calendar that includes the behavior of many generations.

[251]

a own family of procreation or ceases to be an integral
ber of the social units. Many features of these relation-
ips will persist throughout his life.

The Church treats the event of birth as something
which man is only the agent of a higher power. This fact
s brought home to me one night during a discussion of the
blicating size of families. The question of subsidies to
courage larger families was broached. Although all take
vantage of government grants for their stock and care of
r land, this form of subsidy was unanimously rejected. As
e man said, this would place man in the unthinkable position
m-creator. Only the essential arrangements for the care
the mother and her expected child are made before birth.
ere are no "showers." "Showers," said one woman, "how can
u tell if the child will be a boy or girl, or even live?"
ny most women go to the maternity hospital at Uig for the
livery, but a few prefer to remain at home under the care of
ir mothers. To expect that the father's mother would take
ge, even under the clan system, would be carrying the
ditional emphasis too far. Within a few days, the chil-
ldions of the parents, their relations, and the people of the
nship become apparent. One by one the individuals and
ples make their way to the cottage to welcome the child.
ndividual visiting is a modified survival of the old
tom of "kirking," a group offering of thanks, at the church,
a safe mother and a healthy child, followed by a dance
feast at home. The parents are obliged to provide a
n of whisky so that all the visitors can toast the child.

[257]

[256] was the first place he had ever moved where his men did not
have to look up their tools at lunch time, and the women
[258] were not broken as fast as they went into the frames. Still
there is some theft.

As might be expected in any area of low per capita
income and seasonal employment, some people succumb to temp-
tation. Children, now and then, find the temptation of a
handy bar, a sharp pocket knife and other such items which
[259] shopkeepers say have on the counter too strong to resist. The
striking thing is that they always share their loot with
their schoolmates. Around New Years, when unemployment
[260] is at its height and a man needs his bottle to see in the New
Year in the traditional way, some men turn to theft. It
never takes the form of house burglary or armed robbery. As
far as I know, the only case of armed robbery in which a
man from Skye was involved happened on a train in England.
His weapon was a rolling pin. The people at home were very
amused when he said he was taking the rolling pin to his
mother. The usual forms are to take a cow or sheep or to
[258] loot a shop. No answer can be given to the question, how
much theft is there? The responses vary. "If you land on
the corner and forget who you were, they'd have you off in
five minutes, so they would," was one man's opinion. The
police say, "There's quite a bit of it." An old whisky
smuggler told me, "There's no theft around Portree, but you're
out wife with five pence in your pocket in Stockport." This
[258] obviously is an expression of neighbourhood loyalty. Note,

[297]

becomes too worked up, he is expected to withdraw. On occasions,
such as wedding, when all have and their share of the water
[262] beatha (water of life), there may be heated quarrels, including
the raking over of old clan feuds. Again, some older man will
[263] take the offender in hand, "It's not you that's talking, Murdo,
it's the drink." The man almost invariably expresses regret
for his outbreak later. Political meetings, often explosive
situations in a democratic country, may involve some heated
debate, but the code of etiquette is never breached. When one
politician objected to the Tilmir spokesman that according should be
done to stop depopulation because soon they might not have
any young men for the army, the people were indignant, but
they remained quiet. In the case of the cattle thief,
cited above, no one lost his temper. In that instance, there
was discussion almost in a monotone.

Perhaps still talk about the one outstanding example of
aggression which has occurred recently in Portree. At the
end of World War II, a collection was made for the benefit of
the returning servicemen. A public meeting was held to discuss
what would be done with the money and who was eligible to
receive a gift. The young men, both of whom had spent several
years in a German prison, and had been drinking, became
boisterous. They accused the committee of spending the money
and trying to cover it up. The chairman left the meeting. His
replacement, a newcomer, restored order by threatening to call
a policeman, something which never had been accepted at a
public meeting. The boys were forgiven because they had been

[298]

the nearest kin carry the body from the house. The custom
is to carry the coffin until the procession is out of sight
of the house. This may mean a few hundred yards or several
miles. Once the body was carried all the way to the grave.
One sceptic said this is why Skye has lost so many people,
"half of them died carrying the other half to the grave." In
Portree the body is carried across the bridge on the far side
of the town. All the mourners, except the women who remain at
home, and the two nearest kin who walk before and after the
coffin, are given an opportunity to carry. They continuously
change positions with the carriers, stepping out at the head
of the line by ones and waiting for the coffin. Those who
have carried fall in at the rear of the procession. When they
reach the graveyard, the original carriers, his nearest kin,
remove the body from the hearse and lower it into the grave.
At the grave the minister delivers a short lecture on the merits
of living in the mortuse of God. Only the Church of Scotland
ministers offer an additional prayer for the family. The other
sects believe a prayer at the grave is a prayer for the dead.
Following the interment, the bereaved family provides the
mourners with a dram of whisky. Does the minister take a
dram? I can only give the reader the answer I received after
one funeral. One fellow said, "I guess nobody sees him take his
drop, but if he didn't I'd be surprised." On the following day
life returns to normal. The equilibrium of interaction has
been restored.

[298]

her brothers and their wives come to visit, and at New Years
they come by with their bottle of wine, whisky -being a man's
drink, to toast the New Year.

Excepting Glendale, where church membership and af-
filiation is synonymous with the neighbourhood, the township
may contain affiliates of two or three churches. One small
township contains two Free Church families, two Free
Presbyterian families, and one Church of Scotland family.
As in any township, they visit one another and cooperate
in handling the sheep fleece. Further, the Church of
Scotland family visits with the train on the Sabbath
and drives everyone to Church. This is one of those isolated
townships far off the beaten track. Although I certainly
agree that people who meet together at a church and pray
together yet to know each other better because of their
religious unity, in this township the families have come
of living in the mortuse of God. Only the Church of Scotland
ministers offer an additional prayer for the family. The other
sects believe a prayer at the grave is a prayer for the dead.
Following the interment, the bereaved family provides the
mourners with a dram of whisky. Does the minister take a
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one funeral. One fellow said, "I guess nobody sees him take his
drop, but if he didn't I'd be surprised." On the following day
life returns to normal. The equilibrium of interaction has
been restored.

[299]

functions? Certainly not the kirk session. But since they
share a common tradition, which is reinforced by interaction
and mutual respect, the elders impose more or less common
standards. The nurse are the by-product of the history of Skye.
If there was clearage, might not the behavior of the
people begin to diverge? In Kilmuir there are three sects.
Two of them have churches. The Church of Scotland is in the
majority. The Free Presbyterians are a definite minority.
I think there is only one family of them. Although several
ministers of the Church of Scotland have begun to follow
the example of the national church elsewhere in Scotland and
celebrate Christmas, at least on an appropriate Sunday,
there is no Christmas in Kilmuir any more than there is in
Glendale. The custom is said to be "popish." Naturally,
if the birth of Christ is not celebrated, his rebirth cannot
be commemorated at Easter. All churches, on the other hand,
celebrate New Years, which is also the traditional time to
exchange gifts among members of the family. It is a time
of license. After midnight the people of the township
practise "first footing." Until early in the morning, the
people make their rounds exchanging visits and toasting one
another and the New Year with whisky, for the men, and wine,
for the women. The people of Kilmuir are noted for their
inter-relationships. "You have to watch what you say up
there," I was told, "they're all relatives and friends of
each other."

The situation in Portree for the Sabbatarian is much the same

26Ross, Op. cit., p. 127

[300]

several agencies who have taken the task of bringing movies
to the remote crofters in the belief that the Highlander is
more likely to stay if he has a share in the life of the
Lowlander and the Sassenach. These agencies want to "create"
a more adequate social organization.

Out of Portree, more young men try to add some spirit
to their lives by turning to "the drink." Although the
religion of the Bayanan is strikingly similar to that of
the rural dwellers in Tales, I found the Balakaan and the
Sriathanach here quite different views on the subject of
temperance. Both are in the Bayanan support temperance, from the
pulpit and from the kirk collections, but abstinence or
prohibition has never been accepted. Perhaps, their main
reason for consistently rejecting the idea is their want
to base many of their decisions on Biblical directions.
There can be nothing inherently wrong in the infallible Word
of God. Then, too, to the Sriathanach, whisky is not Scotch;
it is the "water of life." The importance attached to the
dram can be judged from its functions: at birth, marriage,
and death. It is also the means of thanking a man for doing
a favor which cannot be repaid. Thus, while abstinence is
a major religious tenet for the Welsh, temperance is the
aim of the Bayanan.

The temperance movement has had an effect, all over
Scotland. The "pubs" are no more than a long car ride in a
bare room. I know one who lives a great time in England, where
the local "pub" is a closely knit club for the villagers, frequently

274

CROFTING CHANGES

The renewal

[291]

of crofters from good to poorer ground was a significant factor in the
the dominion years of the nineteenth century, with the self-
sufficiency factor becoming smaller and the dependence on im-
ports (when there was money to buy them) increasing. Today, up
the crofter is of course not self-supporting, his economy being
based on fishing and weaving with the produce of the croft yield-
ing an annual average of some £200.

Acreages under certain crops show this trend to dependence on
the produce of mainland farmers. In the island in 1911 acres of
3,673 acres were under potatoes, the present acreage being about
one-third of that. The number of people per acre of potatoes for
Scotland as a whole is 22:1. In the island it is about 15:1, indicat-
ing a heavy domestic consumption. Yet substantial imports of this
are required to satisfy demand; a relevant problem is that the
milking cow commonly shares the potatoes. The barley crop, once
much used in Lewis's former small distilleries, has been reduced
to some 10 per cent during the past fifty years. On the other hand,
the acreage of sheal crops, oats, rye and mixed corn, generally fed
to cattle, has about doubled. Oats in particular are in favour for
cattle fodder; even before the turn of the present century oats
were not widely used for human food and oatcakes were made in
centuries been imported into the region. The turnip acreage has
halved over the past fifty years, perhaps the result of the gradual
disappearance of the horse, in strads that turnips were being
required to put good heart in to the land.

As the crofters' cropping policy has changed over the past half
century, so has their animal husbandry. Animals are a main self-
ing product, particularly cows and sheep. Horses, of course, have
been drastically reduced from their total of 1,872 in 1911, as
tractor, lorry and van have taken over their work. And though
some cattle are raised, the numbers are now about 60 per cent
below those of 1911. At that time the density of cattle per 1,000
acres was heavy (46-60) in the north-east of Lewis, less (31-45) in
the north-west, and still less further south. The present average
is around 18 beats per 1,000 acres. This decline, in particular
in the milk-yielding animals, has compelled Lewis to import
1,000 gallons of milk a day from the mainland.

It is sheep which today claim pride of place on the croft, which

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BRICKS, PRINTING, WHISKY

396
800 tons and had a steam-driven winch. The ship has also 175 ●
vanished—except for the name of the Patent Slip Wood Mills, which produce Harris Tweed.

Other small industrial activities in the island during the nineteenth century included the business of Alexander MacPherson 204
chemist, druggist, stationer and printer, who set up in Stornoway in 1842. He brought across the Minch with him Lewis's first demy-size hand printing press, which was still in use on 1 January 1899 to produce the first issue of the school magazine *The Lewisman*. Copies of this earliest Lewis newspaper can be seen at Stornoway Public Library. Early in the 1890s Tiptman Nicolson also set up as a printer.

Whisky was once an important product, not only for local 273
consumption, but also for export. One of the Privy Councils 274 ●
main indicators against the islanders in the Hebrides in 1822 175 ●
was that they seized any cargo of wine and spent "hoth days and 137
nights in their course of drinking". The council therefore enacted that masters of vessels sailing Hebridean waters should carry no more wines. It has been suggested that this and other measures were responsible for the beginning of illicit distilling. Illicit distilling in Lewis continued overtly as late as 1827. One of the two principal stills established by Lord Seaforth in the island at that time was at Coll, a few miles from Stornoway, the other at Grimi, a few miles further on. Such was the fame of these stills, both for 136
output and quality, that it was hard to choose between "Coll or 137
Grim". Sometimes, the product passed as an article of exchange 138
in the island, and the factor received a considerable part of his 139
rents in it instead of money; but the stills were closed about 1830. 140
The Inverness Courier of 14 November 1827 remarks ironically: 141
"Owing to the vigilance of Captain Oliver, of the Revenue cutter 142
"Prince of Wales", and the new Excise Officers on shore, smuggling is completely put down in the Long Island that there is actually not a drop of illicit whisky to be got from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head; and there is probably at this moment a larger supply of legal whisky from Greenock for the supply of Stornoway alone, than was ever imported into the Hebrides before."

The sixteen
was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them
and so on. Some of the crofters who were only reluctant to adopt the new crops
were soon fitting. For the remainder it was a long time before they could
see the advantages of potatoes as a food crop for other parts of the kingdom. By
the nineteenth century, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up new directions
in supply and, in, in his agents, were probably the only buyers. Indeed John Ross, who
was factor to the Duke of Sutherland, was the first to introduce the curing of herring
in 1812 and other products. The absentee proprietor had been forced to
to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844.
Lewis was sold to James Matheson, who was a merchant in Canton, and who had
made his fortune and early acquired a considerable interest. Lewis made little of the opportunity.
Unlike Skye, the Long Island was of particularly good quality and commanded more than
the average price. Lewis was also fortunate in the quality of its proprietors. Skye was
not so good. The sons of the Skye, the hereditary aspirants of the partial agents
who have been inadequate to support the proprietors. In the remainder it is worth noting
the change in the current state held by each family since 1793 as shown in table 7.

Clearance and Congestion.

Even after the end of the transitions home in Ilsa, brought about throughout the
Highlands by the clearances, the population was still very substantial. In 1821, when the
population of the old parish was 7,000, the population of Ilsa was 2,000. Ilsa was
the only island in the old parish of Kilchoman. The population of Islay, however, was stronger.
Big industrial employment was not available in the Highlands. The former Islayman
Hugh Stevenson, in Glasgow, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants to
Islay, and the rest of the population of Islay was 7,000. The population of Islay
increased because of the employment and wage rate in the Lowland farms. Ilsa
of the formation of the earliest farms was not commenced nor are they precisely recorded.
Ilsa's population was 2,000 in 1821 and increased to 2,500 in 1831 and 3,000 in 1841.
Ilsa's population was 3,000 in 1841 and increased to 3,500 in 1851 and 4,000 in 1861
Czech Kong. About 1821 the small tenants of Machrins and Bruaich were displaced
Kong, and the farms of Machrins and Bruaich were added to the farm of Kong.
Machrins, about 1841 all small tenants were removed from Kong and Bruaich
being put into Bruaich. The remainder are said to have been sent to America.

In some cases, the proprietor was cleared about 1841, having been forced to substantial
cash some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkhouse formed part of the large farm of
Kilnaughton. Little Bruaich, too, formed part of the farm. On the mainland, agents
Stornoway, the factor, Mr. Ross, was a man of great ability and was well
Stornoway. In the early nineteenth century, and a barbarous was included at most
Kirkhouse. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Conaibreing and
Glenhaven.

In 1824 in Islay shores were almost valuables to the proprietor (though removed to
Dublin) removed a vital necessity to the small subtenants, often working the same
Kilnaughton, Kilnaughton, Kilnaughton, Kilnaughton, Kilnaughton, Kilnaughton, Kilnaughton

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uig

28 434 South Uig and Park seem to suffer in the same way even though the larger producers, mostly mills, endeavour to distribute weaving equally to all districts. The weavers' earnings vary from individual to individual, according to the amount of work they get, and also from year to year according to the fortunes of the trade, especially of the American export trade. A good weaver, in a good year, might earn from £400 to £500 but an average weaver, in an average year in Bernera, probably earns between £250 and £300, whereas in the Carloway district (more accessible to producers based in Stornoway and Shawbost), the comparable figure is around £400. Most weavers try to maintain connections with several producers and this difference in earnings may be between those who obtain additional work for 'small-producers' (i.e. tweed merchants who do not spin their own yarn), and those who do not.

228 [226] 433 Fishing has greatly declined since the late nineteenth century (table 31), neither white fish nor herring are of any significance, nor do Bernera men contribute significantly to the island's economy by working on east coast boats, as was formerly the case. But Bernera has become one of the most important centres of Scottish lobster fishing, the value of landings having increased from £983 in 1937 to £4,949 in 1956. There are six locally owned lobster boats and others use the facilities at Kirkibost. The vessels generally have seven to a crew (c.f. the usual five in Sutherland) and work the whole length of the Atlantic coast and out to the Flannan Islands and St. Kilda. They carry 100 to 160 lobster pots and may also catch ling; crabs are almost entirely ignored because they are difficult to transport to the distant, mostly English, markets.

One very important factor in the present prosperity of the Bernera lobster fishing is the Kirkibost lobster pond. This was built by a local crofter in the 1920's. It was closed during the war, and was afterwards taken over by the Crofters' Supply Agency, though the original proprietor is still employed whole-time in looking after the pond and re-fishing the lobsters. There is naturally some loss of fish in the pond, and when high prices are being obtained at Oban the local fishers feel rather disgruntled at their less favourable market here. Hence, if there is a good catch, say over 2,000 lbs to a boat, and reasonably good weather prevails, the lobsters may be taken straight to Oban where up to twice the local price may be obtained. The C.S.A. pay 2s less per lb than Oban because of the cost of the upkeep of the pond, and the wages for two men with their boat. There was an experiment in flying lobsters direct from Lewis to Billingsgate, but the cost was too high. The problems of isolation here are very severe for the lobsters have to be sent by Macbrayne's steamer and by British Railways upon which there are no cold wagons reserved for the small quantities in question - a hazardous course for a highly perishable cargo.

Conclusions.

182 This part of Uig, therefore, has had a long and complex history of human settlement, exploitation, and adaptation. Much of the more recent part of this history is vividly remembered and still plays a part in the making of modern decisions. The sense of kinship and a common past is an important cement of society, for where natural resources are so limited a mystique of other than a material type is necessary if society is to retain 51 its self-respect. However, the natural resources are indeed so limited that economic [181] self-improvement is extremely difficult. The egalitarian tendencies of Gaelic society and crofting legislation are not now sufficient to resist the tendencies of the times and to prevent some of the crofters making adjustments in their holdings, but unfortunately there is insufficient good land to allow much adjustment without a drastic reduction of population [464] which would be equally damaging to the well-being of the local society. It seems unlikely that alternative sources of employment could easily be found - the isolation within Lewis, the isolation from markets of Lewis itself, and the lack of local resources have combined [288] on previous occasions to defeat plans for development. Weaving is the most important [228] means of supplementary livelihood, but it is too vulnerable to politics and fashion; fishing is greatly decayed from its former dominating position; only agriculture remains locally, and perhaps the greatest possibilities there lie in better standards of cultivation (especially drainage and fertilisation), a better standard of animal husbandry, and more reseeding. But whatever developments are undertaken will need careful selection and encouragement: results cannot be hurried but nevertheless something must be done soon if the local society is to maintain itself. This great and paradoxical element of the "crofting problem" is as important here as elsewhere in the seven "Crofting Counties".

283

283 CORDAGE--types of cordage made (e.g., thread, yarn, string, rope); materials used (e.g., bast fiber, cotton, wool, silk, sinew, hair); preparation of materials (e.g., soaking, retting); techniques of manufacture (e.g., twisting, spinning, braiding); special apparatus (e.g., spindle, spinning wheel); specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Industrialized manufacture of cordage 288
Sewing 294
Musical rigging 501
String figures 524

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highla
Shaw

288 developed from the concentration of power
175 of the merchants. In the early days of th
441 all the processes involved in the producti
286 finished length of tweed were carried out
236 families. A man used wool from his own fl
438 aid of other family members, dyed it with
175 [386] carded and spun it by hand, wove it, washe
286 it, and found his own buyer. Dyeing wool,
236 and washing ("waulking") the finished leng
175 was usually done by women. In Harris, the
462 of producing a tweed was carried out by wo
Lewis the weaving was done largely by men.

A woman in her 80's recalls the proce
175 when she was young. Hand-spinning had die
286 time, although the question of whether twe
such yarn could legitimately be called Har
not resolved until 1934.

"About 1916 or so it took about two w
175 to do a tweed. You bought the wool from t
283 [435] Board. Sixteen bags of wool, costing abou
[433] do four tweeds. You needed four one-stone
[386] tweed. Then you would spend a day gatheri
[824] crotal (lichen scraped from rocks and used
bag per one bag of wool was required for t

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bags per
ng a bag of
for dye). One
he dye. After

175 dyeing the wool it was spread out, dried and sent to
283 Stornoway to be made into yarn. The yarn was then sent
175 back, and the weaver wove and washed it. About six women
286 were required to do the waulking (the process by which
[462] the cloth was washed and shrunk).

175 "In those days the weavers designed their own
286 patterns, and sold their own finished tweeds. I remember
432 going into town with my brother, we had two tweeds in the cart. We went into a shop to sell the tweed, and the man said it was poor weaving. He didn't want to pay the full price for it. I told my brother to roll it back up, we would take it somewhere else. As we left the shop, he told me I had 'good cheek.' In the next shop the merchant didn't say anything, and gave my brother the regular price. We went home with L60."

286 The great demand for tweed encouraged the development
288 of more efficient methods of production. One by one the
175 various processes of production were taken over by
178 specialists, and gradually these specialists were brought
[433] together under one roof. Large boilers for dyeing wool
[434] were supplied as a result of actions taken by the Congested
[463] Districts Board, which was formed in 1897. The Scottish
[386] Home Industries provided chemical dyes. The most
[236] difficult and time-consuming processes were carding and
[283] spinning, which small mills on the mainland began to do

286 on commission for weavers around the turn of the century.
288 By the early 1920's, four mills on the island were
175 carding and spinning wool on commission; and one mill
178 brought looms into its premises. Lord Leverhulme, who
[236] bought Lewis in 1918, saw the value of concentrating
[283] weavers in one place and of improving the technology.
He encouraged the introduction of Hattersley domestic
[463] looms, which eventually replaced the wooden looms. The individual weaver also did his own warping, but after World War II the mills began to hire warpers to work full time on mill premises. Transporting the tweeds, which used to be the responsibility of the weavers, is now the responsibility of the mills. Today all processes except the actual weaving are handled by mills, most of which are located in Stornoway.

Such steps in specialization and centralization made sense to the weaver. One of the older weavers recalls,
175 "In the late 20's or 30's you could buy a yard of Harris
286 Tweed for about two shillings. It wasn't economical for
288 any crofter to dye and spin the yarn, weave it and sell i
435 for only two shillings a yard. As the mills enlarged, they could make it with the machinery because they could make it an economic proposition."

175 However, the tendency toward specialization and
286 centralization was in direct conflict with the reasons
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828

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PLATE XA. A WOMAN THREADING HER WOODEN TREADLE LOOM, IN HARRIS

/facing p. 65/

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

142
291
283
353
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Photographs by J. Allan Cash

PLATE XB. A WOMAN SPINNING WOOL, TO BE WOVEN LATER INTO TWEED, IN HARRIS

THE PEOPLE

771 press themselves in terms of religious values and ideas, the fear
783 of having committed unforgivable sin. The normal adjustments,
157 reflections and mental stocktaking of middle life are possibly more
[158] readily precipitated towards depression in an emotional people
733 prone to serious thought. This brings of course a concomitant
159 spectrum of problems in an area where in general a man is expected to take a dram and stand it; both nature and nurture are relevant factors. In the words of Cunningham Graham (1899), the medical adviser finds himself 'preaching teetotalism, that is for others, but himself taking his glass of whisky for the reasons which have been so cogently set forth by St Paul the Apostle to the Caledonians.' For those who comment in isolation on a com-
[539] munity's indulgence in alcohol, one must quote a Gaelic proverb: *'Tha smuideag fhein an ceann gach foid'*—Every peat-end has its own smoke.

733 From the earliest times the Western Isles have indeed been
+175 regarded as supporting a population with an uncanny predilec-
[539] tion for spiritous liquors. To a certain extent the spirits were needed by ill-nourished crofters to keep out the damp and cold when on the moors or at sea; and people in a depressed economic or mental condition will anywhere seek refuge in alcohol or other available drugs—forgetting the old Gaelic proverb 'Better the little fire that will warm than the great fire that will burn.' The evil effects of drinking have certainly at times been serious: in 1869 Sir James Matheson addressed a circular letter of remonstrance to his tenants, indicating that those guilty of misconduct were liable to be deprived of their holdings. In 1920 a vote was taken in Stornoway under the Scottish Temperance Act, with the result that the town went 'dry'; three years later the poll was upheld. Then in 1926, with a majority of 84, Stornoway went 'wet' again.

275 But the 'drink question' has been given undue prominence and
[733] dragged out of its island context. For instance, Stornoway contains all but three of the licensed premises on the island (at Tarbert, Rodel and Carloway) and, as the chief centre for business and pleasure, must naturally attract anyone seeking refreshment.

several agencies who have taken the task of bringing movies 178
to the remote crofters in the belief that the Highlander is 883
more likely to stay if he has a share in the life of the 177
Lowlander and the Englishman. These agencies want to "create" 52
a more adequate social organization."

Out of boredom, some young men try to add some spirit 273
to their lives by turning to "the drink." Although the 779
religion of the Skyeman is strikingly similar to that of the rural dweller in Wales, I found the Welshman and the Sgiathanach have quite different views on the subject of temperance.[26] All churches support temperance, from the pulpit and from the kirk collections, but abstinence or prohibition has never been accepted. Perhaps, their main reason for consistently rejecting the idea is their wont to base many of their decisions on Biblical directions. There can be nothing inherently wrong in the infallible Word of God. Then, too, to the Sgiathanach, whiskey is not Scotch; 273
it is the "water of life." The importance attached to the dram can be judged from its functions at birth, marriage, and death. It is also the means of thanking a man for doing a favor which cannot be repaid. Thus, while abstinence is a major religious tenet for the Welsh, temperance is the aim of the Skyeman.

The temperance movement has had an effect, all over 275
Scotland. The "pubs" are no more than a long bar set in a 185
bare room. Young men who have spent time in England, where the local "pub" is a closely knit club for the villagers, frequentl

[26] Rees, op. cit., p. 127

contrast the friendly and homely atmosphere of the English 275
"pub" with the austerity of the public bar on Skye. The same 185
man who went into the "Coach and Four" to play a game of darts and sing a few songs over his pint of beer goes down to the local hotel bar on Skye to toss off his dram, follow it with a pint of beer, and chaff his neighbors. "There is nothing else to do." Skye exiles in Glasgow, and not only 275
the youngest of them, often complain about the lack of 167
opportunity for social intercourse at home. What they really 571
mean is that "there is nothing else to do" unless they do not care about the reaction of their "people and friends." Moreover, they may want to return some day to stay, and, then, they will have to face the judgment of the old men in their neighborhood.

Another contrast of the Welsh and the Sgiathanach can 525
be found in their respective attitudes towards gambling. Traditionally, both enjoyed forms of recreation in which competition plays a major part, but the Welshman today does little gambling, implicitly because of his religious outlook.[27] The Sgiathanach, too, is not an open gambler, but the football pools find many interested individuals on the Misty Isle. There was, for example, the deacon in one church who forgot he 525
had a meeting to attend. Much to his dismay, when another 794
member of the kirk stopped by to see why he was late, he was busy filling out his football coupon. Dissimilarities, of 785
course, are not particularly significant. In both regions

[27] Ibid.

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276 NARCOTICS AND STIMULANTS--drugs consumed for nontherapeutic purposes (e.g., tobacco, betel, coca, peyote); techniques of manufacture and preparation; methods of consumption (e.g., eating, chewing, smoking); special apparatus (e.g., cigarette holders, pipes, hypodermic needles); users; quantit consumed; physiological effects; behavior under narcosis and stimulation; associated beliefs and practices; social and legal controls; etc. See also:

Psychiatric aspects of drug addiction 188
Cultivation of narcotic plants 949
Condiments 263
Palliation of labor with drugs 461
Illicit narcotics traffic 548
Treatment of drug addicts 733
Notions about drug cravings 828

even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil. Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naïvely at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started, HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island consisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoemakers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses, and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers; and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

278

278 PHARMACEUTICALS--materia medica and pharmacology; manufacture of narcotics, drugs, and poisons; processing techniques; products; organization of labor and production; regulation; specialists (e.g., pharmacists); etc.

See also:

Use of poisons in hunting and fishing 22
Drugstores 444
Use of medicines 757

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one night of the week in which controls are imposed, by the arrival of Sunday when no one is supposed to drink. The bothan was occasionally open on Friday night, and on Monday night. ("If there's anything left from Saturday night, we finish it on Monday.") During the summer of 1971 when the days were long and filled with communal township activities such as peat-cutting, the bothan was open every night of the week. The bothan closed when the man supplying it with drink suddenly died, and has not reopened.

2. Functions of Drinking: If a man decides not to participate in drinking, he is not praised for his self-control or his ability to abstain; rather, people say, "What's the matter with him that he doesn't mix?" A man goes off to the hotel or to a bothan "for a wee nip" or "for a pint" (the pint of beer which serves as a chaser for glasses of straight whiskey). Both phrases are euphemisms for the huge amount of whiskey and beer which must be consumed if a man is to satisfy the canons of social intercourse which obtain. A man can drink alone or, in the company of others, drink very little only at great social cost.

"You can't go in for a casual pint in a place like the bothan because it's a place where people mix, and you're bound to meet old friends you haven't seen for

and clothing, firing and shelter produced met local needs. Further questions of early economy belong to Part Two, as do those of the festivals by which the seasons were initiated and closed, along with the phases of human life.

A century later (as indicated in the lower graph), agricultural tasks were much the same, but the character of fishing had altered greatly. Herring fishing was at its height in the Island for some fifteen years, or half a generation, before 1914; but it never recovered from the difficulties of the war and after-war periods. The curves of the summer, autumn and winter fishing indicate the 'full-time' activity of summer, and the 'part-time' work of early winter. Not only the men, but the women participated, the women being employed in gutting and kippering. Boats and men fished further afield. Women were employed in gutting in early summer in the Scots East Coast fishing, which preceded that of the West Coast and was followed by the East Anglian autumn fishing. Some line-fishing continued locally in summer, but it has now almost ceased. The building and repair of roads increased after the middle of the century. The carting of peats, stacked by the roadsides, lessened 'creeling'; but it is particularly haulage by lorry which has replaced carrying by the creel, so lightening women's labour.

Indoors, primitive crafts tended to be superseded as machine-made articles replaced those of native material and manufacture; but the *ceilidh* ('*cailey*'), the meeting 'together', continued, though the arts of song and poetic improvisation declined. In Harris the women had woven and spun for centuries and have continued to do so for home use and sale; in Lewis the women gave up weaving in the last century, few spinning since then and none weaving. Thirty years ago only an occasional weaver, always a man, could be

found in a Lewis village; but in the ten to twenty years before 1939, the so-called 'Harris' tweed industry spread enormously in Lewis, accompanied by the construction of large spinning mills in Stornoway which supply yarn to male weavers. One further activity, kelp-making, was important for a time, although—not being strictly a traditional task—it is not represented in the upper graph, nor yet in the lower one, having declined after 1825 and disappeared (in the Island) long before the present century. Such was the annual rhythm of seasonal labour prevalent during the last generation, and a hundred years before.

7. *Rural Changes in Diet, Dress and Inter-marriage, and in Mobility: 1919–39*

Many outward changes occurred in the twenty years after the close of the First World War. Till the Island was able to benefit from the commercial advances of the mainland, it had no adequate relief from the famines of early times; in recent years the quantity of food has been rather more adequate. With the import of new foods, the consumption of vitamins at first declined: there was greater consumption of white bread from Glasgow and less of fresh vegetables (as ruined garden walls bear witness), and less, too, of cod-liver oil with the cessation of cod-fishing. Latterly, fenced gardens with vegetables and lettuce are providing vitamins, and fresh fruit (unobtainable even after 1919) is commonly on sale all the year round, so that a more rational dieting, when it can be afforded, is tending to recover lost ground and perhaps more.[1]

[1] E. P. Cathcart (*et al.*), *Studies in Nutrition: an Enquiry into the Diet of Families in the Highlands and Isles: III, Lewis* (Medical Research Council, Special Reports, Series 242. H.M.S.O.), London, 1940.

464 his little spare time. In addition there are a few croft holders with periodic employment. It is noteworthy that the incidence of employment bears no direct relationship to the size of croft holding - there is not, for example, a preponderance of holders of small crofts taking permanent employment.*

162 464 However, the croft holders are not the only source of labour: Appendix C(4) shows that there is a total force of fairly regular labour for the crofts amounting to 147, or rather less than half the total resident population. Of these, 78 undertake regular employment, 24 have employment on occasion, and thus only 45 are full-time, of whom 25 are over 65. The forms of employment are indicated on Appendix D(2); weaving, with 49 persons regularly involved, is by far the most important single source of full-time employment, the only other being fishing (24 persons). Estate work (mostly gamekeepers, ghillies, etc. at Grimersta Lodge) gives regular employment to ten persons in the townships of the Shore. No other form of employment accounts for more than three residents between 15 and 65 years of age; the category 'casual' covers a variety of unskilled labour and there are five non-employable invalids.

288 About 50 households, out of 130, have looms. Yarn is distributed by the Stornoway producers for weaving on commission; they collect, finish, and market the cloth. Hand spinning has all but died out and such yarn is more likely to be used for handknitting than for weaving; at least one lady supplements her income in this way. There is some evidence that Bernera weavers receive less work than those more accessible to Stornoway; the reason for this may lie partly in individual contacts between weavers and producers, and partly in the particular skills of particular weavers but transport is an important factor. Such a small isolated group of weavers does not justify frequent journeys by the Stornoway vans; in fact most yarn is put out, and tweeds collected, by a weekly carrier.

Table 31

Fishing in Bernera District 1892-1956

178 226 435

	Numbers engaged:		
	Boats:	Men:	Value of Catch:
1892	39	133	?
1900	36	164	?
1913	39	163	£1,300
1920	36	151	£1,400
1930	27	145	£670
1938	33	114	£699
1948	40	84	£2,850
1956	25	26	£4,949

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Not all the boats returned were necessarily engaged in regular fishing. Nor is the value of the catch shown necessarily attributable entirely to Bernera.

* Editorial Note: this is an inevitable result of the rigid structure of crofter land holdings. See Part I, page 30 and table 12. The age of the crofter, and his family circumstances are decisive.

286

286 WOVEN FABRICS--textiles; weaving, knitting, and netting techniques; spec
apparatus (e.g., netting needle, loom); products and their uses; specialize
personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Clothing . . . . . 29 Industrial production of textiles 288
Spinning . . . . . 283 Description of power looms 402

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traveled from Stornoway.

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nt postmaster's grandfather was
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o help out. As late as the 1950's,
ts own undertaker, a man who had
the art of laying out and dressing
like the job very much and was
over to an undertaker who

a veterinarian, based in Stornoway,
so. Earlier, certain blacksmiths
ing livestock when the crofters
ailments, there were many cures

last village blacksmith died
ny was in the center of the village.
mortared stone buildings with
hat were once estate houses for
experimental farm established
n what is now New Shawbost. The
hopkeeper and butcher. As a
s principally shoeing horses and
-cutters, which he did with the
s two apprentices. One of his

178 The number of cattle diminished as milk became
231 available by other means; and when the township reseeding
232 schemes came into existence, the need to go to the
176 shellings for an "early hire" was removed. The shillings
348 that remain in use today are huts of tin, wood and
concrete within easy walking distance from the highway,
used on weekends and during summer holidays. Most of
these modern shellings are close to Stornoway, and serve
as summer retreats for the relatively harried urban
dwellers much as pshlisses. On the west side, the
184 shellings are no longer used, but remain as a theme of
songs and in nostalgic memories.

C. The Loom

175 Clo Mor, the big cloth, was woven in the Highlands
• 284 and Islands for hundreds of years. Martin Martin,
who travelled through the Outer Hebrides in the late 17th
century, describes the export of "plaiding," and the
practice of washing or shrinking the woven length of
cloth (Martin 1716). Weaving was done on wooden looms,
and produced only for local markets until the middle of
the 19th century.

By the middle of the 19th century, the failure of
731 the kelp industry, decline of fishing, and destruction
736

• 285 of potato crops by blight had contributed to widespread
751 poverty. The production of cloth for non-local markets
752 was promoted initially by philanthropic proprietors in
176 an effort to ameliorate such conditions. Lady Dunmore,
497 of the Dunmore family that owned Harris during most of
the 19th century, was largely responsible for developing
a market in London and elsewhere for cloth woven in Harris.
346 The cloth was popular first among the aristocracy, who
wore it for hunting and other sporting occasions. The
435 romantic image of a cottage industry promoted for charitable
purposes contributed to the market value of the tweed.

The market expanded in the second half of the 19th
century, aided by ladies of leisure who followed the example
294 set by Lady Dunmore (cf. Hunter 1964: 24-26). The
441 production of cloth for a commercial market spread from
Harris to the southern isles, but was slow in coming to
364 Lewis, where the proprietor, Sir James Matheson, provided
the people with construction jobs. After Matheson died in
1876, weaving for outside markets began in Lewis in the
parish bordering Harris, and the name "Harris Tweed" was
used because a market for cloth of this name had already
been established. By World War I, weaving for outside
markets was being done in all four parishes in Lewis. In
1899 there were 55 looms in Lewis and over 200 in Harris.

• 284 By 1911, the number of looms in Lewis had increased to
751 250-300 (Hunter 1964: 43).
752 By the late 19th century small mills had replaced
736 domestic spinning and weaving in the Highlands on the
494 mainland. Weaving continued to be a home industry in
the Hebrides where it was encouraged by the support of
non-profit-making organizations such as the Highland
Home Industries and Arts Association, the Scottish Home
Industries Association, and the Crofters Agency--all
established at the end of the 19th century--and also
encouraged by local merchants who had begun to act as
middlemen in marketing the cloth. These merchants owned
small general stores throughout the island and either
bought the tweed from local weavers or gave them goods
from their stores in exchange. Many of the tweed firms
in Lewis grew from such small general stores to be
the barter system.

1. The Harris Tweed Industry in Shawbost: Coinneach

288 Rod, a man who started a tweed business on the west side
175 of Lewis which eventually developed into a large mill
167 with equipment for spinning yarn and finishing tweeds,
472 was said to have been a pick-taker, a man who took the
first £50 he borrowed, but borrowed another £50 and never
looked back, a man who throughout his life gave fellow

283 developed from the concentration of power in the hands
175 of the merchants. In the early days of the industry,
441 all the processes involved in the production of a
• 294 finished length of tweed were carried out by individual
441 families. A man used wool from his own flock, and with the
175 aid of other family members, dyed it with vegetable dyes,
348 carded and spun it by hand, wove it, washed and shrunk
it, and found his own buyer. Dyeing wool, spinning yarn,
and washing ("wauking") the finished length of tweed
294 was usually done by women. In Harris, the entire process
441 of producing a tweed was carried out by women, but in
462 Lewis the weaving was done largely by men.

A woman in her 80's recalls the process of weaving
175 when she was young. Hand-spinning had died out by this
236 time, although the question of whether tweeds woven with
such yarn could legitimately be called Harris Tweed was
not resolved until 1934.

"About 1916 or so it took about two weeks to a month
175 to do a tweed. You bought the wool from the Agricultural
167 Board. Sixteen bags of wool, costing about £20, would
433 do four tweeds. You needed four one-stone bags per
tweed. Then you would spend a day gathering a bag of
288 crotal (lichen scraped from rocks and used for dye). One
304 bag per one bag of wool was required for the dye. After

175 dyeing the wool it was spread out, dried and sent to
283 Stornoway to be made into yarn. The yarn was then sent
175 back, and the weaver wove and washed it. About six women
462 were required to do the washing (the process by which
the cloth was washed and shrunk).

175 "In those days the weavers designed their own
284 patterns, and sold their own finished tweeds. I remember
432 going into town with my brother, we had two tweeds in the
cart. We went into a shop to sell the tweed, and the man
said it was poor weaving. He didn't want to pay the full
price for it. I told my brother to roll it back up, we
would take it somewhere else. As we left the shop, he
told me I had 'good cheek.' In the next shop the merchant
didn't say anything, and gave my brother the regular
price. We went home with £60."

The great demand for tweed encouraged the development
288 of more efficient methods of production. One by one the
175 various processes of production were taken over by
specialists, and gradually these specialists were brought
433 together under one roof. Large boilers for dyeing wool
434 were supplied as a result of actions taken by the Congested
Districts Board, which was formed in 1897. The Scottish
288 Home Industries provided chemical dyes. The most
304 difficult and time-consuming processes were carding and
243 spinning, which small mills on the mainland began to do

• 285 on commission for weavers around the turn of the century.
751 By the early 1920's, four mills on the island were
752 carding and spinning wool on commission; and one mill
176 brought looms into its premises. Lord Leverhulme, who
497 bought Lewis in 1918, saw the value of concentrating
weavers in one place and of improving the technology.
He encouraged the introduction of Hattersley domestic
346 looms, which eventually replaced the wooden looms. The
individual weaver also did his own warping, but after
World War II the mills began to hire warpers to work full
time on mill premises. Transporting the tweeds, which
used to be the responsibility of the weavers, is now the
responsibility of the mills. Today all processes except
the actual weaving are handled by mills, most of which
are located in Stornoway.

Such steps in specialization and centralization made
sense to the weaver. One of the older weavers recalls,
288 "In the late 20's or 30's you could buy a yard of Harris
175 Tweed for about two shillings. It wasn't economical for
435 any crofter to dye and spin the yarn, weave it and sell it
for only two shillings a yard. As the mills enlarged,
they could make it with the machinery because they could
make it an economic proposition."

175 However, the tendency toward specialization and
284 centralization was in direct conflict with the reasons

175 behind the tweed's popularity. The tweed was more than
• 288 a cloth; it was peat smoke and windswept moorland, the
751 image of the free man who had escaped city life and
752 machines and was the master of his own destiny. Steps
had been taken all along the way to preserve the image
of home-crafted goods, as when, in an effort to prevent
machine-spinning, carding mills were built in Lewis and
Harris at the turn of the century to prevent wool from
being sent to mills on the mainland, where it was both
carded and spun. As early as 1906, a man was convicted
in London of selling power-loomed tweed under the name
288 "Harris Tweed." Today power-driven looms can produce
467 double-width cloth 54 inches wide, a width much preferred
to the 28-inch cloth produced on the Hattersley loom
because there is less waste when the cloth is cut. But
because "Harris Tweed" must be hand-woven, new looms of
light-weight metal are being designed on which double-
435 width cloth can be hand-woven. The new looms will cost
so much that many weavers say they would be unlikely to
invest in them, especially given the uncertain future of
the industry.

The Harris Tweed Association, formed in 1909, was
175 granted a certification mark by the Board of Trade which
167 was stamped on tweeds that were hand-spun and hand-woven
433 in the islands. During World War I, hand-spinning died
434 288

175 out in Lewis, and the Harris Tweed Association was
167 ineffective in enforcing its standards. In 1934,
• 294 weavers were allowed to use yarn spun in island mills,
441 and production increased; but no weaving was allowed
to be done in the mills. All looms were removed from
those mills which had tried to centralize this stage
of production. The actual process of weaving remained,
by legal definition, decentralized, although the word
"crofter" was changed to "islander," thus widening the
category of persons who could weave "Harris Tweed," and
paving the way for centralization of weavers in the town
of Stornoway.

Any person can purchase his own yarn, weave his own
288 tweeds, and sell them to tailors or summer tourists;
467 but before a weaver can weave for the mills, he must be
registered with the Weavers Union. The Weavers Union is
a branch of the Transport and General Workers Union,
which includes mill employees, hospital workers, lorry
drivers, and others. It is an anomaly of the Harris
Tweed industry that workers classed as self-employed
should join a union of employees and is another indication
of the centralization of control and power in the mills,
with whom the weavers, along with the mill workers, bargain
for higher wages. Weavers receive a basic sum of over
288 £10 for each length of tweed, which is usually 38 weaver's
462
804

Questions about the state of
288 "the tweed" permeate all discussions, and often
175 constitute an initial greeting. "Have you got a
167 tweed in the loom? How many do you have? Did you
• 294 see Stirling's tweed van going into Paire? Did you
441 hear that Rewalls has an order for about 800 pieces...?"

"The mills brought us two tweeds, and I got two
in town myself. I stuck those two in the attic so
that anyone who came in would be none the wiser," says
one person in a whisper. Neighbors are in and out of
each others' houses and homesheds, observant and
questioning, on the lookout for any indication that
they have missed out on some transaction in the
competition for scarce goods.

D. Weaving as Strategy

When weaving was done on a wooden hand loom, the
weaver required a longer period of apprenticeship.
Weaving was "more of an art," as some of the older
weavers remember it today. Not only was the shuttle
thrown back and forth by hand, but the lifting of
different threads in the warp was done by manipulating
four foot pedals in the correct order. Today, the
288 process of weaving is very much simplified: the weaver
467 pushes only two foot pedals, and simply keeps an eye on

the automatic shuttle; all other processes have been built into the design of the Universal Loom (cf. Thomson 1969). In other words, weaving does not entail very specialized skills and is not difficult to learn. A neither man nor woman need be a loom-tender for a short period of time, or pick up the trade again with ease after having been absent from the loom for a long time. Religious scruples have not been known to operate in this if a tweed is "urgent." Wives help their husbands, and young boys their fathers and uncles. Such low-level specialization and substitutability are complementary to crofting activities and the maintenance of neighbourhood ties, and may be seen to favor continuance of the occupation of weaving.

The Lews Castle College in Stornoway, established in a cattle-fattening shed in 1953 in a building that had formerly the home of Sir James Matheson, offers training courses in weaving for skills which can for the weaver and qualify a person for membership in the Weavers Union (cf. Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). The College also offers evening weaving classes for all the public schools on the island to instruct young boys in the rudiments of weaving. The Highlands and Islands Development Board have in the past made loans and grants with which to purchase looms, and government aid has protected the sills.

Despite these aids and incentives, persons do not commonly their children to weave. The weavers themselves describe the job as dull, offering no security and no prestige (cf. Thompson 1969).

Referring to her own weaving, a middle age, "By the time he's old enough to ...ave, the tweeds will have failed." another another says, "I want him to learn some trade, if he's intelligent enough. I don't want him to stay here. The tweed is so uncertain." "There's no future in it," says the father of another young boy, "I definitely don't want this lad to be a weaver. It would be good if he went in for engineering."

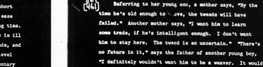
The history of the weavers reveal many examples of shifting occupations, having little attachment to the work in the local mill, which is also relatively unspecialized. The Shawbost mill most resembles a cottage industry in the latter in that it has no fixed hours. Women come to weave for shifts which last for two weeks and qualify a person for membership in the Weavers Union (cf. Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). The weavers in such cases are substitutes for all the public schools on the island to instruct young boys in the rudiments of weaving. The Highlands and Islands Development Board have in the past made loans and grants with which to purchase looms, and government aid has protected the sills.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

and in neighbourhood becoming the centre of the growing township. In 1901, the Lewis Estate commissioned the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* indicated that upwards of 183 boats were employed in fishing in the parish of Barvas. In 1951 no such statistics were recorded, showing that the fishing industry was presumed with the decline of herring fishing. At the present time, a few dozen crofters and their sons fish in the summer season. The women do not fish; but almost at all times when their time is occasion to go to sea, they never decline that service, and row powerfully." In the parish of Barvas, there are approximately 1,000 Scotch pairs of oars and 50 were taken each year from dog-fish livers and sold to Stornoway merchants at from 40 to 50 shillings the gallon. It is related that the tenants of Ness were able for a long time to pay their rents with dog-fish livers. Cod and ling were also caught fish caught by the men of Lochs, an annual average of 24 tons being cured and sold. Herring, however, was the chief fish which were consumed locally.

Loch Roag on the west of Lewis proved to be about the best fishing ground; in 1794 about 90 and from all parts of the United Kingdom. Herring fishing, however, in the Loch Roag-cured herring was exported exclusively to Sweden. The Secretary of Stornoway, Mackenzie, in the *Old Statistical Account*, gives figures showing the quantities of fish shipped from the port from 1792 to 1794. Thus in the year 1793 there were 14,000 barrels of herring were exported to the Continent, and 20,000 were for consumption in the Mediterranean. In the year 1794 there were distributed for Continental markets. Herring, cod, and ling were then pursued during the following years with growing vigour, though the inshore white fish took favour. The herring fishing did not make great strides, however, and in the twenty years, where at the beginning of the twentieth century catches were confined to the inland sea locks; the price for the herring was not much to compete with foreign fishing, and their boats and nets were not suitable for it.

Herring fishing, which had begun in Loch Leven in 1844, he gave scant attention to the potential in the fishings round his island. Though he expressed the hope that there would be a regular steamer communication between the mainland and the island, and spent over £2,000 in building a quay at Stornoway



Lewis: (A) Ridgeport Quay, Isle of Berneray, in the Sound of Harris; (B) Quay, Stornoway, Lewis, with Lewis Castle in the background.

6 TRADE AND INDUSTRY

In the earlier times, the folk of the island of Harris and Lewis lived a simple existence. Their way of life as it was lived in their own days was available at near hand; where the economy was self-contained, the economy virtually self-sufficient. By and large, the only commodities often imported were salt, iron, and, to a certain extent, wood. Rents were paid largely in kind: the produce of agriculture, fishing and labour. Surplus produce was disposed to southern merchants for a fixed sum of shillings per boll, for which there was really very little need in the island. But once money became important in the economy, the fishing folk had to so be the crofters in the population, though as discussed in Chapter 3 this is well before the crofters became the majority. The island economy had never been organized on a wood foundation, with the result that wooden ploughs were used in the Outer Hebrides as late as 1840, but when, shipwrecks, tenantcies, kelp-burning and the sale of the estate of Lewis, the island economy was forced to seek some stability, either individually or in shares, and also had water rights in the common ground of the township in which he lived.

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

From the crofter cotton class tenant emerged the crofter-craftsmen. In Lochs, for instance, by the turn of the seventeenth century 60 kelp pot cone were registered as fishers and remunerers. In the west, in the parish of Barvas, some 70 per cent were also fishers, with kelp-making as a secondary occupation. Kelp-burning, which at the seventeenth century catches were confined to the inland sea locks; the price for the kelp was not much to compete with foreign fishing, and their boats and nets were not suitable for it.

Herring fishing, which had begun in Loch Leven in 1844, he gave scant attention to the potential in the fishings round his island. Though he expressed the hope that there would be a regular steamer communication between the mainland and the island, and spent over £2,000 in building a quay at Stornoway

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TRADE

but their negligence even in its article appears from their sending 93 barrels of herring to Stornoway, and 20 barrels to Continental markets. Lewis was rated at 4,000. Exports were some 100 tons of kelp, 140 tons of herring, 50 tons of cod and ling, 50 tons of salmon, 50 tons of wool, and £445. Small quantities of cheese, wool, and dogs of sheep, oxen and sale were also exported, and considerable quantity of valuable foodstuff. However, the spread of distillation as a legitimate house industry by which the surplus of peat, in kind or by sale, was followed by legislation prohibiting all but very large stills. Distillation, however, continued to be a cottage industry.

It was, then, by a very narrow margin that subsistence was won from the island economy, and the people had to pull together to the point by a ton of ...ness. Beside kelp, there is little else more significant in the island economy, which still could be of use to the ...ing, which they send yearly to Glasgow. They raise a little flax, and spin and weave some coarse linen for household use. The island economy had never been organized on a wood foundation, with the result that wooden ploughs were used in the Outer Hebrides as late as 1840, but when, shipwrecks, tenantcies, kelp-burning and the sale of the estate of Lewis, the island economy was forced to seek some stability, either individually or in shares, and also had water rights in the common ground of the township in which he lived.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

found in a warehouse in Leith some years ago; a few found their way back to Stornoway, where one can be seen in the Public Library.

HARRIS TWEED

Today, with kelp long forgotten, the product of minor importance, is the Harris Tweed industry which supports many of the island people, either directly or indirectly, and brings foreign industry with exports earnings exceeding £2,500,000 a year. Harris Tweed is exported to many countries, including Australia, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and all the European nations. Some 80 per cent of the Harris Tweed is made in the home, both dependent upon and supporting the crofter-weaver working at home. Harris Tweed is a fabric which still retains the feel of wool woven annually by the independent weavers 'on the looks' of the island. Lewis took to the manufacture of tweed, supplying their own looms and hobbies, equipping and maintaining their workshops. Tweed was woven in the Outer Hebrides as far back as 1840, but when, they are graded as self-employed persons and as such are not the part of the Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). Lewis tweed much argument.

One of the most outstanding facts about the cloth is that its essential quality have remained unchanged since the industry's early formation years. Harris Tweed is known as the Patent Ship (one of Madtown's enterprises) in Stornoway. Non-profiteering bodies like Scottish Tweed Ltd. (the Stornoway Branch of the Crofters' Agency) began to open up more depots for the receipt of tweeds. In addition to the original depots at Stornoway and Tarbert, others were established at Obbe (now Leverburgh), Uig in Lewis, and at Lochs and Shawbost.

The Congested Districts Board also took an interest, appointing a commissioner to report on the possibilities for the introduction of better cloth designs and other improvements including the Harris tweed. This latter, with a distinct individuality, was not produced used on the 'heart loing' (the traditional small wooden hand, where the tweed was woven in a square of fabric. Little of it, the heard also paid grants for the improvement of looms, and large black pots were sent to Uig to enable the people there to

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

in the eyes of the more sophisticated purchasers, as did the domestic and primitive conditions of its manufacture. All processes were carried out in the home. The wool was washed and dyed out of doors beside any convenient stream where a big black pot could be set up on some stones and the pots furnished with Gartlie, a tedious and unpleasant task, spinning and weaving were done in the home, the cloth, after being woven, was taken clamoyre or proper, to the nearest wool-scoured mill, or to another man who has a definite 'peat' for the purpose. The Harris industry of the Lewis crofters, as the industry is known, including Australia, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and all the European nations. Some 80 per cent of the Harris Tweed is made in the home, both dependent upon and supporting the crofter-weaver working at home. Harris Tweed is a fabric which still retains the feel of wool woven annually by the independent weavers 'on the looks' of the island. Lewis took to the manufacture of tweed, supplying their own looms and hobbies, equipping and maintaining their workshops. Tweed was woven in the Outer Hebrides as far back as 1840, but when, they are graded as self-employed persons and as such are not the part of the Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). Lewis tweed much argument.

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DEVELOPMENT

dye larger batches of wool to maintain uniformity of colour through the whole web.

Lewis tweed

Suddenly Lewis came on the Harris Tweed scene. It was fortunate that it was about this time, that its employment was on work related to public health and to the reconstructions of the Matheson regime. Fabing, too, yielded a remarkable tweed. The Trust Association was formed, consisting of representatives of each of the Harris merchants, the Crofters Agency and the Scottish Home Industries Association (which the Board had formed in 1911). In 1912, some Stornoway merchants were granted representation in the Harris Tweed Association, which still exists for the benefit of the industry.

In 1914, the definition of 'Harris Tweed' was eased to include any cloth 'made from pure virgin wool, produced in Scotland, spun, dyed and finished in the Outer Hebrides' and hand-woven by the Islanders at their own looms in the islands of Lewis, Harris, North Uist, Benbecula, South Uist and Barra. To get round this, Sir Samuel Scott, the proprietor of Harris in 1906, opened a water-powered mill at Tarbert in 1909. In 1909, this mill was the Tweed' a cloth woven on a power loom.

As the number of weavers had increased, so did the demand for yarn even further outpace the capacity of the domestic spinning wheels. Fabing and Lochs had established mills and added to inferior weaving, gave rise to the name 'Stornoway Tweed', which, however, was not to be confused with the Harris industries Association closed its Stornoway depot because the demand was so great that it was left to the Harris Tweed Association's reliance. The Crofters Agency, however, kept open its depots at Balallan and Tarbert. The Harris Tweed Association, however, was on the market with the same name: a 100 per cent true handmade product actually was arranged. Madtown's name is spun yarn. In Stornoway it was appreciated that the use of mill-spun yarn, the development of a power-loom tweed, and the introduction of better cloth designs, and other improvements including the Harris tweed. This latter, with a distinct individuality, was not produced used on the 'heart loing' (the traditional small wooden hand, where the tweed was woven in a square of fabric. Little of it, the heard also paid grants for the improvement of looms, and large black pots were sent to Uig to enable the people there to

THE TRADE MARK

nary. In the end, an application was made in 1909 to that body for a trade mark defining Harris Tweed as 'tweed, handspun, handwoven and dyed and finished by hand in the Outer Hebrides', with 'made in Harris' or 'made in Lewis' added as appropriate. The Trade Mark was granted in the following year. Cutting, a tedious and unpleasant task, spinning and weaving were done in the home, the cloth, after being woven, was taken clamoyre or proper, to the nearest wool-scoured mill, or to another man who has a definite 'peat' for the purpose. The Harris industry of the Lewis crofters, as the industry is known, including Australia, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and all the European nations. Some 80 per cent of the Harris Tweed is made in the home, both dependent upon and supporting the crofter-weaver working at home. Harris Tweed is a fabric which still retains the feel of wool woven annually by the independent weavers 'on the looks' of the island. Lewis took to the manufacture of tweed, supplying their own looms and hobbies, equipping and maintaining their workshops. Tweed was woven in the Outer Hebrides as far back as 1840, but when, they are graded as self-employed persons and as such are not the part of the Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). Lewis tweed much argument.

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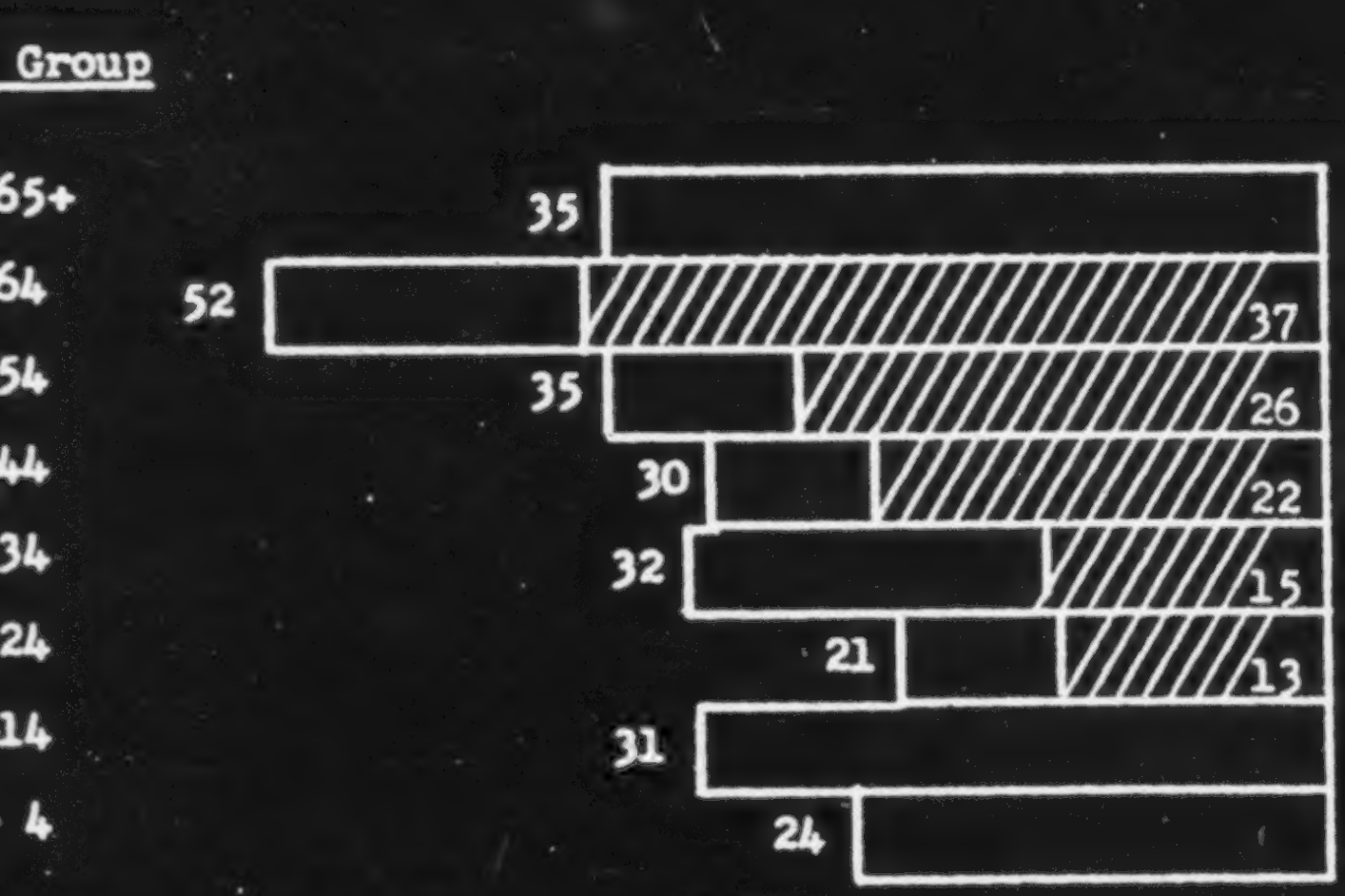
Table V

Shawbost:

Proportion of Male Weavers



182 on the East Coast and in Orkney and Zetland there are
226 comparatively well-marked seasons at which the herring can be expected, Stornoway appears to lie marginally to their main migrations. Thus the amount of the catch varies and curers have been disinclined to set up large curing stations such as those which deal with the enormous influx at the height of the season on the East Coast. A partial compensation is found in the continuance of herring fishing in winter.

226 While fishing from rowing boats for saith, lythe and
[178] mackerel still supplies food for home in summer, fishing with long lines in winter and spring brought cod and other white fish, sun-dried and salted, which became an important export though declining sharply after 1900 and of no importance since 1919. Lobster fishing is undertaken in small boats with two or three men from many townships, and two ponds have been reopened, one on Bernera, Lewis, and the other at Stockinish in Harris to store the lobsters. Conditions in 1935 and 1951–53 are compared in Appendix I (iii) and II (iii).

6. *The Annual Rhythm of Life*

221 It is appropriate here to show how fishing and crofting fitted together into the seasonal calendar a hundred years ago, and shortly before and after the war of 1914–18.
[182] The Lewisman's year shows its relationship to the seasons,
[175] with their temperature, rainfall and wind (Fig. 9). A
[178] century wrought changes: cod fishing declined as the herring fishing grew in importance; but the latter fell
• [286] away again after the war. Partly as a result, weaving has become important, the men fitting into the idle periods between the brief peaks of spring and harvest work.

461 Men's work can be roughly estimated as either light,
462

NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

462 calve. For peat-cutting, the men took advantage of the
221 driest months, with a peak in May–June; and after the peat stacked on the moor had dried through the midsummer
175 months, the women set out to creel it in, before the autumn rain should have made the bogs too soft, and stacked it near their doors. The fishing season usually closed with some herring fishing in August–September. The clipping, or rather pulling off, of the wool as it began to be shed, was done chiefly by men, in July–August. Then, too, the absence of fences made herding doubly necessary to protect the growing crops.

Some relief was given by the departure of many of the cattle to the shielings, where a few girls and women would stay through July and August, once men and women together had driven the cattle there. Cows kept at home were, and still are, tethered, or herded close at hand.
[178] Even now the hay harvest is insignificant, and until this century it hardly existed, except for a little put by in a
221 tiny barn. Towards the end of the summer, roofs were
175 stripped of their thin thatch, and fresh turf was laid on the light rafters and covered with barley straw. Then as now, harvest came in September–October, all helping in reaping the oats with the scythe or the sickle, and pulling up the barley by the root. With the onset of winter winds, rain and cold, the chief outdoor tasks of the year were over.

Throughout the year there were small jobs to be done, and in the past, owing to the imperfection of implements,
[462] constant small repairs were necessary. Indoors in winter the women prepared the wool together and wove it.
• [286] Baskets were also made then, the coarser types by men. By all these means the essentials of subsistence were largely met, so long as the seasons were reasonably good. Except for salt for the housewife and iron for the smith, the food

221 and clothing, firing and shelter produced met local needs.
175 Further questions of early economy belong to Part Two, as do those of the festivals by which the seasons were initiated and closed, along with the phases of human life.

221 A century later (as indicated in the lower graph), agri-
[178] cultural tasks were much the same, but the character of fishing had altered greatly. Herring fishing was at its
[433] height in the Island for some fifteen years, or half a generation, before 1914; but it never recovered from the difficulties of the war and after-war periods. The curves of the summer, autumn and winter fishing indicate the 'full-time' activity of summer, and the 'part-time' work of
[462] early winter. Not only the men, but the women participated, the women being employed in gutting and kippering. Boats and men fished further afield. Women were employed in gutting in early summer in the Scots East Coast fishing, which preceded that of the West Coast and was followed by the East Anglian autumn fishing. Some line-fishing continued locally in summer, but it has now almost ceased. The building and repair of roads increased after the middle of the century. The carting of peats, stacked by the roadsides, lessened 'creeling'; but it is particularly haulage by lorry which has replaced carrying by the creel, so lightening women's labour.

Indoors, primitive crafts tended to be superseded as
[178] machine-made articles replaced those of native material
[571] and manufacture; but the *ceilidh* ('*cailey*'), the meeting 'together', continued, though the arts of song and poetic
462 improvisation declined. In Harris the women had woven and spun for centuries and have continued to do so for home
283 use and sale; in Lewis the women gave up weaving in the last
• 286 century, few spinning since then and none weaving. Thirty
178 years ago only an occasional weaver, always a man, could be

178 found in a Lewis village; but in the ten to twenty years
462 before 1939, the so-called 'Harris' tweed industry spread
283 enormously in Lewis, accompanied by the construction of
286 large spinning mills in Stornoway which supply yarn to male weavers. One further activity, kelp-making, was
221 important for a time, although—not being strictly a
824 traditional task—it is not represented in the upper graph,
178 nor yet in the lower one, having declined after 1825 and disappeared (in the Island) long before the present century. Such was the annual rhythm of seasonal labour prevalent during the last generation, and a hundred years before.

7. *Rural Changes in Diet, Dress and Inter-marriage, and in Mobility: 1919–39*

178 Many outward changes occurred in the twenty years
262 after the close of the First World War. Till the Island was able to benefit from the commercial advances of the
146 mainland, it had no adequate relief from the famines of early times; in recent years the quantity of food has been
[177] rather more adequate. With the import of new foods, the consumption of vitamins at first declined: there was greater consumption of white bread from Glasgow and less of fresh vegetables (as ruined garden walls bear witness), and less, too, of cod-liver oil with the cessation of cod-
[244] fishing. Latterly, fenced gardens with vegetables and lettuce are providing vitamins, and fresh fruit (unobtainable even after 1919) is commonly on sale all the year round, so that a more rational dieting, when it can be afforded, is tending to recover lost ground and perhaps more.[1]

[1] E. P. Cathcart (*et al.*), *Studies in Nutrition: an Enquiry into the Diet of Families in the Highlands and Isles: III, Lewis* (Medical Research Council, Special Reports, Series 242. H.M.S.O.), London, 1940.

162 weaving and fishing, the fall in population would probably
[167] be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was not so much a decrease in the number of families as in the
[168] number per family. The Island was only then following the restriction of population begun half a century before in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

162 Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is
178 a land of house-building, not of ruin and abandonment; of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agri-
369 cultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were
[657] at work: first, loans, grants and unemployment insurance and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly,
[593] the money sent to elderly parents and dependants at home
[888] by young folk in Glasgow or abroad, or savings brought back by the young people themselves. Yet there is some
[226] fishing and agriculture still. Above all, 'hand-weaving'
[241] has grown, even if this be partly 'artificial'. Recently it was not only the elders who had returned to the Island, but
[286] men and women in the prime of life, so that the question of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to be re-examined afresh.

167 The emigration which took place from 1949 to 1951
[464] followed directly upon the losses and the unemployment in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted
[651] from the imposition in 1949 of a Purchase Tax on hand-
[162] woven Harris tweed of 666 per cent. If the tax had been maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects on population would have been far-reaching.

175 couple advancing one on either side of it—many other
476 tasks were definitely team-work. Such was peat-cutting. "When they are making peats, five people are employed.
175 One cuts the peat, another places it on the brink of the
476 ditch where it is dug; a third spreads it on the field, a
314 fourth pares and cleans the moss; and a fifth man is resting, ready to relieve the man that cuts. The women are seldom
[462] at this work, but the men help one another alternately; sometimes they must rest satisfied with fewer hands; but the above is the full complement of men required to per-
[127] form the work, according to their tastes." Buchanan's description was written 160 years ago (1793); it remained
[178] true till recently and generally it is so still. There was thus a normal team practice for work—even a man to rest was not
[538] forgotten! As the Gaelic proverb puts it: "They won't make power (add strength) without a threesome and they'll limp without a foursome!" (*Cha deanar treine gun triuir,*
[802] *'s bidh iad crubach gun cheathrar*). In Gaelic, as in Scots, one speaks of a team according to its number, as "a pair, a threesome, foursome" and so on, up to a tensome (*deichnear*). In Lewis the farm-team was usually a foursome or fivesome.

175 Only in exceptional cases was land worked and held
423 singly—as when a smith was kept busy at his anvil in ploughing-time and harvest. Thus in 1715 one or two
241 rural smiths had single holdings of average value or more
[324] (£1), and one artificer or tin-smith (caird) a holding of minimum value (5s.); and in the burgh all the small plots
[286] were held singly. As the women wove, at home mostly,
[462] no male rural weaver held a single plot; his weaving could be done at slack times, so long as there was light; at busy times he worked on the land with the rest of his team.

000 On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an

788 (in Gaelic) by a housewife in a Catholic isle, as our friend-
592 ship matured. It had been said nightly at her fire by her
354 father-in-law until his death (not long before), which had
539 come after that of his wife. "I smoo'r the fire tonight, As Mary's Son smoo'red. Be it well with house and fire; Be it well with all our household. Who are on this floor? Peter and Paul. Who are on watch tonight? Light-white Mary and her Son. Thus God's voice taught, And the Angel spoke: The Angel at my house door, Until the clear day come tomorrow. Amen." As this variant shows, memory still lives in the Isles.[1]

788 In these runes, the key to the words "as Mary's Son
593 and as Mary did, in their day" is the example of filial duty,
776 of wifely and motherly care. In spite of lapses to 'Mario-
[779] latry' during periods of decadence in the Roman Church, the virtual banishment of Christ's mother from Protestantism has led to a loss deeper than Presbyterian Scotland has yet realised. Her name was a daily reminder, both of a woman's part in the spiritual life of the home, and of a son's self-discipline and affection: in a word, of mutual love.

788 For wool, the sheep were blessed, as in the "Clipping
[236] Blessing". There were blessings of the loom and of
[286] warping and weaving; and after neighbourly fulling or 'waulking' of the finished web, came its consecration.
[461] As the work was solitary and communal in turn, so the prayer. Carmichael's own fine prose translations should be
[127] studied (*Carmina*, vol. i, Nos. 108-113; cf. vol. iv, pp.
[538] 88-99). Yet, those being available, we quote rhythmic

[113] [1] Cf. Rev. Allan Macdonald, *Cómh-chruinneachadh*, p. 107; *Carmina* (Nos. 84-87, 324-326); and M. Kennedy-Fraser, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. ii, p. 31. Sacred lore is not to be picked up lightly by a stranger. It was only upon the second of my prolonged stays under her hospitable roof that this good woman would admit and impart her knowledge, treasured in the secret places of her heart.

788 CH. VII SPIRITUAL LIFE OF COMMUNITY

538 versions to suggest the significant poetic form of the original.

788 "The Clipping Blessing", being addressed to creatures,
236 is simple in thought and form, and its opening may be rendered:

O come back woolly, though now you're shorn,
By May, may each a lamb have borne,
May lovely Bride you endow,
And Mary fair sustain you now!

[825] It goes on to beg protection from wolf and bear, as well
[538] as fox, hoodie crow and eagle, and closes with the opening couplet.

236 From start to finish the work must be true. The wool
461 is from the sheep they reared—it is not got by 'thigging', as a landlord takes 'gifts' from poor tenants; the yarn is sound with no odds of thread from worn-out cloth; the web is their very own, not the clergyman's due (*Carmina*,
• 286 110, 113, 109). Only so can the goodwife's web be beauti-
788 ful, and blest. "Thrums nor odds of thread, my hand never kept nor shall keep. Every hue in the bow-of-the-
[539] shower has gone through my fingers beneath the cross."
[593] The weaver, with her household cares and her bairns about her, to be clear in mind must be calm in heart as, thread by
[796] thread, she prepares her warp. To start, she chooses Saint Columba's Day.

[534] Thursday of blessings
For warping and waulking,
Thrice fifty strands
To number . . .

Ward away the evil eye!
Or evil will, or aught awry,
Consecrate, O Lord on High,
My Loom . . .

• 286 Make smooth and even the warp of my loom
788 And grant thy blessing, God, on me,
539 On all who here find shelter and room
And dwelling . . .

Thine arm be round each woman here
Who waulks this web of mine,
O aid her in her hour of need . . .

Keep the flock that we may win
Sweet and nourishing milk to drink
And wool to give, to weans and kin,
For wear!

Even now in Harris or the Lews, a brief good wish may be uttered—a "Health and strength to the wearers!" as the perspiring women end the waulking; but in the past the web was finally consecrated. Each of the family who was to wear a portion of it was named by the weaver herself, who led the consecration (*Carmina*, No. 113).

May the well-loved wearer of my web
Never be wounded . . .
May the sanctuary shield of the Lord be his. . . .

286 The significance of this gift of hard-won cloth can now
532 be seen, first for the family but next for the neighbourly
614 team. We can understand how each 'set' or pattern of tartan stood for the spirit of the family and the group of
[593] kin and homeland, the clan. We conceive what it meant
[621] to the Gael when the tartan, with "the Highland dress . . . or any part of it whatsoever", was forbidden "to
[291] any man or boy" in the Highlands. Women were still allowed to wear it, it was true, but the dress ceased to be a symbol of community when its wear was confined to
[714] one sex. As a single exception, the Highland dress was
[175] retained for soldiers, but the militarisation of the tartan—though it seized upon one strand of clanship, that of

warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, with peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven and waulked together ceased to be a sacrament when the tartan was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform with "England's cruel red".

The framers of this law, which stood on the statute book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath which reversed every benediction said by the women at their work: "I . . . do swear, as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, any gun, sword, pistol or arm whatever, and never use tartan, plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do, may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and property—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and be without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come across me if I break my oath". This Act, as law and symbol, struck full at the sacramental life of family, neighbour-team and clan community, in which labour and prayer had been indissolubly bound.[1]

(c) WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

Little remains of the tradition of worship in the tiny oratories, chapels or 'temples' whose ruins stud the shores

[1] The collaboration of friends in Lewis may allow mention of the Gaelic version of A. Geddes, *The Spirit of the Tartan, a Song Drama* (English Version); *Souvenir Programme and Book of Songs* (Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, 1932). In this the spirit of this labour sequence embodied in its songs and runes is dramatised in its setting of custom and history. The Gaelic version was prepared by the generous labours of James Thomson, M.A., Bayble, and the late Duncan Macdonald, M.A., Sandwick, Lewis.

as some Indian pedlar one meets on the road may seem now. An older packman's tale of his long tramps, of the people's poverty and hospitality, must have resembled the mingled plaints and praise one hears from an Indian pedlar today! But in the past only a speaker of Gaelic could find his way among the people. Almost until 1900, if not still later, Gaelic speech was to prove a social bond, but ignorance of English speech an economic barrier.

The transition to increased exchange, with migration, permanent and temporary, tended to make for specialisation. About 1795, *Statistical Accounts* enumerated, for every hundred families, two or three smiths, wrights (or carpenters), a shipwright or some boat-makers, a few weavers, tailors, and perhaps a miller. Each of these held some corn land, individually or in shares, with rights on the common. The line between plain crofters (to use a later term) and crofter-craftsmen was not easily drawn, and different writers wrote as they judged best. In Lochs, 80 per cent were fishers and net-makers. On the open shores of the west, in Barvas parish (in which three-fourths of the men were also 'fishers'), kelp-making was a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s. to 60s. in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tacksmen at 5d. each, earned £1 a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s. per ton, and roads at 8d. a day.

In Harris in 1795 the eight 'bred' (or trained male) weavers worked only for 'the gentry': the laird, the tacksmen and their families. The rest of the weaving was done by the women, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. But in Lewis male weavers were commoner—one to every twenty to thirty families was the ratio—as if the practice of home weaving by the women was less universal there, even at that date.

left the Island. Yet after 1931 many returned, owing to losses and unemployment both in British towns and overseas. When emigrants began to come home the 'Harris' tweed industry had spread to Lewis and offered increasing employment. Some men still fished in family-owned Island boats, and others as paid hands (on boats from the East Coast), though losses and unemployment were suffered.

Inter-war changes were hastened not only by movement beyond the Island—an influence at work for three or four generations before—but by mobility within it. In 1919 a small mail car made its way daily from Stornoway along each of the five main roads, with an occasional passenger. When crofters crossed the Island to Stornoway they went on foot or took the pony and cart at a slow walk: it was a day's journey. Ten years later, Ford vans, bought second-hand, ran daily to Stornoway from every township. Frequency, ease and relative cheapness of movement came late in an Island with no railway: the mobility of the motor for marketing and shopping brought rapid change.

'Hand-loom' weaving had become an important, if precarious, resource, important because of the capital invested and the labour employed, yet precarious because of its dependence upon name and sentiment, not only upon intrinsic value. In Harris many women had spun and woven for sale for over a generation before 1914, mostly weaving pure hand-spun yarn, and they continued to do so. For many years before 1914, an occasional weaver was to be found in villages in Lewis too, generally weaving a handspun weft upon a mill-spun warp. By 1939 it was estimated that there were about 1200 looms in the Island, chiefly weaving mill-spunyarn, most of it spun in the two principal Stornoway mills. A carding mill

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

useful crofting ancillary which, unlike many others, is soundly based on a definite commercial demand. Various industries use the extracted acid for some 150 products. The Scottish alginate industry, the second largest in the world, is based on the process of E. C. Stanford, who discovered alginic acid in 1883, though today modern methods are used. For raw materials it has turned to the old kelping shores of the Hebrides and Northern Isles. On the island it has a factory at Keose on Loch Erisort, a site chosen for the easy access afforded to puffers; the factory receives the weed, dries, mills and bags it, and the boats then carry 200-ton loads to Girvan. The factory itself involved some £30,000 of capital layout and has a capacity of 120 wet tons per week—4 wet tons producing 1 dry milled ton. About a dozen Harris and Lewis crofters gather the seaweed crop, the most useful type being bladderwrack or rockweed *(ascophyllum nodosum)*, from the shores at Loch Erisort, East Loch Roag and Bernera in Lewis, Husinish and Scarp in Harris, and Loch Seaforth. Where there is road access the weed is cut by sickle and loaded into a lorry, but more often it is cut at low water to be floated with the incoming tide and rafted to Keose, hauled by motor boat.

A product of the land not readily associated with the Hebrides is bulbs. Bulb-growing deserves a mention, however, if only because the experiment to see whether it could become a commercial possibility in Lewis was carried out by the children of Lionel (Ness) Junior Secondary School. The MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust made an investment of £150 to cover initial expenses, and success followed. When the original project was completed it was extended, sales bringing the school a useful sum. But an attack of disease brought production to a standstill in 1966.

Another small industry is the aerated-water plant at Ness, which is operating with reasonable success, and could do better if imports of aerated waters from abroad were reduced. A number of recent surveys made in the island have found great interest in such activities as shell-fish processing in Harris to produce semi-preserves, using mostly cockles and mussels. Local knitting already has a name for its products and a potential for extension on a commercial scale; this latter began in late 1966. Some forty years ago knitting specialists went to Lewis to investigate the possibilities

PRESENT INDUSTRY

of a knitting industry based on the crofters, who would use Lewis yarn and produce knitwear in addition to their woven fabrics. However, it was found that the yarns used for Harris Tweed were unsuitable for knitwear, not being given sufficient twist in the spinning: before women use this tweed yarn for knitting, it is common practice to twist two or more threads of yarn together on a hand spinning-wheel.

Little in the way of craft work is done on the island, mainly because of the lack of indigenous materials which could be used to produce typically-island items. Marram-grass has been suggested as being suitable for making agricultural wind-breaks, and close-woven basket-work. Shore-stones and pebbles are plentiful both in quantity and variety of type and colour.

Small employment outlets on the island are marine and motor engineering, mainly based on Stornoway, and boat-building. This latter is a small but socially-significant firm in Ness with products with a high reputation. Construction and general building is of some significance, one of the most enterprising firms being built up literally from scratch so as to become a highly-successful island business.

The unemployment problem

The island's unemployment problem is as much a matter of concern today as it has ever been, averaging about 25 per cent annually (representing well over 1,000 people) compared with the Scottish mainland figure of 6.0 per cent; the contemporary figure for Britain is around 3.0 per cent. While unemployment as it affects adults is serious enough, unemployment among teenagers threatens the community's whole future. The island has its Youth Employment Officer, who has an unenviable task. Each junior and secondary school in the island is visited to interview school-leavers, at least once a year; employment advice is given and this is supplemented by Careers Officers' visits.

Such employment openings as exist over the island's limited spectrum are concentrated in Stornoway. They are, however, mainly in shop work, mill work and hotel work for girls, with a few vacancies for apprentices in trades generally associated with building construction. Most of the jobs offered are very much in

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

has direct or indirect communication with
and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bu
and once a day a bus makes the round tri
Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east
teen shops which cater for most of the nee
within reasonable travelling distance; it al
post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for
masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E.
the only secondary school in Harris with a
Most of the working population is employe
dustries, the professions and the tweed indu
fishing port of some significance in the pa
fuelling point for ships.

The absence of organised industry on a
Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring
desire on the part of Harris natives to leave th
are small pockets of industry, but these are
ointment on the excessive unemployment sor
main occupation is of course crofting, the i
augmented from a variety of sources. Some
on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps
their own sheep; the natural dyes from the
on the rocks and from other plants are st
Others specialise in [illegible]twear. Recently shell-
ing have been adde[illegible]o the traditional craft
tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a pa
some communities. The interest of such orga
tish Country Industries Development Tru
trated on the potential in shell-fish processing
of knitwear on a larger scale than exist
work gives employment to about thirty m
seasonal.

An apparently bright light on the employ
itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarr
mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white
abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lea
subsidiary company of William Robertson (
Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967

Scots ES10
Harris

Glasgow, Stornoway
s runs to Stornoway,
ip of East and West
to west, includes six-
ds of the population
lso has two cafés, a
social functions, a
Scott School here is
an academic stream.
ed in the service in-
ustry. Tarbert was a
st, and is now a re-

large scale, such as
nearer to reality any
heir native soil. There
only dabs of easing
e of 27 per cent. The
ncome from it being
crofters concentrate
using the wool from
lichens which grow
ill used occasionally.
craft and wood-turn-
s, with a view to the
rt in the economy in
nisations as the Scot-
st has been concen-
, and the production
at present. Road-
en, but is of course

nent horizon showed
at Lingerbay. The
granite used as an
e was taken out by a
hipowners) Limited,
due to lack of orders.

THE OTHER ISLANDS

*175 18 [826] even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil. Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naïvely at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started, [276] HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship [731] among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island con- [262] sisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from [272] March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond [342] of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and [372] there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were [405] some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only [162] two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose [212] from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoe- [463] makers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all [294] their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses, and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and • [286] sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each [462] croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged [427] for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

439 435 [237] Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers; and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

121 178 174 182 184 From prehistory to the present day, these geographic zones have played their parts as factors in evolution, although the border-lines have changed at different historic crises, and have been modified by economic and social phase. At times the Hebrides have been more closely linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Central Scotland. In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in historic events, but comparability in stage and transition, even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of view, the revealing character of Island life lies not only in static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the Isles and vividly described as " the Past in the Present ". Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic strength of its continuity—notably of early or primitive Christianity—and also by the late occurrence of changes when, at last, they came.

18 62 174 [423] [192] The social consequences of these regional differences in evolution are profound. In the ' Plain ', to the south-east of the Severn-Tees line, large village communities with ' common fields ' prevailed, forming the later manor villages. To the north and west, the more varied, hillier lands encouraged the continuance of hamlets. These hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no more than four or five to a dozen relations or ' friends '—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word ' friend ' frequently implies kinship. Each small group [462] formed a team. Together the men ploughed their mingled [476] rigs (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and on the coast they rowed their boat as its crew. The [241] women, too, did much together, as when they spun their yarn, and fulled or ' waulked ' the cloth that one of them • [286] had woven, helping by turn in childbirth and child-care. [423] Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photographs by J. Allan Cash

PLATE XB. A WOMAN SPINNING WOOL, TO BE WOVEN LATER INTO TWEED, IN HARRIS

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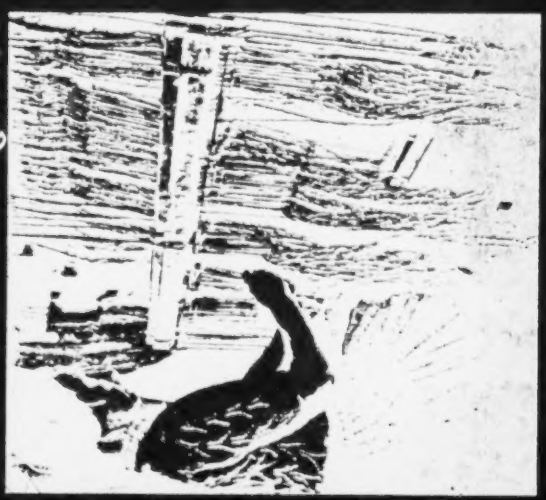

PLATE XA. A WOMAN THREADING HER WOODEN TREADLE LOOM, IN HARRIS

/facing p. 65/

exists at Tarbert and another was erected in 'the Bays' district by Leverhulme. Leverhulme also appears to have introduced 'Automatic' hand-looms into Lewis. Today as in the past, the weavers possess a little croft or a feu, a cow, and a few sheep on the outrun, and perhaps a small boat.

Commercial fishing and weaving cannot, however, be satisfactorily combined, for seasonal alternation of occupation entails waste of gear and plant, and interferes with efficiency. Thus in the North Lochs fishing 'creek' (Leurbost neighbourhood, immediately south of Stornoway), weaving became important, but none of the seven large herring fishing boats (still registered in 1930) had been fitted with motors after 1918; they were idle and rotting, and by 1938 only one was still registered. In South Lochs, however, motor-boats were purchased, but there is little weaving. An obvious reason for the difference is the accessibility of the North Lochs area by road to Stornoway. Light passenger cars bring yarn to the village, besides groceries, etc., and take away rolls of tweed. South Lochs, on the other hand, considerably further from Stornoway by road, is still within reach for marketing fish. In North Lochs, merchant seamen at home and young men on their return from three months' work on East Coast fishing boats, turned increasingly to the 'Automatic' looms, manipulation being easily learnt; but such intermittent work alone gives little hope of progress. There is no more fascinating problem than the future of improved weaving.

2. *Unemployment and the Island Budget*

In the past, the storms of the Atlantic washed up on the Island shores the wreckage of world commerce; and

(*above*) Weaving Harris Tweed in a crofter's home; it is usually done in a byre or shed on the croft. View taken from the warp end of the loom

/p. 125/

(*below*) Setting up the loom

How then can the situation be assessed, as it was before the outbreak of war and since then? By 1939 twenty years had been partly lost; for the after-war years of the 'Lever-bulme boom' were followed by discouragement and poverty. During that time one might have hoped for half a generation of reconstruction and progress. On the other hand the score question of dividing the farms was settled, so bringing raiding to an end. Congestion on the crofting ports is less than it was, owing to this fact, and to the provision of feus. The poverty of many breadwinners who had migrated to the cities first cut down the amounts remitted to their Island dependents, then drove them home. A croft, or even a garden site, and the opportunity of building a good house there made life still worth while, if both her employment had failed. Unemployment relief, though tempting some to idleness, gave a respite which many utilised to make a fresh start. As fishing crofting is less than advantage of the easy beginning offered to learn a new trade—weaving. This has made many feel that the living to be found on the Island is better than alternation of 'wage-earning' with unemployment, in Glasgow or abroad. They believe the situation of the Island community to be hopeful. While the land remains little better than before, many, even of the younger people, still care for the Island life among their own kin. Given a clear lead, these could reorganise themselves, and undertake the developments needed in fishing, weaving and reclamation. The homes are sound, 'good neighbourhood' endures, and given fresh opportunity, the community could awaken to new life.

During and since the war, co-operative marketing was

summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Berneray, but now are in use again. There, there are 3 cattle-sheds, one of which is used for cattle, and the remaining two for sheep. The cattle-sheds are of rubble, and are either in the east of the township or near the shoreline, were not used after about 1930, while the adjoining fishing shelters were last used in 1950. Mangerds may have had the original shortage in the east of Lock Melaport about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Meshaiss Farmstead about 1939, shelters were used in that area.

No peats are cut on the croftes; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near the road and in no case for long distances. The common pasture over the croftes leaves evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At the time the croftes were set up, the land was considered unarable, and was given to them in the croftes and all croftes land on the township was already under cultivation. Today, none has held this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is semi-moist by not grazed.

There are now no (hatched houses (shelters) in the township and most houses have modern slate or corrugated iron roofs. Some croftes have built concrete two-storey byres of modern design. In Breakish, where the hills in the east provide a good catchment area and the Breakish river a good source of supply, all the croftes have their own private piped water supplies, while in Idrigill and Mangersta most croftes now have, or are getting, a water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

Commercial fishing has long ceased and so there are only three boats there to now very little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to carry sheep and off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation, and during 1939 they were kept busy; the Harris Tweed Co. Ltd. gave them a good price, and during 1939 they were kept busy; in 1938, however, the sales were substantial. Weaving cannot be said to bring in steady income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside the township; this includes part time at the hydro-electric scheme at Glen Sligachan, Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, and some work at Uig. Of the 48 men in Mangersta, 10 are in the Ministry of Civil Aviation station, one some of interest which he likes and, and other alternation of 'wage-earning' with unemployment, in Glasgow or abroad. They believe the situation of the Island community to be hopeful. While the land remains little better than before, many, even of the younger people, still care for the Island life among their own kin. Given a clear lead, these could reorganise themselves, and undertake the developments needed in fishing, weaving and reclamation. The homes are sound, 'good neighbourhood' endures, and given fresh opportunity, the community could awaken to new life.

During and since the war, co-operative marketing was

An attempt has been made in

Ch. 10 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on the croftland croft to the size of holding and to the available feeding and the labour force. Here, we are in some difficulty, for the croftland croft is not a unit of production, and the common grazing is not a unit either. Some of the croftland croft is used for tillage and use of building or labour availability. The inclusion of the pattern of equilibrium for crofters times in Figure 10 reveals a somewhat complicated picture. In the case of crofters with regular work and full time croftes, these are the age of forty-five carry a number of cattle and sheep, and the number of cattle is in proportion to the number of croftland croftland croftland

432 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the
363 sea: Ceann a Stigh (or Ceann a Stigh Bhaile, or Baile
103 Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the sea), Bhailebhir (an area identified with the keeping of cattle), Gearraidh Mor, Creagan, Fluic, and Mach a Chul ("out the back," by a road built relatively recently). A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the moor, or common grazing land, is called Grinnbhat, from the name of a nearby loch.

511 The presence of a large Harris Tweed mill in
[348] Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living
• [228] within the village. It is estimated that only 25% of
[448] the households of rural Lewis have cars; about 50% of the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970
[342] Shawbost had only one occupied sigh dubh, or "black house" built of dry stone and roofed with thatch, which to many islanders symbolizes a past life of poverty and adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators,
[484] deep freezers and electric toasters are common in
[251] Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and
[207] many have telephones.
[206]

289 The mill in Shawbost employs between 60 and 70
463 persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the

• 238 finished lengths of tweed. For a tweed to be classified
463 as "Harris Tweed," it must be hand-woven by Outer
[429] Hebrideans in their own homes; but the weavers are
238 essentially employees of the mill. All the large Harris Tweed mills in Lewis, except the one in Shawbost, are located in Stornoway. A few smaller businesses, which design and market tweeds but have no elaborate machinery to process the tweed further, are scattered throughout the island.

621 The village of Shawbost is composed of 169 households,
642 of which 110 are headed by "crofters," persons recognized
[429] as legal tenants of a croft. Of the remaining 59
[341] households, 16 rent houses which were built and are maintained by the County (called "council houses"), 11 have erected houses on the crofts of relatives, and
443 32 have built homes on the common grazing lands. Non-
241 crofters participate in the agricultural activities of the township. It would not be unusual, for example, for a non-crofter to serve as the clerk of a grazings committee.

342 In North Shawbost, one croft house and two non-
[429] croft houses are used only when the owner returns to Shawbost from the mainland for a holiday. The school-
[375] master lives in a house adjoining the school, and the
[443] minister in a manse located between Shawbost and the neighboring village of Bragar.

Chapter 3

CHANGING ECONOMIC STRATEGIES: LAND, SEA AND LOOM

178 In Lewis, the change from a relatively self-
• 226 sufficient community in which land and sea provided
[128] the economic base occurred in the context of the phenomenal rise of the Harris Tweed industry. In the following pages, the history of Harris Tweed is discussed in relation to changing strategies involving exploitation of land, sea and loom. Associated features of social life are discussed. Social boundary systems are defined and discussed in Chapter 4.

A. The Sea

175 Around World War I, nine boats, as long as 27 to
229 30 feet, driven by sails, used to go out regularly from
[501] the Shawbost harbor. From five to seven men, usually
[491] neighbors, had "shares" in a boat. They would go out
[494] fishing during the night and return the next day. "We hauled our lines with eel, for ling. We would catch
[333] maybe two or three hundred. I remember once we caught 1300."

600 in the far north. "There were two fishing seasons.
175 For one season you went to Fraserburgh, Stornoway,
283 Lerwick and Peterhead; and then the winter fishing was
[221] in England, at Yarmouth, Scarborough and Loucester.

I remember in Yarmouth we didn't like the English
[269] bread, it was such a dull color. We liked the pure white Scotch bread."

They lived in small huts, and the work was hard but full of fun. Neighborhood girls used to go together, bringing bedding and different items in large chests to share in the housekeeping. Three girls worked together in a crew, and there were as many as six sharing a room, in double bunks. Some of the huts were so small that there was barely enough room for the beds and the cupboards. At night the boys would come in off the boats. "You were so tired from being up since early morning;
[570] but you were always able to dance. You were treated with
[178] respect; the youngsters today aren't so good." The women who married non-islanders that they met at the fishing were not likely to return.

175 When the weaving started on a large scale, the girls
• 228 were glad enough to have work at home, even though the
464 work was hard." But many continued their temporary
175 absences from the island, working in hotels or as
464
166
367

175 domestic servants among the well-to-do families in
464 Glasgow and other cities on the mainland (see Appendix
166 A).
[367]

175 When the weaving started, some men settled at home
464 permanently, but many continued to come and go between
166 the sea and the loom. In 1931, the ratio of men to
467 women in Lewis and Harris was 100:114. The men came
• [232] home for temporary jobs, such as the construction of roads
[522] or houses. Jokes are told of the common practice of sending for an extension of leave. The men found it easy
[406] to join the Naval Reserve because of their fishing experience; and it brought them a retainer's fee and expense-paid trips to places off the island for several weeks of training during the year. But when the wars came,
[401] "You lose of men to the Navy and to the Merchant Service was heavy.

B. The Land

175 The number of arrears in rent in the Barvas rent
482 ledger at the turn of the century indicates the small amount of money in circulation at the time. Between 1899 and 1914, several crofters paid part of their rent "by work," and six had some of their stock "uplifted by decree." For example, a Widow Catherine lost "one red

231 People kept several cattle, some of which were dry most
[294] of the time. But because everyone was keeping cattle, milk could be gotten from a neighbor. One man was
[244] planting eight or nine hundredweights of potatoes before
[246] the war, some of which would be used to feed the livestock. "You couldn't buy milk then, so you had to keep a cow.
511 And even though people were weaving, they weren't getting
[234] so much money as they are now. It was the barter system
231 here for a long time. So they didn't have the money to
• 283 buy feeding stuff. It was better to spend the time
[137] planting potatoes. Now of course there's more money in the weaving."

After the war, an act was passed which provided free
175 milk for schoolchildren. Milk for the Shawbost school
212 was supplied by a farm near Stornoway, and villagers first
[224] started buying the milk from the school milk van. A strike
175 held by weavers during the war had increased the payments
178 for weaving, and the barter system had stopped. More
238 money was available. As the loom was more profitable,
[468] more people stopped keeping cows, and relied on their
[457] neighbors for milk, or got their milk from the van bringing
[231] milk to the school. And as the cattle got fewer, the
[242] market for bottled milk expanded. A dairy was started on
198 the west side of the island in the mid-1950's which carries
231 milk from Uig to Ness.
454
254

284 By 1911, the number of looms in Lewis had increased to
441 250-300 (Hunter 1964: 42).
175

• [288] By the late 19th century small mills had replaced
[184] domestic spinning and weaving in the Highlands on the mainland. Weaving continued to be a home industry in the Hebrides where it was encouraged by the support of non-profit-making organizations such as the Highland Home Industries and Arts Association, the Scottish Home Industries Association, and the Crofters Agency—all established at the end of the 19th century—and also encouraged by local merchants who had begun to act as middlemen in marketing the cloth. These merchants owned small general stores throughout the island and either bought the tweed from local weavers or gave them goods from their stores in exchange. Many of the tweed firms in Lewis grew from such small general stores and from the barter system.

289 1. The Harris Tweed Industry in Shawbost: Coinneach
175 Rod, a man who started a tweed business on the west side
159 of Lewis which eventually developed into a large mill
472 with equipment for spinning yarn and finishing tweeds, was said to have been a risk-taker, a man who lost the first L50 he borrowed, but borrowed another L50 and never looked back, a man who throughout his life gave fellow

288 businessmen nervous breakdowns because of the risks he
175 continued to take. "He was planning to start some
159 business. At one point it was going to be either
472 distilling or the tweed, and he just happened to go for the tweed."

Some say Coinneach Rod had physical disabilities, developed or aggravated by military service, which made him unable to work like other men, and hence he was forced to find other ways of earning a living. He was a merchant, like other islands who became entrepreneurs in the tweed business.

According to one version of Coinneach Rod's life, he began to handle tweed on a large scale as the result of an accident, when an agent selling tweed for a merchant on the east side of the island arrived on Lewis for the first time, asked for a "Kenneth Macleod, merchant," and was directed to Coinneach Rod of Shawbost.

"He was also an earthy, natural, easy man to get on with. He never changed, even after the money came. He would sit the buyers down with a plateful of cuddies and say 'Dig in,' 'Eat up.' He always ate them whole, and never spat out the bones. The buyers liked that. They liked his easy manner."

175 Between the first and second world wars, the merchant
441 was an extremely powerful figure. When men and women

175 went away to the fishing, their families bought groceries
441 on credit. "If the merchant thought the fishing season
452 would be good, he let them have as much as they wanted; otherwise he restricted them in their buying."

288 The barter system continued in Shawbost long after
175 it stopped in Stornoway. A weaver was given credit in
159 Coinneach Rod's store, until it closed in 1948, for the
444 exact amount of the tweed. He never gave money. "You had
437 to get just the right amount of goods, even down to
472 tuppence in matches." People were forced to buy huge jars of jam which they did not really want or need. Some "cunning" fellows would slip a two-pound pair of shoes into a shoebox marked 15 shillings. "Coinneach Rod would ask if you wanted a wireless, or would a tweed jacket fit your son. You couldn't refuse, or you wouldn't do any weaving for him for a long time."

Coinneach Rod bought looms for many weavers, and they
288 would weave only for him to pay off the debt. "People
175 living on the dole with a large family would go to him
159 and ask him to buy them a loom. He would get the man a
472 loom, and then get him a lot of tweeds to weave so the man
452 could pay him off. It was two tweeds for yourself and one for the loom."

288 <u>2. Centralization and Specialization</u>: Centralization
175 and specialization in handling the production of the tweed
441

288 developed from the concentration of power i
175 of the merchants. In the early days of the
441 all the processes involved in the productio
286 finished length of tweed were carried out
236 families. A man used wool from his own fl
438 aid of other family members, dyed it with
175 carded and spun it by hand, wove it, washe
[386] it, and found his own buyer. Dyeing wool,
286 and washing ("waulking") the finished len
232 was usually done by women. In Harris, th
175 of producing a tweed was carried out by w
462 Lewis the weaving was done largely by men

A woman in her 80's recalls the pro
175 when she was young. Hand-spinning had d
286 time, although the question of whether t
such yarn could legitimately be called h
not resolved until 1934.

"About 1916 or so it took about tw
175 to do a tweed. You bought the wool fro
283 Board. Sixteen bags of wool, costing a
[435] do four tweeds. You needed four one-st
[433] tweed. Then you would spend a day gath
[389] crotal (lichen scraped from rocks and
[824] bag per one bag of wool was required f

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ed for dye). One
the dye. After

175 dyeing the wool it was spread out, dried and sent to
283 Stornoway to be made into yarn. The yarn was then sent
175 back, and the weaver wove and washed it. About six women
286 [462] were required to do the waulking (the process by which
the cloth was washed and shrunk).

175 "In those days the weavers designed their own
286 patterns, and sold their own finished tweeds. I remember
432 going into town with my brother, we had two tweeds in the
cart. We went into a shop to sell the tweed, and the man
said it was poor weaving. He didn't want to pay the full
price for it. I told my brother to roll it back up, we
would take it somewhere else. As we left the shop, he
told me I had 'good cheek.' In the next shop the merchant
didn't say anything, and gave my brother the regular
price. We went home with L60."

286 The great demand for tweed encouraged the development
288 of more efficient methods of production. One by one the
175 various processes of production were taken over by
178 specialists, and gradually these specialists were brought
[433] [434] together under one roof. Large boilers for dyeing wool
[463] were supplied as a result of actions taken by the Congested
[386] Districts Board, which was formed in 1897. The Scottish
Home Industries provided chemical dyes. The most
[236] difficult and time-consuming processes were carding and
[283] spinning, which small mills on the mainland began to do

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[236]
[283]
on commission for weavers around the turn of the cent
By the early 1920's, four mills on the island were
carding and spinning wool on commission; and one mil
brought looms into its premises. Lord Leverhulme, wh
bought Lewis in 1918, saw the value of concentrating
weavers in one place and of improving the technology.
He encouraged the introduction of Hattersley domestic
[463] looms, which eventually replaced the wooden looms. T
individual weaver also did his own warping, but after
World War II the mills began to hire warpers to work
time on mill premises. Transporting the tweeds, whic
used to be the responsibility of the weavers, is now
responsibility of the mills. Today all processes exc
the actual weaving are handled by mills, most of which
are located in Stornoway.

Such steps in specialization and centralization
sense to the weaver. One of the older weavers recalls
175 "In the late 20's or 30's you could buy a yard of Har
286 Tweed for about two shillings. It wasn't economical
288 435 any crofter to dye and spin the yarn, weave it and sel
for only two shillings a yard. As the mills enlarged,
they could make it with the machinery because they cou
make it an economic proposition."

175 However, the tendency toward specialization and
286 centralization was in direct conflict with the reasons
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465 465 yards (a weaver's yard is equal to 8 feet, a measure
• 288 which derives from the size of the frame once used
[204] to wind hanks of yarn). Payment varies according to
the number of colors used in the pattern. A weaver
288 may average 2½ tweeds per week when the work is available,
465 thus earning more than mill workers. A female mill
[142] worker earns about £11 or £12, and her male counterpart
about £3 more.

288 Because weavers are classed as self-employed, they
745 do not qualify for unemployment benefit. They may apply
659 for social security, but must submit to a "means" test,
and the possession of bank savings or other assets
disqualifies them from receiving such aid. All British
workers must pay a weekly sum for "insurance stamps," a
certain number of which makes the workers eligible for
small payments from the government during periods of
illness. Self-employed persons must pay for their own
insurance stamps, whereas employers pay for the stamps
of their workers. A weaver who does not keep up with his
payments of over one pound a week for insurance stamps
must pay the accumulated debt at a later time.

471 Weavers face other costs. They buy looms and bobbin-
238 winding machines, and pay for lighting, heating, and the
maintenance of all equipment. The preservation of this
288 anomalous status of "self-employed" is related to the
453

• 288 attempt to preserve the image of Harris Tweed as a
472 cottage industry, and thus maintain its market value.
[139] Many weavers, politicians and businessmen argue that
the weaver should be reclassified.

However, the status of weavers as self-employed
is not simply bureaucratic jargon designed to preserve
288 the Harris Tweed industry. In most employer-employee
466 situations, people are hired with the understanding that
they have certain qualifications and will perform certain
jobs. Weavers are not under such expectations and
obligations. A mill has little idea of the skill or
motivation of the weavers to whom they send their yarn.
Weavers differ in matters such as degree of skill and
state of health, and they also differ in the amount of
time available to weave, and other matters that affect
their production. Some weavers refuse to do complex
patterns; some are busy with croft work and do not want
to do "urgent" tweeds; others who are recovering from
illness may prefer not to weave the heavier tweeds. The
[46] tweed van sent out by the mills to make deliveries all
over the island meets one such variable situation after
another, and thus finds it difficult to meet the demand
of the Weavers Union, that tweeds should be equally
distributed among all weavers on the island. Theoretically,
the mills are supposed to deliver tweeds in strict

• 288 rotation to the weavers who are registered with
466 them.

Other factors also hinder equal distribution of
[602] tweeds. Personal considerations enter; for example,
the managem of the Shawbost mills feel a responsibility
for the weavers in their own village, who are usually
kinsmen. Exclusive distribution to local weavers is
rationalized by saying that the tweeds must be done
urgently; hence they are distributed only to the weavers
who are known to do tweeds quickly.

288 The major factor hindering equal distribution of
471 tweeds is the expense which derives from the decentrali-
466 sation of weavers, that is, the cost of petrol and upkeep
of the vans, which is born by the mills. Before World
175 War II, the weavers rather than the mills were responsible
178 for transporting the tweeds, by cart and horse at first,
[473] and then by motorized transport.

288 During this period, independent entrepreneurs
175 carried tweeds in vans and buses at four shillings each,
402 a practice which stimulated the development of public
494 transportation. Although the number of passengers using
such vans and buses for public transport fluctuated,
the income derived from the cartage of tweeds was in
itself large enough to be profitable and to maintain the
[178] enterprises. An efficient service existed, despite the

• 288 paucity of passengers, which provided rides to and
175 from town many times a day; but with the "development,"
178 that is, the centralization, of industry, public trans-
402 portation deteriorated. Visitors to the island unfamiliar
494 with this history are struck by practices which they
interpret as coming out of a clockless past, such as
the present custom of stopping the bus midway in its
journey to Stornoway so that the driver can eat dinner
in his mother's house while all passengers wait on board.
Such a custom is fairly recent, and indicates the
deterioration of public services to populations which
are marginal to the centralized source of these services.

288 During World War II, when the demand for tweed was
175 high and the number of weavers small, the weavers staged
[468] an effective strike by which they received an increase
in pay and the burden of cartage was shifted from them
to the mills. This did not affect the system of trans-
[178] portation until the mills realized it would be cheaper
494 to run their own transport rather than to pay the independ-
ent drivers a "cartage fee." The mills then began to use
[493] their own vans to deliver yarn and collect tweeds directly
175 to and from the weavers. Once the mills took over trans-
288 portation, they tended to deliver tweeds to weavers
178 closest to the mills rather than to uphold the principle
494 of equal distribution. This practice (made possible by
466
[361]

175 the 1934 decision to change the word "crofter" to
178 "islander") led to the weavers living in council
• 288 houses in town and working in loomsheds behind the
[361] houses. Unequal distribution has also contributed
to Shawbost's relative prosperity, and to the decline
of weaving in more remote parts of the island. The
[444] unequal distribution of tweeds has made it difficult
to maintain a large labor force, which in turn limits
the growth and development of the industry.

288 2. Instability of the Industry: The Harris Tweed
453 industry has undergone a number of crises. Periods of
178 depression have alternated with periods of prosperity.
[458] (See Appendix B for the fluctuation in the number of
yards stamped each year with the Harris Tweed trade-
mark.) The very conditions which give the tweed its
[435] market value—the decentralized, non-mechanized human
[464] element—also limit the possibilities of growth in the
industry, and contribute to the industry's instability.

288 When a business remains small, it must collect
441 orders before it can provide work to have the orders
filled (except when demand for an item is strong, as
occurred around the time of the previous world war;
during the war and for a few years after, tweeds could
be made first and then marketed, because any cloth
[471] could be sold). Only a large business can keep weavers

• 288 at work producing tweeds which it then tries to market.
441 The latter method requires the investment of a great deal
491 of capital to make the tweeds and pay the weavers before
a buyer is found. The small mills require an immediate
return for their capital investment, which is ensured
[434] by not investing unless there is a definite order. The
fortunes of the weavers oscillate with the luck and skill
of the mills in soliciting orders; thus, the mills do
288 not provide a constant, stable source of income. The
434 nature of the tweed, as a high-priced luxury item rather
than a basic necessity, contributes to the instability of
the demand. When fashions change or when world-wide
economic depressions come, the high-priced tweed with
its specialized image as a cloth for aristocratic,
[185] sporty dress is forgotten for awhile. Efforts are being
made to change this image; but the product's status as
a high-priced luxury item persists.

288 An extremely small business can survive periods of
441 depression when capital outlay in the form of machinery,
459 running costs, and so on is not large. An extremely
large business that has cornered a large share of the
market can often survive an erratic schedule of orders
because it has a larger accumulation of capital, but a
medium-sized business has too much overhead to survive
long periods of depression. Examples of all three exist

• 288 in Shawbost: a very small business, which until
441 recently did not even have its own transport but
458 hired facilities when they were needed and simply
went into hibernation when orders stopped coming;
a medium-sized business, which went into liquidation
in 1971; and a large business, which continues to
survive despite a depression which has continued
since the late 1950's.

288 Harris Tweed is sent to markets all over the
441 world; but because of the difficulty of maintaining
464 a large labor force, the filling of orders is sometimes
[429] slow. If large orders cannot be met, weaving as an
island-wide occupation cannot be maintained. The
number of weavers on the island fluctuates, as slack
periods come and men adopt the time-tested strategy
of temporary migration in search of other jobs. One
[469] of the factors which aided the weavers during their
[178] strike of 1943 was the fact that so many other jobs
were available during the war that the future of the
industry was jeopardised.

288 In the last five years the number of mill employees
464 has decreased from 800 to 500. The decrease is due in
[178] part to the introduction of more efficient techniques
and new equipment, but there is little room for improve-
ment in the production of tweeds because the human
element, the weaver, is essential to its production

060 element, the weaver, is essential to its production.
288 In 1960 weavers receiving tweed yarns from the mills
424 totalled about 1,500 persons, a number which held for
462 about three years and then started dropping at a rate of about 100 a year. In 1971 the number of weavers was less than 1,000, and trends of change appeared to
166 presage a continued dwindling of numbers. It is
424 estimated that emigration increased during 1970-71. Men have returned to the sea, have gone to Glasgow as laborers, or have taken advantage of training courses offered by the Labor Exchange, courses that will eventually remove them from the island setting.

288 The instability of the industry and the fluctuation
571 in amount of weaving work available at any given time
458 has created an environment in which personal ties and individual maneuvering rather than a widespread adherence to impersonal rules such as equal distribution are
[608] emphasized. Strategies which involve the mobilization of kinship and neighborhood ties and involve an emphasis on personal relationships rather than the depersonalization usually associated with industry are made possible by economic factors such as the dependence of decentralized weavers on centralized mills. The watchfulness and consciousness of one's neighbors so characteristic of village life prevail. Questions about the state of

288 Questions about the state of
571 "the tweed" permeate all discussions, and often
458 constitute an initial greeting. "Have you got a
[574] tweed in the loom? How many do you have? Did you see Stickey's tweed van going into Pairc? Did you hear that Newalls has an order for about 800 pieces...?"

"The mills brought me two tweeds, and I got two in town myself. I stuck those two in the attic so that anyone who came in would be none the wiser," says one person in a whisper. Neighbors are in and out of each others' houses and loomsheds, observant and questioning, on the lookout for any indication that they have missed out on some transaction in the competition for scarce goods.

D. Weaving as Strategy

286 When weaving was done on a wooden hand loom, the
178 weaver required a longer period of apprenticeship.
402 Weaving was "more of an art," as some of the older weavers remember it siblings. Not only was the shuttle thrown back and forth by hand, but the lifting of different threads in the warp was done by manipulating four foot pedals in the correct order. Today, the
288 process of weaving is very much simplified: the weaver
178 pushes only two foot pedals, and simply keeps an eye on
402

288 the automatic shuttle; all other processes have been
178 built into the design of the Hattersley loom (cf.
402 Thomson 1969). In other words, weaving does not entail
288 very specialized skills and is not difficult to learn.
463 A sailor can come home and learn to weave in a short period of time, or pick up the trade again with ease after having been absent from the loom for a long time.
[571] Neighbors substitute for each other when someone is ill
[573] if a tweed is "urgent." Wives help their husbands, and young boys their fathers and uncles. Such low-level specialization and substitutability are complementary to crofting activities and the maintenance of neighborhood ties, and may be seen to favor continuance of the occupation of weaving.

874 The Lews Castle College in Stornoway, established
286 as a technical college in 1953 in a building that was
[467] formerly the home of Sir James Matheson, offers training courses in weaving for adults which last for ten weeks and qualify a person for membership in the Weavers Union (cf. Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). The
[572] college also sends weaving instructors to all the public schools on the island to instruct young boys in the
654 rudiments of weaving. The Highlands and Islands
286 Development Board have in the past offered loans and
288 grants with which to purchase looms, and government aid has protected the mills.

284 Despite these aids and incentives, parents do not
288 encourage their children to weave. The weavers them-
178 selves describe the job as dull, offering no security
368 and no possibilities for advancement.
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324
[461] Referring to her young son, a mother says, "By the time he's old enough to weave, the tweeds will have failed." Another mother says, "I want him to learn some trade, if he's intelligent enough. I don't want him to stay here. The tweed is so uncertain." "There's no future in it," says the father of another young boy, "I definitely wouldn't want him to be a weaver. It would be good if he went in for engineering."

43 The histories of the weavers reveal many examples
464 of shifting occupations. Weaving often alternates with
286 work in the local mill, which is also relatively unspecialized. The Shawbost mill must tolerate this unstable labor force, as labor is difficult to find.
[164] Eldest sons tend to leave the island for more stable,
[573] permanent jobs, leaving the croft and the loom to their younger siblings. Table V[1] shows the number of male weavers in each age group.

288 The fact that Shawbost has the same age structure
464 as the rest of rural Lewis (see Table II)[2] and less
162 unemployment signifies that weaving has not served as
166 an adequate incentive to keep young people on the island.

[1] [See p. xi--Analyst]
[2] [See p.xiii--Analyst]

288 Rather, the industry has provided jobs for those who,
428 for one reason or another, would have stayed anyway.
162
166 Of the weavers between the ages of 15 and 24, eight are only sons or sons who had to begin work because their fathers became ill or died; two others live at home only temporarily and plan to work elsewhere. Of those of ages 25 to 34, two men live at home because they are disabled; one has returned from the Merchant Service for awhile; two are only sons who are encouraged to remain at home, and several are youngest sons or sons whose parents have strongly discouraged them from leaving home. Of the 35-44 age group, four have remained on the island because of various ailments such as tuberculosis and mental health problems; one had to leave the Merchant Service because of an injury; at least five have stayed or returned because of family ties, the demands of aging parents and sick siblings. In the 45-54 age category, a number of men served in the navy or other branches of the armed forces during World War II, and returned from shipwrecks and other disastrous events to the relative security of the loom.

Many of the older weavers (at least nine in the
288 55-64 age category) started weaving after they had
167 returned from the United States or Canada because of
162 the depression. Some recall the horror of wandering

288 through alleys to rummage through the trash cans of
464 hospitals or other large institutions for food. The
167 occupational histories of the weavers support the
162 generalization made by an official of the Harris Tweed Association that the younger weavers leave because they do not like the weaving and they are replaced mainly by older men who want to settle down after a life at sea. (See Appendix A for several life histories of weavers.)

E. Crofting as Strategy

241 Because of the relatively high income provided by
288
434 the Harris Tweed industry, those who remain within the township have tended to emphasize weaving and neglect the croft.

592 1. Croft as Place of Residence vs. Agricultural Unit:
Most of the 169 households consist of married couples with
[592] their unmarried children. A tendency to marry rather late in life and for children not to marry while their parents are still living is evident in Table VI[1] (Partial List of Households According to Type of Household and Age of Household Head).

Fourteen households of married couples and their children (not included in Table VI) include at least one

[1] [This source as received did not contain this table--Analyst]

657 their houses are located, and that most of the land be
185 freed for use by more active crofters, but the ideology
423 associated with possession of the croft makes such a
883 plan extremely difficult to implement. "The croft is
311 your base, the only thing you have. You don't want it taken away, even if someone else is using it already anyway. Our county councillor suggested amalgamating the unused crofts at a recent meeting. No one said anything, but no one wants it."

592 Of the five households that have the use of three
241 crofts each, one consists of a bachelor who uses the
311 crofts for grazing a large number of sheep. A second household is composed of two brothers who had stayed at home to take care of their aged parents. One of these brothers recently married, after the last parent died. These men keep cattle and sheep, and both weave.

A third household is headed by a married man who
592 has recently sold most of his livestock in order to
241 "concentrate on the weaving." His father, who used to
311 haul peat with a horse and cart in exchange for the
288 use of grazing land so that his family never had to go to the sheilings, died a few years ago. "My father was a crofter only. The weaving didn't start until the 30's. He was wounded in the war. He got a pension and sold a cow or a few sheep each year. But I didn't

behind the tweed's popularity. The tweed was more than a cloth; it was peat smoke and windswept moorland, the image of the free man who had escaped city life and machines and was the master of his own destiny. Steps had been taken all along the way to preserve the image of home-crafted goods, as when, in an effort to prevent machine-spinning, carding mills were built in Lewis and Harris at the turn of the century to prevent wool from being sent to mills on the mainland, where it was both carded and spun. As early as 1906, a man was convicted in London of selling power-loomed tweed under the name "Harris Tweed." Today power-driven looms can produce double-width cloth 54 inches wide, a width much preferred to the 28-inch cloth produced on the Hattersley loom because there is less waste when the cloth is cut. But because "Harris Tweed" must be hand-woven, new looms of light-weight metal are being designed on which double-width cloth can be hand-woven. The new looms will cost so much that many weavers say they would be unlikely to invest in them, especially given the uncertain future of the industry.

The Harris Tweed Association, formed in 1909, was granted a certification mark by the Board of Trade which was stamped on tweeds that were hand-spun and hand-woven in the islands. During World War I, hand-spinning died

175 178 288 286 441 out in Lewis, and the Harris Tweed Association was ineffective in enforcing its standards. In 1934, weavers were allowed to use yarn spun in island mills, and production increased; but no weaving was allowed to be done in the mills. All looms were removed from those mills which had tried to centralize this stage of production. The actual process of weaving remained, by legal definition, decentralized, although the word "crofter" was changed to "islander," thus widening the category of persons who could weave "Harris Tweed," and paving the way for centralization of weavers in the town of Stornoway.

286 288 467 Any person can purchase his own yarn, weave his own tweeds, and sell them to tailors or summer tourists; but before a weaver can weave for the mills, he must be registered with the Weavers Union. The Weavers Union is a branch of the Transport and General Workers Union, which includes mill employees, hospital workers, lorry drivers, and others. It is an anomaly of the Harris Tweed industry that workers classed as self-employed should join a union of employees and is another indication of the centralization of control and power in the mills, with whom the weavers, along with the mill workers, bargain for higher wages. Weavers receive a basic sum of over £10 for each length of tweed, which is usually 38 weaver's

288 467 288 435 466 804

592 24 31 288 like to leave the loom for the time it took to look after the sheep."

592 23 24 [233] [246] [288] [463] A fourth household consists of three unmarried siblings in their 40's and 50's who recently sold their cattle and now keep only sheep for their own consumption. They cultivate a small amount of oats and hay to feed the sheep during the winter. The brother who was largely responsible for taking care of the livestock is now "concentrating on the loom," and his brother works in the mill. Their sister, who used to work in hotels on the mainland, now keeps house for them. Described as a [409] [404] "self-contained family," they have a tractor and a deep-freeze and take care of their peat and the harvesting of crops by themselves. One of their crofts has become 654 423 too waterlogged even for grazing and was sold recently to the son of a local crofter, not for agriculture but as a prerequisite for applying to the Department of Agriculture for a housing grant. Only tenants of crofts can apply for such grants. As this particular croft is too wet to be cultivated or used as a house site, the only motive which the new tenant has to become a crofter is to gain access to governmental subsidy.

592 233 311 The fifth household is composed of a retired couple and their son and his wife and family. They have no cattle, and use the crofts for grazing sheep.

241 288 183 233 The competition between the loom and the croft is evident in the few communal township practices which still exist. One of the rules of township organization is that all households must bring their sheep in from the moor on the same day. Other rules are that no one [231] should go out on the moor at any other time with a dog, and everyone who has sheep should go out on the day designated by the township grazings committee to collect them. The moor is extensive, and the sheep wander over a wide area. Only if a large number of men go out together and come in with their dogs like a wide net can the sheep be brought in with a minimum of effort over the stream-cut, uneven ground. Anyone who goes out alone disturbs the grazing animals and probably drives them farther away from the village.

233 183 These rules have strong ethical import and are much more than a set of procedural rules prescribed by the Crofters Commission. "There is a code of ethics which you learn as you grow up, as you go with your [578] elders out to the moor. You can fight with a man over a woman and make it up next week; but if you fight with a man over a sheep, you won't make it up for thirty [178] years." That these rules are weakening in importance is indicated by situations in which only two or three men have gone out in the early morning to bring in the

One crofter who gets subsidies says that he keeps sheep and ploughs the land to feed them only as a "hobby." He uses the word "hobby" because, in comparison with the income he gets from working regularly in the mill, he does not get a good return for his investment.

A crofter who has been weaving all his life says that the income he receives from his cattle and sheep does not compare with the income he receives from weaving. Subsidies are counted as an important part of the income he receives for the livestock. "Last year I got L28 for a heifer--not a very good price, but then I got an L11 subsidy as well." He does not believe that anyone could make a living from crofting alone. "You say some of the people in Uist are able to make a living at it? They might be getting social security as well, they're that sly. Anyway, members of the family are probably sending money home from sea or from the mainland. You need a weekly wage. If the tweeds disappear, the only thing a man could do would be to go to sea." (See Appendix C for an example of the balance sheet of a croft.)

A few families work seriously at rearing cattle for sale in local or town markets. These are usually composed of several male adults, of which one or more work in the mill or do weaving and someone is largely responsible for croft work. Most of these people look

For some weeks after returning, the couple goes visiting with a bottle. The scope of visits seems to have narrow to close relatives unable to attend the wedding, and sometimes the custom is referred to as old-fashioned. The bride usually mails pieces of bridal cake to relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

2. Death: At a time of illness or injury, an individual may see persons he has not seen for years. The house is filled with a constant flow of visitors, and the visitors recount every detail of a sick person's pallor and movement. The room is usually occupied by visitors when a person breathes his last.

In the past, work ceased in every house in the surrounding neighborhood when a person died. This no longer occurs. (The story is told of a weaver who calle a mill in Stornoway to say that he could not finish an urgent tweed because there had been a death in the village, and was told, "You keep on weaving till the weaver dies.") However, dances in the village are cancelled, and the bothan (an isolated hut in which liquor is sold illegally) may close. Outdoor work, such as peat-cutting, which would be widely seen is avoided.

Word of the death spreads throughout the village an beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulated inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

288 The Harris Tweed industry has provided a higher
434 standard of living, but income from this source is
[458] inconsistent. The standards developed during prospe
[342] times cannot be met during difficult times. Many-ro
[336] houses with indoor plumbing are more heavily taxed t
[661] smaller, less modern homes; loans must be repayed;
[426] a car and a television once gotten are difficult to
[945] give up. A weaver must pay for his insurance stamp,
[651] which amounts to over L70 a year; and income tax ta
a large percentage of a person's income, in large lu
sums which are paid twice a year rather than in smal
amounts throughout the year. When income fluctuates
any constant demand for monetary outlay constitutes
liability.

654 To many persons outside the island concerned wi
181 Highland and Island development, Lewis has a reputat
for "subsidy-grabbing." According to one official,
"The people are too used to getting subsidies. They
tend to sit back and rely on the subsidies, which
makes it difficult to develop the place."

[829] "We pay tax," said one weaver. "Why not get ba
what we can in subsidy?"

651 Income tax collectors shake their heads in desp
434 at the thought of trying to get a true estimate of a
crofter's income, except for jobs such as weaving fo

436 found in a warehouse in Leith some years ago; a few found their
*175 way back to Stornoway, where one can be seen in the Public Library.

HARRIS TWEED

• 288 Today, with kelp long forgotten and fishing of minor importance,
[178] it is the Harris Tweed industry which supports many of the island people, either directly or indirectly; an island cottage industry with exports earnings exceeding £2,500,000 a year. Harris Tweed is exported to some thirty countries, including America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and all the European nations. The industry is in fact the basis of prosperity in the area, both dependent upon and supporting the crofter-weaver working at
286 the handloom in his home. Seven million yards of tweed are
288 woven annually by the independent weavers 'on the books' of the
466 various mills. The weavers must finance themselves, buying their own looms and bobbins, equipping and maintaining their workshops. Though they receive their supplies of yarn from the mills, they are graded as self-employed persons and as such are not entitled to unemployment benefit—a subject which has caused much argument.

286 One of the most outstanding facts about the cloth is that its essential qualities have remained unchanged since the industry's early formative years. But it has astonishing versatility and over 5,000 patterns are available, including the crotal browns and the heather colours.

288 A weaver on average can produce about 2½ webs, or tweeds,
each week, a web measuring about 80 yd by 28½ in, and gets a
286 reward of some £8 per web, according to the intricacies of the
[465] design or the number of colours involved. The money is paid out
[453] by a mobile bank making the rounds of the townships throughout the island. It is reckoned that the mills, for their part, make 1d to 6d a yard profit, depending on turnover; the total annual value of the industry's output is in the region of £4,000,000.

[236] Between them, the five mills in Stornoway and the one in Shawbost consume two-thirds of the Scottish wool clip—the native Western Islands' crop is sufficient for less than a month's production. A thousand pounds of raw wool end up as 885 yards of finished cloth.

finished cloth. About 1,000 workers are employed at the mills, representing about 95 per cent of the island's industry—not counting, of course, the 1,200 or so self-employed weavers. The Shawbost mill, started in 1915 in a very small way, employs about seventy people from the surrounding crofting community on dyeing the wool, carding it and spinning it into yarn, and has about 500 weavers on its books. In 1955 it became a limited company and a £35,000 finishing plant was added; other recent extensions have been made to the tune of £70,000. The establishment of such a large industrial complex in one of the remotest parts of Britain is an achievement to be underlined.

288 464 [473]

The early cloth industry

Coarse woollen cloth has been made in the Hebrides, as in other rural Highland areas, from time immemorial. Rents were often paid in blankets or plaiding. In 1656, 'pladding' was one of the items of trade brought by Highland boats to Glasgow for sale there. In the late eighteenth century, blackfaced sheep were introduced into the Highlands and islands; the fleece from this breed was much heavier than that of the native sheep and consequently proved ideal raw material for local woollen manufacture for trade. In the Hebrides, the product was mainly for domestic and local consumption. The people of Harris, however, were well known for the excellence of their weaving which found a limited external market. In 1844, the Earl of Dunmore, the first non-native proprietor of Harris, had the Murray tartan copied in tweed by local weavers, so successfully that the Earl and his enterprising wife encouraged improvements in the product and introduced it to their friends. The cloth, ideal for outdoor pursuits such as fishing and stalking, found ready wearers. In 1857, an Edinburgh lady went about getting orders for the Harris weavers, and business increased so much that in 1888 she moved to London and opened a small depot for tweeds.

288 175* [427] [236] [438] [439] [444]

Thus by the time the nineteenth century had reached maturity tweed was becoming well known, and weavers and local merchants, usually shopkeepers, developed sales contacts on the mainland. At that time every web of tweed produced was unique: it could never be copied exactly. This of course added to its charm

in the eyes of the more sophisticated purchasers, as did the domestic and primitive conditions of its manufacture. All processes were carried out by hand. The wool was washed and dyed out of doors beside any convenient stream where a big black pot could be set up on stones and heated by firing peats. Carding, a tedious and unpleasant task, spinning and weaving were done in the 'black houses' of the crofters, which often lacked chimneys or proper windows: the tweed acquired more by accident than design a definite 'peat reek', which was duly considered to be another of its attractions, combining with the mainland town-dwellers' pleasant thoughts of Hebridean thatched cottages, peat fires and natural dyes from island moors and shores, to give the cloth something of a romantic aura.

Development

The increased demand brought problems however. Carding by hand was a slow business and quite unable to keep up with the weavers' requirements for raw material, so wool was sent to mainland mills for carding. But this introduced an element of suspicion, for the product was not now wholly Hebridean. To get round this, Sir Samuel Scott, the proprietor of Harris in 1900, opened a water-powered carding mill at Tarbert, Harris. In 1903, this example was followed up by a Stornoway merchant, Aeneas MacKenzie, who started a carding mill near the Patent Slip (one of Matheson's enterprises) in Stornoway. Non-profitmaking bodies (the Scottish Home Industries Association and the Crofters' Agency) began to open up more depots for the receipt of tweeds. In addition to the original depots at Stornoway and Tarbert, others were established at Obbe (now Leverburgh), Uig in Lewis, and in North and South Uist.

The Congested Districts Board also took an interest, appointing a travelling instructor who was responsible for the introduction of better cloth designs and other improvements including the flying shuttle. This latter was a distinct advantage over the old method used on the 'beart bheag' (the traditional small wooden loom), where the shuttle was a sheep's shin bone thrown by hand. The board also paid grants for the improvement of looms, and large black pots were sent to Uig to enable the people there to

dye larger batches of wool to maintain uniformity of colour through the whole web.

Lewis tweed

Suddenly Lewis came on the Harris Tweed scene. It had been slow to enter the industry; most of its employment was on works related to public boards and on the private constructions of the Matheson regime. Fishing, too, yielded a reasonable living to most of the Lewis crofters, so the incentive to weave had been small. But about 1880, following the death of Sir James Matheson, expenditure on the Matheson property was severely curtailed; and also about this time fish sales by auction replaced private contracts between fishermen and curers, making fishing far less remunerative to those crofters who had worked as hired hands. So Lewis took to cloth making, taking advantage of the increased demand, which could no longer be met by the Harris workers. Records of tweed production are few until after 1880, but whereas in 1899 there were only 55 looms in Lewis, as reported to the Congested Districts Board, in 1906 this had increased to 161, and by 1911 there were some 300. There was some initiative in London too: in 1906 a person was convicted for selling as 'Harris Tweed' a cloth woven on a power loom.

As the number of island weavers increased, so did the demand for yarn even further outpace the capacity of the domestic spinning wheels. Cheap, mill-spun yarn was imported and this, added to inferior weaving, gave rise to the name 'Stornoway Tweed', indicating a poor-quality cloth. In 1907 the Scottish Home Industries Association closed its Stornoway depot because the amount of hand-spun yarn used did not justify its continued existence. The Crofters Agency, however, kept open its depots at Balallan and Uig. Around this time, therefore, two products were on the market with the same name: a 100 per cent true hand-spun tweed, and a tweed made wholly or partly of mill-spun yarn. In Stornoway it was appreciated that the use of mill-spun yarn did not necessarily result in a poor-quality cloth, and this initiated some new moves. Spinning machinery was added to the Patent Slip carding mill, and in 1906 Kenneth MacKenzie began a new carding and spinning mill.

Thus were laid the lines of a new form of econ tion for Lewis. At first, tweed manufacture here, as strictly a domestic activity: the wool of the croft was clipped, washed and dyed, carded, spun at ho into cloth by persons in the township with the ski suitable cloth; the weaving was a part-time and occupation. Payment for the weaving was in potatoes, or labour. The waulking or finishing o mostly a communal activity carried out by the w turned it into a particular social occasion with d characteristics. If the cloth made was in excess quirements, the crofter sold it directly to a custo local shopkeeper bought it or gave credit for it.

With the rise in weaving for a definite market i changed. Weaving became a full-time specialist o partly because the flying shuttle made the work came predominantly male work. With the use of there grew up a number of merchants, the Lewis bought yarn either locally or from the mainland, for weaving and hand finishing on a commission and the resulting cloth remained their property cloth embodied a handspun weft; at other times p spun was used at all. As pointed out above, it w Harris Tweed, as was the 100 per cent handsp cost about 21d to produce compared with 36 tweed. The cheaper type provided Lewis's ra output between 1900 and 1911, and by that year stripped Harris. In 1912, the handspun yarda Harris was 175,000; partially and wholly millsp some 4,000 yards; and the total value was £26,5 yardage of handspun cloth was some 10,000; bu yards of partially or wholly millspun was sold. value was £44,000.

The trade mark

When eventually the question arose of some ma between the two cloths, it was with difficulty that chants persuaded the Board of Trade that a distin

THE TRADE MARK

sary. In the end, an application was made in 1909 to that body 288 for a trade mark defining Harris Tweed as 'tweed, hand-spun, 441 hand-woven and dyed and finished by hand in the Outer Heb- 175* rides', with 'made in Harris' or 'made in Lewis' added as appro- 424 priate. The Harris merchants had to join forces with their former rivals in the tweed-marketing business, the voluntary non-profit-making Associations. To inspect the cloth and stamp it with a trade mark—an orb surmounted by a cross—a Harris Tweed Association was formed, consisting of representatives of each of the Harris merchants, the Crofters Agency and the Scottish Home Industries Association. Cloth was first stamped in 1911. In 1912, some Stornoway merchants were granted representation in the Harris Tweed Association, which still exists for the benefit of the industry.

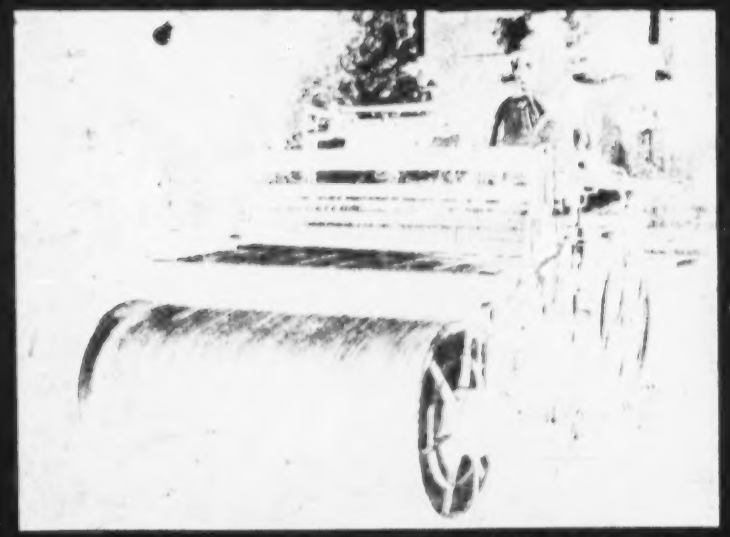
In 1934, the definition of 'Harris Tweed' was eased to include any cloth 'made from pure virgin wool, produced in Scotland, spun, dyed and finished in the Outer Hebrides and hand-woven by the Islanders at their own homes in the islands of Lewis, Harris, Uist, Barra and their several purtenances and all known as the Outer Hebrides'. It was further provided that 'Woven in Harris', 'Woven in Lewis', etc, could be added, and also 'Handspun' in the case of tweeds made entirely from hand-spun yarns.

Today, a few Harris families maintain the old tradition, hand- 288 dyeing and carding, spinning on the wheel, hand-weaving and 286 finishing, producing a high-quality article mainly for individual 178 customers. These tweeds rightly command up to three times the price for the general run of tweed.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

It was not until the era of Sir James Matheson that anything like 441 a truly industrial activity was attempted. Matheson, a native of 159 Shinness in the parish of Lairg, Sutherland, was born in 1796. 175* Aged seventeen, he decided on a commercial career and took himself to London. After two years in a mercantile house, he went to Calcutta, where he worked in the counting-house of MacKintosh

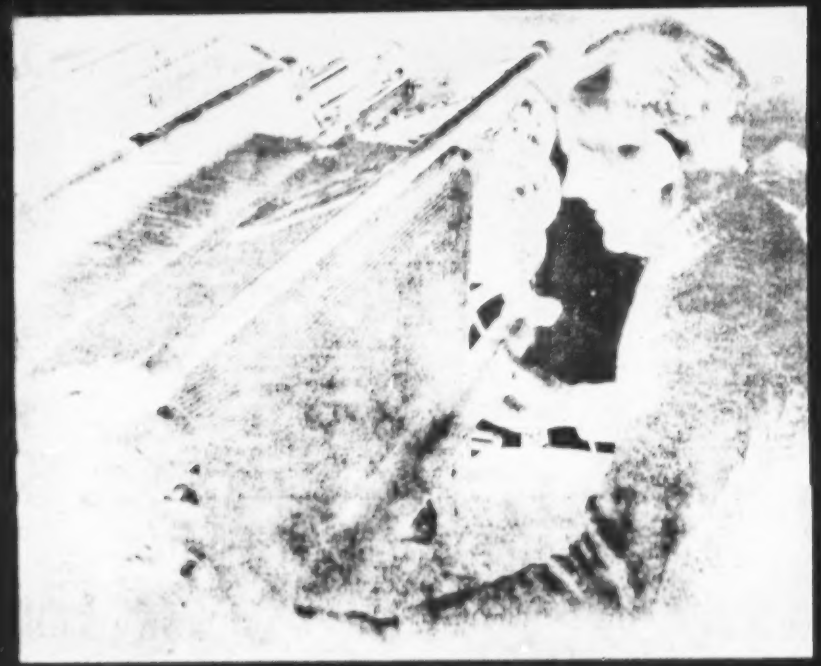
2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris



(*above*) Weaving Harris Tweed in a crofter's home; it is usually done in a byre or shed on the croft. View taken from the warp end of the loom

/p. 125/

(*below*) Setting up the loom



1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

166 The image of the island
184 as spiritual home is fostered by The Stornoway Gazette,
323 and by nostalgic songs, most of which were written by
204 islanders who emigrated to Canada in the first quarter
533 of the century.

532 The crofting township as a strongly bounded network
241 continues to exist, although crofting as a socioeconomic pattern which evolved in a situation of limited social and geographical mobility, low cash reserves, and the restriction of a large population to a region of limited resources, is very different from crofting as defined by an office in Inverness. As far as the crofter is concerned, to be defined as a crofter by the Crofters Commission and other government agencies is to have access to resources which affect the environment in which he makes his choices.

241 The individual is faced with the semi-security of
288 crofting and weaving, in contrast with the exciting but risk-laden opportunities offered by the dominant urban-
54] industrial mainland. Crofting and Harris Tweed have been protected by government legislation. Various subsidies
45] and loans are available. In times of unemployment, social security is available. Extremely important as contributers
21 to boundedness are the non-economic incentives: the
56 individual has a place in a human community; he is given

105 The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an
241 industry which is compatible with crofting. Because
• 288
632 weavers are self-employed, they can set their own schedule of work and thus continue to participate in croft work and fulfill various township obligations. The effects
[121] of this industry on the township as a social boundary
[434] system were investigated. The income available from
[463] weaving is unpredictable, which encourages the retention of crofting practices and other patterns of behavior, such as "occupational pluralism," that were found to be
[476] adaptive in the past. Such strategies also strengthen
[182] township boundaries; for example, they encourage mutual
[434] aid and communal township practices. But weaving also
[407] offers a high level of income; and some weavers, preferring to spend most of their time weaving, have neglected crofting, or have invested in tractors or other motorized transport which enables them to harvest crops, cut peat and perform other activities independent of other township members.

105 The fundamentalist Free Church constitutes an important
621 boundary-maintaining mechanism, serving to exclude various
795
632 external influences of the larger society from the township.
184 However, a smaller network of persons engaged in the
105 religious sphere of social activity, a subsystem within
794
621 the township system, also exists which has the appearance
632 of a firmly bounded system. These are members of the clique
184

241 654 Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in
part stems from government-defined privileges and duties
288 regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed
477 industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides and
464 thus is protected from competition, has provided work
for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger
166 [434] members of croft families live in cities on the mainland,
and send part of their wages home; they return regularly
[162] to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus the
[632] township supplies urban workers who remain very much
attached to the rural townships, which are composed of
511 aged family members and a rural proletariat. The standard
454 of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated
273 savings, although much of this surplus is used by the men
for alcoholic drinks.

12) In Britain, rural communities have been interpreted as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf. Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall presented "an operational theory of role" by which he suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analyzed and compared. He developed the concept "density of role texture" to describe societies which lie along a continuum from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southall's concept along with other concepts to present a more complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "models" of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially lists

*159 781 787 later that these were all people who eventually got the curam. The only conversion I didn't expect was Norrie Bheag. I saw her one night crying outside the church, and knew her time had come.

"In the dream I was at the very end of the line, only I wasn't wearing a white dress. I was naked, and kept trying to cover myself.

*159 781 [761] "Not a day passes that I don't think of death. I want to pray, but I don't know who to pray to. I've been going to church regularly now, sort of hoping and sort of being afraid that I'll find the answer. I've read too much, and I met too many kinds of people while I was working in Glasgow. I didn't live near other people from Shawbost when I was in Glasgow. I got to know Jews, tinkers, Catholics, and Jehovah's Witnesses. The world is full of different religions. I believe that you can convert to a religion, from to Buddhism or to Christianity, but not to a church like the Free Church or the Church of Scotland. This place is called Tir an t-soisgeul where the true gospel is preached, but the whole world should be called that."

Ruaridh Dan

*159 ● 288 Ruaridh Dan was married in January and began to work as a warper in the Shawbost mill the following October, just after the end of World War II. He had been weaving

*159 ● 288 with his brother-in-law, but they had only one loom. At that time the mill was buying yarn from other mills in town, warping it on the mill premises, and sending it to the weavers together with the yarn for the weft.

Ruaridh heard through the grapevine that more warpers were wanted at the time, and went to ask "the old man, Coinneach Rod, himself," about the possibility of his [465] getting the job. He worked with five other warpers, who averaged five warps a day, at four shillings each. They were paid by piece work rather than on an hourly basis, and received payment once monthly.

Business was going very well. The mill was receiving large orders from America. A few more warpers were hired. [458] A slump came in 1948, and Ruaridh Dan and several others were laid off. Ruaridh went to work for a building contractor, but was called back to the mill after a month's time.

*159 444 After warping for several years, he started work in the yarn store, which dispensed yarn to the weavers. "I was checking the yarn that was going out to the weavers, weighing the wefts, checking the colors that were used, keeping a record so we could tell at a glance what stock we had, how much we would require for any further orders we would get. Well, the job got to a stage where I just couldn't manage it, and I protested. Another man started to work with me. I was paid a regular wage so it was a

*159 ● 288 mill was just about completed and some of the machinery had started arriving. This was the job he gave me, cleaning the machinery, getting it ready for the fitters and engineers to come and put them together. When they really opened up, I was to start at the teaser, in the blending department. I didn't know anything about the job. He told me I would have to go to one of the mills in Stornoway and learn how to work the machinery. And this I did. I went for a fortnight to Newalls. Shawbost and Newalls were shareholders in each others' businesses. That's where the Shawbost tweeds were cleaned and finished. Even today we do some of their urgent orders when they've got too much to handle to meet the deadline.

"After I had this training I taught anyone else who started, like Bochag, after he came back from the army he started with me. It wasn't Bochag who came to look for a job. They went after him because he had worked in a mill in town before he went into the army. They also went after two lads who had been working for years in the finishing department in Newalls, paid them more to get them to come, and over and above that, they were collected every morning and taken home every night. They want people who have worked at the mills in town.

"But as for its being a permanent job, it's difficult to say. Most of the women start working in the mill after

*159 ● 288 they leave school, and most of them get married. I remember about twenty girls working there, and they all got married, and another young girl would start. During [458] the slack periods some men would be paid off. They would start in other jobs, and wouldn't be prepared to *159 464 come back. If you weren't working in the mill you were weaving; there was road work on a very small scale. Except for sailing there was nothing else. For the last ten years or so the big contractors have given people jobs.

"I started with a building contractor but preferred to come back to this job, for the main reason that I had *159 288 458 built this house here. We had slack periods, but we picked up again. But this slack period, it's been two years now, and I don't think it will pick up again, unless they go to a wider cloth. Probably the fashion has changed. People have gone on to other types of cloth. And the merchants and tailors prefer a wider cloth, it's less waste. But that means changing the loom and a lot of machinery in the mill as well.

"I'm sure the weavers wouldn't be prepared to put [435] out the extra cost for wider looms. At the present time, a loom and winding machine cost close to L400. You can imagine what a wider loom would cost, up to L1,000. They don't want the power loom. They're trying to hold onto the Orb trademark for as long as they can. That's the big

*159 ● 288 458 question, whether it would be better to change from the Orb trade and go to power looms. Then you would be able to do any kind of cloth. You wouldn't be tied down to regulations as you are with the Harris Tweed. To do that after all it cost them with the court case a few years back--. But, at the same time, it's more important to have work than this trademark. As it is at the moment, it's just a white elephant."

Neilie Leoid

*159 Neilie Leoid left school in 1931 at the age of 14, as easy-going and generally content with things then as he is 40 years later. "When I was going to school lots of people hated the headmaster, but I had no complaints against him. Perhaps people are inclined to blame other people for their own failures. Of course, I didn't like school very much, and I didn't go to it all that often.

"In those days you didn't have the same access to education as the young people have today. You didn't *159 288 [868] assume you could go very high. You were quite content to settle down to weaving. The boys started learning from anyone who was around. I started weaving with my uncle [434] when I was 15, on an old wooden loom. In one winter [435] we earned the L25 to buy a single-shuttle automatic. My uncle's eyesight was getting sort of dim, so I would

*159 ● 288 stand beside him as he pedalled, and yell 'Stop!' when the bobbin was about to run out. By post-war, the single-shuttles were gone. Most men had the six-shuttle box.

*159 906 "It was all the rage then to join the Naval Reserve. You got a free trip every now and again to the south of England, and thirty shillings a month retainer. I was sailing for about 18 months before I was called up to the war.

"I was in the war for a full six years. I liked to visit every place, but I preferred the white countries. I didn't like Africa or India. China wasn't so bad. Russia was awful. It was cold, and there was nothing you could buy.

"You made very good friends on board ship. You never forgot the face of a man you served with. Most of them were English. I felt very awkward at first with English. I was very slow translating Gaelic into English, not eloquent at all. The English had the gift of the gab. But I got used to this."

*159 Neilie became engaged to marry a Shawbost girl soon after his return to the village but the marriage did not take place for a number of years because his intended wife had to raise the children of her invalid sister. During the year of their marriage he built a new house. His

Appendix B

Number of Yards of Harris Tweed Stamped per Year With the Harris Tweed "Orb" Mark (Harris Tweed Association Ltd.)

● 288 433 178

Year	Yards
1934	95,241
1935	1,485,246
1936	2,331,740
1937	3,682,775
1938	2,897,104
1939	3,987,676
1940	4,188,822
1941	3,201,137
1942	2,212,816
1943	1,722,307
1944	1,928,393
1945	2,195,423
1946	3,049,680
1947	3,967,920
1948	4,463,713
1949	4,101,029
1950	3,779,570
1951	2,799,774
1952	4,034,351
1953	4,929,898
1954	5,150,333
1955	5,840,158
1956	6,623,529
1957	6,328,043
1958	4,348,453
1959	6,200,000
1960	5,410,000
1961	4,954,090
1962	5,081,407
1963	5,556,426
1964	5,901,800
1965	6,587,555
1966	7,600,000
1967	5,490,000
1968	6,700,000
1969	6,948,542
1970	5,120,000

*159 232 233 quietly triumphant yet unassuming way. He does not kill any of his sheep for home consumption.

*159 241 • 288 434 His involvement with the croft is a "hobby" because its output does not compare with the income he receives from weaving. Whereas he might make as much as L100 from his crofting activities, his income from weaving averages [651] L7-800 a year. As a married man, he can earn as much as L848 without paying income tax.

*159 233 434 654 Income:

Sheep:	L27/--	(three sheep sold to the slaughterhouse in Stornoway)
	1/16	("Fat Sheep Subsidy" for the three sheep that were sold)
	16/10	(Subsidy of 12 shillings each for 11 shearlings and six sheep)
	22/10	(Prize money from the Carloway Cattle Show)
	12/10	(Three lambs sold locally)
	12/ 8	(Fourteen fleece sold to the Wool Marketing Board, at an average of 3/11 per pound, or about 17/6 per fleece. The island tweed mills pay only 2/5 per pound. He has been sending his fleece to the Board for two years. Many crofters prefer not to bother with the Board, and sell their fleece to the mills. They are the only sheep-owners in Britain who have this option, because of the location of the Harris Tweed mills on the islands. But as of 1970-71, the mills refused to buy fleece.)
	L90/14	
Cattle:	L28/--	(Calf sold)
	11/ 5	(Subsidy for the calf)
	18/ 5	(Subsidy for the cow)
	L57/10	
Total:	L165/14	

*159 233 236 434

*159 233 434 654

boat-builders; many of the bodies were 'fearfully and wonderfully made', an understatement that did not go unnoticed by those who had to travel in the emergent public transport. Combined interests led to the formation of the Lewis Motor Owners' Association which agitated for better roads; existing highways were being pot-holed with alarming and uncomfortable rapidity to the detriment of their vehicles. 491 493 175*

Very slowly did public transport become co-ordinated for the benefit of the travelling country folk. Routes were planned and approved. In 1932 there were daily tours for visitors to the island, a series begun by the late John Mitchell, a pioneer in the provision of bus services, with Stornoway as the 'Rome' of Harris and Lewis. In 1935 he was granted permission by the Traffic Commissioners to run daily services between Stornoway and Rodel. 494 175*

The expansion of the Harris Tweed industry was responsible for developing transport, both for conveying yarn to weavers throughout the island and for mill-workers. In May 1933 John Mitchell began a suburban bus service for the people of Stornoway, though more for the conveyance of workers in the fish trade; tweed-mill workers and others were not slow to take advantage of it. In the following month, June, Mitchell ran a bus from Stornoway to the Market Place just outside the town at Bannadrove (Beinn na Drobh—hill of the market), for a 6d fare. In October of the same year, Peter MacAulay provided a twenty-seater Bedford bus for the Carloway to Stornoway run, and this vehicle was not a home-made affair. Meanwhile in Stornoway, a traffic census showed that, on average, 628 vehicles crossed Cromwell Street, the main thoroughfare, every day—and 799 pedal cyclists. [288] • [493]

POSTAL SERVICES

Until the late years of the nineteenth century, the lack of postal facilities were not considered a great disadvantage: few people wrote letters. 205 175*

The *Scots Magazine* in 1756 noted that 'A Post Office is to be established at Stornoway, in the island of Lewis, from the fifth of July next, with packet-boats for maintaining a regular com-

COMMUNICATIONS

The first trans-Atlantic call came in 1935, when the Lewis Woollen Mills were called up by a Toronto mill.

Beam radio came in 1938-39 with two circuits. The stations were on Bennadrove Hill, outside Stornoway, and at Ullapool. In 1942 a twelve-channel link was opened to Gairloch. Outlying villages worked into Stornoway on single-wire circuits, with an earth return, Great Bernera being the last exchange to be served single-wire. One of the island's most remote inhabited satellite islands, Scarp, received its first telephone service only in 1947. Scarp was deserted by its native population in 1971.

The rate of increase in the use of telephone services in the island has been considerable. In 1965 some 1400 customers of the Post Office made almost 250,000 trunk calls. In 1972, the number of subscribers was 2,300. The projected number for 1975 is in the region of 3,500 subscribers who will make an estimated 500,000 calls per annum. In each case, the figure for local calls is very much higher. Every telephone exchange on the island has grown in size; of the twenty-one exchanges, the three largest are at Back, Carloway and Shawbost. In 1964 the Post Office set up a working party to examine the development of the telephone service in the Highlands and Islands. As a result of the party's report a scheme of improvement involving a capital expenditure of £7½ million will be spent on new buildings and access roads, exchange equipment, underground cables and radio equipment.

Stornoway has been provided with a new telephone exchange, and underground cables have been laid both in the town and in the outlying districts. Smaller exchanges in the country areas will have new equipment fitted. A modern radio system between Stornoway and Tarbert is being constructed. To link the island with the South, a new underground cable, costing £1 million, will link Inverness to Ullapool and Gairloch. It is estimated that by 1975 most townships in Lewis and Harris (the latter through a new Exchange building) will be on STD, at a cost of £500 for every connected subscriber in the island.

FISHING

of Lord Seaforth's conduct in this matter. They alleged that he 'draiv in hither an number of strangers who daylie resorts to and fra Holland to the Lewes and continent next adjacent (the Ross mainland presumably) and has caused them be answered of all such commodities as these bounds affords, as nameli with fishes and beeves quhilkis with the hyde and tallow, with manie utheris commodities they transport to Holland.'

To satisfy the Royal Burghs, Seaforth had some of his Dutch friends sent away. But several Dutch families remained in Stornoway until the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland in 1653.

In Harris, similar efforts were promoted by Captain Alexander MacLeod, who in 1779 bought Harris, together with St Kilda, for £15,000 from the commissioners acting on behalf of General Norman MacLeod. The latter had, in 1772, inherited from his grandfather both the chiefship of Harris and a debt on the property amounting to some £50,000. Captain MacLeod, who skippered the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, did much to stimulate better conditions in Harris, and advocated the generation of a fishing industry. In the face of opposition and ridicule he showed by practical example what could be done to make a success of the herring fishings, introducing a number of east-coast fishermen with Orkney trawls to teach the inhabitants, and reaping a good harvest from the fishings off Rodel, despite the dismal auguries uttered by the Harris-folk. He improved the local harbour accommodation and erected a storehouse for salt, casks and the like, he built a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread, and twine for herring-nets; he advanced money to those fishermen who were interested for the purchase of boats and gear; and he provided them with rent-free cottages with a ground-patch on which they could grow potatoes. He built roads between the village of Tarbert and the two jetties he made there, and he erected a schoolhouse and an inn. But all this hard work to put Harris on some realistic economic basis came to little. The native population were slow to appreciate the potential income lying about them.

The potential of the sea was of course eventually realised, particularly where the fishing grounds were favourable, Stornoway

LIFE TODAY

LIFE TODAY

As in other Highland areas, some of the island's problems have become so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. They have been the raison d'être of so many commissions and committees of inquiry that their existence is now almost forgotten by the islander—if indeed he ever understood their nature. Crofts have been seen, such as the Crofters Act of 1886 which gave High[illegible] land crofters security of tenure, perhaps the most vital[illegible] measure of the last century for the crofter; all things have not progressed so well since that date; at any rate not so fast that crofting, for instance, is now seen to be an economic unit of land use of benefit to both local community and nation at large. Many problems have been virtually ignored by successive central[illegible] Governments; at least, remoteness seems to qualify a topic for the office 'pending' trap. It has yet to be fully realized that the island, with other Highland communities, is part and parcel of the area administered from London and Edinburgh, and merits as much attention to its welfare as other European governments, such as Norway, give to their remote mainland and island communities.

As usual, charity and self-help begin at home, and one of the most dramatic changes in island life has been the growth of agricultural revolution of recent years which is changing once brown moors to lush green pastures; reclamation by re-seeding. This revolution is still going on. Lewis crofters in particular are showing the way with other Highland crofting areas following suit. The change in the Lewis scene is being emphasised by the planting of shelter-belts of hardy trees and the first of the new plantations of timber-producing trees. These show the promise of the future: a lively future for a lively community. The fishing industry also has a future, brighter on the horizon than it has had for many a poor year. The Harris Tweed industry, the staple em[illegible] ployment source in Lewis, is maintaining its ability to retain the interest of the market. And tourism, once a perfunctory and casual affair, promises to emerge as a useful sector in the economy. There are, in addition, many small pockets of native initiative and enterprise which, given sufficient encouragement

CH. III THE ISLAND HOME

of Ross and Cromarty, with populations of from 1000 to 2000 in 1841. Stornoway began about 1600 as a fishing village with the rise of the fishing trade. Including the literally bounteous population of fishers, its numbers exceeded 5000 by the summer of 1911, though falling back to 1931 when the census was held in the spring.

Still another stage, a fourth, seemed in sight when, in 1918, the first Lord Leverhulme made his bid to centralize the scattered fishing fishing industry of the Island at Stornoway. A cannery factory was established (south of the area shown on the plan) only to be dismantled before its completion, then reconstructed and enlarged in another area—"Leverburgh", South Harris. New housing commenced. When this great venture closed and population stagnated, the grandiose proposal to open the dalgaid vista on Wood's plan and centre it on some great new building, remained a dream. The failure of Leverhulme's great enterprise and its hopes led to discouragement for some years. Yet it is possible that the vision of change given to the Island may have contributed to a renewed capacity for enterprise, individual and communal.

The Island is now attempting to swat the growth of the Harris Tweed industry, and the cannery factory at Stornoway promises to provide yarn for the rural hand-weavers. The town has extended beyond the plan in two main directions: to north-east with villas and housing schemes and to ESE with the great new mills where kippering sheds were numerous from the mid-nineteenth century until after 1919.

Although Tarbert is a shopping centre for Harris and has its spinning-mill, Stornoway has no rival on the Island. The adequate depth of its harbour, combined with its position and access from sea and land, have given

CH. III THE ISLAND HOME

of the place, even the schoolmaster and ministers being from the mainland. Stornoway an important minority of the officials and business men hail from the mainland, and some of them from the Lowlands. New blood has undoubtedly been needed to promote enterprise, to foster new possibilities, and even, at times, to make the best of the past. At the same time, the change between town and country is marked in ways of thought and feeling as in livelihood. To take a single criterion, that of speech, most of the children of the town speak no Gaelic and many hardly understand it. While the percentage of Gaelic speakers may in the country be still over 90 per cent, in the burgh only 70 per cent could still speak the old tongue. By 1951 the ratio, still almost unchanged in the outlying parishes and township, had considerably lessened, in the burgh.

The attempt to harmonise the interests of country and town forms a hopeful aspect of the activities both of the Stornoway Trust, which holds the rural and urban property presented to the burgh and charged to burgh by the first Lord Leverhulme, and of the Lewis Association, formed in 1949 to promote all studies of the Island to guide action for the future. The maintenance of the town's prosperity will depend greatly upon its industries of fishing and of spinning, and these are almost inseparable from the maintenance of the rural population for whom Stornoway acts as regional centre, and who weave with the yarn spun at the mills. Unity of administrative purpose could go far to build up the prosperity of the community.

With the exception of the need for planning aroused by the problems which faced the country with the return of peace, it is proposed, at the centre of the Burgh, to rebuild the whole of the particular area of Point Street,

CH. III BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

left the Island. Yet after 1931 many returned, owing to depressed conditions in Depression Society and in towns. When emigrants began to come home the 'Harris' tweed industry had spread to Lewis and offered increasing employment. Some were the fathers of fishing-town-owned Island boats, and others as paid hands (on boats from the East Coast), though losses and unemployment were suffered.

Inter-war changes were hastened with not by movements beyond the Island—an influence as vital for days or four generations before—but by mobility within it. In 1919 a small scale and unofficial land raid was made by crofters, each of the five main roads, with an unofficial spokesman. When crofters crossed the Island to Stornoway they went on foot to present their petition, and considerably later, in a day's journey. Ten years later, Lord ruea, bought second-hand, ran daily to Stornoway from every township. Frequency, ease and relative cheapness of movement came late in an Island with no railway: the mobility of the motor car transformed the transport of the Island change.

'Hand-loom' weaving had become an important, if precarious, resource, important because of the capital generated and the labour employing potential, because of its dependence upon some and sentiment, not only upon intrinsic value. In Harris many women had spun and woven for sale for over a generation before 1914, mostly weaving pure hand-spun yarn, and they continued to do so. For many years before 1914, an occasional weaver was to be found in villages in Lewis too, generally weaving a blanket from the wool spun at home. By 1939 it was estimated that there were about 100 such in the Island, chiefly weaving mill-spunyarn, most of it spun in the two principal Stornoway mills. A carding mill

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

developed through the township Grazing Committees by the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society and its associated Crofters' Agency. Lime and fertilizers were purchased, and wool and other products sold, co-operatively. Some were established in fishing-villages, taking advantage of fluctuating London prices, has led to the reconstruction of ponds for storage. By these and other means, government assistance is utilised but not squandered; rather initiative in agricultural organisation is reinforced; a local communal tradition is now reported in 1950, and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised aids. The war-time construction of ad-fields had ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was retained by government grants.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders' main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of a 66d per yard purchase tax. Only a hand-woven Harris Tweed, Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the tweed as a luxury, Parliament had forgotten that the Harris Tweed was strong arguments for the extension of the tax to Harris Tweed: the high-grade industry of the Scottish Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artist favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional and experimental craftsmanship. Fashion changes to which, in the end, the mass-production is all unacknowledging defeat. The obvious economic handicaps of Island hand-weaving were not, in the opinion of Parliament, a sufficient reason for Harris Tweed, in which the imponderable, 'sentimental

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

For a year or two after the war many men and women returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry. This included work in the spinning, dyeing and hand-weaving at home—work in which the male weaver was helped by his family in jobs such as winding warps. Many Islanders dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to return to the hard, unremunerative work of gutting. The whaling station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950, and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised aids. The war-time construction of ad-fields had ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was retained by government grants.

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CH. III BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

value' is important, is an appreciable dollar-earning asset; and because of the fluctuating export market, its manufacturing must be subsidised by other means.

These and other facts support the plea that if some share of taxation had to be imposed in the national interest, should have been done by steps to permit of continuing employment in manufacturing and of adaptation to the carefully fostered market. Where hand-weaving could, even in the national interest, was the imposition of the full 66d purchase tax. As a result of this blow, the crofter's web could not be sold, and lay, a prey to moths, in his house—unless the mill-owner's stock piled up in the warehouse. 'Hand-looms', newly bought or partly paid for, lay rusting in the sheds and the yarn spun for the wool lay in the lofts. Some weavers with their helpers and the employees in the mills, their employers, began to seek work beyond the Island. As the census of April 1951 has shown, the population has been falling as workers trickled away by every steamer. Some adjustment was made, it is true, but in 1953 it looked as the case of the small independent weaver remained as hard as ever.

The amount of tweed stamped with the Orb Trade Mark, which diminished slowly from 4,484,000 standard yards in 1948 to 4,101,000 and 3,786,000 in 1950, fell when the tax was imposed to 2,800,000 in 1951. In 1952 there was a recovery, maintained in 1953. Over 5,000,000 yards will have been stamped in 1955.

APPENDIX I

An effort has been made to separate crofting from other income, and to show the income from the sources of which 2,065,000 were stamped, and some 1,500,000 unstamped). In 1948 the proportion of unstamped tweed had risen to 500,000 yards but stamped tweed came to 4,580,000 yards. Finally, to the productive income earned on the Island there should be added that received by earnings sent to household home to dependants, together with pensions, unemployment relief and the like. I am grateful for the help of the appropriate officials for the figures cited for 1937-38 of the year immediately before the war, and for those for 1948 and 1951 (compilation for losses was short-lived. The outlook is disquieting.

APPENDIX II

RECENT STATISTICS (1951-54)

In before the Island's economy can now be reviewed, in the same order, for 1953, or the period April 1953 to March 1954, as available. The results are shown on the two pages of Tables, pp. 318-19.

(i) Tweed Industry (1953-54)

Taking 5,000,000 yards as the 1953-54 total, and accepting the figure of 2,800,000 yards as the amount finished, and 2,200 yard, payments to weavers in Lewis-and-Harris (and a few in other areas) of £1,800,000 as the total wages paid, £800,000 subtracting the output from Harris, this corresponds to an informal estimate of the basic Lewis Association for Lewis groups of well over £250,000 and more, probably £275,000 for the period. Adding the total of the wages paid in Stornoway and also of carters, dockers, etc., it is thought safe to double the figure, with £550,000, for Lewis, rural and urban. Most of the weaving is in Lewis, Stornoway is the port and carters ports allows rural dwellers to come to Stornoway daily to earn and so have a regular income, and to spend money on spinning and other labour. For rural carters and mill employees, a little of £275,000 is taken here, making £250,000. As an estimate for the 'net earnings' in Lewis is available, the same ratio to wages is taken as in 1948, making £250,000.

(ii) Agriculture, Peat-making and Home Building (1953)

(a) Agriculture.—First, the trend of crop and stock production can be indicated by selected figures for the Island for 1948, 1950, 1952 and 1953. The same both of oats and rotation grass increased, the three successive totals in acre being, 1,[illegible] oats; 4,460, 5,200, 5,440; and for rotation grass: 390, 1,[illegible]

APPENDIX I

be high until 1948. The year 1949 was the peak year for the production of tweed, with over 4,000,000 yards stamped, of which 2,065,000 were stamped, and some 1,500,000 unstamped). In 1948 the proportion of unstamped tweed had risen to 500,000 yards but stamped tweed came to 4,580,000 yards. Finally, to the productive income earned on the Island there should be added that received by earnings sent to household home to dependants, together with pensions, unemployment relief and the like. I am grateful for the help of the appropriate officials for the figures cited for 1937-38 of the year immediately before the war, and for those for 1948 and 1951 (compilation for losses was short-lived. The outlook is disquieting.

(iii) Agriculture, Peat-making and House-building, 1938

(a) Agriculture.—The estimated agricultural output shows total value of £189,500, of which of this total the quantity fed to animal was valued at £40,000. "Peat-cutting" for Lewis groups of well over £250,000 and more, probably £275,000 for the period. Adding the total of the wages paid in Stornoway and also of carters, dockers, etc., it is thought safe to double the figure, with £550,000, for Lewis, rural and urban. Most of the weaving is in Lewis, Stornoway is the port and carters ports allows rural dwellers to come to Stornoway daily to earn and so have a regular income, and to spend money on spinning and other labour. For rural carters and mill employees, a little of £275,000 is taken here, making £250,000. As an estimate for the 'net earnings' in Lewis is available, the same ratio to wages is taken as in 1948, making £250,000.

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197 Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the proprietors were stripped, by
198 presence of population, skills, and of public opinion ~~without~~, to make some improvement
199 in their small estates. It may be relevant to point out that this was the time when agricultural prices and declining farm rents. Infact the time was not for all when some
200 farms would not find a tenant at any price.

TABLE 7

Farm:	c. 1875/80	c. 1880/90
Meaisten	£130	£40
Mangerton	£150	£65
Ardtoe & Corrach	£285	£240
Glengarry	£100	£80 (1)
Lochaber	£340	£270 (2)

Notes: (1) Small reduction for enlargement in Glebe.
(2) £12 reduction for Lainemadder and Grimerata Lodge.

The crofters of south Uig were in particular difficulty at this time for here fishing
201 was not a viable alternative. Lack of harbourage, the distance from markets (Stornoway in 1918
202 Tarbert and Kilbrae, had Glenelg families, James of Shaw sharing crofts with Gillies
203 tenants), and three of squatters, i.e. on the common pasture. Here fishing had almost
204 ceased and the people were almost entirely dependent on their crofts or on employment away
205 from home. In Valtos and Kneep there were 21 cottar families: they had 21 crofts and
206 21 cottars. Valtos was a village of 21 families, Kneep of 14 families, Kneep was a village
207 of fishermen and weaving was developed in both Sig earlier than in most parts of Lewis. As
208 early as 1900 Uig was classed with Harris, by the local committee of the Congested Dis-
209 tricts Board, as producing a superior quality of tweed. Of the 1000 people in Valtos and
210 Kneep, 500 were weavers, 200 were fishermen, 200 were crofters and 100 were men who
211 went to the U.S.A. also made grants for roads, footpaths and "marine works"
212 Enough for labor the year at Valtos (1897) was an attempt at a harbour, but it came too late.

The Congested Districts Board was the first government agency with funds at its
213 disposal to aid the crofting township. One of the largest grants went in aid of the Cultivation
214 Society (or Portland Road as it is now known). This scheme across ran of an abortive pro-
215 posal for a railway from Loch Carloway to Stornoway. It was thought that the lands
216 adjacent to the road would be ideal for crofting and that the crofters would be more in
217 clusters and so be the assigned which the fishing vessels returned in any with minimum
218 delay. The road, an excellently engineered one, is still not properly surfaced. A more
219 ambitious C.D.B. called scheme was the establishment of crofters on Sheegarrah Farm.
220 Here a village was built and the land was divided into crofts. Some of the people
221 thereon are buildings were formed here and the first harvest was taken by the new
222 tenants in 1911. The crofters' rent was fixed at £75 and the C.D.B. gave £1000 in grants
223 to purchase the sheep stock and improvements, and towards the cost of fencing. Almost
224 the whole township was fenced and the sheep were kept in a large fenced area. Sheegarrah
225 was a success and its example influenced all Uig. Since most crofters had small holdings
226 needing coordinated schemes were raised by the Crofters Commission where
227 experts regarded the scheme as essentials. Both here since been re-zoned by crofters.

235 Sanford and Harness. but most crofters had less farm-this is one hundred and twenty.
236 Matters are sold at least the place and when the nation is made a fact.

237. Farm of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogs
238 and sometimes cattle. Some of the common pasture is arable land. The most so a whole.
239 Not enough of the common pasture is arable to make it worthwhile. Some of the
240 Valtos in Lemreway and one share within a crofter to winter twenty-five hogs
241 and sometimes a few cattle. Some of the common pasture is used for the grazing of
242 the machair - in practice it is the best bigger that are sets. The minister at Timsgarry
243 has a share in the common pasture and winters twenty-five hogs and cattle. Not
244 crossing the Stornoway Stadhlaigh with Seaforths and hence seem to be very small.
245 the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local
246 men are interested in their crofts. The lighting percentage, so dependent
247 upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.

248 Enquiries since that date crofts in township but not crofters, have been made
249 because where carry on stock the four townships are understocked according to the total
250 area of the common pasture. Thus in Valtos in Timsgarry approximately 1000 sheep
251 are kept. Crofters have of course by 1959 - the Valtos crofters have sold their sheep
252 some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts
253 keep some sheep and hogs are sold to the grazing men.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.

Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
254 twentieth century and the people were almost entirely dependent on their crofts or on employment away
255 from home. In Valtos and Kneep there were 21 cottar families: they had 21 crofts and
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263 It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood to Ardtoe. the only two families
264 without ancillary occupations are those where all the members are aldefly. Of the others
265 some are employed in the weaving trade, some in the fishing industry, some in
266 construction capacity at the R.A.F. station and there are fifty regular weavers.

267 Aird and is in a well-contoured township, the land was fully cultivated and a certain
268 amount of cutting was carried on in spite of the difficulty of cleaning up the lands over the
269 rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, the very much dependent on the R.A.F. station, and
270 if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search of other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND EERE

by

David G. Symon.

On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a township
271 of three villages, Valtos, Kneep and Eere. Valtos is the largest of the three, with 21 families
272 living in 21 houses. Kneep, inclusive of Valtos, Meavaig, Valtos, Valtos, and several
273 smaller islands, comprises the territorial limits of the township of Valtos, Kneep and
274 Eere.

This secondary pastoralism is accidental to the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock and
275 thin soil. Nevertheless it is in this hill land that the Norsemen intense interest was
276 frequently of Uig Bay. The raised roring house and place at Crowlista, and the "port
277 of the Norsemen" at Eere near the site of the Clachan in Crowlista, point to the Norsemen
278 interest in this area.

At present the wearing of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is
279 the main occupation of the people. There are two mills in Stornoway, one at Tarbert, another
280 three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these towns were
281 in use and two tweeds were in a weak loving in a semi-crofted way for the supply of weaving is
282 irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris
283 tweed industry.

Machair's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
284 five men. Some of the men are from Crowlista and are from Crowlista. Carnish is growing
285 in size. Some of the men are from Crowlista, one from Crowlista, one from Kneep, one from
286 Valtos. Some of the men are from Crowlista, one from Kneep, one from Valtos, one from
287 Valtos. Some of the men are from Crowlista, one from Kneep, one from Valtos, one from
288 Valtos. Some of the men are from Crowlista, one from Kneep, one from Valtos, one from

pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris, 159
offered—such was the character of the man—as thanks for 175*
'98 per cent support' he got from the people of Lewis, to each 423
vis crofter his own croft as a free gift, and the Lews Castle, 431
ether with all his property in Stornoway, to the people of the
n.

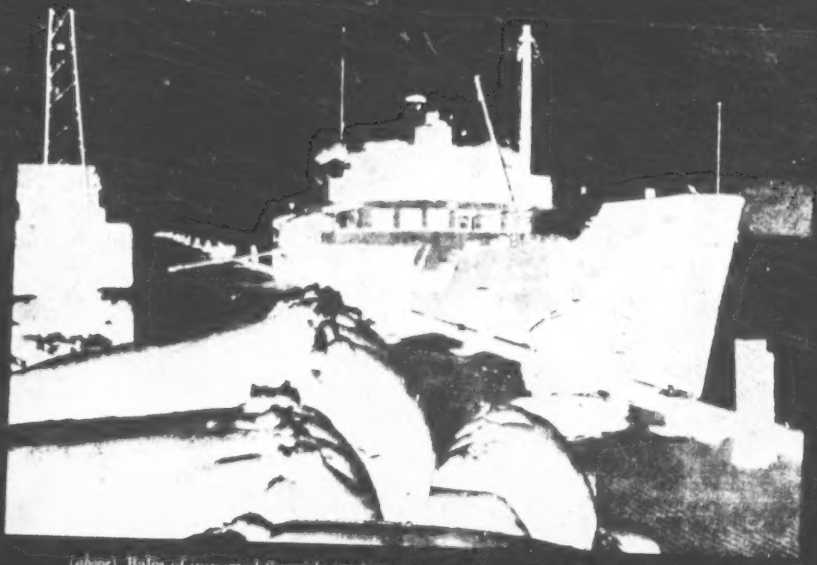
n 1919, Leverhulme became proprietor of Harris, and con- 159
trated his efforts in Obbe, now called Leverburgh, in South 175*
rris. The harbour at Obbe lacked the natural advantage which
rnoway had, so he spent large sums on making it navigable. [503]
cky obstacles were blasted away; numerous buoys and beacons [228]
e set up to guide vessels into harbour; new quays were built;
l kippering sheds, and other buildings necessary for packing
l curing herring were erected. Among his other undertakings [288]
Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he [491]
e half the cost of the 5½ miles of road between Leverburgh
l Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Brus-
. His Harris schemes came to an abrupt end. And the remains
industrial history are still to be seen in the quietness of the
e township named after one of the most stormy of business
rels that Britain has ever seen.

urism

Tourism has always been a perfunctory and casual affair, until 484
introduction of the fast ferries which now link the mainland [501]
a Skye) with the Outer Isles. Some 10,000 cars cross each year [505]
m Skye to the Hebrides. In 1913, the Stornoway Tourist
ociation had a struggle to increase the number of visitors to
town, to establish it as a tourist resort. It is much the same
lay with the Western Isles Tourist Association, which is having
ficulty in integrating tourist facilities with crofting activities. In
wis, the Stornoway Trust has assisted in establishing pony-
kking, a venture which has the potential to mirror the success
a similar one in the Isle of Skye.

PRESENT INDUSTRY

most an echo of the kelp-burning industry is the alginate in- 824
stry. It provides employment for only small numbers, but is a 381

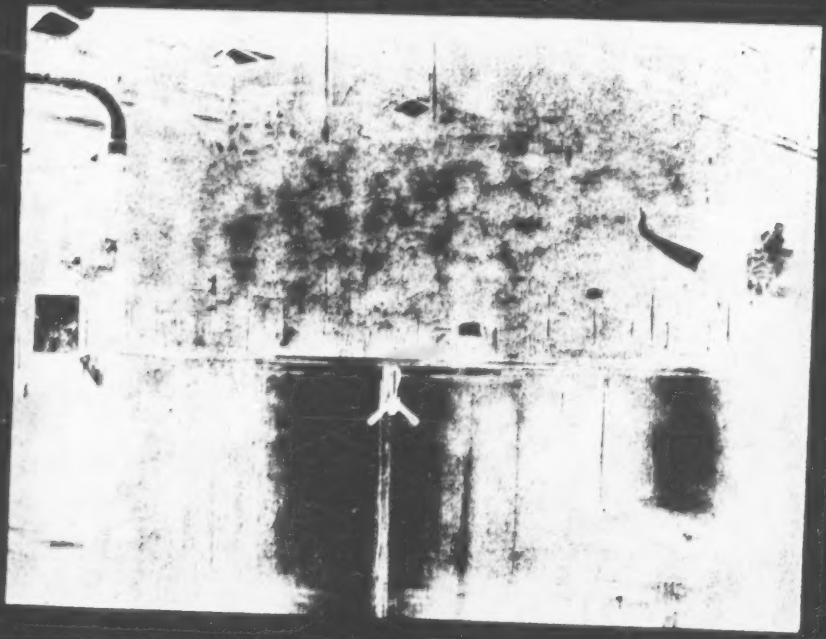


501
504
236
493

(*above*) Bales of imported Scottish wool on the quay at Stornoway for the Harris Tweed industry

/p. 144/

(*below*) Dyeing wool in a Stornoway mill



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288
402
415
291

[Seforthhe-1] [Shielderniah] [Habost]

suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out of the present population of twenty, three, one is permanently away and two have migrated since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

In Seaforthhead and Shielderniah all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's, 'Seaforth Castle', now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled, communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisean Lodge gives access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHILDERNISH

Shielderniah, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes, preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and water the lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the croft is in permanent pasture. The total stocking of the Shielderniah crofts is below the township average. Fishing is now only for domestic use though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the township and this isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to grazing. Shielderniah appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got out of the croft especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be improved - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that fresh fish is better placed than Seaforthhead for a fishering settlement. The crofts are certainly of a workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement stretches for over a mile eastwards on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on the flats, most of the cultivation takes place. Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin soils.

[Habost]

Drift is found near the shore and taps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grawn on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks in former years when he had used the spade. The answer to this was given by one of the other pioneers, who thought that time saved could be devoted to some other profitable occupation, for example, weaving. Six of the crofters practise a five-year crop rotation, sowing potatoes first, followed by oats under-sown with clover which for the following three years is cut for hay.

An interesting experiment has been that of the improvement of two-acre of common grazing land by the road on the west side of the township, by sixty tons of lime and fertilisers, spread during the evenings. The work began early in Spring when 6 tons of lime, 10 cwts. of mineral phosphate and 5 cwts. of sulphate of ammonia fertilizer were spread at the owners' own cost. The grass seed was sown in July, the most favourable time for sowing since there is less danger of a drought than earlier in the year, and more convenient for the crofters who have to be born in March so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The cows are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Croibeg Farm. The township gaigs are opened in October and the cattle remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on task days.

Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until the 1890's. Active land was not considered, and was gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the moss was used at Balallan. Prices for calves are normally better in Spring than at the Autumn sale, nevertheless prices could be expected to be low. Even so, it is usually a profitable venture for a crofter to part with the animal rather than bear the cost of taking it back to the croft and wintering it there. Naturally there is some uneasiness in the community at the suggestion that the middlemen who buy these animals will sell them at much higher prices on the mainland at Dingwall. Sheep are normally sold in Stornoway to the butchers but also at the local sales.

Crofting is not in itself a lucrative form of employment and in most households there is at least one other source of income. A majority of the crofters have regular employment, two working in quarries or on the roads for the County Council, another is postman, three are weavers, another is both weaver and contractor, while yet another works in Aberdeen waters aboard a fishing factory ship for eight months of the year. Weaving is undoubtedly the most lucrative of the ancillary occupations, though the weavers are suffering at the moment from the slump in the Harris Tweed industry which is also affecting the prices for wool. Contracting is also a paying proposition for one or two persons only, since the amount of freight is obviously limited.

Most crofters own a small rowing boat and it is not uncommon to see half a dozen nets set in Loch Erisort on any fine evening during the Spring and Summer for the catching of sea trout, largely because of the scarcity of fish near the coasts, and partly because of the isolation of the area and the enhanced difficulty in marketing. The Fleetwood trawlers are regarded as pirates in the Minch, and one has to re-credit the destruction of two long lines - the sum total of the tackle belonging to a local boat. To have eighteen pounds worth of gear lost in one night is ruin to a crofter-fisherman. Lobster fishing has died out at Garyvard though it could be quite epsteinively practised.

The main road from South Lochs to Stornoway through the village has obviously had a profound effect on the township. The sites of the old 'black houses' have been abandoned when new houses have been built, in favour of sites conveniently near to the road. The Road Age has greatly lessened the distance and time taken to reach Stornoway. Cultivation has not been the majority of crofters in Garyvard use artificial fertilisers, whereas they are scarcely used at all in Caverata where the road ends about 50 yards from the nearest house.

[Garyvard]

Only a fraction of the total arable land is cultivated by tractor and this is divided among seven crofts. In spite of an emphatic statement by one of these cultivators to the effect that he will never use it again, the use of the tractor will increase as soon as the pioneers are able to prove to their neighbours its capabilities and as soon as the lazy-beds are joined together, an improvement which has already taken place in Habost. The main objection to the use of the tractor for the smaller crofts is that the inevitable one that the yields were always lower than in former years when he had used the spade. The answer to this was given by one of the other pioneers, who thought that time saved could be devoted to some other profitable occupation, for example, weaving. Six of the crofters practise a five-year crop rotation, sowing potatoes first, followed by oats under-sown with clover which for the following three years is cut for hay.

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[Cromore]

The crofters sowed

clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably by extending this practise. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofts have cultivated since this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

The scouring for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not enforced. The crofters keep the sheep which they can manage to maintain through the winter and no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the scouring is exceeded by only seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the scour. Lambing takes place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and then dipped; November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. The cattle are left to graze on the hill all the year round. The crofters like the calves to be born in March so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The cows are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Croibeg Farm. The township gaigs are opened in October and the cattle remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on task days.

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B.A.

Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triangular inlet opening to the north-east and well sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, making the loch ideal anchorage and harbour.

The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slopes more gradually and irregularly, with frequent precipitous rock outcrops, for two hundred to five hundred yards to the rise steeply to a line of low hills, two hundred and fifty feet to four hundred feet high, surrounding the loch. All crofts thus have an easterly or north-easterly aspect, not particularly favourable for cultivation, and only one has any appreciable area of land uninterrupted by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin, and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely dispersed.

The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common grazing, are mainly covered with heather, moor grass or sphagnum bog, while the lower areas within the township are grassy, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not yet a problem, and only small areas exist, mainly on the lower slopes of the western side of the loch. A few swans and willowe survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant and one occupied by a bachelor who has never lived on the croft. Holdings vary in size from one acre of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in radial fashion (Fig. 4). The size of the crofts varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and few cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses being on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' system. Owing to the rocky nature of the terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two yards wide. Potatoes and oats are grown in rotation, and hay taken from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters now grass for hay or underwrite their crops. Dung and seaweed are used as fertilisers, with potash fertilizer as the most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce, carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

[Ur-vir] [Marivig]

beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other lazy-beds are permanently immature and, only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'mid arable' is now in use and potatoes. If natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the old arable (ninety acres) after 1850-52. As in all the fishing townships the area of sown grass is infinitesimal for only the four of the fifty-eight operative units actually have a grass ley. The wintering capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of under-sowing.

There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives. All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and squatters and four landless families (legal). Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) share in the Gravir common and the population has been encroached on by several feus for Gravir is the functional centre of Park: the Free Church of Scotland and Manse, the Hospital, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionary (assistant ministers) are all located in Gravir.

Gravir and Glengravir then have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked; the quarter has stocked the quarter has stocked the other fifty per cent of the scour, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 6,652 acres is in general of poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritious species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957 a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded; only twelve of the operative units participated in this reclamation work, and the ages of the participants ranged between 27 and 64 years. Besides the fifteen legal Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) all share in the Gravir common.

Crofts can be extended only if adjacent to arable land, which can be easily or not such work. This scheme could be extended annually; if potential improvements to the crofts are limited, pasture amelioration is virtually impossible. Only a few crofts have arable land which could stable better stock to be kept rather than greater numbers; at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the sheep scour, and a few are taken out for sale at a little at £2 the to £3 10s. an indication of the consequence of overstocking. The cattle stock is below the scouring and this paucity of cattle is one of the notable changes in the agricultural culture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the scouring by thirty-five per cent.

The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Crofts with the scouring of one cow and follower and eight sheep per pound sterling of rent in a township where sufficient arable land is available to be used for the production of feed for the supporting agricultural units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, barley or oats, locally milled by the three Gravir water mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family. Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and eighty-nine lobsters were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for inshore fishery.

If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of insurable age on service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupations are sufficiently available or attractive to keep the insurable population in the district. Twelve of the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in permanent employment forty of them in Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential male reserve population.

The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the bay-day of the fishing most of the men fished all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the scouring, the income of the largest croft including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

[Zevric] [Dingravric] [Lamrovy]

The urgent need in Grantir is a reduction in the number of holdings. A pre-requisite of such a reduction would be the creation of a new centre with a sizeable population. Weaving and fishing are the more obvious occupations; the former is subject to world trade fluctuations but the latter is now in a more favourable position since the introduction of the having fishing guaranteed markets, although the raising of the initial capital for buying and equipping boats is a formidable problem. Of the present population there is a large number of young and non-existing. The outstanding feature of the present-day population is the absence of young people. The urgent need for this present trend is that the migrating section of the community comprises the younger and more enterprising people. Unless holdings of economic size can be found, and stable employment introduced, one can expect the younger men and women to remain in Grantir.

Until a major reorganisation of the croftin is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-send large areas of the common pasture to the former arable condition, and the development of a viable tourist industry, are interim possibilities. It is not sufficiently realised in croafting districts that there is a demand from the city dweller for unspoiled countryside and good plain fare in a clean atmosphere, with the possibility of hill walking and fishing on fresh and salt water. Yet, until the proposed water-scheme becomes a reality, tourism on a moderate scale can hardly be contemplated.

One can only conclude that until reorganisation takes place and transformer Grantir into a township of viable agricultural holdings, and provision of the harvest outside is not of the question, a decline in the number of holdings is inevitable in the long run but a planned reduction over a number of years would bring about a more stable community than the disintegration which will occur without such planning. Until this is achieved, the young men and women have little incentive to remain in Grantir.

LEMERWAY

Beth Bioweyn, Brenda G. Turner and John E. Wearmouth

Lemreway, the southernmost township of Park, comprises 290 acres arable and moiron divided into thirty-three croafts and 3,325 acres of common pasture. The township is situated on the northeast side of Loch Shell round a bay in the shelter of Eilean Isward.

The township consists of three distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area of about 100 feet, percommon pasture and part restricted to crofters, is bounded by a rocky knoll, the Dotard Corrie, to the first subdivision. The second area, further west, is of a hummocky nature. To the east, a steep rises to an altitude of 400 feet, less than half a mile inch distant. Tumbledown dykes and Two benches are to be seen at about 100 feet on the steeper slope and similar, though wider terraces occur at the same height to the north. It is suggested that the flat area is the bed of a shallow-drained lake, and that the hummocky sector is partly moraine and partly ice-eroded rock exposure. A channel eroded through this sector allowed the lake to drain southwards leaving a relatively deep; incised valley through which the present stream flows to the sea.

Soils may be divided into two types: a peaty loam over the lower and better drained gravelly loam which is found to the east and along the main stream; the latter is particularly suitable for potato cultivation.

Except on rocky outcrops, the very steep slopes and the drained areas, blanket bog predominate. Sphagnum here is rarely dominant but where the land is badly drained Deer's hair grass (Scirpus cespitosus) and cotton grass (Eriophorum vaginatum and Eriophorum angustifolium) are the dominants. On slightly drier land,purple moor grass (Molinia caerulea) and red grass (Agrostis stricta) are abundant. Local dominants are bog asphodel (Narthecium ossifragum) and cross-leaved heather (Erica tetralix) with other common species such as the sundews (Drosera rotundifolia and intermedia),butterwort (Pinguicula vulgaris), Junior sp., Carex sp. and Carex panicea occurring sporadically. Where the peat has been cut and drained, heather most usually develops and Calluna

[Lamrovy] [Grisaig]

The West Highland Grantir Township Croft Association (Grisaig) is predominantly a fishing township. The remains of an old camp site are visible today and wood 1747 dated metal detector survey, indicate Lamrovy to be the oldest of the Grantir townships. Lamrovy has been occupied for more than 200 years but was hard hit by the clearances of the nineteenth century. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Moreforer working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with those for Grisaig. Lamrovy's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied croafts. Eleven of the croafts have gone than one house and the cofter population forms over a third of the total population. Of the total population 15 are under 15 years of age and 15 are over 65 years of age. Only 15 are between 15 and 65. With over forty resident under the working age group, Lamrovy provides a striking contrast to other croafting townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight are retired men who, while not regarded employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Contrasts from the township of Grisaig are striking. Only one man is working away from the township. Nevertheless, Lamrovy has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions are generally good. Every house has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most of the present houses were constructed in the last twenty years. Lamrovy has no croft houses. Two croafts are occupied by men who are retired from the trades, and these were built either along the shore or up the slope to the shelter of the hills where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs. Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lamrowey with its most attractive situation and reasonable road communications. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents, the hostel would be a good centre for those who wished to explore the surrounding hills. Less than relative to the croafters, it should be noted that it is more than at least three houses could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lamrowey, as at the moment considerable enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from wining. I am example. It is to be hoped not and could be put to good use by some enterprising croafter. There is also interest. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to newly planted house are all indicative of considerable enterprise in croafting. The old women, though not regarded as employment, are a valuable asset to croafting community, for they take care of the young children while their mothers are being employed in outdoor work and croafter-weaver, croafter-postman and croafter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many croafters is to be found in Lamrowey but above this is the impression of enterprise. If the croafters can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Bioweyn, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

Orinsay is a small croafting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards of the shore on a narrow strip of land, beyond which, the croft extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Croafting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than fifteen years ago. Some of the croafters have lost their sheep stock (243-345). A great deal of hard work and money have been a result of the own subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the sea and part may have been due to the fact that the sheep stock could not be expanded. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Moreforer working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

All the croafters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the sightseen area (island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping. In November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the clearer pasture within the croft. Ewes are brought into the working age group. Lamrowey provides a striking contrast to other croafting townships in Park.

The total area of the common pasture, which is mainly heather, the most of it consists of hummocky, waterlogged and stony ground, supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep are grazed this area and the carrying capacity of the common pasture is certainly drastically over-stocked, with an improvement in drainage, one might be used in the two valleys.

It is not an easy to be optimistic about the future of Orinsay. The population resulting from the clearances of the nineteenth century has continued in the fishing industry could absorb most of the men. A great deal of hard work and money have been a result of the own subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the sea and part may have been due to the fact that the sheep stock could not be expanded. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Moreforer working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the croafter and his family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the croafter's time. The Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the fishing has ceased to be a major occupation, and only one croafter still does a little inshore fishing, sending his catch direct to Stillingsgate.

There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Least there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their working away from the township in the Merchant Navy.

As there is neither a school, post office, shopsor garage in Orinsey, there is no available employment in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half the population between the ages of 15 and 64 are at present in the electrical Board, employed in the Merchant Navy, or working for relatives, while another third are seasonally away with the whelkers. Only one man is employed in the Forestry Commission. These figures, of 1956 and 1957, indicate that they have already investigated many of the possibilities for development. Only one croafter is employed in croafting, but he could be employed for much more than croafting, in fact, he is employed in the Merchant Navy and consequently, the Crofting Area as a whole can be

The district of Park is one of the more isolated and difficult crafting environments. The ruggedness of the terrain, the poor communications, the lack of employment opportunities and the consequent absence of a nucleus of business communities prevention. In addition, many of the crofters have to be prepared to accept the existence of human communities. The population of the Crofting Area of Lamrowey, and the original small settlements grew rapidly as a result of changes in land use which was a natural trend - the conversion of the clearer areas in Park in the form of the creation of a large body of small farmers in favour of an extension of the grazing area. Thus the present conditions are a legacy of the relatively recent past, and of legislation, particularly in the Crofters' Act of 1886, which accepted, and partly agreed to the maintenance of a larger population than the land could reasonably carry[1]. Two World Wars and fluctuating economic factors have had repercussions in Park and resulted in a change in economic and social values, and depopulation has resulted: the 1951 population was 60 per cent of the 1911 total.

1. The Commissioners proposed that only holdings rented at £6 and over should have security of tenure, with a view to discouraging the perpetuation of grossly uneconomic holdings: in the Act, all holdings were given security of tenure.

[Orinsay]

The future existence of the common pasture and croafting is being seriously endangered by encroachment, by bracken and scrub, and by the sheep. The actual sheep stock exceeds the room by 300 per cent. Peat-cutting is gradually destroying valuable grazing areas; in the last three years there has even been some peat cutting on the better grazing land on the island. The dangers both of overstocking and of indiscriminate peat cutting cannot be overstressed.

No statistics are available to show the extent of the decline in the quality of the common pasture. The establishment of shelter belts would provide not only shelter but a means of stopping the peat from 'slumping' down slopes if they were carefully sited. Much of the common pasture could be improved by both drainage scheme and by re-seeding, after sanding and liming, a project well within the capacity of the resident labour force.

Good crops on a few of the croafts suggest that the land is not inherently sterile, however, and it would seem that if the holdings were reduced to a maximum of four, an economic existence might be feasible on these croafts. The steep nature of the soil limits the possibilities of tractor cultivation, but with an improvement in drainage, one might be used in the two valleys.

No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each croafter keeps very few hens, normally only a few dozen. Egg production is not a major occupation. Any surplus eggs which do not lay are sold on the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the croafter and his family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the croafter's time. The Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the fishing has ceased to be a major occupation, and only one croafter still does a little inshore fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the Glasgow University Department of Geography Croafting Survey is to record and interpret all material relevant to the croafting districts, and in so doing provide a clear and impartial statement of the problems of croafting. The Survey has been concerned with the Island of Park, the Parish Association hoped that a body of fact would be assembled and conclusions drawn which would assist the croafter in his struggle to maintain and develop the well-being of the crofts. These two Preliminary Reports, of 1956 and 1957, indicate that they have already investigated many of the possibilities for development. Only one croafter is employed in croafting, but he could be employed for much more than croafting, in fact, he is employed in the Merchant Navy and consequently, the Crofting Area as a whole can be

As far as the land is concerned, the survey leaves no doubt that improvements in husbandry and pastures are definitely possible. Yet, until viable agricultural units have been created, there is little incentive for large scale improvement in either sphere. It is an esoteric opinion that no croafter working on a croft in Park which would bring in £300 a year would have time to engage in ancillary work and at the same time fully work his holding in accordance with the rules of good husbandry. If this opinion is accepted, and it is also accepted that such crofts are desirable and the present crofters are the only agricultural township where there is a higher proportion of full-time crofters than elsewhere would bear the out, it follows that ancillary employment on such units would have to be found on

1. Park Association Annual Report, 1956.

finally scrapped for ammunition. Drying sheds have been erected at Staffin. Power machinery for extraction has been brought in; a processing plant has been built at Uig with German equipment; and experienced men have been employed.

The industry is admirably suited to the island. The great weight-losing properties of the raw material, the scarcity value of good deposits, and the large commercial demand combine to offset the high cost of transportation from which most export prices suffer. It is estimated by the directors of the company, an English concern, at least that fifty men will eventually be employed in the pit and at the plant. They will be given regular employment, five days a week in three shifts. In addition to building the access road the government, through the Department of Agriculture, has leased the site, and the Inverness County Council has erected subsidized housing at Uig to encourage the venture. When the Secretary of State Presided at the opening of the plant in May, 1954, he spoke of the promise the industry held for the island's future, especially the prospect of regular employment. Up to June, 1954, however, the employment was irregular and limited to sixteen men.

The Skye Tweed Industry. About twenty-five years ago a small weaving and basketry shop was established at Duntulm in Kilmuir. The factor for the Department of Agriculture acted as manager, and the local Church of Scotland minister was the foreman. Later it was taken over by the Highland Home Industries, a cooperative, non-profit corporation.

Highland Home Industries is the result of a union in 1914 of two similar movements begun fifty or sixty years ago by several beneficent women to help the croafters find a market for salable manufactures and reduce their need for dependance on the often exploitive barter system.[1] The Skye workshop has employed eight to ten men and women over the years, plus some who worked at home, but it has never been economic. In 1954 the director, a woman from Edinburgh, was unable to buy material and pay the wages of the four remaining weavers. The old market has disappeared. The shop was unsuccessfully offered for sale in February. Fortunately, a gift from an undisclosed source averted the necessity of closing down.

Only the very old people in Skye can remember when weaving was a household industry. Until the Harris people were settled on Skye at Portnanlong, it must have been a lost art. Today even the Harris folk have given up weaving. They say the purchase tax on luxury, mass woven woolens has destroyed their market. The hand shuttles on one or two looms which are used only move for special orders. The Portree woolen mill, originally established by the Highland Destitution Fund in 1891 and now owned by an east coast corporation, still operates on a limited production schedule. About a dozen village residents are employed regularly, and a few "tinker" girls, daughters of the wandering Highland tinsmiths, find work at the looms.

[1] Alexander Maclehose, The Scotland of Our Sons (London: Alexander Maclehose and Co., 1937), pp. 292-294.

233 Little close attention is paid to shepherding though several crofters profess to liking it. The great losses on the moor (often amounting to one third of the lambs each year) does not seem to cause much worry. The chief income from the sheep is the fleece which sells at up to 4/- per pound, an average fleece weighing from three to four pounds. This wool is not used for the tweed industry since it is too coarse being more suited to carpet manufacture. Appendix C (6) shows that the majority of flocks are small averaging from 10-20. The overgrazing is the result of a smaller number of owners keeping larger flocks. Thirteen of the working units have between 50 and 100 sheep. As to those without sheep, several crofters declared themselves to be too old to bother with them, a fact which serves as an illustration and introduction to the population problems.

Appendices D (1) shows the twofold nature of the difficulties which confront the community. Twenty-two per cent of the residents are over 65 years of age and no less than 56% are over 45 years old. With the sole exception of one man who works on the power development project at Gisla in South Uig, the main focus of employment is local. A small number of people are engaged in services to the community including shopkeeping, but the main source of income is weaving since crofting itself (by definition in this area at least) does not yield sufficient to maintain a family. Yet there are 31 full time crofters who are being supported in some other way, either by relations temporarily or permanently absent or by interest on capital accumulated during periods of employment away from the island.

There is an insufficiency of women of child-bearing age to offer hope of an increase in the population or even a sufficient number to guarantee a level of replacement. This fact toegther with the emphasis on one form of employment gives rise to anxiety among the crofters, who recollect what happened when the fishing finally collapsed during the First World War after a period of steady decline. In 1913 twenty boats sailed from Carloway and gave employment to 295 men. If the weaving fails (at present a weaver making three tweeds per week can earn up to £16 for them) there will be similar hardship and the net emigration from an area already none too attractive to young people will certainly become more marked than it is at present.

Table 36

Fishing in the Carloway District 1892-1956

	Numbers engaged		
	Boats	Men	Value of catch:
1892	65	300	?
1900	27	318	?
1913	20	295	£8,700
1920	14	266	£560
1930	10	83	£262
1938	10	40	£470
1948	14	40	£174
1956	15	18	nil

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Boats returned may not have been in regular use; many of the men were mainly engaged as hands on east coast boats.

that the movement of whole families is unusual, although a few have migrated to Stornoway, particularly from the south. In this respect Uig, except to some extent the south, differs from Park; only 15% of emigrants have gone to Stornoway, c.f. 32% from Park.

TABLE 51

The Destination of Emigrants, 1939 - 1959

Destination	Males (No.)	Females (No.)	(1)	Total (No.)	(%)	c.f. Park (%)
Stornoway	37	44	(20)	81	(15)	(32)
Other Lewis	24	52	(33)	76	(14)	(7)
Other crofting counties	27	33	(25)	60	(11)	(9)
Glasgow	54	57	(48)	115	(21)	(22)
Other Scotland	47	60	(39)	107	(20)	(17)
Other U.K.	17	26	(25)	43	(8)	(8)
Overseas	28	19	(8)	47	(9)	(5)
All destinations	236	291	(206)	527	(100)	(100)

Notes: (1) The figure in parenthesis under 'females' indicates those who became 'migrants' on marriage.

Male emigrants from Uig go mainly to Glasgow and other parts of the mainland (table 51). Since 1939 (in effect since 1945) only 12% have gone overseas; 16% have moved to Stornoway and a further 10% to other parts of Lewis. This is almost entirely a movement in search of work. Female emigrants from the parish are less widely dispersed: more went to other parts of Lewis and fewer overseas. There is a special factor in the case of female emigrants. Social intercourse between the different island districts is very active, despite the apparent lack of facilities; almost a third of the female emigrants from Uig became migrants on marriage into other Lewis parishes. Even if we discount such migration, more women than men migrated from Uig between 1939 and 1959. Weaving retains young men but not the young women.

Migration from a crofting district is a somewhat indeterminate process. Young people of both sexes go to Glasgow or elsewhere in search of work. For a while they maintain their island homes but, eventually, they set up homes of their own. Our criterion of 'migration', as against (working permanently away', was this setting up of a home. Thus the critical point is often marriage and it will be noted (table 51 and Appendices B(3) and D(3) that a very large proportion of female emigrants appear to have emigrated on marriage; in the case of migration outwith Lewis this usually means that for some time previous to their becoming 'emigrants' they had seasonal or permanent employment away from home. Indeed, our enquiries showed that the great majority of young women who took employment on the mainland eventually married and settled away from Lewis. Only a small minority returned, often giving up their employment in order to care for ageing relatives. An island man may occasionally return with a mainland wife but cases of island girls bringing mainland men to settle in the island are rare indeed.

TABLE 55

Proportion of resident males, aged 15-64, in Major categories of employment

See Appendices B(2) and D(2) for details.

	Croft-work only	Croft-work and weaving	Croft and other regular work	Croft and periodic work	No croft work	Total (100%)
Uig Parish	11	43	16	15	14	(635)
Districts						
South Uig	13	27	22	24	13	(188)
Bernera	8	36	25	19	12	(130)
East Loch Roag	9	50	11	11	19	(146)
Carloway	16	61	6	6	13	(171)

Table 55 and figure 47 summarise the main sources of employment. The small group engaged in 'croft-work only' may be briefly dismissed. A large proportion of these men are elderly or otherwise infirm; a few are pensioners (e.g. retired police or service men); very few indeed are fully occupied in the agricultural work of their crofts, thus 'full-time crofters' is a misnomer in this area.

The most important category, in all districts, is 'croft-work and weaving', but it is relatively far less important in the south where there is correspondingly greater reliance on other forms of regular employment or on periodic work, i.e. casual labour.* It is difficult to overestimate the significance of weaving in all districts. It is the only substantial source of income in the parish and it should be clear from the previous chapter that weaving is not an ancillary occupation to croft work except in a few cases in the south. The weavers are not 'crofter-weavers' so much as 'weaver-crofters'. A curious distinction between Carloway and the rest of the parish is that, whereas generally weaving is young mens' work, the great majority being under 45, in the Carloway area two-thirds of the weavers are over 45. The historical reason for this may be the earlier spread of weaving into Carloway than elsewhere for, although some weaving has always been done throughout the area, it only became a major source of employment south of Carloway in the last 20 years or so. Thus few of the older men in the south learned weaving when they were young. A corollary is greater dependance on the Merchant Navy as a source of employment for young men from Carloway than for those from the south.

Other sources of regular local employment are lobster fishing (Bernera only), gamekeeping and other estate work (Bernera shore and South Uig), and government establishments (South Uig). In addition there are the usual services - postmen, haulage contractors,

* For a detailed discussion of the significance of weaving see Moisley, H.A., Harris Tweed - a growing Highland industry. Economic Geography, 37, 1961, pages 353 - 370.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 152]

464 shopkeepers and so on. But none vies with weaving as a source of regular income. Without the weavers most of the others would find little demand for their wares or services.

Periodic work is taken locally, usually in default of regular employment, and often by older men who formerly worked away from home. This is usually casual labour and is particularly important - for lack of other opportunities - in South Uig. Whilst our survey was in progress a number of men from South Uig were thus engaged at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme. In South Uig, also, weaving tends to be less regular than elsewhere. For this some weavers blamed the Stornoway producers, who, it was claimed are not inclined to send work as far out as this unless it cannot otherwise be done. There is some truth in this, particularly with respect to the 'small' (i.e. non-mill) producers, but our observations also showed that some men in South Uig regarded weaving as an 'extra' and were not prepared to do it when alternative employment, on the croft or for wages (as at Gisla), was offered. This may be a vicious spiral - the less weaving a man does the less good he becomes, he takes longer to complete a web and may suffer more deductions for faulty work. He becomes less inclined to weave and the producer becomes less inclined to send him work.

TABLE 56

Permanent Employment away from home (actual numbers)

	Men:			Women:			
	M.N.	Professions:	Others	Nursing:	Professions:	Domestic:	Others
Uig Parish	46	11	63	59	18	39	27
Districts							
South Uig	5	4	12	22	2	16	2
Bernera	8	4	3	10	1	2	7
East Loch Roag	16	-	23	15	6	15	7
Carloway	22*	3	25	12	5	3	11

* including five working seasonally on whalers.

Those taking permanent employment away from home (table 56) tend to choose particular occupations. Amongst men, the Merchant Navy is most popular, especially from the Carloway and East Loch Roag districts; many of the others work at skilled or semi-skilled jobs, including the police forces; relatively few are un-skilled casual labourers. Amongst women, nursing is by far the most important occupation and is particularly popular amongst young women from South Uig and Bernera; most of ther others take 'domestic work' - in hotels and hospitals, rather than in private homes - and a few work in offices and shops. The category 'professions' in the table is almost synonymous with school-teaching.

Periodical, including seasonal, absence from home is less common than from some island districts; 14% of the 15-64 age-group is classified as "periodically away" (compare 27% from Park, 16% from Harris, 13% from Barra). Of these, half the men and a third of the women are students. Seasonal hotel work, for women, is the most important single category.

Population trends

162 The diagrams, figure 48, summarise much of this chapter. They have been constructed so that the area of each horizontal bar is proportionate to the number of persons in the

000 1) Further depopulation is inevitable but is not necessarily bad. The special privileges of crofting tenure have tended to delay the inevitable because the agricultural structure has been unable to adapt itself to changing circumstances. The land is in some ways less productive than it was 80 years ago. But, as population does decline, eventually more land ought to be available for each remaining family and, if properly used, should enable them to increase the proportion of their incomes derived from agriculture. Thus depopulation could have beneficial effects provided it were not haphazard nor complete. The rate and ultimate extent of depopulation could be controlled to some extent if a realistic assessment of the possibilities of each district were made, followed by a vigourous attempt to realise these possibilities. This must be done locally because the problems and possibilities of each district, sometimes of each township, are different. How can this be done?

288 2) It is not realistic to plan for any extensive development of industry nor for any substantial further development of forestry or fishing. Lewis is suitable for the development of industry - the phenomenal growth of the Harris Tweed industry, with an annual output worth £5 million, much of it for export, is proof enough of that. But when it is difficult to get industrialists to invest in lowland Scotland there is little point in living in perpetual hope in Lewis. To constantly cry, as some politicians do, that 'the government should send industry to Lewis', is not helpful, either, for no government has ever had sufficient power, nor is it desirable that it should have, to force a firm to invest against its will. If there is to be some industrial development it must come willingly; it would be unwise to depend on it. It follows, therefore, that agriculture must be made a more efficient basis, though not the sole basis, of most crofting communities. The present heavy dependence on casual or seasonal employment, and on permanent employment away from home, can never provide the bases for a truly viable community though it may provide a useful outlet for some younger folk. On its present scale it leads to the neglect of the only widespread natural resource, the land, as well as encouraging permanent emigration.

311 433 3) Crofting agriculture, as at present carried on, on most crofts, does not make the best use of the local resources. The land is marginal in many respects and the development of an economic form of agriculture requires:

(a) particular skill in farm management, including initiative and technical ability to take advantage of new materials and methods, and
(b) a marketing system on which the crofter believes he can depend. At present it is the uncertainty, as much as the poverty, of the reward that deters young men from taking up agriculture seriously.

427 4) The small size of holdings need not be a serious disadvantage. Since the time of our survey subletting is no longer necessarily contrary to the conditions of crofting tenure; since it represents a voluntary evolution towards larger holdings it, rather than wholesale reorganisation, should be further encouraged.

5) It should be recognised that if a croft is not properly stocked it cannot justifiably be the subject of any of the privileges of crofting tenure. Failure to maintain a properly balanced stock is damaging to the land and to the ultimate well-being of the community as a whole. At one time the factors, through their ground officers, maintained a degree of control over the stocking of township lands and this could, in some way, be resumed - if not by the proprietors then by the Crofters Commission, - though the best way would be voluntarily, through the township committees. This would depend on establishing soumings which fairly represented the grazing capacity of the township lands; and on restricting the unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle. At present many soumings depend on restatements of old ones the validity of which is very dubious; soumings are unlikely to be respected unless they are reasonable.

181 6) Few crofters possess sufficient technical knowledge and confidence to make the best use of their land. It is particularly difficult for men with such limited resources of land and ready cash to embark on new agricultural enterprises; they are naturally reluctant to take risks and therefore tend to be excessively conservative. This cannot be put right quickly nor so long as the majority of those working the crofts are middle aged or older men who have spent the greater part of their working lives in other occupations. Such men require special help but, above all, some of the younger men must be encouraged to

166 However, not all such
167 employment is available in Park: 47 percent of the insurable male population
464 leave the Hebrides to find employment; one third take seasonal employment, and two-thirds permanent employment furth of Park (See Table VIII).

Employment within Park

288 Table IX shows that opportunities for local employment are strictly limited. Weaving of
466 Harris tweed is the most important single source of employment. It is significant that those engaging in it are almost all crofters working in their abundant spare time. Weaving is an ideal adjunct to croft work as it is unaffected by weather or hours of daylight and thus can be performed during periods of agricultural inactivity. The vagaries of the Harris tweed market make the occupation precarious; Park is one of the more inaccessible areas of Lewis and the mills are apt to give their commissions to the weavers nearer at hand around Stornoway when
[178] work is scarce. Since 1952, the number of weavers in the fishing townships of Cromore, Marivig, Calbost and Gravir has grown from 11 to 22 and much of the credit for this is due to
[228] the activities of the Pairc Association. Fishing, on the other hand, has lost ground in the same period: the number of fishermen has declined in these townships from 20 to 14[1]. Apart from
463 weaving, service occupations form the only other employment available, shop-keeping, driving
464 and road maintenance being the chief occupations in the service group. There are very few craftsmen: with such a small population, and the long established tradition that the crofter builds his house and is his own tradesman, there is little opportunity for a trained builder, joiner or even shoemaker to make a livelihood. The professional class is small and entirely composed of the minister and missionaries, the doctor and several schoolmasters.

[462] There is little opportunity for women to find employment in Park, apart from nursing, shop-keeping and school teaching, and a few domestic service posts (See Table IX).

Employment furth of Park

166 The persons in the 15-44 age group form the main body of those working away from home.
167 The distinction made between 'seasonally away' and 'regularly away' is that the former group
462 spend part of the year elsewhere, the men on whalers in South Georgia or with the Tay Salmon
463 Fisheries at Perth, or labouring on the mainland. The women are in domestic service, mainly
464 in hotels. A majority of the men in the latter category are in the Merchant Navy; in some cases these men take leave to coincide with the spring work and the harvest. The majority of the women are in domestic service (See Tables IX and XI).

An interesting comparison in the 'regularly away' group exists between men and women in the professional classes (Tables IX and XI). The sample is small, but it is clear that more women than men attain professional status. The number of domestic servants, nurses, and merchant seamen is a reminder that the crofting districts provide a pool of labour for certain vital occupations, some none too popular in Britain as a whole. In people alone, one can say that Park makes a distinct contribution to the fabric of the national economy and this contribution is much more apparent outside Park than within the district. At the same time a majority of those who are temporarily or permanently away eventually marry and settle outside the district and thus a most valuable section of the community is constantly moving southwards. Only 35 per cent of the men in the 15-44 age group are wholly resident in Park, and 46 per cent of the women in the same age group, a reflection of the poor prospects and utter inadequacy of resources on the most of the crofts.

1 The 1952 figures are abstracted from the Lewis Survey Report on part of South Lochs.

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PLATE IXA. CROFTERS WITH FLAIL AND WINNOWING VESSEL

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PLATE IXB. A LEWIS WOMAN CREELING PEAT (*c.* 1925)

Except in cold weather (as here) the skirt is rolled up over a petticoat to form a pad at the waist just below the creel

/facing p. 64/

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

142
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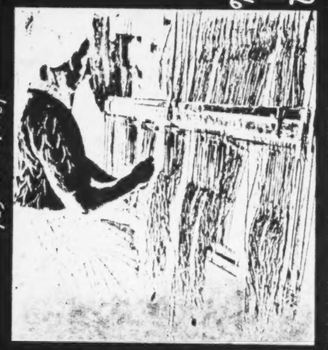

PLATE XA. A WOMAN THREADING HER WOODEN TREADLE LOOM, IN HARRIS

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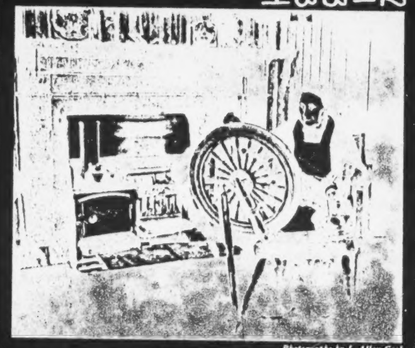

Photographs by J. Allan Cash

PLATE XB. A WOMAN SPINNING WOOL, TO BE WOVEN LATER INTO TWEED, IN HARRIS

/facing p. 65/

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

178
• 291 The dress of the people has changed. The men commonly wear overalls instead of the fisherman's blue jersey. Till 1919 every woman and girl wore the black petticoat striped with colours, dark blouse, often with stays, and a knitted muffler round her neck and over her head. In summer the tartan shawl was more typical of Sundays than week days (Plate IX). In clothing, a change for the worse preceded a change for the better. The abandonment of homespun, rich in wet-resisting oil, for machine-made cloth was at first a loss; but oilskins, waterproofs, and rubber boots are a surer protection to all on land or sea. For much of the year the women went barefoot but for the *osanan*, worn except in warm weather; these are stockings leaving the sole bare and kept over the foot by a band passing under the middle toes. In a wet climate with much soft ground this was a sensible custom, for wet feet, easily washed, were warm and dry as soon as the women came indoors. They moved hardily, yet a little warily, for fear of stones and, when not fatigued, with a short, springing step which was a pleasure to watch. At the same time their feet were sorely tried by rough heather or stony ground, especially when they were carrying a laden creel. Now nearly all except elderly women wear shoes (or rubbers) and stockings. They have given up the dark, striped full skirt and petticoat worn till 1919 and adopted the skirt and blouse or jumper of the towns, or the short frock so much simplified since Edwardian times. In fine weather the head is bare, though often netted because of the wind.

[369] As dress changes, it is often said that the country copies the town; the reverse were truer, in essentials. By 1914 the townswoman had begun to copy her sister in the country, seeking for common sense and simplicity; and what is true of dress may be true of other things.

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PLATE VIA. A YOUNG WOMAN, IN HARRIS

Photographs by J. Allen Cash

PLATE VIB. AN OLD CROFTER OF EOROPIE, BUTT OF LEWIS
Racially, a broadhead

/facing p. 41/

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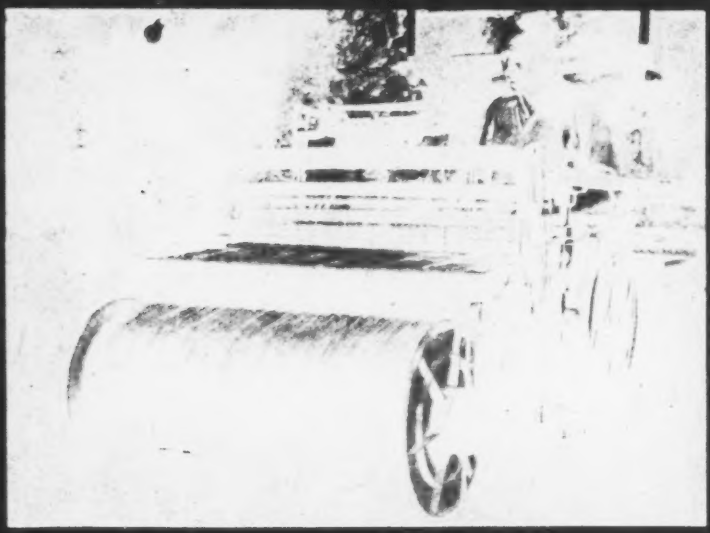
[For further information on land use by crofters, see category 241.]



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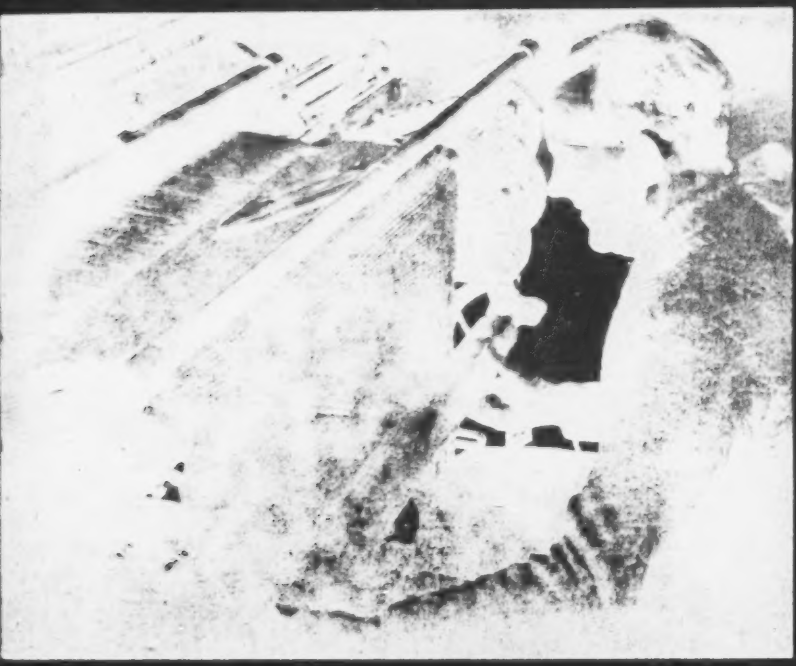
(*above*) Weaving Harris Tweed in a crofter's home; it is usually done in a byre or shed on the croft. View taken from the warp end of the loom

/p. 125/

(*below*) Setting up the loom



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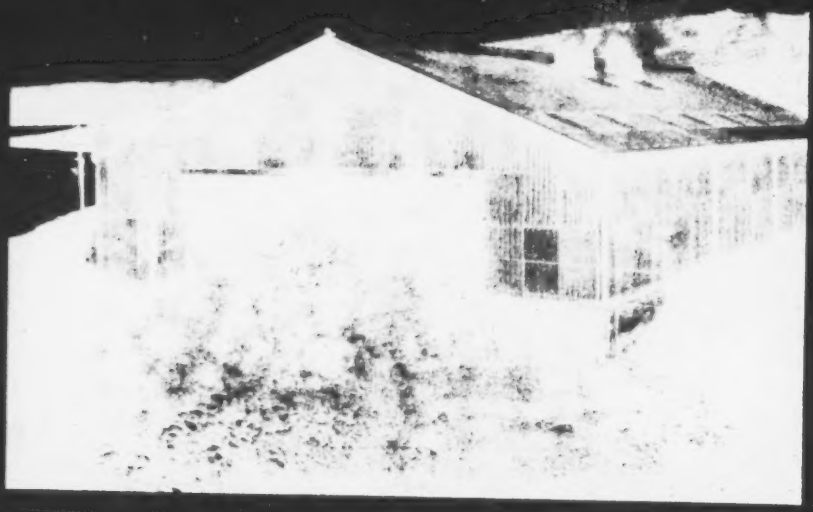

(*above*) An island industry, small but socially significant: the seaweed processing factory at Keose, Loch Erisort, Lewis

/p. 126/

(*below*) Feeding wet seaweed into the factory's drying plant. The dried product is milled and exported by puffer for subsequent processing

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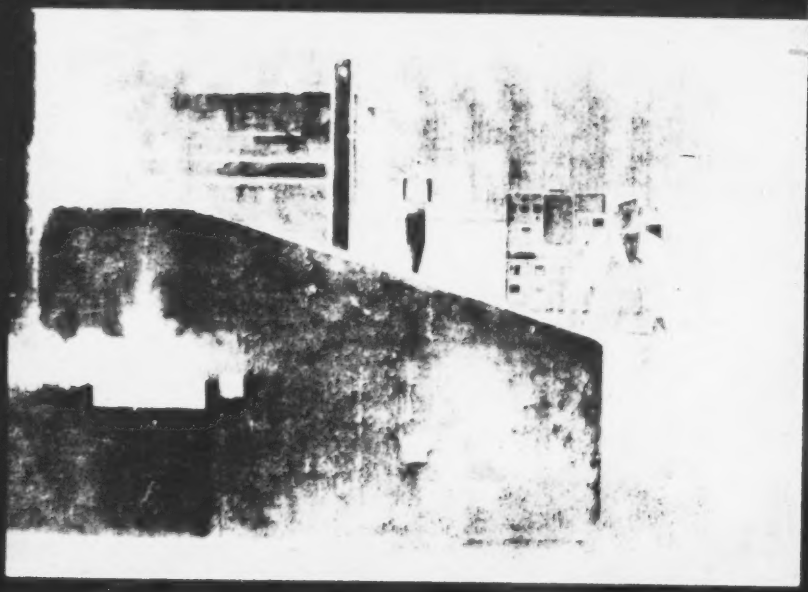

178 262 Most of the outward changes which have occurred in the island took place in the two decades just after the first world war. Food, for instance, now tends to be better balanced and contains more nutrients. Staple diets in the past were mostly confined to a few items, and based on the potato. Fish, particularly those with essential oils (eg cod) were, of course, available; but only if the fishermen were lucky in the catch. As for vegetables and fresh fruit, it was not until after the 1920s that these became generally available all the year round.

178 291 Another outward change has been in dress. Until the beginning of the twenties, the women wore a black petticoat striped with colours, a dark blouse, often with stays, and a knitted muffler round the neck and over the head. In summer, the tartan shawl was more typical of Sunday-wear than of weekdays. Men's clothes tended to be of the homespun type, rich in water-resisting oil. Later these were replaced, so far as the fishermen were concerned, with oilskins, waterproofs and rubber boots. Dress nowadays of course tends to conform to what is displayed in magazines, on the film screen and on television.

178 181 The changes in the mental characteristics of a people are not so obvious. Centuries of generations of long-dead forbears have contributed their accretions to the character of the island people today. It is a complex one. Impressions of the island people as such are few, mainly because observers looked for those economic aspects which gave the society its *raison d'être*. That islandfolk of 175 181 former times were fond of music and dancing was the observation of the Rev John Lane Buchanan, who was 'Missionary Minister to the Isles from the Church of Scotland' from 1782 to 1790. In a volume published in 1793, in which he describes his Hebridean experiences, he says that the British laws had been introduced to the Island of Lewis by the Seaforth of that period. [535] The Lewis people, he says, 'since their late happy change from servitude to freedom, by the present noble-minded proprietor, are animated with such life as to meet in companies, regularly each week, at stated places, where both old and young take their turn in this agreeable past-time [dancing], when they exercise themselves with amazing alertness and spirit.' Martin Martin mentions that in his time (*c* 1695) the Lewis people were 'very dextrous in the exercises of swimming, archery, vaulting, or leaping'.

175* 181 in the exercises of swimming, archery, vaulting, or leaping'. He also says that they were great lovers of music, and that when he was in the island he heard of eighteen men who could play the [533] [534] violin well without having been taught.

The Rev William MacRae, minister of Barvas, writing in the *New Statistical Account*, gives a description of his parishioners (in 1836) which can be applied to all the country districts in the island at that time. After stating that in their habits much clean- [515] liness can scarcely be expected, considering their poverty and the wretchedness of their habitations, he says:

> Their mode of living most closely approaches the pastoral: without arts, trade, manufacture, navigation, or literature, their whole round of duty consists in securing fuel, in sowing and reaping their scanty crops, and in rearing their flocks, and tending them at pasture. Yet in these limited circumstances, while supplied with food and clothing of the plainest description, and able to pay their rents, their simple cottages are abodes of happiness and contentment. Blue kelt [a thick cloth] is almost the only dress [291] worn by the men, and stuffs, variously striped, by the women, with under dresses of plaiding, all home-made. In many instances, however, cotton shirts and print gowns are beginning to supersede the use of some of these articles . . . Their ordinary food con- [262] sists of oat and barley meal, potatoes and milk variously prepared. Their domestic economy is frugal and moderate beyond conception. The produce of a foreign soil such as tea, coffee, and sugar, and the common conveniences of art, such as knives, forks, and etc., are to them altogether alien.

It is of interest that the change in dress-types (from woollen [164] homespuns to cotton fabrics) was followed by an increase in the incidence of rheumatism.

Today, the island folk are reputed to be gloomy with a black, 181 depressive attitude towards life. The editor of the *Stornoway Gazette* has pointed out: 'We cannot understand a people and why they act as they do unless we know the content of their memories. We cannot understand the paradox of the naturally gay in heart seeking religious consolation in a grim and gritty Calvinism. We cannot understand why Lewis, which clothes the world in colourful tweeds, clothes most of the women in noth-

236
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(*above*) Sheep shearing: the first stage to Harris Tweed

/p. 143/

(*below*) Natives of Shawbost, Lewis, engaged on wool dyeing, c 1910

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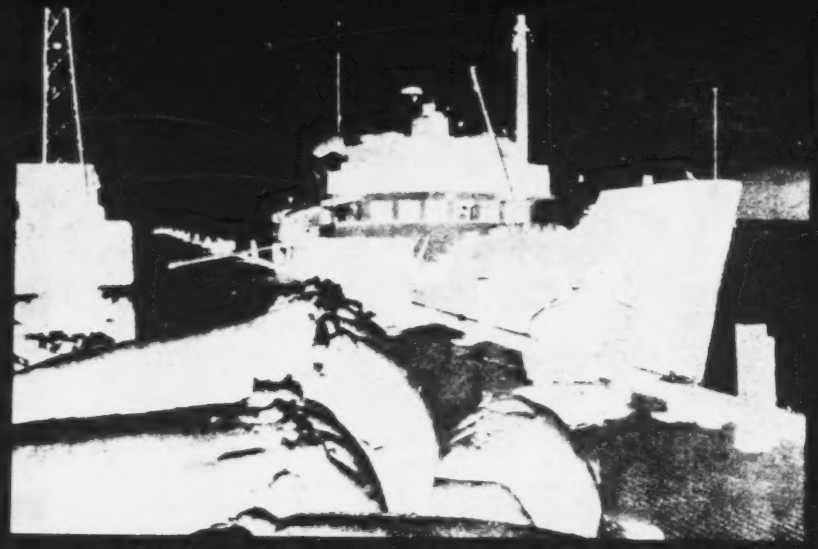

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504
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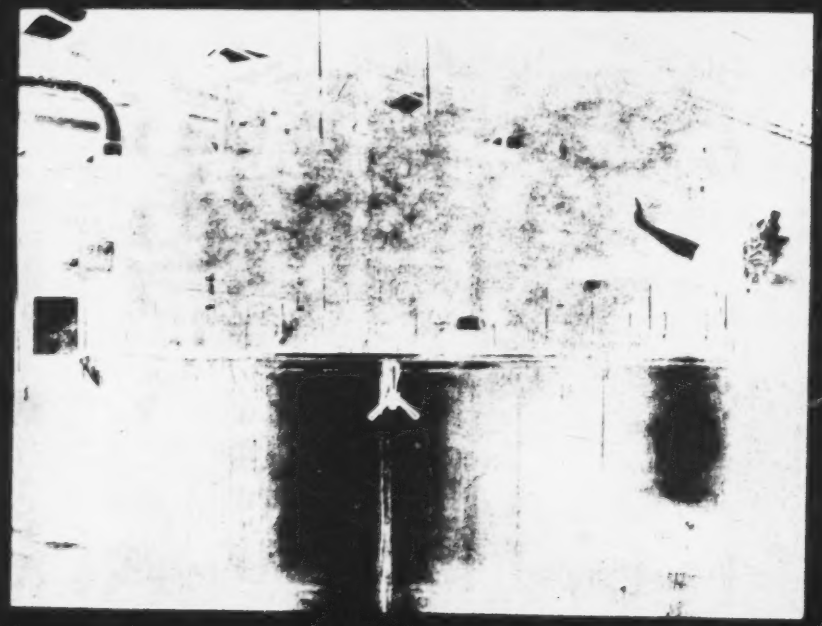
(*above*) Bales of imported Scottish wool on the quay at Stornoway for the Harris Tweed industry

/p. 144/

(*below*) Dyeing wool in a Stornoway mill



236
288
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415
291

286 Make smooth and even the warp of my loom
788 And grant thy blessing, God, on me,
On all who here find shelter and room
539 And dwelling . . .

Thine arm be round each woman here
Who waulks this web of mine,
O aid her in her hour of need . . .

Keep the flock that we may win
Sweet and nourishing milk to drink
And wool to give, to weans and kin,
For wear!

Even now in Harris or the Lews, a brief good wish may be uttered—a "Health and strength to the wearers!" as the perspiring women end the waulking; but in the past the web was finally consecrated. Each of the family who was to wear a portion of it was named by the weaver herself, who led the consecration (*Carmina*, No. 113).

May the well-loved wearer of my web
Never be wounded . . .
May the sanctuary shield of the Lord be his. . . .

286 The significance of this gift of hard-won cloth can now
532 be seen, first for the family but next for the neighbourly
614 team. We can understand how each 'set' or pattern of
[593] tartan stood for the spirit of the family and the group of
[621] kin and homeland, the clan. We conceive what it meant
to the Gael when the tartan, with "the Highland dress
. . . or any part of it whatsoever", was forbidden "to
• [291] any man or boy" in the Highlands. Women were still
allowed to wear it, it was true, but the dress ceased to be
a symbol of community when its wear was confined to
[714] one sex. As a single exception, the Highland dress was
[175] retained for soldiers, but the militarisation of the tartan—
though it seized upon one strand of clanship, that of

286
532 warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, with
614 peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven and
714 waulked together ceased to be a sacrament when the tartan
[178] was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform with
"England's cruel red".
[648] The framers of this law, which stood on the statute
book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they
175 did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath which
648 reversed every benediction said by the women at their
work: "I . . . do swear, as I shall answer to God at
286 the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, any
• 291 gun, sword, pistol or arm whatever, and never use tartan,
782 plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do,
641 may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and property—
may I never see my wife and children, father, mother,
relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and be
without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the
graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come across
me if I break my oath". This Act, as law and symbol,
struck full at the sacramental life of family, neighbour-team
and clan community, in which labour and prayer had been
indissolubly bound.[1]

(c) WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

178 Little remains of the tradition of worship in the tiny
771 oratories, chapels or 'temples' whose ruins stud the shores

[1] The collaboration of friends in Lewis may allow mention of the Gaelic
346 version of A. Geddes, *The Spirit of the Tartan, a Song Drama* (English
172 Version); *Souvenir Programme and Book of Songs* (Outlook Tower, Edin-
burgh, 1932). In this the spirit of this labour sequence embodied in its
[113] songs and runes is dramatised in its setting of custom and history. The Gaelic
version was prepared by the generous labours of James Thomson, M.A.,
Bayble, and the late Duncan Macdonald, M.A., Sandwick, Lewis.

2

292 SPECIAL GARMENTS
rain gear, bathing co
costumes associated
wearing garments; et
Dance and dramatic costum
Personal or body armor . .

92

...s--clothing of special occasions (e.g., festive apparel, ...stumes); headgear and footwear not ordinarily worn; ...with special statuses and activities; special methods of ...c. See also:

...es . . . . . 53 Military uniforms 714
. . . . . 714 Ceremonial attire 796

796 given at Christmas; in Lewis, Christmas is identified
431 with Catholicism, and is an insignificant event in
184 comparison with New Year. To give two examples, a New
527 Year's dance is given, but not a Christmas dance; and
796 the mills continue working on Christmas if it occurs
184 on a week day, but close for at least two days at New Year's. In Shawbost, bannag is defined as a party associated with Hogmanay (New Year's eve).

527 In the recent past, until about ten years ago,
• 292 the boys dressed in women's clothes or wore masks. They
178 took turns wearing a cow's skin as they went from house to house. In each house, the boy wearing the skin was
[539] hit by the others as he chanted the rann na bannag (rhyme of the bannag):

Here I come again renewing Christmas.
(Or, in another version: This is the New Year's night.)
I'll take the bread without the butter,
And the butter without the bread,
And the cheese by itself.
Then we won't be empty-handed.
One thing I refuse is a mangy potato.
It gives a heavy feeling.
It's not healthy.
If you don't give me my bit of butter and my lump of cheese,
Everything you possess will be gotten by the crows on St. Patrick's Day.

527 As the balaich na bannagan left the house in which
431 they had received gifts, they blessed it. All food and
178 money was given to the woman who prepared the bannag.
[788] Today children tend to receive money more often than food, and use some of the money to buy sweets at the post

781 conversions that take place in other villages. "Five
571 persons converted recently in Lochs. Two used to drink a lot, they're saying." Sometimes mass conversions occu
[786] called "revivals," during which people shout, chant, speak in tongues, and sometimes collapse.

794 Although strict observance of religious practices
829 must be maintained by the converted while they are on th island, it is possible for them to relax this observance when they visit mainland cities. The converted see noth wrong with attending plays or movies in Glasgow, as long as no one observes them. A non-believer once commented wrly, "They believe in the 11th commandment: thou shall not be seen." Women who have spent many years in domest service on the mainland, where they generally live very different sorts of lives from those of island people, of return to the island to retire. They then take up the
• [292] color of their surroundings. The long black dress then becomes the appropriate garb for them on Sundays. As on person observed, "Women deposit their curam in the Left Luggage Department at Stornoway, and pick it up fifty ye later."

779 The beliefs of the Free Church include explanations for all events. "Everything of importance that happened in history is recorded in the Bible." Predestination li behind all unexpected events; a sense of fatalism dulls

291

RMAL GARB--nude and covered parts of body; services of clothing (e.
tection, vanity, modesty); standard costume; age and sex differences;
sonal variations; styles and fashions; description of individual garmen

174 to notice the absorption or suppr
621 common in 'the North and W
631 abolition of the duties of fellow-
178 Too frequently they have not trou
former existence of common righ
184 the observances of which have so
judge from the completeness of t
and from wider evidence to be to
ence to Norse and Lowland condit
a profound social and moral revolu

178 Indeed, the profound character
184 it hard to recognise the common
may differ greatly today. To ch
[428] long succession from father to son
[166] of an Island township, contrasts w
of farm servants, and even tenant-
until 1939 in Lowland Scotland
[181] England. The ideals held by fe
tradition, of kindly and courteou
with the avowals of rugged individ
farm even of the southern Highlan
[291] the Scottish Lowlands and Norther
have changed as English has adva
the Lewis crofters' children still sp
in Stornoway ceased to do so f
[771] And in the recorded religious lif
from any priest (or later, minister),
and women is very different fr
Calvinism by the Minister and t
Kirk. All these four contrasts a
changes in home, work, languag
changes, of which all trace may
traceable from the fullest evidence

ression of rights held in
est ', together with the
workers to one another.
bled to enquire into the
s and fellowship duties,
much to teach. Yet to
he Hebridean evidence,
ouched upon with refer-
ions, suppression caused
ution.

of that revolution makes
origin of features which
oose four examples, the
, found from end to end
vith a restless movement
farmers, all too common
and parts of Northern
ellow-workers in Gaelic
s co-operation, contrast
dualism made on many a
ds today, and certainly of
rn England. Languages
nced during 1500 years:
eak Gaelic, but children
orty or fifty years ago.
e of Gaelic hamlets far
the part of revered men
om the part played in
the male Elders of the
re due to revolutionary
e and religion. Such
be lost elsewhere, are
among the Gael.

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A PEAT-CUTTER

The peats are being carried to the roadside from where they will be carted home

/facing p. iii/

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• 291
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417

PLATE XII. A MOTHER AND CHILD AT TARBERT, HARRIS

/facing p. 93/

/facing p. 41/

PLATE VIA. A YOUNG WOMAN, IN HARRIS

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

142
241
• 302

Photographs by J. Allan Cash

PLATE VIB. AN OLD CROFTER OF EOROPIE, BUTT OF LEWIS

Racially, a broadhead

Hundreds
103 of place names are known to the villagers
which are not marked on any map. These place names
[193] constitute part of the oral tradition of a population
which has lived in a confined geographical area for
generations.

632 In most of Lewis, village and township coincide.
621 The village of Shawbost is composed of two townships,
● 311 South Shawbost in which the crofts splay outward like
423 a fan from roads which curve over an uneven landscape,
[363] and North Shawbost which is composed of linear streets
(see Map C), to which the crofts are perpendicular.
Each township has its own common grazing land, and its
own grazing committee. All of South Shawbost and part
of North Shawbost belong to one private estate (which
includes other townships to the southwest), and most
of North Shawbost belongs to an estate which extends to
Barvas. Beyond the fact that non-crofters in South
Shawbost have found it easier to acquire crofting status,
little difference between the two townships appears to
be due to their belonging to different estates. As
[427] elsewhere in crofting regions, the landlords of the
[529] two estates are concerned mainly with the sporting
potential of their land.

632 The two townships are themselves divided into named
neighborhoods (cf. Vallee 1955 for a discussion of
"natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas).

311 There are 144 crofts in the village (nine of
241 which, in South Shawbost, were added after the turn of
[175] the century by non-crofters encamped on common grazing
[427] land who applied to the landlord for crofter status).
Thirty-four (almost a quarter) of these crofts are
vacant; that is, the holders of the crofts live else-
[527] where. One of the vacant crofts is used by its absentee
[493] tenant for holidays, and one sports a trailer (called
[485] a "caravan" in Britain) which may be rented to tourists
during the summer. The rest are cultivated or used for
[428] grazing by crofters or non-crofters in the village who
[427] by inheritance or by formal or informal subletting have
gained use of the land.

241 A little over half of the crofts are worked as
individual units; 44% of the crofts are worked as
combined units of two and three. Twenty-four men have
the use of two crofts each, and five men the use of three
crofts each.

16 A feature of crofting townships usually emphasized
is their disproportionately large number of aged people
and small number of young people, who tend to migrate
to the cities. An age-sex "population pyramid" of the
Highlands is not a pyramid but a top-heavy hourglass
(see Table I).1 Most persons of child-bearing age have
migrated from the area and the number of children is
1. [See p.vii--Analyst]

And so, after every good wish for days, years and life, the Invocation closes: "Peter has come and Paul" . . . the Disciples and the Archangels. . . . Jesus the mild and the Spirit of guidance have come,

> And the King of kings has come on the helm,
> To bestow on thee their affection and their love,
> *A bhaireadh duit-se graidh us ruin.*

The ideal of choice maidenliness which this Invocation portrays, culminates in the thought of the loveliness that was Christ. It rises, too, to stirring virility: "the island at sea, the fortress on land", or "the step of the steed on the plain". Yet when all is said, it is a womanly image which prevails: after the fortress comes the well in the desert, and after the charger's step, the gracious calm of a floating swan. It is all the more significant that the Invocation was addressed both 'to boys and girls' in one isle, and 'to youths and maidens' in another. Not simply was boyhood taught to honour girlhood: ideal womanhood was invoked to raise manhood itself to fullness.

Upon marriage, the husband replaced the maiden's snood or *stiom* that bound her uncovered hair by the wifely kerchief, *am breid*. Folded diagonally, its three-cornered shape came to symbolise the Trinity, in benediction on the bride's head.[1] A poem to a bride, "now beginning her dual course", commences, "A thousand hails to thee

likeness. The short second stanza given stands out alone: the poem, having attained its climax by a rhythm sustaining the upward, sonorous movement, is hushed by its few simple words. In *From the Hebrides*, Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser rearranged one or two of these lovely stanzas, as one of her 'lyrics with refrain'. *Cf.* A. Geddes, *The Songs of Craig and Ben*, vol. ii, 1955.

[1] The kertch is spoken of in many songs, in which a lover hopes to place it on his young love's head, or a husband praises its whiteness as worn by his wife. When first I knew the Lews, the kertch was still commonly worn under the more recent Lowland mutch, and either framed a young face, or an old one, charmingly. The two have not quite vanished, though memories of what the kertch once symbolised are hard to find.

294

294 CLOTHING MANUFACTURE--techniques of manufacture (e.g., cutting, fitting, sewing); special treatment of particular materials and products (e.g., shoemaking, hat manufacture); decoration (e.g., embroidery); use of special implements and apparatus (e.g., sewing machines); specialization (e.g., dressmakers, tailors, cobblers, hatters); etc. See also:

Leather and textile industries 28
Factory buildings 348
Household sewing machines 404
Decorative art 531

THE OTHER ISLANDS

even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil. Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naïvely at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started, HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island consisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoemakers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses, and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers; and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

30

302 TOILET--shaving and depilation; hair styles (e.g.
ing); care of the hair (e.g., washing, brushing); c
cutting, filing); body painting; use of cosmetics, c
age, sex, and status differences in toilet; associa
etc. See also:

Electrical appliances	403	Bathing and lav
Combs, brushes, etc.	412	Decorative art
Barbering tools	413	War paint
Elimination	514	Menstrual hygi

781 794 [302] meetings. If a woman converts when she is off the island, as occasionally happens during the first year or so at university or other school, the tell-tale sign is that she begins to let her hair grow, and wears it tied back in a bun.

The word curam means "conversion," but is also used in ordinary conversation to mean being careful, such as keeping one's clothes tidy. It also means to be circumspect. In a religious context, it means to be careful of one's behavior, as this behavior reflects on the state of one's soul. When a person "has the curam," he has demonstrated that he is "in a state of conviction," that he has undergone conversion. People say, "A change has come into my life." The "change" includes the cessation of drinking and going to dances and concerts. Woman stop smoking. "After you are converted, you don't watch TV on Sunday. You should do everything for Sunday on Saturday, like shine your shoes for church or cook the Sunday dinner."

781 794 795

781 273 A dramatic change in behavior is often found among men who have had a history of hard drinking. One man went into the bothan, raised a glass to his lips, but never drank. "He put it down and walked out. They put the glass of whiskey aside, expecting him to return. He was a hard-working man, one of the hardest workers in the village, but everything went to booze in the bothan. He slept in

3

11

Tab

Parish of Barva

Agricultural Sta

(Scottish Record

	1870	1881	1891
Potatoes (acres)	856	875	1105
Barley (acres)	854	1486	1172
Oats (acres)	920	530	556
Milk Cows	1605	1992	1771
Beef Cattle			
Sheep (in thousands)	16	16.4	17.

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ble III

as, Isle of Lewis:
atistics, 1870-1970
d Office, Edinburgh)

1902	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1970
1280	1146	1126	1043	679	576	413	144
1226	959	1149	823	401	94	14	1.5
728	1107	1039	2045	2451	2327	1432	486
1949	1951	1932	1846	1544	1295	960	451
				50	47	1273	760
.7 19.9	19.5	16.9	21.3	22.7	41	37	35

175 632 241 In any case, the "town" or township was not the effective work unit, but rather was the larger neighborhood in which several joint farms existed. [233] The tenants of several joint farms grazed their stock on the surrounding moorland (i.e., on common grazing land).

D. From Run-rig to Crofting

175 233 241 311 Run-rig was an agricultural system suited to a pastoral people, who required the use of open, common pasture for grazing their livestock; the arable land was limited, and of varying quality (according to Day (1918: 12), 54% of the land in crofting counties was mountain and heath used for grazing, and only 5% was [423] arable land). Residents worked several strips of different quality, and the strips (in drained beds of earth a few feet wide and many feet long called lazy-beds or fiannagan) were usually re-allocated every few [625] years. A "constable" acting for the landlord ensured that proper husbandry was maintained.

175 241 178 427 The joint farm, and the stratification of tenants and subtenants within the farm, disappeared as "progressive" landlords began, in the second half of the 18th century, to substitute compact holdings for the "mingle-mangle of dispersed strips (Gray 1952: 46)" 000 which characterized run-rig. Hamlets or clachans

175 information via the technology of mass society to
423 affect the choices made by succeeding generations.
671 For example, young people are able to leave the island
178 and work in British cities or abroad, sending money
[464] home to sustain their aged parents who by law cannot
[457] be removed from the croft.

E. Changing Land Use

311 Darling (1955) described the previous Highland way
175 of life as a well-adapted, ecologically balanced system
182 in which proper use of land was attempted by limiting the number of livestock, preserving a proper ratio between cattle and sheep, and regulating the flow of stock on the land throughout the year. Dikes (fences of turf or stone) and drains were communally repaired
178 and cleaned. Although continuity with the previous way
311 of life is evident today, the overall picture is one of
[182] partial use, and misuse, of natural resources. Various
[654] advisors from government organizations and colleges have been brought in to encourage effective husbandry and land use.

1. Specialization and Individuation: The change from an ecologically adapted, internally regulated community in which land was used intensively for subsi

Table IV

Isle of Lewis:

Individual Apportionments and Township

1960-1969 (Crofters Commis

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Township Schemes:	30	29	38	17	4
Apportionments:	1	22	32	34	22

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

232
242
811
178

Reseeding Schemes,
sion)

1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
8	4	4	3	2
30	49	42	43	64

178 purposes, to a community which, as an agricultural
311 entity, requires transfusions from the larger society, is accompanied by patterns of specialization and individuation. The following table (Table III)[1] of agricultural statistics for the parish of Barvas demonstrates the change, over the past 100 years, from intensive subsistence agriculture to specialized production. From a broad-based subsistence use of the croft (as revealed by the number of acres cultivated for barley, potatoes and oats; and by the number of cattle, especially milk cows), there emerges a tendency
[23] toward specialized production. The number of sheep,
[236] which require less attention than cattle, has increased
[241] since the late 1920's when the weaving of Harris Tweed
[246] commenced in earnest; and around this time there also occurs a differentiation in cultivation, between the production of barley and potatoes (used largely for human consumption) and the production of oats (used largely for
[231] feeding livestock). After 1931 agricultural returns began to distinguish between beef and dairy cattle. During the past ten years the number of beef cattle in the parish of Barvas has increased.

241 An important factor which crofters on Lewis now
654 take into account when making decisions about their

1. [See p.ix--Analyst]

175
166 In the last half of the 19th century, many famil
were "cleared" from the district of Uig and resettled
173 Shawbost. According to a local version of village
625 history, the Constable evicted persons from North
166 Shawbost and resettled them in New Shawbost. "The
people from Uig were fishermen, so they needed to be
the sea. They wouldn't take a croft in New Shawbost
all." According to another version, the crofts once
extended all the way across from Carnan to the loch;
when the Uig people came, the crofts were chopped in
half, and the street called Baile Stigh was created.

175 Whatever effect the Constables had on land use a
625 animal husbandry, they are now referred to as "tyrant
who went mad or committed suicide after the Crofters
of 1886.

175 Cattle and horses were tethered or herded within
311 easy walking distance from the township; sheep could
233 be left on the moor without much surveillance. At a
much earlier time another dike existed out beyond the
[178] township dike. The dikes were used according to prin
[221] found in grazing schemes today: the sheep were kept
out on the moor, beyond the second dike, until midsum
when they were moved in closer to the village. At th
point they were still out of the arable land of the

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291
302
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Photographs by J. Allan Cash

A PEAT-CUTTER

The peats are being carried to the roadside from where they will be carted home

/facing p. iii/

township, but on land which had been rested and which thus provided better grazing. During the winter the sheep were allowed past the township dike, to graze along with the other livestock on the stubble of corn and barley, and mineral-rich seaweed by the shore.

After World War II, the individual crofts began to be fenced, and the township dike was no longer repaired. The fact that sheep were still grazed communally on the moor meant that everyone had to go out together on a particular day rather than individually, but fencing of individual land facilitated variability in land use. Less use was made of crofts for raising crops, and they could be used for grazing sheep all year round.

b. Reseeding schemes and apportionments:

Another illustration of the individuation of land use is provided by comparing the number of apportionments granted by the Crofters Commission for Lewis in the last 10 years with the number of township reseeding schemes carried out during the same time (see Table IV).[1] A crofter may apply to the Commission for an area of land (apportionment) to be sliced out of the township's common grazing land and given to him for his own use; theoretically, his share in the township's common grazing land is reduced if his application is granted.

[See p.x--Analyst]

178 land is reduced if his application is granted. Also,
311 a group of men in a township may apply to the Crofters
232 Commission for permission to fence off a portion of
233 the common grazing land and improve it as grazing for their mutual use. Grants are available for both schemes. The township reseeding schemes, adopted widely after their introduction, have been superseded by the number of individual apportionments.

The first township reseeding schemes in Lewis were tried as an experiment in Ness, Harris, Barvas
[654] and Bragar. "The Department of Agriculture fellow watched us every step because it was an experiment. Oh, there were times we cursed him and wanted him away." In Shawbost, a few interested crofters went around the village to see if others were interested. "We got a bad name for it; no one could see anything to it. But those people got the benefit of it." According to one man, initial reluctance to participate in the schemes was overcome when the agricultural advisor pointed out that if they overstated their costs, they would not have to pay much money themselves.

Between 1959 and 1962, seven township reseeding schemes were developed in North and New Shawbost, and four in South Shawbost. They were intended to give

241 the edge over non-crofters. "Squatters can do what
178 they like, cut peats, put sheep and cattle on the common
423 grazing, but this is a privilege, not a right."
829

The clerk of a grazings committee says, "When it comes to an argument between a crofter and a squatter, the crofter always wins. A squatter has rights only with the grazing committee's permission. If one crofter disagrees, the squatter is out."

241 A squatter muses bitterly, "I wanted crofting status
423 because I wanted to get a Department of Agriculture
578 grant to build a house. I work on the peat road; I go to all the fanks. But at a township meeting, they didn't want me to get crofting status. They were afraid I would start grabbing peat banks or apportionments in the common grazing or something. There's your brotherly love for you."

311 4. Subsidies: In the section entitled "Changing
654 Land Use" I suggested that the availability of subsidies has encouraged a more specialized investment in agricultural activites.

654 The villagers are keenly aware of outside institutions
829 which give money. They speak to each other about forms
241 which they receive from the Department of Agriculture and the Crofters Commission, in much the same way as they are curious about the number of tweeds which another

105 The
241 fact that crofting townships are located on marginal
654 land is one reason that the larger society is not motivated
• [311] to exploit the land. The Crofters Holding Act of 1886
[671] and subsequent legislation ensured protection of and incentives for continued maintenance of crofting and the crofting township.

Protective government legislation, grants and loans for housing, subsidies for rearing livestock, relatively low taxes, and the economic protection provided by a socialistic government in times of crisis have helped to maintain a core of crofting families for many generations.

105 The predominance of older persons in the township is
152 striking, but many of the younger people who have left
632 the island to work on the mainland return frequently,
166 contribute part of their salary to the remaining family
434 members, and plan eventually to marry and settle down in
584 the village or to retire there. Long-term residence of
[621] kin-linked families in a small area has in itself contributed to the boundedness of the township network.

105 The policy of the government, through developmental
241 agencies such as the Highlands and Islands Development
654 Board, has been to support economic strategies that
632 complement rather than interfere with the functioning of the crofting township with its small holdings and communal
ooo practices. The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an

Appendix C

Balance Sheet of a Croft

*159 "The Muillear" has one croft and a two-acre buaile.
241 In 1970 he planted one-eighth of an acre with three bags
244 of potatoes, two of which he bought for L14/16, and
433 harvested 22 hundredweights. This was sufficient for
[435] his family's needs and provided some feed for his livestock for all but two months of the year. A small plot is planted with cabbages, for domestic consumption.

• [311] Seven-eighths of an acre is planted with oats; one-
[246] and-a-half acres with grass and hay; and two acres
[233] are used for rough grazing.

*159 The Muillear is interested in new ideas and techniques.
232 He goes to meetings and discussion groups sponsored by the
233 North of Scotland College of Agriculture, and has bought prize rams from the mainland to improve his flock. He tries to raise a few sheep using techniques of good husbandry rather than a large flock which would be given less effective care. He is teased by other crofters for "overfeeding," and for keeping his sheep on the croft and the township reseeding rather than out on the moor. "His sheep get homesick when they get out of sight of the croft." He wins the prizes at the Carloway Cattle Show each year, in a

ISLAND REGIMENTS

For a number of years it had been the practice for a considerable proportion of the older schoolboys during their attendance at the Secondary School to put in their training with the local body of Territorials—the Ross Mountain Battery. At the School Prizegiving of 1914, these boys attended in their uniform to be ready to go off the same evening by steamer en route for the annual training camp. Before the School re-opened, the Territorial Force was mobilised, and for some of these lads there intervened four long years of toil, of fighting, and of sickness overseas, before they ever saw their homes again. 175* 702 704

Later (1938), the unit became the 203rd (Ross) Battery of the 51st (West Highland) Anti-tank Regiment. It was whilst fighting as an anti-tank battery that, with other units of the 51st Division, the men were taken prisoner at St Valery in 1940. Today, after more changes, the battery is the oldest in 540 LAA Regt RA, TA (the Lovat Scouts). In 1960 the Ross Battery received the Freedom of the Burgh of Stornoway in recognition of a century of voluntary service to the community and the nation.

LAND USE AND CROFTING

The history of land use and the crofting system in the Highlands and Islands (see Chapter 5) is full of difficulties. In the older days of the clan system, before the rot set in, though the clan members belonged to the chief, they also belonged to the land and the land to them. In such a climate, the agricultural system, for it was such then, was in a reasonably healthy state; the land was worked to the full. Good land was available for the support of the clan, and as often as not in good years there was ample produce, crops, and livestock, to send south to well-paying markets. That fertile lands abounded is indicated by the reports of visitors in various centuries. But times changed. The increase in population after the breakdown of the clan system by statutory legislation, and the policy of population placement carried out with a rigorous enthusiasm, planted seeds of discontent—in particular a hunger for land. The land was in any case becoming ever more inadequate to support those already on it. 241 614 82 311 • 175* (443) [161] (656)

The story of the agrarian troubles in the Highlands area is well

documented; and Harris and Lewis played out their part in the agitation for more land. Briefly, when the clan system was broken down, the clansman found himself freed of the obligation of service to the chief. The chief, on his side, found himself thrown to the economic dogs. Payments in kind were no currency; a house in London or in Edinburgh had to be paid for in cash, and a London hairdresser would hardly accept half a dozen eggs for his services. The effect of the Heritable Jurisdictions Act was like a butcher's chopper. With a stroke a social organisation was given notice to change overnight, with no period of transition allowed. The chiefs looked to the land for their money. In the old system, their prosperity had been largely measured in fighting men. Now the pressures of economics demanded increased rents from those who were being called tenants. Increased rents can, however, be paid only when the land's productivity rises. The agricultural changes percolating through the Lowlands of Scotland had not even begun to penetrate to the Highlands area. Many tenants found that, unable to pay the increased rent demands, they were ejected from the lands which, incidentally, they had held by traditional understanding—written deeds were rare. Emigration started, and the vacant lands went to sheep-farmers, well able to pay good money for the grazings.

Some chiefs did give their tenants time to change to new methods of land use, and were careful not to make a breach between agriculture and grazing. Their tenants in turn improved the land, changing in particular from the old run-rig system, whereby a man working a piece of ground one year had the same piece the following year only if the dice were thrown his way. But the class of farmers' tenants called crofters (who had no security of tenure) or cottars (a squatter type with no legal recognition) found themselves on the verge of starvation. The few acres of ground they had, or to which they had been removed, were quite unsuitable for intensive cultivation to produce even the basic necessities of life.

The picture of land use was that of a great black pot boiling furiously with a brew of which the final taste was quite uncertain. When the boiling was controlled, the land began to be parcelled out, a share to each family. This led to a rigid, almost monolithic,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

agrarian order. Crofting townships were created which contained holdings of a uniform size, often fit to provide only a bare subsistence living. This is still so today. There were and are no means of achieving ambition through some kind of agricultural promotion, no ladder to climb to prove one's ability to win the land over to one's side to increase its yield. And as each family increased, the progeny demanded land. The family acres were divided, subdivided and fragmented to a vicious mathematical system: more people, less land.

In the nineteenth century, many estates were sold. The newcomers, with no kinship ties with the small tenantry, saw that the only way to make their estates economic was to establish large farms, which meant the eviction, by force if necessary, of the small tenants. This is what happened. For those who did not emigrate, it was a life of huddling around a weak fire, whose flame itself could hardly stand, and thinking of the prospect of starvation and the 'old days'. Thoughts nourished on these old days became the root of action; and a fierce agitation for land reform started. The Minutes of Evidence of the Napier Commission (1882-4), of the Deer Forest Commission (1894-6) and the several official reports on the conditions of the crofters and cottars, give ample evidence of bitterness and despair as the result of poverty and lack of opportunity. About 1870, unrest in the congested areas of crofting townships became a political issue. The flames of ideals were burning high and bright. Ideals were transformed into action: take the land!

By 1880, the ripples from the stone flung into the agrarian pond were reaching the general public. Sides were taken: one stood either on the economic touchline, or on that dangerous thin red line of sentiment based on high feelings and a deep sense of wrongs being perpetrated on fellow humans. The landowners naturally insisted on the right to move into an era of land use in which management was not hampered by affairs of sentiment or philanthropy. Governed by the cold principles of business, they hardened themselves in the face of their attackers. And though they pointed to arrears in rent, and their inability to improve their land agriculturally while they had tenants not of their own choosing, they faced mounting antagonism.

5 AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

THE economic possibilities of the peat blanket of the island, particularly in Lewis, have attracted the attention of many would-be exploiters. Sir James Matheson's advisers formed the idea that the Lewis hags could be turned to a good profit, and Sir James's series of peat reclamation and improvement programmes are still echoed today. He first cast his eye to the west, north of Achmore, a township set up more than a century ago on deep peat. The peat reclaimer he employed was none other than Alexander Smith, one of the best-known 'speculative' agriculturalists in Scotland at the time. Smith had already transformed the Carse of Gowrie from bog to a fertile tract of land; could he not do the same in Lewis? The site chosen was seven miles from Stornoway and the little hamlet established there was called Little Deanston, in recognition of Deanston, Perthshire, to which Smith belonged. The soil consisted of bog-moss, varying in depth from 3 to 8 ft. Sixty acres were wedge-drained and laid out in fields of ten acres enclosed with ditches and turf fences. Ploughing and trenching began and fertilizing agents were applied, including clay marl, shell sand, guano and dissolved bones. Two of the fields were put through a course of arable cultivation, the others being laid down in grass. After the fields had been worked for a few years it was found that the driest ground gave the best results. In time the land was handed over to some crofters from nearby Lochganvich, but in 1850 it was abandoned because of the difficulty in getting seaweed for manuring; and besides it was not possible to keep the land in good heart and to do fishing as well. The tract of land concerned today still shows a better quality of pasture than the adjacent natural moorland.

Smith gave his impressions voice in 1844, just after his first visit to Lewis, to the august members of the Glasgow Philosophical Society. The cultivation of the soil was as primitive as the

islanders' manufacture of cloth. The inhabitants were at least a century behind the times, though they were, he found, in no way deficient by nature. They were social in their own style, and they had very good heads, 'that is, for people not accustomed to habits of thought'. So far as agriculture was concerned, nothing in the way of draining the land had ever been accomplished; nor had any effort been made to penetrate the hard sub-soil. He held that the great scarcity of timber had been a serious handicap when it came to agricultural implements—to their renewal, repair or possible improvement. Under direction, however, he was convinced that improvements in land use would result in considerable benefits to the island. He added that he hoped the period of this improvement would not be far off and that visitors would find 'a green, pastoral land instead of a dreary waste'.

Yet not until 1928 was peat reclamation and development again brought out for an airing. This time, the benefactor was the late Mr T. B. MacAulay, a Montreal magnate, a son of Lewis connections. He gave £10,000 to establish an experimental farm in Lewis, and a site on Arnish moor, not far from Stornoway, was chosen. It was typical of most of Lewis: black, water-holding peat, which when squeezed, instead of allowing water to escape from it like a sponge, oozes itself through the fingers. The aims of the farm were to provide additional arable land on which to grow winter fodder, and to improve, at as low a cost as possible, the grazing on the moorland. Fifty acres were certainly converted from moorland to arable, and this formed a basis for an experimental extension to another 100 acres. By 1936 the farm had a sales income from produce of about £1,400. The stock in that year included 40 head of thriving cattle, including 15 dairy cows, 20 poultry, 140 blackfaced sheep, and some fattening pigs. The sheep were a late addition, made with the dual aim of pasturing on moorland too deep and soft for cattle in wet weather, and of improving the sheep strain of the island.

By 1938, it had been shown that some lasting improvement on moorland of reasonably favourable slope could be effected at a materials cost of about £3 per acre, and without heavy labour costs. Thus, the common grazings held by the crofting townships could be improved, if a co-operative effort were organized. So

far as the reclamation of arable land from moorland was concerned, however, requiring as it did under-draining and cultivation, the labour costs were heavy, approaching the £20 per acre mark including the liming and fertilizing.

Though the farm was used for dairying with some reasonable results, the moorland acres put into good heart at Arnish were left to deteriorate. The run-down of the experiment followed the depression of 1933. Funds dried up, and in 1939 the farm was let to a tenant. But the lesson obtained from the MacAulay farm was a good one. By simply dressing with shell sand, of which large quantities are available on the shore-lands, applying some form of phosphate and seeding with cheap clover or ryegrass—involving no cultivation—large areas of moorland can be persuaded to do a good job. The work at present being undertaken by crofters to improve moorland grazing is worth mention. Areas of land have been given a surface application of approved compound fertilizers, phosphates, lime or shell sand, and selected grass-seed mixtures. The results are literally a sight for sore eyes, and bring Alexander Smith's 'green, pastoral land' close to realisation. Although individual crofters have taken advantage of the help given to regenerate rough grazings, the most spectacular results have been seen on the township common grazings; most of these have been fenced off and improved. Today, something like 14,000 acres of lush green pastures are steadily spreading over deep peat where formerly grew only sedges and brown heather.

To end this aspect of land use in Lewis on a historical note, the story of re-seeding had its beginnings during the time of the Napoleonic Wars. A minister who had some land at Barvas, on the west coast of the island, decided to attempt the reclamation of useless heather-bound and bracken-choked land. He sanded the area with shell sand, seeded it with a good strain of grass and used sheep to tamp in the seed. One can imagine what Lewis would be like today if the Barvas minister's work had been followed up by Alexander Smith and those who set up the farm at Arnish.

for mutton and for wool, the right type for translation into Harris Tweed; the predominant breed is the blackface, whose fleece is hard, wiry and long-lasting. The demand for raw wool has also encouraged larger flocks among crofters in such places as Barra, where virtually no weaving is done in the immediate locality. In general there has been since 1911 a 40 per cent increase in the livestock carried on the island's crofts, about twice as big a rise as found anywhere in the seven crofting counties of Scotland.

In an attempt to reduce Lewis's milk imports, in 1962 three crofters at Garrabost on the Eye Peninsula combined to set up a small dairy farm using the lands of their three crofts. A new dairy byre and dairy premises were built and equipped with the necessary electrical equipment. Grants were given by the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland, the Crofters Commission, and the Highland Fund Limited. The first year of operation was closely supervised by the Lands staff of the Department at Stornoway and guidance given as necessary. The milk is retailed in Stornoway and district and amounts to about 5 per cent of Lewis's daily consumption. This little scheme has shown that the island could with some organised effort become independent of milk imports, which have been estimated at upwards of £100,000 worth per annum. Over £70,000 per annum is also spent on imported butter and cheese.

In 1947 the number of crofts in Harris and Lewis was 4,020. In 1971 the figure was 4,146 (3,592 being in Lewis), representing a slight increase in a quarter of a decade. Thus, crofting as a land use activity in the island provides a fairly stable element in the economy, although it is subsidised by the crofters' participation in the fishing and tweed industries. A crofter, it should be mentioned, is often a tenant of more than one croft, working them together as a unit. These units vary in size, the greatest bulk of them (about 60 per cent) having up to 5 acres of arable land. About 2 per cent contain over 30 acres of arable land. In recent years there have been proposals for the better use of the reclaimed moorland, particularly for cattle-raising, which would offer the crofter an increased cash yield from his interests. The annual reports of the Crofters Commission indicate, indeed, that the trend to the small croft obtained from the fragmentation

of larger and more economic working units of over 30 acres of arable land is also apparent in the southern Hebrides, the west mainland of Ross & Cromarty, Argyll (mainland and islands) and Caithness.

The acreage of common grazings held per holding varies from under 50 to some 200. The crofts, as already mentioned, are in townships, of which the island has 168, half being fenced and half consisting of individually fenced crofts. During the winter most of the crofts are laid open for winter grazing by sheep of general ownership. Manure resources are mainly dung, seaweed, shell sand and of course artificials where necessary.

A new aspect of crofting in Lewis is its extension into forestry. A recent survey by the Forestry Commission indicated that under 400 acres of the land not being used for crofting were suitable for afforestation, and that these acres were made up from twenty-three different plots. At Garynahine Estate can be seen the beginnings of a real afforestation unit of some 500 acres, a scheme of the utmost significance for the economic future of Lewis and for the relationship between crofter and landlord. Too often in the past this relationship has been biting, hard and inflexible; in particular the crofter was understandably unwilling to release good land for planting trees. But the crofters of Callernish agreed that the right of usage of 285 acres of the common grazings belonging to their township should revert to the landlord, this land being thrown in with 220 acres of the Garynahine Estate. Labour comes from the affected township and others in the area.

FISHING

Early beginnings

It is the humble herring that has contributed so much to the island's economy and its history. At a very early date in history, the Hebridean fishings were worked by Frenchmen and Spaniards who must have found them rich enough to repay the long journey and weeks away from home in the cold Minch waters. It was not, however, until the end of the sixteenth century that the wealth of the Minch was really discovered, this time by the fishermen on the mainland of Scotland who copied the tricks of their trade

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which is about half a mile across at its narrowest, coursed by strong tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter, rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides; the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser population at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was severely limited by the minute amount of land available for tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict the range and quality of crops grown.

Scarp was originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access to good pasturage on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1823 thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Resort, Harris, and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate their families and friends from elsewhere. In 1861 the population was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951 it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat, plying between two stone-built jetties.

The local economy was essentially a subsistence one, with self-sufficiency in such products as potatoes, turnips, cabbages, oats, milk and fish. After a break of some years lobster-fishing has recently been reinstated as an occupation. Oil lamps are the only lighting, though a few houses have piped water. The small shop

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extra grazing for cattle, but by that time the cattle were already on the wane.

"The original idea was to provide an early bite for the cattle, because everyone had cattle then. Otherwise they would need to buy more baled hay to see them through the winter."

"Almost everyone in New Shawbost had a share in the 1959 schemes, about 26 altogether. Then it was mostly cattle. We took turns bringing them in at night, and I remember taking 33 home, with some left behind for the night. The cattle were grazed over the summer, and the [221] lambs were put on from August 10 to October 10. Many dropped out after the first four or five years, when they stopped keeping so many cattle. When the number dropped to 13 or 14, they started using the schemes for mixed grazing, and then some took up their shares again. When we only had the cattle and lambs, we didn't need a souming; but when the mixed grazing started, we had to keep down the number of sheep. Last year we had difficulty with disease."

A forty-acre scheme in North Shawbost started with about eighteen crofters and non-crofters participating; there were 37 cattle altogether. Now only four have cattle; the rest have sheep. The sheep-keepers say,

178 "The cattle give too much trouble." A smaller scheme
311 is grazed only by sheep. On the schemes where mixed
232 grazing is practiced, a number of conflicts arise between
233 those who have only sheep, and those who have cattle as
[578] well. To accommodate different demands, one township scheme was divided with a fence; cattle were put in for a month in one part, and then shifted to the second part. The sheep were then brought into the first half. All stock had to be removed from the scheme a month before the lambs were weaned, so that all worm eggs and other harmful elements in the dung of animals previously present would have time to die. What was once used for a single purpose by everyone now has to be divided.

"I paid one pound a head to put cattle on the
[435] reseeding," says a man named Iain. "Now I have to move
[578] them off already. Those sheep people want it for themselves. I won't use it if they're going to be like that. Next year I'll have the use of two crofts and my apportionment. And now that I have my own tractor I
[409] can put a load of sand at the bottom of the croft to
[242] make the grazing better."

According to another person, who also keeps cattle
311 on the reseeding, "Some people want to move their live-
233 stock on and off the schemes when it suits them, like Iain,
232
829

311 who wanted to keep his bullock on the reseeding for
233 another week because he wasn't ready to sell it; but
232 he should have known the rules. Some people want to
829 keep both cattle and sheep on at the same time, although the agricultural advisor says cattle should go on first, because sheep go for shorter grass. Other people want to put on twice as many sheep as those who have both cattle and sheep. When they stop keeping cattle, they think they're not getting a proper share of the reseedings.

"The Crofters Commission wanted communal township schemes. But people have different demands. It's better to go for an apportionment. You can do what you want with your own land."

178 The number of township members participating in
311 the communal schemes is diminishing to the point where
232 it is less expensive, and much less subject to conflict
423 arising over differences in stock-keeping, to invest in
476 individual holdings of land rather than try to sustain communal practices.

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

592 unmarried sibling. Eleven households consist only of siblings who have never married, men and women who in 1971 were 45 years old or older. Two widows live with [589] their unmarried siblings. Sixteen widows or widowers live alone, and sixteen unmarried persons live alone.

241 592 423 671 888 The large number of households occupied by single, elderly people reflects the use of the croft as a place of residence rather than as an agricultural unit, a view of the croft that was given legal expression in 1968 by the Miscellaneous Provisions Act. Before 1968, [428] the croft went automatically to the eldest son if a crofter died intestate. Since 1968, the rights of different claimants must be considered and tenancy by a new person must be confirmed. District and county councillors argued for this change, saying that a widow was often left on the croft and her security endangered because the eldest son was usually far away from the island, in Canada or some other country. In other words, rather than an agricultural unit which should naturally be taken over and worked by the male head of the household, the croft is seen as a place of residence for the infirm and for the aged, and especially for the aged female.

657 185 423 888 The Crofters Commission has suggested that elderly people be allowed to rent small plots of land on which

657 185 423 888 311 their houses are located, and that most of the land be freed for use by more active crofters, but the ideology associated with possession of the croft makes such a plan extremely difficult to implement. "The croft is your base, the only thing you have. You don't want it taken away, even if someone else is using it already anyway. Our county councillor suggested amalgamating the unused crofts at a recent meeting. No one said anything, but no one wants it."

592 241 311 Of the five households that have the use of three crofts each, one consists of a bachelor who uses the crofts for grazing a large number of sheep. A second household is composed of two brothers who had stayed at home to take care of their aged parents. One of these brothers recently married, after the last parent died. These men keep cattle and sheep, and both weave.

592 241 311 288 A third household is headed by a married man who has recently sold most of his livestock in order to "concentrate on the weaving." His father, who used to haul peat with a horse and cart in exchange for the use of grazing land so that his family never had to go to the sheilings, died a few years ago. "My father was a crofter only. The weaving didn't start until the 30's. He was wounded in the war. He got a pensio and sold a cow or a few sheep each year. But I didn't

592 24 31 288

like to leave the loom for the time it took to look after the sheep."

592 23 24 [233] [246] [288] [463]

A fourth household consists of three unmarried siblings in their 40's and 50's who recently sold their cattle and now keep only sheep for their own consumption. They cultivate a small amount of oats and hay to feed the sheep during the winter. The brother who was largely responsible for taking care of the livestock is now "concentrating on the loom," and his brother works in the mill. Their sister, who used to work in hotels on the mainland, now keeps house for them. Described as a "self-contained family," they have a tractor and a deep-freeze and take care of their peat and the harvesting of crops by themselves. One of their crofts has become too waterlogged even for grazing and was sold recently to the son of a local crofter, not for agriculture but as a prerequisite for applying to the Department of Agriculture for a housing grant. Only tenants of crofts can apply for such grants. As this particular croft is too wet to be cultivated or used as a house site, the only motive which the new tenant has to become a crofter is to gain access to governmental subsidy.

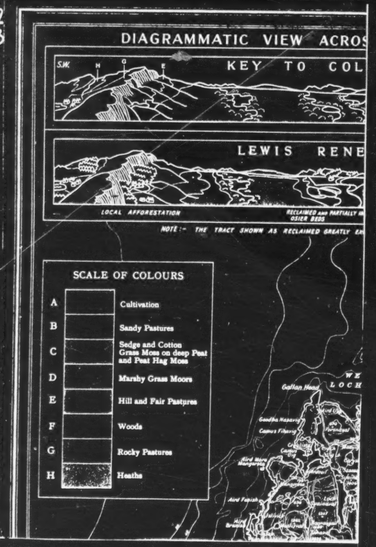
[407] [404]

654 423

592 233 31

The fifth household is composed of a retired couple and their son and his wife and family. They have no cattle, and use the crofts for grazing sheep.

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris



[End Map - A]

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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[End Map - B]

3:Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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[End Map - C]

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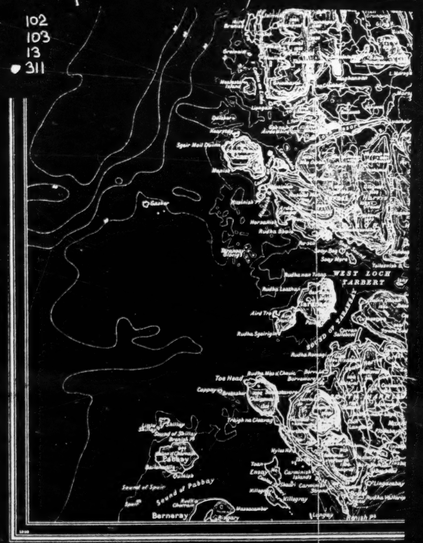

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[End Map - D]

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Lewis and Harris

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[End Map - E]

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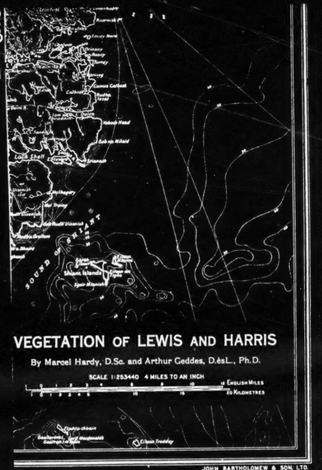

184 share their characteristics. So to gain a sense of pro-
105 portion from the start, we must map the location of Scots
[128] countrymen, their numerical importance, and their types
102 of grouping. Let us begin with the first of these three
13 aspects, their regional location (Fig. 2).
• 311 The base map on which the data are plotted shows the
[102] boundaries dividing the hill masses of the Highlands and
102 Southern Uplands from true 'lowland'. This hill country
13 is mostly covered by rough pasture (left blank on the map)
• 311 within which lie strips of 'Isolated Arable' with other
184 improved land in the valleys and along the outlying coast-
226 lands (shown in black). This hill country includes the
241 Scottish Isles, with the exception of Orkney, which falls
361 rather into the category of 'lowland'. It is largely devoted
[241] to sheep farming and crofting, or left to grouse and deer.
[427] The lowland area from the Orkneys to the Tweed and Sol-
way is devoted to mixed and dairy farming with lowland
types of small-holding, except, of course, for 'Industrial
Regions', which include most of the urban area of Scotland.
[226] Within the 'three-mile' territorial limit from the coast
lie the inshore waters, in which local fishing was once
important, and might again become so; these are left
white on the map (Fig. 2). By contrast to their narrow
extent on the East Coast, their width is notable in the
Northern Isles and on the West Coast.
102 The problem set in making this map is to show two
13 different worlds, as it were: the Highland and the Lowland.
184 The two are rarely envisaged together, and much confusion
128 of thought and policy results. To master the map, the
182 reader may scrutinise first one part, the Highlands (cover-
ing the other with one hand), then the other part, the
Lowlands (in the same way): thus each will appear clearly
in turn. Both can then be envisaged together.

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FIG. 2.—Map to show (i) the use of land and sea in and around Scotland, with special reference to the Crofting Townships Zone of the NW. Highlands and Isles, and (ii) the average size in each county of labour-teams of farms and small-holdings in the Lowlands

182 Let us begin with the economic and the social signi-
184 ficance of the Highlands and Isles with which we are
concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space' is
• 311 the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown black)
[241] which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore waters,
[427] and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by line
[361] C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or com-
munities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainland
and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazing;
the line C also encloses a small area devoted to other
grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, main-
land, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill country
are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small farms
and small-holdings.
174 In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint labour-
62 team on land formed the communal units contained within
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[311]
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Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C . . . . . C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black area: strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings
(in the Lowlands)

The symbols show the average number of employees per team in each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

(a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm
- 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
- 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
- 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(b) Per Full-time Small Holding
- 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

174 the township; and to each were allotted the rights of the
226 common grazing and the fishing grounds. For more than
241 a century the croft has been held individually, though in
473 the townships the common grazing is still held in common.
621 Beyond these 'homely' limits lie wider horizons, in the
632 past those of seafaring and of droving or the chase, and
[198] today of fishing and gillieing at home, or of ocean journeys,
urban occupations or colonisation.
182 In the Lowland regions each symbol represents 100
184 holdings. For (A), 'mixed and dairy farming', the par-
241 ticular type of symbol shows the average number of workers
employed on a farm-holding in each county. On each
farm the employed workers form what may be called the
'Labour-Team'. A team may be 'small', 'medium' or
'large'. The Scottish averages of these three types (indi-
cated in the inset key to the map) are roughly three, five
and seven workers per team. Four 'casual' workers are
counted as equivalent to one 'permanent' worker, but
farmers' wives are excluded. Under (B), for the same
Lowland counties and areas, full-time small-holdings are
[593] shown separately. The Scottish average of less than one
full-time worker employed, most often a son or daughter
of the small-holder, is typical of all the counties.
241 As to the relative importance of the different classes of
[162] farms and small-holdings in Scotland, true agricultural
land-holders number 68,000, of which fully one-third hold
part-time holdings (like the Island crofters), one-third
'full-time farms', and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold 'full-
time small-holdings'. The remainder accounts for other
types of less importance. The farms predominate in terms
of improved land, full-time employment, and of course of
• [311] production. As to area, farms cover 80 per cent of agri-
[464] cultural land. The farmers employ nearly 90,000 workers,
[162] [refer to map p. 16 ·· analyst]

241 Scotland had begun to lag since her pioneering effort from
134 1750 to 1880.
198 Fortunately, Scotland is now recognising that in peat
[654] reclamation, on the one hand, and the improvement of
rough grazing, or at least its maintenance, on the other,
[185] there lies a problem of national importance. More than
half the land surface of the country consists of mountain
• 311 and heath land used for grazing, not including 'deer
forests' from which sheep had been altogether excluded.
The arable land of Scotland is less than one-sixth of the
whole, with about one-twelfth in addition under permanent
grass. Moreover, since most of the enclosed land is distant
from the area of rough grazing, the latter is partly wasted.
The difficulties of soil and sea and of the whole economic
situation are great, and must be understood.

(a) THE ISLAND LANDSCAPE, LAND-FORMS AND GEOLOGY

1. Aspects of the Isle

131 Lewis-and-Harris, the most northerly isle of the
Outer Hebrides, and the largest, is roughly lozenge-shaped.
Although only thirty miles in width, it is over sixty miles
in length. Attached to Harris parish is the little isle of
[103] Berneray, half a dozen miles farther south. It puzzles
the stranger that, while the archipelago of the Outer
[873] Hebrides is best known to the inhabitants as "The Long
Island", Lewis (or the Lews) and Harris, which actually
form one island, are spoken of as separate islands.[1] Yet
nothing could be more natural. Before the making of

[113] [1] "The Long Island", Gaelic *An Eilean Fada*, as a name for the Outer Hebrides has the sanction of traditional usage, as Alexander Carmichael noted in his Introduction to *Carmina Gadelica* (vol. i, 1900; and 1928).

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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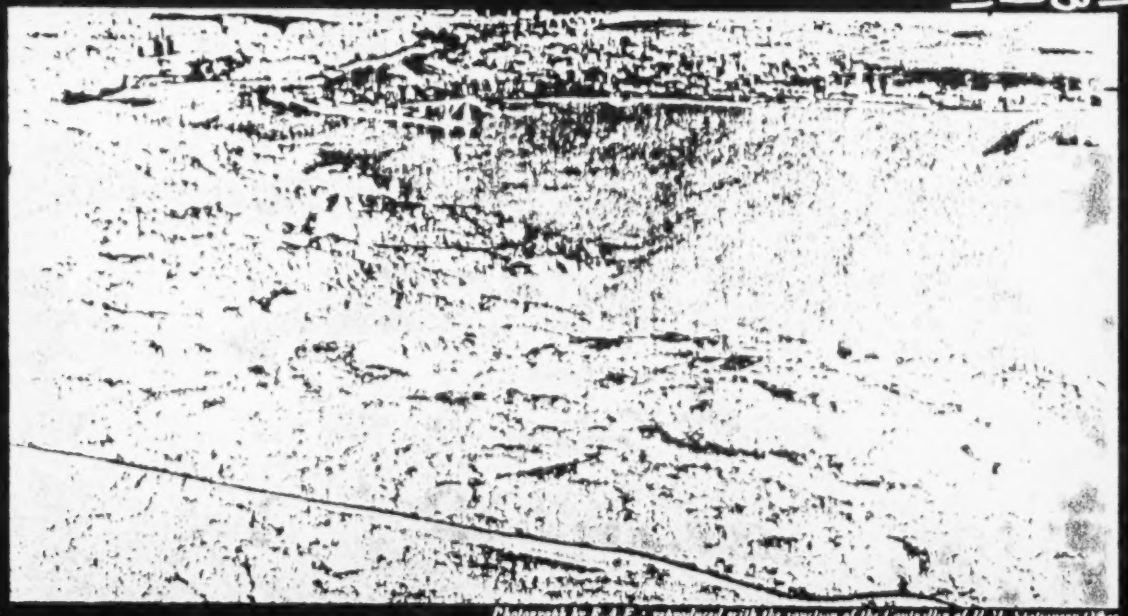

Photograph by R.A.F.; reproduced with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

PLATE II. AIR VIEW OVER STORNOWAY BAY, LOOKING NORTH

The Point, with the Inner harbour behind, is the nucleus of the burgh; nineteenth-century extension filled up the ground inland. Lews Castle is on the left

/facing p. 27/

(Fig. 6). The anemograph at the Butt of Lewis records one of the highest of British averages for gales and frequent breeze: for 1930–35 the mean frequency of gales (winds over 38 miles per hour) was 62. The mean speed for December and January is 25 m.p.h., which can best be realised by imagining winter travel in an open car with no wind-screen. This mean maximum is a reminder of the difficulty of tree-growth, as gales loosen or quite uproot the trees. It also helps to explain the proverb: "A long sleep in a big wind" (*cadal fada ri gaoith mhoir*). This is as true for the byre as the bed-closet, for what could cattle-beast or man be doing out of doors in a winter gale? Although the mean speed drops from 18 m.p.h. in April to 13 or 14 m.p.h. in July and August, it rises in September to 18 m.p.h., with ill effects on the harvesting of late crops. Winter winds blow in full force from the end of September to mid-February at an average of 22 m.p.h. or more. The gales make winter fishing dangerous, and their force smashes breakwaters on the west coast.

Yet winds at the exposed cliff-height of the Butt are only slightly greater than those of similarly placed spots on the mainland coast, or islets like the Bell Rock (Firth of Tay), and the east of the Island is comparatively sheltered. For example, the mean annual speed of wind at the Butt was 19·2 m.p.h., and for the same period at the Bell Rock it was 18·2, at Aberdeen 9, and at Kew 7·6. When the anemograph at the Butt was moved even to a 'well-exposed' spot near Stornoway, the average number of gales for 1937–40 dropped to two-thirds of the preceding triennium. With shelter, the difference from the Butt and the approach to normal conditions on the mainland would become greater still. The planting of shelter-belts would foster crops, comfort and activity on the Island.

(B) VEGETATION

1. *The Vegetation-types and Pastures of the Highlands and Isles*

In order to see the Island problem in true proportion, the types of vegetation and rough pasture in the Highlands and Isles should be outlined. Dr. Hardy's reconnaissance botanical survey of the Highlands, with its coloured map, has been utilised in the compilation of *A Reconnaissance Map of Vegetation of Scotland*.[1] The latter has been boldly simplified in Fig. 7.

The Highland pastures are of two main regional types, eastern and western, with the addition of a few great stretches of peat moor. East of a line from Stirling to Inverness, heather is dominant, as it is on the heights around the Dornoch Firth, from north of the Cromarty Firth and Ben Wyvis to the border of Caithness. To the west of this, heather, though still found, is mixed with grass and sedges. The grazings of the North-west Coast have been the adopted home of Cheviot sheep for over a century, for Cheviots are grass-feeders which cannot thrive on heather-tips. True, acid 'Dry Grass Moors' lie inland from the Beauly Firth and Dingwall. On the rest of the West Coast from Gairloch and Loch Torridon south to Kintyre, 'Marshy Grass Moors' with but little pure heather clothe the lower slopes. These give way on higher slopes to 'Mountain Pastures', reaching up to about 2500

[1] M. E. Hardy, *Esquisse de la végétation des Highlands d'Écosse*, Paris, 1905; also *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, 1906, June number with map, and May number with text. A. Geddes and L. D. Stamp, *A Reconnaissance Map of the Vegetation of Scotland* (Ordnance Survey, 1/625,000: 10 miles to inch), 1953; explanatory pamphlet in the press. A résumé by L. D. Stamp has appeared in his *Land of Britain: Its Use and Misuse*, 1948, based on Tansley, *The Vegetation of the British Isles*, 1946.

feet. These marshy grass moors, with their mountain pastures above, are the adopted home of the hardy Black-

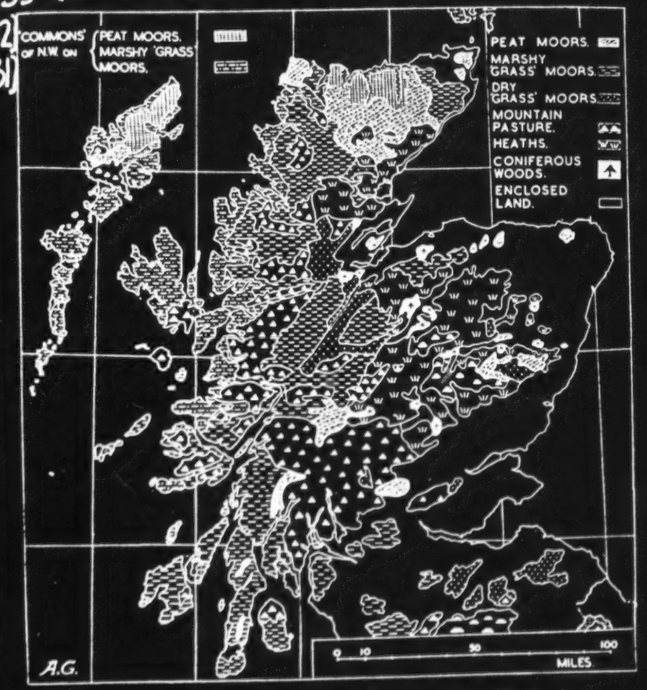

FIG. 7.—Map of vegetation-types and pastures of the Highlands and Hebrides

face sheep. Wherever in the west the slopes drop fairly steeply, good pasture grass with some heather may grow, or rather did grow until bracken overwhelmed them.

Inset into the Highlands are three desolate tracts of boggy 'Peat Moor', in Sutherland, Rannoch Moor far to the south, and on the plateaus of Lorne and Mid-Argyll; while marginal to the Highlands are (1) the drier and more dissected plateau peat moors between Lochnagar and Stonehaven, and (2) the intermittent stretches of Lowland peat moss.

Finally, intermixed with these are strips of surviving or planted woodland. Below the heather moors of the western Highlands stretch the great pine woods of Atholl, Deeside, and Speyside and the Moray Firth. As the heather thins out, towards the West Coast, pine gives place to oak. Near both are found the graceful silver stems of the birch, with its small resistant leaves. These woodlands invite the modern forester, who brings in pine, larch and firs in the east and, in the west, notably the Sitka spruce, brought here from the rainy western highlands of British Columbia.

The uses to which the pastures are or have long been put, are three: as crofters' grazings—mostly 'commons' (and so indicated on the map), as sheep farms, or as deer forests. (1) On the 'commons' there is close grazing for both cattle and sheep by crofters near the townships or the holdings, and much peat-cutting. (2) On the hill sheep farms there is more or less regulated burning and some hill draining but almost no cattle pasturing; and as a result of both facts, bracken has invaded the grassier moors. (3) On the deer forests almost no care is given and the heather, scrub and bracken are coarse and strong. An indication of the margin of the commons, according to whether it 'marches' with farms or with deer forests (given in Fig. 2 by line C), is also shown in Fig. 7 because of its marked effect on vegetation.

2. *Plant Life in Lewis-and-Harris*

Lewis has been dismissed by many as a floating peat bog, and its name has even been derived from *leodus*, a bog! For good or ill, peat influences the Island, its history, the distribution of its people and the economic and social features of their life. In Lewis, peat once covered everything except the narrow fringes of sandy machar, the surface of the inland waters, jutting rocks and steeper hills where drainage is rapid. Man's encroachment on that carpet has so far been mere nibbling. Except for the machar lands, every acre of ground occupied or cultivated by man has been reclaimed from peat.

The Map of Vegetation and its Key portray the distribution of the main plant communities (Fig. 8).[1] All plants are of low habit with small leaves, well protected from excessive transpiration. They are mostly perennials or biennials; annuals are comparatively few. There is no burst of flowering save where the heather blooms on better-drained slopes, or where shell sand has blown, enabling clovers, vetches and meadow-sweet to give colour and scent. Moss, sedge and dwarfed heather prevail widely in tussocks.

Constant cropping by sheep and cattle, and also deer, tends to keep vegetation low, but on the wide, boggy moors this is a minor factor. Nor is there much systematic heather-burning. Even upon the islets of inland lochs, untouched by grazing animals, and in spite of better drainage due to the undercutting of the waves, growth is not really luxuriant. Bracken, however, is found on the islets, and a little on some former sheep farms, but not on the heavily grazed common pastures, for cattle keep down bracken.

[1] [see p. 50 -- analyst]

3. *Plant Communities of the Island: Hill Moor, Peat Moss and Machar*

The types of pasture in the Island should be compared with those elsewhere. The peat moors of Lewis resemble those of northern Sutherland. The machar lands of the Uists, and of Tiree and smaller isles, surpass those of Lewis, while on the mainland and Inner Isles raised beaches provide workable, well drained soils. The 'rocky hill pastures' of our Island correspond to the rockier 'mountain pastures' and 'plateau summits' of the Highlands, and the 'fair' and 'hill pastures' of Lewis rather to their widespread 'wetter moors'. Grazing conditions are of course, similar in crofting areas alone. The edging of heather above the sea-cliffs of the Island and on the western mainland forms a picturesque element of the landscape, seen from a passing vessel, but only a narrow strip of the pastures. The plant communities shown on the Map of Vegetation (Fig. 8) must now be outlined.[1]

(1) On the *Rocky Pastures* the scattered patches of soil are covered by a low and close sward, almost exclusively of perennials and grasses, such as bent (*agrostis*), common and brown, sheep's-fescue grass and wavy-hair grass (*festuca* and *Aira*); small sedges and mosses, with club moss and lichens towards the summits; heather, and fine-leaved bell-heather (*Erica cinerea*); and flowering plants like thyme, bird's-foot trefoil, tormentil and smooth heath bedstraw (*Galium*). Those rocky pastures prevail in the Forest of Harris (Plate XI).

(2) *Fair and Hill Pastures.*—Below the bare rock domes

[1] An authoritative flora of the Island is in preparation by Miss M. S. Campbell, F.L.S., British Museum (Natural History). Her "Flora of Uig" (Lewis) has appeared (Arbroath, 1945). For Dr. Hardy's tentative list of plant names see A. Geddes, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 52, 4, 1936.

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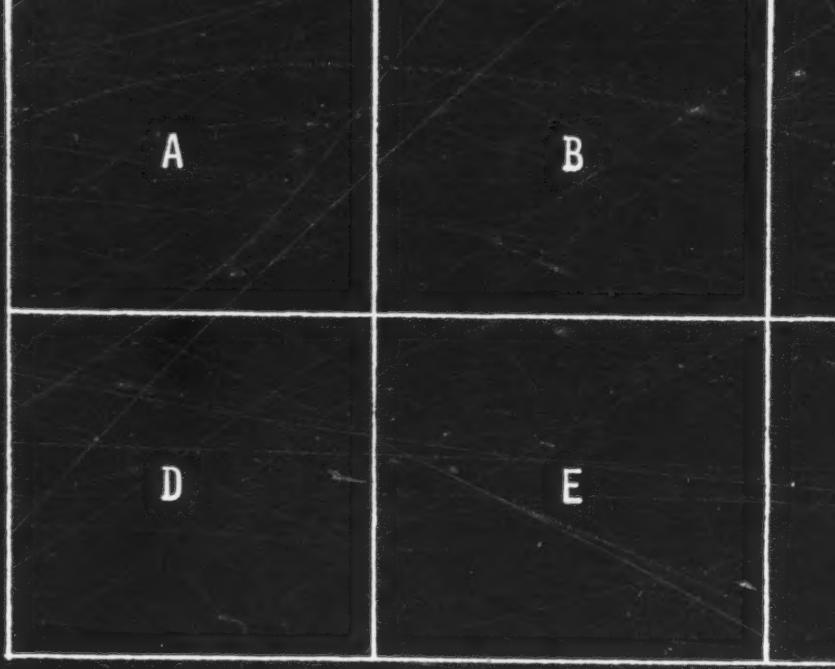

Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

C

F

361 The chief advantage of moving uphill to the road has been
178 ease of communication and access to grocers' vans and mill-
311 spinners' lorries; but the disadvantage proves to be the
491 laying on of running water. A much-needed scheme for
water supply is now being applied by the Department of
[654] Health for Scotland. Scrutiny of a 'quarter-inch' map will indicate the chief facts and tendencies and the conditions they involve.

4. *Distribution of Population*

162 The distribution of rural population can be closely
311 estimated by inspection of a 'quarter-inch' map, where both the area of cultivation and the house dots are noted. Comparison with parish populations shows that on an average one dot represents seven or eight houses or families and thirty to thirty-five persons. Since there are now no large farms, cultivation indicates crofting, and, therefore, a typical density of one person to a little over half an acre, or 1000–1200 per square mile. Rural numbers over the whole Island show a density of about twenty-five persons per square mile. If the fishing grounds, with a sail here and there on the wide sea, were added, the density would be lower still! A single dot found with cultivation indicates crofts, which are hardly ever found singly. Where no cultivation is shown around a single dot, this generally indicates an isolated stalker's house, a shooting lodge by a road, or a shieling (*àirigh*) out on the moor.

(B) STORNOWAY

1. *Site, Plan and Development*

361 The plan of Stornoway and its harbour shows three stages in the growth of the town, the first two picked out

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

175 natural zone, could not be extended. In any case, the re-
433 clamation of clay land tended to slacken as efforts turned
434 to fishing and kelp-making. The introduction or increased growing of potatoes added to the human, but hardly to the
[182] animal, food supply. Finally, while the beginnings of
311 medical knowledge and vaccination had aided the growth of population after 1750, veterinary science had made no
[232] progress, nor did it advance in the Island for many years to come. We may conclude that an average stock per Island
[422] family about 1720 was rather more than that of 1790, and the acreage relatively larger, while both were greater than the average of today, particularly in the Lews.

175 What, then, could a family have to eat, from such crops
262 and stock? While in winter even now there is almost no
244 milk to be had on a croft, and there would be little then, there was salt meat, dried or salted cod (or herring) and fish oil; oat and barley meal and some rye meal; cabbages; and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, potatoes. Martin included potatoes among the crops grown even on far St. Kilda in 1697. A century later it was written that the people of Uig, for instance, had, though 'unwilling', been induced to grow and eat them 'forty years before'; and the years tend to be under-estimated where changes are slow and memories long! But it was written of Harris that by June the meal and potatoes had mostly been consumed, "and such as cannot afford to purchase imported meal subsist chiefly on the milk of their cows and sheep, with what fish they may chance to catch, till their wants are relieved by the first fruits of their potato crops early in Harvest".

175 We conclude that with even less money but a little
511 more grain the population in the Island had fluctuated
162 about a mean for some centuries before, as it had in so
171

593 On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an
outlying reclaimable patch of arable, lying near distant, little-
423 used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chance
[241] of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the man and his family; but there might be advantages such as
311 an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as hunting
[184] 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunter-bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft was
[224] known as *Ruigh* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of poverty
[823] with individuality in isolation were handed down, for example, from one of my forebears who held such a *ruigh*,
175 Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-feet
361 contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the last
[511] of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *ruigh* may have originally been a summer shieling, only occupied when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with new possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led to settlement there.

178 At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of North
361 Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lodges
224 and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth, as they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such as
233 one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small islets.

But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single crofts
361 are rare. And the clearest distinction must be drawn
621 between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage or croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or even
184 two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers; for even a few families form the germ of a community, in work and in leisure.

175 The potentialities of co-operative practice were over-
178 looked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough. For when new methods were required, run-rig kept back the
654 pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. Soon
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241
423

134 that no initial reclamation had been needed on the scatt.
241 In each year of cultivation, it is true, manures of a sort, principally seaweed and sooty sods from the roof, are applied; but they form a temporary improvement only for the crop to be taken, and do not constitute reclamation. After manuring, the grasses and clovers are simply turned over and the land, 'rested' and manured by cattle, straightway gives its best crop.

175 It is otherwise with what is won from the moorland.
311 As Dean Monro wrote of the reclaiming Lewisman in 1549: "In this country all is peat moss-land at the sea coast" (the long machars of the west of Uist give place to rocky coasts round much of Lewis), "and the place where he wins his peats this year, there he sows his corn the next year; after that he guids it weill with sea-ware". Even where the slopes are fairly smooth, the peat land has not the uniformity of the machar and the continuity of its arable strips. In addition to sea-ware, sand may be brought by creel or by pony pannier to reclaim peat, forming a heavy burden. Moreover, the first crop is always a poor one, and may be almost lost. Although in his brief notes Monro used the singular 'he', we know that the peat was usually cut co-operatively by teams. Hence most of the hard labour of reclamation may, indeed must, have been done co-operatively too, but by small teams, not by the members of a whole township together.

233 The sharing of common pastures is the last, but im-
423 portant, feature of land holding in common. The two kinds of pasture required were, firstly, those close at hand, animals being tethered or herded in the crop-growing season, and secondly, the more distant summer pastures.
[632] The people of certain townships, which were without a large outrun close at hand, had to go some distance to

175 which heartened them for resistance in common against
829 landlord and State, both in the agitation for reform of the Land Laws during the next ten years and in their demands for 'the return' of sheep farms to crofting, which continued until all these were divided soon after 1919 and the ex-Servicemen's return.

175 Expenditure of capital in Lewis during more than a
423 generation, from the purchase of the estate in 1844 down to the death of Sir James in 1878, helped to maintain the
646 people and provide relief in bad seasons. It left Lewis greatly improved in roads and paths, in sea communica-
175 tions and in buildings of various sorts. Two real efforts had been made to utilise Lewis peat, industrially for paraffin
646 oil, and agriculturally by reclamation. Given the resources
•311 and knowledge of a century ago, these attempts did their
[161] initiator credit. Yet failure left the Islanders to continue crofting without either an additional occupation or the extension of croft land, even at the high population density (per acre of arable) which Matheson had found on his purchase in 1844.

175 Subdivision of crofts was the first result. A father
423 would simply divide his croft between himself and a son, who might not even be entered on the rent-roll of the estate, and the two would inevitably need more stock than before upon the common. The second result was simply 'squatting': the building of a house, perhaps with a tiny kailyard, on a piece of the 'skinned' land. As building went on overcrowding old sites, filth accumulated and springs were contaminated, crofting was hindered and cows became fewer per family, in spite of overstocking. By 1886 about two-thirds the number of the cottars and squatters found in 1914 were already in occupation. In 1914 there were over 3000 statutory crofts in Lewis, their

121 1794, for instance, their crews not only fishing but also
175 buying from local fishers. Islanders occasionally earned
228 a pittance as pilots, for until the charting of these rocky coasts navigation was most dangerous.

175 The herring industry was in the hands of 'adventurers'
228 (who 'ventured' their capital), and the Islanders benefited little. The British export was aided by a bounty which
[472] helped to capture the Continental market; but, as Adam
[439] Smith pointed out, no bounty was given to the small, open boats suitable for the north-west lochs. Thus the operation
175 of the Salt Duty after 1707 and of the bounty system from
228 before 1745 until 1786, illustrates two of the recurrent
656 blights upon "Public Administration" in the Isles. As Day wrote, their interests have had to suffer "either deliberately, for the benefit of other parts, or other classes in the kingdom, or inadvertently from ignorance".[1] Although the bounty system was widened to include small boats after 1786, the Salt Tax remained until 1817.

To overcome difficulties, the British Fisheries Society was founded with Government support in 1786. Although Stornoway then seemed too far afield, the Society's concentration upon larger settlements foreshadowed Lever-
• [311] hulme's principles after 1918. At Ullapool, Tobermory and Lochbay (Skye), and at Wick, quays and stores were constructed and dwelling-houses built, with croft land and grass for a cow, to be reclaimed. Although concentration at Wick led to the sale of the three western properties about 1842, the Society had done some good work in the West. The chief difficulty of the West Coast north of the Clyde area and south of Stornoway District remained: the lack of a well-marked seasonal migration of herring.

[1] J. P. Day, *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918.

175 for a firmer hold upon the land and for a return to aban-
178 doned sites. The communal possession of joint farms, held
433 directly or under tacksmen, gave place to individual possession of crofts. Yet the legal recognition of perpetual
(731) tenure in 1886 gave not only the crofter's home but the
[166] crofting neighbourhood a security unequalled in Britain.
[167] The use of moor and machar in common was retained; but its control for improvement or reclamation by the
175 estate or the township was weakened, rather than strength-
178 ened, by the Crofters' Acts. Confusion grew—both upon the arable land, subdivided, unenlarged and unimproved,
423 and also upon the common grazing, sorely overstocked in
427 spite of ever diminishing 'soumings' (or family shares) of cattle. Rating difficulties and anomalies appeared. Communal discipline, maintained at sea by fishing, was weakened on land after the abolition of the joint farm-group, and almost nullified in the townships by subdivision and squatting.

175 A year before the potato famine of 1845, a new landlord
178 had brought good-will, capital and pioneering effort to
433 Lewis. These had been directed to experiments in the reclamation and the industrial utilisation of deep peat.
[427] Helped by employment on these and other works, the
• [311] population of Lewis continued to increase, when increase in Harris was arrested for a generation. Yet while neither
[161] experiment with peat met with success, little aid had been given to develop fisheries. In both parts of the Island a growing population was supported from the 'seventies onwards by help of earnings derived from the seasonal herring fishing on the East Coast and from inshore line fishing at home. Women added to the Island income by seasonal 'gutting' and, in Harris, by their spinning and
[167] weaving. Money was earned by work on the mainland,

114 reports of early speeches by Leverhulme, Professor Patrick
185 Geddes had quickly come to feel that his old acquaintance,
473 Leverhulme the industrialist, might have overlooked such
433 agricultural potentialities as existed, and that he had quite overlooked the social significance of land. Hence, in May or June 1919, Geddes proposed that a survey be made by one who knew the Highlands botanically, who was experienced in agriculture, and who had some knowledge of Highlanders at home and of sociological factors. Geddes
[123] suggested Dr. M. E. Hardy for the task. Leverhulme forthwith accepted the suggestion and commissioned Hardy, whom the present writer assisted on the Island.

• 311 Examination of the farms, so hotly debated, showed that they possessed little or no initial superiority over neighbouring crofting settlements. That the farms were placed in the best coastal tracts for agriculture is true, but their shores are at the same time the poorest in harbours and fishing facilities. As a result, the crofters dwelling near the farms along parts of the same machars and smooth slopes were 'crofters' who sometimes fished, rather than fishermen with a house-site and a potato patch. As Hardy wrote (in his MS. Report): "The chief superiority of the farms resulted from levelling, drainage and enclosure" by landlord and farmer, sixty or seventy years before. The improved land both of farms and adjacent crofts was reclaimed from peat and machar, or from an admixture of both. "How then", asked Hardy, "did so much value
[423] come to be attached to the farms? The traditional grievance (of eviction) led neighbouring crofters to turn their eyes towards the green patches of the abandoned villages and endowed the old land with special virtues. After the Crofters' agitation of the 'eighties, successive Boards came with their eyes already focused on the farms, by the

3: Geddes K-4, 3 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

137 there is frequently found the most thriving of the vege-
311] tation types of Lewis and the best grazing ground. It
233] includes grasses such as those already named, together with purple *Molinea*, meadow soft grass (*Holcus*), and mat grass (*Nardus*); sedges (*Scirpus* and *Carex* spp.); with the field wood rush (*Luzula*) and a fair number of flowering plants. Heather is common in this and the following community (3).

With true 'hill' pastures, found especially to the east of the Forest of Harris and between Loch Seaforth and Loch Shell, are included fair pastures with good grasses on the rocky hillocks near the villages around Loch Roag and also on the low, steep hills northward to Shawbost.
34] The 'skinned land' lies in strips too narrow to be shown on the map, but may form a ring of desolation round the village. The hard moor-pan resists natural seeding of plants unless broken by the pick, but broadcasting of a cheap seed-mixture with a little fertiliser can work marked improvement.

(3) *Marshy Grass Moors.*—Where the slopes are gentle, and the acid humus has accumulated to form peat, is found coarse, tussocky, damp pasture, of sedges and grasses, grading from the 'fair' and 'hill pastures' to the beginnings of hummocky peat hags and smooth sedge moss. It covers the slopes of hills such as Ben Barvas and Muirnag and the hillocks that emerge from the great central trough of brown peat moor. It also characterises the low but broken areas in southern Lewis. This type forms a belt below the 'hill' and 'rocky' pastures of Harris. At its best its prevailing hue is olive-green turning to a silvery shade and then to russet later on. Annuals are few and the grasses are coarse.

33] (4) *Peat Moors, Mosses and Peat Hags.*—The most

137 widespread plant community in Lewis is undoubtedly the
[133] *sedge and cotton grass moors* (or ' mosses ' as they would be called in the Lowlands), which overlie deep peat generally at low levels, on flat or slightly rolling grounds. The peaty floor is waterlogged and boggy, and the carpet rises into tufts, dense cushions or mops, out of which bristle innumerable stalks, thread-shaped, sheathed, fibrous and elastic. There are few flowers apart from the bog asphodel, while heather does not thrive but is stunted. On the slopes, sedges (*Scirpus* and *Carex* spp.) and cotton grass (*Eriophorum angustifolium*) dominate, and in the hollows, sphagnum moss. Owing to slope and consequent erosion, the surface may break into hags (or ' bruachs '), separated by deep and more or less broad channels of bare peat with puddles.

[311] For reclamation by tractor and peat plough, smoothness is essential, combined with some slope for drainage. From observation of the fragments of poor pasture topping the hags in channelled eroded peat, it can be noted that drainage alone is not enough to create good pasture, though it
[241] is the first step. In order to complement the work of drainage, fertilisers must be applied to encourage plants which absorb water in quantity and transpire it freely in the course of rapid growth. For it may be said that plants like heather—adapted to withstand drought, physical or ' physiological '—do not transpire water in any great quantity. Thus they fail to ' drain the ground from above ', as juicier grasses or fodder plants do by the vigorous ascent, transpiration and renewed absorption of water.

[134] (5) *Heather Moor.*—The common heather (*Calluna*) dominates on many steep slopes and rocky bluffs, sometimes on acid humus, or again on decomposed rock and screes, generally at low levels. Among the chief plants

by reclamation, notably at the Macaulay Demonstration Farm on the 'peat moss' of Arnish Moor (south of Stornoway), then too small to be shown, and in South-west Harris where new crofts were laid out in the thirties.

The six main types of vegetation in the Island may be grouped as three. First are the Hill Pastures and Moors: (1) 'Rocky' among the bare hill-tops of Harris and Uig, and (2) 'Fair' on favourable slopes, which merge into (3) 'Marshy Grass Moors' of coarse grass and sedges, heath and rushes. Secondly come (4) the vast brown 'Peat Mosses and Moors', either smooth and wet, with sedge and cotton grass, or channelled and cut up into hags; near the broken edges of the island cliffs this expanse is often fringed by (5) the 'Heather Moor'. Thirdly, by the sandy bays, are (6) the 'Machar lands', *i.e.* the 'Sandy Pastures', rich with clover; though narrow, this coastal plain is all important to stock-rearing and potato-growing, and so to settlement. In traditional terms, these three groups form hill moor, peat moss and sandy shores: *monadh*, *mòine* and *machair*.

(c) CROFTING AND THE CROFTERS' YEAR

1. *Place of Settlement and Choice of Work—Past and Present*

Lewis and 'Harrey', as they were called four centuries ago, were well described by Dean Monro,[1] and his description is fundamental to the present scene. "Harrey is very fertile and fruitful for corne, store and fishing, twice mair of delving is in or of teilling", which appears to mean

[1] Dean Monro, *The Western Islands of Scotland . . . in 1549*, reprinted by A. Mackay, Stirling, 1934.

that the spade and foot-plough (*cas chrom*) were used for double the area ploughed. From Monro and from the precise Statistical Accounts of the eighteenth century, it is clear that pony-drawn ploughs were usual in the smoother parts of Lewis. In North Harris are 'abundance of Deir'. We must not forget here that 'faire' and fertile are comparative terms for the West. "Lewis is faire and weill inhabit at the coste, ane fertile and fruitful countrey, for the maist part beire [barley], with 4 Paroche Kirkes." There is "ane castell callit Stornoway . . . with 3 salt loches, very fine for take of herrings . . . [and] infinite fresh water loches. In the Lewis there are 8 waters with take of salmont. . . ." There were also "Whales . . ." In "a cove 2 fadoms deep at the ebb sea, uses Whytuns (whitings) to be slain with huiks", there were "very many haddocks and Men with their wandes sitting [as today] upon the Craiges of that cove, and Lades [boys] and Women also. . . . In this Ile there are many Sheip for it is very guid for the same. For they lay furth ever one mures and glens and never enters in a house and their wool is bot anes in the zeire pluckit off them in some fauldes." In Zetland wool is still plucked, not sheared.

The description of reclamation is specially worthy of note: "In this countrey all is peit mossland at the Sea cost, and the plaice where he wins his peitts this zeire [year] . . . there he sawes his corne the nixt zeire, after that he guidds it weill with Sea ware" [*i.e.*, improves or manures it with seaweed]. On "Ellan Colm Cill [an islet apparently on the east coast south of Stornoway at the mouth of Loch Erisort] Macloyd of the Lewis has ane faire Orchard, and he that is Gardener has that Ile [rent] free. . . ."

Around the coast of Lewis no absolute limit is set to

ich Dean Monro has described as he saw it. economic return must be balanced against nature. Although natural conditions are nay not form a complete explanation of the of reclamation in the nineteenth century; tion from the agricultural advances of the arriers of mountain and sea caused the re- rogressive methods until the wave of agri- vement had spent itself by the middle of To this cause must be added other influences ose leading to peasant advance in the rest of pe: the political history of the Gaeldom revolution in land tenure and in the social per classes, the commercial, industrial and opment of Great Britain. All these factors the contrast offered to the Lews by western western Norway, lands in which the soil re comparable to those of the Island. Yet proceeding, as on skinned land at Ness, f ground have been steadily broken in by ade or plough.

and agricultural land are placed around h their fishing grounds. In spite of what —that the Lewisman is and has always been isherman—fishing alone is not enough to is distribution, for the agricultural conditions are also best along the coasts, or were so for As Stevens remarked, the light sandy ds are there, and the fringe of partially im- lose by; drainage is, on the whole, better, nd and sea-ware are to be had for manure. also serves still as fodder, while one or two etimes cooked for human food; carragheen

241 thirds of an area nominally under crops actually grows them. It need hardly be said that such crofts do not support a family.

The means of cultivation have been either pony-drawn ploughs in the smoother north, or else the foot-plough [407] (*cas chrom*), and the straight spade in the hilly south. I saw the almost obsolete foot-plough used on hilly ground near Rodel, Harris, in 1919. In the smoother lands from Stornoway and Barvas northward, however, the crofts then were already laid out in parallel strips, no more than twelve to fifteen feet wide, divided by open drains. Open drains have increasingly been converted into underground drains over which pony and plough can pass. The cattle feed on the rough pasture or on the grass about the crofts, supplemented by hay cut with a sickle from the grassy edges of the 'lazy-beds'. Quite recently, rotation grass has been [178] sown on the arable strips, and mown for hay by the scythe. [407] Tractors were introduced in war-time, in 1942.

In many of the villages, cattle are still taken to the 233 summer pastures out on the moors some miles from the 221 crofts. Those who herd the cattle live in huts or shiel- • 311 ings, annually re-roofed. In the congested 'Point district' (the Eye Peninsula), the cattle must go to the moor on the main island or be taken on to their owners' crofts from late May or early June to about the 10th of August, in order to clear the common grazing and allow the grass to recover. This migration takes place, of course, because 233 of the restricted area of common pasture. On the other 311 hand, pasture is plentiful in the parish of Lochs, lying all round some of the villages, and here the use of the shieling has been practically abandoned. In almost all villages, with the exception of those of the Eye Peninsula, there is less summer pasturing than formerly; fewer cattle are sent

233 away, and for a shorter period. The sheep wander over • 311 the moors all the year round, though they hang about the crofts when the winter is severe.

221 A comparison with mountainous Norway or the Alps 132 and their high summer pastures suggests itself; but in 171 Lewis altitude is almost negligible, and the shielings may lie only two to five hundred feet above that of the crofts [133] beside the shore. The difference between winter and [311] summer is in any case less, snow being rare and the conditions being such that even in summer the shieling pasture remains poor. Hence it is that while modern Norse and Alpine economy still maintain the summer pasture, the shielings have died out in the Highlands and are slowly decaying in Lewis. Seasonally, stock are transported over longer distances, from Highland to Lowland pastures.

181 Reasons for the continuance of these and other crofting [178] ways, or for their abandonment, are not of an economic [461] order alone: not only the remuneration received for labour, but the feeling for the work counts enormously. Visiting a couple of distant shielings in the summer of 1919, I found that two lads newly home from the Navy had come up from their village 'for a holiday', bringing rods for trout-fishing and high spirits for play. By day they fished or flirted. By night they slept in one of the two shielings, while the two laughing lasses they had come to visit shared the none too wide couch of the other shieling with the two older women there. One of these was a matron with a motherly twinkle in her eye, the other was a spinster in whose eyes there shone a memorably vivid light; she was the sister (as I found later) of a noted minister on the mainland. The bare simplicity of shieling life is traditionally softened by fellowship and a gaiety that is not beyond [538] control. A Lowland poet once coined a famous phrase,

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blows away, no doubt because the humus rots and quite fails to bind the sand. These two types together form the true machar.

(*c*) From the machar rise the slopes of drift-covered rock which bear a top dressing of blown shell fragments, more or less mixed with the soil by treading and cultivation, and imperceptibly giving place to the undiluted 'black soils' of moor and croft with their corresponding vegetation or crops. The shell-sand is often blown onto the rough pastures high above a bay.

Where a portion of the true machar has been cultivated it is allowed to seed itself. A sprinkling of weeds is followed by the re-establishment of a mixed flora. In both the sand and the consolidated sand-covered drift grow wild white clover and vetches; and among the grasses are rye grass (*Lolium*), Yorkshire fog (*Holcus*), cat's-tail (*Phleum*) and meadow grass (*Poa*). Other plants include familiar weeds and wild-flowers like yarrow, cow-parsnip, golden rod (*Solidago*), silverweed, wild carrot, thyme, plantain, sorrel, yellow rattle, harebell, eyebright, pansy and many more. Arrival from the bare brown moorland to the sand-blown slopes or dells is made a pleasure by stream-side flowers like meadow-sweet.

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Woods and Cultivation.—In addition to the woods indicated on the map, in Stornoway Castle policies, shelter-belts or plantations occur at certain lodges. Cultivation, as will be explained in the section on crofting, is rarely continuous; and the map shows areas as cultivated which are far from being either continuous crop land or
[185] even permanent grass of the first quality. Yet since this map was drawn the improved area has been extended somewhat

i [see map on p.50--analyst]

"the lone shieling of the misty island". Traditional Gaelic songs tell rather of shielings grouped within hail, with their sweethearting and good cheer!

3. *Crops and Stock*, circa *1938*

As the thirties mark a transition between early conditions prevailing until 1919 and those of 1947–53 (Appendix I), the present tense is used.

Of the Island's 528,000 acres, including deer forests on the Harris border partly grazed, there are 24,000 acres of arable and grass land. Barvas parish leads with 6500 acres, then come Stornoway, Uig and Lochs, Harris being last with 3300 acres. Roughly one-third of the Island's arable and grass land, or 32 per cent, is permanent grass, chiefly machar, with a maximum of 39 per cent in Uig, but a minimum of 9 per cent in rocky Lochs, most of this on one small farm. About 10 per cent of the arable and grass land area is given to hay production; of this, rather less than one-third is rotation hay grown on the plough rigs or parks, and rather more than two-thirds is hay from permanent grass. Lochs, lacking machar, has 20 per cent hay, while Barvas, better off for machar, has only 4 per cent. Even this proportion of rotation hay shows an increase on the crofts since 1919. Stornoway parish, it will be noted, occupies an intermediate place, but if the facts for Point (Eye) district were contrasted with those for the villages along the machar, the differences between them would emerge clearly. As it is, they can be guessed from the vegetation map showing the machar. Oats is the chief crop, and occupies 33 per cent or just one-third of the arable and grass of the Island; excluding the permanent grass, it constitutes half the crop.

In Lochs it occupies only one-quarter of arable and grass. Barley, mostly four-row, or bere, is less important as a food today than formerly, and now occupies only 6 per cent, and, though it reaches 13 per cent in Barvas, with its machar, hardly any is grown in Lochs. Rye (*seagal*), still found in the machars of the Uists, is little grown in the Lews. Potatoes grow well everywhere, occupying about 15 per cent of the area, though townships with plentiful machar land grow most. Turnips are being gradually introduced, and though their liability to disease has somewhat discouraged the crofters, the proportion is now about 2·3 per cent. Cabbages occupy a small area (1 per cent), latterly along with lettuces, carrots and the like.

Rotation hay and turnips being almost unused up to 1919, oats was grown repeatedly before rotation with barley or potatoes, and with no bare fallow. While heavy manuring maintained the fertility, the crop by July was ablaze with corn marigold (and other weeds) through which the thin oats struggled to rear its head. Thickly sown, the return was exceedingly small. Except for the machar (if any) there was no 'out-field' as elsewhere in old Scotland.

The smallness of the crofts and the poorness of the crops explain the very small total return. Hence little oats is now ground for meal and the potatoes do not last through the year, though few are sold. The low out-turn also explains why even fodder is scarce, though much more of the crop is secured for wintering than formerly. Summing up, a croft of 6 acres—though a little too large to be quite typical—includes a couple of acres of grass and hay, almost as much of oats, and the remainder bears potatoes and barley, with turnips, cabbages and garden produce.

In the past, the cropped land was unfenced and unwalled. At present, the rule is to encourage the con-

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one pony between ten or twelve crofts.
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nits, though the increase in 'cars' had
of horses, even before the war-time in-
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The borrowed horse", says the lender
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s as Pasture: Game and Sport

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s are similar to those of Lewis, so
d on their pastures will furnish some

311 indication of their worth. As above, the period is *c.* 1937–
511 1938. The Island's increased sheep stock is shown in Appendix II (ii) (a) to 1953.

[233] The Lewis and Harris pastures carry on an average about one ewe to 9 or 10 acres, that is, one ewe or lamb to 4 acres in June (the month of the agricultural returns). A good mainland grazing like Glen Shiel carries one ewe to 6 acres, while poorer grazings like Kintail and Farr carry one ewe to 10 or 14 acres respectively. Nowhere, however, can the rough grazing support the newly weaned ewe lambs (or hoggs) throughout the winter, which have either to be brought to the enclosed 'low ground' (of which there is never enough to supply both grass and winter feed) or sent to the Lowlands in autumn and brought back in spring, at a total cost of about 10s. each before 1939. In Lewis, for lack of grass, there is considerable loss in winter among the crofters' sheep. Constructive measures for the future must be based on an increased supply of winter feed.

137 The game consist of red deer, grouse and hares, while
511 salmon and trout are fished in stream and loch. The deer range over Harris, Park and the Uig hills, but are seldom seen north of Achmore. They are of ordinary quality and size, and before 1939 the average number of heads for the year totalled about 190 stags and 80 hinds. It is not known
[529] when they were introduced. In the south there may be a certain amount of 'deer stealing', as in most deer forests surrounded by crofts, in spite of a score of keepers and deer-stalkers, and other employees at shooting lodges. Grouse are relatively scarce compared with those on drier
[825] mainland moors. Mountain hares have multiplied since their introduction in 1853, when, it is said, the first hare, seen near a village towards evening with its white winter coat, was thought to be supernatural.

361 luck in land, but a disadvantage where control of a single
[423] area is desired by one man. Regularisation of roads,
[182] houses and holdings is relatively modern, for crofts and dwellings were once grouped in hamlets usually close to
[172] the seashore. The early hamlets can still be made out from their ruins among the rocks, sometimes sketched in the 'six inch to mile' Ordnance Survey plans. They were without formal order or arrangement, each homestead within its boundary wall. Where ploughing was and is too difficult, the soil is heaped up in ridges, 'lazy-beds', and dug.

361 Shawbost, on a rocky part of the west coast (six miles
491 south of Barvas) consists of three main sections: a scatter of houses and ruins by the enclosed loch, two main streets linking the loch to the main coastal road, and inland another short street. The three can be made out on a 'quarter-
[175] inch' map. The two main streets were laid out by the
[311] Estate Officers following removals in the mid-nineteenth century from another part of the island, Uig, and the third running inland was laid out still later, when population was growing and land was needed. When the third street was laid out, the landlord, Matheson, lent good plough-horses for preliminary reclamation. The irregularly placed black houses near the sea are tending to be rebuilt close to the main road.

361 In addition to this type of movement, farms 'broken
178 up' once more into crofts have been laid out on a regular
311 grid plan, each house placed on a corner of its five, ten, or twenty-acre plot (*e.g.* Galson, Dalebeg, etc.). 'Skinned'
[654] land may also be reclaimed for crofts by squatters tolerated by the community, or on a regular grid by agreement of the assembled crofters, guided by the Department of Agri-
[491] culture. Thus two distinct tendencies are seen: the grid plan in new settlements, road alinement in existing ones.

present writer) came to the Island in August 1919, and still more by November 1919 when Hardy's Report had been completed. Leverhulme had begun to fight for his plan, rather than use it in a supple way. Yet there was still a chance to put things right had the concept of a balanced community been clearly visualised by Government and people, by working fishers and crofters and the educated. Had an active 'Lewis Association' existed at that time, it might have turned the scales.[1]

Lastly, during the war and after it, Leverhulme had said, again and again, that it was his admiration of the people which had called him to the Lews. By means of this 'all-round' plan, the very root of Island character could have been renewed, namely, communal life. It was with their communal life in mind that Hardy—in spite of his horror of bad husbandry and of the physical dirt of the byre and black house—wrote, first, that "rural re-

[1] Quotations from the MS. Report having been published (apparently without permission, and with somewhat misleading criticisms), reference should be made to these to illustrate the need for survey and collaboration with Leverhulme in the first three years of his proprietorship, and the importance of survey for action today. In 1919 Mr. W. C. Mackenzie (to whose historical researches lovers of Lewis owe so much) had published his belief that "Under the new proprietorship . . . the results [of development] will be at once fruitful and far-reaching", without his making any constructive comment. By 1932 he wrote very differently, criticising Leverhulme's policy and also Hardy's (qualified) approval. At that later time, Mr. Mackenzie would have it that 'the Lewisman' was a crofter and fisherman in one, and that for him to become 'mainly a fisherman' or 'mainly a crofter' (in Hardy's words) would be false to his character and tradition. Now, historically, the element of regional specialisation is ancient in the Island; the crofter-*fishers* of Lochs, Uig or 'the Bays' of Harris have long been rather different from the fisher-*crofters* of Barvas, or of Coll and Gress. Specialisation was strongly marked by 1914–19; it still is. Further, Hardy (and the present writer) had not pled for complete divorce of the two vocations of sea and land. We urged that crofting be given its chance as well as fishing; and that the two callings should be complementary. Allowance being made for a quarter of a century of changes, the facts and the need remain. Cf. W. C. Mackenzie, 1919 (p. 187) and 1932, for the quotations given.

construction of the Island must rest upon the improvement of the land": and secondly, that by this means "it was imperative to revive the traditional community spirit, the essential feature of Hebridean civilisation". Those words still hold good. Yet the land itself is too barren and the soil too poor to provide a living for many by export of fresh agricultural produce to the mainland. Only a local market could pay a fair price for most of the products of intensive small-holding. Judging from the free, untrammelled trade before 1914, Leverhulme held that fishing could be set upon a commercial basis in the Isles; and there could be few better judges of commercial possibilities than this keen industrial thinker and organiser. If he was right, as surely he was, to begin with, then the local market to be created, or rather enlarged by growth of population and prosperity at Stornoway, could have purchased the fresh milk and eggs, the fresh greens and fruit, raised on enlarged small-holdings and marketed co-operatively.

A final comment remains to be made. The community spirit of Scots fishers from Berwickshire to Barra has gone far to make co-operation among the men of the crews a living thing. 'Work for Wages' offered little outlet for this, indeed it virtually suppressed it; and 'co-partnership' on the Port Sunlight model was a very different matter from the co-partnership of a crew. Even if at that time it had been proved impossible to organise free co-operation in fishing, co-operation in small-holding townships might have kept the communal spirit alive, for later renewal at sea.

It is not easy to assess the after-effects of Leverhulme's activity. Leverhulme certainly helped hundreds of families by the provision of wages for the building or rebuilding of roads and other works, of which some were completed

623 The Trustees of the Stornoway Trust have not found
423 it easy to meet the cost of keeping up the valuable property
427 of the Castle and Park, nor to carry the burden of its rates,
178 no adequate income being available for the purpose.
874 Today, however, Leverhulme's gift is being put to good use as a Technical College, opened in September 1952.

• 311 Division of the available farms, after providing about 200 small crofts (of ten acres or so), still left the problem
427 of finding legal homes on legal tenure for the remaining
362 cottars and squatters.[1] The Department of Agriculture
656 arranged to feu plots of 'skinned land' on the outrun of certain townships, including one in the extreme north and others in Lochs. About 200 of these little holdings with potato ground were provided. On the holders' behalf the Department feued land from the owner, after obtaining the consent of the Common Grazings Committee of the township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', *i.e.* for enclosure of a portion of the common. The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem disproportionate to the economic value of the holdings. Yet difficulties of law and custom had been allowed to go from bad to worse during the past eighty years; and these difficulties were overcome.

362 To encourage better housing in the crofting counties,
652 loans are made to 'crofters and fishermen feuars' person-
[342] ally. Local stone, or latterly concrete, is used, and much of the building is done by the 'man of the house' himself, and his friends. From 1920 to 1940, nearly 1200 loans were made in Lewis and Harris for the erection (or improvement) of houses, and in a few cases for the erection

[162] [1] Estimated at 1200 to 1500 shortly before, the open question was whether subdivision during the previous eighty years was to be recognised and accepted.

362 of new steadings. The average amount of loans (totalling
652 £166,000) was under £150; repayment has been satisfactory, and the arrangements made by the Department of Agriculture won general praise among the people. Yet 1200 houses were very far from replacing all the 'black houses', and many more are needed.

433 In terms of cash profit, ten crofters today run their
427 crofts less remuneratively than the farmer they dispos-
241 sessed; even together they may show little more total production than the farmer. Nevertheless, these ten crofts each allow a part, at least, of the basis for a country home.
[423] Hence the weight of public opinion supported, nay, insisted
654 on 'giving back' the land to the descendants of those who had worked it sixty or a hundred years before. The State
423 bought the farm stock at a high valuation, and till lately without adequate reform of crofting use and wont. The farms having now been divided, a great emotional issue, which had smouldered for half a century, has been brought to an end. Although the practical results are small, the crofters feel that justice has been done, and that fact may
• 311 be a great gain. Now that there is no more green reclaimed land to be had, the reclamation of the peat moor, or the grey 'skinned' boulder clay has to be faced.

By financing the renewal of Leverhulme's brief attempt to reclaim deep peat on Arnish Moor, south of Stornoway, the Canadian, T. B. Macaulay, made a resolute attempt to
[241] solve the island's main agricultural problem. Good crops were grown, potatoes and silage produced, and a dairy farm established. But the difficulties called for continuity of effort and research. From the practical point of view of 'demonstration' it had been a mistake to tackle deep and almost level peat, black in colour and viscous in consistency.
[487] There was not the light machinery required for cultivation.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

311 cottars' claims." Thus a few of the settlements reclaimed
123 out of the common peat by some scores of people, hundreds of years ago, long worked by joint tenants, then by sub-tenants, " and later turned into modern farms, came to be regarded as the only available land open to crofters in the Island ".

311 Hence, Hardy concluded, it was important to tackle
433 some reclamation of peat or of land partially covered by peat, along with the development of the main commercial industry, fishing. The specialisation of commercial fishing was " a wise, indeed an indispensable preliminary step " in a constructive policy framed to deal with the Island as a whole. One saw that the formula " All Lewismen are fishermen " was an exaggeration, and that some of those whose forebears had dwelt by the machars of Broad Bay for centuries were landsmen first and seamen
185 second. Yet the specialisation planned by Leverhulme
311 would not only have given a chance to the seamen of Ness, Eye Peninsula, Lochs and 'the Bays' of South Harris;
133 it would also have begun to relieve congestion, giving a croft and outrun to some of those who wished to make small-holding their principal means of livelihood and life, and providing a market for fresh produce on the Island itself.

Looking back, it seems clear that Hardy was right to report to Leverhulme (in 1919) that, while the great fishery scheme was indispensable, it should be complemented by a scheme for occupation on the land for those who wished it. The major problem of land being the amelioration of peat, continued Hardy, it should be tackled with twentieth-century knowledge and equipment. Slopes were to be found, favourable to reclamation, where peat had been thinned by cutting, where it was shallow from good drain-
33 age, or lighter in texture from admixture with sand. Had
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185 Leverhulme grasped
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185 Leverhulme, it is
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311 Lewis fisherman and
(114) man's choice of the se

[828] [829] [1] In his father's biography
a difference of character betw
(reasonable) men of Harris.
There were raids in Harris, to
but in neither were they impo

he problem in this fresh way, comple-
cy of the sea for the seamen by one
landsmen, he could cheerfully have
ent to honour their promise to divide
he would have brought peace to all.
s he would merely have had to recon-
nal imports of fresh milk from Easter
of a penny or two per pint. To do
experiments on peat were begun
small scale, partly, it is understood,
report. Yet in failing to make this
al part of his plans, in refusing to
ises given and to agree to the wishes
everhulme of the Lews allowed peace
he should have stopped work in
ove to Harris, is not clear. There is
crofter-fishermen in the creeks of
g tracts of Lewis believed less firmly
lows in 'the Bays' of South Harris.[1]
ve land for dairying in Harris. To
t to found a centre, involving fresh
the exposed south-west coast), a
point on the Island than Stornoway,
not to pilot his way through the
arkets to success.

rue, had seen one side of the 'all-
: the need for a plot of land for the
his family. In Hardy's words, "A
a should not prevent his having 'a

, the second Viscount suggests that there was
een the (unreasonable) men of Lewis and the
The assertion is unsupported by the facts.
, comparable to any in similar tracts of Lewis,
rtant.

185 corner he can call 'his own', a kailyard or garden. His
311 womenfolk might wish to keep poultry, and even a cow.
[114] More than this . . . might tend to make the old amphibious life begin over again." Where Hardy went further was to see the need for a complementary policy; the development of crofting into skilled small-holding. "Similarly," he went on, "the development of small-holding, by one who chose the land for a career, should not prevent his spending a leisure hour fishing from the shore, or in a neighbour's boat, for haddock, saithe, or flounders for the morrow's dinner. Yet the wish and need for a higher standard of living involved new emphasis on one chosen vocation, and a greater division of labour than heretofore,"
311 whether on land or sea. Some division of callings already existed, be it remembered. Manifestly, in the virtual absence of arable land for them, about 1500 cottar and squatter families had perforce to depend mainly on other occupations than the land. These families included the keenest, most successful, and potentially prosperous fishermen, like those of 'congested' Scalpay (off Tarbert, Harris). The useful "Remarks" formerly published along with the "Creek Statistics" of the Fishery Board, repeatedly contrasted the townships and creeks mainly concerned in crofting with those mainly occupied in fishing. The contrast is to be found from the Shetlands round to
[159] Barra or Kintyre. Leverhulme, seeing a future in the
[433] fisheries, tried to give the almost landless seamen their chance at sea. Had he accepted the complementary policy of giving a number of the now boatless crofters a better croft and means to improve the outrun, his schemes would have been complete.

114 It is a misfortune that Leverhulme's one-sided policy
159 had already hardened in his mind when Hardy (and the
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PARISH OF UIG
ISLE OF LEWIS
MILES
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CROWLISTA
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CARNISH
ARDROIL
TIMSGARRY
VALTOS
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HEMVAIG
REEF
ISLIVICK
BREMISH
MEALISTA
Former shielings of Carnish and Ardroil
1885
1500
1625
1404
LOCH SUAINABHAIG
CARYSHADER
GESHADER
UNGSHADER
Kneep shielings
ENACLETT
1530
Islivick Crowlista Bremish shielings
1503
Valtos shielings
GISLA
Scalpiscro
Former Bernera shieling ground
KINRESORT
LOCH LANGAVAT
LOCH ROAG

Figure 5

/p. 10/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

And when laid down in permanent grass for the dairy herd, the land became water-logged in wet weather. The war called a halt to progress; and though much was learned, the farm was not a demonstration of success. Smaller experiments were made, with some success, in improving 'skinned' land. For both types of land, the cost of fertilisers, even more than of labour, was the chief economic difficulty.[1]

A difficulty which aggravates 'congestion' in crofting townships is that even a small croft may consist of several plots. This was only too well illustrated, as late as 1935, by the dilemma in which a crofter found himself, in a township north of Stornoway. This crofter's land was in at least five separate strips, mixed up with the land of four neighbours. The township and the plan of the holding are known to me. As the crofter complained, he could not walk round his present cottage, nor bring building materials for a new house to the site, without trespassing. He could not even put up scaffolding because the stays at each end would project on to the holdings of his neighbours, who objected. The Land Court has power to re-allocate the land in self-contained holdings. This crofter had twice asked for this to be done, but on each occasion neighbours opposed the application, and it was not granted. As he could not replace his present house by a modern one, he applied to the Stornoway Estate Trustees for another croft in a neighbouring township. When the Trustees saw a plan of the holding they described it as a jig-saw puzzle; but having no holding to offer him elsewhere, they could only ask the Factor to try to make an amicable arrangement with the man's neighbours. This case is extreme; yet it

[1] W. G. Ogg and Angus Macleod, *Scottish Journal of Agriculture*, 1930–36.

311 241 illustrates the narrow margin of habitability on these fragmented holdings.

423 Now, in Lewis periodic pooling and exchange, or the practice of *movable* run-rig on the small joint-tenants' 241 farms, was abolished early in the nineteenth century, except 423 upon the machar, where it still continues. Apparently the 476 strips were simply fixed where they had last been apportioned by lot. Subdivision of the little crofts among sons 178 and grandsons followed, owing to inheritance without re- [175] clamation. Fairness gave 'the patchwork quilt' described; but it was fairness pushed to the point of folly, for differences in soil from one adjacent strip to another were slight! It is otherwise with the long, narrow plough-strips which run from the houses on the pure boulder clay down to the sandy shore: run-rig, movable or fixed, is understandable and necessary there. The case just cited shows how a sensible communal tradition, such as that of '*movable* run-rig' with periodic pooling, may degenerate into absurdity by fixation. Happily the machar still shows the sane maintenance of a tradition, the pooling of resources:[1]

182 In 1924–25, widespread distress in the Isles, the failure 161 of the Leverhulme endeavour, the crofters' refusal to own their own crofts, and the emigration which followed, caused many outsiders to forecast rapid depopulation. It was all 182 the more interesting to note the confidence in the Island's 161 future shown by buyers of the great estate, all of whom 471 knew what they were about, for they were men with experience of the Island, of its rates and rentals and of its people. To a wealthy man who repurchased a sporting

[113] [1] Apportionment of lands held in run-rig in the Carloway estate is described, and the principle discussed, in *Scottish Land Court Reports*. (See *Scottish Law Rev.* vol. 28, 7; July 1940, pp. 51-54.) At the same time 'mechanisation', or the co-operative utilisation of tractors had led to pleas for 'collective farming'. (*Stornoway Gazette*, February 1944.)

458 problem remains that Island seamen may thus continue 746 indefinitely to be crofters receiving partial relief, seamen only in name. Without doubt, part-time work on a croft is socially a lesser evil than prolonged unemployment in a slum or semi-slum. The crofter's family, too, is relatively better reared than that of many a poor seaman in Glasgow, Liverpool or Cardiff. Yet if this were all, it would be no adequate life for a man, while continuing to be an expense [461] to the State. The more satisfactory side of such relief is [311] that the Islanders, when unemployed, turn to building new 'white houses', and either to making small improvements on their crofts, or as in Ness (a progressive village with a high proportion of seamen), to the reclamation of new holdings on 'skinned land'. In all such cases a means test provides against full payment to those who could do without.

458 To women normally employed in 'gutting', unem- 746 ployment relief is given only at such time as there is no work during the season when it might be expected, *i.e.* 462 from May or June to December. Gutters from the Island [228] are busiest for the months from June to August on the West and East Coast of Scotland, and again for two months, from October to November, in East Anglia. The number of Lewis women normally employed was over 1500 in a typical season (1930), the earnings averaging £19 each for the summer fishing in Stornoway, and as much again for the gutting in East Anglia. But the demand fell, and by 1932, for instance, some 250 women were obtaining relief, through Stornoway, in early August, the number doubling during the slack months from mid-August.

181 The tragedy and the danger of any means test are that 458 in effect it asks, not "How prosperous can you become 746 if given help?" but "How poor can you become to qualify

458 How then can the situation be assesse 178 the outbreak of war and since then? By had been partly lost; for the after-war ye hulme boom' were followed by dis poverty. During that time one might ha [423] a generation of reconstruction and progre hand the sore question of dividing the so bringing raiding to an end. Congesti crofts is less than it was, owing to this [166] provision of feus. The poverty of m who had migrated to the cities first cut remitted to their Island dependents, then [433] A croft, or even a garden site, and th building a good house there made life [746] when other employment had failed. relief, though tempting some to idlene [286] which many utilised to make a fresh waned, many had taken advantage of th [226] offered to learn a new trade—weaving. many feel that the living to be found better than alternation of 'wage-earning ment, in Glasgow or abroad. They bel [311] of the Island community to be hopeful. remains little better than before, many, ev people, still care for the Island life amo Given a clear lead, these could reorganis undertake the developments needed in and reclamation. The homes are sour bourhood' endures, and given fresh community could awaken to new life.

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SINCE

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3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

ISLAND, REGION AND NATION. REGIONAL SURVEY FOR COMMUNAL SERVICE IN 'THE NORTH AND WEST'

121 THE aim of this study has been the survey of a region for the service of its society. Survey is fundamental. As treatment should follow diagnosis, so should decision for action be based on balanced knowledge. Until now this has too seldom been the case. In Scotland particularly our land and resources are as yet imperfectly surveyed; our activities are still too haphazard and chaotic. There is work to be done and there are hands to do it, but they have been kept unemployed; the workless slackened in body and mind, and their spirits failed; and our communities are still without clear aims in common. The first five years of peace have seen an increased awakening to integrated planning. Planning must be preceded by survey and be linked to international order; it must be aimed towards better living and finer purpose. This study is part of a world-wide movement of survey and planning directed, not first to private gain but to common ends. In Western Europe until the war, in the United States and (in a different way) in the war-ravaged Soviet Union, men and women of good-will have striven to prepare for a ' New Deal ', region by region.

APPENDIX I

434 369 The significant figure here is the average total payment per head in the rural or ' landward ' area, a sum of ten pounds sterling, the complexity of urban conditions, even in a small town, making the total for the Burgh less significant. To put it differently, an average rural household of 4·5 persons thus received a sum of £45 a year from these sources.

All these figures—pointers to the complete facts, unascertained as yet—show that even with the help of these sources the average income of the rural Islanders was small. Comparisons of such figures with those for the rest of Britain would, of course, be misleading. To those who spend their working lives outside their native isle, Lewis is no more than a home; and for them it should therefore be compared to some urban suburb or ' dormitory ', rather than to an urban centre of production or a typical agricultural district in the Lowlands.

434 171 178 It may help to compare the conditions of 1938 with those of 1951 if, say, average weekly wage earnings for all British workers in employment are taken for October of both years. Thus, taking the 1938 earnings of 53s. 3d. as 100, those of 1951 were 141s. 1d. or 265 per cent of the first, a figure to be related to the cost of living index which had only risen from 100 to 202 per cent. The total wage-bill gave a still higher increase for Britain, from 100 in 1938 to 287 per cent in 1951. As food forms a heavy part of the doubled cost of living to people in poverty or near it, the crofters' own food does not greatly relieve them. The loss of employment following the close of the mills left little for them but to seek employment beyond the Island.

434 311 Summing up the facts of this Appendix, it may be said that the Island furnishes (1) means for partial subsistence for most; (2) means of earning a livelihood, for some; and (3) a home from which many go forth to earn a living for themselves (and their families) elsewhere—meantime contributing to national and local income there. Of these, many return later, either to found a home, to pay visits on holiday or during periods of ill-health or unemployment, or to retire upon the Island.

APPENDIX III

623 for planning preceded by adequate survey became publicly
633 recognised, this crisis seems to have caused a change to con-
433 structive policy on the part of the Trust. It led to the election
361 of a new member of the Trust on a planning platform, and to a general searching of heart and mind in the community.

(184) Meantime the movement for town planning which had spread from the bombed cities to the rest of the country, led to a closer co-ordination of planning aims between the Trust and the Town Council, and there is real hope of progress in collaboration with the County Council as the statutory planning authority.

In brief, the opportunity arose for the Trust to frame a comprehensive policy, one binding together the objects separately listed in the Deed, " to promote the material and social welfare of the community ". The ' material ' provisions of the Deed allow for the promotion of industry—including fishing, of course—of agriculture and afforestation, and of communications by land, sea and air. Medical service is not forgotten. The encouragement of social life and education is foreseen, and bursaries may be provided to enable deserving scholars to proceed to secondary schools and universities.

185 It is felt by far-sighted citizens that these aims should be properly co-ordinated. Development of resources and social life, they feel, could be combined with education and training deliberately designed to equip young people to return to the Island and use their capacities to serve their own community.
(311) Thus among the development schemes which have been mooted are the reclamation of peat, the reclamation of the sandy inlet just north of Stornoway, and local afforestation.
(871) All these technical jobs require training, at the levels of engineer and skilled foreman or working hand. Bursaries might take
(168) the form of education for such rural tasks. The ' export ' of talent may be necessary when no outlet is possible at home, but in the end it can drain away the community's youth. Hence a policy for the return of talent is required. For fishing, for industry and particularly for the weaving arts, training is required in preparation for possible careers at home. Lastly

195 427 [233] 311 [391] 491 [226] The new proprietor was no better placed than Seaforth to change the fundamental causes of recurrent poverty and distress. But at least he had funds to ameliorate his tenants' lot and to allow experiments in land reclamation and industrial development. Existing sheep farms were extended and others formed. Land reclamation went forward hand in hand with industrial experiments such as distillation of paraffin from peat and brick and tile-making. A programme of road building was begun (the first roads beyond Stornoway were begun in 1791, but there were only 45 miles of road by 1836). In Uig the results were very obvious. Further clearances took place particularly from Timsgarry, Carnish (21 tenants), Reef (22 tenants), Garynahine, Dun Carloway. The small tenants of Valtos and Kneep were only saved from eviction by the intervention of the Fisheries Board, [162] for they were important places for white fishing. By the 1850's, although the population of Uig was more than double that in 1755, and 60% greater than in 1800, it was crowded [162] into little more than half the area. Emigration enforced by clearances reduced the population of Bernera and South Uig by nearly 500 between 1851 and 1861.

195 427 311 233 [161] [162] No other part of Lewis saw so many farms; nowhere else did the small tenants suffer so much from eviction. That was not all. Those who remained undisturbed were deprived of some of their traditional grazings and access to the rest was sometimes restricted. Moreover they had to make room for many of the evicted families in their own townships, thereby further increasing the problem of congestion caused by the rapid natural increase of population. Thus, for example, about 1825 there had been 22 families in Valtos and Kneep. By about 1880 there were almost 100. But, during the same period these townships were deprived of their island grazings - Pabay, Vaccay, Floday and Wiay - formerly used for wintering cattle - and of part of their hill grazings (the traditional shielings). Use of the hill-grazings was restricted, too. Thus, for example, only one day was allowed to pull heather for ropes; if men were away fishing or for other reasons, could not attend on that day, they risked punishment by going on any other. Such stories could be multiplied many times.

[103] In the Bernera district, by the 1850's, only Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete (on the island) and Earshader and Crulivig (on the mainland) were left for the crofter families. Moreover their traditional summer grazings, which lay south east of the Deer Forest which was formed out of the Scaliscro sheep farm about 1850. Apparently their use of the old shielings was tolerated until 1878, after which date they were directed to the area north of the present road and which they have continued to use until the present day. Thus the shieling huts shown in fig.5 all post-date 1878; the area in which they lie may have been part of the West Earshader tacksman's holding. The date of discontinuance of that tack is not known but the house, now empty, was for long occupied by squatters and the old lazy beds around it still form part of a large squatter holding.

It is noteworthy that almost all the clearances were in the Bernera and South Uig districts and this is reflected in population changes between 1841 and 1851, shown in table 4.

The cleared areas included extensive hill and mountain grazings and some of the best wintering ground, including all the machairs except Valtos and Kneep. The East Loch Roag and Carloway districts were less attractive to the new farmers; as is so commonly the case in Lewis, their rough grazings lay on gently sloping low plateaux and were consequently ill-drained and of poor quality. About 1852 Dun Carloway was let as a tack but was never successfully farmed and was soon returned to crofter-occupation; it may never have been wholly cleared of crofters. Garynahine, at the southern end of East Loch Roag, next to Linshader, was also turned into a farm about 1852. Here the hill grazing was more extensive and, though seriously reduced by a crofter settlement scheme c. 1936, it remains

195 427 311 a well cultivated small farm, a striking example of what can be done with this unpromising terrain. It is probably true that one of the objects of forming farms was to introduce improved methods and so set an example to the small tenants. The contrast, today, between Garynahine Farm and the nearby crofts, suggests that more than example is required.

TABLE 4

161 POPULATION CHANGES 1841-1851

162 175

District	1841	1851	Change	(%)
Carloway	554	659	+105	(+19)
E. L. Roag	581	717	+136	(+23)
Bernera	670	676	+6(1)	(+1)
L. L. Roag	217	259	+42	(+19)
Valtos etc.	711	484	-227(2)	(-32)
Uig Bay	520	426	-94(3)	(-18)
South	384	348	-36	(-9)

Notes: (1) Viuamore - 46 (-100%). Kirkibost, Linshader, etc. had already been cleared.
(2) Reef -180 (-96%).
(3) Carnish - 60 (-36%) - but completely cleared before 1861.
(Township figures are not available before 1841).

The birth of the crofting landscape.

195 427 311 632 A further mid-nineteenth century attempt to improve the productivity of the small-tenants' holdings was the lotting of runrig lands to form individual crofts. In a report to Seaforth c. 1800, the Rev. Headwick had recommended the abolition of runrig* and some lotting of crofts took place about 1811** - about which time runrig was being abolished in North and South Uist - but many townships in Uig, as elsewhere in Lewis, escaped this lotting. In Bernera, Kirkibost was probably lotted at this time and the crofts fenced; in 1852, despite clearance, the first Ordnance surveyors were able to record the old fences (which were used as the croft divisions when Kirkibost was re-settled in 1878). The now much divided crofts of Kneep (see also fig.22) are probably of the same date. Reef appears, also, to have been lotted early, for the remnants of fences recorded by the Ordnance Surveyors in 1850-1852, (Reef was cleared in 1850), show crofts of the same [621] general form as those of Kirkibost, and quite unlike those of the 1850 lotting. Consequently, in many townships until this date, the houses remained huddled together in tight little groups, often inter-communicating one with another. The groups, or clachans, were usually set in the midst of the arable land. The runrig system had certain disadvantages, but, as a basic agricultural structure for small holders, it had two considerable advantages which may be relevant to modern conditions. Firstly, it was flexible: within it the individual's holdings varied in size and rent and it was possible, at the periodic re-allocation, to adjust the size according to family needs. An elderly person did not need to be burdened with a holding larger than he required, or was able, to cultivate; a young man with a

[113] ** Report.... on the Condition of the Cottar Population of the Lewis. (C.5265), 1888, p.37

* The essence of runrig was that any individual's arable land was in many pieces, scattered promiscuously amongst those of his neighbours. Periodic re-allocation of pieces was usual, but the period varied and in some cases was infrequent.

NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

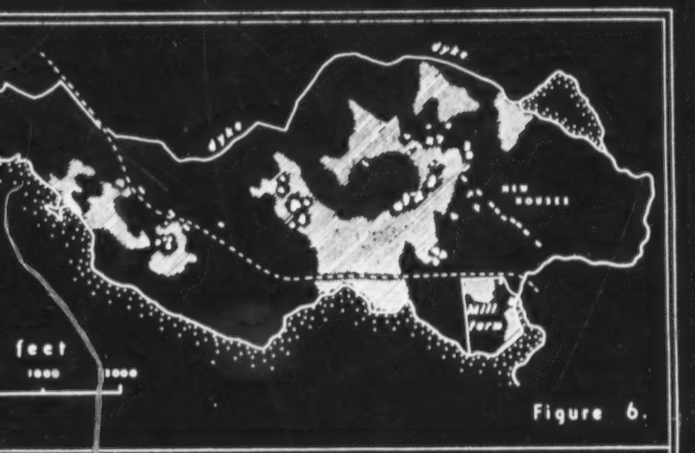

Figure 6.

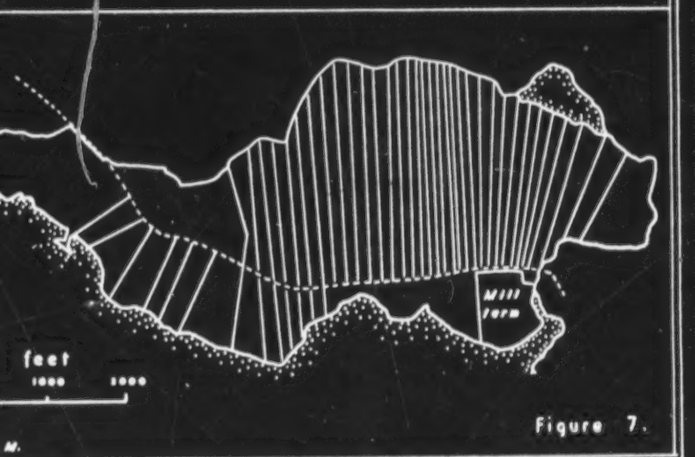

Figure 7.

Figures 6 and 7

THE LOTTING OF BREASCLETE

Figure 6 shows the irregular clusters of old houses and patches of arable land (hatched) within the infield dyke. On the right the first of the new houses, standing in a row each on its own 'lot' (or 'croft'), are shown.

Figure 7, from the contemporary Factor's notebook, shows the new crofts as lotted in 1850. Note that these were not fenced.

/p. 14/

175 growing family could increase the size of his holding. Secondly, in the absence of fences
427 a certain discipline of agricultural management had to be maintained; moreover the
proprietor, through the factor, grounds officers and township constables, saw to it that
311 it was. This "good husbandry", albeit at a rather low level, was maintained in the
632 interests of tenants and land-owner alike. After the arable land was lotted permanently to individuals, there was less flixibility and less need for communal management. But the absence of fences between the new lots, or crofts, meant that they were still common land during the winter months. In some cases the proprietors paid the tenants to erect fences round the newly lotted inbye land of the whole township but, even when a ring fence existed, stock was allowed to graze indiscriminately within it from November until April.

It is fortunate that the first Ordnance surveyors were at work in Lewis just as the lotting was coming into effect. The new lots were not divided by fences, therefore they were not marked by the surveyors, but in several townships they arrived in time to plot the clachans and in some - Breasclete, for example (fig. 6) - the first edition six-inch maps show some of the new houses, neatly spaced out on the new lots. The arrangement of the latter is recorded in the Factor's sketch books, of which fig. 7 is an example.

175 Thus whilst we have little evidence of the appearance of the former rural landscape,
632 we have an excellent record of the birth of the new. The characteristic units of the new
178 lotting were townships divided into long narrow strips, arranged parallel and fan-wise more or less in the direction of steepest slope. Such an arrangement was simple to lay out; it tended to give everyone a fair share of the land of each kind - ill-drained and well-drained, high and low. And, if a road or track passed through the township it was usually possible to give each lot or croft direct access to it without the necessity for side-roads.
[367] Consequently the houses, when re-built, were usually put on the crofts. A dispersed pattern of settlement replaced the little huddles of the clachans. The extent to which it was dispersed depended on the width of the lots; the greater the number of tenants to be accommodated in a given area, the narrower were the lots. In extreme cases they might be as little as 20-30 yards in width and then the houses, aligned along the road or access track might form a virtually continuous terrace or street.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CROFTING STRUCTURE

427 In the parish of Uig about 90% of the families are crofters. That is to say, they owe their presence in Uig to their hereditary tenancy of a small-holding of croft status. To these holdings they have a deep attachment; many of them have been inherited through
[428] several generations. Others were obtained more recently during the process of re-settlement of farm land which followed the Napier Commission report and 1886 Act. Many older crofters regard the resettled townships as the fruits of a hard-won victory. Nevertheless, we have seen, very few of the holdings are in fact more than 110 years
[166] old. And, whilst some families can certainly trace their ancestors in the district for several centuries, there has always been a good deal of movement between townships. Thus the claim that they occupy holdings which were carved out of the barren moor by the toil and sweat of their ancestors is, in most cases, metaphor rather than strict truth.

Congestion and Sub-division.

175 The crofting population of Uig started the second half of the nineteenth century w
311 far less land than had been occupied by their forebears fifty years before, and, alth
161 famine, clearance and emigration had slightly reduced the population between 1841
162 1861, (from 3,828 to 3,630) thereafter it again increased, reaching about 4,600 in 1
Rising agricultural prices after 1850 favoured farmers and crofters alike but, whil
427 farmers prospered the crofters merely multiplied, thus in effect reducing the land available to each family. In 14 townships recorded in the 1850 sketch book the 273 ings at that date had become 402 by about 1890, to which should be added a consider number of cottars and squatters, many of them keeping stock and some sharing the
427 of the crofts on which they had built their cottages. Detailed comparison of the re
175 for the two dates shows that the increase had come about in two ways: firstly, it ap
161 that, from time to time, where a new rent ledger was being made up, the factor wo record separately cottars who actually shared the rent of the croft and, secondly, h
162 would recognise and enter some of the squatters who had obtained rent-free (and ill holdings by enclosing and reclaiming from the common. The latter were added to souming of the townships according to the rent put upon them. Table 5 (page 16), illustrates the process. The recognition of squatters, usually at £1-£2 per annum, to the small increases in total rental. For the rest, the increasing numbers were caused by subdivision. Only in a few cases does the proprietor seem to have activ encouraged land reclamation by crofters. On April 17, 1850, four of the families had been cleared out of Reef were allowed to settle on the Callanish common near t Breasclete boundary (hence the settlement became known as 'Breasclete Park'. T rent was fixed at 15/- per acre for five years, thereafter increasing 1/- per annum it reached 29/- per acre; they shared, according to their rent, in the Callanish co pasture. But forty years later one of these crofts had been divided into three, an into two, and two new ones had been carved out of the common; the total rental ha to £13:19/-. Again, when Breanish was lotted in the spring of 1850, ten new lots marked out and the rental is annotated "there are ten young men starting ... these as soon as the season commences". This appears to have been too optimistic; fe any, of the new lots were ever broken in.

The farms, by contrast, prospered and the proprietor was able to share that prosperity by increasing rents as shown in the table:

TABLE 6

195 427 Farm:	Rental in the period: 1840's	1850's	1860's
Mealasta	£90	£105	£105
Ardroil	£100	£105	£187
Garnish	(£75: crofters)	£55	
Timsgarry	£78	£84	£88
Linnshader	£250	£297	£400

TABLE 9

The Agricultural Structure of the Parish of

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	Townships (no.)	Inbye (acres)	Common pasture (acres)	Agricultural holdings (on Valuation Roll) Crofts:	Others:
Atlantic Coast	3	246	14,800	51	1
Uig Bay	5	636	15,800	62	-
Valtos-Reef	3	398	8,700	74	-
Little L. Roag	4	266	4.400	38	-
Bernera Island	5	1,213	8.200	91	4
Bernera Shore	4	359	13,100	26	1
East L. Roag	6	1,101	15,700	183	1
L. Carloway	7	856	9,400	174	7
Individual holdings * (non - crofting)		161	1,200	-	9
	37	5,236	91,300	6,999	23

NOTE: *Individual holdings include only those not using the c
pasture' figure is their rough grazing.
**These include individual holdings, as defined, and al
allotment holders having more than a quarter acre o
sheep. Their holdings are included in 'Inbye'.

162
241
233
311
361
423
427
632

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

Uig, 1958

	Crofter-tenants			Agricultural holdings & crofters on Crofter estates
	Total	(Number of non-residents)		
	42	(12)		-
	55	(9)		-
	68	(14)		1
	39	(4)		1
	88	(12)		8
	26	(2)		2
	178	(26)		6
	167	(23)		35
	-			9
	663	(102)		62

ommon pastures; the 'common'

l cottars, squatters, feuars and
f cultivation or a cow or 5

TABLE 12

Crofter-Tenants by Status and Size of

	Area of croft (inbye):		
	0-5 acres	5-10 acres	
MALES UNDER 65	39%	46%	
of whom with:			
Regular employment	26%	28%	
Casual employment	7%	8%	
No other employment	6%	10%	
MALES OVER 65	23%	27%	
FEMALES UNDER 65	8%	5%	
FEMALES OVER 65	10%	7%	
ABSENT: Males	14%	12%	
Females	5%	1%	
ALL TENANTS	100% (314)	100%(201)	

Owing

162
311
427
561
562
464

Holding

| | | |

231
233
311
427
471

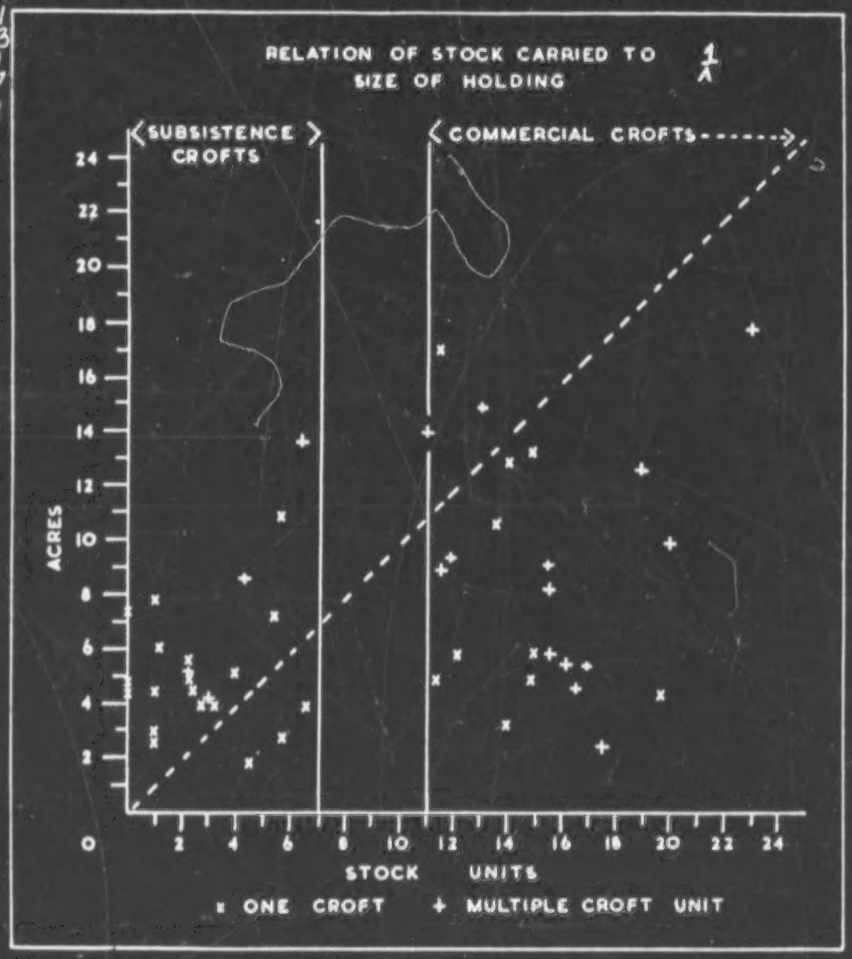

Figure 19
/facing p. 42/

1/A. [See p. 45 for discussion of chart--Analyst]

195 the crofts at Kneep are still highly fragmented: the fifteen cr
311 and eighty separate arable plots. The lotted crofts at Reef w
427 land for a sheep farm. Plans to clear the remainder of the V
[228] by the Fisheries Board because Valtos and Kneep were then g
[501] industry. As late as 1892 Valtos and Kneep had forty boats,
[464] hundred and forty-five men. Valtos with thirty-two boats and
fisher-men was second only to Carloway as a fishing centre i
of the fishing industry, the population of Valtos and Kneep had
1841 to 659 in 1891. Some, at least, of the subdivisions of K
Reef was scheduled by the Deer Forest Commission (1896) fo
and in 1908 an attempt was made to do this, but agricultural
the grounds of poor water supply, scarcity of arable land (onl
and the risk that, if cultivated, the machair would suffer wind
1921, Reef was resettled by ex-servicemen from Valtos and
[233] farm was only carrying a stock of one hundred and seventy sh
sheep stock in 1959.

427 Tables 15 - 18 summarise the more significant points
178 peninsula. Table 16 illustrates the fact that the economy is i
the total possible units are being worked. Many of the crofts
[162] and the younger generations are unwilling to take over. Of t
crofts 18% are over sixty-five, and a further 47% are betwee

TABLE 16

Crofts and Crofters

427
463
632

	Valtos	Kneep
Legal crofts:	40	18
No. in joint tenancy	2	4
Total possible units:	42	22
No. of operative units 8/59:	29 (60%)	15 (68%)
Joint tenancy crofts as one unit:	1	3
Cases of subletting:	8 (+2 part crofts)	4
Family combination of crofts:	2	1
Derelict crofts:	2	1
Crofts worked by: Full time crofter	3	1
crofter with regular work	8	7
crofter with periodic work	13	3
crofter over 65 (or invalid)	5	1

427 Tables 16 and 18 support the definition of a croft as a small livestock-economy unit,
311 primarily concerned with the provision of milk for the family and young cattle and wool for
231 sale. There are no cash sales of crops - the whole of the land-use is directed towards
[241] the subsistence of the crofter and his stock. The cereals (almost entirely oats) and the
[246] hay (occupying a very small proportion of land for a livestock farming region) are grown for winter fodder for the cattle and sheep. The larger part of the croft is given over to grazing - usually of poor to medium quality - which receives very little attention from the crofter. Less than one third of the holdings have sown grassland (and in these few cases it is normally less than half an acre) - a fact which suggests a passive rather than active attitude of the crofter towards his land.

[244] In addition, every croft has its own small potato plot - rarely more than half an acre to provide for family needs, and most crofts (58%) possess a vegetable garden - again for house use.

[435] Nearly all the crofts carry one or two cows - the second cow ensures a milk supply all the year round. Young stock are sold at one year to eighteen months old, rather than as calves - a result of the incentive offered by the calf-rearing subsidy. The milking stock is replaced very infrequently.

427 Where one croft differs from the next is in the numbers of sheep stock. Table 17
233 shows an even distribution of crofts with more than fifty and less than fifty sheep; but, in
[437] fact, over one third of all crofts have less than twenty-five sheep. Sheep are the only source of money income on the croft, except for the annual sale of the calf, and subsidies, and there is a considerable difference in the size of sheep stock between the truly subsistence and "retirement" crofts on the one hand and the "commercial" crofts on the other. Hence the souming figures, and here note the contrast between Valtos with the sheep stock equal to 111% of the soum and Kneep - 353%!

An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on

TABLE 18
LAND USE

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef
243 244 246 **Average size of holding:**			
311 Old arable	2.5	4.1	11.0
427 231 Outrun	2.8	6.2	
Percentage of croftland under:			
cereals	7.5	7.0	6.0
potatoes	2.5	5.0	3.0
Sown grass (hay)	5.5	1.0	5.5
natural hay	3.5	10.0	4.0
natural grazing	75.5	76.0	75.0

1. [For fig. 23, see "facing p. 48"--Analyst]

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

Figure 22

An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on the individual croft to the size of holding and to the availability and age of the labour for In both diagrams there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0 - 7 ur and the commercial holding (11+ units), but there is no definite relationship between sto and size of holding or labour availability. The inclusion of the points of equilibrium fo certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected state of affairs: in the case o crofters with regular work and full time crofters, those over the age of forty-five carry larger stock from those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to th economic problem of crofting lies in the amalgamation of holdings in order to create a more viable economic unit, but the indication from these diagrams is that an increase i the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to an increase in stock. It is the absence of accessible markets that deter the crofter from increasing his agricultural production.

In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihoo for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters under sixty-five almost 90% supplement croft income by other employment. Of these casual labour (at present mainly at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57% regular work - particularly weaving - 4 The combination of crofting and weaving provides probably the best return for the labou one crofter with a croft of 3.3 acres, carrying two cows, two followers and ninety shee (sixty ewes) made the following estimates for 1958:

FROM THE CROFT:

Sale of two year-old calves	£80
Cow and calf subsidies	£40
Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb.	£75
	£ 195 (1)

FROM WEAVING -

at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p.w.)	£550
GROSS INCOME	£745

Weaving about 30 hours a week apparently leaves him sufficient time to run the cro efficiently; at present a crofter supplementing his income by a labourer's wage at Gisl hydro electric scheme would have to put in nearly sixty hours per week to achieve the same financial reward.

The economy of the Valtos peninsula has been changing, and contracting, for sever years. The number of unoccupied crofts is increasing; commercial fishing ended at t time of the first World War; the shielings have been abandoned as summer cattle pastu The Valtos shielings near Loch Scanadale were abandoned during the 1939 - 45 war, du mainly to the lack of manpower in the township, though some was used intermittently u 1953. The shielings of Kneep and Reef were abandoned in the late 1930's, at which tin Kneep had some fifty milk cows as compared with fourteen in 1959.

1 Against this figure, must be set the costs of production (i.e. fertilisers, new seed, winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES
Ulg

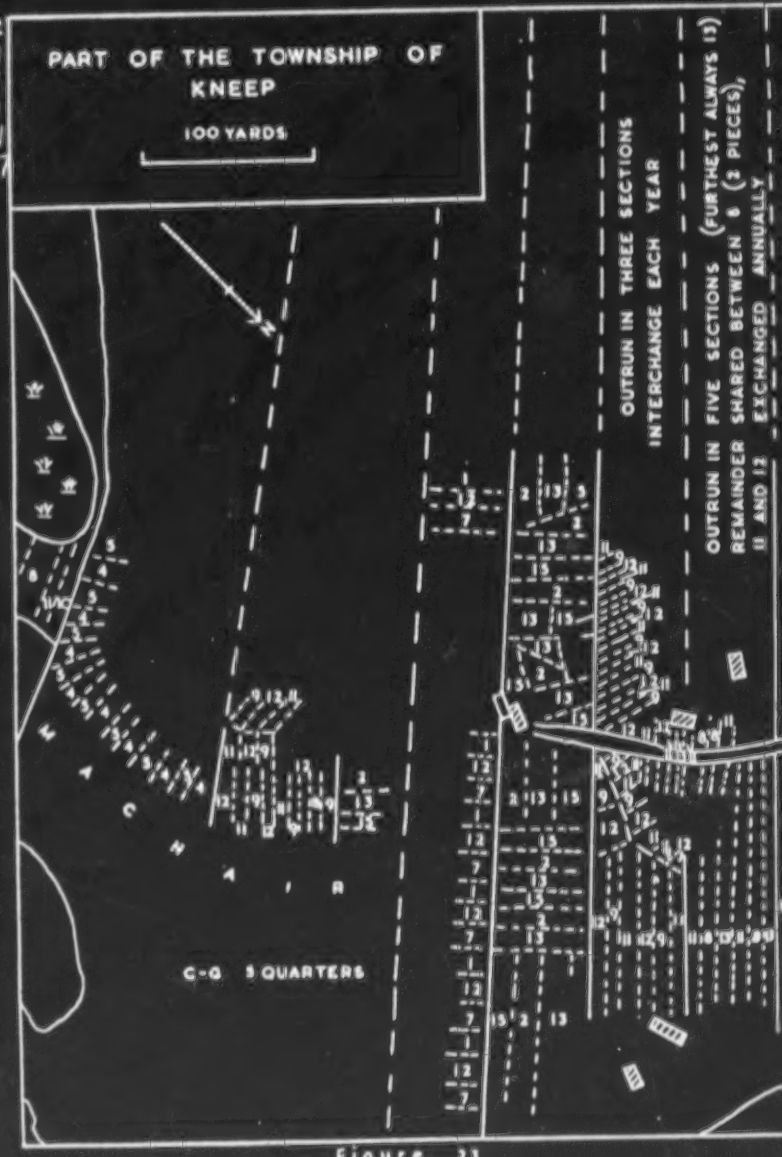

Figure 23
/facing p. 46/

195 After the first World War re-settlement schemes went ahead with renewed vigour.
311 Men serving in the Forces expected land to be available for them on their return and they
427 were impatient to get it. By this time the Lewis estate belonged to the Lewis and Harris
657 Development Co. - in other words to Lord Leverhulme. The farms of Mealasta, Reef,
[471] Carnish and Ardroil were all without tenants; Leverhulme agreed to break them into crofts, the Board of Agriculture surveyors were speedily put to work, and the new settlers were able to commence cultivation on March 1, 1921. Timsgarry farm, with which was the Uig shooting lodge, was in the hands of a tenant; but the Board obtained possission, reserving a small area around the lodge for amenity. Croir farm, Bernera, was also broken up. More than 50 new holdings received enlargements to their common pastures; details are given in Figure 10 and table 8, (pages 22 and 23). The schemes were done in haste, the Secretary for Scotland pushed them forward in the face of some opposition from Leverhulme. Here, as elsewhere, the ex-servicemen were restive; land raids and violence, with inevitable political repercussion, were feared.

In 1924, Linshader farm was threatened by land raiders. As a result this, too, was broken up and 10 new holdings were occupied as from Whitsuntide, 1925. This was part of the Grimersta sporting estate and the proprietors required that all the ghillies be given crofts. Linshader was not particularly suited to crofter-management: it consisted of 49 acres of old arable land and more than 8.000 acres of rough pasture, the furthest part of which was five miles distant and without road access. When the Land Court fixed the souming the following remark was recorded:

"Under a club stock" (i.e. a single flock) the moor "might have been exploited to a very different extent, but in view of the fact that individual stocks are to be kept" (i.e. each crofter his own shepherd) "which is not conducive to hefting, ... 30 sheep per share will be ample. If the whole outside ground were being fully made use of by the sheep stock the grazing of ten cows should do no harm .... but the wintering afforded on the holdings does not justify a larger souming" (than one cow). It had, in fact, been the practise at Linshader farm to buy in young cattle for summer grazing, and to send away the lambs to the Dingwall area for their first winter.

Finally, in the thirties, two long established cottar families at Aird Bheag an isolated spot on the Uig shootings, applied for and obtained recognition as crofters. Their holdings have since been abandoned and now form part of the sheep farm operated by a syndicate of four Breanish and Islivig crofters. Finally, in the 1935 a further 12 new holdings were formed by a partial break-up of Garynahine farm. Thus in all, 140 new crofts and 45,000 acres
[161] have been added to the crofter holdings of Uig since 1878. During that period the popula-
[162] tion of the parish has declined from 4,500 to 2,700. Neither the formation of new crofts, nor the enlargement the old, has prevented depopulation. Little, if any, more land is available and depopulation continues. The only hope, now, is to make the existing land - individual holdings and commons alike - more productive.

Table 8 and the map, figure 10, illustrate the progress of resettlement.

Crofts and Crofters.

491 The parish of Uig is now mainly owned by five small limited companies: Uig Crofters,
427 Bernera Crofters, Grimersta Estate, Carloway Estate, and Lewis Island Crofters. In
311 addition, when Lord Leverhulme sold the Lewis estate a few crofters accepted their holdings as free gifts; consequently they lost legal crofter status (which is confined to tenants) although they continue to share in their respective townships. More recently four crofters in the south purchased some 2,000 acres of rough sheep grazings, including the now defunct settlement of Ard Bheag. There is no official record of the extent of crofters' land, but we accounted for some 95,000 acres (table 9). The remainder con-

471 sists of the sporting estates of Grimersta, Scaliscro, Morsgail and Uig Lodge, on some
311 of which a few cattle and sheep may be grazed, and a few small farms.
427

632 There are 37 crofting townships. In area they extend from 9,000 acres (Linshader)
311 to about 500 acres (Croir, excluding de facto shares in Bernera Shielings). The number
427 of crofter tenants ranged from 4 in Ungshadir and Earshadir to 61 in Breasclete, and the
[162] average amount of land available to each crofter is 7.2 acres of inbye and 126 acres of common pasture (table 10). Averages are misleading. As the table shows, between districts the amount of land available per crofter varies from about 50 to 500 acres; as between townships the range is even wider (table 11). To some extent this contrast is the result of resettlement schemes which, in general, attempted to provide new holdings sufficient to yield a family living. The extent to which they were successful in this respect was limited by political pressure, especially in the 1920's, to provide the maximum number of holdings. Nevertheless the re-settled holdings have twice the average areas of both inbye and common pasture (13.3 against 7.2 acres, and 225 against 126 acres, respectively).

TABLE 10

Average acreage of land available for each holding and working unit.

241
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311
427

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	INBYE LAND: Holding	INBYE LAND: Working Unit	COMMON PASTURES: Holding	COMMON PASTURES: Working Unit	NUMBER OF: Holdings	NUMBER OF: Working units
Atlantic Coast	4.7	8.8	285	529	51	28
Uig Bay	10.1	14.8	255	367	62	43
Valtos-Reef	5.4	7.8	118	171	74	51
Little Loch Roag	7.0	7.6	116	126	38	35
Bernera Island	12.8	13.8	86	93	91	84
Bernera Shore	13.3	13.3	484	484	26	26
East Loch Roag	6.0	8.1	85	114	183	136
Loch Carloway	4.7	5.3	52	58	174	155
Non-crofting holdings	17.9	17.9	-	-	23	22
	7.2	9.0	126	157	699	580

NOTE: The distinction between "holdings" and "working units" is explained in the text.

427 Even amongst the old-established townships there is a tremendous range in amount of
632 land available per tenant, the southern districts being best placed and those in the north
311 worst, a situation which still remains. Indeed, the contrast in land available as between tenants (table 11) is a fundamental one; surprisingly, it is not on the whole reflected by a corresponding contrast in stock carried. Together with the rarity of effective fences between or within township pastures, the impossibility of properly hefting sheep to the hills when each crofter keeps his own little pack, and the excessive sheep/cattle ratio, this gives rise to serious problems which will be examined in Part III.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ATLANTIC COAST

(Brenish, Islivig, and Mangersta)

by

Pamela M. Gough.

131 Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta are situated in the extreme south-west of Lewis, on the Atlantic coast of the parish of Uig and forty miles from Stornoway.

133 Brenish has a south-westerly aspect whilst Islivick faces north-west; in both the elevation of the crofts decreases seawards from about 125 ft. in the east to 50 - 25 ft. in the west. Only one croft in Islivig, and the eight most southerly crofts in Brenish, run to the sea - the rest obtain some shelter from a line of low hills about 300 yards wide and rising to a little over 100 feet, which forms their western boundary. The land terminates in low cliffs from 25' - 100' in height, and a rocky foreshore. Behind these townships to the east a range of mountains from 1,500' - 1,800' in height and dominated by the highest hill in Lewis, Mealisval, (1,885'), gives protection from easterly influences.

134 Mangersta lies to the north of these mountains; here the crofts lie in a sheltered valley to the west of which the land rises to over 200 feet. The valley opens southwards to the sea where there is a sandy beach and machair. The crofts range from about 150 feet to 100 feet above sea level; those nearest the sea have soils which contain a substantial proportion of machair sand.

Soils are generally deep, and there are few rocky outcrops on the crofts which are fairly level. In Brenish and Islivig the soils are mainly peaty, becoming wetter in the west. Where visible the sub-soil is gravel or stony boulder clay. In Mangersta the transition from peaty soils on the northern crofts to sandy soils on the southern crofts, is marked by the increasingly continuous cultivation, drains being unneccessary on the latter.

137 There are no trees or shrubs, and vegetation consists of marshy grass moors in the Mealasta area with a considerable amount of cotton grass bog further north. West and south of Mangersta the machair area is characterised by a calcsole plant community similar in content to that found in many parts of the chalk and limestone areas of England.

361 [172] Brenish and Islivig are old settlements, never cleared. In both, the sites of the original clachans can still be seen clustered around the mouths of their respective streams. The houses are now situated at the east end of the crofts, near to the road.

175 632 311 To the south, Mealasta - cleared in the 1840's to make a sheep farm - was divided in 1921 to give enlargements to the common grazings of both Brenish and Mangersta. The arable land was divided into twenty-nine shares as enlargements to Brenish crofts, and is held in a modified form of runrig.

Mangersta was cleared in 1837 to make a farm; subsequently fishermen-cottars settled on the farm but they moved to Dun Carloway in 1873. In 1910, however, a new township of thirteen crofts was set up by the Congested Districts Board; the new settlers were cottars, mainly from Brenish.

102 311 632

Figure 11.

THE ATLANTIC COAST DISTRICT

C.P. : detached co
pasture (shi

ENL. : enlargement
common pastu

Table 13

241 233 427 632

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Ard Bheag	-	-	c.2,000	-	1	(4)
Brenish	140	5,495	940	28	-	22
Islivig	51	1,542	620	10	-	7
Mangersta	55	2,15[illegible]	1,850	13	-	13
	246	9,452	5,410	51	1	42

/facing p. 32/

491 Brenish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from
[484] Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight
cost half-a-crown for a hundredweight, but because of competition from privately owned
vans the bus service ceased in 1960. Mangersta is reached from the same road by about
a mile of untarred side-road of indifferent quality; formerly the only access to it was by
[366] a footpath over the sands to the south. General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied
[205] by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig; banking facilities
[453] are supplied by a mobile bank.

311 The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being some-
427 what more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about
four acres; in Brenish and Islivick only about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or
croft-units - are fenced, the work having been completed in Brenish in 1959. There are
twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Brenish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta;
but, owing to amalgamations of various kinds the number of operative units is considerably
less - fourteen in Brenish, five in Islivick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

134 As soils are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable
409 patches are large enough to be cultivated with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in
[231] Brenish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are
hired for ploughing and carting peats. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike
many of the other Uig townships.

233 While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas,
here the sheep are wintered up on the hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts.
Brenish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hogg, or four year-old
heifers), on Mealasta Island - hogg are usually sent since their loss, by falling over the
cliffs, is less serious than the loss of heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta
crofters, who are allowed two sheep each in summer.

241 The only crops grown are potatoes and oats, with "black oats" (Avena strigosa) on the
sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed for "black oats" is unobtainable commercially,
the crofters save their own. A grass mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay,
to qualify for the subsidy.

233 The extensive hill and mountain pastures are not separately fenced; sheep from all
three townships graze over all. If the total sheep stock of the townships (about 3,300) is
compared with the souming figures it is found to exceed the soum by about 50%. On the
other hand, fewer cattle and horses are kept than formerly so that taking the total stock
for all animals (horses, cattle and sheep) and comparing with the actual stock now carried,
the area carries only 87% of the stock which the soum allowed. In the two older townships
the souming was reckoned according to rent, being one cow, one two-year old and eight
sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, however, the soum was one horse, three cows, one
heifer, two stirks and twenty-five sheep for each croft.

Lambing percentage is about 80, and ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers
[236] (excluding lambs). In this district some wedders are kept for three years and then sold
[435] for meat, but the main income is from wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep,
which sells at up to four shillings a pound.

231 Most crofters keep one or two cows, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn
or spring sales. Brenish and Mangersta each have a bull, and in the three townships there
are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks in

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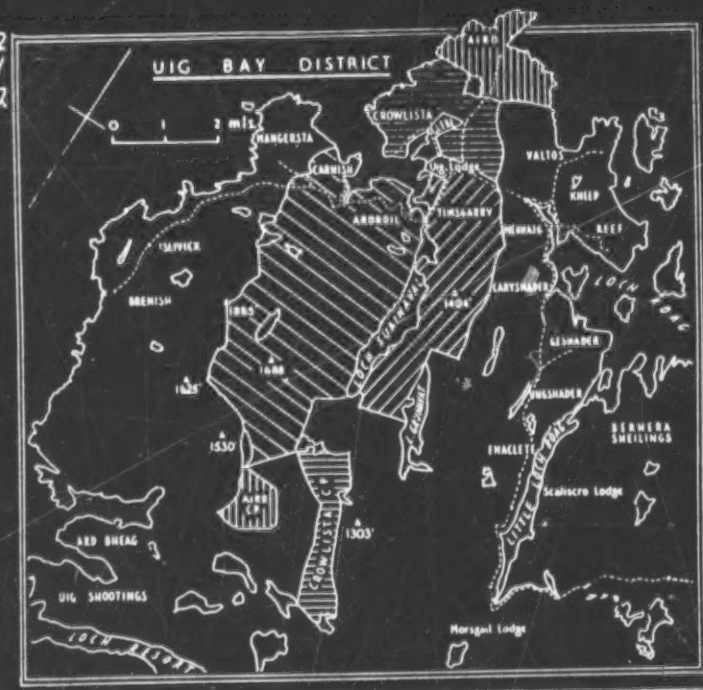

Figure 1

Table 1

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TOWNSHIP form etc	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: adjacent:	COMMON PASTURES: detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: others:	CROFTER-TENANTS
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Carnish	67	177 44(M)	6,708	6	-	5
Ardroil	338	320 131(M)		14	-	5
Timsgarry	81	3,297	-	8	-	8
Crowlista	101	1,840 240(G)	1,352*	24	-	19
Aird	49	1,163	556*	10	-	9
Non-crofting	8	-	-	-	2	-
	306	7,212	8,616	62	2	55**

NOTES:
M = machair; G = part of Glebe; *shielings;
** of whom nine are absent.

/facing p. 35/

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Figure 18

VALTOS

KNEEP and REEF.

C.P. : Common pasture

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 15

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TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Valtos	149	1,482*	3,905**	40	1	56
Kneep	155	459*	1,806**	19	-	10
Reef	94	207 101(M)	770	15	-	14
	398	2,249	6,481	74	1	68***

NOTES: * including some machair; ** shielings; M machair; *** Of whom 14 absent.

/facing p. 41/

511 It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Aird; the only two families
464 without ancillary occupations are those where all the members are elderly. Of the others
288 with members in the working age-groups, five have one or more members employed in a civilian capacity at the R.A.F. station and there are five regular weavers.

621 Aird used to be a self-contained community; the land was fully cultivated and a certain
178 amount of fishing was carried on in spite of the difficulty of drawing up the boats over the rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the R.A.F. station, and if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search of other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF

by

David G. Symes.

131 On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a secondary
133 peninsula of more moderate, but none-the-less broken relief. This, together with an adjacent area of the main peninsula, the islands of Pabay, Vacsay, Vuia Mor and several smaller islands, comprises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Kneep and Reef.

133 This secondary peninsula is accidented in the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock and steeply angled small hills. The relief is greater in the west (summit 450') than in the east (summit 275'). Relatively level land is to be found only on the machairs of Reef and
133 Cliff (the latter only poorly developed) and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair,
134 about 180 acres, consists of a succession landwards of tidal sands, a belt of sand dunes (c. 20' O.D.) and a sandy plain sloping gently inland towards a reed filled lagoon. The machair at Cliff is approximately 40 acres in extent; here there are fixed dunes and, in addition, the sand has been blown inland to at least 100 ft. O.D. Except where the machair sand has drifted upslope to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin soils of the Valtos peninsula are predominantly peaty. Although the length of the peninsula faces north the extremes of Atlantic weather are moderated by the protection afforded by the Aird peninsula and the islands of Pabay and Vacsay.

175 In the period before the lotting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some five
429 clachans - Valtos, Cliff, Kneep, Uigean and Reef - some of which shared common pastures.
361 During the early part of the nineteenth century and earlier, apparently, than the 1850 lotting
[632] carried out in most of Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clachan areas: Valtos and Cliff shared a common pasture and so became one township; similarly Kneep and Uigean were combined.

175 In Kneep it seems that the croft boundaries were not accepted by the crofters. Certain
311 basic divisions between groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today,
427 and within these basic divisions a certain regularity of distribution of strips persists, but

134 Alluvial soils have developed along the lower reaches of Amhuinn Thoraghair and the Eris river.

137 [824] There are no trees apart from an occasional stunted rowan or willow - willows for creel making grow still in some old garden enclosures. Hedges, too, are rare so, altho individual houses are often carefully sited, there is little cover and the townships as a whole are very exposed to westerly gales. The natural vegetation developed on the mach is of fine closely matted grasses with a good deal of natural clover - very similar to that found on chalk downland. On the peaty moorland the usual moor grasses mosses and heather are dominant, though little encroachment by bracken was noticed.

311 361 427 In Crowlista the strip layout of the crofts dates from a lotting about 1850, (Figure 14) in the new townships, laid out about 1921 (Figure 15) the majority of the crofts are less strip-like and do not run to the shore. Indeed in Ardroil and Timsgarry only five out of twenty-two reach the shore and the rocky headlands with their machair are valuabl parts of the common pasture. The six crofts in Carnish run from the shore at the foot of the esker up its flank towards the southwest and almost to its summit. They also hav one or two small plots each on the machair.

[133] Crofts in Ardroil are in one piece. An old cattle road forms the north west boundar from this they rise, steeply in places, to undulating moorland just over 200' high. Num 5 - 8 Timsgarry are strips across the Erista valley, rising northwards to just over 170' 2, 3 and 4 are allotted to make use of arable land on the lower slopes of Knock Valabrie. The houses of crofts No. 1 Timsgarry and No. 1 Ardroil are the former farmhouses.

[417] In Crowlista most of the crofts remain unfenced but in Carnish, Ardroil and Timsgar all are fenced and many of the fences were being repaired or replaced in 1959. They ar not open for common grazing during the winter. Patches of sown hay are fenced within each croft.

[316] There are six recognised croft-holdings in Carnish; one is sub-let so that there are only five "operative" units; two of those are not worked. One has been resumed by the proprietors and is being quarried as an extension of the main quarry between the township dyke and main road. In Ardroil each of the fourteen crofts is worked as a unit - though two carry no stock; in Timsgarry eight crofts are worked as seven units.

In contrast to the above, the old settlement of Crowlista has twenty-five recognised crofts but, by amalgamation and sub-letting these are worked as fourteen units. The Crowlista crofts are small - fourteen are 4.0 acres or less and of those only one is worked as a unit. Crofts as small as 1.5 acres and with a soum of eight sheep can neve have been intended to support a family; they are the result of sub-division in earlier generations; the remains of two piers and a curing house point to the importance of fishing in the past. Twenty-one men were employed in fishing boats about 1914. Sub-letting usually takes place between relatives; of some of the fourteen operative units are quite complicated. One example will suffice (croft numbers are here replaced by letter to prevent publication of personal matters):- [464]

Crofts a, b, c and d are worked as a unit (although they are not adjacent). The tenant of a and b sub-lets c and d for grazing; he also helps with the work on yet a fifth croft. The present b is half of an original croft. West of the road the original croft is held in fixed runrig between b and another croft, not part of this multiple "working" unit east of the road it has been divided into separate strips. The tenant lives on b.

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos
231 in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird
654 lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village
there is now an R.A.F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common
pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the
inhabitants.

361 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
491 at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
443 butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N.A.A.F.I.
within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100
ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds
and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below
205 the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
342 have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the
houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
354 more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
312 modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
311 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an
elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so
491 that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions,
but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to
the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

241 The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown
grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial
fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the
cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse.
407 Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
824 vated; bere was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that
231 there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow
for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses
no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

233 On the other hand, the sheep sbum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement
of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The
lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented
this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many
in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there
are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most
of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
164 periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither
has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the
parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 -
44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

241 198 The area under cultivation has contracted in the past twenty years. Before 1939 most crofts had about twice as much land under cultivation and at Valtos some were cultivating small patches outside the township fence. The cultivation of the common machair at Cliff ceased in 1939. The land had been "too long in labour" (potatoes had been planted on the same ground for nearly one hundred years), and the soil had been affected by over-liberal applications of sulphate of ammonia which replaced the traditional soot-impregnated thatch from the black-houses. Moreover the Cliff machair was particularly vulnerable to "blow-outs" after ploughing. Cultivation of the Kneep common arable has all but ceased, and the fifty-two acres of arable machair in the township of Reef have been untouched since the 1930s. It is noticeable that the common machair cultivation and the shieling economy ended about the same time. Smaller numbers of better-quality cattle were needed to meet [231] the daily milk requirements of the croft; a much smaller area of cultivation was therefore needed to provide winter fodder and consequently more land was available on the croft for potato cultivation. Consequently the more distant machair was replaced by cultivation within the croft.

433 178 Contraction and decline of the economy is common to all three townships, but the form and cause of this decline is different for each, and where the township consists of two separate settlement nuclei there is frequently a difference between the two parts:

632 127 361 311 The township of Valtos is in two distinct parts: crofts 1 - 34 are a succession of narrow strips about ½ mile in length stretching from the shore to about 200' O.D.. The boundaries of the outer crofts (nos. 1 and 34) if projected to a point on Pabay, form an angle of 45°, so that the crofts are narrower at the shore (40 - 70') than at the upper limit (100 - 180'). Of these 34 crofts, 19 are in so-called runrig, eight in pairs and one group of three. (Fig. 21). Cultivation is carried out on numerous intermixed small patches, held permanently; the grazings are interchanged at the year end. Fragmentation imposes a severe limitation on the economic efficiency of the croft. None of the crofts at Valtos is individually fenced though some groups of two or three are fenced together. With the contraction of cultivation [241] only the less steep areas are cultivated, to facilitate ploughing.[1] As a result, the bulk of the cultivated plots are to be found at either end of the croft - near the shore and on the hill top against the township fence.

The remaining five crofts of Valtos, and a squatter, are at Cliff in the valley separating the Valtos peninsula from that of Aird. Here the crofts are fenced, more compact and slightly larger (4.8 acres as against 3.8 acres) and they occupy more level terrain than [241] those in Valtos. Two of the crofts are worked in runrig - these being situated on the machair. The houses are set back about a hundred yards from the road, along the western township fence.

Kneep township is again in two parts: Crofts 16 - 18 together with the Manse and two cottars, are situated across the neck of the Glebe promontory, on the south side of the peninsula. The five legal crofts are today worked as three units, fenced, reasonably compact and with holdings of exceptional size for the area - average 15.1 acres. Crofts [433] 1 - 15 at Kneep on the northern side of the peninsula adjoin those of Valtos. Here is a climax of land fragmentation, which imposes severe limits upon croft efficiency. Twelve of the fifteen crofts are worked; of these only numbers 4 and 5 are compact homogenous crofts; numbers 3 and 6 are compact except that part of the land which lies within their boundaries belongs to croft no. 13. The remaining eight crofts comprise a hundred and eight separate plots of croftland and fifty-two separate plots on the common machair. One croft with 2.8 acres arable the average size of each piece is a mere 0.15 acres! [233] The grazing land on the croft is divided into strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into

1. Pre-1939 much of Valtos was cultivated in lazy beds - by spade. Today 9% is cultivated by spade; 43% by horse plough + 48% by tractor.

632 361 427 311 233 strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.

The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly [132] developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been [312] cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the [241] machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse [407] and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

433 The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over [729] sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

[233] Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

162 Fig. 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the 163 most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

131 20 By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at [443] Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the [346] peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

102 233 241 311 632

Figure 25

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

ENL.: Enlargement to common pasture.

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 19

231 241 427 632

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	COMMON PASTURES: Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Caryshader	44	1,260	-	14	1	14
Ungshader	35	435	598	4	-	4
Geshader	114	850		11	-	11
Enaclete	73	662	617	9	-	8
Non-crofting	c.40	800+	-	-	4	-
	306	4,007+	1,215	38	5	37*

NOTES: + also unrecorded areas of grazing on deer forests
* Of whom four are absent.

/facing p. 48/

CHAPTER EIGHT

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Meavaig, Caryshader, Ungshader, Geshader, Enaclete and Gisla).

by

Annis Heawood.

133 Little Loch Roag is a narrow sea loch extending southwards about twelve miles inland
[131] from Loch Roag proper. It has been formed by glacial erosion picking out one of the
[134] n.n.e. to s.s.w. lines of weakness characteristic of the Lewisian gneiss. Although generally steep-sided, recent glaciation left much ground moraine and this material, best preserved on the less steep slopes, provides arable land for several small townships on or near its western shores. The eastern shores are the more rugged and although a few small townships once existed there is now only the small farm and shooting lodge of Scalisacro. At the head of the loch is an estate cottage for Morsgail Lodge which is a large mansion with extensive fishing and shooting rights, grandly isolated about a mile inland from the main road.

361 The district here described includes Gisla, near the head of Little Loch Roag, Enaclete,
[133] Ungshader, and Geshader, on the western shores of Loch Roag proper. All these are strung out on or close to the main road. Meavaig, like Gisla, is a small farm but also
365 functions as something of a metropolis for south Uig; it has the post-master, whose other functions include registrar and receiver of wrecks it has two churches, a telephone exchange, the district doctor and manse, and a petrol pump. At the time of our visit it was also the base for the 'bus service. Its metropolitan functions arose in the days before the road replaced a ferry boat service from Callanish; here the mails were landed until some date in the 1920s, and here, too, the estate kept coach and horses for transport to Uig lodge, three miles further west.

361 There is no record of the original settlement of the four crofting townships, nor of
365 Gisla, which was a township (or 'joint farm') of five crofters until about 1850. Some modern houses and bungalows have been built, many with easier access to the road than
[232] the old black houses, now often used as byres. Water supply does not seem to present a serious problem because of the extensive moorland gathering grounds to the west, but there are not at present any water-supply schemes. Electricity is, of course, available. Caryshader and Enaclete are on the main Stornoway road being served at present by the 'bus and by vans selling meat, groceries and fish at least once a week. Enaclete has a sub-post-office. Geshader is less fortunate since, although vans call regularly, 'buses must be met at the junction of the unsurfaced track and the main Stornoway road, where the school serving this district also stands. The track has been extended in recent years so that it now reaches all the houses. Ungshader, however, is smaller and although it has had similar delivery arrangements, it is now a dying settlement largely due to its inaccessibility.

427 The crofts are mostly regular in shape on the landward side and fenced except where
632 the land is very broken as in northern Enaclete. In Caryshader there are fourteen legal crofts which at present are worked as eleven units; one is used only as a holiday home
●311 by its owner-occupier and there is one squatter on the common grazing. In Geshader there are eleven crofts, each worked independantly; Ungshader has four crofts but the

427 joint tenants of one have moved to Geshader while continuing to work the Ungshader land.
632 Another is preparing to move to Enaclete and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Chroistean
●311 Cottage. At present, three working units remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with ten units, one being rented by joint tenants.

221 The rhythm of work is similar to that in other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oats are planted in April followed by lambing and peat cutting in May. In June and July the sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to the common grazings. In August the peats are carted, once they are dry, by lorry direct to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lambs are weaned in September, harvest is then carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take place in November. The sheep are then returned to the township grazing though the lambs
241 may be fed with hay on the croft. There is little regular crop rotation and only a small number of crofters seem to undersow oats, thus improving the quality of future hay crops. Gardens are not important and only provide for family needs but Caryshader particularly has a number, some growing flowers as well as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely from croft to croft as well township to township. Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the shore and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshader are usually fed on artificials.

231 Most crofters keep one milk cow with a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn sales in Caryshader. However, some now rely on their neighbours for milk in return for grazing and one croft has turned to goats, as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on Geshader -Ungshader common grazing as it is completely fenced; and Geshader is responsible for its upkeep.

233 Lambing seems to have been generally good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact figures. The Morsgail Estate and Gisla farm also run considerable flocks. The common pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlargement, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acres for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader near Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres
[344] on Floday island. The shielings have been disused since the war. Peat is normally cut to the west of the road but at least one elderly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his croft for this purpose to save the effort of working further afield.

241 Generally speaking the land now cropped only represents one third to one half of that
178 worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when the crofting population was larger and when much greater numbers of cattle were kept through the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and
231 more oats. The cattle numbers are much less than the total souming but sheep are in excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazing by sheep has caused a decline in grazing quality.

464 Clearly in these townships, apart from the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the means of livelihood is sought elsewhere. At present there are altogether fifty-three men in the working age group (15 - 64) in all four townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine permanently and five periodically. Thirty have regular or periodic employment besides crofting and of these seven work at Gisla on the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, some of them part-time, four hire out vans, two do post-office work and others have varied occupations while only three are full-time crofters. At present there are few men in the Merchant Navy and fishing does not provide an occupation although many share rowing-boats in their spare time, and fish for domestic use.

162 The population as a whole is ageing and of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four
[169] (roughly 30%) work away permanently or have emigrated. It is noticeable that there are few crofts worked by people with young families

000 In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that the fate of the crofting townships depends more

103 231 241 233 ●311 427 423 632

APPENDIX A

(1) Agricultural statistics for South Uig - August, 1959.

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INTYE LAND: Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pasture: (acres)	Horses	CATTLE: Bulls:	Others:	Calves:	SHEEP: Sows:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Goats	Poultry
ARD BREAG	-	1	1	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	c.500	?	?		
BREASIS	28	-	13	16	4	20	100	11	84	18	15	13	508	703	443	568	4	1
ISLIVIG	10	-	5	7	2	11	30	3	43	6	3	4	228	234	174	105	2	-
MANGERSTA	13	-	10	12	3	17	23	3	68	16	9	13	385	474	334	371	1	-
CARNISH	6	-	3	2	1	4	61	4	26	4	1	4	270	110	89	40	1	-
ARDROIL	14	-	12	7	2	21	321	13	62	15	5	9	625	358	277	171	1	-
TIMSGARRY	8	-	7	5	1	12	63	7	29	8	-	4	275	177	143	108	1	-
MABEE ETC.	-	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	-	2	-	1	-	38	35	5	-	-
AIRD	10	-	8	4	1	9	35	8	34	6	2 (Goats)	1	206	236	193	166	-	-
GROMLISTA	14	-	13	16	7	13	59	6	89	15	3	5	414	487	374	227	-	-
VALTOS	40	1	19	22	7	15	104	19	220	41	1	25	1,033	916	781	524	-	-
GREEP	13	-	13	11	7	13	118	10	76	14	4	9	455	403	337	257	1	-
BEIST	15	-	8	5	2	3	77	7	45	7	3	5	225	243	202	136	-	-
CARYSHADER	14	1	12	6	4	3	24	3	21	8	2 (2 Goats)	4	163	193	176	110	1	-
GESHADER	11	-	11	14	3	16	82	10	38	15	4	11	337	398	442	415	-	-
UNGSHADER	4	-	3	5	1	7	23	3	27	3	1	2	150	130	125	125	-	-
ENACLETE	9	-	9	13	3	13	44	6	31	14	2	12	329	335	247	308	-	-
OTHERS (non-crofting)	-	5	5	3	1	7	54	2	-	(1½ pigs, 16 & 2 geese)			-	295	210	231	-	1

Notes:

(a) The total areas of common and intye land for each township are given in the text.

(b) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the grazing regulations were first made unless some other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

(c) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions (ewes/lambs/others) are as reported (see Appendix A (2)).

(d) Where there is a specific soum for a horse this has been added, (half to the cattle soum and half to the sheep soum) after allowing for any horses actually present.

(e) Where there is a soum for two-year old cattle this has been included in the cattle soums at the rate of 2 two-year olds to one soum.

APPENDIX A continued

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(5) Stocking and cultivation by size of effective units, South Uig, August 1959.

Stocking is assessed according to proportion of the sums held, cultivation according to acreage of arable crops, i.e. excluding hay; some units are omitted for lack of data, (consequently totals do not correspond.)

	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units 1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0	All sizes	Actual number of units
Proportion of sums held:									
Nil	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	3	4
Less than 50%	1	8	5	3	3	3	2	26	40
50%-100%	1	6	9	6	5	1	5	32	50
100%-200%	1	8	5	6	6	3	2	31	57
More than 200%	-	4	1	1	2	1	1	8	13
All units	3	28	21	15	16	8	9	100	
Area cropped:									
Less than 0.5 acre	1	5	3	2	1	1	-	13	19
0.5-1.0 acres	1	7	2	-	1	-	-	11	16
1.1-2.5 acres	1	12	13	9	8	1	5	50	74
2.6-5.0 acres	-	5	3	4	2	3	5	22	33
More than 5.0 acres	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	4	6
All units	3	28	21	16	14	7	11	100	148

Owing to rounding, percentage figures may not equal totals.

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(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit*

	Under 65 years: Full-time crofter	Croft and regular work	Croft and periodic work	Over 65 years: Male	Female	ALL UNITS *
CATTLE **						
nil	2	5	2	6	1	16
1	9	31	18	8	3	69
2	5	19	9	4	-	37
3	1	2	2	1	-	5
more than 3	-	-	-	1	-	1
SHEEP						
nil	2	1	2	3	-	8
less than 6	1	-	-	-	-	1
6-10	2	4	2	1	1	10
11-20	1	4	3	2	2	12
21-50	5	21	11	7	1	45
51-100	5	22	10	6	-	43
more than 100	-	5	3	1	-	9

* a few working units are omitted for lack of data.
** over 2 years

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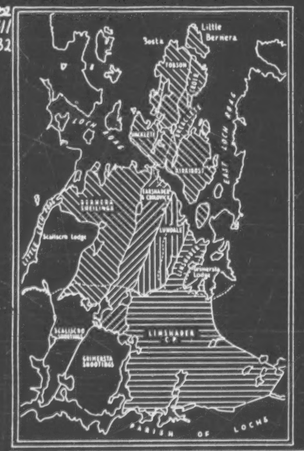

Figure 27

THE BERNERA DISTRICT

Table 20

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TOWNSHIP:	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: (acres)		(acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
Croir	234	280		Bernera	8	-	8
Breaclete	104	481	Little Bernera 514 acres	shielings	13	3	13
Hacklete	254	731			20	1	20
Kirkibost	429	924	E. Kersetay 178 a.	4,341 a.	26	4	26
Tobson	171	669	Bosta 425 a.		24	-	21
Earshader	57	2,640			4	2	4
Crulivig	84				6	-	6
Lundale	156	1,000			6	-	6
Linshader	62	9,412	E. an Tighe 14 a.		10	-	10

/p. 58/

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Problems of communication are not, however, solved merely by providing better roads: at least one household in four has a car or van, and this, with the fall in population, has caused a fatal decline in the use of public transport. The Bernera 'bus service was discontinued in August, 1959, for lack of demand. This is not, of course, an isolated example; the problem is common to all the Highlands, and indeed, to all the rural areas of Britain: in Sutherland, for example, the number of registrations of private cars has risen to very nearly 250% since 1945, and the total number of registrations for all classes of vehicles up to 1938 had risen to almost 200%, while the number of hackney carriages, after reaching a peak in 1952, has since declined by 70%.

TABLE 21

Bernera District

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Land related to tenants and working units

(all figures, except last column, are acres)

	Inbye: per tenant	per working unit:	Common grazing per tenant	per working unit:	Total land: per tenant	per working unit:	Ratio of inbye to total land
Breaclete	8.0	7.4	99	92	107	99	1:13.3
Croir	29.2	33.4	78	89	107	122	1: 3.6
Hacklete	12.7	12.7	96	96	108	108	1: 8.5
Kirkibost	15.9	15.3	92	89	108	104	1: 6.8
Tobson	7.8	9.0	94	109	102	118	1:13.1
ISLAND TOTAL	13.2	13.5	93	95	106	108	1: 9.9
Earshader	11.5	9.5	264	220	275	230	1:24.1
Crulivig	14.0	14.0	220	220	234	234	1:16.7
Lundale	25.9	25.9	166	167	193	193	1: 7.4
Linshader	5.6	6.9	873	1,067	879	1,074	1:155.1
SHORE TOTAL	12.8	13.3	473	491	486	504	1:35.1
DISTRICT TOTAL	13.1	13.5	183	188	196	201	1:15.0

Note: in this table, "working units" include all crofts, whether stocked or not, and all other agricultural holdings. Two or more crofts worked together, whether registered under the same tenant or not, are counted as single working units. An agricultural holding is defined as one with at least one cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation.

Crofts and Commons

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A crofting area normally consists of the croft land proper - the inbye (arable and unimproved land, and various common grazings. Table 20 summarises the situation in Bernera. Kirkibost has by far the largest inbye and the Bernera Island townships generally are larger than those of Bernera Shore. That the positions are reversed with regard to common grazings is due to the limited hill of Croir and the very extensive hill of Linshader. The Bernera Island townships would, however, be much worse off for hill land had they not various special common grazings (except Croir) and did they not share in the 4,341 acres of the Bernera shielings on the mainland. It is possible to calculate the appropriate shieling share for each township on the basis that, though the theoretical sums for each township and common grazing are exact, in fact all working units may send animals to the

TABLE 22

Bernera District

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Sub-division and Amalgamation

	ISLAND: Breaclete	Croir	Hacklete	Kirkibost	Tobson	TOTAL	SHORE: Earshader	Crulivig	Lundale	Linshader	TOTAL	DISTRICT TOTAL
Registered crofter-tenants	13	8	20	26	22	89	4	6	6	10	26	115
Agricultural feus	3	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	-	1	2	6
Agricultural cottars	-	-	1	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Agricultural squattars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Working units (a)	14	7	20	28	19	88	6	6	6	9	27	115
Known sub-lets	3	1	1	2	1	7	-	-	-	2	2	9
Joint working (b)	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Joint working (c)	-	-	1	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Sub-divisions (d)	1	-	1	4	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
Other feus (e)	4	1	1	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Other cottars	-	-	1	-	3	4	-	1	-	-	1	5

Notes: (a) Whether stocked or not
(b) Family co-operation involving amalgamation of holdings.
(c) " " not " " " "
(d) Usually between members of a family, but not recognised on the Valuation Roll.
(e) Excluding those without occupied dwellings.

423 shielings, and that therefore the shieling area per township is in proportion to the number
427 of working units in that township (total, 88 working units on the island). If these shares
311 are deducted it will be seen that only Kirkibost and Tobson common grazings exceed in
632 area those of Lundale, the smallest of the Bernera Shore grazings, and that even this is
(449) no longer so if the special grazings, mainly later enlargements, are further deducted.
All this serves to emphasise the relative crowding on Bernera Island and the consequent
vital importance to most working units of the shielings. This has probably increased in
the last decade with the construction of the bridge, for whereas previously there was a
biannual ferrying operation to the mainland, tedious, unpleasant, and exhausting for both
beast and man, nowadays droving to the hills is an easy matter.

A somewhat different picture emerges when land is related to tenants and working units (table 21). If the inbye per croft tenant is calculated it is seen that Croir has the largest, (29 acres), rivalled only by Lundale, (26 acres), Hacklete, Kirkibost, Earshader, and Crulivig form an intermediate group (11 to 16 acres), while Breaclete, Tobson and Linshader have but eight acres or less. However, the average area of inbye is more revealing if calculated in relation to working units: then the Bernera Island townships are seen to range from 7 acres (Breaclete) to 33 (Croir) while only Lundale has more than 20 acres, the others having 14 or less. For the whole island the average of inbye per tenant (13.2 acres) is close to that for the Shore (12.8 acres) and the inbye per working unit (13.5 acres: 13.3 acres) is almost identical. Thus, there is considerable variation in the amount of inbye land available per tenant and the amalgamation of tenancies into working units does not seriously change this distribution.

None of the Bernera island townships has as much common grazing per tenant, nor per working unit, as any of the Bernera Shore townships, (little more than 100 acres as opposed to never less than 160 acres). The Bernera Shore townships as a group have about five times more pasture per tenant and per working unit than those of Bernera Island. Breaclete stands out as the township with the greatest shortage of land.

The various forms of subdivision and amalgamation of crofts and parts of crofts, or other holdings, are summarised in Table 22. In the small townships of Bernera Shore only Earshader, with four crofters, has non-crofting holdings with stock; there is little amalgamation. In Bernera Island, however, only Hacklete has the same number of working units as of registered croft holders and Breaclete, the township with the greatest shortage of land, is also the township with the greatest degree of unofficial change and intromission. In contrast, Tobson, in spite of its unconsolidated plan, presents a simple picture. Breaclete also has the largest number of feus, including the only feus not functioning as agricultural units. This emphasises its function as a centre for the island.
(368) It has both manses, both churches, the War Memorial, the school and the District Nurse.

These changes must however be seen in perspective. The Bernera region has not
118 suffered from the type of amalgamation which is the result of decay and which facilitates
427 further decay; the actual change is not very great. The number of agricultural working units is 98% of the number of crofter-tenants. It is illuminating to compare the region with Sutherland where many former crofts, quite abandoned to rough pasture, have been taken off the rentals. Apart from change due to clearances, the Bernera region has none of either type. Of 575 holdings examined in thirty-one townships in Sutherland, amalgamation has reduced the number of effective crofting units to only 437, i.e. 76% of the formal figure. Amalgamations by family co-operation are comparatively few in Sutherland (26 out of 173 known examples) whereas subletting is common. A further brief example may be taken from one of the Shetland islands where amalgamation has reduced the original number of holdings from something like 350 to about 250 working units.

TABLE 23

Bernera District

Size-distribution of working units

(The double asterisk ** indicates the approximate position of the modal mean)

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	Area of unit in acres:									
	nil to 1.0	1.1 to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	7.6 to 10.0	10.1 to 15.0	15.1 to 20.0	more than 20.0		Average
Breaclete	2	-	4	1 **	3	4	-	-		7.4
Croir	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5 **		33.4
Hacklete	-	-	-	2	7 **	5	4	2		12.7
Kirkibost	-	-	2	5	2	*10*	4	3		15.3
Tobson	-	2	5	3 **	3	4	1	-		8.9
ISLAND TOTAL	2	2	11	11	15 **	23**	11	12		13.7
Earshader	1	-	-	-	- **	5	-	-		9.5
Crulivig	-	-	-	-	-	4 **	2	-		14.0
Lundale	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	4 **		25.9
Linshader	-	-	4	- **	4	1	-	-		6.9
SHORE TOTAL	1	-	4	-	4 **	12	2	4		13.3
DISTRICT	3	2	15	11	19 **		13	16		13.5

Once the interchanges are understood and the numbers of working units accepted, it is possible to analyse the relative inbye sizes of the agricultural units, (table 23). Croir and Lundale have the highest average size and highest modal means; and the other townships with the exceptions of Breaclete, Tobson and Linshader, falling in the 10.1-15 acre class. On Bernera Shore, Linshader has the smallest working units but the range of variation even there is comparatively small, whereas on Bernera Island, except in the resettled township of Croir, there is always a range of five or six categories. Hence the occasional divergence between the modal and arithmetic means. Again this is the cause and sign of a greater degree of adjustment on Bernera Island.

TABLE 24

Bernera District

Common Pastures, Soumings, and actual stock.

(Stock in "cow units" calculated according to the Grazing Regulations)

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	AREA:	SOUMING:		ACTUAL STOCK:		
	Acres	Cow units	Acres per cow	Cow units	As % of soum	Acres per cow unit
Breaclete	1,284	105	12.3	88	84	14.6
Croir	622	43	14.1	49	114	12.6
Hacklete	1,913	259	7.4	189	73	10.1
Kirkibost	2,491	303	8.2	188	63	13.3
Tobson	2,050	253	8.2	120	48	17.1
ISLAND	8,363	962	8.7	634	66	13.2
Earshader	1,320	38	35.1	65	174	20.2
Crulivig	1,320	51	26.8	70	140	18.6
Lundale	1,000	72	13.9	62	86	16.1
Linshader	9,426	95	100.0	92	96	102.5
SHORE	13,066	255	51.5	290	114	45.2
BERNERA DISTRICT	21,451	1,237	17.5	924	74.7	23.4

423 Stock - potential and actual. *

427 The croft is in almost every case primarily a stock raising unit and cultivation apart
(from certain items - particularly potatoes for domestic use - is connected with stock
231 rearing. The basis of the stock system is the soum, the share of the common pastures
in terms of horses, cattle and sheep. The largest total soums (more than two hundred
311 cow-units) are held by Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson; all the other townships have a
hundred or less cow-units (Table 24). This has some relation to the size of common
632 grazing. The very large area of Linshader is that of the former farm: the present

* Details of actual stock and souming for each township will be found in Appendix A.

231 soum is less than the capacity of the grazing and represents the Land Court's estimate
423 of the stock the crofters would be able to keep: the consequent disc re-
427 gression in total stocking is a typical result of the replacement of commercial farms by
crofting subjects (c.f. page 25 above). It is better however to consider the area of
•311 common grazing and soum combined: in fact, the average acreage per cow-unit is fairly
632 uniform for Bernera Island, (8.7 acres). Bernera Shore has a wider variation of from
(1.6 to 100.9 acres per cow-unit: obviously, either the Bernera Island townships grazings,
particularly Bernera shielings, were originally estimated as of superior value, or, for
whatever cause, the common grazings of Bernera Shore are relatively under-used. How
is this reflected in practice?

TABLE 25

Bernera District

Comparison of soums and actual stock,

by townships.

	Average soum per working unit	Actual stock per working unit	Soum held per working unit	Working units with less than 50% of their soum
Bearclete	6.5	5.5	84%	19%
Croir	6.2	7.0	114%	nil
Hacklete	12.9	9.5	73%	25%
Kirkibost	10.8	6.7	63%	29%
Tobson	13.3	6.3	46%	58%
BERNERA ISLAND	10.6	5.5	66%	43%
Earshader	6.3	10.9	174%	nil
Crulivig	8.4	11.8	140%	nil
Lundale	9.0	10.4	86%	nil
Linshader	10.6	10.2	96%	22%
BERNERA SHORE	9.8	11.6	114%	8%
BERNERA DISTRICT	10.6	6.5	75%	20%

Note: all soums and stock are calculated in "cow units", using the sheep equivalence as given in the Grazing Regulations.

231 CROFTS:
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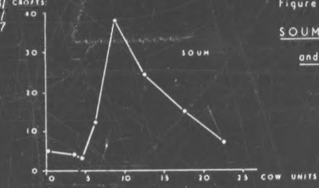
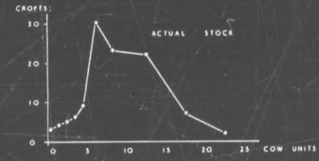
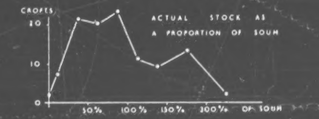
Figure 29

SOUMS and STOCK







231 311 632 Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson have by far the largest total holdings of stock but are eclipsed in regard to percentage of soum actually held by Breaclete, Croir, and all the Bernera Shore townships. In fact the average percentage soum held is 66% on the Island as against 114% on the Shore. If efficiency is interpreted in terms of stock rearing therefore, Tobson is less than 50% efficient, Hacklete and Kirkibost 50% to 75% Breaclete Linshader and Lundale 75 to 100%, and the rest 100% to 175% efficient, the average falling at 75%.

It is also interesting to remark the area of common grazing per cow-unit actually held. This shows that, in effect, the Bernera Island townships, as might be expected from their use of one main common grazing, have much the same amount of land per beast The Bernera Shore townships apparently need rather larger areas of land per cow-unit; the excessively large area shown for Linshader indicates understocking.

[427] Figure 29 summarises the incidence of soums and actual stock carried. It will be seen that, although there are some crofts with soums of under five and over fifteen cow-units, the majority lie between those limits with a marked peak in the 7.5 to 10 cow-unit class. The largest soums tend to be under-utilised. Figure 28 shows the percentage of the soum held. Almost a quarter of the working units have less than 50% of their soum and must therefore be considered as inefficient in their chief function of stock raising, about one third have 50 - 100% and rather less than 1/3 have over 100%

The incidence from township to township varies (table 25) but generally the Bernera Shore townships have more uniform individual soums than the older and larger Island townships, though the range of size of stock holdings and consequently of soums held is more comparable. Table 25 shows the average soum per croft or working unit: Breaclete and Croir are similar with only just over half the average for the rest of Bernera Island. None of the Bernera Shore townships have soums as large as the bigger Island ones, and one of them, Earshader has no more than Breaclete or Croir. Kirkibost and Tobson stand out as far the most generously treated townships, but is this justified in practice?

Expressed in terms of cow units, (table 25) the total soums reveal that, on Bernera Island, only Croir is really efficient with just over 100% of its soum: Breaclete, Hacklete and Kirkbost are satisfactory - and no more - with 60 - 80%; but Tobson has only 45% of its soum. This is a very much poorer showing than that for the Bernera Shore townships, only one of which drops much below 100%. Therefore on the Shore the soums, though smaller, are better taken up than on the Island. Further it is clear that, of the individual working units on Bernera Island, none of those of Croir are unsatisfactory, three out of sixteen at Breaclete are not satisfactory, five out of twenty at Hacklete, eight out of twenty-eight at Kirkibost and eleven out of nineteen at Tobson, whereas on Bernera Shore there are only two unsatisfactory units - at Linshader - one of which is presently vacant with a dispute over the tenancy.

231 233 311 But so far, only the total soum has been considered: in fact it is necessary to consider the elements of that soum, for in order to maintain the pasture one must have a stock suitably balanced as between cattle and sheep. When the soums were originally calculated this was borne in mind and were every soum fully occupied in the proportions originally planned, the balance of grazing would presumably be satisfactory. Table 26 shows the stock equivalents in sheep units. In Croir the soum would indicate a marked preponderance of cattle +, in Linshader (with its extensive hill lands) of sheep; otherwise there is a rough balance in the soumings between large and small hooved beasts.

[656] Occasionally there are special permissive or restrictive clauses in the regulations. For instance, on Breaclete township common grazing, "...a landholder...shall be entitled to graze thereon, free of charge, during summer and autumn, two hogg for every pound sterling of rent, for replacing the cast ewes...". Similarly, in Linshader horses are not allowed on a fenced area of 800 acres, and on Little Bernera horses are specifically disallowed. But generally the various classes of stock have clear equivalents which are freely interchangeable. How does this work in practice?

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[698] + Editorial Note: this was probably because, when the Land Court determined the soum, Croir had no share in Bernera Shellings. This now calls for adjustment, which should be made when the Crofters Commission re-enact the local Grazing Regulations.

TABLE 26

Bernera District

Souming calculated in sheep units

	Basic soums in sheep units				
	Horses	Cattle	Horses & Cattle	Sheep	Special Grazings
	-	9	9	8	8
	-	21	21	12	-
	-	9	9	8	8
	-	9	9	8	-
	-	9	9	8	16
	-	21	21	26	1
	-	21	21	27	-
	-	28	28	32	-
	6	7	13	30	-

hows the cattle soum and holding; there is a marked similarity between the ips, (all holding about one third of their soum), and the Shore townships, h range from 60% to 100% and only one of which, Lundale, has less than 40%. erages are not misleading is proved by the fact that the scatter of percentages n held per working unit is less wide for the Bernera Island townships than for ernera Shore, bearing in mind the smaller number of units in the latter.

le difficult to account for this, particularly when it is observed (Table 28) o correlation with the percentages of the sheep stock held; the Island town- om having half their soum of sheep)Tobson) to double (Croir), and those of n a little over the correct figure to well over twice as many; but whereas the rsoumings for sheep is everywhere high and non-sheep-keeping crofters are re 10 agricultural units with no cattle and 25 with only one cattle beast. It

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TABLE 27

Bernera District: Cattle

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of cattle soum actually carried.

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	Number of units with:									Aver.
		Less than 100% of soum:				Less than 100% of soum:				all
	Nil	1-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	101-125	126-150	151-200	200+	units
Breaclete	-	6	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	33%
Croir	1	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	32%
Hacklete	1	6	10	2	-	-	1	-	-	34%
Kirkibost	1	7	15	4	1	-	-	-	-	29%
Tobson	1	5	9	1	2	-	-	-	-	34%
ISLAND	4	24	42	9	4	-	1	-	-	32%
Earshader	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	62%
Crulivig	-	-	3	-	2	1	-	-	-	72%
Lundale	1	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	38%
Linshader	4	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	-	96%
SHORE	5	1	9	2	4	1	2	1	-	60%
DISTRICT	9	25	51	11	8	1	3	1	-	37%

231 is probable that the constant but rather low incidence of cattle on the Island is governed
233 by two factors: first the shortage of common grazings near the township and the neglect
311 of the only alternative source, the shielings, and second, the memory of past isolation -
632 and the present impossibility otherwise of getting milk save from a neighbour - which makes a milch-cow a necessary part of the equipment of almost every household. On the mainland, where the common grazings are contiguous with the inbye, summer grazing of cattle is much easier particularly, as in Crulivig and Linshader, where there are special fences to divide the near and far pastures (cf. the old Norwegian spring-autumn and high summer seters.

[178] We may compare fifteen Sutherland townships, in which 89% of the stock held is sheep, with the Bernera District in which 80% of the total stock is sheep. That this balance of stock is not old-established is revealed by comparison with the stock figures collected for

TABLE 28

Bernera District: Sheep

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of Sheep soum actually carried.

233
311
632

	Number of units with:									
	Less than 100% of soum:					More than 100% of soum:				Average
	nil	1-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-100%	101-125%	126-150%	151-200%	more than 200%	all units
Breaclete	1	-	-	1	3	3	-	2	-	100%
Croir	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	4	210%
Hacklete	-	2	2	4	2	1	5	1	3	89%
Kirkibost	1	3	2	4	9	3	2	3	1	79%
Tobson	2	1	3	8	2	2	-	-	-	56%
ISLAND	4	6	7	17	16	9	8	8	8	88%
Earshader	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	237%
Crulivig	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3	184%
Lundale	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	140%
Linshader	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	1	3	128%
SHORE	1	-	1	2	2	2	4	4	9	156%
DISTRICT	5	6	8	19	18	11	12	12	17	103%

231 the Napier Commission in 1883; these show that the Bernera region now keeps less than
233 half the former number of full grown cattle beasts but only a slightly higher percentage
311 of sheep. It is an unavoidable conclusion that resettlement and enlargement has not led
632 to greater agricultural efficiency: since it was carried out for social and not economic reasons, this is perhaps not unreasonable, but it augurs ill for the future of a community which must be largely dependent on agriculture.

[178]

Land Use and Cultivation*.

241 Before considering the details of stock management it is well to review land-use, for
[231] cultivation is subsidiary to, and directed at, stock keeping. Few crofts have no culti-

* Details of crops and grass by townships will be found in Appendix A.

102
311
632

Figure 32

EAST
LOCH ROAG
DISTRIC

231
241
423
427
632

TOWNSHIP ETC.	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Others (No.)
Callanish	237	----- 5,302	-----	57	1
Breaclete	374	----- 3,861	-----	63	2
Tolsta Chaolis	396	----- 2,700	-----	43	3
Garynahine	95	----- 1,824	-----	12	1
Lochganvich	67	----- 2,000	-----	8	-
Others	506	-	-	-	3

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CHAPTER TEN

EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Garynahine, Callanish, Breasclete, and Tolsta Chaolis)

GARYNAHINE by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury.

131 Garynahine is a townships of twelve crofts which are situated on the eastern arm of
632 Loch Ceann Thulabhig. The crofts nowhere extend more than one-third of a mile from
the coast. There is a hinterland of about 1,800 acres of common grazing, which is
133 mostly about 100 ft above sea-level, though it rises to 200 ft in a few isolated areas; the
crofts are lower, and maximum elevation is 80 ft.

Most of the croft land is drained by the stream Allt Mhurchaidh which flows through
134 all but two of the crofts. But the soils are heavy, and several crofters cut peat on their
crofts. Many crofters complained that their land was too peaty for cultivation.

361 The crofts form a regular pattern beside the south side of the main road from
Stornoway to Breasclete, with two small feus and a 21 acre freeholding on the north side
of the road. In addition there is a farm (Garynahine Lodge) of 400 acres east of the
crofts, and likewise stretching along the south side of the Stornoway road. The main
road to Uig passes through the farm, dividing the cultivated area in the west from the
grazing section.

175 The regular lay-out of the crofts dates from the formation of the township in 1935.
361 On the same site, but long cleared, there had been an older village about the same size
i.e. twelve crofts, known to be in existence in the 1850's. The crofts were in a similar
position, but were a different shape, and the ruins of some of the croft houses still remain.
This village was completely burnt out one gusty winter evening when, it is said, a spark
from a crofter's pipe was blown onto one of the thatched roofs, and the wind quickly spread
the blaze to consume the entire village. The crofters left the area, many going to the
neighbouring township of Callanish; Garynahine then became one large farm until 1935
when the land was re-allocated into crofts. The new crofters came from a variety of
areas, several coming from Crulivig, others from Breasclete and Callanish. The
owners of the farm had also opened an hotel which prospered until 1945 when the farm
was sold to its present owner Admiral Drummond, who has since used the house of a
241 private house. Nine acres of the farm land is cultivated, and the remaining 391 acres
● 311 are used for grazing. In contrast to the usual practice in this area the oats have been
undersown with rye grass. Another beneficial innovation at the farm is the introduction
of shelter belts. Trees have been successfully planted, making it possible to produce
good crops of soft fruits such as raspberries, strawberries etc. Both the crops and
the stock on the farm are of a high standard, showing that with capital and correct
management the land can be remarkably productive.

In contrast to the large scale economy of the farm, the twelve crofts (ten operative units) are each between 4.6 and 6.2 acres, and the total reputed arable is 67.3 acres. In all there are only 9.5 acres under crop (oats 6 acres and potatoes 3.5 acres), and 2.25 acres under sown grass. The crofts are worked either by spade, horse (hire from croft 40 Callanish) or by tractor (hire from the Lodge). The seasonal rhyithm of cultivation and of stock rearing is that in Callanish.

Enquiries soon reveal that crofting is not the main occupation of the croft tenants. Another indication of the declining interest in the land is the fencing of the crofts. All were fenced when they were formed in 1935; since then there has been no refencing. Now a grant is available to pay 75% of the cost of re-fencing but little has been done.

23/ Stock totals (see Appendix C) have declined recently and this trend will probably continue. There are only four cows and two calves in the township (plus six at the farm).

Table 33

CROFTER TENANTS:	(No.)
	56
	61
	43
	12
	7
	-

Figure 33

361 Contrasting patterns of crofts: the main block of Callanish crofts was lotted before
178 1850. The group of crofts known as Breasclete Park was added in April 1850 for
families evicted from Reef in south Uig. These, and many of the original Callanish
crofts were later subdivided. The irregular shaped crofts in the south of Callanish
were added at later dates, probably originating as squatters on the common pasture.
The Garynahine crofts were formed in 1935; they have a large area of common
pasture south of the farm.

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23/ There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters
233 exceed their scourning (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always
been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 166 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common
pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

312 The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had elec-
319 tricity since 1954. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway
444 and also one bus from Uig and one from Bernera passing through Garynahine. These
good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

463 There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the
remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the
remaining two being to old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only
[178] two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The
croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest
in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

172 Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts
an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle
133 is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about
125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide)
[361] which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six
miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing;
it is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the
highest point is 425 ft.

175 The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The
area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century,
427 and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader
to work for one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the
361 more exposed westward facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced by the
90 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then
spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which
now forms the boundary between the croftland and the common pasture. The croftland
241 varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertilizer and manure
are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the
labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial
fertilizer. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the
drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on
a small peninsula from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland
at high tide.

The croft houses were then in two nuclei; one on each side of the narrow neck. Much
175 later a third nuclei developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the
361 Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Bernera; they had put to sea in small
427 boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became
squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some
427 of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any
● 311

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

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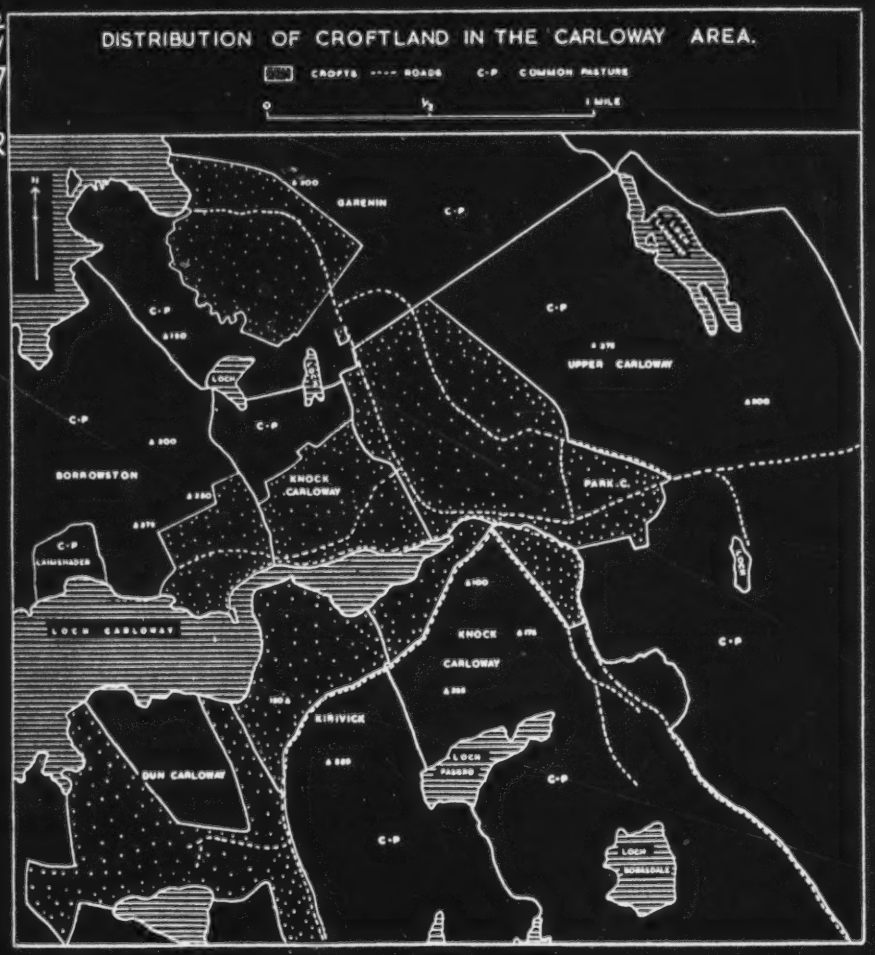

Figure 38
/p. 98/

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

by

Brian Loughbrough

131 The seven crofting townships of Upper Carloway, (including Carloway Park), Borrowston,
133 Garenin, Knock Carloway, Dun Carloway and Kirivick form a compact area of land in the
north of the Parish of Uig bordering the coast and Loch Carloway. Here the Lewisian
103 gneiss has a thin discontinuous covering of glacial drift which is most extensively
developed immediately above the head of Loch Carloway. Three valleys help to deter -
361 mine the layout of the townships and settlements (figure 37). The townships to the north-
west of the Carloway river are found on more gentle slopes than those to the south east
133 where the slopes are less uniform and are less uniform and are often broken by short
steep rocky faces. The north western area therefore offers an environment where almost
continuous cultivation is possible whereas in the south east the frequent rock outcrops
have led to fragmented cultivation on minute plots which are inaccessible to the tractor
or other mechanised implements.

131 The soils are heavy and acid even on the skinned land of the boulder clay slopes nor
is there any machair to mitigate the acidity of the peaty areas which descend almost to
the shores. Only in one place is there any trace of the influence of the sand and this is
to be found where the crofts numbered 1 to 3 Garenin border the small bay in the north of
that township. Here the fierce gales have blown some of the finer beach deposits on to
the croft land.

Much of the peat has been cut from the inner common pastures except in the case of
Upper Garloway where active cutting is still taking place in the valley whose flanks are
occupied by squatter settlements, to the east of the football pitch. On the common
131 pasture the vegetation varies from peat moss and heather with bracken to fescue and
311 close turf on the skinned land by the road to Dalemore. On the upper common pasture
heather and bracken have increased since the abandonment of the shielings and the
reduction of the cattle stock; many inhabitants remember that the hills once had a much
greener aspect. Nor is this a feature confined to the common pastures; on one croft in
Upper Carloway 1.9 acres are completely covered by heather whilst a neighbouring croft
has a good crop of oats on similar land. At the loch in both Knock and Upper Carloway
areas of former arable land have reverted to moss, the old lazy beds being picked out by
lines of reeds.

361 Settlement. The settlement pattern is one of great interest for it shows in a clear way
the effects of the distrinct phases in the historical geography of the area. The evidence
of success and failure stands side by side. Before attempting to justify this assertion it
is necessary to give a brief account of the physical evolution and distribution of settle-
ment.

361 The origin of permanent settlement is believed * to have been the permanent occu-
175 pation of shielings used by people from Bernera until the eighteenth century. Until about
1850 arable land was held run-rig and the houses were huddled together in tight little
clusters. When individual crofts were lotted, about 1850, the houses werescattered,
each on its croft and generally up to fifty yards from the present road (which was then
361 no more than a rough track). Sea access was then most important but since the advent
149 of modern road transport new houses have been built nearer to the roads, producing the
178 modern markedly linear plan. The roads extend at different heights across the slopes

* based on information supplied by Mr Macleod of 27 Garenin.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

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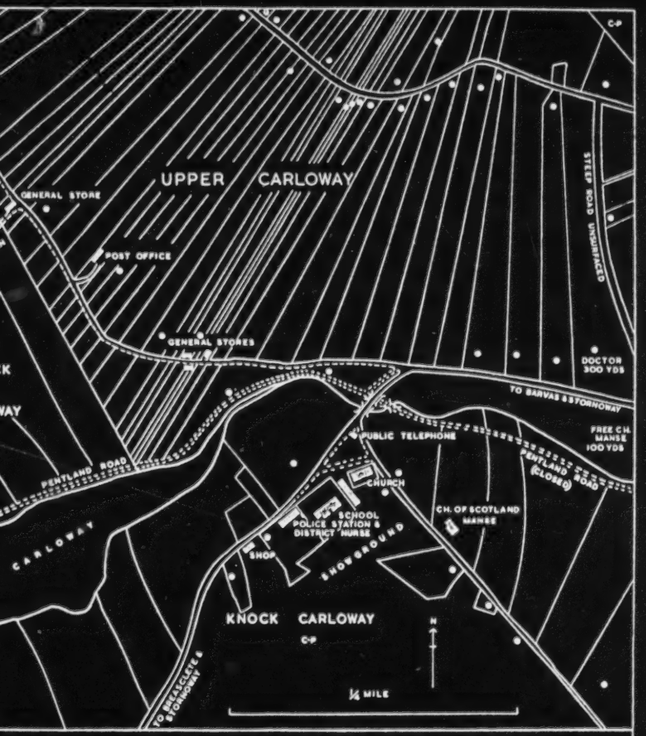

AP SHOWING THE CONCENTRATION OF ROUTES AND COMMUNITY SERVICES AT THE HEAD OF LOCH CARLOWAY

● OCCUPIED HOUSES C-P COMMON PASTURE ——— CROFT BOUNDARIES.

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Figure 39

The Agricultural Year in the Carloway District.

221 231 233 241 ● 311

Month	General	Land	Cattle	Sheep
January and February	Preparation of land. Ditching.		In byres - out on fine days.	On crofts and inner common pasture.
March		Ploughing and manuring.	On crofts and inner common pasture.	FANK - dipping. Put on outer common pasture.
April	Peat cutting.	Sowing oats. Sowing potatoes. Cleaning potatoes.	Sales.	
May	Lifting peat.			
June	Peat taken to roads.	Cultivating.		
July	Little croft work until late in July or early August.	Hay cutting and drying.		
August	Bringing home peat.	Oats cut and dried.		FANKS - for shearing and weaning.
September		Grain and hay brought to stack enclosure and byre.	Sales.	
October		Lifting the potatoes.	Cattle brought into byres.	Brought to crofts and inner common pasture. Dipping and tupping.
November and December	Little croft work.		Feeding in byres; outside when possible.	

Figure 40.

/p. 102/

368 ground. Some of these provide for a much larger area and indeed the policeman serves the whole of the parish of Uig. Three buses per day in each direction operating on a circular route provide transport to Stornoway.

UPPER CARLOWAY

427 133 The township comprises 51 registered crofts and 28 feus and allotments which are situated on the drift covered slope which rises from the head of Loch Carloway. The crofts are each about half a mile in length and from 5 to 25 yards in width aligned up and downslope. The lowest portion of the croftland is just above sea level and the highest approaches 225 feet O.D. The key crofts are numbers 30 and 31 whose boundaries come to a point thus enabling the crofts to be accommodated on the arcuate hill face. In the east are the crofts of Park Carloway which were lotted at a later date than the main area of croftland (numbers 1 to 40).

Only two crofts are fragmented ('fixed runrig'), these occupy lowlying hummocky land near the river where fencing would be difficult. Elsewhere fencing has been almost completed between the roads, but above the upper road fencing is less common, usually only being undertaken by the more enterprising crofters with more promising land; the bare rock surface of crofts 9 and 10 precludes any such attempt there. Almost all the fencing has taken place since 1946.

427 ● 311 The 51 crofts and 28 feus and allotments are operated in 56 working agricultural units. The total land reputed arable 134.4 acres and the outrun 82.65 acres which gives a total of 217.05 acres of individually held ('croft') land. The method of working is controlled by the relationship of slope, soil and elevation. Three zones may be distinguished, namely

(1) Below the road;
   a) well drained and fairly accessible,
   b) poorly drained and often far from the croft house
(2) Between the roads: a main zone of cultivation
(3) Above the main road an upper zone
   a) with bare rock and thin soil
   b) drift covered - similar in character to (2), but more exposed

Crofts 1 - 32 occupy all three zones
" 33 - 40 and 46 occupy zones (2) and (3)
" 49 is in zone (2)
" 41 and 42 are in zone (1)a and are in 'fixed runrig'.

241 [407] In nearly all parts of these zones it is possible to use a tractor and so the cultivation of oats and cutting of hay is accomplished. It is usual to work the potatoes by horse, but only one man preferred to do all his ploughing by horse. This widespread use of the tractor is in marked contrast to the townships southeast of the Loch where it is almost impossible to use the tractor in many places. The significance of this in the contrasts in methods and efficiency need hardly be emphasised.

461 Life in a crofting township is governed by a very distinctive pattern of working that is so strong that it even influences the operations of the mills in Stornoway, for each crofter, if he continues to work his croft fully, must take time off for the communal operations such as the shearing or dipping of the sheep and inevitably at certain times of the year he will be anxious to work the croft. The table attempts to set out the pattern of the agricultural year in this group of townships (Figure 40).

427 authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common grazing. For
311 example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the croft has now almost
10 acres of land, of which the remaining 3 acres have been 'acquired' by enclosing part of
195 the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pieces, and in some
cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor's wife, Lady
311 Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because they were too close
427 to the standing stones. Croft houses 25 and 26, then near the stones, were moved to the
other side of the village and given parts of crofts 1 and 2 for their houses. Crofts 1 and
2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the parts of their crofts they
had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its croftland close to the stones so that an enclosure
could be made around the stones. About the same period, before the passing of the
Crofter's Act (1886), when the village was still 'ruled' by the township constable, and
several other changes took place. Croft 27 and 28 used to be where the croft houses are
at present and the surrounding adjacent area only; but it is said that the tenants of these
two houses, being influential with the constable, obtained part of Callanish Farm. Simi-
larly the tenants of crofts 30, 31 and 35 divided part of croft 19; these changes have
become permanent. The most recently formed croft was taken from the common pasture
in 1890. Since then three feus have been created, but two of these are holiday houses and
the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

241 There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed arable. All but
4 croft units grow oats, and there are 20 acres under oats (appendix C). Of the
remaining cultivated land 9 acres are potatoes and 5 acres sown hay. Most of the
land is cultivated by tractor; there are 6 tractors in the township. In the past there
were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still cultivate by spade.
The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August and the oats a
month later according to the weather.

231 Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township and tethered most
of the year on the crofts. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to graze one of their
neighbour's cows for part of the year in exchange for milk. There is a beef-type short-
horn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Callanish Farm.

233 The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned stock of 904 sheep
311 and 561 lambs. Several crofters exceed their souming, but there is no shortage of
grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garynahine township pasture. Callanish also has
the use of the pasture on Orasay island; each year some of the sheep (one sheep or ram
221 per croft) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes are brought in for
233 tupping on November 14th, after the harvest is complete, and lambing takes place in
April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November 1st to May 10th;
in addition Callanish Farm (which has no sheep) is open for winter grazing. The sheep
are sheared in July, and the lambs are taken from the ewes a month later. The lambs
are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at Flodavat are
known to have been in use until 1921.

491 Communications are quite good; the village is close to a main road to Stornoway, and
131 there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-called roads are
merely rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by motor vehicle; it is
491 over a mile from the nearest track, separated from it by rough peat land. This year a
grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a road to this croft;
but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land refused to allow
a road to be built; and so croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of the village.
131 There are two shops in Callanish (one with a petrol pump); grocery, butchers' and fish
366 vans deliver frequently. Callanish also has a stone jetty which in the past was important.
504 There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and Bernera calling
at Linshader, which gradually declined in importance until the 1920s when it ceased to
505 call at Linshader. The ferry to Bernera finally ceased in 1940 when the ferryman (who
lived at Callanish Farm) left for war service. After this the jetty was still used by small
private boats (e.g. Callanish church serves Linshader, and many people came to church
by boat until recently), but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is a
water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one member
of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern
Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on
[354] rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three
remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and well
worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-let
to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In
[288] addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men
weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the
prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than
[166] average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of them
[161] young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people and
[162] young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resi-
dent adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always
been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous crofting
communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

195 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared
427 from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided,
making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no culti-
vation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

361 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete-
241 Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover being
grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one
231 acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle
is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of
that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people over
65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently
133 from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the
northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small
westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

491 The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the
361 middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main
Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this
road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished
Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter
[491] by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, but
high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but,
at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses
have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good
weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

000 weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Mai
354 7 years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas
source of fuel for heating purposes is peat, alghough a little coa

427 There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions
acres formerly the Mill, and 10 feus, all of which are worked a
[361] lie as long narrow strips in a NE - SW direction from the moorl
at least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some c
moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land com

241 The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a l
sown for hay, many crofters find that the natural grass is suffic
Vegetables are produced in a few gardens, but most people do no
interest to bother with them. Flowers rarely flourish owing to

311 Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and t
[178] part of which was once cultivated on a run-rig system is now unf
for grazing together with some peat cutting. A piece of the com
improved by application of shell sand and chemical fertilizers an
experiment in which almost the whole township took part has pro
there are plans for further reseeding. Details of crops are giv

[467] Although the tractors of which there are two in the township
the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for p
[231] cut by mower but scythes are used to a large extent. There is
township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its

233 The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e.
which here is 2 cows and 5 sheep per £1 sterling rent. 40 croft
none have sufficient to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Ma
moors during the summer and more fail to survive the winter.
231 kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each
and 1 calf which is generally sold after 6 months when a subsidy
Breasclete has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Mo
sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1938. Now it
fewer cows are kept than formerly. With the reduction in numb
pastures close to the village are being colonised by heather.

221 The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditche
241 land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilised an
233 potatoes. The sheep are dipped and by the 10th of May must be
[314] crofts are then closed to common grazings. Soon after this pea
two or three miles from the village. After about 20 days the pe
to the Pentland Road by tractor where they are stacked to await t
them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the fank for shearing and
brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the cr
must be tethered. At the end of June the clover is cut, while th
cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped.
for hay and if there is any first year sown grass this may yield a
September, together with the corn harvest. When the potatoes h
October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for th
takes place in November.

162 Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 year
years of age. Of the resident tenants 9 are between 15 and 44 ye
44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on per
000 away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 29 are permanently

Since 1939,
166 54 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to
462 leave home when they finish school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go into domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breasclete is also the temporary home of the families of lighthousemen on duty in the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain demand for the tweed, and although the men are nominally self-employed they rely on the mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms, which, with ancillary equipment such as bobbin winders, are all owned by the crofters.

[458] As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being erected. But should there be a slump, the crofts would be unable to support the population and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

131 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch
133 a' Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs,
361 for westwards to the sea the terrain is too rocky and irregular for either settlement or cultivation, whilst to the east of Loch a' Bhaile the land slopes precipitously from 250 ft. to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle drift-covered slopes, generally of small extent.

137 Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch
[241] a' Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader, and in the valley of the small stream draining from the north into the head of Loch a' Bhaile. Most of the croft land is composed of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 100 ft. in height, separated by damp depressions frequently filled by reeds and rushes; bracken was apparent only on three crofts. In particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely colonised by reeds and very coarse grasses, of no use whatsoever as pasture. One enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this could certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and
311 2 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the
427 two lochs and the sea, except for nos. 28 and 29. The 53 holdings are unofficially amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The acreage of crofts varies from 2.2 to 20.75 acres - a considerable variation. Fencing of the crofts - except for 1A, B, and C, and 12A, B, and C which are held 'run-rig' - was carried out between 1945 and 1950, whilst in 1946 the common pasture of 2,700 acres was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the Carloway to Breasclete road. An area stretching from crofts 18A to 21 has, however, been most haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided amongst seventeen crofts in the southern half of the township to compensate them for lack of grazing area within their own croft boundaries. This division is said to date from about 1886.

241 Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned
[467] small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as opposed to spade cultivation, depends either on the urgency of the operation, or on the accessibility of the plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 95]

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Figure 37

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

C.P. : detached common pasture (shielings)

Table 3

233
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TOWNSHIP ETC.		INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Others: (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
Dun Carloway		194	----- 2,219 -----		24	6	22
Kirivick		81	495	281	14	2	13
Knock Carloway	(a)	156	643	720	33	-	30
	(b)	23	-	-	-	7	-
Carloway	(a)	234	1,234	1,139	59	-	58
	(b)	43	-	-	-	18	-
Borroston		54	516	320	16	-	16
Garenin		111	994	825	28	2	27

Note: Where there is a large area of non-crofting holdings (feus, allotments, cottars or squatters) this is shown separately against (b).

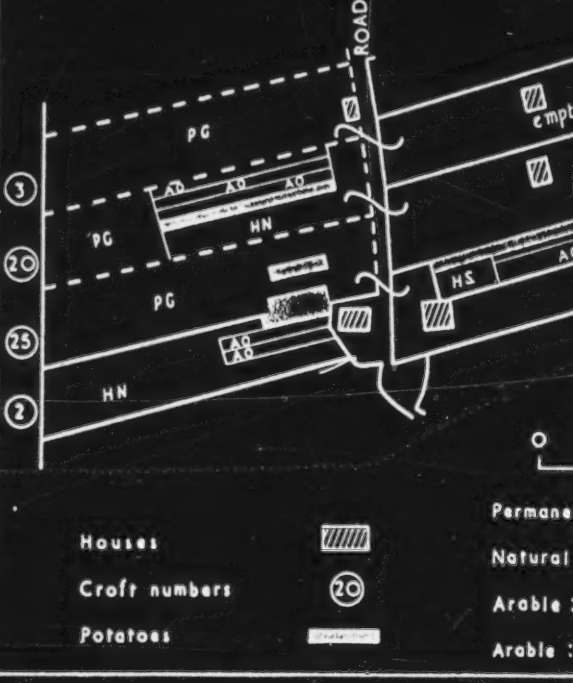

Figure 34

Land-use in four typical crofts in Callanish. Notice that
separated by the road.

township roads of Upper Carloway.

181 427 The township has a very individual ch
exposed to violent winds and spray in the
black houses. Tenanted by old ladies tw
to suggest that a complete subletting will
many of the other crofters in the townshi
fertiliser for the croft on his back becau

427 311 The twenty eight crofts, one feu and
Extensive improvements have been made
grasses in their rotations. A general i
consequent closure of the crofts which w
winter. By far the most striking featur
those for the sheep stock. Although the
the sheep soum is exceeded by 60.3%.
spoke of a 'natural souming' pointing to
and he continued that 'if the land is over
frequently. The assertion seems to be
cow equals three or even five sheep give
grazing. The evidence of the heavy she
eat a different herbage and in a different
is ignored.

The whole agricultural operation of
journeys were necessary to go to the shi
[286] peats. Once again the emphasis is on
[161] are ageing. It is a measure of the decl
[162] go to school whereas one crofter could
First War.

The main features which emerge fro
west of Loch Carloway may be summed
area of well cultivated land on the even
divided into long narrow holdings which
types of land. Careful attention to muc
000 dying community. In spite of the defec
the decreased population and the reduce
letting) could allow of a much more effic
time. The potential is there. Carlow
help to stabilise a community and with t
centration of settlement could be assure
agricultural methods could be adopted.

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133 [181] If the north west presents a picture
be described as one that is showing sig
occupies part of the area with less even
of the township extends to the northern
rises steeply to a rocky crest which ma
361 consequence the crofts are less regular
[427] worked in 'fixed runrig' with a pattern
on the lowest shoulder of the ridge are

[TEXT C

aracter, especially at the seaward end which is
winter and where the dwellings are mostly
o of these are partly sublet and the future seems
take place, which contrasts with the activity of
p. One man was prepared to carry all the
e it was impossible to gain access for the tractor.

one allotment are worked in twenty five units.
on two crofts with the introduction of sown
crease in fencing is now taking place with the
ere formerly open for common grazing in the
e in the figures gathered for the township are
total souming for all stock is not quite reached.
This does not worry the crofters one of whom
he fact that the total souming was not exceeded
stocked animals die'; this they do all too
based on the belief that the equivalence of one
s an accurate assessment of the potential of the
ep losses does not bear this out. That sheep
manner to cattle seems to be either unknown or

he township is complicated by its situation; long
elings and are still needed for bringing home the
veaving as an occupation and many of these people
ine in the population that now only fifteen children
emember up to fifty in the school before the

m this examination of the townships to the north
up quite briefly. The croftland is a compact
slopes which rise to over 200 ft. O.D. It is
ensures that each has a fair share of the different
h of the land shows that this is far from being a
s which can be noted in the animal husbandry.
d number of working units (a result of the sub-
ient working than does take place at the present
ay has many of the basic social services which
he advantage of its strategic position the con-
d if additional employment and/or more efficient

K CARLOWAY

of relative prosperity the area to the south may
s of decay and decline. Knock Carloway itself
ly graded slopes (although a westerly outlier
flank of Loch Carloway). The eastern section
rks the beginning of the common pasture. In
than those already described and three are
of much more fragmented cultivation. Situated
the churches and school close to the road junction

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permanent grass. The pre-eminence of the Carloway area is then only a relative one where the decline in cultivation is taking place at a slower rate. Isolation, the decline in fishing and the lack of alternative employment leading to a greater decline in population may explain the more rapid decline in the Valtos area. Whether Carloway will see a similar decline remains to be seen.

Table 35

Stock carried as a proportion of total soum of each township - Carloway district, August 1959

TOWNSHIP	All Stock	Cattle	Sheep*
Carloway	63%	53%	70%
Carloway Park	87%	64%	119%
Borrowston	74%	15%	121%
Garenin	97%	30%	160%
Knock Carloway	64%	30%	90%
Kirivick	73%	25%	124%
Dun Carloway	104%	21%	187%

* As recorded in some cases these figures are too low (see Appendix C (2)); the maximum error is probably around 10%.

Table 35 summarises the agricultural system; further details of the relations between size of unit, status of tenant, stock of cultivation, will be found in Appendix C (3), (4), (5) and (6). Though the total soumings (that is the conversion of both cattle and sheep units to 'cow units' expressed as a percentage of the souming) never fall below 60% the sheep souming is exceeded in five townships and that grossly in two cases. Once again however this is not as serious as it is in the Valtos area where soumings are exceeded by up to three times the figure allowed. Nor does the mere statistical analysis reveal all the picture for it is essential that a proportionate number of cattle be kept so that the grazing of both cattle and sheep may regulate the growth of the grass. As it is, the relative and absolute increase in the numbers of sheep is having a serious effect on the quality of the pastures.

Sheep are given less attention that the cattle whether they need it or not and few of the present generation are prepared to tolerate the life of the shieling in its old form where the cattle were taken in the summer. In consequence the grazing on the outer moor is almost entirely given up to sheep. The shielings are now only marked by small broken stone mounds which were once the shelters and by the small surrounding areas of greener sward. The changing aspect of the hill landscape has already been mentioned.

Comparison of the totals given in Appendix C (1) shows how the present pattern is developing. 167 milk cows are being raised on 171 agricultural units and with these are 113 calves. Appendixes C (5) and C (6) indicate that the agricultural unit farming the basis of farming is the single milk cow and annual calf which carries a subsidy if it passes the inspector of the Department of Agriculture. A few crofters are raising young beasts for sale but there is a general unwillingness to grow more fodder to raise cattle for an uncertain market which may be affected at any moment by an increase in transport costs which are already high. Without the subsidy such enterprises would hardly be possible at all and indeed one could say this of many aspects of life in the island today. Some of the calves are wintered, but the usual practice is to sell off late in the year.

APPENDIX C

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(1a) Agricultural Statistics of Berneray District, August 1959

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts	Others	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: (acres) Oats	Potatoes	Hay	Pasture	Gardens (No.)	CATTLE: Soum	Milk	Others	Calves	SHEEP: Soum	Ewes	Lambs	Others	Horses	Tractors
reaclete	13	3	14	13	3	8	80	10	59	14	11	15	312	221	164	241	-	-
reir	8	-	7	6	2	4	222	1	37	7	4	7	96	133	110	137	-	-
achlete	20	1	20	26	6	12	210	-	122	30	22	19	661	486	390	499	2	1
irkiboot	26	4	28	26	9	22	373	9	144	35	14	27	866	496	381	420	5	1
heem	24	-	19	22	7	3	160	7	97	30	6	24	784	362	305	248	-	-
ENNERA ISL.	91	8	88	93	27	49	1045	27	459	116	57	92	2719	1698	1350	1545	7	2
arshader	4	2	6	7	1	7	43	4	17	6	1	6	104	149	121	168	-	-
rulivig	6	-	6	9	3	4	68	-	25	8	6	5	163	193	168	213	-	-
undale	6	-	6	6	3	2	144	3	34	7	4	7	192	197	167	141	-	1
inshader	10	-	9	6	4	7	45	9	11	6	2	4	130	307	218	227	-	-
SHORE'	26	2	27	28	11	20	300	16	89	27	13	22	789	846	674	749	-	1
ARKS etc.	-	4	4	-	-	-	7	2	-	5	33	5	-	180	130	205	-	-
URAL BERNERA DISTRICT	117	14	119	121	38	69	1345	45	548	148	103	119	3508	2724	2154	2499	7	3

Notes: (a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in the text.

(b) Croft holdings include duplicate tenancies; other holdings include de facto holdings such as cottars and squatters if carrying crops or stock; effective agricultural units include only holdings with at least a cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation; duplicate tenancies and privately sub-let crofts are not counted twice.

(c) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the regulations were made unless some other date is specified.

(d) Additional sheep figures are given in Appendix C(2).

(Ib) Agricultural Statistics of East Loch Roag and Carloway districts

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts	Others	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: (Acres) Oats	Potatoes	Hay	Pasture	Gardens	CATTLE: Sown	Milk	Oth
EAST LOCH ROAG:											
Garynahine	12	1	11	2	1	19	66	7	18	4	
Callanish	48	-	32	20	9	34	177	13	124 (232?)	28	
Breasclete Pr.	9	1	5	3	2	6	21	7	37	3	
Breasclete	63	3	54	34	11	50	273	43	191	40	
Tolsta Chaolis	43	3	30	17	9	47	222	13	96	28	
Lochganvich	8	-	7	4	2	12	48	4	33	7	
Others	-	3	3	5	1	8	493	1	-	8	
CARLOWAY DISTRICT											
Dun Carloway	24	6	25	18	7	29	141	13	190 (164?)	25	1
Kirivick	14	2	13	8	2	20	50	8	60	13	
Knock Carloway	33	7	33	13	6	28	131	33	132	33	
Carloway	53	18	50	39	14	67	99	35	116	54	
Carloway Park	6	-	5	5	1	8	5	4	14	6	
Borrowston	16	-	13	8	3	25	18	12	98 (118?)	12	
Garenin	28	2	23	22	9	27	53	7	98 (134?)	24	

Notes: (a), (b), and (c) - as for Appendix C(1a).

(d) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions are as

(e) Where an alternative figure is shown beneath the sum there is doubt a regulation.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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APPENDIX C continued

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s, August, 1959

ers	Calves	SHEEP: Sows	Ewes	Lambs	Others	Horses	Freshers
-	2	180	98	94	31	-	-
5	23	671 (928?)	549	509	253	1	2
1	2	124	68	52	34	-	1
4	32	567	601	479	368	1	-
2	24	573	700	520	270	1	2
1	4	155	140	134	48	-	2
1	5	-	42	40	17	-	1
0	17	460 (574?)	612	400	492	1	1
2	8	202	205	163	92	-	-
6	25	530	407	301	140	-	-
2	34	590	314	248	197	3	1
1	5	81	70	62	53	1	-
3	8	392 (464?)	362	277	228	-	-
-	16	341 (539?)	419	281	257	3	-

reported. See also Appendix C(2).

to the interpretation of the

APPENDIX C continued

(2) Additional data relating to township sheep stocks, August 1959

TOWNSHIPS:	TOTAL STOCKS: as recorded:	TOTAL STOCKS: as estimated:	LAMBERS: as reported:	LAMBERS: as estimated:	BREEDING RATIO: (per 100 acres of grazing common)	
Breasclete	626	630	765	49	24	
Crois	380	380	635	64	20	
Mealista	1,270	1,300	608	73	35	
Kirkibost	1,277	1,300	775	52	35	
Tolsta	915	950	845	46	36	
Garabost	438	480	615	36	8	
Cealisig	574	600	675	45	13	
Laxdale	505	550	655	55	19	
Linsidder	752	750	725	8	4	
Garynahine	223	250	905	15	11	
Callanish (including Breasclete Park)	1,465	1,600	915	30	15	
Breaclete	1,460	1,600	905	41	15	
Tolsta Chaolis	1,490	1,550	745	27	21	
Lochganvich	414	7	855	(20)	8	
Dun Carloway	1,504	1,550	635	70	21	
Kirivick	460	550	795	71	26	
Knock Carloway	848	950	745	79	39	
Carloway (including U.Park)	944	1,000	615	42	28	
Borrowston	867	950	705	114	59	
Garenin	957	1,000	675	55	19	

NOTES: (a) The last two columns cannot be directly compared because the sheep area per 100 acres of common grazing does not include lambs.

(b) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the grazing regulations were first made unless some other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

APPENDIX C continued

(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, August 1959.

	Status of croft holders	Area of holdings (in acres): 0.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	20.1-30.0	30.1-40.0	More than 40.0	TOTAL:
142 / 311	BERNERA DISTRICT										
	A under 65	2	6	3	8	10	4	4	1		37
427	A over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
944	B under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
631	B over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	C under 65	-	-	-	1	4	3	4	1		12
	C over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	D under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	D over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	E under 65	-	1	1	2	8	4	1	4		21
	E over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	1	1	3	3	1	1	1		11
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	absent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	2	13	12	18	32	15	17	10		109
142 / 311	EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT										
	A under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	A over 65	-	1	1	1	3	2	-	-		8
427	B under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
944	B over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
631	C under 65	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-		1
	C over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	D under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	D over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	E under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	E over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	absent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	TOTAL	2	13	12	18	32	15	17	10		109
142 / 311	CARLOWAY DISTRICT										
	A under 65	1	2	1	1	3	2	-	-		10
	A over 65	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-		3
427	B under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
944	B over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
631	C under 65	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-		2
	C over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	D under 65	2	1	1	1	1	-	-	-		6
	D over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	E under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	E over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	absent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	TOTAL	4	5	2	3	5	2	-	-		21

APPENDIX C continued

(4) Principal croft workers, according to status, by size of effective agricultural unit, August 1959.

	Status of croft worker	Less than 2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	20.1-30.0	More than 30.0	TOTAL:
142 / 311	BERNERA DISTRICT									
	Tenant under 65	1	7	6	11	15	12	11	11	66
427	Tenant over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
944	Crofter under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
631	Crofter over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-fisherman under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-fisherman over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-forester under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-forester over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-weaver under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-weaver over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Other under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Other over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	1	7	6	11	15	12	11	11	66
142 / 311	EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
	Tenant under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Tenant over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
427	Crofter under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
944	Crofter over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
631	Crofter-fisherman under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-fisherman over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-forester under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-forester over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-weaver under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-weaver over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Other under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Other over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
142 / 311	CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
	Tenant under 65	10	19	16	8	4	1	-	-	58
427	Tenant over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
944	Crofter under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
631	Crofter over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-fisherman under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-fisherman over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-forester under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-forester over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-weaver under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Crofter-weaver over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Other under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Other over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	10	19	16	8	4	1	-	-	58

APPENDIX C continued

(5) Stock and cultivation by size of effective unit, August 1959.

	(a) STOCK	Number of (percentage of total number of effective agricultural units in area of each district): 0.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	20.1-30.0 acres	More than 30.0 acres	All units	Actual number of units
142 / 311	BERNERA DISTRICT										
427	Less than 50X	1	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	14	24
944	50X-100X	1	5	3	4	5	4	3	3	28	47
631	100X-200X	-	5	3	8	9	5	7	6	43	72
	more than 200X	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	10
	All units	2	13	8	13	16	13	11	10	100	168
142 / 311	EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT										
427	Less than 50X	2	3	1	1	1	-	-	-	10	4
944	50X-100X	-	6	4	5	3	2	1	-	21	8
631	100X-200X	-	4	7	12	11	6	3	-	39	15
	more than 200X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	All units	-	13	12	18	15	8	4	-	100	27
142 / 311	CARLOWAY DISTRICT										
427	Less than 50X	4	16	3	1	1	-	-	-	14	6
944	50X-100X	4	14	9	3	1	1	-	-	32	13
631	100X-200X	2	12	5	2	1	-	-	-	22	9
	more than 200X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	All units	10	43	29	7	3	1	-	-	100	28
142 / 311	(b) CULTIVATION										
427	Number of (percentage of total number of effective agricultural units in area of each district): cultivated:	0.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	20.1-30.0 acres	More than 30.0 acres	All units	Actual number of units
944	BERNERA DISTRICT										
631	Less than 0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	0.5-1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1.1-2.5	-	-	1	10	13	9	8	8	49	82
	2.6-5.0	-	-	7	3	3	4	3	2	22	37
	More than 5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	All units	1	13	8	13	16	13	11	10	100	168
142 / 311	EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT										
427	Less than 0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
944	0.5-1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
631	1.1-2.5	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	3	1
	2.6-5.0	-	13	11	17	14	8	4	-	97	26
	More than 5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	All units	-	13	12	18	15	8	4	-	100	27
142 / 311	CARLOWAY DISTRICT										
427	Less than 0.5	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	3
944	0.5-1.0	-	30	11	3	1	-	-	-	45	13
631	1.1-2.5	-	13	18	4	2	1	-	-	38	11
	2.6-5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	More than 5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	All units	10	43	29	7	3	1	-	-	100	28

TABLE 37

The Crofting Structure Re-organised

	(a) Holdings	Proportion of holdings grouped according to area of arable land: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All holdings
142 / 311	District				
631	South Uig	43%	34%	15%	100% (195)
632	Bernera	14%	57%	29%	100% (109)
423	East Loch Roag	53%	28%	9%	100% (172)
944	Carloway	72%	22%	5%	100% (155)
	WHOLE PARISH	50%	25%	16%	100% (629)

Note: These are the registered crofts and similar agricultural tenancies as on the 1958 valuation roll. About 50 holdings omitted for lack of data.

(b) Effective agricultural units	Proportion of units grouped according to 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All units
District				
South Uig	33%	34%	33%	100% (145)
Bernera	15%	32%	53%	100% (168)
East Loch Roag	35%	30%	35%	100% (130)
Carloway	61%	30%	10%	100% (155)
WHOLE PARISH	30%	32%	38%	100% (555)

Note: About 20 units omitted for lack of data.

(c) Summary (excluding Carloway, see note)	Proportion of holdings (generally registered crofts):	Proportion of effective agricultural units:
Under 8 acres	72%	47%
8 acres and over	28%	53%
All holdings/units	100% (474)	100% (400)

Note: The Carloway district is here excluded because about 30 small in-lairs (registered units without another status attached) have the effect of inefficient amalgamation of crofter-tenancies.

Sources: Appendices A(5) and (4) and C(3) and (4).

CHAPTER TWELVE

AGRICULTURE IN A CROFTING PARISH

by

H. A. Moisley

427 / 311 / 631

The agricultural economy of Uig parish, as of the Hebrides in general, is rightly controlled by three sets of factors - physical conditions, the system of crofting land tenure, and economic circumstances. The first two have already been discussed in Part I. In particular, it has been shown that the crofting system, as at present operated, puts much more land into the hands of agricultural units than the size of the land, which is in fact the only asset initially conceded, whilst forcing crofters who could be efficient agents of agricultural production are inhibited by the small size of their holdings and that inability to sufficiently enlarge them. (See Chap. III, p. 35, and appendices to the district accounts, especially A(5), A(5), C(3) and C(5)).

The crofting system re-organised.

There are 699 agricultural holdings on the 1958 valuation roll, of these only 23 are neither subsidiary crofts nor holdings of similar status (see Table 37, p. 121). About half these holdings have less than 5 acres of arable land, and 19% have less than 2.5 acres. Only 16% have more than 10 acres of arable land. Some of the Carloway district (73% less than 5 acres) and, to a slightly less extent, of East Loch Roag district (42% less than 5 acres). Relatively large holdings are most important in the Bernera district (59% greater than 10 acres). In South Uig despite the large number of holdings formed within the present century, only 15% of all holdings exceed 10 acres, (c.f. Carloway: 9%). Data on the size distribution of holdings are given in appendices A(5) and C(3), and are summarised in Table 37(a).

Although still illegal at the time of our survey, it is now permissible for crofting-letting to extend by practice, and in fact, some tenancies have formed, as described in Chap. III. Legally, there is a distinction between 'holdings', which are generally tenancies of different size, and 'working units', which may include several holdings. The latter are potential units of agricultural production and are generally larger than the holdings.

However, the structure of potential agricultural units is not the product of one process alone. Amalgamation is important but so also, in certain districts, is 'sub-division', a process which tends to reverse the development of larger agricultural units. By 'sub-division' is meant not only the unofficial sharing of crofts by divorced members, which still happens but is no longer very significant, but also the formal creation of small holdings. Crofters, as we have disclosure are, nowadays, generally subject to the approval of the township committee and of the factor, some may even have a few charters; nevertheless they are the contemporary representation of the age-old custom of squatting on common land, a process which increased the number of crofts in some areas in the course of the nineteenth century. (Chap. III, page 7). Such holdings are here classified as 'working units' provided that they carried either a cow, or at least five sheep, or more than a quarter acre of cultivation, including hay.

Finally, since a proportion of the 'working units' (potential units of agricultural production) are not actually put into cultivation, we must distinguish between them and the actual units of agricultural production, here termed 'effective agricultural units'. We accounted for 589 of these, (page 30). Their distribution by districts, according to the acreage of the units, is shown in Table 37(b). Comparison of tables (a) and (b) demonstrates the effect of unofficial re-organisation of the crofting structure. In particular, Carloway excepted, the proportion of units of less than 5 acres is reduced in practice from 72% to 47%, and the proportion of units of more than 10 acres is increased from 18% to 38%. The crofting amalgamation is masked by sub-division, the effect of unofficial re-organisation of crofter-tenancies.

178 Stock carried 80 years ago compared with that carried today and with the soumings

	Cattle (more than 1 year old): 1883	1959	Sheep (all ages): 1883	1959	Soum
231					
632					
SOUTH UIG					
South Uig	716	178	827	3,173	10,500
Bernera	646	183	464	1,713	3,500
E.L. Roag	555	151	851	1,852	2,500
Carloway	682	151	648	2,818	4,000
NORTH UIG					
TOTAL	404	66	1,000	9,000	2,000
	3,003	1,000	4,000	900	

Note: Figures for individual townships are given in Appendix E.

TABLE 39

Stock carried by working units

233	WHOLE HELD AS PROPORTION OF 100%	Percentage of units in each district with stock indicated:					
311		South Uig	Bernera	East Loch Roag	Carloway	WHOLE PARISH	
631		%	%	%	%	%	(No.)*
	Nil	3	1	7	5	4	(20)
	Less than 50%	26	25	17	25	24	(115)
	50% - 100%	32	43	29	36	35	(153)
	101% - 200%	31	30	39	31	33	(171)
	More than 200%	8	2	14	2	16	(131)
	All units	100	100	100	100	100	(489)

TABLE 40

Individual sheep and cattle stocks by district with stock indicated

233	Holdings:	Proportion of units with stock as indicated:					
311	Stocks:	South Uig	Bernera	East Loch Roag	Carloway	WHOLE PARISH	
631		%	%	%	%	%	(No.)*
	CATTLE: nil	12	13	21	8	14	(68)
	1	54	56	70	56	51	(153)
	2	29	24	9	13	18	(87)
	more than 2	5	7	-	23	17	(15)
	All units	100	100	100	100	100	(478)
	SHEEP: nil	6	3	16	26	14	(68)
	1 - 5	1	3	4	6	4	(17)
	6 - 10	8	6	14	9	9	(43)
	11 - 20	9	10	24	13	12	(59)
	21 - 50	17	20	32	19	19	(90)
	51 -100	34	29	29	29	34	(164)
	more than 100	7	1	1	7	13	(60)
		2	1	1	2	3	(12)
	All units	100	100	100	100	100	(473)

233 (C)(i) and the cattle enorm appear impossibly high unless large quantities of winter fodder
311 are imported. In the old township the enorm of each croft are still based on minimum
631 rights of pasture on the traditional "1 cow and follower and sheep per pound rent": the croft
178 however, were assessed on the potential value of the croft in days when an inshareable
(627) share was available for production of winter fodder for the croft in days when an inshareable share was available for production of winter fodder for cattle. This is no longer the case and the assumption no longer holds.

Township pastures are seldom, if ever, used to best advantage. Because the regulations generally allow unlimited stocking, the proportion of sheep for cattle, the number of sheep, in theory, exceeded by the proportion of sheep for cattle. The stocking rate is not in practice, however, the situation is quite different. Much of the increase flock of sheep is not used for the efficacy of the grazing of sheep and cattle. As the first place the difference between the theoretical discussion of crofters remained the sheep and cattle is not well appreciated, as the appearance of some crofters remained the sheep and cattle is not well appreciated, as the appearance of some crofters remained the sheep and cattle in the days of the present century in the black" - but the crofter's attitude to sheep and cattle in the days of the present century in the There can be no doubt that the attitude of the crofter when I was a boy, now they are parish except that, whereas sheep stocks have remained fairly uniform, the cattle stocks have grown and the quality have improved or have resisted, in the

The decline of cattle numbers has been in the same way as the rise of the human population and this, together with the much lower sheepcattle ratio on crofting township than on farms in 1879, shows that sheep are not so to-day, the object of crofting township was subsistence rather than commerce. The increase in sheep stocks on the other hand is probably no more than a reflection of increasing disregard of the soumings.

If we compare the cattle and sheep stocks with the soumings shown in Table 38 and Appendix E we find that 80 years ago, except in Bernera, there were no significant differences between stock and soum. Today the cattle stocks are around one-third of the agreement and the soum whereas sheep stocks are still roughly in agreement. Grazing is allowed by crofting law in question their validity is in question. Examination of the stocks and soumings leads one to question their validity in many cases. Examination of the stocks and bear no regular relation to the available area of common pastures (Appendices A(i) and

233 Sheep are needed to maintain the flock because casualties, from disease and accidents,
311 are heavy. Wethers are also kept, until they are two or three years old, when there
631 are enough for the pot. Again, after allowing for casualties and some consumption, there is no surplus for sale in generally small, scrag sheep. The
178 exceptionally well-managed flock of Carloway, which has a reputation for being the best
(628) in Lewis, is almost alone, one man, today, being almost the only crofter who breeds out his own ewe lamb. This is certain that, allowed with pride the possession of a fifteen-
year-old stock of sheep yield an economic return to the crofter-shepherd. Nevertheless, very few of
the ideal arrangement would be to replace the 500 little individuals here spoken of, with
"commercially-minded" crofters, such with a yield equivalent, say, only about 50
certainly be financially more rewarding but would be regarded by many people. This yield almost
because so many crofters are deeply attached to their small packs of sheep.

TABLE 41

Stock carried (as a proportion of soum) according to size of units

233		Percentage of Units sometimes in size:								UNITS
311		0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	20.1-30.0 acres	MORE THAN 30.0 acres	OF ALL
	Nil	16	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	3
	Less than 50%	36	34	31	20	28	30	29	29	30
	51% - 100%	34	34	31	30	28	30	46	33	33
	101% - 200%	14	25	22	31	28	30	17	29	29
	More than 200%	-	2	12	18	16	10	8	9	5
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 42

Classification of croft workers

464	Principal croft workers:				
162					n.r. Tenants (from Table 12):
	Males under 65	77%		51%	
	of whom in regular employment		55%		
	in casual employment		12%		10%
	with no other work		10%		39%
	Males over 65		23%		
	Females under 65	15%		31%	
	Females over 65	8%		8%	
	All persons	100% (557)		100% (350)	

TABLE 43

Principal croft workers by size of effective agricultural units

162	Size of unit (acres):	Nil	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	10.1 to 15.0	15.1 to 20.0	20.0 to 30.0	more than 30.0
311								
464								
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	Males under 65:							
	regular employment	55	61	47	60	50	57	60
	casual employment	7	11	13	12	12	8	8
	no other work	16	7	7	7	15	11	12
	Males over 65	12	7	13	11	15	11	12
	Females	10	9	9	4	8	13	8
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Appendices A(i) and C(d)

TABLE 44

Principal croft workers by districts

employment and, as we shall see, in most cases, the croft carries so little stock that it cannot be the most important source of income.

This situation does not vary very much from district to district (Table 44), except that South Uig has a somewhat high in between Bernera and Carloway, a different picture emerges in the Bernera district. Here, the croft carries so little stock that it is probably a reflection of the very large structure of the crofting workers. There is no indication of a large number of employment opportunities in the district which, in turn, is also reflected in the smaller proportion of casualties there and consequent larger proportion which enter on casual employment as shown in Table 44.

Finally, we may enquire whether the size of agricultural unit available to a man has any influence on his employment status. To this end status has been plotted against size of unit; the result (Table 45)does not suggest that the possession of a large agricultural unit, indeed, the possession of a large unit, still up to 30 acres, is a full-time rather than a spare-time agriculturalist. Lack of marriage, death, or infertility, rather than a matter of initiative, is the main reason why a man is unable to work the smaller, rather than the larger, crofts.

The cultivated land

The chief crops are hay, oats and potatoes, in that order:

DISTRICT	Oats	Potatoes	Hay	All Crops Average per unit
South Uig	149	50	209	407 2.5
Bernera	121	38	69	228 2.0
East Loch Roag	83	35	170	288 2.1
Carloway	113	42	202	357 2.2
TOTAL	466	165	650	1,280 2.2

Barley, which in the form of bere was important until the 1920's, has almost disappeared. Turnips, marigolds, rape and other animal feed crops are only grown

(b) Further depopulation is possible but is not necessarily bad. The special
(c) and crofting tenure have resulted in a township structure which is not the most
(d) suitable for modern farming circumstances. The land is in many
(e) productive than it was 80 years ago, the crofting population is much
(f) smaller and the number of cattle and sheep is much smaller, yet, in
(g) there is increase the proportion of their income derived from agriculture. Some
(h) of the crofters have benefited from the decline of their township
(i) rate and the large extent of depopulation could be controlled, the
(j) assessment of the capabilities of the district over study.

(k) It is not realistic to plan for any extensive development of industry
(l) for the district. Lewis is suitable for the development
(m) of industry - the phenomenal growth of the Hebrides
(n) to get industrialists to invest in inland Scotland there
(o) hope in Lewis. Tourism is a possibility but hardly
(p) and industry is limited to the Stornoway area. Tourism
(q) power, nor is it desirable, but it is not helpful, either
(r) if there is to be any value to the district it should
(s) be given to the other value of development it must come
(t) to depend on it. It follows, that development
(u) lease, the only basis of the future of the crofting
(v) dependence on casual or seasonal employment, and
(w) only, can not prevent the decline, but a truly
(x) useful outlet for some younger folk. On the
(y) crofting communities. The present
(z) only significant correlation is that between
(aa) crofting communities. The present
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at Carloway Bridge. In addition to the main settlement which is irregularly disposed on either side of the two roads, a group of Swedish timber Council houses has been built in a somewhat forbidding situation on the common pasture adjoining the 'Pentland' road.

The thirty three registered crofts and thirteen feus or allotments (of which only five are non-agricultural) are worked in thirty four units. Three of the tenants of the Swedish houses have crofts, two in Knock Carloway and one in Upper Carloway.

The land use figures show that Knock Carloway has a much greater percentage of permanent grass than has Borrowston on the opposite shore of the loch. These figures reflect not only the less rewarding physical environment on the south shore, but also the lower intensity of cultivation which bears a direct relationship to the type, number and quality of the stock. The township has less than the total number of animals permitted by the souming though the higher figure for sheep than cattle reflects the general trend for the area. No horses are kept but the township has the bull which serves the area - a privately owned beef-shorthorn.

Weaving remains the major occupation but the emphasis is less heavy than in the other townships for the community services centred here employ a number of the inhabitants. It may be that here lies part of the answer to the problems of the community as a whole: but even if employment in services were to be increased it could never be very significant in a district with a total population of only 600.

KIRIVICK

Adjoining Knock Carloway is the small township of Kirivick which has forty one permanent residents. It occupies the least rewarding agricultural environment of the area. Crofts 1 to 13 rise from the shore of Loch Carloway on the broken hill face to the Carloway-Breasclete road, whilst number 14 occupies the head of a small valley which was once part of the common pasture beyond the road.

The houses are set back from the road occasionally sheltering in the lee of the frequent knolls of bare rock which are exposed on the croft land. These rock surfaces together with the irregular deposition of the drift account for the fragmentation of the cultivated strips in small hand-dug lazy beds on the upper parts of the crofts inaccessible to the tractor.

There are fourteen crofts, three feus and one squatter settlement and all but two of these are fenced. Two of the crofts are held in 'fixed runrig' and the small sections in which the land is cultivated are shown in figure 41 which also illustrates the regular distribution of sections between the two. Though it used to be the normal practice the crofts are not now open to common grazing in the winter.

The restricted amount of land available for common grazing ensured the continued use of the shielings until 1939; small patches were cultivated on the common grazing about forty years ago and this fact too is the only recorded instance of a practice that was a community by the size of the working unit and the land available. At the moment there is no proposal for reseeding of any part of the common pasture* because of the difficulty of getting access for tractors. As in the case of Knock Carloway the total souming is not exceeded, but the sheep stock is 25% above the sheep soum.

The population figures emphasise the problem of the whole of this southern area and here is the most extreme case of incipient decline. There are two fulltime crofters, six crofters who weave and five crofters over sixty five. Seventy per cent of the population is over 45 and only two children attend the school neither of whom is likely to take up crofting.

1. [Figure 42--Analyst]

DUN CARLOWAY

361 Dun Carloway though clearly of a similar type to the other townships south of Loch
427 Carloway has certain features peculiar to itself. The croft land may be divided into two sections; crofts 18 to 23 occupy the deep trench which extends from the Dun Carloway school to Loch Carloway itself. These holdings are larger than the average discussed above and are divided in broad rectangular block. To the west there is a less deeply entrenched zone where the crofts are long and narrow lying up and down slope like those
241 of Borrowston. Short steep and narrow lazy beds characterise the cultivation which follows the pattern set in the other townships, although the areas, as has been noted above, are much larger in some cases; the largest have up to twenty acres. Despite this increased size no croft has more than two acres of oats. The low percentage of land under cultivation is only in part explained by the difficult nature of the ground and
461 the limited use which can be made of the tractor. Few crofters are willing to attempt
[288] more cultivation (to provide extra feed for store cattle or some other form of stock enterprise) so long as the income from weaving is satisfactory. The concept of the croft as an ancilliary employment appears to have defeated its own object, for with the population at its present level, and with the income from weaving as it is, very few crofters are prepared to do more than provide milk for the family, (with the annual cow and calf subsidies, and the proceeds of the sale of the annual calf as by-products) and to derive what income Providence rather than goodmanagement may allow from the sheep.

427 The total area of individually held croftland is 194 acres which is worked in twenty
311 five agricultural units derived from twenty six crofts, nine feus, one 'free gift' holding and one squatter. The cultivation is accomplished by one horse and one tractor, each to which is owned within the township.

The total souming is exceeded, the main reason for this being the gross overstocking
311 of sheep; 187.4% of the soum. This overstocking cannot fail to have a harmful effect on the common pasture, promoting an increase in the bracken already visible on some of the croftland itself, under-nourishment and disease. The poor quality of the hill pasture is brought home by a comparison with the grazings of North Uist where the most striking feature of the landscape is its greenness after the heavier browns of Western Lewis. Regeneration by surface seeding would certainly be helpful here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

128 The tables given in appendices C and D form the basis for much of the comment in the preceding pages. They must now be considered in the light of the general tendencies which they illustrate in the changing livestock economy units.

241 Appendix C (1) elucidates the working of the crofts. The picture is somewhat com-
311 plicated by the large number of non-crofting holdings in the area, of which 43 carry
231 stock (a quarter of these sublet croftlapd). The number of feus also tends to mask the process of amalgamation of crofts to form larger working units; a process which has
423 been taking place for some time. There are in this connection one or two cases of the
427 cross working of crofts between individuals in neighbouring townships. The figures for these units have been included with those of the township where the tenant is resident.

241 Oats are the most important arable crop. The acreages of sown grass for hay and pasture are much lower in comparison. Permanent grass, mostly old arable land, is to be found on 52% of the total area of land occupied as crofts and feus. A large proportion of this is on very thin soil where bare rock is exposed and on wet land, but even so it does show that much more of the land might be under cultivation or improved grass.
[118] The decrease in cultivation since the late nineteenth century is probably much less than that for the Valtos area of South Uig where about 70% of the inbye and outrun is under

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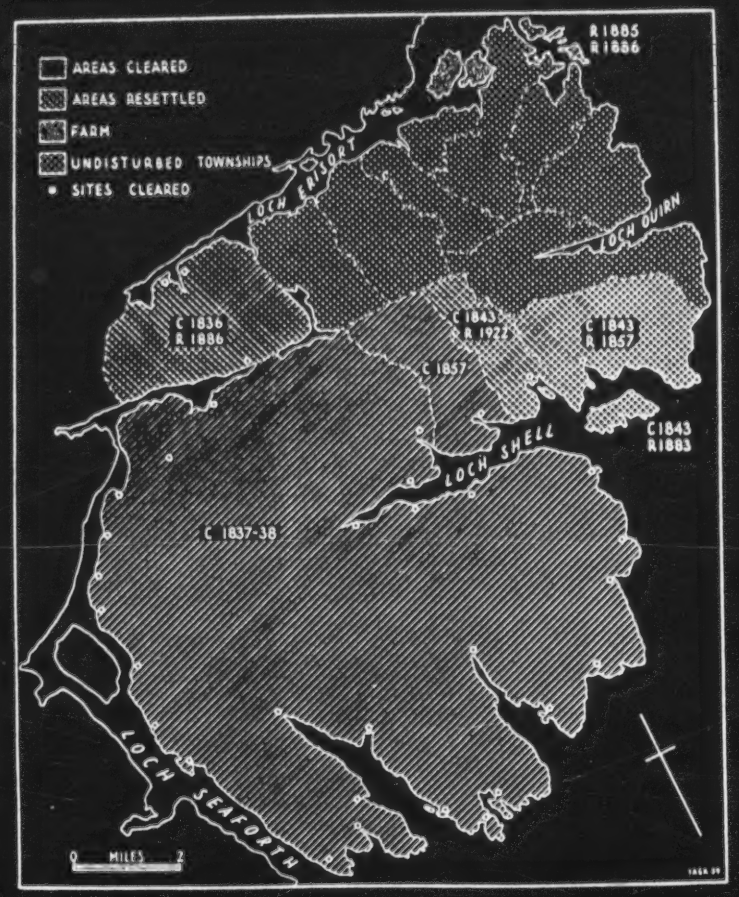

Fig. 2. Clearance and Resettlement in Park
/facing p. 3/

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or summer pastures for the tenants of Laxay and Barnish respectively, townships on the north shores of the loch. In 1775, there were four tenants in Kershader, but their place of origin is unknown. In 1805, five tenants are recorded, two of them from Uig; by 1824 there were 10 tenants. Thus the growth of population in Lewis during the second half of the eighteenth century may well have been the major reason for the colonisation of one of the least agriculturally attractive districts of the island.

From Figure 1, which shows most of the thirty-four occupied places south of Loch Shell about 1828, it is evident that colonisation had extended south into the mountainous area. The evictions, which commenced in Harris in 1816, may have increased the population already there as early as 1660, for many of these families came from Harris. The numerous shielings in South Park speak of a vigorous community: it is possible that South Park was more densely populated than the northern area up till 1800.

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During the period 1818 to 1842, when the grazier, Donald Stewart, and his brothers had a lease of South Park, most of these settlements were cleared (Fig 2): in addition, between 1838 and 1843, 68 tenants and sub-tenants in Shieldernish, Cleiter, Seaforthhead, Lemreway, Oronsay, Stiomrabagh and Isginn were removed, in all about 436 people.[1] Some 27 families were sent to Crossbost in North Lochs; others went to Tolsta and Tong in Stornoway parish, and some emigrated. The main body of those evicted settled in the townships in North Park: Marivig in 1838 had 6 tenants; by 1850, 22 are recorded. Thus the present distribution of population crystallised about 1840 and by then the townships along the shore of Loch Erisort from Habost to Garyvard were well established. The Minch coast townships from Cromore to Gravir, first settled about 1800, were greatly expanded, and Park south of Gravir became a sheep grazing devoid of small tenantry.

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In 1844, the Seaforth family, which had held Lewis for over two centuries, sold the island to Sir James Matheson. The estate management soon wrought great changes in the landscape. Until 1850-52, the run-rig system prevailed, a system whereby a group of joint tenants, or a tacksman and subtenants, cultivated in small patches what arable land had been reclaimed, each share being periodically re-allocated. The crofts, or individually held land, date from 1850-52, when the land was lotted and most of the present crofts were formed at this period. The settlement pattern associated with run-rig was one of closely nucleated groups of houses but when run-rig was abolished, houses were built on the individual crofts.

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In 1858, Lemreway was once again made available to crofters, most of whom came from the fishing townships where population pressure was building up. After the disastrous potato famine of 1846-7, and the final failure of the kelp industry from 1840 to 1844, the population of the Outer Isles experienced great hardship. [illegible] the early 1850's, the lotting of the crofts and the rapid development of the fishing industr[illegible]ught a period of prosperity and the population grew rapidly especially in the fishing townships [illegible]e Minch coast. The prosperity was such that numerous cottars built houses on the lotted cr[illegible]ts, and their stock-keeping on the common was tolerated because of the demand for fishing crews. About 1884, the system whereby each boat was tied to individual fish merchants, who advanced meal and provisions against the catch, was discontinued. When this system was replaced by the auctioning of catches, such was the privation in Lewis that the Royal Commission investigating the poverty of the population in 1888 found conditions almost as severe as those prevailing during the potato famine forty years earlier. It was during this period that the Park Deer Raid occurred: Park became a Deer Forest in 1883 at the end of the grazier's
[685] lease. In 1888, as a demonstration of their grievances, a large number of crofters from the Park townships went into the Deer Forest and killed about 200 deer, cooking the meat in the open for all to see. Some were arrested but after trial acquitted.[3] A few good fishing seasons remedied this unhappy situation and the population of the fishing townships rose to a peak in 1911.

[115] 1 Evidence given to Royal Commission of Inquiry into Crofters and Cottars 1883. (Also known as the Napier Commission).

[113] 2 Report on the Conditions of the Cottar Population in the Lews, 1888.

[113] 3 Stornoway Gazette, 27.1.59.

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Fig. 3. The Crofting Townships of Park

/facing p. 4/

While the Royal Commission of 1883-6 was investigating Crofting conditions in Scotland, the farm of Seaforthhead and Shieldernish was restored to six crofters. Six years later, the Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Highlands and Islands scheduled the following land as suitable for new crofting townships: Stiemreway, Eilean Calum Cille, Crobeg, and the islands of Orosaidh and Rossaidh, a total area of 153 acres arable and 3,502 acres grazing. A further 165 acres of arable and 40,135 acres of grazing in the Park Deer Forest were scheduled as land suitable for the extension of existing holdings. The Report of the Commission considered "that in the case of Lewis, it cannot be left out of view that the congestion is very great, and the demand by crofters for access to lands now scheduled is of a very urgent nature ..... The Deer Forest Commissioners do not believe that the lands now scheduled are suitable for new holdings: but were these lands occupied as common pasture by crofters, under a properly adjusted system of management, their occupation would be of much advantage to the occupants and more than outweigh the disadvantages."[4] As a result of this recommendation, the islands of Rossaidh, Orosaidh and Iubhairt, in all 90 of the 43,728 acres scheduled, were given to Marivig, Calbost, and Lemreway, respectively, as additions to the common pastures; the sheep farm comprising Crobeg, Oronsay and Stiemreway, and the Deer Forest were left undisturbed.

In 1924, after raiding, Oronsay was reconstituted as a crofting township, all but one of the new tenants coming from the overcrowded crofts of Lemreway. An unsuccessful attempt was made by squatters who had built houses at Stiemreway, to have their unofficial lots recognised, but some families remained there till 1945. In 1934, fifteen small lots were cut out of the Gravir common pasture to relieve pressure on the Gravir crofts: this Department of Agriculture scheme marked the end of a century of population redistribution.

Thus the full recommendations of the Deer Forest Commission have never been implemented, but one can only conclude, after a study of the crofting economy, that greater participation by the crofters in the Deer Forest grazing would bring increased viability to the crofting community.

The landscape of Park has thus experienced four formative periods. Of the prehistoric era and the early historical period, when the Norsemen held sway, a few archaeological sites and a large number of place-names remain. From 1660 until the early nineteenth century settlement was slowly established and spread over all the coastal fringe: this period saw the maximum areal distribution of the small tenantry. From 1828 to 1843, eviction stripped the entire area south of Gravir and west of Habost of population, and large scale sheep farming was extended at the expense of the small tenants. The fishing townships from Cromore to Gravir were greatly expanded at this time. From 1858-1924, three of the cleared townships were reconstituted: the population in the majority of the fishing townships continued to grow till 1911. Since 1924, fifteen new lots have been formed in Park but the population has progressively declined.

The absence of large scale resettlement since 1886 differentiates Park from most other crofting districts, but the exodus of population since 1918 and the existence of a population constantly struggling for viability in an area deficient in resources are features common to the entire crofting area.

4 Report of the Royal Commission Highlands and Islands, 1892, (often known as the "Deer Forest Commission").

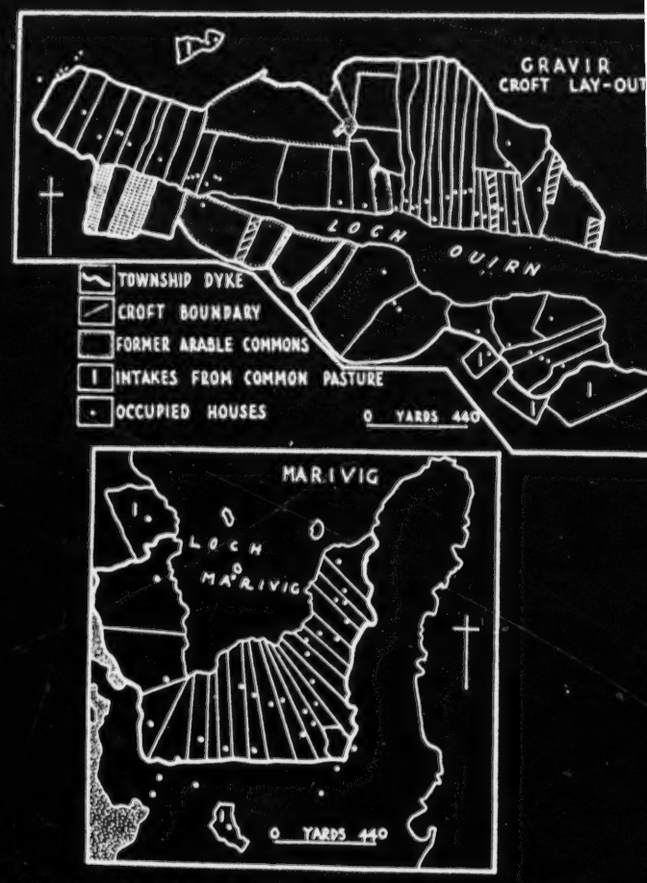

Fig. 4. Township lay-outs - Gravir and Marivig. (Shading distinguishes the unconsolidated pieces of three selected Gravir crofts. In Marivig, the crofts are all consolidated).

/facing p. 5/

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OCCUPATIONS

RELATED TO

(Figures in

	PERCEN	
Labour Force	50% or less	
Fulltime Croft Worker	8 (17)	
Croft Worker with Regular Employment	8 (16)	
Croft Worker with Periodic Employment	2 (20)	
Croft Worker aged 65 and over	2 (9)	
Woman Croft Worker	5 (50)	
Total	25 (17)	

1. It is not possible to relate
assuming, and in other cases
units have been omitted from

/

(1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

TABLE IV

AND AGES OF CROFT WORKER

D INTENSITY OF STOCKING

brackets are percentages)

TAGE OF SOUMING TAKEN UP		TOTAL[1]
50 - 100%	Over 100%	
16 (33)	24 (50)	48 (100)
18 (35)	25 (49)	51 (100)
3 (30)	5 (50)	10 (100)
8 (36)	12 (55)	22 (100)
3 (30)	2 (20)	10 (100)
48 (34)	68 (49)	141 (100)

ll units for this purpose as some units have no
e unit is worked by more than one person: such
he table.

o. 8-B/

231 Table III reveals that there are 177 agricultural units with a souming; ten units are crofts in Glengravir without a souming and the remainder of the 219 units have no grazing rights. From this Table, it is clear that full stocking and overstocking increase with the size of the croft: the units of ten acres and over, on the basis of stock carry, would appear to be the most intensively worked. In all, just over half of the units take up their full souming. Table IV gives an [463] analysis of employment ancillary to croft work for 141 of the 219 units and it would appear that [561] neither ancillary employment nor age is significantly related to the intensity of croft working. [887] Table V points to the fact that more full-time crofters are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables [511] III, IV and V underline the fact that the larger units are also the more successful and it is significant that the larger units are almost all on the better land in the agricultural townships. The average size of holding in the agricultural townships is nine acres, compared with less than eight acres in the fishing townships, where the land is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

175 The trends in agriculture are illustrated by Tables VI and VII. The Crofters' Commission made 178 a survey of the crofts through the medium of Estate Factors in 1883; from Table VI it is evident 241 that the number of cattle was much higher at that time and that the cattle-sheep ratio in the 231 selected townships was 1:3 as compared with 1:25 in 1958. Table VII gives agricultural statistics for the parish of Lochs as a whole; separate figures for Park are not available. Since 1913, radical changes in the crop and stock patterns have taken place; bere (Hordeum vulgare) has disappeared as a crop, and sown grass and permanent grass for hay have since 1947 become the leading crops. Horses have all but disappeared, and the cattle-sheep ratio has risen from less than 1:4 to 1:39 for the whole parish. Since 1938, cultivation in Lochs Parish has declined by 36 [511] per cent. Large areas of lazy-beds, no longer cultivated, are visible landscape signs of these [824] changes; seaweed, the sine quae non for lazybed cultivation, is no longer carried to the upper parts of the crofts. In fact, many of the crofts no longer use seaweed as a fertiliser.

233 From the foregoing account, it is clear that there are two major agricultural problems in Park, 241 the lack of sufficiently large crofts with good arable land and an insufficiency of common grazing; these deficiences bring in their train the problem of overstocking, and the existence of uneconomic holdings.

241 The more progressive crofters, significantly resident on the better crofts of the agricultural 242 townships, have shown how croft land can be improved by re-seeding and sowing down to grass, 176 practices which could be fruitfully extended throughout Park. In addition, several townships by co-operative effort, have resseded small areas of the commons grazings with splendid results.

241 However it is clear that it is not possible for 219 viable agricultural units to be maintained on the present crofting area. The optimum size of croft which could maintain a family is a moot point, for the location and situation of a croft and the quality of the land and common pasture would all have to be taken into account in making an assessment.

231 This problem was referred to a practical agriculturalist who was asked to state what size of 241 croft and number of stock would be required to provide an annual income of £300, excluding croft 242 benefit (milk, eggs and potatoes consumed on the croft) and any costing for labour. To fulfil these conditions, one of the fishing townships was carefully analysed, and the expert came to the following approximations, assuming that the rules of good husbandry were in force after the croft had been brought up to a good standard of cultivation and re-seeding had been carried out where possible on the outrun and Common Pasture, and provided there was no overstocking, and that present favourable subsidies and prices continue:-

[Seaforthhead] [Shieldernish] [Habost]

161 suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now 162 given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out 241 of the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two have migrated 178 since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

361 In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on [349] slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's, 'Seaforth Castle' [505] now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled, [491] communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Elsken Lodge gives [78] access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHIELDERNISH

131 Shieldernish, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs 361 road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the 332 road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

241 Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put 511 together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes, [246] preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the [231] lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a [244] further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total [226] stocking of the Shieldernish crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use [288] though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the township and this isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to grazing. Shieldernish appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing [185] fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Shieldernish is better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

131 Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement 133 stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained 241 valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to 361 flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place. Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin [34] soils.

[Habost]

134 Drift is found near the shore and laps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks.
137 Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

195 Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shieldernish and
692 took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Ailean Tailear came from Taransay, Harris,
to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being
621 there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

241 Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and
407 ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Croftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced
293 off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

[244] Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed
[246] parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in
231 June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but
[324] elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

291 The land is heavily overstocked: the soum is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is
233 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in
[432] Park Deer Forest by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garyvard in November
[221] and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Sternoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

241 The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since before 1852. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Beinn Bhuidhe and
[311] below Loch na Ciste but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural
[226] townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and
[282] trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock
[493] to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

361 Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has
[312] been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or
[654] from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

[Habost] [Kershader]

464 Of the 53 residents, 19 are over 65 and only 5 under 15 years, leaving a working popu
161 of 29: seven are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily
162 declining since its peak of 121 in 1901.
166
167 Since 1946, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely fenced and
178 method of cultivation has changed from spade and horse-plough to tractor and cultivators.
241 further fence has been erected for a lamb park and much land has been re-seeded; an inc
281 area has been put down to hay. It would seem that fattening of stock for market is intend
[407] better attention is being paid to stock. Yet the population is ageing and there are few young
[162] to take the place of the older crofters; when working units become larger and stock decre
a figure nearer the real carrying capacity of the grazing, the croft could become a profit
concern: at the moment, the croft is only maintained through grants and ancillary earnin
Should that happen, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivati
vide winter fodder.

KERSHADER

Philip W. Wheeler, M. A.

131 Kershader is a township of forty-three permanent residents on thirteen crofts, which
161 for a mile along the southern shore of Loch Erisort. The crofts extend up to one-third o
162 mile from the coast with a two-and-a-half mile deep hinterland of common grazing. The
133 elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arr
361 in rectangular strips at right angles to the coast, are lower (maximum 125 feet) and incl
241 three main zones (Fig. 8):
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(a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly belo dissected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and unsuited to fertilis seaware. The smaller hillocks in this zone have thinner soils of the same sort, main hill (crofts 10/11) is an extension of zone (c).

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with hills rising to over 100 feet. The lower have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a (b), with peaty-loam characteristics, overlying aquiferous gravels. The higher have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there ar of former skinning.

(c) A zone of hollows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reactin to heavy fertilisation with seaware and intervening heights covered with blanket partly skinned, heather and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with gentler slope 50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irre shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

241 In Kershader, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts
311 ween 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23. reputed arable and 110.35 acres outrun. 24.5 acres are in fact under crop (oats 18.5, p 6.0), and 9.5 acres under sown grass; and of the remaining 99.8 acres, mainly natural

APPENDIX E

(1) Stock carried about 80 years ago compared with that carried today.

(a) Old Townships

	Cattle (more than 1 year old)			Sheep (all ages)		
	1883	1959	Soum	1883	1959	Soum
Brenish *	131	33	84	447	1,700	508
Islivig	46	9	43	93	500	228
Crowlista	101	18	89	632	1,200	414
Aird	40	6	34	137	600	206
Valtos	158	42	220	647	2,300	1,033
Kneep	84	22	76	341	1,000	455
Caryshader	42	9	45	267	500	183
Ungshader *	20	4	38	107	1,800	110
Geshader *	46	19	31	330		237
Enaclete *	48	16	17	172	900	298
Brpaclete	53	25	59	215	630	312
Kirkiboat	143	49	144	449	1,300	866
Hacklete	89	52	122	290	1,400	661
Tobson	116	36	97	534	950	784
Earshader	20	7	17	109	480	104
Crulivig	25	14	25	116	600	163
Callanish	160	41	161	397	1,600	795
Breasclete	188	52	191	629	1,600	567
Tolsta Chaolis	176	30	96	501	1,550	573
Loohganvich	31	9	33	125	414	155
Dun Carloway	121	35	130	530	1,550	460
Kirivich	63	15	60	280	550	202
Knock Carloway	118	39	132	524	950	530
Carloway	208	63	130	715	1,000	671
Borrowston	62	15	98	368	950	392
Garenin	110	24	98	401	1,000	341

(b) New Townships compared with former farms

	Cattle (more than 1 year old)			Sheep (all ages)		
	1879	1959	Soum	1879	1959	Soum
Mangersta *	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	25	68	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	1,200	385
Carnish		5	26		1,200	270
Arivoil		20	62			
Timsgarry		8	23		650	625
Reef		10	45		800	275
Croir		11	36		380	225
Lundale		11	36		550	96
Linshader		8	15		750	192
Garynahine		6	18		250	330
Farms etc.	404	44	-	4,400	914	180

Note These soums given do not allow for enlargements which should substantially increase the stock capacity of townships marked *.

Sources 1879: Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture.
1883: Evidence given to the Napier Commission.

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Park

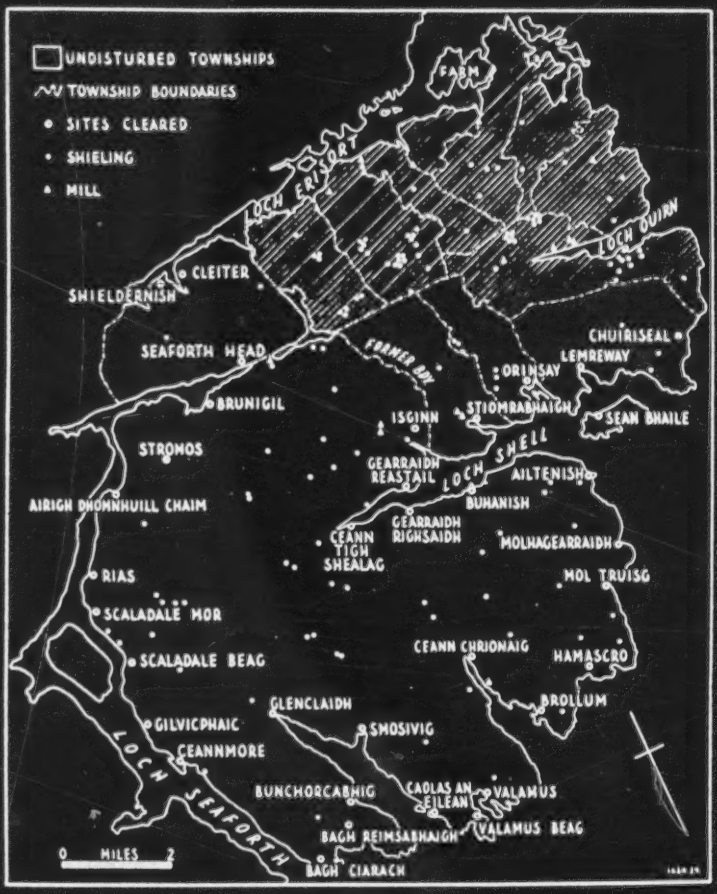

Fig. 1. Park in the Early Nineteenth Century
/facing p. 2/

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253
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TABLE V

OCCUPATIONS OF MALES (15-64) RELATED TO CROFT SI

Size of Operative unit (acres)	Full time croft work	Croft work with Regular employment	Croft work with periodic employment	Total[1]
0 - 5	14(30)	27(59)	5(11)	46(100)
5 - 10	19(42)	22(49)	4(9)	45(100)
10 - 15	14(50)	12(43)	2(7)	28(100)
over 15	7(54)	3(23)	3(23)	13(100)
Total	54(41)	64(48)	14(11)	132(100)

1. It is not possible to relate occupations to size of operative unit in every case as many units are in fact run by more than one person - such units have been omitted from the table.

/p. 8-8/

175
178
231
233
311

TABLE VI

TOWNSHIP STOCKING: 1883[1] AND 1958

	1883		1958	
	Cattle	Sheep	Cattle	Sheep
Habost	65	215	34	1,044
Kershader	67	205	34	822
Garyvard	55	200	26	736
Caversta	27	109	12	264
Cromore	127	310	48	905
Marivig	84	207	23	830
Calbost	71	220	4	326
Lemreway	150	481	58	1,139
TOTAL	654	1,947	239	6,066

1. Royal Commission on Crofting - mss. data, 1883.

   Register House, Edinburgh.

   Information was not complete for Gravir, and the remaining townships were not in crofting tenure in 1883.

/p. 8-D/

AC

175
178
231
235
241 CROPS
244 Oats
246
311 Bere
433 Potatoes

Sown Grass for Hay

Sown Grass for Pastur

Total Cultivation

Permanent Grass for Ha

Permanent Pasture

Others[3]

TOTAL Crops and Grass

STOCK:

Horses

Cattle

Sheep[4]

Poultry

1. By
2. As
3. Roo
4. Fig

-5	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots ES Park

TABLE VII

RICULTURAL STATISTICS[1]: Parish of Loche[2]

	1913	1920	1938	1947	1
	487	383	879	757	
	191	154	15	4	
	455	772	330	239	
	1	26	124	78	
	-	6	74	72	
	1134	1341	1422	1150	
	44	32	573	791	
	2650	2664	1041	1367	1
	22	6	268	86	
	3850	3843	3306	3394	3
	102	101	49	39	
	2489	1701	1412	1150	
	9450 (3688)	9750 (3952)	23434 (9929)	29688 (14256)	39 (15
	?	?	8173	12302	8

courtesy of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

Park is part of Loche Parish, these are the only statistics available.

s (negligible acreage), fallow.

ures in brackets are breeding ewes.

/p. 8-E/

THE PATTERN OF CROFTING

427 Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire,
421 Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties of
178 Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some
423 districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the
477 nearest equivalent to peasant communities in Britain, although only a small minority of crofters own their holdings, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, has all but disappeared.

195 Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to
427 compensation for improvements. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural
341 holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where the
423 annual rent paid was less than £30. Security of tenure, and compensation for improvements were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £50. In all, there are about 20,000 crofts in Scotland today[1] and Collier[2] estimated the crofting population at
[161] about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms
[162] a 1 per cent sample of the crofts, and a 0.9 per cent sample of the estimated crofting population.

Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

423 The characteristic settlement unit is the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal
427 distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the
341 individually held croft land, and the common grazings. The number of crofts per township
311 ranges from 6 in Caversta to 43 in Gravir.

432 The individually held croft land (1,839 acres) is partly 'outrun' or permanent pasture and the
233 holdings are usually but not always consolidated - in Gravir (Fig. 4) and Cromore some of the crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated from neighbouring units by a drystone dyke or fence but in Park, such demarcation is the exception rather than the rule.

The croft land is separated from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wal
The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor, ill-drained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park, only Oronsay common pasture is fenced, the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by crumbled turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture; the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured, a term comparable to the obsolescent 'gates' of northern England. In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young beas up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per £1 rent. There is also a system of stated equivalences (Gaelic 'coilpeachadh') in most townships whereby substitution of cattle for sheep and sheep for cattle is permissible: in Gravir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumings and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed, soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming of their croft.

[113] 1 Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

[113] 2 Adam Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1953.

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Fig. 5. Kershader - Land use. The inset shows the complete layout of the township: A - the Croft land, B - Re-seeded Grazing Parks, C - The inner fenced area of the common grazing. The former shielings belonging to each croft are also shown: the numbers correspond to the crofts numbers. (Redrawn from 1:2500 fieldmap by P.W. Wheeler, M.A.).

/facing p. 6/

CROFT SIZE RELATED TO INTENSIT

(Figures in brackets are percenta

Acres	Legal Crofts	Operative Units	PERCENTAGE OF SOUMING TAKEN UP Less than 50%	50 - 100%	Over 100%
0 - 5	80(37)	88(40)	14(16)	20(23)	20(23)
5 - 10	90(42)	69(32)	13(19)	17(25)	31(44)
10 - 15	28(13)	39(18)	5(13)	14(36)	20(51)
15 -	17(8)	23(10)	2(9)	7(30)	14(61)
	215(100)	219(100)	34(15)	58(26)	85(41)

1. The Glengrevir crofts have no souming.
2. Cottars, feuars, and squatters who have no grazing rights.

TY OF STOCKING

ges)

Units[1] Unscoured	Non-craft operative[2] Units with stock
6(7)	28(31)
4(6)	4(6)
-	-
-	-
10(5)	32(13)

/p. 84/

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Sc
Park

TABL

AGRICULTURAL TOTALS BY OPER

TOWNSHIP	No. of Legal Crofts[1]	No. of other holdings with stock[2]	No. of Agricultural Units[3]	Arable	Outrun (Acres)	Common Pasture	Ou
Seaforthhead and Shiellderniah	6	1	5	39.0[5]		4401	2.
Habost	13	4	14	26.5	95.0	1333	20.
Kershader	13	-	11	26.0	125.3	1959	20.
Caryward	12	7	17	37.6	59.2	1256	15.
Caversta	6	1	6	11.0	34.0	642	3.
Crossore	28	6	33	68.4	85.1	2104	22.
Marivig	24	2	25	56.3	120.1	863	12.
Calbost	14	4	9	16.3	51.2	1725	4.
Glengravir	15	-	10	60.0[5]		-	3.
Gravir	43	10	44	86.3	277.0	2692	18.
Orinsay	14	-	12	161.0[5]		1475	9.
Lemreway	33	4	33	78.1	234.1	3085	20.
TOTALS:	222	39	219	516.5	1280.7	22085	141.

1. A legal croft is any piece of land registered as a croft - a tenancy may consist of one or more crofts. There are 213 tenancies.

2. Cotters, fouars, squatters with stock.

3. An agricultural unit is defined as any unit, whether a legal croft or a number of legal crofts owned and/or sublet, or a cotter, fouar or squatter having stock. Agricultural units may include crofts in other townships worked from the home unit; the areas and sowings of such crofts are added to the township

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E II

ATIVE UNITS IN TOWNSHIPS - 1958

	Land Use								
e	Potatoes (Acres)	Hay	Pasture	BOVINES (cow & units)	Total Stock	Sheep (o.m. (Ewe.)	EWES Breeding Ewes	Lambs	Other Sheep
	5.3	35.3	37.6	106	97[5]	256	390	208	115
5	8.8	46.3	43.0	70	144[5]	172	512	320	212
0	6.5	37.0	57.8	119	123[5]	387	371	181	270
1	5.8	18.0	57.3	82	85[5]	334	349	158	235
0	2.1	8.3	50.4	51	44	185	167	62	38
3	10.3	35.6	83.3	173	148	444	468	258	187
F	9.6	34.6	119.7	70	99	202	411	254	185
3	1.0	8.3	57.0	38	41	50	145	76	57
8	3.3	17.3	34.4	18	31	29	85	39	48
1	18.8	76.8	255.6	189	84[5]	504	855	416	407
3	6.5	35.6	181.7	36	99	140	374	236	93
5	15.8	68.1	204.8	180	183	615	846	377	246
	88.7	375.8	1146.1	1147	1333	3380	4773	2679	2101

from which they are separated and subtracted from the township in which they are situated.

4. See page 5 for definition.

5. Some tenants in the townships of Beaforthbeag and Ehisiderniah, Rahoon, Kerahader, Garyvard, rent grazing in Park Deer Forest and therefore this stock is not related only to their respective Common Pasture Dennings.

6. Arable and outrun are not statistically differentiated in the totals, the proportions of arable to outrun in the other townships have been used.

/facing p. 8/

[Devrit] [Lamrey]

The organ land in Gravir is a reflection in the number of its people of the economic situation in the whole island. Of the 1,000 people who could be the mainstay of employment in a mixed-crofting community there are only 300 left. Of these, more than half are over 60 years of age. The farmer is subject to the trade fluctuations in the mainland, he is a small farm-holder pinched since the introduction of the hurdling fencing, practised subsidy, although the raising of the initial capital for buying and equipping hoats is a formidable problem. It is clear that a division of the community into a crofting and non-crofting sector is essential if the present population level is to be maintained. The most serious aspect of the present trend is that the migrating section of the community is the younger and more enterprising section of the people. Unless holdings of economic size can be formed, and stable employment introduced, one can expect the younger men and women to remain in Gravir.

Until a major reorganisation of the crofts is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-seed large areas of the common pasture and the three former arable commons, and the development of a crofting tourist industry, are interim possibilities. It is not unfortunate that the Gravir crofting districts that there is a demand from the city dweller for simple accommodation and good plain fare in a clean atmosphere, with the possibility of hill walking and fishing and good fresh and salt water. Yet, until the proposed water-scheme becomes a reality, tourism on a moderate scale can hardly be contemplated.

One can only conclude that until reorganisation takes place and transforms Gravir into a township of viable agricultural holdings, any stabilisation of the present trends is out of the question. A sudden decline in the number of holdings is inevitable in the long run but a pleasant reduction over a number of years would allow a more stable transition from the existing crofting system, which will need some such planning. Until this is achieved, the young men and women have little incentive to remain in Gravir.

LEMREWAY

Beth Bloomer, Brenda C. Turner
and John E. Wearmouth

Lemreway, the southernmost township of Park, comprises 250 acres arable and outrun divided into thirty-three crofts and 3,500 acres of outrun common pasture. The township is situated on the northeast side of Loch Shell round a bay in the shelter of Eilean Iorard.

The township consists of three distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area at about 100 feet, part common pasture and part reclaimed as arable on the lower slopes of the hill, locally known as 'the Quoad', forms the first subdivision. The second area, further west, is at a hummocky nature. To the east, a steep slope rises to an altitude of 400 feet, (see Sheet 1) with a little crofting land on the lower slopes. The beaches are to be seen at about 100 feet on the steeper slopes and are clearly defined. The terraces appear at the same height on the north side of the loch, and Lemreway is thus left with a bed of a marine deep-sea lake, which has drained through this sector allowed the lake to drain southwards leaving a relatively deeply incised valley through which the present stream flows to the sea.

The soil is generally poorly drained and poor in lime and the better drained gravelly loam which is found in the east and along the main stream; the latter is particularly suitable for potato cultivation.

Except on rocky outcrops, the very steep slopes and the drained areas, blanket bog predominates: Sphagnum here is rarely dominant but where the land is half drained and half waterlogged Purple Moor grass (molinia caerulea) and cotton grass (Eriophorum vaginatum and Eriophorum angustifolium) are the dominants. On slightly drier land purple moor grass (Molinia caerulea) and moor grass (Nardus stricta) are dominant. Local dominants are bog asphodel (Narthecium ossifragum) and cross-leaved heather (Erica tetralix) with other common species such as bog myrtle (Myrica gale), tormentil and intermedia), butterwort (Pinguicula vulgaris), Sundew sp., Carex panicea and Carex pulicaris occurring sporadically. Where the peat has been cut or drained, 'heavy moor' usually develops and Calluna

[illegible] is dominant. Ling, which has interred considerable soil water, often occurs with Nardus, Molinia, Sitrpur caespitosus and Eriophorum. A few rowans, usually near the shore, and a few birches, usually with stone enclosures, are the only trees to be seen.

Of the thirty-three legal crofts in Lemreway, nine comprise less than five acres, while seventeen are between five and ten acres. Of the remainder, only two exceed fifteen acres and one of these is 30 acres. Six unoccupied crofts are worked by partners other than their tenants, so actually 26 and 250 divided between fifteen tenants but confused subdivision has resulted in four separate holdings directly occupying nine acres, and working another four acres. Thus the extend today must be regarded as the monopoly of four 'unofficial' holders.

Little more than a quarter of the croft land is cultivable and even less is actually cultivated because of the inadequate crofting year. The broken terrain and the steep nature of the soil has permitted the cultivation of tiny 'lazybeds' and the total cultivated area is now about 45 acres. Only a few strips of land on the gentler slopes, where the soil is deep, are cultivated. Barley is the only crop which stands a chance of ripening, more extensive, layout cultivation, often covering at least two acres. For example, one tenant, using the ridge and furrow system, has cultivated about 1500 feet.

Oats and potatoes, 29. 5 and 16 acres respectively occupy almost all of the cultivated ground. Most crofts grow about half an acre of potatoes and one acre of oats; both acreages have declined, the former with a declining population and the latter with a reduction in the number of cattle; hay has increased in importance. No turnips grown, though before 1930 it was preferred to neeps. Barley is grown on half of the croft, which caused to function at the beginning of the century, one still be seen. Only about 4 acres of natural grass are cut for hay but only four crofters had sown grass for hay in 1956. Some 4 acres of land are cut for green fodder for vegetable and other hen potatoes are grown, but only one or two crofters grow turnips. Turnips and cabbages were grown. The soil needs careful preparation to be productive and almost every crofter owns a plot of at least twenty five subsidies for ! and artificial fertilisers are used.

Stock tenure has declined recently but the township has 16 cows and 22 calves, 3 bulls, 1 stirk, 1 ewe, 1 ewe without cattle and 22 of the 33 working units have a cow and a calf. The township has an Ayrshire bull in lieu from the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries. The breed of the cattle, although the choice of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three bosses could be used.

It is premature to speculate on the future of Lemreway, but it is clear that it is at the point of considerable enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year is now returning from winding, is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in the 1,500 acres of arable land. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to nasty painted houses very and show initiative and enterprise. Lemreway is a township with a future if it can be being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary successful combinations.

The soil is not enforced in Lemreway and it is remarkable that the total stock tallies almost exactly with the acreages. An examination of the sheep roum reveals that the stock of 917 (including lambs) could be fed on the arable land alone for 18. In fact, the sheep do not need to be housed at all, nothing only of some 17 acres that are overstocked; of twelve such units, eight keep more sheep than they are entitled to. Some of these crofts are grouped on the eastern side of the township where the crofts have a larger acreage.

This, while apparently not as severe as in many townships, it represents a potential threat, particularly if the common pasture is not improved. However, in 1958 ten acres of the common pasture have been reclaimed and reseeded and a further 20 acres have been reclaimed and sown, two acres with pelleted seed and two acres with pelleted and inoculated seed. The eleven crofters taking part in the scheme put on 100 tons of seed to help drain and aerate the peaty soil. (I tons of ground mineral phosphate and 2 tons of concentrated compound fertiliser, grades 1 and 2.- all of it by hand. The area was seen in May 1958. By the following August, there was a striking difference between it and the untreated pasture. Next Spring, eleven cows will be grazed on this area. With the success of this scheme, it is hoped that more of the crofters will co-operate in re-seeding further areas.

The West Highland Crofting Land Commission [illegible] predominantly a fishing community. Its fishing and curing station was established in 1882 and there were twenty twelve boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Harroway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets. It provides a regular income for a crew of six.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with that of Gravir. Lemreway's population increased by 20 per cent since 1931 and now 75 months ago 70 people, considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the outer population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of the resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty unoccupied crofts in the township, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary occupations, mainly connected with the land. Four are employed in the local shop, one is a postman, one is a ferryman, one is a gentleman farmer, where the croft is cultivated by hired labour. A forty driver and several part time jobs. Four thirty people work away from the township, mainly in the Lowlands, and two of these have been married and have brought their wives to live in Lemreway. Only about 100 feet.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939. Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house has electricity, the result of a community effort. Water is still a problem in the township. Water is to be piped to the croft land, which caused to function at the beginning of the century, one still be seen. Only about 4 acres of natural grass are cut for hay but only four crofters had sown grass for hay in 1956. Some 4 acres of land are cut for green fodder for vegetable and other hen potatoes are grown, but only one or two crofters grow turnips. Turnips and cabbages were grown. The soil needs careful preparation to be productive and almost every crofter owns a plot of at least twenty five subsidies for ! and artificial fertilisers are used.

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[Devrit]

which rises steeply, reaching 270 feet in the west and 150 feet in the north and east. From the north-west and north-east two glacially deposited sand drains southwards, their lower ends being "diverted" by southward extensions of the land. [illegible]

Although peat covers most of the surface it is only in the hollows that it is significantly deep, for even on the gentler slopes the peat cover is frequently so thin as to expose a layer of morainic soil and stones lying many stones and boulders.

Two rowans and a dozen willows represent the only tree growth, but tree stumps frequently exposed in peat-cuttings suggest that woodland was formerly more extensive. Whether this former woodland disappeared as a result of human or climatic change is not particular to say, but it is certain that a century of overgrazing has left no woodland regeneration. Moorland grasses, sedges and a little poor heather characterise much of the vegetation, the latter being more especially on the moraines. Bracken has established itself in one limited area on a patch of neglected croft land.

Orinsay is unique in Park, for the present township is entirely a twentieth century development. In the early 19th century, Orinsay was part of the township of Ceilbeg. In 1841 the 21 residents were removed and the area enclosed and added to Crofeg sheep farm. In 1916, there was a proposal to establish thirteen crofts, but the applicants were requested to wait until after the war. At the end of the war the return of many young men with a desire to settle down led to serious overcrowding in Ceilbeg and the crofters were allotted the thirteen crofts in Orinsay. Some, however, have built their own houses, and in 1922 the Department of Agriculture intervened, recognising and forcing all fourteen legal crofts at the same time. Some crofters have gone and forgotten. Seeing the losses, their neighbours, four other Lemreway families, comprising 25 people, went to Blairmeavy, about a mile to the west of Orinsay. Once, however, the Department of Agriculture did not interfere and with the community remaining isolated, most of the settlers returned to Lemreway within three years, although one family remained and is still there.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with the most attractive situation and reasonable road communication. Lemreway is within sight of the Britain Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents, it would provide an interest in the area. Accommodation for a dozen visitors, after the children of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

Only small sums have been spent on the croft land, so it is clearly underutilised. The broken and rocky terrain combined with the poorly cultivated land has left the cultivation by spade and tiny lazy beds. The total cultivated area has increased from 1937, when it was 25 acres, although in the past it may have been nearer 40 acres.

Oats and potatoes are the staple crops, occupying 9 and 6½ acres respectively in 1958. Individual croft acreages of four acres and more are devoted to potatoes, the remainder being devoted to oats in case of potatoes, to domestic consumption. Nevertheless is produce even these meagre returns the soil requires careful preparation. A plentiful supply of seaweed is obtained from the shore and is the most frequently used fertiliser, while a little sulphate of ammonia is applied. Only two crofters use lime.

In the last two decades a number of changes in the amount of oats grown has accompanied a decrease in the numbers of cattle and an increasing use of hay for fodder. Nevertheless only about 12½ acres of hay altogether are cut, and only five of the crofters grow any green feed.

In August 1956, the township supported only 13 cows, 3 young beasts and 8 calves. Half of the crofters have one cow and a calf, and three have no cattle at all, and one even used condensed milk. A cow and a calf on the shore are cattle in the township, but a phenomenon so scarce uncommon in crofting areas.

[Orinsay]

Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than ten years ago. From 1947 there were about 500 sheep, including 275 breeding ewes. Since then the stock has increased to 300 per cent. Peat-cutting is gradually destroying valuable grazing areas; in the last three years there has been some reclamation in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have been less ever since. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture in the north-east, but in the eighteen days of the sheep dipping and shearing, the crofters are allowed to graze on the arable land. Dipping is carried out in the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the common pasture. Shearing is carried out in June. If necessary they are brought back to the arable land. Sheep are not allowed to return to the moor, although the gates are not "locked" until May.

The cost of the sheep dipping is considerable, amounting to 1500 acres, but most of this consists of homework, the actual post mortem supplying only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Only 300 sheep now graze the hill, the remainder being confined to the arable land. The sheep are strictly domestically overstocked, the crofters which most inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally just sufficient to provide the family requirements. Occasionally a crofter keeps which is sold to a neighbour or to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people in the past have sought work in the Lowlands. Since 1939, however, the number of people leaving Orinsay has been reduced by the Forestry Commission and the Herring Industry. Today the herring fleet has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little inshore fishing, mainly with a boat which belongs to Harroway.

There are 48 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less than half of them are between 15 and 64 years of age. Only 15 and 16 resident members of the township are spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Kinlochleven estate.

As a crofter-weaver, a school, post office, shopman garage in Orinsay, there is no available occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 64 are permanently away in the Lowlands. Of the remaining 15, only three are fully employed in Orinsay, while another third are seasonally away with the shallow. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in Lowlands, mainly in domestic service. Only a few are employed in Orinsay, the working age contingent being confined to the wives of the crofters.

The district of Park is one of the more isolated and difficult crofting environments. The ruggedness of the terrain, the high proportion of land of very low agricultural value and sheer isolation make the problems of rural depopulation and economic development in Park particularly difficult. Its isolation has ensured that it has established as a result of population pressure in more favourable areas of Lewis, and the original small settlements grew rapidly as a result of a change in land use which was a national trend - the conversion of poorer areas from subsistence farming to an extensive sheep-rearing economy. The impact of this change to sheep rearing in Park in the form of the eviction of a large body of small farmers in favour of an extension of the grazing area. Thus the present conditions are a legacy of the relatively recent past, and of legislation, particularly in the Crofters' Act of 1886, which recognised, and partly agreed to the maintenance of a larger population than the land could reasonably carry'. Two World Wars and changing economic factors have had repercussions in Park and resulted in a change in the pattern of social values, and depopulation has resulted; the 1951 population was 60 per cent of the 1911 total.

The Commissioners proposed that crofts should be enlarged to 4.5 and over should have security of tenure, with a view to the eventual disappearance of greatly uneconomic holdings; in the Act. all holdings were given security of tenure.

[Orinsay]

The future existence of the common pasture of Orinsay is a pre-requisite being seriously endangered by peat-cutting and reclamation. Only 300 sheep are now grazing the hill, the actual sheep stock exceeds the mean by 300 per cent. Peat-cutting is gradually destroying valuable grazing areas; in the last three years there has been some reclamation in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have been less ever since. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

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hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center for tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependence on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villagers participate in a number of social activities which are not tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious ascetic-ism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each with a population of about 300. All, except the ministers and school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle and sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potatoes and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All are bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither community has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. Glendale has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch which has been divided among the small farmers. The significant differences between them are three. The Glendale people are land owners. In this respect they are rather unique in the Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, rent their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glendale is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church-goers of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social activities other than an annual meeting of the share-holders in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a club organisation for the men who gather for lectures and discussions of economic problems.

133 South of the basalt plateau, the Cuillins and the Red
34 Hills have intruded into the lava. Although the Cuillins
dominate the landscape for many miles, they are absolutely
132 useless agriculturally. Indeed, a case might be made for the
derivation of the name Cuillin from the Welsh coolin (worth-
less).[3] The worthlessness of the mountains in the local
economy is attested by the fact that they are the only mountains
in Scotland with peaks named after men, all of them mountain
132 climbers of the last century.[4] At the same time, however,
34 they have become a valuable asset in the tourist trade.[5] The
Red Hills rise to 2,537 feet. They are mostly covered with
scree and skeletal soils, but they have some pastoral value.
All have traditional Gaelic names.

Below the mountainous region a broad limestone valley
133 extends across the island from Broadford Bay to Loche Eishort
and Slapin. Like northern Skye, it is a gently rolling region
28 with few rises which exceed 500 feet in elevation. The po-
tentially good soil is frequently masked by a heavy overlie of
peat.

Sleat, the southernmost peninsula, reveals a compli-
133 cated structure, a complex of ancient rocks and moraine.[6]

[3] H.M. Humble, The Cuillin of Skye (London: Robert Hale, 1952), pp. 3-4.

[4] Ibid., p. xv.

[5] E. A. Poucher, The Magic of Skye (London: Chapman and Hall, 1949); E. G. Meadows, The Skye Scene (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1951); and Humble, op. cit., pp. 31-106.

[6] Darling, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

133 The northeastern end of the peninsula is covered by glaciated,
34 rounded hills rising to 2,396 feet. The remainder is a low-
lying area of soft rises and deep glens. The soil cover is
largely no more than a physical zedium. Were it not for stoney
but light, well drained soils on several raised beaches and
morainic soils derived from the mainland, large parts of
Sleat would have no cover other than ice scoured rock. Peat
covers many of the flatter facets.

Despite the multiformity of the physical appearance
133 of certain areas, cannot help forming the impression of a
34 certain sameness. Except where bare rock stands out in stark
relief or where man has laboriously turned the soil to agri-
cultural use, the flora of Skye is primarily grass only
occasionally interspersed with a few trees. In the glens
and on the lower slopes of the hills rescue and bent grasses
34 are found wherever the natural drainage is good. Both are
tender and excellent for pasture. Poorly drained land supports
coarse sedges and rushes. Above 300 feet moorgrass is found
on dry facets and rushes and mosses on soggy ground. The high
hills, such as the ridge of Trotternish, maintain a sub-alpine
pasture of small flowers, mosses, and sparse grass. Obviously,
the main factors governing the natural flora are drainage and
133 altitude. Man and his stock have also influenced the vegetation.
34 Selective grazing by sheep has allowed the spread of a large,
tough fern, called bracken, which has markedly reduced the
133 pastoral value of extensive tracts of the best land. Another
common plant is heather. True heather moors, however, are

133 exceptional. The largest is found in the glen between Portree
34 and Loch Sligichan. Of the total area of Skye, approximately
447,000 acres, over 400,000 acres are rough grazing, incapable
of being tilled.

The scarcity of trees is an environmental feature
worthy of special consideration. More than the mere aesthetic
appreciation of the traveler is involved. The lack of shelter
is a crucial factor in limiting the variety of crops which
can be grown. There are three "forests," but they are deer
34 forests without trees and with very few deer. Wooded areas
exist only where landlords or, more recently, the forestry
commission have planted for amenity, shelter, and anticipated
lumbering operation. Pollen analysis, from an archaeological
find,[7] and stumps, discovered in peat bogs, suggest a once
widespread natural forest of birch, hazel, elder, oak, and
pine. All that remains are a few small areas of birch and
hazel on peat-free slopes and on sheltered escarpments beyond
the reach of the cattle and sheep, and some residual oak woods
in Sleat. So sharp is the contrast of Sleat with the rest
of Skye in so far as vegetation is concerned that this
28 peninsula has come to be known as "The Garden of Skye." The
proprietor has played his part in the creation of this impression by

[7] James Ritchie, "A Keg of 'Bog Butter' from Skye and Its Contents," Proceedings of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland, LXXV (1941), pp. 5-22.

[8] F. Fraser Darling, "The Ecology of Land Use," The West Highland Survey, pt. IV, p. 7.

137 planting birch, hazel, oak, juniper, larch, spruce, and short
28 pine. These are the usual trees found on the plantations.
Typically, the Sgriathanach prefers an unobstructed view to
trees. He may tolerate a mountain ash or elder near his house,
but he has little desire to be surrounded by woods.

The Climate of Skye

132 Lying in the temperate marine climatic zone and in-
fluenced by the Gulf Stream, Skye is noted for its mild
winters and cool summers. The annual mean temperature range
is between 14 and 16 degrees. Temperatures above 70°F. and
below 40°F. are exceptional. Although frosts may be expected
from October into May, severe frosts are uncommon. In recent
years there have been two, one in 1954 and one in 1947. The
climate is not, however, to be considered moderate. The
spring is not appreciably warmer than the winter. With a
maximum noon temperature of 68°F. for August of 1953 (Struan),
it is hard to believe that summer exists as a season.
34 Economically, these climatic features mean that the planting
and growing season is late and pasture growth is slow.

The outstanding characteristic of the climate is the
amount of rain. Rainfall varies from considerable to excessive,
depending on the locality and the year. The rainbearing winds
blow in from the south and southwest. Thus, in the lee of
the Cuillins, Red Hills and the ridge of Trotternish, the
annual rainfall approaches 80 inches. The driest area of Skye,
northwestern Trotternish, has an average annual rainfall of

132 summer, despite the long duration of daylight, the average daily
hours of sunshine are six. In winter, the daily hours of sun-
shine are reduced to less than one. In 1953, an average year in
respect to sunlight, the total hours of sun were 1142. Over
132 200 hours were recorded in June but less than 20 in December. It
103 may be that the philologists are right in insisting that Eilean
Sgriathanach is derived from the Norse ski (cloud). Certainly the
poetic name for Skye, Eilean a Cheò, the Isle of Mist, is in
keeping with the atmosphere.

The prevailing rain and cloudiness are serious handicaps
to agriculture, but they are not the only inhibitive forces.
The wind is another very important factor. Gales are common.
They restrict the number and variety of crops which can be
grown, hinder tree growth, and often make the use of the sea
impossible.

The System of Land Use

34 The Sgriathanach, the Skyeman, is a small farmer who
combines pastoralism with a limited amount of agriculture.
In view of the severe environmental limitations on crop pro-
duction and the markedly disproportionate ratio of arable land
to natural grass land, this ecological adaptation of the culture
172 is by no means surprising. Nor is the fact that this adap-
34 tation has persisted since the first known appearance of man
a startling revelation. This was four thousand years ago when
the culture history of Skye began with the advent of the
34 Neolithic. This persistence is simply an expression of the

34 well recognized relation of culture and environment.[9]

The economic foundation for the present day culture is
34 commonly referred to as "the crofting system," a system of
133 hereditary tenure of individually held small patches of culti-
vated land combined with communal use of grazing land. On
his small plot, typically under five and seldom over ten acres,
the crofter grows a little oats and hay for his stock, a few
potatoes for his family and dairy cattle, and, in some cases,
28 a few garden vegetables. Anyone who is acquainted with the
Irish small farmer will recognize the underlying similarity of
the two systems.[10] The communal element in the crofting system
on Skye, however, is a distinguishing feature. In addition to
his croft, the individual has a common, concurrent right to
a share in an extensive area of grazing land. Here he keeps a
couple of cows and a score or two of sheep. After the harvest,
the stock are frequently brought down from the hill and allowed
to indiscriminately graze the arable land of the crofters who
share the communal lands. Thus, the efficient economic unit
is not the croft, the few acres of arable land, but rather a
"township," a collection of crofts and the common grazing lands.
The system differs from the runrig system which prevailed two
centuries ago only by the holding of permanent, compact blocks
rather than dispersed and shifting strips of arable land. It
is a unique survival in Europe.

[9] See, for example, Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, p. 5.

[10] Cf. Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), pp. 27, 31-35.

34 one or more country stores, a few workshops, and a post of
42 Kilmuir will serve as an example of these larger settlemen
34 Along the shore of Loch Snizort, on the peninsula o
42 Trotternish, there is a broad, fertile plain. Including o
34 Loch Chaluim Chille, there are approximately ten square mi
34 of good land. Although the soil is not cultivated as inte
ly as in the days when Kilmuir was "the granary of Skye,"
this is regarded as the best agricultural region on the is
42 In all there are 122 crofts, held by 105 crofters, in 9 to
ships. There are also two small farms. The population is
slightly over 300.

34 The crofters' cottages are loosely strung around the
42 old loch and across the plain in an irregular "V" shaped
pattern (Figure 3). Basically the pattern resembles the
French line village, but there are several features reminiscent of the British open country neighborhood. Most of
34 the cottages, it would seem, were originally built on the
42 landward fringe of the plain and along the shore of a small
bay, known as Camus Mor, without any regard for road access
178 In recent years, increasing dependence on motor transport
has led to demands for roads. Now almost all the crofters,
except those in Borreiseatalg, have a paved road running
by their door. About a third of the houses are on the oun
road which encircles the peninsula and links Kilmuir with
the outside world via Portree.

In the center of Kilmuir, in the township of Balgown,
34 are two spireless churches, a church hall, a two room sch

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46)

[Kershader]

(b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices, however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the form case they heft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand. Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average sheep carcase weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category, and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption only) and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person has entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907 and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard, Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilizing the population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Kershader]

ith heather and peat on the higher areas, hay is taken off 19.25 acres. Four acres, mainly for otatoes, are worked by spade but most of the cultivation is by tractor hired from Balallan or, 1958, from Habost. Lazybeds are common and in some cases are carefully renewed, but e present tendency, reaching its extreme in a field of about two acres on one croft, is towards e formation of larger, ploughable fields for ease of tractor operation. Most cultivation is in ones (a) and (b), with little development of (c) at present. The only crops are oats and potatoes, ith some garden plots of cabbages, turnips and carrots. The potato main crop is generally err's Pink (Golden Wonder on one croft), with a couple of rows of Skerry Blue or Edzell Blue r earlies. There is no memory of Black Oats (Avena strigosa), and bere (Hordeum vulgare) as certainly not been grown since 1930, and probably not since 1909. The oats are grown xclusively for winter feed and are hand-threshed with stock and comb as the need arises; the st water mill in the locality went out of use after 1914, the last handmill in 1916; no grain as been sent to Stornoway since about 1930. Rotations are extremely irregular: some lazy-eds are still cultivated with alternate crops of oats and potatoes and have heavy seaware and anure fertilization, but most other arable areas have some sort of oats, potatoes, oats, sown rass sequence. Fertilisers used are seaware and manure (ten crofts), manure (eleven crofts), sh and (one croft), lime (ten crofts) and artificials - 'Potato manure' and sulphate of ammonia - eight crofts. Artificial fertilisers and much of the seed are obtained through the Crofters' gency.

The only two horses ever owned by this township were kept on croft 11 from 1936 to 1953. The ough was first introduced in 1936. When a tractor from Balallan became available for hiring 1953, the horses were disposed of. The present soums are by cow, young beast and sheep r croft in proportion to rents and range from 3 cows, 3 young beasts, 69 sheep down to 1 cow, young beast and 23 sheep. Eight crofts exceed their entitlement but no croft hasless than half the uming and the deficiency is mainly in cattle, especially young beasts. On the other hand, no perative unit is entirely without cattle as manure is extremely important. Cattle are kept for mestic milk supply, and calves, having qualified for subsidy, are normally sold at 6 to 8 months. acres of the common grazing were re-seeded in 1957 and the following rhythm for milk cows developing:-

(a) As soon as the weather allows in May, the cows are put out in the park for about three weeks.

(b) Next, about 6 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the new outer fence erected in 1957.

(c) Back to the re-seeded park for about five weeks.

(d) Return to the crofts for the winter, being let out either to the park or to the common grazings whenever the weather is suitable.

he young beasts spend much of their time on the outer common grazings. As most of the crofts, ginning with one in 1938 and ending in sequence with 10, 11 and 12 probably in 1959, are fenced, e old arrangements for township commoning from 15th October to 10th May are now obsolescent. nother park was also fenced for general purposes and for weaning in 1957. Prices for calves d cattle are very low and this discourages cattle breeding; on the other hand, lack of winter ep enforces an occasional sale.

The rhythm of sheep husbandry is largely independent of that of cattle:-

(a) By 20th November all sheep, except possibly the lambs, are cleared from the crofts for the tupping of breeding ewes thereon till 31st December. Every crofter now keeps his own ram, exchanging it or buying another at least once in five years.

[Garyvard] [Caversta]

At the moment Garyvard appears to be a go-ahead village, carrying out communal schemes which will benefit the township as a whole. However, the age structure of the population is abnorma since 60 per cent of the population is over 45 years. The future in Garyvard offers young people hard work, little money and no entertainment, making the attractions of the cities and industries of the mainland quite irresistible. Unless some industry can be started the future bodes ill for the area, since most crofters are of the opinion that a weekly wage packet would more than compensate the loss of their independence. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the age of National Assistance and subsidies that man cares more for momentary rewards and the luxuries of life. This is well understood by parents who encourage their children to leave the islands to seek employment either in Britain or within the Commonwealth. The Lewisman is no sentimentalist clinging to dying traditi and a way of life. His present desires have been re-cast as a result of his increasing contact with the world beyond the Hebrides and he is prepared to abandon his home where it defeats his aims and purpose. Unless prosperity can be brought in by way of industry, tourism or increased croft efficiency, possibly through co-operation in working and marketing, it is possible that we are witnessing the end of a community.

CAVERSTA

Helen Mackenzie

Caversta lies along a southern inlet of Loch Erisort, five miles from the Minch and is partially sheltered from east winds by the Cromore peninsula and Eilean Chaluim Chille.

The physical nature of the terrain is irregular, rising steeply from the water's edge to a level of approximately 225 feet. To the west and to the east, the land slopes to the river estuary and it is here that the settlement occurs. Particularly in the north-west, two marked breaks in slope are visible at 75 feet and 100 feet above the loch, which is here bordered by a 25 foot rock face. The resulting platforms are separated by faces of bare rock. The valley of the Caversta River is a noteworthy feature. Below a small loch, the river follows an irregular course though a wide and shallow moraine-strewn depression and a quarter-of-a-mile from its estuary, has cut through some low hills rising about 30 feet above the depression. At this point, its course becomes steeper as it passes through a small gorge, which is probably an overflow channel.

Trees are non-existent and the natural vegetation consists of Sphagnum on the peat bogs in the hollows and grasses and sedges on the gentler slopes. The steeper, less waterlogged slopes, often broken by rocky bluffs, have heather cover; bracken growth is kept in check by heavy grazing. Forty-six acres of land have been reclaimed by clearing heather and removing peat to form the crofts, but the soil, which varies in depth from a few inches to a few feet, is very acid.

The six legal crofts vary in acreage from 4.75 to 8.5 acres and a squatter has 5.5 acres of enclosed land. The township is in two parts: Torista, with the two smallest crofts, lies at the eastern extremity, while the other five holdings, also bounded by a dyke, border Tob Caversta, an inlet of Loch Erisort. The crofts, which run from the shore to the township dyke, were set prior to 1861; originally the township formed part of Crobeg Farm. The legal units are, in fact, operativ units except that one of the Torista crofts, now unoccupied, is used for wintering lambs by the absentee's brother, a resident of Caversta.

There are no occupied black houses remaining in either Torista or Caversta, as during the past fifty years new dwellings have been erected in dressed stone or corrugated iron, usually with roofs of asbestos slate, tarred felt, or corrugated iron. Several old thatched houses are now used as barns and byres.

[Caversta] [Cromore]

161 The 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Caversta population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left after
162 1911 and no re-population took place. Since 1939, seven people have migrated to Stornoway or the
166 mainland, (16 per cent of the total 1939 population), and six of these were from Torista (i.e. 50
167 per cent of the 1939 Torista population); only one family now remains there. The demographic
position is becoming more acute for there are no young married couples and no youngsters growing
[166] up. The girls have left to marry and most of the men have sought temporary or permanent employment elsewhere, for with better communications, education and the radio, the pull to the towns has become stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full-time crofters, earning no supplementary income by weaving tweed on commission from the Stronoway mills.

241 Caversta is not one of the most progressive of the South Lochs townships. Although the crofts
283 are fenced, the common pasture is not visibly delimited from either the Cromore or Garyvard
632 pastures. At present, the grazing is fully stocked according to the soum, but the committee has not as yet initiated any re-seeding schemes. As the pasture is not of the best quality, some newly sown grass would benefit every crofter. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but even a small acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

000 The future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechanisation and is badly served by communications. The future of Torista appears to be probably one of abandonment, unless it is more easily linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road being built here is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Caversta is also open to question. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the present units are not used to their full extent. Amalgamation with Garyvard might benefit the township a great deal, as the Caversta population is rather small to flourish in isolation. The future of Garyvard, Kershader and Habost is one of hope, but unless some change takes place soon, it is not difficult to see Caversta, and Torista, following the same course as Calbost and in thirty to forty years being little more than grazing land.

CROMORE

G. Mary Swindell, B.A., and Dennis F. Fancett, B.A.

131 Cromore is situated on a peninsula between Loch Erisort and Loch Cromore. Approaching it
361 from the access road, Cromore has the appearance of a nucleated settlement, but in fact each house is situated on the owner's croft. The crofts are so arranged that each has a portion of land on the more level surface of drift deposits; houses 1 to 20 stand at the junction of the drift and the
134 Lewisian gneiss. Soils are poor and thin, and there are numerous outcrops of barren rock amongst
137 the arable land. The natural vegetation is heather moorland with extensive patches of rushes and cotton grass, the pattern of most of the 'outrun' around Cromore.

241 The township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two
632 crofts are subdivided while another four form double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and the Schoolhouse feu. Outside the township dyke there are two feus and four squatters. The croft layout differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent pieces, one piece around the house, another above Creag Cromore and two pieces on another area of enclosed land on the common. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land around the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

241 Until this decade all the land around the houses, and much of that above Creag Cromore, was
311 regularly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but cultivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only
[244] crops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed
[246]

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed
241 clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considera
311 by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaini
[248] lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofts have
[249] vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced
[324] crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

221 The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not
231 enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throught the winter and no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only
233 seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the soum. Lambing takes
[236] place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and then dipped; November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The cows are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Crobeg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on fank days.

178 Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until
233 the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under
311 cultivation and from an an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land bu
[292] this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazin
[345] it is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the road between Caversta and Gravir, about three miles south-south-east of Cromore and one mile north of Gravir.

17 Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore
229 fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this,
[506] however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and, in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

288 In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by
[433] road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airidhvruach. At present the average production is only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. Durin
[436] the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

162 In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the
166 middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assistin
167 with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.
364

491 Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by
[490] road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a v
[493] which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recen
366 additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday;

[Marivig] [Calbost]

000 In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Marivig's future, and that of other crofting townships, is not only one of adverse aspect, soil and weather conditions, and of distance from markets, but a problem of the population finding a stable and viable level where agricultural units are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain, and a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

131 Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Gravir on the Minch coast of Park. It occupies
133 a basin-like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is open to the sea on the east. The
361 croft houses are scattered over a shelf 50 feet above sea-level round the sides of the hollow and along the valleys which enter the township to the north and south-west.

134 The cultivable soil, a mixture of peat and well-drained gravelly drift, is on the higher ground,
137 although here the rock outcrops in many places. On land formerly cultivated, bracken is spreading rapidly and now covers a large proportion of the surface, although twenty to thirty years ago it was unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-lying central area. There are a few willows and rowans round the old buildings, probably planted as wind-breaks.

195 Calbost was originally a single farm but the township was formed about 1820. The pattern of
241 the crofts differs from the usual shore-to-dyke alignment, as six crofts were allotted extra land
311 in the valley which enters from the north, when a part of the common grazing was brought within
361 the township dyke. There are now fourteen crofts of which four are worked by resident crofters
[189] and two by squatters. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters in Calbost and other townships.

241 Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2.6 acres now in cultivation, potatoes account for
[240] 2.37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduced cattle stock of only two cows and
[246] two calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut as winter feed for the 225 sheep which graze in the township.

311 The lazy-beds in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly encroached on by bracken. The prevalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to clear it, is likely to deter any attempt at renewed cultivation.

178 Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats have to
228 be taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing industry whic
504 has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Calbost, leaving
434 only a few boats now used only for leisure purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only two of
565 the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are a few productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

293 The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not so widely use
361 in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed
417 to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosures were made adjoining the main dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander
[178] over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

[Gr-vir] [Glengr-vir]

241 beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other lazy-beds are permanently in natural
[197] hay; only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'old arable' is now in oats and potatoes. If natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the old arable (ninety acres) after 1850-52. As in all the fishing townships the area of sown grass is infinitesimal for only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of under-sowing.

241 There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives.
423 All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and squatters and feuars, besides the fifteen legal Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir common. The common
[332] has been encroached on by several feus for Gravir is the functional centre of Park: the Free
[346] Church of Scotland and Manse, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionaries
[159] (assistant ministers) are all located in Gravir.
[193]

Gravir and Glengravir thus have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than
233 half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty per cent of
311 the soum, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 2,652 acres is in general of poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957, a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded: only twelve of the operative units participated in this reclamation work, and the ages of the participants ranged between 27 and 58 years; this is significant as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended annually; if potential improvements to the crofts are limited, pasture amelioration is virtually
[435] without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater numbers; at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the sheep soum, and a ewe and lamb sell for as little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the consequences of over-stocking. The cattle stock is below the souming and this paucity of cattle is one of the notable changes in the agriculture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the souming by thirty-five per cent.

231 The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from
241 the souming of one cow and follower and eight sheep per pound sterling of rent in a township where
434 only seven crofts pay more than £2 rent, they were never intended to be self-supporting agricultural units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, bere or oats, locally milled by the three Gravir water mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family. Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and
[228] eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for lobsters.

463 If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of insurable age and
288 service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupatio
are sufficiently available or attractive to keep the insurable population in the district. Twelve of
[166] the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in
[167] permanent employment furth of Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential male resident population.

175 The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute
228 after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the hey-day of the fishing most of the men fished
434 all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sal of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted
[293] the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the souming, the income of the largest croft including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

175 sufficiently to make age controls an irresistible force, the
178 prestige status of the small number of the "elect," those
183 who had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the
793 elders gave them complete control over all social and religious
539 activity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about these facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now is that the religious patterns provided a framework in which the culture could find continuity and through which the society could achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like customs resulted in a change of content, but there were positive results as well. Above all, there was a change in
604 focus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in clan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a known religious brotherhood.

175 Summary. The third period of the modern phase of Skye's
178 culture history saw the culmination of the process of
427 commercialization of the land. All the influences necessary
423 for the conversion of the subsistence economy, albeit a much
233 deteriorated economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming, on a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy.
167 Newcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved
187 methods of land utilization were replacing the conservative
301 and impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial
628 farmers consolidated their holdings, the communal townships
550 were being obliterated. The concept of individual possession of the land was replacing the customary rights of the small tenants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

175 crofting system. Both the communal nature of the system and
177 the smallness of the crofts deter improvement. Although the
427 government reversed the trend toward making the land an im-
24 portant source of wealth and individualization of the land, by
183 replacing customary forms of tenure with national laws of tenure, and has tried to correct the disadvantages under which the crofter labors, if not always successfully, the Skye crofter has made only a partial adjustment to the larger,
301 specialized national culture. In fact, the land is used less
314 systematically than it was in the past, in the times of the shielings. The crofters have not only ceased trying to reclaim arable but also have allowed much of the arable to go back to grass.

175 Ever since the closing years of the first period of
178 the modern era, Skyemen have sought employment as a part of
464 the national labor force. During the third and fourth periods, they joined the landless labor force in the Lowlands. There is practically no local opportunity for a landless man to support a family. The majority must remain pastoral agriculturalists who depend on seasonal employment, or some other form of financial assistance, to augment their income.

175 Improved communications and the ensuing development
178 of commerce has brought a village to the island. It functions
361 as a market center and as the administrative center for the island. It has not served to bring the island together; it is still something alien to their heritage. Accompanying the growth of the village, there was local development in the

stock grown for local household consumption and export but 241
also the subsidies and grants provided by the national govern- 231
ment. I hasten to add that it is impossible to estimate 651
accurately the specific contribution of crofting to the 657
economy of Skye. There is no available means of distinguishing the status of crofter from that of farmer in the annual returns of crops and stock or in the applications of farmers and crofters for subsidies and grants. Before getting down to pounds and shillings, we may find a brief digression to review the acreages of land devoted to crop and stock raising and the yields to be expected helpful in our attempt to understand the many problems under which the Skyeman labors.

The total area of Skye is approximately 447,000 acres. 311
Of this area, 422,415 acres were classified, in 1953, as rough 190
grazing.[7] The land under cultivation, excluding grasses, 233
was only 3,254 acres. There were 6,258 acres of grass intended 241
for use as hay and 12,339 acres of permanent grass or improved pasture. The remainder, about 2,500 acres, was unclassified.

The stock, in 1953, was 1808 dairy cows and heifers, 231
8,108 cattle, 143,422 sheep, 41,888 fowls, 436 horses, and 319 pigs.[8] The dairy cows are mainly beef breeds which give a low yield of milk. The sheep are primarily the hardy blackface variety but some crofters have cheviots, which produce a finer wool. For each sheep there are about three acres of grazing

[7] Agricultural Returns, June 4, 1953, Department of Agriculture for Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland (in the files of the Department). These figures include adjacent small isles.

[8] Ibid.

241 where the population has suffered the greatest decline and,
161 therefore, where enlargements, by legal or illegal means,
433 have been the most extensive, crop production has declined the most. Nor has the decline in population, accompanied by land redistribution, altered the fundamental problem.

427 The cottars (subtenants) have almost disappeared there-
24 by easing the excessive pressure on the land and removing the threat of recurring destitution. Today they are found only in a few scattered dwellings and isolated clusters. Most of them have secured some form of employment or have reached the age when a government pension is sufficient to satisfy
427 their needs. The number of crofters, on the other hand, has
241 increased. If the figures 2043 and 1227 can be accepted as
161 nearly correct for the respective numbers of crofters and
162 cottars in 1886,[15] they have increased at the expense of the latter and, also, the sheep farmer, whom they have replaced.

632 To briefly summarize the foregoing discussion of the
621 township, let us look at Kilmuir. Table 3 shows the number
161 of crofts and crofters in each of the nine townships together
162 with the acreage and "souming" rights available to each indi-
241 vidual. Although replanning during the past fifty years has
231 benefited many of the local residents, crowding upon the land
311 is still apparent.

[15] L. MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 6, 17.

TABLE 3

161 CROFTS, CROFTERS, ARABLE ACREAGE, AND SOUMING RIGHTS
162 IN THE KILMUIR TOWNSHIPS

241 Township	Crofts	Crofters	Arable Acres[a]	Common Grazing	Souming
311 Bornesketeig	47	35	4	273	2 cows, 1 calf, 12 sheep
Hungladder	14	9	5	236	2 cows, 1 calf, 10 sheep
Balgown	4	5	13, 14, 32, 46, 86	177	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Kilvaxter	12	11	27	...b	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Linicro	19	17	15	729	5 cows, 5 calves 40 sheep 1 horse
Peingown	3	4	18	187	7 cows, 7 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Herbusta	8	8	12	308	3 cows, 3 calves 26 sheep 1 horse
Totescore	12	13	21	500	3 cows, 3 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Monkstadt	3	3	27, 27, 5	420	9 cows, 9 calves 40 sheep 2 horses

[a] Arable acres are given in average acres per holding, unless otherwise indicated. Except in Bornesketeig and Hungladder, arable land includes outrun, improved pasture land individually held.

[b] Shared with Kilvaxter.

613 Sources: Compiled from The Valuation Roll of the County of Inverness, 1953; information extracted from the files of the Department of Health for Scotland; and data supplied by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

621 from the ways handed down from the past. We might note at this
632 time that even the progressive crofter is not always quite en
621 rapport with modern techniques. There was, for example, a man
233 with two calves infested with liver fluke. Convinced that
178 medicine was the only solution, and equally convinced that a person cannot believe everything he reads, he obtained a bottle of liver fluke medicine which was plainly marked: "for sheep only." When asked how his calves responded to the treatment, he responded, "Och, they both died."

632 Because of the restrictions which the township system
621 imposes, there has been a growing, perceptible rumble of
178 agitation for supplanting unanimous consent with majority rule. Few, however, would go as far as a retired seaman who returned to Skye after forty years. He would like to see the township system abolished. Another small group believe the Sgiathanach would be better off if the Island were given over to communal farms. Most seem to favor the continuation of the present system. Of course, the majority is composed of the conservative old men.

The Aged and the Absentee Crofter

241 No appraisal of the crofting system is complete without
427 a discussion of two additional factors which have affected the
887 use of the land and the present unsatisfactory economic condition
311 of the Island. One of the factors is the aged tenant, who, as we have just seen, exercises a strong control over the younger men through township government. He has also influenced

241 the economy by subjecting many fertile acres to disuse because
427 of his infirmity. The other factor is the absentee tenant,
887 an individual who has obtained possession of a croft, normally
863
• 311 by inheritance, but who has failed to take up his inalienable
[128] rights of tenancy. Let us very briefly review the economic trends of the last fifty odd years and, then, try to assess the importance of the absent and the aged.

436 Although the Sgiathanach has refused to become a
433 specialist, fully involved in a money economy, he has become
241 increasingly dependent on the products of the wider commercial
178
437 society. Long ago he gave up growing the old staples, barley and oats. Not for many years has he grown enough potatoes or turnips to feed himself and his cattle. In place of these home grown subsistence crops, he now imports a great deal of his food. In an average year Skye imports over 700 tons of bread, 10 tons of vegetables, 300 tons of canned goods, 300 tons of potatoes, 500 tons of flour, and 100 tons of milk. To pay for these products, he exports cattle, once his only marketable produce, and an ever increasing number of sheep.

436 Hance, writing about the Outer Hebrides, sees the growing
241 tendency of the crofters to buy their food as indicative of an
233 increasing cash income.[16] To a certain extent, this may be
437 true. There are, however, additional factors involved. Ecological limitations have played their role. That the climate and soil together make Skye a grassland suitable for stock breeding rather than an island fit for cultivation is an often repeated

[16] Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 62.

427 of the holders reside on their land for more than half the
241 year. The lowest rate of absenteeism is found among the tenants
162
of the Department of Agriculture. There are 76 absentees out of a total of 667 tenants. Most of the non-resident crofters are permanently absent. On the small estate mentioned above thirty-seven of the forty-two absentees have not been seen in years. Five of them usually return to Skye to spend their summer vacation.

427 Thus, we have a situation in which, perhaps, a third
241 of the crofts are held by people who either cannot work them
• 311
887 because of old age or infirmity, or do not choose to work them because of greater opportunities elsewhere. What, then, happens to this land? Some of the old people allow a neighbor to use the land. Almost invariably this means the few fertile acres will be used for grass and hay. Absentees "entrust" the
[67] croft, house and land, to a landless family. While Parliament inadvertently gave the crofter a right to keep his holding whether he resided on it or not, it is illegal to sublet. So far, this has not concerned the crofters. Other absentees "entrust" the land to someone in the township who uses it for grass.

427 Turning to the influence of old age and absenteeism on
863
stocking, we find a series of entanglements. If the township is
231
inhabited solely by old people, like Aird in Sleat, the township becomes derelict. More commonly, the absentee and the old person allows someone else to take over his "souming" so
[32] that some crofters have far more than their share. Not infrequently, this gives the crofter a chance to outwit that

312

312 WATER SUPPLY--sources of water (e.g., springs, wells, rainwater catchment); waters with special properties (e.g., mineral water); waterworks (e.g., dams, reservoirs, settling basins); transportation of water (e.g., containers, pipes, aqueducts, canals); irrigation and drainage systems; construction, maintenance, and regulation of water supply systems; etc. See also:

Natural occurrence of water	135	Consumers	418
Use of irrigation in agriculture	941	Water rights	423
Excavation	332	Canal navigation	805
Water purification	364	Bathing	815
Water power	878	Flood control	721
Pumps	406	Public health	744
Plumbing	336, 414	Beliefs about water	823

131 Lewis is about 40 miles long. The distance from Stornoway to the west side of the island is about 15
361 miles. Along a tar-macadam road through Barvas parish
491 from its northeast tip toward the southwest, about 18 villages are clustered along a relatively flat coast for as many miles until the land becomes hilly. The road then narrows and takes hairpin twists around blind,
361 stony corners. Villages become fewer, and nestle in protected coves or string haphazardly across the face of the hills.

Shawbost (from the Norse sjá or sjó meaning "sea"
[632] and bost or bolstadhr meaning "dwelling" or "homestead"), a village in the parish of Barvas, lies on three low hills on the west coast. Shawbost is 18 miles from Stornoway on a circular route in which Stornoway and Shawbost are antipodes.

172 On the south side of Shawbost bay, huddled beside the sea strand, is a cluster of ruins called Sean Bhaile (the old village), believed to have been occupied over 200 years ago when fishing was important in the local
[348] economy. Banks of the streams are dotted with the ruins of old grinding mills and ovens for drying grain.
• [312] Fresh-water springs are still kept clear of rushes, although water is now piped to most houses from a nearby
000 loch. Hundreds of place names are known to the villagers

121 being determined by conditions of culture, such as
121 political and economic conditions. Under conditions
178
182 of gradual centralization of economic and political systems, the geographically marginal crofting areas have evolved strategies, some of which puzzle agencies concerned with development or other aspects of governmental process.

178 Before the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board
365 began to operate in the crofting counties, not more
511 than one croft in every hundred had electricity; but by the end of 1951, one in every six holdings had been supplied (Taylor 1954: 20). "The light" came to
[354] Shawbost in 1951. Before then, the islanders used
[779] Tilley lamps, a Canadian invention; and before then,
• [312] double-wick paraffin lamps. Piped water came a few
[464] years later, around 1955; it was brought from a nearby loch, and the construction work gave temporary jobs to local people. The availability of these services
[344] facilitated the building of county council houses,
[342] which many welcomed as providing a relief to the congestion caused in part by rules against building more than one house on a croft. But, paradoxically,
[651] with larger, better homes and all these services came a decrease in the advantages of living in a crofting township: property was assessed and people began paying rates or taxes.

the traditions of the past. I shall discuss this further 594
I describe the extended family.

Township. The township is a cooperating economic unit. 621 632
munal use of an interest in the common grazing lands gives 233
township its focus. Living on the several crofts, there 311
be found an aggregate of nuclear families and unmarried
ividuals who, especially in the older townships, are related
re-related on both sides. Only in the more modern townships
the degree of relationship become tenuous and finally dis-
ear. In interpersonal activities the neighbors have a rate
interaction second only to that of the nuclear family.

The dominant social trait is the strong emphasis on the 621 594
ription of status on the basis of kinship, sex and age.
re are no socially valued achieved statuses. The facts
simple. Males enjoy higher prestige than females, and the 54 621
men and women are respected by the youth. All of the same
grade and sex are essentially equal. Again we have a
allel with the Irish small farmer.[18]

There is no room for the expression of a role of leader- 621 632
p in economic activities. The governing principle of 594
nship administration is so-called primitive democracy. All
es have an equal voice in determining the acceptance of
policy or action which concerns the group, and unanimous
sent is necessary for the adoption of any change. Al- 624
ugh each township has an elected grazing clerk and a grazing

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[18]Cf. Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 45, 109-110; and Arensberg Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63, 161-231.

the dung from the byre, the peats from the moor, and the oats from the fields. When the land had been turned by caschrom, they yoked themselves to a harrow. The crofters, in Kilmuir, as elsewhere, lost the right to the rivers for fish, to the moors for game, and to the coast for sea weed. The land became exhausted from over tillage. They had clung tenaciously to the old methods. Even if they could have obtained credit and could have broken with the ways of their forefathers, the fear of rackrenting would have deterred them.

A degree of preciseness can be given to this general picture by comparing the arable acreage and stocking of Skye in 1810, the year graziers first appeared, and 1870. In 1810, 30,000 acres were listed as arable, either cultivated or susceptible to it; there were 18,000 cattle and 40,000 sheep.[66] By 1870 no more than 8,383 acres were considered as arable; there were only 9,341 cattle, but there were 136,077 sheep. The magnitude of this change can be emphasized by adding the fact that there were less than 14,000 sheep on the Island at the turn of the century.[67]

The end of the shieling life brought an end to the traditional season for courting. Destitution forced a postponement of marriage and an absolute reduction in the number of marriages. As a natural consequence the birth rate declined. In the decade 1861-1870 the birth rate of Skye stood at 26.1 compared with 34.9 for Scotland.

[66] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 748, 754.

[67] OSA, II, 553; III, 247; IV, 131; XVI, 148, 225, 537; XVIII, 184.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

824 useful crofting ancillary which, unlike many others, is soundly
381 based on a definite commercial demand. Various industries use the extracted acid for some 150 products. The Scottish alginate industry, the second largest in the world, is based on the process of E. C. Stanford, who discovered alginic acid in 1883, though today modern methods are used. For raw materials it has turned to the old kelping shores of the Hebrides and Northern Isles. On the island it has a factory at Keose on Loch Erisort, a site chosen for the easy access afforded to puffers; the factory receives the weed, dries, mills and bags it, and the boats then carry 200-ton loads to Girvan. The factory itself involved some £30,000 of
[433] capital layout and has a capacity of 120 wet tons per week—4 wet tons producing 1 dry milled ton. About a dozen Harris and
[137] Lewis crofters gather the seaweed crop, the most useful type being bladderwrack or rockweed *(ascophyllum nodosum)*, from the shores at Loch Erisort, East Loch Roag and Bernera in Lewis, Husinish and Scarp in Harris, and Loch Seaforth. Where there is
[493] road access the weed is cut by sickle and loaded into a lorry, but more often it is cut at low water to be floated with the incoming tide and rafted to Keose, hauled by motor boat.

241 A product of the land not readily associated with the Hebrides is bulbs. Bulb-growing deserves a mention, however, if only be-
[803] cause the experiment to see whether it could become a commercial possibility in Lewis was carried out by the children of Lionel (Ness) Junior Secondary School. The MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust made an investment of £150 to cover initial expenses, and success followed. When the original project was completed it was extended, sales bringing the school a useful sum. But an attack of disease brought production to a standstill in 1966.

• 312 Another small industry is the aerated-water plant at Ness, which is operating with reasonable success, and could do better if
228 imports of aerated waters from abroad were reduced. A number of recent surveys made in the island have found great interest in such activities as shell-fish processing in Harris to produce semi-
286 preserves, using mostly cockles and mussels. Local knitting already has a name for its products and a potential for extension on a
* [175] commercial scale; this latter began in late 1966. Some forty years ago knitting specialists went to Lewis to investigate the possibilities

HEALTH AND HOUSING

ing to put their houses into better condition. The leases required, 175*
inter alia, that the thatch was not to be stripped off or removed 342
for manurial purposes; that the byre was to be a separate build- 429
ing; and that the dung was to be removed regularly to a distant 144
dung-heap. A Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1896 noted that the [231]
new houses being erected were following the old traditional patterns. And though the introduction of statutory requirements did
bring real improvements, as late as 1902 it was reported: 'The in- [165]
sanitary houses and the impure water to which the people have long been accustomed, would lead an enquirer to expect a high death-rate. That is not so, however. The island is occasionally [164]
visited by epidemics of measles, or whooping-cough, like other parts of the country; and there are sometimes outbreaks of dung-fever—a preventable malady—but altogether the general health is good."

The Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1898 described certain 175*
water supplies in the island as 'little better than cesspools for 312 •
surface soakings'. And five years earlier the water supply of Cromore was 'merely a few holes dug out amongst the arable land next to the houses; and polluted with the manure dissoved off their arable ground; and in some cases contaminated with liquid sewage percolating through the soil from their houses.' In 1893
an outbreak of typhoid fever in some townships in Uig was traced [164]
to the contaminated stream whose water was used as a drinking-water supply. Improvements in the water supplies were eventually put into effect, with a marked decrease in the ailments which the people had come to expect as normal to their way of life.

The rate of infant mortality was high. The weaklings died 175*
young. Only the strong survived to withstand the insanitary sur- 165
roundings. A peculiar form of disease was associated with the 164
island: it seized a child about the fifth night after its birth and was consequently called the 'fifth night's sickness'. According to medical opinion this was infant lockjaw *(tetanus neonatorum)*. The doctor of Lochs in 1892 reported that it was common among the infants of his parish, being 'most frequently met with in those dwelling houses where sanitation in its most rudimentary form is entirely ignored; where we have to walk to the fireplace in the

ISLAND LIFE

365 company gave way to the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board.
*175 In that year there were 1,063 consumers, all within the Stornoway burgh boundaries. With its social remit, the board started on bringing power to rural areas, even where uneconomic. Lighting
[354] in the crofting townships was mostly by oil lamps, mainly the hot-mantle type (the 'Tilley'), but by 1960 the number of electricity consumers had reached 8,124, and the present number is about 96 per cent of the potential. Harris received its supply in
377 1954. The generating station is at Stornoway and employs diesel-
*175 engined units as prime movers, with an annual output of some 22,000,000 units. In August 1960 the Gisla scheme came into operation, the island's first hydro-electric plant; designed to produce some 2,000,000 units annually, it harnesses the waters of the Gisla River, which flows out of Loch Grunnabhat in the parish of Uig, Lewis. The station has a capacity of 540 kW. The other hydro-electric scheme is at Loch Chliostair in North Harris, planned to produce about 2,400,000 units annually.

• 312 The provision of water and drainage is still on the drawing boards for a number of crofting townships, though work is progressing for others. The Uig water scheme has cost some £100,000, a relatively large sum for a small population and amplified by similar work for drainage schemes. This scale of public expenditure must continue if people are to stay in their native villages and not migrate to Stornoway or leave the island altogether. Stornoway's new water scheme has cost something in the region of £160,000, but is vital if the town hopes to attract industry. The original burgh water supply was started in 1846 by Sir James Matheson and a few businessmen. The capital of the Stornoway Water Company was only £800, but it gave the town a gravity-feed supply from the nearby Loch Aridh na Lic long before many larger places on the mainland had considered such projects. Heavy floodstorms destroyed the old dam in 1933, and a new waterworks at Loch Mor a Starr was opened in 1937. As Stornoway extended the old loch had outlived its usefulness; for many years there had been difficulty in getting water to the higher parts of the town, particularly during the heavy fishing seasons when the fishermen drew off large quantities.

231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' shellings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig shellings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shellings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtainin the enlargement from Mealasta farm,until about 1939, shellings were used in that area.

314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are nea
241 the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bear evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown o it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivatio Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres
• 312 of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a
377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now ve
301 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers -
286 nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept bus
464 in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a stead
[834] income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R. A. F. station and at least
467 one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns a tractor which he hires
[448] out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone furthe The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Motre peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

361 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new
491 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all
487 but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
495 two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans call
365 but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor -
362 two wells only are in use.
489
312

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. Water supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses. The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all
366 except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has
365 a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly
453 and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return
498 fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars.

241 The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the
23 smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, and
407 Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from Brenish or Enacleite. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years age was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

242 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts
134 the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the
324 crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is spread on Ardroil and Carnish and dung is the ideal fertiliser for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
231 the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos
654 in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village there is now an R.A.F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the inhabitants.

361 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
491 at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
493 butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N.A.A.F.I. within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100 ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
365 have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the
342 houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
3.59 more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
312 modern byres.

There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
427 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an
311 elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so
491 that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions, but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown
241 grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse.
407 Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
242 tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
324 vated; bere was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
23 extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

233 On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
166 periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 - 44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

432 strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of
427 the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to
311 accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.
233
133

The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke
5 312 running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house
241 is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the
407 machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen
433 crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over
728 sixty-five. The Reef crofts were granted in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

233 Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

Fig. 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells
162 a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the
163 most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

131 By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years
20 ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at
443 Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the
346 peninsula. The school for this whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

175 beginning of the resettlement movement which has given the modern crofters of the
342 district almost all the lands formerly occupied by small tenants. This process was completed in the Bernera region soon after 1918, and the problem now - one which is obviously going to become increasingly important - is not to give the crofters more land but to find active crofters for the existing holdings (see Chapter III for more detailed information on clearance and resettlement).

361 The ground plans of the existing settlements vary considerably, depending mainly on
653 the terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coast the natural
427 tendency is for the croft boundaries to run at right angles to the coast and for each house to be set on its own croft. The best examples of this are Hacklete and Kirkibost, where an early nineteenth century (i.e. pre-clearance) lotting was readopted when the township was re-settled in 1878. Linshader, Lundale, Cruiliveg and Earshader also follow the same type of layout as nearly as possible, but Tobson, with the exception of Valasay, is intermediate between a lotted and an unconsolidated township. Croir also differs: it was laid out in 1921 but the disposition of the potential arable forbade a coastwise organisation. The site of Breaclete is greatly broken by lochs and a sea inlet, and consequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Breaclete - Loch Beg Breaclete axis, appears somewhat complicated. The accompanying diagrams contrast the control exercised by physical conditions at Croir with the subordination of physical conditions to a simple lotting plan at Hacklete, (Figure 28).

Within the township, with the exception of Kirkibost, the distribution of settlement
361 seems to have changed little since the original lottings, for in most cases the sites of the
342 old and present dwellings are little further apart than is dictated by constructional
178 problems. It would appear generally that black houses were universal in the nineteenth
632 century except for the farmhouse at 1 Croir (the oldest 'white' house in Bernera), Thula House, (18 Tobson), possibly the tacksman's house at 11 Hacklete, the former farmhouse at 20 Kirkiboat and at West Earshader. However, with the establishment of Congested Districts Board and of Board of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, early examples being 5 Hacklete and 10 Breaclete. The resettled townships generally had improved accommodation from the start. Improvement has greatly accelerated since 1951. In most cases at the present time housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and one near blackhouse are still occupied.

312 Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their private water supply, thought it is hoped that mains schemes may be constructed within the next few years. Sanitation varies in standard and in places there are still open
654 ditches, but all the newer houses have water closets. It is worth remarking in this connection that tuberculosis is almost eliminated. Electricity has been available since 19
351 to all crofts and most are connected, though not necessarily in every room. Cooking is sometimes by electricity but more commonly by Calor gas and a peat-fired range or stove (open or enclosed). Peat is now the fuel in use for those able to gather it themselves. Where, however, help is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road, difficulties may arise. The cost of hiring labour for peat cutting may be such that it is cheaper to buy coal.

491 Access to Bernera by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Roag provided the highway of communication, the road built to Earshader after the Great War
494 and the £87,000 bridge to Bernera Island, built in 1953, have caused a revaluation of sites. Linshader is approached by a tarred branch road and the other Bernera shore townships lie upon the narrow and twisting main road, though four of the six Lundale crofts have no connection with it, and two of the Cruiliveg crofts, and West Earshader, are somewhat isolated. On Bernera Island the old cart track from the pier at Barraglom across to Tobson and Croir has been somewhat re-aligned since the construction of the bridge. This is a good tarred road, as is part of the branch to crofts 3...8 Croir. The old road to Kirkiboat was tarred in 1959, though three outlying crofts near Barraglom were still without a road suited to vehicles, and the branch within Breaclete remained untarred. There is a new road to Hacklete from Breaclete which provides tolerable though circuitous, communication. Valasay is one of the most isolated settlements in Berners, linked with Breaclete rather than with Tobson by the footbridge and causeway paid for by Congested Districts Board grant about 1903.

CROFTING CHANGES

of larger and more economic working units of over 30 acres of 241
arable land is also apparent in the southern Hebrides, the west 311
mainland of Ross & Cromarty, Argyll (mainland and islands) and 178
Caithness.

The acreage of common grazings held per holding varies from
under 50 to some 200. The crofts, as already mentioned, are in [832]
townships, of which the island has 168, half being fenced and
half consisting of individually fenced crofts. During the winter
most of the crofts are laid open for winter grazing by sheep of
general ownership. Manure resources are mainly dung, seaweed,
shell sand and of course artificials where necessary.

A new aspect of crofting in Lewis is its extension into forestry. 311
A recent survey by the Forestry Commission indicated that under 313 •
400 acres of the land not being used for crofting were suitable for 178
afforestation, and that these acres were made up from twenty-
three different plots. At Garynahine Estate can be seen the begin-
nings of a real afforestation unit of some 500 acres, a scheme of
the utmost significance for the economic future of Lewis and for
the relationship between crofter and landlord. Too often in the
past this relationship has been biting, hard and inflexible; in
particular the crofter was understandably unwilling to release
good land for planting trees. But the crofters of Callernish agreed
that the right of usage of 285 acres of the common grazings be-
longing to their township should revert to the landlord, this land
being thrown in with 220 acres of the Garynahine Estate. Labour
comes from the affected township and others in the area.

FISHING

Early beginnings

It is the humble herring that has contributed so much to the 226
island's economy and its history. At a very early date in history, 175*
the Hebridean fishings were worked by Frenchmen and Spaniards [648]
who must have found them rich enough to repay the long journey
and weeks away from home in the cold Minch waters. It was not,
however, until the end of the sixteenth century that the wealth of
the Minch was really discovered, this time by the fishermen on
the mainland of Scotland who copied the tricks of their trade

LIFE TODAY

LIFE TODAY

As in other Highland areas, some of the island's problems have 114
become so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. They have been
the *raison d'être* of so many commissions and committees of in-
quiry that their existence is now almost forgotten by the islander
—if indeed he ever understood their nature. Some results have [611]
been seen, such as the Crofters Act of 1886 which gave High- [175]*
land crofters security of tenure, perhaps the most valuable [427]
measure of the last century or two. But somehow all things have
not progressed so well since that date; at any rate not so fast that
crofting, for instance, is now seen to be an economic form of
land use of benefit to both local community and nation at large.
Many problems have been virtually ignored by successive central 657
Governments; at least, remoteness seems to qualify a topic for
the office 'pending' tray. It has yet to be fully realised that the
island, with other Highland communities, is part and parcel of
the area generally administered from London and Edinburgh,
and merits as much attention to its welfare as other European
governments, such as Norway, give to their remote mainland and
island communities.

As usual, charity and self-help begin at home, and one of the 178
most dramatic changes in island life has been the result of the [241]
agricultural revolution of recent years which is changing once
brown moors to lush green pastures: reclamation by re-seeding.
This revolution is still going on. Lewis crofters in particular are
showing the way, with other Highland crofting areas following
suit. The change in the Lewis scene is being emphasised by the [245]
planting of shelter-belts of hardy trees and the first of the new [313] •
plantations of timber-producing trees. These show the promise of
the future: a lively future for a lively community. The fishing in- [228]
dustry also has a future, brighter on the horizon than it has been
for many a poor year. The Harris Tweed industry, the staple em- [288]
ployment-source in Lewis, is maintaining its ability to retain the
interest of the market. And tourism, once a perfunctory and [484]
casual affair, promises to emerge as a useful sector in the
economy. There are, in addition, many small pockets of native
initiative and enterprise which, given sufficient encouragement

CH. III THE ISLAND HOME

342 maintained—once an important aid to the survival of half-
343 starved cattle. A slope from the dwelling-quarters down
to the byre facilitates drainage: normally the length of the
[178] homestead follows the slope. The separation of house
from byre took place in Harris and Uist over seventy years
ago by County Council decision, but in most of Lewis,
even in 1947, about 40 per cent of the homesteads were
342 of the primitive type, outwardly but little changed. This
separate cottage, as in Harris, is a shapely little structure,
roughly symmetrical and particularly pleasing when the
walls are whitewashed below the pale-gold thatch.

342 The surviving 'black house' is a stone structure. As
343 Stevens has written, "the rock of the island is hard to
[314] work, and hard to win", and may be covered by peat.
[324] Undressed stones are collected and sometimes carried for
long distances. Before dynamite came into use, a very
large stone could be broken up by lighting a peat fire on
it, then dashing cold water over it. By an old Gaelic
custom, the bachelors of a township used to help to build
the house for one of their friends who was about to marry.
[333] Lime for mortar being absent from the island, the walls
are built dry. The wall is double, the space between
being filled with earth. Hence it may be six feet thick
[354] at the base, though barely six feet high. Typical primitive
houses lacked windows, only a little light entering through
the smoke vent and through a piece of oiled skin, replaced
latterly by a pane of glass let into the thatch of the roof
or by a deep window aperture in the wall.

342 Roof building is a difficult problem in construction,
on account of the scarcity of timber and the strength of
343 the winds, and explains the narrow plan. Wood was so
• 313 scarce that when a house was abandoned the frame of the
[182] roof was removed, the spars being the tenant's; but in
[422]
[178]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. 1

342 later times the landlord might supply timber. Long
343 ago a main source of timber was the shore. The length
• [313] of the house may be fifty to sixty feet, and the inside
[422] breadth ten to twelve feet, spanned by ten or a dozen
[178] pairs of couples on which are laid transverse 'cabers',
which may be tree trunks, branches, odd wood, old oars,
or, exceptionally, sawn timber. The tops of the walls are
353 finished with turf, to keep the filling from being washed
out, and to provide a smooth bearing for the couples, the
ends of which are pushed into the turf so as to bear on
the inner half of the wall; the rounded form and absence
of overhanging eaves prevent a gale obtaining purchase
on the roof, but a gable with chimney is now usual on the
356 end wall of the inner room. The rafters are annually
covered with turf, and the roof is thatched with thin, short
barley straw, which was pulled up, not cut, after the ears
were picked off, the roots gripping well, and the stem
hanging outward and down.

353 The door gives direct access to the byre (*bathach*),
through which one reaches the middle part, or living-room,
'at the fire' (*aig an teine*), from which there opens the
inmost part, the 'room' with bed-closets. There is no
ceiling to the primitive house, the row of box beds having
tops to keep off the drips of rain water. In the middle of
the earthen, sanded floor of the living-room is the circular
hearth, built of stones with clay between, and raised a few
inches, with no chimney.

343 In the byre, the manure accumulates from spring to
spring, and a breach is made in the end of the house for
the annual removal of the manure. There are no privies.
Where there is fodder and straw in any quantity a barn
342 is added. Stacks are rare because of wind. A low wall,
343 continuous with the house and barn, may enclose the kale-
351
251
273

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. 1

2. From Black House to White House

342 Discontent with the old black house grew with the
177 knowledge and experience of better housing in Stornoway
178 and on the mainland. The congestion which developed
during the nineteenth century meant that often one house
175 was fouled by another above it, leading to typhoid epi-
342 demics. While the smoky atmosphere of the 'black
161 houses' inflamed the eyes and irritated the respiratory
164 system, the roof was high and the fire kept the air in
motion by day, ventilating it to the chimney hole, while
the lack of glass often made it necessary to work with the
[354] door open. The ravages of tuberculosis came towards the
end of the nineteenth century, when Islanders went to our
crowded towns and, not being immunised, were danger-
ously infected. Returning home, too often to linger and
die in a house now provided with tiny, fixed panes which
permitted a closed door and made it stuffier than before,
178 patients spread infection. Flight to a tiny, air-tight
342 wooden cabin or to a small white house of stone and lime
often followed. The availability for the first time of planks
• [313] and timber, a certain practice in boat-repairing, and pos-
[177] sibly acquaintance at first- or second-hand with Canadian
wooden houses, may have influenced the choice of wood.
The early 'white' houses, with an attic lit by skylight,
were airtight, for the windows were too often fixed or only
[354] opened at the bottom. The door was left open in warm
weather, but it was not high enough to allow the escape
of the stale, upper layer of air which the women breathed
as they did their cooking and baking.

342 In the inter-war period, particularly in its last decade,
746 the 'black house' was being abandoned, not for something
198 worse, but far better. The Government-aided houses have
656

[Kershader]

(b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices, however, are irregular: some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the former case they shift near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand. Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them out to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average sheep carcass weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category, and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insatiable population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption only), and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person has entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 28 pupils in 1871, reached a peak of 110 in 1907 and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caverate, Garyvard, Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1955 this decline has markedly increased.

It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilising the population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical propositim in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Kershader] [Garyvard]

common grazings - at present approximately correctly stocked - and cannot therefore provide much employment. Hence it is the standard of agriculture that must be improved. Since the land does not permit striking extension or improvement of the cultivated area, development must be directed towards improving pasture, with more re-seeding and controlled grazing similar to that already described. All this, however, is of little avail if prices for cattle, sheep and wool remain low, or at least lower than prices prevailing on the mainland. The first priority, therefore, is the establishment of a prosperous agriculture is a guaranteed market-price. Given this, it might become worthwhile to take steps to increase the carrying capacity of the crofts. It may be assumed that this would involve an all-round improvement which could give a firm basis to the economic existence of the community; until this is achieved, stability and continuity are out of the question.

GARYVARD

Gwenyth R. Page, B. A.

The landscape of the south-east coast of Loch Erisort is a sombre and rugged one. The Quaternary ice sheets left in their wake troughs now filled by the sea loch, innumerable lochs covered in water lilies, a massive area of indeterminate drainage and expanses of bare gneiss.

Garyvard is set on the fringe of this landscape on a 20 to 25° slope with the crofts aligned from the moor to the sea, on a mantle of drift. Here is the home of the MacLeods, the MacKinnons and he Montgomerys. Life beats out its regular pattern of existence during the winter months on the croft, followed by an increasing tempo and variety of work during the rest of the year. In January and February the animals must be fed on hay or lose the battle to survive. In February there are preparations for the year's tasks, making repairs and improvements to the croft. Next month will find the crofter on the land, making or clearing drains and putting fences and dykes in order. The tempo of life quickens with the year; April sees the first sheep dipping, the land turned over, potatoes and oats sown. From mid-May, the sheep leave the crofts to fend for themselves on the common grazing. The following three or four months are times of tremendous activity on the moors when the peats are cut, to be stacked later, first in fours, then in eights, so that the wind may dry them, till eventually bee-hive-shaped stacks - sometimes as high - can be seen near the peat banks in August. Then begins the wearisome task of carrying the peats home, all too frequently in creels carried on the back, since the peat workings of Garyvard are on the moors up to half a mile from road. Altogether some two miles of roads are needed to peat on their crofts, whilst others have permission to cut from Cromore or Caverate common grazings close to the road. All the while croft work continues, varying from hoeing, weeding and cutting hay to the gathering of sheep for shearing. As there are no fences between the various commons, crofters must travel from one township tank to another, seeking their own. In August the lambs are weaned. Hay making generally ends in August and is immediately followed by the oat harvest in September. By the time both oats and hay have been gathered in, the potatoes are lifted and the sheep are brought in from the common grazing about October 12th. The last sheep dipping takes place in November and is followed by tupping.

There are eleven crofts altogether, though one is divided, each portion having a legal tenant who has a half share in the common grazing. Two crofts are 12 acres in extent, the half crofts 2.75 acres only, though the acre cultivated on the common grazing by one of the latter crofters since 1923, has recently been officially recognised. Most crofts are in strips running from the sea-shore up the slope some 500 yards to the township dyke, and are clearly demarcated by fences erected just after the last war. Three crofts have additional strips whilst one croft was an extra strip belonging to another croft. The additional strips date back about 100 years to a time when the township grew rapidly as a result of evictions in southern Park. One croft is divided and worked in three separate parts so in effect there are fourteen operative units in Garyvard.

As far as the crofting population is concerned, the benefits are rather negligible. In fact some of the crofters of Carbost township find the presence of the distillery to be a distinct disadvantage because they must keep their "fank" in an inaccessible location well off the drainage slopes which serve the plant. I should add one additional fact. Like all the major commercial ventures on the Island, the distillery is owned by a corporation with offices in Edinburgh.

Forestry. In recent years forestry has come to enjoy widespread popularity among critics of the "Highland Problem" as a remedy for the distress, lack of gainful employment, and depopulation of the area. Within the last decade or so forestry has become a source of employment for a small number of men on Skye. The Forestry Commission acquired 9000 acres of land between Glen Brittle and Loch Eynort. Houses were built for employees and nine new families were brought in. Planting has been carried on at a rate which gives regular employment to 12 men, one man to each 120 plantable acres. As the labor required for planting decreases, the men are being shifted to thinning operations. Ultimately, they will begin lumbering. It is anticipated that in time there will be jobs for sixty or more. For every 100 acres there will be one man engaged in planting, thinning, or lumbering and five men or women working in auxiliary employment, such as transportation, mill operations, and services to the anticipated village. The government has been impressed by the success of its experiment. Another large tract, a former sheep farm,

just outside of Portree was taken over in 1953, and there are plans for acquiring additional blocks of land.

One reason for the optimism surrounding the potential benefits of forestry to the Highlands is the growth of population which it apparently stimulates. In Glen Brittle the local school, closed for many years, has been reopened. But, as in all migration schemes, the average age tends to be low, and, consequently, procreation is to be expected. Whether or not the potential benefits will be realized remains to be seen. Decidedly in favor of forestry is the stable employment which is offered. Further, a man can be allowed time to carry on crofting not only in his spare time but also full-time when seasonal demands require his full attention. Whether or not there will be enough land left for pastoral-agriculture, near the plantations if he wants to take the time, is another question. Then, too, there are natural limitations to the extension of forests.

The difficulties to be faced by forestry on Skye may be briefly summarized. Above all, conditions for tree growth are far from ideal over much of the island. If the soil is fertile enough for trees, as in Glendale and Kilmuir, exposure to the south and west winds may be too severe for a plantation. Shelter belts might be planted, but they have no commercial value and offer only fleeting employment. If there is shelter from the wind, as in Sleat, the soil is either too poor or too boggy for commercial operations. Beyond the areas already acquired and the few small plantations on private estates, the land considered plantable is in limited, isolated patches. At this

point cultural considerations enter. The land is often essential to the continued existence of the farm or the crofting township. In Sleat, for example, the land which the Forestry Commission has listed as commercially valuable is the lower, sheltered grazings of several farms and crofting townships. Finally, there is the people's dislike of trees. Many a Sgiathanach in Portree is distressed by the plans to cover Glen Sligichan with a forest. They share the attitude of a man from Soay, a small island a short distance off the west coast of Skye, near Glen Brittle, who was being moved to the Isle of Mull by the Department of Agriculture when Soay was evacuated at the crofters' request. "Och, its all right down there, but you can't see the sky unless you bend over like this," he said bending over double and looking over his shoulder.

We have now accounted for, at the most, 120 men and 20 women who work for wages and 238 crofter-fishermen. Excluding the latter, there are over 1000 men and almost 500 women who are employed locally at sometime during the year.[32] With only a few remaining isolated industries, such as the small silica sand quarry at Ord in Sleat and the infrequently used limestone and marble deposits at Broadford in Strath, most of the opportunities for employment have to be in services for women and laboring for men.

Let us consider the occupations of women. Over half are employed as resident domestic servants or as help in hotels and restaurants. Ten percent find work in the local shops as clerks.

[32] Information extracted from the files of the Ministry of Labor in Scotland, Portree and Edinburgh.

Types of ancillary employment

The question of the desirability of ancillary employment in a crofting district is often debated. On the one hand, engaging in such work means less time for croft work and makes wholehearted participation in the agricultural life of the township a virtual impossibility. On the other hand, crofters who take ancillary employment are better able to make capital investment in their croft. Table IV shows that in Park, croft efficiency, as expressed by the souming to actual stock ratio, is not necessarily related to participation in ancillary employment. If the township is to be re-established as a working entity, a clearer dichotomy in the population seems desirable; those who wish to work the croft on a full-time basis might be given full use of the available land, and those who wish to earn their living in non-crofting employment could take out feu charters for their houses. It is clear that the agricultural resources of Park are insufficient to maintain the present number of crofts as viable economic units but the problem of finding industrial employment for any large non-crofting population is very great.

The Park Association, in their keen search to attract industry, met with little response for high freight rates and distance from markets made economic industrial costing well-nigh impossible. The Chairman of the Crofters' Commission has recently suggested that some of the Glasgow Overspill of "tradesmen and small businesses" might find "an opportunity to prosper in the West Highlands and Islands"[1] but even with Government grants for the establishment of small factories, it is clear that present freight charges would be a severe deterrent.

One possibility is that the fishing industry might be revived. In 1945, 16 large motor vessels were fishing from the townships between Cromore and Gravir; by 1952, three boats remained;[2] only one boat was still fishing in 1958. The recent Fishing Board Scheme guarantee, which provides a flat weekly rate for every boat turning out, brings hope as this guarantees a minimum livelihood. The major problem is the finding of the initial capital required to buy and fit out a modern boat, at present about £20,000. Eighty-five per cent of this sum can already be found in the form of grants and loans from the Herring Industry Board but the remaining fifteen per cent or £3,000 is often the more difficult sum to raise. The Murdo Macaulay (Rhodesia) Trust has offered assistance to a limited number of fishermen towards the raising of the £3,000[3], and this offer is a real opportunity. If fishing is not re-started soon in Park, few of the original fishermen will remain to instruct the new generation.

Tourism is an industry hardly developed at all in Park. Lack of running water has made the householders shy to offer accommodation, but it should be remembered that there are city dwellers who are delighted to accept inexpensive accommodation away from the crowded resorts. Dr. Stig Jaatinen, in his "Human Geography of the Outer Hebrides"[4], states that this fact has made the Aaland Islands prosperous, and believes that tourism on simple lines could be successfully developed in the Outer Hebrides. Tourism need not bring in its train the desecration of the Sabbath for people who are willing to journey far in search of a quiet holiday usually conform to local observances.

Unless new sources of employment are brought to Park, it is clear that ancillary employment must continue to be sought elsewhere. The higher 'spending standard' in industrial employment, and the opportunities to find entertainment in urban areas (tastes often resulting from experience during school days in Stornoway or National Service), militate against a large population of young people, but basically lack of employment and the uneconomic nature of the crofts are the real reasons for the high degree of temporary and permanent employment away from Park.

1 Letter to the Glasgow Herald 27.1.59
2 South Lochs Survey Report.
3 Stornoway Gazette 27.1.59
4 Stig Jaatinen, Acta Geographica XVI, No. 2. 1957.

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is a
[601] water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one member of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on
[354] rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and well worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-let to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In
[288] addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than
[166] average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of them
[161] young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people and
[162] young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resident adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous crofting communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

195 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared
427 from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided, making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no cultivation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

361 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete-
241 Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover being grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one
231 acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people over 65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently
133 from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

491 The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the
361 middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter
[491] by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, but high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but, at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

[Cromore] [Marivig]

366 butchers' vans call on Wednesday and Friday and a fish van once or twice during the week. Goods
494 are also conveyed by the daily bus. Electricity was brought to the village about four years ago
377 and the inhabitants now look forward to a supply of piped water in about two years' time. At present
312 only three or four houses have bathrooms.

The crofts, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a satis-
241 factory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It seems
436 that the recent subsidies for fishing are good enough to attract fishermen from Cromore and one or
228 two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were longer. Weaving has brought prosperity
288 but, as the Park Association states in its Second Progress Report "there is not sufficient weaving available for the present number of weavers". The proposal to establish a spinning and processing plant in the Park District made in the 1957 Report, would undoubtedly be of great value to the
000 people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants suggested that a hotel built on Crobeg Farm would bring some benefit to the community. However, even if these three increased sources of income became effective, one wonders whether they would be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Stornoway.

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B. A.

131 Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triangular sea loch opening to the north-east and sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, making the loch an ideal anchorage and harbour.

133 The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slopes more gradually and irregularly, with frequent precipitous rock outcrops, for two hundred to five hundred yards to rise steeply to a line of low hills, two hundred and fifty feet to three hundred feet high, surrounding the loch. All crofts thus have an easterly or north-easterly aspect, not particularly favourable for agriculture, and only one has any appreciable area of level land
134 uninterrupted by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin, and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely dispersed.

137 The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common grazing, are mainly covered with heather, moor grass or sphagnum bog, while the lower areas within the township are grassy, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not yet a problem, and only small areas exist, mainly on the lower slopes of the western side of the loch. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant
241 and worked by another crofter, and one worked from a house on the common. With the exception
632 of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in radial fashion (Fig. 4). The size of the crofts varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and few now cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses being on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

241 Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' system. Owing to the rocky nature of the
244 terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two yards wide. Potatoes and oats are
246 grown in rotation, and hay taken from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters sow grass for hay
237 or undersow their crops. Dung and seaweed are used as fertilisers, with potato fertiliser as the
324 most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce, carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

[Marivig]

231 There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while
235 all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

314 Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of
482 the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft,
228 and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway
501 and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

363 Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the
366 roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia,
fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual
166 migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the
167 permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school - over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine
162 (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946, but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young
171 people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

205 The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a
206 shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There
366 is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road
494 which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much
438 better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig
491 and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.
466

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the
363 sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while
361 the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain
342 and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron.
377 All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply;
312 rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

829 The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the
000 crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

[Lemreway] [Orinsay]

229 The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing
176 township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve
436 boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats
and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is
435 one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring
504 nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with
161 those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large
162 considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

463 Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary
241 occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular
288 employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just
228 over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and
205 nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.
494

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939.
166 Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.
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505
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Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house
342 has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most
377 of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. Ruins
312 of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or
961 up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the spring
917 Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most
484 attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residen they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relativ
485 of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

000 It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable
407 enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the
311 outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted hous
242 all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are th
463 contemporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this
181 is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions,
000 it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

131 Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of
361 a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty ya
241 of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting acce to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed con-
113 tents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

5:	Caird et al.	K-S	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots Park ES10

231 Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than
[288] fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

221 All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of
233 the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

311 The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky,
233 waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

231 No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally
235 just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold
[435] to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

434 It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his
464 family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people
228 in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

161 There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less
162 than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

366 As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available
368 occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44
166 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third
167 are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in
464 domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realized that most of these people working away assist
505 their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home,
228 together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued
462 steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.
357
454

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is
395 only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it.
372 Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a
206 telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last
366 decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it
431 serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles
494 distant.

161 Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of con-
162 gestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

/p. 35/

depend upon the women of Skye. 000

The Spare-time Crofter. Under this type we must include not 231
only the able-bodied, married man who tends to become a full- 241
time wage earner, but also the old, pensioned, married and 887
unmarried men and women who are no longer able to perform the necessary chores. For the latter, whether they have a small or medium-sized croft, the croft becomes a means of living within a pension rather than a potential source of livelihood. For the former, the croft becomes a means of living cheaply.

When the crofter goes out to work, he either tends to 231
neglect the croft or expects his wife to manage it. Oc- 241
casionally, the husband will help with the ploughing or the 593
harvest in the evening, but he never lends his wife a helping 462
hand in her domestic duties. The only men on the island that I knew who helped their wives with the dishes or the care of the children, except disciplinary measures, were a minister from the Outer Isles and several Lowlanders in Portree. Since [312] very few crofters have plumbing, the wife must fetch water from a well and dispose of waste in the nearest stream. If there is to be a supply of peats, she must cut them. If there are cattle and sheep, she looks after them. Lambing may be left to the township shepherd if the crofters can afford one, and shearing is usually left to the men of the township. An exceptional spinster or widow may shear, but it is indeed an unusual married woman who will break with the traditional

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313 LUMBERING--kinds of timber exploited; gathering of firewood; logging operations (e.g., felling, trimming, hauling); techniques and apparatus used; sawmills and pulp mills; economic importance of lumbering; organization of labor and production; forestry science, practices, and policy; etc. See also:

Forest resources	137	Industrial structures	348
Conservation policies	186	Fuel	372
Silviculture	245	Lumbering machinery	402
Paper manufacture	289	Tools	412
Woodworking	322	Moving of heavy weights	483
Building supplies industries	339	State and national forests	669

[Habost]

134 Drift is found near the shore and laps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks.
137 Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

175 Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shieldernish and
692 took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Ailean Tailear came from Taransay, Harris,
621 to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

241 Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and
409 ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Croftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for
233 bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

[244] Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed
[246] parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in
[231] June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but
[824] elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

231 The land is heavily overstocked: the soum is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is
233 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in
[432] Park Deer Forest by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garyvard in November
[221] and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

241 The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since before 1852. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Beinn Bhuidhe and
[311] below Loch na Ciste but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural
[226] townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and
[281] trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock
[493] to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

361 Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has
[312] been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or
[654] from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

314

314 FOREST PRODUCTS--exploitation of forests and other uncultivated area
products other than timber or food (e.g., gums and resins, rubber, veg
oils, dyestuffs, medicines, bark, textile fibers, peat); intermediate pro
(e.g., refining of palm oil or rubber, production of charcoal); organizati
labor and production; etc. See also:

Chemical industries . . . . . 38 Materia medica . . . . . .
Collecting of edible materials . . . . . 222 Ethnobotany . . . . . .

There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters exceed their souming (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 166 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had electricity since 1954. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway and also one bus from Uig and one from Bernera passing through Garynahine. These good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the remaining two being to old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about 125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide) which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing; it is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the highest point is 425 ft.

The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century, and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader to work for one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the more exposed westward facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced by the 90 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which now forms the boundary between the croftland and the common pasture. The croftland varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertilizer and manure are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial fertilizer. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on a small peninsula from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland at high tide.

The croft houses were then in two nuclei; one on each side of the narrow neck. Much later a third nuclei developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Bernera; they had put to sea in small boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

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Photographs by J. Allan Cash

A PEAT-CUTTER

The peats are being carried to the roadside from where they will be carted home

/facing p. iii/

133 (2) cliff-cut, where exposed stretches have
mined by the Atlantic storms; and (3)
bays like Broad Bay have been filled in, or
bars have enclosed a sheet of fresh water, a
coast (north-west of Stornoway) from Barv
to Dalebeg. The types of coast are illustra
II to V.

As to the sea floor—so important to fi
navigation—the west coast of the Outer He
a well-featured continental platform, which
the north and south but lower in the middl
larities suggest a former land-surface disse
with mature drainage systems.[1] The conto
ing, as shown in the coloured map at the end
10 fathoms (60 feet). The sandy machar bea
South Harris, visible at low tide, form part of
shelf extending for a dozen miles off west
to a depth of no more than 20 fathoms, and
wards along the machars of Uist to Barra;
falls away steeply round most of Lewis and
east coast of 'the Long Island'.

5. *Glacial Drift or Boulder Clays, and S*

133 Underlying the peat is the drift, which
all but the rockiest parts of the island. T
exposed at every roadside cutting but is la
314 areas around the villages. Here peat-cutt
centuries has removed the peat, layer afte
[356] topmost turf, left aside after cutting until t
[134] even this turf is removed for annual that
[113]

[1] S. Ting, B.Sc. (China). *Geografiska Annaler*, B
62-83.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

133 clay is exposed, leaving what is vividly called 'skinned'
314 land. And where drift is exposed, the mineral constituents
134 are leached out, and a hard 'moor pan' is left a few inches
[356] below the surface.

Seen from the edge of the crofts, the typical 'skinned
134 lands' of bare, blue or brownish clay, littered with stones,
137 suggest a desert. Often, only a few blades of grass or tufts of heather grow on them. Indeed, 'skinned land' seems at first too mild a term, for on it the stones—thickest on top when undisturbed, and bleached by the acids of the peat that overlay them—suggest the prophet's 'field of bones'. One can only ask, is the rest of his vision ever to be fulfilled and life to spring again? In some hilly parts to south and west, not only the 'skin', the topmost layer of peat, but the very soil, the flesh as it were, is still being
[166] stripped bare to the bone, the actual rock. The evacuation of the islet of Bernera Beag (Uig) was largely due to this stripping. In the more level parts to the north, however, roadside pits show sections of clay with few stones, covered with perhaps six inches of clay with many stones. It is this top layer which gives the skinned land such a hopelessly stony appearance, and shows that reclamation is less miraculous than it seems.

134 With the coming of carts and lorries the increasing use
242 of shell sand has become possible, whether for spreading on the land or for slipping into pockets, together with
[178] fertilisers, for potato seed. As to soils, shell sand and boulder clay possess complementary qualities in texture
[493] and chemical composition. The shell sand of the machars provided an early home for man, the light soil allowing rye, a poor variety of oats, and herbage, to ripen early and mature in late, wet seasons when the clays are sodden with rain. Yet the sand itself is so light that drought is

Geddes (1948: 56) gives evidence that joint farms were abolished in Lewis early in the 19th century. Gray (1952: 50) says that by 1819 there was little run-rig left in Lewis. The factor's notebook for Breasclete, on the west side of the island, shows the destruction of clachans around 1850, and their replacement by linear townships.

In the Napier Commission's "Evidence" (1884) for the parish of Barvas, it was mentioned that the rent had been increased because of improvements made by the landlord, Sir James Matheson, between 1849 and 1852. Land had been drained and new townships created; and both old and new townships were lotted and rented in 1850 and 1851 (Napier 1884: 959). The Ordinance Survey map drawn up in 1852-53 reveals several interesting features of Shawbost: "New Shawbost" has recently been laid out; and in an area now incorporated by only a few separate crofts on "Carnan," a cluster of houses appears, perhaps the clachan in which joint tenants lived, and from which they went out to farm their various strips of land, before Matheson reorganized the land in linear strips with dispersed housing. The peat banks in the Carnan area are almost exhausted, indicating a long period of settlement in this area.

As these quotations bring out, the subsidy enables people to risk rearing cattle under conditions that would otherwise make success very uncertain.

5. Communalism: Despite the decline in various agricultural activities and the individuation of land use, some activities persist which require mutual aid. Conditions of low geographical mobility, in which mutual watchfulness and competitive gamesmanship have developed (see section on "Social Marginality"), contribute to the strong boundedness of the township network. There is still competition over who begins an agricultural activity at a particular time of the year. No one wants to be so early that he stands out like an over-eager novice running risks of frost or other bad weather, but there is an element of pride in being the first to harvest potatoes or bring in the peat. Almost everyone cuts peat, a time-consuming and back-breaking job made pleasanter with a large labor force; and every aspect of the activity--the time of cutting and bringing in, the length of time required to cut peats, the size of the peats when dry, the type of meal served to the work crew, the evenness of the final peat stack--is subject to intense scrutiny.

Headrick's recommendations. However, he promised to make experiments on the economic value of the 'bog-ore of iron' found in many parts of the island, with a view to making bar-iron. Peat was to be used as a fuel for smelting.

With so much water on the island, it is natural to expect to find some of it harnessed for the generation of electricity. The Gisla hydro-electric scheme is on the west of Lewis, to the west of the shores of Little Loch Roag. The Harris scheme is at Loch Chliostair, at the foot of the three peaks of Tirgamore (2,227 ft), Ullaval (2,135), and Oreval (2,165). Some 12 per cent of the island's total electricity production is generated thus, the remainder being diesel generation at Stornoway (see Chapter 11).

Next to water, the island's most readily available resource is its stifling blanket of peat, which covers more than 80 per cent of Lewis's land area. It has had a more than significant effect on the natural history of the area, its scenery and the human element. When the deposits were examined in varying detail in 1910-11, it was estimated that they covered no less than 230 square miles, in depths up to 16·5 ft; the average depth of peat over the whole island was assessed at 5 ft. On this basis the deposits would contain approximately 85 million tons of solids. A survey carried out by the Peat Section of the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland in 1952 indicated that the earlier estimates were slightly high.

In 1946-7 the Ministry of Fuel & Power reconnoitred the peat deposits on both sides of the Stornoway-Barvas road and indicated that these were suitable for large-scale utilisation. Yet today, despite these Government-backed investigations, the peat deposits of Lewis are still used only for domestic fuel. One of the points made in a 1952 survey was that the area was generally firm enough to take the weight of various bog machines for digging and milling. Another point was that the calorific values of ten out of twelve peat samples were in excess of 10,000 BTU/lb.

CLIMATE

The rainfall has already been mentioned, averaging an annual 43 inches, according to readings taken at the Meteorological

PLATE IXA. CROFTERS WITH FLAIL AND WINNOWING VESSEL

PLATE IXB. A LEWIS WOMAN CREELING PEAT (*c.* 1925)

Except in cold weather (as here) the skirt is rolled up over a petticoat to form a pad at the waist just below the creel

/facing p. 64/

maintained—once an important aid to the survival of half-starved cattle. A slope from the dwelling-quarters down to the byre facilitates drainage: normally the length of the homestead follows the slope. The separation of house from byre took place in Harris and Uist over seventy years ago by County Council decision, but in most of Lewis, even in 1947, about 40 per cent of the homesteads were of the primitive type, outwardly but little changed. This separate cottage, as in Harris, is a shapely little structure, roughly symmetrical and particularly pleasing when the walls are whitewashed below the pale-gold thatch.

The surviving 'black house' is a stone structure. As Stevens has written, "the rock of the island is hard to work, and hard to win", and may be covered by peat. Undressed stones are collected and sometimes carried for long distances. Before dynamite came into use, a very large stone could be broken up by lighting a peat fire on it, then dashing cold water over it. By an old Gaelic custom, the bachelors of a township used to help to build the house for one of their friends who was about to marry. Lime for mortar being absent from the island, the walls are built dry. The wall is double, the space between being filled with earth. Hence it may be six feet thick at the base, though barely six feet high. Typical primitive houses lacked windows, only a little light entering through the smoke vent and through a piece of oiled skin, replaced latterly by a pane of glass let into the thatch of the roof or by a deep window aperture in the wall.

Roof building is a difficult problem in construction, on account of the scarcity of timber and the strength of the winds, and explains the narrow plan. Wood was so scarce that when a house was abandoned the frame of the roof was removed, the spars being the tenant's; but in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

couple advancing one on either side of it—many other tasks were definitely team-work. Such was peat-cutting. "When they are making peats, five people are employed. One cuts the peat, another places it on the brink of the ditch where it is dug; a third spreads it on the field, a fourth pares and cleans the moss; and a fifth man is resting, ready to relieve the man that cuts. The women are seldom at this work, but the men help one another alternately; sometimes they must rest satisfied with fewer hands; but the above is the full complement of men required to perform the work, according to their tastes." Buchanan's description was written 160 years ago (1793); it remained true till recently and generally it is so still. There was thus a normal team practice for work—even a man to rest was not forgotten! As the Gaelic proverb puts it: "They won't make power (add strength) without a threesome and they'll limp without a foursome!" (*Cha deanar treine gun triuir, 's bidh iad crubach gun cheathrar*). In Gaelic, as in Scots, one speaks of a team according to its number, as "a pair, a threesome, foursome" and so on, up to a tensome (*deichnear*). In Lewis the farm-team was usually a foursome or fivesome.

Only in exceptional cases was land worked and held singly—as when a smith was kept busy at his anvil in ploughing-time and harvest. Thus in 1715 one or two rural smiths had single holdings of average value or more (£1), and one artificer or tin-smith (caird) a holding of minimum value (5s.); and in the burgh all the small plots were held singly. As the women wove, at home mostly, no male rural weaver held a single plot; his weaving could be done at slack times, so long as there was light; at busy times he worked on the land with the rest of his team.

On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an

be high until 1948. The year 1947 was the peak year for the production of Harris Tweed, with over 5,000,000 yards (of which 3,765,000 yards were stamped, and some 1,500,000 unstamped). In 1948 the production of unstamped tweed had fallen to 500,000 yards but stamped tweed came to 4,380,000 yards.

Then, in the year 1948 the imposition of a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax struck the industry a crippling blow. The rise in prices of wool increased difficulties, and by 1950 few orders were being booked and men were being paid off. A few small men who had relatively large stocks frozen by the purchase tax were able to sell them off, but this minor compensation for losses was short-lived. The outlook is disquieting.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House-building*, 1938

(a) *Agriculture.*—The estimated agricultural output shows a total value of £189,100, and of this total the quantity fed to animals was valued at £103,000. This leaves £86,100 as the estimated value of crop produce consumed on the Island. Adding this figure to the gross livestock output we arrive at a total valuation of the agricultural production of Lewis of approximately £194,100. To arrive at the average output per croft there was deducted the farm production, estimated at $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total by calculation from known crop and stock returns. This gives a figure for crofts alone of £184,400. By dividing by 3750, we obtain an average value of the gross annual production by crofters as £49, or say £50. The inclusion of squatters' produce would add so slightly to the total figure as hardly to affect the average for rural households. Outlays being small, most of this net output may be regarded as 'net earnings'.

(*b*) *Peat.*—To this sum must be added firing and some share in housing. The peat cut has been valued at £90,000, an average of £24 per croft; it demands much labour. As peat is freely cut by cottars and squatters, etc. (estimated at 1050 or so), the average value might be given as £19 per rural household. In Stornoway the chief fuel is coal.

(*c*) *House-building.*—From 1920 to 1940 the Department of

APPENDIX II

178 2110. The acreage under potatoes declined steadily: 3940,
434 3730, 1650. Barley dwindled from 2350 acres to 1340, and
241 130. Turnips reached a maximum of 510 acres in 1939, but were not worth noting by 1953. These crop acreages reflect the change in stock-rearing, with the decline in the number of
178 cattle but the great increase in the number of sheep. Taking the three successive totals for 1918, 1939 and 1953, cattle
434 numbered 13,620, 9060 and 6540 head; but this diminution
231 by more than half was chiefly due to the small number of bullocks reared. Cows and heifers, 7650 in 1918, still stood at about 4500 in 1953, and they are now of far better quality in weight and milk production. The totals of sheep were successively, 78,150, 114,330, 185,860; by use of mainland rams their average weight has increased, while the wool is rather more abundant but coarser. Taking the Lewis Association's equivalent of 1 cattle beast to 8 sheep, the livestock carry increased by nearly 25 per cent; and if we add the increased value of the cattle the livestock increase counts for very much more. Horses, it is true, fell to 380 by 1953; as before, most had been bought in from Uist, not bred. Hence a new charge on agriculture, the purchase and use of the 65 tractors owned by farmers and crofters, and their running costs, is relatively less heavy than it would be in a horse-breeding area. The poultry are still deplorably few: 86,460, or about 20 per croft.

[632] The Table on p. 316 sums up the conditions, apparently somewhat stabilised for the time being, parish by parish, and invites comparison with Chapter II, pp. 67-68.

178 (b) and (c) *Peat-making and House-building.*—While *peat-*
222 *cutting* is still important, more coal is used than formerly, and hence the peat is valued here much as in 1938. *Housing* is
• 314 most important; Local Authority housing by the Burgh struggles to meet the need of a growing urban and 'suburban'
178 population as in other towns in Britain, but with an additional
362 "remote area subsidy" to meet mainland contractors' extra
647 costs. There is little truly rural housing by the County Council and rents are too high for the houses to be fully occupied. The
63 figures for Stornoway Burgh for the ten years 1945-54 exceed
[162]

175 The new proprietor was no better placed than Seaforth to change the fundamental
427 causes of recurrent poverty and distress. But at least he had funds to ameliorate his
233 tenants' lot and to allow experiments in land reclamation and industrial development.
314 Existing sheep farms were extended and others formed. Land reclamation went forward
• hand in hand with industrial experiments such as distillation of paraffin from peat and
359 brick and tile-making. A programme of road building was begun (the first roads beyond
479 Stornoway were begun in 1791, but there were only 45 miles of road by 1836). In Uig the
226 results were very obvious. Further clearances took place particularly from Timsgarry,
Carnish (21 tenants), Reef (22 tenants), Garynahine, Dun Carloway. The small tenants of
Valtos and Kneep were only saved from eviction by the intervention of the Fisheries Board,
[162] for they were important places for white fishing. By the 1850's, although the population
of Uig was more than double that in 1755, and 60% greater than in 1800, it was crowded
[162] into little more than half the area. Emigration enforced by clearances reduced the population of Bernera and South Uig by nearly 500 between 1851 and 1861.

175 No other part of Lewis saw so many farms; nowhere else did the small tenants suffer
427 so much from eviction. That was not all. Those who remained undisturbed were de-
311 prived of some of their traditional grazings and access to the rest was sometimes
233 restricted. Moreover they had to make room for many of the evicted families in their
own townships, thereby further increasing the problem of congestion caused by the rapid
[161] natural increase of population. Thus, for example, about 1825 there had been 22 families
in Valtos and Kneep. By about 1880 there were almost 100. But, during the same
[162] period these townships were deprived of their island grazings - Pabay, Vacsay, Floday
and Wiay - formerly used for wintering cattle - and of part of their hill grazings (the
traditional shielings). Use of the hill-grazings was restricted, too. Thus, for example,
only one day was allowed to pull heather for ropes; if men were away fishing or for other
reasons, could not attend on that day, they risked punishment by going on any other. Such
stories could be multiplied many times.

In the Bernera district, by the 1850's only Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete (on the
[103] island) and Earshader and Crulivig (on the mainland) were left for the crofter families.
Moreover their traditional summer grazings, which lay south east of the Deer Forest
which was formed out of the Scalascro sheep farm about 1850. Apparently their use of
the old shielings was tolerated until 1878, after which date they were directed to the area
north of the present road and which they have continued to use until the present day. Thus
the shieling huts shown in fig.5 all post-date 1878; the area in which they lie may have
been part of the West Earshader tacksman's holding. The date of discontinuance of that
tack is not known but the house, now empty, was for long occupied by squatters and the
old lazy beds around it still form part of a large squatter holding.

It is noteworthy that almost all the clearances were in the Bernera and South Uig
districts and this is reflected in population changes between 1841 and 1851, shown in
table 4.

The cleared areas included extensive hill and mountain grazings and some of the best
wintering ground, including all the machairs except Valtos and Kneep. The East Loch
Roag and Carloway districts were less attractive to the new farmers; as is so commonly
the case in Lewis, their rough grazings lay on gently sloping low plateaux and were con-
sequently ill-drained and of poor quality. About 1852 Dun Carloway was let as a tack but
was never successfully farmed and was soon returned to crofter-occupation; it may never
have been wholly cleared of crofters. Garynahine, at the southern end of East Loch Roag,
next to Linshader, was also turned into a farm about 1852. Here the hill grazing was more
extensive and, though seriously reduced by a crofter settlement scheme c. 1936, it remains

231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none
are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a
mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' shielings, about six miles to the south-
east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the
adjoining Islivig shielings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original
shielings to the east of Loch Melaval about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining
the enlargement from Mealasta farm, until about 1939, shielings were used in that area.

• 314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near
the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears
241 evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on
it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many
cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation.
Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is
used solely for hay and grazing.

342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have
kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres
312 of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area
and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped
water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a
377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very
301 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the
off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers -
286 nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy;
461 in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady
income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside
[634] the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at
Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R. A. F. station and at least
407 one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns at tractor which he hires
out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of
[443] twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and
one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents,
and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are
children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15
(12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants,
thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils,
for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with
some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further.
The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the
sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of
people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four
crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting
estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Moire peninsulas, five miles
south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

427 joint tenants of one have moved to Geshader while continuing to work the Ungshader land.
632 Another is preparing to move to Enaclete and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Christean
311 Cottage. At present, three working units remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with ten units, one being rented by joint tenants.

22/ The rhythm of work is similar to that in other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oats are planted in April followed by lambing and peat cutting in May. In June and July the sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to the common grazings. In August the peats are carted, once they are dry, by lorry direct to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lambs are weaned in September, harvest is then carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take place in November. The sheep are then returned to the township grazing though the lambs
241 may be fed with hay on the croft. There is little regular crop rotation and only a small number of crofters seem to undersow oats, thus improving the quality of future hay crops. Gardens are not important and only provide for family needs but Caryshader particularly has a number, some growing flowers as well as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely from croft to croft as well township to township. Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the shore and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshader are usually fed on artificials.

23/ Most crofters keep one milk cow with a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn sales in Caryshader. However, some now rely on their neighbours for milk in return for grazing and one croft has turned to goats, as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on Geshader-Ungshader common grazing as it is completely fenced; and Geshader is responsible for its upkeep.

233 Lambing seems to have been generally good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact figures. The Morsgail Estate and Gisla farm also run considerable flocks. The common pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlargement, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acres for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader near Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres
[314] on Floday island. The shielings have been disused since the war. Peat is normally cut to the west of the road but at least one elderly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his croft for this purpose to save the effort of working further afield.

241 Generally speaking the land now cropped only represents one third to one half of that
178 worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when the crofting population was larger and when much greater numbers of cattle were kept through the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and
231 more oats. The cattle numbers are much less than the total souming but sheep are in excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazing by sheep has caused a decline in grazing quality.

464 Clearly in these townships, apart from the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the means of livelihood is sought elsewhere. At present there are altogether fifty-three men in the working age group (15 - 64) in all four townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine permanently and five periodically. Thirty have regular or periodic employment besides crofting and of these seven work at Gisla on the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, some of them part-time, four hire out vans, two do post-office work and others have varied occupations while only three are full-time crofters. At present there are few men in the Merchant Navy and fishing does not provide an occupation although many share rowing-boats in their spare time, and fish for domestic use.

162 The population as a whole is ageing and of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four
(164) (roughly 30%) work away permanently or have emigrated. It is noticeable that there are few crofts worked by people with young families

000 In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that the fate of the crofting townships depends more

TABLE 29

Berneray District: cultivation

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	'Old arable as % of inbye (%)	Av. area of inbye per unit (acres)	Crops as % of inbye (%)	No. of units according to acres of crop: Nil	less than 0.5	0.6 to 1.0	1.1 to 1.5	1.6 to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	more than 7.5
Breasclete	14	7.4	26	1	1	2	2	6	2	-	-
Croir	7	33.4	4	-	-	1	4	1	1	-	-
Hacklete	18	12.7	15	1	-	1	6	9	3	-	-
Kirkiboat	17	15.3	13	-	-	4	9	8	6	1	-
Tobson	26	9.0	17	2	-	2	7	7	1	-	-
ISLAND	21	13.5	18	4	1	10	28	31	13	1	-
Earshader	38	9.5	15	1	-	1	2	1	1	-	-
Crulivig	24	14.0	16	-	-	1	-	3	1	1	-
Lundale	35	25.9	10	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-
Linshader	67	6.9	30	-	1	1	1	3	3	-	-
SHORE	39	13.3	16	1	1	3	3	11	7	1	-
DISTRICT TOTAL	26	13.5	17	5	2	13	31	42	20	2	-

241 vation at all, but even fewer crop more than 2.6 acres (table 29). Expressed as a percentage, little more than a quarter of the total inbye area is even "old arable", of which only about two-thirds is cultivated. Oats are every-where the most important crop: they are used almost exclusively for fodder. Potatoes, mainly for domestic use, are the only other significant crop; the absence of turnips is noteworthy. The crops are in general subject to some sort of rotation within the physical limits of each croft unit; oats are usually undersown with grass when the arable is to be left unploughed for a period but the "sown grass for pasture" is
[314] largely reseeded pasture land. The rest of the croft is left for pasture and hay, and, in many cases the cutting of peat - a sure sign of agricultural decline. The inbye economy depends upon so many unpredictable variables that it becomes extremely difficult to generalise about the areas thus used. Forty-seven gardens exist in the Berneray region, but many of them are almost 'notional' and others are merely potato patches: perhaps half-a-dozen are at all well cultivated, for flowers or food.

241 The main change in the crops grown, apart from the introduction of sown grass, has
178 been in the corn crops, where barley has been completely displaced by oats. Barley was grown up to 1936 - at least in Crulivig - and gave a good crop. It used to be pulled, (not scythed), stacked, then the ears cut off with a sickle and the stalks used for thatching. Probably the disappearance of thatch and the replacement of barley bread by the products of the town bakery account for the decline in barley. Fewer potatoes are grown than formerly: this directly reflects the decline in population. The absence of turnips is due at least in part to the heavy incidence of finger-and-toe disease.

000 weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Mains electricity was installed
354 7 years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas and peat. The chief source of fuel for heating purposes is peat, although a little coal may be used.

427 There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions, a small-holding of 15
[341] acres formerly the Mill, and 10 feus, all of which are worked as 54 units. The crofts lie as long narrow strips in a NE - SW direction from the moorland to the sea. All are at least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some crofters are, at the moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land completely.

241 The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a little clover mixture is sown for hay, many crofters find that the natural grass is sufficient for their needs. Vegetables are produced in a few gardens, but most people do not have enough time or interest to bother with them. Flowers rarely flourish owing to the lack of shelter.

311 Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and the land nearest the shore,
[178] part of which was once cultivated on a run-rig system is now unfenced and used entirely for grazing together with some peat cutting. A piece of the common grazing has been improved by application of shell sand and chemical fertilisers and reseeded. This experiment in which almost the whole township took part has proved very successful and there are plans for further reseeding. Details of crops are given in Appendix C.

[147] Although the tractors of which there are two in the township are used wherever possible,
[231] the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for potatoes. Much hay is cut by mower but scythes are used to a large extent. There is still one horse in the township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its owner.

233 The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e. 2½ times the souming which here is 2 cows and 5 sheep per £1 sterling rent. 40 crofters keep sheep but none have sufficient to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Many lambs are lost on the
231 moors during the summer and more fail to survive the winter. The number of cattle kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each household to keep 1 cow and 1 calf which is generally sold after 6 months when a subsidy can be claimed. Breasclete has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Most households keep sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1938. Now it is not necessary as fewer cows are kept than formerly. With the reduction in numbers of stock the common pastures close to the village are being colonised by heather.

22/ The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditches are cleaned and the
241 land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilised and sown with oats and
233 potatoes. The sheep are dipped and by the 10th of May must be out on the moors as the
[314] crofts are then closed to common grazings. Soon after this peats are cut on the moors two or three miles from the village. After about 20 days the peats are lifted and carried to the Penland Road by tractor where they are stacked to await the lorry which takes them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the fank for shearing and the cows are usually brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the croft is not fenced they must be tethered. At the end of June the clover is cut, while the potatoes must be cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped. Natural grass is cut for hay and if there is any first year sown grass this may yield a second crop in September, together with the corn harvest. When the potatoes have been lifted in October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for the winter. Final dipping takes place in November.

162 Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 years and 57 are over 65 years of age. Of the resident tenants 9 are between 15 and 44 years, 19 are between 44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on persons are periodically
000 away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 29 are permanently away. Since 1939,

[Seaforthhead]

161 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural
162 and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend,
166 significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment furth of Park, and a smaller loss
167 migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric,
241 there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration
222 losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of
152 6.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Caibost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seaforthhead and Shieldernish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

135 Seaforthhead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a
161 gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being
[247] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

134 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat
137 accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely
[255] for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Aird Ghruach and Balallan and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

[246] The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and
the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed.
[407] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be
[319] in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the
[251] township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep soum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the soum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in
162 1886. In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the
241
178

[Caversta]

241 Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter
291 holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for fanking or other purposes
and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes
[221] are normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered,
and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for
black leg, braxy and louping ill, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third
week of May.

231 The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep soum, but the overall
233 stocking is only 88 per cent of the total souming. Two crofts only exceed their individual soums,
while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however,
poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuable for wintering the
[236] hogge. Lewis Blackface sheep are the predominant breed and the wool, clipped in July, is sold to
the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter house. The 1958 loss
at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the growth of grass for the
ewes. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four
or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on
[227] the crofts. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early-born calves may be
sold in the Autumn at six months old, those born later must be wintered to eight months until the
Spring sales. The cows are served by the Department of Agriculture Highland bull at Habost, but
although good prices are obtained for beef cattle, it is felt that for the family milk supply, a dairy
bull would produce a better strain.

241 In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. In
244 most cases the land under each crop is less than half an acre and nowhere does it exceed two acres.
245 The land has been built up into lazybeds about six to ten feet wide, separated by open drainage
[307] channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor (hired from Habost)
is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not
altogether suitable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by
marsh and steep faces of bare rock.

[691] Neither Torista nor Caversta is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the
road near Cromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and
an inferior footpath joining the main road at Garyvard. The lack of a good road within the dyke
acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilisers. Byre manure is used on all
the crofts and seaweed is brought from the shore and spread on the lazybeds. Artificial manures,
used on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. This lack of incentive
to improve is perhaps even more marked by the fact that on one holding alone is a rotation
practised - potatoes, oats undersown with clover, then hay for three or four years. Apart from
this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the same strips for many years.
Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay and is often cut from lazybeds that were formerly cultivated.
On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridges can be seen to have a
crescentic shape and are thought to date back more than one hundred years. A short distance beyond
the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonised by heather.

314 Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch within the dyke, is cut
379 on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and later brought home by
382 creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens and all keep up to
twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the larders, are also maintained.

In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Caversta and seven at
[501] Torista. After 1881, when maximum figures of fifty-nine and nineteen were noted, there was a
161 secondary peak in 1911 in Caversta, followed by a steady drop to twenty in 1951 and eighteen in 1958.
162

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed
241 clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerab
291 by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtain
[248] lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofts have
237 vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced
324 crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

221 The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not
231 enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throught the winter and
no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only
233 seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the soum. Lambing takes
[236] place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are
clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it
spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the secon
week of August and then dipped; November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his
own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March
so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The cows are served by an
Aberdeen-Angus bull from Crobeg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle
remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee
is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing
without special permission, or on fank days.

178 Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until
the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under
233 cultivation and from an an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips
311 above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land b
[242] this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazin
it is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the
[314] road between Caversta and Gravir, about three miles south- south-east of Cromore and one mile
north of Gravir.

17 Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore
228 fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men
who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this,
[506] however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and,
in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo
vessels bringing goods to Park.

288 In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained b
[433] road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airidhvruach. At present the average production is
only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. Duri
the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime
[236] but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

162 In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the
166 middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have
167 been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisti
164 with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

491 Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by
[434] road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a v
which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by
[493] boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the
haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recen
additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no
366 shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday;

[Marivig]

231 There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while [235] all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

314 Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of 482 the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft, 228 and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway 501 and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

463 Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the 464 roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual 468 migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the 467 permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school - over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine 462 (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young 471 people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

205 The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a 206 shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There 366 is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road 496 which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much 458 better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig 491 and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

346

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the 363 sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while 361 the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain 342 and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron. 377 All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply: 312 rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

829 The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the 900 crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

[Orinsay]

253 The future existence of the common pasture for grazing is being seriously endangered by overstocking. The souming is not enforced in Orinsay and the actual sheep stock exceeds the [314] by 300 per cent. Peat-cutting is gradually destroying valuable grazing areas; in the last three years there has even been some peat cutting on the better grazing on the island. The dangers of overstocking and of indiscriminate peat cutting cannot be overstressed.

311 No evidence was seen of attempts to improve the quality of the common pasture. The esta 292 ment of shelter belts would provide not only shelter but a means of stopping the peat from 'slu down slopes if they were carefully sited. Much of the common pasture could be improved by drainage scheme and by re-seeding, after sanding and liming, a project well within the capaci the resident labour force.

241 Good crops on a few of the crofts suggest that the land is not inherently sterile, however, it would seem that if the holdings were reduced to a maximum of four, an economic existence be feasible on these crofts. The stony nature of the soil limits the possibilities of tractor cul but with an improvement in drainage, one might be used in the two valleys.

464 It is not so easy to be optimistic about the employment of surplus population resulting fro [268] such an enlargement of holdings, although a revival in the fishing industry could absorb most of the present there are no looms in Orinsay and providing the Harris tweed industry can hold its ov are possibilities in weaving. Seaweed is in plentiful supply. Indeed Lemreway people also ob [324] supplies and should its quality prove adequate, the establishment of a processing plant would p valuable employment.

000 Nevertheless it is becoming increasingly obvious that unless the holdings can be enlarged, officially or by sub-letting, and some further employment created, Orinsay is liable to stagna depopulation to continue. The township which was developed to relieve congestion is now itse congested.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

121 The aim of the Glasgow University Department of Geography Crofting Survey is to record analyse material relevant to the crofting districts, and in so doing provide a clear and impart statement of the present situation. In inviting us to undertake a survey of Park, the Pairc As tion hoped that a body of fact would be assembled and conclusions drawn which would assist th Association in their admirable aims of advancing the well-being of the area. Their two Prog Reports, of 1956 and 1957, indicate that they have already investigated many of the possibiliti development. This summary refers to Park alone, and, it must be emphasised that until the of crofting is completed, no final assessment of the Crofting Area as a whole can be made.

182 The district of Park is one of the more isolated and difficult crofting environments. The of the terrain, the high proportion of land of very low agricultural value and sheer isolation 175 existence of human communities precarious. In addition, many of the Park communities wer 311 established as a result of population pressure in more favourable areas of Lewis, and the ori small settlements grew rapidly as a result of a change in land use which was a national trend conversion of poorer areas from subsistence farming to an extensive sheep-rearing economy impact of this change came to Park in the form of the eviction of a large body of small farme favour of an extension of the grazing area. Thus the present conditions are a legacy of the re recent past, and of legislation, particularly in the Crofters' Act of 1886, which accepted, an agreed to the maintenance of a larger population than the land could reasonable carry. Two [161] Wars and fluctuating economic factors have had repercussions in Park and resulted in a chan [162] economic and social values, and depopulation has resulted: the 1951 population was 60 per ce the 1911 total.

1. The Commissioners proposed that only holdings rented at £6 and over should have secur tenure, with a view to discouraging the perpetuation of grossly uneconomic holdings; in t all holdings were given security of tenure.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

133 most northerly outlier, yet, in the main, one is struck not by the variety of rocks (except for the 'Stornoway Beds') but by their homogeneity. It is structure, causing the uplift of certain masses relatively to others, more than differences in rock-type, which has guided the work of erosion, in sculpturing both the Island's plan and the details of its forms. Submergence of the land has fretted the coastline into a zigzag line of ridge-capes alternating with valley-mouths flooded or 'drowned' by the sea, as inlet and loch.

• 316 Historically the gneisses were of little value. The fact that they tend to split still helps the Islander in building, [174] as it helped his ancestors when they raised the great stone [172] circles at Callanish on East Loch Roag. Except where they are very basic (non-acid) in composition, they make [135] poor road metal. Yet the gneisses are not quite devoid of economic minerals, which include masses of pegmatite, and the only large body of anorthosite or lime-feldspar rock in Britain, conceivably a source of alumina for glass [439] manufacture.[1] Two feldspar quarries opened at Lingarbay and Northton in South Harris in 1941 employed sixty men during the war, the mineral being despatched from Leverburgh for use in the Staffordshire Potteries in the manu- [178] facture of porcelain insulators. The higher grade mineral in Scandinavia and the better transport facilities there led to closing the quarries, with little hope of their reopening.[2]

4. *Land-forms and Sea Floor*

133 To the faulted structure is due not only the Island plan, but the highland in middle and south, uplifted rela-

[113] [1] C. F. Davidson, "The Archaean Rocks of the Rodel District", *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.*, vol. 61, 1943, pp. 71-112.
[2] J. B. Caird, "The Isle of Harris", *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67, 2, 1951, p. 92.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

134 Alluvial soils have developed along the lower reaches of Amnuinn Thoraghair and the Erista river.

137 There are no trees apart from an occasional stunted rowan or willow - willows for [024] creel making grow still in some old garden enclosures. Hedges, too, are rare so, althou individual houses are often carefully sited, there is little cover and the townships as a whole are very exposed to westerly gales. The natural vegetation developed on the machai is of fine closely matted grasses with a good deal of natural clover - very similar to that found on chalk downland. On the peaty moorland the usual moor grasses mosses and heather are dominant, though little encroachment by bracken was noticed.

In Crowlista the strip layout of the crofts dates from a lotting about 1850, (Figure 14) 311 in the new townships, laid out about 1921 (Figure 15) the majority of the crofts are 361 less strip-like and do not run to the shore. Indeed in Ardroil and Timsgarry only five 427 out of twenty-two reach the shore and the rocky headlands with their machair are valuable parts of the common pasture. The six crofts in Carnish run from the shore at the foot of the esker up its flank towards the southwest and almost to its summit. They also have one or two small plots each on the machair.

[133] Crofts in Ardroil are in one piece. An old cattle road forms the north west boundary; from this they rise, steeply in places, to undulating moorland just over 200' high. Numbe 5 - 8 Timsgarry are strips across the Erista valley, rising northwards to just over 170'; 2, 3 and 4 are allotted to make use of arable land on the lower slopes of Knock Valabrie. The houses of crofts No. 1 Timsgarry and No. 1 Ardroil are the former farmhouses.

[417] In Crowlista most of the crofts remain unfenced but in Carnish, Ardroil and Timsgarry all are fenced and many of the fences were being repaired or replaced in 1959. They are not open for common grazing during the winter. Patches of sown hay are fenced within each croft.

• [36] There are six recognised croft-holdings in Carnish; one is sub-let so that there are only five "operative" units; two of those are not worked. One has been resumed by the proprietors and is being quarried as an extension of the main quarry between the township dyke and main road. In Ardroil each of the fourteen crofts is worked as a unit - though two carry no stock; in Timsgarry eight crofts are worked as seven units.

In contrast to the above, the old settlement of Crowlista has twenty-five recognised crofts but, by amalgamation and sub-letting these are worked as fourteen units. The Crowlista crofts are small - fourteen are 4.0 acres or less and of those only one is worked as a unit. Crofts as small as 1.5 acres and with a soum of eight sheep can never have been intended to support a family; they are the result of sub-division in earlier generations; the remains of two piers and a curing house point to the importance of [464] fishing in the past. Twenty-one men were employed in fishing boats about 1914. Sub-letting usually takes place between relatives; of some of the fourteen operative units are quite complicated. One example will suffice (croft numbers are here replaced by letters to prevent publication of personal matters):-

Crofts a, b, c and d are worked as a unit (although they are not adjacent). The tenant of a and b sub-lets c and d for grazing; he also helps with the work on yet a fifth croft. The present b is half of an original croft. West of the road the original croft is held in fixed runrig between b and another croft, not part of this multiple "working" unit; east of the road it has been divided into separate strips. The tenant lives on b.

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogge but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whole
[427] is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hogge on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hogge
[232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hogge that are sent. The minister at Timsgarry, who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well; the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their soming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked.
[239] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.[1]

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
175 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on
[361] each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grazed, are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Amhuinn Thoraghain and Ailt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area, still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

464 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment.
228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil, three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

464 Mitchele's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
[316] ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present.
712 The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two
377 Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric scheme
446 site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

1. [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF LEWIS

('Bernera and Bernera Shore')

by

P. Wheeler

131 Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of Bernera Island (Breaclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the "Shore"
[103] (Earshader, Crulivig and Lundale together with the isolated township of Linshader), presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isolation
[491] Bernera Island, though central to most of Uig and easily accessible over the sheltered waters of Loch Roag, yet remained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent building of the road bridge; even now it is necessary to travel over six miles to get from
[181] the bridge to the main Uig road and a further four miles to Garynahine. Consequently the island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements, has a very close-knit and self-sufficing population. Whether this community retains sufficient vitality to resist the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces eroding rural and especially Highland life, remains to be seen.

13 The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the Intro-
228 duction. Like the other districts it has virtually no valuable mineral resources (1), and the herring and white fish industries have all but disappeared and seem unlikely to
[173] resuscitated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted with vigour and enterprise; it
464 provides a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on regular or casual employment to eke out the proceeds of the croft. The kinds of work
[164] available, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employment are common to the whole parish; thus this account is mainly concerned with the problems of crofting agriculture.

Settlement: history and patterns.

172 The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is partly very old, and partly very recent. At least four brochs are known on Bernera and various
361 standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous settlement has survived from the
[173] early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form as in the graveyard on little Bernera, or in oral tradition. All this contributes towards the very close network of family relationships that binds the island folk and to a lesser extent those of the adjacent mainland.

175 With the exceptions of Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete, all Bernera Island had been
361 cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1878 when twelve families were moved from Bosta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere. Occasionally (as at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance lotting patterns were re-adopted, but usually settlement was laid out afresh. The townships of Bernera Shore, were also affected: all the small tenants except those of Earshader and Crulivig were cleared, leaving the land under the sheep farms of West Earshader and Linshader. However, the Bernera Island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of shellings on the mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these grazings to their present position marked the

[316] (1) A small deposit of diatomite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a few men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

wnships the large crofter is given an allocation in 427
ion to his rent. The payment of his rent also entitle 241 [233]
fter to gather seaweed along the coast for fertilizer 221
cut peat for fuel on the common grazing or in special 314 ●
eas. In a number of townships he has a further right [233]
ure his rams in a "tup park" and his horses in a "horse
These are lowlying areas of improved pasture. There
general picture.

here are three important exceptions to the typical 427
f land tenure. First, there are the Glendale crofters 423
their land. Each individual has purchased his croft, 421
members of each township own the common grazing col-
ly. Before the law they are no longer entitled to the [254]
s of crofting status because, by legal definition, the
is a small farmer who rents his land. Second, there [233]
crofters of six Kilmuir townships who have individual
f "outrun," good lowlying cattle pastures, in addition
normal crofter's holding. Even though the Glendale
s are landowners and the Kilmuir crofters have their
tle pasture, they are subject to "souming" regulations.
there are a few large, isolated crofts which are self-
ed units. The individual has his own cultivated land,
, and rough grazing. In reality, many of these large
s are farms, but as long as the annual rent does not
£30, the benefits of crofting status are not withdrawn.
fter, of course, stocks his holding as he thinks best.
he Irish and Scottish Highland systems of land use

mamured, harrowed, and limed his fields. Normally, he will 221
have a tractor to speed his work. In the meantime his wife 241 [363]
prepares her small kitchen garden. By the time he has sown 221
his oats and set his potatoes and turnips, the ewe sheep are 231
ready for lambing. Lambing begins during the last week or two
of April and runs through the middle of May. This is one [462]
activity which is exclusively man's work. It is also a chore
which demands an early start from individuals who are normally
late risers, seldom getting started before eight or nine in
the morning. Now, all day long, from early morning until late
at night, day after day, the crofter or his shepherd are found
on the hill watching and waiting for the lambs and their
natural enemies, the crow, the hawk, and the fox. During this
time, he does not neglect feeding his cattle nor finishing
putting in his crop if inclement weather has hindered his
progress. Then, too, he may have a cow ready to calve. His [462]
wife will then add milking to her regular household duties.
Men have only recently begun to milk.

After lambing, the family must decide whether or not 221
they are going to take time out for cutting peat. As I have 314 ●
already said, it is unlikely that the man of the house will
want to bother. He has enough to do caring for the sheep and 221
lambs and preparing his cattle for the May markets. Although 231
he could attend the local sales which are held at convenient 432
locations around the island, the large crofter has found the
mainland market of Dingwall attracts buyers willing to pay
higher prices.

As far as I know only one attempt has ever been made by the 231
smaller holders to sell their cattle at the large mainland 432
markets since the last drove left Skye in 1906. There was a
feeling at the close of the Second World War among the crofters
that they were not receiving a fair price at the local sales.
The Scottish Wholesale and Cooperative Society, which had be-
come interested in the Highland Problem, offered to handle the
marketing. Their cattle buyer, a man of wide experience, found
the Skye cattle to be of high quality and suggested shipping
them to the Stirling market. This is one of the largest in
Scotland has the advantage of attracting a full range of buyers.
Since the cattle were not at their best after the long sea
voyage, they were provided with hay and pasture for a week
after arrival. Unfortunately, a disease epidemic in the
South forced a postponement of the market. Nevertheless, they
arrived at the auction block in good condition. The prices
obtained, an average of £1 or £2 more than they normally re-
ceived at the local sales, convinced the crofters that there
was no advantage in selling on the mainland. Actually, if
the Society had not paid the expenses of shipment and feed,
the crofters would have suffered a slight loss. Those who
attend the Dingwall sales say they used the wrong market.

While the man who devotes all of his time to his 221
pastoral-agricultural occupation finds it uneconomical to 314 ●
bother with gathering seaweed for manure, fishing, or cutting 241
peat, the crofter of the category we are discussing often
adheres more closely to the traditional cycle. After the

lambing season, the crofter and his family go out on the moor 221
to cut their peat for the following winter. The man uses a 241
"tusker," a two-bladed spade, to cut the peat. His wife or 314 ●
his children follow behind, tossing the peats out of the ditch [313]
and building small, loose stacks for drying. After the lambs
have been marked and the sheep dipped in June and the shearing
finished in July, the family returns to the banks to carry
the peats to the nearest road, actually a beaten cart path,
in creels. They are then carted home and stacked near the door.
There is a growing tendency for both the part-time and spare- 314
time crofter to give up cutting peat. It is not because coal 198
is cheaper or he needs time for other pressing chores. His 241
auxiliary occupation will not permit his devoting the necessary [464]
time to this long and arduous task. He is caught between the
traditional economic patterns and the money economy of which
he has become a part.

The year for our part-time crofter, as for all active 221
crofters ends in November. By then the oat and hay harvest has 241
been stacked by the house and the potatoes and turnips stored 236
in the ground, the wool shipped off to market, the surplus [233]
sheep and cattle have gone to market, and the rams are on the
hill. Now follows a period of enforced idleness, broken by
feeding the cattle. As we have seen many go away to find [464]
employment, leaving the care of the croft to their wives who [543]
have shared the work of crofting in addition to their own
womanly responsibilities. We must turn to the spare-time
crofter to discover just how heavy the burden of labor may [462]
depend upon the women of Skye.

strongly about this infringement of the traditional norms. 837
Gossip spreads very rapidly. The offenders are said to be 434
"no better than the tinkers." While tinkers are respected [564]
because they have the power of the evil eye, they are not [754]
accorded any more prestige than we would give a beggar. All
who have any contact with the neighborhood or the village
where the deviants live soon know all the details. Since [367]
most of the adulterers on Skye have been in Portree, it adds
another brick to the wall which separates the rural neighbor-
hoods and the trade-center village. The offenders normally
leave Skye as quickly as possible.

The Sgriathanach cannot be said to have a strong sense 423
of property, or, more correctly, the land is valued as a 421
place of residence and identity not as something to be bought
and sold. We have seen that he uses his land communally and
that he often will not leave a will for the house, not to
mention his land. Even though the state thinks otherwise, he
looks upon the natural resources of the island as his for the
taking. At the same time, he normally respects the fruits of 421
his neighbor's labor. Any one can cut peat on the moor, but 314 ●
no one, except an unthinking tourist, would take a piece of
turf once it had been cut. In a similar way, the children are 257
generally well behaved. In the village there is a bit of stone
throwing, a little profanity, and uncommonly some drinking on
the sly, but rarely do children show any disrespect for the
rights of others. One contractor, a Lowlander who came up to
Skye to make alterations on the school, was amazed. Skye

315

315 OIL AND GAS WELLS--exploration for oil and natural gas; methods of extraction (e.g., skimming, drilling); use of special apparatus; pipelines, pumping stations, and storage tanks; special precautions against fire and explosion; organization of labor and production; specialized personnel; regulation; etc.
See also:
Natural resources 13
Hearing and lighting appliances 364
Urban fire protection 365
Fire and fuel 375
Petroleum refining 395
Manufacture of drilling machinery 395
Drilling machinery 405

better economic units. There could well be plants for fish meal 433
and canning, working in conjunction with fish-farming ventures. 185

Perhaps one of the most significant events which have occurred was the formation in 1972 of the Lewis Development Fund Limited. The Company has the following aims:

1. To strengthen and expand the economy of Lewis and in consequence that of the Western Isles by promoting and encouraging the development of all the natural, economic and industrial resources of Lewis and the Western Isles.
2. To encourage the repopulation of the Western Isles and to encourage industries in the island to obtain the necessary staff and labour.
3. To encourage the building of shops, factories, public works, churches, places of amusement and any other works which the company might think fit.
4. To encourage tourism.
5. To promote and carry on businesses such as building, fishing, buying and selling, agriculture and manufacturing, etc.

The Company has given itself wide powers to lend and borrow money. A target of £150,000 is envisaged, which funds will then be used to help all kinds of economic and socio-economic ventures.

Surveys carried out in the Minch area in 1971 by British 315 •
Petroleum and the Gas Council have indicated the possibility of oil. While there are no signs of the traditional anticlines—the dome-shaped geological structures—which normally signify the presence of commercial quantities of oil or gas, there are hopes for secondary sources in the more complicated rock-structures which could be oil-bearing. The sea-bed of the Minch is young rock of the type which bears oil in other parts of the world.

The assumption, in 1974, by the Western Isles Regional 185
Authority of most of the functions of the mainland local authori- 433
ties is thought by many to be a chance to sink or swim. Having been for so many decades under the thumb of external influences, the islands now are being given the opportunity to devise relevant methods for ensuring their socio-economic viability in the future.

All in all, the island is going through a period of re-stocking,

316

316 MINING AND QUARRYING—minerals exploited (e. g., flint, coal, iron); methods of extraction; mining engineering; economic importance of mining and quarrying; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Metal industries	35	Mining machinery	402
Mineral resources	136	Digging tools	412
Stone industries	294	Mining schools	874
Explosives	389		

Keepint the sea-
weeds company are the whelks, razor-fish, limpets and mussels, 136
winkles and barnacles, many once used for food, but now left to [262]
grow in great numbers, to the delight of seabirds.

For anyone who wishes to have a full list of the richness of fishes found in the inshore waters of the island, there is the Harvie-Brown and Buckley volume (1888) in the *Vertebrate Fauna of Scotland* series. Of the ocean fauna, most famous of course are the common and the grey or Atlantic seals, the latter being one of the largest and most robust of British mammals. A great breeding place for the common seal is the island of Shillay, which lies a mile or two from Pabbay, off the western end of the Sound of Harris. All the island's outliers, North Rona, Sulasgeir and the Shiants, afford a place for breeding. The basking shark, the porpoise, and the blue shark are among other large creatures that frequently haunt Hebridean sea-waters.

LAND WEALTH

135 In minerals the island is poor. Feldspar was quarried in Harris
• 316 during the second world war, but it is doubtful whether the workings were economic. The feldspar quarries opened at Lingerbay and Northton in South Harris in 1941 employed some sixty men, the material being sent from Leverburgh for use in the Staffordshire Potteries, for the manufacture of porcelain insulators. The high-grade mineral found in Scandinavia, and the better transport facilities there, led to the close-down of the Harris quarries. At Lingerbay, however, a small quarry yields anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive for cleaning products. A recent survey discovered deposits of asbestos on the island of Scarp to the west of Harris.

135 For some reason there has been, through the centuries, a be-
#195 lief in the mineral wealth of Lewis. As far back as 1616 the records of the Privy Council show an entry: 'Ane patent ardanit to be past to Archibald Prymrois of the copper and lead mynes in Ila, Sky and Lewis.' The Fife Adventurers and the last Lord Seaforth were also optimistic. Lord Seaforth went so far as to commission a survey on the resources of the island by a mineralogist, the Rev James Headrick, in 1800. Nothing much followed Mr

621
631 has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway
[505] and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway,
[494] and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West
[361] Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes six-
[366] teen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population
[368] within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a
[873] post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream.

Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a
[504] fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a re-fuelling point for ships.

464 The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as
[167] Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing
463 ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The
[241] main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being
[434] augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate
[286] on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from
[386] their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the
[226] tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Road-
[464] work gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

• 316 An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

316 •
Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in 464
the services sector.

The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be 484
tapped. MacBrayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity [505]
of 50 cars and 600 passengers, makes two or three trips a day between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than two hours. The mainstays of tourist accommodation in Harris are 484
the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning 485
fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist 529
attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by offering [226]
full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant lets.

An interesting tourist venture has been started at Rhenigidale. 484
A rough, stony track, one of the most tortuous and exciting in 487
Britain, takes its leave from the main road over a ridge. It twists 529
and turns in and out of gullies, over cliffsides and across the steep heather-clad slopes of the Toddum, a dramatic little hill of 1,730 ft which protects Rhenigidale village from the Atlantic gales. The [205]
seven-mile track is the only marked route, though crofters take a shorter way to the north over pathless bogs; the local postman makes a round of about 60 foot miles in the week, walking this track and on to Tarbert three times in all weathers. The village 504
relies on its sheltered harbour with a good natural rock pier: 361
most communication is by water, all food and fuel coming that 505
way. In past times every household owned a boat for lobster and 501
shell fishing to supplement both diet and finances. Today the 226
interest in fishing has declined, as has the population. But in 1946 485
Mr Herbert Gatliff paid his first visit to Harris, discovered what the island had to offer, and started a campaign to convince hostelling interests of the need to make some investment in the Western Isles. A croft house in Rhenigidale was in 1961 equipped as a hostel, and under what is now the Gatliff Trust it is maintained for hardy trekkers, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association making a grant for running costs. Many visitors have found that the place offers a degree of happiness corresponding with its remoteness from civilisation.

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[For information on collection of peat, see category 314.]

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3: Geddes

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[For information on collection of peat, see category 314.]

ES10 Highland Scots ES10

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

342 maintained—once an important aid to the survival of half-
343 starved cattle. A slope from the dwelling-quarters down to the byre facilitates drainage: normally the length of the
[178] homestead follows the slope. The separation of house from byre took place in Harris and Uist over seventy years ago by County Council decision, but in most of Lewis, even in 1947, about 40 per cent of the homesteads were
342 of the primitive type, outwardly but little changed. This separate cottage, as in Harris, is a shapely little structure, roughly symmetrical and particularly pleasing when the walls are whitewashed below the pale-gold thatch.

342 The surviving 'black house' is a stone structure. As
343 Stevens has written, "the rock of the island is hard to
[314] work, and hard to win", and may be covered by peat. Undressed stones are collected and sometimes carried for
[324] long distances. Before dynamite came into use, a very large stone could be broken up by lighting a peat fire on it, then dashing cold water over it. By an old Gaelic custom, the bachelors of a township used to help to build the house for one of their friends who was about to marry.
[333] Lime for mortar being absent from the island, the walls are built dry. The wall is double, the space between being filled with earth. Hence it may be six feet thick
[354] at the base, though barely six feet high. Typical primitive houses lacked windows, only a little light entering through the smoke vent and through a piece of oiled skin, replaced latterly by a pane of glass let into the thatch of the roof or by a deep window aperture in the wall.

342 Roof building is a difficult problem in construction,
343 on account of the scarcity of timber and the strength of
313 the winds, and explains the narrow plan. Wood was so scarce that when a house was abandoned the frame of the
[182] roof was removed, the spars being the tenant's; but in

[422]
[178]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

326

326 SMITHS AND THEIR CRAFTS--nonindustrialized specialization in metallurgical crafts; types of specialists (e.g., blacksmiths, coppersmiths, tinsmiths, silversmiths, goldsmiths, gunsmiths); special skills and services of each; products not elsewhere described; organization (e.g., guilds); social status of smiths; etc. See also:

Tools, weapons, utensils, and appliances . . . 41
Jewelers 306
Industrial specialization in metallurgical processes 327, 328

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

(A) TRANSITION: MIGRATION, FISHING AND KELP-MAKING

175 433 [621] [427] [794] [437] UNTIL the 'Forty-five the township had lived an almost self-contained life. Its traditional economy was self-sufficient except for two indispensable commodities—salt for the housewife and iron for the smith. Beyond this, the chief demand for payment was the rent to the lord, with tithes for the kirk. For these needs and demands a step towards production for exchange was required, the more so that what was exported might include the very necessities of life in 'bad years'. The rent was paid largely by the sale of a surplus steer or two, and 175 317 drovers called for the cattle. By 1790, if not before, two or three open boats set out annually from Uig, for instance, 436 for Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. Although salt seems of little account today, it once bulked [435] large in the Budget, its price being heightened by duty, especially after 1707: "as dear as salt", was a saying, *cho* [251] *daor ris an t-salluinn*. Salt was needed to preserve the carcase of a 'cattle-beast' or sheep killed in autumn, and 175 433 for cod and herring curing. Wrecks were valuable, as on all infertile undeveloped coastlands, both for their timber and their iron. Cairds or tinkers occasionally brought [326] metal goods; or a packman called, as strange a figure then [443]

133 Over most of the parish the natural landscape is a series of low plateaux, generally below 250' O.D. around East Loch Roag, but rising westwards to an extensive platform with many summits around 500'-700'. Into this platform, towards its western edge, is incised the narrow trough containing Little Loch Roag. Above it rise the deeply dissected mountains of North Harris and south west Uig, with many precipitous slopes reaching to 1,500' or more and summits to 1,885'. The discontinuity between plateau and mountain is particularly well displayed along the Atlantic coast, where it corresponds roughly with the junction of granite and gneiss; an even more severe discontinuity, but formed entirely in gneiss; is to be seen near the south end of Loch Langavat. Liuthaid (1,611' O.D.) rises more than 1,400' in less than a mile. The mountains, although lacking height, are therefore spectacular in appearance. The low plateaux are far from featureless, too; their surfaces have been roughened and scraped bare by ice action and numerous hollows preserve shallow lochans and a few larger lakes. Occasional rocky hillocks rise 20'-100' above the plateaux; their abrupt discontinuity with the smooth surfaces is entirely comparable, though in miniature, with that of the mountains. They resemble nothing more than tropical inselberge and have no apparent structural explanation.

Unconsolidated superficial material, such as would provide sub-soil drainage and suitable raw material for soil formation, is rare. The characteristic surface almost everywhere is bare rock, often blanketed by peat at lower levels and on gentle slopes. Morainic material is most commonly preserved in hollows; peri-glacial conditions and, 135 more recently, heavy rainfall have swept clear most of the higher and steeper places. In the east and north east, e.g. around Loch Carloway, a sticky grey clay with large boulders is sometimes seen; the coarse gravelly drifts of south Uig have already been mentioned. It is impossible to make any useful generalisations regarding the characteristics and distribution of the boulder clays because their occurrence is so sporadic and exposures, [317] beneath the peat blanket, are rare. Very occasionally, e.g. in Bernera, a finely bedded dull bluish or greenish grey clay is seen which is said to have been used for coarse pottery. This may be a lacustrine deposit of late glacial or early post glacial times or it might be a marine clay of the same period; there is however, no clear example of a raised beach in the area, which, were it present, might support the latter suggestion. [317] Since our visit a lacustrine deposit of diatomite has been exploited on a small scale in Bernera.

Extensive deposits of fine white sand occur around Uig bay and in the Valtos-Kneep-Reef area; smaller deposits occur at Mangersta and Mealasta. Except at Cliff bay, Valtos, where it contains a high mineral content, the sand consists largely of finely broken shell debris. This blows readily and is found inland for half a mile or more and as high as 100' O.D., thus providing a natural surface dressing rich in lime. There are extensive machairs (sandy plains) at Kneep and Reef, and smaller ones at Uig bay, Mangersta, and Bosta (Bernera). Little cultivation takes place on the machairs nowadays.

133 In the whole parish little soil, such as would be recognised by a lowland farmer, is to 134 be found. The most usual surface features are bare rock and blanket bog; arable land, h meadows and improved pastures are generally made on peat, gathered together into long [407] narrow beds - so-called "lazy beds" - separated by deep ditches. This expedient may [23] mean that the use of tractors is impossible; since horses have almost disappeared, cultivation in such cases, if carried out at all, must now be by the spade alone. This is 133 the traditional method of lazy-bed work; it may be very productive in terms of yield per 134 square yard but it is pathetically unproductive in terms of man-hours. In some areas it 241 is clear that it has led to soil erosion. Even where the size and lay-out of the beds permits tractor work the tractor probably spends as much time manoeuvering into position and turning, as it does ploughing. In a few places, e.g. some of the East Loch Roag

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 7]

Something has to be done to keep the people here." A Glendale crofter put it more forcibly: "There aren't enough men in Glendale to man a row boat. They've lost experience. One crew after the last war lost their boat because they didn't know how to use it. If depopulation isn't stopped, there soon will be no need for any of these remedies." Fishing, then, is one of those subjects which is often discussed and about which little is done. Let us turn to a consideration of the less traditional occupations open to the men of Skye and their womenfolk.

Minor Supplementary Industries

Diatomite. Diatomite, the siliceous remains of minute organisms laid down in fresh water lake beds, is found in quantity in drained Loch Cuithir, near Staffin. After extracting, drying, and pulverizing, during which process it loses 70 percent of its weight, it has innumerable industrial uses, ranging from filters for the manufacture of beer, sugar, fruit juices, and petroleum products, through abrasives, to fillers and insulation material. Attempts to work this large and high quality deposit go back seventy years. To date, however, the success has been indifferent. The omnipresent lack of capital, difficult access through rugged terrain, and technological barriers have been limiting factors. Within the last few years outside investment, about £180,000, with a limited amount of local capital has stimulated the industry once again. A road was built by the government to replace the old tramway, long in disrepair and

finally scrapped for ammunition. Drying sheds have been erected at Staffin. Power machinery for extraction has been brought in; a processing plant has been built at Uig with German equipment; and experienced men have been employed.

The industry is admirably suited to the island. The great weight-losing properties of the raw material, the scarcity value of good deposits, and the large commercial demand combine to offset the high cost of transportation from which most export items suffer. It is estimated by the directors of the company, an English concern, at least that fifty men will eventually be employed in the pit and at the plant. They will be given regular employment, five days a week in three shifts. In addition to building the access road the government, through the Department of Agriculture, has leased the site, and the Inverness County Council has erected subsidized housing at Uig to encourage the venture. When the Secretary of State presided at the opening of the plant in May, 1954, he spoke of the promise the industry held for the Island's future, especially the prospect of regular employment. Up to June, 1954, however, the employment was irregular and limited to sixteen men.

The Skye Tweed Industry. About twenty-five years ago a small weaving and basketry shop was established at Duntulm in Kilmuir. The factor for the Department of Agriculture acted as manager, and the local Church of Scotland minister was the foreman. Later it was taken over by the Highland Home Industries, a cooperative, non-profit corporation.

323

323 CERAMIC INDUSTRIES--manufacture of pottery and glass; preliminary processing of materials (e.g., cleaning, mixing); shaping (e.g., modeling, use of molds, coiling, blowing); firing; special apparatus (e.g., potter's wheels, kilns); methods of decoration (e.g., glazing, painting, incising); ceramic products not elsewhere described; specialization (e.g., potters, glass blowers); industrially elaborated ceramic manufactures (e.g., bottle making, porcelain manufacture); etc. See also:

Acquisition of raw materials	317	Utensils	415
Brick manufacture	339	Optical instruments	416
Interior decorating	353	Decorative designs and motifs	531

175 Around this time, various factors had encouraged
[161] an increase in population. After Scotland's union with England in 1707, the prohibition on the import of cattle into England was lifted, and trade in cattle became economically more important (Day 1918: 26). The numerous wars of this period caused the price of cattle to double between 1736 and 1766 (Day 1918: 180). Clan warfare diminished; the potato was introduced; and vaccine for smallpox became available.

175 The increase in population led to an extreme
161 crowding of land in some areas, which made agricultural
[166] reform difficult. Many landlords tried to encourage tenants of their estates to emigrate. The appearance of a market for kelp, which lasted from the middle of the 18th century to about 1815, discouraged landlords from implementing policies of depopulation that would
175 diminish their labor force. An alkaline extract of
824 kelp was used in a variety of manufactured goods, such
• 323 as soap and glass. The seaweed was gathered by men,
388 women and children living along the coasts, and burned in rough open kilns. Tenants who worked at this
[465] occupation received L3-4, and the landlords L18-20, per ton (Mackinlay 1878: vii); the landlord received as high an income as L10,000 to L20,000 a year from the burning of kelp (Gray 1957: 42).

286 womenfolk, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five
462 families. In Lewis, male weavers were more common: one to
*175 every twenty-five families. The making of whisky was introduced
433 about the seventeenth century. This was in addition to the old drink of home-brewed beer or ale *(lionn)*, and much of it was
273 made to pay rents; it must have consumed a considerable quan-
*175 tity of valuable foodstuff. However, the spread of distillation as a
433 legitimate home industry by which the rent could be paid, in kind
[427] or by sale, was followed by legislation prohibiting all but very
[438] large stills; illegal distilling of course went on in a small way.

*175 It was, then, by a very narrow margin that subsistence was won
511 in the island some two centuries ago. Many times famine showed how close was the wolf to the island doors. The introduction of the potato, and the interest in the fishing industry led to an increase in the population, though as discussed in Chapter 3 this in turn brought more problems. Basically, the island economy had never been organised on a sound foundation, with the result that winds of change blew where they would with little or no control.

*175 A new factor in the island economy was introduced after 1750.
824 This was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed on the
• 323 shore for subsequent use in the manufacture of alkali for the glass
388 and soap industries. The first tentative move in the island was
433 made by MacLeod of Harris in 1748, when he allowed some Irish labourers to make kelp on his shores; so little was the product's value realised at the time that he only charged them 2s per ton manufactured. As the burning of kelp came to be understood, and the marketable value of the product ascertained, the native population set to. Between 1772 and 1864, about 50 tons were produced in Lewis each year, compared with some 800 tons per annum in the Uists; the Harris figure was 500-600 tons. The growth of the industry began to snowball, and the Minister of Lochs, writing in the *Old Statistical Account*, states that at the time (1796) some 50 tons were being produced in that parish per annum. In Stornoway parish, though no figure is available,
[221] the minister reports that kelp-burning was the principal manufacture, and that everyone able to fill a creel, or carry one, was employed at it for about three months of the year. Little of it seems to have been done in Barvas parish. The price of kelp varied

according to the amount of barilla (its great competitor, a carbonate of soda made from plant ashes) which found its way into the British market. When the American war interfered with the imports the kelp price was as high as £22 per ton. Prices began to decline about 1810, and from 1822 successive reductions in duties on salt and barilla resulted in the decline and demise of the kelp industry. As a consequence great distress appeared in those districts which had founded their whole economy on seaweed.

The weeds of most value to the industry, because they yielded most salts, included *laminaria digitata, laminaria bulbosa, ascophyllum nodosum* and *fucus serratus*. One ton of kelp yielded an average of 8 lb of iodine, with certain quantities of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, and carbonate of soda. When subjected to special treatment and distillation, 2-3 cwts of sulphate of ammonia, and several gallons of naphtha, paraffin oil, and volatile oil were also derived.

The fishing industry, discussed in the previous chapter, took over where the kelp-making industry left off and became another king-pin in the island economy. By the end of the last century it seemed set fair for continuing prosperity. In 1900, harbours were being planned and built with State aid in Uig, at Carloway, Ness and Tarbert. Then 1914 came, and with it sweeping changes in international trade. Island fishermen were left workless with wrecked and rotting fishing boats. In twenty years the number of Scotland's fishermen was halved; the remainder were all but ruined. The islanders' fate mirrored this pattern.

Yet another significant source of income for island families for almost 200 years came from the men in military service, who either sent money home or returned home with their gratuities and pay. In the wars of the last century many enlisted in the Highland regiments, the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Even today, the income from this external activity is not insignificant.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

Information and statistics about the economy of the island in the middle of the eighteenth century are to be found in Walker's *Economical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland*; his MS is in the British Museum.

landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time.

Wars brought enlistment in the Highland regiments, the Navy and Merchant Marine. Owing to migrations of all kinds, males came to be outnumbered by females, then as later (100 males to 114 females, 1931).[1] In Lewis in 1795 the proportion was 100 to 111, and in Harris 100 to 124. From this period onwards the 'export of men' continued, modified by the reserve for war. Men were trained for the Naval Reserve and Militia; and in 1900 for instance 800 men were training at Fort George and 2500 sailors were in the Reserve. The maintenance of a reserve for the Navy was one of the strongest pleas for the framing of the Crofters Act.

A new resource, important to the Islanders after 1750, was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed upon the shore, for use in the manufacture of alkali in the glass and soap industries. From 1770 onwards the price rose, heightened first by an import duty, then by the Napoleonic Wars. Estimating from the high prices, averaging over £10 per ton from 1800 to 1823, Sir John Sinclair put the value of the annual produce (20,000 tons) at £200,000. "It may appear surprising", he remarks, "how that sum could be of such importance to 80,000 people"; but he goes on to point out that this gave the additional cash needed to supplement their subsistence. But even when Sinclair wrote in 1825, the industry was in peril. Failure and loss occurred almost immediately after, with disastrous effect.

It is complained in the *New Statistical Account* that owing to the summer-time work of kelp-making up to 1830, the people could give little attention to the crofts, so that their extension must almost have ceased. Nor could

[1] In 1951 the ratio in Lewis was 100 males to 112 females, and in Harris, 100 to 110.

324

324 STONE INDUSTRY--methods of shaping stone (e.g., chipping, pecking, grinding); materials used; products not elsewhere described; special stone industries (e.g., carving of tombstones and monuments); specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Work in gems 306
Quarrying 316
Masonry 333
Cement manufacture 339
Monuments 349
Tools 412
Moving of heavy weights 483

31

7

175 827 463 [205] Whatever the rationalization, cobbler fathers begot cobbler sons. The present postmaster's grandfather was the first postmaster in Shawbost, and when help is needed in delivering the mail it is the postmaster's first [767] cousins who are likely to help out. As late as the 1950's, the township still had its own undertaker, a man who had learned from his father the art of laying out and dressing the body but who didn't like the job very much and was happy enough to turn it over to an undertaker who traveled from Stornoway.

463 [232] The island has had a veterinarian, based in Stornoway, for the past 30 years or so. Earlier, certain blacksmiths and farmers treated ailing livestock when the crofters [278] [155] needed them. For human ailments, there were many cures by plant and spell.

463 326 The man who was the last village blacksmith died not long ago. His smithy was in the center of the village. [342] His home and smithy were mortared stone buildings with corrugated iron roofs that were once estate houses for the men who worked the experimental farm established by Sir James Matheson in what is now New Shawbost. The blacksmith was also a shopkeeper and butcher. As a 463 326 874 blacksmith, his work was principally shoeing horses and making harrows and peat-cutters, which he did with the aid of one and sometimes two apprentices. One of his

463 326 874 [204] [521] One of his apprentices was his sister's son, who built another smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip. People gathered there while he shoed horses that came from Barvas to Carloway."

444 178 [494] A number of shops were established in Shawbost that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At one time they numbered six altogether. These shops also ran the first buses between the village and [477] [443] Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared because of competition with larger companies. Mobile grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in large parts of the island, undercutting the local busi-178 434 571 621 nesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town-44 463 178 dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers, [472] [484] fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal dealers and others extend goods and services from centralized sources to a market which has money to pay for them. The island's participation in this extensive market system is affected by its marginality to the

175 476 couple advancing one on either side of it—many other tasks were definitely team-work. Such was peat-cutting. "When they are making peats, five people are employed. 175 476 One cuts the peat, another places it on the brink of the ditch where it is dug; a third spreads it on the field, a 314 fourth pares and cleans the moss; and a fifth man is resting, ready to relieve the man that cuts. The women are seldom [462] at this work, but the men help one another alternately; sometimes they must rest satisfied with fewer hands; but the above is the full complement of men required to per-[127] form the work, according to their tastes." Buchanan's description was written 160 years ago (1793); it remained [178] true till recently and generally it is so still. There was thus a normal team practice for work—even a man to rest was not [538] forgotten! As the Gaelic proverb puts it: "They won't make power (add strength) without a threesome and they'll limp without a foursome!" (*Cha deanar treine gun triuir,* [802] *'s bidh iad crubach gun cheathrar*). In Gaelic, as in Scots, one speaks of a team according to its number, as "a pair, a threesome, foursome" and so on, up to a tensome (*deichnear*). In Lewis the farm-team was usually a foursome or fivesome.

175 Only in exceptional cases was land worked and held 423 singly—as when a smith was kept busy at his anvil in ploughing-time and harvest. Thus in 1715 one or two 241 rural smiths had single holdings of average value or more [324] (£1), and one artificer or tin-smith (caird) a holding of minimum value (5s.); and in the burgh all the small plots [286] were held singly. As the women wove, at home mostly, [462] no male rural weaver held a single plot; his weaving could be done at slack times, so long as there was light; at busy times he worked on the land with the rest of his team.

000 On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

(A) TRANSITION: MIGRATION, FISHING AND KELP-MAKING

175 433 [621] [427] [194] [430] UNTIL the 'Forty-five the township had lived an almost self-contained life. Its traditional economy was self-sufficient except for two indispensable commodities—salt for the housewife and iron for the smith. Beyond this, the chief demand for payment was the rent to the lord, with tithes for the kirk. For these needs and demands a step towards production for exchange was required, the more so that what was exported might include the very necessities of life in 'bad years'. The rent was paid largely by the sale of a surplus steer or two, and 175 317 drovers called for the cattle. By 1790, if not before, two or three open boats set out annually from Uig, for instance, for Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. 436 Although salt seems of little account today, it once bulked [435] large in the Budget, its price being heightened by duty, especially after 1707: "as dear as salt", was a saying, *cho* [251] *daor ris an t-salluinn*. Salt was needed to preserve the carcase of a 'cattle-beast' or sheep killed in autumn, and 175 for cod and herring curing. Wrecks were valuable, as on 433 all infertile undeveloped coastlands, both for their timber and their iron. Cairds or tinkers occasionally brought [326] metal goods; or a packman called, as strange a figure then [443]

175 433 as some Indian pedlar one meets on the road may seem now. An older packman's tale of his long tramps, of the [326] people's poverty and hospitality, must have resembled [443] the mingled plaints and praise one hears from an Indian pedlar today! But in the past only a speaker of Gaelic [191] could find his way among the people. Almost until 1900, if not still later, Gaelic speech was to prove a social bond, [197] but ignorance of English speech an economic barrier.

175 433 463 [178] The transition to increased exchange, with migration, permanent and temporary, tended to make for specialisation. About 1795, *Statistical Accounts* enumerated, for every hundred families, two or three smiths, wrights (or carpenters), a shipwright or some boat-makers, a few weavers, tailors, and perhaps a miller. Each of these held some corn land, individually or in shares, with rights on the common. The line between plain crofters (to use a later term) and crofter-craftsmen was not easily drawn, and different writers wrote as they judged best. In Lochs, 80 per cent were fishers and net-makers. On the open shores of the west, in Barvas parish (in which three-fourths of the men were also 'fishers'), kelp-making was a seasonal [427] occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s. to 60s. in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tacksmen at 5d. each, earned £1 a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s. per ton, and roads at 8d. a day.

175 286 462 In Harris in 1795 the eight 'bred' (or trained male) weavers worked only for 'the gentry': the laird, the tacksmen and their families. The rest of the weaving was done by the women, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. But in Lewis male weavers were commoner—one to every twenty to thirty families was the ratio—as if the practice of home weaving by the women was less universal there, even at that date.

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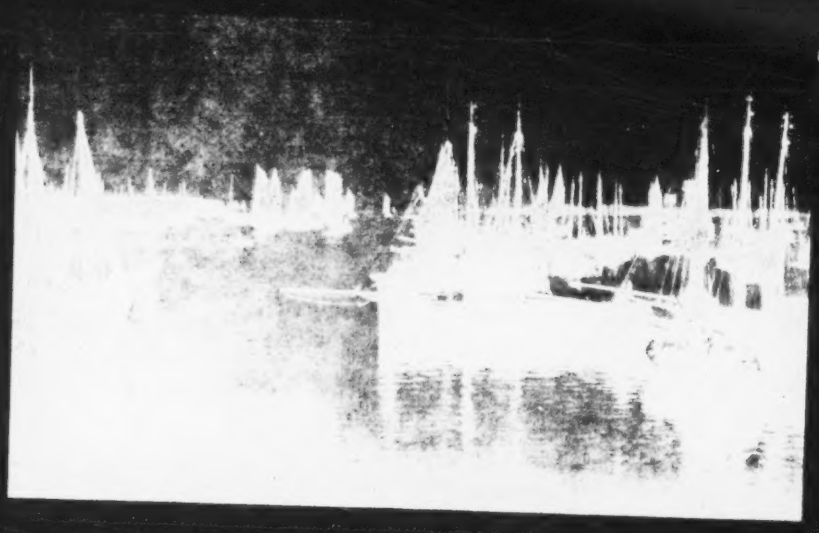
333 MASONRY--laying of bricks and stones; use of mortar; mixing and laying adobe and concrete; types of construction (e.g., foundations, floors, wall structural principles (e.g., arch, dome); use of special implements and a paratus (e.g., trowel, hod, cement mixer); specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Stone industry . . . . . 324 Tools 41
Brick and cement manufacture 339

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris



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Two Stornoway scenes from the 'Grand Collotype Album of Views in Lewis' published c 1900 by Samuel Lawrence, 'Chemist, Druggist, Perfumer, Stationer and Tobacconist', Cromwell Street, Stornoway. (*above*) The herring fleet in Stornoway harbour, showing the wherries or 'Zulu' type craft; (*below*) Cromwell Street

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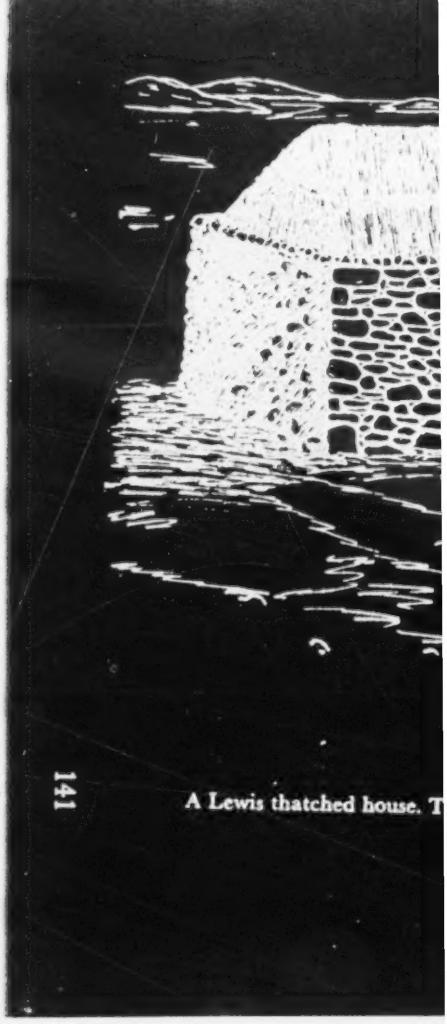
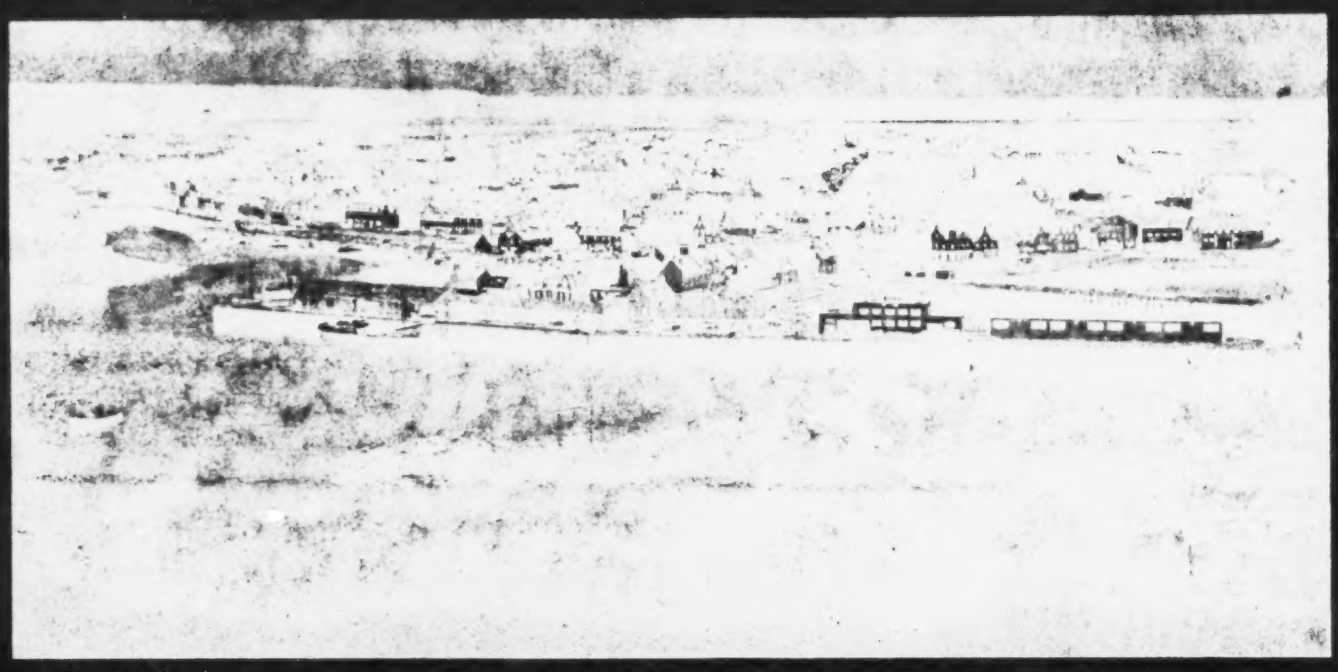


A Lewis thatched house. T

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris



/p. 107/

General view of the town of Stornoway. Broad Bay is in the far background; the street on the right is South Beach

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The black house still exists, though in an 'improved' form. This one was sketched in 1948

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A HARRIS VIGNETTE

346 Linking the present day firmly with an a
probably fourteenth-century church of St Clem
is an outstanding building, and the only c
tectural monument in the Western Isles. Built
[333] with schist, and freestone which must have bee
[353] purpose, it is cruciform, with nave, choir and tw
the fabric being covered with carvings and scul
* 175 first mention of the building is made by De
346 account of his tour of the Western Isles, c 154

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St Clement's Church, at Rodel, Ha

In the first half
* 175 of the sixteenth century it was extensively rep
346 MacLeod of Harris, who died in 1547 and
[764] tomb it houses. He prepared it nineteen yea
reckoned to be among the finest in Sco
[532] wrought, and with Latin inscription, nine sculp

THE PEOPLE

175 In 1899, the Medical Officer of Health for the Parish of Bar-
342 vas described the typical Lewis crofter's house of the time. It had three apartments, two for the family, and a third for the cattle; this new arrangement was the result of the Regulations issued by Sir James Matheson for the betterment of the estate. The low
[333] thick walls were built of stone, or stone and turf, with a packing of loose earth, and were perennially damp. The roof, composed of a framework of wooden rafters and couples resting on the inner edge of these walls, was covered over with turf divots and straw, bound with ropes of straw, heather or coarse thatching rope, and weighted down with stones. It was never air- or water-tight, and roof water usually soaked into the packing of the walls and thus oozed into the house. Further, only the slightest attention was given to situation and drainage. The floor of the dwelling apartment was composed of a pavement of rough stones covered over with clay—and a cold damp floor it was. The cattle apartment had
[231] no pavement, so that the manure liquids and slop water percolated into the ground and at times found their way into neighbouring dwelling houses and even into the drinking wells. Many of the houses were built back-to-back and sometimes in rows three deep. Lighting was deficient and the windows, fixed either in walls or roof, were not made to open.

175 Some houses had round portholes in the roof at the top of the
342 wall which might be opened or closed at pleasure; these served
354 for lighting and ventilation at the byre end of the house, though occasionally they were present also at the living end. Draughts coming in through the roof and walls, and the blazing peat fire in the centre of the middle apartment, helped to keep the air in motion, but the smoke from the fire frequently filled the upper portions of the room and, there still being no chimney or other outlet as a rule, it pervaded the whole atmosphere of the house.
175 From a sanitary point of view such houses had the gravest of
342 defects: it amazed visiting doctors that infectious diseases were
[164] ever absent. Yet generally the inmates compared well in physique, general well-being and immunity from serious disease with those more favourably situated. Tuberculosis was the most prevalent enemy.

[422] In 1879, improving leases were offered to those who were will-
[144]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

346 Linking the present day firmly with an ancient past is the probably fourteenth-century church of St Clement's, at Rodel. It is an outstanding building, and the only considerable architectural monument in the Western Isles. Built of rubble, dressed
• [333] with schist, and freestone which must have been imported for the
[353] purpose, it is cruciform, with nave, choir and two transeptal aisles, the fabric being covered with carvings and sculptured panels. The
* 175 first mention of the building is made by Dean Monro, in his
346 account of his tour of the Western Isles, *c* 1549. In the first half

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St Clement's Church, at Rodel, Harris

In the first half
* 175 of the sixteenth century it was extensively repaired by Alexander
346 MacLeod of Harris, who died in 1547 and whose remarkable
[764] tomb it houses. He prepared it nineteen years before he died; reckoned to be among the finest in Scotland, elaborately
[532] wrought, and with Latin inscription, nine sculptured panels cover the rear wall of the alcove, with the recumbent effigy of an armoured warrior with ornamented bascinet and camail lying below. Round-toed sabbatons cover the warrior's feet, which rest on a lizard-like beast, a lion standing guard at head and feet.

342 maintained—once an important aid to the survival
343 starved cattle. A slope from the dwelling-quarte
to the byre facilitates drainage: normally the lengt
[178] homestead follows the slope. The separation o
from byre took place in Harris and Uist over seven
ago by County Council decision, but in most of
even in 1947, about 40 per cent of the homestea
342 of the primitive type, outwardly but little changed
separate cottage, as in Harris, is a shapely little st
roughly symmetrical and particularly pleasing w
walls are whitewashed below the pale-gold thatch.

342 The surviving 'black house' is a stone structu
343 Stevens has written, "the rock of the island is
[314] work, and hard to win", and may be covered b
Undressed stones are collected and sometimes car
[324] long distances. Before dynamite came into use,
large stone could be broken up by lighting a peat
it, then dashing cold water over it. By an old
custom, the bachelors of a township used to help
the house for one of their friends who was about to
• [333] Lime for mortar being absent from the island, th
are built dry. The wall is double, the space b
being filled with earth. Hence it may be six fe
[364] at the base, though barely six feet high. Typical p
houses lacked windows, only a little light entering
the smoke vent and through a piece of oiled skin, r
latterly by a pane of glass let into the thatch of t
or by a deep window aperture in the wall.

342 Roof building is a difficult problem in const
343 on account of the scarcity of timber and the stre
the winds, and explains the narrow plan. Wood
313 scarce that when a house was abandoned the frame
[182] roof was removed, the spars being the tenant's;
[422]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

342 adequate air-space, and windows opening at the top and
746 usually kept open by day, in which a woman can work at
178 ease. The Department of Agriculture aided the building
656 of a good standard type. The quality of joinery and
[335] masonry or concrete work improved, one fairly skilled
[333] workman usually directing the householder and friends as amateur builders. The cost of materials was met by a grant, generally of £250, half being repayable by an annual rent of £6 : 10s. for twenty years. Repayments proceeded satisfactorily. No scheme organised by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland won so general a commendation as this of house improvement. It made good use of family initiative and responsibility, with neighbourly co-operation not called for upon a large scale, a township at a time, but in quite a small, personal way. Nevertheless, had more guidance been provided to the builders, the
[464] houses could have been really well built. For lack of this, perhaps, crofters increasingly prefer to pay for skilled work, though helping actively. Appendces I (ii) and II (ii) gives pre-War and post-War statistics.

3. *The Township and its Changing Plan*

361 Where absence of rock and boulder permits ploughing,
[182] the village land is laid out in a series of parallel strips,
[491] aligned with the slope. The road runs either parallel with shore or river, or at right angles to it. The intermixed possession of strips by 'run-rig' characterised the Lowlands before the Enclosures, and is frequent in
[423] the Highlands and Isles. The apparent regularisation of field lines may conceal the fact that an individual holder's plots may be scattered amongst those of others in fixed
[182] run-rig. This is an advantage where quality of land is so patchy, and each man thus gets his share of good and bad

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335 CARPENTRY--special treatment of wooden materials in building construction; techniques of joining (e.g., by mortise and tenon, with nails or screws); structural devices (e.g., struts, king-post); specialized personnel and organization (e.g., carpenters' guilds or unions); etc. See also:

Nonstructural woodworking . . . . . 322 Tools 412
Shipbuilding . . . . . 396 Hardware 414

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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(*above*) The car ferry *Hebrides*, at Tarbert Pier, Harris

/p. 18/

(*below*) The interior of St Clement's Church, Rodel, Harris, showing the carved tomb of Alasdair Crotach, a MacLeod of Dunvegan (d c 1547)

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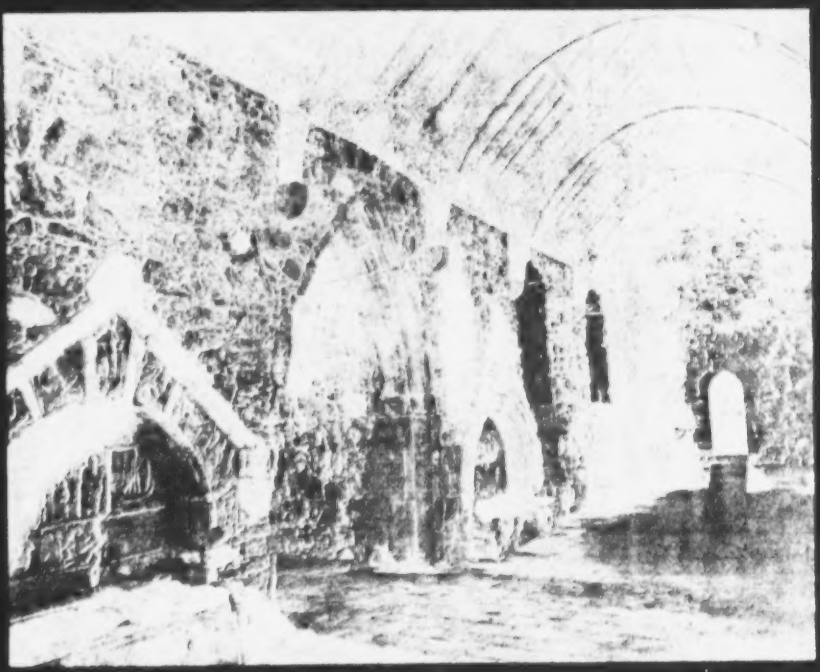

2. Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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(*above*) At Rishgarry Quay, Isle of Berneray, in the Sound of Harris, c 1900, showing the typical construction of the 'black house'

/p. 53/

(*below*) The Claddach, Isle of Killegray, in the Sound of Harris, April 1897. The horse and cart was the most convenient means of transport. A spinning wheel is seen in action

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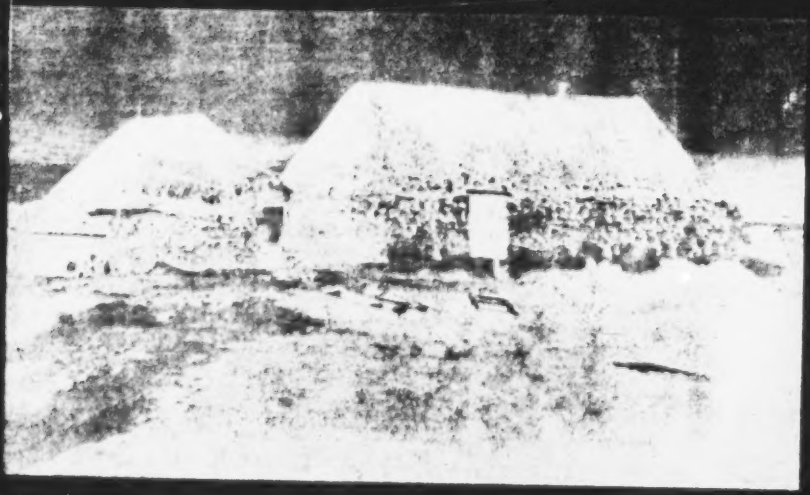

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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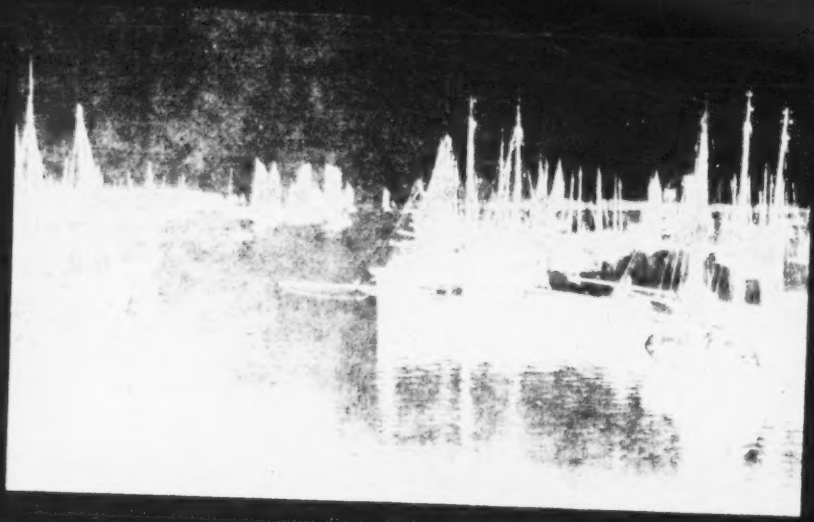

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Lewis and Harris

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[182] run-rig. This is an advantage where quality of land is so patchy, and each man thus gets his share of good and bad

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336 PLUMBING--laying and
repair of plumbing fixtu
ized personnel and orga
Water supply . . . . . .
Oil and gas pipelines . . . .
Heating and lighting systems .

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fitting of water, gas, and sewer pipe; installation and
res; implements and apparatus; steamfitting; special-
nization; etc. See also:

. . . . . 312 Sewer systems 384
. . . . . 315 Gas plants 382
. . . . . 354 Plumbing fixtures 414

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Shawbost

288 434 The Harris Tweed industry has provided a higher standard of living, but income from this source is [458] inconsistent. The standards developed during prosperous [342] times cannot be met during difficult times. Many-roomed [336] houses with indoor plumbing are more heavily taxed than [661] smaller, less modern homes; loans must be repayed; [426] a car and a television once gotten are difficult to [145] give up. A weaver must pay for his insurance stamp, [651] which amounts to over L70 a year; and income tax takes a large percentage of a person's income, in large lump sums which are paid twice a year rather than in small amounts throughout the year. When income fluctuates, any constant demand for monetary outlay constitutes a liability.

654 181 To many persons outside the island concerned with Highland and Island development, Lewis has a reputation for "subsidy-grabbing." According to one official, "The people are too used to getting subsidies. They tend to sit back and rely on the subsidies, which makes it difficult to develop the place."

[829] "We pay tax," said one weaver. "Why not get back what we can in subsidy?"

651 434 Income tax collectors shake their heads in despair at the thought of trying to get a true estimate of a crofter's income, except for jobs such as weaving for

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

361 Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which is about half a mile across at its narrowest, coursed by strong [133] tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter, rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides; 361 the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green 311 shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the [134] Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds [241] in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser population at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was severely limited by the minute amount of land available for tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict the range and quality of crops grown.

*175 Scarp was originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by 361 eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access to good pasturage on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1823 [166] thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Resort, Harris, and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate [162] their families and friends from elsewhere. In 1861 the population was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951 it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat, plying between two stone-built jetties.

433 The local economy was essentially a subsistence one, with self-241 sufficiency in such products as potatoes, turnips, cabbages, oats, 234 milk and fish. After a break of some years lobster-fishing has 226 recently been reinstated as an occupation. Oil lamps are the only lighting, though a few houses have piped water. The small shop

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339 BUILDING SUPPLIES INDUSTRIES--manufacture of building and construction supplies not elsewhere described (e.g., brick, cement); processors of building materials (e.g., mill work companies, brick yards); suppliers to builders and contractors; business organization of manufacturers, processors, and suppliers of building materials; etc. See also:

Lumbering	313	Manufacture of construction hardware	391
Stone industry	324	Manufacture of electrical supplies	393
Steel industry	327	Hardware	414
Paint manufacture	386	Retail marketing	443

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

382 sent to several shipping ports, and the response was good; one
*175 Liverpool chandler even offered to take the whole output at a good price. But again the product was rendered useless, this time by being subjected to a partial-distillation process, in the thought that this would improve it; orders stopped. One shale-oil firm offered to take the crude peat tar to refine along with its own products for the purpose of modifying the flash-point of the oil it was itself manufacturing. Most commercial enterprises would have jumped at the chance of disposing of their output without the need for the always-tricky refining process, but here personal interests intervened and another avenue of profit was blocked.

The Lewis Chemical Works had by this time become something of a showpiece, chemists and scientists mecca-ing their way to Stornoway to see both plant and product. One eminent chemist pronounced the plant one of the most successful ever erected for the distillation of hydrocarbon oils from peat, and an Irishman said that if the Irish Peat Company's installation had been as successful as the Lewis counterpart, Ireland would have been enriched by her peat bogs. By the middle of the 1860s a ton of peat tar was being produced for 70s, as against 100s for unrefined shale oil. Peat oil sold at first at 2s 9d per gallon, then dropped to
[435] 2s 6d and finally to 2s, presumably as the American oil products were reaching the market. The writing was on the wall. Sir James Matheson, realising too late that perhaps a closer control should have been applied to the venture from the beginning, decided to cut his losses and close the works. All the metal—condensers, pumps, stills, pipes, and tanks—was broken up and sold for scrap. Nearly four miles of light railway had been laid from the Creed Works to the peat bogs; this was lifted for scrap. So ended the first phase of industrial Lewis. The venture proved, however, that with adequate skill and knowledge success could be grasped.

Bricks, printing, whisky

339 The brickworks which Matheson built for £6,000 at Garra-
*175 bost produced building materials and some fine examples of draining tiles, but has now disappeared. The Patent Slip built at
396 Stornoway for another £6,000 was able to take ships of up to
*175

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 127]

175 The new proprietor was no better placed than Seaforth to change the fundamental
429 causes of recurrent poverty and distress. But at least he had funds to ameliorate his tenants' lot and to allow experiments in land reclamation and industrial development.
233 Existing sheep farms were extended and others formed. Land reclamation went forward
319 hand in hand with industrial experiments such as distillation of paraffin from peat and brick and tile-making. A programme of road building was begun (the first roads beyond
359 Stornoway were begun in 1791, but there were only 45 miles of road by 1836). In Uig the
491 results were very obvious. Further clearances took place particularly from Timsgarry,
226 Carnish (21 tenants), Reef (22 tenants), Garynahine, Dun Carloway. The small tenants of Valtos and Kneep were only saved from eviction by the intervention of the Fisheries Board,
[162] for they were important places for white fishing. By the 1850's, although the population of Uig was more than double that in 1755, and 60% greater than in 1800, it was crowded
[66] into little more than half the area. Emigration enforced by clearances reduced the population of Bernera and South Uig by nearly 500 between 1851 and 1861.

175 No other part of Lewis saw so many farms; nowhere else did the small tenants suffer
429 so much from eviction. That was not all. Those who remained undisturbed were de-
311 prived of some of their traditional grazings and access to the rest was sometimes
233 restricted. Moreover they had to make room for many of the evicted families in their own townships, thereby further increasing the problem of congestion caused by the rapid
[161] natural increase of population. Thus, for example, about 1825 there had been 22 families
[162] in Valtos and Kneep. By about 1880 there were almost 100. But, during the same period these townships were deprived of their island grazings - Pabay, Vacsay, Floday and Wiay - formerly used for wintering cattle - and of part of their hill grazings (the traditional shielings). Use of the hill-grazings was restricted, too. Thus, for example, only one day was allowed to pull heather for ropes; if men were away fishing or for other reasons, could not attend on that day, they risked punishment by going on any other. Such stories could be multiplied many times.

[103] In the Bernera district, by the 1850's, only Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete (on the island) and Earshader and Crulivig (on the mainland) were left for the crofter families. Moreover their traditional summer grazings, which lay south east of the Deer Forest which was formed out of the Scaliscro sheep farm about 1850. Apparently their use of the old shielings was tolerated until 1878, after which date they were directed to the area north of the present road and which they have continued to use until the present day. Thus the shieling huts shown in fig.5 all post-date 1878; the area in which they lie may have been part of the West Earshader tacksman's holding. The date of discontinuance of that tack is not known but the house, now empty, was for long occupied by squatters and the old lazy beds around it still form part of a large squatter holding.

It is noteworthy that almost all the clearances were in the Bernera and South Uig districts and this is reflected in population changes between 1841 and 1851, shown in table 4.

The cleared areas included extensive hill and mountain grazings and some of the best wintering ground, including all the machairs except Valtos and Kneep. The East Loch Roag and Carloway districts were less attractive to the new farmers; as is so commonly the case in Lewis, their rough grazings lay on gently sloping low plateaux and were consequently ill-drained and of poor quality. About 1852 Dun Carloway was let as a tack but was never successfully farmed and was soon returned to crofter-occupation; it may never have been wholly cleared of crofters. Garynahine, at the southern end of East Loch Roag, next to Linshader, was also turned into a farm about 1852. Here the hill grazing was more extensive and, though seriously reduced by a crofter settlement scheme c. 1936, it remains

34

34 STRUCTURES--general statements describing several types of
tailed below. Only purely descriptive information on types of b
other structures, as well as data on materials and construction
under 33 will be filed here. The uses of each type of structure
under appropriate headings elsewhere.

178 241 476 of the normal capitalist farmer in the West; but in crofting areas, these practices reveal a strain between communal and individual tendencies.

a. Fencing:

233 [178] [419] [333] Although run-rig was replaced by fixed, compact holdings, the method of animal husbandry was not affected until the land began to be fenced. A single dry-stone dike enclosed the township, keeping livestock on the moor and away from the arable land. In different parts [184] of the Hebrides, various types of herdsmen were hired to protect both the livestock and the growing crops (cf. Owen 1958-59 for a discussion of cattle, calf and sheep herdsmen in North Uist).

175 625 The township Constable had a great deal of power, which included the right to evict people from their crofts, to enforce rules of good husbandry. The last Constable of Shawbost, who died at the turn of the century, has been credited with a number of ignoble actions, such as forcing an old woman with a sore leg to take her cow to the moor along with all the others. Old widows who had no one going to the fishing and hence no means of paying their rent might be evicted in favor of other persuasive, land-hungry members of the village.

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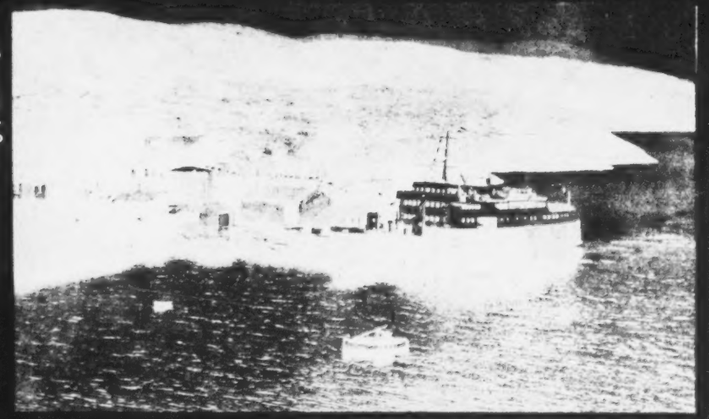

(*above*) The car ferry *Hebrides*, at Tarbert Pier, Harris

/p. 18/

(*below*) The interior of St Clement's Church, Rodel, Harris, showing the carved tomb of Alasdair Crotach, a MacLeod of Dunvegan (d c 1547)

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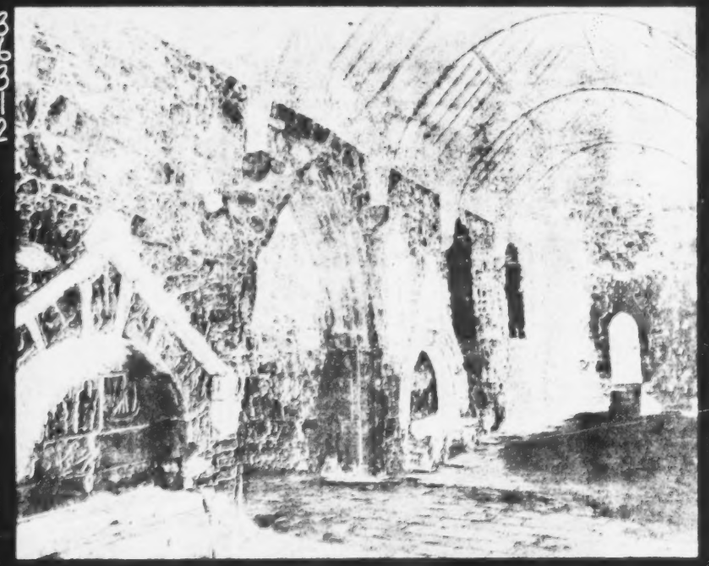

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(*above*) Driftnet fishing boats in Stornoway harbour. The new boats to form the basis for the island fleet of the future will be seine-net and dual-purpose

/p. 36/

(*below*) The Lewis village of Gravir, showing small fishing boats in Loch Odhairn, 1932

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(*above*) At Rishgarry Quay, Isle of Berneray, in the Sound of Harris, c 1900, showing the typical construction of the 'black house'

/p. 53/

(*below*) The Claddach, Isle of Killegray, in the Sound of Harris, April 1897. The horse and cart was the most convenient means of transport. A spinning wheel is seen in action

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The hills of North Harris. On the far side of the loch (West Loch Tarbert) can be seen the remains of the whaling station /p. 54/

175 342 361 the eighteenth century these 'black houses' would be replaced by houses of stone and lime, and a few of those survive.

172 174 712 Of the fort built by Cromwell on the Point, no signs remain. For tactical reasons, the best site would seem to be the neck of the Point, from which the guns of the fort could defend the houses, stores and quays. The irregular building line near the point marked T, a Town House at a later period, may correspond to the northern angle of the fort. The fort appears to have been standing when the original drawing was made for the engraving in the Old (or First) Statistical Account of Stornoway, *c.* 1793.

175 361 By the time Wood drew his plan in 1820, houses on the Point no longer looked exclusively on to the axial street. The main alinement of interest came to be the shore, marked by a properly built quay. Today, the Point Street houses have fallen into decay but many older houses still stand in fair repair along the 'Beach' or Quay.

175 361 34 Thirdly, from the nineteenth century, until 1914, two-storey, flatted tenements, hotels and houses of middle-class people were built upon a grid that followed upon the old field plans. In an alternative plan, proposed about 1820 but not adopted, a diagonal vista opened out to the Established Church, built in 1794 on rising ground. The modest Seaforth Lodge which had stood across the harbour was replaced in 1850 by Stornoway (or Lews) Castle, its pseudo-Tudor style designed to please the new improving landlord, Sir James Matheson, who had purchased Lewis in 1844. Presented to the people on the break-up of the Leverhulme Estates in 1925, a new technical school has taken it over. A few villas also grew up on outlying roads. Thus, a mere village in 1801, and among the smaller burghs

175 361 162 226

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341 ARCHITECTURE--styles of domestic and nondomestic buildings; architectural theory and principles; practice of architecture (e.g., solicitation of business, planning, draftsmanship, supervision of construction, fees); specialization (e.g. architects, draftsmen); etc. See also:

Construction	33	Interior decoration	353
Landscape architecture	351	Decorative art	531

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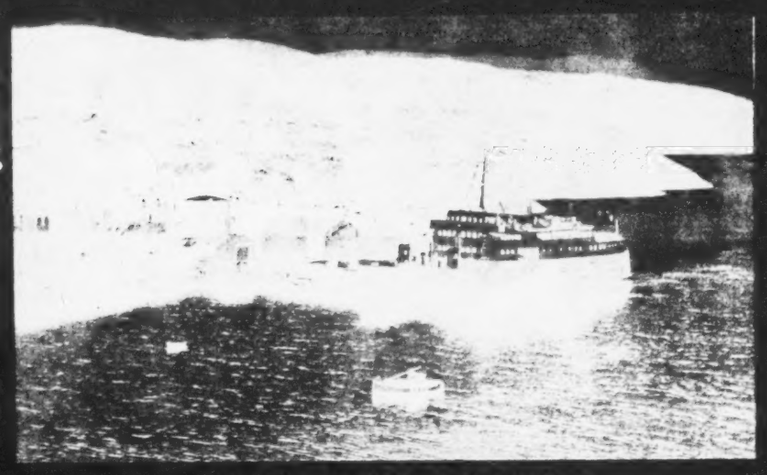

(*above*) The car ferry *Hebrides*, at Tarbert Pier, Harris

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(*below*) The interior of St Clement's Church, Rodel, Harris, showing the carved tomb of Alasdair Crotach, a MacLeod of Dunvegan (d c 1547)

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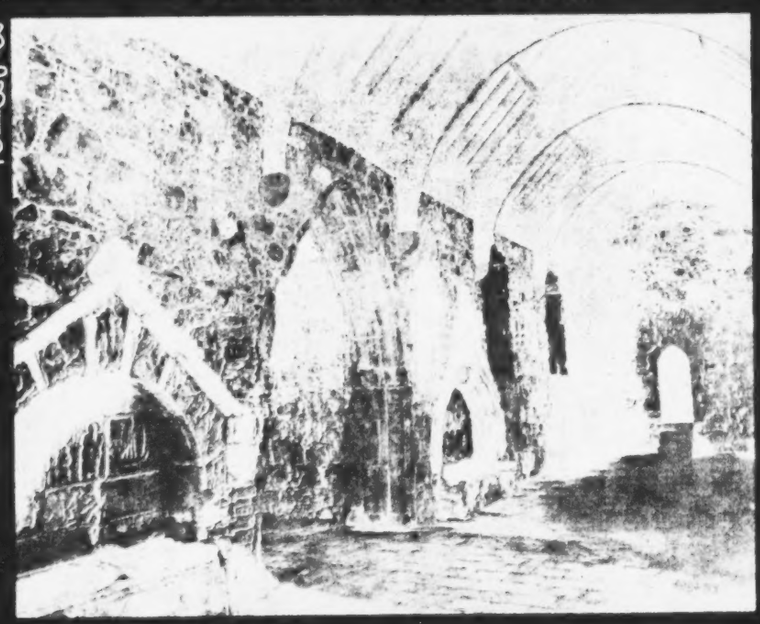

Lewis and Harris

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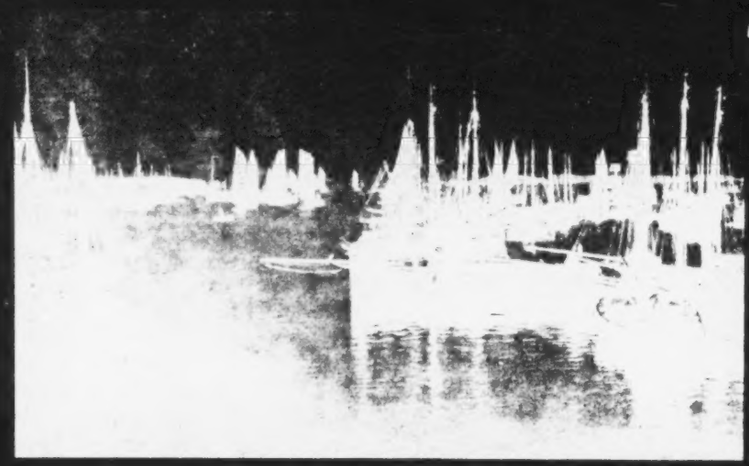

Two Stornoway scenes from the 'Grand Collotype Album of Views in Lewis' published c 1900 by Samuel Lawrence, 'Chemist, Druggist, Perfumer, Stationer and Tobacconist', Cromwell Street, Stornoway. (*above*) The herring fleet in Stornoway harbour, showing the wherries or 'Zulu' type craft; (*below*) Cromwell Street

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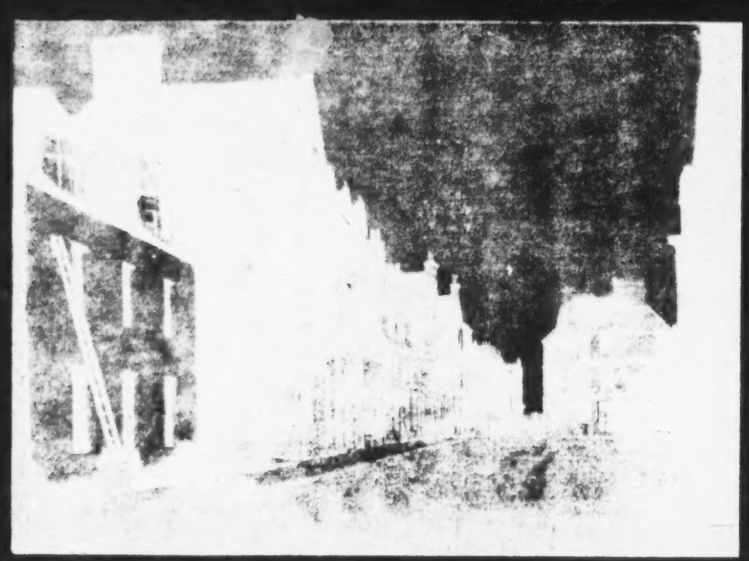

/p. 107/ General view of the town of Stor

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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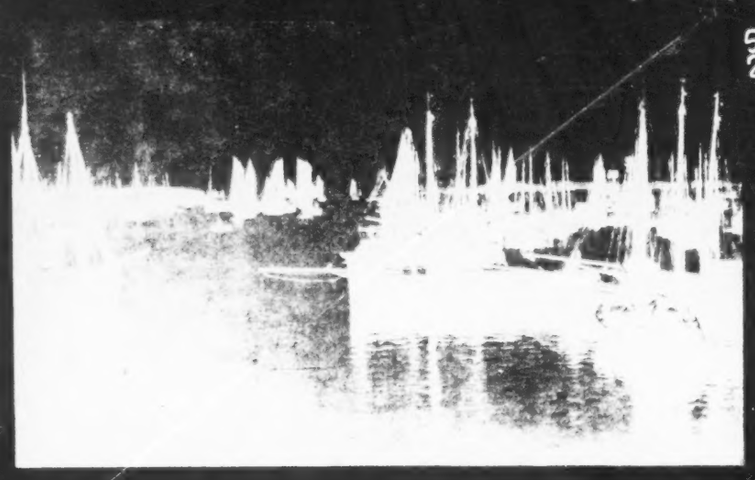

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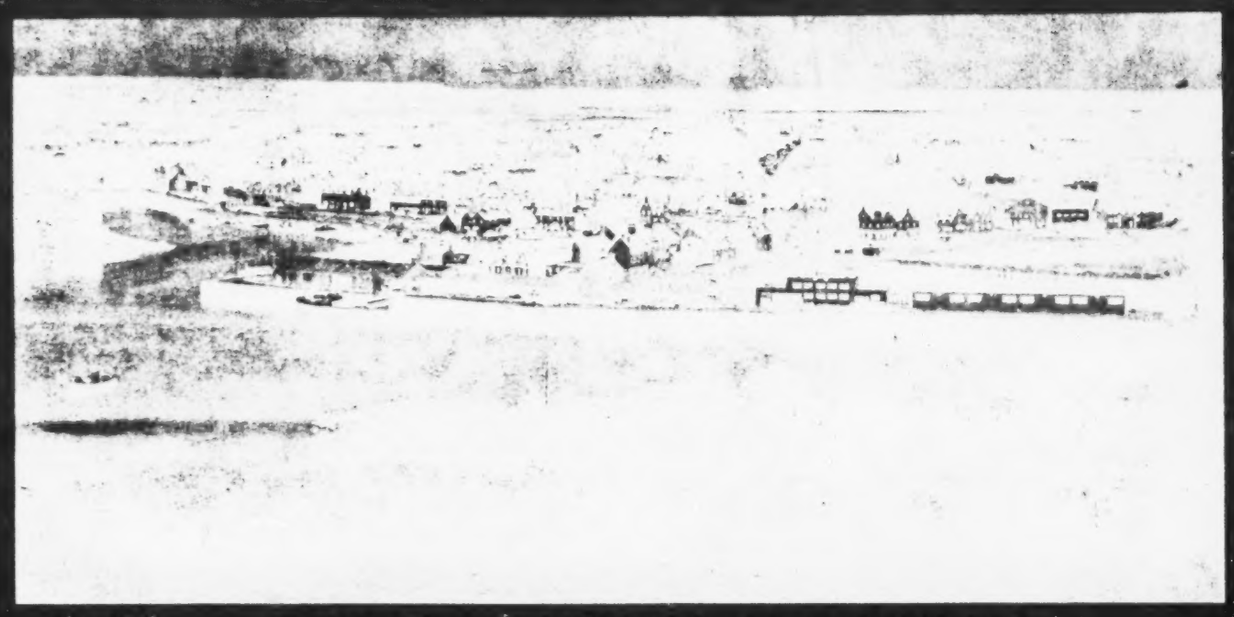

/p. 107/ General view of the town of Stornoway. Broad Bay is in the far background; the street on the right is South Beach

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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346 Linking the present day firmly with an ancient past is the probably fourteenth-century church of St Clement's, at Rodel. It is an outstanding building, and the only considerable architectural monument in the Western Isles. Built of rubble, dressed
[333] with schist, and freestone which must have been imported for the
[353] purpose, it is cruciform, with nave, choir and two transeptal aisles, the fabric being covered with carvings and sculptured panels. The
*175 first mention of the building is made by Dean Monro, in his
346 account of his tour of the Western Isles, *c* 1549. In the first half

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St Clement's Church, at Rodel, Harris

In the first half
*175 of the sixteenth century it was extensively repaired by Alexander
346 MacLeod of Harris, who died in 1547 and whose remarkable
[764] tomb it houses. He prepared it nineteen years before he died; reckoned to be among the finest in Scotland, elaborately
[532] wrought, and with Latin inscription, nine sculptured panels cover the rear wall of the alcove, with the recumbent effigy of an armoured warrior with ornamented bascinet and camail lying below. Round-toed sabbatons cover the warrior's feet, which rest on a lizard-like beast, a lion standing guard at head and feet.

3

342 DWELLINGS--descrip
differences in dwelling
construction; adequac
light and ventilation); t
construction; etc. See
Housebuilding specialists . .
Adequacy of housing . . .

42

tion of residential buildings; seasonal, local and status
g types; durability and portability of dwellings; mode of
y (e.g., for protection from elements, for security, for
typical number of occupants; ceremonies during and after
also:

. . . . . 33 Names of houses 552
. . . . . 362 Household organization 592

632 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the
363 sea: Ceann a Stigh (or Ceann a Stigh Bhaile, or Baile
103 Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the sea), Buailebhir (an area identified with the keeping of cattle), Gearraidh Mor, Creagan, Pluic, and Mach a Chul ("out the back," by a road built relatively recently). A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the moor, or common grazing land, is called Grinnbhat, from the name of a nearby loch.

511 The presence of a large Harris Tweed mill in
[348] Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living
[288] within the village. It is estimated that only 25% of
[493] the households of rural Lewis have cars; about 50% of the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970
[342] Shawbost had only one occupied tigh dubh, or "black house" built of dry stone and roofed with thatch, which to many islanders symbolizes a past life of poverty and
[404] adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators,
[251] deep freezers and electric toasters are common in
[207] Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and
[206] many have telephones.

288 The mill in Shawbost employs between 60 and 70
463 persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the

288 finished lengths of tweed. For a tweed to be classified
463 as "Harris Tweed," it must be hand-woven by Outer
[424] Hebrideans in their own homes, but the weavers are
288 essentially employees of the mill. All the large Harris Tweed mills in Lewis, except the one in Shawbost, are located in Stornoway. A few smaller businesses, which design and market tweeds but have no elaborate machinery to process the tweed further, are scattered throughout the island.

621 The village of Shawbost is composed of 169 households,
162 of which 110 are headed by "crofters," persons recognized
[427] as legal tenants of a croft. Of the remaining 59
[361] households, 16 rent houses which were built and are maintained by the County (called "council houses"), 11 have erected houses on the crofts of relatives, and
463 32 have built homes on the common grazing lands. Non-
241 crofters participate in the agricultural activities of the township. It would not be unusual, for example, for a non-crofter to serve as the clerk of a grazings committee.

●342 In North Shawbost, one croft house and two non-
166 croft houses are used only when the owner returns to Shawbost from the mainland for a holiday. The school-
[875] master lives in a house adjoining the school, and the
[793] minister in a manse located between Shawbost and the neighboring village of Bragar.

233 were taken out to small huts in the central moorlands
233 for several months during the summer. These moorland
●342 dwellings, called sheilings or airidh, were tiny stone structures, as small as seven by five feet. They had double stone walls filled with clay, and a rounded thatched roof. There were two doors opposite each other in the longer walls, one of which was filled with turf depending on the direction of the wind. A fireplace
[354] was built into one end of the hut; shelves in the stone
[352] walls held basins of milk and other items; and the major part of the sheiling constituted a grass-and-heather-lined cavity which served as a bed. The sheilings were usually
[361] clustered together near a stream, duplicating neighborhoods within the village.

221 Ploughing and planting were finished in the spring before the young men and women went off to the fishing, and before the cattle were taken to the sheiling. Some families went to the sheiling as early as March for a "fresh bite" of grass. Many went out in the middle of May, and returned at the end of July or beginning of August.

233 "During the week, young girls or boys stayed out on
857 the sheilings, depending on who was available in the
887 family; maybe old people who couldn't do anything else,
462

178 The number of cattle diminished as milk became
231 available by other means; and when the township reseeding
234 schemes came into existence, the need to go to the
233 sheilings for an "early bite" was removed. The sheilings
178 that remain in use today are huts of tin, wood and
●342 concrete within easy walking distance from the highway, used on weekends and during summer holidays. Most of these modern sheilings are close to Stornoway, and serve as summer retreats for the relatively harried urban
[184] dwellers such as publicans. On the west side, the sheilings are no longer used, but remain as a theme of songs and in nostalgic memories.

C. The Loom

175 Clo Mor, the big cloth, was woven in the Highlands
286 and Islands for hundreds of years. Martin Martin, who travelled through the Outer Hebrides in the late 17th century, describes the export of "plaiding," and the practice of waulking or shrinking the woven length of cloth (Martin 1716). Weaving was done on wooden looms, and produced only for local markets until the middle of the 19th century.

[731] By the middle of the 19th century, the failure of
[735] the kelp industry, decline of fishing, and destruction

175 Whatever the rationalization, cobbler fathers begot
829 cobbler sons. The present postmaster's grandfather was
463 the first postmaster in Shawbost, and when help is needed
[205] in delivering the mail it is the postmaster's first
[767] cousins who are likely to help out. As late as the 1950's, the township still had its own undertaker, a man who had learned from his father the art of laying out and dressing the body but who didn't like the job very much and was happy enough to turn it over to an undertaker who traveled from Stornoway.

463 The island has had a veterinarian, based in Stornoway,
[232] for the past 30 years or so. Earlier, certain blacksmiths and farmers treated ailing livestock when the crofters
[278] needed them. For human ailments, there were many cures
[755] by plant and spell.

463 The man who was the last village blacksmith died
326 not long ago. His smithy was in the center of the village.
[342] His home and smithy were mortared stone buildings with corrugated iron roofs that were once estate houses for the men who worked the experimental farm established by Sir James Matheson in what is now New Shawbost. The blacksmith was also a shopkeeper and butcher. As a
463 blacksmith, his work was principally shoeing horses and
326 making harrows and peat-cutters, which he did with the
874 aid of one and sometimes two apprentices. One of his

585 on these occasions. At some point during the night the bride and groom were prepared for their wedding night together. The bride's female companions undressed her, prepared her for bed, and put her into the bed with a hot water bottle. She shared some sherry with them, and they went out, whereupon the groom was brought in by his male companions. After much joking the couple were left together.

[574] On the third night, a dinner was given for the older persons who had not been able to come to the "big" wedding.

[293] For some time after the wedding, the married couple
[431] visited relatives and neighbors who had been unable to come to the wedding, taking a bottle of whiskey with them.

585 House weddings declined in number during the war when
178 food was rationed, and as more persons changed from the
[342] "black house" to the less easily cleaned and more
[485] elaborately furnished "white house." Most weddings are now held in hotels, and consist of a single wedding dinner and dance; they are often held on Thursdays, the day of the banais in the past. The emphasis on community participation still exists: even though the practice of holding hotel weddings has limited the number of guests, an effort is made to invite someone from each household in the neighborhood. In part to avoid disappointing the

121 being determined by conditions of culture, such as
121 political and economic conditions. Under conditions
178 of gradual centralization of economic and political
182 systems, the geographically marginal crofting areas have evolved strategies, some of which puzzle agencies concerned with development or other aspects of governmental process.

178 Before the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board
365 began to operate in the crofting counties, not more
511 than one croft in every hundred had electricity; but by the end of 1951, one in every six holdings had been supplied (Taylor 1954: 20). "The light" came to
[354] Shawbost in 1951. Before then, the islanders used
[199] Tilley lamps, a Canadian invention; and before then,
[312] double-wick paraffin lamps. Piped water came a few
[464] years later, around 1955; it was brought from a nearb loch, and the construction work gave temporary jobs to local people. The availability of these services
[344] facilitated the building of county council houses,
[342] which many welcomed as providing a relief to the congestion caused in part by rules against building more than one house on a croft. But, paradoxically,
[651] with larger, better homes and all these services came a decrease in the advantages of living in a crofting township: property was assessed and people began pay rates or taxes.

288 The Harris Tweed industry has provided a higher
434 standard of living, but income from this source is
[458] inconsistent. The standards developed during prosper
[342] times cannot be met during difficult times. Many-roo
[336] houses with indoor plumbing are more heavily taxed th
[661] smaller, less modern homes; loans must be repayed;
[426] a car and a television once gotten are difficult to
[945] give up. A weaver must pay for his insurance stamp,
[651] which amounts to over L70 a year; and income tax tak
a large percentage of a person's income, in large lum
sums which are paid twice a year rather than in small
amounts throughout the year. When income fluctuates,
any constant demand for monetary outlay constitutes a
liability.

654 To many persons outside the island concerned wit
181 Highland and Island development, Lewis has a reputati
for "subsidy-grabbing." According to one official,
"The people are too used to getting subsidies. They
tend to sit back and rely on the subsidies, which
makes it difficult to develop the place."

[829] "We pay tax," said one weaver. "Why not get bac
what we can in subsidy?"

651 Income tax collectors shake their heads in despa
434 at the thought of trying to get a true estimate of a
crofter's income, except for jobs such as weaving for

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(*above*) Drifnet fishing boats in Stornoway harbour. The new boats to form the basis for the island fleet of the future will be seine-net and dual-purpose

/p. 36/

(*below*) The Lewis village of Gravir, showing small fishing boats in Loch Odhairn, 1932

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A Lewis thatched house. The black house still exists, though in an 'i

2:: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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improved' form. This one was sketched in 1948

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photograph by Robert M. Adam

PLATE 1. ON THE ATLANTIC COAST OF LEWIS

The township of Cliff, Valtos, on West Loch Roag (April 1938). In the right foreground are three 'black houses', one with a new chimney and gable end

/facing p. 26/

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2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

/p. 71/

The Lewis village of Laxay on Loch Erisort

FIG. 10 (B)

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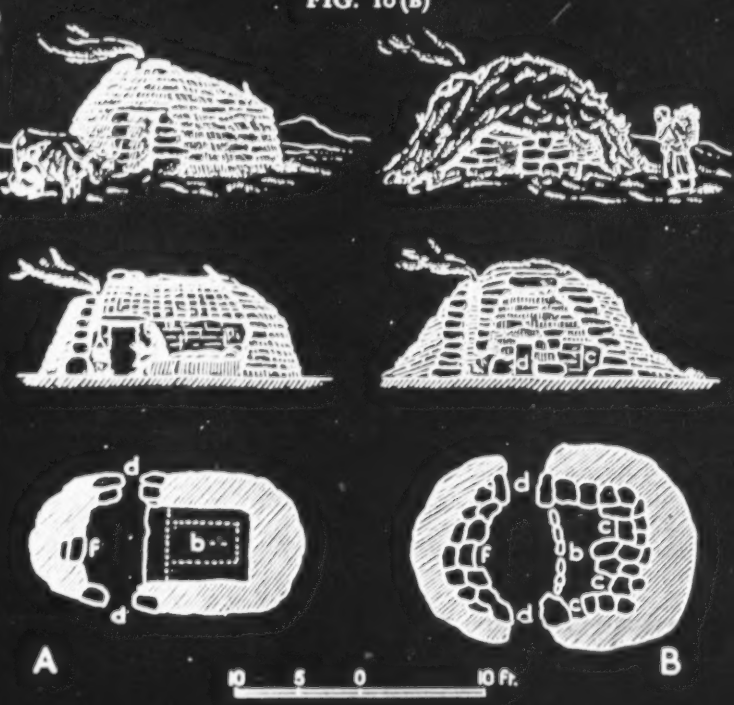

b. bed. c. cupboard. f. fireplace. d. door.
w. wall. s. settle. dr. drain. p. porch.

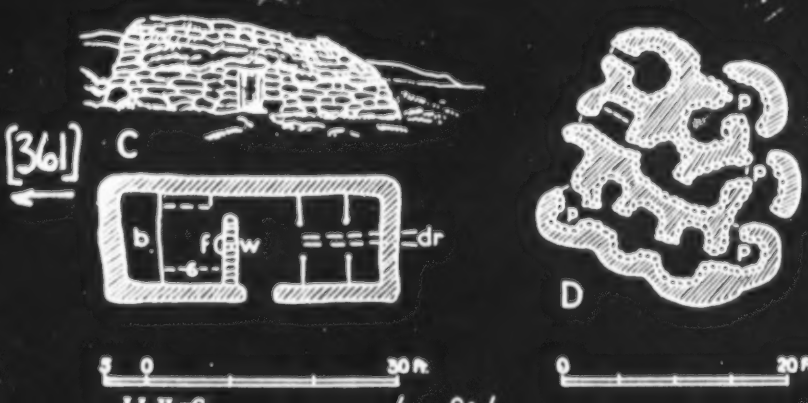

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PLATE IIIA. ROCKY, SEA-ABRADED PLATFORM OFF THE BUTT OF LEWIS

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Photographs by Mrs. Harriman

PLATE IIIB. LAXDALE TOWNSHIP, ON THE FLATS NEAR BROAD BAY

'Black houses' and 'white houses' can be seen. The fields have been modernized for ploughing

/p. 40-A/

CHAPTER III

THE ISLAND HOME: HOMESTEAD, TOWNSHIP AND BURGH, AND THEIR POPULATION

(A) THE LEWIS HOMESTEAD AND THE TOWNSHIP

1. *The Black House*

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THE 'black house' of Lewis proper contains within four walls—or rather its one continuous wall—both men and animals (Fig. 10(A)). It is the simplest surviving homestead in Western Europe. The basis of its plan, with its threefold division—for animals, for living, and for sleep—makes it not merely a house but a home and steading in one, a single homestead. The basis of its plan is still found on many a Scottish croft, and Burns' cottage was built as "byre, but and ben"—a cowshed, a room 'without' and a room 'within'. In isolated cases in the Lews, however, the partitions are still low; so that one could sit on a stool by the mid-floor fire and see mother and babe, and behind them cow and calf. The scene recalls a painting of the Holy Family, but whereas Joseph the Carpenter felt his wife hard-pressed when they took refuge beside ox and ass, this primitive homestead with its quietly borne hardships has been the rule in rural Lewis until well after 1919.

[353]

As men and animals share the same roof, warmth is

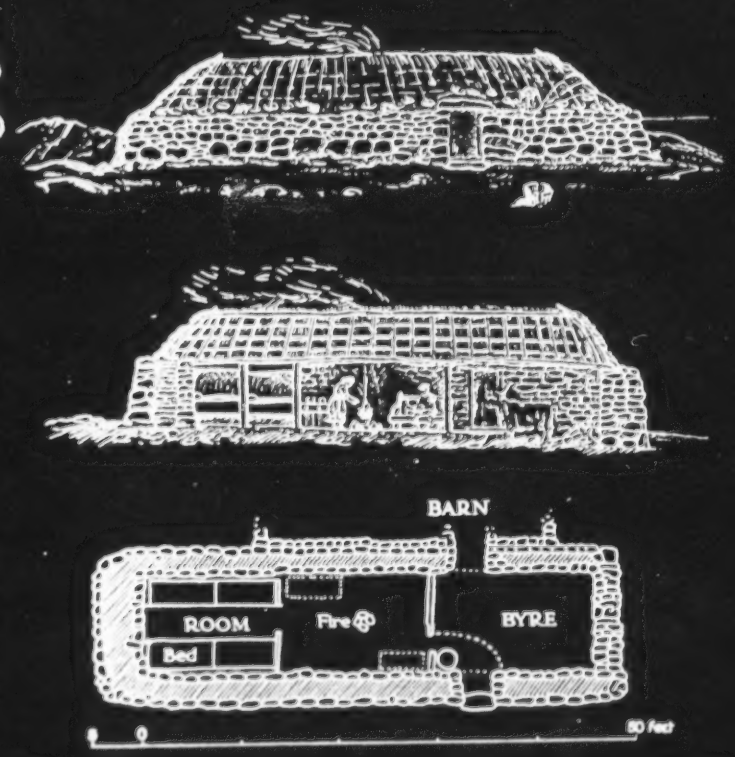
maintained—once an important aid to the survival of half-starved cattle. A slope from the dwelling-quarters down to the byre facilitates drainage: normally the length of the homestead follows the slope. The separation of house from byre took place in Harris and Uist over seventy years ago by County Council decision, but in most of Lewis, even in 1947, about 40 per cent of the homesteads were of the primitive type, outwardly but little changed. This separate cottage, as in Harris, is a shapely little structure, roughly symmetrical and particularly pleasing when the walls are whitewashed below the pale-gold thatch.

The surviving 'black house' is a stone structure. As Stevens has written, "the rock of the island is hard to work, and hard to win", and may be covered by peat. Undressed stones are collected and sometimes carried for long distances. Before dynamite came into use, a very large stone could be broken up by lighting a peat fire on it, then dashing cold water over it. By an old Gaelic custom, the bachelors of a township used to help to build the house for one of their friends who was about to marry. Lime for mortar being absent from the island, the walls are built dry. The wall is double, the space between being filled with earth. Hence it may be six feet thick at the base, though barely six feet high. Typical primitive houses lacked windows, only a little light entering through the smoke vent and through a piece of oiled skin, replaced latterly by a pane of glass let into the thatch of the roof or by a deep window aperture in the wall.

Roof building is a difficult problem in construction, on account of the scarcity of timber and the strength of the winds, and explains the narrow plan. Wood was so scarce that when a house was abandoned the frame of the roof was removed, the spars being the tenant's; but in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

FIG. 10(A)



The primitive 'Black House', universal fifty years ago in Western Lewis. Very few now have the central fire. (In Harris, byres were separated from houses about 1880.)

FIG. 10 (B) (*facing*).—The summer shieling, past and present, and the spring house. (From the writer's field sketches, and after Thomas Curwen, L. MacDougal and D. Macdonald, Tolsta.)

A. The modern turf shieling (*àirigh*). B. The ancient beehive shieling. C. The spring house (*tigh earraich*). D. Beehive shielings added to each other to form a single mass.

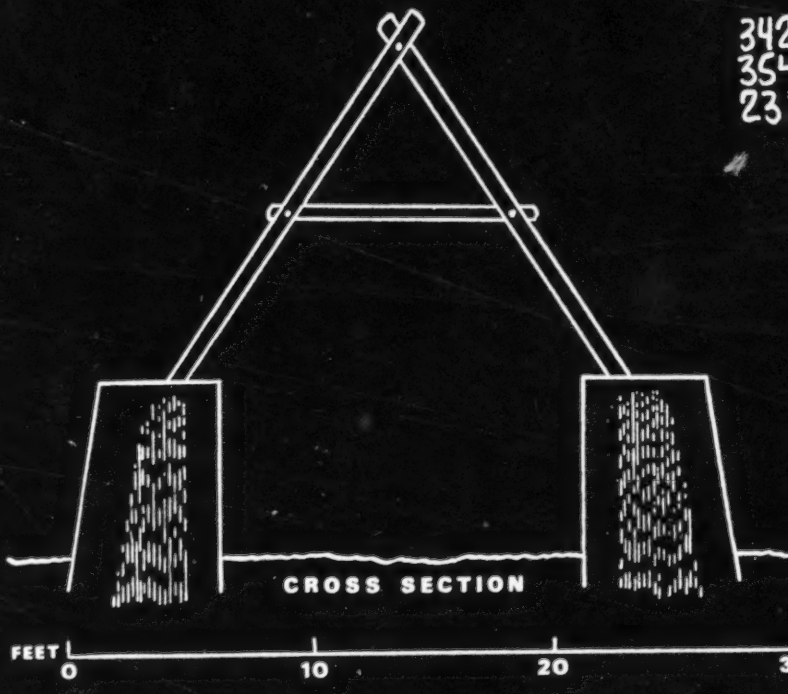
/p. 80/

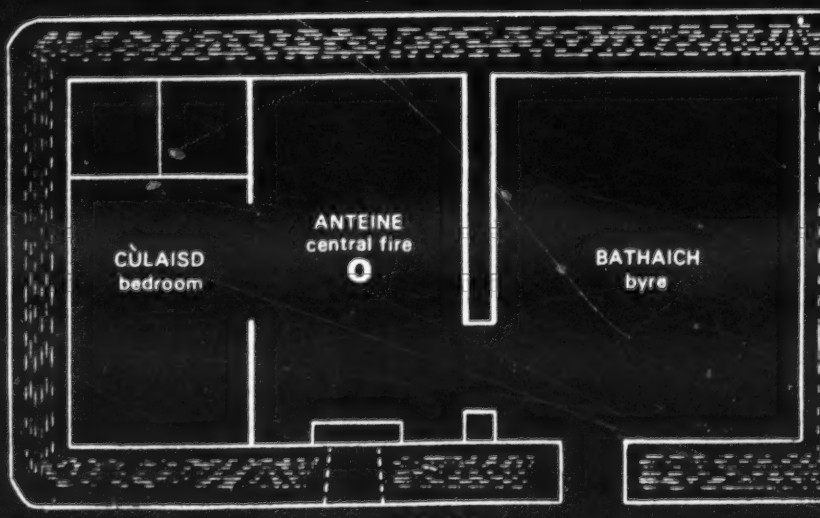
g, 73 per cent have the language, which has been introduced y immigrant country folk and their descendants.

HEALTH AND HOUSING

Despite the harsh conditions of centuries, the physical health of the island was good in early times. Epidemics were rare due to olation, though on occasion smallpox carried away many children. The commonest diseases were fevers, jaundice, dysentery and iarrhoea. Bloodletting (as in many another more advanced community) was the usual cure for fevers and dysentery. For coughs the people took a 'brochan' or soup of roots of nettles and reeds boiled in water with yeast; the meal of a black bean, mixed with boiled milk, was a useful cure for dysentery. Reports describe the olk as being well-proportioned, free from bodily imperfections and of good stature; healthful and strong-bodied.

But privations, particularly the frequent recurrences of near-amine, coupled with the primitive housing conditions, began to ake their toll. The increasing sickness rate aroused the concern of authority. The most primitive dwellings had but one room, with the cattle at one end and the family at the other. In 1830 Seaforth sought at least to put an end to this, ordering that a partition must be erected between beast and man, 'and that more light should be admitted into the dark recesses of their habitation'. This type of one-room dwelling was not confined to the island, being found with many variants throughout the Highlands and Islands area. The old Lewis house was, as a rule, an oblong structure, varying in length according to the means and requirements of the occupier. It had but one door, and frequently had no windows. Chimneys did not find favour, mainly because any opening for the escape of smoke from the centrally-sited hearth tended to reduce the quality of soot produced; and soot was regarded as a valuable manurial product. If there was a hole in the roof to admit some light, a small pane of glass was fixed into it: this soon had a coating of soot, and the sole source of light was the doorway—when the door was open. The family and the cattle used the same entrance; and the cows' dung was removed once a year in the springtime.





PLAN

Hebridean type of 'black house': plan and cross-section

In 1899, the Medical Officer of Health for the Parish of Barvas described the typical Lewis crofter's house of the time. It had three apartments, two for the family, and a third for the cattle; this new arrangement was the result of the Regulations issued by Sir James Matheson for the betterment of the estate. The low thick walls were built of stone, or stone and turf, with a packing of loose earth, and were perennially damp. The roof, composed of a framework of wooden rafters and couples resting on the inner edge of these walls, was covered over with turf divots and straw, bound with ropes of straw, heather or coarse thatching rope, and weighted down with stones. It was never air- or water-tight, and roof water usually soaked into the packing of the walls and thus oozed into the house. Further, only the slightest attention was given to situation and drainage. The floor of the dwelling apartment was composed of a pavement of rough stones covered over with clay—and a cold damp floor it was. The cattle apartment had no pavement, so that the manure liquids and slop water percolated into the ground and at times found their way into neighbouring dwelling houses and even into the drinking wells. Many of the houses were built back-to-back and sometimes in rows three deep. Lighting was deficient and the windows, fixed either in walls or roof, were not made to open.

Some houses had round portholes in the roof at the top of the wall which might be opened or closed at pleasure; these served for lighting and ventilation at the byre end of the house, though occasionally they were present also at the living end. Draughts coming in through the roof and walls, and the blazing peat fire in the centre of the middle apartment, helped to keep the air in motion, but the smoke from the fire frequently filled the upper portions of the room and, there still being no chimney or other outlet as a rule, it pervaded the whole atmosphere of the house. From a sanitary point of view such houses had the gravest of defects: it amazed visiting doctors that infectious diseases were ever absent. Yet generally the inmates compared well in physique, general well-being and immunity from serious disease with those more favourably situated. Tuberculosis was the most prevalent enemy.

In 1879, improving leases were offered to those who were will-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

ing to put their houses into better condition. The leases required, *inter alia*, that the thatch was not to be stripped off or removed for manurial purposes; that the byre was to be a separate building; and that the dung was to be removed regularly to a distant dung-heap. A Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1896 noted that the new houses being erected were following the old traditional patterns. And though the introduction of statutory requirements did bring real improvements, as late as 1902 it was reported: 'The insanitary houses and the impure water to which the people have long been accustomed, would lead an enquirer to expect a high death-rate. That is not so, however. The island is occasionally visited by epidemics of measles, or whooping-cough, like other parts of the country; and there are sometimes outbreaks of dung-fever—a preventable malady—but altogether the general health is good."

The Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1898 described certain water supplies in the island as 'little better than cesspools for surface soakings'. And five years earlier the water supply of Cromore was 'merely a few holes dug out amongst the arable land next to the houses; and polluted with the manure dissoved off their arable ground; and in some cases contaminated with liquid sewage percolating through the soil from their houses.' In 1893 an outbreak of typhoid fever in some townships in Uig was traced to the contaminated stream whose water was used as a drinking-water supply. Improvements in the water supplies were eventually put into effect, with a marked decrease in the ailments which the people had come to expect as normal to their way of life.

The rate of infant mortality was high. The weaklings died young. Only the strong survived to withstand the insanitary surroundings. A peculiar form of disease was associated with the island: it seized a child about the fifth night after its birth and was consequently called the 'fifth night's sickness'. According to medical opinion this was infant lockjaw *(tetanus neonatorum)*. The doctor of Lochs in 1892 reported that it was common among the infants of his parish, being 'most frequently met with in those dwelling houses where sanitation in its most rudimentary form is entirely ignored; where we have to walk to the fireplace in the

Though the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says that in his time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving only, and an abundance of clover-grass for sheep. The island also produced a fine bere-meal which the islanders stuffed into the skins of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of Lewis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest Christian building in Britain remaining in its original state, Monro says: 'As the ancients of the country allege, they leave a spade and a shuil [shovel] when any man dies, and upon the morrow find the place of the grave marked with a spade, as they allege.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680:

> The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either; they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as they want; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of mankind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take their surname from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and clouds. There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis, which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm of rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the food. A few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders of their only bull. 'These misfortunes and the want of supply from Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all that ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony was sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical*

even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil. Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naïvely at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started, HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island consisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoemakers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses, and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers; and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

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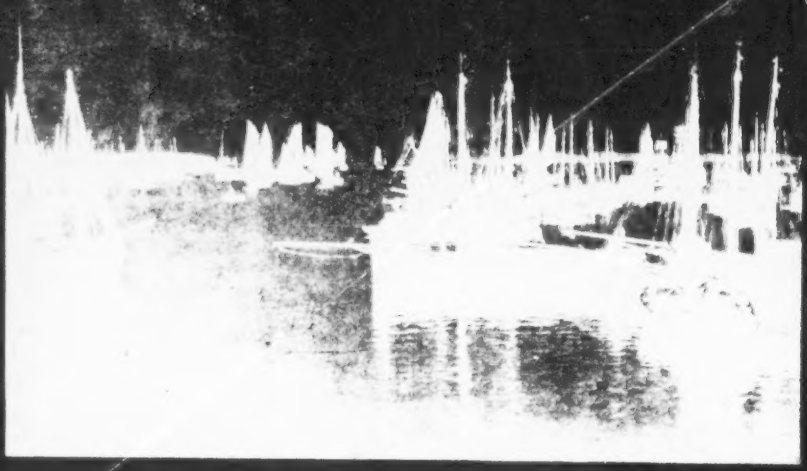

Two Stornoway scenes from the 'Grand Collotype Album of Views in Lewis' published c 1900 by Samuel Lawrence, 'Chemist, Druggist, Perfumer, Stationer and Tobacconist', Cromwell Street, Stornoway. (*above*) The herring fleet in Stornoway harbour, showing the wherries or 'Zulu' type craft; (*below*) Cromwell Street

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(1) Stornoway stretches from the town north to Tolsta;
632 (2) Barvas from the north of the Island southwards, past Barvas village (WNW. of Stornoway) five miles further to Bragar;
(3) Uig covers the rest of the south-west coast; and
(4) Lochs, the remainder of the south-east coast.

131 Seen from the sea, the Island chiefly presents dark,
133 gneissic, heath-fringed cliffs whose steep walls become gentle slopes towards the south as we enter the bays, sea lochs and firths which run far inland (Plates I to IV). As one sails northward along the east coast of Lewis, there are few hills to be seen, and these are below 1000 feet; most of the island is rolling moor, rarely rising above 300 feet. Here and there new houses stand out, the 'white houses' (*tighean geala*), which, however, are usually grey
342 or even dark in colour. These dwellings have generally been stone-built and were often slate-roofed; asbestos roofs are now common. Yet even when dark, these new cottages are conspicuous beside the low 'black houses' with their rounded forms of wall and roof, and with thatch overspread by a faint haze of blue peat reek, like the bloom
133 upon a fruit. Their plots of corn, though each may be so
[243] tiny as to appear but a spot at a distance, together form a bright patch against the dark brown moor. In the sketch which forms the Key to the Map of Vegetation and Settlements (Fig. 8), an attempt has been made to bring the map and the landscape alive to the mind's eye, from the hills of North Harris north-eastward to the Butt of Lewis.

131 Turning the north cape of Lewis, 'the Butt', and sailing
133 southwards along the west coast, we see hills increasing in height in the Uig district, rising to those of Harris with

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photograph by R.A.F., reproduced with the courtesy of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

PLATE XI. AIR VIEW OVER STORNOWAY HARBOUR, LOOKING SOUTH TO HARRIS

The original central street of the Point can be seen (cf. Plate II and Fig. 13). The woods of Lews Castle lie across the Bay, with Arnish Moor beyond

/facing p. 92/

later times the landlord might supply timber. Long ago a main source of timber was the shore. The length of the house may be fifty to sixty feet, and the inside breadth ten to twelve feet, spanned by ten or a dozen pairs of couples on which are laid transverse 'cabers', which may be tree trunks, branches, odd wood, old oars, or, exceptionally, sawn timber. The tops of the walls are finished with turf, to keep the filling from being washed out, and to provide a smooth bearing for the couples, the ends of which are pushed into the turf so as to bear on the inner half of the wall; the rounded form and absence of overhanging eaves prevent a gale obtaining purchase on the roof, but a gable with chimney is now usual on the end wall of the inner room. The rafters are annually covered with turf, and the roof is thatched with thin, short barley straw, which was pulled up, not cut, after the ears were picked off, the roots gripping well, and the stem hanging outward and down.

The door gives direct access to the byre (*bathach*), through which one reaches the middle part, or living-room, 'at the fire' (*aig an teine*), from which there opens the inmost part, the 'room' with bed-closets. There is no ceiling to the primitive house, the row of box beds having tops to keep off the drips of rain water. In the middle of the earthen, sanded floor of the living-room is the circular hearth, built of stones with clay between, and raised a few inches, with no chimney.

In the byre, the manure accumulates from spring to spring, and a breach is made in the end of the house for the annual removal of the manure. There are no privies. Where there is fodder and straw in any quantity a barn is added. Stacks are rare because of wind. A low wall, continuous with the house and barn, may enclose the kale-

yard and occasionally a barley-kiln in which to dry grain before malting it for home-brewed beer. A 'black mill', with its primitive horizontal water-wheel, stands apart by some burnside.

Round the circular hearth, a large company can assemble in very social fashion for talk, story and song, the meeting *together* (*ceilidh*). By the transfer of the hearth from the centre and the substitution of a gable fireplace and regular chimney, the social circle is halved, while meantime the tales of the *ceilidh* are forbidden or forgotten. Happily the bench still stands against the wall, near to the open door, through which neighbours slip in with a word of greeting to find a customary welcome.

The dwellings on the summer pastures out on the moors show great variety, illustrated in Fig. 10(B). A simple type in use is built of turf and stones, lightly roofed with turf placed on spars. A more primitive 'beehive' type (which fell out of use before 1900) was stone-built and corbelled, probably for lack of timber. And whereas the lighter type always stands by itself, the corbelled type was added to until a dozen cells formed a single mass, suggestive of ancient 'neolithic' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney, described by Childe, and of the domed, corbelled huts of the ancient East.

A further type was the 'spring house' of Tolsta, NE. Lewis, in which both cattle and folk sheltered in spring a little way from the village, before going out to the more distant moor. Mr. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S., a native of Tolsta, informs me that the spring house was in use until 1936. He remembers vividly how life in the shieling restored health and colour after the winter.

2. From Black House to White House

Discontent with the old black house grew wit knowledge and experience of better housing in Stor and on the mainland. The congestion which deve during the nineteenth century meant that often one was fouled by another above it, leading to typhoi demics. While the smoky atmosphere of the houses' inflamed the eyes and irritated the respi system, the roof was high and the fire kept the motion by day, ventilating it to the chimney hole, the lack of glass often made it necessary to work wi door open. The ravages of tuberculosis came towar end of the nineteenth century, when Islanders went crowded towns and, not being immunised, were da ously infected. Returning home, too often to linge die in a house now provided with tiny, fixed panes permitted a closed door and made it stuffier than b patients spread infection. Flight to a tiny, air wooden cabin or to a small white house of stone an often followed. The availability for the first time of and timber, a certain practice in boat-repairing, an sibly acquaintance at first- or second-hand with Ca wooden houses, may have influenced the choice of The early 'white' houses, with an attic lit by sk were airtight, for the windows were too often fixed o opened at the bottom. The door was left open in weather, but it was not high enough to allow the of the stale, upper layer of air which the women br as they did their cooking and baking.

In the inter-war period, particularly in its last d the 'black house' was being abandoned, not for som worse, but far better. The Government-aided house

adequate air-space, and windows opening at the top and usually kept open by day, in which a woman can work at ease. The Department of Agriculture aided the building of a good standard type. The quality of joinery and masonry or concrete work improved, one fairly skilled workman usually directing the householder and friends as amateur builders. The cost of materials was met by a grant, generally of £250, half being repayable by an annual rent of £6 : 10s. for twenty years. Repayments proceeded satisfactorily. No scheme organised by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland won so general a commendation as this of house improvement. It made good use of family initiative and responsibility, with neighbourly co-operation not called for upon a large scale, a township at a time, but in quite a small, personal way. Nevertheless, had more guidance been provided to the builders, the houses could have been really well built. For lack of this, perhaps, crofters increasingly prefer to pay for skilled work, though helping actively. Appendces I (ii) and II (ii) gives pre-War and post-War statistics.

3. *The Township and its Changing Plan*

Where absence of rock and boulder permits ploughing, the village land is laid out in a series of parallel strips, aligned with the slope. The road runs either parallel with shore or river, or at right angles to it. The intermixed possession of strips by 'run-rig' characterised the Lowlands before the Enclosures, and is frequent in the Highlands and Isles. The apparent regularisation of field lines may conceal the fact that an individual holder's plots may be scattered amongst those of others in fixed run-rig. This is an advantage where quality of land is so patchy, and each man thus gets his share of good and bad

in solid black, and the third in hatching (Fig. 11). First, upon the little peninsula or 'Point' which protects the inner fishing harbour of the river there grew the nucleus of the town, with its Castle upon the rocky islet now concealed by the steamer pier. Sheltered from the waves by the peninsula and from enemies by the Castle, MacLeod's galleys and the early fishing fleet must have congregated in the inner harbour. Protection from storm was specially needed until, in the nineteenth century, a quay was built, with space for marketing and handling the herring.

Inland from the Castle was the little church of the burgh, dedicated to Saint Lennan (L). The little town can be imagined stretching inland from the church, its dwellings built along the 'Point Street' axis, until it met the track, road or street crossing the neck of the Point. The largest church of Lewis proper, now in ruins, stood apart from the burgh, at the south-west extremity of Eye Peninsula. Until trade developed, the backs of the houses would have been turned to the shore. To north, on the landward side from which cattle would come, the market developed.

Secondly, in the seventeenth century, thatched houses were strung out along Point Street and the shore for the Gaelic settlers, the fisher- and craftsman-crofters brought here to found a burgh and commercialise fishing. During

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Key to Fig. 11 (opposite)

Buildings on John Wood's plan of 1821 are shown in black and radial streets then proposed by pecked lines. Existing buildings are shown hatched. The harbour development plan of 1946 (pecked lines) is shown by courtesy of the Stornoway Pier and Harbour Commission; it is now in execution.

L = site of St. Lennan's. T = former Town House. TH = Town House.
× = site of Castle. + = modern churches.

(*Based on a British Admiralty chart with the permission of the Controller o, H.M. Stationery Office and of the Hydrographer of the Navy.*)

361 it command and make it the leading settlement of the
366 Hebrides, with a population fluctuating around 5000.[1]
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2. Aspects and Problems of the Burgh

361 The little town pleases by its views over the harbours,
632 outer or inner—sheltering perhaps a steamer or two and the clustered fishing vessels—across to the wooded skyline and the beautiful grounds of the Castle, a-flower in spring with rhododendrons. Or framed in trees from the Castle policies, the harbour and even the roofs and
• [342] smoke of the houses are not unpleasing (Plate II). But the town's chief charm is its setting, not itself, though its plain dwellings with 'harled' or rough-cast walls and slate
[146] roofs are simple and inoffensive. In rehousing, the Local
[656] Authority had respected Scottish domestic features. But the greater use of local materials, labour and skill is surely desirable in the Island with its many half-employed men, who need such work to maintain income, health and morale.
[362] As is to be expected in view of low incomes, and the extremely primitive housing in the country, urban housing
[162] is inadequate. In Stornoway burgh in 1931, 44 per cent, or nearly half the population, still dwelt in houses of one to three rooms, 17 per cent in four (including attics often with no dormer windows), 20 per cent in five or six, and 18 per cent in seven rooms and over. There has been improvement up to 1939, and after 1945, but much remains to be done.

369 Turning to cultural life, profound differences divide
632 the town from the country about it. Whereas in the townships of rural Lewis the people are almost purely natives

[1] The burghal area was extended in 1935. At the census of 1951 its population stood at 4950. This showed an increase of 15·9 per cent above the population enumerated in the same area in 1931.

623 The Trustees of the Stornoway Trust have not found
423 it easy to meet the cost of keeping up the valuable property
427 of the Castle and Park, nor to carry the burden of its rates, no adequate income being available for the purpose.
178 Today, however, Leverhulme's gift is being put to good
874 use as a Technical College, opened in September 1952.

Division of the available farms, after providing about
311 200 small crofts (of ten acres or so), still left the problem
427 of finding legal homes on legal tenure for the remaining cottars and squatters.[1] The Department of Agriculture
362 arranged to feu plots of 'skinned land' on the outrun of
656 certain townships, including one in the extreme north and others in Lochs. About 200 of these little holdings with potato ground were provided. On the holders' behalf the Department feued land from the owner, after obtaining the consent of the Common Grazings Committee of the township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', *i.e.* for enclosure of a portion of the common. The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem disproportionate to the economic value of the holdings. Yet difficulties of law and custom had been allowed to go from bad to worse during the past eighty years; and these difficulties were overcome.

362 To encourage better housing in the crofting counties,
657 loans are made to 'crofters and fishermen feuars' person-
• [342] ally. Local stone, or latterly concrete, is used, and much of the building is done by the 'man of the house' himself, and his friends. From 1920 to 1940, nearly 1200 loans were made in Lewis and Harris for the erection (or improvement) of houses, and in a few cases for the erection

[162] [1] Estimated at 1200 to 1500 shortly before, the open question was whether subdivision during the previous eighty years was to be recognised and accepted.

231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' shellings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig shellings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Mealasta farm, until about 1939, shellings were used in that area.

314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near
241 the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation. Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

• 342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have
312 kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a
377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very
301 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the
280 off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers - nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy;
446 in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady
[334] income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R.A.F. station and at least
[407] one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns a tractor which he hires
[242] out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Moire peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
231 the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos
654 in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village there is now an R.A.F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the inhabitants.

341 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
491 at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
493 butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N.A.A.F.I. within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100 ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below
[205] the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
[342] have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
[354] more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
[312] modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
311 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so
[447] that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions, but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

241 The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown
[407] grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the
[242] cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horses.
[824] Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
[23] tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was cultivated; here was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

233 On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
[66] periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 - 44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

175 beginning of the resettlement movement which has given the modern crofters of the
36 district almost all the lands formerly occupied by small tenants. This process was
completed in the Bernera region soon after 1918, and the problem now - one which is
obviously going to become increasingly important - is not to give the crofters more land,
but to find active crofters for the existing holdings (see Chapter iii for more detailed
information on clearance and resettlement).

361 The ground plans of the existing settlements vary considerably, depending mainly on
632 the terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coast the original
tendency is for the croft boundaries to run at right angles to the coast and for each house
427 to be set on its own croft. The best examples of this are Hacklete and Kirkibost, where
an early nineteenth century (i.e. pre-clearance) lotting was readopted when the township
was re-settled in 1878. Linshader, Lundale, Crulivig and Earshader also follow the
same type of layout as nearly as possible, but Tobson, with the exception of Valassy, is
intermediate between a lotted and an unconsolidated township. Croir also differs: it
was laid out in 1921 but the disposition of the potential arable forbade a coastwise
organisation. The site of Breaclete is greatly broken by lochs and a sea inlet, and
consequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Breaclete - Loch
Beg Breaclete axis, appears somewhat complicated. The accompanying diagrams
contrast the control exercised by physical conditions at Croir with the subordination of
physical conditions to a simple lotting plan at Hacklete, (Figure 28).

Within the townships, with the exception of Kirkibost, the distribution of settlement
361 seems to have changed little since the original lottings, for in most cases the sites of the
342 old and present dwellings are little further apart than is dictated by constructional
178 problems. It would appear generally that black houses were universal in the nineteenth
632 century except for the Lighthouse at 1 Croir (the oldest 'white' house in Bernera), Thule
House, (18 Tobson), possibly the tacksman's house at 11 Hacklete, the former farmhouses
at 20 Kirkibost and at West Earshader. However, with the establishment of Congested
Districts Board and of Board of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, early examples
being 5 Hacklete and 10 Breaclete. The resettled townships generally had improved
accommodation from the start. Improvement has greatly accelerated since 1951. In
most cases at the present time housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and
one near blackhouse are still occupied.

312 Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their
private water supply, thought it is hoped that mains schemes may be constructed within
the next few years. Sanitation varies in standard and in places there are still open
54 ditches, but all the newer houses have water closets. It is worth remarking in this con-
76 nection that tuberculosis is almost eliminated. Electricity has been available since 1952
to all crofts and most are connected, though not necessarily in every room. Cooking is
359 sometimes by electricity but more commonly by Calor gas and a tilted range or stove
(open or enclosed). Peat is cheap to those able to gather it themselves. Where, however,
help is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road, difficulties may arise.
The cost of hiring labour for peat cutting may be such that it is cheaper to buy coal.

Access to Berneray by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Roag
490 received the highway of communication, the road built to Earshader after the Great War,
494 and the £87,000 bridge to Bernera Island, built in 1953, have caused a revolution of
sites. Linshader is approached by a tarred branch road and the outlying Bernera shore
townships lie upon the narrow and twisting main road, though four of the six Lundale
crofts have no connection with it, and two of the Crulivig crofts, and West Earshader, are
somewhat isolated. On Bernera Island the old cart track from the pier at Barraglom
across to Tobson and Croir has been somewhat re-aligned since the construction of the
bridge. This is a good tarred road, as is part of the branch to crofts 3...8 Croir. The
old road to Kirkibost was tarred in 1959, though three outlying crofts near Barraglom
were still without a road suited to vehicles, and the branch within Breaclete remained
untarred. There is a new road to Hacklete from Breaclete which provides tolerable,
though circuitous, communication. Valassy is one of the most isolated settlements in
Bernera, linked with Breaclete rather than with Tobson by the footbridge and causeway
paid for by Congested Districts Board grant about 1903.

36 and across the croft boundaries and it is along these that the majority of the houses are
149 to be found so also are the roads followed the easiest course open to them so the settlement
178 has moved to the roads.

A particularly interesting example of this kind can be drawn from Upper Carloway
where a twofold movement of settlements has taken place; first, from about 150 feet
above sea level, where the original black houses were built, there was an uphill movement
to the upper of the two roads which cross the township at from 150 to 170 feet above sea
level, and, secondly (and more recently), there has been a move to build at from 25 to
30 feet above sea level along the lower road which has become the main axis for the public
342 services. Three main types of building exist then in this township. The first is the
blackhouse of which only one or two now remain. Even these are not the primitive type
of blackhouse, for they all have proper chimneys. The second is an ill-defined group
which includes buildings erected during the later years of the fishing boom and in the
period up to the Second World War. These houses are either one or two storied often
with the traditional dormer windows; they form the majority. Finally there is the
development of the modern bungalows which are built by the crofters but based on plans
supplied by the Department of Agriculture. Few have ventured to build away from the
level of the lower road.

342 How then does this pattern of settlement illustrate the changes referred to at the
178 beginning of this section? The original houses were abandoned gradually as the temporary
prosperity of the fishing enabled the crofters to build the better houses. These have seen
great changes, but in most cases they are still occupied. Some have been extended and
improved by their owners whilst others remain without additions almost as they were when
first built. That the crofter owns his own house has certainly encouraged replacement
[634] in recent times. The generous grants and loans provided by the Department of Agricul-
ture have been utilised to construct the modern bungalows on crofts where the original
croft house stands as a byre and where the second house is sometimes inhabited by some
relative or person who sublets a part of the croft. It is rare to see such successive phases
so close together in a landscape, reflecting the varying fortunes of economic enterprise
and the influence of government subsidies now so much a part of the life of the crofting
township.

Roads and public services.

141 Carloway's importance as a centre for West Lewis is accounted for by the fact that
at the break in the coastline caused by East Loch Roag the main road southwards from
Barvas turns inland to Breaslete. Near the point where it crosses the Carloway river
at Carloway bridge it is joined by a number of local township roads creating a focus for
community services (figure 38)[1]. Here also the line of the still unfinished 'Pentland'
road, projected as a direct link with Stornoway during the fishing boom, reaches Loch
Carloway and passes along its north shore to the pier at Borrowston. This substantial
pier was the scene of great activity during the period of commercial fishing before the
First World War.

369 The six hundred residents of the immediate Carloway area are served by eight travel-
494 ling shops as well as by the local stores. Bread, fish, meat, green-groceries, library
162 and bank all come to the end of the croft if not to the crofter's door. Of the vans one is
based on Carloway, one on Breaclete and the rest on Stornoway. A mobile film unit
visits once each fortnight. The churches and school rightly reflect their importance in
the community by the commanding position which they occupy just above the bridge. Here
too is the showground; the annual show attracts people from all over the island, being as
much a social as an agricultural gathering. Other services are more dispersed but not
far away. They include doctor and district nurse, policeman, post office, and football

[TEXT [illegible] 103]

1. [Presumably the author means figure 39--Analyst]

427 Although the croftland is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six
241 months of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole
221 township stock graze indiscriminately over the crofts. Thus basically the whole area of the
427 township, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear
178 that the agricultural revolution with its system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Crofting
Area.

Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic - 'airigh').
175 The sites of the shielings are usually on slopes commanding a view of the surrounding area near a
253 spring or stream and usually two to nine huts belonging to the same township are grouped together
on a site; isolated shielings are rare in Park. In order to secure the pasture within the township
dyke for wintering, and to protect the unfenced crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in
June, and the younger members of the households went out to live in small stone or turf-walled
huts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter
or cheese at the shieling. The distance of shielings from the crofts varied from one to five miles
in Park.

632 The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the
township and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in the
past related mainly to the enforcement of soumings, but are now reduced to the disbursement of
subsidies, although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the
township bull (usually lent by the Department of Agriculture but sometimes communally owned) are
also the province of the Committee.

361 The layout of the townships varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned
342 in strips from the moor to the sea (figures 4 and 5). Most croft houses are built on the crofts; in
former times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the
178 cultivable land was required for crops, but nowadays the houses tend to be sited near the road.

162 The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing
361 in the rights and duties of the township. Table 1 gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 Park
427 crofts. It will be noted that only one-fifth of the crofts are tenanted by those in the 15-44 age
241 group: a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 65 years of age. Absentee tenants account
for 14 per cent of the total. Women form under 10 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of
[466] the women tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The intrinsic worth of the holdings can be
inferred from the fact that two-thirds of the male tenants in the insurable age group take supple-
mentary work, two-fifths of them forth of Lewis. Without an large proportion of the tenants either
fully employed in ancillary occupations in Park or elsewhere it is hardly surprising that the theore-
tical township organisation exists mainly in name alone.

427 Each croft, however, is not necessarily an agricultural unit; some are sublet by absentee
241 tenants or by tenants who are too old or too infirm to work their crofts. Of the 215 crofts, one-fifth
are wholly or partly sublet. In addition to the legal crofts, there are unofficial holdings which fall
into three categories, cottars, squatters and fewars, all legally without grazing rights. A
cottar[1] is a person, usually a close relative of the tenant, who builds another house on

1 These are the de facto definitions. Section 34 of the Crofters' Act of 1886 defines a cottar as follows:- "Cottar" means the occupier of a dwelling-house situate in a crofting parish with or without land who pays no rent to the landlord, as also the tenant from year to year of a dwelling house situated in a crofting parish who resides therein, and who pays to the landlord therefor an annual rent not exceeding six pounds in money, whether with or without garden ground, but without arable or pasture land". For fuller treatment, see Scott, J., "The Law of Smallholdings in
[113] Scotland," 1933, pages 152-155.

There is no legal definition of a squatter, and the above definition does not include any distinction between houses built on a croft and houses built on the Common Grazings.

[Garyvard] [Caversta]

342 At the moment Garyvard appears to be a go-ahead village, carrying out communal schemes
[162] which will benefit the township as a whole. However, the age structure of the population is abnormal
since 60 per cent of the population is over 45 years. The future in Garyvard offers young people
192 hard work, little money and no entertainment, making the attractions of the cities and industries
of the mainland quite irresistible. Unless some industry can be started the future bodes ill for the
area, since most crofters are of the opinion that a weekly wage packet would more than compensate
191 the loss of their independence. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the age of National Assistance and
subsidies that man cares more for momentary rewards and the luxuries of life. This is well
understood by parents who encourage their children to leave the township for employment either
in Britain or within the Commonwealth. The Lewisman is no sentimentalist clinging to dying tradition
and a way of life. His present desires have been re-cast as a result of his increasing contact with
the world beyond the Hebrides and he is prepared to abandon his home where it defeats his aims
and purpose. Unless prosperity can be brought in by way of industry, tourism or increased croft
efficiency, possibly through co-operation in working and marketing, it is possible that we are
witnessing the end of a community.

CAVERSTA

Helen Mackenzie

191 Caversta lies along a southern inlet of Loch Erisort, five miles from the Minch and is partially
sheltered from east winds by the Cromore peninsula and Eilean Chaluim Chille.

133 The physical nature of the terrain is irregular, rising steeply from the water's edge to a level
361 of approximately 225 feet. To the west and to the east, the land slopes to the river estuary and it
is here that the settlement occurs. Particularly in the north-west, two marked breaks in slope are
visible at 75 feet and 100 feet above the loch, which is here bordered by a 25 foot rock face. The
resulting platforms are separated by faces of bare rock. The valley of the Caversta River is a
427 noteworthy feature. Below a small loch, the river follows an irregular course though a wide and
241 shallow moraine-filled depression and a quarter-of-a-mile from its estuary, has cut through some
low hills rising about 30 feet above the depression. At this point, its course becomes steeper as
it passes through a small gorge, which is probably an overflow channel.

197 Trees are non-existent and the natural vegetation consists of Sphagnum on the peat bogs in the
hollows and grasses and sedges on the gentler slopes. The steeper, less waterlogged slopes, often
broken by rocky bluffs, have heather cover; bracken growth is kept in check by heavy grazing.
178 Forty-six acres of land have been reclaimed by clearing heather and removing peat to form the
427 crofts, but the soil, which varies in depth from a few inches to a few feet, is very acid.
241

The six legal crofts vary in acreage from 4.75 to 8.5 acres and a squatter has 5.5 acres of
129 enclosed land. The township is in two parts: Toristea, with the two smallest crofts, lies at the east-
241 ern extremity, while the other five holdings, also bounded by a dyke, border Tob Caversta, an
632 inlet of Loch Erisort. The crofts, which run from the shore to the township dyke, were set prior
[175] to 1861; originally the township formed part of Crobeg Farm. The legal units are, in fact, operative
units except that one of the Toristea crofts, now unoccupied, is used for wintering lambs by the
absentee's brother, a resident of Caversta.

342 There are no occupied black houses remaining in either Toristea or Caversta, as during the
past fifty years new dwellings have been erected in dressed stone or corrugated iron, usually with
roofs of asbestos slate, tarred felt, or corrugated iron. Several old thatched houses are now used
as barns and byres.

[Marivig]

There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft, and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron. All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply; rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

[Lemreway] [Orinsay]

The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house - and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939. Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. Ruins of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs. Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents, they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling, is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

5: Caird et al.	K-5	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

231 [288] Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

221 233 All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

311 233 The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky, waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

231 235 [435] No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

434 464 228 It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

161 162 There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

366 368 166 167 464 505 228 462 352 454 As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home, together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.

312 377 312 [206] 366 [491] [494] On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it. Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles distant.

161 162 Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of congestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

/p. 39/

5: Caird et al.	K-5	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

GROUND PLANS OF SHIELINGS

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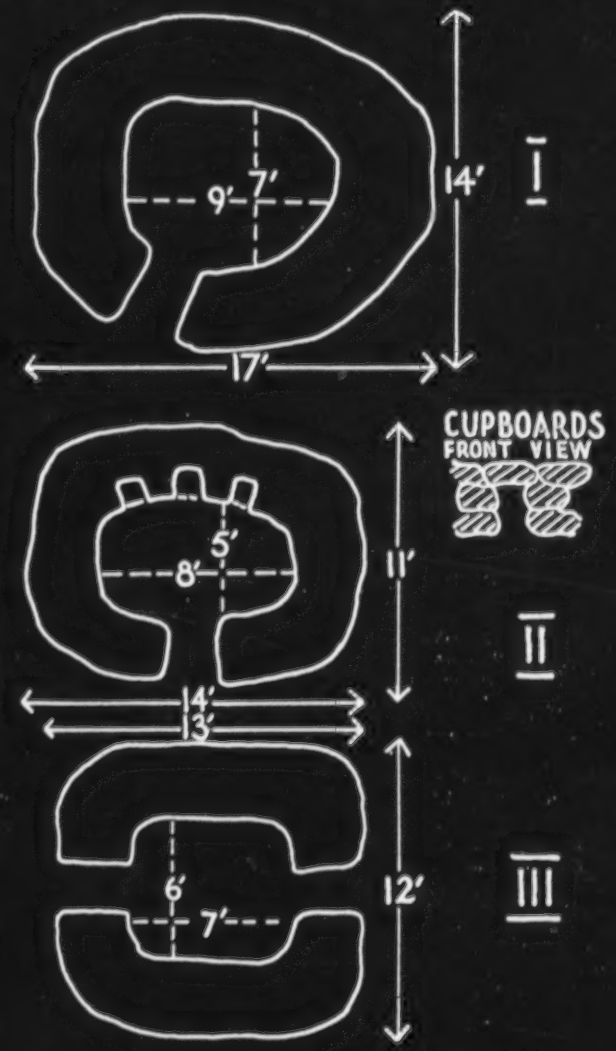

Fig. 10

/facing p. 39/

161 Table XIX summarises the population structure and trends for the four districts. It is a
162 that the two districts without service centres, which provide a range of ancillary employmen
166 experienced more severe depopulation since 1939. This table also underlines the fact that e
167 from seasonal employment are insufficient: the incidence of permanent employment furth of
434 districts is three times as great as the incidence of seasonal employment.
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APPENDIX B

SHIELINGS - A NOTE

John E. Wearmouth with illustrations by Beth Blowers

176 From Figure 1, compiled from the First Edition six-inch map of the Ordnance Survey (18
233 to 1852) and from personal observations, it is clear that the shieling system was at one time
an overall feature of Park for the whole peninsula has traces of this transhumant economy.

361 The rudimentary structures, some of turf, others of stones and roofed with bracken or
342 heather thatch, are all sited on well drained sites, the majority on mounds. Almost all the
sites are close to lochs or streams. The majority are in loose groups of from two to nine
buildings, although there are some in isolation; no site has as many as twenty-six building
as found at Airidh na Gaoithe in North Uist.

342 There appears to be two distinctive shapes of building - oval and rectangular (Fig.10).
All shielings measured exhibited a remarkable similarity in dimensions, from 17½ by 9 feet
to 13 by 12 feet. The oval structures are generally larger than the rectangular ones. Mo
of the shielings had two entrances, often, but not always, opposite each other.

195 The shieling system died out in Park about 1880 but the cattle continued to graze around
283 shielings on the better grass, and the crofters had still to go out to milk the cattle at the shi
although they no longer lived there. The sheep still use the mounds for shelter and grazing
These features of an obsolete economy are still easily recognisable from the luxuriant grass
cover in a wilderness of peat bog and bare rock.

APPENDIX C

NORSE SETTLEMENTS NAMES IN NORTHERN PARK, LEWIS

Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt.

103 See: Magne Oftedal, The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides; in Norsk Tidskrif
113 Sprogvidenskap, vol. XVII, 1954, (Oslo), pp. 363 ff.

103 Professor Oftedal points out the difficulties of these Norse-Gaelic settlement names: i
accurate spellings even in modern times, and lack of any useful evidence from older source
make almost all the derivations a matter of conjecture. Sometimes two or more ON equiva
are possible (e.g. for Calbost), sometimes no satisfactory solution can be found (e.g. for
Lemreway). Since Professor Oftedal frequently bases his explanation on pronunciations n
recorded in written forms, his evidence is largely followed here.
SHIELDERNISH: the second element is N nes, 'headland'. Oftedal's explanation of the fir
as silda, genitive plural of N sild, 'herring', is satisfactory linguistically, but seems unlike
in meaning.

the eighteenth century these 'black houses' would be replaced by houses of stone and lime, and a few of those survive.

Of the fort built by Cromwell on the Point, no signs remain. For tactical reasons, the best site would seem to be the neck of the Point, from which the guns of the fort could defend the houses, stores and quays. The irregular building line near the point marked T, a Town House at a later period, may correspond to the northern angle of the fort. The fort appears to have been standing when the original drawing was made for the engraving in the Old (or First) Statistical Account of Stornoway, *c.* 1793.

By the time Wood drew his plan in 1820, houses on the Point no longer looked exclusively on to the axial street. The main alinement of interest came to be the shore, marked by a properly built quay. Today, the Point Street houses have fallen into decay but many older houses still stand in fair repair along the 'Beach' or Quay.

Thirdly, from the nineteenth century, until 1914, two-storey, flatted tenements, hotels and houses of middle-class people were built upon a grid that followed upon the old field plans. In an alternative plan, proposed about 1820 but not adopted, a diagonal vista opened out to the Established Church, built in 1794 on rising ground. The modest Seaforth Lodge which had stood across the harbour was replaced in 1850 by Stornoway (or Lews) Castle, its pseudo-Tudor style designed to please the new improving landlord, Sir James Matheson, who had purchased Lewis in 1844. Presented to the people on the break-up of the Leverhulme Estates in 1925, a new technical school has taken it over. A few villas also grew up on outlying roads. Thus, a mere village in 1801, and among the smaller burghs

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

342 yard and occasionally a barley-kiln in which to dry grain
343 before malting it for home-brewed beer. A 'black mill',
351 with its primitive horizontal water-wheel, stands apart by
{251} some burnside.
{273} Round the circular hearth, a large company can assemble in very social fashion for talk, story and song, the meeting
354 *together* (*ceilidh*). By the transfer of the hearth from the
571 centre and the substitution of a gable fireplace and regular
538 chimney, the social circle is halved, while meantime the tales of the *ceilidh* are forbidden or forgotten. Happily
[178] the bench still stands against the wall, near to the open
[353] door, through which neighbours slip in with a word of greeting to find a customary welcome.

342 The dwellings on the summer pastures out on the moors show great variety, illustrated in Fig. 10(B). A simple
361 type in use is built of turf and stones, lightly roofed with
[178] turf placed on spars. A more primitive 'beehive' type (which fell out of use before 1900) was stone-built and
[171] corbelled, probably for lack of timber. And whereas the lighter type always stands by itself, the corbelled type was added to until a dozen cells formed a single mass, suggestive of ancient 'neolithic' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney, described by Childe, and of the domed, corbelled huts of the ancient East.

[343] A further type was the 'spring house' of Tolsta, NE. Lewis, in which both cattle and folk sheltered in spring a little way from the village, before going out to the more
{124} distant moor. Mr. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S., a
{178} native of Tolsta, informs me that the spring house was in use until 1936. He remembers vividly how life in the shieling restored health and colour after the winter.

344

344 PUBLIC STRUCTURES--description of public buildings (e.g., municipal halls, courthouses, prisons and jails, postoffices, hospitals); special characteristics and facilities of each; mode of construction; etc. See also:

Building trades 33
Municipal government 63
Functioning of courts, jails, and prisons 69
Postal service 205
Hospital administration 743

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

342 maintained—once an important aid to the survival of half-
• 343 starved cattle. A slope from the dwelling-quarters down to the byre facilitates drainage: normally the length of the
[178] homestead follows the slope. The separation of house from byre took place in Harris and Uist over seventy years ago by County Council decision, but in most of Lewis, even in 1947, about 40 per cent of the homesteads were
342 of the primitive type, outwardly but little changed. This separate cottage, as in Harris, is a shapely little structure, roughly symmetrical and particularly pleasing when the walls are whitewashed below the pale-gold thatch.

342 The surviving 'black house' is a stone structure. As
343 Stevens has written, "the rock of the island is hard to
[314] work, and hard to win", and may be covered by peat. Undressed stones are collected and sometimes carried for
[324] long distances. Before dynamite came into use, a very large stone could be broken up by lighting a peat fire on it, then dashing cold water over it. By an old Gaelic custom, the bachelors of a township used to help to build the house for one of their friends who was about to marry.
[333] Lime for mortar being absent from the island, the walls are built dry. The wall is double, the space between being filled with earth. Hence it may be six feet thick
[354] at the base, though barely six feet high. Typical primitive houses lacked windows, only a little light entering through the smoke vent and through a piece of oiled skin, replaced latterly by a pane of glass let into the thatch of the roof or by a deep window aperture in the wall.

342 Roof building is a difficult problem in construction,
343 on account of the scarcity of timber and the strength of the winds, and explains the narrow plan. Wood was so
313 scarce that when a house was abandoned the frame of the
[182] roof was removed, the spars being the tenant's; but in

[422]
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

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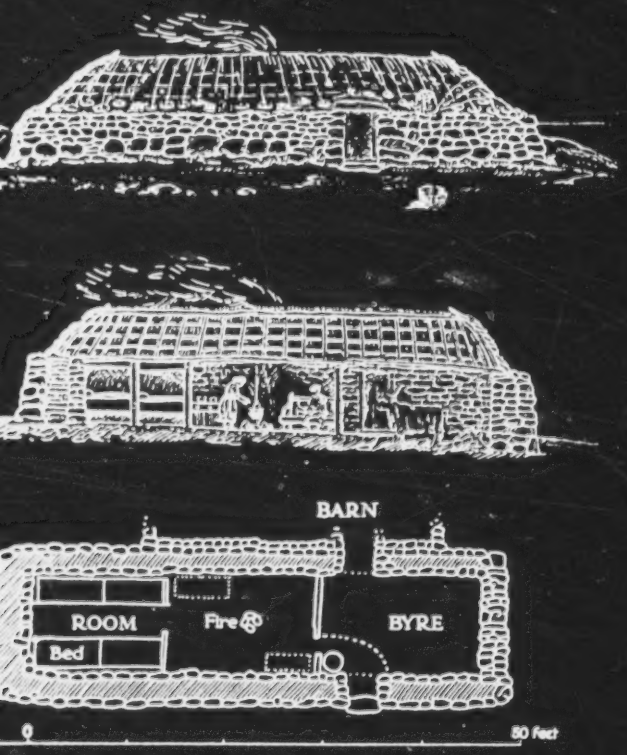
FIG. 10(A)



mitive 'Black House', universal fifty years ago in Western
ris. Very few now have the central fire. (In Harris, byres
e separated from houses about 1880.)

B) (*facing*).—The summer shieling, past and present, and the
ng house. (From the writer's field sketches, and after Thomas
wen, L. MacDougal and D. Macdonald, Tolsta.)
nodern turf shieling (*àirigh*). B. The ancient beehive shieling.
The spring house (*tigh earraich*). D. Beehive shielings added
ach other to form a single mass.

/p. 80/

342 later times the landlord might supply timber. Long
343 ago a main source of timber was the shore. The length
313 of the house may be fifty to sixty feet, and the inside
422 breadth ten to twelve feet, spanned by ten or a dozen
178 pairs of couples on which are laid transverse 'cabers',
which may be tree trunks, branches, odd wood, old oars,
or, exceptionally, sawn timber. The tops of the walls are
353 finished with turf, to keep the filling from being washed
out, and to provide a smooth bearing for the couples, the
ends of which are pushed into the turf so as to bear on
the inner half of the wall; the rounded form and absence
of overhanging eaves prevent a gale obtaining purchase
on the roof, but a gable with chimney is now usual on the
356 end wall of the inner room. The rafters are annually
covered with turf, and the roof is thatched with thin, short
barley straw, which was pulled up, not cut, after the ears
were picked off, the roots gripping well, and the stem
hanging outward and down.

353 The door gives direct access to the byre (*bathach*),
through which one reaches the middle part, or living-room,
'at the fire' (*aig an teine*), from which there opens the
inmost part, the 'room' with bed-closets. There is no
ceiling to the primitive house, the row of box beds having
tops to keep off the drips of rain water. In the middle of
the earthen, sanded floor of the living-room is the circular
hearth, built of stones with clay between, and raised a few
inches, with no chimney.

343 In the byre, the manure accumulates from spring to
spring, and a breach is made in the end of the house for
the annual removal of the manure. There are no privies.
Where there is fodder and straw in any quantity a barn
342 is added. Stacks are rare because of wind. A low wall,
343 continuous with the house and barn, may enclose the kale-
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146 RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES--description of shrines, temples, churches, libraries, museums, schools, and other religious and educational structures; special characteristics of each; mode of construction; etc. See also:

Administration of schools and colleges	87	Administration of sacred places	778
Administration of libraries and museums	217	Administration and functioning of churches . .	794

795 collected, and an annual report on morals, which usually condemns drinking and "the decline in moral standards." Ministers are trained in a college in Edinburgh. Many [199] are Gaelic speakers, although the number is said to be declining.

794 When a congregation loses a minister because of death 793 or other reasons, it issues a "call" to some other minister. The congregation is familiar with the names and preaching styles of a number of ministers, who have in the past visited the community as guest speakers. The congregation votes for a minister from a list made by the lay officers of the church. The minister may or may not accept the call.

795 The Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church, two [198] fundamentalist Protestant sects which have survived the tendencies toward unification evident since the turn of the century, are strongest in the Highlands and Islands. Shawbost contains a few people who belong to the Church of Scotland, but most villagers belong to the Free Church.

795 The only church (in the sense of a building in which sermons • 346 are preached) is a Free Church which was built in 1883, [193] supposedly after men from Shawbost helping to repair the fence at the minister's manse in Carloway, where they then attended church, were refused boiling water for their oatmeal "brose" by the minister's wife. A building in which members of the Church of Scotland worshipped was built

795 • 346 before 1883 but now serves as a school museum. When it closed, most of the members changed to the Free Church.

794 The present congregation includes many families from the neighboring village of Bragar, who come to church for the morning service and usually attend a prayer meeting in their own village in the evening. Once a month the minister gives an evening sermon in Bragar. The left side of the church, where most of the Bragar people sit, is called "the Bragar side."

Lay officers of the church, called elders and deacons, are elected by the communicants, those members of the congregation who have taken Communion. Both elders and deacons sit in special seats at the front of the church beneath the pulpit. Deacons, who are concerned with material matters such as collections and church property, sit in the "wee seats" slightly lower than the partitioned seats of the elders, the "big seats." The deacons meet in a deacons' court which the elders may attend. A meeting is held once a year at which the congregation is told matters such as how the church money was spent. Kirk sessions are limited to elders, who decide who will be baptised or take Communion.

[621] Each street or neighborhood within the village has its own deacon and elder, to whom members of the street bring various matters that concern church organization, such as plans for baptism.

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(*above*) The car ferry *Hebrides*, at Tarbert Pier, Harris

/p. 18/

(*below*) The interior of St Clement's Church, Rodel, Harris, showing the carved tomb of Alasdair Crotach, a MacLeod of Dunvegan (d c 1547)

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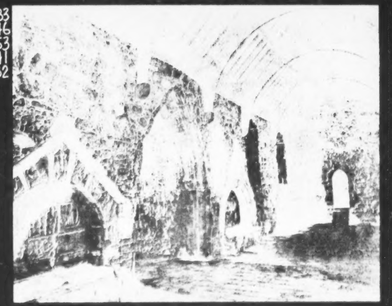

ECOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

361 ditches, indicating perhaps the love of old-time planners for
*175 following existing lines and patterns. A plan of Stornoway drawn up by a John Wood in 1821 shows the town's development along definite grid lines with a few main streets, most of which were comparatively long and running south-north, seawards to landwards.

In 1918, when Lord Leverhulme made his bid to centralise the scattered, failing fishing industry of the island at Stornoway, he envisaged a further stage for the town. He began to build new houses, and had a grandiose proposal to reopen the diagonal arrangement indicated in John Wood's plan and centre it on some great new building. This fell through on his departure from Lewis; and since then, building here has become much the same as on the Scottish mainland.

361 In more recent years Stornoway has seen a kind of suburban development with, in particular, a new housing scheme of private dwellings in the same area as that proposed by John Wood.

• [346] This area also contains the new primary school. A recent estimate of the cost of the building work, involving new houses and municipal facilities, amounted to almost £3 million. Municipal

[362] housing has been provided in smaller areas cleared of older houses. Of the 1600 houses in the Burgh, 50 per cent belong to the Burgh Council or the County Council, the balance being private.

HISTORY

172 anchorage in the Loch. The circle enclosing the cairn consists of thirteen stones and has a diameter of some 37 ft. The avenue, which approaches from the north, contains nineteen stones. It is 27 ft wide and 270 ft long; it forms the long limb of the cross plan of the design. Southward was another shorter avenue of twelve stones; and eastwards and westwards two lines of four stones each, thus completing the cross design. The stones range in height from 3½ to 15½ ft. Each is packed in at its base with small stones to keep it firmly in position. There are signs that Callernish, like Stonehenge, was built in stages. The material, unlike that used for Stonehenge, was from local sources (often Lewisian gneiss).

In the Sound of Harris, on the small island of Berneray, there are two stone circles of some interest. Scattered through Harris and Lewis there are also many solitary stones to be seen: at Borvemore, in Harris, which appears to have been one of a circle, and at Nisabost, also in Harris, where stands Clach MhicLeoid (MacLeod's Stone). Another standing stone is on the edge of the rocks by the shore, just below the church, on Boreray, one of the now-uninhabited islands in the Harris Sound. In Lewis, the menhir which figures most in story and legend is the Clach an Truiseil, on the gentle slope of a hillside near to Balantrusal, on the west coast. Nineteen feet of this stone are above ground. It is about 6 ft in width; nearly 4 ft at its maximum thickness. The tradition in Lewis is that the stone was erected to commemorate a victory by the Morisons of Ness over their long-standing enemies the MacAulays of Uig; of course the stone is older than any of the Lewis clans.

[113] For a full inventory of the ancient and historical monuments, one is referred to the 1928 Report of the Royal Commission which was set up to record such constructions in the Outer 172 Hebrides. Apart from those items of pre-Christian years, there are 346 a number of other structures with an ecclesiological reference: Teampull Eoin, at Bragar; Teampull Pheadair, at Shader; Teampull Bhrighid, at Mid-Borve; Teampull nan Cro Naomh, at Galson; Teampull Ronaidh, at Eoropie, and others. These latter, together with the Tigh nan Cailleachan Dubh (house of the black old women), indicate a reasonable degree of saturation by some form of religious recognition; the names suggest a period about halfway

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 37]

PREHISTORIC REMAINS

to AD 1000. The base of the missionary work was most probably 172 Iona. The old Celtic Church, with its monastic basis, sent out 346 many who sought the hardship and solitude of life in the islands [199] of the Hebrides as a means of example to the inhabitants. Today, the ancient cell sites, churches, burial-places, are in ruins, no more than a heap of grass-covered stones meriting scarcely a glance. Even on the outlier islands, such as the Shiants in the Minch and the Flannans in the Atlantic, are found these relics of ancient sites where the religious element was strong, overriding enough to be carried to the present day in traditional form.

From time to time archaeological finds are made in various 172 parts of the island. Perhaps the most famous was the discovery of the Uig Chessmen, to be seen today in the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh and in the Ivory Room of the British Museum. In the spring of 1831 an exceptionally high tide, with a gale wind, undermined and carried away a considerable portion of a sand-bank at Ardroil, in Uig. A small stone building, like an oven, was exposed at some depth below the surrounding ground level. A crofter who happened to be working nearby saw this and, excited by curiosity, broke into the structure. On seeing what he thought to be an assembly of elves and gnomes, he fled home in great distress. His wife, of a bolder nature, went to see for herself and recovered ninety-two pieces of ivory figures: fourteen draughtsmen, eight kings, eight queens, thirteen bishops, fifteen knights, and twelve footmen or pawns. These chess pieces, carved out of walrus ivory, date from about 1140 to 1160; they are of Norse origin, though probably carved by monastics who knew in detail the dress of the dignitaries which make up the set.

Some details of how the people of the Western Isles lived 3,800 years ago were revealed in an archaeological excavation in Northton in 1966. This site showed evidence of more or less continuous habitation from the late Stone Age onwards; as each succeeding layer of sand was taken away (it was excavated to a depth of some 14 ft), centuries-old stages of habitation were revealed. The higher levels of the site belong to the Iron Age; the earlier levels date back to the late Neolithic/early Bronze Age (about 1800 BC). Such sites as this are extremely rare in Europe, and Northton is the only one of its date in Scotland. Many fragments of the pottery known

HISTORY

*175 648 cester College, Oxford University, with an estimated date of 1653, the year in which the English garrison was placed in Lewis. Nothing now remains of that fort built by Crispe's soldiers, though the whole area on the small point of land, present-day Point Street, is redolent of historical atmosphere, despite new buildings.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

*175 Ecclesiology is a horse of many different colours in the island. Tradition goes right back to the early stirrings of Christianity in Scotland. Indeed, one of the most important religious sites on the • [346] island is St Columba's at Eye, near Aignish, some seven miles from Stornoway. Though the name might suggest it, there is no proof that the Gaelic abbot visited Lewis. But it is more than likely that a follower of his did so in his name. Part of the church at Eye is Norman, which gives an approximate date of origin, though it is necessary to take some account of the long interval between a development phase in one country and its adoption in another country quite insulated from change, as were the Outer [173] Isles in medieval times. According to tradition, the church was built on the site of a cell occupied by the Celtic saint Catan, who is believed to have lived in the sixth or seventh century. Possibly this is the same Catan to whom a shrine is dedicated at Mealasta, in Uig, close by which the remains of a nunnery have been found, called by a Gaelic name meaning 'the house of the old black women'.

*175 St Columba's is mentioned in records from 1506, when it is 346 described as a 'rectory'. At present, though in a ruined state, it still shows its former strength of character, both as a building, a place of sanctuary, and a place of worship. It has also been called [764] the Valhalla of Lewis, for tradition says that some nineteen Chiefs of Siol Torquil, the MacLeods of Lewis, are buried in its grounds. William, the fifth Earl of Seaforth, also found there an uneasy bed beside the enemies of his ancestors, who wrested Lewis from the MacLeods.

Another significant church is St Olaf's, or St Molua's at Eoropie, at the Butt of Lewis. Recorded evidence first indicates the existence of the church in 1630, where it occurs in a report

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

by Captain Dymes. The saint laboured mainly in the Hebrides; 175* he died in the north of Scotland and was buried at Rosemarkie, 346 • on the Scottish mainland. Tradition ascribes the building of the [173] church to the tenth century by King Olaf of Norway; though a more realistic date for its foundation is the fourteenth century. That it occupies, as so many other small churches do, the site of a former cell is quite acceptable. The church, so Dymes tells us, [562] had a 'sanctum sanctorum', so holy in fact that no women were ever allowed to enter it.

In Harris, the outstanding religious building is St Clement's, at Rodel, described in Chapter 8. There are, sprinkled like a measured largesse, small ruins of chapels, cells, oratories and wells; but only tradition has clothed these tumbled stones with the airs of the once-living. A map of the island will show up these sites, which are well worth a visit if only to spend a short time in reflection under the island sky beside ancient stones.

Other old ruins are to be found on the island of Calum Cille (Columba) in Loch Erisort. It is on record that the monks who [199] came from Iona to convert the islanders from pagan forms of religion to Christianity landed on the island about the middle of the sixth century. They founded a church with its burial ground, which they dedicated to their master, hence the Gaelic names: Eaglais, Cladh, agus Eilean Chalum Chille. Tradition also mentions a mill, Muileann-na-manach, but there is not one stone left on another to indicate its exact site. The old burial ground served the parish of Lochs for many generations until about a century ago. The people of the island were in medieval and post-medieval times profoundly religious; this reverence was more often than not carried over into the half-world of superstition.

Though the tangible remains of religion's progress are to be 175* seen, the recorded history of religious progress, its phases and [199] developments, is scant. One can only assume that it was the Columban Church which first introduced the new Christianity to the Lewis folk. The earlier religion was the stock on to which the new was grafted. The result was an amalgam which was nothing if not strange to those many visitors who came to comment on the island scene; for it was neither Christian nor heathen. Yet, again, a strong thread of veneration ran through the product

EDUCATION

houses prior to 1854. Monthly returns of attendance were sent 17 to my office, and parents who did not keep their children at school 87 were dealt with, but in many cases to no avail, as they often told [8 me they did not want to give their children wings to leave them.'

In 1833 there were thirteen schools in the parish of Stornoway, [2 according to the *New Statistical Account*, 1840-46, which records that there were 586 children between the ages of six and fifteen years, and 1,265 persons above the age of fifteen in the parish who could not read. Barvas had three schools in 1836; Uig had five in 1833. In Lochs, in 1833 a parish school had just been erected, and four schools were maintained by the Gaelic School Society; yet out of a parish population of 3,067, only 12 could write. After the Disruption of 1843, the Free Church established a large number of schools throughout the island. And soon after Sir James Matheson took over the island he built schools in those districts not catered for by other agencies.

In 1865, the Government began to prepare for the Education Act of 1872, and sent Sheriff-Substitute Nicolson to the island to investigate the state of education there. At the time of his visit there were forty-seven schools, supported by as many as nine different agencies, persons, or institutions. The number of pupils [16 on the rolls was 3,332, with 2,647 in actual attendance. Nicolson computed that there were some 2,500 children on the island who did not normally attend school, and who should have done. A [3 large number of schools were little more than thatched houses. Fifteen were good; fourteen tolerable; and eighteen bad or inadequate. In the third group he classes 'those that cannot by any standard of comfort or fitness above that of troglodyte, be considered suitable for having the work of education carried on in them, or any work indeed, to which the prevalence of smoke and moisture are infavourable.' Of the children who attended these schools, 79 per cent received tuition in the Scriptures; 85 per cent were taught to read; 39 per cent were taught writing; 32 per cent were taught arithmetic; and 16 per cent taught needlework.

The Education Act of 1872 put an end to the old parochial 17 system, and virtually to other agencies which it found at work. 87 The schools on the island were brought into line with the re- 65

427 651 crofter pays only half of the assessment, which is based on rental value, and he is granted an additional benefit by having the land devalued seven-eighths for purposes of taxation. The majority pay £3 a year, or less, in rent, and, with a rateable value of 5s, or less, between 1s and 2s in taxes annually. Many pay no taxes.

427 342 423 On his small plot of land the crofter has his cottage. Here we find another rather unique interpretation of the laws of land tenure. Although the crofter is an occupier of the land, he is the owner of his dwelling. If he or one of his ancestors did not build the house, frequently with a grant and/or loan from the government, he will have paid "compensation" to his landlord for the dwelling upon accepting occupancy. Should he, at any time, relinquish his right to the croft, the crofter, in turn, will be entitled to full "compensation" for the value of the improvements on the holding as determined by the Land Court. The crofter's home is not entered on the county valuation roll and, therefore, is not subject to assessment.

427 241 233 In addition to the land under crops and improved grass, the crofter's rent entitles him to a share in the unimproved township grazing lands which are held in common and used under a system of allocation known as "souming." In each township, the collection of individual holdings, the crofters elect a grazing clerk and committee. They determine the number of cattle, sheep, and horses the individual is allowed to put out to graze. Usually each crofter has an equal share, but in

34

343 OUTBUILDINGS--description of domestic nonreside
houses, latrines, menstrual lodges, bathhouses, g
special characteristics of each; construction; etc.

Stables and stalls	231	Latrines	
Cookhouses	232	Bathhouses	
Boathouses	504	Menstrual lodges	

3

ntial buildings (e.g., cook-
ranaries, barns, stables);
See also:
. 514
. 515
. 841

CHAPTER III

THE ISLAND HOME: HOMESTEAD, TOWNSHIP AND BURGH, AND THEIR POPULATION

(A) THE LEWIS HOMESTEAD AND THE TOWNSHIP

1. *The Black House*

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• 343

THE 'black house' of Lewis proper contains within four walls—or rather its one continuous wall—both men and animals (Fig. 10(A)). It is the simplest surviving homestead in Western Europe. The basis of its plan, with its threefold division—for animals, for living, and for sleep—makes it not merely a house but a home [353] and steading in one, a single homestead. The basis of its plan is still found on many a Scottish croft, and Burns' cottage was built as "byre, but and ben"—a cowshed, a room 'without' and a room 'within'. In isolated cases in the Lews, however, the partitions are still low; so that one could sit on a stool by the mid-floor fire and see mother and babe, and behind them cow and calf. The scene recalls a painting of the Holy Family, but whereas Joseph the Carpenter felt his wife hard-pressed when they took refuge beside ox and ass, this primitive homestead with its quietly borne hardships has been the rule in rural Lewis until well after 1919.

As men and animals share the same roof, warmth is

121 being determined by conditions of culture, such as
121 political and economic conditions. Under conditions
178 of gradual centralization of economic and political
182 systems, the geographically marginal crofting areas have evolved strategies, some of which puzzle agencies concerned with development or other aspects of governmental process.

178 Before the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board
365 began to operate in the crofting counties, not more
511 than one croft in every hundred had electricity; but by the end of 1951, one in every six holdings had been supplied (Taylor 1954: 20). "The light" came to
[354] Shawbost in 1951. Before then, the islanders used
[179] Tilley lamps, a Canadian invention; and before then,
[312] double-wick paraffin lamps. Piped water came a few
[464] years later, around 1955; it was brought from a nearby loch, and the construction work gave temporary jobs to local people. The availability of these services
[344] facilitated the building of county council houses,
[342] which many welcomed as providing a relief to the congestion caused in part by rules against building more than one house on a croft. But, paradoxically,
[651] with larger, better homes and all these services came a decrease in the advantages of living in a crofting township: property was assessed and people began paying rates or taxes.

3

345 RECREATIONAL STR
stadiums, gymnasium
etc. See also:
Entertainment . . . . . .
Inns, taverns, restaurants, et
Functioning of recreational fa

45

UCTURES--description of clubhouses, theaters,
s; special characteristics and construction of each;

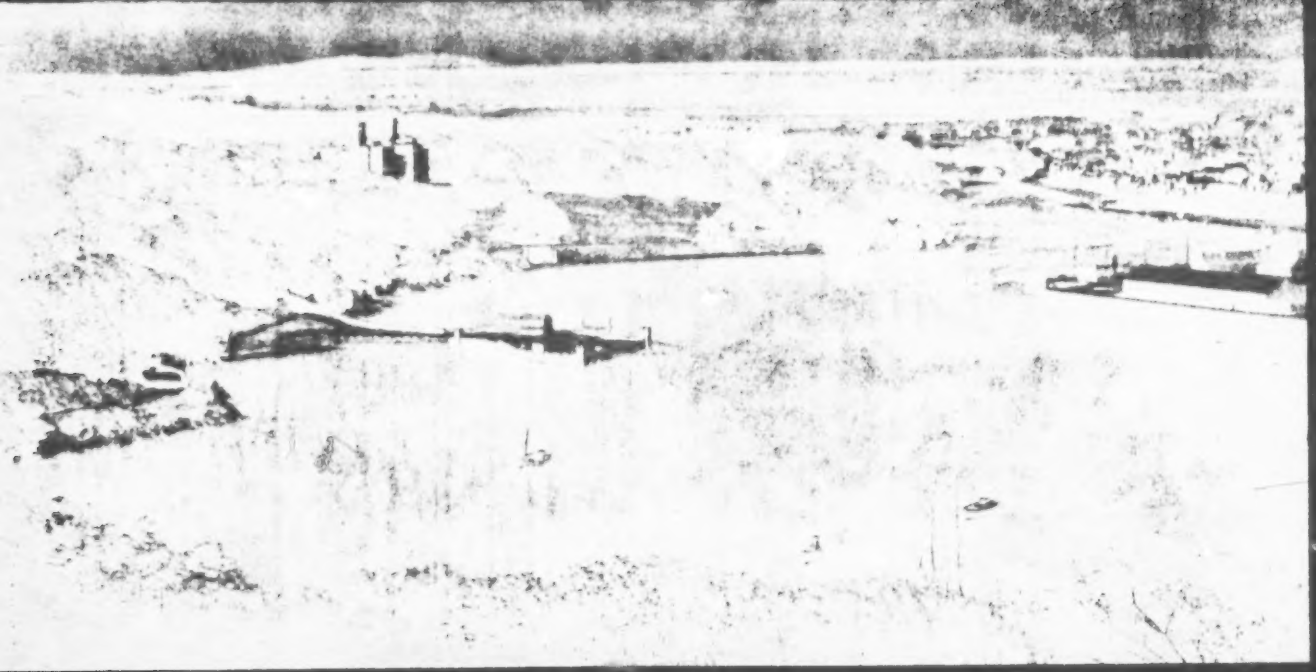
. . . . . 84 Drama 536
. . . . . 347 Sodalities 575
cilities 529

178 or after it. After 1914–18, the Rector of the Nicolson
771 Institute, Stornoway, proposed village halls for village
527 education and recreation.[1] The scheme was never fully
[346] realised except in one township, Sandwick, near Storno-
[345] way, owing to the strength of puritanical opposition. In
[181] particular, dancing by young folk was condemned as
[535] "dancing upon the graves of their brothers". This attitude is breaking down; social standards, in becoming less repressive, may encourage young people to stay.

178 Broadcasting—a factor of change everywhere—came to
207 the townships as a revolution. Newspapers had already
[204] filtered in; but for the first time the Gaelic-speaking home was entered and dominated by an English-speaking voice. It has made itself heard there almost ceaselessly ever since—in broadcast talks, discussions, announcements
178 of news, entertainment, singing and prayers. Only the
207 Sabbath imposes general silence. In the Scottish Home
795 Service great trouble has been taken to meet all tastes at the highest level for each, from 'low-brow' to 'high-brow' and from Clydeside to the Isles. To a thoughtful, selective Island listener the new opportunity for imaginative human contacts and for initiation of all kinds is immense. And the purely Gaelic listener is not forgotten. He welcomes Gaelic song or story; and worship in Gaelic has reached many an elderly person's bedside.

178 Yet few listeners select: much broadcasting is designed
207 for those whose only picture-galleries are advertisement
[525] hoardings and whose only drama and music are to be found at "the Pictures". And through no fault of the B.B.C., the Sports News offers temptations for those in poverty to acquire wealth innocently through luck in a football pool,

[1] W. J. Gibson, "Social Amenities in the Western Isles", *Sociological Rev.* (Jan. 1932).



The inner harbour at Stornoway, taken from Gallows Hill. Lews Castle, now the Lews Technical College, is seen on the left.
The trees of the Castle policies were planted by Lady Matheson

/p. 90/

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris.

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133
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504
3429
371

of Lord Seaforth's conduct in this matter. They alleged that he 228
'draiv in hither an number of strangers who daylie resorts to and 175*
fra Holland to the Lewes and continent next adjacent (the Ross 648
mainland presumably) and has caused them be answered of all such commodities as these bounds affords, as nameli with fishes and beeves quhilkis with the hyde and tallow, with manie utheris commodities they transport to Holland.'

To satisfy the Royal Burghs, Seaforth had some of his Dutch friends sent away. But several Dutch families remained in Stornoway until the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland in 1653.

In Harris, similar efforts were promoted by Captain Alexander 228
MacLeod, who in 1779 bought Harris, together with St Kilda, 175*
for £15,000 from the commissioners acting on behalf of General [425]
Norman MacLeod. The latter had, in 1772, inherited from his grandfather both the chiefship of Harris and a debt on the property amounting to some £50,000. Captain MacLeod, who skippered the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, did much to stimulate better conditions in Harris, and advocated the generation of a fishing industry. In the face of opposition and ridicule he showed by practical example what could be done to make a success of the herring fishings, introducing a number of east-coast fishermen with Orkney trawls to teach the inhabitants, and reaping a good harvest from the fishings off Rodel, despite the dismal auguries uttered by the Harris-folk. He improved the local harbour [503]
accommodation and erected a storehouse for salt, casks and the [488]
like, he built a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread, [288]
and twine for herring-nets; he advanced money to those fishermen [452]
who were interested for the purchase of boats and gear; and he [427]
provided them with rent-free cottages with a ground-patch on which they could grow potatoes. He built roads between the [491]
village of Tarbert and the two jetties he made there, and he 346 •
erected a schoolhouse and an inn. But all this hard work to put [485]
Harris on some realistic economic basis came to little. The native population were slow to appreciate the potential income lying about them.

The potential of the sea was of course eventually realised, particularly where the fishing grounds were favourable, Stornoway

Lewis, there were but two ministers in 1626, their parishes being 175*
Barvas (which included Uig) and Eye, which included Lochs; the 795
population of the island at the time was about 4,000. When Pres- [793]
byterianism was re-established in Scotland in 1640, the Lewis [062]
ministers found no trouble in conforming, as did their fellow parishioners. Sectarian feeling in the island during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not so much between Presbyterians and Episcopalians as between Romanists and Protestants.

In the year 1738, nine Episcopalian Lewismen signed a letter [793]
to the Bishop of the Isles, asking for an annual visit from a pastor, being unable to support a full-time minister. Almost a century 175*
later in 1839, the foundation stone of St Peter's in Stornoway was 346 •
laid: this is the town's Episcopal Church. The other building on the island which belongs to the Episcopalians is the ancient church at Eoropie, dating back to the tenth century and perhaps the oldest still in use in the Hebrides; services are held there occasionally, though there is no local Episcopalian congregation. One of 175*
the most significant events which echoed right through to the 795
island was the Disruption which took place in Edinburgh in 1843. The result was a 'church spectrum' in Scotland which is still mirrored on a smaller scale in the island: the Church of Scotland, the Free Presbyterian Church, the United Free Church, and the Free Church. The Roman Catholic Church is also represented.

Lewis has one of the largest Free Church congregations in the 794
country. This denomination is particularly known for its out- 795
spoken pronouncements from time to time on questions of the day. It is Calvinistic in doctrine and has a reputation for holding the 'Calvinistic outlook' in the more general and pejorative sense; though its strictness may sometimes be over-painted, it is much less liberal in its moral standpoint than is the Church of Scotland, if less austere in some respects than the Free Presbyterians. Its doctrinal position is that of unrelaxed adherence to the West- 779
minster Confession, its ministers and other office-bearers affirming their belief 'in the whole doctrine of the Confession'. It is opposed to theological liberalism and accepts the inerrancy and infallibility of the Scriptures. Only the Psalter is used in public worship, and instrumental music is dispensed with; strong

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

346 Linking the present day firmly with an ancient past is the probably fourteenth-century church of St Clement's, at Rodel. It is an outstanding building, and the only considerable architectural monument in the Western Isles. Built of rubble, dressed [333] with schist, and freestone which must have been imported for the [353] purpose, it is cruciform, with nave, choir and two transeptal aisles, the fabric being covered with carvings and sculptured panels. The * 175 first mention of the building is made by Dean Monro, in his 346 account of his tour of the Western Isles, *c* 1549. In the first half

346
341

St Clement's Church, at Rodel, Harris

In the first half
* 175 of the sixteenth century it was extensively repaired by Alexander 346 MacLeod of Harris, who died in 1547 and whose remarkable [764] tomb it houses. He prepared it nineteen years before he died; reckoned to be among the finest in Scotland, elaborately [532] wrought, and with Latin inscription, nine sculptured panels cover the rear wall of the alcove, with the recumbent effigy of an armoured warrior with ornamented bascinet and camail lying below. Round-toed sabbatons cover the warrior's feet, which rest on a lizard-like beast, a lion standing guard at head and feet.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Other tombs inside the church include that of Mary MacLeod, 175 * a bardess of the seventeenth century who was also governess to 346 • the young MacLeods at Dunvegan. She was probably the first to 764 compose what may be called the 'court' song, in simple words [533] and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels since her time. Her last elegy was composed to Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray in 1705.

So far as personal characteristics are concerned, there is a 181 marked difference between the Herrach (Harrisman) and the 197 Leodhasach (Lewisman). Their Gaelic dialects are different, the Harris pronunciation being much softer, with an attractive singing lilt. And Harris Gaelic has fewer words of Norse origin. The main reason for this difference has been a topographical one: before a road was cut, the mountain barrier of north Harris divided the inhabitants of the two parts of the same island, who developed in their own distinctive ways.

The character of the land of Harris has also had much to do 181 with the difference. Harris for the most part is infertile, with great 133 expanses of rock outcrops. The east side of the island is torn in shreds by fiord-like sea-mouths; the west coast is slow-moving, with large expanses of sand and machar-land which look out over the Atlantic breakers rolling in from a sea that is oceanic in appearance and in fact. From early times the Harris folk have 175 * had to work hard to scarify their snippets of land to make it fer- 181 tile. Regular increases in population forced them to cultivate land 133 extending up to 500 feet above sea level in some places, in the 241 form of hard-won lazy-beds. After the clearances early last cen- (236) tury, when the more fertile lands on the west coast were taken over for the formation of sheep farms, the people concentrated on the eastern side of the island, and on some of the higher ground in the west.

On Lord Leverhulme's death in 1925 the ownership of large 423 tracts of Harris passed to absentee landlords. After this, some of [659] the lands which had been cleared a century earlier were purchased by the Government and broken up into crofts again, enabling some of the indigenous population to come back to make 423 use of the more fertile lands of the west. There are some 550 241 crofts in Harris, with 29 regulated common grazings; the total

175 Account, there was one family there, that of the person employed
162 by the owner to look after the livestock. The owner was a Ness
[182] tacksman who paid £4 sterling rent per annum. The island produce was corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep and sometimes a cow,
and some wild fowl and feathers.

175 In 1844 Rona was evacuated, its last inhabitant being, in the
166 seventh year of Queen Victoria's reign, the 'King of Rona',
Donald MacLeod, who lived in almost prehistoric conditions.
Rona was without inhabitants until 1884, when a last attempt
[195] at resettlement was made by two men from Ness. This was a self-
imposed exile, after a difference of opinion with the minister of
their parish; in penance, they hied themselves off to Rona. In
1885 a relief boat called and found both men dead, one from
natural causes, the other from starvation and exhaustion after
nursing his friend. By the fireside of their hut was a pot ready
for the preparation of a meal they never ate.

236 Today, man's connection with the island is maintained by the
221 small party of Lewis shepherds who each year make the journey
to shear the sheep which still graze on the green slopes around the
now-ruined village. Otherwise, only the occasional traveller now
659 lands there. In June 1956, North Rona with its associated rock,
185 Sulasgeir, was declared a National Nature Reserve on account
of its importance as a breeding ground for colonies of oceanic
birds—guillemots, puffins, kittiwakes, and fulmars—and for its
seal colony.

Sulasgeir

133 Sulasgeir is twelve miles west of North Rona, a lonely rock in
[130] the Atlantic, bleak and grassless, and tunnelled by caves and
gullies. The only life it has ever supported is seabirds—officially.
[346] Yet one of the old buildings is said to be a chapel and is called
173 'Tigh Beannaicht' (House of Blessing). According to Ness tradition, Sulasgeir was once used as a prison for sheep-stealers, and it is also said that Brenhilda, sister to St Ronan, was left on the island to perish. Yet another tradition claims that it was at this rock that Prince Charles Edward made his first contact with his Scots clansmen, when the ship that carried him to Scotland was spoken to by a Ness boat making for North Rona.

3t Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

361 in solid black, and the third in hatching (Fig. 11). First,
upon the little peninsula or 'Point' which protects the
174 inner fishing harbour of the river there grew the nucleus
361 of the town, with its Castle upon the rocky islet now con-
276 cealed by the steamer pier. Sheltered from the waves by
504 the peninsula and from enemies by the Castle, MacLeod's
galleys and the early fishing fleet must have congregated
in the inner harbour. Protection from storm was specially
needed until, in the nineteenth century, a quay was built,
with space for marketing and handling the herring.[1]

194 Inland from the Castle was the little church of the burgh,
361 dedicated to Saint Lennan (L). The little town can be
imagined stretching inland from the church, its dwellings
• [346] built along the 'Point Street' axis, until it met the track,
road or street crossing the neck of the Point. The largest
church of Lewis proper, now in ruins, stood apart from
the burgh, at the south-west extremity of Eye Peninsula.
Until trade developed, the backs of the houses would have
been turned to the shore. To north, on the landward
side from which cattle would come, the market developed.

175 Secondly, in the seventeenth century, thatched houses
341 were strung out along Point Street and the shore for the
342 Gaelic settlers, the fisher- and craftsman-crofters brought
here to found a burgh and commercialise fishing. During

102 *Key to Fig. 11* (opposite)
361 Buildings on John Wood's plan of 1821 are shown in black and radial
174 streets then proposed by pecked lines. Existing buildings are
shown hatched. The harbour development plan of 1946 (pecked
lines) is shown by courtesy of the Stornoway Pier and Harbour
Commission; it is now in operation.
L = site of St. Lennan's. T = former Town House. TH = Town House.
× = site of Castle. + = modern churches.

(Based on a British Admiralty chart with the permission of the Controller o, H.M. Stationery Office and of the Hydrographer of the Navy.)

3t Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, with
286 peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven and
532 waulked together ceased to be a sacrament when the tartan
614 was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform with
714 "England's cruel red".
[178]
[648]

The framers of this law, which stood on the statute
175 book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they
did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath which
648 reversed every benediction said by the women at their
286 work: "I . . . do swear, as I shall answer to God at
the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, any
294 gun, sword, pistol or arm whatever, and never use tartan,
plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do,
762 may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and property—
641 may I never see my wife and children, father, mother,
relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and be
without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the
graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come across
me if I break my oath". This Act, as law and symbol,
struck full at the sacramental life of family, neighbour-team
and clan community, in which labour and prayer had been
indissolubly bound.[1]

(c) WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

198 Little remains of the tradition of worship in the tiny
371 oratories, chapels or 'temples' whose ruins stud the shores
• 346

[1] The collaboration of friends in Lewis may allow mention of the Gaelic version of A. Geddes, *The Spirit of the Tartan, a Song Drama* (English Version), *Souvenir Programme and Book of Songs* (Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, 1952). In this the spirit of this labour sequence embodied in its songs and runes is dramatised in its setting of custom and history. The Gaelic version was prepared by the generous labours of James Thomson, M.A., Bayble, and the late Duncan Macdonald, M.A., Sandwick, Lewis.

3t Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

172 of the Isles, and in which the people met, though far from
175 any clergy. On the southern mainland most trace of
• 346 shrines and chapels seems to have been lost, so small are
[171] the rings of unhewn stone that marked their sites. Little
175 was recorded by salaried clergy about the services conducted
there; those who approved tended to let well alone. Hence
814 written accounts have come down chiefly from those who
were out of touch with rural needs or ignorant of the
language spoken in intimacy, and whose alien training had
[212] removed them from sympathy.[1] As for those whose private
interests, stipend or subservience to patrons bound them
to prelate, lord or king, they roundly condemned free
congregations.

195 Nevertheless, fragmentary records have come down,
814 such as those of Martin, who visited St. Kilda in 1697 and
described the little church where the people still kept a
771 fine brass crucifix and worshipped together, without the
[184] presence of a clergyman. Naturally, the curiosity stimulated by St. Kilda's fabulous isolation led Martin to describe its little community more fully than any other; but he mentions similar worship elsewhere. Thus in lonely North Rona, inhabited by only five families, Martin had

[133] [1] The difficulty of initiation to intimate usages of language is exemplified in a scholarly and patriotic work, the *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (Gaelic-English, and English-Gaelic) by Malcolm Macleod, D.D., 1925. This standard work incorporates all the words of three previous dictionaries, with many additions. Yet key words of the people's religious heritage, of sacramental age, of living usage, and recorded a generation or so before in the collections cited here, are either absent, or are given the more prosaic or debased of two shades of meaning (not the higher). See "*coisn*, a case, sheath" or *shrine*; "*nomagunn*, a beginning" (a *dedication*); *aiteas, Heil* or *salutation*; "*ora, orra, or orthu*, a charm . . . amulet . . . or imposture of any kind . . . Irish . . . prayer in verse—from Latin, *oratio*" (why prayer in 'Irish' only?); and other vital words. According to this scholarly dictionary, the title of the supreme Scottish collection of Gaelic religious tradition, Carmichael's *Orthe non Gaidheal* (Latin, *Carmina Gadelica*), is to be translated, *not Prayers*, but "*Charms* . . . or Imposters . . . of the Gael"!

3t Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 Roman Catholicism was far less complete than that ulti-
198 mately brought about by Protestantism—Episcopalian or
• 346 Calvinist.
[171]

At least twenty-five churches, chapels and tiny oratories
175 are named by Martin in Lewis and his list is incomplete
(1934, p. 106). Harris and its islets also had their comple-
814 ment of 'temples', in addition to the priory church of
Rodel. We may perhaps assume that before the Reforma-
[162] tion Lewis had a population of some 4000 persons,
or 1000 families, and contained some thirty chapels or
[194] oratories, in which an average served thirty to thirty-five families,
or six or seven farm-groups. Yet only the larger congregations at Eye, Stornoway, Ness or Uig and Rodel would normally be served by clergy; the people of smaller congregations would be without, for weeks and months or even years.

When the people were too distant from priests (and
175 later ministers) to hear the Lessons, they handed down
79 the Word orally. Their power of retaining memorable
[153] thought, even in prose, is still remarkable; and verse strengthened memory. For example, 'the Ten Commandments' paraphrased in rhyme are recorded in Fr.
175 Allan Macdonald's little collection, "as given by the God
788 of graces to Moses in the wilderness" (*Na Fainteun*,
779 p. 62). Moses, had he understood Gaelic, would have protested at the omission of the Second Commandment, but no sculptor of Iona, Rodel or Eye would have felt a need for it, being unafraid that a Christian could bow down to a golden calf. Believing, with Solomon, that a craftsman's work is his prayer, the Celtic monks held that an 'image' should represent, though never replace, God's creation, and may even quicken our concept of the Creator

3t Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

178 or after it. After 1914–18, the Rector of the Nicolson
177 Institute, Stornoway, proposed village halls for village
570 education and recreation.[1] The scheme was never fully
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201 Sabbath imposes general silence. In the Scottish Home
195 Service great trouble has been taken to meet all tastes at the highest level for each, from 'low-brow' to 'high-brow' and from Clydeside to the Isles. To a thoughtful, selective Island listener the new opportunity for imaginative human contacts and for initiation of all kinds is immense. And the purely Gaelic listener is not forgotten. He welcomes Gaelic song or story; and worship in Gaelic has reached many an elderly person's bedside.

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207 hoardings and whose only dramas and music are to be found
[525] at "the Pictures". And through no fault of the B.B.C., the Sports News offers temptations for those in poverty to acquire wealth innocently through luck in a football pool,

[1] W. J. Gibson, "Social Amenities in the Western Isles", *Sociological Rev.* (Jan. 1932).

4: Hoisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

132 A strip running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large par
174 the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to
[173] accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.

The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poo
[174] developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a d
running across the croftland from a small marshy inch to the sea. This dyke has not
cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. C
parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deteriora
almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on
edge of the machair and probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted i
1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 5 - 13) do
much more by way of more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size
2, 9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 1
are separated from main parts of Reef; they are both small (2.7 acres) but the size
is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm h
[24] is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on
[24] machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of be
[24] and tractor ploughing; 15% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by be
plough.

The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifte
433 crofts are occupied and of these only six are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over
[728] sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today
seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire am
the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

[233] Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flann
islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

A2 Fig. 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It is
[174] interesting to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-fi
years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the pop
[160] lation has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the
most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and
consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older gen
tions.

[13] By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years
[24] ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep
was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Mealsgate; the motor road to Re
was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at
Valtos and Kneep, and at Mealsgate which serves Reef, Ulgean and Cliff. These are
[24] supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by t
local 'tea-driver' who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the
[24] peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos
and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

[Hertvig]

There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on-lets, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of the peninsula separating Loch Martvig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the lock off the end of his croft, and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway and returning to Martvig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Martvig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the road while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual migration from Martvig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the permanent residents, and in the decline in the school roll from one hundred pupils in 1920, thirty-nine (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946, but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young people leave the district for work in towns (usually in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Crossbost. There is a daily bus from Grosair via Martvig to Stornoway and back the other way to cover 18½ - The road which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much better than the later road southwards to Grosair which is untarred. There is no church in Martvig and most of the population attend the Free Church in Grosair.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the nine of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while the round houses lived on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain and one of these is occupied only in the summer by a crofter who lives, or of caregiver from Stornoway. All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but only two have a piped water supply; rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but these also remain have little incentive to work the crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

[Or-vtz] [Eimgr-vtr]

beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other bazy-beds are permanently in natural pasture; only thirty per cent of the land is classified as "arable" in which oats and potatoes - if

The economic problem of Grosair, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the bay-day of the fishing most of the men fished all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £50 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sale of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the scoming, the income of the largest croft including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

348

131 Lewis is about 40 miles long. The distance from Stornoway to the west side of the island is about 15 miles. Along a tar-macadam road through Barvas parish from its northeast tip toward the southwest, about 18 villages are clustered along a relatively flat coast for as many miles until the land becomes hilly. The road then narrows and takes hairpin twists around blind, stony corners. Villages become fewer, and nestle in protected coves or string haphazardly across the face of the hills.

361 361 491

Shawbost (from the Norse ás or sío meaning "sea" and bost or bolstadhr meaning "dwelling" or "homestead"), a village in the parish of Barvas, lies on three low hills on the west coast. Shawbost is 18 miles from Stornoway on a circular route in which Stornoway and Shawbost are antipodes.

[632]

172 On the south side of Shawbost bay, huddled beside the sea strand, is a cluster of ruins called Sean Bhaile (the old village), believed to have been occupied over 200 years ago when fishing was important in the local economy. Banks of the streams are dotted with the ruins of old grinding mills and ovens for drying grain.

[348]

[312] Fresh-water springs are still kept clear of rushes, although water is now piped to most houses from a nearby loch. Hundreds of place names are known to the villagers

632 363 103 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the sea: Ceann a Stigh (or Ceann a Stigh Bhaile, or Baile Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the sea), Buailebhir (an area identified with the keeping of cattle), Gearraidh Mor, Greazan, Pluic, and Mach a Chul ("out the back," by a road built relatively recently). A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the moor, or common grazing land, is called Grinnbhat, from the name of a nearby loch.

511 [348] [288] [493]

The presence of a large Harris Tweed mill in Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living within the village. It is estimated that only 25% of the households of rural Lewis have cars; about 50% of the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970 Shawbost had only one occupied tigh dubh, or "black house" built of dry stone and roofed with thatch, which to many islanders symbolises a past life of poverty and adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators, deep freezers and electric toasters are common in Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and many have telephones.

[342]

[404] [251] [207] [206] 288 463

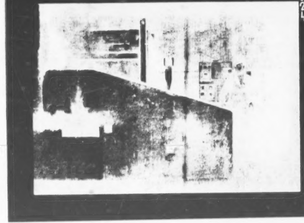
The mill in Shawbost employs between 60 and 70 persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the

348 133 824

(above: An inland industry, small but socially significant: the strawed processing factory at Ardroil, on the west coast, Loch Erisort, Lewis

Fig. 1961

(below: Feeding wet strawed into the factory's drying plant. The dried product is milled and exported by pallet for subsequent processing



349

349 MISCELLANEOUS STRUCTURES--description of structures not classifiable above (e.g., monuments, radio towers, lighthouses, hangars, railway stations); special characteristics of each; mode of construction; etc. See also

Radio and television 347
Commemorative cairns and monuments 211
Railway terminal facilities 698
Operation of textile industries 589
Operation of paper mills 589
Operation of clothing factories 589
Operation of sawmills and pulp mills 313
Operation of iron foundries and steel mills 397
Operation of meat packing factories 719
Operation of magnesium factories 719
Adjacent to navigation 805
Airport facilities 1
Funerary monuments 594

146 INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURES--description of factories and other manufacturing plants; special characteristics of each type; mode of construction; etc. See also:

Operation of food processing plants 38
Building trades 35
Operation of chemical factories 36
Capital goods industries 38
Operation of breweries and distilleries 374
Operation of tobacco factories 375

NORTH RONA

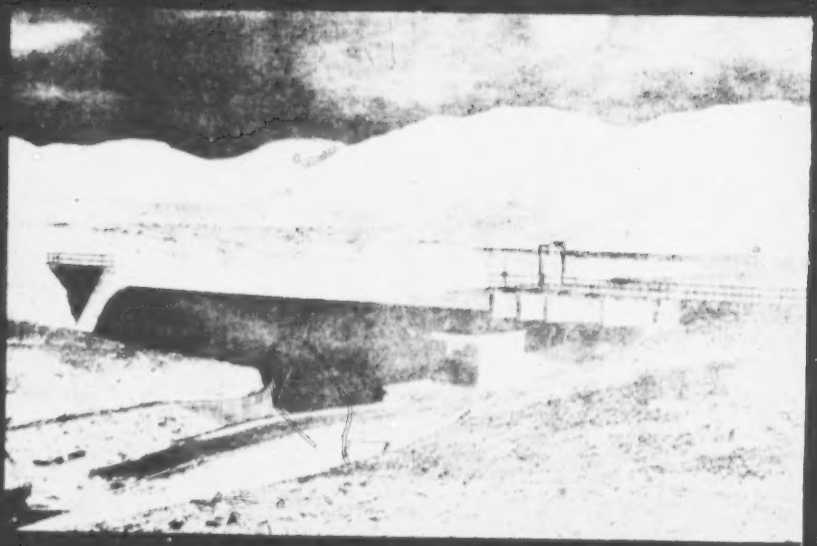
Though the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says that in his time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving only, and an abundance of clover-grass for sheep. The island also produced a fine bere-meal which the islanders stuffed into the skins of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of Lewis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest Christian building in Britain remaining in its original state, Monro says: 'As the ancients of the country allege, they leave a spade and a shuil [shovel] when any man dies, and upon the morrow find the place of the grave marked with a spade, as they allege.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680:

> The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either; they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as they want; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of mankind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take their surname from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and clouds. There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis, which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm of rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the food. A few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders of their only bull. 'These misfortunes and the want of supply from Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all that ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony was sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical*

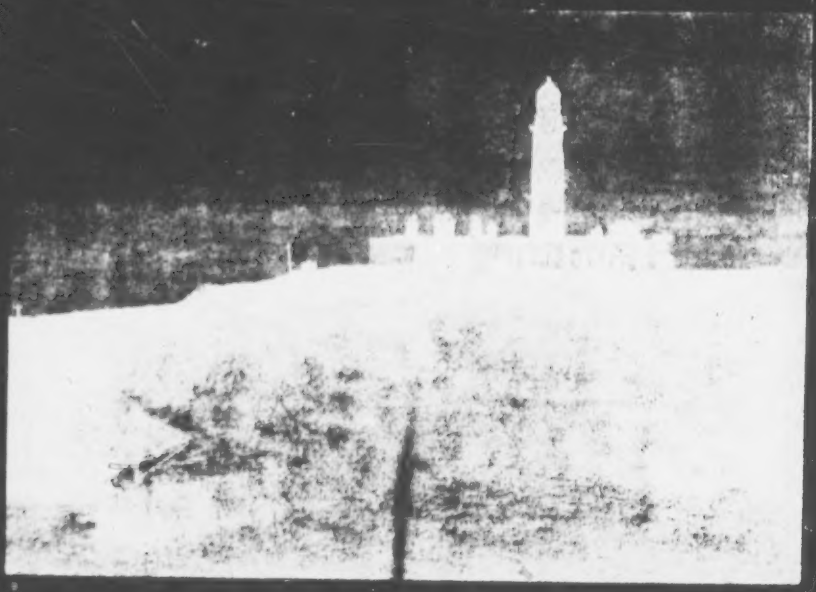
2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris



(*above*) Civil-engineering works in Lewis: the dam at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme

/p. 72/

(*below*) Civil-engineering works in Harris: the Eilean Glas lighthouse on Scalpay Island, one of the four original lighthouses built in 1789. A new tower was built in 1824



351

351 GROUNDS--house plots and building lots; courtyards; walls, fences, and gates; grading; gardens and ornamental plants; swimming pools; landscape architecture; upkeep of grounds; etc. See also:

Gardening . . . . . 247 Description of fences and gates. 417

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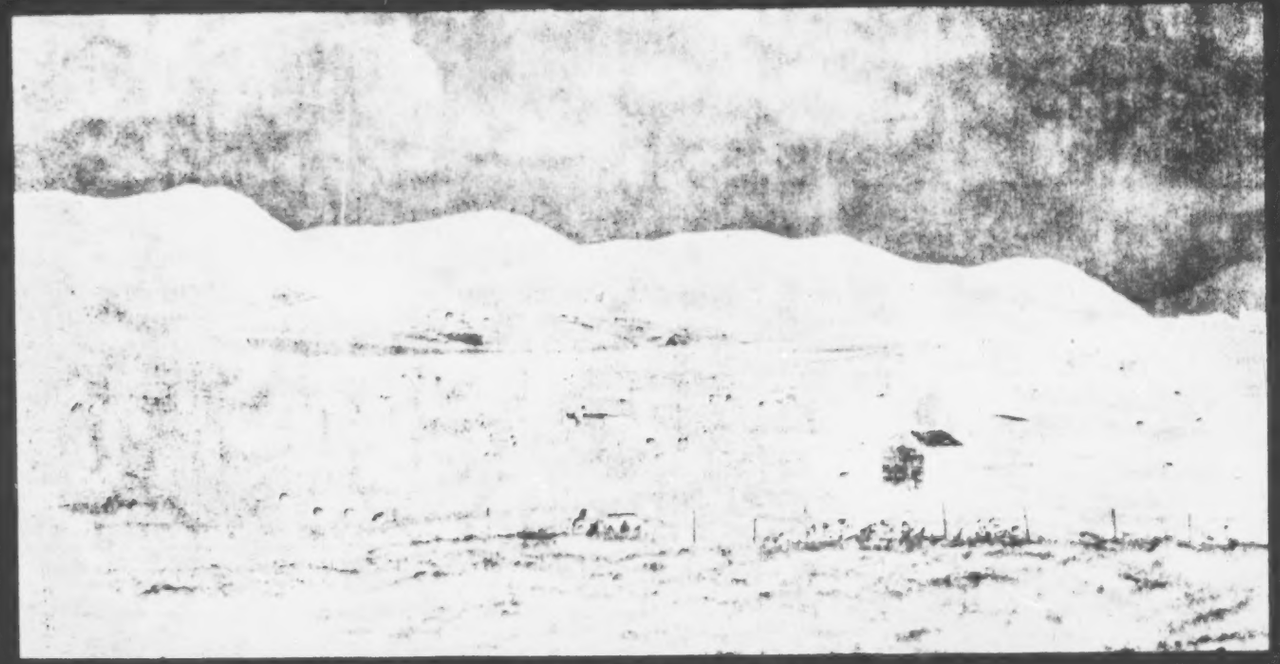

/p. 71/ The Lewis village of Laxay on Loch Erisort

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

342 later times the landlord might supply timber. Long
343 ago a main source of timber was the shore. The length
[313] of the house may be fifty to sixty feet, and the inside
[422] breadth ten to twelve feet, spanned by ten or a dozen
[178] pairs of couples on which are laid transverse 'cabers',
which may be tree trunks, branches, odd wood, old oars,
or, exceptionally, sawn timber. The tops of the walls are
353 finished with turf, to keep the filling from being washed
out, and to provide a smooth bearing for the couples, the
ends of which are pushed into the turf so as to bear on
the inner half of the wall; the rounded form and absence
of overhanging eaves prevent a gale obtaining purchase
on the roof, but a gable with chimney is now usual on the
356 end wall of the inner room. The rafters are annually
covered with turf, and the roof is thatched with thin, short
barley straw, which was pulled up, not cut, after the ears
were picked off, the roots gripping well, and the stem
hanging outward and down.

353 The door gives direct access to the byre (*bathach*),
through which one reaches the middle part, or living-room,
'at the fire' (*aig an teine*), from which there opens the
inmost part, the 'room' with bed-closets. There is no
ceiling to the primitive house, the row of box beds having
tops to keep off the drips of rain water. In the middle of
the earthen, sanded floor of the living-room is the circular
hearth, built of stones with clay between, and raised a few
inches, with no chimney.

343 In the byre, the manure accumulates from spring to
spring, and a breach is made in the end of the house for
the annual removal of the manure. There are no privies.
Where there is fodder and straw in any quantity a barn
342 is added. Stacks are rare because of wind. A low wall,
343 continuous with the house and barn, may enclose the kale-
• 351
251
273

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

342 yard and occasionally a barley-kiln in which to dry grain
343 before malting it for home-brewed beer. A 'black mill',
• 351 with its primitive horizontal water-wheel, stands apart by
[251] some burnside.
[273]

Round the circular hearth, a large company can assemble
in very social fashion for talk, story and song, the meeting
354 *together* (*ceilidh*). By the transfer of the hearth from the
571 centre and the substitution of a gable fireplace and regular
538 chimney, the social circle is halved, while meantime the
[178] tales of the *ceilidh* are forbidden or forgotten. Happily
[353] the bench still stands against the wall, near to the open
door, through which neighbours slip in with a word of
greeting to find a customary welcome.

342 The dwellings on the summer pastures out on the
361 moors show great variety, illustrated in Fig. 10(B). A simple
[178] type in use is built of turf and stones, lightly roofed with
[171] turf placed on spars. A more primitive 'beehive' type
(which fell out of use before 1900) was stone-built and
corbelled, probably for lack of timber. And whereas the
lighter type always stands by itself, the corbelled type was
added to until a dozen cells formed a single mass, suggestive
of ancient 'neolithic' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney,
described by Childe, and of the domed, corbelled huts of
the ancient East.

[343] A further type was the 'spring house' of Tolsta, NE.
Lewis, in which both cattle and folk sheltered in spring a
[124] little way from the village, before going out to the more
[178] distant moor. Mr. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S., a
native of Tolsta, informs me that the spring house was in
use until 1936. He remembers vividly how life in the
shieling restored health and colour after the winter.

352

352 FURNITURE--pegs, racks, shelves, and cupboards; description of furniture (e.g., chairs, tables, chests, beds, hammocks, head-rests); floor covering (e.g., mats, rugs); special uses of furniture; etc. See also:
Mat making . . . . . 285 Hardware 414
Furniture manufacture . . . . . 322 Bedding 813

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

233 were taken out to small huts in the central moorlands
233 for several months during the summer. These moorland
342 dwellings, called sheilings or *airidh*, were tiny stone
structures, as small as seven by five feet. They had
double stone walls filled with clay, and a rounded
thatched roof. There were two doors opposite each other
in the longer walls, one of which was filled with turf
depending on the direction of the wind. A fireplace
[364] was built into one end of the hut; shelves in the stone
• [352] walls held basins of milk and other items; and the major
part of the sheiling constituted a grass-and-heather-lined
cavity which served as a bed. The sheilings were usually
[361] clustered together near a stream, duplicating neighbor-
hoods within the village.

221 Ploughing and planting were finished in the spring
before the young men and women went off to the fishing,
and before the cattle were taken to the sheiling. Some
families went to the sheiling as early as March for a
"fresh bite" of grass. Many went out in the middle of
May, and returned at the end of July or beginning of
August.

233 "During the week, young girls or boys stayed out on
857 the sheilings, depending on who was available in the
887 family; maybe old people who couldn't do anything else,
462

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Park

Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than
[280] fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of
this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with
the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers
had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374
breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

221 All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of
192 the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island
in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November
the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft
boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encour-
ged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

311 The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummock
252 waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700
sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically over-
stocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

231 No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normal
295 just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold
[350] on the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far
from profitable.

It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his
[472] family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people
[468] in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily
[228] a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still
does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less
[161] than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between
[162] these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on
the Eishken estate.

As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available
[364] occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 64
[165] are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third
[167] are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in
[169] domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist
[170] their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home,
[223] together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued
[167] steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.
[357]
[169]

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is
[191] only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it.
[311] Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a
[226] telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last
[546] decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir, entering the township via the valley to the north-east. It
[541] serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles
[539] distant.

161 Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of con-
162 gestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the
situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on
holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land,
Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the crofter problem in the 'twenties

[c. 351]

353

353 INTERIOR DECORATION AND ARRANGEMENT--painting, carving, and incising of walls and woodwork; screens and dr peries; color schemes; furniture arrangement; use of pictures and prints; shrines and sacred objects; bric-a-brac and objets d'art; flower arrangement; specialization in interior decoration (e.g., interior decorators); storage of household items; etc.

See also:

Storage of food . . . . . 251 Decorative art 531
Storage of clothing 296

175 a crew member. Another family is called "cook," the
228 first job which a novice had to assume when he joined
434 the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go
[551] to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The men
[221] came back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats,
[241] barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent
[434] and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods.
• [353] They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover the stone-walled or wood-lined tigh dubh (black house)
[434] for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a season. While the men were away at the fishing, the
[452] remaining members of the family lived on credit from
[571] the local shops, and depended on the good will of their neighbors.

175 Many men joined the armed services, and were
701 especially sought after by the Navy and the Merchant
706 Service. In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in the
505 Naval Reserve.

175 Around the turn of the century, until the first
228 world war and the growth of the weaving industry, the
484 girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to
[571] the boat to see you off. You could go all the way to
[435] Aberdeen for 12/6 on a special fish-worker ticket."

The girls went from the south of England to Shetland in the far north.

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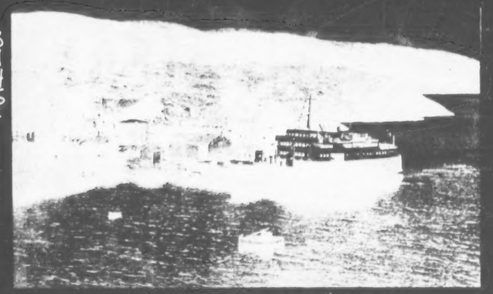

(above) The car ferry *Hebrides*, at Tarbert Pier, Harris

/p. 18/

(below) The interior of St Clement's Church, Rodel, Harris, showing the carved tomb of Alasdair Crotach, a MacLeod of Dunvegan (d c 1547)

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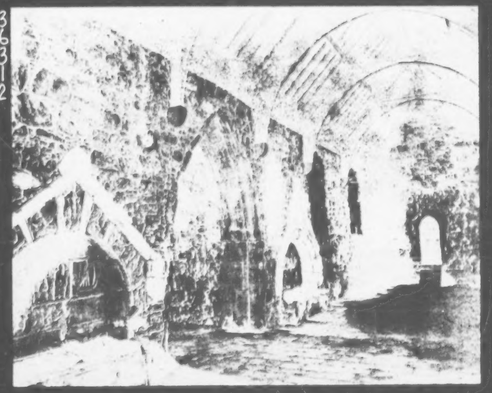

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

346 Linking the present day firmly with an ancient past is the probably fourteenth-century church of St Clement's, at Rodel. It is an outstanding building, and the only considerable architectural monument in the Western Isles. Built of rubble, dressed
[333] with schist, and freestone which must have been imported for the
• [353] purpose, it is cruciform, with nave, choir and two transeptal aisles, the fabric being covered with carvings and sculptured panels. The
* 175 first mention of the building is made by Dean Monro, in his
346 account of his tour of the Western Isles, c 1549. In the first half

346
341

St Clement's Church, at Rodel, Harris

In the first half
* 175 of the sixteenth century it was extensively repaired by Alexander
346 MacLeod of Harris, who died in 1547 and whose remarkable
[764] tomb it houses. He prepared it nineteen years before he died;
[532] reckoned to be among the finest in Scotland, elaborately wrought, and with Latin inscription, nine sculptured panels cover the rear wall of the alcove, with the recumbent effigy of an armoured warrior with ornamented bascinet and camail lying below. Round-toed sabbatons cover the warrior's feet, which rest on a lizard-like beast, a lion standing guard at head and feet.

[Seaforthhead] [Shieldernish] [Habost]

161 suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now
162 given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out
241 of the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two have migrated
178 since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

361 In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on
[349] slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's,'Seaforth Castle',
505 now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled,
491 communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives
178 access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHIELDERNISH

131 Shieldernish, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs
361 road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the
632 road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

241 Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put
311 together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes,
[246] preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the
231 lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a
[244] further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total
[226] stocking of the Shieldernish crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use
288 though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the township and this isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to grazing. Shieldernish appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing
[185] fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Shieldernish is better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

131 Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement
133 stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained
241 valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to
361 flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place.
[134] Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin soils.

H2
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PLATE XA. A WOMAN THREADING HER WOODEN TREADLE LOOM, IN HARRIS

/facing p. 65/

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photographs by J. Allan Cash

PLATE XB. A WOMAN SPINNING WOOL, TO BE WOVEN LATER INTO TWEED, IN HARRIS

CHAPTER III

THE ISLAND HOME: HOMESTEAD, TOWNSHIP AND BURGH, AND THEIR POPULATION

(A) THE LEWIS HOMESTEAD AND THE TOWNSHIP

1. *The Black House*

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THE 'black house' of Lewis proper contains within four walls—or rather its one continuous wall—both men and animals (Fig. 10(A)). It is the simplest surviving homestead in Western Europe. The basis of its plan, with its threefold division—for animals, for living, and for sleep—makes it not merely a house but a home and steading in one, a single homestead. The basis of its plan is still found on many a Scottish croft, and Burns' cottage was built as "byre, but and ben"—a cowshed, a room 'without' and a room 'within'. In isolated cases in the Lews, however, the partitions are still low; so that one could sit on a stool by the mid-floor fire and see mother and babe, and behind them cow and calf. The scene recalls a painting of the Holy Family, but whereas Joseph the Carpenter felt his wife hard-pressed when they took refuge beside ox and ass, this primitive homestead with its quietly borne hardships has been the rule in rural Lewis until well after 1919.

[353]

As men and animals share the same roof, warmth is

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ON
NEXT FICHE

342 later times the landlord might supply timber. Long
345 ago a main source of timber was the shore. The length
[313] of the house may be fifty to sixty feet, and the inside
[422] breadth ten to twelve feet, spanned by ten or a dozen
[178] pairs of couples on which are laid transverse 'cabers',
353 which may be tree trunks, branches, odd wood, old oars, or, exceptionally, sawn timber. The tops of the walls are finished with turf, to keep the filling from being washed out, and to provide a smooth bearing for the couples, the ends of which are pushed into the turf so as to bear on the inner half of the wall; the rounded form and absence of overhanging eaves prevent a gale obtaining purchase on the roof, but a gable with chimney is now usual on the
356 end wall of the inner room. The rafters are annually covered with turf, and the roof is thatched with thin, short barley straw, which was pulled up, not cut, after the ears were picked off, the roots gripping well, and the stem hanging outward and down.

353 The door gives direct access to the byre (*bathach*), through which one reaches the middle part, or living-room, 'at the fire' (*aig an teine*), from which there opens the inmost part, the 'room' with bed-closets. There is no ceiling to the primitive house, the row of box beds having tops to keep off the drips of rain water. In the middle of the earthen, sanded floor of the living-room is the circular hearth, built of stones with clay between, and raised a few inches, with no chimney.

343 In the byre, the manure accumulates from spring to spring, and a breach is made in the end of the house for the annual removal of the manure. There are no privies. Where there is fodder and straw in any quantity a barn
342 is added. Stacks are rare because of wind. A low wall,
343 continuous with the house and barn, may enclose the kale-
351
251

342 yard and occasionally a barley-kiln in which to dry grain
345 before malting it for home-brewed beer. A 'black mill',
351 with its primitive horizontal water-wheel, stands apart by
[251] some burnside.
[273]

Round the circular hearth, a large company can assemble in very social fashion for talk, story and song, the meeting
354 *together* (*ceilidh*). By the transfer of the hearth from the
571 centre and the substitution of a gable fireplace and regular
538 chimney, the social circle is halved, while meantime the
[178] tales of the *ceilidh* are forbidden or forgotten. Happily the bench still stands against the wall, near to the open
• [353] door, through which neighbours slip in with a word of greeting to find a customary welcome.

342 The dwellings on the summer pastures out on the
361 moors show great variety, illustrated in Fig. 10(B). A simple
[178] type in use is built of turf and stones, lightly roofed with turf placed on spars. A more primitive 'beehive' type (which fell out of use before 1900) was stone-built and
[171] corbelled, probably for lack of timber. And whereas the lighter type always stands by itself, the corbelled type was added to until a dozen cells formed a single mass, suggestive of ancient 'neolithic' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney, described by Childe, and of the domed, corbelled huts of the ancient East.

[343] A further type was the 'spring house' of Tolsta, NE. Lewis, in which both cattle and folk sheltered in spring a little way from the village, before going out to the more
[124] distant moor. Mr. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S., a
[178] native of Tolsta, informs me that the spring house was in use until 1936. He remembers vividly how life in the shieling restored health and colour after the winter.

354

354 HEATING AND LIGHTING EQUIPMENT--systems for the lighting, heating, insulation, ventilating and air-conditioning of buildings; hearths and fireplaces; special lighting equipment (e.g., candles, oil lamps, gas lights, electric lights); special heating appliances (e.g., wood, coal, oil, gas, and electric stoves and furnaces); air-conditioning installations; insulating materials; etc. See also:

Heat, light, and power	37	Manufacture of candles	268
Cooking	355	Manufacture of heating and lighting appliances	284
Electrical installations	357	Refrigerators, incubators, and portable lights	416
Manufacture of fuel oil and illuminating gas	382		

233 were taken out to small huts in the central moorlands
233 for several months during the summer. These moorland
342 dwellings, called sheilings or airidh, were tiny stone structures, as small as seven by five feet. They had double stone walls filled with clay, and a rounded thatched roof. There were two doors opposite each other in the longer walls, one of which was filled with turf depending on the direction of the wind. A fireplace
• [364] was built into one end of the hut; shelves in the stone
[352] walls held basins of milk and other items; and the major part of the sheiling constituted a grass-and-heather-lined cavity which served as a bed. The sheilings were usually
[361] clustered together near a stream, duplicating neighbourhoods within the village.

221 Ploughing and planting were finished in the spring before the young men and women went off to the fishing, and before the cattle were taken to the sheiling. Some families went to the sheiling as early as March for a "fresh bite" of grass. Many went out in the middle of May, and returned at the end of July or beginning of August.

233 "During the week, young girls or boys stayed out on
857 the sheilings, depending on who was available in the
887 family; maybe old people who couldn't do anything else,
462

121 being determined by conditions of culture, such as
121 political and economic conditions. Under conditions
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182 systems, the geographically marginal crofting areas have evolved strategies, some of which puzzle agencies concerned with development or other aspects of governmental process.

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atmosphere less formal. Unlike the bothans in Ness, however,
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HEALTH AND HOUSING

Despite the harsh conditions of centuries, the physical health of 175*
the island was good in early times. Epidemics were rare due to 164
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boiled in water with yeast; the meal of a black bean, mixed with 175*
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folk as being well-proportioned, free from bodily imperfections and
of good stature; healthful and strong-bodied.

But privations, particularly the frequent recurrences of near- 175*
famine, coupled with the primitive housing conditions, began to 164
take their toll. The increasing sickness rate aroused the concern
of authority. The most primitive dwellings had but one room, 175*
with the cattle at one end and the family at the other. In 1830 242
Seaforth sought at least to put an end to this, ordering that a 231
partition must be erected between beast and man, 'and that more
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This type of one-room dwelling was not confined to the island, 184
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to reduce the quality of soot produced; and soot was regarded as a
valuable manurial product. If there was a hole in the roof to admit
some light, a small pane of glass was fixed into it: this soon had
a coating of soot, and the sole source of light was the doorway—
when the door was open. The family and the cattle used the same 231
entrance; and the cows' dung was removed once a year in the
springtime.

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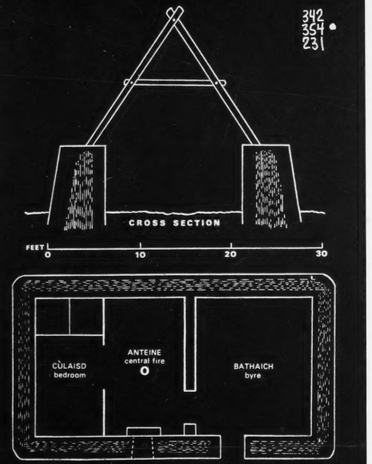

Hebridean type of 'black house': plan and cross-section

*175 In 1899, the Medical Officer of Health for the Parish of Bar-
342 vas described the typical Lewis crofter's house of the time. It had
three apartments, two for the family, and a third for the cattle;
this new arrangement was the result of the Regulations issued by
[333] Sir James Matheson for the betterment of the estate. The low
thick walls were built of stone, or stone and turf, with a packing
of loose earth, and were perennially damp. The roof, composed of
a framework of wooden rafters and couples resting on the inner
edge of these walls, was covered over with turf divots and straw,
bound with ropes of straw, heather or coarse thatching rope, and
weighted down with stones. It was never air- or water-tight, and
roof water usually soaked into the packing of the walls and thus
oozed into the house. Further, only the slightest attention was given
to situation and drainage. The floor of the dwelling apartment
was composed of a pavement of rough stones covered over with
clay—and a cold damp floor it was. The cattle apartment had
[231] no pavement, so that the manure liquids and slop water perco-
lated into the ground and at times found their way into neigh-
bouring dwelling houses and even into the drinking wells. Many
of the houses were built back-to-back and sometimes in rows
three deep. Lighting was deficient and the windows, fixed either
in walls or roof, were not made to open.

*175 Some houses had round portholes in the roof at the top of the
342 wall which might be opened or closed at pleasure; these served
• for lighting and ventilation at the byre end of the house, though
occasionally they were present also at the living end. Draughts
coming in through the roof and walls, and the blazing peat fire
in the centre of the middle apartment, helped to keep the air
in motion, but the smoke from the fire frequently filled the upper
portions of the room and, there still being no chimney or other
outlet as a rule, it pervaded the whole atmosphere of the house.
*175 From a sanitary point of view such houses had the gravest of
342 defects: it amazed visiting doctors that infectious diseases were
[164] ever absent. Yet generally the inmates compared well in physique,
general well-being and immunity from serious disease with those
more favourably situated. Tuberculosis was the most prevalent
enemy.
[429] In 1879, improving leases were offered to those who were will-
[144]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

361 Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in
Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which
is about half a mile across at its narrowest, coursed by strong
[135] tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter,
rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides;
361 the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a
311 tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green
[134] shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the
[241] Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds
in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser popula-
tion at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was
severely limited by the minute amount of land available for
tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square
mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict
the range and quality of crops grown.

*175 Scarp was originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by
361 eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not
only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access
to good pasturage on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1823
[166] thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Resort, Harris,
and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families
coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in
the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into
sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were
further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate
[162] their families and friends from elsewhere. In 1861 the population
was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951
it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat,
plying between two stone-built jetties.

The local economy was essentially a subsistence one, with self-
433 sufficiency in such products as potatoes, turnips, cabbages, oats,
241 milk and fish. After a break of some years lobster-fishing has
234 recently been reinstated as an occupation. Oil lamps are the only
226 lighting, though a few houses have piped water. The small shop
• 351
332

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the 184
hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the 361
world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psycho- 175*
logical evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'One [155]
cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral
injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with
pocketful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple
people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a [434]
profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived
during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required 436
money as an exchange commodity because the original native 198
produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort
to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered [334]
steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St [329] •
Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with [461]
others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the
food they required, provided communications with the mainland
were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, as [161]
St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the
mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to 166
the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to the care
and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the
National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small
human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be re-
peated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the
case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island [712]
is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the
Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, 175*
poor folk, scarce learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin 181
published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the com-
pany of a minister who had been summoned to the island to de-
nounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180
inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Bap-
tist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy [825]
and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds,

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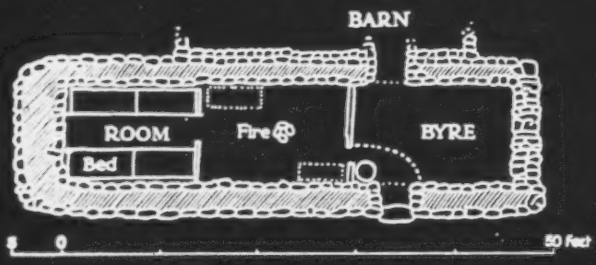
FIG. 10(A)



[178] The primitive 'Black House', universal fifty years ago in Western Lewis. Very few now have the central fire. (In Harris, byres were separated from houses about 1880.)

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[361]

FIG. 10 (B) (*facing*).—The summer shieling, past and present, and the spring house. (From the writer's field sketches, and after Thomas Curwen, L. MacDougal and D. Macdonald, Tolsta.)

A. The modern turf shieling (*àirigh*). B. The ancient beehive shieling. C. The spring house (*tigh earraich*). D. Beehive shielings added to each other to form a single mass.

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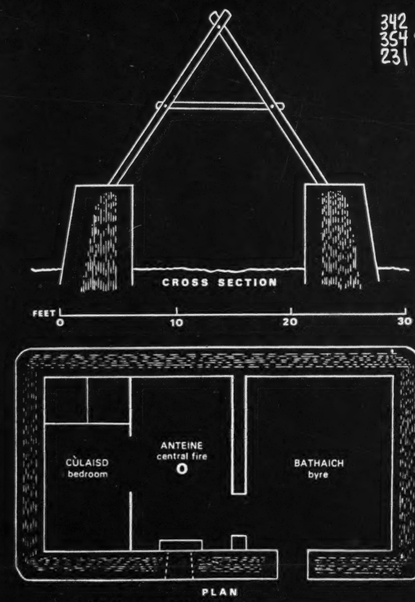


Hebridean type of 'black house': plan and cross-section

133 (2) cliff-cut, where exposed stretches have been undermined by the Atlantic storms; and (3) sandy, where bays like Broad Bay have been filled in, or where shingle bars have enclosed a sheet of fresh water, as on the west coast (north-west of Stornoway) from Barvas southward to Dalebeg. The types of coast are illustrated by Plates II to V.

As to the sea floor—so important to fish-life and to navigation—the west coast of the Outer Hebrides borders a well-featured continental platform, which is higher in the north and south but lower in the middle. The irregularities suggest a former land-surface dissected by rivers with mature drainage systems.[1] The contours are revealing, as shown in the coloured map at the end, at intervals of 10 fathoms (60 feet). The sandy machar beaches of western South Harris, visible at low tide, form part of a wide, shallow shelf extending for a dozen miles off west South Harris to a depth of no more than 20 fathoms, and thence southwards along the machars of Uist to Barra; but the coast falls away steeply round most of Lewis and along the rocky east coast of 'the Long Island'.

5. *Glacial Drift or Boulder Clays, and Shell Sand*

Underlying the peat is the drift, which is spread over
133 all but the rockiest parts of the island. This is not only
314 exposed at every roadside cutting but is laid bare in wide areas around the villages. Here peat-cutting during the centuries has removed the peat, layer after layer, to the
• [356] topmost turf, left aside after cutting until the last. When
[134] even this turf is removed for annual thatching, the bare
[113]

[1] S. Ting, B.Sc. (China). *Geografiska Annaler*, Band 19, 1937, pp. 62-83.

133 clay is exposed, leaving what is vividly called 'skinned'
314 land. And where drift is exposed, the mineral constituents
134 are leached out, and a hard 'moor pan' is left a few inches
• [356] below the surface.

Seen from the edge of the crofts, the typical 'skinned
134 lands' of bare, blue or brownish clay, littered with stones,
139 suggest a desert. Often, only a few blades of grass or tufts of heather grow on them. Indeed, 'skinned land' seems at first too mild a term, for on it the stones—thickest on top when undisturbed, and bleached by the acids of the peat that overlay them—suggest the prophet's 'field of bones'. One can only ask, is the rest of his vision ever to be fulfilled and life to spring again? In some hilly parts to south and west, not only the 'skin', the topmost layer of peat, but the very soil, the flesh as it were, is still being
[166] stripped bare to the bone, the actual rock. The evacuation of the islet of Bgrnera Beag (Uig) was largely due to this stripping. In the more level parts to the north, however, roadside pits show sections of clay with few stones, covered with perhaps six inches of clay with many stones. It is this top layer which gives the skinned land such a hopelessly stony appearance, and shows that reclamation is less miraculous than it seems.

134 With the coming of carts and lorries the increasing use
242 of shell sand has become possible, whether for spreading on the land or for slipping into pockets, together with
[178] fertilisers, for potato seed. As to soils, shell sand and
[493] boulder clay possess complementary qualities in texture and chemical composition. The shell sand of the machars provided an early home for man, the light soil allowing rye, a poor variety of oats, and herbage, to ripen early and mature in late, wet seasons when the clays are sodden with rain. Yet the sand itself is so light that drought is

342 later times the landlord might supply timber. Long
343 ago a main source of timber was the shore. The length
[313] of the house may be fifty to sixty feet, and the inside
[422] breadth ten to twelve feet, spanned by ten or a dozen
[178] pairs of couples on which are laid transverse 'cabers', which may be tree trunks, branches, odd wood, old oars, or, exceptionally, sawn timber. The tops of the walls are
353 finished with turf, to keep the filling from being washed out, and to provide a smooth bearing for the couples, the ends of which are pushed into the turf so as to bear on the inner half of the wall; the rounded form and absence of overhanging eaves prevent a gale obtaining purchase on the roof, but a gable with chimney is now usual on the
• 356 end wall of the inner room. The rafters are annually covered with turf, and the roof is thatched with thin, short barley straw, which was pulled up, not cut, after the ears were picked off, the roots gripping well, and the stem hanging outward and down.

353 The door gives direct access to the byre (*bathach*), through which one reaches the middle part, or living-room, 'at the fire' (*aig an teine*), from which there opens the inmost part, the 'room' with bed-closets. There is no ceiling to the primitive house, the row of box beds having tops to keep off the drips of rain water. In the middle of the earthen, sanded floor of the living-room is the circular hearth, built of stones with clay between, and raised a few inches, with no chimney.

343 In the byre, the manure accumulates from spring to spring, and a breach is made in the end of the house for the annual removal of the manure. There are no privies. Where there is fodder and straw in any quantity a barn
342 is added. Stacks are rare because of wind. A low wall,
343 continuous with the house and barn, may enclose the kale-
351

(B) SACRAMENTS OF THE HEARTH AND THE PLAIDING

788 For shelter and life by the hearth there are noble runes.
592 The house with its household was blessed, when newly
• [356] built by a bridegroom's friends, yearly after its thatching, or regularly at nightfall. The blessing was said by the goodman in the presence of his family and helper-neighbours, or intimately by either of the parents as they went to rest (*Carmina*, Nos. 44, 45).

In the darkness of the 'black house' the fire was a
[354] centre of warmth **and light,** of life and union. "The Blessing of the Living" (the Fire) was said by the housewife as she rekindled or, rather, uncovered the sleeping
788 embers when she rose. Those who, tired or in want,
592 have ever lit a fire in darkness may best feel, in her words,
354 how the glow without kindles the light within.
539 "I will kindle my fire today in presence of the angels . . .
Without malice . . . or fear . . . of any one under the sun,
But the Holy Son of God to shield me."

And then (as the dim glow lightens and warms): "God, kindle Thou in my heart within, A flame of love to my neighbour, To my foe, to my friend, to my kindred all, To the brave, to the knave, to the thrall. . . . From the lowliest thing that liveth To the name that is highest of all (*Gu ruig an t-Ainm is airde*)." In spirit this reaches universality; its verse-form is purest poetry (*Carmina*, No. 82).

For the covering, smothering or smoo'ring of the embers at night, the following was said to me not long ago

(c) House-building. APPENDIX I
— From 1920 to 1940 the Department of
649 Agriculture advanced loans for the erection of 760 new houses
654 and the repair of 220 other houses. This, with the erection
746 or repair of 40 steadings, may be taken as the equivalent of
1000 houses in the 20 years of peace, of which three-fourths
367 were new. Rural building was at its height in the early 'thirties,
• 356 but 1938 was a typical year. Taking the value of each house as £600 and subtracting half for imported materials, we may assume that for 50 houses built that year the labour given
431 produced an output of £15,000. In addition, some house-
362 building and repair was done without State aid, for which a
guess of £15,000 may be made. Such sums may not appear
356 large, but they correspond to the enduring fulfilment of a prime
[439] need, a 'real wage', of importance when compared to rents and costs elsewhere. Of the expenditure on house-building in Stornoway burgh during 1938, the value may be assessed as £10,000, of which £9000 was for Local Authority housing. Most of the total was produced by local labour.

(iii) *Fishing Industry—Net Output and Earnings*

434 (a) For 1938 the total catches, prices and quantities of
fresh cured fish landed in Stornoway District show a value of
228 nearly £100,000 (£98,000) for the herring catch, and of £162,400
for the cured herring. Our problem is to estimate what fraction of these sums may be included in the net output of the Island
[127] industry proper. The Fishery Board's *Statistical Tables* and *Annual Report* extract the produce brought in by local boats from the total, separating it from that due to 'strangers', and so permitting a fairly reliable estimate, checked by local enquiry.

228 Of the herring taken, nearly 80 per cent were caught in the
summer fishing, June to August (*Annual Report*, p. 13). The
501 week of maximum local activity in herring fishing for Stornoway District may be taken to be characteristic of this pre-war period (Table 8). There were then 111 steam-boats engaged; and as only five were locally registered (at Stornoway itself), the remaining 106 were strangers. There were also 66 motor-boats engaged and though 81 motor herring-boats are locally

*175 In 1899, the Medical Officer of Health for the Parish of Bar-
342 vas described the typical Lewis crofter's house of the time. It had three apartments, two for the family, and a third for the cattle; this new arrangement was the result of the Regulations issued by Sir James Matheson for the betterment of the estate. The low
[333] thick walls were built of stone, or stone and turf, with a packing of loose earth, and were perennially damp. The roof, composed of a framework of wooden rafters and couples resting on the inner edge of these walls, was covered over with turf divots and straw, bound with ropes of straw, heather or coarse thatching rope, and weighted down with stones. It was never air- or water-tight, and roof water usually soaked into the packing of the walls and thus oozed into the house. Further, only the slightest attention was given to situation and drainage. The floor of the dwelling apartment was composed of a pavement of rough stones covered over with clay—and a cold damp floor it was. The cattle apartment had
[231] no pavement, so that the manure liquids and slop water percolated into the ground and at times found their way into neighbouring dwelling houses and even into the drinking wells. Many of the houses were built back-to-back and sometimes in rows three deep. Lighting was deficient and the windows, fixed either in walls or roof, were not made to open.

*175 Some houses had round portholes in the roof at the top of the
342 wall which might be opened or closed at pleasure; these served for lighting and ventilation at the byre end of the house, though
• 354 occasionally they were present also at the living end. Draughts coming in through the roof and walls, and the blazing peat fire in the centre of the middle apartment, helped to keep the air in motion, but the smoke from the fire frequently filled the upper portions of the room and, there still being no chimney or other outlet as a rule, it pervaded the whole atmosphere of the house.
*175 From a sanitary point of view such houses had the gravest of
342 defects: it amazed visiting doctors that infectious diseases were
[164] ever absent. Yet generally the inmates compared well in physique, general well-being and immunity from serious disease with those more favourably situated. Tuberculosis was the most prevalent enemy.

In 1879, improving leases were offered to those who were will-
[429] [440] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

361 Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which is about half a mile across at its narrowest, coursed by strong
[133] tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter, rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides;
361 the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a
311 tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green
[134] shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the
[241] Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser population at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was severely limited by the minute amount of land available for tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict the range and quality of crops grown.

*175 Scarp was originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by
36 eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access
[166] to good pasturage on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1823 thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Resort, Harris, and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate
[162] their families and friends from elsewhere. In 1861 the population was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951 it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat, plying between two stone-built jetties.

433 The local economy was essentially a subsistence one, with self-
241 sufficiency in such products as potatoes, turnips, cabbages, oats,
234 milk and fish. After a break of some years lobster-fishing has
226 recently been reinstated as an occupation. Oil lamps are the only
• 354 lighting, though a few houses have piped water. The small shop
336
000

ST KILDA

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the 484
hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the 36
world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psycho- 175*
logical evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'One [155]
cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with pocketsful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a [434]
profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required 436
money as an exchange commodity because the original native 198
produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered [232]
steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St • [364]
Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with [461]
others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the food they required, provided communications with the mainland were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, as [161]
St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to 166
the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to the care and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be repeated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island [712]
is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, 175*
poor folk, scarcee learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin 181
published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the company of a minister who had been summoned to the island to denounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180 inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Baptist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy [325]
and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds.

365 company gave way to the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board.
*175 In that year there were 1,063 consumers, all within the Storno-
way burgh boundaries. With its social remit, the board started on bringing power to rural areas, even where uneconomic. Lighting
• [354] in the crofting townships was mostly by oil lamps, mainly the hot-mantle type (the 'Tilley'), but by 1960 the number of electricity consumers had reached 8,124, and the present number is about 96 per cent of the potential. Harris received its supply in
399 1954. The generating station is at Stornoway and employs diesel-
*175 engined units as prime movers, with an annual output of some 22,000,000 units. In August 1960 the Gisla scheme came into operation, the island's first hydro-electric plant; designed to produce some 2,000,000 units annually, it harnesses the waters of the Gisla River, which flows out of Loch Grunnabhat in the parish of Uig, Lewis. The station has a capacity of 540 kW. The other hydro-electric scheme is at Loch Chliostair in North Harris, planned to produce about 2,400,000 units annually.

The provision of water and drainage is still on the drawing
312 boards for a number of crofting townships, though work is progressing for others. The Uig water scheme has cost some £100,000, a relatively large sum for a small population and amplified by similar work for drainage schemes. This scale of public expenditure must continue if people are to stay in their native villages and not migrate to Stornoway or leave the island altogether. Stornoway's new water scheme has cost something in the region of £160,000, but is vital if the town hopes to attract industry. The original burgh water supply was started in 1846 by Sir James Matheson and a few businessmen. The capital of the Stornoway Water Company was only £800, but it gave the town a gravity-feed supply from the nearby Loch Aridh na Lic long before many larger places on the mainland had considered such projects. Heavy floodstorms destroyed the old dam in 1933, and a new waterworks at Loch Mor a Starr was opened in 1937. As Stornoway extended the old loch had outlived its usefulness; for many years there had been difficulty in getting water to the higher parts of the town, particularly during the heavy fishing seasons when the fishermen drew off large quantities.

142 241 281 283 353 354

PLATE XA. A WOMAN THREADING HER WOODEN TREADLE LOOM, IN HARRIS

142 241 281 283 353 354

PLATE XB. A WOMAN SPINNING WOOL, TO BE WOVEN LATER INTO TWEED, IN HARRIS

Photographs by J. Allan Cash

St Gordian K-4,5 (1970-1980) 1985 ES10 Highland Scots Lewis and Harris

/facing p. 65/

357

357 DOMESTIC SERVICE--prevalence and functional differentiation of household servants (e.g., cooks, butlers, chambermaids, gardeners, chauffeurs, governesses); status and activities of each; arrangements for room and board; wages; hiring and firing; master-servant relationships; etc. See also:
Labor relations . . . . . 488 Composition of household 592
Slavery 667

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Shawbost

000 in the far north. "There were two fishing seasons.
175 For one season you went to Fraserburgh, Stronsay,
223 Lerwick and Peterhead; and then the winter fishing was
[222] in England, at Yarmouth, Scarborough and Loucester.

"I remember in Yarmouth we didn't like the English
[262] bread, it was such a dull color. We liked the pure white Scotch bread."

They lived in small huts, and the work was hard but full of fun. Neighborhood girls used to go together, bringing bedding and different items in large chests to share in the housekeeping. Three girls worked together in a crew, and there were as many as six sharing a room, in double bunks. Some of the huts were so small that there was barely enough room for the beds and the cupboards. At night the boys would come in off the boats. "You were so tired from being up since early morning;
[599] but you were always able to dance. You were treated with
[178] respect; the youngsters today aren't so good." The women who married non-islanders that they met at the fishing were not likely to return.

175 When the weaving started on a large scale, the girls
288 "were glad enough to have work at home, even though the
464 work was hard." But many continued their temporary
175 absences from the island, working in hotels or as
464
162
• 357

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Shawbost

175 domestic servants among the well-to-do families in
464 Glasgow and other cities on the mainland (see Appendix
166 A).
• [357]

175 When the weaving started, some men settled at home
464 permanently, but many continued to come and go between
166 the sea and the loom. In 1931, the ratio of men to
462 women in Lewis and Harris was 100:114. The men came
[288] home for temporary jobs, such as the construction of roads
[522] or houses. Jokes are told of the common practice of sending for an extension of leave. The men found it easy
[906] to join the Naval Reserve because of their fishing experience; and it brought them a retainer's fee and expense-paid trips to places off the island for several weeks of training during the year. But when the wars came,
[901] the loss of men to the Navy and to the Merchant Service was heavy.

B. The Land

175 The number of arrears in rent in the Barvas rent
429 ledger at the turn of the century indicates the small amount of money in circulation at the time. Between 1899 and 1914, several crofters paid part of their rent "by work," and six had some of their stock "uplifted by decree." For example, a Widow Catherine lost "one red

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

[Lemreway]

229 The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing
196 township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve
[459] boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats
[459] and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is
[459] one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring
[529] nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

[464] An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with
[459] those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

[448] Fourteen of these men are full-time craft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary
[241] occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their craft work with regular
[241] employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just
[241] over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and
[241] nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

[241] Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939.
[241] Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

[597] Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house
[592] has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most
[592] of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. Ruins
[592] of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or
[592] up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs.
[592] Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

[347] Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most
[959] attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents, they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives
[959] of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

000 It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable
[447] enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling,
[447] is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the
[311] mainland. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses
[383] all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the
[465] contemporary employment combinations.

[181] The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this
[000] is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

[183] Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of
[467] a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards
[281] of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

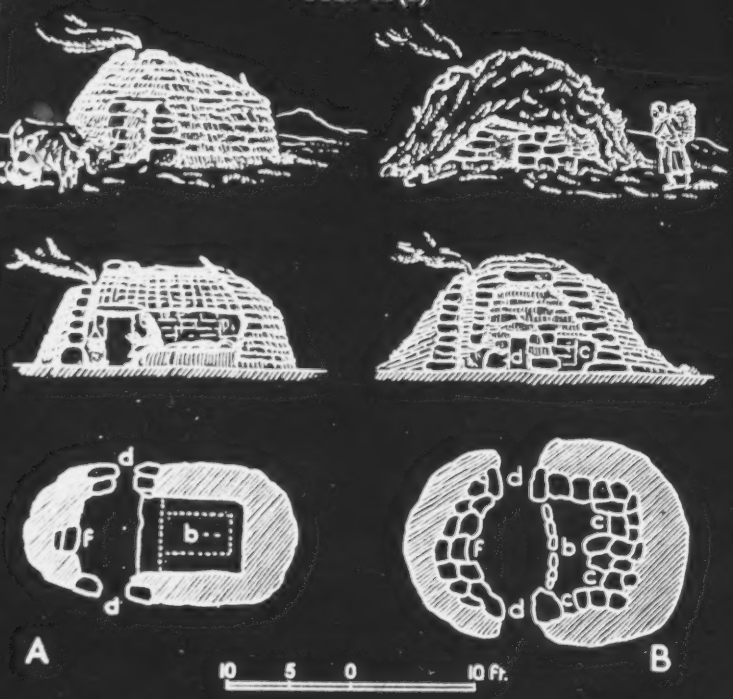
[183]

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

| | MALES | | |

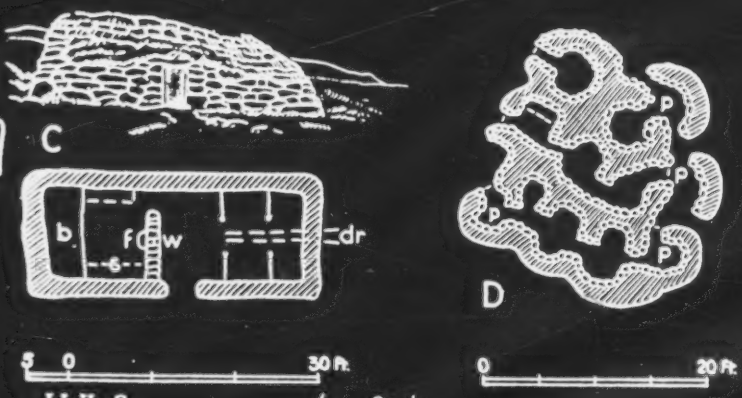
FIG. 10 (B)

342
174
178
353



b. bed. c. cupboard. f. fireplace. d. door.
w. wall. s. settle. dr. drain. p. porch.

361]



/p. 81/

342 maintained—once an important aid to the survival of half-
343 starved cattle. A slope from the dwelling-quarters down to the byre facilitates drainage: normally the length of the
[178] homestead follows the slope. The separation of house from byre took place in Harris and Uist over seventy years ago by County Council decision, but in most of Lewis, even in 1947, about 40 per cent of the homesteads were
342 of the primitive type, outwardly but little changed. This separate cottage, as in Harris, is a shapely little structure, roughly symmetrical and particularly pleasing when the walls are whitewashed below the pale-gold thatch.

342 The surviving 'black house' is a stone structure. As
343 Stevens has written, "the rock of the island is hard to
[314] work, and hard to win", and may be covered by peat. Undressed stones are collected and sometimes carried for
[324] long distances. Before dynamite came into use, a very large stone could be broken up by lighting a peat fire on it, then dashing cold water over it. By an old Gaelic custom, the bachelors of a township used to help to build the house for one of their friends who was about to marry.
[333] Lime for mortar being absent from the island, the walls are built dry. The wall is double, the space between being filled with earth. Hence it may be six feet thick
• [354] at the base, though barely six feet high. Typical primitive houses lacked windows, only a little light entering through the smoke vent and through a piece of oiled skin, replaced latterly by a pane of glass let into the thatch of the roof or by a deep window aperture in the wall.

342 Roof building is a difficult problem in construction,
343 on account of the scarcity of timber and the strength of
313 the winds, and explains the narrow plan. Wood was so scarce that when a house was abandoned the frame of the
[182] roof was removed, the spars being the tenant's; but in
[422]
[178]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

342 yard and occasionall
343 before malting it for
351 with its primitive ho
[251] some burnside.
[273] Round the circula
in very social fashion
• 354 *together* (*ceilidh*). B
571 centre and the subst
538 chimney, the social
tales of the *ceilidh*
[178] the bench still stan
[353] door, through whic
greeting to find a cu

342 The dwellings
moors show great va
361 type in use is built
[178] turf placed on spa
(which fell out of
[171] corbelled, probably
lighter type always
added to until a doz
of ancient 'neolith
described by Child
the ancient East.

[343] A further type
Lewis, in which b
little way from th
[124] distant moor. M
native of Tolsta, i
[178] use until 1936.
shieling restored h

a barley-kiln in which to dry grain
home-brewed beer. A ' black mill ',
rizontal water-wheel, stands apart by

r hearth, a large company can assemble
for talk, story and song, the meeting
y the transfer of the hearth from the
tution of a gable fireplace and regular
circle is halved, while meantime the
are forbidden or forgotten. Happily
ds against the wall, near to the open
h neighbours slip in with a word of
stomary welcome.
on the summer pastures out on the
riety, illustrated in Fig. 10(B). A simple
of turf and stones, lightly roofed with
s. A more primitive ' beehive ' type
use before 1900) was stone-built and
for lack of timber. And whereas the
stands by itself, the corbelled type was
en cells formed a single mass, suggestive
ic ' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney,
e, and of the domed, corbelled huts of

was the ' spring house ' of Tolsta, NE.
oth cattle and folk sheltered in spring a
e village, before going out to the more
Ir. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S., a
hforms me that the spring house was in
He remembers vividly how life in the
ealth and colour after the winter.

2. From Black House to White House

342 Discontent with the old black house grew with
177 knowledge and experience of better housing in Stornov
178 and on the mainland. The congestion which develop
during the nineteenth century meant that often one ho
175 was fouled by another above it, leading to typhoid e
342 demics. While the smoky atmosphere of the ' bl
houses ' inflamed the eyes and irritated the respirat
161 system, the roof was high and the fire kept the air
164 motion by day, ventilating it to the chimney hole, wh
the lack of glass often made it necessary to work with
[354] door open. The ravages of tuberculosis came towards
end of the nineteenth century, when Islanders went to
crowded towns and, not being immunised, were dang
ously infected. Returning home, too often to linger a
die in a house now provided with tiny, fixed panes wh
permitted a closed door and made it stuffier than befo
178 patients spread infection. Flight to a tiny, air-ti
wooden cabin or to a small white house of stone and li
342 often followed. The availability for the first time of pla
[313] and timber, a certain practice in boat-repairing, and p
sibly acquaintance at first- or second-hand with Canad
[177] wooden houses, may have influenced the choice of wo
The early ' white ' houses, with an attic lit by skylig
were airtight, for the windows were too often fixed or o
[354] opened at the bottom. The door was left open in wa
weather, but it was not high enough to allow the esca
of the stale, upper layer of air which the women breath
as they did their cooking and baking.

342 In the inter-war period, particularly in its last deca
746 the ' black house ' was being abandoned, not for someth
worse, but far better. The Government-aided houses h
178
656

36

36 **SETTLEMENTS**--general statements covering several specific aspects of the physical configuration and material facilities of settlements ranging in size and complexity from a temporary camp to a great metropolis. See category 369 for characteristics of urban and rural life. The social and political organization of communities and municipalities is described under 62 and 63. Information on nonmunicipal public utilities, commercial facilities, etc., will be found elsewhere under appropriate headings (e.g., telephone and telegraph, 206; water supply, 312, etc.).

ISLAND LIFE

631 public health and gener
Stornoway. Stornoway its
632 Council which deals with
625 administers byelaws and
634 under County administrat
693 tribution for their services
principal and two sheriff-
631 in Stornoway. Each parish

631 The political history of
and Lewis, reflects the agra
*175 was a Parliamentary part
665 of Inverness, the electorat
tionally there has been a s
[634] Boundary Commission fo
County of Inverness and
Inverness, Ross & Croma
Western Isles voted for th
ency of its own, and show
the returned candidate w
Land Law.

666 In the General Electi
again returned, with a
665 latter election however, t
*175 the crisis or scare electio
contest the seat, which wa
opposed by a full-blode
candidate, a native of Lew
This Member retained hi
losing it only in 1970 t
Party, who became a lon
Conservative and Scottis
the constituency, with a
local authorities has given

• 36 PUB

The lack of adequate soci
some authorities as a fa

al administration, and has offices in
elf is largely looked after by a Town
the property of the burgh, makes and
imposes burgh rates. The police are
ion, each burgh paying an annual con-
; the law is administered by a sheriff-
-substitutes, one of whom holds court
has a local committee of management.
the Western Isles, and no less Harris
arian troubles. Before 1917, when Lewis
of Ross & Cromarty, and Harris part
e was both Liberal and Radical; tradi-
significant anti-Tory vote. In 1917, the
r Scotland set up the Parliamentary
Ross & Cromarty, with three divisions:
rty and the Western Isles. In 1918 the
e first time as a Parliamentary constitu-
wed a predominant Liberal sympathy;
as also standing for the reform of the

on of 1923 a Liberal candidate was
repeat performance in 1929. In the
he Socialist came in second place. In
n of 1931, the Labour Party did not
s won by a Liberal-National candidate
d Conservative. In 1935 the Labour
vis, was returned with a 1,345 majority.
s seat through all subsequent elections
a member of the Scottish National
e Home Ruler in the House. Labour,
h National parties are represented in
mall Liberal showing. The revision of
virtual autonomy to the Western Isles.

LIC SERVICES

l and public services has been cited by
ctor encouraging people to leave the

island; but islands in isolation must carry a population of suitable numbers and age structure before they can support even a minimum of amenities. In the Western Isles, Stornoway used to be the only community to have a semblance of the services taken for granted in similar towns on the British mainland. The elements of commerce, industry, education and religion were established there initially, to spread with characteristic slowness first to the immediately accessible areas and then to remoter regions. Though many parts of the island are now at least within practicable travelling distance of the social and public services expected in urban communities, some townships have yet to see one or another of them within their own boundaries.

The Stornoway Gas Light Company was formed in 1840 by Sir James Matheson, with a capital of £350. The plant consisted of one horizontal retort which produced about 1,000,000 cu ft of gas annually. The old buildings still stand, and the plant now has three vertical retorts with an annual production of just over 40,000,000 cu ft. Rural areas use Calor gas, introduced to the island in 1935.

The public electricity supply has of course made the greatest impact on the island as a whole. Electricity was known in the island long before the public supply arrived, generated privately by individuals, hotel concerns or public authorities. One of the first plants of significance was installed in the second municipal building in Stornoway (the first, built in 1905, was destroyed by fire in 1918), and was driven by a gas engine. In 1919 Lord Leverhulme installed an electricity plant in Lews Castle, which also had a private intercommunication system. While this work was being done Leverhulme proposed to give electric lighting to the town. Other buildings with their own plant included the hospitals and the mills, which were turning to electric motors for driving their line shafting, the power take-off for spinning and carding machinery.

In 1929 an electricity supply company, with a capital of £12,000 was proposed, the Stornoway Electric Supply Company being registered in 1932. Its financial fortunes were chequered, though revenue was rising slightly by the time the second world war began. In 1948, on nationalisation of electricity supplies, the

(B) SACRAMENTS OF THE HEARTH AND THE PLAIDING

For shelter and life by the hearth there are noble runes. The house with its household was blessed, when newly built by a bridegroom's friends, yearly after its thatching, or regularly at nightfall. The blessing was said by the goodman in the presence of his family and helper-neighbours, or intimately by either of the parents as they went to rest (*Carmina*, Nos. 44, 45).

In the darkness of the 'black house' the fire was a centre of warmth and light, of life and union. "The Blessing of the Living" (the Fire) was said by the housewife as she rekindled or, rather, uncovered the sleeping embers when she rose. Those who, tired or in want, have ever lit a fire in darkness may best feel, in her words, how the glow without kindles the light within.

"I will kindle my fire today in presence of the angels . . .
Without malice . . . or fear . . . of any one under the sun,
But the Holy Son of God to shield me."

And then (as the dim glow lightens and warms): "God, kindle Thou in my heart within, A flame of love to my neighbour, To my foe, to my friend, to my kindred all, To the brave, to the knave, to the thrall. . . . From the lowliest thing that liveth To the name that is highest of all (*Gu ruig an t-Ainm is airde*)." In spirit this reaches universality; its verse-form is purest poetry (*Carmina*, No. 82).

For the covering, smothering or smoo'ring of the embers at night, the following was said to me not long ago

(in Gaelic) by a housewife in a Catholic isle, as our friendship matured. It had been said nightly at her fire by her father-in-law until his death (not long before), which had come after that of his wife. "I smoo'r the fire tonight, As Mary's Son smoo'red. Be it well with house and fire; Be it well with all our household. Who are on this floor? Peter and Paul. Who are on watch tonight? Light-white Mary and her Son. Thus God's voice taught, And the Angel spoke: The Angel at my house door, Until the clear day come tomorrow. Amen." As this variant shows, memory still lives in the Isles.[1]

In these runes, the key to the words "as Mary's Son and as Mary did, in their day" is the example of filial duty, of wifely and motherly care. In spite of lapses to 'Mariolatry' during periods of decadence in the Roman Church, the virtual banishment of Christ's mother from Protestantism has led to a loss deeper than Presbyterian Scotland has yet realised. Her name was a daily reminder, both of a woman's part in the spiritual life of the home, and of a son's self-discipline and affection: in a word, of mutual love.

For wool, the sheep were blessed, as in the "Clipping Blessing". There were blessings of the loom and of warping and weaving; and after neighbourly fulling or 'waulking' of the finished web, came its consecration. As the work was solitary and communal in turn, so the prayer. Carmichael's own fine prose translations should be studied (*Carmina*, vol. i, Nos. 108-113; cf. vol. iv, pp. 88-99). Yet, those being available, we quote rhythmic

[1] Cf. Rev. Allan Macdonald, *Comh-chruinneachadh*, p. 107; *Carmina* (Nos. 84-87, 324-326); and M. Kennedy-Fraser, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. ii, p. 31. Sacred lore is not to be picked up lightly by a stranger. It was only upon the second of my prolonged stays under her hospitable roof that this good woman would admit and impart her knowledge, treasured in the secret places of her heart.

The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village there is now an R.A.F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the inhabitants.

The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N.A.A.F.I. within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100 ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have modern byres.

There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions, but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse. Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was cultivated; here was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females. Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 - 44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

beginning of the resettlement movement which has given the modern crofters of the district almost all the lands formerly occupied by small tenants. This process was completed in the Bernera region soon after 1918, and the problem now - one which is obviously going to become increasingly important - is not to give the crofters more land, but to find active crofters for the existing holdings (see Chapter III for more detailed information on clearance and resettlement).

The ground plans of the existing settlements vary considerably, depending mainly on the terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coast the natural tendency is for the croft boundaries to run at right angles to the coast and for each house to be set on its own croft. The best examples of this are Hacklete and Kirkibost, where an early nineteenth century (i.e. pre-clearance) lotting was readopted when the township was re-settled in 1878. Linshader, Lundale, Cruilvig and Earshader also follow the same type of layout as nearly as possible, but Tobson, with the exception of Valasay, is intermediate between a lotted and an unconsolidated township. Croir also differs: it was laid out in 1921 but the disposition of the potential arable forbade a coastwise organisation. The site of Breaclete is greatly broken by lochs and a sea inlet, and consequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Breaclete - Loch Beg Breaclete axis, appears somewhat complicated. The accompanying diagrams contrast the control exercised by physical conditions at Croir with the subordination of physical conditions to a simple lotting plan at Hacklete, (Figure 28).

Within the townships, with the exception of Kirkibost, the distribution of settlement seems to have changed little since the original lottings, for in most cases the sites of the old and present dwellings are little further apart than is dictated by constructional problems. It would appear generally that black houses were universal in the nineteenth century except for the farmhouse at 1 Croir (the oldest 'white' house in Bernera), Thule House, (18 Tobson), possibly the blacksmith's house at 11 Hacklete, the former farmhouses at 20 Kirkibost and at West Earshader. However, with the establishment of Congested Districts Board and of Board of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, early examples being 5 Hacklete and 10 Breaclete. The resettled townships generally had improved accommodation from the start. Improvement has greatly accelerated since 1951. In most cases at the present time housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and one near blackhouse are still occupied.

Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their private water supply, thought it is hoped that mains schemes may be constructed within the next few years. Sanitation varies in standard and in places there are still open ditches, but all the newer houses have water closets. It is worth remarking in this connection that tuberculosis is almost eliminated. Electricity has been available since 1952 to all crofts and most are connected, though not necessarily in every room. Cooking is sometimes by electricity but more commonly by Calor gas and a peat-fired range or stove (open or enclosed). Peat is cheap to those able to gather it themselves. Where, however, help is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road, difficulties may arise. The cost of hiring labour for peat cutting may be such that it is cheaper to buy coal.

Access to Bernera by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Roag provided the highway of communication, the road built to Earshader after the Great War, and the £87,000 bridge to Bernera Island, built in 1953, have caused a revaluation of sites. Linshader is approached by a tarred branch road and the other Bernera shore townships lie upon the narrow and twisting main road, though four of the six Lundale crofts have no connection with it, and two of the Cruilvig crofts, and West Earshader, are somewhat isolated. On Bernera Island the old cart track from the pier at Barraglom across to Tobson and Croir has been somewhat re-aligned since the construction of the bridge. This is a good tarred road, as is part of the branch to crofts 3...8 Croir. The old road to Kirkibost was tarred in 1959, though three outlying crofts near Barraglom were still without a road suited to vehicles, and the branch within Breaclete remained untarred. There is a new road to Hacklete from Breaclete which provides tolerable, though circuitous, communication. Valasay is one of the most isolated settlements in Bernera, linked with Breaclete rather than with Tobson by the footbridge and causeway paid for by Congested Districts Board grant about 1903.

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is a water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one member of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and well worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-let to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of them young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people and young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resident adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous crofting communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

195 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided, making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no cultivation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete-Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover being grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of that township.

The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people over 65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, but high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but, at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Mains electricity was installed 354 7 years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas and peat. The chief source of fuel for heating purposes is peat, although a little coal may be used.

427 There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions, a small-holding of 15 acres formerly the Mill, and 10 feus, all of which are worked as 54 units. The crofts lie as long narrow strips in a NE - SW direction from the moorland to the sea. All are at least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some crofters are, at the moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land completely.

241 The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a little clover mixture is sown for hay, many crofters find that the natural grass is sufficient for their needs. Vegetables are produced in a few gardens, but most people do not have enough time or interest to bother with them. Flowers rarely flourish owing to the lack of shelter.

311 Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and the land nearest the shore, part of which was once cultivated on a run-rig system is now unfenced and used entirely for grazing together with some peat cutting. A piece of the common grazing has been improved by application of shell sand and chemical fertilizers and reseeded. This experiment in which almost the whole township took part has proved very successful and there are plans for further reseeding. Details of crops are given in Appendix C.

Although the tractors of which there are two in the township are used wherever possible, the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for potatoes. Much hay is cut by mower but scythes are used to a large extent. There is still one horse in the township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its owner.

233 The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e. 2½ times the souming which here is 2 cows and 5 sheep per £1 sterling rent. 40 crofters keep sheep but none have sufficient to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Many lambs are lost on the moors during the summer and more fail to survive the winter. The number of cattle kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each household to keep 1 cow and 1 calf which is generally sold after 6 months when a subsidy can be claimed. Breasclete has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Most households keep sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1938. Now it is not necessary as fewer cows are kept than formerly. With the reduction in numbers of stock the common pastures close to the village are being colonised by heather.

221 The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditches are cleaned and the land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilised and sown with oats and potatoes. The sheep are dipped and by the 10th of May must be out on the moors as the crofts are then closed to common grazings. Soon after this peats are cut on the moors two or three miles from the village. After about 20 days the peats are lifted and carried to the Pentland Road by tractor where they are stacked to await the lorry which takes them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the fank for shearing and the cows are usually brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the croft is not fenced they must be tethered. At the end of June the clover is cut, while the potatoes must be cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped. Natural grass is cut for hay and if there is any first year sown grass this may yield a second crop in September, together with the corn harvest. When the potatoes have been lifted in October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for the winter. Final dipping takes place in November.

162 Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 years and 57 are over 65 years of age. Of the resident tenants 9 are between 15 and 44 years, 19 are between 44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on persons are periodically away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 29 are permanently away. Since 1939,

356

356 HOUSEKEEPING--upkeep of dwelling and outbuildings (e.g., painting, repairs routine indoor chores (e.g., housecleaning, bed-making); use and care of household implements and appliances; etc. See also:

Household tools and appliances 41
Food preparation 252
Cleaning of cooking and eating utensils . . . 264
Laundering 298
Painters and paperhangers. 338
Household machines 404
Daily routine 512

3

6

361

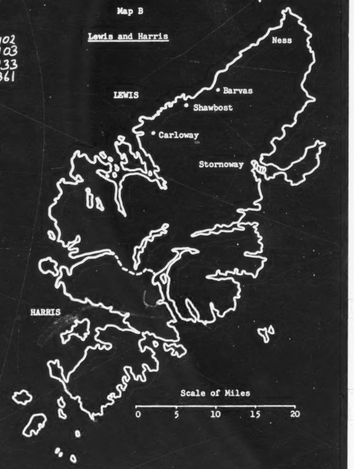
361 SETTLEMENT PATTERNS--location and distribution of settlements; physical types and descriptions of settlements and the incidence of each (e.g., temporary camp, settled hamlet or village, town, city, urban metropolis); degree of permanence or impermanence; settlement plan; urban ecology (e.g., residential, business, and industrial areas); satellite areas (e.g., suburbs); patterns of urban growth; zoning; city planning; etc. See also:

Demography	16	Land use	211
Place names	163	Community organization	821
Social planning	146		

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

Map B

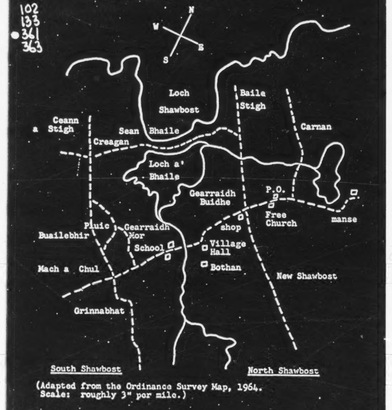
Lewis and Harris



1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

Map C

The Village of Shawbost



(Adapted from the Ordinance Survey Map, 1964. Scale: roughly 3" per mile.)

5

000 is the northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides (see
161 Map B). The population is concentrated along the
162
• 361 coast, like a hat-brim around the great inner core
of the island's heather-covered bogland, a population
belt classified as "dense rural" (50-400 persons per
226 square mile) in a map based on the 1951 census. The
pattern of land settlement reflects the importance of
fishing in the economy of the island.

131 Lewis lies between 6°10' and 7°20' west longitude,
and between 47°50' and 58°30' north latitude. Lewis
131 is as far north as Newfoundland and farther north than
132 Mongolia, but the temperature is mild because of the
North Atlantic Drift, or Gulf Stream, which passes the
132 west coast of Scotland. The temperature averages 55°F.
in summer, and 44°F. in January. A constant climatic
feature of life on the treeless island is the wind, a
relentless, insidious presence which often reaches gale
force. Winds of 60 m.p.h. and more are common.

Rain, which comes in downpours or light mist,
133 averages 55 to 65 inches per year. The water may be
held in colloidal suspension with decomposed organic
matter in the compact, spongy material called peat, or
pour as rivers and streams off the island's shelf of
non-porous Archaean gneiss into the sea. Of Lewis'
131 total area of 437,200 acres, inland water comprises
133 24,863 acres.

7

131 Lewis is about 40 miles long. The distance from
Stornoway to the west side of the island is about 15
• 361 miles. Along a tar-macadam road through Barvas parish
491 from its northeast tip toward the southwest, about
18 villages are clustered along a relatively flat coast
for as many miles until the land becomes hilly. The
road then narrows and takes hairpin twists around blind,
361 stony corners. Villages become fewer, and nestle in
protected coves or string haphazardly across the face
of the hills.

Shawbost (from the Norse sia or sio meaning "sea"
(132) and bost or bolstadhr meaning "dwelling" or "homestead"),
a village in the parish of Barvas, lies on three low
hills on the west coast. Shawbost is 18 miles from
Stornoway on a circular route in which Stornoway and
Shawbost are antipodes.

172 On the south side of Shawbost bay, huddled beside
the sea strand, is a cluster of ruins called Sean Bhaile
(the old village), believed to have been occupied over
200 years ago when fishing was important in the local
economy. Banks of the streams are dotted with the ruins
(348) of old grinding mills and ovens for drying grain.
(312) Fresh-water springs are still kept clear of rushes,
although water is now piped to most houses from a nearby
000 loch. Hundreds of place names are known to the villagers

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

11

238 finished lengths of tweed. For a tweed to be classified
443 as "Harris Tweed," it must be hand-woven by Outer
(424) Hebrideans in their own homes, but the weavers are
288 essentially employees of the mill. All the large Harris
Tweed mills in Lewis, except the one in Shawbost, are
located in Stornoway. A few smaller businesses, which
design and market tweeds but have no elaborate machinery
to process the tweed further, are scattered throughout
the island.

421 The village of Shawbost is composed of 169 households,
162 of which 110 are headed by "crofters," persons recognized
(427) as legal tenants of a croft. Of the remaining 59
• (361) households, 16 rent houses which were built and are
maintained by the County (called "council houses"),
11 have erected houses on the crofts of relatives, and
463 32 have built homes on the common grazing lands. Non-
241 crofters participate in the agricultural activities of
the township. It would not be unusual, for example, for
a non-crofter to serve as the clerk of a grazings committee.

In North Shawbost, one croft house and two non-
342 croft houses are used only when the owner returns to
162 Shawbost from the mainland for a holiday. The school-
(375) master lives in a house adjoining the school, and the
(423) minister in a manse located between Shawbost and the
neighboring village of Bragar.

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241 (small clustered
• 361 houses were isolat
178 single-street vill

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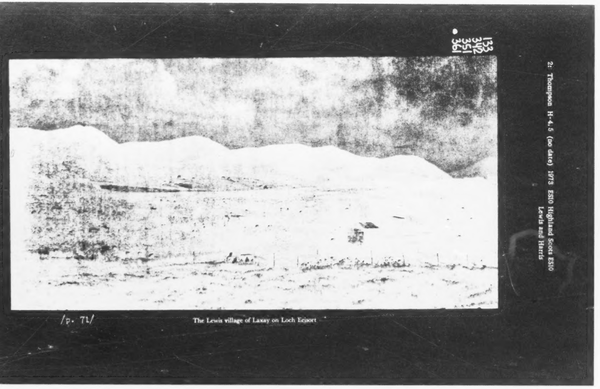

/p. 72/ The Lewis village of Lasay on Loch Erport

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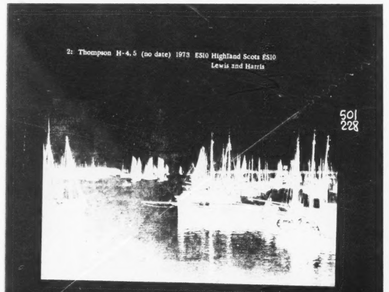

Two Stornoway scenes from the 'Grand Collotype Album of Views in Lewis' published c 1900 by Samuel Lawrence, 'Chemist, Druggist, Perfumer, Stationer and Tobacconist', Cromwell Street, Stornoway; (above) The herring fleet in Stornoway harbour, showing the wherries or 'Zulu' type craft; (below) Cromwell Street

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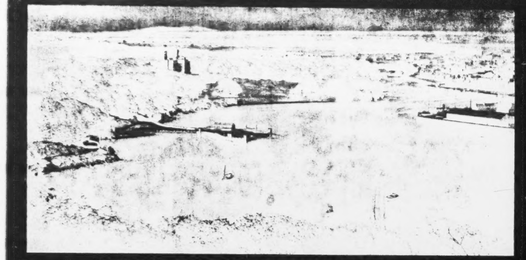

The inner harbour at Stornoway, taken from Gallows Hill. Lews Castle, now the Lews Technical College, is seen on the left. The trees of the Castle policies were planted by Lady Matheson

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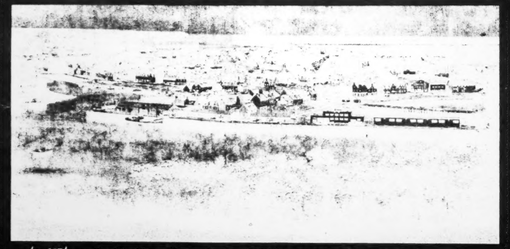

/p. 107/ General view of the town of Stornoway. Broad Bay is in the far background; the street on the right is South Beach

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ttlements) were broken up, and
d on strips of land in linear,
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ganization to the high demand for
ed during the Napoleonic wars.
who were very much in contact
the Scottish Lowlands, were
ultural practices there. The
-rig, which had once dominated the
to fixed, compact holdings began

he "progressive" ideology of the
land to individual farmers in much
hey had previously held would
gricultural development and give
capitalist farmers. To give land
people, however, meant the removal
tenants who had hitherto been
r the system of run-rig.

175 Factors which led to further crowding were the
423 development of industry and an increased demand for
427 wool in the south, which occurred when traditional
[161] ties between laird and tenant had been loosened. The
clans had been disbanded after the Jacobite rebellions
of 1715 and 1745; those landlords who had not
forfeited their estates received huge sums of money
as compensation for the abolition of hereditary
jurisdiction. They had experienced travel and the
luxuries of other countries, and were not eager to
remain on their estates. They accepted the huge rents
offered to them by sheep farmers to the south, and
turned vast amounts of land into sheep tracts. Tenants
• [361] were crowded together along the seashore, or lived on
tiny holdings dispersed among the larger farms or on
moorland, earning their living by doing wage labor.

175 Despite the factors which encouraged a high level
423 of population to remain on the land, proprietors
241 attempted to destroy the joint farm with its small,
178 dispersed holdings and collective rights. Run-rig
[656] agriculture was abolished in Argyll in 1776 (Day 1918:
180; Gray 1957: 49), and over the next 80 years it
disappeared from the Highlands (cf. Gray 1952: 49-50),
to be replaced by townships of compact holdings
surrounded by undivided hill grazing lands.

175 Geddes (1948: 56) gives evidence that joint farms
178 were abolished in Lewis early in the 19th century.
241 Gray (1952: 50) says that by 1819 there was little
423 run-rig left in Lewis. The factor's notebook for
Breasclete, on the west side of the island, shows the
destruction of clachans around 1850, and their replace-
ment by linear townships.

175 In the Napier Commission's "Evidence" (1884) for
423 the parish of Barvas, it was mentioned that the rent
427 had been increased because of improvements made by the
632 landlord, Sir James Matheson, between 1849 and 1852.
178 Land had been drained and new townships created; and
both old and new townships were lotted and rented in
1850 and 1851 (Napier 1884: 959). The Ordinance Survey
175 map drawn up in 1852-53 reveals several interesting
• 361 features of Shawbost: "New Shawbost" has recently been
423 laid out; and in an area now incorporated by only a
427 few separate crofts on "Carnan," a cluster of houses
178 appears, perhaps the clachan in which joint tenants
lived, and from which they went out to farm their various
strips of land, before Matheson reorganized the land
in linear strips with dispersed housing. The peat banks
[314] in the Carnan area are almost exhausted, indicating a
[194] long period of settlement in this area.

233 were taken out to small huts in the central moorlands
233 for several months during the summer. These moorland
342 dwellings, called sheilings or airidh, were tiny stone
structures, as small as seven by five feet. They had
double stone walls filled with clay, and a rounded
thatched roof. There were two doors opposite each other
in the longer walls, one of which was filled with turf
depending on the direction of the wind. A fireplace
[354] was built into one end of the hut; shelves in the stone
[352] walls held basins of milk and other items; and the major
part of the sheiling constituted a grass-and-heather-lined
• [361] cavity which served as a bed. The sheilings were usually
clustered together near a stream, duplicating neighbor-
hoods within the village.

221 Ploughing and planting were finished in the spring
before the young men and women went off to the fishing,
and before the cattle were taken to the sheiling. Some
families went to the sheiling as early as March for a
"fresh bite" of grass. Many went out in the middle of
May, and returned at the end of July or beginning of
August.

233 "During the week, young girls or boys stayed out on
857 the sheilings, depending on who was available in the
887 family; maybe old people who couldn't do anything else,
462

288 paucity of passengers, which provided rides to and
175 from town many times a day; but with the "development,"
178 that is, the centralization, of industry, public trans-
472 494 portation deteriorated. Visitors to the island unfamiliar
with this history are struck by practices which they
interpret as coming out of a clockless past, such as
the present custom of stopping the bus midway in its
journey to Stornoway so that the driver can eat dinner
in his mother's house while all passengers wait on board.
Such a custom is fairly recent, and indicates the
deterioration of public services to populations which
are marginal to the centralized source of these services.

288 During World War II, when the demand for tweed was
175 high and the number of weavers small, the weavers staged
[468] an effective strike by which they received an increase
in pay and the burden of cartage was shifted from them
[178] to the mills. This did not affect the system of trans-
[494] portation until the mills realized it would be cheaper
to run their own transport rather than to pay the independ-
[493] ent drivers a "cartage fee." The mills then began to use
their own vans to deliver yarn and collect tweeds directly
175 to and from the weavers. Once the mills took over trans-
288 portation, they tended to deliver tweeds to weavers
178 closest to the mills rather than to uphold the principle
[494] of equal distribution. This practice (made possible by
[466]
• [361]

175 the 1934 decision to change the word "crofter" to
178 "islander") led to the weavers living in council
288 • [361] houses in town and working in loomsheds behind the
houses. Unequal distribution has also contributed
to Shawbost's relative prosperity, and to the decline
of weaving in more remote parts of the island. The
[464] unequal distribution of tweeds has made it difficult
to maintain a large labor force, which in turn limits
the growth and development of the industry.

288 3. Instability of the Industry: The Harris Tweed
175 industry has undergone a number of crises. Periods of
178 depression have alternated with periods of prosperity.
[458] (See Appendix B for the fluctuation in the number of
yards stamped each year with the Harris Tweed trade-
mark.) The very conditions which give the tweed its
[435] market value—the decentralized, non-mechanized human
[466] element—also limit the possibilities of growth in the
industry, and contribute to the industry's instability.

288 When a business remains small, it must collect
441 orders before it can provide work to have the orders
filled (except when demand for an item is strong, as
occurred around the time of the previous world war;
during the war and for a few years after, tweeds could
be made first and then marketed, because any cloth
[471] could be sold). Only a large business can keep weavers

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A HARRIS VIGNETTE

(2,620 ft); grouped around this are the lesser peaks staring stark 631
and treeless to the skies. At the feet of these hills are the small 133
villages straggled along the shores of West Loch Tarbert. Much
of this area is owned by the proprietors of Amhuinnsuidh Castle,
a magnificent structure built by the Earl of Dunmore in the last
century; the hills lying north of it are rich in red deer. The road [491]
past the castle trundles on until it peters out at the far-east village
of Hushinish, beside a glorious scimitar-like curve of silver sand.
Beyond Hushinish is the Island of Scarp.

631
The road along the shores of East Loch Tarbert ends at the
village of Kyles Scalpay which overlooks Scalpay island. The [491]
Bays of Harris hold in their crevices the scattered groups of houses [361] •
here and there, where an inlet of the rocky coast affords some [133]
anchorage and where a patch of ground is suitable for cultivation.
Tortuous, winding footpaths have been gradually replaced by [487]
narrow roads connecting the townships. Lack of sufficient re- [161]
munerative employment has led to considerable depopulation. [162]
Fifty years ago the population of the area was just over 5,400;
it is now about 2,900.

The south of Harris is better known for its association with
Lord Leverhulme. Obbe, later Leverburgh, became the centre
of his schemes. He built a large pier, huge kippering sheds, houses
for the workers, roads and lighthouses, and blasted away under-
water rocks which hindered free navigation. The bulk of this
work was complete in 1924, but when he died (in 1925) his suc-
cessors, in the cold light of economics, decided to close down the
embryo industry and realise its assets. The harbour works had
cost £250,000; they were sold for £5,000 to a demolition com-
pany. Leverhulme's memorials are still to be seen. The west coast
of Harris is now becoming known for the long stretches of shell
sand and the green machar-land beside it, a true delight for the

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

621
631 has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway
and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway,
[505] and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West
[494] Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes six-
• [361] teen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population
[366] within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a
[368] post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a
[373] masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is
the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream.
Most of the working population is employed in the service in-
dustries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a
[504] fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a re-
fuelling point for ships.

441 The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as
[167] Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any
desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There
are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing
463 ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The
[241] main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being
[134] augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate
[126] on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from
[384] their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow
on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally.
Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turn-
ing have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the
[224] tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in
some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scot-
tish Country Industries Development Trust has been concen-
trated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production
of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Road-
[494] work gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course
seasonal.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

316
Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in 464
the services sector.

484
The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be
tapped. MacBrayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity [505]
of 50 cars and 600 passengers, makes two or three trips a day
between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than
two hours. The mainstays of tourist accommodation in Harris are 484
the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning 485
fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist 529
attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by offering [226]
full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant
lets.

484
An interesting tourist venture has been started at Rhenigidale.
A rough, stony track, one of the most tortuous and exciting in 487
Britain, takes its leave from the main road over a ridge. It twists 529
and turns in and out of gullies, over cliffsides and across the steep
heather-clad slopes of the Toddum, a dramatic little hill of 1,730 ft
which protects Rhenigidale village from the Atlantic gales. The [205]
seven-mile track is the only marked route, though crofters take
a shorter way to the north over pathless bogs; the local postman
makes a round of about 60 foot miles in the week, walking this
track and on to Tarbert three times in all weathers. The village 504
relies on its sheltered harbour with a good natural rock pier: 361 •
most communication is by water, all food and fuel coming that 505
way. In past times every household owned a boat for lobster and 501
shell fishing to supplement both diet and finances. Today the 226
interest in fishing has declined, as has the population. But in 1946 485
Mr Herbert Gatliff paid his first visit to Harris, discovered what
the island had to offer, and started a campaign to convince
hostelling interests of the need to make some investment in the
Western Isles. A croft house in Rhenigidale was in 1961 equipped
as a hostel, and under what is now the Gatliff Trust it is main-

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

• 361 Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in
Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which
is about half a mile across at its narrowest, coursed by strong
[133] tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter,
rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides;
the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a
361 tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green
311 shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the
[134] Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds
[241] in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser popula-
tion at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was
severely limited by the minute amount of land available for
tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square
mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict
the range and quality of crops grown.

*175 Scarp was originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by
361 eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not
only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access
to good pasturage on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1823
[166] thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Resort, Harris,
and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families
coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in
the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into
sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were
further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate
their families and friends from elsewhere. In 1861 the population
[162] was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951
it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat,

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

166 vision of adequate educational facilities in remote spots become
871 increasingly difficult.

In its time Scarp has contributed more per head of populatio
to the professions than has any other community of similar siz
[162] The last of the native Scarp population left the island i
November 1971: two families totalling seven people. The islan
[178] has now attracted the attentions of a hippie community.

Scalpay

*175 Scalpay Island, on the east side of Harris, was formerly occu
• 361 pied by two or three tacksmen in succession before being 'crofte
429 out'. About 1843 the Harris factor settled twenty crofting famili
who managed to make a fair living there, but five years lat
another twenty families were added; some had been evicted fro
the island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris. This led to some su
[162] division of the available land. The 1861 population was 388, b
the figure rose to a peak of 624 in 1921; in 1951 it had decline
to 541. It is now in the region of 450.

178 Island Scalpay is in fact one of the few places in the Highlan
[6] and Islands area in which the normal trends associated with r
mote regions are operating in reverse. The island despite its sma
[131] ness—it is a mere 3 miles long and 1½ miles across—supports
thriving and dynamic community and is the envy of its neighbou
[162] Scalpay is retaining its young folk; and it boasts some of the fine
homes in the Hebrides. From the agricultural point of view it
[241] not greatly different from other islands in the Hebrides. Its for
crofts produce a good crop of oats; but less than 20 acres of t
land are re-seeded.

226 The land being as poor as it is, the men of Scalpay have turn

175 of beer at one time to avoid having to make the 50-mile
275 round trip very often. Men met to drink in barns or in
273 tigh ceilidh, the houses in which people gathered for evening visiting, but for this purpose eventually built huts of stone or concrete, or used shelters already available such as the shells of old buses or Nissen huts built by the armed forces but no longer used by them. [361] These shelters, separate from the rest of the village, were called bothans. One or a few men brought the drink
275 from town, and the drinks were sold at cost. In 1963
273 a bothan was raided by the police and the men fined.
625 But in 1967, a court case found six men not guilty of
681 trafficking in exciseable liquor because there was no evidence that money had changed hands. The lawyer for the accused men argued that the drink was not "for sale." It was simply available, and drinkers made "voluntary" contributions to a common kitty.

175 The first bothan in Shawbost was started after the
273 second world war, by a sailor home on leave. Liquor was
275 brought to an old Nissen hut, which eventually was replaced by a small concrete hut with gas lighting. ("It was built overnight, because if anyone knew it was being built, they would protest." "It was built inside the Nissen hut so no one would know. On the day they were tearing down the Nissen hut, a minister was passing by and he praised

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2 ECOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

361 THE population of the island huddles round the coastline
133 as round a central hearth. This is mainly because the inland parts of the island are either barren, as in Harris, or infertile bog, as in Lewis. Much of the south Hebrides has, on the west coast, the extremely fertile macharland, but Harris and Lewis do not have these useful patches. The macharland is land built on shell sand and dressed with fertilizing seaweed; it forms a fertile fringe, no more than a belt of varying width between the sea and the acid peat bog on the inland side. Where this land does occur, mainly on the west coast of the island, townships crowd round it for the good growing it can give. The other reason for the [262] attraction of the coast is the obvious one: the close proximity, on the doorstep, of a change of diet, shellfish and inshore fish such as whiting, cod, haddock and mackerel. The exceptions to this coastal grouping are Achmore, Cliascro, and Lochganvich in Lewis.

133 There is a great physiographical difference between the east and west coasts of the island, this apart from the incidence of macharland on the west coast. The eastern side is steeper to the sea; though sheer cliffs occur at Gallan Head, West Loch Roag. The south-western coastline has high, almost sheer cliffs with few inlets or sheltered harbourages excepting Loch Roag, a magnificent inlet, sheltered at its farthest inland penetration by Great Bernera. The coast on this island side often presents rocky teeth to the Atlantic's buffeting; and often suddenly falls down to sea level to display wide stretches of sand. Uig Bay, where the Red [463] River runs into the sea, is a breath-taking sweep of whiteness. The eastern coast is generally rocky but has more inlets, lochs which carry townships mainly engaged in fishing or tweed manufacture.

Lewis and Harris

THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

361 The crofting township is not quite akin to the English or Lowland village. Primarily it is a collection of dwellings of families who, as social units, gain their subsistence from the land surrounding the houses. The smallest number for a township is four
476 family units. A functional unit of four men was the minimum necessary for a boat crew, or for the teamwork necessary to cultivate land; co-operation was essential if all four families were to survive. And from this grew the same spirit of communal work which in Lewis is seen at its best in the efforts to reclaim peat bog and turn it into fertile grassland.

361 Hebridean townships come close to being the nearest approach
[565] to a classless society. The shape of a township is largely dictated by the nature of the surrounding land. The shape of most of those in Harris and in Lewis is either scattered or linear (houses disposed in line at varying distances from each other), with little natural [491] cover, either plantation or scrub. Often the main road runs through the township; some have begun to develop lateral roads, to give, from the air, the appearance of planning on a grid system.
244 Where gardens are cultivated, the produce tends to be a summer vegetable supply for the household, little if any finding its way to
372 Stornoway shops for sale. Peat is the usual fuel, though in townships near to the centres of Tarbert and Stornoway coal is burned; the cost of freight, however, makes it expensive.

471 Most of the townships are owned by commercial companies; individual lairds own some five dozen; the remainder belong to public bodies and trusts. The actual distribution of ownership of land on the island is as follows. Harris is virtually owned by individual lairds; a small percentage is owned by commercial companies. The Lochs region of Lewis has a mixed ownership: commercial companies, lairds, and public trust, the former being the largest. Stornoway parish is wholly owned by public trust. The Ness district is virtually the property of commercial companies; a small fraction belongs to public trust. The Uig district is the same, the smaller proportion, less than 10 per cent, being the concern of an individual laird.

In Lewis, the public body mentioned is the Stornoway Trust,

THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

In Lewis, the public body mentioned is the Stornoway trust, the only one of its kind in the Highlands: when Lewis was sold by Lord Leverhulme in 1923, the parish of Stornoway Landward was given to the townspeople who, in effect, became shareholders in the trust, formed to administer the estate. A resident factor in Stornoway is answerable to a small council of the residents. Commercial companies as owners appeared on the scene in Lewis after the lands were offered for sale when Leverhulme pulled out of his efforts to industrialise the Lewis folk. Considerable tracts of land were sold for as little as £500; some at 1p per acre. The salmon and trout fishings were, of course, a major attraction. Some small-acreage estates were bought in Harris and Lewis by speculators with island connections.

STORNOWAY

In contrast to the straggling and quite casual townships of the rural areas of the island, Stornoway has logic in its layout. The harbour and the grounds of Lews Castle have given the town a magnificent setting and a useful green belt surrounds it. The outlying villages, however, tend to be miracles of chaos, showing both architectural and planning anarchy. These only serve to add point to the more formal layout of Stornoway with its regular streets, some casual variation adding interest.

The town itself grew in recognisable stages. The first was centred on the small peninsula known as the Point Street area. This land finger protected the inner harbour of the Bayhead River and on it grew the nucleus of the town, beside old Stornoway Castle, once perched on a rocky islet and now existing as rubble under the steamer pier. Protection from storm was not really provided until the nineteenth century, when a quay was built with space for marketing and handling herring. About the seventeenth century, houses began to string themselves out along the shores on the side of the inner harbour (Bayhead Street and Cromwell Street) and on that side of the outer harbour called Newton Street. From the nineteenth century until about 1914, two-storey, flatted tenements, hotels and middle-class houses were built on a grid plan that followed on old field layouts and the associated ditches. Some of the present-day roads, such as James Street, follow these

ECOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

ditches, indicating perhaps the love of old-time planners for following existing lines and patterns. A plan of Stornoway drawn up by a John Wood in 1821 shows the town's development along definite grid lines with a few main streets, most of which were comparatively long and running south-north, seawards to landwards.

In 1918, when Lord Leverhulme made his bid to centralise the scattered, failing fishing industry of the island at Stornoway, he envisaged a further stage for the town. He began to build new houses, and had a grandiose proposal to reopen the diagonal arrangement indicated in John Wood's plan and centre it on some great new building. This fell through on his departure from Lewis; and since then, building here has become much the same as on the Scottish mainland.

In more recent years Stornoway has seen a kind of suburban development with, in particular, a new housing scheme of private dwellings in the same area as that proposed by John Wood. This area also contains the new primary school. A recent estimate of the cost of the building work, involving new houses and municipal facilities, amounted to almost £3 million. Municipal housing has been provided in smaller areas cleared of older houses. Of the 1600 houses in the Burgh, 50 per cent belong to the Burgh Council or the County Council, the balance being private.

(above) Drifnet fishing boats in Stornoway harbour. The new boats to form the basis for the island fleet of the future will be seine-net and dual-purpose

/p. 36/

(below) The Lewis village of Gravir, showing small fishing boats in Loch Odhairn, 1932

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The hills of North Harris. On the far side of the loch (West Loch Tarbert) can be seen the remains of the whaling station

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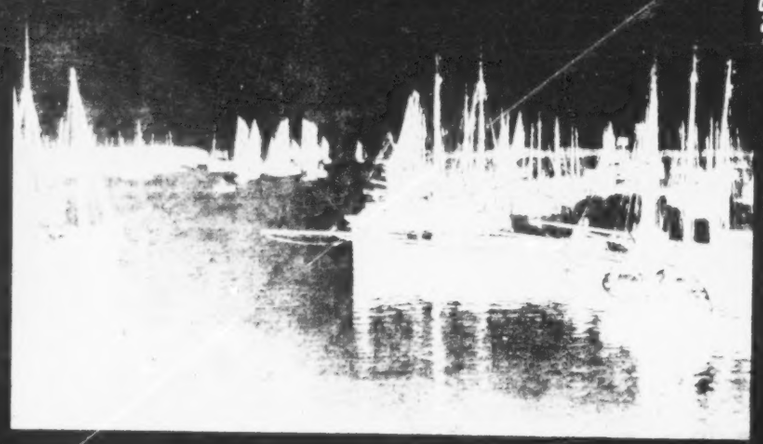

Two Stornoway scenes from the 'Grand Collotype Album of Views in Lewis' published c 1900 by Samuel Lawrence, 'Chemist, Druggist, Perfumer, Stationer and Tobacconist', Cromwell Street, Stornoway. (*above*) The herring fleet in Stornoway harbour, showing the wherries or 'Zulu' type craft; (*below*) Cromwell Street

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2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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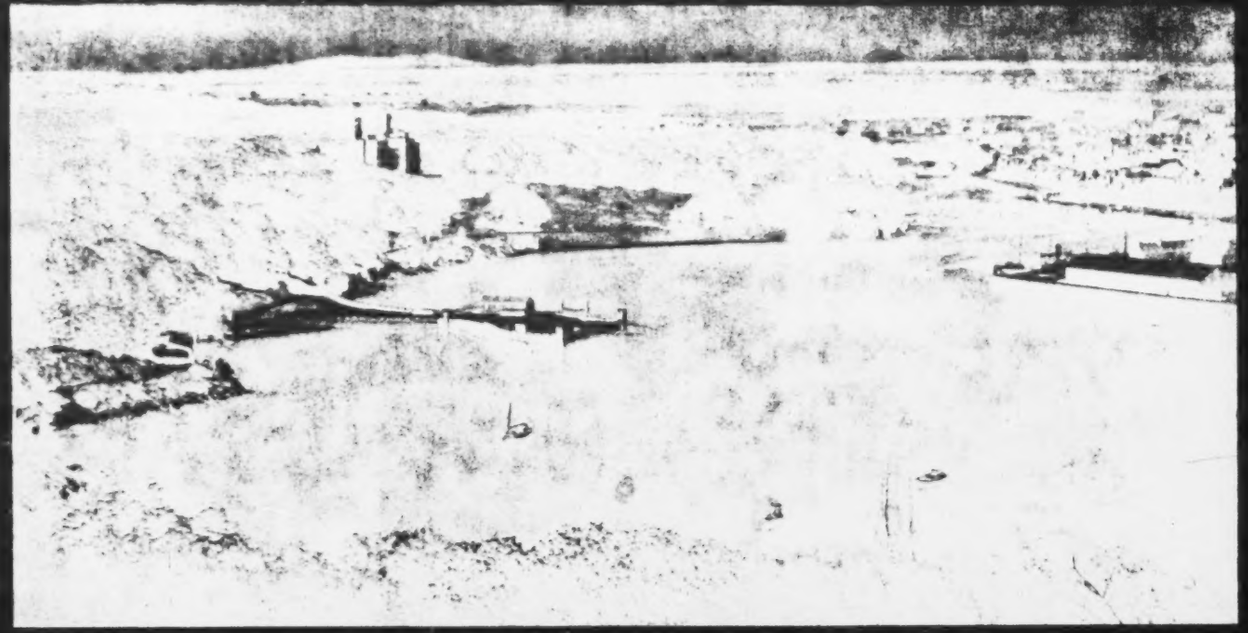

The inner harbour at Stornoway, taken from Gallows Hill. Lews Castle, now the Lews Technical College, is seen on the left. The trees of the Castle policies were planted by Lady Matheson

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THE SHIANT ISLES

Island) and Eilean Mhuire (Mary's Island). The Shiants are the eroded relic of the same age of volcanic activity that formed the strange-looking columns of Staffa and of the Giant's Causeway in Antrim. The mass of cooling molten rock slowly crystallised and changed in composition: the early-formed crystals sank to the bottom, the later ones being found nearer the top. In 1845 one family lived on Garbh Eilean, the largest, which is joined to Eilean an Tigh by a low storm beach; but the family was lost, falling over one of the great precipices which are a feature of the group. In 1821, 2 males and 4 females lived there; in 1891, 3 males and 5 females; and in 1901, 4 males and 4 females. But in this year the last family upped and went to Tarbert, Harris; for one of its members, a girl of 21, it was the first visit to the outside world. Since then there has been no permanent population. Back between 1811 and 1821 a visitor to the Shiants had some hard things to say about the filth and darkness of the shepherd's dwelling in contrast with the 'loveliness of nature, the bright sand, the fair rock, the enamelled green turf, and the sweetness of the summer breeze'.

Records show that at one time in the islands' history some sixteen people lived there, working small crofts. The ruins of their chapel can still be seen. The author Sir Compton MacKenzie had the house on Eilean an Tigh renovated for a stay there, and later the islands were bought by Nigel Nicholson, author and publisher. Today they are used for grazing sheep.

St Kilda

The St Kilda group of islands, some 45 miles off the west coast of Lewis, belong to the parish of Harris. These islands have an extensive literature and can only be touched on here. When the population was evacuated from St Kilda in 1930, the move broke for all time almost 2,000 years of continuous island living; they were taken off at their own request, after much careful and serious deliberation by the St Kilda 'parliament'. Life in Hirta, the only island in the group with a permanent human settlement, depended on the seabirds that breed in their tens of thousands on the cliffs of Hirta and Boreray, and the great stacks of Stac an Armin and Stac Lee. The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars

THE OTHER ISLANDS

The flesh of puffins, gannet
was the staple diet of the St Kildan
the vital exports that paid the island
the owner of the group. These expor
purchase of such foodstuffs as salt, su
which the island could not itself sup
some hundreds of sheep, the wool
tweed, and a few cattle were also ke
foundation of the island economy.

The factor which led ultimately t
group was isolation. The communi
history undoubtedly the most isolate
until the present century this matte
All that was deemed necessary for t
munity was that, once a year, Mac
his factor over from Skye to collect t
be sold, and to bring with him those
them through another twelvemonth.
the island's products declined, comm
portant: to support the family a ma
on the Scottish mainland. Large-sca
when thirty-six islanders (with State
life was punctuated by loss of life; b
in particular deprived the communi
needed for survival. Tetanus infantu
'eight-days' sickness', strangled two
this disease ravaged the island for
struck harder at the male sex. Abo
about 200, a definite overcrowding.
in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 73. A

Isolation tended to make the St K
With the improvement in boat servic
on tourist itineraries. The tourist tra
portance for the population after J
Castle steamed north and west for
Western Isles and lone St Kilda'. Th
throughout the three summer months
passengers eager to buy souvenirs: t
wheels, stuffed birds and eggs; indee

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psychological evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'One cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with pocketsful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required money as an exchange commodity because the original native produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the food they required, provided communications with the mainland were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, as St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to the care and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be repeated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, poor folk, scarece learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the company of a minister who had been summoned to the island to denounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180 inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Baptist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds,

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2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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The Lewis village of Laxay on Loch Erisort

THE OTHER ISLANDS

13 north-west of Gallan Head. There are seven main islands, all
[133] small, high and cliffbound, and a number of rock stacks and
[361] islets. All are uninhabited. Eilean Mhor, the largest, of 39 acres,
[502] has an automatic light. Dean Monro's description of the
133 islands as 'nouder manurit, nor inhabit, but full of grein high
236 hills and scheipe' still holds, for sheep are taken annually from
Lewis to the grazing on the Flannans. Their name is said to be
103 derived from the ninth-century St Flann, whose saintly influence
236 was recognised during the centuries when men from Lewis visited
223 the islands for their harvest of wool, wild fowl and feathers.

*175 The Flannans were the scene of a great sea-mystery: the com-
502 plete and utter disappearance of three men from the lighthouse at the turn of this century. In December 1900, the lighthouse, with its 140,000-candlepower beam 283 ft above sea level, was a year old. It had taken four years to build instead of the estimated two. All the materials had to be swung up piecemeal from the boats and hauled up the almost sheer 70 ft cliffs to the top. That month a passing ship, the *Archer*, noticed that the Flannans light was out; a message was sent to the Flannans shore station at Breasclete, Lewis, and the *Hesperus*, preparing to pay a Christmas visit to the lighthouse, got under weigh.

Its crew landed and searched the island, but found no trace of the missing keepers. In the lighthouse was an uncanny silence. The fire was dead. The clock had stopped ticking. The beds had been made up in the clean, clinical way of all sailors. And in the galley, the pots, pans and dishes sparkled their welcome to the searchers. In the lamp-room the lamp was cold. The wicks had been trimmed and the lenses polished. The logbook showed a last entry on 0900 hours, Saturday 15 December. In the subsequent investigation some theories were offered in explanation of the disappearance, but none quite fitted. The mystery remains, a haunting, unexorcised cloud hovering over the island.

131 *The Shiant Isles*

Turning to the east coast of Lewis, in the parish of Lochs are
[103] the Shiant Isles, about 4 miles off-shore, across the Sound of
[631] Shiant (Gaelic: charmed, enchanted). There are three islands in the group: Eilean an Tigh (House Island), Garbh Eilean (Rough

2,620 ft); grouped around this are the lesser peaks staring stark nd treeless to the skies. At the feet of these hills are the small illages straggled along the shores of West Loch Tarbert. Much f this area is owned by the proprietors of Amhuinnsuidh Castle, magnificent structure built by the Earl of Dunmore in the last entury; the hills lying north of it are rich in red deer. The road ast the castle trundles on until it peters out at the far-east village f Hushinish, beside a glorious scimitar-like curve of silver sand. Beyond Hushinish is the Island of Scarp.

The road along the shores of East Loch Tarbert ends at the illage of Kyles Scalpay which overlooks Scalpay island. The Bays of Harris hold in their crevices the scattered groups of houses here and there, where an inlet of the rocky coast affords some anchorage and where a patch of ground is suitable for cultivation. Tortuous, winding footpaths have been gradually replaced by narrow roads connecting the townships. Lack of sufficient remunerative employment has led to considerable depopulation. Fifty years ago the population of the area was just over 5,400; t is now about 2,900.

The south of Harris is better known for its association with Lord Leverhulme. Obbe, later Leverburgh, became the centre of his schemes. He built a large pier, huge kippering sheds, houses for the workers, roads and lighthouses, and blasted away underwater rocks which hindered free navigation. The bulk of this work was complete in 1924, but when he died (in 1925) his successors, in the cold light of economics, decided to close down the embryo industry and realise its assets. The harbour works had cost £250,000; they were sold for £5,000 to a demolition company. Leverhulme's memorials are still to be seen. The west coast of Harris is now becoming known for the long stretches of shell sand and the green machar-land beside it, a true delight for the tourist seeking isolation.

Tarbert is the central village in Harris, with a population of about 400. It is a thriving community, nestling at the foot of Beinn an Teanga and at the head of the sheltered anchorage of East Loch Tarbert—sheltered from the prevailing south-westerly winds and from the Atlantic storms. The car ferries give direct contact with the Scottish mainland, via Skye, and Tarbert also

has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway, and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes sixteen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Roadwork gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in the services sector.

The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be tapped. MacBrayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity of 50 cars and 600 passengers, makes two or three trips a day between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than two hours. The mainstays of tourist accommodation in Harris are the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by offering full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant lets.

An interesting tourist venture has been started at Rhenigidale. A rough, stony track, one of the most tortuous and exciting in Britain, takes its leave from the main road over a ridge. It twists and turns in and out of gullies, over cliffsides and across the steep heather-clad slopes of the Toddum, a dramatic little hill of 1,730 ft which protects Rhenigidale village from the Atlantic gales. The seven-mile track is the only marked route, though crofters take a shorter way to the north over pathless bogs; the local postman makes a round of about 60 foot miles in the week, walking this track and on to Tarbert three times in all weathers. The village relies on its sheltered harbour with a good natural rock pier: most communication is by water, all food and fuel coming that way. In past times every household owned a boat for lobster and shell fishing to supplement both diet and finances. Today the interest in fishing has declined, as has the population. But in 1946 Mr Herbert Gatliff paid his first visit to Harris, discovered what the island had to offer, and started a campaign to convince hostelling interests of the need to make some investment in the Western Isles. A croft house in Rhenigidale was in 1961 equipped as a hostel, and under what is now the Gatliff Trust it is maintained for hardy trekkers, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association making a grant for running costs. Many visitors have found that the place offers a degree of happiness corresponding with its remoteness from civilisation.

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which is about half a mile across at its narrowest, coursed by strong tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter, rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides; the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser population at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was severely limited by the minute amount of land available for tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict the range and quality of crops grown.

Scarp was originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access to good pasturage on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1823 thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Resort, Harris, and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate their families and friends from elsewhere. In 1861 the population was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951 it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat, plying between two stone-built jetties.

The local economy was essentially a subsistence one, with self-sufficiency in such products as potatoes, turnips, cabbages, oats, milk and fish. After a break of some years lobster-fishing has recently been reinstated as an occupation. Oil lamps are the only lighting, though a few houses have piped water. The small shop

vision of adequate educational facilities in remote spots becomes increasingly difficult.

In its time Scarp has contributed more per head of population to the professions than has any other community of similar size. The last of the native Scarp population left the island in November 1971 : two families totalling seven people. The island has now attracted the attentions of a hippie community.

Scalpay

Scalpay Island, on the east side of Harris, was formerly occupied by two or three tacksmen in succession before being 'crofted out'. About 1843 the Harris factor settled twenty crofting families who managed to make a fair living there, but five years later another twenty families were added; some had been evicted from the island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris. This led to some subdivision of the available land. The 1861 population was 388, but the figure rose to a peak of 624 in 1921; in 1951 it had declined to 541. It is now in the region of 450.

Island Scalpay is in fact one of the few places in the Highlands and Islands area in which the normal trends associated with remote regions are operating in reverse. The island despite its smallness—it is a mere 3 miles long and 1½ miles across—supports a thriving and dynamic community and is the envy of its neighbours. Scalpay is retaining its young folk; and it boasts some of the finest homes in the Hebrides. From the agricultural point of view it is not greatly different from other islands in the Hebrides. Its forty crofts produce a good crop of oats; but less than 20 acres of the land are re-seeded.

The land being as poor as it is, the men of Scalpay have turned their faces to the sea—for a living, not for emigration. Scalpay has the largest number of full-time fishermen and a total of thirty-three boats, twelve of which are ringnetters of over 40 ft. Native enterprise is also shown in the ship-owning firm whose vessels carry freight and passengers to many parts of Scotland and on occasion to the Continent. A Harbour Association was formed on the island in 1966 to work for local amenities for fishermen and

the community generally—in particular for a landing stage in the North Harbour. The lighthouse at Eilean Glas, Scalpay, was in fact erected as long ago as 1788; for a long time it was the only lighthouse in the Western Isles. In 1792 it was described as 'one of great utility to the numerous shipping that frequent this channel [between Skye and the Long Island] on their voyages to and from the Baltic'.

The independence of the islanders again appears in their attitude to the education facilities provided for their children. In 1949 Scalpay parents staged a school strike in protest against the delay in the construction of a road to the school. At present the island has a junior secondary school but in 1966 the Inverness-shire County Council Education Committee proposed the transfer of the island pupils to the school at Tarbert; this would mean each child rising early in the morning to face a trip across Scalpay Sound and then a road journey to Tarbert. The inevitable protests against this proposal were rooted in its deeper implications. The school roll on Scalpay (70 pupils) has maintained a remarkable level of continuity over the years, reflecting the general prosperity of the island. Forced attendance at a central educational facility, the islanders maintain, will introduce an unsettling urban element into their children's adult views.

The smaller islands

To the west of Scalpay, in East Loch Tarbert, is the one-square-mile island of Scotosay. Its population was 14 in 1861, none in 1881, 18 in 1891, 15 in 1901, and 20 in 1911. In 1921 7 males and 12 females lived there, but none permanently since.

On the west of the Harris mainland is a high rocky island, four miles by one, called Taransay. In 1549 Dean Monro described it as being 'well inhabit and manurit', a place where people delved with spades, and with good barley and corn, and fishing. There are two old chapels and a burying ground on the island. The population of Taransay has declined to a handful through the years; its peak was 76 in 1911.

The Sound of Harris is 'a chaos of rocks and islands', so numerous that they cannot easily be counted. Some are mere pinpoints of rock; others once supported small populations. Nearest to the

Nearest to the southern shore of Harris is the verdant arable island of Ensay, two miles in circumference. The peak population was 15 in 1861, but in 1951 and 1961 there were two men (seasonal shepherds). Just south of Ensay is Killegray, two miles long. The south end was uncultivated, though a good source of peat; five people lived on Killegray in 1861, 3 in 1911 and 1921, 5 in 1931 and none in 1951. An 1865 report mentions that there was only one house on the island, so the population must have been one family only.

Four to five miles west of Killegray is a low-lying, fertile island of about four miles by 1½. This is Bernera Harris which, though lying nearer to North Uist, is included in the civil parish of Harris. It still carries a fairly large population. Until the early eighteenth century it was occupied by a tacksman at one end and a community of crofters at the other. Later there was an influx of people evicted from Pabbay and the mainland of Harris. Some clearing of families from Bernera itself took place. In 1861 the population of Bernera was 315; it rose to 524 in 1901. Three schools were open on the island in 1865 : an SSPCK school, a Gaelic School Society school, and a 'female industrial school' supported by the SSPCK and 'taught by a venerable Highland lady in receipt of a salary of £8 per annum'. The school was housed in, to quote an 1865 report, 'the oldest dwelling in the Long Island, and was at one time inhabited by persons of distinction. In the outer wall is a marble slab bearing this inscription : "Hic Natus est/Illustris Ille/Normannus MacLeod/De Bernera/Eques Auratus." (Here was born that famous man, Norman MacLeod of Berneray, a distinguished knight.) This illustrious personage and his brother, Sir Roderick of Talisker, were both knighted by Charles II for distinguished services . . . A grandson of Sir Norman became known in the annals of the Bench as Lord Bannatyne.'

Three miles north-west of Bernera is Pabbay, also in the parish of Harris. At one time Pabbay was a rich green island, the 'granary of Harris', and supported a considerable population. Early last century it was inhabited by 26 families (about 100 people), who lived in comparative comfort, and by 1841 the population was 338. But Pabbay was cleared of its people. Some emigrated to Australia, some went to other places nearby, such as Scalpay, Bernera and the Bays area of Harris. In 1858 only a

 [See pp. 59-60--Analyst]

shepherd's family was left. Pabbay is conical in shape, and about 2½ miles in diameter. In recent times drift and sea spray have damaged its fertility.

Just north of Pabbay is Shillay, one mile in circumference, where Martin Martin (1695) says he found sheep with the biggest horns he had ever seen. Whether Shillay was ever inhabited is not known.

10 THE OTHER ISLANDS

THE continued evacuation of islands is a problem peculiar to Scotland. In the eighteenth century some 8 per cent of Scots lived on islands; today the figure is less than 2 per cent. Island populations today account for about 30 per cent of the total Highland (crofting counties) population. The difficulty for most islands is the relationship between population density and potential for economic development.

As though reflecting the relationship of man to man on Lewis-with-Harris—keeping together in community for survival—the other islands round the larger island mass have played some role at one time or another in recorded history. Most of the socially-significant islands of Harris have been described in Chapter 9. Lewis has very few, and these are mostly far-flung oceanic outliers.

North Rona

To begin at the northern point of the Lewis parish, about 45 miles NNE of the Butt of Lewis is North Rona, a block of hornblende schist with pegmatite intrusions. Though the island has never figured in any Census reports, since the Census began, it has been inhabited from time to time. Of about 300 acres in extent, it is cliff-bound and reaches 355 ft at its highest point. It lies in a part of the Atlantic where a deep swell seems perpetual, and landings can be difficult.

Dean Monro comments: 'Towards the north northeist from Lewis, three score myles of sea, lyes and little ile callit Roney, laiche maine land, inhabit and manurit be simple people, scant of ony religione.' The Dean's 'simple people' were no recent settlers. They were in fact the continuation of a community which had inhabited North Rona for at least 700 years previously. Tradition has it that the first inhabitant was St Ronan, who built a small monastic cell or hermitage there some time during the eighth century, but there may have been earlier inhabitants.

Dean Monro, in his 1549 account, refers to the vast numbers of wild fowl and mentions that the men of Ness sail there and stay for seven or eight days and bring back a boat full of dried wild fowl and feathers. The *Old Statistical Account* (1796) says: 'There is in Ness a most adventurous set of people who, for a few years back, at the hazard of their lives, went there in an open six-oared boat without even the aid of a compass.' The boat, says the *Account*, could not be pulled up out of the sea, and therefore, while some of the men worked on the birds, the others had to stay in the boat on the most sheltered side of the sheer-cliffed island. This custom of hunting young gannets (or 'guga') on Sulasgeir still continues. Under the Protection of Wild Birds Act, 1954, the gannet is protected by law, but so that the Ness men could continue their old custom, a Statutory Order was passed making a special exemption (from 31 August each year at the end of the close season) of the gannets on Sulasgeir. With North Rona, Sulasgeir is one of the great breeding grounds for British oceanic seabirds.

The Loch Roag islands

The one large inhabited island off the Lewis coast is Great Bernera, though technically it is not now an island, having been connected to the mainland of Lewis in 1953 by a bridge. It is part of the parish of Uig, as are the other islands in Loch Roag. Its population reached a peak of 730 in 1911, but has now fallen to about half that figure. Off the west of Great Bernera is Little Bernera, which in Dean Monro's time was 'inhabit and manurit', but which has had no population recorded since the 1861 Census. Monro describes it as full of rough little craigs, but with fertile earth between.

Also in Loch Roag are three islands which, now deserted, once supported families: Pabbay had 17 people in 1861, 9 in 1881, and none since; Vacsay had nine men in 1861, and none since; Orasay in 1891 had one man and one woman, but none since.

The Flannans

Belonging again to the parish of Uig is the group of islands known as the Flannans, or Seven Hunters, some twenty miles

LEWIS 1938
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Photograph by Robert M. Adam

PLATE I. ON THE ATLANTIC COAST OF LEWIS

The township of Cliff, Valtos, on West Loch Roag (April 1938). In the right foreground are three 'black houses', one with a new chimney and gable end

/facing p. 26/

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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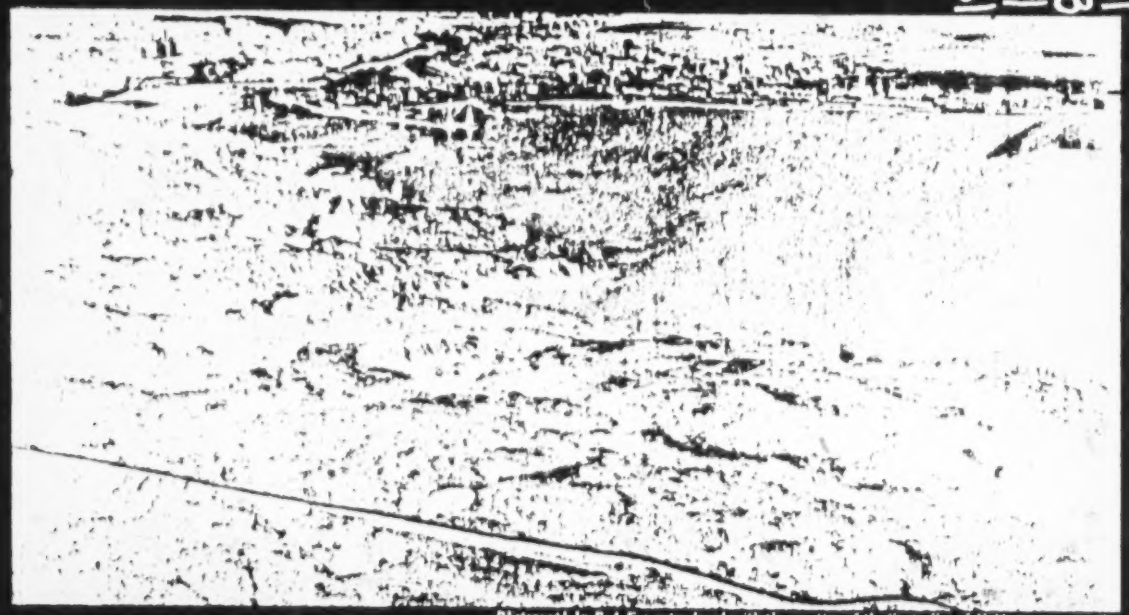

Photograph by R.A.F.; reproduced with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

PLATE II. AIR VIEW OVER STORNOWAY BAY, LOOKING NORTH

The Point, with the inner harbour behind, is the nucleus of the burgh; nineteenth-century extension filled up the ground inland. Lews Castle is on the left

/facing p. 27/

18 621 174 423 pastoral group, the germ (in the Hebrides) of the present township with its common grazing. Hamlets and township formed circles of cultural and religious life in common. These 'sociable hamlets', or 'little commonwealths', as they were called by understanding writers on the Highlands, lived on in the Hebrides almost until a century ago. Features of their form and life have long been known, but their life has not yet been envisaged in its full dynamic significance.

127 361 174 The homesteads, informally grouped in these small hamlets, have been mistakenly described as solitary or 'dispersed' by scholars accustomed to larger and more compact grouping. The mistake was made by geographers of the nineteenth century, such as Meitzen with reference [423] to the hamlets of Brittany. Similarly, because of the [476] small number composing a typical joint team, the vital fact of team-work and joint holding has frequently been overlooked; yet a fundamental mistake is made when such close-knit team-work and joint tenure are described as 174 'individualistic'. Moreover, these teams were linked together in larger, more loosely bound pastoral communities 621 of township and district. In Scotland and elsewhere, it is 631 true, such hamlets came historically to be split up in various [241] ways, into smaller farms and scattered cottages. The larger link of common life was also superseded by the [178] proprietor's estate. Indeed, the twofold revolution involved caused a fundamental regional cleavage within 'the North and West'.

[182] Partly as a result of their small size, the tenure of farm-hamlets was frequently informal. In northern England, [184] the hamlets and their lands were not entered in Domesday Book; still less are early entries complete in Scotland. [178] For this and other reasons, jurist and historian may fail

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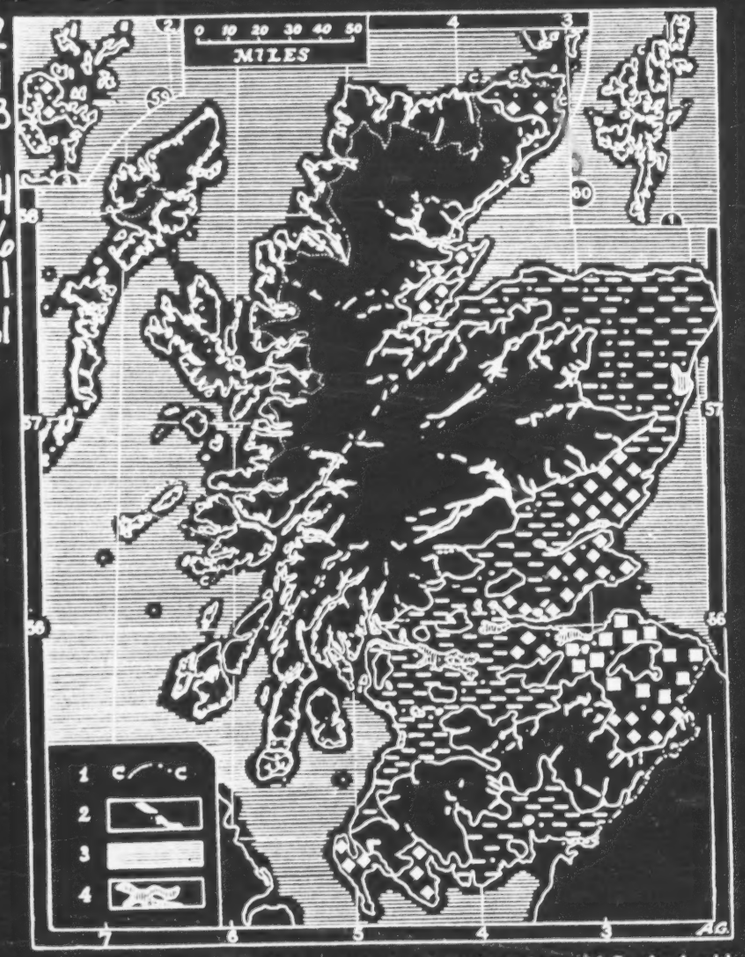

FIG. 2.—Map to show (i) the use of land and sea in and around Scotland, with special reference to the Crofting Townships Zone of the NW. Highlands and Isles, and (ii) the average size in each county of labour-teams of farms and small-holdings in the Lowlands

182 Let us begin with the economic and the social si
184 ficance of the Highlands and Isles with which we
311 concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space
the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown bl
[241] which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore wa
[427] and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by
C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or c
[361] munities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainl
and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazi
the line C also encloses a small area devoted to o
grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, m
land, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill cou
are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small fa
and small-holdings.

174 In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint lab
621 team on land formed the communal units contained wi
632
423
241
226

Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C .... C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black areas: strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

102 131 133 [311] [241] [361]

Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings
(in the Lowlands)

The symbols show the average number of employees per team in each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

(a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm
— 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
◆ 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
■ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(b) Per Full-time Small Holding
• 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

241 and with the addition of 10,000 workers on full-time small-
162 holdings, these constitute a labour force of nearly 100,000.
464 Nevertheless, there are more crofts than farms in Scotland, and more small (part-time) crofters than farmers, besides
241 'full-time small-holders', of whom so many are crofters, north of the Highland line. Thus the number of crofter
427 families forms an important item of Scotland's rural popu-
162 lation. Of these, the families of Lewis-and-Harris form fully one-fifth, owing to the remarkable growth of population until 1925. Even in the little burgh of Stornoway many families hold a plot of land, and at heart they may be almost as much 'crofters' as townsmen.

241 Socially, what is meant in the Island by the term
427 'crofters'? Although each Island crofter cultivates his
621 own arable holding (his croft), he shares the common pastures with fellow-crofters, each having a right to a 'sum' of so much stock, 'his souming'. Open, sandy land by the shore, if any, may also be shared. These common grazings, shared together by the crofters of one community—a hamlet, a village or township—form a social link of great significance. They distinguish what we shall call 'township crofting' from individual holding, whether of part-time or full-time small-holdings, or of true farms. The common grazings, enclosed by line C (Fig. 2), thus
• [361] form an important social index. About 75 per cent of the area included forms Common (or other Crofters') Grazings. The close dots of the dotted line divide the 'Commons' from Deer Forests, as in the Island and inland from the north-western coasts. Widely spaced dots divide the Commons from the Sheep Farms and other mixed holdings further south.

241 Outside the tract of 'township crofting' in the north
361 and west, the chief unit of Scots rural life is the farm,

i [see p. 16 -- analyst]

241 with its tied cottages and frequently a 'bothy' for the un-
• 361 married. Next to this comes the full-time small-holding,
[184] important in the North-east and the Southern Highlands of Scotland. Great as are the differences between these types of unit today, they go back, to a considerable extent,
[174] to common origins. The sites of the farms are ancient. And their people, though since divided into masters and men, are the successors to those who were once the 'kindly co-operators' of older 'farm groups', of Lowland *ferm-toun* and
[184] Gaelic *baile* (pronounced like 'ballie'). The island counterpart of these, and their life, will be described in Part Two. Hence, before we turn to further analysis of the Highlands and Isles, a word more should be said of Lowland types.

241 An important social index in the Lowlands of Scotland
361 is the number composing the farm labour-team, averaged
464 for each county. Villages and even hamlets are few, largely because farmers and farm servants live on the farms.
[171] Compared to those of most of England, Scots labour-teams are small. Yet, as the map indicates, there is a
[184] wide range from the 'large' teams of South-east Scotland, through the 'medium' teams of adjacent areas, to the 'small' teams of the West and North-east. Not only do the contacts of employer with employees partly depend upon the number in the team, but so do the farm servants' relations to one another. On the whole, the larger the team, the more formal its organisation; and the smaller
[554] the team, the greater a worker's own responsibility. The
[178] 'family farmer' of the West and North-east is often an ex-farm servant. From Burns's time, his character and enterprise have been recognised in Scotland, and in the last forty years have become well known in South-east England. But the isolation of these little farms brought its problems and its hardships.

i [see map p. 16 -- analyst]

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photograph by Robert M. Adam

PLATE VII. WESTERN NORTH HARRIS FROM THE ISLET OF SCARP

View due east across the Sound of Scarp to the hills of North Harris: the furthest is Tirga Mor (2227 ft.). From the crofter-fishers' homesteads (left foreground) potato patches and hayfields extend towards the hill and wall of common grazing (extreme right foreground)

/facing p. 48/

174 The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely
184 significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to
179 developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in
55 ferm-toun and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons
128 throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed
121 out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat
185 scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged in planning for post-war housing and community life. But sound planning must be based on survey, long overdue; though elementary, this key map appears to be the first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units of farm-team and township that Scots rural society must be rebuilt, region by region.

184 One further contrast between the farming and the
241 crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the
361 types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-
166 nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World —return home to their native township when they can, and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand, though they usually spend their lives in the county or region of their birth, have been on the move from farm to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the
(164) English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new hiring, the married once a year. Families were annually uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all!
[122] The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to
[178] check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence many men have few ties, their wives still fewer. The children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they could look back to no "Auld Lang Syne", of which the

i [see p. 16 -- analyst]

184 verses would ring f
241 of the rural pupils
went in the school
361 farm servants. T
166 teachers might be
[182] educationists, rathe
survey of these facts
[871] the young folk learn
in the learning: st
[155] attachment are hard

It would be dif
long-continued brea
175 lands. From the l
when Major wrote
178 this break-up conti
241 corded phases of th
361 later phases from
one who has worke
166 will under-estimate
155 up, the tragedy, ha
Rt. Hon. Thomas
[114] Miss I. F. Grant (1
study of well record
and the Hebrides,
earlier Lowland lif
Lowlanders themse
hension of this br
value of the endu
recorded, remembe
Hebrides, at the co

[1] Ideas outlined in t
Detailed references will

alse to them! Before 1939, two-fifths of most non-crofting counties came or year—most of them the children of heir schooling suffered, and their reduced to despair; indeed it is to r than to agriculturists, that we owe a . When they leave home to be 'hired', to fend for themselves but may suffer ability of character and endurance in to form.

ficult to overstress the tragedy of the k-up of rural communities in the Low- ater years of the English invasions, as vith his knowledge of Scotland in 1500, nued through the early, largely unre- e agricultural revolution, down to the 1750 or 1800 to the present day. No d with fellow-servants on Scots farms their sterling qualities. But the break- ppened. It was boldly sketched by the Johnston (to 1929) and verified by 924 onward). Beginning from intimate led and surviving ways in the Highlands Miss Grant realised the significance of e in the farm-hamlet or ferm-toun, as lves could hardly have done. Compre- eak-up of community brings out the ring elements of communal life still ered and surviving in the 'Outermost' re of 'the North and West'.[1]

his section are developed in A. Geddes (1938–54). be found in the Bibliography.

3. *The Significance of Lewis-and-Harris*

181 184 361 101 [197] [178]

The Highlands and Western Isles today, "The Land of the Gael", may thus be grouped as two regions. The North-west is mainly of 'township crofting' and distant from the Lowlands—the other mainly of farming, living nearer to the Lowlands and in touch with them. Throughout the North-west, Gaelic is still the common speech, even of the children. The old community feeling is strong; it is that, indeed, which keeps the people attached to the villages.

101 131 [496]

From the plains and cities of the South it is a far cry to *Ultima Thule*, as Lewis, like Zetland, is sometimes called even by its own people. Lying some twenty-five to thirty miles across the Minch from the mainland, its nearest links with the South lie even farther away. From Stornoway it is some seventy-five miles to Kyle of Lochalsh, the railhead for Inverness and North-east Scotland, and 100 miles to Mallaig, the railhead for Fort William and Glasgow. To reach Stornoway over the moors from the west coast townships is itself a journey. Stornoway is the Island's only port, though passengers are put off at Tarbert, at Stockinish and at Rodel in Harris. Isolation has always been a dominant factor in the Island's life. From prehistory through the Middle Ages to modern times, that factor played its changing part.

[504] [177] [178]

178

In Lewis, conditions had changed less than elsewhere during the last century; for example, the *New Statistical Account* of South-west Argyll in 1830-35 reads like a description of conditions in Lewis as they were until after 1914! Hence, as already said, the contrasts are very great indeed in the aspect of the country, its fields and houses, and in the number, character and ways of the people. It

175 reclamation, which Dean Monro has described as he saw it.
311 Technique and economic return must be balanced against
185 the factors of nature. Although natural conditions are
[182] difficult, they may not form a complete explanation of the relative arrest of reclamation in the nineteenth century; for here separation from the agricultural advances of the Lowlands by barriers of mountain and sea caused the retention of unprogressive methods until the wave of agricultural improvement had spent itself by the middle of
[178] last century. To this cause must be added other influences
[171] contrasted to those leading to peasant advance in the rest of Western Europe: the political history of the Gaeldom after 1745, the revolution in land tenure and in the social life of the upper classes, the commercial, industrial and imperial development of Great Britain. All these factors help to explain the contrast offered to the Lews by western Denmark and western Norway, lands in which the soil and climate are comparable to those of the Island. Yet reclamation is proceeding, as on skinned land at Ness, where plots of ground have been steadily broken in by pick and by spade or plough.

226 Settlement and agricultural land are placed around the coasts with their fishing grounds. In spite of what
• [361] was often said—that the Lewisman is and has always been
[311] primarily a fisherman—fishing alone is not enough to
[241] account for this distribution, for the agricultural conditions on the whole are also best along the coasts, or were so for early settlers. As Stevens remarked, the light sandy 'machar' lands are there, and the fringe of partially improved soil close by; drainage is, on the whole, better, while shell-sand and sea-ware are to be had for manure.
241 The sea-ware also serves still as fodder, while one or two
824 sorts are sometimes cooked for human food; carragheen

FIG. 10(A)

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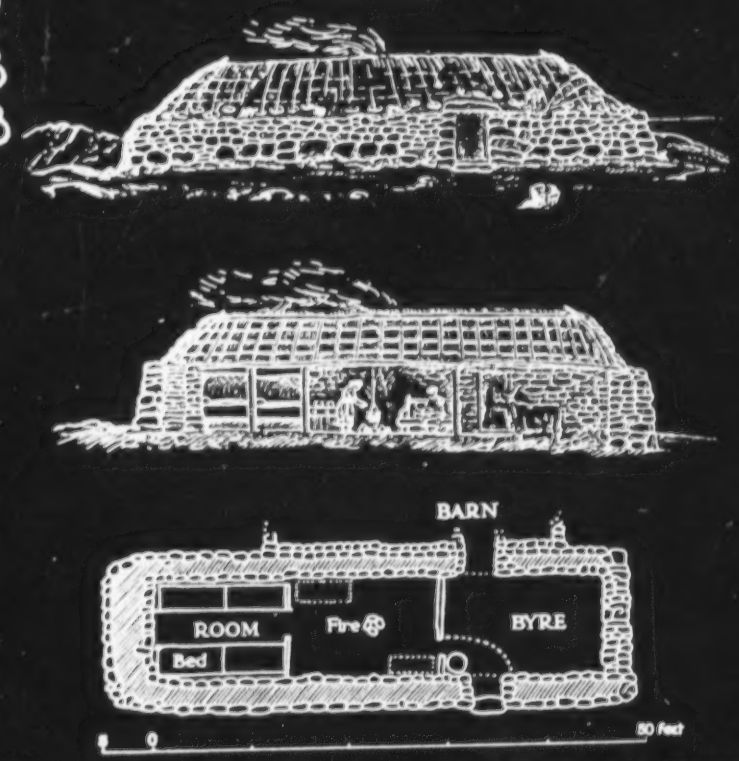

[178] The primitive 'Black House', universal fifty years ago in Western Lewis. Very few now have the central fire. (In Harris, byres were separated from houses about 1880.)

342 FIG. 10 (B) (*facing*).—The summer shieling, past and present, and the
174 spring house. (From the writer's field sketches, and after Thomas Curwen, L. MacDougal and D. Macdonald, Tolsta.)
178 A. The modern turf shieling (*àirigh*). B. The ancient beehive shieling. C. The spring house (*tigh earraich*). D. Beehive shielings added to each other to form a single mass.
• [341]

/p. 80/

FIG. 10(B)

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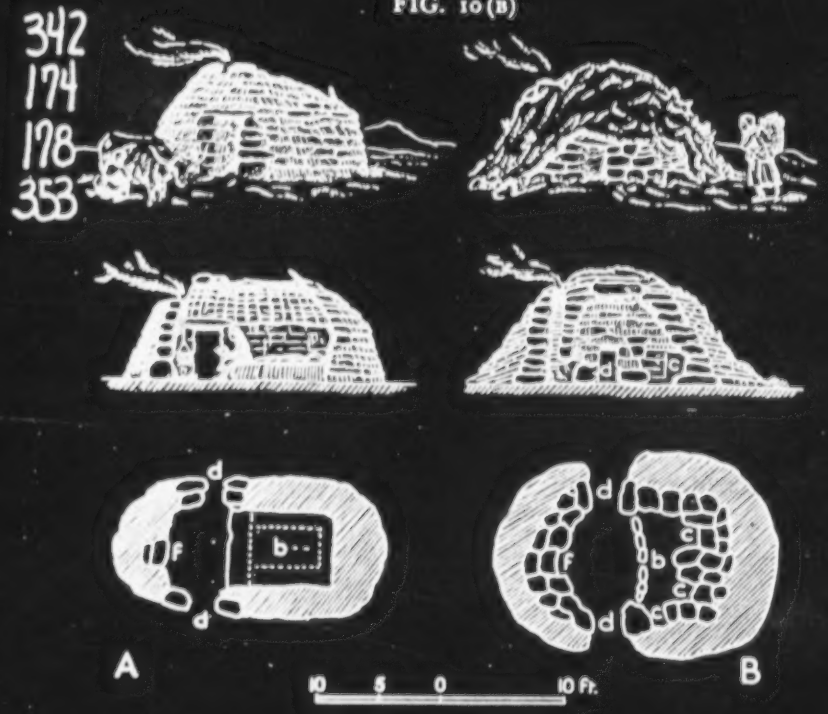
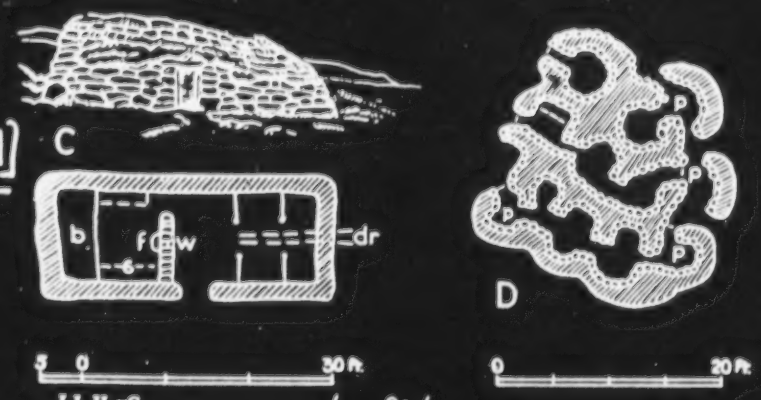


b. bed. c. cupboard. f. fireplace. d. door.
w. wall. s. settle. dr. drain. p. porch.

• [361]



/p. 81/

342 yard and occasionally a barley-kiln in which to dry grai
343 before malting it for home-brewed beer. A 'black mill
351 with its primitive horizontal water-wheel, stands apart b
[251] some burnside.
[273] Round the circular hearth, a large company can assembl
in very social fashion for talk, story and song, the meetin
354 *together* (*ceilidh*). By the transfer of the hearth from th
571 centre and the substitution of a gable fireplace and regula
538 chimney, the social circle is halved, while meantime th
[178] tales of the *ceilidh* are forbidden or forgotten. Happil
the bench still stands against the wall, near to the ope
[353] door, through which neighbours slip in with a word o
greeting to find a customary welcome.

342 The dwellings on the summer pastures out on th
moors show great variety, illustrated in Fig. 10(B). A simpl
• 361 type in use is built of turf and stones, lightly roofed wit
[178] turf placed on spars. A more primitive 'beehive' typ
(which fell out of use before 1900) was stone-built an
[171] corbelled, probably for lack of timber. And whereas th
lighter type always stands by itself, the corbelled type wa
added to until a dozen cells formed a single mass, suggestiv
of ancient 'neolithic' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney
described by Childe, and of the domed, corbelled huts o
the ancient East.

[343] A further type was the 'spring house' of Tolsta, NE
Lewis, in which both cattle and folk sheltered in spring
little way from the village, before going out to the mor
[124] distant moor. Mr. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S.,
[178] native of Tolsta, informs me that the spring house was i
use until 1936. He remembers vividly how life in th
shieling restored health and colour after the winter.

summits of up to 2622 feet. South of this chain of hills the ground drops again on a peninsula some twelve miles long and only seven miles wide. This forms the more populous part of Harris with its 'sandy shore', the Machar, facing the Atlantic, and its rocky bays and fishing hamlets on the Minch.[1] Lewis has its 'machars' too, areas of white shell sand, which is so light that it blows up the hillsides, thus improving the pasture-land; but there is little 'machar' on the eastern coast, save for the south-western shores of the great sandy North or Broad Bay, enclosed by the peninsula of I, or Eye, which also acts as the outer breakwater for the harbour of Stornoway.

Landing at Stornoway and leaving behind us the pines, and the wind-pruned sycamore woods around Lews Castle, we find ourselves among the small fields of the villages which are partly suburban to Stornoway. Inland stretch the gently rolling, brown and somewhat melancholy moors that cover so much of the Lews. From the Butt of Lewis to the beginning of the Harris hills one could make a bee-line SSW., midway through the Island for over thirty miles, without passing a house or a strip of corn, and seeing only a tiny, ramshackle hut, a shieling (or *àirigh*), used for six weeks in the year when the cattle are taken to the summer pasture. All the villages are in sight of the sea, and generally close to it, with only one inland exception, Achmore, south-west of Stornoway, founded after 1850. The hills of Harris are not less lonely than the moors of the Lews.

Diversity is one of the fascinations of such an island as this. Although, like the founders of Stornoway, all

[1] *Am machair* ('ch' as in 'loch', also anglicised as 'macher'), n.f. the plain, smooth beach-land or links. A sandy beach or ebb-strand, *tràigh*, n.f., backed by *machair*, contrasts with a pebbly beach, *cladach*, n.m., backed by rougher beach-land, as in the Cladach district of W. Lewis.

133 Except for the sandy bays hidden beyond the headlands, or the long machar of west South Harris, the coast of the Island at high tide rises straight from the undermining breakers, rugged and uncompromising. A series of sandy 'storm-beaches' links the lower promontories, but the series of raised beaches found on the mainland and the inner isles seem absent round the Island. Along the western mainland and the Inner Hebrides, a secret harmony links the lines of the sea with those of the land, even on their wildest coasts of gneiss. Above the level plane of the sea, the shores of the mainland rise in rhythmic curves, tier above tier, some 10, 25, 50 and 100 feet, above the present line of waves and the triple band of colour which marks the shore at ebb-tide, formed of golden tangle, grey barnacles and pitch-black rock. These tiers are the 'raised beaches' of a coast which has emerged, by stages, to some 100 feet above the sea.

Lacking the raised beaches of an emerged coast, the Outer Hebrides show no clean-cut terraces like those of the mainland, inviting little communities to lay out their homesteads in an orderly way. For this reason, the older, unplanned crofts spot the landscape in an irregular way which is sometimes picturesque, yet often almost uncouth. The raised beaches have given the Gaels living east of the Minch a few precious acres of passable ploughland which would otherwise be lacking. In the Outer Isles compensation is found on the smooth machars of shell sand. These machars lie mostly on the stormy Atlantic shore, so that the more cultivable fringes of the Outer Hebrides turn their back to the mainland—except round Stornoway, a reason for their isolation.

In detail, the coasts may be grouped in three types: (1) sloping to the sea, by the sides of sheltered lochs;

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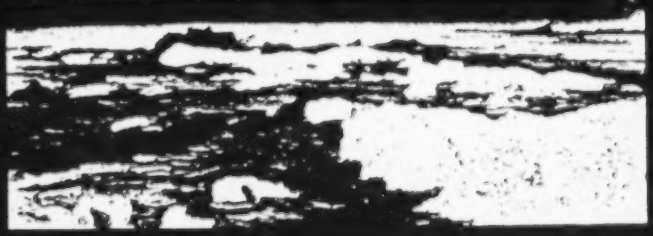

PLATE IIIA. ROCKY, SEA-ABRADED PLATFORM OFF THE BUTT OF LEWIS

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• 361
632

Photographs by Mrs. Harriman

PLATE IIIB. LAXDALE TOWNSHIP, ON THE FLATS NEAR BROAD BAY

'Black houses' and 'white houses' can be seen. The fields have been

361 it command and make it the leading settlement of the
366 Hebrides, with a population fluctuating around 5000.[1]
162

2. Aspects and Problems of the Burgh

361 The little town pleases by its views over the harbours,
632 outer or inner—sheltering perhaps a steamer or two and the clustered fishing vessels—across to the wooded sky-line and the beautiful grounds of the Castle, a-flower in spring with rhododendrons. Or framed in trees from the Castle policies, the harbour and even the roofs and
[342] smoke of the houses are not unpleasing (Plate II). But the town's chief charm is its setting, not itself, though its plain dwellings with 'harled' or rough-cast walls and slate
[746] roofs are simple and inoffensive. In rehousing, the Local
[656] Authority had respected Scottish domestic features. But the greater use of local materials, labour and skill is surely desirable in the Island with its many half-employed men, who need such work to maintain income, health and morale.
[362] As is to be expected in view of low incomes, and the extremely primitive housing in the country, urban housing
[162] is inadequate. In Stornoway burgh in 1931, 44 per cent, or nearly half the population, still dwelt in houses of one to three rooms, 17 per cent in four (including attics often with no dormer windows), 20 per cent in five or six, and 18 per cent in seven rooms and over. There has been improvement up to 1939, and after 1945, but much remains to be done.

369 Turning to cultural life, profound differences divide
632 the town from the country about it. Whereas in the townships of rural Lewis the people are almost purely natives

[1] The burghal area was extended in 1935. At the census of 1951 its population stood at 4950. This showed an increase of 15·9 per cent above the population enumerated in the same area in 1931.

369 of the place, even the schoolmaster and ministers being
632 mostly Islanders, in Stornoway an important minority of the officials and business men hail from the mainland, and some of them from the Lowlands. New blood has undoubtedly been needed to promote enterprise, to foresee new possibilities, and even, at times, to make the best of the past. At the same time, the cleavage between town and country is marked in ways of thought and feeling as in
369 livelihood. To take a single criterion, that of speech, most
632 of the children of the town speak no Gaelic and many hardly understand it. While the percentage of Gaelic
197 speakers was 95 in the three outlying parishes in 1931, in the burgh only 70 per cent could still speak the old tongue. By 1951 the ratio, still almost unchanged in the outlying parishes and townships, had considerably lowered in the burgh.

369 The attempt to harmonise the interests of country and
632 town forms a hopeful aspect of the activities both of the Stornoway Trust, which holds the rural and urban property
[656] presented to the people of Stornoway parish by the first
[427] Lord Leverhulme, and of the Lewis Association, formed in 1943 to undertake studies of the Island to guide action
[654] for the future. The maintenance of the town's prosperity
[228] will depend greatly upon its industries of fishing and of spinning; and these are almost inseparable from the
[288] maintenance of the rural population for whom Stornoway acts as regional centre, and who weave with the yarn spun in the mills. Unity in constructive purpose could go far to build up the prosperity of the community.

361 With the recognition of the need for planning aroused
369 by the problems which faced the country with the return of peace, it is proposed, at the centre of the Burgh, to
632 rebuild the whole of the peninsular area of Point Street,

361 by co-operation of three authorities: the Town Council,
369 the Piers and Harbour Commission, and the Stornoway
632 Trust as owner of property, including Lews Castle with its grounds. The social situation is of quite exceptional
[656] interest, and an attempt to describe some of its features is
[654] made in Appendix II, on the Stornoway Trust and the Lewis Association.

(c) CHANGES IN ISLAND POPULATION, AND THE FUTURE

1. From 1801 to 1939

175 Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the growth
162 of population was periodically checked or even set back by famines and epidemics, such as smallpox, or by warfare.
[731] In 1801 the total population of the Outer Hebrides (in round numbers) was 21,700, and in 1831 it was 32,000. Of this total, Lewis carried 9200 and Harris 3000 in 1801 and, a generation later, in 1831, respectively 14,500 and 3900. In the graph (Fig. 12) the curve showing the average for the five landward or rural parishes of the Island (excluding Stornoway Burgh) indicates the fairly steady numerical increase there, almost to the close of the
[731] century. Following the evictions after 1831 and the potato famine of 1846–48, emigration caused a fall in the southern islands (*e.g.* in South Uist, Fig. 12). Forty years later, in 1871, the Outer Hebridean total reached nearly 40,000, of which Lewis alone, with 21,000, now gave more than half the total, and Harris—in spite of an intervening drop owing to evictions—4800. By 1901, in spite of losses in the southern isles, the total for the Outer Hebrides reached a peak of 46,200. Of this, Lewis already contributed almost

175 rent-rolls record something of more vital and enduring
241 concern, the unit of community life in the Lews. This was
427 the 'conjoint' or 'group' farm of the labouring peasantry —though it was overlaid in parts of the Island by the
[476] formation of tacks held by gentleman rent-farmers.

Both rolls are Judicial Rentals, that is to say, the
175 tenants, great and small, were convened by the Govern-
241 ment Commissioners and examined on oath as to the rents
427 they formerly paid; the accounts were then entered and totalled. Because of the Jacobite resistance, the small
656 amounts of rent and the maladministration of the Forfeited Estates, doubt was cast upon the first rental, of 1718. A second rental was therefore compiled in 1726, upon a different system, which confirms the correctness of the first.[1] All were named, including those absent or 'valetudinary'.

175 Owing to the Island's comparatively smooth land sur-
361 face and access to the sea, the people could group themselves as they chose. Whereas in the Highland mainland many
[182] a pocket of land is too small to keep more than two or three
[184] families alive and no fishing grounds are available, in Lewis the people could join together in teams of four, five or six,
[433] to work a hamlet-farm or penny-land, definable as a
[476] joint-farm of unit size, and to man a boat with "four to row and one to steer".

175 The first point of interest is the equality of the shares,
241 each man paying exactly the same as his fellow-tenants for
427 his 'farthing',—a fourth, or other equal share of the farm. An average share of rent was a little over 10 shillings sterling
[436] with additional payments in farm produce, though not (as
[113]

[1] A. Geddes, "Conjoint Tenants", etc., *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Series, vol. i, no. 1, 1948, pp. 54-60. This reconciles the evidence of 1718, reproduced in the Brand Report (1902), Appx. O, and that of 1726, edited by J. R. N. Macphail (1916).

on the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an outlying reclaimable patch of arable, lying near distant, little-used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chance of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the man and his family; but there might be advantages such as an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as hunting 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunter-bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft was known as *Ruigh* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of poverty with individuality in isolation were handed down, for example, from one of my forebears who held such a *ruigh*, Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-feet contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the last of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *ruigh* may have originally been a summer shieling, only occupied when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with new possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led to settlement there.

At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of North Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lodges and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth, as they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such as one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small islets. But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single crofts are rare. And the clearest distinction must be drawn between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage or croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or even two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers; for even a few families form the germ of a community, in work and in leisure.

The potentialities of co-operative practice were overlooked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough. For when new methods were required, run-rig kept back the pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. Soon

fragments of spars and other needful things lacking on croft and moor were picked up and carefully allotted. So, after 1919, from the wreckage of modern industry borne on the ground-swell of 'Depressions', there came to the Islesfolk the frail raft of unemployment relief, doled out like driftwood long ago.

Some assessment is therefore required. The total amounts of relief disbursed before 1931 were comparatively bountiful; and they certainly exceeded the sum of the crofters' contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund. After a couple of months of wage labour at road-mending, harbour-repair, or the like, young men were qualified for 'the dole'. Furnished with this, they returned to the croft when paid employment gave out, to cart in their peat, collect stones for a new house or saunter out with a rod for a little fishing from the rocks. All this was done 'on the dole', with complete legality, so long as their names were duly inscribed at Stornoway Labour Exchange as seeking fresh employment. Not a few prayed that 'employment' would not come inconveniently soon, as they would then be legally bound to accept it and to leave the croft. No doubt, even if only a part of the money received was urgently needed, the surplus was not squandered, as it might have been in a town. Extra cash, if any, served to buy a loom here, fencing for the garden there, and other things of permanent use. Yet morally it constituted misappropriation of relief. As a result, through no real fault of their own, young men began to lose independence and self-respect. This general problem for youth was widespread in years of 'depression', and it was peculiarly severe both in industrial Clydeside and the fishing villages of Scotland, and also throughout the 'depressed areas' of northern and western Britain, of which the Isles form the outermost fringe.

APPENDIX III

(A) THE STORNOWAY TRUST: A COMMUNAL OPPORTUNITY

THE people of Stornoway town and rural parish are in a position to control their own future to a degree unusual in Britain since the general loss of common lands in the eighteenth century. Three or four bodies or groups are important in local governance, and in addition to these an effort to arouse citizenship has taken shape in the Lewis Association. As elsewhere, the Town Council acts for the burgh and, it should be added, the Grazing Committees for the townships, the District Council and County Council acting for wider spheres. The Harbour Trust has its special charge. In addition, the fact of corporate ownership is important, as vested in the Stornoway Trust. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor north to Tolsta. It should not be forgotten that the resources of the sea are public property and that the inshore fishings, owing to a considerable measure of protection, are virtually in the possession of the coastal communities. Freshwater fishing is also in the hands of the Trust. Thus, not only building property but essential sources of production on land and sea are in communal possession. The Trust was formed in 1924.

During the first five years of its existence the Trust was burdened with a growing deficit, but since 1929 it accumulated a credit balance, due partly to agricultural derating and partly to the registration of the Trust as a charity and the resulting relief from income tax. Possession without prevision can do little, however; and hence the need for the citizens of town and country to regroup themselves as thinkers for the common

good. In response to this realisation, and encouraged too by the growth and prosperity of the tweed industry, the Lewis Association sprang into being in 1942–43. The Association's aims are survey, planning and the initiation of action for the public welfare, economic, social and spiritual. Something should be said of each of these bodies in turn.

The membership of the Town Council, Harbour Trust and Stornoway Trust overlap, the Town being represented on both Trusts. Indeed by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn up by Leverhulme (in 1923–24), the Stornoway Trust must include the Provost of the Burgh as its Chairman, together with Magistrates and Councillors. For some time past the Provosts and Councillors have been chosen from the more important business men of the town. Indeed as a result of the constitution of the Stornoway Trust, urban interests and outlooks might easily gain undue preponderance at the expense of rural needs. Nevertheless two members with strong rural ties were elected to the Trust in recent years.

In view of the growing burden of deficit, the Trust felt unable to frame a general policy, still less to carry it into action. To meet the deficit, the Trust sold portions of properties without reference to any general plan of town or country. Even after the Trust began to accumulate a favourable balance, hand-to-mouth decisions continued to be made, undirected by any clear policy. The most lamentable case occurred when a garage site was given to the chief Stornoway bus proprietor at a road junction near the western entrance to the town, close to the principal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate of Lews Castle and the Lady Lever Park. The palpable mistake in siting soon caused strong public criticism. The Trust repented, and sought to distrain the garage proprietor from extended use of the area. The parties went to law and the case was fought through the courts until, in a final decision reached in the House of Lords, the Trust lost and had to pay a bill of some £4000. The lesson of defeat in the court was severe, capped as it was by the equivalent of a fine of £4 or £5 from every family in the burgh. Coming at a time when the need

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

361 178 311 491 [654] The chief advantage of moving uphill to the road has been ease of communication and access to grocers' vans and mill-spinners' lorries; but the disadvantage proves to be the laying on of running water. A much-needed scheme for water supply is now being applied by the Department of Health for Scotland. Scrutiny of a 'quarter-inch' map will indicate the chief facts and tendencies and the conditions they involve.

4. *Distribution of Population*

162 311 The distribution of rural population can be closely estimated by inspection of a 'quarter-inch' map, where both the area of cultivation and the house dots are noted. Comparison with parish populations shows that on an average one dot represents seven or eight houses or families and thirty to thirty-five persons. Since there are now no large farms, cultivation indicates crofting, and, therefore, a typical density of one person to a little over half an acre, or 1000–1200 per square mile. Rural numbers over the whole Island show a density of about twenty-five persons per square mile. If the fishing grounds, with a sail here and there on the wide sea, were added, the density would be lower still! A single dot found with cultivation indicates crofts, which are hardly ever found singly. Where no cultivation is shown around a single dot, this generally indicates an isolated stalker's house, a shooting lodge by a road, or a shieling (*àirigh*) out on the moor.

(B) STORNOWAY

1. *Site, Plan and Development*

361 The plan of Stornoway and its harbour shows three stages in the growth of the town, the first two picked out

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

3: Geddes K

102 361 131 174

FIG. 11.—

lan of Stornoway and its Development (*key opposite*).

/p. 88/

361 in solid black, and the third in hatching (Fig. 11). First, upon the little peninsula or 'Point' which protects the inner fishing harbour of the river there grew the nucleus of the town, with its Castle upon the rocky islet now concealed by the steamer pier. Sheltered from the waves by the peninsula and from enemies by the Castle, MacLeod's galleys and the early fishing fleet must have congregated in the inner harbour. Protection from storm was specially needed until, in the nineteenth century, a quay was built, with space for marketing and handling the herring.

174 361 226 504

Inland from the Castle was the little church of the burgh, dedicated to Saint Lennan (L). The little town can be imagined stretching inland from the church, its dwellings built along the 'Point Street' axis, until it met the track, road or street crossing the neck of the Point. The largest church of Lewis proper, now in ruins, stood apart from the burgh, at the south-west extremity of Eye Peninsula. Until trade developed, the backs of the houses would have been turned to the shore. To north, on the landward side from which cattle would come, the market developed.

174 361 [346]

Secondly, in the seventeenth century, thatched houses were strung out along Point Street and the shore for the Gaelic settlers, the fisher- and craftsman-crofters brought here to found a burgh and commercialise fishing. During

195 361 342

102

Key to Fig. 11 (opposite)

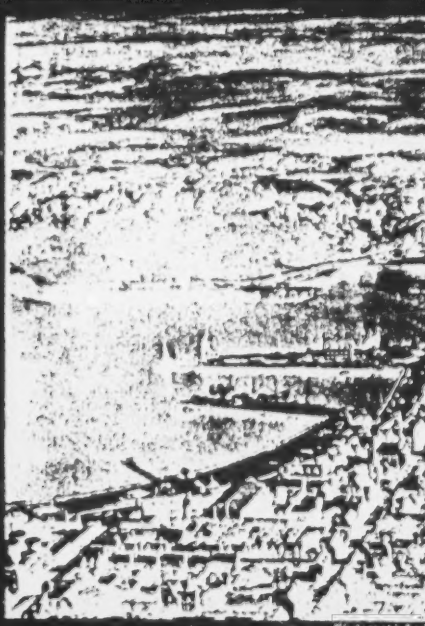
361 Buildings on John Wood's plan of 1821 are shown in black and radial streets then proposed by pecked lines. Existing buildings are shown hatched. The harbour development plan of 1946 (pecked lines) is shown by courtesy of the Stornoway Pier and Harbour Commission; it is now in execution.

174

L = site of St. Lennan's. T = former Town House. TH = Town House.
× = site of Castle. + = modern churches.

(Based on a British Admiralty chart with the permission of the Controller o, H.M. Stationery Office and of the Hydrographer of the Navy.)

/facing p. 92/



Photographs by

PLATE XI. AIR VIEW OVER STORNOW

The original central street of the Point can be seen across the Bay, w

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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• 361
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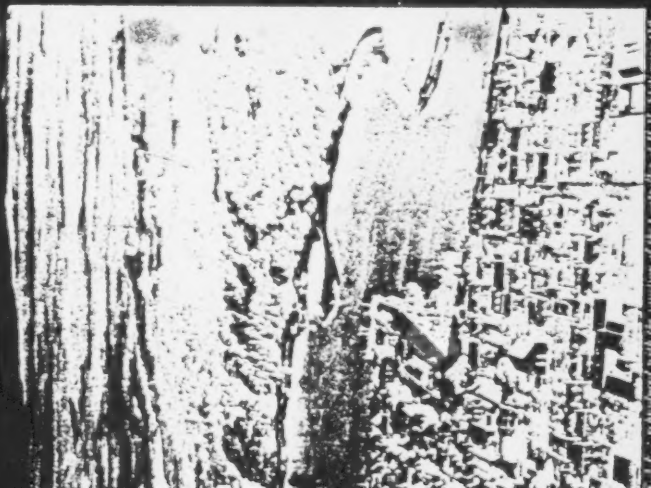

H.M.S. "Lochcarron" with the Coastline of the Lewis side of H.M. Stornoway Offer

WAY HARBOUR, LOOKING SOUTH TO HARRIS

(cf. Plate II and Fig. 12). The woods of Lews Castle lie
th Arnish Moor beyond

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

342 adequate air-space, and windows opening at the top and
746 usually kept open by day, in which a woman can work at
178 ease. The Department of Agriculture aided the building
656 of a good standard type. The quality of joinery and
335] masonry or concrete work improved, one fairly skilled
333] workman usually directing the householder and friends as amateur builders. The cost of materials was met by a grant, generally of £250, half being repayable by an annual rent of £6 : 10s. for twenty years. Repayments proceeded satisfactorily. No scheme organised by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland won so general a commendation as this of house improvement. It made good use of family initiative and responsibility, with neighbourly co-operation not called for upon a large scale, a township at a time, but in quite a small, personal way. Nevertheless, had more guidance been provided to the builders, the
64] houses could have been really well built. For lack of this, perhaps, crofters increasingly prefer to pay for skilled work, though helping actively. Appendces I (ii) and II (ii) gives pre-War and post-War statistics.

3. *The Township and its Changing Plan*

361 Where absence of rock and boulder permits ploughing,
82] the village land is laid out in a series of parallel strips,
491] aligned with the slope. The road runs either parallel with shore or river, or at right angles to it. The intermixed possession of strips by 'run-rig' characterised the Lowlands before the Enclosures, and is frequent in
123] the Highlands and Isles. The apparent regularisation of field lines may conceal the fact that an individual holder's plots may be scattered amongst those of others in fixed
82] run-rig. This is an advantage where quality of land is so patchy, and each man thus gets his share of good and bad

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

361 luck in land, but a disadvantage where control of a single
[423] area is desired by one man. Regularisation of roads,
[182] houses and holdings is relatively modern, for crofts and dwellings were once grouped in hamlets usually close to
[172] the seashore. The early hamlets can still be made out from their ruins among the rocks, sometimes sketched in the 'six inch to mile' Ordnance Survey plans. They were without formal order or arrangement, each homestead within its boundary wall. Where ploughing was and is too difficult, the soil is heaped up in ridges, 'lazy-beds', and dug.

361 Shawbost, on a rocky part of the west coast (six miles
491 south of Barvas) consists of three main sections: a scatter of houses and ruins by the enclosed loch, two main streets linking the loch to the main coastal road, and inland another short street. The three can be made out on a 'quarter-
[175] inch' map. The two main streets were laid out by the
[311] Estate Officers following removals in the mid-nineteenth century from another part of the island, Uig, and the third running inland was laid out still later, when population was growing and land was needed. When the third street was laid out, the landlord, Matheson, lent good plough-horses for preliminary reclamation. The irregularly placed black houses near the sea are tending to be rebuilt close to the main road.

361 In addition to this type of movement, farms 'broken
178 up' once more into crofts have been laid out on a regular grid plan, each house placed on a corner of its five, ten,
311 or twenty-acre plot (*e.g.* Galson, Dalebeg, etc.). 'Skinned'
[654] land may also be reclaimed for crofts by squatters tolerated by the community, or on a regular grid by agreement of the assembled crofters, guided by the Department of Agri-
[491] culture. Thus two distinct tendencies are seen: the grid plan in new settlements, road alinement in existing ones.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 the eighteenth century these 'black houses' would be
342 replaced by houses of stone and lime, and a few of those
• 361 survive.

Of the fort built by Cromwell on the Point, no signs
172 remain. For tactical reasons, the best site would seem
174 to be the neck of the Point, from which the guns of the
712 fort could defend the houses, stores and quays. The irregular building line near the point marked T, a Town House at a later period, may correspond to the
175 northern angle of the fort. The fort appears to have been
712 standing when the original drawing was made for the engraving in the Old (or First) Statistical Account of Stornoway, *c.* 1793.

175 By the time Wood drew his plan in 1820, houses on
361 the Point no longer looked exclusively on to the axial street. The main alinement of interest came to be the shore, marked by a properly built quay. Today, the Point Street houses have fallen into decay but many older houses still stand in fair repair along the 'Beach' or Quay.

175 Thirdly, from the nineteenth century, until 1914, two-
361 storey, flatted tenements, hotels and houses of middle-class
34 people were built upon a grid that followed upon the old field plans. In an alternative plan, proposed about 1820 but not adopted, a diagonal vista opened out to the Established Church, built in 1794 on rising ground. The modest Seaforth Lodge which had stood across the harbour was replaced in 1850 by Stornoway (or Lews) Castle, its pseudo-Tudor style designed to please the new improving landlord, Sir James Matheson, who had purchased Lewis in 1844. Presented to the people on the break-up of the Leverhulme Estates in 1925, a new technical school has
175 taken it over. A few villas also grew up on outlying roads.
361 Thus, a mere village in 1801, and among the smaller burghs
162
226

175 361 162 226 of Ross and Cromarty, with populations of from 1000 to 2300 in 1841, Stornoway leapt ahead by 1851, growing with the rise of the fishing trade. Including the literally floating population of fishers, its numbers exceeded 4000 in the summer of 1921, though falling below this in 1931 when the census was held in the spring.

175 228 361 Still another stage, a fourth, seemed in sight when, in 1918, the first Lord Leverhulme made his bid to centralise the scattered, failing fishing industry of the Island at Stornoway. A canning factory was started (south of the area shown on the plan), only to be dismantled before its completion, then recommenced and again dismantled at "Leverburgh", South Harris. New housing commenced. When this great venture closed and population stagnated, the grandiose proposal to reopen the diagonal vista on Wood's plan and centre it on some great new building, remained a dream. The failure of Leverhulme's great enterprise and its hopes led to discouragement for some years. Yet it is possible that the vision of change given to the Island may have contributed to a renewed capacity for enterprise, individual and communal.

175 361 [288] Later extension had to await the growth of the Harris tweed industry, and the erection of spinning-mills to provide yarn for the rural hand-weavers. The town has extended beyond the plan in two main directions: to north-east with villas and housing schemes and to ESE. with the great new mills where kippering sheds were numerous from the mid-nineteenth century until after 1919.

361 366 [162] Although Tarbert is a shopping centre for Harris and has its spinning-mill, Stornoway has no rival on the Island. The adequate depth of its harbour, combined with its position and access from sea and land, have given

APPENDIX III

for planning preceded by adequate survey became publicly recognised, this crisis seems to have caused a change to constructive policy on the part of the Trust. It led to the election of a new member of the Trust on a planning platform, and to a general searching of heart and mind in the community.

Meantime the movement for town planning which had spread from the bombed cities to the rest of the country, led to a closer co-ordination of planning aims between the Trust and the Town Council, and there is real hope of progress in collaboration with the County Council as the statutory planning authority.

In brief, the opportunity arose for the Trust to frame a comprehensive policy, one binding together the objects separately listed in the Deed, " to promote the material and social welfare of the community ". The ' material ' provisions of the Deed allow for the promotion of industry—including fishing, of course—of agriculture and afforestation, and of communications by land, sea and air. Medical service is not forgotten. The encouragement of social life and education is foreseen, and bursaries may be provided to enable deserving scholars to proceed to secondary schools and universities.

It is felt by far-sighted citizens that these aims should be properly co-ordinated. Development of resources and social life, they feel, could be combined with education and training deliberately designed to equip young people to return to the Island and use their capacities to serve their own community. Thus among the development schemes which have been mooted are the reclamation of peat, the reclamation of the sandy inlet just north of Stornoway, and local afforestation. All these technical jobs require training, at the levels of engineer and skilled foreman or working hand. Bursaries might take the form of education for such rural tasks. The ' export ' of talent may be necessary when no outlet is possible at home, but in the end it can drain away the community's youth. Hence a policy for the return of talent is required. For fishing, for industry and particularly for the weaving arts, training is required in preparation for possible careers at home. Lastly

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103
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133
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491
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Figure 1.

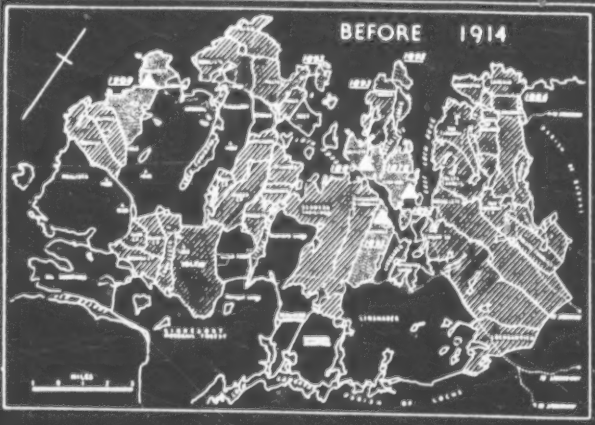
/facing p. 1/

PARISH OF UIG
ISLE OF LEWIS
MILES
1 0 1 2 3
CROWLISTA
VALTOS
KNEEP
ARDROIL
FINSBAY
REEF
ISLIVICK
BRENISH
Former shielings of Cornish and Ardroil
MEALISTA
Kneep shielings
Islivick Crowlista & Brenish shielings
Valtos shielings
Former Bernera shieling ground
Bernera shielings (late 19th century)
KINRESORT
LOCH LANGAVAT

Figure 5

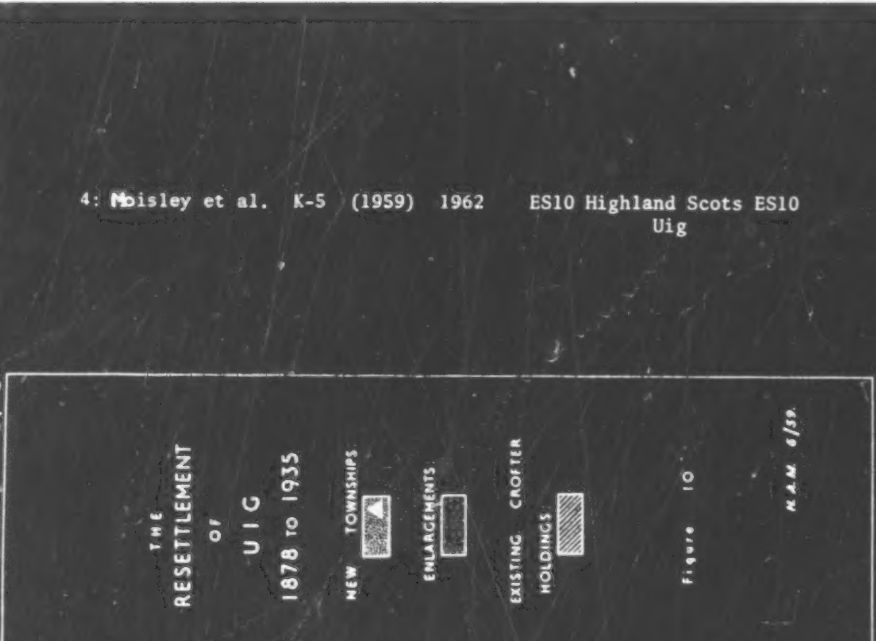
/p. 10/

: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 \ ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig



/p. 22/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig



4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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311
361
241
427

Figure 23
/facing p. 46/

241/198 The area under cultivation has contracted in the past twenty years. Before 1939 most crofts had about twice as much land under cultivation and at Valtos some were cultivating small patches outside the township fence. The cultivation of the common machair at Cliff ceased in 1939. The land had been "too long in labour" (potatoes had been planted on the same ground for nearly one hundred years), and the soil had been affected by over-liberal applications of sulphate of ammonia which replaced the traditional soot-impregnated thatc from the black-houses. Moreover the Cliff machair was particularly vulnerable to "blow-outs" after ploughing. Cultivation of the Kneep common arable has all but ceased, and the fifty-two acres of arable machair in the township of Reef have been untouched since the 1930s. It is noticeable that the common machair cultivation and the shieling economy [231] ended about the same time. Smaller numbers of better-quality cattle were needed to mee the daily milk requirements of the croft; a much smaller area of cultivation was therefore needed to provide winter fodder and consequently more land was available on the croft for potato cultivation. Consequently the more distant machair was replaced by cultivation within the croft.

433/178 Contraction and decline of the economy is common to all three townships, but the form and cause of this decline is different for each, and where the township consists of two separate settlement nuclei there is frequently a difference between the two parts:

632/427/361/311 The township of Valtos is in two distinct parts: crofts 1 - 34 are a succession of narr strips about ½ mile in length stretching from the shore to about 200' O.D.. The boundari of the outer crofts (nos. 1 and 34) if projected to a point on Pabay, form an angle of 45°, so that the crofts are narrower at the shore (40 - 70') than at the upper limit (100 - 180'). Of these 34 crofts, 19 are in so-called runrig, eight in pairs and one group of three. (Fig. Cultivation is carried out on numerous intermixed small patches, held permanently; the grazings are interchanged at the year end. Fragmentation imposes a severe limitation on the economic efficiency of the croft. None of the crofts at Valtos is individually fence though some groups of two or three are fenced together. With the contraction of cultivati [241] only the less steep areas are cultivated, to facilitate ploughing.[1] As a result, the bulk of the cultivated plots are to be found at either end of the croft - near the shore and on the hill top against the township fence.

The remaining five crofts of Valtos, and a squatter, are at Cliff in the valley separati the Valtos peninsula from that of Aird. Here the crofts are fenced, more compact and slightly larger (4.3 acres as against 3.8 acres) and they occupy more level terrain than those in Valtos. Two of the crofts are worked in runrig - these being situated on the [24] machair. The houses are set back about a hundred yards from the road, along the weste township fence.

Kneep township is again in two parts: Crofts 16 - 18 together with the Manse and two cottars, are situated across the neck of the Glebe promontory, on the south side of the peninsula. The five legal crofts are today worked as three units, fenced, reasonably compact and with holdings of exceptional size for the area - average 15.1 acres. Crofts [433] 1 - 15 at Kneep on the northern side of the peninsula adjoin those of Valtos. Here is a climax of land fragmentation, which imposes severe limits upon croft efficiency. Twelv of the fifteen crofts are worked; of these only numbers 4 and 5 are compact homogenous crofts; numbers 3 and 6 are compact except that part of the land which lies within their boundaries belongs to croft no. 13. The remaining eight crofts comprise a hundred and eight separate plots of croftland and fifty-two separate plots on the common machair. One croft with 2.8 acres arable the average size of each piece is a mere 0.15 acres! [233] The grazing land on the croft is divided into strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into

1. Pre-1939 much of Valtos was cultivated in lazy beds - by spade. Today 9% is cultivated by spade; 43% by horse plough + 48% by tractor.

TABLE 9

The Agricultural Structure of the Pa

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	Townships (no.)	Inbye (acres)	Common pasture (acres)	Agricultur holdings (c Valuation	
				Crofts:	Ot
Atlantic Coast	3	246	14,800	51	
Uig Bay	5	636	15,800	62	
Valtos-Reef	3	398	8,700	74	
Little L. Roag	4	266	4.400	38	
Bernera Island	5	1,213	8.200	91	
Bernera Shore	4	359	13,100	26	
East L. Roag	6	1,101	15,700	183	
L. Carloway	7	856	9,400	174	
Individual holdings * (non-crofting)		161	1,200	-	
	37	5,236	91,300	6,999	

NOTE: *Individual holdings include only those not using pasture' figure is their rough grazing.

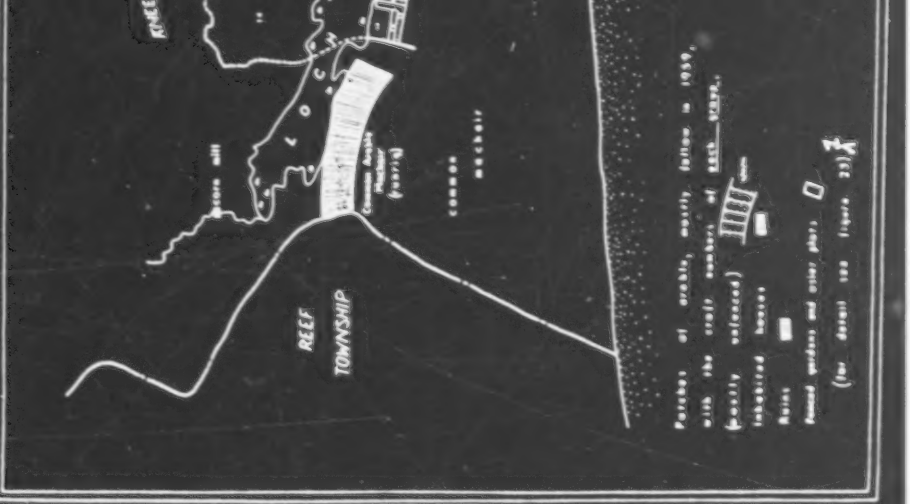
**These include individual holdings, as defined, allotment holders having more than a quarter a sheep. Their holdings are included in 'Inbye'.

rish of Uig, 1958

al on Roll) hers:	Crofter-tenants Total	(of whom) non-residents	Agricultural holdings without crofter status
1	42	(12)	-
-	55	(9)	-
-	68	(14)	1
-	39	(4)	1
4	88	(12)	8
1	26	(2)	2
1	178	(26)	6
7	167	(23)	35
9	-		9
23	663	(102)	62

the common pastures; the 'common'

and all cottars, squatters, feuars and
cre of cultivation or a cow or 5



1.[For fig. 23, see "facing p. 46"--Analyst]

4: Mbisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

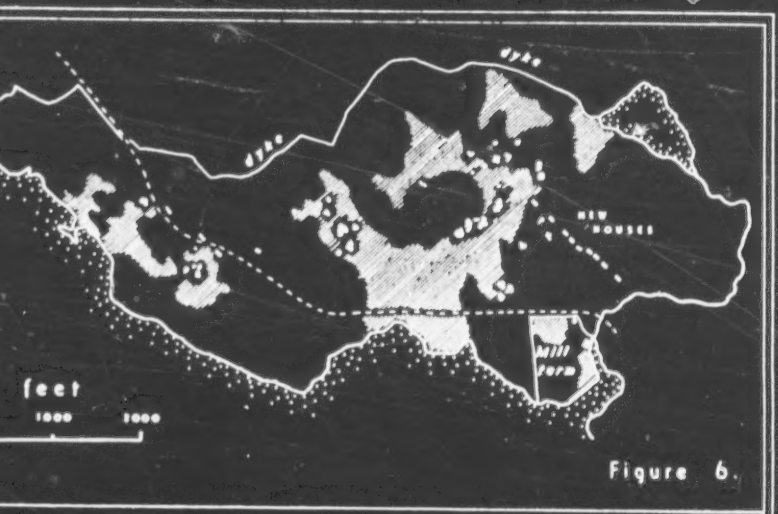


Figure 6.

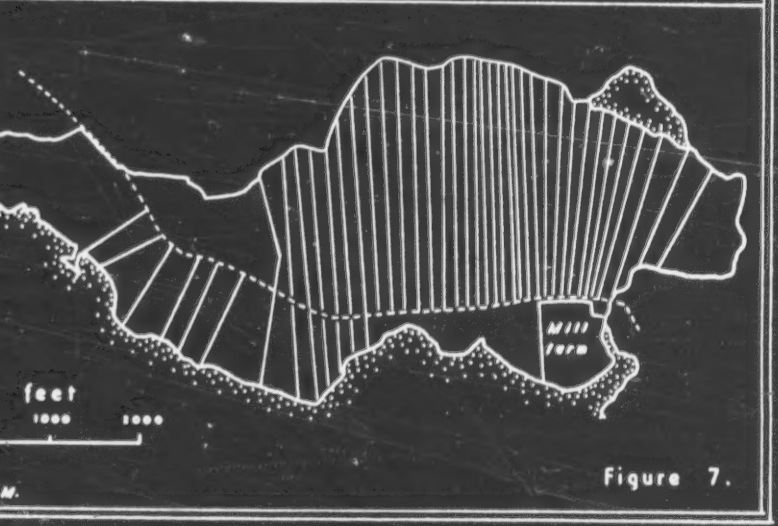


Figure 7.

Figures 6 and 7

THE LOTTING OF BREASCLETE

Figure 6 shows the irregular clusters of old houses and patches of arable land (hatched) within the infield dyke. On the right the first of the new houses, standing in a row each on its own 'lot' (or 'croft'), are shown.

Figure 7, from the contemporary Factor's notebook, shows the new crofts as lotted in 1850. Note that these were not fenced.

growing family could increase the size of his holding. Secondly, in the absence of fences a certain discipline of agricultural management had to be maintained; moreover the proprietor, through the factor, grounds officers and township constables, saw to it that it was. This "good husbandry", albeit at a rather low level, was maintained in the interests of tenants and land-owner alike. After the arable land was lotted permanently to individuals, there was less flixibility and less need for communal management. But the absence of fences between the new lots, or crofts, meant that they were still common land during the winter months. In some cases the proprietors paid the tenants to erect fences round the newly lotted inbye land of the whole township but, even when a ring fence existed, stock was allowed to graze indiscriminately within it from November until April.

It is fortunate that the first Ordnance surveyors were at work in Lewis just as the lotting was coming into effect. The new lots were not divided by fences, therefore they were not marked by the surveyors, but in several townships they arrived in time to plot the clachans and in some - Breasclete, for example (fig. 6) - the first edition six-inch maps show some of the new houses, neatly spaced out on the new lots. The arrangement of the latter is recorded in the Factor's sketch books, of which fig. 7 is an example.

Thus whilst we have little evidence of the appearance of the former rural landscape, we have an excellent record of the birth of the new. The characteristic units of the new lotting were townships divided into long narrow strips, arranged parallel and fan-wise more or less in the direction of steepest slope. Such an arrangement was simple to lay out; it tended to give everyone a fair share of the land of each kind - ill-drained and well-drained, high and low. And, if a road or track passed through the township it was usually possible to give each lot or croft direct access to it without the necessity for side-roads. Consequently the houses, when re-built, were usually put on the crofts. A dispersed pattern of settlement replaced the little huddles of the clachans. The extent to which it was dispersed depended on the width of the lots; the greater the number of tenants to be accommodated in a given area, the narrower were the lots. In extreme cases they might be as little as 20-30 yards in width and then the houses, aligned along the road or access track might form a virtually continuous terrace or street.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CROFTING STRUCTURE

In the parish of Uig about 90% of the families are crofters. That is to say, they owe their presence in Uig to their hereditary tenancy of a small-holding of croft status. To these holdings they have a deep attachment; many of them have been inherited through several generations. Others were obtained more recently during the process of re-settlement of farm land which followed the Napier Commission report and 1886 Act. Many older crofters regard the resettled townships as the fruits of a hard-won victory. Nevertheless, we have seen, very few of the holdings are in fact more than 110 years old. And, whilst some families can certainly trace their ancestors in the district for several centuries, there has always been a good deal of movement between townships. Thus the claim that they occupy holdings which were carved out of the barren moor by the toil and sweat of their ancestors is, in most cases, metaphor rather than strict truth.

TABLE 11

Land Available by Numbers of Tenants

62
41
27
33
32

INBYE LAND No. of tenants: Acres:	(a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:	COMMON PASTURES No. of tenants: Acres:	(a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:
	(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
0-1.0	1		Less than 50	88	
1.0-2.5	73	2	51-100	332	14
2.6-5.0	241	19	101-200	139	12
5.1-7.5	137	22	201-300	52	-
7.6-10	66	23	301-400	32	32
10.1-15	56	23	401-500	8	8
15.1-20	30	17			
20.1-50	29	24	940	10	10

Note: 'New' townships, for this purpose, are those settled since 1900.

961 632 In detail the arrangement of the townships varies. Certain features are common: all inbye land and, consequently, all settlements, are coastal (except Lochganvich). Each has common pasture adjacent to the inbye and many have further areas of common - former shieling grazings - some distance inland (figure 1). This division of the hill grazings is to some extent nominal because fences are often absent or ineffective. Uninhabited islands, on the other hand, require no fences, and are particularly valuable for winter grazing; the smaller of them provide convenient natural paddocks for bulls and tups when out of season. The management of all these common pastures is controlled by the township committees. Unfortunately the most important aspect of stock management - control of numbers and maintenance of a proper balance of sheep and cattle - is almost universally neglected. [471]

233 427 656 The total stock which each croft may put on the common pastures - the 'soum' - is defined in the Regulations. In the case of townships re-settled in the present century a specific soum is placed on each croft but, in most other cases, the old practice persists of stating the soum in terms of rent. Thus the soum of each croft may be defined as 1 cow, 1 two-year-old and 8 sheep per pound sterling rent (this is a very common souming). Such soumings have been in existence since time immemorial; they are mentioned in 1836*. Many of the Uig townships had their soumings stated by the Land Court in 1912; in most cases the soum was given "per pound sterling of rent" (presumably 1912 rent), but in a few "per pound sterling of rent payable in 1886". The rents had been substantially reduced in 1891, thus 1912 and 1886 rents were very different. Any township has a certain limited, stock-carrying capacity; therefore, if the total rental is thus changed without

[113] * New Statistical Account, Vol. XIV, p.148.

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29

102
233
241
361
427
632

Figure 14

CROWLISTA :
- lay out of crofts of an 'old' township lotted c. 1850.
- crofts shown hatched are held runrig by pairs of tenants
(Compare Fig. 15)

/facing p. 36/

194 Alluvial soils have developed along the lower reaches of Amnuinn Thoraghair and the Erista river.

There are no trees apart from an occasional stunted rowan or willow - willows for
131 creel making grow still in some old garden enclosures. Hedges, too, are rare so, although
824 individual houses are often carefully sited, there is little cover and the townships as a whole are very exposed to westerly gales. The natural vegetation developed on the machair is of fine closely matted grasses with a good deal of natural clover - very similar to that found on chalk downland. On the peaty moorland the usual moor grasses mosses and heather are dominant, though little encroachment by bracken was noticed.

In Crowlista the strip layout of the crofts dates from a lotting about 1850, (Figure 14)
311 in the new townships, laid out about 1921 (Figure 15) the majority of the crofts are
361 less strip-like and do not run to the shore. Indeed in Ardroil and Timsgarry only five
427 out of twenty-two reach the shore and the rocky headlands with their machair are valuable parts of the common pasture. The six crofts in Carnish run from the shore at the foot of the esker up its flank towards the southwest and almost to its summit. They also have one or two small plots each on the machair.

133 Crofts in Ardroil are in one piece. An old cattle road forms the north west boundary; from this they rise, steeply in places, to undulating moorland just over 200' high. Numbers 5 - 8 Timsgarry are strips across the Erista valley, rising northwards to just over 170'; 2, 3 and 4 are allotted to make use of arable land on the lower slopes of Knock Valabrie. The houses of crofts No. 1 Timsgarry and No. 1 Ardroil are the former farmhouses.

417 In Crowlista most of the crofts remain unfenced but in Carnish, Ardroil and Timsgarry all are fenced and many of the fences were being repaired or replaced in 1959. They are not open for common grazing during the winter. Patches of sown hay are fenced within each croft.

There are six recognised croft-holdings in Carnish; one is sub-let so that there are
346 only five "operative" units; two of those are not worked. One has been resumed by the proprietors and is being quarried as an extension of the main quarry between the township dyke and main road. In Ardroil each of the fourteen crofts is worked as a unit - though two carry no stock; in Timsgarry eight crofts are worked as seven units.

In contrast to the above, the old settlement of Crowlista has twenty-five recognised crofts but, by amalgamation and sub-letting these are worked as fourteen units. The Crowlista crofts are small - fourteen are 4.0 acres or less and of those only one is worked as a unit. Crofts as small as 1.5 acres and with a soum of eight sheep can never have been intended to support a family; they are the result of sub-division in earlier generations; the remains of two piers and a curing house point to the importance of
468 fishing in the past. Twenty-one men were employed in fishing boats about 1914. Sub-letting usually takes place between relatives; of some of the fourteen operative units are quite complicated. One example will suffice (croft numbers are here replaced by letters to prevent publication of personal matters):-

Crofts a, b, c and d are worked as a unit (although they are not adjacent). The tenant of a and b sub-lets c and d for grazing; he also helps with the work on yet a fifth croft. The present b is half of an original croft. West of the road the original croft is held in fixed runrig between b and another croft, not part of this multiple "working" unit; east of the road it has been divided into separate strips. The tenant lives on b.

102
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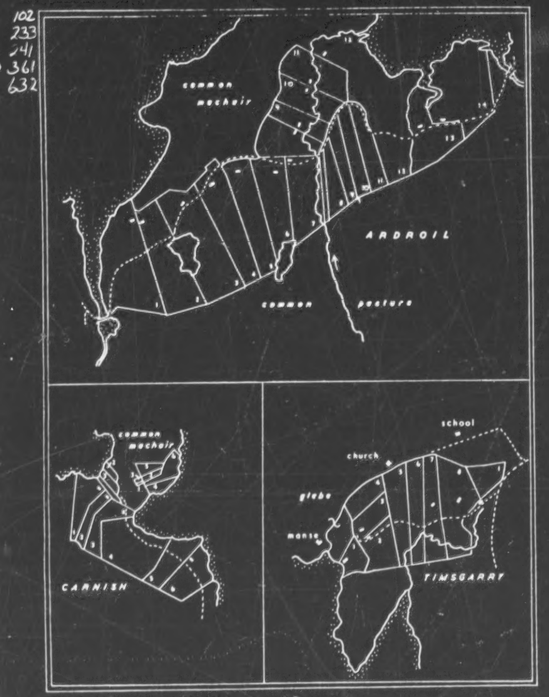

Figure 15.

ARDROIL CARNISH and TIMSGARRY - lay-out of crofts formed from farms in 1921 Compare fig. 14

/facing p. 37/

361 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new
491 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all
487 but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
493 two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans ca
205 but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor -
322 two wells only are in use.
494
312

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the hous The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all
366 except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil ha
205 a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly
453 and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return
494 fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and car

The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the
241 smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, an
231 Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from
460 Brenish or Enaclate. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen gro ing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Be and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivatio grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years ago was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour ava able. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts
242 the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on th
194 crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal
824 fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for dom estic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago fo were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. O crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficu to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to tw

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hoggs but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whole
[427] is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hoggs on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hoggs
[232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hoggs that are sent. The minister at Timsgarry, who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well; the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked.
[235] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.[1]

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
175 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grazed,
[361] are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Amhuinn Thoraghain and Allt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area, still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

464 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment.
228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil, three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

464 Mitchels's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
316 ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present.
912 The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two
377 Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric scheme
466 site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

1. [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
231 the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird
654 lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village there is now an R.A.F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the inhabitants.

361 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
491 at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
443 butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N.A.A.F.I. within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100 ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below
205 the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
342 have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
354 more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
312 modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
311 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so
498 that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions, but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

241 The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse.
407 Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
[illegible] tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
824 vated; here was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
231 extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

233 On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females. Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
166 periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 - 44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

511 It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Aird; the only two families
464 without ancillary occupations are those where all the members are elderly. Of the others
288 with members in the working age-groups, five have one or more members employed in a civilian capacity at the R.A.F. station and there are five regular weavers.

621 Aird used to be a self-contained community; the land was fully cultivated and a certain
178 amount of fishing was carried on in spite of the difficulty of drawing up the boats over the rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the R.A.F. station, and if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search of other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF

by

David G. Symes.

131 On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a secondary
133 peninsula of more moderate, but none-the-less broken relief. This, together with an adjacent area of the main peninsula, the islands of Pabay, Vacsay, Vula Mor and several smaller islands, comprises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Kneep and Reef.

133 This secondary peninsula is accidented in the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock and steeply angled small hills. The relief is greater in the west (summit 450') than in the east (summit 275'). Relatively level land is to be found only on the machairs of Reef and
133 Cliff (the latter only poorly developed) and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair,
134 about 180 acres, consists of a succession landwards of tidal sands, a belt of sand dunes (c. 20' O.D.) and a sandy plain sloping gently inland towards a reed filled lagoon. The machair at Cliff is approximately 40 acres in extent; here there are fixed dunes and, in addition, the sand has been blown inland to at least 100 ft. O.D. Except where the machair sand has drifted upslope to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin soils of the Valtos peninsula are predominantly peaty. Although the length of the peninsula faces north the extremes of Atlantic weather are moderated by the protection afforded by the Aird peninsula and the islands of Pabay and Vacsay.

175 In the period before the lotting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some five
424 clachans - Valtos, Cliff, Kneep, Uigean and Reef - some of which shared common pastures.
361 During the early part of the nineteenth century and earlier, apparently, than the 1850 lotting
632 carried out in most of Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clachan areas: Valtos and Cliff shared a common pasture and so became one township; similarly Kneep and Uigean were combined.

175 In Kneep it seems that the croft boundaries were not accepted by the crofters. Certain
311 basic divisions between groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today,
427 and within these basic divisions a certain regularity of distribution of strips persists, but

TABLE 8

THE RE-SETTLEMENT OF UIG, ISLE OF LEWIS

(See also Fig. 10).

This table may not be complete for the earlier years; acreages are approximate

Date:	Farm:	Township	New Holdings	Holdings enlarged	Area (Acres)
1878	Linshader	Kirkibost	26(1)	-	c.1,300
1880	Hacklete	Hacklete	20	-	c.1,000
1886 (?)	Linshader	Borroston	-	-	500
1886	Dalsmore	Carloway	-	-	60
1891	Linshader	Lundale	6	-	1,156
1892	Linshader	Kirkibost	-	26	1,000
1893	Linshader	Hacklet & Breaclet	-	32	314
		Valtos	-	30	c.300
1910	Mangersta	Mangersta	13	-	2,250
1912	Dalsmore	Garenin	-	27	c.700
1921	Reef	Reef	15	-	1,254
		Aird & Reef	-	10	206
		Crowlista & Kneep	-	43	105
		Garyshader	-	13	88
1921	Timsgarry	Timsgarry	8	-	4,113 (2)
		Enaclete	-	9	621
		Geshader	-	11	} 603 (3)
		Ungshader	-	4	
1921	Croir	Croir	8	-	522
1921	Garnish & Ardroil	Garnish	6	-	288
		Ardroil	14	-	797
		Garnish & Ardroil common grazing			7.153
1921	Mealasta	Mangersta	-	10	1,866
		Brenish	-	29	4,116
1921	Dalsmore	Garenin	-	27	c.300
1925	Linshader	Linshader	10	-	11,109
1932	Uig Lodge	Ard Bheag	2	-	809
1935	Garynahine	Garynahine	12	-	1,915
			140	245	about 45,000

Notes: (1) Crofters were moved to Kirkibost from Bosta (425 acres), which was given as an enlargement to Tobson crofters.
(2) Partly off Timsgarry.
(3) Partly off Garnish and Ardroil.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ATLANTIC COAST

(Brenish, Islivig, and Mangersta)

by

Pamela M. Gough.

131 Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta are situated in the extreme south-west of Lewis, on the Atlantic coast of the parish of Uig and forty miles from Stornoway.

133 Brenish has a south-westerly aspect whilst Islivick faces north-west; in both the elevation of the crofts decreases seawards from about 125 ft. in the east to 50 - 25 ft. in the west. Only one croft in Islivig, and the eight most southerly crofts in Brenish, run to the sea - the rest obtain some shelter from a line of low hills about 300 yards wide and rising to a little over 100 feet, which forms their western boundary. The land terminates in low cliffs from 25' - 100' in height, and a rocky foreshore. Behind these townships to the east a range of mountains from 1,500' - 1,800' in height and dominated by the highest hill in Lewis, Mealisval, (1,885'), gives protection from easterly influences.

Mangersta lies to the north of these mountains; here the crofts lie in a sheltered 134 valley to the west of which the land rises to over 200 feet. The valley opens southwards to the sea where there is a sandy beach and machair. The crofts range from about 150 feet to 100 feet above sea level; those nearest the sea have soils which contain a substantial proportion of machair sand.

Soils are generally deep, and there are few rocky outcrops on the crofts which are fairly level. In Brenish and Islivig the soils are mainly peaty, becoming wetter in the west. Where visible the sub-soil is gravel or stony boulder clay. In Mangersta the transition from peaty soils on the northern crofts to sandy soils on the southern crofts, is marked by the increasingly continuous cultivation, drains being unneccessary on the latter.

137 There are no trees or shrubs, and vegetation consists of marshy grass moors in the Mealasta area with a considerable amount of cotton grass bog further north. West and south of Mangersta the machair area is characterised by a calceole plant community similar in content to that found in many parts of the chalk and limestone areas of England.

361 Brenish and Islivig are old settlements, never cleared. In both, the sites of the original clachans can still be seen clustered around the mouths of their respective streams. [172] The houses are now situated at the east end of the crofts, near to the road.

175 To the south, Mealasta - cleared in the 1840's to make a sheep farm - was divided in 632 1921 to give enlargements to the common grazings of both Brenish and Mangersta. The 311 arable land was divided into twenty-nine shares as enlargements to Brenish crofts, and is held in a modified form of runrig.

Mangersta was cleared in 1837 to make a farm; subsequently fishermen-cottars settled on the farm but they moved to Dun Carloway in 1873. In 1910, however, a new township of thirteen crofts was set up by the Congested Districts Board; the new settlers were cottars, mainly from Brenish.

233 no road and access by foot is difficult. To reach the grazings the crofters travel by boat from Mealasta several times a year and stay in one of the two houses at Aird Bheag which, although vacant, is still in repair. These houses were formerly occupied by estate employees who had crofter status.

511 From the above account, it is evident that in this district as in others, a single croft is not sufficient to support a crofter and his family. On an average, each resident crofter has acquired the equivalent of two crofts, and in addition each crofter supplements the meagre income obtained from his croft by some other occupation, e.g. weaving, labouring, or driving.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE UIG BAY DISTRICT

(Carnish, Ardroil, Timsgarry and Crowlista)

by

Elizabeth Blowers.

134 Uig bay, in which low tide reveals several hundred acres of pure white sand, is surrounded by crofting townships. There are no extensive machair plains but the shell-sand forms a fringe of easily cultivated, lime-rich soils on all sides except Crowlista, and, blown inland by the Atlantic winds, it modifies and improves the texture and acidity of the peaty soil as much as 2,000 yards from the shore. It is not to be wondered at then, that 361 [175] this bay at one time formed one of the most important centres of population in Lewis. Signs of ancient cultivation, and the ruins of old clachans, are widespread, but most of the present settlements are less than forty years old: almost the whole area was cleared to make farms in the early nineteenth century. Only in Crowlista, with its thin, rocky, arable land and almost complete absence of machair, were the small tenants left undisturbed. [121] Consequently the district provides an opportunity to compare "old" and "new" townships, both as to lay-out and operation.

133 Carnish, in the south-west, is dominated by a huge gravel ridge - probably an esker, - over a mile long and sloping steeply to the estuary of Amhuinn Chaslabhat with the rocky 361 headland of Machair Carnish to the north. The arable land and houses of Ardroil are situated to the landward side of the hummocky machair land between the esturies of Amhuinn Chaslabhat and the Forsa river which drains Lochs Suainaval and Stacsavat. To the north of the bay the old settlement of Crowlista is situated on the rocky headland to the west of the Rethall embayment; there is a good deal of level land in the centre of the township but the slope to the estuary in the north is steep and rocky outcrops occur on the headland. Timsgarry, to the east of Rethall, stretches inland between the headlands of Tolanish and Borranish along the valley of the Erista river.

134 There is a mantle of gravelly drift over this area; the Carnish esker has been mentioned and exposures of up to 120' were also seen in gravel pits in Ardroil and Timsgarry. Along the coast blown shell sand rests on this drift and reaches inland for up to half a mile.

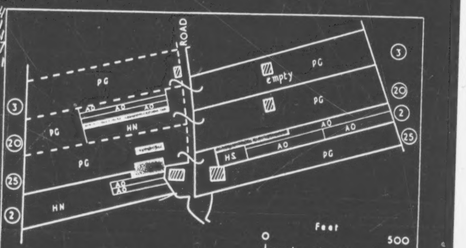

Figure 34

Land-use in four typical crofts in Callanish. Notice that each croft is in two pieces, separated by the road.

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is a
60 water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one member
of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern
Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on
35 rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three
remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and well
worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-let
to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In
288 addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men
weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the
prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than
66 average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of them
young people who have married on the mainland), there is still several young people and
62 young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resi-
46 dent adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always
been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous crofting
communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

195 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared
from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided,
427 making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no culti-
vation. There is also a few house built in 1958.

361 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete-
Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover being
241 grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one
231 acre of grazing land on his own croft. Croft pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle
is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of
that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people over
65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently
133 from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the
northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small
westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

491 The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the
361 middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main
Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this
road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished
Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter
149 by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, but
high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but,
at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses
have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good
weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

000 weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Maine electricity was installed
354 7 years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas and peat. The chief
source of fuel for heating purposes is peat, although a little coal may be used.

427 There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions, a small-holding of 15
acres formerly the Mill, and 10 feus, all of which are worked as 54 units. The crofts
361 lie as long narrow strips in a NE - SW direction from the moorland to the sea. All are
at least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some croftsays are, at the
moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land completely.

241 The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a little clover mixture is
sown for hay, many crofters find that the natural grass is sufficient for their needs.
Vegetables are produced in a few gardens, but most people do not have enough time or
interest to bother with them. Flowers rarely flourish owing to the lack of shelter.

311 Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and the land nearest the shore,
178 part of which was once cultivated on a run-rig system is now unfenced and used entirely
for grazing together with some peat cutting. A piece of the common grazing has been
improved by application of shell sand and chemical fertilizers and reseeded. This
experiment in which almost the whole township took part has proved very successful and
there are plans for further reseeding. Details of crops are given in Appendix C.

167 Although the tractors of which there are two in the township are used wherever possible,
the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for potatoes. Much hay is
291 cut by mower but scythes are used to a large extent. There is still one horse in the
township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its owner.

233 The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e. 2½ times the stanting
which here is 2 ewes and 5 sheep per £1 sterling rent. 40 crofters keep sheep but
none have sufficient to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Many lambs are lost on the
231 moor during the summer and more fail to survive the winter. The number of cattle
kept is 84, i.e. only 1½ of that permitted. It is usual for each household to keep 1 cow
and 1 calf which is generally sold after 6 months when a subsidy can be claimed.
Breasclete has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Most households keep
sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1938. Now it is not necessary as
fewer cows are kept than formerly. With the reduction in numbers of stock the common
pasture close to the village are being colonized by heather.

322 The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditches are cleaned and the
333 land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilized and sown with oats and
334 potatoes. The sheep are clipped and by the 12th of May must be out on the moors as the
crofts are then closed to common grazings. Soon after this peats are cut on the moors
two or three miles from the village. After about 20 days the peats are lifted and carried
to the Pentland Road by tractor where they are stacked to await the lorry which takes
them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the fank for shearing and the cows are usually
brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the croft is not fenced they
must be tethered. At the end of June the clover is cut, while the potatoes must be
cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped. Natural grass is cut
for hay and if there is any first year sown grass this may yield a second crop in
September, together with the corn harvest. When the potatoes have been lifted in
October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for the winter. Final dipping
takes place in November.

162 Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 years and 57 are over 65
years of age. Of the resident tenants 9 are between 15 and 44 years, 19 are between
44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on persons are periodically
000 away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 29 are permanently away. Since 1939,

Since 1939,
166 64 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to
462 leave home when they finish at school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go
into domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time
away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breasclete is also the temporary home
of the families of lighthousemen on duty in the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides
the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain
demand for the tweed, and although the men are nominally self-employed they rely on the
mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms which, with ancil-
lary equipment such as bobbin winders, are all owned by the crofters.

As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the
458 township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being
erected. But should there be a slump, the crofts would be unable to support the popu-
lation and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

131 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch
133 a' Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs,
361 for access to them sea the terrain is too rocky and irregular for either settlement or
cultivation, whilst to the south of Loch a' Bhaile the land slopes precipitously from 250 ft.
to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle
drift-covered slopes, generally of small extent.

137 a' Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch
a' Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader, and in the valley of the small stream
241 draining from the north into the head of Loch a' Bhaile. Most of the croft land is com-
posed of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 100 ft. in height, separated by damp depressions
frequently filled by reeds and rushes; bracken was apparent only on three crofts. In
particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely
colonized by reeds and very coarse grasses, of no use whatsoever as pasture. One
enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this
could certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and
311 2 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the
two lochs and the sea, except for now, 28 and 29. The 33 holdings are unofficially
427 amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The
acreage of crofts varies from 2.2 to 20.75 acres - a considerable variation. Fencing
of the crofts - except for 1A, 1B, and 1C, and 1D and 1E which are held 'run-rig' -
was carried out between 1945 and 1950, whilst in 1946 the common pasture of 2,700 acres
was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the
Carloway to Breasclete road. An area stretching from crofts 18A to 21 has, however,
been most haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided
amongst seventeen crofts in the southern half of the township to compensate them for
lack of grazing area within their own croft boundaries. This division is said to date
from about 1886.

241 Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned
167 small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as opposed to spade
cultivation, depends either on the urgency of the operation, or on the accessibility of the
plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

by

Brian Loughbrough

131 The seven crofting townships of Upper Carloway, (including Carloway Park), Borrowston,
133 Garenin, Knock Carloway, Dun Carloway and Kirivick form a compact area of land in the
north of the Parish of Uig bordering the coast and Loch Carloway. Here the Lewisian
142 gneiss has a thin discontinuous covering of glacial drift which is most extensively
developed immediately above the head of Loch Carloway. Three valleys help to deter-
361 mine the layout of the township and settlements (figure 37). The townships to the north-
west of the Carloway river are found on more gentle slopes than those to the south east
133 where the slopes are less uniform and are less uniform and are often broken by short
steep rocky faces. The north western area therefore offers an environment where almost
continuous cultivation is possible whereas in the south east the frequent rock outcrops
have led to fragmented cultivation on minute plots which are inaccessible to the tractor
or other mechanized implements.

134 The soils are heavy and acid even on the skinned land of the boulder clay slopes nor
is there any machair to mitigate the acidity of the peaty areas which descend almost to
the shores. Only in one place is there any trace of the influence of the lime and this is
to be found where the croftu numbered 1 to 3 Garenin border the small bay in the north of
that township. Here the fierce gales have blown some of the finer beach deposits on to
the croft land.

Much of the peat has been cut from the inner common pastures except in the case of
Upper Carloway where active cutting is still taking place in the valley whose flanks are
142 occupied by squatter settlements, to the east of the football pitch. On the common
311 pasture the vegetation varies from peat moss and heather with bracken and rushes and
close turf on the skinned land by the road to Dalemore. On the upper common pasture
heather and bracken have increased since the abandonment of the shielings and the
reduction of the cattle stock; many inhabitants remember that the hills were much
greener aspect. Nor is this a feature confined to the common pastures; on one croft in
Upper Carloway 1.5 acres are completely covered by heather whilst a neighbouring croft
has a good crop of oats on similar land. At the lock in both Knock and Upper Carloway
areas of former arable land have reverted to moss, the old lazy beds being picked out by
lines of reeds.

361 Settlement. The settlement pattern is one of great interest for it shows in a clear way
the effects of the distinct phases in the historical geography of the area. The evidence
of success and failure stands side by side. Before attempting to justify this assertion it
is necessary to give a brief account of the physical evolution and distribution of settle-
ment.

361 The origin of permanent settlement is believed * to have been the permanent occu-
178 pation of shielings used by people from Bernera until the eighteenth century. Until about
1850 arable land was held run-rig and the houses were huddled together in tight little
clusters. When individual crofts were isted, about 1850, the houses were scattered,
each on its croft and generally up to fifty yards from the present road (which was then
no more than a rough track). Sea access was then most important but since the advent
142 of modern road transport new houses have been built nearer to the roads, producing the
311 modern markedly linear plan. The roads extend at different heights across the slopes

* based on information supplied by Mr Macleod of 27 Garenin.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

/p. 100/

Figure 39

361 and across the croft boundaries and it is along these that the majority of the houses are to be found so that as the roads followed the easiest course open to them so the settlement has moved to the roads.

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A particularly interesting example of this kind can be drawn from Upper Carloway where a lengthy movement of settlements has taken place; first, from about 150 feet above sea level, where the original black houses were built; there was an uphill movement to the upper of the two roads which cross the township at from 150 to 170 feet above sea level; and, secondly (and more recently), there has been a move to build at from 25 to 30 feet above sea level along the lower road which has become the main sale for the public service. Three main types of building are to be found in this township. The first is the blackhouse of which only one or two now remain. Even there are not the primitive type of blackhouse, for they all have proper chimneys. The second is an ill-defined group which includes buildings erected during the later years of the fishing boom and in the period up to the Second World War. These houses are either one or two storied often with the traditional dormer windows, they form the majority. Finally there is the development of the modern bungalows which are built by the crofters on land made available by the Department of Agriculture. Few have ventured to build away from the main road of the lower road.

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How then does this pattern of settlement illustrate the changes referred to at the beginning of this section? The original houses were abandoned gradually as the temporary period of the fishing enabled the crofters to obtain better houses. There have been no great changes, but in most cases they are still occupied. Some have been extended and improved by their owners whilst others remained without additions almost as they were when first built. That the crofter owns his own house has certainly encouraged replacement in recent times. The generous grants and loans provided by the Department of Agriculture have been utilised to construct the modern bungalows on crofts where the original croft house stands as a byre and where the second house is sometimes inhabited by some relative or person who sublets part of the croft. It is rare to see such successive phases so close together in a landscape reflecting the varying fortunes of economic enterprise and the influence of government subsidies now so much a part of the life of the crofting township.

Roads and public services.

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Carloway's importance as a centre for West Lewis is accounted for by the fact that at the break in the coastline caused by East Loch Roag the main road southwards from Stornoway turns inland to Breasclete. Near the point where the road from Upper Carloway at Carloway bridge it is joined by a number of local township roads creating a focus for community services (figure 39). Here also the (unfinished "Pentland") Skyline road, projected as a direct link with Stornoway during the fishing boom, reaches Loch Carloway and passes along the shore which is strewn with fishing gear. The substantial pier was the scene of great activity during the period of commercial fishing before the First World War.

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The two hundred residents of the immediate Carloway area are served by eight travelling shops as well as by the local stores. Bread, fish, meat, green-groceries, library and bank all come to the end of the croft if not to the crofter's door. Of the vans one is based on Carloway, one on Breasclete and the rest on Stornoway. A mobile film unit visits once each fortnight. The churches and school rightly reflect their importance in the community by the commanding position which they occupy just above the village. Here too is the playground, the annual show attracts people from all over the island, being as much a social as an agricultural gathering. Other services are more dispersed but not far away. They include doctor and district nurse, policeman, post office, and football

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1/ [Presumably the author means figure 39--Analyst]

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Oats are the main fodder crop and although the practice of undersowing is not familiar it is increasing with the incentive of cultivation grants. Potatoes are the other major crop, the main crop being Kerr's Pink and the "earlies" several varieties. Domestic gardens, common to nearly all the crofts, grow cabbages and carrots. Turnips only succeed occasionally and there were many reports of poor yields. Two crofters had grown sugar beet successfully for fodder but did not see much future for it.

Sown grasses are being used increasingly and several areas of varied quality were noticed ranging from an indifferent field of Italian rye grass that had been down for five years to mixtures recommended by the Agricultural Advisor. These mixtures are used in rotations thus:- oats - potatoes - oats - sown grass - sown grass - sown grass. Some surface reseeding has been attempted and has succeeded on the crofts but none has yet been tried upon the common pastures, which is shared with Park Carloway. The chief problem has been that of finding a suitable area readily accessible to all the crofts. With the example of Breasclete and some of the townships in Ness in mind all agree that reseeding would be beneficial.*

Fences are to be found on all the crofts and a clear pattern of their use emerged. With the obvious exception of doing the traditional types of fertiliser have been abandoned. Only one person uses sheep land to improve his land. The crofts were listed in narrow strips which rise steeply from the western shore of Loch Carloway to a head dyke at about 200 feet O. D. The dyke marks the end of the crofts and the beginning of the common grazing in the winter. Beyond this the ground rises until an upper zone with exposures of bare rock is reached. The result is that most of the cultivation takes place below the road which passes through the croft land and along which the settlement is located. All the crofts are fenced below the road, but are only partly fenced above it, presenting a pattern similar to that in Upper Carloway. Because of the steepness of the land in the way that the tractor can gain access to the land is by way of the lower road which passes from the bridge.

Fifty four acres of crofttland are worked in fourteen operative units on which the oats are cultivated by tractor and the potatoes by spade. Though all the crofts have immediate access to the shore seaweed is not used as a manure at the present time; following the common practice in the area artificial fertilisers are used to supplement lime and manure from the byres. None of the crofts are open for common grazing in the winter; this is because of the use of the old farm of Laimshader, granted to the township as an enlargement . The former arable land is now used as additional common pasture. The normal practice is to use the former farm land in conjunction with the croft land in the summer, the cattle being maintained on Laimshader as late in the season as is possible.

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Borrowston is intensively cultivated, presenting a prosperous picture when viewed from the opposite shore of the loch, but in spite of its apparent prosperity the majority of the population (57 people out of a total of 107) have left the township. Emigration has been the main cause of concern in this part of Uig parish, for though Carloway is in many ways more prosperous than is south Uig and has a larger and more active population working in much more favourable conditions, the population is as aging one that has not the potential for maintaining a level of replacement. In Borrowston eight of the crofters depend on weaving, four are full time crofters and seven of the twelve are over sixty-five. Yet these men are active and maintain large sheep stocks, ten of the twelve exceeding their stocking though only one of them has an excess of cattle.

Figure 40 has been drawn to illustrate the land use on particular crofts in this northwestern area; one is in Borrowston and one is in Upper Carloway. The stock data has also been added to give the complete picture of the agricultural unit. Each croft though prosperous, has an elderly tenant.

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The township of Garenin, whose main area of crofttland is situated a little apart from

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1/ [Presumably the author means figure 41--Analyst]

361 is attached to the Free Church Manse, is sublet to two fencers and is used entirely for hay. One remarkably well stocked croft has one horse, two cows in milk, one calf and a heifer together with a sheep stock of twenty breeding ewes, twenty lambs and twenty other sheep (this was the first 10% lambing for many years). Labour is provided by one full time crofter with assistance from two others one of whom is a weaver. On another croft an elderly lady was preparing to make an application for a cultivation grant.

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The intensity of cultivation may be attributed to two factors; first the sheltered position of the land, the moderate slope and good drainage and second to the energy and enterprise of the crofters.

BORROWSTON

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Borrowston exhibits many of the characteristics that have been noted in Upper Carloway and which are common on the north west of Loch Carloway. It contains a general increase in fencing in new taking place with the consequent closure of the old strips which were formerly open for common grazing in the winter. The crofts, by far the most striking feature in the figures gathered for the township are those for the sheep stock which, although the total enumerating for all stocks is not quite reached, those for the sheep exceed by 60.3%. This does not worry the crofters one of whom, the sheep enum is exceeded by 60.3%. This does not worry the crofters one of whom, the sheep enum is exceeded by 60.3%. This does not worry the crofters one of whom, spoke of a "natural equating" pointing to the fact that the total enumeration was not exceeded but continued that "if the sheep are overstocked animals die"; this they do all too often and be confirmed that "if the sheep are overstocked animals die"; this they do all too frequently. The assertion seems to be based on the belief that the equivalence of one cow equals three or more ewes. The sheep grazing are not bear this out. That sheep grazing. The evidence of the heavy sheep losses does not bear this out. That sheep grazing. The evidence of the heavy sheep losses does not bear this out. That sheep grazing. The evidence of the heavy sheep losses does

strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.

The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 1 - 13) face south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

Fig. 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

CHAPTER EIGHT

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Meavaig, Caryshader, Ungshader, Geshader, Enaclete and Gisla).

by

Annis Heawood.

Little Loch Roag is a narrow sea loch extending southwards about twelve miles inland from Loch Roag proper. It has been formed by glacial erosion picking out one of the n.n.e. to s.s.w. lines of weakness characteristic of the Lewisian gneiss. Although generally steep-sided, recent glaciation left much ground moraine and this material, best preserved on the less steep slopes, provides arable land for several small townships on or near its western shores. The eastern shore is the more rugged and although a few small townships once existed there is now only the small farm and shooting lodge of Scalisacro. At the head of the loch is an estate cottage for Morsgail Lodge which is a large mansion with extensive fishing and shooting rights, grandly isolated about a mile inland from the main road.

The district here described includes Gisla, near the head of Little Loch Roag, Enaclete, Ungshader, and Geshader, on the western shores of Loch Roag proper. All these are strung out on or close to the main road. Meavaig, like Gisla, is a small farm but also functions as something of a metropolis for south Uig; it has the post-master, whose other functions include registrar and receiver of wrecks it has two churches, a telephone exchange, the district doctor and manse, and a petrol pump. At the time of our visit it was also the base for the 'bus service. Its metropolitan functions arose in the days before the road replaced a ferry boat service from Callanish; here the mails were landed until some date in the 1920s, and here, too, the estate kept coach and horses for transport to Uig lodge, three miles further west.

There is no record of the original settlement of the four crofting townships, nor of Gisla, which was a township (or 'joint farm') of five crofters until about 1850. Some modern houses and bungalows have been built, many with easier access to the road than the old black houses, now often used as byres. Water supply does not seem to present a serious problem because of the extensive moorland gathering grounds to the west, but there are not at present any water-supply schemes. Electricity is, of course, available. Caryshader and Enaclete are on the main Stornoway road being served at present by the 'bus and by vans selling meat, groceries and fish at least once a week. Enaclete has a sub-post-office. Geshader is less fortunate since, although vans call regularly, 'buses must be met at the junction of the unsurfaced track and the main Stornoway road, where the school serving this district also stands. The track has been extended in recent years so that it now reaches all the houses. Ungshader, however, is smaller and although it has had similar delivery arrangements, it is now a dying settlement largely due to its inaccessibility.

The crofts are mostly regular in shape on the landward side and fenced except where the land is very broken as in northern Enaclete. In Caryshader there are fourteen legal crofts which at present are worked as eleven units; one is used only as a holiday home by its owner-occupier and there is one squatter on the common grazing. In Geshader there are eleven crofts, each worked independantly; Ungshader has four crofts but the

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND

ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF

LEWIS

('Bernera and Bernera Shore')

by

P. Wheeler

Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of Bernera Island (Breaclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the "Shore" (Earshader, Crulivig and Lundale together with the isolated township of Linshader), presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isolation. Bernera Island, though central to most of Uig and easily accessible over the sheltered waters of Loch Roag, yet remained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent building of the road bridge; even now it is necessary to travel over six miles to get from the bridge to the main Uig road and a further four miles to Garynahine. Consequently the island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements, has a very close-knit and self-sufficing population. Whether this community retains sufficient vitality to resist the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces eroding rural and especially Highland life, remains to be seen.

The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the Introduction. Like the other districts it has virtually no valuable mineral resources (1), and the herring and white fish industries have all but disappeared and seem unlikely to resuscitated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted with vigour and enterprise; it provides a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on regular or casual employment to eke out the proceeds of the croft. The kinds of work available, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employment are common to the whole parish; thus this account is mainly concerned with the problems of crofting agriculture.

Settlement: history and patterns.

The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is partly very old, and partly very recent. At least four brochs are known on Bernera and various standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous settlement has survived from the early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form as in the graveyard on little Bernera, or in oral tradition. All this contributes towards the very close network of family relationships that binds the island folk and to a lesser extent those of the adjacent mainland.

With the exceptions of Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete, all Bernera Island had been cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1878 when twelve families were moved from Bosta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere. Occasionally (as at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance lotting patterns were re-adopted, but usually settlement was laid out afresh. The townships of Bernera Shore, were also affected: all the small tenants except those of Earshader and Crulivig were cleared, leaving the land under the sheep farms of West Earshader and Linshader. However, the Bernera Island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of shellings on the mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these grazings to their present position marked the

(1) A small deposit of diatomite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a few men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

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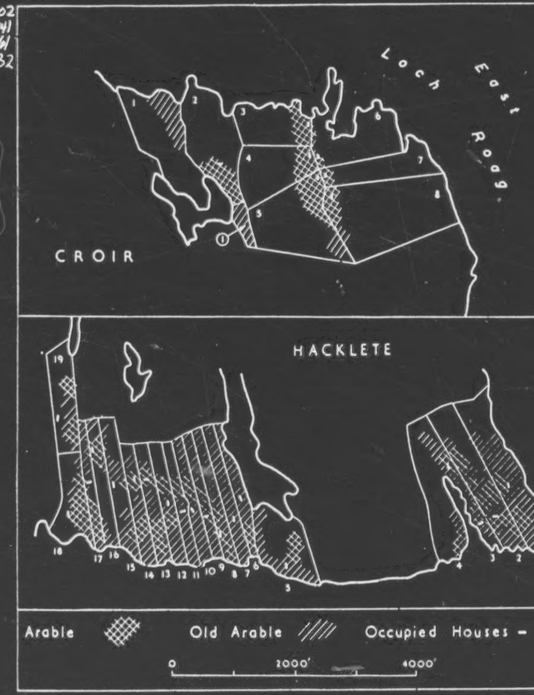

Figure 28

Contrasting lay-out of crofts in an older township (Hacklete) and one re-settled by the Department of Agriculture (Croir). Note the relationship between croft boundaries and the better (i.e. potential arable) land.

/p. 60/

175 beginning of the resettlement movement which has given the modern crofters of the
361 district almost all the lands formerly occupied by small tenants. This process was
completed in the Bernera region soon after 1918, and the problem now - one which is
obviously going to become increasingly important - is not to give the crofters more land,
but to find active crofters for the existing holdings (see Chapter III for more detailed
information on clearance and resettlement).

361 The ground plans of the existing settlements vary considerably, depending mainly on
632 the terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coast the natural
427 tendency is for the croft boundaries to run at right angles to the coast and for each house
to be set on its own croft. The best examples of this are Hacklete and Kirkibost, where
an early nineteenth century (i.e. pre-clearance) lotting was readopted when the township
was re-settled in 1878. Lundale, Cruliviig and Earshader also follow the
same type of layout as nearly as possible, but Tobson, with the exception of Valasay, is
intermediate between a lotted and an unconsolidated township. Croir also differs: it
was laid out in 1921 but the disposition of the potential arable forbade a coastwise
organization. The site of Breaclete is greatly broken by lochs and a sea inlet, and
consequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Breaclete - Loch
Beg Breaclete axis, appears somewhat complicated. The accompanying diagrams
contrast the control exercised by physical conditions at Croir with the subordination of
physical conditions to a simple lotting plan at Hacklete. (Figure 28).

361 Within the townships, with the exception of Kirkibost, the distribution of settlement
342 seems to have changed little since the original lottings, for in most cases the sites of the
178 old and present dwellings are little further apart than is dictated by constructional
632 problems. It would appear generally that black houses were universal in the nineteenth
century except for the farmhouse at 1 Croir (the oldest 'white' house in Bernera), Thule
House, (18 Tobson), possibly the tackesman's house at 11 Hacklete, the former farmhouse
at 20 Kirkibost and at West Earshader. However, with the establishment of Congested
Districts Board and of Board of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, early examples
being 5 Hacklete and 10 Breaclete. The resettled township generally had improved
accommodation from the start. Improvement has greatly accelerated since 1951. In
most cases at the present time housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and
one near blackhouse are still occupied.

312 Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their
private water supply, thought it is hoped that mains schemes may be constructed within
the next few years. Sanitation varies in standard and in places there are still open
564 ditches, but all the newer houses have water closets. It is worth remarking in this con-
nection that tuberculosis is almost eliminated. Electricity has been available since 1952
354 to all crofts and most are connected, though not necessarily in every room. Cooking is
sometimes by electricity but more commonly by Calor gas and a peat-fired range or stove
(open or enclosed). Peat is cheap to those able to gather it themselves. Where, however,
help is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road, difficulties may arise.
The cost of hiring labour for peat cutting may be such that it is cheaper to buy coal.

191 Access to Bernera by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Roag
194 provided the highway of communication, the road built to Earshader after the Great War,
and the £87,000 bridge to Bernera Island, built in 1953, have caused a revaluation of
sites. Linshader is approached by a tarred branch road and the other Bernera shore
townships lie upon the narrow and twisting main road, though four of the six Lundale
crofts have no connection with it, and two of the Cruliviig crofts, and West Earshader, are
somewhat isolated. On Bernera Island the old cart track from the pier at Barraglom
across to Tobson and Croir has been somewhat re-aligned since the construction of the
bridge. This is a good tarred road, as is part of the branch to crofts 3...8 Croir. The
old road to Kirkibost was tarred in 1959, though three outlying crofts near Barraglom
were still without a road suited to vehicles, and the branch within Breaclete remained
untarred. There is a new road to Hacklete from Breaclete which provides tolerable,
though circuitous, communication. Valasay is one of the most isolated settlements in
Bernera, linked with Breaclete rather than with Tobson by the footbridge and causeway
paid for by Congested Districts Board grant about 1903.

CHAPTER TEN

EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Garynahine, Callanish, Breasclete, and Tolsta Chaolis)

GARYNAHINE by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury.

131 Garynahine is a townships of twelve crofts which are situated on the eastern arm of
632 Loch Ceann Thulabhig. The crofts nowhere extend more than one-third of a mile from
the coast. There is a hinterland of about 1,800 acres of common grazing, which is
133 mostly about 100 ft above sea-level, though it rises to 200 ft in a few isolated areas; the
crofts are lower, and maximum elevation is 80 ft.

134 Most of the croft land is drained by the stream Allt Mhurchaidh which flows through
all but two of the crofts. But the soils are heavy, and several crofters cut peat on their
crofts. Many crofters complained that their land was too peaty for cultivation.

361 The crofts form a regular pattern beside the south side of the main road from
Stornoway to Breasclete, with two small feus and a 21 acre freeholding on the north side
of the road. In addition there is a farm (Garynahine Lodge) of 400 acres east of the
crofts, and likewise stretching along the south side of the Stornoway road. The main
road to Uig passes through the farm, dividing the cultivated area in the west from the
grazing section.

175 The regular lay-out of the crofts dates from the formation of the township in 1935.
361 On the same site, but long cleared, there had been an older village about the same size
i.e. twelve crofts, known to be in existence in the 1850's. The crofts were in a similar
position, but were a different shape, and the ruins of some of the croft houses still remain.
This village was completely burnt out one gusty winter evening when, it is said, a spark
from a crofter's pipe was blown onto one of the thatched roofs, and the wind quickly spread
the blaze to consume the entire village. The crofters left the area, many going to the
neighbouring township of Callanish; Garynahine then became one large farm until 1935
when the land was re-allocated into crofts. The new crofters came from a variety of
areas, several coming from Cruliviig, others from Breasclete and Callanish. The
owners of the farm had also opened an hotel which prospered until 1945 when the farm
was sold to its present owner Admiral Drummond, who has since used the house of a
244 private house. Nine acres of the farm land is cultivated, and the remaining 391 acres
311 are used for grazing. In contrast to the usual practice in this area the oats have been
undersown with rye grass. Another beneficial innovation at the farm is the introduction
of shelter belts. Trees have been successfully planted, making it possible to produce
good crops of soft fruits such as raspberries, strawberries etc. Both the crops and
the stock on the farm are of a high standard, showing that with capital and correct
management the land can be remarkably productive.

In contrast to the large scale economy of the farm, the twelve crofts (ten operative
units) are each between 4.6 and 6.2 acres, and the total reputed arable is 67.3 acres.
In all there are only 9.5 acres under crop (oats 6 acres and potatoes 3.5 acres), and
2.25 acres are under sown grass. The crofts are worked either by spade, horse (hire from
croft 40 Callanish) or by tractor (hire from the Lodge). The seasonal rhythm of culti-
vation and of stock rearing is that in Callanish.

Enquiries soon reveal that crofting is not the main occupation of the croft tenants.
Another indication of the declining interest in the land is the fencing of the crofts. All
were fenced when they were formed in 1935; since then there has been no refencing.
Now a grant is available to pay 75% of the cost of re-fencing but little has been done.

324 Stock totals (see Appendix C) have declined recently and this trend will probably
continue. There are only four cows and two calves in the township (plus six at the farm).

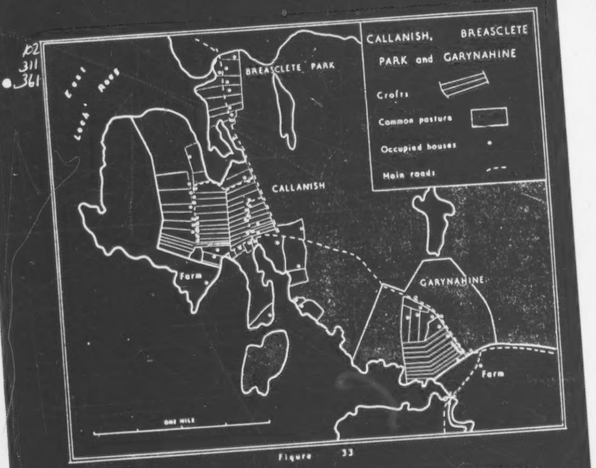

Figure 33

361 Contrasting patterns of crofts: the main block of Callanish crofts was lotted before
178 1850. The group of crofts known as Breasclete Park was added in April 1850 for
families evicted from Reef in south Uig. These, and many of the original Callanish
crofts were later subdivided. The irregular shaped crofts in the south of Callanish
were added at later dates, probably originating as squatters on the common pasture.
The Garynahine crofts were formed in 1935; they have a large area of common
pasture south of the farm.

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231 There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is
borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from
Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters
233 exceed their soumming (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always
been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 166 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common
pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

312 The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had elec-
399 tricity since 1954. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway
and also one bus from Uig and one from Bernera passing through Garynahine. These
444 good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

463 There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the
remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the
remaining two being in old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only
[178] two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The
croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest
in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

192 Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts
an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle
133 is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about
125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide)
which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six
361 miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing;
it is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the
highest point is 425 ft.

175 The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The
area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century,
427 and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader
to work for one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the
364 more exposed westward (facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced by the
90 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then
spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which
now forms the boundary between the crofttland and the common pasture. The crofttland
241 varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertiliser and manure
are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the
labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial
fertiliser. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the
drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on
a small peninsula from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland
at high tide.

175 The croft houses were then in two nuclei; one on each side of the narrow neck. Much
361 later a third nuclei developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the
427 Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Bernera; they had put to sea in small
boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became
squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

427 There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some
of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

THE PATTERN OF CROFTING

427 Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire,
241 Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties of
178 Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some
423 districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the
477 nearest equivalent to peasant communities in Britain, although only a small minority of crofters own their holdings, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, has all but disappeared.

175 Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to
427 compensation for improvements. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural
241 holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where the
423 annual rent paid was less than £30. Security of tenure, and compensation for improvements were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £50. In all, there are about 20,000 crofts in Scotland today[1] and Collier[2] estimated the crofting population at
[161] about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms
[162] a 1 per cent sample of the crofts, and a 0.9 per cent sample of the estimated crofting population.

Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

423 The characteristic settlement unit is the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal
427 distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the
361 individually held croft land, and the common grazings. The number of crofts per township
311 ranges from 6 in Caversta to 43 in Gravir.

632 The individually held croft land (1,839 acres) is partly 'outrun' or permanent pasture and the
233 holdings are usually but not always consolidated - in Gravir (Fig. 4) and Cromore some of the crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated from neighbouring units by a drystone dyke or fence but in Park, such demarcation is the exception rather than the rule.

The croft land is separated from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wall. The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor, ill-drained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park, only Oronsay common pasture is fenced, the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by crumbled turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture; the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured, a term comparable to the obsolescent 'gates' of northern England. In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young beast, up to 4 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per £1 rent. There is also a system of stated equivalences (Gaelic 'coilpeachadh') in most townships whereby substitution of cattle for sheep and sheep for cattle is permissible: in Gravir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumings and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed, soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming of their croft.

[115] 1 Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

[113] 2 Adam Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1953.

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Fig. 5. Kershader - Land use. The inset shows the complete layout of the township: A - the Croft land, B - Re-seeded Grazing Parks, C - The inner fenced area of the common grazing. The former shielings belonging to each croft are also shown: the numbers correspond to the crofts numbers. (Redrawn from 1:2500 fieldmap by F.W. Wheeler, M.A.)

/facing p. 6/

427 Although the croftland is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six
241 months of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole
223 township stock graze indiscriminately over the crofts. Thus basically the whole area of the
423 township, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear
178 that the agricultural revolution with its system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Croft
233 Area.

175 Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic - 'airigh
233 The sites of the shielings are usually on slopes commanding a view of the surrounding area near a spring or stream and usually two to nine huts belonging to the same township are grouped together on a site; isolated shielings are rather rare. In order to conserve the pasture within the township dyke for wintering and to protect the unfenced crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in June, and the younger members of the households went out to live in small stone or turf-walled huts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter or cheese at the shieling. The distance of shielings from the crofts varied from one to five miles in Park.

632 The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the township and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in the past related mainly to the enforcement of soumings, but are now reduced to the disbursement of subsidies, although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the township bull (usually lent by the Department of Agriculture but sometimes communally owned) are also the province of the Committee.

[361] The layout of the townships varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned
[342] in strips from the moor to the sea (figures 4 and 5). Most croft houses are built on the crofts; in
[78] former times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the cultivable land was required for crops, but nowadays the houses tend to be sited near the road.

162 The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing
361 in the rights and duties of the township. Table I gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 Park
429 crofts. It will be noted that only one-fifth of the crofts are tenanted by those in the 15-44 age
241 group: a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 65 years of age. Absentee tenants account
[464] for 14 per cent of the total. Women form under 10 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of the women tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The intrinsic worth of the holdings can be inferred from the fact that two-thirds of the male tenants in the insurable age group take supplementary work, two-fifths of them furth of Lewis. With such a large proportion of the tenants either fully employed in ancillary occupations in Park or elsewhere it is hardly surprising that the theoretical township organization exists mainly in name alone.

427 Each croft, however, is not necessarily an agricultural unit; some are sublet by absentee
241 tenants or by tenants who are too old or too infirm to work their crofts. Of the 215 crofts, one-fifth are wholly or partly sublet. In addition to the legal crofts, there are unofficial holdings which fall into three categories, cottars, squatters and feuars, all legally without grazing rights. A cottar[1] is a person, usually a close relative of the tenant, who builds another house on

1 These are the de facto definitions. Section 34 of the Crofters' Act of 1886 defines a cottar as follows:- "Cottar" means the occupier of a dwelling-house situate in a crofting parish with or without land who pays no rent to the landlord, as also the tenant from year to year of a dwelling house situated in a crofting parish who resides therein, and who pays to the landlord therefor annual rent not exceeding six pounds in money, whether with or without garden ground, but with
[113] arable or pasture land". For fuller treatment, see Scott, J., "The Law of Smallholdings in Scotland," 1933, pages 152-155.

There is no legal definition of a squatter, and the above definition does not include any distinction between houses built on a croft and houses built on the Common Grazings.

[Seaforthhead]

161 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural
162 and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend,
166 significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment furth of Park, and a smaller loss by
167 migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric,
241 there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration
228 losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of
632 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seaforthhead and Shieldernish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

133 Seaforthhead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a
361 gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being
[247] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

134 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat
137 accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely
[233] for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Balallan and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

[244] The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed.
[407] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be
[314] in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being
[231] only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep soum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the soum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in
162 1886. In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the
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[Seaforthhead] [Shieldernish] [Habost]

161 suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now
162 given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out
241 of the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two have migrated
178 since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

361 In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on
[349] slight elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's, 'Seaforth Castle',
[505] now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled,
491 communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives
[378] access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHIELDERNISH

131 Shieldernish, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs
361 road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the
632 road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

241 Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put
311 together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes,
[246] preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the
[231] lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a
[244] further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total
[226] stocking of the Shieldernish crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use
[288] though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the township and this isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to grazing. Shieldernish appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing
[185] fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Shieldernish is better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

131 Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement
133 stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained
241 valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to
361 flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place.
[134] Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin soils.

[Habost]

134 Drift is found near the shore and laps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks.
137 Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

195 Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shieldernish and
632 took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Ailean Tailear came from Taransay, Harris,
621 to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

241 Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and
407 ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Croftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced
233 off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

[244] Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclose
[246] parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in
231 June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but
[324] elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

231 The land is heavily overstocked: the soum is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is
233 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in
[432] Park Deer Forest by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garyvard in Noven
[281] and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

241 The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a but, which has not been used since before 1852. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Beinn Bhuidhe and
[311] below Loch na Ciste but these have not been used since 1886. Habost is one of the agricultural
226 townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and
282 trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock
[193] to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

361 Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has
[312] been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or
[654] from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

at Carloway Bridge. In addition to the main settlement which is irregularly disposed on either side of the two roads, a group of Swedish timber Council houses has been built in a somewhat forbidding situation on the common pasture adjoining the 'Pentland' road.

The thirty three registered crofts and thirteen feus or allotments (of which only five are non-agricultural) are worked in thirty four units. Three of the tenants of the Swedish houses have crofts, two in Knock Carloway and one in Upper Carloway.

The land use figures show that Knock Carloway has a much greater percentage of permanent grass than has Borrowston on the opposite shore of the loch. These figures reflect not only the less rewarding physical environment on the south shore, but also the lower intensity of cultivation which bears a direct relationship to the type, number and quality of the stock. The township has less than the total number of animals permitted by the souming though the higher figure for sheep than cattle reflects the general trend for the area. No horses are kept but the township has the bull which serves the area - a privately owned beef-shorthorn.

Weaving remains the major occupation but the emphasis is less heavy than in the other townships for the community services centred here employ a number of the inhabitants. It may be that here lies part of the answer to the problems of the community as a whole: but even if employment in services were to be increased it could never be very significant in a district with a total population of only 600.

KIRIVICK

Adjoining Knock Carloway is the small township of Kirivick which has forty one permanent residents. It occupies the least rewarding agricultural environment of the area. Crofts 1 to 13 rise from the shore of Loch Carloway on the broken hill face to the Carloway-Breasclete road, whilst number 14 occupies the head of a small valley which was once part of the common pasture beyond the road.

The houses are set back from the road occasionally sheltering in the lee of the frequent knolls of bare rock which are exposed on the croft land. These rock surfaces together with the irregular deposition of the drift account for the fragmentation of the cultivated strips in small hand-dug lazy beds on the upper parts of the crofts inaccessible to the tractor.

There are fourteen crofts, three feus and one squatter settlement and all but two of these are fenced. Two of the crofts are held in 'fixed runrig' and the small sections in which the land is cultivated are shown in figure 41 which also illustrates the regular distribution of sections between the two. Though it used to be the normal practice the crofts are not now open to common grazing in the winter.

The restricted amount of land available for common grazing ensured the continued use of the shielings until 1939; small patches were cultivated on the common grazing about forty years ago and this fact too is the only recorded instance of a practice that was a community by the size of the working unit and the land available. At the moment there is no proposal for reseeding of any part of the common pasture* because of the difficulty of getting access for tractors. As in the case of Knock Carloway the total souming is not exceeded, but the sheep stock is 25% above the sheep soum.

The population figures emphasise the problem of the whole of this southern area and here is the most extreme case of incipient decline. There are two fulltime crofters, six crofters who weave and five crofters over sixty five. Seventy per cent of the population is over 45 and only two children attend the school neither of whom is likely to take up crofting.

1. [Figure 42--Analyst]

DUN CARLOWAY

Dun Carloway though clearly of a similar type to the other townships south of Loch Carloway has certain features peculiar to itself. The croft land may be divided into two sections; crofts 18 to 23 occupy the deep trench which extends from the Dun Carloway school to Loch Carloway itself. These holdings are larger than the average discussed above and are divided in broad rectangular block. To the west there is a less deeply entrenched zone where the crofts are long and narrow lying up and down slope like those of Borrowston. Short steep and narrow lazy beds characterise the cultivation which follows the pattern set in the other townships, although the areas, as has been noted above, are much larger in some cases; the largest have up to twenty acres. Despite this increased size no croft has more than two acres of oats. The low percentage of land under cultivation is only in part explained by the difficult nature of the ground and the limited use which can be made of the tractor. Few crofters are willing to attempt more cultivation (to provide extra feed for store cattle or some other form of stock enterprise) so long as the income from weaving is satisfactory. The concept of the croft as an ancilliary employment appears to have defeated its own object, for with the population at its present level, and with the income from weaving as it is, very few crofters are prepared to do more than provide milk for the family, (with the annual cow and calf subsidies, and the proceeds of the sale of the annual calf as by-products) and to derive what income Providence rather than goodmanagement may allow from the sheep.

The total area of individually held croftland is 194 acres which is worked in twenty five agricultural units derived from twenty six crofts, nine feus, one 'free gift' holding and one squatter. The cultivation is accomplished by one horse and one tractor, each fo which is owned within the township.

The total souming is exceeded, the main reason for this being the gross overstocking of sheep: 187.4% of the soum. This overstocking cannot fail to have a harmful effect on the common pasture, promoting an increase in the bracken already visible on some of the croftland itself, under-nourishment and disease. The poor quality of the hill pasture is brought home by a comparison with the grazings of North Uist where the most striking feature of the landscape is its greenness after the heavier browns of Western Lewis. Regeneration by surface seeding would certainly be helpful here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The tables given in appendices C and D form the basis for much of the comment in the preceding pages. They must now be considered in the light of the general tendencies which they illustrate in the changing livestock economy units.

Appendix C (1) elucidates the working of the crofts. The picture is somewhat complicated by the large number of non-crofting holdings in the area, of which 43 carry stock (a quarter of these sublet croftland). The number of feus also tends to mask the process of amalgamation of crofts to form larger working units; a process which has been taking place for some time. There are in this connection one or two cases of the cross working of crofts between individuals in neighbouring townships. The figures for these units have been included with those of the township where the tenant is resident.

Oats are the most important arable crop. The acreages of sown grass for hay and pasture are much lower in comparison. Permanent grass, mostly old arable land, is to be found on 52% of the total area of land occupied as crofts and feus. A large proportion of this is on very thin soil where bare rock is exposed and on wet land, but even so it does show that much more of the land might be under cultivation or improved grass. The decrease in cultivation since the late nineteenth century is probably much less than that for the Valtos area of South Uig where about 70% of the inbye and outrun is under

TABLE 39

Stock carried by working units

STOCK HELD AS PROPORTION OF SOUM	Percentage of units in each district with stock indicated:				
	South Uig	Bernera	East Loch Roag	Carloway	WHOLE PARISH
	%	%	%	%	% (No.)
Nil	3	1	7	5	4 (20)
Less than 50%	26	25	32	36	31 (153)
50% - 100%	32	43	29	31	35 (173)
101% - 200%	31	30	19	22	26 (131)
More than 200%	8	2	14	6	4 (40)
All units	100	100	100	100	100 (499)

C(2)) and the cattle souma appear impossibly high unless large quantities of winter fodder are imported. In the old townships the soums of each croft are still based on minor variants of the traditional "1 cow and follower and 8 sheep per pound rent"; the rents, however, were calculated on the potential value of the croft in days when an inexhaustible supply of labour was available for production of winter fodder by cultivation. This is no longer the case and the old assumption no longer holds.

Township pastures are seldom, if ever, used to best advantage. Because the regulations generally allow unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle, the soumings are not, in theory, exceeded by the presence of the increased flocks of sheep. In practice, however, the situation is quite different. In the first place the difference between the effects of the grazing of sheep and cattle on the hills is not widely appreciated. In discussions some crofters remarked on the change during the present century in the appearance of the nearer hill pastures - "they were green when I was a boy, now they are black", - but this was seldom correlated with the decline in cattle and increase in sheep. There can be no doubt that the increase in the ratio of sheep to cattle has generally led to a deterioration of the grazings. Further, there are almost five hundred separate sheep packs on the parish pastures, most of them with less than 20 ewes; at some fanks the men and dogs seem to outnumber the sheep! Little real sheep-herding is done - nor can it be by men who have other regular employment. Consequently the hills are not grazed evenly: some areas are grossly over-grazed whilst others are neglected. This situation has grown worse with the decline in cattle numbers and consequent abandonment of the shielings, the occupation of which ensured that use was made of the more distant pastures.

Yet another factor inhibiting proper use of township pastures is their situation and shape. Many townships, particularly in South Uig, have detached areas of hill pasture, former shielings. These are often singularly inaccessible now that the custom of staying at shieling huts has ceased. Other township pastures are long narrow strips running inland for up to seven miles. Straying from one township's lands to those of another is therefore common. Individual allocation of the hill pastures is not practicable but a certain amount of fencing and, possibly, the employment of a paid township shepherd (as in the nineteenth century), would help.

If we examine the stocking of individual working units, Table 39, we find that only 30% carry more than their total soum, 35% carry between a half and a full soum and a further 35% carry less than half their soum. The situation does not vary very much as between the four districts, although there appears to be a slight tendency for working units in

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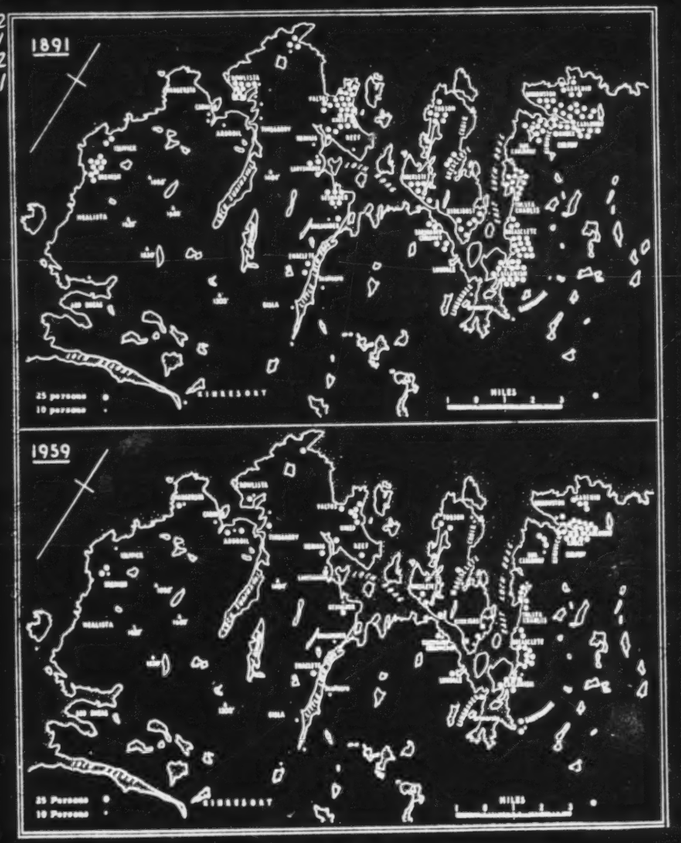

Figure 45

Distribution of population in 1891 and 1959

THE ENVIRONMENT

13 The district of Park lies in the parish of Lochs in south-east Lewis, almost cut off from the
101 rest of Lewis and Harris by Loch Erisort to the north and Loch Seaforth to the west. The district may be divided into two regions by Loch Shell and the valley to the west: this subdivision is meaningful physically, historically and from the socio-economic point of view.

13 The northern part of Park is a low, mamillated, ice-scraped plateau at an average altitude of 250 feet and a maximum altitude of about 450 feet, developed on Lewisian gneiss, a resistant acid rock of Pre-Cambrian age. Glacial erosion has scoured the area and expanses of bare rock are everywhere apparent. Coarse drift deposits are scattered throughout the area, but are more continuous along the southern shores of Loch Erisort between Shieldernish and Caverstu, and at the head of Loch Ouirn. The cool, humid oceanic climate has led to the widespread accumulation of peat, and in the interior there are extensive areas of blanket bog. The Minch coast is rugged with cliffs attaining a height of 350 feet at Kebock Head, but there are several sheltered bays and inlets around which the crofting townships cling to the steep slopes. Along the more sheltered shores of Loch Erisort cliff features are almost absent and the physical landscape is less harsh and uninviting.

The mountainous area south of Loch Shell, an eastward continuation of the North Harris hills, attains a height of 1,885 feet. Glacial erosion has had more spectacular effects than in northern Park and corries and glacially modified valleys are numerous. Southern Park is now uninhabited but during the early nineteenth century a small population was scattered round the shores of the peninsula on areas of drift deposits.

There are no climatic statistics for Park, but the Stornoway figures can reasonably be applied to northern Park. The mean annual temperature for Stornoway is 47°F. ranging from 41°F in January and February to 56°F. in July. The mean annual rainfall in Stornoway is 50 inches, with May and June the driest months, but on average there are 260 rainy days. Wind, however, is the most notable element in the climate: an average of 155 days have gusts exceeding 38 m. p. h.

Soils are thin and immature, except on isolated patches of deeper drift: vegetation is dominated by heather (calluna vulgaris) purple moor grass (molinia) and sphagnum, and there are few trees, stunted rowans being almost the only species; trees are confined to islands in lochs and cliffs inaccessible to stock.

361 The aspect of Park is thus one of desolate moorland, and the human communities are without exception distributed round the coasts; the Minch coast townships are situated on sheltered bays or inlets and it is clear that the harvest of the sea was the original attraction rather than the agricultural possibilities on steeply sloping, rocky terrain.

101 Park is the most isolated area of Lewis apart from South-west Uig. A sea-journey of only nine miles separates Lemreway in the south from Stornoway but the overland distance is 36 miles, which takes more than two hours by the daily bus service. Until 1924, there was no through-road beyond Habost although the Congested Districts Board provided a grant for the making of a road between Gravir and Cromore in 1901; in 1913 this road was extended to Garyvard. With the coming of the road, and the decline in the numbers of fishing boats, the people of Park have ceased to travel to Stornoway by sea. In terms of distance, Park is now more isolated than ever before.

101 Isolated, poor agriculturally, and without any industry, Park is a "Region of Difficulty" with
13 a rapidly declining population; basically the environment has little to offer in the twentieth
14 century.

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Fig. 1. Park in the Early Nineteenth Century

/facing p. 2/

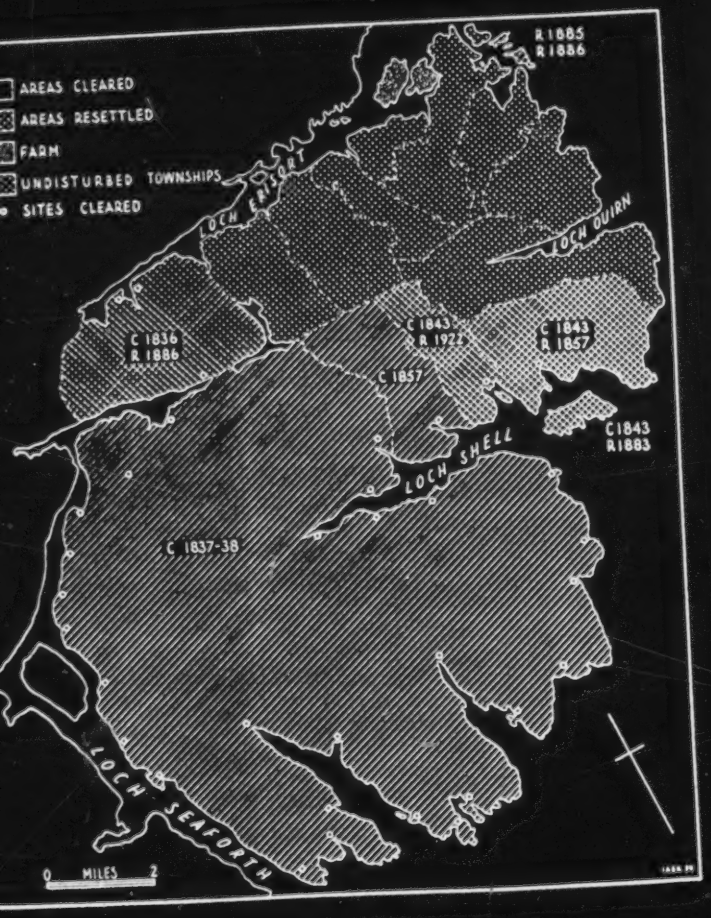

Fig. 2. Clearance and Resettlement in Park
/facing p. 3/

17 or summer pastures for the tenants of Laxay and Rarnish respectively, townships on the north
175 shores of the loch. In 1775, there were four tenants in Kershader, but their place of origin
162 is unknown. In 1805, five tenants are recorded, two of them from Uig; by 1824 there were 10
361 tenants. Thus the growth of population in Lewis during the second half of the eighteenth century
311 may well have been the major reason for the colonisation of one of the least agriculturally
161 attractive districts of the island.

From Figure 1, which shows most of the thirty-four occupied places south of Loch Shell about 1828, it is evident that colonisation had extended south into the mountainous area. The evictions, which commenced in Harris in 1816, may have increased the population already there as early as 1660, for many of these families came from Harris. The numerous shielings in South Park speak of a vigorous community: it is possible that South Park was more densely populated than the northern area up till 1800.

162 During the period 1818 to 1842, when the grazier, Donald Stewart, and his brothers had a lease
175 of South Park, most of these settlements were cleared (Fig 2): in addition, between 1838 and
361 1843, 68 tenants and sub-tenants in Shieldernish, Cleiter, Seaforthhead, Lemreway, Oronsay,
311 Stiomrabagh and Isginn were removed, in all about 436 people.[1] Some 27 families were sent to
161 Crossbost in North Lochs; others went to Tolsta and Tong in Stornoway parish, and some emigrated. The main body of those evicted settled in the townships in North Park: Marivig in 1838 had 6 tenants; by 1850, 22 are recorded. Thus the present distribution of population crystallised about 1840 and by then the townships along the shore of Loch Erisort from Habost to Garyvard were well established. The Minch coast townships from Cromore to Gravir, first settled about 1800, were greatly expanded, and Park south of Gravir became a sheep grazing devoid of small tenantry.

175 In 1844, the Seaforth family, which had held Lewis for over two centuries, sold the island to
423 Sir James Matheson. The estate management soon wrought great changes in the landscape. Until
311 1850-52, the run-rig system prevailed, a system whereby a group of joint tenants, or a tacksman
361 and subtenants, cultivated in small patches what arable land had been reclaimed, each share
241 being periodically re-allocated. The crofts, or individually held land, date from 1850-52, when the land was lotted and most of the present crofts were formed at this period. The settlement pattern associated with run-rig was one of closely nucleated groups of houses but when run-rig was abolished, houses were built on the individual crofts.

175 In 1858, Lemreway was once again made available to crofters, most of whom came from the
162 fishing townships where population pressure was building up. After the disastrous potato famine
433 of 1846-7, and the final failure of the kelp industry from 1840 to 1844, the population of the Outer
731 Isles experienced great hardship. By the early 1850's, the lotting of the crofts and the rapid
228 development of the fishing industry brought a period of prosperity and the population grew rapidly
161 especially in the fishing townships of the Minch coast. The prosperity was such that numerous cottars built houses on the lotted crofts, and their stock-keeping on the common was tolerated because of the demand for fishing crews. About 1884, the system whereby each boat was tied to individual fish merchants, who advanced meal and provisions against the catch, was discontinued. When this system was replaced by the auctioning of catches, such was the privation in Lewis that the Royal Commission investigating the poverty of the population in 1888 found conditions almost as severe as those prevailing during the potato famine forty years earlier. It was during this period that the Park Deer Raid occurred: Park became a Deer Forest in 1883 at the end of the grazier's
[685] lease. In 1888, as a demonstration of their grievances, a large number of crofters from the Park townships went into the Deer Forest and killed about 200 deer, cooking the meat in the open for all to see. Some were arrested but after trial acquitted.[3] A few good fishing seasons remedied this unhappy situation and the population of the fishing townships rose to a peak in 1911.

[113] 1 Evidence given to Royal Commission of Inquiry into Crofters and Cottars 1883. (Also known the Napier Commission).

[113] 2 Report on the Conditions of the Cottar Population in the Lews, 1888.

[113] 3 Stornoway Gazette, 27.1.59.

While the Royal Commission of 1883-6 was investigating Crofting conditions in Scotland, the farm of Seaforthhead and Shieldernish was restored to six crofters. Six years later, the Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Highlands and Islands scheduled the following land as suitable for new crofting townships: Stiemreway, Eilean Calum Cille, Crobeg, and the islands of Orosaidh and Rossaidh, a total area of 153 acres arable and 3,502 acres grazing. A further 165 acres of arable and 40,135 acres of grazing in the Park Deer Forest were scheduled as land suitable for the extension of existing holdings. The Report of the Commission considered "that in the case of Lewis, it cannot be left out of view that the congestion is very great, and the demand by crofters for access to lands now scheduled is of a very urgent nature ..... The Deer Forest Commissioners do not believe that the lands now scheduled are suitable for new holdings: but were these lands occupied as common pasture by crofters, under a properly adjusted system of management, their occupation would be of much advantage to the occupants and more than outweigh the disadvantages."[4] As a result of this recommendation, the islands of Rossaidh, Orosaidh and Iubhairt, in all 90 of the 43,728 acres scheduled, were given to Marivig, Calbost, and Lemreway, respectively, as additions to the common pastures; the sheep farm comprising Crobeg, Oronsay and Stiemreway, and the Deer Forest were left undisturbed.

In 1924, after raiding, Oronsay was reconstituted as a crofting township, all but one of the new tenants coming from the overcrowded crofts of Lemreway. An unsuccessful attempt was made by squatters who had built houses at Stiemreway, to have their unofficial lots recognised, but some families remained there till 1945. In 1934, fifteen small lots were cut out of the Gravir common pasture to relieve pressure on the Gravir crofts: this Department of Agriculture scheme marked the end of a century of population redistribution.

Thus the full recommendations of the Deer Forest Commission have never been implemented, but one can only conclude, after a study of the crofting economy, that greater participation by the crofters in the Deer Forest grazing would bring increased viability to the crofting community.

The landscape of Park has thus experienced four formative periods. Of the prehistoric era and the early historical period, when the Norsemen held sway, a few archaeological sites and a large number of place-names remain. From 1660 until the early nineteenth century settlement was slowly established and spread over all the coastal fringe: this period saw the maximum areal distribution of the small tenantry. From 1828 to 1843, eviction stripped the entire area south of Gravir and west of Habost of population, and large scale sheep farming was extended at the expense of the small tenants. The fishing townships from Cromore to Gravir were greatly expanded at this time. From 1858-1924, three of the cleared townships were reconstituted: the population in the majority of the fishing townships continued to grow till 1911. Since 1924, fifteen new lots have been formed in Park but the population has progressively declined.

The absence of large scale resettlement since 1886 differentiates Park from most other crofting districts, but the exodus of population since 1918 and the existence of a population constantly struggling for viability in an area deficient in resources are features common to the entire crofting area.

4 Report of the Royal Commission Highlands and Islands, 1892, (often known as the "Deer Forest Commission").

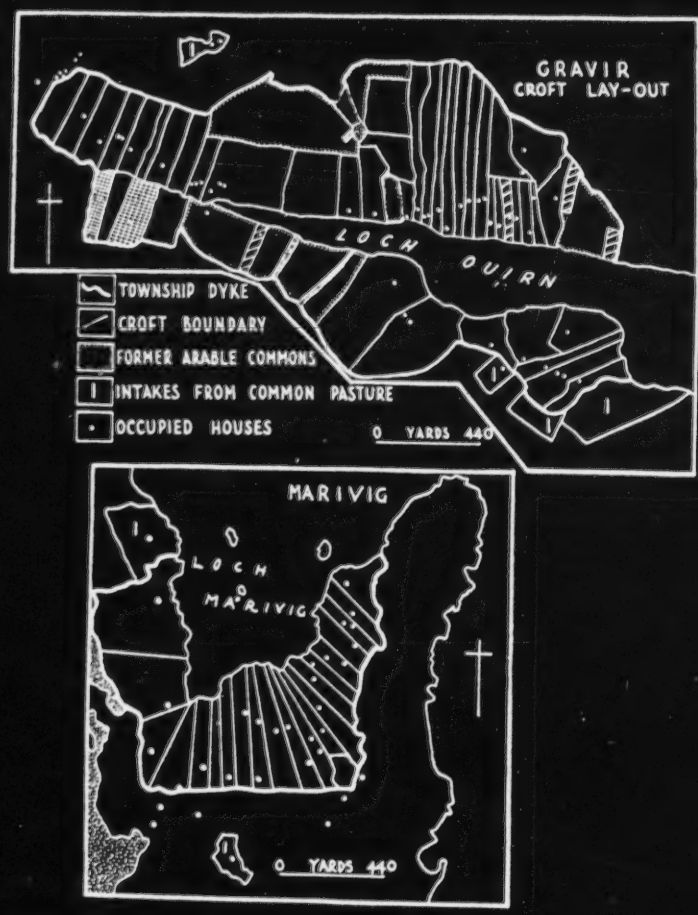

Fig. 4. Township lay-outs - Gravir and Marivig. (Shading distinguishes the unconsolidated pieces of three selected Gravir crofts. In Marivig, the crofts are all consolidated).

/facing p. 5/

a fraction of the total arable land is cultivated by tractor and this is divided among
ofts. In spite of an emphatic statement by one of these cultivators to the effect that he
r use it again, the use of the tractor will increase as soon as the pioneers are able to
their neighbours its capabilities and as soon as the lazy-beds are joined together, an
nent which has already taken place in Habost. The main objection to the use of the
y the disappointed user was the inevitable one that the yields were smaller than in
ears when he had used the spade. The answer to this was given by one of the other
, who thought that time saved could be devoted to some other profitable occupation,
ple, weaving. Six of the crofters practise a five-year crop rotation, sowing potatoes
llowed by oats under-sown with clover which for the following three years is cut for hay.

teresting experiment has been that of the improvement of two acres of common grazing
he road on the west side of the township, by nine of the crofters working together during
ings. The work began early in Spring when 6 tons of lime, 10 cwts. of mineral phos-
nd 8 cwts. of compound fertilizer were spread evenly over the land. The grass seed
n in July, the most favourable time for sowing since there is less danger of a drought
lier in the year, and more convenient too, in that the sheep had been gathered for shearing
of them were available to be driven back and forth over the land to tramp the seeds in.
this land should be ready for grazing next Spring, but in practice it will be ready in
er. It is planned to re-seed twelve acres in all.

crofters have a cow to provide milk for their own needs. The Black Poll bull at Gravir
rred to the other township bulls since its progeny command higher prices. Sales are held
strict twice per year, once on the old lake-level on the east side of the township, and once
an. Prices for calves are normally better in Spring than at the Autumn sale, nevertheless
ffered tend to be low. Even so, it is usually to the advantage of the crofter to part with
al rather than bear the cost of taking it back to the croft and wintering it there. Naturally
some bitterness that the middlemen who buythese animals will sell them at much higher
n the mainland at Dingwall. Sheep are normally sold in Stornoway to the butchers but
he local sales.

ting is not in itself a lucrative form of employment and in most households there is at

332 At the moment Garyvard appears to be a go-ahead village, carrying out communal schem
[62] which will benefit the township as a whole. However, the age structure of the population is
since 60 per cent of the population is over 45 years. The future in Garyvard offers young pe
132 hard work, little money and no entertainment, making the attractions of the cities and indus
of the mainland quite irresistible. Unless some industry can be started the future bodes ill
area, since most crofters are of the opinion that a weekly wage packet would more than com
131 the loss of their independence. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the age of National Assistance
subsidies that man cares more for momentary rewards and the luxuries of life. This is wel
understood by parents who encourage their children to leave the islands to seek employment
in Britain or within the Commonwealth. The Lewisman is no sentimentalist clinging to dyin
and a way of life. His present desires have been re-cast as a result of his increasing contac
the world beyond the Hebrides and he is prepared to abandon his home where it defeats his a
and purpose. Unless prosperity can be brought in by way of industry, tourism or increased
efficiency, possibly through co-operation in working and marketing, it is possible that we a
witnessing the end of a community.

CAVERSTA

Helen Mackensie

131 Caversta lies along a southern inlet of Loch Erisort, five miles from the Minch and is p
sheltered from east winds by the Cromore peninsula and Eilean Chaluim Chille.

133 The physical nature of the terrain is irregular, rising steeply from the water's edge to a
of approximately 225 feet. To the west and to the east, the land slopes to the river estuary
361 is here that the settlement occurs. Particularly in the north-west, two marked breaks in sl
visible at 75 feet and 100 feet above the loch, which is here bordered by a 25 foot rock face.
resulting platforms are separated by faces of bare rock. The valley of the Caversta River i
noteworthy feature. Below a small loch, the river follows an irregular course though a wid
shallow moraine-strewn depression and a quarter-of-a-mile from its estuary, has cut throu

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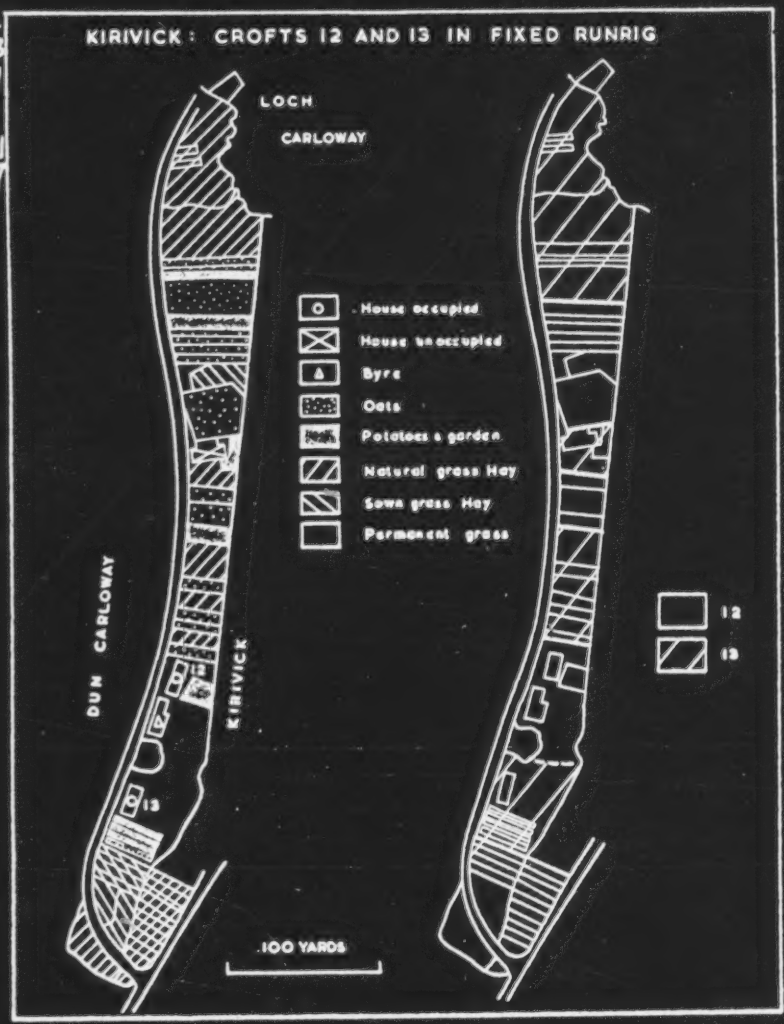
Figure 42.


KIRIVICK: CROFTS 12 AND 13 IN FIXED RUNRIG
LOCH
CARLOWAY
House occupied
House unoccupied
Byre
Oats
Potatoes & garden
Natural grass Hay
Sown grass Hay
Permanent grass
DUN CARLOWAY
KIRIVICK
13
12
13
100 YARDS

[C-lbost] [Gravir] [Glengr-vir]

The present situation in Calbost is best illustrated by reference to the population statistics. There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are squatters and only eight houses are occupied within the dyke. Of the male population, there are three children under fourteen years, one man in the 15-44 age group, three between 45 and 64 years and two over 65. This clearly shows the lack of active men from 15-44 years, necessary for the continuing economic success of the community. However, even these figures are not so striking as the numbers of emigrants as no less than 39 men and 40 women have left Calbost since 1939.

A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the younger people have left to find employment in Stornoway and on the mainland. The present population structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride the major east-west inlet of Loch Ouirn, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The site of the township is perhaps the most picturesque in all Park, but the steep slopes, lack of cover, the small area of good arable land, and the considerable population existing on slim resources, problems common to Park as a whole, are all epitomised in Gravir.

On the south-facing slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough in the valley to the west, the majority of the crofts have been carved from moor to sea, some before 1800, and some in the process of the abolition of run-rig which was accomplished in the years 1850 to 1852. Originally, there appears to have been thirty crofts, but four were added during the nineteenth century, two at each end of the line, and in 1934 a further fifteen were cut out of the common grazing, a mile to the west of Gravir. On the south side of the loch, the 'clachan' of Tom an Fhuadain, established about 1800, has since developed into a further nine crofts. Thus there are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir and a further fifteen in Glengravir making fifty-eight in all.

The layout of Glengravir, a line of crofts from 3.6 to five acres, typifies the small post-1918 Department of Agriculture holdings. The arrangement of the Gravir crofts is illustrated in Figure 4, and it will be seen that not all the crofts are consolidated. There are three areas of former arable commons which have been lotted in unfenced strips and they may well be reclamations which were necessary to supplement the food producing capacity of the holdings. The method of division and allocation speaks of a period when a subsistence economy under severe pressure from over-population necessitated fair shares for all. The last of these commons was in cultivation until 1891. Although subsistence crofting has been obsolete since then, there is as yet no move towards a regularisation of the layout.

The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable commons developed mainly as a result of a successful fishing industry which prospered from 1860 to 1914 and at one time there were two curing stations in Gravir. With relative prosperity from an ancillary industry, cottars were tolerated and the population rose from 197 in 1830, to 368 in 1881 reaching a peak of 468 in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has certainly not yet ceased. Gravir reverted from 1918 to a township of agriculturalists and a base for employment north of Lewis, although there have been spasms of successful fishing activity since.

Stock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and conditions are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir crofts vary between 3.5 and 26.5 acres in size: no croft has more than four acres of 'old arable', in the days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in narrow lazy-beds, banked up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more extensive. All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed cut as far away as Cromore or the coast south of Kebock Head. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed area is now cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture; some of the lazy-

[Lemreway] [Orinsay]

229 The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing
146 township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve
434 boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats
435 and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is
524 one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring
nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

161 An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with
162 those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

463 Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary
241 occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular
295 employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just
232 over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and
205 nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.
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242 Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939.
Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house
242 has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most
399 of the present houses were constructed in the 1930's and they are usually near to the road. Ruins
312 of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or
361 up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs.
Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.
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Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish
485 Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents, they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

000 It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable
407 enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling,
is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the
311 estend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses
242 all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is
463 being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

181 The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this
000 is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

181 Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of
361 a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards
241 of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed con-
113 tents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

[Orinsay]

361 which rises steeply, exceeding 375 feet in the west and 150 feet to the north and east. From
241 the north-west and north-east two glacially deepened valleys drain southwards, their lower ends
195 being "drowned" by northward extensions of the loch.

134 Although peat covers most of the surface it is only in the hollows that it is significantly deep, for even on the gentler slopes the peat cover is frequently so thin as to expose a layer of morainic sub-soil containing many stones and boulders.

187 Two rowans and a dozen willows represent the only tree growth, but tree stumps frequently exposed in peat-cuttings suggest that woodland was formerly more evident. Whether this former woodland disappeared as a result of human action or of climatic change it is not possible to say, but it is certain that a century of overgrazing has not favoured natural regeneration. Moorland grasses, sedges and a little poor heather characterise much of the area, and reflect the poor grazing capacity of much of the moorland. Bracken has established itself in one limited area on a patch of neglected croft land.

195 Orinsay is unique in Park, for the present township is entirely a twentieth century development.
652 In the early 19th century there was a settlement at the head of the loch, but in 1843 the residents were removed and the area enclosed and added to Crobeg sheep farm. In 1916, there was a proposal to establish fourteen crofts, but the applicants were requested to wait until after the war. At the end of the war the return of many young men with a desire to settle down led to serious overcrowding in Lemreway. Several of them 'raided' the Orinsay area. At first living in huts, they built their own houses, and in 1922 the Department of Agriculture intervened, recognising and fencing off fourteen legal crofts, and at the same time providing a good footpath. Seeing the success of their neighbours, four other Lemreway families, comprising 26 people, went to Steimreway, about a mile to the west of Orinsay. Here, however, the Department of Agriculture did not intervene and with the community remaining isolated, most of the settlers returned to Lemreway within three years, although one family remained until 1939.

241 Six of the crofts have an area of less than ten acres, six have between ten and fifteen acres,
while the remaining two occupy eighteen and twenty-five acres: the largest croft originally belonged to the shepherd on the sheep farm. Three of these crofts are not occupied, although worked by other crofters, with the result that eleven operative units share 161 acres.

241 Only a small part of the croft acreage is actually cultivable: even less is cultivated in practice.
311 The broken and rocky terrain combined with the peaty soil allows nothing but the cultivation by spade of tiny lazy-beds. The total area now cultivated does not exceed 25 acres, although in the past it may have been nearer 40 acres.

241 Oats and potatoes are the staple crops, occupying 9 and 6½ acres respectively in 1958. Individual
246 croft acreages of these crops vary in relation to the requirements for winter stock-feed, and in the
246 case of potatoes, to domestic consumption. Nevertheless to produce even these meagre returns the soil requires careful preparation. A plentiful supply of seaweed is obtained from the shore and is the most frequently used fertiliser, while a little sulphate of ammonia is applied. Only two crofters use lime.

251 In the last two decades a marked reduction in the amount of oats grown has accompanied a
246 decrease in the numbers of cattle and an increasing use of hay for fodder. Nevertheless only about 17½ acres of hay altogether are cut, and only five of the crofters sow any grass seed.

251 In August 1958, the township supported only 13 cows, 3 young beasts and 8 calves. Half of the crofters have a cow and a calf, but three have no cattle at all, and one even used condensed milk, a sad commentary on the state of crofting in Orinsay, but a phenomenonby no means uncommon in crofting areas.

161 Table XIX summarises the population structure and trends for the four districts. It is signif
162 that the two districts without service centres, which provide a range of ancillary employment, h
166 experienced more severe depopulation since 1939. This table also underlines the fact that earni
167 from seasonal employment are insufficient: the incidence of permanent employment furth of the
434 districts is three times as great as the incidence of seasonal employment.
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APPENDIX B

SHIELINGS - A NOTE

John E. Wearmouth with illustrations by Beth Blowers

195 From Figure 1, compiled from the First Edition six-inch map of the Ordnance Survey (1850
232 to 1852) and from personal observations, it is clear that the shieling system was at one time an overall feature of Park for the whole peninsula has traces of this transhumant economy.

361 The rudimentary structures, some of turf, others of stones and roofed with bracken or
342 heather thatch, are all sited on well drained sites, the majority on mounds. Almost all the sites are close to lochs or streams. The majority are in loose groups of from two to nine buildings, although there are some in isolation; no site has as many as twenty-six buildings as found at Airidh na Gaoithe in North Uist.

342 There appears to be two distinctive shapes of building - oval and rectangular (Fig.10).
All shielings measured exhibited a remarkable similarity in dimensions, from 17½ by 9 feet to 13 by 12 feet. The oval structures are generally larger than the rectangular ones. Most of the shielings had two entrances, often, but not always, opposite each other.

195 The shieling system died out in Park about 1880 but the cattle continued to graze around the
232 shielings on the better grass, and the crofters had still to go out to milk the cattle at the shieling although they no longer lived there. The sheep still use the mounds for shelter and grazing. These features of an obsolete economy are still easily recognisable from the luxuriant grass cover in a wilderness of peat bog and bare rock.

APPENDIX C

NORSE SETTLEMENTS NAMES IN NORTHERN PARK, LEWIS

Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt.

183 See: Magne Oftedal, The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides; in Norsk Tidskrift for
183 Sprogvidenskap, vol. XVII, 1954, (Oslo), pp. 363 ff.

183 Professor Oftedal points out the difficulties of these Norse-Gaelic settlement names: inaccurate spellings even in modern times, and lack of any useful evidence from older sources, make almost all the derivations a matter of conjecture. Sometimes two or more ON equivalents are possible (e.g. for Calbost), sometimes no satisfactory solution can be found (e.g. for Lemreway). Since Professor Oftedal frequently bases his explanation on pronunciations not recorded in written forms, his evidence is largely followed here.
SHIELDERMISH: the second element is N nes, 'headland'. Oftedal's explanation of the first as silda, genitive plural of N síld, 'herring', is satisfactory linguistically, but seems unlikely in meaning.

221 rams are put out in November, the pace becomes slower, the
231 main job being the feeding of cattle.

434 The economy is neither a subsistence nor a self-sufficient economy for the majority. All but a few large crofters have to supplement their income from the croft with some form of outside employment or independent source of income, for ex-
427 ample, contributions from a child or a pension. For many the
361 croft is no more than a home. For an aged person, it provides a means of living cheaply. The rent, which is fixed by law,
427 is only nominal, and the taxes are negligible. There is more to
571 crofting than simple economic considerations. Indeed, if it
361 were only a matter of economy, the system would have been
[559] abandoned long ago. It is a way of life in which the individual finds meaningful patterns of interaction and an ascribed status compatible with his aspirations. The land is more than a potential source of income. It is the ancestral home. The tie to the land is an expression of the sentimental bond of kinship.[12] Many, perhaps the majority, have spent a good part of their lives in other parts of the world working for a wage and looking forward to the day they might return to the Misty Isle. Although only the Glendale crofters are land owners, the law has given the tenants complete security of tenure and the right to bequeath the croft to a member of their family. Thus, they can return to their township and find solidarity.

[12]Cf. Ibid., pp. 64, 81.

Non-crofting Economic Activity

464 Employment opportunities on the island are limited. The only industries are a small malt distillery, which employs thirty men, a small wool textile mill where about 15 men and 15 women find work, and a few gravel and sand pits. There is a promise of greater employment opportunities in the extraction and processing of diatomite and in forestry. A few men are fishermen. The majority of men who work for a wage are seasonally employed in service operations, especially county road workers, bus and truck drivers, and general laborers. A number seasonally migrate to the mainland during the winter or go to sea. Women find employment in hotels during the summer or local shops. There are no active household industries. Many young women spend the summer on the mainland in domestic service. In several areas the crofters are dependent on the tourist trade for almost all of their income. The summer tourist trade is one of the most important sources of revenue for the island.

The Settlement Pattern

361 The settlement pattern on Skye, like the system of land use, is an ecological adaptation of the culture to the environment which has been stabilized in its essential details since the Neolithic. The areas of permanent settlement have always been limited to the coastal fringe and a few internal glens, regions with the best agricultural conditions, and to elevations under 400 feet. Further, man has tended to concentrate on the

361 basalt plateau where the light and potentially rich soil and the relatively luxuriant pasture land are valuable assets. The remainder of the island has been generally avoided, except for a few isolated areas of mixed beaches, moraine, and similar
361 deposits of local importance. The contrasting population
162 densities in modern times support my assertion. With an overall density for the Island of thirteen per square mile, northern Skye has a density of nineteen per square mile in contrast to six per square mile in southern Skye. This three to one ratio has persisted for at least two centuries.

361 Until the nineteenth century all the inhabitants of Skye lived in isolated hamlet-like clusters. The majority continue to dwell in dispersed crofting communities. Indeed, the dominant characteristic of the settlement pattern is, with a single exception, the lack of nucleated villages. Skye is not unique in this respect. The Irish and the Welsh have never made the village a part of their cultural heritage.[13] The pattern I am about to describe will, no doubt, be unfamiliar to many who are only acquainted with rural communities of the Western Hemisphere. The units of settlement on Skye are on a very diminutive scale compared to those to which we are accustomed.

361 As we have seen, the efficient socio-economic unit is the
621 township, the collection of individual crofts and the communal grazing lands. Skye contains 182 townships. All of them are found in an inhabited area of roughly thirty square miles.

[13]Conrad M. Arensberg, The Irish Countryman (New York: Peter Smith, 1950), pp. 146-155; and Alwyn Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1951), pp. 128-129.

Township size is variable. There is a complete range from 361
one township with a single inhabited croft and a population of 621
three, an old man and his two sons, to one with fifty crofts, [163]
held by thirty-two families, and a population of almost eighty. Most townships contain between six and twenty crofts.

The crofts are set out in long, parallel strips, typically, at right angles to the coast, or, if the township is in a glen, across the glen. In the older townships, the houses tend to be built at one end of the strip on the least productive land. The byre, if there is one, stands at the rear or either side of the house. Exposure or road access have not always been determining factors. Most frequently, it would seem, alignment along a road is present only because the county government has built a road into the township. Only in the more modern townships, those planned or re-organized within the last fifty years, have the crofters tended to build near the road. Several of the townships lack any apparent orientation. The houses are scattered up and down the lower slopes of the hills which rise above the cultivated land.

Wherever the configuration of the land and the environmental factors of soil and rainfall permit large settlements, there is a grouping of townships into the pattern of the British open country neighborhood or the French line village.[14] Scattered among the crofts, without any nucleus of community [366]
buildings, there are, usually, a school, one or two churches, [349]

[14]For an analysis of rural settlement patterns, see Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 229-231, 234-237.

and the homes of the ministers and the teacher. Standing 621 368 together, within a few hundred yards of each other, they provide a focal point for the surrounding area. The remainder of the buildings which we normally think of as forming a village nucleus are widely dispersed. The post office, which 621 is also a general store, is just over a mile north of churches 366 368 and school, in the township of Kilvaxter. Another mile away, off the main road, in Borneskettaig there is a small shop. South of the churches and school, almost two miles away, there is a shop and a smithy in Linicro. The remaining shops and workshops are similarly scattered hither and yon among the crofts.

Glendale shows much the same pattern of settlement. 361 621 Stretching along the shore of Loch Dunvegan, through Glendale, on either side of the Hamara River, and out along the shore of Loch Poolteil, there are 156 crofts in 11 townships. These are the homes of 144 crofters. The total population is in the neighborhood of 350. Like the people [491] of Kilmuir, the Glendale residents have also become dependent on roads, and they have tended to build their new cottages near a road of some sort. The single church, the post office, 348 621 and the shop stand fairly close together near the center of [366] Glendale. One school is about a mile away in Borrodale, and the other over a mile away in Colbost. Neither Glendale nor Kilmuir have a village hall. When the Glendale crofters have a meeting to discuss the club farm or when the Kilmuir crofters hold a club meeting, they use the school. Now let 621

*175 the land into large commercial farms.[26] Even had the landlords *178 182 desired to emulate the results achieved elsewhere, it is doubtful 427 that the persistent demands of the steadily increasing numbers of people for a share in the land could have been disregarded at this time. On Skye, as in most of the Western Highlands, the arable of the old farms was simply divided into as many equal shares of five to ten acres as possible. The grazing lands continued to be held in common and used under a system of stinted rights, and the arable was used communally between harvesting and spring ploughing. Lacking any legally recognized traditional or written right to the land, the people remained tenants at will, enjoying hereditary tenure as long as they had the good will of the landlord and, especially, that of his factor.

The people, then, were each given a precisely equal share, which was often assigned by lot, in the old farms. Just as the old infield and outfield system had functioned to provide each man with a bit of the worst and a bit of the best soil, the shares were set out in long strips. After the former joint-tenants and subtenants received their fixed allotments, they moved their dwellings from the small hamlet-like clusters near [621] the center of each farm to the individual plots. The township [361] settlement patterns, as we now know it, came into existence.

The effects of this rather superficial reorganization

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[26] Cf., e.g., Malcolm Gray, "The Abolition of Runrig in the Highlands of Scotland," pp. 52-53, 54; and Handley, Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 190-202.

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, planned, and fostered on Skye, the most
Hebrides. It was no less inevitable that
limited attraction for the Sgiathanach.

*175 Not only were villages completely alien to his heritage but
*178 also he had neither the need to purchase commodities nor the
361 opportunity to accumulate a surplus for buying more than a
621 little grain or an occasional necessity. Whatever his small
511 needs, they could be satisfied locally, especially, by turning to a local tacksman or the estate factor, both of whom made grain and a few sundries available on an extended credit-with-barter basis.

*175 Plans were drawn up for the establishment of a village
*178 at Portree shortly after the Forty-five.[29] Over fifty years
361 later the best that could be said of Portree was that it had
621 "the appearance of a village."[30] Another attempt to bring a village to Skye was made in 1787 when a group of exiled Highlanders in London built the abortive fishing village of Stein.[31] As a part of the reorganization of the MacDonald estates, villages were laid out at Portree and Kyleakin sometime after 1811.[32] Kyleakin failed to develop.

[368] By 1820 Portree had become an administrative center with its own jail,[33] one of the hallmarks of civilization.

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[29] Boswell, op. cit., p. 279.

[30] John Knox, A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles in 1786 (London: J. Walter, 1787), p. 135.

[31] Anderson, An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides, p. 89; Canon MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. II, pp. 120-121; and Nicolson, History of Skye, pp. 298-299.

[32] MacCulloch, The Highlands and Isles, Vol. III, p. 445; and NSA, p. 307.

[33] MacCulloch, The Highlands and Isles, Vol. III, pp. 366-368.

*175 District Council was established, but the only functions left
*178 to the Islanders were such minor ones as providing recreation
657 grounds and maintaining footpaths. Today the members of the
621 Council can only make the local needs known to the county council and carry out the functions of the county council.

*175 In more recent years the functions of the county and
*178 national governments have increased still more. Government
657 employees have multiplied. After the Second World War, the
[36] county became a landlord, building subsidized housing. Since
[36] the county has built these houses at Portree and at a few centers such as Broadford, Uig, and Dunvegan, where the police have their stations, they are still persisting in the attempt to
[49] bring villages to the island. Roads have become the concern of the county. Within this period, then, the crofter became dependent on the county and national government for the satis-
[18] faction of many of his needs. Although he resents authority, he has not shown any resentment at the continual encroachment of the government's services. To him the government is a "rich man" who has bestowed many favors and may be asked to bestow a few more, like electricity and plumbing.

*178 Like European peasants in general, the Skye crofters
181 have lost three important things: isolation, political independence, and self-sufficiency. At the same time, they have retained a good deal of their former identity, a continuity of culture, and an attachment to the land and to the traditional way of life. The culture has been modified by adaption to the higher socio-cultural organization, especially in material

*175 crofting system. Both the communal nature of the system and
*178 the smallness of the crofts deter improvement. Although the
427 government reversed the trend toward making the land an im-
241 portant source of wealth and individualization of the land, by
[84] replacing customary forms of tenure with national laws of tenure, and has tried to correct the disadvantages under which the crofter labors, if not always successfully, the Skye crofter has made only a partial adjustment to the larger,
[34] specialized national culture. In fact, the land is used less systematically than it was in the past, in the times of the
[31] shielings. The crofters have not only ceased trying to reclaim arable but also have allowed much of the arable to go back to grass.

*175 Ever since the closing years of the first period of
*178 the modern era, Skyemen have sought employment as a part of
464 the national labor force. During the third and fourth periods, they joined the landless labor force in the Lowlands. There is practically no local opportunity for a landless man to support a family. The majority must remain pastoral agriculturalists who depend on seasonal employment, or some other form of financial assistance, to augment their income.

*175 Improved communications and the ensuing development
*178 of commerce has brought a village to the island. It functions
361 as a market center and as the administrative center for the island. It has not served to bring the island together; it is still something alien to their heritage. Accompanying the growth of the village, there was local development in the

#175 #178 361 crofting districts. Shops, schools, inns, and churches increased in numbers, but they have not clustered to form a village nucleus. In more recent years the county has tried to stimulate village growth by building houses at a few centers. Someday they may succeed in altering the settlement pattern.

#175 #178 657 As a consequence of the increasing integration of the Gaelthanach within the national scene, government regulations have expanded and have come to be enforceable by a local police. Government services too have increased in scope. Many of the traditional functions of the family and the local group are now functions of an ever increasing number of government employees. Nevertheless, the traditional statuses of the members of the group have persisted and social control has not been reduced in favor of action by the state.

#175 #178 565 The class structure has changed several times. It has vacillated between a leveling of socio-economic differentiation and a growing polarity of status. At present there is no local class structure beyond the old polarity of landed gentry and crofters. Those who fall between these groups are ranked [59] on prestige values of long standing. Even though many of the intermediate group would be working or middle class if they lived elsewhere in Britain, on Skye personal factors play a more important role in determining prestige than socio-economic differences. Leadership and political power remain in the hands of the gentry.

#175 #178 182 771 If the foregoing material suggests that there is evidence on Skye for Redfield's concepts of disorganization

361 632 162 The number of holdings which can be carved from the la in any one place and the proximity of these clusters of crof to each other are determined to a large degree by the limiti influences of the environment. Landforms, climate, and soil have always restricted settlement to the coastal fringe and a few internal glens. Although the Sgiathanach has abandone his former dependence on a subsistence economy, the original cultural adjustment, these natural features continue to exer a negative influence. Each man must have some arable land t provide winter feed for his cattle and to winter his sheep.

If the low-lying area is small and isolated, only a few holdings can be laid out. If the fertile area is large, the influence of the environment is less direct. In either case social and economic factors are important. The small isolated townships are invariably unsuccessful. A few, like Point of Sleat, are completely empty. Others are all but derelict. There is Kylerhea in Sleat where no children have been born in over fifteen years. Suisinish in Strath, a township well remembered from the days of the "Clearances," a minister's sheep replaced the inhabitants, is now inhabite by an old man and his two elderly bachelor sons. All of the 476 231 162 failing townships are at the end of a road. Whereas the minimum size was once four able-bodied men, the number in a plough team or a boat crew,[12] it is now three. This functio trio is indispensible for the care of a sheep stock large enough to be worth keeping. Even three families do seem to satisfy the social minimum.

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[12] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[Marivig] [Calbost]

In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Marivig's future, and that of other crofting wnships, is not only one of adverse aspect, soil and weather conditions, and of distance from arkets, but a problem of the population finding a stable and viable level where agricultural units re large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain, and problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Gravir on the Minch coast of Park. It occupies basin-like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is open to the sea on the east. The roft houses are scattered over a shelf 50 feet above sea-level round the sides of the hollow and ong the valleys which enter the township to the north and south-west.

The cultivable soil, a mixture of peat and well-drained gravelly drift, is on the higher ground, though here the rock outcrops in many places. On land formerly cultivated, bracken is spreading pidly and now covers a large proportion of the surface, although twenty to thirty years ago it as unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-lying entral area. There are a few willows and rowans round the old buildings, probably planted as ind-breaks.

Calbost was originally a single farm but the township was formed about 1820. The pattern of e crofts differs from the usual shore-to-dyke alignment, as six crofts were allotted extra land the valley which enters from the north, when a part of the common grazing was brought within e township dyke. There are now fourteen crofts of which four are worked by resident crofters nd two by squatters. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters Calbost and other townships.

Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2.6 acres now in cultivation, potatoes account for 37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduced cattle stock of only two cows and vo calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut as winter feed for the 225 sheep which graze the township.

The lazy-beds in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly encroached on by bracken. The revalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to clear it, is likely to deter any attempt at enewed cultivation.

Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats have to taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing industry whic as prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Calbost, leaving nly a few boats now used only for leisure purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only two of e men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are a few roductive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not so widely used Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around albost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosures were made adjoining the main yke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before e opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander ver all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

[Caversta] [Cromore]

14-18 war had a marked effect on the Caversta population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left after d no re-population took place. Since 1939, seven people have migrated to Stornoway or the nd, (16 per cent of the total 1939 population), and six of these were from Torista (i.e. 50 t of the 1939 Torista population); only one family now remains there. The demographic n is becoming more acute for there are no young married couples and no youngsters growing e girls have left to marry and most of the men have sought temporary or permanent employ- sewhere, for with better communications, education and the radio, the pull to the towns has stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full- rofters, earning no supplementary income by weaving tweed on commission from the Stronoway

ersta is not one of the most progressive of the South Lochs townships. Although the crofts ced, the common pasture is not visibly delimited from either the Cromore or Garyvard s. At present, the grazing is fully stocked according to the soum, but the committee has not initiated any re-seeding schemes. As the pasture is not of the best quality, some newly sown would benefit every crofter. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but even acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechanisa- d is badly served by communications. The future of Torista appears to be probably one of nment, unless it is more easily linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road being re is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Caversta is also open tion. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the units are not used to their full extent. Amalgamation with Garyvard might benefit the p a great deal, as the Caversta population is rather small to flourish in isolation. The future vard, Kershader and Habost is one of hope, but unless some change takes place soon, it is icult to see Caversta, and Torista, following the same course as Calbost and in thirty to are being little more than grazing land.

CROMORE

G. Mary Swindell, B.A., and Dennis F. Fancett, B.A.

more is situated on a peninsula between Loch Erisort and Loch Cromore. Approaching it e access road, Cromore has the appearance of a nucleated settlement, but in fact each s situated on the owner's croft. The crofts are so arranged that each has a portion of land more level surface of drift deposits; houses 1 to 20 stand at the junction of the drift and the n gneiss. Soils are poor and thin, and there are numerous outcrops of barren rock amongst ble land. The natural vegetation is heather moorland with extensive patches of rushes and grass, the pattern of most of the 'outrun' around Cromore.

township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two are subdivided while another four form double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and oolhouse feu. Outside the township dyke there are two feus and four squatters. The croft differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent pieces, one piece the house, another above Creag Cromore and two pieces on another area of enclosed land common. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

ll this decade all the land around the houses, and much of that above Creag Cromore, was ly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but ion is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only t present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed

[Marivig]

There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft, and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron. All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply; rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

361 one or more country stores, a few workshops, and a post office.
621 Kilmuir will serve as an example of these larger settlements.
364
[348] Along the shore of Loch Snizort, on the peninsula of
361 Trotternish, there is a broad, fertile plain. Including old
621 Loch Chaluim Chille, there are approximately ten square miles
311 of good land. Although the soil is not cultivated as intensively as in the days when Kilmuir was "the granary of Skye," this is regarded as the best agricultural region on the island.
[162] In all there are 122 crofts, held by 105 crofters, in 9 townships. There are also two small farms. The population is slightly over 300.

361 The crofters' cottages are loosely strung around the
621 old loch and across the plain in an irregular "Y" shaped pattern (Figure 3). Basically the pattern resembles the French line village, but there are several features remi-
361 niscent of the British open country neighborhood. Most of
621 the cottages, it would seem, were originally built on the
491 landward fringe of the plain and along the shore of a small bay, known as Camus Mor, without any regard for road access.
[178] In recent years, increasing dependence on motor transport has led to demands for roads. Now almost all the crofters, except those in Bornesketaig, have a paved road running by their door. About a third of the houses are on the county road which encircles the peninsula and links Kilmuir with the outside world via Portree.

621 In the center of Kilmuir, in the township of Balgown,
348 stand two spireless churches, a church hall, a two room school,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

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368
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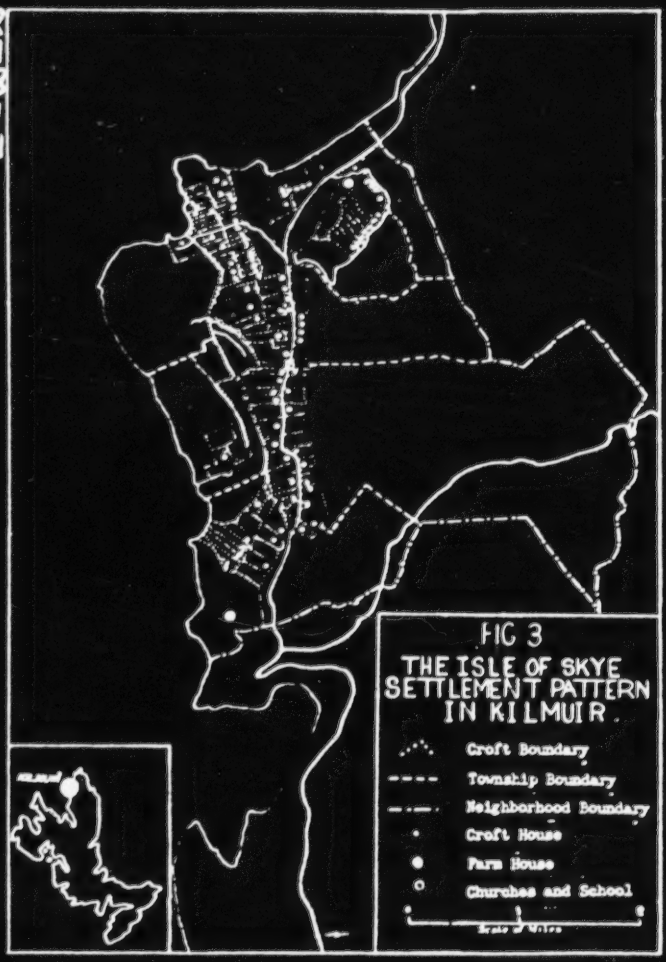

FIG 3
THE ISLE OF SKYE SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN KILMUIR.

CHAPTER VI

THE ISLANDERS' SOCIETY

The Units of Social Organization

Since the Sgiathanach has consistently been more bound
locality groups than the relatively mobile members
main stream of Western Society, I think that we shall
pause to review the character of the social systems
are primarily based on territoriality a valuable aid
understanding of how cultural continuity has been
ved. By now we are all well aware of the fact that the
ip is the efficient economic unit. It is also a social
. The members of each township display a consciousness
mon interest, symbolized by the communal hill grazing;
eir inter-personal relationships, reflecting ties of
p and friendship, reveal a rate of interaction second
o those of the crofting family. In most of the town-
the people are related and re-related on both sides
cent and marriage. Laid out along the coast or in a
e glen, with the cottages on the individual crofts,
a discernible form. The township is a small cluster
e to twenty homes; approximately an equal number of
-like farms, stretching out behind the houses; and,

361 above the settled area, the hill. In its spatial exi
the township is normally bounded at either extremity
more similar clusters of homes and patches of land.

621 As it exists in space, so it exists in time. A
571 for the removal of the population during the "Clearanc
and for a certain amount of arbitrariness on the part
government commissioners responsible for replanning du
past fifty odd years, the majority of the townships ar
cended from the old farms on which the clansmen lived
and subtenants. On the rent rolls and in local tradit
the townships bear the names of these long forgotten f
The functions of the township include the provision of
of livelihood and systematic arrangement of social rel
ships. Both functions are made possible by the formal
and are facilitated by the informal organization of th

The next significant social unit is the neighbor
This is not the neighborhood of current American socio
and anthropological usage; it is the Old World open co
neighborhood. As such, it corresponds to Murdock's co
"the maximal group of persons who normally reside toge
in face to face association,"[1] and differs from MacIve
definition of neighborhood, "the first grouping beyond
family which has social significance and which is cons
of some local unity."[2] MacIver's simplest community,

[1]George P. Murdock, Social Structure (New York: T
MacMillan Co., 1949), p. 79.

[2]Robert M. MacIver, Society: A Textbook of Sociol
(New York: Farrar and Rhinehart, Inc., 1937), p. 148.

621 calls it, is my township. Nevertheless, since I share Kroeber's
571 feeling toward the free coinage of terminology,[3] I shall not look for a new word.[4] The neighborhood on Skye is a collection of townships which are separated from surrounding clusters by
● 361 topographical features. Along the coastal plains and up the glens stretch the crofts, some parallel to each other, like the French line village, and others spread out in the checker board form of the true British open county neighborhood. Scattered among the crofts, one finds one or two shops, a few workshops, and a post office. The focal point for the members is provided by the church, or a pair of churches, and the school, which more often than not stand together. There is no other nucleus of community buildings which even approximate a village center.
621 Social factors as well as geographical features play their
571 role in determining the extent of the neighborhood. It has been suggested that the upper limit for the size of a group is determined by the prevalent form of their economy which limits the possibility of forming close contacts with habitual attitudes.[5] Although the neighborhoods and the component townships contained many more people a hundred years ago than they do today, all are now within the maximal figures suggested by Linton and Murdock for agricultural pastoralists, 350 and

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[3] Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 261.

[4] I suppose Murdock's "deme" would be an acceptable substitute (op. cit., p. 63). Arensberg has used Einzelhof to describe the Irish pattern (The Irish Countryman, p. 43)

[5] Murdock, op. cit., p. 81; and Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, p. 218.

362 of new steadings. The average amount of loans (totalling
652 £166,000) was under £150; repayment has been satisfactory, and the arrangements made by the Department of Agriculture won general praise among the people. Yet 1200 houses were very far from replacing all the 'black houses', and many more are needed.

433 In terms of cash profit, ten crofters today run their
427 crofts less remuneratively than the farmer they dispos-
sessed; even together they may show little more total
241 production than the farmer. Nevertheless, these ten crofts each allow a part, at least, of the basis for a country home.
[423] Hence the weight of public opinion supported, nay, insisted on 'giving back' the land to the descendants of those who
654 had worked it sixty or a hundred years before. The State
423 bought the farm stock at a high valuation, and till lately without adequate reform of crofting use and wont. The farms having now been divided, a great emotional issue, which had smouldered for half a century, has been brought to an end. Although the practical results are small, the crofters feel that justice has been done, and that fact may
311 be a great gain. Now that there is no more green reclaimed land to be had, the reclamation of the peat moor, or the grey 'skinned' boulder clay has to be faced.

By financing the renewal of Leverhulme's brief attempt to reclaim deep peat on Arnish Moor, south of Stornoway, the Canadian, T. B. Macaulay, made a resolute attempt to
[241] solve the island's main agricultural problem. Good crops were grown, potatoes and silage produced, and a dairy farm established. But the difficulties called for continuity of effort and research. From the practical point of view of 'demonstration' it had been a mistake to tackle deep and almost level peat, black in colour and viscous in consistency.
[407] There was not the light machinery required for cultivation.

(c) House-building. — From 1920 to 1940 the Department of

APPENDIX I

647 Agriculture advanced loans for the erection of 760 new houses
654 and the repair of 220 other houses. This, with the erection
746 or repair of 40 steadings, may be taken as the equivalent of 1000 houses in the 20 years of peace, of which three-fourths
• 362 were new. Rural building was at its height in the early 'thirties,
356 but 1938 was a typical year. Taking the value of each house as £600 and subtracting half for imported materials, we may
431 assume that for 50 houses built that year the labour given produced an output of £15,000. In addition, some house-
362 building and repair was done without State aid, for which a guess of £15,000 may be made. Such sums may not appear
356 large, but they correspond to the enduring fulfilment of a prime
[435] need, a 'real wage', of importance when compared to rents and costs elsewhere. Of the expenditure on house-building in Stornoway burgh during 1938, the value may be assessed as £10,000, of which £9000 was for Local Authority housing. Most of the total was produced by local labour.

(iii) *Fishing Industry—Net Output and Earnings*

434 (a) For 1938 the total catches, prices and quantities of fresh cured fish landed in Stornoway District show a value of
228 nearly £100,000 (£98,000) for the herring catch, and of £162,400 for the cured herring. Our problem is to estimate what fraction of these sums may be included in the net output of the Island
[127] industry proper. The Fishery Board's *Statistical Tables* and *Annual Report* extract the produce brought in by local boats from the total, separating it from that due to 'strangers', and so permitting a fairly reliable estimate, checked by local enquiry.

228 Of the herring taken, nearly 80 per cent were caught in the summer fishing, June to August (*Annual Report*, p. 13). The
501 week of maximum local activity in herring fishing for Stornoway District may be taken to be characteristic of this pre-war period (Table 8). There were then 111 steam-boats engaged; and as only five were locally registered (at Stornoway itself), the remaining 106 were strangers. There were also 66 motor-boats engaged and though 81 motor herring-boats are locally

APPENDIX II

178 2110. The acreage under potatoes declin
434 3730, 1650. Barley dwindled from 2350
434 130. Turnips reached a maximum of 510
241 were not worth noting by 1953. These c
the change in stock-rearing, with the declin
178 cattle but the great increase in the number
the three successive totals for 1918, 193
434 numbered 13,620, 9060 and 6540 head; b
231 by more than half was chiefly due to the bullocks reared. Cows and heifers, 7650 in about 4500 in 1953, and they are now of f weight and milk production. The totals cessively, 78,150, 114,330, 185,860; by us their average weight has increased, while more abundant but coarser. Taking the equivalent of 1 cattle beast to 8 sheep, increased by nearly 25 per cent; and if w value of the cattle the livestock increase co more. Horses, it is true, fell to 380 by 195 had been bought in from Uist, not bred. on agriculture, the purchase and use of th by farmers and crofters, and their running less heavy than it would be in a horse-b poultry are still deplorably few: 86,460, or

[632] The Table on p. 316 sums up the co somewhat stabilised for the time being, pa invites comparison with Chapter II, pp. 67

178 (b) and (c) *Peat-making and House-bui*
cutting is still important, more coal is used
222 hence the peat is valued here much as i
314 most important; Local Authority hous struggles to meet the need of a growing ur
178 population as in other towns in Britain, bu
• 362 "remote area subsidy" to meet mainla costs. There is little truly rural housing by
647 and rents are too high for the houses to be
63 figures for Stornoway Burgh for the ten y
[162]

d steadily: 3940,
cres to 1340, and
acres in 1939, but
op acreages reflect
: in the number of
of sheep. Taking
and 1953, cattle
ut this diminution
small number of
1918, still stood at
r better quality in
f sheep were suc-
: of mainland rams
the wool is rather
Lewis Association's
the livestock carry
: add the increased
unts for very much
3; as before, most
Hence a new charge
: 65 tractors owned
g costs, is relatively
reeding area. The
about 20 per croft.
nditions, apparently
rish by parish, and
-68.
lding.—While *peat-*
than formerly, and
1938. *Housing* is
ing by the Burgh
an and 'suburban'
t with an additional
d contractors' extra
the County Council
ully occupied. The
ears 1945–54 exceed

APPENDIX II

178 300 houses, with nearly 30 built by "private enterprise"; in
362 addition the Local Authorities built 140 in the immediate
647 'suburbs' (of which 50 were temporary), a total of over 470
63 and an average of, say, 47. Another 115 were built in the rural
[435] townships. If we give a round total of £125,000 as the value

	Barvas	Lochs	Stornoway	Uig	Lewis Total	Harris
Holdings						
Full-time	5	12	8	21	49	34
Part- and spare-time	1,050	580	1,160	630	3,420	510
June 1953 (acres)						
Oats	2,080	520	1,220	900	4,730	710
Potatoes	550	180	450	260	1,440	210
Tillage	2,860	730	1,810	1,196	6,590	1,280
Rotation Grass	580	300	690	290	1,850	260
Permanent Grass	2,870	2,460	3,250	3,150	11,730	4,030
Grass	3,450	2,760	3,940	3,440	12,580	4,290
Rough Grazing (head)	93,580	107,180	56,480	111,250	368,490	111,170
Cattle	1,350	860	1,330	1,360	4,900	1,640
Sheep	38,110	37,810	23,670	42,690	142,280	43,580
Pigs	10	2	110	3	130	..
Poultry	25,370	9,880	25,910	13,060	74,220	12,240
Horses	180	25	60	60	320	60
February 1954						
Tractors	24	4	24	5	57	8

178 for an average year (such as 1953) for Local Authority Housing,
362 we may allot half this to net output of local materials and to
647 wages earned by Lewismen, some £65,000, of which rural
63 wages were a small fraction, say £20,000.

435 For crofters and cottars, however, in 1953, a fairly typical
434 year, there was much local effort and achievement, by help
647 of 180 loans and grants from the Department of Agriculture
654 for Scotland, totalling £81,000 for new houses or house im-
426 provements (with a very few steadings). £80,000 may be
allotted to local materials and to labour paid or given by house-
holders themselves.

*175 District Council was established, but the only functions left
*178 to the Islanders were such minor ones as providing recreation
657 grounds and maintaining footpaths. Today the members of the
621 Council can only make the local needs known to the county council
and carry out the functions of the county council.

*175 In more recent years the functions of the county and
*178 national governments have increased still more. Government
657 employees have multiplied. After the Second World War, the
[36] county became a landlord, building subsidized housing. Since
[361] the county has built these houses at Portree and at a few center
such as Broadford, Uig, and Dunvegan, where the police have
their stations, they are still persisting in the attempt to
[49] bring villages to the island. Roads have become the concern
of the county. Within this period, then, the crofter became
dependent on the county and national government for the satis-
[181] faction of many of his needs. Although he resents authority,
he has not shown any resentment at the continual encroachment
of the government's services. To him the government is a
"rich man" who has bestowed many favors and may be asked to
bestow a few more, like electricity and plumbing.

*178 Like European peasants in general, the Skye crofters
181 have lost three important things: isolation, political
independence, and self-sufficiency. At the same time, they
have retained a good deal of their former identity, a continuit
of culture, and an attachment to the land and to the traditiona
way of life. The culture has been modified by adaption to the
higher socio-cultural organization, especially in material

247

I hardly need to add after our discussion of the islanders' 582 427
conomy that the chances of a young couple finding a vacant
roft are slim. It may be of interest to indicate just how slim
hey really are. In 1953-54, in 82 townships, which I visited,
here were only eight vacancies. Six of these were no larger
han cottars' gardens. There were no vacant holdings in Kilmuir
r Glendale. I am not talking about derelict crofts in the
ands of absentees. Moreover, if the individual decides that 464
orking in Portree is better than leaving the island, his 582
rospects are no better. The County Council had sixty-six units 362
n a public housing scheme under construction, in 1953, in
ddition to fifty-six completed since the end of World War II.
here were three applicants for each apartment. The county
anitary engineer, who was responsible for allocating the a-
artments, began to think half the population of Portree was
ying, and the other half was dead. In order to get priority,
he people were claiming disabilities, "some of them with names
s long as your arm." Many of the people, especially young
eople, regard winning out in the competition as an indication
f status. But we are getting away from the croft. We still
ave to consider how a person gets possession of the croft.

As we know, the crofter has the right to bequeath his 427
roft to a member of his family; however, he seldom bothers 428
o exercise his right. Here is another example of their
ncomplete adaptation to the higher socio-cultural level. The
and and the house have very little monetary value. Usually,
he man who leaves a will has been talked into it by an
fficer of the Department of Agriculture. He, then, assigns

36

363 STREETS AND TRAFFIC--type and plan of settle
paving, gutters, and sidewalks; type and amount
trians, animals, carts, automobiles, trams); par
street maintenance; etc. See also:

Street lighting . . . . . 373 Highways . .
Routes 487

3

ment paths and streets;
of urban traffic (e.g., pedes-
king and traffic regulations;

. 491

Map C

The Village of Shawbost

(Adapted from the Ordinance Survey Map, 1964.
Scale: roughly 3" per mile.)

Ducey	E-4, 5	(1953-1954)	1956	ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

0 respectively.[6]

Unlike the township, the neighborhood typically has no rmal organization and is not necessarily a cooperating, conomic unit. Always, of course, there is a consciousness common interest. In the case of Glendale this is spiritually mbolized by the church and economically, by the large club rm in which all the owner-occupiers have a share. In Kilmuir here are two churches, standing close together, and the crofters ve a common economic focus in the drained loch which all use equal shares for meadowland. There is also a crofters' club. rther symbolization of their common interest is provided traditions, memories of notable personages and events culiar to themselves. Always, the consciousness of common terest is expressed by a feeling of superiority over the mbers of other neighborhoods.

There is but one trade-center village on the island, e village of Portree.[7] It is the only true nucleated settlent. Built on the squ but still retaining the appearance an overgrown hamlet, it is a small grouping of non-agriltural dwellings, government offices, churches, shops, a school, d the homes of those who make their living by serving the ral areas. In addition to its function of providing goods and rvices for the surrounding neighborhoods, it also links the land with the outside world. Although thirty-six miles from e mainland, it is the entry port for the government officials,

[6] Murdock, loc. cit.; and Linton, loc. cit.

[7] For a discussion of the importance of the trade-center llage, see Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 188-97.

36

362 HOUSING--adequacy of housing facilities (e.g., fo comfort, for privacy); housing shortages and over war, and natural calamities; public and private ho programs; etc. See also:

Dwellings . . . . . 342 Standard of livi
Renting and leasing . . . . . 427 Public welfare

2

r physical protection, for
crowding; effects of poverty,
using and slum clearance

ing 611
. 657

"I couldn't get back my health, but I didn't want to go home, because the houses weren't so good there as on the mainland. I went to work on a farm. It was for the cream I was going. I was so weak I couldn't lift the milk pails for a week, but I got on so well with the old lady that the farmer let me stay in and keep her company. The other girls were always running off to dances and out late at night, but I didn't care about that. I stayed in with her, and got so pally with her that the others were jealous."

She had been coming back every winter to be with her mother, and during the war returned to nurse her until she died. Anna then returned to Glasgow, where she married a widower from the mainland. When he died a few years later, she returned permanently to the island. Although she had not belonged to the Free Church while living in Glasgow, she became a member when she settled permanently in Shawbost.

The Baker

"The Baker" was 22 when the first world war broke out. Many Shawbost villagers joined branches of the armed services at that time. The Baker joined the army, and two months later was wounded in one lung. Tough as salted dogfish and solid as Lewisian gneiss at the age of 78, he pounds his chest and shows visitors his scar. After

ECOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

ditches, indicating perhaps the love of old-time planners for following existing lines and patterns. A plan of Stornoway drawn up by a John Wood in 1821 shows the town's development along definite grid lines with a few main streets, most of which were comparatively long and running south-north, seawards to landwards.

In 1918, when Lord Leverhulme made his bid to centralise the scattered, failing fishing industry of the island at Stornoway, he envisaged a further stage for the town. He began to build new houses, and had a grandiose proposal to reopen the diagonal arrangement indicated in John Wood's plan and centre it on some great new building. This fell through on his departure from Lewis; and since then, building here has become much the same as on the Scottish mainland.

In more recent years Stornoway has seen a kind of suburban development with, in particular, a new housing scheme of private dwellings in the same area as that proposed by John Wood. This area also contains the new primary school. A recent estimate of the cost of the building work, involving new houses and municipal facilities, amounted to almost £3 million. Municipal housing has been provided in smaller areas cleared of older houses. Of the 1600 houses in the Burgh, 50 per cent belong to the Burgh Council or the County Council, the balance being private.

STORNOWAY

701 men served in the various regiments at the front in South Africa, and over 300 in the Royal Navy.

*175 632 [362] In 1796 there were sixty-seven slated inhabited houses in the burgh, twenty-six of which had been built since 1784. Before this date most of the houses followed the constructional pattern of those found in rural Lewis. In 1838,

> Stornoway was, within the last twenty years, only a small fishing village, but from the spirited and patriotic exertions of Lord Seaforth, the proprietor, and the grant of irredeemable feus for building, it has become a place of considerable importance as a fishing station. It has a post office; and a packet sails regularly once a week with mail and passengers. No place in the North of Scotland, and in an insulated situation also, has made more rapid strides at improvement, both in a domestic and commercial point of view, than Stornoway.

[205] [505]

COMMUNICATIONS

*175 205 [32 505 [489] Mention of the sailing packet indicates the tedious manner in which mails came to the town for subsequent distribution in the island. Letters went by mailcoach north to Dingwall, thence by mail-gig west to Achnasheen. Because there was no road from Achnasheen to Poolewe, about thirty miles away, they had to be carried on horseback. The weekly sailing packet then picked up the bags, for which cargo the owners were paid £150 per annum. A letter from London to Stornoway cost 1s 5½d; the smallest enclosure made it double that amount. The mail-packet was often held up by bad weather. It was a wind-blown sailing ship that brought Stornoway the result of the Battle of Trafalgar and the death of Nelson, an event in which a number of Lewismen also took part and died; in St Columba's churchyard at Eye there can still be seen a Trafalgar officer's gravestone. A fortnight after this news arrived, the packet from Poolewe brought its stale message.

*175 439 632 [501] In 1844 seventy boats, ranging from 15 to 150 tons, were working out from Stornoway. The *Gazetteer* for Scotland for that year says, 'The grand trade of the place consists in the exchange of the produce of the fisheries and the kelp shores, for British manufactured goods and foreign produce.

366 going concern to a trust which was set up to receive the gift and
632 whose first object is to assist aged and infirm residents in the
747 burgh. In effect, all profits earned by the shop are passed to the
429 trust for distribution to those in need.

Almost half the houses in Stornoway were built by the local
362 authority. The Town Council has never been afraid of rooting
632 out unfit houses. By 1937, under the 1930 Slum Clearance Act,
[175] one person in four in the town lived in a council house. The housing schemes, though large, have still that element of community with personality, something often lacking in newly developed
362 areas of other towns and cities. The Council also supports private
427 housing by taking up sites, clearing and servicing them and then
632 feuing them to private owners. The rents policy is to have no housing deficit beyond the statutory rate contribution (which works out at between £6,000 and £7,000 per annum). The Council's tenants co-operate with rent collection to a unique degree: collection figures are something like 99 per cent and on occasion 100
362 per cent. A vigorous housing policy is important to the town, as
178 its population is now over 5,300 and still growing, mainly at the
167 expense of the rural areas. Development plans at present envisage
161 a 1981 population of about 9,100 persons within the parish
632 boundary and including the burgh.

632 Stornoway is an island town and is an island's town:
369 its rhythms of life are those of the island, regular and timed by nature, but with an added syncopation—the result of an urban
632 outlook. In this context, Gaelic is the language, though English is
197 the lingua franca. Deeper still in the methods used for communication is a kind of patois based on Gaelicised English, Anglicised Gaelic, with some other words that defy investigation into their origin. Many words find their natural forebears in Scots, American and the maritime tongues of Europe, which might be expected in view of Stornoway's importance as a sea-port of significance a century or two ago. The Stornoway language, as spoken by true-born natives, recognisable anywhere by another native, reflects the life of the cosmopolitan, sea-faring people.

632 Apart from its industrial opportunities, Stornoway has many
871 of the more sophisticated urban facilities that people everywhere
[369] seem to crave, particularly with regard to education. The senior

361 it command and make it the leading settlement of the
366 Hebrides, with a population fluctuating around 5000.[1]
162

2. *Aspects and Problems of the Burgh*

361 The little town pleases by its views over the harbours,
632 outer or inner—sheltering perhaps a steamer or two and the clustered fishing vessels—across to the wooded skyline and the beautiful grounds of the Castle, a-flower in spring with rhododendrons. Or framed in trees from the Castle policies, the harbour and even the roofs and
[342] smoke of the houses are not unpleasing (Plate II). But the town's chief charm is its setting, not itself, though its plain dwellings with 'harled' or rough-cast walls and slate
[746] roofs are simple and inoffensive. In rehousing, the Local
[656] Authority had respected Scottish domestic features. But the greater use of local materials, labour and skill is surely desirable in the Island with its many half-employed men, who need such work to maintain income, health and morale.
• [362] As is to be expected in view of low incomes, and the extremely primitive housing in the country, urban housing
[162] is inadequate. In Stornoway burgh in 1931, 44 per cent, or nearly half the population, still dwelt in houses of one to three rooms, 17 per cent in four (including attics often with no dormer windows), 20 per cent in five or six, and 18 per cent in seven rooms and over. There has been improvement up to 1939, and after 1945, but much remains to be done.

369 Turning to cultural life, profound differences divide
632 the town from the country about it. Whereas in the townships of rural Lewis the people are almost purely natives

[1] The burghal area was extended in 1935. At the census of 1951 its population stood at 4950. This showed an increase of 15·9 per cent above the population enumerated in the same area in 1931.

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476 plenty to do.
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[181] number was
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home—resolv
result, reform
and this was
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total amount.
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Common inter
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land and pasture having been shared out to
ions, they called for a minimum of labour by
ough housewives and mothers had always
The morrow's tryst for work might prove
no work done. The men might foregather
to cut peats, for instance, but if one of their
ate, become so absorbed by telling stories of
hat, ere work had begun, it was time to go
ed to meet for work some other day! As a
ers advocated breaking-up the joint-holdings;
done in Lewis by 1830, as noted in the Brand
mere division of the land did not increase its

noting the progress made by the liberation
initiative, we can see the drawbacks of
: the evictions made with no provision for
nd later the monotony and the loneliness of
life, the mutual distrust of employer and
l the general inability of farmers, as yet, to
At the present, when planning, purchase and
ed on a large scale, particularly among small-
nterest of each is still "the interest of the
e team-spirit must be recovered from the
nply the play) of school onwards to further
communal effort.
, every farm-hamlet was held jointly and on
each joint holder being responsible for an
f the rent, and the movable run-rig system
l quality, as well as equal quantity, of land.
rest was assured, and there was mutual sup-
or sickness, as when one member, named in
of 1718, was 'valetudinary'. Lastly, work
common not only when it led to efficiency

000 to one another, to the landlord and to the State would have been profoundly different.

(E) STATE AID, THE LAND, AND THE CROFTERS' RESPONSE

175 Until 1914 the congestion in each Island township
162 dotted between the wide, lonely moors, had increased, and
362 it was still increasing. To every two legal crofters, either a cottar or a landless squatter was to be found, on the
175 'skinned land' outside the crofts. Parliament, in 1886,
656 had discarded the Napier Commission's recommendations
648 to give powers to extend the crofts from portions of the common, or to supply a house site and garden space for
[362] men of independent occupations such as fishermen. This congestion embarrassed Government and local services.

427 The associated rating system was also at fault; indeed
656 it has still to be put right. For instance, a crofter's son—able to make a living, say, as a fisherman, and about to marry but having no croft—was penalised by high rates, should he take up his proper status of a legal cottar at a small rent. Throughout the crofting counties, the legal crofter, as an agricultural landholder, was (and is) de-rated, and had only to pay one-eighth the rates for a non-agricultural holding of the same rental. Only since 1938 has the value of the house been assessed. A recognised cottar paying rent to an estate was rated as owner and occupier, being treated in fact as a feuar;[1] and as such he had to bear a heavy burden of rates, possibly of over 30s. in the £. Whereas if he 'lay low' and shared his father's or brother's

[1] *Feuar*, in Scotland one who holds real estate in consideration of a stipulated annual payment; lit. on *feudal* tenure. Cf. J. P. Day (1918), pp. 383-384.

623 The Trustees of the Stornoway Trust have not found
423 it easy to meet the cost of keeping up the valuable property
427 of the Castle and Park, nor to carry the burden of its rates, no adequate income being available for the purpose.
178 Today, however, Leverhulme's gift is being put to good
874 use as a Technical College, opened in September 1952.

311 Division of the available farms, after providing about 200 small crofts (of ten acres or so), still left the problem
427 of finding legal homes on legal tenure for the remaining cottars and squatters.[1] The Department of Agriculture
362 arranged to feu plots of 'skinned land' on the outrun of
656 certain townships, including one in the extreme north and others in Lochs. About 200 of these little holdings with potato ground were provided. On the holders' behalf the Department feued land from the owner, after obtaining the consent of the Common Grazings Committee of the township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', *i.e.* for enclosure of a portion of the common. The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem disproportionate to the economic value of the holdings. Yet difficulties of law and custom had been allowed to go from bad to worse during the past eighty years; and these difficulties were overcome.

362 To encourage better housing in the crofting counties,
652 loans are made to 'crofters and fishermen feuars' personally. Local stone, or latterly concrete, is used, and much
[342] of the building is done by the 'man of the house' himself, and his friends. From 1920 to 1940, nearly 1200 loans were made in Lewis and Harris for the erection (or improvement) of houses, and in a few cases for the erection

[162] [1] Estimated at 1200 to 1500 shortly before, the open question was whether subdivision during the previous eighty years was to be recognised and accepted.

hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center for tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependence on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villagers participate in a number of social activities which are not tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious asceticism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each with a population of about 300. All, except the ministers and school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle and sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potatoes and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All are bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither community has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. Glendale has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch which has been divided among the small farmers. The significant differences between them are three. The Glendale people are land owners. In this respect they are rather unique in the Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, rent their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glendale is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church-goers of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social activities other than an annual meeting of the share-holders in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a club organization for the men who gather for lectures and discussions of economic problems.

366

366 COMMERCIAL FACILITIES--availability and location of markets, retail shop
wholesale outlets, warehouses, office buildings, banks, restaurants, hotels,
garages, and other business facilities; trading centers and trade areas; etc.

See also:

Marketing 44
Restaurants 266
Business buildings 347
Banks 453
Hotels 485
Warehouses 453
Garages 486

[Marivig]

131 There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft, and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron. All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply; rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

[Marivig] [Calbost]

000 In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of Marivig's futu townships, is not only one of adverse aspect, soil and weather con markets, but a problem of the population finding a stable and viabl are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section o a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

131 Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Gravir on the
133 a basin-like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is ope
361 croft houses are scattered over a shelf 50 feet above sea-level rou along the valleys which enter the township to the north and south-w

134 The cultivable soil, a mixture of peat and well-drained gravell
137 although here the rock outcrops in many places. On land formerly rapidly and now covers a large proportion of the surface, although was unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes central area. There are a few willows and rowans round the old b wind-breaks.

175 Calbost was originally a single farm but the township was form
241 the crofts differs from the usual shore-to-dyke alignment, as six c
311 in the valley which enters from the north, when a part of the comm
361 the township dyke. There are now fourteen crofts of which four ar
184 and two by squatters. The remainder are used only for hay and gr in Calbost and other townships.

241 Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2.6 acres now in cult
244 2.37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduce
246 two calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut as winter f in the township.

311 The lazy-beds in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly e prevalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to clear it, i renewed cultivation.

178 Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour
228 be taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The d
504 has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complet
434 only a few boats now used only for leisure purposes. Croft income
363 the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchan productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

233 The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the pa
361 in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to t
417 to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings t Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosur dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pastu
178 the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gat over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the com

re, and that of other crofting
ditions, and of distance from
level where agricultural units
f the population to remain, and

Minch coast of Park. It occupies
n to the sea on the east. The
nd the sides of the hollow and
est.

y drift, is on the higher ground,
cultivated, bracken is spreading
twenty to thirty years ago it
are widespread in the low-lying
uildings, probably planted as

ed about 1820. The pattern of
rofts were allotted extra land
on grazing was brought within
e worked by resident crofters
asing and are sub-let to crofters

ivation, potatoes account for
d cattle stock of only two cows and
sed for the 225 sheep which graze

ncroached on by bracken. The
s likely to deter any attempt at

being so exposed: boats have to
ecline of the fishing industry whic
e desertion of Calbost, leaving
is supplemented by only two of
t Navy. Although there are a few

t shielings were not so widely use
he dyke for milking and allowed
o be found on the hills around
es were made adjoining the main
e within these dykes before
e the stock are free to wander
plete enclosure of the crofts.

365

365 PUBLIC UTILITIES--availability of publicly and privately operated municipal utilities (e.g., water system, telephone facilities, bus and tram services, power and light systems); services rendered and the extent of their utilization; etc. See also:

Telephone service	206	Manufacture of illuminating gas	302
Water supply	312	Ownership and control of capital	471
Electric power plants	377	Cab, bus, and tram services	496

COMMUNICATIONS

sold, one such causing legal history. The chief garage proprietor in the town applied to use for his business a site he had purchased at a road junction near the western end of the town, close to the principal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate leading into the Castle grounds. It was a mistake in planning, and public disapproval began to make itself felt. The Trust, in an effort to redress the situation, sought to distrain the garage proprietor from extended use of the area. The parties went to law, and the case was fought through the courts until, in the House of Lords, the Trust finally lost and had to pay a bill of some £4,000, equivalent to a fine of £4 to £5 from every family in the burgh. The Trust drew its lesson, and since has formulated a more alert and constructive policy.

The town is well served by its shopping centre, with multiple stores jostling for custom with smaller private business concerns. Prosperity for all, however, depends on the well-being of the Harris Tweed industry. If there are recessions, as there have been in the past, the tills rattle spasmodically. Also standing to suffer are others such as the bus companies (who provide the efficient town services and link up Stornoway with the rural areas), the builders and the haulage contractors. In the ever-present climate of unemployment it is the policy of the mills to employ male labour, despite the fact that women would be cheaper. The mills, run by natives or by Lewis-born incomers of the second and third generation, realise a social obligation in recognising that in Lewis the strong tradition is that the man should be the head of the family in every sense. The mills also carry a proportion of surplus labour to offset the unpredictability of those workers who, with crofts to look after, occasionally have to take a day off 'at the peats' or some such activity. This is another of the island's distinctive traditions.

On Cromwell Street is the shop of James MacKenzie & Sons Limited, dealing in hardware, furniture and china. Nothing unusual in that, at first sight: yet it is another unique aspect of life in Lewis, being conducted as a charity for the benefit of, among others, the aged and infirm persons of Stornoway. The business was established in 1830, on its present site. In 1964, the then principal shareholder presented the building and the business as a

island; but islands in isolation must carry a population of suitable numbers and age structure before they can support even a minimum of amenities. In the Western Isles, Stornoway used to be the only community to have a semblance of the services taken for granted in similar towns on the British mainland. The elements of commerce, industry, education and religion were established there initially, to spread with characteristic slowness first to the immediately accessible areas and then to remoter regions. Though many parts of the island are now at least within practicable travelling distance of the social and public services expected in urban communities, some townships have yet to see one or another of them within their own boundaries.

The Stornoway Gas Light Company was formed in 1840 by Sir James Matheson, with a capital of £350. The plant consisted of one horizontal retort which produced about 1,000,000 cu ft of gas annually. The old buildings still stand, and the plant now has three vertical retorts with an annual production of just over 40,000,000 cu ft. Rural areas use Calor gas, introduced to the island in 1935.

The public electricity supply has of course made the greatest impact on the island as a whole. Electricity was known in the island long before the public supply arrived, generated privately by individuals, hotel concerns or public authorities. One of the first plants of significance was installed in the second municipal building in Stornoway (the first, built in 1905, was destroyed by fire in 1918), and was driven by a gas engine. In 1919 Lord Leverhulme installed an electricity plant in Lews Castle, which also had a private intercommunication system. While this work was being done Leverhulme proposed to give electric lighting to the town. Other buildings with their own plant included the hospitals and the mills, which were turning to electric motors for driving their line shafting, the power take-off for spinning and carding machinery.

In 1929 an electricity supply company, with a capital of £12,000 was proposed, the Stornoway Electric Supply Company being registered in 1932. Its financial fortunes were chequered, though revenue was rising slightly by the time the second world war began. In 1948, on nationalisation of electricity supplies, the

factured goods and foreign produce. There is a Branch office of the National Bank of Scotland, two friendly societies, four inns, and so many as about a score of dram shops.' The annual burgh revenue was £17 3s and the expenditure £15 17s 6d. The town boasted ten streets, a saw mill, a mill for carding wool, a corn mill, a very large malt barn and mill, and an extensive distillery. These buildings were constructed 'in a style not much inferior to the best buildings of their class in Scotland . . . A stranger on arriving at it by any route, or from any quarter, is surprised to see so large and flourishing a place in so remote and uninviting a corner. Its broad field of houses, its capacious bay, and spacious piers, its occasional crowd of shipping, and stir of trade and gaiety, and the vicinity to it of the aristocratic mansion of Seaforth-lodge, render it a striking and very welcome relief to the prevailing dreariness, sterility and inertion of the rude country in which it is nestled.'

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Stornoway is a Burgh of Barony, dating from 18 October 1607. It had, of course, been a town of sorts long before the Charter was granted by James VI; the Charter was executed under the Great Seal conveying equal shares to three of the leaders of the Fife Adventurers. Under the Police Act of 1862 Stornoway became a Police Burgh. A bank agent in the town was appointed first Chief Magistrate on 31 December 1863. Under the 1892 Act, the designation 'Town Council' superseded that of 'Burgh Commission' and the Chief Magistrate assumed the title of Provost, the senior and junior magistrates becoming known as senior and junior bailies. The present Municipal Buildings were opened in 1929. The previous building was only an idea in 1897; it took

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sold, one such causing legal history. The chief garage proprietor in the town applied to use for his business a site he had purchased at a road junction near the western end of the town, close to the principal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate leading into the Castle grounds. It was a mistake in planning, and public disapproval began to make itself felt. The Trust, in an effort to redress the situation, sought to distrain the garage proprietor from extended use of the area. The parties went to law, and the case was fought through the courts until, in the House of Lords, the Trust finally lost and had to pay a bill of some £4,000, equivalent to a fine of £4 to £5 from every family in the burgh. The Trust drew its lesson, and since has formulated a more alert and constructive policy. 195* 632 429 195* 632 429 691

The town is well served by its shopping centre, with multiple stores jostling for custom with smaller private business concerns. Prosperity for all, however, depends on the well-being of the Harris Tweed industry. If there are recessions, as there have been in the past, the tills rattle spasmodically. Also standing to suffer are others such as the bus companies (who provide the efficient town services and link up Stornoway with the rural areas), the builders and the haulage contractors. In the ever-present climate of unemployment it is the policy of the mills to employ male labour, despite the fact that women would be cheaper. The mills, run by natives or by Lewis-born incomers of the second and third generation, realise a social obligation in recognising that in Lewis the strong tradition is that the man should be the head of the family in every sense. The mills also carry a proportion of surplus labour to offset the unpredictability of those workers who, with crofts to look after, occasionally have to take a day off 'at the peats' or some such activity. This is another of the island's distinctive traditions. 632 366 [365] [464] [462] [466]

On Cromwell Street is the shop of James MacKenzie & Sons Limited, dealing in hardware, furniture and china. Nothing unusual in that, at first sight: yet it is another unique aspect of life in Lewis, being conducted as a charity for the benefit of, among others, the aged and infirm persons of Stornoway. The business was established in 1830, on its present site. In 1964, the then principal shareholder presented the building and the business as a 366 632 747 [429]

Hundreds of place names are known to the villagers which are not marked on any map. These place names constitute part of the oral tradition of a population which has lived in a confined geographical area for generations.

In most of Lewis, village and township coincide. The village of Shawbost is composed of two townships, South Shawbost in which the crofts splay outward like a fan from roads which curve over an uneven landscape, and North Shawbost which is composed of linear streets (see Map C), to which the crofts are perpendicular. Each township has its own common grazing land, and its own grazing committee. All of South Shawbost and part of North Shawbost belong to one private estate (which includes other townships to the southwest), and most of North Shawbost belongs to an estate which extends to Barvas. Beyond the fact that non-crofters in South Shawbost have found it easier to acquire crofting status, little difference between the two townships appears to be due to their belonging to different estates. As elsewhere in crofting regions, the landlords of the two estates are concerned mainly with the sporting potential of their land.

The two townships are themselves divided into named neighborhoods (cf. Vallee 1955 for a discussion of "natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas).

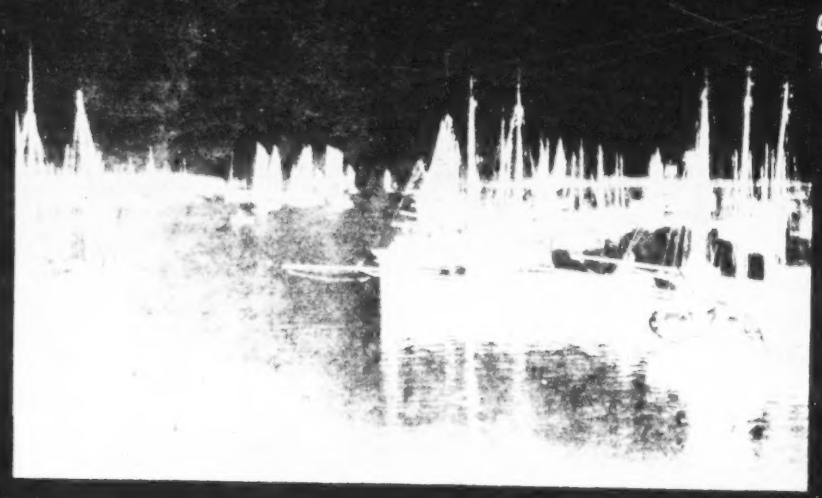
000 "natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas). The
363 northernmost street of North Shawbost is called Carnan
103 (carn = a heap of stones), and the street parallel to it, by the loch and the sea, is Baile Stigh ("the town within," i.e., in toward the sea. In everyday speech,
[196] one goes "in" to the sea and "out" to the moor, a reference which probably derives from the days when fishing was extremely important. The sea was then the focus, from which the village expanded "outward." Today the road is the source of goods and transport). Part of the Baile Stigh is sometimes called Gearraidh Buidhe (buidhe means "yellow"; gearraidh is the land from which peat has been stripped). The Baile Stigh intersects the main road and continues toward the moor, where it becomes New Shawbost. New Shawbost, once called New North Shawbost, is also called Pairc, referring to a farm which existed there before the land was turned into crofts.

632 The neighborhood regions of South Shawbost are less easily
363 recognizable as the land is not divided into linear
103 streets. To the people of North Shawbost, South Shawbost is simply Baile Thall, "the town over yonder." (Residents of South Shawbost also refer to North Shawbost as Baile Thall, but also frequently refer to the different streets.) Within South Shawbost, several neighborhoods are distinguished on the basis of the clustering of houses,

632 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the
363 sea: Ceann a Stigh (or Ceann a Stigh Bhaile, or Baile
103 Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the sea), Buailebhir (an area identified with the keeping of cattle), Gearraidh Mor, Creagan, Pluic, and Mach a Chul ("out the back," by a road built relatively recently) A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the moor, or common grazing land, is called Grinnbhat, from the name of a nearby loch.

511 The presence of a large Harris Tweed mill in
[348] Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living
[288] within the village. It is estimated that only 25% of
[493] the households of rural Lewis have cars; about 50% of the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970
[342] Shawbost had only one occupied tigh dubh, or "black house" built of dry stone and roofed with thatch, which to many islanders symbolizes a past life of poverty and
[404] adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators,
[251] deep freezers and electric toasters are common in
[207] Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and
[206] many have telephones.

288 The mill in Shawbost employs between 60 and 70
463 persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the



Two Stornoway scenes from the 'Grand Collotype Album of Views in Lewis' published c 1900 by Samuel Lawrence, 'Chemist, Druggist, Perfumer, Stationer and Tobacconist', Cromwell Street, Stornoway. (*above*) The herring fleet in Stornoway harbour, showing the wherries or 'Zulu' type craft; (*below*) Cromwell Street

/p. 89/

factured goods and foreign produce. There is a Branch office of the National Bank of Scotland, two friendly societies, four inns, and so many as about a score of dram shops.' The annual burgh revenue was £17 3s and the expenditure £15 17s 6d. The town boasted ten streets, a saw mill, a mill for carding wool, a corn mill, a very large malt barn and mill, and an extensive distillery. These buildings were constructed 'in a style not much inferior to the best buildings of their class in Scotland . . . A stranger on arriving at it by any route, or from any quarter, is surprised to see so large and flourishing a place in so remote and uninviting a corner. Its broad field of houses, its capacious bay, and spacious piers, its occasional crowd of shipping, and stir of trade and gaiety, and the vicinity to it of the aristocratic mansion of Seaforth-lodge, render it a striking and very welcome relief to the prevailing dreariness, sterility and inertion of the rude country in which it is nestled.'

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121 being determined by conditions of culture, such as
121 political and economic conditions. Under conditions
178 of gradual centralization of economic and political
182 systems, the geographically marginal crofting areas
have evolved strategies, some of which puzzle agencies
concerned with development or other aspects of
governmental process.

178 Before the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board
• 365 began to operate in the crofting counties, not more
511 than one croft in every hundred had electricity; but
by the end of 1951, one in every six holdings had been
supplied (Taylor 1954: 20). "The light" came to
[354] Shawbost in 1951. Before then, the islanders used
[179] Tilley lamps, a Canadian invention; and before then,
[312] double-wick paraffin lamps. Piped water came a few
[164] years later, around 1955; it was brought from a nearby
loch, and the construction work gave temporary jobs to
[44] local people. The availability of these services
[12] facilitated the building of county council houses,
which many welcomed as providing a relief to the
congestion caused in part by rules against building
more than one house on a croft. But, paradoxically,
[1] with larger, better homes and all these services came
a decrease in the advantages of living in a crofting
township: property was assessed and people began paying
rates or taxes.

175 During a huge snow-fall that
261 Lewis in the 1950's, the mobile
[132] supply vehicles could not come ou
[443] and a group of men had to make an
for provisions, after which many
that they always had a good supply
[404] mackerel and herring. Many villag
• [365] freezers to store beef and mutton;
not trust the freezers, that a fai
which occasionally happens in this
far-away repairmen--would bring di
458 fully on them for keeping their mea
226 industry is going through one of it
more men go out more often to fish.
out every night for the last week o
a tweed, and I won't have one for th
I don't know what I'm going to do;
sea. Three of us caught one hundred
[251] night. I salted my share, and didn'
away. These are the hard times. We
them during the next six weeks."

233 A few people raise beef cattle,
[654] on subsidies for encouragement to do
[234] beginning to keep cows again for milk,
[435] reasons that freight charges make the
[434]
[648]

urred on
cery vans and other
to the west side,
xpedition into town
nilies made certain
of meal, salted
rs have gotten deep
others say they do
ure in electricity--
region of gales and
aster if they depended
t. When the tweed
s periodic depressions,
"I've been going
or so. I don't have
the next six weeks.
maybe I'll go back to
ed mackerel last
n't give any of them
We're going to need

s, depending largely
do so. A few are
ilk, giving as their
the bottled milk too

522 181 In nation-wide comic strips and jokes, the Highlander plays the role of the clown, the rustic country cousin. The comic strip "Angus Og" portrays a kilted Highlander, sly and canny behind his apparent simplicity, tricking the landlord and searching for the Loch Ness monster. Stories of the lazy, dour crofter abound.[1]

166 181 When young men go away to the Army or Navy or to work on the mainland, they say that they feel like "foreigners." "Thirty years ago the island was very isolated. It was difficult to get away. There were so few education grants available. I got my teaching certificate and wanted to get a post back on the island, but was told there wouldn't be a vacancy for another fifteen years. So I went down to England, and found I had to be at least as good as an Englishman if not better in my job to get ahead."

175 166 182 871

177 365 354 "When I went into the RAF, I had never seen light switches because we used paraffin lamps. An English chap told me to turn the light on, and I didn't know which way meant on or off. That memory still sticks in me."

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[1]Even a high official in the Highlands and Islands Development Board tells a joke, that is "presently going round Westminster," of the Spaniard who approached the Highlander and told him of the word mañana which he translated as "Don't do today what you can put off till tomorrow," asking if there was a corresponding word in Gaelic. "In Gaelic," replied the Highlander, "we have no word that conveys such a sense of urgency."

company gave way to the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board. In that year there were 1,063 consumers, all within the Stornoway burgh boundaries. With its social remit, the board started on bringing power to rural areas, even where uneconomic. Lighting in the crofting townships was mostly by oil lamps, mainly the hot-mantle type (the 'Tilley'), but by 1960 the number of electricity consumers had reached 8,124, and the present number is about 96 per cent of the potential. Harris received its supply in 1954. The generating station is at Stornoway and employs diesel-engined units as prime movers, with an annual output of some 22,000,000 units. In August 1960 the Gisla scheme came into operation, the island's first hydro-electric plant; designed to produce some 2,000,000 units annually, it harnesses the waters of the Gisla River, which flows out of Loch Grunnabhat in the parish of Uig, Lewis. The station has a capacity of 540 kW. The other hydro-electric scheme is at Loch Chliostair in North Harris, planned to produce about 2,400,000 units annually.

The provision of water and drainage is still on the drawing boards for a number of crofting townships, though work is progressing for others. The Uig water scheme has cost some £100,000, a relatively large sum for a small population and amplified by similar work for drainage schemes. This scale of public expenditure must continue if people are to stay in their native villages and not migrate to Stornoway or leave the island altogether. Stornoway's new water scheme has cost something in the region of £160,000, but is vital if the town hopes to attract industry. The original burgh water supply was started in 1846 by Sir James Matheson and a few businessmen. The capital of the Stornoway Water Company was only £800, but it gave the town a gravity-feed supply from the nearby Loch Aridh na Lic long before many larger places on the mainland had considered such projects. Heavy floodstorms destroyed the old dam in 1933, and a new waterworks at Loch Mor a Starr was opened in 1937. As Stornoway extended the old loch had outlived its usefulness; for many years there had been difficulty in getting water to the higher parts of the town, particularly during the heavy fishing seasons when the fishermen drew off large quantities.

An effort has been made to separate crofting from other income, and also to average the income from the sources given of the total rural households, numbering 4700, composed of those on the 3650 *occupied* crofts plus an estimated 1050 others, namely, cottars and squatters, and 'feuars'—*i.e.* holding land in feu.

Finally, to the productive income earned on the Island there should be added that received by earnings sent or brought home to dependants, together with pensions, unemployment relief and the like. I am greatly indebted to the appropriate officials for the figures cited for 1937–38 or the year immediately preceding. These sources average £45 per rural household. The figures tabled all apply to Lewis alone; but many figures having been obtained for Harris also, conclusions are similar there. The concluding Table (pp. 314-315) bears a note on other sources of income, with a similar table for 1953.

(i) *Tweed Industry*

After deducting the cost of wool imported from the mainland and certain other costs, the net productive income was taken to be £307,000. The estimate may still err on the high side but it indicates the prime importance of the industry in the Lews. For 1938 the quantity of tweed stamped, and certified as hand-woven by the Harris Tweed Association Ltd., was 2,830,900 imperial yards, rising in 1939 and 1940 to 4,000,000 yards, though falling thereafter. The value of the tweed produced in 1938 was approximately £500,000. The total wages paid in 1938 amounted to £140,000 (£139,600), rather more than half of which was paid to the weavers working at home. In 1940 this had risen to nearly £200,000, a slightly higher proportion falling to the weavers.

In addition to the wages paid and the price paid for local wool, the industry is a valuable customer of the Electricity Company and directly or indirectly provides much other employment in the Island. The industry also provided a market for a large quantity of Scottish wool and contributed to taxation.

The productivity and earnings of the industry continued to

CHAPTER EIGHT

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Meavaig, Caryshader, Ungshader, Geshader, Enaclete and Gisla).

by

Annie Heawood.

133 Little Loch Roag is a narrow sea loch extending southwards about twelve miles inland
[131] from Loch Roag proper. It has been formed by glacial erosion picking out one of the
n.n.e. to s.s.w. lines of weakness characteristic of the Lewisian gneiss. Although
[134] generally steep-sided, recent glaciation left much ground moraine and this material, best
preserved on the less steep slopes, provides arable land for several small townships on
or near its western shores. The eastern shore is the more rugged and although a few
small townships once existed there is now only the small farm and shooting lodge of
Scaliscro. At the head of the loch is an estate cottage for Moregail Lodge which is a
large mansion with extensive fishing and shooting rights, grandly isolated about a mile
inland from the main road.

361 The district here described includes Gisla, near the head of Little Loch Roag, Enaclete,
[32] Ungshader, and Geshader, on the western shores of Loch Roag proper. All these are
strung out on or close to the main road. Meavaig, like Gisla, is a small farm but also
365 functions as something of a metropolis for south Uig; it has the post-master, whose other
functions include registrar and receiver of wrecks it has two churches, a telephone ex-
change, the district doctor and manse, and a petrol pump. At the time of our visit it
was also the base for the 'bus service. Its metropolitan functions arose in the days before
the road replaced a ferry boat service from Callanish; here the mails were landed until
some date in the 1920s, and here, too, the estate kept coach and horses for transport to
Uig lodge, three miles further west.

361 There is no record of the original settlement of the four crofting townships, nor of
365 Gisla, which was a township (or 'joint farm') of five crofters until about 1850. Some
modern houses and bungalows have been built, many with easier access to the road than
[32] the old black houses, now often used as byres. Water supply does not seem to present a
serious problem because of the extensive moorland gathering grounds to the west, but there
are not at present any water-supply schemes. Electricity is, of course, available.
Caryshader and Enaclete are on the main Stornoway road being served at present by the
'bus and by vans selling meat, groceries and fish at least once a week. Enaclete has a
sub-post-office. Geshader is less fortunate since, although vans call regularly, 'buses
must be met at the junction of the unsurfaced track and the main Stornoway road, where
the school serving this district also stands. The track has been extended in recent years
so that it now reaches all the houses. Ungshader, however, is smaller and although it
has had similar delivery arrangements, it is now a dying settlement largely due to its
inaccessibility.

427 The crofts are mostly regular in shape on the landward side and fenced except where
the land is very broken as in northern Enaclete. In Caryshader there are fourteen legal
632 crofts which at present are worked as eleven units; one is used only as a holiday home
by its owner-occupier and there is one squatter on the common grazing. In Geshader
311 there are eleven crofts, each worked independantly; Ungshader has four crofts but the

101 more recent to the west, and in the industrial area of the
161 Great Glen the trend is reversing itself. To the north and
162 south depopulation has been more serious. To the east the
general trend has been similar to that of Skye. We need not
be troubled by statistics at this time, but for convenience
[178] the population figures are given in Table 1. The Outer Hebrides
have preserved more of the social aspect of the old culture
than the Skye people while the Mainlander has felt the effects
of the processes of acculturation with more obvious results
than the people of Skye. In short, the Highlands are not
a homogeneous region. They represent a great diversity of
conditions.

101 My information on the contemporary culture of the Isle
115 of Skye was provided by the residents of three communities,
the villagers of Portree and the crofters of Glendale and
101 Kilmuir. Portree is a small nucleated village with a popu-
621 lation of a thousand. It is important to the study because
[348] in many ways it represents an alien way of life. Here are
found the county and national government offices, staffed
mainly by newcomers to Skye, which serve the whole island.
[344] Here too, are the grocery, drug, clothing, and hardware
stores which depend on the people of at least, northern Skye
[346] for a large part of their trade. There are a number of
craftsmen who are equally dependent on the rural population.
For the most part, the members of both groups are newcomers
[348] from the Lowlands or elsewhere in the Highlands. As the
[343] terminus for the mail steamer which links Skye with the mainland
and the hub of the daily bus service which connects the rural

TORNOWAY

oing concern to a trust which was set up to receive the gift and hose first object is to assist aged and infirm residents in the urgh. In effect, all profits earned by the shop are passed to the rust for distribution to those in need.

Almost half the houses in Stornoway were built by the local uthority. The Town Council has never been afraid of rooting ut unfit houses. By 1937, under the 1930 Slum Clearance Act, ne person in four in the town lived in a council house. The hous- g schemes, though large, have still that element of community ith personality, something often lacking in newly developed reas of other towns and cities. The Council also supports private ousing by taking up sites, clearing and servicing them and then euing them to private owners. The rents policy is to have no hous- g deficit beyond the statutory rate contribution (which works ut at between £6,000 and £7,000 per annum). The Council's enants co-operate with rent collection to a unique degree: col- ction figures are something like 99 per cent and on occasion 100 er cent. A vigorous housing policy is important to the town, as s population is now over 5,300 and still growing, mainly at the xpense of the rural areas. Development plans at present envisage 1981 population of about 9,100 persons within the parish oundary and including the burgh.

Stornoway is an island town and is an island's town: s rhythms of life are those of the island, regular and timed by ature, but with an added syncopation—the result of an urban utlook. In this context, Gaelic is the language, though English is e lingua franca. Deeper still in the methods used for communica- on is a kind of patois based on Gaelicised English, Anglicised aelic, with some other words that defy investigation into their rigin. Many words find their natural forebears in Scots, Ameri- an and the maritime tongues of Europe, which might be ex- ected in view of Stornoway's importance as a sea-port of gnificance a century or two ago. The Stornoway language, as oken by true-born natives, recognisable anywhere by another ative, reflects the life of the cosmopolitan, sea-faring people.

Apart from its industrial opportunities, Stornoway has many f the more sophisticated urban facilities that people everywhere em to crave, particularly with regard to education. The senior

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway, and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes sixteen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Roadwork gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

175 361 162 226 of Ross and Cromarty, with populations of from 1000 to 2300 in 1841, Stornoway leapt ahead by 1851, growing with the rise of the fishing trade. Including the literally floating population of fishers, its numbers exceeded 4000 in the summer of 1921, though falling below this in 1931 when the census was held in the spring.

175 278 361 Still another stage, a fourth, seemed in sight when, in 1918, the first Lord Leverhulme made his bid to centralise the scattered, failing fishing industry of the Island at Stornoway. A canning factory was started (south of the area shown on the plan), only to be dismantled before its completion, then recommenced and again dismantled at "Leverburgh", South Harris. New housing commenced. When this great venture closed and population stagnated, the grandiose proposal to reopen the diagonal vista on Wood's plan and centre it on some great new building, remained a dream. The failure of Leverhulme's great enterprise and its hopes led to discouragement for some years. Yet it is possible that the vision of change given to the Island may have contributed to a renewed capacity for enterprise, individual and communal.

175 361 [288] Later extension had to await the growth of the Harris tweed industry, and the erection of spinning-mills to provide yarn for the rural hand-weavers. The town has extended beyond the plan in two main directions: to north-east with villas and housing schemes and to ESE. with the great new mills where kippering sheds were numerous from the mid-nineteenth century until after 1919.

361 366 [162] Although Tarbert is a shopping centre for Harris and has its spinning-mill, Stornoway has no rival on the Island. The adequate depth of its harbour, combined with its position and access from sea and land, have given

361 366 162 it command and make it the leading settlement of the Hebrides, with a population fluctuating around 5000.[1]

2. *Aspects and Problems of the Burgh*

361 632 The little town pleases by its views over the harbours, outer or inner—sheltering perhaps a steamer or two and the clustered fishing vessels—across to the wooded skyline and the beautiful grounds of the Castle, a-flower in spring with rhododendrons. Or framed in trees from the Castle policies, the harbour and even the roofs and [342] smoke of the houses are not unpleasing (Plate II). But the town's chief charm is its setting, not itself, though its plain dwellings with 'harled' or rough-cast walls and slate [246] roofs are simple and inoffensive. In rehousing, the Local Authority had respected Scottish domestic features. But [656] the greater use of local materials, labour and skill is surely desirable in the Island with its many half-employed men, who need such work to maintain income, health and morale. [362] As is to be expected in view of low incomes, and the extremely primitive housing in the country, urban housing [162] is inadequate. In Stornoway burgh in 1931, 44 per cent, or nearly half the population, still dwelt in houses of one to three rooms, 17 per cent in four (including attics often with no dormer windows), 20 per cent in five or six, and 18 per cent in seven rooms and over. There has been improvement up to 1939, and after 1945, but much remains to be done.

369 632 Turning to cultural life, profound differences divide the town from the country about it. Whereas in the townships of rural Lewis the people are almost purely natives

[1] The burghal area was extended in 1935. At the census of 1951 its population stood at 4950. This showed an increase of 15·9 per cent above the population enumerated in the same area in 1931.

491 [494] Brenish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight cost half-a-crown for a hundredweight, but because of competition from privately owned vans the bus service ceased in 1960. Mangersta is reached from the same road by about a mile of untarred side-road of indifferent quality; formerly the only access to it was by [366] a footpath over the sands to the south. General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied [226] by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig; banking facilitie [753] are supplied by a mobile bank.

311 427 The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being some what more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about four acres; in Brenish and Islivick only about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or croft-units - are fenced, the work having been completed in Brenish in 1959. There are twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Brenish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta; but, owing to amalgamations of various kinds the number of operative units is considerabl less - fourteen in Brenish, five in Islivick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

134 401 [231] As soils are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable patches are large enough to be cultivated with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in Brenish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are hired for ploughing and carting peats. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike many of the other Uig townships.

233 While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas, here the sheep are wintered up on the hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts. Brenish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hoggs, or four year-old heifers), on Mealasta Island - hoggs are usually sent since their loss, by falling over the cliffs, is less serious than the loss of heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta crofters, who are allowed two sheep each in summer.

241 The only crops grown are potatoes and oats, with "black oats" (Avena strigosa) on the sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed for "black oats" is unobtainable commercially, the crofters save their own. A grass mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay to qualify for the subsidy.

233 The extensive hill and mountain pastures are not separately fenced; sheep from all three townships graze over all. If the total sheep stock of the townships (about 3,300) is compared with the souming figures it is found to exceed the soum by about 50%. On the other hand, fewer cattle and horses are kept than formerly so that taking the total stock for all animals (horses, cattle and sheep) and comparing with the actual stock now carrie the area carries only 87% of the stock which the soum allowed. In the two older township the souming was reckoned according to rent, being one cow, one two-year old and eight sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, however, the soum was one horse, three cows, one heifer, two stirke and twenty-five sheep for each croft.

[226] [435] Lambing percentage is about 80, and ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers (excluding lambs). In this district some wedders are kept for three years and then sold for meat, but the main income is from wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep, which sells at up to four shillings a pound.

231 Most crofters keep one or two cows, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn or spring sales. Brenish and Mangersta each have a bull, and in the three townships the are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks

361 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new
491 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all
487 but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
492 two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans call
365 but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor -
366 two wells only are in use.
[492]
[312]

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. Water supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses. The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars.
[368]
[325]
[453]
[491]

The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, and Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from Brenish or Enaclete. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years age was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).
241
231
[401]

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.
242
134
224

Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a kid for milk.
231

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two
233

427 authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common grazing. For
311 example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the croft has now almost
10 acres of land, of which the remaining 3 acres have been 'acquired' by enclosing part of
195 the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pieces, and in some
cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor's wife, Lady
311 Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because they were too close
to the standing stones. Croft houses 25 and 26, then near the stones, were moved to the
427 other side of the village and given parts of crofts 1 and 2 for their houses. Crofts 1 and
2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the parts of their crofts they had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its croftland close to the stones so that an enclosure could be made around the stones. About the same period, before the passing of the Crofter's Act (1886), when the village was still 'ruled' by the township constable, and several other changes took place. Croft 27 and 28 used to be where the croft houses are at present and the surrounding adjacent area only; but it is said that the tenants of these two houses, being influential with the constable, obtained part of Callanish Farm. Similarly the tenants of crofts 30, 31 and 35 divided part of croft 19; these changes have become permanent. The most recently formed croft was taken from the common pasture in 1890. Since then three feus have been created, but two of these are holiday houses and the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

241 There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed arable. All but
4 croft units grow oats, and there are 20 acres under oats (appendix C). Of the
remaining cultivated land 9 acres are potatoes and 5 acres sown hay. Most of the
land is cultivated by tractor; there are 6 tractors in the township. In the past there were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still cultivate by spade. The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August and the oats a month later according to the weather.

231 Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township and tethered most
of the year on the crofts. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to graze one of their
neighbour's cows for part of the year in exchange for milk. There is a beef-type shorthorn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Callanish Farm.

233 The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned stock of 904 sheep
311 and 561 lambs. Several crofters exceed their souming, but there is no shortage of
grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garynahine township pasture. Callanish also has
the use of the pasture on Orasay island; each year some of the sheep (one sheep or ram
221 per croft) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes are brought in for
233 tupping on November 14th, after the harvest is complete, and lambing takes place in
April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November 1st to May 10th; in addition Callanish Farm (which has no sheep) is open for winter grazing. The sheep are sheared in July, and the lambs are taken from the ewes a month later. The lambs are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at Flodavat are known to have been in use until 1921.

Communications are quite good; the village is close to a main road to Stornoway, and
491 there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-called roads are
131 merely rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by motor vehicle; it is
over a mile from the nearest track, separated from it by rough peat land. This year a
[144] grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a road to this croft; but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land refused to allow a road to be built; and so croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of the village.
There are two shops in Callanish (one with a petrol pump); grocery, butchers' and fish
131 vans deliver frequently. Callanish also has a stone jetty which in the past was important.
There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and Bernera calling
[344] at Linshader, which gradually declined in importance until the 1920s when it ceased to
[504] call at Linshader. The ferry to Bernera finally ceased in 1940 when the ferryman (who
[505] lived at Callanish Farm) left for war service. After this the jetty was still used by small private boats (e.g. Callanish church serves Linshader, and many people came to church by boat until recently), but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed
241 clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably
311 by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining
246 lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofts have
249 vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced
224 crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

221 The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not
231 enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throught the winter and
233 no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the soum. Lambing takes place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are
[136] clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and then dipped; November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The cows are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Crobeg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on fank days.

178 Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until
253 the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under
311 cultivation and from an an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips
[242] above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazing;
[346] it is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the road between Caversta and Gravir, about three miles south- south-east of Cromore and one mile north of Gravir.

17 Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore
129 fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this,
[506] however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and, in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

288 In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by
[493] road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airidhvruach. At present the average production is only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. During
[126] the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

162 In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the
166 middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have
175 been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting
164 with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

491 Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by
[491] road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a van
[491] which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recent additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no
166 shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday;

[Cromore] [Marivig]

butchers' vans call on Wednesday and Friday and a fish van once or twice during the week. Goods are also conveyed by the daily bus. Electricity was brought to the village about four years ago and the inhabitants now look forward to a supply of piped water in about two years' time. At present only three or four houses have bathrooms.

The crofts, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a satisfactory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It seems that the recent subsidies for fishing are good enough to attract fishermen from Cromore and one or two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were longer. Weaving has brought prosperity but, as the Park Association states in its Second Progress Report "there is not sufficient weaving available for the present number of weavers". The proposal to establish a spinning and processing plant in the Park District made in the 1957 Report, would undoubtedly be of great value to the people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants suggested that a hotel built on Crobeg Farm would bring some benefit to the community. However, even if these three increased sources of income became effective, one wonders whether they would be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Stornoway.

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B. A.

Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triangular sea loch opening to the north-east and sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, making the loch an ideal anchorage and harbour.

The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slopes more gradually and irregularly, with frequent precipitous rock outcrops, for two hundred to five hundred yards to rise steeply to a line of low hills, two hundred and fifty feet to three hundred feet high, surrounding the loch. All crofts thus have an easterly or north-easterly aspect, not particularly favourable for agriculture, and only one has any appreciable area of level land uninterrupted by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin, and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely dispersed.

The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common grazing, are mainly covered with heather, moor grass or sphagnum bog, while the lower areas within the township are grassy, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not yet a problem, and only small areas exist, mainly on the lower slopes of the western side of the loch. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant and worked by another crofter, and one worked from a house on the common. With the exception of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in radial fashion (Fig. 4). The size of the crofts varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and few now cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses being on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' system. Owing to the rocky nature of the terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two yards wide. Potatoes and oats are grown in rotation, and hay taken from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters sow grass for hay or undersow their crops. Dung and seaweed are used as fertilisers, with potato fertiliser as the most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce, carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

[Marivig]

231 There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while [235] all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

314 Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of 482 the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

228 Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft, 501 and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

163 Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the 166 roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual 166 migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the 167 permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine 162 (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young 171 people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

205 The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a 206 shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There 366 is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road 390 which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much 458 better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig 491 and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.
446

363 Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the 361 sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while 342 the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain 377 and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron. 312 All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply; rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

829 The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the 200 crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

t al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Park

also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than
From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of
t have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with
war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers
to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374
ile the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

rs keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of
eep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island
gust, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November
ned and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft
cessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encoura-
he moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky,
moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700
this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically over-
s which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

rees are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally
provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold
ve van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far

eciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his
ient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people
urned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily
p". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still
er fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

w 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less
are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between
hree of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on
e.

either a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available
'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44
away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third
way with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in
in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist
home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home,
sions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued
people leaving the township since the war.

, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is
nal black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it.
not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a
hop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last
Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it
ll but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles

other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of con-
lf-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the
land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on
ll to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land,
seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

/p. 35/

Skye

101 more recent to the west, and in the industrial area of the
161 Great Glen the trend is reversing itself. To the north and
162 south depopulation has been more serious. To the east the general trend has been similar to that of Skye. We need not be troubled by statistics at this time, but for convenience
[178] the population figures are given in Table 1. The Outer Hebrideans have preserved more of the social aspect of the old culture than the Skye people while the Mainlander has felt the effects of the processes of acculturation with more obvious results than the people of Skye. In short, the Highlands are not a homogeneous region. They represent a great diversity of conditions.

My information on the contemporary culture of the Isle
101 of Skye was provided by the residents of three communities,
115 the villagers of Portree and the crofters of Glendale and
101 Kilmuir. Portree is a small nucleated village with a popu-
621 lation of a thousand. It is important to the study because
[368] in many ways it represents an alien way of life. Here are found the county and national government offices, staffed mainly by newcomers to Skye, which serve the whole island.
[34] Here too, are the grocery, drug, clothing, and hardware stores which depend on the people of at least, northern Skye
[34] for a large part of their trade. There are a number of craftsmen who are equally dependent on the rural population. For the most part, the members of both groups are newcomers
[368] from the Lowlands or elsewhere in the Highlands. As the
[366] terminus for the mail steamer which links Skye with the mainland, and the hub of the daily bus service which connects the rural

Skye

Township size is variable. There is a complete range from 361
one township with a single inhabited croft and a population of 621
three, an old man and his two sons, to one with fifty crofts, [162]
held by thirty-two families, and a population of almost eighty. Most townships contain between six and twenty crofts.

The crofts are set out in long, parallel strips, typically, at right angles to the coast, or, if the township is in a glen, across the glen. In the older townships, the houses tend to be built at one end of the strip on the least productive land. The byre, if there is one, stands at the rear or either side of the house. Exposure or road access have not always been determining factors. Most frequently, it would seem, alignment along a road is present only because the county government has built a road into the township. Only in the more modern townships, those planned or re-organized within the last fifty years, have the crofters tended to build near the road. Several of the townships lack any apparent orientation. The houses are scattered up and down the lower slopes of the hills which rise above the cultivated land.

Wherever the configuration of the land and the environmental factors of soil and rainfall permit large settlements, there is a grouping of townships into the pattern of the British open country neighborhood or the French line village.[14] Scattered among the crofts, without any nucleus of community [366]
buildings, there are, usually, a school, one or two churches, [368]

[14] For an analysis of rural settlement patterns, see Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 229-231, 234-237.

The crofters of northern Skye are dependent upon the 272
village for the goods of the shopkeepers and the services of 366
the tradesmen. Several times a week food vans from Portree, 443
or from a national concern with headquarters in Portree, call
at the crofts. Twice a week a shopping bus brings the men
and women into the village from Glendale, and there is a daily
bus service from Kilmuir. For the nearby neighborhoods, the 368
village is of religious importance. If the crofters do not
come into the village to go to church, the local ministers
go out to serve them. They also send their children to school
in Portree. Few of the crofters take an active part in the
formal social life of the village, but for all who come in
on business there is an opportunity for men to stop by at a
pub to have a chat with friends and women to get together
in a tea room for a bit of gossip. Then too, for many it
is an occasion to visit kinsmen who have left the croft.
Nevertheless, despite its functional importance, the village 369
has remained something alien and apart for the crofter. 829
Despite the bonds of friendship and kinship and mutual
economic dependence, there is antagonism between the rural
dweller and village resident.

Part of the crofter's hostility stems from the religious 369
ethos. On at least one occasion, Portree has been described 829
by a minister as being almost as wicked as Sodom and Gomarrah.[25] 771
In the eyes of the majority of the clergy, the village contains
the "synagogues of Satin" from which flow the poisons of

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[25] Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, pp. 128-129.

361 one or more country stores, a few workshops, and a post office.
621 Kilmuir will serve as an example of these larger settlements.
368
368 Along the shore of Loch Snizort, on the peninsula of
361 Trotternish, there is a broad, fertile plain. Including old
621 Loch Chaluim Chille, there are approximately ten square miles
311 of good land. Although the soil is not cultivated as intensively as in the days when Kilmuir was "the granary of Skye," this is regarded as the best agricultural region on the island.
162 In all there are 122 crofts, held by 105 crofters, in 9 townships. There are also two small farms. The population is slightly over 300.

361 The crofters' cottages are loosely strung around the
621 old loch and across the plain in an irregular "Y" shaped pattern (Figure 3). Basically the pattern resembles the French line village, but there are several features remi-
361 niscent of the British open country neighborhood. Most of
621 the cottages, it would seem, were originally built on the
491 landward fringe of the plain and along the shore of a small bay, known as Camus Mor, without any regard for road access.
178 In recent years, increasing dependence on motor transport has led to demands for roads. Now almost all the crofters, except those in Bornesketaig, have a paved road running by their door. About a third of the houses are on the county road which encircles the peninsula and links Kilmuir with the outside world via Portree.

621 In the center of Kilmuir, in the township of Balgown,
368 stand two spireless churches, a church hall, a two room school,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

and the homes of the ministers and the teacher. Standing 621
together, within a few hundred yards of each other, they 368
provide a focal point for the surrounding area. The remainder of the buildings which we normally think of as forming a village nucleus are widely dispersed. The post office, which 621
is also a general store, is just over a mile north of churches 366
and school, in the township of Kilvaxter. Another mile away, 368
off the main road, in Bornesketaig there is a small shop. South of the churches and school, almost two miles away, there is a shop and a smithy in Linicro. The remaining shops and workshops are similarly scattered hither and yon among the crofts.

Glendale shows much the same pattern of settlement. 361
Stretching along the shore of Loch Dunvegan, through Glen- 621
dale, on either side of the Hamara River, and out along the shore of Loch Poolteil, there are 156 crofts in 11 townships. These are the homes of 144 crofters. The total population is in the neighborhood of 350. Like the people 491
of Kilmuir, the Glendale residents have also become dependent on roads, and they have tended to build their new cottages near a road of some sort. The single church, the post office, 368
and the shop stand fairly close together near the center of 621
Glendale. One school is about a mile away in Borrodale, 366
and the other over a mile away in Colbost. Neither Glendale nor Kilmuir have a village hall. When the Glendale crofters have a meeting to discuss the club farm or when the Kilmuir crofters hold a club meeting, they use the school. Now let 621

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religious center. The churches stand together, except one
which is on the opposite side of the village; the ministers'
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Portree was known as Ceilltarraglan, (burying place at the foot
of the glen). The old village was no more than a church, school,
inn, and jail which stood overlooking the houses of a few
fishermen along the bay. The surrounding area was given over to
farming. The differing ages of the buildings show how the
village spread along the bay, up over the terraces, out across
the flats, and finally, with the assistance of the County
Council which has built all of the new houses, on to the hill
which overlooks the shops and the harbor. Although only the [161]
jail remains as a sentinel of the past, the differing ages of
the houses also tell how the population grew from a mere hand-
ful to 1000 in over a century and a half.

By 1845 there was a small crescent of houses along the shore, 175* 178*
about twenty in number, and on the raised terrace there was 361
a new inn, a church, a post office, a bank, several shops, and 621
a street of homes.[34] The population had grown to all of 510.[35] 366
The existence of the village depended on the summer cattle 368
markets and the fishing industry, which was in the hands of [161]
newcomers.

Following the establishment of Portree and accompanying 175* 178*
the gradual decline in self-sufficiency, the Island was brought 648
into closer contact with Great Britain by an extension of
regular means of communication.[36] Regular communications, of
course, are a prerequisite for commercialization. There must
be access to markets for the local produce and access to
consumer goods. Without such access no man can specialize;
with it the Sgiathanach has been diinclined to specialize. The [491]
old drove roads, the beaten paths which had served them well
for many centuries, were now supplemented by roads in the
Lowland sense of the term. By the end of the period most of [505]
the more accessible townships had been connected with Portree
and the mainland, and a steamer had entered regular service
between Portree and Glasgow. These factors paved the way for
the introduction of commercial sheep farming.

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[34] George and Peter Anderson, Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (3rd ed.; Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1847), p. 435; and NSA, pp. 225, 231, 234, 235.

[35] Census of Scotland: Inverness.

[36] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 400, 759; MacCulloch, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 372; NSA, p. 231, 298, 311, 320; and Nicolson, op. cit., p. 305.

the Outer Isles, an area of recent depopulation, there are enough youth to resist the dictates of their elders.[25] If they cannot have a dance in a hall, they hold their dance on a plank bridge. In Kilmuir the crofters are looking forward to "Effectual Calling." To defy the elders, or allow their children to run counter to the wishes of the elders, would mean a loss of all hope for salvation.

For the majority of crofters, any form of amusement is objectionable, but there are slight differences among the affiliates of the several sects. The Church of Scotland is the most lenient. For adherents, concerts, film shows and similar organized forms of entertainment may be admissible, especially if they are held outside the neighborhood. There is a "picture bus" from Kilmuir to Portree on Wednesday and Saturday night. Sports activities are often considered as wholesome outlets for the youth. Some of the ministers, feel the lack of social contact with their people and believe they might do some good by taking part in life outside the pulpit. The Church of Scotland minister in Kilmuir occasionally attends the Crofters' Club, the only secular activity admitted in the neighborhood. Significantly, Free Church opinion, although the voice of a minority, has prohibited the playing of pipes and recitals of the Gaelic Choir at the annual agricultural show. The Church of Scotland minister in Sleat has taken a hand in the village hall. Unorganized dances are condemned. This is not because dancing

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[25] Darling and Morley, op. cit., pp. 21-24.

368

368 MISCELLANEOUS URBAN FACILITIES--fire protection services (e.g., fire-fighting apparatus and equipment, specialized personnel); availability and location of piers, railway stations, airports, and bus terminals; availability and location of religious, educational, and recreational facilities (e.g., church temples, schools, libraries, museums, theaters, opera houses, art galleries, gymnasiums, public baths, clubhouses); etc. See also:

Description of structures 34
Transportation 48,49,50
Entertainment 54
Manufacture of fire-fighting machinery . . . 392
Functioning of recreational facilities 522
Police protection 625

d goods and foreign produce. There is a Branch office of
tional Bank of Scotland, two friendly societies, four inns,
many as about a score of dram shops.' The annual burgh
e was £17 3s and the expenditure £15 17s 6d. The
oasted ten streets, a saw mill, a mill for carding wool, a
ill, a very large malt barn and mill, and an extensive dis-
These buildings were constructed 'in a style not much in-
o the best buildings of their class in Scotland . . . A stranger
ving at it by any route, or from any quarter, is surprised
o large and flourishing a place in so remote and uninviting
r. Its broad field of houses, its capacious bay, and spacious
s occasional crowd of shipping, and stir of trade and gaiety,
vicinity to it of the aristocratic mansion of Seaforth-lodge,
it a striking and very welcome relief to the prevailing
ess, sterility and inertion of the rude country in which it is

901, when the West Highland line was opened, the return
om Mallaig to Stornoway by MacBrayne's steamers was
One could go from Glasgow to Stornoway by steamer for
return. A *Guide* for that year indicated that Stornoway
ee hotels, six churches and a Court House, singled out
cific mention for some reason. A Ross-shire *Directory* of
escribes the Nicholson Institute as one of the four Junior
Centres in the county. Its Leaving Certificate results were
in the north of Scotland, with a total of 95 higher and
er passes, and no less than 20 passes in Higher Science.
oway is a Burgh of Barony, dating from 18 October 1607.
of course, been a town of sorts long before the Charter
nted by James VI; the Charter was executed under the
eal conveying equal shares to three of the leaders of the
venturers. Under the Police Act of 1862 Stornoway be-
Police Burgh. A bank agent in the town was appointed
ief Magistrate on 31 December 1863. Under the 1892
designation 'Town Council' superseded that of 'Burgh
sion' and the Chief Magistrate assumed the title of Pro-
senior and junior magistrates becoming known as senior
ior bailies. The present Municipal Buildings were opened
The previous building was only an idea in 1897; it took

secondary school, the 'Nicolson', has
formidable academic record Back in 19
was included in the educational section
hibition held in Christchurch, New Zeal
because emigrants from the west Highla
and Lewis, were among the pioneers of
a century ago. In 1957 new extensions w
£300,000 and making the school the
Highlands area. It is co-educational,
secondary departments taking only St
senior secondary department catering fo
way and rural Lewis. Many board ou
week, returning home at weekends.

In providing social facilities, the tow
position of an agent for those things
and is a middle-ground between the ru
Church and the city abandon of the
dilemma. The public houses, the cinema
juke boxes are all in direct opposition to
Church. The result is tension between
a host for tourists and its wish to fulf
plane; to instance this, the Stornoway
the Lewis Sabbath. In keeping with
standards are extremely high. Home i
always was; the sense of community an
is there. Divorce is practically unheard
crime, as such, is extremely low.

MMUNICATIONS

had since its inception a
007 work from the school
of an International Ex-
and : this was appropriate
nds, notably from Harris
New Zealand education
ere opened, costing about
largest of its kind in the
its primary and junior
ornoway children and its
r those from both Storno-
t in the town during the

n has placed itself in the
leemed necessary for life,
ral repression of the Free
mainland, with resulting
, youth clubs, dances and
the preaching of the Free
the town's desire to act as
il its duty on a religious
Sabbath is less strict than
the rest of Lewis, social
s the centre of life, as it
d communal responsibility
of, and the incidence of

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway, and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes sixteen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Roadwork gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

368 ground. Some of these provide for a much larger area and indeed the policeman serves the whole of the parish of Uig. Three buses per day in each direction operating on a circular route provide transport to Stornoway.

UPPER CARLOWAY

427 133 The township comprises 51 registered crofts and 28 feus and allotments which are situated on the drift covered slope which rises from the head of Loch Carloway. The crofts are each about half a mile in length and from 5 to 25 yards in width aligned up and downslope. The lowest portion of the croftland is just above sea level and the highest approaches 225 feet O.D. The key crofts are numbers 30 and 31 whose boundaries come to a point thus enabling the crofts to be accommodated on the arcuate hill face. In the east are the crofts of Park Carloway which were lotted at a later date than the main area of croftland (numbers 1 to 40).

Only two crofts are fragmented ('fixed runrig'), these occupy lowlying hummocky land near the river where fencing would be difficult. Elsewhere fencing has been almost completed between the roads, but above the upper road fencing is less common, usually only being undertaken by the more enterprising crofters with more promising land; the bare rock surface of crofts 9 and 10 precludes any such attempt there. Almost all the fencing has taken place since 1946.

427 311 The 51 crofts and 28 feus and allotments are operated in 56 working agricultural units. The total land reputed arable 134.4 acres and the outrun 82.65 acres which gives a total fo 217.05 acres of individually held ('croft') land. The method of working is controlled by the relationship of slope, soil and elevation. Three zones may be distinguished, namely

(1) Below the road;

a) well drained and fairly accessible,
b) poorly drained and often far from the croft house

(2) Between the roads: a main zone of cultivation

(3) Above the main road an upper zone

a) with bare rock and thin soil
b) drift covered - similar in character to (2), but more exposed

Crofts 1 - 32 occupy all three zones
" 33 - 40 and 46 occupy zones (2) and (3)
" 49 is in zone (2)
" 41 and 42 are in zone (1)a and are in 'fixed runrig'.

241 407 In nearly all parts of these zones it is possible to use a tractor and so the cultivation of oats and cutting of hay is accomplished. It is usual to work the potatoes by horse, but only one man preferred to do all his ploughing by horse. This widespread use of the tractor is in marked contrast to the townships southeast of the Loch where it is almost impossible to use the tractor in many places. The significance of this in the contrasts in methods and efficiency need hardly be emphasised.

461 Life in a crofting township is governed by a very distinctive pattern of working that is so strong that it even influences the operations of the mills in Stornoway, for each crofter, if he continues to work his croft fully, must take time off for the communal operations such as the shearing or dipping of the sheep and inevitably at certain times of the year he will be anxious to work the croft. The table attempts to set out the pattern of the agricultural year in this group of townships (Figure 40).

231 [288] Recent trends also point to a declin
fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the n
this increase must have been a result o
the war and post-war boom in Harris tw
had already begun to decline and have s
breeding ewes while the rearing of only

221 233 All the crofters keep some sheep al
the year these sheep are grazed on the
in the bay. In August, however, the la
the gates are opened and all the sheep a
boundaries. If necessary they are give
ged to return to the moor, although the

311 233 The total area of the common pastu
waterlogged peat moorland supporting
sheep now graze this area and the appa
stocked, a process which must inevitab

231 235 [435] No pigs or horses are to be found in
just sufficient to provide eggs for home
to the Co-operative van, but prices are
from profitable.

424 464 228 It can be appreciated that crofts of t
family with sufficient income, nor fully
in the past have turned to the sea. Inde
a fishing township". Today the herring
does a little lobster fishing, sending hi

161 162 There are now 45 people resident in
than half of them are between 15 and 64
these ages, and three of these spend at
the Eishken estate.

366 368 166 167 [464] [505] 228 [462] [352] [454] As there is neither a school, post o
occupation in the 'service trades'. The
are permanently away in the Merchant
are seasonally away with the whalers.
domestic service in Glasgow. It must
their families at home, and that a large
together with pensions and other allowa
steadily, twenty people leaving the town

342 372 312 [208] [366] [491] [494] On the whole, housing conditions ar
only one traditional black-house, and e
Water supply is not so certain as wells
telephone and a shop, but is served by t
decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir;
serves directly all but three of the crof
distant.

161 162 Like so many other crofting townshi
gestion. The self-same hills that provi
situation is that land, extremely margi
holdings too small to be economic. Wit
Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill'

in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than
mbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of
the ewe subsidy, but part atleast may be connected with
eed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers
nce fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374
236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

hough individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of
common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island
nbs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November
llowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft
fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encoura-
gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

e exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky,
nly poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700
ently large common pasture is in reality drastically over-
y harm the animals as well as the land.

the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally
consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold
so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far

his size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his
occupy the available labour force. As a result, people
ed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily
fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still
catch direct to Billingsgate.

Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less
years. Indeed there are only six resident males between
least part of their time working away from the township on

ffice, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available
refore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44
Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third
Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in
be realised that most of these people working away assist
part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home,
nces. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued
ship since the war.

e good, due to relatively recent construction. There is
ven this house has electricity: only one house is without it.
and springs are the only source. The township lacks a
travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last
entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it
ts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles

ips Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of con-
ide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the
nalin character, is being worked by too many tenants on
th three residents to every two acres of cultivated land,
- an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

/p. 35/

101 more recent to the west, and in the industrial area of the
161 Great Glen the trend is reversing itself. To the north and
162 south depopulation has been more serious. To the east the
general trend has been similar to that of Skye. We need not
be troubled by statistics at this time, but for convenience
178 the population figures are given in Table 1. The Outer Hebridean
have preserved more of the social aspect of the old culture
than the Skye people while the Mainlander has felt the effects
of the processes of acculturation with more obvious results
than the people of Skye. In short, the Highlands are not
a homogeneous region. They represent a great diversity of
conditions.

My information on the contemporary culture of the Isle
101 115 of Skye was provided by the residents of three communities,
the villagers of Portree and the crofters of Glendale and
101 621 Kilmuir. Portree is a small nucleated village with a popu-
lation of a thousand. It is important to the study because
368 in many ways it represents an alien way of life. Here are
found the county and national government offices, staffed
mainly by newcomers to Skye, which serve the whole island.
34 Here too, are the grocery, drug, clothing, and hardware
stores which depend on the people of at least, northern Skye
34 for a large part of their trade. There are a number of
craftsmen who are equally dependent on the rural population.
For the most part, the members of both groups are newcomers
368 from the Lowlands or elsewhere in the Highlands. As the
365 terminus for the mail steamer which links Skye with the mainland,
and the hub of the daily bus service which connects the rural

journey over to the "Capital of Skye" which stands on 621
rtree Loch.

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fishermen along the bay. The surrounding area was given over to
farming. The differing ages of the buildings show how the
village spread along the bay, up over the terraces, out across
the flats, and finally, with the assistance of the County
Council which has built all of the new houses, on to the hill
which overlooks the shops and the harbor. Although only the [161]
jail remains as a sentinel of the past, the differing ages of
the houses also tell how the population grew from a mere hand-
ful to 1000 in over a century and a half.

mainly because there are enough young people to form a strong 571
age grade of their own. The more liberal outlook of the 184
villagers is, however, tempered by the old men. 554
888

Religion

The attachment to the past embodied in the social and 771
economic aspects of the culture carries over into the religious
life of the Sgiathanach. He is a Presbyterian who continues 795
to worship and view the world within a pattern which charac-
terized the Scots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
The doctrine and theology are derived from the teachings of
Calvin as interpreted by John Knox and refined by the Covenanters
of the seventeenth century. To the original ethical code
a strong measure of influence from the English Puritan move-
ment has been added. The guiding principles are still fore-
ordination and election. The dominant motivating factor is [785]
asceticism.

One of the outstanding features of the island today is 348 ●
the large number of churches for such a limited population. 795
To serve the 8,600 people there are 21 churches with ministers
and 13 mission stations. A hundred years ago, when the [178]
population was almost triple the present number, there were
only seven ministers on Skye. The present abundance is the out- 795
come of a series of religious schisms of the past century.
There are now four Presbyterian sects. Of all the neighbor- [184]
hoods on Skye, only Glendale is religiously homogeneous.

Portree has three Presbyterian churches and, in addition, 348 ●
an occasionally used Episcopal church and small Catholic 795
chapel for newcomers. Kilmuir has two Presbyterian churches,
and the population includes affiliates of three denominations.
In contrast to the pattern of schism in the United States and, 795
indeed, in most of the Western World, the schisms on Skye 178
have been due to a strong desire to maintain cultural conserva-
tism. Each time a church has tended to become more lenient
in official policy, there has been dissension and disruption.
This does not, however, mean that the several sects are
dissimilar in practice and outlook. In Scotland the local 795
kirk is governed by the congregation in accordance with the
democratic principles laid down at the Reformation. The
people call their minister and elect the lay officials of
the church.

Religion is of supreme importance for an understanding 781
of the configuration of the local culture. In fact, beyond 182
being a highly integrated and systematized pattern in itself,
religion has come to provide a focus for the culture. Through
the religious pattern the culture achieved a reintegration
and found continuity at a time when the people were faced with
the prospect of enduring instability, if not total social and
cultural disintegration. Although it has the appearance of
being an extremely negative institution, in that much of the
former secular life has been circumscribed by clerical censure,
religion has sanctioned the fundamental values and patterns of

*175 *178 361 621 511 Not only were villages completely alien to his heritage but also he had neither the need to purchase commodities nor the opportunity to accumulate a surplus for buying more than a little grain or an occasional necessity. Whatever his small needs, they could be satisfied locally, especially, by turning to a local tacksman or the estate factor, both of whom made grain and a few sundries available on an extended credit-with-barter basis.

*175 *178 361 621 Plans were drawn up for the establishment of a village at Portree shortly after the Forty-five.[29] Over fifty years later the best that could be said of Portree was that it had "the appearance of a village."[30] Another attempt to bring a village to Skye was made in 1787 when a group of exiled Highlanders in London built the abortive fishing village of Stein.[31] As a part of the reorganization of the MacDonald estates, villages were laid out at Portree and Kyleakin sometime after 1811.[32] Kyleakin failed to develop.

[368] By 1820 Portree had become an administrative center with its own jail,[33] one of the hallmarks of civilization.

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[29] Boswell, op. cit., p. 279.

[30] John Knox, A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles in 1786 (London: J. Walter, 1787), p. 135.

[31] Anderson, An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides, p. 89; Canon MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. II, pp. 120-121; and Nicolson, History of Skye, pp. 298-299.

[32] MacCulloch, The Highlands and Isles, Vol. III, p. 445; and NSA, p. 307.

[33] MacCulloch, The Highlands and Isles, Vol. III, pp. 366-368.

By 1845 there was a small crescent of houses along the shore, about twenty in number, and on the raised terrace there was a new inn, a church, a post office, a bank, several shops, and a street of homes.[34] The population had grown to all of 510.[35] The existence of the village depended on the summer cattle markets and the fishing industry, which was in the hands of newcomers. *175 *178 361 621 [364] [368] [741]

Following the establishment of Portree and accompanying the gradual decline in self-sufficiency, the Island was brought into closer contact with Great Britain by an extension of regular means of communication.[36] Regular communications, of course, are a prerequisite for commercialization. There must be access to markets for the local produce and access to consumer goods. Without such access no man can specialize; with it the Sgiathanach has been diinclined to specialize. The old drove roads, the beaten paths which had served them well for many centuries, were now supplemented by roads in the Lowland sense of the term. By the end of the period most of the more accessible townships had been connected with Portree and the mainland, and a steamer had entered regular service between Portree and Glasgow. These factors paved the way for the introduction of commercial sheep farming. *175 *178 648 [491] [505]

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[34] George and Peter Anderson, Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (3rd ed.; Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1847), p. 435; and NSA, pp. 225, 231, 234, 235.

[35] Census of Scotland: Inverness.

[36] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 400, 759; MacCulloch, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 372; NSA, p. 231, 298, 311, 320; and Nicolson, op. cit., p. 305.

621 571 450 respectively.[6]

Unlike the township, the neighborhood typically has no formal organization and is not necessarily a cooperating, economic unit. Always, of course, there is a consciousness of common interest. In the case of Glendale this is spiritually symbolized by the church and economically, by the large club farm in which all the owner-occupiers have a share. In Kilmuir there are two churches, standing close together, and the crofters have a common economic focus in the drained loch which all use in equal shares for meadowland. There is also a crofters' club. Further symbolization of their common interest is provided by traditions, memories of notable personages and events peculiar to themselves. Always, the consciousness of common interest is expressed by a feeling of superiority over the members of other neighborhoods. 621 571 186 [368]

361 There is but one trade-center village on the island, the village of Portree.[7] It is the only true nucleated settlement. Built on the square, but still retaining the appearance of an overgrown hamlet, it is a small grouping of non-agricultural dwellings, government offices, churches, shops, a school, and the homes of those who make their living by serving the rural areas. In addition to its function of providing goods and services for the surrounding neighborhoods, it also links the island with the outside world. Although thirty-six miles from the mainland, it is the entry port for the government officials, 621

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[6] Murdock, loc. cit.; and Linton, loc. cit.

[7] For a discussion of the importance of the trade-center village, see Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 188-197.

newcomers to the neighborhood, if not the island. Let us now turn to Portree to see how important status is in this alien village. 554 182

The Trade-Center Village

We come now to a consideration of the trade center village of Portree. We have seen how this small settlement was created by a landlord in the early nineteenth century and now it has been fostered by the government. We have also seen how the village has assumed a host of important functions. Primarily, it exists to serve the rural neighborhoods and to provide a link with the outside world. For the crofting neighborhoods it is, in order of importance, an administrative, economic, religious, and social center. Here are found the Ministry of Labor, the Department of Agriculture, the National Assistance Board, the sanitary and road engineers, the local Registrar, the central police headquarters, the main post office and telephone exchange, the court of the justice of the peace, and the seldom functioning sheriff's court. It is to Portree that the Land Court comes to decide on such important matters as rents and succession to the croft. As a seat of education, Portree's influence extends even wider, for it is the only secondary school in all of the islands of the county of Inverness. For people on the southern end of the island the village exists only for administrative purposes. 632 [363]

The crofters of northern Skye are dependent upon the 600

ielings, and that therefore the shieling area per township is in proportion to the number working units in that township (total, 88 working units on the island). If these shares e deducted it will be seen that only Kirkibost and Tobson common grazings exceed in ea those of Lundale, the smallest of the Bernera Shore grazings, and that even this is longer so if the special grazings, mainly later enlargements, are further deducted. l this serves to emphasise the relative crowding on Bernera Island and the consequent tal importance to most working units of the shielings. This has probably increased in e last decade with the construction of the bridge, for whereas previously there was a annual ferrying operation to the mainland, tedious, unpleasent, and exhausting for both east and man, nowadays droving to the hills is an easy matter.

A somewhat different picture emerges when land is related to tenants and working nits (table 21). If the inbye per croft tenant is calculated it is seen that Croir has the rgest, (29 acres), rivalled only by Lundale, (26 acres), Hacklete, Kirkibost, Earshader, nd Crulivig form an intermediate group (11 to 16 acres), while Breaclete, Tobson and inshader have but eight acres or less. However, the average area of inbye is more evealing if calculated in relation to working units: then the Bernera Island townships are een to range from 7 acres (Breaclete) to 33 (Croir) while only Lundale has more than 0 acres, the others having 14 or less. For the whole island the average of inbye per enant (13.2 acres) is close to that for the Shore (12.8 acres) and the inbye per working nit (13.5 acres: 13.3 acres) is almost identical. Thus, there is considerable variation the amount of inbye land available per tenant and the amalgamation of tenancies into orking units does not seriously change this distribution.

None of the Bernera Island townships has as much common grazing per tenant, nor er working unit, as any of the Bernera Shore townships, (little more than 100 acres as pposed to never less than 160 acres). The Bernera Shore townships as a group have bout five times more pasture per tenant and per working unit than those of Bernera land. Breaclete stands out as the township with the greatest shortage of land.

The various forms of subdivision and amalgamation of crofts and parts of crofts, or her holdings, are summarised in Table 22. In the small townships of Bernera Shore ly Earshader, with four crofters, has non-crofting holdings with stock; there is little nalgamation. In Bernera Island, however, only Hacklete has the same number of orking units as of registered croft holders and Breaclete, the township with the greatest ortage of land, is also the township with the greatest degree of unofficial change and tromission. In contrast, Tobson, in spite of its unconsolidated plan, presents a simple cture. Breaclete also has the largest number of feus, including the only feus not nctioning as agricultural units. This emphasises its function as a centre for the Island. has both manses, both churches, the War Memorial, the school and the District Nurse.

These changes must however be seen in perspective. The Bernera region has not ffered from the type of amalgamation which is the result of decay and which facilitates rther decay; the actual change is not very great. The number of agricultural working nits is 98% of the number of crofter-tenants. It is illuminating to compare the region ith Sutherland where many former crofts, quite abandoned to rough pasture, have been ken off the rentals. Apart from changes due to clearances, the Bernera region has ne of either type. Of 575 holdings examined in thirty-one townships in Sutherland, nalgamation has reduced the number of effective crofting units to only 437, i.e. 76% of e formal figure. Amalgamations by family co-operation are comparatively few in therland (26 out of 173 known examples) whereas subletting is common. A further brief xample may be taken from one of the Shetland islands where amalgamation has reduced e original number of holdings from something like 350 to about 250 working units.

and across the croft boundaries and it is along these that the majority of the houses are to be found so that as the roads followed the easiest course open to them so the settlement has moved to the roads.

A particularly interesting example of this kind can be drawn from Upper Carloway where a twofold movement of settlements has taken place; first, from about 150 feet above sea level, where the original black houses were built, there was an uphill movement to the upper of the two roads which cross the township at from 150 to 170 feet above sea level, and, secondly (and more recently), there has been a move to build at from 25 to 30 feet above sea level along the lower road which has become the main axis for the public services. Three main types of building exist then in this township. The first is the blackhouse of which only one or two now remain. Even these are not the primitive type of blackhouse, for they all have proper chimneys. The second is an ill-defined group which includes buildings erected during the later years of the fishing boom and in the period up to the Second World War. These houses are either one or two storied often with the traditional dormer windows; they form the majority. Finally there is the development of the modern bungalows which are built by the crofters but based on plans supplied by the Department of Agriculture. Few have ventured to build away from the level of the lower road.

How then does this pattern of settlement illustrate the changes referred to at the beginning of this section? The original houses were abandoned gradually as the temporary prosperity of the fishing enabled the crofters to build the better houses. These have seen great changes, but in most cases they are still occupied. Some have been extended and improved by their owners whilst others remain without additions almost as they were when first built. That the crofter owns his own house has certainly encouraged replacement in recent times. The generous grants and loans provided by the Department of Agriculture have been utilised to construct the modern bungalows on crofts where the original croft house stands as a byre and where the second house is sometimes inhabited by some relative or person who sublets part of the croft. It is rare to see such successive phases so close together in a landscape reflecting the varying fortunes of economic enterprise and the influence of government subsidies now so much a part of the life of the crofting township.

Roads and public services.

Carloway's importance as a centre for West Lewis is accounted for by the fact that at the break in the coastline caused by East Loch Roag the main road southwards from Barvas turns inland to Breasclete. Near the point where it crosses the Carloway river at Carloway bridge it is joined by a number of local township roads creating a focus for community services (figure 38).[1] Here also the line of the still unfinished 'Pentland' road, projected as a direct link with Stornoway during the fishing boom, reaches Loch Carloway and passes along its north shore to the pier at Borrowston. This substantial pier was the scene of great activity during the period of commercial fishing before the First World War.

The six hundred residents of the immediate Carloway area are served by eight travelling shops as well as by the local stores. Bread, fish, meat, green-groceries, library and bank all come to the end of the croft if not to the crofter's door. Of the vans one is based on Carloway, one on Breasclete and the rest on Stornoway. A mobile film unit visits once each fortnight. The churches and school rightly reflect their importance in the community by the commanding position which they occupy just above the bridge. Here too is the showground; the annual show attracts people from all over the island, being as much a social as an agricultural gathering. Other services are more dispersed but not far away. They include doctor and district nurse, policeman, post office, and football

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 103]

1. [Presumably the author means figure 39--Analyst]

hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center for tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependence on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villagers participate in a number of social activities which are not tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious asceticism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each with a population of about 300. All, except the ministers and school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle and sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potatoes and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All are bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither community has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. Glendale has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch which has been divided among the small farmers. The significant differences between them are three. The Glendale people are land owners. In this respect they are rather unique in the Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, rent their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glendale is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church-goers of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social activities other than an annual meeting of the share-holders in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a club organization for the men who gather for lectures and discussion of economic problems.

Township size is variable. There is a complete range from one township with a single inhabited croft and a population of three, an old man and his two sons, to one with fifty crofts, held by thirty-two families, and a population of almost eighty. Most townships contain between six and twenty crofts.

The crofts are set out in long, parallel strips, typically, at right angles to the coast, or, if the township is in a glen, across the glen. In the older townships, the houses tend to be built at one end of the strip on the least productive land. The byre, if there is one, stands at the rear or either side of the house. Exposure or road access have not always been determining factors. Most frequently, it would seem, alignment along a road is present only because the county government has built a road into the township. Only in the more modern townships, those planned or re-organized within the last fifty years, have the crofters tended to build near the road. Several of the townships lack any apparent orientation. The houses are scattered up and down the lower slopes of the hills which rise above the cultivated land.

Wherever the configuration of the land and the environmental factors of soil and rainfall permit large settlements, there is a grouping of townships into the pattern of the British open country neighborhood or the French line village.[14] Scattered among the crofts, without any nucleus of community buildings, there are, usually, a school, one or two churches,

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[14] For an analysis of rural settlement patterns, see Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 229-231, 234-237.

361 one or more country stores, a few workshops, and a post office
621 Kilmuir will serve as an example of these larger settlements.
[364]
[368] Along the shore of Loch Snizort, on the peninsula of
361 Trotternish, there is a broad, fertile plain. Including old
621 Loch Chaluim Chille, there are approximately ten square miles
311 of good land. Although the soil is not cultivated as intensively as in the days when Kilmuir was "the granary of Skye," this is regarded as the best agricultural region on the island
[162] In all there are 122 crofts, held by 105 crofters, in 9 townships. There are also two small farms. The population is slightly over 300.

361 The crofters' cottages are loosely strung around the
621 old loch and across the plain in an irregular "Y" shaped pattern (Figure 3). Basically the pattern resembles the French line village, but there are several features remi-
361 niscent of the British open country neighborhood. Most of
621 the cottages, it would seem, were originally built on the
491 landward fringe of the plain and along the shore of a small bay, known as Camus Mor, without any regard for road access.
[178] In recent years, increasing dependence on motor transport has led to demands for roads. Now almost all the crofters, except those in Bornesketaig, have a paved road running by their door. About a third of the houses are on the county road which encircles the peninsula and links Kilmuir with the outside world via Portree.

621 In the center of Kilmuir, in the township of Balgown,
368 stand two spireless churches, a church hall, a two room school

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

6. Ducey	E-4,5	(1953-1954)	1956	ES10 Highland Scots ES Skye

and the homes of the ministers and the teacher. Standing 621
together, within a few hundred yards of each other, they 368
provide a focal point for the surrounding area. The remainder
of the buildings which we normally think of as forming a
village nucleus are widely dispersed. The post office, which 621
is also a general store, is just over a mile north of churches 366 368
and school, in the township of Kilvaxter. Another mile away,
off the main road, in Bornesketaig there is a small shop.
South of the churches and school, almost two miles away,
there is a shop and a smithy in Linicro. The remaining shops
and workshops are similarly scattered hither and yon among
the crofts.

Glendale shows much the same pattern of settlement. 361
Stretching along the shore of Loch Dunvegan, through Glen- 621
dale, on either side of the Hamara River, and out along the
shore of Loch Poolteil, there are 156 crofts in 11 town-
ships. These are the homes of 144 crofters. The total
population is in the neighborhood of 350. Like the people [491]
of Kilmuir, the Glendale residents have also become dependent
on roads, and they have tended to build their new cottages
near a road of some sort. The single church, the post office, 368
and the shop stand fairly close together near the center of 621
Glendale. One school is about a mile away in Borrodale, [366]
and the other over a mile away in Colbost. Neither Glendale
nor Kilmuir have a village hall. When the Glendale crofters
have a meeting to discuss the club farm or when the Kilmuir
crofters hold a club meeting, they use the school. Now let 621

(B) REMITTANCES (BY POST), ALLOWANCES, PENSIONS AN

With Averages per Rural Househol

(i) Urban and Rural

Money and Postal Orders	£53,700		
Allowances (Forces)	41,000		
Pensions (State)	82,700		
Unemployment payments	120,000		
Total (B, i)	£297,400	Total (B, ii)	
Total (i, A and B)	£1,026,500	Total (ii, A a	

Note.—To complete the estimate of rural income, partly
should require to group with (A) certain sources of income of
road-making and the creation of other services, and to add to (
from outside the Island which may be received as Bank-notes b
cash brought home by earners. The figures of £110,000 fo
and of £35,000 for Money and Postal Orders, suggest that it w
a figure equal to at least the two combined, or £145,000, towards
£30 or so per rural household. By bringing the sources of in
very small amount—we should approach a true figure, which c

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

ND UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS

d

	(ii) Rural		
	(a) Official Rural	(b) Estimated Rural	(c) Average per Household
	£31,700	£34,900	£7·4
	30,400	33,000	7·0
	54,100	60,000	12·7
	110,000	110,000	23·4
	£226,200	£237,500	£50·5
		(Approx.)	£51
nd B)	£650,550	£661,850	£141

indicated by (A) and (B) we
productive character such as
B) other savings and pensions
y post, as Bank Drafts, and in
r Unemployment Assistance,
vould not be too much to add
making an income of another
come to at least £170—still a
cannot, at best, be large.

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

632
871
econdary school, the 'Nicolson', has had since its inception a ormidable academic record Back in 1907 work from the school as included in the educational section of an International Ex- ibition held in Christchurch, New Zealand: this was appropriate ecause emigrants from the west Highlands, notably from Harris nd Lewis, were among the pioneers of New Zealand education century ago. In 1957 new extensions were opened, costing about £300,000 and making the school the largest of its kind in the Highlands area. It is co-educational, its primary and junior econdary departments taking only Stornoway children and its enior secondary department catering for those from both Storno- way and rural Lewis. Many board out in the town during the veek, returning home at weekends.

(648)
(167)

632
368
771
183
(369)
(184)

In providing social facilities, the town has placed itself in the osition of an agent for those things deemed necessary for life, nd is a middle-ground between the rural repression of the Free Church and the city abandon of the mainland, with resulting lilemma. The public houses, the cinema, youth clubs, dances and uke boxes are all in direct opposition to the preaching of the Free Church. The result is tension between the town's desire to act as host for tourists and its wish to fulfil its duty on a religious lane; to instance this, the Stornoway Sabbath is less strict than he Lewis Sabbath. In keeping with the rest of Lewis, social tandards are extremely high. Home is the centre of life, as it lways was; the sense of community and communal responsibility s there. Divorce is practically unheard of, and the incidence of rime, as such, is extremely low.

(592)
(586)
(674)

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

178
291
The dress of the people has changed. The men commonly wear overalls instead of the fisherman's blue jersey. Till 1919 every woman and girl wore the black petticoat striped with colours, dark blouse, often with stays, and a knitted muffler round her neck and over her head. In summer the tartan shawl was more typical of Sundays than week days (Plate IX). In clothing, a change for the worse preceded a change for the better. The abandonment of homespun, rich in wet-resisting oil, for machine-made cloth was at first a loss; but oilskins, waterproofs, and rubber boots are a surer protection to all on land or sea. For much of the year the women went barefoot but for the *osanan*, worn except in warm weather; these are stockings leaving the sole bare and kept over the foot by a band passing under the middle toes. In a wet climate with much soft ground this was a sensible custom, for wet feet, easily washed, were warm and dry as soon as the women came indoors. They moved hardily, yet a little warily, for fear of stones and, when not fatigued, with a short, springing step which was a pleasure to watch. At the same time their feet were sorely tried by rough heather or stony ground, especially when they were carrying a laden creel. Now nearly all except elderly women wear shoes (or rubbers) and stockings. They have given up the dark, striped full skirt and petticoat worn till 1919 and adopted the skirt and blouse or jumper of the towns, or the short frock so much simplified since Edwardian times. In fine weather the head is bare, though often netted because of the wind.

(369)
As dress changes, it is often said that the country copies the town; the reverse were truer, in essentials. By 1914 the townswoman had begun to copy her sister in the country, seeking for common sense and simplicity; and what is true of dress may be true of other things.

361 it command and make it the leading settlement of the
366 Hebrides, with a population fluctuating around 5000.[1]
162

2. *Aspects and Problems of the Burgh*

361 The little town pleases by its views over the harbours,
632 outer or inner—sheltering perhaps a steamer or two and the clustered fishing vessels—across to the wooded skyline and the beautiful grounds of the Castle, a-flower in spring with rhododendrons. Or framed in trees from the Castle policies, the harbour and even the roofs and
[342] smoke of the houses are not unpleasing (Plate II). But the town's chief charm is its setting, not itself, though its plain dwellings with 'harled' or rough-cast walls and slate
[746] roofs are simple and inoffensive. In rehousing, the Local
[656] Authority had respected Scottish domestic features. But the greater use of local materials, labour and skill is surely desirable in the Island with its many half-employed men, who need such work to maintain income, health and morale.
[362] As is to be expected in view of low incomes, and the extremely primitive housing in the country, urban housing
[162] is inadequate. In Stornoway burgh in 1931, 44 per cent, or nearly half the population, still dwelt in houses of one to three rooms, 17 per cent in four (including attics often with no dormer windows), 20 per cent in five or six, and 18 per cent in seven rooms and over. There has been improvement up to 1939, and after 1945, but much remains to be done.

• 369 Turning to cultural life, profound differences divide
632 the town from the country about it. Whereas in the townships of rural Lewis the people are almost purely natives

[1] The burghal area was extended in 1935. At the census of 1951 its population stood at 4950. This showed an increase of 15·9 per cent above the population enumerated in the same area in 1931.

• 369 of the place, even the schoolmaster and ministers being
632 mostly Islanders, in Stornoway an important minority of the officials and business men hail from the mainland, and some of them from the Lowlands. New blood has undoubtedly been needed to promote enterprise, to foresee new possibilities, and even, at times, to make the best of the past. At the same time, the cleavage between town and country is marked in ways of thought and feeling as in
369 livelihood. To take a single criterion, that of speech, most
632 of the children of the town speak no Gaelic and many hardly understand it. While the percentage of Gaelic
197 speakers was 95 in the three outlying parishes in 1931, in the burgh only 70 per cent could still speak the old tongue. By 1951 the ratio, still almost unchanged in the outlying parishes and townships, had considerably lowered in the burgh.

369 The attempt to harmonise the interests of country and
632 town forms a hopeful aspect of the activities both of the Stornoway Trust, which holds the rural and urban property
[656] presented to the people of Stornoway parish by the first
[427] Lord Leverhulme, and of the Lewis Association, formed in 1943 to undertake studies of the Island to guide action
[654] for the future. The maintenance of the town's prosperity will depend greatly upon its industries of fishing and of
[228] spinning; and these are almost inseparable from the
[288] maintenance of the rural population for whom Stornoway acts as regional centre, and who weave with the yarn spun in the mills. Unity in constructive purpose could go far to build up the prosperity of the community.

361 With the recognition of the need for planning aroused
369 by the problems which faced the country with the return of peace, it is proposed, at the centre of the Burgh, to
632 rebuild the whole of the peninsular area of Point Street,

361 by co-operation of three authorities: the Town Council,
• 369 the Piers and Harbour Commission, and the Stornoway
632 Trust as owner of property, including Lews Castle with
[656] its grounds. The social situation is of quite exceptional
[654] interest, and an attempt to describe some of its features is made in Appendix II, on the Stornoway Trust and the Lewis Association.

(c) CHANGES IN ISLAND POPULATION, AND THE FUTURE

1. From 1801 to 1939

175 Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the growth
162 of population was periodically checked or even set back by famines and epidemics, such as smallpox, or by warfare.
[731] In 1801 the total population of the Outer Hebrides (in round numbers) was 21,700, and in 1831 it was 32,000. Of this total, Lewis carried 9200 and Harris 3000 in 1801 and, a generation later, in 1831, respectively 14,500 and 3900. In the graph (Fig. 12) the curve showing the average for the five landward or rural parishes of the Island (excluding Stornoway Burgh) indicates the fairly steady numerical increase there, almost to the close of the
[731] century. Following the evictions after 1831 and the potato famine of 1846–48, emigration caused a fall in the southern islands (*e.g.* in South Uist, Fig. 12). Forty years later, in 1871, the Outer Hebridean total reached nearly 40,000, of which Lewis alone, with 21,000, now gave more than half the total, and Harris—in spite of an intervening drop owing to evictions—4800. By 1901, in spite of losses in the southern isles, the total for the Outer Hebrides reached a peak of 46,200. Of this, Lewis already contributed almost

162 weaving and fishing, the fall in population would probably
[167] be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was not so much a decrease in the number of families as in the
[168] number per family. The Island was only then following the restriction of population begun half a century before in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

162 Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is
178 a land of house-building, not of ruin and abandonment; of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agri-
• 369 cultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were
[657] at work: first, loans, grants and unemployment insurance and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly,
[593] the money sent to elderly parents and dependants at home
[888] by young folk in Glasgow or abroad, or savings brought back by the young people themselves. Yet there is some
[226] fishing and agriculture still. Above all, 'hand-weaving'
[241] has grown, even if this be partly 'artificial'. Recently it was not only the elders who had returned to the Island, but
[286] men and women in the prime of life, so that the question of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to be re-examined afresh.

167 The emigration which took place from 1949 to 1951
[464] followed directly upon the losses and the unemployment in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted
[651] from the imposition in 1949 of a Purchase Tax on hand-
[162] woven Harris tweed of 666 per cent. If the tax had been maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects on population would have been far-reaching.

APPENDIX I

729 For the year 1937–38, Allowances paid to
434 Forces and their dependants in Lewis (proper) c
Of this sum a greater part was paid through
Office than might have been expected from the
tion. But able-bodied recipients of Allowanc
to the town by the likelihood of finding wo
men of higher rank and pay are apt to be town
657 dependants also. Old Age, Orphans' and Wi
434 exceeded £80,000. Of this sum a relatively lar
also paid through Stornoway Post Office, part
trative reasons, rendering other causes harder t

We turn now to the next source named,
Assistance. The Bureau made payments of £12
the last year for which relevant statistics were
Of this sum, about one-third was Insurance Bene
principle from the joint earnings of workers,
were Public Assistance, contributions to which w
local rates. The fraction paid to Stornoway
relatively small, and may be estimated at barely
of rural payees accounting for the remaining
the Means Test took account of the croft (or s
with house), the average payment to individuals

434 Turning to Money Orders, and taking the b
ment and issue at face value, there was actually a
436 the Island instead of an influx, for the issues exc
ments. In Lewis in 1937–38, whereas nearly
issued in Money Orders, only a little over £30
Even allowing for the fact that part of the paym
through banks or cleared at a central Post Office
land, there would appear to be an outflow,
clearances probably amount to no more than 35
The amounts in Postal Orders paid were sm
£23,000, and the difference between payments a

434 Comparisons between town and country a
Stornoway's position as a shopping centre is re
436 heavier average of Money Order payments per he
• 369 as compared with rural areas (£8·4 as against £

APPENDIX I

434 difference between the issues and the payments in rural areas
436 (£28,000 as against £13,000) is no doubt due to orders drawn
to pay accounts. In this connection, a comparison of con-
369 ditions at an interval of nine years is suggestive for any attempt to distinguish the difference between rural incomes before and after the economic depression. In rural Lewis the total Order payments fell from over £33,000 in 1928–29 to barely £22,000 in 1937–38, a fall of more than a third. Although a decline in the payment of Money Orders in Stornoway was partly offset by an increase in that of Postal Orders there, it is thought that even this reflects a fall in the cash available in the townships, by indicating a fall in the average amount of accounts paid by country customers to Stornoway tradesmen. Even here, it is true, some allowances must be made, as latterly more shopping was done by customers coming into Stornoway by car and probably paying to a greater extent in cash.

[657] Comparisons may now be made, for all the data quoted, between Stornoway and the rural or 'landward' areas of Lewis, and also between landward parishes for all except the [161] Unemployment payments. Population having changed but little from 1931 to 1938, and economic conditions not being very different in the Island in the financial years 1936 and 1937–38, an approximation can be made of payments averaged per head of population. In the following table these are shown in £ sterling to one decimal place.

Average Payments (per Head per Annum)

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	Stornoway Burgh	Stornoway Landward	Barvas	Lochs	Uig	Average Landward
	£	£	£	£	£	£
(a) Allowances and Pensions	10·2	3·3	4·0	3·6	5·9	3·9
(b) Unemployment Payments	2·6	..	..	..	..	5·1
(c) Money and Postal Orders	(8·4)	1·0	0·9	1·2	1·3	1·1
Total	..	..	..	..	..	10·1

APPENDIX I

434 The significant figure here is the average total payment per
head in the rural or 'landward' area, a sum of ten pounds
369 sterling, the complexity of urban conditions, even in a small town, making the total for the Burgh less significant. To put it differently, an average rural household of 4·5 persons thus received a sum of £45 a year from these sources.

All these figures—pointers to the complete facts, unascertained as yet—show that even with the help of these sources the average income of the rural Islanders was small. Comparisons of such figures with those for the rest of Britain would, of course, be misleading. To those who spend their working lives outside their native isle, Lewis is no more than a home; and for them it should therefore be compared to some urban suburb or 'dormitory', rather than to an urban centre of production or a typical agricultural district in the Lowlands.

434 It may help to compare the conditions of 1938 with those
of 1951 if, say, average weekly wage earnings for all British
171 workers in employment are taken for October of both years.
178 Thus, taking the 1938 earnings of 53s. 3d. as 100, those of 1951 were 141s. 1d. or 265 per cent of the first, a figure to be related to the cost of living index which had only risen from 100 to 202 per cent. The total wage-bill gave a still higher increase for Britain, from 100 in 1938 to 287 per cent in 1951. As food forms a heavy part of the doubled cost of living to people in poverty or near it, the crofters' own food does not greatly relieve them. The loss of employment following the close of the mills left little for them but to seek employment beyond the Island.

434 Summing up the facts of this Appendix, it may be said
that the Island furnishes (1) means for partial subsistence for
311 most; (2) means of earning a livelihood, for some; and (3) a home from which many go forth to earn a living for themselves (and their families) elsewhere—meantime contributing to national and local income there. Of these, many return later, either to found a home, to pay visits on holiday or during periods of ill-health or unemployment, or to retire upon the Island.

I. *Circa*

Selected Estimates of (A) *Net Output of Productiv*
Income, in Lev

(A) *NET OUTPUT OF PRO*

(i) URBAN AND RURAL

Net earnings of tweed industry		£307,000
Agriculture (including farms)		194,100
Peat		90,000
House-building and improvement		40,000
Fishing		
Herring (by local boats)	£20,000	
Curing total catch	35,000	
Associated income	20,000	
White fish, etc. (local)	10,000	
Total local fishing	£85,000	85,000
Wages, (fishers on stranger boats)		3,000
,, (women in East Anglia)		10,000
Total (A, i)		£729,100

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3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

1938.

e Industry and (B) *Certain Other Sources of*
vis (proper)
DUCTIVE INDUSTRY

ii) EARNINGS BY CROFTING AND ASSOCIATED RURAL OCCUPATIONS ONLY:

(*a*) Crofts only, 3750; (*b*) All Rural (including cottars and squatters), 4700 households

			Average per Household (*a*) *Crofts*	(*b*) *All Rural*
Earnings of hand-weavers		£75,000		£17·0
Spinners		5,000		
Agriculture (crofting only)		184,350	£49	39·2
Peat		90,000	24	19·0
Housing (State-aided)		15,000		3·0
,, (Other (say))		15,000		3·0
Fishing				
Herring (by rural fishers)	£8,000			
Curing (by rural women)	15,000			
,, (in East Anglia)	10,000			
White fish, etc.	7,000			
Total fishing	£40,000	40,000		8·5
Total (A, ii)		£424,350		£89·7
			(Approx.)	£90

II.

Selected Estimates of (A) *Net Output of*
Incom

(A) *NET OUTPUT*

(i) URBAN AND RURAL

Net earnings of tweed industry (taken as)		£1,20
Agriculture (including farms)		36
Peat		10
House-building and improvement		14
Fishing		
Herring (by local boats)	£30,000	
Curing total catch	70,000	
Associated income	40,000	
White fish, etc. (local)	15,560	
Total local fishing	£155,560	15
Wages (fishers on stranger boats)		
,, (women in East Anglia)		
Total (A, i)		£1,97

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3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

Circa 1953 and 1953–54

Productive Industry, 1953, and (B) *Certain Other Sources of*
e, 1953–54 in Lewis (proper)

OF PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY (1953)

(ii) EARNINGS BY CROFTING AND ASSOCIATED RURAL OCCUPATIONS ONLY:

(*a*) Crofts (with squatter holdings, 3540: (*b*) All Rural (including cottars and squatters), 4700 households

				Average per Household (*a*) *Crofts*	(*b*) *All Rural*
	Earnings of hand-weavers		£275,000		£70
00,000	Spinners		55,000		
0,000	Agriculture (crofting only)		340,000	£91	74
0,000	Peat		100,000	28	21
5,000	Housing (Local Authority)		20,000		21
	,, (D.A.S.)		80,000		
	Fishing				
	Herring (by rural fishers)	£20,000			
	Curing (by rural women)	15,000			
	,, (in East Anglia)	10,000			
	White fish, etc.	7,000			
55,560	Total fishing	£52,000	52,000		12
3,000					
10,000					
73,560	Total (A, ii)		£922,000	(Appr.) £198	

STORNOWAY

going concern to a trust which was set up to receive the gift and whose first object is to assist aged and infirm residents in the burgh. In effect, all profits earned by the shop are passed to the trust for distribution to those in need.

Almost half the houses in Stornoway were built by the local authority. The Town Council has never been afraid of rooting out unfit houses. By 1937, under the 1930 Slum Clearance Act, one person in four in the town lived in a council house. The housing schemes, though large, have still that element of community with personality, something often lacking in newly developed areas of other towns and cities. The Council also supports private housing by taking up sites, clearing and servicing them and then feuing them to private owners. The rents policy is to have no housing deficit beyond the statutory rate contribution (which works out at between £6,000 and £7,000 per annum). The Council's tenants co-operate with rent collection to a unique degree: collection figures are something like 99 per cent and on occasion 100 per cent. A vigorous housing policy is important to the town, as its population is now over 5,300 and still growing, mainly at the expense of the rural areas. Development plans at present envisage a 1981 population of about 9,100 persons within the parish boundary and including the burgh.

Stornoway is an island town and is an island's town: its rhythms of life are those of the island, regular and timed by nature, but with an added syncopation—the result of an urban outlook. In this context, Gaelic is the language, though English is the lingua franca. Deeper still in the methods used for communication is a kind of patois based on Gaelicised English, Anglicised Gaelic, with some other words that defy investigation into their origin. Many words find their natural forebears in Scots, American and the maritime tongues of Europe, which might be expected in view of Stornoway's importance as a sea-port of significance a century or two ago. The Stornoway language, as spoken by true-born natives, recognisable anywhere by another native, reflects the life of the cosmopolitan, sea-faring people.

Apart from its industrial opportunities, Stornoway has many of the more sophisticated urban facilities that people everywhere seem to crave, particularly with regard to education. The senior

rs of northern Skye are dependent upon the 272
the goods of the shopkeepers and the services of 366
n. Several times a week food vans from Portree, 443
ational concern with headquarters in Portree, call
s. Twice a week a shopping bus brings the men
to the village from Glendale, and there is a daily
from Kilmuir. For the nearby neighborhoods, the 368
of religious importance. If the crofters do not
e village to go to church, the local ministers
rve them. They also send their children to school
Few of the crofters take an active part in the
l life of the village, but for all who come in
there is an opportunity for men to stop by at a
a chat with friends and women to get together
m for a bit of gossip. Then too, for many it
ion to visit kinsmen who have left the croft.
, despite its functional importance, the village 369
829
something alien and apart for the crofter.
bonds of friendship and kinship and mutual
pendence, there is antagonism between the rural
village resident.
of the crofter's hostility stems from the religious 369
829
at least one occasion, Portree has been described 771
er as being almost as wicked as Sodom and Gomarrah.[25]
of the majority of the clergy, the village contains
gues of Satin" from which flow the poisons of

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s, Life in a Welsh Countryside, pp. 128-129.

36

369 URBAN AND RURAL LIFE--degree of differenti
and urban modes of life; characteristics of each
effects of urbanization upon social institutions; t
etc. See also:

Social stratification . . . . . 86 Statistics on
Communities . . . . . 62 Sociocultura

9

ation of rural, small town,
and contrasts between them;
rends in urban development;

rural and urban population . . . 162
trends 178

181 621 178 437 829 People prefer to give money in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat-cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendships 572 are still weak, relative to friendships in urban 621 settings. Most information which is shared between [369] [521] individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip. [476] Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutual aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to confide and keep secrets.

621 178 602 Today many of the younger villagers do not know their relatives to the extent that their elders did. In one family, a girl who was about to get married had [685] [576] to ask her brother, who was the only one of the siblings interested in kinship connections, whom to invite to the wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of 602 484 one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there [178] I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in transportation and income, more islanders are taking brief trips away from the island. During these trips, they almost always stay with relatives.

857 577 829 178 It is frequently said that children are now "cheekier," less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, and that they prefer to watch television or read books by themselves to playing with each other.

(B) *REMITTANCES (BY POST), ALLOWANCES,*

With Averages per Ru

(i) Urban and Rural

Money and Postal Orders	£196,680
Allowances (Forces) and Pensions (State), with Unemployment payments	820,430
Total (B, i)	£1,017,110
Total (i, A and B)	£2,990,670

PENSIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS

ral Household (1953-54)

	(ii) Rural		
	(a) *Official Rural*	(b) *Estimated Rural*	(c) *Average per Household*
	£85,600	96,160	£20·5
	590,470	880,850	187·4
Total (B, ii)	£676,070	£977,010	£207·9
			(Approx.) £208
Total (ii, A and B)	£1,598,070	£1,899,010	(Approx.) £405

794 thanksgiving service. The visiting ministers, the "elect,"
796 and the adherents go their own separate ways. They have spent
five days in intense, emotional spiritual communion and they
carry away with them definite, vivid remembrances. Many of
them will meet again in a few weeks when they will exchange
[571] the roles of guests and hosts. The reciprocal nature in all
interpersonal activity on Skye is well developed. In many
ways, the Communion season parallels the Welsh Song Festivals.[18]

794 We noted earlier in our discussion of the Communion
796 season that there has been a decline in the number who attend
178 the Communions. I should like to add a few general consider-
ation to what I have already said on this point. Aside from
the influence of depopulation, there have been several influ-
ential factors in operation. The smaller attendance is
traceable to some extent to an almost imperceptible movement
by the youth away from the more conservative denominations.
The ever-increasing necessity of working for a wage, es-
pecially since most employment opportunities are in summer time
programs, is another cause. This factor is not, however,
important within the local kirk district because most ad-
herents and all the "elect" who work take a vacation in order
to attend. It does mean that visitors may only be able to
attend on the Sabbath.

178 The custom of visiting has almost disappeared in some
794 churches, including the Church of Scotland in Portree where
794
• 369 the fellowship meeting is no longer significant because the
574

[18] Rees, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

"elect" are predominantly newcomers and the elders are either 178
members of the landed gentry or newcomers. I was rather 794
amazed one day when a Skyewoman told me, "the 'Wee-Frees' 796
and 'Seceders' are no better than the Mohammedans giving 574
gifts to idols," when they sent food to the manse for the 369 •
minister's guests at the Communion. Over in Bracadale the [798]
custom is also losing its importance, except in the Free
Presbyterian Church, and the fellowship meeting has been
abandoned in the United Free Church because of the reluctance
of the members to engage in public displays, either at
Communions or at prayer meetings. The custom of visiting
has entirely disappeared in Sleat and Strath. One of the
ministers ascribed this to the isolation of the two parishes
from the rest of the island and from each other. Certainly
the Sgiathanach on the south end of the island seldom locks
to Portree and the northern crofter hardly ever goes to
Sleat, but this does not explain why people from the mainland
will go to Bracadale, by-passing Strath.

The vitality of religion can over-ride considerations 771
of family and friendship if a Sgiathanach deviates from the 626
accepted norm. We may recall the young girl who stole church
funds and was ostracized by her "people" and the whole com-
munity. Let us consider another example. Marriage vows, as 586
we know, are held to be sacred on Skye. Divorce is all but 771
unknown and separation is uncommon. To be precise there are 626
four known cases of separation. Nevertheless, if a husband
or wife were to break a taboo, it is expected that the offender
would be cast out. Forgiveness is not compatible with a

that the people of Skye, including many of the newcomers, 785
have not been favorably impressed by Skye Week. The consensus 795
is that it is not representative of Skye. For the Sgiathanach 541
the Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and
similar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree. 369 •
Here the members and the adherents of the Church of Scotland 795
partake of a number of recreational activities. In the winter 52
there is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer [326]
there is a little golf and tennis. The limitations are not [526]
religious; they are climatic. Then, too, there is shinty.
We have already noted the existence of many clubs. There are [535]
regular dances. Moving pictures take place twice a week. [546]
All of these activities are run by newcomers; the Skyemen have [167]
a more or less passive role. The "elect" of the two smaller 795
sects are, to say the least, very much disturbed by these 794
frivolities. What is worse, the children attend the dances 626
and the concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find 883
enough solidarity among those of their own age grade to out- 52
weigh the threats of their elders. Apparently they find
enough security to be unaffected by the stern denunciations of
the minister from the pulpit. When they marry, however, they 794
have to recast the pattern of their behavior, for now the 884
elders are in a position to exercise control by withholding 626
baptism from their children. Some may turn to the Church of
Scotland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glendale the 888
control by the aged is complete. There is not a single activity 883
626
[369]

796 may need just one more dry day to finish his harvest. If the
241 next day is the Sabbath, his one dry day may be two or three weeks away and the hay a sodden heap. Nor did the Sgiathanach, or any newcomer with a croft, change during the war despite all the pleas of the government for full agricultural pro-
796 duction. This is the one time that the Older Order Amish slogan "And be not conformed to this world" fully applies to the island. Circumspect behavior on this day functions to remind the people of all the negations and all the sanctions which religion has bestowed on the culture.

178 As in the case of Communions, there has been a gradual
796 lessening of the importance of Sabbitarianism, especially since the return of many young men and women from the war.
[369] Again, the rather spontaneous relaxation of the rules is most common in Portree. It does not have the encouragement of the ministers of any church nor the elders of any church,
[626] except the Church of Scotland. Thirty or forty years ago the ministers and the lay kirk officers had enough influence to stop the running of trains throughout the western Highlands, shipping in the Western Isles, and the Kyle-Kyleakin ferry
[486] on the Sabbath. Public transportation is still at a stand-
[204] still on the first day of the week, but the Sunday papers appear in Portree after the evening services, despite all the efforts of the ministers. They come by car from Inverness, by row boat across the strait, and by car to the village.

178 Before the war no one in Portree would let their
796 children out of the house, except to go to church with their
857

parents and to Sabbath school, nor would they allow children 178
to play games in the home. Today the children of the Church 796
of Scotland people are allowed to go for a walk, read, or 857
play games. Tourists, frequently, if not always, intolerant 484
of the strict Sabbath, have no doubt contributed to this 178
relaxation of taboos. Although a further development of the 796
tourist industry would be advantageous economically, tourists are a threat not only to the Sabbath but also to the whole religious complex. They set examples which the youth are only too ready to emulate. Before the war every hotel on 485
the Island, including all in Portree, and every boarding 796
house posted notices requesting visitors to refrain from using their cars for touring on the Sabbath. In many of the guest homes the request was the equivalent of a warning of removal. Today the signs are gone. Still not content, the tourist agencies in England and the Lowlands continue to make snide remarks in their literature, suggesting "a little more tolerance is needed in certain quarters." The youth and some 178
adults of Portree now have begun to go off for a drive around 796
the island. One reason why the Sabbath is still strong in 484
Kilmuir and Glendale is that tourists are not accepted in either district.

Strict Sabbath observance distinguishes three broad 796
groups on the Island. Portree is set apart from the crofters 545
by laxity, and the county people are set apart from the [369]
crofters by using the day for visiting and having afternoon [571]
teas together. The gentry, of course, are not under the

man is no longer concerned with the necessity of having his 771
children baptized, the venerable old men, the family-head 554
elders, prolong their social control by sitting in judgment 183
on those who seek salvation. The strength of age controls 626
is indicated by the continued ability of the elders to resist [178]
all attempts to introduce secular innovations to the crofting neighborhoods. Even in Portree the majority of the people are under the watchful eyes of the old men.

Many of the meaningful patterns of interaction are 771
religious. The rites of passage function to augment social 182
control, restore disturbed equilibriums, and establish new 626
ascribed statuses. The rites of intensification, including those associated with death, function to restore disturbed patterns of interaction in the family, nuclear and extended, and the larger social groups and to establish meaningful relationships when large congregations gather for the celebration of communion. Religion for the majority is not 771
merely dependent on attending church on the Sabbath and [782]
attending Wednesday night prayer meetings. Every day of the week begins with a prayer and ends with family worship. All social activity outside the home is ideally limited to [52]
the church, and the church is never used for mundane activity. Only in Portree are there a number of social activities to [369]
tempt the people. Kilmuir has no more than a Crofters' [575]
Club for men, and Glendale has no social activities, unless one would include the annual meeting of the share holders in the farm.

APPENDIX III

23 good. In response to this realisation, and encouraged too by
33 the growth and prosperity of the tweed industry, the Lewis
Association sprang into being in 1942-43. The Association's
aims are survey, planning and the initiation of action for the
public welfare, economic, social and spiritual. Something
should be said of each of these bodies in turn.

23 The membership of the Town Council, Harbour Trust and
33 Stornoway Trust overlap, the Town being represented on both
33 Trusts. Indeed by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn
up by Leverhulme (in 1923-24), the Stornoway Trust must
include the Provost of the Burgh as its Chairman, together with
Magistrates and Councillors. For some time past the Provosts
and Councillors have been chosen from the more important
business men of the town. Indeed as a result of the constitu-
tion of the Stornoway Trust, urban interests and outlooks might
easily gain undue preponderance at the expense of rural needs.
Nevertheless two members with strong rural ties were elected
to the Trust in recent years.

In view of the growing burden of deficit, the Trust felt
unable to frame a general policy, still less to carry it into action.
To meet the deficit, the Trust sold portions of properties without
reference to any general plan of town or country. Even after
the Trust began to accumulate a favourable balance, hand-to-
mouth decisions continued to be made, undirected by any
clear policy. The most lamentable case occurred when a
garage site was given to the chief Stornoway bus proprietor at
a road junction near the western entrance to the town, close
to the principal new housing schemes and opposite the main
gate of Lews Castle and the Lady Lever Park. The palpable
mistake in siting soon caused strong public criticism. The
Trust repented, and sought to obtain the garage proprietor
from extended use of the area. The parties went to law and
the case was fought through the courts until, in a final decision
reached in the House of Lords, the Trust lost and had to pay a
bill of some £4,000. The lesson of defeat in the court was severe,
capped as it was by the equivalent of a fine of £4 or £5 from
every family in the burgh. Coming at a time when the need

162 The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" hut, some still in good repair, are of uncertain
date. The best preserved are on the Mersgail Deer Forest; in remote situations which
make it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; three on the Garynahine
common pasture are associated with asymmetrically ridged, curving, laystyle. This,
178 however, need not imply permanent occupation of the site, nor does it solve the problem
233 of age; such lazy-beds are certainly old, possibly pre-potato (c. 1750 here) - but the bats
do not decay with age and may be very much older.

Early in the eighteenth century the present area of the parish of Uig was held from the
Macleods clan chief by 26 tacksmen, whose names are recorded in the judicial-rental of
1716, (Fig. 4 i). They, presumably, had sub-tenants but of these there is no record.
Sterkarra in Lewis the same rental records many small tenants holding direct off the
chief but in Uig, apparently, the tacksman and sub-tenant system remained intact.
Although we cannot be certain of their precise extent, the distribution of the tacks
(247) coincides fairly well with that of the better agricultural ground (Fig. 4 j). Five of them
cluster round Uig bay, four are in the Valtos-Reef area, and three around the strait of
Little Bernera. All these districts have machair; together they accounted for three
quarters of the total and more than half the sheep and cattle-grazing rents. What is more, these
rents represented 27% of the total rental of Lewis, whereas by 1887 Uig yielded only 17%
178 of the rental and by 1921 the proportion was reduced to 14%. The relative decline of
362 Uig is largely due to the growth of Stornoway; this shift in the centre of gravity of Lewis
has tended to exaggerate the remoteness and isolation of Uig in the present century.

By the end of the eighteenth century the tacksmen seem to have disappeared; at any
rate they are not mentioned in the remarkably detailed account of the parish given
in the Old Statistical Account (1792). Meanwhile the small tenants had multiplied!
162 whereas in 1755 the old parish * had supported 26 tacksmen, in 1792 the
178 minister recorded 118 tenants. At this time there were no crofts, plough not cart,
178 in the parish. The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them

TABLE 3

AVERAGE STOCK HELD BY EACH FAMILY

	1792	1959
Cattle and calves	9.2	6.1
Sheep	13	37
Horses	1.8	-
Goats	6.8	-
No. of families	387	450

Note: the figures for both dates refer to the area of the old parish.

[632] * The old parish of Uig excluded the Loch Carloway district, from Kirktick north; this area lay in Lochs parish until 1891. Values the old parish is specified figures quoted have been corrected to conform with the modern boundaries.

(See p. 2-Kinloch)

272

The crofters of northern Skye are dependent upon the
village for the goods of the shopkeepers and the services of 366
the tradesmen. Several times a week food vans from Portree, 413
or from a national concern with headquarters in Portree, call
at the crofts. Twice a week a shopping bus brings the men
and women into the village from Glendale, and there is a daily
bus service from Kilmuir. For the nearby neighborhoods, the 368
village is of religious importance. If the crofters do not
come into the village to go to church, the local ministers
go out to serve them. They also send their children to school
in Portree. Few of the crofters take an active part in the
formal social life of the village, but for all who come in
on business there is an opportunity for zen to stop by at a
pub to have a chat with friends and women to get together
in a tea room for a bit of gossip. Then too, for many it
is an occasion to visit kinsmen who have left the croft.
Nevertheless, despite its functional importance, the village 369
has remained something alien and apart for the crofter. 824
Despite the bonds of friendship and kinship and mutual
economic dependence, there is antagonism between the rural
dweller and village resident.

Part of the crofter's hostility stems from the religious 369
ethos. On at least one occasion, Portree has been described 824
by a minister as being almost as wicked as Sodom and Gomorrah.[25] 771
In the eyes of the majority of the clergy, the village contains
the "synagogues of Satan" from which flow the poisons of

[25] Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, pp. 128-129.

273

immorality. For these reasons, among others, the crofters 369
look down on the villagers. As one man said, "The crofters 824
think we all went to Hell long ago." In part the suspicion 369
and distrust of the villager has grown from the attitude of 824
the villager toward the crofter.

Many of the villagers not only look upon the crofters
as narrow minded and bigoted but they resent the presence of
the crofters on economic grounds. A few representative statements
will indicate their views. "The crofters always have their hand
out." "They're aye wantin'. They want water, electricity,
roads, and all sorts of things, and they don't pay a copper
for them." There is a foundation for these attitudes. The
phrase "rich man, the government" has become a common saying
on the island. The crofter has become accustomed to having
the government pay f o r a large part of the cost of his
house, draining his land, and bringing in water and electricity
as well as building roads and piers. Many have come to think
that there is no end to the obligations of the government.
There was one man, for example, whose roof was leaking. Even
though the house was his, crofters it will be remembered own
their homes, he reported it to his landlord, the Department
of Agriculture. Three weeks later, when one of the officers
got out to see him, the roof was still leaking. No, he did
not see why he should fix it. "Let the government do it."
To give another example, in Kilmuir one night there was a
discussion about reeds in the grazing land. "We have reeds
by the square mile," said one fellow, "the government should

274

362 do something about it." The villager feels that he is the one
274 who is paying for all the services and facilities the govern-
ment sponsors. There is a growing consensus that he is just
a working man who has to get along as best he can while the
crofter is coaxed, coddled, cajoled, and pampered with grants,
advantageous loans, and subsidies. "Sure there are poor
crofters just as there are men who fall in business," said one
man, "but if we can't make a go of it, we go down the drain."
Another man put it, "The crofter gets paid by the government
for doing nothing--for having a cow on the hill--all I get I
get by sweat, hard bloody sweat." These feelings are especially
common to the newcomers, but they are by no means held ex-
clusively by this group.

The Social Structure of the Trade-Center Village

121 The village of Portree has a complicated social
structure. While I can accept Murdock's contention that
social classes operate to unite members of different local
groups and to segment the community, I cannot accept his view
that the presence of social classes complicates the social
structure of a community.[26] Class status, as any status,
determines the pattern of reciprocal behavior. By placing
the individual in a group with expected behavior patterns,
the social structure may be simplified. The individual in
the group finds security in the cohesion with others who

[26] Murdock, op. cit., p. 88

271

strongly about this infringement of the traditional norms. 837
Gossip spreads very rapidly. The offenders are said to be 426
"no better than the tinkers." While tinkers are respected 369
because they have the power of the evil eye, they are not 824
accorded any more prestige than we would give a beggar. All
who have any contact with the neighborhood or the village
where the deviants live soon know all the details. Since 369
most of the adulterers on Skye have been in Portree, it adds
another brick to the wall which separates the rural neighbor-
hoods and the trade-center village. The offenders normally
leave Skye as quickly as possible.

The Sgiathanach cannot be said to have a strong sense 423
of property, or, more correctly, the land is valued as a 421
place of residence and identity not as something to be bought
and sold. We have seen that he uses his land communally and
that he often will not leave a will for the house, not to
mention his land. Even though the state thinks otherwise, he
looks upon the natural resources of the island as his for the
taking. At the same time, he normally respects the fruits of 421
his neighbor's labor. Any one can cut peat on the moor, but 369
no one, except an unthinking tourist, would take a piece of
turf once it had been cut. In a similar way, the children are 857
generally well behaved. In the village there is a bit of stone
throwing, a little profanity, and uncommonly some drinking on
the sly, but rarely do children show any disrespect for the
rights of others. One contractor, a Lowlander who came up to
Skye to make alterations on the school, was amazed. Skye

300

his neighbors, and he done them in and took all their money." 555
The villagers and, in particular, the county people 426
enjoy amusing stories about the crofters. One tale concerns 369
a crofter who received electricity from the Hydro-Electric
Board. After the cottage had been wired, his wife bought him
an electric razor. This created a problem. If he plugged
the razor into the single light socket, he could not see to
shave on a winter morning, but if he had the light on he could
not plug in the razor. There are many stories about crofters
who refused electricity because they were afraid the house
might blow up if hit by lightning, and there is the favorite
story of the old woman, on the Isle of Lewis, who thought
electricity was fine to see to light her candle.

To see how gossip, bordering on tradition, is indicative 522
of high prestige status, we may take the story of the doctor
of Kilmuir. One day just after a cattle sale the doctor took
the boat from Portree to Kyle. In addition to several local
people and many cattle, there were two Gaasnaahs on board. 369
The Englishmen asked the doctor how many cattle there were.
He thought there were quite a few. A hundred, the Englishmen
asked. "Sure," said the doctor. Two hundred, they asked.
The doctor again said, "Sure." They then inquired whether
or not the doctor could count. When he answered in the
affirmative, they asked how many they and the doctor were.
He replied, "One hundred, I am one and you two are nothings."
The core of these stories always involves the doctor's getting
the better of someone, especially an Englishman. It may be

in the nurture of the church by being tested on his knowledge 626
of the Bible and the Shorter Catechism. The elders, then, 851
sit in a judicial capacity. If the father measures up to the 888
standards imposed by the elders and the minister, who is their 794
choice and, therefore, must reflect their views, the father 797
is told to present the child for baptism. If he does not satisfy the elders, his child is refused the rewards of the church until his father mends his ways. Here the authoritarian function of the elderly finds expression.

Many men are reluctant to approach the elders to ask for the sacrament. Everyone knows when a man is going to be tested and judged. The humiliation of being refused forces the father to reform. Since the elders think in terms of habitual behavior, one or even two years may pass before the father will feel that he has continuously demonstrated his conformity to the satisfaction of the elders. Nor is the bond of affection between the elder and his people and friends strong enough to prompt any leniency. To do so would threaten the status of the elders and the continuation of their control. In one case a first cousin of the minister was refused.

In the trade center village the question of baptism is 369
a sore point for the ministers of the Free Church and the Free 626
Presbyterian Church. As might be expected, the elders of the 851
Church of Scotland are chosen from the county families and 888
the prominent newcomers. Neither group shares the views of 794
the Sgiathanach as far as their interpretation of circumspect behavior is concerned. For them baptism is administered to

the child. Consequently, the sacrament is normally administered 369
without even the formality of a kirk session examination. The 626
ministers of the other churches assert that non-church-going, 851
drunken fathers whom the kirk session has refused have gone to 888
the Church of Scotland and have secured the sacrament for their 794
children after pretending to mend their ways. They have then gone back to their former habits. It may be so, but at least one man in Portree was very surprised to find that the Church of Scotland can require a severe examination.

At baptism the child is formally introduced into the 851
folds of his father's church. His mother and father stand 794
before the minister and are admonished to bring up the child in the nurture and admonition of God, to the best of their ability.

Marriage is not a sacrament in Scotland, and, therefore, 585
does not provoke any strong resentment beyond a feeling that 179
the Church of Scotland should not have the exclusive right to proclaim the banns of marriage. It is the one time in 585
the life of a woman when she is the center of attention and 562
has complete control over the situation. She decides where 794
she will be married and what minister will preside. Church affiliation seems to make little difference. At least, the wedding of a daughter of a strict Free Presbyterian family in the Church of Scotland did not give the people any cause to gossip. Although a wedding is no more than a legal formality, the vows made at marriage are sacred. It would not strike Americans as being particularly significant to omit the promise to obey from the ceremony; Americans are said to have an

eternity. If he was one of the "elect," he will enjoy eternal 763
life. If he was not one of these venerable old men and women, 554
he can expect to suffer eternal damnation. Although baptism 773
is a sacrament and removes original sin, it is only the initial 851
step in the direction of salvation, which election alone confirms. Neither the minister nor any member of the bereaved 792
family offers a prayer. "What more can you do than bury him," 764
one woman asked. An old man said, "They are just as well 793
remembered without praying for them." In a community which 792
is dominated by the old people, and in the crofting neighborhoods where so many of the crofters are very old, death can be expected to disturb the equilibrium of social interaction. In Glendale during November and December of 1953 funeral processions made their way through the glen no less than nine times. The function of the minister is to restore the dis- 793
turbed patterns, both in the family and in the neighborhood 182
(or village). All work stops in the township for three days from the time of death. Some of the cosmopolitans of the 369
village, seeking to justify their deviating behavior, assert 287
that the lazy crofter looks forward to a funeral because it means three days of idleness. In the village, of course, it 369
is no longer possible to bring daily life to a standstill because the villagers serve a wide area. Too "people" of the deceased do stop work and close their shops. On the day of the funeral all blinds are drawn until after the procession has passed.

As he would if there were illness in the family, the 793
minister calls on the bereaved family and leads them in family 764

worship. If the deceased is a Sgiathanach, the minister will 793
call every night, if he can. Otherwise, he may call only 764
once. His participation in family worship helps to refocus the patterns of interaction within the nuclear family and within the small circle of "people," "friends," and neighbors who come to visit and take part. Some sophisticated villagers 184
take this opportunity to justify their own deviations, such 369
as going to a concert; for them this is all "a religious ceilidh with all their psalm singing, praying, and greeting." The 152
people do not keen, as they do in Ireland, but the women are 562
seldom dry-eyed. Again the villager may comment that the minister at least should say a few kind words about the dead, "just to comfort his family."

On the day of burial a second and more inclusive rite of intensification is held. On this occasion the function of the minister, often aided by an elder, is to restore the equilibrium within the total sphere in which the deceased habitually moved during his life. If the person had high prestige status, the ministers of two churches conduct the family worship. All the "people," "friends," and neighbors, both men and women, attend. The minister begins with a prayer for the family, asking God's guidance. This is followed by the singing of a few verses of psalm by all who have gathered. Next the minister reads from Scripture. He concludes with another prayer for the family. If there are two ministers, or a minister and an elder present, they alternate in leading the group. If there are any present who do not "have the Gaelic," they also alternate between English and Gaelic. We have seen how 764

There is another aspect to the prayer meetings. They 794
are no longer held in the Church of Scotland in Portree. 795
The ministers of the other sects say this is an indication 794
of the low degree of spiritual enlightenment among that 369
congregation. Further, Wednesday night is picture night in the village. The newcomers taunt the devout with, "off to the pictures?"

It is at these Wednesday night meetings that the people 554
get to know one another. They participate in the worship 571
through the eminent "Ken," who in a society such as Skye 794
where almost everybody is related on one side of the family 602
or the other by some bond of consanguinity or affinity, are the "people" or "friends" of the worshippers. This custom of offering extempore prayers not only augments the prestige of the "elect" but it intensifies the unity of the group and makes them secure in the knowledge that they belong. This feeling of unity and the sense of belonging is further strengthened in some churches by setting aside a day of Humiliation. Services are held during which the congregation 792
as a group beseech God for forgiveness for the poor spiritual condition of the world. In their minds the God of this world is surely the Prince of Darkness.

But for the interaction of the members of the several 794
sects, the control of the "elect" would not be as strong as 795
it is. The elders of one kirk cannot exercise any direct 626
control over the adherents of another sect. Through what agency could they express their judicial and authoritarian

same as in the crofting areas. When a young girl presented 794
herself for instruction in the significance and meaning of 795
church membership, preparatory to her acceptance of Communion, 369
she refused to take the final step not because of any personal 626
religious problem, but rather because such a step would upset her normal associations. What her Free Church and Free Presbyterian friends would say was her main concern. Who was she to become an "elect" member? Here, then, is the answer to how the elders of the other sects are able to control behavior of the larger group, through the fear of gossip as a negative social sanction and, perhaps, rejection.

The semi-annual Communion celebrations are rites of 794
intensification par excellence. Although some churches 795
celebrate only one commemoration of the sacrament, and it may be as early as February or as late as November, the months from late April until early September, are commonly referred to as the "Communion Season." The activities of the people during this period cast additional light on the influence of religion in ordering social relationships. While 573
clique membership based on sectarian affiliation is a secondary 571
factor in determining the patterns of interaction in the extended family in the local group, it is very important in determining one's wider relationships, the relationships between the neighborhoods and between the Sgiathanach and the mainland Highlander.

Within living memory thousands used to come to the 178
Communion celebrations from all parts of Skye and many nearby 794
796

372

IRE--generation of fire; techniques and apparatus (e.g., fire plow, fire drill, int and steel, fire piston, matches); borrowing, preservation, and transporta-on of fire; tinder and kindling; fuels; uses of fire; beliefs about fire and as-ociated practices; etc. See also:

Brand tillage	241	Firing of pottery	323
Cooking	252	Hearths, stoves, and lamps	354
Gathering of firewood	313	Fire protection	368
Production of charcoal	314	Manufacture of oil and gas	382
Coal mining	316	Conflagrations	731

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

ECOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

361 The crofting township is not quite akin to the English or Low-
land village. Primarily it is a collection of dwellings of families
who, as social units, gain their subsistence from the land sur-
rounding the houses. The smallest number for a township is four
476 family units. A functional unit of four men was the minimum
necessary for a boat crew, or for the teamwork necessary to culti-
vate land; co-operation was essential if all four families were to
survive. And from this grew the same spirit of communal work
which in Lewis is seen at its best in the efforts to reclaim peat
bog and turn it into fertile grassland.

361 Hebridean townships come close to being the nearest approach
[565] to a classless society. The shape of a township is largely dictated
by the nature of the surrounding land. The shape of most of those
in Harris and in Lewis is either scattered or linear (houses disposed
in line at varying distances from each other), with little natural
[491] cover, either plantation or scrub. Often the main road runs
through the township; some have begun to develop lateral roads,
to give, from the air, the appearance of planning on a grid system.
244 Where gardens are cultivated, the produce tends to be a summer
vegetable supply for the household, little if any finding its way to
• 372 Stornoway shops for sale. Peat is the usual fuel, though in town-
ships near to the centres of Tarbert and Stornoway coal is burned;
the cost of freight, however, makes it expensive.

471 Most of the townships are owned by commercial companies;
individual lairds own some five dozen; the remainder belong to
public bodies and trusts. The actual distribution of ownership of
land on the island is as follows. Harris is virtually owned by in-
dividual lairds; a small percentage is owned by commercial
companies. The Lochs region of Lewis has a mixed ownership:
commercial companies, lairds, and public trust, the former being
the largest. Stornoway parish is wholly owned by public trust.
The Ness district is virtually the property of commercial com-
panies; a small fraction belongs to public trust. The Uig district
is the same, the smaller proportion, less than 10 per cent, being
the concern of an individual laird.

In Lewis, the public body mentioned is the Stornoway Trust,

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

THE OTHER ISLANDS

*175 18 [826] even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil. Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naïvely at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started, [276] HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship [731] among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what [262] they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island consisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from [272] March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond [342] of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the [372] Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were [405] some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only [162] two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose [212] from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoe- [463] makers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses, [294] and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and [286] sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each [462] croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged [427] for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

439 Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the 435 island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers; [237] and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

3: Geddes ES10 Highland Scots ES10

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317
372

[For information on collection of peat, see category 314.]

island; but islands in isolation must carry a population of suitable numbers and age structure before they can support even a minimum of amenities. In the Western Isles, Stornoway used to be the only community to have a semblance of the services taken for granted in similar towns on the British mainland. The elements of commerce, industry, education and religion were established there initially, to spread with characteristic slowness first to the immediately accessible areas and then to remoter regions. Though many parts of the island are now at least within practicable travelling distance of the social and public services expected in urban communities, some townships have yet to see one or another of them within their own boundaries.

The Stornoway Gas Light Company was formed in 1840 by Sir James Matheson, with a capital of £350. The plant consisted of one horizontal retort which produced about 1,000,000 cu ft of gas annually. The old buildings still stand, and the plant now has three vertical retorts with an annual production of just over 40,000,000 cu ft. Rural areas use Calor gas, introduced to the island in 1935.

The public electricity supply has of course made the greatest impact on the island as a whole. Electricity was known in the island long before the public supply arrived, generated privately by individuals, hotel concerns or public authorities. One of the first plants of significance was installed in the second municipal building in Stornoway (the first, built in 1905, was destroyed by fire in 1918), and was driven by a gas engine. In 1919 Lord Leverhulme installed an electricity plant in Lews Castle, which also had a private intercommunication system. While this work was being done Leverhulme proposed to give electric lighting to the town. Other buildings with their own plant included the hospitals and the mills, which were turning to electric motors for driving their line shafting, the power take-off for spinning and carding machinery.

In 1929 an electricity supply company, with a capital of £12,000 was proposed, the Stornoway Electric Supply Company being registered in 1932. Its financial fortunes were chequered, though revenue was rising slightly by the time the second world war began. In 1948, on nationalisation of electricity supplies, the

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374 HEAT--sources of heat; methods of producing and regulating heat; beliefs about heat and cold; practical and scientific knowledge about heat; uses of heat; etc. See also:

Chemical industries 38
Cooking 252
Refrigeration industry 264
Refrigerators and incubators 416
Heating, insulation, and air-conditioning systems and appliances 354
Manufacture of heating appliances 394
Ethnophysics 822

[Caversta]

Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for fanking or other purposes and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes are normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered, and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for black leg, braxy and louping ill, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third week of May.

The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep soum, but the overall stocking is only 88 per cent of the total souming. Two crofts only exceed their individual soums, while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however, poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuable for wintering the hogg. Lewis Blackface sheep are the predominant breed and the wool, clipped in July, is sold to the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter house. The 1958 loss at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the growth of grass for the ewes. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early-born calves may be sold in the Autumn at six months old, those born later must be wintered to eight months until the Spring sales. The cows are served by the Department of Agriculture Highland bull at Habost, but although good prices are obtained for beef cattle, it is felt that for the family milk supply, a dairy bull would produce a better strain.

In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. In most cases the land under each crop is less than half an acre and nowhere does it exceed two acres. The land has been built up into lazybeds about six to ten feet wide, separated by open drainage channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor (hired from Habost) is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not altogether suitable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by marsh and steep faces of bare rock.

Neither Torista nor Caversta is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the road near Gromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and an inferior footpath joining the main road at Garyvard. The lack of a good road within the dyke acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilisers. Byre manure is used on all the crofts and seaweed is brought from the shore and spread on the lazybeds. Artificial manures, used on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. This lack of incentive to improve is perhaps even more marked by the fact that on one holding alone is a rotation practised - potatoes, oats undersown with clover, then hay for three or four years. Apart from this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the same strips for many years. Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay and is often cut from lazybeds that were formerly cultivated. On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridges can be seen to have a crescentic shape and are thought to date back more than one hundred years. A short distance beyond the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonised by heather.

Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch within the dyke, is cut on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and later brought home by creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens and all keep up to twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the larders, are also maintained.

In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Caversta and seven at Torista. After 1881, when maximum figures of fifty-nine and nineteen were noted, there was a secondary peak in 1911 in Caversta, followed by a steady drop to twenty in 1951 and eighteen in 1958.

376

376 WATER POWER--generation of industrial power by harnessing the energy of flowing or falling water; hydraulic engines (e.g., rams, water wheels, turbines); special installations and facilities (e.g., tidal installations); actual and potential output of water power; specialized personnel (e.g., hydraulic engineers); organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Water supply . . . . . 312 Pumps and power-operated machinery. . . . 408
Hydroelectric plants 377

INTRODUCTION

Headrick's recommendations. However, he promised to make experiments on the economic value of the 'bog-ore of iron' found in many parts of the island, with a view to making bar-iron. Peat was to be used as a fuel for smelting.

With so much water on the island, it is natural to expect to find some of it harnessed for the generation of electricity. The Gisla hydro-electric scheme is on the west of Lewis, to the west of the shores of Little Loch Roag. The Harris scheme is at Loch Chliostair, at the foot of the three peaks of Tirgamore (2,227 ft), Ullaval (2,135), and Oreval (2,165). Some 12 per cent of the island's total electricity production is generated thus, the remainder being diesel generation at Stornoway (see Chapter 11).

Next to water, the island's most readily available resource is its stifling blanket of peat, which covers more than 80 per cent of Lewis's land area. It has had a more than significant effect on the natural history of the area, its scenery and the human element. When the deposits were examined in varying detail in 1910-11, it was estimated that they covered no less than 230 square miles, in depths up to 16·5 ft; the average depth of peat over the whole island was assessed at 5 ft. On this basis the deposits would contain approximately 85 million tons of solids. A survey carried out by the Peat Section of the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland in 1952 indicated that the earlier estimates were slightly high.

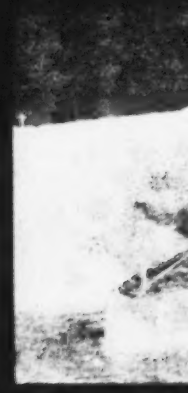
In 1946-7 the Ministry of Fuel & Power reconnoitred the peat deposits on both sides of the Stornoway-Barvas road and indicated that these were suitable for large-scale utilisation. Yet today, despite these Government-backed investigations, the peat deposits of Lewis are still used only for domestic fuel. One of the points made in a 1952 survey was that the area was generally firm enough to take the weight of various bog machines for digging and milling. Another point was that the calorific values of ten out of twelve peat samples were in excess of 10,000 BTU/lb.

CLIMATE

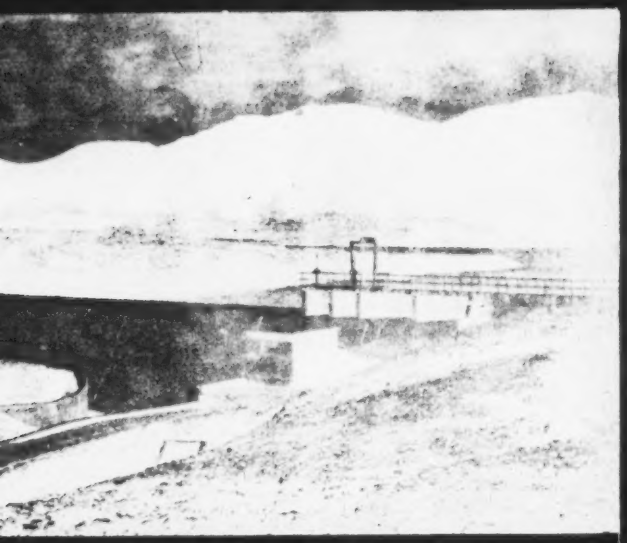
The rainfall has already been mentioned, averaging an annual 43 inches, according to readings taken at the Meteorological

(above) Civil-e

(below) Civil-en
one of the



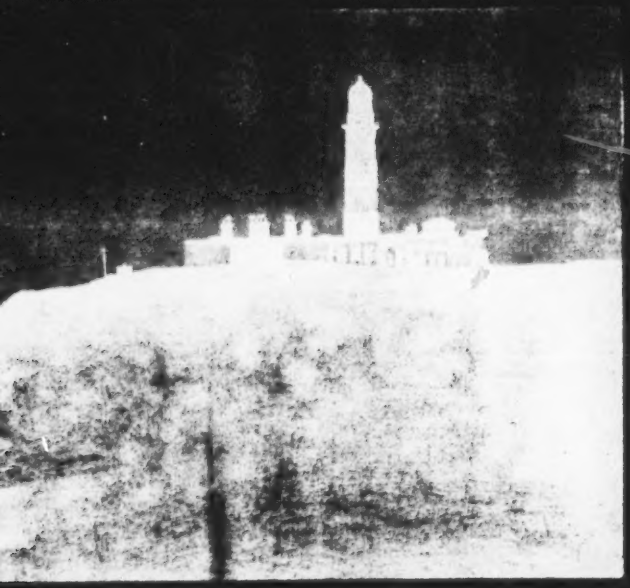
(no date) 1970 Isle Highland Scots Isle
Lewis and Harris



ngineering works in Lewis: the dam at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme

/p. 72/

gineering works in Harris: the Eilean Glas lighthouse on Scalpay Island, our original lighthouses built in 1789. A new tower was built in 1824



377

377 ELECTRIC POWER--conversion of other energies into electricity; electrical generators; electric power plants; special installations and apparatus; metho of storage and transmission; electrical engineering; actual and potential outpu of electric power; specialized personnel; organization of labor and production regulation; etc. See also:

Telephone and telegraph 206
Radio 207
Electrical installations in building construction. 337
Heating and lighting appliances 364
Municipal power and light systems 365
Manufacture of electrical equipment 393
Description of electrical machinery and appliances 403

be high until 1948. The year 1947 was the peak year for the production of Harris Tweed, with over 5,000,000 yards (of which 3,765,000 yards were stamped, and some 1,500,000 unstamped). In 1948 the production of unstamped tweed had fallen to 500,000 yards but stamped tweed came to 4,380,000 yards.

Then, in the year 1948 the imposition of a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax struck the industry a crippling blow. The rise in prices of wool increased difficulties, and by 1950 few orders were being booked and men were being paid off. A few small men who had relatively large stocks frozen by the purchase tax were able to sell them off, but this minor compensation for losses was short-lived. The outlook is disquieting.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House-building*, 1938

(a) *Agriculture*.—The estimated agricultural output shows a total value of £189,100, and of this total the quantity fed to animals was valued at £103,000. This leaves £86,100 as the estimated value of crop produce consumed on the Island. Adding this figure to the gross livestock output we arrive at a total valuation of the agricultural production of Lewis of approximately £194,100. To arrive at the average output per croft there was deducted the farm production, estimated at $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total by calculation from known crop and stock returns. This gives a figure for crofts alone of £184,400. By dividing by 3750, we obtain an average value of the gross annual production by crofters as £49, or say £50. The inclusion of squatters' produce would add so slightly to the total figure as hardly to affect the average for rural households. Outlays being small, most of this net output may be regarded as 'net earnings'.

(*b*) *Peat*.—To this sum must be added firing and some share in housing. The peat cut has been valued at £90,000, an average of £24 per croft; it demands much labour. As peat is freely cut by cottars and squatters, etc. (estimated at 1050 or so), the average value might be given as £19 per rural household. In Stornoway the chief fuel is coal.

(*c*) *House-building*.—From 1920 to 1940 the Department of

373

373 LIGHT--sources of light; methods of producing light; practical and scientific knowledge about lighting; uses of light; outdoor lighting systems (e.g., street lighting); beliefs about light; etc. See also:

Signaling with lights 202
Photography 215
Indoor lighting systems and appliances. . . . 354
Manufacture of lighting appliances 394
Optical instruments 416
Portable lights 416
Theatrical lighting 536
Ideas about day and night 821
Ideas about colors and shadows 822

365 company gave way to the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board.
*175 In that year there were 1,063 consumers, all within the Stornoway burgh boundaries. With its social remit, the board started on bringing power to rural areas, even where uneconomic. Lighting
[354] in the crofting townships was mostly by oil lamps, mainly the hot-mantle type (the 'Tilley'), but by 1960 the number of electricity consumers had reached 8,124, and the present number is about 96 per cent of the potential. Harris received its supply in
• 377 1954. The generating station is at Stornoway and employs diesel-
*175 engined units as prime movers, with an annual output of some 22,000,000 units. In August 1960 the Gisla scheme came into operation, the island's first hydro-electric plant; designed to produce some 2,000,000 units annually, it harnesses the waters of the Gisla River, which flows out of Loch Grunnabhat in the parish of Uig, Lewis. The station has a capacity of 540 kW. The other hydro-electric scheme is at Loch Chliostair in North Harris, planned to produce about 2,400,000 units annually.

312 The provision of water and drainage is still on the drawing boards for a number of crofting townships, though work is progressing for others. The Uig water scheme has cost some £100,000, a relatively large sum for a small population and amplified by similar work for drainage schemes. This scale of public expenditure must continue if people are to stay in their native villages and not migrate to Stornoway or leave the island altogether. Stornoway's new water scheme has cost something in the region of £160,000, but is vital if the town hopes to attract industry. The original burgh water supply was started in 1846 by Sir James Matheson and a few businessmen. The capital of the Stornoway Water Company was only £800, but it gave the town a gravity-feed supply from the nearby Loch Aridh na Lic long before many larger places on the mainland had considered such projects. Heavy floodstorms destroyed the old dam in 1933, and a new waterworks at Loch Mor a Starr was opened in 1937. As Stornoway extended the old loch had outlived its usefulness; for many years there had been difficulty in getting water to the higher parts of the town, particularly during the heavy fishing seasons when the fishermen drew off large quantities.

231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' sheilings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig sheilings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Mealasta farm,until about 1939, sheilings were used in that area.

314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears
241 evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation. Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres
312 of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a
• 377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very
301 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers -
286 nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy;
464 in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady
[304] income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R.A.F. station and at least
[467] one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns a tractor which he hires
[442] out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Moire peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogge but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whole
[427] is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hogge on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hogge
[232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hogge that are sent. The minister at Timsgarry who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well; the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked.
[239] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.[1]

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
175 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on
[361] each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grassed, are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Amhuinn Thoraghain and Allt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area, still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainzval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

464 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment.
228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil, three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

464 Mitchels's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
[316] ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present.
[312] The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two
[377] Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric shceme
• [442] site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

1. [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

23 There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters
233 exceed their souming (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 166 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

312 The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had elec-
377 tricity since 1954. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway
111 and also one bus from Uig and one from Bernera passing through Garynahine. These good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

463 There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the remaining two being to old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only
[178] two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

172 Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle
133 is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about 125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide)
[361] which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing; it is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the highest point is 425 ft.

175 The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century,
427 and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader to work for one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the
34 more exposed westward facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced by the 90 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which now forms the boundary between the croftland and the common pasture. The croftland
241 varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertiliser and manure are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial fertiliser. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on a small peninsula from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland at high tide.

175 The croft houses were then in two nuclei; one on each side of the narrow neck. Much
361 later a third nuclei developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Bernera; they had put to sea in small
427 boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some
427 of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any
311

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

[Cromore] [Marivig]

366 butchers' vans call on Wednesday and Friday and a fish van once or twice during the week. Goods
[494] are also conveyed by the daily bus. Electricity was brought to the village about four years ago
377 and the inhabitants now look forward to a supply of piped water in about two years' time. At present
[312] only three or four Houses have bathrooms.

The crofts, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a satis-
241 factory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It seems
434 that the recent subsidies for fishing are good enough to attract fishermen from Cromore and one or
[228] two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were longer. Weaving has brought prosperity
288 but, as the Park Association states in its Second Progress Report "there is not sufficient weaving available for the present number of weavers". The proposal to establish a spinning and processing plant in the Park District made in the 1957 Report, would undoubtedly be of great value to the
000 people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants suggested that a hotel built on Crobeg Farm would bring some benefit to the community. However, even if these three increased sources of income became effective, one wonders whether they would be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Stornoway.

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B. A.

131 Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triangular sea loch opening to the north-east and sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, making the loch an ideal anchorage and harbour.

133 The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slopes more gradually and irregularly, with frequent precipitous rock outcrops, for two hundred to five hundred yards to rise steeply to a line of low hills, two hundred and fifty feet to three hundred feet high, surrounding the loch. All crofts thus have an easterly or north-easterly aspect, not particularly favourable for agriculture, and only one has any appreciable area of level land
134 uninterrupted by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin, and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely dispersed.

137 The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common grazing, are mainly covered with heather, moor grass or sphagnum bog, while the lower areas within the township are grassy, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not yet a problem, and only small areas exist, mainly on the lower slopes of the western side of the loch. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant
241 and worked by another crofter, and one worked from a house on the common. With the exception
692 of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in radial fashion (Fig. 4). The size of the crofts varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and few now cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses being on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

241 Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' system. Owing to the rocky nature of the
[240] terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two yards wide. Potatoes and oats are
246 grown in rotation, and hay taken from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters sow grass for hay
237 or undersow their crops. Dung and seaweed are used as fertilisers, with potato fertiliser as the
[824] most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce, carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

[Marivig]

231 There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hun and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer,
[236] all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofte keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

314 Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north o
482 the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

228 Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his crof
501 and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stor and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two othe are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobs during the winter and markets them in London.

463 Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the
464 roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Geo fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual
466 migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of th
467 permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school - over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-n
462 (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young
471 people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

205 The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a
206 shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. Th
466 is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road
494 which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much
458 better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig
491 and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.
446

363 Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the
361 sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, whil the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remai
342 and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron
377 All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply;
312 rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

829 The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for th drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the
000 crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

434 and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there
435 one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and
504 nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

161 An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared w
162 those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is la
considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one hou
and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of th
resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty
resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crof
townships in Park.

463 Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillar
241 occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with rep
223 employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers.
222 over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy a
205 nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.
494

166 Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939.
167 Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.
505

351 Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every
342 has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. M
349 of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. R
312 of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the sho
361 up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the s
491 Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

484 Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most
attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scott
Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the re
they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than re
485 of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

000 It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerabl
407 enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from wh
is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on
311 outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted
242 all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is
being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver a
463 contemporary employment combinations.

181 The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above
is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditio
000 it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

131 Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the he
361 a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fif
241 of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting
to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed co
113 tents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

286 462 *175 433 273 *175 433 [427] [438] womenfolk, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. In Lewis, male weavers were more common: one to every twenty-five families. The making of whisky was introduced about the seventeenth century. This was in addition to the old drink of home-brewed beer or ale *(lionn)*, and much of it was made to pay rents; it must have consumed a considerable quantity of valuable foodstuff. However, the spread of distillation as a legitimate home industry by which the rent could be paid, in kind or by sale, was followed by legislation prohibiting all but very large stills; illegal distilling of course went on in a small way.

*175 511 It was, then, by a very narrow margin that subsistence was won in the island some two centuries ago. Many times famine showed how close was the wolf to the island doors. The introduction of the potato, and the interest in the fishing industry led to an increase in the population, though as discussed in Chapter 3 this in turn brought more problems. Basically, the island economy had never been organised on a sound foundation, with the result that winds of change blew where they would with little or no control.

*175 824 323 • 388 433 A new factor in the island economy was introduced after 1750. This was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed on the shore for subsequent use in the manufacture of alkali for the glass and soap industries. The first tentative move in the island was made by MacLeod of Harris in 1748, when he allowed some Irish labourers to make kelp on his shores; so little was the product's value realised at the time that he only charged them 2s per ton manufactured. As the burning of kelp came to be understood, and the marketable value of the product ascertained, the native population set to. Between 1772 and 1864, about 50 tons were produced in Lewis each year, compared with some 800 tons per annum in the Uists; the Harris figure was 500-600 tons. The growth of the industry began to snowball, and the Minister of Lochs, writing in the *Old Statistical Account*, states that at the time (1796) some 50 tons were being produced in that parish per annum. In Stornoway parish, though no figure is available, [221] the minister reports that kelp-burning was the principal manufacture, and that everyone able to fill a creel, or carry one, was employed at it for about three months of the year. Little of it seems to have been done in Barvas parish. The price of kelp varied

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

according to the amount of barilla (its great competitor, a carbon- *175 824 323 388 • 433 ate of soda made from plant ashes) which found its way into the British market. When the American war interfered with the imports the kelp price was as high as £22 per ton. Prices began to decline about 1810, and from 1822 successive reductions in duties on salt and barilla resulted in the decline and demise of the kelp industry. As a consequence great distress appeared in those districts which had founded their whole economy on seaweed.

The weeds of most value to the industry, because they yielded [137] most salts, included *laminaria digitata, laminaria bulbosa, ascophyllum nodosum* and *fucus serratus*. One ton of kelp yielded an average of 8 lb of iodine, with certain quantities of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, and carbonate of soda. When subjected to special treatment and distillation, 2-3 cwts of sulphate of ammonia, and several gallons of naphtha, paraffin oil, and volatile oil were also derived.

The fishing industry, discussed in the previous chapter, took *175 228 over where the kelp-making industry left off and became another king-pin in the island economy. By the end of the last century it seemed set fair for continuing prosperity. In 1900, harbours were [503] being planned and built with State aid in Uig, at Carloway, Ness [653] and Tarbert. Then 1914 came, and with it sweeping changes in international trade. Island fishermen were left workless with [511] wrecked and rotting fishing boats. In twenty years the number of Scotland's fishermen was halved; the remainder were all but ruined. The islanders' fate mirrored this pattern.

Yet another significant source of income for island families for *175 701 434 almost 200 years came from the men in military service, who either sent money home or returned home with their gratuities and pay. In the wars of the last century many enlisted in the Highland regiments, the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Even today, the income from this external activity is not insignificant.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

*175 113 Information and statistics about the economy of the island in the middle of the eighteenth century are to be found in Walker's *Economical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scot-*

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

000 landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time.

175 Wars brought enlistment in the Highland regiments,
162 the Navy and Merchant Marine. Owing to migrations of
all kinds, males came to be outnumbered by females, then
[702] as later (100 males to 114 females, 1931).[1] In Lewis in
[167] 1795 the proportion was 100 to 111, and in Harris 100 to
124. From this period onwards the 'export of men' con-
175 tinued, modified by the reserve for war. Men were trained
162 for the Naval Reserve and Militia; and in 1900 for instance
800 men were training at Fort George and 2500 sailors
702 were in the Reserve. The maintenance of a reserve for the
Navy was one of the strongest pleas for the framing of the
Crofters Act.

175 A new resource, important to the Islanders after 1750,
824 was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed upon
the shore, for use in the manufacture of alkali in the glass
323 and soap industries. From 1770 onwards the price rose,
• 388 heightened first by an import duty, then by the Napoleonic
Wars. Estimating from the high prices, averaging over
175 £10 per ton from 1800 to 1823, Sir John Sinclair put the
824 value of the annual produce (20,000 tons) at £200,000. "It
435 may appear surprising", he remarks, "how that sum could
be of such importance to 80,000 people"; but he goes
on to point out that this gave the additional cash needed
to supplement their subsistence. But even when Sinclair
wrote in 1825, the industry was in peril. Failure and loss
occurred almost immediately after, with disastrous effect.

175 It is complained in the *New Statistical Account* that
433 owing to the summer-time work of kelp-making up to
1830, the people could give little attention to the crofts, so
[511] that their extension must almost have ceased. Nor could

[1] In 1951 the ratio in Lewis was 100 males to 112 females, and in Harris, 100 to 110.

396

396 SHIPBUILDING -- construction and repair of boats, ships, and underwater c
manufacture of shipbuilding materials and equipment (e.g., marine motors,
nautical gear); industrial specialization (e.g., shipyards); organization of lab
and production; etc. See also:

Manufacture of cordage	283	Description of water craft	501
Woodworking	322	Water transport	505
Carpentry	336	Naval vessels	716

THE LEWIS CHEMICAL WORKS

he Lewis Chemical Works

But it must at least be recorded that he made the first-ever 382 • ttempts at introducing a true industrial activity on a large scale: 175*
ne Lewis Chemical Works, which cost him some £33,000. The asis of the enterprise was the real possibility of turning the Lewis eat bogs into oil. The idea was sound enough, but incompetent nanagement killed it off; its death was hastened with the dis-overy of natural oils in America and in the Middle East.

An experimental plant was built near Lews Castle. Another vas erected on the banks of the River Creed, and to protect the almon for which this river is famous, Matheson had to spend onsiderable sums in trying to keep the discharge effluent out of ne waters. A third distillation plant was erected, this time well way from the Castle grounds. A kiln was built, elaborate con-ensers were fitted up, peat was cut and stacked, and a canal, hree-quarters of a mile long, was cut to convey the peat to the lant. Troubles were considerable, despite the efforts of a chemist rought by Matheson from London. In time, the plant began to roduce. Each working day of twenty-four hours, about 18 tons f peat were used in the kilns; another 3½ tons were used to fire ne boilers. The recovery figure of crude hydrocarbons was around per cent.

With reasonable success in sight, work was put in hand for the uilding of tramways across the peat bogs so that the material ould be obtained from a greater area. Also, a refining plant was uilt at Garrabost, eight miles away from the distilling plant, hich added greatly to costs and increased the inconvenience so ar as managing the plant was concerned. For some ten years, the ewis Chemical Works produced quite valuable products. One f the first, which found a good market, was a lubricant for wagon xles and heavy machinery; within a short time of its introduction ne demand exceeded the supply. But, instead of increasing pro-uction, the management authorised the addition of water to a [439] -ton consignment for Glasgow to fulfill a rush order. It came ack by the next steamer; and further orders for it dwindled to othing.

It was a ship's captain who discovered that the peat tar was n excellent anti-fouling grease for ships' bottoms. Samples were

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

• 382 *175 sent to several shipping ports, and the response was good; one Liverpool chandler even offered to take the whole output at a good price. But again the product was rendered useless, this time by being subjected to a partial-distillation process, in the thought that this would improve it; orders stopped. One shale-oil firm offered to take the crude peat tar to refine along with its own products for the purpose of modifying the flash-point of the oil it was itself manufacturing. Most commercial enterprises would have jumped at the chance of disposing of their output without the need for the always-tricky refining process, but here personal interests intervened and another avenue of profit was blocked.

The Lewis Chemical Works had by this time become something of a showpiece, chemists and scientists mecca-ing their way to Stornoway to see both plant and product. One eminent chemist pronounced the plant one of the most successful ever erected for the distillation of hydrocarbon oils from peat, and an Irishman said that if the Irish Peat Company's installation had been as successful as the Lewis counterpart, Ireland would have been enriched by her peat bogs. By the middle of the 1860s a ton of peat tar was being produced for 70s, as against 100s for unrefined shale oil. Peat oil sold at first at 2s 9d per gallon, then dropped to [435] 2s 6d and finally to 2s, presumably as the American oil products were reaching the market. The writing was on the wall. Sir James Matheson, realising too late that perhaps a closer control should have been applied to the venture from the beginning, decided to cut his losses and close the works. All the metal—condensers, pumps, stills, pipes, and tanks—was broken up and sold for scrap. Nearly four miles of light railway had been laid from the Creed Works to the peat bogs; this was lifted for scrap. So ended the first phase of industrial Lewis. The venture proved, however, that with adequate skill and knowledge success could be grasped.

Bricks, printing, whisky

339 *175 The brickworks which Matheson built for £6,000 at Garrabost produced building materials and some fine examples of drain-
396 *175 ing tiles, but has now disappeared. The Patent Slip built at Stornoway for another £6,000 was able to take ships of up to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 127]

island; but islands in isolation must carry a population of suitable numbers and age structure before they can support even a minimum of amenities. In the Western Isles, Stornoway used to be the only community to have a semblance of the services taken for granted in similar towns on the British mainland. The elements of commerce, industry, education and religion were established there initially, to spread with characteristic slowness first to the immediately accessible areas and then to remoter regions. Though many parts of the island are now at least within practicable travelling distance of the social and public services expected in urban communities, some townships have yet to see one or another of them within their own boundaries. 36

The Stornoway Gas Light Company was formed in 1840 by Sir James Matheson, with a capital of £350. The plant consisted of one horizontal retort which produced about 1,000,000 cu ft of gas annually. The old buildings still stand, and the plant now has three vertical retorts with an annual production of just over 40,000,000 cu ft. Rural areas use Calor gas, introduced to the island in 1935. 373 382

The public electricity supply has of course made the greatest impact on the island as a whole. Electricity was known in the island long before the public supply arrived, generated privately by individuals, hotel concerns or public authorities. One of the first plants of significance was installed in the second municipal building in Stornoway (the first, built in 1905, was destroyed by fire in 1918), and was driven by a gas engine. In 1919 Lord Leverhulme installed an electricity plant in Lews Castle, which also had a private intercommunication system. While this work was being done Leverhulme proposed to give electric lighting to the town. Other buildings with their own plant included the hospitals and the mills, which were turning to electric motors for driving their line shafting, the power take-off for spinning and carding machinery. 365 175*

In 1929 an electricity supply company, with a capital of £12,000 was proposed, the Stornoway Electric Supply Company being registered in 1932. Its financial fortunes were chequered, though revenue was rising slightly by the time the second world war began. In 1948, on nationalisation of electricity supplies, the

386

386 PAINT AND DYE MANUFACTURE--paints, dyes, and pigments; materials u
in their manufacture; processing techniques; special equipment; products an
their uses (e.g., aniline dyes, ink, art supplies); organization of labor and
production; etc. See also:

Body painting 302
Manufacture of cosmetics 303
Forest products. 314
Special deposits 317
Interior decoration 353
House painting. 338, 366
Pictorial art 532

231 Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than
288 fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

221 All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of
233 the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encourged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

311 The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocl
233 waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

231 No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normal
235 just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold
435 to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

434 It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his
464 family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people
228 in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primari a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

161 There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less
162 than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

366 As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available
368 occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44
166 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third
167 are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in
464 domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist
505 their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home,
228 together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continue
462 steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.
357
454

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is
492 only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it.
373 Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a
208 telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last
366 decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it
491 serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles
494 distant.

161 Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of con-
162 gestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties

381

381 CHEMICAL ENGINEERING--industrial chemistry; research laboratories, equipment, and techniques; specialized personnel (e.g., technicians, engineers); special chemical industries not classifiable in the succeeding categories (e.g., adhesive manufacture) including products and their uses; etc.

See also:

Military engineering 711
Development of chemical science 815
Alchemy. 822

288 175 441 286 236 438 175 [386] developed from the concentration of power in the hands of the merchants. In the early days of the industry, all the processes involved in the production of a finished length of tweed were carried out by individual families. A man used wool from his own flock, and with the aid of other family members, dyed it with vegetable dyes, carded and spun it by hand, wove it, washed and shrunk it, and found his own buyer. Dyeing wool, spinning yarn, and washing ("waulking") the finished length of tweed was usually done by women. In Harris, the entire process of producing a tweed was carried out by women, but in Lewis the weaving was done largely by men.

286 236 175 462

175 286 A woman in her 80's recalls the process of weaving when she was young. Hand-spinning had died out by this time, although the question of whether tweeds woven with such yarn could legitimately be called Harris Tweed was not resolved until 1934.

175 283 [435] [433] [384] [824] "About 1916 or so it took about two weeks to a month to do a tweed. You bought the wool from the Agricultural Board. Sixteen bags of wool, costing about L20, would do four tweeds. You needed four one-stone bags per tweed. Then you would spend a day gathering a bag of crotal (lichen scraped from rocks and used for dye). One bag per one bag of wool was required for the dye. After

175 283 175 286 [462] dyeing the wool it was spread out, dried and sent to Stornoway to be made into yarn. The yarn was then sent back, and the weaver wove and washed it. About six women were required to do the waulking (the process by which the cloth was washed and shrunk).

175 286 432 "In those days the weavers designed their own patterns, and sold their own finished tweeds. I remember going into town with my brother, we had two tweeds in the cart. We went into a shop to sell the tweed, and the man said it was poor weaving. He didn't want to pay the full price for it. I told my brother to roll it back up, we would take it somewhere else. As we left the shop, he told me I had 'good cheek.' In the next shop the merchant didn't say anything, and gave my brother the regular price. We went home with L60."

286 288 175 178 [433] [434] [463] [386] [236] [283] The great demand for tweed encouraged the development of more efficient methods of production. One by one the various processes of production were taken over by specialists, and gradually these specialists were brought together under one roof. Large boilers for dyeing wool were supplied as a result of actions taken by the Congested Districts Board, which was formed in 1897. The Scottish Home Industries provided chemical dyes. The most difficult and time-consuming processes were carding and spinning, which small mills on the mainland began to do

(above) Sheep shearing: the first sta

/p. 143/

(below) Natives of Shawbost, Lewis, engag

DYEING WOOL - NATIVES OF SHAWBOST - ISLE OF L

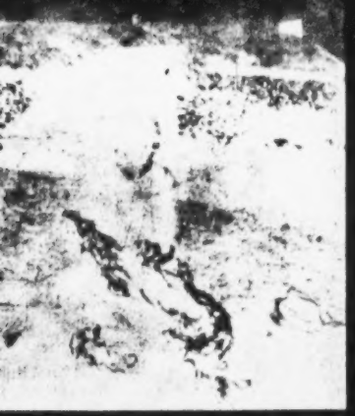
0 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

236
291
133
516

ge to Harris Tweed

ed on wool dyeing, c 1910

236
291
142
386



2. Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

621 631 has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway, [505] and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West [494] Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes sixteen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population [361] within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a [366] post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a [368] masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is [873] the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a [504] fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

464 The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as [167] Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing 463 ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The [241] main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate [434] on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from [286] their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. [386] Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the [226] tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Road- [464] work gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

316 An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

388

388 SOAP AND ALLIED PRODUCTS--manufacture of soap, detergents, and other oil and fat products (e.g., candles); materials used; specialized techniques and apparatus; products and their uses; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Edible oil production . . . . . 258 Bathing and laving 515
Laundering 296

228
381

[For information on the production of alkali by burning kelp
soap industries, see categories 824, 388, and 323.]

and its subsequent use in the glass and

LORD LEVERHULME'S FISHERIES

When he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris, he offered—such was the character of the man—as thanks for the '98 per cent support' he got from the people of Lewis, to each Lewis crofter his own croft as a free gift, and the Lews Castle, together with all his property in Stornoway, to the people of the town.

In 1919, Leverhulme became proprietor of Harris, and concentrated his efforts in Obbe, now called Leverburgh, in South Harris. The harbour at Obbe lacked the natural advantage which Stornoway had, so he spent large sums on making it navigable. Rocky obstacles were blasted away; numerous buoys and beacons were set up to guide vessels into harbour; new quays were built; and kippering sheds, and other buildings necessary for packing and curing herring were erected. Among his other undertakings in Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he bore half the cost of the 5½ miles of road between Leverburgh and Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Brussels. His Harris schemes came to an abrupt end. And the remains of industrial history are still to be seen in the quietness of the little township named after one of the most stormy of business petrels that Britain has ever seen.

Tourism

Tourism has always been a perfunctory and casual affair, until the introduction of the fast ferries which now link the mainland (via Skye) with the Outer Isles. Some 10,000 cars cross each year from Skye to the Hebrides. In 1913, the Stornoway Tourist Association had a struggle to increase the number of visitors to the town, to establish it as a tourist resort. It is much the same today with the Western Isles Tourist Association, which is having difficulty in integrating tourist facilities with crofting activities. In Lewis, the Stornoway Trust has assisted in establishing pony-trekking, a venture which has the potential to mirror the success of a similar one in the Isle of Skye.

PRESENT INDUSTRY

Almost an echo of the kelp-burning industry is the alginate industry. It provides employment for only small numbers, but is a

RADE AND INDUSTRY

ful crofting ancillary which, unlike many others, is soundly ed on a definite commercial demand. Various industries use extracted acid for some 150 products. The Scottish alginate ustry, the second largest in the world, is based on the process E. C. Stanford, who discovered alginic acid in 1883, though ay modern methods are used. For raw materials it has turned the old kelping shores of the Hebrides and Northern Isles. On island it has a factory at Keose on Loch Erisort, a site chosen the easy access afforded to puffers; the factory receives the ed, dries, mills and bags it, and the boats then carry 200-ton ds to Girvan. The factory itself involved some £30,000 of ital layout and has a capacity of 120 wet tons per week—4 tons producing 1 dry milled ton. About a dozen Harris and wis crofters gather the seaweed crop, the most useful type being dderwrack or rockweed *(ascophyllum nodosum)*, from the res at Loch Erisort, East Loch Roag and Bernera in Lewis, sinish and Scarp in Harris, and Loc Seaforth. Where there is d access the weed is cut by sickle and loaded into a lorry, but re often it is cut at low water to be floated with the incoming e and rafted to Keose, hauled by motor boat.

A product of the land not readily associated with the Hebrides bulbs. Bulb-growing deserves a mention, however, if only be-se the experiment to see whether it could become a commer-l possibility in Lewis was carried out by the children of Lionel ess) Junior Secondary School. The MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust de an investment of £150 to cover initial expenses, and success owed. When the original project was completed it was ex-ded, sales bringing the school a useful sum. But an attack of ease brought production to a standstill in 1966.

Another small industry is the aerated-water plant at Ness, ich is operating with reasonable success, and could do better if ports of aerated waters from abroad were reduced. A number recent surveys made in the island have found great interest in h activities as shell-fish processing in Harris to produce semi-serves, using mostly cockles and mussels. Local knitting already a name for its products and a potential for extension on a nmercial scale; this latter began in late 1966. Some forty years knitting specialists went to Lewis to investigate the possibilities

382

382 PETROLEUM AND COAL PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES--refining and processing of petroleum; manufacture of coal products (e.g., illuminating gas, coal tar); use of special apparatus and machinery; processing techniques; products and their uses; economic importance of petroleum and coal products industries; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Oil and gas wells and pipelines 315
Coal mines 316
Heating and lighting systems 354
Thermal power 375
Refining machinery 402
Plumbing fixtures 414
Filling stations 495

175 [161] Around this time, various factors had encouraged an increase in population. After Scotland's union with England in 1707, the prohibition on the import of cattle into England was lifted, and trade in cattle became economically more important (Day 1918: 26). The numerous wars of this period caused the price of cattle to double between 1736 and 1766 (Day 1918: 180). Clan warfare diminished; the potato was introduced; and vaccine for smallpox became available.

175 161 The increase in population led to an extreme crowding of land in some areas, which made agricultural [166] reform difficult. Many landlords tried to encourage tenants of their estates to emigrate. The appearance of a market for kelp, which lasted from the middle of the 18th century to about 1815, discouraged landlords from implementing policies of depopulation that would 175 diminish their labor force. An alkaline extract of 824 kelp was used in a variety of manufactured goods, such 323 as soap and glass. The seaweed was gathered by men, 388 women and children living along the coasts, and burned in rough open kilns. Tenants who worked at this [465] occupation received L3-4, and the landlords L18-20, per ton (Mackinlay 1878: vii); the landlord received as high an income as L10,000 to L20,000 a year from the burning of kelp (Gray 1957: 42).

PRESENT INDUSTRY

f a knitting industry based on the crofters, who would use Lewis 286
arn and produce knitwear in addition to their woven fabrics. 175*
However, it was found that the yarns used for Harris Tweed were
nsuitable for knitwear, not being given sufficient twist in the
pinning: before women use this tweed yarn for knitting, it is
ommon practice to twist two or more threads of yarn together on
hand spinning-wheel.

Little in the way of craft work is done on the island, mainly 463
ecause of the lack of indigenous materials which could be used
o produce typically-island items. Marram-grass has been sug- [137]
ested as being suitable for making agricultural wind-breaks, and
lose-woven basket-work. Shore-stones and pebbles are plentiful [135]
oth in quantity and variety of type and colour.

Small employment outlets on the island are marine and motor 396 •
ngineering, mainly based on Stornoway, and boat-building. This [464]
atter is a small but socially-significant firm in Ness with products
vith a high reputation. Construction and general building is of
ome significance, one of the most enterprising firms being built
p literally from scratch so as to become a highly-successful
sland business.

he unemployment problem

The island's unemployment problem is as much a matter of 464
oncern today as it has ever been, averaging about 25 per cent
nnually (representing well over 1,000 people) compared with the
cottish mainland figure of 6.0 per cent; the contemporary figure
or Britain is around 3.0 per cent. While unemployment as it 464
ffects adults is serious enough, unemployment among teenagers 883
hreatens the community's whole future. The island has its Youth
mployment Officer, who has an unenviable task. Each junior
nd secondary school in the island is visited to interview school-
avers, at least once a year; employment advice is given and this
supplemented by Careers Officers' visits.

Such employment openings as exist over the island's limited
ectrum are concentrated in Stornoway. They are, however, [462]
ainly in shop work, mill work and hotel work for girls, with a
w vacancies for apprentices in trades generally associated with
uilding construction. Most of the jobs offered are very much in

STORNOWAY

The previous
*175 building was only an idea in 1897; it took
632 shape when Dr Andrew Carnegie offered to contribute £1,000
217 towards the construction of a library, provided the town adopted the Public Libraries Act. This was done, and the Council decided to incorporate the library into a larger structure, erected at a cost of £11,000 and opened in September 1905 by Lord Roseberry. Carnegie increased his contribution to £3,500, with other large donations from public-spirited industrialists of the time (eg Coats of Paisley, who also financed school libraries in the island).

*175 Being a seaport, the sea has been basic to the town's livelihood.
632 In the eighteenth century trade flourished between Stornoway
504 and the Baltic, Scandinavia, Holland, France and the north of
439 Ireland; and in the first half of the nineteenth century, fish was exported as far away as ports on the Mediterranean. The advent
*175 of steam killed the Stornoway sailing craft. At one time in its
• 396 history, the shipyard (at Matheson's Patent Slip, now the site of
632 the textile mill) turned out many fine vessels. The scent of tar and pitch, the crunch of a busy grindstone, the shaping of a ship's timbers, the steaming of her planks, the driving of pins and bolts, the music of mallet and caulking-iron, the buzz from the saw-pits and the riggers aloft, all gave the town a sense of at-one-ness with the waters in the bay. Then there were the schooners, brigs and barques of foreigners who put in for repairs or for merchandise. It was a time of glory that has now gone as surely as the sail has disappeared from the high seas. Ship-masters, ship-owners and
[162] sailors all added colour and variety in the streets as they mingled with the local population—which numbered 1,000 in 1801. Stornoway captains were world-known for their skippering: MacLeods, MacIvers, MacKenzies, Ryries, MacLeans, Morisons, Allans. These were the names that were once reeled off to be paired with the famous ships of the day: *Sir Launcelot, D. L. MacKenzie*, and *Assaye*.

*175 While large numbers of its sons were sailing the high seas, many
504 in ships of Stornoway origin, the town began to take on the first
632 look of a port, with piers. On 9 August 1864, Sir James Matheson subscribed the instrument which took the Stornoway Harbour Commission into being. The following year, on 29 June 1865, the
[503] Commission was incorporated by Act of Parliament. Matheson had shown a great interest in the development of the existing

402

402 INDUSTRIAL MACHINERY--power generating machines (e.g., steam engines, turbines, windmills); machine tools (e.g., lathes, planing and stamping machines); typesetting, printing, and bookbinding machines; mining, lumbering, and drilling machinery; stone crushers; pile drivers; milling and refining machinery; spinning and weaving machinery; canning, bottling, and packaging machinery; machines for processing leather, paper, chemicals, and other industrial materials; etc. See also:

Power . . . . . 37 Description of hand looms 286
Transportation machines . . . . . 49, 50 Hydraulic engines 376

175 behind the tweed's popularity. The tweed was more than
286 a cloth; it was peat smoke and windswept moorland, the
288 [828] image of the free man who had escaped city life and machines and was the master of his own destiny. Steps had been taken all along the way to preserve the image of home-crafted goods, as when, in an effort to prevent machine-spinning, carding mills were built in Lewis and Harris at the turn of the century to prevent wool from being sent to mills on the mainland, where it was both [685] carded and spun. As early as 1906, a man was convicted in London of selling power-loomed tweed under the name
288 "Harris Tweed." Today power-driven looms can produce
• 402 double-width cloth 54 inches wide, a width much preferred to the 28-inch cloth produced on the Hattersley loom because there is less waste when the cloth is cut. But because "Harris Tweed" must be hand-woven, new looms of light-weight metal are being designed on which double- [435] width cloth can be hand-woven. The new looms will cost so much that many weavers say they would be unlikely to invest in them, especially given the uncertain future of the industry.

175 The Harris Tweed Association, formed in 1909, was
178 granted a certification mark by the Board of Trade which
288 was stamped on tweeds that were hand-spun and hand-woven
44 in the islands. During World War I, hand-spinning died
[424]
[286]

288 Questions about the state of
59 "the tweed" permeate all discussions, and often
458 constitute an initial greeting. "Have you got a
[524] tweed in the loom? How many do you have? Did you
[676] see Stickey's tweed van going into Pairc? Did you hear that Newalls has an order for about 800 pieces...?"

"The mills brought me two tweeds, and I got two in town myself. I stuck those two in the attic so that anyone who came in would be none the wiser," says one person in a whisper. Neighbors are in and out of each others' houses and loomsheds, observant and questioning, on the lookout for any indication that they have missed out on some transaction in the competition for scarce goods.

D. Weaving as Strategy

286 When weaving was done on a wooden hand loom, the
178 weaver required a longer period of apprenticeship.
• 402 Weaving was "more of an art," as some of the older weavers remember it today. Not only was the shuttle thrown back and forth by hand, but the lifting of different threads in the warp was done by manipulating
288 four foot pedals in the correct order. Today, the
178 process of weaving is very much simplified: the weaver
402 pushes only two foot pedals, and simply keeps an eye on

288 the automatic shuttle; all other processes have been
178 built into the design of the Hattersley loom (cf.
• 402 Thomson 1969). In other words, weaving does not entail
288 very specialized skills and is not difficult to learn.
463 A sailor can come home and learn to weave in a short period of time, or pick up the trade again with ease after having been absent from the loom for a long time. [671] Neighbors substitute for each other when someone is ill if a tweed is "urgent." Wives help their husbands, and [593] young boys their fathers and uncles. Such low-level specialization and substitutability are complementary to crofting activities and the maintenance of neighborhood ties, and may be seen to favor continuance of the occupation of weaving.

874 The Lews Castle College in Stornoway, established
286 as a technical college in 1953 in a building that was
[467] formerly the home of Sir James Matheson, offers training courses in weaving for adults which last for ten weeks and qualify a person for membership in the Weavers Union (cf. Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). The [872] college also sends weaving instructors to all the public schools on the island to instruct young boys in the
654 rudiments of weaving. The Highlands and Islands
286 Development Board have in the past offered loans and
288 grants with which to purchase looms, and government aid has protected the mills.

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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(*above*) An island industry, small but socially significant: the seaweed processing factory at Krone, Loch Erisort, Lewis

/p. 126/

(*below*) Feeding wet seaweed into the factory's drying plant. The dried product is milled and exported by puffer for subsequent processing

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824
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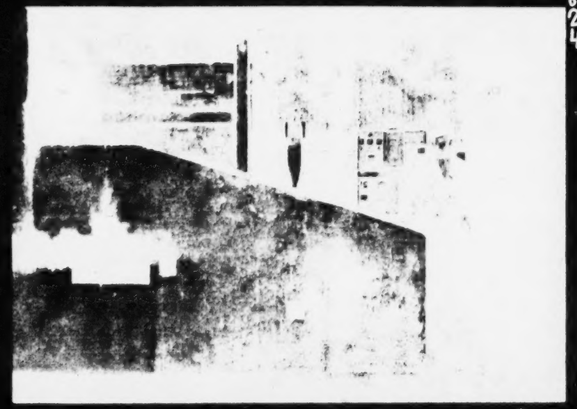
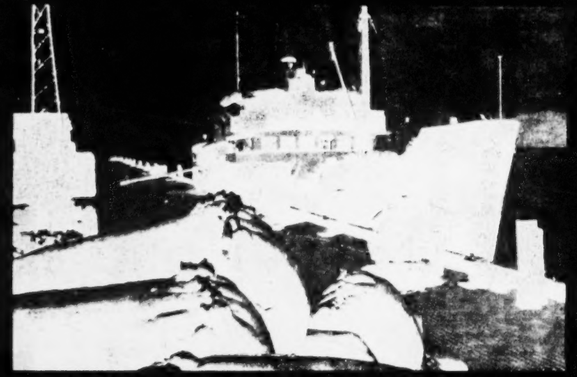


2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris



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(*above*) Bales of imported Scottish wool on the quay at Stornoway for the Harris Tweed industry

/p. 144/

(*below*) Dyeing wool in a Stornoway mill

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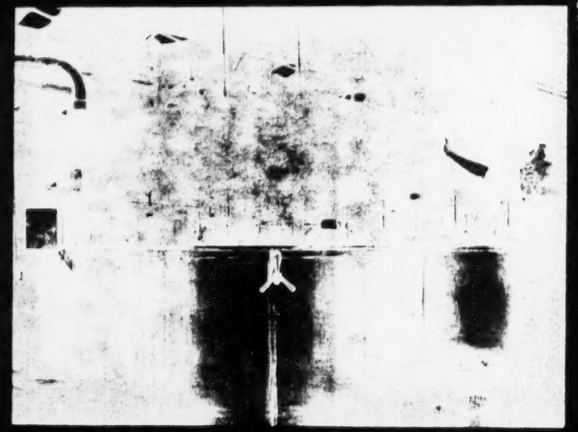

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Park

[Lemreway]

157 vulgaris is dominant. Ling, which can tolerate considerable soil water, often occurs with Nardus, Molinia, Scirpus caespitosus and Eriophorium. A few rowans, usually near the shore, and a few willows, usually within stone enclosures, are the only trees to be seen.

201 Of the thirty-three legal crofts in Lemreway, nine comprise less than five acres, while seventeen
203 are between five and ten acres. Of the remainder, only two exceed fifteen acres and one of these is 30 acres. Six unoccupied crofts are worked by persons other than their tenants, so actually the 290 acres of croft land are shared by twenty-seven holdings. The seventeen-acre 'outend' was originally divided between fifteen tenants but confused sub-letting has resulted in four separate holdings directly occupying nine acres, and working another four acres. Thus the outend today must be regarded as the monopoly of four 'unofficial' holders.

204 Little more than a quarter of the croft land is cultivable and even less is actually cultivated
241 today: Figure 9 illustrates the crofting year. The broken terrain and the stony nature of the soil has permitted the cultivation of tiny 'lazybeds' and the total cultivated area is now about 48 acres. Only the strips of land on the gentler slopes, where the soils are deeper, are now cultivated, but every croft shows signs of former, more extensive, lazybed cultivation, often covering at least two acres. For example, on the east side, natural hay is cut on the well-marked lazybeds at about 225 feet.

209 Oats and potatoes, 29.5 and 16 acres respectively, occupy almost all of the cultivated ground.
206 Most crofts grow about half an acre of potatoes and one acre of oats; both acreages have declined, the former with a declining population and the latter with a reduction in the numbers of cattle; hay has increased in importance. No bere is now grown, though before 1900 it was preferred to oats. Ruins of the bere mill, which ceased to function at the beginning of the century, can still be seen. Fifty-nine acres of natural grass are cut for hay but only four crofters had sown grass for hay in 1958, about three acres in all. Few vegetables other than potatoes are grown though carrots are said to grow well, and formerly turnips and cabbages were grown. The soil needs careful preparatio
291 to be productive and almost every crofter used some seaweed and at least twenty drew subsidies for i
[228] and artificial fertilisers in 1958.

281 Stock totals have declined recently but the township has 36 cows and 22 calves. Only one croft
[259] is without cattle and 22 of the 33 working units have a cow and a calf. The township has an Ayrshire bull on loan from the Department of Agriculture; one of the few remaining elements of the co-operati township system is that this animal is fed by the crofters, in rotation, during the winter.

All but two crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between ten and 120 per holding but the majority have about 23 ewes with ten lambs. Although numbers have declined recently, the 3,025 acres of very moderate common pasture support a flock of about 1,150 sheep, including about 650 breeding ewes and about 300 lambs.

255 The souming is not enforced in Lemreway and it is remarkable that the total stock tallies almost exactly to the souming. An examination of the sheep soum reveals that the stock of 917 (excluding lambs) considerably exceeds the sheep soum of 626. It is interesting that it is nearly always the working units of over 10 acres that are overstocked; of twelve such units, eight keep more sheep tha they are entitled to. Most of these crofts are grouped on the eastern side of the township where the crofts have a larger outrun.

211 Thus, while overgrazing is not so severe as in many townships, it represents a potential threat,
242 particularly if the common pasture is not improved. However, in 1958 ten acres of the common pasture have been enclosed and re-seeded. Six acres were sown with ordinary mixed grass seed, two acres with pelletted seed and two acres with pelletted and inoculated seed. The eleven crofters taking part in the scheme put on 100 tons of sand to help drain and aerate the peaty soil, 2½ tons of ground mineral phosphate and 2 tons of concentrated compound fertiliser, grades 1 and 2 - all of it by hand. The area was sown in May 1958: by the following August, there was a striking difference between it and the untreated pasture. Next Spring, eleven cows will be grazed on this area. With th success of this scheme, it is hoped that more of the crofters will co-operate in re-seeding further areas.

4

404 HOUSEHOLD MACHIN
sewing machines; laun
washing machines; sw
Use and care of household ma
appliances. . . . . .

04

S AND APPLIANCES--grinding and mixing machines; ry appliances (e.g., washing machines, wringers); dish- eping appliances (e.g., carpet sweepers); etc. See also: hines and . . . . . 366 Nonhousehold appliances 416

632 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the
363 sea: Ceann a Stigh (or Ceann a Stigh Bhaile, or Baile
103 Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the sea), Buailebhir (an area identified with the keeping of cattle), Gearraidh Mor, Creagan, Pluic, and Mach a Chul ("out the back," by a road built relatively recently). A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the moor, or common grazing land, is called Grinnbhat, from the name of a nearby loch.

511 The presence of a large Harris Tweed mill in
[348] Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living
[288] within the village. It is estimated that only 25% of
[493] the households of rural Lewis have cars; about 50% of the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970
[342] Shawbost had only one occupied tigh dubh, or "black house" built of dry stone and roofed with thatch, which to many islanders symbolizes a past life of poverty and
• [404] adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators,
[251] deep freezers and electric toasters are common in
[207] Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and
[206] many have telephones.

288 The mill in Shawbost employs between 60 and 70
463 persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the

592
241 like to leave the loom for the time it took to look
31 after the sheep."
288

592 A fourth household consists of three unmarried
231 siblings in their 40's and 50's who recently sold their
24 cattle and now keep only sheep for their own consumption.
[233] They cultivate a small amount of oats and hay to feed
[246] the sheep during the winter. The brother who was largely
[288] responsible for taking care of the livestock is now
[463] "concentrating on the loom," and his brother works in the mill. Their sister, who used to work in hotels on
[409] the mainland, now keeps house for them. Described as a
• [404] "self-contained family," they have a tractor and a deep-freeze and take care of their peat and the harvesting
654 of crops by themselves. One of their crofts has become
423 too waterlogged even for grazing and was sold recently to the son of a local crofter, not for agriculture but as a prerequisite for applying to the Department of Agriculture for a housing grant. Only tenants of crofts can apply for such grants. As this particular croft is too wet to be cultivated or used as a house site, the only motive which the new tenant has to become a crofter is to gain access to governmental subsidy.

592 The fifth household is composed of a retired couple
233 and their son and his wife and family. They have no
311 cattle, and use the crofts for grazing sheep.

175 During a huge snow-fall that occurred on
261 Lewis in the 1950's, the mobile grocery vans and other
[132] supply vehicles could not come out to the west side,
[443] and a group of men had to make an expedition into town for provisions, after which many families made certain that they always had a good supply of meal, salted
• [404] mackerel and herring. Many villagers have gotten deep
[365] freezers to store beef and mutton; others say they do not trust the freezers, that a failure in electricity--which occasionally happens in this region of gales and far-away repairmen--would bring disaster if they depende fully on them for keeping their meat. When the tweed
458 industry is going through one of its periodic depression
226 more men go out more often to fish. "I've been going out every night for the last week or so. I don't have a tweed, and I won't have one for the next six weeks. I don't know what I'm going to do; maybe I'll go back t sea. Three of us caught one hundred mackerel last
[251] night. I salted my share, and didn't give any of them away. These are the hard times. We're going to need them during the next six weeks."

233 A few people raise beef cattle, depending largely
[654] on subsidies for encouragement to do so. A few are
[234] beginning to keep cows again for milk, giving as their
[435] reasons that freight charges make the bottled milk too
[434]
[648]

Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

sent to several shipping ports, and the response was good; one Liverpool chandler even offered to take the whole output at a good price. But again the product was rendered useless, this time by being subjected to a partial-distillation process, in the thought that this would improve it; orders stopped. One shale-oil firm offered to take the crude peat tar to refine along with its own products for the purpose of modifying the flash-point of the oil it was itself manufacturing. Most commercial enterprises would have jumped at the chance of disposing of their output without the need for the always-tricky refining process, but here personal interests intervened and another avenue of profit was blocked.

The Lewis Chemical Works had by this time become something of a showpiece, chemists and scientists mecca-ing their way to Stornoway to see both plant and product. One eminent chemist pronounced the plant one of the most successful ever erected for the distillation of hydrocarbon oils from peat, and an Irishman said that if the Irish Peat Company's installation had been as successful as the Lewis counterpart, Ireland would have been enriched by her peat bogs. By the middle of the 1860s a ton of peat tar was being produced for 70s, as against 100s for unrefined shale oil. Peat oil sold at first at 2s 9d per gallon, then dropped to 2s 6d and finally to 2s, presumably as the American oil products were reaching the market. The writing was on the wall. Sir James Matheson, realising too late that perhaps a closer control should have been applied to the venture from the beginning, decided to cut his losses and close the works. All the metal—condensers, pumps, stills, pipes, and tanks—was broken up and sold for scrap. Nearly four miles of light railway had been laid from the Creed Works to the peat bogs; this was lifted for scrap. So ended the first phase of industrial Lewis. The venture proved, however, that with adequate skill and knowledge success could be grasped.

Bricks, printing, whisky

The brickworks which Matheson built for £6,000 at Garrabost produced building materials and some fine examples of draining tiles, but has now disappeared. The Patent Slip built at Stornoway for another £6,000 was able to take ships of up to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 127]

800 tons and had a steam-driven winch. The slip has also vanished—except for the name of the Patent Slip Wool Mills, which produce Harris Tweed. 396 • 175 *

Other small industrial activities in the island during the nineteenth century included the business of Alexander MacPherson, chemist, druggist, stationer and printer, who set up in Stornoway in 1842. He brought across the Minch with him Lewis's first demy-size hand printing press, which was still in use on 1 January 1889 to produce the first issue of the short-lived *The Lewisman*. Copies of this earliest Lewis newspaper can be seen at Stornoway Public Library. Early in the 1890s Thomas Nicolson also set up as a printer. 175 * 204

Whisky was once an important product, not only for local consumption, but also for export. One of the Privy Council's main indictments against the islanders in the Hebrides in 1622 was that they seized any cargo of wine and spent 'bothe dayis and nightis in thair excesse of drinking'. The council therefore enacted that masters of vessels sailing Hebridean waters should carry no more wines. It has been suggested that this and other measures were responsible for the beginning of illicit distilling, which in Lewis continued overtly as late as 1827. One of the two principal stills established by Lord Seaforth in the island at that time was at Coll, a few miles from Stornoway, the other at Gress, a few miles farther on. Such was the fame of these stills, both for output and quality, that it was hard to choose between 'Coll' or 'Gress'. Sometimes, the product passed as an article of exchange in the island, and the factor received a considerable part of the rents in it instead of money; but the stills were closed about 1870. The *Inverness Courier* of 14 November 1827 remarks virtuously: 'Owing to the vigilance of Captain Oliver, of the Revenue cutter "Prince of Wales", and the new Excise Officers on shore, smuggling is so completely put down in the Long Island that there is actually not a drop of illicit whisky to be got from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head; and there is probably at this moment a larger supply of legal whisky from Greenock for the supply of Stornoway alone, than was ever imported into the Hebrides before.' 273 274 175 * [439] [436] [427] [439]

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 £510 Highland Scots £510
Lewis and Harris

THE OTHER ISLANDS

even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil. Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naïvely at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started, HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island consisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoemakers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses, and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers; and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

4

407 AGRICULTURAL MA
husbandry (e.g., milk
harrows); planting an
sorting and packing m
ing machines); etc. S
Animal husbandry . . . .
Agriculture . . . . . .

07

CHINERY--farm tractors; machines used for animal
ing machines); ground breaking machines (e.g., plows,
d cultivating machines; mowing machines and harvesters;
achines; processing machines (e.g., cotton gins, thresh-
ee also:

. . . . . 23 Manufacture of agricultural machinery 302
. . . . . 34 Agricultural tools 412

171 typical homestead or "farmtoun" consisted of a
175 "ploughgate" occupied by eight tenants, each of whom
427 contributed one animal to the common plough and thus
241 had an eighth of a share of land or one "oxgate"
(Grant 1930: 97).

175 In the Highlands and particularly in Lewis, abou
427 four to six men and their families worked together an
241 shared land which was held in run-rig. The Old
[476] Statistical Account (1796) lists 90 ploughs in the
[407] parish of Barvas or about one plough per five familie
(Geddes 1948: 57). Geddes maintains that joint tenan
175 paid an equal share of the rent and had equal "soumin
427 (the number of stock allowed on the common grazing la
24 In contrast, Walker (1812: 56) says that joint tenant
114 paid different rents according to the share which the
233 had in the arable land, and that the number of cattle
which a tenant had on the common grazing land was sou
or proportioned to his rent; all the tenants worked
arable land together, and received a percentage of th
produce which was appropriate to their share. Geddes
description (1948) emphasizes equality within the joi
farm; Walker (1812) and Gray (1952) point to differe
between tenants and subtenants.

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is a
[60] water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one member
of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern
Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on
[35] rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three
remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and well
worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-let
to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In
[28] addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men
weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the
prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than
[166] average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of them
young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people and
[161] young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resi-
[162] dent adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always
been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous crofting
communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

175 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared
from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided,
427 making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no culti-
vation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

361 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete-
241 Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover being
grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one
231 acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle
is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of
that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people over
65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently
from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the
133 northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small
westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

491 The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the
361 middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main
Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this
road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished
Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter
[491] by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, but
high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but,
at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses
have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good
weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

405

405 WEIGHING, MEASURING, AND RECORDING MACHINES--scales; meters; thermostats; clocks and watches; calculating machines; computers; cash registers; phonographs; sound recorders; typewriters; etc. See also:

Writing . . . . . 212 Measuring tools 413
Sound records . . . . . 216 Weights and measures 804

*159 himself. If he had a drink he might come out. When the weaving started, he took that up; and he tilled the croft, kept cattle and all that; but socially he was a misfit. It was a terrible tragedy, the Iolaire."

[402] When the Bodach Beag returned from the United States, he bought a Hattersley loom to replace the old wooden loom with which his brother had been weaving. They worked the croft together. The Bodach Beag knew he would get the croft. He married soon after he returned, and for the next forty years never left the island. His wife took a six-month course in poultry-keeping and milking, and they concentrated on cattle rather than sheep. His wife sold fresh butter to the mobile vans.

*159 594 [167] Their family grew and dispersed. The eldest son attended the secondary school in Stornoway, emigrated to Rhodesia and married an English girl who was working there as a nurse. They had to return when economic earthquakes shook Rhodesia and he lost his job. He stayed at home for a year and built a new house on the croft; and then, unexpectedly, he started work to complete the necessary exams to enter a university and become a teacher.

[166] The youngest son became an engineer, married a Glasgow Highlander whose parents came from Lewis, and settled in Glasgow. Their sister married a tradesman on the mainland. The third son, unmarried but engaged to a local girl, works in the local tweed mill and lives at home with his parents.

"The cattle give too much trouble." A smaller scheme is grazed only by sheep. On the schemes where mixed grazing is practiced, a number of conflicts arise between those who have only sheep, and those who have cattle as well. To accommodate different demands, one township scheme was divided with a fence; cattle were put in for a month in one part, and then shifted to the second part. The sheep were then brought into the first half. All stock had to be removed from the scheme a month before the lambs were weaned, so that all worm eggs and other harmful elements in the dung of animals previously present would have time to die. What was once used for a single purpose by everyone now has to be divided.

"I paid one pound a head to put cattle on the reseeding," says a man named Iain. "Now I have to move them off already. Those sheep people want it for themselves. I won't use it if they're going to be like that. Next year I'll have the use of two crofts and my apportionment. And now that I have my own tractor I can put a load of sand at the bottom of the croft to make the grazing better."

According to another person, who also keeps cattle on the reseeding, "Some people want to move their livestock on and off the schemes when it suits them, like Iain,

592 241 311 288 like to leave the loom for the time it took to look after the sheep."

592 231 241 [233] [246] [288] [463] A fourth household consists of three unmarried siblings in their 40's and 50's who recently sold their cattle and now keep only sheep for their own consumption. They cultivate a small amount of oats and hay to feed the sheep during the winter. The brother who was largely responsible for taking care of the livestock is now "concentrating on the loom," and his brother works in the mill. Their sister, who used to work in hotels on the mainland, now keeps house for them. Described as a [409] [404] "self-contained family," they have a tractor and a deep-freeze and take care of their peat and the harvesting of crops by themselves. One of their crofts has become 654 423 too waterlogged even for grazing and was sold recently to the son of a local crofter, not for agriculture but as a prerequisite for applying to the Department of Agriculture for a housing grant. Only tenants of crofts can apply for such grants. As this particular croft is too wet to be cultivated or used as a house site, the only motive which the new tenant has to become a crofter is to gain access to governmental subsidy.

592 233 311 The fifth household is composed of a retired couple and their son and his wife and family. They have no cattle, and use the crofts for grazing sheep.

THE SEASONS

241 thirds of an area nominally under crops actually grows them. It need hardly be said that such crops do not support a family.

The means of cultivation have been either pony-drawn plough in the smoother north, or else the foot-plough (*cas chrom*), and the straight spade in the hilly south. I saw the almost obsolete foot-plough used on hilly ground near Rodel, Harris, in 1919. In the smoother lands from Stornoway and Barvas northward, heavy ploughs with three wheels were already laid out in parallel strips, no more than twelve to fifteen feet wide, divided by open drains. Open drains have increasingly been converted into underground drains over which pony and plough can pass. The cattle feed on the rough pasture or on the grass about the crofts, supplemented by hay cut with a sickle from the grassy edges of the 'lazy-beds'. Quite recently, rotation grass has been sown on the arable strips, and mown for hay by the scythe. Tractors were introduced in war-time, in 1942.

In many of the villages, cattle are still taken to the summer pastures out on the moors some miles from the crofts. Those who herd the cattle live in huts or shielings, annually re-roofed. In the congested 'Point district' (the Eye Peninsula), the cattle must go to the moor on the main island or be taken on to their owners' crofts from late May or early June to about the 10th of August, in order to clear the common grazing and allow the grass to recover. This migration takes place, of course, because of the restricted area of common pasture. On the other hand, pasture is plentiful in the parish of Lochs, lying all round some of the villages, and here the use of the shieling has been practically abandoned. In almost all villages, with the exception of those of the Eye Peninsula, there is less summer pasturing than formerly; fewer cattle are sent

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

362 of new steadings. The average amount of loans (totalling 652 £166,000) was under £150; repayment has been satisfactory, and the arrangements made by the Department of Agriculture won general praise among the people. Yet 1200 houses were very far from replacing all the 'black houses', and more are needed.

In terms of cash profit, ten crofters today run their 433 crofts less remuneratively than the farmer they dispos- 427 essed; even together they may show little more total 241 production than the farmer. Nevertheless, these ten crofts each allow a part, at least, of the basis for a country home. (423) Hence the weight of public opinion supported, nay, insisted on 'giving back' the land to the descendants of those who 654 had worked it sixty or a hundred years before. The State 423 bought the farm stock at a high valuation, and lifts lately without adequate reform of crofting use and wont. The farms having now been divided, a great emotional issue, which had smouldered for half a century, has been brought to an end. Although the practical results are small, the crofters feel that justice has been done, and that fact may 311 be a great gain. Now that there is no more great reclaimed land to be had, the reclamation of the peat moor, or the grey 'mossy' land (Gaelic *fiaslach*) at Barvas and Ness, is important.

By financing the renewal of Leverhulme's brief attempt to reclaim deep peat on Arnish Moor, south of Stornoway, the Canadian, T. B. Macaulay, made a resolute attempt to solve the island's main agricultural problem. Good crops (241) were grown, potatoes and silage produced, and a dairy farm established. But the difficulties called for continuity of effort and research. From the practical point of view of 'demonstration' it had been a mistake to tackle deep and almost level peat, black in colour and viscous in consistency. (407) There was not the light machinery required for cultivation.

133 Over most of the parish the natural landcape is a series of low plateaus, generally below 250' O.D. around East Loch Roag, but rising westwards to an extensive platform with many summits around 500'-700'. Into this platform, towards its western edge, is incised the narrow trough containing Little Loch Roag. Above it rise the deeply dissected mountains of North Harris: at the best-preserved ridge, which runs east-west, slopes reaching to 1,500' or more and summits to 1,885'. The discontinuity between plateau and mountain is particularly well displayed along the shielings, which are situated roughly with the junction of granite and gneiss; an even more severe discontinuity, but formed entirely in gneiss; is to be seen near the south end of Loch Langavat. Lindhadi (1,611 O.D.) rises more than 1,400' in less than a mile. The mountains, although lacking height, are therefore striking in scenery. Glaciation has left them with rounded summits, but their surfaces have been roughened and scraped bare by ice action and numerous hollows preserve shallow lochans and a few larger lochs. Occasional rocky hillocks rise 20'-100' above the plateau; their abrupt discontinuity with the smooth surfaces is entirely comparable, though in miniature, with that of the mountains. The landscape resembles nothing more than tropical inselberge and have no apparent structural explanation.

Unconsolidated superficial material, such as would provide sub-soil drainage and suitable raw material for cultivation, is rare. The dominant feature of surface almost everywhere is bare rock, often blanketed by peat at lower levels and on gentle slopes. Morainic material is most common on the plateau, but is very patchy and discontinuous, and, more recently, heavy rainfall have swept clear most of the higher and steeper places. In the east and south-east, e.g. around Garrabost, the surface is covered with large boulders; 135 in sometimes seen; the coarse gravelly drifts of south Uig have already been mentioned. It is impossible to make any useful generalisations regarding the distribution and distribution of the boulder clays because their occurrence is so sporadic and exposures 5 beneath the peat are so limited. Very occasionally, as near Garrabost, there are well bedded soil blinds or greenish grey clay to ease which is said to have been used for coarse pottery. This may be a Bronze Age deposit, but it may be a post-glacial deposit or it might be a modern clay of the same period; there is however, no clear example of a raised beach in the area, which, were it present, might support the latter suggestion. 5 Since our visit a lacustrine deposit of diatomite has been exploited on a small scale in Bernera.

Extensive deposits of fine white sand occur around the bay and at the Valtos-Kneep-Reef area; smaller deposits occur at Mangersta and Mealisaig. Except at Cliff Bay, Valtos, where it contains a high mineral content, the sand consists largely of finely broken shell debris. This blown sandy sand is found inland for half a mile or more and as high as 100' O.D., providing a natural surface dressing rich in lime. There are extensive machair lands (sandy plains) at Kneep and Valtos and smaller areas at Cliff Bay, Mangersta, and Doris (Bernera). Little cultivation takes place on the machairs nowadays.

133 In the whole parish little soil, such as would be recognised by a lowland farmer, is to be found. The most usefull surface features have rich and blanket bog; arable land, hay 7 meadows and improved pastures are generally made on peat, gathered together into long 225 narrow beds - so-called "lazy beds", separated by deep ditches. This expedient may 225 mean that the use of tractors is impossible; since horses have almost disappeared, cultivation is much slower, if carried out at all, most now be by the spade alone. This is the traditional method of lazy-bed work: it may be very productive in terms of yield per 24 square yard but it is potentially unproductive in terms of man-hours. In some areas it 24 is clear that it has led to soil erosion. Even where the size and lay-out of the beds permits tractor work the cost of labour appears to be prohibitively expensive in turning, as it does plough. In a few places, e.g. some of the East Loch Roag

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9)

townships and at Islivig and Breanish, the peat is thin (or has been stripped) to reveal a gravelly drift. Tree-draining on suitable slopes. In such places a black loamy soil has been developed by cultivation; the many fields of the thirlet of Isafjord cultivation are not necessary 24 now, if the area is large enough, it can be worked by tractor. Such soils, in the climate of the west coast, are fairly suitable for grass and crops, but, unfortunately, they are more could be done with them under knowledgeable management. Where shell sand has been blown inland on to peaty soils the natural bog-dressing has had a remarkable ameliorating effect on texture and acidity. Such areas are all too limited, the most important are at Valtos, Kneep and Reef, and around Uig bay; smaller areas are at Mealisaiv, Mangersta and Doris (Bernera). The hill grazings are dominated by a thin heather cover on peat or peaty soil, with occasional rocky hillocks rising above. Since the cattle population has been declining many older residents claim that the pasture, particularly near the crofts, has deteriorated; they have deteriorated because overgrazed and coarse heather increasing. "The hills that were green when I was a boy", said one, "are now black". Neglected and overgrazed pasture is certainly, in part, a result of the fact that it provides the difference between the old lazy beds and, if the ground is at all waterlogged, even towards the beds as well. Drier ground, if not well drained, will be invaded by heather. The limited machairs are little better; almost devoid of humus, they show little development of soil profile, only a thin grey sand with a few weeds or injudicious cultivation readily cut off wind-erosion. Only where the wind has provided a natural blend of peat and machair are cultivations better. Such areas are very limited.

132 The climate is in many respects severe; no local statistics are available, but some for Stornoway and Benbecula are appended. The frequency of high winds has a bad effect on both vegetation and stock, not to some extent and contracts excessive moisture. Near sea-level, where all the townships are situated, frost and snow are almost unknown. This it is supposed to the wind that the Gulf Stream ameliorates the winter temperature, but one suggests that if pasturee could be improved to suitably sheltered places far more advantage might be taken of the relatively mild winter temperature. It is important that the sunshine record is particularly poor in the south, where clouds can frequently be seen hanging over the mountains when the sun is shining on Barvas and the area north east of East Loch Roag. The relatively dry and sunny period which commonly occurs in May and June could make for a good hay harvest, if conditions were favourable and farmers, such as they are, are late starters, and the custom is to cut the grass when it has gone to seed. Thus hay is often being taken in September - one of the wettest months in the year.

CHAPTER TWO

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS

172 Evidence of pre-historic and other early settlements in the parish is afforded by the occurrence of standing stones, chambered cairns, "Pictish" brochs and the sites of the latter are by far the most remarkable ancient monument in the Hebrides, and testify to the relative importance of the site even though today their practice significance may not be clear. Most of the dune are now little more than circular lumps of stones, but in that at Dun Carloway, which is the best preserved, a considerable amount of the original structure is recorded in the plans issued, a very large proportion of which contain Norse 174 elements such as "Dun", "Bragar", "Ness". It seems probable that some of the 176 present township sites have been more or less continuously occupied since Norse times.

1. [Presumably the author means "croft"—Ainslyet]

182 The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" huts, some still in good repair, are of uncertain date but are known to have been occupied in the 19th century. Their distribution is not well marked; it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; those on the Carrynahine common pasture are fairly well preserved, although overgrown, sufficiently strongly for the 183 footpath over the sands to the south. General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig: banking facilities are supplied by a mobile bank.

The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being somewhat more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about four acres; in Breanish and Islivig only about half is cultivated. All the crofts - or croft-units - are occupied by tenants, but there is a small owner-occupied farm in 1958. There are twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Breanish, ten for Islivig and thirteen for Mangersta; 187 contact with the outside world is maintained by a small motor-launch and a considerably less - fourteen in Breanish, five in Islivig and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

As crofts are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable pasture is well developed; there are no sheep, but many cattle, horses or tractor. There is a tractor in Breanish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivig. All of these are 178 used for cultivation purposes. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike many of the other Uig townships.

233 While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas, 178 the sheep are kept on the hills, some are shorn and dipped in the hills, some on their crofts. Breanish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hogs, or four year-old 233 ewes) fishing for herring and cutting peat for their own use and sale, by taking over the 178 clifts, in less extreme than the loss of heifers. Eilean Mealaidh is used by Mangersta 233 sine in Breanish, two in Islivig and one in Mangersta, and keep what they were kept here; in 1958, however, few orders were received. Wanting cannot be said to bring in a steady 178 income care, and some of the crofters have left the district, find additional employment outside 233 the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at 178 Barvas, seven at the Marconi station, three at Aird R.A.F. station and at least 233 one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns a tractor which he hires 178 out, and one, owning a Civil and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of 233 twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and 178 one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The population of the three townships in one hundred and twenty-one residents, 233 and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are 422 children of school age, forty-nine (or 40%) are in the 15 - 60 age group, 18 (15%) are in the 65 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident females, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 65, and five between 45 and 65.

The relative young population is likely to survive, together with the better soils, for the area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilizer, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Sheep sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Breanish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting tenant 2,500 acres of land on the Aird Bhig and Aird Mhore peninsulas, five miles south of Mealisaiv. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

Breanish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from Stornoway. On the tritha weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight charges are very heavy. These sailings were at the western end of Mealisaiv, only about 1 mile from the township. The Breanish "distant" shielings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountain, were not used after about 1950, which, in the adjoining shielings were last used in 1932. Occasionally a cow may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Mealaiv: about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Breanish, between about 1930, shielings were used in that area.

No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near the road and no use can for them the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the township of Islivig and Breanish were over-populated with many cottars who were given a small area of land in return for their labour on the farms. Today, less than half the 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres 342 of modern design, and have installed water troughs and electric light; a general enlargement area and the Breanish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supply, and in Islivig the water, in fact, is better than many other crofts, and is giving a 377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very 226 little fishing for herring and cutting peat for sale, and the fishing is left to fairy sheep to the 226 self-shore intends. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers - 226 nine in Breanish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and keep up the tradition they were kept here; 226 in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady 226 income care, and some of the crofters have left the district, find additional employment outside 226 the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at 226 Barvas, seven at the Marconi station, three at Aird R.A.F. station and at least 226 one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns a tractor which he hires 226 out, and one, owning a Civil and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of 226 twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and 226 one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

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* The old parish of Uig embraced the Loch Carloway district, from Hirtrich north; this area by it self, Breanish and Islivig, Mangersta, and Doris (Bernera) is specified figures quoted have been corrected to conform with the modern boundaries.

1. [See p. 8—Ainslyet]

36 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new houses have been built near the sites of the old ones, sometimes nearer the shore - and not far from houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a bridge and ford via Timsgarry. Vans call but there is no Post Office, nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor - two wells only are in use.

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. Water supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses. The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and on to Miavaig; one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly and the travelling shop twice fortnightly. The main bus service to Stornoway (Ardroil) leaves there almost 41) caused in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars.

24 The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil and Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire them hitters or tractors from Breanish or Enacleit. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft: this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass manures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation of peat. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years ago was still to be giving very good hay; but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or labour available.

24 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts the compound fertilizers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal fertilizers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

25 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relatives stay in the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty-five had one; six had no cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty-five had one; six had no cattle at all. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a bid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult to generalize. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across the Carnish peninsula which terminates in the Stornoway lighthouse; extensive tracts of coarse grass in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Ard Carnish has the advantages of the sea, and of the Carnish Loch. To the north of the village there is now an R. A. F. radar station on Rudha Cuaic, built on what was part of the common pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the

34 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
99 at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
100 butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N. A. A. F. I.
101 Canteen at Valtos. The road then follows the shore, and crofts are strung out along the
102 R. contour at all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds
103 and other buildings behind them. The main bus stop is kept on the steeper side, by the road
104 the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
105 any other croft township, but there is no shop nor post office. The crofts (8 and 2)
106 houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
107 more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have modern byres.

407 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original sites was subsequently
408 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an
409 elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, great up to let to others so
410 that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are found in their ancient positions,
411 but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to
412 the single concrete footbridge which spans the river.

28 The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown
40 grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial
41 fertilizers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the
42 cultivation is in narrow strips separated by draining ditches and ploughing is done by horses.
40 Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
41 tractor is possible. Between 1954 and 1959 the acreage of oats and potatoes was halved; bere was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
42 used as a fertilizer and most crofters still use it for potatoes. In 1959 the acreage
223 there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses
224 one bull, which has use of these at Valtos or Ardroil.

253 On the other hand, the sheep scum is generally exceeded; instead of the antilement of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The lambs are taken to Valtos for sale (Ardroil has no suitable place, and Valtos has not prevented this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 15 - 64, 11 are in the 5 - 14 age group (there are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most of these are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
164 periodically working away, no man and only two women are permanently away. Neither
164 has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 - 44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

432 strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of
433 the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to
434 accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.

The cultivable croftland at Ksoep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly
developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke
135 separating the croftland from a small stream which runs down to the sea. This dyke has not been
136 cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other
parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is
almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the
edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in
1911 and are now used as grazing land. Crofts 4 and 5 are kept on the steeper slope below
the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
any other croft township, but there is no shop nor post office. The crofts (6 and 7)
houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
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but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to
the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen
433 crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over
434 sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today
seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan
Islands, 20 miles west of Uig.

Fig: 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells
a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five
years of age; 70% are over 45 years and only 15% are under 15 years of age. The population has declined by at least 19% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years
ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Ksoep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Miavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at Valtos and Ksoep, and of heavily which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the local 'one-man-band' who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

241 Table 30 shows the present use of fertilizers and manure. It will be seen that
dung is still widely used but seaweed is used in a minority of cases, particularly
in Breakish and Earnebar. The report at least seems to be related to the varieties of
that have afflicted the township, and to the fact that several holdings are in effect
very small with but plots of cultivation. This also relates to the large number in
Breakish who use no form of fertilizer at all. Shell sand is neglected for reasons
of inaccessibility. It is present on Little Bernera, and more particularly and of
excellent quality, at Boots. It is difficult to get from within the island the large
quantities of sand needed to qualify for the lime subsidy; it would be possible to get
it from Boots sands, there is a township road to within about a hundred yards of the
shore, but the township committee has never seriously considered it to be worth while.

Artificial fertilizers are increasingly used. The first consideration at the present is
undoubtedly that certain amounts have to be applied in order to qualify for the plough
subsidy. Many crofters are not well-informed about the proportions and technical
applications of sulphate of ammonia. Lime, in the powdered form or as nitro-chalk, is
widely used and can be cultivated on a rotation basis with potatoes. The crofts (8 and 2)
use of artificial: they are often used only because of subsidy conditions, and the crofter
is served by good, though expensive, technical advice and technical fertilizers and research. This
experiment in which almost the whole township took part has proved very successful and
there is now a good deal of enthusiasm for the scheme. Lime is given free of charge.

Although the tractors of which there are two in the township are used wherever possible,
the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for potatoes. Much hay is
cut by scythe and sickle and is stacked in the field. There is more in the
township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its owner.

The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e. 2½ times the crofting
stock. Ewes are kept and sheep are fattened for a large extent. There is very little rent. 40 crofters keep sheep and
are entitled to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Many lambs are lost on the
moors during the summer and more fail to survive the winter. The number of cattle
kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each household to keep 1 cow
and 1 calf which is generally sold about 3 months when a subsidy can be claimed.
Breakish has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Most households keep
sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1930. Now it is not necessary as
fewer cows are kept than formerly. With the reduction in numbers of stock the common
pasture is now adequate for the remaining stock.

The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditches are cleaned and the
land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilized and sown with oats and
potatoes are dipped and by the 10th of May most of the potatoes are in the moors as the
crofts are then closed to common grazings. Soon after this peats are cut on the moors
and two or three miles from the village. After about 20 days the peats are lifted into
the Peatland Road by tractor where they are stacked to await the lorry which takes
them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the farm for shearing and the cows are usually
brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the croft is not fenced they
must be tethered. At the end of June the cattle are cut, while the potatoes must be
cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped. Natural grass is cut
for hay and if there is any grass grass this may yield a second crop. In
September, together with the corn harvest. When the potatoes have been lifted in
October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for the winter. Final dipping takes place in November.

162 Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 years and 57 are over 65
years of age. Of the resident tenants 9 are between 15 and 44 years, 19 are between
44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on persons are periodically
away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 30 are permanently away. Since 1939,

weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Mains electricity was installed
5 years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas and peat. The chief
source of fuel for heating purposes is peat, although a little coal may be used.

There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions, a small-holding of 15
acres formerly the Hill, and 10 feus, all of which are worked as 54 units. The crofts
are in long narrow strips in N. NW - SW direction from the moorland to the sea. All are
at least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some crofters are, at the
moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land completely.

The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a little clover mixture is
sown for hay, many crofters find that the natural grass is sufficient for their needs.
Vegetables are produced in a few cases but most crofters do not use them in home or
interest to barter with them. Flowers rarely flourish owing to the lack of shelter.

Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and the land nearest the shore,
which was once cultivated on a rotation basis, is now used as a common pasture and partly
for grazing together with some peat cutting. A piece of the common grazing has been
surveyed by a local firm of surveyors, and is now divided into numerical fractions and renumbered. This
experiment in which almost the whole township took part has proved very successful and
there is now a good deal of enthusiasm for the scheme. Lime is given free of charge.

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 95]

since 1939,
164 5 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to
162 leave home when they finish school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go
to domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time
away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breakish is also the temporary home
of the families of lighthouse men on the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides
the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain
demand for the tweed, and although the men are personally self-employed they rely on the
mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms, which, with auxiliary equipment such as looms and warps, are all owned by the crofters.

241 As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the
158 township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being
built. The school-master said that many of the young people would be unable to support the population and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

131 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch
137 N° Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs
65 for wastewards to the sea the terrain is hilly and rugged for the majority of its extent or
361 covered with peat bog. The main road runs through the village of Tolsta Chaolais and
to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle slopes and flatter areas.

Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch
137 N° Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader; and in the valley of the small stream
241 joining these two lochs. Most of the crofts are in the valley of the croft land is centre-
pieced of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 100 ft. in height, separated by deep depressions
filled in peat and reeds and rushes; these depressions are extensively cultivated in
particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely
covered by reeds and very coarse grass. It is not worthwhile to put in a proper job
enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this
would certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and
1 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the
two lochs and the sea, and one for one. Of the 53 holdings are unofficially
427 amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The
crofts are of various sizes from 2.5 acres to 15 acres, the average being 5 acres. Most
of the crofts - except for 1A, B, and C; and 12A, B, and C which are held 'run-rig' -
was carried out between 1911 and 1921 when the present arrangement of 1,700 acres
was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the
Carloway to Breaclete road. The outer park is about 1,000 acres and is 21 feet, however,
been most haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided
amongst seventeen crofts in the southern half of the township to compensate them for
lack of grazing area within their own croft boundaries. This division is said to date from about 1886.

241 Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned
small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as opposed to spade
cultivation, depends either on the ingenuity of the operator, or on the accessibility of the
plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

Chapter 5

GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL MARGINALITY

182 Despite the growth of the Harris Tweed industry and the gradual disappearance of some of the techniques and expectations associated with heavy reliance on the land and the sea, an important factor which helps to sustain some of these patterns is the social and geographical marginality of the islanders.

175 When the young men who survived the second world [729] war returned to the island, most households still had [231] horses to cultivate the croft, but a few years later [407] the tractors replaced the horses. The Labor government, 175 which came into power after the war, passed legislation 657 which extended the processes of centralization that had proceeded since the breakdown of the clan system. The National Health Service was established. Free milk [871] became available in schools. More scholarships (called "bursaries") became available for further schooling. [207] Television came in the 1960's. In short, the islander was exposed to a number of new alternatives.

182 To the extent that persons became involved in these possibilities, the island became peripheral or marginal. The island has become more dependent upon central

105 The Harris Tweed industry is laude
241 industry which is compatible with crof
188 weavers are self-employed, they can se
632 of work and thus continue to participa
and fulfill various township obligatio
[121] of this industry on the township as a
[434] system were investigated. The income
[463] weaving is unpredictable, which encour
of crofting practices and other patter
such as "occupational pluralism," that
[476] adaptive in the past. Such strategies
[182] township boundaries; for example, they
[434] aid and communal township practices. B
[407] offers a high level of income; and som
to spend most of their time weaving, ha
crofting, or have invested in tractors
transport which enables them to harvest
and perform other activities independent
members.

105 The fundamentalist Free Church cons
621 boundary-maintaining mechanism, serving
795 external influences of the larger societ
632 However, a smaller network of persons en
184 religious sphere of social activity, a s
105 the township system, also exists which h
794 of a firmly bounded system. These are m
621
632
184

d as an
ting. Because
t their own schedule
te in croft work
ns. The effects
social boundary
available from
ges the retention
s of behavior,
were found to be
also strengthen
encourage mutual
ut weaving also
e weavers, preferring
ve neglected
or other motorized
crops, cut peat
of other township

stitutes an important
to exclude various
y from the township.
gaged in the
ubsystem within
as the appearance
embers of the clique

*159 435 246 **Costs:**

L50/—	(Fodder used from December to August; a hundredweight bag costing L2/14 is used almost every two weeks. Other crofters do not use this much.)
8/—	(Stack of oats)
6/ 8	(Oat seed for 7/8 acres)
6/—	(Tractor hired)
9/—	(Six hundredweights of fertilizer for oats and grass. For a cropping grant of L17/10, three hundredweights of fertilizer must be put on each acre of hay.)
L79/ 8	

[427] [407] [241] [654]

*159 434 435

Income:	L165/14
Costs:	79/ 8
Profit:	L 86/ 6 (or about L2 back for every L1 he investe

*159 434 Net cash income or profit from the croft thus represents 9% to 10% of his gross earnings from weaving. If computed as cash, uncalculated income from the croft in the forms of garden vegetables and milk products would raise the croft income by L30 to L40. In those households that consume their own sheep, the croft contributes an even greater amount.

conditions backward. He tells us that the Island of Lewis had been fruitful in corn until late years of scarcity and bad seasons. The crops were barley, oats, rye, flax and hemp. The natives showed great industry in digging the ground with spades—a practice which he invariably associates with a large return. He even records that the abundance of corn had once been such that it encouraged them to 'brew several sorts of liquor'. For manure, sea-ware and soot were used. And harrows had two rows of teeth and rough heather in the third row. Pennant's visit to the island in 1772 found that the produce of the land was insufficient to support the population. Distress was rife.

In Martin's time, although the economy was more or less self-sufficient, a certain amount of produce was available for export or for translation into 'several sorts of liquors, as common usquebaugh, another called trestarig id est, three times distilled, which is strong and hot.' One assumes that this produce was surplus to the requirements of the island's population. The livestock consisted of 'cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs'.

TACKSMEN AND TENANTS

Most of those who held land had leases: tacksmen, who paid rent for large tracts of land and who, by settling suitable tenants there, received rents, in money or in labour, as an additional income from their farms. These smaller tenants had no leases: they could not write and were subject to the tacksman's favour. In the early eighteenth century, the rental rolls for Lewis, preserved among the Seaforth Papers in the Register House in Edinburgh, show that most of the tacksmen—sixty-four in number—were MacKenzies, indicating that they were adherents of the Seaforth (MacKenzie) family on the mainland, who had received the lands from royal hands as the reward for their fidelity. The smaller tenants, who generally lacked surnames but were known by their personal characteristics, numbered over 200; there were also above eighty tenants in Stornoway.

Rents were paid either in money or, more often, in meal, mutton, sheep, butter, tallow or salmon. When it was proposed to sell the Seaforth estate of Lewis in 1772, particulars of the Lewis

but their negligence even in ye article appears from their sending out annual above 2000 of wool out of the country unmanufacture.'

Harris was rented at £600. Exports were some 100 tons of kelp (£325), and the value of 250 black cattle exported alive, with 100 salted, was £445. Small quantities of cheese, wool, and the skins of sheep, otters and seals were exported. Grain was neither imported nor exported.

The plough, which is used here, and in most places of the long island, is of a very peculiar construction. Its length is but 4 feet 7 inches, and is drawn by four horses abreast. It has but one handle by which it is directed; the mold board is fastened with two leather thongs, and the soke and coulter are bound together at the point by a rim of iron. Beside kelp, there is little else manufactured, except a little coarse woolen yarn, and some blanketing, which they send yearly to Glasgow. They raise a little flax of which they make some coarse linen for their own use, but import all the fine linen which they consume. In the year 1756, an American vessel in distress was obliged to put out three hogsheads of lintseed in Harris, which was sown and afforded crops of lint which were above double the value of the usual crops. The east and west of Loch Tarbert in the Harris are every year revisited by the herring shoals. During the five years from 1743 to 1747, the west loch was the principal seat of the herring fishery. About thirty vessels from 18 to 40 tons, belonging to Campbelltown, Greenock, and Irvine, were completely loaded each of these years at this place.

With even a modest amount of business taking place, it was a natural step to establish commercial facilities. Stornoway men who once acted as agents became shopkeepers. The increase in the use of money attracted banks. During the Seaforth ownership of Lewis, the island had its own currency or notes, designed and printed from plates in the same style as the modern banknote. The wording ran: 'I promise to pay on demand to the Chamberlain of the Lewis or Bearer ONE POUND Sterling at the Counting Room here.' The notes carried a date and were signed by the proprietor, J. A. Stewart MacKenzie. It is not known for certain how long the notes remained in currency, when they ceased to be used, or even whether they were officially acceptable. At one time, as rare items, they fetched high prices from collectors. A number were

368 ground. Some of these provide for a much larger area and indeed the policeman serves the whole of the parish of Uig. Three buses per day in each direction operating on a circular route provide transport to Stornoway.

UPPER CARLOWAY

427 The township comproses 51 registered crofts and 28 feus and allotments which are
133 situated on the drift covered slope which rises from the head of Loch Carloway. The crofts are each about half a mile in length and from 5 to 25 yards in width aligned up an downslope. The lowest portion of the croftland is just above sea level and the highest approaches 225 feet O.D. The key crofts are numbers 30 and 31 whose boundaries co to a point thus enabling the crofts to be accommodated on the arcuate hill face. In the east are the crofts of Park Carloway which were lotted at a later date than the main ar of croftland (numbers 1 to 40).

Only two crofts are fragmented ('fixed runrig'), these occupy lowlying hummocky near the river where fencing would be difficult. Elsewhere fencing has been almost completed between the roads, but above the upper road fencing is less common, usual only being undertaken by the more enterprising crofters with more promising land; t bare rock surface of crofts 9 and 10 precludes any such attempt there. Almost all th fencing has taken place since 1946.

427 The 51 crofts and 28 feus and allotments are operated in 56 workihg agricultural
311 The total land reputed arable 134.4 acres and the outrun 82.65 acres which gives a to fo 217.05 acres of individually held ('croft') land. The method of working is control by the relationship of slope, soil and elevation. Three zones may be distinguished, namely

(1) Below the road;
   a) well drained and fairly accessible,
   b) poorly drained and often far from the croft house
(2) Between the roads: a main zone of cultivation
(3) Above the main road an upper zone
   a) with bare rock and thin soil
   b) drift covered - similar in character to (2), but more exposed

Crofts 1 - 32 occupy all three zones
" 33 - 40 and 46 occupy zones (2) and (3)
" 49 is in zone (2)
" 41 and 42 are in zone (1)a and are in 'fixed runrig'.

241 In nearly all parts of these zones it is possible to use a tractor and so the cult
[40] of oats and cutting of hay is accomplished. It is usual to work the potatoes by ho but only one man preferred to do all his ploughing by horse. This widespread us tractor is in marked contrast to the townships southeast of the Loch where it is al impossible to use the tractor in many places. The significance of this in the con methods and efficiency need hardly be emphasised.

461 Life in a crofting township is governed by a very distinctive pattern of workin is so strong that it even influences the operations of the mills in Stornoway, for crofter, if he continues to work his croft fully, must take time off for the commu operations such as the shearing or dipping of the sheep and inevitably at certain the year he will be anxious to work the croft. The table attempts to set out the of the agricultural year in this group of townships (Figure 40).

[Seaforthhead]

Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend, significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment furth of Park, and a smaller loss by migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric, there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

Seaforthhead and Shieldernish are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

Seaforthhead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Balallan and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed. Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep soum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the soum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in 1886. In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the

[Habost]

134 Drift is found near the shore and laps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks.
137 Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

195 Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shieldernish and
692 took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Ailean Tailear came from Taransay, Harris,
621 to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

241 Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and
409 ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Croftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for
233 bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

[244] Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed
[246] parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in
231 June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but
[324] elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

231 The land is heavily overstocked: the soum is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is
233 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in
[432] Park Deer Forest by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garyvard in Novembe
[221] and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

241 The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since
[311] before 1852. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Beinn Bhuidhe and
226 below Loch na Ciste but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural
[282] townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and
[493] trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

361 Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has
[512] been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or
[654] from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

[Habost] [Kershader]

Of the 53 residents, 19 are over 65 and only 5 under 15 years, leaving a working population of 29: seven are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily declining since its peak of 121 in 1901.

Since 1946, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely fenced and the method of cultivation has changed from spade and horse-plough to tractor and cultivators. A shelter (once has been erected for a lamb park and much land has been re-seeded; an increasing area has been put down to hay. It would seem that fattening of stock for market is intended, and better attention is being paid to stock. Yet the population is ageing and there are few young men to take the place of the older crofters; when working units become larger and stock decreases to a figure nearer the real carrying capacity of the grazing, the croft could become a profitable concern: at the moment, the croft is only maintained through grants and ancillary earnings. Should that happen, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivation to provide winter fodder.

KERSHADER

Philip W. Wheeler, M. A.

Kershader is a township of forty-three permanent residents on thirteen crofts, which stretch for a mile along the southern shore of Loch Erisort. The crofts extend up to one-third of a mile from the coast with a two-and-a-half mile deep hinterland of common grazing. The extreme elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arranged in rectangular strips at right angles to the coast, are lower (maximum 125 feet) and include three main zones (Fig. 8):

(a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly below 50 feet, dissected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone have a distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and unsuited to fertilisation by seaware. The smaller hillocks in this zone have thinner soils of the same sort, but the main hill (crofts 10/11) is an extension of zone (c).

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with hills rising to over 100 feet. The lower areas have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a) and (b), with peaty-loam characteristics, overlying aquiferous gravels. The higher areas have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there are signs of former skinning.

(c) A zone of hollows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reacting well to heavy fertilisation with seaware and intervening heights covered with thin soil, bog, partly skinned, heather and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with gentler slopes over 50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irregular shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

In Kershader, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts vary between 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23.45 acres reputed arable and 110.35 acres outrun. 24.5 acres are in lazy-beds under crop (oats 18.5, potatoes 6.0), and 9.5 acres under sown grass; and of the remaining 99.8 acres, mainly natural grass

[Kershader]

with heather and peat on the higher areas, hay is taken off 19.25 acres. Four acres, mainly for potatoes, are worked by spade but most of the cultivation is by tractor hired from Baliallan, or, in 1958, from Habost. Lazybeds are common and in some cases are carefully renewed, but the present tendency, reaching its extreme in a field of about two acres on one croft, is towards the formation of larger, ploughable fields for ease of tractor operation. Most cultivation is in zones (a) and (b), with little development of (c) at present. The only crops are oats and potatoes, with some cabbages, plots of cabbages, turnips and carrots. The potato main crop is generally Kerr's Pink (Golden Wonder on one croft), with a couple of rows of Skerry Blue or Edzell Blue for earlies. There is no memory of Black Oats (Avena strigosa), and bere (Hordeum vulgare) has certainly not been grown since 1930, and probably not since 1909. The oats are grown exclusively for winter feed and are hand-threshed with stock and comb as the need arises; the last water mill in the locality went out of use after 1914, the last handmill in 1916; no grain has been sent to Stornoway since about 1930. Rotations are extremely irregular: some lazy-beds are still cultivated with alternate crops of oats and potatoes and have heavy seaware and manure fertilisation, but most other arable areas have some sort of oats, potatoes, oats, sown grass sequence. Fertilisers used are seaware and manure (ten crofts), manure (eleven crofts), shell sand (one croft), lime (ten crofts) and artificials - 'Potato manure' and sulphate of ammonia - on eight crofts. Artificial fertilisers and much of the seed are obtained through the Crofters' Agency.

The only two horses ever owned by this township were kept on croft 11 from 1936 to 1953. The plough was introduced in 1936. When a tractor from Baliallan became available for hiring in 1953, the horses were disposed of. The present sowms are by cow, young beast and sheep per croft in proportion to rents and range from 3 cows, 3 young beasts, 69 sheep down to 1 cow, 1 young beast and 7 sheep. Eight crofts exceed their settlement but no croft has less than half the sowming and the deficiency is mainly in cattle, especially young beasts. On the other hand, no operative unit is entirely without cattle as manure is extremely important. Cattle are kept for domestic milk supply, and calves, having qualified for subsidy, are normally sold at 6 to 8 months. 10 acres of the common grazing were re-seeded in 1957 and the following rhythm for milk cows is developing:-

(a) As soon as the weather allows in May, the cows are put out in the park for about three weeks.

(b) Next, about 6 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the new outer fence erected in 1957.

(c) Back to the re-seeded park for about five weeks.

(d) Return to the crofts for the winter, being let out either to the park or to the common grazings whenever the weather is suitable.

The young beasts spend much of their time on the outer common grazings. As most of the crofts, beginning with one in 1938 and ending in sequence with 10, 11 and 12 probably in 1959, are fenced, the old arrangements for township commoning from 15th October to 10th May are now obsolescent. Another park was also fenced for general purposes and for weaning in 1957. Prices for calves and cattle are very low and this discourages cattle breeding; on the other hand, lack of winter keep enforces an occasional sale.

The rhythm of sheep husbandry is largely independent of that of cattle:-

(a) By 20th November all sheep, except possibly the ewes, are cleared from the crofts for the tupping of breeding ewes thereon till 31st December. Every crofter now keeps his own ram, exchanging it or buying another at least once in five years.

[Garyvard]

Only a fraction of the total arable land is cultivated by tractor and this is divided among seven crofts. In spite of an emphatic statement by one of these cultivators to the effect that he will never use it again, the use of the tractor will increase as soon as the pioneers are able to prove to their neighbours its capabilities and as soon as the lazy-beds are joined together, an improvement which has already taken place in Habost. The main objection to the use of the tractor by the unappointed user was the inevitable one that the yields were smaller than in former years when he had used the spade. The answer to this was given by one of the other pioneers, who thought that time saved could be devoted to some other profitable occupation, for example, weaving. Six of the crofters practise a five-year crop rotation, sowing potatoes first, followed by oats under-sown with clover which for the following three years is cut for hay.

An interesting experiment has been that of the improvement of two acres of common grazing land by the road on the west side of the township, by nine of the crofters working together during the evenings. The work began early in Spring when 6 tons of lime, 10 cwts. of mineral phosphates and 8 cwts. of compound fertiliser were spread only over the land. The grass seed was sown in July, the most favourable time for sowing since there is less danger of a drought than earlier in the year, and more convenient too, in that the sheep had been gathered for shearing and 250 of them were available to be driven back and forth over the land to tramp the seeds in. In theory this land should be ready for grazing next Spring, but in practice it will be ready in November. It is planned to re-seed twelve acres in all.

Most crofters have a cow to provide milk for their own needs. The Black Poll bull at Gravir is preferred to the other township bulls since its progeny command higher prices. Sales are held in the district twice per year, once on the old lazy-level on the east side of the township, and once at Baliallan. Prices for calves are normally better in Spring than at the Autumn sale, nevertheless prices offered tend to be low. Even so, it is usually to the advantage of the crofter to part with the animal rather than bear the cost of taking it back to the croft and keeping it there. Historically there is some bitterness that the middlemen who buy these animals will sell them at much higher prices on the mainland at Dingwall. Sheep are normally sold in Stornoway to the butchers but also at the local sales.

Crofting is not in itself a lucrative form of employment and in most households there is at least one other source of income. A majority of the crofters have regular employment, two working in quarries or on the roads for the County Council, another is postman, three are weavers, another both weaver and contractor, while yet another works in Antarctic waters aboard a whaling factory ship for eight months of the year. Weaving is undoubtedly the most lucrative of the ancillary occupations, though the weavers are suffering at the moment from the slump in the Harris Tweed industry which is also affecting the prices for wool. Contracting is also a paying proposition for one or two persons only, since the amount of freight is obviously limited.

Most crofters own a small rowing boat and it is not uncommon to see half a dozen nets set to catch mackeral and other demersal fish. There is not one large fishing boat, however, partly because of the scarcity of fish near the coasts, and partly because of the isolation of Ness and the subsequent difficulty in marketing. The Fleetwood trawlers are regarded as pirates in the Minch, and one has to its credit the destruction of two long lines - the sum total of the tackle belonging to a local boat. To have eighteen pounds worth of gear lost in one night is ruin to a crofter-fisherman. Lobster fishing has died out at Garyvard though it could be quite extensively practised.

The main road from South Lochs to Stornoway through the village has obviously had a profound effect on the township. The sites of the old 'black houses' have been abandoned when new houses have been built in the vicinity of new sites on the coastal strip near to the road. The Road Age has greatly limited man's capacity for carrying goods. This is well illustrated by the fact that the majority of crofters in Garyvard use artificial fertilisers, whereas they are scarcely used at all in Caverata where the road ends about 50 yards from the nearest house.

[Caverata]

Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for lambing or other purposes and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes are normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered, and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for black leg, braxy and louping ill, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third week of May.

The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep sowm, but the overall stocking is only 88 per cent of the total sowming. The two crofts with the highest stocking are those while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however, poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuable for wintering the hoggs. Lewis Blackface sheep are the predominant breed and the wool, clipped in July, is sold to the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter house. The 1958 loss at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the growth of grass for the ewes. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the croftes. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early-born calves may be sold in the Autumn at six months old, those born later must be wintered to eight months until the Spring sales. The cows are served by the Department of Agriculture Highland bull at Habost, but although good prices are obtained for beef cattle, it is felt that for the family milk supply, a dairy bull would produce a better strain.

In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. In most cases the land under each crop is less than half an acre and nowhere does it exceed two acres. The land has been built up into lazybeds about six to ten feet wide, separated by open drainage channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor (hired from Habost) is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not altogether suitable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by marsh and steep faces of bare rock.

Neither Torista nor Caverata is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the road near Cromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and an inferior footpath joining the main road at Garyvard. The lack of a good road within the dyke acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilisers. Byre manure is used on all the crofts and seaweed is brought from the shore and spread on the lazybeds. Artificial manures, used on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. This lack of incentive to improve is perhaps even more marked by the fact that on one holding alone is a rotation practised - potatoes, oats undersown with clover; then hay for three or four years. Apart from this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the same strips for many years. Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay and is often cut from lazybeds that were formerly cultivated. On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridge can be seen to have a crescentic shape and are thought to date back more than one hundred years. A short distance beyond the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonised by heather.

Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch within the dyke, is cut on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and later brought home by creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens and all keep up to twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the larders, are also maintained.

In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Caverata and seven at Torista. After 1881, when maximum figures of fifty-nine and nineteen were noted, there was a secondary peak in 1911 in Caverata, followed by a steady drop to twenty in 1951 and eighteen in 1958.

[Garyvard]

The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Garyvard - predominantly a fishing township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with those for Grimsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the cottar population forms over a third of the total resident population. Yet the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular employment - as postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939. Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. Some of the old houses remain, some being used as byres and others were built either along the shore or up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs. Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents, they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least one house could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling, is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses also reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

GRIMSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

Grimsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Skiol. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

412

412 GENERAL TOOLS--cutting tools (e.g., knife, ax, adze, chisel, wedge, plane, scissors, saw, sickle); boring tools (e.g., awl, needle, drill, augur, bit, reamer); abrading tools (e.g., scraper, file, grindstone); striking tools (e.g., maul, hammer, pestle); eating utensils (e.g., knife, fork, spoon); digging tools (e.g., digging stick, spade, pick, hoe, shovel); gripping tools (e.g., tongs, tweezers, pincers, vise, grapnel, wrench); miscellaneous tools of general utility (e.g., broom, brush, fan, comb, rake, fork); parts and their assembly (e.g., blades, handles); See also:
Lashings . . . . . 284 Hardware manufacture 391

233 127
234
435 costly, that the Common Market will soon drive up milk
434 prices, and that income from the weaving has become too
648 uncertain.

412 Many tools and techniques associated with crofting
178 have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (two pieces of wood joined with leather); the sheepskin stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate chaff and grain; rope made of plaited heather and straw. Each spring the byre was cleaned of its accumulated dung
241 [221] and urine, and this was turned into the ground along
[237] [324] with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among
[173] the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be
[387] mobilized under changed conditions, as when alternatives to crofting are no longer available or are too costly. However, the longer crofting is neglected, the less it will provide an alternative strategy. "The artificial
241 fertilizers are ruining the land; that's why the
824 turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to
[233] water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and streams--rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep—the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather work the land than the blinkin' loom, but we tried the potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

*175 islanders' manufacture of cloth. The inhabitants were at least a
241 century behind the times, though they were, he found, in no way
134 deficient by nature. They were social in their own style, and they
311 had very good heads, 'that is, for people not accustomed to habits
[181] of thought'. So far as agriculture was concerned, nothing in the way of draining the land had ever been accomplished; nor had any effort been made to penetrate the hard sub-soil. He held that
[137] the great scarcity of timber had been a serious handicap when
• [412] it came to agricultural implements—to their renewal, repair or possible improvement. Under direction, however, he was convinced that improvements in land use would result in considerable benefits to the island. He added that he hoped the period of this improvement would not be far off and that visitors would find 'a green, pastoral land instead of a dreary waste'.

*175 Yet not until 1928 was peat reclamation and development
242 again brought out for an airing. This time, the benefactor was
134 the late Mr T. B. MacAulay, a Montreal magnate, a son of Lewis
311 connections. He gave £10,000 to establish an experimental farm in Lewis, and a site on Arnish moor, not far from Stornoway, was chosen. It was typical of most of Lewis: black, water-holding peat, which when squeezed, instead of allowing water to escape from it like a sponge, oozes itself through the fingers. The aims of the farm were to provide additional arable land on which to grow winter fodder, and to improve, at as low a cost as possible, the grazing on the moorland. Fifty acres were certainly converted from moorland to arable, and this formed a basis for an experimental extension to another 100 acres. By 1936 the farm had a sales income from produce of about £1,400. The stock in that
[231] year included 40 head of thriving cattle, including 15 dairy cows, 20 poultry, 140 blackfaced sheep, and some fattening pigs. The sheep were a late addition, made with the dual aim of pasturing on moorland too deep and soft for cattle in wet weather, and of improving the sheep strain of the island.

By 1938, it had been shown that some lasting improvement on moorland of reasonably favourable slope could be effected at a materials cost of about £3 per acre, and without heavy labour costs. Thus, the common grazings held by the crofting townships could be improved, if a co-operative effort were organized. So

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PLATE IXA. CROFTERS WITH FLAIL AND WINNOWING VESSEL

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482
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PLATE IXB. A LEWIS WOMAN CREELING PEAT (*c.* 1925)

Except in cold weather (as here) the skirt is rolled up over a petticoat to form a pad at the waist just below the creel

/facing p. 64/

413

413 SPECIAL TOOLS--writing instruments (e.g., pencil, pen, brush); artists' tools; surgical instruments; specialised tools of particular crafts (e.g., of jewelers, barbers, smiths, masons, weavers); mensurating tools (e.g., gauge, compass, calipers, measuring rod, square, level, quadrant); etc.
See also:
Weighing and measuring machines. . . . . 408 Oars and paddles 801

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PLATE IXA. CROFTERS WITH FLAIL AND WINNOWING VESSEL

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PLATE IXB. A LEWIS WOMAN CREELING PEAT (*c.* 1925)

Except in cold weather (as here) the skirt is rolled up over a petticoat to form a pad at the waist just below the creel

/facing p. 64/

417

417 APPARATUS--supports (e.g., posts, frames, ladders, scaffolds); fences and gates; pens and corrals; birdcages; apparatus not elsewhere described; etc. Se also:

Traps, mares, and fishing gear 22
Aids to locomotion and burden carrying 48
Looms 286
Furniture 362
Plumbing fixtures 414
Riding gear 492
Nautical rigging and gear 501

178 241 476 of the normal capitalist farmer in the West; but in crofting areas, these practices reveal a strain between communal and individual tendencies.

a. Fencing:

233 Although run-rig was replaced by fixed, compact [178] holdings, the method of animal husbandry was not affected [417] until the land began to be fenced. A single dry-stone [333] dike enclosed the township, keeping livestock on the moor and away from the arable land. In different parts [184] of the Hebrides, various types of herdsmen were hired to protect both the livestock and the growing crops (cf. Owen 1958-59 for a discussion of cattle, calf and sheep herdsmen in North Uist).

175 625 The township Constable had a great deal of power, which included the right to evict people from their crofts, to enforce rules of good husbandry. The last Constable of Shawbost, who died at the turn of the century, has been credited with a number of ignoble actions, such as forcing an old woman with a sore leg to take her cow to the moor along with all the others. Old widows who had no one going to the fishing and hence no means of paying their rent might be evicted in favor of other persuasive, land-hungry members of the village.

175 311 233 township, but on land which had been rested and which thus provided better grazing. During the winter the [221] sheep were allowed past the township dike, to graze along with the other livestock on the stubble of corn and barley, and mineral-rich seaweed by the shore.

175 178 311 417 233 After World War II, the individual crofts began to be fenced, and the township dike was no longer repaired. The fact that sheep were still grazed communally on the moor meant that everyone had to go out together on a particular day rather than individual but fencing of individual land facilitated variability in land use. Less use was made of crofts for raising crops, and they could be used for grazing sheep all year round.

b. Reseeding schemes and apportionments:

178 311 Another illustration of the individuation of land [241] use is provided by comparing the number of apportionment granted by the Crofters Commission for Lewis in the last 10 years with the number of township reseeding schemes carried out during the same time (see Table IV).[1] A [425] crofter may apply to the Commission for an area of land (apportionment) to be sliced out of the township's common grazing land and given to him for his own use; theoretically, his share in the township's common grazin land is reduced if his application is granted.

1. [See p.x--Analyst]

lambing season, the crofter and his family go out on the moor to cut their peat for the following winter. The man uses a "tusker," a two-bladed spade, to cut the peat. His wife or his children follow behind, tossing the peats out of the ditch and building small, loose stacks for drying. After the lambs have been marked and the sheep dipped in June and the shearing finished in July, the family returns to the banks to carry the peats to the nearest road, actually a beaten cart path, in creels. They are then carted home and stacked near the door. There is a growing tendency for both the part-time and spare-time crofter to give up cutting peat. It is not because coal is cheaper or he needs time for other pressing chores. His auxiliary occupation will not permit his devoting the necessary time to this long and arduous task. He is caught between the traditional economic patterns and the money economy of which he has become a part.

The year for our part-time crofter, as for all active crofters ends in November. By then the oat and hay harvest has been stacked by the house and the potatoes and turnips stored in the ground, the wool shipped off to market, the surplus sheep and cattle have gone to market, and the rams are on the hill. Now follows a period of enforced idleness, broken by feeding the cattle. As we have seen many go away to find employment, leaving the care of the croft to their wives who have shared the work of crofting in addition to their own womanly responsibilities. We must turn to the spare-time crofter to discover just how heavy the burden of labor may depend upon the women of Skye.

4

415 UTENSILS--water contai
tainers (e.g., cans, bott
kettles, bowls, ladles);
baskets, earthen pots, le
utensils (e.g., test tube
paratus; utensils with sp
straws); etc. See also:

Drinking . . . . . .
Household equipment . . . . .
Ceramic industries. . . . . .
Eating utensils . . . . . .

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iners (e.g., tanks, barrels); food and beverage con-
tles, jars); kitchen utensils (e.g., pans, dishes,
containers made from special materials (e.g., gourds,
eather bags, wooden boxes, paper cartons); chemical
s, flasks, retorts, vats); brewing and distilling ap-
pecial functions (e.g., molds, funnels, sieves, drinking

. . . . . 27 Basket making 285
. . . . . 38 Cooperage 322
. . . . . 323 Decorative art 531
. . . . . 412 Measures 804

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504
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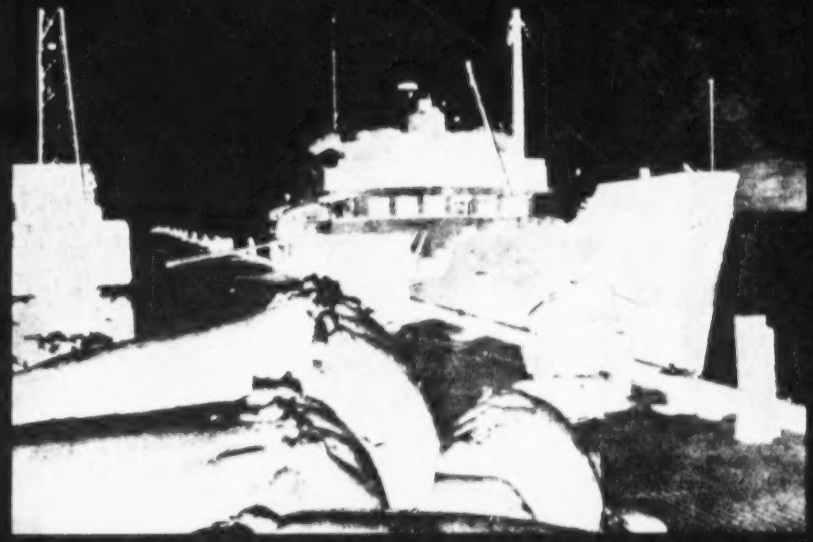

(*above*) Bales of imported Scottish wool on the quay at Stornoway for the Harris Tweed industry

/p. 144/

(*below*) Dyeing wool in a Stornoway mill

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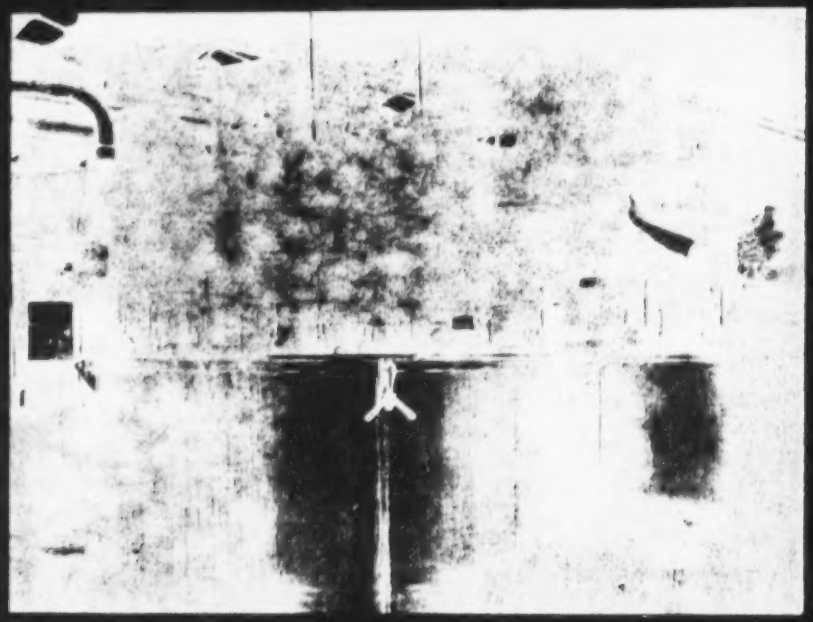

Two Stornoway scenes from the 'Grand Collotype Album of Views in Lewis' published c 1900 by Samuel Lawrence, 'Chemist, Druggist, Perfumer, Stationer and Tobacconist', Cromwell Street, Stornoway. (*above*) The herring fleet in Stornoway harbour, showing the wherries or 'Zulu' type craft; (*below*) Cromwell Street

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Photographs by J. Allan Cash

A PEAT-CUTTER

The peats are being carried to the roadside from where they will be carried home

later times the landlord might supply timber. Long ago a main source of timber was the shore. The length of the house may be fifty to sixty feet, and the inside breadth ten to twelve feet, spanned by ten or a dozen pairs of couples on which are laid transverse 'cabers', which may be tree trunks, branches, odd wood, old oars, or, exceptionally, sawn timber. The tops of the walls are finished with turf, to keep the filling from being washed out, and to provide a smooth bearing for the couples, the ends of which are pushed into the turf so as to bear on the inner half of the wall; the rounded form and absence of overhanging eaves prevent a gale obtaining purchase on the roof, but a gable with chimney is now usual on the end wall of the inner room. The rafters are annually covered with turf, and the roof is thatched with thin, short barley straw, which was pulled up, not cut, after the ears were picked off, the roots gripping well, and the stem hanging outward and down.

The door gives direct access to the byre (*bathach*), through which one reaches the middle part, or living-room, 'at the fire' (*aig an teine*), from which there opens the inmost part, the 'room' with bed-closets. There is no ceiling to the primitive house, the row of box beds having tops to keep off the drips of rain water. In the middle of the earthen, sanded floor of the living-room is the circular hearth, built of stones with clay between, and raised a few inches, with no chimney.

In the byre, the manure accumulates from spring to spring, and a breach is made in the end of the house for the annual removal of the manure. There are no privies. Where there is fodder and straw in any quantity a barn is added. Stacks are rare because of wind. A low wall, continuous with the house and barn, may enclose the kale-

usually corresponded to six imperial bushels). The stock was "four milch cows, three to perhaps four horses, and as many sheep on the common as the tenant has luck to rear". Although such estimates, especially of crop yields, are apt to err on the favourable side, a comparison with the same writer's statistics of stock (and rental) shows that this estimate gives only a little over the modern average per family in Harris, and allows an average sheep flock of one score ewes.

The briefer Statistical Accounts of Lewis indicate the average stock per family, suggesting comparisons both with the present, and with an earlier time (Chapter II). In 1790 the cattle and horses, though small, were greater in number per family than now. In Lewis there were eight head of cattle per rural family, compared to 2·5 today; there were one or two ponies per family (according to the topography and ploughland of the parish) instead of an average of only one horse to five or six families today; the small family sheep-stock was similar; and there were also some goats, say, one to every second family. In addition to these resources, there was fishing; and the number of boats in Stornoway parish, giving one boat to four families, is a guide for the rest. Fishing, with net-making, was a predominant occupation in all parishes by that time, and boat-building was significant too.

As to changes, fishing had grown in importance since about 1720, and kelp-making added an important new resource. But one may doubt if the Island supported an appreciably larger live-stock in 1790 than seventy years before; one must rather assume smaller shares per family, for population had increased. A basis for agricultural security was an adequate balance of sandy machar to 'black', peaty, clay land; and the area of machar, a limited

175 natural zone, could not be extended. In any case, the re-
433 clamation of clay land tended to slacken as efforts turned
434 to fishing and kelp-making. The introduction or increased
[182] growing of potatoes added to the human, but hardly to the
[311] animal, food supply. Finally, while the beginnings of
[232] medical knowledge and vaccination had aided the growth
[422] of population after 1750, veterinary science had made no
progress, nor did it advance in the Island for many years
to come. We may conclude that an average stock per Island
family about 1720 was rather more than that of 1790, and
the acreage relatively larger, while both were greater than
the average of today, particularly in the Lews.

175 What, then, could a family have to eat, from such crops
262 and stock? While in winter even now there is almost no
244 milk to be had on a croft, and there would be little then,
there was salt meat, dried or salted cod (or herring) and
fish oil; oat and barley meal and some rye meal; cabbages;
and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, potatoes.
Martin included potatoes among the crops grown even on
far St. Kilda in 1697. A century later it was written that
the people of Uig, for instance, had, though 'unwilling',
been induced to grow and eat them 'forty years before';
and the years tend to be under-estimated where changes
are slow and memories long! But it was written of Harris
that by June the meal and potatoes had mostly been con-
sumed, "and such as cannot afford to purchase imported
meal subsist chiefly on the milk of their cows and sheep,
with what fish they may chance to catch, till their wants
are relieved by the first fruits of their potato crops early
in Harvest".

175 We conclude that with even less money but a little
511 more grain the population in the Island had fluctuated
162 about a mean for some centuries before, as it had in so
171

178 exists at Tarbert and another was erected in 'the Bays'
286 district by Leverhulme. Leverhulme also appears to
have introduced 'Automatic' hand-looms into Lewis.
[423] Today as in the past, the weavers possess a little croft or
a feu, a cow, and a few sheep on the outrun, and perhaps
[422] a small boat.

121 Commercial fishing and weaving cannot, however, be
286 satisfactorily combined, for seasonal alternation of occupa-
tion entails waste of gear and plant, and interferes with
228 efficiency. Thus in the North Lochs fishing 'creek'
182 (Leurbost neighbourhood, immediately south of Storno-
way), weaving became important, but none of the seven
178 large herring fishing boats (still registered in 1930) had
been fitted with motors after 1918; they were idle and
[501] rotting, and by 1938 only one was still registered. In South
Lochs, however, motor-boats were purchased, but there
is little weaving. An obvious reason for the difference is
the accessibility of the North Lochs area by road to
[493] Stornoway. Light passenger cars bring yarn to the village,
besides groceries, etc., and take away rolls of tweed. South
Lochs, on the other hand, considerably further from
Stornoway by road, is still within reach for marketing fish.
In North Lochs, merchant seamen at home and young men
on their return from three months' work on East Coast
fishing boats, turned increasingly to the 'Automatic' looms,
manipulation being easily learnt; but such intermittent
work alone gives little hope of progress. There is no more
fascinating problem than the future of improved weaving.

2. *Unemployment and the Island Budget*

174 In the past, the storms of the Atlantic washed up on
731 the Island shores the wreckage of world commerce; and
434

192 The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" huts, some still in good repair, are of uncertai
date. The best preserved are on the Morsgail Deer Forest, in remote situations which
make it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; those on the Garynahine
common pasture are associated with assymmetrically ridged, curving, lazybeds. This
however, need not imply permanent occupation of the site, nor does it solve the problem
of age; such lazy-beds are certainly old, possibly pre-potato (c. 1790 here) - but the hu
do not decay with age and may be very much older.

175 Early in the eighteenth century the present area of the parish of Uig was held from t
427 Seaforth clan chief by 26 tacksmen, whose names are recorded in the judicial-rental of
1716, (Fig.4). They, presumably, had sub-tenants but of these there is no record.
Elsewhere in Lewis the same rental records many small tenants holding direct off the
chief but in Uig, apparently, the tacksman and sub-tenant system remained intact.
Although we cannot be certain of their precise extent, the distribution of the tacks
[241] coincides fairly well with that of the better agricultural ground (Fig.2). Five of them
cluster round Uig bay, four were in the Valtos-Reef area, and three around the strait o
Little Bernera. All these districts have machair; together they accounted for three
quarters of the meal and more than half the sheep and money rents. What is more, th
rents represented 27% of the total rental of Lewis, whereas by 1887 Uig yielded only 17
178 of the rental and by 1901 the proportion was reduced to 14%. The relative decline of
365 Uig is largely due to the growth of Stornoway; this shift in the centre of gravity of Lewi
has tended to exaggerate the remoteness and isolation of Uig in the present century.

161 By the end of the eighteenth century the tacksmen seem to have disappeared; at any
175 rate they are not mentioned in the remarkably detailed account of the parish given
in the Old Statistical Account, 1792. Meanwhile the small tenants had multiplied:
whereas in 1755 the old parish * had supported 1,312 persons, in 1792 the
467 minister recorded 1,898. At this time there was neither plough nor cart
494 in the parish. The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating the
300

TABLE 3

AVERAGE STOCK HELD BY EACH FAMILY

162
178
233
422

	1792	1959
Cattle and calves	9.2	2.1
Sheep	13	37
Horses	1.8	-
Goats	0.8	-
No. of families	387	450

Note: the figures for both dates refer to the area of the old parish.

[632] * The old parish of Uig excluded the Loch Carloway district, from Kirivick north; this area lay in Lochs parish until 1891. Unless the old parish is specified figures quoted ha been corrected to conform with the modern boundaries.

1. [See p. 2--Analyst]

Alluvial soils have developed along the lower reaches of Amuinin Thoraghair and the Erista river.

There are no trees apart from an occasional stunted rowan or willow - willows for thatch making grow still in some old garden enclosures. Hedges, too, are rare and, although individual houses are often carefully sited, there is little cover and the township as a whole are very exposed to westerly gales. The natural vegetation developed on the machair is of fine closely noubed grasses with a good deal of natural clover - very similar to that found on chalk downland. On the peaty moorland the usual moor grasses, mosses and heather are dominant, though little encroachment by bracken was noticed.

In Crowlista the strip layout of the croftz dates from a letting about 1855, (Figure 14) in the new township, laid out about 1821 (Figure 15) the majority of the croftz are in late strip-like and do not run to the shore. Indeed in Ardroil and Timsgarry only five out of twenty-two croftz reach the shore and the rocky headlands with their machair are valuable parts of the common pasture. The site croftz in Carsiclet run from the shore at the foot of the esker up its flank towards the southwest and almost to its summit. They also have one or two small plots each on the machair.

Croftz in Ardroil are in one place. An old cattle road forms the north west boundary from this they rise, steeply in places, to undulating moorland just over 200' high. Numbers 5 - 8 Timsgarry are strips across the Erista valley, rising northwards to just over 175'; 2, 3 and 4 are allotted to make use of arable land on the lower slopes of Rocck Valabrie. The houses of croftz No. 1 Timsgarry and No. 1 Ardroil are the former farmhouses.

In Crowlista most of the croftz remain unfenced but in Carsiclet, Ardroil and Timsgarry all are fenced and many of the fences were being repaired or replaced in 1959. They are not open for common grazing during the winter. Patches of sown hay are fenced within each croft.

There are six recognised croft-holdings in Carsiclet; one is sub-let so that there are only five "operative" croftz; two of these are not worked. One has been resumed by the proprietors and is being quarried as an extension of the main quarry between the township dyke and main road. In Ardroil each of the fourteen croftz is worked as a unit - though two carry no stock; in Timsgarry eight croftz are worked as seven units.

In contrast to the above, the old settlement of Crowlista has twenty-five recognised croftz but, by amalgamation and sub-letting there are worked as fourteen units. The Crowlista croftz are small - fourteen are 4.0 acres or less and of these only one is worked as a unit. Croftz as small as 1.5 acres are common in other townships, but never have been intended to support a family; they are the result of sub-division in earlier generations; the remains of two piers and a caving house point to the importance of fishing in the past. Twenty-one men were employed in fishing boats about 1914. Subletting usually takes place between relatives; of some of the fourteen operative units are quite complicated. One example will suffice (croft numbers are here replaced by letters to prevent publication of personal material):-

Croftz a, b, c and d are worked as a unit (although they are not adjacent). The tenant of a and b sub-lets c and d for grazing; he also helps with the work on yet a fifth croft. The present a is half of an original croft. The rest of the original croft is held in fixed rently between i and another croft, one part of this multiple "working" unit east of the road it has been divided into separate strips. The tenant lives on b.

241 here and there in small patches of less than a quarter acre and therefore do not appear in our summaries, appendices A (1) and C (1).

The amount of cultivation carried out depends on three factors:

(i) stock, particularly cattle, to be carried through the winter,
(ii) size of family, which influences the amount of potatoes required,
(iii) available labour, because cultivation is mostly by hand, especially in South Uig and Berneray.

The size of the effective agricultural unit has little influence on the area cultivated although it may have some relation to the amount of natural hay taken. This can hardly be regarded as "cultivated" and the acreage is difficult to estimate; the custom is to cut as and where needed, sometimes on the hill and elsewhere in a convenient stand of natural grass.

Hand labour is a necessity on most croftz in the Bernera district and on many elsewhere. The traditional "lazy-bed" - a form of ridge and furrow cultivation bounded by deep ditches which may be half a metre wide - is a necessity on broken, rocky ground on which the rocky surface is not which often has to be gathered into heaps in order to get enough soil to cover it. The small size and long narrow shape of most croftz do not lend to get rid of the drainage, which is also important. If it could be extended it would be a great advantage but, in general, it would have to be organized by townships, or at least by groups of croftz, and the whole trend in management of croft land is towards individual occupation and use.

This may not always be a good thing. Fencing is a case in point. Until the last two years fenced croftz were rare and most small parts of croftz might be fenced and, in some cases, a group of croftz might be fenced off from the rest. But, in general, the croftz were commonly unfenced in winter and used individually only from May to October. Fencing grants, and the encouragement of sown grass in rotation with oats, have changed all this. A great rash of fencing is appearing. This may not be altogether a good thing, particularly for the sheep in winter and spring; even if grass are still left open, stock are deprived of the ability to move for shelter. There may also be watering difficulties. Co-operative drainage, cultivation and grazing, of groups of croftz if not of townships, would be more efficient and more productive.

Finally, we may remark on the contrast between the land cultivation of oats and potatoes for consumption on the croft, in which small crops well suited to hand labour, and which would be far more rewarding if they were neglected. However, oats and potatoes are imported and generally fully on the mail steamer and even by yatses. Neither are important and generate little production in Lewis. Moreover such crops could provide a much needed source of additional income. A few croft gardens produce excellent soft fruit and as the lands warm differ slightly from that on the mainland there would seem to be possibilities here, too. There have been virtually no agricultural innovations since the photos.

Agricultural and Technical Factors.

The agricultural income of a croft arises from:

(i) the sale of livestock, mostly store stock at the spring and autumn sales.
(ii) the sale of the annual wool clip.
(iii) the receipt of certain annual subsidies and grants.

These are the main items; in addition some may sell small amounts of potatoes, eggs and standing hay; a very few sell a little milk although strictly this is illegal. Such an annual income comes in three or four annual instalments, uncertain as to date and amount. Occasionally some croftar may suddenly and unexpectedly find himself deprived of a large part of his income due to casualties amongst his stock or poor demand at the seasonal sales. Unlike the mainland farmer, should an islander withdraw his store

421

421 PROPERTY SYSTEM--principles of property law; rights, privileges, and powers commonly involved in property relations (e.g., rights that others shall not use or destroy, privileges of enjoyment, powers of alienation and of transmission after death; recognized types of tenure; tenures; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, joint, corporate, collective, public); their relations to classes of subject matter (e.g., land, movables, slaves); their degree of integration; their legal and statistical importance; their association with kin and other social groups; etc. See also:

1[illegible]	...	87	Property arrangements upon
Ownership of productive capital	...	471	termination of marriage ... 508

Nevertheless, the attachment to the holdings is very real and must be given careful consideration when assessing their present utilisation and potential value. It is particularly significant because it leads to large numbers of tenants retaining holdings which are far too small to yield a living. Inevitably they seek other sources of income either at home by working or crofting or elsewhere by seasonal work (e.g. Seasonal Navy, armed forces, police or other skilled or unskilled work). As a consequence the croft is neglected and its potential resources, small as they are, are not realised. The decline in crofter numbers since the late nineteenth century gives some indication of the scale of this lost productivity over the parish as a whole. This is the crofter's own loss. Individually one can appreciate the problem - "four cows will not give me a living - better to get work on the Forestry Commission and be sure of a living." And one hears frequently that another will take its place, or there will be casual road work or other labour and, between times, the croft and crofting will be small enough to benefit which the self-employed crofter does not.

Certainly the land is of poor quality, the climate is some respects severe, and the cost of transport, from Uig even to Portnaway let alone to the mainland, a perpetual problem. But the root of the problem is the small size of most of the crofter-holdings, on the one hand, and, on the other, the fragmentation of holdings into several pieces of a holding, no matter how small and how neglected it may be. How has this come to be?

TABLE 5

The multiplication of crofter-tenants, and their increasing rents, 1850-1890.

	Tenants:		Rentals:	
	1850	1890	1850	1890
Garsein	15	27	£70	£78
Totta Chaolis	29	40	£86	£96
Knock Carloway	16	33	£52	£66
Upper Carloway	25	53	£81	?
Breasclete	38	61	£111	£121
Breasclete Park	6	9	£3	£14
Callanish	38	52	£82	£104
Brenish	25	28	£94	£94
Islivick	13	10	£23	£28
Aird	9	10	£30	£28
Valtos	29	40	£149	?
Keeep	18	23	£89	£80

hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center for tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependence on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villagers participate in a number of social activities which are not tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious asceticism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each with population of about 300. All, except the ministers and school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle and sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potatoes and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All are bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither community has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. Glendale has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch which has been divided among the small farmers. The significant differences between these are three. The Glendale people are hand owners. In this respect they are rather unique in the Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, rent their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glendale is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church-goers of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social activities other than an annual meeting of the share-holders in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a club organization for the men who gather for lectures and discussions of economic problems.

of the tacksmen. Here was the essence of the clan system, the common tie of territory and kinship. The land was not the means of subsistence, it was the ancestral house.

The clan was strongly patrilineal. The father of the individual family stood to his children as the senior member of the *farbrion* to his kinsmen, the tacksmen to his followers, and the chief to the body of the clan. The fundamental underlying principle was mutual, reciprocal devotion. The system was equalitarian. Although the chief was the landowner, and the tacksmen received their land on lease, for which they owed the chief the duties of service and a rent just as their tenants owed the tacksmen, the land had no commercial value. Rent was an ill defined and secondary consideration. The dignity of the chief depended on the number of supporters, who could be maintained on the land under the system of land use.

Economic Activities

The principles of land use and tenure on the Isle of Skye up to the early years of the eighteenth century were similar to those prevailing all over Scotland.[59] The land was used under a system of runrig agriculture. The word runrig appears to be a modification of the Gaelic *roinn-roith*, a parallel or running division. The bulk of the population, as tenants of the land owning clan chief (or Lowland aristocrat) or subtenants of the lleaseholders, was clustered into hamlet-like farming settlements to exploit the arable, pasture, and grazing lands by individual and cooperative effort. The land suitable for cultivation was divided into infield and outfield. Since Ireland and Wales continued to use shifting arable, and England adopted permanent arable in the Middle Ages, the practice of dividing the land into two separate allotments must have been introduced by the Norse. Norway continues to use infield and outfield to the present day.

The infield, about one third of the arable land, was farmed continuously with the aid of manure. The outfield was worked until exhausted and then left fallow while a new piece was brought into cultivation. Both were split into "rigs," irregular strips about twenty feet wide and several hundred feet long, separated by "balks," any uncultivated patch. Each man had at least three rigs for his use. Annually, all exchanged at least one rig with the other holders by ballot. Since all of the land was not of equal value, this periodic redistribution gave each man an opportunity to have the use of the best soil every three years. The use of the pasture and grazing lands was regulated by a system of common rights. The stock of each individual was proportionate to his share in the arable land. When arbitration was needed to decide questions of allotment, grazing rights, or rent, a "birley court," composed of the share-holders and their elected constacle, was held. Economically, each farm appears to have

[59] Henry Grey Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (3rd ed.) (London: A&C: 1ON Charles Black, 1906), pp. 154-165; Malcolm Gray, "The Abolition of Runrig in the Highlands of Scotland," The Economic History Review, Vol. V, No. 1 (1953), pp. 46-57; and James Z. Anthony, Scottish Farming in the Nineteenth Century (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1953), pp. 34-73, 91-100.

some townships the large crofter is given an allocation in 427
proportion to his rent. The payment of his rent also entitles 423
the crofter to gather seaweed along the coast for fertilizer 423
and to cut peat for fuel on the common grazing or in special 347
peat areas. In a number of townships he has a further right 233
to pasture his rams in a "tup park" and his horses in a "horse park." These are lowlying areas of improved pasture. There is the general picture.

There are three important exceptions to the typical 427
means of land tenure. First, there are the Glendale crofters 423
who own their land. Each individual has purchased his croft, 421
and the members of each township own the common grazing collectively. Before the law they are no longer entitled to the 650
benefits of crofting status because, by legal definition, the crofter is a small farmer who rents his land. Second, there 233
are the crofters of six Kilmuir townships who have individual areas of "outrun," good lowlying cattle pastures, in addition to the normal crofter's holding. Even though the Glendale crofters are landowners and the Kilmuir crofters have their own cattle pasture, they are subject to "souming" regulations. Third, there are a few large, isolated crofts which are self-contained units. The individual has his own cultivated land, pasture, and rough grazing. In reality, many of these large holdings are farms, but as long as the annual rent does not exceed £50, the benefits of crofting status are not withdrawn. The crofter, of course, stocks his holding as he thinks best. While the Irish and Scottish Highland systems of land use

While
the Irish and Scottish Highland systems of land use
427 reveal many underlying similarities, they are distinguished
423 by their respective systems of land tenure. The Irish small
421 farmer owns his land, like the Glendale crofters, and has a self-contained holding, like the large crofter on Skye.[3]

427 Croft Size. As the foregoing discussion has suggested, there is a wide range of croft sizes. Some crofters have only a few hundred square yards of the poorest soil. A few have large, relatively fertile holdings. One of these large crofters, for example, has 88 acres of arable land, 27 acres of pasture, and 1261 acres of grazing. The most common size is less than five acres, and not more than 500 of the 2200 crofters have over ten acres. If all of his land were of equal potential agricultural value, the individual with ten acres might be able
241 to attain a satisfactory standard of production. Unfortunately, not more than half of most crofts can be considered as suitable for crop cultivation. In Glendale, for example, the average size is ten to fifteen acres, but when the boggy ground and the area in drainage ditches are subtracted, it is indeed a fortunate man who can profitably cultivate more than five acres. What, then, does he do with his land?

427 Land Use. Between spring ploughing and the harvest season, the
241 best land is planted in oats, potatoes, and, in some cases, turnips. On most crofts, for every two or three acres of oats there are a half acre of potatoes, and perhaps, a quarter

[3] Arensberg, The Irish Countryman, pp. 36–38, 43.

strongly about this infringement of the traditional norms. 837
Gossip spreads very rapidly. The offenders are said to be 1.0
"no better than the tinkers." While tinkers are respected 650
because they have the power of the evil eye, they are not 764
accorded any more prestige than we would give a beggar. All who have any contact with the neighborhood or the village where the deviants live soon know all the details. Since 369
most of the adulterers on Skye have been in Portree, it adds another brick to the wall which separates the rural neighborhoods and the trade-center village. The offenders normally leave Skye as quickly as possible.

The Sgiathanach cannot be said to have a strong sense 423
of property, or, more correctly, the land is valued as a 421
place of residence and identity not as something to be bought and sold. We have seen that he uses his land communally and that he often will not leave a will for the house, not to mention his land. Even though the state thinks otherwise, he looks upon the natural resources of the island as his for the taking. At the same time, he normally respects the fruits of 421
his neighbor's labor. Any one can cut peat on the moor, but 319
no one, except an unthinking tourist, would take a piece of turf once it had been cut. In a similar way, the children are 267
generally well behaved. In the village there is a bit of stone throwing, a little profanity, and uncommonly some drinking on the sly, but rarely do children show any disrespect for the rights of others. One contractor, a Lowlander who came up to Skye to make alterations on the school, was amazed. Skye

422

422 PROPERTY IN MOVABLES--culturally defined categories of movables (e.g., food stores, personal clothing and ornaments, artifacts, domestic animals, ceremonial objects); recognized types of title or tenure; rights, privileges, and powers involved in each; relation of types of title to categories of movables; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, collective, corporate); legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership according to categories of movables, types of title, and classes of persons; records of ownership (e.g., property marks, registration); etc. See also:

Standard of living . . . . . 821 Slavery 847
Accumulation of wealth . . . . . 558 Offenses against property 885
Social classes 555

517 The cattle
233 knew their own sheilings; sometimes
815 they came back before milking time and stuck their heads
233 inside. They stood outside the sheiling at night, and that's how you can tell where a sheiling once was, even though the walls have fallen, by the rich green grass. Calves were born during the summer. A hollow was scooped
233 out in the peat, and lined with turf and moss. People
422 had as many as four or five cows. It was like Switzerland, only we didn't have the bells on the cows. There was lots
273 of milk, fresh thick cream and crowdie (clotted sour
242 milk); the old people knew how to make cheese.
234

233 "The moor was very serie at night, with the sound of
821 the birds. There were only a few hours of darkness
759 anyway, and I'm sure we didn't get much sleep, but somehow
513 we were always fresh. It was the air, the moor air is more health-giving. The air is different there. Ill people benefited from the change. Sometimes a person with TB would stay out there all summer. The air is heavy by the sea.

805 "There was no sense of time the way there is today.
233 If you got lost in the snow or fog, you followed the cows
221 home. You had all summer to take home the peats, to work
829 the croft, to harvest the corn. There wasn't a world,
778 there was only ourselves. That has changed since the war.

*159 The third sister worked in domestic service in Glasgow all her life and never married.

Calum Ban had joined the Naval Reserve before the war. "There was always a sign up in the Stornoway Labor Exchange for men to join the Naval Reserve, because the islanders were such good seamen. They were fishermen or had been in the Merchant Service." Calum was in the navy for five years during the war, and became "skunnered" of
*159 (tired of) the sea. He is very interested in sheep, and
233 knows their major earmarks or brands between here and Ness.
*422 "The earmarks identify tribes of people. The Macleods have a particular mark, like a slice at the base of the right ear; the other marks were added as the families divided and subdivided so that the relationship between them was lost. Even though you can't calculate the relationship, you know you were once part of the Macleods that put that original mark on; you can see it all in the ear marks."

Calum also raises bullocks, without keeping a cow.
*159 He buys young bulls at cattle sales, and sells them after
233 two or three years. But recently his back has given him a lot of trouble, and he has had to limit his crofting activities.

*159 Seonag and Calum Ban have four children. The eldest is in the Merchant Service, and the second son is a teacher. A daughter is studying domestic science in

342 maintained—once an important aid to the survival of half-
343 starved cattle. A slope from the dwelling-quarters down to the byre facilitates drainage: normally the length of the
[178] homestead follows the slope. The separation of house from byre took place in Harris and Uist over seventy years ago by County Council decision, but in most of Lewis, even in 1947, about 40 per cent of the homesteads were
342 of the primitive type, outwardly but little changed. This separate cottage, as in Harris, is a shapely little structure, roughly symmetrical and particularly pleasing when the walls are whitewashed below the pale-gold thatch.

342 The surviving 'black house' is a stone structure. As
343 Stevens has written, "the rock of the island is hard to
[314] work, and hard to win", and may be covered by peat.
[324] Undressed stones are collected and sometimes carried for long distances. Before dynamite came into use, a very large stone could be broken up by lighting a peat fire on it, then dashing cold water over it. By an old Gaelic custom, the bachelors of a township used to help to build the house for one of their friends who was about to marry.
[333] Lime for mortar being absent from the island, the walls are built dry. The wall is double, the space between being filled with earth. Hence it may be six feet thick
[354] at the base, though barely six feet high. Typical primitive houses lacked windows, only a little light entering through the smoke vent and through a piece of cured skin, replaced latterly by a pane of glass let into the thatch of the roof or by a deep window aperture in the wall.

342 Roof building is a difficult problem in construction,
343 on account of the scarcity of timber and the strength of
313 the winds, and explains the narrow plan. Wood was so
[182] scarce that when a house was abandoned the frame of the roof was removed, the spars being the tenant's; but in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

233 change in area, then the amount of stock allowed, per pound sterling of rent, ought to be
427 changed, too.
656
[175] This does not appear to have been done in Uig although in Stornoway parish the soum per pound was increased after rents were reduced in the late nineteenth century. More recently, the Crofters Commission, in re-stating soumings for some townships, has generally (but not invariably) applied the soum to the 1886 rent, regardless of the wording of the 1912 regulations. This may appear to have the merit of consistency and, insofar as crofters pay any attention to the Regulations, it satisfies them because the greater (1886) rent gives them a larger soum and less likelihood of being criticised or penalised for overstocking. However, it perpetuates inconsistencies which originated during the nineteenth century when the stock allowed per pound sterling rent was not reduced although total rentals were increasing as squatters' and cottars' holdings were added (see page above). Moreover, the old souming referred to the old type of highland cattle which were much smaller beasts than those kept today, and it assumed that the shieling pastures would be in full use. A further complication arises because about 1920 some townships acquired substantial enlargements but the soumings do not appear to have been adjusted. Altogether it is little wonder that the Grazing Regulations are seldom observed, for they seldom bear any close relationship to the grazing capacity of township lands. Proper observance of carefully revised Regulations, in which unlimited substitution of sheep in place of cattle was specifically forbidden, would be of considerable benefit to the crofters.

241 The inbye, or croft, land is invariably separated from the common pasture by a ring
233 fence, the gates of which are generally closed for protection of crops from May to
417 November. Progressive townships are installing grids to obviate the twin nuisances of
[178] traffic interference and straying stock. The fencing of individual crofts was rare until the 1930's and is still by no means general. The inbye land is, in many townships, the best winter grazing and its division into innumerable tiny fenced patches, whilst advantageous for cultivation, would restrict the movement of stock in search of water and shelter; in a predominantly pastoral economy complete enclosure of individual holdings is not
[184] necessarily an advantage. This problem will be discussed in Part III but, in the present context, it is relevant to point out that the small crofts of Lewis contrast strongly with the larger ones of, for example, the Uists and Tiree. Therefore, what may be advantageous in the latter may be retrograde in much of Lewis.

The lay-out of the crofts aggravates this problem. The long narrow strips of the 1850 lotting, well-suited to spade cultivation and common winter grazing, may require four or five times the length of fencing required by an equi-dimensional croft of similar area. If fenced the stock may be deprived of both water and shelter; since arable cultivation has become relatively unimportant a suitable solution to this problem might be to fence a small potato plot near the house and to put the rest of the inbye down to sown grass in three or four communal parks in which grazing could be properly controlled. A particular problem is posed by crofts which have been sub-divided. These may take the form of strips as much as half a mile long by 10 yards wide or, more commonly (and much worse), of piece-meal sharing of innumerable plots, a system known locally, but incorrectly, as 'run-rig'. This is seen at its height in Kneep (fig 22), where every croft in the township is affected. The problem does not arise in townships with large crofts, which are usually more nearly equi-dimensional. These are mostly the result of re-settlement schemes and have long been fenced, (see, for example, figure 15).

Crofter-tenants.

162 An analysis of crofter-tenants according to age, sex and occupation (table12) provides
427 several important clues as to the present unsatisfactory state of crofting. More than
463 one-third of the tenants are over 65 years of age; a further 16% are absent, some of these may also be over 65, others are younger people working away from home, a few are tenants

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PLATE XII. A MOTHER AND CHILD AT TARBERT, HARRIS

/facing p. 93/

241 century as an attempt to reform the previous system
427 of run-rig; but it is usually identified with the
175 definition given it by the Crofters Holdings (Scotland)
671 Act of 1886, as a form of land tenure to which many protections accrue. The Act defined crofts and crofting areas in Scotland, and assured the crofter of security of tenure, hereditary succession and fair rent. The legislature which followed on the heels of this act, which is sometimes referred to as the Magna Carta of the Highlands (Day 1918: 190), is mountainous. The flow stems from two perhaps incompatible aims: the desire to provide security for the landholder, and to enhance agricultural productivity. The difficulty of developing the land as an efficient agricultural unit has always existed in an area characterized by a wet climate, unproductive soil, and smallness of holdings in heavily populated areas, and was one of the factors that prompted agricultural reform in the 18th century.

175 B. Stratified Tenantry vs. Egalitarian Society
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[614] At the time of the break-up of the clan system in the first half of the 18th century, three categories of persons held land under the Highland proprietor or "laird": tacksmen (gentlemen farmers, often relatives

175 of the landlord, with education superior to that of
423 other tenants) who held a lease or "tack"; tenants
427 who held no leases, or very short ones (when Fullarton and Baird made their report in 1838, tenants in the parish of Barvas had leases for five to twelve years, whereas tenants of the parish of Lochs held leases "at will," i.e., at the will of the landlord); and subtenants who had small parcels of land which were let to them from year to year by tacksmen or tenants in return for their labor, and who were called cottars or crofters (Walker 1812: 51), servants or scallags (Macphail 1916).

In 1718 and 1726, government commissioners visited Lewis, which had comprised part of the estate of the Earl of Seaforth. The Earl of Seaforth had sided with James VIII in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, and was exiled from his estate. To facilitate the collection of rent, the commissioners sought to compile a list of the rents which had been paid by all the tenants. The 1726 rent roll listed 43 tenants in Shawbost who declared that "they have their present possession of the town of Shawbost for the sum of L224/16/— Scots money, 38 bolls one firlote meal, 12 stones butter and 12 mutton (Macphail 1916: 313)." The nearby village of Bragar constituted a

175 single tack, for which the tacksman, who was a relative
423 of Seaforth's Chamberlain, paid L247/10/8, 10 sheep,
427 9 stones butter, and 3 bolls of meal. The Bragar rental mentions scallags who were not listed because they were not smallholders; rather, they worked for the tacksman for a certain number of days per week, in return for which they received ground to cultivate and on which they might build a house. There were probably scallags in Shawbost as well; a section of common land near the sea, which bears the marks of old cultivation, is today called Blar na Scallag (field of the scallags).

The evidence is that, rather than being the egalitarian society portrayed by many idealistic proponents of crofting society today, the society living in the area we now know as the crofting counties was composed of fairly differentiated tenants and subtenants.
[103] Allotments of land were called penny, half-penny, and farthing lands (Walker 1812: 56; Gray 1952: 48); place names such as "Five-penny Borve" indicate this history of land tenure in Lewis. The 43 tenants in Shawbost in 1726 paid rents varying from L3/10/4 to L9/7/4 (Scots money, which was 1/12 of the English). The differences in rent gave them different shares in the arable ground and different shares in grazing rights on the common ground.

175 Thus some tenants were relatively more prosperous than
423 others. A large class of subtenants (scallags) did
427 corvée labor in return for a small amount of arable land and the right to graze a few livestock. Their land was intermixed with that of their masters in the prevailing system of run-rig. "Crofters" had economic standing similar to that of scallags, but had permanent, compact allotments (Gray 1952: 49).

C. Joint Farm vs. "Crofting Township"

[632] The 1726 rental indicates that the "town" of Shawbost was a corporate unit and thus that "crofting townships" have a long history. However, Geddes (1948) argues that the form of the 1726 rental was due to the method by which it was collected. In 1726, officials toured the island and made a list in large public hearings of the rents of those assembled, thereby attempt to make certain that no tenants were excluded from the rent roll. The major cooperative work unit seems to
[464] have been not the township but the joint farm, which
[476] contained enough men to make up a crew for ploughing and fishing.

171 In the Lothians and eastern Lowlands, the land could
175 be worked in larger units than in the Highlands, and a
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427

175 632 241 In any case, the "town" or township was not the effective work unit, but rather was the larger neighborhood in which several joint farms existed. [233] The tenants of several joint farms grazed their stock on the surrounding moorland (i.e., on common grazing land).

D. From Run-rig to Crofting

175 233 241 311 Run-rig was an agricultural system suited to a pastoral people, who required the use of open, common pasture for grazing their livestock; the arable land was limited, and of varying quality (according to Day (1918: 12), 54% of the land in crofting counties was mountain and heath used for grazing, and only 5% was • [423] arable land). Residents worked several strips of different quality, and the strips (in drained beds of earth a few feet wide and many feet long called lazy-beds or fiannagan) were usually re-allocated every few [625] years. A "constable" acting for the landlord ensured that proper husbandry was maintained.

175 241 178 427 The joint farm, and the stratification of tenants and subtenants within the farm, disappeared as "progressive" landlords began, in the second half of the 18th century, to substitute compact holdings for the "mingle-mangle of dispersed strips (Gray 1952: 46)" 000 which characterized run-rig. Hamlets or clachans

175 241 361 178 Hamelts or clachans (small clustered settlements) were broken up, and houses were isolated on strips of land in linear, single-street villages.

114 178 Gray (1952, 1957) argues that the main factor behind the reorganization of land use in the Highlands was the progressive, individualistic, laissez-faire ideology of the 18th century. Grant (1930: 97) attributes the reorganization to the high demand for cereals which existed during the Napoleonic wars.

177 241 Highland landlords, who were very much in contact with the society of the Scottish Lowlands, were influenced by agricultural practices there. The trend to change run-rig, which had once dominated the whole of Scotland, to fixed, compact holdings began in the Lowlands.

• 423 425 829 According to the "progressive" ideology of the time, the giving of land to individual farmers in much larger pieces than they had previously held would serve to stimulate agricultural development and give rise to a class of capitalist farmers. To give land to a relatively few people, however, meant the removal of a large number of tenants who had hitherto been able to survive under the system of run-rig.

175 • 423 427 [161] Factors which led to further crowding were the development of industry and an increased demand for wool in the south, which occurred when traditional ties between laird and tenant had been loosened. The clans had been disbanded after the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745; those landlords who had not forfeited their estates received huge sums of money as compensation for the abolition of hereditary jurisdiction. They had experienced travel and the luxuries of other countries, and were not eager to remain on their estates. They accepted the huge rents offered to them by sheep farmers to the south, and turned vast amounts of land into sheep tracts. Tenants [361] were crowded together along the seashore, or lived on tiny holdings dispersed among the larger farms or on moorland, earning their living by doing wage labor.

175 423 241 178 Despite the factors which encouraged a high level of population to remain on the land, proprietors attempted to destroy the joint farm with its small, dispersed holdings and collective rights. Run-rig [656] agriculture was abolished in Argyll in 1776 (Day 1918: 180; Gray 1957: 49), and over the next 80 years it disappeared from the Highlands (cf. Gray 1952: 49-50), to be replaced by townships of compact holdings surrounded by undivided hill grazing lands.

423

AL PROPERTY--conception of the subject matter of real property (e.g., as t which produces food, as things that are fixed or immovable); culturally de- ed categories (e.g., land, trees, growing crops, buildings, water); types of d subject and not subject to property (e.g., sites with monopoly value, ste land); recognized types of title or estate (e.g., eminent domain, fee nple, life, leasehold, sufferance); rights, privileges, and powers involved each (e.g., usufruct, reversionary claims, privileges of gift and sale, wer of expropriation); recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, llective, public); legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership cording to categories of immovables, types of title or tenure, and classes persons (e.g., exclusion of minors, of women, of slaves); general charac- ristics of the system of real property (e.g., private property, feudal tenure, llective property with periodic reallotments, communism); land reform; cords of ownership (e.g., boundary marks, deeds); registration of titles;

. See also:

Territories of kin and local groups 61,82
Land use 311
Ownership of productive capital 471
Serfdom 566
Taxation 651

000 24,863 acres. The value of this boggy property, as
423 far as the landlords are concerned, is determined by
427 its fishing potential. The landlords generally reside
226 away from their property, and brave the buffeting gales
several times a year to return to fish for trout and
[463] salmon. For the rest of the year they hire river-
[685] watchers to prevent their tenants from poaching. As
[171] in Wales (Emmett 1964), the islanders continue to poach,
in part as an expression of their identity as independent countrymen, a minority group in a nation-state.

161 Lewis is the most populated area in the Outer
162 Hebrides, containing 21,934 of the 32,607 Outer Hebrideans
634 numbered in the 1961 census. It is part of the County
of Ross and Cromarty, whose headquarters are on the
632 mainland near Inverness. Lewis has four administrative
areas called civil parishes in which births, deaths
and other vital statistics are recorded. Stornoway
[197] parish is the largest, containing the town of Stornoway
on the east side of the island in which many non-Gaelic
speakers live. Of the other three parishes, the largest
[162] is Barvas which stretches along the west side of the
[197] island and contains 4,331 persons, of whom 94.6% are
Gaelic speakers. The people of Stornoway refer to someone
[186] from the west side as a <u>siarach</u> (west-sider), a term
which connotes rusticity.

Hundreds
103 of place names are known to the villagers 8
which are not marked on any map. These place names
[193] constitute part of the oral tradition of a population
which has lived in a confined geographical area for
generations.

632 In most of Lewis, village and township coincide.
621 The village of Shawbost is composed of two townships,
311 South Shawbost in which the crofts splay outward like
423 a fan from roads which curve over an uneven landscape,
[363] and North Shawbost which is composed of linear streets
(see Map C), to which the crofts are perpendicular.
Each township has its own common grazing land, and its
own grazing committee. All of South Shawbost and part
of North Shawbost belong to one private estate (which
includes other townships to the southwest), and most
of North Shawbost belongs to an estate which extends to
Barvas. Beyond the fact that non-crofters in South
Shawbost have found it easier to acquire crofting status,
little difference between the two townships appears to
be due to their belonging to different estates. As
[427] elsewhere in crofting regions, the landlords of the
[529] two estates are concerned mainly with the sporting
potential of their land.

632 The two townships are themselves divided into named
neighborhoods (cf. Vallee 1955 for a discussion of
"natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas).

175 178 241 423 Geddes (1948: 56) gives evidence that joint farms were abolished in Lewis early in the 19th century. Gray (1952: 50) says that by 1819 there was little run-rig left in Lewis. The factor's notebook for Breasclete, on the west side of the island, shows the destruction of clachans around 1850, and their replacement by linear townships.

175 423 429 632 178 In the Napier Commission's "Evidence" (1884) for the parish of Barvas, it was mentioned that the rent had been increased because of improvements made by the landlord, Sir James Matheson, between 1849 and 1852. Land had been drained and new townships created; and both old and new townships were lotted and rented in 1850 and 1851 (Napier 1884: 959). The Ordinance Survey map drawn up in 1852-53 reveals several interesting features of Shawbost: "New Shawbost" has recently been laid out; and in an area now incorporated by only a few separate crofts on "Carnan," a cluster of houses appears, perhaps the clachan in which joint tenants lived, and from which they went out to farm their various strips of land, before Matheson reorganized the land in linear strips with dispersed housing. The peat banks in the Carnan area are almost exhausted, indicating a long period of settlement in this area.

175 361 423 429 178 [314] [194]

175 423 429 178 It is ironic that the attempts by landlords to initiate agricultural reform and develop capitalist farmers led to a destruction of the differentiated tenantry on the joint farms (cf. Gray 1952: 51-56), and a proliferation of very small units, none of which was adequate to provide a reasonable subsistence. These small units became fixed as individual holdings by the 1886 Crofters Act, and the only important distinction thereafter was between smallholders with security of tenure (crofters), and non-crofters who built homes on the common grazing land but had no specified rights. Although various agencies were established after 1886 to enable holdings to be enlarged, only in the last fifteen years have such possibilities between officially developed in the form of official subletting and individual apportionments.

17 423 By the second half of the 19th century, a trend against laissez-faire was manifest in the writings of European scholars. As feudalism broke down, smallholders throughout Europe were being dispossessed of their land, which was then consolidated and enclosed.

171 In Denmark, legislation was passed as early as 1682 to prevent landlords from taking steps to increase the efficiency of their farm production by replacing the

171 three-field system with improved rotation methods involving consolidation of land. The Danish government feared that consolidation of land would have meant a reduction in taxes and fighting men.

175 423 162 The British government was faced with the same threat in the migration from the Highlands, as the Highlands had long been a source of good fighting men.

A reaction against the materialism of the industrial revolution developed in England as smallholders sold their land to large landholders to become laborers. The Taylor Report (1954: 9) reflects the value which is still placed on country life by maintaining that crofting communities "embody a free and independent way of life which in a civilisation predominantly urban and industrial in character is worth preserving for its own intrinsic quality."

[181]

175 241 423 654 The various acts protecting smallholdings were also attempts to keep labor dispersed: to diversify and improve the use of land, and thus to increase Britain's self-sufficiency in food production. Various marketing agencies and subsidies were introduced around World War II to achieve such aims. Among the many agriculturalists affected by these encouragements emanating from the central government were crofters.

175 423 427 458 731 In 19th-century Scotland, the cause of the Highland tenants and subtenants was taken up, as part of the trend of the times and because a series of famines occurring in the Highlands caught the attention of Britain. After the kelp industry was destroyed at the beginning of the 19th century, landlords maintained high rents on the assumption that the depression was only temporary, which caused tenants to deplete their capital by selling their cattle (Gray 1957: 38). A number of reports were published on the plight of Highland smallholders: Fullarton and Baird (1838), MacNeil (1851), Mackinlay (1878), and finally the Napier Commission's report of 1884 which was followed by the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886.

175 423 656 The 1884 Napier Commission Report tried to resolve the conflict between the rights of the individual smallholder and the maintenance of agricultural efficiency in a situation which still had communal elements of social organization, by recommending an organization much along the lines of the old joint farm. The township was defined as a farm, or part of a farm, which was occupied in common or in division by several tenants. The township, seen as an agricultural unit, was to be given various immunities and powers by which to achieve

175 423 656 stability and improvement; e.g., an executive officer, the Constable, was to be elected annually by the community, and he would oversee various improvements in the township (Napier 1884; Day 1918: 187-9).

175 423 671 However, the Crofters Act of 1886 did not make the township a unit of local government. It was more concerned with protecting the individual crofter's rights than with the creation of a self-sustaining, self-correcting economic unit. The Napier Commission had recommended the consolidation of crofts which were rented at less than L6 a year, and a policy of persuasion by which the excess population would be encouraged to emigrate or specialize as laborers, fishermen, and so on.

[654] [168]

175 423 671 178 [654] Instead, the 1886 Act provided security of tenure for a large number of crofters, as well as a fixed fair rent and compensation for improvements if the crofter chose to leave the croft. These assurances, and the creation of a variety of agencies (such as the Congested Districts Board, the Crofters Commission, and the Board of Agriculture) whose purpose was to encourage agricultural improvement by providing funds, equipment, breeding animals, seeds, advice and so on, constituted a set of incentives. These incentives combined with a number of other factors including improved transportation and the spread of

175 information via the technology of mass society to
423 affect the choices made by succeeding generations.
271 For example, young people are able to leave the island
178 and work in British cities or abroad, sending money
[464] home to sustain their aged parents who by law cannot
[457] be removed from the croft.

E. Changing Land Use

311 Darling (1955) described the previous Highland way
175 of life as a well-adapted, ecologically balanced system,
182 in which proper use of land was attempted by limiting the number of livestock, preserving a proper ratio between cattle and sheep, and regulating the flow of stock on the land throughout the year. Dikes (fences of turf or stone) and drains were communally repaired
198 and cleaned. Although continuity with the previous way
311 of life is evident today, the overall picture is one of
[182] partial use, and misuse, of natural resources. Various
[654] advisors from government organizations and colleges have been brought in to encourage effective husbandry and land use.

1. Specialization and Individuation: The change from an ecologically adapted, internally regulated community in which land was used intensively for subsistence

311 who wanted to keep his bullock on the reseeding for
233 another week because he wasn't ready to sell it; but
232 he should have known the rules. Some people want to
829 keep both cattle and sheep on at the same time, although the agricultural advisor says cattle should go on first, because sheep go for shorter grass. Other people want to put on twice as many sheep as those who have both cattle and sheep. When they stop keeping cattle, they think they're not getting a proper share of the reseedings.

"The Crofters Commission wanted communal township schemes. But people have different demands. It's better to go for an apportionment. You can do what you want with your own land."

178 The number of township members participating in
311 the communal schemes is diminishing to the point where
232 it is less expensive, and much less subject to conflict
423 arising over differences in stock-keeping, to invest in
476 individual holdings of land rather than try to sustain communal practices.

264 The only occasions on which it is customary to feed
574 someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as peat-
576 cutting. On such occasions the preparation of meals is
[461] done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual scrutiny,
[492] and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, the requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled by giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but which were much more abundant when the land was cultivated
[242] and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcakes,
264 clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foods
571 are usually offered to visitors along with tea, and in the
574 past this custom served to minimize the economic disparities between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A similar
[739] function was served by the practice of giving part of
[431] each catch of fish to old widows and other villagers in need of aid. Even though food is more abundant and diverse today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during a visit is still very important.

173 A 50-year-old man who "married into" a croft recalls,
[581] "I came from a family of ten children. Everyone had to
[428] leave, or marry a girl with a croft. Only the eldest son
423 could inherit the croft." There was little room for
581 romanticism in the fight for scarce land among the sons of large crofter and non-crofter families. "The most

581 "The most
584 important thing about courting was the land. If a girl
423 was going to get a croft, she could have the pick of anyone." Stories are told of broken alliances and the interference of parents, all related to the inheritance of the croft. For example, the father of a 70-year-old woman living today deserted the beautiful girl to whom he was engaged to marry a girl with a croft. "Never mind beauty, just a bit of land." A man would hike fourteen miles across the moor into town to bring back the jug of beer required for the reiteach (the dinner party announcing an intended marriage), only to find that the girl was having a reiteach with someone else.

233 Cattle were much more important than sheep in the early economic history of the Highlands. Scottish history is full of stories of cattle thieves, and of "the drove,"
[189] in which large herds were driven to Lowland markets. The most common examples of witchcraft concerned spells cast on cows. Many Lewismen still remember market days on Lewis, the day of the drove when cattle were herded into Stornoway from all parts of the island; when children were taken from school to help with the drive, and shopkeepers put up extra stalls for the occasion.

Until as recently as ten years ago, a form of transhumance was practiced on Lewis whereby the cattle

592 unmarried sibling. Eleven households consist only of siblings who have never married, men and women who in 1971 were 45 years old or older. Two widows live with
[539] their unmarried siblings. Sixteen widows or widowers live alone, and sixteen unmarried persons live alone.

241 The large number of households occupied by single,
592 elderly people reflects the use of the croft as a place
423 of residence rather than as an agricultural unit, a
671 view of the croft that was given legal expression in
828 1968 by the Miscellaneous Provisions Act. Before 1968,
[428] the croft went automatically to the eldest son if a crofter died intestate. Since 1968, the rights of different claimants must be considered and tenancy by a new person must be confirmed. District and county councillors argued for this change, saying that a widow was often left on the croft and her security endangered because the eldest son was usually far away from the island, in Canada or some other country. In other words, rather than an agricultural unit which should naturally be taken over and worked by the male head of the household, the croft is seen as a place of residence for the infirm and for the aged, and especially for the aged female.

657 The Crofters Commission has suggested that elderly
185 people be allowed to rent small plots of land

657 their houses are located, and that most of the land
185
423 freed for use by more active crofters, but the ideo
888 associated with possession of the croft makes such
311 plan extremely difficult to implement. "The croft
your base, the only thing you have. You don't want
taken away, even if someone else is using it alread
anyway. Our county councillor suggested amalgamati
the unused crofts at a recent meeting. No one said
anything, but no one wants it."

592 Of the five households that have the use of th
241 crofts each, one consists of a bachelor who uses the
311 crofts for grazing a large number of sheep. A secon
household is composed of two brothers who had stayed
at home to take care of their aged parents. One of
these brothers recently married, after the last pare
died. These men keep cattle and sheep, and both wea

592 A third household is headed by a married man wh
241 has recently sold most of his livestock in order to
311 "concentrate on the weaving." His father, who used
288 haul peat with a horse and cart in exchange for the
use of grazing land so that his family never had to
go to the sheilings, died a few years ago. "My fath
was a crofter only. The weaving didn't start until
the 30's. He was wounded in the war. He got a pens
and sold a cow or a few sheep each year. But I didn

like to leave the loom for the time it took to look after the sheep."

A fourth household consists of three unmarried siblings in their 40's and 50's who recently sold their cattle and now keep only sheep for their own consumption. They cultivate a small amount of oats and hay to feed the sheep during the winter. The twelve acres are largely responsible for taking care of the livestock is now "concentrating on the loom," and his brother works in the mill. Their sister, who used to work in hotels on the mainland, now keeps house for them. Described as an "half-continental family," they have a tractor and a deep-freeze and take care of their peat and the harvesting of crops by themselves. One of their crofts has become too waterlogged even for grazing and was sold recently to the state at a local auction, note for recent purchase has as a prerequisite for applying to the Department of Agriculture for a housing grant. Only tenants of crofts can apply for such grants. As this particular croft is too wet to be cultivated or used as a house site, the only motive which the new tenant has to become a crofter is to gain access to governmental subsidy.

The fifth household is composed of a retired couple and their son and his wife and family. They have no cattle, and use the crofts for grazing sheep.

83

sheep were let out of the pens, and a fight broke out between the two groups of people.

3. Crofters vs. Non-crofters. Another division within the township has developed largely because of the attention paid by outside agencies to "proofing." The Crofters Act of 1886 defined crofters and gave them a protected, privileged status. In fact, very little distinction existed between non-crofters (sometimes called squatters and/or landless tenants) and crofters, and in some places, such as the Isle of Scalpay, non-crofters even out-numbered crofters. Both categories were linked to each other by bonds of kinship and mutual dependence. Non-crofters were in fact favored economically. They did not have to pay "rent," but had the same opportunity to cut peat and plough land as did crofters. Many crofters themselves had bonds, units of land not recognized as part of the croft and not included in the land for which rent was paid but recognized as property by the villagers themselves to the extent that their title of moorland passed down through families or could be given by one person to another. Even today, a young girl thinking of getting married says her future husband might build their house on her father's bonds, and he may make a gift or purchase an moorland "grant" to him by his wife's aunt. Officially, a non-crofter had no "rights" to a house which he built on the common

84

land, and land he could not transfer much property in it at will. Similarly a crofter had no right to his bonds, and could not formally protest if another crofter sought to appropriate this land for his own use (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of apportionments). But in both situations, informal understandings superseded legal rights.

Various legislative acts which followed the 1886 act focussed attention on the crofter. Various matters associated with crofting are handled by a Crofters Commission. Crofters have access to grants and loans to improve land and build houses and homes. They may buy goods at low prices in a nearby cooperative store. As crofts were fenced, land around the township became scarce and non-crofters found it difficult to keep large numbers of cattle and sheep.

Within the crofting system, it became possible for non-crofters to gain title to the small plots of land on which their houses are built. Some loans are available to them for building houses. Non-crofters have access to the various subsidies available to all agricultural-crofts, such as the subsidies for raising hill sheep and beef cattle. There is still the feeling, however, that crofters have rights which non-crofters do not have and that in conflicts over scarce goods crofters have

85

the edge over non-crofters. "Squatters can do what they like, can peat, can put a cattle on one common grazing, but this is a privilege, not a right."

The clerk of a grazings committee says, "When it comes to an argument between a crofter and a squatter, the crofter always wins. A squatter has rights only with the grazing committee's permission. If one crofter disagrees, the squatter is out."

A squatter muses bitterly, "I wanted crofting status because I wanted to get a Department of Agriculture repair to build a house. I work on the peat road; I go to all the funds. But at a township meeting, they didn't want me to get crofting status. They were afraid I would start grabbing peat banks or opportunoness in the common grazing or something. There's your brotherly love for you."

4. Subsidies: In the section entitled "Changing Land Use" I suggested that the availability of subsidies has encouraged a more specialized investment in agricultural activities.

The villagers are keenly aware of outside institutions which give money. They speak to each other about forms which they receive from the Department of Agriculture and the Crofters Commission, in much the same way as they are curious about the number of tweeds which another

86

147 his family must maintain the payments. Many persons who have settled in cities on the British mainland or abroad are not concerned with retaining membership in the association, but members of their family who remain within the village usually continue to pay their dues for them. Even if in death, the "exiles" eventually return to home and community.

Families buy cemetery plots for as many as six to eight persons. The deceased is buried in an area designated as belonging to his family. He is not buried alone but beside his parents and their unmarried siblings if he is unmarried, or with his spouse. "I wouldn't like the idea of being cremated. I want to be buried with my family." Even though a woman is buried beside her husband, her maiden name is placed on the coffin. Often neighbors have plots near each other.

A special part of the cemetery is reserved for strangers. A "man from out" remains an outsider, even in death.

HISTORY

241 documented; and Harris and Lewis played out their part in the
242 drama of a uniform size, often fit to provide only a bare sub-
243 sistence living. This is still so today. There were and are no means
244 of achieving satisfactory standards of living, of cultural promotion, no
245 ladder to climb to prove one's ability to win the land (cost to the
246 crofter's income in yield. And as each family moved upward, the a
247 progeny demanded land. The family acres were divided, sub-
248 divided and fragmented in a vicious mathematical system; more
249 people, less land.

In the nineteenth century, large estates were sold. The new-
250 owners, with no kinship ties with the small tenantry, saw that
251 the only way to make their estate economic was to establish
252 large farms, which meant the eviction, by force if necessary, of
253 the small tenants. This is what happened. For those who did not
254 emigrate, it was a life of hardship and a wide gap between the
255 small could barely stand, and thinking of the prospect of starva-
256 tion and the 'old days'. Resentment was researched on those old days
257 became the root of action; and a fierce agitation for land reform
258 started. The Minutes of Evidence of the Crofters' Commission
259 (1884) of the Deer Forest Commission (1894-5) and the several
260 official reports on the conditions of the crofters and cottars give
261 ample evidence of bitterness and despair at the result of poverty
262 and lack of opportunity. About 1870, unrest in the congested
263 areas of crofting township involved a political issue. The flames of
264 ideals were burning high and bright. Ideals were transformed into
265 action: take the land!

By 1880, the ripples from the stone flung into the agrarian
pond were reaching the general public. Sides were taken: one
stood either on the economic side in high feelings and a deep sense of
red line of sentiment based on high feelings and a deep sense of
wrongs being perpetrated on fellow humans. The landowners
naturally insisted on the right to move/onto an era of land use in
which management was not hampered by affairs of sentiment or
philanthropy. Governed by the cold principles of business, they
hardened themselves in the face of their attackers. And though
they pointed so arrears in rent, and their inability to improve
their land agriculturally while they had tenants not of their own
choosing, they faced mounting antagonism.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

LAND USE AND CROFTING

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HISTORY

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141 reception. In general, today, small crofts predominate in most
142 areas. Out of some 18,000 crofts, the number is decreasing from
143 about 15 per cent record 20 acres (see Chapter 5). But size has
144 little to do with the quality of the land, whether arable or rough grazing.
145 In fact, the proportion indicates that some 85 per cent of all crofts
146 in Scotland, and this applies to Harris and Lewis, cannot be con-
147 sidered at full-time now or as potentially full-time.

EDUCATION

148 In general, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland owe their intro-
149 duction to letters to the early Christian missionaries. One of the
150 Commissioners of the Highlands and Islands (1884) in Western
151 Scotland was for the cultivation of learning and the training of its
152 numbers in sacred and profane literature. Associated as they were
153 so closely with the common folk on the one hand and the aristo-
154 cracy on the other, the aspirations of this learning and desire for learn-
155 ing clubbed off to advantage on to willing recipients. Literacy
156 however, has had many ups and downs since the dawning of the
157 Christian era in the Hebrides. Though it is impossible to ascertain
158 to what extent the common folk participated in the knowledge
159 imparted by the early Celtic monasteries, there are many
160 references to a class of cleric called 'scolocs', whose learning was
161 confined to the service of the monastery and the cultivation of the
162 'scoloc' is still retained. Certain clerics as 'gealag', a farm servant,
163 the poor scoloc and others. Knowledge was restricted; education was
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165 and who appear in monastic records as late as the fourteenth
166 century.

As late as the sixteenth century, however, after the influence of
167 the Church had diminished, the inhabitants were almost whole
168 illiterate. When the Fife Adventurers came to Lewis in 1598, they
169 brought a schoolmaster with them; though it can be taken that
170 his services were intended for the improvement of the incomes
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HISTORY

208 The crofters were in a state of revolt against the accumulation
209 of trends and events which now stood like a high dam against their
210 aspirations to a large level of prosperity. Crofters had been
211 forced in open conflict with local and national authority. Unhappy
212 scenes were enacted, many being in complete variance with the
213 natural temperament of the Highlander. Lewis crofters were not
214 far behind with their contribution to the agitation for land reform,
215 though they had perhaps suffered less direct action from land-
216 owners than had crofters in the Highlands and southern Islands.
217 But their living conditions had deteriorated. And an inhumanity-
218 efficiency factor made for deep unrest.

Land agitation was prominent in Lewis in 1881, and large numbers of
219 Lewis crofters gave evidence before the Napier Commission. This
220 Commission was set up to inquire into the condition of crofting
221 conditions in the Highlands. In setting up relieved a situation
222 of acute tension, though it neither extinguished the political agitation
223 nor mitigated the dissatisfaction felt in the more distant districts.
Under Lord Napier's direction a mass of information was col-
224 lected. The Commission's recommendations, though of a certain amount
225 of political declarations in the country, but did not also
226 provide concrete relief to the crofters. The Congested Districts Board
227 was established, which more than it did. It scraped away
228 only a little of the vast problem. The next major landmark in the
229 history of land reform was the passing of the Landholders (Scotland)
230 Act of 1911. It extended certain provisions introduced be-
231 the crofter in 1886, and further provisions for a class of tenants who
232 benefited by bringing in the tenants of holdings rented at not more
233 than £30 (£30 in Lewis or not exceeding 50 acres (30 acres in
234 Lewis. The 1911 Act also brought into existence the Scottish
235 Land Court in place of the Crofters Commission. In Lewis, how-
236 ever, the hunger for more land went on unabated and reached a
237 not insignificant peak during the later years of Lord Leverhulme's
238 regime.

A new Crofters Commission was set up in 1955, following on
239 the report of a Commission of Enquiry under the chairmanship
240 of the then Principal T. M. Taylor of Aberdeen University. Fresh
241 provision for the reorganization, development and improvement of
242 the crofting system in the seven crofting counties of Scotland

LAND USE AND CROFTING

1901, the average was only 5·066, the county average being 5·988.
The population was still to reach its peak in Lewis, some 30,000
in 1911. Emigration was at a fairly high rate, some 1,000 per
decade, but the population was still, whether arable or rough grazing,
9,000 during the same period. In 1894 it was estimated that the
number of cottars (or squatters as distinct from crofters was in
the region of 1,000. These people, mostly relatives of crofters, con-
stituted a serious problem in crofting townships.

Elsewhere in the Highlands, the enlargement of crofting holds
was relieved by emigration to Canada and America. It was not possible for
the same to be done in Lewis, and Harris possessed even less
useful land to share out. Many applications were made by crofters
either for an increase in their own holdings or an increase in the
acreage of common grazings held by each township. Though
some 300 acres were handed over to crofters, the demand was
not for crofting purposes, there was a steady refusal to diminish
the acreage of land in the common grazings.

The Congested District Board was appointed in 1897, super-
vising public works in crofting areas, and providing a certain amount of
their life. It carried on until 1912, when it passed into the new
Board of Agriculture. The Congested District Board
was established to improve the requirements of the crofters and their
spokesmen. The resultant Crofters' Act of 1886 fixed the crofting
tenure into that right tenure in which agricultural innovation,
opportunity for improvement, the social progress of crofting com-
munities are largely dependent

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

THE CROFTER

The pursuit of agricultural processes, their growth, development and improvement, to establish a foundation for a secure society has never been easy on the island. The unyielding nature of the Lanar rock, Archaean gneiss, its hardness, its non-porous property, have all contributed to the resultant pattern and character of society which emerged. Though one is tempted to define crofting as an agricultural activity, it is also something much more intangible: a way of life. To quote the Napier Report on *The condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highland and Islands of Scotland* (1884): 'Habit and local affection bear so great a sway in the minds of crofters that Highlanders will be found to who prefer rather be proprietors in the mountains of Skye, or the wastes of Lewis, than on the fertile plains of Manitoba.' There is the Island of Lewis, with poor, peaty soil covering the Archaean gneiss, but with a crowded, lively, vivid community,' said the Taylor commission in 1953 (Commission of Inquiry into Crofting Holdings).

The Highland crofter is the subject of an extensive literature. A special authority, the Crofters Commission, exists solely for the purpose of caring for his needs. He has special rights and privileges which are safeguarded by the Land Court. Crofters' unions have formed themselves into a strong federated wall for the system's defence.

Socially, the term 'crofter' means, on the island at any rate, a landholder who cultivates his own (arable) holding, his croft. He shares the common pastures with his fellow-crofters, each of whom has a right to carry a sum of so much stock, the 'souming'. These common pastures or grazings are a social link of some considerable significance, forming the basis for the crofting township, as distinct from the communities set up under the influence of some agricultural land use such as hamlet or village, where there are both small-holders and true farms, and the only communal land is the village green or common. For instance, outside the crofting counties area the main unit of Scots life in the country is the farm, with its tied cottages. Then come the full-time small-holdings important in the north-east and the southern Highlands.

LORD LEVERHULME'S FISHERIES

When he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris, he offered—such was the character of the man—as thanks for the '98 per cent support' he got from the people of Lewis, to each Lewis crofter, on a free gift, and the Lewis people, together with all his property in Stornoway, to the people of the town.

In 1919, Leverhulme became proprietor of Harris, and concentrated his efforts in Obbe, now called Leverburgh, in South Harris. The harbour at Obbe lacked the natural advantage which Stornoway had, so he spent large sums on making it navigable. Rocky obstacles were blasted away; numerous buoys and beacons were set up to guide vessels into harbour; new quays were built, and kippering sheds, and other buildings necessary for packing and curing herring were erected. Among his other undertakings in Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he bore half the cost of the 54 miles of road between Leverburgh and Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Brussels. His Harris schemes came to an abrupt end. And the remains of his fishery harbour are still to be seen in the quietness of the little township named after one of the most stormy of business periods that Britain has ever seen.

Tourism

Tourism has always been a preliminary and casual affair, until the introduction of the fast ferries which now link the mainland to Skye with the Lewis and Harris. Some 10,000 cars come yearly from Skye to the Hebrides. In 1913, the Stornoway Tourist Association had a struggle to increase the number of visitors to the town, to establish it as a tourist resort. It is much the same today with the Western Isles Tourist Association, which is having difficulty in integrating tourist facilities with crofting activities. In Lewis, the Stornoway Trust has assisted in establishing pony-trekking, a venture which has the potential to mirror the success of a similar one in the Isle of Skye.

PRESENT INDUSTRY

Almost an echo of the kelp-burning industry is the alginate industry. It provides employment for only small numbers, but as a

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Lands were not allowed to become waste; in 1710, a Roderick Campbell in North Uist was paid to come north and settle in the 1095 island of Pabbay, off the east coast of Harris.

It is significant that much of MacLeod's rents was paid in money rather than produce, for it emphasises the great value of the cattle trade in the Highlands, in which Harris, though not a significant part—that is, compared with neighbouring Lewis. It was sound economy for the Highlander, and far in advance of the theories of the so-called 'improvers' of a later age. The rents of the MacLeod estates were collected by chamberlains, and part of the work of Malcolm Campbell, the chamberlain for Harris and other holdings, in the eighteenth century, was the ferrying of Harris and other herring were erected. Among his other undertakings in Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he bore half the cost of the 54 miles of road between Leverburgh and Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Brussels. His Harris schemes came to an abrupt end. And the remains of his fishery harbour are still to be seen in the quietness of the little township named after one of the most stormy of business periods that Britain has ever seen.

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A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Other tombs inside the church include that of Mary MacLeod, a 1705 a baroness of the seventeenth century who was also governess to the young Prince Charles Edward Stuart. She was probably the first composer what may be called the 'court' song, in simple words and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels since her time. Her last elegy was composed for Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray in 1705.

So far as personal characteristics are concerned, there is a marked difference between the Herrach (Harriman) and the Leodhasach (Lewisman). Their Gaelic dialects are different, the Harris pronunciation being more lazy, with an added lilt in singing lilt. And Harris Gaelic has fewer words of Norse origin. The main reason for this difference has been a migration from Lewis: before a road was cut, the mountain barrier of north Harris divided the inhabitants of the two parts of the same island, who developed in their own distinctive ways.

The character of the land of Harris has also had much to do 1715 with the difference. Harris for the most part is fertile, with lots of 1653 expanses of rock outcrops. The east side of the island is torn in shreds by fiord-like sea-mouths; the west coast is slow-moving with large expanses of sand and machar-land which look out over the Atlantic breakers rolling in from a sea that is oceanic in appearance and in fact. From early times the Harris folk have had to work hard to scarify their snippets of land to make it fertile. Regular increases in population forced them to cultivate land 1745 extending up to 500 feet above sea level in some places, in the 2342 form of hard-won lazy-beds. After the clearances early last century, when the more fertile lands on the west coast were taken over for the formation of sheep farms, the people concentrated on the eastern side of the island, and on some of the higher ground in the west.

On Lord Leverhulme's death in 1925 the ownership of large 1923 tracts of Harris passed to absentee landlords. After this, some of 1959 the lands which had been cleared a century earlier were purchased by the Government and broken up into crofting units, enabling some of the indigenous population to come back to make 1923 use of the more fertile lands of the west. There are some 550 2241 crofts in Harris, with 29 regulated common grazings; the total

1923 acreage of regulated common grazings amounts to 65,000 acres. 2241 The working units (as distinct from crofts) in Harris are classified according to the available acreage: the majority have 50 acres arable land. Less than 250 acres of land have been improved.

The age structure of the Harris population in 1951 and 1961, showing the decline in numbers and rise in age

1951 There are four districts in Harris: North Harris, with its islands, the Boes of Harris on the east coast, the Leverburgh area, with the islands of the Sound of Harris; and the west coast. 1953 North Harris is mountainous country, dominated by the Clisham

From prehistory to the present day, these geographic zones have played their parts as factors in evolution, although the bulk of the population has lived in the marginal areas, and have been modified by economic and social phase. At times the Hebrides have been more closely linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Edinburgh or London. In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in historic events, but comparability in stage and transition, even an alternating pattern. From the evolutionary point of view, the revealing character of Island life lies not only in static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the Islands and described as 'the fossil Celt', but in the dynamic. Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic strength of its continuity—notably of early or primitive institutions, and by the late occurrence of changes when, at last, they came.

The social consequences of these regional differences in evolution are profound. The 'Plain'; the south-east of the Seven-Tees line, large village communities with 'common fields' prevailed, forming the later manor in England; in the north and west, the Celtic fringe lands encouraged the continuance of hamlets. These hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no more than four or five to a dozen relations by blood—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word 'friend' frequently implies kinship. Each small group formed a team. Together the men ploughed their small rigs (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and on the coast they rowed their boat as its crew. The women, too, did much together, as when they spun their yarn, and fulled or 'waulked' the cloth that one of them had woven, helping by turn in childbirth and child-care. Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

pastoral group, the germ (in the Hebrides) of the present township with its common grazing. Hamlets and township formed circles of cultural and religious life in common. These 'social' or 'asiatic hamlets', or 'little communities', as they were called by understanding writers on the Highlands, lived on in the Hebrides almost until a century ago. Features of their form and life have long been known, but their life has not yet been envisaged in its full dynamic significance.

Hamlets, unnoticeably, informally grouped in these small hamlets, have been mistakenly described as solitary or 'dispersed' by scholars accustomed to larger and more 'organised' groups. The mistake was made in Ireland of the nineteenth century, such as Meitzen with reference to the hamlets of Brittany. Similarly, because of the small number of crofters, a typical group may be, but fact of town-work and joint holding has frequently been overlooked; yet a fundamental mistake is made when such close-knit team-work and joint tenure are described as 'individualistic'. Moreover, these teams were linked together in larger, more loosely bound pastoral communities of township and district. In Scotland and elsewhere, it is true, such hamlets came historically to be split up in various ways, into smaller farms and scattered cottages. The larger link of common life was also superseded by the proprietor's estate. Indeed, the twofold revolution involved caused a fundamental regional cleavage within 'the North and West'.

Partly as a result of their small size, the tenure of farm-hamlets was frequently informal. In northern England, the hamlet and their lands were not entered in Domesday Book; still less are early entries complete in Scotland. For this and other reasons, jurist and historian may fail

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photograph by Robert M. Adam

PLATE VII. WESTERN NORTH HARRIS FROM THE ISLET OF SCARP

View due east across the Sound of Scarp to the hills of North Harris: the furthest is Tirga Mor (2227 ft.). From the crofter-fishers' homesteads (left foreground) potato patches and hayfields extend towards the hill and wall of common grazing (extreme right foreground)

/facing p. 48/

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

184 Comparisons at the present day are most illuminating.
[791] In the Hebrides one may pass from Calvinist Lewis-and-Harris to Catholic Barra, through South Uist, where Presbyterian and Roman Catholic dwell, side by side, in mutual respect. Although their home life, economy and language are the same, the influence of a comparatively
[121] recent divergence in religion is marked. Such Island evidence, present and past, forces one to re-examine conclusions upon life in the Lowlands accepted until recently, and to seek for the truth upon earlier forms of life in common and for their meaning today throughout 'the North and West'.

175 Ancient elements of unity, and later ways in which
423 these were broken, adapted or remade, region by region, are being unravelled. The Old Estate Plans, made at the
427 outset of the agricultural revolution, show these immedi-
621 ately before the re-planning of fields and farms (*circa* 1750–90). These plans also reveal the existence of still
178 earlier types, not otherwise recognisable even on the spot.
[184] With their rentals (when available) they reveal the ways in which old joint farms were placed under a single tenant, as in Lothian, or were split up among several tenants, as in Ayrshire.[1] From such geographical data, both the economic and the deeper social aspects of rural life emerge with new clarity. Such data may be linked to Planning Surveys of land and rural life for tomorrow.

621 Now, although so fundamentally equalitarian within
427 themselves, these hamlet communities of the Gael were subjected to the overlordship of a chief or laird, either directly or through an intermediate gentleman-tenant, a
[174] 'tacksman'. History, with archaeology read in history's

[1] For Lothian, see Arthur Geddes (1938 and 1951); for Ayrshire, see
[172] J. H. G. Lebon, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, Vols. 62, 1945 (pp. 7-13); 63, 1946 (pp. 100-110). Further references in Bibliography.

[113]

183
181 democratic reorganisation, with loyalty to one's fellows
185 to a leader.

Here again, Lewis-and-Harris may have something
178 teach, as one of the last communities in Britain in wh
185 much of ancient common right over land and sea has b upheld. Trust ownership of Stornoway estate has streng
[174] ened the possibilities of rural planning there, while
[423] fisheries are a public resource which are partially prote for local fishermen inshore and farther out are closed none. The useful Lewis Association has published mo of local survey for social and economic planning. A time when democracy is struggling to see its way tow economic and social freedom, such communal initiat have more than local significance.

121 This sketch of comparisons and questions in rural
131 raised by Hebridean evidence, through a wide and va region of the British Isles, must serve to indicate the
182 graphic setting of the Island and relate the historic contemporary problems of its own community to w fields. This book is not directly concerned with the u and industrial problems of the firth-sides and 'incl plains' within the varied land of 'the North and W of Britain, deeply though they affect the hard-hit fishe of the Isles and the Island migrants— seamen or labou tradesmen or factory workers, nurses, teachers or cl
121 Even for the migrants' sake, it is vital to maintain
185 economic balance, and restore the cultural and spi life within each industrial region, in order to mai that of Britain as a whole. It was not enough to sch 'the murdered towns' of Tyneside, Wales, Lanca or Clydeside as 'Distressed', 'Special or Develop Areas'. The balance of Britain as a whole mus restored.

Let us begin with the economic and the social significance of the Highlands and Isles with which we are concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space' is the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown black) which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore waters, and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by line C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or communities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainland and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazing; the line C also encloses a small area devoted to other grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, mainland, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill country are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small farms and small-holdings.

In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint labour-team on land formed the communal units contained within

Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C .... C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black areas: strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings
(in the Lowlands)

The symbols show the average number of employees per team in each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

(a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm
— 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
◆ 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
■ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(b) Per Full-time Small Holding
• 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

the township; and to each were allotted the rights of the common grazing and the fishing grounds. For more than a century the croft has been held individually, though in the townships the common grazing is still held in common. Beyond these 'homely' limits lie wider horizons, in the past those of seafaring and of droving or the chase, and today of fishing and gillieing at home, or of ocean journeys, urban occupations or colonisation.

In the Lowland regions each symbol represents 100 holdings. For (A), 'mixed and dairy farming', the particular type of symbol shows the average number of workers employed on a farm-holding in each county. On each farm the employed workers form what may be called the 'Labour-Team'. A team may be 'small', 'medium' or 'large'. The Scottish averages of these three types (indicated in the inset key to the map) are roughly three, five and seven workers per team. Four 'casual' workers are counted as equivalent to one 'permanent' worker, but farmers' wives are excluded. Under (B), for the same Lowland counties and areas, full-time small-holdings are shown separately. The Scottish average of less than one full-time worker employed, most often a son or daughter of the small-holder, is typical of all the counties.

As to the relative importance of the different classes of farms and small-holdings in Scotland, true agricultural land-holders number 68,000, of which fully one-third hold part-time holdings (like the Island crofters), one-third 'full-time farms', and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold 'full-time small-holdings'. The remainder accounts for other types of less importance. The farms predominate in terms of improved land, full-time employment, and of course of production. As to area, farms cover 80 per cent of agricultural land. The farmers employ nearly 90,000 workers,

103 234 175 491 Harris; South Harris is ringed by a road, extended recently to take in the more isolated 'Bays' townships.

2. *The Crofts and Crofting Ways*

241 The prevailing modern unit of cultivation and tenure in the Islands is the croft, the land held individually by each small landholder or 'crofter'. The Anglo-Scottish term croft (Gaelicised as *croit*) meant steadily cropped, infield land, manured and never left fallow, and distinguished from the unmanured outfield with its long fallows
[175] and poor out-turn. This term came into common use in the Highlands and Isles in the eighteenth and nineteenth
[427] centuries with the splitting up of the older unit of cultivation and tenure, the small joint farm, with its little team of
[423] fellow-workers or 'small tenants'. By 1830 group tenure had been replaced by individual holding of crofts, but with the pasture still held in common, as it is to the present day, and an allotted strip of the machar.

The Lewis croft consists of a nominal five acres of crops, of oats, barley (or bere) and potatoes, sometimes with recent additions of turnips, and more often a small
[175] hay crop. The word 'nominal' is used because during the nineteenth century the croft had often been subdivided
[428] between two or more sons, without addition by reclamation to bring each subdivision up to the acreage of the original croft. Moreover, in the hilly southern part of the Island, cultivation is in little patches instead of in continuous fields. There, narrow ditches have been dug and the soil heaped up to form little ridges about ten feet by four, banked up
[178] by turf. These are known as *feannagan* in Gaelic, or in English, 'lazy-beds'—a term in use as early as the time of Burt, two hundred years ago. Thus only about two-

342 adequate air-space, and windows opening at the top and
746 usually kept open by day, in which a woman can work at
178 ease. The Department of Agriculture aided the building of a good standard type. The quality of joinery and
656 masonry or concrete work improved, one fairly skilled
[335] workman usually directing the householder and friends as
[333] amateur builders. The cost of materials was met by a grant, generally of £250, half being repayable by an annual rent of £6: 10s. for twenty years. Repayments proceeded satisfactorily. No scheme organised by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland won so general a commendation as this of house improvement. It made good use of family initiative and responsibility, with neighbourly co-operation not called for upon a large scale, a township at a time, but in quite a small, personal way. Nevertheless, had more guidance been provided to the builders, the
[464] houses could have been really well built. For lack of this, perhaps, crofters increasingly prefer to pay for skilled work, though helping actively. Appendices I (ii) and II (ii) gives pre-War and post-War statistics.

3. *The Township and its Changing Plan*

361 Where absence of rock and boulder permits ploughing,
[182] the village land is laid out in a series of parallel strips,
[491] aligned with the slope. The road runs either parallel with shore or river, or at right angles to it. The intermixed possession of strips by 'run-rig' characterised the Lowlands before the Enclosures, and is frequent in
• [423] the Highlands and Isles. The apparent regularisation of field lines may conceal the fact that an individual holder's plots may be scattered amongst those of others in fixed
[182] run-rig. This is an advantage where quality of land is so patchy, and each man thus gets his share of good and bad

361 luck in land, but a disadvantage where control of a single
• [423] area is desired by one man. Regularisation of roads,
[182] houses and holdings is relatively modern, for crofts and dwellings were once grouped in hamlets usually close to
[172] the seashore. The early hamlets can still be made out from their ruins among the rocks, sometimes sketched in the 'six inch to mile' Ordnance Survey plans. They were without formal order or arrangement, each homestead within its boundary wall. Where ploughing was and is too difficult, the soil is heaped up in ridges, 'lazy-beds', and dug.

361 Shawbost, on a rocky part of the west coast (six miles
491 south of Barvas) consists of three main sections: a scatter of houses and ruins by the enclosed loch, two main streets linking the loch to the main coastal road, and inland another short street. The three can be made out on a 'quarter-
[175] inch' map. The two main streets were laid out by the
[311] Estate Officers following removals in the mid-nineteenth century from another part of the island, Uig, and the third running inland was laid out still later, when population was growing and land was needed. When the third street was laid out, the landlord, Matheson, lent good plough-horses for preliminary reclamation. The irregularly placed black houses near the sea are tending to be rebuilt close to the main road.

361 In addition to this type of movement, farms 'broken
178 up' once more into crofts have been laid out on a regular grid plan, each house placed on a corner of its five, ten,
311 or twenty-acre plot (*e.g.* Galson, Dalebeg, etc.). 'Skinned'
[654] land may also be reclaimed for crofts by squatters tolerated by the community, or on a regular grid by agreement of the assembled crofters, guided by the Department of Agri-
[491] culture. Thus two distinct tendencies are seen: the grid plan in new settlements, road alinement in existing ones.

(c) FARM-TEAM AND BOAT'S CREW

175 The strictly equal division of rent on each joint farm
241 shows the equality of sharing among its workers by 'run-
427 rig'. By this system, periodic pooling and redivision kept the land in convenient blocks, a wet part here and a dry
476 one there, all shared out to give each man an equal chance
• 423 whatever the weather might bring. Such sharing was not mere static division of goods: it was the means for co-operative work, in ploughing and harvesting, or cutting peats, on land, and in manning a boat for the fishing.

175 For ploughing, two or three men were needed—one
241 leading the horses (walking backward and singing his en-
476 couragement), a second to hold the plough and perhaps a third to turn the sods; but four ponies abreast were needed to haul the plough, and each tenant possessed only one or two. In addition, the plough might be preceded by an instrument to clear the ground, a 'reestle', requiring two horses and one man. A Gaelic proverb notes the selection needed in the horse team, and one disabled by age could be replaced as leader by another. Ploughing was necessarily co-operative.

175 The rockiness and hilly ground of Uig and Lochs
241 diminished the usefulness and, no doubt, the number of
[182] ploughs, but the importance of their fishing was some compensation for poor agriculture. In 1790 there were
[134] ninety ploughs in Barvas parish, where they were no doubt
[226] of ancient usage: a ratio of one plough to five families, or one per joint farm. To judge from the smoothness of Stornoway parish, ploughs were probably used there in a similar ratio.

175 While some jobs were done by no more than two people,
476 —as when a ridge or 'lazy-bed' was put in order, the

175 couple advancing one on either side of it—many other
476 tasks were definitely team-work. Such was peat-cutting.
175 "When they are making peats, five people are employed.
476 One cuts the peat, another places it on the brink of the ditch where it is dug; a third spreads it on the field, a
314 fourth pares and cleans the moss; and a fifth man is resting,
[462] ready to relieve the man that cuts. The women are seldom at this work, but the men help one another alternately; sometimes they must rest satisfied with fewer hands; but the above is the full complement of men required to per-
[127] form the work, according to their tastes." Buchanan's
[178] description was written 160 years ago (1793); it remained true till recently and generally it is so still. There was thus a normal team practice for work—even a man to rest was not
[538] forgotten! As the Gaelic proverb puts it: "They won't make power (add strength) without a threesome and they'll limp without a foursome!" (*Cha deanar treine gun triuir,*
[802] *'s bidh iad crubach gun cheathrar*). In Gaelic, as in Scots, one speaks of a team according to its number, as "a pair, a threesome, foursome" and so on, up to a tensome (*deichnear*). In Lewis the farm-team was usually a foursome or fivesome.

175 Only in exceptional cases was land worked and held
• 423 singly—as when a smith was kept busy at his anvil in ploughing-time and harvest. Thus in 1715 one or two
241 rural smiths had single holdings of average value or more
[320] (£1), and one artificer or tin-smith (caird) a holding of minimum value (5s.); and in the burgh all the small plots
[286] were held singly. As the women wove, at home mostly,
[462] no male rural weaver held a single plot; his weaving could be done at slack times, so long as there was light; at busy times he worked on the land with the rest of his team.

000 On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an

175 593 423 241 311 184 224 823 175 361 511

on the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an outlying reclaimable patch of arable, lying near distant, little-used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chance of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the man and his family; but there might be advantages such as an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as hunting 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunter-bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft was known as *Ruigh* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of poverty with individuality in isolation were handed down, for example, from one of my forebears who held such a *ruigh*, Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-feet contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the last of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *ruigh* may have originally been a summer shieling, only occupied when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with new possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led to settlement there.

178 361 224 233 361 621 184

At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of North Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lodges and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth, as they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such as one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small islets. But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single crofts are rare. And the clearest distinction must be drawn between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage or croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or even two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers; for even a few families form the germ of a community, in work and in leisure.

175 178 654 476 241

The potentialities of co-operative practice were overlooked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough. For when new methods were required, run-rig kept back the pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. Soon

175 178 241 476 654 423

after 1800, John Walker wrote that run-rig, "formerly very general in Scotland, was abolished with improvements but still subsists in many parts of the North. A number of tenants of the same farm have a common pasture for their cattle, and the arable is divided among them, by ridge and ridge alternately, which each cultivates for his own behoof. This gives them all a common interest in the crop and, when there was no inclosure by dyke or hedge, might be of some advantage" in giving each person some protection "against the encroachments of his neighbour's cattle". Speaking of joint possession this time, though without reference to survivals, Walker wrote that in the Lowlands "in old times a large farm might be occupied by a number of conjoint tenants who cultivated the farm in common and divided the produce. In this way the interest of each became the interest of the whole. They were ready, and were frequently called upon, to defend the common crop and cattle against depredations. There was then a necessity for such an allotment of land, especially in the Border country and in the Highlands." The team, in other words, was a unit of defence. But "nothing like improvement can be expected from farmers placed in this situation . . . [and] no community can ever equal the carefulness and industry of an individual in the management of his affairs".[1]

[127] [181]

So far as it goes, such an analysis is incontrovertible; for Walker was one of many contemporary observers who could contrast both the "improvement, industry and carefulness" of the best individuals under a vigorous landlord, with the sluggishness of old-fashioned ways on backward estates. The fundamental reason for sluggishness was that

[113] [1] John Walker, *Oeconomical History* [descriptive account] *of the Hebrides*, 1808.

175 178 241 476 654 423 [181]

the cultivable land and pasture having been shared out to minimal fractions, they called for a minimum of labour by the men—though housewives and mothers had always plenty to do. The morrow's tryst for work might prove a tryst with no work done. The men might foregather on the moor to cut peats, for instance, but if one of their number was late, become so absorbed by telling stories of the Fenians that, ere work had begun, it was time to go home—resolved to meet for work some other day! As a result, reformers advocated breaking-up the joint-holdings; and this was done in Lewis by 1830, as noted in the Brand Report. But mere division of the land did not increase its total amount.

175 178 654 362 423 476 829

Yet while noting the progress made by the liberation of individual initiative, we can see the drawbacks of individualism: the evictions made with no provision for new homes, and later the monotony and the loneliness of modern farm life, the mutual distrust of employer and employee, and the general inability of farmers, as yet, to co-operate. At the present, when planning, purchase and sale are required on a large scale, particularly among small-holders, the interest of each is still "the interest of the whole". The team-spirit must be recovered from the work (not simply the play) of school onwards to further education and communal effort.

175 241 427 476 423

To sum up, every farm-hamlet was held jointly and on equal terms, each joint holder being responsible for an equal share of the rent, and the movable run-rig system ensuring equal quality, as well as equal quantity, of land. Common interest was assured, and there was mutual support in distress or sickness, as when one member, named in a deposition of 1718, was 'valetudinary'. Lastly, work was done in common not only when it led to efficiency

175 241 423

through division of labour or united effort, but simply for the sake of mutual stimulus and pleasure!

427 476

(D) THE SHARING OF MACHAR, MOOR AND SEA

175 632 241 423

Embracing several joint-farms, each with its team or crew, came the township. The township had not only its common pasture, it had a special extensive system of run-rig on sandy, coastal machars, as in parts of the Island and in Uist—a system continued to this day.

632 241 423 [178] [127]

On the machar of Barvas, cultivation strips are still re-allotted periodically, as they were annually on all the Island machars. The machars behind the 'storm-beach' dunes of the Outer Hebrides closely resemble one another, from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head. The immemorial system was noted by Walker and more fully by Carmichael, who called it 'intermediate run-rig' to distinguish it from the run-rig of older joint farms on boulder clay, and it persists at the present day.[1] In North Uist the machar land is laid off in large scatts or fields. Each scatt is divided into as many rigs as there are crofts in the township. There may be a dozen scatts in all, and usually half the number are lying out in natural pasture, but they are put under crop in rotation, so that each year one or two scatts will be brought into cultivation, and the others left out after a course of cropping. When a scatt is to be brought into cultivation the township 'constable' (who holds sway under the district ground officer) appoints a day for allocating the rigs.

[625]

[113] [1] Walker (1808); Alexander Carmichael, appendix xlviii and xcix, pp. 213 ff. and 451 ff., Report of the Crofters' Commission, 1884. Socially these form the most significant evidence in this great Report. See also "Grazing and Agrestic Customs", *Celtic Review*, 1905. Ct. C. Macdonald, *Scot. J. Agric.*, 1919. See also his lively accounts of machar and pasture: *Highland Journey*: *Suil air ais*, 1943.

423 632 241 rigs. The rigs are numbered and then balloted for by a double ballot. First the men approach the hat in any order and pick out a number: this is to decide the order in which they will approach the hat in the second draw. The second draw then decides the number of the rig. The crofter retains the rig while this particular scatt remains in cultivation, usually for a period of two or three years. The machar is shared by the whole township. The crops grown include a light type of oats, barley, a little rye, and potatoes; and clover may be cut.

423 244 [624] In the division of the machar for potatoes at Barvas, there are now no such hard-and-fast rules. The Common Grazings Committee select a certain area for cultivation and each crofter is allowed to take as much land as he requires within this area. This land is only cultivated for one year in six to ten years, and then reverts to grass. If cultivated for two or more years in succession there is a danger of the sand being blown away, and grass would be difficult to establish again. Potatoes are now the only crop grown on the Barvas machar.

[134] 175 423 241 Beyond the machar of the Isles lies the moor with its fringe of reclaimed croft land. By Carmichael's day this was held in individual portions, though, as he said, most of it was once held in 'farms' in run-rig practised by small units, not by the whole township. Why this difference between the arable of the machar and of the moorland? Carmichael did not explain it.

134 241 Three explanatory points are, first, that the whole cultivated land of the scatt or the machar is continuous, whereas the moorland is hummocky and boggy by turns, and cultivation is therefore patchy; secondly, that, unlike the stony clays, the light shell sand is easily forked or ploughed and needs no 'team' to plough it; and thirdly,

that no initial reclamation had been needed on the scatt. In each year of cultivation, it is true, manures of a sort, principally seaweed and sooty sods from the roof, are applied; but they form a temporary improvement only for the crop to be taken, and do not constitute reclamation. After manuring, the grasses and clovers are simply turned over and the land, 'rested' and manured by cattle, straightway gives its best crop.

It is otherwise with what is won from the moorland. As Dean Monro wrote of the reclaiming Lewisman in 1549: "In this country all is peat moss-land at the sea coast" (the long machars of the west of Uist give place to rocky coasts round much of Lewis), "and the place where he wins his peats this year, there he sows his corn the next year; after that he guids it weill with sea-ware". Even where the slopes are fairly smooth, the peat land has not the uniformity of the machar and the continuity of its arable strips. In addition to sea-ware, sand may be brought by creel or by pony pannier to reclaim peat, forming a heavy burden. Moreover, the first crop is always a poor one, and may be almost lost. Although in his brief notes Monro used the singular 'he', we know that the peat was usually cut co-operatively by teams. Hence most of the hard labour of reclamation may, indeed must, have been done co-operatively too, but by small teams, not by the members of a whole township together.

The sharing of common pastures is the last, but important, feature of land holding in common. The two kinds of pasture required were, firstly, those close at hand, animals being tethered or herded in the crop-growing season, and secondly, the more distant summer pastures. The people of certain townships, which were without a large outrun close at hand, had to go some distance to

reach their shielings. From Point district (Eye Peninsula) the cattle are still brought inland to the moors south-west of Stornoway. And from Bernera on the west the cattle are swum to the hills of the main island, just as they once were swum from Bute to the hill-pastures of Cowal in Argyllshire across the Kyle at the 'Strait of the Swimming', Colintraive (Caol-an-t-snaimh). Nothing could be more natural, indeed inevitable, than pasture in common where large, open moors were to be found. The number of animals allowed to each holding was duly apportioned and then, as now, was known as the summing or 'souming', still checked at the annual gathering (*cosgoradh*).

Thus a cluster of conjoint farms shared "the grass on the Ben and the tillage on the machar" (*Fiar air beinn agus peighinn air machair*). Along the shore, sea-ware, driftwood and the like were allotted, too. And, as Carmichael put it, there was even "run-rig at sea", for the fishing banks were allotted among the available crews. Most of these rights are still shared by the members of a township. But any crew can now fish freely where they choose, and no township can legally keep away strange boats, nor even steamers beyond the three-mile limit. This loss of communal rights stands in the way of remunerative fish-farming and its promise.

Profound social implications distinguished these three concentric circles of community: the family; the farm-team and boat's crew; and the larger, township group. These implications concerned labour, duty and right. The labour of reclamation gave a 'right' to the land thus won from the moor; and the duty of labour together, for fruits equally shared, gave the farm-team and fishing crew cohesion on land or sea—team and crew working for a common purpose. On the other hand, as individual sharers in the common

621 pastures of machar and moor, each man had not so much
• 423 a 'common interest' or duty as, individually, a 'like interest' or right. As now, each unit, whether team or individual, would tend to desire a maximum stock for itself, perhaps hoping it would have "the luck to rear" a little more than its apportioned souming, at the risk of the over-stocking which results in common loss. But though need, greed or rivalry offered temptations, morality invited careful sharing and was enforced by common interest.
423 The chief distinction between team and township was that
476 the tasks of the farm-team were constructive and, like that of the boat's crew, active and co-operative. It is true that in
632 the township certain tasks were co-operative, such as the wolf scaring of old times or the fox 'hunting' or shooting on mainland moors today. The modern gathering of sheep is also done together. But no constructive effort was involved in the allotment of shares on the machar or of stock on the moor, which were—and remain—matters merely for communal control, not communal effort.

511 Now, the quality of a group alters with its quantity. The intimate cohesion of a very small group of no more than half a dozen members, diminishes with an increase in number; but increase brings a compensating gain in diversity. Ten or a dozen people tend to break up into sub-groups, whether for small jobs or to enjoy conversation. The smallness of a group limits the number of relationships; an increase in number multiplies sub-groups, and life is enriched. After living long with fewer than half a dozen acquaintances, the same subjects keep cropping up in talk, the same tales are re-told, too often, and people cannot get away from one another's idiosyncrasies! A very small addition turns the scale by renewing variety.
621 Here lay the social value of a township and neighbourhood,
476
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175 small savings, if any, have been put to the purchase of fi
511 ing gear and boats, for fishing, too, was summer work.
[433] 1833 the poverty of the Outer Islesfolk and the bankrup
of the landlords were such that Parliamentary attent
was called to the state of the Hebrides. Poverty continu
to be extreme, but need turned the people to fishi
[433] The loss of revenue to the lairds led to their making sh
farms—somewhat unwillingly—with local evictions:
Lewis chiefly from Park and from north of Stornoway, a
in Harris notably from the western Machars to the east
• [423] Bays. In spite of this, it also brought about the sale
[621] Harris by Macleod, and finally of Lewis by Seaforth
1844.[1]

(B) NEW OWNERSHIP AND CAPITAL IN LEWIS 1844–78

175 Lewis was bought by Mr. James Matheson, a gentlem
423 of Highland family, whose fortune had been made in Chi
Sir James (as he became) put much capital, effort a
goodwill into the management and improvement of t
Island. Of the amounts expended we may distinguish,
far as possible, what he spent as a rich man for his priv
[131] pleasure from what he spent for the people. No soo
had Matheson bought the Island than the 'potato famin
of 1845–46 broke out. The terrible loss of life in Irela
and the depopulation of that country which followed, wou
have been equalled in the Isles but for the action
landowners like Matheson—who were the descendants
'kinsmen', not of alien conquerors—and also of subscrib

[1] A sketch map of Harris showing the areas cleared (1816–54) and a
settled as a result, together with those re-settled by government help a
1900, is given by J. B. Caird, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67, 2, 1951, p. 94.

159 weighed the estimated expenditure necessary to complete
433 the unfinished projects, and their prospects of success,
comparing these with similar conditions on the East Coast
228 and at Fleetwood, and with the trend of prices. His
decision was to close the venture, and Harris was sold.
[423] The skeletons of the works were left to rust beside the
quay, while the wreck of a coal steamer was left unsalvaged,
to break up slowly upon the rocks outside, a symbol of a
lost enterprise.

2. *An All-Round Policy for Sea and Land*

185 From the 'start' in Lewis, the first Lord Leverhulme
had shown his vision and grasp as a planner. Survey pre-
ceded plan, and decisions were swiftly put into action.
185 Why then had abandonment and failure followed? Per-
114 sonal factors have been over-stressed. 'Crofters' have
been accused of stubbornness, the Scottish Office of
procrastination and Leverhulme of impatience or obstinacy.
Stornoway shopkeepers have also been apportioned their
share of blame; and while all of them welcomed the
advent of Leverhulme as sure to bring money through the
crofters' pockets to their own tills, it is possible that, later
on, some of them did prove Devil's Advocates, having
come to fear the rise of competition by co-operative or
other large-scale concerns, should the town expand at a
[181] rapid rate. Stressing other factors of character and incom-
patibility, one popular Scots author went so far as to praise
the Lewis crofter for preferring a spiritual life with poverty
on a croft, to easy work and high wages in a town. There
runs a story, well vouched for, which might seem to con-
firm this. After Leverhulme had held forth upon 'work
for wages', in a township where there had been pressing

159 schemes, and knowing how much local fishing depended
458 upon international policy, particularly the resumption of
433 trade relations with the chief customers of the past, Lever-
hulme, one feels, should have dealt no less outspokenly
228 with these. The removal of trade barriers lay not in the
[656] hands of the Scottish Office or of Scots officials (however
internationally minded these might be as private citizens),
but in the hands of Ministers of Cabinet rank and leading
financiers, of whom Leverhulme himself was one.

458 In brief, the Scots fisheries suffered after the war as
neither Leverhulme nor others had foreseen when first
433 he laid his plans for the Island's prosperity. It seems
228 clear that had this major change been squarely faced
by Leverhulme and Government alike, in 1920, 1921 or
[423] even later, they could never have fallen apart about a
relatively minor issue, that of the farms. Both sides turned
their faces away from this disquieting factor of the Baltic
markets, though both knew it to be fundamental to the
success of Scots fisheries and the Island's future. Had they
faced it together frankly, then, even if powerless to effect
a remedy, their sincerity might have prevented a deadlock
upon a secondary matter.

159 To Leverhulme, given his large scale of expenditure
423 and return, the division of a few farms formed a minor
issue. But to a number of ex-Servicemen, 'crofters'
185 without a croft, the division meant a home and relative
433 stability. Moreover, what was merely a matter for personal
decision to Leverhulme, was a lifelong issue to many people
423 brought up in congestion on the wrong side of the boundary
[438] fence. Meantime, milk from Easter Ross was available in
Stornoway, at town if not at country prices. Lastly, further
possibilities of land-development lay open to Leverhulme,
[114] though not so readily to the unaided people. In reading

114 reports of early speeches by Leverhulme, Professor Patrick
185 Geddes had quickly come to feel that his old acquaintance,
• 423 Leverhulme the industrialist, might have overlooked such agricultural potentialities as existed, and that he had quite
433 overlooked the social significance of land. Hence, in May or June 1919, Geddes proposed that a survey be made by one who knew the Highlands botanically, who was experienced in agriculture, and who had some knowledge of Highlanders at home and of sociological factors. Geddes
[123] suggested Dr. M. E. Hardy for the task. Leverhulme forthwith accepted the suggestion and commissioned Hardy, whom the present writer assisted on the Island.

311 Examination of the farms, so hotly debated, showed that they possessed little or no initial superiority over neighbouring crofting settlements. That the farms were placed in the best coastal tracts for agriculture is true, but their shores are at the same time the poorest in harbours and fishing facilities. As a result, the crofters dwelling near the farms along parts of the same machars and smooth slopes were 'crofters' who sometimes fished, rather than fishermen with a house-site and a potato patch. As Hardy wrote (in his MS. Report): "The chief superiority of the farms resulted from levelling, drainage and enclosure" by landlord and farmer, sixty or seventy years before. The improved land both of farms and adjacent crofts was reclaimed from peat and machar, or from an admixture of both. "How then", asked Hardy, "did so much value
[423] come to be attached to the farms? The traditional grievance (of eviction) led neighbouring crofters to turn their eyes towards the green patches of the abandoned villages and endowed the old land with special virtues. After the Crofters' agitation of the 'eighties, successive Boards came with their eyes already focused on the farms, by the

311 cottars' claims." Thus a few of the settlements reclaimed
• 423 out of the common peat by some scores of people, hundreds of years ago, long worked by joint tenants, then by sub-tenants, " and later turned into modern farms, came to be regarded as the only available land open to crofters in the Island ".

311 Hence, Hardy concluded, it was important to tackle
433 some reclamation of peat or of land partially covered by peat, along with the development of the main commercial industry, fishing. The specialisation of commercial fishing was "a wise, indeed an indispensable preliminary step" in a constructive policy framed to deal with the Island as a whole. One saw that the formula "All Lewismen are fishermen" was an exaggeration, and that some of those whose forebears had dwelt by the machars of Broad Bay for centuries were landsmen first and seamen
185 second. Yet the specialisation planned by Leverhulme
311 would not only have given a chance to the seamen of Ness, Eye Peninsula, Lochs and 'the Bays' of South Harris;
[433] it would also have begun to relieve congestion, giving a croft and outrun to some of those who wished to make small-holding their principal means of livelihood and life, and providing a market for fresh produce on the Island itself.

Looking back, it seems clear that Hardy was right to report to Leverhulme (in 1919) that, while the great fishery scheme was indispensable, it should be complemented by a scheme for occupation on the land for those who wished it. The major problem of land being the amelioration of peat, continued Hardy, it should be tackled with twentieth-century knowledge and equipment. Slopes were to be found, favourable to reclamation, where peat had been thinned by cutting, where it was shallow from good drain-
[433] age, or lighter in texture from admixture with sand. Had
[159]

in Scottish cities, who came forward again in 1888 and in 1892. Of the £40,000 Matheson expended on meal and seed potatoes for relief, about half was repaid in labour by the recipients. Over the years the outlays reclassified from the Inland Revenue (1904, p. 205) is:

Cattle buildings and grounds and shooting lodges	£120,000
Buildings and Land reclamation	£100,000
Roads, Piers and Communications:	
Chemical Works, for manufacturing paraffin oil from peat	£35,000
Roads and Bridges	30,000
Brickworks (from local clay)	6,000
Sent Slipway, Quays, etc., at Stornoway	10,000
	74,000
Other expenditure :—	
New Lewis Steamers and Mails	£38,000
Industrial and Other Schools	18,000
Emigration (2200 persons)	12,000
Miscellaneous	8,000
Relief (Meal, etc.), gross outlay	33,000
	90,000
Total expenditure, other than on Cattle, etc.	264,000
Original Cost of Island	190,000
GRAND TOTAL	£574,000

Thus, of a capital outlay of over half a million pounds, roughly a quarter of a million was spent directly on the development of the estate. The rental in 1844 (exclusive of feu-duties) was nearly £11,000, and this rose to £18,000 within a few years, though it had been reduced to £15,000 at the end of the century. It will be seen that the praise which the James Matheson for his liberal expenditure as well won, if allowance is made for the standards of his age and generation. Yet of the £120,000 he spent upon

175 the mansion, lodges, and grounds or 'policies', much was
[177] burnt in a dark and cold time; but at the time, though part was
[178] for reclamation. This contrasts with his provision for
● 423 those whose homeland he had bought—the sum spent upon houses. Water and gravels being nearly half that spent directly for the good of some 20,000 fellow-Gaels.

175 Matheson was not technically equipped for his chosen
[176] task of 'reconstruction'. Nor was he fitted by trade or
157 the East for the leadership of a people accustomed, in
[173] spite of dire poverty, to considerable freedom. Ignorant,
[174] moreover, of the language of the people, his choice of a
175 later Factor was hardly a happy one. Tradition in Lewis
[176] speaks of this Donald Munro as an 'autocrat', and evidence
423 in 1874 confirms it. In addition to being the Factor for
[173] the estate and so holding economic sway over the
[174] people, he held seventeen public and semi-public offices
[161] in the Island, from Justice of the Peace to Captain of the Volunteers; and his influence held by his client 'the extent of his sway is also shown by his having served summonses of removal upon fifty-six families on his own authority. And in a report of the treatment of the officer sent to serve the summonses, three crofters were tried on a charge of "assault committed on an officer of the law in revenge for having executed his duty". When asked in court if Sir James would not have disapproved of this step and the manner of its execution, Munro replied that it was his practice "never to trouble Sir James with small matters". "Then you consider the eviction of fifty-six families a small matter?" was the retort. These 'Berneras tenants' were found not guilty, they and their neighbours were well in possession from before the Factor deemed it office.[1] Lewisers felt that to be a moral victory,

[1] Brand Report, 1901, p. lxxi.

175 which heartened them for resistance in common against
[177] farming in the interest of a few industrialists, in the agitation for reform of the
[178] Land Laws during the next ten years and in their demands
● 423 for 'the return' of sheep farms to crofting, which continued
until all those were divided soon after 1919 and the ex-Servicemen's return.

175 Expenditure of capital in Lewis during more than a
[176] generation, from the purchase of the estate in 1844 down
● 423 to the death of Sir James in 1878, helped to maintain the
[173] people and provide relief in bad seasons. It left Lewis
[174] greatly improved in roads and paths, in sea communica-
175 tions and in buildings of various sorts. Two real efforts had
[176] been made to utilise Lewis peat, industrially for paraffin
311 oil, and agriculturally by reclamation. Given the resources
[161] of Stornoway and a century ago, these attempts did their initiator credit. Yet failure left the Islanders to continue crofting without either an additional occupation or the extension of croft land, even to the 'allotment' (half-an-acre) of arable which Matheson had found on his purchase in 1844.

175 Subdivision of crofts was the first result. A father
[176] would simply divide his croft between himself and a son,
423 who might not even be entered on the rent-roll of the estate, and the two lots would inevitably need more stock than before upon the common. The second result was simply 'squatting': the building of a house, perhaps with a tiny kailyard, on a piece of the 'skinned' land. As building went on overcrowding old sites, filth accumulated and springs were contaminated, crofting was hindered and cows became fewer per family, in spite of overstocking. By 1861 about twelve families had built on the cottars and squatters found in 1914 were already in occupation. In 1914 there were over 3000 statutory crofts in Lewis, their

175 rent averaging 31s., in addition to which there were over
[177] 1000 houses of the cottar class and 300 houses of the
● 423 squatter class.[1]

Lastly, Sir James trained no successor to follow up or improve upon his experience. At his death in 1878 Sir James was succeeded by his widow, and, nearly twenty years after, she was followed by a nephew and his son. But the expenses of Stornoway Castle and its burdens, accompanied by lower rents, weighed down the new proprietors.

175 Meanwhile, crofters had made paths, in sea communica-
[176] tions and in buildings of various sorts. Two real efforts had
[178] been made to utilise Lewis peat, industrially for paraffin
311 oil, and agriculturally by reclamation. Given the resources
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[1] Report, Royal Commission, 1872, p. xiii. *Fraser Report on Cottages in Lewis, 1888*, and the recommendations by *the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee, Report on Rural Housing in Scotland*, 1937, pp. 56–62, 79-77.

TO FISHERIES: 1750–1914

175 For the greater expansion of industry of the northern
[177] coastlands, Matheson had done comparatively little even
178 at Stornoway. In 1883, a former Factor (Mr. Mackenzie of Calgary) stated that he had constantly asked for aid to the fisheries, especially by the building of harbours, pointing out that the landlord would reap benefit in rent.[1] But Matheson had replied that the fishermen and fishcurers, the people engaged in the trade, should do this work for themselves. By the end of the century, harbours were being planned and built with State aid in the north, west and south-east of the Island (at Ness, Carloway and Uig, and Tarbert, Harris). In 1900 the Islanders possessed 150 herring boats, and in that year five boats from the Stornoway District sailed for the first time to Yarmouth, and two to Lerwick. For the year ending 31st March 1901 £8,000 was expended on fishery piers, the Government in 1883 appointed a Royal Commission of Enquiry under a fair-minded judge, Lord Napier. As a remedy, the Commissioners recommended measures based upon

175 Board, created in 1897 to develop agriculture, fishing and
[177] crofting industries, to form new holdings, to assist in migration,
178 and to provide public works such as roads, bridges and
427 piers. These powers were further extended by the Land
[247] Settlement (Scotland) Act of 1919, passed to provide land for ex-Servicemen.[1]

The Crofters' Act granted to the individual crofter most of the rights advocated by the Napier Commission, and other advantages besides. But it did not impose upon him the corresponding duties. As Day wrote, "The landlord was compelled to act in the interests of the crofter; the crofter was not compelled to act in the interests of the landlord." The Act discarded the core of the Napier Commission's scheme, that of "a recognised local community, the township, with an executive officer, the Constable, working for the improvement of the township, by fencing, draining and other works, with the assistance of the proprietor", the absolutely whole enforceable by "a township rate or other [829] rate". As a Gael might say, the Act discarded *duty-right* of members of the community to one another.

175 As a result, peace did not descend upon the Island at
[177] once. The demand for land continued, fields were taken
178 by attempts to settle upon it, in spite of police and armed force.
[668] A legal victory was to be pressed home. In Lewis the

[1] A useful summary of the legislation is given by the Scot. Econ. Committee's Report, 1938, pp. 19-21, and "a searching revision of *Crofter Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918, a work of real social insight.

The Act of 1919 is still the main enactment under which land settlement schemes may be undertaken in Scotland; but the Agriculture (Scotland) Act 1948 included new provision to allow the creation of holdings up to 50 acres in extent and 40 acres in arable area. After the Second War a more liberal policy was adopted in regard to settlement of ex-Servicemen and other applicants, and the Act was found not adequate, despite many unfulfilled applications in the Hebrides and elsewhere where the demand for crofts exceeds the supply.

I.L.H.—R

175 death of Sir James had left his widow in possession of the
● 423 estate, with a lady with little tender sympathy, Mrs. Matheson,
[166] in south-east Lewis, in November 1887, a body of landless men attempted to settle on the peninsula of Park, Loch Seaforth, after which some of the Hepal settlers or raiders were tried and acquitted, and fourteen small crofts with outrun were provided. In January 1888, 300 men marched from Barvas to petition Lady Matheson that the sheep farm of Galson should be allotted to crofters on a fair valuation, as they could not live on their tiny plots. Lady Matheson refused to consider the petition until the arrears of rent due by Barvas tenants should be paid. Shortly after, sheep were driven off Aignish (Eye) and police, reinforced by marines and soldiers, arrested eleven men. Two years later, the sheep were driven off Galson, fences demolished, and sheep driven off. On January 20, 500 marines were ordered to Lewis (of whom 200 actually sailed). On February 2, the Aignish raiders were found guilty and sentenced to terms of from nine to fifteen months' imprisonment. After this the disturbances gradually passed away. Yet the crofters could only be dormant; they were to spring up a generation later, and again after the war of 1914–18.

In defending the Napier Commission's plan to recog-
175 nise the township, one may accept their definition of it as
632 a farm held by tenants, singly or in common. Yet it must
[241] be remembered that the word 'farm' had come to have a
[244] very elastic meaning. The joint farm-group was once the active group for labour in common; but if the 'township' included several joint-farms, as it generally had in the Island, its people formed a much more extensive community. Members of the township enjoyed rights in common, and shared in duties of observance; but they had seldom to

175 co-operate in active endeavour. It was all the more
632 important to have a lady with little tender sympathy,
427 one of themselves but placed in authority. There could
[244] be no restitution of the old joint farms where they had
[674] been broken down by migration; yet it should have been still possible to extend the old spirit to the larger townships, as the Commissioners held.

175 Again, the constitution of the township is bound up
632 with the rights of common pasture upon the moor all the
427 year, and in winter even on unfenced arable; but the
● 423 Crofters' Act failed to regulate the rights and obligations
[671] of Common Grazings. It also neglected the township of the estate without restoring the hold of the tenant community upon its members. After five years the Government began to recognise the township, and passed the Crofters' Common Grazings Regulation Act, permitting the crofters to elect a Common Grazings Committee. But it was ill-considered; most of all because non-crofters, that is-cottars and squatters without legal tenure, were not bound by the Regulations. On one hand they could not get permission to 'reassert' (or enclose) a portion of the common in order to reclaim it as a croft, without first obtaining the unanimous consent of the township's crofters; and in large townships there might always be an objector. Yet each cottar could, and did, put on stock, a cow or two and a few sheep, so nullifying the possibility of discipline.

In 1908 a second Act was passed; but twenty years had allowed tradition to lapse and difficulties to accumulate. In Lale Scalpay (Tarbert) for instance, by 1909 there were only forty legitimate crofters, but eighty cottars; and the legal enforcement of the Act was impossible. Many cottar of such grazing liberties as he exercised. All were neighbours and most were relations, and their principle

175 was to share; the children needed milk and the women
632 had to work, while the men were away at the herring.
● 423 Commission put it at the time, "Necessity has no law and
[174] . . . it is scarcely possible to comply with the Grazings
[176] Acts in this island". The position remains little changed.
[178] Still, in spite of sixty years' delay, and the law's failure to
[462] restore an executive, the Constable, to perform specified duties as a member of the community, the Grazings Committees do perform useful functions with credit. They form nuclei with which proprietor, Government or co-operative agency actually deal, and the voluntary Clerk of Common Grazings is indispensable.

With regard to small occupiers paying less than £6
175 rent per annum and holding less than 10 acres and 250
423 acres of arable (or share of pasture), the Crofters' Commission declined to recommend the bestowal of rights or immunities tending "to fix them in a condition from which they ought to be resolutely, though gently withdrawn". The Act, however, did grant small occupiers immunity from eviction, and made it hard for either landlord, State or fellow-crofters even to refuse house sites or fresh holdings, particularly in the crofting counties. The support continues; indeed he is favoured, by escaping the payment of rent and rates though he shares in benefits. The ratepayers are proportionately, and unjustly, handicapped. But as isolation has diminished, landless squatters have been allowed to 'resume' portions of the common grazing for new holdings, as by common consent at Ness and in Locha, after Lord Leverhulme's death.

A further recommendation of the Napier Commission, was to aid emigration. Nearly 2000 had emigrated by 1891 by proved successful, but his later efforts met with no response. There were then, and still remain, the principle

195 for a firmer hold upon the land and for a return to aban-
198 doned sites. The communal possession of joint farms, held
433 directly or under tacksmen, gave place to individual pos-
(731) session of crofts. Yet the legal recognition of perpetual
(162) tenure in 1886 gave not only the crofter's home but the
(167) crofting neighbourhood a security unequalled in Britain. The use of moor and machar in common was retained; but its control for improvement or reclamation by the
195 estate or the township was weakened, rather than strength-
198 ened, by the Crofters' Acts. Confusion grew—both upon
423 the arable land, subdivided, unenlarged and unimproved,
427 and also upon the common grazing, sorely overstocked in spite of ever diminishing 'soumings' (or family shares) of cattle. Rating difficulties and anomalies appeared. Communal discipline, maintained at sea by fishing, was weakened on land after the abolition of the joint farm-group, and almost nullified in the townships by subdivision and squatting.

195 A year before the potato famine of 1845, a new landlord
198 had brought good-will, capital and pioneering effort to
433 Lewis. These had been directed to experiments in the
(427) reclamation and the industrial utilisation of deep peat.
(311) Helped by employment on these and other works, the
(161) population of Lewis continued to increase, when increase in Harris was arrested for a generation. Yet while neither experiment with peat met with success, little aid had been given to develop fisheries. In both parts of the Island a growing population was supported from the 'seventies onwards by help of earnings derived from the seasonal herring fishing on the East Coast and from inshore line fishing at home. Women added to the Island income by seasonal 'gutting' and, in Harris, by their spinning and
(167) weaving. Money was earned by work on the mainland,

423 In May 1918 Lewis was bought by Lever of Port
565 Sunlight, then Baron Leverhulme of Bolton-le-Moors (his birthplace), the head of a great combine with 50,000 white
157 and 25,000 black employees. Meeting him in Lews Castle
124 in August 1919, Dr. Hardy and I found him troubled by a human situation he had failed to diagnose. Short and stocky but very erect, quick-eyed and rapid of manner, and with a wide expressive mouth, he spoke earnestly of his plans; but his eyes flashed and his mouth set, as he rapped out, "They keep putting off, yet they leave the people in houses *not fit for Kaffirs!*" The question, "What objective inspired—or mislied—Leverhulme to buy the Island?" is answered by his son and biographer.[1]

159 By 1917 Leverhulme had felt it was time to devolve
423 his personal authority over his business, in the interests
433 of its future. Hence he looked about him for an estate in which he could exercise "his passion for changing the face of nature", and by experiment, trial and error, with drawing board and T-square, and for philanthropy.[2] He nearly bought an estate in the Midlands in order to develop it; but work had already begun there, and he wished to find a place which would be his to remodel from the start. Thirty years before, Leverhulme had visited Lewis and now in 1917 he spent a week there, motoring all over the Island. "He was enraptured . . . he saw not merely a countryside in need of more and better roads, not only a residence and grounds capable of alteration and improvement, but a problem to be solved, a human and racial problem which had so far baffled all who had tried to solve it. . . . He had been told the Lewis man was lazy,
(18) [1] Leverhulme (2nd Viscount), *Leverhulme: By His Son*, 1927, chap. xxvi, p. 211 ff. Lord Leverhulme, who had thought of styling himself 'Of the Isles' took the title 'Of the Lews'.
[2] Leverhulme (1927), cf. pp. 81-86.

159 stubborn and suspicious; he never believed it. He realised
423 that the backwardness of the Island arose from lack of
433 opportunity, and that opportunity he would do his best to provide. Wherever he went he found the same story—things half attempted, nothing done." Leverhulme, one felt in 1919, wanted to do all he could for the Islanders. A greater man would have wanted to work not only for, but with, the Islanders. Then, even if the fisheries had been ruined, as they were, by forces outside his control, he would have shared a moral victory, not shared and suffered economic loss, with moral defeat.

114 In the Isles for centuries before, a family and well-tried
183 friends were valued above all other things. What was more,
(198) this was still true in the lifetime both of the elder men and the women he found at home, and of the absent men, at war. The foundation for this friendly life was a plot of
159 land and work to do, a home and the leisure to enjoy it.
433 Leverhulme, too, valued these things in his own way. He
461 cared for human homes and gardens, and had proved it at Port Sunlight and elsewhere. A pioneer of industry and efficiency, he pled for 'a six-hour day' and leisure afterwards, and he had done much to realise the ideal in his own works. Moreover, he was not without respect for spiritual values, freedom, and a congregation's right to choose their pastor.[1] All these things should have helped to put him into sympathy with Island life, and up to a point they did so.

159 It is clear that Leverhulme had considered the possi-
423 bilities of improving the local fisheries, village by village;
228 and an engineer had reported on possible harbour improvements at Ness, Barvas, and elsewhere. But he came to the

[1] Leverhulme (1927), p. 211; and Leverhulme (1st Baron), *The Six-Hour Day and Other Industrial Questions*, 1919.

159 conclusion—undoubtedly a sound one—that the most
433 effective action for commercial fisheries (as then known)
228 must be taken at one Island centre, Stornoway. As a direct result he considered how to feed the growing town, in particular how to give its children fresh milk. He saw the farms round Broad Bay ready to be turned to high-class dairy farms, if capitalised, and for this purpose they were swiftly scheduled in his mind.

159 "His early days were happy ones"—wrote his son—
433 "but they were not to last for long. He encountered the first obstacle on his path in the late summer of 1918, when
423 the Scottish Board of Agriculture declared its intention to
(647) take over the few remaining farms in the Island for crofts." By this declaration the Board spoke for many Islesmen in the Forces. The voices of Servicemen, not those of either a Government or a philanthropic millionaire, counted overwhelmingly, on the Island and beyond. When the war
(727) was over and the men came home, many set about examining their boats and fitting them up with motors, and in a few months the evening's departure for the fishing from Stornoway had lost some of the picturesqueness of the old, stately procession of sail moving out to the Minch at sunset, but had gained in efficiency as the motorised boats went puffing out to find the shoals, sure of return without delay after the catch was hauled in. Yet fishing was still precarious: there might be no catch, and even if there were, prices were a gamble. Hence many a cottar-fisherman wished to ensure a home for himself and applied for a croft, with his eyes on the farms. Farms were few, and not enough to go round more than some 10 to 15 per cent of squatters and cottars. Still, a promise is a promise: the farms were there, why not have them and be done with it? Knowing this feeling in the Island, aware of its support

159 in the country, and foreseeing that the only sure way to
423 avoid irritation, friction and law-breaking was to grant
433 the farms and have done with it, the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Board felt that they could not withdraw the Government's promise of land. The Secretary for Scotland, Mr. Munro (later Lord Alness), spoke with knowledge as a Highlander. A general promise of small-holdings had been made to all Scotsmen in the Services, and could not easily be set aside at the wish of one man, then approaching the age of seventy, however well-intentioned, weighty and in earnest. Yet Leverhulme declared that while he would relinquish farms on the west side of Lewis, his schemes could not go on unless he retained the farms on Broad Bay to supply fresh milk for Stornoway. If the farms were divided, he said, he must close the whole scheme forthwith.

159 Of his earnestness Leverhulme left no doubt. He not
423 only planned but set up a retail agency, Mac Fisheries, and
433 he purchased drifters and trawlers, the Mac Line, to fish far afield and bring the catch to Stornoway, there to be
228 transhipped by his own carrying service. He set about building model dwellings in Stornoway itself, each with its quarter-acre allotment. 'Work and Wages' from capitalised fisheries was his offer, in further token of which, road-making and other wage-providing work was
(198) begun. Until 1920 the farms remained undivided. The farmers, for their part, could only wait for the expiry of
159 their leases, or for the transactions by which their leases
423 would be foreclosed and compensation awarded. Prices
433 of stock were high at the time, and the valuation would correspond to these. Hence tenants felt they could afford
427 to wait. Meantime crofters' stock wandered over their farms—whether because of the wilfulness of the stock or

159 of the owners—but farmers knew it was futile to protest,
423 and they suffered with a wry smile and a shrug of the
433 shoulders. After all, most of the farmers had stayed at
427 home and their affairs had prospered, in war-time; whereas all but the older crofters had had years of seafaring or fighting, and the nation's debt to them had not yet been forgotten. The farmers kept quiet and waited.

159 Meantime, Leverhulme made public war upon the
668 Government. Speaking in Edinburgh in November 1919,
433 he declared that "Reports, thick as leaves in Vallombrosa, have been the dominating feature of Government policy in the Highlands and Isles . . . but the invariable rule seems to have been, whenever expenditure of public money was recommended, for the Government either to ignore such reports or to cut down expenditure so penuriously as only to result in waste . . . by not spending to the full amount . . . Lewis and Harris have too long been
(213) the Cinderella in the Government pantomime."[1] The crofters, reading this in the daily papers, and again in the weekly *Stornoway Gazette* a day or two later, chuckled with glee, rolling the phrases on their tongues. They might not all have been able to explain the strange words, like Vallombrosa or Cinderella, though they sounded fine; but all had heard of pantomimes, and some might even have seen one, without saying too much about it to the minister. About 'penurious expenditure' they could have no doubt. Yes, a fine speech, they felt! Yet in spite of the sting of truth contained in such orations, these did not make it easier for Government to co-operate with the orator, to prevent raiding or to deal with it should it begin.

000 Raiding did begin in the spring of 1920. Applicants
[1] Lecture at Edin. Phil. Instn., 1920. Quoted in Leverhulme (1927).

669 for crofts in Tongue, a township north of Stornoway, took
423 the law into their own hands, seized one of the fields of the adjacent farms, and threatened to take the remainder. It is easy to understand that when a man has come home from the war to his sweetheart, and after being promised a site on which to build a home (even a black house for a start), with a plot for potatoes, and 'a cow's grass', a year's vain delay may breed impatience! Leverhulme motored to the township, and with his customary vigour and persuasiveness spoke of his plans for 'work and wages' to be constructed at Stornoway. He also declared that if the farms were divided this would cripple his schemes, and work would stop at once. The majority there agreed to fall in with his plans; in any case, only a
159 minority could find crofts on the farms. Leverhulme felt
433 that he had carried his point. He forgot not only that
669 his oratory deserved applause and had won it for its own sake, but that the people could not lightly afford to say 'no', if this meant immediate stoppage of wages. It was the after-thoughts on the morrow and in the following months, rather than agreement at the moment, that signi-
(228) fied. In 1920 herring fetched a fair price, the herring fishery prospects were encouraging, and work was resumed for a time. Yet one raid having begun and "the die having been cast", lawlessness spread unlidded. The farmers stopped expenditure, and obtained an interdict against the
423 'raiders', though he did not prosecute. After further
(694) parley, the Secretary for Scotland agreed to suspend
159 division for ten years, and in 1921 Leverhulme resumed
433 operations. "Unfortunately very soon afterwards", wrote his biographer, owing to "the general industrial depression
458 which followed the boom in trade after the war", Lever-
458 hulme felt impelled to close down work for the time being,

and he was unable to make plans or promises for the future. Meantime, it should be said, the Island herring catch and prices fell rapidly (the catch by 50 per cent and prices by 60 per cent from 1920 to 1921). As a result, crofts now seemed more precious than ever to the applicants.

With what Leverhulme regarded as 'almost indecent haste', the Secretary for Scotland proceeded to fulfil the promise to divide the farms. Most of the farms remaining were divided into some fifty crofts, of ten acres or so with outrun, supplying little more than 10 per cent of the landless men. The Manor dairy farm, near Stornoway Castle and town, though raided by a few men, was retained to contribute to the town's supply of milk, along with two or three smaller farms close to Stornoway (Melbost, and Stoneyfield with Holm). Leverhulme felt that his offer to Lewis had been turned down, and he then concentrated his efforts upon Harris.

At the extreme south of Harris (midway along the south-west coast), in the 'Hope' or natural harbour of Obbe, Leverhulme built new piers. He transferred the machinery of the canning factory and the kippering sheds he had commenced to build at Stornoway. He started to build houses, a number being provided on generous terms; and "at the people's wish", the settlement was renamed Leverburgh. With the transference of his energy from Lewis to Harris, Leverhulme's "optimism and determination were intensified", wrote his son. They were not to last long. After a visit to the Congo in 1925, Leverhulme died suddenly in Brussels. How far the new plans might have succeeded had Leverhulme lived, his son has commented, "remains uncertain". What is certain is that the second Lord Leverhulme toured Harris, visiting the works on hand and examining the accounts. No doubt he also

TABLE 9

The Agricultural Structure of

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	Townships (no.)	Inbye (acres)	Common pasture (acres)	Agri hold Val Croft
Atlantic Coast	3	246	14,800	51
Uig Bay	5	636	15,800	62
Valtos-Reef	3	398	8,700	74
Little L. Roag	4	266	4.400	38
Bernera Island	5	1,213	8.200	91
Bernera Shore	4	359	13,100	26
East L. Roag	6	1,101	15,700	183
L. Carloway	7	856	9,400	174
Individual holdings * (non - crofting)		161	1,200	-
	37	5,236	91,300	6,999

NOTE: *Individual holdings include only those no
pasture' figure is their rough grazing.
**These include individual holdings, as de
allotment holders having more than a qu
sheep. Their holdings are included in

162
241
223
311
361
423
427
632

)

the Parish of Uig, 1958

icultural lings (on uation Roll)		Crofter-tenants		
s:	Others:	Total	(of whom non-resident)	Agricultural holdings with no crofting estate*
	1	42	(12)	-
	-	55	(9)	-
	-	68	(14)	1
	-	39	(4)	1
	4	88	(12)	8
	1	26	(2)	2
	1	178	(26)	6
	7	167	(23)	35
	9	-		9
9	23	663	(102)	62

t using the common pastures; the 'common'

fined, and all cottars, squatters, feuars and
arter acre of cultivation or a cow or 5
'Inbye'.

APPENDIX A

(1) Agricultural statistics for South Uig - August, 1959.

TOWNSHIP etc.	STOCK OF HOLDINGS: Crofts: Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: Oats: Potatoes: Hay: Pastures (acres)		CATTLE: Cows Milk: Others: Calves:		SHEEP: Rams: Ewes: Lambs: Others:	Horses	Tractors
ARD DHUBH	- 1	1	- - - -		- - - -		- 4,500 ? ?		
BORNISH	18 -	13	16 4 20 100	11	84 18 15 13	200	703 403 568	4	1
DELFEIG	10 -	5	7 2 11 30	3	43 4 5 4	228	228 174 165	2	-
HARRAPOOL	13 -	10	12 3 17 23	3	68 16 9 13	383	474 334 371	1	-
GARRIN	4 -	3	2 1 4 41	4	26 4 1 4	270	110 89 40	1	-
ARDROL	14 -	12	7 2 21 321	13	62 15 5 9	625	518 277 171	1	-
TIMSGARRY	8 -	7	5 1 12 43	7	23 8 - 4	273	177 143 108	1	-
MINE END.	- 2	2	1 1 2 4	1	- 2 - 1	-	38 35 5	-	-
AIRD	10 -	8	4 1 9 35	8	34 6 (6 calves)	1 206	286 193 166	-	-
CROALISTA	24 -	13	16 7 13 59	6	89 15 3 9	414	487 374 227	-	-
VALTOS	40 1	29	22 7 15 104	13	220 42 1 29	1,033	914 781 584	-	-
SMEIN	13 -	13	11 7 13 118	10	76 14 4 9	452	449 337 240	1	-
BEAY	23 -	8	5 2 9 77	7	45 7 3 9	223	249 182 190	-	-
CAUTHERLEY	13 1	12	6 4 9 28	3	32 8 1 4	163	139 176 110	1	-
GERLOCH	11 -	11	14 3 14 82	10	38 15 5 11	337	598 442 415	-	-
UNGUSHAIG	4 -	3	5 1 7 23	3	27 3 1 2	150	130 125 125	-	-
SHALLADE	9 -	9	13 3 13 44	4	32 14 2 12	320	335 240 308	-	-
OTHERS (non-crofting)	- 5	5	3 1 7 34	2	- (12 pigs ½ : goats)	-	195 210 231	-	1

Notes: (a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in the text.

(b) Earnings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the grazing regulations were first made unless some other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

(c) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions (ewes/lambs/others) are as reported (see Appendix A (2)).

(d) Where there is a specific ewe for a horse this has been added, (half to the cattle ewes and half to the sheep ewes) after allowing for any horses actually present.

(e) Where there is a ewe for two-year old cattle this has been included in the cattle ewes at the rate of 2 two-year olds to one ewe.

APPENDIX A. continued.

(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, South Uig, August 1959.

162
423
427
464

Status* of tenants:		Area of holdings: 1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	20.1+ acres	TOTALS
Regular employment	M 54 ½	5	17	11	6	1	2	2	44
	M 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M 65	4	10	5	5	1	-	-	27
	M 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full-time crofters	M 65	4	1	5	2	1	-	1	14
	M 65	8	13	15	8	7	-	1	52
	F 65	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	4
	F 65	1	4	1	1	-	-	1	8
Absent M		5	7	8	3	-	-	-	23
Absent F		4	7	-	2	-	-	-	13
TOTAL		31	63	45	27	12	7	10	195

(4) Principal croft workers status by size of effective agricultural unit, South Uig, August 1959

162
241
423
427
464

Status* of croft worker		Area of effective agricultural unit (acres):- 1.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	20.1+	TOTALS
Regular employment	M 65	2	21	14	11	9	6	4	67
	M 65	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M 65		13	7	5	6	-	2	33
	M 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M 65	2	4	1	-	7	2	2	18
	M 65	2	8	8	7	6	5	4	40
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		2	1	1	1	1	-	6
TOTAL		6	48	32	24	29	14	12	165

* Occupation, sex and age (under or over 65 years).

1/4 [Errata: See category 116,(introductory p.v), for corrections--Analyst]

APPENDIX A continued

(5) Stocking and cultivation by size of effective units, South Uig, August 1959.

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Stocking is assessed according to proportion of the area held, cultivation according to acreage of arable crops, i.e. excluding hay: some units are omitted for lack of data, (consequently totals do not correspond.)

	Percentages of total number of effective agricultural units: 1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0	All sizes	Actual number of units
Proportion of area held:									
Nil	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	3	4
Less than 50%	1	8	5	5	3	3	2	26	40
50%-100%	1	6	9	6	5	1	5	33	50
100%-200%	1	8	5	6	4	1	2	31	47
More than 200%	-	4	1	1	2	1	1	8	13
All units	3	28	21	15	16	8	9	100	
Area cropped:									
Less than 0.5 acre	1	5	3	2	1	1	-	13	19
0.5-1.0 acres	1	7	2	-	1	-	-	11	16
1.1-2.5 acres	1	12	13	9	8	1	5	50	74
2.6-5.0 acres	-	5	3	4	2	5	5	24	33
More than 5.0 acres	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	4	6
All units	3	28	21	15	14	7	11	100	148

Owing to rounding, percentage figures may not equal totals.

(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit*

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233
464

	Under 65 years: Full-time crofter	Croft and regular work	Croft and periodic work	Over 65 years: Male	Female	ALL UNITS *
CATTLE **						
nil	2	5	-	6	1	16
1	9	31	18	8	3	69
2	5	19	9	4	-	37
3	-	2	2	1	-	5
more than 3	-	-	-	1	-	1
SHEEP						
nil	2	1	2	3	-	8
less than 6	1	-	-	-	-	1
6-10	2	4	2	1	1	10
11-20	1	4	3	2	2	12
21-50	5	21	12	7	1	45
51-100	5	22	10	6	1	43
more than 100	-	5	3	1	-	9

* a few working units are omitted for lack of data.

** over 2 years

Figure 27

THE BERNERA DISTRICT

Little Bernera
Boots
Croalista
Valtos
Smein
Beay
Cauthorley
Gerloch
Ungushaig
Shalladale
Ardroil
Timsgarry
Garrin
Harrapool
Delfeig
Bornish
Ard Dhubh
Mine End
Aird
Loch Roag
Loch Seaforth
Loch Erisort
Loch Leurbost
Loch Ceann Hulavig
Loch Ceann Dibig
Loch Ceann Ear
Loch Ceann Iar
Loch Ceann Ear
Loch Ceann Iar
Loch Ceann Ear
Loch Ceann Iar

Crofts and Commons

423 A crofting area normally consists of the croft land proper - the inbye (arable and
427 unimproved land, and various common grazings. Table 20 summarises the situation in
311 Bernera. Kirkibost has by far the largest inbye and the Bernera island townships generally
632 are larger than those of Bernera Shore. That the positions are reversed with regard to
common grazings is due to the limited hill of Croir and the very extensive hill of Linshader.
The Bernera island townships woul', however, be much worse off for hill land had they
not various special common grazings (except Croir) and did they not share in the 4,341
acres of the Bernera shielings on the mainland. It is possible to calculate the appropriate
shieling share for each township on the basis that, though the theoretical soums for each
township and common grazing are exact, in fact all working units may send animals to the

TABLE 22

Bernera District

Sub-division and Amalgamation

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311
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427
632

	ISLAND:					SHORE:					DISTRICT TOTAL
	Breaclete	Croir	Hacklete	Kirkibost	Tobson	TOTAL	Earshader	Crulivig	Lundale	Linshader	TOTAL	
Registered crofter-tenants	13	8	20	26	22	89	4	6	6	10	26	115
Agricultural feus	3	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	-	1	2	6
Agricultural cottars	-	-	1	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Agricultural squattars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Working units (a)	14	7	20	28	19	88	6	6	6	9	27	115
Known sub-lets	3	1	1	2	1	7	-	-	-	2	2	9
Joint working (b)	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Joint working (c)	-	-	1	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Sub-divisions (d)	1	-	1	4	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
Other feus (e)	4	1	1	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Other cottars	-	-	1	-	3	4	-	1	-	-	1	5

Notes: (a) Whether stocked or not
(b) Family co-operation involving amalgamation of holdings.
(c) " " not " " " "
(d) Usually between members of a family, but not recognised on the Valuation Roll.
(e) Excluding those without occupied dwellings.

423 shielings, and that therefore the shieling area per township is in proportion to the number
427 of working units in that township (total, 88 working units on the island). If these shares
311 are deducted it will be seen that only Kirkibost and Tobson common grazings exceed in
632 area those of Lundale, the smallest of the Bernera Shore grazings, and that even this is
so if the special grazings, mainly later enlargements, are further deducted.
All this serves to emphasise the relative crowding on Bernera Island and the consequent
490 vital importance to most working units of the shielings. This has probably increased in
the last decade with the construction of the bridge, for whereas previously there was a
biannual ferrying operation to the mainland, tedious, unpleasant, and exhausting for both
beast and man, nowadays droving to the hills is an easy matter.

A somewhat different picture emerges when land is related to tenants and working units (table 21). If the inbye per croft tenant is calculated it is seen that Croir has the largest, (29 acres), rivalled only by Lundale, (26 acres), Hacklete, Kirkibost, Earshader, and Crulivig form an intermediate group (11 to 16 acres), while Breaclete, Tobson and Linshader have but eight acres or less. However, the average area of inbye is more revealing if calculated in relation to working units: then the Bernera Island townships are seen to range from 7 acres (Breaclete) to 33 (Croir) while only Lundale has more than 20 acres, the others having 14 or less. For the whole island the average of inbye per tenant (13.2 acres) is close to that for the Shore (12.8 acres) and the inbye per working unit (13.5 acres: 13.3 acres) is almost identical. Thus, there is considerable variation in the amount of inbye land available per tenant and the amalgamation of tenancies into working units does not seriously change this distribution.

None of the Bernera island townships has as much common grazing per tenant, nor per working unit, as any of the Bernera Shore townships, (little more than 100 acres as opposed to never less than 160 acres). The Bernera Shore townships as a group have about five times more pasture per tenant and per working unit than those of Bernera Island. Breaclete stands out as the township with the greatest shortage of land.

The various forms of subdivision and amalgamation of crofts and parts of crofts, or other holdings, are summarised in Table 22. In the small townships of Bernera Shore only Earshader, with four crofters, has non-crofting holdings with stock; there is little amalgamation. In Bernera Island, however, only Hacklete has the same number of working units as of registered croft holders and Breaclete, the township with the greatest shortage of land, is also the township with the greatest degree of unofficial change and intromission. In contrast, Tobson, in spite of its unconsolidated plan, presents a simple picture. Breaclete also has the largest number of feus, including the only feus not
368 functioning as agricultural units. This emphasises its function as a centre for the island.
It has both manses, both churches, the War Memorial, the school and the District Nurse.

These changes must however be seen in perspective. The Bernera region has not
180 suffered from the type of amalgamation which is the result of decay and which facilitates
427 further decay; the actual change is not very great. The number of agricultural working units is 98% of the number of crofter-tenants. It is illuminating to compare the region with Sutherland where many former crofts, quite abandoned to rough pasture, have been taken off the rentals. Apart from changes due to clearances, the Bernera region has none of either type. Of 575 holdings examined in thirty-one townships in Sutherland, amalgamation has reduced the number of effective crofting units to only 437, i.e. 76% of the formal figure. Amalgamations by family co-operation are comparatively few in Sutherland (26 out of 173 known examples) whereas subletting is common. A further brief example may be taken from one of the Shetland islands where amalgamation has reduced the original number of holdings from something like 350 to about 250 working units.

TABLE 24

Bernera District

Common Pastures, Soumings, and actual stock.

(Stock in "cow units" calculated according to the Grazing Regulations)

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233
423
311
632

	AREA:	SOUMING:		ACTUAL STOCK:		
	Acres	Cow units	Acres per cow	Cow units	As % of soum	Acres per cow unit
Breaclete	1,284	105	12.3	88	84	14.6
Croir	622	43	14.1	49	114	12.6
Hacklete	1,913	259	7.4	189	73	10.1
Kirkibost	2,491	303	8.2	188	63	13.3
Tobson	2,050	253	8.2	120	48	17.1
ISLAND	8,363	962	8.7	634	66	13.2
Earshader	1,320	38	35.1	65	174	20.2
Crulivig	1,320	51	26.8	70	140	18.6
Lundale	1,000	72	13.9	62	86	16.1
Linshader	9,426	95	100.0	92	96	102.5
SHORE	13,066	255	51.5	290	114	45.2
BERNERA DISTRICT	21,451	1,237	17.9	924	74.7	23.4

423 Stock - potential and actual.*

The croft is in almost every case primarily a stock raising unit and cultivation apart
427 from certain items - particularly potatoes for domestic use - is connected with stock
231 rearing. The basis of the stock system is the soum, the share of the common pastures
311 in terms of horses, cattle and sheep. The largest total soums (more than two hundred
cow-units) are held by Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson; all the other townships have a
632 hundred or less cow-units (Table 24). This has some relation to the size of common
grazing. The very large area of Linshader is that of the former farm: the present

* Details of actual stock and souming for each township will be found in Appendix A.

231 soum is less than the capacity of the grazing and represents the Land Court's estimate
423 of the stock the crofters would be able to keep: the consequent discrepancy and retro-
427 gression in total stocking is a typical result of the replacement of commercial farms by
crofting subjects (c.f. page 25 above). It is better however to consider the area of
311 common grazing and soum combined: in fact, the average acreage per cow-unit is fairl
uniform for Bernera Island, (8.7 acres). Bernera Shore has a wider variation of from
632 11.6 to 100.9 acres per cow-unit: obviously, either the Bernera Island townships grazi
particularly Bernera shielings, were originally estimated as of superior value, or, for
whatever cause, the common grazings of Bernera Shore are relatively under-used. H
is this reflected in practice?

TABLE 25

Bernera District

Comparison of soums and actual stock,

by townships.

	Average soum per working unit	Actual stock per working unit	Soum held per working unit	Working units with less than 50% of their soum
Bearclete	6.5	5.5	84%	19%
Croir	6.2	7.0	114%	nil
Hacklete	12.9	9.5	73%	25%
Kirkibost	10.8	6.7	63%	29%
Tobson	13.3	6.3	46%	58%
BERNERA ISLAND	10.6	5.5	66%	43%
Earshader	6.3	10.9	174%	nil
Crulivig	8.4	11.8	140%	nil
Lundale	9.0	10.4	86%	nil
Linshader	10.6	10.2	96%	22%
BERNERA SHORE	9.8	11.6	114%	8%
BERNERA DISTRICT	10.6	6.5	75%	20%

Note: all soums and stock are calculated in "cow units", using the sheep equivalence s
given in the Grazing Regulations.

(B) SLOW CHANGE: 1925–39

1. *The Land, the Sea, and the Loom*

When Leverhulme parted company with the people of Lewis his gesture of farewell was one of generosity: the offer of Lewis to its people. The Stornoway Trust was formed, and this accepted the gift of the adjacent crofting townships of the Parish, and of the Castle and its beautiful Park or 'policies'. In crofting townships, however, the people declined the offered gift of land, finding that they could not afford the augmentation of rates entailed by acceptance. So the remainder of the estate was offered for sale in several lots, which were bought by individuals and have proved safe investments. The letting of sporting rights adds a further, albeit a variable, return of income to that of the rents received. It is indeed anomalous that a crofting estate, such as a Lewis parish, can yield a good return to a purchaser, yet that the crofter-occupiers themselves would lose by receiving it as a gift.[1] Much-needed improvements in housing would also be discouraged, for fear of increase in their rates. It is true that if (under existing laws of assessment) all the farmers and crofters, cottars and squatters of a county were to become owners at the same moment, the total increase in assessments would either be repaid in greater services or met by lowered rates

[1] The reasons (as indicated in Chapter IX (B)) are briefly that a crofter (or 'small landholder'), as occupier of an agricultural holding, can only be assessed at three-eighths of the occupier's half of the assessment on his Fair Rent, *i.e.* at less than a quarter of the whole rental. Although he may have built a good house and other buildings he is not assessed at their full value; neither is his landlord. Were he to become owner he would then be liable to assessment both as occupier and as owner, on the full annual value of land and of buildings too; with deduction of five-eighths on the agricultural value as occupier only.

—or by a compromise between. But as it is, if one crofter, or a small group of crofters like those of a township or parish of Lewis, were to become owner-occupiers (even by gift), they would be penalised as compared to others. Hence the Lewismen preferred to go on paying rent as statutory crofting tenants. Leverhulme sold the land and received the price; the new owners paid for it and received an investment; and the only 'loser' on this curious transaction was the Local Authority, the County, which failed to make more in rates!

Further reasons why the great majority of crofters declined Leverhulme's offer have been given by the Lewis Association's Economic Committee (1944):

(a) As individual proprietors, they would lose the advantages of the jurisdiction of the Scottish Land Court in dealing with their disputes, and any litigation would take a more costly form.

(b) They would be debarred from obtaining loans from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland for the improvement of their holdings or houses; as the Department would no longer have the "Corner Stone" of a landlord to fall back upon in the event of renunciation.

(c) The crofters were afraid that as individual proprietors they would forfeit their share of the Common Grazing rights.

(d) Should they wish to quit their holdings they would be compelled to find a buyer in the open market, instead of renouncing to their landlords and getting valuation.

(e) There is a feeling among Lewis crofters that they prefer to have a landlord before whom they can lay their difficulties and disputes, and who will attend to their wants; an authority that relieves them of responsibility.

As the historical evidence has shown, a lack of responsibility has been greatly due to the undermining and then the abolition of the authority of the township's own elected Constable.

The Trustees of the Stornoway Trust have not found it easy to meet the cost of keeping up the valuable property of the Castle and Park, nor to carry the burden of its rates, no adequate income being available for the purpose. Today, however, Leverhulme's gift is being put to good use as a Technical College, opened in September 1952.

Division of the available farms, after providing about 200 small crofts (of ten acres or so), still left the problem of finding legal homes on legal tenure for the remaining cottars and squatters.[1] The Department of Agriculture arranged to feu plots of 'skinned land' on the outrun of certain townships, including one in the extreme north and others in Lochs. About 200 of these little holdings with potato ground were provided. On the holders' behalf the Department feued land from the owner, after obtaining the consent of the Common Grazings Committee of the township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', *i.e.* for enclosure of a portion of the common. The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem disproportionate to the economic value of the holdings. Yet difficulties of law and custom had been allowed to go from bad to worse during the past eighty years; and these difficulties were overcome.

To encourage better housing in the crofting counties, loans are made to 'crofters and fishermen feuars' personally. Local stone, or latterly concrete, is used, and much of the building is done by the 'man of the house' himself, and his friends. From 1920 to 1940, nearly 1200 loans were made in Lewis and Harris for the erection (or improvement) of houses, and in a few cases for the erection

[1] Estimated at 1200 to 1500 shortly before, the open question was whether subdivision during the previous eighty years was to be recognised and accepted.

of new steadings. The average amount of loans (totalling £166,000) was under £150; repayment has been satisfactory, and the arrangements made by the Department of Agriculture won general praise among the people. Yet 1200 houses were very far from replacing all the 'black houses', and many more are needed.

In terms of cash profit, ten crofters today run their crofts less remuneratively than the farmer they dispossessed; even together they may show little more total production than the farmer. Nevertheless, these ten crofts each allow a part, at least, of the basis for a country home. Hence the weight of public opinion supported, nay, insisted on 'giving back' the land to the descendants of those who had worked it sixty or a hundred years before. The State bought the farm stock at a high valuation, and till lately without adequate reform of crofting use and wont. The farms having now been divided, a great emotional issue, which had smouldered for half a century, has been brought to an end. Although the practical results are small, the crofters feel that justice has been done, and that fact may be a great gain. Now that there is no more green reclaimed land to be had, the reclamation of the peat moor, or the grey 'skinned' boulder clay has to be faced.

By financing the renewal of Leverhulme's brief attempt to reclaim deep peat on Arnish Moor, south of Stornoway, the Canadian, T. B. Macaulay, made a resolute attempt to solve the island's main agricultural problem. Good crops were grown, potatoes and silage produced, and a dairy farm established. But the difficulties called for continuity of effort and research. From the practical point of view of 'demonstration' it had been a mistake to tackle deep and almost level peat, black in colour and viscous in consistency. There was not the light machinery required for cultivation.

And when laid down in permanent grass for the dairy herd, the land became water-logged in wet weather. The war called a halt to progress; and though much was learned, the farm was not a demonstration of success. Smaller experiments were made, with some success, in improving 'skinned' land. For both types of land, the cost of fertilisers, even more than of labour, was the chief economic difficulty.[1]

A difficulty which aggravates 'congestion' in crofting townships is that even a small croft may consist of several plots. This was only too well illustrated, as late as 1935, by the dilemma in which a crofter found himself, in a township north of Stornoway. This crofter's land was in at least five separate strips, mixed up with the land of four neighbours. The township and the plan of the holding are known to me. As the crofter complained, he could not walk round his present cottage, nor bring building materials for a new house to the site, without trespassing. He could not even put up scaffolding because the stays at each end would project on to the holdings of his neighbours, who objected. The Land Court has power to re-allocate the land in self-contained holdings. This crofter had twice asked for this to be done, but on each occasion neighbours opposed the application, and it was not granted. As he could not replace his present house by a modern one, he applied to the Stornoway Estate Trustees for another croft in a neighbouring township. When the Trustees saw a plan of the holding they described it as a jig-saw puzzle; but having no holding to offer him elsewhere, they could only ask the Factor to try to make an amicable arrangement with the man's neighbours. This case is extreme; yet it

[1] W. G. Ogg and Angus Macleod, *Scottish Journal of Agriculture*, 1930–36.

311 illustrates the narrow margin of habitability on these frag-
241 mented holdings.
• 423 Now, in Lewis periodic pooling and exchange, or the
241 practice of *movable* run-rig on the small joint-tenants'
423 farms, was abolished early in the nineteenth century, except
476 upon the machar, where it still continues. Apparently the
178 strips were simply fixed where they had last been appor-
(175) tioned by lot. Subdivision of the little crofts among sons
and grandsons followed, owing to inheritance without re-
clamation. Fairness gave 'the patchwork quilt' described;
but it was fairness pushed to the point of folly, for differ-
ences in soil from one adjacent strip to another were slight!
It is otherwise with the long, narrow plough-strips which
run from the houses on the pure boulder clay down to the
sandy shore: run-rig, movable or fixed, is understandable
and necessary there. The case just cited shows how a
sensible communal tradition, such as that of '*movable*
run-rig' with periodic pooling, may degenerate into ab-
surdity by fixation. Happily the machar still shows the
sane maintenance of a tradition, the pooling of resources:[1]

182 In 1924–25, widespread distress in the Isles, the failure
161 of the Leverhulme endeavour, the crofters' refusal to own
their own crofts, and the emigration which followed, caused
many outsiders to forecast rapid depopulation. It was all
182 the more interesting to note the confidence in the Island's
161 future shown by buyers of the great estate, all of whom
471 knew what they were about, for they were men with
experience of the Island, of its rates and rentals and of its
people. To a wealthy man who repurchased a sporting

(113) [1] Apportionment of lands held in run-rig in the Carloway estate is described, and the principle discussed, in *Scottish Land Court Reports*. (See *Scottish Law Rev.* vol. 28, 7; July 1949, pp. 51-54.) At the same time 'mechanisation', or the co-operative utilisation of tractors had led to pleas for 'collective farming'. (*Stornoway Gazette*, February 1944.)

178 exists at Tarbert and another was erected in 'the Bays'
286 district by Leverhulme. Leverhulme also appears to
have introduced 'Automatic' hand-looms into Lewis.
• [423] Today as in the past, the weavers possess a little croft or
[422] a feu, a cow, and a few sheep on the outrun, and perhaps
a small boat.

121 Commercial fishing and weaving cannot, however, be
286 satisfactorily combined, for seasonal alternation of occupa-
228 tion entails waste of gear and plant, and interferes with
182 efficiency. Thus in the North Lochs fishing 'creek'
178 (Leurbost neighbourhood, immediately south of Storno-
[501] way), weaving became important, but none of the seven
large herring fishing boats (still registered in 1930) had
been fitted with motors after 1918; they were idle and
rotting, and by 1938 only one was still registered. In South
Lochs, however, motor-boats were purchased, but there
is little weaving. An obvious reason for the difference is
the accessibility of the North Lochs area by road to
[493] Stornoway. Light passenger cars bring yarn to the village,
besides groceries, etc., and take away rolls of tweed. South
Lochs, on the other hand, considerably further from
Stornoway by road, is still within reach for marketing fish.
In North Lochs, merchant seamen at home and young men
on their return from three months' work on East Coast
fishing boats, turned increasingly to the 'Automatic' looms,
manipulation being easily learnt; but such intermittent
work alone gives little hope of progress. There is no more
fascinating problem than the future of improved weaving.

2. *Unemployment and the Island Budget*

174 In the past, the storms of the Atlantic washed up on
731 the Island shores the wreckage of world commerce; and
434

(c) THE OUTLOOK: 1939–54 AND SINCE

458 How then can the situation be assessed, as it was before
178 the outbreak of war and since then? By 1939 twenty years
had been partly lost; for the after-war years of the 'Lever-
hulme boom' were followed by discouragement and
poverty. During that time one might have hoped for half
• [423] a generation of reconstruction and progress. On the other
hand the sore question of dividing the farms was settled,
so bringing raiding to an end. Congestion on the existing
crofts is less than it was, owing to this fact, and to the
[166] provision of feus. The poverty of many breadwinners
who had migrated to the cities first cut down the amounts
remitted to their Island dependents, then drove them home.
[433] A croft, or even a garden site, and the opportunity of
building a good house there made life still worth while,
[246] when other employment had failed. Unemployment
relief, though tempting some to idleness, gave a respite
[286] which many utilised to make a fresh start. As fishing
[226] waned, many had taken advantage of the easy beginning
offered to learn a new trade—weaving. This has made
many feel that the living to be found on the Island is
better than alternation of 'wage-earning' with unemploy-
ment, in Glasgow or abroad. They believe the situation
[311] of the Island community to be hopeful. While the land
remains little better than before, many, even of the younger
people, still care for the Island life among their own kin.
Given a clear lead, these could reorganise themselves, and
undertake the developments needed in fishing, weaving
and reclamation. The homes are sound, 'good neigh-
bourhood' endures, and given fresh opportunity, the
community could awaken to new life.

178 During and since the war, co-operative marketing was
44
476

177 most of the young men of the Islands were away. Hitherto,
[464] though people from the Isles had gone out into the world
and rubbed shoulders with all sorts of men and women,
from best to worst, their own homes and townships had
remained inviolate. Now, however, there came men in
numbers from distant homes, with little to do when off
duty and with money to spend, either on tweeds, which
were virtually free of controls, or on pleasures, if they
could find them. The temptations offered to a community
so unaccustomed to town ways were considerable.

729 Those who returned least changed in their outlook upon
178 rural life were ex-prisoners-of-war, from the 51st Highland
Division. At their own wish, they had received instruction
• [423] in modern small-holding; and the demand from prison
camps for land when the Highlanders would come home
was upheld. It is especially among these men that agencies
such as *An Comunn Gaidhealach* kept Gaelic tradition alive,
linking it to the Highlanders' long thoughts of home. Next
to these come naval seamen, while those most subject to
urban influences were those who worked in factories. But
whatever their experiences, home exerted a strong attrac-
tion. If work and a fair wage can be found in the township
and on the crofts, and if social life can be renewed, many
who returned will stay.

726 As in the First World War, so in the Second: few
communities in Britain have had so large a proportion of
their men in the Forces, in the fighting line and at sea,
[177] from the outbreak of hostilities. The Island community
[167] is almost without the exemptions due to 'essential occu-
[727] pations' such as commercial agriculture in the country, or
war industry and administration in the towns. The toll
has been heavy, and the nation's debt to the Islanders
should be remembered.

APPENDIX III

(A) THE STORNOWAY TRUST: A COMMUNAL OPPORTUNITY

632 THE people of Stornoway town and rural parish are in a
175 position to control their own future to a degree unusual in
178 Britain since the general loss of common lands in the eighteenth
century. Three or four bodies or groups are important in
local governance, and in addition to these an effort to arouse
632 citizenship has taken shape in the Lewis Association. As else-
623 where, the Town Council acts for the burgh and, it should be
added, the Grazing Committees for the townships, the District
• 423 Council and County Council acting for wider spheres. The
361 Harbour Trust has its special charge. In addition, the fact of
corporate ownership is important, as vested in the Stornoway
Trust. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including
the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually
the whole landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor north
to Tolsta. It should not be forgotten that the resources of the
sea are public property and that the inshore fishings, owing to
a considerable measure of protection, are virtually in the pos-
session of the coastal communities. Freshwater fishing is also
in the hands of the Trust. Thus, not only building property
but essential sources of production on land and sea are in
communal possession. The Trust was formed in 1924.

623 During the first five years of its existence the Trust was
433 burdened with a growing deficit, but since 1929 it accumulated
a credit balance, due partly to agricultural derating and partly
to the registration of the Trust as a charity and the resulting
relief from income tax. Possession without prevision can do
little, however; and hence the need for the citizens of town
and country to regroup themselves as thinkers for the common

(1a) Agricultural Statistics of Berneray District,

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts	Others	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: (acres) Oats	Potatoes	Hay	Pasture	Gardens (No.)	CATTLE: Cows	Hill
Brusclete	13	3	14	13	3	8	80	10	52	14
Creir	8	-	7	6	2	4	222	1	31	7
Hushlete	20	1	20	26	6	12	210	-	122	30
Kirkibost	26	4	28	26	9	22	373	9	144	35
Tobson	24	-	19	22	7	3	160	7	97	30
BERNERA ISL.	91	8	88	93	27	49	1045	27	459	116
Borodale	4	2	6	7	1	7	43	4	17	[illegible]
Cruilvig	6	-	6	9	3	4	68	-	25	[illegible]
Lumsdale	6	-	6	6	3	2	144	3	34	[illegible]
Linshader	10	-	9	6	4	7	45	9	13	[illegible]
'SHORE'	26	2	27	28	11	20	300.	16	89	[illegible]
FARMS etc.	-	4	4	-	-	-	7	2	-	[illegible]
TOTAL BERNERA DISTRICT	117	14	119	121	38	69	1345	45	548	14[illegible]

Notes: (a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are [illegible]

(b) Croft holdings include duplicate tenancies; other holdings inc[illegible] squatters if carrying crops or stock; effective agricultural u[illegible] cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation; duplicate [illegible] not counted twice.

(c) Sowings have been calculated according to the rent operative a[illegible] unless some other date is specified.

(d) Additional sheep figures are given in Appendix C(2).

4: Noisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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APPENDIX C

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August 1959

	Others	Calves	Sheep: Sound	Ewes	Lambs	Others	Horses	Tractors
	11	15	312	221	164	241	-	-
	4	7	96	133	110	137	-	-
	22	19	661	486	390	499	2	1
	14	27	866	496	381	420	5	1
	6	24	784	362	305	248	-	-
	57	92	2719	1698	1350	1543	7	2
	1	6	104	149	121	168	-	-
	6	5	163	193	168	213	-	-
	4	7	192	197	167	141	-	1
	2	4	330	307	218	227	-	-
	13	22	789	846	674	749	-	1
	33	5	-	180	130	205	-	-
	103	119	3908	2724	2154	2499	7	3

given in the text.

lude *de facto* holdings such as cottars and
mits include only holdings with *at least* a
tenancies and privately sub-let crofts are

t the date when the regulations were made

(Ib) Agricultural Statistics of East Loch Roag and Carloway district

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts	Others	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	ARABLE LAND: (Acres) Oats	Potatoes	Hay	Pasture	Gardens	CATTLE: Sound	Milk	Oth
EAST LOCH ROAG:											
Garyabhine	12	1	11	2	1	19	66	7	18	4	
Callanish	48	-	32	20	9	34	177	13	124 (234?)	28	
Breasclete Ft.	9	1	5	3	2	6	21	7	37	3	
Breasclete	63	3	54	34	11	58	273	43	191	48	
Taleta Chaolis	43	3	30	17	9	47	222	13	96	28	
Lochganvich	8	-	7	4	2	12	48	4	33	7	
Others	-	3	3	5	1	8	493	1	-	8	
CARLOWAY DISTRICT:											
Bun Carloway	24	6	25	18	7	29	141	13	130 (164?)	25	
Kirivick	14	2	13	8	2	20	50	8	60	13	
Knock Carloway	33	7	33	13	6	28	131	33	132	33	
Carloway	33	18	50	39	14	67	99	35	116	54	
Carloway Park	6	-	5	5	1	8	5	4	14	6	
Borrowston	16	-	13	8	3	25	18	12	98 (116?)	12	
Garenin	28	2	23	22	9	27	53	7	98 (154?)	24	

Notes: (a), (b), and (c) - as for Appendix C(1a).

(d) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions are as

(e) Where an alternative figure is shown beneath the sound there is doubt a regulation.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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APPENDIX C continued

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s, August, 1959

ers:	Calves:	SHEEP: Sows:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Horses	Tractors
-	2	180	98	94	31	-	-
5	23	671 (928?)	549	509	253	1	2
1	2	124	68	52	34	-	1
4	32	567	601	479	368	1	-
2	24	573	700	520	270	1	2
1	4	155	140	134	48	-	2
1	5	-	42	40	17	-	1
10	17	460 (374?)	612	400	492	1	1
2	8	202	205	163	92	-	-
6	25	530	407	301	140	-	-
2	34	520	314	248	197	3	1
1	5	81	70	62	53	1	-
3	8	392 (464?)	362	277	228	-	-
-	16	341 (539?)	419	281	257	3	-

reported. See also Appendix C(2).

to the interpretation of the

TABLE 37

The Crofting Structure Re-organised

(a) Holdings

District	Proportion of holdings grouped according to area of tenure held: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All units
North Dig	49%	36%	15%	100% (197)
Berneray	14%	27%	59%	100% (109)
East Loch Bong	5%	36%	59%	100% (112)
Carloway	19%	29%	52%	100% (155)
WHOLE PARISH	20%	32%	48%	100% (629)

Note: These are the registered crofts and similar agricultural tenancies as on the 1958 valuation roll. About 50 holdings omitted for lack of data.

(b) Effective agricultural units

District	Proportion of units grouped according to area of tenure held: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All units
North Dig	33%	34%	33%	100% (169)
Berneray	33%	30%	36%	100% (109)
East Loch Bong	33%	39%	28%	100% (130)
Carloway	41%	30%	29%	100% (155)
WHOLE PARISH	36%	33%	30%	100% (563)

Note: About 20 units omitted for lack of data.

(c) Summary (excluding Carloway, see note)

	Proportion of holdings (generally registered crofts).	Proportion of effective agricultural units.
Under 5 acres	19%	17%
5 acres and over	28%	53%
All holdings/units	100% (474)	100% (400)

Note: The Carloway District is here excluded because about 30 small de facto agricultural units exist there after the effect of official amalgamation of ex-Ther-tenancies.

Source: Appendices A(5) and (4) and C(3) and (4).

[Derivig] [Cuibos]

In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of starting's future, and that of other crofting townships, is not only one of adverse aspects, but also of secular change, and of the future of crofting in general. The problem of the future of crofting is one of finding a stable and viable level where agricultural units are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain, and a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Crossbost on the Minch coast of Park. It occupies a basin-like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is open to the sea on the east. The crofting township is located over a small area of land, which has been cleared from the slopes of the hollow and along the valleys which enter the township to the north and south-west.

The cultivable soil is mixture of peat and sand, and is generally fertile. It is in the higher ground, although here the rush occurs in many places. On lower ground, cultivated, bracken is spreading rapidly and now covers a large proportion of the township. Although cultivation in thirty years ago it was unknown. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread on the low-lying wind-breaks. There are a few willows and rowans round the old buildings, probably planted as wind-breaks.

Calbost was originally a single farm but the township was formed about 1820. The pattern of the farmers differs from the normal township pattern. Instead of a single farm with a number of crofts in the valley which enters from the north, when a part of the common grazing was brought within the township ship. There are now between crofts of which the farmers are distinguished by number crofters and two by equestors. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters in Calbost and other townships.

Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2.6 acres now in cultivation, potatoes account for 2.37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduced cattle stock of only two cows and two calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut at winter feed for the 225 sheep which graze in the township.

The hay-lofts in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly encroached on by bracken. The prevalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to keep it in check, is likely to deter any attempt at renewed cultivation.

Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats have to be taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing industry which has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Calbost, leaving only a few boats now used only for leisure purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only two of the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are a few productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not as widely used in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke: enclosures were made enclosing the main dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

or summer pasture for the tenants of Lazay and Ranish respectively, townships on the north shores of the loch. In 1775, there were four tenants in Kershader, but their place of origin is unknown. In 1805, the tenants are recorded as being two of Ness from Uig in 1824 there were 10 tenants. Thus the growth of population in Lewis during the second half of the eighteenth century may well have been the major reason for the colonization of one of the least agriculturally attractive districts of the island.

From Figure 1, which shows most of the thirty-four occupied places south of Loch Shell about 1828, it is evident that crofting townships had scattered south into the mountainous area. The existence, which commenced in Harris in 1816, may have increased the population already there by as much as 1640. for some of these townships the population was 1640 in 1841 and 1841 in 1851. Thus the population in South Park speak of a vigorous community. It is possible that South Park was more densely populated than the present area up till 1800.

During the period 1818 to 1842, when the greater, Donald Stewart, and his brothers had a lease of South Park, most of these settlements were cleared (Fig 2) in addition, between 1838 and 1843, 50 tenants in Bunavoneadar were evicted, 30 in Aird Mhor, 30 in Scarasta, 30 in Drinishadder, Bunavoneadar and Ingisv were removed. in all about 436 people. Some 27 families were sent to Crossbost in North Lewis, where was in Tong in Bernera in Pentalch, and some emigrated. The main body of those evicted settled in the township in North Park: Marivig in 1838 had 5 tenants by 1850, 22 are recorded. Thus the growth of population crystallised about 1840 and by then the township along the shore of Loch Erisort from Helmet to Garryard were well established. The Minch coast township from Cromore to Grosebay, first settled about 1800, were greatly expanded, and Park south of Grosebay became a sheep grazing devoid of wind-breaks.

In 1844, the Seaforth family, which had held Lewis for over two centuries, sold the island to Sir James Matheson. The estate was carefully managed and a study of its crofts were aimed extra land in the valley which enters from the north. when a part of the common grazing was brought within the township ship. There are now between crofts of which the farmers are distinguished by number crofters and two by equestors. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters in Calbost and other townships.

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Calbost was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats have to be taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing industry which has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Calbost, leaving only a few boats now used only for leisure purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only two of the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are a few productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not as widely used in Calbost as elsewhere. The cattle were instead brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around Calbost but a more interesting feature is the second dyke: enclosures were made enclosing the main dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

While the Royal Commission of 1883-4 was investigating Crofting conditions in Scotland, the farm of Scalpaidhean and Shiadabhaig was restored to its crofters. Six years later, the Royal Commission of England, Scotland and Wales recommended the following land settlements for new crofting townships: Bloomsvaig, Eilean Calum Cille, Crobeg, and the island of Oronsaigh. Bloomsvaig, a total area of 3,000 acres, was to have 60 crofts ranging from 165 acres of arable and 40, 135 acres of grazing in the Park Deer Forest were scheduled as land suitable for the extension of crofting townships. The Royal Commission recommended the extension of the Lewis, it cannot be left out of view that the congestion is very great, and the demand by crofters for access to lands now scheduled is of a very urgent nature. The Deer Forest Commissioners do not believe that the lands now scheduled are suitable for new holdings. but were the lands assigned as land settlements, the congestion would be of much advantage to the occupants and more than outweigh the disadvantages. As a result of this recommendation, the islands of Berneray, Oronsaigh and Ishkair, in all 99 of the 63,728 acres scheduled, were given to Marivig, Calbost, and Bloomsvaig, respectively,as additions to the crofting townships comprising Crobeg, Oronsay and Bloomsvaig, and the Deer Forest were left undisturbed.

In 1916, after crofting, Bloomsvaig was reconstituted as a crofting township. all but one of the new tenants coming from the neighbouring township of Carloway. A parallel attempt was made by equestors who had built houses at Bloomsvaig, to have their unofficial lots recognised, but some families remained there till 1945. In 1934, fifteen small lots were cut out of the Grotir common pasture to relieve pressure on the Grotir crofts: the Department of Agriculture scheme marked the end of a century of crofting in the township.

In 1884, the Seaforth family, which had held Lewis for over two centuries, sold the island to Sir James Matheson. The estate was carefully managed and a study of its crofts were aimed extra land in the valley which enters from the north. when a part of the common grazing was brought within the township ship. There are now between crofts of which the farmers are distinguished by number crofters and two by equestors. The remainder are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters in Calbost and other townships.

Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 2.6 acres now in cultivation. potatoes account for 2.37 acres. The small acreage of oats reflects the greatly reduced cattle stock of only two cows and two calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut at winter feed for the 225 sheep which graze in the township.

The hay-lofts in natural hay and the outrun are being rapidly encroached on by bracken. The prevalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to keep it in check, is likely to deter any attempt at renewed cultivation.

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THE PATTERN OF CROFTING

Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties of Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the nucleus of scattered townships or present communities in Britain, in order to maintain their rights in common land, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, has yet not disappeared.

Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to compensation for improvement. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where the rent did not exceed £50. In 1911 and 1955 the rent qualification was increased to £100 where there were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £30. In all, there are about 20,000 crofts in the Crofting Counties, of which about 15,000 are occupied and about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms 1 per cent sample of the crofting area. Park is a typical crofting community.

Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

The characteristic settlement unit in the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the cultivated land and the common grazing. Each township comprises the number of crofts per township ranges from 6 in Cuerarm to 43 in Grotir.

The indivisibility hold croft land (1.5,835 acres) is partly 'mirror' or permanent pasture and the remainder is cultivated. The cultivated land is divided into 'runrigs' and the land was tenanted by one tenant in 1958 crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated from neighbouring crofts by a dyke. Crofts are 3 acres in size. Some farm under 15 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of the crofters tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The latitude worth of the holdings can be measured by the number of sheep and cattle the croft can support. Each tenant has the right to graze a number of sheep, two milk cows and a calf, and one stirk. The crofter's income from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wall. The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor. Illdrained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park, only Oronsay common pasture is fenced. the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by crumbling turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture; the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured. a term comparable in the abolishment 'gates' of northern England. In Grotir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young beast, up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per 21 soum. There is also a system of shared equivalence (Gaelic 'coilpachadh') in most township whereby distribution of cattle for sheep and sheep for cattle is permissible: in Grotir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumings and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed, soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming of their croft.

[1] Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

[2] Adam'Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1955.

Although the crofttand is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six months of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole township stock graze indiscriminately over the croft. Theoretically the whole area of the township, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear that the agricultural revolution with the system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Crofting Area.

Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic : 'airigh'). The shieling of the township are usually not belonging a view of the surrounding area near a spring or stream and usually two in nine but belonging to the same township are grouped together in a site; individual shielings are rather rare. In order to maintain the pasture within the township dyke for winterfeg and to protect the enclosed crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in June, and the younger members of the household went to live in small sheel or turf-walled huts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter or cheese on the shieling. The transition from the shieling to the croft was then made to five miles in Park.

The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the township and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in the part related mainly to the enforcement of the rules of the Crofting Commission and maintenance of subsidies. although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the common pasture lies with the Department of Agriculture but sometimes commonally owned are also the province of the Committee.

The layout of the township varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned the end of a century of crofting in the township. Figure 4 and 5: Most croft houses are built on the crofts. In former times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the cultivable land was required for tillage. Today, however, the houses tend to be sited near the road. The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing in the rights and duties of the township. Table 1 gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 Park crofts. Of the 215 crofts, 20 are tenanted by one tenant, 120 are tenanted by two, 16-64 age group: a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 55 years of age. Absentee tenants account for 1 per cent of the total. Women farm under 15 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of the women tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The latitude worth of the holdings can be measured by the number of sheep and cattle the croft can support. Each tenant has the right to graze a number of sheep, two milk cows and a calf, and one stirk. The crofter's income from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wall. The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor. Illdrained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park, only Oronsay common pasture is fenced. the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by crumbling turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture; the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured. a term comparable in the abolishment 'gates' of northern England. In Grotir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young beast, up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per 21 soum. There is also a system of shared equivalence (Gaelic 'coilpachadh') in most township whereby distribution of cattle for sheep and sheep for cattle is permissible: in Grotir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumings and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed, soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming of their croft.

Size of croft: 6 acres arable, (3 in crop, 3 in sown grass), 18 acres outrun and rights to 22 acres common grazing.

6 cows, 2 young calfs, 50 ewes, 12 wedders, 12 one hogge and a ram.

Income	£	Expenses	£
Sale of 1 cow, 5 calves, 10 ewes and 2 wedders and 28 lambs sey	224	Rent, rate,service of hold, grass, rate and tax	40
Sale of wool	33	turnip seed, manures and lime	40
Subsidies on cows, calves and cropping	141	Seed feeding	98
		Excess of income	320
	£398		£398

In order to work such a croft efficiently, the tenant could not take regular ancillary employment and would require the assistance of his family at busy periods. If such holdings were formed in 1 particular township the labour force would be required for the cultivation to almost one third of present total. Considering Park as a whole, the agricultural units would have to be reduced to half of their present number and the labour force would not have been reduced in the aforementioned solution. although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the common pasture lies with the Department of Agriculture but sometimes commonally owned are also the province of the Committee.

From a detailed study of the agriculture of Park one can only conclude that the present crofting situation is far from being an optimum one. Only reorganisation on a major scale could make crofting commercially viable and provide the conditions for the complete development of a modern crofting sector of the community dependent on ancillary industry. The prospects for the growth of ancillary industry are considered in Fig 1.1. Larger croft units would evolve as a result of continued depopulation. In the meantime, a determined effort could be made in the sphere of rearing and pasture improvement. Cattle rearing could be encouraged at the expense of cultivated crofts. A reduction of the sheep stocks, with an emphasis on quality instead of quantity, and the introduction of a pedigree ram, nurturing the present 135 cattle-sheep ratio, are policies which can be followed with profit.

ANCILLARY OCCUPATIONS

In most crofting areas, ancillary employment is necessary to compensate for the low croft income: total dependence on the croft for a livelihood has never been characteristic of many croft tenants. Ancillary employment is thus a feature of life in the crofting areas. Ancillary work is a greater population than the land could support, even at subsistence level, and as a result, on the estates, crofts were created smaller than the optimum size in order to give as many people as possible a share in the land. Thus the holdings became inadequate for a full livelihood, and ancillary employment became a necessity. Ancillary employment is thus a feature of life in the crofting areas. In the case of Park, classified required, as many hands as could be found and in the heyday of the fishing industry, the land was a secondary consideration as meal could be bought with the proceeds of the catches.

In Park, it is noteworthy that the most congested areas in 1883 were the fishing townships and that since 1901, when the decline in the fishing industry began, these townships have experienced rapid depopulation. No other home-based ancillary industry has successfully filled the gap in the economy. In Park as a whole only 18 per cent of the total male population of insurable age (18-64) full-time crofting is today a working confirmation of the idea that the majority of the population. However, not all such employment is available in Park: 47 per cent of the insurable population

[Lerabacht] [Sgrryvrk]
common grazings. At present approximately correctly stocked, cannot therefore provide much employment. Hence it is the standard of agriculture that must be improved. Since the land does not permit striking extensions or improvement of the cultivated area, development must be directed towards improving pasture, with more re-seeding and controlled grazing similar to that already described. All this, however, is of little avail if prices for cattle, sheep and wool remain low, or at least lower than prices prevailing on the Continent. The first priority, therefore, is the establishment of a prosperous agriculture is a guaranteed market-price. Given this, it might become worthwhile to take steps to increase the carrying capacity of the crofts. It may be assumed that this would involve an all-round improvement which could give a firm basis to the economic existence of the community, until this is achieved, stability and continuity are out of the question.

GARYVARD

Gwenyth R. Page, B.A.

The landscape of the south-east coast of Loch Ericort is a sombre and rugged one. The Quaternary ice sheets left in their wake troughs now filled by the sea inch, innumerable lochs covered in water lilies, a massive area of indeterminate drainage and expanses of bare gneiss.

Garryard is set on the fringe of this landscape on a 20 to 25° slope with the crofts aligned upfrom the shore to the sea, on a mantle of drift. Here is the home of Donald Macintosh, the Macdonnes and the Montgomerys. Life beats out its regular pattern of existence during the winter months on the croft, followed by an increasing tempo and variety of work during the first part of the year. In January and February the animals must be fed on hay or lean the battle to survive. In February there are preparations for the year's tasks, making repairs and improvements to the croft. Next month will find the crofter on the land, making or clearing drains and putting fences and dykes in order. The tempo of life quickens with April when the first sowing of barley, the land turned over, potatoes and oats sown. From mid-May, the sheep leave the crofts to fend for themselves on the common grazing. The following three or four months are times of transcendent activity on the moors when the peats are cut, to be stacked later, first in four, then in eight, so that the wind may dry them, till eventually box-like-shaped stacks - some four feet high - can be seen near the peat banks in August. Amidst the wearisome task of carrying the peats home, all too frequently in creels carried on the back, since the peat workings of Garryard are on the moors up to half a mile from road. Altogether some two miles of roads are needed to prevent the villagers patronizing the coal merchants of Harrosway. Two crofters, however, cut peat on their crofts, whilst others have permission to cut from Crossbrae or Caversay common grazings close to the road. All the while croft work continues, varying from hoeing, weeding and cutting hay to the gathering of sheep for shearing. As there are no fences between the various commons, crofters must travel from one township fank to another, seeking their own. In August the lambs are weaned. Hay making generally ends in August and is immediately followed by the oat harvest in September. By the time both oats and hay have been gathered in, the potatoes are lifted and the sheep are brought in from the common grazing about October 12th. The last sheep dipping takes place in November and is followed by tupping.

There are eleven crofts altogether, though one is divided, each portion having a legal tenant who has a half share in the common grazing. Two crofts are 12 acres in extent, the half crofts 2.75 acres only, though the acre cultivated on the common grazing by one of the latter crofters since 1935, has recently been officially recognised. Most crofts are in strips running from the sea-shore up the slope some 500 yards in the township dyke, and are clearly demarcated by fences erected just after the last war. Three crofts have additional strips whilst one croft was an extra strip belonging to another croft. The additional strips date back about 100 years to a time when the township grew rapidly as a result of evictions in southern Park. One croft is divided and worked in three separate parts so in effect there are fourteen operative units in Garryard.

[Or-vrir] [Eleagr-vrir]
beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. The hay-beds are permanently in natural hay; only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'old arable' is now in oats and potatoes. If natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the old arable (ninety acres) after 1850-52. As in all the Highland crofting areas, the supply of manure is inflexible; only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of undersowing.

There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives. All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and seven lodgers, besides the fifteen legal Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir common. The common (Eilean Leamrevay) is used in the area by several for lazy beds and for peat cutting and for sheep. The Church of Scotland and Manse, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionaries in Glengravir and Gravir are all located in Gravir.

Gravir and Glengravir thus have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than half of the crofts starting rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty per cent of the means, including five without any stock. The common is used in a general of poor grass quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957, a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded: only twelve of the operative units participated in this reclamation work, and the age of the participants ranged between 27 and 58 years; this is significant as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended annually; if potential improvements to the crofts are limited, pasture can be improved in a totally without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater numbers; at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the sheep stock, and a ewe and lamb sell for as little as £2.10s to £3.10s, an indication of the consequence of over-stocking. The cattle stock is below the running and this paucity of cattle is one of the notable changes in the agriculture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the running by thirty-five per cent.

The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from the running of one cow and follower and eight sheep per pound sterling of rent in a township where only seven crofts pay more than £2 rent, they were never intended to be self-supporting agricultural units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, tare or oats, locally milled by the three Gravir water mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family. Hence there was the complementary economic activity, and in 1931 no less than half a mile from the third, two benches are to be seen at about 100 feet on the steeper slope and eliminate, though wider terraces occur on the same hillside. At Leamrevay, the sea-shore is a mixture of the shingle and sand, with some damned lake, and that the hummocky sector is partly morainic and partly ice-eroded rock exposure. A channel cut through this sector allowed the lake to drain southwards leaving a relatively deeply incised valley through which the present stream flows to the sea.

Soils may be divided into two types - a peaty loam and the better drained gravelly loam which is found to the east and along the main stream; the latter is particularly suitable for potato cultivation.

Except on rocky outcrops, the very steep slopes and the drained areas. Hinder but predominates. Sphagnum here is rarely dominant but where the land is badly drained Deer's hair grass (Scirpus caespitosus) and cotton grass (Eriophorum vaginatum and Eriophorum angustifolium) are the dominants. Less slightly drier land, purple moor grass (Molinia caerulea) and moor grass (Sesleria ericetis) are abundant. Local dominants are bog asphodel (Narthecium ossifragum) and cross-leaved heather (Erica tetralix) with other common species such as the sundews (Drosera rotundifolia and intermedia), butterworts (Pinguicula vulgaris), Juncus sp., Carex sp. and Carex panicea occurring sporadically. Where the peat has been cut and drained, 'heather moor' usually develops and Calluna

[Gravir] [Dleagravir] [Leamrevay]
The urgent need in Gravir is a reduction in the number of holdings. A pre-requisite of such reorganisation is the development of a non-crofting population. Weaving and fishing are the more obvious occupations; the former is subject to world trade fluctuations but the latter is now in a more favourable position since the introduction of the herring fishing guaranteed subsidy, although the raising of the initial capital for buying and equipping boats is a formidable problem. Since the fishing industry is seasonal, other occupations must be found to provide the essential if the present population level is to be maintained. The most serious aspect of the present trend is that the migrating section of the community comprises the younger and more enterprising people. Unless holdings of economic size can be formed, and stable employment introduced, one can expect the younger men and women to remain in Gravir.

Until a major reorganisation of the crofts is carried out, a vigorous attempt to re-seed large areas of the common pasture and the crofts, besides the fifteen Glengravir crofts, and the development of a craft-tourist industry, are interim possibilities. It is not sufficiently realised in crofting districts that there is a demand from the city dwellers for simple accommodation and good plain fare in a clean atmosphere, with the possibility of hill walking and fishing on fresh and salt water. Yet, until the proposed water-scheme becomes a reality, tourism on a moderate scale can hardly be contemplated.

One can conclude that small crofting-tenure takes place and transforms Gravir into a township of little agricultural holdings, any stabilisation of the present trends is out of the question. A decline in the number of holdings is inevitable in the long run but a planned reduction over a number of years would bring about a more viable community than the disintegration which will occur without such planning. Until this is achieved, the young men and women have little incentive to remain in Gravir.

LEMREWAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda G. Turner
and John E. Wheeler

Lemrevay, the southernmost township of Park, comprises 290 acres arable and outrun divided into thirty-three crofts and 3,025 acres of common pasture. The township is situated on the northerside of Loch Shell round a bay in the shelter of Eilean Isavel.

The township consists of three distinct areas. A flat, poorly drained area at about 100 feet, part common pasture and part reclaimed as extensions to the crofts, locally known as 'the Outend', forms the first subdivision. The second area, farther west, is of a hummocky nature. To the east, a steep slope rises to an altitude of about 500 feet, but less than half a mile from the sea, the third. Two benches are to be seen at about 100 feet on the steeper slope and eliminate, though wider terraces occur on the same hillside. At Leamrevay, the sea-shore is a mixture of the shingle and sand, with some damned lake, and that the hummocky sector is partly morainic and partly ice-eroded rock exposure. A channel cut through this sector allowed the lake to drain southwards leaving a relatively deeply incised valley through which the present stream flows to the sea.

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sufficiently to make age controls an irresistible force, the prestige status of the small number of the "elect," those who had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the elders gave then complete control over all social and religious activity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about these facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now is that the religious patterns provided a framework in which the culture could find continuity and through which the society could achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like customs resulted in a change of content, but there were positive results as well. Above all, there was a change in focus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in clan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a known religious brotherhood.

wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.

These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture of the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now was a spare-time pursuit. The Griathanach was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any marked movement in the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the few remaining elements of the co-operative culture history saw the culmination of the process of commercialization of the land. All the influences necessary for the conversion of the subsistence economy, albeit a much deteriorated economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming, on a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy. Newcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved methods of land utilization were replacing the conservative and impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial farmers consolidated their holdings, the communal townships were being obliterated. The concept of individual possession of the land was replacing the customary rights of the small tenants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

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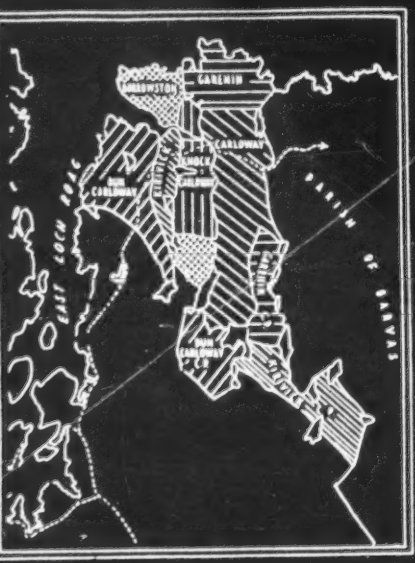

Figure 37

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

C.P. : detached common pasture (shielings)

Table 34

TOWNSHIP ETC.		INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Other: (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
Dun Carloway		194	—— 2,219 ——		24	6	22
Kirivick		81	495	281	14	2	13
Knock Carloway	(a)	156	643	720	33	-	30
	(b)	23	-	-	-	7	-
Carloway	(a)	234	1,234	1,139	59	-	50
	(b)	43	-	-	-	18	-
Borroston		54	516	320	16	-	16
Garenin		111	994	625	28	2	27

Note: Where there is a large area of non-crofting holdings (feus, allotments, cottars or squatters) this is shown separately against (b).

DUN CARLOWAY

361 Dun Carloway though clearly of a similar type to the other townships south of Loch Carloway has certain features peculiar to itself. The croft land may be divided into
427 two sections; crofts 18 to 23 occupy the deep trench which extends from the Dun Carloway school to Loch Carloway itself. These holdings are larger than the average discussed above and are divided in broad rectangular block. To the west there is a less deeply entrenched zone where the crofts are long and narrow lying up and down slope like those
241 of Borrowston. Short steep and narrow lazy beds characterise the cultivation which follows the pattern set in the other townships, although the areas, as has been noted above, are much larger in some cases; the largest have up to twenty acres. Despite this increased size no croft has more than two acres of oats. The low percentage of land under cultivation is only in part explained by the difficult nature of the ground and the limited use which can be made of the tractor. Few crofters are willing to attempt
461 more cultivation (to provide extra feed for store cattle or some other form of stock
[288] enterprise) so long as the income from weaving is satisfactory. The concept of the croft as an ancilliary employment appears to have defeated its own object, for with the population at its present level, and with the income from weaving as it is, very few crofters are prepared to do more than provide milk for the family, (with the annual cow and calf subsidies, and the proceeds of the sale of the annual calf as by-products) and to derive what income Providence rather than goodmanagement may allow from the sheep.

427 The total area of individually held croftland is 194 acres which is worked in twenty five agricultural units derived from twenty six crofts, nine feus, one 'free gift' holding
311 and one squatter. The cultivation is accomplished by one horse and one tractor, each fo which is owned within the township.

311 The total souming is exceeded, the main reason for this being the gross overstocking of sheep; 187.4% of the soum. This overstocking cannot fail to have a harmful effect on the common pasture, promoting an increase in the bracken already visible on some of the croftland itself, under-nourishment and disease. The poor quality of the hill pasture is brought home by a comparison with the grazings of North Uist where the most striking feature of the landscape is its greenness after the heavier browns of Western Lewis. Regeneration by surface seeding would certainly be helpful here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

128 The tables given in appendices C and D form the basis for much of the comment in the preceding pages. They must now be considered in the light of the general tendencies which they illustrate in the changing livestock economy units.

241 Appendix C (1) elucidates the working of the crofts. The picture is somewhat com-
311 plicated by the large number of non-crofting holdings in the area, of which 43 carry
231 stock (a quarter of these sublet croftland). The number of feus also tends to mask the process of amalgamation of crofts to form larger working units; a process which has
● 423 been taking place for some time. There are in this connection one or two cases of the
427 cross working of crofts between individuals in neighbouring townships. The figures for these units have been included with those of the township where the tenant is resident.

241 Oats are the most important arable crop. The acreages of sown grass for hay and pasture are much lower in comparison. Permanent grass, mostly old arable land, is to be found on 52% of the total area of land occupied as crofts and feus. A large proportion of this is on very thin soil where bare rock is exposed and on wet land, but even so it does show that much more of the land might be under cultivation or improved grass.
[148] The decrease in cultivation since the late nineteenth century is probably much less than that for the Valtos area of South Uig where about 70% of the inbye and outrun is under

Figure 32

EAST

LOCH ROAG

DISTRICT

Table 33

TOWNSHIP ETC.	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Other: (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
Callanish	237	—— 5,302 ——		57	1	56
Breasclete	374	—— 3,861 ——		63	2	61
Tolsta Chaolis	396	—— 2,700 ——		43	3	43
Garynahine	95	—— 1,824 ——		12	1	12
Lochganvich	67	—— 2,000 ——		8	-	7
Others	506	-	-	-	3	-

are usually all the potatoes. Between the road and Loch a' Bhaile and between the unmade road and Loch Shader on crofts 22 to 25 the land is probably more intensively cultivated than ever before, but strips now overgrown with rushes and coarse grasses, especially near the cemetery give an idea of the former extent of cultivation. The working of strips nearer the sea is no longer worth the labour involved. Crofts 22 to 25 are further divided by the small Loch Shader; no. 28 however makes good use of a small alluvial flat at the head of Loch a' Bhaile.

Artificial fertilisers are in general use together with lime and dung. However some crofts were using seaweed, in particular nos. 1A, 1B, 1C, 4, 5, and 25 - i.e. those crofts with easiest access to the sea. The seaweed is gathered in the New Year and trodden into the ground in the spring and apparently gives excellent results, but too much labour is involved in carrying it to crofts in the centre of the township. Forty years ago each croft had rights to the "red" and "black" seaweed along the coast.

The crop acreages for the whole township will be found detailed in Appendix C (1) The area of oats for each croft varied between 0.25 and 2.50 acres whilst the maximum for sown grass was 1.5 acres. The excellent crops of hay from sown grass would suggest its further extension, but unfortunately most of the land suitable for cultivation is already under oats and potatoes. The practice of undersowing oats was not particularly widespread whilst only two small strips of oats-rye mixture were found. One crofter had also obtained good results in a small patch with seven different vegetables, whilst soft fruits are to be planted next year. The two sets of 'run-rig'crofts practise a fixed run-rig with the usual rotation of oats and grass on the strips.

In cattle stock (Appendix C) the township has 28 three year-old beasts, 2 one year-olds, and 24 calves. Only 6 registered occupied crofts have no cow, two crofters have two cows each, and one crofter has two cows and two calves. The township has no bull however and the nearest is at Carloway or Callanish. With a much smaller number of cattle than that of thirty years ago there is now no need to make the annual summer visit to the shielings, a practice which died out in Tolsta Chaolais between 1920 and 1930. Pastures could however carry three times the present amount of cattle. The souming of 1 cow and 6 sheep per £1 rent is now apparently ignored. The approximate total of sheep for the township is 1,500 whilst for 1958 it was about 1,470. The total of lambs was approximately 520 but most crofters found it difficult to give an accurate figure since some might have been lost on the moor during the summer. The highest number of breeding ewes for any one croft was 112, of lambs was 34, and of other sheep was 26; five crofters, however have no sheep at all. Before 1939 a shepherd was employed by the township when the sheep were sent to the moor. The shepherd was usually a young boy just left school and was paid by each crofter according to the number of sheep the latter sent to the moor. This has been discontinued but a levy, of 5s. per croft and 2½d. per head of sheep, is made for the upkeep of the township fence. Finally, almost every crofter keeps at least a dozen poultry.

The movement of stock over the grazing areas is summarised as follows:

(1) From November 13th to May 1st. cattle are usually in the byre, depending on the weather, and sheep can wander anywhere. Crofts should be open to common grazing unless all the crofter's stock remains within his own croft boundary.

(2) From May 1st. to May 20th. sheep are in the outer park.

(3) On May 20th. sheep are sent to the moor.

(4) Throughout the summer cattle are in both the inner and the outer parks.

(5) On October 1st. the sheep are brought into the outer park.

(6) On November 13th. the sheep are brought into the inner park.

Details of population and employment will be found in Appendix D. It is a very striking comment on the state of crofting in this township that only four persons are

Period IV (1886 - 1953)

The year 1886 is a chronological hinge in the culture
istory of the Sgiathanach. The British government began to
lay a positive, continuing role in local affairs for the first
ime in history. Hitherto, the interest of the government had
een confined to proscriptions, recruiting, and taxation,
ccasionally interspersed with relief for the destitute. With
e change in policy, we enter the realm of the contemporary
ulture; therefore, all I wish to do is indicate the direction
e processes, which we have been following, took under the
ational attempt to rechannel them. The major trends to be
oted are two. The proprietors' influence in determining how
e land was to be used was curtailed, and, with a redirection
f the commercialization of the estates, many of the traits
d complexes characteristic of the traditional culture assumed
enewed importance.

Since the Napier Commission had been mainly concerned
ith the disregard of the customary rights of the crofters and
eir inconsiderate treatment by proprietors, the recommendations
ich were presented to Parliament sought a land reformation
thin the framework of local custom.[79] Unlike the Continental
mmune, a local, self-governing body, the Highland township
d never legally existed. Elsewhere in Scotland this communal
ricultural unit had been replaced by individual farm occupancy,
st as had been happening on Skye. The major proposal was a
ttrogressive step; the township system should be given legal

[79] Napier Report, pp. 7-15.

sanction and endowed with privileges and immunities by which
self-regulation, stability, expansion, and improvement might be
attained. Additional provisions called for the replacement of
the repudiated customary usages by national laws of land tenure.

The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 embodied
many of the Commission's proposals.[80] The crofter became,
perhaps, the only class, as a horizontal segment of the popu-
lation, with a minimal legal definition. He was a pastoral
agriculturalist who resided on his holding, the annual rent
of which was less than £30, (later raised to £50) in a crofting
parish. Such an individual was entitled to a fixed, fair rent,
just compensation for improvements made by himself or his
predecessors in the same family should he leave his holding,
security of tenure, and modified right to bequeath the holding
to a member of his family. Except for the statutory conditions
that he must not alienate the holding from his family, sublet
without consent, or violate the rights of his neighbors or
his landlord, including withholding rent and contributing to
the deterioration of the land and dwelling, the crofter was
given all the privileges of a landowner with few of the
responsibilities. A Crofters Commission, with executive
functions, was established to carry out the provisions of the
act and to assign "available" land to the townships as

[80] I owe a debt of gratitude to innumerable government officials in Portree, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London for their patience and cooperation in providing me with the necessary information to discuss this final period of the history of Skye. The facts are theirs; the interpretation is my own responsibility.

enlargements when the proprietor would not lease it on
reasonable terms. Thus, the government began to protect
the crofter from potential abuses and to restore the land
to the descendants of the clanna, who had, to say the least,
manifested a persistent disinclination to accept any other
system of land use. A complete reformation, however, was
not yet possible.

The crux of the problem of maintaining the crofting
population was succinctly stated in 1851 by the chairman of
the Highland Destitution Board. The people could not support
themselves, at a subsistence level, unless each crofting
family were given ten acres of arable land plus pasture. Not
only was there not enough land, but without credit facilities,
a man could not find local employment until the land began
to produce, and, if he sought employment at a distance, he
could not work his land to free himself from the necessity of
working for a wage. In 1883 it was estimated that a 50 percent
reduction in population would not leave enough land to give
each family an adequate holding, ten acres of arable and 277
acres of grazing land.[81] How right they were. Today the
population is less than half that of 1883, and still very few
have what was considered an adequate holding a hundred years
ago. Let us see what measures the government took in the
attempt to solve this problem.

At first the land reorganization program was thwarted
by a lack of available land and by the continued tendency of

[81] Napier Report, pp. 100-101.

the people to overstock. No land could be assigned as an
enlargement if it would impair the value of a sheep farm or
deer forest. The remainder of the island was already possessed
by crofters. Moreover, there was no one to regulate the use
of the common grazings. As the Crofters Commission usurped
the functions of the landlord, estate management became lax.
The township constable had disappeared. The cotters, 36
percent of the population, had been omitted from the provisions
of the Crofters Act. Later when the government provided for
a grazing committee to draft voluntary regulations for sharing
the common grazing and, finally, coerced the crofters to elect
a grazing committee, the regulations could not be enforced,
except by appealing to the sheriff.

At length another commission of inquiry visited the
Highlands to decide how the resettlement program might be
extended. Then, in 1897, the Congested Districts Board was
created. The Board was given power to purchase land for en-
largements and for creating new holdings, to resettle crofters
and cottars from congested districts, to foster the development
of stock breeding, agriculture, fishing, and home industries,
and to improve communications. It was not intended that the
government should become a landlord. The crofters, like the
Irish small farmers, were supposed to have acquired a desire
to own their own land. In 1904 the estates of Glendale, the
present twelve townships, and Kilmuir, the whole parish and
part of the parish of Snizort, were purchased. On the Kilmuir
Estate there were 450 crofts in 35 townships and 10 large farms.

Heavy rackrenting in the past had led to dissatisfaction and
arrears in rent, the crofters' weapon against the landlord. The
rents were revised and most of the arrears were cancelled. All
the farms but one were subdivided to form 79 new holdings in 7
reorganized townships and to make enlargements to the other
townships. The Glendale estate received similar treatment,
being made over into 147 crofts in 12 townships plus a jointly
held club farm. Both estates were sold to the crofters on a
fifty year annuity basis. Then came a rude awakening. Within
ten years the crofters found ownership to be a dubious privilege,
especially since it excluded them from the benefits of legis-
lation favoring the small tenant. The Kilmuir crofters were
released from the contract, but the government refused to
accept the petition of the Glendale people, who still are not
pleased with their rather unique position. Private ownership
of the land might be said to be as alien to their heritage as
village settlements.

Land settlement continued, with the introduction of
certain refinements, the most important of which was the power
to use compulsion to acquire land for crofting in the national
interest. Today over half the Island is owned by the national
government and administered by the Department of Agriculture.
The tendency in recent years has been to create more adequate
holdings. On the Kilmuir estate the number of crofts has been
reduced from 530 to 442. The process of resettlement, or
de-commercialization, has been carried further on Skye than in
any other Highland area.[82] It has also included the only major

[82] Cf., e.g., Collier, op. cit., pp. 90-113; and Hance, op. cit., pp. 61-62, 64-68.

migration scheme to be attempted. In 1923 sixty-eight families
from the Isle of Harris, in the Outer Hebrides, were brought over
to Skye and settled in Bracadale. Probably, close to 300 new
holdings and in the neighborhood of 200 enlargements have been
made since 1897. This clearly reflects the limited space availa-
ble for crofting at the end of the "Clearances."

In addition to land settlement, the government has continue
to stimulate improvements in stock breeding techniques and to
foster more efficient land utilization. Credit facilities,
by grant and loan, were offered to enable the crofters to
purchase stock, especially sheep, and to build new cottages.
Grants and subsidies, in an ever increasing number, have been
made available to promote a fuller use of the land. Initially,
under the Congested Districts Board, these facilities were
devised specifically for the Highlands. By the time the Congest
Districts Board was abolished, the crofters had become officiall
integrated with the national agricultural scene so that specific
subsidies, grants, and loans were replaced with an opportunity
to apply for assistance within the national program of agri-
cultural development. Instruction in scientific methods of
agriculture has been another continuing function of the govern-
ment through a series of advisory services and, more recently,
by a program of demonstration crofts and farms. Access to
markets has similarly been facilitated by improving communication
by land and, to a lesser extent, by sea.

Security and protection for the crofters has been another
unfailing interest of the government. Again, with official
integration, the scope of legislation has been extended to

include all small tenants in Scotland. The landlords have lost their right to evict a crofter for breach of conditions. Since 1911 only the Land Court, which replaced the Crofters Commission, can remove a tenant who is guilty of bad husbandry. Moreover, such action can only be taken after the general circumstances of the crofter and his need of the croft for a home have been considered. To date, no Highland crofter has been removed. In fact, security of tenure has been carried to the extreme that the individual no longer has to reside in Scotland much less on his croft. Although this change is now regarded as inadvertent, the courts have ruled in favor of the small tenant. The only remaining functions of the landlord in estate management are to collect his rents and pay compensation should a tenant desire to leave. Both the rents and the compensation are determined by the Land Court.

Accompanying the integration of the Island with the national scene, politically and economically, were extensions of social services. Prior to 1872 education was the responsibility of the church, charitable agencies, and, especially in the Highlands, the local proprietors and their financially secure tenantry.[83] Although the parish school system was national, the administration of each parochial school was local. The ideal of a school in each parish was neither adequate nor easily obtainable. The result was a few regularly taught schools.[84]

[83] USA, XVI, 156-157, 226, 539; XVIII, 188; XXI, 430.

[84] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 771-774.

culture which can hardly be distinguished from that of the Lowland rural areas, but it has by no means disappeared.

Socially, these changes, particularly the introduction of national laws of land tenure, involved a leveling of the social hierarchy. The old polarity of the land lord and tenant, with an intermediate group of doctors, ministers, and tradesmen, was restored. The place of the tacksman, of course, has been filled by the government. The bulk of the population was once again undifferentiated socially or economically. Land lost much of its commercial value for the proprietors. It once again had more of an intrinsic value, almost as in the days of the clan. The status of the proprietors, locally and as a horizontal segment of the total British population, depended on land ownership. The graziers and the proprietors who had appeared during the "Clearances" withdrew, selling out to the national government.

These changes did not work to halt the continuous outward flow of the Sgrithenach. To the contrary, increasing integration with the national culture created new needs, such as a demand for a higher standard of living and an opportunity to achieve status, and provided the training necessary for the youth to find roles more suitable to their talents elsewhere in the world. The young men and women of Skye journeyed to the Lowlands to join the national labor force, to enter the professions, or to seek other permanent employment. Thus, emigration changed from a movement by families to a movement by individuals. At the same time, the benefits of the crofters' legislation and the program of government assistance made it possible for the

crofter pays only half of the assessment, which is based on rental value, and he is granted an additional benefit by having the land devalued seven-eighths for purposes of taxation. The majority pay £3 a year, or less, in rent, and, with a rateable value of 5s, or less, between 1s and 2s in taxes annually. Many pay no taxes.

On his small plot of land the crofter has his cottage. Here we find another rather unique interpretation of the laws of land tenure. Although the crofter is an occupier of the land, he is the owner of his dwelling. If he or one of his ancestors did not build the house, frequently with a grant and/or loan from the government, he will have paid "compensation" to his landlord for the dwelling upon accepting occupancy. Should he, at any time, relinquish his right to the croft, the crofter, in turn, will be entitled to full "compensation" for the value of the improvements on the holding as determined by the Land Court. The crofter's home is not entered on the county valuation roll and, therefore, is not subject to assessment.

In addition to the land under crops and improved grass, the crofter's rent entitles him to a share in the unimproved township grazing lands which are held in common and used under a system of allocation known as "souming." In each township, the collection of individual holdings, the crofters elect a grazing clerk and committee. They determine the number of cattle, sheep, and horses the individual is allowed to put out to graze. Usually each crofter has an equal share, but in

some townships the large crofter is given an allocation in proportion to his rent. The payment of his rent also entitles the crofter to gather seaweed along the coast for fertilizer and to cut peat for fuel on the common grazing or in special peat areas. In a number of townships he has a further right to pasture his rams in a "tup park" and his horses in a "horse park." These are lowlying areas of improved pasture. There is the general picture.

There are three important exceptions to the typical means of land tenure. First, there are the Glendale crofters who own their land. Each individual has purchased his croft, and the members of each township own the common grazing collectively. Before the law they are no longer entitled to the benefits of crofting status because, by legal definition, the crofter is a small farmer who rents his land. Second, there are the crofters of six Kilmuir townships who have individual areas of "outrun," good lowlying cattle pastures, in addition to the normal crofter's holding. Even though the Glendale crofters are landowners and the Kilmuir crofters have their own cattle pasture, they are subject to "souming" regulations. Third, there are a few large, isolated crofts which are self-contained units. The individual has his own cultivated land, pasture, and rough grazing. In reality, many of these large holdings are farms, but as long as the annual rent does not exceed £50, the benefits of crofting status are not withdrawn. The crofter, of course, stocks his holding as he thinks best. While the Irish and Scottish Highland systems of land use

While the Irish and Scottish Highland systems of land use reveal many underlying similarities, they are distinguished by their respective systems of land tenure. The Irish small farmer owns his land, like the Glendale crofters, and has a self-contained holding, like the large crofter on Skye.[3]

Croft Size. As the foregoing discussion has suggested, there is a wide range of croft sizes. Some crofters have only a few hundred square yards of the poorest soil. A few have large, relatively fertile holdings. One of these large crofters, for example, has 88 acres of arable land, 27 acres of pasture, and 1261 acres of grazing. The most common size is less than five acres, and not more than 500 of the 2200 crofters have over ten acres. If all of his land were of equal potential agricultural value, the individual with ten acres might be able to attain a satisfactory standard of production. Unfortunately, not more than half of most crofts can be considered as suitable for crop cultivation. In Glendale, for example, the average size is ten to fifteen acres, but when the boggy ground and the area in drainage ditches are subtracted, it is indeed a fortunate man who can profitably cultivate more than five acres. What, then, does he do with his land?

Land Use. Between spring ploughing and the harvest season, the best land is planted in oats, potatoes, and, in some cases, turnips. On most crofts, for every two or three acres of oats there are a half acre of potatoes, and perhaps, a quarter

[3] Arensberg, The Irish Countryman, pp. 36-38.

time to go home to Skye to die." I might add, "and to live on a pension."

It is not only the tenant crofters who are non-resident. About 20 percent of the owner-occupiers in Glendale are non-resident. Only two townships have no derelict crofts. Those who have sublet their homes and land have an additional problem. Apparently unaware of the full implications of the Small Landholders legislation, they have received a rude awakening. The people whom they thought were their subtenants are, in the eyes of the Land Court, crofters entitled to security of tenure.

One reason for absenteeism, as for emigration, is a felt need for a higher standard of living than the croft can provide. This desire, common to almost all European peasants, as well as American farmers, has assumed increasing importance with the extension of communication and education. The outstanding exception in Europe is Italy. There the métayer population has increased markedly since World War I. Today 92 percent in the métayer category have a substandard livelihood, judged in terms of sheer necessity.[18] Only 800,000 families out of 5,000,000 have enough land to meet subsistence needs. The difference between the European peasant and the American farmer is that the American lacks any traditional

[18] Information from the files of the Italian Statistical Institute, as reported in the Glasgow Herald, Feb. 22, 1954.

f tenure function to protect the individual from potential 178
buses by a landlord where customary usages once fulfilled the 182
eed. Moreover, even though the tenure of the cultivated soil 423 427
rants all the rights of a landholder, including the rights 657
o bequeath the house and land to a member of one's family,
or more than half the year it is used communally.

The Sgiathanach has never adjusted sufficiently to become 178
specialist, not even a specialized grazier. For him the 423
and has always had a more fundamental value than merely being
means of livelihood. It is the ancestral home. There is a
entimental attachment to the land which is an expression of
he affectionate bonds of kinship. The people have never lost
he tribal tie of the land and the group. Although the former
atriarchs disclaimed any sympathy with this point of view,
he landlords on Skye today have kept what little land they
ave only because of its sentimental value. Indeed the atti- [656]
ude of the largest landholder, the government of Scotland,
s that the crofting tradition is worth while preserving, if
or no other reason, because in the predominantly urban and
ndustrial civilization it has a romantic value. There are
ther reasons. The Islands have long been looked upon as a [702]
uman reservoir for the armed forces, and, more recently, for [464]
owland industry.

As a result of their partial adjustment to the higher 178
ocio-cultural level, there have been changes in crops and stock. 231 241
he British market has influenced the crofters' output, within 433
cological limitations. The old subsistence crops of oats and

424

424 INCORPOREAL PROPERTY--extent to which property is recognized in intangible things (e.g., names, titles, songs, dances, visions, recipes, rituals, inventions); culturally defined categories of intangibles; recognized types of title; rights, privileges, and powers involved in titles to each type of incorporeal property; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, collective, corporate); distribution of types of ownership according to categories of intangibles, types of title, and classes of persons; records of ownership (e.g., registration of patents and copyrights); patent and copyright law; etc. See also:

Invention . . . . . 178 Contractual rights 675
Corporate securities 673

288 finished lengths of tweed. For a tweed to be classified
463 as "Harris Tweed," it must be hand-woven by Outer
• [424] Hebrideans in their own homes, but the weavers are
288 essentially employees of the mill. All the large Harris Tweed mills in Lewis, except the one in Shawbost, are located in Stornoway. A few smaller businesses, which design and market tweeds but have no elaborate machinery to process the tweed further, are scattered throughout the island.

621 The village of Shawbost is composed of 169 households,
162 of which 110 are headed by "crofters," persons recognized
[427] as legal tenants of a croft. Of the remaining 59
[361] households, 16 rent houses which were built and are maintained by the County (called "council houses"), 11 have erected houses on the crofts of relatives, and
463 32 have built homes on the common grazing lands. Non-
241 crofters participate in the agricultural activities of the township. It would not be unusual, for example, for a non-crofter to serve as the clerk of a grazings committee.

342 In North Shawbost, one croft house and two non-
[166] croft houses are used only when the owner returns to Shawbost from the mainland for a holiday. The school-
[875] master lives in a house adjoining the school, and the
[793] minister in a manse located between Shawbost and the neighboring village of Bragar.

175 behind the tweed's popularity. The tweed was more th
286 a cloth; it was peat smoke and windswept moorland, th
288
[828] image of the free man who had escaped city life and machines and was the master of his own destiny. Step had been taken all along the way to preserve the imag of home-crafted goods, as when, in an effort to preve machine-spinning, carding mills were built in Lewis a Harris at the turn of the century to prevent wool fro being sent to mills on the mainland, where it was bot
[685] carded and spun. As early as 1906, a man was convict in London of selling power-loomed tweed under the nam
288 "Harris Tweed." Today power-driven looms can produce
402 double-width cloth 54 inches wide, a width much prefe to the 28-inch cloth produced on the Hattersley loom because there is less waste when the cloth is cut. B because "Harris Tweed" must be hand-woven, new looms light-weight metal are being designed on which double
[435] width cloth can be hand-woven. The new looms will co so much that many weavers say they would be unlikely invest in them, especially given the uncertain future the industry.

175 The Harris Tweed Association, formed in 1909, wa
178 granted a certification mark by the Board of Trade wh
288 was stamped on tweeds that were hand-spun and hand-wo
441
• [424] in the islands. During World War I, hand-spinning di
[286]

of farm management under a resident manager, preferably not a Skyeman. The attitude of the former faction was aptly expressed by one person who was about to leave Skye: "We need the Department. If they withdrew, we wouldn't have anybody to go to for anything." This is in striking contrast to the Irish small farmer for whom land ownership is an all important factor in regulating social interaction and status.[24] On Skye land ownership has not led to any change in the traditional status values. A Glendale crofter is not a better man because he owns land.

Prestige Ranking within the Neighborhood. In so far as prestige ranking is concerned, status is more developed within the neighborhood than within the township. In addition to the crofters and their families, there are always several individuals who are given status because of their performance of the necessary functions of ministering to the peoples' spiritual and physical needs and educating the children. These are the only achieved statuses which are valued by the crofters. Noteworthy enough, only the minister of Glendale serves his own "people and friends."

The minister's status depends to some degree on his denomination and the religious sympathies of the people. In Glendale the minister enjoys the highest possible status. In Kilmuir, with two ministers, each is valued by his own congregation with whom he interacts. Nevertheless, all ministers are treated with respect. They are always addressed as the Reverend Mister MacDonald or Mister MacDonald. It is interesting to note that

[24] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 72-100; Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 98-144.

to the aristocracy they are among the foremost citizens of the nation, and two of the local gentry are included among the nation's peerage. Although I doubt if any of these land owners can validate a claim to being direct descendants of the clan chiefs or descendants of the cadets of the clans, several of them are related in one way or another to the central derbfine of the old clans.

Occupying the highest status positions, the county families manifest many social and cultural expressions which distinguish them from the remainder of the population. The men are always given the distinction of a military title; they are major, colonel, or general. One man has not seen military service, but he is given a rank anyhow. In indirect speech their title often includes their residence or estate, such as Col. Macleod Mulgrave or Mrs. Macleod Mulgrave. Behind their backs, they may be referred to by their first name, prefixed by the title, but never in direct speech. Religiously, many tend to be Episcopal sympathizers, in contrast to the staunchly Protestant crofters. The men all attend the local kirk of the Church of Scotland and serve as elders of the kirk, but their outlook is quite different from that of their conservative tenants. One family is Catholic. As would be expected, all are property owners. This is not a question of socio-economic status as much as one of social differentiation. The loss of large parts of their estates, under the pressure of debt contracted by their ancestors, has not reduced their prestige.

strongly about this infringement of the traditional norms. 837
Gossip spreads very rapidly. The offenders are said to be 626
"no better than the tinkers." While tinkers are respected [554]
because they have the power of the evil eye, they are not [754]
accorded any more prestige than we would give a beggar. All
who have any contact with the neighborhood or the village
where the deviants live soon know all the details. Since [369]
most of the adulterers on Skye have been in Portree, it adds
another brick to the wall which separates the rural neighbor-
hoods and the trade-center village. The offenders normally
leave Skye as quickly as possible.

The Sgiathanach cannot be said to have a strong sense 423 ●
of property, or, more correctly, the land is valued as a 421
place of residence and identity not as something to be bought
and sold. We have seen that he uses his land communally and
that he often will not leave a will for the house, not to
mention his land. Even though the state thinks otherwise, he
looks upon the natural resources of the island as his for the
taking. At the same time, he normally respects the fruits of 421
his neighbor's labor. Any one can cut peat on the moor, but [314]
no one, except an unthinking tourist, would take a piece of
turf once it had been cut. In a simlar way, the children are 857
generally well behaved. In the village there is a bit of stone
throwing, a little profanity, and uncommonly some drinking on
the sly, but rarely do children show any disrespect for the
rights of others. One contractor, a Lowlander who came up to
Skye to make alterations on the school, was amazed. Skye

acceptance of the potato, a much more productive and dependable 161
subsistence item than grain on Skye, made it possible for more 175
people to live on less land. The introduction of a new industry 178
kelping, provided many with employment and freed them from com- [241]
plete dependence on a subsistence economy. Vaccination reduced [464]
the mortality rate, especially among infants whose chances of [757]
reaching maturity and procreating were thus enhanced. Another [165]
important factor was the Skyeman's share in the general pros- [511]
perity of British agriculturalists during the early years of
the Industrial Revolution and during the Napoleonic Wars. An [423] ●
especially important factor was the practice of subdividing [582]
the land which made early marriage possible, in particular after
the installation of the crofting system. Finally, but by no 161
means least significant, there was the persistence of many 175
typical features of the culture in the days of the clan. The 178
sentimental ties of kinship and attachment to the soil had 182
remained.

The population decrease, partially a result of the Skyeman's 161
involvement in the process of commercialization, was primarily 175
a result of a failure to fully adjust to the higher, more 178
heterogeneous socio-economic level. By the end of the second 184
period of the modern epoch, 1845, the people had become hostages
to the potato and their own fertility. When the potato failed
them, they had nothing to fall back upon, except the generosity
of their landlords. The cattle and kelp markets had collapsed
at the end of the Wars, and the subdivided land could not
produce sufficient grain. The belief of many that the pop-
ulation had over-run the limited local resources was confirmed.

ere to adapt this argument, I might even be convincing, but 178 182
dissertation would have a fallacious conclusion. Emphatically,
eparable cultural disorganization is not a characteristic of
culture history of Skye.

Continuity has been maintained through a reintegration. 178
part, Skye has made an adjustment to the higher socio-cultural 182 184
anization of Great Britain and Western Civilization. This
se of the culture's readaptation, however, is an incomplete
ustment. The Sgiathanach has remained enisled geographically
culturally. A readaptation has also been made in the older,
ditional culture.

The national culture has played no insignificant role in 178
readaptation. Parliament turned back the process of com- 182 423
cialization in 1886 and undertook to rechannel the trends 427
ard ever increasing commercialization of the land, ulti- 657
ely leading to the socialization of the land. The essentials of
old system of land use and tenure were not only reaffirmed
also given legal sanction to insure their stability. The
ion confirmed the customary usages. In many townships and
whole neighborhoods the crofting system was restored. As
as the Sgiathanach is concerned, he has never known any
er economic structure than communal use and tenure of the
d. There are only three significant differences between the
rig farm, whether the farm was a tacksman's or the common
ding of several joint-tenants, and the crofting township.
arable acreage is held in compact, permanent blocks instead
dispersed and shifting strips; the crofter pays a money
t in place of goods in kind and services; and national laws

THE TRADE MARK

sary. In the end, an application was made in 1909 to that body for a trade mark defining Harris Tweed as 'tweed, hand-spun, hand-woven and dyed and finished by hand in the Outer Hebrides', with 'made in Harris' or 'made in Lewis' added as appropriate. The Harris merchants had to join forces with their former rivals in the tweed-marketing business, the voluntary non-profit-making Associations. To inspect the cloth and stamp it with a trade mark—an orb surmounted by a cross—a Harris Tweed Association was formed, consisting of representatives of each of the Harris merchants, the Crofters Agency and the Scottish Home Industries Association. Cloth was first stamped in 1911. In 1912, some Stornoway merchants were granted representation in the Harris Tweed Association, which still exists for the benefit of the industry.

In 1934, the definition of 'Harris Tweed' was eased to include any cloth 'made from pure virgin wool, produced in Scotland, spun, dyed and finished in the Outer Hebrides and hand-woven by the Islanders at their own homes in the islands of Lewis, Harris, Uist, Barra and their several purtenances and all known as the Outer Hebrides'. It was further provided that 'Woven in Harris', 'Woven in Lewis', etc, could be added, and also 'Handspun' in the case of tweeds made entirely from hand-spun yarns.

Today, a few Harris families maintain the old tradition, hand-dyeing and carding, spinning on the wheel, hand-weaving and finishing, producing a high-quality article mainly for individual customers. These tweeds rightly command up to three times the price for the general run of tweed.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

It was not until the era of Sir James Matheson that anything like a truly industrial activity was attempted. Matheson, a native of Shinness in the parish of Laing, Sutherland, was born in 1796. In April seventeen, he decided on a commercial career and took himself to London. After two years in a mercantile house, he went to Calcutta, where he worked in the counting-house of MacKintosh

425

Hamnaite or olachana 22
(small clustered settlements) were broken up, and houses were isolated on strips of land in linear, single-street villages.

Gray (1952, 1957) argues that the main factor behind the reorganisation of land use in the Highlands was the progressive, individualistic, laissez-faire ideology of the 18th century. Grant (1930: 97) attributes the reorganisation to the high demand for cereals which existed during the Napoleonic wars. Highland landlords, who were very much in contact with the society of the Scottish Lowlands, were influenced by agricultural practices there. The trend to change run-rig, which had once dominated the whole of Scotland, to fixed, compact holdings began in the Lowlands.

According to the "progressive" ideology of the time, the giving of land to individual farmers in much larger pieces than they had previously held would serve to stimulate agricultural development and give rise to a class of capitalist farmers. To give land to a relatively few people, however, meant the removal of a large number of tenants who had hitherto been able to survive under the system of run-rig.

425 ACQUISITION AND RELINQUISHMENT OF PROPERTY:—recognised means by which property rights may be acquired (e.g., appropriation, forceful seizure, gift, purchase); creation of new property rights (e.g., by physical appropriation, by priority of claim, by expenditure of labor in manufacture); rituals and symbols of appropriation; recognized means by which property rights may be extinguished (e.g., destruction, abandonment, confiscation, gift, sale); rights, privileges, and powers of the finders and losers of objects of property; etc. See also:

Gifts	426	Natural confiscation	430
Buying and selling	428	Theft	431
Market exchange	429	War booty	432, 723, 727
Taxation	681		

township, but on land which had been rested and which thus provided better grazing. During the winter the sheep were allowed past the township dike, to graze along with the other livestock on the stubble of corn and barley, and mineral-rich seaweed by the shore.

After World War II, the individual crofts began to be fenced, and the township dike was no longer repaired. The fact that sheep were still grazed communally on the moor meant that everyone had to go out together on a particular day rather than individually, but fencing of individual land facilitated variability in land use. Less use was made of crofts for raising crops, and they could be used for grazing sheep all year round.

b. Rescaling schemes and apportionments:

Another illustration of the individuation of land use is provided by comparing the number of apportionments granted by the Crofters Commission for Lewis in the last 10 years with the number of township reseeding schemes carried out during the same time (see Table IV). A crofter may apply to the Commission for an area of land (apportionment) to be sliced out of the township's common grazing land and given to him for his own use; theoretically, his share in the township's common grazing land is reduced if his application is granted. [See pax-Analyst]

FISHING

of Lord Seaforth's conduct in this matter. They alleged that he "drais in hither an number of strangers who dayle resorte to and fra Holland to the great prejudice of the inhabitants (of the Dutch mainland presumably) and has caused them be answered of all such commodities as these bounds affords, as nameli with fishes and beroes quhilks with the hyde and tallow, with manie utheris commodities they transport to Holland."

To satisfy the Royal Burghs, Seaforth had some of his Dutch friends sent away. But several Dutch families remained in Stornoway until the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland in 1653.

In Harris, similar efforts were promoted by Captain Alexander MacLeod, who in 1779 bought Harris, together with St Kilda, for £15,000 from the commissioners acting on behalf of General Norman MacLeod. The latter had, in 1772, inherited from his grandfather both the chiefship of Harris and a debt on the property amounting to some £50,000. Captain MacLeod, who skippered the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, did much to stimulate better conditions in Harris, and advocated the generation of a fishing industry. In the face of opposition and ridicule he showed by practical example what could be done to make a success of the herring fishings, introducing a number of east-coast fishermen with Orkney lawlu to teach the inhabitants, and reaping a good harvest from the fishings off Rodel, despite the dismal augeries uttered by the Harris-folk. He improved the local harbour accommodation and erected a storehouse for salt, casks and the like, he built a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread, and twine for herring-nets; he advanced money to those fishermen who were interested for the purchase of boats and gear; and he provided them with rent-free cottages with a ground-patch on which they could grow potatoes. He built roads between the village of Tarbert and the two jetties he made there, and he erected a schoolhouse and an inn. But all this hard work to put Harris on some realistic economic basis came to little. The native population were slow to appreciate the potential income lying about them.

The potential of the sea was of course eventually realized, particularly where the fishing grounds were favourable, Stornoway

STORNOWAY

the present harbour facilities are the result of this, with a causeway to Goat Island—a small snippet of land off the Newton shore—the King Edward Wharf extending for the length of 24 ft at low water, and the construction on Goat Island of a slipway and slipway jetty.

The present facilities are valued at several million pounds; they evoke, however, a blank stare of disbelief. Much of the industry for which the quays were first envisaged has now gone. The days of 300-400 fishing boats and the landing of several thousands of cross-sea cod, with the attendant haste and activity, belong to the past. The harbour remains reasonably active, with a considerable extent and variety of shipping: general traffic due to the Harris Tweed industry has continued to increase in recent years. The introduction of the ferry service direct from Skye to Tarbert, Harris, has however had perceptible effects.

When Leverhulme parted company with the people of Lewis, his gesture of farewell offered the island to its people. This brought into being an agency for the people of Stornoway and its rural areas, so that they were in effect in control of their own future to a degree unique in Britain. The Stornoway Trust was formed in 1924. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole of the landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor northwards to the township of Tolsta. Freshwater fishings are in its hands, as are the resources of the sea and inshore fishings on the shorelands. During its first five years the Trust was faced with a growing deficit, though this was redeemed partly through agricultural derating and partly through the registration of the Trust as a charity, thus exempting it from income-tax demands.

The Town Council, the Harbour Commission, and the Trust have overlapping representation, for harmonious work on behalf of the community. Indeed, by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn up by Leverhulme (in 1923-4), the Stornoway Trust must include the Provost of the burgh as its chairman, together with magistrates and councillors. Throughout the years of its existence, the Trust has sought to increase its usefulness, but at the beginning decisions were often taken piecemeal. Portions of the property were

means to acquire capital because he worked on very narrow margins nor the ability to specialise because his communal system forced him to conform to traditional techniques.

The need to change farming, developing from as early as 1810, led to a sweeping disregard for the customary rights of the Skyemen. The factors (estate managers) of the absentee landed gentry, the new landlords, and the crofters had no associations with the tenantry and no use for their labor. Thinking only in commercial terms, they were only interested in seeing the higher grazings, the crofters' shielings, under sheep flocks in summer and the lower pastures, including the crofters' arable, in use during the winter. Thus, the "Clearances" took two directions.[55] The majority of the people seem to have lost their common grazings. In Kilmuir, according to several informants, they were left with only one small area of hill. Glendale suffered from the same policy. Many of the tenants were removed from their township, by force or persuasion. To be exact, no fewer than sixty-two townships were cleared by the end of this period.[56] The evicted crofters were left to their own devices to reclaim a piece of the open moor, settled in existing townships, or banished from the island. In the area immediately to the north of Portree, forty crofters and

[55] For details on the "Clearances," see Alexander MacKenzie, The History of the Highland Clearances (Inverness: A. and W. Mackenzie, 1883), pp. 43-47.

[56] See Alexander Smith's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars of the Highlands and Islands (Edinburgh: Neill and Co., 1884), pp. 46-48; Donald Munro's Report (1961), pp. 45-46; Donald Munro, in the Hebrides (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883 pp. 149-152.

[60] Smith, op. cit., p. 95. [61] Hunter Report, p. 15.

eighty cottars in four townships were replaced by two shepherds brought in from the mainland.[57]

As the interests of the proprietors and their tacksmen had declined at an earlier time, those of the landlords and their tenantry were now irreconcilably opposed. The appearance of the *Ladhrunnie* in England has been described as being characterized by absentee landlords, pastoralism, and a decline in the rural population through emigration and migration.[58] A process which had begun three centuries earlier in England and which had reached the Scottish Borders two centuries earlier had at last become operative on Skye. Let us examine the effects of full scale commercialization on the Skyemen.

The effects are evident. Commercialization and the evictions, which were a necessary counterpart, prompted emigration and confined the people within narrow limits, often, on inferior land.[59] By 1861 it was possible to describe Sleat as a quiet pastoral land, desolate and deserted.[60] The people had been pushed into a few isolated, badly subdivided townships. In Bracadale, the first parish to be fully commercialized, there were once thirty-six runrig farms; in 1812 there were six large grazing farms.[61] The bulk of the population, 922, were

[57] William MacKenzie, Sgoil-Sgoilan-Traitsmith and District (Glasgow: A. MacLaren and Sons, 1930), pp. 6-7.

[58] Helen Irvine, Gaelic of Western Burns (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1923), pp. 42-46.

[59] Alexander Smith, A Summer in Skye (London: Simpson, Low, Marston and Co., 1865), pp. 45-46; Norman Cameron, In the Hebrides (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883 pp. 149-152.

#15 squatters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish
172 parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families had
173 enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[62] In one Glendale
174 township, Waternish, nine crofts of 7cut on some land as
167 many as fifteen people to support.[63] Part of this extreme
168 congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing
169 one's croft when a child married. Although the population
in 1841 had fallen to 17,600, from 23,004 in 1841, almost
every township had two or three times the number of families
which had lived in them in 1841.[64]

#175 The loss of the sumer shielings and the common grazings
176 meant few could keep sheep.[65] The looms were silent. Since
177 the rent continued to be based on the value of livestock
178 and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all
cats, which the crofters' sheep did not eat, went to feed the
179 cattle. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy
180 flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all
were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to have
been concerned with more acquaintance with the crofters than
181 the crofters and cottars. Milk became a previous commodity.
182 Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unable
183 to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They carried

[62] Ibid., p. 131.

[63] Alexander MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 439-420.

[64] Smith, op. cit., p. 137; Cummings, op. cit., p. 140; and Hunter, op. cit., p. 32.

[65] The following is drawn from the evidence presented to the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of 1883; see Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82.

426 BORROWING AND LENDING—Sentiment: rights, privileges, and powers of heritor and heritor; loans and debts; pawning rights, privileges, and powers of debtor and creditor; formalities in the arrangement and repayment of loans (e.g., witnessed, surety, epsonsor); security; interest; sums and mortgages; spectacular loan (e.g., go-as-stoop); bankruptcy (e.g., law, administration), etc. See also:

Credit . . . . . 262 Debt Society 347
Credit Society . . . . . 262 Public Houses 488
Corporate structure and membership . . . . . 475 Franchise for the enjoyment of debts 188

621 Despite these tendencies, an individual is still
571 somewhat in familial and village ties. Villagers walk
in and out of each others' houses without knocking;
#426 "strangers" knocks. Goods such as tape recorders,
binoculars and books are passed around the village;
people even borrow each others' reading glasses.

Children are "borrowed" as well. They are loaned
out to relatives and neighbors to run errands, or may
855 even live with them. They are scolded as often by a
861 neighbor or other villager as by a parent. A child
might be told, "Run someone (any adult) tells you to do
something, you do it, no matter who that person is."
The parents of one household are criticized for taking
their children's side against other children and other
parents. "He's teaching his children not to mix with
others. One child is as good as another. They may be
good one day, but they're likely to be bad the next."
A child adult who enjoys spending time by himself is
156 still considered extremely odd. An important criterion
by which someone's mental health or general personality
579 is evaluated is whether or not he "mixes" well. It is
621 fairly common for childless households to "adopt" a
child of neighbors or relatives; that is, the child
spends a great deal of time with them. They may go to
the house of a neighbor to put him to bed at night, or the

284 The Harris Tweed industry has provided a higher
187 standard of living, but income from this source is
460 inconsistent. The standards developed during prosperous
times cannot be met during difficult times. Many-roomed
236 houses with indoor plumbing are more heavily taxed than
#426 smaller, less modern homes; loans must be repayed;
a car and a television once gotten are difficult to
give up. A weaver must pay for his insurance stamp,
855 which amounts to one £10 a year; and income tax takes
861 a large percentage of a person's income, in large lump
sums which are paid twice a year rather than in small
amounts throughout the year. When income fluctuates,
any constant demand for monetary outlay becomes a
liability.

454 In many persons outside the island concerned with
#426 Highland and Island development, Lewis has a reputation
for "subsidy-grabbing." According to one official,
"The people are too used to getting subsidies. They
tend to sit back and rely on the subsidies, which
makes it difficult to develop the place."

#821 "We pay tax," said one weaver. "Why not get back
what we can in subsidy?"

Income tax collectors shake their heads in despair
651 at the thought of trying to get a true estimate of a
crofter's income, except for jobs such as weaving for

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. I

233 according to the relief, as explained. Thus the Barvas
187 parish with its smooth topography permits of ploughing,
and there is, or rather was, one horse between two crofts,
or one pair between four or five. In rocky Uig or in Lochs,
however, there is only one pony between ten or twelve crofts.
Lending or hiring of horses has still to be practised, but
within manageable limits, though the increase in 'cars' had
lessened the number of horses, even before the war-time introduction of tractors. Hiring is often done for cash, though
this conflicts with older communal custom. Yet lending
had its difficulties: "The borrowed horse", says the lender
bitterly, in the Gaelic proverb, "is never tired!"

233 The number of sheep per holding is noticeably highest
in Harris, with one score ewes per holding. The sheep
187 pasture of North Harris was well spoken of by Dean
Monro, and the link with the home industry of Harris, its
weaving, is evident.

241 Comparisons with the western mainland show, in
holdings of similar or rather large size, the diminished
184 proportion of cereals now grown there even by crofters. The
increased proportion of grass reflects both the greater
dependence on bought provisions, and also the fact that
the West is not a land to ripen crops, but that it can grow
grass for stock.

4. The Moors as Pasture: Game and Sport

311 In order to estimate the relative value of the rough
541 grazings of Lewis and Harris, it will be well to compare
these with the moors lying across the Minch and east of
Cape Wrath. There also may be found crofting communities whose economics are similar to those of Lewis, so
that the stock carried on their pastures will furnish some

175 perhaps once in a generation, the neighbours were still the
187 best administrators for poor relief. On the whole, this
257 remained true to 1914.

As to financial assistance from the Government, the
evidence varies: at first bewildering in its contradictions,
175 suggesting utter inconsistency on the part of the people.
257 Thus, the record of the Lewis-and-Harris fishermen, in
#176 repaying loans for the purchase of boats, was the most
honourable in the North-west. In 1900, of the total
capital on barely 100 loans made to them, 83 per cent had
been repaid, whereas on 150 loans elsewhere less than
60 per cent had been repaid.

Yet as to the record of Lewismen with regard to assistance for road-making, the Report was significantly
175 deficient. In 1891 a road was planned direct to Stornoway
655 from Loch Roag on the west coast at Carloway. This
short-cut of sixteen miles was to shorten the distance by
seven miles and so facilitate the transit of fish landed at
Carloway. Crofter labour was employed as a means of
'self-help'. The road was, unfortunately, built on a complete on 'base maps' and other recent 'quarter-inch' maps. By 1901, £15,500 had been spent, a sum which
had exceeded the estimated cost, but only half the road
had been completed and five miles partially made, while
three miles were quite incomplete. The estimate having
been exceeded and "financial difficulties having arisen"—
the contractor had gone bankrupt and the engineer was
dismissed—the work came to a standstill. £10,000 more
was then estimated as necessary to complete the road.
191 Of that sum £8000 was granted.[1] But the road was left
761 unfinished. These figures alone might not condemn

[1] J. P. Day (1918), p. 318. Day added that "the work should now, more than twenty years after its start, be approaching completion."[1]

APPENDIX II

178 300 houses, with nearly 30 built by "private enterprise"; in
342 addition the Local Authorities built 140 in the immediate
641 years, 'of which 30 were temporary, a total of over 470
and an average of, say, 47. Another 115 were built in the rural
468 townships. If we give a round total of £125,000 as the value

Holdings	Barvas	Lochs	Stornoway	Uig	Lewis Total	Harris
Full-time and spare-time	1,052	1,180	1,180	911	4,323	34
	1,086	1,180	1,180	911	4,357	378
Year 1913 (acres)						
Corn	2,000	320	1,200	200	3,720	110
Potatoes	1,000	1,300	300	1,000	3,600	110
Turnips	1,800	720	1,800	1,600	5,920	1,000
Rotation Grass	1,500	3,000	2,000	2,000	8,500	260
Permanent Grass	3,800	3,500	3,500	3,150	13,750	4,750
Grass	3,450	6,700	3,600	2,400	16,150	4,250
Rough Grazing (hoad)	25,780	107,180	78,480	111,250	322,690	111,170
Cattle	1,800	800	1,350	1,300	5,900	1,600
Sheep	38,110	37,600	13,800	14,500	104,010	21,000
Horses	10,370	9,880	2,500	2,500	25,250	2,500
Pigs	1,000	1,000	25,000	15,000	42,000	12,500
February 1914				2,500	2,500	
Tractors	24	4	4	3	37	8

for an average year (such as 1913) for Local Authority Housing,
we may allow half this to net output of local materials and to
wages earned by Lewismen, some £85,000, of which rural
wages were a small fraction, say £30,000.

For crofters and cottars, however, in 1913, a fairly typical
year, there was much local effort and achievement, by help
of the loans and grants from the Department of Agriculture
for Scotland, totalling £81,000 for new houses or house im-
434 provements (with a very few steadings). £80,000 may be
allotted to local materials and to labour paid or given by house-
holders themselves.

427 RENTING AND LEASING—extent to which real, movable, and incorporeal
property may be leased or rented, leases and rents (e.g., repairs, improvements); modes of payment (e.g., money rent, share-cropping); rights, privileges, and powers of lessor and lessee; entitlins; provisions of tenancy, end of home and farm ownership; factors determining rental rates; regulation (e.g., rent controls); etc. See also:

Control and ownership of capital . . . . . 475 Passages and entries 600

288 175 462 Thus were laid the lines of a new form of economic organisation for Lewis. At first, tweed manufacture here, as in Harris, was strictly a domestic activity: the wool of the crofter's own sheep was clipped, washed and dyed, carded, spun at home, and woven into cloth by persons in the township with the skill to produce a suitable cloth; the weaving was a part-time and mainly female occupation. Payment for the weaving was in kind: peats, potatoes, or labour. The waulking or finishing of the cloth was mostly a communal activity carried out by the womenfolk, who turned it into a particular social occasion with definite feminine characteristics. If the cloth made was in excess of domestic requirements, the crofter sold it directly to a customer, or else the local shopkeeper bought it or gave credit for it.

288 463 175 462 288 175 441 With the rise in weaving for a definite market in Lewis, all this changed. Weaving became a full-time specialist occupation and, partly because the flying shuttle made the work heavier, it became predominantly male work. With the use of mill-spun yarn there grew up a number of merchants, the Lewis 'producers', who bought yarn either locally or from the mainland, and put it out for weaving and hand finishing on a commission basis. The yarn and the resulting cloth remained their property. At times the cloth embodied a handspun weft; at other times perhaps no handspun was used at all. As pointed out above, it was marketed as Harris Tweed, as was the 100 per cent handspun cloth, yet it cost about 21d to produce compared with 36d for the 'real' tweed. The cheaper type provided Lewis's rapidly-expanding output between 1900 and 1911, and by that year Lewis had outstripped Harris. In 1912, the handspun yardage produced in 433 Harris was 175,000; partially and wholly millspun accounted for some 4,000 yards; and the total value was £26,500. In Lewis the yardage of handspun cloth was some 10,000; but about 340,000 yards of partially or wholly millspun was sold. The total Lewis 435 value was £44,000.

The trade mark

288 441 175 424 When eventually the question arose of some mark to distinguish between the two cloths, it was with difficulty that the Harris merchants persuaded the Board of Trade that a distinction was neces-

000 24,863 acres. The value of this boggy property, as
423 far as the landlords are concerned, is determined by
427 its fishing potential. The landlords generally resid
226 away from their property, and brave the buffeting gal
several times a year to return to fish for trout and
[463] salmon. For the rest of the year they hire river-
[685] watchers to prevent their tenants from poaching. As
[171] in Wales (Emmett 1964), the islanders continue to poa
in part as an expression of their identity as indepen
ent countrymen, a minority group in a nation-state.

161 Lewis is the most populated area in the Outer
162 Hebrides, containing 21,934 of the 32,607 Outer Hebri
634 numbered in the 1961 census. It is part of the Count
of Ross and Cromarty, whose headquarters are on the
632 mainland near Inverness. Lewis has four administrati
areas called civil parishes in which births, deaths
and other vital statistics are recorded. Stornoway
[197] parish is the largest, containing the town of Stornow
on the east side of the island in which many non-Gael
speakers live. Of the other three parishes, the larg
[162] is Barvas which stretches along the west side of the
[197] island and contains 4,331 persons, of whom 94.6% are
Gaelic speakers. The people of Stornoway refer to so
[186] from the west side as a siarach (west-sider), a term
which connotes rusticity.

311 There are 144 crofts in the village (nine of
241 which, in South Shawbost, were added after the turn of
[175] the century by non-crofters encamped on common grazing
[427] land who applied to the landlord for crofter status). Thirty-four (almost a quarter) of these crofts are vacant; that is, the holders of the crofts live elsewhere. One of the vacant crofts is used by its absentee
[527] tenant for holidays, and one sports a trailer (called
[493] a "caravan" in Britain) which may be rented to tourists
[485] during the summer. The rest are cultivated or used for
[428] grazing by crofters or non-crofters in the village who
[427] by inheritance or by formal or informal subletting have gained use of the land.

241 A little over half of the crofts are worked as individual units; 44% of the crofts are worked as combined units of two and three. Twenty-four men have the use of two crofts each, and five men the use of three crofts each.

16 A feature of crofting townships usually emphasized is their disproportionately large number of aged people and small number of young people, who tend to migrate to the cities. An age-sex "population pyramid" of the Highlands is not a pyramid but a top-heavy hourglass (see Table I).1 Most persons of child-bearing age have migrated from the area and the number of children is

1. [See p.vii--Analyst]

Chapter 2

HISTORY OF THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

A. "Crofting"

241 The word "croft," meaning an enclosed field, comes
427 from Old English. In 1563, a rental of the bishopric
175 of Moray mentions the lease of two crofts (Grant 1930:
192 272). Walker (1812: 51) refers to "cottars or crofters" as subtenants of Highland farms. The word croft appears in Gibbon's historical novel, A Scots Quair, and is still in common use around Aberdeenshire. In the Hebrides, a number of Gaelic words are used to refer to units of land (e.g., faich, fearann, fiadhaire, and fiannag), but the word for "croft" remains in Gaelic vocabulary as a foreign word, slightly Gaelicized as croit or lot (from "allotment").

[522] A cynical definition of a croft, given by some academicians and administrators concerned with crofting, and supposedly first proposed by the son of a crofter, is "a piece of land entirely surrounded by legislation."
241 Crofting, as a particular method of land use, was
427 introduced by "progressive" landlords in the mid-18th
175
671

241 century as an attempt to reform the previous system
427 of run-rig; but it is usually identified with the
175 definition given it by the Crofters Holdings (Scotland)
671 Act of 1886, as a form of land tenure to which many protections accrue. The Act defined crofts and crofting areas in Scotland, and assured the crofter of security of tenure, hereditary succession and fair rent. The legislature which followed on the heels of this act, which is sometimes referred to as the Magna Carta of the Highlands (Day 1918: 190), is mountainous. The flow stems from two perhaps incompatible aims: the desire to provide security for the landholder, and to enhance agricultural productivity. The difficulty of developing the land as an efficient agricultural unit has always existed in an area characterized by a wet climate, unproductive soil, and smallness of holdings in heavily populated areas, and was one of the factors that prompted agricultural reform in the 18th century.

175 B. Stratified Tenantry vs. Egalitarian Society
423
427 At the time of the break-up of the clan system in
[614] the first half of the 18th century, three categories of persons held land under the Highland proprietor or "laird": tacksmen (gentlemen farmers, often relatives

175 of the landlord, with education superior to that of
423 other tenants) who held a lease or "tack"; tenants
427 who held no leases, or very short ones (when Fullarton and Baird made their report in 1838, tenants in the parish of Barvas had leases for five to twelve years, whereas tenants of the parish of Lochs held leases "at will," i.e., at the will of the landlord); and subtenants who had small parcels of land which were let to them from year to year by tacksmen or tenants in return for their labor, and who were called cottars or crofters (Walker 1812: 51), servants or scallags (Macphail 1916).

In 1718 and 1726, government commissioners visited Lewis, which had comprised part of the estate of the Earl of Seaforth. The Earl of Seaforth had sided with James VIII in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, and was exiled from his estate. To facilitate the collection of rent, the commissioners sought to compile a list of the rents which had been paid by all the tenants. The 1726 rent roll listed 43 tenants in Shawbost who declared that "they have their present possession of the town of Shawbost for the sum of L224/16/— Scots money, 38 bolls one firlote meal, 12 stones butter and 12 mutton (Macphail 1916: 313)." The nearby village of Bragar constituted a

175 423 427 single tack, for which the tacksman, who was a relative of Seaforth's Chamberlain, paid L247/10/8, 10 sheep, 9 stones butter, and 3 bolls of meal. The Bragar rental mentions scallags who were not listed because they were not smallholders; rather, they worked for the tacksman for a certain number of days per week, in return for which they received ground to cultivate and on which they might build a house. There were probably scallags in Shawbost as well; a section of common land near the sea, which bears the marks of old cultivation, is today called Blar na Scallag (field of the scallags).

The evidence is that, rather than being the egalitarian society portrayed by many idealistic proponents of crofting society today, the society living in the area we now know as the crofting counties was composed of fairly differentiated tenants and subtenants. [103] Allotments of land were called penny, half-penny, and farthing lands (Walker 1812: 56; Gray 1952: 48); place names such as "Five-penny Borve" indicate this history of land tenure in Lewis. The 43 tenants in Shawbost in 1726 paid rents varying from L3/10/4 to L9/7/4 (Scots money, which was 1/12 of the English). The differences in rent gave them different shares in the arable ground and different shares in grazing rights on the common ground.

175 423 427 Thus some tenants were relatively more prosperous than others. A large class of subtenants (scallags) did corvée labor in return for a small amount of arable land and the right to graze a few livestock. Their land was intermixed with that of their masters in the prevailing system of run-rig. "Crofters" had economic standing similar to that of scallags, but had permanent, compact allotments (Gray 1952: 49).

C. Joint Farm vs. "Crofting Township"

[632] The 1726 rental indicates that the "town" of Shawbost was a corporate unit and thus that "crofting townships" have a long history. However, Geddes (1948) argues that the form of the 1726 rental was due to the method by which it was collected. In 1726, officials toured the island and made a list in large public hearings of the rents of those assembled, thereby attempting to make certain that no tenants were excluded from the rent roll. The major cooperative work unit seems to [464] [476] have been not the township but the joint farm, which contained enough men to make up a crew for ploughing and fishing.

171 175 241 427 In the Lothians and eastern Lowlands, the land could be worked in larger units than in the Highlands, and a

171 175 427 241 typical homestead or "farmtoun" consisted of a "ploughgate" occupied by eight tenants, each of whom contributed one animal to the common plough and thus had an eighth of a share of land or one "oxgate" (Grant 1930: 97).

175 427 241 [476] In the Highlands and particularly in Lewis, about four to six men and their families worked together and shared land which was held in run-rig. The Old Statistical Account (1796) lists 90 ploughs in the [407] parish of Barvas or about one plough per five families (Geddes 1948: 57). Geddes maintains that joint tenants 175 427 241 114 233 paid an equal share of the rent and had equal "soumings" (the number of stock allowed on the common grazing land). In contrast, Walker (1812: 56) says that joint tenants paid different rents according to the share which they had in the arable land, and that the number of cattle which a tenant had on the common grazing land was soumed or proportioned to his rent; all the tenants worked the arable land together, and received a percentage of the produce which was appropriate to their share. Geddes' description (1948) emphasizes equality within the joint farm; Walker (1812) and Gray (1952) point to differences between tenants and subtenants.

175 632 241 In any case, the "town" or township was not the effective work unit, but rather was the larger neighborhood in which several joint farms existed. [233] The tenants of several joint farms grazed their stock on the surrounding moorland (i.e., on common grazing land).

D. From Run-rig to Crofting

175 233 241 311 Run-rig was an agricultural system suited to a pastoral people, who required the use of open, common pasture for grazing their livestock; the arable land was limited, and of varying quality (according to Day (1918: 12), 54% of the land in crofting counties was mountain and heath used for grazing, and only 5% was [423] arable land). Residents worked several strips of different quality, and the strips (in drained beds of earth a few feet wide and many feet long called lazy-beds or fiannagan) were usually re-allocated every few [625] years. A "constable" acting for the landlord ensured that proper husbandry was maintained.

175 241 178 427 The joint farm, and the stratification of tenants and subtenants within the farm, disappeared as "progressive" landlords began, in the second half of the 18th century, to substitute compact holdings for the "mingle-mangle of dispersed strips (Gray 1952: 46)" which characterized run-rig. Hamlets or clachans

175 178 241 423 Geddes (1948: 56) gives evidence that joint farms were abolished in Lewis early in the 19th century. Gray (1952: 50) says that by 1819 there was little run-rig left in Lewis. The factor's notebook for Breasclete, on the west side of the island, shows the destruction of clachans around 1850, and their replacement by linear townships.

175 423 427 632 178 In the Napier Commission's "Evidence" (1884) for the parish of Barvas, it was mentioned that the rent had been increased because of improvements made by the landlord, Sir James Matheson, between 1849 and 1852. Land had been drained and new townships created; and both old and new townships were lotted and rented in 1850 and 1851 (Napier 1884: 959). The Ordinance Survey 175 361 423 427 178 map drawn up in 1852-53 reveals several interesting features of Shawbost: "New Shawbost" has recently been laid out; and in an area now incorporated by only a few separate crofts on "Carnan," a cluster of houses appears, perhaps the clachan in which joint tenants lived, and from which they went out to farm their various strips of land, before Matheson reorganized the land in linear strips with dispersed housing. The peat banks [314] [194] in the Carnan area are almost exhausted, indicating a long period of settlement in this area.

175 It is ironic that the attempts by landlords to
423 initiate agricultural reform and develop capitalist
• 427 farmers led to a destruction of the differentiated
178 tenantry on the joint farms (cf. Gray 1952: 51-56),
and a proliferation of very small units, none of which
was adequate to provide a reasonable subsistence.
These small units became fixed as individual holdings
by the 1886 Crofters Act, and the only important
distinction thereafter was between smallholders with
security of tenure (crofters), and non-crofters who
built homes on the common grazing land but had no
specified rights. Although various agencies were
established after 1886 to enable holdings to be
enlarged, only in the last fifteen years have such
possibilities between officially developed in the form
of official subletting and individual apportionments.

17 By the second half of the 19th century, a trend
423 against laissez-faire was manifest in the writings of
European scholars. As feudalism broke down, small-
holders throughout Europe were being dispossessed of
their land, which was then consolidated and enclosed.
171 In Denmark, legislation was passed as early as 1682
to prevent landlords from taking steps to increase the
efficiency of their farm production by replacing the

175 In 19th-century Scotland, the cause of the High-
423 land tenants and subtenants was taken up, as part of
• 427 the trend of the times and because a series of famines
458 occurring in the Highlands caught the attention of
731 Britain. After the kelp industry was destroyed at the
beginning of the 19th century, landlords maintained
high rents on the assumption that the depression was
only temporary, which caused tenants to deplete their
capital by selling their cattle (Gray 1957: 38). A
number of reports were published on the plight of
Highland smallholders: Fullarton and Baird (1838),
MacNeil (1851), Mackinlay (1878), and finally the
Napier Commission's report of 1884 which was followed
by the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886.

175 The 1884 Napier Commission Report tried to resolve
423 the conflict between the rights of the individual small-
656 holder and the maintenance of agricultural efficiency
in a situation which still had communal elements of
social organization, by recommending an organization
much along the lines of the old joint farm. The township
was defined as a farm, or part of a farm, which was
occupied in common or in division by several tenants.
The township, seen as an agricultural unit, was to be
given various immunities and powers by which to achieve

175 domestic servants among the well-to-do families in
464 Glasgow and other cities on the mainland (see Appendix
166 A).
[359]

When the weaving started, some men settled at home
175 permanently, but many continued to come and go between
464 the sea and the loom. In 1931, the ratio of men to
166 women in Lewis and Harris was 100:114. The men came
462 home for temporary jobs, such as the construction of roads
[238] or houses. Jokes are told of the common practice of
[522] sending for an extension of leave. The men found it easy
to join the Naval Reserve because of their fishing
[706] experience; and it brought them a retainer's fee and
expense-paid trips to places off the island for several
weeks of training during the year. But when the wars came,
[901] the loss of men to the Navy and to the Merchant Service
was heavy.

B. The Land

175 The number of arrears in rent in the Barvas rent
• 427 ledger at the turn of the century indicates the small
amount of money in circulation at the time. Between 1899
and 1914, several crofters paid part of their rent "by
work," and six had some of their stock "uplifted by
decree." For example, a Widow Catherine lost "one red

For example,
a Widow Catherine lost "one red
175 mare and foal (L10), one dun cow (L3/10), and one dun
• 427 heifer (L1/10)." One family is said to have paid rent
[435] by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir
[551] James Matheson), thus earning the patronymic, "Fiddler."
Their income stopped abruptly when the fiddler at the
time, a great-grandfather of descendants now living,
converted to the Free Church and smashed his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1905 it was noted in the rent ledger
that two crofters wanted "first chance of a vacant croft
[828] in the township." In the first quarter of the century,
[864] a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighboring
township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too
precious to take out of cultivation and give to the dead
of another village.

173 A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living
241 from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was
[833] young. They used the dung of the cattle to fertilize the
[839] soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was
only 2½ acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight
stacks of barley to see us through the year." There were
173 a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the streams
243 to grind the barley. The "old Norse mill" which was
255 recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project
[851] was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got
[897]

*159 Costs:
435
246

L50/—	(Fodder used from December to August; a hundredweight bag costing L2/14 is used almost every two weeks. Other crofters do not use this much.)
8/—	(Stack of oats)
6/ 8	(Oat seed for 7/8 acres)
6/—	(Tractor hired)
9/—	(Six hundredweights of fertilizer for oats and grass. For a cropping grant of L17/10, three hundredweights of fertilizer must be put on each acre of hay.)
L79/ 8	

• [427]
[407]
[241]
[654]

*159 Income: L165/14
434 Costs: 79/ 8
435 Profit: L 86/ 6 (or about L2 back for every L1 he inve

*159
434

Net cash income or profit from the croft thus
represents 9% to 10% of his gross earnings from weaving.
If computed as cash, uncalculated income from the croft
in the forms of garden vegetables and milk products
would raise the croft income by L30 to L40. In those
households that consume their own sheep, the croft
contributes an even greater amount.

HISTORY

documented; and Harris and Lewis played out their part in the agitation for more land. Briefly, when the clan system was broken down, the clansman found himself freed of the obligation of service to the chief. The chief, on his side, found himself thrown to the economic dogs. Payments in kind were no currency; a house in London or in Edinburgh had to be paid for in cash, and a London hairdresser would hardly accept half a dozen eggs for his services. The effect of the Heritable Jurisdictions Act was like a butcher's chopper. With a stroke a social organisation was given notice to change overnight, with no period of transition allowed. The chiefs looked to the land for their money. In the old system, their prosperity had been largely measured in fighting men. Now the pressures of economics demanded increased rents from those who were being called tenants. Increased rents can, however, be paid only when the land's productivity rises. The agricultural changes percolating through the Lowlands of Scotland had not even begun to penetrate to the Highlands area. Many tenants found that, unable to pay the increased rent demands, they were ejected from the lands which, incidentally, they had held by traditional understanding—written deeds were rare. Emigration started, and the vacant lands went to sheep-farmers, well able to pay good money for the grazings.

Some chiefs did give their tenants time to change to new methods of land use, and were careful not to make a breach between agriculture and grazing. Their tenants in turn improved the land, changing in particular from the old run-rig system, whereby a man working a piece of ground one year had the same piece the following year only if the dice were thrown his way. But the class of farmers' tenants called crofters (who had no security of tenure) or cottars (a squatter type with no legal recognition) found themselves on the verge of starvation. The few acres of ground they had, or to which they had been removed, were quite unsuitable for intensive cultivation to produce even the basic necessities of life.

The picture of land use was that of a great black pot boiling furiously with a brew of which the final taste was quite uncertain. When the boiling was controlled, the land began to be parcelled out, a share to each family. This led to a rigid, almost monolithic,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

LAND USE AND CROFTING

agrarian order. Crofting townships were created which contained holdings of a uniform size, often fit to provide only a bare subsistence living. This is still so today. There were and are no means of achieving ambition through some kind of agricultural promotion, no ladder to climb to prove one's ability to win the land over to one's side to increase its yield. And as each family increased, the progeny demanded land. The family acres were divided, subdivided and fragmented to a vicious mathematical system: more people, less land.

In the nineteenth century, many estates were sold. The newcomers, with no kinship ties with the small tenantry, saw that the only way to make their estates economic was to establish large farms, which meant the eviction, by force if necessary, of the small tenants. This is what happened. For those who did not emigrate, it was a life of huddling around a weak fire, whose flame itself could hardly stand, and thinking of the prospect of starvation and the 'old days'. Thoughts nourished on these old days became the root of action; and a fierce agitation for land reform started. The Minutes of Evidence of the Napier Commission (1882-4), of the Deer Forest Commission (1894-6) and the several official reports on the conditions of the crofters and cottars, give ample evidence of bitterness and despair as the result of poverty and lack of opportunity. About 1870, unrest in the congested areas of crofting townships became a political issue. The flames of ideals were burning high and bright. Ideals were transformed into action: take the land!

By 1880, the ripples from the stone flung into the agrarian pond were reaching the general public. Sides were taken: one stood either on the economic touchline, or on that dangerous thin red line of sentiment based on high feelings and a deep sense of wrongs being perpetrated on fellow humans. The landowners naturally insisted on the right to move into an era of land use in which management was not hampered by affairs of sentiment or philanthropy. Governed by the cold principles of business, they hardened themselves in the face of their attackers. And though they pointed to arrears in rent, and their inability to improve their land agriculturally while they had tenants not of their own choosing, they faced mounting antagonism.

The crofters were in a state of revolt against the accumulation of trends and events which now stood like a high dam against their progress to a higher level of acceptance in the social scene. They stood in open conflict with local and national authority. Unhappy scenes were enacted, many being in complete variance with the natural temperament of the Highlander. Lewis crofters were not far behind with their contribution to the agitation for land reform, though they had perhaps suffered less direct action from landowners than had crofters in the Highlands and southern Islands. But their living conditions had deteriorated. And an inhumanly-efficient factor made for deep unrest.

Land agitation began in Lewis in 1881, and large numbers of Lewis crofters gave evidence before the Napier Commission. This Commission was the result of agitation for an enquiry into crofting conditions in the Highlands. Its setting up relieved a situation of acute tension, though it neither extinguished political agitation nor mitigated the disaffection felt in the more disturbed districts. Under Lord Napier's direction a mass of information was collected. The official findings of the Commission were almost identical with political declarations in the country, but did not altogether coincide with the requirements of the crofters and their spokesmen. The resultant Crofters' Act of 1886 fixed the crofting system into that rigid trance in which agricultural innovation, opportunity for improvement, the social progress of crofting communities are largely lacking. It did give all crofters permanency of tenure, where they had none before, fair rents for the land they had and compensation for improvements. But the old demand for new smallholdings and settlements persisted with greater insistence and further pressure on high political circles.

In 1888, members of the new Crofters Commission visited Lewis and found that poverty was so general in the island that among 607 crofters for whom fair rents were fixed, there were scarcely a dozen who had not been recipients of 'destitution' meal or some other form of relief. The population was too much for the land to support it under the distribution system prevailing. The number of persons per family in 1871 was on average 5·358, as compared with 4·232 on the mainland of Ross and Cromarty, the county of which Lewis formed a part. Thirty years later, in

1901, the average was only 5·086, the county average being 3·983. The population was still to reach its peak in Lewis, some 30,000 in 1911. Emigration was at a fairly high rate, some 2,000 every decade, but this was no relief with births between 8,000 and 9,000 during the same period. In 1894 it was estimated that the number of cottars (or squatters) as distinct from crofters was in the region of 1,000. These people, mostly relatives of crofters, constituted a serious incubus on every crofting township.

Elsewhere in the Highlands, the enlargement of crofting holdings relieved the land-hunger situation. It was not possible for the same to be done in Lewis, and Harris possessed even less useful land to share out. Many applications were made by crofters either for an increase in their own holdings or an increase in the acreage of common grazings held by each township. Though some 500 acres were in fact handed over by the estate management for crofting purposes, there was a steady refusal to diminish the acreage of farms.

The Congested Districts Board was appointed in 1897, supervising public works to relieve the people of a certain amount of their ills. It carried on until 1912, when it passed into the newly-formed Board of Agriculture. The Congested Districts Board could have achieved much more than it did. It scraped away only a little of the vast problem. The next major landmark in the history of crofting legislation was the Small Landholders (Scotland) Act of 1911. It extended certain provisions introduced for the crofter in 1886, and further increased the class of tenants who benefited by bringing in the tenants of holdings rented at not more than £50 (£30 in Lewis) or not exceeding 50 acres (30 acres in Lewis). The 1911 Act also brought into existence the Scottish Land Court in place of the Crofters Commission. In Lewis, however, the hunger for more land went on unabated and reached a not insignificant peak during the later years of Lord Leverhulme's regime.

A new Crofters Commission was set up in 1955, following on the report of a Commission of Enquiry under the chairmanship of the then Principal T. M. Taylor of Aberdeen University. Fresh provision for the reorganisation, development and regulation of the crofting system in the seven crofting counties of Scotland

was made in the Crofters (Scotland) Bill of 1961; this had a mixe reception. In general, today, small crofts predominate in mo areas. Out of some 18,000 (the number is decreasing annually about 15 per cent exceed 20 acres (see Chapter 5). But size ha little to do with the type of land; whether arable or rough grazing In fact, the proportion indicates that some 85 per cent of all croft in Scotland, and this applies to Harris and Lewis, cannot be con sidered as full-time now or as potentially full-time.

EDUCATION

In general, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland owe their introduction to letters to the early Christian missionaries. One of the main provisions in the early monastic Church in Ireland and Scotland was for the cultivation of learning and the training of it members in sacred and profane literature. Associated as they were so closely with the common folk on the one hand and the aristocracy on the other, something of this learning and desire for learning rubbed off to advantage on to willing recipients. Literacy however, has had many ups and downs since the dawning of the Christian era in the Hebrides. Though it is impossible to ascertain to what extent the common folk participated in the knowledge imparted by the early Celtic monasteries, there are many references to a class of cleric called 'scolocs', whose learning was accessible to the poorer classes of the emergent Highland society The 'scoloc' is still retained in Gaelic as 'sgalag', a farm servant, the poor searcher after knowledge who received education in the monasteries in return for services as labourer on the church lands and who appears in monastic records as late as the fourteenth century.

As late as the sixteenth century, however, after the influence of the Church had diminished, the inhabitants were almost wholly illiterate. When the Fife Adventurers came to Lewis in 1598, they brought a schoolmaster with them; though it can be taken that his services were intended for the improvement of the incomers rather than the islesfolk. Old Roderic MacLeod, doughty chief of the MacLeods of Lewis at the time of the Fifers' arrival, was unable to sign his name. Two of his sons, on the other hand, were

Hundreds of place names are known to the villagers which are not marked on any map. These place names constitute part of the oral tradition of a population which has lived in a confined geographical area for generations.

In most of Lewis, village and township coincide. The village of Shawbost is composed of two townships, South Shawbost in which the crofts splay outward like a fan from roads which curve over an uneven landscape, and North Shawbost which is composed of linear streets (see Map C), to which the crofts are perpendicular. Each township has its own common grazing land, and its own grazing committee. All of South Shawbost and part of North Shawbost belong to one private estate (which includes other townships to the southwest), and most of North Shawbost belongs to an estate which extends to Barvas. Beyond the fact that non-crofters in South Shawbost have found it easier to acquire crofting status, little difference between the two townships appears to be due to their belonging to different estates. As elsewhere in crofting regions, the landlords of the two estates are concerned mainly with the sporting potential of their land.

The two townships are themselves divided into named neighborhoods (cf. Vallee 1955 for a discussion of "natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas).

finished lengths of tweed. For a tweed to be classified as "Harris Tweed," it must be hand-woven by Outer Hebrideans in their own homes, but the weavers are essentially employees of the mill. All the large Harris Tweed mills in Lewis, except the one in Shawbost, are located in Stornoway. A few smaller businesses, which design and market tweeds but have no elaborate machinery to process the tweed further, are scattered throughout the island.

The village of Shawbost is composed of 169 households, of which 110 are headed by "crofters," persons recognized as legal tenants of a croft. Of the remaining 59 households, 16 rent houses which were built and are maintained by the County (called "council houses"), 11 have erected houses on the crofts of relatives, and 32 have built homes on the common grazing lands. Non-crofters participate in the agricultural activities of the township. It would not be unusual, for example, for a non-crofter to serve as the clerk of a grazings committee

In North Shawbost, one croft house and two non-croft houses are used only when the owner returns to Shawbost from the mainland for a holiday. The school-master lives in a house adjoining the school, and the minister in a manse located between Shawbost and the neighboring village of Bragar.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

conditions backward. He tells us that the Island of Lewis had been fruitful in corn until late years of scarcity and bad seasons. The crops were barley, oats, rye, flax and hemp. The native breed great industry in digging the ground with spades—a practice which he invariably associates with a large return. He even records that the abundance of corn had once been such that it encouraged them to 'brew several sorts of liquor'. For manure, sea-ware and peat were used. And harrows had two rows of teeth and rough harther in the third row. Pennant's visit to the island in 1772 found that the produce of the land was insufficient to support the population. Dieteen was city.

In Martin's time, although the economy was more or less self-sufficient, a certain amount of produce was available for export or for translation into 'several sorts of liquors, as common unquaffing, whether called tentang id est, three times distilled, which is strong and hot'. One assumes that this produce was surplus to the requirements of the island's population. The livestock consisted of 'cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs'.

TACKSMEN AND TENANTS

Most of those who held land had leases—tacksmen, who paid rent for large tracts of land and who, by setting suitable tenants here, received rents, in money or in labour, as an additional income from their farms. These smaller tenants had no leases: they could eat only what they could wrest from their holdings. In the early eighteenth century, the rental rolls for Lewis, preserved among the Seaforth Papers in the Register House in Edinburgh, show that most of the tacksmen—sixty-four in number—were MacKenzies, indicating that they were adherents of the Seaforth MacKenzie family on the mainland, who had received the lands from royal hands as the reward for their fidelity. The smaller tenants, who generally lacked surnames but were known by their personal characteristics, numbered over 200; there were also about eighty tenants by tolerance.

Rents were paid either in money be, more often, in meal, mutton, sheep, butter, labour or salmon. When it was proposed to sell the Seaforth estate of Lewis in 1772, particulars of the Lewis

TACKSMEN AND TENANTS

rental were published for the benefit of intending purchasers, a sample value in sterling placed on the items:

Money	£73	0 0
Sheepskins, 256 bolls	89	2 2
Sheep, 225	56	0 0
Pottles of Butter, 1,365	28	15 7
Tallow, 1 stone	1	0 0
Salmon, 1 barrel	3	0 0
Total =	£260	15 9

The most important event in the agricultural history of the island by far was the introduction of the potato. Martin in 1695 gives the exact date is not known, some evidence from the writer on Lewis 1748 in the *Old Statistical Account* of Lewis place it about 1743 or 1757. With the utmost difficulty . . . the people were prevailed on to plant potatoes, but of which they have great reason to be thankful by the plough and by the spade, and find them to be the most useful of all crops raised in the Parish.'

The substantial tacksman seemed, in Lewis, so dead kindly with those who, farm in the Town Ness—almost a mayor. (without the trappings and self-elected). Serious complaints against tacksmen are free. But winds of change were blowing. John MacLennan, who had for some years been Factor to the Earl of Dunmore, as indicated in Chapter 3. The premise of social conditions, in the 1770s, of the island's tacksmen, were distinctive in that social action against the agricultural system and finally in the legislation which gave the crofter certain rights.

CROFTING CHANGES

In general, the island during the last century was able to support its population, failing to do so only when disease struck at the staple potato. Each family unit in the crofting township was self-sufficient in the production and the milk produced sufficient cure for family cow. Very poor families grew potatoes only and depended on neighbours for the milk. Such families were regarded with some hatred in almost every door, the falling communion on the island tending to relieve hungry by looking to the sea. The removal

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

of the disappearance of the middlemen, their sub-tenants became tenants of the proprietor; and the descendants of these are most of today's crofters. Mr Thomas Knox, who became Chamberlain of Lewis in 1833, was examined before a Select Committee of the House of Parliament on the question of emigration from the island in 1841. At that time there were 1,215 small tenants on the island who paid yearly rent varying from 63s 9d to 27s. 3d. He stated that the country produced sufficient cure for the use of the people in most seasons. The years 1836-7 were bad years and outside relief became necessary. But he did not consider that ten person in Lewis was poor who had a lot of land, however small, if it was sufficiently stocked. There was, however, in the island, small tenants occupying land unsuitable for raising cattle, and in order to avoid the distress that had occurred in recent years he had advocated the emigration of about 5,000 people, the vacant ground to be put under sheep. The course had been followed in 1838, when five families were being about seventy people were removed and the land they had occupied was converted into sheep farms.

In the end, however, only a small fraction of the proposed 5,000 persons left Lewis under Knox's scheme. Some of those who were left worked their land under a cleaf of increasing distress, the crofters were left to eke out a living on the island. Evacuation of the Lewis Estate, was examined before the Napier Commission in Edinburgh in 1883. He knew the island's tacksmen.

Till the beginning of this century, the greater part of the Lewis was in the hands of tacksmen, or middlemen, who got in some cases from their sub-tenants in money, produce, and labour what nearly paid their rents. There were the MacIvers of the Parish of Stornoway, the Morisons and Murrays of Barvas, the MacAulays of Uig, and the MacLeods of Lochs. When Mr Stewart MacKenzie married the Hon. Lady Hood, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and took the management of the estate into his own hands, he did away with the middlemen and let the land directly to the crofters. This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction, but it had its disadvantages, as the example of a good middleman, who looked after his people, and who was therefore influential and attentive in stock-breeding, was beneficial to the people, though in some cases they may have had petty tyrants.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

for matters and for wool, the right type for translation into Harris Tweed, the prehistoric barrel is the bicycle. Crofters were better off in Holland to the Lewes and continent next adjacent (the Rom mainland) particularly for the Lewis and Harris tweed, which is such commodities as those bounds affords, as namely with fishes and brown cuttishes with the hyde and tallow, with manure where commodities they transport to Holland.'

To satisfy the Royal Burghs, Seaforth had some of his Dutch friends sent away. But several Dutch families remained in Stornoway until the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland in 1653.

In Harris, similar offers were promoted by Captain Alexander MacLeod, who in 1750 leased the island of Scalpay, Harris, for £15,000 from the commissioners acting on behalf of General Simon MacLeod, the young chief of Harris. MacLeod was a grandfather both the thirldship of Harris and a debt on the property amounting to £40,000. Captain MacLeod, who skippered the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, did much to stimulate the industry of Harris. He brought in fishermen who had experience in fishing industry. In the face of opposition and ridicule he showed by practical example that it was possible for those to make a success of the herring fishings, introducing a number of east-coast fishermen with Dutch herring nets. Captain MacLeod's venture was a good harvest from the fishings off Rodel, despite the dismal equinoxes uttered by the Harris-folk. He improved the local harbour, accommodation, and erected a second pier at Rodel. He was a bachelor, he built a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread, and twice for herring-nets; he advanced money to those fishermen who were interested for the purchase of boats and gear; and he provided them with rent-free cottages with a ground-patch on which they could grow potatoes. He built roads between the village of Tarbert and the two piers he made there, and he erected a schoolhouse and an inn. But all this hard work so pulled his resources that he contemplated selling the island. The Harris population were also to appreciate the potential income lying in the sea.

The potential of the sea was of course eventually realized, particularly where the fishing grounds were favourable, Stornoway

FISHING

of Lord Seaforth's conduct in this matter. They alleged that he had made his father an member of stringent rules for the sale of herring to Holland to the Lewes and continent next adjacent (the Rom mainland) particularly for the Lewis and Harris tweed, which is such commodities as those bounds afford, as namely with fishes and brown cuttishes with the hyde and tallow, with manure where commodities they transport to Holland.'

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TRADE AND INDUSTRY

wonderfully, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five spinsters. The ratio of stringers to shuttle-throwers was even more extreme: for every twenty-five families. The making of whisky was introduced into the seventeenth century. This was in addition to the old drink of home-brewed beer or ale (*lionn*), and much of it was sold. The cost of a gallon of whisky was equivalent to quantity of valuable foodstuff. However, the spread of distillation as a legitimate home industry by which the rent could be paid, to kind by, by sale, was followed by legislation prohibiting all but very large stills. The illegal distillers of Lewis were not to be deterred.

It was, then, by a very narrow margin that subsistence was won by the island some two centuries ago. Many more people were required to do the work of the island's soil and sea. The introduction of the potato, and the interest in the fishing industry led to an increase in population, which was recorded in the Census of 1790, if not well before, two or three open boats set out each year from Uig to Glasgow, laden with the well-bred and dried salt fish. At about the time, too, changes were making their slow appearance in the island of Harris. The little settlement of Tarbert, Harris, was required in the fishing industry. In the face of opposition and ridicule he showed by practical example that it was possible for those to make a success of the herring fishings, introducing a number of east-coast fishermen with Dutch herring nets. Captain MacLeod's venture was a good harvest from the fishings off Rodel, despite the dismal equinoxes uttered by the Harris-folk. He improved the local harbour, accommodation, and erected a second pier at Rodel. He was a bachelor, he built a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread, and twice for herring-nets; he advanced money to those fishermen who were interested for the purchase of boats and gear; and he provided them with rent-free cottages with a ground-patch on which they could grow potatoes. He built roads between the village of Tarbert and the two piers he made there, and he erected a schoolhouse and an inn. But all this hard work so pulled his resources that he contemplated selling the island. The Harris population were also to appreciate the potential income lying in the sea.

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6 TRADE AND INDUSTRY

In the earliest times, the folk of the island of Harris and Lewis lived in those days available at near hand; their existence was self-contained, the economy virtually self-sufficient. The staple food, large, the only commodities often imported were salt, iron, and, to a certain extent, wood. Rents were paid largely in kind: the produce of agriculture, fishing and labour. Surplus produce was kept, and, however primitive, it was sufficiently stocked. There was no need for which there was really very little need in the island. But once the potato was introduced in the national economy, it was not long before it was required in the island's economy. In 1790, if not well before, two or three open boats set out each year from Uig to Glasgow, laden with the well-bred and dried salt fish. At about the time, too, changes were making their slow appearance in the island of Harris. The little settlement of Tarbert, Harris, was required in the fishing industry. This was help-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed on the shores for ashes which was used in the fertilizing of shallow the fuel and soap industries. The first tentative move in the island was made in 1750 by Captain Alexander MacLeod, who brought in skilled Lowlands and from these was made help on his shore, so little was the produce's value realized at home. The Harris population were also to appreciate the potential income lying in the sea.

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CROFTER INDUSTRIES

From the pure crofter-class there emerged the crofter-craftsman. In Lochs, for instance, by the turn of the seventeenth century 80 per cent were registered as fishers and netmakers. In the west, in the parish of Barvas, some 70 per cent were also fishers, with help-making as a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where only 30

BRICKS, PRINTING, WHISKY

800 tons and had a steam-driven winch. The slip has also 175* been vanished—except for the name of the Patent Slip Wood Mills, which produce Harris Tweed.

Other small industrial activities in the island during the nine-175* teenth century included the business of Alexander MacPherson, 204 chemist, druggist, stationer and printer, who set up in Stornoway in 1842. He brought across the Minch with him Lewis's first demy-size hand printing press, which was still in use on 1 January 1889 to produce the first issue of the short-lived *The Lewisman*. Copies of this earliest Lewis newspaper can be seen at Stornoway Public Library. Early in the 1890s Thomas Nicolson also set up as a printer.

Whisky was once an important product, not only for local 272 consumption, but also for export. One of the Percy Connell's 274 main indictments against the islanders in the Hebrides in 1622 175* was that they seized any cargo of stout there of beer. The castle steward had 148* rightly in his case cited the proverb, 'The council therefore enacted 231 that masters of vessels sailing Hebridean waters should carry no more wine.' It has been suggested that this and other measures were responsible for the beginning of illicit distilling, which in Lewis continued overtly as late as 1827. One of the two principal stills established by Lord Seaforth in the island at that time was at Coll, a few miles from Stornoway, the other at Grass, a few miles farther on. Such was the fame of these stills, both for output and quality, that it was hard to choose between 'Coll' or 'Grass'. Sometimes, the product passed as an article of exchange 436 in the island, and the factor received a considerable part of the 1870 rents in it instead of money; but the stills were closed about 1870. 1920 The *Inverness Courier* of 14 November 1827 remarks virtuously: 'Owing to the vigilance of Captain Oliver, of the Revenue cutter 439 "Prince of Wales", and the new Excise Officers on shore, smuggling is so completely put down in the Long Island that there is actually not a drop of illicit whisky to be got from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head; and there is probably at this moment a larger supply of legal whisky from Greenock for the supply of Stornoway alone, than was ever imported into the Hebrides before.'

THE PEOPLE

175* 349 In 1809, the Medical Officer of Health for the Parish of Barvas described the typical Lewis crofter's house of the time: It had three apartments, two for the family, and a third for the cattle; the same arrangement was the result of the Regulations issued by Sir James Matheson for the betterment of the estate. The low 333 black walls were built of stone, or stone and turf, with a packing of loose earth, and were perennially damp. The roof, composed of a framework of wooden rafters and couples resting on the inner edge of these walls, was covered over with turf divots and straw, bound with ropes of straw, heather or coarse thatching rope, and weighted down with stones. It was never air- or water-tight, and roof water usually soaked into the packing of the walls and thus oozed into the house. Further, only the slightest attention was given to situation and drainage. The floor of the dwelling apartment was composed of a pavement of rough stones covered over with earth, and was always damp and cold for most of the year. The cattle apartment had no pavement, so that the manure liquids and slop water percolated into the ground and at times found their way into neighbouring houses and into the wells and the drinking wells. Many of the houses were built back-to-back and sometimes in rows three deep. Lighting was deficient and the windows, fixed either in walls or roof, were not made to open.

175* 375 Some houses had round potholes in the roof at the top of the 148* 375 roof, which could be opened or closed at pleasure, and were used for lighting and ventilation at the byre end of the house, though occasionally they were present also at the living end. Draughts coming in through the roof and walls, and the blazing peat fire in the centre of the middle apartment, helped to keep the air in motion, but the smoke from the fire frequently filled the upper portions of the room and, there still being no chimney or other outlet as a rule, it pervaded the whole atmosphere of the house.

175* 349 There is a sanitary point of view such houses had the gravest 148* 349 defects: it amazed visiting doctors that infectious diseases were never absent. Yet generally the inmates compensated well in physique, 164 general well-being and immunity from serious disease with these more favourably situated. Tuberculosis was the most prevalent

175* 349 In 1879, improving leases were offered to those who were will-
148* 349 [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

HEALTH AND HOUSING

ing to put their houses into better condition. The leases required, 175* *inter alia*, that the thatch was not to be stripped off or removed 148* for manurial purposes; that the byre was to be a separate building; and that the dung was to be removed regularly to a distant 231 dung-heap. A Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1896 noted that the 175* new houses being erected were following the old traditional pat- 148* terns. And through the introduction of statutory requirements did 165 being real improvements, as late as 1902 it was reported: 'The insanitary houses and the impure water to which the people have long been accustomed, would lead an enquiser to expect a high death-rate. That is not so. The island is occasionally visited by epidemics of measles, or whooping-cough, like other parts of the country; and there are sometimes outbreaks of diphtheria and typhoid fever. The floor of the dwelling apartment 164 is good.'

The Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1898 described certain 175* water supplies in the island as 'little better than cesspools for 312 surface soakings'. And five years earlier the water supply of Crossbost was 'merely a few holes dug out amongst the arable land next to the houses; and polluted with the manure dinoved off 175* their arable ground; and in some cases contaminated with liquid 148* sewage percolating through the soil from their houses.' In 1895 164 an outbreak of typhoid fever in some townships in Uig was traced to the contaminated stream whose water was used as a drinking-water supply. Improvements in the water supplies were eventually put into effect, with a marked decrease in the addresses 175* which the people had come to expect as normal to their way of 148* life. 164

The rate of infant mortality was high. The weaklings died 175* young. Only the strong survived to withstand the insanitary sur- 165 roundings. A peculiar form of disease was associated with the 164 island: it seized a child about the fifth night after its birth and 175* was consequently called the 'fifth night's sickness'. According to 148* medical opinion this was infant lockjaw *(tetanus neonatorum)*. 164 The doctor of Lochs in 1892 reported that it was common among the infants of his parish, being 'most frequently met with in those dwelling houses where sanitation in its most rudimentary form is entirely ignored, where we have to walk to the fireplace in the

STORNOWAY

364 going concern to a trust which was set up to receive the gift and 362 whose first object is to assist aged and infirm residents in the 175* island. Thus, all profits earned by the shop are applied to the 148* trust for distribution to those in need. 164

Almost all the houses in Stornoway were built by the local 362 authority. The Town Council has never been afraid of rooting 362 out unfit houses. By 1957, under the 1930 Slum Clearance Act, 175* the person in four in the town lived in a council house. The hous- 148* ing schemes, though large, have still that element of community 164 and sociability, something often lacking in newly developed 362 areas of other towns and cities. The Council also supports private 175* housing by taking up sites, clearing and servicing them and then 148* selling them to private persons. The rents policy is to have no housing 164 subsidy but deprived the statutory rate contribution (which works out at between £6,000 and £7,000 per annum). The Council's 175* tenants co-operate with rent collectors to a unique degree: col- 148* lection figures are something like 99 per cent and on occasion 100 362 175* 148* 164 362 175* 148* 164 362 175* 148* 164

even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil. Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naïvely at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started, HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island consisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoemakers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses, and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers; and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

LIFE TODAY

As in other Highland areas, some of the island's problems have become so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. They have been the *raison d'être* of so many commissions and committees of inquiry that their existence is now almost forgotten by the islander —if indeed he ever understood their nature. Some results have been seen, such as the Crofters Act of 1886 which gave Highland crofters security of tenure, perhaps the most valuable measure of the last century or two. But somehow all things have not progressed so well since that date; at any rate not so fast that crofting, for instance, is now seen to be an economic form of land use of benefit to both local community and nation at large. Many problems have been virtually ignored by successive central Governments; at least, remoteness seems to qualify a topic for the office 'pending' tray. It has yet to be fully realised that the island, with other Highland communities, is part and parcel of the area generally administered from London and Edinburgh, and merits as much attention to its welfare as other European governments, such as Norway, give to their remote mainland and island communities.

As usual, charity and self-help begin at home, and one of the most dramatic changes in island life has been the result of the agricultural revolution of recent years which is changing once-brown moors to lush green pastures: reclamation by re-seeding. This revolution is still going on. Lewis crofters in particular are showing the way, with other Highland crofting areas following suit. The change in the Lewis scene is being emphasised by the planting of shelter-belts of hardy trees and the first of the new plantations of timber-producing trees. These show the promise of the future: a lively future for a lively community. The fishing industry also has a future, brighter on the horizon than it has been for many a poor year. The Harris Tweed industry, the staple employment-source in Lewis, is maintaining its ability to retain the interest of the market. And tourism, once a perfunctory and casual affair, promises to emerge as a useful sector in the economy. There are, in addition, many small pockets of native initiative and enterprise which, given sufficient encouragement

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621
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[For information on the sale, purchase and ownership of Lewis and Harris, see category 423, pp. 230-234; 257-274.]

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

Account, there was one family there, that of the
by the owner to look after the livestock. The c
tacksman who paid £4 sterling rent per annum
duce was corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep and
and some wild fowl and feathers.

In 1844 Rona was evacuated, its last inhabit
seventh year of Queen Victoria's reign, the
Donald MacLeod, who lived in almost prehi
Rona was without inhabitants until 1884, wh
at resettlement was made by two men from Nes
imposed exile, after a difference of opinion wit
their parish; in penance, they hied themselves
1885 a relief boat called and found both men
natural causes, the other from starvation and
nursing his friend. By the fireside of their hut
for the preparation of a meal they never ate.

Today, man's connection with the island is n
small party of Lewis shepherds who each year
to shear the sheep which still graze on the green
now-ruined village. Otherwise, only the occasio
lands there. In June 1956, North Rona with it
Sulasgeir, was declared a National Nature Re
of its importance as a breeding ground for co
birds—guillemots, puffins, kittiwakes, and fuln
seal colony.

Sulasgeir

Sulasgeir is twelve miles west of North Rona
the Atlantic, bleak and grassless, and tunnell
gullies. The only life it has ever supported is se
Yet one of the old buildings is said to be a cha
'Tigh Beannaicht' (House of Blessing). Accordi
tion, Sulasgeir was once used as a prison for s
it is also said that Brenhilda, sister to St Rona
island to perish. Yet another tradition claims t
rock that Prince Charles Edward made his firs
Scots clansmen, when the ship that carried him
spoken to by a Ness boat making for North Rona

The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars was the staple diet of the St Kildans; the oil and feathers were the vital exports that paid the island rent to MacLeod of Harris, the owner of the group. These exports also helped to pay for the purchase of such foodstuffs as salt, sugar and tea, and other items which the island could not itself supply. The St Kildans owned some hundreds of sheep, the wool being spun and woven into tweed, and a few cattle were also kept. But the seabirds were the foundation of the island economy.

The factor which led ultimately to the desertion of the island group was isolation. The community there was throughout its history undoubtedly the most isolated in the British Isles, though until the present century this mattered little to the St Kildans. All that was deemed necessary for the continuation of the community was that, once a year, MacLeod of Harris should send his factor over from Skye to collect the island goods that were to be sold, and to bring with him those provisions which would see them through another twelvemonth. However, as the demand for the island's products declined, communications became more important: to support the family a man had to leave to find work on the Scottish mainland. Large-scale emigration began in 1852 when thirty-six islanders (with State aid) left for Australia. Island life was punctuated by loss of life; boating disasters and cliff-falls in particular deprived the community of the vital male elements needed for survival. Tetanus infantus, known on St Kilda as the 'eight-days' sickness', strangled two of every three babies born; this disease ravaged the island for almost a century and again struck harder at the male sex. About 1810 the population was about 200, a definite overcrowding. By 1861 it had fallen to 78; in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 73. A decade later it was nil.

Isolation tended to make the St Kildans a human menagerie. With the improvement in boat services, St Kilda became a 'must' on tourist itineraries. The tourist trade took on an economic importance for the population after July 1877, when the *Dunera Castle* steamed north and west for a voyage to the 'romantic Western Isles and lone St Kilda'. The steamers continued to call throughout the three summer months annually for sixty years, their passengers eager to buy souvenirs: tweed, quern stones, spinning wheels, stuffed birds and eggs; indeed, anything to remind them,

184 Comparisons at the present day are most illuminating.
791 In the Hebrides one may pass from Calvinist Lewis-and-Harris to Catholic Barra, through South Uist, where Presbyterian and Roman Catholic dwell, side by side, in mutual respect. Although their home life, economy and language are the same, the influence of a comparatively
121 recent divergence in religion is marked. Such Island evidence, present and past, forces one to re-examine conclusions upon life in the Lowlands accepted until recently, and to seek for the truth upon earlier forms of life in common and for their meaning today throughout 'the North and West'.

175 Ancient elements of unity, and later ways in which
423 these were broken, adapted or remade, region by region,
429 are being unravelled. The Old Estate Plans, made at the outset of the agricultural revolution, show these immedi-
621 ately before the re-planning of fields and farms (*circa* 1750–90). These plans also reveal the existence of still
178 earlier types, not otherwise recognisable even on the spot.
184 With their rentals (when available) they reveal the ways in which old joint farms were placed under a single tenant, as in Lothian, or were split up among several tenants, as in Ayrshire.[1] From such geographical data, both the economic and the deeper social aspects of rural life emerge with new clarity. Such data may be linked to Planning Surveys of land and rural life for tomorrow.

621 Now, although so fundamentally equalitarian within
427 themselves, these hamlet communities of the Gael were subjected to the overlordship of a chief or laird, either directly or through an intermediate gentleman-tenant, a
174 'tacksman'. History, with archaeology read in history's
172
3

[1] For Lothian, see Arthur Geddes (1938 and 1951); for Ayrshire, see J. H. G. Lebon, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, Vols. 62, 1945 (pp. 7-13); 63, 1946 (pp. 100-110). Further references in Bibliography.

621 light, suggests that such lordship goes back to early con-
427 quests of self-supporting agricultural and pastoral communities by well-armed raiders of many races, including
174 the Celtic-speaking swordsmen of the Iron Age. The last
172 and most notable of these conquering raiders were the Norsemen. Their influence was profound, whether, sailing direct from the Scandinavian forest settlements and fjords, they raided and settled as heathen Viking crews, or, at a later stage, they invaded England from Normandy—that fertile province which they had made theirs in fact and name—under the panoply of civilisation and with Papal benediction. A generation after the Conquest they commenced the penetration of Scotland.

183 The paradox of loyalty to one's fellows with loyalty
181 to a lord, of stoutly equalitarian thinking bound up with fervid admiration for an aristocracy, is nowhere more
614 marked than among the Gael. They sought to reconcile these conflicting loyalties by claiming common ancestry for chief and people, as the children (*clann*) of a hero of history or myth. The years 1945–47, which marked a centenary of the last of the desperate Jacobite Risings, stood at the close of the latest of many wars in which fame has been won for the symbol of clanship—the tartan, long proscribed (by the Act of 1747) 'to every man and boy in the Highlands'. At such a time, the Gaels' loyalty to the death cannot be forgotten although old kings, old
121 chiefs have gone. But its paradox must not only be re-
182 membered but understood, from its roots in communal
184 life and environment through history. Not until this is done can important phases of our own time be understood, such as the failure of Lord Leverhulme's seven years' endeavour in Lewis; nor can the present opportunity of Highland renewal be grasped by the help of

184 share their characteristics. So to gain a sense of pro-
105 portion from the start, we must map the location of Scots countrymen, their numerical importance, and their types
128 of grouping. Let us begin with the first of these three aspects, their regional location (Fig. 2).

102 The base map on which the data are plotted shows the boundaries dividing the hill masses of the Highlands and
102 Southern Uplands from true 'lowland'. This hill country
13 is mostly covered by rough pasture (left blank on the map)
311 within which lie strips of 'Isolated Arable' with other improved land in the valleys and along the outlying coastlands (shown in black). This hill country includes the Scottish Isles, with the exception of Orkney, which falls
241 rather into the category of 'lowland'. It is largely devoted to sheep farming and crofting, or left to grouse and deer.
429 The lowland area from the Orkneys to the Tweed and Solway is devoted to mixed and dairy farming with lowland types of small-holding, except, of course, for 'Industrial Regions', which include most of the urban area of Scotland.

226 Within the 'three-mile' territorial limit from the coast lie the inshore waters, in which local fishing was once important, and might again become so; these are left white on the map (Fig. 2). By contrast to their narrow extent on the East Coast, their width is notable in the Northern Isles and on the West Coast.

102 The problem set in making this map is to show two
13 different worlds, as it were: the Highland and the Lowland.
184 The two are rarely envisaged together, and much confusion of thought and policy results. To master the map, the
128 reader may scrutinise first one part, the Highlands (cover-
182 ing the other with one hand), then the other part, the Lowlands (in the same way): thus each will appear clearly in turn. Both can then be envisaged together.

182 Let us begin with the economic and the social signi-
184 ficance of the Highlands and Isles with which we are concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space' is
311 the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown black)
241 which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore waters,
429 and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by line C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or com-
361 munities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainland and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazing; the line C also encloses a small area devoted to other grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, mainland, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill country are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small farms and small-holdings.

174 In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint labour-
621 team on land formed the communal units contained within

Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C .... C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black areas: strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings
(in the Lowlands)

The symbols show the average number of employees per team in each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

(a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm
— 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
◆ 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
■ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(b) Per Full-time Small Holding
● 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

241 and with the addition of 10,000 workers on full-time small-
162 holdings, these constitute a labour force of nearly 100,000.
467 Nevertheless, there are more crofts than farms in Scotland, and more small (part-time) crofters than farmers, besides
241 'full-time small-holders', of whom so many are crofters, north of the Highland line. Thus the number of crofter
429 families forms an important item of Scotland's rural popu-
162 lation. Of these, the families of Lewis-and-Harris form fully one-fifth, owing to the remarkable growth of population until 1925. Even in the little burgh of Stornoway many families hold a plot of land, and at heart they may be almost as much 'crofters' as townsmen.

241 Socially, what is meant in the Island by the term
429 'crofters'? Although each Island crofter cultivates his
621 own arable holding (his croft), he shares the common pastures with fellow-crofters, each having a right to a 'sum' of so much stock, 'his souming'. Open, sandy land by the shore, if any, may also be shared. These common grazings, shared together by the crofters of one community—a hamlet, a village or township—form a social link of great significance. They distinguish what we shall call 'township crofting' from individual holding, whether of part-time or full-time small-holdings, or of true farms. The common grazings, enclosed by line C (Fig. 2), thus
361 form an important social index. About 75 per cent of the area included forms Common (or other Crofters') Grazings. The close dots of the dotted line divide the 'Commons' from Deer Forests, as in the Island and inland from the north-western coasts. Widely spaced dots divide the Commons from the Sheep Farms and other mixed holdings further south.

241 Outside the tract of 'township crofting' in the north
361 and west, the chief unit of Scots rural life is the farm,

i [see p. 16 .. analyst]

103 634 175 491 Harris; South Harris is ringed by a road, extended recently to take in the more isolated 'Bays' townships.

2. *The Crofts and Crofting Ways*

241 The prevailing modern unit of cultivation and tenure in the Islands is the croft, the land held individually by each small landholder or 'crofter'. The Anglo-Scottish term croft (Gaelicised as *croit*) meant steadily cropped, infield land, manured and never left fallow, and distinguished from the unmanured outfield with its long fallows and poor out-turn. This term came into common use in [175] the Highlands and Isles in the eighteenth and nineteenth [427] centuries with the splitting up of the older unit of cultivation and tenure, the small joint farm, with its little team of [423] fellow-workers or 'small tenants'. By 1830 group tenure had been replaced by individual holding of crofts, but with the pasture still held in common, as it is to the present day, and an allotted strip of the machar.

The Lewis croft consists of a nominal five acres of crops, of oats, barley (or bere) and potatoes, sometimes with recent additions of turnips, and more often a small [175] hay crop. The word 'nominal' is used because during the nineteenth century the croft had often been subdivided [428] between two or more sons, without addition by reclamation to bring each subdivision up to the acreage of the original croft. Moreover, in the hilly southern part of the Island, cultivation is in little patches instead of in continuous fields. There, narrow ditches have been dug and the soil heaped up to form little ridges about ten feet by four, banked up [178] by turf. These are known as *feannagan* in Gaelic, or in English, 'lazy-beds'—a term in use as early as the time of Burt, two hundred years ago. Thus only about two-

369 632 of the place, even the schoolmaster and ministers being mostly Islanders, in Stornoway an important minority of the officials and business men hail from the mainland, and some of them from the Lowlands. New blood has undoubtedly been needed to promote enterprise, to foresee new possibilities, and even, at times, to make the best of the past. At the same time, the cleavage between town and country is marked in ways of thought and feeling as in 369 632 197 livelihood. To take a single criterion, that of speech, most of the children of the town speak no Gaelic and many hardly understand it. While the percentage of Gaelic speakers was 95 in the three outlying parishes in 1931, in the burgh only 70 per cent could still speak the old tongue. By 1951 the ratio, still almost unchanged in the outlying parishes and townships, had considerably lowered in the burgh.

369 632 656 427 654 228 288 The attempt to harmonise the interests of country and town forms a hopeful aspect of the activities both of the Stornoway Trust, which holds the rural and urban property presented to the people of Stornoway parish by the first Lord Leverhulme, and of the Lewis Association, formed in 1943 to undertake studies of the Island to guide action for the future. The maintenance of the town's prosperity will depend greatly upon its industries of fishing and of spinning; and these are almost inseparable from the maintenance of the rural population for whom Stornoway acts as regional centre, and who weave with the yarn spun in the mills. Unity in constructive purpose could go far to build up the prosperity of the community.

361 369 632 With the recognition of the need for planning aroused by the problems which faced the country with the return of peace, it is proposed, at the centre of the Burgh, to rebuild the whole of the peninsular area of Point Street,

175 511 162 171 much of Britain and Europe until about 1700. A modern parallel may be found in Asiatic lands with the frequency of famines alternating with periods of recovery or, in others, the long-drawn misery of chronic under-nutrition and endemic disease. In modern Europe, only international [731] or civil war can now bring such extreme widespread misery. And as peace brings partial healing, so in the Island past, when good seasons returned after famines, the life of the family renewed itself.[1]

175 593 The narrow margin of survival even in good seasons, the risks of the bread-winner's death and of his family's destitution, and the need of co-operation in so many tasks made the family too small, weak and precarious a unit to stand alone. Even with relatively little division (or specialisation) of labour, and in spite of its apparent self-sufficiency, the family had perforce to link itself with wider circles of community life.

(a) JOINT LABOUR BY SMALL TEAMS: THE EVIDENCE OF TENURE IN 1715–26

175 241 427 642 613 Romance is hidden among the rent-rolls of the Seaforth estates, all of which were forfeited when the Earl rose for 'King James VIII' in 1715. For of the rents withheld from the government until 1720, on the mainland at least the loyal clansmen paid a considerable portion to their exiled chief, styled 'Marquis' by 'King James'. But the

[1] The 'ups and downs' of a peasantry living on the margin of subsistence and subject to severe disease can be studied in India, 1871–1941, where the 'net' or mean change has to be correlated with the 'variability'. [113] This wide problem was reviewed in a series of papers to 1948; "The Social and Psychological Significance of Variability in Regional Changes of Population", with examples taken from Indian villages. (A. Geddes, *Human Relations*, Vol. 1, 2, 1947–48; cf. *Geog. Rev.* 1942 and 1948; and *Geog. Journal*, 3, vol. 98, 1941).

175 241 427 476 rent-rolls record something of more vital and enduring concern, the unit of community life in the Lews. This was the 'conjoint' or 'group' farm of the labouring peasantry —though it was overlaid in parts of the Island by the formation of tacks held by gentleman rent-farmers.

Both rolls are Judicial Rentals, that is to say, the 175 241 427 656 tenants, great and small, were convened by the Government Commissioners and examined on oath as to the rents they formerly paid; the accounts were then entered and totalled. Because of the Jacobite resistance, the small amounts of rent and the maladministration of the Forfeited Estates, doubt was cast upon the first rental, of 1718. A second rental was therefore compiled in 1726, upon a different system, which confirms the correctness of the first.[1] All were named, including those absent or 'valetudinary'.

175 361 182 184 433 476 Owing to the Island's comparatively smooth land surface and access to the sea, the people could group themselves as they chose. Whereas in the Highland mainland many a pocket of land is too small to keep more than two or three families alive and no fishing grounds are available, in Lewis the people could join together in teams of four, five or six, to work a hamlet-farm or penny-land, definable as a joint-farm of unit size, and to man a boat with "four to row and one to steer".

175 241 427 436 113 The first point of interest is the equality of the shares, each man paying exactly the same as his fellow-tenants for his 'farthing',—a fourth, or other equal share of the farm. An average share of rent was a little over 10 shillings sterling with additional payments in farm produce, though not (as

[1] A. Geddes, "Conjoint Tenants", etc., *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Series, vol. i, no. 1, 1948, pp. 54-60. This reconciles the evidence of 1718, reproduced in the Brand Report (1902), Appx. O, and that of 1726, edited by J. R. N. Macphail (1916).

175 241 427 436

might be thought) in cured fish. Here is a sample Deposition from Borve (W. Lewis), a township then composed of five hamlet-farms, or 'pennylands', with their share of outrun, peats and fishing grounds over the whole and known as Five-Penny Borve.

> Donald McGillimichaell, William McHomas, Gillichallum McCoilog, and John McConnell in five penny land of Borrow and Parish of Cladach afor^d MAKE OATH severally that neither of them has any Tack of their possessions, But that each of them pay yearly to ye above Mr. Zachary McAuly for behoof of ye Countes (of Seaforth) for^d Nyne Pounds Scots (*i.e.* 15/- sterling), Two Bolls one Lipie meall, Fifteen pound weight of Butter, and three-fourths of a mutton. Depone they and each of them are someqt in arrear but know not the Particullars, and this is ye truth as they and each of them shall answer to God, and depone they can't write.
>
> (Signed) DAVID BETHUNE
> (Sheriff Substitute of Ross).

175 241 427 451 [612] [613]

The only point on which these good fellows must have had to face qualms in 'answering to God' was their lapse of memory as to 'Particullars of arrears'! None of the 222 small tenants could remember this! Although the Chamberlain or Factor, Zachary MacAulay, denied it, he may have exhorted or compelled payment of rent in order to forward it to the exiled 'Marquis'. Mainland rents were actually despatched to France from Leith in broad daylight under an armed guard of clansmen! At the same time, neither MacAulay nor the joint tenants were of Clan Kenneth, the MacKenzies. MacAulay himself was a man of high character—and a poet too—and not one to collect rents in order to embezzle them. His affirmation has the ring of truth, with little alloy. To the Government Commissioners he wrote that what made it impossible for Lewis peasant-fishers to have paid rent in full during civil war,

and still more to pay arrears, was "the rugged Hag, Poverty, that would resist both King and Government". We may guess that MacAulay passed a hint to the tenantry that (in a good Gaelic idiom) they had better 'disremember' details of arrears: and this they did.

Of the four names on the deposition quoted, one or two may have been surnames, others the patronymics of kinsmen. As is still the custom, clansmen knew one another by names of many kinds. Stature or colour was used to distinguish a big John from a little one, a fair from a dark, or a pale from a swarthy; occupations such as smith or caird (artificer, not necessarily travelling tinker as now) were used, and also mere nicknames. Of the eighty-one crofters or fisher-burghers in Stornoway, fourteen were MacKenzies; and other mainland surnames, such as Fraser and Gunn, Matheson and MacLennan, also showed their descent from the immigrants brought in when MacKenzie of Kintail founded the burgh to encourage fisheries after 1611. Each held a single holding, usually rented at two shillings sterling.

To conclude, rentals about 1715 show (1) the characteristic equalitarian grouping of small peasants as fellow-workers in the hamlet-farms still held directly from the superior, Seaforth; (2) the eighty-one small burghers of Stornoway; and (3) tacksmen, responsible for the larger part of the Island rent, but under whom we know that the labouring peasantry, though without the local independence of the others, also continued to dwell and to work together. The tacksmen were to pass away, as many of them had originally come, at the desire of a mainland lord, and the lord, in his turn, was to leave; but the small peasantry of immemorial stock still hold and work their land.

175 241 427 476 423 The strictly equal division of rent on each joint farm shows the equality of sharing among its workers by 'run-rig'. By this system, periodic pooling and redivision kept the land in convenient blocks, a wet part here and a dry one there, all shared out to give each man an equal chance whatever the weather might bring. Such sharing was not mere static division of goods: it was the means for co-operative work, in ploughing and harvesting, or cutting peats, on land, and in manning a boat for the fishing.

175 241 476 For ploughing, two or three men were needed—one leading the horses (walking backward and singing his encouragement), a second to hold the plough and perhaps a third to turn the sods; but four ponies abreast were needed to haul the plough, and each tenant possessed only one or two. In addition, the plough might be preceded by an instrument to clear the ground, a 'reestle', requiring two horses and one man. A Gaelic proverb notes the selection needed in the horse team, and one disabled by age could be replaced as leader by another. Ploughing was necessarily co-operative.

175 241 [182] [134] [226] The rockiness and hilly ground of Uig and Lochs diminished the usefulness and, no doubt, the number of ploughs, but the importance of their fishing was some compensation for poor agriculture. In 1790 there were ninety ploughs in Barvas parish, where they were no doubt of ancient usage: a ratio of one plough to five families, or one per joint farm. To judge from the smoothness of Stornoway parish, ploughs were probably used there in a similar ratio.

175 476 While some jobs were done by no more than two people, —as when a ridge or 'lazy-bed' was put in order, the

the cultivable land and pasture having been shared out to minimal fractions, they called for a minimum of labour by the men—though housewives and mothers had always plenty to do. The morrow's tryst for work might prove a tryst with no work done. The men might foregather on the moor to cut peats, for instance, but if one of their number was late, become so absorbed by telling stories of the Fenians that, ere work had begun, it was time to go home—resolved to meet for work some other day! As a result, reformers advocated breaking-up the joint-holdings; and this was done in Lewis by 1830, as noted in the Brand Report. But mere division of the land did not increase its total amount.

Yet while noting the progress made by the liberation of individual initiative, we can see the drawbacks of individualism: the evictions made with no provision for new homes, and later the monotony and the loneliness of modern farm life, the mutual distrust of employer and employee, and the general inability of farmers, as yet, to co-operate. At the present, when planning, purchase and sale are required on a large scale, particularly among small-holders, the interest of each is still "the interest of the whole". The team-spirit must be recovered from the work (not simply the play) of school onwards to further education and communal effort.

To sum up, every farm-hamlet was held jointly and on equal terms, each joint holder being responsible for an equal share of the rent, and the movable run-rig system ensuring equal quality, as well as equal quantity, of land. Common interest was assured, and there was mutual support in distress or sickness, as when one member, named in a deposition of 1718, was 'valetudinary'. Lastly, work was done in common not only when it led to efficiency

the sake of mutual stimulus and pleasure!

(D) THE SHARING OF MACHAR, MOOR AND SEA

Embracing several joint-farms, each with its team or crew, came the township. The township had not only its common pasture, it had a special extensive system of run-rig on sandy, coastal machars, as in parts of the Island and in Uist—a system continued to this day.

On the machar of Barvas, cultivation strips are still re-allotted periodically, as they were annually on all the Island machars. The machars behind the 'storm-beach' dunes of the Outer Hebrides closely resemble one another, from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head. The immemorial system was noted by Walker and more fully by Carmichael, who called it 'intermediate run-rig' to distinguish it from the run-rig of older joint farms on boulder clay, and it persists at the present day.[1] In North Uist the machar land is laid off in large scatts or fields. Each scatt is divided into as many rigs as there are crofts in the township. There may be a dozen scatts in all, and usually half the number are lying out in natural pasture, but they are put under crop in rotation, so that each year one or two scatts will be brought into cultivation, and the others left out after a course of cropping. When a scatt is to be brought into cultivation the township 'constable' (who holds sway under the district ground officer) appoints a day for allocating the rigs.

[1] Walker (1808); Alexander Carmichael, appendix xlviii and xcix, pp. 213 ff. and 451 ff., Report of the Crofters' Commission, 1884. Socially these form the most significant evidence in this great Report. See also "Grazing and Agrestic Customs", *Celtic Review*, 1905. Cf. C. Macdonald, *Scot. J. Agric.*, 1919. See also his lively accounts of machar and pasture: *Highland Journey: Suil air ais*, 1943.

175 the last of these in outlying villages after 1918. When
554 Matheson purchased the Island in 1844 he left the fishing
565 industry to the curers, great and small. Particularly before
427 most fishermen could speak and write English, the local
228 curers were best fitted to take action not only in marketing but in approaching the Government to aid the construction of piers and harbours. On the whole, their long ties with place and people, coupled with education, made them useful leaders of a community in which leaders were needed to adapt life to a changing economy. Here and there one or two small farmers survive, a little apart from the main townships. Aided by a long cultural tradition, they meet changing times by combining with their inheritance a sane selection of new elements.

175 Looking beyond the Island to the mainland, the time is
621 approaching for a fair assessment to be made of the historic
622 parts of chief and landlord, factor and tacksman. Not only
427 is there an enlarging body of documentation, but a growing
184 understanding of communal strands in tradition and of
178 changing social economy seen in relation to geographic
182 factors of place and region. And in the Gaeldom, conditions varied greatly between bordering areas from Mar to Kintyre,[1] and the heartland of tradition in the Hebrides. In the Island, one must remember the fundamental opposition, yet the recurrent readjustments of chiefs and people. These, and not only individual differences in character and conduct, explain the differences of experience and opinion
829 quoted above. The people's belief, so frequently given to me thirty years ago, that it was bad factors, not the landlord, who taxed and harried them unjustly, expressed an idealistic faith in a chief, rather than the facts of economy
565 and history. For lordship begins with the imposition of
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[1] A. McKerral, *Stat. Hist. Rev.*, 1947.

195 rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide
621 for the lord's desires.
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(c) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

194 The peaceful round of daily life formed the most
614 enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners
597 of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tensest
501 ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether
726 at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must speak for them. Many a song of the Isles conveys the team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men. And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley
194 be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portray-
614 ing the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who
501 warred against the waves and won. Alexander Mac-
538 donald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic, and probably in English, verse for its portraits of the crew in action, from steersman to 'look-out'. The flowing metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with "the Blessing of the Ship", the arms and the crew. Then the
194 bard, speaking for the stately skipper, "incites the sixteen
614 oarsmen to row" out of the bay, and they row to a rousing
501 shanty, a *Iorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and
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113

[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (2nd ed.), 1890 (pp. 1-28); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 63-83), 1940. Cf. A. Macleod (Ed.), *Sar Orain: Three Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1933. The different themes of its sections, each in its own metre, have been published separately, in *The Songs of the Hebrides*, and elsewhere.

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750-1919

(a) TRANSITION: MIGRATION, FISHING AND KELP-MAKING

175 UNTIL the 'Forty-five the township had lived an
433 almost self-contained life. Its traditional economy
(624) was self-sufficient except for two indispensable
(427) commodities—salt for the housewife and iron for the smith.
(794) Beyond this, the chief demand for payment was the rent
(437) to the lord, with tithes for the kirk. For these needs and demands a step towards production for exchange was required, the more so that what was exported might include the very necessities of life in 'bad years'. The rent was paid largely by the sale of a surplus steer or two, and
175 drovers called for the cattle. By 1790, if not before, two
317 or three open boats set out annually from Uig, for instance,
436 for Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish.
(485) Although salt seems of little account today, it once bulked large in the Budget, its price being heightened by duty,
194 especially after 1797; "as dear as salt", was a saying, *cho*
(751) *daor ris an t-salluinn*. Salt was needed to preserve the carcase of a 'cattle-beast' or sheep killed in autumn, and
175 for cod and herring curing. Wrecks were valuable, as on
433 all infertile undeveloped coastlands, both for their timber
(326) and their iron. Cairds or tinkers occasionally brought
(443) metal goods; or a packman called, as strange a figure then

175 as some Indian pedlar one meets on the road may seem
433 now. An older packman's tale of his long tramps, of the
(326) people's poverty and hospitality, must have resembled
(483) the mingled plaints and praise one hears from an Indian
(191) pedlar today! But in the past only a speaker of Gaelic could find his way among the people. Almost until 1900,
(197) if not still later, Gaelic speech was to prove a social bond, but ignorance of English speech an economic barrier.

The transition to increased exchange, with migration,
175 permanent and temporary, tended to make for specialisa-
433 tion. About 1795, *Statistical Accounts* enumerated, for
463 every hundred families, two or three smiths, wrights (or
(178) carpenters), a shipwright or some boat-makers, a few weavers, tailors, and perhaps a miller. Each of these held some corn land, individually or in shares, with rights on the common. The line between plain crofters (to use a later term) and crofter-craftsmen was not easily drawn, and different writers wrote as they judged best. In Lochs, 80 per cent were fishers and net-makers. On the open shores of the west, in Barvas parish (in which three-fourths of the men were also 'fishers'), kelp-making was a seasonal
(470) occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s. to 60s. in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tacksman at 3d. each, earned £1 a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s. per ton, and roads at 8d. a day.

175 In Harris in 1795 the eight 'bred' (or trained male)
236 weavers worked only for 'the gentry': the laird, the
462 tacksman and their families. The rest of the weaving was done by the women, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. But in Lewis male weavers were commoner—one to every twenty to thirty families was the ratio—as if the practice of home weaving by the women was less universal there, even at the time

175 About the seventeenth century there was introduced
432 the making of *aqua vitae*, *uisge-beatha* or 'whisky', in
273 addition to the ancient drink of home-brewed beer or ale
(470) (*bionn*), a pleasant brew still tolerated by the Excise. In order to pay the rent, the making of whisky from home-grown barley must have consumed a precious foodstuff.
(651) The small bulk of whisky facilitated export by tacksman or Factor, and it also served to tickle the palate, cure the ills and cheer the spirits of the crofters themselves. But
(651) before 1800 'the Gauger' was in the land, though there were undoubtedly whisky stills that escaped his eye. In some of the old houses a hollow space was left at a selected spot between the inner and the outer walls, to conceal what was not meant to be seen. A pleasant picture survives of
(511) the eighteenth century. It is told of a man of exceptional prosperity, that when he laid his head on a pillow "he could hear on the one side the clacking of his corn mill and on the other the babble of his still". What more could
(470) the good man want? Nevertheless, the increase of distilla-
(671) tion as a legitimate home industry by which to pay the rent (in kind or by sale), followed by legislation prohibiting all but large stills, first encouraged the Islanders in a taste for strong drink, then tempted them to smuggling and breaking the law.[1] Seaforth started two distilleries at Stornoway, importing barley for the purpose. By 1825 these had ousted the illicit stills, but they were closed about 1870.[2]

175 From a perilously narrow margin of subsistence, periodi-
108 cally overstepped in famines, the Islanders passed to a
431 larger measure of production for sale, and in the second
432 half of the nineteenth century population increased. Its
(113)

[1] Cf. D. Stewart of Garth, *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 1821, vol. i, pt. ii, sec. v.

[2] Brand Report, 1902.

175 though also by State loans. The efforts of the Island
228 fishermen in the sixty years from 1880 to 1939 can be
471 summed up in the values of their boats. From 1880 to
458 1900 values rose by one-half, but had fallen somewhat before the war of 1914-18 (to £20,000). Immediately after, the purchase of steam drifters at Stornoway and the fitting their herring boats with motors by the fishermen had tripled the value (close on £70,000 in 1920). But markets fell almost at once, and losses continued. By 1938 the Island fishing fleet was valued (or overvalued) at a quarter that figure, and was worth less than the fleet of sixty years before.[1]

(b) THE CROFTERS ACTS, 1886-1919: TOWNSHIP, LANDLORD AND STATE

175 Centuries of cattle-keeping having left the grass moors
236 in good condition, the profits of sheep-farming rose after
1770 with the price of wool for manufacture. Protected from foxes by modern guns, and handled in large flocks, the newly introduced Cheviot and Blackface sheep and
(178) lambs could graze in their thousands. In many estates the introduction of additional sheep, with the crofters' cattle, was tried and worked; but in others the people were
175 ruthlessly evicted. Although offset by many acts of wise
427 economy and generous aid, eviction were not frequent
236 during the next half-century, and they engendered growing
427 bitterness.

Whereas in other Isles, and on the machar of Harris, the small joint tenantry and subtenantry were evicted in

[1] Figures 1828-33 quoted from J. P. Day, *Public Administration*, 1918; 1888-1900 from Appendix K, Report, 1902; 1912-1938 from *Fishery Board for Scotland* Tables (Table E-III, 1912-21, and Table 15 and A.I., 1938).

175 favour of sheep farmers, in Lewis there had been very few
236 evictions. Early in the days of the sheep-farming boom,
427 one of the Seaforths had been offered 'double rents', and refused them rather than turn the people away. Later on, when the wars were over, and when the Seaforth fortunes were failing, subtenants and their cattle had been replaced by sheep stock in three tacks around Broad Bay
(731) (at Coll and Gress and at Aignish at the base of Eye Peninsula). The failure of kelp-burning and the potato famine brought acute want in rocky parts of the Isle, and led to the desertion of their homes by certain communities.
175 In 1863, out of a total of forty crofters in a township of
16 Barvas parish, more than half emigrated by help of Sir
(472) James Matheson. Local resettlement was aided by Sir James, who provided horses and implements for Uig people who moved to Shawbost (6 miles north of Loch Roag). Abandoned places became farms; and although agricultural prices fell and Sir James made little profit from the erection of buildings and the drainage, dyking and fencing on farms, land was improved, and better stock was bred, of which some was available to improve that of crofters,
175 too. Twenty years later, however, increasing numbers
427 increased the demand for crofts, and the people sought to
(171) reoccupy their forebears' land. In this, the Lewismen shared in a widespread movement, extending from the Scottish Isles to Wales and Ireland.

As a result of the real sufferings of the people in the
195 Highlands and Isles, and of the growing interest in the
654 land shown in the country and in Parliament, where Irish
(648) members made themselves the crofters' allies, the Government in 1883 appointed a Royal Commission of Enquiry under a fair-minded judge, Lord Napier. As a remedy, the Commissioners recommended measures based upon

175 the legal recognition, improvement and enlargement of the
654 ' township ', defined as a farm, or part of a farm, occupied
in common or division by several tenants, three or more in
(632) number. The executive officer of the township, the Con-
stable, was to be elected annually by the community.
(202) The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 did
embody three of the chief recommendations made, but the
175 first, the recognition of the township, was omitted. The
671 Crofters Act gave security of tenure, compensation for
• 427 improvements, and some facilities for enlargement of hold-
ings. Security was perpetual and could be passed on by
the crofter within his family, though renounceable by him
upon one year's notice, upon fair statutory conditions.
The chief conditions were payment of rent, fair mainte-
nance of the holding, and respect of agreements with the
proprietor. Although this was not a recommendation of
the Commission, the Act also provided for official revision
of rents. A ' fair rent ' was to be proportionate to the
produce of the croft, and this, together with the value for
improvements, was to be fixed on application to a body
of the three Commissioners, ' the Crofters Commission '.
In Lewis between 1887 and 1912 this brought a lowering
of the rental by over a quarter and the cancelling of two-
thirds of arrears accumulated earlier. The rental for a
' croft ' was to be below £30 ; this figure was raised to
£50 in 1911, except in Lewis, where £30 remained the
limit in order to allow the excessive congestion to be
relieved by division even of small farms.

The passing of the Small Landholders' Act of 1911
completed the code known as the Landholders' Acts,
1886–1911. The Land Court replaced the Crofters' Com-
(481) mission. The Department (then still the Board) of Agri-
culture took over the powers of the Congested Districts

175 Board, created in 1897 to develop agriculture, fishing and
671 home industries, to form new holdings, to assist migration,
• 427 and to provide public works such as roads, bridges and
(617) piers. These powers were further extended by the Land
Settlement (Scotland) Act of 1919, passed to provide land
for ex-Servicemen.[1]

The Crofters' Act granted to the individual crofter
most of the rights advocated by the Napier Commission,
and other advantages besides, but it did not impose upon
him the corresponding duties. As Day wrote, " The land-
lord was compelled to act in the interests of the crofter ;
the crofter was not compelled to act in his own interest ".
(632) The Act discarded the core of the Napier Commission's
scheme, that of " a recognised local community, the town-
ship, with an executive officer, the Constable, working for
the improvement of the township, by fencing, draining,
and other works, with the assistance of the proprietor ", the
whole scheme enforceable by " legal compulsion on either
(829) side ". As a Gael might say, the Act discarded *duty-right*
of members of the community to one another.

As a result, peace did not descend upon the Island at
once. The demand for land continued, followed up by
attempts to settle upon it, in spite of police and armed force.
(648) A legal victory was to be present home. In Lewis the

[1] A useful summary of the legislation is given by the Scot. Econ. Com-
(113) mission's Report, 1938, pp. 17–21, and a searching review in J. P. Day's
Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 1948, a work
of real social insight.

The Act of 1919 is still the main enactment under which land settlement
schemes may be undertaken in Scotland ; but the Agriculture (Scotland)
Act 1948 included new provision to allow the creation of holdings up to
75 acres in extent and £150 in rental. After the Second World War a more
cautious policy was adopted in regard to settlement of ex-Servicemen and
little progress has been made in carrying out schemes, despite many un-
fulfilled applications in the Hebrides and elsewhere where the demand for
crofts exceeds the supply.

175 death of Sir James had left his widow in possession of the
423 estate, a lady with little training for its responsibilities.
668 In south-east Lewis, in November 1887, a body of landless
men attempted to settle on the peninsula of Park, Loch
Seaforth, after which some of the illegal settlers or raiders
were tried and acquitted, and fourteen small crofts with
outrun were provided. In January 1888, 300 men marched
from Barvas to petition Lady Matheson that the sheep
farm of Galson should be allotted to some of them at a fair
valuation, as they could not live on their tiny plots. Lady
Matheson refused to consider the petition until the arrears
of rent due by Barvas tenants were paid. Less than a week
after, sheep were driven off Aignish (Eye) and police, rein-
forced by marines and soldiers, arrested eleven men. Two
days later, more sheep runs were invaded, fences de-
molished, and sheep driven off. On January 20, 500
marines were ordered to Lewis (of whom 200 actually
sailed). On February 2, the Aignish raiders were found
guilty and sentenced to terms of from nine to fifteen months'
imprisonment. After this the disturbances gradually
passed away. Yet the seeds of trouble only lay dormant ;
they were to spring up a generation later, and again after
the war of 1914–18.

In defending the Napier Commission's plan to recog-
nise the township, one may accept their definition of it as
a farm held by tenants, singly or in common. Yet it must
be remembered that the word ' farm ' had come to have a
very elastic meaning. The joint farm-group was once the
active group for labour in common ; but if the ' township '
included several joint-farms, as it generally had in the
Island, its people formed a relatively ' passive ' community.
Members of the township enjoyed rights in common, and
shared in duties of observance ; but they had seldom to

175 co-operate in active endeavour. It was all the more
632 important to have an elected ' official ', the Constable,
• 427 one of themselves but given an authority. He could
(241) be no restitution of the old joint farms where they had
been broken down by migration. Yet it should have been
(674) still possible to extend the old spirit to the larger townships,
as the Commissioners held.

Again, the constitution of the township is bound up
175 with the rights of common pasture upon the moor all the
632 year, and in winter even on unfenced arable ; but the
425 Crofters' Act failed to regulate the rights and obligations
671 of Common Grazings. It slackened the authority of the
estate without restoring the hold of the tenant community
upon its members. After five years the Government began
to recognise the mistake, and passed the first Crofters'
(701) Common Grazings Regulation Act, permitting the crofters
(687) to elect a Common Grazings Committee. But it was ill-
considered ; most of all because non-crofters, that is,
cottars and squatters without legal tenure, were not bound
by the Regulations. After this the disturbances gradually
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000 to one another, to the landlord and to the State would have
been profoundly different.

(e) STATE AID, THE LAND, AND THE CROFTERS' RESPONSE

175 Until 1914 the congestion in each Island township
671 dotted between the wide, lonely moors, had increased, and
324 it was still increasing. To every two legal crofters, either
a cottar or a landless squatter was to be found, on the
176 ' skinned land ' outside the crofts. Parliament, in 1886,
650 had discarded the Napier Commission's recommendations
to give powers to extend the crofts from portions of the
(362) common, or to supply a house site and garden space for
men of independent occupations such as fishermen. This
congestion embarrassed Government and local services.

• 427 The associated rating system was also at fault ; indeed
(654) it has still to be put right. For instance, a crofter's son—
able to make a living, say, as a fisherman, and about to
marry but having no croft—was penalised by high rates,
should he take up his proper status of a legal cottar at a
small rent. Throughout the crofting counties, the legal
crofter, as an agricultural landholder, was (and is) de-rated,
and had only to pay one-eighth the rates of a non-agri-
cultural holding of the same rental. Only since 1938 has
the value of the house been assessed. A recognised cottar
(233) paying rent to an estate was rated as owner and occupier,
being treated in fact as a feuar ; ' and as such he had to
bear a heavy burden of rates, possibly of over 30s. in the £.
Whereas if he ' lay low ' and shared his father's or brother's

[1] *Feuar*, in Scotland one who holds real estate in consideration of a
stipulated annual payment ; lit. on *feudal* tenure. Cf. J. P. Day (1918),
pp. 383–384.

175 for a firmer hold upon the land and for a return to aban-
178 doned sites. The communal possession of joint farms, held
433 directly or under tacksmen, gave place to individual pos-
session of crofts. Yet the legal recognition of perpetual
(731) tenure in 1886 gave not only the crofter's home but the
(184) crofting neighbourhood a security unequalled in Britain.
(167) The use of moor and machar in common was retained ;
but in spite of improvement or reclamation the crofter's
175 estate or the township was weakened, rather than strength-
178 ened, by the Crofters' Acts. Confusion grew—both upon
the arable land, subdivided, unenlarged and unimproved,
423 and also upon the common grazing, sorely overstocked in
spite of ever diminishing ' soumings ' (or family shares) of
• 427 cattle. Rating difficulties and anomalies appeared. Com-
munal discipline, maintained at sea by fishing, was weak-
ened on land after the abolition of the joint farm-group,
and almost nullified in the townships by subdivision and
squatting.

A year before the potato famine of 1845, a new landlord
had brought good-will, capital and pioneering effort to
the Island. There had been directed to experiments in the
(426) reclamation and the industrial utilisation of deep peat.
Helped by employment on these and other works, the
(427) population of Lewis continued to increase, when increase
in Harris was arrested for a generation. Yet while neither
(311) experiment with peat met with success, little aid had been
(167) given to develop fisheries. In both parts of the Island a
growing population was supported from the ' seventies
onwards by help of earnings derived from the seasonal
herring and the East Coast and from inshore line
fishing at home. Women added to the Island income by
seasonal ' gutting ' and, in Harris, by their spinning and
(167) weaving. Money was earned by work on the mainland,

175 rural Islanders throughout the nineteenth century and even
178 today.
197
175 The year 1887 the State made efforts to improve the
671 crofters' lot. Crofters' claims to stake shares upon the only
available reclaimed land in the Island, that of a few farms,
241 had been refused in the ' eighties,' but came to be granted,
• 427 in principle and in fact, after 1900. During the war of
1914–18 the Government reaffirmed its promise to divide
sheep farms into crofts for men returning from the Services,
and the Land Settlement Act became law in 1919. Yet in
spite of tentative experiments and schemes, a determined
effort to see the Island possibilities and face its problems,
as a whole, still remained to be made in the twentieth
century.

175 When war broke out in 1914 over 3000 men left Lewis
161 for the Services, and corresponding numbers left from
Harris. Others, too, served in the Merchant Marine, or
72 posed to U-boat warfare. From the first months of the
701 war, Lewismen in the Seaforth Highlanders, and men from
Harris in the Camerons, fought in the Highland Division
as shock troops in the attacks which cost the Division
the highest casualties of any in the British Army. The
Lovat Scouts, the Mountain Battery, the Garrison Artillery
and other units, also enrolled their men, and suffered loss.
175 The last blow to the Island came after anxiety had ceased.
161 Early in 1919 the transport *Iolaire* struck a rock and sank
at the entrance to Stornoway harbour ; and 200 men who
73 had withstood dangers and hardships during four years
of war went down in the dark of a winter's night, almost
within sight of their waiting relatives massed on the pier to
welcome them.

175 in communal organisation, historically brought about by
622 landlord or steward over a wide period, has commonly
557 been ascribed to some inherent feebleness in Gaelic
• 427 communal spirit. It is all the more vital to realise the
strength of community and its self-governance by neigh-
[623] bourly 'parliament' and chosen constable, by which the people put their ideals into practice. These may be given in the three traditional terms of fellowship, fairness and freedom, summing up the Gaelic watchwords.[1] Unless the struggle for freedom was too severe, fraternity, followed by equality, came first.

[538] [1] *Companas, caidreabh* or *cairdeas*; *ceartas, coir, cead cothrom*, or *co-roinn*; and *saorsa*.

(D) TACKSMEN AND SUBTENANTRY, FACTOR AND LORD: 1611–1800

175 We saw that in the Rent-roll of Lewis in 1718 the first
• 427 sixty-four entries, signed personally, recorded compara-
614 tively large holdings (tacks), the annual rentals of which were
621 from £3 : 6 : 8 to over £10, the occupant of one (or more) of which would be styled Tacksman or 'Man of the Farm-town' (*Fear Baile*). While one or two tacks were shared, a few tacksmen may have held more than one tack—though one cannot be sure, owing to the recurrence of the same
[551] Christian names in each clan. It is striking that half the tacks—though mostly small ones—were held by men of undoubted mainland names, of which there were twenty-two MacKenzies, four MacLennans and three Mathesons.
[166] These were doubtless the descendants of gentlemen from the mainland who in 1611 had helped to win and hold the
[551] Island for MacKenzie of Kintail, later Lord Seaforth. Of native Lewis names the principal are MacAulay, Morison and perhaps MacIver.[1] Only three small tacks were held by MacLeods, who may have been of Island stock. Lochs and Eye on the east coast had largely been granted in tack to the new-comers; on the south-west and west coast MacAulays and MacIvers held much of Uig and a few farms in Cladach; but more of Cladach and most of Ness (in the north) were still held by joint tenants. Stornoway was held by burghers, of whom perhaps two-thirds bore mainland names. The peasantry remained as unnamed subtenants on these holdings, of which the total rents show

[114] [1] The writers of the Brand Report (1902) assumed that MacIver is a native name. This would seem to be borne out by its frequency as a surname today, in contrast to MacKenzie, Matheson or MacLennan, though W. C. Mackenzie (1919, p. 92) thought the MacIver tacksmen arrived with Seaforth.

they were composed of at least one to four or five hamlet-farms. The tacksmen also had cottars for service.

Thus in Lewis a special reason, the accession of Seaforth, had led to the granting of many tacks to his own clansmen and to natives. Elsewhere in the Highlands the procedure is noteworthy during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for the collection of rents from the peasantry by means of large tenants had financial advantages for the greater landlords (I. F. Grant, 1930). The tacksman's continuation as tenant depended on his paying regularly, for the lease was not a hereditary grant. A tack could also provide for a lord's younger sons or immediate relations, such as formed the gentry of the clan. Along with smaller lairds, these furnished the cadres of officers who led the clan regiments down to the 'Forty-five, and later the Highland Regiments of the line and the Fencibles down to Waterloo. Like MacKenzie, other great chiefs such as Argyle or Breadalbane leased tacks when they acquired the status of peers and took possession of fresh lands with Royal support, after vain resistance from native chiefs and their followers. In Lewis, the fiscal status of tacksmen was applied both to MacKenzie's supporters from the mainland and to those with ancient roots in the west of the Island. The latter may have thought a mere lease a poor substitute for hereditary tenure, though a legal compromise necessary if their possession was to be continued. The lack of permanent tenure ultimately led to the departure of their descendants.

From the families of these tacksmen have sprung most of those of Lewis birth or descent who achieved fame before the twentieth century. Of the MacAulays, we saw Zacharias was Chamberlain during and after the 'Fifteen. Thomas Babington Macaulay came of the same line, as

did another Zacharias, closer than Thomas to the Lewis tree, who worked nobly with Wilberforce for the emancipation of the slaves.[1] Still another connection was a Canadian emigrant, grandfather of the late T. B. Macaulay, LL.D. Alexander Mackenzie, the explorer of the Mackenzie River, was a descendant of Lewis tacksmen. MacIvers and Morisons also distinguished themselves. But the sons and daughters of crofters had to await the provision of education in English before they could rise in trade, learning or war; hence few Lewismen of the greatest Lewis name, MacLeod, achieved eminence until the twentieth century.

As for the peasantry, the interposition of a new or enlarged class of tenantry between themselves and the superior must have meant that they had to labour on the tacksman's home farm, and no doubt pay more in produce or cash. Hence the Gaelic saying that if the position of the small (joint) tenants was bad, that of the subtenants was worse, "the Evil One itself". Following the long fight with the Fife Adventurers, hardship may have been greatest where mainland tacksmen were placed above the joint tenants; but even under MacAulays and MacIvers rents may have been raised and some of the joint freedom lost which was still enjoyed in Ness. Whatever adjustments had been made in an earlier period had to be re-made with the beginning of Seaforth's new order.

In the following generations, contradictory accounts of lairds, factors and tacksmen are given by contemporary observers. Certain of these insisted that, given the poverty of the lands as a whole, the chiefs and landlords, factors and tacksmen, were the saviours of their people. Yet even among those who supported authority in general, there was

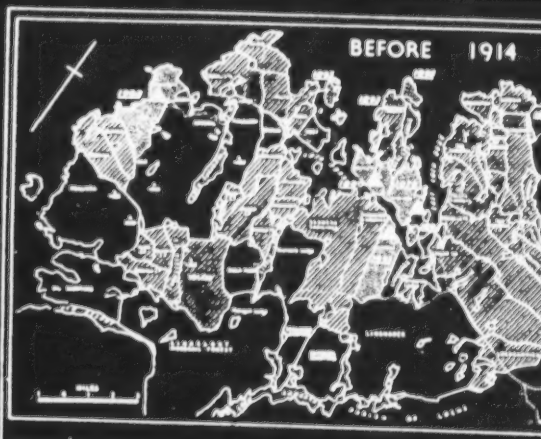
[1] Charles Booth, *Zachary Macaulay*, 1934.

seldom agreement as to which of these three types brought the greater good or wrought the lesser evil. As elsewhere, tacksmen declined by the end of the eighteenth century. Buchanan wrote in 1793, "The greatest tacksman in Lewis is the Laird's ground officer"; but he added that the Island was for the most part inhabited by tenants holding directly from Seaforth, who "easily perceived the folly, as well as the inhumanity, of lending out the people on his island to imperious tacksmen, for the purpose of raising fortune to themselves on the ruins of the unfortunate subtenants". At a later date a former Chamberlain of the Lewis estate, John Munro Mackenzie of Calgarry, held otherwise. To the Napier Crofters' Commission in 1883, he said: "Till the beginning of this century the greater part of the Lewis was in the hands of tacksmen, or middlemen, who got in some cases from their subtenants in money, produce, and labour, what nearly paid their rents". Their names were those of the seventeenth century. Early in the century, "when Mr. Stewart-Mackenzie married the Hon. Lady Hood, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and took the management of the estate into his own hands, he did away with the middlemen, and let the land direct to the crofters. This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction, but it had its disadvantages, as the example of a good middleman, who looked after his people, and who was industrious in farming . . . and stock-breeding, was beneficial to the people, though in some cases they may have been petty tyrants." He might no doubt have added that they could, if need be, stand between a bad factor and the crofters.

When they lost their tacks, some of these 'middlemen' turned to the growing fishing industry and helped to supply capital and enterprise as curers; their successors were active through the nineteenth century and I spoke with

his bonnet in his hand and bowing low and reverently, he declares on honour in presence of earth and heaven, in presence of God and men—*Am fianuis uir agus adhair, am fianuis Dia agus daoine*—that he shall be faithful to his trust. This simple declaration of office is extremely impressive, though now, alas, becoming obsolete from the fears of the shallow thoughtless and the scoffs of the severely wise. The duties of the constables were to divide a new peat-moss into banks for which lots are cast, to see that every crofter does his share of free labour in road building and repair, to engage herds and the like." (*Napier Crofters' Commission*, 1884.)

Naturally such duties called not only for tact, firmness and authority, temporal and spiritual, on the part of the constable, but for strong backing by the crofters, as a body, of the man they had freely elected. But hence too, the advantage to a covetous landlord of superseding free election by appointing his own nominee. Martin found that this had been done in St. Kilda shortly before his visit (about 1695) and the people complained bitterly, as well they might. We shall see that the same suppression of liberty was resented in Lewis less than a century ago. As a mere estate employee, moreover, the constable's position between the landlord's factor (or ground officer) and his fellow-crofters, was always difficult; and it might be cruelly hard, as when he was forced to help in destroying a neighbour's house at an eviction. Neighbourly union in a township was damaged by this duality of function, when he who should have been their own impartial executive was in the landlord's pay. When affairs got too bad in a Lewis township the people would appoint their own constable in addition to the landlord's; even so, rivalry and dual functions weakened the community. Such weakness



/p. 22/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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175
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361
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• 427
632

in the country, and foreseeing that the only sure way to avoid irritation, friction and law-breaking was to grant the farms and have done with it, the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Board felt that they could not withdraw the Government's promise of land. The Secretary for Scotland, Mr. Munro (later Lord Alness), spoke with knowledge as a Highlander. A general promise of small-holdings had been made to all Scotsmen in the Services, and could not easily be set aside at the wish of one man, then approaching the age of seventy, however well-intentioned, wealthy and in earnest. Yet Leverhulme declared that while he would relinquish farms on the west side of Lewis, his schemes could not go on unless he retained the farms on Broad Bay to supply fresh milk for Stornoway. If the farms were divided, he said, he must close the whole scheme forthwith.

Of his earnestness Leverhulme left no doubt. He not only planned but set up a retail agency, Mac Fisheries, and he purchased drifters and trawlers, the Mac Line, to fish far afield and bring the catch to Stornoway, there to be transhipped by his own carrying service. He set about building model dwellings in Stornoway itself, each with its quarter-acre allotment. 'Work and Wages' from capitalised fisheries were his offer, in further token of which, road-making and other wage-providing work was begun. Until 1920 the farms remained undivided. The farmers, for their part, could only wait for the expiry of their leases, or for the transactions by which their leases would be foreclosed and compensation awarded. Prices of stock were high at the time, and the valuation would correspond to these. Hence tenants felt they could afford to wait. Meantime crofters' stock wandered over their farms—whether because of the wilfulness of the stock or

of the owners—but farmers knew it was futile to protest, and they suffered with a wry smile and a shrug of the shoulders. After all, most of the farmers had stayed at home and their affairs had prospered, in war-time; whereas all but the older crofters had had years of seafaring or fighting, and the nation's debt to them had not yet been forgotten. The farmers kept quiet and waited.

Meantime, Leverhulme made public war upon the Government. Speaking in Edinburgh in November 1919, he declared that "Reports, thick as leaves in Vallombrosa, have been the dominating feature of Government policy in the Highlands and Isles . . . but the invariable rule seems to have been, whenever expenditure of public money was recommended, for the Government either to ignore such reports or to cut down expenditure so penuriously as only to result in waste . . . by not spending to the full amount . . . Lewis and Harris have too long been the Cinderella in the Government pantomime."[1] The crofters, reading this in the daily papers, and again in the weekly *Stornoway Gazette* a day or two later, chuckled with glee, rolling the phrases on their tongues. They might not all have been able to explain the strange words, like Vallombrosa or Cinderella, though they sounded fine; but all had heard of pantomimes, and some might even have seen one, without saying too much about it to the minister. About 'penurious expenditure' they could have no doubt. Yes, a fine speech, they felt! Yet in spite of the sting of truth contained in such orations, these did not make it easier for Government to co-operate with the orator, to prevent raiding or to deal with it should it begin.

Raiding did begin in the spring of 1920. Applicants

[1] Lecture at Edin. Phil. Instn., 1920. Quoted in Leverhulme (1927).

(B) SLOW CHANGE: 1925-39

1. *The Land, the Sea, and the Loom*

423 When Leverhulme parted company with the people of
632 Lews his gesture of farewell was one of generosity: the
431 offer of Lewis to its people. The Stornoway Trust was
[623] formed, and this accepted the gift of the adjacent crofting townships of the Parish, and of the Castle and its beautiful Park or 'policies'. In crofting townships, however, the people declined the offered gift of land, finding that they could not afford the augmentation of rates entailed by acceptance. So the remainder of the estate was offered for sale in several lots, which were bought by individuals
423 and have proved safe investments. The letting of sporting
632 rights adds a further, albeit a variable, return of income to that of the rents received. It is indeed anomalous that a
• 427 crofting estate, such as a Lewis parish, can yield a good
431 return to a purchaser, yet that the crofter-occupiers them-
829 selves would lose by receiving it as a gift.[1] Much-needed improvements in housing would also be discouraged, for fear of increase in their rates. It is true that if (under existing laws of assessment) all the farmers and crofters, cottars and squatters of a county were to become owners at the same moment, the total increase in assessments would either be repaid in greater services or met by lowered rates

[1] The reasons (as indicated in Chapter IX (E)) are briefly that a crofter (or 'small landholder'), as occupier of an agricultural holding, can only be assessed at three-eighths of the occupier's half of the assessment on his Fair Rent, *i.e.* at less than a quarter of the whole rental. Although he may have built a good house and other buildings he is not assessed at their full value; neither is his landlord. Were he to become owner he would then be liable to assessment both as occupier and as owner, on the full annual value of land and of buildings too; with deduction of five-eighths on the agricultural value as occupier only.

[see pp. 320-323 ·· analysis]

423 —or by a compromise between. But as it is, if one crofter,
431 or a small group of crofters like those of a township or
• 427 parish of Lewis, were to become owner-occupiers (even by gift), they would be penalised as compared to others.
632 Hence the Lewismen preferred to go on paying rent as
829 statutory crofting tenants. Leverhulme sold the land and received the price; the new owners paid for it and received an investment; and the only 'loser' on this curious transaction was the Local Authority, the County, which failed to make more in rates!

[623] Further reasons why the great majority of crofters declined Leverhulme's offer have been given by the Lewis Association's Economic Committee (1944):

(a) As individual proprietors, they would lose the advantages of the jurisdiction of the Scottish Land Court in dealing with their disputes, and any litigation would take a more costly form.

(b) They would be debarred from obtaining loans from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland for the improvement of their holdings [illegible]ouses; as the Department would no longer have the "Corne[illegible] Stone" of a landlord to fall back upon in the event of renunciation.

(c) The crofters were afraid that as individual proprietors they would forfeit their share of the Common Grazing rights.

(d) Should they wish to quit their holdings they would be compelled to find a buyer in the open market, instead of renouncing to their landlords and getting valuation.

(e) There is a feeling among Lewis crofters that they prefer to have a landlord before whom they can lay their difficulties and disputes, and who will attend to their wants; an authority that relieves them of responsibility.

[181] As the historical evidence has shown, a lack of responsi-
[624] bility has been greatly due to the undermining and then the abolition of the authority of the township's own elected
[175] Constable.

362 of new steadings. The average amount of loans (totalling
652 £166,000) was under £150; repayment has been satisfactory, and the arrangements made by the Department of Agriculture won general praise among the people. Yet 1200 houses were very far from replacing all the 'black houses', and many more are needed.

433 In terms of cash profit, ten crofters today run their crofts less remuneratively than the farmer they dispos-
• 427 sessed; even together they may show little more total
241 production than the farmer. Nevertheless, these ten crofts each allow a part, at least, of the basis for a country home.
[423] Hence the weight of public opinion supported, nay, insisted on 'giving back' the land to the descendants of those who
654 had worked it sixty or a hundred years before. The State
423 bought the farm stock at a high valuation, and till lately without adequate reform of crofting use and wont. The farms having now been divided, a great emotional issue, which had smouldered for half a century, has been brought to an end. Although the practical results are small, the crofters feel that justice has been done, and that fact may
311 be a great gain. Now that there is no more green reclaimed land to be had, the reclamation of the peat moor, or the grey 'skinned' boulder clay has to be faced.

By financing the renewal of Leverhulme's brief attempt to reclaim deep peat on Arnish Moor, south of Stornoway, the Canadian, T. B. Macaulay, made a resolute attempt to
[241] solve the island's main agricultural problem. Good crops were grown, potatoes and silage produced, and a dairy farm established. But the difficulties called for continuity of effort and research. From the practical point of view of 'demonstration' it had been a mistake to tackle deep and almost level peat, black in colour and viscous in consistency.
[407] There was not the light machinery required for cultivation.

/p. 8/

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TABLE 12

Crofter-Tenants by Status and Size of Holding

	Area of croft (inbye): 0-5 acres	5-10 acres	10-50 acres	All Crofts
MALES UNDER 65	39%	46%	45%	43% (267)
of whom with:				
Regular employment	26%	28%	26%	27% (170)
Casual employment	7%	8%	14%	9% (55)
No other employment	6%	10%	5%	7% (46)
MALES OVER 65	23%	27%	35%	26% (167)
FEMALES UNDER 65	8%	5%	7%	7% (43)
FEMALES OVER 65	10%	7%	4%	8% (49)
ABSENT: Males	14%	12%	6%	12% (75)
Females	5%	1%	3%	4% (24)
ALL TENANTS	100% (314)	100% (201)	100% (114)	100% (629)

Owing to rounding totals may not add.

/p. 28/

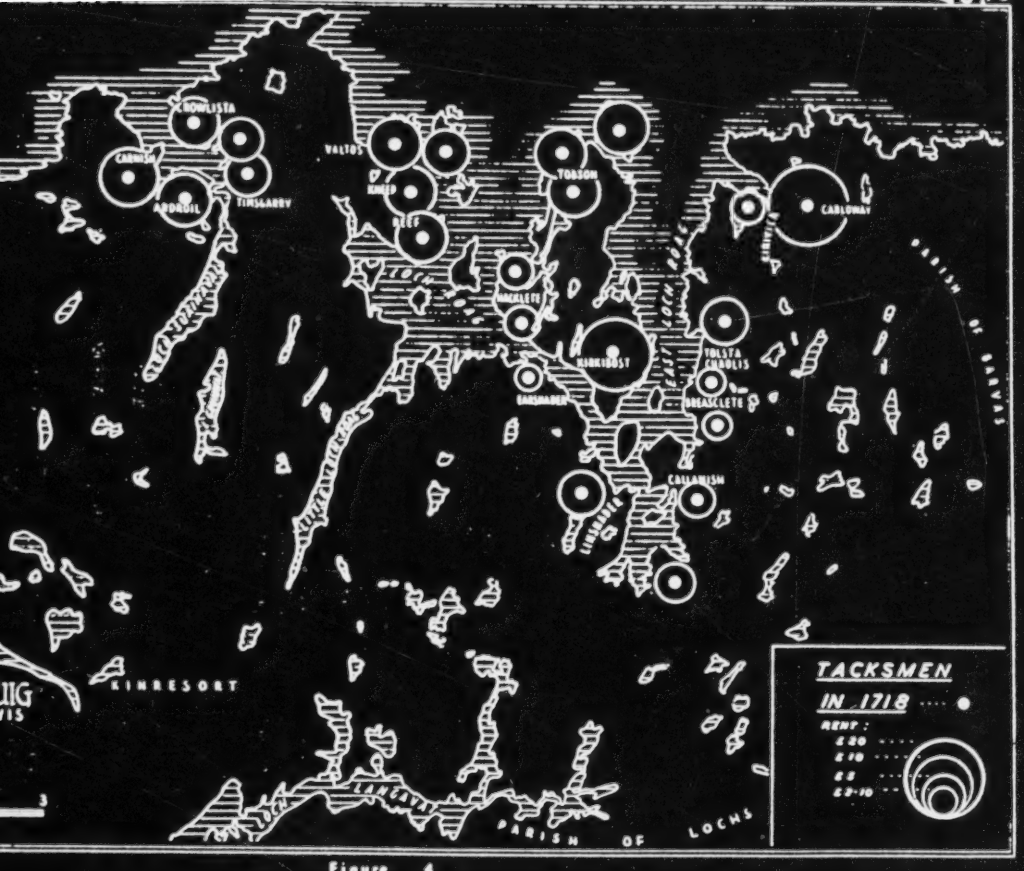

Figure 4

233 change in area, then the amount of stock allowed, per poun
427 changed, too.
656
175 This does not appear to have been done in Uig although
per pound was increased after rents were reduced in the la
recently, the Crofters Commission, in re-stating souming
generally (but not invariably) applied the soum to the 1886
of the 1912 regulations. This may appear to have the meri
crofters pay any attention to the Regulations, it satisfies th
rent gives them a larger soum and less likelihood of being
overstocking. However, it perpetuates inconsistencies wh
teenth century when the stock allowed per pound sterling re
total rentals were increasing as squatters' and cottars' hol
above). Moreover, the old souming referred to the old ty
much smaller beasts than those kept today, and it assumed
be in full use. A further complication arises because abo
substantial enlargements but the soumings do not appear to
it is little wonder that the Grazing Regulations are seldom
any close relationship to the grazing capacity of township l
carefully revised Regulations, in which unlimited substitut
was specifically forbidden, would be of considerable benef

241 The inbye, or croft, land is invariably separated from
283 fence, the gates of which are generally closed for protecti
412 November. Progressive townships are installing grids to
178 traffic interference and straying stock. The fencing of in
1930's and is still by no means general. The inbye land is
winter grazing and its division into innumerable tiny fence
for cultivation, would restrict the movement of stock in se
predominantly pastoral economy complete enclosure of ind
189 necessarily an advantage. This problem will be discusse
context, it is relevant to point out that the small crofts of
the larger ones of, for example, the Uists and Tiree. Th
advantageous in the latter may be retrograde in much of L

The lay-out of the crofts aggravates this problem. Th
lotting, well-suited to spade cultivation and common winte
five times the length of fencing required by an equi-dimens
fenced the stock may be deprived of both water and shelter
become relatively unimportant a suitable solution to this p
potato plot near the house and to put the rest of the inbye
four communal parks in which grazing could be properly c
is posed by crofts which have been sub-divided. These m
as half a mile long by 10 yards wide or, more commonly (
sharing of innumerable plots, a system known locally, but
is seen at its height in Kneep (fig 22), where every croft
problem does not arise in townships with large crofts, wh
equi-dimensional. These are mostly the result of re-set
been fenced, (see, for example, figure 15).

Crofter-tenants.

162 An analysis of crofter-tenants according to age, sex a
427 several important clues as to the present unsatisfactory s
463 one-third of the tenants are over 65 years of age; a furth
may also be over 65, others are younger people working a

The Trustees of the Stornoway Trust have not found it easy to meet the cost of keeping up the valuable property of the Castle and Park, nor to carry the burden of its rates, no adequate income being available for the purpose. Today, however, Leverhulme's gift is being put to good use as a Technical College, opened in September 1952.

Division of the available farms, after providing about 200 small crofts (of ten acres or so), still left the problem of finding legal homes on legal tenure for the remaining cottars and squatters.[1] The Department of Agriculture arranged to feu plots of 'skinned land' on the outrun of certain townships, including one in the extreme north and others in Lochs. About 200 of these little holdings with potato ground were provided. On the holders' behalf the Department feued land from the owner, after obtaining the consent of the Common Grazings Committee of the township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', *i.e.* for enclosure of a portion of the common. The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem disproportionate to the economic value of the holdings. Yet difficulties of law and custom had been allowed to go from bad to worse during the past eighty years; and these difficulties were overcome.

To encourage better housing in the crofting counties, loans are made to 'crofters and fishermen feuars' personally. Local stone, or latterly concrete, is used, and much of the building is done by the 'man of the house' himself, and his friends. From 1920 to 1940, nearly 1200 loans were made in Lewis and Harris for the erection (or improvement) of houses, and in a few cases for the erection

[1] Estimated at 1200 to 1500 shortly before, the open question was whether subdivision during the previous eighty years was to be recognised and accepted.

103
175
178
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427
632

This

Date:
1878
1880
1886 (?)
1886
1891
1892
1893
1910
1912
1921
1921
1921
1921
1921
1921
1925
1932
1935

Notes:

TABLE 8

THE RE-SETTLEMENT OF UIG, ISLE OF LEWIS

(See also Fig. 10).

able may not be complete for the earlier years; acreages are approxim

Farm:	Township	New Holdings	Holdings enlarged	
Linshader	Kirkibost	26(1)	-	c.
Hacklete	Hacklete	20	-	c.
Linshader	Borroston	-	-	
Dalamore	Carluway	-	-	
Linshader	Lundale	6	-	
Linshader	Kirkibost	-	26	
Linshader	Hacklet & Breaclet	-	32	
	Valtos	-	30	
Mangersta	Mangersta	13	-	
Dalamore	Garenin	-	27	
Reef	Reef	15	-	
	Aird & Reef	-	10	
	Crowlista & Kneep	-	43	
	Garyshader	-	13	
Timsgarry	Timsgarry	8	-	
	Enaclete	-	9	
	Geshader	-	11	
	Ungshader	-	4	
Croir	Croir	8	-	
Carnish & Ardroil	Carnish	6	-	
	Ardroil	14	-	
	Carnish & Ardroil common grazing			
Mealasta	Mangersta	-	10	
	Brenish	-	29	
Dalemore	Garenin	-	27	
Linshader	Linshader	10	-	
Uig Lodge	Ard Bheag	2	-	
Garynahine	Garynahine	12	-	
		140	245	about

(1) Crofters were moved to Kirkibost from Bosta (425 acres), which w given as an enlargement to Tobson crofters.
(2) Partly off Timsgarry.
(3) Partly off Carnish and Ardroil.

142 The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" huts, some still in good repair, are of uncertain date. The best preserved are on the Moregail Deer Forest, in remote situations which make it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; those on the Garynahine common pasture are associated with assymmetrically ridged, curving, lazybeds. This, however, need not imply permanent occupation of the site, nor does it solve the problem of age; such lazy-beds are certainly old, possibly pre-potato (c. 1790 here) - but the huts do not decay with age and may be very much older.

175 [24] [226] [251] [441] [614] Early in the eighteenth century the present area of the parish of Uig was held from the Seaforth clan chief by 26 tacksmen, whose names are recorded in the judicial-rental of 1718, (Fig.4). They, presumably, had sub-tenants but of these there is no record. Elsewhere in Lewis the same rental records many small tenants holding direct off the chief but in Uig, apparently, the tacksman and sub-tenant system remained intact. Although we cannot be certain of their precise extent, the distribution of the tacks coincides fairly well with that of the better agricultural ground (Fig.2).* Five of them cluster round Uig bay, four were in the Valtos-Reef area, and three around the strait of Little Bernera. All these districts have machair; together they accounted for three quarters of the meal and more than half the sheep and money rents. What is more, these rents represented 27% of the total rental of Lewis, whereas by 1887 Uig yielded only 17% of the rental and by 1901 the proportion was reduced to 14%. The relative decline of Uig is largely due to the growth of Stornoway; this shift in the centre of gravity of Lewis has tended to exaggerate the remoteness and isolation of Uig in the present century.

[241] [178] [369]

161 175 [24] [226] [251] [441] [614] 200 By the end of the eighteenth century the tacksmen seem to have disappeared; at any rate they are not mentioned in the remarkably detailed account of the parish given in the Old Statistical Account, 1792. Meanwhile the small tenants had multiplied: whereas in 1755 the old parish * had supported 1,312 persons, in 1792 the minister recorded 1,898 . At this time there was neither plough nor cart in the parish. The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them

TABLE 3

AVERAGE STOCK HELD BY EACH FAMILY

162 178 233 422

	1792	1959
Cattle and calves	9.2	2.1
Sheep	13	37
Horses	1.8	-
Goats	0.8	-
No. of families	387	450

Note: the figures for both dates refer to the area of the old parish.

[632] * The old parish of Uig excluded the Loch Carloway district, from Kirivick north; this area lay in Lochs parish until 1891. Unless the old parish is specified figures quoted have been corrected to conform with the modern boundaries.

1/A [See p. 2--Analyst]

The minister
was cultivating potatoes and his f
as an example to the crofters who were stil
175 [24] [226] [251] [441] [614] boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch
outnumbered in good herring seasons by bo
encourage curing, particularly of white fish
to supply salt; he, or his agents, were pro
visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the
cattle, dried fish and other products. T
to have survived in Lewis until impending b
But it was kelp, more than fishing, that hel
eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
175 [221] Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of partic
the average price. Further, many people
Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time,
[233] [162] [178] to have been inadequate to support the popul
the change in the average stock held by each

Clearance and Congestion.

175 228 175 233 166 427 [274] Even after the end of the tremendous bo
Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some pro
land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the
yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereaf
ing industrial developments and agricultura
lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter in
order to introduce mainland farmers. For
extensive mountain pasture offering good pr
of the formation of the earliest farms are n
but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Mac
the extensive grazings (now partly occupied
Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants
Mealasta Island, which suggests that a shee
district. About 1838 all the small tenants
being put into Breanish; the remainder are

175 427 In Bernera island, Kirkibost was cleare
crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Ki
Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed p
Bernera, small tenants were cleared from
Drovernish) in the early nineteenth century,
Earshader. Further east the small tenant
Linshader.

175 By 1844 the kelp shores were almost va
fertiliser remained a vital necessity to the
land year after year). In 1841 the Chambe
Committee on Emigration that some 6,000
inadequate to support them. In 1844, of n
[162] population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,
in the following ten years it would increase
would reach almost 30,000, (Uig 4,463 Fig

1/A [See p. 18--Analyst]

amily were eating them
l reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70
n Roag for they were small open boats greatly
ats from other parts of the kingdom. To
, the proprietor had set up two storehouses
bably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, who
estate factor held a monopoly for trading in
he absolute power of the clan chieftain seems
ankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844.
lped to support the people of Uig in the late
Lewis made little kelp compared with the
ularly good quality and commanded more than
from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in
the intrinsic resources of the parish appear
lation. In this connection it is worth noting
family since 1792 as shown in table 3.

om in kelp, brought about throughout the
duction continued in Uig. In 1825, when the
proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses,
ter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attempt-
l improvements. The former included short-
volved the removal of some small tenants in
these Uig was particularly attractive, the
ospects for sheep graziers. The exact dates
ot remembered nor are they precisely recorded,
rae of Kintail had the tack of Scaliscro, with
by Bernera summer pastures) east of Little
f Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of
p farmer was already installed in that
were cleared out of Mealasta, six families
said to have been sent to America.

d about 1822, having been lotted in individual
kibost formed part of the large farm of
art of this farm. On the mainland, opposite
the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Strome and
and a tacksman was installed at west
y were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and

useless to the proprietor (though seaweed as
small cultivators, often working the same
rlain of the Lews suggested to the Select
ersons should emigrate because the land was
cessity, Seaforth sold the island. The
316); little did the Chamberlain imagine that
by 16%, and that by the turn of the century
re 8).

1.

175 The new proprietor was no better placed than Seaforth to change the fundamental
427 causes of recurrent poverty and distress. But at least he had funds to ameliorate his
233 tenants' lot and to allow experiments in land reclamation and industrial development.
314 Existing sheep farms were extended and others formed. Land reclamation went forward
339 hand in hand with industrial experiments such as distillation of paraffin from peat and
191 brick and tile-making. A programme of road building was begun (the first roads beyond
224 Stornoway were begun in 1791, but there were only 45 miles of road by 1836). In Uig the
results were very obvious. Further clearances took place particularly from Timsgarry,
Carnish (21 tenants), Reef (22 tenants), Garynahine, Dun Carloway. The small tenants of
Valtos and Kneep were only saved from eviction by the intervention of the Fisheries Board,
162 for they were important places for white fishing. By the 1850's, although the population
of Uig was more than double that in 1755, and 60% greater than in 1800, it was crowded
160 into little more than half the area. Emigration enforced by clearances reduced the popu-
lation of Bernera and South Uig by nearly 500 between 1851 and 1861.

175 No other part of Lewis saw so many farms; nowhere else did the small tenants suffer
427 so much from eviction. That was not all. Those who remained undisturbed were de-
311 prived of some of their traditional grazings and access to the rest was sometimes
233 restricted. Moreover they had to make room for many of the evicted families in their
own townships, thereby further increasing the problem of congestion caused by the rapid
161 natural increase of population. Thus, for example, about 1825 there had been 22 families
162 in Valtos and Kneep. By about 1880 there were almost 100. But, during the same
period these townships were deprived of their island grazings - Pabay, Vacsay, Floday
and Wiay - formerly used for wintering cattle - and of part of their hill grazings (the
traditional shielings). Use of the hill-grazings was restricted, too. Thus, for example,
only one day was allowed to pull heather for ropes; if men were away fishing or for other
reasons, could not attend on that day, they risked punishment by going on any other. Such
stories could be multiplied many times.

103 In the Bernera district, by the 1850's, only Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete (on the
island) and Earshader and Crulivig (on the mainland) were left for the crofter families.
Moreover their traditional summer grazings, which lay south east of the Deer Forest
which was formed out of the Scaliscro sheep farm about 1850. Apparently their use of
the old shielings was tolerated until 1878, after which date they were directed to the area
north of the present road and which they have continued to use until the present day. Thus
the shieling huts shown in fig.5 all post-date 1878; the area in which they lie may have
been part of the West Earshader tacksman's holding. The date of discontinuance of that
tack is not known but the house, now empty, was for long occupied by squatters and the
old lazy beds around it still form part of a large squatter holding.

It is noteworthy that almost all the clearances were in the Bernera and South Uig
districts and this is reflected in population changes between 1841 and 1851, shown in
table 4.

The cleared areas included extensive hill and mountain grazings and some of the best
wintering ground, including all the machairs except Valtos and Kneep. The East Loch
Roag and Carloway districts were less attractive to the new farmers; as is so commonly
the case in Lewis, their rough grazings lay on gently sloping low plateaux and were con-
sequently ill-drained and of poor quality. About 1852 Dun Carloway was let as a tack but
was never successfully farmed and was soon returned to crofter-occupation; it may never
have been wholly cleared of crofters. Garynahine, at the southern end of East Loch Roag,
next to Linshader, was also turned into a farm about 1852. Here the hill grazing was more
extensive and, though seriously reduced by a crofter settlement scheme c. 1936, it remains

195 a well cultivated small farm, a striking example of what can be done with this unpromising
427 terrain. It is probably true that one of the objects of forming farms was to introduce
311 improved methods and so set an example to the small tenants. The contrast, today, between Garynahine Farm and the nearby crofts, suggests that more than example is required.

TABLE 4

161 POPULATION CHANGES 1841-1851
162
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District	1841	1851	Change	(%)
Carloway	554	659	+105	(+19)
E. L. Roag	581	717	+136	(+23)
Bernera	670	676	+6(1)	(+1)
L. L. Roag	217	259	+42	(+19)
Valtos etc.	711	484	-227(2)	(-32)
Uig Bay	520	426	-94(3)	(-18)
South	384	348	-36	(-9)

Notes: (1) Visamore - 46 (-100%). Kirkibost, Linshader, etc. had already been cleared.
(2) Reef -180 (-96%).
(3) Carnish - 60 (-36%) - but completely cleared before 1861.
(Township figures are not available before 1841).

The birth of the crofting landscape.

195 A further mid-nineteenth century attempt to improve the productivity of the small-
427 tenants' holdings was the lotting of runrig lands to form individual crofts. In a report to
311 Seaforth c.1800, the Rev. Headwick had recommended the abolition of runrig* and some
638 lotting of crofts took place about 1811** about which time runrig was being abolished in North and South Uist - but many townships in Uig, as elsewhere in Lewis, escaped this lotting. In Bernera, Kirkibost was probably lotted at this time and the crofts fenced; in 1852, despite clearance, the first Ordnance surveyors were able to record the old fences (which were used as the croft divisions when Kirkibost was re-settled in 1878). The now much divided crofts of Kneep (see also fig.22) are probably of the same date. Reef appears, also, to have been lotted early, for the remnants of fences recorded by the
[63] Ordnance Surveyors in 1850-1852, (Reef was cleared in 1850), show crofts of the same general form as those of Kirkibost, and quite unlike those of the 1850 lotting. Consequently, in many townships until this date, the houses remained huddled together in tight little groups, often inter-communicating one with another. The groups, or clachans, were usually set in the midst of the arable land. The runrig system had certain disadvantages, but, as a basic agricultural structure for small holders, it had two considerable advantages which may be relevant to modern conditions. Firstly, it was flexible: within it the individual's holdings varied in size and rent and it was possible, at the periodic re-allocation, to adjust the size according to family needs. An elderly person did not need to be burdened with a holding larger than he required, or was able, to cultivate; a young man with a

[113] ** Report .... on the Condition of the Cottar Population of the Lews. (C.5265), 1888, p.37

* The essence of runrig was that any individual's arable land was in many pieces, scattered promiscuously amongst those of his neighbours. Periodic re-allocation of pieces was usual, but the period varied and in some cases was infrequent.

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 15]

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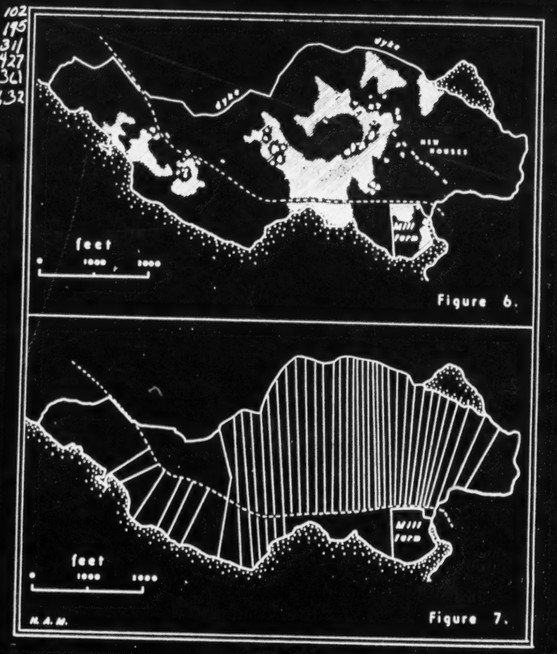

Figure 6.

Figure 7.

Figures 6 and 7

THE LOTTING OF BREASCLETE

Figure 6 shows the irregular clusters of old houses and patches of arable land (hatched) within the infield dyke. On the right the first of the new houses, standing in a row each on its own 'lot' (or 'croft'), are shown.

Figure 7, from the contemporary Factor's notebook, shows the new crofts as lotted in 1890. Note that these were not fenced.

195 growing family could increase the size of his holding. Secondly, in the absence of fences
427 a certain discipline of agricultural management had to be maintained; moreover the
311 proprietor, through the factor, grounds officers and township constables, saw to it that
632 it was. This "good husbandry", albeit at a rather low level, was maintained in the interests of tenants and land-owner alike. After the arable land was lotted permanently to individuals, there was less flixibility and less need for communal management. But the absence of fences between the new lots, or crofts, meant that they were still common land during the winter months. In some cases the proprietors paid the tenants to erect fences round the newly lotted inbye land of the whole township but, even when a ring fence existed, stock was allowed to graze indiscriminately within it from November until April.

It is fortunate that the first Ordnance surveyors were at work in Lewis just as the lotting was coming into effect. The new lots were not divided by fences, therefore they were not marked by the surveyors, but in several townships they arrived in time to plot the clachans and in some - Breasclete, for example (fig. 6) - the first edition six-inch maps show some of the new houses, neatly spaced out on the new lots. The arrangement of the latter is recorded in the Factor's sketch books, of which fig. 7 is an example.

175 Thus whilst we have little evidence of the appearance of the former rural landscape,
632 we have an excellent record of the birth of the new. The characteristic units of the new
178 lotting were townships divided into long narrow strips, arranged parallel and fan-wise more or less in the direction of steepest slope. Such an arrangement was simple to lay out; it tended to give everyone a fair share of the land of each kind - ill-drained and well-drained, high and low. And, if a road or track passed through the township it was usually possible to give each lot or croft direct access to it without the necessity for side-roads.
[367] Consequently the houses, when re-built, were usually put on the crofts. A dispersed pattern of settlement replaced the little huddles of the clachans. The extent to which it was dispersed depended on the width of the lots; the greater the number of tenants to be accommodated in a given area, the narrower were the lots. In extreme cases they might be as little as 20-30 yards in width and then the houses, aligned along the road or access track might form a virtually continuous terrace or street.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CROFTING STRUCTURE

429 In the parish of Uig about 90% of the families are crofters. That is to say, they owe their presence in Uig to their hereditary tenancy of a small-holding of croft status. To
[428] these holdings they have a deep attachment; many of them have been inherited through several generations. Others were obtained more recently during the process of re-settlement of farm land which followed the Napier Commission report and 1886 Act. Many older crofters regard the resettled townships as the fruits of a hard-won victory. Nevertheless, we have seen, very few of the holdings are in fact more than 110 years
[147] old. And, whilst some families can certainly trace their ancestors in the district for several centuries, there has always been a good deal of movement between townships. Thus the claim that they occupy holdings which were carved out of the barren moor by the toil and sweat of their ancestors is, in most cases, metaphor rather than strict truth.

● 429 Nevertheless, the attachment to the holdings is very real and must be given careful c
511 sideration when assessing their present utilisation and potential value. It is particul
significant because it leads to large numbers of tenants retaining holdings which are
[144] too small to yield a living. Inevitably they seek other sources of income either at h
(as by weaving or casual road labour) or away (as in the Merchant Navy, armed force
police or other skilled or unskilled work). As a consequence the croft is neglected a
[28] its potential resources, small as they are, are not realised. The decline in cattle
numbers since the late nineteenth century gives some indication of the scale of this lo
productivity over the parish as a whole. This is the crofter's own loss. Individuall
one can appreciate the problem - "four cows will not give me a living - better to get
[715] work on the hydro-scheme and sell the cows". And when one hydro-scheme finishes
another will take its place, or there will be casual road work or other labour and, bet
times, the unemployment benefit which the self-employed crofter does not get.

Certainly the land is of poor quality, the climate in some respects severe, and th
cost of transport, from Uig even to Stornoway let alone to the mainland, a perpetual p
[421] lem. But the root of the problem is the small size of most of the crofter-holdings, o
[81] the one hand, and, on the other, the importance which most crofters attach to the pos
sion of a holding, no matter how small and how neglected it may be. How has this co
to be?

TABLE 5

161 The multiplication of crofter-tenants, and their increasing rents, 1850-1890.
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427

	Tenants:		Rental:	
	1850	1890	1850	1890
Garenin	15	27	£70	£78
Tolsta Chaolis	29	40	£86	£96
Knock Carloway	16	33	£52	£66
Upper Carloway	25	53	£81	?
Breasclete	38	61	£111	£121
Breasclete Park	4	9	£3	£14
Callanish	38	52	£82	£104
Brenish	25	28	£94	£94
Islivick	13	10	£23	£28
Aird	9	10	£30	£29
Valtos	29	40	£149	?
Kneep	18	23	£89	£80

Congestion and Sub-division.

The crofting population of Uig started the second half of the nineteenth century with far less land than had been occupied by their forebears fifty years before, and, although famine, clearance and emigration had slightly reduced the population between 1841 and 1861, (from 3,828 to 3,630) thereafter it again increased, reaching about 4,600 in 1891. Rising agricultural prices after 1850 favoured farmers and crofters alike but, whilst the farmers prospered the crofters merely multiplied, thus in effect reducing the land available to each family. In 14 townships recorded in the 1850 sketch book the 273 holdings at that date had become 402 by about 1890, to which should be added a considerable number of cottars and squattars, many of them keeping stock and some sharing the rent of the crofts on which they had built their cottages. Detailed comparison of the rentals for the two dates shows that the increase had come about in two ways: firstly, it appears that, from time to time, where a new rent ledger was being made up, the factor would record separately cottars who actually shared the rent of the croft and, secondly, he would recognise and enter some of the squatters who had obtained rent-free (and illegal) holdings by enclosing and reclaiming from the common. The latter were added to the souming of the townships according to the rent put upon them. Table 5 (page 16), illustrates the process. The recognition of squatters, usually at £1-£2 per annum, led to the small increases in total rental. For the rest, the increasing numbers were caused by subdivision. Only in a few cases does the proprietor seem to have actively encouraged land reclamation by crofters. On April 17, 1850, four of the families which had been cleared out of Reef were allowed to settle on the Callanish common near the Breasclete boundary (hence the settlement became known as 'Breasclete Park'. Their rent was fixed at 15/- per acre for five years, thereafter increasing 1/- per annum until it reached 29/- per acre; they shared, according to their rent, in the Callanish common pasture. But forty years later one of these crofts had been divided into three, another into two, and two new ones had been carved out of the common; the total rental had risen to £13:19/-. Again, when Breanish was lotted in the spring of 1850, ten new lots were marked out and the rental is annotated "there are ten young men starting ... these lots as soon as the season commences". This appears to have been too optimistic; few, if any, of the new lots were ever broken in.

The farms, by contrast, prospered and the proprietor was able to share that prosperity by increasing rents as shown in the table:

TABLE 6

Farm:	Rental in the period: 1840's	1850's	1860's	1870's
Mealasta	£90	£105	£105	£130
Ardroil	£100	£105	£187	£255
Carnish	(£75: crofters)	£55		
Timegarry	£78	£84	£88	£108
Linnshader	£250	£297	£400	£425

It is worth noting that the rental charged for the newly cleared farm of Carnish was £55 - being £20 less than had been paid by the crofters. Thus it cannot be said that the latter were evicted purely in order to obtain more rent. The proprietor must have been taking a long term view, looking for land improvement rather than immediate gain. By the 1870's the farm rentals had increased by 55%, those of the crofting townships by only 15%. And the latter often remained unpaid.

Thus, whilst the farmers prospered, the tenants became crowded in their townships which were correspondingly less and less able to support their increasing numbers. The crofts became so reduced that in an average year the produce of the land might keep a crofter and his family for only six months; for the rest he had to find other means of support. Fortunately, after the hungry years of the 'forties', fishing provided just this. Starting in 1851, an annual migration began, first to Caithness and later to the whole east coast of Scotland and England. By the 1880's not only were most of the able-bodied young men following the herring as hired men on east coast boats, but many of the women-folk, who had learned gutting, packing and kippering from English girls brought to Stornoway for the purposes, were also earning. This was summer work, and fitted well between seed-time and harvest. In the winter, small local open boats worked long lines for white fish which were dried and salted for local curers as they still are today on the Norwegian coast. Between the 1850's and 1880's there was a "condition of plenty" in Lewis "which would not have been credited by those who judged of the condition of the people by the external aspect or sanitary arrangement of their dwellings".* It was this "condition of plenty" which encouraged the people to stay at home, to sub-divide their crofts, and to live on the proceeds of paid labour rather than on the produce of the croft.

Re-settlement, 1878-1935.

The process of sub-division ceased only when economic conditions became less favourable and emigration began to exceed natural increase. In the 1880's fishing and farming suddenly became less profitable. Simultaneously, and given extra point by the particular distress of the time, agitation for land reform, and in particular for the relief of the most congested districts, became a political issue. This began in Uig in 1874 when an attempt was made to evict 56 crofters from Bernera; hundreds of crofters resisted by force and subsequently marched on Stornoway. They were well received by the proprietors - who appear to have been unaware of the summary and inhumane behaviour of their chamberlain - and to the credit of all concerned the matter ended peacefully. But land agitation continued.

The position in Bernera was eased in 1878 when Linshader farm was deprived of the old township of Kirkibost which was resettled by crofters from Bosta, the latter being let to the Tobson crofters as an enlargement to their pasture. In 1880 new holdings were formed in Hacklete, which had been the grounds-officer's farm (but which, judging from its population, had always contained a number of cottars or sub-tenants). The grazing of Laimshader was probably returned to the Borroston crofters about 1886, having been part of Linshader farm and, in 1891, six new holdings were formed at Lundale, also part of the same farm. At the same period, under the new Act, the crofters of Crowlista, Valtos, and Kneep applied unsuccessfully for enlargements from the farms, but during the nineties the islands of Little Bernera and Eilean Kearstay were taken off Linshader farm and added to the townships of Bernera, and Valtos obtained Pabay Mor.

*Report....on the Condition of the Cottar population in the Lews. (C. 5265), 1888, p. 4.

Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the proprietors were obliged, by pressure of population within, and of public opinion without, to make some concessions to their small tenantry. It may be relevant to point out that this was a period of falling agricultural prices and declining farm rentals; indeed the time was not far off when some farms would not find tenants at any rental:

TABLE 7

Farm:	Rental at c. 1875/80	c. 1885/90
Mealasta	£130	£85
Mangersta	£132	£95
Ardroil & Carnish	£285	£245
Timegarry	£108	£80 (1)
Linshader	£349	£278 (2)

Notes: (1) Small reduction for enlargement to Glebe.
(2) £22 reduction for Laimeshader and Grimersta Lodge.

The crofters of south Uig were in particular difficulty at this time for here fishing declined earlier than elsewhere but the townships remained greatly overcrowded. In 1910 Breanish and Islivig had 14 cottar families, (most of them sharing crofts with the official tenants), and three of squatters, i.e. on the common pasture. Here fishing had almost ceased and the people were almost entirely dependent on their crofts or on employment away from home. In Valtos and Kneep there were 21 cottar families; they had 31 cattle and sheep flocks. Here, too, fishing was on the decline. It was perhaps because of this that commercial weaving was developed in South Uig earlier than in most parts of Lewis. As early as 1900 Uig was classed with Harris, by the local committee of the Congested Districts Board, as producing a superior quality of tweed. Two 30 gallon iron pots were sent out so that enough wool could be dyed at one boiling to obviate irregular colouring in any one tweed. The C.D.B. also made grants for roads, footpaths and "marine works". Amongst the latter the pier at Valtos (1899) was an attempt to resuscitate local fishing, but it came too late.

The Congested Districts Board was the first government agency with funds at its disposal to aid the crofting townships. One of its largest grants went in aid of the Carloway Road (or Pentland Road as it is now known). This scheme arose out of an abortive proposal for a railway from Loch Carloway to Stornoway. It was thought that this could enable trawlers and other large fishing boats to land their catch for quick transport to Stornoway and so to the mainland whilst the fishing vessels returned to sea with minimum delay. The road, an excellently engineered one, is still not properly surfaced. A more effective C.D.B. - aided scheme was the resettlement of crofters on Mangersta Farm, the rent of which had fallen to £70 and which the proprietors were willing to break up. Thirteen new buildings were formed here and the first harvest was taken by the new settlers in 1911. The crofters' rent was fixed at £73 and the C.D.B. paid £566 in grants to purchase the sheep stock and improvements, and towards the cost of fencing. About the same time the Board paid a grant to the township of Garenin for fencing a substantial enlargement to their pasture, obtained off Dalbeg. Here, and at Reef farm, small-holding resettlement schemes were vetoed by the Crofters Commission whose experts regarded the areas as unsuitable. Both have since been re-settled by crofters.

TABLE 9

The Agricultural Structure of the Parish o

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	Townships (no.)	Inbye (acres)	Common pasture (acres)	Agricultural holdings (on Valuation Roll) Crofts:	Others:
Atlantic Coast	3	246	14,800	51	1
Uig Bay	5	636	15,800	62	-
Valtos-Reef	3	398	8,700	74	-
Little L. Roag	4	266	4.400	38	-
Bernera Island	5	1,213	8.200	91	4
Bernera Shore	4	359	13,100	26	1
East L. Roag	6	1,101	15,700	183	1
L. Carloway	7	856	9,400	174	7
Individual holdings * (non-crofting)		161	1,200	-	9
	37	5,236	91,300	6,999	23

NOTE: *Individual holdings include only those not using the c pasture' figure is their rough grazing.

**These include individual holdings, as defined, and al allotment holders having more than a quarter acre o sheep. Their holdings are included in 'Inbye'.

/62
241
233
3/1
361
/23
27
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f Uig, 1958

	Crofter-tenants		
	Total	non-tenants (born of	Agricultural holdings with out crofters*
	42	(12)	-
	55	(9)	-
	68	(14)	1
	39	(4)	1
	88	(12)	8
	26	(2)	2
	178	(26)	6
	167	(23)	35
	-		9
	663	(102)	62

ommon pastures; the 'common'

l cottars, squatters, feuars and
f cultivation or a cow or 5

233 change in area, then the amount of stock allowed, per pound sterling of rent, ought to be
427 changed, too.
656
[175] This does not appear to have been done in Uig although in Stornoway parish the soum per pound was increased after rents were reduced in the late nineteenth century. More recently, the Crofters Commission, in re-stating soumings for some townships, has generally (but not invariably) applied the soum to the 1886 rent, regardless of the wording of the 1912 regulations. This may appear to have the merit of consistency and, insofar as crofters pay any attention to the Regulations, it satisfies them because the greater (1886) rent gives them a larger soum and less likelihood of being criticised or penalised for overstocking. However, it perpetuates inconsistencies which originated during the nineteenth century when the stock allowed per pound sterling rent was not reduced although total rentals were increasing as squatters' and cottars' holdings were added (see page above). Moreover, the old souming referred to the old type of highland cattle which were much smaller beasts than those kept today, and it assumed that the shieling pastures would be in full use. A further complication arises because about 1920 some townships acquired substantial enlargements but the soumings do not appear to have been adjusted. Altogether it is little wonder that the Grazing Regulations are seldom observed, for they seldom bear any close relationship to the grazing capacity of township lands. Proper observance of carefully revised Regulations, in which unlimited substitution of sheep in place of cattle was specifically forbidden, would be of considerable benefit to the crofters.

241 The inbye, or croft, land is invariably separated from the common pasture by a ring
233 fence, the gates of which are generally closed for protection of crops from May to
417 November. Progressive townships are installing grids to obviate the twin nuisances of
[178] traffic interference and straying stock. The fencing of individual crofts was rare until the 1930's and is still by no means general. The inbye land is, in many townships, the best winter grazing and its division into innumerable tiny fenced patches, whilst advantageous for cultivation, would restrict the movement of stock in search of water and shelter; in a predominantly pastoral economy complete enclosure of individual holdings is not necessarily an advantage. This problem will be discussed in Part III but, in the present
[184] context, it is relevant to point out that the small crofts of Lewis contrast strongly with the larger ones of, for example, the Uists and Tiree. Therefore, what may be advantageous in the latter may be retrograde in much of Lewis.

The lay-out of the crofts aggravates this problem. The long narrow stripe of the 1850 lotting, well-suited to spade cultivation and common winter grazing, may require four or five times the length of fencing required by an equi-dimensional croft of similar area. If fenced the stock may be deprived of both water and shelter; since arable cultivation has become relatively unimportant a suitable solution to this problem might be to fence a small potato plot near the house and to put the rest of the inbye down to sown grass in three or four communal parks in which grazing could be properly controlled. A particular problem is posed by crofts which have been sub-divided. These may take the form of strips as much as half a mile long by 10 yards wide or, more commonly (and much worse), of piece-meal sharing of innumerable plots, a system known locally, but incorrectly, as 'run-rig'. This is seen at its height in Knoep (fig 22), where every croft in the township is affected. The problem does not arise in townships with large crofts, which are usually more nearly equi-dimensional. These are mostly the result of re-settlement schemes and have long been fenced, (see, for example, figure 15).

Crofter-tenants.

162 An analysis of crofter-tenants according to age, sex and occupation (table 12) provides
427 several important clues as to the present unsatisfactory state of crofting. More than
463 one-third of the tenants are over 65 years of age; a further 16% are absent, some of these may also be over 65, others are younger people working away from home, a few are tenants

162 of crofts in other districts, despite the legal
427 two miles of his croft. Thus half the crofts
463 cannot be expected to make the best use of th
concerned, it is a criticism of the system.
age, 43 are women; of the men, 170 have reg
55 take casual or seasonal work as and when
are "full-time crofters" and, in fact, most o
60 years of age. Thus in Uig, unlike the sou
best a spare time occupation, at worst merel
The table also demonstrates that the size of c
status; this is inevitable in a rigid system u
the size of his holding according to his needs
small for their family needs, whilst many el
are too large for them to maintain.

241 It is not surprising, then, that many tena
427 to cultivate or stock their crofts. A few, ho
agricultural production as a means of livelih
crofts, and so built up much larger units.
in the crofter's own name or that of his wife
30 crofters in Uig are tenants of more than o
the name of close relatives, and at least 120
certainly too low: sub-letting without the con
is illegal. Nevertheless it is common, and
tenant has no security of tenure and no right
sequently sub-let crofts are often neglected a
sub-letting, for a stated minimum period and
regularise a well established practice and en
able to support a family.

A converse of sub-letting is unofficial sub
usually relatives living in a second dwelling
tenant; but this formerly widespread practic
"crofters" share the common grazings, as do
162 common land - who keep stock. Thus neithe
241 (699), nor that of crofter-tenants (663), is an
427 agricultural units. Of the crofter-tenants, 10
resident sub-let their crofts. After making
holdings becomes 518; to these must be adde
a few tenants of council houses) who keep at l
holdings without crofter status. Thus there

[233] That is not all. Of these 66 have no cattl
of which 22 have no stock at all. Little mor
241 be agriculturally effective. This is an indict
427 agricultural structure of the system. This
enable those who wish to acquire enough land
much land lies unused or ill-used. In short,
de-population goes on apace whilst potential
a century of legislation and financial aid have
crofts as homes for the elderly and as hobbie
reasonably, many crofters complain. But ve
the security of tenure and other privileges wo
ultimately bring about the decay of the very c
protect.

requirement that a tenant shall reside within
n the parish are tenated by persons who
em. This implies no criticism of the people
Of 314 resident tenants under 65 years of
ular employment including fishing or weaving,
hey can get it. Only 46, or 7% of all tenants,
these are either invalids, disabled, or over
thern Outer Hebrides, most crofts are at
y a house site carying special privileges.
rofts has little bearing on occupational
der which a man has no control of varying
Some young tenants inherit crofts far too
erly tenants, and women, have crofts which

nts do not wish, or are not able, properly
wever, are particularly interested in
od. Some of these have acquired extra
This may be done by acquiring tenancies either
or a close relative, or by sub-letting. About
he holding, at least 20 work holdings held in
have sub-let holdings. These figures are
sent of the proprietor or Crofters Commission
t is generally unsatisfactory because the sub-
to compensation for improvements; con-
nd sometimes over-grazed as well. Controlled
with the right to compensation, would
courage the formation of larger units, better

-division. There are a few cases of cottars -
house on the croft - sharing the croft with the
e has all but disappeared. Such de facto
"squatters" - persons with houses on the
r the number of crofter-holdings on the rental
y guide to the effective number of potential
00 are absent and some of those who are
these allowances the number of de facto
d 39 cottars, squatters and others (including
least a cow or five sheep, and 23 agricultural
are 580 potential agricultural units in Uig.

le, and 162 carry less than half their soum,
e than 400 holdings can reasonably be said to
tment, not of the crofters, but of the
neither provides viable holdings nor does it
to be agriculturalists to get it, even though
the system is too rigid. In consequence,
resources are neglected. Three-quarters of
, in the main, encouraged the development of
s for those in other employment. Very
ery few realise-or are willing to admit - that
m in 1886, if too rigidly maintained, may
ommunities which they were intended to

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311
632

Figure 11.

THE
ATLANTIC COAST
DISTRICT

C.P. : detached c
pasture (sh

ENL. : enlargemen
common past

Table 13

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233
427
632

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	ARABLE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Ard Bheag	-	-	c.2,000	-	1	(4)
Bremish	140	5,495	940	28	-	22
Islivig	51	1,342	620	10	-	7
Mangersta	55	2,197	1,850	13	-	13
	246	9,432	5,410	51	1	42

/facing p. 32/

511 It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Aird; the only two families
46 without ancillary occupations are those where all the members are elderly. Of the other
288 with members in the working age-groups, five have one or more members employed in a civilian capacity at the R.A.F. station and there are five regular weavers.

621 Aird used to be a self-contained community; the land was fully cultivated and a certai
178 amount of fishing was carried on in spite of the difficulty of drawing up the boats over the rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the R.A.F. station, an if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search o other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF

by

David G. Symes.

131 On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a secondary
133 peninsula of more moderate, but none-the-less broken relief. This, together with an adjacent area of the main peninsula, the islands of Pabay, Vacsay, Vuia Mor and sever smaller islands, comprises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Kneep and Reef.

133 This secondary peninsula is accidented in the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock and steeply angled small hills. The relief is greater in the west (summit 450') than in the east (summit 275'). Relatively level land is to be found only on the machairs of Reef and
133 Cliff (the latter only poorly developed) and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair,
134 about 180 acres, consists of a succession landwards of tidal sands, a belt of sand dunes (c. 20' O.D.) and a sandy plain sloping gently inland towards a reed filled lagoon. The machair at Cliff is approximately 40 acres in extent; here there are fixed dunes and, in addition, the sand has been blown inland to at least 100 ft. O.D. Except where the mach sand has drifted upslope to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin soils of the Valtos peninsula are predominantly peaty. Although the length of the peninsula faces north the extremes of Atlantic weather are moderated by the protection afford by the Aird peninsula and the islands of Pabay and Vacsay.

175 In the period before the lotting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some five
424 clachans - Valtos, Cliff, Kneep, Uigean and Reef - some of which shared common pastur
341 During the early part of the nineteenth century and earlier, apparently, than the 1850 lott
633 carried out in most of Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clachan areas: Valtos an Cliff shared a common pasture and so became one township; similarly Kneep and Uigean were combined.

175 In Kneep it seems that the croft boundaries were not accepted by the crofters. Certa
311 basic divisions between groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today,
427 and within these basic divisions a certain regularity of distribution of strips persists, but

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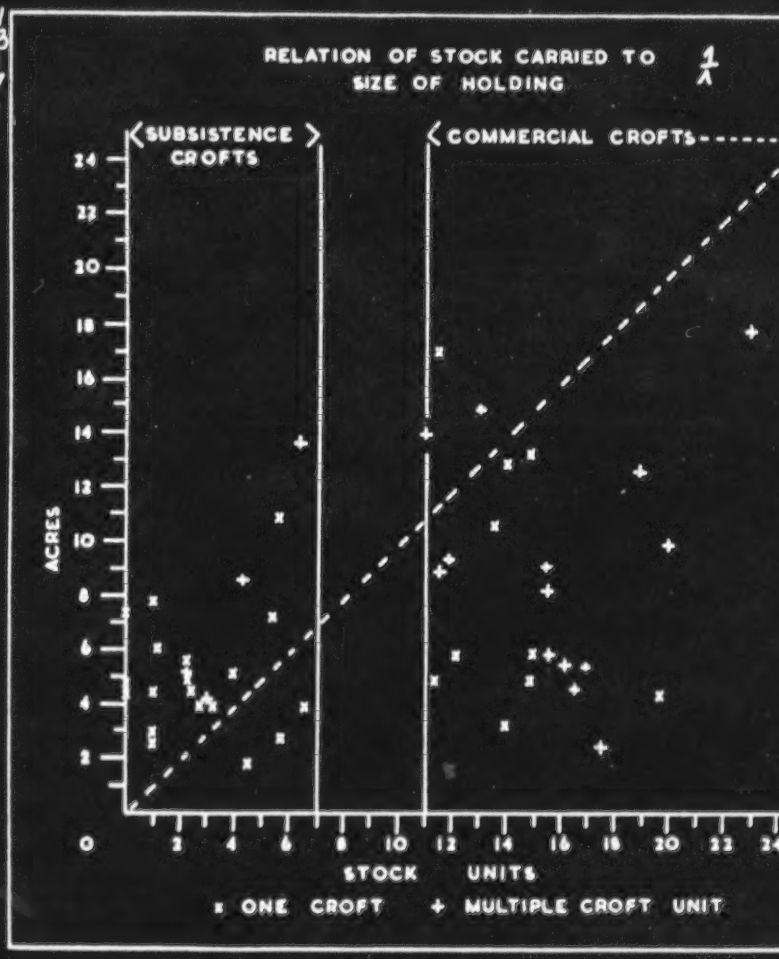

Figure 19
/facing p. 42/

1/A. [See p. 45 for discussion of chart--Analyst]

the crofts at Kneep are still highly fragmented: the fifteen crofts comprise over one hundred and eighty separate arable plots. The lotted crofts at Reef were cleared in 1842 to provide land for a sheep farm. Plans to clear the remainder of the Valtos peninsula were thwarted by the Fisheries Board because Valtos and Kneep were then good centres for the white fish industry. As late as 1892 Valtos and Kneep had forty boats, providing employment for one hundred and forty-five men. Valtos with thirty-two boats and one hundred and twenty fisher-men was second only to Carloway as a fishing centre in Uig. With the prosperity of the fishing industry, the population of Valtos and Kneep had risen rapidly - from 467 in 1841 to 659 in 1891. Some, at least, of the subdivisions of Kneep date from this period. Reef was scheduled by the Deer Forest Commission (1896) for resettlement by crofters and in 1908 an attempt was made to do this, but agricultural experts advised against it, on the grounds of poor water supply, scarcity of arable land (only ninety-three acres old arable) and the risk that, if cultivated, the machair would suffer wind erosion. Nevertheless, in 1921, Reef was resettled by ex-servicemen from Valtos and Kneep. At the time the sheep farm was only carrying a stock of one hundred and seventy sheep - less than half the crofters' sheep stock in 1959.

Tables 15 - 18 summarise the more significant points of the economy of the Valtos peninsula. Table 16 illustrates the fact that the economy is in decline. Only two-thirds of the total possible units are being worked. Many of the crofters have abandoned their crofts and the younger generations are unwilling to take over. Of those remaining to work the crofts 18% are over sixty-five, and a further 47% are between forty-five and sixty-four.

TABLE 16

Crofts and Crofters

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
Legal crofts:	40	18	15	73
No. in joint tenancy	2	4	0	6
Total possible units:	42	22	15	79
No. of operative units 8/59:	29 (60%)	15 (68%)	8 (53%)	52 (66%)
Joint tenancy crofts as one unit:	1	3	0	4
Cases of subletting:	8 (+2 part crofts)	4	6	18
Family combination of crofts:	2	1	1	4
Derelict crofts:	2	1	0	3
Crofts worked by: Full time crofter	3	1	1	5
crofter with regular work	8	7	0	15
crofter with periodic work	13	3	4	20
crofter over 65 (or invalid)	5	1	3	9

195 After the first World War re-settlement schemes went ahead with renewed vigour. Men serving in the Forces expected land to be available for them on their return and they
311 were impatient to get it. By this time the Lewis estate belonged to the Lewis and Harris
427 Development Co. - in other words to Lord Leverhulme. The farms of Mealasta, Reef,
657 Carnish and Ardroil were all without tenants; Leverhulme agreed to break them into
[71] crofts, the Board of Agriculture surveyors were speedily put to work, and the new settlers were able to commence cultivation on March 1, 1921. Timsgarry farm, with which was the Uig shooting lodge, was in the hands of a tenant; but the Board obtained possission, reserving a small area around the lodge for amenity. Croir farm, Bernera, was also broken up. More than 50 new holdings received enlargements to their common pastures; details are given in Figure 10 and table 8, (pages 22 and 23). The schemes were done in haste, the Secretary for Scotland pushed them forward in the face of some opposi-. tion from Leverhulme. Here, as elsewhere, the ex-servicemen were restive; land raids and violence, with inevitable political repercussion, were feared.

In 1924, Linshader farm was threatened by land raiders. As a result this, too, was broken up and 10 new holdings were occupied as from Whitsuntide, 1925. This was part of the Grimersta sporting estate and the proprietors required that all the ghillies be given crofts. Linshader was not particularly suited to crofter-management: it consisted of 49 acres of old arable land and more than 8.000 acres of rough pasture, the furthest part of which was five miles distant and without road access. When the Land Court fixed the souming the following remark was recorded:

"Under a club stock" (i.e. a single flock) the moor "might have been exploited to a very different extent, but in view of the fact that individual stocks are to be kept" (i.e. each crofter his own shepherd) "which is not conducive to hefting, ... 30 sheep per share will be ample. If the whole outside ground were being fully made use of by the sheep stock the grazing of ten cows should do no harm .... but the wintering afforded on the holdings does not justify a larger souming" (than one cow). It had, in fact, been the practise at Linshader farm to buy in young cattle for summer grazing, and to send away the lambs to the Dingwall area for their first winter.

Finally, in the thirties, two long established cottar families at Aird Bheag an isolated spot on the Uig shootings, applied for and obtained recognition as crofters. Their holdings have since been abandoned and now form part of the sheep farm operated by a syndicate of four Breanish and Islivig crofters. Finally, in 1935 a further 12 new holdings were formed by a partial break-up of Garynahine farm. Thus in all, 140 new crofts and 45,000 acres
[161] have been added to the crofter holdings of Uig since 1878. During that period the popula-
[162] tion of the parish has declined from 4,500 to 2,700. Neither the formation of new crofts, nor the enlargement the old, has prevented depopulation. Little, if any, more land is available and depopulation continues. The only hope, now, is to make the existing land - individual holdings and commons alike - more productive.

Table 8 and the map, figure 10, illustrate the progress of resettlement.

Crofts and Crofters.

491 The parish of Uig is now mainly owned by five small limited companies: Uig Crofters,
427 Bernera Crofters, Grimersta Estate, Carloway Estate, and Lewis Island Crofters. In
311 addition, when Lord Leverhulme sold the Lewis estate a few crofters accepted their holdings as free gifts; consequently they lost legal crofter status (which is confined to tenants) although they continue to share in their respective townships. More recently four crofters in the south purchased some 2,000 acres of rough sheep grazings, including the now defunct settlement of Ard Bheag. There is no official record of the extent of crofters' land, but we accounted for some 95,000 acres (table 9). The remainder con-

491 sists of the sporting estates of Grimersta, Scaliscro,
311 of which a few cattle and sheep may be grazed, and a f
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632 There are 37 crofting townships. In area they ext
311 to about 500 acres (Croir, excluding de facto shares in
427 of crofter tenants ranged from 4 in Ungshadir and Ear
average amount of land available to each crofter is 7.2
[162] common pasture (table 10). Averages are misleading.
districts the amount of land available per crofter varie
between townships the range is even wider (table 11).
result of resettlement schemes which, in general, atte
sufficient to yield a family living. The extent to which
respect was limited by political pressure, especially i
maximum number of holdings. Nevertheless the re-s
average areas of both inbye and common pasture (13.3
126 acres, respectively).

TABLE 10

Average acreage of land availabl
and working unit.

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CROFTING DISTRICTS:	INBYE LAND: Holding	Working Unit	COMMO Holding
Atlantic Coast	4.7	8.8	285
Uig Bay	10.1	14.8	255
Valtos-Reef	5.4	7.8	118
Little Loch Roag	7.0	7.6	116
Bernera Island	12.8	13.8	86
Bernera Shore	13.3	13.3	484
East Loch Roag	6.0	8.1	85
Loch Carloway	4.7	5.3	52
Non-crofting holdings	17.9	17.9	-
	7.2	9.0	126

NOTE: The distinction between "holdings" and "workin

427 Even amongst the old-established townships there is
632 land available per tenant, the southern districts being b
311 worst, a situation which still remains. Indeed, the co
tenants (table 11) is a fundamental one; surprisingly, it
corresponding contrast in stock carried. Together wit
between or within township pastures, the impossibility
hills when each crofter keeps his own little pack, and th
this gives rise to serious problems which will be exami

Morsgail and Uig Lodge, on some
w small farms.

nd from 9,000 acres (Linshader)
Bernera Shielings). The number
hadir to 61 in Breasclete, and the
acres of inbye and 126 acres of
As the table shows, between
s from about 50 to 500 acres; as
To some extent this contrast is the
mpted to provide new holdings
they were successful in this
the 1920's, to provide the
ttled holdings have twice the
against 7.2 acres, and 225 against

e for each holding

N PASTURES:	NUMBER OF:	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
529	51	28
367	62	43
171	74	51
126	38	35
93	91	84
484	26	26
114	183	136
58	174	155
-	23	22
157	699	580

g units" is explained in the text.

a tremendous range in amount of
est placed and those in the north
ntrast in land available as between
is not on the whole reflected by a
h the rarity of effective fences
of properly hefting sheep to the
e excessive sheep/cattle ratio,
ned in Part III.

TABLE 11

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Land Available by Numbers of Tenants

INBYE LAND	No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:	COMMON PASTURES	No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:
Acres:	(a)	(b)	Acres:	(a)	(b)
0-1.0	1		Less than 50	88	
1.0-2.5	73	2	51-100	332	14
2.6-5.0	241	19	101-200	139	12
5.1-7.5	137	22	201-300	52	-
7.6-10	66	23	301-400	32	32
10.1-15	56	23	401-500	8	8
15.1-20	30	17			
20.1-50	29	24	940	10	10

Note: 'New' townships, for this purpose, are those settled since 1900.

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In detail the arrangement of the townships varies. Certain features are common: all inbye land and, consequently, all settlements, are coastal (except Lochganvich). Each has common pasture adjacent to the inbye and many have further areas of common - former shieling grazings - some distance inland (figure 1). This division of the hill grazings is to some extent nominal because fences are often absent or ineffective. Uninhabited islands, on the other hand, require no fences, and are particularly valuable for winter grazing; the smaller of them provide convenient natural paddocks for bulls and tups when out of season. The management of all these common pastures is controlled by the township committees. Unfortunately the most important aspect of stock management - control of numbers and maintenance of a proper balance of sheep and cattle - is almost universally neglected.

[171]

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The total stock which each croft may put on the common pastures - the 'soum' - is defined in the Regulations. In the case of townships re-settled in the present century a specific soum is placed on each croft but, in most other cases, the old practice persists of stating the soum in terms of rent. Thus the soum of each croft may be defined as 1 cow, 1 two-year-old and 8 sheep per pound sterling rent (this is a very common souming). Such soumings have been in existence since time immemorial; they are mentioned in 1836*. Many of the Uig townships had their soumings stated by the Land Court in 1912; in most cases the soum was given "per pound sterling of rent" (presumably 1912 rent), but in a few "per pound sterling of rent payable in 1886". The rents had been substantially reduced in 1891, thus 1912 and 1886 rents were very different. Any township has a certain limited, stock-carrying capacity; therefore, if the total rental is thus changed without

[113] * New Statistical Account, Vol. XIV, p.148.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

194 Alluvial soils have developed along the lower reaches of Amhuinn Thoraghair and the Erista river.

There are no trees apart from an occasional stunted rowan or willow - willows for
197 creel making grow still in some old garden enclosures. Hedges, too, are rare so, although
[82] individual houses are often carefully sited, there is little cover and the townships as a whole are very exposed to westerly gales. The natural vegetation developed on the machair is of fine closely matted grasses with a good deal of natural clover - very similar to that found on chalk downland. On the peaty moorland the usual moor grasses mosses and heather are dominant, though little encroachment by bracken was noticed.

In Crowlista the strip layout of the crofts dates from a lotting about 1850, (Figure 14)
311 in the new townships, laid out about 1921 (Figure 15) the majority of the crofts are
361 less strip-like and do not run to the shore. Indeed in Ardroil and Timsgarry only five
427 out of twenty-two reach the shore and the rocky headlands with their machair are valuable parts of the common pasture. The six crofts in Carnish run from the shore at the foot of the esker up its flank towards the southwest and almost to its summit. They also have one or two small plots each on the machair.

Crofts in Ardroil are in one piece. An old cattle road forms the north west boundary;
[133] from this they rise, steeply in places, to undulating moorland just over 200' high. Numbers 5 - 8 Timsgarry are strips across the Erista valley, rising northwards to just over 170'; 2, 3 and 4 are allotted to make use of arable land on the lower slopes of Knock Valabrie. The houses of crofts No. 1 Timsgarry and No. 1 Ardroil are the former farmhouses.

[417] In Crowlista most of the crofts remain unfenced but in Carnish, Ardroil and Timsgarry all are fenced and many of the fences were being repaired or replaced in 1959. They are not open for common grazing during the winter. Patches of sown hay are fenced within each croft.

There are six recognised croft-holdings in Carnish; one is sub-let so that there are
[36] only five "operative" units; two of those are not worked. One has been resumed by the proprietors and is being quarried as an extension of the main quarry between the township dyke and main road. In Ardroil each of the fourteen crofts is worked as a unit - though two carry no stock; in Timsgarry eight crofts are worked as seven units.

In contrast to the above, the old settlement of Crowlista has twenty-five recognised crofts but, by amalgamation and sub-letting these are worked as fourteen units. The Crowlista crofts are small - fourteen are 4.0 acres or less and of those only one is worked as a unit. Crofts as small as 1.5 acres and with a scum of eight sheep can never have been intended to support a family; they are the result of sub-division in earlier generations; the remains of two piers and a curing house point to the importance of
[464] fishing in the past. Twenty-one men were employed in fishing boats about 1914. Sub-letting usually takes place between relatives; of some of the fourteen operative units are quite complicated. One example will suffice (croft numbers are here replaced by letters to prevent publication of personal matters):-

Crofts a, b, c and d are worked as a unit (although they are not adjacent). The tenant of a and b sub-lets c and d for grazing; he also helps with the work on yet a fifth croft. The present b is half of an original croft. West of the road the original croft is held in fixed runrig between b and another croft, not part of this multiple "working" unit; east of the road it has been divided into separate strips. The tenant lives on b.

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogge
but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The scum as a whole
[427] is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hogge on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hogge
[232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hogge that are sent. The minister at Timsgarry, who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well; the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local crofters are showing interest in this crossbred. The lambing percentage, so dependant upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their scuming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total scum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep scum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked.
[235] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.[1]

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
175 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on
[361] each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grazed, are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Amhuinn Thoraghain and Allt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area, still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1936 - '35. (Figure 5).

464 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in
these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment.
228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Berneri lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil, three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

464 Mitchels's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
[345] ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present.
[172] The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two
[317] Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric scheme
[317] site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the
[446] particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

1. [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

484 As yet the tourist trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting
485 houses offer suitable accommodation for people who would appreci
these very beautiful surroundings. The distance from Stornoway,
[47] ing varied food supplies - and the weather - were cited as disadvant
a weekly coach tour from Stornoway are supplied with meals at an A
good access to the beach but otherwise the crofters show little inter
of tourism.

162 In common with other crofting townships, the greatest problem
population because the younger people seek employment outside the
166 diagrams illustrate the age-heavy structure of the permanent resi
464 numbers of the insurable population periodically or permanently a
able work, for young women particularly, is also shown. The ages
illustrate this problem. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty
five. Serious, too, is the loss by emigration of people between fift
the total 'working population', 35% have left this region since 1939.
figure for Crowlista alone, the older settlement with smaller crofts

241 We found in this part of Uig some crofts efficiently and energeti
231 tenants, and if reasonable stock prices are obtained the larger cr
427 profitably. However no croft will fully support a family; ancillary
[317] sought by crofters with growing families yet many crofts are carry
[88] might because some tenants are not interested in, or able for, agri
increasingly thought of as a home, as part-time employment - often
the family - and as a place for retirement.

000 It is easy to list schemes for improvement and change:- dairy
with milk, poultry and pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivati
tourist industry, forestry on a small scale, lobster and crab fishin
would require capital not available in the townships, careful plann
tration by people with real knowledge of this area and its people.
potential production of the crofts is by no means realised.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

131 The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established c
the western side of the steep and narrow valley of the Amhuinn Gil
133 north of Crowlista. After leaving Loch Meacheit, the river flows
gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), th
427 flood-plain into the rocky bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts,
133 arrangement and varying in size from 3½ to 7 acres, each original
strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the rig
the steep, rocky slope above the left bank and widening out over th
between the 100 ft. and 200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts
larged, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst
ground to the north or south.

1. [See figures 12 (facing p.34) and 17 (facing p.3

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
231 the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos
654 in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village there is now an R. A. F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the inhabitants.

361 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
497 at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
493 butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N. A. A. F. I. within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100 ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below
505 the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
542 have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
354 more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
312 modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
311 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an
491 elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions, but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

241 The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse.
407 Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
312 tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
824 vated; here was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
231 extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

253 On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
166 periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 - 44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

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Figure 18

VALTOS
KNEEP
and
REEF.

C.P. : Common pasture

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 1

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TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER - TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Valtos	149	1,482*	3,905**	40	1	36
Kneep	155	459*	1,806**	19	-	18
Reef	94	207 101(M)	770	15	-	14
	398	2,249	6,481	74	1	68***

NOTES: * including some machair; ** shielings;
M machair; *** Of whom 14 absent.

/facing p. 41/

162 of crofts in other districts, despite the legal requirement that a tenant shall reside within
427 two miles of his croft. Thus half the crofts in the parish are tenated by persons who
423 cannot be expected to make the best use of them. This implies no criticism of the people concerned, it is a criticism of the system. Of 314 resident tenants under 65 years of age, 43 are women; of the men, 170 have regular employment including fishing or weaving, 55 take casual or seasonal work as and when they can get it. Only 46, or 7% of all tenants, are "full-time crofters" and, in fact, most of these are either invalids, disabled, or over 60 years of age. Thus in Uig, unlike the southern Outer Hebrides, most crofts are at best a spare time occupation, at worst merely a house site carying special privileges. The table also demonstrates that the size of crofts has little bearing on occupational status; this is inevitable in a rigid system under which a man has no control of varying the size of his holding according to his needs. Some young tenants inherit crofts far too small for their family needs, whilst many elderly tenants, and women, have crofts which are too large for them to maintain.

241 It is not surprising, then, that many tenants do not wish, or are not able, properly
427 to cultivate or stock their crofts. A few, however, are particularly interested in agricultural production as a means of livelihood. Some of these have acquired extra crofts, and so built up much larger units. This may be done by acquiring tenancies either in the crofter's own name or that of his wife or a close relative, or by sub-letting. About 30 crofters in Uig are tenants of more than one holding, at least 20 work holdings held in the name of close relatives, and at least 120 have sub-let holdings. These figures are certainly too low: sub-letting without the consent of the proprietor or Crofters Commission is illegal. Nevertheless it is common, and it is generally unsatisfactory because the sub-tenant has no security of tenure and no right to compensation for improvements; consequently sub-let crofts are often neglected and sometimes over-grazed as well. Controlled sub-letting, for a stated minimum period and with the right to compensation, would regularise a well established practice and encourage the formation of larger units, better able to support a family.

A converse of sub-letting is unofficial sub-division. There are a few cases of cottars - usually relatives living in a second dwelling house on the croft - sharing the croft with the tenant; but this formerly widespread practice has all but disappeared. Such de facto "crofters" share the common grazings, as do "squatters" - persons with houses on the
162 common land - who keep stock. Thus neither the number of crofter-holdings on the rental
241 (699), nor that of crofter-tenants (663), is any guide to the effective number of potential
427 agricultural units. Of the crofter-tenants, 100 are absent and some of those who are resident sub-let their crofts. After making these allowances the number of de facto holdings becomes 518; to these must be added 39 cottars, squatters and others (including a few tenants of council houses) who keep at least a cow or five sheep, and 23 agricultural holdings without crofter status. Thus there are 580 potential agricultural units in Uig.

[233] That is not all. Of these 66 have no cattle, and 162 carry less than half their soum,
of which 22 have no stock at all. Little more than 400 holdings can reasonably be said to
241 be agriculturally effective. This is an indictment, not of the crofters, but of the
427 agricultural structure of the system. This neither provides viable holdings nor does it enable those who wish to acquire enough land to be agriculturalists to get it, even though much land lies unused or ill-used. In short, the system is too rigid. In consequence, de-population goes on apace whilst potential resources are neglected. Three-quarters of a century of legislation and financial aid have, in the main, encouraged the development of crofts as homes for the elderly and as hobbies for those in other employment. Very reasonably, many crofters complain. But very few realise-or are willing to admit - that the security of tenure and other privileges won in 1886, if too rigidly maintained, may ultimately bring about the decay of the very communities which they were intended to protect.

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Figure 11.

THE ATLANTIC COAST DISTRICT

C.P. : detached common pasture (shielings).

ENL. : enlargement to common pasture

Table 13

241 233 427 632

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Ard Bheag	-	-	c.2,000	-	1	(4)
Breinish	140	5,493	940	28	-	22
Islivig	51	1,342	620	10	-	7
Mangersta	55	2,197	1,850	13	-	13
	246	9,432	5,410	51	1	42

/facing p. 32/

CHAPTER EIGHT

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Meavaig, Caryshader, Ungshader, Geshader, Enaclete and Gisla).

by

Annis Heawood.

133 Little Loch Roag is a narrow sea loch extending southwards about twelve miles inland
[133] from Loch Roag proper. It has been formed by glacial erosion picking out one of the
194 n. n. e. to s. s. w. lines of weakness characteristic of the Lewisian gneiss. Although generally steep-sided, recent glaciation left much ground moraine and this material, best preserved on the less steep slopes, provides arable land for several small townships on or near its western shores. The eastern shore is the more rugged and although a few small townships once existed there is now only the small farm and shooting lodge of Scaliscro. At the head of the loch is an estate cottage for Morsgail Lodge which is a large mansion with extensive fishing and shooting rights, grandly isolated about a mile inland from the main road.

361 The district here described includes Gisla, near the head of Little Loch Roag, Enaclete,
[133] Ungshader, and Geshader, on the western shores of Loch Roag proper. All these are strung out on or close to the main road. Meavaig, like Gisla, is a small farm but also
365 functions as something of a metropolis for south Uig; it has the post-master, whose other functions include registrar and receiver of wrecks it has two churches, a telephone exchange, the district doctor and manse, and a petrol pump. At the time of our visit it was also the base for the 'bus service. Its metropolitan functions arose in the days before the road replaced a ferry boat service from Callanish; here the mails were landed until some date in the 1920s, and here, too, the estate kept coach and horses for transport to Uig lodge, three miles further west.

361 There is no record of the original settlement of the four crofting townships, nor of
365 Gisla, which was a township (or 'joint farm') of five crofters until about 1850. Some modern houses and bungalows have been built, many with easier access to the road than
[132] the old black houses, now often used as byres. Water supply does not seem to present a serious problem because of the extensive moorland gathering grounds to the west, but there are not at present any water-supply schemes. Electricity is, of course, available. Caryshader and Enaclete are on the main Stornoway road being served at present by the 'bus and by vans selling meat, groceries and fish at least once a week. Enaclete has a sub-post-office. Geshader is less fortunate since, although vans call regularly, 'buses must be met at the junction of the unsurfaced track and the main Stornoway road, where the school serving this district also stands. The track has been extended in recent years so that it now reaches all the houses. Ungshader, however, is smaller and although it has had similar delivery arrangements, it is now a dying settlement largely due to its inaccessibility.

427 The crofts are mostly regular in shape on the landward side and fenced except where
the land is very broken as in northern Enaclete. In Caryshader there are fourteen legal
632 crofts which at present are worked as eleven units; one is used only as a holiday home
311 by its owner-occupier and there is one squatter on the common grazing. In Geshader there are eleven crofts, each worked independantly; Ungshader has four crofts but the

427 Joint tenants of one have moved to Geshader while continuing to work the Ungshader land.
632 Another is preparing to move to Enaclete and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Chroistean
311 Cottage. At present, three working units remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with ten units, one being rented by joint tenants.

221 The rhythm of work is similar to that in other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oats are planted in April followed by lambing and peat cutting in May. In June and July the sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to the common grazings. In August the peats are carted, once they are dry, by lorry direct to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lambs are weaned in September, harvest is then carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take place in November. The sheep are then returned to the township grazing though the lambs
241 may be fed with hay on the croft. There is little regular crop rotation and only a small number of crofters seem to undersow oats, thus improving the quality of future hay crops. Gardens are not important and only provide for family needs but Caryshader particularly has a number, some growing flowers as well as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely from croft to croft as well township to township. Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the shore and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshader are usually fed on artificials.

231 Most crofters keep one milk cow with a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn sales in Caryshader. However, some now rely on their neighbours for milk in return for grazing and one croft has turned to goats, as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on Geshader -Ungshader common grazing as it is completely fenced; and Geshader is responsible for its upkeep.

233 Lambing seems to have been generally good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact figures. The Morsgail Estate and Gisla farm also run considerable flocks. The common pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlargement, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acres for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader near Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres
[34] on Floday island. The shielings have been disused since the war. Peat is normally cut to the west of the road but at least one elderly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his croft for this purpose to save the effort of working further afield.

241 Generally speaking the land now cropped only represents one third to one half of that
178 worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when the crofting population was larger and when much greater numbers of cattle were kept through the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and
231 more oats. The cattle numbers are much less than the total souming but sheep are in excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazing by sheep has caused a decline in grazing quality.

464 Clearly in these townships, apart from the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the means of livelihood is sought elsewhere. At present there are altogether fifty-three men in the working age group (15 - 64) in all four townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine permanently and five periodically. Thirty have regular or periodic employment besides crofting and of these seven work at Gisla on the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, some of them part-time, four hire out vans, two do post-office work and others have varied occupations while only three are full-time crofters. At present there are few men in the Merchant Navy and fishing does not provide an occupation although many share rowing-boats in their spare time, and fish for domestic use.

162 The population as a whole is ageing and of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four
[164] (roughly 30%) work away permanently or have emigrated. It is noticeable that there are few crofts worked by people with young families

000 In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that the fate of the crofting townships depends more

Brenish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight cost half-a-crown for a hundredweight, but because of competition from privately owned vans the bus service ceased in 1960. Mangersta is reached from the same road by about a mile of untarred side-road of indifferent quality; formerly the only access to it was by a footpath over the sands to the south. General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig; banking facilities are supplied by a mobile bank.

The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being somewhat more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about four acres; in Brenish and Islivick only about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or croft-units - are fenced, the work having been completed in Brenish in 1959. There are twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Brenish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta; but, owing to amalgamations of various kinds the number of operative units is considerably less - fourteen in Brenish, five in Islivick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

As soils are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable patches are large enough to be cultivated with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in Brenish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are hired for ploughing and carting peats. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike many of the other Uig townships.

While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas, here the sheep are wintered up on the hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts. Brenish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hogg, or four year-old heifers), on Mealasta Island - hogg are usually sent since their loss, by falling over the cliffs, is less serious than the loss of heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta crofters, who are allowed two sheep each in summer.

The only crops grown are potatoes and oats, with "black oats" (Avena strigosa) on the sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed for "black oats" is unobtainable commercially, the crofters save their own. A grass mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay, to qualify for the subsidy.

The extensive hill and mountain pastures are not separately fenced; sheep from all three townships graze over all. If the total sheep stock of the townships (about 3,300) is compared with the souming figures it is found to exceed the soum by about 50%. On the other hand, fewer cattle and horses are kept than formerly so that taking the total stock for all animals (horses, cattle and sheep) and comparing with the actual stock now carried, the area carries only 87% of the stock which the soum allowed. In the two older townships the souming was reckoned according to rent, being one cow, one two-year old and eight sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, however, the soum was one horse, three cows, one heifer, two stirks and twenty-five sheep for each croft.

Lambing percentage is about 80, and ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers (excluding lambs). In this district some wedders are kept for three years and then sold for meat, but the main income is from wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep, which sells at up to four shillings a pound.

Most crofters keep one or two cows, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn or spring sales. Brenish and Mangersta each have a bull, and in the three townships there are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks in

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Figure 13

Table 14

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TOWNSHIP farm etc	INBYE: acres	COMMON adjacent: acres	PASTURES: detached: acres	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts: no.	others: no.	CROFTER-TENANTS: no.
Carnish	67	177 44(M)	6,700	6	-	5
Ardroil	558	320 151(M)		14	-	5
Timsgarry	81	3,297	-	8	-	8
Crowlista	101	1,840 240(G)	1,352*	24	-	19
Aird	49	1,163	556*	10	-	9
Non-crofting	8	-	-	-	2	-
	306	7,212	8,616	62	2	55**

NOTES:
M.: machair; G: part of Glebe; *shielings;
**: of whom nine are absent.

/facing p. 35/

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Figure 14

CROWLISTA :
- lay out of crofts of an 'old' township lotted c. 1850.
- crofts shown hatched are held runrig by pairs of tenants
(Compare Fig. 15)

/facing p. 36/

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APPENDIX A

(1) Agricultural statistics for South Uig - August, 1959.

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pasture (acres):	Surface	CATTLE: Score:	Hill:	Others:	Calves:	SHEEP: Score:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Horses	Bulls
ARD SHEAG	-	1	1	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	2,500	?	?		
BRENISH	28	-	13	16	4	20	100	11	86	18	15	13	508	703	493	568	4	1
ISLIVIG	10	-	5	7	2	11	30	3	43	6	3	4	228	224	374	105	2	-
MANGERSTA	13	-	10	12	3	17	23	3	68	16	9	13	385	474	334	371	1	-
CARNISH	6	-	3	2	1	4	62	4	26	4	1	4	270	110	89	40	1	-
ARDROIL	14	-	12	7	2	21	321	13	62	15	5	9	625	358	277	171	1	-
TIMSGARRY	8	-	7	5	1	12	43	7	23	8	-	4	275	177	143	108	1	-
HARRIS ETC.	-	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	-	2	-	1	-	38	35	5	-	-
AIRD	10	-	8	4	1	9	35	8	36	6	2 (Goats)	1	206	226	193	166	-	-
CROWLISTA	24	-	13	16	7	19	59	6	89	15	3	9	414	487	374	227	-	-
VALTOS	40	1	29	22	7	15	104	19	220	41	1	29	1,039	916	781	524	-	-
REEF	19	-	13	11	7	19	118	10	76	14	6	9	455	403	337	247	1	-
REEF	15	-	8	5	2	9	77	7	45	7	3	9	225	249	202	190	-	-
GARYSHANER	14	1	12	6	4	9	24	3	32	8	1 (2 Goats)	4	189	199	176	110	1	-
GESHADER	11	-	11	14	3	16	82	10	38	15	4	11	337	594	442	415	-	-
UNSHADER	4	-	3	5	1	7	23	3	27	3	1	2	150	130	125	125	-	-
ENACLETT	9	-	9	13	3	13	44	6	32	14	2	12	323	335	247	308	-	-
OTHERS (non-crofting)	-	5	5	3	1	7	54	2	-	7	14 (16 pigs & 2 goats)	12	-	295	210	231	-	1

Notes:
(a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in the text.
(b) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the grazing regulations were first made unless some other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.
(c) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions (ewes/lambs/others) are as reported (see Appendix A (2)).
(d) Where there is a specific soum for a horse this has been added, (half to the cattle soum and half to the sheep soum) after allowing for any horses actually present.
(e) Where there is a soum for two-year old cattle this has been included in the cattle soums at the rate of 3 two-year olds to one cow.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uig

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uig

APPENDIX A. continued

(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, South Uig, August 1959.

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Status* of tenants:-		Area of holding: 1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	20.1+ acres	TOTAL:
Regular employment	M 54	5	17	11	6	1	2	2	44
	M 65	-	1	--	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M 65	4	10	5	5	3	-	-	27
	M 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full-time crofters	M 65	4	1	5	2	1	-	1	14
	M 65	8	13	13	8	7	5	4	58
	F 65	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	4
	F 65	1	4	1	1	-	-	1	8
Absent M		5	7	8	3	-	-	-	23
Absent F		4	7	-	2	-	-	-	13
TOTAL		31	63	43	27	12	7	10	193

(4) Principal croft workers status by size of effective agricultural unit, South Uig, August

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Status* of croft worker		Area of effective agricultural unit (acres):- 1.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	20.1+	TOTAL:
Regular employment	M 65	2	21	14	11	9	6	4	67
	M 65	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M 65		13	7	5	6	-	2	33
	M 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M 65	2	4	1	-	7	2	2	18
	M 65	2	8	8	7	6	5	4	40
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		2	1	1	1	1	-	6
TOTAL		6	48	32	24	29	14	12	165

* Occupation, sex and age (under or over 65 years).

1,[Errata: See category 116,(introductory p.v), for corrections--Ans

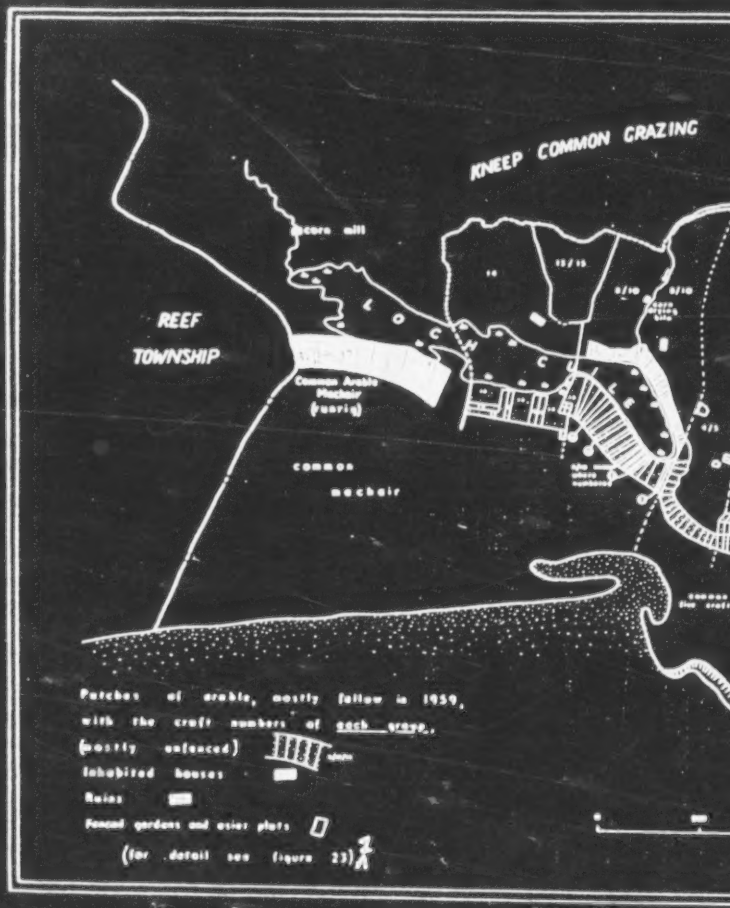

Figure 22
The fragmented crofts of Kneep (so-called 'runrig

1. [For fig. 23, see "Facing p. 45" facing p. 48--Analyst]

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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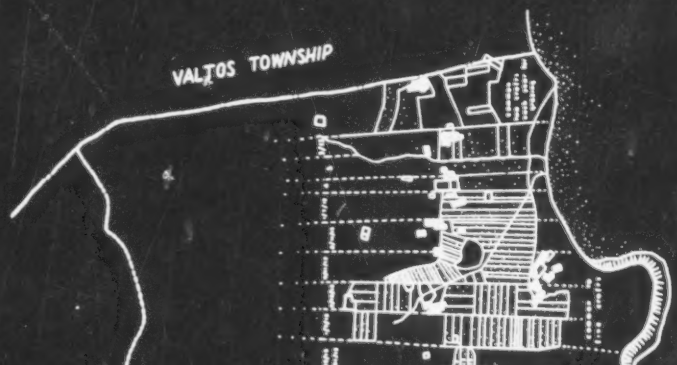

APPENDIX A, continued.

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(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, South Uig, August 1959.

Status* of tenants:-		Area of holding: 1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	20.1+ acres	TOTAL:
Regular crofters	M 54 & M 65	5	17	11	6	1	2	2	44
	F 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular crofters	M 65	4	10	5	5	3	-	-	27
	M 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full-time crofters	M 65	4	1	5	2	1	-	1	14
	M 65	8	13	13	8	7	5	4	58
	F 65	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	4
	F 65	1	4	1	1	-	-	1	8
Absent M		5	7	8	3	-	-	-	23
Absent F		4	7	-	2	-	-	-	13
TOTAL		31	63	43	27	12	7	10	193

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(4) Principal croft workers status by size of effective agricultural unit, South Uig, August 1959

Status* of croft worker		Area of effective agricultural unit (acres):- 1.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	20.1+	TOTAL:
Regular crofters	M 65	2	21	14	11	9	6	4	67
	M 65	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular crofters	M 65		13	7	5	6	-	2	33
	M 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other occupation	M 65	2	4	1	-	7	2	2	18
	M 65	2	8	8	7	6	5	4	40
	F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F 65		2	1	1	1	1	-	6
TOTAL		6	48	32	24	29	14	12	165

* Occupation, sex and age (under or over 65 years).

1. [Errata: See category 116, (introductory p.v), for corrections--Analyst]

22 311 632

Figure 27

THE BERNERA DISTRICT

Table 20

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TOWNSHIP:	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES:		(acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
Croir	234	280	Little Bernera 314 acres	Bernera shielings	8	-	8
Breacleite	104	481			13	3	13
Hacklete	254	731			20	1	20
Kirkibost	429	924	E. Kersbay 170 a.	4,341 a.	26	4	26
Tobson	171	669	Bosta 485 a.		24	-	21
Earshader	57	2,640			4	2	4
Crulivig	84				6	-	6
Lundale	156	1,000			6	-	6
Linshader	62	9,412	E. an Tighe 14 a.		10	-	10

/p. 58/

195 361

beginning of the resettlement movement which has given the modern crofters of the district almost all the lands formerly occupied by small tenants. This process was completed in the Bernera region soon after 1918, and the problem now - one which is obviously going to become increasingly important - is not to give the crofters more land, but to find active crofters for the existing holdings (see Chapter III for more detailed information on clearance and resettlement).

361 632 427

The ground plans of the existing settlements vary considerably, depending mainly on the terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coast the natural tendency is for the croft boundaries to run at right angles to the coast and for each house to be set on its own croft. The best examples of this are Hacklete and Kirkibost, where an early nineteenth century (i.e. pre-clearance) lotting was readopted when the township was re-settled in 1878. Linshader, Lundale, Crulivig and Earshader also follow the same type of layout as nearly as possible, but Tobson, with the exception of Valasay, is intermediate between a lotted and an unconsolidated township. Croir also differs: it was laid out in 1921 but the disposition of the potential arable forbade a coastwise organisation. The site of Breacleite is greatly broken by lochs and a sea inlet, and consequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Breacleite - Loch Beg Breacleite axis, appears somewhat complicated. The accompanying diagrams contrast the control exercised by physical conditions at Croir with the subordination of physical conditions to a simple lotting plan at Hacklete, (Figure 28).

361 342 178 632

Within the townships, with the exception of Kirkibost, the distribution of settlement seems to have changed little since the original lottings, for in most cases the sites of the old and present dwellings are little further apart than is dictated by constructional problems. It would appear generally that black houses were universal in the nineteenth century except for the farmhouse at 1 Croir (the oldest 'white' house in Bernera), Thule House, (18 Tobson), possibly the tacksman's house at 11 Hacklete, the former farmhouses at 20 Kirkibost and at West Earshader. However, with the establishment of Congested Districts Board and of Board of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, early examples being 5 Hacklete and 10 Breacleite. The resettled townships generally had improved accommodation from the start. Improvement has greatly accelerated since 1951. In most cases at the present time housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and one near blackhouse are still occupied.

312 54 162 354

Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their private water supply, thought it is hoped that mains schemes may be constructed within the next few years. Sanitation varies in standard and in places there are still open ditches, but all the newer houses have water closets. It is worth remarking in this connection that tuberculosis is almost eliminated. Electricity has been available since 1952 to all crofts and most are connected, though not necessarily in every room. Cooking is sometimes by electricity but more commonly by Calor gas and a peat-fired range or stove (open or enclosed). Peat is cheap to those able to gather it themselves. Where, however, help is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road, difficulties may arise. The cost of hiring labour for peat cutting may be such that it is cheaper to buy coal.

171 174 176 178

Access to Bernera by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Roag provided the highway of communication, the road built to Earshader after the Great War, and the £87,000 bridge to Bernera Island, built in 1953, have caused a revaluation of sites. Linshader is approached by a tarred branch road and the other Bernera shore townships lie upon the narrow and twisting main road, though four of the six Lundale crofts have no connection with it, and two of the Crulivig crofts, and West Earshader, are somewhat isolated. On Bernera Island the old cart track from the pier at Barraglom across to Tobson and Croir has been somewhat re-aligned since the construction of the bridge. This is a good tarred road, as is part of the branch to crofts 1...8 Croir. The old road to Kirkibost was tarred in 1959, though three outlying crofts near Barraglom were still without a road suited to vehicles, and the branch within Breacleite remained untarred. There is a new road to Hacklete from Breacleite which provides tolerable, though circuitous, communication. Valasay is one of the most isolated settlements in Bernera, linked with Breacleite rather than with Tobson by the footbridge and causeway paid for by Congested Districts Board grant about 1903.

183 184 185 186

Problems of communication are not, however, solved merely by providing better roads: at least one household in four has a car or van, and this, with the fall in population, has caused a fatal decline in the use of public transport. The Bernera 'bus service was discontinued in August, 1959, for lack of demand. This is not, of course, an isolated example; the problem is common to all the Highlands, and indeed, to all the rural areas of Britain: in Sutherland, for example, the number of registrations of private cars has risen to very nearly 250% since 1945, and the total number of registrations for all classes of vehicles up to 1938 had risen to almost 200%, while the number of hackney carriages, after reaching a peak in 1952, has since declined by 70%.

TABLE 21

Bernera District

241 233 311 427

Land related to tenants and working units

(all figures, except last column, are acres)

	Inbye: per tenant	per working unit:	Common grazing per tenant	per working unit:	Total land: per tenant	per working unit:	Ratio of inbye to total land
Breacleite	8.0	7.4	99	92	107	99	1:13.3
Croir	29.2	33.4	78	89	107	122	1: 3.6
Hacklete	12.7	12.7	96	96	108	108	1: 8.5
Kirkibost	15.9	15.3	92	89	108	104	1: 6.8
Tobson	7.8	9.0	94	109	102	118	1:13.1
ISLAND TOTAL	13.2	13.5	93	95	106	108	1: 9.9
Earshader	11.5	9.5	264	220	275	230	1:24.1
Crulivig	14.0	14.0	220	220	234	234	1:16.7
Lundale	25.9	25.9	166	167	193	193	1: 7.4
Linshader	5.6	6.9	873	1,067	879	1,074	1:155.1
SHORE TOTAL	12.8	13.3	473	491	486	504	1:35.1
DISTRICT TOTAL	13.1	13.9	183	188	196	201	1:15.0

Note: in this table, "working units" include all crofts, whether stocked or not, and all other agricultural holdings. Two or more crofts worked together, whether registered under the same tenant or not, are counted as single working units. An agricultural holding is defined as one with at least one cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation.

Crofts and Commons

423 A crofting area normally consists of the croft land proper - the inbye (arable and
427 unimproved land, and various common grazings. Table 20 summarises the situation in
311 Bernera. Kirkibost has by far the largest inbye and the Bernera Island townships generally
632 are larger than those of Bernera Shore. That the positions are reversed with regard to
common grazings is due to the limited hill of Croir and the very extensive hill of Linshader.
The Bernera Island township would, however, be much worse off for hill land had they
not various special common grazings (except Croir) and did they not share in the 4,341
acres of the Bernera shielings on the mainland. It is possible to calculate the appropriate
shieling share for each township on the basis that, though the theoretical soums for each
township and common grazing are exact, in fact all working units may send animals to the

TABLE 22

Bernera District

Sub-division and Amalgamation

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427
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	ISLAND:						SHORE:						
	Breaclete	Croir	Hacklete	Kirkibost	Tobson	TOTAL	Earshader	Crulivig	Lundale	Linshader	TOTAL	DISTRICT TOTAL
Registered crofter-tenants	13	8	20	26	22	89	4	6	6	10	26	115
Agricultural feus	3	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	-	1	2	6
Agricultural cottars	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	4
Agricultural squattars	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Working units (a)	14	7	20	28	19	88	6	6	6	9	27	115
Known sub-lets	3	1	1	2	1	7	-	-	-	2	2	9
Joint working (b)	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Joint working (c)	-	-	1	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Sub-divisions (d)	1	-	1	4	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	7
Other feus (e)	4	1	-	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Other cottars	-	-	1	1	3	5	-	1	-	-	1	5

Notes: (a) Whether stocked or not
(b) Family co-operation involving amalgamation of holdings.
(c) " " not " " " "
(d) Usually between members of a family, but not recognised on the Valuation Roll.
(e) Excluding those without occupied dwellings.

423 shielings, and that therefore the shieling area per township is in proportion to the number
427 of working units in that township (total, 88 working units on the island). If these shares
311 are deducted it will be seen that only Kirkibost and Tobson common grazings exceed in
632 area those of Lundale, the smallest of the Bernera Shore grazings, and that even this is
no longer so if the special grazings, mainly later enlargements, are further deducted.
All this serves to emphasise the relative crowding on Bernera Island and the consequent
vital importance to most working units of the shielings. This has probably increased in
the last decade with the construction of the bridge, for whereas previously there was a
biannual ferrying operation to the mainland, tedious, unpleasant, and exhausting for both
beast and man, nowadays droving to the hills is an easy matter.

A somewhat different picture emerges when land is related to tenants and working units (table 21). If the inbye per croft tenant is calculated it is seen that Croir has the largest, (29 acres), rivalled only by Lundale, (26 acres), Hacklete, Kirkibost, Earshader, and Crulivig form an intermediate group (11 to 16 acres), while Breaclete, Tobson and Linshader have but eight acres or less. However, the average area of inbye is more revealing if calculated in relation to working units: then the Bernera Island townships are seen to range from 7 acres (Breaclete) to 33 (Croir) while only Lundale has more than 20 acres, the others having 14 or less. For the whole island the average of inbye per tenant (13.2 acres) is close to that for the Shore (12.8 acres) and the inbye per working unit (13.5 acres: 13.3 acres) is almost identical. Thus, there is considerable variation in the amount of inbye land available per tenant and the amalgamation of tenancies into working units does not seriously change this distribution.

None of the Bernera island townships has as much common grazing per tenant, nor per working unit, as any of the Bernera Shore townships, (little more than 100 acres as opposed to never less than 160 acres). The Bernera Shore townships as a group have about five times more pasture per tenant and per working unit than those of Bernera Island. Breaclete stands out as the township with the greatest shortage of land.

The various forms of subdivision and amalgamation of crofts and parts of crofts, or other holdings, are summarised in Table 22. In the small townships of Bernera Shore only Earshader, with four crofters, has non-crofting holdings with stock; there is little amalgamation. In Bernera Island, however, only Hacklete has the same number of working units as of registered croft holders and Breaclete, the township with the greatest shortage of land, is also the township with the greatest degree of unofficial change and intromission. In contrast, Tobson, in spite of its unconsolidated plan, presents a simple picture. Breaclete also has the largest number of feus, including the only feus not
568 functioning as agricultural units. This emphasises its function as a centre for the island.
It has both manses, both churches, the War Memorial, the school and the District Nurse.

108 These changes must however be seen in perspective. The Bernera region has not
427 suffered from the type of amalgamation which is the result of decay and which facilitates
further decay; the actual change is not very great. The number of agricultural working units is 98% of the number of crofter-tenants. It is illuminating to compare the region with Sutherland, where many former crofts, quite abandoned to rough pasture, have been taken off the rentals. Apart from changes due to clearances, the Bernera region has none of either type. Of 575 holdings examined in thirty-one townships in Sutherland, amalgamation has reduced the number of effective crofting units to only 437, i.e. 76% of the formal figure. Amalgamations by family co-operation are comparatively few in Sutherland (26 out of 173 known examples) whereas subletting is common. A further brief example may be taken from one of the Shetland islands where amalgamation has reduced the original number of holdings from something like 350 to about 250 working units.

TABLE 24

Bernera District

Common Pastures, Soumings, and actual stock.

(Stock in "cow units" calculated according to the Grazing Regulations)

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632

	AREA:	SOUMING:		ACTUAL STOCK:		
	Acres	Cow units	Acres per cow	Cow units	As % of soum	Acres per cow unit
Breaclete	1,284	105	12.3	88	84	14.6
Croir	622	43	14.1	49	114	12.6
Hacklete	1,913	259	7.4	189	73	10.1
Kirkibost	2,491	303	8.2	188	63	13.3
Tobson	2,050	253	8.2	120	48	17.1
ISLAND	8,363	962	8.7	634	66	13.2
Earshader	1,320	38	35.1	65	174	20.2
Crulivig	1,320	51	26.8	70	140	18.6
Lundale	1,000	72	13.9	62	86	16.1
Linshader	9,426	95	100.0	92	96	102.5
SHORE	13,066	255	51.5	290	114	45.2
BERNERA DISTRICT	21,451	1,237	17.5	924	74.7	23.4

423 Stock - potential and actual.*

427 The croft is in almost every case primarily a stock raising unit and cultivation apart
from certain items - particularly potatoes for domestic use - is connected with stock
231 rearing. The basis of the stock system is the soum, the share of the common pastures
311 in terms of horses, cattle and sheep. The largest total soums (more than two hundred
cow-units) are held by Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson; all the other townships have a
632 hundred or less cow-units (Table 24). This has some relation to the size of common
grazing. The very large area of Linshader is that of the former farm: the present

* Details of actual stock and souming for each township will be found in Appendix A.

231 soum is less than the capacity of the grazing and represents the Land Court's estimate
423 of the stock the crofters would be able to keep: the consequent discrepancy and retro-
427 gression in total stocking is a typical result of the replacement of commercial farms by
crofting subjects (c.f. page 25 above). It is better however to consider the area of
311 common grazing and soum combined: in fact, the average acreage per cow-unit is fairly
632 uniform for Bernera island, (8.7 acres). Bernera Shore has a wider variation of from
11.6 to 100.9 acres per cow-unit: obviously, either the Bernera island townships grazings,
particularly Bernera shielings, were originally estimated as of superior value, or, for
whatever cause, the common grazings of Bernera Shore are relatively under-used. How
is this reflected in practice?

TABLE 25

Bernera District

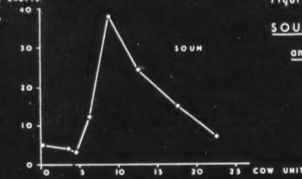
Comparison of soums and actual stock,

by townships.

	Average soum per working unit	Actual stock per working unit	Soum held per working unit	Working units with less than 50% of their soum
Bearclete	6.5	5.5	84%	19%
Croir	6.2	7.0	114%	nil
Hacklete	12.9	9.5	73%	25%
Kirkibost	10.8	6.7	63%	29%
Tobson	13.3	6.3	46%	58%
BERNERA ISLAND	10.6	5.5	66%	43%
Earshader	6.3	10.9	174%	nil
Crulivig	8.4	11.8	140%	nil
Lundale	9.0	10.4	86%	nil
Linshader	10.6	10.2	96%	22%
BERNERA SHORE	9.8	11.6	114%	8%
BERNERA DISTRICT	10.6	6.5	75%	20%

Note: all soums and stock are calculated in "cow units", using the sheep equivalence as given in the Grazing Regulations.

231 CROFTS:
311
427



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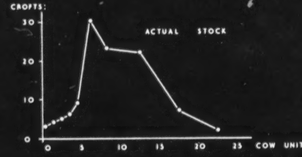

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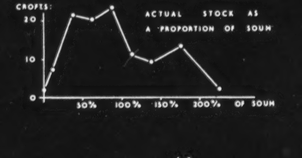


Figure 23
/facing p. 46/

241/198 The area under cultivation has contracted in the past twenty years. Before 1939 most crofts had about twice as much land under cultivation and at Valtos some were cultivating small patches outside the township fence. The cultivation of the common machair at Cliff ceased in 1939. The land had been "too long in labour" (potatoes had been planted on the same ground for nearly one hundred years), and the soil had been affected by over-liberal applications of sulphate of ammonia which replaced the traditional soot-impregnated thatch from the black-houses. Moreover the Cliff machair was particularly vulnerable to "blow outs" after ploughing. Cultivation of the Kneep common arable has all but ceased, and the fifty-two acres of arable machair in the township of Reef have been untouched since the 1930s. It is noticeable that the common machair cultivation and the shieling economy [231] ended about the same time. Smaller numbers of better-quality cattle were needed to meet the daily milk requirements of the croft; a much smaller area of cultivation was therefore needed to provide winter fodder and consequently more land was available on the croft for potato cultivation. Consequently the more distant machair was replaced by cultivation within the croft.

433/178 Contraction and decline of the economy is common to all three townships, but the form and cause of this decline is different for each, and where the township consists of two separate settlement nuclei there is frequently a difference between the two parts:

632/427/361/311 The township of Valtos is in two distinct parts: crofts 1 - 34 are a succession of narrow strips about ½ mile in length stretching from the shore to about 200' O.D.. The boundaries of the outer crofts (nos. 1 and 34) if projected to a point on Pabay, form an angle of 45°, so that the crofts are narrower at the shore (40 - 70') than at the upper limit (100 - 180'). Of these 34 crofts, 19 are in so-called runrig, eight in pairs and one group of three. (Fig. 2 Cultivation is carried out on numerous intermixed small patches, held permanently; the grazings are interchanged at the year end. Fragmentation imposes a severe limitation on the economic efficiency of the croft. None of the crofts at Valtos is individually fenced [241] though some groups of two or three are fenced together. With the contraction of cultivation only the less steep areas are cultivated, to facilitate ploughing.[1] As a result, the bulk of the cultivated plots are to be found at either end of the croft - near the shore and on the hill top against the township fence.

The remaining five crofts of Valtos, and a squatter, are at Cliff in the valley separating the Valtos peninsula from that of Aird. Here the crofts are fenced, more compact and slightly larger (4.8 acres as against 3.8 acres) and they occupy more level terrain than [241] those in Valtos. Two of the crofts are worked in runrig - these being situated on the machair. The houses are set back about a hundred yards from the road, along the western township fence.

Kneep township is again in two parts: Crofts 16 - 18 together with the Manse and two cottars, are situated across the neck of the Glebe promontory, on the south side of the peninsula. The five legal crofts are today worked as three units, fenced, reasonably compact and with holdings of exceptional size for the area - average 15.1 acres. Crofts [233] 1 - 15 at Kneep on the northern side of the peninsula adjoin those of Valtos. Here is a climax of land fragmentation, which imposes severe limits upon croft efficiency. Twelve of the fifteen crofts are worked; of these only numbers 4 and 5 are compact homogenous crofts; numbers 3 and 6 are compact except that part of the land which lies within their boundaries belongs to croft no. 13. The remaining eight crofts comprise a hundred and eight separate plots of croftland and fifty-two separate plots on the common machair. One croft with 2.8 acres arable the average size of each piece is a mere 0.15 acres! [233] The grazing land on the croft is divided into strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into

1. Pre-1939 much of Valtos was cultivated in lazy beds - by spade. Today 9% is cultivated by spade; 43% by horse plough + 48% by tractor.

strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.

The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

Fig. 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

Figure 25

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

ENL.: Enlargement to common pasture.

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 19

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Caryshader	44	1,260	-	14	1	14
Ungshader	35	435	598	4	-	4
Geshader	114	850		11	-	11
Enacleta	73	662	617	9	-	8
Non-crofting	c.40	800+	-	-	4	-
	306	4,007*	1,215	38	5	37*

NOTES: + also unrecorded areas of grazing on deer forests
* Of whom four are absent.

/facing p. 48/

427 Tables 16 and 18 support the d
311 primarily concerned with the pro
231 sale. There are no cash sales
[241] the subsistence of the crofter an
[246] hay (occupying a very small pro
for winter fodder for the cattle
grazing - usually of poor to med
crofter. Less than one third of
it is normally less than half an
attitude of the crofter towards h

[244] In addition, every croft has
to provide for family needs, and
house use.

[433] Nearly all the crofts carry
the year round. Young stock a
calves - a result of the incentiv
is replaced very infrequently.

427 Where one croft differs fro
233 shows an even distribution of cr
[431] fact, over one third of all croft
source of money income on the
and there is a considerable diff
tence and "retirement" crofts o
Hence the souming figures, and
equal to 111% of the soum and

An attempt has been made i

243 _____
244 _____
246 Average size of holding:
311 Old arable
427
231 Outrun

Percentage of croftland under:

cereals

potatoes

Sown grass (hay)

natural hay

natural grazing

efinition of a croft as a small livestock economy unit, ovision of milk for the family and young cattle and wool for of crops - the whole of the land-use is directed towards d his stock. The cereals (almost entirely oats) and the portion of land for a livestock farming region) are grown nd sheep. The larger part of the croft is given over to ium quality - which receives very little attention from the the holdings have sown grassland (and in these few cases acre) - a fact which suggests a passive rather than active s land.

its own small potato plot - rarely more than half an acre most crofts (58%) possess a vegetable garden - again for

ne or two cows - the second cow ensures a milk supply all re sold at one year to eighteen months old, rather than as e offered by the calf-rearing subsidy. The milking stock

the next is in the numbers of sheep stock. Table 17 ofts with more than fifty and less than fifty sheep; but, in have less than twenty-five sheep. Sheep are the only croft, except for the annual sale of the calf, and subsidies, rence in the size of sheep stock between the truly subsis- n the one hand and the "commercial" crofts on the other. here note the contrast between Valtos with the sheep stock heep - 353%!

Figs19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on

TABLE 18
LAND USE

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef
	2.5	4.1	11.0
	2.8	6.2	
	7.5	7.0	6.0
	2.5	5.0	3.0
	5.5	1.0	5.5
	3.5	10.0	4.0
	75.5	76.0	75.0

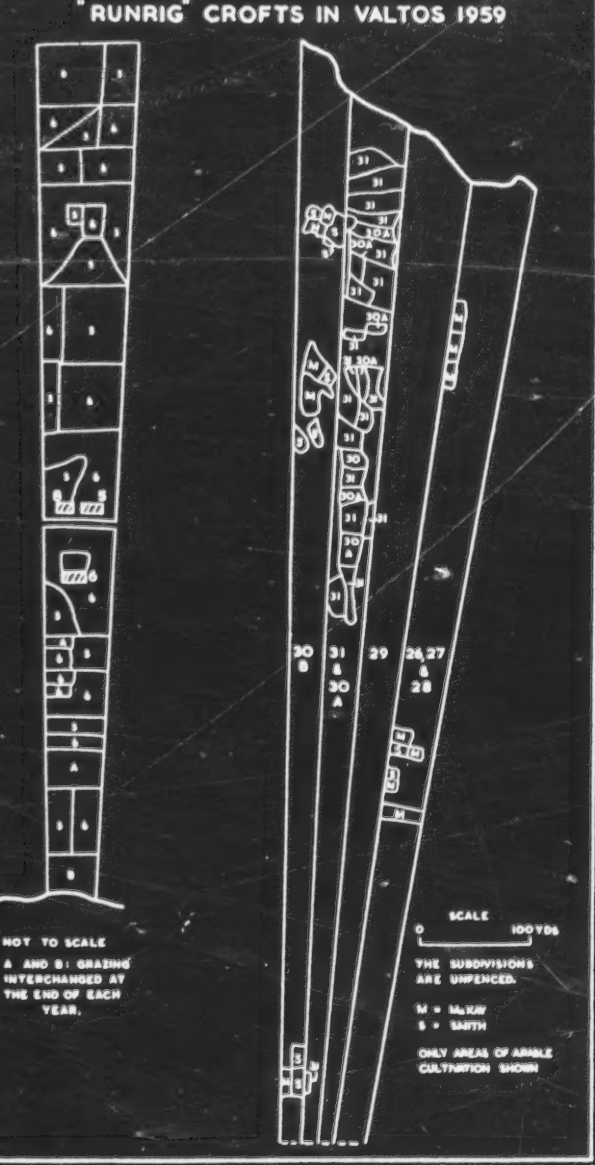

"RUNRIG" CROFTS IN VALTOS 1959
NOT TO SCALE
A AND B: GRAZING INTERCHANGED AT THE END OF EACH YEAR.
SCALE
0
100 YDS
THE SUBDIVISIONS ARE UNFENCED.
M = MACKAY
S = SMITH
ONLY AREAS OF ARABLE CULTIVATION SHOWN
20
31
30A
29
26,27
28
M
S

Figure 21

(1a) Agricultural

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INSIDE LAN Data: Pot
Breacleite	13	3	14	13
Creir	8	-	7	6
Hacklete	20	1	20	26
Kirkibost	26	4	28	26
Tahaon	24	-	19	22
BENBECULA ISL.	91	8	88	93
Berneladar	4	2	6	7
Cruilvig	6	-	6	9
Lumdale	6	-	6	6
Liscebader	10	-	9	6
'SHORE'	26	2	27	28
PARKS etc.	-	4	4	-
TOTAL BENBECULA DISTRICT	117	14	119	121

Notes: (a) The total areas of common and

(b) Croft holdings include duplic
squatters if carrying crops o
sow, or five sheep, or half a
not counted twice.

(c) Sowings have been calculated
unless some other date is spe

(d) Additional sheep figures are

Statistics of Berneva District, August 1959

D:		(acres)	Gardens (No.)	CATTLE:				SHEEP:				Horses	Tractors
atoes:	Hay:	Pasture:		Bulls:	Milk:	Others:	Calves:	Bulls:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:		
3	8	80	10	59	14	11	15	312	221	164	241	-	-
2	4	222	1	37	7	4	7	96	133	110	137	-	-
6	12	210	-	122	30	22	19	661	486	390	499	2	1
9	22	373	9	144	35	14	27	866	496	381	420	5	1
7	3	160	7	37	30	6	24	784	362	305	248	-	-
27	49	1045	27	459	116	57	92	2719	1698	1350	1545	7	2
1	7	43	4	17	6	1	6	104	149	121	168	-	-
3	4	88	-	29	8	6	5	163	193	168	213	-	-
3	2	144	3	34	7	4	7	192	197	167	141	-	1
4	7	45	9	13	6	2	4	330	307	218	227	-	-
11	20	300	16	89	27	13	22	789	846	674	749	-	1
-	-	7	2	-	5	33	5	-	180	130	205	-	-
38	69	1345	45	548	148	103	119	3508	2724	2154	2499	7	3

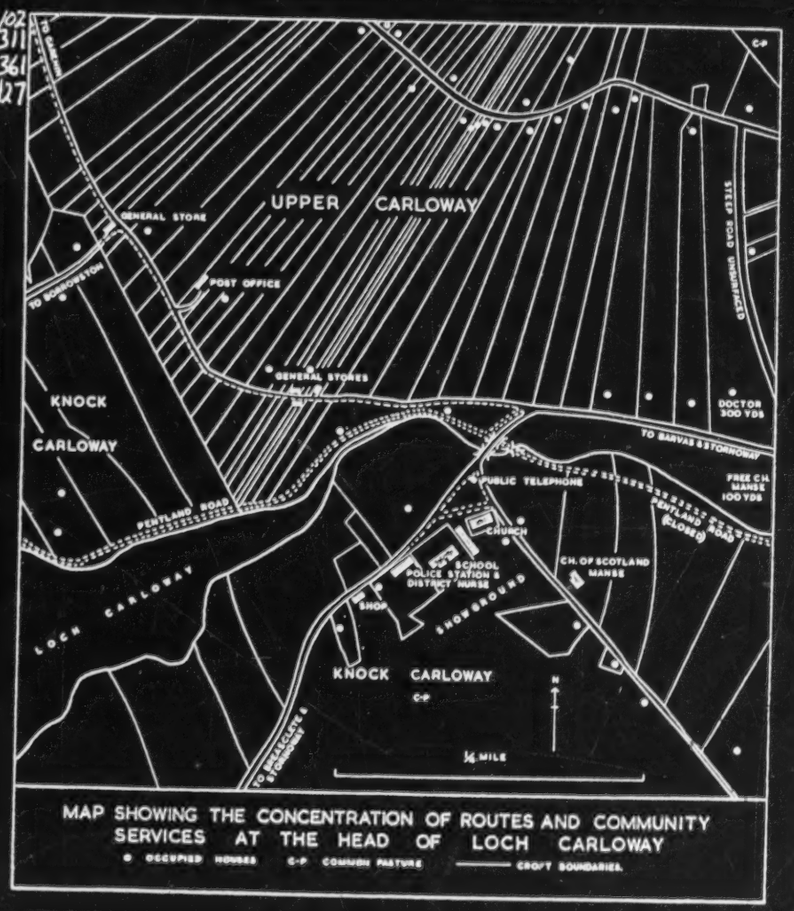
inbys land for each township are given in the text.

ate tenancies; other holdings include de facto holdings such as cottars and r stock; effective agricultural units include only holdings with at least a n acre of cultivation; duplicate tenancies and privately sub-let crofts are

according to the rent operative at the date when the regulations were made cified.

given in Appendix C(2).

102
311
361
427



MAP SHOWING THE CONCENTRATION OF ROUTES AND COMMUNITY SERVICES AT THE HEAD OF LOCH CARLOWAY

● OCCUPIED HOUSES C-P COMMON PASTURE ——— CROFT BOUNDARIES.

/p. 100/

Figure 39

368 ground. Some of these provide for a much larger area and indeed the policeman serves the whole of the parish of Uig. Three buses per day in each direction operating on a circular route provide transport to Stornoway.

UPPER CARLOWAY

● 427 133 The township comprises 51 registered crofts and 28 feus and allotments which are situated on the drift covered slope which rises from the head of Loch Carloway. The crofts are each about half a mile in length and from 5 to 25 yards in width aligned up and downslope. The lowest portion of the croftland is just above sea level and the highest approaches 225 feet O.D. The key crofts are numbers 30 and 31 whose boundaries come to a point thus enabling the crofts to be accommodated on the arcuate hill face. In the east are the crofts of Park Carloway which were lotted at a later date than the main area of croftland (numbers 1 to 40).

Only two crofts are fragmented ('fixed runrig'), these occupy lowlying hummocky land near the river where fencing would be difficult. Elsewhere fencing has been almost completed between the roads, but above the upper road fencing is less common, usually only being undertaken by the more enterprising crofters with more promising land; the bare rock surface of crofts 9 and 10 precludes any such attempt there. Almost all the fencing has taken place since 1946.

427 311 The 51 crofts and 28 feus and allotments are operated in 56 working agricultural units. The total land reputed arable 134.4 acres and the outrun 82.65 acres which gives a total of 217.05 acres of individually held ('croft') land. The method of working is controlled by the relationship of slope, soil and elevation. Three zones may be distinguished, namely

(1) Below the road;
   a) well drained and fairly accessible,
   b) poorly drained and often far from the croft house
(2) Between the roads: a main zone of cultivation
(3) Above the main road an upper zone
   a) with bare rock and thin soil
   b) drift covered - similar in character to (2), but more exposed

Crofts 1 - 32 occupy all three zones
" 33 - 40 and 46 occupy zones (2) and (3)
" 49 is in zone (2)
" 41 and 42 are in zone (1)a and are in 'fixed runrig'.

241 [40] In nearly all parts of these zones it is possible to use a tractor and so the cultivation of oats and cutting of hay is accomplished. It is usual to work the potatoes by horse, but only one man preferred to do all his ploughing by horse. This widespread use of the tractor is in marked contrast to the townships southeast of the Loch where it is almost impossible to use the tractor in many places. The significance of this in the contrasts in methods and efficiency need hardly be emphasised.

461 Life in a crofting township is governed by a very distinctive pattern of working that is so strong that it even influences the operations of the mills in Stornoway, for each crofter, if he continues to work his croft fully, must take time off for the communal operations such as the shearing or dipping of the sheep and inevitably at certain times of the year he will be anxious to work the croft. The table attempts to set out the pattern of the agricultural year in this group of townships (Figure 40).

241 Oats are the main fodder crop and although the practice of unders
it is increasing with the incentive of cultivation grants. Potatoes ar
crop, the main crop being Kerr's Pink and the 'earlies' several varie
gardens, common to nearly all the crofts, grow cabbages and carrots
succeed occasionally and there were many reports of poor yields. T
grown sugar beet successfully for fodder but did not see much future

Sown grasses are being used increasingly and several areas of va
noticed ranging from an indifferent field of Italian rye grass that had
years to mixtures recommended by the Agricultural Advisor. These
in rotations thus:- oats - potatoes - oats - sown grass - sown grass
Some surface reseeding has been attempted and has succeeded on the
yet been tried upon the common pasture, which is shared with Park C
chief problem has been that of finding a suitable area readily accessib
With the example of Breasclete and some of the townships in Ness in
reseeding would be beneficial.*

Fertilisers are used on all the crofts and a clear pattern of their u
the obvious exception of dung the traditional types of fertiliser have be
Only one person uses shell sand in preference to lime for normal crop
reseeding sand is obtained from the north west coast though transport
Good reports were given of regular liming, the only dissenter signific
[65] croft by the river. Seaweed is not now in use though there were good
value; labour, to obtain it was not available. With the incentive of t
there is a regular application of blended artificial fertilisers by the ma

The Carloway hill common has not been cultivated within living me
cultivation of every possible piece of croft land was remembered by m
crofters recalled the period before the First World War when all cultiv
233 alone. The abandonment of the shielings some forty years ago reflect
cattle stocks; the smaller the numbers of cattle the less important is
al grazing during the summer so that the croft land may recover from
spring grazing. All that remains of the shielings are small, almost c
[178] of stones surrounded by a green sward. The decrease in cattle stocks
larger than now, and the primitive life of the shielings are probably the
their demise.

A comparison of the percentages of the souming taken up reveals th
and the relative and absolute increase in sheep stocks. On six of the f
the crofts the total souming is exceeded, one is at par and the rest are
The sheep figures show a slightly different situation; eight of the forty
their souming, two are at par and the rest are below, but not far below,
kept at all; but, whereas only six of the fifty six total units have no catt
are without sheep (14 crofts and 9 feus). For an analysis of the statist
area see tables I, II, & III. The most interesting feature of the compa
the figure for sheep, for in spite of the fact that Park Carloway has an e
the joint figures do not exceed the total joint souming for the townships.

CARLOWAY PARK

361 ● 427 In contrast with the excessive elongation of the crofts in Upper Carlo
Park Carloway form compact blocks. Another unusual feature is that
were lotted five field drains per croft were laid at a depth of eighteen in
have something to do with the good quality of the land. Nineteen acres
worked in five effective units that form a distinct block of cultivation.

* In 1960 and 1962 172 acres of common pasture were reseeded.

361 is attached to the Free Church Manse, is sublet to two feuars and is used entirely for
427 hay. One remarkably well stocked croft has one horse, two cows in milk, one calf and a heifer together with a sheep stock of twenty breeding ewes, twenty lambs and twenty other sheep (this was the first 100% lambing for many years). Labour is provided by one full time crofter with assistance from two others one of whom is a weaver. On another croft an elderly lady was preparing to make an application for a cultivation grant.

241 The intensity of cultivation may be attributed to two factors; first the sheltered position of the land, the moderate slope and good drainage and second to the energy and enterprise of the crofters.

BORROWSTON

361 Borrowston exhibits many of the characteristics that have been noted in Upper Carloway
427 and which are common on the north west of Loch Carloway. It consists of sixteen registered crofts and there are no feus. The crofts were lotted in narrow strips which rise steeply from the western shore of Loch Carloway to a head dyke at about 200 feet O.D. The drift cover thins as the ground rises until an upper zone with exposures of bare rock is reached. The result is that most of the cultivation takes place below the road which passes through the croft land and along which the settlement is located. All the crofts are fenced below the road, but are only partly fenced above it, presenting a pattern similar to that at Upper Carloway. Because of the steepness of the crofts the only way that the tractor can gain access to the land is by way of the lower road which passes from the bridge to the pier.

241 Fifty four acres of croftland are worked in fourteen operative units on which the oats are cultivated by tractor and the potatoes by spade. Though all the crofts have immediate access to the shore none are fertilised with seaweed at the present time; following the common practice in the area artificial fertilisers are used to supplement lime and manure
233 from the byres. None of the crofts are open for common grazing in the winter; this is because of the use of the old farm of Laimshader, granted to the township as an enlargement. The former arable land is now used as additional common pasture. The normal practice is to use the former farm land in conjunction with the croft land in the summer, the cattle being maintained on Laimshader as late in the season as is possible.

241 Borrowston is intensively cultivated, presenting a prosperous picture when viewed from the opposite shore of the loch, but in spite of its apparent prosperity the majority
[162] of the population is over 45 years of age. Herein lies one of the main causes of concern in this part of Uig parish, for though Carloway is in many ways more prosperous than is
181 south Uig and has a larger and more active population working in much more favourable conditions, the population is an aging one that has not the potential for maintaining a
[162] level of replacement. In Borrowston eight of the crofters depend on weaving, four are full-time crofters and seven of the twelve are over sixty five. Yet these men are active and maintain large sheep stocks, ten of the twelve exceeding their souming though only one of them has an excess of cattle.

Figure 40[1] has been drawn to illustrate the land use on particular crofts in this
233 northwestern area; one is in Borrowston and one is in Upper Carloway. The stock data
427 have also been added to give the complete picture of the agricultural unit. Each croft though prosperous, has an elderly tenant.

GARENIN

361
427 The township of Garenin, whose main area of croftland is situated a little apart from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

[1]. [Presumably the author means figure 41--Analyst]

Figure 41

102
233
241
311
427

There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters exceed their soumingf (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 166 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had electricity since 1954. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway and also one bus from Uig and one from Bernera passing through Garynahine. These good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the remaining two being to old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about 125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide) which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing; it is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the highest point is 425 ft.

The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century, and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader to work for one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the more exposed westward facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced by the 90 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which now forms the boundary between the croftland and the common pasture. The croftland varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertilizer and manure are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial fertiliser. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on a small peninsula from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland at high tide.

The croft houses were then in two nuclei; one on each side of the narrow neck. Much later a third nuclei developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Bernera; they had put to sea in small boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

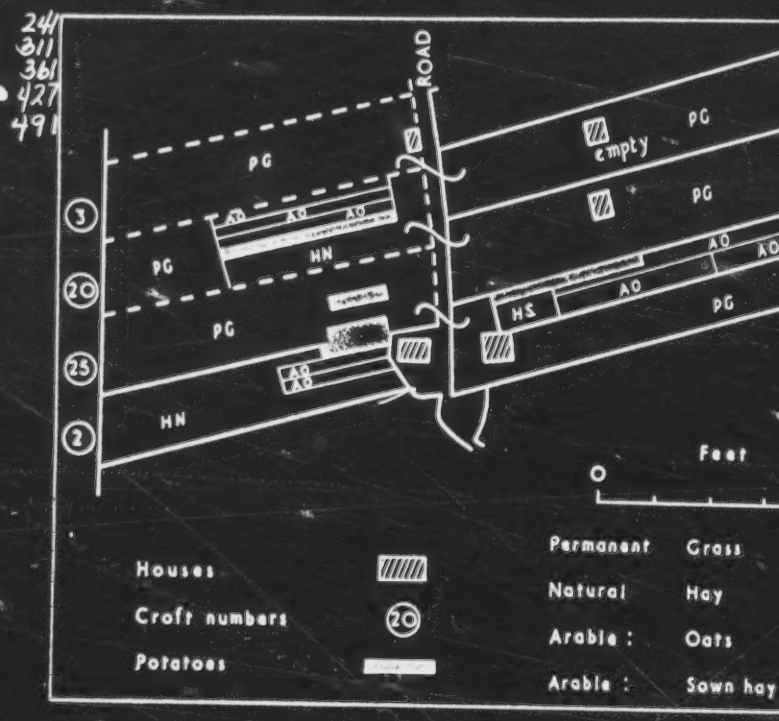


Figure 34

Land-use in four typical crofts in Callanish. Notice that each croft is in t
separated by the road.

427 311 authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common grazing. For example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the croft has now almost 10 acres of land, of which the remaining 3 acres have been 'acquired' by enclosing part of 195 the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pieces, and in some 311 cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor's wife, Lady Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because they were too close 427 to the standing stones. Croft houses 25 and 26, then near the stones, were moved to the other side of the village and given parts of crofts 1 and 2 for their houses. Crofts 1 and 2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the parts of their crofts they had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its croftland close to the stones so that an enclosure could be made around the stones. About the same period, before the passing of the Crofter's Act (1886), when the village was still 'ruled' by the township constable, and several other changes took place. Croft 27 and 28 used to be where the croft houses are at present and the surrounding adjacent area only; but it is said that the tenants of these two houses, being influential with the constable, obtained part of Callanish Farm. Similarly the tenants of crofts 30, 31 and 35 divided part of croft 19; these changes have become permanent. The most recently formed croft was taken from the common pasture in 1890. Since then three feus have been created, but two of these are holiday houses and the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

241 There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed arable. All but 4 croft units grow oats, and there are 20 acres under oats (appendix C). Of the remaining cultivated land 9 acres are potatoes and 5 acres sown hay. Most of the land is cultivated by tractor; there are 6 tractors in the township. In the past there were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still cultivate by spade. The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August and the oats a month later according to the weather.

231 Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to graze one of their neighbour's cows for part of the year in exchange for milk. There is a beef-type shorthorn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Callanish Farm.

233 The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned stock of 904 sheep 311 and 561 lambs. Several crofters exceed their souming, but there is no shortage of grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garynahine township pasture. Callanish also has the use of the pasture on Orasay island; each year some of the sheep (one sheep or ram 221 per croft) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes are brought in for 233 tupping on November 14th, after the harvest is complete, and lambing takes place in April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November 1st to May 10th; in addition Callanish Farm (which has no sheep) is open for winter grazing. The sheep are sheared in July, and the lambs are taken from the ewes a month later. The lambs are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at Flodavat are known to have been in use until 1921.

491 Communications are quite good; the village is close to a main road to Stornoway, and 131 there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-called roads are merely rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by motor vehicle; it is [494] over a mile from the nearest track, separated from it by rough peat land. This year a grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a road to this croft; but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land refused to allow a road to be built; and so croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of the village. 131 There are two shops in Callanish (one with a petrol pump); grocery, butchers' and fish [366] vans deliver frequently. Callanish also has a stone jetty which in the past was important. There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and Bernera calling [504] at Linshader, which gradually declined in importance until the 1920s when it ceased to call at Linshader. The ferry to Bernera finally ceased in 1940 when the ferryman (who [505] lived at Callanish Farm) left for war service. After this the jetty was still used by small private boats (e.g. Callanish church serves Linshader, and many people came to church by boat until recently), but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is a 504 water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one member of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on [354] rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and well worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-let to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert. In [288] addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than [166] average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of them [161] young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people and young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resi- [162] dent adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous crofting communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

195 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared from Reef in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided, 427 making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no cultivation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

361 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete-Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor, oats, potatoes and some clover being 241 grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle 231 is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people over 65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the 133 northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

491 The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main 361 Callanish-Cartoway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter [494] by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, but high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but, at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

361/ at Carloway Bridge. In addition to the main settlement which is irregularly disposed on either side of the two roads, a group of Swedish timber Council houses has been built in a somewhat forbidding situation on the common pasture adjoining the 'Pentland' road.

427 The thirty three registered crofts and thirteen feus or allotments (of which only five
311 are non-agricultural) are worked in thirty four units. Three of the tenants of the Swedish houses have crofts, two in Knock Carloway and one in Upper Carloway.

311 The land use figures show that Knock Carloway has a much greater percentage of permanent grass than has Borrowston on the opposite shore of the loch. These figures reflect not only the less rewarding physical environment on the south shore, but also the lower intensity of cultivation which bears a direct relationship to the type, number and quality of the stock. The township has less than the total number of animals permitted by the souming though the higher figure for sheep than cattle reflects the general trend for the area. No horses are kept but the township has the bull which serves the area - a privately owned beef-shorthorn.

464 Weaving remains the major occupation but the emphasis is less heavy than in the other
286 townships for the community services centred here employ a number of the inhabitants.
632 It may be that here lies part of the answer to the problems of the community as a whole: but even if employment in services were to be increased it could never be very significant in a district with a total population of only 600.

KIRIVICK

34 Adjoining Knock Carloway is the small township of Kirivick which has forty one per-
162 manent residents. It occupies the least rewarding agricultural environment of the area.
133 Crofts 1 to 13 rise from the shore of Loch Carloway on the broken hill face to the Carloway-Breasclete road, whilst number 14 occupies the head of a small valley which was once part of the common pasture beyond the road.

361 The houses are set back from the road occasionally sheltering in the lee of the frequent
133 knolls of bare rock which are exposed on the croft land. These rock surfaces together with the irregular deposition of the drift account for the fragmentation of the cultivated strips in small hand-dug lazy beds on the upper parts of the crofts inaccessible to the tractor.

361 There are fourteen crofts, three feus and one squatter settlement and all but two of
427 these are fenced. Two of the crofts are held in 'fixed runrig' and the small sections in
311 which the land is cultivated are shown in figure 41 ¾ which also illustrates the regular distribution of sections between the two. Though it used to be the normal practice the crofts are not now open to common grazing in the winter.

311 The restricted amount of land available for common grazing ensured the continued use of the shielings until 1939; small patches were cultivated on the common grazing about forty years ago and this fact too is the only recorded instance of a practice that was a community by the size of the working unit and the land available. At the moment there is no proposal for reseeding of any part of the common pasture* because of the difficulty of getting access for tractors. As in the case of Knock Carloway the total souming is not exceeded, but the sheep stock is 25% above the sheep soum.

162 The population figures emphasise the problem of the whole of this southern area and here is the most extreme case of incipient decline. There are two fulltime crofters, six crofters who weave and five crofters over sixty five. Seventy per cent of the population is over 45 and only two children attend the school neither of whom is likely to take up crofting.

1. [Figure 42--Analyst]

DUN CARLOWAY

361 Dun Carloway though clearly of a similar type to the other townships south of Loch
Carloway has certain features peculiar to itself. The croft land may be divided into
427 two sections; crofts 18 to 23 occupy the deep trench which extends from the Dun Carloway
school to Loch Carloway itself. These holdings are larger than the average discussed
above and are divided in broad rectangular block. To the west there is a less deeply
entrenched zone where the crofts are long and narrow lying up and down slope like those
241 of Borrowston. Short steep and narrow lazy beds characterise the cultivation which
follows the pattern set in the other townships, although the areas, as has been noted
above, are much larger in some cases; the largest have up to twenty acres. Despite
this increased size no croft has more than two acres of oats. The low percentage of
land under cultivation is only in part explained by the difficult nature of the ground and
461 the limited use which can be made of the tractor. Few crofters are willing to attempt
more cultivation (to provide extra feed for store cattle or some other form of stock
[288] enterprise) so long as the income from weaving is satisfactory. The concept of the
croft as an ancilliary employment appears to have defeated its own object, for with the
population at its present level, and with the income from weaving as it is, very few
crofters are prepared to do more than provide milk for the family, (with the annual cow
and calf subsidies, and the proceeds of the sale of the annual calf as by-products) and to
derive what income Providence rather than goodmanagement may allow from the sheep.

427 The total area of individually held croftland is 194 acres which is worked in twenty
five agricultural units derived from twenty six crofts, nine feus, one 'free gift' holding
311 and one squatter. The cultivation is accomplished by one horse and one tractor, each
fo which is owned within the township.

The total souming is exceeded, the main reason for this being the gross overstocking
311 of sheep; 187.4% of the soum. This overstocking cannot fail to have a harmful effect
on the common pasture, promoting an increase in the bracken already visible on some
of the croftland itself, under-nourishment and disease. The poor quality of the hill
pasture is brought home by a comparison with the grazings of North Uist where the most
striking feature of the landscape is its greenness after the heavier browns of Western
Lewis. Regeneration by surface seeding would certainly be helpful here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

128 The tables given in appendices C and D form the basis for much of the comment in the
preceding pages. They must now be considered in the light of the general tendencies
which they illustrate in the changing livestock economy units.

241 Appendix C(1) elucidates the working of the crofts. The picture is somewhat com-
311 plicated by the large number of non-crofting holdings in the area, of which 43 carry
stock (a quarter of these sublet croftland). The number of feus also tends to mask the
231 process of amalgamation of crofts to form larger working units; a process which has
473 been taking place for some time. There are in this connection one or two cases of the
427 cross working of crofts between individuals in neighbouring townships. The figures for
these units have been included with those of the township where the tenant is resident.

241 Oats are the most important arable crop. The acreages of sown grass for hay and
pasture are much lower in comparison. Permanent grass, mostly old arable land, is
to be found on 52% of the total area of land occupied as crofts and feus. A large propor-
tion of this is on very thin soil where bare rock is exposed and on wet land, but even so
it does show that much more of the land might be under cultivation or improved grass.
[148] The decrease in cultivation since the late nineteenth century is probably much less than
that for the Valtos area of South Uig where about 70% of the inbye and outrun is under

23 31 32 Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson have by far the largest total holdings of stock but are eclipsed in regard to percentage of soum actually held by Breaclete, Croir, and all the Bernera Shore townships. In fact the average percentage soum held is 66% on the Island as against 114% on the Shore. If efficiency is interpreted in terms of stock rearing therefore, Tobson is less than 50% efficient, Hacklete and Kirkibost 50% to 75% Breaclete Linshader and Lundale 75 to 100%, and the rest 100% to 175% efficient, the average falling at 75%.

It is also interesting to remark the area of common grazing per cow-unit actually held. This shows that, in effect, the Bernera Island townships, as might be expected from their use of one main common grazing, have much the same amount of land per beast The Bernera Shore townships apparently need rather larger areas of land per cow-unit; the excessively large area shown for Linshader indicates understocking.

27 Figure 29 summarises the incidence of soums and actual stock carried. It will be seen that, although there are some crofts with soums of under five and over fifteen cow-units, the majority lie between those limits with a marked peak in the 7.5 to 10 cow-unit class. The largest soums tend to be under-utilised. Figure 28 shows the percentage of the soum held. Almost a quarter of the working units have less than 50% of their soum and must therefore be considered as inefficient in their chief function of stock raising, about one third have 50 - 100% and rather less than 1/3 have over 100%

The incidence from township to township varies (table 25) but generally the Bernera Shore townships have more uniform individual soums than the older and larger Island townships, though the range of size of stock holdings and consequently of soums held is more comparable. Table 25 shows the average soum per croft or working unit: Breaclete and Croir are similar with only just over half the average for the rest of Bernera Island. None of the Bernera Shore townships have soums as large as the bigger Island ones, and one of them, Earshader has no more than Breaclete or Croir. Kirkibost and Tobson stand out as far the most generously treated townships, but is this justified in practice?

Expressed in terms of cow units, (table 25) the total soums reveal that, on Bernera Island, only Croir is really efficient with just over 100% of its soum: Breaclete, Hacklete and Kirkbost are satisfactory - and no more - with 60 - 80%; but Tobson has only 45% of its soum. This is a very much poorer showing than that for the Bernera Shore townships, only one of which drops much below 100%. Therefore on the Shore the soums, though smaller, are better taken up than on the Island. Further it is clear that, of the individual working units on Bernera Island, none of those of Croir are unsatisfactory, three out of sixteen at Breaclete are not satisfactory, five out of twenty at Hacklete, eight out of twenty-eight at Kirkibost and eleven out of nineteen at Tobson, whereas on Bernera Shore there are only two unsatisfactory units - at Linshader - one of which is presently vacant with a dispute over the tenancy.

31 33 11 But so far, only the total soum has been considered: in fact it is necessary to consider the elements of that soum, for in order to maintain the pasture one must have a stock suitably balanced as between cattle and sheep. When the soums were originally calculated this was borne in mind and were every soum fully occupied in the proportions originally planned, the balance of grazing would presumably be satisfactory. Table 26 shows the stock equivalents in sheep units. In Croir the soum would indicate a marked preponderance of cattle +, in Linshader (with its extensive hill lands) of sheep; otherwise there is a rough balance in the soumings between large and small hooved beasts. 56 Occasionally there are special permissive or restrictive clauses in the regulations. For instance, on Breaclete township common grazing, "...a landholder...shall be entitled to graze thereon, free of charge, during summer and autumn, two hoggs for every pound sterling of rent, for replacing the cast ewes...". Similarly, in Linshader horses are not allowed on a fenced area of 800 acres, and on Little Bernera horses are specifically disallowed. But generally the various classes of stock have clear equivalents which are freely interchangeable. How does this work in practice?

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7 + Editorial Note: this was probably because, when the Land Court determined the soum, Croir had no share in Bernera Sheilings. This now calls for adjustment, which should be made when the Crofters Commission re-enact the local Grazing Regulations.

Figure 32

EAST

LOCH ROAG

DISTRICT

Table

TOWNSHIP ETC.	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Other: (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
Callanish	237	----- 5,302 -----		57	1	56
Breasclete	374	----- 3,861 -----		63	2	61
Tolsta Chaolis	396	----- 2,700 -----		43	3	43
Garynahine	95	----- 1,624 -----		12	1	12
Lochganvich	67	----- 2,000 -----		8	-	7
Others	306	-	-	-	3	-

000 weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail. Mains electricity was installed
354 7 years ago, but on the whole cooking is still done by Calor Gas and peat. The chief source of fuel for heating purposes is peat, alghough a little coal may be used.

427 There are 63 registered crofts, including many subdivisions, a small-holding of 15
[361] acres formerly the Mill, and 10 feus, all of which are worked as 54 units. The crofts lie as long narrow strips in a NE - SW direction from the moorland to the sea. All are at least partly fenced, the fencing being of recent date. Some crofters are, at the moment, making use of fencing grants to enclose their land completely.

241 The only crops grown are oats and potatoes, and although a little clover mixture is sown for hay, many crofters find that the natural grass is sufficient for their needs. Vegetables are produced in a few gardens, but most people do not have enough time or interest to bother with them. Flowers rarely flourish owing to the lack of shelter.

311 Far less of the croft is cultivated now than in the past, and the land nearest the shore,
[178] part of which was once cultivated on a run-rig system is now unfenced and used entirely for grazing together with some peat cutting. A piece of the common grazing has been improved by application of shell sand and chemical fertilizers and reseeded. This experiment in which almost the whole township took part has proved very successful and there are plans for further reseeding. Details of crops are given in Appendix C.

[46] Although the tractors of which there are two in the township are used wherever possible,
[231] the spade is still used on many small patches, particularly for potatoes. Much hay is cut by mower but scythes are used to a large extent. There is still one horse in the township but it is scarcely ever used for ploughing except by its owner.

233 The total number of sheep kept in the township is 1,500 i.e. 2½ times the souming
231 which here is 2 cows and 5 sheep per £1 sterling rent. 40 crofters keep sheep but none have sufficient to make a livelihood from sheep alone. Many lambs are lost on the moors during the summer and more fail to survive the winter. The number of cattle kept is 84, i.e. only 1/3 of that permitted. It is usual for each household to keep 1 cow and 1 calf which is generally sold after 6 months when a subsidy can be claimed. Breasclete has no bull, but shares the one from Callanish. Most households keep sufficient poultry for their needs but no eggs are marketed.

Shielings were still used to some extent up to 1938. Now it is not necessary as fewer cows are kept than formerly. With the reduction in numbers of stock the common pastures close to the village are being colonised by heather.

221 The crofters' year begins at the end of March when the ditches are cleaned and the
241 land is prepared. In April the ground is ploughed, fertilised and sown with oats and
233 potatoes. The sheep are dipped and by the 10th of May must be out on the moors as the
[314] crofts are then closed to common grazings. Soon after this peats are cut on the moors two or three miles from the village. After about 20 days the peats are lifted and carried to the Pentland Road by tractor where they are stacked to await the lorry which takes them to the village.

In June, the sheep are gathered into the fank for shearing and the cows are usually brought to graze on the crofts from the nearby moors. If the croft is not fenced they must be tethered. At the end of June the clover is cut, while the potatoes must be cleaned and hoed. In August the lambs are weaned and dipped. Natural grass is cut for hay and if there is any first year sown grass this may yield a second crop in September, together with the corn harvest. When the potatoes have been lifted in October the crofts are opened and the sheep are brought in for the winter. Final dipping takes place in November.

162 Out of a total resident population of 226, 56 are under 15 years and 57 are over 65
years of age. Of the resident tenants 9 are between 15 and 44 years, 19 are between 44 and 65 years and 26 are over 65 years of age. Twenty on persons are periodically
000 away e.g. students and seasonal workers and 29 are permanently away. Since 1939,

Since 1939,
166 54 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to
462 leave home when they finish school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go into domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breasclete is also the temporary home of the families of lighthousemen on duty in the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain demand for the tweed, and although the men are nominally self-employed they rely on the mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms, which, with ancillary equipment such as bobbin winders, are all owned by the crofters.

[458] As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being erected. But should there be a slump, the crofts would be unable to support the population and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

131 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch
133 a' Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs,
361 for westwards to the sea the terrain is too rocky and irregular for either settlement or cultivation, whilst to the east of Loch a' Bhaile the land slopes precipitously from 250 ft. to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle drift-covered slopes, generally of small extent.

137 Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch
[241] a' Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader, and in the valley of the small stream draining from the north into the head of Loch a' Bhaile. Most of the croft land is composed of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 100 ft. in height, separated by damp depressions frequently filled by reeds and rushes; bracken was apparent only on three crofts. In particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely colonised by reeds and very coarse grasses, of no use whatsoever as pasture. One enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this could certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and
311 2 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the
• 427 two lochs and the sea, except for nos. 28 and 29. The 53 holdings are unofficially amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The acreage of crofts varies from 2.2 to 20.75 acres - a considerable variation. Fencing of the crofts - except for 1A, B, and C, and 12A, B, and C which are held 'run-rig' - was carried out between 1945 and 1950, whilst in 1946 the common pasture of 2,700 acres was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the Carloway to Breasclete road. An area stretching from crofts 18A to 21 has, however, been most haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided amongst seventeen crofts in the southern half of the township to compensate them for lack of grazing area within their own croft boundaries. This division is said to date from about 1886.

241 Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned
[160] small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as opposed to spade cultivation, depends either on the urgency of the operation, or on the accessibility of the plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 95

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• 427
632

TOWNSHIP ETC.		INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTU Adjacent: (acres)	Det (a
Dun Carloway		194	-----	2,219
Kirivick		81	495	
Knock Carloway	(a)	156	643	
	(b)	23	-	
Carloway	(a)	234	1,234	1
	(b)	43	-	
Borroston		54	516	
Garenin		111	994	

Note: Where there is a large area of non-crofti
or squatters) this is shown separate

Figure 37

THE

CARLOWAY

DISTRICT

C.P. : detached common pasture (shielings)

Table 34

HES:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS:		CROFTER TENANTS:
ached: acres)	Crofts: (No.)	Other: (No.)	(No.)
----	24	6	22
281	14	2	13
720	33	-	30
-	-	7	-
1,139	59	-	58
-	-	18	-
320	16	-	16
825	28	2	27

ing holdings (feus, allotments, cottars
ly against (h).

102
311
427
491
632

Figure 38

/p. 98/

361 the main area of cultivation at the head of Loch Carlo
427 narrow crofts which traverse the broad valley which f
shed marking the boundaries of Upper Carloway, Bor
is to be found on either side of the road which rises f
township roads of Upper Carloway.

181 The township has a very individual character, esp
427 exposed to violent winds and spray in the winter and
black houses. Tenanted by old ladies two of these a
to suggest that a complete subletting will take place,
many of the other crofters in the township. One ma
fertiliser for the croft on his back because it was im

427 The twenty eight crofts, one feu and one allotmen
Extensive improvements have been made on two crof
311 grasses in their rotations. A general increase in f
consequent closure of the crofts which were formerl
winter. By far the most striking feature in the figu
those for the sheep stock. Although the total soumi
the sheep soum is exceeded by 60.3%. This does n
spoke of a 'natural souming' pointing to the fact that
and he continued that 'if the land is overstocked anim
frequently. The assertion seems to be based on th
cow equals three or even five sheep gives an accura
grazing. The evidence of the heavy sheep losses d
eat a different herbage and in a different manner to
is ignored.

The whole agricultural operation of the townshi
journeys were necessary to go to the shielings and
[286] peats. Once again the emphasis is on weaving as
[161] are ageing. It is a measure of the decline in the p
[162] go to school whereas one crofter could remember
First War.

The main features which emerge from this exa
west of Loch Carloway may be summed up quite br
area of well cultivated land on the even slopes whic
divided into long narrow holdings which ensures th
types of land. Careful attention to much of the la
000 dying community. In spite of the defects which ca
the decreased population and the reduced number o
letting) could allow of a much more efficient worki
time. The potential is there. Carloway has ma
help to stabilise a community and with the advanta
centration of settlement could be assured if additi
agricultural methods could be adopted.

KNOCK CARLO

133 If the north west presents a picture of relativ
[181] be described as one that is showing signs of deca
occupies part of the area with less evenly graded
of the township extends to the northern flank of L
rises steeply to a rocky crest which marks the b
361 consequence the crofts are less regular than tho
[427] worked in 'fixed runrig' with a pattern of much m
on the lowest shoulder of the ridge are the churc

TEXT CONTINUED ON PA

oway, is similarly divided into long
falls to the sea from the low water-
rroston and Garenin. The settlement
from the bay to join the two major

pecially at the seaward end which is
where the dwellings are mostly
re partly sublet and the future seems
which contrasts with the activity of
n was prepared to carry all the
possible to gain access for the tractor.

nt are worked in twenty five units.
fts with the introduction of sown
encing is now taking place with the
ly open for common grazing in the
rea gathered for the township are
ing for all stock is not quite reached.
ot worry the crofters one of whom
the total souming was not exceeded
mals die'; this they do all too
e belief that the equivalence of one
te assessment of the potential of the
oes not bear this out. That sheep
cattle seems to be either unknown or

is complicated by its situation; long
are still needed for bringing home the
n occupation and many of these people
opulation that now only fifteen children
p to fifty in the school before the

nination of the townships to the north
efly. The croftland is a compact
h rise to over 200 ft. O.D. It is
t each has a fair share of the different
d shows that this is far from being a
n be noted in the animal husbandry.
f working units (a result of the sub-
g than does take place at the present
y of the basic social services which
e of its strategic position the con-
nal employment and/or more efficient

AY

prosperity the area to the south may
and decline. Knock Carloway itself
lopes (although a westerly outlier
h Carloway). The eastern section
inning of the common pasture. In
already described and three are
re fragmented cultivation. Situated
s and school close to the road junction

Figure 42.

KIRIVICK: CROFTS 12 AND 13 IN FIXED RUNRIG
LOCH
CARLOWAY
House occupied
House unoccupied
Byre
Oats
Potatoes & garden
Natural grass Hay
Sown grass Hay
Permanent grass
DUN CARLOWAY
KIRIVICK
13
100 YARDS

427 241 Although the croftland is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six months of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole township stock graze indiscriminately over the crofts. Thus basically the whole area of the 221 township, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear 423 that the agricultural revolution with its system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Crofting 178 Area. 232

175 Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic - 'airigh'). 233 The sites of the shielings are usually on slopes commanding a view of the surrounding area near a spring or stream and usually two to nine huts belonging to the same township are grouped together on a site; isolated shielings are rather rare. In order to conserve the pasture within the township dyke for wintering and to protect the unfenced crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in June, and the younger members of the households went out to live in small stone or turf-walled huts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter or cheese at the shieling. The distance of shielings from the crofts varied from one to five miles in Park.

632 The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the township and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in the past related mainly to the enforcement of soumings, but are now reduced to the disbursement of subsidies, although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the township bull (usually lent by the Department of Agriculture but sometimes communally owned) are also the province of the Committee.

341 The layout of the townships varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned 342 in strips from the moor to the sea (figures 4 and 5). Most croft houses are built on the crofts; in 76 former times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the cultivable land was required for crops, but nowadays the houses tend to be sited near the road.

162 The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing 561 in the rights and duties of the township. Table I gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 Park 427 crofts. It will be noted that only one-fifth of the crofts are tenanted by those in the 15-44 age 241 group: a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 65 years of age. Absentee tenants account for 14 per cent of the total. Women form under 10 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of 464 the women tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The intrinsic worth of the holdings can be inferred from the fact that two-thirds of the male tenants in the insurable age group take supplementary work, two-fifths of them furth of Lewis. With such a large proportion of the tenants either fully employed in ancillary occupations in Park or elsewhere it is hardly surprising that the theoretical township organization exists mainly in name alone.

427 Each croft, however, is not necessarily an agricultural unit; some are sublet by absentee 241 tenants or by tenants who are too old or too infirm to work their crofts. Of the 215 crofts, one-fifth are wholly or partly sublet. In addition to the legal crofts, there are unofficial holdings which fall into three categories, cottars, squatters and feuars, all legally without grazing rights. A cottar[1] is a person, usually a close relative of the tenant, who builds another house on

1 These are the de facto definitions. Section 34 of the Crofters' Act of 1886 defines a cottar as follows:- "Cottar" means the occupier of a dwelling-house situate in a crofting parish with or without land who pays no rent to the landlord, as also the tenant from year to year of a dwelling house situated in a crofting parish who resides therein, and who pays to the landlord therefor an annual rent not exceeding six pounds in money, whether with or without garden ground, but without 115 arable or pasture land". For fuller treatment, see Scott, J., "The Law of Smallholdings in Scotland," 1933, pages 152-155.

There is no legal definition of a squatter, and the above definition does not include any distinction between houses built on a croft and houses built on the Common Grazings.

427 a legal croft; a squatter builds a house on the common grazing, and a feuar pays a feu-duty or 241 ground-annual to the proprietor. Such unofficial holdings with stock on the common grazing are "agricultural units" in the same way as the crofts, for in fact some cottars keep more stock than the crofters. In these classes are 84 families and 32 of them keep stock. Thus instead of 215 legal units, there are 219 working units[1]. The more usual situation in depopulated crofting areas, where the number of agricultural units is much smaller than the number of crofts, is certainly not prevalent in Park. The official pattern of crofting and the real pattern are very different indeed both in Park and throughout the Crofting Area.

Crofting Agriculture

241 By definition, the function of crofting is agricultural production. The small area of cultivable 433 land, the poverty of the immature soils and the inhibiting characteristics of the climate, severely limit the range of crops. Of the 1838 acres of croft land in Park, less than 400 acres are classed as arable land. The measurement of the arable land was carried out about 1850 but reclamation after that date increased the arable area. Only in the townships of Shieldernish, Haboat, Kershader, (Figure 5), and Garyvard where there are deeper deposits of glacial drift, is ploughing practised; elsewhere cultivation is entirely in 'lazy-beds', a system of narrow ridges 4 to 6 feet in width, 246 separated by open drains, and cultivated by spade. Natural grass for hay is the chief crop, and and accounts for 52 per cent of the 638 acres of cropped land (See Table II). As only 400 acres of the croft land are classed as arable, some of this hay is taken from areas which were brought 244 into cultivation after 1850. Oats (26 per cent), occupy the largest cultivated area, followed by potatoes (13 per cent). The small area of sown grass (9 per cent) of which four fifths is cut for hay, is symptomatic of the low standard of husbandry: only one fifth of the agriculture units sow grass. The average cropped area per agricultural unit is only 3 acres and only one-third of the units have gardens in cultivation. The hay and oats are grown for winter fodder, and the potatoes for household use. No detailed conclusions as to the use made of the crofts for cropping can be drawn, as the potential of each croft is extremely variable, but the low proportion of sown grass is indicative of the husbandry. There is a clear distinction between the 'agricultural' townships (Seaforthhead, Shieldernish, Haboat, Kershader, Garyvard and Caversta), and the 'fishing' townships (Cromore, Marivig, Calbost, Gravir and Glengravir, Lemreway and Orinsay) in the extent and utilisation of the arable land: one measure of this distinction is that 55 per cent of the units in the agricultural townships sow grass, the figure for the fishing townships is only 22 per cent.

241 More valuable conclusions can however be reached from a study of the stocking. With the exception 427 of Glengravir township, each croft has a defined soum, and thus the stock entitlement for each 433 operative unit can be calculated. By using the equivalence, the soum can be converted to "cow units". In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower, and 8 sheep per £1 rent: the equivalence is 1 cow to 5 sheep. The number of cow units per £1 rent is therefore 2.6; in the calculation, followers are ignored. The actual stock of the agricultural unit can also be converted to cow units and thus a comparison can be made between the soum and the actual stock of each unit. The percentage of the soum taken up can thus be used as an indication of the extent to which the unit is worked.

In the Crofting Area, as in all Highland Britain, stock rearing is the main function of agriculture. 434 In Park, all the agricultural income, subsidies for cropping excluded, is derived from cattle and sheep.

1 Of the 215 legal units, 28 are sublet: thus if there was no unofficial stock-keeping by cottars and squatters there would be 187 agricultural units. However, there are 32 additional stock-keepers and thus in fact there are 219 agricultural units.

31 well recognized relation of culture

241 The economic foundation for t
31 commonly referred to as "the crofti
233
427 hereditary tenure of individually h
vated land combined with communal u
his small plot, typically under fiv
the crofter grows a little oats and
potatoes for his family and dairy c
171 a few garden vegetables. Anyone wh
Irish small farmer will recognize t
the two systems.[10] The communal elem
on Skye, however, is a distinguishi
his croft, the individual has a com
a share in an extensive area of gre
couple of cows and a score or two o
the stock are frequently brought do
to indiscriminately graze the arabl
share the communal lands. Thus, th
is not the croft, the few acres of
"township," a collection of crofts
The system differs from the runrig
centuries ago only by the holding
rather than dispersed and shifting
is a unique survival in Europe.

[9] See, for example, Kroeber, A
Native North America, p. 5.

[10] Cf. Conrad M. Arensberg and
and Community in Ireland (Cambridge
1948), pp. 5-7, 31-35.

and environment.[9]
he present day culture is
ng system," a system of
eld small patches of culti-
se of grazing land. On
e and seldom over ten acres,
hay for his stock, a few
attle, and, in some cases,
o is acquainted with the
he underlying similarity of
ent in the crofting system
ng feature. In addition to
mon, concurrent right to
zing land. Here he keeps a
f sheep. After the harvest,
wn from the hill and allowed
e land of the crofters who
e efficient economic unit
arable land, but rather a
and the common grazing lands.
system which prevailed two
f permanent, compact blocks
strips of arable land. It

Cultural and Natural Areas of

d Solon T. Kimball, Family
e: Harvard University Press,

221 rams are put out in November, the pace becomes slower, the
231 main job being the feeding of cattle.

434 The economy is neither a subsistence nor a self-sufficient economy for the majority. All but a few large crofters have to supplement their income from the croft with some form of outside employment or independent source of income, for ex-
427 361 ample, contributions from a child or a pension. For many the croft is no more than a home. For an aged person, it provides a means of living cheaply. The rent, which is fixed by law,
427 571 361 is only nominal, and the taxes are negligible. There is more to crofting than simple economic considerations. Indeed, if it were only a matter of economy, the system would have been
[554] abandoned long ago. It is a way of life in which the individual finds meaningful patterns of interaction and an ascribed status compatible with his aspirations. The land is more than a potential source of income. It is the ancestral home. The tie to the land is an expression of the sentimental bond of kinship.[12] Many, perhaps the majority, have spent a good part of their lives in other parts of the world working for a wage and looking forward to the day they might return to the Misty Isle. Although only the Glendale crofters are land owners, the law has given the tenants complete security of tenure and the right to bequeath the croft to a member of their family. Thus, they can return to their township and find solidarity.

[12]Cf. Ibid., pp. 64, 81.

the fourth degree of relationship. Although the extended 621 571 602 596
family is now rather amorphous compared to what it must have been a century or two ago, it is still very real to the Sgiathanach. Once, perhaps, the townships and their historic [591] [175]
antecedents were patrilocal settlements. Then, of course, the question of the availibility of land and the legality of subdivision were of small importance. Now the rigid system [591] of land use enforces neo-local post-marital residence, often [427]
at a great distance from the parents, and very often means that the younger generation must join the constant outward movement of the population. Thus, the extended family is seldom, if ever, found intact. Indeed, the only times its members come together as a group is at a funeral or a wedding. On these occasions the strong patrilineal emphasis becomes apparent, and the fact that the individual always remains a member of his or her family group is revealed. It is, then, a stem family.

In structure the extended family includes all males and 596 601
females out to, and including, third cousins. The kinship terminology is descriptive. Excepting grandchildren, all relatives are distinguished by sex and generation. Members of the parental generation and lineal descendents of the parents collateral kin are distinguished by their relationship to the individuals parents. Members of the grandparental and great-grandparental generations and their lineal descendents are similarly distinguished. The same descriptive technique extends to kinsmen of the first and second descending generations.

f the tacksmen. Here was the essence of the clan system, the 175* 602 614 618
ommon tie of territory and kinship. The land was not the mere
eans of subsistence, it was the ancestral home.

The clan was strongly patrilineal. The father of the
ndividual family stood to his children as the senior member
f the derbfine to his kinsmen, the tacksmen to his followers,
nd the chief to the body of the clan. The fundamental under-
ying principle was mutual, reciprocal devotion. The system
es equalitarian. Although the chief was the landowner, and
he tacksmen received their land on lease, for which they owed
he chief the duties of service and a rent just as their
enants owed the tacksmen, the land had no commercial value.
ent was an ill defined and secondary consideration. The dignity
f the clan depended on the number of supporters, who could
e maintained on the land under the system of land use.

175* 241 421 427

Economic Activities

The principles of land use and tenure on the Isle of Skye
p to the early years of the eighteenth century were similar to
hose prevailing all over Scotland.[59] The land was used under a
ystem of runrig agriculture. The word runrig appears to be a
odification of the Gaelic roinn-ruith, a parallel or running
ivision. The bulk of the population, as tenants of the land

[59] Henry Grey Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (3rd ed.; London: Adam and Charles Black, 1906), pp. 154-165; Malcolm Gray, "The Abolition of Runrig in the Highlands of Scotland," The Economic History Review, Vol. V, No. 1 (1952), pp. 46-57; and James E. Handley, Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1953), pp. 34-73, 91-100.

owning clan chief (or Lowland aristocrat) or subtenants of the 175* 241
leaseholders, was clustered into hamlet-like farming settlements 421
to exploit the arable, pasture, and grazing lands by individual 427
and cooperative effort. The land suitable for cultivation was
divided into infield and outfield. Since Ireland and Wales
continued to use shifting arable, and England adopted permanent
arable in the Middle Ages, the practice of dividing the land
into two separate allotments must have been introduced by the
Norse. Norway continues to use infield and outfield to the
present day.

The infield, about one third of the arable land, was
farmed continuously with the aid of manure. The outfield was
worked until exhausted and then left fallow while a new piece
was brought into cultivation. Both were split into "rigs,"
irregular strips about twenty feet wide and several hundred
feet long, separated by "balks," any uncultivated patch. Each
man had at least three rigs for his use. Annually, all ex-
changed at least one rig with the other holders by ballot.
Since all of the land was not of equal value, this periodic
redistribution gave each man an opportunity to have the use
of the best soil every three years. The use of the pasture
and grazing lands was regulated by a system of common rights.
The stock of each individual was proportionate to his share
in the arable land. When arbitration was needed to decide
questions of allotment, grazing rights, or rent, a "birley
court," composed of the share-holders and their elected
constacle, was held. Economically, each farm appears to have 175*

dynamic evangelical form of worship in preference to th
humanistic preaching of their own ministers.

Period II (1811-1845)

The year 1811 marks a turning point in the cultur
of the Isle of Skye. During the second period the proc
we have observed in the initial period gained strength
began to unfold in their characteristic forms. By this
the Industrial Revolution was nearly 100 years old. Br
was on the verge of victory in her wars for the freedom
seas and her commercial empire was her major concern.
government remained disinterested in the Highlands, the
for culture change must again be sought in the attitude
policies of the local landlords.

Exercising their legal powers to separate and reu
the intermixed strips of arable into permanent, compact
the proprietors began a reorganization of their estates
Between 1811 and 1819 runrig was virtually abolished.[2
the Lowlands and Eastern Highlands this alteration of t
traditional system of land use and tenure had only bee
in the direction of a more sweeping reform, consolidati

[24] Canon MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. I, p
Lachlan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Crofters (Glasgow: by the author, 1886), sheets 8-11,
and NSA, p. 235.

[25] John MacCulloch, A Description of the Western I of Scotland (3 vols.; London: Hurst, Robinson and Co.,
Vol. I, pp. 30- 285.

the land into large commercial farms.[26] Even had the landlords desired to emulate the results achieved elsewhere, it is doubtful that the persistent demands of the steadily increasing numbers of people for a share in the land could have been disregarded at this time. On Skye, as in most of the Western Highlands, the arable of the old farms was simply divided into as many equal shares of five to ten acres as possible. The grazing lands continued to be held in common and used under a system of stinted rights, and the arable was used communally between harvesting and spring ploughing. Lacking any legally recognized traditional or written right to the land, the people remained tenants at will, enjoying hereditary tenure as long as they had the good will of the landlord and, especially, that of his factor.

The people, then, were each given a precisely equal share, which was often assigned by lot, in the old farms. Just as the old infield and outfield system had functioned to provide each man with a bit of the worst and a bit of the best soil, the shares were set out in long strips. After the former joint-tenants and subtenants received their fixed allotments, they moved their dwellings from the small hamlet-like clusters near the center of each farm to the individual plots. The township settlement patterns, as we now know it, came into existence.

The effects of this rather superficial reorganization

[26] Cf., e.g., Malcolm Gray, "The Abolition of Runrig in the Highlands of Scotland," pp. 52-53, 54; and Handley, Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 190-202.

soon became apparent. There was a leveling of the social hierarchy. The former joint-tenants, subtenants, and cottars had become crofters. Whatever socio-economic distinctions had once marked the clansmen, all were now more or less equal in status. The cottars seem to have temporarily disappeared.[27] The proprietors were absent, and the tacksmen were almost gone. Indeed, the indignant withdrawal of the tacksmen had contributed to the circumstances which made the abolition of runrig possible.

Although the crofts were small and the rents were high, the people were able to satisfy most of their domestic needs by combining cultivation, stock breeding, and fishing. They could also make enough from the droving trade and, in certain areas, kelping to pay the rents and purchase grain. The crofts were considered more than adequate. Early marriage and subdivision of the crofts became common practice.[28] When a crofter's son married, he was allowed to take part of his father's land and build a house. The proprietors may have explicitly encouraged the practice of early marriage and subdivision. Those who could be gently proded into kelping or commercial fishing not only produced a valuable export but also paid for the privilege of working in the form of high rents. Within a generation three and four nuclear families were living on crofts originally intended for one. When subdivision was at last forbidden, about 1840, the crofter simply took his

[27] John MacCulloch, The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland (4 vols.; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824), Vol. IV, pp. 121, 123.

[28] NSA, pp. 225, 236, 270, 272-273, 277, 308, 314, 348.

(Ib) Agricultural Statistics of East Loch Roag and Carloway districts

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: (Acres) Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pasture:	Gardens	CAT Soum:	Milk:	Othe
EAST LOCH ROAG:											
Garynahine	12	1	11	2	1	19	66	7	18	4	-
Callanish	48	-	32	20	9	34	177	13	124 (232?)	28	5
Breanclete Pt.	9	1	5	3	2	6	21	7	37	3	1
Breanclete	63	3	54	34	11	58	273	43	191	48	4
Tolsta Chaolis	43	3	30	17	9	47	222	13	96	28	2
Leshguavish	8	-	7	4	2	12	48	4	31	7	1
Others	-	3	3	5	1	8	493	1	-	8	1
CARLOWAY DISTRICT											
Dun Carloway	24	6	25	18	7	29	141	13	130 (164?)	25	10
Kirivick	14	2	13	8	2	20	50	8	60	13	2
Knock Carloway	33	7	33	13	6	28	131	33	132	33	6
Carloway	53	18	50	39	14	67	99	35	116	54	2
Carloway Park	6	-	5	5	1	8	5	4	14	6	1
Borrowston	16	-	13	8	3	25	18	12	98 (116?)	12	1
Garenin	28	2	25	22	9	27	53	7	98 (154?)	24	

Notes: (a), (b), and (c) - as for Appendix C(1a).

(d) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions are as

(e) Where an alternative figure is shown beneath the soum there is doubt as regulation.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

231
241
311
423
427
632

APPENDIX C continued

, August, 1959

rs:	Calves:	SHEEP: Sows:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Horses	Tractors
	2	180	98	94	31	-	-
	23	671 (928?)	549	509	253	1	2
	2	124	68	52	34	-	1
	32	567	601	479	368	1	-
	24	573	700	520	270	1	2
	4	155	140	134	48	-	2
	5	-	42	40	17	-	1
)	17	460 (574?)	612	400	492	1	1
2	8	202	205	163	92	-	2
5	25	530	407	301	140	-	-
2	34	590	314	248	197	3	1
1	5	81	70	62	53	1	-
5	8	392 (464?)	362	277	228	-	-
-	16	341 (439?)	419	281	257	3	-

reported. See also Appendix C(2).

to the interpretation of the

APPENDIX C continued

(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, August 1959.

Status* of tenants:		Area of holding (in acres): 0.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	More than 20.0	TOTAL:
BERNERA DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	2	6	3	8	10	4	4	37
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	M under 65	-	-	-	1	4	3	4	12
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	M under 65	-	1	1	2	2	1	-	7
	M over 65	-	5	1	3	8	4	4	25
	F under 65	-	-	1	1	3	1	-	6
	F over 65	-	-	3	2	1	-	1	7
Absent		-	1	3	1	3	2	3	13
TOTAL		2	13	12	18	32	15	17	109
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	4	21	13	3	2	2		45
	M over 65	-	1	1	-	-	-		2
	F under 65	-	1	-	-	-	-		1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
B	M under 65	2	6	4	-	1	-		13
	M over 65	-	-	1	-	-	-		1
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
C	M under 65	-	4	7	2	-	-	-	13
	M over 65	6	15	15	5	3	2	-	46
	F under 65	-	4	4	-	-	-	1	9
	F over 65	2	5	2	1	2	-	-	13
Absent		6	15	6	2	-	2	-	30
TOTAL		20	72	53	13	8	5	1	172
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	5	24	10	3	-	2	-	44
	M over 65	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	4
	F under 65	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	M under 65	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	3
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	M under 65	3	7	1	-	1	-	-	12
	M over 65	3	18	7	-	1	-	-	29
	F under 65	1	13	3	2	-	-	-	19
	F over 65	4	14	4	-	-	-	-	22
Absent		4	12	1	1	1	-	-	19
TOTAL		21	92	28	7	4	3	-	155

* A with regular employment.
B with irregular employment.
C without employment ('full-time crofters').

APPENDIX C continued

(4) Principal croft workers, according to status, by size of effective agricultur
August 1959.

162
311
427
464
631

Status of croft worker		Area of effective agricultural unit (acres): Less than 2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	More 20
BERNERA DISTRICT								
Regular employment	M under 65	4	7	6	11	15	12	1
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Irregular employment	M under 65	1	1	-	2	8	3	
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
No other employment	M under 65	-	-	1	3	2	1	
	M over 65	-	-	4	2	1	-	
	F under 65	-	-	2	1	2	1	
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	TOTAL	5	8	13	19	28	17	1
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT								
Regular employment	M under 65	4	24	17	13	18	3	
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Irregular employment	M under 65	1	1	5	1	1	1	
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
No other employment	M under 65	-	-	4	-	3	1	
	M over 65	3	7	4	3	2	1	
	F under 65	-	2	3	1	1	-	
	F over 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	
	TOTAL	8	35	33	18	25	6	
CARLOWAY DISTRICT								
Regular employment	M under 65	20	39	16	8	4	4	
	M over 65	-	-	1	-	-	-	
	F under 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Irregular employment	M under 65	2	1	3	1	-	-	
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	
No other employment	M under 65	7	7	2	2	1	1	
	M over 65	1	4	8	-	1	2	
	F under 65	3	5	3	-	-	-	
	F over 65	3	2	2	-	-	-	
	TOTAL	36	59	35	11	6	7	

TABLE 37

The Crofting Structure Re-organised

(a) Holdings

District	Proportion of holdings grouped according to area of inbye land: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All holdings
South Uig	49%	36%	15%	100% (193)
Bernera	14%	27%	59%	100% (109)
East Loch Roag	53%	38%	9%	100% (172)
Carloway	72%	23%	5%	100% (155)
WHOLE PARISH	50%	32%	18%	100% (629)

Note: These are the registered crofts and similar agricultural tenancies as on the 1958 valuation roll. About 50 holdings omitted for lack of data.

(b) Effective agricultural units

District	Proportion of units grouped according to area of inbye land: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All units
South Uig	33%	34%	33%	100% (165)
Bernera	13%	30%	56%	100% (105)
East Loch Roag	33%	39%	28%	100% (130)
Carloway	61%	30%	10%	100% (155)
WHOLE PARISH	38%	32%	30%	100% (555)

Note: About 20 units omitted for lack of data.

(c) Summary (excluding Carloway, see note)

	Proportion of holdings (generally registered crofts):	Proportion of effective agricultural units:
Under 8 acres	72%	47%
8 acres and over	28%	53%
All holdings/units	100% (474)	100% (400)

Note: The Carloway district is here excluded because about 30 small de facto agricultural units without crofter status obscure the effect of unofficial amalgamation of crofter-tenancies.

Source: Appendices A(3) and (4) and C(3) and (4).

CHAPTER TWELVE

AGRICULTURE IN A CROFTING PARISH

by

H. A. Moisley

The agricultural economy of Uig parish, as of the Hebrides in general, is rigidly controlled by three sets of factors - physical conditions, the system of crofting land tenure, and economic circumstances. The first two have already been discussed in Part I. In particular, it has been shown that the crofting system, as at present operated, puts many holdings into the hands of tenants who cannot make best use of the land. Many holdings stand under-stocked, some virtually un-used, whilst some crofters who could be efficient agents of agricultural production are inhibited by the small size of their holdings and their inability to sufficiently enlarge them. (See Chap. III, p. 30, and appendices to the district accounts, especially A(3), A(5), C(3) and C(5)).

The crofting system re-organised.

There are 699 agricultural holdings on the 1958 valuation roll, of these only 23 are neither statutory crofts nor holdings of similar status (see Table 9, page 25). About half these holdings have less than 5 acres of inbye land; only 18% have more than 10 acres. Very small holdings are a particular feature of the Carloway district (73% less than 5 acres) and, to a slightly less extent, of East Loch Roag district (42% less than 5 acres). Relatively large holdings are most important in the Bernera district (59% greater than 10 acres). In South Uig, despite the large number of holdings formed within the present century, only 15% of all holdings exceed 10 acres, (c.f. Carloway: 5%). Details of the size-distribution of holdings are given in appendices A(3) and C(3), and are summarised in Table 37(a).

Although still illegal at the time of our survey, it is not surprising that sub-letting is extensively practised, along with other forms of amalgamation, as described in Chap. III (page 30). Thus arises the distinction between 'holdings', which are generally tenancies of different individuals, and 'working units', which may include several holdings. The latter are potential units of agricultural production and are generally larger than the holdings.

However, the structure of potential agricultural units is not the product of one process alone. Amalgamation is important but so also, in certain districts, is 'sub-division', a process which tends to reverse the development of larger agricultural units. By 'sub-division' is meant not only the unofficial sharing of crofts by two or more families, which still happens but is no longer very significant, but also the individual enclosure of small pieces of the common pastures. Such enclosures are, nowadays, generally subject to the approval of the township committee and of the factor, some may even have a feu charter; nevertheless they are the contemporary representation of the age-old custom of squatting on common land, a process which increased the number of crofts in some areas in the course of the nineteenth century, (Chap. III, page 17). Such holdings are here classified as 'working units' provided that they carried either a cow, or at least five sheep, or more than a quarter acre of cultivation, including hay.

Finally, since a proportion of the 'working units' (potential units of agricultural production) are neither stocked nor cultivated, we must distinguish between them and the actual units of agricultural production, here termed 'effective agricultural units'. We accounted for 580 of these, (page 30). Their distribution by districts, according to the acreage of the units, is shown in Table 37(b). Comparison of table (a) and (b) demonstrates the effect of unofficial re-organisation of the crofting structure. In particular, Carloway excepted, the proportion of units of less than 8 acres is reduced in practise from 72% to 47%, and the proportion of units of more than 10 acres is increased from 18% to 30%. In Carloway the result of amalgamation is masked by 'sub-division'; in that district there are about 30 small holdings which carry stock even though they do

TABLE 38

Stock carried 80 years ago compared with that carried today and with the soumings

178
231
311
632

	Cattle (more than 1 year old): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum	Sheep (all ages): 1883 or 1879	1959	Soum
OLD TOWNSHIPS						
South Uig	716	178	677	3,173	10,500	3,557
Bernera	446	183	464	1,713	5,400	2,890
E.L. Roag	555	132	481	1,652	5,200	2,090
Carloway	682	191	648	2,818	6,000	2,596
NEW TOWNSHIPS	-	104	329	-	5,800	2,858
FARMS etc.	404	44	-	4,400	900	-

Note: Figures for individual townships are given in Appendix B.

427 311 [178] not have crofter status. Thus, despite the rigidity imposed by crofting legislation, the crofting structure is evolving; whether the larger units so formed are agriculturally more productive than the smaller, statutory, units is another question.

Cattle and sheep stocks

231 178 The production of cattle and sheep is the main function of the croft, from the agricultural point of view, and the main function of the crofting parish. In this respect a great change has occurred in the last 80 years: about 1880 some 3,300 cattle and 14,000 sheep (of all ages) were kept; in 1959 the corresponding figures were 1,281 and 35,000. This change is by no means the result of the re-settlement of crofters on former farms; in 1879, according to the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the sheep:cattle ratio was 2.3:1 on the crofting townships and 9.6:1 on the farms: now it is 27:1 over the whole parish. The change (Table 38) has been fairly uniform over the parish except that, whereas sheep stocks generally have more or less trebled, in the Carloway district they have little more than doubled.

[167] [162] The decline of cattle numbers has been at the same rate as that of the human population and this, together with the much lower sheep:cattle ratio on crofting townships than on farms in 1879, suggests that, 80 years ago just as to-day, the main object of cattle keeping was subsistence rather than commerce. The increase in sheep numbers on the other hand is probably no more than a reflection of increasing disregard of the soumings.

233 311 178 If we compare the cattle and sheep stocks with the soumings shown in Table 38 and Appendix E we find that 80 years ago, except in Bernera, there was rough agreement between stock and soum. To-day cattle stocks are around one-third of those allowed by the soum whereas sheep stocks are greatly in excess. Examination of the soumings leads one to question their validity in the light of modern conditions: the sheep soums bear no regular relation to the available areas of common pastures (Appendices A(2) and

TABLE 39

Stock carried by working units

233 311 631

STOCK HELD AS PROPORTION OF SOUM	Percentage of units in each district with stock indicated: South Uig	Bernera	East Loch Roag	Carloway	WHOLE PARISH	
	%	%	%	%	%	(No.)
Nil	3	1	7	5	4	(20)
Less than 50%	26	25	32	36	31	(153)
50% - 100%	32	43	29	31	35	(173)
101% - 200%	31	30	19	22	26	(131)
More than 200%	8	2	14	6	4	(40)
All units	100	100	100	100	100	(499)

233 311 178 [427] C(2)) and the cattle soums appear impossibly high unless large quantities of winter fodder are imported. In the old townships the soums of each croft are still based on minor variants of the traditional "1 cow and follower and 8 sheep per pound rent"; the rents, however, were calculated on the potential value of the croft in days when an inexhaustible supply of labour was available for production of winter fodder by cultivation. This is no longer the case and the old assumption no longer holds.

Township pastures are seldom, if ever, used to best advantage. Because the regulations generally allow unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle, the soumings are not, in theory, exceeded by the presence of the increased flocks of sheep. In practice, however, the situation is quite different. In the first place the difference between the effects of the grazing of sheep and cattle on the hills is not widely appreciated. In discussions some crofters remarked on the change during the present century in the appearance of the nearer hill pastures - "they were green when I was a boy, now they are black", - but this was seldom correlated with the decline in cattle and increase in sheep. There can be no doubt that the increase in the ratio of sheep to cattle has generally led to a deterioration of the grazings. Further, there are almost five hundred separate sheep packs on the parish pastures, most of them with less than 20 ewes; at some fanks the men and dogs seem to outnumber the sheep! Little real sheep-herding is done - nor can it be by men who have other regular employment. Consequently the hills are not grazed evenly: some areas are grossly over-grazed whilst others are neglected. This situation has grown worse with the decline in cattle numbers and consequent abandonment of the shielings, the occupation of which ensured that use was made of the more distant pastures.

361 233 311 178 Yet another factor inhibiting proper use of township pastures is their situation and shape. Many townships, particularly in South Uig, have detached areas of hill pasture, former shielings. These are often singularly inaccessible now that the custom of staying at shieling huts has ceased. Other township pastures are long narrow strips running inland for up to seven miles. Straying from one township's lands to those of another is therefore common. Individual allocation of the hill pastures is not practicable but a certain amount of fencing and, possibly, the employment of a paid township shepherd (as in the nineteenth century), would help.

233 311 631 If we examine the stocking of individual working units, Table 39, we find that only 30% carry more than their total soum, 35% carry between a half and a full soum and a further 35% carry less than half their soum. The situation does not vary very much as between the four districts, although there appears to be a slight tendency for working units in

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CONCLUSIONS

H. A. Moisley

121 The relationships between Place, Folk and Work are seldom sim community such as Uig they are particularly complex. The object make an impartial, factual record of the physical and human resour sation, as described in the Preface (Part I, page i). The primary is to make our observations available to others and to this end we ha deal of fact leavened, we hope, by a modicum of personal impressio however, it seems appropriate to add certain personal conclusions observations and data relating to the crofts and townships visited.

[162] The outstanding fact is that, over the whole parish more than a lation between the ages of 15 and 64 has to leave home in order to those who remain at home, 80% of the men are more or less engage most all of these have some other source of income, usually weavin the cash income from agriculture must be less than £100. Althoug 60% of resident males as 'crofters with regular employment' this m [434] necessarily the same as having a full-time job. The average incom Uig, for example, is only of the order of £250 per annum. Thus c employment, or employment with ancillary crofting as is more often a good deal of under-employment. Such low incomes and hidden un characteristic of West European under-developed regions.

427 433 000 The crofting system can never provide an ideal structural systen that is not its real purpose. It is a social system and, whether it i or not, it exists. It should not be allowed to decay for that would n to the crofting communities but would also, in the case of islands an lead to the abandonment of potentially productive resources of land a it be preserved unchanged; preservation would mean fossilisation a The present crofting system was cast in a legislative mould in the la when population pressed heavily on the resources of the islands. C now changed and the mould must be altered or the communities will

This is not to say that wholesale reorganisation is required, at l But the authorities charged with the welfare of the crofting township a whole, have a duty to see that crofting evolves towards something productive. Subsidies alone are a confession of defeat. It is not g spend money to alleviate the symptoms of a disease which it is now 'under-development'. Realistic planning is required so that the spe ture incurred in such regions becomes a productive investment and form of charity.

It is encouraging to note that such economic and technical develo place (particularly the development of weaving and the improvement owe a good deal to local initiative and local investment. This sugge guidance and encouragement, the crofting townships can do much to would be an excellent thing if, in each district, informal and quite un groups could be started to think about the future of their particular development and not decay.

Realistic discussion of development must face certain facts even they may be unpalatable or politically unpopular. Amongst the most

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important are these:

000 1) Further depopulation is inevitable but is not necessarily bad. The special privileges
161 of crofting tenure have tended to delay the inevitable because the agricultural structure
162 has been unable to adapt itself to changing circumstances. The land is in some ways less
311 productive than it was 80 years ago. But, as population does decline, eventually more
433 land ought to be available for each remaining family and, if properly used, should enable
them to increase the proportion of their incomes derived from agriculture. Thus depopu-
lation could have beneficial effects provided it were not haphazard nor complete. The
rate and ultimate extent of depopulation could be controlled to some extent if a realistic
assessment of the possibilities of each district were made, followed by a vigourous attempt
to realise these possibilities. This must be done locally because the problems and possi-
bilities of each district, sometimes of each township, are different. How can this be done?

288 2) It is not realistic to plan for any extensive development of industry nor for any sub-
stantial further development of forestry or fishing. Lewis is suitable for the development
of industry - the phenomenal growth of the Harris Tweed industry, with an annual output
worth £5 million, much of it for export, is proof enough of that. But when it is difficult
to get industrialists to invest in lowland Scotland there is little point in living in perpetual
hope in Lewis. To constantly cry, as some politicians do, that 'the government should
send industry to Lewis', is not helpful, either, for no government has ever had sufficient
power, nor is it desirable that it should have, to force a firm to invest against its will.
If there is to be some industrial development it must come willingly; it would be unwise
to depend on it. It follows, therefore, that agriculture must be made a more efficient
basis, though not the sole basis, of most crofting communities. The present heavy
dependence on casual or seasonal employment, and on permanent employment away from
home, can never provide the bases for a truly viable community though it may provide a
useful outlet for some younger folk. On its present scale it leads to the neglect of the
only widespread natural resource, the land, as well as encouraging permanent emigration.

311 3) Crofting agriculture, as at present carried on, on most crofts, does not make the
433 best use of the local resources. The land is marginal in many respects and the develop-
ment of an economic form of agriculture requires:

(a) particular skill in farm management, including initiative and technical ability to take advantage of new materials and methods, and
(b) a marketing system on which the crofter believes he can depend. At present it is the uncertainty, as much as the poverty, of the reward that deters young men from taking up agriculture seriously.

427 4) The small size of holdings need not be a serious disadvantage. Since the time of our
survey subletting is no longer necessarily contrary to the conditions of crofting tenure;
since it represents a voluntary evolution towards larger holdings it, rather than wholesale
reorganisation, should be further encouraged.

5) It should be recognised that if a croft is not properly stocked it cannot justifiably be
the subject of any of the privileges of crofting tenure. Failure to maintain a properly
balanced stock is damaging to the land and to the ultimate well-being of the community as
a whole. At one time the factors, through their ground officers, maintained a degree of
control over the stocking of township lands and this could, in some way, be resumed - if
not by the proprietors then by the Crofters Commission, - though the best way would be
voluntarily, through the township committees. This would depend on establishing soumings
which fairly represented the grazing capacity of the township lands; and on restricting the
unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle. At present many soumings depend on restate-
ments of old ones the validity of which is very dubious; soumings are unlikely to be res-
pected unless they are reasonable.

181 6) Few crofters possess sufficient technical knowledge and confidence to make the best
use of their land. It is particularly difficult for men with such limited resources of land
and ready cash to embark on new agricultural enterprises; they are naturally reluctant
to take risks and therefore tend to be excessively conservative. This cannot be put right
quickly nor so long as the majority of those working the crofts are middle aged or older
men who have spent the greater part of their working lives in other occupations. Such
men require special help but, above all, some of the younger men must be encouraged to

THE PATTERN OF CROFTING

427 Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire,
241 Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties of
178 Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some
423 districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the
477 nearest equivalent to peasant communities in Britain, although only a small minority of crofters
own their holdings, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, has
all but disappeared.

175 Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to
427 compensation for improvements. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural
241 holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where the
423 annual rent paid was less than £30. Security of tenure, and compensation for improvements
were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £50. In all,
there are about 20,000 crofts in Scotland today[1] and Collier[2] estimated the crofting population at
161 about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms
162 a 1 per cent sample of the crofts, and a 0.9 per cent sample of the estimated crofting population.

Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

423 The characteristic settlement unit is the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal
427 distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the
061 individually held croft land, and the common grazings. The number of crofts per township
311 ranges from 6 in Caversta to 43 in Gravir.

632 The individually held croft land (1,839 acres) is partly 'outrun' or permanent pasture and the
233 holdings are usually but not always consolidated - in Gravir (Fig. 4) and Cromore some of the
crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated
from neighbouring units by a drystone dyke or fence but in Park, such demarcation is the
exception rather than the rule.

The croft land is separated from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wal
The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor, ill-
drained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park,
only Oronsay common pasture is fenced, the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by
crumbled turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture;
the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured, a term comparable to the
obsolescent 'gates' of northern England. In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young beast
up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per £1 rent. There is also a system of stated
equivalences (Gaelic 'coilpeachadh') in most townships whereby substitution of cattle for sheep and
sheep for cattle is permissible: in Gravir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumings
and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed,
soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming of
their croft.

113 1 Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

113 2 Adam Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1953.

ed sons into the house. Family solidarity was strengthened 175* 178* 427 593 591
ch cottage came to be the home of a three generation family
. Adjacent crofts, more likely than not, were bound to-
r in a network of collateral and affinal relatives. Two
e underlying principles of the clan were reaffirmed. The
r was the source of the means of subsistence, and the
g, almost sentimental, attachment for the land was an
ssion of the sentimental tie of kinship. Economically,
vision was paving the way for disaster. It forced a
ily increasing dependence on the potato; the people
not grow enough grain for household needs.

Commercialization means more than the conversion of land 175* 178* 361 621
source of monetary revenue and the supplanting of customary
s by contractual relationships. For its fulfillment it
res the growth of villages and the development of a di-
n of labor which allows specialization. Events in England
owland Scotland, could not have left the island untouched.
irst rumbles of the Industrial Revolution had been followed
vigorous growth of urban centers. The mass movements of
ural population into these communities, as their rights
e land were disregarded and the people were driven off
de into wage laborers, were creating a new cultural
rn. The benefits of the towns to the nation had the
rance of being unlimited. It was inevitable that villages
d be advocated, planned, and fostered on Skye, the most
ous of all the Hebrides. It was no less inevitable that
ges should have limited attraction for the Sgiathanach.

While the process of commercialization proceeded against 175* 178* 348 231 439
persistent efforts of the people to maintain their tradition
way of life, events in Great Britain were beginning to have
onounced adverse effect on the local economy. The end of
Napoleonic Wars brought the cattle boom to an end. Al-
gh the droving trade remained brisk, the value of the stock
ined markedly.[37] An increase in the number of cattle on
grazings, as a means to maintain an economic equilibrium,
impossible. The island was already overstocked and had
devastated by this practice. At the same time, develop-
of large scale commercial farming in the Lowlands had
oached on the right of way of the drovers, and the Skye
le were suffering at the markets from competition with
oved, better nourished breeds from the northeast and south-
. The end of the wars also witnessed a decline in the
market.[38] Parliament finally completely undermined kelping
ecurrently reducing the tariffs on foreign substitutes.

The crofters, who had suffered rackrenting to get their 175* 178* 427
l strips of arable, found themselves without the means to
the rents which had been set at the peak of the cattle and
markets and without enough land to meet subsistence needs.[39]
striking thing is that in spite of increasing economic [161]
ship, the population continued to grow. They became hostages

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[37] Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland, pp. 205-221.

[38] Malcolm Gray, "The Kelp Industry in the Highlands and
nds," The Economic History Review, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1951),
197-209.

[39] Canon MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. II, p. 115.

o the health of the potato and their own fertility.[40] Many
ere forced to labour on a part-time basis, but once again
the initial success was short-lived. Others supplemented
their diminishing incomes from the croft by seasonal employment
n the Lowlands. Crofting had ceased to be a subsistence
economy; the people had lost their self-sufficiency. Nor were
they ever again able to escape from a dependence on some form
of supplementary income to provide the bare essentials of life.
The difference between conditions then and now is that the
pressure of the population on the means of subsistence increased
until it approached a Malthusian ceiling.

In the thirties epidemic and famine began to take their
toll. Destitution became widespread and there was no system
of relief beyond the moral obligation of the proprietors to
provide grain. The marriage rate fell. In Kilmuir the average
annual number of marriages fell from twenty-one to six. Cohabitation was forbidden, but it was too late. In two districts
of Kilmuir there were 190 bols, crofts, and farms to support
1841 families in 1841. In all of Skye, after the emigration of
at least 1500 people, there were 1900 crofters and 1531 cottars;
despite the fact that oats had become as big a luxury as meat
and the fact that many were living on potatoes and fish, the
population continued to increase. By 1841 it reached 23,074.
Finally, the economic structure collapsed.

In the winter of 1845 there were no potatoes. A blight
destroyed the entire crop. Although the famine was universal

[40] For details concerning the plight of the crofters at this time, see MLL, pp. 235-260.

ruled by elders, and a heritage which had never admitted
compact, non-rural population centres. These basic cultural
values and patterns were given religious sanction.

Year by year throughout this period the following and
the influence of the "Men" increased. As the ministers were
removed, especially as the old hereditary families of ministers
closely related to the old gentry were replaced by ministers
from the people,[52] the "Men" became influential in the Church
as elders. Now they could not only exhort the people but
also judge them, by determining who was worthy of communion
and whose children might be baptized. The strength of their
control, however, did not require holding office. In Duirinish
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[52] Smout, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

[53] MLL, pp. 154-155.

Each man received a permanent, compact plot of arable in place
of his former concurrent right to a whole farm. The new
values and patterns were given religious sanction.

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the influence of the "Men" increased. As the ministers were
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Period III (1845-1886)

By the beginning of the third epoch of the modern phase
of Skye's culture history, all the elements necessary for a
social and economic reshaping to the wiser commercial,
contractual society had begun to function. The socio-economic
changes in the preceding periods, especially the partial
commercialization of the land, the abolition of the tacksman
system of tenure and runrig farming, the establishment of a
village, and the extension of regular communications, had paved
the way for the final stage in the process of commercialization.
It was now an aforesaid fact that industrialization in Scotland
was to be a lowland phenomenon. The disparity between the
Eastern and Western Highlands was already well developed.[54]
The former had become a region of commercial farmers, men
with the incentive and ability to make technological advances.
Now economic deterioration led the landlords to attempt a
basic change.

The bankrupt proprietors, anxious to recoup their losses,
found sheep farmers eager to buy or lease the virgin grazings
of Skye. Sheep farming meant the landlord would have a secure
rental several times that his tenantry crofters and cotters
could pay, and he would not have to spend any capital either
on behalf of the incoming tenant or on behalf of an indigent
tenant unable to make his own way. The sheep farmer had the
capital and, even more important, the incentive to adopt
scientific methods. The crofter, obviously, had neither the

[54] Cf., e.g., Collier, The Crofting Problem, pp. 43-51.

means to acquire capital because he worked on very narrow
strips of land and was unable to improve his holdings because the
system forced him to conform to traditional techniques.

The trend to sheep farming, developing from an early
as 1810, led to a sweeping disruption for the customary rights
of the Skyemen. The factors (estate managers) of the absentee
landed gentry, the new landlords, and the crofters had no
associations with the tenantry and no use for their labor.
Thinking only in commercial terms, they were only interested
in seeing the higher grazings, the crofters' shielings, under
sheep flocks in summer and the lower pastures, including the
crofters' arable, in use during the winter. Thus, the
"Clearances" took two directions.[55] The majority of the people
seem to have lost their common grazings. In Kilmuir, according
to several informants, they were left with only one small area
of hill. Glenaile suffered from the same policy. Many of the
tenants were removed from their township, by force or persuasion.
To be exact, no fewer than sixty-two townships were cleared
of their people. The evicted people were left to
their own devices to reclaim a piece of the open moor, settled
in existing townships, or banished from the island. In the
area immediately to the north of Portree, forty crofters and

[55] For details on the "Clearances," see Alexander MacKenzie, The History of the Highland Clearances (Inverness: A. and W. MacKenzie, 1883), passim.

[56] See Report of the "Select Committee on Depopulation and Other Causes Connected with the Condition of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland" (1841), pp. 4-5. This work, as it is commonly referred to in Great Britain. See also Alexander MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 9-13, 21-22.

eighty cottars in four townships were replaced by two shepherds
brought in from the mainland.[57]

As the interests of the proprietors and their tacksmen had
changed at an earlier time, those of the landlords and their
stewards were now irreconcilably opposed. The appearance of
the Lairdsquabble in England has been described as being characterized by absentee landlords, pauperism, and a decline in
the rural population through death and migration.[58] A process
which had begun three centuries earlier in England and which
had reached the British Borders two centuries earlier had
at last become operative on Skye. Let us examine the effects
of full scale commercialization on the Skyemen.

The effects are evident. Commercialization and the
evictions, which were a necessary counterpart, prompted
emigration and confined the people within narrow limits, often,
on inferior land.[59] By 1861 it was possible to describe Skye
as a quiet pastoral land, desolate and deserted.[60] The people
had been pushed into a few isolated, badly subdivided townships.
In Bracadale, the first parish to be fully commercialized,
there were nine thirty-six runrig farms; in 1861 there were six
large grazing farms.[61] The bulk of the population, 920, were

[57] William MacKenzie, Sketch-Book of Duirinish and Districts (Glasgow: A. Phillips and Sons, 1922), pp. 2-7.

[58] Helen Irving, The Valley of Modern Horror (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1931), pp. 37-38.

[59] Alexander Smith, A Summer in Skye (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1865), pp. 60-62; Donald Cameron, 24-Hour Rambles (London: Chatto and Windus, 1888, pp. 149-152.

[60] Smith, op. cit., p. 95.

[61] Hanlon Report, p. 15.

cottars without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish
parish, which includes Glenaile, only twenty-one families had
enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[62] In one Glenaile
township, Holmisdale, some crofts of four acres had as
many as fifteen people to support.[63] Part of this extreme
congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing
the crofts even as could survive. Although the population
in 1841 had fallen to 17,660, from 23,074 in 1841, almost
every township had two or three times the number of families
which had lived in them in 1841.[64]

The loss of the summer shielings and the common grazings
meant few could keep sheep.[65] The sheep were almost the
only cash crop that could be based on the value of livestock
and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all
oats, which the graziers' sheep did not eat, went to feed the
cattle. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy
flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all
were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to have
been successors with more aspirations with the graziers than
the crofters and cottars. Milk became a precious commodity.
Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unable
to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They carried

[62] Ibid., p. 112.

[63] Alexander MacDonald, op. cit., p. 43-420.

[64] Smith, op. cit., p. 157; Cummings, op. cit., p. 140; Hanlon Report, p. 7-8.

[65] The following is drawn from the evidence presented to the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of Skye; see Napier Report, Appendix I, pp. 1-20.

the dung from the byre, the peats from the moor, and the oats
from the fields. When the land had been turned by ploughs
they toiled therefore to a harrow. The crofters, in Kilmuir,
elsewhere, lost the right to the rivers for fish, to the moors
for game, and to the coast for sea weed. The land became exhausted from over tillage. They had clung tenaciously to the
old methods. Even if they could have obtained credit and could
have broken with the ways of their forefathers, the fear of
rackrenting would have deterred them.

A degree of preciousness can be given to this general
picture by comparing the arable acreage and stocking of Skye
in 1810, the year grazing first appeared, and 1870. In 1810,
30,000 acres were listed as arable, either cultivated or
susceptible to it; there were 18,000cattle and 40,000 sheep.[66]
By 1870 no more than 8,331 acres were considered as arable;
there were only 9,341 cattle, but there were 136,077 sheep.
The magnitude of this change can be emphasized by adding the
fact that there were less than 14,000 sheep on the island at
the turn of the century.

The end of the existing life brought an end to the
traditional reason for crofting. Destitution forced a post-
ponement of marriage and an absolute reduction in the number of
marriages. As a natural consequence the birth rate fell.
In the decade 1861-1870 the birth rate of Skye stood at 26.1
compared with 34.4 for Scotland.

[66] James MacDonald, op. cit., p. 748, 754.

[67] Ibid., II, 553; III, 247; IV, 131; XVI, 148, 225, 537; XVIII, 126.

sufficiently to make age contrels an irresistible force, the
prestige status of the small number of the "elect," those
who had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the
elders gave them complete control over all social and religious
activity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about
these facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now
is that the religious patterns provided a framework in which
the culture could find continuity and through which the society
could achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like
customs resulted in a change of content, but the same
positive results as well as negative ones was a change in
focus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in
clan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a
known religious brotherhood.

Summary. The third period of the modern phase of Skye's
culture history saw the culmination of the process of
commercialization of the land. All the influences necessary
for the conversion of the subsistence economy, which a subsistence
proletariat economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming,
on a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy.
Newcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved
methods of land utilization were replacing the conservative
and impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial
farmers consolidated their holdings, the common grazings
were being abbreviated. The concept of individual possession
of the land was replacing the customary rights of the small
tenants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.

These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now was a spare-time pursuit. The Gaisthanach was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless wanting force appeared. Pastures had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any marked movement into the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was being lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the "Men" became an ideal policy of a new church. The emotional approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium. Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

tection and endowed with privileges and immunities by which self-regulation, stability, expansion, and improvement might be attained. Additional provisions called for the replacement of the repudiated customary usages by national laws of land tenure.

The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 embodied many of the Commission's proposals.[80] The crofter became, perhaps, the only class, as a horizontal segment of the population, with a minimal legal definition. He was a pastoral agriculturalist who resided on his holding, the annual rent of which was less than £30, (later raised to £50) in a crofting parish. Such an individual was entitled to a fixed, fair rent, just compensation for improvements made by himself or his predecessors in the same family should he leave his holding, security of tenure, and modified right to bequeath the holding to a member of his family. Except for the statutory conditions that he must not alienate the holding from his family, sublet without consent, or violate the rights of his neighbors or his landlord, including withholding rent and contributing to the deterioration of the land and dwelling, the crofter was given all the privileges of a landowner with few of the responsibilities. A Crofters Commission, with executive functions, was established to carry out the provisions of the act and to assign "available" land to the townships as

[80] I owe a debt of gratitude to innumerable government officials in Portree, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London for their patience and cooperation in providing me with the necessary information to discuss this final period of the history of Skye. The facts are theirs; the interpretation is my own responsibility.

enlargements when the proprietor would not lease it on reasonable terms. Thus, the government began to protect the crofter from potential abuses and to restore the land to the descendants of the clansmen, who had, to say the least, manifested a persistent disinclination to accept any other system of land use. A complete refurnation, however, was not yet possible.

The crux of the problem of maintaining the crofting population was succinctly stated in 1851 by the chairman of the Highland Destitution Board. The people could not support themselves, at a subsistence level, unless each crofting family were given ten acres of arable land plus pasture. Not only was there not enough land, but without credit facilities, a man could not find local employment until the land began to produce, and, if he sought employment at a distance, he could not work his land to free himself from the necessity of working for a wage. In 1883 it was estimated that a 50 percent reduction in population would not leave enough land to give each family an adequate holding, ten acres of arable and 277 acres of grazing land.[81] Now right they were. Today the population is less than half that of 1883, and still very few have what was considered an adequate holding a hundred years ago. Let us see what measures the government took in the attempt to solve this problem.

At first the land reorganization program was thwarted by a lack of available land and by the continued tendency of

[81] Napier Report, pp. 100-101.

the people to overstock. No land could be assigned as an enlargement if it would impair the value of a sheep farm or a deer forest. The remainder of the island was already possessed by crofters. Moreover, there was no one to regulate the use of the common grazings. As the Crofters Commission usurped the functions of the landlord, estate management became lax. The township constable had disappeared. The cotters, 36 percent of the population, had been omitted from the provisions of the Crofters Act. Later when the government provided for a grazing committee to draft voluntary regulations for sharing the common grazing and, finally, coerced the crofters to elect a grazing committee, the regulations could not be enforced, except by appealing to the sheriff.

At length another commission of inquiry visited the Highlands to decide how the resettlement program might be extended. Then, in 1897, the Congested Districts Board was created. The Board was given power to purchase land for enlargements and for creating new holdings, to resettle crofters and cottars from congested districts, to foster the development of stock breeding, agriculture, fishing, and home industries, and to improve communications. It was not intended that the government should become a landlord. The crofters, like the Irish small farmers, were supposed to have acquired a desire to own their own land. In 1904 the estates of Glendale, the present twelve townships, and Kilmuir, the whole parish and part of the parish of Snizort, were purchased. On the Kilmuir Estate there were 450 crofts in 35 townships and 10 large farms.

heavy rackrenting in the past had led to dissatisfaction and arrears in rent, the crofters' weapon against the landlord. The rents were revised and most of the arrears were cancelled. All of the farms but one were subdivided to form 79 new holdings in 7 unenumerated townships and to make enlargements to the other crofts. The Glendale estate received similar treatment, being made over into 147 crofts in 12 townships plus a jointly held club farm. Both estates were sold to the crofters on a fifty year annuity basis. Then came a rude awakening. Within ten years the crofters found ownership to be a dubious privilege, especially since it excluded them from the benefits of legislation favoring the small tenant. The Kilmuir crofters were released from the contract, but the government refused to accept the petition of the Glendale people, who still are not pleased with their rather unique position. Private ownership of the land might be said to be as alien to their heritage as village settlements.

Land settlement continued, with the introduction of certain refinements, the most important of which was the power to use compulsion to acquire land for crofting in the national interest. Today over half the island is owned by the national government and administered by the Department of Agriculture. The tendency in recent years has been to create more adequate holdings. On the Kilmuir estate the number of crofts has been reduced from 530 to 442. The process of resettlement, or de-commercialization, has been carried further on Skye than in any other Highland area.[82] It has also included the only major

[82] C., op. cit., pp. 90-111; and Dance, op. cit., pp. 61-63, 64-65.

migration scheme to be attempted. In 1923 sixty-eight families from the Isle of Harris, in the Outer Hebrides, were brought over to Skye and settled in Braeadale. Probably, close to 300 new holdings and in the neighborhood of 200 enlargements have been made since 1897. This clearly reflects the limited space available for crofting at the end of the "Clearances."

In addition to land settlement, the government has continued to stimulate improvements in stock breeding techniques and to foster more efficient land utilization. Credit facilities, by grant and loan, were offered to enable the crofters to purchase stock, especially sheep, and to build new cottages. Grants and subsidies, in an ever increasing number, have been made available to promote a fuller use of the land. Initially, under the Congested Districts Board, these facilities were devised specifically for the Highlands. By the time the Congested Districts Board was abolished, the crofters had become officially integrated with the national agricultural scene so that specific subsidies, grants, and loans were replaced with an opportunity to apply for assistance within the national program of agricultural development. Instruction in scientific methods of agriculture has been another continuing function of the government through a series of advisory services and, more recently, by a program of demonstration crofts and farms. Access to markets has similarly been facilitated by improving communications by land and, to a lesser extent, by sea.

Security and protection for the crofters has been another unfailing interest of the government. Again, with official integration, the scope of legislation has been extended to

include all small tenants in Scotland. The landlords have lost their right to evict a crofter for breach of conditions. Since 1911 only the Land Court, which replaced the Crofters Commission, can remove a tenant who is guilty of bad husbandry. Moreover, such action can only be taken after the general circumstances of the crofter and his need of the croft for a home have been considered. To date, no Highland crofter has been removed. In fact, security of tenure has been carried to the extreme that the individual no longer has to reside in Scotland much less on his croft. Although this change is now regarded as inadvertent, the courts have ruled in favor of the small tenant. The only remaining functions of the landlord in estate management are to collect his rents and pay compensation should a tenant desire to leave. Both the rents and the compensation are determined by the Land Court.

Accompanying the integration of the Island with the national scene, politically and economically, were extensions of social services. Prior to 1872 education was the responsibility of the church, charitable agencies, and, especially in the Highlands, the local proprietors and their financially secure tenantry.[83] Although the parish school system was national, the administration of each parochial school was local. The ideal of a school in each parish was neither adequate nor easily obtainable. The result was a few regularly taught schools.[84]

[83] NSA, XVI, 156-157, 226, 539; XVIII, 188; XXI, 430.

[84] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 771-774.

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*175 crofting system. Both the communal nature of the system and
*178 the smallness of the crofts deter improvement. Although the
●427 government reversed the trend toward making the land an im-
241 portant source of wealth and individualization of the land, by
[84] replacing customary forms of tenure with national laws of
tenure, and has tried to correct the disadvantages under which
the crofter labors, if not always successfully, the Skye
crofter has made only a partial adjustment to the larger,
[31] specialized national culture. In fact, the land is used less
systematically than it was in the past, in the times of the
[31] shielings. The crofters have not only ceased trying to
reclaim arable but also have allowed much of the arable to go
back to grass.

*175 Ever since the closing years of the first period of
*178 the modern era, Skyemen have sought employment as a part of
464 the national labor force. During the third and fourth periods,
they joined the landless labor force in the Lowlands. There
is practically no local opportunity for a landless man to
support a family. The majority must remain pastoral agri-
culturalists who depend on seasonal employment, or some other
form of financial assistance, to augment their income.

*175 Improved communications and the ensuing development
*178 of commerce has brought a village to the island. It functions
361 as a market center and as the administrative center for the
island. It has not served to bring the island together; it
is still something alien to their heritage. Accompanying
the growth of the village, there was local development in the

While
the Irish and Scottish Highland systems of land use
427 reveal many underlying similarities, they are distinguished
3 by their respective systems of land tenure. The Irish small
farmer owns his land, like the Glendale crofters, and has a
self-contained holding, like the large crofter on Skye.[3]

Croft Size. As the foregoing discussion has suggested, there is a wide range of croft sizes. Some crofters have only a few hundred square yards of the poorest soil. A few have large, relatively fertile holdings. One of these large crofters, for example, has 88 acres of arable land, 27 acres of pasture, and 1261 acres of grazing. The most common size is less than five acres, and not more than 500 of the 2200 crofters have over ten acres. If all of his land were of equal potential agricultural value, the individual with ten acres might be able to attain a satisfactory standard of production. Unfortunately, not more than half of most crofts can be considered as suitable for crop cultivation. In Glendale, for example, the average size is ten to fifteen acres, but when the boggy ground and the area in drainage ditches are subtracted, it is indeed a fortunate man who can profitably cultivate more than five acres. What, then, does he do with his land?

Land Use. Between spring ploughing and the harvest season, the best land is planted in oats, potatoes, and, in some cases, turnips. On most crofts, for every two or three acres of oats there are a half acre of potatoes, and perhaps, a quarter

[3]Arensberg, The Irish Countryman, pp. 36-38, 43.

427 acre of turnips. All of the oats and a large share of the
241 potatoes and turnips are used to feed the cattle during the late
231 winter and early spring. Some crofters, by no means all, have a small kitchen garden for cabbage, onions, and other vegetables. Usually, at least half the croft is left under grass, part of
427 which is cut for hay. After all the people in the township
233 have finished their harvest, on a day set by the grazing committee, the individual holdings in all but thirty of the townships are opened to communal use as winter grazings.[4] It might be added that the sheep and cattle often find the village of Portree a very lucrative pasture. It is not only the grass which entices the cows. More than one villager has had a tug-of-war with a cow bent on devouring clothes off the line. Another favorite food for the cattle is coal. As one man in the Braes said: "We burn half the coal; the cows eat the rest."

The Value of the Croft

427 What does a croft mean to the Sgiathanach? In terms of
511 everyday economics, there can be no simple answer. For a few, probably no more than fifty families, the sale of cattle, sheep, and wool provides an ample income. The families are able to obtain the necessities of life and enjoy a comparatively high standard of living. The majority live on crofts which cannot begin to support a solitary individual. Expecting little more

[4]F. Fraser Darling, G. C. Hayes, and Averil Morley, "The Agricultural Situation," The West Highland Survey, F. F. Darling et al. (mimeographed, 1951), Part V, pp. 14-15.

427 than the bare essentials, these people just get along. Even
511 so, they would be unable to get by were it not for some form of
464 supplementary income. This essential prerequisite for the
659 individual or family who upholds the crofting tradition may take the form of seasonal employment on the island or away from home; contributions from a child or, less frequently, a brother or sister; or payments from the government in the form of unemployment compensation, relief, or a pension.

427 Many a Sgiathanach thinks of his croft as a home more
131 than anything else. There are men who have found full time employment. Some in this catagory work the croft in the evening. Others expect their wives to care for the crops
887 and stock, or they leave the land untouched. Then, there are the old men and women who have returned to their an-
167 cestral homes to spend the twilight of their lives. These exiles come back from cities as near as Inverness and from places as far away as the sheep ranches of Montana or the cities of Australia. Perhaps, the most significant point is that for all Skyemen the croft cannot be evaluated merely in terms of acreage and income. As we shall see, it is a way of life in which an attachment to the land, as an embodiment of kinship, plays a very important part.

427 The incomes of three representative crofts clearly
514 reveal the financial difficulties under which the crofting family labors. Although I have somewhat arbitrarily divided the holdings into small, medium and large on the basis of acres of arable land, it should be remembered that this

427 normally determines the "souming," the number of stock which
511 each tenant is entitled to carry on the common.

427 The small croft has less than ten acres of arable and
241 improved grass land. The average "souming" is two cows and
231 followers (heifer or bullock calves) and usually ten to twenty sheep. Approximately 2000 of the crofts fall into this classification. The medium croft, representing about 250 land-holding subjects, has between ten and twenty acres of land fit for crop cultivation and improved grass. The typical "souming" is two to seven cows and followers, forty or fifty sheep, and occasionally, a horse. We might recall that the sheep may be either a club stock or a private flock. The large croft consists of almost 120 arable acres and, even more important in the predominately pastoral economy, an independent, self-contained grazing of 200 to well over 1000 acres. These diminutive ranches easily carry ten or more cows and followers and several hundred sheep.

427 For those who prefer to think in terms of area rather
231 than stock, the relative magnitude of these self-contained
632 holdings may be stressed by adding the fact that only thirty townships on Skye have more than 200 acres of common grazing. There are, for example, Linicro with 729 acres of grazing in 19 shares, Totescore with 500 acres in 12 shares, and Borneskeitg with 273 acres in 47 shares. Over half the townships have less than 100 acres of grazing land.[5]

[5]Ibid., Table 3.

427 The Income of a Small Croft. The small croft is regarded by
241 local agricultural experts as having a potential income of
231 £20 a year. In addition, it provides a home, potatoes, some
434 vegetables, milk, eggs, and the right to cut peat. Even if not quite legal until June, 1954, it frequently supplies mutton and, less often, beef for the family. The budget for this type of holding in my sample reveals that even when fully stocked and the ground tilled, the income may be negligible. Let us look at the cash income and net profit for 1952 and 1953.

In 1952 the cash income for the croft was £8 13s. 11d. The net profit, which takes into account depreciation and stock valuation after sales was £2 1s. 11d. In 1953 the cash income was £12 8s. 9d., and the net profit was £5 8s-. These figures include money from the sale of stock, government subsidies and grants, and home grown produce eaten by the family. Unfortunately, I do not know the number of hours which were spent earning this meager return. The crofter's wife said about 300 hours of her labor. To this we must add seasonal cooperative labor.

This particular croft is rented by a middle-aged married
464 couple and a spinster sister of the wife. The man works full
594 time as truck driver, leaving most of the work on the croft to his wife. The stock is two cows and followers and sixteen to eighteen sheep. There are six acres of arable land, half of it under hay and grass. The remainder is planted in oats, potatoes, and turnips. The budget may not be typical. For

427 241 231 434 [124] [125] one thing, an attempt is being made to build up the value of the sheep and cattle stock. Then too it is hard to obtain information on personal income. Not a few Highlanders are reluctant to share in the cost of maintaining the government and, consequently, equally reluctant to discuss their income. Still, it does give some indication of the potential income for 80 percent of the Skye crofters. It should not be forgotten that a large proportion of the small crofters will have absolutely no income from the land.

The Income of a Medium Croft. The medium croft, according to experts, has a potential income of £150 to £200 a year. Like the small croft, it provides a home, potatoes, vegetables, milk, eggs, meat, and peat. The budgets for one croft of this classification for 1952 and 1953 show a cash income of £203 17s 2d. and £170 15s. 11d., and a net profit of £169 12s. 1d. and £96- 11d. The marked fall in net profit is accounted for by a decrease in the acreage under oats, increased expenses, and the sale of fewer and younger stock, which also affected the cash income. The total hours devoted to crofting are estimated at 600 to 800 hours.

This croft supports a family, a married couple and their children, supplemented by seasonal auxiliary employment on the part of the father. As presently worked and stocked, it could not be left to a woman with any expectation of the same return. The stocking is two cows and followers and fifty sheep. There are 16½ acres of cultivated land, all but a quarter under grass.

427 241 231 434 This budget is nearer the estimate of the local Department of Agriculture officers and may be regarded as typical. It also reveals that crofting is not a dependable livelihood. My budget for the large croft manifests the pitfalls in crofting by an even more striking contrast between the two years.

The Income of a Large Croft. The large croft is said to have a potential income of £800 or more each year. The holder will be a full-time pastoral-agriculturalist. In reality, as mentioned earlier, the large crofter is a small farmer and often has more land than some Skye farmers. His holding cannot be regarded as providing a home, even though his rent and taxes will be extremely low compared to the farmer's. Nor does it normally, if ever, provide peat for fuel. The peat is there, of course, but the crofter does not have time to dig it. Indeed, if he were to take the time or hire someone to do the digging for him, the cost of peat, in terms of man hours approximately £10 a ton, would make it uneconomical, especially since it has only a quarter the caloric value of coal which he can and does buy for less. Like the smaller subjects, the large croft provides vegetables, meat, milk, and eggs for the table. The sample budgets which I obtained for a large croft show a cash income of £536 11s.5d. for 1952 and £802 7s.1d. for 1953. The difference is explained in part by increased sales of stock and in part by increased government subsidies. The net profit for the two years tells a far different story. In 1952 it was £829 6s.5d., but in

1953 it was only £313 2s.1d. This marked fall was due to the loss of sixty-nine sheep and one head of cattle, the effects of which would not be felt until the following year. 427 241 231 434

This croft is inhabited by a married couple, and the husband's father and younger brother. It requires the full attention of both brothers and, occasionally, hired labor, in particular in the spring when the sheep demand a great deal of attention. The income in 1953, it may be added, was considerably more than most Scottish tradesmen and not far below that of a university lecturer. The stock averages between five and ten cows with followers, ten head of beef cattle during the summer, and 400 sheep. The cultivated acreage is fourteen acres, usually half of which is under hay and grass. I regard the large croft in my sample as typical, but it is typical of less than 1 percent of all Skye crofters.

The Income of a Farm. For comparative purposes, I should like to briefly consider the cash income of one farming subject. The budget I obtained is far from typical. With twenty-one farms each with its own peculiar advantages and each farmed under differing technological conditions, I doubt that a representative type could be singled out. Moreover, the only way I could obtain a farmer's budget was to secure it surreptitiously; therefore, I do not know the details of stocking or the number who derive their support from the farm. We may be certain that it is one of the larger sheep farms. Despite an expense for hired labor of over £1000 each year, [124]

the cash income was £1044 3s 3d for 1952 and £1527 3s 9d for 1953. I do not know the net profit. 427 241 231 434

Summary. The foregoing facts and figures should make it abundantly clear that a man with less than ten acres of arable land and with a "souming" of less than three or four cows and fifty sheep can expect only a meager and definitely inadequate return for his investment of time and money. Several crofters thought thirty or forty acres were required. This would mean a "souming" of 10 or 12 cows and 200 sheep, if the present proportion of grazing land to cultivated area were maintained. Some said 300 to 500 sheep would be closer to the mark in order to make a good living on the land. The budget for the large croft confirms this view, but even then we have seen crofting to contain a precarious element of risk. Most crofters felt that with twice their present acreage and "souming" they would be faced with a less hopeless proposition.[6] This, of course, would involve a further, coerced reduction in population. But this is all a matter for future planning. What we want to know is the contribution of crofting to the local and national economy.

The Contribution of Crofting to the Economy

If we are to determine the value of agricultural production from crofting, we must consider not only the crops and 231 241 651 657

[6] It is not only the Skyemen who want more land; see The Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954), pp.18-19.

The maximum is harder to determine, economically. There is some limit to the number who can stock a common grazing with individually owned stock without becoming involved in complicated entanglements over right, obligations, and questions of ownership. The few townships containing more than thirty crofts in the Western Highlands (91 out of 957),[13] and the negligible number on Skye (only ten), suggests that less than thirty holdings per township, no matter how much fertile land surrounds the cluster, has been found to be the optimum. Most of the townships contain between five and twenty crofts. The fact that many large, adjacent townships, such as Bornesketaig in Kilmuir and all those in the Braes, are losing their population is a reflection of a many faceted condition we have been exploring throughout this chapter--the vast majority of the crofts are too small to provide an adequate livelihood. One of the primary causes for this state of affairs would seem to be overcrowding on the land.

<u>Congestion</u>. In almost all but the recently established or replanned townships, congestion is a legacy of the increase in population during the first century of the modern period, often aggravated by coerced subdivision during the period of the "Clearances." Because of this, over-all statistics have little meaning. It is quite correct to say there are some 2300 crofts on Skye and approximately 2200 crofters, but this does not mean each family has a croft to itself. To take

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[13] <u>Ibid</u>., table 1.

extreme examples, Bornesketaig in Kilmuir consists of 47 crofts held by 35 crofters, but Aird in Sleat has 39 crofters who rent 20 crofts. In one badly subdivided township, Calligary in Sleat, one holding is held in the following shares: four men each have five-twenty-fourths, one has one-sixth, and one has "a part." The whole, indeed, is more than the sum of its parts. Moreover, townships with a balance of crofts and crofters, and even those with fewer crofters than crofts, often show the effects of subdivision. Another Kilmuir township, Herbusta, is laid out in eight holdings. Although there are an equal number of landholders, several of the crofts are divided into half shares. Then, there is Kilvaxter, also a Kilmuir township, with 11 tenants and 12 crofts; one man has three full shares while two others have only half a croft each. Multiple crofts are not necessarily adjacent. Some crofters hold land in two different townships. One of my informants rents two crofts separated by over twenty miles. On foot, it takes him two days to make the trip between his two holdings.

Subdivision, frequently carried to its ludicrous extreme, is not a problem confined to the Highlands of Scotland. All over Europe the traditional laws of succession have had a similar result. In consequence, the governments of all European countries have been striving to initiate reform. Generally, the aim has been to consolidate scattered patches, but almost always the schemes have become more comprehensive, attempting to create economic farms and increase productivity. Since the

where the population has suffered the greatest decline and, therefore, where enlargements, by legal or illegal means, have been the most extensive, crop production has declined the most. Nor has the decline in population, accompanied by land redistribution, altered the fundamental problem.

The cottars (subtenants) have almost disappeared thereby easing the excessive pressure on the land and removing the threat of recurring destitution. Today they are found only in a few scattered dwellings and isolated clusters. Most of them have secured some form of employment or have reached the age when a government pension is sufficient to satisfy their needs. The number of crofters, on the other hand, has increased. If the figures 2043 and 1227 can be accepted as nearly correct for the respective numbers of crofters and cottars in 1886,[15] they have increased at the expense of the latter and, also, the sheep farmer, whom they have replaced.

To briefly summarize the foregoing discussion of the township, let us look at Kilmuir. Table 3 shows the number of crofts and crofters in each of the nine townships together with the acreage and "souming" rights available to each individual. Although replanning during the past fifty years has benefited many of the local residents, crowding upon the land is still apparent.

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[15] L. MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 6, 17.

TABLE 3

CROFTS, CROFTERS, ARABLE ACREAGE, AND SOUMING RIGHTS IN THE KILMUIR TOWNSHIPS

Township	Crofts	Crofters	Arable Acres[a]	Common Grazing	Souming
Bornesketaig	47	35	4	273	2 cows, 1 calf, 12 sheep
Hungladder	14	9	5	236	2 cows, 1 calf, 10 sheep
Balgown	4	5	13, 14, 34, 46, 66	177	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Kilvexter	12	11	27	...b	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Linicro	19	17	15	729	5 cows, 5 calves 40 sheep 1 horse
Peingown	3	4	18	187	7 cows, 7 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Herbusta	8	8	12	308	3 cows, 3 calves 26 sheep 1 horse
Totescore	12	13	21	500	3 cows, 3 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Monkstadt	3	3	27, 27, 5	420	9 cows, 9 calves 40 sheep 2 horses

[a]Arable acres are given in average acres per holding, unless otherwise indicated. Except in Bornesketaig and Hungladder, arable land includes outrun, improved pasture land individually held.

[b]Shared with Kilvaxter.

Sources: Compiled from The Valuation Roll of the County of Inverness, 1953; information extracted from the files of the Department of Health for Scotland; and data supplied by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

from the ways handed down from the past. We might note at time that even the progressive crofter is not always quite rapport with modern techniques. There was, for example, a with two calves infested with liver fluke. Convinced that medicine was the only solution, and equally convinced that person cannot believe everything he reads, he obtained a bo of liver fluke medicine which was plainly marked: "for shee only." When asked how his calves responded to the treatmen he responded, "Och, they both died."

Because of the restrictions which the township system imposes, there has been a growing, perceptible rumble of agitation for supplanting unanimous consent with majority r Few, however, would go as far as a retired seaman who retur to Skye after forty years. He would like to see the townsh system abolished. Another small group believe the Sgiathan would be better off if the Island were given over to commun farms. Most seem to favor the continuation of the present system. Of course, the majority is composed of the conserva tive old men.

The Aged and the Absentee Crofter

No appraisal of the crofting system is complete withou a discussion of two additional factors which have affected use of the land and the present unsatisfactory economic cond of the Island. One of the factors is the aged tenant, who, as we have just seen, exercises a strong control over the younger men through township government. He has also influe

CHAPTER V

THE ISLANDERS' ECONOMY

The basis of the local economy, in terms of the contribution of the Sgiathanach to the national economy and the number who depend on the land for all or part of their livelihood, is the crofting system. We must, therefore, explore the economic aspects of this cultural pattern in detail. As a system of land use and tenure, crofting is an anachronistic survival in Western Europe. Elsewhere, the medieval agrarian systems have been repatterned along four principal lines.[1] In central and some parts of northern Europe peasant proprietorship became the characteristic feature. In southern Europe the métayer, a peasant who paid a rent plus a share of his crop, appeared. Northern Europe became an area of large farms. In England and Lowland Scotland tenant farmers received most of the land. There is only one survival of the old open field village farm in England.[2] Despite individual efforts of Highland landlords to bring about at least a partial assimilation of the increasingly backward economic patterns with those of rural Britain, crofting has been perpetuated. Certainly, the legal enactment of 1886 helped to

[1]Barnes, The History of Western Civilization, Vol. I, p.636.

[2]Lewis and Maude, The English Middle Classes, pp. 169-170.

restore it from the throes of disintegration, but even more important was the disinclination of the people to accept any fundamental changes. Indeed, only the following three features essential to crofting distinguish the system from that characteristic during the days of the clan: (1) individual arable land held in compact, permanent plots rather than dispersed and shifting cultivated strips, (2) the payment of a money rent rather than providing services and a share in the produce to the landlord, and (3) legal protection of the tenant from the potential abuses by the proprietor or an intermediary.

The Croft

Land Tenure. The majority of Skye crofters rent a small acreage of arable and improved grass land from a landlord or the Department of Agriculture for Scotland. Although the crofters pay an annual rent, their rather unique form of tenure, granted under the Crofters' Act of 1886 and subsequent legislation, confers upon them almost all the rights of land ownership with few of the responsibilities. The crofter has security of tenure, the right to bequeath his land to a member of his family, and relative freedom in deciding what use shall be made of the croft. His nominal rent very often has not been increased since the time of the Crofters Commission. Even where the Land Court has revised the rents, they are not substantially higher than those set at the turn of the century. If his rent is nominal, his taxes are negligible. In Scotland property tax is paid in equal shares by the owner and occupier. Thus, as an occupier, the

427 651 crofter pays only half of the assessment, which is based on rental value, and he is granted an additional benefit by having the land devalued seven-eighths for purposes of taxation. The majority pay £3 a year, or less, in rent, and, with a rateable value of 5s, or less, between 1s and 2s in taxes annually. Many pay no taxes.

427 342 423 On his small plot of land the crofter has his cottage. Here we find another rather unique interpretation of the laws of land tenure. Although the crofter is an occupier of the land, he is the owner of his dwelling. If he or one of his ancestors did not build the house, frequently with a grant and/or loan from the government, he will have paid "compensation" to his landlord for the dwelling upon accepting occupancy. Should he, at any time, relinquish his right to the croft, the crofter, in turn, will be entitled to full "compensation" for the value of the improvements on the holding as determined by the Land Court. The crofter's home is not entered on the county valuation roll and, therefore, is not subject to assessment.

427 241 233 In addition to the land under crops and improved grass, the crofter's rent entitles him to a share in the unimproved township grazing lands which are held in common and used under [628] [629] a system of allocation known as "souming." In each township, the collection of individual holdings, the crofters elect a grazing clerk and committee. They determine the number of cattle, sheep, and horses the individual is allowed to put out to graze. Usually each crofter has an equal share, but in

some townships the large crofter is given an allocation in proportion to his rent. The payment of his rent also entitles the crofter to gather seaweed along the coast for fertilizer and to cut peat for fuel on the common grazing or in special peat areas. In a number of townships he has a further right to pasture his rams in a "tup park" and his horses in a "horse park." These are lowlying areas of improved pasture. There is the general picture. 427 241 [233] [222] [314] [233]

There are three important exceptions to the typical means of land tenure. First, there are the Glendale crofters who own their land. Each individual has purchased his croft, and the members of each township own the common grazing collectively. Before the law they are no longer entitled to the [654] benefits of crofting status because, by legal definition, the crofter is a small farmer who rents his land. Second, there [233] are the crofters of six Kilmuir townships who have individual areas of "outrun," good lowlying cattle pastures, in addition to the normal crofter's holding. Even though the Glendale crofters are landowners and the Kilmuir crofters have their own cattle pasture, they are subject to "souming" regulations. Third, there are a few large, isolated crofts which are self-contained units. The individual has his own cultivated land, pasture, and rough grazing. In reality, many of these large holdings are farms, but as long as the annual rent does not exceed £50, the benefits of crofting status are not withdrawn. The crofter, of course, stocks his holding as he thinks best. While the Irish and Scottish Highland systems of land use 427 423 421

427 887 231 829 "rich man, the government." Since subsidies depend on the number of stock, he may forget that all or part of his "souming" has been given away. One old crofter, for example, a few years ago asked a young lady to fill out his agricultural return. She knew his estimates gave a great deal of reason to doubt his veracity, but, preferring not to question the point, she entered his figures. When it came time to sign the report, he was canny. "Och," he said, "just put a tremble in your hand and sign it yourself." There are other crofters who puzzle the authorities by returning the same number of cattle and sheep year after year. Although even the best crofters and farmers lose a few sheep and an occasional cow, they insist [629] that their stock has produced as many as have been sold. As a means of protecting the government from paying for non-existent stock, the police have to be notified when the annual stock counts are to be made. Even when they do supervise the counting, allowances for stragglers have to be made.

654 427 888 So pernicious is the effect of non-residence and decrepit crofts, that a recent government commission has recommended the severance of the house from the land in the case of the aged and the eviction of the absentee, as a means of bolstering the economy and alleviating the widespread condition of bad 427 888 husbandry.[17] This could be the final blow for the culture. Not uncommonly, the croft is subjected to both absenteeism and the infirmity of old age. The heir does not return until he has passed the age of retirement and begins to think, "It would be

[17] Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions, pp. 42-43, 46-47, cb.

427 888 fine to go home to Skye to die." I might add, "and to live on a pension."

427 423 It is not only the tenant crofters who are non-resident. About 20 percent of the owner-occupiers in Glendale are non-resident. Only two townships have no derelict crofts. Those who have sublet their homes and land have an additional problem. Apparently unaware of the full implications of the Small Landholders legislation, they have received a rude awakening. The people whom they thought were their subtenants are, in the eyes of the Land Court, crofters entitled to security of tenure.

511 427 One reason for absenteeism, as for emigration, is a felt need for a higher standard of living than the croft can [178] provide. This desire, common to almost all European peasants, as well as American farmers, has assumed increasing importance with the extension of communication and education. The outstanding exception in Europe is Italy. There the métayer population has increased markedly since World War I. Today 92 percent in the métayer category have a substandard livelihood, judged in terms of sheer necessity.[18] Only 800,000 families out of 5,000,000 have enough land to meet subsistence needs. The difference between the European peasant and the American farmer is that the American lacks any traditional

[18] Information from the files of the Italian Statistical Institute, as reported in the Glasgow Herald, Feb. 22, 1954.

511 attachment to the land, or his attachment is not strong enough
427 to offset his desire for material rewards.[19] Regionally, a possible exception in the United States is to be found in the Southern Appalachians, where the majority have a net annual income of less than $500.00.[20] These mountaineers, significantly, are largely of Irish and Scottish derivation.[21] The Skyeman who leaves in his youth returns in his old age, if he can. We may logically ask what opportunities exist on the island for employment which might enable the Sgiathanach to raise his standard of living without forsaking the land.

Fishing

226 Fishing, it will be remembered, was once a traditional
181 and functional activity in the economic cycle of the Sgiathanach, but as far as the Skyeman was concerned, it was no more than a supplement to crofting. It was fine to be able to bring home some fish to be smoked or salted for the winter. The wages earned as a hand on an east coast vessel during the summer months were also welcome. Beyond this, he did not care to become involved with the sea as an occupation. His attachment to the land was too strong.

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[19] Cf. Homans, The Human Group, pp. 343, 353, 358; and MacLeish and Young, The Culture of a Contemporary Community: Landaff, N.H., pp. 114-117.

[20] H. W. Hawthorne, "Farm Organization and Management," Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians, pp. 41-72; and T. B. Manny, "Population Distribution and Change," ibid., pp. 120-136.

[21] Campbell, The Southern Highlander and His Homeland.

I hardly need to add after our discussion of the islanders' 582
economy that the chances of a young couple finding a vacant 427
croft are slim. It may be of interest to indicate just how slim they really are. In 1953-54, in 82 townships, which I visited, there were only eight vacancies. Six of these were no larger than cottars' gardens. There were no vacant holdings in Kilmuir or Glendale. I am not talking about derelict crofts in the hands of absentees. Moreover, if the individual decides that 464
working in Portree is better than leaving the island, his 582
prospects are no better. The County Council had sixty-six units 362
in a public housing scheme under construction, in 1953, in addition to fifty-six completed since the end of World War II. There were three applicants for each apartment. The county sanitary engineer, who was responsible for allocating the apartments, began to think half the population of Portree was dying, and the other half was dead. In order to get priority, the people were claiming disabilities, "some of them with names as long as your arm." Many of the people, especially young people, regard winning out in the competition as an indication of status. But we are getting away from the croft. We still have to consider how a person gets possession of the croft.

As we know, the crofter has the right to bequeath his 427
croft to a member of his family; however, he seldom bothers 428
to exercise his right. Here is another example of their incomplete adaptation to the higher socio-cultural level. The land and the house have very little monetary value. Usually, the man who leaves a will has been talked into it by an officer of the Department of Agriculture. He, then, assigns

the economy by subjecting many fertile acres to disuse because of his infirmity. The other factor is the absentee tenant, an individual who has obtained possession of a croft, normally by inheritance, but who has failed to take up his inalienable rights of tenancy. Let us very briefly review the economic trends of the last fifty odd years and, then, try to assess the importance of the absent and the aged.

Although the Sgiathanach has refused to become a specialist, fully involved in a money economy, he has become increasingly dependent on the products of the wider commercial society. Long ago he gave up growing the old staples, barley and oats. Not for many years has he grown enough potatoes or turnips to feed himself and his cattle. In place of these home grown subsistence crops, he now imports a great deal of his food. In an average year Skye imports over 700 tons of bread, 10 tons of vegetables, 300 tons of canned goods, 300 tons of potatoes, 500 tons of flour, and 100 tons of milk. To pay for these products, he exports cattle, once his only marketable produce, and an ever increasing number of sheep.

Hance, writing about the Outer Hebrides, sees the growing tendency of the crofters to buy their food as indicative of an increasing cash income.[16] To a certain extent, this may be true. There are, however, additional factors involved. Ecological limitations have played their role. That the climate and soil together make Skye a grassland suitable for stock breeding rather than an island fit for cultivation is an often repeated

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[16] Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 82.

887 arduous is difficult to determine. In the
241 helped a small crofter thrash oats, a coop
[23] even with a mechanical thrasher, supplied
of Agriculture. The neighbors who came ov
were two men and three women. The younges
see fifty again; her seniors were seventy-
eight. The youngest man, who had just bee
sixty-three; the other seventy-three. The
only showed more endurance than I did, but
by carrying the sacks of grain from the fi
[162] at the end of the day. Nevertheless, most
seventy, about 15 percent of the populatio
887 of the land for more than growing a few po
231 man cannot keep a cow because, as one man
462 have a cow unless you have a woman to milk
married or lives with a sister, there may
couple of sheep. An old woman may have he
if she is strong enough. There comes a ti
all the old people will only remember the
they will say, "Och, but they were good fo

427 Absentee tenants are responsible for
241 the one hand and falling production on the
161 estimate would be 300. Their number could
[33] Some townships have over 50 percent of the
The only townships which do not have this
which contain large crofts. On one small
seventy-six crofts, held by seventy-two cro

winter of 1953, I
erative enterprise
by the Department
er to lend a hand
t woman would never
seven and seventy-
n married, was
se crofters not
put me to shame
eld to the byre
of those over
n, do not make use
tatoes. An old
said, "You can't
it." If he is
be a cow and a
r cow and sheep
be, however, when
work involved. Still,
all that."
depopulation on
other. A reasonable
be as high as 400.
crofters absentee.
problem are the few
state there are
fters. Only thirty

427 241 162 of the holders reside on their land for more than half the year. The lowest rate of absenteeism is found among the tenants of the Department of Agriculture. There are 76 absentees out of a total of 667 tenants. Most of the non-resident crofters are permanently absent. On the small estate mentioned above thirty-seven of the forty-two absentees have not been seen in years. Five of them usually return to Skye to spend their summer vacation.

427 241 311 887 Thus, we have a situation in which, perhaps, a third of the crofts are held by people who either cannot work them because of old age or infirmity, or do not choose to work them because of greater opportunities elsewhere. What, then, happens to this land? Some of the old people allow a neighbor to use the land. Almost invariably this means the few fertile acres will be used for grass and hay. Absentees "entrust" the [671] croft, house and land, to a landless family. While Parliament inadvertently gave the crofter a right to keep his holding whether he resided on it or not, it is illegal to sublet. So far, this has not concerned the crofters. Other absentees "entrust" the land to someone in the township who uses it for grass.

427 887 231 Turning to the influence of old age and absenteeism on stocking, we find a series of entanglements. If the township is inhabited solely by old people, like Aird in Sleat, the township becomes derelict. More commonly, the absentee and the old person allows someone else to take over his "souming" so [829] that some crofters have far more than their share. Not infrequently, this gives the crofter a chance to outwit that

427 428 his croft to his eldest son. Some reformers feel that the youngest son or daughter who has stayed at home to care for his parents is cheated. When there is no will, the State steps in and assigns the croft to the widow, the eldest son, or the child who has remained behind.

657 745 593 The growth of the welfare state has had its influence in determining this pattern. On the one hand, there are payments to unmarried children who remain at home to look after their parents. On the other hand, there are the old age pensions. While the pension has made the transition of the old couple from active crofters and parents to grandparents easier for the Irish small farmer,[13] on Skye the coming of the pension saw the end of the old pattern of the oldest son returning, with his wife, to care for his parents and raise his own family. With a pension the old couple had little need to work the croft. The children were not needed, and not infrequently the old people enjoyed their independence and their freedom from turning the house over to a woman whose ideas and beliefs conflicted with their own. The common desire of parents today is that one of their children will stay on to take over or return after they are gone. Naturally, no one likes to see his children far from home, but what can they do?

582 Aside from the difficulties of inheriting a croft or finding a vacant holding, it has become increasingly difficult for a young man to find a wife. Most of the crofters' daughters

[13] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 85-86; Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., p. 125.

605 592 spouses not too long ago.[23] Perhaps, more than any other 427 factor, it is the tendency of the aged parents to hold on 593 602 to the croft until they die that is strangling the kinship system. Still the extended family is a strong mutual aid 596 602 579 group. Anyone with a recognized degree of kinship is entitled to hospitality. When the exiles return to visit the Misty Isle, they always try to make the rounds of their kinsmen. This is more than a question of not becoming an economic burden on a favorite aunt; they do not want to be guilty of slighting anyone. There is reciprocity here. 202 In return for food and shelter, the visitor freely gives his kinsman all the news he has gathered about the activities of their distant kin. He acts like a roving reporter, cementing the solidarity of an otherwise fragmented group.

602 764 The expression given to the degree of consanguinity and affinity is revealed most completely at a funeral. As one of the two occasions on which the extended family comes together, the other being a wedding, it reveals a host of significant traits. The first thing I noticed was that although the inavailability of land and the illegality of subdivision enforces neo-local post marital residence, burial is ideally patrilocal. On more than one occasion the steamer came in at night with a body which had been shipped home from Glasgow or 602 Edinburgh for interment in the deceased's neighborhood. This 593 also means that the husband and wife remain integral members of their respective families. The founding of a family of

[23] Morgan MacLeod, Reminiscences of a Highland Parish, p. 196

Beginning with a population which is believed to have been 161 relatively stable due to recurrent crises, including epidemics, famines, and wars, the pendulum of population growth and decline for the Sgiathanach has been found to be highly responsive to cultural innovations and social adjustments. Between 1750 and 1841 the Skyemen increased in numbers from 10,671 to 23,074, an increase of more than 100 percent. From 1851 to 1951 the population has steadily decreased from 22,536 to 8,603, a decrease of 62 percent from maximum. Associated with the 161 decline were changes in the age structure. In 1861 34 percent 162 of the population was under fifteen and only seven percent was over sixty-five; today only 22 percent of the population is under fifteen while 19 percent is over sixty-five. How can we account for these changes, or, more correctly, how can we account for the changes in the birth, death, and emigration rates?

Broadly speaking, the increase was favored by the direct 161 and indirect involvement of the Sgiathanach in the process 175 of commercialization, with all of its associated consequences. 178 One by one, the natural checks on population growth declined in importance. The pressure on the means of subsistence was eased. The former clan chiefs, preferring the society of Edinburgh and London, absented themselves. After converting 161 rents from kind to money, they provoked the withdrawal of the 175 tacksmen by resorting to rackrenting. The former clansmen, 178 who became joint-tenants, received a larger share in the land 427 and were freed from the obligation of feeding both their own families and those of the superiors. At the same time the

The growth of the population ended with a prolonged famine. 161 The proprietors, finding that the people's only justification 731 for crowding the estates and looking to their landlords for 427 help were some nebulous customary usages, facilitated the decline by disregarding custom and throwing as much land into sheep farming as was possible. While evictions were not new, 427 only after the famine did they result in an absolute reduction in numbers. The Sgiathanach, fettered by a lack of capital 182 and an inability to break with the past, could not make the final adjustment required by the process of commercialization, specialization. In addition to emigration, the Clearances 167 and general economic hardship forced a postponement of 582 marriage. There was neither land nor regular employment to 464 provide a livelihood.

Later in the nineteenth century new influences began 161 to play a role in the continuing decline of the population. 167 Following the passage of the Crofters' Act, the nature of 178 emigration changed. Seasonal migration became negligible. 427 The provisions of the Act, and ensuing legislation, made it 671 possible for a man to remain away during his active years and return to the parental croft to spend his old age. The ex- 871 tention of education not only equipped the youth for life in the larger society but also created demands for objectives which could not be attained at home under the existing order. Thus, as in the period of population growth, the persistence of 161 many features of the old traditional culture, and the renewed 167 importance of others, were factors of no little consequence. 182

I were to adapt this argument, I might even be convincing, but 178 my dissertation would have a fallacious conclusion. Emphatically, 182 irreparable cultural disorganization is not a characteristic of the culture history of Skye.

Continuity has been maintained through a reintegration. 178 In part, Skye has made an adjustment to the higher socio-cultural 182 organization of Great Britain and Western Civilization. This phase of the culture's readaptation, however, is an incomplete adjustment. The Sgiathanach has remained enisled geographically and culturally. A readaptation has also been made in the older, traditional culture.

The national culture has played no insignificant role in 178 the readaptation. Parliament turned back the process of com- 182 mercialization in 1886 and undertook to rechannel the trends 423 toward ever increasing commercialization of the land, ulti- 427 mately leading to the socialization of the land. The essentials of 657 the old system of land use and tenure were not only reaffirmed but also given legal sanction to insure their stability. The nation confirmed the customary usages. In many townships and in whole neighborhoods the crofting system was restored. As far as the Sgiathanach is concerned, he has never known any other economic structure than communal use and tenure of the land. There are only three significant differences between the runrig farm, whether the farm was a tacksman's or the common holding of several joint-tenants, and the crofting township. The arable acreage is held in compact, permanent blocks instead of dispersed and shifting strips; the crofter pays a money rent in place of goods in kind and services; and national laws

of tenure function to protect the individual from potential 178
abuses by a landlord where customary usages once fulfilled the 182
need. Moreover, even though the tenure of the cultivated soil 423 427
grants all the rights of a landholder, including the rights 657
to bequeath the house and land to a member of one's family,
for more than half the year it is used communally.

The Sgriathanach has never adjusted sufficiently to become 178
a specialist, not even a specialized grazier. For him the 423
land has always had a more fundamental value than merely being
a means of livelihood. It is the ancestral home. There is a
sentimental attachment to the land which is an expression of
the affectionate bonds of kinship. The people have never lost
the tribal tie of the land and the group. Although the former
patriarchs disclaimed any sympathy with this point of view,
the landlords on Skye today have kept what little land they
have only because of its sentimental value. Indeed the atti- [656]
tude of the largest landholder, the government of Scotland,
is that the crofting tradition is worth while preserving, if
for no other reason, because in the predominantly urban and
industrial civilization it has a romantic value. There are
other reasons. The Islands have long been looked upon as a [702]
human reservoir for the armed forces, and, more recently, for [464]
Lowland industry.

As a result of their partial adjustment to the higher 178
socio-cultural level, there have been changes in crops and stock 231 241
The British market has influenced the crofters' output, within 433
ecological limitations. The old subsistence crops of oats and

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428 INHERITANCE--forms of property and types of title subject and not subject to inheritance; disposition of noninherited property (e.g., destruction, abandonment, distribution by gift, reversion to a prior owner or his heirs); nondistribution (e.g., maintenance of estates intact within an extended family); preferred or natural heirs and relatives excluded from inheritance (e.g., children, siblings, spouses, parents); sex and age preferences (e.g., exclusion of females, primogeniture, ultimogeniture); persons who inherit in default of preferred heirs; types of ownership acquired by heirs; variant rules for different possessions and type of title; characterization of inheritance systems (e.g., as matrilineal, patrilineal, testamentary); dower (e.g., special provision for widow or widower); testamentary disposition (e.g., wills, bequests, legacies); formalities (e.g., probate procedure); probate law, etc. See also:

Family	89	Inheritance taxes	681
Heirlooms	523	Probate courts	698
Rule of descent	611	Adjustments to death	788

311 There are 144 crofts in the village (nine of
241 which, in South Shawbost, were added after the turn of
[175] the century by non-crofters encamped on common grazing
[420] land who applied to the landlord for crofter status).
Thirty-four (almost a quarter) of these crofts are
vacant; that is, the holders of the crofts live else-
[527] where. One of the vacant crofts is used by its absentee
[493] tenant for holidays, and one sports a trailer (called
[485] a "caravan" in Britain) which may be rented to tourists
during the summer. The rest are cultivated or used for
[428] grazing by crofters or non-crofters in the village who
[427] by inheritance or by formal or informal subletting have
gained use of the land.

241 A little over half of the crofts are worked as
individual units; 44% of the crofts are worked as
combined units of two and three. Twenty-four men have
the use of two crofts each, and five men the use of three
crofts each.

16 A feature of crofting townships usually emphasized
is their disproportionately large number of aged people
and small number of young people, who tend to migrate
to the cities. An age-sex "population pyramid" of the
Highlands is not a pyramid but a top-heavy hourglass
(see Table I).* Most persons of child-bearing age have
migrated from the area and the number of children is
*[See p.vii--Analyst]

264 The only occasions on which it is customary to feed
574 someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as peat-
576 cutting. On such occasions the preparation of meals is
[461] done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual scrutiny,
[476] and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, the
requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled by
giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but
which were much more abundant when the land was cultivated
[242] and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcakes,
clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foods
264 are usually offered to visitors along with tea, and in the
57 past this custom served to minimize the economic disparities
574 between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A similar
[737] function was served by the practice of giving part of
[431] each catch of fish to old widows and other villagers in
need of aid. Even though food is more abundant and diverse
today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during a
visit is still very important.

173 A 50-year-old man who "married into" a croft recalls,
[581] "I came from a family of ten children. Everyone had to
[428] leave, or marry a girl with a croft. Only the eldest son
could inherit the croft." There was little room for
422 romanticism in the fight for scarce land among the sons
581 of large crofter and non-crofter families. "The most

592 unmarried sibling. Eleven households consist only of
siblings who have never married, men and women who in
1971 were 45 years old or older. Two widows live with
[589] their unmarried siblings. Sixteen widows or widowers
live alone, and sixteen unmarried persons live alone.

241 The large number of households occupied by single,
592 elderly people reflects the use of the croft as a place
423 of residence rather than as an agricultural unit, a
671 view of the croft that was given legal expression in
888 1968 by the Miscellaneous Provisions Act. Before 1968,
[423] the croft went automatically to the eldest son if a
crofter died intestate. Since 1968, the rights of
different claimants must be considered and tenancy by
a new person must be confirmed. District and county
councillors argued for this change, saying that a widow
was often left on the croft and her security endangered
because the eldest son was usually far away from the
island, in Canada or some other country. In other words,
rather than an agricultural unit which should naturally
be taken over and worked by the male head of the house-
hold, the croft is seen as a place of residence for
the infirm and for the aged, and especially for the aged
female.

659 The Crofters Commission has suggested that elderly
185 people be allowed to rent small plots of land on which
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to notice the absorption or suppression of rights held in common in 'the North and West', together with the abolition of the duties of fellow-workers to one another. Too frequently they have not troubled to enquire into the former existence of common rights and fellowship duties, the observances of which have so much to teach. Yet to judge from the completeness of the Hebridean evidence, and from wider evidence to be touched upon with reference to Norse and Lowland conditions, suppression caused a profound social and moral revolution.

Indeed, the profound character of that revolution makes it hard to recognise the common origin of features which may differ greatly today. To choose four examples, the long succession from father to son, found from end to end of an Island township, contrasts with a restless movement of farm servants, and even tenant-farmers, all too common until 1939 in Lowland Scotland and parts of Northern England. The ideals held by fellow-workers in Gaelic tradition, of kindly and courteous co-operation, contrast with the avowals of rugged individualism made on many a farm even of the southern Highlands today, and certainly of the Scottish Lowlands and Northern England. Languages have changed as English has advanced during 1500 years: the Lewis crofters' children still speak Gaelic, but children in Stornoway ceased to do so forty or fifty years ago. And in the recorded religious life of Gaelic hamlets far from any priest (or later, minister), the part of revered men and women is very different from the part played in Calvinism by the Minister and the male Elders of the Kirk. All these four contrasts are due to revolutionary changes in home, work, language and religion. Such changes, of which all trace may be lost elsewhere, are traceable from the fullest evidence among the Gael.

Harris; South Harris is ringed by a road, extended recently to take in the more isolated 'Bays' townships.

2. *The Crofts and Crofting Ways*

The prevailing modern unit of cultivation and tenure in the Islands is the croft, the land held individually by each small landholder or 'crofter'. The Anglo-Scottish term croft (Gaelicised as *croit*) meant steadily cropped, infield land, manured and never left fallow, and distinguished from the unmanured outfield with its long fallows and poor out-turn. This term came into common use in the Highlands and Isles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the splitting up of the older unit of cultivation and tenure, the small joint farm, with its little team of fellow-workers or 'small tenants'. By 1830 group tenure had been replaced by individual holding of crofts, but with the pasture still held in common, as it is to the present day, and an allotted strip of the machar.

The Lewis croft consists of a nominal five acres of crops, of oats, barley (or bere) and potatoes, sometimes with recent additions of turnips, and more often a small hay crop. The word 'nominal' is used because during the nineteenth century the croft had often been subdivided between two or more sons, without addition by reclamation to bring each subdivision up to the acreage of the original croft. Moreover, in the hilly southern part of the Island, cultivation is in little patches instead of in continuous fields. There, narrow ditches have been dug and the soil heaped up to form little ridges about ten feet by four, banked up by turf. These are known as *feannagan* in Gaelic, or in English, 'lazy-beds'—a term in use as early as the time of Burt, two hundred years ago. Thus only about two-

175 growing family could increase the size of his holding. Secondly, in the absence of fences
427 a certain discipline of agricultural management had to be maintained; moreover the
311 proprietor, through the factor, grounds officers and township constables, saw to it that
632 it was. This "good husbandry", albeit at a rather low level, was maintained in the interests of tenants and land-owner alike. After the arable land was lotted permanently to individuals, there was less flixibility and less need for communal management. But the absence of fences between the new lots, or crofts, meant that they were still common land during the winter months. In some cases the proprietors paid the tenants to erect fences round the newly lotted inbye land of the whole township but, even when a ring fence existed, stock was allowed to graze indiscriminately within it from November until April.

It is fortunate that the first Ordnance surveyors were at work in Lewis just as the lotting was coming into effect. The new lots were not divided by fences, therefore they were not marked by the surveyors, but in several townships they arrived in time to plot the clachans and in some - Breasclete, for example (fig. 6) - the first edition six-inch maps show some of the new houses, neatly spaced out on the new lots. The arrangement of the latter is recorded in the Factor's sketch books, of which fig. 7 is an example.

175 Thus whilst we have little evidence of the appearance of the former rural landscape,
632 we have an excellent record of the birth of the new. The characteristic units of the new
178 lotting were townships divided into long narrow strips, arranged parallel and fan-wise more or less in the direction of steepest slope. Such an arrangement was simple to lay out; it tended to give everyone a fair share of the land of each kind - ill-drained and well-drained, high and low. And, if a road or track passed through the township it was usually possible to give each lot or croft direct access to it without the necessity for side-roads.
[367] Consequently the houses, when re-built, were usually put on the crofts. A dispersed pattern of settlement replaced the little huddles of the clachans. The extent to which it was dispersed depended on the width of the lots; the greater the number of tenants to be accommodated in a given area, the narrower were the lots. In extreme cases they might be as little as 20-30 yards in width and then the houses, aligned along the road or access track might form a virtually continuous terrace or street.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CROFTING STRUCTURE

427 In the parish of Uig about 90% of the families are crofters. That is to say, they owe their presence in Uig to their hereditary tenancy of a small-holding of croft status. To these holdings they have a deep attachment; many of them have been inherited through
[428] several generations. Others were obtained more recently during the process of re-settlement of farm land which followed the Napier Commission report and 1886 Act. Many older crofters regard the resettled townships as the fruits of a hard-won victory. Nevertheless, we have seen, very few of the holdings are in fact more than 110 years
[166] old. And, whilst some families can certainly trace their ancestors in the district for several centuries, there has always been a good deal of movement between townships. Thus the claim that they occupy holdings which were carved out of the barren moor by the toil and sweat of their ancestors is, in most cases, metaphor rather than strict truth.

I hardly need to add after our discussion of the isla
economy that the chances of a young couple finding a vacant
croft are slim. It may be of interest to indicate just how
they really are. In 1953-54, in 82 townships, which I visi
there were only eight vacancies. Six of these were no larg
than cottars' gardens. There were no vacant holdings in Ki
or Glendale. I am not talking about derelict crofts in the
hands of absentees. Moreover, if the individual decides tha
working in Portree is better than leaving the island, his
prospects are no better. The County Council had sixty-six
in a public housing scheme under construction, in 1953, in
addition to fifty-six completed since the end of World War
There were three applicants for each apartment. The county
sanitary engineer, who was responsible for allocating the a-
partments, began to think half the population of Portree was
dying, and the other half was dead. In order to get priorit
the people were claiming disabilities, "some of them with na
as long as your arm." Many of the people, especially young
people, regard winning out in the competition as an indicati
of status. But we are getting away from the croft. We stil
have to consider how a person gets possession of the croft.

As we know, the crofter has the right to bequeath his
croft to a member of his family; however, he seldom bothers
to exercise his right. Here is another example of their
incomplete adaptation to the higher socio-cultural level. Th
land and the house have very little monetary value. Usually
the man who leaves a will has been talked into it by an
officer of the Department of Agriculture. He, then, assigns

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

This lack of a local fleet fishing in the Minch and associated waters on a full-time basis has inevitably brought reluctance on the part of Government bodies to invest capital in, say, harbour improvements, knowing that they would fail to yield an eventual return. Just after the first world war Lord Leverhulme formulated ambitious plans for a full-time fishing fleet based on Stornoway. More than thirty years later, in 1954, the Taylor Commission, set up to investigate the problems of crofting, summed up:

> Gone are the days when the crew of the fishing boat could haul up their craft on the beach and leave it there in safety. The modern seine-netter is much too heavy to be beached in that way and far too costly to be exposed to risk in unsafe anchorages . . . The capital outlay required for their purchase is such that it is not possible to operate them except on a full-time basis. It is still possible for smaller boats to be employed in fishing for lobster or crab, but the general trend of development is against the man who combines fishing with the work of the croft. We do not think it possible to reverse this trend; it should be accepted and an attempt made to establish a full-time fishing industry in Western waters.

The first vital step to do just this was taken in January 1959 when the MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust announced the introduction of a scheme to 'increase the number of modern boats with efficient crews operating from or based on Lewis'. This Trust was set up under the will of the late Murdo MacAulay of Ness, who left Lewis with little English, less money, but plenty of Gaelic and enterprising spirit, to acquire a considerable fortune in Rhodesia. He bequeathed the bulk of it to be applied for the good of his island home. Anyone applying for assistance under the scheme was required to give an undertaking that he would prosecute fishing on a full-time basis; further, no one would be assisted unless, in the opinion of the trustees, he was likely to make 'an energetic and successful fisherman'. This pioneering venture directly assisted three young men in Kirkibost, Bernera, to acquire one of the best-equipped lobster boats in Scotland; and secondly it acted as a useful prototype for the Government scheme which was to augment and largely replace it a year later. In January 1960 the Government officially instituted the Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme. Free training was offered to men pre-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

sold, one such causing legal history. The chief garage proprietor 175*
in the town applied to use for his business a site he had purchased 632
at a road junction near the western end of the town, close to the 429
principal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate lead- 175*
ing into the Castle grounds. It was a mistake in planning, and 632
public disapproval began to make itself felt. The Trust, in an 429
effort to redress the situation, sought to distrain the garage pro- 691
prietor from extended use of the area. The parties went to law,
and the case was fought through the courts until, in the House
of Lords, the Trust finally lost and had to pay a bill of some
£4,000, equivalent to a fine of £4 to £5 from every family in
the burgh. The Trust drew its lesson, and since has formulated a
more alert and constructive policy.

The town is well served by its shopping centre, with multiple 632
stores jostling for custom with smaller private business concerns. 366
Prosperity for all, however, depends on the well-being of the Harris
Tweed industry. If there are recessions, as there have been in the
past, the tills rattle spasmodically. Also standing to suffer are others [365]
such as the bus companies (who provide the efficient town ser-
vices and link up Stornoway with the rural areas), the builders
and the haulage contractors. In the ever-present climate of un- [464]
employment it is the policy of the mills to employ male labour, [462]
despite the fact that women would be cheaper. The mills, run
by natives or by Lewis-born incomers of the second and third
generation, realise a social obligation in recognising that in Lewis
the strong tradition is that the man should be the head of the
family in every sense. The mills also carry a proportion of surplus [466]
labour to offset the unpredictability of those workers who, with
crofts to look after, occasionally have to take a day off 'at the
peats' or some such activity. This is another of the island's dis-
tinctive traditions.

On Cromwell Street is the shop of James MacKenzie & Sons 366
Limited, dealing in hardware, furniture and china. Nothing un- 632
usual in that, at first sight: yet it is another unique aspect of life 747
in Lewis, being conducted as a charity for the benefit of, among
others, the aged and infirm persons of Stornoway. The business
was established in 1830, on its present site. In 1964, the then [429]
principal shareholder presented the building and the business as a

STORNOWAY

366 going concern to a trust which was set up to receive the gift and
632 whose first object is to assist aged and infirm residents in the
747 burgh. In effect, all profits earned by the shop are passed to the
429 trust for distribution to those in need.

Almost half the houses in Stornoway were built by the local
362 authority. The Town Council has never been afraid of rooting
632 out unfit houses. By 1937, under the 1930 Slum Clearance Act,
[175] one person in four in the town lived in a council house. The housing schemes, though large, have still that element of community with personality, something often lacking in newly developed
362 areas of other towns and cities. The Council also supports private
427 housing by taking up sites, clearing and servicing them and then
632 feuing them to private owners. The rents policy is to have no housing deficit beyond the statutory rate contribution (which works out at between £6,000 and £7,000 per annum). The Council's tenants co-operate with rent collection to a unique degree: collection figures are something like 99 per cent and on occasion 100
362 per cent. A vigorous housing policy is important to the town, as
128 its population is now over 5,300 and still growing, mainly at the
162 expense of the rural areas. Development plans at present envisage
161 a 1981 population of about 9,100 persons within the parish
632 boundary and including the burgh.

632 Stornoway is an island town and is an island's town:
369 its rhythms of life are those of the island, regular and timed by nature, but with an added syncopation—the result of an urban
632 outlook. In this context, Gaelic is the language, though English is
197 the lingua franca. Deeper still in the methods used for communication is a kind of patois based on Gaelicised English, Anglicised Gaelic, with some other words that defy investigation into their origin. Many words find their natural forebears in Scots, American and the maritime tongues of Europe, which might be expected in view of Stornoway's importance as a sea-port of significance a century or two ago. The Stornoway language, as spoken by true-born natives, recognisable anywhere by another native, reflects the life of the cosmopolitan, sea-faring people.

632 Apart from its industrial opportunities, Stornoway has many
871 of the more sophisticated urban facilities that people everywhere
[369] seem to crave, particularly with regard to education. The senior

FISHING

for the steamers, he thought that any improvements in connection with the fishing industry should be paid for largely by the fish-curers themselves—though he did spend about £1,000 on constructing fish-curing houses. Why Sir James, with his experience of business, should have taken this attitude is not clear; certainly the fishing industry could have been given just the right impetus with his interest, personal and financial. As it was, the industry was left to develop on its own lines, with odd injections from time to time.

228 175* [504]

Fluctuating prosperity

That the potential in the fishing grounds of the Minch was enormous was realised before 1850 by fish-curers from the Scottish mainland. But deep-sea-going boats were needed, and so new designs were called for. James Methven of Leith, a pioneer of deep-sea herring fishing, sank capital into the development of a large class of boats known as the 'Anstruther build', or in the islands as 'Eanstrach'. These craft served the islanders well, and Lewis prospered, as did Stornoway. In the five years 1870 to 1875, for example, the average number of barrels of herring cured at Stornoway for export was some 80,000. From 1875 to 1900 the average Stornoway district catch of white fish, much of it caught by local boats and some of it cured at Carloway, was worth over £100,000; it was sent to Ireland and the Clyde. After 1900, fresh-trawled fish replaced the cured and the market fell away. In 1921, the market value of cured fish from Stornoway was about £500, ½ per cent of the 1900 value.

[501] [401] 228 175* 43•

The herring fishing held its own, against the decline of the white fish. Stornoway, as Lochboisdale in the Southern Isles, became for a while one of the world's most important fishing ports. Prosperity was in the air; even when the fishings did eventually fall away, there still remained, decades later, the whiff of past success among the neglected curing sheds, the hangdown boats in the quays, and the silent kippering houses. From 1917 to 1935, the annual landings of herrings (in crans) varied from 25,486 (in 1934) to 221,519 (in 1927). In that year, a record one, it was reported that 'even landsmen could hear the roar of herrings in Loch Erisort. So dense were the shoals that their progress in the

228 175* [433]

431

431 GIFT GIVING—Alienation of property by gift; rights, privileges, and powers of donor and recipient; frequency, types, occasions, and purposes of gifts; social relationships within which gifts are given; formalities of giving and receiving; potlatches; reciprocal gift exchange (e.g., kula); role of gifts in the distribution of economic goods; etc. See also:

Status and mobility 55
Property transactions in marriage 58
Acquisition and relinquishment of property . . . 426
Bequests 429
Feasts 674
Tribute giving 651
Bribery of officials 662
Almsgiving and charity 735
Philanthropic foundations 741
Sacrifice 782

264 574 576 [461] [476] The only occasions on which it is customary to feed someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as peat-cutting. On such occasions the preparation of meals is done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual scrutiny, and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, the requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled by giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but which were much more abundant when the land was cultivated [262] and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcakes, clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foods 264 are usually offered to visitors along with tea, and in the 57 574 past this custom served to minimize the economic disparities between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A similar [939] function was served by the practice of giving part of • [431] each catch of fish to old widows and other villagers in need of aid. Even though food is more abundant and diverse today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during a visit is still very important.

173 A 50-year-old man who "married into" a croft recalls, [581] "I came from a family of ten children. Everyone had to [428] leave, or marry a girl with a croft. Only the eldest son could inherit the croft." There was little room for 423 581 romanticism in the fight for scarce land among the sons of large crofter and non-crofter families. "The most

574 584 on troubled waters," or bringing the two families together.[2]

585 The most important of the ceremonies surrounding marriage was not the church service (posadh) but the wedding dinner and dance following the church service (banais, from bean meaning "woman" or "wife," and feis meaning "feast").

"House weddings," as they were called, were held • [431] in the home of the bride. For several weeks beforehand, neighbors and relatives brought gifts to the bride's house, where they were displayed in a room set aside for them along with the dresses to be worn by the bride and

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574 584 184 [2] Morag MacLeod of the School of Scottish Studies describes a custom still existing on the Isle of Scalpay off the Isle of Harris, called reiteach mor (big reiteach), in contrast with the reiteach bheag (small reiteach) or simple dinner party which existed until fairly recently on mainland Harris. The reiteach mor is a dramatic event involving a humorous exchange between male speakers for "the groom's side," and male spokesmen for "the bride's side." The bride is hidden, and the groom's men ask for the bride indirectly. They desire a sheep, perhaps, or a length of tweed. The desired object constitutes a theme which is developed in humorous give-and-take between the two sides, as various females are brought out one by one by the bride's people, from the most undesirable old maid to the bridesmaid and finally to the bride. Until the bride finally appears, the groom's spokesmen must find something wrong with each female presented, along the lines of the chosen theme. The sheep's fleece is not curly enough, and so on. The bride sits at the table after she appears, is given a glass of whiskey which she sips and then passes to her fiance, and the performance is over.

585 bridesmaid(s). The house was filled each night with
• [431] visitors bringing new gifts or coming to see the latest additions. Enough presents were given during this
[203] time to set up a household. Invitations to the wedding were issued verbally, by persons going around to each
[602] house. Anyone could come to the church ceremony, which was relatively informal and jovial, but only the "closest" relatives were invited to the sumptuous wedding dinner which followed the service: the bride and groom, their parents, aunts and uncles, first cousins and usually second cousins. Many more were invited to the wedding supper which started after the dinner, at about 10:00 p.m., and continued throughout the night.

Three main nights were distinguished, although
585 preparations and festivities might go on for weeks. The
252 first night was the night before the wedding, when women of the village brought hundreds of chickens, which they plucked and cooked. Meat, usually mutton, was also cooked and sliced. Butter was rolled into balls. Neighbors brought milk and other provisions and assisted in the baking for a week beforehand.

585 On the second night, hundreds of villagers ate the
[535] chickens and mutton prepared for the wedding supper,
[533] and danced to the music of a piper or other musicians.
[273] Many young boys had their first taste of beer or whiskey on these occasions.

585 on these occasions. At some point during the night the bride and groom were prepared for their wedding night together. The bride's female companions undressed her, prepared her for bed, and put her into the bed with a hot water bottle. She shared some sherry with them, and they went out, whereupon the groom was brought in by his male companions. After much joking the couple were left together.

[574] On the third night, a dinner was given for the older persons who had not been able to come to the "big" wedding.

[273] For some time after the wedding, the married couple
• [431] visited relatives and neighbors who had been unable to come to the wedding, taking a bottle of whiskey with them.

585 House weddings declined in number during the war when
178 food was rationed, and as more persons changed from the
[342] "black house" to the less easily cleaned and more
[485] elaborately furnished "white house." Most weddings are now held in hotels, and consist of a single wedding dinner and dance; they are often held on Thursdays, the day of the banais in the past. The emphasis on community participation still exists: even though the practice of holding hotel weddings has limited the number of guests, an effort is made to invite someone from each household in the neighborhood. In part to avoid disappointing the

585 In part to avoid disappointing the
178 vast number of relatives who by custom must be invited
[602] but for whom there is now not enough room, many weddings
• [431] are held away from the island in places such as Inverness and Glasgow. Gifts are still given in great numbers and displayed, despite the decrease in numbers attending the wedding dinner and the feeling that only those who are invited to the wedding should give presents. The
[202] custom still exists of neighborhoods or entire villages placing flags outside their homes on the day of a villager's wedding (except when the wedding is held away from the island); isolated flags within a village signify that the household is related to someone in a neighboring village who is getting married. And when the wedding car has picked up the bride and is leaving for the hotel in town, the road is often littered with barrels and other barriers.

Couples now often leave the wedding dinner and dance and go to undisclosed destinations for their honeymoon. But when they return to the community they must undergo a simple rite of passage that gives sanction to their new social status. On the first Sunday following their return, they are expected to come to church with the other members of the bridal party, a process called kirkadh (a slightly Gaelicized rendition of Scottish "kirking").

585 For some weeks after returning, the couple goes visiti
178 with a bottle. The scope of visits seems to have narro
to close relatives unable to attend the wedding, and sometimes the custom is referred to as old-fashioned.
• [431] The bride usually mails pieces of bridal cake to
[205] relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

758 2. Death: At a time of illness or injury, an
574 individual may see persons he has not seen for years. The house is filled with a constant flow of visitors, and the visitors recount every detail of a sick person'
[763] pallor and movement. The room is usually occupied by visitors when a person breathes his last.

763 In the past, work ceased in every house in the
46 surrounding neighborhood when a person died. This no
[178] longer occurs. (The story is told of a weaver who call
[288] a mill in Stornoway to say that he could not finish an urgent tweed because there had been a death in the village, and was told, "You keep on weaving till the
[535] weaver dies.") However, dances in the village are
[444] cancelled, and the bothan (an isolated hut in which liquor is sold illegally) may close. Outdoor work, suc as peat-cutting, which would be widely seen is avoided.

763 Word of the death spreads throughout the village a
[203] beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulate inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

273 village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter
[154] 6). Drinking situations provide an important opportunity for relatively uninhibited expression by males, and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

522 The role of clown or "character" is well developed
156 in Hebridean townships. In an environment which encourages
154 quietly watchful and somewhat anxious, conformist behavior, the character is rude, raucous and outrageous, a bite of fire in cold waters. He represents a reversal of normal behavior. The villagers shake their heads, agree that he is impossible, but encourage him to continue, urge him on when he flags, and bring up his escapades for discussion during moments of boredom. There are usually several such characters in a village.

156 Reversal of low-profile and other "normal" behavior
154 is also allowed on particular occasions such as New Year's,
527 this time among all villagers. In the days of horses and
[522] carts, boys went around the village on New Year's night
[883] stealing carts and hiding them on the moor or down by the
[574] shore; today they steal gates. Between Christmas and
• [431] New Year's, groups of boys visit houses in their neighborhood, collecting tea, sugar, biscuits, or money to be used for a party in one of the houses. Such boys are called
796 balaich na bannagan, or boys of the bannag. In some
431 Gaelic-speaking areas, bannag refers to a gift that is
184

796 given at Christmas; in Lewis, Christmas is identified
• 431 with Catholicism, and is an insignificant event in
184 comparison with New Year. To give two examples, a New
527 Year's dance is given, but not a Christmas dance; and
796 the mills continue working on Christmas if it occurs
184 on a week day, but close for at least two days at New Year's. In Shawbost, bannag is defined as a party associated with Hogmanay (New Year's eve).

527 In the recent past, until about ten years ago,
292 the boys dressed in women's clothes or wore masks. They
178 took turns wearing a cow's skin as they went from house to house. In each house, the boy wearing the skin was
[539] hit by the others as he chanted the rann na bannag (rhyme of the bannag):

Here I come again renewing Christmas.
(Or, in another version: This is the New Year's night
I'll take the bread without the butter,
And the butter without the bread,
And the cheese by itself.
Then we won't be empty-handed.
One thing I refuse is a mangy potato.
It gives a heavy feeling.
It's not healthy.
If you don't give me my bit of butter and my lump of cheese,
Everything you possess will be gotten by the crows on St. Patrick's Day.

527 As the balaich na bannagan left the house in which
431 they had received gifts, they blessed it. All food and
178 money was given to the woman who prepared the bannag.
[788] Today children tend to receive money more often than food, and use some of the money to buy sweets at the post

527 office or general store, preferring to divide the rest
178 between themselves for use at a later time. A 50-year-
● 431 old woman observed, "They don't appreciate the bannag
like we used to. They get this kind of rich food all
527 the time." The practices of wearing costumes and speaking
178 the rhyme are disappearing. Children used to have the
bannag until they left school at age 14 or 15; now only
the younger children go. "Children grow up more quickly
today."

527 New Year's is celebrated perhaps most intensively
562 by the men, who after seeing the New Year in by watching
273 a special New Year's program on television go visiting
574 neighbors and relatives with bottles of whiskey. The
[184] custom of "first-footing" on New Year's eve is found
throughout Scotland; but in the Hebrides such visiting
and heavy drinking may last from New Year's eve until
the following Sunday. During this time, the woman of the
house, who usually refrains from drinking and to some
extent controls the drinking done by the males in her
house, relaxes her attitude, and may even participate.
The comment, "It's only once a year," is often heard.
[589] During this time, the shyest and most retiring bachelor
becomes a Romeo; this is the only time of year he may
be heard to mention the word marriage. For example, one
bachelor in his 60's chooses a "bride" each New Year, and
takes her with him on his all-night visiting.

273
571
156 a while. It would be an insult not to take a drink
[576] them; you musn't miss your round."

273 The usual practice when drinking with friends i
571 for one person to buy the drinks; everyone drinks
156 together, and then someone else buys the next round.
● 431 drink slowly is to indicate that you intend to miss y
round. A relative who returns to the island for a ho
usually pays for more rounds than he receives, and ma
spend as much as L80 in a single week.

If a man wants more drink than his fellows, he ha
several choices. He may step up the pace of drinking
buying more rounds, which means that he is likely to pa
a larger share than the others during the evening as th
will be ready to quit before he is; or he may keep a b
hidden outside the room, and disappear periodically for
private nip, after which he returns to the group.

273 As incomes have grown, excessive drinking, which wa
571 once confined to a small number of occasions, has also
156 increased. In the days when money was scarce, people sh
178 with others what they had. Elaborate and relatively lav
434 ceremonies in which all community members participated
were possible because of the contribution in labor and go
of members of the community. The custom prevailing today
to use the added money not to purchase more goods and ser
to travel, or in other ways that might result in both soci

his croft to his eldest son. Some reformers feel that the youngest son or daughter who has stayed at home to care for his parents is cheated. When there is no will, the State steps in and assigns the croft to the widow, the eldest son, or the child who has remained behind.

7 The growth of the welfare state has had its influence in determining this pattern. On the one hand, there are payments to unmarried children who remain at home to look after their parents. On the other hand, there are the old age pensions. While the pension has made the transition of the old couple from active crofters and parents to grand-parents easier for the Irish small farmer,[13] on Skye the coming of the pension saw the end of the old pattern of the oldest son returning, with his wife, to care for his parents and raise his own family. With a pension the old couple had little need to work the croft. The children were not needed, and not infrequently the old people enjoyed their independence and their freedom from turning the house over to a woman whose ideas and beliefs conflicted with their own. The common desire of parents today is that one of their children will stay on to take over or return after they are gone. Naturally, no one likes to see his children far from home, but what can they do?

Aside from the difficulties of inheriting a croft or finding a vacant holding, it has become increasingly difficult for a young man to find a wife. Most of the crofters' daughters

[13]Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 85-86; Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., p. 125.

by a second cousin. The striki
the nearest surviving relative
is ready to fulfill it, without
are buried by either their pate
not forgotten the existence of
women play no part as mourners.
to the grave becomes the subject

Fundamentally, the system
Linguistically, the terms for r
inheritance of possessions othe
of small importance, but the pa
The Sgiathanach lives in a man'
male dominance further in the f
I want to briefly discuss two a

Religious and Age-Grade Cliques
society, the Sgiathanach associa
who share his interests and att
for his associates, other than
attend his church and people of
not explore the nature of these
we should have some understandi
religious clique is primarily a
reason to believe that this part
of its importance of late, with
state. Many feel that the gover
after the aged and infirm. As
is concerned, few of the same k

Skye

g thing to realize here is that 593
lways knows his obligation and 764
question. Fatherless children 602
603
nal or maternal uncle. I have
women. The simple fact is, 562
Indeed, the rare woman who goes
of lasting gossip.
of kinship is patrilineal. 611
latives may be bilateral, and 601
than the name may be matters 428
trilineal emphasis remains.
world. I shall explore this 128
llowing chapter. At present,
dditional cliques.

. Like the members of any 573
ates most frequently with those
itudes. It is natural, then,
his kinsmen, to be people who
his own age group. We need
cliques at this time; but
g of their function. The 794
573
mutual aid group. There is 476
ticular group has lost much 178
the coming of the welfare
rnment pays people to look
far as doing a favor for someone
irk, other than close friends,

429

429 ADMINISTRATION--guardianship (e.g., of minors, of widows, of defectives); rights, privileges, and powers of guardian and ward; trusts; rights, privileges, and powers of trustee and beneficiary; law of trusts; formalities; administration of estates; bankruptcy administration; specialization in administration (e.g., trust companies); regulation; etc. See also:

Role of heads of families and of kin and local groups as trustees for the property of their social groups 59, 61, 62
Receivership 473
Levirate 587
Agency 676
Embezzlement 685
Care of defectives 732
Philanthropic foundations 741
Definition of minors 858

4

3

the present harbour facilities are the result of this, with a causeway to Goat Island—a small snippet of land off the Newton shore—the King Edward Wharf extension to give a depth of 24 ft at low water, and the construction on Goat Island of a slipway and slipway jetty.

The present facilities are valued at several million pounds; they evoke, however, a blank stare of disbelief. Much of the industry for which the quays were first envisaged has now gone. The days of 300-400 fishing boats and the landing of several thousands of crans each week, with the attendant bustle and activity, belong to the past. The harbour remains reasonably active, with a considerable extent and variety of shipping: general traffic due to the Harris Tweed industry has continued to increase in recent years. The introduction of the ferry service direct from Skye to Tarbert, Harris, has however had perceptible effects.

When Leverhulme parted company with the people of Lewis, his gesture of farewell offered the island to its people. This brought into being an agency for the people of Stornoway and its rural areas, so that they were in effect in control of their own future to a degree unique in Britain. The Stornoway Trust was formed in 1924. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole of the landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor northwards to the township of Tolsta. Freshwater fishings are in its hands, as are the resources of the sea and inshore fishings on the shorelands. During its first five years the Trust was faced with a growing deficit, though this was redressed partly through agricultural derating and partly through the registration of the Trust as a charity, thus exempting it from income-tax demands.

The Town Council, the Harbour Commission, and the Trust have overlapping representation, for harmonious work on behalf of the community. Indeed, by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn up by Leverhulme (in 1923-4), the Stornoway Trust must include the Provost of the burgh as its chairman, together with magistrates and councillors. Throughout the years of its existence, the Trust has sought to increase its usefulness, but at the beginning decisions were often taken piecemeal. Portions of the property were

763 relived and shared. The person's exact age and the
764 identity of his closest kin are discussed. A van is
574 immediately dispatched to bring benches from the church,
[493] which are set up throughout the house of the deceased,
and over the next few days a constant stream of visitors
[431] fills the benches. The visitors bring tea, sugar,
biscuits and other provisions for the days and nights
of communal trial. The tigh fhaire, "house of watching,"
as this wake is called, continues until the day of the
funeral.

764 In the past, persons sat up all night with the body.
[825] "It took so long to get a coffin. You didn't want to
[178] go in and find half the face eaten away by rats." This
custom is dying out, but lights are usually left on in
the room in which the coffin is placed. When an all-night
wake occurs, the atmosphere is one of relaxed story-tellin
and the sad laughter of reminiscence.

764 At least two nights of "waking" usually precede the
574 funeral. During this time, hundreds of villagers attend
[152] the tigh fhaire. Grief is expressed throughout the vast
network in which the dead person was enmeshed. On rare
occasions when a single night precedes burial, the house
is filled to overflowing.

Throughout the day and evening, waves of newcomers
enter, and other sitters slip quietly away. Kinswomen of

those who do not do their full share.

The year for the part-time crofter begins with the preparation of his fields. As a general rule both the man who spends his winter working for the British Railways or away at sea, and the one who finds summer employment near home is found on his croft during this period. Following the example of the large crofter some use a tractor while others continue to plough by horse. More and more are tending to take advantage of the contracting service of the Department of Agriculture and hire a tractor and driver. Once the crops are in, the majority are free until the lambing season. Conservative in his belief that too much handling of the sheep is harmful or individually faced with the almost prohibitive task of singling a small flock out of several hundred sheep, he tends to omit the March dipping. During the lambing season, the several crofters of the township either take turns on the hill or hire a shepherd. The first chore, then, which brings them together as a group is the marking of the lambs and the first dipping of the sheep without lambs. The July shearing and the statutory dips in August and November are cooperative ventures shared by all crofters no matter what size croft they occupy.

In sundry ways, economic interests, judged in terms of commercial efficiency, play a smaller part in determining the economic cycle of the part-time crofter than in the case of the full-time crofter. The part-time crofter does not think it worthwhile to ship his few head of stock to the mainland auction markets. He sells them locally at the tri-annual sales.

As far as I know only one attempt has ever been made by the smaller holders to sell their cattle at the large mainland markets since the last drove left Skye in 1906. There was a feeling at the close of the Second World War among the crofters that they were not receiving a fair price at the local sales. The Scottish Wholesale and Cooperative Society, which had become interested in the Highland Problem, offered to handle the marketing. Their cattle buyer, a man of wide experience, found the Skye cattle to be of high quality and suggested shipping them to the Stirling market. This is one of the largest in Scotland has the advantage of attracting a full range of buyers. Since the cattle were not at their best after the long sea voyage, they were provided with hay and pasture for a week after arrival. Unfortunately, a disease epidemic in the South forced a postponement of the market. Nevertheless, they arrived at the auction block in good condition. The prices obtained, an average of £1 or £2 more than they normally received at the local sales, convinced the crofters that there was no advantage in selling on the mainland. Actually, if the Society had not paid the expenses of shipment and feed, the crofters would have suffered a slight loss. Those who attend the Dingwall sales say they used the wrong market.

While the man who devotes all of his time to his pastoral-agricultural occupation finds it uneconomical to bother with gathering seaweed for manure, fishing, or cutting peat, the crofter of the category we are discussing often adheres more closely to the traditional cycle. After the

436 belief. Since agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years,
241 the present tendency to use more and more of the land for grass
233 and hay can be regarded as a more complete adjustment to the
439 environment. The partial involvement in the outside contractual world encouraged and made possible the change. The same reasoning applies to stock production, including the declining number of horses, cattle, and, especially, dairy cows. The exports, obviously, reflect market demands. A couple of
[262] crofters have unsuccessfully tried market gardening. The Sgiathanach is not a vegetable eater, and the commercial establishments, apparently, find a more dependable supply
436 elsewhere. A few crofters do sell potatoes in Portree, but
241 they will not compete with the large, east coast potato
432 farmer. In 1953, as soon as the price fell below the pre-season high, the crofters decided it was not worth the trouble
437 to dig the tubers for sale. The same held true for eggs.
436 Many crofters barter eggs with the food vans which serve the
235 rural areas for tea and meat. When the Scottish market was glutted in the summer of 1953, the crofters refused to trade at lower prices. They preferred to obtain their protein from the eggs, believing that the spring egg prices were the fair prices. For the sake of emphasis, I repeat, the involvement of the Sgiathanach in the world of commerce is only partial. Finally, in accounting for these changing economic trends, the aged and the absentee crofter must be taken into account.

887 The old people frequently cannot work their crofts or
241 cannot use them fully. The age at which the work becomes too

433

433 **PRODUCTION AND SUPPLY**--productive capacity of the economy (e.g., actual and potential productivity of agriculture and industry); relative importance of various productive activities; economic supply (e.g., production of surpluses available for distribution); overproduction and shortages; restrictions on production; general statements on different types of economic activity. See also:

Natural resources	13	Power development	371
Division of products in food-getting activities	22, 23, 24	Local and regional specialization in production	438
Capital goods industries	39	Business cycles	458
Annual economic cycle	221	Occupational specialization	463
Land use	311	Economic organization and structure	471

hen
e pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris,
e offered—such was the character of the man—as thanks for
the '98 per cent support' he got from the people of Lewis, to each
ch man his own croft as a free gift, and the Lewis Castle, ge-
gether with all his property in Stornoway, to the people of the
town.

In 1919, Leverhulme became proprietor of Harris, and con-
entrated his efforts in Obbe, now called Leverburgh, in South
Harris. The harbour at Obbe lacked the natural advantage which
Stornoway had, so he spent large sums on making it navigable.
Roads were constructed, piers built, numerous buoys and beacons
were set up to guide vessels into harbour; new quays were built;
and kippering sheds, and other buildings necessary for packing
and curing herring were erected. Among his other undertakings
in Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he
built half the crest of the 34 miles of road between Leverburgh
and Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Bru-
ssels. His Harris scheme came to an abrupt end. And the remains
of a financial history are still to be seen in the quietness of the
little township named after one of the most stormy of business
petrels that Britain has ever seen.

Tourism

Tourism has always been a perfunctory and casual affair, until
the introduction of the fast ferries which now link the mainland
(via Skye) with the Outer Isles. Some 10,000 cars cross each year
from Skye to the Hebrides. In 1971, the Stornoway Tourist
Association had a struggle to increase the number of visitors to
the town, to establish it as a tourist resort. It is much the same
today with the Western Isles Tourist Association, which is having
difficulty in integrating tourist facilities with crofting activities. In
Lewis, the Stornoway Trust has assisted in establishing pony-
trekking, a venture which has the potential to mirror the success
of a similar one in the Isle of Skye.

PRESENT INDUSTRY

Almost an echo of the kelp-burning industry is the alginate in-
dustry. It provides employment for only small numbers, but is a

(c) SLOW CHANGE: 1945–59

1. The Land, the Sea, and the Loom

When Leverhulme parted company with the people of Lewis his gesture of farewell was one of generosity; the offer of Lewis to its people. The Stornoway Trust was formed, and this accepted the gift of the adjacent crofting townships of the Parish, and of the Castle and its beautiful Park or 'policies'. In crofting townships, however, the people declined the offered gift of land, finding that they could not afford the augmentation of rates entailed by ownership. So the remainder of the estate was offered for sale in several lots, which were bought by individuals and have proved safe investments. The letting of sporting rights adds a further, albeit a variable, return of income to that of the rents received. It is indeed anomalous that a crofting estate, such as a Lewis parish, can yield a good return to a purchaser, yet that the crofter-occupiers themselves would lose by receiving it as a gift.[1] Much-needed improvements in housing would also be discouraged, for fear of increase in their rates. It is true that if (under existing laws of assessment) all the farmers and crofters, cottars and squatters of a county were to become owners at the same time, there would be a great increase in assessments would either be repaid in greater services or met by lowered rates

[1] The reasons (as indicated in Chapter IX (d) are briefly that a crofter (or 'small landholder') as occupier of an agricultural holding, was only to assessed at three-eighths of the occupier's half of the assessment on his Fair Rent, or less than a quarter of the whole rental. Although he may have built a good house and other buildings he is not assessed at their full value; neither is his landlord. Were he to become owner he would then be liable to assessment both as occupier and as owner, on the full annual value of land and of buildings (so; with deduction of five-eighths on the agricultural value as occupier only.

A [see pp. 320–323—analysis]

—or by a compromise between. But as it is, if one crofter, or a small group of crofters like those of a township or parish of Lewis, were to become owner-occupiers (even by gift), they would be penalised as compared to others. Hence the Lewismen preferred to go on paying rent as statutory crofting tenants. Leverhulme sold the land and received the price; the new owners paid for it and received an investment; and the only 'loser' on this curious transaction was the Local Authority, the County, which failed to make more in rates!

Further reasons why the great majority of crofters declined Leverhulme's gift have been given by the Lewis Association's Economic Committee (1944):

(a) As individual proprietors, they would lose the advantages of the jurisdiction of the Scottish Land Court in dealing with their disputes, and any litigation would take a more costly form.

(b) They would be debarred from obtaining loans from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland for the improvement of their holdings or houses; as the Department would no longer have the " Corner Stone " of a landlord to fall back upon in the event of non-payment.

(c) The crofters were afraid that as individual proprietors they would forfeit their share of the Common Grazing rights.

(d) Should they wish to put their holdings they would be compelled to find a buyer in the open market, instead of remaining in their landlords and getting valuation.

(e) There is a feeling among Lewis crofters that they prefer to have a landlord before whom they can lay their difficulties and disputes, and who will attend to their wants; an authority that relieves them of responsibility.

As the historical evidence has shown, a lack of responsibility has been greatly due to the undermining and then the abolition of the authority of the township's own elected Constable.

The visitors each give the child a gift, especially a silver
coin. This coin of good luck is placed under the child's
pillow. The relationships, then, are essentially reciprocal
and individual.

The child's position within the extended family is also
fixed at the time of birth by his naming. As a rule, the first
son is named after his paternal grandfather, and the first
daughter, after her maternal grandmother. The second son is
given the name of his maternal grandfather, and the second
daughter, that of her paternal grandmother. There are ex-
ceptions to this pattern. One grandmother was adverse to having
her granddaughter named after her, because nowadays, with
late marriage, the naming frequently follows the death of the
individual. By far the most common exception occur when
someone in either parent's family of orientation has passed
away. Where the mother's father has died, the first boy is
named after him. The same is true for girls when the father's
mother has passed away. When a brother or sister of either
parent has died, especially without issue, the second born is
named "in honor of his memory." In these days of small
families, this has led to giving a girl the equivalent of a
man's name. There was, for example, Anguina who had been
named after her uncle who was killed in the war. Again, with
delayed marriage, the couple may have only one child. In or
she is given the names of both the paternal and maternal
grandparents, such as Ian (for father's father) Duncan (for
mother's father) or Morag (after mother's mother) Flora (after
father's mother). Aside from serving to identify members of

Thus the first place he had ever worked where his men did not
have to lock up their tools at lunch time, and the windows
were not broken as fast as they went into the frames. Still
there is some theft.

As might be expected in any area of low per capita
income and seasonal employment, some people succumb to temp-
tation. Clothes, new and used, first the temptation of a
candy bar, a shiny pocket knife and other such items which
newspapers may have on the counter too strong to resist. The
striking thing is that they always share their loot with
their schoolmates. Around New Years, when unemployment is
at its height and a man needs his bottle to see in the New
Year in the traditional way, some men turn to theft. It
never takes the form of house burglary or armed robbery. As
far as I know, the only case of armed robbery in which a
man from Skye was involved happened on a train in England.
His weapon was a rolling pin. The people at home were very
amused when he said he was taking the rolling pin to his
mother. The usual forms are to take a cow or sheep or to
loot a shop. No answer can be given to the question, how
much theft is there? The responses vary. "If you stood on
the corner and forgot who you were, they'd have you off in
five minutes, so they would," was one man's opinion. The
police say, "There's quite a bit of it." An old whisky
smuggler said

Cattle are kept on 120 of the 217 crofts. In all there are 1,200 cows of three years and over, 47 young cattle, and 1,200 ewes. The chief practice is to mainle the calves, and sell them as soon as they satisfy the ide' ard'ne. This practice is to enable the calves, and sell them as soon [274] The breeds of cattle are mainly Shorthorn and Shorthorn crossed. In one of the reasons for this practice. [275] Other function of the cow is to provide milk for the household, basically the Highland cattle. The [276] cattle are housed stalls. Cattle are sold at the twice-yearly market held at Garyvaul. No prices [277] are forthcoming generally. The terminalge of Park certainly is not the main market for cattle.

Sheep are more important than cattle in the crofting economy in Park. The breed is the [278] native Blackface, a small, lighter type of the Scottish Blackface breed. The sheep are pastured [279] on the common grazings in summer, and are grazed on the croft land in winter. The number of [280] sheep on the common grazings is subject to a rather strange system of cast ewes or ewes a defined breeding [281] age are sold every single year. The lambing percentage for 1956 was about [282] 65 per cent and the number surviving in August comprised 55 per cent of the ewes 12 per cent, [283] and 8 was generally agreed that 1956 was a poor year. A further indication of the poor quality [284] of the flock is that in the fishing township, a few hundred years ago, the average weight of a fleece was 2 lb 10 shillings. And a lesser [285] weight in the lamb crop. The lambs are sold at Garyvaul, and the ewes are sold in the late of good grazing and in good condition and lesses in a transhumance common [286] pasture raise the mortality rate. In general the sheep flock is not a very profitable enterprise [287] sufficient of shepherding although the more progressive crofters hold the ewes and hogs in [288] and weather.

The majority of the crofters in Park are Presbyterians, a minority in Garyvaul, real adi- [289] tional growing in Park Over Forest, paying a fixed sum for each year. There are three township [290] each better prices, in the other townships a few crofters and lower rate some are sold to the [291] Stornoway butchers. In many fields, were provides the only income from sheep.

It is evident from Table 2 that the income from sheep is greatly extended. In the calculations, ewes [292] are taken as one unit, and 'other sheep', wedders and gimmers are taken as half a unit each. [293] On this basis, the ar-ral sheep stocking is exceeded by 70 per cent and is only just over 1 unit per [294] crofter. The stocking is a-de-quating. Overstocking has been encouraged in crofting districts by [295] the ewe subsidy which is paid on a maximum of 10 ewes. The ewe subsidy is a factor in the [296] recorded in the Outer Isles township with 1956 which is notable that the rate is partly or entirely [297] Overstocking is without doubt the chief reason for the high stocking rate in Park. Calculation of [298] the overall relation of the actual and ideal sheep stocks in the whole Scottish Highlands and Islands [299] of Park are overstocked by 14 per cent. It is, however, impossible to calculate an exact figure [300] for the ideal stock in Park. The ideal stocking rate for the Highlands and Islands is based on [301] individual croft tenures and in Park Over Forest was not ascertained. It is also evident from the [302] stock equivalent to 197 cow units or 12 per cent of the total, who have no rights of grazing, have [303] contributing an average stock fairly close to the stocking, but the cattle-stocking ratio of 1:10 is too [304] low for proper management of the pastures.

In general, a low standard of husbandry obtains in Park, but it is clear that the agricultural [305] township are much more efficiently operated than the fishing township. Generally speaking return in [306] excess of the twice tenurgiie and sgo stock are, without exception, higher than the twice ennuie, [307] In Richland as a whole, the number of sheep recorded declined from 6,007,156 in 1938 to [308] 7,108,898 in 1956.

[Scots]

Drift is found near the shore and lapa round the three hills nearly up to the road, pro- [309] ximately twelve-thirty-eight with small tracts. Peat is replaced shows the by peaty loam on [310] rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the [311] flat land near the road and the drift of about four feet and there are now no rye peat beds. [312] Vegetation's peat; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, mentated grasses and [313] and weed cover. Cultivation is by the crofters, the land is divided into three to three [314] and weed cover. Cultivation is by the crofters, the land is divided into three to three [315] Eero's Pink Clinker Wonder on potatoes, turnips and carrots. The potato main crop is generally [316] for cattle, the turnips are used for sheep. Manure is applied to the land, 10 tons per Kraal Plan [317] for cattle, the turnips are used for sheep. Manure is applied to the land, 10 tons per Kraal Plan [318] has certainly not been grown since 1939, and probably not since 1929. The [319] [320] [321] [322] [323] [324] [325] [326] [327] [328] [329] [330] [331] [332] [333] [334] [335] [336] [337] [338] [339] [340] [341] [342] [343] [344] [345] [346] [347] [348] [349] [350] [351] [352] [353] [354] [355] [356] [357] [358]

Chapter 3

CHANGING ECONOMIC STRATEGIES:

LAND, SEA AND LOOM

In Lewis, the change from a relatively self-sufficient community in which land and sea provided the economic base occurred in the context of the phenomenal rise of the Harris Tweed industry. In the following pages, the history of Harris Tweed is discussed in relation to changing strategies involving exploitation of land, sea and loom. Associated features of social life are discussed. Social boundary systems are defined and discussed in Chapter 4.

A. The Sea

Around World War I, nine boats, as long as 27 to 30 feet, driven by sails, used to go out regularly from the Shawbost harbor. From five to seven men, usually neighbors, had "shares" in a boat. They would go out fishing during the night and return the next day. "We baited our lines with eel, for ling. We would catch maybe two or three hundred. I remember once we caught 1300."

195 On one of the crofts along the strand are the
228 ruins of two curing houses, where the fish were salted
(348) and dried. Ling, cod, skate and halibut were cured
(637) and sold to local merchants for export. "The same as
(171) they do in Iceland this very day. That was the main
195 industry. Then the English came with their steam
648 trawlers; they ruined the fishing here, and then went
229 west to Iceland and the Faroes. In Iceland they get
fined for poaching, but here the trawlers often ignore
● (433) the three-mile limit. But the fishing was the mainstay
here, before the Harris Tweed came along."

195 One man returned from sailing in 1932 and bought a
228 boat for L24. He had 12 lobster pots, and made 17 one
429 June by selling the lobsters at a shilling apiece.
501 Another man, who returned from the United States in 1934
(454) because of the depression, bought a share in a 14-foot
(491) boat. It was made in Ness, at the northern tip of Lewis,
(494) and cost about L14. He and his partners went out every
night possible; the fish provided an important part of
their income. The boat was sold in the 50's. "It wasn't
195 being kept up anyway." Around World War II there were as
228 many as twenty boats; men fished at night, after a day's
501 work. Today there are four 12-foot boats in Shawbost,
178 each shared by four or five men. The boats are used
521 intensively for fishing during certain times of the year,

283 developed from the concentration of power in the hands
170 of the merchants. In the early days of the industry,
441 all the processes involved in the production of a
297 finished length of tweed were carried out by individual
228 families. A man used wool from his own flock, and with the
433 aid of other family members, dyed it with vegetable dyes,
175 carded and spun it by hand, wove it, washed and shrunk
(346) it, and found his own buyer. Dyeing wool, spinning yarn,
286 and washing ("waulking") the finished length of tweed
228 was usually done by women. In Harris, the entire process
170 of producing a tweed was carried out by women, but in
462 Lewis the weaving was done largely by men.

A woman in her 80's recalls the process of weaving
175 when she was young. Hand-spinning had died out by this
286 time, although the question of whether tweeds woven with
such yarn could legitimately be called Harris Tweed was
not resolved until 1934.

"About 1916 or so it took about two weeks to a month
175 to do a tweed. You bought the wool from the Agricultural
283 Board. Sixteen bags of wool, costing about L20, would
(436) do four tweeds. You needed four one-stone bags per
● (433) tweed. Then you would spend a day gathering a bag of
(389) scraped from rocks and used for dye). One
(226) bag per one bag of wool was required for the dye. After
(283)

175 dyeing the wool it was spread out, dried and sent to
283 Stornoway to be made into yarn. The yarn was then sent
back, and the weaver wove and washed it. About six women
were required to do the waulking (the process by which
(642) the cloth was washed and shrunk).

"In those days the weavers designed their own
175 patterns, and sold their own finished tweeds. I remember
286 going into town with my brother, we had two tweeds in the
432 cart. We went into a shop to sell the tweed, and the man
said it was poor weaving. He didn't want to pay the full
price for it. I told my brother to roll it back up, we
would take it somewhere else. As we left the shop, he
told me I had 'good cheek.' In the next shop the merchant
didn't say anything, and gave my brother the regular
price. We went home with L60."

The great demand for tweed encouraged the development
286 of more efficient methods of production. One by one the
283 various processes of production were taken over by
170 specialists, and gradually these specialists were brought
● (433) together under one roof. Large boilers for dyeing wool
(434) were supplied as a result of actions taken by the Congested
(443) Districts Board, which was formed in 1897. The Scottish
(396) Home Industries provided chemical dyes. The most
(226) difficult and time-consuming processes were carding and
(283) spinning, which small mills on the mainland began to do

175 the 1934 decision to change the word "crofter" to
170 "islander") led to the weavers living in council
283 houses in town and working in loomsheds behind the
(341) houses. Unequal distribution has also contributed
to Shawbost's relative prosperity, and to the decline
of weaving in more remote parts of the island. The
(644) unequal distribution of tweeds has made it difficult
to maintain a large labor force, which in turn limits
the growth and development of the industry.

283 2. Instability of the Industry: The Harris Tweed
● 455 industry has undergone a number of crises. Periods of
170 depression have alternated with periods of prosperity.
(458) (See Appendix B for the fluctuation in the number of
yards stamped each year with the Harris Tweed trade-
mark.) The very conditions which give the tweed its
(455) market value—the decentralized, non-mechanized human
(444) element—also limit the possibilities of growth in the
industry, and contribute to the industry's instability.

288 When a business remains small, it must collect
441 orders before it can provide work to have the orders
filled (except when demand for an item is strong, as
occurred around the time of the previous world war;
during the war and for a few years after, tweeds could
be made first and then marketed, because any cloth
(471) could be sold). Only a large business can keep weavers

241 The Department of Agriculture dispenses subsidies to
654 all Scottish farmers, not just to crofters, and handles
about 210,000 claims per year. Lewis produces 0.46
● (433) of the agricultural output of Scotland, and 8.1% of the
agricultural output of the Scottish islands.

The major subsidies available to Scottish farmers,
654 including crofters, are for raising hill cattle, beef
235 calves, and hill and upland sheep. Sheep and cattle
subsidies were made available in 1941, in the early years
of the war, to increase their production. During wartime,
Britain was more dependent than formerly on her own
resources, and attempted to encourage production. Between
(458) the two world wars, agriculture had undergone a recession,
especially in the hills and uplands, because of a number
of events in world economics, such as competition from
New Zealand and Argentina in production of cattle. As
part of the scheme of the postwar Labor government,
agricultural support was made statutory.

For example, a man who keeps hill cattle may receive
L18.70 per cow as well as L5 for each acre cultivated to
feed his cattle during the winter. He receives L5 for
each cow which is tested for brucellosis. In the 1970-71
agricultural year, Shawbost received over L2,000 in sheep
and cattle subsidies, divided among 37 men receiving
subsidies for cattle and 36 men receiving subsidies for
sheep.

F. The Decline in Self-Sufficiency

175 Until the second world war, when weavers began to
433 earn larger sums of money for their weaving, the
● 175 township was relatively self-sufficient. The land was
433 more thoroughly cultivated, and the village boasted a
(240) number of local specialists. These specializations
175 were linked with particular family lines. Certain
463 592 families were blacksmiths; others were undertakers,
joiners, cobblers, or midwives. As generations succeeded
one another, occupations were not thrown open in the
competitive, individualistic way of the mobile city.
Certain occupations were seen to be "naturally" linked
with particular families. Sometimes it was said that
people of a particular family (which might include quite
a number of collateral lines) had hereditary characteristics which suited them for particular occupations.

"Taggy was an expert bone-setter. He wasn't a doctor
(159) at all, but he could set bones better than any doctor.
And he used to let blood, when people were dizzy with
threatening strokes, or had pneumonia. It was in the
people. He was a direct descendent, through his mother,
(829) of the Murrays of South Shawbost, the people who had the
mill and were the blacksmiths for generations. He got
that ability from them."

Appendix B

Number of Yards of Harris Tweed Stamped per Year With the Harris Tweed "Orb" Mark

(Harris Tweed Association Ltd.)

288
● 455
178

Year	Yards
1934	98,241
1935	1,487,246
1936	2,341,340
1937	2,882,773
1938	2,897,177
1939	2,987,676
1940	2,858,822
1941	3,201,137
1942	2,723,423
1943	1,722,307
1944	2,292,023
1945	2,195,423
1946	2,723,680
1947	2,967,920
1948	2,967,920
1949	3,101,059
1950	3,292,570
1951	2,799,774
1952	2,799,774
1953	2,729,898
1954	2,620,311
1955	2,840,138
1956	2,840,138
1957	2,728,043
1958	2,620,311
1959	2,200,000
1960	2,400,000
1961	2,934,090
1962	3,081,777
1963	3,236,426
1964	3,921,820
1965	5,287,533
1966	7,600,000
1967	7,400,000
1968	6,700,000
1969	6,948,512
1970	7,100,000

Appendix C

Balance Sheet of a Croft

*159 "The Mullean" has one croft and a two-acre buaile.
241 In 1970 he planted one-eighth of an acre with three bags
244 of potatoes, two of which he bought for £1s/16, and
*433 [435] harvested 22 hundredweights. This was sufficient for
his family's needs and provided some feed for his live-
stock for all but two months of the year. A small plot
is planted with cabbages, for domestic consumption.

Seven-eighths of an acre is planted with oats; one-
[311] and-a-half acres with grass and hay; and two acres
[296] are used for rough grazing.
[233]

The Mullean is interested in new ideas and techniques.
*159 He goes to meetings and discussion groups sponsored by the
232 North of Scotland College of Agriculture, and has bought
233 prize rams from the mainland to improve his flock. He
tries to raise a few sheep using techniques of good husbandry
rather than a large flock which would be given less
effective care. He is teased by other crofters for "over-
feeding," and for keeping his sheep on the croft and the
township reseeding rather than out on the moor. "His sheep
get homesick when they get out of sight of the croft." He
wins the prizes at the Carloway Cattle Show each year, in a

4 COMMUNICATIONS

000 FROM the earliest times, the provision of communications in one form or another has been a matter full of incident and high colour. Gaelic folk-song contains many references to
533 the hazards of crossing the impatient waters of the Minch. One
[481] such, a vaulking song still known today, commemorates the death of Iain Garbh Mac Gille Chaluim, of Raasay in Skye, who was drowned in Apr[illegible] 1617 on his way home from visiting the Earl of
Seaforth in Lewis; it is said that he was drowned through the workings of his own 'muime', or foster-mother, who employed several famous witches to raise the tempest in which his ship foundered.

12 For well over a century the subject of adequate communications has aroused continuous argument. The strength of any island community lies in its ability to live within itself, while accepting the periodic injection of certain external items necessary for living or for work. A Londoner once expressed amazement at the isolation of Scarp, in West Harris, commenting that in Scarp they would not know what was happening in London. The indisputable rejoinder was 'Nor do they know in London what we would be doing in Scarp.' However, to a large island community, with a certain degree of economic significance, communications are the basic lifeline.

SEA ROUTES

50 When in the early 1800s formal sea communications were being
*175 established between the island and ports on the west coast of
[481] Scotland, down as far as the Clyde, most of the islanders were of
[731] merchants little affected. Except for the professional classes (mer-
433 chants, ministers and the like), they had little use for the sea links
provided for them. Their economy was not yet a cash economy,
[433] and travel was thus a luxury they could not afford. In the nature
*175 of local life began to change with the infiltration of some of the
179
431

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

429 With the disappearance of the middlemen, their sub-tenants be-
*175 came tenants of proprietors; and the descendants of these are
most of today's crofters. Mr Thomas Knox, who became Cham-
berlain of Lewis in 1833, was examined before a Select Com-
mittee of the Houses of Parliament on the question of emigration
from the island in 1841. At that time there were 1,913 small
tenants on the island who paid yearly rents varying from 63s 9d
[433] to 72s 3d. He stated that the country produced sufficient corn for
[731] the use of the people in most seasons. The years 1836-7 were
exceptional and outside relief became necessary. But he did not
167 consider that any person in Lewis was poor who had a lot of
424 land, however small it was demonstrably stocked. There were,
*175 however, in the island, small tenants occupying land unsuitable
for raising grain; and in order to avoid such distress as had
occurred in recent years he had advocated the emigration of
about 6,000 people, the vacant ground to be put under sheep.
This course had been followed in 1838, when five families num-
bering about seventy people were removed and the land they had
occupied was converted into sheep farms.

In the end, however, only a small fraction of the proposed
6,000 persons ever left Lewis under Knox's scheme. Those who
were left worked their land under a cloud of increasing distress,
in a system which had them in an iron grip. Eventually the bubble
burst, as indicated in Chapter 2. The prevailing social conditions,
and the events of historical progress, were manifested first in the
social action against the agricultural system and finally in the
legislation which gave the crofter certain rights.

CROFTING CHANGES

*175 In general, the island during the last century was able to support
204 its population, failing to do so only when disease struck at the
731 staple potato. Each family unit in the crofting township was self-
433 sufficient in most grown produce and the milk products from the
family cow. Very poor families grew potatoes only and depended
on neighbours for milk. But when the potato crops failed, distress
knocked at almost every door, the fishing communities on the
006 island tending to relieve hunger by looking to the sea. The removal

CROFTING CHANGES

The removal

of crofters from good to poorer ground was a significant factor in 241
the destitution years of the nineteenth century, with the self- *175
sufficiency factor becoming smaller and the dependence on im- 438
ports (when there was money to buy these) increasing. Today, 433
the crofter is of course not self-supporting, his economy being 434
based on fishing and weaving with the produce of the croft yield- 798
ing an annual average of some £200.

Acreages under certain crops show this trend to dependence on 241
the produce of mainland farmers. In the island in 1911 some 178
3,675 acres were under potatoes, the present acreage being 433
one-third of that. The number of people per acre of potatoes for 438
Scotland as a whole is 22:1. In the island it is about 15:1, indicat-
ing a heavy domestic consumption. Yet substantial imports of this 231
crop are required to satisfy demand; a relevant point is that the
milking cows commonly share the potatoes. The barley crop, once 274
much used in Lewis's former small distilleries, has been reduced
to some 10 per cent during the past fifty years. On the other hand,
the acreage of sheal crops, oats, rye and mixed corn, generally fed
to cattle, has about doubled. Oats in particular are in favour for
cattle fodder; even before the turn of the present century oats
were not widely used for human food, and oatmeal has for
centuries been imported into the region. The turnip acreage has 231
halved over the past fifty years, perhaps the result of the general
disappearance of the horse, its steady labour and its dung being
required to put good heart in to the land.

As the crofters' cropping policy has changed over the past half 231
century, so has their animal husbandry. Animals are a main sell- 178
ing product, particularly cows and sheep. Horses, of course, have 493
been drastically reduced from their total of 1,672 in 1911, as
tractor, lorry and van have taken over their work. And though
some cattle are raised, the numbers are now about 60 per cent
below those of 1911. At that time the density of cattle per 1,000
acres was heavy (46-60) in the north-east of Lewis, less (31-45) in
the north-west, and still less further south. The present average
is around 18 beasts per 1,000 acres. This decline, in particular, 202
in the milk-yielding animals, has compelled Lewis to import 438
1,000 gallons of milk a day from the mainland.

It is sheep which today claim pride of place on the croft, valued

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

228 and its neighbourhood becoming the centre of the growing in-
*175 dustry. In 1793, the Lewis Parish contributors to the *Old Statisti-*
cal Account of Scotland indicated that upwards of 183 boats were
[463] fishing off the island. In Uig no less than 275 netmakers were
[286] recorded, showing that the fishing industry was prosecuted with
some measure of enthusiasm. 'All the people dwell in little farm-
villages and they fish in the summer season. The women do not
[462] fish; but almost at all times when there is occasion to go to sea,
they never decline that service, and row powerfully.' In the parish
[239] of Barvas in the eighteenth century some 9,000 Scotch pints of
oil were taken each year from dog-fish livers and sold to Stornoway
merchants at from 6d to 8d per pint; it is related that the
tenants of Ness were able for a long time to pay their rents with
the oil proceeds. Cod and ling were the principal fish caught by
433 the men of Lochs, an annual average of 24 tons being cured and
sold in Stornoway. Generally, other fish caught were consumed
locally.

Loch Roag on the west of Lewis proved to be about the best
fishing ground; in 1794 about '90 sail' from all parts of the United
Kingdom were at the herring fishing there. At one time Loch
228 Roag-cured herring was exported exclusively to Sweden. The
*175 minister of Stornoway, contributing to the *Old Statistical*
439 *Account*, gives figures showing the quantities of fish shipped from
the port from 1791 to 1796. During these six years some 14,000
barrels of herring were exported to the Continent, and 20,000
sent for consumption in Britain; some 350 tons of cod and ling
were destined for Continental markets. Herring, cod, and ling were
thus pursued during the following years with growing vigour,
though the inshore white fish took favour. The herring fishing did
not make great strides, mainly because to the middle of the nine-
teenth century catches were confined to the inland sea lochs; the
people for the most part were not familiar with deep-sea fishing,
and their boats and nets were not suitable for it.

228 Indeed, when Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, he
*175 gave scant attention to the potential in the fishings round his
[504] island. Though he expended considerable amounts in securing a
regular steamer communication between the island and
island, and spent over £2,000 in building a quay at Stornoway

FISHING

for the steamers, he thought that any improvements in connection 228
with the fishing industry should be paid for largely by the fish- *175
curers themselves—though he did spend about £1,000 on con- [504]
structing fish-curing houses. Why Sir James, with his experience
of business, should have taken this attitude is not clear; certainly
the fishing industry could have been given just the right impetus
with his interest, personal and financial. As it was, the industry
was left to develop on its own lines, with odd injections from
time to time.

Fluctuating prosperity

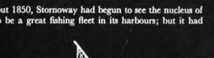
That the potential in the fishing grounds of the Minch was
enormous was realised before 1850 by fish-curers from the Scot-
tish mainland. But deep-sea-going boats were needed, and so
new models were created by James Methven of Leith, a pioneer
of deep-sea herring fishing, sank capital into the development of a [501]
large class of boats known as the 'Anstruther build', or in the [470]
islands as 'Eanstrach'. These craft served the islanders well, and
Lewis prospered, as did Stornoway. In the five years 1870 to 228
1875, for example, the average number of barrels of herring cured *175
at Stornoway for export was some 80,000. From 1875 to 1900 43
the average Stornoway district catch of white fish, much of it
caught by local boats and some of it cured at Carloway, was worth
over £100,000; it was sent to Ireland and the Clyde. After 1900,
fresh-trawled fish replaced the cured and the market fell away.
In 1921, the market value of cured fish from Stornoway was
about £500, ½ per cent of the 1900 value.

The herring fishing held its own, against the decline of the 228
white fish. Stornoway, as Lochboisdale in the Southern Isles, be- *175
came for a while one of the world's most important fishing ports.
Prosperity was in the air; even when the fishings did eventually
fall away there still remained, decades later, the whiff of past
success among the neglected curing sheds, the hangdown boats in
the quays, and the silent kippering houses. From 1917 to 1935,
the annual landings of herrings (in crans) varied from 25,486 (in [433]
1934) to 221,519 (in 1927). In that year, a record one, it was
reported that 'even landsmen could hear the roar of herrings in
Loch Erisort. So dense were the shoals that their progress in the

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

228 water could be heard on shore.' Yet cash returns were poor:
*175 demand was falling off as foreign markets organised their own
fleets, and the Scottish fishing industry as a whole was not com-
*433 mercially efficient. In 1936 landings were 40,829 crans; in 1937,
31,969.

From about 1850, Stornoway had begun to see the nucleus of
what was to be a great fishing fleet in its harbours; but it had



[501] A 'Zulu', a type of old fishing wherry used in Lewis at the turn of this century

something of the sort much before then. A pamphlet on the fish-
ing industry published in 1790 tells us that the trade of the Storno-
way merchants began to grow after the Union of the Parliaments
in 1707, when Scottish herring were first admitted to the English
colonial market. 'Some twenty-five or thirty years ago, all the
fish they caught were carried for them to their port of destination
by hired vessels; but now they can show their own harbour, in the
fishing time, upwards of thirty sail of stout handsome vessels, from
20 to 70 tons burden, all their own property.'

[501] Towards the turn of the nineteenth century, the number of

228 452 175 off all their debts) much hard work was called for, as well as skill in locating herring shoals. The seasonal migration of herring is still a puzzle to marine biologists; it contributed to many a Lewis fisherman drawing a blank, to his ruin, while his neighbour came home flushed with success.

228 175 435 The financial values of the fishings of the island, particularly Lewis, are some index to its fluctuating prosperity. In a *Guide for Scotland*, intending visitors to Stornoway were told that the annual figures for herring exports were, in 1860, some £60,000; for cod and ling, £13,600; smoked haddocks were valued at £1,600; lobsters at £1,396. Herrings caught in Harris and Lewis in 1889 were valued at £57,071. Two years later, the figure was £90,738, but after that year it steadily declined to reach a little over £20,000 in 1894. Increasing again, the catch in 1898 was valued at £128,707. There was a subsequent decline, picking up a little at irregular intervals, which continued until the effective demise of the industry just before the second world war, that is so far as Lewis was concerned. These catches of valuable herrings were not made solely by Lewis boats; the catches of many stranger boats, from the east of Scotland, must also be taken into account, to leave about 20 per cent as direct return to the island.

In 1938, the total catches of herring amounted to £98,000 for fresh fish and £162,400 for cured herring. This catch was obtained by 111 steam-drifters, five of which were locally registered at Stornoway, and some motor-boats, of which one-third were strangers. Harris has never been particularly prominent in the herring-fishing industry; shell fishing has been more profitable. In the years just before 1900, the average annual value of shellfish caught in Harris was £2,306, only £500 below the Lewis figure. The Harris proportion of the aggregate herring and whitefish returns in the same period was just over £17,000, compared with the Lewis figure of £1,137,000.

Since the second war

228 175 433 435 Just before the second world war, Stornoway Fishery District furnished some 10 per cent of the Scottish cure of herrings, which averaged well over half a million barrels in 1937 and 1938, valued at about £1,500,000. Of demersal (sea-bottom) fish, the District

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

6 TRADE AND INDUSTRY

IN the earliest times, the folk of the island of Harris and Lewis were self-supporting; all that they needed for life as it was lived in those days was available at near hand; their existence was self-contained, the economy virtually self-sufficient. By and large, the only commodities often imported were salt, iron, and, to a certain extent, wood. Rents were paid largely in kind: the produce of agriculture, fishing and labour. Surplus produce was directed to southern markets to bring in the odd shilling or two for which there was really very little need in the island. But once money became important in the national economy, it was not long before it was required in the island economy too. By 1790, if not well before, two or three open boats set out each year from Uig to Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. At about this time, too, changes were making their slow appearance in the island way of life and living. Specialists were being required: smiths, tinkers, shipwrights, netmakers, boatbuilders, weavers, tailors and millers. Each of these craftsmen generally held some cornland, either individually or in shares, and also had some rights in the common ground of the township in which he lived.

175* 511 (439) (427) (434) (436) 175* 178 511 463

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

From the pure crofter class there emerged the crofter-craftsmen. In Lochs, for instance, by the turn of the seventeenth century 80 per cent were registered as fishers and netmakers. In the west, in the parish of Barvas, some 70 per cent were also fishers, with kelp-making as a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s to 60s in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tacksmen at 5d each, earned 20s a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s a ton, and worked on roads for 8d per day.

175* 463 (427) (434)

In Harris in 1895, the eight trained male weavers worked for the gentry only. Weaving for the populace was done by the

286 462 175 433

286 462 *175 • 433 273 *175 433 [427] [438] womenfolk, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. In Lewis, male weavers were more common: one to every twenty-five families. The making of whisky was introduced about the seventeenth century. This was in addition to the old drink of home-brewed beer or ale *(lionn)*, and much of it was made to pay rents; it must have consumed a considerable quantity of valuable foodstuff. However, the spread of distillation as a legitimate home industry by which the rent could be paid, in kind or by sale, was followed by legislation prohibiting all but very large stills; illegal distilling of course went on in a small way.

*175 511 It was, then, by a very narrow margin that subsistence was won in the island some two centuries ago. Many times famine showed how close was the wolf to the island doors. The introduction of the potato, and the interest in the fishing industry led to an increase in the population, though as discussed in Chapter 3 this in turn brought more problems. Basically, the island economy had never been organised on a sound foundation, with the result that winds of change blew where they would with little or no control.

*175 824 323 388 433 A new factor in the island economy was introduced after 1750. This was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed on the shore for subsequent use in the manufacture of alkali for the glass and soap industries. The first tentative move in the island was made by MacLeod of Harris in 1748, when he allowed some Irish labourers to make kelp on his shores; so little was the product's value realised at the time that he only charged them 2s per ton manufactured. As the burning of kelp came to be understood, and the marketable value of the product ascertained, the native population set to. Between 1772 and 1864, about 50 tons were produced in Lewis each year, compared with some 800 tons per annum in the Uists; the Harris figure was 500-600 tons. The growth of the industry began to snowball, and the Minister of Lochs, writing in the *Old Statistical Account*, states that at the time (1796) some 50 tons were being produced in that parish [221] per annum. In Stornoway parish, though no figure is available, the minister reports that kelp-burning was the principal manufacture, and that everyone able to fill a creel, or carry one, was employed at it for about three months of the year. Little of it seems to have been done in Barvas parish. The price of kelp varied

according to the amount of barilla (its great competitor, a carbon- 175* ate of soda made from plant ashes) which found its way into the 824 British market. When the American war interfered with the im- 323 ports the kelp price was as high as £22 per ton. Prices began to 388 decline about 1810, and from 1822 successive reductions in duties 433 on salt and barilla resulted in the decline and demise of the kelp industry. As a consequence great distress appeared in those districts which had founded their whole economy on seaweed.

The weeds of most value to the industry, because they yielded [137] most salts, included *laminaria digitata*, *laminaria bulbosa*, *ascophyllum nodosum* and *fucus serratus*. One ton of kelp yielded an average of 8 lb of iodine, with certain quantities of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, and carbonate of soda. When subjected to special treatment and distillation, 2-3 cwts of sulphate of ammonia, and several gallons of naphtha, paraffin oil, and volatile oil were also derived.

The fishing industry, discussed in the previous chapter, took 175* over where the kelp-making industry left off and became another 228 king-pin in the island economy. By the end of the last century it seemed set fair for continuing prosperity. In 1900, harbours were [503] being planned and built with State aid in Uig, at Carloway, Ness [653] and Tarbert. Then 1914 came, and with it sweeping changes in international trade. Island fishermen were left workless with [511] wrecked and rotting fishing boats. In twenty years the number of Scotland's fishermen was halved; the remainder were all but ruined. The islanders' fate mirrored this pattern.

Yet another significant source of income for island families for 175* almost 200 years came from the men in military service, who 701 either sent money home or returned home with their gratuities 434 and pay. In the wars of the last century many enlisted in the Highland regiments, the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Even today, the income from this external activity is not insignificant.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

175* Information and statistics about the economy of the island in the 113 middle of the eighteenth century are to be found in Walker's *Economical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scot-*

Table III

Parish of Barvas, Isle of Lewis:

Agricultural Statistics, 1870-1970

(Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh)

	1870	1881	1891	1902	1911	1921	1931
Potatoes (acres)	856	875	1105	1280	1146	1126	1043
Barley (acres)	854	1486	1172	1226	959	1149	823
Oats (acres)	920	530	556	728	1107	1039	2045
Milk Cows	1605	1992	1771	1949	1951	1932	1846
Beef Cattle							
Sheep (in thousands)	16	16.4	17.7	19.9	19.5	16.9	21

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Shawbost

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	1941	1951	1961	1970
	679	576	413	144
	401	94	14	1.5
	2451	2327	1432	486
	1544	1295	960	451
	50	47	1273	760
.3	22.7	41	37	35

1x

178 and practical support, could win through to make marks on the island scene.

185 A significant event occurred in 1964: the establishment of 654 the Highlands & Islands Development Board. This was Britain's first regional development authority run by members who are • 433 either full- or part-time. The Board is grant-aided and has two broad functions: to improve the social and economic condition of the Highland people and assist in making the region more significant in a national context. The Board's attention in the Western Isles has been concentrated in the expansion of the [484] fishing industry and the development of tourism. In both these [505] fields there has been a considerable success: upwards of 100,000 visitors per annum visit the islands; and a fleet of over thirty boats, equipped with the latest gear, operate out of Stornoway.

433 Also in 1964 was produced the Development Plan for the 185 County of Ross & Cromarty. So far as Lewis was concerned, the Plan was based on an average decrease in population of some [167] 1,500 persons for every year in the future of the island. This, if carried to its logical conclusion, will see complete desertion in fifteen years or so! However, even if nothing further is done to halt emigration, particularly in the landward areas of the island, the population will remain around a stable 15,000. The County Development Plan contains much food for thought, but as with most county plans, does not indicate actual development projects. Rather, it lists all the resources of the island for the attention of those concerned. Potential developments include the setting up and exploitation of predominantly-fulltime crofts, shell-fishing, and inshore white fishing, herring and offshore white fishing, forestry, tourism and holiday accommodation, minerals, peat utilisation, hill-land improvement, marine reclamation and seaweed resources. This list is significant and merits the attention of the Highlands & Islands Development Board.

Harris, on the other hand, presents possibilities on a much smaller and limited scale. However, there are expansion potentials in tweed, knitwear, and craft industries, with tourism promising to be a good base for the island's economy. As the age-structure of the crofting population changes, there will be a useful re-organisation and enlargement of existing holdings to make for

better economic units. There could well be plants for fish meal 433 • and canning, working in conjunction with fish-farming ventures. 185

Perhaps one of the most significant events which have occurred was the formation in 1972 of the Lewis Development Fund Limited. The Company has the following aims:

1. To strengthen and expand the economy of Lewis and in consequence that of the Western Isles by promoting and encouraging the development of all the natural, economic and industrial resources of Lewis and the Western Isles.
2. To encourage the repopulation of the Western Isles and to encourage industries in the island to obtain the necessary staff and labour.
3. To encourage the building of shops, factories, public works, churches, places of amusement and any other works which the company might think fit.
4. To encourage tourism.
5. To promote and carry on businesses such as building, fishing, buying and selling, agriculture and manufacturing, etc.

The Company has given itself wide powers to lend and borrow money. A target of £150,000 is envisaged, which funds will then be used to help all kinds of economic and socio-economic ventures.

Surveys carried out in the Minch area in 1971 by British 315 Petroleum and the Gas Council have indicated the possibility of oil. While there are no signs of the traditional anticlines—the dome-shaped geological structures—which normally signify the presence of commercial quantities of oil or gas, there are hopes for secondary sources in the more complicated rock-structures which could be oil-bearing. The sea-bed of the Minch is young rock of the type which bears oil in other parts of the world.

The assumption, in 1974, by the Western Isles Regional 185 Authority of most of the functions of the mainland local authori- 433 ties is thought by many to be a chance to sink or swim. Having been for so many decades under the thumb of external influences, the islands now are being given the opportunity to devise relevant methods for ensuring their socio-economic viability in the future.

All in all, the island is going through a period of re-stocking,

185 to recover from the inhibiting influences of centuries-old history, • 433 economic isolation, and the ravages of two world wars. The emergent community, though smaller, will be as rich in quality and personal ideals as it has ever been. To say that of an island, of any island, indicates that its community is more than worthy of support in its endeavours to remain true to itself and its long-standing heritage of island life and living.

121 cannot be changed, as for the future which can—lies in the intensity of its communal traditions, extinguished elsewhere. Much has gone—many of the fishing crews are [178] disbanded and team-work has weakened—but much lives on, and much has been learned. The Gaels have still to [184] make their full offering to English-speaking civilisation. To do so, they must find their own fulfilment within the framework of the Highlands of Scotland.[1]

2. *Scottish Crofts, Farms and Labour-teams: the Rural Unit Today*

184 When, in thinking of Scots countrymen, we differentiate 105 between the men of the Highlands and Isles, the Lowlands and the Borders, what stamp of occupation, society and economic class best characterises the three regional types? The differences we note between them are due not only to their place of birth and region, but to their occupational [433] discipline and social ways. Imagine, for example, a Gael, a Lowlander and a Borderer, all three of whom follow the same calling—say, a trio of farmers, of shepherds or farm servants, or of independent, full-time small-holders. When brought together each trio would find they shared similar interests and aims in their work, and all that follows from it. In fact, they might have more in common than three Gaelic-speaking men who differed from one another in vocation, although, as Gaels, the latter group would find a bond in culture and kinship. But a fourth type of Scot, the crofter of the North-west townships with whom this book is concerned, would stand out, distinctively, from any other, whether his home were Zetland or the Hebrides. Thus not only their home or region differentiates Scots countrymen, but their calling or class; and their families [113]

[1] A. Geddes and F. D. N. Spaven, *The Highlands and Isles* (1949).

511 coat, was thought to be supernatural. The fishing, too, is 226 of good standard: a typical annual catch including 1700 511 salmon, 5000 sea-trout and 1800 brown trout; and it was for this, as well as for the shootings, that the moors pertaining to the different shooting or fishing lodges and hotels 137 were bought at Lord Leverhulme's sale. The absence of 233 foxes was important to sheep-rearing before the introduction of guns, and is still a favourable factor.

5. *Sea-fishing*

226 Fish have always contributed to the diet of the Islesfolk, 178 whether they fished from coracles or boats, or with 'lang wands' from the shore as they still do, and as they did in [262] the days of Dean Monro and, no doubt, right back to [433] neolithic times. The relative importance of fishing and [241] agriculture, however, has always varied according to place and time.

182 Fishing in modern and historic, and also in prehistoric, 226 times—to judge from the kitchen middens of Uig—has 241 always flourished more where there were deep sea-lochs; and settlement resulted, even though rocky hillsides made [178] ploughing difficult or impossible. Conversely, agriculture [172] has offered better opportunity on smooth coasts with a variety of soils, though fishing was poorer there. Thus the men of Stornoway Bay and Eye, of eastern lochs and of the Harris bays, like those of Loch Roag on the west, have long been partly fishermen. In the extreme north, too, men of Ness—with the chance of choosing their fishing grounds on the north, west or east of the island and with their little rocky port giving shelter, of a sort, from south-[461] west gales—were good fishermen; they are good seamen [829] still. "The fishing of the Barvas folk" is an old gibe,

221 and clothing, firing and shelter produced met local needs. 175 Further questions of early economy belong to Part Two, as do those of the festivals by which the seasons were initiated and closed, along with the phases of human life.

221 A century later (as indicated in the lower graph), agri-[178] cultural tasks were much the same, but the character of [433] fishing had altered greatly. Herring fishing was at its height in the Island for some fifteen years, or half a generation, before 1914; but it never recovered from the difficulties of the war and after-war periods. The curves of the summer, autumn and winter fishing indicate the 'full-time' activity of summer, and the 'part-time' work of [462] early winter. Not only the men, but the women participated, the women being employed in gutting and kippering. Boats and men fished further afield. Women were employed in gutting in early summer in the Scots East Coast fishing, which preceded that of the West Coast and was followed by the East Anglian autumn fishing. Some line-fishing continued locally in summer, but it has now almost ceased. The building and repair of roads increased after the middle of the century. The carting of peats, stacked by the roadsides, lessened 'creeling'; but it is particularly haulage by lorry which has replaced carrying by the creel, so lightening women's labour.

[178] Indoors, primitive crafts tended to be superseded as [571] machine-made articles replaced those of native material and manufacture; but the *ceilidh* ('*cailey*'), the meeting 'together', continued, though the arts of song and poetic 462 improvisation declined. In Harris the women had woven 283 and spun for centuries and have continued to do so for home 286 use and sale; in Lewis the women gave up weaving in the last 178 century, few spinning since then and none weaving. Thirty years ago only an occasional weaver, always a man, could be

174 of the Norsemen, lay a succession of earlier periods. A 613 phase of primitive settlements is traceable in archaeo-172 logical remains and in recent and contemporary survivals. 191 It is shown in the physical race-traits distinguishing those in one part of the Island from those in another. Fragments of tradition telling of the first Christian missionaries survived the Norse invasions and settlements, dated from A.D. 800 or before, down to Haco's defeat on the Clyde at Largs in 1256. These fragments can be linked to chronicles and to later tradition, on which they throw fresh light.

[144] A survey of the archaeology has been published,[1] but comparatively little, as yet, on race. Yet different communities are distinguished by marked racial types or strains. Although many, indeed most, of the race-strains of the Island must have entered it in prehistoric times, some are linked to tradition, and history accounts for the more [141] recent immigrants. The striking element of race in the Outer Hebrides is a broad-headed type prevailing from Barra to the Lews, accompanied by medium stature and dark hair; it is also found across the Northern Minch. But within the Island are notable differences.

829 Variety of race being accentuated by difference in ways, the communities still comment pointedly upon one [538] another! For instance, an old saying is not forgotten: "The folk of Cladach, but the gentlemen of Uig!" (*Muinntir a' Chladaich, ach daoin' uasaile Uig*), [433] 'Cladach' being the western 'Beach' district possessing [632] ploughland but poor fishing, which covers the modern [133] parish of Barvas (excluding the north-west cliff-promontory [113]

[1] Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, *Outer Hebrides, Skye* etc.); 1928. V. G. Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, 1935; *Scotland Before the Scots*, 1946.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

288 Thus were laid the lines of a new form of economic organisa-
75 tion for Lewis. At first, tweed manufacture here, as in Harris, was
62] strictly a domestic activity: the wool of the crofter's own sheep was clipped, washed and dyed, carded, spun at home, and woven into cloth by persons in the township with the skill to produce a suitable cloth; the weaving was a part-time and mainly female occupation. Payment for the weaving was in kind: peats, potatoes, or labour. The waulking or finishing of the cloth was mostly a communal activity carried out by the womenfolk, who turned it into a particular social occasion with definite feminine characteristics. If the cloth made was in excess of domestic requirements, the crofter sold it directly to a customer, or else the local shopkeeper bought it or gave credit for it.

288 With the rise in weaving for a definite market in Lewis, all this
463 changed. Weaving became a full-time specialist occupation and,
75 partly because the flying shuttle made the work heavier, it be-
462 came predominantly male work. With the use of mill-spun yarn
288 there grew up a number of merchants, the Lewis 'producers', who
75 bought yarn either locally or from the mainland, and put it out
441] for weaving and hand finishing on a commission basis. The yarn and the resulting cloth remained their property. At times the cloth embodied a handspun weft; at other times perhaps no handspun was used at all. As pointed out above, it was marketed as Harris Tweed, as was the 100 per cent handspun cloth, yet it cost about 21d to produce compared with 36d for the 'real' tweed. The cheaper type provided Lewis's rapidly-expanding output between 1900 and 1911, and by that year Lewis had outstripped Harris. In 1912, the handspun yardage produced in
433] Harris was 175,000; partially and wholly millspun accounted for some 4,000 yards; and the total value was £26,500. In Lewis the yardage of handspun cloth was some 10,000; but about 340,000
435] yards of partially or wholly millspun was sold. The total Lewis value was £44,000.

The trade mark

288 When eventually the question arose of some mark to distinguish
441 between the two cloths, it was with difficulty that the Harris mer-
75 chants persuaded the Board of Trade that a distinction was neces-
424

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

824 useful crofting ancillary which, unlike ma
381 based on a definite commercial demand.
the extracted acid for some 150 products.
industry, the second largest in the world, i
of E. C. Stanford, who discovered alginic
today modern methods are used. For raw
to the old kelping shores of the Hebrides a
the island it has a factory at Keose on Loc
for the easy access afforded to puffers; th
weed, dries, mills and bags it, and the bo
loads to Girvan. The factory itself involv
• [433] capital layout and has a capacity of 120
wet tons producing 1 dry milled ton. Abo
[137] Lewis crofters gather the seaweed crop, the
bladderwrack or rockweed *(ascophyllum*
shores at Loch Erisort, East Loch Roag
[493] Husinish and Scarp in Harris, and Loch S
road access the weed is cut by sickle and l
more often it is cut at low water to be flo
tide and rafted to Keose, hauled by motor b
247 A product of the land not readily associ
is bulbs. Bulb-growing deserves a mention
[803] cause the experiment to see whether it co
cial possibility in Lewis was carried out by
(Ness) Junior Secondary School. The Mac
made an investment of £150 to cover initi
followed. When the original project was
tended, sales bringing the school a useful
disease brought production to a standstill in
312 Another small industry is the aerated
which is operating with reasonable success
228 imports of aerated waters from abroad w
of recent surveys made in the island have
such activities as shell-fish processing in
286 preserves, using mostly cockles and mussels
has a name for its products and a poten
* [175] commercial scale; this latter began in late
ago knitting specialists went to Lewis to in

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2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Scarp

361 Until 1972 Scarp was the most westerly inhabited island in Scotland, separated from the Harris mainland by a strait which is about half a mile across at its narrowest, coursed by strong [133] tidal currents. The island is about three miles in diameter, rugged, especially in the north and west, with cliffs on all sides; the maximum altitude is nearly 1,000 ft. On the east side lies a 361 tiny marginal belt of good land, machar and soil; on this green 311 shelf, about one-third of a mile long, were all the crofts of the [134] Scarp settlement. Many stand deserted, and abandoned lazy-beds [241] in sites beyond the present settlement indicate a denser population at one time. The island's population-carrying capacity was severely limited by the minute amount of land available for tillage: of a total of about seven square miles only half a square mile can be used. Climatic conditions and soil type also restrict the range and quality of crops grown.

*175 Scarp was originally settled about 1810 and was occupied by 361 eight farming families who were reasonably comfortable. Not only did they have the island to themselves, but they had access to good pasturage on the Harris mainland opposite. About 1823 [166] thirteen small townships between the head of Loch Resort, Harris, and Bunabhainneader were cleared, some of the displaced families coming to Scarp. Some emigration back to Harris took place in the 1840s, but when about 1868 the proprietor divided Scarp into sixteen crofts instead of the previous eight holdings, these were further divided by the people themselves, trying to accommodate their families and friends from elsewhere. In 1861 the population [162] was 151; the peak was reached in 1881 with 213 persons. In 1951 it was 74. Communication with the Harris mainland is by boat, plying between two stone-built jetties.

433 The local economy was essentially a subsistence one, with self-241 sufficiency in such products as potatoes, turnips, cabbages, oats, 234 milk and fish. After a break of some years lobster-fishing has 226 recently been reinstated as an occupation. Oil lamps are the only 354 lighting, though a few houses have piped water. The small shop
336 176
000

829 of Ness), while Uig is the most westerly promontory with
433 its natural fishing harbours. The authorship of the pro-
632 verb may be ascribed to the ladies and gentlemen of Uig;
133 yet the personal appearance of the victims, who are more broad-headed, gives the proverb a physical foundation.
174 Again, the tall men of Ness, dark or fair, and rather longer-
172 headed, still form a group apart from those of Cladach, each having taken root in prehistory, *i.e.* earlier than
141 surviving record.

144 Such facts correct several current misconceptions as to race and heredity in their relation to Gaelic society, past and possible. First, it is still common to contrast a 'Celtic' with a 'Norse race'. Now, Norse immigrants belonged to several races, and when they arrived, several race-streams were already mixing and eddying in the Isles. After the immigration of Norsemen, the next recorded was in 1611, consisting of gentlemen-tacksmen from Kintail and burghal settlers to Stornoway, who were composed of Gaelic-speaking families from Easter Ross, where the people of today resemble some Scandinavian types rather than typical broad-headed Lewismen.

Second, it follows that no sweeping generalisations can yet be made as to the ways and habits of particular races. The "Celtic race", one reads, have "never taken to the sea" as have the Norsemen.[1] The facts in the Island are that though the men of Ness, with a possible Norse admixture, were considered better fishermen than those of Cladach, and the present generation includes a great number of seamen, their opportunities have been greater —their cape commanding wider fishing grounds and their little port providing relative safety in storm. And the men of Lochs and of the 'Bays' of Harris, though they show

[1] For example, in the Brand Report on Lewis (1902).

121 by help of oral tradition and of the living witness of con-
174 tinuing usage, we can reconstitute Gaelic life from the
178 view-points of both people and chief. Elsewhere, even in Scotland, only fragments of early life are recorded, in
175 parchments written by the lawyers of landlord and king,
814 and almost always from the privileged side. History is
127 indebted to modern lawyers who have deciphered and published the faded documents of their predecessors. But the very training as solicitor-factors which fitted them for this specialised task, in no way prepared them to view life as seen, experienced and felt by the men and women of the past, or even by the elders or youth of the townships today, with whom they have rarely laboured and whose mother tongue they rarely understand.

(A) THE LABOURS OF MAN AND WIFE, AND THE REWARD

621 We have seen that until the nineteenth century the
632 township in the main was self-contained. Its people grew,
175 reared or caught their food, and also found the raw materials
433 for their clothing; they built their own shelter, and cut
174 their own firing. As a result, both men and women had each to develop "a wide range of simple skills", in the
175 apt phrase of a Lewisman, Mr. Donald MacLean, M.A.
462 Beyond the co-operative effort within a family, a farm group, or a body of 'fellow-townsmen'—in which each was competent to take a share according to sex and age—aptitude and family tradition initiated some local division
463 of labour. The resident smith and the 'caird' (usually a wandering craftsman or tinker) appear in the oldest tales and in the first rent-rolls. In addition there were honorary
759 tasks. The smith might act as the village surgeon, ready

175 usually corresponded to six imperial bushels). The stock
434 was "four milch cows, three to perhaps four horses, and as many sheep on the common as the tenant has luck to rear". Although such estimates, especially of crop yields, are apt to err on the favourable side, a comparison with the same writer's statistics of stock (and rental) shows that this estimate gives only a little over the modern average per family in Harris, and allows an average sheep flock of one score ewes.

175 The briefer Statistical Accounts of Lewis indicate the
434 average stock per family, suggesting comparisons both with the present, and with an earlier time (Chapter II). In 1790
422 the cattle and horses, though small, were greater in number per family than now. In Lewis there were eight head of cattle per rural family, compared to 2·5 today; there were one or two ponies per family (according to the topography and ploughland of the parish) instead of an average of only one horse to five or six families today; the small family sheep-stock was similar; and there were also some goats,
175 say, one to every second family. In addition to these
226 resources, there was fishing; and the number of boats in Stornoway parish, giving one boat to four families, is a guide for the rest. Fishing, with net-making, was a predominant occupation in all parishes by that time, and boat-building was significant too.

175 As to changes, fishing had grown in importance since
433 about 1720, and kelp-making added an important new
434 resource. But one may doubt if the Island supported an appreciably larger live-stock in 1790 than seventy years before; one must rather assume smaller shares per family,
182 for population had increased. A basis for agricultural security was an adequate balance of sandy machar to 'black', peaty, clay land; and the area of machar, a limited

175 natural zone, could not be extended. In any case, the re-
433 clamation of clay land tended to slacken as efforts turned
431 to fishing and kelp-making. The introduction or increased
[182] growing of potatoes added to the human, but hardly to the
[311] animal, food supply. Finally, while the beginnings of
[232] medical knowledge and vaccination had aided the growth
[422] of population after 1750, veterinary science had made no progress, nor did it advance in the Island for many years to come. We may conclude that an average stock per Island family about 1720 was rather more than that of 1790, and the acreage relatively larger, while both were greater than the average of today, particularly in the Lews.

175 What, then, could a family have to eat, from such crops
262 and stock? While in winter even now there is almost no
244 milk to be had on a croft, and there would be little then, there was salt meat, dried or salted cod (or herring) and fish oil; oat and barley meal and some rye meal; cabbages; and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, potatoes. Martin included potatoes among the crops grown even on far St. Kilda in 1697. A century later it was written that the people of Uig, for instance, had, though 'unwilling', been induced to grow and eat them 'forty years before'; and the years tend to be under-estimated where changes are slow and memories long! But it was written of Harris that by June the meal and potatoes had mostly been consumed, "and such as cannot afford to purchase imported meal subsist chiefly on the milk of their cows and sheep, with what fish they may chance to catch, till their wants are relieved by the first fruits of their potato crops early in Harvest".

175 We conclude that with even less money but a little
511 more grain the population in the Island had fluctuated
162 about a mean for some centuries before, as it had in so
171

175 rent-rolls record something of more vital and enduring
241 concern, the unit of community life in the Lews. This was
427 the 'conjoint' or 'group' farm of the labouring peasantry
[476] —though it was overlaid in parts of the Island by the formation of tacks held by gentleman rent-farmers.

175 Both rolls are Judicial Rentals, that is to say, the
241 tenants, great and small, were convened by the Govern-
427 ment Commissioners and examined on oath as to the rents
656 they formerly paid; the accounts were then entered and totalled. Because of the Jacobite resistance, the small amounts of rent and the maladministration of the Forfeited Estates, doubt was cast upon the first rental, of 1718. A second rental was therefore compiled in 1726, upon a different system, which confirms the correctness of the first.[1] All were named, including those absent or 'valetudinary'.

175 Owing to the Island's comparatively smooth land sur-
361 face and access to the sea, the people could group themselves
[182] as they chose. Whereas in the Highland mainland many
[184] a pocket of land is too small to keep more than two or three
[433] families alive and no fishing grounds are available, in Lewis
[476] the people could join together in teams of four, five or six, to work a hamlet-farm or penny-land, definable as a joint-farm of unit size, and to man a boat with "four to row and one to steer".

175 The first point of interest is the equality of the shares,
241 each man paying exactly the same as his fellow-tenants for
427 his 'farthing',—a fourth, or other equal share of the farm.
[436] An average share of rent was a little over 10 shillings sterling
[113] with additional payments in farm produce, though not (as

[1] A. Geddes, "Conjoint Tenants", etc., *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Series, vol. I, no. 1, 1948, pp. 54-60. This reconciles the evidence of 1718, reproduced in the Brand Report (1902), Appx. O, and that of 1726, edited by J. R. N. Macphail (1916).

233 reach their shielings. From Point district (Eye Peninsula)
423 the cattle are still brought inland to the moors south-west
[632] of Stornoway. And from Bernera on the west the cattle are swum to the hills of the main island, just as they once were swum from Bute to the hill-pastures of Cowal in Argyllshire across the Kyle at the 'Strait of the Swimming', Colintraive (Caol-an-t-snaimh). Nothing could be more natural, indeed inevitable, than pasture in common where large, open moors were to be found. The number of animals allowed to each holding was duly apportioned and then, as now, was known as the summing or 'souming', still checked at the annual gathering (*cosgoradh*).

423 Thus a cluster of conjoint farms shared "the grass on
621 the Ben and the tillage on the machar" (*Fiar air beinn agus*
433 *peighinn air machair*). Along the shore, sea-ware, drift-
[175] wood and the like were allotted, too. And, as Carmichael put it, there was even "run-rig at sea", for the fishing
[178] banks were allotted among the available crews. Most of these rights are still shared by the members of a township. But any crew can now fish freely where they choose, and no township can legally keep away strange boats, nor even steamers beyond the three-mile limit. This loss of communal rights stands in the way of remunerative fish-farming and its promise.

621 Profound social implications distinguished these three
423 concentric circles of community: the family; the farm-team
[593] and boat's crew; and the larger, township group. These
[241] implications concerned labour, duty and right. The labour
[476] of reclamation gave a 'right' to the land thus won from the
[632] moor; and the duty of labour together, for fruits equally shared, gave the farm-team and fishing crew cohesion on land or sea—team and crew working for a common purpose. On the other hand, as individual sharers in the common

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750-1919

(A) TRANSITION: MIGRATION, FISHING AND KELP-MAKING

175 UNTIL the 'Forty-five the township had lived an
433 almost self-contained life. Its traditional economy
[621] was self-sufficient except for two indispensable commodities—salt for the housewife and iron for the smith.
[427] Beyond this, the chief demand for payment was the rent
[794] to the lord, with tithes for the kirk. For these needs and
[430] demands a step towards production for exchange was required, the more so that what was exported might include the very necessities of life in 'bad years'. The rent was paid largely by the sale of a surplus steer or two, and

175 drovers called for the cattle. By 1790, if not before, two
317 or three open boats set out annually from Uig, for instance,
436 for Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish.
[435] Although salt seems of little account today, it once bulked large in the Budget, its price being heightened by duty, especially after 1707: "as dear as salt", was a saying, *cho*
[251] *daor ris an t-salluinn*. Salt was needed to preserve the carcase of a 'cattle-beast' or sheep killed in autumn, and

175 for cod and herring curing. Wrecks were valuable, as on
433 all infertile undeveloped coastlands, both for their timber
[326] and their iron. Cairds or tinkers occasionally brought metal goods; or a packman called, as strange a figure then
[443]

as some Indian pedlar one meets on the road may seem now. An older packman's tale of his long tramps, of the people's poverty and hospitality, must have resembled the mingled plaints and praise one hears from an Indian pedlar today! But in the past only a speaker of Gaelic could find his way among the people. Almost until 1900, if not still later, Gaelic speech was to prove a social bond, but ignorance of English speech an economic barrier.

The transition to increased exchange, with migration, permanent and temporary, tended to make for specialisation. About 1795, *Statistical Accounts* enumerated, for every hundred families, two or three smiths, wrights (or carpenters), a shipwright or some boat-makers, a few weavers, tailors, and perhaps a miller. Each of these held some corn land, individually or in shares, with rights on the common. The line between plain crofters (to use a later term) and crofter-craftsmen was not easily drawn, and different writers wrote as they judged best. In Lochs, 80 per cent were fishers and net-makers. On the open shores of the west, in Barvas parish (in which three-fourths of the men were also 'fishers'), kelp-making was a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s. to 60s. in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tacksmen at 5d. each, earned £1 a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s. per ton, and roads at 8d. a day.

In Harris in 1795 the eight 'bred' (or trained male) weavers worked only for 'the gentry': the laird, the tacksmen and their families. The rest of the weaving was done by the women, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. But in Lewis male weavers were commoner—one to every twenty to thirty families was the ratio—as if the practice of home weaving by the women was less universal there, even at that date.

About the seventeenth century there was introduced the making of *aqua vitae*, *uisge-beatha* or 'whisky', an addition to the ancient drink of home-brewed beer or ale (*lionn*), a pleasant brew still tolerated by the Excise. In order to pay the rent, the making of whisky from home-grown barley must have consumed a precious foodstuff. The small bulk of whisky facilitated export by tacksman or Factor, and it also served to tickle the palate, cure the ills and cheer the spirits of the crofters themselves. But before 1800 'the Gauger' was in the land, though there were undoubtedly whisky stills that escaped his eye. In some of the old houses a hollow space was left at a selected spot between the inner and the outer walls, to conceal what was not meant to be seen. A pleasant picture survives of the eighteenth century. It is told of a man of exceptional prosperity, that when he laid his head on a pillow "he could hear on the one side the clacking of his corn mill and on the other the babble of his still". What more could the good man want? Nevertheless, the increase of distillation as a legitimate home industry by which to pay the rent (in kind or by sale), followed by legislation prohibiting all but large stills, first encouraged the Islanders in a taste for strong drink, then tempted them to smuggling and breaking the law.[1] Seaforth started two distilleries at Stornoway, importing barley for the purpose. By 1825 these had ousted the illicit stills, but they were closed about 1870.[2]

From a perilously narrow margin of subsistence, periodically overstepped in famines, the Islanders passed to a larger measure of production for sale, and in the second half of the eighteenth century population increased. Its

[1] Cf. D. Stewart of Garth, *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 1821, vol. i, pt. ii, sec. v.

[2] Brand Report, 1902.

175 growth followed the increases in potato-growing and fish-
178 ing, in income and food production, and the introduction
434 of vaccination against smallpox, which had formerly taken
a heavy toll of child life.[1] This increase found an outlet
(433) in emigration to the Colonies, often led by departing tacks-
(751) men though discouraged at first by the Island lairds. For
example, in July 1773, 840 people sailed from Lewis.
175 "Alarmed by this, their master . . . came down from
434 London to treat with the remainder of his tenants. What
are the terms asked, think you? 'The land at the old
167 rents, the augmentation paid for three years back to be
refunded, and his Factor to be immediately dismissed!'"
(214) Although the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, from which this
quotation is taken, went on to say that it was expected that
the demands would be acceded to, or the Island would
become a desert, the Factor was retained.

175 The pressure of population can be imagined when the
167 appalling conditions of transport overseas are remembered.
505 A case is known of 700 Gaelic emigrants setting out from
the Clyde across the Atlantic in a vessel for which the
maximum human cargo of negro slaves permissible was
400. The regulations governing the transport of slaves
did not apply to the transport of 'freemen'. In quoting
this case, D. F. Macdonald suggests that while it was in
the interest of slave-owners that their slaves should arrive
in the Plantations alive, it was rather in the interest of
manufacturers to discourage emigration so as to keep a
supply of labour at home with which to meet their growing
demands and fill the gaps due to a high mortality, par-
ticularly among workers newly arrived from the country.[2]
It would also seem as if it had not been in the interests of
landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time,

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. xiv.

(113) [2] *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1750–1850* (1941).

000 landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time.

175 Wars brought enlistment in the Highland regiments,
162 the Navy and Merchant Marine. Owing to migrations of
all kinds, males came to be outnumbered by females, then
(702) as later (100 males to 114 females, 1931).[1] In Lewis in
(167) 1795 the proportion was 100 to 111, and in Harris 100 to
124. From this period onwards the 'export of men' con-
175 tinued, modified by the reserve for war. Men were trained
162 for the Naval Reserve and Militia; and in 1900 for instance
800 men were training at Fort George and 2500 sailor
702 were in the Reserve. The maintenance of a reserve for th
Navy was one of the strongest pleas for the framing of th
Crofters Act.

175 A new resource, important to the Islanders after 175
824 was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed upo
the shore, for use in the manufacture of alkali in the gla
323 and soap industries. From 1770 onwards the price ros
388 heightened first by an import duty, then by the Napoleon
Wars. Estimating from the high prices, averaging ov
175 £10 per ton from 1800 to 1823, Sir John Sinclair put t
824 value of the annual produce (20,000 tons) at £200,000. "
435 may appear surprising", he remarks, "how that sum co
be of such importance to 80,000 people"; but he g
on to point out that this gave the additional cash nee
to supplement their subsistence. But even when Sinc
wrote in 1825, the industry was in peril. Failure and
occurred almost immediately after, with disastrous effe

175 It is complained in the *New Statistical Account*
433 owing to the summer-time work of kelp-making u
1830, the people could give little attention to the croft
(511) that their extension must almost have ceased. Nor c

[1] In 1951 the ratio in Lewis was 100 males to 112 females, and in
100 to 110.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 178 and savings were sent by emigrants who remained faithful
• 433 to parents and home.

167 If it be asked why most of the people kept to their Island home in spite of its poverty and earned so little
175 away from it, one answer must be that their native tongue formed a barrier encircling them as a community at home
178 and cutting them off from the rest of the nation. Seventy-
197 five years ago the new Education Acts were not yet in full operation. Comparing the relative well-being in the
(671) Shetlands with the extreme poverty in the Hebrides at that
(871) time, a northern agriculturist wrote that in Scotland, only in the Hebrides "is the food obtained by the peasant
[511] occasionally so scanty" as to be unable "to maintain a
[184] labouring man in vigorous health". Inquiring why there should be so great a difference between the Shetlanders
175 and the Hebrideans, living in similar, distant isles, he
178 wrote, "We think the answer may be given in one word—
197 *language*. . . . The population of the Hebrides cling to their ancient Gaelic with consequences most disastrous to
182 themselves. . . . It handicaps them in the race for life . . . is a hindrance in the cities and a check to the emigration of both sexes to those world-wide regions where all who speak the English tongue find themselves at home."[1] He concurred with the Census Report of 1871, which stated: "The Gaelic language may be what it likes, both as to antiquity and beauty, but it decidedly stands in the way of the civilisation of the natives making use of it, and shuts them out from the paths open to their fellow-countrymen who speak the English tongue". The Report concludes: "It ought therefore to cease being taught in all our national schools. We are one people and we ought to have but one

[1] James Mollison, in the Highland and Agricultural Society's *Report on the Present State of the Agriculture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878), pp. 136-38.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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423 In May 1918 Lewis was bought by Lever of Port
565 Sunlight, then Baron Leverhulme of Bolton-le-Moors (his birthplace), the head of a great combine with 50,000 white
157 and 25,000 black employees. Meeting him in Lews Castle
124 in August 1919, Dr. Hardy and I found him troubled by a human situation he had failed to diagnose. Short and stocky but very erect, quick-eyed and rapid of manner, and with a wide expressive mouth, he spoke earnestly of his plans; but his eyes flashed and his mouth set, as he rapped out, "They keep putting off, yet they leave the people in houses *not fit for Kaffirs*!" The question, "What objective inspired—or misled—Leverhulme to buy the Island?" is answered by his son and biographer.[1]

159 By 1917 Leverhulme had felt it was time to devolve
423 his personal authority over his business, in the interests of its future. Hence he looked about him for an estate
• 433 in which he could exercise "his passion for changing the face of nature", and his eagerness for 'planning' with drawing board and T-square, and for philanthropy.[2] He nearly bought an estate in the Midlands in order to develop it; but work had already begun there, and he wished to find a place which would be his to remodel from the start. Thirty years before, Leverhulme had visited Lewis and now in 1917 he spent a week there, motoring all over the Island. "He was enraptured . . . he saw not merely a countryside in need of more and better roads, not only a residence and grounds capable of alteration and improvement, but a problem to be solved, a human and racial problem which had so far baffled all who had tried to solve it. . . . He had been told the Lewis man was lazy,

[113]

[1] Leverhulme (and Viscount), *Leverhulme: By His Son*, 1927, chap. xxvi, p. 221 ff. Lord Leverhulme, who had thought of styling himself 'Of the Isles' took the title 'Of the Lews'.

[2] Leverhulme (1927), cf. pp. 81-86.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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159 stubborn and suspicious; he never believed it. He realised
423 that the backwardness of the Island arose from lack of opportunity, and that opportunity he would do his best
• 433 to provide. Wherever he went he found the same story —things half attempted, nothing done." Leverhulme, one felt in 1919, wanted to do all he could for the Islanders. A greater man would have wanted to work not only for, but with, the Islanders. Then, even if the fisheries had been ruined, as they were, by forces outside his control, he would have shared a moral victory, not shared and suffered economic loss, with moral defeat.

174 In the Isles for centuries before, a family and well-tried
183 friends were valued above all other things. What was more, this was still true in the lifetime both of the elder men and
[178] the women he found at home, and of the absent men, at war. The foundation for this friendly life was a plot of
159 land and work to do, a home and the leisure to enjoy it.
433 Leverhulme, too, valued these things in his own way. He cared for human homes and gardens, and had proved it at
461 Port Sunlight and elsewhere. A pioneer of industry and efficiency, he pled for 'a six-hour day' and leisure afterwards, and he had done much to realise the ideal in his own works. Moreover, he was not without respect for spiritual values, freedom, and a congregation's right to choose their pastor.[1] All these things should have helped to put him into sympathy with Island life, and up to a point they did so.

159 It is clear that Leverhulme had considered the possi-
433 bilities of improving the local fisheries, village by village; and an engineer had reported on possible harbour improve-
228 ments at Ness, Barvas, and elsewhere. But he came to the

[1] Leverhulme (1927), p. 211; and Leverhulme (1st Baron), *The Six-Hour Day and Other Industrial Questions*, 1919.

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159 conclusion—undoubtedly a sound one—that the most
• 433 effective action for commercial fisheries (as then known)
228 must be taken at one Island centre, Stornoway. As a direct result he considered how to feed the growing town, in particular how to give its children fresh milk. He saw the farms round Broad Bay ready to be turned to high-class dairy farms, if capitalised, and for this purpose they were swiftly scheduled in his mind.

159 "His early days were happy ones"—wrote his son—
433 "but they were not to last for long. He encountered the first obstacle on his path in the late summer of 1918, when
423 the Scottish Board of Agriculture declared its intention to take over the few remaining farms in the Island for crofts."
[647] By this declaration the Board spoke for many Islesmen in the Forces. The voices of Servicemen, not those of either a Government or a philanthropic millionaire, counted over-
[727] whelmingly, on the Island and beyond. When the war was over and the men came home, many set about examining their boats and fitting them up with motors, and in a few months the evening's departure for the fishing from Stornoway had lost some of the picturesqueness of the old, stately procession of sail moving out to the Minch at sunset, but had gained in efficiency as the motorised boats went puffing out to find the shoals, sure of return without delay after the catch was hauled in. Yet fishing was still precarious: there might be no catch, and even if there were, prices were a gamble. Hence many a cottar-fisherman wished to ensure a home for himself and applied for a croft, with his eyes on the farms. Farms were few, and not enough to go round more than some 10 to 15 per cent of squatters and cottars. Still, a promise is a promise: the farms were there, why not have them and be done with it? Knowing this feeling in the Island, aware of its support

159 in the country, and foreseeing that the only sure way to
423 avoid irritation, friction and law-breaking was to grant
the farms and have done with it, the Secretary of State for
• 433 Scotland and the Board felt that they could not withdraw
the Government's promise of land. The Secretary for
Scotland, Mr. Munro (later Lord Alness), spoke with
knowledge as a Highlander. A general promise of small-
holdings had been made to all Scotsmen in the Services,
and could not easily be set aside at the wish of one man,
then approaching the age of seventy, however well-inten-
tioned, wealthy and in earnest. Yet Leverhulme declared
that while he would relinquish farms on the west side of
Lewis, his schemes could not go on unless he retained
the farms on Broad Bay to supply fresh milk for Stornoway.
If the farms were divided, he said, he must close the whole
scheme forthwith.

159 Of his earnestness Leverhulme left no doubt. He not
423 only planned but set up a retail agency, Mac Fisheries, and
he purchased drifters and trawlers, the Mac Line, to fish
433 far afield and bring the catch to Stornoway, there to be
228 transhipped by his own carrying service. He set about
building model dwellings in Stornoway itself, each with
its quarter-acre allotment. 'Work and Wages' from
capitalised fisheries were his offer, in further token of
which, road-making and other wage-providing work was
[178] begun. Until 1920 the farms remained undivided. The
farmers, for their part, could only wait for the expiry of
159 their leases, or for the transactions by which their leases
would be foreclosed and compensation awarded. Prices
423 of stock were high at the time, and the valuation would
433 correspond to these. Hence tenants felt they could afford
427 to wait. Meantime crofters' stock wandered over their
farms—whether because of the wilfulness of the stock or

159 of the owners—but farmers knew it was futile to protest,
423 and they suffered with a wry smile and a shrug of the
shoulders. After all, most of the farmers had stayed at
• 433 home and their affairs had prospered, in war-time; whereas
427 all but the older crofters had had years of seafaring or
fighting, and the nation's debt to them had not yet been
forgotten. The farmers kept quiet and waited.

159 Meantime, Leverhulme made public war upon the
Government. Speaking in Edinburgh in November 1919,
668 he declared that "Reports, thick as leaves in Vallombrosa,
433 have been the dominating feature of Government policy
in the Highlands and Isles . . . but the invariable rule
seems to have been, whenever expenditure of public money
was recommended, for the Government either to ignore
such reports or to cut down expenditure so penuriously
as only to result in waste . . . by not spending to the
full amount . . . Lewis and Harris have too long been
[213] the Cinderella in the Government pantomime."[1] The
crofters, reading this in the daily papers, and again in the
weekly *Stornoway Gazette* a day or two later, chuckled
with glee, rolling the phrases on their tongues. They
might not all have been able to explain the strange words,
like Vallombrosa or Cinderella, though they sounded fine;
but all had heard of pantomimes, and some might even
have seen one, without saying too much about it to the
minister. About 'penurious expenditure' they could
have no doubt. Yes, a fine speech, they felt! Yet in
spite of the sting of truth contained in such orations, these
did not make it easier for Government to co-operate with
the orator, to prevent raiding or to deal with it should it
begin.

000 Raiding did begin in the spring of 1920. Applicants

[1] Lecture at Edin. Phil. Instn., 1920. Quoted in Leverhulme (1927).

669 for crofts in Tongue, a township north of Stornoway, took
423 the law into their own hands, seized one of the fields of
the adjacent farms, and threatened to take the remainder.
It is easy to understand that when a man has come home
from the war to his sweetheart, and after being promised
a site on which to build a home (even a black house for
a start), with a plot for potatoes, and 'a cow's grass', a
year's vain delay may breed impatience! Leverhulme
motored to the township, and with his customary vigour
and persuasiveness spoke of his plans for 'work and
wages' to be concentrated at Stornoway. He again de-
clared that if the farms were divided this would cripple
his schemes, and work would stop at once. The majority
there agreed to fall in with his plans; in any case, only a
159 minority could find crofts on the farms. Leverhulme felt
• 433 that he had carried his point. He forgot not only that
his oratory deserved applause and had won it for its own
669 sake, but that the people could not lightly afford to say
'no', if this meant immediate stoppage of wages. It was
the after-thoughts on the morrow and in the following
months, rather than agreement at the moment, that signi-
[228] fied. In 1920 herring fetched a fair price, the herring
fishery prospects were encouraging, and work was resumed
for a time. Yet one raid having begun and "the die having
been cast, lawlessness spread rapidly". Leverhulme
stopped expenditure, and obtained an interdict against the
[423] 'raiders', though he did not prosecute. After further
654 parley, the Secretary for Scotland agreed to suspend
159 division for ten years, and in 1921 Leverhulme resumed
433 operations. "Unfortunately very soon afterwards", wrote
his biographer, owing to "the general industrial depression
which followed the boom in trade after the war", Lever-
458 hulme felt impelled to close down work for the time being,

159 and he was unable to make plans or promises for the future.
• 433 Meantime, it should be said, the Island herring catch and
458 prices fell rapidly (the catch by 50 per cent and prices by
[228] 60 per cent from 1920 to 1921). As a result, crofts now
seemed more precious than ever to the applicants.

159 With what Leverhulme regarded as 'almost indecent
haste', the Secretary for Scotland proceeded to fulfil the
423 promise to divide the farms. Most of the farms remaining
654 were divided into some fifty crofts, of ten acres or so with
outrun, supplying little more than 10 per cent of the
landless men. The Manor dairy farm, near Stornoway
Castle and town, though raided by a few men, was retained
to contribute to the town's supply of milk, along with two
or three smaller farms close to Stornoway (Melbost, and
Stoneyfield with Holm). Leverhulme felt that his offer to
Lewis had been turned down, and he then concentrated
his efforts upon Harris.

159 At the extreme south of Harris (midway along the
433 south-west coast), in the 'Hope' or natural harbour of
Obbe, Leverhulme built new piers. He transferred the
228 machinery of the canning factory and the kippering sheds
he had commenced to build at Stornoway. He started to
build houses, a number being provided on generous terms;
and "at the people's wish", the settlement was renamed
Leverburgh. With the transference of his energy from
Lewis to Harris, Leverhulme's "optimism and determina-
tion were intensified", wrote his son. They were not to
last long. After a visit to the Congo in 1925, Leverhulme
died suddenly in Brussels. How far the new plans might
have succeeded had Leverhulme lived, his son has com-
mented, "remains uncertain". What is certain is that the
second Lord Leverhulme toured Harris, visiting the works
on hand and examining the accounts. No doubt he also

159 weighed the estimated expenditure necessary to complete
the unfinished projects, and their prospects of success,
• 433 comparing these with similar conditions on the East Coast
228 and at Fleetwood, and with the trend of prices. His
decision was to close the venture, and Harris was sold.
[423] The skeletons of the works were left to rust beside the
quay, while the wreck of a coal steamer was left unsalvaged,
to break up slowly upon the rocks outside, a symbol of a
lost enterprise.

2. *An All-Round Policy for Sea and Land*

185 From the 'start' in Lewis, the first Lord Leverhulme
had shown his vision and grasp as a planner. Survey pre-
ceded plan, and decisions were swiftly put into action.
185 Why then had abandonment and failure followed? Per-
114 sonal factors have been over-stressed. 'Crofters' have
been accused of stubbornness, the Scottish Office of
procrastination and Leverhulme of impatience or obstinacy.
Stornoway shopkeepers have also been apportioned their
share of blame; and while all of them welcomed the
advent of Leverhulme as sure to bring money through the
crofters' pockets to their own tills, it is possible that, later
on, some of them did prove Devil's Advocates, having
come to fear the rise of competition by co-operative or
other large-scale concerns, should the town expand at a
[181] rapid rate. Stressing other factors of character and incom-
patibility, one popular Scots author went so far as to praise
the Lewis crofter for preferring a spiritual life with poverty
on a croft, to easy work and high wages in a town. There
runs a story, well vouched for, which might seem to con-
firm this. After Leverhulme had held forth upon 'work
for wages', in a township where there had been pressing

185 applications for shares in the division of a farm, but where
114 Leverhulme now felt sure of his success, an old crofter spoke up slowly: "My Lord, what the crofter wants iss
185 *Contemplaition*". Now, fondness for contemplation is
114 found not only among crofters as they age, but among older fishermen all round the shores of Britain, even if it
181 mellows in the Isles especially. Yet, as Leverhulme saw for himself, there was abundant activity among men in their prime, as they strove to refit their boats on their return. In 1919 hope, not contemplation, was their prevailing mood: hope for an active, fisherman's life.

With all these hopeful human factors on the side of common effort at the start, why then did differences of view-point come to be accentuated, not harmonised, and 'incompatibilities' lead so soon to friction, deadlock and
159 breakdown? Surely one basic fact remains. In 1917–18,
433 when Leverhulme framed his policy and made his plans,
228 the Scottish fisheries, to judge from pre-war years, could still expect to hold high place in providing for a brisk
[435] market in herring and white fish. True, the value of the Island cure of white fish had fallen from £100,000 in 1900 to one-tenth, £10,000, in 1913; but Leverhulme saw that since fresh fish were now demanded, his capitalisation of equipment with accelerated transit of the catch should bring quick recovery. The herring trade had been active at Stornoway up to the eve of the war; and although the Islanders had made leeway following the introduction of steam and of larger motor drifters, Leverhulme thought he saw an opportunity to capitalise the industry, providing 'work for wages'. This forecast was wrong. Consumption declined, and the market fell. Not only so; the proportion contributed by Scots fishermen to the shrinking market declined even more.

185 In 1919, when the men came home to Lewis they could
727 still see reasons for hope. They found a strange proprietor, known first for his outstanding—some said ruthless—
[157] business ability, and only secondly for his philanthropy. They heard his plans and were inclined to listen.

185 Yet, remembering their pre-war losses and the notorious fluctuations of prices and employment in the fisheries, they wished for a policy of insurance, as it were; so, if their home lay near a promised farm, of which they had long
159 meant to claim a share, they claimed this forthwith. Only too soon after, in the early years of Leverhulme's adventure,
458 the fall in total sales and prices of fish brought immediate
433 loss to the keenest and hardest working of the fishermen,
228 and to their financial backers in Stornoway. These losses warned others of the uncertainties of fishing. Now the fall in the fishing industry is not so much as mentioned in the biography of Leverhulme; nor do we remember a
[654] word of it in Leverhulme's speeches. One finds no data to show a substantial endeavour by the Scottish Office to co-operate with Leverhulme in framing policies either to change the trend of European markets or to make local adaptations to combat downward trends. The Fishery Reports certainly record the losses, year by year. As for the Island fishermen, they shared the feeling expressed by other Scots fishermen, that the old markets across the North Sea, eastward to what had been St. Petersburg, could and should be reopened, not closed 'for party reasons' by 'English politicians'. Although ostensibly Leverhulme ignored it, he cannot really have been unaware of the effect of the downward trend of the fisheries upon his own prospects of success, and upon the hopes and confidence of the fishermen. Having been so outspoken upon the shortcomings of Government with regard to local

159 schemes, and knowing how much local fishing depended
458 upon international policy, particularly the resumption of
433 trade relations with the chief customers of the past, Leverhulme, one feels, should have dealt no less outspokenly
228 with these. The removal of trade barriers lay not in the
[656] hands of the Scottish Office or of Scots officials (however internationally minded these might be as private citizens), but in the hands of Ministers of Cabinet rank and leading financiers, of whom Leverhulme himself was one.

In brief, the Scots fisheries suffered after the war as
458 neither Leverhulme nor others had foreseen when first
433 he laid his plans for the Island's prosperity. It seems
228 clear that had this major change been squarely faced by Leverhulme and Government alike, in 1920, 1921 or
[423] even later, they could never have fallen apart about a relatively minor issue, that of the farms. Both sides turned their faces away from this disquieting factor of the Baltic markets, though both knew it to be fundamental to the success of Scots fisheries and the Island's future. Had they faced it together frankly, then, even if powerless to effect a remedy, their sincerity might have prevented a deadlock upon a secondary matter.

159 To Leverhulme, given his large scale of expenditure
423 and return, the division of a few farms formed a minor issue. But to a number of ex-Servicemen, 'crofters'
185 without a croft, the division meant a home and relative
433 stability. Moreover, what was merely a matter for personal decision to Leverhulme, was a lifelong issue to many people
423 brought up in congestion on the wrong side of the boundary
[438] fence. Meantime, milk from Easter Ross was available in Stornoway, at town if not at country prices. Lastly, further possibilities of land-development lay open to Leverhulme,
[114] though not so readily to the unaided people. In reading

114 reports of early speeches by Leverhulme, Professor Patrick
185 Geddes had quickly come to feel that his old acquaintance,
473 Leverhulme the industrialist, might have overlooked such agricultural potentialities as existed, and that he had quite
433 overlooked the social significance of land. Hence, in May or June 1919, Geddes proposed that a survey be made by one who knew the Highlands botanically, who was experienced in agriculture, and who had some knowledge of Highlanders at home and of sociological factors. Geddes
[123] suggested Dr. M. E. Hardy for the task. Leverhulme forthwith accepted the suggestion and commissioned Hardy, whom the present writer assisted on the Island.

311 Examination of the farms, so hotly debated, showed that they possessed little or no initial superiority over neighbouring crofting settlements. That the farms were placed in the best coastal tracts for agriculture is true, but their shores are at the same time the poorest in harbours and fishing facilities. As a result, the crofters dwelling near the farms along parts of the same machars and smooth slopes were 'crofters' who sometimes fished, rather than fishermen with a house-site and a potato patch. As Hardy wrote (in his MS. Report): "The chief superiority of the farms resulted from levelling, drainage and enclosure" by landlord and farmer, sixty or seventy years before. The improved land both of farms and adjacent crofts was reclaimed from peat and machar, or from an admixture of both. "How then", asked Hardy, "did so much value
[423] come to be attached to the farms? The traditional grievance (of eviction) led neighbouring crofters to turn their eyes towards the green patches of the abandoned villages and endowed the old land with special virtues. After the Crofters' agitation of the 'eighties, successive Boards came with their eyes already focused on the farms, by the

311 cottars' claims." Thus a few of the settlements reclaimed
423 out of the common peat by some scores of people, hundreds of years ago, long worked by joint tenants, then by subtenants, "and later turned into modern farms, came to be regarded as the only available land open to crofters in the Island".

311 Hence, Hardy concluded, it was important to tackle
433 some reclamation of peat or of land partially covered by peat, along with the development of the main commercial industry, fishing. The specialisation of commercial fishing was "a wise, indeed an indispensable preliminary step" in a constructive policy framed to deal with the Island as a whole. One saw that the formula "All Lewismen are fishermen" was an exaggeration, and that some of those whose forebears had dwelt by the machars of Broad Bay for centuries were landsmen first and seamen
185 second. Yet the specialisation planned by Leverhulme
311 would not only have given a chance to the seamen of Ness,
311 Eye Peninsula, Lochs and 'the Bays' of South Harris;
[433] it would also have begun to relieve congestion, giving a croft and outrun to some of those who wished to make smallholding their principal means of livelihood and life, and providing a market for fresh produce on the Island itself.

Looking back, it seems clear that Hardy was right to report to Leverhulme (in 1919) that, while the great fishery scheme was indispensable, it should be complemented by a scheme for occupation on the land for those who wished it. The major problem of land being the amelioration of peat, continued Hardy, it should be tackled with twentieth-century knowledge and equipment. Slopes were to be found, favourable to reclamation, where peat had been thinned by cutting, where it was shallow from good drain-
[433] age, or lighter in texture from admixture with sand. Had
[159]

185 Leverhulme grasped the problem in this fresh way, comple-
311 menting his first policy of the sea for the seamen by one
433 of the land for the landsmen, he could cheerfully have
allowed the Government to honour their promise to divide
159 the farms, and thus he would have brought peace to all.
In giving up the farms he would merely have had to reconcile himself to additional imports of fresh milk from Easter Ross, at an extra cost of a penny or two per pint. To do Leverhulme justice, experiments on peat were begun (about 1920) upon a small scale, partly, it is understood, as a result of Hardy's report. Yet in failing to make this reclamation an integral part of his plans, in refusing to adapt himself to promises given and to agree to the wishes of many applicants, Leverhulme of the Lews allowed peace to be wrecked. Why he should have stopped work in Lewis in order to remove to Harris, is not clear. There is nothing to show that crofter-fishermen in the creeks of Lochs and other fishing tracts of Lewis believed less firmly in fishing than their fellows in 'the Bays' of South Harris.[1] Nor was there extensive land for dairying in Harris. To make a second attempt to found a centre, involving fresh expense, at Obbe (on the exposed south-west coast), a much less favourable point on the Island than Stornoway, was to court disaster, not to pilot his way through the difficulties of falling markets to success.

185 Leverhulme, it is true, had seen one side of the 'all-
311 round' policy required: the need for a plot of land for the
Lewis fisherman and his family. In Hardy's words, "A
(114) man's choice of the sea should not prevent his having 'a

[1] In his father's biography, the second Viscount suggests that there was
(828) a difference of character between the (unreasonable) men of Lewis and the
(reasonable) men of Harris. The assertion is unsupported by the facts.
(829) There were raids in Harris, too, comparable to any in similar tracts of Lewis, but in neither were they important.

185 corner he can call his own', a kailyard or garden. His
311 womenfolk might wish to keep poultry, and even a cow.
(114) More than this . . . might tend to make the old amphibi-
ous life begin over again." Where Hardy went further was to see the need for a complementary policy; the development of crofting into skilled small-holding. "Similarly," he went on, "the development of small-holding, by one who chose the land for a career, should not prevent his spending a leisure hour fishing from the shore, or in a neighbour's boat, for haddock, saithe, or flounders for the morrow's dinner. Yet the wish and need for a higher standard of living involved new emphasis on one chosen vocation, and a greater division of labour than heretofore,"
311 whether on land or sea. Some division of callings already existed, be it remembered. Manifestly, in the virtual absence of arable land for them, about 1500 cottar and squatter families had perforce to depend mainly on other occupations than the land. These families included the keenest, most successful, and potentially prosperous fishermen, like those of 'congested' Scalpay (off Tarbert, Harris). The useful "Remarks" formerly published along with the "Creek Statistics" of the Fishery Board, repeatedly contrasted the townships and creeks mainly concerned in crofting with those mainly occupied in fishing. The contrast is to be found from the Shetlands round to
(159) Barra or Kintyre. Leverhulme, seeing a future in the
(433) fisheries, tried to give the almost landless seamen their chance at sea. Had he accepted the complementary policy of giving a number of the now boatless crofters a better croft and means to improve the outrun, his schemes would have been complete.

114 It is a misfortune that Leverhulme's one-sided policy
159 had already hardened in his mind when Hardy (and the
433

159 present writer) came to the Island in August 1919, and still
433 more by November 1919 when Hardy's Report had been completed. Leverhulme had begun to fight for his plan,
(114) rather than use it in a supple way. Yet there was still a chance to put things right had the concept of a balanced
(185) community been clearly visualised by Government and people, by working fishers and crofters and the educated. Had an active 'Lewis Association' existed at that time, it might have turned the scales.[1]

Lastly, during the war and after it, Leverhulme had said, again and again, that it was his admiration of the people which had called him to the Lews. By means of this 'all-round' plan, the very root of Island character
185 could have been renewed, namely, communal life. It was
311 with their communal life in mind that Hardy—in spite of his horror of bad husbandry and of the physical dirt of
114 the byre and black house—wrote, first, that "rural re-

114 [1] Quotations from the MS. Report having been published (apparently without permission, and with somewhat misleading criticisms), reference should be made to these to illustrate the need for survey and collaboration with Leverhulme in the first three years of his proprietorship, and the importance of survey for action today. In 1919 Mr. W. C. Mackenzie (to whose historical researches lovers of Lewis owe so much) had published his belief that "Under the new proprietorship . . . the results [of development] will be at once fruitful and far-reaching", without his making any constructive comment. By 1932 he wrote very differently, criticising Leverhulme's policy and also Hardy's (qualified) approval. At that later time, Mr. Mackenzie would have it that 'the Lewisman' was a crofter and fisherman in one, and that for him to become 'mainly a fisherman' or 'mainly a crofter' (in Hardy's words) would be false to his character and tradition. Now, historically, the element of regional specialisation is ancient in the Island; the crofter-*fishers* of Lochs, Uig or 'the Bays' of Harris have long been rather different from the fisher-*crofters* of Barvas, or of Coll and Gress. Specialisation was strongly marked by 1914–19; it still is. Further, Hardy (and the present writer) had not pled for complete divorce of the two vocations of sea and land. We urged that crofting be given its chance as well as fishing; and that the two callings should be complementary. Allowance being made for a quarter of a century of changes, the facts and the need remain. Cf. W. C. Mackenzie, 1919 (p. 187) and 1932, for the quotations given.

185 construction of the Island must rest upon the improveme
311 of the land": and secondly, that by this means "it v
114 imperative to revive the traditional community spirit, t
essential feature of Hebridean civilisation". Those wo
still hold good. Yet the land itself is too barren and t
soil too poor to provide a living for many by export
(438) fresh agricultural produce to the mainland. Only a lo
market could pay a fair price for most of the products
159 intensive small-holding. Judging from the free, untra
433 melled trade before 1914, Leverhulme held that fishi
could be set upon a commercial basis in the Isles; a
228 there could be few better judges of commercial possibilit
438 than this keen industrial thinker and organiser. If he w
right, as surely he was, to begin with, then the local mar
to be created, or rather enlarged by growth of populati
and prosperity at Stornoway, could have purchased t
fresh milk and eggs, the fresh greens and fruit, raised
enlarged small-holdings and marketed co-operatively.

181 A final comment remains to be made. The commun
476 spirit of Scots fishers from Berwickshire to Barra has go
far to make co-operation among the men of the crews
living thing. 'Work for Wages' offered little outlet
this, indeed it virtually suppressed it; and 'co-partne
ship' on the Port Sunlight model was a very differe
matter from the co-partnership of a crew. Even if at th
time it had been proved impossible to organise free c
operation in fishing, co-operation in small-holding tow
ships might have kept the communal spirit alive, for lat
renewal at sea.

114 It is not easy to assess the after-effects of Leverhulme
433 activity. Leverhulme certainly helped hundreds of famil
by the provision of wages for the building or rebuildi
of roads and other works, of which some were complete

J. Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1932) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 for a firmer hold upon the land and for a return to aban-
178 doned sites. The communal possession of joint farms, held
433 directly or under tacksmen, gave place to individual pos-
(731) session of crofts. Yet the legal recognition of perpetual
(166) tenure in 1886 gave not only the crofter's home but the
(167) crofting neighbourhood a security unequalled in Britain.
175 The use of moor and machar in common was retained;
178 but its control for improvement or reclamation by the
423 estate or the township was weakened, rather than strength-
427 ened, by the Crofters' Acts. Confusion grew—both upon
the arable land, subdivided, unenlarged and unimproved, and also upon the common grazing, sorely overstocked in spite of ever diminishing 'soumings' (or family shares) of cattle. Rating difficulties and anomalies appeared. Communal discipline, maintained at sea by fishing, was weakened on land after the abolition of the joint farm-group, and almost nullified in the townships by subdivision and squatting.

175 A year before the potato famine of 1845, a new landlord
178 had brought good-will, capital and pioneering effort to
433 Lewis. These had been directed to experiments in the
(427) reclamation and the industrial utilisation of deep peat.
(311) Helped by employment on these and other works, the
(161) population of Lewis continued to increase, when increase in Harris was arrested for a generation. Yet while neither experiment with peat met with success, little aid had been given to develop fisheries. In both parts of the Island a growing population was supported from the 'seventies onwards by help of earnings derived from the seasonal herring fishing on the East Coast and from inshore line fishing at home. Women added to the Island income by
(167) seasonal 'gutting' and, in Harris, by their spinning and weaving. Money was earned by work on the mainland,

small savings, if any, have been put to the purchase of fishing gear and boats, for fishing, too, was summer work. By 1833 the poverty of the Outer Islesfolk and the bankruptcy of the landlords were such that Parliamentary attention was called to the state of the Hebrides. Poverty continued to be extreme, but need turned the people to fishing. The loss of revenue to the lairds led to their making sheep farms—somewhat unwillingly—with local evictions: in Lewis chiefly from Park and from north of Stornoway, and in Harris notably from the western Machars to the eastern Bays. In spite of this, it also brought about the sale of Harris by Macleod, and finally of Lewis by Seaforth in 1844.[1]

(B) NEW OWNERSHIP AND CAPITAL IN LEWIS: 1844–78

Lewis was bought by Mr. James Matheson, a gentleman of Highland family, whose fortune had been made in China. Sir James (as he became) put much capital, effort and goodwill into the management and improvement of the Island. Of the amounts expended we may distinguish, so far as possible, what he spent as a rich man for his private pleasure from what he spent for the people. No sooner had Matheson bought the Island than the 'potato famine' of 1845–46 broke out. The terrible loss of life in Ireland, and the depopulation of that country which followed, would have been equalled in the Isles but for the action of landowners like Matheson—who were the descendants of 'kinsmen', not of alien conquerors—and also of subscribers

[1] A sketch map of Harris showing the areas cleared (1816–54) and areas settled as a result, together with those re-settled by government help after 1900, is given by J. B. Caird, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67, 2, 1951, p. 94.

grants, then, in the absence of an immediate goal, the combination of the corporate interest in bad work with natural inclination to an easy time proved overwhelming! The problem of assuring good work and prompt repayment is real: it calls for the right appeal to team-spirit coupled with personal responsibility. Many short roads to small new settlements have been economically built.

With regard to loans for settlement and housing, similar contrasts are found. Near Stornoway the farm of Aignish (Eye) was divided in 1905 into thirty-two fishermen's holdings (rented at £3). The Congested Districts Board lent £3600 for housing and spent £1600 on fencing and £450 on administrative expenses, a total of about £180 per holding; but in seven years the holders had paid only one-seventh of the annuities due, and were in arrears with the rent.[1] Yet on the housing loans made on a wide scale since 1919, there was mutual aid among neighbours and the repayment has been satisfactory.

SUMMARY: 1750—1914—1919

The transition from the old economy of mutual aid in self-support, little changed down to the 'Forty-five, to the development of production for sale had proceeded far by 1914. Yet change had not continued steadily. There had been fluctuations, from the land and back again, or towards individualism with returns to common action. Kelp-making, migration, and commercial fishing alternated in importance as means to earn a living without losing the anchorage of home. After the potato famine, a century ago, the people tended to move away from the outlying townships and emigrate; but the next generation agitated

[1] J. P. Day (1918), pp. 312-314.

I. *Circa*

Selected Estimates of (A) *Net Output of Productiv*
Income, in Le

(A) *NET OUTPUT OF PRO*

(i) URBAN AND RURAL

Net earnings of tweed industry		£307,000
Agriculture (including farms)		194,100
Peat		90,000
House-building and improvement		40,000
Fishing		
Herring (by local boats)	£20,000	
Curing total catch	35,000	
Associated income	20,000	
White fish, etc. (local)	10,000	
Total local fishing	£85,000	85,000
Wages, (fishers on stranger boats)		3,000
" (women in East Anglia)		10,000
Total (A, i)		£729,100

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434
369

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

1938.

ve Industry and (B) *Certain Other Sources of*
vis (proper)

ODUCTIVE INDUSTRY

(ii) EARNINGS BY CROFTING AND ASSOCIATED RURAL OCCUPATIONS ONLY:

(*a*) Crofts only, 3750; (*b*) All Rural (including cottars and squatters), 4700 households

			Average per Household (*a*) *Crofts*	(*b*) *All Rural*
Earnings of hand-weavers		£75,000		£17·0
Spinners		5,000		
Agriculture (crofting only)		184,350	£49	39·2
Peat		90,000	24	19·0
Housing (State-aided)		15,000		3·0
,, (Other (say))		15,000		3·0
Fishing				
Herring (by rural fishers)	£8,000			
Curing (by rural women)	15,000			
,, (in East Anglia)	10,000			
White fish, etc.	7,000			
Total fishing	£40,000	40,000		8·5
Total (A, ii)		£424,350		£89·7
			(Approx.)	£90

II. CE

Selected Estimates of (A) *Net Output of Pro*
Income, 19

(A) *NET OUTPUT OF*

(i) URBAN AND RURAL

Net earnings of tweed industry (taken as)		£1,200,00
Agriculture (including farms)		360,00
Peat		100,000
House-building and improvement		145,00
Fishing		
Herring (by local boats)	£30,000	
Curing total catch	70,000	
Associated income	40,000	
White fish, etc. (local)	15,560	
Total local fishing	£155,560	155,56
Wages (fishers on stranger boats)		3,000
,, (women in East Anglia)		10,000
Total (A, i)		£1,973,56

L33
L31
39

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

irca 1953 and 1953–54

oductive Industry, 1953, and (B) *Certain Other Sources of*
953–54 in Lewis (proper)

F PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY (1953)

(ii) EARNINGS BY CROFTING AND ASSOCIATED RURAL OCCUPATIONS ONLY:

(*a*) Crofts (with squatter holdings, 3540: (*b*) All Rural (including cottars and squatters), 4700 households

			Average per Household (*a*) *Crofts*	(*b*) *All Rural*
Earnings of hand-weavers		£275,000		
Spinners		55,000		£70
Agriculture (crofting only)		340,000	£91	74
Peat		100,000	28	21
Housing (Local Authority)		20,000		
,, (D.A.S.)		80,000		21
Fishing				
Herring (by rural fishers)	£20,000			
Curing (by rural women)	15,000			
,, (in East Anglia)	10,000			
White fish, etc.	7,000			
Total fishing	£52,000	52,000		12
Total (A, ii)		£922,000	(Appr.) £198	

and are of lasting advantage. Yet his projects were conceived impersonally, apart from the people, and to be valued in terms of money alone. Was it to be wondered that more permanent values were liable to be overlooked? Immediate payment and the prospect of further wages rather than a home to build and a boat to adapt, suggested immediate pleasure, for example. The unsettling influences of War, and the natural wish for a big spree after four years of it, led to some squandering of money; and there was heavy drinking at Stornoway by fishers there and from round about. In the end, when payments ceased, the prospects of the crofters and fishers were as barren as ever. Above all, the somewhat conservative though sensible outlook of the people having already been disturbed by the impact of War, their sense of values was further shaken by seeing the control of immense capital resources in the hands of one man, whose efforts seemed, by comparison, to dwarf their own independent struggles and group co-operation. Of definitely spiritual values little was heard, for 'enlightened self-interest' was Leverhulme's declared motive in life. Remembering this, there are men and women of insight in Lewis today to whose judgment a lifetime's disinterested work with the people gives some authority, who believe that in the end Leverhulme's incursion brought little lasting good. Leverhulme certainly showed how to plan boldly and on a great scale. He drove straight for a vital issue, but in an ill-balanced way. The result raises a major question. Can balanced planning be achieved by one man whose personal fortune and pride are at stake, in opposition to a free community, and in face of an international situation of which the prime social issues oppose his desires and declared principles of 'enlightened self-interest'?

of new steadings. The average amount of loans (totalling £166,000) was under £150; repayment has been satisfactory, and the arrangements made by the Department of Agriculture won general praise among the people. Yet 1200 houses were very far from replacing all the 'black houses', and many more are needed.

In terms of cash profit, ten crofters today run their crofts less remuneratively than the farmer they dispossessed; even together they may show little more total production than the farmer. Nevertheless, these ten crofts each allow a part, at least, of the basis for a country home. Hence the weight of public opinion supported, nay, insisted on 'giving back' the land to the descendants of those who had worked it sixty or a hundred years before. The State bought the farm stock at a high valuation, and till lately without adequate reform of crofting use and wont. The farms having now been divided, a great emotional issue, which had smouldered for half a century, has been brought to an end. Although the practical results are small, the crofters feel that justice has been done, and that fact may be a great gain. Now that there is no more green reclaimed land to be had, the reclamation of the peat moor, or the grey 'skinned' boulder clay has to be faced.

By financing the renewal of Leverhulme's brief attempt to reclaim deep peat on Arnish Moor, south of Stornoway, the Canadian, T. B. Macaulay, made a resolute attempt to solve the island's main agricultural problem. Good crops were grown, potatoes and silage produced, and a dairy farm established. But the difficulties called for continuity of effort and research. From the practical point of view of 'demonstration' it had been a mistake to tackle deep and almost level peat, black in colour and viscous in consistency. There was not the light machinery required for cultivation.

left the Island. Yet after 1931 many returned, owing to losses and unemployment both in British towns and overseas. When emigrants began to come home the 'Harris' tweed industry had spread to Lewis and offered increasing employment. Some men still fished in family-owned Island boats, and others as paid hands (on boats from the East Coast), though losses and unemployment were suffered.

Inter-war changes were hastened not only by movement beyond the Island—an influence at work for three or four generations before—but by mobility within it. In 1919 a small mail car made its way daily from Stornoway along each of the five main roads, with an occasional passenger. When crofters crossed the Island to Stornoway they went on foot or took the pony and cart at a slow walk: it was a day's journey. Ten years later, Ford vans, bought second-hand, ran daily to Stornoway from every township. Frequency, ease and relative cheapness of movement came late in an Island with no railway: the mobility of the motor for marketing and shopping brought rapid change.

'Hand-loom' weaving had become an important, if precarious, resource, important because of the capital invested and the labour employed, yet precarious because of its dependence upon name and sentiment, not only upon intrinsic value. In Harris many women had spun and woven for sale for over a generation before 1914, mostly weaving pure hand-spun yarn, and they continued to do so. For many years before 1914, an occasional weaver was to be found in villages in Lewis too, generally weaving a handspun weft upon a mill-spun warp. By 1939 it was estimated that there were about 1200 looms in the Island, chiefly weaving mill-spunyarn, most of it spun in the two principal Stornoway mills. A carding mill

(c) THE OUTLOOK: 1939–54 AND SINCE

How then can the situation be assessed, as it was before the outbreak of war and since then? By 1939 twenty years had been partly lost; for the after-war years of the 'Leverhulme boom' were followed by discouragement and poverty. During that time one might have hoped for half a generation of reconstruction and progress. On the other hand the sore question of dividing the farms was settled, so bringing raiding to an end. Congestion on the existing crofts is less than it was, owing to this fact, and to the provision of feus. The poverty of many breadwinners who had migrated to the cities first cut down the amounts remitted to their Island dependents, then drove them home. A croft, or even a garden site, and the opportunity of building a good house there made life still worth while, when other employment had failed. Unemployment relief, though tempting some to idleness, gave a respite which many utilised to make a fresh start. As fishing waned, many had taken advantage of the easy beginning offered to learn a new trade—weaving. This has made many feel that the living to be found on the Island is better than alternation of 'wage-earning' with unemployment, in Glasgow or abroad. They believe the situation of the Island community to be hopeful. While the land remains little better than before, many, even of the younger people, still care for the Island life among their own kin. Given a clear lead, these could reorganise themselves, and undertake the developments needed in fishing, weaving and reclamation. The homes are sound, 'good neighbourhood' endures, and given fresh opportunity, the community could awaken to new life.

During and since the war, co-operative marketing was

For a year or two after the war many men and women returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry. This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving at home—work in which the male weaver was helped by his family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to return to the hard, uncertain work of gutting. The whaling station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950, and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised cultivation. The war-time construction of air-fields had ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was assisted by government grants.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders' main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds. Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there were strong arguments for the extension of the tax to Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artist favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the end, the mass-production is an unacknowledging debtor. The obvious economic handicaps of Island hand-weaving may surely permit some latitude. The export trade in Harris Tweed, in which the imponderable 'sentimental

value' is important, is an appreciable dollar-earning asset; and because of the fluctuating export market, its manufacturing must be stabilised by sales at home.

These and other facts support the plea that if some share of taxation had to be imposed in the national interest, it should have been done by steps to permit of readjustment in manufacturing and of adaptation to the carefully fostered market. What seems indefensible, even in the national interest, was the imposition of the full 66⅔ purchase tax. As a result of this blow, the crofter's web could not be sold, and lay, a prey to moths, in his home, while the mill-owner's stock piled up in the warehouse. 'Hand-looms', newly bought or partly paid for, lay rusting in the sheds and the machinery of the mills stood idle. The hand-weavers with their helpers and the employees in the mills, their savings spent, began to seek work beyond the Island. As the census of April 1951 has shown, the population has been falling as workers trickled away by every steamer. Some adjustment was made, it is true, late in 1951; but the case of the small independent weaver remained as hard as ever.

The amount of tweed stamped with the Orb Trade Mark, which diminished slowly from 4,464,000 standard yards in 1948 to 4,101,000 in 1949 and 3,780,000 in 1950, fell when the tax was imposed to 2,800,000 in 1951. In 1952 there was a recovery, maintained in 1953. Over 5,000,000 yards will have been stamped in 1954.

APPENDIX III

(A) THE STORNOWAY TRUST: A COMMUNAL OPPORTUNITY

632 THE people of Stornoway town and rural parish are in a
175 position to control their own future to a degree unusual in
178 Britain since the general loss of common lands in the eighteenth century. Three or four bodies or groups are important in local governance, and in addition to these an effort to arouse
632 citizenship has taken shape in the Lewis Association. As else-
623 where, the Town Council acts for the burgh and, it should be added, the Grazing Committees for the townships, the District
423 Council and County Council acting for wider spheres. The
361 Harbour Trust has its special charge. In addition, the fact of corporate ownership is important, as vested in the Stornoway Trust. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor north to Tolsta. It should not be forgotten that the resources of the sea are public property and that the inshore fishings, owing to a considerable measure of protection, are virtually in the possession of the coastal communities. Freshwater fishing is also in the hands of the Trust. Thus, not only building property but essential sources of production on land and sea are in communal possession. The Trust was formed in 1924.

623 During the first five years of its existence the Trust was burdened with a growing deficit, but since 1929 it accumulated
• 433 a credit balance, due partly to agricultural derating and partly to the registration of the Trust as a charity and the resulting relief from income tax. Possession without prevision can do little, however; and hence the need for the citizens of town and country to regroup themselves as thinkers for the common

623 good. In response to this realisation, and encouraged too by
• 433 the growth and prosperity of the tweed industry, the Lewis Association sprang into being in 1942–43. The Association's aims are survey, planning and the initiation of action for the public welfare, economic, social and spiritual. Something should be said of each of these bodies in turn.

623 The membership of the Town Council, Harbour Trust and
633 Stornoway Trust overlap, the Town being represented on both
433 Trusts. Indeed by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn up by Leverhulme (in 1923–24), the Stornoway Trust must
361 include the Provost of the Burgh as its Chairman, together with Magistrates and Councillors. For some time past the Provosts and Councillors have been chosen from the more important
[369] business men of the town. Indeed as a result of the constitution of the Stornoway Trust, urban interests and outlooks might easily gain undue preponderance at the expense of rural needs. Nevertheless two members with strong rural ties were elected to the Trust in recent years.

In view of the growing burden of deficit, the Trust felt unable to frame a general policy, still less to carry it into action. To meet the deficit, the Trust sold portions of properties without reference to any general plan of town or country. Even after the Trust began to accumulate a favourable balance, hand-to-mouth decisions continued to be made, undirected by any clear policy. The most lamentable case occurred when a garage site was given to the chief Stornoway bus proprietor at a road junction near the western entrance to the town, close to the principal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate of Lews Castle and the Lady Lever Park. The palpable mistake in siting soon caused strong public criticism. The Trust repented, and sought to distrain the garage proprietor
[686] from extended use of the area. The parties went to law and the case was fought through the courts until, in a final decision reached in the House of Lords, the Trust lost and had to pay a bill of some £4000. The lesson of defeat in the court was severe, capped as it was by the equivalent of a fine of £4 or £5 from every family in the burgh. Coming at a time when the need

APPENDIX III

for planning preceded by adequate survey became publicly recognised, this crisis seems to have caused a change to constructive policy on the part of the Trust. It led to the election of a new member of the Trust on a planning platform, and to a general searching of heart and mind in the community.

Meantime the movement for town planning which had spread from the bombed cities to the rest of the country, led to a closer co-ordination of planning aims between the Trust and the Town Council, and there is real hope of progress in collaboration with the County Council as the statutory planning authority.

In brief, the opportunity arose for the Trust to frame a comprehensive policy, one binding together the objects separately listed in the Deed, " to promote the material and social welfare of the community ". The ' material ' provisions of the Deed allow for the promotion of industry—including fishing, of course—of agriculture and afforestation, and of communications by land, sea and air. Medical service is not forgotten. The encouragement of social life and education is foreseen, and bursaries may be provided to enable deserving scholars to proceed to secondary schools and universities.

It is felt by far-sighted citizens that these aims should be properly co-ordinated. Development of resources and social life, they feel, could be combined with education and training deliberately designed to equip young people to return to the Island and use their capacities to serve their own community. Thus among the development schemes which have been mooted are the reclamation of peat, the reclamation of the sandy inlet just north of Stornoway, and local afforestation. All these technical jobs require training, at the levels of engineer and skilled foreman or working hand. Bursaries might take the form of education for such rural tasks. The ' export ' of talent may be necessary when no outlet is possible at home, but in the end it can drain away the community's youth. Hence a policy for the return of talent is required. For fishing, for industry and particularly for the weaving arts, training is required in preparation for possible careers at home. Lastly

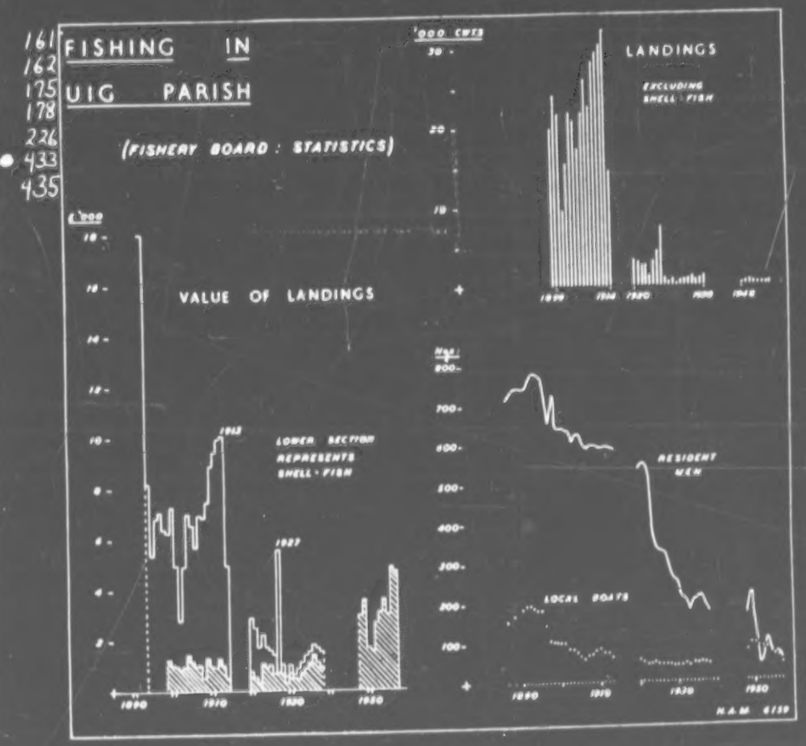

Figure 9.

/p. 20/

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONCLUSION

121 The importance of the 'regional' movement is inter-
185 regional and indeed international. In the case of the
Island, international order is required for its fisheries to
438 recover, and for its weaving to find purchasers abroad as well as at home. This in turn could allow small-holding to find an Island market in its little burgh, Stornoway. Without this triple basis of fishing, weaving and crofting for its economy, Island society will break up and its culture
[182] vanish, not evolve. It is no less true that only by the best utilisation of each regional environment, economy and society as we find them, will profiteers be held in check at home, and powerful peoples cease to exploit the sweat of others.

121 A pioneer American Report acknowledges the debt of
171 regional survey for the New Deal not only to France and Germany, but to a group of practical idealists, of geo-
[185] graphers, biologists and sociologists in Britain.[1] If nation-
ally we can be proud of Scots and British initiative in
[433] planning, we must own, until recently, to humiliating
[184] slowness in its execution, and in the mobilisation of regional resources for social ends. The chief end of our planning must be the re-making of society. In Britain it is not always realised that in the great developments of the New Deal the execution of concrete schemes which include civil engineering, industrial expansion and agricultural conservation, is accompanied by real cultural achievements, both urban and rural. Not only are geographers and economists, technicians, industrialists, and officials called to survey and plan the Tennessee Valley, but sociologists and educationists are required to complete the work. Not

[113] [1] *Regional Factors in National Planning*, National Resources Committee, U.S.A., December 1935. Cf. Lewis Mumford (U.S.A.); and P. Geddes, P. Abercrombie, L. D. Stamp, E. A. Gutkind, G. H. J. Daysh, and others (Britain).

APPENDIX I

ECONOMIC STATISTICS OF
(AND HARRIS)

Introduction

127 THE assessment by the Lewis Association i
on the Economic Position of Lewis (proper)
• 433 income derived from "productive industry"
as that which "produces or tends to produc
and therefore includes the production of
existence by crofting as well as saleable c
estimate covered the tweed industry an
touched upon fishing.

434 For the first, the tweed industry, the
and the round total of £140,000 paid in wa
weavers in 1938 was a remarkable element o
more than half going to the weavers working
the tweed industry was estimated to prov
For the second, agriculture, the current p
stock, combined with agricultural returns
reliable to give fair confidence in the estima
nearly £200,000 (more precisely, £194,10
crofts an average value was obtained of near
added the peat cut on the crofts, averagin
some to be rather a high value. The wo
improvement of houses was not included
added, with an estimate of £40,000. Fo
chief source of production mentioned i
income derived from local boats has here
from that earned by visiting boats, by
statistics with personal, local enquiries.
analysis a figure of £85,000 is offered here.

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APPENDIX I

128 An effort has been made to separate crofting from other income, and also to average the income from the sources given of
433 the total rural households, numbering 4700, composed of those
162 on the 3650 *occupied* crofts plus an estimated 1050 others, namely, cottars and squatters, and 'feuars'—*i.e.* holding land in feu.

434 Finally, to the productive income earned on the Island there should be added that received by earnings sent or brought home to dependants, together with pensions, unemployment relief and the like. I am greatly indebted to the appropriate officials for the figures cited for 1937–38 or the year immediately preceding. These sources average £45 per rural household.
(128) The figures tabled all apply to Lewis alone; but many figures having been obtained for Harris also, conclusions are similar there. The concluding Table (pp. 314-315) bears a note on other sources of income, with a similar table for 1953.

(i) *Tweed Industry*

128 After deducting the cost of wool imported from the mainland and certain other costs, the net productive income was
434 taken to be £307,000. The estimate may still err on the high
288 side but it indicates the prime importance of the industry in the Lews. For 1938 the quantity of tweed stamped, and certified as hand-woven by the Harris Tweed Association Ltd., was 2,830,900 imperial yards, rising in 1939 and 1940 to 4,000,000 yards, though falling thereafter. The value of the tweed produced in 1938 was approximately £500,000. The total wages paid in 1938 amounted to £140,000 (£139,600), rather more than half of which was paid to the weavers working at home. In 1940 this had risen to nearly £200,000, a slightly higher proportion falling to the weavers.

(365) In addition to the wages paid and the price paid for local wool, the industry is a valuable customer of the Electricity Company and directly or indirectly provides much other employment
(651) in the Island. The industry also provided a market for a large quantity of Scottish wool and contributed to taxation.
(458) The productivity and earnings of the industry continued to

APPENDIX II

RECENT STATISTICS (1953–54)

128 In briefer form, the basic economic data can now be reviewed, in the same order, for 1953, or the period April 1953 to March 433 1954, as available. The results are shown on the second pair 434 of Tables, pp. 318-319.

(i) *Tweed Industry* (1953–54)

434 Taking 5,000,000 yards as the 1953–54 total, and accepting an estimate of 1s. 2d. paid to weavers per finished, mill-shrunk 288 yard, payments to weavers in Lewis-and-Harris (and a few in the southern Hebrides) would amount to some £291,700. After 463 subtracting the output from Harris, this corresponds to an informal estimate by the Lewis Association for Lewis proper of well over £250,000 and more, probably £275,000 for the period. Adding the wages of spinners in Stornoway mills, and also of carriers, dockers, etc., it is thought safe to double the figure, with £550,000, for Lewis, rural and urban. Most of the weaving is rural. The increased use of daily bus transport allows rural dwellers to come to Stornoway daily to earn and so has increased the ratio of rural to urban wages by spinning and other labour. For rural carriers and mill-employees, a fifth of £275,000 is taken here, making £55,000. As no estimate for the 'net earnings' in Lewis is available, the same ratio to wages is taken as in 1938, making £1,200,000.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House Building* (1953)

178 (a) *Agriculture.*—First, the trend of crop and stock production can be indicated by selected figures for the Island for 434 1918, 1939 and 1953. The areas both of oats and rotation 241 grass increased, the three successive totals in acres being, for oats: 4460, 5020, 5440; and for rotation grass: 390, 1385,

An attempt has been made in
Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on
231 the individual croft to the size of holding and to the availability and age of the labour force.
311 In both diagrams there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0 - 7 units)
466 and the commercial holding (11+ units), but there is no definite relationship between stock
471 and size of holding or labour availability. The inclusion of the factor of equilibrium for
232 certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected state of affairs: in the case of
162 crofters with regular work and full time crofters, those years-of-age of forty-five carry a
larger stock from those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to the
economic problem of crofting lies in the amalgamation of holdings in order to create a
more viable economic unit, but the indication from these diagrams is that an increase in
the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to an increase in stock. It is the absence of
adequate markets that deter the crofter from increasing his agricultural production.

In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihood
for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters who are full time, almost 90% supplement the
croft income by other employment. Of these casual labour (at present mainly at the
Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57% regular work - particularly weaving - 43%.
The combination of crofting and weaving provides probably the best return for the labour:
one crofter with a croft of 3.3 acres, carrying two cows, two followers and ninety sheep
(stats yours) made the following estimates for 1958:

231 FROM THE CROFT:	
234 Sale of two year-old calves	£80
Cow and calf subsidies	£40
Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb.	£75
	£ 195 (1)
FROM WEAVING -	
at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p. w.)	£550
GROSS INCOME	£745

436 Weaving about 30 hours a week apparently leaves him sufficient time to run the croft
467 satisfactorily: at present a crofter supplementing his income by a labourer's wage at Gisla
465 Hydro scheme would have to put in nearly sixty hours per week to achieve the
same financial reward.

433 The economy of the Valtos peninsula has been changing, and contracting, for several
79 years. The number of unoccupied crofts is increasing; commercial fishing ended at the
82 time of the first World War; the shielings have been abandoned as summer cattle pastures.
234 The Valtos shielings near Loch Scandale were abandoned during the 1939 - 45 war, due
mainly to the lack of manpower in the township, though some was used intermittently until
1953. The shielings of Kneep and Reef were abandoned in the late 1930's, at which time
Kneep had some fifty milk cows as compared with fourteen in 1959.

1 Against this figure, must be set the costs of production (i.e. fertilisers, new seed, winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

241 The area under cultivation has contracted in the past twenty years. Before 1939 most
croft land about twice as much land under cultivation and at Valtos some were cultivating
small patches outside the township fence. The cultivation of the common machair at Cliff
ceased in 1939. The land had been "too long in labour" (potatoes had been planted on the
same ground for nearly one hundred years), and the soil had been affected by over-liberal
applications of sulphate of ammonia which replaced the traditional seaweed-impregnated thatch
from the black-houses. Moreover the Cliff machair was particularly vulnerable to "blow-
outs" after ploughing. Cultivation of the Kneep common arable has all but ceased, and the
fifty-two acres of arable machair in the township of Reef have been untouched since the
1930s. It is noticable that the common machair cultivation and the shieling economy
ended about the same time. Smaller numbers of better cattle were needed to meet
233 the daily milk requirements of the croft: a much smaller area of cultivation was therefore
needed to provide winter fodder and consequently more land was available on the croft for
potato cultivation. Consequently the more distant machair was replaced by cultivation
within the croft.

433 Contraction and decline of the economy is common to all three townships, but the form
17 and cause of this decline is different for each, and where the township consists of two
or more settlement nuclei there is frequently a difference between the two parts:

632 The township of Valtos is in two distinct parts: crofts 1 - 34 are a succession of narrow
strips about ½ mile in length stretching from the shore to about 200' O.D.. The boundaries
427 of the outer crofts (nos. 1 and 34) if projected to a point on Pabay, form an angle of 45°.
434 Beyond this the crofts are narrower at the shore (60 - 70') than at the upper limit (100 - 180').
341 Of these 34 crofts, 19 are in so-called runrig, eight in pairs and one group of three. (Fig. 21).
Cultivation is carried out on numerous interwoven small patches, held permanently: the
249 gratings are interchanged at the year end. Fragmentation imposes a severe limitation
on the economic efficiency of the croft. None of the crofts at Valtos is individually farmed
241 Only the less steep areas are cultivated, to facilitate ploughing.[1] As a result, the bulk
of the cultivated plots are to be found at either end of the croft - near the shore and on the
hill top against the township fence.

The remaining five crofts of Valtos, and a squatter, are at Cliff in the valley separating
the Valtos peninsula from that of Aird. Here the crofts are fenced, more compact and
slightly of larger size (4.8 acres as against 3.8 acres) and they occupy gentle terrain than
249 those in Valtos. Two of the crofts are worked in runrig - these being situated on the
machair. The houses are set back about a hundred yards from the road, along the western
township fence.

Kneep township is again in two parts: Crofts 16 - 18 together with the Manse and two
cottars, are situated across the neck of the Glebe promontory, on the south side of the
peninsula. The five legal crofts are today worked as three units. Fenced, compact
crofts with little of exceptional size for the area - average 15.1 acres. Crofts
243 1 - 15 at Kneep on the northern side of the peninsula adjoin those of Valtos. Here is a
similar situation, which imposes severe limitations upon croft efficiency. Twelve
of the fifteen crofts are worked; of these only numbers 4 and 5 are compact homogenous
crofts; numbers 3 and 6 are compact except that part of the land which lies within their
boundaries belongs to croft no. 13. The remaining eight crofts comprise a hundred and
eight separate plots of crofland and fifty-two separate plots on the common machair.
One croft with 2.8 acres arable the average size of each piece is a mere 0.15 acres!
243 The grazing land on the croft is divided into strips running across the slope, which are
interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into

1. Pre-1939 much of Valtos was cultivated in lazy beds - by spade. Today 9% is cultivated by spade; 43% by horse plough + 48% by tractor.

632 strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of
434 the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to
341 accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.

The cultivable crofland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly
developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke
312 running across the crofland from a small marshy lach to the sea. This dyke has not been
cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other
parts of the crofland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is
almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the
edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in
1911 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts, nos. 4 - 13 lies
south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from
2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15)
are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size
is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house
is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the
241 machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse
407 and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse
plough.

433 The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen
crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over
320 sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today
apart from the disabled, the majority may be taken straight to Ohan where up to twice the
local price may be obtained. The C.S.A. pay 2s less per lb than Ohan because of the
cost of the carriage of the peat, and the wages for two men with their boat. There was an
experiment in flying lobsters direct from Lewis to Billingsgate, but the cost was too high.
The problems of transport here are very severe for the lobsters have to be sent by
Macrayne's steamer and by British Railways upon which there are no cold wagons reserved for the small quantities in question - a hazardous course for a highly perishable cargo.

Conclusions.

This part of Uig, therefore, has had a long and complex history of human settlement,
exploitation and depopulation. Much of the more recent part of this history is vividly
remembered and still plays a part in the making of modern decisions. The sense of kin-
ship with the past is an important element of society, for where natural resources
are so limited a mystique of other than a material type is necessary if society is to retain
182 its self-respect. However, the scarcity of natural resources is indeed so limited that economic
131 self-improvement is extremely difficult. The egalitarian tendencies of Gaelic society and
20 the absence of chiefs are not sufficient to resist the tendencies of the times and to pre-
vent some of the crofters making adjustments in their holdings, but unfortunately there is
not sufficient capital to allow such adjustment without a drastic reduction of population
which would be equally damaging to the well-being of the local society. It seems unlikely
that alternative sources of employment could easily be found - the isolation within Lewis,
the isolation from markets of Lewis itself, and the lack of local resources have combined
on previous occasions to defeat plans for development. Weaving is the most important
means of supplementary livelihood, but it is too vulnerable to politics and fashion; fishing
228 is greatly decayed from its former dominating position; only agriculture remains locally,
and perhaps the greatest possibilities there lie in better standards of cultivation (especially
drainage and fertilization), a better standard of animal husbandry, and more reseeding.
But whatever developments are undertaken will need careful selection and encouragement:
results cannot be hurried but nevertheless something must be done soon if the local society
is to maintain itself. This great and paradoxical element of the "crofting problem" is so
important here as elsewhere in the seven "Crofting Counties".

Unlike the
smallhand farmer, should an islander withdraw his store
432 stock from the autumn sale he cannot easily present it elsewhere a few weeks later; he
must keep it from the autumn until the spring, which will probably involve him in buying
feeding stuffs out of his seriously depleted income. Many crofters suspect that their
difficult position in this respect is taken advantage of by mainland buyers. Whether
this is true or not the result is the same - the crofter is discouraged from raising stock.

433 Many crofters with whom we discussed this problem realised that, by fully stocking
and cultivating their crofts they might double, or even treble, their income from
agriculture. Some realised that sound management of a large unit, such as the
amalgamation of two or more crofts, or the hiring of a neighbour's machine, might yield a reasonable
family livelihood. What they all stressed was the uncertainty - the uncertainty of stock
and weather, the uncertainty of subsidies from year to year, the uncertainty of the future
of their little packs of sheep and the uncertain effects of the weather on their hay and
oats harvest. It is clear that the crofter may be conservative in his attitude to
agricultural operations and in their own technical ability. Therefore they prefer to take
a sure weekly income, however small, and to work their land at a low level of
productivity.

000 Climate, soil, and insularity (to which must be added the particular isolation of south
Uig and Bernera, even within Lewis) all present problems. But there is a tendency to
overstress these difficulties and to use them as excuses, whilst failing to appreciate that
433 they also offer certain opportunities. Many agricultural raw materials have to bear the
cost of shipping from Glasgow or from London, but not from Leith; the peculiar difficulties of land stock
marketing have already been mentioned; but, equally, the Minch could and should
provide a great protection for island agriculture. Elsewhere in the Highlands and
Islands, potatoes and vegetables, imported daily into Stornoway from the mainland,
are a standing reproach to crofting agriculture. Crofters could produce most of this
food and if they would they would be turning to advantage the disadvantage of insularity.
Some will admit this; if pressed, but they will also rightly point out the difficulties.
These are two-fold: technical (particularly in the case of legal restrictions on milk
production for sale) and economic (the difficulties, or believed difficulties, of marketing).
A few individuals, for example, claimed that it was not worth selling potatoes unless
they received the full shop price; this is a stubborn and stupid attitude; and one is
reminded of the crofters' long opposition to the introduction of the potato, nearly 200
years ago; a co-operative marketing organisation might help in this respect.

The crofters' attitude to innovation is all-important; new ideas, whether in
agricultural practices or in marketing, require careful introduction and a good deal of
fostering. The crofters' lack of confidence is a real factor and must be taken account
829 of; it is not due only to the risk and uncertainty of markets, they also lack technical
knowledge, even though they may have plenty of ability. Again, the prevalence of
small units means that it is particularly difficult to adopt innovations, a failure which might be
negligible on a large farm can become a disaster on a croft. The crofter has not the
resources of a large farm. However, the smallholder is indeed so limited that economic
169 methods or crops on other farms because he lives and works in a restricted environment.
Agricultural colleges are not sufficiently in touch with the problems of the times and to prev-
ent some of the crofters making adjustments in their holdings, but unfortunately there is
not sufficient capital to allow such adjustment without a drastic reduction of population
which would be equally damaging to the well-being of the local society. It seems unlikely
that alternative sources of employment could easily be found - the isolation within Lewis,
the isolation from markets of Lewis itself, and the lack of local resources have combined
on previous occasions to defeat plans for development. Weaving is the most important
means of supplementary livelihood, but it is too vulnerable to politics and fashion; fishing
228 is greatly decayed from its former dominating position; only agriculture remains locally,
and perhaps the greatest possibilities there lie in better standards of cultivation (especially
drainage and fertilization), a better standard of animal husbandry, and more reseeding.
But whatever developments are undertaken will need careful selection and encouragement:
results cannot be hurried but nevertheless something must be done soon if the local society
is to maintain itself. This great and paradoxical element of the "crofting problem" is so
important here as elsewhere in the seven "Crofting Counties".

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CONCLUSIONS

H. A. Moisley

121 The relationships between Place, Folk and Work are seldom simple; in a crofting community such as Uig they are particularly complex. The object of our survey was to make an impartial, factual record of the physical and human resources and their utilisation, as described in the Preface (Part I, page 1). The primary purpose of this report is to make our observations available to others and to this end we have included a great deal of fact leavened, we hope, by a modicum of personal impression. In conclusion, however, it seems appropriate to add certain personal conclusions based on the detailed observations and data relating to the crofts and townships visited.

The outstanding fact is that, over the whole parish more than a quarter of the population between the ages of 15 and 64 has to leave home in order to make a living. Of those who remain at home, 80% of the men are more or less engaged in agriculture; almost all of these have some other source of income, usually weaving, and in most cases the cash income from agriculture must be less than £100. Although we classified some 60% of resident males as 'crofters with regular employment' this must not be taken to be necessarily the same as having a full-time job. The average income of a weaver in South Uig, for example, is only of the order of £250 per annum. Thus crofting with ancillary employment, or employment with ancillary crofting as is more often the case, conceals a good deal of under-employment. Such low incomes and hidden unemployment are characteristic of West European under-developed regions.

The crofting system can never provide an ideal structural system for agriculture, but that is not its real purpose. It is a social system and, whether it is economically efficient or not, it exists. It should not be allowed to decay for that would not only cause hardship to the crofting communities but would also, in the case of islands and other remote districts, lead to the abandonment of potentially productive resources of land and people. Nor should it be preserved unchanged; preservation would mean fossilisation and fossils are dead. The present crofting system was cast in a legislative mould in the late nineteenth-century when population pressed heavily on the resources of the islands. Circumstances have now changed and the mould must be altered or the communities will slowly die.

This is not to say that wholesale reorganisation is required, at least not in Lewis. But the authorities charged with the welfare of the crofting townships, and of the island as a whole, have a duty to see that crofting evolves towards something more, and less, productive. Subsidies alone are a confession of defeat. It is not good enough merely to spend money to alleviate the symptoms of a disease which it is now fashionable to call 'under-development'. Realistic planning is required so that the special public expenditure incurred in such regions becomes a productive investment and not merely a disguised form of charity.

It is encouraging to note that such economic and technical developments as have taken place (particularly the development of weaving and the improvement of common pastures) owe a good deal to local initiative and local investments. This suggests that, given suitable guidance and encouragement, the crofting townships can do much to help themselves. It would be an excellent thing if, in each district, informal and quite unofficial discussion groups could be started to think about the future of their particular townships in terms of development and not decay.

Realistic discussion of development must face certain facts even though in some cases they may be unpalatable or politically unpopular. Amongst the most important are these:

000 1 Further depopulation is inevitable but is not necessarily bad. The special privileges
171 of crofting tenure have tended to delay the inevitable because the agricultural structure
142 has been unable to adapt itself to changing circumstances. The land is in some ways less
371 productive than it was 80 years ago. But, as population does decline, eventually more
433 land might be available for each remaining family and, if properly used, should enable them to increase the proportion of their income derived from agriculture. Thus depopulation could have beneficial effects provided it were not haphazard nor complete. The nation could have benefited if depopulation could be controlled to some extent if a realistic rate and ultimate extent of depopulation could be decided, followed by a vigorous attempt assessment of the possibilities of each district were made, followed by a vigorous attempt to realise these possibilities. This must be done locally because the problems and possibilities of each district, sometimes of each township, are different. How can this be done?

287 2 It is not realistic to plan for any extensive development of industry nor for any substantial further development of forestry or fishing. The only industrial development of any importance - the phenomenal growth of the Harris Tweed industry, with an annual output worth £5 million, much of it for export, is proof enough of this. It is difficult to get industrialists to invest in Scotland and there is little point in living in perpetual hope in Lewis. To constantly cry, as some politicians do, that 'the government has sufficient need industry in Lewis', is not helpful, either; for no government has ever had sufficient power, nor is it desirable that it should have, to force a firm to invest against its will. If there is to be some industrial development it must come from within and be effective to depend on it. If, therefore, that agriculture must be made a more efficient basis, though not the sole basis, of most crofting communities. The present heavy dependence on casual or seasonal employments, and on permanent employment away from home, can never provide the basis for a truly viable community though it may provide a useful outlet for some younger folk. On its present scale it leads to the neglect of the land, as well as encouraging permanent emigration, only widespread natural resources, the land, as well as encouraging permanent emigration.

311 3 Crofting agriculture, as at present carried on, on most crofts, does not make the
433 best use of its local resources. The land is marginal in many respects and the development of an economic form of agriculture requires

(a) particular skill in farm management, including initiative and technical ability to take advantage of local raw materials and methods, and

(b) a marketing system on which the crofter believes he can depend. At present it is the uncertainty, as much as the poverty, of the reward that deters young men from taking up agriculture seriously.

412 4 The small size of holdings need not be a serious disadvantage. Since the time of our survey subsidising is no longer necessarily contrary to the principle of crofting tenure; since it represents a voluntary evolution towards larger holdings it, rather than wholesale reorganisation, should be further encouraged.

5 It should be recognised that if a croft is not properly stocked it cannot justifiably be the subject of any of the privileges of crofting tenure. Failure to maintain a properly balanced stock is damaging to the land and to the ultimate well-being of the community as a whole. At one time the factors, through their ground officers, maintained a degree of control over the stocking of township lands and this could, in some way, be restored - though not by the proprietors then by the Crofters Commission. - though the best way would be voluntarily, through the township committees. This would depend on establishing soumings which fairly represented the grazing capacity of the township land and on restricting the unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle. At present many soumings depend on estimates of old ones the validity of which is very dubious; soumings are unlikely to be respected unless they are reasonable.

181 6 Few crofters possess sufficient technical knowledge and confidence to make the best
181 use of their land. It is particularly difficult for men with such limited resources of land and ready cash to embark on new agricultural enterprises; they are naturally reluctant to take risks and therefore tend to be excessively conservative. This cannot be put right quickly nor so long as the majority of those working the crofts are middle aged or older men who have spent the greater part of their working lives in other occupations. Such men require special help but, above all, some of the younger men must be encouraged to

17 or summer pastures for the tenants of Laxay and Harnish respectively, townships on the north
178 shores of the loch. In 1775, there were four tenants in Kershader, but their place of origin
291 is unknown. In 1805, five tenants are recorded, two of them from Uig, by 1826 there were 10
341 tenants. Thus the growth of population in Lewis during the second half of the eighteenth century
311 may well have been the major reason for the colonisation of one of the least agriculturally
161 attractive districts of the island.

From Figure 1, which shows most of the thirty-four occupied places south of Loch Shiell about 1828, it is evident that colonisation had extended south into the mountainous area. The sections, which commenced in Harris in 1816, may have increased the population relatively there as early as 1660, for many of these families came from Harris. The numerous shielings in South Park speak of a vigorous community; it is possible that South Park was more densely populated than the northern area up till 1800.

162 During the period 1818 to 1842, when the grazier, Donald Stewart, and his brothers had a lease
175 of South Park, most of these settlements were cleared (Fig 2): in addition, between 1838 and
341 1842, Crossbost and sub-tenancies in Shiaderaidh, Cleitar, Sgrogarstaigh, Orinsay,
311 Stornoabagh and Iegios were removed, in all about 436 people.[1] Some 27 families were sent to Crossbost and sub-tenancies in Shiaderaidh, Cleitar, Sgrogarstaigh, Orinsay, Stornoabagh and Iegios were removed, in all about 436 people. Many of these families were sent to Crossbost and sub-tenancies in Shiaderaidh, Cleitar, Sgrogarstaigh, Orinsay, Stornoabagh and Iegios were removed, in all about 436 people. Some 27

TABLE VII

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS[1]: Parish of Lochs[2]

	1913	1920	1938	1947	1950
CROPS					
Oats	487	383	879	757	467
Bere	191	154	15	4	-
Potatoes	455	772	330	239	189
Sown Grass for Hay	1	26	124	78	161
Sown Grass for Pasture	-	6	74	72	101
Total Cultivation	1134	1341	1422	1150	918
Permanent Grass for Hay	44	32	573	791	730
Permanent Pasture	2650	2644	1841	1367	1746
Others[3]	22	6	268	86	77
TOTAL Crops and Grass:	3850	3843	3306	3394	3471
STOCK:					
Horses	102	101	49	39	11
Cattle	2189	1701	1412	1150	996
Sheep[4]	9450 (3688)	9750 (3952)	23434 (9929)	29488 (14256)	39580 (15989)
Poultry	?	?	8173	12302	8756

1. By courtesy of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.
2. As Park is part of Lochs Parish, these are the only statistics available.
3. Roots (negligible acreage), fallow.
4. Figures in brackets are breeding ewes.

/1. 8-6/

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofts have vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throughout the winter and no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the soum. Lambing takes place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and then dipped; November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The cows are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Crobeg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on fank days.

Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under cultivation and from an an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazing; it is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the road between Caversta and Gravir, about three miles south-south-east of Cromore and one mile north of Gravir.

Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this, however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and, in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airidhbruach. At present the average production is only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. During the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a van which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recent additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday;

means are not infrequently thwarted by the peasants, the ends are seldom achieved.

As long ago as 1859 Norway began a redistribution of the land; by 1946 42 percent of the infield and 9 percent of the outfield had been regrouped. In Ireland attempts at consolidation date back to 1870. Because the problem was especially intricate, some holdings consisted of twenty or thirty scattered patches, the attempted approach has been comprehensive, including assistance for migration, improvements, and the purchase of farms. Today, even where the consolidated holdings are substandard, they are more productive. I do not mean to imply that the program has been uniformly and sweepingly effective. The study by Arensberg and Kimball is ample evidence to the contrary,[14] but there has been reform. Germany, too, has had an all-inclusive policy since the 1870's. There, whole villages must be replanned. Wherever possible, small holdings have been abolished by moving certain families out to new farmsteads and removing others from the land. It is significant that most of the reform took place under Hitler and, even so, there was universal peasant resistance to land reformation. What effect the partition of Germany has had on these rural villages I do not know. Many of those I visited have twice the population of prewar days. In each country, from Sweden to Italy and from France to Greece, the experiments have resulted in increased agricultural production. On Skye, as in most of the Highlands, the tillage area has fallen at a faster rate than the population. Indeed,

[14] Arensberg and Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland.

where the population has suffered the greatest decline and, therefore, where enlargements, by legal or illegal means, have been the most extensive, crop production has declined the most. Nor has the decline in population, accompanied by land redistribution, altered the fundamental problem.

The cottars (subtenants) have almost disappeared thereby easing the excessive pressure on the land and removing the threat of recurring destitution. Today they are found only in a few scattered dwellings and isolated clusters. Most of them have secured some form of employment or have reached the age when a government pension is sufficient to satisfy their needs. The number of crofters, on the other hand, has increased. If the figures 2043 and 1227 can be accepted as nearly correct for the respective numbers of crofters and cottars in 1886,[15] they have increased at the expense of the latter and, also, the sheep farmer, whom they have replaced.

To briefly summarize the foregoing discussion of the township, let us look at Kilmuir. Table 3 shows the number of crofts and crofters in each of the nine townships together with the acreage and "souming" rights available to each individual. Although replanning during the past fifty years has benefited many of the local residents, crowding upon the land is still apparent.

[15] L. MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 6, 17.

the economy by subjecting many fertile acres to disuse because of his infirmity. The other factor is the absentee tenant, an individual who has obtained possession of a croft, normally by inheritance, but who has failed to take up his inalienable rights of tenancy. Let us very briefly review the economic trends of the last fifty odd years and, then, try to assess the importance of the absent and the aged.

Although the Sgiathanach has refused to become a specialist, fully involved in a money economy, he has become increasingly dependent on the products of the wider commercial society. Long ago he gave up growing the old staples, barley and oats. Not for many years has he grown enough potatoes or turnips to feed himself and his cattle. In place of these home grown subsistence crops, he now imports a great deal of his food. In an average year Skye imports over 700 tons of bread, 10 tons of vegetables, 300 tons of canned goods, 300 tons of potatoes, 500 tons of flour, and 100 tons of milk. To pay for these products, he exports cattle, once his only marketable produce, and an ever increasing number of sheep.

Hance, writing about the Outer Hebrides, sees the growing tendency of the crofters to buy their food as indicative of an increasing cash income.[16] To a certain extent, this may be true. There are, however, additional factors involved. Ecological limitations have played their role. That the climate and soil together make Skye a grassland suitable for stock breeding rather than an island fit for cultivation is an often repeated

[16] Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 22.

887 arduous is difficult to determine. In the winter of 1953, I
241 helped a small crofter thrash oats, a cooperative enterprise
[23] even with a mechanical thrasher, supplied by the Department of Agriculture. The neighbors who came over to lend a hand were two men and three women. The youngest woman would never see fifty again; her seniors were seventy-seven and seventy-eight. The youngest man, who had just been married, was sixty-three; the other seventy-three. These crofters not only showed more endurance than I did, but put me to shame by carrying the sacks of grain from the field to the byre
[162] at the end of the day. Nevertheless, most of those over seventy, about 15 percent of the population, do not make use
887 of the land for more than growing a few potatoes. An old
231 man cannot keep a cow because, as one man said, "You can't
462 have a cow unless you have a woman to milk it." If he is married or lives with a sister, there may be a cow and a couple of sheep. An old woman may have her cow and sheep if she is strong enough. There comes a time, however, when all the old people will only remember the work involved. Still, they will say, "Och, but they were good for all that."

427 Absentee tenants are responsible for depopulation on
241 the one hand and falling production on the other. A reasonable
161 [133] estimate would be 300. Their number could be as high as 400. Some townships have over 50 percent of the crofters absentee. The only townships which do not have this problem are the few which contain large crofts. On one small estate there are seventy-six crofts, held by seventy-two crofters. Only thirty

228 Throughout the present century, the commercial importance
162 of fishing, judged on the basis of income, numbers of crofter-fishermen, and boats, has steadily declined. The number of crofter-fishermen has decreased at a faster rate than the decline in population. In recent years its significance as a part-time chore has also been reduced. Wage labor has replaced fishing in the economic pattern. In 1900 there were 1,015 crofter-fishermen with 485 boats.[22] While the number of fishermen rose to 1,039 in 1905, from then until now their number has fallen steadily. In 1953 there were 237 crofter-fisher-
228 men with 120 boats. Despite higher prices, the value of fish
[433] landed on the island is one-third that of 1900. In 1952 the total contribution of fishing to the local economy was £10,091. This is in marked contrast to the Outer Hebrides where fishing
[242] brings in more money than crofting.[23] Fish have, of course, remained essential in the diet. All the crofters have their barrel of salt herring, purchased from mainland curers. Their own fish is usually sold for fish meal.

All who have considered the "Highland Problem" have stressed the need for some form of secondary employment to support the economy. Fishing has enjoyed great popularity as a recommended industry. This is due to the long tradition and the importance of fishing in the Outer Isles.[24] There are several pitfalls in the program as far as Skye is concerned.

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[113] [22] "Creek Returns for the Isle of Skye,—1890-1953," Fisheries Division, Scottish Home Department, Edinburgh, Scotland (in the files of the Division).

[23] Hance, op. cit., pp. 81, 89, 134.

[24] Ibid., pp. 89-110.

of tenure function to protect the individual from potential 178
abuses by a landlord where customary usages once fulfilled the 182
need. Moreover, even though the tenure of the cultivated soil 423
grants all the rights of a landholder, including the rights 427
to bequeath the house and land to a member of one's family, 657
for more than half the year it is used communally.

The Sgiathanach has never adjusted sufficiently to become 178
a specialist, not even a specialized grazier. For him the 423
land has always had a more fundamental value than merely being a means of livelihood. It is the ancestral home. There is a sentimental attachment to the land which is an expression of the affectionate bonds of kinship. The people have never lost the tribal tie of the land and the group. Although the former patriarchs disclaimed any sympathy with this point of view, the landlords on Skye today have kept what little land they have only because of its sentimental value. Indeed the atti-[654] tude of the largest landholder, the government of Scotland, is that the crofting tradition is worth while preserving, if for no other reason, because in the predominantly urban and industrial civilization it has a romantic value. There are other reasons. The Islands have long been looked upon as a [702] human reservoir for the armed forces, and, more recently, for [469] Lowland industry.

As a result of their partial adjustment to the higher 178
socio-cultural level, there have been changes in crops and stock. 231
The British market has influenced the crofters' output, within 241
ecological limitations. The old subsistence crops of oats and 433

barley have been replaced by grass and hay. Conceivably, this 178
is a more complete adjustment to the environment, which has been 231
made possible by integration with a commercial economy, than 241
an adjustment to the demands of the outside world. Whereas 433
the objective of the local economy once was the export of cattle, today the purpose is the breeding of cattle and sheep for the national markets. We have seen that there are a host 182
of limitations and difficulties in the economic aspect of the 231
culture. Many of these are due to the persistence of con- 241
servative practices. Each crofter must keep pace with his 433
tradition-practicing neighbors, with the old men of the town- [628]
ship. Others are the result of an inhospitable environment. The economy does not run smoothly, but this is not conclusive evidence for disorganization. Integration does not mean smooth functioning. In the spring and autumn the crofter is confronted with a variety and succession of tasks which would fill a specialist with dismay. Very often, these pastoral and agricultural chores have to be carried on in conjunction with outside employment. In return for his labor, the crofter [434] receives a meager income, frequently supplemented by con- [657] tributions from his children or the government. As a further [167] result of the partial adjustment to the wider society and culture, the people leave the island to seek employment and to achieve an upward mobility impossible on Skye. Economically, [175] Skye, along with most of the Highlands, may be viewed as presenting a picture of the Lowlands of Scotland 200 years ago. That is the extent of the economic adaptation of the Sgiathanach to the national culture.

434

On one of the crofts along the strand are the ruins of two curing houses, where the fish were salted and dried; ling, cod, skate and halibut were cured and sold to local merchants for export. "The same as they do in Iceland this very day. That was the main industry. Then the English came with their steam trawlers; they ruined the fishing here, and then went to Iceland and the Faroes. In Iceland they get fined for poaching, but here the trawlers often ignore the three-mile limit. But the fishing was the mainstay here, before the Harris Tweed came along."

One man returned from selling in 1938 and bought a boat for £24. He had 32 lobster pots, and made £7 one June by selling the lobsters at a shilling apiece. Another man, who returned from the United States in 1934 because of the depression, bought a share in a 14-foot boat. It was made in Stornoway, but was known up of Lewis, and cost about £14. He and his partners went out every night possible; the fish provided an important part of their income. The boat was sold in the 50's. "It wasn't being kept up anyway." Around World War II there were as many as twenty boats; man fished at night, after a day's work. Today there are four 12-foot boats in Shawbost, each shared by four or five men. The boats are used intensively for fishing during certain times of the year,

but not as often as in the past. In the past boats were in danger of being smashed by the strong seas that winds and gales made; many access to the Shawbost harbour; but today, because so many cars are available, the boats can be sheltered in the more protected bays of Carloway, five miles up the coast to the southwest of Shawbost. Despite this protection and the increase in income since World War II which would enable more people to buy boats, the number of boats remains small.

In the past certain people were esteemed for "knowing the wind and the sea." The sound of the surf coming from different directions presaged different kinds of weather; a line of white across the bay meant bad weather in a few days. A fifty-year-old man says, "My father and grandfather could tell when a storm was coming. They needed no barometer, and they didn't have radio and television to tell them. I would know the signs, too, if I had listened to them."

Not only was there local fishing, but the men used to hire themselves as crew on other fishing boats. Several nicknames reflect this history. One family is known by the nickname "Strachan," the surname of a man who lived on the east coast of Scotland and on whose boat the head of the Shawbost family had once worked as

a crew member. Another family is called "cook," the first job which a novice had to assume when he joined the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The men came back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats, barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods. They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover the stone-walled or wood-lined high dubh (black house) for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a season. While the men were away at the fishing, the remaining members of the family lived on credit from the local shops, and depended on the good will of their neighbors.

Many men joined the armed services, and were especially sought after by the Navy and the Merchant Marine. In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in the Naval Reserve.

Around the turn of the century, until the first world war and the growth of the weaving industry, the girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to know by the nickname "Strachan," the surname of a man who lived on the east coast of Scotland and on whose boat the head of the Shawbost family had once worked as

People kept several cattle, some of which were dry most of the time. But because everyone was keeping cattle, milk could be gotten from a neighbor. One man was known as a man who had spent some hundredweights of potatoes before the war, some of which would be used to feed the livestock. "You couldn't buy milk then, so you had to keep a cow. And even though people were weaving, they weren't getting so much money as they are now. It was the barter system then for the most part. Or they didn't have the money to buy feeding stuff. It was better to spend the time planting potatoes. Now of course there's more money in the weaving."

Milk was for what we ate, an oat was passed which provided free milk for schoolchildren. Milk for the Shawbost school was supplied by a farm near Stornoway, and villagers first started buying the milk from the school milk van. A strike held by weavers during the war had increased the payments for weaving, and the barter system had stopped. Much more money was available. As the loom was more profitable, more people stopped keeping cows, and relied on their neighbors for milk, or got their milk from the van bringing milk to the school. And as the cattle got fewer, the market for bottled milk expanded. A dairy was started on the west side of the island in the mid-1960's which carries milk from Uig to Ness.

drying the wool it was spread out, dried and sent to Stornoway to be made into yarn. The yarn was then sent back, and the weaver wove and washed it. About six women were required to do the washing (the process by which the cloth was washed and shrunk).

"In those days the weavers designed their own patterns, and sold their own finished tweeds. I remember going into town with my brother, we had two tweeds in the cart. We went into a shop to sell the tweed, and the man said it was poor weaving. He didn't want to pay the full price for it. I told my brother to roll it back up, we would take it somewhere else. As we left the shop, he told me I had 'good cheek.' In the next shop the merchant didn't say anything, and my brother the regular price. We went home with £60."

The great demand for tweed encouraged the development of more efficient methods of production. One by one the various processes of production were taken over by specialists, and gradually these specialists were brought together under one roof. Large boilers for dyeing wool were supplied as a result of actions taken by the Congested Districts Board, which was formed in 1897. The Scottish Home Industries provided chemical dyes. The most difficult and time-consuming processes were carding and spinning, which small mills on the mainland began to do

at work producing tweeds which it then tries to market. The latter method requires the investment of a great deal of capital to make the tweeds and pay the weavers before a buyer is found. The small mills require an immediate return for their small investments, which is ensured by not investing unless there is a definite order. The fortunes of the weavers oscillate with the luck and skill of the mills in soliciting orders; thus, the mills do not provide a steady, stable source of income. The nature of the tweed, as a high-priced luxury item rather than a basic necessity, contributes to the instability of the demand. When fashions change or when world-wide economic depressions come, the high-priced tweed with elaborate raised lines as a cloth for aristocratic sporty dress is forgotten for awhile. Efforts are being made to change this image; but the product's status as a high-priced luxury item persists.

An extremely small business can survive periods of depression when capital outlay in the form of machinery, running costs, and so on is not large. An extremely large business that has cornered a large share of the market can often survive an erratic schedule of orders because it has a larger accumulation of capital, but a medium-sized business has too much overhead to survive long periods of depression. Examples of all three exist

through alleys to rummage through the trash cans of hospitals or other large institutions for food. The occupational histories of the weavers support the generalization made by an official of the Harris Tweed Association that the younger weavers leave because they do not like the weaving and they are replaced mainly by older men who want to settle down after a life at sea. (See Appendix A for several life histories of weavers.)

E. Crofting as Strategy

Because of the relatively high income provided by the Harris Tweed industry, those who remain within the township have tended to emphasize weaving and neglect the croft.

1. Croft as Place of Residence vs. Agricultural Unit:

Most of the 160 households consist of married couples with their unmarried children. A tendency to marry rather late in life and for children not to marry while their parents are still living is evident in Table VI. (Partial List of Households According to Type of Household and Age of Household Head).

Four-teen households of married couples and their children (not included in Table VI) include at least one 1. (This source as reported his household in this table--also just

One crofter who gets subsidies says that he keeps sheep and plough the land to feed them only as a "hobby." He uses the word "hobby" because, in comparison with the income he gets from working regularly in the mill, he does not get a good return for his investment.

A crofter who has been weaving all his life says that the income he receives from his cattle and sheep does not compare with the income he receives from weaving. Subsidies are counted as an important part of the income he receives for the livestock. "Last year I got £28 for a heifer--not a very good price, but then I got as ill mainly as well." He does not believe that anyone could make a living from crofting alone. "You say some of the people in Stornoway are able to make a living at it? They might be getting social security as well, they're that sly. Anyway, members of the family are probably sending money home from sea or from the mainland. You need a weekly wage. If the tweeds disappear, the only thing a man could do would be to go to sea." (See Appendix C for an example of the balance sheet of a croft.)

A few families were seriously at rearing cattle for sale in local or town markets. These are usually composed of several male adults, of which one or more work in the mill or do weaving and someone is largely responsible for croft work. Most of these people look

One of his
[illegible] opinion was his sister's son, who built another house not far away. "This was the center of gossip. People gathered there while he shoed horses that came from Barvas to Carloway."

A number of shops were established in Shawbost that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At one time they numbered six altogether. These shops also ran the first buses between the village and Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared because of competition with larger companies. Mobile grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in large parts of the island, undercutting the local businesses. Income from weaving had already weakened drastically, however, as the intensive use of land and sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on local lies and mutual aid. Today an army of town-dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Crofters, fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal dealers and others extend goods and services from centralized sources to a market which has money to pay for them. The island's participation in this extensive market system is affected by its marginality to the

288 The Harris Tweed industry has provided a higher
434 standard of living, but income from this source is
inconsistent. The standards developed during prosperous
times cannot be met during difficult times. Many-roomed
342 houses with indoor plumbing are more heavily taxed than
336 smaller, less modern homes; loans must be repayed;
651 a car and a television once gotten are difficult to
425 give up. A weaver must pay for his insurance stamp,
945 which amounts to over £70 a year; and income tax takes
651 a large percentage of a person's income, in large lump
sums which are paid twice a year rather than in small
amounts throughout the year. When income fluctuates,
any constant demand for monetary outlay constitutes a
liability.

454 To many persons outside the island concerned with
181 Highland and Island development, Lewis has a reputation
for "subsidy-grabbing." According to one official,
"The people are too used to getting subsidies. They
tend to sit back and rely on the subsidies, which
makes it difficult to develop the place."

827 "We pay tax," said one weaver. "Why not get back
what we can in subsidy?"

Income tax collectors shake their heads in despair
651 at the thought of trying to get a true estimate of a
934 crofter's income, except for jobs such as weaving for

651 which official records are kept by the mills. If you
434 say jokingly to a fisherman who has brought in a large
catch that he should put some money aside for the
income tax man, he is likely to reply, "He'll have to
463 catch me first." A tradesman may be earning large sums
434 of money doing local work as a skilled specialist at
745 the same time that he is collecting social security.

A man may move in and out of a number of different jobs,
and never report his income. "Occupational pluralism"
171 (cf. Brox 1968) rather than economic specialization has
developed as a strategy in various countries along the
North Atlantic fringe, such as Iceland, the Faroes,
northern Norway and Newfoundland, as well as the west
coast and islands of Scotland. In these marginal areas,
income from specialized occupations is, in the long run,
unpredictable and inconsistent.

108 In times of national economic depression, strikes,
468 shifts between socialist and conservative governments,
241 and other crises, crofting provides an alternative
196 strategy. During the last war, many islanders who had
792 left the island (including some who had been quite
166 prosperous in the cities) returned to spend the duration
of the war in the village, glad of the relative security
provided by the relative abundance of food and less strict
000 rationing. During a huge snow-fall that occurred on

175 During a huge snow-fall that occurred on
262 Lewis in the 1950's, the mobile grocery vans and other
132 supply vehicles could not come out to the west side,
443 and a group of men had to make an expedition into town
for provisions, after which many families made certain
that they always had a good supply of meal, salted
mackerel and herring. Many villagers have gotten deep
464 freezers to store beef and mutton; others say they do
345 not trust the freezers, that a failure in electricity—
which occasionally happens in this region of gales and
far-away repairmen—would bring disaster if they depended
fully on them for keeping their meat. When the tweed
458 industry is going through one of its periodic depressions,
226 more men go out more often to fish. "I've been going
out every night for the last week or so. I don't have
a tweed, and I won't have one for the next six weeks.
I don't know what I'm going to do; maybe I'll go back to
sea. Three of us caught one hundred mackerel last
251 night. I salted my share, and didn't give any of them
away. These are the hard times. We're going to need
them during the next six weeks."

A few people raise beef cattle, depending largely
233 on subsidies for encouragement to do so. A few are
654 beginning to keep cows again for milk, giving as their
824 reasons that freight charges make the bottled milk too
425
143
348

233 costly, that the Common Market will soon drive up milk
654 prices, and that income from the weaving has become too
824 uncertain.
425

Many tools and techniques associated with crofting
412 have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (two
178 pieces of wood joined with leather); the sheepskin
stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate
chaff and grain; rope made of plaited heather and straw.

231 Each spring the byre was cleaned of its accumulated dung
654 and urine, and this was turned into the ground along
824 with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among
173 the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be
367 mobilized under changed conditions, as when alternatives
to crofting are no longer available or are too costly.
However, the longer crofting is neglected, the less it
will provide an alternative strategy. "The artificial
241 fertilizers are ruining the land; that's why the
824 turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to
233 water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and
streams—rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and
cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep—
the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather
work the land than the blinkin' loom, but we tried the
potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them
all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

154 genealogies told, and old songs were sung or new ones
654 composed. The concentration of expressiveness in these
824 forms resulted in a well-developed, oral repertoire of
173 literature and music.
367
533

The ceilidh still exists today in the form of less
538 regular gatherings. Stories and genealogies are seldom
533 recited, but songs are still sung. A few new songs are
being composed. The word ceilidh is used as both a noun
231 and a verb to mean "a visit" or "to visit," but implies
654 a casual, relaxed atmosphere rather than a formal visit.
824 A formal visit is made by relatives living in Stornoway,
173 government officials or businessmen, and is characterized
367 by more constrained behavior.

154 The ceilidh of today is often accompanied by the
654 drinking of beer or whiskey, but a distinction may be
824 made between a gathering which includes both males and
173 females, and a drinking situation at which only males are
367 present. In the past, men often gathered in barns or
weaving sheds to share beer made locally from barley or
273 brought from town in a large keg. The drinking of whiskey
178 was reserved for special occasions, such as births, weddings,
434 funerals, and the festivities surrounding the New Year, but
increased income has resulted in the consumption of whiskey
on many other occasions. Heavy drinking is still an
215 activity engaged in largely by males, and occurs in extra-
village locations such as hotels and bothans (see
Chapter 6).

273 a while. It would be an insult not to take a drink with
654 them; you mustn't miss your round."
576

The usual practice when drinking with friends is
273 for one person to buy the drinks; everyone drinks
654 together, and then someone else buys the next round. To
431 drink slowly is to indicate that you intend to miss your
round. A relative who returns to the island for a holiday
usually pays for more rounds than he receives, and may
spend as much as £80 in a single week.

If a man wants more drink than his fellows, he has
several choices. He may step up the pace of drinking by
buying more rounds, which means that he is likely to pay
a larger share than the others during the evening as they
will be ready to quit before he is; or he may keep a bottle
hidden outside the room, and disappear periodically for a
private sip, after which he returns to the group.

273 As incomes have grown, excessive drinking, which was
654 once confined to a small number of occasions, has also
824 increased. In the days when money was scarce, people shared
178 with others what they had. Elaborate and relatively lavish
434 ceremonies in which all community members participated
were possible because of the contribution in labor and goods
of members of the community. The custom prevailing today is
to use the added money not to purchase more goods and services,
to travel, or in other ways that might result in both social

273 differentiation and differentiation in personal experience,
654 but to use it in the community, as social coin. The few
824 men who refuse to get involved in drinking episodes that
178 would deplete their available funds are called "mean"
and "tight-fisted."

"If I had a wish, I'd choose to live the same life all
over again, maybe a wee bit rougher. We don't get a chance
here. The poverty keeps us down. But what does it matter
to be a schoolteacher or a minister? What good does it do
you? If I have a shilling in my pocket, I've got to spend
it. I remember ten years ago, I went into town with £60
in tweed payments to buy a new stove. I met some of my
425 mates, so I put £20 down on a £50 stove and spent the rest.
What a time we had."

"I went for a holiday on the mainland and came back
484 with money in my pocket because it's no use drinking in a
place where you don't know people. You want a yarn."

Drinking occurs at night behind the gray, concrete
273 shield of the bothan or in hotels. Drinking situations
654 provide opportunities, rare in the repressive arena of the
824 village, to express emotions and ideas. These expressions
can always be retracted in the cold, sober light of day.

"I used to be an alcoholic. Now I spend most of my
weekends feeding my brother lager so he won't get the DT's.
When something good happens, I wish like hell I could get

[Page 159 is blank; text continues on p.160
--Analyst]

981 3. Bible vs. Bottle: An islander living on the
273 mainland once observed that the Free Church plays cat
654 and mouse with members of the community who drink heavily
746
161 Death is a common event in a community which has a large
number of old people, and the theme of death appears
repeatedly in sermons and in the conversations of those
who have undergone religious conversion. The temporary
pleasures of drink are contrasted with the eternal joy
781 awaiting those who have been saved. The "false" friend-
784 ships of the drinking situations are contrasted with the
more lasting, consistent relations which characterize the
clique of the converted. "You have lots of friends when
you get converted, and they don't change overnight the
way your drinking companions do."

273 "With the drink it's easy to get started and just not
654 be able to stop drinking, especially with the money there
781 is now. Everything's unsteady here except religion."

Many of the most deeply religious male members of
273 the church were once heavy drinkers. One villager observe
654 "If a man went to extremes as a sinner, he'll be just as
781 fanatical when he becomes holy. Had it not been for
143 religion, some of them would have landed in Craig Dunain
[the mental hospital near Inverness]. The talk is forever
on religion. That keeps their mind at rest."

105 fact that crofting townships are located on marginal
24 land is one reason that the larger society is not motivated
654 to exploit the land. The Crofters Holding Act of 1886
[311] and subsequent legislation ensured protection of and
[671] incentives for continued maintenance of crofting and
the crofting township.

Protective government legislation, grants and loans for housing, subsidies for rearing livestock, relatively low taxes, and the economic protection provided by a socialistic government in times of crisis have helped to maintain a core of crofting families for many generations.

105 The predominance of older persons in the township is
162 striking, but many of the younger people who have left
632 the island to work on the mainland return frequently,
166 contribute part of their salary to the remaining family
434 members, and plan eventually to marry and settle down in
584 the village or to retire there. Long-term residence of
[621] kin-linked families in a small area has in itself contributed to the boundedness of the township network.

105 The policy of the government, through developmental
24 agencies such as the Highlands and Islands Development
654 Board, has been to support economic strategies that
632 complement rather than interfere with the functioning of the crofting township with its small holdings and communal
000 practices. The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an

105 The Harris Tweed industr
24 industry which is compatibl
188 weavers are self-employed,
632 of work and thus continue t
and fulfill various townshi
[121] of this industry on the tow
[434] system were investigated.
[463] weaving is unpredictable, w
of crofting practices and o
such as "occupational plura
[476] adaptive in the past. Such
[182] township boundaries; for e
[434] aid and communal township p
[407] offers a high level of incom
to spend most of their time
crofting, or have invested
transport which enables them
and perform other activities
members.

105 The fundamentalist Free
621 boundary-maintaining mechani
795 external influences of the l
632 However, a smaller network o
184 religious sphere of social a
105 the township system, also ex
794 of a firmly bounded system.
621
632
184

y is lauded as an
e with crofting. Because
they can set their own schedule
o participate in croft work
p obligations. The effects
nship as a social boundary
The income available from
hich encourages the retention
ther patterns of behavior,
lism," that were found to be
strategies also strengthen
xample, they encourage mutual
ractices. But weaving also
me; and some weavers, preferring
weaving, have neglected
n tractors or other motorized
to harvest crops, cut peat
independent of other township

Church constitutes an important
sm, serving to exclude various
arger society from the township.
f persons engaged in the
ctivity, a subsystem within
ists which has the appearance
These are members of the clique

241 654 Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in
part stems from government-defined privileges and du
288 477 464 regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed
industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides
thus is protected from competition, has provided wor
166 [434] for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger
members of croft families live in cities on the main
and send part of their wages home; they return regul
[162] [632] to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus t
township supplies urban workers who remain very much
attached to the rural townships, which are composed o
511 454 293 aged family members and a rural proletariat. The sta
of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated
savings, although much of this surplus is used by the
for alcoholic drinks.

121 In Britain, rural communities have been interpre
as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf.
Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall
presented "an operational theory of role" by which he
suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analyze
and compared. He developed the concept "density of r
texture" to describe societies which lie along a cont
from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southal
concept along with other concepts to present a more
complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "mod
of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially list

quietly triumphant yet unassuming way. He does not kill any of his sheep for home consumption.

His involvement with the croft is a "hobby" because its output does not compare with the income he receives from weaving. Whereas he might make as much as £100 from his crofting activities, his income from weaving averages £600 a year. As a married man, he can earn as much as £4,4 without paying income tax.

Income:

Sheep: 1,27/- (three sheep sold to the slaughterhouse in Stornoway)
1/6 (Wool Board bonus for the three sheep that were sold)
16/10 (Sale of 12 shillings each for 11 gimmerlings and six sheep)
22/10 (Three sheep from the Carloway Cattle Show)
12/6 (Fourteen fleeces locally)
1,90/14 (Fourteen fleeces to the Wool Marketing Board at an average of 1/11 per pound, or about 17/6 per fleece. The Lewis Wool mills pay only 5/5 per pound. He has been sending his fleece to the Board for many years. Many crofters prefer not to bother with the Board, and sell their fleece to the mills. The Board is the only sheep-scheme in Britain where the option, because of the location of the Harris Tweed mills on the island. But of 1970-71, the mills refused to buy fleece.)

Cattle: 12/- (Calf sale)
1/- (Subsidy for the calf)
18/- (Subsidy for the cow)
1,57/10

Total: 4,16/14

Costs: 1,50/- (Fodder used from December to August; a weight bag costing 1/6 is used almost every two weeks. Other costs do not use this much.)
8/- (Salt used for 7/8 sheep)
9/- (Tractor hire)
(Six hundredweights of fertiliser for oats and grass. For a cropping grass of 1/7.10, three hundredweights of fertiliser must be put on each acre of hay.)
1,79/ 8

Income: 1,16/14
Costs: 79/ 8
Profit: 1 86/ 6 (for about 1.2 back for a very 11 he invested)

Net cash income or profit from the croft thus represents 94 to 105 of his gross earnings from weaving. If computed as cash, unrealcated income from the croft in the form of garden vegetables and milk products would raise the croft income by 130 to 140. In those households that consume their own sheep, the croft contributes an even greater amount.

CROFTING CHANGES

The removal of crofters from good to poorer ground was a significant factor in the decline of the crofting community, with the result that self-sufficiency factor becoming smaller and the dependence on imports (when there was money to buy them) increasing. Today, the crofter is of course not self-supporting, his economic being based on fishing and weaving with the produce of the croft yielding an annual average of some £200.

Acreages under certain crops show this trend to dependence on the produce of mainland farmers. In the island in 1911 some 1,675 acres were under potatoes, the present acreage being less than one-third of that. The number of people per acre of potatoes for Scotland as a whole is 22 : 1. In the island it is about 11 : 1, reflecting a heavy domestic consumption. Yet substantial imports of this crop are required to satisfy demand; a relevant point is that the milking cow consumes the potatoes. The barley crop, once so much used in Lewis's former small distilleries, has been reduced to some 10 per cent of what it was in the past fifty years. On the other hand, the acreage of sheat crops, oats, rye and mixed corn, generally fed to cattle, has about doubled. Oats in particular are in favour for cattle feed, but for three of the past five years the oats crop came were not widely used for human food, and oatmeal has for centuries been imported into the region. The turnip acreage has fallen by over one-third in the past fifty years, perhaps the result of the gradual disappearance of the horse, its steady labour and its dung being required to put good heart into the land.

As the crofters' cropping policy has changed over the past half 2.3.1 century, so has their animal husbandry. Animals are a main self-[illegible] ing product, particularly cows and sheep. Horses, of course, have been drastically reduced from their total of 1,672 in 1911, as tractor, lorry and van have taken over their work. And though some cattle are raised, the numbers are now about 60 per cent below those of 1911. At that time the density of cattle per 1,000 acres was bracy (46-60) in the north-east of Lewis, lem (31-45) in the north-west, and still less further south. The present average is around 18 beasts per 1,000 acres. This decline, in particular in the milk-yielding animals, has compelled Lewis to import 1,000 gallons of milk a day from the mainland.

It is sheep which today claim pride of place on the croft, valued

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

6 TRADE AND INDUSTRY

IN the earliest times, the folk of the island of Harris and Lewis [illegible] were self-supporting; all that they needed for life as it was lived in those days was available at near hand; their existence was self-contained, the economy virtually self-sufficient. By and large, the only commodities often imported were salt, iron, and to a certain extent, wood. Rents were paid largely in kind: the produce of agriculture, fishing, and labour. Surplus produce was directed to southern markets to bring in the odd shilling or two for which there was really very little need in the island. But once money became important in the national economy, it was not long before it was required in the island economy too. By 1790, if not well before, two or three open boats set out each year from Lewis to Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. At about this time, too, changes were making their slow appearance in the island way of life and living. Specialists were being required; smiths, tinkers, shipwrights, tetmakers, boatbuilders, weavers, tailors and cobblers. Each of these crafts was a separate occupation, manned in some cases by craftsmen from outside, some combined, either individually or in shares, and also had some rights in the common ground of the township in which he lived.

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

From the pure crofter class there emerged the crofter-craftsmen. In Lochs, for instance, by the turn of the seventeenth century 80 per cent were registered as fishers and netmakers. In the west, in the parish of Barvas, some 70 per cent were also fishers, with kelp-making as a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where subtenants paid 30s to 60s in rent, with twelve days' service, they selling to their tacksmen at 5d each, earned 20s a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s a ton, and worked on-roads for 8d per day.

In Harris in 1895, the eight trained male weavers worked for the gentry only. Weaving for the populace was done by the [illegible]

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway and North Uist. In summer a fortnightly bus runs to Stornoway, and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes [illegible] which cater for a population of about 300 people. Population within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a mission hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Much of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a reefuelling point for ships.

The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as [illegible] is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality the dream of the poor of Harris nations to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being secondary to that from employing a tweed mill, from concentrate on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from their own sheep, the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with an eye to the tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in a small community. The interest of the Scottish Development Department in the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production and pay. In the wars of the last century many men served in the Highland regiments, the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Even today, the income from this external activity is not insignificant.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

Information and statistics about the economy of the island in the 18 middle of the eighteenth century are to be found in Walker's *Economical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland*; his MS is in the British Museum.

ST KILDA

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the world. The tourists were charitable, but the natives felt that the logical evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: "One cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral injury that tourists and sentimentalists and tract vachtsmen, with pocketful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple people." It was estimated that the islanders collectively made a profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived during the short summer.

The new pier of 1898 cost him a community which required money as an exchange commodity because the original native produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort to be self-supporting. The numbers of scalskin slaughtered steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional blaz of the Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toll in fellowship with others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the food they required, provided communications with the mainland were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling.

St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to the nation of little under £30,000, St Kilda was left to its fate, and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small human tragedy of a land that has been repeated, and will be repeated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, poor folk, scarce learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He was there in the company of a minister who had been summoned to the island to denounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180 inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Baptist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its lack

CH. V FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP

encouraging them to rest when the men returned was fondly indulged. Much can be learned from the first (or 'old') "Statistical Accounts of the parishes of Scotland drawn up from the communications of the Ministers of the different parishes", circa 1790-96. Of the parish of Stornoway, where by 1790 many men had become crofter-fishers and others were at sea, the Minister wrote, "The women labour at least as hard as the men", even pulverising the ground with heavy hand-rakes (harrows being seldom used), and digging both with crooked and straight spades. 'That the men's debt was repaid in acts of manly service is true. A man would carry wife or sweetheart on his shoulders across a river in spate, whose rushing waters might have swept her away. But in her turn, a woman would wade into the cold sea, her coats high, bearing on her hips husband or son out to his open boat, so that he could start his night of exposure dry-shod and warm. This act of service was noted and illustrated by Burt at Inverness (about 1726), and it was common in the Lews mainland of Britain.

Stornoway parish, giving one year to four parishes, is a guide for the rest. Fishing, with net-making, was a predominant occupation in all parishes by that time, and boat-building was significant too.

What return for their labours did the people get in the past, it will be asked, and what approach to sufficiency in a normal year? For the Island, the most thorough of the five Parish Accounts is that of Harris, with its fascinating retrospective notes (vol. x, p. 368). There the yield of a typical family share, a 'fourth' or 'farthing' land, was computed at "from four to five bolls" (which in Scotland

COMMUNITY FROM FAST TO PRESENT PT. I

usually corresponded to six imperial bushels). The stock was "four milch cows, three to perhaps four horses, and twelve sheep on the commons as the tenant has luck to rear". Although such estimates, reputedly accurate, are apt to err on the favourable side, a comparison with the same writer's statistics of stock (and rental) shows that this estimate gives only a little over the modern average per family in Harris, and allows an average sheep flock of one score ewes.

The briefer Statistical Accounts of Lewis indicate the average stock per family, suggesting comparisons both with the present, and with an earlier time (Chapter II). In 1790 the cattle and horses, three to four per family, were shared per family than now. In Lewis there were eight head of cattle per family, compared to 2·5 today; there were one or two ponies per family (according to the topography and ploughland of the parish) instead of an average of only one horse to five or six families today; the small family sheep-stock was similarly, and there were also some goats, say, one to every second family. In addition to these resources, there was fishing; and the number of boats in

What return for their labours did the people get in the past, it will be asked, and what approach to sufficiency in a normal year? For the Island, the most thorough of the five Parish Accounts is that of Harris, with its fascinating retrospective notes (vol. x, p. 368). There the yield of a typical family share, a ' fourth ' or ' farthing ' land, was computed at " from four to five bolls " (which in Scotland

175 natural areas, could not be attempted. In any case, the re-
175 clamation of clay land tended to slacken as efforts turned
453 to fishing and kelp-making. The introduction or increased
175 growing of potatoes added to the diet, but hardly to the
310 animal, food supply. Finally, while the beginnings of
310 medical knowledge and vaccination added the growth
175 of population after 1750, veterinary science had made no
175 progress, nor did it advance in the Island for many years
175 to come. We may conclude that as energy stuck per Island
472 family about 1750 was rather more than that of 1750, and
the acreage relatively larger, while both were greater than
the average of today, particularly in the Lews.

175 What, then, could a family have to eat, from such crops
175 and stock? While in winter one ate porridge, it meant no
175 milk to be had on a croft, and there would be little then,
294 there was salt meat, dried or salted cod (or herring) and
fish oil; oat and barley meal and some rye meal; cabbages;
and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, potatoes.
Martin included potatoes among the crops seen even on
St. Kilda in 1697. A century later it was written that
the people of Uig, for instance, had, though "unwilling"
been induced to grow and eat them "forty years before",
and the years tend to be under-estimated where changes
are slow and memories long. But it was written of Harris
that by June the meal and potatoes had mostly been con-
sumed, "and such as cannot afford to purchase imported
meal subsist chiefly on the milk of their cows and sheep,
with what fish they may chance to catch, till their wants
are relieved by the first fruits of their potato crops early
in Harvest".

We conclude that with even less money but a little
more grain the population in the Island had fluctuated
about a mean for some centuries before, as it had in so

176 But the seventeenth century there was introduced
176 the making of sea-weed, or "kelp", for alkali in
176 addition to the ancient drink of home-brewed beer or ale
176 (Gaeilg. a pleasant beverage) introduced by the Excise. In
176 order to pay the rent, the making of whisky from home-
176 grown barley was now a much more a precious foodstuff.
176 The small bulk of whisky facilitated report by tacksman
or Factor, and it also served to tickle the palate, cure the
454 ills and cheer the spirits of northern chieftains. What
175 before 1800 'the Gauger' was in the land, though there
175 was undoubtedly much whisky stills that escaped his eye. In
some of the old houses a hollow space was left at a selected
spot between the inner and the outer walls, to conceal what
175 was to be seen. It appears that Lewis drinkers survive of
the eighteenth century. It is told of a man of exceptional
prosperity, that when he had died an ex pilline "he
could bear on the one side the clacking of his corn mill and
on the other the bubble of his still". What more could
454 he ask for? Kelp was a very dangerous enterprise, and
175 ion as a legitimate home industry by which to pay the rent
678 (in kind or by sale), followed by legislation prohibiting all
but large stills, first encouraged the Lewis in a taste for
strong drink; then tempted them to smuggling and breaking
the law; finally established many distilleries at Stornoway,
importing barley for the purpose. By 1825 these had ousted
the illicit stills, but they were closed about 1830.

175 From a peritoneal narrow margin of subsistence, periodi-
175 cally overstepped in fortune, the Islanders passed to a
454 larger measure of production for sale, and in the second
175 half of the eighteenth century population increased. Its

1 CE. D. Stewart of Garth, *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 1822, vol. 1, p. 2.

2 *Brand Report*, 1901.

176 growth followed the increases in potato-growing and fish-
176 ing and manufacture of kelp, and the introduction
454 of vaccination against smallpox, which had formerly taken
175 a heavy toll of child life.[1] The increase found an outlet
175 in emigration to the Colonies, often led by departing tack-
175 men though discouraged at first by the Island lairds. For
example, in July 1773, 840 people sailed from Lewis.
"Alarmed by this, their master . . . came down from
454 his seat and chased the southern chieftains in smacks. What
are the terms asked, think you? 'The land at the old
175 rents, the augmentation paid for three years back to be
remitted, and the Factor to be dismissed immediately'."[2]
214 Although the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, from which this
quotation is taken, went on to say that it was expected that
the demands would be acceded to, or the Island would
become a desert, the Factor was retained.

175 The emigration was encouraged when the
175 appalling conditions of transport overseas are remembered.
175 A sum is known to have been assigned to emigrants sailing from
the Clyde across the Atlantic in a vessel for which the
maximum human cargo of negro slaves permissible was
400. The regulations governing the transport of slaves
did not apply to the transport of 'freemen'. In quoting
this case, D. F. Macdonald suggests that while it was in
the interest of slave-owners that their slaves should arrive
in the Plantations alive, it was rather in the interest of
manufacturers to discourage emigration so as to keep a
supply of labour at home with which to meet their growing
demands and fill the gaps due to a high mortality, par-
ticularly among workers newly arrived from the country.[3]
It would also seem as if it had not been in the interests of
landlords to encourage emigration. Population at Red Time,

1 *Brand Report*, 1901, p. 10.

2 *Scotland's Defying Population*, 1750-1850 (1940).

176 ceiss as Tarbert and another village was erected in The Pro-
176 district by Leverhulme. Leverhulme also appears to
454 have introduced 'Automatic' hand-looms into Lewis.
175 Tweed, in 1914, was a very popular material, but the
175 Lewis, a few, and a few sheep on the outrun, and perhaps
175 a small loot.

Commercial fishing and weaving cannot, however, be
satisfactorily combined, for seasonal alteration of occupa-
tion entails waste of gear and plant, and interferes with
efficiency. Thus in the North Lochs fishing 'creels'
(Lanthorst neighbourhood, immediately south of Stornoway),
weaving became important, but none of the seven
large herring fishing boats (still registered in 1930) had
a quarter share, which was to say that it was their idle and
rotting, and by 1938 only one was still registered. In South
Lochs, however, motor-boats were purchased, but there
is little weaving. An obvious reason for the difference is
the accessibility of the North Lochs area by rail to
Stornoway. Light passenger and carrying vans to the village,
besides groceries, etc., and take away rolls of tweed. South
Lochs, on the other hand, considerably further from
Stornoway by road, is still within reach for marketing fish.
In North Lochs, merchant seasons at home and young men
go to their crofts from three months' work in East Coast
fishing boats, turned increasingly to the 'Automatic' looms,
manipulation being easily learnt; but such intermittent
work alone gives little hope of progress. There is no more
fascinating problem than the future of improved weavers.

2. *Unemployment and the Island Budget*

174 In the past, the storms of the Atlantic washed up on
731 the Island shores the wreckage of world commerce; and
434

fragments of spars and other needful things lacking on
the Island, and were utilized by and carefully distributed.
So, after 1919, from the wreckage of modern industry
borne on the ground-swell of Depression[1], there came
to the Islands the frail raft of Unemployment, and the
small loot.

Some assessment is therefore required. The total
amounts of relief disbursed before 1931 were compara-
tively small, but they certainly exceeded the sum of
the crofters' contributions to the Unemployment Grant
Fund. After a couple of months of wage labour at road-
making, immediately after the War, many men were
qualified for 'the dole'. Furnished with this, they re-
turned to their crofts and employment gave out, to
start in their peat, collect stones for a new building, or
out with a rod for a little fishing from the rocks. All this
was done "on the spot" and the men were legitimately
their names were duly inscribed at Stornoway Labour
Exchange as seeking fresh employment. Not a few prayed
that 'employment' would not come inconveniently soon
as they would then be legally bound to accept it and to
leave the crofts. No doubt, even if such a job was offered
received was urgently needed, the surplus was not squan-
dered, as it might have been in a town. Extra cash, if ac-
served to buy a loom here, fencing for the garden there,
and other things of permanent use. Yet morally it consti-
tuted misappropriation of relief. As a result, through no
real fault of their own, young men began to lose inde-
pendence and self-respect. This general problem for youth
was widespread in years of 'depression', and it was
peculiarly severe both in industrial Clydeside and the
fishing villages of Scotland, and also throughout the
'depressed areas' of northern and western Britain, of
which the Lewis and Harris are the outstanding

APPENDIX I

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF LEWIS (AND HARRIS)

Introduction

174 THE assessment by the Lewis Association in their first Report
on the Economic Position of Lewis (proper) in 1938 shows the
Income derived from "productive industry".[1] This was defined
as that which "produces or tends to produce exchange value",
and therefore excludes the immediately domestic, of the production of
existence by crofting as well as saleable commodities. This
income covered the tweed industry and agriculture, and
touched upon fishing.

434 For the first, the tweed industry, the figures are reliable,
and the income for 1938 was £146,000 paid in wages, salaries and
wages in 1938 was a remarkable element of the Island income,
more than half going to the crofting or agricultural population.
the tweed industry was estimated to provide over £300,000.
For the same year, the value of the tweed stamps and
stock, combined with agricultural returns, were sufficiently
reliable to give fair confidence in the estimate of production of
nearly £200,000 (more precisely, £194,100). For the 3730
crofts an average value was obtained of nearly £56. To this was
added the peat cut on the crofts, averaging £24, thought by
some to be rather a high value. The work of building and
improvement of houses was not included and this has been
added, with an estimate of £40,000. For fishing (the third
chief source of production mentioned in the Report), the
income derived from local boats has been distinguished
from that earned by visiting boats; by combining official
statistics with personal, local inquiries. From this fresh
analysis a figure of £83,000 is offered here.

APPENDIX I

An effort has been made to separate crofting from other in-
come, and to obtain an average for the Island, based upon the
total rural households, numbering 4200, composed of those
of the 3730 occupied crofts plus an estimated 500 others, rural-
cottars and squatters, and 'fears'—i.e. holding land in fee.

174 Finally, the production income accounted on the Island there
should be added that received by earnings sent or brought
home to dependants, together with pensions, unemployment
relief and the like. I am greatly indebted to the appropriate
officials for the figures relating to 1938 or the year immediately
preceding. These sources average £45 per rural household.
The figures for relief all appear in the Report; but many figures
have been short-lived. The author is responsible for all
the concluding Table (pp. 314-315) bears a note on
other sources of income, which is a further table for 1935.

(i) *Tweed Industry*

After deducting the cost of wool imported from the main-
land and certain other costs, the net productive income was
£146,000 in 1938. The estimate may still err on the high
side but it indicates the prime importance of the industry in
the Island. For 1938 the figures for tweed stamps and
certified as land-woven by the Harris Tweed Association
Ltd., was 1,879,000 yds. (with a figure for cloth alone of 1,840,000. By
4,000,000 yards, though falling therefore. The value of the
annual production by crofters was £46,10 per £50. The income
total wages paid in 1938 amounted to £146,000 (£139,000),
rather more than half of which was paid to the weavers working
at home. In 1936 this had risen to nearly £200,000, a slightly
higher proportion falling to the weavers.

434 In addition to the wages paid and the price paid for local
wool, the industry is a valuable customer of the Electricity Com-
pany and directly or indirectly provides much other employment
in the Island. The industry also provided a market for a large
quantity of Scottish wool and contributed to taxation.

174 The productivity and earnings of the industry continued to

APPENDIX I

be high until 1948. There was a remarkable peak year for the pro-
duction of Harris Tweed, with over 5,000,000 yards (of which
4,000,000 were stamped, and some 1,300,000 unstamped).
In 1948 the production of unstamped tweed had fallen to
300,000 yards but stamped tweed came to 4,380,000 yards.

Then, in the year 1948 the imposition of a 66 per cent
purchase tax struck the industry a crippling blow. The rise
in prices of wool increased difficulties, and by 1950 five orders
were being booked and men were being paid off. A few small
firms who had adapted to the purchase tax were still operating,
but they corresponded to the enduring fulfilment of a prime
prophecy, and "tweed" was not produced. Thus formed a little to
the 'stranger' total of close on 5000 tons. As the Stornoway
Trading Company Limited, which owned a third of the
herring fleet, there remained only some 600 tons of herring
barely an eighth of the stranger total. A fifth, say, of the
stranger probably met less than a fifth of the catch but is
still smaller fraction of the same paid for it, for the cream of
the prices is obtained by the first and the last, generally the biggest
and faster of the fleet. If we set against the catches probably
the 5000 tons, the total catch of the winter fishing
(about 15 per cent of the year's total), we shall still err on the
side of the total of the Stornoway fleet. Also in to estimate what fraction
of these sums may be included in the net output of the Island
industry (see Appendix I). The Board of Trade's *Statistical Tables and*
Annual Report extract the produce brought in by local boats
from the total, separating it from that due to 'strangers'; and
representing a fairly reliable estimate, checked by local enquiry.

Of the herring taken, nearly 80 per cent were caught in the
summer fishing, June to August (*Annual Report*, p. 13). The
week of maximum local activity in herring fishing for Stornoway
District may be taken to be increments of £38,000 for the District
(Table II). These were then 111 steam-boats engaged; and as
only five were locally registered (at Stornoway itself), the
remaining 106 were strangers. There were also 66 motor-
boats engaged and though 81 motor herring-boats are locally

APPENDIX I

registered at the various 'creeks', obviously all cannot have
been engaged; moreover, the strangers are invariably greater.
Thus of a given unit-of-time would probably be conservative.
The two sums, local and stranger, are added.

Now, the average net tonnage of a drifter or a good East
Coast motor-boat approached 40 tons, almost double the
average tonnage of a local motor herring-boat (20 tons), and
the catch was much in ratio. During such a week and
period, the total net tonnage of the stranger drifters was
about 106 × 40 tons, or say 4000 tons. That of strange
motor-boats may have been, say, 66 × 20 tons, or 800 to 900
tons, but the local tonnage was only 44 × 20 tons, another 800 to
900 tons, or, say, 1000 tons in all. Thus formed a little to
the 'stranger' total of close on 5000 tons. As the Stornoway
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barely an eighth of the stranger tonnage. A fifth, say, of the
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still smaller fraction of the same paid for it, for the cream of
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APPENDIX I

(49) Hebridean Herring, 1949, Sea Department of
(50) Scottish Herring Industry, 1949, Sea Department of
(51) Land Use survey of Lewis and Harris, 1949, Department of Agriculture
(52) Report on the Economic Position of Lewis (proper), 1938, Lewis Association

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Coast motor-boat approached 40 tons, almost double the
average tonnage of a local motor herring-boat (20 tons), and
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remaining 106 were strangers. There were also 66 motor-
boats engaged and though 81 motor herring-boats are locally

228 boats; value, £15,400. Of this, the greater part came into Lewis creeks (Table 17), making £10,000 for Lewis.

434 Finally, we may add a round figure for whole or part-time occupations associated with the fisheries, including what accrues by the visiting fleet and its business, of, say, £20,000. This gives a total net output approaching £85,000 from fisheries for a typical year just before 1939.

[462] We now turn to an estimate of the earnings of fishermen and of the women engaged in curing. To some extent these figures overlap, for the value of the net output includes the wages of fishermen and women; but the sums earned on 'stranger' vessels—reduced now to some £3000—and the wages earned by women gutters and curers in East Anglia [436] (about £10,000) are additions to Lewis income. Some of this was, no doubt, sent home in the form of postal orders, etc., causing a further overlap, but much of it was probably sent in the form of notes or brought home in cash. In order to show the real net earnings of rural Lewis, these are separated from the output shown in the first column ((A, i) on p. 314) and are tabled under "Earnings by Crofting and Associated Rural Occupations only" (A, ii).

[127] (*b*) *Fishers' Earnings.*—As no figures of local earnings are separately published, estimates must be based upon the colla-tion of the Fishery Board's *Annual Statistical Tables* and [178] accompanying *Annual Reports* with careful local enquiries. By 1938 the fishermen on Stornoway District herring fishing vessels were reduced to about 350 men and boys in the summer season, of whom only a few worked in autumn and winter. Their earnings included the earnings of share owners of boats and of nets, and of those without shares, the latter being only a fraction, say a quarter, of the total. Nearly 100 District men still worked on 'stranger' (East Coast) vessels at the summer fishing and rather fewer at the East Anglia autumn fishing. The sum so earned may have been a third or more of the earnings on District vessels. Altogether the total net earnings from herring fisheries received by all fishermen from Lewis proper came to little more than £8000. By 1938 the

question, whether it would be better to change from the Orb trade and go to power looms. Then you would be able to do any kind of cloth. You wouldn't be tied down to regulations as you are with the Harris Tweed. To do that after all it cost them with the court case a few years back--. But, at the same time, it's more important to have work than this trademark. As it is at the moment, it's just a white elephant."

Neilie Leoid

Neilie Leoid left school in 1931 at the age of 14, as easy-going and generally content with things then as he is 40 years later. "When I was going to school lots of people hated the headmaster, but I had no complaints against him. Perhaps people are inclined to blame other people for their own failures. Of course, I didn't like school very much, and I didn't go to it all that often.

"In those days you didn't have the same access to education as the young people have today. You didn't assume you could go very high. You were quite content to settle down to weaving. The boys started learning from anyone who was around. I started weaving with my uncle when I was 15, on an old wooden loom. In one winter we earned the L26 to buy a single-shuttle automatic. My uncle's eyesight was getting sort of dim, so I would

(B) REMITTANCES (BY POST), ALLOWANCES, PENSIONS AND

With Averages per Rural Household

(i) Urban and Rural

Money and Postal Orders	£53,700
Allowances (Forces)	41,000
Pensions (State)	82,700
Unemployment payments	120,000
Total (B, i)	£297,400

Total (B, ii)

Total (i, A and B) £1,026,500 Total (ii, A and

Note.—To complete the estimate of rural income, partly ind
should require to group with (A) certain sources of income of pro
road-making and the creation of other services, and to add to (B) o
from outside the Island which may be received as Bank-notes by po
cash brought home by earners. The figures of £110,000 for U
and of £35,000 for Money and Postal Orders, suggest that it woul
a figure equal to at least the two combined, or £145,000, towards ma
£30 or so per rural household. By bringing the sources of incom
very small amount—we should approach a true figure, which cann

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS

(ii) RURAL

	(a) Official Rural	(b) Estimated Rural	(c) Average per Household
	£31,700	£34,900	£7·4
	30,400	33,000	7·0
	54,100	60,000	12·7
	110,000	110,000	23·4
	£226,200	£237,500	£50·5
		(Approx.)	£51
B)	£650,550	£661,850	£141

icated by (A) and (B) we
ductive character such as
ther savings and pensions
ost, as Bank Drafts, and in
nemployment Assistance,
d not be too much to add
king an income of another
e to at least £170—still a
ot, at best, be large.

Selected Estimates of (A) *Net Output of*
Incom

(A) *NET OUTPUT*

(i) URBAN AND RURAL

Net earnings of tweed industry		£30
Agriculture (including farms)		19
Peat		9
House-building and improvement		4
Fishing		
Herring (by local boats)	£20,000	
Curing total catch	35,000	
Associated income	20,000	
White fish, etc. (local)	10,000	
Total local fishing	£85,000	8
Wages, (fishers on stranger boats)		
,, (women in East Anglia)		1
Total (A, i)		£72

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I. *Circa* 1938.

Productive Industry and (B) *Certain Other Sources of*
e, in Lewis (proper)
OF PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY

(ii) EARNINGS BY CROFTING AND ASSOCIATED RURAL OCCUPATIONS ONLY:

(*a*) Crofts only, 3750; (*b*) All Rural (including cottars and squatters), 4700 households

				Average per Household (*a*) *Crofts*	(*b*) *All Rural*
7,000	Earnings of hand-weavers		£75,000		£17·0
	Spinners		5,000		
4,100	Agriculture (crofting only)		184,350	£49	39·2
0,000	Peat		90,000	24	19·0
0,000	Housing (State-aided)		15,000		3·0
	,, (Other (say))		15,000		3·0
	Fishing				
	Herring (by rural fishers)	£8,000			
	Curing (by rural women)	15,000			
	,, (in East Anglia)	10,000			
	White fish, etc.	7,000			
5,000	Total fishing	£40,000	40,000		8·5
3,000					
0,000					
9,100	Total (A, ii)		£424,350		£89·7
					(Approx.) £90

APPENDIX II

RECENT STATISTICS (1953–54)

128 In briefer form, the basic economic data can now be reviewed,
433 in the same order, for 1953, or the period April 1953 to March
1954, as available. The results are shown on the second pair
434 of Tables, pp. 318-319.

(i) *Tweed Industry* (1953–54)

434 Taking 5,000,000 yards as the 1953–54 total, and accepting
an estimate of 1s. 2d. paid to weavers per finished, mill-shrunk
288 yard, payments to weavers in Lewis-and-Harris (and a few in
463 the southern Hebrides) would amount to some £291,700. After
subtracting the output from Harris, this corresponds to an informal estimate by the Lewis Association for Lewis proper of well over £250,000 and more, probably £275,000 for the period. Adding the wages of spinners in Stornoway mills, and also of carriers, dockers, etc., it is thought safe to double the figure, with £550,000, for Lewis, rural and urban. Most of the weaving is rural. The increased use of daily bus transport allows rural dwellers to come to Stornoway daily to earn and so has increased the ratio of rural to urban wages by spinning and other labour. For rural carriers and mill-employees, a fifth of £275,000 is taken here, making £55,000. As no estimate for the 'net earnings' in Lewis is available, the same ratio to wages is taken as in 1938, making £1,200,000.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House Building* (1953)

178 (a) *Agriculture.*—First, the trend of crop and stock pro-
duction can be indicated by selected figures for the Island for
434 1918, 1939 and 1953. The areas both of oats and rotation
241 grass increased, the three successive totals in acres being, for
oats: 4460, 5020, 5440; and for rotation grass: 390, 1385,

APPENDIX II

178 2110. The acreage under potatoes declined steadily: 3940,
434 3730, 1650. Barley dwindled from 2350 acres to 1340, and
130. Turnips reached a maximum of 510 acres in 1939, but
241 were not worth noting by 1953. These crop acreages reflect
the change in stock-rearing, with the decline in the number of
178 cattle but the great increase in the number of sheep. Taking
the three successive totals for 1918, 1939 and 1953, cattle
434 numbered 13,620, 9060 and 6540 head; but this diminution
231 by more than half was chiefly due to the small number of
bullocks reared. Cows and heifers, 7650 in 1918, still stood at about 4500 in 1953, and they are now of far better quality in weight and milk production. The totals of sheep were successively, 78,150, 114,330, 185,860; by use of mainland rams their average weight has increased, while the wool is rather more abundant but coarser. Taking the Lewis Association's equivalent of 1 cattle beast to 8 sheep, the livestock carry increased by nearly 25 per cent; and if we add the increased value of the cattle the livestock increase counts for very much more. Horses, it is true, fell to 380 by 1953; as before, most had been bought in from Uist, not bred. Hence a new charge on agriculture, the purchase and use of the 65 tractors owned by farmers and crofters, and their running costs, is relatively less heavy than it would be in a horse-breeding area. The poultry are still deplorably few: 86,460, or about 20 per croft.

[632] The Table on p. 316 sums up the conditions, apparently
somewhat stabilised for the time being, parish by parish, and
invites comparison with Chapter II, pp. 67-68.

178 (b) and (c) *Peat-making and House-building.*—While *peat-*
222 *cutting* is still important, more coal is used than formerly, and
hence the peat is valued here much as in 1938. *Housing* is
314 most important; Local Authority housing by the Burgh
struggles to meet the need of a growing urban and 'suburban'
178 population as in other towns in Britain, but with an additional
362 "remote area subsidy" to meet mainland contractors' extra
647 costs. There is little truly rural housing by the County Council
and rents are too high for the houses to be fully occupied. The
63 figures for Stornoway Burgh for the ten years 1945–54 exceed
[162]

APPENDIX II

178 300 houses, with nearly 30 built by "private enterprise"; in
362 addition the Local Authorities built 140 in the immediate
647 'suburbs' (of which 50 were temporary), a total of over 470
63 and an average of, say, 47. Another 115 were built in the rural
[439] townships. If we give a round total of £125,000 as the value

	Barvas	Lochs	Stornoway	Uig	Lewis Total	Harris
Holdings						
Full-time	5	12	8	21	49	34
Part- and spare-time	1,050	580	1,160	630	3,420	510
June 1953 (acres)						
Oats	2,080	520	1,220	900	4,730	710
Potatoes	550	180	450	260	1,440	210
Tillage	2,860	730	1,810	1,196	6,590	1,280
Rotation Grass	580	300	690	290	1,850	260
Permanent Grass	2,870	2,460	3,250	3,150	11,730	4,030
Grass	3,450	2,760	3,940	3,440	12,580	4,290
Rough Grazing (head)	93,580	107,180	56,480	111,250	368,490	111,170
Cattle	1,350	860	1,330	1,360	4,900	1,640
Sheep	38,110	37,810	23,670	42,690	142,280	43,580
Pigs	10	2	110	3	130	..
Poultry	25,370	9,880	25,910	13,060	74,220	12,240
Horses	180	25	60	60	320	60
February 1954						
Tractors	24	4	24	5	57	8

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178 for an average year (such as 1953) for Local Authority Housing,
362 we may allot half this to net output of local materials and to
647 wages earned by Lewismen, some £65,000, of which rural
63 wages were a small fraction, say £20,000.

435 For crofters and cottars, however, in 1953, a fairly typical
year, there was much local effort and achievement, by help
434 of 180 loans and grants from the Department of Agriculture
for Scotland, totalling £81,000 for new houses or house im-
647 provements (with a very few steadings). £80,000 may be
allotted to local materials and to labour paid or given by house-
654 holders themselves.
426

APPENDIX II

434 228 [439]

(iii) *Fishing Industry* (1953)

The renewed Russian contracts for herring have meant loading of Baltic shipping at Stornoway with barrels of herring cured both in Stornoway and Ullapool. Catching power in Scotland generally is hardly enough to meet this contract. Thus, while the numbers of boats continued to decline after the war, leaving only one steam and 33 motor drifters (over 30 feet keel) registered by 1953, the fishermen employed rose to 610, of whom some 520 were crofter-fishermen. Many worked much of the year; on the other hand, most of the winter catch went for 'oil and meal' at about 50s. per cran instead of the top price of over 80s. For local boats a figure of £30,000 is suggested for the catch of herring, say £10,000 for white fish, with £5560 for shellfish. For "curing and associated income" the pre-war figures may be doubled. [178]

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island* (1953)

434 465 [657]

In mid-1953, of just 5000 registered for the Island as employed—and other than the self-employed, *i.e.* the farmers and crofters, the hand-weavers and the boat-sharing fishers—1130 earned by the three industries first named, the rest by other trades and professions, 3870 in all. The unemployed numbered 1180. Analysis of wage-rates would throw light on total earnings. As to unemployment, the fact that, like crofters and many fishers, hand-weavers count as 'self-employed' means that when out of work they are not covered by unemployment insurance, and have to be helped, at low rates, by public assistance.

(v) *Allowances, etc.* (1953)

434 657 436 729

Turning now to Remittances, to the manifold categories of Pensions, National Insurance and National Assistance, and to Unemployment Benefit (a small item), the Table B, 1953–54, shows the totals kindly furnished for this study, with £1,017,110 for all Lewis and an estimated £977,010 for rural Lewis.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

433 434 369

II. *Circa* 1953 and 1953–54

Selected Estimates of (A) *Net Output of Productive Industry, 1953, and* (B) *Certain Other Sources of Income, 1953–54 in Lewis (proper)*

(A) *NET OUTPUT OF PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY* (1953)

(i) Urban and Rural

Net earnings of tweed industry (taken as)		£1,200,000
Agriculture (including farms)		360,000
Peat		100,000
House-building and improvement		145,000
Fishing		
Herring (by local boats)	£30,000	
Curing total catch	70,000	
Associated income	40,000	
White fish, etc. (local)	15,560	
Total local fishing	£155,560	155,560
Wages (fishers on stranger boats)		3,000
" (women in East Anglia)		10,000
Total (A, i)		£1,973,560

(ii) Earnings by Crofting and Associated Rural Occupations only:

(*a*) Crofts (with squatter holdings, 3540: (*b*) All Rural (including cottars and squatters), 4700 households

			Average per Household (*a*) Crofts	Average per Household (*b*) All Rural
Earnings of hand-weavers		£275,000		
Spinners		55,000		£70
Agriculture (crofting only)		340,000	£91	74
Peat		100,000	28	21
Housing (Local Authority)		20,000		
" (D.A.S.)		80,000		21
Fishing				
Herring (by rural fishers)	£20,000			
Curing (by rural women)	15,000			
" (in East Anglia)	10,000			
White fish, etc.	7,000			
Total fishing	£52,000	52,000		12
Total (A, ii)		£922,000	(Appr.) £198	

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(B) *REMITTANCES (BY POST), ALLOWANCES*

With Averages per Ru

(i) Urban and Rural

Money and Postal Orders	£196,680
Allowances (Forces) and Pensions (State), with Unemployment payments	820,430
Total (B, i)	£1,017,110
Total (i, A and B)	£2,990,670

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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436
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729
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, PENSIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS

ral Household (1953-54)

	(ii) Rural		
	(a) *Official Rural*	(b) *Estimated Rural*	(c) *Average per Household*
	£85,600	96,160	£20·5
	590,470	880,850	187·4
Total (B, ii)	£676,070	£977,010	£207·9
Total (ii, A and B)	£1,598,070	£1,899,010	(Approx.) £208 (Approx.) £405

APPENDIX I

average wage for the summer season dropped to about £25.

The number of women engaged in gutting and packing (and kippering) herrings varies from year to year. In 1938 1000 were engaged locally in summer, most of whom also went to East Anglia. As always, the greater part of the wages was earned in the summer and the remainder in the East Anglia (autumn) fishing season. The net average earnings per worker of the Scottish gutters and packers were estimated at £16 at the Scottish summer fishings and £17 at the East Anglian fishing (*Annual Report*, p. 12). This figure included 'arles' (*i.e.* earnest money), but excluded travelling expenses. The Stornoway District earnings averaged £16 at the local summer fishing but only £15 at the East Anglia fishing. The latter is a small return to place against the skill of the worker and the discomfort she endures. The women work in small teams together, and their efficiency is partly due to their comradeship.

Figures for catches have already been given as approaching £20,000 for herring and £10,000 for white fish and shell-fish. While the net earnings derived, after subtracting the working expenses of boats and outlays for gear, were very much less than this gross sum, a substantial part should be counted as equivalent to earnings (Statistical Table 21).

Summing up the total net earnings, we arrive at the following for Lewis proper. The women's total net earnings may be taken as £25,000. We add to the probable earnings of the men at the herring fishing an allowance for their profits from other catches, making a total of say £15,000.

The industry was still declining here as elsewhere in Scotland. About 1930 the earnings of hired hands alone reached £30,000 and that of women twice as much, say £60,000. Besides this was the important sum earned by men with share of boats. The local white fish and shell-fish catches were also considerably higher at that period. As to the future, much will depend on what can be done to rehabilitate the local industry by compensation for losses incurred in war, and by assurance that government policy will encourage local fishermen to embark on their enterprise without the risk of the

APPENDIX I

crippling losses suffered after 1914–18. A beginning has certainly been made. The Herring Industry Board's scheme for 'Queen of Scots' kippers will help the Minch fishing. It will not necessarily help the ports of Stornoway or Tarbert, because herring can be landed at mainland ports and treated there or else taken by road to the Moray Firth, kippered there, and still qualify under the scheme. The Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society has aided the marketing of lobsters to good purpose.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island*

It is to be hoped that members of the Lewis Association may ascertain these, perhaps in collaboration with University research workers. This, in turn, might instructively be collated with the imports and exports of the Island, which are recorded and ascertainable with a precision impossible for a similar area on the mainland. Thus the facts would throw light on the economy of other crofting districts.

(v) *Allowances, Pensions, Unemployment Assistance and Remittances*

With regard to money received by the crofting communities of Lewis from other than 'productive' sources, figures have kindly been made available regarding three sources, namely, (*a*) Allowances made to members of the Forces and their dependents, and Pensions, (*b*) Unemployment payments, and (*c*) Money Orders and Postal Orders. The yearly periods for which figures are available are close enough to permit of reasonable comparisons. Among other sources, Bank Drafts form an insignificant fraction of monies received by crofters from outside the Island. It is impossible to say how much cash is brought home by men paid off from the Merchant Service and other employment, or how much may be sent through the post in the form of notes, whether registered or unregistered. The amount is known to be large, however, and an estimate based on the number of insured employed, and other figures, would be of value. A token figure is suggested in a note to the concluding Table.

APPENDIX I

For the year 1937–38, Allowances paid to members of Forces and their dependants in Lewis (proper) came to £40,0 Of this sum a greater part was paid through Stornoway P Office than might have been expected from the town's pop tion. But able-bodied recipients of Allowances are attrac to the town by the likelihood of finding work there, w men of higher rank and pay are apt to be townsfolk, and t dependants also. Old Age, Orphans' and Widows' Pensi exceeded £80,000. Of this sum a relatively large amount also paid through Stornoway Post Office, partly for admi trative reasons, rendering other causes harder to disentangl

We turn now to the next source named, Unemploym Assistance. The Bureau made payments of £120,000 in 193 the last year for which relevant statistics were made availa Of this sum, about one-third was Insurance Benefit, derivab principle from the joint earnings of workers, and two-th were Public Assistance, contributions to which were made f local rates. The fraction paid to Stornoway workers relatively small, and may be estimated at barely £10,000, of rural payees accounting for the remaining £110,000. the Means Test took account of the croft (or smaller hol with house), the average payment to individuals was small.

Turning to Money Orders, and taking the balance of ment and issue at face value, there was actually an outflow f the Island instead of an influx, for the issues exceeded the ments. In Lewis in 1937–38, whereas nearly £60,000 issued in Money Orders, only a little over £30,000 was p Even allowing for the fact that part of the payments is cas through banks or cleared at a central Post Office on the m land, there would appear to be an outflow, as central clearances probably amount to no more than 35 to 40 per c The amounts in Postal Orders paid were smaller, total £23,000, and the difference between payments and issues

Comparisons between town and country are instruc Stornoway's position as a shopping centre is reflected in heavier average of Money Order payments per head per an as compared with rural areas (£8·4 as against £1·1); and

difference between the issues and the payments in rural areas (£28,000 as against £13,000) is no doubt due to orders drawn to pay accounts. In this connection, a comparison of conditions at an interval of nine years is suggestive for any attempt to distinguish the difference between rural incomes before and after the economic depression. In rural Lewis the total Order payments fell from over £33,000 in 1928–29 to barely £22,000 in 1937–38, a fall of more than a third. Although a decline in the payment of Money Orders in Stornoway was partly offset by an increase in that of Postal Orders there, it is thought that even this reflects a fall in the cash available in the townships, by indicating a fall in the average amount of accounts paid by country customers to Stornoway tradesmen. Even here, it is true, some allowances must be made, as latterly more shopping was done by customers coming into Stornoway by car and probably paying to a greater extent in cash.

Comparisons may now be made, for all the data quoted, between Stornoway and the rural or 'landward' areas of Lewis, and also between landward parishes for all except the Unemployment payments. Population having changed but little from 1931 to 1938, and economic conditions not being very different in the Island in the financial years 1936 and 1937–38, an approximation can be made of payments averaged per head of population. In the following table these are shown in £ sterling to one decimal place.

Average Payments (per Head per Annum)

	Stornoway Burgh	Stornoway Landward	Barvas	Lochs	Uig	Average Landward
	£	£	£	£	£	£
(a) Allowances and Pensions	10·2	3·3	4·0	3·6	5·9	3·9
(b) Unemployment Payments	2·6	..	..	..	..	5·1
(c) Money and Postal Orders	(8·4)	1·0	0·9	1·2	1·3	1·1
Total	..	..	..	..	..	10·1

The significant figure here is the average total payment per head in the rural or 'landward' area, a sum of ten pounds sterling, the complexity of urban conditions, even in a small town, making the total for the Burgh less significant. To put it differently, an average rural household of 4·5 persons thus received a sum of £45 a year from these sources.

All these figures—pointers to the complete facts, unascertained as yet—show that even with the help of these sources the average income of the rural Islanders was small. Comparisons of such figures with those for the rest of Britain would, of course, be misleading. To those who spend their working lives outside their native isle, Lewis is no more than a home; and for them it should therefore be compared to some urban suburb or 'dormitory', rather than to an urban centre of production or a typical agricultural district in the Lowlands.

It may help to compare the conditions of 1938 with those of 1951 if, say, average weekly wage earnings for all British workers in employment are taken for October of both years. Thus, taking the 1938 earnings of 53s. 3d. as 100, those of 1951 were 141s. 1d. or 265 per cent of the first, a figure to be related to the cost of living index which had only risen from 100 to 202 per cent. The total wage-bill gave a still higher increase for Britain, from 100 in 1938 to 287 per cent in 1951. As food forms a heavy part of the doubled cost of living to people in poverty or near it, the crofters' own food does not greatly relieve them. The loss of employment following the close of the mills left little for them but to seek employment beyond the Island.

Summing up the facts of this Appendix, it may be said that the Island furnishes (1) means for partial subsistence for most; (2) means of earning a livelihood, for some; and (3) a home from which many go forth to earn a living for themselves (and their families) elsewhere—meantime contributing to national and local income there. Of these, many return later, either to found a home, to pay visits on holiday or during periods of ill-health or unemployment, or to retire upon the Island.

231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' shielings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig shielings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Mealasta farm, until about 1939, shielings were used in that area.

314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears
241 evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation. Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres
312 of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a
377 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very
501 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers -
286 nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy; in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady
464 income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside
[434] the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R. A. F. station and at least
[467] one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns at tractor which he hires
[445] out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Mairs peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

427 Tables 16 and 18 support the definition of a croft as a small livestock-economy unit,
311 primarily concerned with the provision of milk for the family and young cattle and wool for sale. There are no cash sales of crops - the whole of the land-use is directed towards
231 the subsistence of the crofter and his stock. The cereals (almost entirely oats) and the hay (occupying a very small proportion of land for a livestock farming region) are grown
[241] for winter fodder for the cattle and sheep. The larger part of the croft is given over to
[246] grazing - usually of poor to medium quality - which receives very little attention from the crofter. Less than one third of the holdings have sown grassland (and in these few cases it is normally less than half an acre) - a fact which suggests a passive rather than active attitude of the crofter towards his land.

[244] In addition, every croft has its own small potato plot - rarely more than half an acre to provide for family needs, and most crofts (58%) possess a vegetable garden - again for house use.

[433] Nearly all the crofts carry one or two cows - the second cow ensures a milk supply all the year round. Young stock are sold at one year to eighteen months old, rather than as calves - a result of the incentive offered by the calf-rearing subsidy. The milking stock is replaced very infrequently.

427 Where one croft differs from the next is in the numbers of sheep stock. Table 17
233 shows an even distribution of crofts with more than fifty and less than fifty sheep; but, in
[434] fact, over one third of all crofts have less than twenty-five sheep. Sheep are the only source of money income on the croft, except for the annual sale of the calf, and subsidies, and there is a considerable difference in the size of sheep stock between the truly subsistence and "retirement" crofts on the one hand and the "commercial" crofts on the other. Hence the scuming figures, and here note the contrast between Valtos with the sheep stock equal to 111% of the scum and Kneep - 353%!

000 An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on

TABLE 18
LAND USE

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef
243 244 246 Average size of holding:			
311 Old arable	2.5	4.1	11.0
427 231 Outrun	2.8	6.2	
Percentage of croftland under:			
cereals	7.5	7.0	6.0
potatoes	2.5	5.0	3.0
Sown grass (hay)	5.5	1.0	5.5
natural hay	3.5	10.0	4.0
natural grazing	75.5	76.0	75.0

An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on the individual croft to the size of holding and to the availability and age of the labour force. In both diagrams there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0 - 7 units) and the commercial holding (11+ units), but there is no definite relationship between stock and size of holding or labour availability. The inclusion of the points of equilibrium for certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected state of affairs: in the case of crofters with regular work and full time crofters, those over the age of forty-five carry a larger stock from those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to the economic problem of crofting lies in the amalgamation of holdings in order to create a more viable economic unit, but the indication from these diagrams is that an increase in the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to an increase in stock. It is the absence of accessible markets that deter the crofter from increasing his agricultural production.

In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihood for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters under sixty-five almost 90% supplement the croft income by other employment. Of these casual labour (at present mainly at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57% regular work - particularly weaving - 43%. The combination of crofting and weaving provides probably the best return for the labour: one crofter with a croft of 3.3 acres, carrying two cows, two followers and ninety sheep (sixty ewes) made the following estimates for 1958:

FROM THE CROFT:	
Sale of two year-old calves	£80
Cow and calf subsidies	£40
Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb.	£75
	£ 195[1]
FROM WEAVING -	
at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p.w.)	£550
GROSS INCOME	£745

Weaving about 30 hours a week apparently leaves him sufficient time to run the croft efficiently; at present a crofter supplementing his income by a labourer's wage at Gisla hydro electric scheme would have to put in nearly sixty hours per week to achieve the same financial reward.

The economy of the Valtos peninsula has been changing, and contracting, for several years. The number of unoccupied crofts is increasing; commercial fishing ended at the time of the first World War; the shielings have been abandoned as summer cattle pastures. The Valtos shielings near Loch Scanadale were abandoned during the 1939 - 45 war, due mainly to the lack of manpower in the township, though some was used intermittently until 1953. The shielings of Knasp and Reef were abandoned in the late 1930's, at which time Knasp had some fifty milk cows as compared with fourteen in 1959.

[1] Against this figure, must be set the costs of production (i.e. fertilisers, new seed, winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

Since so much of the year is spent either upon or near the crofts it is but to be expected that greatest losses of Island sheep will take place in the summer when they are far from supervision upon the hills; this contrasts with the mainland Highlands w heaviest losses, apart from those due to sudden snow falls, generally come about lam time, when this takes place upon the hill, or soon after, in cases when the ewes and lambs are put to the hill too soon. On Bernera Shore on the other hand losses are heaviest on the hill in winter. Losses are extremely uneven in their incidence in tim and from croft to croft. The cause of loss varies: there are no serious endemic diseases now, and there are few coastal cliffs - a frequent cause of loss in other plac There are however some boggy areas in the interior and some rugged: whether or no there are losses due to vermin particularly eagles, is a debatable point. Probably t fundamental cause of loss is lack of shepherding and adequate day-to-day oversight up the hill.

There are certain special pastures that show interesting features. The Flannan Islands have excellent pasture, especially for the poorer male shearlings which need bringing on. There is all-the-year-round grazing for fifty sheep, which is shared by two crofters in Crulivig and one in Earshader. Unfortunately, the difficulty of gettin a boat to go across has meant that for the last two years no visits have been made, a after one or two years unattended, the animals become quite wild. Since 1949, when the Croir tenants were first permitted to cut peat upon the Bernera shielings, they ha ceased to do so on Vacasay Island, where they now each send two sheep for summer grazing. They also send one sheep each to Euglam Island from 15th May to 16th Aug One croft in Tobson includes certain small islands:

Bearsay Island (16.4 acres; soumed for 12 sheep per annum)

Eilean Fir Crothair (4.6 acres; soumed for 5 sheep per annum)

Seildeim (1.0 acres; soumed for 3 wedders per summer)

Similarly, Valasay (part of Tobson), has Eilean Liongain Valasay which provides summer pasture for two young cattle beasts or five sheep (one per croft). One croft in Crulivig has a small offshore island taking two hogge during tupping and at least o crofter in Crulivig also grazing on Ben Sgurain, but there has been no success in the attempts to heft stock there. It is distant and unfenced; losses can be heavy.

Lewis is a very restricted market for livestock: the general practice in the Bern area is to sell cast ewes at five or six or even more years to the butchers in Stornow Lambs may be sold on occasion, but generally they are kept either for replacement o sale as three-year wedders.* The losses which occur, plus a certain amount of sla ter for domestic use, prevent long-term accumulation, though periodic fluctuations n be severe. Occasionally when there is a surplus of summer grazing, the Bernera S townships may buy in lambs from the western coast of Lewis, carefully eschewing th raised on the machair lands, which are said to be too "soft" for the hills. These ar reckoned a gamble, they may or may not "take". The practice may be compared wi that of the former Linshader Farm where, to take up the summer surplus of feed, y cattle were bought from the crofters.

The wool from the Lewis Blackface sheep generally varies from three to four lbs per fleece. There is no longer any hand spinning; most wool is either sold outright sent to the mills for spinning and dyeing. This practice is of long-standing. Even before the Great War, when the rent formed by far the most important item in the m tary affairs of the croft, the wool was either sold outright or, more commonly, sent the mills for spinning and then taken to a weaver; the tweed was then sold either loc or to a merchant in Stornoway, the proceeds being used for the rent and other items.

Cattle, as has been pointed out, have declined greatly in relative importance sinc 1883: they are fewer in number - though far better in quality - and consequently sub

*Three-year wedders in good condition fetch about £6 for slaughter. Carcase weig is about 44/45 lbs., sometimes as little as 38 and sometimes as much as 55 lbs.

Lark Fly and Pack mice to gather in the same way now though the large plodders, which they have been unable to do since the coming of the rabbits, are still with us. They have been unable to do so because they have been driven by the rabbits from their old haunts, which they now occupy to the exclusion of the rabbits. Some 20 years or so ago according to the farmers of the district, rabbits were not in evidence in the Ulg area, but they came in with the rabbit plague of the 1930's and have been there ever since. Rabbits are now the most numerous of the mammals in the area, and, in contrast to the Lowlands, the comparable figure is around 100. Other sources try to maintain the rabbit population at a low level, but they are not very successful, and the rabbits are a pest to the farmers, who have to protect their crops from them by fencing and spring traps and shooting them at night when they are feeding.

Rabbits are not the only pest which cause the late nineteen-twenties Soils II 2, neither while the Highland Soils are concerned, but they are the most numerous and the most destructive. Rabbits are a pest to the farmers, who have to protect their crops from them by fencing and spring traps and shooting them at night when they are feeding. The most destructive of the mammals in the area are the rabbits, which are now the most numerous of the mammals in the area, and, in contrast to the Lowlands, the comparable figure is around 100. Other sources try to maintain the rabbit population at a low level, but they are not very successful, and the rabbits are a pest to the farmers, who have to protect their crops from them by fencing and spring traps and shooting them at night when they are feeding.

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Apparently 2/12 above the rabbit source of the difficulties which confront the community. Rabbits are not the only pest which cause the late nineteen-twenties Soils II 2, neither while the Highland Soils are concerned, but they are the most numerous and the most destructive. Rabbits are a pest to the farmers, who have to protect their crops from them by fencing and spring traps and shooting them at night when they are feeding. The most destructive of the mammals in the area are the rabbits, which are now the most numerous of the mammals in the area, and, in contrast to the Lowlands, the comparable figure is around 100. Other sources try to maintain the rabbit population at a low level, but they are not very successful, and the rabbits are a pest to the farmers, who have to protect their crops from them by fencing and spring traps and shooting them at night when they are feeding.

There is no indication of means of stock-farming age in other tops of or bulgers in the Highland Soils, and the Highland Soils are concerned, but they are the most numerous and the most destructive. Rabbits are a pest to the farmers, who have to protect their crops from them by fencing and spring traps and shooting them at night when they are feeding. The most destructive of the mammals in the area are the rabbits, which are now the most numerous of the mammals in the area, and, in contrast to the Lowlands, the comparable figure is around 100. Other sources try to maintain the rabbit population at a low level, but they are not very successful, and the rabbits are a pest to the farmers, who have to protect their crops from them by fencing and spring traps and shooting them at night when they are feeding.

This was no always be a good thing. Farming is a pain in parts. Land the land is good, farming is a pain in parts. Land the land is good, farming is a pain in parts. Land the land is good,

The Lowland Farm Holding Tenancy Court Records are discussed predominantly in Gulvin, Tenancy, 1973. The records of an old varying tenancy, Ballochmyle, Ayrshire, are discussed in Caird, Ayrshire, 1959. The decline of the old varying tenancy is discussed in Caird, Decline, 1956, and the rise of a tenancy which has the decline of the subjects in view, Tenancy, 1959. Tenancy Court Records are also discussed in Caird, Tenancy, 1959, and in Caird, Tenancy, 1973. Tenancy Court Records suggest a further decrease in the tenancy holding size.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with Gulvin, Tenancy, 1973. The population of the parish of Lochalsh in 1755 and 1831 was similar in large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house occupied by a family, and there are 14 houses in ruins. In 1831 there are 1,000 people in 1,000 houses. The population of the parish of Lochalsh has increased by 1,000 in 1831 to 1,000 in 1831. Tenancy Court Records show the population of the parish of Lochalsh. Lochalsh provides a striking contrast to other Crofting Tenant crofts in the moving age group. Lochalsh provides a striking contrast to other Crofting Tenant crofts in the moving age group.

Factors of the tenancy of the crofts which are moving into other crofts are contained in Gulvin, Tenancy, 1973, and Crofting. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular employment in the nearby towns of Inverness and Dingwall. Lochalsh provides a striking contrast to other Crofting Tenant crofts in the moving age group. Lochalsh provides a striking contrast to other Crofting Tenant crofts in the moving age group.

Income from the tenancy has continued steadily since the tenancy court records in 1755. Nevertheless, Lochalsh has a larger proportionate resident population than most tenancies.

Lochalsh is a tenancy with a stable population and with good farmers and good farmers. Lochalsh has relatively low, with four exceptions, which are in the tenancy. Lochalsh has a tenancy which is a tenancy which is a tenancy which is

8 suit.

Apart from this time honored principle and other legal considerations, closure of the Minch will not be feasible until the Hebrideans have a larger catching potential. This potential depends not only on capital for building fleets and facilities, but also on a casting off of conservative attitudes regarding modern innovations and techniques. In short, a fuller adjustment to the demands of the commercial world is required. Additional problems to be faced include efficient handling of this highly perishable item. At present boats from the northern end of Skye have only a limited local market. If they miss the steamer in the morning, they might just as well throw the fish overboard. A consideration of lobster fishing will indicate the nature of these problems.

Lobster fishing is an especially suitable part-time occupation for crofters. Particularly in favor of the industry is the fact that it can be turned to whenever croft work is slack. Then, too, there is a fairly constant demand for lobsters at a high price. In recent years the value of lobsters and whelks, the only other shell fish exported in quantity, has exceeded that of all other fish combined. Lobstering adds substantially to the incomes of the crofters around Broadford and Kyleakin, in the Staffin area of Kilmuir parish, and in the Braes and Portree districts of Portree parish. It was formerly important in Glendale. Indeed, between 1942 and 1949 there were few crofter-fishing townships which did not share in the profits from the sale of lobsters. It should be noted that shell fish are exclusively an export

The estimated income from the sale of stock and produce 434
nts to some £66 per holding. One of my informants, an 231
culturalist of wide experience, thought that the estimate 241
too high. He would put it at £126,000, or £55 per holding.
ddition to the actual production, we must consider govern-
subsidies and grants.

The most important subsidies are those on hill sheep 654
hill cattle. Each of these average over £30,000 annually. 231
e are also calf rearing subsidies, marginal land grants,
several other available sources of aid which amount to
£20,000 each year. Thus, the total income for the Skye
ters and farmers is increased by roughly £80,000. Pro-
ion and subsidies together give an average income of
t £100 per holding. We have already seen that the crofter's
me may be either a fraction of this figure or several times
average income depending upon the size of his croft. To
y understand the significance of this fact and to explore
her the evidence for cultural continuity, it is desirable
nquire into the seasonal routine of the crofters of Skye.

The Annual Economic Cycle

As crofts are delimited according to size and potential 221
ne, the crofters may be classified as full-time, part-time,
spare-time pastoral agriculturalists. Obviously, all
ters who work the land will follow a similar schedule,
orming more or less the same variety and succession of
s. There are, however, significant differences in the

175 a crew member. Another family is called "cook," the
228 first job which a novice had to assume when he joined
404 the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go
[551] to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The men
[221] came back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats,
[241] barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent
[434] and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods.
[353] They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover
the stone-walled or wood-lined tigh dubh (black house)
[434] for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a
season. While the men were away at the fishing, the
[452] remaining members of the family lived on credit from
[571] the local shops, and depended on the good will of
their neighbors.

175 Many men joined the armed services, and were
701 especially sought after by the Navy and the Merchant
706 Service. In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in the
505 Naval Reserve.

175 Around the turn of the century, until the first
228 world war and the growth of the weaving industry, the
484 girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to
[571] the boat to see you off. You could go all the way to
[435] Aberdeen for 12/6 on a special fish-worker ticket."
The girls went from the south of England to Shetland
in the far north.

For example,
a Widow Catherine lost "one red
175 mare and foal (L10), one dun cow (L3/10), and one dun
421 heifer (L1/10)." One family is said to have paid rent
[435] by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir
[551] James Matheson), thus earning the patronymic, "Fiddler."
Their income stopped abruptly when the fiddler at the
time, a great-grandfather of descendants now living,
converted to the Free Church and smashed his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1905 it was noted in the rent ledger
that two crofters wanted "first chance of a vacant croft
in the township." In the first quarter of the century,
[628] a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighboring
[764] township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too
precious to take out of cultivation and give to the dead
of another village.

173 A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living
241 from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was
[233] young. They used the dung of the cattle to fertilize the
[237] soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was
only 2½ acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight
stacks of barley to see us through the year." There were
173 a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the streams
243 to grind the barley. The "old Norse mill" which was
252 recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project
[251] was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got
[897]

286 of potato crops by blight had contributed to widespread
195 poverty. The production of cloth for non-local markets
731 was promoted initially by philanthropic proprietors in
735 an effort to ameliorate such conditions. Lady Dunmore,
286 of the Dunmore family that owned Harris during most of
195 the 19th century, was largely responsible for developing
741 a market in London and elsewhere for cloth woven in Harris.
439 The cloth was popular first among the aristocracy, who
[565] wore it for hunting and other sporting occasions. The
[438] romantic image of a cottage industry promoted for charitable
[435] purposes contributed to the market value of the tweed.

The market expanded in the second half of the 19th
century, aided by ladies of leisure who followed the example
286 set by Lady Dunmore (cf. Hunter 1964: 24-26). The
441 production of cloth for a commercial market spread from
195 Harris to the southern isles, but was slow in coming to
[964] Lewis, where the proprietor, Sir James Matheson, provided
the people with construction jobs. After Matheson died in
1878, weaving for outside markets began in Lewis in the
parish bordering Harris, and the name "Harris Tweed" was
used because a market for cloth of this name had already
been established. By World War I, weaving for outside
markets was being done in all four parishes in Lewis. In
1899 there were 55 looms in Lewis and over 200 in Harris.

288 developed from the concentration of power in the hands
195 of the merchants. In the early days of the industry,
441 all the processes involved in the production of a
286 finished length of tweed were carried out by individual
236 families. A man used wool from his own flock, and with the
438 aid of other family members, dyed it with vegetable dyes,
195 carded and spun it by hand, wove it, washed and shrunk
[386] it, and found his own buyer. Dyeing wool, spinning yarn,
286 and washing ("waulking") the finished length of tweed
236 was usually done by women. In Harris, the entire process
438 of producing a tweed was carried out by women, but in
195 Lewis the weaving was done largely by men.
462

A woman in her 80's recalls the process of weaving
175 when she was young. Hand-spinning had died out by this
286 time, although the question of whether tweeds woven with
such yarn could legitimately be called Harris Tweed was
not resolved until 1934.

"About 1916 or so it took about two weeks to a month
175 to do a tweed. You bought the wool from the Agricultural
283 Board. Sixteen bags of wool, costing about L20, would
[435] do four tweeds. You needed four one-stone bags per
[433] tweed. Then you would spend a day gathering a bag of
[389] crotal (lichen scraped from rocks and used for dye). One
[824] bag per one bag of wool was required for the dye. After

286 on commission for weavers around the turn of the century.
289 By the early 1920's, four mills on the island were
195 carding and spinning wool on commission; and one mill
198 brought looms into its premises. Lord Leverhulme, who
[226] bought Lewis in 1918, saw the value of concentrating
[283] weavers in one place and of improving the technology.
He encouraged the introduction of Hattersley domestic
[463] looms, which eventually replaced the wooden looms. The
individual weaver also did his own warping, but after
World War II the mills began to hire warpers to work full
time on mill premises. Transporting the tweeds, which
used to be the responsibility of the weavers, is now the
responsibility of the mills. Today all processes except
the actual weaving are handled by mills, most of which
are located in Stornoway.

Such steps in specialization and centralization made
sense to the weaver. One of the older weavers recalls,
175 "In the late 20's or 30's you could buy a yard of Harris
286 Tweed for about two shillings. It wasn't economical for
288 any crofter to dye and spin the yarn, weave it and sell it
435 for only two shillings a yard. As the mills enlarged,
they could make it with the machinery because they could
make it an economic proposition."

However, the tendency toward specialization and
195 centralization was in direct conflict with the reasons
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828

175 behind the tweed's popularity. The tweed was more than
286 a cloth; it was peat smoke and windswept moorland, the
288
[829] image of the free man who had escaped city life and machines and was the master of his own destiny. Steps had been taken all along the way to preserve the image of home-crafted goods, as when, in an effort to prevent machine-spinning, carding mills were built in Lewis and Harris at the turn of the century to prevent wool from being sent to mills on the mainland, where it was both
[685] carded and spun. As early as 1906, a man was convicted in London of selling power-loomed tweed under the name
288 "Harris Tweed." Today power-driven looms can produce
402 double-width cloth 54 inches wide, a width much preferred to the 28-inch cloth produced on the Hattersley loom because there is less waste when the cloth is cut. But because "Harris Tweed" must be hand-woven, new looms of light-weight metal are being designed on which double-
• [435] width cloth can be hand-woven. The new looms will cost so much that many weavers say they would be unlikely to invest in them, especially given the uncertain future of the industry.

175 The Harris Tweed Association, formed in 1909, was
178 granted a certification mark by the Board of Trade which
288 was stamped on tweeds that were hand-spun and hand-woven
44
[424] in the islands. During World War I, hand-spinning died
[286]

175 out in Lewis, and the Harris Tweed Association was
178 ineffective in enforcing its standards. In 1934,
288
286 weavers were allowed to use yarn spun in island mills,
441 and production increased; but no weaving was allowed to be done in the mills. All looms were removed from those mills which had tried to centralize this stage of production. The actual process of weaving remained, by legal definition, decentralized, although the word "crofter" was changed to "islander," thus widening the category of persons who could weave "Harris Tweed," and paving the way for centralization of weavers in the town of Stornoway.

286 Any person can purchase his own yarn, weave his own
288 tweeds, and sell them to tailors or summer tourists;
467 but before a weaver can weave for the mills, he must be registered with the Weavers Union. The Weavers Union is a branch of the Transport and General Workers Union, which includes mill employees, hospital workers, lorry
288 drivers, and others. It is an anomaly of the Harris
467 Tweed industry that workers classed as self-employed should join a union of employees and is another indication of the centralization of control and power in the mills, with whom the weavers, along with the mill workers, bargain
288 for higher wages. Weavers receive a basic sum of over
• 435
466
804 L10 for each length of tweed, which is usually 38 weaver's

465
• 435 yards (a weaver's yard is equal to 8 feet, a measure
288 which derives from the size of the frame once used
[804] to wind hanks of yarn). Payment varies according to the number of colors used in the pattern. A weaver
288 may average 2½ tweeds per week when the work is available,
465 thus earning more than mill workers. A female mill
[562] worker earns about L11 or L12, and her male counterpart about L3 more.

288 Because weavers are classed as self-employed, they
745 do not qualify for unemployment benefit. They may apply
657 for social security, but must submit to a "means" test, and the possession of bank savings or other assets disqualifies them from receiving such aid. All British workers must pay a weekly sum for "insurance stamps," a certain number of which makes the workers eligible for small payments from the government during periods of illness. Self-employed persons must pay for their own insurance stamps, whereas employers pay for the stamps of their workers. A weaver who does not keep up with his payments of over one pound a week for insurance stamps must pay the accumulated debt at a later time.

471 Weavers face other costs. They buy looms and bobbin-
288 winding machines, and pay for lighting, heating, and the
288 maintenance of all equipment. The preservation of this
463 anomalous status of "self-employed" is related to the
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175 the 1934 decision to change the word "crofter" to
178 "islander") led to the weavers living in council
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[361] houses in town and working in loomsheds behind the houses. Unequal distribution has also contributed to Shawbost's relative prosperity, and to the decline of weaving in more remote parts of the island. The
[444] unequal distribution of tweeds has made it difficult to maintain a large labor force, which in turn limits the growth and development of the industry.

288 <u>3. Instability of the Industry</u>: The Harris Tweed
433 industry has undergone a number of crises. Periods of
178 depression have alternated with periods of prosperity.
[458] (See Appendix B for the fluctuation in the number of yards stamped each year with the Harris Tweed trade-
• [435] mark.) The very conditions which give the tweed its
[466] market value—the decentralized, non-mechanized human element—also limit the possibilities of growth in the industry, and contribute to the industry's instability.

288 When a business remains small, it must collect
441 orders before it can provide work to have the orders filled (except when demand for an item is strong, as occurred around the time of the previous world war; during the war and for a few years after, tweeds could be made first and then marketed, because any cloth
[471] could be sold). Only a large business can keep weavers

764 178 [493] Today coffins are brought to the cemetery in a hearse, but the procession still carries the coffin for a half mile or so to the hearse. The women gather outside the house in the biting wind, huddled together, beginning to sob as the heavy line of dark-coated, slowly-moving men bear part of themselves away. In one village on the west side, the women circled the coffin as it left the house, chanting, "You are leaving us, you are leaving us!"

764 [767] [435] Graveyards are maintained by members of the community. A cemetery committee collects dues of five shillings a year from all households for the upkeep of the cemetery. Relatives and neighbors dig the graves of their fellow villagers.

767 In 1911, a funeral society called the West of Lewis Funeral Association was founded with the original intention of bringing back the bodies of men and women who had died when they were away from the island "at the [435] fishing." Persons from Borve to Berneray pay two shillings a year to the Association, which at present has about L4,000 invested in bonds. A similar association exists in other parts of the island. A person may join between the ages of 12 and 40, after which he is not eligible for membership. A member who has left the island must continue to send in his dues, or members of

175 261 [132] [443] During a huge snow-fall that occurred on Lewis in the 1950's, the mobile grocery vans and other supply vehicles could not come out to the west side, and a group of men had to make an expedition into town for provisions, after which many families made certain that they always had a good supply of meal, salted [404] mackerel and herring. Many villagers have gotten deep [365] freezers to store beef and mutton; others say they do not trust the freezers, that a failure in electricity--which occasionally happens in this region of gales and far-away repairmen--would bring disaster if they depended fully on them for keeping their meat. When the tweed 458 226 industry is going through one of its periodic depressions, more men go out more often to fish. "I've been going out every night for the last week or so. I don't have a tweed, and I won't have one for the next six weeks. I don't know what I'm going to do; maybe I'll go back to sea. Three of us caught one hundred mackerel last [251] night. I salted my share, and didn't give any of them away. These are the hard times. We're going to need them during the next six weeks."

233 [654] A few people raise beef cattle, depending largely on subsidies for encouragement to do so. A few are [234] beginning to keep cows again for milk, giving as their [435] reasons that freight charges make the bottled milk too [434] [648]

233 234 435 434 648 costly, that the Common Market will soon drive up milk prices, and that income from the weaving has become too uncertain.

412 178 Many tools and techniques associated with crofting have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (two pieces of wood joined with leather); the sheepskin stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate chaff and grain; rope made of plaited heather and straw. 241 [221] [237] [824] Each spring the byre was cleaned of its accumulated dung and urine, and this was turned into the ground along with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among [173] the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be [887] mobilized under changed conditions, as when alternatives to crofting are no longer available or are too costly. However, the longer crofting is neglected, the less it will provide an alternative strategy. "The artificial 241 824 fertilizers are ruining the land; that's why the turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to [233] water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and streams--rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep--the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather work the land than the blinkin' loom, but we tried the potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

273 differentiation and differentiation in personal experience,
571 but to use it in the community, as social coin. The few
156 men who refuse to get involved in drinking episodes that
178 would deplete their available funds are called "mean"
434 and "tight-fisted."

"If I had a wish, I'd choose to live the same life all over again, maybe a wee bit rougher. We don't get a chance here. The poverty keeps us down. But what does it matter to be a schoolteacher or a minister? What good does it do you? If I have a shilling in my pocket, I've got to spend it. I remember ten years ago, I went into town with L60 in tweed payments to buy a new stove. I met some of my [435] pals, so I put L20 down on a L50 stove and spent the rest. What a time we had."

[484] "I went for a holiday on the mainland and came back with money in my pocket because it's no use drinking in a place where you don't know people. You want a yarn."

273 Drinking occurs at night behind the gray, concrete
571 shield of the bothan or in hotels. Drinking situations
156 provide opportunities, rare in the repressive arena of the
154 village, to express emotions and ideas. These expressions can always be retracted in the cold, sober light of day.

"I used to be an alcoholic. Now I spend most of my weekends feeding my brother lager so he won't get the DT's. When something good happens, I wish like hell I could get

[Page 159 is blank; text continues on p.160
--Analyst]

*159 288 they leave school, and most of them get married. I remember about twenty girls working there, and they all
[458] got married, and another young girl would start. During the slack periods some men would be paid off. They would start in other jobs, and wouldn't be prepared to
*159 464 come back. If you weren't working in the mill you were weaving; there was road work on a very small scale. Except for sailing there was nothing else. For the last ten years or so the big contractors have given people jobs.

"I started with a building contractor but preferred to come back to this job, for the main reason that I had
*159 288 458 built this house here. We had slack periods, but we picked up again. But this slack period, it's been two years now, and I don't think it will pick up again, unless they go to a wider cloth. Probably the fashion has changed. People have gone on to other types of cloth. And the merchants and tailors prefer a wider cloth, it's less waste. But that means changing the loom and a lot of machinery in the mill as well.

"I'm sure the weavers wouldn't be prepared to put
[435] out the extra cost for wider looms. At the present time, a loom and winding machine cost close to L400. You can imagine what a wider loom would cost, up to L1,000. They don't want the power loom. They're trying to hold onto the Orb trademark for as long as they can. That's the big

*159 288 458 question, whether it would be better to change from t
Orb trade and go to power looms. Then you would be
able to do any kind of cloth. You wouldn't be tied d
to regulations as you are with the Harris Tweed. To
that after all it cost them with the court case a few
years back--. But, at the same time, it's more impor
to have work than this trademark. As it is at the
moment, it's just a white elephant."

Neilie Leoid

*159 Neilie Leoid left school in 1931 at the age of
as easy-going and generally content with things then
he is 40 years later. "When I was going to school lot
of people hated the headmaster, but I had no complaint
against him. Perhaps people are inclined to blame oth
people for their own failures. Of course, I didn't li
school very much, and I didn't go to it all that often

"In those days you didn't have the same access to
education as the young people have today. You didn't
*159 288 [868] assume you could go very high. You were quite content
settle down to weaving. The boys started learning fro
anyone who was around. I started weaving with my uncl
[434] when I was 15, on an old wooden loom. In one winter
[435] we earned the L26 to buy a single-shuttle automatic.
My uncle's eyesight was getting sort of dim, so I woul

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

374

rley have been replaced by grass and hay. Conceivably, this 178
a more complete adjustment to the environment, which has been 231
de possible by integration with a commercial economy, than 241 433
adjustment to the demands of the outside world. Whereas
e objective of the local economy once was the export of
ttle, today the purpose is the breeding of cattle and sheep
r the national markets. We have seen that there are a host 182
limitations and difficulties in the economic aspect of the 231
lture. Many of these are due to the persistence of con- 241 433
rvative practices. Each crofter must keep pace with his [624]
adition-practicing neighbors, with the old men of the town-
ip. Others are the result of an inhospitable environment.
e economy does not run smoothly, but this is not conclusive
idence for disorganization. Integration does not mean
both functioning. In the spring and autumn the crofter is
nfronted with a variety and succession of tasks which would
ll a specialist with dismay. Very often, these pastoral
d agricultural chores have to be carried on in conjunction
th outside employment. In return for his labor, the crofter [134]
ceives a meager income, frequently supplemented by con- [657]
l bu tions from his children or the government. As a further [167]
sult of the partial adjustment to the wider society and
lture, the people leave the island to seek employment and
achieve an upward mobility impossible on Skye. Economically, [175]
ve, along with most of the Highlands, may be viewed as
esenting a picture of the Lowlands of Scotland 200 years ago.
at is the extent of the economic adaptation of the Sgiathanach
the national culture.

435

435 PRICE AND VALUE--relation of economic values to other systems of value; factors determinative of price and value (e.g., abundance and scarcity, utility, cost of production, precedent); customary prices and conventional values; competitive prices; monopoly prices; price fixing and black market prices; price levels; prices of particular goods (e.g., in money, in purchasing power); etc. See also:

Social values 181
Rent control 427
Inflation and deflation 458
Competition and monopoly 477
Bride-price 583

178 311 232 233 [578] "The cattle give too much trouble." A smaller scheme is grazed only by sheep. On the schemes where mixed grazing is practiced, a number of conflicts arise between those who have only sheep, and those who have cattle as well. To accommodate different demands, one township scheme was divided with a fence; cattle were put in for a month in one part, and then shifted to the second part. The sheep were then brought into the first half. All stock had to be removed from the scheme a month before the lambs were weaned, so that all worm eggs and other harmful elements in the dung of animals previously present would have time to die. What was once used for a single purpose by everyone now has to be divided.

[435] [578] "I paid one pound a head to put cattle on the reseeding," says a man named Iain. "Now I have to move them off already. Those sheep people want it for themselves. I won't use it if they're going to be like that. Next year I'll have the use of two crofts and my apportionment. And now that I have my own tractor I can put a load of sand at the bottom of the croft to make the grazing better." [409] [242]

311 233 232 829 According to another person, who also keeps cattle on the reseeding, "Some people want to move their livestock on and off the schemes when it suits them, like Iain,

175 228 [348] [439] [171] 175 648 228 On one of the crofts along the strand are the ruins of two curing houses, where the fish were salted and dried. Ling, cod, skate and halibut were cured and sold to local merchants for export. "The same as they do in Iceland this very day. That was the main industry. Then the English came with their steam trawlers; they ruined the fishing here, and then went west to Iceland and the Faroes. In Iceland they get fined for poaching, but here the trawlers often ignore the three-mile limit. But the fishing was the mainstay here, before the Harris Tweed came along." [433]

175 228 435 501 One man returned from sailing in 1932 and bought a boat for L24. He had 32 lobster pots, and made L7 one June by selling the lobsters at a shilling apiece. [454] [471] Another man, who returned from the United States in 1934 because of the depression, bought a share in a 14-foot boat. It was made in Ness, at the northern tip of Lewis, and cost about L14. He and his partners went out every night possible; the fish provided an important part of their income. The boat was sold in the 50's. "It wasn't being kept up anyway." Around World War II there were as many as twenty boats; men fished at night, after a day's work. Today there are four 12-foot boats in Shawbost, each shared by four or five men. The boats are used intensively for fishing during certain times of the year, [434] 175 228 501 178 501 228

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

but their negligence even in ye article appears from their sending 439 out annual above 2000 of wool out of the country unmanufacture.' 175*

Harris was rented at £600. Exports were some 100 tons of 427 kelp (£325), and the value of 250 black cattle exported alive, with 436 • 100 salted, was £445. Small quantities of cheese, wool, and the skins of sheep, otters and seals were exported. Grain was neither imported nor exported.

The plough, which is used here, and in most places of the long 407 island, is of a very peculiar construction. Its length is but 4 feet 175* 7 inches, and is drawn by four horses abreast. It has but one 492 handle by which it is directed; the mold board is fastened with two leather thongs, and the soke and coulter are bound together at the point by a rim of iron. Beside kelp, there is little else manu- 175* factured, except a little coarse woolen yarn, and some blanket- 439 ing, which they send yearly to Glasgow. They raise a little flax 286 of which they make some coarse linen for their own use, but im- 248 port all the fine linen which they consume. In the year 1756, an 399 American vessel in distress was obliged to put out three hogsheads of lintseed in Harris, which was sown and afforded crops of lint which were above double the value of the usual crops. The east 228 and west of Loch Tarbert in the Harris are every year revisited 175* by the herring shoals. During the five years from 1743 to 1747, the west loch was the principal seat of the herring fishery. About thirty vessels from 18 to 40 tons, belonging to Campbelltown, Greenock, and Irvine, were completely loaded each of these years at this place.

With even a modest amount of business taking place, it was a 443 natural step to establish commercial facilities. Stornoway men who 175* once acted as agents became shopkeepers. The increase in the use 453 of money attracted banks. During the Seaforth ownership of 436 Lewis, the island had its own currency or notes, designed and 175* printed from plates in the same style as the modern banknote. The wording ran: 'I promise to pay on demand to the Chamberlain of the Lewis or Bearer ONE POUND Sterling at the Counting Room here.' The notes carried a date and were signed by the proprietor, J. A. Stewart MacKenzie. It is not known for certain how long the notes remained in currency, when they ceased to be used, or even whether they were officially acceptable. At one time, as rare 523 items, they fetched high prices from collectors. A number were

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

288 Thus were laid the lines of a new form of economic organisa- *175 tion for Lewis. At first, tweed manufacture here, as in Harris, was 462 strictly a domestic activity: the wool of the crofter's own sheep was clipped, washed and dyed, carded, spun at home, and woven into cloth by persons in the township with the skill to produce a suitable cloth; the weaving was a part-time and mainly female occupation. Payment for the weaving was in kind: peats, potatoes, or labour. The waulking or finishing of the cloth was mostly a communal activity carried out by the womenfolk, who turned it into a particular social occasion with definite feminine characteristics. If the cloth made was in excess of domestic requirements, the crofter sold it directly to a customer, or else the local shopkeeper bought it or gave credit for it.

288 With the rise in weaving for a definite market in Lewis, all this 463 changed. Weaving became a full-time specialist occupation and, *175 partly because the flying shuttle made the work heavier, it be- 462 came predominantly male work. With the use of mill-spun yarn there grew up a number of merchants, the Lewis 'producers', who 288 bought yarn either locally or from the mainland, and put it out *175 for weaving and hand finishing on a commission basis. The yarn 441 and the resulting cloth remained their property. At times the cloth embodied a handspun weft; at other times perhaps no handspun was used at all. As pointed out above, it was marketed as Harris Tweed, as was the 100 per cent handspun cloth, yet it cost about 21d to produce compared with 36d for the 'real' tweed. The cheaper type provided Lewis's rapidly-expanding output between 1900 and 1911, and by that year Lewis had outstripped Harris. In 1912, the handspun yardage produced in 433 Harris was 175,000; partially and wholly millspun accounted for some 4,000 yards; and the total value was £26,500. In Lewis the yardage of handspun cloth was some 10,000; but about 340,000 yards of partially or wholly millspun was sold. The total Lewis • 435 value was £44,000.

The trade mark

288 When eventually the question arose of some mark to distinguish 441 between the two cloths, it was with difficulty that the Harris mer- *175 chants persuaded the Board of Trade that a distinction was neces- 424

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

382 sent to several shipping ports, and the response was good; one *175 Liverpool chandler even offered to take the whole output at a good price. But again the product was rendered useless, this time by being subjected to a partial-distillation process, in the thought that this would improve it; orders stopped. One shale-oil firm offered to take the crude peat tar to refine along with its own products for the purpose of modifying the flash-point of the oil it was itself manufacturing. Most commercial enterprises would have jumped at the chance of disposing of their output without the need for the always-tricky refining process, but here personal interests intervened and another avenue of profit was blocked.

The Lewis Chemical Works had by this time become something of a showpiece, chemists and scientists mecca-ing their way to Stornoway to see both plant and product. One eminent chemist pronounced the plant one of the most successful ever erected for the distillation of hydrocarbon oils from peat, and an Irishman said that if the Irish Peat Company's installation had been as successful as the Lewis counterpart, Ireland would have been enriched by her peat bogs. By the middle of the 1860s a ton of peat tar was being produced for 70s, as against 100s for unrefined • 435 shale oil. Peat oil sold at first at 2s 9d per gallon, then dropped to 2s 6d and finally to 2s, presumably as the American oil products were reaching the market. The writing was on the wall. Sir James Matheson, realising too late that perhaps a closer control should have been applied to the venture from the beginning, decided to cut his losses and close the works. All the metal—condensers, pumps, stills, pipes, and tanks—was broken up and sold for scrap. Nearly four miles of light railway had been laid from the Creed Works to the peat bogs; this was lifted for scrap. So ended the first phase of industrial Lewis. The venture proved, however, that with adequate skill and knowledge success could be grasped.

Bricks, printing, whisky

339 The brickworks which Matheson built for £6,000 at Garra- *175 bost produced building materials and some fine examples of drain- 396 ing tiles, but has now disappeared. The Patent Slip built at *175 Stornoway for another £6,000 was able to take ships of up to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 127]

THE OTHER ISLANDS

*175 even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of 18 the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil. 826 Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naively at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started, 276 HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship 931 among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island con- 262 sisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from 272 March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond 342 of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the 392 Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and 405 there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were 162 some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose 212 from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoe- 463 makers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all 214 their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses, 286 and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each 462 croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged 429 for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

439 Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the • 435 island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers; 237 and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

ST KILDA

Glasgow, between 7s and 10s per stone. For tweed made on the 439 island, 27d to 30d was received per yard; for blanketing, 28d. 436 Cloth was measured by the 'big yard', which was 49 inches. The factor bought cheese at 78d per stone of 24 lb. The prices paid by the islanders for commodities imported included 25s per boll for meal and oats; 3s per cwt for salt; 7d for coarse sugar; 5s per lb of tea; whisky cost 4s per bottle; and tobacco was 5s per lb. Leather for soling boots cost 24d per lb; for uppers 27d. Bonnets for the men were 4s each; cravats, 3s. Physically, the 142 islanders were in good condition at the time of the *Flirt*'s visit, with an average height of 5 ft 6 in, though they showed a tendency to flabbiness. The prevalent illness was rheumatism, with 164 dyspepsia running a close second.

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

(a) TRANSITION: MIGRATION, FISHING AND KELP-MAKING

175 UNTIL the 'Forty-five the township had lived an
433 almost self-contained life. Its traditional economy
(621 was self-sufficient except for two indispensable
427 commodities—salt for the housewife and iron for the smith.
794 Beyond this, the chief demand for payment was the rent
430 to the lord, with tithes for the kirk. For these needs and demands a step towards production for exchange was required, the more so that what was exported might include the very necessities of life in 'bad years'. The rent was paid largely by the sale of a surplus steer or two, and
175 drovers called for the cattle. By 1790, if not before, two
317 or three open boats set out annually from Uig, for instance,
436 for Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. Although salt seems of little account today, it once bulked
•435 large in the Budget, its price being heightened by duty, especially after 1707: "as dear as salt", was a saying, *cho*
251 *daor ris an t-salluinn*. Salt was needed to preserve the carcase of a 'cattle-beast' or sheep killed in autumn, and
175 for cod and herring curing. Wrecks were valuable, as on
433 all infertile undeveloped coastlands, both for their timber and their iron. Cairds or tinkers occasionally brought
326 metal goods; or a packman called, as strange a figure then
443

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

000 landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time.
175 Wars brought enlistment in the Highland regiments,
162 the Navy and Merchant Marine. Owing to migrations of
all kinds, males came to be outnumbered by females, then
702 as later (100 males to 114 females, 1931).[1] In Lewis in
167 1795 the proportion was 100 to 111, and in Harris 100 to 124. From this period onwards the 'export of men' con-
175 tinued, modified by the reserve for war. Men were trained
162 for the Naval Reserve and Militia; and in 1900 for instance
702 800 men were training at Fort George and 2500 sailors were in the Reserve. The maintenance of a reserve for the Navy was one of the strongest pleas for the framing of the Crofters Act.

175 A new resource, important to the Islanders after 1750,
824 was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed upon
323 the shore, for use in the manufacture of alkali in the glass
388 and soap industries. From 1770 onwards the price rose, heightened first by an import duty, then by the Napoleonic
175 Wars. Estimating from the high prices, averaging over
824 £10 per ton from 1800 to 1823, Sir John Sinclair put the
•435 value of the annual produce (20,000 tons) at £200,000. "It may appear surprising", he remarks, "how that sum could be of such importance to 80,000 people"; but he goes on to point out that this gave the additional cash needed to supplement their subsistence. But even when Sinclair wrote in 1825, the industry was in peril. Failure and loss occurred almost immediately after, with disastrous effect.

175 It is complained in the *New Statistical Account* that
433 owing to the summer-time work of kelp-making up to
1830, the people could give little attention to the crofts, so
511 that their extension must almost have ceased. Nor could

[1] In 1951 the ratio in Lewis was 100 males to 112 females, and in Harris, 100 to 110.

BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

185 applications for shares in the division of a farm, but where
114 Leverhulme now felt sure of his success, an old crofter spoke up slowly: "My Lord, what the crofter wants iss
185 *Contemplaition*". Now, fondness for contemplation is
114 found not only among crofters as they age, but among
181 older fishermen all round the shores of Britain, even if it mellows in the Isles especially. Yet, as Leverhulme saw for himself, there was abundant activity among men in their prime, as they strove to refit their boats on their return. In 1919 hope, not contemplation, was their prevailing mood: hope for an active, fisherman's life.

With all these hopeful human factors on the side of common effort at the start, why then did differences of view-point come to be accentuated, not harmonised, and
159 'incompatibilities' lead so soon to friction, deadlock and
433 breakdown? Surely one basic fact remains. In 1917–18, when Leverhulme framed his policy and made his plans,
228 the Scottish fisheries, to judge from pre-war years, could still expect to hold high place in providing for a brisk
•435 market in herring and white fish. True, the value of the Island cure of white fish had fallen from £100,000 in 1900 to one-tenth, £10,000, in 1913; but Leverhulme saw that since fresh fish were now demanded, his capitalisation of equipment with accelerated transit of the catch should bring quick recovery. The herring trade had been active at Stornoway up to the eve of the war; and although the Islanders had made leeway following the introduction of steam and of larger motor drifters, Leverhulme thought he saw an opportunity to capitalise the industry, providing 'work for wages'. This forecast was wrong. Consumption declined, and the market fell. Not only so; the proportion contributed by Scots fishermen to the shrinking market declined even more.

(c) House-building. From 1922 to 1949 the Department of
641 Agriculture advanced loans for the erection of 760 new houses
654 and the repair of 220 other houses. This, with the erection
746 or repair of 40 steadings, may be taken as the equivalent of
362 1000 houses in the 20 years of peace, of which three-fourths were new. Rural building was at its height in the early 'thirties,
356 but 1938 was a typical year. Taking the value of each house as £600 and subtracting half for imported materials, we may assume that for 50 houses built that year the labour given
431 produced an output of £15,000. In addition, some house-
362 building and repair was done without State aid, for which a
356 guess of £15,000 may be made. Such sums may not appear large, but they correspond to the enduring fulfilment of a prime
•435 need, a 'real wage', of importance when compared to rents and costs elsewhere. Of the expenditure on house-building in Stornoway burgh during 1938, the value may be assessed as £10,000, of which £9000 was for Local Authority housing. Most of the total was produced by local labour.

(iii) *Fishing Industry—Net Output and Earnings*

434 (a) For 1938 the total catches, prices and quantities of
fresh cured fish landed in Stornoway District show a value of
228 nearly £100,000 (£98,000) for the herring catch, and of £162,400 for the cured herring. Our problem is to estimate what fraction of these sums may be included in the net output of the Island
127 industry proper. The Fishery Board's *Statistical Tables* and *Annual Report* extract the produce brought in by local boats from the total, separating it from that due to 'strangers', and so permitting a fairly reliable estimate, checked by local enquiry.

228 Of the herring taken, nearly 80 per cent were caught in the
summer fishing, June to August (*Annual Report*, p. 13). The
501 week of maximum local activity in herring fishing for Stornoway District may be taken to be characteristic of this pre-war period (Table 8). There were then 111 steam-boats engaged; and as only five were locally registered (at Stornoway itself), the remaining 106 were strangers. There were also 66 motor-boats engaged and though 81 motor herring-boats are locally

APPENDIX II

198 300 houses, with nearly 30 built by "private enterprise"; in
362 addition the Local Authorities built 140 in the immediate
647 'suburbs' (of which 50 were temporary), a total of over 470
63 and an average of, say, 47. Another 115 were built in the rural
•438 townships. If we give a round total of £125,000 as the value

	Barvas	Lochs	Stornoway	Uig	Lewis Total	Harris
Holdings						
Full-time	5	12	8	21	46	34
Part- and spare-time	1,050	580	1,160	630	3,420	310
June 1953 (acres)						
Oats	2,080	520	1,220	900	4,730	710
Potatoes	350	180	450	260	1,440	210
Tillage	2,860	730	1,810	1,196	6,590	1,280
Rotation Grass	280	300	690	290	1,830	260
Permanent Grass	2,870	2,460	3,250	2,150	11,730	4,030
Grass	3,450	2,760	3,940	2,440	12,580	4,290
Rough Grazing (hend)	93,580	107,180	56,480	111,250	368,490	111,170
Cattle	1,350	860	1,330	1,360	4,900	1,640
Sheep	38,110	37,810	23,670	42,690	142,280	43,580
Pigs	10	2	110	3	130	
Poultry	25,370	9,880	25,910	13,060	74,220	12,240
Horses	180	23	60	60	320	60
February 1954						
Tractors	24	4	24	5	57	8

198 for an average year (such as 1953) for Local Authority Housing,
362 we may allot half this to net output of local materials and to
647 wages earned by Lewismen, some £65,000, of which rural
63 wages were a small fraction, say £20,000.

435 For crofters and cottars, however, in 1953, a fairly typical year, there was much local effort and achievement, by help of 180 loans and grants from the Department of Agriculture
434 for Scotland, totalling £81,000 for new houses or house im-
647 provements (with a very few steadings). £80,000 may be allotted to local materials and to labour paid or given by house-
654 holders themselves.
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161 FISHING IN
162 UIG PARISH
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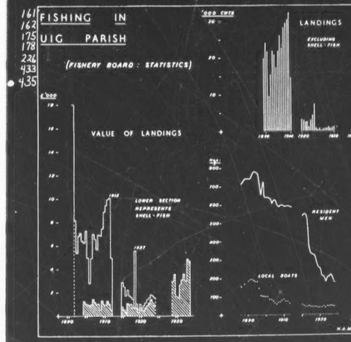

Figure 9

/p. 20/

COMMUNICATIONS

491 and footpaths. Until this time, the greater part of the district of
653 Park was accessible only on foot. Roads were 'at best rough nar-
*175 row paths where rushes and grass grew between the tracks'. The Act improved the old *frith-rathad* (rough tracks) to such an extent that, says a report of 1902, 'a marked improvement has taken place in school attendance by their formation'. The opening up of the island certainly benefited the people. Though the moor tracks
491 might give a more direct route to Stornoway, the roads at least
493 offered a hard surface for horse-drawn cars and carts. The num-
bers of vehicles accordingly rose, and for long after the turn of
*175 the century the horse enjoyed a monopoly. Motor cars were beginning to be read about in the days-late newspapers brought to the island, but not until 1917 were the first complaints heard about cars tearing up the surfaces of the roads. Slowly but surely the inevitable pioneers emerged with their 'tin lizzies'. By 1925 there were an estimated 250 vehicles in Lewis—and traffic congestion was beginning to be a problem. The relative speed of cars was still something to be wondered at too: it was progress indeed to be able to travel from Ness to Stornoway and back again between a late breakfast and an early tea. But for all this progress,
[435] one could still buy a good dog-cart in excellent condition, to seat six people, for £9. A two-seater trap could be had for £6 10s; a set of harness cost 30s. And as for fuel—the best quality oats were 10s 6d per cwt. Indeed, it was not until 1943 that Stornoway Town Council sold its last horse—and only because no one could be found to look after it.

When Sir James Matheson came to Lewis in 1844 there was only one horse-drawn vehicle on the whole island. By 1872 eighty-seven wheeled vehicles were using his new roads. A pioneer of the wheel-carriage service, D. K. Henderson, began business in the
[205] 1850s. He was the first to carry mails and held a contract for the Stornoway to Tarbert run until the GPO introduced its own vehicles. As the motor took hold Henderson changed over and was the first to establish a motor-transport business on the island. Not all the local vehicles were of recognised makers' designs. A writer in the *Stornoway Gazette* in the mid-twenties commented on the fact that only the engine and the chassis of the local buses were imported. Bodies were then erected by carpenters . . . and

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

228 off all their debts) much hard work was called for, as well as skill
452 in locating herring shoals. The seasonal migration of herring is
*175 still a puzzle to marine biologists; it contributed to many a Lewis fisherman drawing a blank, to his ruin, while his neighbour came home flushed with success.

228 The financial values of the fishings of the island, particularly Lewis, are some index to its fluctuating prosperity. In a *Guide*
*175 *for Scotland*, intending visitors to Stornoway were told that the
• 435 annual figures for herring exports were, in 1860, some £60,000; for cod and ling, £13,600; smoked haddocks were valued at £1,600; lobsters at £1,396. Herrings caught in Harris and Lewis in 1889 were valued at £57,071. Two years later, the figure was £90,738, but after that year it steadily declined to reach a little over £20,000 in 1894. Increasing again, the catch in 1898 was valued at £128,707. There was a subsequent decline, picking up a little at irregular intervals, which continued until the effective demise of the industry just before the second world war, that is so far as Lewis was concerned. These catches of valuable herrings were not made solely by Lewis boats; the catches of many stranger boats, from the east of Scotland, must also be taken into account, to leave about 20 per cent as direct return to the island.

In 1938, the total catches of herring amounted to £98,000 for fresh fish and £162,400 for cured herring. This catch was obtained by 111 steam-drifters, five of which were locally registered at Stornoway, and some motor-boats, of which one-third were strangers. Harris has never been particularly prominent in the herring-fishing industry; shell fishing has been more profitable. In the years just before 1900, the average annual value of shell-fish caught in Harris was £2,306, only £500 below the Lewis figure. The Harris proportion of the aggregate herring and white-fish returns in the same period was just over £17,000, compared with the Lewis figure of £1,137,000.

Since the second war

228 Just before the second world war, Stornoway Fishery District
*175 furnished some 10 per cent of the Scottish cure of herrings, which
[433] averaged well over half a million barrels in 1937 and 1938, valued
[435] at about £1,500,000. Of demersal (sea-bottom) fish, the District

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

subsequently despatching them to various dealers in the south. The local trawlers catch white fish and prawns with the same gear, but whereas most of the prawns are landed locally the white fish goes to Gairloch on the mainland for transportation to the Aberdeen market. Attempts have been made to overcome the distance between the island and good-paying markets: in 1966, by collaboration between Stornoway fishermen and the London Fish Merchants' Association, a consignment of 200 boxes of fish was sent direct from Stornoway to Billingsgate, bypassing Aberdeen. The fish was first frozen, then taken by SS *Clansman* to Mallaig railhead and thence to London by rail. It arrived twenty-six hours after leaving Stornoway, in ample time to catch the day's customers. The experiment is to be repeated at intervals. On occasions in the past, shellfish such as lobsters have been flown to Continental markets.

Lobster and crab fishing is an important part-time occupation in the island. In the past it tended to be rendered uneconomic by the heavy losses (sometimes up to 25 per cent) during transit between Stornoway and Billingsgate, but storage-ponds now help retain a reserve for market demands: a lobster-pond at Stockinish in Harris can hold about 25,000 fish, and the pond at Bernera, Loch Roag, can take 30,000. Marketing is done by an agency on behalf of the fishermen, the value per annum being around £50,000 for lobsters caught in the Stornoway Fishery District, and some £40,000 for prawns. The value of white fish is about £30,000 and of herring about £35,000.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

land; his MS is in the British Museum. Lewis is described as being let by Mr MacKenzie of Seaforth for £1,200, which works out at about ½d per acre. The following list of prices of commodities indicates the main produce of the island:

The best driving cows at a medium each	£1	6	0
The Lewes stone of butter (23lb English) per stone	0	7	0
The stone of cheese	0	2	6
The stone of washed wool	0	9	0
The grass of a cow for a whole summer	0	1	8
Kelp, per ton	3	5	0
Aqua Vitae, per Anchor (26 Scotch pints)	1	5	0
Dog-fish oil (per barrel)	2	5	0
Herrings, per barrel	1	2	0
Salmon, per barrel	1	16	0
Dried ling, per hundred	3	15	0

The exports were listed as follows:

700 black cattle; about 100 are sold to ye shipping that put in at Stornoway, and 300 are sent, salted, to ports on the Clyde. The value of the whole is about	£1,430	0	0
Last year about 150 ton of kelp was made and exported	162	5	0
There are twelve stills in Lewes and from these was exported 200 Anchors of Aqua Vitae	250	0	0
Dog-fish oil, 140 barrels	315	0	0
Dried ling, 17,000	637	10	0
Herrings, 750 barrels	1,575	0	0
Salmon, 48 barrels	86	0	0
The spinning school at Stornoway from October 1763 to December 1764 produced 2,288 spindles of linen yarn	228	16	0

Also exported were dried cod, mud cod, above 2,000 sheep skins with wool on them, and some 38 stones of feathers. 'The Lewes neither imports nor exports grain', but mackerel was also an item of export: 'The fishers on the west coast of the island cure a great deal, which are barrelled and sent to the West Indies. The only article of woolen manufacture that the people of Lewes pursue is some coarse blanketing which they send to the Clyde,

491 [494] Brenish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight cost half-a-crown for a hundredweight, but because of competition from privately owned vans the bus service ceased in 1960. Mangersta is reached from the same road by about a mile of untarred side-road of indifferent quality; formerly the only access to it was by a footpath over the sands to the south. General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied [366] [205] [453] by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig; banking facilities are supplied by a mobile bank.

311 427 The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being somewhat more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about four acres; in Brenish and Islivick only about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or croft-units - are fenced, the work having been completed in Brenish in 1959. There are twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Brenish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta; but, owing to amalgamations of various kinds the number of operative units is considerably less - fourteen in Brenish, five in Islivick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

134 407 [231] As soils are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable patches are large enough to be cultivated with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in Brenish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are hired for ploughing and carting peats. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike many of the other Uig townships.

233 While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas, here the sheep are wintered up on the hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts. Brenish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hogge, or four year-old heifers), on Mealasta Island - hogge are usually sent since their loss, by falling over the cliffs, is less serious than the loss of heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta crofters, who are allowed two sheep each in summer.

241 The only crops grown are potatoes and oats, with "black oats" (Avena strigosa) on the sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed for "black oats" is unobtainable commercially, the crofters save their own. A grass mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay, to qualify for the subsidy.

233 The extensive hill and mountain pastures are not separately fenced; sheep from all three townships graze over all. If the total sheep stock of the townships (about 3,300) is compared with the souming figures it is found to exceed the soum by about 50%. On the other hand, fewer cattle and horses are kept than formerly so that taking the total stock for all animals (horses, cattle and sheep) and comparing with the actual stock now carried, the area carries only 87% of the stock which the soum allowed. In the two older townships the souming was reckoned according to rent, being one cow, one two-year old and eight sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, however, the soum was one horse, three cows, one heifer, two stirks and twenty-five sheep for each croft.

Lambing percentage is about 80, and ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers [236] [435] (excluding lambs). In this district some wedders are kept for three years and then sold for meat, but the main income is from wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep, which sells at up to four shillings a pound.

231 Most crofters keep one or two cows, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn or spring sales. Brenish and Mangersta each have a bull, and in the three townships there are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks in

221 233 Since so much of the year is spent either upon or near the crofts it is but to be expected that greatest losses of island sheep will take place in the summer when they are far from supervision upon the hills; this contrasts with the mainland Highlands where heaviest losses, apart from those due to sudden snow falls, generally come about lambing time, when this takes place upon the hill, or soon after, in cases when the ewes and lambs are put to the hill too soon. On Bernera Shore on the other hand losses are heaviest on the hill in winter. Losses are extremely uneven in their incidence in time and from croft to croft. The cause of loss varies; there are no serious endemic diseases now, and there are few coastal cliffs - a frequent cause of loss in other places. There are however some boggy areas in the interior and some rugged; whether or not there are losses due to vermin particularly eagles, is a debatable point. Probably the fundamental cause of loss is lack of shepherding and adequate day-to-day oversight upon the hill.

233 There are certain special pastures that show interesting features. The Flannan Islands have excellent pasture, especially for the poorer male shearlings which need bringing on. There is all-the-year-round grazing for fifty sheep, which is shared by two crofters in Crulivig and one in Earshader. Unfortunately, the difficulty of getting a boat to go across has meant that for the last two years no visits have been made, and, after one or two years unattended, the animals become quite wild. Since 1949, when the Croir tenants were first permitted to cut peat upon the Bernera shielings, they have ceased to do so on Vacasay Island, where they now each send two sheep for summer grazing. They also send one sheep each to Euglam Island from 15th May to 16th August. One croft in Tobson includes certain small islands:

Bearasay Island (16.4 acres; soumed for 12 sheep per annum)

Eilean Fir Crothair (4.6 acres; soumed for 5 sheep per annum)

Seildeim (1.0 acres; soumed for 3 wedders per summer)

Similarly, Valasay (part of Tobson), has Eilean Liongain Valasay which provides summer pasture for two young cattle beasts or five sheep (one per croft). One crofter in Crulivig has a small offshore island taking two hogge during tupping and at least one crofter in Crulivig also grazing on Ben Sgurain, but there has been no success in the attempts to heft stock there. It is distant and unfenced; losses can be heavy.

231 Lewis is a very restricted market for livestock: the general practice in the Bernera area is to sell cast ewes at five or six or even more years to the butchers in Stornoway. Lambs may be sold on occasion, but generally they are kept either for replacement or for sale as three-year wedders.* The losses which occur, plus a certain amount of slaughter for domestic use, prevent long-term accumulation, though periodic fluctuations may be severe. Occasionally when there is a surplus of summer grazing, the Bernera Shore townships may buy in lambs from the western coast of Lewis, carefully eschewing those raised on the machair lands, which are said to be too "soft" for the hills. These are reckoned a gamble, they may or may not "take". The practice may be compared with that of the former Linshader Farm where, to take up the summer surplus of feed, young cattle were bought from the crofters.

236 [288] [434] The wool from the Lewis Blackface sheep generally varies from three to four lbs. per fleece. There is no longer any hand spinning; most wool is either sold outright or sent to the mills for spinning and dyeing. This practice is of long-standing. Even before the Great War, when the rent formed by far the most important item in the monetary affairs of the croft, the wool was either sold outright or, more commonly, sent to the mills for spinning and then taken to a weaver; the tweed was then sold either locally or to a merchant in Stornoway, the proceeds being used for the rent and other items.

231 178 Cattle, as has been pointed out, have declined greatly in relative importance since 1883: they are fewer in number - though far better in quality - and consequently subject

[435] *Three-year wedders in good condition fetch about £6 for slaughter. Carcase weight is about 44/45 lbs., sometimes as little as 38 and sometimes as much as 55 lbs.

464 his little spare time. In addition there are a few croft holders with periodic employment. It is noteworthy that the incidence of employment bears no direct relationship to the size of croft holding - there is not, for example, a preponderance of holders of small crofts taking permanent employment.*

162 464 However, the croft holders are not the only source of labour. Appendix C(4) shows that there is a total force of fairly regular labour for the crofts amounting to 147, or rather less than half the total resident population. Of these, 78 undertake regular employment, 24 have employment on occasion, and thus only 45 are full-time, of whom 25 are over 65. The forms of employment are indicated on Appendix D(2); weaving, with 49 persons regularly involved, is by far the most important single source of full-time employment, the only other being fishing (24 persons). Estate work (mostly gamekeepers, ghillies, etc. at Grimersta Lodge) gives regular employment to ten persons in the townships of the Shore. No other form of employment accounts for more than three residents between 15 and 65 years of age; the category 'casual' covers a variety of unskilled labour and there are five non-employable invalids.

288 283 About 50 households, out of 130, have looms. Yarn is distributed by the Stornoway producers for weaving on commission; they collect, finish, and market the cloth. Hand spinning has all but died out and such yarn is more likely to be used for handknitting than for weaving; at least one lady supplements her income in this way. There is some evidence that Bernera weavers receive less work than those more accessible to Stornoway; the reason for this may lie partly in individual contacts between weavers and producers, and partly in the particular skills of particular weavers but transport is an important factor. Such a small isolated group of weavers does not justify frequent journeys by the Stornoway vans; in fact most yarn is put out, and tweeds collected, by a weekly carrier.

Table 31

Fishing in Bernera District 1892-1956

178 226 435

	Numbers engaged:		
	Boats:	Men:	Value of Catch:
1892	39	133	?
1900	36	164	?
1913	39	163	£1,300
1920	36	151	£1,400
1930	27	145	£670
1938	33	114	£699
1948	40	84	£2,850
1956	25	26	£4,949

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Not all the boats returned were necessarily engaged in regular fishing. Nor is the value of the catch shown necessarily attributable entirely to Bernera.

* Editorial Note: this is an inevitable result of the rigid structure of crofter land holdings. See Part I, page 30 and table 12. The age of the crofter, and his family circumstances are decisive.

233 Little close attention is paid to shepherding though several crofters profess to lik it. The great losses on the moor (often amounting to one third of the lambs each year) does not seem to cause much worry. The chief income from the sheep is the fleece whi sells at up to 4/- per pound, an average fleece weighing from three to four pounds. Th wool is not used for the tweed industry since it is too coarse being more suited to carpet manufacture. Appendix C (6) shows that the majority of flocks are small averaging fro 10-20. The overgrazing is the result of a smaller number of owners keeping larger flo Thirteen of the working units have between 50 and 100 sheep. As to those without sheep several crofters declared themselves to be too old to bother with them, a fact which ser as an illustration and introduction to the population problems.

435 288

162 Appendices D (1) shows the twofold nature of the difficulties which confront the comm Twenty-two per cent of the residents are over 65 years of age and no less than 56% are over 45 years old. With the sole exception of one man who works on the power develop 464 ment project at Gisla in South Uig, the main focus of employment is local. A small nu 434 of people are engaged in services to the community including shopkeeping, but the main source of income is weaving since crofting itself (by definition in this area at least) does not yield sufficient to maintain a family. Yet there are 31 full time crofters who are be supported in some other way, either by relations temporarily or permanently absent or interest on capital accumulated during periods of employment away from the island.

162 464 There is an insufficiency of women of child-bearing age to offer hope of an increase the population or even a sufficient number to guarantee a level of replacement. This fa together with the emphasis on one form of employment gives rise to anxiety among the crofters, who recollect what happened when the fishing finally collapsed during the Firs World War after a period of steady decline. In 1913 twenty boats sailed from Carloway and gave employment to 295 men. If the weaving fails (at present a weaver making thr 435 tweeds per week can earn up to £16 for them) there will be similar hardship and the net emigration from an area already none too attractive to young people will certainly becom more marked than it is at present.

Table 36

Fishing in the Carloway District 1892-1956

178 228 435

	Numbers engaged		
	Boats	Men	Value of catch:
1892	65	300	?
1900	27	318	?
1913	20	295	£8,700
1920	14	266	£560
1930	10	83	£262
1938	10	40	£470
1948	14	40	£174
1956	15	18	nil

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Boats returned may not have been in regular use; many of the men were mainly engaged as hands on east coast boats.

Appendix C

Balance Sheet of a Croft

"The Muillear" has one croft and a two-acre buaile. In 1970 he planted one-eighth of an acre with three bags of potatoes, two of which he bought for L14/16, and harvested 22 hundredweights. This was sufficient for his family's needs and provided some feed for his livestock for all but two months of the year. A small plot is planted with cabbages, for domestic consumption.

Seven-eighths of an acre is planted with oats; one-and-a-half acres with grass and hay; and two acres are used for rough grazing.

The Muillear is interested in new ideas and techniques. He goes to meetings and discussion groups sponsored by the North of Scotland College of Agriculture, and has bought prize rams from the mainland to improve his flock. He tries to raise a few sheep using techniques of good husbandr rather than a large flock which would be given less effective care. He is teased by other crofters for "overfeeding," and for keeping his sheep on the croft and the township reseeding rather than out on the moor. "His sheep get homesick when they get out of sight of the croft." He wins the prizes at the Carloway Cattle Show each year, in a

*159 Costs:
•435
246

	L50/—	(Fodder used from December to August; a hundredweight bag costing L2/14 is used almost every two weeks. Other crofters do not use this much.)
	8/—	(Stack of oats)
	6/ 8	(Oat seed for 7/8 acres)
	6/—	(Tractor hired)
	9/—	(Six hundredweights of fertilizer for oats and grass. For a cropping grant of L17/10, three hundredweights of fertilizer must be put on each acre of hay.)
	L79/ 8	

(427)
(407)
(241)
(654)

*159
434
435

Income:	L165/14	
Costs:	79/ 8	
Profit:	L 86/ 6	(or about L2 back for every L1 he invest

*159
434

Net cash income or profit from the croft thus represents 9% to 10% of his gross earnings from weaving. If computed as cash, uncalculated income from the croft in the forms of garden vegetables and milk products would raise the croft income by L30 to L40. In those households that consume their own sheep, the croft contributes an even greater amount.

[Dr-vtr] [Emgr-vtr]

beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other hay-beds are permanently in natural hay, only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'old arable' is now in oats and potatoes. If natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the old arable (ninety acres) after 1845-52. As in all the fishing townships the area of sown grass is infinitesimal few only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of undersowing.

There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives. All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and squatters and feuars, besides the fifteen legal Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir common. The common has been encroached on by several feus for Gravir is the functional centre of Park: the Free Church of Scotland and Manse, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionaries (assistant ministers) are all located in Gravir.

Gravir and Glengravir then have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty-per cent of the stock, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 2,652 acres is in general of poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957, a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded: only twelve of the operative units participated in this reclamation work, and the age of the participants ranged between 27 and 58 years; this is significant as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended annually; if potential improvements to the crofts are limited, pasture amelioration is virtually without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater numbers: at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the sheep norm, and a ewe and lamb sell for as little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the consequences of over-stocking. The cattle stock is below the stinting and the paucity of cattle is one of the notable changes in the agriculture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the stinting by thirty-five per cent.

The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from the stinting of one cow and follower and eight sheep per pound sterling of rent in a township where only seven crofts pay more than £2 rent, they were never intended to be self-supporting agricultural units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, here or nate, locally milled by the three Gravir water mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family.

Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for lobsters.

If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of insurable age and service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupations are sufficiently available or attractive to keep the insurable population in the district. Twelve of the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in permanent employment forth of Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential male resident population.

The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the bay-day of the fishing most of the men fished all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the ease of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the weaving, the income of the largest croft including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

[Emgr-vtr] [Gr-vtr]

The West Highland Survey Township Card describes Lemreway as 'predominantly a fishing and weaving village'. The measure of its old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of petrol for obsolescent boats and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

The population with a declining population statistic proves interesting, especially when compared with those for Grimsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six occupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the other population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of the resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time crofters, while nine others find work in ancillary occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just over thirty people outside the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939. Nevertheless, Lemreway has a large proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Many of the present houses were built in 1904-05 and in 1934 and they are already nearly 50 years old. Some of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the water was near the surface. The peat moss springs. Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

Attention must be paid to the importance of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while a hostel/cafe could not greatly increase the income of the residents, they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling, is an example. It is the first tractor and could be put to good use in some parts of the township. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman has now adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but shows this is the expression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

Orinsay is a small crofting township (statistics in the form of a lucrative) around the head of a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore to the moor.

The Director of the Crofting Survey was grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 241.

Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase was due to the wartime demand for wool, but there have been a result of the war subsidy, but yet at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor. Although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1,000 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky, waterlogged and moribund weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just over thirty people outside the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his family with sufficient income, nor fully utilise the labour available in the croft. As a result, much work in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little inshore fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no resident occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 64 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third are seasonally away with the Stornoway fishing fleet, almost half of the females of similar age work in domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realized that most of these people working away assist their families at home, and that a large part of the croft income are made up of money sent home, together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity; only one house is without it. Water supply is not so certain as well and spring are the only source. The township lacks a telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last decade, connects Orinsay with Grantr; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles distant.

Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of constriction. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginalin character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

182

TABLE 2

ESTIMATED VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION ON THE ISLE OF SKYE

Produce	Total Marketable Production[a]	Local Consumption[b] (Household & Croft)	Exports
Oats	£ 3,500	£ 3,500	£ ....
Potatoes	23,500	23,500	....
Turnips	2,000	2,000	....
Hay	24,000	24,000	....
Sheep and Lambs	70,000	20,000	50,000
Wool	50,000	10,000	40,000
Cattle	90,000	20,000	70,000
Milk	30,000	30,000	....
Poultry and Eggs	40,000	40,000	....
Pigs	6,000	....	6,000
Miscellaneous	5,000	5,000	....
Totals	£ 344,000	£ 178,000	£ 166,000

[a]Based upon assumed yields from crop acreages and stock reported to the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

[b]Consumption includes an allowance for loss of stock.

436

436 MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE--articles circulating in exchange at their intrinsic value as standard money (e.g., salt, cattle, grain, shells, metal bars or coins); forms of representative money (e.g., warehouse receipts, certificates of deposit of standard money); credit money (e.g., government notes, bank notes); token money (e.g., subsidiary coins, shell money, bead money); coinage and mint; right of issuance; counterfeiting; etc. See also:

Foreign exchange	687	Punishment of counterfeiting	687
Government issuance and manipulation of currency	692	Weights and measures	804

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

In the earliest times, the folk of the island of Harris and Lewis were self-supporting; all that they needed for life as it was lived in those days was available at near hand; their existence was self-contained, the economy virtually self-sufficient. By and large, the only commodities often imported were salt, iron, and, to a certain extent, wood. Rents were paid largely in kind: the produce of agriculture, fishing and labour. Surplus produce was directed to southern markets to bring in the odd shilling or two for which there was really very little need in the island. But once money became important in the national economy, it was not long before it was requested in the island economy. By 1700 the island was well before, two or three open boats set out each year from Uig to Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. At about this time, too, changes were making their slow appearance in the island way of life and living. Specialists were being required: smiths, tinkers, shipwrights, netmakers, boatbuilders, weavers, tailors and millers. Each of these craftsmen generally held some cornland, either individually or in shares, and also had some rights in the common ground of the township in which he lived.

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

From the pure crofter class there emerged the crofter-craftsmen. In Lochs, for instance, by the turn of the seventeenth century 80 per cent were registered as fishers and netmakers. In the west, in the parish of Barvas, some 70 per cent were also fishers, with kelp-making as a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where subtenants paid 30s to 60s in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold kelp to their tacksman at 5d each, earned 20s a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s a ton, and worked on roads for 8d per day.

In Harris in 1895, the eight trained male weavers worked for the gentry only. Weaving for the populace was done by the

but their negligence even in ye article appears from their sending 439
out annual above 2000 of wool out of the country unmanufactur.' 175 *
Harris was rented at £600. Exports were some 100 tons of (427)
kelp (£325); and the value of 250 black cattle exported alive, with (436)
100 salted, was £445. Small quantities of cheese, wool, and the
skins of sheep, otters and seals were exported. Grain was neither
imported nor exported.

407
The plough, which is used here, and in most places of the long 175 *
island, is of a very peculiar construction. Its length is but 4 feet, (492)
7 inches, and is drawn by four horses abreast. It has but one
handle by which it is directed; the mold board is fastened with two
leather thongs, and the soke and coulter are bound together at
the point by a rim of iron. Beside kelp, there is little else manu- 195 *
factured, except a little coarse woolen yarn, and some blanket- 439
ing, which they send yearly to Glasgow. They raise a little flax, (286)
of which they make some coarse linen for their own use, but im- 248
port all the fine linen which they consume. In the year 1756, an (177)
American vessel in distress was obliged to put out three hogsheads
of linseed in Harris, which was sown and afforded crops of lint
which were above double the value of the usual crops. The east 228
and west of Loch Tarbert in the Harris are every year revisited 175 *
by the herring shoals. During the five years from 1743 to 1747,
the west loch was the principal seat of the herring fishery. About
thirty vessels from 18 to 40 tons, belonging to Campbelltown,
Greenock, and Irvine, were completely loaded each of these years
at this place.

443
With even a modest amount of business taking place, it was a 175 *
natural step to establish commercial facilities. Stornoway men who (453)
once acted as agents became shopkeepers. The increase in the use 436 *
of money attracted banks. During the Seaforth ownership of 175 *
Lewis, the island had its own currency or notes, designed and
printed from plates in the same style as the modern banknote. The
wording ran: 'I promise to pay on demand to the Chamberlain
of the Lewis or Bearer one pound Sterling at the Counting Room
here.' The notes carried a date and were signed by the proprietor,
J. A. Stewart MacKenzie. It is not known for certain how long
the notes remained in currency, when they ceased to be used, or
even whether they were officially acceptable. At one time, as rare (523)
items, they fetched high prices from collectors. A number were

436 *
* 175 found in a warehouse in Leith some years ago; a few found their way back to Stornoway, where one can be seen in the Public Library.

HARRIS TWEED

288 Today, with kelp long forgotten and fishing of minor importance,
(178) it is the Harris Tweed industry which supports many of the island people, either directly or indirectly; an island cottage industry with exports earnings exceeding £2,500,000 a year. Harris Tweed is exported to some thirty countries, including America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and all the European nations. The industry is in fact the basis of prosperity in the area, both dependent upon and supporting the crofter-weaver working at the handloom in his home. Seven million yards of tweed are woven annually by the independent weavers 'on the looms' of the various mills. The weavers must finance themselves, buying their own looms and bobbins, equipping and maintaining their workshops. Though they receive their supplies of yarn from the mills, they are graded as self-employed persons and as such are not entitled to unemployment benefit—a subject which has caused much argument.

286 One of the most outstanding facts about the cloth is that its essential qualities have remained unchanged since the industry's early formative years. But it has astonishing versatility and over 5,000 patterns are available, including the crotal browns and the heather colours.

288 A weaver on average can produce about 2½ webs, or tweeds,
286 a week; a web measuring about 80 yd by 28½ in, and gets a
(465) reward of some £8 per web, according to the intricacies of the
(463) design or the number of colours involved. The money is paid out by a mobile bank making the rounds of the townships throughout the island. It is reckoned that the mills, for their part, make 1d to 6d a yard profit, depending on turnover; the total annual value of the industry's output is in the region of £4,000,000.

Between them, the five mills in Stornoway and the one in
(234) Shawhost consume two-thirds of the Scottish wool clip—the native Western Islands' crop is sufficient for less than a month's production. A thousand pounds of raw wool end up as 885 yards of finished cloth.

800 tons and had a steam-driven winch. The slip has also 336
vanished—except for the name of the Patent Slip Wool Mills, 175 *
which produce Harris Tweed.

Other small industrial activities in the island during the nine- 195 *
teenth century included the business of Alexander MacPherson, 204
chemist, druggist, stationer and printer, who set up in Stornoway in 1842. He brought across the Minch with him Lewis's first demy-size hand printing press, which was still in use on 1 January 1889 to produce the first issue of the short-lived *The Lewisman*. Copies of this earliest Lewis newspaper can be seen at Stornoway Public Library. Early in the 1890s Thomas Nicolson also set up as a printer.

Whisky was once an important product, not only for local 273
consumption, but also for export. One of the Privy Council's 204
main indictments against the islanders in the Hebrides in 1622 175 *
was that they seized any cargo of wine and spent 'both days and (439)
nights in their excesse of drinking'. The council therefore enacted that masters of vessels sailing Hebridean waters should carry no more wines. It has been suggested that this and other measures were responsible for the beginning of illicit distilling, which in Lewis continued overtly as late as 1827. One of the two principal stills established by Lord Seaforth in the island at that time was at Coll, a few miles from Stornoway, the other at Gress, a few miles farther on. Such was the fame of these stills, both for output and quality, that it was hard to choose between 'Coll' or 'Gress'. Sometimes, the product passed as an article of exchange 436 *
in the island, and the factor received a considerable part of the (420)
rents in it instead of money; but the stills were closed about 1870.
The *Inverness Courier* of 14 November 1867 reports virtuously:
'Owing to the vigilance of Captain Oliver, of the Revenue cutter (439)
"Prince of Wales", and the new Excise Officers on shore, smuggling is so completely put down in the Long Island that there is actually not a drop of illicit whisky to be got from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head; and there is probably at this moment a larger supply of legal whisky from Greenock for the supply of Stornoway alone, than was ever imported into the Hebrides before.'

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the 484
hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the 36
world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psychic 175 *
logical evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'One (155)
cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with pocketful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a (434)
profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required 436 *
money as an exchange commodity because the original native 178
production was barter, encouraged a relaxation of effort (232)
to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered (264)
steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St (461)
Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the food they required, provided communications with the mainland were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, as (161)
St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to 166
the nation of little under £1,700, St Kilda was left to the care and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be repeated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island (112)
is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, 175 *
poor folk, scarce learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin 181
published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the company of a minister who had been summoned to the island to denounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180
inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Baptist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy 436 *
and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds, (325)

175 rent-rolls record something of more vital and enduring
241 concern, the unit of community life in the Lews. This was
427 the 'conjoint' or 'group' farm of the labouring peasantry
(476) —though it was overlaid in parts of the Island by the formation of tacks held by gentleman rent-farmers.

175 Both rolls are Judicial Rentals, that is to say, the
241 tenants, great and small, were convened by the Government Commissioners and examined on oath as to the rents
427 they formerly paid; the accounts were then entered and
(476) totalled. Because of the Jacobite resistance, the small
656 amounts of rent and the maladministration of the Forfeited Estates, doubt was cast upon the first rental, of 1718. A second rental was therefore compiled in 1726, upon a different system, which confirms the correctness of the first.[1] All were named, including those absent or 'valetudinary'.

175 Owing to the Island's comparatively smooth land sur-
361 face and access to the sea, the people could grow themselves
(182) as they chose. Whereas in the Highland mainland many
(184) a pocket of land is too small to keep more than two or three
(433) families alive and no fishing grounds are available, in Lewis
(476) the people could join together in teams of four, five or six, to work a hamlet-farm or penny-land; definable as a joint-farm of unit size, and to man a boat with "four row and one to steer".

175 The first point of interest is the equality of the shares,
241 each man paying exactly the same as his fellow-tenants for
427 his 'farthing',—a fourth, or other equal share of the farm.
(436) An average share of rent was a little over 10 shillings sterling
(113)

[1] A. Geddes, "Conjoint Tenants", etc., *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Series, vol. i, no. 1, 1948, pp. 54-60. This reconciles the evidence of 1718, reproduced in the Brand Report (1902), Appx. O, and that of 1726, edited by J. R. N. Macphail (1914).

175 might be thought) in cured fish. Here is a sample Deposi-
241 tion from Borve (W. Lewis), a township then composed of
427 five hamlet-farms, or 'pennylands', with their share of
• 436 outrun, peats and fishing grounds over the whole and known as Five-Penny Borve.

Donald McGillimichaell, William McHomas, Gillichallum McCoilog, and John McConnell in five penny land of Borrow and Parish of Cladach afor[s] MAKE OATH severally that neither of them has any Tack of their possessions, But that each of them pay yearly to ye above Mr. Zachary McAuly for behoof of ye Countes [of Seaforth] for[s] Nyne Pounds Scots (*i.e.* 15/-sterling), Two Bolls one Lipie meall, Fifteen pound weight of Butter, and three-fourths of a mutton. Depone they and each of them are someqt in arrear but know not the Particullars, and this is ye truth as they and each of them shall answer to God, and depone they can't write.

(Signed) DAVID BETHUNE
(Sheriff Substitute of Ross).

175 The only point on which these good fellows must have
241 had to face qualms in 'answering to God' was their lapse
427 of memory as to 'Particullars of arrears'! None of the
451 222 small tenants could remember this! Although the
(412) Chamberlain or Factor, Zachary MacAulay, denied it, he
(413) may have exhorted or compelled payment of rent in order to forward it to the exiled 'Marquis'. Mainland rents were actually despatched to France from Leith in broad daylight under an armed guard of clansmen! At the same time, neither MacAulay nor the joint tenants were of Clan Kenneth, the MacKenzies. MacAulay himself was a man of high character—and a poet too—and not one to collect rents in order to embezzle them. His affirmation has the ring of truth, with little alloy. To the Government Commissioners he wrote that what made it impossible for Lewis peasant-fishers to have paid rent in full during civil war,

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

attle are kept on 162 of the 219 units; in all there are 180 cows of three years and over, 47 cattle, and 110 calves. The usual practice is to suckle the calves, and sell them as soon y qualify for the calf subsidy; lack of winter-keep is one of the reasons for this practice. breeds of cattle are mainly Shorthorn and Aberdeen Angus with a few Highland cattle. The function of the cow is to provide milk for the household; households without a cow rely ly on tinned milk. Cattle are sold at the twice-yearly market held at Garyvard, but prices ate greatly. The townships of Park certainly do not carry a full souming of cattle.

heep are more important than cattle in the crofting economy in Park. The breed is the Blackface, a small, lighter type of the Scottish Blackface breed. The sheep are pastured common grazings in summer, and are grazed on the croft land in winter. The standard of husbandry is also low as few crofters dispose of cast ewes or have a defined breeding y as all stocks mingle freely on the commons. The lambing percentage for 1958 was about r cent and the number surviving in August compared to the total ewe stock was 52 per cent, was generally agreed that 1958 was a poor year. A further indication of the quality of heep is that in the fishing townships, a ewe fetches from 35 to 50 shillings, and a lamb 20 shillings locally. The low lambing percentage and poor prices can be partly ascribed lack of good grazing and to overgrazing, but disease and losses in a treacherous common re raise the mortality rate. In general the sheep are left to fend for themselves with a mum of shepherding although the more progressive crofters hand-feed the ewes and hogge in eather.

he majority of the crofters in Habost and Kershader, and a minority in Garyvard, rent addi- l grazing in Park Deer Forest, paying a fixed sum for each sheep. Sheep from these townships better prices; in the other townships a few weddera and fewer cast ewes are sold to the oway butchers. In many flocks, wool provides the only income from sheep.

is evident from Table II that the sheep souming is greatly exceeded. In the calculations, ewes aken as one unit, and 'other sheep', wedders and gimmers, have been calculated at half rate. is basis, the overall sheep souming is exceeded by 70 per cent and in only one township is tock comparable to the souming. Overstocking has been encouraged in crofting districts by we subsidy which was in operation till 1956 and it is notable that the rise in numbers of sheep rded in the Outer Isles coincided with the introduction of the Hill Sheep subsidy in 1938.[1]

stocking is without doubt the chief reason for the high mortality rate in sheep. Calculation of verall relation of the actual cattle and sheep stock to the soum shows that the common grazings rk are overstocked by 14 per cent. It is, however, impossible to calculate an exact figure, as umber of sheep grazed in Park Deer Forest was not enumerated. It is also evident from the idual croft surveys that the cottars, squatters and feuars, who have no rights of grazing, have equivalent to 157 cow units or 12 per cent of the total stocking. Thus the crofts of Park are taining an average stock fairly close to the souming, but the cattle-sheep ratio of 1:28 is too or proper management of the pastures.

n general, a low standard of husbandry obtains in Park but it is clear that the agricultural ships are much more efficiently operated than the fishing townships. Overstocking occurs in n of the twelve townships and sheep stocks are, with one exception, higher than the sheep souming

In Scotland as a whole, the number of sheep recorded declined from 8,007,134 in 1938 to 7,336,000 in 1955.

Types of ancillary employment

241 464 The question of the desirability of ancillary employment in a crofting district is often debated. On the one hand, engaging in such work means less time for croft work and makes wholehearted participation in the agricultural life of the township a virtual impossibility. On the other hand, crofters who take ancillary employment are better able to make capital investment in their croft. Table IV shows that in Park, croft efficiency, as expressed by the souming to actual stock ratio, is not necessarily related to participation in ancillary employment. If 000 the township is to be re-established as a working entity, a clearer dichotomy in the population seems desirable; those who wish to work the croft on a full-time basis might be given full use of the available land, and those who wish to earn their living in non-crofting employment could take out feu charters for their houses. It is clear that the agricultural resources of Park are insufficient to maintain the present number of crofts as viable economic units but the problem of finding industrial employment for any large non-crofting population is very great.

184 464 The Park Association, in their keen search to attract industry, met with little response for high freight rates and distance from markets made economic industrial costing well-nigh impossible. The Chairman of the Crofters' Commission has recently suggested that some of the Glasgow Overspill of "tradesmen and small businesses" might find "an opportunity to prosper in the West Highlands and Islands"[3] but even with Government grants for the establishment of small factories, it is clear that present freight charges would be a severe deterrent.

178 228 One possibility is that the fishing industry might be revived. In 1945, 16 large motor vessels were fishing from the townships between Cromore and Gravir; by 1952, three boats remained;[2] only one boat was still fishing in 1958. The recent Fishing Board Scheme guarantee, which provides a flat weekly rate for every boat turning out, brings hope as this [435] [452] guarantees a minimum livelihood. The major problem is the finding of the initial capital required to buy and fit out a modern boat, at present about £20,000. Eighty-five per cent of this sum can already be found in the form of grants and loans from the Herring Industry Board but the remaining fifteen per cent or £3,000 is often the more difficult sum to raise. The Murdo Macaulay (Rhodesia) Trust has offered assistance to a limited number of fishermen towards the raising of the £3,000", and this offer is a real opportunity. If fishing is not re-started soon in Park, few of the original fishermen will remain to instruct the new generation.

484 [312] Tourism is an industry hardly developed at all in Park. Lack of running water has made the householders shy to offer accommodation, but it should be remembered that there are city dwellers who are delighted to accept inexpensive accommodation away from the crowded resorts. Dr. Stig Jaatinen, in his "Human Geography of the Outer Hebrides"[4], states that this fact has made the Aaland Islands prosperous, and believes that tourism on simple lines could be successfully developed in the Outer Hebrides. Tourism need not bring in its train the desecration of the Sabbath for people who are willing to journey far in search of a quiet holiday usually conform to local observances.

464 Unless new sources of employment are brought to Park, it is clear that ancillary employment must continue to be sought elsewhere. The higher 'spending standard' in industrial employment, and the opportunities to find entertainment in urban areas (tastes often resulting from experience during school days in Stornoway or National Service), militate against a large population of young people, but basically lack of employment and the uneconomic nature of the crofts are the real reasons for the high degree of temporary and permanent employment away from Park.

1 Letter to the Glasgow Herald 27.1.59
2 South Lochs Survey Report.
3 Stornoway Gazette 27.1.59
4 Stig Jaatinen, Acta Geographica XVI, No. 2. 1957.
[113]

[Kershader]

241 311 [407] with heather and peat on the higher areas, hay is taken off 19.25 acres. Four acres, mainly for potatoes, are worked by spade but most of the cultivation is by tractor hired from Balallan or, in 1958, from Habost. Lazybede are common and in some cases are carefully renewed, but the present tendency, reaching its extreme in a field of about two acres on one croft, is towards the formation of larger, ploughable fields for ease of tractor operation. Most cultivation is in 244 zones (a) and (b), with little development of (c) at present. The only crops are oats and potatoes, 246 with some garden plots of cabbages, turnips and carrots. The potato main crop is generally Kerr's Pink (Golden Wonder on one croft), with a couple of rows of Skerry Blue or Edzell Blue 198 for earlies. There is no memory of Black Oats (Avena strigosa), and bere (Hordeum vulgare) has certainly not been grown since 1930, and probably not since 1909. The oats are grown 256 exclusively for winter feed and are hand-threshed with stock and comb as the need arises; the 339 last water mill in the locality went out of use after 1914, the last handmill in 1916; no grain has been sent to Stornoway since about 1930. Rotations are extremely irregular: some lazybeds are still cultivated with alternate crops of oats and potatoes and have heavy seaware and manure fertilization, but most other arable areas have some sort of oats, potatoes, oats, sown 324 grass sequence. Fertilisers used are seaware and manure (ten crofts), manure (eleven crofts), 247 sand (one croft), lime (ten crofts) and artificials - 'Potato manure' and sulphate of ammonia - 247 on eight crofts. Artificial fertilisers and much of the seed are obtained through the Crofters' Agency.

231 407 232 The only two horses ever owned by this township were kept on croft 11 from 1936 to 1953. The plough was first introduced in 1936. When a tractor from Balallan became available for hiring in 1953, the horses were disposed of. The present soums are by cow, young beast and sheep per croft in proportion to rents and range from 3 cows, 3 young beasts, 69 sheep down to 1 cow, 1 young beast and 23 sheep. Eight crofts exceed their entitlement but no croft hasless than half the souming and the deficiency is mainly in cattle, especially young beasts. On the other hand, no 234 operative unit is entirely without cattle as manure is extremely important. Cattle are kept for 432 domestic milk supply, and calves, having qualified for subsidy, are normally sold at 6 to 8 months 10 acres of the common grazing were re-seeded in 1957 and the following rhythm for milk cows 221 is developing:-

191 253 311

(a) As soon as the weather allows in May, the cows are put out in the park for about three weeks.

(b) Next, about 6 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the new outer fence erected in 1957.

(c) Back to the re-seeded park for about five weeks.

(d) Return to the crofts for the winter, being let out either to the park or to the common grazings whenever the weather is suitable.

178 The young beasts spend much of their time on the outer common grazings. As most of the crofts, beginning with one in 1938 and ending in sequence with 10, 11 and 12 probably in 1959, are fenced, the old arrangements for township commoning from 15th October to 10th May are now obsolescent. Another park was also fenced for general purposes and for weaning in 1957. Prices for calves 435 and cattle are very low and this discourages cattle breeding; on the other hand, lack of winter keep enforces an occasional sale.

The rhythm of sheep husbandry is largely independent of that of cattle:-

(a) By 20th November all sheep, except possibly the lambs, are cleared from the crofts for the tupping of breeding ewes thereon till 31st December. Every crofter now keeps his own ram, exchanging it or buying another at least once in five years.

[Kershader]

233 (b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices,
311 however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the former
221 case they heft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand.
231 Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

[432] There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

231 Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces
[256] about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average
435 sheep carcase weight is reckoned to be 41 lb, and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

241 Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as
161 full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category,
162 and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable
167 population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this
166 township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft
464 work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption
[463] only) and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The
[501] only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person has entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the
[705] optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907
[708] and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard,
[871] Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

132 It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilizing the
241 population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in
[813] agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Garyvard]

407 Only a fraction of the total arable land is cultivated by tractor and this is divided among seven crofts. In spite of an emphatic statement by one of these cultivators to the effect that he will never use it again, the use of the tractor will increase as soon as the pioneers are able to prove to their neighbours its capabilities and as soon as the lazy-beds are joined together, an improvement which has already taken place in Habost. The main objection to the use of the tractor by the disappointed user was the inevitable one that the yields were smaller than in former years when he had used the spade. The answer to this was given by one of the other pioneers, who thought that time saved could be devoted to some other profitable occupation,
242 for example, weaving. Six of the crofters practise a five-year crop rotation, sowing potatoes first, followed by oats under-sown with clover which for the following three years is cut for hay.

An interesting experiment has been that of the improvement of two acres of common grazing land by the road on the west side of the township, by nine of the crofters working together during the evenings. The work began early in Spring when 6 tons of lime, 10 cwts. of mineral phosphates and 8 cwts. of compound fertilizer were spread evenly over the land. The grass seed was sown in July, the most favourable time for sowing since there is less danger of a drought than earlier in the year, and more convenient too, in that the sheep had been gathered for shearing and 250 of them were available to be driven back and forth over the land to tramp the seeds in. In theory this land should be ready for grazing next Spring, but in practice it will be ready in November. It is planned to re-seed twelve acres in all.

231 Most crofters have a cow to provide milk for their own needs. The Black Poll bull at Gravir
234 is preferred to the other township bulls since its progeny command higher prices. Sales are held
432 in the district twice per year, once on the old lake-level on the east side of the township, and once
435 at Balallan. Prices for calves are normally better in Spring than at the Autumn sale, nevertheless prices offered tend to be low. Even so, it is usually to the advantage of the crofter to part with the animal rather than bear the cost of taking it back to the croft and wintering it there. Naturally there is some bitterness that the middlemen who buy these animals will sell them at much higher prices on the mainland at Dingwall. Sheep are normally sold in Stornoway to the butchers but also at the local sales.

241 Crofting is not in itself a lucrative form of employment and in most households there is at
434 least one other source of income. A majority of the crofters have regular employment, two
463 working in quarries or on the roads for the County Council, another is postman, three are weavers,
464 another both weaver and contractor, while yet another works in Antarctic waters aboard a whaling
[288] factory ship for eight months of the year. Weaving is undoubtedly the most lucrative of the ancillary occupations, though the weavers are suffering at the moment from the slump in the Harris Tweed Industry which is also affecting the prices for wool. Contracting is also a paying proposition for one or two persons only, since the amount of freight is obviously limited.

241 Most crofters own a small rowing boat and it is not uncommon to see half a dozen nets set to
226 catch mackerel and other demersal fish. There is not one large fishing boat, however, partly
501 because of the scarcity of fish near the coasts, and partly because of the isolation of the area and the subsequent difficulty in marketing. The Fleetwood trawlers are regarded as pirates in the
[228] Minch, and one has to its credit the destruction of two long lines - the sum total of the tackle belonging to a local boat. To have eighteen pounds worth of gear lost in one night is ruin to a crofter-fisherman. Lobster fishing has died out at Garyvard though it could be quite extensively practised.

361 The main road from South Lochs to Stornoway through the village has obviously had a profound
491 effect on the township. The sites of the old 'black houses' have been abandoned when new houses have been built, in favour of sites conveniently near to the road. The Road Age has greatly
[241] limited man's capacity for carrying goods. This is well illustrated by the fact that the majority of crofters in Garyvard use artificial fertilizers, whereas they are scarcely used at all in Caversta where the road ends about 50 yards from the nearest house.

[Marivig]

231 There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while
[935] all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

314 Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of
482 the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

228 Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft,
501 and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobster during the winter and markets them in London.

463 Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the
464 roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia
466 fishings, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual
168 migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the
167 permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school - over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine
162 (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young
471 people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

205 The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a
206 shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There
466 is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road
494 which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much
495 better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig
491 and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.
446

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the
363 sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while
361 the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain
362 and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron.
377 All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply;
312 rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

829 The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the
drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the
900 crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

APPENDIX II

434 228 [439]

(iii) *Fishing Industry* (1953)

The renewed Russian contracts for herring have meant loading of Baltic shipping at Stornoway with barrels of herring cured both in Stornoway and Ullapool. Catching power in Scotland generally is hardly enough to meet this contract. Thus, while the numbers of boats continued to decline after the war, leaving only one steam and 33 motor drifters (over 30 feet keel) registered by 1953, the fishermen employed rose to 610, of whom some 520 were crofter-fishermen. Many worked much of the year; on the other hand, most of the winter catch went for 'oil and meal' at about 50s. per cran instead of the top price of over 80s. For local boats a figure of £30,000 is suggested for the catch of herring, say £10,000 for white fish, with £5560 for shellfish. For "curing and associated income" the pre-war figures may be doubled.

[178]

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island* (1953)

434 465

In mid-1953, of just 5000 registered for the Island as employed—and other than the self-employed, *i.e.* the farmers and crofters, the hand-weavers and the boat-sharing fishers—1130 earned by the three industries first named, the rest by other trades and professions, 3870 in all. The unemployed numbered 1180. Analysis of wage-rates would throw light on total earnings. As to unemployment, the fact that, like crofters and many fishers, hand-weavers count as 'self-employed' means that when out of work they are not covered by unemployment insurance, and have to be helped, at low rates, by public assistance.

[657]

(v) *Allowances, etc.* (1953)

434 657 436 729

Turning now to Remittances, to the manifold categories of Pensions, National Insurance and National Assistance, and to Unemployment Benefit (a small item), the Table B, 1953–54, shows the totals kindly furnished for this study, with £1,017,110 for all Lewis and an estimated £977,010 for rural Lewis.

(B) *REMITTANCES (BY PO*

(i) URBAN AND RURA

319

Money and Postal Orders
Allowances (Forces) and Pensions (State
Unemployment payments

Total (B, i)

Total (i, A

434
436
657
729
369

...OST), ALLOWANCES, PENSIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS

With Averages per Rural Household (1953-54)

...L			(ii) Rural (a) Official Rural	(b) Estimated Rural	(c) Average per Household
	£196,680		£85,600	96,160	£20·5
...e), with	820,430		590,470	880,850	187·4
)	£1,017,110	Total (B, ii)	£676,070	£977,010	£207·9
...and B)	£2,990,670	Total (ii, A and B)	£1,598,070	£1,899,010	(Approx.) £208 (Approx.) £405

(B) *REMITTANCES (BY POST), ALLOWANCES, PENSIONS A*

With Averages per Rural Househol

(i) Urban and Rural

Money and Postal Orders	£53,700		
Allowances (Forces)	41,000		
Pensions (State)	82,700		
Unemployment payments	120,000		
Total (B, i)	£297,400	Total (B, ii)	
Total (i, A and B)	£1,026,500	Total (ii, A a	

Note.—To complete the estimate of rural income, partly
should require to group with (A) certain sources of income of
road-making and the creation of other services, and to add to (
from outside the Island which may be received as Bank-notes b
cash brought home by earners. The figures of £110,000 fo
and of £35,000 for Money and Postal Orders, suggest that it w
a figure equal to at least the two combined, or £145,000, towards
£30 or so per rural household. By bringing the sources of inc
very small amount—we should approach a true figure, which c

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

434
436
369
657
174

ND UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS
ld

(ii) RURAL

	(a) Official Rural	(b) Estimated Rural	(c) Average per Household
	£31,700	£34,900	£7·4
	30,400	33,000	7·0
	54,100	60,000	12·7
	110,000	110,000	23·4
	£226,200	£237,500	£50·5
		(Approx.)	£51
nd B)	£650,550	£661,850	£141

indicated by (A) and (B) we
productive character such as
B) other savings and pensions
y post, as Bank Drafts, and in
Unemployment Assistance,
ould not be too much to add
making an income of another
come to at least £170—still a
annot, at best, be large.

from these influences. Now the government provided the capital, by grant, subsidy, and loan, and the guidance necessary for a fuller utilization of the land. The crofters who had already seen their subsistence economy disappear became a part of the national system of commerce. What effect have these influences had on the culture? 175* 178* 184 241

Throughout the modern epoch there has been a tendency to increase the production of exports, first cattle and then sheep, at the expense of the traditional subsistence crops. Within ecological limits, the national markets have determined what the Sgiathanach might produce. Since the environment has made Skye a pastoral land and agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years, abandonment of a subsistence economy has meant dependence on stock breeding for export. Commercialization of the land and increasing dependence on imported food has resulted in a growth of the importance of money. The decline in household industries, caused by economic deterioration, has also played its part in the people's dependence on currency. As a measurement of values, however, the importance of money has declined since the period of the large sheep farms. The crofter's margin of profit is small, and his opportunities to earn a wage are limited. Economic differentiation no longer affects the traditional status values, except within the traditional polarity of landed gentry and tenant. 175* 178* 439 175* 178* 439 436 [55]

In a comparable way, the utilization of more efficient methods of production is less important now than it was during the period of the "Clearances." Techniques have improved for the majority in so far as labor saving devices are available, but the achieving of modern efficiency is precluded by the 175* 178* 427 241

241 the economy by subjecting many fertile acres to disuse because 427 of his infirmity. The other factor is the absentee tenant, 887 an individual who has obtained possession of a croft, normally 888 by inheritance, but who has failed to take up his inalienable 311 [128] rights of tenancy. Let us very briefly review the economic trends of the last fifty odd years and, then, try to assess the importance of the absent and the aged.

436 Although the Sgiathanach has refused to become a 433 specialist, fully involved in a money economy, he has become 241 increasingly dependent on the products of the wider commercial 178 439 society. Long ago he gave up growing the old staples, barley and oats. Not for many years has he grown enough potatoes or turnips to feed himself and his cattle. In place of these home grown subsistence crops, he now imports a great deal of his food. In an average year Skye imports over 700 tons of bread, 10 tons of vegetables, 300 tons of canned goods, 300 tons of potatoes, 500 tons of flour, and 100 tons of milk. To pay for these products, he exports cattle, once his only marketable produce, and an ever increasing number of sheep.

436 Hance, writing about the Outer Hebrides, sees the growing 241 tendency of the crofters to buy their food as indicative of an 233 increasing cash income.[16] 431 To a certain extent, this may be true. There are, however, additional factors involved. Ecological limitations have played their role. That the climate and soil together make Skye a grassland suitable for stock breeding rather than an island fit for cultivation is an often repeated

16. Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 22.

436 belief. Since agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years, 241 the present tendency to use more and more of the land for grass 233 and hay can be regarded as a more complete adjustment to the 439 environment. The partial involvement in the outside contractual world encouraged and made possible the change. The same reasoning applies to stock production, including the declining number of horses, cattle, and, especially, dairy cows. The exports, obviously, reflect market demands. A couple of [243] crofters have unsuccessfully tried market gardening. The Sgiathanach is not a vegetable eater, and the commercial establishments, apparently, find a more dependable supply 436 elsewhere. A few crofters do sell potatoes in Portree, but 241 they will not compete with the large, east coast potato 432 farmer. In 1953, as soon as the price fell below the pre-season high, the crofters decided it was not worth the trouble 437 to dig the tubers for sale. The same held true for eggs. 436 Many crofters barter eggs with the food vans which serve the 235 rural areas for tea and meat. When the Scottish market was glutted in the summer of 1953, the crofters refused to trade at lower prices. They preferred to obtain their protein from the eggs, believing that the spring egg prices were the fair prices. For the sake of emphasis, I repeat, the involvement of the Sgiathanach in the world of commerce is only partial. Finally, in accounting for these changing economic trends, the aged and the absentee crofter must be taken into account.

887 The old people frequently cannot work their crofts or 241 cannot use them fully. The age at which the work becomes too

43

437 EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS--types of exchange (e.g
goods with money, exchange of services for goods); n
higgling, auctioning); formalities; guarantees; tradin
trading relationships; etc. See also:

Marketing . . . . . 44 Foreign exchange.
Property transactions in marriage . . . . . 55 Exchange of service
Gift exchange 431

23 (234) People kept several cattle, some of which were dry most of the time. But because everyone was keeping cattle, (244) milk could be gotten from a neighbor. One man was (246) planting eight or nine hundredweights of potatoes before the war, some of which would be used to feed the livestock. 511 "You couldn't buy milk then, so you had to keep a cow. (234) And even though people were weaving, they weren't getting (231) so much money as they are now. It was the barter system (288) here for a long time. So they didn't have the money to (437) buy feeding stuff. It was better to spend the time planting potatoes. Now of course there's more money in the weaving."

175 After the war, an act was passed which provided free 272 milk for schoolchildren. Milk for the Shawbost school 234 was supplied by a farm ne r Stornoway, and villagers first 178 started buying the milk from the school milk van. A strike 175 held by weavers during the war had increased the payments 178 for weaving, and the barter system had stopped. More 288 (468) money was available. As the loom was more profitable, (437) more people stopped keeping cows, and relied on their (231) neighbors for milk, or got their milk from the van bringing (272) milk to the school. And as the cattle got fewer, the 178 market for bottled milk expanded. A dairy was started on 231 the west side of the island in the mid-1960's which carries 434 milk from Uig to Ness. 234

., barter, purchase of
negotiations (e.g.,
ng expeditions; special
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s 476

175 went away to the fishing, their families bought groceries 441 on credit. "If the merchant thought the fishing season 452 would be good, he let them have as much as they wanted; otherwise he restricted them in their buying."

288 The barter system continued in Shawbost long after 175 it stopped in Stornoway. A weaver was given credit in 159 Coinneach Rod's store, until it closed in 1948, for the 444 exact amount of the tweed. He never gave money. "You had 437 to get just the right amount of goods, even down to 472 tuppence in matches." People were forced to buy huge jars of jam which they did not really want or need. Some "cunning" fellows would slip a two-pound pair of shoes into a shoebox marked 15 shillings. "Coinneach Rod would ask if you wanted a wireless, or would a tweed jacket fit your son. You couldn't refuse, or you wouldn't do any weaving for him for a long time."

Coinneach Rod bought looms for many weavers, and they 288 would weave only for him to pay off the debt. "People 175 living on the dole with a large family would go to him 159 472 and ask him to buy them a loom. He would get the man a 452 loom, and then get him a lot of tweeds to weave so the man could pay him off. It was two tweeds for yourself and one for the loom."

288 2. Centralization and Specialization: Centralization 175 and specialization in handling the production of the tweed 441

181 621 People prefer to give money 103
178 in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat
437 cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendship
829 are still weak, relative to friendships in urban
572 settings. Most information which is shared between
62 (369) individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip.
(521) Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutua
(476) aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to confide and keep secrets.

621 Today many of the younger villagers do not know
178 their relatives to the extent that their elders did.
602 In one family, a girl who was about to get married had
(685) to ask her brother, who was the only one of the sibling
(576) interested in kinship connections, whom to invite to th wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of
602 one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and
484 Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there
(178) I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in transportation and income, more islanders are taking brief trips away from the island. During these trips, they almost always stay with relatives.

857 It is frequently said that children are now "cheek
572 less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, an
829 that they prefer to watch television or read books by
178 themselves to playing with each other.

CONTINUED
FROM
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CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

(A) TRANSITION: MIGRATION, FISHING AND KELP-MAKING

175 433 [621] [427] [794] [437] UNTIL the 'Forty-five the township had lived an almost self-contained life. Its traditional economy was self-sufficient except for two indispensable commodities—salt for the housewife and iron for the smith. Beyond this, the chief demand for payment was the rent to the lord, with tithes for the kirk. For these needs and demands a step towards production for exchange was required, the more so that what was exported might include the very necessities of life in 'bad years'. The rent was paid largely by the sale of a surplus steer or two, and 175 drovers called for the cattle. By 1790, if not before, two 317 or three open boats set out annually from Uig, for instance, for Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. 436 Although salt seems of little account today, it once bulked [435] large in the Budget, its price being heightened by duty, especially after 1707: "as dear as salt", was a saying, *cho* [251] *daor ris an t-salluinn*. Salt was needed to preserve the carcase of a 'cattle-beast' or sheep killed in autumn, and 175 for cod and herring curing. Wrecks were valuable, as on 433 all infertile undeveloped coastlands, both for their timber and their iron. Cairds or tinkers occasionally brought [326] metal goods; or a packman called, as strange a figure then [443]

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438 DOMESTIC TRADE--local and regional specialization in production within the society; (e.g., home and cottage industry, location of particular industries); division of labor between town and country; volume of trade within and between communities and regions; articles entering into domestic commerce; motivation (e.g., profit, prestige); patterns of internal commerce; etc. See also:

Agricultural specialization 26
Marketing 44
Business and industrial organization 47
Land use 311
Trade centers and areas 366
Urban and rural contrasts 369
Trade routes 487

boats; value, £15,400. Of this, the greater part came into Lewis creeks (Table 17), making £10,000 for Lewis.

Finally, we may add a round figure for whole or part-time occupations associated with the fisheries, including what accrues by the visiting fleet and its business, of, say, £20,000. This gives a total net output approaching £85,000 from fisheries for a typical year just before 1939.

We now turn to an estimate of the earnings of fishermen and of the women engaged in curing. To some extent these figures overlap, for the value of the net output includes the wages of fishermen and women; but the sums earned on 'stranger' vessels—reduced now to some £3000—and the wages earned by women gutters and curers in East Anglia (about £10,000) are additions to Lewis income. Some of this was, no doubt, sent home in the form of postal orders, etc., causing a further overlap, but much of it was probably sent in the form of notes or brought home in cash. In order to show the real net earnings of rural Lewis, these are separated from the output shown in the first column ((A, i) on p. 314) and are tabled under "Earnings by Crofting and Associated Rural Occupations only" (A, ii).

(*b*) *Fishers' Earnings.*—As no figures of local earnings are separately published, estimates must be based upon the collation of the Fishery Board's *Annual Statistical Tables* and accompanying *Annual Reports* with careful local enquiries. By 1938 the fishermen on Stornoway District herring fishing vessels were reduced to about 350 men and boys in the summer season, of whom only a few worked in autumn and winter. Their earnings included the earnings of share owners of boats and of nets, and of those without shares, the latter being only a fraction, say a quarter, of the total. Nearly 100 District men still worked on 'stranger' (East Coast) vessels at the summer fishing and rather fewer at the East Anglia autumn fishing. The sum so earned may have been a third or more of the earnings on District vessels. Altogether the total net earnings from herring fisheries received by all fishermen from Lewis proper came to little more than £8000. By 1938 the

crippling losses suffered after 1914–18. A beginning has certainly been made. The Herring Industry Board's scheme for 'Queen of Scots' kippers will help the Minch fishing. It will not necessarily help the ports of Stornoway or Tarbert, because herring can be landed at mainland ports and treated there or else taken by road to the Moray Firth, kippered there, and still qualify under the scheme. The Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society has aided the marketing of lobsters to good purpose.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island*

It is to be hoped that members of the Lewis Association may ascertain these, perhaps in collaboration with University research workers. This, in turn, might instructively be collated with the imports and exports of the Island, which are recorded and ascertainable with a precision impossible for a similar area on the mainland. Thus the facts would throw light on the economy of other crofting districts.

(v) *Allowances, Pensions, Unemployment Assistance and Remittances*

With regard to money received by the crofting communities of Lewis from other than 'productive' sources, figures have kindly been made available regarding three sources, namely, (*a*) Allowances made to members of the Forces and their dependents, and Pensions, (*b*) Unemployment payments, and (*c*) Money Orders and Postal Orders. The yearly periods for which figures are available are close enough to permit of reasonable comparisons. Among other sources, Bank Drafts form an insignificant fraction of monies received by crofters from outside the Island. It is impossible to say how much cash is brought home by men paid off from the Merchant Service and other employment, or how much may be sent through the post in the form of notes, whether registered or unregistered. The amount is known to be large, however, and an estimate based on the number of insured employed, and other figures, would be of value. A token figure is suggested in a note to the concluding Table.

For the year 1937–38, Allowances paid to members of the Forces and their dependants in Lewis (proper) came to £40,000. Of this sum a greater part was paid through Stornoway Post Office than might have been expected from the town's population. But able-bodied recipients of Allowances are attracted to the town by the likelihood of finding work there, while men of higher rank and pay are apt to be townsfolk, and their dependants also. Old Age, Orphans' and Widows' Pensions exceeded £80,000. Of this sum a relatively large amount was also paid through Stornoway Post Office, partly for administrative reasons, rendering other causes harder to disentangle.

We turn now to the next source named, Unemployment Assistance. The Bureau made payments of £120,000 in 1936—the last year for which relevant statistics were made available. Of this sum, about one-third was Insurance Benefit, derivable in principle from the joint earnings of workers, and two-thirds were Public Assistance, contributions to which were made from local rates. The fraction paid to Stornoway workers was relatively small, and may be estimated at barely £10,000, that of rural payees accounting for the remaining £110,000. As the Means Test took account of the croft (or smaller holding with house), the average payment to individuals was small.

Turning to Money Orders, and taking the balance of payment and issue at face value, there was actually an outflow from the Island instead of an influx, for the issues exceeded the payments. In Lewis in 1937–38, whereas nearly £60,000 was issued in Money Orders, only a little over £30,000 was paid. Even allowing for the fact that part of the payments is cashed through banks or cleared at a central Post Office on the mainland, there would appear to be an outflow, as centralised clearances probably amount to no more than 35 to 40 per cent. The amounts in Postal Orders paid were smaller, totalling £23,000, and the difference between payments and issues less.

Comparisons between town and country are instructive. Stornoway's position as a shopping centre is reflected in the heavier average of Money Order payments per head per annum as compared with rural areas (£8·4 as against £1·1); and the

difference between the issues and the payments in rural areas (£28,000 as against £13,000) is no doubt due to orders drawn to pay accounts. In this connection, a comparison of conditions at an interval of nine years is suggestive for any attempt to distinguish the difference between rural incomes before and after the economic depression. In rural Lewis the total Order payments fell from over £33,000 in 1928–29 to barely £22,000 in 1937–38, a fall of more than a third. Although a decline in the payment of Money Orders in Stornoway was partly offset by an increase in that of Postal Orders there, it is thought that even this reflects a fall in the cash available in the townships, by indicating a fall in the average amount of accounts paid by country customers to Stornoway tradesmen. Even here, it is true, some allowances must be made, as latterly more shopping was done by customers coming into Stornoway by car and probably paying to a greater extent in cash.

Comparisons may now be made, for all the data quoted, between Stornoway and the rural or 'landward' areas of Lewis, and also between landward parishes for all except the Unemployment payments. Population having changed but little from 1931 to 1938, and economic conditions not being very different in the Island in the financial years 1936 and 1937–38, an approximation can be made of payments averaged per head of population. In the following table these are shown in £ sterling to one decimal place.

Average Payments (per Head per Annum)

	Stornoway Burgh	Stornoway Landward	Barvas	Lochs	Uig	Average Landward
	£	£	£	£	£	£
(a) Allowances and Pensions	10·2	3·3	4·0	3·6	5·9	3·9
(b) Unemployment Payments	2·6	..	..	..	..	5·1
(c) Money and Postal Orders	(8·4)	1·0	0·9	1·2	1·3	1·1
Total	..	..	..	..	..	10·1

yards (a weaver's yard is equal to 8 feet, a measure which derives from the size of the frame once used to wind banks of yarn). Payment varies according to the number of colors used in the pattern. A weaver may average 2½ tweeds per week when the work is available, thus earning more than mill workers. A female mill worker earns about L11 or L12, and her male counterpart about L3 more.

Because weavers are classed as self-employed, they do not qualify for unemployment benefit. They may apply for social security, but must submit to a "means" test, and the possession of bank savings or other assets disqualifies them from receiving such aid. All British workers must pay a weekly sum for "insurance stamps," a certain number of which makes the workers eligible for small payments from the government during periods of illness. Self-employed persons must pay for their own insurance stamps, whereas employers pay for the stamps of their workers. A weaver who does not keep up with his payments of over one pound a week for insurance stamps must pay the accumulated debt at a later time.

Weavers face other costs. They buy looms and bobbin-winding machines, and pay for lighting, heating, and the maintenance of all equipment. The preservation of this anomalous status of "self-employed" is related to the

attempt to preserve the image of Harris Tweed as a cottage industry, and thus maintain its market value. Many weavers, politicians and businessmen argue that the weaver should be reclassified.

However, the status of weavers as self-employed is not simply bureaucratic jargon designed to preserve the Harris Tweed industry. In most employer-employee situations, people are hired with the understanding that they have certain qualifications and will perform certain jobs. Weavers are not under such expectations and obligations. A mill has little idea of the skill or motivation of the weavers to whom they send their yarn. Weavers differ in matters such as degree of skill and state of health, and they also differ in the amount of time available to weave, and other matters that affect their production. Some weavers refuse to do complex patterns; some are busy with croft work and do not want to do "urgent" tweeds; others who are recovering from illness may prefer not to weave the heavier tweeds. The tweed van sent out by the mills to make deliveries all over the island meets one such variable situation after another, and thus finds it difficult to meet the demand of the Weavers Union, that tweeds should be equally distributed among all weavers on the island. Theoretically, the mills are supposed to deliver tweeds in strict

CROFTING CHANGES

The removal of crofters from good to poorer ground was a significant factor in the destitution years of the nineteenth century, with the self-sufficiency factor becoming smaller and the dependence on imports (when there was money to buy these) increasing. Today, the crofter is of course not self-supporting, his economy being based on fishing and weaving with the produce of the croft yielding an annual average of some £200.

Acreages under certain crops show this trend to dependence on the produce of mainland farmers. In the island in 1911 some 3,673 acres were under potatoes, the present acreage being about one-third of that. The number of people per acre of potatoes for Scotland as a whole is 22 : 1. In the island it is about 15 : 1, indicating a heavy domestic consumption. Yet substantial imports of this crop are required to satisfy demand; a relevant point is that the milking cow commonly shares the potatoes. The barley crop, once much used in Lewis's former small distilleries, has been reduced to some 10 per cent during the past fifty years. On the other hand, the acreage of sheaf crops, oats, rye and mixed corn, generally fed to cattle, has about doubled. Oats in particular are in favour for cattle fodder; even before the turn of the present century oats were not widely used for human food, and oatmeal has for centuries been imported into the region. The turnip acreage has halved over the past fifty years, perhaps the result of the gradual disappearance of the horse, its steady labour and its dung being required to put good heart in to the land.

As the crofters' cropping policy has changed over the past half century, so has their animal husbandry. Animals are a main selling product, particularly cows and sheep. Horses, of course, have been drastically reduced from their total of 1,672 in 1911, as tractor, lorry and van have taken over their work. And though some cattle are raised, the numbers are now about 60 per cent below those of 1911. At that time the density of cattle per 1,000 acres was heavy (46-60) in the north-east of Lewis, less (31-45) in the north-west, and still less further south. The present average is around 18 beasts per 1,000 acres. This decline, in particular in the milk-yielding animals, has compelled Lewis to import 1,000 gallons of milk a day from the mainland.

It is sheep which today claim pride of place on the croft, valued

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

for mutton and for wool, the right type for translation into Harris Tweed; the predominant breed is the blackface, whose fleece is hard, wiry and long-lasting. The demand for raw wool has also encouraged larger flocks among crofters in such places as Barra, where virtually no weaving is done in the immediate locality. In general there has been since 1911 a 40 per cent increase in the livestock carried on the island's crofts, about twice as big a rise as found anywhere in the seven crofting counties of Scotland.

In an attempt to reduce Lewis's milk imports, in 1962 three crofters at Garrabost on the Eye Peninsula combined to set up a small dairy farm using the lands of their three crofts. A new dairy byre and dairy premises were built and equipped with the necessary electrical equipment. Grants were given by the Department of Agriculture & Fisheries for Scotland, the Crofters Commission, and the Highland Fund Limited. The first year of operation was closely supervised by the Lands staff of the Department at Stornoway and guidance given as necessary. The milk is retailed in Stornoway and district and amounts to about 5 per cent of Lewis's daily consumption. This little scheme has shown that the island could with some organised effort become independent of milk imports, which have been estimated at upwards of £100,000 worth per annum. Over £70,000 per annum is also spent on imported butter and cheese.

In 1947 the number of crofts in Harris and Lewis was 4,020. In 1971 the figure was 4,146 (3,592 being in Lewis), representing a slight increase in a quarter of a decade. Thus, crofting as a land use activity in the island provides a fairly stable element in the economy, although it is subsidised by the crofters' participation in the fishing and tweed industries. A crofter, it should be mentioned, is often a tenant of more than one croft, working them together as a unit. These units vary in size, the greatest bulk of them (about 60 per cent) having up to 5 acres of arable land. About 2 per cent contain over 30 acres of arable land. In recent years there have been proposals for the better use of the reclaimed moorland, particularly for cattle-raising, which would offer the crofter an increased cash yield from his interests. The annual reports of the Crofters Commission indicate, indeed, that the trend to the small croft obtained from the fragmentation

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

womenfolk, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. In Lewis, male weavers were more common: one to every twenty-five families. The making of whisky was introduced about the seventeenth century. This was in addition to the old drink of home-brewed beer or ale *(lionn)*, and much of it was made to pay rents; it must have consumed a considerable quantity of valuable foodstuff. However, the spread of distillation as a legitimate home industry by which the rent could be paid, in kind or by sale, was followed by legislation prohibiting all but very large stills; illegal distilling of course went on in a small way.

It was, then, by a very narrow margin that subsistence was won in the island some two centuries ago. Many times famine showed how close was the wolf to the island doors. The introduction of the potato, and the interest in the fishing industry led to an increase in the population, though as discussed in Chapter 3 this in turn brought more problems. Basically, the island economy had never been organised on a sound foundation, with the result that winds of change blew where they would with little or no control.

A new factor in the island economy was introduced after 1750. This was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed on the shore for subsequent use in the manufacture of alkali for the glass and soap industries. The first tentative move in the island was made by MacLeod of Harris in 1748, when he allowed some Irish labourers to make kelp on his shores; so little was the product's value realised at the time that he only charged them 2s per ton manufactured. As the burning of kelp came to be understood, and the marketable value of the product ascertained, the native population set to. Between 1772 and 1864, about 50 tons were produced in Lewis each year, compared with some 800 tons per annum in the Uists; the Harris figure was 500-600 tons. The growth of the industry began to snowball, and the Minister of Lochs, writing in the *Old Statistical Account*, states that at the time (1796) some 50 tons were being produced in that parish per annum. In Stornoway parish, though no figure is available, the minister reports that kelp-burning was the principal manufacture, and that everyone able to fill a creel, or carry one, was employed at it for about three months of the year. Little of it seems to have been done in Barvas parish. The price of kelp varied

HARRIS TWEED

finished cloth. About 1,000 workers are employed at the mills, representing about 95 per cent of the island's industry—not counting, of course, the 1,200 or so self-employed weavers. The Shawbost mill, started in 1915 in a very small way, employs about seventy people from the surrounding crofting community on dyeing the wool, carding it and spinning it into yarn, and has about 500 weavers on its books. In 1955 it became a limited company and a £35,000 finishing plant was added; other recent extensions have been made to the tune of £70,000. The establishment of such a large industrial complex in one of the remotest parts of Britain is an achievement to be underlined.

288 464 [473]

The early cloth industry

Coarse woollen cloth has been made in the Hebrides, as in other rural Highland areas, from time immemorial. Rents were often paid in blankets or plaiding. In 1656, 'pladding' was one of the items of trade brought by Highland boats to Glasgow for sale there. In the late eighteenth century, blackfaced sheep were introduced into the Highlands and islands; the fleece from this breed was much heavier than that of the native sheep and consequently proved ideal raw material for local woollen manufacture for trade. In the Hebrides, the product was mainly for domestic and local consumption. The people of Harris, however, were well known for the excellence of their weaving which found a limited external market. In 1844, the Earl of Dunmore, the first non-native proprietor of Harris, had the Murray tartan copied in tweed by local weavers, so successfully that the Earl and his enterprising wife encouraged improvements in the product and introduced it to their friends. The cloth, ideal for outdoor pursuits such as fishing and stalking, found ready wearers. In 1857, an Edinburgh lady went about getting orders for the Harris weavers, and business increased so much that in 1888 she moved to London and opened a small depot for tweeds.

288 175* [427] [236] [438] [439] [444]

Thus by the time the nineteenth century had reached maturity tweed was becoming well known, and weavers and local merchants, usually shopkeepers, developed sales contacts on the mainland. At that time every web of tweed produced was unique: it could never be copied exactly. This of course added to its charm

THE OTHER ISLANDS

The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars was the staple diet of the St Kildans; the oil and feathers were the vital exports that paid the island rent to MacLeod of Harris, the owner of the group. These exports also helped to pay for the purchase of such foodstuffs as salt, sugar and tea, and other items which the island could not itself supply. The St Kildans owned some hundreds of sheep, the wool being spun and woven into tweed, and a few cattle were also kept. But the seabirds were the foundation of the island economy.

361 162 *175 [262] [427] [236]

The factor which led ultimately to the desertion of the island group was isolation. The community there was throughout its history undoubtedly the most isolated in the British Isles, though until the present century this mattered little to the St Kildans. All that was deemed necessary for the continuation of the community was that, once a year, MacLeod of Harris should send his factor over from Skye to collect the island goods that were to be sold, and to bring with him those provisions which would see them through another twelvemonth. However, as the demand for the island's products declined, communications became more important: to support the family a man had to leave to find work on the Scottish mainland. Large-scale emigration began in 1852 when thirty-six islanders (with State aid) left for Australia. Island life was punctuated by loss of life; boating disasters and cliff-falls in particular deprived the community of the vital male elements needed for survival. Tetanus infantus, known on St Kilda as the 'eight-days' sickness', strangled two of every three babies born; this disease ravaged the island for almost a century and again struck harder at the male sex. About 1810 the population was about 200, a definite overcrowding. By 1861 it had fallen to 78; in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 73. A decade later it was nil.

[438] [178] [464] [167] [164] [165]

Isolation tended to make the St Kildans a human menagerie. With the improvement in boat services, St Kilda became a 'must' on tourist itineraries. The tourist trade took on an economic importance for the population after July 1877, when the *Dunera Castle* steamed north and west for a voyage to the 'romantic Western Isles and lone St Kilda'. The steamers continued to call throughout the three summer months annually for sixty years, their passengers eager to buy souvenirs: tweed, quern stones, spinning wheels, stuffed birds and eggs; indeed, anything to remind them,

484 361 *175

schemes, and knowing how much local fishing depended upon international policy, particularly the resumption of trade relations with the chief customers of the past, Leverhulme, one feels, should have dealt no less outspokenly with these. The removal of trade barriers lay not in the hands of the Scottish Office or of Scots officials (however internationally minded these might be as private citizens), but in the hands of Ministers of Cabinet rank and leading financiers, of whom Leverhulme himself was one.

159 458 433 228 [656]

In brief, the Scots fisheries suffered after the war as neither Leverhulme nor others had foreseen when first he laid his plans for the Island's prosperity. It seems clear that had this major change been squarely faced by Leverhulme and Government alike, in 1920, 1921 or even later, they could never have fallen apart about a relatively minor issue, that of the farms. Both sides turned their faces away from this disquieting factor of the Baltic markets, though both knew it to be fundamental to the success of Scots fisheries and the Island's future. Had they faced it together frankly, then, even if powerless to effect a remedy, their sincerity might have prevented a deadlock upon a secondary matter.

458 433 228 [473]

To Leverhulme, given his large scale of expenditure and return, the division of a few farms formed a minor issue. But to a number of ex-Servicemen, 'crofters' without a croft, the division meant a home and relative stability. Moreover, what was merely a matter for personal decision to Leverhulme, was a lifelong issue to many people brought up in congestion on the wrong side of the boundary fence. Meantime, milk from Easter Ross was available in Stornoway, at town if not at country prices. Lastly, further possibilities of land-development lay open to Leverhulme, though not so readily to the unaided people. In reading

159 473 185 433 473 [438] [114]

construction of the Island must rest upon the improvement of the land": and secondly, that by this means "it was imperative to revive the traditional community spirit, the essential feature of Hebridean civilisation". Those words still hold good. Yet the land itself is too barren and the soil too poor to provide a living for many by export of fresh agricultural produce to the mainland. Only a local market could pay a fair price for most of the products of intensive small-holding. Judging from the free, untrammelled trade before 1914, Leverhulme held that fishing could be set upon a commercial basis in the Isles; and there could be few better judges of commercial possibilities than this keen industrial thinker and organiser. If he was right, as surely he was, to begin with, then the local market to be created, or rather enlarged by growth of population and prosperity at Stornoway, could have purchased the fresh milk and eggs, the fresh greens and fruit, raised on enlarged small-holdings and marketed co-operatively.

185 311 114 [438] 159 433 228 438

A final comment remains to be made. The community spirit of Scots fishers from Berwickshire to Barra has gone far to make co-operation among the men of the crews a living thing. 'Work for Wages' offered little outlet for this, indeed it virtually suppressed it; and 'co-partnership' on the Port Sunlight model was a very different matter from the co-partnership of a crew. Even if at that time it had been proved impossible to organise free co-operation in fishing, co-operation in small-holding townships might have kept the communal spirit alive, for later renewal at sea.

181 476

It is not easy to assess the after-effects of Leverhulme's activity. Leverhulme certainly helped hundreds of families by the provision of wages for the building or rebuilding of roads and other works, of which some were completed

114 433

4 COMMUNICATIONS

FROM the earliest times, the provision of communications in one form or another has been a matter full of incident and high colour. Gaelic folk-song contains many references to the hazards of crossing the impatient waters of the Minch. One such, a waulking song still known today, commemorates the death of Iain Garbh Mac Gille Chaluim, of Raasay in Skye, who was drowned in April 1617 on his way home from visiting the Earl of Seaforth in Lewis; it is said that he was drowned through the workings of his own 'muime', or foster-mother, who employed several famous witches to raise the tempest in which his ship foundered.

For well over a century the subject of adequate communications has aroused continuous argument. The strength of any island community lies in its ability to live within itself, while accepting the periodic injection of certain external items necessary for living or for work. A Londoner once expressed amazement at the isolation of Scarp, in West Harris, commenting that in Scarp they would not know what was happening in London. The indisputable rejoinder was 'Nor do they know in London what we would be doing in Scarp.' However, to a large island community, with a certain degree of economic significance, communications are the basic lifeline.

SEA ROUTES

When in the early 1800s formal sea communications were being established between the island and ports on the west coast of Scotland, down as far as the Clyde, most of the islanders were of course little affected. Except for the professional classes (merchants, ministers and the like), they had little use for the sea links provided for them. Their economy was not yet a cash economy, and travel was thus a luxury they could not afford. As the nature of local life began to change with the infiltration of some of the

trappings of nineteenth-century ci
to depend on items brought by sea.
metal domestic utensils and the li
indispensable everyday articles. Bu
port in return; then as now, any
with the fact that traffic was onc
must pay for the double voyage. T
later the Harris Tweed industry
century, to do much to determine
ments, both passenger and cargo
rather than profit.

On the social side of the picture
island, to Stornoway in particula
sign that the island was significa
world. The ships brought visitors
Hebrides in general, better known
The exposure of the island and it
land led to a wider knowledge an
doubt brought improvements in
economic development. When ma
to go to Glasgow and the south fo
served as a firm link with home,
ever they could. This feeling for h
Lewismen in Canada who charte
year so that they can holiday on t
senger traffic has been two-way:
business travellers. When the fishin
ships carried hundreds of fisherfo
far south as Great Yarmouth to
shores of Britain and back to the
still considerable, with the air-link
capacity.

In a community where Sabbath
of religious belief, ministers have
the Mosaic sanctity of the Sabba
ment of ships in Stornoway harb
ing the Stornoway steamer has
hours over Sunday, to leave po

SEA ROUTES

175*
vilisation, however, they grew 177
Imported food, clothing, wood, 439
ike were slowly assimilated as
t there was relatively little ex- 175*
transport operator struggled 505
e-way and the freight charges
hough the fishing industry and [439]
were, around the turn of the
and stabilise shipping develop-
ervices were always facing loss

, the regular call of ships to the 175*
r, was a welcome, quickening 484
nt in some way to the outside 505
who made the island, and the
to other prospective travellers.
s folk to the gaze of the main-
d understanding which without
social welfare and a basis for 175*
ny islanders found it necessary 484
r work, the ships of the Minch [464]
to which they returned when-
ome is still manifest today in the
r an aircraft to Prestwick each
he island. Since 1900 or so, pas- [167]
migrants, migrants, visitors and
g industry was in its heyday, the [228]
lk across the Minch to ports as
'follow the herring' round the
Minch again. Traffic today is
with the island being used to its

observance is an integral strand 779
on occasions tried to preserve 505
th Day by restricting the move- 486
our. In deference to local feel-
always docked for twenty-four
t for Kyle just after midnight.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

228 and its neighbourhood becoming the centre of the growing in
*175 dustry. In 1793, the Lewis Parish contributors to the *Old Statisti*
cal Account of Scotland indicated that upwards of 183 boats wer
[463] fishing off the island. In Uig no less than 275 netmakers wer
recorded, showing that the fishing industry was prosecuted wit
[286] some measure of enthusiasm. 'All the people dwell in little farm
villages and they fish in the summer season. The women do no
[462] fish; but almost at all times when there is occasion to go to sea
they never decline that service, and row powerfully.' In the paris
[237] of Barvas in the eighteenth century some 9,000 Scotch pints o
oil were taken each year from dog-fish livers and sold to Storno
way merchants at from 6d to 8d per pint; it is related that th
tenants of Ness were able for a long time to pay their rents wit
[433] the oil proceeds. Cod and ling were the principal fish caught b
the men of Lochs, an annual average of 24 tons being cured an
sold in Stornoway. Generally, other fish caught were consume
locally.

Loch Roag on the west of Lewis proved to be about the be
fishing ground; in 1794 about '90 sail' from all parts of the Unite
Kingdom were at the herring fishing there. At one time Loc
228 Roag-cured herring was exported exclusively to Sweden. Th
*175 minister of Stornoway, contributing to the *Old Statistic*
•439 *Account*, gives figures showing the quantities of fish shipped fro
the port from 1791 to 1796. During these six years some 14,00
barrels of herring were exported to the Continent, and 20,00
sent for consumption in Britain; some 350 tons of cod and lin
were destined for Continental markets. Herring, cod, and ling we
thus pursued during the following years with growing vigou
though the inshore white fish took favour. The herring fishing di
not make great strides, mainly because to the middle of the nin
teenth century catches were confined to the inland sea lochs; th
people for the most part were not familiar with deep-sea fishin
and their boats and nets were not suitable for it.

228 Indeed, when Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, h
gave scant attention to the potential in the fishings round h
*175 island. Though he expended considerable amounts in securing
[504] regular steamer communication between the mainland and th
island, and spent over £2,000 in building a quay at Stornowa

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

of potato crops by blight had contributed to widespread poverty. The production of cloth for non-local markets was promoted initially by philanthropic proprietors in an effort to ameliorate such conditions. Lady Dunmore, of the Dunmore family that owned Harris during most of the 19th century, was largely responsible for developing a market in London and elsewhere for cloth woven in Harris. The cloth was popular first among the aristocracy, who wore it for hunting and other sporting occasions. The romantic image of a cottage industry promoted for charitable purposes contributed to the market value of the tweed.

The market expanded in the second half of the 19th century, aided by ladies of leisure who followed the example set by Lady Dunmore (cf. Hunter 1964: 24-26). The production of cloth for a commercial market spread from Harris to the southern isles, but was slow in coming to Lewis, where the proprietor, Sir James Matheson, provided the people with construction jobs. After Matheson died in 1878, weaving for outside markets began in Lewis in the parish bordering Harris, and the name "Harris Tweed" was used because a market for cloth of this name had already been established. By World War I, weaving for outside markets was being done in all four parishes in Lewis. In 1899 there were 55 looms in Lewis and over 200 in Harris.

288 developed from the concentration of power in the hands
175 of the merchants. In the early days of the industry,
441 all the processes involved in the production of a
286 finished length of tweed were carried out by individual
236 families. A man used wool from his own flock, and with the
438 aid of other family members, dyed it with vegetable dyes,
175
[386] carded and spun it by hand, wove it, washed and shrunk
286 it, and found his own buyer. Dyeing wool, spinning yarn,
232 and washing ("waulking") the finished length of tweed
175 was usually done by women. In Harris, the entire process
462 of producing a tweed was carried out by women, but in
Lewis the weaving was done largely by men.

175 A woman in her 80's recalls the process of weaving
286 when she was young. Hand-spinning had died out by this
time, although the question of whether tweeds woven with
such yarn could legitimately be called Harris Tweed was
not resolved until 1934.

175 "About 1916 or so it took about two weeks to a month
283 to do a tweed. You bought the wool from the Agricultural
[435] Board. Sixteen bags of wool, costing about L20, would
[433] do four tweeds. You needed four one-stone bags per
[386] tweed. Then you would spend a day gathering a bag of
[824] crotal (lichen scraped from rocks and used for dye). One
bag per one bag of wool was required for the dye. After

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

CH. XI

CONCLUSION

121 The importance of the 'regional' movement is inter-
185 regional and indeed international. In the case of the
Island, international order is required for its fisheries to
438 recover, and for its weaving to find purchasers abroad as
well as at home. This in turn could allow small-holding
to find an Island market in its little burgh, Stornoway.
Without this triple basis of fishing, weaving and crofting
for its economy, Island society will break up and its culture
[182] vanish, not evolve. It is no less true that only by the best
utilisation of each regional environment, economy and
society as we find them, will profiteers be held in check
at home, and powerful peoples cease to exploit the sweat
of others.

121 A pioneer American Report acknowledges the debt of
171 regional survey for the New Deal not only to France and
Germany, but to a group of practical idealists, of geo-
[185] graphers, biologists and sociologists in Britain.[1] If nation-
[433] ally we can be proud of Scots and British initiative in
[184] planning, we must own, until recently, to humiliating
slowness in its execution, and in the mobilisation of regional
resources for social ends. The chief end of our planning
must be the re-making of society. In Britain it is not
always realised that in the great developments of the New
Deal the execution of concrete schemes which include civil
engineering, industrial expansion and agricultural con-
servation, is accompanied by real cultural achievements,
both urban and rural. Not only are geographers and
economists, technicians, industrialists, and officials called
to survey and plan the Tennessee Valley, but sociologists
and educationists are required to complete the work. Not

[113] [1] *Regional Factors in National Planning*, National Resources Committee, U.S.A., December 1935. Cf. Lewis Mumford (U.S.A.); and P. Geddes, P. Abercrombie, L. D. Stamp, E. A. Gutkind, G. H. J. Daysh, and others (Britain).

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

Unlike the
mainland farmer, should an islander withdraw his store
432 stock from the autumn sale he cannot easily present it elsewhere a few weeks later; he
437 must keep it from the autumn until the spring, which will probably involve him in buying
feeding stuffs out of his seriously depleted income. Many crofters suspect that their
difficult position in this respect is taken advantage of by mainland buyers. Whether
this is true or not the result is the same - the crofter is discouraged from raising stock.

Many crofters with whom we discussed this problem realised that, by fully stocking
433 and cultivating their crofts they might double, or even treble, their income from
agriculture. Some realised that sound management of a large unit, such as the
amalgamation of two or three crofts, by subleis or otherwise, might yield a reasonable
family livelihood. What they all stressed was the uncertainty - the uncertainty of stock
and wool prices, the uncertainty of subsidies from year to year, the uncertain fortunes
of their little packs of sheep and the uncertain effects of the weather on their hay and
oats harvest. In other words they lack confidence - in both the cash reward for
agricultural operations and in their own technical ability. Therefore they prefer to take
a sure weekly income, however small, and to work their land at a low level of
productivity.

000 Climate, soil, and insularity (to which must be added the particular isolation of south
Uig and Berneray, even within Lewis) all present problems. But there is a tendency to
overstress these difficulties and to use them as excuses, whilst failing to appreciate that
they also offer certain opportunities. Many agricultural raw materials have to bear the
[432] cost of shipping from Glasgow or from Leith; the peculiar difficulties of island stock
marketing have already been mentioned; but, equally, the Minch could and should
provide a natural protection for island agriculture. Elderly milk and travel-worn
fatstock, potatoes and vegetables, imported daily into Stornoway from the mainland,
are a standing reproach to crofting agriculture. Crofters could produce most of this
food and if they would they would be turning to advantage the disadvantage of insularity.
Some will admit this, if pressed, but they will also rightly point out the difficulties.
These are two-fold: technical (particularly in the case of legal restrictions on milk
production for sale) and economic (the difficulties, or believed difficulties, of marketing).
A few individuals, for example, claimed that it was not worth selling potatoes unless
they received the full shop price: this is a stubborn and stupid attitude; and one is
reminded of the crofters' long opposition to the introduction of the potato, nearly 200
years ago; a co-operative marketing organisation might help in this respect.

The crofters' attitude to innovation is all-important; new ideas, whether in
829 agricultural practise or in marketing, require careful introduction and a good deal of
fostering. The crofters' lack of confidence is a real factor and must be taken account
of; it is not due only to the risk and uncertainty of markets, they also lack technical
knowledge, even though they may have plenty of ability. Again, the prevalence of
small units makes it particularly difficult to adopt innovations; a failure which might be
negligible on a large farm can become a disaster on a croft. The crofter has not the
resources of the farmer with which to experiment, nor has he been able to observe other
methods or crops on other farms because he lives and works in a restricted environment,
[654] surrounded by fellows in like situation. The introduction and development of township
re-seeding schemes by the Agricultural Advisers is an excellent example of how these
difficulties can be solved. Good progress has been made since our survey. Because
such improvements are communal they tend to add to the flexibility of the township
structure; because they extend the grazing season in spring and autumn they tend to
reduce the need for winter fodder and so to reduce the cultivation problem. Far more
[464] re-seeding could be done, particularly in South Uig and Berneray. Here the lack of
local employment makes agriculture more important as a source of income than else-
where and the need to improve the productivity of agriculture is both great and urgent
if population is not to fall below the minimum level for maintenance of services. This
special problem deserves special attention, by both local communities and by the
authorities. If South Uig and Berneray could carry a further 800 head of cattle, which is
no more than was carried in 1883 (and is still less than the scums), the problem would be
well on the way to solution.

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Park

[Kershader]

241 with heather and peat on the higher areas, hay is taken off 19.25 acres. Four acres, mainly for
511 potatoes, are worked by spade but most of the cultivation is by tractor hired from Balallan or,
[402] in 1958, from Habost. Laybeds are common and in some cases are carefully renewed, but
the present tendency, reaching its extreme in a field of about two acres on one croft, is towards
the formation of larger, ploughable fields for ease of tractor operation. Most cultivation is in
240 zones (a) and (b), with little development of (c) at present. The only crops are oats and potatoes,
246 with some garden plots of cabbages, turnips and carrots. The potato main crop is generally
Kerr's Pink (Golden Wonder on one croft), with a couple of rows of Skerry Blue or Edzell Blue
198 for earlies. There is no memory of Black Oats (Avena strigosa), and bere (Hordeum vulgare)
[256] has certainly not been grown since 1930, and probably not since 1909. The oats are grown
[439] exclusively for winter feed and are hand-threshed with stock and comb as the need arises; the
last water mill in the locality went out of use after 1914, the last handmill in 1916; no grain
has been sent to Stornoway since about 1930. Rotations are extremely irregular: some lazy-
beds are still cultivated with alternate crops of oats and potatoes and have heavy seaware and
manure fertilisation, but most other arable areas have some sort of oats, potatoes, oats, sown
[326] grass sequence. Fertilisers used are seaware and manure (ten crofts), manure (eleven crofts), shell
[329] sand (one croft), lime (ten crofts) and artificials - 'Potato manure' and sulphate of ammonia -
on eight crofts. Artificial fertilisers and much of the seed are obtained through the Crofters'
Agency.

251 The only two horses ever owned by this township were kept on croft 11 from 1936 to 1953. The
405 plough was first introduced in 1936. When a tractor from Balallan became available for hiring
253 in 1953, the horses were disposed of. The present soums are by cow, young beast and sheep
per croft in proportion to rents and range from 3 cows, 3 young beasts, 69 sheep down to 1 cow,
1 young beast and 23 sheep. Eight crofts exceed their entitlement but no croft hasless than half the
souming and the deficiency is mainly in cattle, especially young beasts. On the other hand, no
operative unit is entirely without cattle as manure is extremely important. Cattle are kept for
254 domestic milk supply, and calves, having qualified for subsidy, are normally sold at 6 to 8 months.
432 10 acres of the common grazing were re-seeded in 1957 and the following rhythm for milk cows
123 is developing:-
251
253
511

(a) As soon as the weather allows in May, the cows are put out in the park for about three weeks.

(b) Next, about 6 weeks are spent on the common grazing between the ring fence and the new outer fence erected in 1957.

(c) Back to the park for about five weeks.

(d) Return to the crofts for the winter, being let out either to the park or to the common grazings whenever the weather is suitable.

[198] The young beasts spend much of their time on the outer common grazings. As most of the crofts,
beginning with one in 1938 and ending in sequence with 10, 11 and 12 probably in 1959, are fenced,
the old arrangements for township commoning from 15th October to 10th May are now obsolescent.
Another park was also fenced for general purposes and for weaning in 1957. Prices for calves
[439] and cattle are very low and this discourages cattle breeding; on the other hand, lack of winter
keep enforces an occasional sale.

The rhythm of sheep husbandry is largely independent of that of cattle:-

(a) By 20th November all sheep, except possibly the lambs, are cleared from the crofts for the tupping of breeding ewes thereon till 31st December. Every crofter now keeps his own ram, exchanging it or buying another at least once in five years.

18

4

439 FOREIGN TRADE--int
entering into intergrou
ports and exports); int
etc. See also:
Productive capacity of the eco
Trading expeditions. . . . .
Foreign exchange. . . . . .
Slave trade . . . . . .

39

ergroup specialization in production for export; articles
p trade; volume of foreign trade (e.g., statistics of im-
ernational trade agreements; smuggling; embargoes;

nomy . . . . . 436 Negotiation of trade agreements 648
. . . . . 437 Tariffs and tolls 681
. . . . . 487 Penalties for smuggling 687
. 567

175 On one of the crofts along the strand are the
228 ruins of two curing houses, where the fish were salted
[348] and dried. Ling, cod, skate and halibut were cured
• [439] and sold to local merchants for export. "The same as
[171] they do in Iceland this very day. That was the main
175 industry. Then the English came with their steam
648 trawlers; they ruined the fishing here, and then went
228 west to Iceland and the Faroes. In Iceland they get
fined for poaching, but here the trawlers often ignore
[433] the three-mile limit. But the fishing was the mainstay
here, before the Harris Tweed came along."

175 One man returned from sailing in 1932 and bought a
228 boat for L24. He had 32 lobster pots, and made L7 one
435 June by selling the lobsters at a shilling apiece.
501 Another man, who returned from the United States in 1934
[454] because of the depression, bought a share in a 14-foot
[471] boat. It was made in Ness, at the northern tip of Lewis,
[434] and cost about L14. He and his partners went out every
night possible; the fish provided an important part of
their income. The boat was sold in the 50's. "It wasn't
175 being kept up anyway." Around World War II there were as
228 many as twenty boats; men fished at night, after a day's
501 work. Today there are four 12-foot boats in Shawbost,
178 each shared by four or five men. The boats are used
501 intensively for fishing during certain times of the year,
228

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175 poverty. The production of cloth for non-local markets
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parish bordering Harris, and the name "Harris Tweed" was
used because a market for cloth of this name had already
been established. By World War I, weaving for outside
markets was being done in all four parishes in Lewis. In
1899 there were 55 looms in Lewis and over 200 in Harris.

288 in Shawbost: a very small business, which until
441 recently did not even have its own transport but
458 hired facilities when they were needed and simply
went into hibernation when orders stopped coming;
a medium-sized business, which went into liquidation
in 1971; and a large business, which continues to
survive despite a depression which has continued
since the late 1960's.

288 Harris Tweed is sent to markets all over the
441 world; but because of the difficulty of maintaining
464 a large labor force, the filling of orders is sometimes
• [439] slow. If large orders cannot be met, weaving as an
island-wide occupation cannot be maintained. The
number of weavers on the island fluctuates, as slack
periods come and men adopt the time-tested strategy
of temporary migration in search of other jobs. One
[468] of the factors which aided the weavers during their
[175] strike of 1943 was the fact that so many other jobs
were available during the war that the future of the
industry was jeopardized.

288 In the last five years the number of mill employees
464 has decreased from 800 to 500. The decrease is due in
[178] part to the introduction of more efficient techniques
and new equipment, but there is little room for improve-
ment in the production of tweeds because the human
element, the weaver, is essential to its productio

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

subsequently despatching them to various dealers in the south. The local trawlers catch white fish and prawns with the same gear, but whereas most of the prawns are landed locally the white fish goes to Gairloch on the mainland for transportation to the Aberdeen market. Attempts have been made to overcome the distance between the island and good-paying markets: in 1966, by collaboration between Stornoway fishermen and the London Fish Merchants' Association, a consignment of 200 boxes of fish was sent direct from Stornoway to Billingsgate, bypassing Aberdeen. The fish was first frozen, then taken by SS *Glanaman* to Mallaig railhead and thence to London by rail. It arrived twenty-six hours after leaving Stornoway, in ample time to catch the day's customers. The experiment is to be repeated at intervals. On occasions in the past, shellfish such as lobsters have been flown to Continental markets.

Lobster and crab fishing is an important part-time occupation in the island. In the past it tended to be rendered uneconomic by the heavy losses (sometimes up to 25 per cent) during transit between Stornoway and Billingsgate, but storage-ponds now help retain a reserve for market demands: a lobster-pond at Stockinish in Harris can hold about 25,000 fish, and the pond at Bernera, Loch Roag, can take 30,000. Marketing is done by an agency on behalf of the fishermen, the value per annum being around £50,000 for lobsters caught in the Stornoway Fishery District, and some £40,000 for prawns. The value of white fish is about £30,000 and of herring about £35,000.

6 TRADE AND INDUSTRY

IN the earliest times, the folk of the island of Harris and Lewis were self-supporting; all that they needed for life as it was lived in those days was available at near hand; their existence was self-contained, the economy virtually self-sufficient. By and large, the only commodities often imported were salt, iron, and, to a certain extent, wood. Rents were paid largely in kind: the produce of agriculture, fishing and labour. Surplus produce was directed to southern markets to bring in the odd shilling or two for which there was really very little need in the island. But once money became important in the national economy, it was not long before it was required in the island economy too. By 1790, if not well before, two or three open boats set out each year from Uig to Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. At about this time, too, changes were making their slow appearance in the island way of life and living. Specialists were being required: smiths, tinkers, shipwrights, netmakers, boatbuilders, weavers, tailors and millers. Each of these craftsmen generally held some cornland, either individually or in shares, and also had some rights in the common ground of the township in which he lived.

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

From the pure crofter class there emerged the crofter-craftsmen. In Lochs, for instance, by the turn of the seventeenth century 80 per cent were registered as fishers and seafarers. In the west, in the parish of Barvas, some 70 per cent were also fishers, with kelp-making as a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s to 60s in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold kelp to their tacksmen at 5d each, earned 20s a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s a ton, and worked on roads for 8d per day.

In Harris in 1895, the eight trained male weavers worked for the gentry only. Weaving for the populace was done by the

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

land; his MS is in the British Museum. Lewis is described as being let by Mr MacKenzie of Seaforth for £1,200, which works out at about ½d per acre. The following list of prices of commodities indicates the main produce of the island:

The best driving cow at a medium sack	£1	6	0
The Lewes stone of butter (23lb English) per stone	0	7	0
The stone of cheese	0	2	6
The stone of washed wool	0	9	0
The grass of a cow for a whole summer	0	1	8
Kelp, per ton	3	5	0
Aqua Vitae, per Anchor (26 Scotch pints)	1	5	0
Dog-fish oil (per barrel)	2	5	0
Herrings, per barrel	1	2	0
Salmon, per barrel	1	16	0
Dried ling, per hundred	3	15	0

The exports were listed as follows:

700 black cattle; about 100 are sold to ye shipping that put in at Stornoway, and 300 are sent, salted, to ports on the Clyde. The value of the whole is about £1,430 0 0

Last year about 150 ton of kelp was made and exported	162	5	0
There are twelve stills in Lewes and from these was exported 200 Anchors of Aqua Vitae	250	0	0
Dog-fish oil, 140 barrels	315	0	0
Dried ling, 17,000	637	10	0
Herrings, 750 barrels	1,575	0	0
Salmon, 48 barrels	86	0	0
The spinning school at Stornoway from October 1763 to December 1764 produced 2,288 spindles of linen yarn	228	16	0

Also exported were dried cod, mud cod, above 2,000 sheep skins with wool on them, and some 38 stones of feathers. 'The Lewes neither imports nor exports grain', but mackerel was also an item of exports: 'The fishers on the west coast of the island cure a great deal, which are barrelled and sent to the West Indies. The only article of woolen manufacture that the people of Lewes pursue is some coarse blanketing which they send to the Clyde,

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

but their negligence even in ye article appears from their sending out annual above 2000 of wool out of the country unmanufacture.'

Harris was rented at £600. Exports were some 100 tons of kelp (£352), and the value of 250 black cattle exported alive, with 100 salted, was £445. Small quantities of cheese, wool, and the skins of sheep, otters and seals were exported. Grain was neither imported nor exported.

The plough, which is used here, and in most places of the long island, is of a very primitive construction. The length is but 4 feet 7 inches, and is drawn by four horses abreast. It has but one handle by which it is directed; the mold board is fastened with two leather thongs, and the sole and coulter are bound together at the point by a rim of iron. Besides kelp, there is little else manufactured, except a little coarse woolen yarn, and some blanketing, which they send yearly to Glasgow. They raise a little flax, of which they make some coarse linen for their own use, but import all the fine linen which they consume. In the year 1756, an American vessel in distress was obliged to put out three hogsheads of linseed in Harris, which was sown and afforded crops of flax which were above double the value of the usual crops. The east and west of Loch Tarbert in the Harris are every year revisited by the herring shoals. During the five years from 1743 to 1747, the west loch was the principal seat of the herring fishery. About thirty vessels from 18 to 40 tons, belonging to Campbelltown, Greenock, and Irvine, were completely loaded each of these years at this place.

With even a modest amount of business taking place, it was a natural step to establish commercial facilities. Stornoway men who once acted as agents became shopkeepers. The increase in the use of money attracted banks. During the Seaforth ownership of Lewis, the island had its own currency or notes, designed and printed from plates in the same style as the modern banknote. The wording ran: 'I promise to pay on demand to the Chamberlain of the Lewis or Bearer ONE POUND Sterling at the Counting Room here.' The notes carried a date and were signed by the proprietor, J. A. Stewart MacKenzie. It is not known for certain how long the notes remained in currency, when they ceased to be used, or even whether they were officially acceptable. At one time, as rare items, they fetched high prices from collectors. A number were

HARRIS TWEED

finished cloth. About 1,000 workers are employed at the mills, representing about 95 per cent of the island's industry—not counting, of course, the 1,200 or so self-employed weavers. The Shawbost mill, started in 1915 in a very small way, employs about seventy people from the surrounding crofting community on dyeing the wool, carding it and spinning it into yarn, and has about 500 weavers on its books. In 1955 it became a limited company and a £35,000 finishing plant was added; other recent extensions have been made to the tune of £70,000. The establishment of such a large industrial complex in one of the remotest parts of Britain is an achievement to be underlined.

The early cloth industry

Coarse woollen cloth has been made in the Hebrides, as in other rural Highland areas, from time immemorial. Rents were often paid in blankets or plaiding. In 1656, 'pladding' was one of the items of trade brought by Highland boats to Glasgow for sale there. In the late eighteenth century, blackfaced sheep were introduced into the Highlands and islands; the fleece from this breed was much heavier than that of the native sheep and consequently proved ideal raw material for local woollen manufacture for trade. In the Hebrides, the product was mainly for domestic and local consumption. The people of Harris, however, were well known for the excellence of their weaving which found a limited external market. In 1844, the Earl of Dunmore, the first non-native proprietor of Harris, had the Murray tartan copied in tweed by local weavers, so successfully that the Earl and his enterprising wife encouraged improvements in the product and introduced it to their friends. The cloth, ideal for outdoor pursuits such as fishing and stalking, found ready wearers. In 1857, an Edinburgh lady went about getting orders for the Harris weavers, and business increased so much that in 1888 she moved to London and opened a small depot for tweeds.

Thus by the time the nineteenth century had reached maturity tweed was becoming well known, and weavers and local merchants, usually shopkeepers, developed sales contacts on the mainland. At that time every web of tweed produced was unique: it could never be copied exactly. This of course added to its charm

THE LEWIS CHEMICAL WORKS

The Lewis Chemical Works

But it must not be at least be recorded that he made the first-ever attempts at introducing a true industrial activity on a large scale: the Lewis Chemical Works, which cost him some £33,000. The basis of the enterprise was the real possibility of turning the Lewis peat bogs into oil. The idea was sound enough, but incompetent management killed it off; its death was hastened with the discovery of natural oils in America and in the Middle East.

An experimental plant was built near Lews Castle. Another was erected on the banks of the River Creed, and to protect the salmon fish this river is famous, Matheson had to spend considerable sums in trying to keep the discharge effluent out of the waters. A third distillation plant was erected, this time well away from the Castle grounds. A kiln was built, elaborate condensers were fitted up, peat was cut and stacked, and a canal three-quarters of a mile long was cut to convey the peat to the plant. Troubles were considerable, despite the efforts of a chemist brought by Matheson from London. In time, the plant began to produce. Each working day of twenty-four hours, about 18 tons of peat were used in the kiln; another 3½ tons were used to fire the boilers. The recovery figure of crude hydrocarbons was around 5 per cent.

With reasonable success in sight, work was put in hand for the building of tramways across the peat bogs so that the material could be obtained from a greater area. Also, a refining plant was built at Garrabost, eight miles away from the distilling plant, which added greatly to costs and increased the inconvenience so far as managing the plant was concerned. For some ten years, the Lewis Chemical Works produced quite valuable products. One of the first, which found a good market, was a lubricant for wagon axles and heavy machinery; within a short time of its introduction the demand exceeded the supply. But, instead of increasing production, the management authorized the addition of water to a 3-ton consignment for Glasgow to fulfill a rush order. It came back by the next steamer; and further orders for it dwindled to nothing.

It was a ship's captain who discovered that the peat tar was an excellent anti-fouling grease for ships' bottoms. Samples were

BRICKS, PRINTING, WHISKY

800 tons and had a steam-driven winch. The slip has also vanished—except for the name of the Patent Slip Wool Mills, which produce Harris Tweed.

Other small industrial activities in the island during the nineteenth century included the business of Alexander MacPherson, chemist, druggist, stationer and printer, who set up in Stornoway in 1842. He brought across the Minch with him Lewis's first demy-size hand printing press, which was still in use on 1 January 1889 to produce the first issue of the short-lived *The Lewisman*. Copies of this earliest Lewis newspaper can be seen at Stornoway Public Library. Early in the 1890s Thomas Nicolson also set up as a printer.

Whisky was once an important product, not only for local consumption, but also for export. One of the Privy Council's main indictments against the islanders in the Hebrides in 1622 was that they seized any cargo of wine and spent 'bothe dayis and nightis in thair excesse of drinking'. The council therefore enacted that masters of vessels sailing Hebridean waters should carry no more wines. It has been suggested that this and other measures were responsible for the beginning of illicit distilling, which in Lewis continued overtly as late as 1827. One of the two principal stills established by Lord Seaforth in the island at that time was at Coll, a few miles from Stornoway, the other at Grese, a few miles farther on. Such was the fame of these stills, both for output and quality, that it was hard to choose between 'Coll' or 'Grese'. Sometimes, the product passed as an article of exchange in the island, and the factor received a reasonable part of the rents in it instead of money; but the stills were closed about 1870. The *Inverness Courier* of 14 November 1827 remarks virtuously: 'Owing to the vigilance of Captain Oliver, of the Revenue cutter "Prince of Wales", and the new Excise Officers on shore, smuggling is so completely put down in the Long Island that there is actually not a drop of illicit whisky to be got from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head; and there is probably at this moment a larger supply of legal whisky from Greenock for the supply of Stornoway alone, than was ever imported into the Hebrides before.'

STORNOWAY

701 men served in the various regiments at the front in South Africa, and over 300 in the Royal Navy.

In 1796 there were sixty-seven slated inhabited houses in the
#175 burgh, twenty-six of which had been built since 1784. Before this
632 date most of the houses followed the constructional pattern of
[362] those found in rural Lewis. In 1838,

Stornoway was, within the last twenty years, only a small fishing village; but from the spirited and patriotic exertions of Lord Seaforth, the proprietor, and the grant of irredeemable feus for building, it has become a place of considerable importance as a fishing station. It has a post office; and a packet sails regularly
[205] once a week with mail and passengers. No place in the North of
[305] Scotland, and in an insulated situation also, has made more rapid strides at improvement, both in a domestic and commercial point of view, than Stornoway.

COMMUNICATIONS

#175 Mention of the sailing packet indicates the tedious manner in
295 which mails came to the town for subsequent distribution in the
632 island. Letters went by mailcoach north to Dingwall, thence by
[564] mail-gig west to Achnasheen. Because there was no road from
[189] Achnasheen to Poolewe, about thirty miles away, they had to be carried on horseback. The weekly sailing packet then picked up the bags, for which cargo the owners were paid £150 per annum. A letter from London to Stornoway cost 1s 5½d; the smallest enclosure made it double that amount. The mail-packet was often held up by bad weather. It was a wind-blown sailing ship that brought Stornoway the result of the Battle of Trafalgar and the death of Nelson, an event which a number of Lewismen also took part and died; in St Columba's churchyard at Eye there can still be seen a Trafalgar officer's gravestone. A fortnight after this news arrived, the packet from Poolewe brought its stale message.

In 1844 seventy boats, ranging from 15 to 150 tons, were work-
#175 ing out from Stornoway. The *Gazetteer for Scotland* for that year
632 says, 'The grand trade of the place consists in the exchange of
[501] the produce of the fisheries and the kelp shores, for British manufactured goods and foreign produce.

STORNOWAY

The previous
#175 building was only an idea in 1897; it took
635 shape when Dr Andrew Carnegie offered to contribute £1,000
217 towards the construction of a library, provided the town adopted the Public Libraries Act. This was done, and the Council decided to incorporate the library into a larger structure, erected at a cost of £11,000 and opened in September 1905 by Lord Rosebery. Carnegie increased his contribution to £3,500, with other large donations from public-spirited industrialists of the time (eg Coats of Paisley, who also financed school libraries in the island).

Being a seaport, the sea has been basic to the town's livelihood.
#175 In the eighteenth century trade flourished between Stornoway
632 and the Baltic, Scandinavia, Holland, France and the north of
[244] Ireland; and in the first half of the nineteenth century, fish was
439 exported as far away as ports on the Mediterranean. The advent
#175 of steam killed the Stornoway sailing craft. At one time in its
295 history, the shipyard (at Matheson's Patent Slip, now the site of
632 the textile mill) turned out many fine vessels. The scent of tar
[272] and pitch, the crunch of a busy grindstone, the shaping of a ship's timbers, the steaming of her planks, the driving of pins and bolts, the music of mallet and caulking-iron, the buzz from the saw-pits and the riggers aloft, all gave the town a sense of at-one-ness with the waters in the bay. Then there were the schooners, brigs and barques of foreigners who put in for repairs or for merchandise. It was a time of glory that has now gone as surely as the sail has disappeared from the high seas. Ship-masters, ship-owners and
[142] sailors all added colour and variety in the streets as they mingled with the local population—which numbered 1,000 in 1801. Stornoway captains were world-known for their skippering: MacLeods, MacIvers, MacKenzies, Ryries, MacLeans, Morisons, Allans. These were the names that were once reeled off to be paired with the famous ships of the day: *Sir Launcelot*, *D. L. MacKenzie*, and *Assaye*.

#175 While large numbers of its sons were sailing the high seas, many
501 in ships of Stornoway origin, the town began to take on the first
[427] look of a port, with piers. On 9 August 1866, Sir James Matheson
632 subscribed the instrument which took the Stornoway Harbour Commission into being. The following year, on 29 June 1867, the island's factor paid £6 stone of 24 lb for black feathers;
[237] and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

THE OTHER ISLANDS

#175 even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of
18 the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil.
[826] Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naively at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who find the sweetest fruit of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started,
[27] HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship
[26] among the people. Aboard was an officer of the Highland & Island
Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island con-
[260] sisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or puffin and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from
[272] March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week, and the islanders were reported to be 'the heaviest tea-drinkers of all the people in the world'. Yet the people are not a devoid
[340] of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had thatched roofs. The sixteen new cottages had been erected in the year before the *Flirt's* visit, with assistance from the
[372] Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and
[405] there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only
[162] two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose
[216] from. It read like Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoe-
[142] makers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses,
[205] and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each
[362] croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged
[427] for at the rate of 5d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

439 Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the
#175 island. The factor paid £6 stone of 24 lb for black feathers;
[237] and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

ST KILDA

Glasgow, between 7s and 10s per stone. For tweed made on the
439 island, 27d to 30d was received per yard; for blanketing, 28d. Ex-
435 Cloth was measured by the 'big yard', which was 49 inches. The factor bought cheese at 78d per stone of 24 lb. The prices paid by the islanders for commodities imported included 25s per boll for meal and oats; 3s per cwt for salt; 7d for coarse sugar; 5s per lb of tea; whisky cost 4s per bottle; and tobacco was 5s per lb. Leather for soling boots cost 24d per lb; for uppers 27d.
Bonnets for the men were 4s each; cravats, 3s. Physically, the
142 islanders were in good condition at the time of the *Flirt's* visit, with an average height of 5 ft 6 in, though they showed a tendency to flabbiness. The prevalent illness was rheumatism, with
164 dyspepsia running a close second.

314 Historically the gneisses were of little value. The fact
[174] that they tend to split still helps the Islander in building,
[174] as it helped his ancestors when they raised the great stone
[135] circles at Callanish on East Loch Roag. Except where they are very basic (non-acid) in composition, they make poor soil. Yet the gneisses are not quite devoid
of economic minerals, which include masses of pegmatite, and the only large body of anorthosite or lime-feldspar
[139] rock in Britain, conceivably a source of alumina for glass manufacture.[1] Two feldspar quarries opened at Lingarbay
[178] and Northton in South Harris in 1941 employed sixty men during the war, the mineral being despatched from Leverburgh for use in the Staffordshire Potteries in the manufacture of porcelain insulators. The higher grade mineral
in Scandinavia and the better transport facilities there led
to closing the quarries, with little hope of their reopening.[2]

4. Land-forms and Sea Floor

133 To the faulted structure is due not only the Island
plan, but the highland in middle and south, uplifted rela-
[113]

[1] C. F. Davidson, "The Archaean Rocks of the Redd District", *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.*, vol. 61, 1941, pp. 71-112.
[2] J. B. Caird, "The Isle of Harris", *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67, 1951, p. 92.

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. I

133 most northerly outlier, yet, in the main, one is struck
not by the variety of rocks (except for the 'Stornoway
Beds') but by their homogeneity. It is structure, causing
the uplift of certain masses relatively to others, more than
differences in rock-type, which has guided the work of
erosion, in sculpturing both the Island's plan and the
details of its forms. Subsurgence of the land has fretted
the coastline into a zigzag line of ridge-capes alternating
with valley-mouths flooded or 'drowned' by the sea, as
inlet and loch.

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COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

#175 rent averaging 31s., in addition to which there were over
473 1000 houses of the cottar class and 300 houses of the
squatter class.[1]

Lastly, Sir James trained no successor to follow up or improve upon his experience. At his death in 1878 Sir James was succeeded by his widow, and, nearly twenty years after, she was followed by a nephew and his son. But the expenses of Stornoway Castle and its burdens, accompanied by lower rents, weighed down the new proprietors.
[228] In 1918 the estate was sold to Lord Leverhulme, who shortly afterwards purchased Harris too, with a view to his great schemes of fishery development.

(c) FISHERIES: 1750–1914

#175 For the greatest expanding industry of the northern
295 coastlands, Matheson had done comparatively little even
471 at Stornoway. In 1885, a former Factor (Mr. Mackenzie
228 of Calgarry) stated that he had constantly asked for aid to the fisheries, especially by the building of harbours, pointing out that the landlord would reap benefit in rent.[2] But Matheson had replied that the fishermen and fishcurers, the people engaged in the trade, should do this themselves. By the end of the century, harbours were being planned and built with State aid in the north, west
[439] and south-east of the Island (at Ness, Carloway and Uig, and Tarbert, Harris). In 1900 the Islanders possessed
150 herring boats, and in that year five boats from the Stornoway District sailed for the first time to Yarmouth,
[511] and two to Lerwick. For the next dozen years there
[113] were 'Cod Bages, Well *for anything could be counted upon*'.[3]

[1] *Royal Commission on Housing*, 1917, p. 812. Cf. *Fraser Report on Cottars in Lewis*, 1888, and the recommendations by the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee, *Report on Rural Housing in Scotland*, 1937, pp. 56-63, 79-77.
[2] *Broad Report* (1901).

CH. IX ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

121 1794, for instance, their crews not only fishing but also
#175 buying from local fishers. Islanders occasionally earned
228 a pittance as pilots, for until the charting of these rocky coasts navigation was most dangerous.

The herring industry was in the hands of 'adventurers'
175 (who 'ventured' their capital), and the Islanders benefited
228 little. The British export was aided by a bounty which
[177] helped to capture the Continental market; but, as Adam
[439] Smith pointed out, no bounty was given to the small open
boats suitable for the north-west lochs. Thus the operation
175 of the Salt Duty after 1707 and of the bounty system from
228 before 1745 until 1786, illustrates two of the recurrent
[62] blights upon 'Public Administration' in the Isles. As Day
[654] wrote, their interests have had to suffer "either deliberately, for the benefit of other parts, or other classes in the kingdom, or inadvertently from ignorance".[1] Although the bounty system was widened to include small boats after
1786, the Islanders remained until 1817.

To overcome difficulties, the British Fisheries Society
was founded with Government support in 1786. Although
Stornoway then seemed too far afield, the Society's concen-
[618] tration upon Lerwick settlements foreshadowed Lord Leven-
[311] hulme's principles after 1918. At Ullapool, Tobermory
and Lochbay (Skye), and at Wick, quays and stores were
constructed and dwelling-houses built, with croft land and
grass for a cow, to be reclaimed. Although concentration at
Wick led to the sale of the three western properties about
1842, the Society had done some good work in the West.
The chief difficulty of the West Coast north of the Clyde
area and south of Stornoway District remained: the lack
of a well-marked seasonal migration of herring.

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, p. 65 ff.

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[1] J. P. Day, *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918.

175 From the Napoleonic Wars to 1914 the amount of
228 herring cured on the West Coast of Scotland rose and fell.
In 1810–14 the East Coast cure was half the West Coast
251 cure, but the peace of 1815 brought the capture of the
458 Continental markets and the East Coast herring export
leapt up. It averaged 500,000 barrels from 1850 to 1870,
a million from 1880 to 1900, and one to two million barrels
[439] until 1914. With the decline in the export to the Planta-
tions, the West Coast export fell, to rise by 1890 and reach
a peak from 1900 to 1914. Thus, although no more than
from a tenth to a fifth of the East Coast yield, that of the
West Coast had risen greatly.[1] Of this, the Stornoway
cure formed the major part.

175 The chief early type of catch, of white fish (cod, ling
228 and hake), was developed too, and swelled to a peak by
1900, then dwindled and fell. The average Stornoway
District catch of white fish for a dozen years to 1900 was
valued at over £100,000, much of it caught by local boats,
and some of it cured at small 'creeks' (*e.g.* on the west of
the Island, on Loch Roag, notably at Carloway). The
cure, a strong coarse food, was shipped to Ireland and the
Clyde; but after 1900, fresh trawled fish replaced the
cured. From £100,000 before 1900 the value fell to little
over £10,000 in 1912–13, £1000 in 1920, and half that in
1921—½ per cent of the value in 1900!

[471] Thus the herring fishing became the most important
[452] to the Islanders, at first by employment on East Coast boats.
[652] Later they purchased boats and gear for themselves, helped
principally by advances from Island and East Coast curers,
though also by State loans.

[1] *Fishery Board for Scotland*, Table 25 (1938), and Table 23: 6000 barrels in 1790–95; 80,000 in 1870–75; 100,000 in 1912, and 160,000 in 1913. For fair comparison with Table 25, about 25 per cent should be added to quantities, as explained in the notes to the Tables, on the 'seastick', and final reduced, or 'bungpacked', state of barrelled herring (listed in Table 23).

464 For a year or two after the war many men and women
[288] returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found
employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry.
[729] This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving
at home—work in which the male weaver was helped by
his family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen
[226] dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses
[178] such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to
return to the hard, uncertain work of gutting. The whaling
[462] station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open
for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950,
and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed
[241] in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised
[722] cultivation. The war-time construction of air-fields had
ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was
[654] assisted by government grants.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders'
288 main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of
651 a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds.
Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export
648 sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the
[433] position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there
were strong arguments for the extension of the tax to
[171] Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish
Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not
be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the
crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artist
favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional
and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the
end, the mass-production is an unacknowledging debtor.
The obvious economic handicaps of Island hand-weaving
[439] may surely permit some latitude. The export trade in
[458] Harris Tweed, in which the imponderable 'sentimental

288 value' is important, is an appreciable dollar-earning asset;
651 and because of the fluctuating export market, its manu-
648 facturing must be stabilised by sales at home.

[439] These and other facts support the plea that if some
[458] share of taxation had to be imposed in the national interest,
it should have been done by steps to permit of readjustment
in manufacturing and of adaptation to the carefully fostered
market. What seems indefensible, even in the national
interest, was the imposition of the full 66⅔ purchase tax.
As a result of this blow, the crofter's web could not be sold,
and lay, a prey to moths, in his home, while the mill-
owner's stock piled up in the warehouse. 'Hand-looms',
newly bought or partly paid for, lay rusting in the sheds and
the machinery of the mills stood idle. The hand-weavers
with their helpers and the employees in the mills, their
savings spent, began to seek work beyond the Island. As
[161] the census of April 1951 has shown, the population has
been falling as workers trickled away by every steamer.
Some adjustment was made, it is true, late in 1951; but
the case of the small independent weaver remained as hard
as ever.

288 The amount of tweed stamped with the Orb Trade
433 Mark, which diminished slowly from 4,464,000 standard
yards in 1948 to 4,101,000 in 1949 and 3,780,000 in 1950,
[651] fell when the tax was imposed to 2,800,000 in 1951. In
1952 there was a recovery, maintained in 1953. Over
5,000,000 yards will have been stamped in 1954.

APPENDIX II

(iii) *Fishing Industry* (1953)

The renewed Russian contracts for herring have meant loading of Baltic shipping at Stornoway with barrels of herring cured both in Stornoway and Ullapool. Catching power in Scotland generally is hardly enough to meet this contract. Thus, while the numbers of boats continued to decline after the war, leaving only one steam and 33 motor drifters (over 30 feet keel) registered by 1953, the fishermen employed rose to 610, of whom some 520 were crofter-fishermen. Many worked much of the year; on the other hand, most of the winter catch went for 'oil and meal' at about 50s. per cran instead of the top price of over 80s. For local boats a figure of £30,000 is suggested for the catch of herring, say £10,000 for white fish, with £5560 for shellfish. For "curing and associated income" the pre-war figures may be doubled.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island* (1953)

In mid-1953, of just 5000 registered for the Island as employed—and other than the self-employed, *i.e.* the farmers and crofters, the hand-weavers and the boat-sharing fishers—1130 earned by the three industries first named, the rest by other trades and professions, 3870 in all. The unemployed numbered 1180. Analysis of wage-rates would throw light on total earnings. As to unemployment, the fact that, like crofters and many fishers, hand-weavers count as 'self-employed' means that when out of work they are not covered by unemployment insurance, and have to be helped, at low rates, by public assistance.

(v) *Allowances, etc.* (1953)

Turning now to Remittances, to the manifold categories of Pensions, National Insurance and National Assistance, and to Unemployment Benefit (a small item), the Table B, 1953–54, shows the totals kindly furnished for this study, with £1,017,110 for all Lewis and an estimated £977,010 for rural Lewis.

here and there in small patches of less than a quarter acre and therefore do not appear in our summaries, appendices A (i) and C (i).

The amount of cultivation carried out depends on three factors:

(i) stock, particularly cattle, to be carried through the winter,
(ii) size of family, which influences the amount of potatoes grown,
(iii) available labour, because cultivation is mostly by hand, especially in South Uig and Bernera.

The size of the effective agricultural unit has little influence on the area cultivated although it may bear some relation to the amount of natural hay taken. This can hardly be regarded as 'cultivated' and the acreage is difficult to estimate; the custom is to cut as and when weather permits, and wherever there is a convenient stand of natural grass.

Hand labour is a necessity on most crofts in the Bernera district and on many elsewhere. The traditional 'lazy-bed' - a long narrow strip of cultivation bounded by deep ditches which may be half as wide as the bed - is a necessity on broken, rocky ground on which the only soil is peat which often has to be gathered into hollows in order to get sufficient depth. The small size and long narrow shape of most crofts do not lend themselves to tile drainage, which is almost unknown. If it could be extended it would be a great advantage but, in general, it would have to be organised by townships, or at least by groups of crofts, and the whole trend in management of croft land is towards individual occupation and use.

This may not always be a good thing. Fencing is a case in point. Until the last ten years fenced crofts were rare although small parts of crofts might be fenced and, in some cases, a group of crofts might be fenced off from the rest. But, in general, the crofts were common land in the winter and used individually only from May to October. Fencing grants, and the encouragement of sown grass in rotation with oats, have changed this. A great rash of fencing is appearing. This may not be altogether a good thing, particularly for the sheep in winter and spring; even if gates are still left open, stock are deprived of the ability to move for shelter. There may also be watering difficulties. Co-operative draining, cultivation and grazing, of groups of crofts if not of townships, would be more efficient and more productive.

Finally, we may remark on the curious insistence on hand cultivation of oats and potatoes for consumption on the croft, whilst cash crops well suited to hand labour, and which would be far more rewarding, are neglected. Flowers, vegetables and potatoes are imported into Stornoway daily on the mail steamer and even by 'plane. Neither climate nor soil prevents their production in Lewis. Moreover such crops could provide a much needed source of additional income. A few croft gardens produce excellent soft fruit and as the local season differs slightly from that on the mainland there would seem to be possibilities here, too. There have been virtually no agricultural innovations since the potato.

Economic and Technical Factors.

The agricultural income of a croft arises from:

(i) the sale of livestock, mostly store stock at the spring and autumn sales,
(ii) the sale of the annual wool clip,
(iii) the receipt of certain annual subsidies and grants.

These are the main items; in addition some may sell small amounts of potatoes, eggs and standing hay; a very few sell a little milk although strictly this is illegal. Such an annual income comes in three or four annual instalments, uncertain as to date and amount. Moreover, a crofter may suddenly and unexpectedly find himself deprived of a large portion of his income due to casualties amongst his stock or poor demand at the seasonal sales. Unlike the mainland farmer, should an islander withdraw his store

cows. In the spring they were turned loose on the moors. identification their owner either cut their ears or burne horns with a hot iron.

As soon as possible after the spring sowing, the st was moved to the rough grazing lands. Although there is evidence to suggest that the sheiling (from the Norse ske life formed a part of the annual routine, its later impor makes it plausible. Rude huts of stone or timber were er in the higher mountain pastures to which the cattle were by the people of each farm. In the sheilings the women c for the stock and spent their time making dairy produce. the young men and women it was a time for courting. The bodied men must have taken only a limited part in the she life; they were kept occupied with other duties.

The Droving Trade. The chief industry of the Skye was th cattle trade with mainland Scotland and, after the Union 1707, England. As early as 1502, "marts," surplus cattle off in the autumn, were being exported from the barony of Trotternish.[66] By the middle of the century, the Highland had grown to such proportions that the Privy Council was to enact measures for the preservation of order at the mar At the close of the sixteenth century, a MacDonald chief h established a regular trade in cattle and ponies between t Outer Isles, Skye, and the east coast of Scotland. By the time of the Union, Skye had become the largest producer of

[66] For details on the droving trade, see A. R. B. Hal The Drove Roads of Scotland (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and 1952), pp. 2–35, 66–63.

175 439 to import grain to feed his clansmen.[72] Other local exports included wool, hides, tallow, furs, goats, sheep, butter, cheese, and "Skye Champagne" (whiskey).[73] How the trade was carried on is uncertain. In 1630 it was said that the inhabitants traded with Glasgow, but a navigator's handbook written in 1599 asserts that the lack of trade with the Hebrides was due to the ignorance of most navigators about the seas.[74] By 1695, all the previously mentioned products were being sold or bartered at the semi-annual fair at Portree.[75] No doubt the drovers were bringing in various mainland goods. There were also some peddlers from Morayshire who had settled on Skye and travelled through the islands.[76] In 1750 a government officer who visited the island claired that until 1700 the people had ferried their exports across to the mainland at Glenelg and then went by horse to Inverness where they obtained their merchant goods for the year.[77] Trade by sea with Glasgow was said to be relatively recent.

175 224 Fishing. In terms of subsistence, fish were more important to the Skye folk than their stock.[78] The seas, lochs and rivers

[72] Plant, op. cit., p. 97.

[73] Mitchell, loc. cit.; and William MacKay, "Industrial Life in the Highlands in Olden Times," Home Life of the Highlanders, p. 66.

[74] Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, ed. Edmund Goldsmid (5 vols.; Edinburgh: E. and G. Goldsmid, 1884), Vol. I, p. 37.

[75] Martin, op. cit., pp. 244-245 [76] Ibid., p. 357

[77] Lang, op. cit., p. 45.

[78] Martin, op. cit., pp. 198-203; and Mitchell, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 220.

While the process of commercialization proceeded against the persistent efforts of the people to maintain their tradition al way of life, events in Great Britain were beginning to have a pronounced adverse effect on the local economy. The end of the Napoleonic Wars brought the cattle boom to an end. Although the droving trade remained brisk, the value of the stock declined markedly.[37] An increase in the number of cattle on the grazings, as a means to maintain an economic equilibrium, was impossible. The island was already overstocked and had been devastated by this practice. At the same time, development of large scale commercial farming in the Lowlands had encroached on the right of way of the drovers, and the Skye cattle were suffering at the markets from competition with improved, better nourished breeds from the northeast and southwest. The end of the wars also witnessed a decline in the kelp market.[38] Parliament finally completely undermined kelping by recurrently reducing the tariffs on foreign substitutes.

175* 178* 248 231 439

The crofters, who had suffered rackrenting to get their small strips of arable, found themselves without the means to pay the rents which had been set at the peak of the cattle and kelp markets and without enough land to meet subsistence needs.[39] The striking thing is that in spite of increasing economic hardship, the population continued to grow. They became hostages

175* 178* 427 [167]

[37] Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland, pp. 205-221.

[38] Malcolm Gray, "The Kelp Industry in the Highlands and Islands," The Economic History Review, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1951), pp. 197-209.

[39] Canon MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. II, p. 115.

175* 178* 427 233 166 167 425 162 [167] squatters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families had enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[62] In one Glendale township, Holmisdale, some crofts of four or ten acres had as many as fifteen people to support.[63] Part of this extreme congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing one's croft when a child married. Although the population in 1831 had fallen to 17,680, from 23,084 in 1841, almost every township had two or three times the number of families which had lived in them in 1841.[64]

175* 178* 427 233 241 437 263 452 [272] 942 442 The loss of the summer shielings and the common grazings meant few could keep sheep.[65] The looms were silent. Since the rent continued to be based on the value of livestock and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all oats, which the graziers' sheep did not eat, went to feed the cattle. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to have been newcomers with more associations with the graziers than the crofters and cottars. Milk became a precious commodity. Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unable to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They carried

[62] Ibid., p. 112.

[63] Alexander MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 419-420.

[64] Smith, op. cit., p. 317; Cummings, op. cit., p. 140; and Napier Report, p. 15.

[65] The following is drawn from the evidence presented to the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of Skye; see Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82.

from these influences. Now the government provided the capital, by grant, subsidy, and loan, and the guidance necessary for a fuller utilization of the land. The crofters who had already seen their subsistence economy disappear became a part of the national system of commerce. What effect have these influences had on the culture?

175* 178* 189 241

Throughout the modern epoch there has been a tendency to increase the production of exports, first cattle and then sheep, at the expense of the traditional subsistence crops. Within ecological limits, the national markets have determined what the Sgiathanach might produce. Since the environment has made Skye a pastoral land and agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years, abandonment of a subsistence economy has meant dependence on stock breeding for export. Commercialization of the land and increasing dependence on imported food has resulted in a growth of the importance of money. The decline in household industries, caused by economic deterioration, has also played its part in the people's dependence on currency. As a measurement of values, however, the importance of money has declined since the period of the large sheep farms. The crofter's margin of profit is small, and his opportunities to earn a wage are limited. Economic differentiation no longer affects the traditional status values, except within the traditional polarity of landed gentry and tenant.

129* 178* 439 175* 178* 439 436 [55]

In a comparable way, the utilization of more efficient methods of production is less important now than it was during the period of the "Clearances." Techniques have improved for the majority in so far as labor saving devices are available, but the achieving of modern efficiency is precluded by the

175* 178* 427 241

231 241 262 435 439

TABLE 2

ESTIMATED VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION ON THE ISLE OF SKYE

Produce	Total Marketable Production[a]	Local Consumption[b] (Household & Croft)	Exports
Oats	£ 3,500	£ 3,500	£ ....
Potatoes	23,500	23,500	....
Turnips	2,000	2,000	....
Hay	24,000	24,000	....
Sheep and Lambs	70,000	20,000	50,000
Wool	50,000	10,000	40,000
Cattle	90,000	20,000	70,000
Milk	30,000	30,000	....
Poultry and Eggs	40,000	40,000	....
Pigs	6,000	....	6,000
Miscellaneous	5,000	5,000	....
Totals	£344,000	£178,000	£166,000

[a] Based upon assumed yields from crop acreages and stock reported to the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

[b] Consumption includes an allowance for loss of stock.

241 the economy by subjecting many fertile acres to disuse because
427 of his infirmity. The other factor is the absentee tenant,
247
828 an individual who has obtained possession of a croft, normally
311 by inheritance, but who has failed to take up his inalienable
[128] rights of tenancy. Let us very briefly review the economic trends of the last fifty odd years and, then, try to assess the importance of the absent and the aged.

436 Although the Sgiathanach has refused to become a
433 specialist, fully involved in a money economy, he has become
241
178 increasingly dependent on the products of the wider commercial
439 society. Long ago he gave up growing the old staples, barley and oats. Not for many years has he grown enough potatoes or turnips to feed himself and his cattle. In place of these home grown subsistence crops, he now imports a great deal of his food. In an average year Skye imports over 700 tons of bread, 10 tons of vegetables, 300 tons of canned goods, 300 tons of potatoes, 500 tons of flour, and 100 tons of milk. To pay for these products, he exports cattle, once his only marketable produce, and an ever increasing number of sheep.

436 Hance, writing about the Outer Hebrides, sees the growing
241 tendency of the crofters to buy their food as indicative of an
238
437 increasing cash income.[16] To a certain extent, this may be true. There are, however, additional factors involved. Ecological limitations have played their role. That the climate and soil together make Skye a grassland suitable for stock breeding rather than an island fit for cultivation is an often repeated

[16] Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 22.

436 belief. Since agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years,
241 the present tendency to use more and more of the land for grass
233
439 and hay can be regarded as a more complete adjustment to the environment. The partial involvement in the outside contractual world encouraged and made possible the change. The same reasoning applies to stock production, including the declining number of horses, cattle, and, especially, dairy cows. The exports, obviously, reflect market demands. A couple of [242] crofters have unsuccessfully tried market gardening. The Sgiathanach is not a vegetable eater, and the commercial establishments, apparently, find a more dependable supply
436 elsewhere. A few crofters do sell potatoes in Portree, but
241 they will not compete with the large, east coast potato
432 farmer. In 1953, as soon as the price fell below the pre-season high, the crofters decided it was not worth the trouble
437 to dig the tubers for sale. The same held true for eggs.
436 Many crofters barter eggs with the food vans which serve the
235 rural areas for tea and meat. When the Scottish market was glutted in the summer of 1953, the crofters refused to trade at lower prices. They preferred to obtain their protein from the eggs, believing that the spring egg prices were the fair prices. For the sake of emphasis, I repeat, the involvement of the Sgiathanach in the world of commerce is only partial. Finally, in accounting for these changing economic trends, the aged and the absentee crofter must be taken into account.

887 The old people frequently cannot work their crofts or
241 cannot use them fully. The age at which the work becomes too

The factors which brought about centralization of the industry 228
in Scotland, including commercialization, availability of credit, access to markets, and local populations ready to specialize,[25] have also operated locally. The number of West Highland fishermen has actually increased, but the increase occurred at a few centers. Skye, like most of the region,[26] [504] has numerous isolated coves but no harbor adapted for commercial fishing. Further, the changes in the economic pattern have severed the former relatedness and consistency of fishing with pastoral-agriculture. Moreover, fishing today, to be remunerative, has to be diligently followed. It must be a specialized occupation. The Sgiathanach has not been able to make the adjustment necessary to become a full-time fisherman.

Of the 182 townships on Skye, fishing is important in 98.[27] In a few of these townships fish are an export item. [439] There is no longer any fishing done in eighty-four townships. Portree, with its sheltered bay, is the base for a few full-time fishermen who sell locally. Uig Bay, Loch Pooltiel, and [504] Loch Bracadale, all once considered excellent harbors, are neglected. The lack of fishing in Loch Bracadale is striking. It is there that sixty families of Harris crofter-fishermen were settled and purposefully given small crofts with the expectation that they would continue to fish as they had on their native isle. They never tried exploiting the inshore

[25] Collier, The Crofting Problem, pp. 75-83.

[26] Ibid., pp. 78-83.

[27] Darling and Morley, op. cit., pp. 42-45.

44

44 MARKETING--general statements dealing with several aspects of the specialized elaboration and promotion of trade. For the mechanisms and volume of trade see 41; for its financing see 45; for business organization see 47.

463 One of his
326 apprentices was his sister's son, who built another
[804] smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip.
[604] People gathered there while he shoed horses that came
[521] from Barvas to Carloway."

444 A number of shops were established in Shawbost
198 that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At
[494] one time they numbered six altogether. These shops also ran the first buses between the village and
[497] Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared
[443] because of competition with larger companies. Mobile grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in large parts of the island, undercutting the local businesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-
198 sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and
434 sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on
57 local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town-
621 dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major
439 proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers,
463 fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage
178 collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal
[872] dealers and others extend goods and services from
[484] centralized sources to a market which has money to pay for them. The island's participation in this extensive market system is affected by its marginality to the

(c) THE OUTLOOK: 1939–54 AND SINCE

458 How then can the situation be assessed, as it was before
the outbreak of war and since then? By 1939 twenty years
178 had been partly lost; for the after-war years of the 'Lever-
hulme boom' were followed by discouragement and
poverty. During that time one might have hoped for half
[423] a generation of reconstruction and progress. On the other
hand the sore question of dividing the farms was settled,
so bringing raiding to an end. Congestion on the existing
crofts is less than it was, owing to this fact, and to the
[166] provision of feus. The poverty of many breadwinners
who had migrated to the cities first cut down the amounts
remitted to their Island dependents, then drove them home.
[433] A croft, or even a garden site, and the opportunity of
building a good house there made life still worth while,
[746] when other employment had failed. Unemployment
relief, though tempting some to idleness, gave a respite
[286] which many utilised to make a fresh start. As fishing
waned, many had taken advantage of the easy beginning
[226] offered to learn a new trade—weaving. This has made
many feel that the living to be found on the Island is
better than alternation of 'wage-earning' with unemploy-
ment, in Glasgow or abroad. They believe the situation
[311] of the Island community to be hopeful. While the land
remains little better than before, many, even of the younger
people, still care for the Island life among their own kin.
Given a clear lead, these could reorganise themselves, and
undertake the developments needed in fishing, weaving
and reclamation. The homes are sound, 'good neigh-
bourhood' endures, and given fresh opportunity, the
community could awaken to new life.

178 During and since the war, co-operative marketing was
• 44
476

178 developed through the township Grazing Committees by
476 the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society and its
• 44 associated Crofters' Agency. Lime and fertilisers were
(654) purchased, and wool and other products sold, co-oper-
atively. The co-operative marketing of lobsters, taking
[228] advantage of fluctuating London prices, has led to the
reconstruction of ponds for storage. By these and other
[654] means, government assistance is utilised but not squan-
dered; earlier initiative in agricultural organisation is
reinforced; and communal tradition is revived, linked
to personal responsibility through the crofters' lifelong
knowledge of one another.

178 As to the future, all agreed that unless the Harris Tweed
288 industry flourished, with work at reasonable wages, the
villages would be abandoned by the young, perhaps with
[829] no return such as hitherto on 'retirement'. Many young
people are content with life in the townships, provided
they can get a living there, though not all, for they are
somewhat divided; and work elsewhere, even in the mills
of Stornoway, is a counter-attraction.

178 Social life is undergoing changes which operate both
597 for and against the retention of the young. On one hand,
538 household interchange of conversation, song and story,
the *ceilidh*, has declined. On the other hand, one found
178 that, as regards religious prohibitions, and in spite of the
771 nervous tension expressed in 'Revivals', the young have
577 won greater freedom. Near one village a Nissen hut,
handed over to the Home Guard, was also used by young
[535] people for monthly dances. When I asked a young crofter
invalided from the Navy whether the Elders of the Kirk
made no protest, he replied that they had, but had to give
it up: "They see that we won't stand for it"! This
would have been unthinkable during the First World War,

441

441 MERCANTILE BUSINESS--extent of specialization in commerce; types and distribution of mercantile businesses; social status and special characteristics of merchants; business men's organizations (e.g., merchant guilds, trade associations, chambers of commerce); general characteristics of merchandising; special mercantile privileges and restrictions; etc. See also:

Urban commercial facilities 366
Occupational specialization 463
Craft guilds 467
Competition 477
Business schools 874

286 195 731 735 of potato crops by blight had contributed to widespread poverty. The production of cloth for non-local markets 286 195 741 439 was promoted initially by philanthropic proprietors in an effort to ameliorate such conditions. Lady Dunmore, of the Dunmore family that owned Harris during most of the 19th century, was largely responsible for developing a market in London and elsewhere for cloth woven in Harris. [565] The cloth was popular first among the aristocracy, who [438] [435] wore it for hunting and other sporting occasions. The romantic image of a cottage industry promoted for charitable purposes contributed to the market value of the tweed.

The market expanded in the second half of the 19th century, aided by ladies of leisure who followed the example 286 441 175 [764] set by Lady Dunmore (cf. Hunter 1964: 24-26). The production of cloth for a commercial market spread from Harris to the southern isles, but was slow in coming to Lewis, where the proprietor, Sir James Matheson, provided the people with construction jobs. After Matheson died in 1878, weaving for outside markets began in Lewis in the parish bordering Harris, and the name "Harris Tweed" was used because a market for cloth of this name had already been established. By World War I, weaving for outside markets was being done in all four parishes in Lewis. In 1899 there were 55 looms in Lewis and over 200 in Harris.

286 441 175 By 1911, the number of looms in Lewis had increased to 250-300 (Hunter 1964: 42).

[288] [184] By the late 19th century small mills had replaced domestic spinning and weaving in the Highlands on the mainland. Weaving continued to be a home industry in the Hebrides where it was encouraged by the support of non-profit-making organizations such as the Highland Home Industries and Arts Association, the Scottish Home Industries Association, and the Crofters Agency--all established at the end of the 19th century--and also encouraged by local merchants who had begun to act as middlemen in marketing the cloth. These merchants owned small general stores throughout the island and either bought the tweed from local weavers or gave them goods from their stores in exchange. Many of the tweed firms in Lewis grew from such small general stores and from the barter system.

288 175 159 472 1. The Harris Tweed Industry in Shawbost: Coinneach Rod, a man who started a tweed business on the west side of Lewis which eventually developed into a large mill with equipment for spinning yarn and finishing tweeds, was said to have been a risk-taker, a man who lost the first L50 he borrowed, but borrowed another L50 and never looked back, a man who throughout his life gave fellow

288 175 159 472 businessmen nervous breakdowns because of the risks he continued to take. "He was planning to start some business. At one point it was going to be either distilling or the tweed, and he just happened to go for the tweed."

Some say Coinneach Rod had physical disabilities, developed or aggravated by military service, which made him unable to work like other men, and hence he was forced to find other ways of earning a living. He was a merchant, like other islands who became entrepreneurs in the tweed business.

According to one version of Coinneach Rod's life, he began to handle tweed on a large scale as the result of an accident, when an agent selling tweed for a merchant on the east side of the island arrived on Lewis for the first time, asked for a "Kenneth Macleod, merchant," and was directed to Coinneach Rod of Shawbost.

"He was also an earthy, natural, easy man to get on with. He never changed, even after the money came. He would sit the buyers down with a plateful of cuddies and say 'Dig in,' 'Eat up.' He always ate them whole, and never spat out the bones. The buyers liked that. They liked his easy manner."

175 441 452 Between the first and second world wars, the merchant was an extremely powerful figure. When men and women

175 441 452 went away to the fishing, their families bought groc on credit. "If the merchant thought the fishing sea would be good, he let them have as much as they want otherwise he restricted them in their buying."

288 175 159 444 437 472 The barter system continued in Shawbost long aft it stopped in Stornoway. A weaver was given credit i Coinneach Rod's store, until it closed in 1948, for t exact amount of the tweed. He never gave money. "Yo to get just the right amount of goods, even down to tuppence in matches." People were forced to buy huge jars of jam which they did not really want or need. S "cunning" fellows would slip a two-pound pair of shoes into a shoebox marked 15 shillings. "Coinneach Rod wo ask if you wanted a wireless, or would a tweed jacket i your son. You couldn't refuse, or you wouldn't do any weaving for him for a long time."

288 175 159 472 452 Coinneach Rod bought looms for many weavers, and t would weave only for him to pay off the debt. "People living on the dole with a large family would go to him and ask him to buy them a loom. He would get the man a loom, and then get him a lot of tweeds to weave so the m could pay him off. It was two tweeds for yourself and o for the loom."

288 175 441 2. Centralization and Specialization: Centralizatio and specialization in handling the production of the twee

attle in Scotland and served as the gathering place for most f the Outer Hebridean stock.

The history of the cattle trade reflects the prevailing onditions of the times. Since cattle were the main form of ovable property, they were the favorite prey in inter-clan aids. Indeed, until about 1640, the acceptance of a chief was ependent on his success as a cattle thief. Almost all clan ars began with a creach, a cattle raid. Some of these cattle ifting expeditions kept the men of Skye scuttling back and orth over the island and the neighboring mainland for years. ntil the fifteenth century, the trade was primarily based n illegal droving. As late as the seventeenth century, a ubstantial proportion of the stock brought to market was tolen. The Privy Council, fully aware of the fact that the xport of cattle and horses provided the only means by which he islanders could pay the king's duties, continuously strove o restrain illegal trade.[67] They enjoyed meager success. At est they could only name the guilty party and pass a sentence f outlawry while the offender was safe at home. The most tringent enactment was passed in 1609. It sought to compel ecvers and merchants to buy only from those answerable to the ing's laws. Skye was not included among the obedient subjects. was only after the Union that droving became a lawful, ganized trade with established markets.

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[67]"State of the Highlands at the Beginning of the Seventeenth ntury," in Burt, op. cit., Vol. II, Appendix 1, p. 252.

*175 439 A variety of factors operated to enable Skye to become the primary Highland beef producer.[68] The emphasis on horticulture in the Lowlands and sheep breeding in the Southern Uplands, restricted the raising of cattle. The climate and terrain made the island more suitable for pasture than crop cultivation. The island had been geographically isolated from the ravages of the wars between England and Scotland, which periodically devasted the Lowlands and eastern Highlands, from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries, and from the internal troubles of the nation in which the clansmen played no small part. The determined resistance to the encroachment of the Crown fortified this isolation. Only rarely did the King's forces penetrate, and when they did, the islanders temporarily submitted. The clan wars had a way of balancing one another. Economic conditions also played their role. The tendency toward overstocking, coupled with the primitive methods of cultivation, compelled the tacksmen to thin their herds each autumn. The small amount of land allowed to each clansman would not support more than one or two cows. Stirks had to be disposed of and went to the tacksmen or the chief as rent and, perhaps, as payment for the purchase of necessities.

Transportation provided no difficulties. Boats had to be used to bring the cattle from the Outer Isles to Skye, but in trade from Skye the cattle provided their own transportation. Two fairs a year were held at Portree, beginning in 1693, in

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[68] Cf., e.g., Haldane, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

une and early September.[69] The horses and cattle sold at 175*
air were moved across Skye to either Kyle Akin or Kyle 439
When the tide was fairly low, the stock were ferried
s, five head at a time. They were simply tied head to
and pulled behind a boat. Once ashore, the cattle were
n south over the drove roads. The actual driving of the
was entrusted to the clansmen, but it was the chiefs and
men, who received the cattle in rent, who organized the
and conducted the sales. Later, as banking houses were
ed, professional drovers began to come to Skye. They
y bought on commission, bartering their knowledge of the
ry for a profit. Some of these drovers replaced the tacks-
nd chiefs, paying them for the right to buy from the
men.

ts and Trade. In addition to the droving trade, there
limited amount of trade between Skye and the mainland in
products and a few necessities. As early as 1630 the
of oats and barley was sufficient to enable Skye to
t some grain to the mainland.[70] This export continued at
nd of the century.[71] Probably the area producing the
us was the barony of Trotternish. It was not, however,
s a favorable balance. In 1726, for example, MacLeod had

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[69] James D. Marwich, List of Markets and Fairs Now and rly Held in Scotland (Glasgow: n.p., 1890), pp. 100-101.

[70] Mitchell, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 182-183

[71] Martin, op. cit., p. 197

288 developed from the concentration of power in the hands
175 of the merchants. In the early days of the industry,
441 all the processes involved in the production of a
286 finished length of tweed were carried out by individual
236 families. A man used wool from his own flock, and with the
438 aid of other family members, dyed it with vegetable dyes,
175 [386] carded and spun it by hand, wove it, washed and shrunk
286 it, and found his own buyer. Dyeing wool, spinning yarn,
236 and washing ("waulking") the finished length of tweed
175 was usually done by women. In Harris, the entire process
462 of producing a tweed was carried out by women, but in
Lewis the weaving was done largely by men.

175 A woman in her 80's recalls the process of weaving
286 when she was young. Hand-spinning had died out by this
time, although the question of whether tweeds woven with
such yarn could legitimately be called Harris Tweed was
not resolved until 1934.

175 "About 1916 or so it took about two weeks to a month
283 to do a tweed. You bought the wool from the Agricultural
[435] Board. Sixteen bags of wool, costing about L20, would
[433] do four tweeds. You needed four one-stone bags per
[386] tweed. Then you would spend a day gathering a bag of
[824] crotal (lichen scraped from rocks and used for dye). One
bag per one bag of wool was required for the dye. After

175 behind the tweed's popularity. The tweed was more than
286 a cloth; it was peat smoke and windswept moorland, the
288 [828] image of the free man who had escaped city life and machines and was the master of his own destiny. Steps had been taken all along the way to preserve the image of home-crafted goods, as when, in an effort to prevent machine-spinning, carding mills were built in Lewis and Harris at the turn of the century to prevent wool from being sent to mills on the mainland, where it was both [685] carded and spun. As early as 1906, a man was convicted in London of selling power-loomed tweed under the name
288 "Harris Tweed." Today power-driven looms can produce
402 double-width cloth 54 inches wide, a width much preferred to the 28-inch cloth produced on the Hattersley loom because there is less waste when the cloth is cut. But because "Harris Tweed" must be hand-woven, new looms of light-weight metal are being designed on which double- [435] width cloth can be hand-woven. The new looms will cost so much that many weavers say they would be unlikely to invest in them, especially given the uncertain future of the industry.

175 The Harris Tweed Association, formed in 1909, was
178 granted a certification mark by the Board of Trade which
288 was stamped on tweeds that were hand-spun and hand-woven
441 [424] in the islands. During World War I, hand-spinning died
[286]

175 178 288 286 441 out in Lewis, and the Harris Tweed Association was ineffective in enforcing its standards. In 1934, weavers were allowed to use yarn spun in island mills, and production increased; but no weaving was allowed to be done in the mills. All looms were removed from those mills which had tried to centralize this stage of production. The actual process of weaving remained, by legal definition, decentralized, although the word "crofter" was changed to "islander," thus widening the category of persons who could weave "Harris Tweed," and paving the way for centralization of weavers in the town of Stornoway.

286 288 467 Any person can purchase his own yarn, weave his own tweeds, and sell them to tailors or summer tourists; but before a weaver can weave for the mills, he must be registered with the Weavers Union. The Weavers Union is a branch of the Transport and General Workers Union, which includes mill employees, hospital workers, lorry drivers, and others. 288 467 It is an anomaly of the Harris Tweed industry that workers classed as self-employed should join a union of employees and is another indication of the centralization of control and power in the mills, with whom the weavers, along with the mill workers, bargain for higher wages. 288 433 466 304 Weavers receive a basic sum of over £10 for each length of tweed, which is usually 38 weaver's

175 178 288 the 1934 decision to change the word "crofter" to "islander") led to the weavers living in council [361] houses in town and working in loomsheds behind the houses. Unequal distribution has also contributed to Shawbost's relative prosperity, and to the decline of weaving in more remote parts of the island. The [464] unequal distribution of tweeds has made it difficult to maintain a large labor force, which in turn limits the growth and development of the industry.

288 433 178 [458] 3. Instability of the Industry: The Harris Tweed industry has undergone a number of crises. Periods of depression have alternated with periods of prosperity. (See Appendix B for the fluctuation in the number of yards stamped each year with the Harris Tweed trade-mark.) [435] [466] The very conditions which give the tweed its market value—the decentralized, non-mechanized human element—also limit the possibilities of growth in the industry, and contribute to the industry's instability.

288 441 When a business remains small, it must collect orders before it can provide work to have the orders filled (except when demand for an item is strong, as occurred around the time of the previous world war; during the war and for a few years after, tweeds could be made first and then marketed, because any cloth [471] could be sold). Only a large business can keep weavers

288 441 491 at work producing tweeds which it then tries to market. The latter method requires the investment of a great deal of capital to make the tweeds and pay the weavers before a buyer is found. The small mills require an immediate return for their capital investment, which is ensured [434] by not investing unless there is a definite order. The fortunes of the weavers oscillate with the luck and skill of the mills in soliciting orders; thus, the mills do not provide a constant, stable source of income. The 288 434 nature of the tweed, as a high-priced luxury item rather than a basic necessity, contributes to the instability of the demand. When fashions change or when world-wide economic depressions come, the high-priced tweed with its specialized image as a cloth for aristocratic, [185] sporty dress is forgotten for awhile. Efforts are being made to change this image; but the product's status as a high-priced luxury item persists.

288 441 458 An extremely small business can survive periods of depression when capital outlay in the form of machinery, running costs, and so on is not large. An extremely large business that has cornered a large share of the market can often survive an erratic schedule of orders because it has a larger accumulation of capital, but a medium-sized business has too much overhead to survive long periods of depression. Examples of all three exist

288 441 458 in Shawbost: a very small business, which until recently did not even have its own transport but hired facilities when they were needed and simply went into hibernation when orders stopped coming; a medium-sized business, which went into liquidation in 1971; and a large business, which continues to survive despite a depression which has continued since the late 1960's.

288 441 464 Harris Tweed is sent to markets all over the world; but because of the difficulty of maintaining a large labor force, the filling of orders is sometimes [439] slow. If large orders cannot be met, weaving as an island-wide occupation cannot be maintained. The number of weavers on the island fluctuates, as slack periods come and men adopt the time-tested strategy of temporary migration in search of other jobs. One [468] of the factors which aided the weavers during their [175] strike of 1943 was the fact that so many other jobs were available during the war that the future of the industry was jeopardized.

288 464 In the last five years the number of mill employees has decreased from 800 to 500. The decrease is due in [178] part to the introduction of more efficient techniques and new equipment, but there is little room for improvement in the production of tweeds because the human element, the weaver, is essential to its production.

ISLAND REGIMENTS

For a number of years it had been the practice for a considerable proportion of the older schoolboys during their attendance at the Secondary School to put in their training with the local body of Territorials—the Ross Mountain Battery. At the School Prize-giving of 1914, these boys attended in their uniform to be ready to go off the same evening by steamer en route for the annual training camp. Before the School re-opened, the Territorial Force was mobilised, and for some of these lads there intervened four long years of toil, of fighting, and of sickness overseas, before they ever saw their homes again.

Later (1938), the unit became the 203rd (Ross) Battery of the 51st (West Highland) Anti-tank Regiment. It was whilst fighting as an anti-tank battery that, with other units of the 51st Division, the men were taken prisoner at St Valery in 1940. Today, after more changes, the battery is the oldest in 540 LAA Regt RA, TA (the Lovat Scouts). In 1960 the Ross Battery received the Freedom of the Burgh of Stornoway in recognition of a century of voluntary service to the community and the nation.

LAND USE AND CROFTING

The history of land use and the crofting system in the Highlands and Islands (see Chapter 5) is full of difficulties. In the older days of the clan system, before the rot set in, though the clan members belonged to the chief, they also belonged to the land and the land to them. In such a climate, the agricultural system, for it was such then, was in a reasonably healthy state; the land was worked to the full. Good land was available for the support of the clan, and as often as not in good years there was ample produce, crops, and livestock, to send south to well-paying markets. That fertile lands abounded is indicated by the reports of visitors in various centuries. But times changed. The increase in population after the breakdown of the clan system by statutory legislation, and the policy of population placement carried out with a rigorous enthusiasm, planted seeds of discontent—in particular a hunger for land. The land was in any case becoming ever more inadequate to support those already on it.

The story of the agrarian troubles in the Highlands area is well

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

but their negligence even in ye article appears from their sending out annual above 2000 of wool out of the country unmanufacture.'

Harris was rented at £600. Exports were some 100 tons of kelp (£325), and the value of 250 black cattle exported alive, with 100 salted, was £445. Small quantities of cheese, wool, and the skins of sheep, otters and seals were exported. Grain was neither imported nor exported.

The plough, which is used here, and in most places of the long island, is of a very peculiar construction. Its length is but 4 feet 7 inches, and is drawn by four horses abreast. It has but one handle by which it is directed; the mold board is fastened with two leather thongs, and the soke and coulter are bound together at the point by a rim of iron. Beside kelp, there is little else manufactured, except a little coarse woolen yarn, and some blanketing, which they send yearly to Glasgow. They raise a little flax of which they make some coarse linen for their own use, but import all the fine linen which they consume. In the year 1756, an American vessel in distress was obliged to put out three hogsheads of lintseed in Harris, which was sown and afforded crops of lint which were above double the value of the usual crops. The east and west of Loch Tarbert in the Harris are every year revisited by the herring shoals. During the five years from 1743 to 1747, the west loch was the principal seat of the herring fishery. About thirty vessels from 18 to 40 tons, belonging to Campbelltown, Greenock, and Irvine, were completely loaded each of these years at this place.

With even a modest amount of business taking place, it was a natural step to establish commercial facilities. Stornoway men who once acted as agents became shopkeepers. The increase in the use of money attracted banks. During the Seaforth ownership of Lewis, the island had its own currency or notes, designed and printed from plates in the same style as the modern banknote. The wording ran: 'I promise to pay on demand to the Chamberlain of the Lewis or Bearer ONE POUND Sterling at the Counting Room here.' The notes carried a date and were signed by the proprietor, J. A. Stewart MacKenzie. It is not known for certain how long the notes remained in currency, when they ceased to be used, or even whether they were officially acceptable. At one time, as rare items, they fetched high prices from collectors. A number were

he small shop
ocks essential household items, and extensive use is made of mail-
der. A few years ago a telephone to the mainland was supplied,
uch valued in emergencies.

Scarp in fact has a small place of its own in the history of com-
unications: on 28 July 1934 one of three British rocket-mail
periments (for which special stamps were printed) was held
ere. The inventor of the rocket, Herr Zucker, was later to be-
me prominent in V-rocket work during the second German
ar. Herr Zucker personally conducted the firings. His rocket, a
rge cylinder with pointed nose, something like a heavy shell, was
ft long and weighed 30 lb, with capacity for several thousand
ters. The motive force was ordinary high explosive contained
a large cartridge about 18 in long; the device was designed to
rn with a series of rapid explosions and produce a flight speed
1,000 mph. The firing apparatus was a flimsy wooden structure
oviding a runway rising at an angle from the ground, an elastic
ng giving the rocket an initial impulse. The first rocket was fired
Scarp, to the mainland: it exploded prematurely and most
the mail was damaged. The postmaster applied to the backs
the damaged covers a three-line cachet in violet: 'Damaged
first explosion at Scarp—Harris.' In order that this mail should
actually flown, it was re-transmitted by the second firing made
the opposite direction, Harris—Scarp. The whole experiment
s deemed a failure, however. The route taken by the mail
dressed to Kirkwall was unique; rocket, ferryboat, motorcar,
il steamer, railway train, and finally by Highland Airways to
rkwall.

Depopulation in Scarp was encouraged by the lack of
ployment prospects, and centralised education, of the type
hich has already played havoc with remote rural communities
ewhere, is felt to be a black cloud darkening the future. Much
e same problem faces Scalpay Island, mentioned later. Children
e removed from their home environments for higher secondary
ucation at a central school: for Harris children this is at Por-
e, Skye. Many islanders argue that the scheme tends to destroy
e family unit, urbanising the children so that they become un-
ted to, and with no inclination for, rural life. Some sympathy
st be felt for the education authorities, of course, as the pro-

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

(A) TRANSITION: MIGRATION, FISHING AND KELP-MAKING

UNTIL the 'Forty-five the township had lived an almost self-contained life. Its traditional economy was self-sufficient except for two indispensable commodities—salt for the housewife and iron for the smith. Beyond this, the chief demand for payment was the rent to the lord, with tithes for the kirk. For these needs and demands a step towards production for exchange was required, the more so that what was exported might include the very necessities of life in 'bad years'. The rent was paid largely by the sale of a surplus steer or two, and drovers called for the cattle. By 1790, if not before, two or three open boats set out annually from Uig, for instance, for Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. Although salt seems of little account today, it once bulked large in the Budget, its price being heightened by duty, especially after 1707: "as dear as salt", was a saying, *cho daor ris an t-salluinn*. Salt was needed to preserve the carcase of a 'cattle-beast' or sheep killed in autumn, and for cod and herring curing. Wrecks were valuable, as on all infertile undeveloped coastlands, both for their timber and their iron. Cairds or tinkers occasionally brought metal goods; or a packman called, as strange a figure then

as some Indian pedlar one meets on the road may seem now. An older packman's tale of his long tramps, of the people's poverty and hospitality, must have resembled the mingled plaints and praise one hears from an Indian pedlar today! But in the past only a speaker of Gaelic could find his way among the people. Almost until 1900, if not still later, Gaelic speech was to prove a social bond, but ignorance of English speech an economic barrier.

The transition to increased exchange, with migration, permanent and temporary, tended to make for specialisation. About 1795, *Statistical Accounts* enumerated, for every hundred families, two or three smiths, wrights (or carpenters), a shipwright or some boat-makers, a few weavers, tailors, and perhaps a miller. Each of these held some corn land, individually or in shares, with rights on the common. The line between plain crofters (to use a later term) and crofter-craftsmen was not easily drawn, and different writers wrote as they judged best. In Lochs, 80 per cent were fishers and net-makers. On the open shores of the west, in Barvas parish (in which three-fourths of the men were also 'fishers'), kelp-making was a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s. to 60s. in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tacksmen at 5d. each, earned £1 a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s. per ton, and roads at 8d. a day.

In Harris in 1795 the eight 'bred' (or trained male) weavers worked only for 'the gentry': the laird, the tacksmen and their families. The rest of the weaving was done by the women, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. But in Lewis male weavers were commoner—one to every twenty to thirty families was the ratio—as if the practice of home weaving by the women was less universal there, even at that date.

sary. In the end, an application was made in 1909 to that body for a trade mark defining Harris Tweed as 'tweed, hand-spun, hand-woven and dyed and finished by hand in the Outer Hebrides', with 'made in Harris' or 'made in Lewis' added as appropriate. The Harris merchants had to join forces with their former rivals in the tweed-marketing business, the voluntary non-profit-making Associations. To inspect the cloth and stamp it with a trade mark—an orb surmounted by a cross—a Harris Tweed Association was formed, consisting of representatives of each of the Harris merchants, the Crofters Agency and the Scottish Home Industries Association. Cloth was first stamped in 1911. In 1912, some Stornoway merchants were granted representation in the Harris Tweed Association, which still exists for the benefit of the industry.

In 1934, the definition of 'Harris Tweed' was eased to include any cloth 'made from pure virgin wool, produced in Scotland, spun, dyed and finished in the Outer Hebrides and hand-woven by the Islanders at their own homes in the islands of Lewis, Harris, Uist, Barra and their several purtenances and all known as the Outer Hebrides'. It was further provided that 'Woven in Harris', 'Woven in Lewis', etc, could be added, and also 'Handspun' in the case of tweeds made entirely from hand-spun yarns.

Today, a few Harris families maintain the old tradition, hand-dyeing and carding, spinning on the wheel, hand-weaving and finishing, producing a high-quality article mainly for individual customers. These tweeds rightly command up to three times the price for the general run of tweed.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

It was not until the era of Sir James Matheson that anything like a truly industrial activity was attempted. Matheson, a native of Shinness in the parish of Lairg, Sutherland, was born in 1796. Aged seventeen, he decided on a commercial career and took himself to London. After two years in a mercantile house, he went to Calcutta, where he worked in the counting-house of MacKintosh

& Co. The call of the Far East drew him away from India to Canton, where he set up business as an agent acting for firms in India. During the period 1815-20 he met William Jardine, from Dumfriesshire, who first glimpsed the mainland of China as a surgeon's mate from the deck of an East Indiaman three years before Trafalgar. Jardine left the East India Company in 1817 after sixteen years' service and, having with native prudence accumulated enough capital to set up on his own account, entered into an agreement with an East India merchant of London and a Bombay trader to operate the new ship *Sarah*. In 1832 Matheson and Jardine combined forces and interests to form Jardine, Matheson & Co, 'The Firm', as it has been known ever since those early days of commerce in the Far East. The unique experience which its founders and their successors have accumulated in providing services for manufacturers, and handling trade with more than a quarter of the world's population, is virtually unparalleled in the annals of British mercantile enterprise.

Matheson amassed a fortune. In 1842 he returned to his native Scotland, and finding that the Lewis estate was up for sale he bought it for £190,000 from the Estate Trustees. The island, at that time a truly isolated backwater, provided him with plenty of scope for ideas and work for deep pockets. He died on the last day of 1878. It has been estimated to the pound sterling that, including the purchase price of Lewis, Matheson spent over £574,363. More than £100,000 was spent in erecting Lews Castle and in laying out the grounds, which work provided his impoverished tenants with a means to earn something with which to buy their necessities. Briefly, Matheson drained land and reclaimed it; he planted trees; he built roads, bridges and quays; he excited anew an interest in the fishing industry and built premises for fish curing; he built a patent boat-slip for the contruction and repair of fishing and other craft; he established schools and paid the teachers' salaries; he also built a brick-works and a chemical works to distil paraffin from peat. He is remembered in Stornoway's Matheson Road: little else remains of his extensive efforts.

vision of adequate educational facilities in remote spots becomes increasingly difficult.

In its time Scarp has contributed more per head of population to the professions than has any other community of similar size. The last of the native Scarp population left the island in November 1971: two families totalling seven people. The island has now attracted the attentions of a hippie community.

Scalpay

Scalpay Island, on the east side of Harris, was formerly occupied by two or three tacksmen in succession before being 'crofted out'. About 1843 the Harris factor settled twenty crofting families who managed to make a fair living there, but five years later another twenty families were added; some had been evicted from the island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris. This led to some subdivision of the available land. The 1861 population was 388, but the figure rose to a peak of 624 in 1921; in 1951 it had declined to 541. It is now in the region of 450.

Island Scalpay is in fact one of the few places in the Highlands and Islands area in which the normal trends associated with remote regions are operating in reverse. The island despite its smallness—it is a mere 3 miles long and 1½ miles across—supports a thriving and dynamic community and is the envy of its neighbours. Scalpay is retaining its young folk; and it boasts some of the finest homes in the Hebrides. From the agricultural point of view it is not greatly different from other islands in the Hebrides. Its forty crofts produce a good crop of oats; but less than 20 acres of the land are re-seeded.

The land being as poor as it is, the men of Scalpay have turned their faces to the sea—for a living, not for emigration. Scalpay has the largest number of full-time fishermen and a total of thirty-three boats, twelve of which are ringnetters of over 40 ft. Native enterprise is also shown in the ship-owning firm whose vessels carry freight and passengers to many parts of Scotland and on occasion to the Continent. A Harbour Association was formed on the island in 1966 to work for local amenities for fishermen and

the community generally—in particular for a landing stage in the North Harbour. The lighthouse at Eilean Glas, Scalpay, was in fact erected as long ago as 1788; for a long time it was the only lighthouse in the Western Isles. In 1792 it was described as 'one of great utility to the numerous shipping that frequent this channel [between Skye and the Long Island] on their voyages to and from the Baltic'.

The independence of the islanders again appears in their attitude to the education facilities provided for their children. In 1949 Scalpay parents staged a school strike in protest against the delay in the construction of a road to the school. At present the island has a junior secondary school but in 1966 the Inverness-shire County Council Education Committee proposed the transfer of the island pupils to the school at Tarbert; this would mean each child rising early in the morning to face a trip across Scalpay Sound and then a road journey to Tarbert. The inevitable protests against this proposal were rooted in its deeper implications. The school roll on Scalpay (70 pupils) has maintained a remarkable level of continuity over the years, reflecting the general prosperity of the island. Forced attendance at a central educational facility, the islanders maintain, will introduce an unsettling urban element into their children's adult views.

The smaller islands

To the west of Scalpay, in East Loch Tarbert, is the one-square-mile island of Scotosay. Its population was 14 in 1861, none in 1881, 18 in 1891, 15 in 1901, and 20 in 1911. In 1921 7 males and 12 females lived there, but none permanently since.

On the west of the Harris mainland is a high rocky island, four miles by one, called Taransay. In 1549 Dean Monro described it as being 'well inhabit and manurit', a place where people delved with spades, and with good barley and corn, and fishing. There are two old chapels and a burying ground on the island. The population of Taransay has declined to a handful through the years; its peak was 76 in 1911.

The Sound of Harris is 'a chaos of rocks and islands', so numerous that they cannot easily be counted. Some are mere pinpoints of rock; others once supported small populations. Nearest to the

The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them as an example to the crofters who were still reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70 boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch Roag for they were small open boats greatly outnumbered in good herring seasons by boats from other parts of the kingdom. To encourage curing, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up two storehouse to supply salt; he, or his agents, were probably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, who visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the estate factor held a monopoly for trading in cattle, dried fish and other products. The absolute power of the clan chieftain seems to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844. But it was kelp, more than fishing, that helped to support the people of Uig in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lewis made little kelp compared with the Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of particularly good quality and commanded more than the average price. Further, many people from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time, the intrinsic resources of the parish appear to have been inadequate to support the population. In this connection it is worth noting the change in the average stock held by each family since 1792 as shown in table 3.

Clearance and Congestion

Even after the end of the tremendous boom in kelp, brought about throughout the Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some production continued in Uig. In 1825, when the land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses, yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereafter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attempting industrial developments and agricultural improvements. The former included short-lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants in order to introduce mainland farmers. For these Uig was particularly attractive, the extensive mountain pasture offering good prospects for sheep graziers. The exact dates of the formation of the earliest farms are not remembered nor are they precisely recorded, but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Macrae of Kistail had the tack of Scaliscro, with the extensive grazings (now partly occupied by Bernera summer pastures) east of Little Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants of Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of Mealasta Island, which suggests that a sheep farmer was already installed in that district. About 1838 all the small tenants were cleared out of Mealasta, six families being put into Breanish; the remainder are said to have been sent to America.

In Bernera island, Kirkibost was cleared about 1822, having been lotted in individual crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkibost formed part of the large farm of Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed part of this farm. On the mainland, opposite Bernera, small tenants were cleared from the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Stroma and Drovornish) in the early nineteenth century, and a tacksman was installed at west Earshader. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and Linshader.

By 1844 the kelp shores were almost valueless to the proprietor (though seaweed as fertiliser remained a vital necessity to the small cultivators, often working the same land year after year). In 1861 the Chamberlain of the Lews suggested to the Select Committee on Emigration that some 6,000 persons should emigrate because the land was inadequate to support them. In 1844, of necessity, Seaforth sold the island. The population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,316); little did the Chamberlain imagine that in the following ten years it would increase by 16%, and that by the turn of the century would reach almost 30,000, (Uig 4,462 Figure 4).[1]

[1] [See p. 18--Analyst]

443

443 RETAIL MARKETING--extent and variety of retail specialization; types of retail outlets (e.g., itinerant merchants, markets, bazaars, general stores, trading posts, specialty shops, chain stores, department stores, mail-order houses); pricing (e.g., fixed, variable); services to customers (e.g., deliveries); specialized personnel (e.g., sales clerks); etc. See also:

Business organization 47
Description of business structures 347
Upkeep of store buildings 350
Trading centers 366
Accounting methods 451
Extension of credit 452
Employer-employee relations 466

463 326 [874] [604] [521] One of his apprentices was his sister's son, who built another smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip. People gathered there while he shoed horses that came from Barvas to Carloway."

444 178 [494] A number of shops were established in Shawbost that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At one time they numbered six altogether. These shops also ran the first buses between the village and Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared because of competition with larger companies. Mobile grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in large parts of the island, undercutting the local businesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town-dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers, fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal dealers and others extend goods and services from centralized sources to a market which has money to pay for them. The island's participation in this extensive market system is affected by its marginality to the

[497] [443] 178 434 57 621 44 463 178 [472] [484]

597 621 child may come to spend nights or longer periods of time with them.

476 621 [576] To some extent villagers are still dependent on each other for various kinds of help. It is considered extremely bad manners to refuse labor, a tool, or food to anyone who requests them. If someone refuses to aid another, people say, "What will he do when he needs help?" This attitude has made the island a paradise for the few salesmen who, in the last few prosperous years, have started to visit its communities; villagers find it difficult to say no to anyone who comes to their door with a request, including the request that they buy something.

[443]

621 574 844 A woman in childbirth was formerly attended by a local midwife, and kept in bed for two or three weeks. "Other women, both relatives and friends, came and stayed with them at night, fixing them warm tea and milk, whispering bhronag bochd (poor soul), how awful you look..." Just as today the neighbors gather at times of illness and death. It is more difficult for neighbors to come to the bedsides of young mothers of today, who are all taken to the hospital in Stornoway to have their babies; but the neighbors manage to visit the hospital, which has no choice but to ignore its rule of only two visitors per bed at a time.

[178] [743]

175 26 [132] [443] During a huge snow-fall that occurred on Lewis in the 1950's, the mobile grocery vans and other supply vehicles could not come out to the west side, and a group of men had to make an expedition into town for provisions, after which many families made certain that they always had a good supply of meal, salted mackerel and herring. Many villagers have gotten deep freezers to store beef and mutton; others say they do not trust the freezers, that a failure in electricity—which occasionally happens in this region of gales and far-away repairmen—would bring disaster if they depended fully on them for keeping their meat. When the tweed industry is going through one of its periodic depressions, more men go out more often to fish. "I've been going out every night for the last week or so. I don't have a tweed, and I won't have one for the next six weeks. I don't know what I'm going to do; maybe I'll go back to sea. Three of us caught one hundred mackerel last night. I salted my share, and didn't give any of them away. These are the hard times. We're going to need them during the next six weeks."

[404] [365] 458 226 [251]

233 [654] A few people raise beef cattle, depending largely on subsidies for encouragement to do so. A few are beginning to keep cows again for milk, giving as their reasons that freight charges make the bottled milk too

[234] [426] [434] [648]

288 Thus were laid the lines of a new form of economic organisa-
175 tion for Lewis. At first, tweed manufacture here, as in Harris, was
[462] strictly a domestic activity: the wool of the crofter's own sheep was clipped, washed and dyed, carded, spun at home, and woven into cloth by persons in the township with the skill to produce a suitable cloth; the weaving was a part-time and mainly female occupation. Payment for the weaving was in kind: peats, potatoes, or labour. The waulking or finishing of the cloth was mostly a communal activity carried out by the womenfolk, who turned it into a particular social occasion with definite feminine characteristics. If the cloth made was in excess of domestic requirements, the crofter sold it directly to a customer, or else the local shopkeeper bought it or gave credit for it.

288 With the rise in weaving for a definite market in Lewis, all this
463 changed. Weaving became a full-time specialist occupation and,
175 partly because the flying shuttle made the work heavier, it be-
[462] came predominantly male work. With the use of mill-spun yarn there grew up a number of merchants, the Lewis 'producers', who
288 bought yarn either locally or from the mainland, and put it out
175 for weaving and hand finishing on a commission basis. The yarn
[441] and the resulting cloth remained their property. At times the cloth embodied a handspun weft; at other times perhaps no handspun was used at all. As pointed out above, it was marketed as Harris Tweed, as was the 100 per cent handspun cloth, yet it cost about 21d to produce compared with 36d for the 'real' tweed. The cheaper type provided Lewis's rapidly-expanding output between 1900 and 1911, and by that year Lewis had outstripped Harris. In 1912, the handspun yardage produced in
[433] Harris was 175,000; partially and wholly millspun accounted for some 4,000 yards; and the total value was £26,500. In Lewis the yardage of handspun cloth was some 10,000; but about 340,000 yards of partially or wholly millspun was sold. The total Lewis
[435] value was £44,000.

The trade mark

288 When eventually the question arose of some mark to distinguish
441 between the two cloths, it was with difficulty that the Harris mer-
175 chants persuaded the Board of Trade that a distinction was neces-
424

[432] stripe running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of
[437] the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to
[439] accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.

The cultivable crofland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke running across the crofland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other parts of the crofland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Sock deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 12) lie to south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 12.29 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the machair croft, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

[433] The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen
[439] crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over
[439] sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today
[439] seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

[233] Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

[442] Fig. 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells a story familiar to crofting townships: 59% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 19% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the
[442] most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

[438] By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsulare isolated. Fifty years
[438] ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Mealrig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at
[433] Valtos and Kneep, and at Mealrig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops -hich call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the
[434] local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

distinction. During the war when Skye had its own little [875]
army, he came to know many of the old crofters quite well. [584]
Finally, he came to use personal names when speaking to them [576]
and asked to be called by his first name. The people explained that they might be older than he, but he was too important to be spoken to as anything other than mister.

The tradesmen and the shopkeepers in Glendale and [554]
Kilmuir are not any different from any other man. They are [443]
not specialists. They are part-time crofters. We have to turn to Portree to see what status position they fill in the society of Skye. I might just add that they are on a first name basis with their neighbors, and, like the crofters, they are known beyond the neighborhood by their first name and township, such as Ian Bayve or Murdo Stein.

To summarize, there is additional evidence for cultural [596]
continuity in the structure of the neighborhood. The ex- [182]
tended family, although very unstable and, therefore, somewhat amorphous, is still a reality in the minds of the people. It still has two functions which it must have had in the remote past: seeing that all are cared for and given a decent burial. The ascription of status noted for the township [554]
carries over to the neighborhood, as does the underlying status [182]
equality and need for unanimous consent. Among the crofters leadership is still undeveloped. The old men can enforce conformity but they cannot lead. Although prestige ranking is developed, in the form of the achieved statuses of ministers, doctors, and teachers, it is significant that, except for the minister in Glendale, all holders of prestige status are

The crofters of northern Skye are dependent upon the [272]
village for the goods of the shopkeepers and the services of [346]
the tradesmen. Several times a week food vans from Portree, [443]
or from a national concern with headquarters in Portree, call at the crofts. Twice a week a shopping bus brings the men and women into the village from Glendale, and there is a daily bus service from Kilmuir. For the nearby neighborhoods, the [368]
village is of religious importance. If the crofters do not come into the village to go to church, the local ministers go out to serve them. They also send their children to school in Portree. Few of the crofters take an active part in the formal social life of the village, but for all who come in on business there is an opportunity for men to stop by at a pub to have a chat with friends and women to get together in a tea room for a bit of gossip. Then too, for many it is an occasion to visit kinsmen who have left the croft. Nevertheless, despite its functional importance, the village [367]
has remained something alien and apart for the crofter. [824]
Despite the bonds of friendship and kinship and mutual economic dependence, there is antagonism between the rural dweller and village resident.

Part of the crofter's hostility stems from the religious [367]
ethos. On at least one occasion, Portree has been described [824]
by a minister as being almost as wicked as Sodom and Gomorrah.[25] [771]
In the eyes of the majority of the clergy, the village contains the "synagogues of Satin" from which flow the poisons of

[25] Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, pp. 128-129.

444

444 RETAIL BUSINESSES--special characteristics and business methods of particular types of retail outlets (e.g., pharmacists, grocers, furniture stores, dress shops); information on individual retail businesses; etc. See also:

Fishing	247	Fishing methods	495
Supplies of building materials	329	Distribution of art and recreational supplies	569
Business structures	347		

[195] went away to the fishing, their families bought groceries
[445] on credit. "If the merchant thought the fishing season
[452] would be good, he let them have as much as they wanted; otherwise he restricted them in their buying."

The barter system continued in Shawbost long after
[288] it stopped in Stornoway. A weaver was given credit in
[175] Coinneach Rod's store, until it closed in 1948, for the
[157] exact amount of the tweed. He never gave money. "You had
[444] to get just the right amount of goods, even down to
[437] tuppence in matches." People were forced to buy huge
[472] jars of jam which they did not really want or need. Some "cunning" fellows would slip a two-pound pair of shoes into a shoebox marked 15 shillings. "Coinneach Rod would ask if you wanted a wireless, or would a tweed jacket fit your son. You couldn't refuse, or you wouldn't do any weaving for him for a long time."

Coinneach Rod bought looms for many weavers, and they
[288] would weave only for him to pay off the debt. "People
[175] living on the dole with a large family would go to him
[154] and ask him to buy them a loom. He would get the man a
[472] loom, and then get him a lot of tweeds to weave so the man
[452] could pay him off. It was two tweeds for yourself and one for the loom."

2. Centralization and Specialization: Centralization
[288] and specialization in handling the production of the tweed
[175]
[441]

[463] One of his
[326] apprentices was his sister's son, who built another
[304] smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip.
[304] People gathered there while he shoed horses that came
[521] from Barvas to Carloway."

[444] A number of shops were established in Shawbost
[108] that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At one time they numbered six altogether. These shops also ran the first buses between the village and Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared because of competition with larger companies. Mobile
[444] [443] grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in large parts of the island, undercutting the local businesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-
[108] sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and
[157] sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on
[521] local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town-
[444] dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major
[463] proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers,
[178] fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage
[472] collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal
[481] dealers and others extend goods and services from centralized sources to a market which has money to pay for them. The island's participation in this extensive market system is affected by its marginality to the

[585] For some weeks after returning, the couple goes visiting
[178] with a bottle. The scope of visits seems to have narrow
to close relatives unable to attend the wedding, and sometimes the custom is referred to as old-fashioned.
[431] The bride usually makes pieces of bridal cake to
[265] relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

2. Death: At a time of illness or injury, an
[758] individual may see persons he has not seen for years.
[574] The house is filled with a constant flow of visitors, and the visitors recount every detail of a sick person's
[763] pallor and movement. The room is usually occupied by visitors when a person breathes his last.

In the past, work ceased in every house in the
[763] surrounding neighborhood when a person died. This no
[441] longer occurs. (The story is told of a weaver who called
[178] a mill in Stornoway to say that he could not finish an
[288] urgent tweed because there had been a death in the village, and was told, "You keep on weaving till the
[535] weaver dies.") However, dances in the village are
[444] cancelled, and the bothan (an isolated hut in which liquor is sold illegally) may close. Outdoor work, such as peat-cutting, which would be widely seen is avoided.

[763] Word of the death spreads throughout the village and
[203] beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulated inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

*159 288 with his brother-in-law, but they had only one loom.

At that time the mill was buying yarn from other mills in town, warping it on the mill premises, and sending it to the weavers together with the yarn for the weft.

Ruaridh heard through the grapevine that more warpers were wanted at the time, and went to ask "the old man, Coinneach Rod, himself," about the possibility of his [445] getting the job. He worked with five other warpers, who averaged five warps a day, at four shillings each. They were paid by piece work rather than on an hourly basis, and received payment once monthly.

Business was going very well. The mill was receiving large orders from America. A few more warpers were hired. [458] A slump came in 1946, and Ruaridh Dan and several others were laid off. Ruaridh went to work for a building contractor, but was called back to the mill after a month's time.

*159 After warping for several years, he started work in • 444 the yarn store, which dispensed yarn to the weavers.

"I was checking the yarn that was going out to the weavers, weighing the wefts, checking the colors that were used, keeping a record so we could tell at a glance what stock we had, how much we would require for any further orders we would get. Well, the job got to a stage where I just couldn't manage it, and I protested. Another man started to work with me. I was paid a regular wage so it was a

finished cloth. About 1,000 workers are employed at the mills, 288 representing about 95 per cent of the island's industry—not count- 464 ing, of course, the 1,200 or so self-employed weavers. The Shawbost mill, started in 1915 in a very small way, employs about seventy people from the surrounding crofting community on dyeing the wool, carding it and spinning it into yarn, and has about 500 weavers on its looms. In 1955 it became a limited company [403] and a £35,000 finishing plant was added; other recent extensions have been made to the tune of £70,000. The establishment of such a large industrial complex in one of the remotest parts of Britain is an achievement to be underlined.

The early cloth industry

Coarse woollen cloth has been made in the Hebrides, as in 288 other rural Highland areas, from time immemorial. Rents were 175* often paid in blankets or plaiding. In 1656, 'pladding' was one of [429] the items of trade brought by Highland boats to Glasgow for sale there. In the late eighteenth century, blackfaced sheep were intro- [236] duced into the Highlands and islands; the fleece from this breed was much heavier than that of the native sheep and consequently proved ideal raw material for local woollen manufacture for trade. In the Hebrides, the product was mainly for domestic and [438] local consumption. The people of Harris, however, were well [439] known for the excellence of their weaving which found a limited external market. In 1844, the Earl of Dunmore, the first non-native proprietor of Harris, had the Murray tartan copied in tweed by local weavers, so successfully that the Earl and his enterprising wife encouraged improvements in the product and introduced it to their friends. The cloth, ideal for outdoor pursuits such as fishing and stalking, found ready wearers. In 1857, [447] • an Edinburgh lady went about getting orders for the Harris weavers, and business increased so much that in 1888 she moved to London and opened a small depot for tweeds.

Thus by the time the nineteenth century had reached maturity tweed was becoming well known, and weavers and local merchants, usually shopkeepers, developed sales contacts on the mainland. At that time every web of tweed produced was unique: it could never be copied exactly. This of course added to its charm

451

451 ACCOUNTING—bookkeeping methods (e.g., double entry); principles and techniques of business accounting; preparation of financial statements (e.g., debits and credits, income and expenditures, profit and loss); methods of dealing with intangible factors (e.g., good will, depreciation); specialists (e.g., accountants, financial counselors); financial records; etc. See also: Bonds . . . . . B; Endowments 803
Government accounts 682

175 might be thought) in cured fish. Here is a sample Deposi-
241 tion from Borve (W. Lewis), a township then composed of
427 five hamlet-farms, or 'pennylands', with their share of
430 outrun, peats and fishing grounds over the whole and known as Five-Penny Borve.

Donald McGillimichaell, William McHomas, Gillichallum McCoilog, and John McConnell in five penny land of Borrow and Parish of Cladach aforé MAKE OATH severally that neither of them has any Tack of their possessions, But that each of them pay yearly to ye above Mr. Zachary McAulay for behoof of ye Countes (of Seaforth) foré Nyne Pounds Scots (*i.e.* 15/- sterling), Two Bolls one Lipie meall, Fifteen pound weight of Butter, and three-fourths of a mutton. Depone they and each of them are someqt in arrear but know not the Particullars, and this is ye truth as they and each of them shall answer to God, and depone they can't write.

(Signed) DAVID BETHUNE
(Sheriff Substitute of Ross).

175 The only point on which these good fellows must have
241 had to face qualms in 'answering to God' was their lapse
427 of memory as to 'Particullars of arrears'! None of the
• 451 222 small tenants could remember this! Although the
[612] Chamberlain or Factor, Zachary MacAulay, denied it, he
[613] may have exhorted or compelled payment of rent in order to forward it to the exiled 'Marquis'. Mainland rents were actually despatched to France from Leith in broad daylight under an armed guard of clansmen! At the same time, neither MacAulay nor the joint tenants were of Clan Kenneth, the MacKenzies. MacAulay himself was a man of high character—and a poet too—and not one to collect rents in order to embezzle them. His affirmation has the ring of truth, with little alloy. To the Government Commissioners he wrote that what made it impossible for Lewis peasant-fishers to have paid rent in full during civil war,

175 and still more to pay arrears, was "the rugged Hag,
241 Poverty, that would resist both King and Government".
427 We may guess that MacAulay passed a hint to the tenantry
• 451 that (in a good Gaelic idiom) they had better 'disremember' details of arrears: and this they did.

175 Of the four names on the deposition quoted, one or
551 two may have been surnames, others the patronymics of
613 kinsmen. As is still the custom, clansmen knew one another
[198] by names of many kinds. Stature or colour was used to distinguish a big John from a little one, a fair from a dark, or a pale from a swarthy; occupations such as smith or
[241] carid (artificer, not necessarily travelling tinker as now) were
[226] used, and also mere nicknames. Of the eighty-one crofters or fisher-burghers in Stornoway, fourteen were Mac-Kenzies; and other mainland surnames, such as Fraser and Gunn, Matheson and MacLennan, also showed their descent from the immigrants brought in when MacKenzie of Kintail founded the burgh to encourage fisheries after 1611. Each held a single holding, usually rented at two shillings sterling.

175 To conclude, rentals about 1715 show (1) the character-
241 istic equalitarian grouping of small peasants as fellow-
427 workers in the hamlet-farms still held directly from the
631 superior, Seaforth; (2) the eighty-one small burghers of Stornoway; and (3) tacksmen, responsible for the larger part of the Island rent, but under whom we know that the labouring peasantry, though without the local independence of the others, also continued to dwell and to work together. The tacksmen were to pass away, as many of them had originally come, at the desire of a mainland lord, and the lord, in his turn, was to leave; but the small peasantry of immemorial stock still hold and work their land.

452

452 CREDIT—extension of credit by producers and middlemen; methods and terms; advances and discounts; bills of exchange; credit ratings and rating services; credit institutions other than banks (e.g., loan associations, finance companies); etc. See also:
Bankruptcy . . . . . 436 Credit money 436
Interest, security, borrowing and lending transaction . . . . . 436 Cycles of expanding and contracting credit . 455

175 a crew member. Another family is called "cook," the
209 first job which a novice had to assume when he joined
[464] the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go
[556] to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The men came back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats,
[224] barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent
[434] and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods. They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover
[353] the stone-walled or wood-lined bigh dubh (black house)
[434] for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a season. While the men were away at the fishing, the
• [452] remaining members of the family lived on credit from
[571] the local shops, and depended on the good will of their neighbors.

Many men joined the armed services, and were
175 especially sought after by the Navy and the Merchant
[76] Service. In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in the
[506] Naval Reserve.

Around the turn of the century, until the first
175 world war and the growth of the weaving industry, the
228 girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to
[184] the boat to see you off. You could go all the way to
[571] Aberdeen for 12/6 on a special fish-worker ticket."
[435]

The girls went from the south of England to Shetland in the far north.

8 businessmen nervous breakdowns because of the risks he
5 continued to take. "He was planning to start some
9 business. At one point it was going to be either
2 distilling or the tweed, and he just happened to go for the tweed."

Some say Coinneach Rod had physical disabilities, developed or aggravated by military service, which made him unable to work like other men, and hence he was forced to find other ways of earning a living. He was a merchant, like other islands who became entrepreneurs in the tweed business.

According to one version of Coinneach Rod's life, he began to handle tweed on a large scale as the result of an accident, when an agent selling tweed for a merchant on the east side of the island arrived on Lewis for the first time, asked for a "Kenneth Macleod, merchant," and was directed to Coinneach Rod of Shawbost.

"He was also an earthy, natural, easy man to get on with. He never changed, even after the money came. He would sit the buyers down with a plateful of cuddies and say 'Dig in,' 'Eat up.' He always ate them whole, and never spat out the bones. The buyers liked that. They liked his easy manner."

5 Between the first and second world wars, the merchant
1 was an extremely powerful figure. When men and women
2

175 went away to the fishing, their families bought groceries
441 on credit. "If the merchant thought the fishing season
452 would be good, he let them have as much as they wanted; otherwise he restricted them in their buying."

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159 living on the dole with a large family would go to him
472 and ask him to buy them a loom. He would get the man a
452 loom, and then get him a lot of tweeds to weave so the man could pay him off. It was two tweeds for yourself and one for the loom."

288 <u>2. Centralization and Specialization</u>: Centralization
175 and specialization in handling the production of the tweed
441

241 grazing land and he could not transfer such prope
175 a will. Similarly a crofter had no right to his
423 and could not formally protest if another crofter to apportion this land for his own use (see Chapt
[829] for a discussion of apportionments). But in both situations, informal understandings superseded le rights.

241 Various legislative acts which followed the
657 act focussed attention on the crofter. Various m
175 associated with crofting are handled by a Crofter
[654] Commission. Crofters have access to grants and l
[494] to improve land and build fences and homes. They buy goods at low prices in a nearby cooperative s As crofts were fenced, land around the townships scarce and non-crofters found it difficult to kee large numbers of cattle and sheep.

241 Within recent years it has become possible f
178 crofters to gain title to the small plots of land
423 which their houses are built. Some loans are ava
[452] to them for building houses. Non-crofters have a
[654] to the various subsidies available to all agricul such as the subsidies for raising hill sheep and
[829] cattle. There is still the feeling, however, tha crofters have rights which non-crofters do not ha and that in conflicts over scarce goods crofters

of Lord Seaforth's conduct in this matter. They alleged that he 228
'draiv in hither an number of strangers who daylie resorts to and 175*
fra Holland to the Lewes and continent next adjacent (the Ross 648
mainland presumably) and has caused them be answered of all such commodities as these bounds affords, as nameli with fishes and beeves quhilkis with the hyde and tallow, with manie utheris commodities they transport to Holland.'

To satisfy the Royal Burghs, Seaforth had some of his Dutch friends sent away. But several Dutch families remained in Stornoway until the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland in 1653.

In Harris, similar efforts were promoted by Captain Alexander 228
MacLeod, who in 1779 bought Harris, together with St Kilda, 175*
for £15,000 from the commissioners acting on behalf of General [425]
Norman MacLeod. The latter had, in 1772, inherited from his grandfather both the chiefship of Harris and a debt on the property amounting to some £50,000. Captain MacLeod, who skippered the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, did much to stimulate better conditions in Harris, and advocated the generation of a fishing industry. In the face of opposition and ridicule he showed by practical example what could be done to make a success of the herring fishings, introducing a number of east-coast fishermen with Orkney trawls to teach the inhabitants, and reaping a good harvest from the fishings off Rodel, despite the dismal auguries uttered by the Harris-folk. He improved the local harbour [503]
accommodation and erected a storehouse for salt, casks and the [488]
like, he built a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread, [288]
and twine for herring-nets; he advanced money to those fishermen [452]
who were interested for the purchase of boats and gear; and he [427]
provided them with rent-free cottages with a ground-patch on which they could grow potatoes. He built roads between the [491]
village of Tarbert and the two jetties he made there, and he [346]
erected a schoolhouse and an inn. But all this hard work to put [485]
Harris on some realistic economic basis came to little. The native population were slow to appreciate the potential income lying about them.

The potential of the sea was of course eventually realised, particularly where the fishing grounds were favourable, Stornoway

herring boats belonging to Lewis was about 165, reaching a peak 228
of 197 in 1889; the number of boats used for cod and ling fish- 501
ing reached a peak of 704 in 1895. The figures, however, fluctu- 175*
ate considerably from year to year. The main reason for this was 501
probably that these boats were not personally owned, but largely 228
belonged to fish-curers and businessmen, to whom the boat crews 175*
were in debt, having received capital advances from them and 452
from the State for boats and gear. Crews who had bad luck at the fishing had their boats impounded and sold to recover the amount of the loan. Many boats were also wrecked, for navigation in bad [502]
weather is still difficult even in these days of advanced directional aids.

The state loans to fishermen are worthy of note here, because 228
they foreshadowed a similar scheme in the 1960s. They were 175
made under the Crofters Holding Act 1886. Section 32 of the 452
Act authorised the Fishery Board for Scotland to make advances, by way of loan, to persons engaged in the prosecution of the fishing industry, whether crofters or others in crofting parishes. For new boats, the maximum sum advanced was £312. The loans carried an interest of 3½ per cent; repayments of principal and interest were over a period of from four to ten years. Loans for the improvement of existing boats were also advanced, varying according to the condition of the boat or other circumstances affecting the necessary security requirements. New boats were mortgaged to the Fishery Board.

Ninety-three Lewis fishermen received loans totalling some £12,000, and a sum of £18,000 was distributed in loans throughout all the crofting counties. In a report issued in 1901, it was indicated that these ninety-three Lewis fishermen had repaid about 82 per cent of their principal and interests, but in other counties the repayment percentage was under 60 per cent. The Lewis figure would have been higher were it not for the loans made to the Barvas fishers, on which the repayment figure was only 24 per cent. When borrowers failed to observe their part of the contract the Fishery Board seized the boats. Many of these loans were originally made to aid a deserving class of men in adverse circumstances and surroundings. To achieve the high overall percentage of repayment (some indeed managed to pay

The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village there is now an R.A.F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the inhabitants.

The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N.A.A.F.I. within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100 ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have modern byres.

There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions, but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse. Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was cultivated; bere was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females. Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 - 44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on the individual croft to the size of holding and to the availability and age of the labour force. In both diagrams there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0 - 7 units) and the commercial holding (11+ units), but there is no definite relationship between stock and size of holding or labour availability. The inclusion of the points of equilibrium for certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected state of affairs: in the case of crofters with regular work and full time crofters, those over the age of forty-five carry a larger stock from those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to the economic problem of crofting lies in the amalgamation of holdings in order to create a more viable economic unit, but the indication from these diagrams is that an increase in the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to an increase in stock. It is the absence of accessible markets that deter the crofter from increasing his agricultural production.

In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihood for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters under sixty-five almost 90% supplement the croft income by other employment. Of these casual labour (at present mainly at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57% regular work - particularly weaving - 43%. The combination of crofting and weaving provides probably the best return for the labour: one crofter with a croft of 3.3 acres, carrying two cows, two followers and ninety sheep (sixty ewes) made the following estimates for 1958:

FROM THE CROFT:	
Sale of two year-old calves	£80
Cow and calf subsidies	£40
Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb.	£75
	£ 195[1]
FROM WEAVING -	
at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p.w.)	£550
GROSS INCOME	£745

Weaving abour 30 hours a week apparently leaves him sufficient time to run the croft efficiently; at present a crofter supplementing his income by a labourer's wage at Gisla hydro electric scheme would have to put in nearly sixty hours per week to achieve the same financial reward.

The economy of the Valtos peninsula has been changing, and contracting, for several years. The number of unoccupied crofts is increasing; commercial fishing ended at the time of the first World War; the shielings have been abandoned as summer cattle pastures. The Valtos shielings near Loch Scanadale were abandoned during the 1939 - 45 war, due mainly to the lack of manpower in the township, though some was used intermittently until 1953. The shielings of Kneep and Reef were abandoned in the late 1930's, at which time Kneep had some fifty milk cows as compared with fourteen in 1959.

[1] Against this figure, must be set the costs of production (i.e. fertilisers, new seed, winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

228 off all their debts) much hard work was called for, as well as skill
52 in locating herring shoals. The seasonal migration of herring is
75 still a puzzle to marine biologists; it contributed to many a Lewis fisherman drawing a blank, to his ruin, while his neighbour came home flushed with success.

228 The financial values of the fishings of the island, particularly
75 Lewis, are some index to its fluctuating prosperity. In a *Guide*
435 *for Scotland*, intending visitors to Stornoway were told that the annual figures for herring exports were, in 1860, some £60,000; for cod and ling, £13,600; smoked haddocks were valued at £1,600; lobsters at £1,396. Herrings caught in Harris and Lewis in 1889 were valued at £57,071. Two years later, the figure was £90,738, but after that year it steadily declined to reach a little over £20,000 in 1894. Increasing again, the catch in 1898 was valued at £128,707. There was a subsequent decline, picking up a little at irregular intervals, which continued until the effective demise of the industry just before the second world war, that is so far as Lewis was concerned. These catches of valuable herrings were not made solely by Lewis boats; the catches of many stranger boats, from the east of Scotland, must also be taken into account, to leave about 20 per cent as direct return to the island.

In 1938, the total catches of herring amounted to £98,000 for fresh fish and £162,400 for cured herring. This catch was obtained by 111 steam-drifters, five of which were locally registered at Stornoway, and some motor-boats, of which one-third were strangers. Harris has never been particularly prominent in the herring-fishing industry; shell fishing has been more profitable. In the years just before 1900, the average annual value of shell-fish caught in Harris was £2,306, only £500 below the Lewis figure. The Harris proportion of the aggregate herring and white-fish returns in the same period was just over £17,000, compared with the Lewis figure of £1,137,000.

228 *Since the second war*

75 Just before the second world war, Stornoway Fishery District
33 furnished some 10 per cent of the Scottish cure of herrings, which
35 averaged well over half a million barrels in 1937 and 1938, valued at about £1,500,000. Of demersal (sea-bottom) fish, the District

228 This lack of a local fleet fishing in
501 waters on a full-time basis has inevital
178 the part of Government bodies to inve
improvements, knowing that they woul
654 return. Just after the first world war Lo
ambitious plans for a full-time fishing
More than thirty years later, in 1954
set up to investigate the problems of c

Gone are the days when the crew of
up their craft on the beach and leave it
seine-netter is much too heavy to be b
too costly to be exposed to risk in u
capital outlay required for their purc
possible to operate them except on a f
sible for smaller boats to be employed i
but the general trend of developmen
combines fishing with the work of the
possible to reverse this trend; it should
made to establish a full-time fishing i

228 The first vital step to do just this w
429 when the MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust
452 tion of a scheme to 'increase the numl
efficient crews operating from or based
set up under the will of the late Murd
left Lewis with little English, less mo
and enterprising spirit, to acquire a
Rhodesia. He bequeathed the bulk of it
of his island home. Anyone applying
scheme was required to give an underta
cute fishing on a full-time basis; further
unless, in the opinion of the trustees,
228 energetic and successful fisherman'.
452 directly assisted three young men in Kir
654 one of the best-equipped lobster boats i
it acted as a useful prototype for the G
was to augment and largely replace it
1960 the Government officially instit
Fisheries Training Scheme. Free trainin

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAG

pared to make fishing their career, together with financial assistance to those who satisfactorily completed their training and who wished to acquire boats of their own. This Scheme is now run by the Highlands & Islands Development Board. The Board's participation in the expansion of the fishing potential around the island has been first-class, with commensurate results from an investment of some £500,000.

228 452 654

Illegal fishing

Like goldfields, the seas around the island have always attracted the unscrupulous, those for whom the word 'conservation' has no meaning, and who are careless of the dangers of over-fishing. Illegal trawling began around the year 1894 and by now has drastically impoverished the inshore fishings to which the Harris and Lewis crofters once looked for a supplement to diet and income. The rapid adoption of efficient trawlers was attended by an increasing number of reports of their poaching within the three-mile territorial limit. Though the islanders tried many times to involve the Government's cruisers for the protection of their shores, the poaching went on, and still continues today. Even some of the violence which attended the early attempts to clear the scum from the sea, as it were, continues, part and parcel of the island's sea-life.

685 226 175* [185]

Fish processing

A former freezing plant in Stornoway, run by the Herring Industry Board has been converted into a fish-processing factory. This facility, of great value to the port, is run by Rolf Olsen A/S, a long-established Norwegian company with a successful background in fish processing. The company has received investment aid from the Highlands & Islands Development Board, the Highland Fund and the Stornoway Trust; the latter's interest is significant in that it is the first time in which the funds of the Trust have been invested in a private concern, to help retain Stornoway as a successful fishing port.

228 [648]

The most regular shore-side as distinct from maritime industry is the processing of prawns (scampi, or *nephrops norvegicus*). Two firms buy the prawns at the pierhead, shell, cook and freeze them,

CH. IX ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

175 From the Napoleonic Wars to 1914 the amount of
228 herring cured on the West Coast of Scotland rose and fell.
251 In 1810–14 the East Coast cure was half the West Coast
458 cure, but the peace of 1815 brought the capture of the Continental markets and the East Coast herring export leapt up. It averaged 500,000 barrels from 1850 to 1870, a million from 1880 to 1900, and one to two million barrels
[439] until 1914. With the decline in the export to the Plantations, the West Coast export fell, to rise by 1890 and reach a peak from 1900 to 1914. Thus, although no more than from a tenth to a fifth of the East Coast yield, that of the West Coast had risen greatly.[1] Of this, the Stornoway cure formed the major part.

175 The chief early type of catch, of white fish (cod, ling
228 and hake), was developed too, and swelled to a peak by 1900, then dwindled and fell. The average Stornoway District catch of white fish for a dozen years to 1900 was valued at over £100,000, much of it caught by local boats, and some of it cured at small 'creeks' (*e.g.* on the west of the Island, on Loch Roag, notably at Carloway). The cure, a strong coarse food, was shipped to Ireland and the Clyde; but after 1900, fresh trawled fish replaced the cured. From £100,000 before 1900 the value fell to little over £10,000 in 1912–13, £1000 in 1920, and half that in 1921—½ per cent of the value in 1900!

[471] Thus the herring fishing became the most important
[452] to the Islanders, at first by employment on East Coast boats. Later they purchased boats and gear for themselves, helped
[652] principally by advances from Island and East Coast curers, though also by State loans.

[1] *Fishery Board for Scotland*, Table 25 (1938), and Table 23: 6000 barrels in 1790–95; 80,000 in 1870–75; 100,000 in 1912, and 160,000 in 1913. For fair comparison with Table 25, about 25 per cent should be added to quantities, as explained in the notes to the Tables, on the 'seastick', and final reduced, or 'bungpacked', state of barrelled herring (listed in Table 23).

Types of ancillary employment

241 The question of the desirability of ancillary employment in a crofting district is often
464 debated. On the one hand, engaging in such work means less time for croft work and makes wholehearted participation in the agricultural life of the township a virtual impossibility. On the other hand, crofters who take ancillary employment are better able to make capital investment in their croft. Table IV shows that in Park, croft efficiency, as expressed by the souming
900 to actual stock ratio, is not necessarily related to participation in ancillary employment. If the township is to be re-established as a working entity, a clearer dichotomy in the population seems desirable; those who wish to work the croft on a full-time basis might be given full use of the available land, and those who wish to earn their living in non-crofting employment could take out feu charters for their houses. It is clear that the agricultural resources of Park are insufficient to maintain the present number of crofts as viable economic units but the problem of finding industrial employment for any large non-crofting population is very great.

184 The Park Association, in their keen search to attract industry, met with little response for
464 high freight rates and distance from markets made economic industrial costing well-nigh impossible. The Chairman of the Crofters' Commission has recently suggested that some of the Glasgow Overspill of "tradesmen and small businesses" might find "an opportunity to prosper in the West Highlands and Islands"[1] but even with Government grants for the establishment of small factories, it is clear that present freight charges would be a severe deterrent.

178 One possibility is that the fishing industry might be revived. In 1945, 16 large motor
228 vessels were fishing from the townships between Cromore and Gravir; by 1952, three boats remained;[2] only one boat was still fishing in 1958. The recent Fishing Board Scheme guarantee, which provides a flat weekly rate for every boat turning out, brings hope as this
[435] guarantees a minimum livelihood. The major problem is the finding of the initial capital
[452] required to buy and fit out a modern boat, at present about £20,000. Eighty-five per cent of this sum can already be found in the form of grants and loans from the Herring Industry Board but the remaining fifteen per cent or £3,000 is often the more difficult sum to raise. The Murdo Macaulay (Rhodesia) Trust has offered assistance to a limited number of fishermen towards the raising of the £3,000[3], and this offer is a real opportunity. If fishing is not re-started soon in Park, few of the original fishermen will remain to instruct the new generation.

484 Tourism is an industry hardly developed at all in Park. Lack of running water has made
[312] the householders shy to offer accommodation, but it should be remembered that there are city dwellers who are delighted to accept inexpensive accommodation away from the crowded resorts. Dr. Stig Jaatinen, in his "Human Geography of the Outer Hebrides"[4], states that this fact has made the Aaland Islands prosperous, and believes that tourism on simple lines could be successfully developed in the Outer Hebrides. Tourism need not bring in its train the desecration of the Sabbath for people who are willing to journey far in search of a quiet holiday usually conform to local observances.

464 Unless new sources of employment are brought to Park, it is clear that ancillary employment must continue to be sought elsewhere. The higher 'spending standard' in industrial employment, and the opportunities to find entertainment in urban areas (tastes often resulting from experience during school days in Stornoway or National Service), militate against a large population of young people, but basically lack of employment and the uneconomic nature of the crofts are the real reasons for the high degree of temporary and permanent employment away from Park.

1 Letter to the Glasgow Herald 27.1.59
2 South Lochs Survey Report.
3 Stornoway Gazette 27.1.59
[113] 4 Stig Jaatinen, Acta Geographica XVI, No. 2, 1957.

138

*175 squatters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish
*178 parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families ha
427 enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[62] In one Glendal
233 township, Holmisdale, some crofts of four acres had as
166 many as fifteen people to support.[63] Part of this extreme
167 congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing
425 one's croft when a child married. Although the population
162 in 1831 had fallen to 17,660, from 23,084 in 1841, almost
[161] every township had two or three times the number of families which had lived in them in 1841.[64]

*175 The loss of the summer shielings and the common grazin
*178 meant few could keep sheep.[65] The looms were silent. Since
427 the rent continued to be based on the value of livestock
233 and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, al
241 oats, which the graziers' sheep did not eat, went to feed th
[439] cattle. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy
[223] flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all
[452] were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to hav been newcomers with more associations with the graziers than
[272] the crofters and cottars. Milk became a precious commodity.
[482] Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unabl
[462] to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They car

[62] Ibid., p. 112.

[63] Alexander MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 419–420.

[64] Smith, op. cit., p. 317; Cummings, op. cit., p. 140; and Napier Report, p. 15.

[65] The following is drawn from the evidence presented t the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of Skye; s Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1–82.

453

453 BANKING--commercial banks; deposits and accounts; checks and drafts; bank loans and discounts; banking services and fees; clearing houses; specialized personnel; regulation; etc. See also:

Bank buildings	347	Loan associations	452
Pawn shops	426	Savings accounts	454
Trust services	429	Government banks	652
Bank notes	436	Embezzlement	685

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

but their negligence even in ye article appears from their sending out annual above 2000 of wool out of the country unmanufacture.' 439 175*

Harris was rented at £600. Exports were some 100 tons of kelp (£325), and the value of 250 black cattle exported alive, with 100 salted, was £445. Small quantities of cheese, wool, and the skins of sheep, otters and seals were exported. Grain was neither imported nor exported. [427] [435]

The plough, which is used here, and in most places of the long island, is of a very peculiar construction. Its length is but 4 feet 7 inches, and is drawn by four horses abreast. It has but one handle by which it is directed; the mold board is fastened with two leather thongs, and the soke and coulter are bound together at the point by a rim of iron. Beside kelp, there is little else manufactured, except a little coarse woolen yarn, and some blanketing, which they send yearly to Glasgow. They raise a little flax of which they make some coarse linen for their own use, but import all the fine linen which they consume. In the year 1756, an American vessel in distress was obliged to put out three hogsheads of lintseed in Harris, which was sown and afforded crops of lint which were above double the value of the usual crops. The east and west of Loch Tarbert in the Harris are every year revisited by the herring shoals. During the five years from 1743 to 1747, the west loch was the principal seat of the herring fishery. About thirty vessels from 18 to 40 tons, belonging to Campbelltown, Greenock, and Irvine, were completely loaded each of these years at this place. 407 175* [492] 175* 439 [286] [248] [177] 228 175*

With even a modest amount of business taking place, it was a natural step to establish commercial facilities. Stornoway men who once acted as agents became shopkeepers. The increase in the use of money attracted banks. During the Seaforth ownership of Lewis, the island had its own currency or notes, designed and printed from plates in the same style as the modern banknote. The wording ran: 'I promise to pay on demand to the Chamberlain of the Lewis or Bearer ONE POUND Sterling at the Counting Room here.' The notes carried a date and were signed by the proprietor, J. A. Stewart MacKenzie. It is not known for certain how long the notes remained in currency, when they ceased to be used, or even whether they were officially acceptable. At one time, as rare items, they fetched high prices from collectors. A number were 443 175* [453] 436 175* [523]

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

436 found in a warehouse in Leith some years ago; a few found their
*175 way back to Stornoway, where one can be seen in the Public Library.

HARRIS TWEED

288 Today, with kelp long forgotten and fishing of minor importance,
[178] it is the Harris Tweed industry which supports many of the island people, either directly or indirectly; an island cottage industry with exports earnings exceeding £2,500,000 a year. Harris Tweed is exported to some thirty countries, including America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and all the European nations. The industry is in fact the basis of prosperity in the area, both dependent upon and supporting the crofter-weaver working at
286 the handloom in his home. Seven million yards of tweed are
288 woven annually by the independent weavers 'on the books' of the
466 various mills. The weavers must finance themselves, buying their own looms and bobbins, equipping and maintaining their workshops. Though they receive their supplies of yarn from the mills, they are graded as self-employed persons and as such are not entitled to unemployment benefit—a subject which has caused much argument.

286 One of the most outstanding facts about the cloth is that its essential qualities have remained unchanged since the industry's early formative years. But it has astonishing versatility and over 5,000 patterns are available, including the crotal browns and the heather colours.

288 A weaver on average can produce about 2½ webs, or tweeds,
288 each week, a web measuring about 80 yd by 28½ in, and gets a
[465] reward of some £8 per web, according to the intricacies of the design or the number of colours involved. The money is paid out
[453] by a mobile bank making the rounds of the townships throughout the island. It is reckoned that the mills, for their part, make 1d to 6d a yard profit, depending on turnover; the total annual value of the industry's output is in the region of £4,000,000.

Between them, the five mills in Stornoway and the one in
[236] Shawbost consume two-thirds of the Scottish wool clip—the native Western Islands' crop is sufficient for less than a month's production. A thousand pounds of raw wool end up as 885 yards of finished cloth.

491 Brenish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from
[484] Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight cost half-a-crown for a hundredweight, but because of competition from privately owned vans the bus service ceased in 1960. Mangersta is reached from the same road by about
[366] a mile of untarred side-road of indifferent quality; formerly the only access to it was by
[205] a footpath over the sands to the south. General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied
[453] by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig; banking facilities are supplied by a mobile bank.

311 The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being some-
427 what more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about four acres; in Brenish and Islivick only about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or croft-units - are fenced, the work having been completed in Brenish in 1959. There are twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Brenish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta; but, owing to amalgamations of various kinds the number of operative units is considerably less - fourteen in Brenish, five in Islivick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

134 As soils are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable
471 patches are large enough to be cultivated with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in
[231] Brenish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are hired for ploughing and carting peats. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike many of the other Uig townships.

233 While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas, here the sheep are wintered up on the hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts. Brenish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hoggs, or four year-old heifers), on Mealasta Island - hogge are usually sent since their loss, by falling over the cliffs, is less serious than the loss of heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta crofters, who are allowed two sheep each in summer.

241 The only crops grown are potatoes and oats, with "black oats" (Avena strigosa) on the sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed for "black oats" is unobtainable commercially, the crofters save their own. A grass mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay, to qualify for the subsidy.

233 The extensive hill and mountain pastures are not separately fenced; sheep from all three townships graze over all. If the total sheep stock of the townships (about 3,300) is compared with the souming figures it is found to exceed the soum by about 50%. On the other hand, fewer cattle and horses are kept than formerly so that taking the total stock for all animals (horses, cattle and sheep) and comparing with the actual stock now carried, the area carries only 87% of the stock which the soum allowed. In the two older townships the souming was reckoned according to rent, being one cow, one two-year old and eight sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, however, the soum was one horse, three cows, one heifer, two stirks and twenty-five sheep for each croft.

Lambing percentage is about 80, and ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers
[236] (excluding lambs). In this district some wedders are kept for three years and then sold
[435] for meat, but the main income is from wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep, which sells at up to four shillings a pound.

231 Most crofters keep one or two cows, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn or spring sales. Brenish and Mangersta each have a bull, and in the three townships there are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks in

361 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new
491 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all
[484] but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
[493] two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans call
[205] but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor -
[366] two wells only are in use.
[489]
[312]

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. Water supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses. The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has
[366] a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly
[205] and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return
[453] fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars.
[484]

241 The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the
[231] smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, and
[407] Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from Brenish or Enacleit. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years ago was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

242 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts
[134] the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the
[231] crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal
[324] fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

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454 SAVING AND INVESTMENT--saving; hoarding; safekeeping (e.g., safes, safe deposit boxes); savings in relation to income; funds available for investment; available and preferred forms of investment (e.g., in land, buildings, cattle, business and productive enterprises, corporate securities, government obligations); savings accounts, postal savings, and savings banks; underwriting and issuance of corporate securities; investment banking; specialized personnel (e.g., investment brokers); regulation; etc. See also:

Food preservation and storage 251
Interest, loans, and mortgages 426
Income 434
Fluctuations in investment capital 460
Joint stock companies 473
Accumulation of wealth 506
Government finance 682
Fraud 685

Chapter 3

CHANGING ECONOMIC STRATEGIES: LAND, SEA AND LOOM

178 288 128 In Lewis, the change from a relatively self-sufficient community in which land and sea provided the economic base occurred in the context of the phenomenal rise of the Harris Tweed industry. In the following pages, the history of Harris Tweed is discussed in relation to changing strategies involving exploitation of land, sea and loom. Associated features of social life are discussed. Social boundary systems are defined and discussed in Chapter 4.

A. The Sea

175 228 [501] [491] • [494] Around World War I, nine boats, as long as 27 to 30 feet, driven by sails, used to go out regularly from the Shawbost harbor. From five to seven men, usually neighbors, had "shares" in a boat. They would go out fishing during the night and return the next day. "We [433] baited our lines with eel, for ling. We would catch maybe two or three hundred. I remember once we caught 1300."

175 228 [348] [439] [171] 175 648 228 On one of the crofts along the strand are the ruins of two curing houses, where the fish were salted and dried. Ling, cod, skate and halibut were cured and sold to local merchants for export. "The same as they do in Iceland this very day. That was the main industry. Then the English came with their steam trawlers; they ruined the fishing here, and then went west to Iceland and the Faroes. In Iceland they get fined for poaching, but here the trawlers often ignore [433] the three-mile limit. But the fishing was the mainstay here, before the Harris Tweed came along."

175 228 435 501 • [454] [491] One man returned from sailing in 1932 and bought a boat for L24. He had 32 lobster pots, and made L7 one June by selling the lobsters at a shilling apiece. Another man, who returned from the United States in 1934 because of the depression, bought a share in a 14-foot boat. It was made in Ness, at the northern tip of Lewis, [434] and cost about L14. He and his partners went out every night possible; the fish provided an important part of their income. The boat was sold in the 50's. "It wasn't 175 228 501 being kept up anyway." Around World War II there were as many as twenty boats; men fished at night, after a day's work. Today there are four 12-foot boats in Shawbost, 178 501 each shared by four or five men. The boats are used 228 intensively for fishing during certain times of the year,

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Shawbost

241 654 Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in 190 part stems from government-defined privileges and duties 288 477 464 regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides and thus is protected from competition, has provided work 166 [434] for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger members of croft families live in cities on the mainland, and send part of their wages home; they return regularly [162] [632] to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus the township supplies urban workers who remain very much attached to the rural townships, which are composed of 511 • 454 273 aged family members and a rural proletariat. The standard of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated savings, although much of this surplus is used by the men for alcoholic drinks.

121 In Britain, rural communities have been interpreted as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf. Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall presented "an operational theory of role" by which he suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analyzed and compared. He developed the concept "density of role texture" to describe societies which lie along a continuum from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southall's concept along with other concepts to present a more complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "models" of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially lists

2: Thompson H-4,5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Lewis and Harris

205 *175 munication with the mainland. The mail will be dispatched from Edinburgh every Thursday at eight o'clock at night, and should arrive at Edinburgh every Tuesday morning, but the arrival will sometimes be uncertain.' The development of a postal service in the hinterland of Stornoway was slow. In 1833 only one mail packet ran each week to Lewis, sailing from Poolewe to Stornoway, weather permitting (see Chapter 8), and the island still had only the one post office. By 1880, of course, more contact with the outside world was expected and there were eleven post offices in rural Lewis, with Stornoway's promoted to Head Office status. • [494] The latter had been for some time equipped with a money order and Savings Bank department. The telegraph had also been introduced, though no connection to any of the country offices existed; 205 206 telegrams for all parts of the island other than Stornoway were, *175 as a rule, forwarded by the first mail dispatched after the receipt of the message. By 1902 there were twelve telegraph offices in the country districts of Lewis (Harris was incommunicado with Stornoway, coming under the Inverness-shire arrangements). Some of these offices were set up under orders of the Highlands & Islands Work Board, the service being carried on by the Post Office without guarantee against loss. The office at Port of Ness was subsidised by the Fishery Board and Lloyd's, who had a signalling station at the lighthouse there.

205 *175 [494] [505] [494] [509] Until 1926, when the long-universal red vans appeared, all mail was transported between the rural areas and Stornoway by private contractors, who used horses and latterly Albion coaches. A motor-launch operated between Callernish and Bernera; mails for South Lochs were conveyed across Loch Erisort from Crossbost to Cromore, and from Laxay to Kershader. In the early 1930s this area was served by mail van working between Stornoway and Lemreway. In 1950 full use was made of the existing BEA air service and, in order that mail from the rural areas could be included, additional main vans were outstationed at Lemreway, Callernish, and Port of Ness. These worked in to meet others working out from the town.

The Harris area was taken under the control of the head postmaster at Stornoway in 1937, having before this date been served by the head postmaster at Lochmaddy, North Uist. A mounted

324

or inquires about a person's plans, he says, "You'll do it 763 195
tomorrow, then, if spared."

Occasionally, a man's prestige status can be judged by 764 554
the foretaste the people have of his funeral. This, too, is
disturbing for the newcomers who prefer to face death when
the time comes. There is one member of the county people who
is extremely popular. Many speak of him as a "true Skyeman."
One day he was being discussed by a small group of women.
After talking about his interest in Skye and what a good man
he was, one summed up their estimation by saying, "Aye, what
a wonderful funeral he'll have." What higher compliment could
there be? The number who attend a person's funeral and,
recently, the number who drive to his funeral are indicative
of his status. Even though having a car does not give the [493]
owner prestige - to the contrary it may give the people cause
to wonder where he got his money - to have "friends" with cars
does give prestige. When 200 or 300 men join in the funeral
procession to carry the body to the grave, all the "people"
of the deceased take pride in telling of the "mobs who came."

In death we find one aspect of the crofter's way of life 764 454
which puzzles the newcomer, especially the government officials,
more than anything else. The old people hoard their money.
Welfare workers frequently say, "You never know how much they
have until they die." There are a few crofters, mainly returned
exiles, who are known to have money but continue to live in
tumbled down houses. The newcomer says, "They must like to
live that way." Quite to the contrary, the Sgiathanach has [761]
traditionally prepared for death early in life. Once the first

duty of a wife was to weave her windi
of burial merely buying a coffin. As
the people who attend a funeral must
they do not want subsidies to begin l
be buried with public assistance. Th
if it is only a few pounds, to assure
burial. Another thing that disturbs
the determination of the old and infi
croft in spite of all efforts to move
Home." Some of these people may have
no other reason than the feeling, "If
to die it would be fine." I knew many
America as young adults and "liked it
return? The answer is always the same
know, and began to think of home." Th
expression of the sentimental attachme
identity with one's "people."

Paradoxically, for a people who
and look upon it so significantly, the
have refused to consecrate burial. Th
the dead. There is no service for the
as the body is lowered into the soil.
this final act of living is better des
intensification rather than as a passa
terminology of Chapple and Coon.[15]

Once the individual dies, his st

[15]Chapple and Coon, Principles o

Skye

325

ng sheet. Nor is the cost 764
at birth and marriage, 454
have their dream. Just as 829
life, they do not want to
by hoard their money, even
themselves of a decent
the welfare officers is 763
rm to remain on their 186
them to a "Twilight
returned to Skye for
I could go back to Skye
people who had come to
fine." Why did they
, "I was getting old, you
is, of course, is another
nt for the land and its

are so aware of death 763
churches, one and all, 796
ere are no prayers for 782
dying or at the grave
The ritual which accompanies
cribed as a rite of
ge rite, to adopt the

atus is fixed for all 000

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f Anthropolory, pp. 398-399.

456

456 INSURANCE--distribution of risks through mutual aid; associations with insurance functions (e.g., lodges, mutual benefit societies); insurance organizations (e.g., private, mutual, governmental); types of insurance (e.g., life, health and casualty, fire, marine, old age); annuities; actuarial practice; insurance contracts, premiums; specialized personnel (e.g., adjustors, agents, salesmen); regulation, etc. See also:

Mutual aid . . . . . 476 Contracts 675
Voluntary associations . . . . . 575 Social insurance 746

SEA-RESCUE WORK

But neither is Harris behind in willing men. In December 1962 the trawler *Boston Heron* saw herself on off-lying rocks and broken surf water in a full south-westerly gale. The rock island of Stilamair, off Scalpay Island, gave the stranded crew little hope of help. But six Scalpay men saw the plight of the ship and went out in a small open boat. Three of the trawlermen were saved, one of whom was found clinging exhausted to a rock. The other seven perished before more adequate aid could be brought. For their heroism, these Scalpay men were awarded Vellum Certificates by the RNLI. The attitude of local men to the sea, and the sea's treatment of men, was once summed up by an old Harrisman: 'Our men were brought up in the school that taught them that life was precious and that the soul was priceless.'

The formal organisation of sea rescue is found in the Coastguard Stornoway, the headquarters of the Stornoway District. This covers the north-west coast of Scotland from Ardnamurchan, Argyll, to Cailleach Head, the Minches and the associated sea areas, including the Small Isles, Skye and the Outer Hebrides —in all some 800 miles of coastline. The Stornoway station is base for a district officer, a station officer and four coastguardsmen, supported by locally-enrolled residents who form the Auxiliary Coastguard. Stornoway Coastguard is the launching station for the Stornoway and Barra lifeboats, advising when a launch is needed and calling out the boat crew by firing two green maroons. It is also a coastguard liaison station for the GPO Coast Radio Station (CRS) at Oban, and it co-operates with Oban and Wick as a radio-telephone station when lifeboats are launched on service. There is, in addition, liaison between Stornoway station and the RAF, the Royal Navy and Lloyd's: Lloyd's come into the picture when tugs, salvage and shipping information are required.

Though there have been many stranger ships and lives lost on and around the island's shores, local tragedies are not lacking. In December 1862 disaster overtook five boats from Port of Ness, out pursuing white fish. A fierce gale sprang up and the fishing-fleet perished, with thirty-one lives. Twenty-four widows, seventy-one orphans and thirty-one other dependents were left destitute, though they obtained some subsequent relief from a fund to which

457

457 FOREIGN EXCHANGE--international trade balances and their payment; role of invisible factors (e.g., tourist trade, immigrant remittances); internatio credits and loans; foreign exchange brokers and markets; exchange control (e.g., pegged currencies, special trade restrictions); etc. See also:

Price levels 436
Money 436
Foreign trade 439
International relations 648
Public finance 883

information via the technology of mass society to affect the choices made by succeeding generations. For example, young people are able to leave the island and work in British cities or abroad, sending money home to sustain their aged parents who by law cannot be removed from the croft.

B. Changing Land Use

Darling (1955) described the previous Highland way of life as a well-adapted, ecologically balanced system, in which proper use of land was attempted by limiting the number of livestock, preserving a proper ratio between cattle and sheep, and regulating the flow of stock on the land throughout the year. Dikes (fences of turf or stone) and drains were commonly repaired and cleaned. Although continuity with the previous way of life is evident today, the overall picture is one of partial use, and misuse, of natural resources. Various pressures from government organizations and colleges have been brought in to encourage effective husbandry and land use.

1. Specialization and Individualism: The change from an ecologically adapted, internally regulated community in which land was used intensively for subsistence

458

458 BUSINESS CYCLES: periods of prosperity and depression, financial panics and recovery; capital expansion and contraction of credit, fluctuations in investment capital; inflation and deflation, etc. See also:

Social Bonds 178	Public Finance and currency inflation 488
Corporation Bonds 179	Prevention of periodic Business 700
Seasonal and cyclical unemployment 464	

175 In 19th-century Scotland, the cause of the High-
175 land tenants and subtenants was taken up, as part of
464 the trend of the times and because a series of famines
464 occurring in the Highlands caught the attention of
Britain. After the kelp industry was destroyed at the
beginning of the 19th century, landlords maintained
high rents on the assumption that the depression was
only temporary, which caused tenants to deplete their
capital by selling their cattle (Gray 1957: 38). A
number of reports were published on the plight of the
Highland smallholders: Fullarton and Baird (1850),
MacNeil (1851), MacKinlay (1879), and finally the
Napier Commission's report of 1884 which was followed
by the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886.

175 The 1884 Napier Commission Report tried to resolve
175 the conflict between the rights of the individual small-
464 holder and the maintenance of agricultural efficiency
in a situation which still had communal elements of
social organization, by recommending an organization
much along the lines of the old joint farm. The township
was defined as a farm, or part of a farm, which was
occupied in common or in division by several tenants.
The township, seen as an agricultural unit, was to be
given various immunities and powers by which to achieve

175 the 1914 decision to change the word "crofter" to
175 "tenant" led to the weavers living in council
464 houses in town and working in loomsheds behind the
houses. Unequal distribution has also contributed
to Shawbost's relative prosperity, and to the decline
of weaving in more remote parts of the island. The
unequal distribution of tweeds has made it difficult
to maintain a large labor force, which in turn limits
the growth and development of the industry.

2. Instability of the Industry: The Harris Tweed

Industry has undergone a number of crises. Periods of
depression have alternated with periods of prosperity.
See Appendix B for the fluctuation in the number of
yards stamped each year with the Harris Tweed trade-
mark. The very conditions which give the tweed its
238 value--the decentralized, non-mechanized human
441 elements--also limit the possibilities of growth in the
industry, and contribute to the industry's instability.

When a business remains small, it must collect
orders before it can provide work to have the orders
filled (except when demand for an item is strong, as
occurred around the time of the previous world war;
during the war and for a few years after, tweeds could
be made first and then marketed, because any cloth
could be sold). Only a large business can keep weavers

238 at work producing tweeds which it then tries to market.
441 The latter method requires the investment of a great deal
464 of capital to make the tweeds and pay the weavers before
a buyer is found. The small mills require an immediate
return for their capital investment, which is ensured
464 by not investing unless there is a definite order. The
fortunes of the weavers oscillate with the look and skill
of the mills in soliciting orders; thus, the mills do
not provide a constant, stable source of income. The
238 nature of the tweed, as a high-priced luxury item rather
441 than a basic necessity, contributes to the instability of
464 the demand. When fashions change or when world-wide
economic depressions come, the high-priced tweed with
its specialized image as a cloth for aristocratic,
sporty dress is forgotten for awhile. Efforts are being
made to change this image; but the product's status as
a high-priced luxury item persists.

238 An extremely small business can survive periods of
441 depression when capital outlay in the form of machinery,
464 running costs, and so on is not large. An extremely
large business that has cornered a large share of the
market can often survive an erratic schedule of orders
because it has a larger accumulation of capital, but a
medium-sized business has too much overhead to survive
long periods of depression. Examples of all three exist

238 in Shawbost: a very small business, which until
441 recently did not even have its own transport but
464 hired facilities when they were needed and simply
went into hibernation when orders stopped coming;
a medium-sized business, which went into liquidation
in 1971; and a large business, which continues to
survive despite a depression which has continued
since the late 1960's.

238 Harris Tweed is sent to markets all over the
441 world, but because of the difficulty of maintaining
464 a large labor force, the filling of orders is sometimes
slow. If large orders cannot be met, weaving as an
island-wide occupation cannot be maintained. The
fluctuation in the number of the island fluctuates, as slack
periods come and men adopt the time-tested strategy
of temporary migration in search of other jobs. One
of the factors which aided the weavers during their
strike of 1963 was the fact that so many other jobs
were available during the war that the future of the
industry was jeopardized.

238 In the last five years the number of mill employees
441 has decreased from 800 to 500. The decrease is due in
464 part to the introduction of more efficient techniques
and new equipment, but there is little room for improve-
ment in the production of tweeds because the human
element, the weaver, is essential to its production.

060 element, the weaver, is essential to its production.
293 In 1960 weavers receiving tweed yarns from the mills
441 totalled about 1,500 persons, a number which held for
464 about three years and then started dropping at a rate
of about 100 a year. In 1971 the number of weavers
was less than 1,000, and trends of change appeared to
prompt a continued dwindling of numbers. It is
464 estimated that emigration increased during 1970-71.
Men have returned to the new, have gone to Glasgow as
labourers, or have taken advantage of training courses
offered by the Labor Exchange, courses that will
eventually remove them from the island setting.

238 The instability of the industry and the fluctuation
441 in amount of weaving work available at any given time
464 has created an environment in which personal ties and
individual maneuvering rather than a widespread adherence
to impersonal rules such as equal distribution are
464 emphasized. Strategies which involve the mobilization
of kinship and neighborhood ties and involve an emphasis
on personal relationships rather than the depersonalization
usually associated with industry are made possible
by economic factors such as the dependence of decentralized
weavers on centralized mills. The watchfulness and
consciousness of one's neighbors on characteristic of
village life prevail. Questions about the state of

288 Questions about the state of
441 "the tweed" permeate all discussions, and often
464 constitute an initial greeting. "Have you got a
tweed in the loom? How many do you have? Did you
see Shickey's tweed van going into Paire? Did you
hear that Newills has an order for about 800 pieces...?"

"The mills brought me two tweeds, and I got two
in town myself. I stuck those two in the attic so
that anyone who came in would be none the wiser," says
one person in a whisper. Neighbors are in and out of
each others' houses and loomsheds, observant and
questioning, on the lookout for any indication that
they have based out on some transaction in the
competition for scarce goods.

B. Weaving as Strategy

When weaving was done on a wooden hand loom, the
weaver required a longer period of apprenticeship.
Weaving was "more of an art," as some of the older
weavers remember it today. Not only was the shuttle
thrown back and forth by hand, but the lifting of
different threads in the warp was done by manipulating
four foot pedals in the correct order. Today, the
process of weaving is very much simplified; the weaver
pushes only two foot pedals, and simply keeps an eye on

241 The Department of Agriculture dispenses subsidies to
654 all Scottish farmers, not just to crofters, and handles
933 about 220,000 claims per year. Lewis produces 0.4%
of the agricultural output of Scotland, and 8.1% of the
agricultural output of the Scottish islands.

654 The major subsidies available to Scottish farmers,
235 including crofters, are for raising hill cattle, beef
calves, and hill and upland sheep. Sheep and cattle
subsidies were made available in 1941, in the early years
of the war, to increase their production. During wartime,
Britain was more dependent than formerly on her own
resources, and attempted to encourage production. Between
the two world wars, agriculture had undergone a recession,
especially in the hills and uplands, because of a number
of events in world economics, such as competition from
New Zealand and Argentina in production of cattle. As
part of the scheme of the postwar Labor government,
agricultural support was made statutory.

For example, a man who keeps hill cattle may receive
L18.70 per cow as well as L5 for each acre cultivated to
feed his cattle during the winter. He receives L5 for
each cow which is tested for brucellosis. In the 1970-71
agricultural year, Shawbost received over 12,000 in sheep
and cattle subsidies, divided among 37 men receiving
subsidies for cattle and 36 men receiving subsidies for
sheep.

293 The Harris Tweed industry has provided a higher
494 standard of living, but income from this source is
inconsistent. The standards developed during prosperous
times cannot be met during difficult times. Many-roomed
256 houses with indoor plumbing are more heavily taxed than
264 smaller, less modern homes; houses must be repaired;
a car and a television once gotten are difficult to
294 give up. A weaver must pay for his insurance stamp,
261 which amounts to over L70 a year; and income tax takes
a large percentage of a person's income, in large lump
sums which are paid twice a year rather than in small
amounts throughout the year. When income fluctuates,
any constant demand for monetary outlay constitutes a
liability.

654 To meet persons outside the island concerned with
181 Highland and Island development, Lewis has a reputation
for "subsidy-grabbing." According to one official,
"The people are too used to getting subsidies. They
tend to sit back and rely on the subsidies, which
makes it difficult to develop the place."
829 "We pay tax," said one weaver. "Why not get back
what we can in subsidy?"

Income tax collectors shake their heads in despair
654 at the thought of trying to get a fair estimate of a
9.3% crofter's income, except for jobs such as weaving for

65/ which official records are kept by the mille. If you
439 say jokingly to a fisherman who has brought in a large
catch that he should put some money aside for the
income tax man, he is likely to reply, "He'll have to
463 catch me first." A tradesman may be earning large sums
439/ of money doing local work as a skilled specialist at
[245] the same time that he is collecting social security.
A man may move in and out of a number of different jobs,
and never report his income. "Occupational pluralism"
[171] (cf. Brox 1966) rather than economic specialisation has
developed as a strategy in various countries along the
North Atlantic fringe, such as Iceland, the Faroes,
northern Norway and Newfoundland, as well as the west
coast and islands of Scotland. In these marginal areas,
income from specialised occupations is, in the long run,
unpredictable and inconsistent.

In times of national economic depression, strikes,
198 wars between nation states and conservative governments,
241 and other crises, crofting provides an alternative
195 strategy. During the last war, many islanders who had
222 left the island (including some who had been quite
166 prosperous in the cities) returned to spend the duration
of the war in the village, glad of the relative security
provided by the relative abundance of food and less strict
000 rationing. During a huge snow-fall that occurred on

195 During a huge snow-fall that occurred on
24 Jan. in the 1950's, the mobile grocery vans and other
182 supply vehicles could not come out to the west side,
[409] and a group of men had to make an expedition into town
for provisions, after which many families made certain
that they always had a good supply of meal, salted
[404] mackerel and herring. Many villagers have gotten deep
[345] pressers to store beef and mutton; others say they do
not trust the freezers, that a failure in electricity—
which occasionally happens in this region of gales and
far-away repairmen—would bring disaster if they depended
fully on them for keeping their meat. When the tweed
* 459 industry is going through one of its periodic depressions,
222 more men go out more often to fish. "I've been going
out every night for the last week or so. I don't have
a tweed, and I won't have one for the next six weeks.
I don't know what i'm going to do; maybe I'll go back to
sea. Three of us caught one hundred mackerel last
[251] night. I salted my share, and didn't give any of them
away. These are the fancy ones. We're going to feed
them during the next six weeks."

232 A few people raise beef cattle, depending largely
[459] on subsidies for encouragement to do so. A few are
[234] beginning to keep cows again for milk, giving as their
[190] reasons that freight charges make the bottled milk too
[459] costly.
[448]

* 157 With his brother-in-law, but they had only one loom.
[288] At that time the mill was buying yarn from other mills
in town, warping it on the mill premises, and sending
it to the weavers together with the yarn for the weft.

Ruaridh beard through the grapevine that more warpers
were wanted at the time, and went to ask "the old man,
Coinneach Rod, himself," about the possibility of his
[145] getting the job. He worked with five other warpers, who
averaged five warps a day, at four shillings each. They
were paid by piece work rather than on an hourly basis,
and received payment once monthly.

Business was going very well. The mill was receiving
large orders from America. A few more warpers were hired.
* [158] A slump came in 1948, and Ruaridh Dan and several others
[292] were laid off. Ruaridh went to work for a building contractor,
[406] but was called back to the mill after a month's time.

After weaving for several years, he started work in
* 157 the yarn store, which dispensed yarn to the weavers.
[444] "I was checking the yarn that was going out to the weavers,
weighing the wefts, checking the colors that were used,
keeping a record so we could tell at a glance what stock
we had, how much we would require for any further orders
we would get. Well, the job got to a stage where I just
couldn't manage it, and I protested. Another man started
to work with me. I was paid a regular wage so it was a

* 159 they leave school, and most of them get married. I
[288] remember about twenty girls working there, and they all
[468] got married, and another young girl would start. During
the slack periods some men would be paid off. They
would start in other jobs, and wouldn't be prepared to
* 159 come back. If you weren't working in the mill you were
[464] weaving; there was road work on a very small scale.
Except for sailing there was nothing else. For the last
ten years or so the big contractors have given people jobs.

"I started with a building contractor but preferred
to come back to this job, for the main reason that I had
* 159 built this house here. We had slack periods, but we
[292] picked up again. But this slack period, it's been two
[406] years now, and I don't think it will pick up again,
unless they go to a wider cloth. Probably the fashion
has changed. People have gone on to other types of cloth.
And the merchants and tailors prefer a wider cloth, it's
less waste. But that means changing the loom and a lot
of machinery in the mill as well.

"I'm sure the weavers wouldn't be prepared to put
[495] out the extra cost for wider looms. At the present time,
* 159 a loom and winding machine cost close to £400. You can
[368] imagine what a wider loom would cost, up to £1,000. The
[143] don't want the power loom. They're trying to hold onto
[435] the Orb tradesmen for as long as they can. That's the big

* 159 question, whether it would be better to change from the
[464] Orb trade and go to power looms. Then you would be
[455] able to do any kind of cloth. You wouldn't be tied down
to regulations as you are with the Harris Tweed. To do
that after all it cost them with the court case a few
years back—. But, at the same time, it's more important
to have work than this tradesman's. As it is at the
moment, it's just a white elephant."

Neille Leoid

* 159 Neille Leoid left school in 1931 at the age of 14,
[288] as easy-going and generally content with things then as
[226] he is 40 years later. "When I was going to school lots
of people hated the headmaster, but I had no complaints
against him. Perhaps people are inclined to blame other
people for their own failures. Of course, I didn't like
school very much, and I didn't go to it all that often.

"In those days you didn't have the same access to
education as the young people have today. You didn't
* 159 settle down to go very high. You were quite content to
[368] settle down to weaving. The boys started learning from
[471] anyone who was around. I started weaving with my uncle
[444] when I was 15, on an old wooden loom. In one winter
[435] we earned the £26 to buy a single-shuttle automatic.
My uncle's eyesight was getting sort of dim, so I would

From the Napoleonic Wars to 1914 the amount of
195 tweed on the West Coast of Scotland rose and fell.
222 In 1810–14 the East Coast cure was half the West Coast
[224] cure, but the peace of 1815 brought the capture of the
* 458 Continental markets and the East Coast herring export
leapt up. It averaged 500,000 barrels from 1850 to 1870,
a million from 1880 to 1900, and one to two million barrels
[439] until 1914. With the decline in the export to the Plantations, the West Coast export fell, to rise by 1890 and reach
a peak from 1900 to 1914. Thus, although no more than
from a tenth to a fifth of the East Coast yield, that of the
West Coast had risen greatly.[1] Of this, the Stornoway
cure formed the major part.

The chief early type of catch, of white fish (cod, ling
195 and hake), was developed too, and swelled to a peak by
226 1900, then dwindled and fell. The average Stornoway
District catch of white fish for a dozen years to 1900 was
valued at over £100,000, much of it caught by local boats,
and some of it cured at small 'creeks' (*e.g.* on the west of
the Island, on Loch Roag, notably at Carloway). The
cure, a strong coarse food, was shipped to Ireland and the
Clyde; but after 1900, fresh trawled fish replaced the
cured. From £100,000 before 1900 the yield fell to little
over £10,000 in 1912–13, £1000 in 1920, and half that in
1921—1 per cent of the value in 1900!

Thus the herring fishing became the most important
to the Islanders, at first by employment on East Coast boats.
Later they purchased boats and gear for themselves, helped
principally by advances from Island and East Coast curers,
[470] [444] [435] [251] [224] [439] [226] [195]

[1] *Fishery Board for Scotland*, Table 25 (1918), and Table 23: 800 barrels in 1790–95; 80,000 in 1870–73; 100,000 in 1914, and 160,000 in 1913. *For fuel comparison* with Table 23, about 15 per cent should be added to quantities, as explained in the notes to the Tables, on the 'assistit', and final reduced, or 'homegrown', sums of barrelled herring (listed in Table 23).

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

195 though also by State loans. The efforts of the Island
222 fishermen in the sixty years from 1880 to 1939 can be
228 summed up in the values of their boats. From 1880 to
[171] 1900 values rose by one-half, but had fallen somewhat
* 458 before the war of 1914–18 (to £70,000). Immediately after,
the purchase of steam drifters at Stornoway and the fitting
their herring boats with motors by the fishermen had
tripled the value (close on £70,000 in 1920). But markets
fell almost at once, and losses continued. By 1938 the
Island fishing fleet was valued (or overvalued) at a quarter
that figure, and was worth less than the fleet of sixty years
before.[1]

(b) THE CROFTERS ACTS, 1886–1919: TOWNSHIP, LANDLORD AND STATE

195 Centuries of cattle-keeping having left the grass moors
222 in good condition, the profits of sheep-farming rose after
[224] 1770 with the price of wool for manufacture. Protected
from foreign by modern guns, and handled in large flocks,
the newly introduced Cheviot and Blackface sheep and
[178] lambs could graze in their thousands. In many estates the
introduction of additional sheep, with the crofters' cattle,
was tried and worked; but in others the people were
195 ruthlessly evicted. Although offset by many acts of wise
232 economy and generous aid, evictions were too frequent
[477] during the next half-century, and they engendered growing
bitterness.

Whereas in other Isles, and on the machar of Harris,
the small joint tenantry and subtenantry were evicted in

[1] Figures 1848–73 quoted from J. P. Day, *Public Administration*, 1918; 1888–1900 from Appendix K, Report, 1902; 1912–1918 from *Fishery Board for Scotland* Tables (Table E.1B, 1912–13, and Table 14 and A.L. 1918).

CHAPTER X

BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER: 1918–1939

(a) SEVEN YEARS' ENDEAVOUR, 1918–1925

1. A Planner: Lord Leverhulme of the Lewis

227 * TOKING back to the aftermath of unemployment
[468] following the First World War and forward to anxieties
ahead, a soldier in 1944 protested that it would be
exacting too great a sacrifice from the country's manhood
to throw it unaided, upon "the hazards of peace", for the
second time in a generation! If Island life is to be planned
for in the ensuing peace, we must ask, "What of plans last
time?" Depression in the Island was not primarily due
to the failure of any one of the three parties immediately
concerned—to the Islanders, the crofters, cotters or fishermen, to the Scottish Office or its Departments, or to a
particular philanthropist—nor even to failures by all three
to get together for the Island's good. All three may deserve
their share of praise or blame; who might not, stranded
[144] without warning by such an ebbing tide? Behind the
personal factors on which biographers and writers have
insisted, in retelling Leverhulme's Island adventure, larger
forces were at work, undoing the efforts of all. Further,
by undermining confidence and preying upon anxiety,
disaster upon an international scale brought the Island
consultations from unity to feud and to frustration.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

which the Isles form the outermost fringe. Particular aspects of the Island's problem were its own.

The application of 'the Means Test' was therefore to the good in the Isles to begin with, whatever was to be said for or against it in towns. Many honest crofters thought the test should have been much more rigidly applied in the Islands. In 1932, after the worst of the depression had passed, there were in Lewis (proper) some 750 registered unemployed men (with only 5 boys), of whom 250 were seamen from the Merchant Service; and the other 500 included dockers and casual labourers of various sorts, many of whom had returned from the cities. The seamen, to take the largest class, constituted one for which relief was thoroughly justified; unemployment benefit was paid to each man until he had been unemployed for over six months. The Public Assistance Committee then gave 'Transitional Payment' after applying the Means Test, in which they took the produce of the croft into consideration. Public Assistance might follow later. Out of 250 cases, soon after the Means Test was applied, there was none in which the Committee assessed the need as equal to the benefit formerly received. In the Lowlands, on the other hand, the real need was usually found to be greater than the 'benefit' paid, and therefore relief could not in fairness be reduced.

There were years when work at sea was not to be had. As one left the Firth of Clyde, by the railroad to the Isles, one could count sometimes a dozen, sometimes a score of good 'tramp' steamers dossed in the Gareloch; and one thought of their crews, good men, but idle and rusting too. At such a time reduced payment to Island seamen with a croft, in place of total payment to town-dwelling seamen without one, effected a saving to the public purse. The

458 problem remains that Island seamen may thus continue
746 indefinitely to be crofters receiving partial relief, seamen only in name. Without doubt, part-time work on a croft is socially a lesser evil than prolonged unemployment in a slum or semi-slum. The crofter's family, too, is relatively better reared than that of many a poor seaman in Glasgow, Liverpool or Cardiff. Yet if this were all, it would be no adequate life for a man, while continuing to be an expense
[461] to the State. The more satisfactory side of such relief is
[311] that the Islanders, when unemployed, turn to building new 'white houses', and either to making small improvements on their crofts, or as in Ness (a progressive village with a high proportion of seamen), to the reclamation of new holdings on 'skinned land'. In all such cases a means test provides against full payment to those who could do without.

458 To women normally employed in 'gutting', unem-
746 ployment relief is given only at such time as there is no
462 work during the season when it might be expected, *i.e.* from May or June to December. Gutters from the Island
[228] are busiest for the months from June to August on the West and East Coast of Scotland, and again for two months, from October to November, in East Anglia. The number of Lewis women normally employed was over 1500 in a typical season (1930), the earnings averaging £19 each for the summer fishing in Stornoway, and as much again for the gutting in East Anglia. But the demand fell, and by 1932, for instance, some 250 women were obtaining relief, through Stornoway, in early August, the number doubling during the slack months from mid-August.

181 The tragedy and the danger of any means test are that
458 in effect it asks, not "How prosperous can you become
746 if given help?" but "How poor can you become to qualify

181 for help?" In one of the Outer Isles, I know of one or
458 two crofters holding fifteen acres of arable, with a share of a good outrun, who have let their stock dwindle and
746 deteriorate, and their crofts lie mostly fallow, though these could support a horse or two, several cows, and fifty sheep. After having found some casual labour, they discovered they could live mostly idle 'on the dole'. Self-respecting neighbours suffer: good families who prefer to be independent of 'Assistance' and to improve their croft
[476] and stock, and the outrun too. These find their stock deteriorating for lack of co-operation in breeding, fencing, and other communal duties, and see their crops invaded by weeds, blown from a lazy neighbour's plot. While an idle neighbour benefits by their industry, they themselves are losers.

In another island, a hard-working crofter lost a score of good lambs through 'worrying' by the dogs of an idle neighbour, whose own stock had dwindled to a trifle. He was finally awarded legal compensation; but he found it wiser not to exact it, for the unspoken threat of exaction
[476] gave him a hold upon the idle 'dole-drawer'. The worker could still insist that the idler pay his share of the cost of
[626] posts and wire for a fence on the outrun, or contribute the minimum hours of labour due for fencing and other
[461] statutory tasks in the township. Men like that idler sap
181 the urge to work. They lower communal morality to a semblance of the social code once too commonly seen by Islanders in the domestic service of the upper and middle classes, a code by which chronic idleness was disguised as 'leisure' and conspicuous dependence upon the work of others was honoured as 'independent means'.[1]

[1] A summary of production, and figures of productive and non-productive income, are given in Appendix I.

458 How then can the situation be assessed, as it was before
178 the outbreak of war and since then? By 1939 twenty years had been partly lost; for the after-war years of the 'Leverhulme boom' were followed by discouragement and poverty. During that time one might have hoped for half
[423] a generation of reconstruction and progress. On the other hand the sore question of dividing the farms was settled, so bringing raiding to an end. Congestion on the existing crofts is less than it was, owing to this fact, and to the
[166] provision of feus. The poverty of many breadwinners who had migrated to the cities first cut down the amounts remitted to their Island dependents, then drove them home.
[433] A croft, or even a garden site, and the opportunity of building a good house there made life still worth while,
[746] when other employment had failed. Unemployment relief, though tempting some to idleness, gave a respite
[286] which many utilised to make a fresh start. As fishing
[226] waned, many had taken advantage of the easy beginning offered to learn a new trade—weaving. This has made many feel that the living to be found on the Island is better than alternation of 'wage-earning' with unemployment, in Glasgow or abroad. They believe the situation
[311] of the Island community to be hopeful. While the land remains little better than before, many, even of the younger people, still care for the Island life among their own kin. Given a clear lead, these could reorganise themselves, and undertake the developments needed in fishing, weaving and reclamation. The homes are sound, 'good neighbourhood' endures, and given fresh opportunity, the community could awaken to new life.

178 During and since the war, co-operative marketing was
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For a year or two after the war many men and women returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry. This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving at home—work in which the male weaver was helped by his family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to return to the hard, uncertain work of gutting. The whaling station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950, and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised cultivation. The war-time construction of air-fields had ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was assisted by government grants.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders' main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds. Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there were strong arguments for the extension of the tax to Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artist favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the end, the mass-production is an unacknowledging debtor. The obvious economic handicaps of Island hand-weaving may surely permit some latitude. The export trade in Harris Tweed, in which the imponderable 'sentimental

value' is important, is an appreciable dollar-earning asset; and because of the fluctuating export market, its manufacturing must be stabilised by sales at home.

These and other facts support the plea that if some share of taxation had to be imposed in the national interest, it should have been done by steps to permit of readjustment in manufacturing and of adaptation to the carefully fostered market. What seems indefensible, even in the national interest, was the imposition of the full 66⅔ purchase tax. As a result of this blow, the crofter's web could not be sold, and lay, a prey to moths, in his home, while the mill-owner's stock piled up in the warehouse. 'Hand-looms', newly bought or partly paid for, lay rusting in the sheds and the machinery of the mills stood idle. The hand-weavers with their helpers and the employees in the mills, their savings spent, began to seek work beyond the Island. As the census of April 1951 has shown, the population has been falling as workers trickled away by every steamer. Some adjustment was made, it is true, late in 1951; but the case of the small independent weaver remained as hard as ever.

The amount of tweed stamped with the Orb Trade Mark, which diminished slowly from 4,464,000 standard yards in 1948 to 4,101,000 in 1949 and 3,780,000 in 1950, fell when the tax was imposed to 2,800,000 in 1951. In 1952 there was a recovery, maintained in 1953. Over 5,000,000 yards will have been stamped in 1954.

An effort has been made to separate crofting from other income, and also to average the income from the sources given of the total rural households, numbering 4700, composed of those on the 3650 *occupied* crofts plus an estimated 1050 others, namely, cottars and squatters, and 'feuars'—*i.e.* holding land in feu.

Finally, to the productive income earned on the Island there should be added that received by earnings sent or brought home to dependants, together with pensions, unemployment relief and the like. I am greatly indebted to the appropriate officials for the figures cited for 1937–38 or the year immediately preceding. These sources average £45 per rural household. The figures tabled all apply to Lewis alone; but many figures having been obtained for Harris also, conclusions are similar there. The concluding Table (pp. 314-315) bears a note on other sources of income, with a similar table for 1953.

(i) *Tweed Industry*

After deducting the cost of wool imported from the mainland and certain other costs, the net productive income was taken to be £307,000. The estimate may still err on the high side but it indicates the prime importance of the industry in the Lews. For 1938 the quantity of tweed stamped, and certified as hand-woven by the Harris Tweed Association Ltd., was 2,830,900 imperial yards, rising in 1939 and 1940 to 4,000,000 yards, though falling thereafter. The value of the tweed produced in 1938 was approximately £500,000. The total wages paid in 1938 amounted to £140,000 (£139,600), rather more than half of which was paid to the weavers working at home. In 1940 this had risen to nearly £200,000, a slightly higher proportion falling to the weavers.

In addition to the wages paid and the price paid for local wool, the industry is a valuable customer of the Electricity Company and directly or indirectly provides much other employment in the Island. The industry also provided a market for a large quantity of Scottish wool and contributed to taxation.

The productivity and earnings of the industry continued to

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CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

669 for crofts in Tongue, a township north of S
423 the law into their own hands, seized one
the adjacent farms, and threatened to take
It is easy to understand that when a man
from the war to his sweetheart, and after
a site on which to build a home (even a
a start), with a plot for potatoes, and 'a
year's vain delay may breed impatience
motored to the township, and with his cu
and persuasiveness spoke of his plans
wages' to be concentrated at Stornoway.
clared that if the farms were divided this
his schemes, and work would stop at once.
there agreed to fall in with his plans; in a
159 minority could find crofts on the farms. I
433 that he had carried his point. He forgot
his oratory deserved applause and had wo
669 sake, but that the people could not lightl
'no', if this meant immediate stoppage of
the after-thoughts on the morrow and in
months, rather than agreement at the mom
[228] fied. In 1920 herring fetched a fair pri
fishery prospects were encouraging, and wo
for a time. Yet one raid having begun and
been cast, lawlessness spread rapidly".
stopped expenditure, and obtained an inter
[423] 'raiders', though he did not prosecute.
parley, the Secretary for Scotland agre
[654] division for ten years, and in 1921 Leverl
159 operations. "Unfortunately very soon afte
433 his biographer, owing to "the general indus
which followed the boom in trade after the
• 458 hulme felt impelled to close down work for

Stornoway, took
of the fields of
the remainder.
has come home
being promised
black house for
cow's grass', a
! Leverhulme
stomary vigour
for 'work and
He again de-
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The majority
ny case, only a
Leverhulme felt
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rk was resumed
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Leverhulme
dict against the
After further
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wards", wrote
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war", Lever-
the time being,

159 and he was unable to make plans or promises for the future.
433 Meantime, it should be said, the Island herring catch and
458 prices fell rapidly (the catch by 50 per cent and prices by
[228] 60 per cent from 1920 to 1921). As a result, crofts now seemed more precious than ever to the applicants.

159 With what Leverhulme regarded as 'almost indecent
423 haste', the Secretary for Scotland proceeded to fulfil the
654 promise to divide the farms. Most of the farms remaining were divided into some fifty crofts, of ten acres or so with outrun, supplying little more than 10 per cent of the landless men. The Manor dairy farm, near Stornoway Castle and town, though raided by a few men, was retained to contribute to the town's supply of milk, along with two or three smaller farms close to Stornoway (Melbost, and Stoneyfield with Holm). Leverhulme felt that his offer to Lewis had been turned down, and he then concentrated his efforts upon Harris.

159 At the extreme south of Harris (midway along the
433 south-west coast), in the 'Hope' or natural harbour of
228 Obbe, Leverhulme built new piers. He transferred the machinery of the canning factory and the kippering sheds he had commenced to build at Stornoway. He started to build houses, a number being provided on generous terms; and "at the people's wish", the settlement was renamed Leverburgh. With the transference of his energy from Lewis to Harris, Leverhulme's "optimism and determination were intensified", wrote his son. They were not to last long. After a visit to the Congo in 1925, Leverhulme died suddenly in Brussels. How far the new plans might have succeeded had Leverhulme lived, his son has commented, "remains uncertain". What is certain is that the second Lord Leverhulme toured Harris, visiting the works on hand and examining the accounts. No doubt he also

schemes, and knowing how much local fishing depended upon international policy, particularly the resumption of trade relations with the chief customers of the past, Leverhulme, one feels, should have dealt no less outspokenly with these. The removal of trade barriers lay not in the hands of the Scottish Office or of Scots officials (however internationally minded these might be as private citizens), but in the hands of Ministers of Cabinet rank and leading financiers, of whom Leverhulme himself was one.

In brief, the Scots fisheries suffered after the war as neither Leverhulme nor others had foreseen when first he laid his plans for the Island's prosperity. It seems clear that had this major change been squarely faced by Leverhulme and Government alike, in 1920, 1921 or even later, they could never have fallen apart about a relatively minor issue, that of the farms. Both sides turned their faces away from this disquieting factor of the Baltic markets, though both knew it to be fundamental to the success of Scots fisheries and the Island's future. Had they faced it together frankly, then, even if powerless to effect a remedy, their sincerity might have prevented a deadlock upon a secondary matter.

To Leverhulme, given his large scale of expenditure and return, the division of a few farms formed a minor issue. But to a number of ex-Servicemen, 'crofters' without a croft, the division meant a home and relative stability. Moreover, what was merely a matter for personal decision to Leverhulme, was a lifelong issue to many people brought up in congestion on the wrong side of the boundary fence. Meantime, milk from Easter Ross was available in Stornoway, at town if not at country prices. Lastly, further possibilities of land-development lay open to Leverhulme, though not so readily to the unaided people. In reading

estate, or where a single lodge was bought as a home for retirement, depopulation might not matter. Certain populated parishes, however, were bought as investments by men of comparatively modest means. The principal reasons for his purchase given to me by a retired man, formerly connected with the administration of the Lews estate, were two. Asked if he had found, and expected, steady, remunerative payment of rent, he replied: "Certainly!" Next, in view of Press forecasts of general emigration, I referred to the fact that if large numbers of crofters decided to give a year's legal notice of departure and apply for compensation for improvements, including the erection of a 'white house' (otherwise than by Government aid), the landowner would be faced by heavy liabilities while deprived of income. Had the purchaser no fear of such an eventuality? "Certainly not!" was the reply, "the crofters will stick to their homes for many a long year."

These examples show that, while the defeat, or non-realisation of Leverhulme's schemes, seemed to many outsiders the beginning of a not distant 'end' to the Island community, the Islanders themselves did not contemplate a final exodus. They were quite uncertain what was to come, it is true. Who was not, in those years of discouragement for Scotland and her people, for Wales, for Tyneside and Lancashire? The years of Leverhulme's departure from Lewis and of his death brought bad seasons. In 1924 storms destroyed crops and the peat would not dry. Herring catches and prices, though they had risen a little since 1921–22, had not allowed recovery from the losses sustained. The cessation of Leverhulme's wage-payments meant a gap in income which the Islanders could not fill at home. To relieve poverty in 1924–25, a Highlands and

Islands Distress Fund was raised in the Lowlands. The Committee organising it distributed relief, and purchased seed potatoes, etc. They also drew attention to some important features of Island conditions. Among others was that of the scale of charges for transport of goods and passengers. These charges had risen by from two to four times what they had been.[1] The steerage passengers were poorly provided for; and a later improvement in cabin comfort was not accompanied by improved steerage accommodation. One remembers in particular the suffering of the 'fisher girls'. In good weather the passage home (by day) was bearable; and though the song that 'lifted' as the boat left Kyle for the last lap to Stornoway sank pathetically as the steamboat left the shelter of Skye, voices began to rise again in the shelter of Stornoway Bay, sounding clear as the boat drew in. In bad weather the crowded women suffered sorely. Five hundred might be packed on the deck with little or no shelter, or covered the benches and floor of the steerage, sick and distraught. The Committee pointed out that "the Government increasingly accepted responsibility for the roads of the kingdom", and that sea communications were even more vital than roads to Islanders, for they serve in place of both road and rail. Some action was taken, but charges remained high.

As a result of all these difficulties, many young men

[1] Examples were given of the rise in charges from 1914 to 1924, *e.g.* a web of tweed, Harris to Glasgow, from 1s. to 3s.; a box of lobsters, Harris to London, 4s. 6d. to 11s.; a barrel of herring, Stornoway to Kyle, 1s. to 3s. and so on. Although the rise on larger consignments was less, these were of no benefit to 'small folk'. Typical charges for the export of livestock were: (Lochmaddy, N. Uist, to Oban, or from Harris) for sheep the rise was from 9d. to 2s.; for lambs, 6d. to 2s.; for horses or cows, 5s. to 18s.; for stirks, 2s. 6d. to 11s. 6d. The Committee's report was privately printed.

fragments of spars and other needful things lacking on croft and moor were picked up and carefully allotted. So, after 1919, from the wreckage of modern industry borne on the ground-swell of 'Depressions', there came to the Islesfolk the frail raft of unemployment relief, doled out like driftwood long ago.

Some assessment is therefore required. The total amounts of relief disbursed before 1931 were comparatively bountiful; and they certainly exceeded the sum of the crofters' contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund. After a couple of months of wage labour at road-mending, harbour-repair, or the like, young men were qualified for 'the dole'. Furnished with this, they returned to the croft when paid employment gave out, to cart in their peat, collect stones for a new house or saunter out with a rod for a little fishing from the rocks. All this was done 'on the dole', with complete legality, so long as their names were duly inscribed at Stornoway Labour Exchange as seeking fresh employment. Not a few prayed that 'employment' would not come inconveniently soon, as they would then be legally bound to accept it and to leave the croft. No doubt, even if only a part of the money received was urgently needed, the surplus was not squandered, as it might have been in a town. Extra cash, if any, served to buy a loom here, fencing for the garden there, and other things of permanent use. Yet morally it constituted misappropriation of relief. As a result, through no real fault of their own, young men began to lose independence and self-respect. This general problem for youth was widespread in years of 'depression', and it was peculiarly severe both in industrial Clydeside and the fishing villages of Scotland, and also throughout the 'depressed areas' of northern and western Britain, of which the Isles form the outermost fringe.

185 In 1919, when the men came home to Lewis they could
727 still see reasons for hope. They found a strange proprietor,
known first for his outstanding—some said ruthless—
157 business ability, and only secondly for his philanthropy.
They heard his plans and were inclined to listen.

185 Yet, remembering their pre-war losses and the notorious
fluctuations of prices and employment in the fisheries, they
wished for a policy of insurance, as it were; so, if their
home lay near a promised farm, of which they had long
159 meant to claim a share, they claimed this forthwith. Only
458 too soon after, in the early years of Leverhulme's adventure,
the fall in total sales and prices of fish brought immediate
433 loss to the keenest and hardest working of the fishermen,
228 and to their financial backers in Stornoway. These losses
warned others of the uncertainties of fishing. Now the
fall in the fishing industry is not so much as mentioned in
the biography of Leverhulme; nor do we remember a
654 word of it in Leverhulme's speeches. One finds no data
to show a substantial endeavour by the Scottish Office to
co-operate with Leverhulme in framing policies either to
change the trend of European markets or to make local
adaptations to combat downward trends. The Fishery
Reports certainly record the losses, year by year. As for
the Island fishermen, they shared the feeling expressed
by other Scots fishermen, that the old markets across the
North Sea, eastward to what had been St. Petersburg,
could and should be reopened, not closed 'for party
reasons' by 'English politicians'. Although ostensibly
Leverhulme ignored it, he cannot really have been unaware
of the effect of the downward trend of the fisheries upon
his own prospects of success, and upon the hopes and
confidence of the fishermen. Having been so outspoken
upon the shortcomings of Government with regard to local

464 shopkeepers and so on. But none vies with weaving as a source of regular income.
[288] Without the weavers most of the others would find little demand for their wares or services.

Periodic work is taken locally, usually in default of regular employment, and often by older men who formerly worked away from home. This is usually casual labour and is particularly important - for lack of other opportunities - in South Uig. Whilst our survey was in progress a number of men from South Uig were thus engaged at the Gisla
464 hydro-electric scheme. In South Uig, also, weaving tends to be less regular than else-
288 where. For this some weavers blamed the Stornoway producers, who, it was claimed
184 are not inclined to send work as far out as this unless it cannot otherwise be done. There is some truth in this, particularly with respect to the 'small' (i.e. non-mill) producers, but our observations also showed that some men in South Uig regarded weaving as an 'extra' and were not prepared to do it when alternative employment, on the croft or for wages (as at Gisla), was offered. This may be a vicious spiral - the less weaving a man does the less good he becomes, he takes longer to complete a web and may suffer more deductions for faulty work. He becomes less inclined to weave and the producer becomes less inclined to send him work.

TABLE 56

Permanent Employment away from home (actual numbers)

166
46

	Men:			Women:			
	M.N.	Professions:	Others	Nursing:	Professions:	Domestic:	Others
Uig Parish	46	11	65	59	18	39	27
Districts							
South Uig	5	4	12	22	2	16	2
Bernera	8	4	3	10	1	2	7
East Loch Roag	16	-	23	15	6	15	7
Carloway	22*	3	25	12	5	3	11

* including five working seasonally on whalers.

Those taking permanent employment away from home (table 56) tend to choose particular occupations. Amongst men, the Merchant Navy is most popular, especially from the Carloway and East Loch Roag districts; many of the others work at skilled or semi-skilled jobs, including the police forces; relatively few are un-skilled casual labourers. Amongst women, nursing is by far the most important occupation and is particularly popular amongst young women from South Uig and Bernera; most of ther others take 'domestic work' - in hotels and hospitals, rather than in private homes - and a few work in offices and shops. The category 'professions' in the table is almost synonymous with school-teaching.

Periodical, including seasonal, absence from home is less common than from some island districts; 14% of the 15-64 age-group is classified as "periodically away" (compare 27% from Park, 16% from Harris, 13% from Barra). Of these, half the men and a third of the women are students. Seasonal hotel work, for women, is the most important single category.

Population trends

162 The diagrams, figure 48, summarise much of this chapter. They have been constructed
126 so that the area of each horizontal bar is proportionate to the number of persons in the

4

461 LABOR AND LEISURE
pleasant and unpleasa
to labor (e.g., pride
time and motion studie
rhythm, music); work
tivity and production
loitering, etc. See als
Annual cycle of economic ac
Unemployment . . . . . .
Leisure-time activities . .

61

E--ideas of the value and dignity of labor; notions of
nt tasks; distribution of labor and leisure time; incentives
in craftsmanship, prestige, material rewards, compulsion);
es; intensity of effort; palliation of labor (e.g., with drugs,
tempo (e.g., steady, intermittent);standards of produc-
norms; laziness and malingering; rest periods; loafing and
so:

ctivities . . . . . 221 Holidays 527
. . . . . 464 Slavery 567
. . . . . 517 Social offenses 689

264 The only occasions on which it is customary to feed
574 someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as peat-
576 cutting. On such occasions the preparation of meals is
[461] done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual scrutiny,
[476] and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, the
requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled by
giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but
which were much more abundant when the land was cultivat
[262] and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcakes,
264 clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foods
571 are usually offered to visitors along with tea, and in t
574 past this custom served to minimize the economic dispari
between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A simila
[737] function was served by the practice of giving part of
[431] each catch of fish to old widows and other villagers in
need of aid. Even though food is more abundant and dive
today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during a
visit is still very important.

173 A 50-year-old man who "married into" a croft recall
[581] "I came from a family of ten children. Everyone had to
[428] leave, or marry a girl with a croft. Only the eldest so
could inherit the croft." There was little room for
423 romanticism in the fight for scarce land among the sons
581 of large crofter and non-crofter families. "The most

178 434 288 458 be high until 1948. The year 1947 was the peak year for the production of Harris Tweed, with over 5,000,000 yards (of which 3,765,000 yards were stamped, and some 1,500,000 unstamped). In 1948 the production of unstamped tweed had fallen to 500,000 yards but stamped tweed came to 4,380,000 yards.

(651) Then, in the year 1948 the imposition of a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax struck the industry a crippling blow. The rise in prices of wool increased difficulties, and by 1950 few orders were being booked and men were being paid off. A few small men who had relatively large stocks frozen by the purchase tax were able to sell them off, but this minor compensation for losses was short-lived. The outlook is disquieting.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House-building*, 1938

434 241 (a) *Agriculture.*—The estimated agricultural output shows a total value of £189,100, and of this total the quantity fed to animals was valued at £103,000. This leaves £86,100 as the estimated value of crop produce consumed on the Island. Adding this figure to the gross livestock output we arrive at a total valuation of the agricultural production of Lewis of approximately £194,100. To arrive at the average output per croft there was deducted the farm production, estimated at $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total by calculation from known crop and stock returns. This gives a figure for crofts alone of £184,400. By dividing by 3750, we obtain an average value of the gross annual production by crofters as £49, or say £50. The inclusion of squatters' produce would add so slightly to the total figure as hardly to affect the average for rural households. Outlays being small, most of this net output may be regarded as 'net earnings'.

434 222 314 [372] (*b*) *Peat.*—To this sum must be added firing and some share in housing. The peat cut has been valued at £90,000, an average of £24 per croft; it demands much labour. As peat is freely cut by cottars and squatters, etc. (estimated at 1050 or so), the average value might be given as £19 per rural household. In Stornoway the chief fuel is coal.

(*c*) *House-building.*—From 1920 to 1940 the Department of

Since 1939,
166 54 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to
462 leave home when they finish school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go into domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breasclete is also the temporary home of the families of lighthousemen on duty in the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain demand for the tweed, and although the men are nominally self-employed they rely on the mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms, which, with ancillary equipment such as bobbin winders, are all owned by the crofters.

[458] As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being erected. But should there be a slump, the crofts would be unable to support the population and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

131 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch
133 a' Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs,
361 for westwards to the sea the terrain is too rocky and irregular for either settlement or cultivation, whilst to the east of Loch a' Bhaile the land slopes precipitously from 250 ft. to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle drift-covered slopes, generally of small extent.

Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch
137 a' Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader, and in the valley of the small stream
[241] draining from the north into the head of Loch a' Bhaile. Most of the croft land is composed of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 100 ft. in height, separated by damp depressions frequently filled by reeds and rushes; bracken was apparent only on three crofts. In particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely colonised by reeds and very coarse grasses, of no use whatsoever as pasture. One enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this could certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and
311 2 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the two lochs and the sea, except for nos. 28 and 29. The 53 holdings are unofficially
427 amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The acreage of crofts varies from 2.2 to 20.75 acres - a considerable variation. Fencing of the crofts - except for 1A, B, and C, and 12A, B, and C which are held 'run-rig' - was carried out between 1945 and 1950, whilst in 1946 the common pasture of 2,700 acres was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the Carloway to Breasclete road. An area stretching from crofts 18A to 21 has, however, been most haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided amongst seventeen crofts in the southern half of the township to compensate them for lack of grazing area within their own croft boundaries. This division is said to date from about 1886.

241 Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned
[407] small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as opposed to spade cultivation, depends either on the urgency of the operation, or on the accessibility of the plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 95]

ST KILDA

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the 484
hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the 36
world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psycho- 175*
logical evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'One [155]
cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral
injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with
pocketsful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple
people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a [434]
profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived
during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required 436
money as an exchange commodity because the original native 198
produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort
to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered [839]
steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St [854]
Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with [461] •
others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the
food they required, provided communications with the mainland
were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, as [161]
St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the
mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to 166
the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to the care
and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the
National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small
human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be re-
peated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the
case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island [712]
is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the
Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, 175*
poor folk, scarcee learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin 181
published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the com-
pany of a minister who had been summoned to the island to de-
nounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180
inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Bap-
tist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy [825]
and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds,

233 away, and for a shorter period. The sheep wander over
311 the moors all the year round, though they hang about the
crofts when the winter is severe.

221 A comparison with mountainous Norway or the Alps
132 and their high summer pastures suggests itself; but in
171 Lewis altitude is almost negligible, and the shielings may
[133] lie only two to five hundred feet above that of the crofts
[311] beside the shore. The difference between winter and
summer is in any case less, snow being rare and the condi-
tions being such that even in summer the shieling pasture
remains poor. Hence it is that while modern Norse and
Alpine economy still maintain the summer pasture, the
shielings have died out in the Highlands and are slowly
decaying in Lewis. Seasonally, stock are transported over
longer distances, from Highland to Lowland pastures.

181 Reasons for the continuance of these and other crofting
[178] ways, or for their abandonment, are not of an economic
order alone: not only the remuneration received for labour,
• [461] but the feeling for the work counts enormously. Visiting
a couple of distant shielings in the summer of 1919, I
found that two lads newly home from the Navy had come
up from their village 'for a holiday', bringing rods for
trout-fishing and high spirits for play. By day they fished
or flirted. By night they slept in one of the two shielings,
while the two laughing lasses they had come to visit shared
the none too wide couch of the other shieling with the
two older women there. One of these was a matron with a
motherly twinkle in her eye, the other was a spinster in
whose eyes there shone a memorably vivid light; she was
the sister (as I found later) of a noted minister on the main-
land. The bare simplicity of shieling life is traditionally
softened by fellowship and a gaiety that is not beyond
[538] control. A Lowland poet once coined a famous phrase,

511 coat, was thought to be supernatural. The fishing, too, is
226 of good standard: a typical annual catch including 1700
511 salmon, 5000 sea-trout and 1800 brown trout; and it was
for this, as well as for the shootings, that the moors per-
taining to the different shooting or fishing lodges and hotels
137 were bought at Lord Leverhulme's sale. The absence of
233 foxes was important to sheep-rearing before the introduc-
tion of guns, and is still a favourable factor.

5. *Sea-fishing*

226 Fish have always contributed to the diet of the Islesfolk,
198 whether they fished from coracles or boats, or with 'lang
[262] wands' from the shore as they still do, and as they did in
the days of Dean Monro and, no doubt, right back to
[433] neolithic times. The relative importance of fishing and
[241] agriculture, however, has always varied according to place
and time.

182 Fishing in modern and historic, and also in prehistoric,
226 times—to judge from the kitchen middens of Uig—has
always flourished more where there were deep sea-lochs;
241 and settlement resulted, even though rocky hillsides made
[178] ploughing difficult or impossible. Conversely, agriculture
[172] has offered better opportunity on smooth coasts with a
variety of soils, though fishing was poorer there. Thus
the men of Stornoway Bay and Eye, of eastern lochs and
of the Harris bays, like those of Loch Roag on the west,
have long been partly fishermen. In the extreme north,
too, men of Ness—with the chance of choosing their fishing
grounds on the north, west or east of the island and with
their little rocky port giving shelter, of a sort, from south-
• [461] west gales—were good fishermen; they are good seamen
[829] still. "The fishing of the Barvas folk" is an old gibe,

182 meaning that the men of that village, and its immediate
226 neighbourhood, were the last to put to sea and the first to
241 return. The Barvas folk could retort that they would
[829] have been fools to do anything else on a straight exposed
• [461] coast; and that anyway their pony-drawn ploughs were
of more use than the foot ploughs of the rocky south.
A form of provender taken indirectly from the sea was the
sea-birds and eggs from the sea-cliffs and islets like Rona,
north-west of the Butt. This helped to support a few
families in St. Kilda and on the rocky Shiant Islands south-
east of Harris.

195 Fishing remained backward and primitive, however,
226 until the nineteenth century. After developing in a
promising way, it was checked before the First World
[178] War, and fell into decay during and after it. Decay has,
504 of course, been widespread. In 1935 the chief ports of
501 the East Coast, from Leith with Granton northward by
Fraserburgh to Wick—a round dozen—had still an average
of 250 to 300 vessels, 3000 in all. These were chiefly of
steam or motor auxiliary power and valued (with fishing
gear) at £2,750,000. Orkney and Zetland, too, had each
their 300 boats. The whole West Coast, however, from
Stornoway to Ballantrae, had only 2000 boats, valued at less
than one-tenth of the fleet of the East, and worth only a
fraction of this, to judge from prices in the open market.
Nearly 400 boats were still on the register for Lewis and
Harris (Stornoway district) and another 300 for the rest of
the Outer Isles. But fewer put to sea each year, even from
Stornoway itself.

182 A major drawback to herring fishing in the Stornoway
226 district is the uncertainty in the movements of the herring
shoals. On the Clyde, moreover, herring can be sent fresh
to the city but further north they must be cured. Whereas

182 on the East Coast and in Orkney and Zetland there are
226 comparatively well-marked seasons at which the herring
can be expected, Stornoway appears to lie marginally to
their main migrations. Thus the amount of the catch
varies and curers have been disinclined to set up large
curing stations such as those which deal with the enormous
influx at the height of the season on the East Coast. A
partial compensation is found in the continuance of herring
fishing in winter.

226 While fishing from rowing boats for saith, lythe and
[178] mackerel still supplies food for home in summer, fishing
with long lines in winter and spring brought cod and other
white fish, sun-dried and salted, which became an import-
ant export though declining sharply after 1900 and of no
importance since 1919. Lobster fishing is undertaken in
small boats with two or three men from many townships,
and two ponds have been reopened, one on Bernera, Lewis,
and the other at Stockinish in Harris to store the lobsters.
Conditions in 1935 and 1951–53 are compared in Appendix
I (iii) and II (iii).

6. *The Annual Rhythm of Life*

221 It is appropriate here to show how fishing and crofting
fitted together into the seasonal calendar a hundred years
ago, and shortly before and after the war of 1914–18.
[182] The Lewisman's year shows its relationship to the seasons,
[175] with their temperature, rainfall and wind (Fig. 9). A
century wrought changes: cod fishing declined as the
[178] herring fishing grew in importance; but the latter fell
[286] away again after the war. Partly as a result, weaving has
become important, the men fitting into the idle periods
between the brief peaks of spring and harvest work.

• 461 Men's work can be roughly estimated as either light,
462

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 72]

• 461 part-time or (to use a convenient phrase) 'overtime',
462 meaning by this a special effort such as cannot be maintained
for long. Women's work, on the other hand, has a con-
tinuous element of 'part-time' occupations, which can be
simplified to 'light' work, when a woman's services are
also needed at harvest or to carry in peats, and the like.

462 One vital point in the life of peasant women is too
often uncontrolled: maternity, with its crisis of childbirth.
000 Among wild creatures the young are normally born in
spring, when food is abundant and daylight long; but
among mankind there is no clear season for parenthood.
462 This has its compensations, for neighbour-wives can, and
do, help one another, turn about. It also has its draw-
backs where women have a large share in the seasonal
round; and a heavy period of work, such as creeling peat,
may strain a woman for life if it comes when she should
have light occupation. It may well be that old Gaelic
customs, from courtship through marriage, provided
protection.

462 The seasons being still the same, the earlier sequence of
221 traditional tasks is maintained through the year with certain
differences. The upper graph shows the men ploughing
175 or delving, as the land permitted, from February to a
full-time peak in March–April. From then, women
helped increasingly. By March, nets had to be got
ready and the boats put in order for the fishing season,
closing in September. In townships well situated for cod-
fisheries, fishing for sale must have been almost full-time
work for many crews, in the season; elsewhere it seems to
have been no more than light work for food alone. Ashore,
women baited the lines and dried the cod. In April–May
the women would see that their few ewes bore their lambs
and suckled them in safety; and in spring the cows would
[see p. 11-analysis]

621 embracing several hamlets. Yet the strength of com-
476 munity life sprang from co-operation in the farm-team and
632 in the boat's crew.

178 With the passing of the joint farm the greatest dis-
• 461 ciplinary factor for work in common passed away from
476 agriculture. The fact that fishing still remained as a social discipline, and actually developed in importance as the farm-team declined and was abolished, was to prove all the more significant to the vitality of social life until 1914 and even to the present.

(2) THE COMMUNITY ORGANISED: STEERSMAN AND CONSTABLE

621 As small groups of two to half a dozen men could manage their agricultural affairs informally, by common consent, no official was formally chosen to manage the affairs of the
622 fellow-workers on a farm. Where prompt decisions are needed, however, even a small group should be led: a boat's crew therefore choose their helmsman-skipper and obey him at sea. And where several farm-groups made up a township, more formal deliberations were required, and to carry out their decisions they chose a responsible man, the constable.

175 Of the crofters' manner of deciding communal affairs
621 in Uist, Carmichael wrote, in 1884, that these meetings
181 "were highly interesting, as showing the ability of the people, their logical and legal acumen, their readiness of resources and, I can happily add, their invariable courtesy
175 towards one another. There was one regular official known
622 as the constable on whom there lay the chief executive responsibility. When a crofter is elected constable of his
[782] town-land, he takes off his shoes and stockings and, taking

(A) SACRAMENTS AND RUNES OF LABOUR, IN FAMILY, TEAM AND TOWNSHIP

788 Labour given to the winning of food, shelter and
221 clothing was begun and blessed by poetic, rhythmic prayers or 'runes'. The words were usually reinforced by a symbolic gesture or simple rite. By help of the runes the people sought spiritual preparation for work, invoked aid and finally consecrated the thing made for use.

221 Wherever work was rhythmic it was carried on by
• 461 working songs. Songs of hunting or herding recalled the
[171] hill and pasture, or praised the landscape with an exuberant flow unequalled in any tongue we know but old Irish, with which Scots Gaelic is so closely linked, or Welsh, of which the nature classics are linked to the epics of the sixth and seventh century thought to be composed in Strathclyde.[1]

788 Yet it was not these but the rhythmic prayers or runes
461 which initiated labour, stage by stage. They are paralleled
[171] among many peoples, but those of the Gael possess rare fullness of meaning and beauty of imagery, words and form. When labour was ended, the food won or the clothing made was consecrated for the use of family and friends, of the poor and the stranger-guest.

788 In the struggle for food, the sowing and reaping of corn
241 ranked highest, followed by its parching and grinding (*Carmina*, Nos. 88-92). The preparation of seed for its sowing was accompanied by its consecration, *an coisreageadh sioil*. Similarly for reaping: "Laying his bonnet on the ground, the father of the family took up his sickle and,

[113] [1] Examples of these nature poems are given in scholarly prose translation by Kenneth H. Jackson (1937 and 1950). Songs with their melodies will be found in Arthur Geddes (Ed.), *The Songs of Craig and Ben*, vol. i, 1951.

788 CH. VII SPIRITUAL LIFE OF COMMUNITY
538 versions to suggest the significant poetic form of the original.

788 "The Clipping Blessing", being addressed to creatures,
236 is simple in thought and form, and its opening may be rendered:

O come back woolly, though now you're shorn,
By May, may each a lamb have borne,
May lovely Bride you endow,
And Mary fair sustain you now!

[825] It goes on to beg protection from wolf and bear, as well
[538] as fox, hoodie crow and eagle, and closes with the opening couplet.

236 From start to finish the work must be true. The wool
• 461 is from the sheep they reared—it is not got by 'thigging', as a landlord takes 'gifts' from poor tenants; the yarn is sound with no odds of thread from worn-out cloth; the web is their very own, not the clergyman's due (*Carmina*,
786 110, 113, 109). Only so can the goodwife's web be beauti-
788 ful, and blest. "Thrums nor odds of thread, my hand
[539] never kept nor shall keep. Every hue in the bow-of-the-
[593] shower has gone through my fingers beneath the cross." The weaver, with her household cares and her bairns about her, to be clear in mind must be calm in heart as, thread by
[196] thread, she prepares her warp. To start, she chooses Saint Columba's Day.

[539] Thursday of blessings
For warping and waulking,
Thrice fifty strands
To number . . .

Ward away the evil eye!
Or evil will, or aught awry,
Consecrate, O Lord on High,
My Loom . . .

771 "The Iona Community is a Brotherhood of men within
792 the Church of Scotland seeking to find the implications of
794 the Kingdom of God for modern society. During the summer months they worship, work and live together on
621 Iona, rebuilding the ruined Abbey on a co-operative basis. Half the Brotherhood are young clergy pledged to work for two years in the difficult places of the cities (after three months in Iona), emphasising the place of the Church in the New Community that is emerging in the world. The other half are skilled artisans who desire to express their labour as a ministry within the Priesthood of all Believers and create—in the building—a microcosmic witness of how labouring is transformed when seen as a Sacrament. The Brotherhood is based on Reformation principles.
[221] Several members of the Community are married. At present the artisans return to the ordinary labour market in the winter time."[1]

• [461] In the Iona Community, theology is linked to communal labour and the re-shaping of society; and its symbolic centre, Iona, is more than a literary name, or a historic ruin, to those who have set about rebuilding its cathedral tower, cloister and surrounding dwellings. Continuity is exemplified in its leader, the Rev. George F. Macleod, a descendant of Dr. Norman Macleod, the friend of McLeod Campbell. The significance of this Community to the theme of this chapter lies in the endeavour of its members to learn, by help of ancient native ways, new ways of Christian life in their own land. The attempt to link industrial Scotland, and lands beyond, to the Gaelic West, is a notable recognition of what Celtic Christianity, maintained and renewed by communal tradition, has yet to give the world.

[1] From the magazine of the Iona Community, *The Coracle*.

175 perhaps once in a generation, the neighbours were still the
476 best administrators for poor relief. On the whole, this
651 remained true to 1914.

As to financial assistance from the Government, the
175 evidence seems at first bewildering in its contradictions,
651 suggesting utter inconsistency on the part of the people.
476 Thus, the record of the Lewis-and-Harris fishermen, in repaying loans for the purchase of boats, was the most honourable in the North-west. In 1900, of the total capital on barely 100 loans made to them, 83 per cent had been repaid, whereas on 150 loans elsewhere less than 60 per cent had been repaid.

175 Yet as to the record of Lewismen with regard to assist-
653 ance for road-making, the Brand Report was significantly reticent. In 1891 a road was planned direct to Stornoway from Loch Roag on the west coast at Carloway. This short-cut of sixteen miles was to shorten the distance by seven miles and so facilitate the transit of fish landed at Carloway. Crofter labour was employed as a means of 'self-help'. The road was, mistakenly, printed as complete on 'base maps' and other recent 'quarter-inch' maps. By 1901, £15,500 had been spent, a sum which exceeded the estimated cost, but only eight miles of road had been completed and five miles partially made, while three miles were quite incomplete. The estimate having been exceeded and "financial difficulties having arisen"—the contractor had gone bankrupt and the engineer was dismissed—the work came to a standstill, £10,000 more having been estimated as necessary to complete the road.
[121] Of that sum £8000 was granted.[1] But the road was left
• [461] unfinished. These figures alone might not condemn

[1] J. P. Day (1918), p. 328. Day added that "the work should now, more than twenty years after its start, be approaching completion"!

175 the work done—or rather not done—by the local labourers;
653 for deep peat has misled road engineers elsewhere.
But impartial observers have left no doubt that the work
461 was shirked—partly from the labourers' lack of will,
181 in other words from laziness, and partly from the not unnatural desire that further grants might continue, offering easy money. Inspection revealed deliberate and combined concealment of bad work, road metal being thrown on to give a surface which had no foundation. The Carloway road, which was to help the Loch Roag fishermen by rapid transport of fresh catches, was never completed. The bad work of many contributed to the undoing of all.

175 . How are these two apparently contradictory responses
657 to help to be explained? The answer lies in the completely
653 different methods of expending the grants. A loan to fishermen for a boat was put into their own responsible
121 hands. The hope of profit in which each could share stimulated their enterprise; and where both the private honour of each member and the corporate honour of each crew was at stake, mutual obligation and team-spirit spurred them to work. But road-making—a work many had done for contractors elsewhere as navvies under de-
181 grading conditions—was different. A Gael responds when his imagination is fired, whether for selfish or unselfish ends; but he can also enjoy leisure as to the manner born! Not only was personal skill or effort in road-making of no advantage to an individual; there was little to call out either personal prowess or team-spirit in the work. Moreover, little effort appears to have been made by the administration to arouse ardour. The ultimate advantage of a good road to the people on the west of the Island, as a whole, was clear. Yet since bad work and delay led (at first) to further

159 stubborn and suspicious; he never believed it. He realised
423 that the backwardness of the Island arose from lack of opportunity, and that opportunity he would do his best
433 to provide. Wherever he went he found the same story —things half attempted, nothing done." Leverhulme, one felt in 1919, wanted to do all he could for the Islanders. A greater man would have wanted to work not only for, but with, the Islanders. Then, even if the fisheries had been ruined, as they were, by forces outside his control, he would have shared a moral victory, not shared and suffered economic loss, with moral defeat.

174 In the Isles for centuries before, a family and well-tried
183 friends were valued above all other things. What was more, this was still true in the lifetime both of the elder men and
[178] the women he found at home, and of the absent men, at war. The foundation for this friendly life was a plot of
159 land and work to do, a home and the leisure to enjoy it.
433 Leverhulme, too, valued these things in his own way. He cared for human homes and gardens, and had proved it at
• 461 Port Sunlight and elsewhere. A pioneer of industry and efficiency, he pled for 'a six-hour day' and leisure afterwards, and he had done much to realise the ideal in his own works. Moreover, he was not without respect for spiritual values, freedom, and a congregation's right to choose their pastor.[1] All these things should have helped to put him into sympathy with Island life, and up to a point they did so.

159 It is clear that Leverhulme had considered the possi-
433 bilities of improving the local fisheries, village by village; and an engineer had reported on possible harbour improve-
228 ments at Ness, Barvas, and elsewhere. But he came to the

[1] Leverhulme (1927), p. 211; and Leverhulme (1st Baron), *The Six-Hour Day and Other Industrial Questions*, 1919.

458 problem remains that Island seamen may thus continue
746 indefinitely to be crofters receiving partial relief, seamen only in name. Without doubt, part-time work on a croft is socially a lesser evil than prolonged unemployment in a slum or semi-slum. The crofter's family, too, is relatively better reared than that of many a poor seaman in Glasgow, Liverpool or Cardiff. Yet if this were all, it would be no adequate life for a man, while continuing to be an expense
• [461] to the State. The more satisfactory side of such relief is
[311] that the Islanders, when unemployed, turn to building new 'white houses', and either to making small improvements on their crofts, or as in Ness (a progressive village with a high proportion of seamen), to the reclamation of new holdings on 'skinned land'. In all such cases a means test provides against full payment to those who could do without.

458 To women normally employed in 'gutting', unem-
746 ployment relief is given only at such time as there is no work during the season when it might be expected, *i.e.*
462 from May or June to December. Gutters from the Island
[228] are busiest for the months from June to August on the West and East Coast of Scotland, and again for two months, from October to November, in East Anglia. The number of Lewis women normally employed was over 1500 in a typical season (1930), the earnings averaging £19 each for the summer fishing in Stornoway, and as much again for the gutting in East Anglia. But the demand fell, and by 1932, for instance, some 250 women were obtaining relief, through Stornoway, in early August, the number doubling during the slack months from mid-August.

181 The tragedy and the danger of any means test are that
458 in effect it asks, not "How prosperous can you become if given help?" but "How poor can you become to qualify
746

181 for help?" In one of the Outer Isles, I know of one or
458 two crofters holding fifteen acres of arable, with a share of a good outrun, who have let their stock dwindle and
746 deteriorate, and their crofts lie mostly fallow, though these could support a horse or two, several cows, and fifty sheep. After having found some casual labour, they discovered they could live mostly idle 'on the dole'. Self-respecting neighbours suffer: good families who prefer to be independent of 'Assistance' and to improve their croft
[476] and stock, and the outrun too. These find their stock deteriorating for lack of co-operation in breeding, fencing, and other communal duties, and see their crops invaded by weeds, blown from a lazy neighbour's plot. While an idle neighbour benefits by their industry, they themselves are losers.

In another island, a hard-working crofter lost a score of good lambs through 'worrying' by the dogs of an idle neighbour, whose own stock had dwindled to a trifle. He was finally awarded legal compensation; but he found it wiser not to exact it, for the unspoken threat of exaction
[476] gave him a hold upon the idle 'dole-drawer'. The worker
[626] could still insist that the idler pay his share of the cost of posts and wire for a fence on the outrun, or contribute the minimum hours of labour due for fencing and other
• [461] statutory tasks in the township. Men like that idler sap
181 the urge to work. They lower communal morality to a semblance of the social code once too commonly seen by Islanders in the domestic service of the upper and middle classes, a code by which chronic idleness was disguised as 'leisure' and conspicuous dependence upon the work of others was honoured as 'independent means'.[1]

[1] A summary of production, and figures of productive and non-productive income, are given in Appendix I.

368 ground. Some of these provide for a much larger area and indeed the policeman serves the whole of the parish of Uig. Three buses per day in each direction operating on a circular route provide transport to Stornoway.

UPPER CARLOWAY

427 The township comprises 51 registered crofts and 28 feus and allotments which are
133 situated on the drift covered slope which rises from the head of Loch Carloway. The crofts are each about half a mile in length and from 5 to 25 yards in width aligned up and downslope. The lowest portion of the croftland is just above sea level and the highest approaches 225 feet O.D. The key crofts are numbers 30 and 31 whose boundaries come to a point thus enabling the crofts to be accommodated on the arcuate hill face. In the east are the crofts of Park Carloway which were lotted at a later date than the main area of croftland (numbers 1 to 40).

Only two crofts are fragmented ('fixed runrig'); these occupy lowlying hummocky land near the river where fencing would be difficult. Elsewhere fencing has been almost completed between the roads, but above the upper road fencing is less common, usually only being undertaken by the more enterprising crofters with more promising land; the bare rock surface of crofts 9 and 10 precludes any such attempt there. Almost all the fencing has taken place since 1946.

427 The 51 crofts and 28 feus and allotments are operated in 56 working agricultural units.
311 The total land reputed arable 134.4 acres and the outrun 82.65 acres which gives a total of 217.05 acres of individually held ('croft') land. The method of working is controlled by the relationship of slope, soil and elevation. Three zones may be distinguished, namely

(1) Below the road;
   a) well drained and fairly accessible,
   b) poorly drained and often far from the croft house
(2) Between the roads: a main zone of cultivation
(3) Above the main road an upper zone
   a) with bare rock and thin soil
   b) drift covered - similar in character to (2), but more exposed

Crofts 1 - 32 occupy all three zones
" 33 - 40 and 46 occupy zones (2) and (3)
" 49 is in zone (2)
" 41 and 42 are in zone (1)a and are in 'fixed runrig'.

241 In nearly all parts of these zones it is possible to use a tractor and so the cultivation
[407] of oats and cutting of hay is accomplished. It is usual to work the potatoes by horse, but only one man preferred to do all his ploughing by horse. This widespread use of the tractor is in marked contrast to the townships southeast of the Loch where it is almost impossible to use the tractor in many places. The significance of this in the contrasts in methods and efficiency need hardly be emphasised.

● 461 Life in a crofting township is governed by a very distinctive pattern of working that is so strong that it even influences the operations of the mills in Stornoway, for each crofter, if he continues to work his croft fully, must take time off for the communal operations such as the shearing or dipping of the sheep and inevitably at certain times of the year he will be anxious to work the croft. The table attempts to set out the pattern of the agricultural year in this group of townships (Figure 40).

DUN CARLOWAY

361 Dun Carloway though clearly of a similar type to the other townships south of Loch
427 Carloway has certain features peculiar to itself. The croft land may be divided into two sections; crofts 18 to 23 occupy the deep trench which extends from the Dun Carloway school to Loch Carloway itself. These holdings are larger than the average discussed above and are divided in broad rectangular block. To the west there is a less deeply entrenched zone where the crofts are long and narrow lying up and down slope like those
241 of Borrowston. Short steep and narrow lazy beds characterise the cultivation which follows the pattern set in the other townships, although the areas, as has been noted above, are much larger in some cases; the largest have up to twenty acres. Despite this increased size no croft has more than two acres of oats. The low percentage of land under cultivation is only in part explained by the difficult nature of the ground and
● 461 the limited use which can be made of the tractor. Few crofters are willing to attempt
162 more cultivation (to provide extra feed for store cattle or some other form of stock
[288] enterprise) so long as the income from weaving is satisfactory. The concept of the croft as an ancilliary employment appears to have defeated its own object, for with the population at its present level, and with the income from weaving as it is, very few crofters are prepared to do more than provide milk for the family, (with the annual cow and calf subsidies, and the proceeds of the sale of the annual calf as by-products) and to derive what income Providence rather than goodmanagement may allow from the sheep.

427 The total area of individually held croftland is 194 acres which is worked in twenty
311 five agricultural units derived from twenty six crofts, nine feus, one 'free gift' holding and one squatter. The cultivation is accomplished by one horse and one tractor, each of which is owned within the township.

311 The total sourning is exceeded, the main reason for this being the gross overstocking of sheep; 187.4% of the soum. This overstocking cannot fail to have a harmful effect on the common pasture, promoting an increase in the bracken already visible on some of the croftland itself, under-nourishment and disease. The poor quality of the hill pasture is brought home by a comparison with the grazings of North Uist where the most striking feature of the landscape is its greenness after the heavier browns of Western Lewis. Regeneration by surface seeding would certainly be helpful here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

128 The tables given in appendices C and D form the basis for much of the comment in the
preceding pages. They must now be considered in the light of the general tendencies which they illustrate in the changing livestock economy units.

241 Appendix C (1) elucidates the working of the crofts. The picture is somewhat com-
311 plicated by the large number of non-crofting holdings in the area, of which 43 carry
231 stock (a quarter of these sublet croftland). The number of feus also tends to mask the
433 process of amalgamation of crofts to form larger working units; a process which has been taking place for some time. There are in this connection one or two cases of the
427 cross working of crofts between individuals in neighbouring townships. The figures for these units have been included with those of the township where the tenant is resident.

241 Oats are the most important arable crop. The acreages of sown grass for hay and pasture are much lower in comparison. Permanent grass, mostly old arable land, is to be found on 52% of the total area of land occupied as crofts and feus. A large proportion of this is on very thin soil where bare rock is exposed and on wet land, but even so it does show that much more of the land might be under cultivation or improved grass.
[145] The decrease in cultivation since the late nineteenth century is probably much less than that for the Valtos area of South Uig where about 70% of the inbye and outrun is under

TABLE 42

Stock held, according to status of principal croft workers

162
463
464

	Croft workers under 65 years of age:			Over 65:		
	No other employment:	Regular employment:	Casual employment:	Male:	Female:	All Units
	%	%	%	%	%	% (No.)
CATTLE HELD:						
nil	16	10	14	25	17	14 (65)
1	63	68	63	60	75	65 (314)
2	20	19	19	11	8	18 (86)
more than 2	-	3	5	4	-	3 (13)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (478)
SHEEP HELD:						
nil	19	11	14	19	42	14 (68)
1 - 5	6	3	2	6	-	4 (17)
6 - 10	18	7	5	13	8	9 (45)
11 - 20	14	17	14	16	25	16 (78)
21 - 50	25	39	36	30	25	34 (164)
51 -100	16	20	25	14	-	19 (89)
100 +	1	3	5	2	-	3 (14)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (475)

Some units omitted for lack of data.

Labour - who are the agriculturalists ?

● 461 When we recall (Table 12, page 28) that 16% of the crofter tenants are absentees,
162 that 34% are over 65 years of age (of whom 8% are women), and that a further 7% are women under the age of 65, it becomes clear that many of the tenants cannot reasonably be expected themselves to provide active labour for agricultural operations. An attempt has been made to analyse the agricultural labour force; this must be treated with some reserve because it was necessary to decide for every effective agricultural
463 unit, who was the principal croft worker. In some cases croft work is shared by a
162 younger and an older man, the former having a regular job (often weaving) but being available for the heavier work, whilst the older man keeps things going from day to day. Women, even the elderly, often provide an important subsidiary source of labour, too.
128 Where two persons were shown on the croft record as sharing the work of the croft, the
[287] older, if over 65, was ignored. Thus the analysis probably under-estimates the part played by elderly persons. Nevertheless the results are useful (Table 43): two-thirds of all effective agricultural units are worked by crofters having other

asceticism is fundamental to the peoples' lives. A brief discussion of the Sabbath will serve to conclude my discussi of religion and to indicate some additional difficulties wh the Sgiathanach faces in his attempt to preserve his culture

Sunday does not exist on Skye. There is the "Continen Sunday" and the Sabbath. On any other day of the week, the greeting is, "It's a fine day," or, more often, "It's a wet day." The Sabbath, however, is "no day to be speaking of days." Keeping the Sabbath is almost a fetish among the people. It is a readily observable test of an individual's religious capacity. All unnecessary work, all unnecessary words, and all unnecessary thought is taboo. Only the barest minimum of worldly activities are permissible. This does not mean a day spent in idleness; the time should be spent in public worship at the kirk, private spiritual contemplation and family worship. The Skyeman's estimation of a newcomer may depend on his keeping the Sabbath. One man was very surprised to learn how long a memory the people hav when a man deviates from the expected. A visitor asked a crofter what kind of a man a certain newcomer to Kilmuir was, to which the crofter replied, "He's all right, except six years ago he played the pipes on the Sabbath." Most newcomers, including the few Catholics, respect the Sabbath.

No crofter would ever think of doing any work on this day beyond feeding his cattle as an act of mercy. After weeks of rain, the crop of oats or hay may be ready for harvesting on the Sabbath, but he will not touch it. A man

Despite these aids and incentives, parents do not encourage their children to weave. The weavers themselves describe the job as dull, offering no security and no possibilities for advancement.

Referring to her young son, a mother says, "By the time he's old enough to weave, the tweeds will have failed." Another mother says, "I want him to learn some trade, if he's intelligent enough. I don't want him to stay here. The tweed is so uncertain." "There's no future in it," says the father of another young boy, "I definitely wouldn't want him to be a weaver. It would be good if he went in for engineering."

The histories of the weavers reveal many examples of shifting occupations. Weaving often alternates with work in the local mill, which is also relatively unspecialized. The Shawbost mill must tolerate this unstable labor force, as labor is difficult to find. Eldest sons tend to leave the island for more stable, permanent jobs, leaving the croft and the loom to their younger siblings. Table V[1] shows the number of male weavers in each age group.

The fact that Shawbost has the same age structure as the rest of rural Lewis (see Table II)[2] and less unemployment signifies that weaving has not served as an adequate incentive to keep young people on the island.

1. [See p. xi--Analyst]
2. [See p.xiii--Analyst]

585 For some weeks after returning, the couple goes visiti
178 with a bottle. The scope of visits seems to have narr
to close relatives unable to attend the wedding, and
sometimes the custom is referred to as old-fashioned.
[431] The bride usually mails pieces of bridal cake to
[205] relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

758 2. Death: At a time of illness or injury, an
574 individual may see persons he has not seen for years.
The house is filled with a constant flow of visitors,
and the visitors recount every detail of a sick person
[763] pallor and movement. The room is usually occupied by
visitors when a person breathes his last.

763 In the past, work ceased in every house in the
46 surrounding neighborhood when a person died. This no
[178] longer occurs. (The story is told of a weaver who call
[288] a mill in Stornoway to say that he could not finish an
urgent tweed because there had been a death in the
village, and was told, "You keep on weaving till the
[535] weaver dies.") However, dances in the village are
[444] cancelled, and the bothan (an isolated hut in which
liquor is sold illegally) may close. Outdoor work, suc
as peat-cutting, which would be widely seen is avoided.

763 Word of the death spreads throughout the village a
[203] beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulate
inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

part-time or (to use a convenient phrase) 'overtime', meaning by this a special effort such as cannot be maintained for long. Women's work, on the other hand, has a continuous element of 'part-time' occupations, which can be simplified to 'light' work, when a woman's services are also needed at harvest or to carry in peats, and the like.

One vital point in the life of peasant women is too often uncontrolled: maternity, with its crisis of childbirth. Among wild creatures the young are normally born in spring, when food is abundant and daylight long; but among mankind there is no clear season for parenthood. This has its compensations, for neighbour-wives can, and do, help one another, turn about. It also has its drawbacks where women have a large share in the seasonal round; and a heavy period of work, such as creeling peat, may strain a woman for life if it comes when she should have light occupation. It may well be that old Gaelic customs, from courtship through marriage, provided protection.

The seasons being still the same, the earlier sequence of traditional tasks is maintained through the year with certain differences. The upper graph shows the men ploughing or delving, as the land permitted, from February to a full-time peak in March–April. From then, women helped increasingly. By March, nets had to be got ready and the boats put in order for the fishing season, closing in September. In townships well situated for cod-fisheries, fishing for sale must have been almost full-time work for many crews, in the season; elsewhere it seems to have been no more than light work for food alone. Ashore, women baited the lines and dried the cod. In April–May the women would see that their few ewes bore their lambs and suckled them in safety; and in spring the cows would

[see p. 91-analyst]

calve. For peat-cutting, the men took advantage of the driest months, with a peak in May–June; and after the peat stacked on the moor had dried through the midsummer months, the women set out to creel it in, before the autumn rain should have made the bogs too soft, and stacked it near their doors. The fishing season usually closed with some herring fishing in August–September. The clipping, or rather pulling off, of the wool as it began to be shed, was done chiefly by men, in July–August. Then, too, the absence of fences made herding doubly necessary to protect the growing crops.

Some relief was given by the departure of many of the cattle to the shielings, where a few girls and women would stay through July and August, once men and women together had driven the cattle there. Cows kept at home were, and still are, tethered, or herded close at hand. Even now the hay harvest is insignificant, and until this century it hardly existed, except for a little put by in a tiny barn. Towards the end of the summer, roofs were stripped of their thin thatch, and fresh turf was laid on the light rafters and covered with barley straw. Then as now, harvest came in September–October, all helping in reaping the oats with the scythe or the sickle, and pulling up the barley by the root. With the onset of winter winds, rain and cold, the chief outdoor tasks of the year were over.

Throughout the year there were small jobs to be done, and in the past, owing to the imperfection of implements, constant small repairs were necessary. Indoors in winter the women prepared the wool together and wove it. Baskets were also made then, the coarser types by men. By all these means the essentials of subsistence were largely met, so long as the seasons were reasonably good. Except for salt for the housewife and iron for the smith, the food

and clothing, firing and shelter produced met local needs. Further questions of early economy belong to Part Two, as do those of the festivals by which the seasons were initiated and closed, along with the phases of human life.

A century later (as indicated in the lower graph), agricultural tasks were much the same, but the character of fishing had altered greatly. Herring fishing was at its height in the Island for some fifteen years, or half a generation, before 1914; but it never recovered from the difficulties of the war and after-war periods. The curves of the summer, autumn and winter fishing indicate the 'full-time' activity of summer, and the 'part-time' work of early winter. Not only the men, but the women participated, the women being employed in gutting and kippering. Boats and men fished further afield. Women were employed in gutting in early summer in the Scots East Coast fishing, which preceded that of the West Coast and was followed by the East Anglian autumn fishing. Some line-fishing continued locally in summer, but it has now almost ceased. The building and repair of roads increased after the middle of the century. The carting of peats, stacked by the roadsides, lessened 'creeling'; but it is particularly haulage by lorry which has replaced carrying by the creel, so lightening women's labour.

Indoors, primitive crafts tended to be superseded as machine-made articles replaced those of native material and manufacture; but the *ceilidh* ('*cailey*'), the meeting 'together', continued, though the arts of song and poetic improvisation declined. In Harris the women had woven and spun for centuries and have continued to do so for home use and sale; in Lewis the women gave up weaving in the last century, few spinning since then and none weaving. Thirty years ago only an occasional weaver, always a man, could be

found in a Lewis village; but in the ten to twenty years before 1939, the so-called 'Harris' tweed industry spread enormously in Lewis, accompanied by the construction of large spinning mills in Stornoway which supply yarn to male weavers. One further activity, kelp-making, was important for a time, although—not being strictly a traditional task—it is not represented in the upper graph, nor yet in the lower one, having declined after 1825 and disappeared (in the Island) long before the present century. Such was the annual rhythm of seasonal labour prevalent during the last generation, and a hundred years before.

7. *Rural Changes in Diet, Dress and Inter-marriage, and in Mobility: 1919–39*

Many outward changes occurred in the twenty years after the close of the First World War. Till the Island was able to benefit from the commercial advances of the mainland, it had no adequate relief from the famines of early times; in recent years the quantity of food has been rather more adequate. With the import of new foods, the consumption of vitamins at first declined: there was greater consumption of white bread from Glasgow and less of fresh vegetables (as ruined garden walls bear witness), and less, too, of cod-liver oil with the cessation of cod-fishing. Latterly, fenced gardens with vegetables and lettuce are providing vitamins, and fresh fruit (unobtainable even after 1919) is commonly on sale all the year round, so that a more rational dieting, when it can be afforded, is tending to recover lost ground and perhaps more.[1]

[1] E. P. Cathcart (*et al.*), *Studies in Nutrition: an Enquiry into the Diet of Families in the Highlands and Isles: III, Lewis* (Medical Research Council, Special Reports, Series 242. H.M.S.O.), London, 1940.

to neglect crofting and to concentrate on weaving. Those who still participate in crofting activities may neglect their communal obligations, such as going out on the moor after sheep, and may prefer to harvest crops, cut peat or perform other agricultural activities independent of other villagers.

Despite these tendencies, certain criteria of firm boundedness are still found in the township network. All the adult males of the township, including non-crofters, are responsible for serving as officers in the township grazing committee. The committee draws up rules for the organization of communal crofting activities, and applies for grants from the Crofters Commission or Department of Agriculture, for example, to build a new township fence, plant trees as shelter belts for livestock, extend a peat road, or to fence and reseed areas of moorland in "township reseeding schemes" (see Chapter 2). All adult males of the township are expected to provide labor to implement such plans.

Township meetings, chaired by the clerk of the grazing committee, are held twice a year. A vote is taken when any decision is to be made. The vote is usually unanimous, as all discussion, argument and persuasion have occurred before the meeting, and those who disagree

and its neighbourhood becoming the centre of the growing industry. In 1793, the Lewis Parish contributors to the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* indicated that upwards of 183 boats were fishing off the island. In Uig no less than 275 netmakers were recorded, showing that the fishing industry was prosecuted with some measure of enthusiasm. 'All the people dwell in little farm-villages and they fish in the summer season. The women do not fish; but almost at all times when there is occasion to go to sea, they never decline that service, and row powerfully.' In the parish of Barvas in the eighteenth century some 9,000 Scotch pints of oil were taken each year from dog-fish livers and sold to Stornoway merchants at from 6d to 8d per pint; it is related that the tenants of Ness were able for a long time to pay their rents with the oil proceeds. Cod and ling were the principal fish caught by the men of Lochs, an annual average of 24 tons being cured and sold in Stornoway. Generally, other fish caught were consumed locally.

Loch Roag on the west of Lewis proved to be about the best fishing ground; in 1794 about '90 sail' from all parts of the United Kingdom were at the herring fishing there. At one time Loch Roag-cured herring was exported exclusively to Sweden. The minister of Stornoway, contributing to the *Old Statistical Account*, gives figures showing the quantities of fish shipped from the port from 1791 to 1796. During these six years some 14,000 barrels of herring were exported to the Continent, and 20,000 sent for consumption in Britain; some 350 tons of cod and ling were destined for Continental markets. Herring, cod, and ling were thus pursued during the following years with growing vigour, though the inshore white fish took favour. The herring fishing did not make great strides, mainly because to the middle of the nineteenth century catches were confined to the inland sea lochs; the people for the most part were not familiar with deep-sea fishing, and their boats and nets were not suitable for it.

Indeed, when Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, he gave scant attention to the potential in the fishings round his island. Though he expended considerable amounts in securing a regular steamer communication between the mainland and the island, and spent over £2,000 in building a quay at Stornoway

6 TRADE AND INDUSTRY

In the earliest times, the folk of the island of Harris and Lewis were self-supporting; all that they needed for life as it was lived in those days was available at near hand; their existence was self-contained, the economy virtually self-sufficient. By and large, the only commodities often imported were salt, iron, and, to a certain extent, wood. Rents were paid largely in kind: the produce of agriculture, fishing and labour. Surplus produce was directed to southern markets to bring in the odd shilling or two for which there was really very little need in the island. But once money became important in the national economy, it was not long before it was required in the island economy too. By 1790, if not well before, two or three open boats set out each year from Uig to Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. At about this time, too, changes were making their slow appearance in the island way of life and living. Specialists were being required: smiths, tinkers, shipwrights, netmakers, boatbuilders, weavers, tailors and millers. Each of these craftsmen generally held some cornland, either individually or in shares, and also had some rights in the common ground of the township in which he lived.

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

From the pure crofter class there emerged the crofter-craftsmen. In Lochs, for instance, by the turn of the seventeenth century 80 per cent were registered as fishers and netmakers. In the west, in the parish of Barvas, some 70 per cent were also fishers, with kelp-making as a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s to 60s in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tacksmen at 5d each, earned 20s a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s a ton, and worked on roads for 8d per day.

In Harris in 1895, the eight trained male weavers worked for the gentry only. Weaving for the populace was done by the

womenfolk, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. In Lewis, male weavers were more common: one to every twenty-five families. The making of whisky was introduced about the seventeenth century. This was in addition to the old drink of home-brewed beer or ale *(lionn)*, and much of it was made to pay rents; it must have consumed a considerable quantity of valuable foodstuff. However, the spread of distillation as a legitimate home industry by which the rent could be paid, in kind or by sale, was followed by legislation prohibiting all but very large stills; illegal distilling of course went on in a small way.

It was, then, by a very narrow margin that subsistence was won in the island some two centuries ago. Many times famine showed how close was the wolf to the island doors. The introduction of the potato, and the interest in the fishing industry led to an increase in the population, though as discussed in Chapter 3 this in turn brought more problems. Basically, the island economy had never been organised on a sound foundation, with the result that winds of change blew where they would with little or no control.

A new factor in the island economy was introduced after 1750. This was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed on the shore for subsequent use in the manufacture of alkali for the glass and soap industries. The first tentative move in the island was made by MacLeod of Harris in 1748, when he allowed some Irish labourers to make kelp on his shores; so little was the product's value realised at the time that he only charged them 2s per ton manufactured. As the burning of kelp came to be understood, and the marketable value of the product ascertained, the native population set to. Between 1772 and 1864, about 50 tons were produced in Lewis each year, compared with some 800 tons per annum in the Uists; the Harris figure was 500-600 tons. The growth of the industry began to snowball, and the Minister of Lochs, writing in the *Old Statistical Account*, states that at the time (1796) some 50 tons were being produced in that parish per annum. In Stornoway parish, though no figure is available, the minister reports that kelp-burning was the principal manufacture, and that everyone able to fill a creel, or carry one, was employed at it for about three months of the year. Little of it seems to have been done in Barvas parish. The price of kelp varied

Thus were laid the lines of a new form of economic organisation for Lewis. At first, tweed manufacture here, as in Harris, was strictly a domestic activity: the wool of the crofter's own sheep was clipped, washed and dyed, carded, spun at home, and woven into cloth by persons in the township with the skill to produce a suitable cloth; the weaving was a part-time and mainly female occupation. Payment for the weaving was in kind: peats, potatoes, or labour. The waulking or finishing of the cloth was mostly a communal activity carried out by the womenfolk, who turned it into a particular social occasion with definite feminine characteristics. If the cloth made was in excess of domestic requirements, the crofter sold it directly to a customer, or else the local shopkeeper bought it or gave credit for it.

With the rise in weaving for a definite market in Lewis, all this changed. Weaving became a full-time specialist occupation and, partly because the flying shuttle made the work heavier, it became predominantly male work. With the use of mill-spun yarn there grew up a number of merchants, the Lewis 'producers', who bought yarn either locally or from the mainland, and put it out for weaving and hand finishing on a commission basis. The yarn and the resulting cloth remained their property. At times the cloth embodied a handspun weft; at other times perhaps no handspun was used at all. As pointed out above, it was marketed as Harris Tweed, as was the 100 per cent handspun cloth, yet it cost about 21d to produce compared with 36d for the 'real' tweed. The cheaper type provided Lewis's rapidly-expanding output between 1900 and 1911, and by that year Lewis had outstripped Harris. In 1912, the handspun yardage produced in Harris was 175,000; partially and wholly millspun accounted for some 4,000 yards; and the total value was £26,500. In Lewis the yardage of handspun cloth was some 10,000; but about 340,000 yards of partially or wholly millspun was sold. The total Lewis value was £44,000.

The trade mark

When eventually the question arose of some mark to distinguish between the two cloths, it was with difficulty that the Harris merchants persuaded the Board of Trade that a distinction was neces-

left the Island. Yet after 1931 many returned, owing to losses and unemployment both in British towns and overseas. When emigrants began to come home the 'Harris' tweed industry had spread to Lewis and offered increasing employment. Some men still fished in family-owned Island boats, and others as paid hands (on boats from the East Coast), though losses and unemployment were suffered.

Inter-war changes were hastened not only by movement beyond the Island—an influence at work for three or four generations before—but by mobility within it. In 1919 a small mail car made its way daily from Stornoway along each of the five main roads, with an occasional passenger. When crofters crossed the Island to Stornoway they went on foot or took the pony and cart at a slow walk: it was a day's journey. Ten years later, Ford vans, bought second-hand, ran daily to Stornoway from every township. Frequency, ease and relative cheapness of movement came late in an Island with no railway: the mobility of the motor for marketing and shopping brought rapid change.

'Hand-loom' weaving had become an important, if precarious, resource, important because of the capital invested and the labour employed, yet precarious because of its dependence upon name and sentiment, not only upon intrinsic value. In Harris many women had spun and woven for sale for over a generation before 1914, mostly weaving pure hand-spun yarn, and they continued to do so. For many years before 1914, an occasional weaver was to be found in villages in Lewis too, generally

problem remains that Island seamen may thus continue indefinitely to be crofters receiving partial relief, seamen only in name. Without doubt, part-time work on a croft is socially a lesser evil than prolonged unemployment in a slum or semi-slum. The crofter's family, too, is relatively better reared than that of many a poor seaman in Glasgow, Liverpool or Cardiff. Yet if this were all, it would be no adequate life for a man, while continuing to be an expense to the State. The more satisfactory side of such relief is that the Islanders, when unemployed, turn to building new 'white houses', and either to making small improvements on their crofts, or as in Ness (a progressive village with a high proportion of seamen), to the reclamation of new holdings on 'skinned land'. In all such cases a means test provides against full payment to those who could do without.

To women normally employed in 'gutting', unemployment relief is given only at such time as there is no work during the season when it might be expected, *i.e.* from May or June to December. Gutters from the Island are busiest for the months from June to August on the West and East Coast of Scotland, and again for two months, from October to November, in East Anglia. The number of Lewis women normally employed was over 1500 in a typical season (1930), the earnings averaging £19 each for the summer fishing in Stornoway, and as much again for the gutting in East Anglia. But the demand fell, and by 1932, for instance, some 250 women were obtaining relief,

so creating a small leak in the purse and in the mind, leaving both a little emptier, week by week. Surveys made by teacher-members of the Educational Institute of Scotland describe the effects on listeners in Highland parishes as pernicious, in the main. The reports of the B.B.C., on the other hand, emphasise their cultural endeavours, and the lightening of house-work and of rural monotony or solitude. Every effort is needed to aid a happy selection in home and neighbourhood.

Experiences undergone in war were of very differing types. Many men spent the war years in the Navy, without contact with decent town life, or others in the Merchant Marine. Of combatants in the land forces, the Territorials of the original 51st Highland Division experienced a few months of relative inactivity in France, then of a brief but bitter campaign, followed by long years in prison camps, while other soldiers underwent prolonged training in Britain, followed by severe fighting for long periods, far afield. Lastly, a limited number of men served in engineering or other works of war-time industry, though labouring work, at high wages, kept many of the older men employed at home. Of the women called up for service, some were posted to the Forces, some to the Land Army, and some were sent to factories. The greater opportunities for women to earn a living wage away from the Island tend to equalise the ratio of the sexes.

An experience new to the Western Isles came with the establishment of Air Bases. Not only did their construction provide high wages for labouring for the older resident

For a year or two after the war many men and women returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry. This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving at home—work in which the male weaver was helped by his family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to return to the hard, uncertain work of gutting. The whaling station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950, and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised cultivation. The war-time construction of air-fields had ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was assisted by government grants.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders' main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds. Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there were strong arguments for the extension of the tax to Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artist favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the

boats; value, £15,400. Of this, the greater part came into Lewis creeks (Table 17), making £10,000 for Lewis.

Finally, we may add a round figure for whole or part-time occupations associated with the fisheries, including what accrues by the visiting fleet and its business, of, say, £20,000. This gives a total net output approaching £85,000 from fisheries for a typical year just before 1939.

We now turn to an estimate of the earnings of fishermen and of the women engaged in curing. To some extent these figures overlap, for the value of the net output includes the wages of fishermen and women; but the sums earned on 'stranger' vessels—reduced now to some £3000—and the wages earned by women gutters and curers in East Anglia (about £10,000) are additions to Lewis income. Some of this was, no doubt, sent home in the form of postal orders, etc., causing a further overlap, but much of it was probably sent in the form of notes or brought home in cash. In order to show the real net earnings of rural Lewis, these are separated from the output shown in the first column ((A, i) on p. 314) and are tabled under "Earnings by Crofting and Associated Rural Occupations only" (A, ii).

(*b*) *Fishers' Earnings.*—As no figures of local earnings are separately published, estimates must be based upon the collation of the Fishery Board's *Annual Statistical Tables* and accompanying *Annual Reports* with careful local enquiries. By 1938 the fishermen on Stornoway District herring fishing vessels were reduced to about 350 men and boys in the summer season, of whom only a few worked in autumn and winter. Their earnings included the earnings of share owners of boats and of nets, and of those without shares, the latter being only a fraction, say a quarter, of the total. Nearly 100 District men still worked on 'stranger' (East Coast) vessels at the summer fishing and rather fewer at the East Anglia autumn

PRESENT INDUSTRY

of a knitting industry based on the crofters, who would use Lewis yarn and produce knitwear in addition to their woven fabrics. However, it was found that the yarns used for Harris Tweed were unsuitable for knitwear, not being given sufficient twist in the spinning: before women use this tweed yarn for knitting, it is common practice to twist two or more threads of yarn together on a hand spinning-wheel.

Little in the way of craft work is done on the island, mainly because of the lack of indigenous materials which could be used to produce typically-island items. Marram-grass has been suggested as being suitable for making agricultural wind-breaks, and close-woven basket-work. Shore-stones and pebbles are plentiful both in quantity and variety of type and colour.

Small employment outlets on the island are marine and motor engineering, mainly based on Stornoway, and boat-building. This latter is a small but socially-significant firm in Ness with products with a high reputation. Construction and general building is of some significance, one of the most enterprising firms being built up literally from scratch so as to become a highly-successful island business.

The unemployment problem

The island's unemployment problem is as much a matter of concern today as it has ever been, averaging about 25 per cent annually (representing well over 1,000 people) compared with the Scottish mainland figure of 6.0 per cent; the contemporary figure for Britain is around 3.0 per cent. While unemployment as it affects adults is serious enough, unemployment among teenagers threatens the community's whole future. The island has its Youth Employment Officer, who has an unenviable task. Each junior and secondary school in the island is visited to interview school-leavers, at least once a year; employment advice is given and this is supplemented by Careers Officers' visits.

Such employment openings as exist over the island's limited spectrum are concentrated in Stornoway. They are, however, mainly in shop work, mill work and hotel work for girls, with a few vacancies for apprentices in trades generally associated with building construction. Most of the jobs offered are very much in

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

the nature of stopgaps in the younger, formative years and do not offer progressive training for the eventual chosen career. As an example of this, a number of island girls come to Stornoway to work in local shops and then leave the island after two years or so to take up hotel work or nursing on the mainland; many boys leave the island for apprenticeship training in trades which now require evening-class, day- or block-release educational classes. About fifty young persons leave the island each year under the Training Allowances Scheme of the Youth Employment Service, which financially assists them to live in lodgings while working away from home.

Most of the employment categories in the island of course employ less than a handful of people, either full-time adults or time-serving apprentices; they are fully staffed very quickly and opportunities arise only when an employee dies or leaves the island, or—more rarely—when an increased demand for a service (for instance television engineering at one time) creates vacancies for apprentices.

COMMUNICATIONS

sold, one such causing legal history. The chief garage proprietor in the town applied to use for his business a site he had purchased at a road junction near the western end of the town, close to the principal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate leading into the Castle grounds. It was a mistake in planning, and public disapproval began to make itself felt. The Trust, in an effort to redress the situation, sought to distrain the garage proprietor from extended use of the area. The parties went to law, and the case was fought through the courts until, in the House of Lords, the Trust finally lost and had to pay a bill of some £4,000, equivalent to a fine of £4 to £5 from every family in the burgh. The Trust drew its lesson, and since has formulated a more alert and constructive policy.

The town is well served by its shopping centre, with multiple stores jostling for custom with smaller private business concerns. Prosperity for all, however, depends on the well-being of the Harris Tweed industry. If there are recessions, as there have been in the past, the tills rattle spasmodically. Also standing to suffer are others such as the bus companies (who provide the efficient town services and link up Stornoway with the rural areas), the builders and the haulage contractors. In the ever-present climate of unemployment it is the policy of the mills to employ male labour, despite the fact that women would be cheaper. The mills, run by natives or by Lewis-born incomers of the second and third generation, realise a social obligation in recognising that in Lewis the strong tradition is that the man should be the head of the family in every sense. The mills also carry a proportion of surplus labour to offset the unpredictability of those workers who, with crofts to look after, occasionally have to take a day off 'at the peats' or some such activity. This is another of the island's distinctive traditions.

On Cromwell Street is the shop of James MacKenzie & Sons Limited, dealing in hardware, furniture and china. Nothing unusual in that, at first sight: yet it is another unique aspect of life in Lewis, being conducted as a charity for the benefit of, among others, the aged and infirm persons of Stornoway. The business was established in 1830, on its present site. In 1964, the then principal shareholder presented the building and the business as a

THE OTHER ISLANDS

even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil. Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naïvely at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started, HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island consisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoemakers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses, and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers; and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

CH. 1 ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

From prehistory to the present day, these geographic zones have played their parts as factors in evolution, although the border-lines have changed at different historic crises, and have been modified by economic and social phase. At times the Hebrides have been more closely linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Central Scotland. In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in historic events, but comparability in stage and transition, even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of view, the revealing character of Island life lies not only in static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the Isles and vividly described as " the Past in the Present ". Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic strength of its continuity—notably of early or primitive Christianity—and also by the late occurrence of changes when, at last, they came.

The social consequences of these regional differences in evolution are profound. In the ' Plain ', to the south-east of the Severn-Tees line, large village communities with ' common fields ' prevailed, forming the later manor villages. To the north and west, the more varied, hillier lands encouraged the continuance of hamlets. These hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no more than four or five to a dozen relations or ' friends '—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word ' friend ' frequently implies kinship. Each small group formed a team. Together the men ploughed their mingled rigs (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and on the coast they rowed their boat as its crew. The women, too, did much together, as when they spun their yarn, and fulled or ' waulked ' the cloth that one of them had woven, helping by turn in childbirth and child-care. Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

APPENDIX I

average wage for the summer season dropped to about £25.

The number of women engaged in gutting and packing (and kippering) herrings varies from year to year. In 1938 1000 were engaged locally in summer, most of whom also went to East Anglia. As always, the greater part of the wages was earned in the summer and the remainder in the East Anglia (autumn) fishing season. The net average earnings per worker of the Scottish gutters and packers were estimated at £16 at the Scottish summer fishings and £17 at the East Anglian fishing (*Annual Report*, p. 12). This figure included ' arles ' (*i.e.* earnest money), but excluded travelling expenses. The Stornoway District earnings averaged £16 at the local summer fishing but only £15 at the East Anglia fishing. The latter is a small return to place against the skill of the worker and the discomfort she endures. The women work in small teams together, and their efficiency is partly due to their comradeship.

Figures for catches have already been given as approaching £20,000 for herring and £10,000 for white fish and shell-fish. While the net earnings derived, after subtracting the working expenses of boats and outlays for gear, were very much less than this gross sum, a substantial part should be counted as equivalent to earnings (Statistical Table 21).

Summing up the total net earnings, we arrive at the following for Lewis proper. The women's total net earnings may be taken as £25,000. We add to the probable earnings of the men at the herring fishing an allowance for their profits from other catches, making a total of say £15,000.

The industry was still declining here as elsewhere in Scotland. About 1930 the earnings of hired hands alone reached £30,000 and that of women twice as much, say £60,000. Besides this was the important sum earned by men with share of boats. The local white fish and shell-fish catches were also considerably higher at that period. As to the future, much

APPENDIX B (1) Population totals.

| | MALES | | |

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ISION OF LABOR BY SEX--activities customarily performed exclusively or dominantly by males or by females; activities forbidden to or despised by sex; activities in which both sexes participate (e.g., jointly, alternatively); tine tasks and relative economic contribution of each sex; sex-limited upations and professions; etc. This category is designed primarily for mary statements about sex specialization; incidental information will fre-ntly appear only under the headings for specific activities. See also:

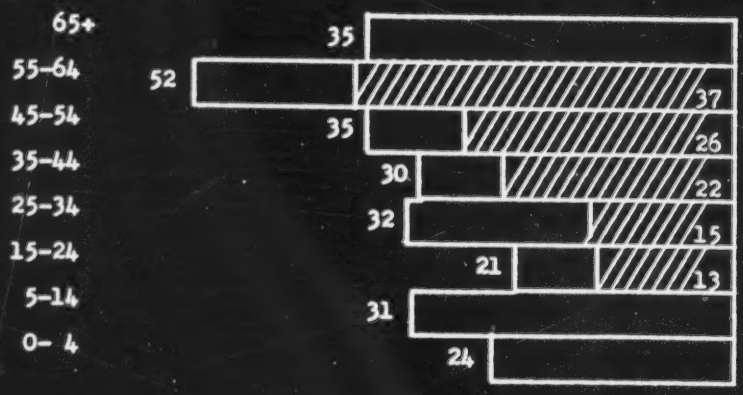
ily routine 512
lative status of the sexes 562
usehold division of labor 592
Relations between husband and wife 393
Specialization by age 561, 857, 883, 887

288
286
462
162

Table V

Shawbost:

Proportion of Male Weavers



175 464 166 [357] domestic servants among the well-to-do families in Glasgow and other cities on the mainland (see Appendix A).

175 464 166 462 [288] When the weaving started, some men settled at home permanently, but many continued to come and go between the sea and the loom. In 1931, the ratio of men to women in Lewis and Harris was 100:114. The men came home for temporary jobs, such as the construction of roads [522] or houses. Jokes are told of the common practice of [906] sending for an extension of leave. The men found it easy to join the Naval Reserve because of their fishing experience; and it brought them a retainer's fee and expense-paid trips to places off the island for several weeks of training during the year. But when the wars came, [901] the loss of men to the Navy and to the Merchant Service was heavy.

B. The Land

175 427 The number of arrears in rent in the Barvas rent ledger at the turn of the century indicates the small amount of money in circulation at the time. Between 1899 and 1914, several crofters paid part of their rent "by work," and six had some of their stock "uplifted by decree." For example, a Widow Catherine lost "one red

233 were taken out to small huts in the central moorlands 233 for several months during the summer. These moorland 342 dwellings, called sheilings or airidh, were tiny stone structures, as small as seven by five feet. They had double stone walls filled with clay, and a rounded thatched roof. There were two doors opposite each other in the longer walls, one of which was filled with turf depending on the direction of the wind. A fireplace [354] was built into one end of the hut; shelves in the stone [352] walls held basins of milk and other items; and the major part of the sheiling constituted a grass-and-heather-lined cavity which served as a bed. The sheilings were usually [361] clustered together near a stream, duplicating neighborhoods within the village.

221 Ploughing and planting were finished in the spring before the young men and women went off to the fishing, and before the cattle were taken to the sheiling. Some families went to the sheiling as early as March for a "fresh bite" of grass. Many went out in the middle of May, and returned at the end of July or beginning of August.

233 "During the week, young girls or boys stayed out on 857 the sheilings, depending on who was available in the 887 family; maybe old people who couldn't do anything else, 462

233 usually an old woman, as the women we 857 the milking, and the old men were usu 887 462 the village.

233 "We left for the sheiling early 512 taking bed clothes and food. I walke who went back home in the morning. M with the provisions in the evening. [513] that day, I went to sleep with someon slept alone. During the day we fishe gathered small blackberries; or we l of grouse and other birds. You would walk for miles to visit friends. The loch, and sometimes the girls pinched From the top of the hills you could s hills of Lochs, Uig and the lighthous days you could see the distant hills mainland. It's on the sheiling that other parts of the island.

"I remember watching the sun and 512 to stay high in the sky, before our m 233 the village to milk in the evening. 234 cattle--'Troit, troit, troit'--and the every day from the sheiling to the vil miles. The cattle knew their own shei

re responsible for
ally fishing around

in the morning,
d out with my aunt,
y mother came out
If no one came out
e else. You never
d for trout or
ooked for the nests
knit or read, and
boys swam in the
their clothes.
ee Stornoway, the
e in Ness; on some
of Caithness on the
I learned about

trying to will it
others came out from
They called the
ey carried the milk
llage, all those
ilings; sometimes

288 developed from the concentration of power in the hands
175 of the merchants. In the early days of the industry,
441 all the processes involved in the production of a
286 finished length of tweed were carried out by individual
236 families. A man used wool from his own flock, and with the
438 aid of other family members, dyed it with vegetable dyes,
175 [386] carded and spun it by hand, wove it, washed and shrunk
286 it, and found his own buyer. Dyeing wool, spinning yarn,
236 and washing ("waulking") the finished length of tweed
175 was usually done by women. In Harris, the entire process
462 of producing a tweed was carried out by women, but in
Lewis the weaving was done largely by men.

175 A woman in her 80's recalls the process of weaving
286 when she was young. Hand-spinning had died out by this
time, although the question of whether tweeds woven with
such yarn could legitimately be called Harris Tweed was
not resolved until 1934.

175 "About 1916 or so it took about two weeks to a month
283 to do a tweed. You bought the wool from the Agricultural
[435] Board. Sixteen bags of wool, costing about L20, would
[433] do four tweeds. You needed four one-stone bags per
[386] tweed. Then you would spend a day gathering a bag of
[824] crotal (lichen scraped from rocks and used for dye). One
bag per one bag of wool was required for the dye. After

175 dyeing the wool it was spread out, dried and sent to
283 Stornoway to be made into yarn. The yarn was then sent
175 back, and the weaver wove and washed it. About six women
286 [462] were required to do the waulking (the process by which
the cloth was washed and shrunk).

175 "In those days the weavers designed their own
286 patterns, and sold their own finished tweeds. I remember
432 going into town with my brother, we had two tweeds in the
cart. We went into a shop to sell the tweed, and the man
said it was poor weaving. He didn't want to pay the full
price for it. I told my brother to roll it back up, we
would take it somewhere else. As we left the shop, he
told me I had 'good cheek.' In the next shop the merchant
didn't say anything, and gave my brother the regular
price. We went home with L60."

286 The great demand for tweed encouraged the development
288 of more efficient methods of production. One by one the
175 various processes of production were taken over by
178 specialists, and gradually these specialists were brought
[433] together under one roof. Large boilers for dyeing wool
[434] were supplied as a result of actions taken by the Congested
[463] Districts Board, which was formed in 1897. The Scottish
[386] Home Industries provided chemical dyes. The most
difficult and time-consuming processes were carding and
[236] spinning, which small mills on the mainland began to do
[283]

APPENDIX I

228 434 boats; value, £15,400. Of this, the greater part came into Lewis creeks (Table 17), making £10,000 for Lewis.

Finally, we may add a round figure for whole or part-time occupations associated with the fisheries, including what accrues by the visiting fleet and its business, of, say, £20,000. This gives a total net output approaching £85,000 from fisheries for a typical year just before 1939.

[462] We now turn to an estimate of the earnings of fishermen and of the women engaged in curing. To some extent these figures overlap, for the value of the net output includes the wages of fishermen and women; but the sums earned on 'stranger' vessels—reduced now to some £3000—and the wages earned by women gutters and curers in East Anglia [434] (about £10,000) are additions to Lewis income. Some of this was, no doubt, sent home in the form of postal orders, etc., causing a further overlap, but much of it was probably sent in the form of notes or brought home in cash. In order to show the real net earnings of rural Lewis, these are separated from the output shown in the first column ((A, i) on p. 314) and are tabled under "Earnings by Crofting and Associated Rural Occupations only" (A, ii).

[127] (*b*) *Fishers' Earnings.*—As no figures of local earnings are separately published, estimates must be based upon the collation of the Fishery Board's *Annual Statistical Tables* and [178] accompanying *Annual Reports* with careful local enquiries. By 1938 the fishermen on Stornoway District herring fishing vessels were reduced to about 350 men and boys in the summer season, of whom only a few worked in autumn and winter. Their earnings included the earnings of share owners of boats and of nets, and of those without shares, the latter being only a fraction, say a quarter, of the total. Nearly 100 District men still worked on 'stranger' (East Coast) vessels at the summer fishing and rather fewer at the East Anglia autumn fishing. The sum so earned may have been a third or more of the earnings on District vessels. Altogether the total net earnings from herring fisheries received by all fishermen from Lewis proper came to little more than £8000. By 1938 the

APPENDIX I

228 434 average wage for the summer season dropped to about £25.

The number of women engaged in gutting and packing (and kippering) herrings varies from year to year. In 1938 1000 228 were engaged locally in summer, most of whom also went to 434 East Anglia. As always, the greater part of the wages was earned in the summer and the remainder in the East Anglia [462] (autumn) fishing season. The net average earnings per worker of the Scottish gutters and packers were estimated at £16 at the Scottish summer fishings and £17 at the East Anglian fishing (*Annual Report*, p. 12). This figure included 'arles' (*i.e.* earnest money), but excluded travelling expenses. The Stornoway District earnings averaged £16 at the local summer fishing but only £15 at the East Anglia fishing. The latter is a small return to place against the skill of the worker and the discomfort she endures. The women work in small teams together, and their efficiency is partly due to their comradeship.

228 Figures for catches have already been given as approaching 434 £20,000 for herring and £10,000 for white fish and shell-fish. While the net earnings derived, after subtracting the working expenses of boats and outlays for gear, were very much less than this gross sum, a substantial part should be counted as equivalent to earnings (Statistical Table 21).

Summing up the total net earnings, we arrive at the following for Lewis proper. The women's total net earnings may be [462] taken as £25,000. We add to the probable earnings of the men at the herring fishing an allowance for their profits from other catches, making a total of say £15,000.

178 The industry was still declining here as elsewhere in 228 Scotland. About 1930 the earnings of hired hands alone 434 reached £30,000 and that of women twice as much, say £60,000. Besides this was the important sum earned by men with share of boats. The local white fish and shell-fish catches were also [656] considerably higher at that period. As to the future, much will depend on what can be done to rehabilitate the local industry by compensation for losses incurred in war, and by assurance that government policy will encourage local fishermen to embark on their enterprise without the risk of the

000 The reduction of the present number of agricultural units then becomes desirable. There are two ways in which this could come about; firstly by continued depopulation, but amalgamations consequent on such an uncontrolled run-down of the community would lead to scattered holdings; such is the experience of other depopulated crofting districts. The second point to be made is that if overall planning were possible, it would be desirable for holdings to be amalgamated as they become vacant as a satisfactory rearrangement of the townships would then follow.

Concurrent with such a policy would be the aim to create distinct crofting and non-crofting groups. Employment for the non-crofting section of the community, be it fishing or weaving, would first have to be assured. As has already been stated, fishing would appear to offer the best prospects, while tourism could play a minor role in providing an opportunity for the enterprising crofters' wife or non-crofting household. One problem above all remains, the maintenance of an overall viable population. A certain minimum level of population is essential to maintain the operation of local transport, post office, educational and medical services. Such considerations suggest that further research is necessary to assess the optimum number and structure of population which a district such as Park could reasonably support. In the same way, a detailed examination by an agricultural expert is desirable, in order to assess the number of economic holdings which could be supported on the land of each township.

In conclusion, it is clear that, short of unexpected industrial employment becoming available in Park and unless major reorganisation of the present agricultural units and communities is carried out, the present population trends must continue. However, if such radical changes cannot be contemplated, then considerable improvements in the standard of husbandry, the re-seeding of croft out-runs and common pastures, and the fencing and general improvements of the crofts are possible and will increase agricultural productivity. Until there are some radical changes, the present pattern of the most enterprising members of the community engaging in ancillary employment which takes them furth of the district, and the serious degree of permanent migration to Stornoway and the Scottish Lowlands, will be maintained and increased.

APPENDIX A

PARK IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER CROFTING DISTRICTS.

462 464 241 Table XVIII gives an analysis of the occupational structure of the male population of insurable age in four crofting districts studied by the Crofting Survey. In all four areas, a considerable proportion of the insurable population is not resident in the crofting area for more than an annual holiday period. This proportion varies in relation to two main factors - the viability of the crofts and the availability of ancillary employment within the district. South Uist and Benbecula stand out as the districts where such permanent absences are least marked: the crofts in these islands are larger and more employment is available. In Barra, there are few large agricultural units and, as in Park, the decline of the fishing industry has led to economic disaster in many townships. Fewer than half of the men in this age group are fully resident in Barra. Park is in many respects comparable to Waternish (Skye) for both districts are isolated and have experienced serious depopulation. (see Table XIX).

It is a significant fact that in none of these districts are more than 20 per cent of the male population solely engaged in full-time croft work, and this is a measure of the inability of the crofts to support a family without ancillary earnings. The amount of permanent employment available varies from district to district; in South Uist and Barra there are minor service centres which are urban in character and 23.2 per cent and 13.6 per cent of the respective insurable males are engaged in non-crofting employment on these islands.

[166] [167] It is clear that the occupational structure of these four crofting areas is far from stable for over one-third of the potential labour force is away for all or part of the year. It is also clear that basically the absence of sufficient natural resources, coupled with the varying degrees of isolation from the industrial centres of Scotland, are the root causes of the present position.

TABLE XX

| | MALES | | |

APPENDIX B (i) Population totals.

| | MALES | | |

121 by help of oral tradition and of the living witness of con-
174 tinuing usage, we can reconstitute Gaelic life from the
176 view-points of both people and chief. Elsewhere, even in
Scotland, only fragments of early life are recorded, in
175 parchments written by the lawyers of landlord and king,
and almost always from the privileged side. History is
[184] indebted to modern lawyers who have deciphered and
127 published the faded documents of their predecessors. But
the very training as solicitor-factors which fitted them for
this specialised task, in no way prepared them to view life
as seen, experienced and felt by the men and women of the
past, or even by the elders or youth of the townships today,
with whom they have rarely laboured and whose mother
tongue they rarely understand.

(a) THE LABOURS OF MAN AND WIFE, AND THE REWARD

62 We have seen that until the nineteenth century the
632 township in the main was self-contained. Its people grew,
175 made or caught their food, and also found the raw materials
[33] for their clothing; they built their own shelter, and cut
74 their own firing. As a result, both men and women had
each to develop "a wide range of simple skills", in the
175 apt phrase of a Lewisman, Mr. Donald MacLean, M.A.
462 Beyond the co-operative effort within a family, a farm
group, or a bloc of 'fellow-townsmen'—in which each
was competent to take a share according to sex and age—
[463] aptitude and family tradition initiated some local division
of labour. The resident smith and the 'caird' (*cèaird*,
a wandering craftsman or tinker) appear in the oldest tales
and in the first rent-rolls. In addition there were honorary
[759] tasks. The smith might act as the village surgeon, ready

174 to bleed or to set bones, while some elderly woman would
175 serve as physician and midwife. Spiritual consolation
and renewal too could be found, even in the absence of
462 monk or nun, or of priest, minister or catechist. Enough
[463] here, that with agriculture and fishing, most crafts, except
[159] metal-work, were practised in every family. The 'range
[793] of skills' was therefore wider and richer in latent art than
[593] might be supposed from those needed on a little croft today.
Hence the importance of understanding the roles of hus-
bandman and housewife, of "the man and the woman of
the house".

174 Their labours through the annual rhythm of the seasons
462 might be classed as efforts for the man and endurance for
221 the women (Fig. 9). Man's muscular strength and free-
[181] dom of limb rouse him to efforts demanded by the thrust
and lift of peat-cutting, digging in stony soil, or pushing
the foot-plough, step by step obliquely down a rocky slope.
In the past an archer's chase of stag, wolf or boar demanded
all a man's effort, and courage too, as fishing still does in
the stormy north-western seas. With this facing of danger
there came a gaiety that sparkled like the crest of a breaking
wave. Women's work demanded by its unceasing activity
a cheerful endurance, whether at labour on the croft, at
corn-grinding, butter-making and peat-carrying, or card-
ing, spinning and weaving; and with every task of day or
season came the constant tending of cattle, of menfolk and
children.

[538] This allotment of seasonal tasks and skills is neatly put
in the proverb, "A man's cow won't yield milk, nor a
woman's horse ploughing" (*Cha bhi baimn' aig ho fir, 's
cha bhi treabhadh 'an each mnatha*). Yet women have
always taken a share of work on the croft—too heavy a
share when the men were much away—and the habit of

174 encouraging them to rest when the men returned was
462 fondly indulged. Much can be learned from the first (or
221 'old') "Statistical Accounts of the parishes of Scotland
175 drawn up from the communications of the Ministers of
462 the different parishes", *circa* 1790–96. Of the parish of
[463] Stornoway, where by 1790 many men had become crofter-
127 fishers and others were at sea, the Minister wrote, "The
women labour at least as hard as the men-", even pulverising
the ground with heavy hand-rakes (harrows being seldom
used), and digging both with crooked and straight spades.
That the men's debt was repaid in acts of manly service
is true. A man would carry wife or sweetheart on his
shoulders across a river in spate, whose rushing waters
might have swept her away. But in her turn, a woman
would wade into the cold sea, her coats high, bearing on
her hips husband or son out to his open boat, so that
he could start his night of exposure dry-shod and warm.
This act of service was noted and illustrated by Burt at
Inverness (about 1726), and it was common in the Lews
before the building of stout piers, that is within living
memory. Strong common sense, sheer necessity in fact,
enforced such mutual services; but the sacrifice entailed
was nerved by anxiety for those in danger, by personal pride
and love. It was also true that it bore hardly on women,
with their readiness for self-sacrifice and their ordeal of
childbirth.

175 What return for their labours did the people get in the
[431] past, it will be asked, and what approach to sufficiency in
a normal year? For the Island, the most thorough of the
[127] five Parish Accounts is that of Harris, with its fascinating
retrospective notes (vol. x, p. 368). There the yield of a
typical family share, a 'fourth' or 'farthing' land, was
computed at "from four to five bolls" (which in Scotland

175 couple advancing one on either side of it—many other
476 tasks were definitely team-work. Such was peat-cutting.
"When they are making peats, five people are employed.
175 One cuts the peat, another places it on the brink of the
476 ditch where it is dug; a third spreads it on the field, a
314 fourth pares and cleans the moss; and a fifth man is resting,
ready to relieve the man that cuts. The women are seldom
462 at this work, but the men help one another alternately;
sometimes they must rest satisfied with fewer hands; but
the above is the full complement of men required to per-
[127] form the work, according to their tastes." Buchanan's
[198] description was written 160 years ago (1793); it remained
true till recently and generally it is so still. There was thus
a normal team practice for work—even a man to rest was not
[538] forgotten! As the Gaelic proverb puts it: "They won't
make power (add strength) without a threesome and they'll
limp without a foursome!" (*Cha deanar treine gun triuir,
202 's bidh iad crubach gun cheathrar*). In Gaelic, as in Scots,
one speaks of a team according to its number, as "a pair,
a threesome, foursome" and so on, up to a tensome
(*deichnear*). In Lewis the farm-team was usually a foursome
or fivesome.

175 Only in exceptional cases was land worked and held
423 singly—as when a smith was kept busy at his anvil in
241 ploughing-time and harvest. Thus in 1715 one or two
[320] rural smiths had single holdings of average value or more
(£1), and one artificer or tin-smith (caird) a holding of
[284] minimum value (5s.); and in the burgh all the small plots
[462] were held singly. As the women wove, at home mostly,
no male rural weaver held a single plot; his weaving could
be done at slack times, so long as there was light; at busy
times he worked on the land with the rest of his team.

On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an

175 as some Indian pedlar one meets on the road may seem
433 now. An older packman's tale of his long tramps, of the
[326] people's poverty and hospitality, must have resembled
the mingled plaints and praise one hears from an Indian
[483] pedlar today! But in the past only a speaker of Gaelic
could find his way among the people. Almost until 1900,
[191] if not still later, Gaelic speech was to prove a social bond,
[199] but ignorance of English speech an economic barrier.

The transition to increased exchange, with migration,
permanent and temporary, tended to make for specialisa-
tion. About 1795, *Statistical Accounts* enumerated, for
every hundred families, two or three smiths, wrights (or
carpenters), a shipwright or some boat-makers, a few
weavers, tailors, and perhaps a miller. Each of these held
[178] some corn land, individually or in shares, with rights on
the common. The line between plain crofters (to use a
later term) and crofter-craftsmen was not easily drawn, and
different writers wrote as they judged best. In Lochs,
80 per cent were fishers and net-makers. On the open
shores of the west, in Barvas parish (in which three-fourths
of the men were also 'fishers'), kelp-making was a seasonal
[479] occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid
30s. to 60s. in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling
to their tacksmen at 5d. each, earned £1 a month on herring
boats, made kelp at 30s. per ton, and roads at 8d. a day.

In Harris in 1795 the eight 'bred' (or trained male)
195 weavers worked only for 'the gentry': the laird, the
286 tacksman and their families. The rest of the weaving
462 was done by the women, giving a ratio of only one male
weaver to fifty-five families. But in Lewis male weavers
were commoner—one to every twenty to thirty families
was the ratio—as if the practice of home weaving by the
women was less universal there, even at that date.

175 co-operate in active endeavour. It was all the more
632 important to have an elected 'official', the Constable,
427 one of themselves but placed in authority. There could
be no restitution of the old joint farms where they had
[241] been broken down by migration. Yet it should have been
[674] still possible to extend the old spirit to the larger townships,
as the Commissioners held.

Again, the constitution of the township is bound up
175 with the rights of common pasture upon the moor all the
632 year, and in winter even on unfenced arable; but the
473 Crofters' Act failed to regulate the rights and obligations
671 of Common Grazings. It slackened the authority of the
estate without restoring the hold of the tenant community
upon its members. After five years the Government began
to recognise the mistake, and passed the first Crofters'
Common Grazings Regulation Act, permitting the crofters
to elect a Common Grazings Committee. But it was ill-
considered; most of all because non-crofters, that is,
cottars and squatters without legal tenure, were not bound
by the Regulations. On one hand they could not get per-
mission to 'resume' (or enclose) a portion of the outrun,
in order to reclaim it as a croft, without first obtaining the
unanimous consent of the township's crofters; and in large
[233] townships there might always be an objector. Yet each
cottar could, and did, put on stock, a cow or two and a
few sheep, so nullifying the possibility of discipline.

In 1908 a second Act was passed; but twenty years
had allowed tradition to lapse and difficulties to accumu-
late. In Isle Scalpay (Tarbert) for instance, by 1909 there
were only forty legitimate crofters, but eighty cottars; and
the legal crofters would not take part in depriving any
[476] cottar of such grazing liberties as he exercised. All were
462 neighbours and most were relations, and their principle

175 was to share; the children needed milk and the women
632 wool to work, while the men fished. As the Crofters'
473 Commission put it at the time, "Necessity has no law and
671 . . . it is scarcely possible to carry out . . . the Grazings
Acts in this island." The process remains little changed.
[476] Still, in spite of sixty years' delay, and the law's failure to
462 restore an executive, the Constable, to perform specified
duties as a member of the community, the Grazings Com-
mittees do perform useful functions with credit. They
form nuclei with which proprietor, Government or co-
operative agency actually deal, and the voluntary Clerk
may shoulder considerable responsibility.

195 With regard to small occupiers paying less than £6
632 rent per annum and holding less than 10 acres and 250
473 acres of souming (or share of pasture), the Napier Com-
671 mission declined to recommend the bestowal of rights or
immunities tending "to fix them in a condition from which
they ought to be resolutely though gently withdrawn".
The Act, however, did grant small occupiers immunity
from eviction, and made it hard for either landlord, State
or fellow-crofters even to refuse house sites or fresh hold-
ings, particularly in the crowded Lews. The squatter
continues; indeed he is favoured, by escaping the payment
of rent and rates though he shares in benefits. The rate-
payers are proportionately, and unjustly, handicapped.
But as isolation has diminished, landless squatters have
been allowed to 'resume' portions of the common grazing
for new holdings, as by common consent at Ness and in
Lochs, after Lord Leverhulme's death.

195 A further recommendation of the Napier Commission
632 was to aid emigration. Now Sir James Matheson's aid in
1863 proved successful, but his later efforts met with no
671 response. There were then, and still may be, in the Island

167 left the Island. Yet after 1931 many returned, owing to
losses and unemployment both in British towns and over-
[288] seas. When emigrants began to come home the 'Harris'
[128] tweed industry had spread to Lewis and offered increasing
[464] employment. Some men still fished in family-owned
[226] Island boats, and others as paid hands (on boats from the East Coast), though losses and unemployment were suffered.

178 Inter-war changes were hastened not only by movement
177 beyond the Island—an influence at work for three or four
493 generations before—but by mobility within it. In 1919 a small mail car made its way daily from Stornoway along
[205] each of the five main roads, with an occasional passenger. When crofters crossed the Island to Stornoway they went on foot or took the pony and cart at a slow walk: it was a day's journey. Ten years later, Ford vans, bought second-hand, ran daily to Stornoway from every township. Frequency, ease and relative cheapness of movement came late in an Island with no railway: the mobility of the motor for marketing and shopping brought rapid change.

178 'Hand-loom' weaving had become an important, if
286 precarious, resource, important because of the capital
[433] invested and the labour employed, yet precarious because of its dependence upon name and sentiment, not only
[162] upon intrinsic value. In Harris many women had spun and woven for sale for over a generation before 1914, mostly weaving pure hand-spun yarn, and they continued to do so. For many years before 1914, an occasional weaver was to be found in villages in Lewis too, generally weaving a handspun weft upon a mill-spun warp. By 1939 it was estimated that there were about 1200 looms in the Island, chiefly weaving mill-spunyarn, most of it spun in the two principal Stornoway mills. A carding mill

458 problem remains that Island seamen may thus continue
746 indefinitely to be crofters receiving partial relief, seamen only in name. Without doubt, part-time work on a croft is socially a lesser evil than prolonged unemployment in a slum or semi-slum. The crofter's family, too, is relatively better reared than that of many a poor seaman in Glasgow, Liverpool or Cardiff. Yet if this were all, it would be no adequate life for a man, while continuing to be an expense
[461] to the State. The more satisfactory side of such relief is
[311] that the Islanders, when unemployed, turn to building new 'white houses', and either to making small improvements on their crofts, or as in Ness (a progressive village with a high proportion of seamen), to the reclamation of new holdings on 'skinned land'. In all such cases a means test provides against full payment to those who could do without.

458 To women normally employed in 'gutting', unem-
746 ployment relief is given only at such time as there is no work during the season when it might be expected, *i.e.*
[462] from May or June to December. Gutters from the Island
[228] are busiest for the months from June to August on the West and East Coast of Scotland, and again for two months, from October to November, in East Anglia. The number of Lewis women normally employed was over 1500 in a typical season (1930), the earnings averaging £19 each for the summer fishing in Stornoway, and as much again for the gutting in East Anglia. But the demand fell, and by 1932, for instance, some 250 women were obtaining relief, through Stornoway, in early August, the number doubling during the slack months from mid-August.

181 The tragedy and the danger of any means test are that
458 in effect it asks, not "How prosperous can you become
746 if given help?" but "How poor can you become to qualify

198 so creating a small leak in the purse and in the mind,
207 leaving both a little emptier, week by week. Surveys made
[525] by teacher-members of the Educational Institute of Scot-
[829] land describe the effects on listeners in Highland parishes as pernicious, in the main. The reports of the B.B.C., on the other hand, emphasise their cultural endeavours, and the lightening of house-work and of rural monotony or solitude. Every effort is needed to aid a happy selection in home and neighbourhood.

72 Experiences undergone in war were of very differing
201 types. Many men spent the war years in the Navy, without contact with decent town life, or others in the Merchant Marine. Of combatants in the land forces, the Territorials of the original 51st Highland Division experienced a few months of relative inactivity in France, then of a brief but bitter campaign, followed by long years in prison camps, while other soldiers underwent prolonged training in Britain, followed by severe fighting for long periods, far afield. Lastly, a limited number of men served in engineering or other works of war-time industry, though labouring work, at high wages, kept many of the older men employed at home. Of the women called up for service, some were posted to the Forces, some to the Land Army, and some were
[162] sent to factories. The greater opportunities for women to earn a living wage away from the Island tend to equalise the ratio of the sexes.

177 An experience new to the Western Isles came with the
[464] establishment of Air Bases. Not only did their construction provide high wages for labouring for the older resident crofters, brought daily to the Bases by bus from their townships, but for the first time a heterogeneous mass of men from every part of urban Britain was put down at the doors of these quiet communities—at a time when

464 For a year or two after the war many men and women
[288] returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found
[729] employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry. This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving at home—work in which the male weaver was helped by his family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen
[226] dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses
178 such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to
177 return to the hard, uncertain work of gutting. The whaling
[462] station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950, and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed
[241] in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised
[722] cultivation. The war-time construction of air-fields had ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was
[654] assisted by government grants.

288 In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders'
251 main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of
648 a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds. Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export
[433] sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there were strong arguments for the extension of the tax to
[171] Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artist favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the end, the mass-production is an unacknowledging debtor. The obvious economic handicaps of Island hand-weaving
[439] may surely permit some latitude. The export trade in
[456] Harris Tweed, in which the imponderable 'sentimental

228 boats; value, £15,400. Of this, the greater part came into
434 Lewis creeks (Table 17), making £10,000 for Lewis.

Finally, we may add a round figure for whole or part-time occupations associated with the fisheries, including what accrues by the visiting fleet and its business, of, say, £20,000. This gives a total net output approaching £85,000 from fisheries for a typical year just before 1939.

We now turn to an estimate of the earnings of fishermen
[462] and of the women engaged in curing. To some extent these figures overlap, for the value of the net output includes the wages of fishermen and women; but the sums earned on 'stranger' vessels—reduced now to some £3000—and the wages earned by women gutters and curers in East Anglia
[436] (about £10,000) are additions to Lewis income. Some of this was, no doubt, sent home in the form of postal orders, etc., causing a further overlap, but much of it was probably sent in the form of notes or brought home in cash. In order to show the real net earnings of rural Lewis, these are separated from the output shown in the first column ((A, i) on p. 314) and are tabled under "Earnings by Crofting and Associated Rural Occupations only" (A, ii).

[127] (*b*) *Fishers' Earnings.*—As no figures of local earnings are separately published, estimates must be based upon the collation of the Fishery Board's *Annual Statistical Tables* and
[178] accompanying *Annual Reports* with careful local enquiries. By 1938 the fishermen on Stornoway District herring fishing vessels were reduced to about 350 men and boys in the summer season, of whom only a few worked in autumn and winter. Their earnings included the earnings of share owners of boats and of nets, and of those without shares, the latter being only a fraction, say a quarter, of the total. Nearly 100 District men still worked on 'stranger' (East Coast) vessels at the summer fishing and rather fewer at the East Anglia autumn fishing. The sum so earned may have been a third or more of the earnings on District vessels. Altogether the total net earnings from herring fisheries received by all fishermen from Lewis proper came to little more than £8000. By 1938 the

228 average wage for the summer season dropped to about £25.
434

The number of women engaged in gutting and packing (and kippering) herrings varies from year to year. In 1938 1000
228 were engaged locally in summer, most of whom also went to
434 East Anglia. As always, the greater part of the wages was earned in the summer and the remainder in the East Anglia
462 (autumn) fishing season. The net average earnings per worker of the Scottish gutters and packers were estimated at £16 at the Scottish summer fishings and £17 at the East Anglian fishing (*Annual Report*, p. 12). This figure included 'arles' (*i.e.* earnest money), but excluded travelling expenses. The Stornoway District earnings averaged £16 at the local summer fishing but only £15 at the East Anglia fishing. The latter is a small return to place against the skill of the worker and the discomfort she endures. The women work in small teams together, and their efficiency is partly due to their comradeship.

228 Figures for catches have already been given as approaching
434 £20,000 for herring and £10,000 for white fish and shell-fish. While the net earnings derived, after subtracting the working expenses of boats and outlays for gear, were very much less than this gross sum, a substantial part should be counted as equivalent to earnings (Statistical Table 21).

Summing up the total net earnings, we arrive at the follow-
[462] ing for Lewis proper. The women's total net earnings may be taken as £25,000. We add to the probable earnings of the men at the herring fishing an allowance for their profits from other catches, making a total of say £15,000.

198 The industry was still declining here as elsewhere in
228 Scotland. About 1930 the earnings of hired hands alone reached £30,000 and that of women twice as much, say £60,000.
434 Besides this was the important sum earned by men with share of boats. The local white fish and shell-fish catches were also
[682] considerably higher at that period. As to the future, much will depend on what can be done to rehabilitate the local industry by compensation for losses incurred in war, and by assurance that government policy will encourage local fishermen to embark on their enterprise without the risk of the

Since 1939,
166 54 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to
462 leave home when they finish school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go into domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breasclete is also the temporary home of the families of lighthousemen on duty in the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain demand for the tweed, and although the men are nominally self-employed they rely on the mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms, which, with ancillary equipment such as bobbin winders, are all owned by the crofters.

[458] As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being erected. But should there be a slump, the crofts would be unable to support the population and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

131 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch
133 a' Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs, for westwards to the sea the terrain is too rocky and irregular for either settlement or
36! cultivation, whilst to the east of Loch a' Bhaile the land slopes precipitously from 250 ft. to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle drift-covered slopes, generally of small extent.

Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch
137 a' Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader, and in the valley of the small stream draining from the north into the head of Loch a' Bhaile. Most of the croft land is com-
[241] posed of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 100 ft. in height, separated by damp depressions frequently filled by reeds and rushes; bracken was apparent only on three crofts. In particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely colonised by reeds and very coarse grasses, of no use whatsoever as pasture. One enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this could certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and
311 2 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the two lochs and the sea, except for nos. 28 and 29. The 53 holdings are unofficially
427 amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The acreage of crofts varies from 2.2 to 20.75 acres - a considerable variation. Fencing of the crofts - except for 1A, B, and C, and 12A, B, and C which are held 'run-rig' - was carried out between 1945 and 1950, whilst in 1946 the common pasture of 2,700 acres was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the Carloway to Breasclete road. An area stretching from crofts 18A to 21 has, however, been most haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided amongst seventeen crofts in the southern half of the township to compensate them for lack of grazing area within their own croft boundaries. This division is said to date from about 1886.

241 Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned
[Ser] small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as opposed to spade cultivation, depends either on the urgency of the operation, or on the accessibility of the plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 95]

APPENDIX D continued

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(2) Occupations of resident males, aged 15-64, August, 1959.

(including members of the light-house service and their families)

District: *	F	G	H	I
Croft work only	1	9	13	25
Croft and regular -				
-weaving	9	38	73	104
-fishing	-	22	-	-
-estate work	1	-	1	-
-public services	-	5	3	7
-transport	2	2	5	6
-retail trade	1	4	3	4
Croft and irregular -				
-casual labour	1	-	4	-
-estate work	8	-	3	-
-whaling	-	-	-	5
Regular work but not crofting -				
-weaving	-	1	5	10
-professional	-	2	1	3
-public services	-	-	6	2
-transport	-	2	1	-
-distribution	-	-	3	1

* Districts - F: Bernera (mainland)
G: Bernera (island)
H: East Loch Road (Garynahine - Tolsta Chaolis)
I: Carloway (Dun Carloway - Garenin).

TABLE 45

Principal croft workers by size of effective agricultural units

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Size of unit (acres):	Nil to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	7.6 to 10.0	10.1 to 15.0	15.1 to 20.0	more than 20
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Males under 65:							
regular employment	55	61	47	60	52	57	60
casual employment	7	11	13	12	17	9	12
no other work	16	7	7	7	15	11	12
Males over 65	11	13	23	16	11	18	15
Females	10	9	9	4	4	4	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Appendices A(4) and C(4)

of unit; the result (Table 45) does not suggest that the possession of a large agricultural unit encourages a man to become a full-time rather than a spare-time agriculturalist. Indeed, the possession of a large unit, built up by amalgamation, is often a fortuitous result of marriage, death, or inheritance, rather than a matter of individual choice. The only significant correlation in the table seems to be the understandable tendency for female croft workers to work the smaller, rather than the larger, crofts.

[462]

241 The cultivated land

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The chief crops are hay, oats and potatoes, in that order:

DISTRICT	Acreage of: Oats	Potatoes	Hay	All Crops	Average per unit
South Uig	149	50	209	407	2.5
Bernera	121	38	69	228	2.0
East Loch Roag	83	35	170	288	2.1
Carloway	113	42	202	357	2.2
TOTAL	466	165	650	1,280	2.2

241 Barley, which in the form of bere was important until the 1920's, has almost disappeared. Turnips, marigolds, rape and other animal food crops are only grown

[178]

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a temporary feature in 1959 due to the casual employment provided by a hydro-electric scheme at Gisla (Figure 46).

[88] In this respect the critical age-group is 15-44 years (table 54). Few older people take work away from home. Of this age-group, 338 (out of 931) persons are away. Women account for 199, men for only 139; the difference is a strong indication of the lack of employment opportunities for women in Lewis. The contrasting experiences of the different districts are quite remarkable (figure 46). A far greater proportion of men goes away from the two northern districts than from Bernera and the South, and this despite the greater importance of weaving in the north. The explanation for this lies partly in the generally smaller size of crofts of the north, partly in the type of employment available locally and partly in the customary choice of employment away, which differs from district to district. Social custom, which may vary as between one town and the next, has a strong bearing on whether and where young men and women choose work.

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TABLE 54

The 15-44 age-group, distinguishing men and women

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		Resident:	Periodically away:	Permanently away:	Total:
		%	%	%	% (N
Uig Parish	M	71	7	22	100 (4
	F	57	17	27	100 (4
Districts					
South Uig	M	80(1)	8	12	100 (1
	F	62	8	30	100 (1
Bernera	M	70(2)	14	15	100 (
	F	57	22	22	100 (
East Loch Roag	M	59	17	25	100 (14
	F	53	18	30	100 (1
Carloway	M	49	24	27	100 (14
	F	56	22	22	100 (1

Notes: (1) including at least 16 (12%) temporarily employed on construction work at Gisla.

(2) including 11 (11%) full-time fishermen.

compared with 34.9 for Scotland. The death rate among Skyemen, 175* however, was 17.4 compared with 22.0 for Scots in general. But 178* Scotland had a net emigration rate of only 3.6 while the Skyemen 165 167 were leaving at a rate of 16.5. In this decade no fewer than 3,115 left Skye.

By the end of the third period an additional influence 175* of the process of commercialization had become apparent. The 178* social hierarchy was modified in the direction of greater 565 161 socio-economic differentiation.[68] At the time of the "Forty- 162 five" Skye was inhabited by the families of three clan chiefs, 139 tacksmen, 517 joint-tenants, 1031 subtenants, and 444 servants. There were now 10 landlords. The tacksmen had been replaced by 29 graziers and 12 small farmers. The joint-tenants, subtenants, and servants had become 2043 crofters and 1227 cottars. In the past there may have been one innkeeper, at Portree, and a few millers; now there were 32 innkeepers, millers, and merchants.

The changes which we have been considering could not have 175* left the patterns of interaction undisturbed. Cooperation among 178* the members of the township would have been unnecessary. Since 182 476 all were affected by prolonged destitution, mutual aid must have been severely curtailed. The extended family was broken 596 by emigration. The nuclear family was seldom intact for more 597 than part of the year. It seems the majority of the able-bodied 175* men were travelling to the east coast each spring to find 178* 182 464 462

[68] Lachlan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, pp. 4-5, 6-7, 11-12, 14-15; and J. G. MacKay, "Social Life in Skye from Legend and Story," TGSI, Vol. XXIX (1922), pp. 260-290.

175* 178* 182 464 462 employment as hands on fishing vessels. The young women followed these fleets seeking work as gutters and curers in the ports. Some may have made their way to Portree, where a woolen mill had been erected by the Highland Destitution 161 Committee. The population of Portree increased during these 162 years from 510, in 1841, to 893, in 1881, but this can hardly be regarded as a significant trend.

175* 178* 183 181 559 713 The really striking aspect of this period is the almost complete lack of protest by the Sgiathanach against the violation of his presumptive right to the land. The disappearance of the tacksmen, of course, had left the people without their counselors and leaders in secular affairs, and many of the ministers, especially those who were themselves sheep farmers, counseled submission to the will of God. Then, too, the ethos of the Skyeman would not allow them to ventilate their grievances. 187 They despised the Sassanach and felt that "the landlord was bad enough, but the factor was the Devil himself." Still those who knew them well and those who rambled by their cottages wrote unanimously of a people who endured overwhelming sufferings in patience and reticence.[69] The betrayal of any weakness, especially before the cursed Sassanach, was a breach of propriety.[70]

175* 178* 668 The Skyeman had not lost his capacity to respond to leadership. Throughout the nineteenth century there had been widespread and growing discontent all over Europe with the

[69] Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82; and Cummings, op. cit., p. 136. See also Robert Buchanan, The Hebride Isles (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883), p. 324; and Malcolm Ferguson, Rambles in Skye (Irvine: Charles Murchland, 1885), pp. 121, 122.

[70] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 136.

amount of time which is
pressure on the crofters
relatively definite peri
number of non-crofting a
or must engage. Let us
year to see what these d

The Full-time Crofter.
time crofter begins duri
goes out to the hill to
break in the monotony of
a momentary break. Not
longed labor begin with
rid the animals of tick
their children, if they
or hired hands, crofters
Several of the men go of
herd them down to the "f
consisting of either two
"dip," and a shearing pl
the remaining men and wo
work. One by one the sh
have been picked up bodi
bath. The women not onl
the "fank" but also prep

Following the dipp
to the soil. By late Ma

allotted to each activity and in the 221
to complete each chore within a
od. There are also differences in the
ctivities in which the individual can
follow several crofters through the
ifferences are.

One might say the year for the full- 221
ng the first week of January when he 236
bring in his rams. This is the first 232
his winter schedule, but it is only
until March does his season of pro-
the first "dipping" of the sheep to
and parasites. He and his wife, [474]
are old enough, and their neighbors
from nearby townships, join forces.
f to the hill to gather the sheep and
ank," a stone or sheet iron inclosure
or three pens, a trough for the
atform. While waiting for the sheep,
men prepare the "fank" for the day's
eep move through the pens until all
ly and submerged in the medicinal
y help their fathers and husbands at [462]
are a noon meal for the group.
ing, the crofter turns his attention 221
rch or early April he has ploughed, 241

manured, harrowed, and limed his fields. Normally, he will 221
have a tractor to speed his work. In the meantime his wife 241 [462]
prepares her small kitchen garden. By the time he has sown
his oats and set his potatoes and turnips, the ewe sheep are 221 231
ready for lambing. Lambing begins during the last week or two
of April and runs through the middle of May. This is one [462]
activity which is exclusively man's work. It is also a chore
which demands an early start from individuals who are normally
late risers, seldom getting started before eight or nine in
the morning. Now, all day long, from early morning until late
at night, day after day, the crofter or his shepherd are found
on the hill watching and waiting for the lambs and their
natural enemies, the crow, the hawk, and the fox. During this
time, he does not neglect feeding his cattle nor finishing
putting in his crop if inclement weather has hindered his
progress. Then, too, he may have a cow ready to calve. His [462]
wife will then add milking to her regular household duties.
Men have only recently begun to milk.

After lambing, the family must decide whether or not 221
they are going to take time out for cutting peat. As I have 314
already said, it is unlikely that the man of the house will
want to bother. He has enough to do caring for the sheep and 221
lambs and preparing his cattle for the May markets. Although 231 432
he could attend the local sales which are held at convenient
locations around the island, the large crofter has found the
mainland market of Dingwall attracts buyers willing to pay
higher prices.

or second week, the ewe sheep are sheared. Shearing is an- 221
other cooperative task. The men and women work together 236
with only one significant division in their labor. Women [462]
never shear. Their task is to run the sheep through the pens
and fold the fleece after the two men shear the animal. An-
other chore is added to the crofter's schedule at this time.
He must begin to watch his sheep for maggot.

The haying season runs through July and August, depend-
ing on the weather. In August the sheep have to be dipped again
this dipping prescribed by law, and the wedder lambs (castrated
males) are sent to market. In September, if the weather is
favorable and the season has been good, the harvest of oats
begins. The man works with a scythe. Women never cut. His [462]
wife helps by binding the corn in sheaths by hand and making
stoops in the field. Later she helps her husband build the
stacks for winter storage. As in any summer month, the stock
requires attention. Cast ewe sheep (sheep over six years old)
and old rams are sent to the Ministry of Food grading station
at Kyle, on the mainland, to be graded for meat or to Dingwall
to be sold at auction. Cattle sales are also held on the [43
island in September and again in November, but the full-time
crofter prefers the Dingwall auction. The rainy season is [13
now, as noted, reaching its height. The pace becomes slower.
October, November, and, perhaps, even December are spent trying
to dig potatoes and turnips. Too often the oat harvest has
yet to be completed and the sheep must receive their second
statutory dipping. Sometime before the end of November the

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TABLE V .

CCUPATIONS OF MALES (15-64) RELATED TO CROFT SIZE

Size of Operative unit (acres)	Full time croft work	Croft work with Regular employment	Croft work with periodic employment	Total[1]
0 - 5	14(30)	27(59)	5(11)	46(100)
5 - 10	19(42)	22(49)	4(9)	45(100)
10 - 15	14(50)	12(43)	2(7)	28(100)
over 15	7(54)	3(23)	3(23)	13(100)
Total	54(41)	64(48)	14(11)	132(100)

1. It is not possible to relate occupations to size of operative unit in every case as many units are in fact run by more than one person - such units have been omitted from the table.

/p. 8-8/

TABLE VIII

EMPLOYMENT OF MALES IN WORKING AGE GROUP (15-64)

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(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Fulltime Croft Work	20(9)	51 (29)	71 (18.0)
Croft Work and Regular Employment	33(14)	43 (25)	76 (19.0)
Croft Work and Occasional Employment	2(1)	12 (7)	14 (3.5)
Non-crofting Employment	15(7)	14 (9)	29 (7.0)
Unemployed or sick	10(4)	12 (7)	22 (5.5)
Total Resident Population	80(35)	132 (77)	212 (53.0)
Seasonally Employed Furth of Park	29(13)	11 (6)	40 (10.0)
Schoolchildren (15-18)	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
Students	2(1)	-	2 (0.5)
National Servicemen	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
Sick	1(1)	3 (1)	4 (1.0)
Total Seasonally Absent	48(21)	14 (7)	62 (15.5)
Regular Employment Furth of Park	99(44)	26 (16)	125 (31.5)
Total Regularly Absent	99(44)	26 (16)	125 (31.5)
Totals	227(100)	172 (100)	399 (100.0)

/p. 10-A/

TABLE IX

OCCUPATIONS OF RESIDENT MALE POPULATION (15-64)

OTHER THAN FULL-TIME CROFTERS

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(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	Weaving	Services	Fishing	Road-Work	Professions	Craftsmen	Not Known	Total
Crofters with Regular Employment	38	19	8	7	1	3	-	76
Crofters with Occasional Employment	-	1	3	3	1	1	5	14
Non-crofting Employment	4	9	9	2	4	-	1	29
Total	42(35)	29(25)	20(17)	12(10)	6(5)	4(3)	6(5)	119(100)

OCCUPATIONS OF MALE POPULATION SEASONALLY AWAY (15-64)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Whalers and Coasters	13	2	15
Salmon Fishing (Nets)	5	4	9
Others	11	5	16
	29	11	40

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALE POPULATION SEASONALLY AWAY (15-64)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Domestic & Hotel Work	27	1	28
Others, including sick	14	2	16
	41	3	44

/p. 10-B/

TABLE X

PLOYMENT OF FEMALES IN WORKING AGE GROUP (15-64)

(FIGURES IN BRACKETS ARE PERCENTAGES)

	15 - 44	45 - 64	Total
Croft Work[1]	7	22	29
Professional	8	-	8
Services	5	5	10
Non-employed	64	125	189
Total Resident Population	84(46)	152(89)	236(69)
Seasonal Employment	41	3	44
Schoolchildren	11	-	11
Students	3	-	3
Total Temporarily Absent	55(30)	3(2)	58(15)
Regular Employment furth of Park	43	16	59
Total Regularly Absent	43(24)	16(9)	59(16)
Total	182(100)	171(100)	353 (100)

1. Principal workers of crofts: most women take some part in the working of crofts, planting potatoes, haymaking and harvest work, peat securing, etc.

/p. 10-C/

However, not all such
166 employment is available in Park: 47 percent of the insurable male population
167 leave the Hebrides to find employment; one third take seasonal employment, and two-thirds
464 permanent employment furth of Park (See Table VIII).

Employment within Park

288 Table IX shows that opportunities for local employment are strictly limited. Weaving of
464 Harris tweed is the most important single source of employment. It is significant that those engaging in it are almost all crofters working in their abundant spare time. Weaving is an ideal adjunct to croft work as it is unaffected by weather or hours of daylight and thus can be performed during periods of agricultural inactivity. The vagaries of the Harris tweed market make the occupation precarious; Park is one of the more inaccessible areas of Lewis and the mills are apt to give their commissions to the weavers nearer at hand around Stornoway when
[178] work is scarce. Since 1952, the number of weavers in the fishing townships of Cromore, Marivig, Calbost and Gravir has grown from 11 to 22 and much of the credit for this is due to
[228] the activities of the Pairc Association. Fishing, on the other hand, has lost ground in the same period: the number of fishermen has declined in these townships from 20 to 14[1]. Apart from
463 weaving, service occupations form the only other employment available, shop-keeping, driving,
464 and road maintenance being the chief occupations in the service group. There are very few craftsmen: with such a small population, and the long established tradition that the crofter builds his house and is his own tradesman, there is little opportunity for a trained builder, joiner or even shoemaker to make a livelihood. The professional class is small and entirely composed of the minister and missionaries, the doctor and several schoolmasters.

[462] There is little opportunity for women to find employment in Park, apart from nursing, shop-keeping and school teaching, and a few domestic service posts (See Table IX).

Employment furth of Park

166 The persons in the 15-44 age group form the main body of those working away from home.
167 The distinction made between 'seasonally away' and 'regularly away' is that the former group
462 spend part of the year elsewhere, the men on whalers in South Georgia or with the Tay Salmon
463 Fisheries at Perth, or labouring on the mainland. The women are in domestic service, mainly
464 in hotels. A majority of the men in the latter category are in the Merchant Navy; in some cases these men take leave to coincide with the spring work and the harvest. The majority of the women are in domestic service (See Tables IX and XI).

An interesting comparison in the 'regularly away' group exists between men and women in the professional classes (Tables IX and XI). The sample is small, but it is clear that more women than men attain professional status. The number of domestic servants, nurses, and merchant seamen is a reminder that the crofting districts provide a pool of labour for certain vital occupations, some none too popular in Britain as a whole. In people alone, one can say that Park makes a distinct contribution to the fabric of the national economy and this contribution is much more apparent outside Park than within the district. At the same time a majority of those who are temporarily or permanently away eventually marry and settle outside the district and thus a most valuable section of the community is constantly moving southwards. Only 35 per cent of the men in the 15-44 age group are wholly resident in Park, and 46 per cent of the women in the same age group, a reflection of the poor prospects and utter inadequacy of resources on the most of the crofts.

1 The 1952 figures are abstracted from the Lewis Survey Report on part of South Lochs.

6. Ducey	E-4,5	(1953-1954)	1956	ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

The labor in this pastoral-agricultural economy is provided by the crofter's family, periodically aided by some or all of the families who share in the common grazing.[11] Under the direction of the father, the mother and children care for the crops and cattle. Heavy work, such as ploughing, reaping, and feeding the cattle in the winter, is left to the men. The women milk the cattle, help at the harvest by raking and stacking, and care for the garden. Although men never do any work in the house, in the absence of a son the wives and daughters are expected to fill in the gaps in man's work in addition to running the household. Inter-family cooperation centers on the handling of the sheep. Frequently, the families who share the common own the sheep collectively, as a "club stock," and share in the expenses and profits as well as the labor. The only basic pattern in the division of labor is that women never shear, and it is their responsibility to feed the group.

Formerly, the annual economic cycle was adjusted to the demands of crop cultivation and cattle breeding. Within the last hundred years, however, sheep have assumed commercial importance and now determine the seasonal tempo of labor. The old year ends and the new begins with the bringing in of the rams from the hill. In March the sheep are dipped and then the preparations are made for the lambing season, in April. From spring until autumn there is a rapid succession of duties: ploughing, planting, peat cutting, dipping and shearing the sheep, stock sales, harvesting, and similar tasks. After the

[11] Cf. Ibid., pp. 63-64, 70-74.

*175 *178 427 233 166 167 425 162 [161] squatters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families had enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[62] In one Glendale township, Holmisdale, some crofts of fourteen acres had as many as fifteen people to support.[63] Part of this extreme congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing one's croft when a child married. Although the population in 1831 had fallen to 17,680, from 23,084 in 1841, almost every township had two or three times the number of families which had lived in them in 1841.[64]

*175 *178 427 233 241 [439] [262] [452] The loss of the summer shielings and the common grazings meant few could keep sheep.[65] The looms were silent. Since the rent continued to be based on the value of livestock and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all oats, which the graziers' sheep did not eat, went to feed the cattle. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to have been newcomers with more associations with the graziers than the crofters and cottars. Milk became a precious commodity. Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unable to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They carrie

[272] [482] [462]

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[62] Ibid., p. 112.

[63] Alexander MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 419-420.

[64] Smith, op. cit., p. 317; Cummings, op. cit., p. 140; and Napier Report, p. 15.

[65] The following is drawn from the evidence presented to the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of Skye; see Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82.

TABLE 55

Proportion of resident males, aged 15-64, in Major categories of employment

See Appendices B(2) and D(2) for details.

	Croft-work only	Croft-work and weaving	Croft and other regular work	Croft and periodic work	No croft work	Total (100%)
g Parish	11	43	16	15	14	(635)
stricts						
South Uig	13	27	22	24	13	(188)
Bernera	8	36	25	19	12	(130)
East Loch Roag	9	50	11	11	19	(146)
Carloway	16	61	6	6	13	(171)

Table 55 and figure 47 summarise the main sources of employment. The small group ngaged in 'croft-work only' may be briefly dismissed. A large proportion of these men re elderly or otherwise infirm; a few are pensioners (e.g. retired police or service nen); very few indeed are fully occupied in the agricultural work of their crofts, thus full-time crofters' is a misnomer in this area.

The most important category, in all districts, is 'croft-work and weaving', but it is elatively far less important in the south where there is correspondingly greater reliance n other forms of regular employment or on periodic work, i.e. casual labour.* It is ifficult to overestimate the significance of weaving in all districts. It is the only subtantial source of income in the parish and it should be clear from the previous chapter hat weaving is not an ancillary occupation to croft work except in a few cases in the south. 'he weavers are not 'crofter-weavers' so much as 'weaver-crofters'. A curious distinction between Carloway and the rest of the parish is that, whereas generally weaving is oung mens' work, the great majority being under 45, in the Carloway area two-thirds of he weavers are over 45. The historical reason for this may be the earlier spread of veaving into Carloway than elsewhere for, although some weaving has always been done hroughout the area, it only became a major source of employment south of Carloway in he last 20 years or so. Thus few of the older men in the south learned weaving when they vere young. A corollary is greater dependance on the Merchant Navy as a source of mployment for young men from Carloway than for those from the south.

Other sources of regular local employment are lobster fishing (Bernera only), gamekeeping and other estate work (Bernera shore and South Uig), and government establishments (South Uig). In addition there are the usual services - postmen, haulage contractors,

* For a detailed discussion of the significance of weaving see Moisley, H.A., Harris Tweed - a growing Highland industry. Economic Geography, 37, 1961, pages 353 - 370.

TEXT CONTINUES ON PAGE 152

5:	Caird et al.	K-5	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Park Scots ES10

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TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONS AND AGES OF CROFT WORKER RELATED TO INTENSITY OF STOCKING

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	PERCENTAGE OF SOUMING TAKEN UP			TOTAL[1]
Labour Force	50% or less	50 - 100%	Over 100%	
Fulltime Croft Worker	8 (17)	16 (33)	24 (50)	48 (100)
Croft Worker with Regular Employment	8 (16)	18 (35)	25 (49)	51 (100)
Croft Worker with Periodic Employment	2 (20)	3 (30)	5 (50)	10 (100)
Croft Worker aged 65 and over	2 (9)	8 (36)	12 (55)	22 (100)
Women Croft Worker	5 (50)	3 (30)	2 (20)	10 (100)
Total	25 (17)	48 (34)	68 (49)	141 (100)

1. It is not possible to relate all units for this purpose as some units have no souming, and in other cases the unit is worked by more than one person: such units have been omitted from the table.

S: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Highland Scots Park

Occupational Structure of Park compared w

Males 15-64

Figures in brackets are pe

	Park	Benbecula and South Uist
Fulltime Croft work	71(18.0)	231(18.7)
Croft work with regular employment	76(19.0)	197(15.9)
Croft work with periodic employment	14(3.5)	117(9.4)
Non-Crofting employment	29(7.0)	288(23.2)
Unemployed, sick or occupation not known	22(5.5)	102(8.2)
Total Resident Population	212(53.0)	935(75.4)
Seasonal employment furth of the district	62(15.5)	85(6.9)
Permanent Employment furth of the district	125(31.5)	220(17.7)
	399(100.0)	1240(100.0)

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ith other Crofting Districts

rcentages

Barra	Waternish (Skye)	All Districts
44(6.6)	14(17.1)	360(15.1)
54(8.2)	7(8.6)	334(14.0)
60(9.1)	17(20.7)	208(8.8)
90(13.6)	5(6.1)	412(17.4)
38(5.8)	2(2.4)	164(6.9)
286(43.3)	45(54.9)	1478(62.2)
21(3.2)	9(11.0)	177(7.2)
353(53.5)	28(34.1)	726(30.6)
660(100.0)	82(100.0)	2381(100.0)

/facing p. 37/

TABLE XI

OCCUPATIONS OF PERSONS (15-64) IN REGULAR EMPLOYMENT FURTH OF PARK

I MALES

	15-44	45-64	Total	%
Merchant Navy	56	13	69	55
Fishing	2	2	4	3
Professional	2	1	3	2
Other occupations	39	10	49	40
Total	99(80)	26(20)	125(100)	100.0

II FEMALES

	15-44	45-64	Total	%
Domestic Service	26	9	35	59
Nursing	10	1	11	19
Professional	3	2	5	8
Other occupations	4	4	8	14
Total	43(73)	16(27)	59(100)	100.0

/Facing p. 12/

5:	Caird et al.	K-5	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots Park ES10

Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummock waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home, together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it. Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles distant.

Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of congestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties

/p. 35/

ust be packed for shipment. As November ends the rams 221 234
t out with the flock. [233]
Winter is a slow season for men, but it is not an idle 221 233
. The cattle must be fed. The man fetches oats or hay
is stacks and some turnips or potatoes from his storage
nd carries the feed on his back to his cattle on the hill.
arely does he keep them in a byre because to do so he
lose the government subsidy on hill cattle. Although [232]
eep are now free from pests and most diseases, he must
ue to periodically walk the hill to check their condition.
ew bother to feed the sheep in winter. Another task is [231]
tchering of a few sheep. While not quite legal until
ear, one crofter justified his activity by asking,
would we eat if we didn't kill our sheep?" Once in a
he may also kill a steer, but unless several families
the meat, salt beef becomes rather monotonous.
The crofter's wife keeps busy all winter. Her routine, 221 462
by helping at the fank a half dozen times a year and
he harvest, continues through all seasons. As far as [231]
tual work on the croft goes, she milks the cows, feeds [241]
ultry, and cultivates her garden. When she is not cleaning
use, cooking meals, making butter or cheese, caring for
ildren, or looking after her husband's needs, she knits.
so does the shopping, either from a food van or on a [432]
visit to Portree. Men are as disinclined to shop as they
wash dishes.

lambing season, the crofter and his f
to cut their peat for the following w
"tusker," a two-bladed spade, to cut
his children follow behind, tossing t
and building small, loose stacks for
have been marked and the sheep dipped
finished in July, the family returns
the peats to the nearest road, actual
in creels. They are then carted home
There is a growing tendency for both
time crofter to give up cutting peat.
is cheaper or he needs time for other
auxiliary occupation will not permit
time to this long and arduous task.
traditional economic patterns and the
he has become a part.

The year for our part-time crof
crofters ends in November. By then t
been stacked by the house and the pot
in the ground, the wool shipped off t
sheep and cattle have gone to market,
hill. Now follows a period of enforc
feeding the cattle. As we have seen
employment, leaving the care of the c
have shared the work of crofting in a
womanly responsibilities. We must tu
crofter to discover just how heavy th
depend upon the women of Skye.

amily go out on the moor 221
inter. The man uses a 241
the peat. His wife or 314 413
he peats out of the ditch
drying. After the lambs
in June and the shearing
to the banks to carry
ly a beaten cart path,
and stacked near the door.
the part-time and spare- 341
It is not because coal 178
pressing chores. His 241 464
his devoting the necessary
He is caught between the
money economy of which

ter, as for all active 221
he oat and hay harvest has 241
atoes and turnips stored 256 233
o market, the surplus
and the rams are on the
ed idleness, broken by
many go away to find 464
roft to their wives who 593
ddition to their own
rn to the spare-time 462
e burden of labor may

depend upon the women of Skye. 000

The Spare-time Crofter. Under this type we must include not 231
only the able-bodied, married man who tends to become a full- 241
time wage earner, but also the old, pensioned, married and 887
unmarried men and women who are no longer able to perform
the necessary chores. For the latter, whether they have a
small or medium-sized croft, the croft becomes a means of
living within a pension rather than a potential source of
livelihood. For the former, the croft becomes a means of
living cheaply.

When the crofter goes out to work, he either tends to 231
neglect the croft or expects his wife to manage it. Oc- 241
casionally, the husband will help with the ploughing or the 593 462
harvest in the evening, but he never lends his wife a helping
hand in her domestic duties. The only men on the island that
I knew who helped their wives with the dishes or the care of
the children, except disciplinary measures, were a minister
from the Outer Isles and several Lowlanders in Portree. Since 312
very few crofters have plumbing, the wife must fetch water
from a well and dispose of waste in the nearest stream. If
there is to be a supply of peats, she must cut them. If
there are cattle and sheep, she looks after them. Lambing
may be left to the township shepherd if the crofters can afford
one, and shearing is usually left to the men of the township.
An exceptional spinster or widow may shear, but it is indeed
an unusual married woman who will break with the traditional

313 point cultural considerations enter. The land is often essential to the continued existence of the farm or the crofting township. In Sleat, for example, the land which the Forestry Commission has listed as commercially valuable is the lower, sheltered 313 824 grazings of several farms and crofting townships. Finally, there is the people's dislike of trees. Many a Sgiathanach in Portree is distressed by the plans to cover Glen Sligihan with a forest. They share the attitude of a man from Soay, a small island a short distance off the west coast of Skye, near Glen Brittle, who was being moved to the Isle of Mull by the Department of Agriculture when Soay was evacuated at the crofters' request. "Och, its all right down there, but you can't see the sky unless you bend over like this," he said bending over double and looking over his shoulder.

464 [162] We have now accounted for, at the most, 120 men and 20 women who work for wages and 238 crofter-fishermen. Excluding the latter, there are over 1000 men and almost 500 women who are employed locally at sometime during the year.[32] With only a few remaining isolated industries, such as the small silica sand quarry at Ord in Sleat and the infrequently used limestone and marble deposits at Broadford in Strath, most of the opportuniti for employment have to be in services for women and laboring for men.

462 464 Let us consider the occupations of women. Over half are employed as resident domestic servants or as help in hotels and restaurants. Ten percent find work in the local shops as clerks.

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[32]Information extracted from the files of the Ministry of Labor in Scotland, Portree and Edinburgh.

equal number, but mainly newcomers to Skye, are teachers 162 464
nurses. The remainder are employees of the national and
unty government, serving as postmistresses and clerks. In
ition, an indeterminate number of women, in Portree and in
rural hinterland, but none in Kilmuir or Glendale, add
their income by taking in summer visitors. This practice is
strictly legal for the crofters, in as much as it casts
bt on the agricultural valuation or devaluation, but the
unty government has not attempted to discourage the practice.

Turning to the men of Skye, we find that the largest
loyer is the county government, with well over 200 men on
payroll as road workers and general laborers. The national
ernment, directly and indirectly, in recent years has employed
ther 200 or more men through the Department of Agriculture,
overseers, agricultural workers, and laborers; through the
th of Scotland Hydro-electric Board; and in the post offices.
we add the number who work for the nationalized ferry service 557
the subsidized steamer service, we find that over half of
wage earners on the island depend on the government for
ir wages. The only other fields open to men are in agriculture,
farm help or township shepherds; in transport, as bus and
ck drivers; and in hotels, as barmen, waiters, and porters.

These jobs are by no means permanent or regular. It is 464
at all unusual to have 300 or 400 unemployed during the
ter when road work falls off and the tourist season is ended.
y will then draw compensation from the Ministry of Labor, 795
will the younger men and women who have been working on the

554 by leaving, for if he fails to conform to the traditional norms
and patterns of behavior, he will be looked upon as an eccentric.
This fact has continuity through all periods of Skye's history.

554 We have already seen how the age and sex structure of the
176 population has changed in response to social and economic
conditions and how this change has influenced the ascription
of statuses within the crofters' division of labor. Briefly,
there has been a contraction of the number of opportunities
463 for ascribing status. This had made it necessary for some
men to perform tasks once the exclusive domain of women and for
women to participate in activities which formerly were the
887 responsibility of their men folk. Older people must now
function in ways which once were the responsibilities of the
youth and young adults. These changes, however, have been
accompanied by persistencies, in particular a continuity of
basic status values. I think this will become clear through
a discussion of the family structure. We shall begin with
the nuclear family.

554 The Nuclear Family. Since my interest is in status, I shall
129 adopt the unorthodox procedure of considering the nuclear
family in terms of the changing status of the individual members
from birth to maturity. This will give us a dynamic picture
of family life. At birth the individual's relationships with-
in the crofting family and, to a lesser degree, within the
township are established. Like those of his parents, who
now have the ascribed statuses of mother and father, his
relationships will remain unchanged until he marries and founds

alternating generations and being felt as an obligation to 553
perpetuate family names, these various practices serve to
limit confusion among a people who share rather few surnames.
I never knew a child who had been named for his parents.

The relationship of father and child is formally es- 851
tablished at baptism. As we shall see in the following chapter,
the mother takes little or no part in arranging for the sacra-
ment. The spiritual welfare of the children is the father's 543
concern. He is also the disciplinarian, but in the pre-school
years discipline is lax. Both parents freely indulge the child,
and they spend a great deal of time with him. The belt, an 864
ever-present, ever-threatened means of punishment, only appears
when the child assumes the rights and duties which he will
exercise as long as he remains on his parents' croft.

When he begins school at five or, in remote townships, 847
at six, the rights and duties determined by age and sex begin 462
to emerge in perspective. Actually, the child has already
begun to make a pretense, playfully imitating his or her father
or mother, at assuming his role, but the influence of the
sex category is not marked. A small boy may fetch some peat
for the fire or some water for the dishes. Once he starts
school, he is no longer asked to do those chores. As soon
as he is able to carry a pail he may feed the chickens; now
he only feeds the calves. His first real task is tending the
cattle, bringing them down from the hill and driving them out
after the milking. As time goes on, he learns how to plant
and dig potatoes, cut turf, harvest hay and oats, and at last
how to shear sheep.

847 A girl also makes an early pretense at assuming her role.
462 While a boy is never seen helping within the house, and, there-
fore, his duties begin later, a small girl soon begins to help
make beds and do the cleaning. If she is an only child, or
has been left behind by her brothers who have left the Island,
she is expected to take their place on the croft. In any
event, she will be taught how to milk, how to plant a garden,
and how to help in all other tasks of crofting, except cutting
563 corn and shearing. She learns at a very early age and in
diverse ways that the primary role of a woman is to serve the
needs of man, some man, throughout her life, unless she is
strong enough to live alone.

Learning the virtues valued by their parents and the
community, as well as the tasks essential to crofting, both
boys and girls are indoctrinated with the ethos of the
Islander long before they can understand the importance of
their object lessons. They are separated by more than the
division of labor of their parents. As we shall see, the
almost unaltered status values of the culture relegate males
and females to two different, but complimentary, spheres of
activity.

871 As they progress in school, conflicts begin to develop.
132 In one way this is inevitable. Until 1953 there was no
attempt to teach the children anything that would directly
relate to the life expected of them on Skye. In particular
there were no agricultural subjects. Even now, there is but
one travelling teacher of agriculture to serve the entire

Additional modifications have been found in the division 178
of labor. Although no Skyemen has shown a disposition to assume 182
462 responsibility for domestic work, unless he lives alone, the
women of Skye are expected to function in roles which once were
filled exclusively by men. Old men and women for many years 544
now have continued to perform tasks which formerly were their
duties as youths and young adults. These changes, like those
we have outlined, are partially traceable to an incomplete
adjustment to the contractual, commercial world. This has led 162
to striking alterations in the age structure of the population
for it is the youth who forsake the Island and the aged who
yearn to return. Nevertheless, there have been no observable 554
changes in the status system of the rural neighborhoods.
Primitive democracy, distinguished from our form of democracy 421
by the principle of unanimous consent rather than majority rule 874
continues to operate in the townships. The existence of such
an institution implies a maximum of equality co-existing with
a minimum of authority. The continued ability of the crofters
to maintain primitive democracy in a nation like Great Britain
is possible only because there is a high degree of social
integration. The simple system of ranking, on the basis of 567
age and sex, has persisted. Men are the social superiors of 562
women; old men are the social superiors of their juniors. I
believe we shall understand how continuity of status has been
preserved if we turn to a consideration of the role of religion
on the Island.

If I am right in asserting that a belief in clan brother- 178
hood was an all pervading cultural pattern in bygone days and 182
619

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463 OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALIZATION--number of partially and fully specialized occupations; major occupational categories (e.g., learned and artistic professions, independent industrial and business entrepreneurs, managerial personnel, independent and tenant farmers, government officials, clerical and white-collar workers, skilled artisans, semi-skilled and unskilled industrial workers, farm laborers, domestic servants, slaves); general information about occupational specialization; vocational guidance; specific information on occupations not classifiable elsewhere; etc. This category is designed for summary statements about occupational specialization; in nearly all instances specific information will be classified elsewhere under a wide range of functional and occupational headings. See also:

Stratification of occupations by time and caste . . 56 Status, role, and prestige 464
Occupational composition of the population . . 162 Vocational education 874

000 24,863 acres. The value of this boggy property, as
423 far as the landlords are concerned, is determined by
424 its fishing potential. The landlords generally reside
224 away from their property, and brave the buffeting gales
several times a year to return to fish for trout and
463 salmon. For the rest of the year they hire river-
635 watchers to prevent their tenants from poaching. As
971 in Wales (Emmett 1964), the islanders continue to poach,
in part as an expression of their identity as independent countrymen, a minority group in a nation-state.

161 Lewis is the most populated area in the Outer
162 Hebrides, containing 21,934 of the 32,607 Outer Hebrideans
631 numbered in the 1961 census. It is part of the County
of Ross and Cromarty, whose headquarters are on the
632 mainland near Inverness. Lewis has four administrative
areas called civil parishes in which births, deaths
197 and other vital statistics are recorded. Stornoway
parish is the largest, containing the town of Stornoway
on the east side of the island in which many non-Gaelic
speakers live. Of the other three parishes, the largest
162 is Barvas which stretches along the west side of the
199 island and contains 4,331 persons, of whom 94.66 are
Gaelic speakers. The people of Stornoway refer to someone
186 from the west side as a siarach (west-sider), a term
which connotes rusticity.

632 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the
363 sea: Ceann a Stigh (or Ceann a Stigh Bhaile, or Baile
102 Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the sea), Buailebhir (an area identified with the keeping of cattle), Gearraich Mor, Creagan, Pluic, and Mach a Chui ("out the back," by a road built relatively recently). A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the moor, or common grazing land, is called Grinnbhat, from the name of a nearby loch.

The presence of a large Harris Tweed mill in
511 Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living
[348] within the village. It is estimated that only 25% of
[288] the households of rural Lewis have cars; about 50% of
[498] the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970
[642] Shawbost had only one occupied high-duhh, or "black house" built of dry stone and roofed with thatch, which to many islanders symbolizes a past life of poverty and adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators,
[494] deep freezers and electric toasters are common in
[251] Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and
[207] many have telephones.
[206]

The mill in Shawbost employs between 60 and 70
238 persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn
463 in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the

238 finished lengths of tweed. For a tweed to be classified
443 as "Harris Tweed," it must be hand-woven by Outer
[429] Hebrideans in their own homes, but the weavers are
238 essentially employees of the mill. All the large Harris Tweed mills in Lewis, except the one in Shawbost, are located in Stornoway. A few smaller businesses, which design and market tweeds but have no elaborate machinery to process the tweed further, are scattered throughout the island.

The village of Shawbost is composed of 169 households,
621 of which 110 are headed by "crofters," persons recognized
142 as legal tenants of a croft. Of the remaining 59
[429] households, 16 rent houses which were built and are
[341] maintained by the County (called "council houses"), 11 have erected houses on the crofts of relatives, and 32 have built homes on the common grazing lands. Non-
443 crofters participate in the agricultural activities of
21 the township. It would not be unusual, for example, for
118 a non-crofter to serve as the clerk of a grazings committee.

342 In North Shawbost, one croft house and two non-
124 croft houses are used only when the owner returns to Shawbost from the mainland for a holiday. The school-
[375] master lives in a house adjoining the school, and the
[143] minister in a manse located between Shawbost and the neighboring village of Bragar.

175 dyeing the wool it was spread out, dried and sent to
283 Stornoway to be made into yarn. The yarn was then sent
175 back, and the weaver wove and washed it. About six women
284 were required to do the waulking (the process by which
[142] the cloth was washed and shrunk).

175 "In those days the weavers designed their own
284 patterns, and sold their own finished tweeds. I remember
432 going into town with my brother, we had two tweeds in the cart. We went into a shop to sell the tweed, and the man said it was poor weaving. He didn't want to pay the full price for it. I told my brother to roll it back up, we would take it somewhere else. As we left the shop, he told me I had 'good cheek.' In the next shop the merchant didn't say anything, and gave my brother the regular price. We went home with £60."

236 The great demand for tweed encouraged the development
258 of more efficient methods of production. One by one the
178 various processes of production were taken over by
118 specialists, and gradually these specialists were brought
433 together under one roof. Large boilers for dyeing wool
[434] were supplied as a result of actions taken by the Congested
143 Districts Board, which was formed in 1897. The Scottish
[38] Home Industries provided chemical dyes. The most
236 difficult and time-consuming processes were carding and
223 spinning, which small mills on the mainland began to do

285 on commission for weavers around the turn of the century.
283 By the early 1920's, four mills on the island were
175 carding and spinning wool on commission; and one mill
284 brought looms into its premises. Lord Leverhulme, who
[283] bought Lewis in 1918, saw the value of concentrating weavers in one place and of improving the technology. He encouraged the introduction of Hattersley domestic
463 looms, which eventually replaced the wooden looms. The individual weaver also did his own warping, but after World War II the mills began to hire warpers to work full time on mill premises. Transporting the tweeds, which used to be the responsibility of the weavers, is now the responsibility of the mills. Today all processes except the actual weaving are handled by mills, most of which are located in Stornoway.

Such steps in specialization and centralization made sense to the weaver. One of the older weavers recalls,
175 "In the late 20's or 30's you could buy a yard of Harris
238 Tweed for about two shillings. It wasn't economical for
135 any crofter to dye and spin the yarn, weave it and sell it for only two shillings a yard. As the mills enlarged, they could make it with the machinery because they could make it an economic proposition."

However, the tendency toward specialization and
175 centralization was in direct conflict with the reasons

465 yards (a weaver's yard is equal to 8 feet, a measure
238 which derives from the size of the frame once used
[504] to wind hanks of yarn). Payment varies according to the number of colors used in the pattern. A weaver
238 may average 2½ tweeds per week when the work is available,
465 thus earning more than mill workers. A female mill
[542] worker earns about £11 or £12, and her male counterpart about £3 more.

Because weavers are classed as self-employed, they
238 do not qualify for unemployment benefit. They may apply
745 for social security, but must submit to a "means" test,
65 and the possession of bank savings or other assets disqualifies them from receiving such aid. All British workers must pay a weekly sum for "insurance stamps," a certain number of which makes the workers eligible for small payments from the government during periods of illness. Self-employed persons must pay for their own insurance stamps, whereas employers pay for the stamps of their workers. A weaver who does not keep up with his payments of over one pound a week for insurance stamps must pay the accumulated debt at a later time.

471 Weavers face other costs. They buy looms and bobbin-
238 winding machines, and pay for lighting, heating, and the
[238] maintenance of all equipment. The preservation of this
238 anomalous status of "self-employed" is related to the
463 458

238 attempt to preserve the image of Harris Tweed as a
465 cottage industry, and thus maintain its market value.
[438] Many weavers, politicians and businessmen argue that the weaver should be reclassified.

However, the status of weavers as self-employed is not simply bureaucratic jargon designed to preserve
238 the Harris Tweed industry. In most employer-employee
465 situations, people are hired with the understanding that they have certain qualifications and will perform certain jobs. Weavers are not under such expectations and obligations. A mill has little idea of the skill or motivation of the weavers to whom they send their yarn. Weavers differ in matters such as degree of skill and state of health, and they also differ in the amount of time available to weave, and other matters that affect their production. Some weavers refuse to do complex patterns; some are busy with croft work and do not want to do "urgent" tweeds; others who are recovering from illness may prefer not to weave the heavier tweeds. The
[447] tweed van sent out by the mills to make deliveries all over the island meets one such variable situation after another, and thus finds it difficult to meet the demand of the Weavers Union, that tweeds should be equally distributed among all weavers on the island. Theoretically, the mills are supposed to deliver tweeds in strict

000 element, the weaver, is essential to its production.
238 In 1960 weavers receiving tweed yarns from the mills
465 totalled about 1,500 persons, a number which held for
463 about three years and then started dropping at a rate of about 100 a year. In 1971 the number of weavers was less than 1,000, and trends of change appeared to presage a continued dwindling of numbers. It is estimated that emigration increased during 1970-71.
166 Men have returned to the sea, have gone to Glasgow as
464 laborers, or have taken advantage of training courses offered by the Labor Exchange, courses that will eventually remove them from the island setting.

238 The instability of the industry and the fluctuation
571 in amount of weaving work available at any given time
458 has created an environment in which personal ties and individual maneuvering rather than a widespread adherence to impersonal rules such as equal distribution are emphasized. Strategies which involve the mobilization
[608] of kinship and neighborhood ties and involve an emphasis on personal relationships rather than the depersonalization usually associated with industry are made possible by economic factors such as the dependence of decentralized weavers on centralized mills. The watchfulness and consciousness of one's neighbors so characteristic of village life prevail. Questions about the state of

238 the automatic shuttle; all other processes have been
175 built into the design of the Hattersley loom (cf.
402 Thomson 1969). In other words, weaving does not entail
238 very specialized skills and is not difficult to learn.
463 A sailor can come home and learn to weave in a short period of time, or pick up the trade again with ease after having been absent from the loom for a long ti
[671] Neighbors substitute for each other when someone is
[578] ill a tweed is "urgent." Wives help their husbands,
young boys their fathers and uncles. Such low-level specialization and substitutability are complementar
to crofting activities and the maintenance of neighb
hood ties, and may be seen to favor continuance of t
occupation of weaving.

374 The Lewis Castle College in Stornoway, establish
234 as a technical college in 1953 in a building that wa
[467] formerly the home of Sir James Matheson, offers trai
courses in weaving for adults which last for ten wee
and qualify a person for membership in the Weavers
Union (cf. Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). The
[672] college also sends weaving instructors to all the pu
schools on the island to instruct young boys in the
654 rudiments of weaving. The Highlands and Islands
286 Development Board have in the past offered loans and
288 grants with which to purchase looms, and government has protected the mills.

ision of labor. During the summer, she will milk the cows, 231
in the winter she will see that they are fed. If there is 241 593
be a harvest in the autumn, she will care for the crops. 462

Some women, in particular the older ones, plough with 241
caschrom, the foot plough. Other women use a small power 654
even plough or contract with the Department of Agriculture 462
have the ploughing done. The Department will also provide
men and machinery to harrow, cultivate, spread lime and
ure, mow hay, cut and bind oats, dig potatoes, and thresh
in. By utilizing these services, if they can be afforded,
small crofter can free himself or, at least his wife,
n many arduous tasks. The need for cooperation of the family [172]
neighbors is thereby reduced. Although traditional mutual 593
is being replaced by cash payment for labor, it is not the [178]
or of a landless working class which commercialization often
ates, but rather state provided services. Significantly,
t Department employees are newcomers. The Skye man who
ks for the Department is a better worker away from the island.
ce few are able to pay for these services, the wife digs the 241
atoes, and some women use the scythe to reap hay and oats. 462
scythe, it will be remembered is really a man's tool.
quently, the break with tradition is avoided by the return of
on from the mainland or the sea. Running the household and
king the croft is not all some women do. They also take in [185]
mer visitors, by the day or week, and provide teas for travellers.

In summary, it may be said that crofting is anything but 241
easy life with ample rewards. We have seen how meager the

887 arduous is difficult to determine. In the winter of 1953, I
241 helped a small crofter thrash oats, a cooperative enterprise
[123] even with a mechanical thrasher, supplied by the Department of Agriculture. The neighbors who came over to lend a hand were two men and three women. The youngest woman would never see fifty again; her seniors were seventy-seven and seventy-eight. The youngest man, who had just been married, was sixty-three; the other seventy-three. These crofters not only showed more endurance than I did, but put me to shame by carrying the sacks of grain from the field to the byre
[162] at the end of the day. Nevertheless, most of those over seventy, about 15 percent of the population, do not make use
887 of the land for more than growing a few potatoes. An old
231 man cannot keep a cow because, as one man said, "You can't
462 have a cow unless you have a woman to milk it." If he is married or lives with a sister, there may be a cow and a couple of sheep. An old woman may have her cow and sheep if she is strong enough. There comes a time, however, when all the old people will only remember the work involved. Still, they will say, "Och, but they were good for all that."

427 Absentee tenants are responsible for depopulation on
241 the one hand and falling production on the other. A reasonable
161 estimate would be 300. Their number could be as high as 400.
[133] Some townships have over 50 percent of the crofters absentee. The only townships which do not have this problem are the few which contain large crofts. On one small estate there are seventy-six crofts, held by seventy-two crofters. Only thirty

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APPENDIX B (1) Population totals.

| | MALES | | |

175 Whatever the rationalization, cobbler fathers begot
829 cobbler sons. The present postmaster's grandfather was
463 the first postmaster in Shawbost, and when help is needed
[205] in delivering the mail it is the postmaster's first
[767] cousins who are likely to help out. As late as the 1950's, the township still had its own undertaker, a man who had learned from his father the art of laying out and dressing the body but who didn't like the job very much and was happy enough to turn it over to an undertaker who traveled from Stornoway.

463 The island has had a veterinarian, based in Stornoway,
[232] for the past 30 years or so. Earlier, certain blacksmiths and farmers treated ailing livestock when the crofters
[278] needed them. For human ailments, there were many cures
[155] by plant and spell.

463 The man who was the last village blacksmith died
326 not long ago. His smithy was in the center of the village.
[342] His home and smithy were mortared stone buildings with corrugated iron roofs that were once estate houses for the men who worked the experimental farm established by Sir James Matheson in what is now New Shawbost. The blacksmith was also a shopkeeper and butcher. As a
463 blacksmith, his work was principally shoeing horses and
326 making harrows and peat-cutters, which he did with the
874 aid of one and sometimes two apprentices. One of his

463 One of his
326 apprentices was his sister's son, who built another
[874] smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip.
[204] People gathered there while he shoed horses that came
[521] from Barvas to Carloway."

444 A number of shops were established in Shawbost
178 that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At
[494] one time they numbered six altogether. These shops also ran the first buses between the village and
[477] Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared
[443] because of competition with larger companies. Mobile grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in large parts of the island, undercutting the local busi-
178 nesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-
434 sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and
571 sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on
621 local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town-
44 dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major
463 proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers,
178 fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage
[472] collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal
[484] dealers and others extend goods and services from centralized sources to a market which has money to pay for them. The island's participation in this extensive market system is affected by its marginality to the

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Appendix B (1), continued.

| | MALES | | |

621 used on different occasions, for example, to discourage
626 deviant behavior or certain marital alliances. Any sign
582 of physical or emotional disability in someone planning to get married invites an attempt by other villagers to
[539] discourage an alliance. According to a Gaelic proverb, "If you want to be praised, die; if you want to be criticized, marry (Ma tha thu airson do mholadh, basaich; ma tha thu airson do chaineadh, pos)." The villagers
621 consider not only the behavior of the person but of his
626 ancestors. The individual is perceived as belonging to
582 a family unit which through many generations has manifested
827 certain physical and behavioral traits. Traits of behavior such as shyness, heavy drinking, stealing and tight-fistedness are interpreted as hereditary traits. "It's in the blood (Tha e anns an t'fhuil)." "It's in the people." Particular occupations are also associated with families.
[463] Stornoway, which is not so "urban" as to have a constant turnover of population, contains many examples of occupations passed down through generations.

632 In Chapter 3 I mentioned the development of several
578 groups in the crofting township which seem to be in conflict with the township as a strongly bounded system. People who keep only sheep have come to blows with those who keep both sheep and cattle; and a distinction between crofters and non-crofters may be seen. Many persons have preferred

651 which official records are kept by the mills. If you
434 say jokingly to a fisherman who has brought in a large catch that he should put some money aside for the income tax man, he is likely to reply, "He'll have to
463 catch me first." A tradesman may be earning large sums
434 of money doing local work as a skilled specialist at
[745] the same time that he is collecting social security. A man may move in and out of a number of different jobs,
[171] and never report his income. "Occupational pluralism" (cf. Brox 1968) rather than economic specialization has developed as a strategy in various countries along the North Atlantic fringe, such as Iceland, the Faroes, northern Norway and Newfoundland, as well as the west coast and islands of Scotland. In these marginal areas, income from specialized occupations is, in the long run, unpredictable and inconsistent.

178 In times of national economic depression, strikes,
458 shifts between socialist and conservative governments,
241 and other crises, crofting provides an alternative
175 strategy. During the last war, many islanders who had
722 left the island (including some who had been quite
166 prosperous in the cities) returned to spend the duration of the war in the village, glad of the relative security provided by the relative abundance of food and less strict
000 rationing. During a huge snow-fall that occurred on

105 The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an
241 industry which is compatible with crofting. Because
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632 weavers are self-employed, they can set their own schedul
of work and thus continue to participate in croft work
and fulfill various township obligations. The effects
[121] of this industry on the township as a social boundary
[434] system were investigated. The income available from
• [463] weaving is unpredictable, which encourages the retention
of crofting practices and other patterns of behavior,
such as "occupational pluralism," that were found to be
[476] adaptive in the past. Such strategies also strengthen
[082] township boundaries; for example, they encourage mutual
[434] aid and communal township practices. But weaving also
[407] offers a high level of income; and some weavers, preferrin
to spend most of their time weaving, have neglected
crofting, or have invested in tractors or other motorized
transport which enables them to harvest crops, cut peat
and perform other activities independent of other township
members.

105 The fundamentalist Free Church constitutes an important
621 boundary-maintaining mechanism, serving to exclude various
795
632 external influences of the larger society from the township.
184 However, a smaller network of persons engaged in the
105 religious sphere of social activity, a subsystem within
794
621 the township system, also exists which has the appearance
632 of a firmly bounded system. These are members of the clique
184

2 ECOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

361 THE population of the island huddles round the coastline
133 as round a central heath. This is mainly because the inland parts of the island are either barren, as in Harris, or infertile bog, as in Lewis. Much of the south Hebrides has, on the west coast, the extremely fertile machar land, but Harris and Lewis do not have these useful patches. The machar land is land built on shell sand and dressed with fertilizing seaweed; it forms a fertile fringe, no more than a belt of varying width between the sea and the acid peat bog on the inland side. Where this land does occur, mainly on the west coast of the island, townships crowd round it for the good growing it can give. The other reason for the
[262] attraction of the coast is the obvious one: the close proximity, on the doorstep, of a change of diet, shellfish and inshore fish such as whiting, cod, haddock and mackerel. The exceptions to this coastal grouping are Achmore, Cliascro, and Lochganvich in Lewis.

133 There is a great physiographical difference between the east and west coasts of the island, this apart from the incidence of macharland on the west coast. The eastern side is steeper to the sea; though sheer cliffs occur at Gallan Head, West Loch Roag. The south-western coastline has high, almost sheer cliffs with few inlets or sheltered harbourages excepting Loch Roag, a magnificent inlet, sheltered at its farthest inland penetration by Great Bernera. The coast on this island side often presents rocky teeth to the Atlantic's buffeting; and often suddenly falls down to sea level to display wide stretches of sand. Uig Bay, where the Red
• [463] River runs into the sea, is a breath-taking sweep of whiteness. The eastern coast is generally rocky but has more inlets, lochs which carry townships mainly engaged in fishing or tweed manufacture.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

228 and its neighbourhood becoming the centre of the growing in-
*175 dustry. In 1793, the Lewis Parish contributors to the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* indicated that upwards of 183 boats were
• [463] fishing off the island. In Uig no less than 275 netmakers were
[286] recorded, showing that the fishing industry was prosecuted with some measure of enthusiasm. 'All the people dwell in little farmvillages and they fish in the summer season. The women do not
[462] fish; but almost at all times when there is occasion to go to sea, they never decline that service, and row powerfully.' In the parish
[237] of Barvas in the eighteenth century some 9,000 Scotch pints of oil were taken each year from dog-fish livers and sold to Stornoway merchants at from 6d to 8d per pint; it is related that the tenants of Ness were able for a long time to pay their rents with
[433] the oil proceeds. Cod and ling were the principal fish caught by the men of Lochs, an annual average of 24 tons being cured and sold in Stornoway. Generally, other fish caught were consumed locally.

Loch Roag on the west of Lewis proved to be about the best fishing ground; in 1794 about '90 sail' from all parts of the United Kingdom were at the herring fishing there. At one time Loch
228 Roag-cured herring was exported exclusively to Sweden. The
*175 minister of Stornoway, contributing to the *Old Statistical*
439 *Account*, gives figures showing the quantities of fish shipped from the port from 1791 to 1796. During these six years some 14,000 barrels of herring were exported to the Continent, and 20,000 sent for consumption in Britain; some 350 tons of cod and ling were destined for Continental markets. Herring, cod, and ling were thus pursued during the following years with growing vigour, though the inshore white fish took favour. The herring fishing did not make great strides, mainly because to the middle of the nineteenth century catches were confined to the inland sea lochs; the people for the most part were not familiar with deep-sea fishing, and their boats and nets were not suitable for it.

Indeed, when Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, he
228 gave scant attention to the potential in the fishings round his
*175 island. Though he expended considerable amounts in securing a
[504] regular steamer communication between the mainland and the island, and spent over £2,000 in building a quay at Stornoway

6 TRADE AND INDUSTRY

IN the earliest times, the folk of the island of Harris and Lewis 175*
were self-supporting; all that they needed for life as it was 511
lived in those days was available at near hand; their existence was self-contained, the economy virtually self-sufficient. By and
[439] large, the only commodities often imported were salt, iron, and
[427] to a certain extent, wood. Rents were paid largely in kind: the
[434] produce of agriculture, fishing and labour. Surplus produce was directed to southern markets to bring in the odd shilling or two for which there was really very little need in the island. But once
[436] money became important in the national economy, it was not long before it was required in the island economy too. By 1790, if not well before, two or three open boats set out each year from Uig to Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. At about this 175*
time, too, changes were making their slow appearance in the island 108
way of life and living. Specialists were being required: smiths 511
tinkers, shipwrights, netmakers, boatbuilders, weavers, tailors and 463 •
millers. Each of these craftsmen generally held some cornland, either individually or in shares, and also had some rights in the common ground of the township in which he lived.

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

From the pure crofter class there emerged the crofter-craftsmen. 175*
In Lochs, for instance, by the turn of the seventeenth century 80 463
per cent were registered as fishers and netmakers. In the west, in the parish of Barvas, some 70 per cent were also fishers, with kelp-
[427] making as a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-
[434] tenants paid 30s to 60s in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tacksmen at 5d each, earned 20s a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s a ton, and worked on roads for 8d per day.

In Harris in 1895, the eight trained male weavers worked for 286
the gentry only. Weaving for the populace was done by the 462
175*
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TRADE AND INDUSTRY

288 Thus were laid the lines of a new form of economic organisa-
*175 tion for Lewis. At first, tweed manufacture here, as in Harris, was
[462] strictly a domestic activity: the wool of the crofter's own sheep was clipped, washed and dyed, carded, spun at home, and woven into cloth by persons in the township with the skill to produce a suitable cloth; the weaving was a part-time and mainly female occupation. Payment for the weaving was in kind: peats, potatoes, or labour. The waulking or finishing of the cloth was mostly a communal activity carried out by the womenfolk, who turned it into a particular social occasion with definite feminine characteristics. If the cloth made was in excess of domestic requirements, the crofter sold it directly to a customer, or else the local shopkeeper bought it or gave credit for it.

With the rise in weaving for a definite market in Lewis, all this 288
• changed. Weaving became a full-time specialist occupation and, 463
*175 partly because the flying shuttle made the work heavier, it be-
[462] came predominantly male work. With the use of mill-spun yarn there grew up a number of merchants, the Lewis 'producers', who 288
*175 bought yarn either locally or from the mainland, and put it out
[441] for weaving and hand finishing on a commission basis. The yarn and the resulting cloth remained their property. At times the cloth embodied a handspun weft; at other times perhaps no handspun was used at all. As pointed out above, it was marketed as Harris Tweed, as was the 100 per cent handspun cloth, yet it cost about 21d to produce compared with 36d for the 'real' tweed. The cheaper type provided Lewis's rapidly-expanding output between 1900 and 1911, and by that year Lewis had outstripped Harris. In 1912, the handspun yardage produced in
[433] Harris was 175,000; partially and wholly millspun accounted for some 4,000 yards; and the total value was £26,500. In Lewis the yardage of handspun cloth was some 10,000; but about 340,000
[435] yards of partially or wholly millspun was sold. The total Lewis value was £44,000.

288 *The trade mark*
441 When eventually the question arose of some mark to distinguish
*175 between the two cloths, it was with difficulty that the Harris mer-
424 chants persuaded the Board of Trade that a distinction was neces-

PRESENT INDUSTRY

of a knitting industry based on the crofters, who would use Lewis 286
yarn and produce knitwear in addition to their woven fabrics. 175*
However, it was found that the yarns used for Harris Tweed were unsuitable for knitwear, not being given sufficient twist in the spinning: before women use this tweed yarn for knitting, it is common practice to twist two or more threads of yarn together on a hand spinning-wheel.

Little in the way of craft work is done on the island, mainly 463 •
because of the lack of indigenous materials which could be used to produce typically-island items. Marram-grass has been sug-
[397] gested as being suitable for making agricultural wind-breaks, and
[735] close-woven basket-work. Shore-stones and pebbles are plentiful both in quantity and variety of type and colour.

Small employment outlets on the island are marine and motor 396
engineering, mainly based on Stornoway, and boat-building. This
[464] latter is a small but socially-significant firm in Ness with products with a high reputation. Construction and general building is of some significance, one of the most enterprising firms being built up literally from scratch so as to become a highly-successful island business.

The unemployment problem

The island's unemployment problem is as much a matter of 464
concern today as it has ever been, averaging about 25 per cent annually (representing well over 1,000 people) compared with the Scottish mainland figure of 6.0 per cent; the contemporary figure for Britain is around 3.0 per cent. While unemployment as it 464
affects adults is serious enough, unemployment among teenagers 883
threatens the community's whole future. The island has its Youth Employment Officer, who has an unenviable task. Each junior and secondary school in the island is visited to interview school-leavers, at least once a year; employment advice is given and this is supplemented by Careers Officers' visits.

Such employment openings as exist over the island's limited spectrum are concentrated in Stornoway. They are, however, mainly in shop work, mill work and hotel work for girls, with a
[462] few vacancies for apprentices in trades generally associated with building construction. Most of the jobs offered are very much in

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

621 has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway
63 and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway,
[505] and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West
[494] Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes six-
[361] teen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population
[366] within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a
[868] masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is
[873] the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a
[504] fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

144 The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as
[167] Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing
• 463 ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The
[641] main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being
[439] augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate
[786] on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from
[388] their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the
[220] tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Road-
[464] work gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

316 An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

195 even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of
18' the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil.
[828] Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naively at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started,
[296] HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship
[931] among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island con-
[262] sisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from
[272] March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond
[342] of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the
[392] Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and
[405] there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were
[162] some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose
[212] from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoe-
[463] makers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses,
[214] and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and
[286] sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each
[462] croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged
[429] for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

439 Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the
435 island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers;
[237] and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

121 by help of oral tradition and of the living witness of con-
170 tinuing usage, we can reconstitute Gaelic life from the
176 view-points of both people and chief. Elsewhere, even in Scotland, only fragments of early life are recorded, in
175 parchments written by the lawyers of landlord and king,
814 and almost always from the privileged side. History is
127 indebted to modern lawyers who have deciphered and published the faded documents of their predecessors. But the very training as solicitor-factors which fitted them for this specialised task, in no way prepared them to view life as seen, experienced and felt by the men and women of the past, or even by the elders or youth of the townships today, with whom they have rarely laboured and whose mother tongue they rarely understand.

(a) THE LABOURS OF MAN AND WIFE, AND THE REWARD

62 We have seen that until the nineteenth century the
632 township in the main was self-contained. Its people grew
175 reared or caught their food, and also found the raw materials
[833] for their clothing; they built their own shelter, and cut their own firing. As a result, both men and women had
174 each to develop "a wide range of simple skills", in the
175 apt phrase of a Lewisman, Mr. Donald MacLean, M.A.
462 Beyond the co-operative effort within a family, a farm group, or a body of 'fellow-townsmen'—in which each was competent to take a share according to sex and age—aptitude and family tradition initiated some local division
• [463] of labour. The resident smith and the 'caird' (usually a wandering craftsman or tinker) appear in the oldest tales and in the first rent-rolls. In addition there were honorary
[759] tasks. The smith might act as the village surgeon, ready

174 to bleed or to set bones, while some elderly woman would
175 serve as physician and midwife. Spiritual consolation
433 and renewal too could be found, even in the absence of
462 monk or nun, or of priest, minister or catechist. Enough
• [463] here, that with agriculture and fishing, most crafts, except
[759] metal-work, were practised in every family. The 'range
793 of skills' was therefore wider and richer in latent art than
[593] might be supposed from those needed on a little croft today. Hence the importance of understanding the roles of husbandman and housewife, of "the man and the woman of the house".

194 Their labours through the annual rhythm of the seasons
462 might be classed as efforts for the man and endurance for
221 the women (Fig. 9). Man's muscular strength and free-
[181] dom of limb rouse him to efforts demanded by the thrust and lift of peat-cutting, digging in stony soil, or pushing the foot-plough, step by step obliquely down a rocky slope. In the past an archer's chase of stag, wolf or boar demanded all a man's effort, and courage too, as fishing still does in the stormy north-western seas. With this facing of danger there came a gaiety that sparkled like the crest of a breaking wave. Women's work demanded by its unceasing activity a cheerful endurance, whether at labour on the croft, at corn-grinding, butter-making and peat-carrying, or carding, spinning and weaving; and with every task of day or season came the constant tending of cattle, of menfolk and children.

[538] This allotment of seasonal tasks and skills is neatly put in the proverb, "A man's cow won't yield milk, nor a woman's horse ploughing" (*Cha bhi bainn' aig bo fir, 's cha bhi treabhadh 'an each mnatha*). Yet women have always taken a share of work on the croft—too heavy a share when the men were much away—and the habit of

175 as some Indian pedlar one meets on the road may seem
433 now. An older packman's tale of his long tramps, of the
[326] people's poverty and hospitality, must have resembled
[443] the mingled plaints and praise one hears from an Indian pedlar today! But in the past only a speaker of Gaelic
[191] could find his way among the people. Almost until 1900,
if not still later, Gaelic speech was to prove a social bond,
[197] but ignorance of English speech an economic barrier.

The transition to increased exchange, with migration,
175 permanent and temporary, tended to make for specialisa-
433 tion. About 1795, *Statistical Accounts* enumerated, for
• 463 every hundred families, two or three smiths, wrights (or carpenters), a shipwright or some boat-makers, a few
[198] weavers, tailors, and perhaps a miller. Each of these held some corn land, individually or in shares, with rights on the common. The line between plain crofters (to use a later term) and crofter-craftsmen was not easily drawn, and different writers wrote as they judged best. In Lochs, 80 per cent were fishers and net-makers. On the open shores of the west, in Barvas parish (in which three-fourths of the men were also 'fishers'), kelp-making was a seasonal
[421] occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s. to 60s. in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tacksmen at 5d. each, earned £1 a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s. per ton, and roads at 8d. a day.

175 In Harris in 1795 the eight 'bred' (or trained male)
286 weavers worked only for 'the gentry': the laird, the
462 tacksmen and their families. The rest of the weaving was done by the women, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. But in Lewis male weavers were commoner—one to every twenty to thirty families was the ratio—as if the practice of home weaving by the women was less universal there, even at that date.

APPENDIX II

RECENT STATISTICS (1953–54)

128 In brieffer form, the basic economic data can now be reviewed,
433 in the same order, for 1953, or the period April 1953 to March
1954, as available. The results are shown on the second pair
434 of Tables, pp. 318–319.

(i) *Tweed Industry* (1953–54)

434 Taking 5,000,000 yards as the 1953–54 total, and accepting
an estimate of 1s. 2d. paid to weavers per finished, mill-shrunk
288 yards, payments to weavers in Lewis-and-Harris (and a few
• 463 of the southern Hebrides) would amount to some £491,700. After subtracting the output from Harris, this corresponds to an informal estimate by the Lewis Association for Lewis proper of well over £250,000 and more, probably £275,000 for the period. Adding the wages of spinners in Stornoway mills, and also of carriers, dockers, etc., it is thought safe to double the figure, with £550,000, for Lewis, rural and urban. Most of the weaving is rural. The increased use of daily bus transport allows rural dwellers to come to Stornoway daily to earn and so has increased the ratio of rural to urban wages by spinning and other labour. For rural carriers and mill-employees, a fifth of £275,000 is taken here, making £55,000. As no estimate for the 'net earnings' in Lewis is available, the same ratio to wages is taken as in 1938, making £1,200,000.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House Building* (1953)

178 (a) *Agriculture.*—First, the trend of crop and stock pro-
431 duction can be indicated by selected figures for the Island for
1918, 1939 and 1953. The areas both of oats and rotation
241 grass increased, the three successive totals in acres being, for oats: 4,460, 5020, 5440; and for rotation grass: 390, 1385,

23 change in area, then the amount of stock allowed, per pound sterling of rent, ought to be
427 changed, too.
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175 This does not appear to have been done in Uig although in Harmonry parish the 300
per pound was increased after rents were reduced in the late nineteenth century. More
recently, the Crofters Commission, in re-stating sommings for some townships, has
generally (but not invariably) applied the sommings to the 1886 rent, regardless of the wording
of the 1912 regulations. This may appear to have the merit of consistency and, insofar as
crofters pay any attention to the Regulations, it satisfies them because the greater (1886)
rent gives them a larger summ and less likelihood of being criticised or penalised for
overstocking. However, it perpetuates inconsistencies which originated during the nine-
teenth century when the stock allowed per pound sterling rent was not reduced although
total rentals were increasing as squatters' and cottars' holdings were added (see page
above). Moreover, the old summing referred to the old type of Highland cattle which were
much smaller beasts than those kept today, and it assumed that the shieling pastures were
to be full use. A further complication arises because about 1920 some townships acquire
substantial enlargements but the sommings do not appear to have been adjusted. Altogether
it is little wonder that the Grazing Regulations are seldom observed, for they seldom bear
any close relationship to the grazing capacity of township lands. Proper observance of
carefully revised Regulations, in which unlimited substitution of sheep in place of cattle
was specifically forbidden, would be of considerable benefit to the crofters.

24 The inbye, or croft, land is invariably separated from the common pasture by a ring
253 fence, the gates of which are generally closed for protection of crops from May to
September. Progressive townships are installing grids to obviate the twin nuisance of
713 traffic interference and straying stock. The fencing of individual crofts was rare until the
• [28] 1930's and is still by no means general. The inbye land is, in many townships, the best
winter grazing and its division into innumerable tiny fenced patches, whilst advantageous
for cultivation, would restrict the movement of stock in search of water and shelter; in a
predominantly pastoral economy complete enclosure of individual holdings is not
[198] necessarily an advantage. This problem will be discussed in Part III but, in the present
context, it is relevant to point out that the small crofts of Lewis contrast strongly with
the larger ones of, for example, the Isles and Tiree. Therefore, what may be
advantageous in the latter may be retrograde in much of Lewis.

The lay-out of the crofts aggravates this problem. The long narrow strips of the 1850
lotting, well-suited to spade cultivation and common winter grazing, may require four or
five times the length of fencing required by an equi-dimensional croft of similar area. If
fenced the stock may be deprived of both water and shelter; since arable cultivation has
become relatively unimportant a suitable solution to this problem might be to fence a small
potato plot near the house and to put the rest of the inbye down to sown grass in strips or
four contoured parts in which grazing could be properly controlled. A particular problem
is posed by crofts which have been sub-divided. These may take the form of strips as much
as half a mile long by 10 yards wide or, more commonly (and much worse), of piece-meal
sharing of innumerable plots, a system known locally, but incorrectly, as 'run-rig'. This
is seen at its height in Knasp (fig 22), where every croft in the township is affected. The
problem does not arise in townships with large crofts, which are usually more nearly
equi-dimensional. These are mostly the result of re-settlement schemes and have long
been fenced, (see, for example, figure 15).

Crofter-tenants.

462 An analysis of crofter-tenants according to age, sex and occupation (table 12) provides
427 several important clues as to the present unsatisfactory state of crofting. More than
463 one-third of the tenants are over 65 years of age; a further 16% are absent, some of these
may also be over 65, others are younger people working away from home, a few are tenants

Despite these aids and incentives, parents do not encourage their children to weave. The weavers themselves describe the job as dull, offering no security and no possibilities for advancement.

Referring to her young son, a mother says, "By the time he's old enough to weave, the tweeds will have failed." Another mother says, "I want him to learn some trade, if he's intelligent enough. I don't want him to stay here. The tweed is so uncertain." "There's no future in it," says the father of another young boy, "I definitely wouldn't want him to be a weaver. It would be good if he went in for engineering."

The histories of the weavers reveal many examples of shifting occupations. Weaving often alternates with work in the local mill, which is also relatively unspecialized. The Shawbost mill must tolerate this unstable labor force, as labor is difficult to find. Eldest sons tend to leave the island for more stable, permanent jobs, leaving the croft and the loom to their younger siblings. Table V[1] shows the number of male weavers in each age group.

The fact that Shawbost has the same age structure as the rest of rural Lewis (see Table II)[2] and less unemployment signifies that weaving has not served as an adequate incentive to keep young people on the island.

1. [See p. xi--Analyst]
2. [See p.xiii--Analyst]

like to leave the loom for the time it took to look after the sheep."

A fourth household consists of three unmarried siblings in their 40's and 50's who recently sold their cattle and now keep only sheep for their own consumption. They cultivate a small amount of oats and hay to feed the sheep during the winter. The brother who was largely responsible for taking care of the livestock is now "concentrating on the loom," and his brother works in the mill. Their sister, who used to work in hotels on the mainland, now keeps house for them. Described as a "self-contained family," they have a tractor and a deep-freeze and take care of their peat and the harvesting of crops by themselves. One of their crofts has become too waterlogged even for grazing and was sold recently to the son of a local crofter, not for agriculture but as a prerequisite for applying to the Department of Agriculture for a housing grant. Only tenants of crofts can apply for such grants. As this particular croft is too wet to be cultivated or used as a house site, the only motive which the new tenant has to become a crofter is to gain access to governmental subsidy.

The fifth household is composed of a retired couple and their son and his wife and family. They have no cattle, and use the crofts for grazing sheep.

Appendix B (1).

	MALES																			
	RESIDENT										PERIODICALLY AWAY				PERMANENTLY AW					
						15-64														
	0 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 and over	Fishing with crofting	Crofting with fishing	Crofting with other occupation	Fishing alone	Crofting alone	Fishing	Fishing	Crofting	Crofting	Fishing	Fishing	Crofting	Crofting	Fishing	Crofting
											Seasonally	Seasonally	25 - 34	35 - 44	Seasonally	Seasonally	25 - 34	35 - 44	Seasonally	25 - 34
VALTOS	6	9	18	16	13	3	12	14	5	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	1	
KNEEP	2	4	6	9	7	1	7	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
REEF	3	3	5	5	3	4	-	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
BEAVAIG	6	-	4	3	-	-	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total D	17	16	33	33	23	8	23	23	12	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	1	
CARYSHADER	5	2	11	5	2	1	7	7	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
GENSHADER	-	2	9	1	9	2	3	4	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	
UNGSHADER	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
ENACLETT	3	3	6	5	3	1	4	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Non-crofting	4	5	1	3	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total E	12	12	29	14	18	4	19	15	5	-	-	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	

4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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continued.

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APPENDIX B (continued)

(2) Occupations of resident males, aged 15-64, South Uig, August 1959

(including S.F.C. personnel but including local residents employed on civilians by the S.F.C.)

Districts*	F	G	H	I
Croft work only	1	9	15	25
Croft and regular -				
-weaving	3	7	13	104
-fishing	1	22		
-estate work	1	-	1	1
-public services	1	5	1	7
-transport	1	1	1	2
-retail trade	1	4	3	4
Croft and irregular -				
-casual labour	1	-	4	5
-estate work	8	-	2	7
-dealing	-	1	1	1
Regular work but not crofting -				
-weaving	-	1	5	10
-professional	-	-	1	2
-public services	-	1	5	2
-transport	-	-	1	1
-distribution	-	-	3	1

* Districts - F: Berneray (mainland)
G: Berneray (island)
H: East Loch Roag (Garrynahine - Toliste Cheolis)
I: Carloway (Ben Uachdaraw - Carnais).

(1) Destination of Emigrants 1920-39, South Ulig

	Males	Females	TOTAL	of which Females on marriage
Stornoway	16	17	33	10
Inner Isles	7	13	20	4
Inner Crofting Cos.	17	8	25	2
Canada	11	5	16	11
Other Overseas	8	3	11	1
U.K.	9	8	17	3
	64	77	141	57

28 There is no hotel in Carloway; the Department of Agriculture hail from Calanais is borrowed; teachers have their meals either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

233 Eight crofters keep sheep, cattle vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters keep pigs (one of pedigree). With a total of only 116 sheep and lambs on 1959 access common pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

The village has a good water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had electricity since 1955. There are excellent communications. A buses a day to Stornoway and Tarbert, and a bus from Uig and one from Berneray passing through Carloway. The village has been a popular place for the development of crofting industries, and the good communications have probably contributed to the decline of crofting interest in crofting.

463 There are only three crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the remaining two both are full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the remaining two both are permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time employment in Stornoway (one being a crofter) and one is employed in Carloway at the Lodge. Only two people do part time weaving. Crofting is very much a sideline. There is no indication of renewed interest in the land, instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Ireland and Jennifer Cornbury

172 Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The promontory rises to about 180 m on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about 135 ft, and then the land drops to sea level at the neck (less than half a mile wide) which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about 1½ miles from the promontory to the middle of the mainland. The township extends inland for about 1½ miles from the promontory to the middle of the mainland. This island area forms the crofting township of Callanish. It is a rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland, the highest point is 425 ft.

195 The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the promontory and sea, and were in crofters who had been cleared from Linshader and Ceannabeg in the eighteenth century. It is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader and Ceannabeg for one day's work in return for the use of land. But later the crofts on the promontory were cleared and replaced by the more exposed westward lots. The promontory were cleared and replaced by the more exposed westward lots. The ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofters were given the new lots next to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which gave them the new lots next to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which gave them the boundary between the crofting and the moorland. Fertilizer and manure are very expensive and difficult to obtain, and the soil is very poor, consisting of various in quality, but it is mainly sandy and peaty. Much of the land is very rocky and stony. The soil is mainly sandy and peaty. The soil has been sub-balanced by the lower part of the soil. The soil has been sub-balanced by the lower part of the soil. The soil has been sub-balanced by the lower part of the soil

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TABLE V

OCCUPATIONS OF MALES (15-64) RELATED TO CROFT SIZE

Size of Operative unit (acres)	Full time croft work	Croft work with Regular employment	Croft work with periodic employment	Total[1]
0 - 5	14(30)	27(59)	5(11)	46(100)
5 - 10	19(42)	22(49)	4(9)	45(100)
10 - 15	14(50)	10(35)	2(7)	28(100)
over 15	7(56)	3(23)	3(23)	13(100)
Total	54(41)	62(48)	14(11)	132(100)

1. It is not possible to relate occupations to size of operative unit in every case as many units are in fact run by more than one person - such units have been omitted from the table.

/p. 8-8/

291 Table III reveals that there are 117 agricultural units with a crofting; ten units are crofts in Glengarnoch without a crofting and the remainder of the 219 units have no grazing rights. From this Table, it is clear that full stocking and overstocking increase with the size of the croft: the units of ten acres and over, on the basis of stock carry, would appear to be the most intensively worked. In all, just over half of the units take up their full crofting.

292 Reference to employment ancillary to croft work for 141 of the 219 units and it would appear that neither ancillary employment nor age is significantly related to the intensity of croft working.

293 Table V points to the fact that more full-time crofters are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables III, IV and V underline the fact that the larger units are also the more successful and it is significant that the larger units are almost all on the better land in the agricultural township. The average size of holding in the agricultural township is nine acres, compared with less than eight acres in the fishing township, where the land is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

295 The trends in agriculture are illustrated by Tables VI and VII. The Crofters' Commission made a survey of the crofts through the medium of Estate Factors in 1883. From Table VI it is evident that the number of cattle was much higher at that time and that the cattle-sheep ratio in the

296 297 extended township was 1:3 as compared with 1:25 in 1958. Table VII gives agricultural statistics for the parish of Lochs as a whole, separate figures for Park are not available. Since 1913, radical changes in the crop and stock patterns have taken place; here (Hordeum vulgare) has disappeared as a crop, and sown grass and permanent grass for hay have since 1947 become the leading crops. Horses have all but disappeared, and the cattle-sheep ratio has risen from one to then 1:4 to 1:39 for the whole parish. Since 1938, cultivation in Lochs Parish has declined by 36 per cent. Large areas of lazy-beds, no longer cultivated, lie visible landscape signs of these changes; seaweed, the sine qua non for lazybed cultivation, is no longer carried to the upper parts

298 of the crofts. In fact, many of the crofts no longer use seaweed as a fertiliser.

299 From the foregoing account, it is clear that there are two major agricultural problems in Park; 300 the lack of sufficiently large crofts with good arable land and an insufficiency of common grazing; these deficiencies bring in their train the problem of overstocking, and the existence of uneconomic buildings.

301 The more progressive crofters, significantly resident on the better crofts of the agricultural 302 township, have shown how croft land can be improved by re-seeding and sowing down to grass; 303 practices which could be fruitfully extended throughout Park. In addition, several townships by co-304 operative effort, have reseeded small areas of the common grazings with splendid results.

305 However it is clear that it is not possible for 219 stable agricultural units to be maintained on the present crofting area. The optimum size of croft which could maintain a family is a moot point, for the location and situation of a croft and the quality of the land and common pasture would all have to be taken into account in making an assessment.

306 This problem was referred to a practical agriculturalist who was asked to state what size of 307 croft and number of stock would be required to provide an annual income of £350, excluding croft 308 benefit (milk, eggs and potatoes consumed on the croft) and any costing for labour. To fulfil these conditions, one of the fishing townships was carefully analysed, and the expert came to the following approximations, assuming that the rules of good husbandry were in force after the croft had been brought up to a good standard of cultivation and re-seeding had been carried out where possible on the ostrus and Common Pasture, and provided there was no overstocking, and that present favourable subsidies and prices continue:-

TABLE IX

OCCUPATIONS OF RESIDENT MALE POPULATION (15-64) OTHER THAN FULL-TIME CROFTERS

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	Weaving	Service	Fishing	Handicraft	Professions	Crofts/Lands	Not known	Total
Crofters with Regular Employment	38	15	8	7	1	3	-	72
Crofters with Occasional Employment	-	1	3	3	1	1	5	14
Non-crofting Employment	4	9	9	2	4	-	1	29
Total	42(35)	25(21)	20(17)	12(10)	6(5)	4(3)	6(5)	115(100)

OCCUPATIONS OF MALE POPULATION SEASONALLY AWAY (15-64)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Whalers and Tankers	13	2	15
Salmon Fishing (Meta)	5	4	9
Others	11	5	16
	29	11	40

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALE POPULATION SEASONALLY AWAY (15-64)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Domestic & Social Work	27	1	28
Others, including sick	14	2	16
	41	3	44

TABLE X

EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALES IN WORKING AGE GROUP (15-64)

(FIGURES IN BRACKETS ARE PERCENTAGES)

	15 - 44	45 - 64	Total
Croft Work[1]	7	82	89
Professional	5	-	5
Services	5	5	10
Non-employed	44	125	169
Total Resident Population	61(41)	152(59)	206(100)
Seasonal Employment	41	3	44
Schoolchildren	11	-	11
Students	2	-	3
Total Temporarily Absent	55(36)	3(2)	58(15)
Regular Employment Parts of Park	43	16	59
Total Regularly Absent	43(28)	16(9)	58(16)
Total	152(100)	171(100)	353 (100)

1. Principal workers of crofts: most women take some part in the working of crofts, planting potatoes, lapboning and harvest work, peat cutting, etc.

/p. 10-1/

166 However, not all such
167 employment is available in Park; 47 percent of the innumerable male population
444 leave the Hebrides to find employment, one third take seasonal employment, and two-thirds permanent employment forth of Park (See Table VIII).

Employment within Park

298 Table IX shows that opportunities for local employment are strictly limited. Weaving of
444 Harris tweed is the most important single source of employment. It is significant that those engaging in it are almost all crofters working in their abundant spare time. Weaving is an ideal adjunct to croft work as it is unaffected by weather or hours of daylight and thus can be performed during periods of agricultural inactivity. The vagaries of the Harris tweed market make the occupation precarious. Park is one of the more inaccessible areas of Lewis and the mills are apt to give their commissions to the weavers nearer at hand around Stornoway when work is scarce. Since 1952, the number of weavers in the fishing township of Cromore, Marvig, Calbost and Grantr has grown from 11 to 22 and much of the credit for this is due to the activities of the Pairc Association. Fishing, on the other hand, has lost ground in the same period: the number of fishermen has declined in these townships from 20 to 14[1]. Apart from
298 weaving, service occupations form the only other employment available, shop-keeping, driving,
444 and road maintenance being the chief occupations in the service group. There are very few craftsmen; with such a small population, not the long apprenticed traditional craftsmen, but builds his house and in his own tradesman, there is little opportunity for a trained builder, joiner or even shoemaker to make a livelihood. The professional class is small and entirely composed of the minister and missionaries, the doctor and several schoolmasters.

462 There is little opportunity for women to find employment in Park, apart from nursing, shop-keeping and school teaching, and a few domestic service posts (See Table IX)

Employment forth of Park

166 The persons in the 15-44 age group form the main body of those working away from home.
444 The distinction made between 'seasonally away' and 'regularly away' is that the former group spend part of the year elsewhere, the men on whalers in South Georgia or with the Tay Salmon
462 Fisheries at Perth, or labouring on the mainland. The women are in domestic service, mainly
465 in hotels. A majority of the men in the latter category are in the Merchant Navy; in some cases
444 these men take leave to coincide with the spring work and the harvest. The majority of the women are in domestic service (See Tables IX and XI).

An interesting comparison is the 'regularly away' group exists between men and women in the professional classes (Tables IX and XI). The sample is small, but it is clear that more women than men attain professional status. The number of domestic servants, nurses, and merchant seamen is a reminder that the crofting districts provide a pool of labour for certain vital occupations, some none too popular in Britain as a whole. In people alone, one can say that Park makes a distinct contribution to the fabric of the national economy and this contribution is much more apparent outside Park than within the district. At the same time a majority of those who are temporarily or permanently away eventually marry and settle outside the district and thus a most valuable section of the community is constantly moving southwards. Only 35 per cent of the men in the 15-44 age group are wholly resident in Park, and 46 per cent of the women in the same age group, a reflection of the poor prospects and utter inadequacy of resources on the most of the crofts.

1 The 1952 figures are abstracted from the Lewis Survey Report on part of South Lochs.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

crofts in other districts, despite the legal requirement that a tenant shall reside within o miles of his croft. Thus half the crofts in the parish are tenated by persons who nnot be expected to make the best use of them. This implies no criticism of the people oncerned, it is a criticism of the system. Of 314 resident tenants under 65 years of ge, 43 are women; of the men, 170 have regular employment including fishing or weaving, 5 take casual or seasonal work as and when they can get it. Only 46, or 7% of all tenants, re "full-time crofters" and, in fact, most of these are either invalids, disabled, or over 0 years of age. Thus in Uig, unlike the southern Outer Hebrides, most crofts are at est a spare time occupation, at worst merely a house site carying special privileges. he table also demonstrates that the size of crofts has little bearing on occupational atus; this is inevitable in a rigid system under which a man has no control of varying e size of his holding according to his needs. Some young tenants inherit crofts far too nall for their family needs, whilst many elderly tenants, and women, have crofts which re too large for them to maintain.

It is not surprising, then, that many tenants do not wish, or are not able, properly cultivate or stock their crofts. A few, however, are particularly interested in gricultural production as a means of livelihood. Some of these have acquired extra rofts, and so built up much larger units. This may be done by acquiring tenancies either the crofter's own name or that of his wife or a close relative, or by sub-letting. About 0 crofters in Uig are tenants of more than one holding, at least 20 work holdings held in e name of close relatives, and at least 120 have sub-let holdings. These figures are rtainly too low: sub-letting without the consent of the proprietor or Crofters Commission illegal. Nevertheless it is common, and it is generally unsatisfactory because the sub-nant has no security of tenure and no right to compensation for improvements; con-equently sub-let crofts are often neglected and sometimes over-grazed as well. Controlled ub-letting, for a stated minimum period and with the right to compensation, would egularise a well established practice and encourage the formation of larger units, better ble to support a family.

A converse of sub-letting is unofficial sub-division. There are a few cases of cottars - ually relatives living in a second dwelling house on the croft - sharing the croft with the nant; but this formerly widespread practice has all but disappeared. Such de facto rofters" share the common grazings, as do "squatters" - persons with houses on the ommon land - who keep stock. Thus neither the number of crofter-holdings on the rental 99), nor that of crofter-tenants (663), is any guide to the effective number of potential gricultural units. Of the crofter-tenants, 100 are absent and some of those who are esident sub-let their crofts. After making these allowances the number of de facto oldings becomes 518; to these must be added 39 cottars, squatters and others (including few tenants of council houses) who keep at least a cow or five sheep, and 23 agricultural oldings without crofter status. Thus there are 580 potential agricultural units in Uig.

That is not all. Of these 66 have no cattle, and 162 carry less than half their soum, which 22 have no stock at all. Little more than 400 holdings can reasonably be said to agriculturally effective. This is an indictment, not of the crofters, but of the gricultural structure of the system. This neither provides viable holdings nor does it nable those who wish to acquire enough land to be agriculturalists to get it, even though uch land lies unused or ill-used. In short, the system is too rigid. In consequence, e-population goes on apace whilst potential resources are neglected. Three-quarters of century of legislation and financial aid have, in the main, encouraged the development of rofts as homes for the elderly and as hobbies for those in other employment. Very asonably, many crofters complain. But very few realise-or are willing to admit - that e security of tenure and other privileges won in 1886, if too rigidly maintained, may timately bring about the decay of the very communities which they were intended to rotect.

175 the crofts at Kneep are still highly fragmented: the fifteen crofts comprise over one hundred
311 and eighty separate arable plots. The lotted crofts at Reef were cleared in 1842 to provide
427 land for a sheep farm. Plans to clear the remainder of the Valtos peninsula were thwarted
(228 by the Fisheries Board because Valtos and Kneep were then good centres for the white fish
[501 industry. As late as 1892 Valtos and Kneep had forty boats, providing employment for one
[464 hundred and forty-five men. Valtos with thirty-two boats and one hundred and twenty
fisher-men was second only to Carloway as a fishing centre in Uig. With the prosperity
of the fishing industry, the population of Valtos and Kneep had risen rapidly - from 467 in
1841 to 659 in 1891. Some, at least, of the subdivisions of Kneep date from this period.
Reef was scheduled by the Deer Forest Commission (1896) for resettlement by crofters
and in 1908 an attempt was made to do this, but agricultural experts advised against it, on
the grounds of poor water supply, scarcity of arable land (only ninety-three acres old arable)
and the risk that, if cultivated, the machair would suffer wind erosion. Nevertheless, in
1921, Reef was resettled by ex-servicemen from Valtos and Kneep. At the time the sheep
[233] farm was only carrying a stock of one hundred and seventy sheep - less than half the crofters'
sheep stock in 1959.

427 Tables 15 - 18 summarise the more significant points of the economy of the Valtos
178 peninsula. Table 16 illustrates the fact that the economy is in decline. Only two-thirds of
the total possible units are being worked. Many of the crofters have abandoned their crofts
[162] and the younger generations are unwilling to take over. Of those remaining to work the
crofts 18% are over sixty-five, and a further 47% are between forty-five and sixty-four.

TABLE 16

Crofts and Crofters

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
427 463 632 Legal crofts:	40	18	15	73
No. in joint tenancy	2	4	0	6
Total possible units:	42	22	15	79
No. of operative units 8/59:	29 (60%)	15 (68%)	8 (53%)	52 (66%)
Joint tenancy crofts as one unit:	1	3	0	4
Cases of subletting:	8 (+2 part crofts)	4	6	18
Family combination of crofts:	2	1	1	4
Derelict crofts:	2	1	0	3
Crofts worked by: Full time crofter	3	1	1	5
crofter with regular work	8	7	0	15
crofter with periodic work	13	3	4	20
crofter over 65 (or invalid)	5	1	3	9

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

An examination of the agricultural situation reveals that there are insufficient resources to make the present number of crofts viable. Overstocking in sheep, an attempt to increase cash ncome, has resulted in a high mortality rate, and consequent losses. The tenant of a small croft s faced with a classic dilemma. If he puts all his efforts into the working of the croft, the area f potential arable land is insufficient to maintain a large stock and even if the best rules of usbandry were operated, croft income alone would be insufficient to provide a reasonable living. The fishing industry, formerly the chief means of a livelihood rather than the croft itself, has irtually disappeared, and he is forced to find ancillary employment in an area where little exists nd thus migration in search of employment is the only solution. The croft becomes a base for on-agricultural activity and a means of providing produce for home consumption rather than an ffective agricultural unit. On the larger crofts, it is clearly possible to make a living if sufficient dditional grazing in the non-crofting area is available - the agricultural townships, especially eaforthhead, Shieldernish, Habost and Kershader, which comprise units sufficiently large and rtile, bear out this contention. Yet better husbandry is possible, and reclamation of the common razings for improved stock rearing has started. The agricultural townships as a whole are better vourd by situation, soils and communications, and appear to possess a much greater degree of tability.

Since the decline of the fishing industry, the fishing townships have progressively declined. ncome from weaving has replaced earnings from fishing as a means of combining croft work and ncillary employment to provide a living, but, as has been pointed out, the supply of weaving ontracts is not regular and greatly depends on the state of the world market. The present cen-alisation of the Harris Tweed Industry in Stornoway is not favourable to the Park weavers: the uggestion by the Park Association[1] that a spinning mill be set up in Park would certainly help the cal weavers.

If the present number of agricultural units and level of husbandry on them is to be maintained, ncillary employment on a large scale will continue to be necessary, and, as weaving and the rvice occupations alone certainly cannot provide it in sufficient quantity, temporary and regular nployment furth of Park is bound to continue, and as this grades into permanent migration, the pulation must continue to decline and age. The capacity of the area for tourism is also limited. ith the overheads which branches of parent lowland factories would have to face, the establishment manufacturing or assembling employment is also unlikely.

A revival of the fishing industry holds out most hope but must take place before all the accrued ill has disappeared with the older generation of fishermen. The fishing grounds are within reach the modern £20,000 boat: by co-operation between crews, fish could be taken to mainland markets ch as Ullapool as indeed happens at present. Lobster fishing could be integrated with herring and hite fishing. Such a combination of several types of fishing would ensure a more balanced economy d the Herring Subsidy would be a guaranteed element of income. It must be agreed that if main-nd boats do come to the coast and sea lochs of Park, there seems little reason why local boats uld not also be successful.

As far as the land is concerned, the survey leaves no doubt that improvements in husbandry and stures are definitely possible. Yet, until viable agricultural units have been created, there is tle incentive for large scale improvement in either sphere. It is an expert's opinion that no crofter rking on a croft in Park which would bring in £300 a year would have time to engage in ancillary rk and at the same time fully work his holding in accordance with the rules of good husbandry. If s opinion is accepted, and if it is also accepted that such crofts are desirable and the present ccessful crofts in the agricultural townships where there is a higher proportion of full-time ofters than elsewhere would bear this out, it follows that ancillary employment on such units would ve to be ruled out.

[1] Park Association Annual Report, 1956.

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

| | MALES | | |

[Marivig]

There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft, and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron. All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply; rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

[Gr-vir] [Glengr-vir]

241 beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other lazy-beds are permanently in natural
[137] hay; only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'old arable' is now in oats and potatoes. If natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the old arable (ninety acres) after 1850-52. As in all the fishing townships the area of sown grass is infinitesimal for only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of under-sowing.

241 There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives.
423 All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and squatters and feuars, besides the fifteen legal Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir common. The common
[132] has been encroached on by several feus for Gravir is the functional centre of Park: the Free
346 Church of Scotland and Manse, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionaries
759 (assistant ministers) are all located in Gravir.
[793]

233 Gravir and Glengravir thus have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than
311 half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty per cent of the soum, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 2,652 acres is in general of poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957, a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded: only twelve of the operative units participated in this reclamation work, and the ages of the participants ranged between 27 and 58 years; this is significant as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended annually; if potential improvements to the crofts are limited, pasture amelioration is virtually
[435] without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater numbers; at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the sheep soum, and a ewe and lamb sell for as little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the consequences of over-stocking. The cattle stock is below the souming and this paucity of cattle is one of the notable changes in the agriculture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the souming by thirty-five per cent.

231 The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from
241 the souming of one cow and follower and eight sheep per pound sterling of rent in a township where
434 only seven crofts pay more than £2 rent, they were never intended to be self-supporting agricultural units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, bere or oats, locally milled by the three Gravir water mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family. Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and
[228] eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for lobsters.

463 If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of insurable age and
288 service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupation are sufficiently available or attractive to keep the insurable population in the district. Twelve of
[166] the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in
[167] permanent employment furth of Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential male resident population.

175 The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute
228 after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the hey-day of the fishing most of the men fished
434 all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sale of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted
[233] the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the souming, the income of the largest croft including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

[Lemreway] [Orin

228 The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lem
195 township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today
434 boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing
415 and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in
504 one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

161 An examination of the population statistics proves interesting,
162 those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the c and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents resident population is in the two important age groups - between resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a townships in Park.

463 Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine
241 occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplem
288 employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry
228 over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fou
205 nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in sea
434
166 Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty
167 Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident pop
505
357

302 Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carrie
377 of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are
372 of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these w
361 up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by roa
191

484 Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approac Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly i they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for su
[485] of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three

000 It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, a
407 enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use i
311 outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new
202 all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old econ
463 being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postm contemporary employment combinations.

181 The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be fo
000 is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to ada it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John

191 Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of
361 a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the ho
241 of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts exten

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. F to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of in
[113] tents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

way] "predominantly a fishing
and until 1947 there were twelve
cost of gear for obsolescent boats
this township. Today there is
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0 males and 70 females is large
rofts have more than one house
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5 and 64. With over forty
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others find work in ancillary
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people leaving since 1939.
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generally are good. Every house
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re built either along the shore or
he sheep, the peat and the springs.
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n Lemreway with its most
has been made to the Scottish
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mmer visitors, other than relatives
houses could be used.

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by a man returning from whaling.
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xtensions to neatly painted houses
my of crofter-fisherman is
an and crofter-bus driver are the

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t itself to changing conditions.
successful community.

Wearmouth

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ses are situated within fifty yards
from the shore on to the moor

raser Darling for granting access
ormation. For detailed con-

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TABLE XVIII

Occupational Structure of Park compared with other Crofting Districts

Males 15-64

Figures in brackets are percentages

	Park	Benbecula and South Uist	Barra	Waternish (Skye)	All Districts
Fulltime Croft work	71(18.0)	231(18.7)	44(6.6)	14(17.1)	360(15.1)
Croft work with regular employment	76(19.0)	197(15.9)	54(8.2)	7(8.6)	334(14.0)
Croft work with periodic employment	14(3.5)	117(9.4)	60(9.1)	17(20.7)	208(8.8)
Non-Crofting employment	29(7.0)	288(23.2)	90(13.6)	5(6.1)	412(17.4)
Unemployed, sick or occupation not known	22(5.5)	102(8.2)	38(5.8)	2(2.4)	164(6.9)
Total Resident Population	212(53.0)	935(75.4)	286(43.3)	45(54.9)	1478(62.2)
Seasonal employment furth of the district	62(15.5)	85(6.9)	21(3.2)	9(11.0)	177(7.2)
Permanent Employment furth of the district	125(31.5)	220(17.7)	353(53.5)	28(34.1)	726(30.6)
	399(100.0)	1240(100.0)	660(100.0)	82(100.0)	2381(100.0)

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TABLE XI

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OCCUPATIONS OF PERSONS (15-64) IN REGULAR EMPLOYMENT FURTH OF PARK

I MALES

	15-44	45-64	Total	%
Merchant Navy	56	13	69	55
Fishing	2	2	4	3
Professional	2	1	3	2
Other occupations	39	10	49	40
Total	99(80)	26(20)	125(100)	100.0

II FEMALES

	15-44	45-64	Total	%
Domestic Service	26	9	35	59
Nursing	10	1	11	19
Professional	3	2	5	8
Other occupations	4	4	8	14
Total	43(73)	16(27)	59(100)	100.0

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[Kershader]

(b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices, however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the former case they heft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand. Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average sheep carcase weight is reckoned to be 41 lb, and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category, and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption only)and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person has entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907 and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard, Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilizing the population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

17

[Garyvard]

407 Only a fraction of the total arable land is cultivated by tractor and this is divided among seven crofts. In spite of an emphatic statement by one of these cultivators to the effect that he will never use it again, the use of the tractor will increase as soon as the pioneers are able to prove to their neighbours its capabilities and as soon as the lazy-beds are joined together, an improvement which has already taken place in Habost. The main objection to the use of the tractor by the disappointed user was the inevitable one that the yields were smaller than in former years when he had used the spade. The answer to this was given by one of the other pioneers, who thought that time saved could be devoted to some other profitable occupation, for example, weaving. Six of the crofters practise a five-year crop rotation, sowing potatoes
242 first, followed by oats under-sown with clover which for the following three years is cut for hay.

An interesting experiment has been that of the improvement of two acres of common grazing land by the road on the west side of the township, by nine of the crofters working together during the evenings. The work began early in Spring when 6 tons of lime, 10 cwts. of mineral phosphates and 8 cwts. of compound fertilizer were spread evenly over the land. The grass seed was sown in July, the most favourable time for sowing since there is less danger of a drought than earlier in the year, and more convenient too, in that the sheep had been gathered for shearing and 250 of them were available to be driven back and forth over the land to tramp the seeds in. In theory this land should be ready for grazing next Spring, but in practice it will be ready in November. It is planned to re-seed twelve acres in all.

231 Most crofters have a cow to provide milk for their own needs. The Black Poll bull at Gravir
234 is preferred to the other township bulls since its progeny command higher prices. Sales are held
432 in the district twice per year, once on the old lake-level on the east side of the township, and once
435 at Baliallan. Prices for calves are normally better in Spring than at the Autumn sale, nevertheless prices offered tend to be low. Even so, it is usually to the advantage of the crofter to part with the animal rather than bear the cost of taking it back to the croft and wintering it there. Naturally there is some bitterness that the middlemen who buythese animals will sell them at much higher prices on the mainland at Dingwall. Sheep are normally sold in Stornoway to the butchers but also at the local sales.

241 Crofting is not in itself a lucrative form of employment and in most households there is at
434 least one other source of income. A majority of the crofters have regular employment, two
463 working in quarries or on the roads for the County Council, another is postman, three are weavers,
464 another both weaver and contractor, while yet another works in Antarctic waters aboard a whaling
[288] factory ship for eight months of the year. Weaving is undoubtedly the most lucrative of the ancillary occupations, though the weavers are suffering at the moment from the slump in the Harris Tweed Industry which is also affecting the prices for wool. Contracting is also a paying proposition for one or two persons only, since the amount of freight is obviously limited.

241 Most crofters own a small rowing boat and it is not uncommon to see half a dozen nets set to
226 catch mackerel and other demersal fish. There is not one large fishing boat, however, partly
501 because of the scarcity of fish near the coasts, and partly because of the isolation of the area and
[228] the subsequent difficulty in marketing. The Fleetwood trawlers are regarded as pirates in the Minch, and one has to its credit the destruction of two long lines - the sum total of the tackle belonging to a local boat. To have eighteen pounds worth of gear lost in one night is ruin to a crofter-fisherman. Lobster fishing has died out at Garyvard though it could be quite extensively practised.

361 The main road from South Loche to Stornoway through the village has obviously had a profound
431 effect on the township. The sites of the old 'black houses' have been abandoned when new houses have been built, in favour of sites conveniently near to the road. The Road Age has greatly
[241] limited man's capacity for carrying goods. This is well illustrated by the fact that the majority of crofters in Garyvard use artificial fertilizers, whereas they are scarcely used at all in Caversta where the road ends about 50 yards from the nearest house.

21.

162 his occupation matters very little. Unlike the Welsh,[35]
59 the Sriathanach does not particularly look up to the man
463 who prospers. Indeed, the people are more than likely to
183 [554] attribute his success to dishonesty or find fault with his character. I shall have more to say about this when we consider the topic of gossip.

463 At the same time, occupation is a factor in the
573 formation of cliques. The school teachers form one clique which has tended to become more and more exclusive in recent years. The shop keepers also have their small clique. Once a year they have a dance at the Royal Hotel. Within both social circles there are, of course, special groups
[561] of friends who associate regularly. Age grades provide another basis for clique formation. Clerks, shop assistants, and employees of the government are divided on this basis. Since it is government and, apparently, business and banking house policy to use the remote rural areas for a training ground and to make promotions, most of the newcomers and local residents who work for these agencies are young men.

[621] Neither occupation nor age-grades are exclusive factors in determining the social structure of Portree as they are for the crofters. If they were, I could not support the assertion that there is fluidity among the village population.
575 There are several clubs and fraternal organizations, such as a drama society, the Women's Rural Institute, An Comun

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[35] Rees, op. cit., p. 127.

4

464 LABOR SUPPLY AND
skilled and unskilled l
tary, intermittent, se
portunities; labor mob
age and sex restrictio
Internal migration . . . .
Immigration . . . . . .
Business cycles . . . . .

64

EMPLOYMENT--availability and scarcity of labor force; abor; incidence and types of unemployment (e.g., volun- asonal, cyclical, residual, technological); employment op- ility and turnover; employment agencies; regulation (e.g., s); etc. See also:

. . . . . 166 Unemployment insurance. 745
. . . . . 167 Unemployment relief 746
. 458

16 accordingly small. In Lewis in 1970, 211 babies we
born, and 264 people died. In the 1961 national
census, Shawbost had a population of 598; ten year
later, the population was only 515. The significant
community of interaction, however, includes a much
greater number of people than are indicated by these
statistics, because the roles which absentee members
play in their community are important. The figures
[877] Tables I_A^1 and II_A^2 do not include five males and three
females in the 5-14 age category or six males and th
females in the 15-24 age category who live away from
home during the week to attend schools in Stornoway,
but who return home during the weekend and for holida
• [464] The statistics also omit eighteen males and eighteen
females in the 15-24 age category; fifteen males and
seven females in the 25-34 age category; four males
between 35 and 44, and two males and two females betw
45 and 54 who are away from the village working but a
as yet unmarried. These temporary exiles return for
long or short periods of time, to weave or work in th
mill, to care for aged parents, and to vary their die
of living until they become restless and set off agai
[521] Their roots are in the village, and during the times
when they are physically absent they are kept alive i
ooo the electrical storm of the village gossip system. To
^1_A, ^2_A [See pp. vii-viii respectively--Analyst]

The Income of a Small Croft. The small croft is regarded by local agricultural experts as having a potential income of £20 a year. In addition, it provides a home, potatoes, some vegetables, milk, eggs, and the right to cut peat. Even if not quite legal until June, 1954, it frequently supplies mutton and, less often, beef for the family. The budget for this type of holding in my sample reveals that even when fully stocked and the ground tilled, the income may be negligible. Let us look at the cash income and net profit for 1952 and 1953.

In 1952 the cash income for the croft was £8 13s. 11d. The net profit, which takes into account depreciation and stock valuation after sales was £2 1s. 11d. In 1953 the cash income was £12 8s. 9d., and the net profit was £5 8s-. These figures include money from the sale of stock, government subsidies and grants, and home grown produce eaten by the family. Unfortunately, I do not know the number of hours which were spent earning this meager return. The crofter's wife said about 300 hours of her labor. To this we must add seasonal cooperative labor.

This particular croft is rented by a middle-aged married couple and a spinster sister of the wife. The man works full time as truck driver, leaving most of the work on the croft to his wife. The stock is two cows and followers and sixteen to eighteen sheep. There are six acres of arable land, half of it under hay and grass. The remainder is planted in oats, potatoes, and turnips. The budget may not be typical. For

l attitudes and a distinctive way of
tigator can understand the society with
e can equate the differing cultural ex-
sense of status.

us continues to be important in Portree,
ying the old Skye families. On the fringes
e are a few part-time crofters or tradesmen
and grow a little grain and few potatoes.
families as well as the crofters from the
ir place in the village society through
particular those based upon kinship and
ral of the county families reside in the
he landed gentry who continue to live on
an active part in village life.

wo poles there is a large intermediate
ations range from the professions, in-
nisters, teachers, and lawyers; through
tional and county gouvernments, including
icemen, office managers, and clerks; to
men, truck drivers, and laborers. Else-
ain these people would fall into the middle
.[28] On Skye such stratification is un-
annot use the British scheme, we certainly
merican system developed by Warner.[29]

, op. cit., pp. 166-167.

nd Maude, The English Middle Classes.

rner and Paul S.Lunt, The Social Life of a
ew Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); and
f Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University

565 many newcomers and the high rates of inward, outward, and upwar
mobility seems to have worked against any clear cut pattern.
Certainly, it requires more than non-membership in the highest
and lowest classes or socially recognized strata to form a
middle class. I look upon this indefinable strata as a neo-
class. This is not meant to imply the absence of ranking or
prestige status. Ranking is no less important than it is in
the rural neighborhood.

162 As in the neighborhood, a few professions automatically
554 carry high prestige; these are the ministry, medicine, and
463 teaching. Otherwise, a man's prestige depends more on his
183 outside activities than his occupation. Bankers are often
thought of as having prestige. In Portree one banker is
highly regarded because "he does an awful lot for the church."
Another, although respected, as evidenced by the use of his
surname when referring to him, is socially inferior because
"he never mixes with people" and "no one ever gets invited
to his house." The same holds for other occupations. One
man may be looked up to because he has taken an active part
in organizing an old people's welfare committee and was
instrumental in founding the Skye Council of Social Service,
the only rural social service council in Scotland. Another
of the same occupation is looked down upon because he keeps
to himself. To cast a shadow on whatever prestige he may
have, the people talk about a shady deal in which he supposedly
got involved and claim that his wife sells eggs. No one but
a crofter's wife sells eggs. If a man is a native Sgiathanach

175 information via the technology of mass society to
423 affect the choices made by succeeding generations.
671
178 For example, young people are able to leave the island
[464] and work in British cities or abroad, sending money
[457] home to sustain their aged parents who by law cannot be removed from the croft.

E. Changing Land Use

311 Darling (1955) described the previous Highland way
175 of life as a well-adapted, ecologically balanced system,
182 in which proper use of land was attempted by limiting the number of livestock, preserving a proper ratio between cattle and sheep, and regulating the flow of stock on the land throughout the year. Dikes (fences of turf or stone) and drains were communally repaired
178 and cleaned. Although continuity with the previous way
311 of life is evident today, the overall picture is one of
[182] partial use, and misuse, of natural resources. Various
[154] advisors from government organizations and colleges have been brought in to encourage effective husbandry and land use.

1. Specialization and Individuation: The change from an ecologically adapted, internally regulated community in which land was used intensively for subsistenc

178 but not as often as in the past. In the past boat
501 were in danger of being smashed by the strong seas
228 and winds that gained easy access to the Shawbost
[493] harbor; but today, because so many cars are avail
[504] the boats can be sheltered in the more protected b
of Carloway, five miles up the coast to the southw
[434] of Shawbost. Despite this protection and the incr
in income since World War II which would enable mo
people to buy boats, the number of boats remains s

175 In the past certain people were esteemed for
821 "knowing the wind and the sea." The sound of the
coming from different directions presaged differen
kinds of weather; a line of white across the bay
bad weather in a few days. A fifty-year-old man s
"My father and grandfather could tell when a storm
coming. They needed to know, and they didn't have
radio and television to tell them. I would know t
signs, too, if I had listened to them."

175 Not only was there local fishing, but the men
228 to hire themselves as crew on other fishing boats.
464 Several nicknames reflect this history. One famil
551 known by the nickname "Strachan," the surname of a
who lived on the east coast of Scotland and on who
boat the head of the Shawbost family had once work

43

ber. Another family is called "cook," the
which a novice had to assume when he joined
f a fishing boat. One of the last men to go
n-coast fishing in about 60 ows. The men
from the fishing in time to bring in the oats,
potatoes, and the money was used for rent
rchase of various foodstuffs and other goods.
ly brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover
walls of wood-lined high dyke (black house)
r year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a
hile the men were away at the fishing, the
mbers of the family lived on credit from
shops, and depended on the good will of
ers.

men joined the armed services, and were
sought after by the Navy and the Merchant
In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in the
rve.

d the turn of the century, until the first
and the growth of the weaving industry, the
to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to
n see you off. You could go all the way to
e 12/6 on a special fish-overnight ticket."
ent from the south of England to Shetland
north.

44

0 in the far north. "There were two fishing seasons.
For one season you went to Fraserburgh, Stornoway,
Lerwick and Peterhead; and then the winter fishing was
in England, at Yarmouth, Scarborough and Lowestoft.

I remember in Yarmouth we didn't like the English
bread, it was such a dull color. We liked the pure
white Scotch bread."

They lived in small huts, and the work was hard but
full of fun. Neighborhood girls used to get together,
bringing bedding and different items in large chests to
share in the housekeeping. Three girls worked together
in a crew, and there were as many as six sharing a room,
in double bunks. Some of the huts were so small that
there was barely enough room for the beds and the cooking
stoves. At night the boys would come in off the boats.
"You were so tired from being up since early morning!
but you were always able to dance. You were treated with
respect; the youngsters today aren't so good." The
women who married non-islanders that they met at the
fishing were not likely to return.

When the weaving started on a large scale, the girls
were glad enough to have work at home, even though the
work was hard. But many continued their temporary
absences from the island, working in hotels or as

45

domestic servants among the well-to-do families in
Glasgow and other cities on the mainland (see Appendix
A).

When the weaving started, some men settled at home
permanently, but many continued to come and go between
the sea and the loom. In 1931, the ratio of men to
women in Lewis and Harris was 100:114. The men came
home for temporary jobs, such as the construction of roads
or houses. Jobs are told of the common practice of
spending for an extension of leave. The men found it easy
to join the Naval Reserve because of their fishing
experience; and it brought them a retainer's fee and
expense-paid trips to places off the island for several
weeks of training during the year. But when the wars came,
the loss of men to the Navy and to the Merchant Service
was heavy.

B. The Land

The number of arrears in rent in the Barvas rent
ledger at the turn of the century indicates the small
amount of money in circulation at the time. Between 1899
and 1914, several crofters paid part of their rent "by
work," and six had some of their stock "uplifted by
decree." For example, a Widow Catharine lost "one red

56

of potato crops by blight had contributed to widespread
poverty. The production of cloth for non-local markets
was promoted initially by philanthropic proprietors in
an effort to ameliorate such conditions. Lady Dunmore,
of the Dunmore family that owned Harris during most of
the 19th century, was largely responsible for developing
a market in London and elsewhere for cloth woven in Harris.
The cloth was popular first among the aristocracy, who
wore it for hunting and other sporting occasions. The
romantic image of a cottage industry promoted for charitable
purposes contributed to the market value of the tweed.

The market expanded in the second half of the 19th
century, aided by ladies of leisure who followed the example
set by Lady Dunmore (cf. Hunter 1964: 24-26). The
production of cloth for a commercial market spread from
the lands of southern lairds, but was slow in coming to
Lewis, where the proprietor, Sir James Matheson, provided
the people with construction jobs. After Matheson died in
1878, weaving for outside markets began in Lewis in the
parish bordering Harris, and the name "Harris Tweed" was
used because a market for cloth of this name had already
been established. By World War I, weaving for outside
markets was being done in all four parishes in Lewis. In
1899 there were 55 looms in Lewis and over 200 in Harris.

69

the 1934 decision to change the word "crofter" to
"islander") led to the weavers living in council
houses in town and working in lumberhouses behind the
houses. Unequal distribution has also contributed
to Shawbost's relative prosperity, and to the decline
of weaving in more remote parts of the island. The
unequal distribution of tweeds has made it difficult
to maintain a large labor force, which in turn limits
the growth and development of the industry.

3. Instability of the Industry: The Harris Tweed
industry has undergone a number of crises. Periods of
expansion have alternated with periods of prosperity.
See Appendix B for the fluctuation in the number of
yards stamped each year with the Harris Tweed trade-
mark.) The very conditions which give the tweed its
market value--the decentralized, non-mechanized human
element--also limit the possibilities of growth in the
industry, and contribute to the industry's instability.

When a business remains small, it must collect
orders before it can provide work to have the orders
filled (except when demand for an item is strong, as
occurred around the time of the previous world war;
during the war and for a few years after, tweeds could
be made first and then marketed, because any cloth
could be sold). Only a large business can keep weavers

71

in Shawbost: a very small business, which until
recently did not even have its own transport but
hired fastlisies when they were needed and simply
went into hibernation when orders stopped coming;
a medium-sized business, which went into liquidation
in 1971; and a large business, which continues to
survive despite a depression which has continued
since the late 1950's.

Harris Tweed is sent to markets all over the
world; has because of the difficulty of maintaining
a large labor force, the filling of orders is sometimes
slow. If large orders cannot be met, weaving as an
island-wide occupation cannot be maintained. The
number of weavers on the island fluctuates, as slack
periods come and men adopt the time-tested strategy
of temporary migration in search of other jobs. One
of the factors which aided the weavers during their
strike of 1941 was the fact that so many other jobs
were available during the war that the future of the
industry was jeopardized.

In the last five years the number of mill employees
has decreased from 800 to 500. The decrease is due in
part to the introduction of more efficient techniques
and new equipment, but there is little room for improve-
ment in the production of tweeds because the human
element, the weaver, is essential to its production.

72

GGO element, the weaver, is essential to its production.
In 1960 weavers receiving tweed yarns from the mills
totalled about 1,500 persons, a number which held for
about three years and then started dropping at a rate
of about 100 a year. In 1971 the number of weavers
was less than 1,000, and trends of change appeared to
presage a continued dwindling of numbers. It is
estimated that emigration increased during 1970-71.
Men have returned to the sea, have gone to Glasgow as
laborers, or have taken advantage of training courses
offered by the Labor Exchange, courses that will
eventually remove them from the island setting.

The instability of the industry and the fluctuation
in amount of weaving work available at any given time
has created an environment in which personal ties and
individual maneuvering rather than a widespread adherence
to impersonal rules such as equal distribution are
emphasized. Strategies which involve the mobilization
of kinship and neighborhood ties and involve an emphasis
on personal relationships rather than the depersonalisa-
tion usually associated with industry are made possible
by economic factors such as the dependence of decentralized
weavers on centralized mills. The watchfulness and
consciousness of one's neighbors so characteristic of
village life prevail. Questions about the state of

75

Despite these aids and incentives, parents do not
encourage their children to weave. The weavers them-
selves describe the job as dull, offering no security
and no possibilities for advancement.

Referring to her young son, a mother says, "By the
time he's old enough to weave, the tweeds will have
failed." Another mother says, "I wish him to learn
some trade, if he's intelligent enough. I don't want
him to stay here. The tweed is so uncertain." "There's
no future in it," says the father of another young boy,
"I definitely wouldn't want him to be a weaver. It would
be good if he went to engineering."

The histories of the weavers reveal many examples
of shifting occupations. Weaving often alternates with
work in the local mill, which is also relatively
unspecialized. The Shawbost mill must tolerate this
unstable labor force, as labor is difficult to find.
Weavers tend to leave the island for more stable,
permanent jobs, leaving the croft and the loom to their
younger siblings. Table 7 shows the number of male
weavers in each age group.

The fact that Shawbost has the same age structure
as the rest of rural Lewis (see Table 11) and less
unemployment signifies that weaving has not served as
an adequate incentive to keep young people on the island.
[See p. 21--Admlyst]
[See p.111--Admlyst]

Rather, the industry has provided jobs for those who,
for one reason or another, would have stayed anyway.

Of the weavers between the ages of 15 and 24,
eight are only sons or sons who had to begin work because
their fathers became ill or died; two others live at
home only temporarily and plan to work elsewhere. Of
those of ages 25 to 34, two men live at home because
they are disabled; one has returned from the Merchant
Service for awhile; two are only sons who are encouraged
to remain at home; and several are youngest sons or sons
whose parents have strongly discouraged them from
leaving home. Of the 35-44 age group, four have remained
on the island because of various ailments such as
tuberculosis and mental health problems; one had to
leave the Merchant Service because of an injury; at
least five have stayed or returned because of family
ties, the demands of aging parents and sick siblings.
In the 45-54 age category, a number of men served in
the navy or other branches of the armed forces during
World War II, and returned from shipwrecks and other
disastrous events to the relative security of the loom.

Many of the older weavers (at least nine in the
55-64 age category) started weaving after they had
returned from the United States or Canada because of
the depression. Some recall the horror of wandering

through alleys to rummage through the trash cans of
hospitals or other large institutions for food. The
occupational histories of the weavers support the
generalization made by an official of the Harris Tweed
Association that the younger weavers leave because
they do not like the weaving and they are replaced
easily by older men who want to settle down after a
life at sea. (See Appendix A for several life histories
of weavers.)

E. Crofting as Strategy

Because of the relatively high income provided by
the Harris Tweed industry, those who remain within the
township have tended to emphasize weaving and neglect
the croft.

1. Croft as Place of Residence vs. Agricultural Unit:
Most of the 169 households consist of married couples with
their unmarried children. A tendency to marry rather
late in life and for children not to marry while their
parents are still living is evident in Table 12. Partial
List of Households According to Type of Household and
Age of Household Head).

Fourteen households of married couples and their
children (not included in Table 12) include at least one
[This source as received did not contain this
table--Admlyst]

A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a
621 common practice, when she was young, for children from
571 large families to live for as long as six weeks with
446 other families who were relatively better off. They
would help harvest the hay or the potatoes or bring
in the peat in return for food, lodging and perhaps
some clothing. "They usually ate better than they did
at home." The children were not necessarily relatives
of the families with whom they boarded.

621 Strong friendship, that is, the kind of friendship
572 associated with mobile urban life in which persons
confide in each other and share secrets and build up
an individual relationship based on extensive knowledge
[602] of one another, was nonexistent. A "friend" was a
relative, or someone who gave aid when it was needed.

621 Today it is sometimes said, "It used to be that
178 your relatives were your best friends; now your best
572 friends are better than your relatives." An old man
[602] will meet another on the road and say, "I used to see
more of you when you needed me." Neighbors used to
[623] share sheep that were killed; now households kill and
[251] consume their own sheep, and freeze the meat which they
cannot use immediately. Groups that walked out together
● [463] to the peat to finish the job in a single day are being
replaced by individual family units that can motor out
ooo and do the job in stages. People prefer to give money

632 to neglect crofting and to concentrate on weaving. Those
578 who still participate in crofting activities may neglect
their communal obligations, such as going out on the moor
after sheep, and may prefer to harvest crops, cut peat
or perform other agricultural activities independent of
other villagers.

632 Despite these tendencies, certain criteria of firm
178 neighborliness are still found in the township network. All
462 the adult males of the township, including non-crofters,
are responsible for serving as officers in the township
grazing committee. The committee draws up rules for the
[654] organization of communal crofting activities, and applies
for grants from the Crofters Commission or Department of
Agriculture, for example, to build a new township fence,
plant trees as shelter belts for livestock, extend a peat
road, or to fence and reseed areas of moorland in "township
reseeding schemes" (see Chapter 2). All adult males of
● [463] the township are expected to provide labor to implement
such plans.

632 Township meetings, chaired by the clerk of the
571 grazing committee, are held twice a year. A vote is
666 taken when any decision is to be made. The vote is usually
unanimous, as all discussion, argument and persuasion
have occurred before the meeting, and those who disagree

121 being determined by conditions of culture, such as
121 political and economic conditions. Under conditions
178 of gradual centralization of economic and political
182 systems, the geographically marginal crofting areas
have evolved strategies, some of which puzzle agencies
concerned with development or other aspects of
governmental process.

178 Before the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board
365 began to operate in the crofting counties, not more
511 than one croft in every hundred had electricity; but
by the end of 1951, one in every six holdings had been
supplied (Taylor 1954: 20). "The light" came to
[354] Shawbost in 1951. Before then, the islanders used
[189] Tilley lamps, a Canadian invention; and before then,
double-wick paraffin lamps. Piped water came a few
[312] years later, around 1955; it was brought from a nearby
● [463] loch, and the construction work gave temporary jobs to
local people. The availability of these services
[344] facilitated the building of county council houses,
[342] which many welcomed as providing a relief to the
congestion caused in part by rules against building
more than one house on a croft. But, paradoxically,
[651] with larger, better homes and all these services came
a decrease in the advantages of living in a crofting
township: property was assessed and people began paying
rates or taxes.

241 Crofting constitutes a dormant strategy which can
178 be mobilized if deterioration of land has not proceeded
too far, and if the skills of land use are not lost by
succeeding generations who have grown up in an
environment which presented them with more appealing
strategies.

B. Social Marginality

166 1. Linguistic Distinctiveness: Social marginality
● 463 began when the Highlander had to leave his place of
origin and go to the cities of the south in search of
[199] employment. The feature which most distinguished him
was his Gaelic speech.

In Glasgow the common word for Highlander is
101 "teuchter," a slang word with derogatory implications
186 which, according to one theory, developed when Gaelic
498 speakers coming into English-speaking cities mispronounced
the word "sugar" so that it sounded like "teuchter."
[322] Glasgow Highlanders have developed their own defensive
explanations: when the civilized Highlanders came down
among the uneducated barbarians of the south, they came
as tutors, a word which their uneducated Lowland pupils
mispronounced.) According to a university student from
the islands, the word was once used by the English to
refer to the Scottish Lowlanders.

The
575 organization receives a large proportion of its funds
199 from the Scottish Education Department, whose statutory
186 duty is to foster the speaking of Gaelic in Gaelic-
[659] speaking areas. In 1970-71 a series of evening meetings
were sponsored by An Comunn in Stornoway; but the
serious meetings, such as readings of Gaelic poetry, were
attended largely by schoolmasters.

Associations which sponsor Highland dancing and the
opportunity to get together with other Gaelic speakers
thrive in Glasgow, London, Toronto and Detroit, everywhere
[498] but in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands. Such associations
serve important functions in situations of interaction
between Gaelic speakers and members of the dominant
society; they provide identity and self-defense against
those who react to them as members of a lower-status
minority group.

A girl who teaches Gaelic in Glasgow and comes home
535 to the island only for holidays never goes to the island
186 dances, but loves going to the dances sponsored by the
498 Lewis and Harris Society in Glasgow. All the young
people from the islands come, and dance away accumulated
insults in a fiery sense of belonging.

● 464 A girl who worked in hotels on the mainland found
197 herself speaking Gaelic with her fellow workmates who
186 came from Lewis or other Gaelic-speaking areas, although
571

● 464 on the island she had spoken English in school and had
197 not given much thought to which language she was speaking.
186 "I suppose it was because the other girls couldn't under-
571 stand us. They always used to mimic us, making noises
like they were talking it. It was nice to be able to
talk about things and not have anyone else understand,
especially when they teased us so much."

197 But on the island itself, the number of persons
198 speaking Gaelic is declining; and the scope of the language,
[512] i.e., the range of situations to which it applies (as
reflected in the diversity of vocabulary used), is becoming
[196] more restricted. A psychological experiment in which the
[741] semantic differential was used to study the organization
of English and Gaelic vocabulary in the cognitive processes
of Gaelic speakers suggests that Gaelic speakers are not
bilingual but monolingual in particular situations (MacLeod
197 1966). Gaelic is the language of hearth, home, family and
191 community. English is the language of education, the
business world, and various transactions with the larger
197 society. Most Gaelic speakers spoke only Gaelic when they
371 entered school, but were required to speak only English in
191 the classroom. One islander recalls, "The first English
[696] words you learned were 'Sit' and 'Stand.' Those were the
days you got strapped if you spoke any Gaelic." Children
ooo were addressed by their full English names. One of the

241 Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in
654 part stems from government-defined privileges and duties
regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed
232 industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides and
● 463 thus is protected from competition, has provided work
for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger
[184] members of croft families live in cities on the mainland,
and send part of their wages home; they return regularly
[162] to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus the
[632] township supplies urban workers who remain very much
attached to the rural townships, which are composed of
aged family members and a rural proletariat. The standard
511 of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated
654 savings, although much of this surplus is used by the men
213 for alcoholic drinks.

121 In Britain, rural communities have been interpreted
as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf.
Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall
presented "an operational theory of role" by which he
suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analysed
and compared. He developed the concept "density of role
texture" to describe societies which lie along a continuum
from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southall's
concept along with other concepts to present a more
complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "models"
of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially lists

● 459 After
● 464 being discharged from the army, he married the Shawbost
girl he had been courting, but soon after returned to
Glasgow in search of work. A doctor advised him to quit
the factory job he had found because the dust endangered
his wounded lung. He then attended a technical college
for eighteen months in preparation to set up his own
business, a bakery; and again, his wound defeated him.
A doctor advised him that a bakery filled with flour was
the worst environment imaginable for him, and that he
should go back and work the land on the islands, where
the air was clean. He returned to Lewis and to the
croft, and when his sons were old enough they assisted h
[184] with croft work and weaving. He still makes a yearly tr
to Glasgow.

The Bodach Beag

"The Bodach Beag" is known for his shrewdness,
[166] industriousness, mechanical ability and kindness. He is
one of the many Lewismen who left the island in 1926 on
the ship called the Metagama, and like many others he
returned to the island during the depression. His elder
brother had survived the sinking of the Iolaire, the ship
returning home with servicemen after the war that sank
not far from the Stornoway harbor in 1919, and was never
well afterwards. "He would sit in at night, off by

*159 did not receive much schooling. He stayed at home for a long time, helping his brothers with the crofting and weaving, and working at the nearby dairy. For a time the brothers made concrete blocks for sale, and ran a [166] lorry. In his late 30's and still single, Padruig went to the mainland, where he takes on various driving jobs, returning home periodically.

Seonag Thormoid

*159 166 •464 Seonag Thormoid left the island in 1933 at the age of 16 to work in the hotels. Her mother had worked in domestic service before the first world war. "You were raised with the idea that you would go away. I've prepared my children for the same thing. Any work that exists here is temporary. You can't depend on it. Even though things have been good since the war, they're getting bad now."

Seonag went to Glasgow with three other girls from Shawbost, and stayed with her aunt until she found a job. "Jobs were very difficult to get, and the wages were low. These were the depressed years, which didn't pick up until [465] just before the war. I earned L2/10 a month working for a Mrs. Smith. You could buy shoes then for 12/6, but that was a week's wages. The richer families in Glasgow had five or six servants. You were treated like scum.

*159 166 •464 You ate terrible food at the sa
preparing excellent food for th
large houses have been broken d
flats. The prices are higher t
higher, too. I heard recently,
satisfied smile, "that Mrs. Smi
for three hours a day now."

Seonag moved from one job
about becoming a nurse, but the
of hers did so, but had the hel
Glasgow. "The only nursing that
mental nursing. I tried it, bu
harsh with the patients."

*159 She married in 1944, after
returned from the war. They ha
lives. She had spent long peri
jobs. He was the second son an
family, and got the croft becau
of his parents. The first son
family had emigrated to the Uni
during the depression and built
grazing land. Another brother
neighboring village, and the fo
Glasgow. A sister married a po
came from the island, and anoth

ne time that you were
em. So many of those
own now into smaller
oday, but the wages are
" she said with a quiet,
th can only afford a girl

to another. She thought
pay was so poor. A friend
of two maiden aunts in
paid good wages was
I didn't like being

her fiance, Calum Ban,
known each other all their
ods of time at home between
fourth child in the
e he had been taking care
nd eldest child in the
ed States but returned
a house on the common
arried into a croft in a
rth brother settled in
iceman in Glasgow, who
r sister married in Shawbost.

*159 288 they leave school, and most of them get married. I remember about twenty girls working there, and they all [458] got married, and another young girl would start. During the slack periods some men would be paid off. They would start in other jobs, and wouldn't be prepared to *159 •464 come back. If you weren't working in the mill you were weaving; there was road work on a very small scale. Except for sailing there was nothing else. For the last ten years or so the big contractors have given people job

"I started with a building contractor but preferred to come back to this job, for the main reason that I had *159 288 458 built this house here. We had slack periods, but we picked up again. But this slack period, it's been two years now, and I don't think it will pick up again, unless they go to a wider cloth. Probably the fashion has changed. People have gone on to other types of cloth. And the merchants and tailors prefer a wider cloth, it's less waste. But that means changing the loom and a lot of machinery in the mill as well.

"I'm sure the weavers wouldn't be prepared to put [435] out the extra cost for wider looms. At the present time, a loom and winding machine cost close to L400. You can imagine what a wider loom would cost, up to L1,000. They don't want the power loom. They're trying to hold onto the Orb trademark for as long as they can. That's the big

342 adequate air-space, and windows opening at the top and
746 usually kept open by day, in which a woman can work at
178 ease. The Department of Agriculture aided the building
656 of a good standard type. The quality of joinery and
[335] masonry or concrete work improved, one fairly skilled
[333] workman usually directing the householder and friends as amateur builders. The cost of materials was met by a grant, generally of £250, half being repayable by an annual rent of £6 : 10s. for twenty years. Repayments proceeded satisfactorily. No scheme organised by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland won so general a commendation as this of house improvement. It made good use of family initiative and responsibility, with neighbourly co-operation not called for upon a large scale, a township at a time, but in quite a small, personal way. Nevertheless, had more guidance been provided to the builders, the
• [464] houses could have been really well built. For lack of this, perhaps, crofters increasingly prefer to pay for skilled work, though helping actively. Appendces I (ii) and II (ii) gives pre-War and post-War statistics.

3. *The Township and its Changing Plan*

361 Where absence of rock and boulder permits ploughing,
[182] the village land is laid out in a series of parallel strips,
[491] aligned with the slope. The road runs either parallel with shore or river, or at right angles to it. The intermixed possession of strips by 'run-rig' characterised the Lowlands before the Enclosures, and is frequent in
[423] the Highlands and Isles. The apparent regularisation of field lines may conceal the fact that an individual holder's plots may be scattered amongst those of others in fixed
[182] run-rig. This is an advantage where quality of land is so patchy, and each man thus gets his share of good and bad

162 weaving and fishing, the fall in population would probably
[167] be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was
[168] not so much a decrease in the number of families as in the number per family. The Island was only then following the restriction of population begun half a century before in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

162 Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is
178 a land of house-building, not of ruin and abandonment;
369 of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agri-
[657] cultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were at work: first, loans, grants and unemployment insurance
[593] and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly, the money sent to elderly parents and dependants at home
[888] by young folk in Glasgow or abroad, or savings brought back by the young people themselves. Yet there is some
[226] fishing and agriculture still. Above all, 'hand-weaving'
[241] has grown, even if this be partly 'artificial'. Recently it was not only the elders who had returned to the Island, but
[286] men and women in the prime of life, so that the question of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to be re-examined afresh.

167 The emigration which took place from 1949 to 1951
• [464] followed directly upon the losses and the unemployment in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted
[651] from the imposition in 1949 of a Purchase Tax on hand-
[162] woven Harris tweed of 666 per cent. If the tax had been maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects on population would have been far-reaching.

167 left the Island. Yet after 1931 many returned, owing to losses and unemployment both in British towns and over-
[288] seas. When emigrants began to come home the 'Harris'
[178] tweed industry had spread to Lewis and offered increasing employment. Some men still fished in family-owned
[464] Island boats, and others as paid hands (on boats from
[226] the East Coast), though losses and unemployment were suffered.

178 Inter-war changes were hastened not only by movement
177 beyond the Island—an influence at work for three or four generations before—but by mobility within it. In 1919 a
493 small mail car made its way daily from Stornoway along
[205] each of the five main roads, with an occasional passenger. When crofters crossed the Island to Stornoway they went on foot or took the pony and cart at a slow walk: it was a day's journey. Ten years later, Ford vans, bought second-hand, ran daily to Stornoway from every township. Frequency, ease and relative cheapness of movement came late in an Island with no railway: the mobility of the motor for marketing and shopping brought rapid change.

178 'Hand-loom' weaving had become an important, if
286 precarious, resource, important because of the capital invested and the labour employed, yet precarious because
[433] of its dependence upon name and sentiment, not only
[462] upon intrinsic value. In Harris many women had spun and woven for sale for over a generation before 1914, mostly weaving pure hand-spun yarn, and they continued to do so. For many years before 1914, an occasional weaver was to be found in villages in Lewis too, generally weaving a handspun weft upon a mill-spun warp. By 1939 it was estimated that there were about 1200 looms in the Island, chiefly weaving mill-spunyarn, most of it spun in the two principal Stornoway mills. A carding mill

178 so creating a small leak in the purse and in the mind,
207 leaving both a little emptier, week by week. Surveys made by teacher-members of the Educational Institute of Scot-
[525] land describe the effects on listeners in Highland parishes
[829] as pernicious, in the main. The reports of the B.B.C., on the other hand, emphasise their cultural endeavours, and the lightening of house-work and of rural monotony or solitude. Every effort is needed to aid a happy selection in home and neighbourhood.

72 Experiences undergone in war were of very differing
201 types. Many men spent the war years in the Navy, without contact with decent town life, or others in the Merchant Marine. Of combatants in the land forces, the Territorials of the original 51st Highland Division experienced a few months of relative inactivity in France, then of a brief but bitter campaign, followed by long years in prison camps, while other soldiers underwent prolonged training in Britain, followed by severe fighting for long periods, far afield. Lastly, a limited number of men served in engineering or other works of war-time industry, though labouring work, at high wages, kept many of the older men employed at
[462] home. Of the women called up for service, some were posted to the Forces, some to the Land Army, and some were
[162] sent to factories. The greater opportunities for women to earn a living wage away from the Island tend to equalise the ratio of the sexes.

177 An experience new to the Western Isles came with the establishment of Air Bases. Not only did their construc-
[464] tion provide high wages for labouring for the older resident crofters, brought daily to the Bases by bus from their townships, but for the first time a heterogeneous mass of men from every part of urban Britain was put down at the doors of these quiet communities—at a time when

SEA ROUTES

ngs of nineteenth-century civilisation, however, they grew end on items brought by sea. Imported food, clothing, wood, domestic utensils and the like were slowly assimilated as ensable everyday articles. But there was relatively little ex- n return; then as now, any transport operator struggled the fact that traffic was one-way and the freight charges pay for the double voyage. Though the fishing industry and the Harris Tweed industry were, around the turn of the ry, to do much to determine and stabilise shipping develop- , both passenger and cargo services were always facing loss than profit.

the social side of the picture, the regular call of ships to the , to Stornoway in particular, was a welcome, quickening hat the island was significant in some way to the outside . The ships brought visitors who made the island, and the ides in general, better known to other prospective travellers. exposure of the island and its folk to the gaze of the main- led to a wider knowledge and understanding which without brought improvements in social welfare and a basis for mic development. When many islanders found it necessary to Glasgow and the south for work, the ships of the Minch d as a firm link with home, to which they returned when- hey could. This feeling for home is still manifest today in the men in Canada who charter an aircraft to Prestwick each so that they can holiday on the island. Since 1900 or so, pas- r traffic has been two-way : emigrants, migrants, visitors and ess travellers. When the fishing industry was in its heyday, the carried hundreds of fisherfolk across the Minch to ports as outh as Great Yarmouth to 'follow the herring' round the s of Britain and back to the Minch again. Traffic today is onsiderable, with the air-link with the island being used to its city.

a community where Sabbath observance is an integral strand ligious belief, ministers have on occasions tried to preserve Mosaic sanctity of the Sabbath Day by restricting the move- of ships in Stornoway harbour. In deference to local feel- he Stornoway steamer has always docked for twenty-four s over Sunday, to leave port for Kyle just after midnight.

Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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finished cloth. About 1,000 workers are employed at the representing about 95 per cent of the island's industry—not co ing, of course, the 1,200 or so self-employed weavers. The S bost mill, started in 1915 in a very small way, employs a seventy people from the surrounding crofting community on ing the wool, carding it and spinning it into yarn, and has a 500 weavers on its books. In 1955 it became a limited com and a £35,000 finishing plant was added; other recent exten have been made to the tune of £70,000. The establishme such a large industrial complex in one of the remotest par Britain is an achievement to be underlined.

The early cloth industry

Coarse woollen cloth has been made in the Hebrides, other rural Highland areas, from time immemorial. Rents often paid in blankets or plaiding. In 1656, 'pladding' was o the items of trade brought by Highland boats to Glasgow fo there. In the late eighteenth century, blackfaced sheep were i duced into the Highlands and islands; the fleece from this was much heavier than that of the native sheep and consequ proved ideal raw material for local woollen manufactur trade. In the Hebrides, the product was mainly for domestic local consumption. The people of Harris, however, were known for the excellence of their weaving which found a lin external market. In 1844, the Earl of Dunmore, the first native proprietor of Harris, had the Murray tartan copie tweed by local weavers, so successfully that the Earl an enterprising wife encouraged improvements in the product introduced it to their friends. The cloth, ideal for outdoor suits such as fishing and stalking, found ready wearers. In 1 an Edinburgh lady went about getting orders for the H weavers, and business increased so much that in 1888 she m to London and opened a small depot for tweeds.

Thus by the time the nineteenth century had reached mat tweed was becoming well known, and weavers and local chants, usually shopkeepers, developed sales contacts on the m land. At that time every web of tweed produced was uniqu could never be copied exactly. This of course added to its c

of a knitting industry based on the crofters, who would use Lewis yarn and produce knitwear in addition to their woven fabrics. However, it was found that the yarns used for Harris Tweed were unsuitable for knitwear, not being given sufficient twist in the spinning: before women use this tweed yarn for knitting, it is common practice to twist two or more threads of yarn together on a hand spinning-wheel.

Little in the way of craft work is done on the island, mainly because of the lack of indigenous materials which could be used to produce typically-island items. Marram-grass has been suggested as being suitable for making agricultural wind-breaks, and close-woven basket-work. Shore-stones and pebbles are plentiful both in quantity and variety of type and colour.

Small employment outlets on the island are marine and motor engineering, mainly based on Stornoway, and boat-building. This latter is a small but socially-significant firm in Ness with products with a high reputation. Construction and general building is of some significance, one of the most enterprising firms being built up literally from scratch so as to become a highly-successful island business.

The unemployment problem

The island's unemployment problem is as much a matter of concern today as it has ever been, averaging about 25 per cent annually (representing well over 1,000 people) compared with the Scottish mainland figure of 6.0 per cent; the contemporary figure for Britain is around 3.0 per cent. While unemployment as it affects adults is serious enough, unemployment among teenagers threatens the community's whole future. The island has its Youth Employment Officer, who has an unenviable task. Each junior and secondary school in the island is visited to interview school-leavers, at least once a year; employment advice is given and this is supplemented by Careers Officers' visits.

Such employment openings as exist over the island's limited spectrum are concentrated in Stornoway. They are, however, mainly in shop work, mill work and hotel work for girls, with a few vacancies for apprentices in trades generally associated with building construction. Most of the jobs offered are very much in

177 most of the young men of the Islands were away. Hitherto,
[464] though people from the Isles had gone out into the world and rubbed shoulders with all sorts of men and women, from best to worst, their own homes and townships had remained inviolate. Now, however, there came men in numbers from distant homes, with little to do when off duty and with money to spend, either on tweeds, which were virtually free of controls, or on pleasures, if they could find them. The temptations offered to a community so unaccustomed to town ways were considerable.

729 Those who returned least changed in their outlook upon
178 rural life were ex-prisoners-of-war, from the 51st Highland Division. At their own wish, they had received instruction
[423] in modern small-holding; and the demand from prison camps for land when the Highlanders would come home was upheld. It is especially among these men that agencies such as *An Comunn Gaidhealach* kept Gaelic tradition alive, linking it to the Highlanders' long thoughts of home. Next to these come naval seamen, while those most subject to urban influences were those who worked in factories. But whatever their experiences, home exerted a strong attraction. If work and a fair wage can be found in the township and on the crofts, and if social life can be renewed, many who returned will stay.

726 As in the First World War, so in the Second: few communities in Britain have had so large a proportion of their men in the Forces, in the fighting line and at sea,
[177] from the outbreak of hostilities. The Island community
[167] is almost without the exemptions due to 'essential occupations' such as commercial agriculture in the country, or
[729] war industry and administration in the towns. The toll has been heavy, and the nation's debt to the Islanders should be remembered.

464 For a year or two after the war many men and women
[288] returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found
employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry.
[729] This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving
at home—work in which the male weaver was helped by
[226] his family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen
dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses
[178] such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to
return to the hard, uncertain work of gutting. The whaling
[462] station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open
for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950,
and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed
[241] in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised
cultivation. The war-time construction of air-fields had
[722] ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was
[654] assisted by government grants.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders'
288 main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of
651 a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds.
648 Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export
sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the
[433] position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there
were strong arguments for the extension of the tax to
[171] Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish
Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not
be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the
crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artist
favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional
and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the
end, the mass-production is an unacknowledging debtor.
The obvious economic handicaps of Island hand-weaving
[439] may surely permit some latitude. The export trade in
[458] Harris Tweed, in which the imponderable 'sentimental

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
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178 crippling losses suffered after 1914–18. A beginning has
228 certainly been made. The Herring Industry Board's scheme for
434 'Queen of Scots' kippers will help the Minch fishing. It will not necessarily help the ports of Stornoway or Tarbert, because herring can be landed at mainland ports and treated there or else taken by road to the Moray Firth, kippered there, and still qualify under the scheme. The Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society has aided the marketing of lobsters to good purpose.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island*

114 It is to be hoped that members of the Lewis Association
814 may ascertain these, perhaps in collaboration with University research workers. This, in turn, might instructively be collated with the imports and exports of the Island, which are recorded and ascertainable with a precision impossible for a similar area on the mainland. Thus the facts would throw light on the economy of other crofting districts.

(v) *Allowances, Pensions, Unemployment Assistance and Remittances*

657 With regard to money received by the crofting communities
434 of Lewis from other than 'productive' sources, figures have kindly been made available regarding three sources, namely, (*a*)
436 Allowances made to members of the Forces and their dependents, and Pensions, (*b*) Unemployment payments, and (*c*)
729 Money Orders and Postal Orders. The yearly periods for which
434 figures are available are close enough to permit of reasonable comparisons. Among other sources, Bank Drafts form an insignificant fraction of monies received by crofters from outside
[505] the Island. It is impossible to say how much cash is brought home by men paid off from the Merchant Service and other
[464] employment, or how much may be sent through the post in the form of notes, whether registered or unregistered. The amount is known to be large, however, and an estimate based on the number of insured employed, and other figures, would be of value. A token figure is suggested in a note to the concluding Table.

427 511 Nevertheless, the attachment to the holdings is very real and must be given careful consideration when assessing their present utilisation and potential value. It is particularly significant because it leads to large numbers of tenants retaining holdings which are far too small to yield a living. Inevitably they seek other sources of income either at home [461] (as by weaving or casual road labour) or away (as in the Merchant Navy, armed forces, police or other skilled or unskilled work). As a consequence the croft is neglected and its potential resources, small as they are, are not realised. [231] The decline in cattle numbers since the late nineteenth century gives some indication of the scale of this lost productivity over the parish as a whole. This is the crofter's own loss. Individually one can appreciate the problem - "four cows will not give me a living - better to get [745] work on the hydro-scheme and sell the cows". And when one hydro-scheme finishes another will take its place, or there will be casual road work or other labour and, betw times, the unemployment benefit which the self-employed crofter does not get.

Certainly the land is of poor quality, the climate in some respects severe, and the cost of transport, from Uig even to Stornoway let alone to the mainland, a perpetual pro [421] lem. But the root of the problem is the small size of most of the crofter-holdings, on [181] the one hand, and, on the other, the importance which most crofters attach to the posse sion of a holding, no matter how small and how neglected it may be. How has this com to be?

TABLE 5

The multiplication of crofter-tenants, and their increasing rents, 1850-1890.

161 162 175 427

	Tenants:		Rental:	
	1850	1890	1850	1890
Garenin	15	27	£70	£78
Tolsta Chaolis	29	40	£86	£96
Knock Carloway	16	33	£52	£66
Upper Carloway	25	53	£81	?
Breasclete	38	61	£111	£121
Breasclete Park	4	9	£3	£14
Callanish	38	52	£82	£104
Brenish	25	28	£94	£94
Islivick	13	10	£23	£28
Aird	9	10	£30	£29
Valtos	29	40	£149	?
Knoep	18	23	£89	£80

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

the nature of stopgaps in the younger, formative years and do not offer progressive training for the eventual chosen career. As an example of this, a number of island girls come to Stornoway to work in local shops and then leave the island after two years or so to take up hotel work or nursing on the mainland; many boys leave the island for apprenticeship training in trades which now require evening-class, day- or block-release educational classes. About fifty young persons leave the island each year under the Training Allowances Scheme of the Youth Employment Service, which financially assists them to live in lodgings while working away from home.

Most of the employment categories in the island of course employ less than a handful of people, either full-time adults or time-serving apprentices; they are fully staffed very quickly and opportunities arise only when an employee dies or leaves the island, or—more rarely—when an increased demand for a service (for instance television engineering at one time) creates vacancies for apprentices.

COMMUNICATIONS

sold, one such causing legal history. The chief garage proprietor in the town applied to use for his business a site he had purchased at a road junction near the western end of the town, close to the principal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate leading into the Castle grounds. It was a mistake in planning, and public disapproval began to make itself felt. The Trust, in an effort to redress the situation, sought to distrain the garage proprietor from extended use of the area. The parties went to law, and the case was fought through the courts until, in the House of Lords, the Trust finally lost and had to pay a bill of some £4,000, equivalent to a fine of £4 to £5 from every family in the burgh. The Trust drew its lesson, and since has formulated a more alert and constructive policy.

The town is well served by its shopping centre, with multiple stores jostling for custom with smaller private business concerns. Prosperity for all, however, depends on the well-being of the Harris Tweed industry. If there are recessions, as there have been in the past, the tills rattle spasmodically. Also standing to suffer are others such as the bus companies (who provide the efficient town services and link up Stornoway with the rural areas), the builders and the haulage contractors. In the ever-present climate of unemployment it is the policy of the mills to employ male labour, despite the fact that women would be cheaper. The mills, run by natives or by Lewis-born incomers of the second and third generation, realise a social obligation in recognising that in Lewis the strong tradition is that the man should be the head of the family in every sense. The mills also carry a proportion of surplus labour to offset the unpredictability of those workers who, with crofts to look after, occasionally have to take a day off 'at the peats' or some such activity. This is another of the island's distinctive traditions.

On Cromwell Street is the shop of James MacKenzie & Sons Limited, dealing in hardware, furniture and china. Nothing unusual in that, at first sight: yet it is another unique aspect of life in Lewis, being conducted as a charity for the benefit of, among others, the aged and infirm persons of Stornoway. The business was established in 1830, on its present site. In 1964, the then principal shareholder presented the building and the business as a

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornow and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornow and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and W Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes s teen shops which cater for most of the needs of the populati within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here the only secondary school in Harris with an academic strea Most of the working population is employed in the service i dustries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a fuelling point for ships.

The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality a desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. The are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easi ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. T main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it bei augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentra on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool fro their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which gro on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionall Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-tur ing have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to t tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Sco tish Country Industries Development Trust has been conce trated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the productio of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Roa work gives employment to about thirty men, but is of cour seasonal.

An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showe itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. T mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as a abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limite Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of order

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in the services sector.

The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be tapped. MacBrayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity of 50 cars and 600 passengers, makes two or three trips a day between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than two hours. The mainstays of tourist accommodation in Harris are the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by offering full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant lets.

An interesting tourist venture has been started at Rhenigidale. A rough, stony track, one of the most tortuous and exciting in Britain, takes its leave from the main road over a ridge. It twists and turns in and out of gullies, over cliffsides and across the steep heather-clad slopes of the Toddum, a dramatic little hill of 1,730 ft which protects Rhenigidale village from the Atlantic gales. The seven-mile track is the only marked route, though crofters take a shorter way to the north over pathless bogs; the local postman makes a round of about 60 foot miles in the week, walking this track and on to Tarbert three times in all weathers. The village relies on its sheltered harbour with a good natural rock pier: most communication is by water, all food and fuel coming that way. In past times every household owned a boat for lobster and shell fishing to supplement both diet and finances. Today the interest in fishing has declined, as has the population. But in 1946 Mr Herbert Gatliff paid his first visit to Harris, discovered what the island had to offer, and started a campaign to convince hostelling interests of the need to make some investment in the Western Isles. A croft house in Rhenigidale was in 1961 equipped as a hostel, and under what is now the Gatliff Trust it is maintained for hardy trekkers, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association making a grant for running costs. Many visitors have found that the place offers a degree of happiness corresponding with its remoteness from civilisation.

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

The small shop stocks essential household items, and extensive use is made of mail-order. A few years ago a telephone to the mainland was supplied, much valued in emergencies.

Scarp in fact has a small place of its own in the history of communications: on 28 July 1934 one of three British rocket-mail experiments (for which special stamps were printed) was held there. The inventor of the rocket, Herr Zucker, was later to become prominent in V-rocket work during the second German war. Herr Zucker personally conducted the firings. His rocket, a large cylinder with pointed nose, something like a heavy shell, was 3 ft long and weighed 30 lb, with capacity for several thousand letters. The motive force was ordinary high explosive contained in a large cartridge about 18 in long; the device was designed to burn with a series of rapid explosions and produce a flight speed of 1,000 mph. The firing apparatus was a flimsy wooden structure providing a runway rising at an angle from the ground, an elastic sling giving the rocket an initial impulse. The first rocket was fired on Scarp, to the mainland: it exploded prematurely and most of the mail was damaged. The postmaster applied to the backs of the damaged covers a three-line cachet in violet: 'Damaged by first explosion at Scarp—Harris.' In order that this mail should be actually flown, it was re-transmitted by the second firing made in the opposite direction, Harris—Scarp. The whole experiment was deemed a failure, however. The route taken by the mail addressed to Kirkwall was unique; rocket, ferryboat, motorcar, mail steamer, railway train, and finally by Highland Airways to Kirkwall.

Depopulation in Scarp was encouraged by the lack of employment prospects, and centralised education, of the type which has already played havoc with remote rural communities elsewhere, is felt to be a black cloud darkening the future. Much the same problem faces Scalpay Island, mentioned later. Children are removed from their home environments for higher secondary education at a central school: for Harris children this is at Portree, Skye. Many islanders argue that the scheme tends to destroy the family unit, urbanising the children so that they become unsuited to, and with no inclination for, rural life. Some sympathy must be felt for the education authorities, of course, as the pro-

The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars was the staple diet of the St Kildans; the oil and feathers were the vital exports that paid the island rent to MacLeod of Harris, the owner of the group. These exports also helped to pay for the purchase of such foodstuffs as salt, sugar and tea, and other items which the island could not itself supply. The St Kildans owned some hundreds of sheep, the wool being spun and woven into tweed, and a few cattle were also kept. But the seabirds were the foundation of the island economy.

The factor which led ultimately to the desertion of the island group was isolation. The community there was throughout its history undoubtedly the most isolated in the British Isles, though until the present century this mattered little to the St Kildans. All that was deemed necessary for the continuation of the community was that, once a year, MacLeod of Harris should send his factor over from Skye to collect the island goods that were to be sold, and to bring with him those provisions which would see them through another twelvemonth. However, as the demand for the island's products declined, communications became more important: to support the family a man had to leave to find work on the Scottish mainland. Large-scale emigration began in 1852 when thirty-six islanders (with State aid) left for Australia. Island life was punctuated by loss of life; boating disasters and cliff-falls in particular deprived the community of the vital male elements needed for survival. Tetanus infantus, known on St Kilda as the 'eight-days' sickness', strangled two of every three babies born; this disease ravaged the island for almost a century and again struck harder at the male sex. About 1810 the population was about 200, a definite overcrowding. By 1861 it had fallen to 78; in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 73. A decade later it was nil.

Isolation tended to make the St Kildans a human menagerie. With the improvement in boat services, St Kilda became a 'must' on tourist itineraries. The tourist trade took on an economic importance for the population after July 1877, when the *Dunera Castle* steamed north and west for a voyage to the 'romantic Western Isles and lone St Kilda'. The steamers continued to call throughout the three summer months annually for sixty years, their passengers eager to buy souvenirs: tweed, quern stones, spinning wheels, stuffed birds and eggs; indeed, anything to remind them,

the township; and to each were allotted the rights of the common grazing and the fishing grounds. For more than a century the croft has been held individually, though in the townships the common grazing is still held in common. Beyond these 'homely' limits lie wider horizons, in the past those of seafaring and of droving or the chase, and today of fishing and gillieing at home, or of ocean journeys, urban occupations or colonisation.

In the Lowland regions each symbol represents 100 holdings. For (A), 'mixed and dairy farming', the particular type of symbol shows the average number of workers employed on a farm-holding in each county. On each farm the employed workers form what may be called the 'Labour-Team'. A team may be 'small', 'medium' or 'large'. The Scottish averages of these three types (indicated in the inset key to the map) are roughly three, five and seven workers per team. Four 'casual' workers are counted as equivalent to one 'permanent' worker, but farmers' wives are excluded. Under (B), for the same Lowland counties and areas, full-time small-holdings are shown separately. The Scottish average of less than one full-time worker employed, most often a son or daughter of the small-holder, is typical of all the counties.

As to the relative importance of the different classes of farms and small-holdings in Scotland, true agricultural land-holders number 68,000, of which fully one-third hold part-time holdings (like the Island crofters), one-third 'full-time farms', and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold 'full-time small-holdings'. The remainder accounts for other types of less importance. The farms predominate in terms of improved land, full-time employment, and of course of production. As to area, farms cover 80 per cent of agricultural land. The farmers employ nearly 90,000 workers,

and with the addition of 10,000 workers on full-time small-holdings, these constitute a labour force of nearly 100,000. Nevertheless, there are more crofts than farms in Scotland, and more small (part-time) crofters than farmers, besides 'full-time small-holders', of whom so many are crofters, north of the Highland line. Thus the number of crofter families forms an important item of Scotland's rural population. Of these, the families of Lewis-and-Harris form fully one-fifth, owing to the remarkable growth of population until 1925. Even in the little burgh of Stornoway many families hold a plot of land, and at heart they may be almost as much 'crofters' as townsmen.

Socially, what is meant in the Island by the term 'crofters'? Although each Island crofter cultivates his own arable holding (his croft), he shares the common pastures with fellow-crofters, each having a right to a 'sum' of so much stock, 'his souming'. Open, sandy land by the shore, if any, may also be shared. These common grazings, shared together by the crofters of one community—a hamlet, a village or township—form a social link of great significance. They distinguish what we shall call 'township crofting' from individual holding, whether of part-time or full-time small-holdings, or of true farms. The common grazings, enclosed by line C (Fig. 2), thus form an important social index. About 75 per cent of the area included forms Common (or other Crofters') Grazings. The close dots of the dotted line divide the 'Commons' from Deer Forests, as in the Island and inland from the north-western coasts. Widely spaced dots divide the Commons from the Sheep Farms and other mixed holdings further south.

Outside the tract of 'township crofting' in the north and west, the chief unit of Scots rural life is the farm,

with its tied cottages and frequently a 'bothy' for the unmarried. Next to this comes the full-time small-holding, important in the North-east and the Southern Highlands of Scotland. Great as are the differences between these types of unit today, they go back, to a considerable extent, to common origins. The sites of the farms are ancient. And their people, though since divided into masters and men, are the successors to those who were once the 'kindly co-operators' of older 'farm groups', of Lowland *ferm-toun* and Gaelic *baile* (pronounced like 'ballie'). The island counterpart of these, and their life, will be described in Part Two. Hence, before we turn to further analysis of the Highlands and Isles, a word more should be said of Lowland types.

An important social index in the Lowlands of Scotland is the number composing the farm labour-team, averaged for each county. Villages and even hamlets are few, largely because farmers and farm servants live on the farms. Compared to those of most of England, Scots labour-teams are small. Yet, as the map indicates, there is a wide range from the 'large' teams of South-east Scotland, through the 'medium' teams of adjacent areas, to the 'small' teams of the West and North-east. Not only do the contacts of employer with employees partly depend upon the number in the team, but so do the farm servants' relations to one another. On the whole, the larger the team, the more formal its organisation; and the smaller the team, the greater a worker's own responsibility. The 'family farmer' of the West and North-east is often an ex-farm servant. From Burns's time, his character and enterprise have been recognised in Scotland, and in the last forty years have become well known in South-east England. But the isolation of these little farms brought its problems and its hardships.

174 The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely
184 significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to
179 developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in
55 ferm-toun and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons
128 throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed
out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat
scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged
121 in planning for post-war housing and community life.
185 But sound planning must be based on survey, long overdue; though elementary, this key map appears to be the first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units of farm-team and township that Scots rural society must be rebuilt, region by region.

184 One further contrast between the farming and the
241 crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the
361 types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-
166 nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World —return home to their native township when they can, and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand, though they usually spend their lives in the county or region of their birth, have been on the move from farm to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the
• [164] English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new hiring, the married once a year. Families were annually uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all!
[122] The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to
[178] check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence many men have few ties, their wives still fewer. The children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they could look back to no "Auld Lang Syne", of which the

i [see p. 16 -- analyst]

| | MALES | | |

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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(1), continued.

| | | |

APPENDIX 8 (1)

| | MALES | | |

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

162
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464

Population totals.

| | | |

Crofter-Tenants by Status and Size of

	Area of croft (inbye):		
	0-5 acres	5-10 acres	
MALES UNDER 65	39%	46%	
of whom with:			
Regular employment	26%	28%	
Casual employment	7%	8%	
No other employment	6%	10%	
MALES OVER 65	23%	27%	
FEMALES UNDER 65	8%	5%	
FEMALES OVER 65	10%	7%	
ABSENT: Males	14%	12%	
Females	5%	1%	
ALL TENANTS	100% (314)	100%(201)	

Owing

/p. 28/

Holding

	10-50 acres	All Crofts
	45%	43% (267)
	26%	27%(170)
	14%	9% (55)
	5%	7% (46)
	35%	26% (167)
	7%	7% (43)
	4%	8% (49)
	6%	12% (75)
	3%	4% (24)
	100% (114)	100% (629)

to rounding totals may not add.

Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uig

APPENDIX B (continued).

(2) Occupations of resident males, aged 15-64, South Uig, August 1959

(excluding R.A.F. personnel but including local residents employed as civilians by the R.A.F.)

162
163
164

	District:* A	B	C	D
Croft work only	3	5	5	8
Croft and regular-				
-weaving	16	7	4	16
-fishing	-	-	-	1
-estate work	1	-	-	-
-R.A.F.	2	2	5	1
-M.C.A.	3	-	-	-
-public service	2	3	-	1
-professional	-	-	-	-
-transport	1	2	-	1
-retail trade	-	1	-	3
Croft and irregular-				
-casual labour	3	2	2	23
-estate work	-	-	-	-
Not crofting -				
-weaving	-	-	-	1
-R.A.F.	-	-	-	3
-M.C.A.	5	-	-	-
-public service	-	-	-	2
-professional	1	1	-	2
-transport	1	-	-	-

* Districts- A: Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta
B: Carnish, Ardroil and Timsgarry
C: Aird and Crowlista
D: Valtos, Vaasp, Reef and Mealvaig
E: Caryshader, Geshader, Unyshader and Smealete

(3) Destination of Emigrants 1939-59, South Uig

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167

	Males	Females	TOTAL	of w Femal marr
Stornoway	16	17	33	1
Other Lewis	2	8	10	
Other Crofting Cos.	12	8	20	
Glasgow	12	12	24	1
Other Scotland	7	16	23	1
U.K.	7	7	14	
Overseas	8	9	17	
	64	77	141	5

4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF LEWIS

('Bernera and Bernera Shore')

by

P. Wheeler

131 Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of
103 Bernera Island (Breaclete, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the "Shore"
(Earshader, Crulivig and Lundale together with the isolated township of Linshader),
49 presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isolation.
Bernera Island, though central to most of Uig and easily accessible over the sheltered
waters of Loch Roag, yet remained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent
building of the road bridge; even now it is necessary to travel over six miles to get from
101 the bridge to the main Uig road and a further four miles to Garynahine. Consequently
the island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements, has a very close-knit and
self-sufficing population. Whether this community retains sufficient vitality to resist
the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces eroding
rural and especially Highland life, remains to be seen.

13 The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the Intro-
duction. Like the other districts it has virtually no valuable mineral resources (1), and
228 the herring and white fish industries have all but disappeared and seem unlikely to
171 resuscitated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted with vigour and enterprise; it
464 provides a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on
regular or casual employment to eke out the proceeds of the croft. The kinds of work
164 available, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employment
are common to the whole parish; thus this account is mainly concerned with the problems
of crofting agriculture.

Settlement: history and patterns.

172 The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is partly
very old, and partly very recent. At least four brochs are known on Bernera and various
361 standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous settlement has survived from the
early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form as
17 in the graveyard on little Bernera, or in oral tradition. All this contributes towards the
very close network of family relationships that binds the island folk and to a lesser extent
those of the adjacent mainland.

175 With the exceptions of Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete, all Bernera Island had been
361 cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1878 when twelve families were moved from
Bosta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere.
Occasionally (as at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance lotting patterns were re-adopted, but
usually settlement was laid out afresh. The townships of Bernera Shore, were also
affected: all the small tenants except those of Earshader and Crulivig were cleared,
leaving the land under the sheep farms of West Earshader and Linshader. However, the
Bernera Island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of sheilings on the
mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these grazings to their present position marked the

[3] (1) A small deposit of diatomite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a few
men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

231 [176] to less regular routines than was the case when the shielings formed an essential part of the grazing regime. The old "Black Cattle" strain is completely bred out, nor is there much trace of Highland blood. The cattle are almost exclusively of Shorthorn or of Aberdeen Angus or of cross blood.in order to qualify for the hill cattle subsidy. The exceptions, like the Jersey cow in Crulivig, are very few. The cows are dual purpose beasts, kept for milk and for production of calves for sale. The latter are sold either within a week or so of birth, or at the age of up to six months (i.e. in autumn) or at about eighteen months age, after which the regulations usually specify that followers must be counted as full-grown beasts in the soum. They may be sold either in Stornoway or at the biannual sale at Breaclete. Cows unless they are being passed on to another crofter, are usually sold to the Stornoway slaughter house. Again, owing to the restricte market available, prices are lower than on the mainland, though undoubtedly greatly improved since 1939.

The problem of winter feed is still a governing factor in cattle management: cattle kept through the winter need a good deal of fodder, and happy the crofter and fortunate the year when it is not necessary to buy in a certain amount of cake, bruised oats, other feed or even hay. However, it is generally reckoned that the croft will supply the most if not all of the hay and oats. In any case, the amount generally bought in is a great deal less than that necessary in the mainland Highlands. This is largely due to the fact that, on many days, the cattle can be let out for foraging and will, in fact, manage to gain some natural feed.

Here, in contrast with Sutherland (where frequently a bull upon a neighbouring farm is used for service), and even with Park (where each township has its own bull) there is but one bull. In order to get round the problems of maintenance which have occasionally bedevilled Lewis townships, there is a recognised practice: the bull spends July to October upon the Tobson township common grazing, and the rest of the year on Little Bernera.*

Horses have never occupied a very important place in the economy of the area. It is said that the first horse on Bernera Island was taken to Hacklete bout 1923: previous to that and for some time after, most of the cultivation was by hand. This is understandable: in an area where most of the arable land is in lazy beds, and where, owing to dependence upon and nearness to the sea, problems of long distance land transport did not arise, there was little place for the horse, a fact which was recognised by the omission of horses from all the soums save that of Linshader itself. There is no recollection in the area of the keeping of goats. Nor is there a tradition of pig-keeping, though there were undoubtedly a few kept in the past. Poultry are kept almost entirely for domestic use.

Population - ages and occupations.**

162 Questions of land use cannot be separated from questions of population. The permanently resident population of the Bernera region is but three hundred and sixty and it is not balanced as to age-distribution (see Fig. 30). Appendix C(3) shows that out of 85 croft-holders on Bernera there are 34 full-time crofters: 21 are men, only seven of whom are less than 65; 13 are women, only six of whom are less than 65. The situation is even worse on Bernera Shore: out of 25 croft holders, only 11 are full-time, all men 164 but all are over 65. The term 'full-time crofter' really implies crofter with no other occupation, and cannot be taken as necessarily involving a full-time unit of effective agricultural labour. Of the croft holders with full-time employment, 33 on the Island and six on the Shore, all but one, as would be expected, are less than 65. Therefore a large part of the active labour force is siphoned off into other occupations, for, increasingly, a man with a regular job has neither the energy nor the inclination to work a croft in

*The introduction of Artificial Insemination may soon change this.

**Appendix D(1) contains details of population by townships, appendices D(2) and (3) give further details of occupations and emigration.

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 81

511 It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Aird; the only two families
464 without ancillary occupations are those where all the members are elderly. Of the others
288 with members in the working age-groups, five have one or more members employed in a civilian capacity at the R.A.F. station and there are five regular weavers.

621 Aird used to be a self-contained community; the land was fully cultivated and a certain
178 amount of fishing was carried on in spite of the difficulty of drawing up the boats over the rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the R.A.F. station, and if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search of other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF

by

David G. Symes.

131 On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a secondary
133 peninsula of more moderate, but none-the-less broken relief. This, together with an adjacent area of the main peninsula, the islands of Pabay, Vacsay, Vuia Mor and several smaller islands, comprises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Kneep and Reef.

133 This secondary peninsula is accidented in the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock and steeply angled small hills. The relief is greater in the west (summit 450') than in the east (summit 275'). Relatively level land is to be found only on the machairs of Reef and
133 Cliff (the latter only poorly developed) and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair,
134 about 180 acres, consists of a succession landwards of tidal sands, a belt of sand dunes (c. 20' O.D.) and a sandy plain sloping gently inland towards a reed filled lagoon. The machair at Cliff is approximately 40 acres in extent; here there are fixed dunes and, in addition, the sand has been blown inland to at least 100 ft. O.D. Except where the machair sand has drifted upslope to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin soils of the Valtos peninsula are predominantly peaty. Although the length of the peninsula faces north the extremes of Atlantic weather are moderated by the protection afforded by the Aird peninsula and the islands of Pabay and Vacsay.

175 In the period before the lotting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some five
427 clachans - Valtos, Cliff, Kneep, Uigean and Reef - some of which shared common pastures.
341 During the early part of the nineteenth century and earlier, apparently, than the 1850 lotting
[63] carried out in most of Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clachan areas: Valtos and Cliff shared a common pasture and so became one township; similarly Kneep and Uigean were combined.

175 In Kneep it seems that the croft boundaries were not accepted by the crofters. Certain
311 basic divisions between groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today,
427 and within these basic divisions a certain regularity of distribution of strips persists, but

175 the crofts at Kneep are still highly fragmented: the fifteen
311 and eighty separate arable plots. The lotted crofts at Ree
427 land for a sheep farm. Plans to clear the remainder of th
[22] by the Fisheries Board because Valtos and Kneep were the
50 industry. As late as 1892 Valtos and Kneep had forty boat
[164] hundred and forty-five men. Valtos with thirty-two boats fisher-men was second only to Carloway as a fishing centr of the fishing industry, the population of Valtos and Kneep 1841 to 659 in 1891. Some, at least, of the subdivisions o Reef was scheduled by the Deer Forest Commission (1896) and in 1908 an attempt was made to do this, but agricultura the grounds of poor water supply, scarcity of arable land (c and the risk that, if cultivated, the machair would suffer w 1921, Reef was resettled by ex-servicemen from Valtos an
[233] farm was only carrying a stock of one hundred and seventy sheep stock in 1959.

427 Tables 15 - 18 summarise the more significant point
178 peninsula. Table 16 illustrates the fact that the economy is the total possible units are being worked. Many of the cro
[162] and the younger generations are unwilling to take over. O crofts 18% are over sixty-five, and a further 47% are betwe

TABLE 16

Crofts and Crofters

427	Valtos	Kneep
463 Legal crofts:	40	18
32 No. in joint tenancy	2	4
Total possible units:	42	22
No. of operative units 8/59:	29 (60%)	15 (68%
Joint tenancy crofts as one unit:	1	3
Cases of subletting:	8 (+2 part crofts)	4
Family combination of crofts:	2	1
Derelict crofts:	2	1
Crofts worked by: Full time crofter	3	1
crofter with regular work	8	7
crofter with periodic work	13	3
crofter over 65 (or invalid)	5	1

Uig

crofts comprise over one hundred
f were cleared in 1842 to provide
e Valtos peninsula were thwarted
n good centres for the white fish
s, providing employment for one
and one hundred and twenty
e in Uig. With the prosperity
had risen rapidly - from 467 in
f Kneep date from this period.
for resettlement by crofters
l experts advised against it, on
only ninety-three acres old arable)
ind erosion. Nevertheless, in
d Kneep. At the time the sheep
sheep - less than half the crofters'

s of the economy of the Valtos
in decline. Only two-thirds of
fters have abandoned their crofts
f those remaining to work the
en forty-five and sixty-four.

Reef	Total
15	73
0	6
15	79
8 (53%)	52 (66%)
0	4
6	18
1	4
0	3
1	5
0	15
4	20
3	9

162
231
233
464

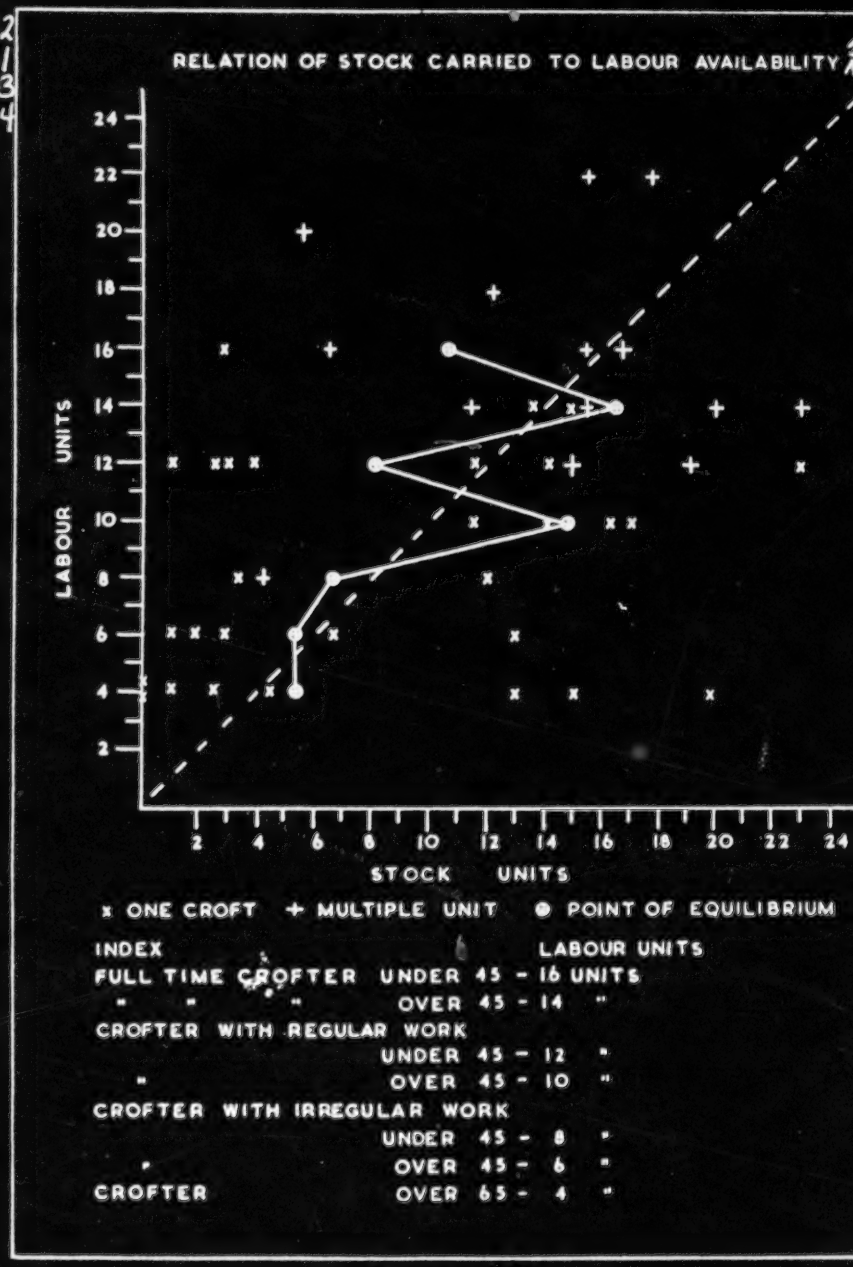

Figure 20

/facing p. 43/

1. [See p. 45 for discussion of chart--Analyst]

APPENDIX A continued

231
241
11
23

(5) Stocking and cultivation by size of effective units, South Uig, August 1959.

Stocking is assessed according to proportion of the scum held, cultivation according to acreage of arable crops, i.e. excluding hay; some units are omitted for lack of data, (consequently totals do not correspond.)

	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units								
	1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0	All sizes	Actual number of units
Proportion of scum held:									
Nil	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	3	4
Less than 50%	1	8	5	3	3	3	2	26	40
50%-100%	1	6	9	6	5	1	5	32	50
100%-200%	1	8	5	6	6	3	2	31	57
More than 200%	-	4	1	1	2	1	1	8	13
All units	3	28	21	15	16	8	9	100	
Area cropped:									
Less than 0.5 acre	1	5	3	2	1	1	-	13	19
0.5-1.0 acres	1	7	2	-	1	-	-	11	16
1.1-2.5 acres	1	12	13	9	8	1	5	50	74
2.6-5.0 acres	-	5	3	4	2	3	5	22	33
More than 5.0 acres	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	4	6
All units	3	28	21	16	14	7	11	100	148

Owing to rounding, percentage figures may not equal totals.

2
1
3
4

(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit*

	Under 65 years:			Over 65 years:		ALL UNITS *
	Full-time crofter	Croft and regular work	Croft and periodic work	Male	Female	
CATTLE **						
nil	2	5	2	6	1	16
1	9	31	18	8	3	69
2	5	19	9	4	-	37
3	-	2	2	1	-	5
more than 3	-	-	-	1	-	1
SHEEP						
nil	2	1	2	3	-	8
less than 6	1	-	-	-	-	1
6-10	2	4	2	1	1	10
11-20	1	4	3	2	2	12
21-50	5	21	11	7	1	45
51-100	5	22	10	6	-	43
more than 100	-	5	3	1	-	9

* a few working units are omitted for lack of data.
** over 2 years

summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' sheilings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig sheilings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Mealasta farm, until about 1939, sheilings were used in that area.

No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation. Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers - nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy; in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R. A. F. station and at least one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns a tractor which he hires out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Moire peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

184 Alluvial soils have developed along the lower reaches of Amh
river.

137 There are no trees apart from an occasional stunted rowa
[B24] creel making grow still in some old garden enclosures. Hed
individual houses are often carefully sited, there is little cov
whole are very exposed to westerly gales. The natural vege
is of fine closely matted grasses with a good deal of natural c
found on chalk downland. On the peaty moorland the usual m
heather are dominant, though little encroachment by bracken

In Crowlista the strip layout of the crofts dates from a lo
311 in the new townships, laid out about 1921 (Figure 15) the ma
361 less strip-like and do not run to the shore. Indeed in Ardro
427 out of twenty-two reach the shore and the rocky headlands wi
parts of the common pasture. The six crofts in Carnish ru
of the esker up its flank towards the southwest and almost to
one or two small plots each on the machair.

[133] Crofts in Ardroil are in one piece. An old cattle road fo
from this they rise, steeply in places, to undulating moorlan
5 - 8 Timsgarry are strips across the Erista valley, rising
2, 3 and 4 are allotted to make use of arable land on the low
The houses of crofts No. 1 Timsgarry and No. 1 Ardroil are

[417] In Crowlista most of the crofts remain unfenced but in Ca
all are fenced and many of the fences were being repaired o
not open for common grazing during the winter. Patches of
each croft.

[36] There are six recognised croft-holdings in Carnish; one
only five "operative" units; two of those are not worked. C
proprietors and is being quarried as an extension of the mai
ship dyke and main road. In Ardroil each of the fourteen cr
though two carry no stock; in Timsgarry eight crofts are wo

In contrast to the above, the old settlement of Crowlista
crofts but, by amalgamation and sub-letting these are worke
Crowlista crofts are small - fourteen are 4.0 acres or less
worked as a unit. Crofts as small as 1.5 acres and with a
have been intended to support a family; they are the result
generations; the remains of two piers and a curing house po
[464] fishing in the past. Twenty-one men were employed in fish
letting usually takes place between relatives; of some of th
quite complicated. One example will suffice (croft number
to prevent publication of personal matters):-

Crofts a, b, c and d are worked as a unit (although they
tenant of a and b sub-lets c and d for grazing; he also helps
croft. The present b is half of an original croft. West of
held in fixed runrig between b and another croft, not part of
east of the road it has been divided into separate strips. T

inn Thoraghair and the Erista

or willow - willows for
ges, too, are rare so, although
r and the townships as a
ation developed on the machair
lover - very similar to that
oor grasses mosses and
was noticed.

ting about 1850, (Figure 14)
ority of the crofts are
l and Timsgarry only five
h their machair are valuable
from the shore at the foot
its summit. They also have

rms the north west boundary;
d just over 200' high. Numbers
northwards to just over 170';
r slopes of Knock Valabrie.
the former farmhouses.

arnish, Ardroil and Timsgarry
replaced in 1959. They are
sown hay are fenced within

is sub-let so that there are
One has been resumed by the
n quarry between the town-
rofts is worked as a unit -
orked as seven units.

has twenty-five recognised
ed as fourteen units. The
and of those only one is
soum of eight sheep can never
of sub-division in earlier
oint to the importance of
hing boats about 1914. Sub-
e fourteen operative units are
s are here replaced by letters

are not adjacent). The
with the work on yet a fifth
the road the original croft is
this multiple "working" unit;
The tenant lives on b.

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hoggs but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whole
[427] is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hoggs on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hoggs
[232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hoggs that are sent. The minister at Timsgarry, who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well; the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked.
[235] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.[1]

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
175 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on
[361] each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grazed, are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Amhuinn Thoraghain and Allt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area, still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

464 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment.
228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil, three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

464 Mitchels's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
[316] ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present.
[712] The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two
[377] Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric shcemo
[466] site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

1. [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

As yet the tourist trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting relations but many houses offer suitable accommodation for people who would appreciate quiet holidays in these very beautiful surroundings. The distance from Stornoway, the difficulty of obtaining varied food supplies - and the weather - were cited as disadvantages! Passengers on a weekly coach tour from Stornoway are supplied with meals at an Ardroil house which has good access to the beach but otherwise the crofters show little interest in the possibilities of tourism.

In common with other crofting townships, the greatest problem here is that of an ageing population because the younger people seek employment outside their township. The diagrams[1] illustrate the age-heavy structure of the permanent resident group and also the numbers of the insurable population periodically or permanently away. The lack of suitable work, for young women particularly, is also shown. The ages of the tenants also illustrate this problem. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty or 34% are over sixty-five. Serious, too, is the loss by emigration of people between fifteen and sixty-five. Of the total 'working population', 35% have left this region since 1939. The corresponding figure for Crowlista alone, the older settlement with smaller crofts, is as high as 42%.

We found in this part of Uig some crofts efficiently and energetically worked by young tenants, and if reasonable stock prices are obtained the larger crofts can be worked profitably. However no croft will fully support a family; ancillary employment is always sought by crofters with growing families yet many crofts are carrying less stock than they might because some tenants are not interested in, or able for, agriculture. The croft is increasingly thought of as a home, as part-time employment - often for older members of the family - and as a place for retirement.

It is easy to list schemes for improvement and change:- dairying to supply Stornoway with milk, poultry and pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivation under glass, the tourist industry, forestry on a small scale, lobster and crab fishing, etc. Such schemes would require capital not available in the townships, careful planning, and tactful administration by people with real knowledge of this area and its people. Meanwhile even the potential production of the crofts is by no means realised.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along the western side of the steep and narrow valley of the Amhuinn Gil na h-Airde three miles north of Crowlista. After leaving Loch Meacheit, the river flows northward through a gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then across a narrow flood-plain into the rocky bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in arrangement and varying in size from 3¼ to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the right bank of the river, up the steep, rocky slope above the left bank and widening out over the more gently slopes between the 100 ft. and 200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently enlarged, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional ground to the north or south.

1. [See figures 12 (facing p.34) and 17 (facing p.39)--Analyst]

An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on the individual croft to the size of holding and to the availability and age of the labour force. In both diagrams there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0 - 7 units) and the commercial holding (11+ units), but there is no definite relationship between stock and size of holding or labour availability. The inclusion of the points of equilibrium for certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected state of affairs: in the case of crofters with regular work and full time crofters, those over the age of forty-five carry a larger stock from those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to the economic problem of crofting lies in the amalgamation of holdings in order to create a more viable economic unit, but the indication from these diagrams is that an increase in the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to an increase in stock. It is the absence of accessible markets that deter the crofter from increasing his agricultural production.

In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihood for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters under sixty-five almost 90% supplement the croft income by other employment. Of these casual labour (at present mainly at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57% regular work - particularly weaving - 43%. The combination of crofting and weaving provides probably the best return for the labour: one crofter with a croft of 3.3 acres, carrying two cows, two followers and ninety sheep (sixty ewes) made the following estimates for 1958:

FROM THE CROFT:	
Sale of two year-old calves	£80
Cow and calf subsidies	£40
Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb.	£75
	£ 195[1]
FROM WEAVING -	
at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p.w.)	£550
GROSS INCOME	£745

Weaving abour 30 hours a week apparently leaves him sufficient time to run the croft efficiently; at present a crofter supplementing his income by a labourer's wage at Gisla hydro electric scheme would have to put in nearly sixty hours per week to achieve the same financial reward.

The economy of the Valtos peninsula has been changing, and contracting, for several years. The number of unoccupied crofts is increasing; commercial fishing ended at the time of the first World War; the shielings have been abandoned as summer cattle pastures. The Valtos shielings near Loch Scanadale were abandoned during the 1939 - 45 war, due mainly to the lack of manpower in the township, though some was used intermittently until 1953. The shielings of Kneep and Reef were abandoned in the late 1930's, at which time Kneep had some fifty milk cows as compared with fourteen in 1959.

[1] Against this figure, must be set the costs of production (i.e. fertilisers, new seed, winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

127 joint tenants of one have moved to Geshader while continuing to work the Ungshader land.
32 Another is preparing to move to Enaclete and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Chroistean
51 Cottage. At present, three working units remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with ten units, one being rented by joint tenants.

221 The rhythm of work is similar to that in other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oats are planted in April followed by lambing and peat cutting in May. In June and July the sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to the common grazings. In August the peats are carted, once they are dry, by lorry direct to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lambs are weaned in September, harvest is then carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take place in November. The sheep are then returned to the township grazing though the lambs
241 may be fed with hay on the croft. There is little regular crop rotation and only a small number of crofters seem to undersow oats, thus improving the quality of future hay crops. Gardens are not important and only provide for family needs but Caryshader particularly has a number, some growing flowers as well as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely from croft to croft as well township to township. Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the shore and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshader are usually fed on artificials.

231 Most crofters keep one milk cow with a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn sales in Caryshader. However, some now rely on their neighbours for milk in return for grazing and one croft has turned to goats, as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on Geshader -Ungshader common grazing as it is completely fenced; and Geshader is responsible for its upkeep.

233 Lambing seems to have been generally good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact figures. The Morsgail Estate and Gisla farm also run considerable flocks. The common pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlargement, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acres for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader near Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres
[314] on Floday island. The shielings have been disused since the war. Peat is normally cut to the west of the road but at least one elderly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his croft for this purpose to save the effort of working further afield.

241 Generally speaking the land now cropped only represents one third to one half of that
178 worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when the crofting population was larger and when much greater numbers of cattle were kept through the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and
231 more oats. The cattle numbers are much less than the total souming but sheep are in excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazing by sheep has caused a decline in grazing quality.

464 Clearly in these townships, apart from the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the means of livelihood is sought elsewhere. At present there are altogether fifty-three men in the working age group (15 - 64) in all four townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine permanently and five periodically. Thirty have regular or periodic employment besides crofting and of these seven work at Gisla on the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, some of them part-time, four hire out vans, two do post-office work and others have varied occupations while only three are full-time crofters. At present there are few men in the Merchant Navy and fishing does not provide an occupation although many share rowing-boats in their spare time, and fish for domestic use.

162 The population as a whole is ageing and of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four
[164] (roughly 30%) work away permanently or have emigrated. It is noticeable that there are few crofts worked by people with young families

000 In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that the fate of the crofting townships depends more

(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, South Uig, August 1959.

Status* of tenants:-	Area of holding: 1.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	20.1+ acres	TOTAL:
Regular employment M 54	5	17	11	6	1	2	2	44
Regular employment M 65	-	1	--	-	-	-	-	1
Regular employment F 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Regular employment F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment M 65	4	10	5	5	3	-	-	27
Irregular employment M 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full-time crofters M 65	4	1	5	2	1	-	1	14
Full-time crofters M 65	8	13	13	8	7	5	4	58
Full-time crofters F 65	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	4
Full-time crofters F 65	1	4	1	1	-	-	1	8
Absent M	5	7	8	3	-	-	-	23
Absent F	4	7	-	2	-	-	-	13
TOTAL	31	63	43	27	12	7	10	193

(4) Principal croft workers status by size of effective agricultural unit, South Uig, August 1959

Status* of croft worker	Area of effective agricultural unit (acres):- 1.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	20.1+	TOTAL:
Regular employment M 65	2	21	14	11	9	6	4	67
Regular employment M 65	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Regular employment F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Regular employment F 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment M 65		13	7	5	6	-	2	33
Irregular employment M 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment M 65	2	4	1	-	7	2	2	18
No other employment M 65	2	8	8	7	6	5	4	40
No other employment F 65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment F 65		2	1	1	1	1	-	6
TOTAL	6	48	32	24	29	14	12	165

* Occupation, sex and age (under or over 65 years).

1. [Errata: See category 116, (introductory p.v), for corrections--Analyst]

t is worth noting that the rental charged for the newly cleared farm of Garnish was - being £20 less than had been paid by the crofters. Thus it cannot be said that the r were evicted purely in order to obtain more rent. The proprietor must have been g a long term view, looking for land improvement rather than immediate gain. By 870's the farm rentals had increased by 55%, those of the crofting townships by only And the latter often remained unpaid.

Thus, whilst the farmers prospered, the tenants became crowded in their townships h were correspondingly less and less able to support their increasing numbers. crofts became so reduced that in an average year the produce of the land might keep ofter and his family for only six months; for the rest he had to find other means of ort. Fortunately, after the hungry years of the 'forties', fishing provided just this. ing in 1851, an annual migration began, first to Caithness and later to the whole east of Scotland and England. By the 1880's not only were most of the able-bodied young following the herring as hired men on east coast boats, but many of the women-folk, had learned gutting, packing and kippering from English girls brought to Stornoway he purposes, were also earning. This was summer work, and fitted well between -time and harvest. In the winter, small local open boats worked long lines for fish which were dried and salted for local curers as they still are today on the vegian coast. Between the 1850's and 1880's there was a "condition of plenty" in s "which would not have been credited by those who judged of the condition of the e by the external aspect or sanitary arrangement of their dwellings".[9] It was this dition of plenty" which encouraged the people to stay at home, to sub-divide their s, and to live on the proceeds of paid labour rather than on the produce of the croft.

ettlement, 1878-1935.

The process of sub-division ceased only when economic conditions became less rable and emigration began to exceed natural increase. In the 1880's fishing and ing suddenly became less profitable. Simultaneously, and given extra point by the cular distress of the time, agitation for land reform, and in particular for the f of the most congested districts, became a political issue. This began in Uig in when an attempt was made to evict 56 crofters from Bernera; hundreds of crofters ted by force and subsequently marched on Stornoway. They were well received by roprietors - who appear to have been unaware of the summary and inhumane be- ur of their chamberlain - and to the credit of all concerned the matter ended peace- But land agitation continued.

he position in Bernera was eased in 1878 when Linshader farm was deprived of the ownship of Kirkibost which was resettled by crofters from Bosta, the latter being the Tobson crofters as an enlargement to their pasture. In 1880 new holdings formed in Hacklete, which had been the grounds-officer's farm (but which, judging its population, had always contained a number of cottars or sub-tenants). The ng of Laimshader was probably returned to the Borroston crofters about 1886, having part of Linshader farm and, in 1891, six new holdings were formed at Lundale, part of the same farm. At the same period, under the new Act, the crofters of vlista, Valtos, and Kneep applied unsuccessfully for enlargements from the farms. uring the nineties the islands of Little Bernera and Eilean Kearstay were taken off hader farm and added to the townships of Bernera, and Valtos obtained Pabay Mor.

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port....on the Condition of the Cottar population in the Lews. (C. 5265), 1888, p.4.

Unlike the mainland farmer, should an islander withdraw his store
432 stock from the autumn sale he cannot easily present it elsewhere a few weeks later; he
431 must keep it from the autumn until the spring, which will probably involve him in buying feeding stuffs out of his seriously depleted income. Many crofters suspect that their difficult position in this respect is taken advantage of by mainland buyers. Whether this is true or not the result is the same - the crofter is discouraged from raising stock.

433 Many crofters with whom we discussed this problem realised that, by fully stocking and cultivating their crofts they might double, or even treble, their income from agriculture. Some realised that sound management of a large unit, such as the amalgamation of two or three crofts, by sublets or otherwise, might yield a reasonable family livelihood. What they all stressed was the uncertainty - the uncertainty of stock and wool prices, the uncertainty of subsidies from year to year, the uncertain fortunes of their little packs of sheep and the uncertain effects of the weather on their hay and oats harvest. In other words they lack confidence - in both the cash reward for agricultural operations and in their own technical ability. Therefore they prefer to take a sure weekly income, however small, and to work their land at a low level of productivity.

000 Climate, soil, and insularity (to which must be added the particular isolation of south Uig and Bernera, even within Lewis) all present problems. But there is a tendency to overstress these difficulties and to use them as excuses, whilst failing to appreciate that
[430] they also offer certain opportunities. Many agricultural raw materials have to bear the cost of shipping from Glasgow or from Leith; the peculiar difficulties of island stock marketing have already been mentioned; but, equally, the Minch could and should provide a natural protection for island agriculture. Elderly milk and travel-worn fatstock, potatoes and vegetables, imported daily into Stornoway from the mainland, are a standing reproach to crofting agriculture. Crofters could produce most of this food and if they would they would be turning to advantage the disadvantage of insularity. Some will admit this, if pressed, but they will also rightly point out the difficulties. These are two-fold: technical (particularly in the case of legal restrictions on milk production for sale) and economic (the difficulties, or believed difficulties, of marketing). A few individuals, for example, claimed that it was not worth selling potatoes unless they received the full shop price: this is a stubborn and stupid attitude; and one is reminded of the crofters' long opposition to the introduction of the potato, nearly 200 years ago; a co-operative marketing organisation might help in this respect.

829 The crofters' attitude to innovation is all-important; new ideas, whether in agricultural practise or in marketing, require careful introduction and a good deal of fostering. The crofters' lack of confidence is a real factor and must be taken account of; it is not due only to the risk and uncertainty of markets, they also lack technical knowledge, even though they may have plenty of ability. Again, the prevalence of small units makes it particularly difficult to adopt innovations; a failure which might be negligible on a large farm can become a disaster on a croft. The crofter has not the resources of the farmer with which to experiment, nor has he been able to observe other
[654] methods or crops on other farms because he lives and works in a restricted environment, surrounded by fellows in like situation. The introduction and development of township re-seeding schemes by the Agricultural Advisers is an excellent example of how these difficulties can be solved. Good progress has been made since our survey. Because such improvements are communal they tend to add to the flexibility of the township structure; because they extend the grazing season in spring and autumn they tend to
[464] reduce the need for winter fodder and so to reduce the cultivation problem. Far more re-seeding could be done, particularly in South Uig and Bernera. Here the lack of local employment makes agriculture more important as a source of income than elsewhere and the need to improve the productivity of agriculture is both great and urgent if population is not to fall below the minimum level for maintenance of services. This special problem deserves special attention, by both local communities and by the authorities. If South Uig and Bernera could carry a further 800 head of cattle, which is no more than was carried in 1883 (and is still less than the soums), the problem would be well on the way to solution.

Growth and decline.

161 In its demography
162 the Hebrides in gener
late eighteenth centur
[824] century, by clearance
sustained by the newly
[464] little kelp compared w
from Loch Roag; cons
between 1755 and 1801
73%). Clearances and
North Uist), after 1831
reversal which was not
Thereafter, in the oute
new maxima in 1881 (th
parishes, reached its m
been particularly severe

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Uig	
Lochs	
Barvas	
Stornow	

The early on-set of decl
final decline set in after 188
[228] tinued until 1911. This ma
south Uig where, by the 189
decay of great line fishing a
farm land in Uig in the pres
Hebrides rather than with th
although it did bring about a
overcrowded townships. Bu
40 per annum in the 1950's (t

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT

H. A. Moisley

in so many other aspects the parish of Uig is characteristic of rather than of Lewis in particular. Throughout the Hebrides the aw a rapid rise in population followed, in the early nineteenth emigration and decline (Fig. 44). The growing population, troduced potato, found employment in kelp-making. Lewis made the Uists and such as was made came largely from Uig, i.e. uently, whilst the population of Barvas only increased by 15% hat of Uig increased by 58%, (c.f. North Uist 60%. South Uist migration reversed this trend in population after 1821 (Mull and Islay), and after 1841 (Skye, Harris, North Uist and Barra), a xperienced in Lewis except in Uig (see Part I, Figure 8). but not in the inner Hebrides, growth was resumed, to reach Uists) and 1911 (Lewis, Harris and Barra); Uig, alone of Lewis aximum population in 1891. Subsequent loss of population has , as may be seen from Table 46 and Figures 8 and 45.

TABLE 46

oss of population, since maximum, to 1951

	Date of maximum	Loss as percentage of maximum
	1891	41.2%
	1911	34.4%
e	1911	26.5%
ewy	1911	18.6%

(Stornoway Burgh is excluded)

decline makes Uig somewhat comparable with the Uists, where 1881, rather than with Barra and Harris, where growth con- may be connected with the vicissitudes of fishing, particularly in 1890's, the annual Fishery Reports comment repeatedly on the ng and of the dried white fish trade. Re-settlement of crofters on resent century again affords a parallel with the southern Outer th the rest of Lewis; as elsewhere, it failed to arrest the decline ut a re-distribution which afforded welcome relief in the more But decline still continues; the loss appears to have been around 0's (table 47) compared with 30 in the 1930's where there was some

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 140]

Employment - the search for work

121 464 166

When an island community outgrows the local intrinsic resources permanent emigration is not the only solution. It is one of the outstanding demographic characteristics of island communities that a proportion of the population seeks employment beyond the island whilst maintaining its island homes. We therefore classified the population, in the first place, according to whether it was:

(a) permanently resident in the parish

(b) leaving the parish seasonally or otherwise irregularly in search of work, and

(c) working permanently away yet without a permanent home except in the parish.

TABLE 53

Location of employment

162 166 469

	Proportion of total population: Resident:	Periodically away:	Permanently away:		
Uig Parish	83.7%	6.5%	9.8%	100% (2,652)	
Districts					
South Uig	87.7%(1)	3.1%	9.2%	100% (746)	
Bernera	85.2%	7.2%	7.6%	100% (460)	
East Loch Roag	81.3%	7.0%	11.7%	100% (701)	
Carloway	81.2%	8.6%	10.2%	100% (745)	
c.f.					
Park	72.2%	11.0%	16.8%	100% (1,092)	(1958)
Point(Stornoway)	86.8%	2.3%	10.9%	100% (1,068)	(sample: 1960)
Harris(mainland)	80.8%	6.9%	12.2%	100% (2,768)	(1961)
North Uist	87.7%	2.3%	10.0%	100% (432)	(sample: 1960)
South Uist	86.0%	3.5%	10.5%	100% (3,690)	(1956)
Barra	70.6%	4.0%	25.5%	100% (1,906)	(1961)

Note: (1) Including at least 27 temporarily employed on construction work at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme, and 28 permanently employed at government sites (equivalent to 7.4% of the total population). Many of these men would otherwise seek employment outwith Uig.

On this basis some 16% of the population of Uig is periodically or permanently away. This may seem low compared with 28% in Park and 30% in Barra but, on the other hand in the Point district, near Stornoway, the proportion is only 13%, and in North and South Uist it is around 12 - 14%. In Harris (Scalpay and Bernera islands excepted) the proportion is 19%. Various factors influence this state of affairs; they may be summarised as the age-structure of the population, the relative viability of the crofts and the opportunities for local employment. Within Uig the situation differs from district to district; the particularly low proportion classified as 'periodically away' in South Uig was probably

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

are time. In addition there are a few croft holders with periodic employment. orthy that the incidence of employment bears no direct relationship to the size ding - there is not, for example, a preponderance of holders of small crofts nanent employment.*

r, the croft holders are not the only source of labour: Appendix C(4) shows s a total force of fairly regular labour for the crofts amounting to 147, or than half the total resident population. Of these, 78 undertake regular employ- ave employment on occasion, and thus only 45 are full-time, of whom 25 are The forms of employment are indicated on Appendix D(2); weaving, with 49 gularly involved, is by far the most important single source of full-time employ- nly other being fishing (24 persons). Estate work (mostly gamekeepers, c. at Grimersta Lodge) gives regular employment to ten persons in the town- Shore. No other form of employment accounts for more than three residents and 65 years of age; the category 'casual' covers a variety of unskilled labour re five non-employable invalids.

0 households, out of 130, have looms. Yarn is distributed by the Stornoway for weaving on commission; they collect, finish, and market the cloth. Hand s all but died out and such yarn is more likely to be used for handknitting than ; at least one lady supplements her income in this way. There is some evi- Bernera weavers receive less work than those more accessible to Stornoway; for this may lie partly in individual contacts between weavers and producers, n the particular skills of particular weavers but transport is an important ch a small isolated group of weavers does not justify frequent journeys by the vans; in fact most yarn is put out, and tweeds collected, by a weekly carrier.

Table 31

Fishing in Bernera District 1892-1956

	Numbers engaged:		
	Boats:	Men:	Value of Catch:
	39	133	?
	36	164	?
	39	163	£1,300
	36	151	£1,400
	27	145	£670
	33	114	£699
	40	84	£2,850
	25	26	£4,949

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

ll the boats returned were necessarily engaged in regular fishing. Nor is the of the catch shown necessarily attributable entirely to Bernera.

Note: this is an inevitable result of the rigid structure of crofter land holdings. I, page 30 and table 12. The age of the crofter, and his family circumstances ive.

28 434 South Uig and Park seem to suffer in the same way even though the larg mostly mills, endeavour to distribute weaving equally to all districts. earnings vary from individual to individual, according to the amount of also from year to year according to the fortunes of the trade, especiall export trade. A good weaver, in a good year, might earn from £400 t average weaver, in an average year in Bernera, probably earns betwee whereas in the Carloway district (more accessible to producers based i Shawbost), the comparable figure is around £400. Most weavers try t nections with several producers and this difference in earnings may be obtain additional work for 'small-producers' (i.e. tweed merchants wh own yarn), and those who do not.

228 [226] [433] Fishing has greatly declined since the late nineteenth century (table fish nor herring are of any significance, nor do Bernera men contribute the island's economy by working on east coast boats, as was formerly t Bernera has become one of the most important centres of Scottish lobst value of landings having increased from £983 in 1937 to £4,949 in 1956. locally owned lobster boats and others use the facilities at Kirkibost. generally have seven to a crew (c.f. the usual five in Sutherland) and w of the Atlantic coast and out to the Flannan Islands and St. Kilda. The lobster pots and may also catch ling; crabs are almost entirely ignore difficult to transport to the distant, mostly English, markets.

One very important factor in the present prosperity of the Bernera the Kirkibost lobster pond. This was built by a local crofter in the 19 during the war, and was afterwards taken over by the Crofters' Supply original proprietor is still employed whole-time in looking after the po the lobsters. There is naturally some loss of fish in the pond, and wh being obtained at Oban the local fishers feel rather disgruntled at their market here. Hence, if there is a good catch, say over 2,000 lbs to a good weather prevails, the lobsters may be taken straight to Oban wher local price may be obtained. The C.S.A. pay 2s less per lb than Oban cost of the upkeep of the pond, and the wages for two men with their bo experiment in flying lobsters direct from Lewis to Billingsgate, but the The problems of isolation here are very severe for the lobsters have to Macbrayne's steamer and by British Railways upon which there are no ved for the small quantities in question - a hazardous course for a high

Conclusions.

182 This part of Uig, therefore, has had a long and complex history of h exploitation, and adaptation. Much of the more recent part of this hist remembered and still plays a part in the making of modern decisions. ship and a common past is an important cement of society, for where n are so limited a mystique of other than a material type is necessary if its self-respect. 511 [181] However, the natural resources are indeed so limite self-improvement is extremely difficult. The egalitarian tendencies o crofting legislation are not now sufficient to resist the tendencies of the vent some of the crofters making adjustments in their holdings, but unf insufficient good land to allow much adjustment without a drastic reduct which would be equally damaging to the well-being of the local society. [246] that alternative sources of employment could easily be found - the isola the isolation from markets of Lewis itself, and the lack of local resour [288] [222] on previous occasions to defeat plans for development. Weaving is the means of supplementary livelihood, but it is too vulnerable to politics a is greatly decayed from its former dominating position; only agricultur and perhaps the greatest possibilities there lie in better standards of cu drainage and fertilisation), a better standard of animal husbandry, and But whatever developments are undertaken will need careful selection a results cannot be hurried but nevertheless something must be done soon is to maintain itself. This great and paradoxical element of the "crofti important here as elsewhere in the seven "Crofting Counties".

241 are usually all the potatoes. Between the road and Loch a' Bhaile and between the unmade road and Loch Shader on crofts 22 to 25 the land is probably more intensively cultivated than ever before, but strips now overgrown with rushes and coarse grasses, especially near the cemetery give an idea of the former extent of cultivation. The working of stripe nearer the sea is no longer worth the labour involved. Crofts 22 to 25 are further divided by the small Loch Shader; no. 28 however makes good use of a small alluvial flat at the head of Loch a' Bhaile.

[237] Artificial fertilisers are in general use together with lime and dung. However some crofts were using seaweed, in particular nos. 1A, 1B, 1C, 4, 5, and 25 - i.e. those crofts with easiest access to the sea. The seaweed is gathered in the New Year and [824] trodden into the ground in the spring and apparently gives excellent results, but too much [423] labour is involved in carrying it to crofts in the centre of the township. Forty years ago each croft had rights to the "red" and "black" seaweed along the coast.

The crop acreages for the whole township will be found detailed in Appendix C (1) The area of oats for each croft varied between 0.25 and 2.50 acres whilst the maximum for sown grass was 1.5 acres. The excellent crops of hay from sown grass would suggest its further extension, but unfortunately most of the land suitable for cultivation is already under oats and potatoes. The practice of undersowing oats was not particularly widespread whilst only two small strips of oats-rye mixture were found. One crofter had also obtained good results in a small patch with seven different vegetables, whilst soft fruits are to be planted next year. The two sets of 'run-rig'crofts practise a fixed run-rig with the usual rotation of oats and grass on the strips.

231 In cattle stock (Appendix C) the township has 28 three year-old beasts, 2 one year-olds, and 24 calves. Only 6 registered occupied crofts have no cow, two crofters have two cows each, and one crofter has two cows and two calves. The township has no [178] bull however and the nearest is at Carloway or Callanish. With a much smaller number of cattle than that of thirty years ago there is now no need to make the annual summer visit to the shielings, a practice which died out in Tolsta Chaolais between 1920 and 1930. Pastures could however carry three times the present amount of cattle. The souming 233 of 1 cow and 6 sheep per £1 rent is now apparently ignored. The approximate total of sheep for the township is 1,500 whilst for 1958 it was about 1,470. The total of lambs was approximately 520 but most crofters found it difficult to give an accurate figure since some might have been lost on the moor during the summer. The highest number of breeding ewes for any one croft was 112, of lambs was 34, and of other sheep was 26; five crofters, however have no sheep at all. Before 1939 a shepherd was employed by the township when the sheep were sent to the moor. The shepherd was usually a young boy just left school and was paid by each crofter according to the number of sheep the latter sent to the moor. This has been discontinued but a levy, of 5s. per croft and 2½d. per [231] head of sheep, is made for the upkeep of the township fence. Finally, almost every crofter keeps at least a dozen poultry.

221 231 233 The movement of stock over the grazing areas is summarised as follows:

(1) From November 13th to May 1st. cattle are usually in the byre, depending on the weather, and sheep can wander anywhere. Crofts should be open to common grazing unless all the crofter's stock remains within his own croft boundary.

(2) From May 1st. to May 20th. sheep are in the outer park.

(3) On May 20th. sheep are sent to the moor.

(4) Throughout the summer cattle are in both the inner and the outer parks.

(5) On October 1st. the sheep are brought into the outer park.

(6) On November 13th. the sheep are brought into the inner park.

464 Details of population and employment will be found in Appendix D. It is a very [463] striking comment on the state of crofting in this township that only four persons are

full-time crofters; 19 males have other regular employment and two have periodic employment. 8 crofters are aged over 65. It seems that the most successful combination of employment is weaving and crofting; weaving is carried on in twenty of the holdings. Lobster fishing in the evening is still popular but regular small-boat fishing has disappeared: one crofter took up regular fishing when weaving was slack in the autumn of 1958.

Of a resident population of 125, 32 males and 32 females are between the ages of 15 and 64, these representing the effective labour force. Thirteen persons are temporarily away and 16 permanently away whilst at least 46 have emigrated since 1939 and 6 have immigrated. Thus the number that have emigrated is nearly three times the number that are merely permanently away. With a population of 125 and an effective labour force of 64 to work 35 operative units Tolsta Chaolais would seem to be far from a dying township.

If not exactly progressive the township economy seems stable and moderately prosperous, in spite of the fact that the settlement is rather inaccessible, for the roads which join the Carloway-Breasclete road are both very steep and have bad corners. To add to the apparent isolation there is only one Post Office-shop in the village but most commodities are bought from vans. A reallocation of the smaller crofts to younger, more ambitious tenants at the deaths of the older tenants could reduce the number of operative units to about 25. Admittedly, little can be done with the rougher terrain, and although cattle stocks could be increased there would be the added problem of sufficient winter feed. With better drainage more land could be taken into cultivation - especially between the two lochs, an area largely wasted at the moment - whilst weaving might supply a surer source of income, especially in the winter. Tourism on a small scale might be a further possibility for the coastal scenery is very fine and the immediate setting of the village is very attractive. It would be more realistic however for Tolsta Chaolais to find future prosperity within its own boundaries.

at Carloway Bridge. In addition to the main settlement which is irregularly disposed on either side of the two roads, a group of Swedish timber (joyce) houses has been built in a somewhat forbidding situation on the common pasture adjoining the 'Pentland' road.

The thirty three registered crofts and thirteen feus or allotments (of which only five are non-agricultural) are worked in thirty four units. Three of the tenants of the Swedish houses have crofts, two in Knock Carloway and one in Upper Carloway.

The land use figures show that Knock Carloway has a much greater percentage of permanent grass than has Borrowston on the opposite shore of the loch. These figures reflect not only the less rewarding physical environment on the south shore, but also the lower intensity of cultivation which bears a direct relationship to the type, number and quality of the stock. The township has less than the total number of animals permitted by the souming though the higher figure for sheep than cattle reflects the general trend for the area. No horses are kept but the township has the bull which serves the area - a privately owned beef-shorthorn.

Weaving remains the major occupation but the emphasis is less heavy than in the other townships for the community services centred here employ a number of the inhabitants. It may be that here lies part of the answer to the problems of the community as a whole: but even if employment in services were to be increased it could never be very significant in a district with total population of only 600.

KIRIVICK

Adjoining Knock Carloway is the small township of Kirivick which has forty one permanent residents. It occupies the least rewarding agricultural environment of the area. Crofts 1 to 13 rise (from the shore of Loch Carloway on the broken hill face to the Carloway-Breasclete road, whilst number 14 occupies the head of a small valley which was once part of the common pasture beyond the road.

The houses are set back from the road occasionally sheltering in the lee of the frequent knolls of bare rock which are exposed on the croft land. These rock surfaces together with the irregular deposition of the drift account for the fragmentation of the cultivated strips in small hand-dug lazy beds on the upper parts of the crofts inaccessible to the tractor.

There are fourteen crofts, three feus and one squatter settlement and all but two of these are fenced. Two of the crofts are held in 'fixed runrig' and the small sections in which the land is cultivated are shown in figure 41, which also illustrates the regular distribution of sections between the two. Though it used to be the normal practice the crofts are not now open to common grazing in the winter.

The restricted amount of land available for common grazing ensured the continued use of the shielings until 1939; small patches were cultivated on the common grazing about forty years ago and this fact too is the only recorded instance of a practice that was a community by the size of the working unit and the land available. At the moment there is no proposal for reseeding of any part of the common pasture* because of the difficulty of getting access for tractors. As in the case of Knock Carloway the total souming is not exceeded, but the sheep stock is 25% above the sheep soum.

The population figures emphasise the problem of the whole of this southern area and here is the most extreme case of incipient decline. There are two fulltime crofters, six crofters who weave and five crofters over sixty five. Seventy per cent of the population is over 45 and only two children attend the school neither of whom is likely to take up crofting.

1. [Figure 42--Analyst]

Little close attention is paid to shepherding though several crofters profess to liking it. The great losses on the moor (often amounting to one third of the lambs each year) does not seem to cause much worry. The chief income from the sheep is the fleece which sells at up to 4/- per pound, an average fleece weighing from three to four pounds. This wool is not used for the tweed industry since it is too coarse being more suited to carpet manufacture. Appendix C (6) shows that the majority of flocks are small averaging from 10-20. The overgrazing is the result of a smaller number of owners keeping larger flocks. Thirteen of the working units have between 50 and 100 sheep. As to those without sheep, several crofters declared themselves to be too old to bother with them, a fact which serves as an illustration and introduction to the population problems.

Appendices D (1) shows the twofold nature of the difficulties which confront the community. Twenty-two per cent of the residents are over 65 years of age and no less than 56% are over 45 years old. With the sole exception of one man who works on the power development project at Gisla in South Uig, the main focus of employment is local. A small number of people are engaged in services to the community including shopkeeping, but the main source of income is weaving since crofting itself (by definition in this area at least) does not yield sufficient to maintain a family. Yet there are 31 full time crofters who are being supported in some other way, either by relations temporarily or permanently absent or by interest on capital accumulated during periods of employment away from the island.

There is an insufficiency of women of child-bearing age to offer hope of an increase in the population or even a sufficient number to guarantee a level of replacement. This fact together with the emphasis on one form of employment gives rise to anxiety among the crofters, who recollect what happened when the fishing finally collapsed during the First World War after a period of steady decline. In 1913 twenty boats sailed from Carloway and gave employment to 295 men. If the weaving fails (at present a weaver making three tweeds per week can earn up to £16 for them) there will be similar hardship and the net emigration from an area already none too attractive to young people will certainly become more marked than it is at present.

Table 36

Fishing in the Carloway District 1892-1956

	Numbers engaged		
	Boats	Men	Value of catch:
1892	65	300	?
1900	27	318	?
1913	20	295	£8,700
1920	14	266	£560
1930	10	83	£262
1938	10	40	£470
1948	14	40	£174
1956	15	18	nil

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables.

Note: Boats returned may not have been in regular use; many of the men were mainly engaged as hands on east coast boats.

APPENDIX C continued

(5) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, August 1959.

Status of tenants		Area of holding (in acres): 0.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	More than 20.0	TOTAL:
BERNERA DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	2	6	3	8	10	4	4	37
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	M under 65	-	-	-	1	4	3	4	12
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	M under 65	-	1	1	2	2	1	-	7
	M over 65	-	5	1	3	8	4	4	25
	F under 65	-	-	1	1	3	1	-	6
	F over 65	-	-	3	2	1	-	1	7
Absent		-	1	3	1	3	2	3	13
TOTAL		2	13	12	18	32	15	17	109
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	4	21	13	3	2	2		45
	M over 65	-	1	1	-	-	-		2
	F under 65	-	1	-	-	-	-		1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
B	M under 65	2	6	4	-	1	-		13
	M over 65	-	-	1	-	-	-		1
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
C	M under 65	-	4	7	2	-	-	-	13
	M over 65	6	15	15	5	3	2	-	46
	F under 65	-	4	4	-	-	-	1	9
	F over 65	2	5	2	1	2	-	-	13
Absent		6	15	6	2	-	2	-	30
TOTAL		20	72	53	13	8	5	1	172
CARLOWAY DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	5	24	10	3	-	2	-	44
	M over 65	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	4
	F under 65	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	M under 65	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	3
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	M under 65	3	7	1	-	1	-	-	12
	M over 65	3	18	7	-	1	-	-	29
	F under 65	1	13	3	2	-	-	-	19
	F over 65	4	14	4	-	-	-	-	22
Absent		4	12	1	1	1	-	-	19
TOTAL		21	92	28	7	4	3	-	155

n : A with regular employment.
B with irregular employment.
C without employment ('full-time crofters').

APPENDIX C continued

(4) Principal croft workers, according to status, by size of effective agricultural unit, August 1959.

Status of croft worker		Area of effective agricultural unit (acres): Less than 2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	More than 20.0	TOTAL:
BERNERA DISTRICT:									
Regular employment	M under 65	4	7	6	11	15	12	11	66
	W over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M under 65	1	1	-	2	8	3	2	17
	W over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M under 65	-	-	1	3	2	1	1	9
	W over 65	-	-	4	2	1	-	-	7
	F under 65	-	-	2	1	2	1	1	8
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL		5	8	13	19	28	17	15	105
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Regular employment	M under 65	4	24	17	13	18	3	3	82
	W over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M under 65	1	1	5	1	1	1	-	10
	W over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M under 65	-	-	4	-	3	1	1	9
	W over 65	3	7	4	3	2	1	1	21
	F under 65	-	2	3	1	1	-	-	7
	F over 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL		8	35	33	18	25	6	5	130
GARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Regular employment	M under 65	20	39	16	8	4	4	1	92
	W over 65	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	F under 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular employment	M under 65	2	1	3	1	-	-	-	7
	W over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No other employment	M under 65	7	7	2	2	1	1	-	20
	W over 65	-	4	8	-	1	3	-	16
	F under 65	3	5	3	-	-	-	-	11
	F over 65	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	7
TOTAL		36	59	35	11	6	7	1	155

APPENDIX C continued

(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit

STOCK CARRIED		Under 65 years: Full-time crofter	Croft and regular work	Croft and periodic work	Over 65 years: Male	Female	ALL UNITS *
BERNERA DISTRICT:							
CATTLE **	nil	3	2	1	4	-	10
	1	8	8	8	3	1	44
	2	4	13	1	1	-	19
	3	-	4	1	-	-	5
	more than 3	-	1	-	-	-	1
SHEEP	nil	2	-	-	-	-	2
	less than 6	1	-	1	-	-	2
	6-10	2	2	-	1	-	5
	11-20	-	3	2	3	-	8
	21-50	8	23	4	2	1	38
	51-100	2	15	4	2	-	23
	more than 100	-	1	-	-	-	1
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT:							
CATTLE **	nil	5	13	5	4	-	27
	1	12	53	6	16	1	88
	2	2	9	-	-	-	11
	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
	more than 3	-	-	-	-	-	-
SHEEP	nil	2	10	4	3	1	20
	less than 6	1	2	-	2	-	5
	6-10	6	9	1	3	-	17
	11-20	4	22	1	3	-	30
	21-50	2	25	5	7	-	39
	51-100	4	9	-	-	-	13
	more than 100	-	-	-	-	-	-
GARLOWAY DISTRICT:							
CATTLE **	nil	3	6	-	2	1	12
	1	21	72	5	11	4	113
	2	5	10	1	2	1	19
	3	-	1	-	-	-	1
	more than 3	-	-	-	-	-	-
SHEEP	nil	9	17	2	6	4	38
	less than 6	2	5	-	2	-	9
	6-10	4	8	-	1	-	13
	11-20	6	17	2	2	1	28
	21-50	5	32	1	3	1	42
	51-100	2	6	1	1	-	10
	more than 100	1	3	-	-	-	4

* some units are omitted for lack of data.
** two years and over.

eggs are needed in maintain the flock because casualties, from disease and accident, are heavy. Wedders are also kept, until they are two or three years old, when those that survive are supposed to be good for the pot. Again, after allowing for casualties and home consumption, the surplus for sale is generally small, except from a few exceptionally well-managed flocks. Likewise, the crofter who weeds out his elderly ewes is almost unknown; one man, indeed, claimed with pride the possession of a fifteen year old ewe! Thus it is certain that, after allowing for household consumption, very few of the little flocks of sheep yield an economic return for the time spent on them. The ideal arrangement would be to replace the 500 little individual flocks by about 50 communally owned 'club-stocks', each with a paid shepherd. This could almost certainly be financially more rewarding but would probably be socially unacceptable because so many crofters are deeply attached to their small packs of sheep.

TABLE 41

Stock carried (as a proportion of sound) according to size of units

	Percentage of Units according to size: 0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	more than 20.0 acres	UNITS OF ALL SIZES
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nil	16	5	4	1	-	5	3	4
Less than 50%	36	34	31	30	28	30	29	30
51% - 100%	24	24	30	40	38	30	46	33
101% - 200%	24	25	22	31	28	27	20	25
More than 200%		12	5	8	6	8	3	8
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 41 has been constructed in an effort to discover whether the size of the working unit (which is greater in the southern districts) has any notable effect on stock carried. Further details will be found in appendices A(5) and C(5). It is clear that the size of the unit has no influence on the stock carried.

Finally, we may examine the stock held according to the age and employment status of croft workers (Table 42). Apart from a natural tendency for persons over 65 to keep no stock, the status of the croft worker appears to have little effect. Whether a crofter has regular, or only casual employment does not appear to influence the amount of stock which he carries. The proportion of "croft workers under 65 with no other employment" carrying no stock may seem curiously high until we recall that many of these persons are elderly pensioners or invalids.

TABLE 42

Stock held, according to status of principal croft workers

	Croft workers under 65 years of age: No other employment	Regular employment	Casual employment	Over 65: Male	Female	All Units
	%	%	%	%	%	% (No.)
CATTLE HELD:						
nil	16	10	14	25	17	14 (65)
1	63	68	63	60	75	65 (314)
2	20	19	19	11	8	18 (86)
more than 2	-	3	5	4	-	3 (13)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (478)
SHEEP HELD:						
nil	19	11	14	19	42	14 (68)
1 - 5	6	3	2	6	-	4 (17)
6 - 10	18	7	5	13	8	9 (45)
11 - 20	14	17	14	16	25	16 (78)
21 - 50	25	39	36	30	25	34 (164)
51 -100	16	20	25	14	-	19 (89)
100 +	1	3	5	2	-	3 (14)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (475)

Some units omitted for lack of data.

Labour - who are the agriculturalists ?

When we recall (Table 12, page 28) that 16% of the crofter tenants are absentees, that 34% are over 65 years of age (of whom 8% are women), and that a further 7% are women under the age of 65, it becomes clear that many of the tenants cannot reasonably be expected themselves to provide active labour for agricultural operations. An attempt has been made to analyse the agricultural labour force; this must be treated with some reserve because it was necessary to decide for every effective agricultural unit, who was the principal croft worker. In some cases croft work is shared by a younger and an older man, the former having a regular job (often weaving) but being available for the heavier work, whilst the older man keeps things going from day to day. Women, even the elderly, often provide an important subsidiary source of labour, too. Where two persons were shown on the croft record as sharing the work of the croft, the older, if over 65, was ignored. Thus the analysis probably under-estimates the part played by elderly persons. Nevertheless the results (Table 43) ; two-thirds of all effective agricultural units are worked by crofters having other

TABLE 43

Classification of croft workers

Principal croft workers:		o.f. Tenants (from Table 12):
Males under 65	77%	51%
of whom: in regular employment	55%	52%
in casual employment	12%	10%
with no other work	10%	9%
Males over 65	15%	31%
Females under 65	5%	8%
Females over 65	3%	9%
All persons	100% (557)	100% (530)

employment and, as we shall see, in most cases, the croft carries so little stock that it cannot be the most important source of income.

This situation does not vary very much from district to district (Table 44), except that South Uig has a noticeably high proportion of elderly croft workers. This is to be correlated with the unsatisfactory age structure of the south Uig district which, in turn, is probably a reflection of the poorer employment opportunities there and consequent emigration. Weaving, in particular, is less important than elsewhere. This situation is also reflected in the smaller proportion of crofters with regular employment and the larger proportion which relies on casual employment as shown in Table 44.

Finally, we may enquire whether the size of agricultural unit available to a man has any influence on his employment status. To this end status has been plotted against size

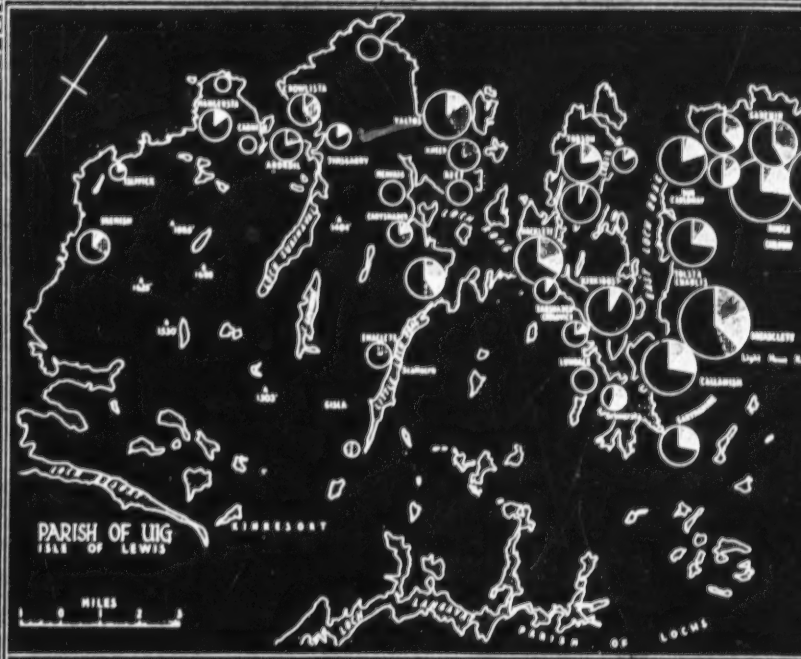
TABLE 44

Principal croft workers by districts

	Croft workers by districts: Ba. Uig	Bernera	E.Loch Roag	Garloway
Males under 65:	72%	86%	78%	77%
regular employment	41%	62%	63%	59%
casual employment	20%	16%	8%	12%
no other work	11%	8%	7%	12%
Males over 65	24%	7%	16%	10%
Females	4%	7%	5%	12%
	100% (165)	100% (107)	100% (130)	100% (155)

Sources: Appendices A(4) and C(4).

102
162
164
444



Circles are proportionate to the total male population (resident, temporarily away and permanently away), aged 15 - 64 years:

Permanently away

Temporarily away

Temporarily employed on construction work at Ollala

Figure 46

The search for employment

a temporary feature in 1959 due to the casual employment provided by a hydro-el
scheme at Gisla (Figure 46).

In this respect the critical age-group is 15-44 years (table 54). Few older p
take work away from home. Of this age-group, 338 (out of 931) persons are awa
Women account for 199, men for only 139; the difference is a strong indication o
lack of employment opportunities for women in Lewis. The contrasting experien
the different districts are quite remarkable (figure 46). A far greater proportio
goes away from the two northern districts than from Bernera and the South, and
despite the greater importance of weaving in the north. The explanation for this
partly in the generally smaller size of crofts of the north, partly in the type of em
ment available locally and partly in the customary choice of employment away, w
differs from district to district. Social custom, which may vary as between one
and the next, has a strong bearing on whether and where young men and women c
work.

TABLE 54

The 15-44 age-group, distinguishing men and women

		Residents	Periodically away	Permanently away
		%	%	%
Uig Parish	M	71	7	22
	F	57	17	27
Districts				
South Uig	M	80(1)	8	12
	F	62	8	30
Bernera	M	70(2)	14	15
	F	57	22	22
East Loch Roag	M	59	17	25
	F	53	18	30
Carloway	M	49	24	27
	F	56	22	22

Notes: (1) including at least 16 (12%) temporarily employed on construction wo
at Gisla.

(2) including 11 (11%) full-time fishermen.

TABLE 45

Principal croft workers by size of effective agricultural units

162
311
464

Size of unit (acres):	Nil to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	7.6 to 10.0	10.1 to 15.0	15.1 to 20.0	more than 20
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Males under 65:							
regular employment	55	61	47	60	52	57	60
casual employment	7	11	13	12	17	9	12
no other work	16	7	7	7	15	11	12
Males over 65	11	15	23	16	11	18	15
Females	10	9	9	4	4	4	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Appendices A(4) and C(4)

of unit; the result (Table 45) does not suggest that the possession of a large agricultural unit encourages a man to become a full-time rather than a spare-time agriculturalist. Indeed, the possession of a large unit, built up by amalgamation, is often a fortuitous result of marriage, death, or inheritance, rather than a matter of individual choice. The only significant correlation in the table seems to be the understandable tendency for female croft workers to work the smaller, rather than the larger, crofts.

2]

41 The cultivated land

11

31

The chief crops are hay, oats and potatoes, in that order:

DISTRICT	Acreage of: Oats	Potatoes	Hay	All Crops	Average per unit
South Uig	149	50	209	407	2.5
Bernera	121	38	69	228	2.0
East Loch Roag	83	35	170	288	2.1
Carloway	113	42	202	357	2.2
TOTAL	466	165	650	1,280	2.2

41 Barley, which in the form of bere was important until the 1920's, has almost disappeared. Turnips, marigolds, rape and other animal food crops are only grown

78]

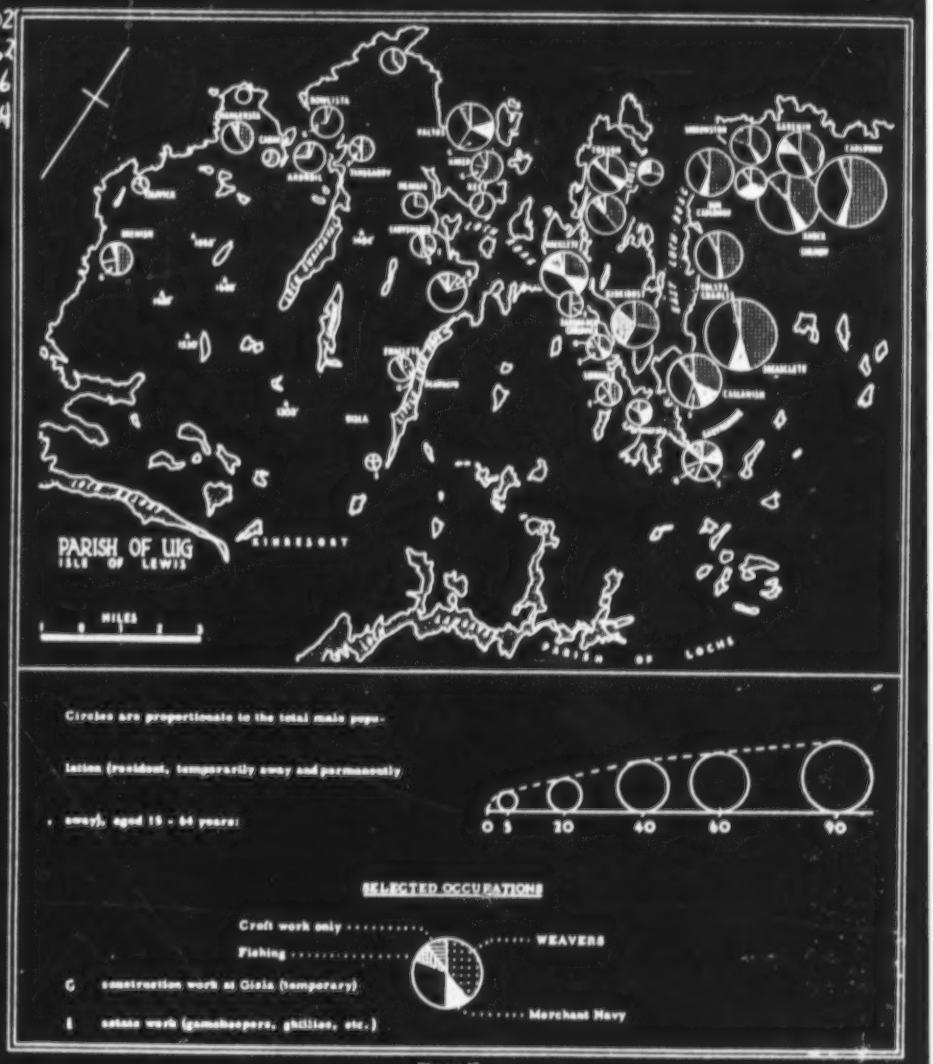


Figure 47

Certain occupations of men aged 15 - 64, by townships

TABLE 55

Proportion of resident males, aged 15-64, in Major categories of employment

See Appendices B(2) and D(2) for details.

	Croft-work only	Croft-work and weaving	Croft and other regular work	Croft periodic
Uig Parish	11	43	16	13
Districts				
South Uig	13	27	22	24
Bernera	8	36	25	19
East Loch Roag	9	50	11	11
Carloway	16	61	6	6

Table 55 and figure 47 summarise the main sources of emplo engaged in 'croft-work only' may be briefly dismissed. A large are elderly or otherwise infirm; a few are pensioners (e.g. reti men); very few indeed are fully occupied in the agricultural wor 'full-time crofters' is a misnomer in this area.

The most important category, in all districts, is 'croft-work relatively far less important in the south where there is corresp on other forms of regular employment or on periodic work, i.e. difficult to overestimate the significance of weaving in all distric stantial source of income in the parish and it should be clear fro that weaving is not an ancillary occupation to croft work except i The weavers are not 'crofter-weavers' so much as 'weaver-crof tion between Carloway and the rest of the parish is that, wherea young mens' work, the great majority being under 45, in the Car the weavers are over 45. The historical reason for this may be weaving into Carloway than elsewhere for, although some weavin throughout the area, it only became a major source of employme the last 20 years or so. Thus few of the older men in the south were young. A corollary is greater dependance on the Merchan employment for young men from Carloway than for those from th

Other sources of regular local employment are lobster fishin keeping and other estate work (Bernera shore and South Uig), an ments (South Uig). In addition there are the usual services - po

* For a detailed discussion of the significance of weaving see Mc Tweed - a growing Highland industry. Economic Geography, 37

NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 152

and work	No croft work	Total (100%)
	14	(635)
	13	(188)
	12	(130)
	19	(146)
	13	(171)

yment. The small group
proportion of these men
red police or service
of their crofts, thus

and weaving', but it is
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casual labour.* It is
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nt south of Carloway in
learned weaving when they
Navy as a source of
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g (Bornera only), game-
d government establish-
etmen, haulage contractors,

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ieley, H. A., Harris
, 1961, pages 353 - 370.

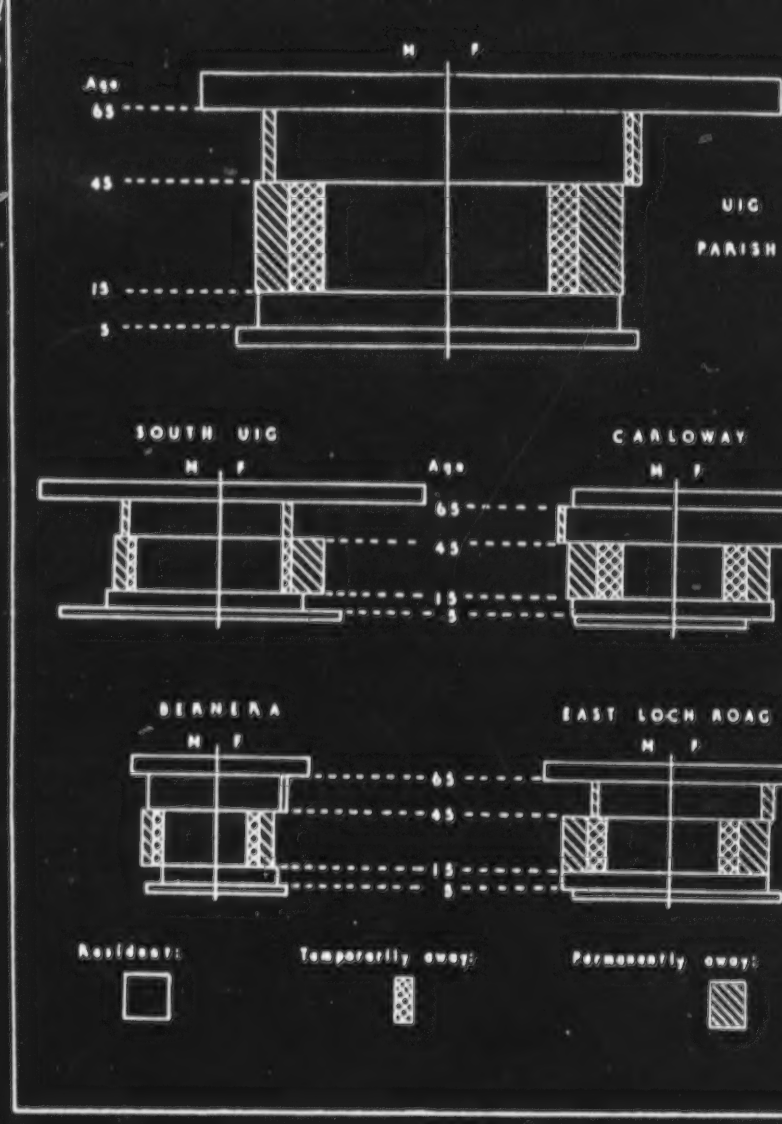

Figure 68
151
Population by age groups and place of employment

Although the croftland is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six onths of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole wnship stock graze indiscriminately over the crofts. Thus basically the whole area of the wnship, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear at the agricultural revolution with its system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Crofting rea.

Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic - 'airigh'). e sites of the shielings are usually on slopes commanding a view of the surrounding area near a ring or stream and usually two to nine huts belonging to the same township are grouped together a site; isolated shielings are rather rare. In order to conserve the pasture within the township ke for wintering and to protect the unfenced crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in ne, and the younger members of the households went out to live in small stone or turf-walled ts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter cheese at the shieling. The distance of shielings from the crofts varied from one to five miles Park.

The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the wnship and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in st related mainly to the enforcement of soumings, but are now reduced to the disbursement of bsidies, although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the wnship bull (usually lent by the Department of Agriculture but sometimes communally owned) are o the province of the Committee.

The layout of the townships varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned strips from the moor to the sea (figures 4 and 5). Most croft houses are built on the crofts; in rmer times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the itivable land was required for crops, but nowadays the houses tend to be sited near the road.

The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing the rights and duties of the township. Table I gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 Park ofts. It will be noted that only one-fifth of the crofts are tenanted by those in the 15-44 age oup: a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 65 years of age. Absentee tenants account 14 per cent of the total. Women form under 10 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of women tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The intrinsic worth of the holdings can be erred from the fact that two-thirds of the male tenants in the insurable age group take supplentary work, two-fifths of them furth of Lewis. With such a large proportion of the tenants either ly employed in ancillary occupations in Park or elsewhere it is hardly surprising that the theoreal township organization exists mainly in name alone.

Each croft, however, is not necessarily an agricultural unit; some are sublet by absentee ants or by tenants who are too old or too infirm to work their crofts. Of the 215 crofts, one-fifth wholly or partly sublet. In addition to the legal crofts, there are unofficial holdings which fall o three categories, cottars, squatters and feuars, all legally without grazing rights. A tar[1] is a person, usually a close relative of the tenant, who builds another house on

These are the de facto definitions. Section 34 of the Crofters' Act of 1886 defines a cottar as follows:- "Cottar" means the occupier of a dwelling-house situate in a crofting parish with or without land who pays no rent to the landlord, as also the tenant from year to year of a dwelling house situated in a crofting parish who resides therein, and who pays to the landlord therefor an annual rent not exceeding six pounds in money, whether with or without garden ground, but without arable or pasture land". For fuller treatment, see Scott, J., "The Law of Smallholdings in Scotland," 1933, pages 152-155.

There is no legal definition of a squatter, and the above definition does not include any distinction between houses built on a croft and houses built on the Common Grazings.

TABLE I

TENANTS OF CROFTS

esident on Croft	Males	Females[2]	Total	%
15 - 44	40	5	45	21
45 - 64	83	9	92	43
65 and over	42[1]	5	47	22
on - Resident				
n other Townships	5	1	6	3
urth of Park	22	3	25	11
Total	192	23[2]	215	100

OCCUPATIONS OF MALE TENANTS

Fulltime croft work	Croft work with regular employment	Croft work with periodic employment	Non-crofting employment	Periodic employment furth of Park	Permanent employment furth of Park	TOTAL
9	13	1	2	7	8	40
32	24	7	3	5	12	83
41	37	8	5	12	20	123
(33)	(30)	(7)	(4)	(10)	(16)	(100)

male tenants aged 65 and over, 31 are still active crofters, and of this 31, 16 are the
r force on their croft.

female tenants, 3 are the sole labour force on their crofts.

/facing p. 7/

231 Size of croft: 6 acres arable, (3 in crop, 3 in sown grass), 18 acres o
241 rights in Common Grazing to carry:-
242

6 cows, 2 young cattle, 50 ewes, 12 wedders, 12 ewe hogge and a

Income	£	Expenses
Sale of 1 cow, 5 calves, 10 cast ewes and 3 wedders, and 28 lambs say	224	Rent, ram, service of bull,
Sale of wool	33	grass, oat, potato and turnip seed, manures and
Subsidies on cows, calves and cropping	141	hand feeding say
		Excess of income
Total income	4398	

231 241 242 434

In order to work such a croft efficiently, the tenant could not take regular ancill
and would require the assistance of his family at busy periods. If such holdings we
particular township studied, the number of crofts would have to be reduced to almos
present total. Considering Park as a whole, the agricultural units would have to be
half of their present number but this latter figure is only very approximate as it wa
general evidence. It is clear, however, that about 100 viable agricultural units cou
the present crofting area of Park.

000 From a detailed study of the agriculture of Park one can only conclude that the p
situation is far from being an optimum one. Only reorganisation on a major scale c
crofting economic, and such reorganisation would have to be coupled with the develo
crofting sector of the community dependent on ancillary industry. The prospects f
ancillary industry are discussed on page 12. Larger crofts might well evolve as
continued depopulation. In the meantime, a determined effort could be made in the
seeding and pasture improvement, and in consolidating the existing non-adjacent pie
crofts. A reduction of the sheep stocks, with an emphasis on quality instead of quan
introduction of more cattle, narrowing the present 1:25 cattle-sheep ratio, are poli
be followed with profit.

ANCILLARY OCCUPATIONS

464 In most crofting areas, ancillary employment is necessary to compensate for th
income: total dependence on the croft for a livelihood has never been characteristic
[161] areas except in times of privation. At the time of the abolition of run-rig, most cr
[162] a greater population than the land could support, even at subsistence level, and as
estates, crofts were created smaller than the optimum size in order to give as man
possible a share in the land. First the kelp industry and at a later period fishing,
464 divisions of crofts, already too small, and the establishment of a cottar and squatte
228 the case of kelp, the landlord required as many hands as he could muster and in the
423 fishing industry, the land was a secondary consideration as meal could be bought wi
241 of the catches.

161 In Park, it is noteworthy that the most congested areas in 1883 were the fishing
162 that since 1901, when the decline in the fishing industry began, these townships hav
464 rapid depopulation. No other home-based ancillary industry has successfully filled
economy. In Park as a whole only 18 per cent of the total male population of insura
full-time crofters today - a striking confirmation of the fact that ancillary employm
000 However, not all such employment is available in Park: 47 per cent of the insurabl

TABLE VIII

EMPLOYMENT OF MALES IN WORKING AGE GROUP (15-64)

462
464

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Fulltime Croft Work	20(9)	51 (29)	71 (18.0)
Croft Work and Regular Employment	33(14)	43 (25)	76 (19.0)
Croft Work and Occasional Employment	2(1)	12 (7)	14 (3.5)
Non-crofting Employment	15(7)	14 (9)	29 (7.0)
Unemployed or sick	10(4)	12 (7)	22 (5.5)
Total Resident Population	80(35)	132 (77)	212 (53.0)
Seasonally Employed Furth of Park	29(13)	11 (6)	40 (10.0)
[877] Schoolchildren (15-18)	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
Students	2(1)	-	2 (0.5)
[701] National Servicemen	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
[164] Sick	1(1)	3 (1)	4 (1.0)
166 167 464 Total Seasonally Absent	48(21)	14 (7)	62 (15.5)
Regular Employment Furth of Park	99(44)	26 (16)	125 (31.5)
Total Regularly Absent	99(44)	26 (16)	125 (31.5)
Totals	227(100)	172 (100)	399 (100.0)

/p. 10-A/

[Kershader]

233 (b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices,
311 however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the f
221 case they heft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand.
231 Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

432] There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring township take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per shee and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

231 Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces
236] about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Avera
435] sheep carcase weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

141 Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as
61 full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category,
62 and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable
67 population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this
66 township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft
64 work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption
63] only) and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The
01] only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the
75] optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907
98] and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard,
71] Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

82 It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilizing the
41 population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision,
13] cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Garyvard]

1407 Only a fraction of the total arable land is cultivated by tractor and this is divided among seven crofts. In spite of an emphatic statement by one of these cultivators to the effect that he will never use it again, the use of the tractor will increase as soon as the pioneers are able to prove to their neighbours its capabilities and as soon as the lazy-beds are joined together, an improvement which has already taken place in Habost. The main objection to the use of the tractor by the disappointed user was the inevitable one that the yields were smaller than in former years when he had used the spade. The answer to this was given by one of the other pioneers, who thought that time saved could be devoted to some other profitable occupation, for example, weaving. Six of the crofters practise a five-year crop rotation, sowing potatoes
242 first, followed by oats under-sown with clover which for the following three years is cut for hay.

An interesting experiment has been that of the improvement of two acres of common grazing land by the road on the west side of the township, by nine of the crofters working together during the evenings. The work began early in Spring when 6 tons of lime, 10 cwts. of mineral phosphates and 8 cwts. of compound fertilizer were spread evenly over the land. The grass seed was sown in July, the most favourable time for sowing since there is less danger of a drought than earlier in the year, and more convenient too, in that the sheep had been gathered for shearing and 250 of them were available to be driven back and forth over the land to tramp the seeds in. In theory this land should be ready for grazing next Spring, but in practice it will be ready in November. It is planned to re-seed twelve acres in all.

Most crofters have a cow to provide milk for their own needs. The Black Poll bull at Gravir
231 is preferred to the other township bulls since its progeny command higher prices. Sales are held
234 in the district twice per year, once on the old lake-level on the east side of the township, and once
432 at Balallan. Prices for calves are normally better in Spring than at the Autumn sale, nevertheless
435 prices offered tend to be low. Even so, it is usually to the advantage of the crofter to part with the animal rather than bear the cost of taking it back to the croft and wintering it there. Naturally there is some bitterness that the middlemen who buythese animals will sell them at much higher prices on the mainland at Dingwall. Sheep are normally sold in Stornoway to the butchers but also at the local sales.

Crofting is not in itself a lucrative form of employment and in most households there is at
241 least one other source of income. A majority of the crofters have regular employment, two
434 working in quarries or on the roads for the County Council, another is postman, three are weavers,
463 another both weaver and contractor, while yet another works in Antarctic waters aboard a whaling
464 factory ship for eight months of the year. Weaving is undoubtedly the most lucrative of the an-
[238] cillary occupations, though the weavers are suffering at the moment from the slump in the Harris Tweed Industry which is also affecting the prices for wool. Contracting is also a paying proposition for one or two persons only, since the amount of freight is obviously limited.

Most crofters own a small rowing boat and it is not uncommon to see half a dozen nets set to
241 catch mackerel and other demersal fish. There is not one large fishing boat, however, partly
226 because of the scarcity of fish near the coasts, and partly because of the isolation of the area and
501 the subsequent difficulty in marketing. The Fleetwood trawlers are regarded as pirates in the
[228] Minch, and one has to its credit the destruction of two long lines - the sum total of the tackle belonging to a local boat. To have eighteen pounds worth of gear lost in one night is ruin to a crofter-fisherman. Lobster fishing has died out at Garyvard though it could be quite extensively practised.

The main road from South Loche to Stornoway through the village has obviously had a profound
361 effect on the township. The sites of the old 'black houses' have been abandoned when new houses
491 have been built, in favour of sites conveniently near to the road. The Road Age has greatly
[241] limited man's capacity for carrying goods. This is well illustrated by the fact that the majority of crofters in Garyvard use artificial fertilisers, whereas they are scarcely used at all in Caversta where the road ends about 50 yards from the nearest house.

[Caversta] [Cromore]

161 The 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Caversta population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left after
162 1911 and no re-population took place. Since 1939, seven people have migrated to Stornoway or the
166 mainland, (16 per cent of the total 1939 population), and six of these were from Torista (i.e. 50
167 per cent of the 1939 Torista population); only one family now remains there. The demographic position is becoming more acute for there are no young married couples and no youngsters growing
[466] up. The girls have left to marry and most of the men have sought temporary or permanent employment elsewhere, for with better communications, education and the radio, the pull to the towns has become stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full-time crofters, earning no supplementary income by weaving tweed on commission from the Stronoway mills.

Caversta is not one of the most progressive of the South Loche townships. Although the crofts
241 are fenced, the common pasture is not visibly delimited from either the Cromore or Garyvard
235 pastures. At present, the grazing is fully stocked according to the soum, but the committee has not
532 as yet initiated any re-seeding schemes. As the pasture is not of the best quality, some newly sown grass would benefit every crofter. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but even a small acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

000 The future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechanization and is badly served by communications. The future of Torista appears to be probably one of abandonment, unless it is more easily linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road being built here is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Caversta is also open to question. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the present units are not used to their full extent. Amalgamation with Garyvard might benefit the township a great deal, as the Caversta population is rather small to flourish in isolation. The future of Garyvard, Karshader and Habost is one of hope, but unless some change takes place soon, it is not difficult to see Caversta, and Torista, following the same course as Calbost and in thirty to forty years being little more than grazing land.

CROMORE

G. Mary Swindell, B.A., and Dennis J. Fancett, B.A.

Cromore is situated on a peninsula between Loch Erisort and Loch Cromore. Approaching it
131 from the access road, Cromore has the appearance of a nucleated settlement, but in fact each
361 house is situated on the owner's croft. The crofts are so arranged that each has a portion of land on the more level surface of drift deposits; houses 1 to 20 stand at the junction of the drift and the
134 Lewisian gneiss. Soils are poor and thin, and there are numerous outcrops of barren rock amongst
137 the arable land. The natural vegetation is heather moorland with extensive patches of rushes and cotton grass, the pattern of most of the 'outrun' around Cromore.

The township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two
241 crofts are subdivided while another four farm double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and
632 the Schoolhouse feu. Outside the township dyke there are two feus and four squatters. The croft layout differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent pieces, one piece around the house, another above Creag Cromore and two pieces on another area of enclosed land on the common. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land around the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

Until this decade all the land around the houses, and much of that above Creag Cromore, was
241 regularly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but
311 cultivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only
[246] crops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed
[246]

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed
241 clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably
311 by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining
246 lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofts have
249 vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced
224 crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not
221 enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throught the winter and
231 no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only
233 seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the soum. Lambing takes place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are
[236] clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and then dipped; November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The cows are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Crobeg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on fank days.

Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until
178 the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under
253 cultivation and from an an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips
311 above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but
[242] this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazing;
[249] it is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the road between Caversta and Gravir, about three miles south-south-east of Cromore and one mile north of Gravir.

Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore
171 fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men
232 who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this,
[506] however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and, in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by
298 road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airidhvruach. At present the average production is
[493] only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. During the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime
[236] but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the
162 middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have
166 been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting
167 with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.
164

Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by
491 road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a van
[499] which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by
[493] boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recent additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no
366 shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday;

[Marivig]

231 There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while
[235] all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of
249 the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.
252

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft,
228 and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway
301 and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the
363 roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia,
366 fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual
367 migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the
162 permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young
271 people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

205 The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a
206 shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There
366 is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road
396 which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much
398 better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig
261 and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.
262

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the
363 sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while
61 the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain
42 and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron.
199 All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply;
12 rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

129 The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the
00 crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

[Calbost] [Gravir] [Glengravir]

161 The present situation in Calbost is best illustrated by reference to the population statistics.
162 There are only 17 people living there at present, seven of whom are squatters and only eight houses are occupied within the dyke. Of the male population, there are three children under fourteen years, one man in the 15-44 age group, three between 45 and 64 years and two over 65. This clearly shows the lack of active men from 15-44 years, necessary for the continuing economic success of
166 the community. However, even these figures are not so striking as the numbers of emigrants as
167 no less than 39 men and 40 women have left Calbost since 1939.

147 A community of 120 persons has shrunk to less than 20 in only twenty years as the younger
[163] people have left to find employment in Stornoway and on the mainland. The present population structure seems to indicate a continuation of the downward trend.

GRAVIR AND GLENGRAVIR

151 Gravir, the largest Park township numerically in population and crofts, lies astride the major
154 east-west inlet of Loch Ouirn, a glacially modified line of structural weakness. The site of the township is perhaps the most picturesque in all Park, but the steep slopes, lack of cover, the small area of good arable land, and the considerable population existing on slim resources, problems common to Park as a whole, are all epitomised in Gravir.

361 On the south-facing-slope above the loch and the continuation of the trough in the valley to the
241 west, the majority of the crofts have been carved from moor to sea, some before 1800, and some
175 in the process of the abolition of run-rig which was accomplished in the years 1850 to 1852.
178 Originally, there appears to have been thirty crofts, but four were added during the nineteenth century, two at each end of the line, and in 1934 a further fifteen were cut out of the common grazing, a mile to the west of Gravir. On the south side of the loch, the 'clachan' of Tom an Fhuadain, established about 1800, has since developed into a further nine crofts. Thus there are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir and a further fifteen in Glengravir making fifty-eight in all.

The layout of Glengravir, a line of crofts from 3.6 to five acres, typifies the small post-1918 Department of Agriculture holdings. The arrangement of the Gravir crofts is illustrated in Figure 4, and it will be seen that not all the crofts are consolidated. There are three areas of former arable commons which have been lotted in unfenced strips and they may well be reclamations which were necessary to supplement the food producing capacity of the holdings. The method of division and allocation speaks of a period when a subsistence economy under severe pressure from over-population,necessitated fair shares for all. The last of these commons was in cultivation until 1891. Although subsistence crofting has been obsolete since then, there is as yet no move towards a regularisation of the layout.

178 The congestion which necessitated the reclamation of the arable commons developed mainly
176 as a result of a successful fishing industry which prospered from 1860 to 1914 and at one time there
228 were two curing stations in Gravir. With relative prosperity from an ancillary industry, cottars
161 were tolerated and the population rose from 197 in 1830, to 368 in 1881 reaching a peak of 468
162 in 1911. The collapse of the industry after 1914 began the downward trend which has certainly not yet ceased. Gravir reverted from 1918 to a township of agriculturalists and a base for employment furth of Lewis, although there have been spasms of successful fishing activity since.

241 Stock raising is now the function of the township and the agricultural resources and conditions
[251] are hardly conducive to the development of economic holdings. The Gravir and Glengravir crofts vary between 3.5 and 26.5 acres in size: no croft has more than four acres of 'old arable'. In the days of subsistence agriculture, and indeed until the 1930's, cultivation, all in narrow lazy-beds, banked up with stones at the downward extremity on the steep slopes, was much more extensive.
326 All the cultivable land was at one time under crop, heavily manured with seaweed cut as far away as
[137] Cromore or the coast south of Kebock Head. About one-third of the maximum lazy-bed area is now cropped and the more inaccessible areas of the crofts have reverted to pasture; some of the lazy-

231 Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than
[288] fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

221 All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of
233 the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

311 The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky,
253 waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

231 No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally
235 just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold
235 to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far
[235] from profitable.

234 It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his
family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people
464 in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily
228 a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

161 There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less
162 than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

366 As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available
368 occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44
166 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third
167 are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in
464 domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist
505 their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home,
228 together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued
462 steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.
352
344

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is
314 only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it.
372 Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a
206 telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last
366 decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it
491 serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles
494 distant.

161 Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of con-
162 gestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

/f. 35/

[Orinsay]

253 The future existence of the common pasture the grazing is being seriously endangered by
[316] overstocking. The scoming is not enforced in Orinsay and the actual sheep stock exceeds the by 300 per cent. Peat-cutting is gradually destroying valuable grazing areas; in the last three years there has even been some peat cutting on the better grazing on the island. The dangers of overstocking and of indiscriminate peat cutting cannot be overstressed.

311 No evidence was seen of attempts to improve the quality of the common pasture. The estab
242 ment of shelter belts would provide not only shelter but a means of stopping the peat from 'slun down slopes if they were carefully sited. Much of the common pasture could be improved by a drainage scheme and by re-seeding, after sanding and liming, a project well within the capacit the resident labour force.

249 Good crops on a few of the crofts suggest that the land is not inherently sterile, however, it would seem that if the holdings were reduced to a maximum of four, an economic existence m be feasible on these crofts. The stony nature of the soil limits the possibilities of tractor cult but with an improvement in drainage, one might be used in the two valleys.

464 It is not so easy to be optimistic about the employment of surplus population resulting from
[288] such an enlargement of holdings, although a revival in the fishing industry could absorb most of the n present there are no looms in Orinsay and providing the Harris tweed industry can hold its own
[324] are possibilities in weaving. Seaweed is in plentiful supply, indeed Lemreway people also obta supplies and should its quality prove adequate,the establishment of a processing plant would pr valuable employment.

000 Nevertheless it is becoming increasingly obvious that unless the holdings can be enlarged, officially or by sub-letting, and some further employment created, Orinsay is liable to stagnat depopulation to continue. The township which was developed to relieve congestion is now itself congested.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

124 The aim of the Glasgow University Department of Geography Crofting Survey is to record a analyse material relevant to the crofting districts, and in so doing provide a clear and impartia statement of the present situation. In inviting us to undertake a survey of Park, the Pairc Ass tion hoped that a body of fact would be assembled and conclusions drawn which would assist the Association in their admirable aims of advancing the well-being of the area. Their two Progr Reports, of 1956 and 1957, indicate that they have already investigated many of the possibilitie development. This summary refers to Park alone; it must be emphasised that until the su of crofting is completed, no final assessment of the Crofting Area as a whole can be made.

182 The district of Park is one of the more isolated and difficult crofting environments. The ru
of the terrain, the high proportion of land of very low agricultural value and sheer isolation ma
195 existence of human communities precarious. In addition, many of the Park communities were
511 established as a result of population pressure in more favourable areas of Lewis, and the origi economic and social values, and depopulation has resulted: the 1951 population was 60 per cent the 1911 total.

1. The Commissioners proposed that only holdings rented at £6 and over should have security tenure, with a view to discouraging the perpetuation of grossly uneconomic holdings; in the all holdings were given security of tenure.

However, not all such employment is available in Park: 47 percent of the insurable male population leave the Hebrides to find employment; one third take seasonal employment, and two-thirds permanent employment furth of Park (See Table VIII).

Employment within Park

Table IX shows that opportunities for local employment are strictly limited. Weaving of Harris tweed is the most important single source of employment. It is significant that those engaging in it are almost all crofters working in their abundant spare time. Weaving is an idea adjunct to croft work as it is unaffected by weather or hours of daylight and thus can be performed during periods of agricultural inactivity. The vagaries of the Harris tweed market make the occupation precarious; Park is one of the more inaccessible areas of Lewis and the mills are apt to give their commissions to the weavers nearer at hand around Stornoway when work is scarce. Since 1952, the number of weavers in the fishing townships of Cromore, Marivig, Calbost and Gravir has grown from 11 to 22 and much of the credit for this is due to the activities of the Pairc Association. Fishing, on the other hand, has lost ground in the same period: the number of fishermen has declined in these townships from 20 to 14[1]. Apart from weaving, service occupations form the only other employment available, shop-keeping, driving, and road maintenance being the chief occupations in the service group. There are very few craftsmen: with such a small population, and the long established tradition that the crofter builds his house and is his own tradesman, there is little opportunity for a trained builder, joine or even shoemaker to make a livelihood. The professional class is small and entirely composed of the minister and missionaries, the doctor and several schoolmasters.

There is little opportunity for women to find employment in Park, apart from nursing, shop-keeping and school teaching, and a few domestic service posts (See Table IX).

Employment furth of Park

The persons in the 15-44 age group form the main body of those working away from home. The distinction made between 'seasonally away' and 'regularly away' is that the former group spend part of the year elsewhere, the men on whalers in South Georgia or with the Tay Salmon Fisheries at Perth, or labouring on the mainland. The women are in domestic service, mainly in hotels. A majority of the men in the latter category are in the Merchant Navy; in some cases these men take leave to coincide with the spring work and the harvest. The majority of the women are in domestic service (See Tables IX and XI).

An interesting comparison in the 'regularly away' group exists between men and women in the professional classes (Tables IX and XI). The sample is small, but it is clear that more women than men attain professional status. The number of domestic servants, nurses, and merchant seamen is a reminder that the crofting districts provide a pool of labour for certain vital occupations, some none too popular in Britain as a whole. In people alone, one can say that Park makes a distinct contribution to the fabric of the national economy and this contribution is much more apparent outside Park than within the district. At the same time a majority of those who are temporarily or permanently away eventually marry and settle outside the district and thus a most valuable section of the community is constantly moving southwards. Only 35 per cent of the men in the 15-44 age group are wholly resident in Park, and 46 per cent of the women in the same age group, a reflection of the poor prospects and utter inadequacy of resources on the most of the crofts.

1 The 1952 figures are abstracted from the Lewis Survey Report on part of South Lochs.

TABLE XI

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OCCUPATIONS OF PERSONS (15-64) IN REGUL
EMPLOYMENT FURTH OF PARK

I MALES

	15-44	45-64	Total	%
Merchant Navy	56	13	69	55
Fishing	2	2	4	3
Professional	2	1	3	2
Other occupations	39	10	49	40
Total	99(80)	26(20)	125(100)	100

II FEMALES

	15-44	45-64	Total	%
Domestic Service	26	9	35	59
Nursing	10	1	11	19
Professional	3	2	5	8
Other occupations	4	4	8	14
Total	43(73)	16(27)	59(100)	100

/coming p. 12/

Types of ancillary employment

241 464 The question of the desirability of ancillary employment in a crofting district is often debated. On the one hand, engaging in such work means less time for croft work and makes wholehearted participation in the agricultural life of the township a virtual impossibility. On the other hand, crofters who take ancillary employment are better able to make capital investment in their croft. Table IV shows that in Park, croft efficiency, as expressed by the souming 000 to actual stock ratio, is not necessarily related to participation in ancillary employment. If the township is to be re-established as a working entity, a clearer dichotomy in the population seems desirable; those who wish to work the croft on a full-time basis might be given full use of the available land, and those who wish to earn their living in non-crofting employment could take out feu charters for their houses. It is clear that the agricultural resources of Park are insufficient to maintain the present number of crofts as viable economic units but the problem of finding industrial employment for any large non-crofting population is very great.

184 464 The Park Association, in their keen search to attract industry, met with little response for high freight rates and distance from markets made economic industrial costing well-nigh impossible. The Chairman of the Crofters' Commission has recently suggested that some of the Glasgow Overspill of "tradesmen and small businesses" might find "an opportunity to prosper in the West Highlands and Islands"[1] but even with Government grants for the establishment of small factories, it is clear that present freight charges would be a severe deterrent.

178 228 One possibility is that the fishing industry might be revived. In 1945, 16 large motor vessels were fishing from the townships between Cromore and Gravir; by 1952, three boats remained;[2] only one boat was still fishing in 1958. The recent Fishing Board Scheme guarantee, which provides a flat weekly rate for every boat turning out, brings hope as this [435] guarantees a minimum livelihood. The major problem is the finding of the initial capital [452] required to buy and fit out a modern boat, at present about £20,000. Eighty-five per cent of this sum can already be found in the form of grants and loans from the Herring Industry Board but the remaining fifteen per cent or £3,000 is often the more difficult sum to raise. The Murdo Macaulay (Rhodesia) Trust has offered assistance to a limited number of fishermen towards the raising of the £3,000[3], and this offer is a real opportunity. If fishing is not re-started soon in Park, few of the original fishermen will remain to instruct the new generation.

484 [312] Tourism is an industry hardly developed at all in Park. Lack of running water has made the householders shy to offer accommodation, but it should be remembered that there are city dwellers who are delighted to accept inexpensive accommodation away from the crowded resorts. Dr. Stig Jaatinen, in his "Human Geography of the Outer Hebrides"[4], states that this fact has made the Aaland Islands prosperous, and believes that tourism on simple lines could be successfully developed in the Outer Hebrides. Tourism need not bring in its train the desecration of the Sabbath for people who are willing to journey far in search of a quiet holiday usually conform to local observances.

464 Unless new sources of employment are brought to Park, it is clear that ancillary employment must continue to be sought elsewhere. The higher 'spending standard' in industrial employment, and the opportunities to find entertainment in urban areas (tastes often resulting from experience during school days in Stornoway or National Service), militate against a large population of young people, but basically lack of employment and the uneconomic nature of the crofts are the real reasons for the high degree of temporary and permanent employment away from Park.

1 Letter to the Glasgow Herald 27.1.59
2 South Lochs Survey Report.
3 Stornoway Gazette 27.1.59
[113] 4 Stig Jaatinen, Acta Geographica XVI, No. 2. 1957.

[Hobost] [Kershader]

464 Of the 53 residents, 19 are over 65 and only 5 under 15 years, leaving a working populatio
161 of 29: seven are in permanent employment elsewhere. The population has been steadily
162 declining since its peak of 121 in 1901.
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Since 1946, the township has changed considerably. It has been completely fenced and the
178 method of cultivation has changed from spade and horse-plough to tractor and cultivators. A
241 further fence has been erected for a lamb park and much land has been re-seeded; an increa
251 area has been put down to hay. It would seem that fattening of stock for market is intended,
4077 better attention is being paid to stock. Yet the population is ageing and there are few young men
162 to take the place of the older crofters; when working units become larger and stock decrease
a figure nearer the real carrying capacity of the grazing, the croft could become a profitable
concern: at the moment, the croft is only maintained through grants and ancillary earnings.
Should that happen, however, there must be more re-seeding and an increase of cultivation t
vide winter fodder.

KERSHADER

Philip W. Wheeler, M.A.

181 Kershader is a township of forty-three permanent residents on thirteen crofts, which str
161 for a mile along the southern shore of Loch Erisort. The crofts extend up to one-third of a
162 mile from the coast with a two-and-a-half mile deep hinterland of common grazing. The ext
133 elevation is 270 feet and the average from 125 feet to 175 feet, but the crofts, mostly arrang
361 in rectangular strips at right angles to the coast, are lower (maximum 125 feet) and include
three main zones (Fig. 8):

241 (a) From the low cliffs of the shore to the road, approximately, a zone mainly below 5
134 dissected by four rejuvenated valleys. The soils of the greater part of this zone ha
361 distinctive profile and tend to be moderately heavy, wet, and unsuited to fertilizati
seaware. The smaller hillocks in this zone have thinner soils of the same sort, bu
main hill (crofts 10/11) is an extension of zone (c).

(b) A zone between 50 feet and 75 feet with hills rising to over 100 feet. The lower ar
have varied soils, easily fertilised, and intermediate in type between those of (a) a
(b), with peaty-loam characteristics, overlying aquiferous gravels. The higher ar
have thinner soils of the same kind with poor grassy pasture; in places there are
of former skinning.

(c) A zone of hollows with deep moss soils requiring intensive drainage and reacting
to heavy fertilization with seaware and intervening heights covered with blanket bo
partly skinned, heather and grass. This zone passes into the common grazing.

Crofts 10, 11 and 12, irregular in disposition, have a steep coast line with gentler slopes
50 feet; crofts 2 to 8, steep slopes in parts of zone (b), and crofts 1 and 9, again of irregu
shape, are intermediate (Fig. 5).

241 In Kershader, there are thirteen legal crofts and twelve operative units. The crofts va
311 ween 4.4 and 18 acres, with a maximum of 3 acres reputed arable. In all, there are 23.4
reputed arable and 110.35 acres outrun. 24.5 acres are in fact under crop (oats 18.5, pot
6.0), and 9.5 acres under sown grass; and of the remaining 99.8 acres, mainly natural gr

5:	Caird et al.	K-5	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots Park ES10

TABLE IX

OCCUPATIONS OF RESIDENT MALE POPULATION (15-64) OTHER THAN FULL-TIME CROFTERS

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	Weaving	Services	Fishing	Road-Work	Professions	Craftsmen	Not Known	Total
fters with ular Employment	38	19	8	7	1	3	-	76
fters with asional Employment	-	1	3	3	1	1	5	14
crofting loyment	4	9	9	2	4	-	1	29
Total	42(35)	29(25)	20(17)	12(10)	6(5)	4(3)	6(5)	119(100)

OCCUPATIONS OF MALE POPULATION SEASONALLY AWAY (15-64)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Whalers and Coasters	13	2	15
Salmon Fishing (Nets)	5	4	9
Others	11	5	16
	29	11	40

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALE POPULATION SEASONALLY AWAY (15-64)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Domestic & Hotel Work	27	1	28
Others, including sick	14	2	16
	41	3	44

/p. 10-B/

5: Caird et al.	K-5	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots Park ES10

TABLE X

EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALES IN WORKING AGE GROUP (15-6

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(FIGURES IN BRACKETS ARE PERCENTAGES)

	15 - 44	45 - 64	Total
Croft Work[1]	7	22	29
Professional	8	-	8
Services	5	5	10
Non-employed	64	125	189
Total Resident Population	84(46)	152(89)	236(69)
Seasonal Employment	41	3	44
Schoolchildren	11	-	11
Students	3	-	3
Total Temporarily Absent	55(30)	3(2)	58(15)
Regular Employment furth of Park	43	16	59
Total Regularly Absent	43(24)	16(9)	59(16)
Total	182(100)	171(100)	353 (100)

1. Principal workers of crofts: most women take some part in the working of crofts, planting potatoes, haymaking and harvest work, peat securing, etc.

/p. 10-C/

rs and so on. But none vies with weaving as a source of regular income.
e weavers most of the others would find little demand for their wares or services.

ic work is taken locally, usually in default of regular employment, and often
hen who formerly worked away from home. This is usually casual labour and
arly important - for lack of other opportunities - in South Uig. Whilst our
s in progress a number of men from South Uig were thus engaged at the Gisla
ctric scheme. In South Uig, also, weaving tends to be less regular than else-
For this some weavers blamed the Stornoway producers, who, it was claimed
clined to send work as far out as this unless it cannot otherwise be done. There
uth in this, particularly with respect to the 'small' (i.e. non-mill) producers,
servations also showed that some men in South Uig regarded weaving as an
d were not prepared to do it when alternative employment, on the croft or for
at Gisla), was offered. This may be a vicious spiral - the less weaving a man
ess good he becomes, he takes longer to complete a web and may suffer more
for faulty work. He becomes less inclined to weave and the producer becomes
ned to send him work.

TABLE 56

Permanent Employment away from home (actual numbers)

	Men:			Women:			
	M.N.	Professions:	Others	Nursing:	Professions:	Domestic:	Others
	46	11	65	59	18	39	27
ig	5	4	12	22	2	16	2
	8	4	5	10	1	2	7
ch Roag	16	-	23	15	6	15	7
y	22*	5	25	12	5	3	11

including five working seasonally on whalers.

taking permanent employment away from home (table 56) tend to choose parti-
upations. Amongst men, the Merchant Navy is most popular, especially from
way and East Loch Roag districts; many of the others work at skilled or semi-
bs, including the police forces; relatively few are un-skilled casual labourers.
women, nursing is by far the most important occupation and is particularly
mongst young women from South Uig and Bernera; most of ther others take
work' - in hotels and hospitals, rather than in private homes - and a few work
and shops. The category 'professions' in the table is almost synonymous with
aching.

dical, including seasonal, absence from home is less common than from some
tricts; 14% of the 15-64 age-group is classified as "periodically away" (compare
Park, 16% from Harris, 13% from Barra). Of these, half the men and a third
men are students. Seasonal hotel work, for women, is the most important single

n trends

liagrams, figure 48, summarise much of this chapter. They have been constructed
e area of each horizontal bar is proportionate to the number of persons in the

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CONCLUSIONS

H. A. Moisley

The relationships between Place, Folk and Work are seldom simple; in a crofting community such as Uig they are particularly complex. The object of our survey was to make an impartial, factual record of the physical and human resources and their utilisation, as described in the Preface (Part 1, page i). The primary purpose of this report is to make our observations available to others and to this end we have included a great deal of fact leavened, we hope, by a modicum of personal impression. In conclusion, however, it seems appropriate to add certain personal conclusions based on the detailed observations and data relating to the crofts and townships visited.

The outstanding fact is that, over the whole parish more than a quarter of the population between the ages of 15 and 64 has to leave home in order to make a living. Of those who remain at home, 80% of the men are more or less engaged in agriculture; almost all of these have some other source of income, usually weaving, and in most cases the cash income from agriculture must be less than £100. Although we classified some 60% of resident males as 'crofters with regular employment' this must not be taken to be necessarily the same as having a full-time job. The average income of a weaver in South Uig, for example, is only of the order of £250 per annum. Thus crofting with ancillary employment, or employment with ancillary crofting as is more often the case, conceals a good deal of under-employment. Such low incomes and hidden unemployment are characteristic of West European under-developed regions.

The crofting system can never provide an ideal structural system for agriculture, but that is not its real purpose. It is a social system and, whether it is economically efficient or not, it exists. It should not be allowed to decay for that would not only cause hardship to the crofting communities but would also, in the case of islands and other remote districts, lead to the abandonment of potentially productive resources of land and people. Nor should it be preserved unchanged; preservation would mean fossilisation and fossils are dead. The present crofting system was cast in a legislative mould in the late nineteenth century when population pressed heavily on the resources of the islands. Circumstances have now changed and the mould must be altered or the communities will slowly die.

This is not to say that wholesale reorganisation is required, at least not in Lewis. But the authorities charged with the welfare of the crofting townships, and of the island as a whole, have a duty to see that crofting evolves towards something more, and not less, productive. Subsidies alone are a confession of defeat. It is not good enough merely to spend money to alleviate the symptoms of a disease which it is now fashionable to call 'under-development'. Realistic planning is required so that the special public expenditure incurred in such regions becomes a productive investment and not merely a disguised form of charity.

It is encouraging to note that such economic and technical developments as have taken place (particularly the development of weaving and the improvement of common pastures) owe a good deal to local initiative and local investment. This suggests that, given suitable guidance and encouragement, the crofting townships can do much to help themselves. It would be an excellent thing if, in each district, informal and quite unofficial discussion groups could be started to think about the future of their particular townships in terms of development and not decay.

Realistic discussion of development must face certain facts even though in some cases they may be unpalatable or politically unpopular. Amongst the most important are these:

288 Highland Home Industries is the result of a union in 1914 of two similar movements begun fifty or sixty years ago by several beneficent women to help the crofters find a market for saleable manufactures and reduce their need for dependence on the often [464] exploitive barter system.[31] The Skye workshop has employed eight to ten men and women over the years, plus some who worked at home, but it has never been economic. In 1954 the director, a woman from Edinburgh, was unable to buy material and pay the wages of the four remaining weavers. The old market has disappeared. The shop was unsuccessfully offered for sale in February. Fortunately, a gift from an undisclosed source averted the necessity of closing down.

Only the very old people in Skye can remember when weaving was a household industry. Until the Harris people were settled on Skye at Portnanlong, it must have been a lost art. Today even the Harris folk have given up weaving. They say the purchase tax on luxury, hand woven woolens has destroyed their market. The hand shuttles on one or two looms which are used only move for special orders. The Portree woolen mill, originally established by the Highland Destitution Fund in 1851 and now owned by an east coast corporation, still operates on a limited production schedule. About a dozen village residents are employed regularly, and a few "tinker" girls, daughters of the wandering Highland tinsmiths, find work at the looms.

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[31] Alexander Maclehose, The Scotland of Our Sons (London: Alexander Maclehose and Co., 1937), pp. 292-294.

"Scotch". Malt distillati
than an industry. It is c
where the most important r
on Loch Harport, the need
of raw materials and the e
fulfilled. The vast blend
so important in the manufa
fall more than satisfies t
imports include casks and
is no longer grown on Skye
particular, quality of gre
favorable environment. Yo
much the same as the popul
Skye several centuries ago
Although it is not sold as
in demand by blenders and
output has been increased
years.

Originally built in
illicit still, the distil
men. Since the employmen
even spare-time crofters.
There is a period during
of production because of
plenty of maintenance wor
It is not a supplementary
local tradesmen and contr

on of whisky is a craft rather 274
arried on at a small plant at Carbost
equirements are satisfied. Located
for access to the sea for the import
xport of the finished product is
et moors of peat provide the smoke
cture of Scotch. The abundant rain-
he regular demand for water. The
grain. Barley, as mentioned earlier,
, and the required quantity and, in
in could not be grown in the un-
e local product, which may be very
ar, illicit whisky distilled on
, has a distinctive body and flavor.
a straight whisky, it is constantly
forms the base for Drambuie. The
four or fivefold in the last fifty

1830, probably, on the site of an 464
ery now employs twenty-five to thirty
t is steady, very few of them are
The majority live in company houses.
the summer, when the distillery is out
a shortage of water, but there is
k for the employees at this time.
form of employment. Occasionally,
actors are employed for alterations.

As far as the crofting population is concerned, the benefits 274
are rather negligible. In fact some of the crofters of Carbost
township find the presence of the distillery to be a distinct
disadvantage because they must keep their "fank" in an inaccessible
location well off the drainage slopes which serve the plant.
I should add one additional fact. Like all the major commercial [47
ventures on the Island, the distillery is owned by a corporation
with offices in Edinburgh

Forestry. In recent years forestry has come to enjoy wide- 313
spread popularity among critics of the "Highland Problem" as
a remedy for the distress, lack of gainful employment, and
depopulation of the area. Within the last decade or so [464]
forestry has become a source of employment for a small number
of men on Skye. The Forestry Commission acquired 9000 acres
of land between Glen Brittle and Loch Eynort. Houses were
built for employees and nine new families were brought in.
Planting has been carried on at a rate which gives regular [464]
employment to 12 men, one man to each 120 plantable acres.
As the labor required for planting decreases, the men are
being shifted to thinning operations. Ultimately, they will
begin lumbering. It is anticipated that in time there will [464]
be jobs for sixty or more. For every 100 acres there will
be one man engaged in planting, thinning, or lumbering and
five men or women working in auxiliary employment, such as
transportation, mill operations, and services to the anticipated
village. The government has been impressed by the success
of its experiment. Another large tract, a former sheep farm,

An examination of the agricultural situation reveals that there are insufficient resources to ake the present number of crofts viable. Overstocking in sheep, an attempt to increase cash come, has resulted in a high mortality rate, and consequent losses. The tenant of a small croft faced with a classic dilemma. If he puts all his efforts into the working of the croft, the area potential arable land is insufficient to maintain a large stock and even if the best rules of sbandry were operated, croft income alone would be insufficient to provide a reasonable living. e fishing industry, formerly the chief means of a livelihood rather than the croft itself, has rtually disappeared, and he is forced to find ancillary employment in an area where little exists d thus migration in search of employment is the only solution. The croft becomes a base for n-agricultural activity and a means of providing produce for home consumption rather than an fective agricultural unit. On the larger crofts, it is clearly possible to make a living if sufficient ditional grazing in the non-crofting area is available - the agricultural townships, especially aforthhead, Shieldernish, Habost and Kershader, which comprise units sufficiently large and rtile, bear out this contention. Yet better husbandry is possible, and reclamation of the common azings for improved stock rearing has started. The agricultural townships as a whole are better voured by situation, soils and communications, and appear to possess a much greater degree of ability.

Since the decline of the fishing industry, the fishing townships have progressively declined. come from weaving has replaced earnings from fishing as a means of combining croft work and cillary employment to provide a living, but, as has been pointed out, the supply of weaving ntracts is not regular and greatly depends on the state of the world market. The present cen- alisation of the Harris Tweed Industry in Stornoway is not favourable to the Park weavers: the ggestion by the Park Association that a spinning mill be set up in Park would certainly help the cal weavers.

If the present number of agricultural units and level of husbandry on them is to be maintained, cillary employment on a large scale will continue to be necessary, and, as weaving and the rvice occupations alone certainly cannot provide it in sufficient quantity, temporary and regular nployment furth of Park is bound to continue, and as this grades into permanent migration, the pulation must continue to decline and age. The capacity of the area for tourism is also limited. th the overheads which branches of parent lowland factories would have to face, the establishment manufacturing or assembling employment is also unlikely.

A revival of the fishing industry holds out most hope but must take place before all the accrued ill has disappeared with the older generation of fishermen. The fishing grounds are within reach the modern £20,000 boat: by co-operation between crews, fish could be taken to mainland markets ch as Ullapool as indeed happens at present. Lobster fishing could be integrated with herring and nite fishing. Such a combination of several types of fishing would ensure a more balanced economy d the Herring Subsidy would be a guaranteed element of income. It must be agreed that if main- nd boats do come to the coast and sea lochs of Park, there seems little reason why local boats uld not also be successful.

As far as the land is concerned, the survey leaves no doubt that improvements in husbandry and stures are definitely possible. Yet, until viable agricultural units have been created, there is tle incentive for large scale improvement in either sphere. It is an expert's opinion that no crofter rking on a croft in Park which would bring in £300 a year would have time to engage in ancillary rk and at the same time fully work his holding in accordance with the rules of good husbandry. If s opinion is accepted, and if it is also accepted that such crofts are desirable and the present ccessful crofts in the agricultural townships where there is a higher proportion of full-time ofters than elsewhere would bear this out, it follows that ancillary employment on such units would ve to be ruled out.

Park Association Annual Report, 1956.

The reduction of the present number of agricultural units then becomes desirable. There are o ways in which this could come about; firstly by continued depopulation, but amalgamations con- quent on such an uncontrolled run-down of the community would lead to scattered holdings; such the experience of other depopulated crofting districts. The second point to be made is that if erall planning were possible, it would be desirable for holdings to be amalgamated as they become cant as a satisfactory rearrangement of the townships would then follow.

Concurrent with such a policy would be the aim to create distinct crofting and non-crofting oups. Employment for the non-crofting section of the community, be it fishing or weaving, would rst have to be assured. As has already been stated, fishing would appear to offer the best prospects, hile tourism could play a minor role in providing an opportunity for the enterprising crofters' fe or non-crofting household. One problem above all remains, the maintenance of an overall able population. A certain minimum level of population is essential to maintain the operation of cal transport, post office, educational and medical services. Such considerations suggest that rther research is necessary to assess the optimum number and structure of population which a strict such as Park could reasonably support. In the same way, a detailed examination by an gricultural expert is desirable, in order to assess the number of economic holdings which could supported on the land of each township.

In conclusion, it is clear that, short of unexpected industrial employment becoming available in ark and unless major reorganisation of the present agricultural units and communities is carried t, the present population trends must continue. However, if such radical changes cannot be ntemplated, then considerable improvements in the standard of husbandry, the re-seeding of oft out-runs and common pastures, and the fencing and general improvements of the crofts are ssible and will increase agricultural productivity. Until there are some radical changes, the resent pattern of the most enterprising members of the community engaging in ancillary employment hich takes them furth of the district, and the serious degree of permanent migration to Stornoway d the Scottish Lowlands, will be maintained and increased.

APPENDIX A

PARK IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER CROFTING DISTRICTS.

Table XVIII gives an analysis of the occupational structure of the male population of insurable e in four crofting districts studied by the Crofting Survey. In all four areas, a considerable oportion of the insurable population is not resident in the crofting area for more than an annual liday period. This proportion varies in relation to two main factors - the viability of the crofts d the availability of ancillary employment within the district. South Uist and Benbecula stand t as the districts where such permanent absences are least marked: the crofts in these islands are rger and more employment is available. In Barra, there are few large agricultural units and, as Park, the decline of the fishing industry has led to economic disaster in many townships. Fewer an half of the men in this age group are fully resident in Barra. Park is in many respects com- rable to Waternish (Skye) for both districts are isolated and have experienced serious depopula- on. (see Table XIX).

It is a significant fact that in none of these districts are more than 20 per cent of the male pulation solely engaged in full-time croft work, and this is a measure of the inability of the crofts support a family without ancillary earnings. The amount of permanent employment available ries from district to district. In South Uist and Barra there are minor service centres which are ban in character and 23.2 per cent and 13.6 per cent of the respective insurable males are gaged in non-crofting employment on these islands.

It is clear that the occupational structure of these four crofting areas is far from stable for over e-third of the potential labour force is away for all or part of the year. It is also clear that sically the absence of sufficient natural resources, coupled with the varying degrees of isolation om the industrial centres of Scotland, are the root causes of the present position.

Table XIX summarises the population structure and trends for the four districts. It is significant at the two districts without service centres, which provide a range of ancillary employment, have xperienced more severe depopulation since 1939. This table also underlines the fact that earnings om seasonal employment are insufficient: the incidence of permanent employment furth of the stricts is three times as great as the incidence of seasonal employment.

APPENDIX B

SHIELINGS - A NOTE

John E. Wearmouth with illustrations by Beth Blowers

From Figure 1, compiled from the First Edition six-inch map of the Ordnance Survey (1850 1852) and from personal observations, it is clear that the shieling system was at one time overall feature of Park for the whole peninsula has traces of this transhumant economy.

The rudimentary structures, some of turf, others of stones and roofed with bracken or ather thatch, are all sited on well drained sites, the majority on mounds. Almost all the es are close to lochs or streams. The majority are in loose groups of from two to nine ildings, although there are some in isolation; no site has as many as twenty-six buildings found at Airidh na Gaoithe in North Uist.

There appears to be two distinctive shapes of building - oval and rectangular (Fig.10). shielings measured exhibited a remarkable similarity in dimensions, from 17½ by 9 feet 13 by 12 feet. The oval structures are generally larger than the rectangular ones. Most the shielings had two entrances, often, but not always, opposite each other.

The shieling system died out in Park about 1880 but the cattle continued to graze around the elings on the better grass, and the crofters had still to go out to milk the cattle at the shieling, hough they no longer lived there. The sheep still use the mounds for shelter and grazing. ese features of an obsolete economy are still easily recognisable from the luxuriant grass ver in a wilderness of peat bog and bare rock.

APPENDIX C

NORSE SETTLEMENTS NAMES IN NORTHERN PARK, LEWIS

Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B. Litt.

: Magne Oftedal, The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides; in Norsk Tidskrift for ogvidenskap, vol. XVII, 1954, (Oslo), pp. 363 ff.

Professor Oftedal points out the difficulties of these Norse-Gaelic settlement names: inurate spellings even in modern times, and lack of any useful evidence from older sources, ke almost all the derivations a matter of conjecture. Sometimes two or more ON equivalents possible (e.g. for Calbost), sometimes no satisfactory solution can be found (e.g. for nreway). Since Professor Oftedal frequently bases his explanation on pronunciations not orded in written forms, his evidence is largely followed here.

ELDERNISH: the second element is N nes, 'headland'. Oftedal's explanation of the first ilda, genitive plural of N sild, 'herring', is satisfactory linguistically, but seems unlikely eaning.

MALES

	RESIDENT									PERIODICALLY AWAY				PERMANENTLY AWAY						Migration since '39	
						13–64															
	0 – 4	5 – 12	13 – 24	25 – 44	45 and over	Fulltime earth work	Earth and fulltime employment	Earth and periodic employment	Remaining	Business	Business Service	Others 13 – 24	Others 25 – 44	Business Serv 13 – 24	Business Serv 25 – 44	Professional 13 – 24	Professional 25 – 44	Others 13 – 24	Others 25 – 44	Emigration	Immigration
Seaforthhead	1	-	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shieldurnish	-	1	3	3	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-
Habost	-	1	7	5	9	5	5	-	2	2	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	3	-
Kershader	-	3	6	9	5	7	4	-	1	-	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	6	-
Garyvard	2	5	4	15	2	6	10	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	14	1
Caversna	-	-	2	4	2	2	3	-	1	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Cromore	3	7	14	17	13	6	17	1	4	3	-	4	1	10	2	-	-	9	-	6	-
Marivig	2	6	12	17	9	8	8	3	8	1	-	3	3	6	1	-	-	5	1	16	-
Calbost	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	39	-
Grevir	2	11	11	26	13	12	11	2	7	2	3	4	7	12	4	-	-	14	5	31	6
Glenaim	-	7	1	3	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	-	-	-	4	2	3	-
Lemreway	7	10	15	26	11	16	12	5	4	1	1	[illegible]	1	13	2	2	-	2	3	18	-
Orinsay	2	7	3	3	2	3	1	1	1	-	-	5	1	7	3	-	-	-	-	10	-
Township Totals	21	59	80	132	71	71	76	14	29	10	8	30	14	56	13	2	1	41	12	191	7

TABLE XX

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FEMALES																							
RESIDENT					Periodically away			PERMANENTLY AWAY												Widowed since '39	
45 – 54	55 and over	Not specified (15 – 54)	Students	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 54	Working 15 – 44	Working 45 – 54	Professional 15 – 44	Professional 45 – 54	Domestic Service 15 – 44	Domestic Service 45 – 54	Others 15 – 44	Others 45 – 54	Religious	Institution
2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	9	10	3	2	2	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	13	-
1	12	5	1	2	4	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	13	1
7	16	6	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	16	-
-	3	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
5	19	21	4	2	4	1	3	-	1	-	3	6	1	9	1
2	16	7	2	1	9	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	29	-
1	3	4	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	
5	28	18	4	1	7	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	2	2	44	5
4	8	2	2	2	4	-	-	-	-	1	6	-	-	-	16	-
1	31	17	2	1	6	-	3	-	-	-	8	1	-	1	23	-
6	7	4	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	5	-	-	1	11	-
4	152	99	18	14	41	3	10	1	3	2	26	9	4	4	218	7

[387] [454] [353]

/facing p. 40/

culture which can hardly be distinguished from that of the Lowland rural areas, but it has by no means disappeared.

Socially, these changes, particularly the introduction of national laws of land tenure, involved a leveling of the social hierarchy. The old polarity of the land lord and tenant, with an intermediate group of doctors, ministers, and tradesmen, was restored. The place of the tacksman, of course, has been filled by the government. The bulk of the population was once again undifferentiated socially or economically. Land lost much of its commercial value for the proprietors. It once again had more of an intrinsic value, almost as in the days of the clan. The status of the proprietors, locally and as a horizontal segment of the total British population, depended on land ownership. The graziers and the proprietors who had appeared during the "Clearances" withdrew, selling out to the national government.

These changes did not work to halt the continuous outward flow of the Sgiathanach. To the contrary, increasing integration with the national culture created new needs, such as a demand for a higher standard of living and an opportunity to achieve status, and provided the training necessary for the youth to find roles more suitable to their talents elsewhere in the world. The young men and women of Skye journeyed to the Lowlands to join the national labor force, to enter the professions, or to seek other permanent employment. Thus, emigration changed from a movement by families to a movement by individuals. At the same time, the benefits of the crofters' legislation and the program of government assistance made it possible for the

crofting system. Both the communal nature of the system and the smallness of the crofts deter improvement. Although the government reversed the trend toward making the land an important source of wealth and individualization of the land, by replacing customary forms of tenure with national laws of tenure, and has tried to correct the disadvantages under which the crofter labors, if not always successfully, the Skye crofter has made only a partial adjustment to the larger, specialized national culture. In fact, the land is used less systematically than it was in the past, in the times of the shielings. The crofters have not only ceased trying to reclaim arable but also have allowed much of the arable to go back to grass.

Ever since the closing years of the first period of the modern era, Skyemen have sought employment as a part of the national labor force. During the third and fourth periods, they joined the landless labor force in the Lowlands. There is practically no local opportunity for a landless man to support a family. The majority must remain pastoral agriculturalists who depend on seasonal employment, or some other form of financial assistance, to augment their income.

Improved communications and the ensuing development of commerce has brought a village to the island. It functions as a market center and as the administrative center for the island. It has not served to bring the island together; it is still something alien to their heritage. Accompanying the growth of the village, there was local development in the

than the bare essentials, these people just get along. Even so, they would be unable to get by were it not for some form of supplementary income. This essential prerequisite for the individual or family who upholds the crofting tradition may take the form of seasonal employment on the island or away from home; contributions from a child or, less frequently, a brother or sister; or payments from the government in the form of unemployment compensation, relief, or a pension.

Many a Sgiathanach thinks of his croft as a home more than anything else. There are men who have found full time employment. Some in this catagory work the croft in the evening. Others expect their wives to care for the crops and stock, or they leave the land untouched. Then, there are the old men and women who have returned to their ancestral homes to spend the twilight of their lives. These exiles come back from cities as near as Inverness and from places as far away as the sheep ranches of Montana or the cities of Australia. Perhaps, the most significant point is that for all Skyemen the croft cannot be evaluated merely in terms of acreage and income. As we shall see, it is a way of life in which an attachment to the land, as an embodiment of kinship, plays a very important part.

The incomes of three representative crofts clearly reveal the financial difficulties under which the crofting family labors. Although I have somewhat arbitrarily divided the holdings into small, medium and large on the basis of acres of arable land, it should be remembered that this

The Part-time Crofter. The part-time crofter follows much the same schedule and shares the same succession and variety of chores. Indeed, some are not so much part-time crofters as they are part-time employees. As such, they are successfully preserving a traditional economy no longer en rapport with the surrounding twentieth century commercial world by depending upon economic benefits of contractual relationships to the smallest possible degree. One fellow saw the situation this way: "We don't need factories and the like; what we need is something that will give us time to attend to our crofts." Others feel that if they have to abandon the traditional way of life, they might just as well leave the island for places where greater opportunities for social activity are joined with relative economic prosperity.

The part-time crofter has less land than the full-time crofter and less need for cultivating all of it because he has fewer cattle to feed during the winter. He, therefore, devotes less time to tilling his soil. On the other hand, although he has fewer sheep, the collective flock of his township is almost always larger than the stock of a large croft. Consequently, he spends more time dipping, marking, and shearing sheep in cooperation with his neighbors. Hired labor plays a minor role in the townships. Often the only hired hand is one of their number who assumes the responsibility of shepherding the flock. Some of the townships with club stocks, however, have adopted the practice of paying each shareholder for his labor out of the profits to encourage cooperation or to penalize those who do not do their full share.

lambing season, the crofter and his family go out on the moor to cut their peat for the following winter. The man uses a "tusker," a two-bladed spade, to cut the peat. His wife or his children follow behind, tossing the peats out of the ditch and building small, loose stacks for drying. After the lambs have been marked and the sheep dipped in June and the shearing finished in July, the family returns to the banks to carry the peats to the nearest road, actually a beaten cart path, in creels. They are then carted home and stacked near the door. There is a growing tendency for both the part-time and spare-time crofter to give up cutting peat. It is not because coal is cheaper or he needs time for other pressing chores. His auxiliary occupation will not permit his devoting the necessary time to this long and arduous task. He is caught between the traditional economic patterns and the money economy of which he has become a part.

The year for our part-time crofter, as for all active crofters ends in November. By then the oat and hay harvest has been stacked by the house and the potatoes and turnips stored in the ground, the wool shipped off to market, the surplus sheep and cattle have gone to market, and the rams are on the hill. Now follows a period of enforced idleness, broken by feeding the cattle. As we have seen many go away to find employment, leaving the care of the croft to their wives who have shared the work of crofting in addition to their own womanly responsibilities. We must turn to the spare-time crofter to discover just how heavy the burden of labor may depend upon the women of Skye.

finally scrapped for ammunition. Drying sheds have been erected at Staffin. Power machinery for extraction has been brought in; a processing plant has been built at Uig with German equipment; and experienced men have been employed.

The industry is admirably suited to the island. The great weight-losing properties of the raw material, the scarcity value of good deposits, and the large commercial demand combine to offset the high cost of transportation from which most export items suffer. It is estimated by the directors of the company, an English concern, at least that fifty men will eventually be employed in the pit and at the plant. They will be given regular employment, five days a week in three shifts. In addition to building the access road the government, through the Department of Agriculture, has leased the site, and the Inverness County Council has erected subsidized housing at Uig to encourage the venture. When the Secretary of State presided at the opening of the plant in May, 1954, he spoke of the promise the industry held for the Island's future, especially the prospect of regular employment. Up to June, 1954, however, the employment was irregular and limited to sixteen men.

The Skye Tweed Industry. About twenty-five years ago a small weaving and basketry shop was established at Duntulm in Kilmuir. The factor for the Department of Agriculture acted as manager, and the local Church of Scotland minister was the foreman. Later it was taken over by the Highland Home Industries, a cooperative, non-profit corporation.

hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center for tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependence on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villagers participate in a number of social activities which are not tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious asceticism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each with a population of about 300. All, except the ministers and school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle and sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potatoes and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All are bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither community has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. Glendale has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch which has been divided among the small farmers. The significant differences between them are three. The Glendale people are land owners. In this respect they are rather unique in the Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, rent their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glendale is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church-goers of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social activities other than an annual meeting of the share-holders in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a club organization for the men who gather for lectures and discussions of economic problems.

Non-crofting Economic Activity

464 Employment opportunities on the island are limited. The only industries are a small malt distillery, which employs thirty men, a small wool textile mill where about 15 men and 15 women find work, and a few gravel and sand pits. There is a promise of greater employment opportunities in the extraction and processing of diatomite and in forestry. A few men are fishermen. The majority of men who work for a wage are seasonally employed in service operations, especially county road workers, bus and truck drivers, and general laborers. A number seasonally migrate to the mainland during the winter or go to sea. Women find employment in hotels during the summer or local shops. There are no active household industries. Many young women spend the summer on the mainland in domestic service. In several areas the crofters are dependent on the tourist trade for almost all of their income. The summer tourist trade is one of the most important sources of revenue for the island.

The Settlement Pattern

361 The settlement pattern on Skye, like the system of land use, is an ecological adaptation of the culture to the environment which has been stabilized in its essential details since the Neolithic. The areas of permanent settlement have always been limited to the coastal fringe and a few internal glens, regions with the best agricultural conditions, and to elevations under 400 feet. Further, man has tended to concentrate on the

compared with 34.9 for Scotland. The death rate among Skyemen, however, was 17.4 compared with 22.0 for Scots in general. But Scotland had a net emigration rate of only 3.6 while the Skyemen were leaving at a rate of 16.5. In this decade no fewer than 3,115 left Skye.

By the end of the third period an additional influence of the process of commercialization had become apparent. The social hierarchy was modified in the direction of greater socio-economic differentiation.[68] At the time of the "Forty-five" Skye was inhabited by the families of three clan chiefs, 139 tacksmen, 517 joint-tenants, 1031 subtenants, and 444 servants. There were now 10 landlords. The tacksmen had been replaced by 29 graziers and 12 small farmers. The joint-tenants, subtenants, and servants had become 2043 crofters and 1227 cottars. In the past there may have been one innkeeper, at Portree, and a few millers; now there were 32 innkeepers, millers, and merchants.

The changes which we have been considering could not have left the patterns of interaction undisturbed. Cooperation among the members of the township would have been unnecessary. Since all were affected by prolonged destitution, mutual aid must have been severely curtailed. The extended family was broken by emigration. The nuclear family was seldom intact for more than part of the year. It seems the majority of the able-bodied men were travelling to the east coast each spring to find

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[68] Lachlan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, pp. 4-5, 6-7, 11-12, 14-15; and J. G. MacKay, "Social Life in Skye from Legend and Story," TGSI, Vol. XXIX (1922), pp. 260-290.

employment as hands on fishing vessel
followed these fleets seeking work a
the ports. Some may have made their
a woolen mill had been erected by the
Committee. The population of Portree
years from 510, in 1841, to 893, in
be regarded as a significant trend.

The really striking aspect of t
complete lack of protest by the Sriat
violation of his presumptive right to
of the tacksmen, of course, had left
counselors and leaders in secular aff
ministers, especially those who were
counseled submission to the will of G
of the Skyemen would not allow them t
They despised the Sassanach and felt
bad enough, but the factor was the De
those who knew them well and those wh
wrote unanimously of a people who end
in patience and reticence.[69] The betr
especially before the cursed Sassanac

The Skyeman had not lost his ca
leadership. Throughout the nineteent
widespread and growing discontent all

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[69] Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp
op. cit., p. 136 . See also Robert
Isles (London: Chatto and Windus, 166
Ferguson, Rambles in Skye (Irvine: Ch
pp. 121, 122.

[70] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p.

is. The young women
s gutters and curers in
way to Portree, where
Highland Destitution
increased during these
1881, but this can hardly

this period is the almost
thenach against the
the land. The disappearance
the people without their
airs, and many of the
themselves sheep farmers,
od. Then, too, the ethos
o ventilate their grievances.
that "the landlord was
vil himself." Still
o rambled by their cottages
ured overwhelming sufferings
ayal of any weakness,
h, was a breach of propriety.[70]
pacity to respond to
h century there had been
over Europe with the

. 1-82; and Cummings,
Buchanan, The Hebride
3), p. 324; and Malcolm
arles Murchland, 1885),

136.

*175 wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.
*178
427 These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and
123 the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted
354 emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work
167 away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate.
469 Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now
585 was a spare-time pursuit. The Sgiathanach was dependent on
241 money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most
511 of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few
241 potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the
262 crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force
231 appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill,
464 but there does not seem to have been any marked movement into
146 the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was being
*175 lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the
*178 "Men" became an official policy of a new church. The emotional
182 approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders
186 in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor
795 meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium.
781 Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family
771 suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles
793 within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

Occupational Structure of Park compared with other Cro

Males 15-6

Figures in brackets are percentages

	Park	Benbecula and South Uist	Barra
ulltime Croft work	71(18.0)	231(18.7)	44(6.6)
roft work with regular employment	76(19.0)	197(15.9)	54(8.2)
roft work with periodic employment	14(3.5)	117(9.4)	60(9.1)
on-Crofting employment	29(7.0)	288(23.2)	90(13.6)
nemployed, sick or occupation not known	22(5.5)	102(8.2)	38(5.8)
otal Resident Population	212(53.0)	935(75.4)	286(43.3)
asonal employment furth of the district	62(15.5)	85(6.9)	21(3.2)
rmanent Employment furth of the district	125(31.5)	220(17.7)	353(53.5)
	399(100.0)	1240(100.0)	660(100.0)

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ifting Districts

Waternish (Skye)	All Districts
14(17.1)	360(15.1)
7(8.6)	334(14.0)
17(20.7)	208(8.8)
5(6.1)	412(17.4)
2(2.4)	164(6.9)
45(54.9)	1478(62.2)
9(11.0)	177(7.2)
28(34.1)	726(30.6)
82(100.0)	2381(100.0)

/ [illegible] p. 37/

ultural considerations enter. The land is often essential
continued existence of the farm or the crofting township.
t, for example, the land which the Forestry Commission
ted as commercially valuable is the lower, sheltered
s of several farms and crofting townships. Finally, there
people's dislike of trees. Many a Sgiathanach in Portree
ressed by the plans to cover Glen Sligihan with a forest.
are the attitude of a man from Soay, a small island a
istance off the west coast of Skye, near Glen Brittle,
being moved to the Isle of Mull by the Department of
ture when Soay was evacuated at the crofters' request.
ts all right down there, but you can't see the sky un-
u bend over like this," he said bending over double and
over his shoulder.

e have now accounted for, at the most, 120 men and 20
ho work for wages and 238 crofter-fishermen. Excluding
ter, there are over 1000 men and almost 500 women who
loyed locally at sometime during the year.[32] With only
emaining isolated industries, such as the small silica
arry at Ord in Sleat and the infrequently used limestone
ble deposits at Broadford in Strath, most of the opportunities
loyment have to be in services for women and laboring
.

et us consider the occupations of women. Over half are
d as resident domestic servants or as help in hotels and
ants. Ten percent find work in the local shops as clerks.

[32]Information extracted from the files of the Ministry of
n Scotland, Portree and Edinburgh.

An equal number, but mainly newcomers to Skye, are teachers 462
and nurses. The remainder are employees of the national and 464
county government, serving as postmistresses and clerks. In
addition, an indeterminate number of women, in Portree and in
the rural hinterland, but none in Kilmuir or Glendale, add
to their income by taking in summer visitors. This practice is
not strictly legal for the crofters, in as much as it casts
doubt on the agricultural valuation or devaluation, but the
county government has not attempted to discourage the practice.

Turning to the men of Skye, we find that the largest
employer is the county government, with well over 200 men on
the payroll as road workers and general laborers. The national
government, directly and indirectly, in recent years has employed
another 200 or more men through the Department of Agriculture,
as overseers, agricultural workers, and laborers; through the
North of Scotland Hydo-electric Board; and in the post offices.
If we add the number who work for the nationalized ferry service [657]
and the subsidized steamer service, we find that over half of
the wage earners on the island depend on the government for
their wages. The only other fields open to men are in agriculture,
as farm help or township shepherds; in transport, as bus and
truck drivers; and in hotels, as barmen, waiters, and porters.

These jobs are by no means permanent or regular. It is 464
not at all unusual to have 300 or 400 unemployed during the
winter when road work falls off and the tourist season is ended.
They will then draw compensation from the Ministry of Labor, [745]
as will the younger men and women who have been working on the

mainland for the summer. For many of these people, unemploy- 464
ment is a misnomer. It means they are receiving a weekly 745
allowance from the government while they wait for the next
seasonal opportunity to turn from crofting to wage labor. More-
over, providing work and paying unemployment compensation is
by no means all the government does for the Island's economy.
Through the National Assistance Program many more are aided
financially. In 1954, for example, there were no fewer than
726 individuals receiving some form of national assistance.[33]
Most of this number were recipients of a non-contributory old
age pension. The next largest category were young women
required at home to care for aged and infirm parents. Of the
total number, only thirty were Portree residents. Then, too, [65
there are the previously mentioned subsidies and grants for
agricultural improvement and fuller exploitation of the land.

We may conclude, then, that cultural continuity is an 182
expensive proposition with a double-edged penalty. On the 167
one hand, there is the sentimental distress which depopulation 657
involves. Both the man who leaves Skye and those he leaves
behind feel the loss of their loved ones. On the other hand,
there is the expense to the government, which must be staggering
and out of all proportion to the amount contributed by the
people in taxes. It is not that the islands receive any special
grants, but, as one newcomer said, "They just happen to qualify
for all the grants, doles, and subsidies there are." He, of
course, was exaggerating. As we shall see in the next chapter,

[33]Information extracted from the files of the National
Assistance Board in Scotland, Edinburgh.

I hardly need to add after our discussion of the islanders' economy that the chances of a young couple finding a vacant croft are slim. It may be of interest to indicate just how slim they really are. In 1953-54, in 82 townships, which I visited, there were only eight vacancies. Six of these were no larger than cottars' gardens. There were no vacant holdings in Kilmuir or Glendale. I am not talking about derelict crofts in the hands of absentees. Moreover, if the individual decides that working in Portree is better than leaving the island, his prospects are no better. The County Council had sixty-six units in a public housing scheme under construction, in 1953, in addition to fifty-six completed since the end of World War II. There were three applicants for each apartment. The county sanitary engineer, who was responsible for allocating the apartments, began to think half the population of Portree was dying, and the other half was dead. In order to get priority, the people were claiming disabilities, "some of them with names as long as your arm." Many of the people, especially young people, regard winning out in the competition as an indication of status. But we are getting away from the croft. We still have to consider how a person gets possession of the croft.

As we know, the crofter has the right to bequeath his croft to a member of his family; however, he seldom bothers to exercise his right. Here is another example of their incomplete adaptation to the higher socio-cultural level. The land and the house have very little monetary value. Usually, the man who leaves a will has been talked into it by an officer of the Department of Agriculture. He, then, assigns

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

We have already seen where some of the crofters sons and daughters have gone - all over the world. It may be of interest to indicate the fields which are attracting the present generation. In Scotland children graduate from school at fifteen or, if they have qualified for the university training course, at eighteen. Let us see what happens to those who leave school at fifteen. A reasonable number of the boys go back to the croft, but the school teachers usually try to guide the best students into other fields. Since there is a very limited choice of skilled or semi-skilled jobs on the island, this means they will go to a city in southern Scotland and find an apprenticeship, either on their own initiative or under the Ministry of Labor training program. The favorite trades are mechanics, electricians, and carpenters. A few go to sea, especially as stewards and wireless operators. Every now and then a boy will become a male nurse, a police cadet, or an office worker. Hotel service, laboring, and especially, truck driving, at home or away, attracts many. Girls leaving school at fifteen often go back to the croft for a year or two and then move away. The best girl students either go into office work or take advantage of the Ministry of Labor apprenticeship program, especially in dressmaking, hairdressing, and domestic science. Some go to pre-nursing schools. Others find employment in stores or hotels on Skye or in Lowland Scotland.

At eighteen it is very difficult to keep a boy at home. Those who have remained and have not taken a university course

will be called into National Service. It has become very hard to obtain a deferment. One reason is that the government believes too many have been dodging their obligation. There was a man, for example, who applied for a deferment for his son on the ground that he was needed on the croft. Ordinarily the boy might have been deferred, but not when the officer found his father was collecting unemployment compensation. The most popular field for girls at eighteen is nursing. One family has sent three girls through nursing school. Another popular profession, for both boys and girls, is teaching. The boys who go to university take their degrees in pure science, medicine, and agriculture.

3 There is an interesting contrast here between the Highlands and the rest of Great Britain, especially England. In England few working men consider sending their children on to college. On Skye, the majority of those who go to the university from the local schools are from poor homes. The landed gentry send their children to preparatory schools in England, and most of the doctors send their sons to private schools. Somehow the boys and girls from the crofts scrape through. An additional fact I might mention is that despite the government's interest in maintaining the Highland population because, among other reasons, it is a reservoir for the armed forces, very few boys and even fewer girls voluntarily select a military career. Indeed, few men have seen service with the Army or Navy. The previously mentioned sample of the marital status of males also revealed that only 57 of the 270 men have seen active service in units other than the Territorial Army or Home Guard. This

acceptance of the potato, a much more productive and dependable 161
subsistence item than grain on Skye, made it possible for more 175
people to live on less land. The introduction of a new industry 241
kelping, provided many with employment and freed them from com- 464
plete dependence on a subsistence economy. Vaccination reduced 757
the mortality rate, especially among infants whose chances of 166
reaching maturity and procreating were thus enhanced. Another 541
important factor was the Skyeman's share in the general pros-
perity of British agriculturalists during the early years of
the Industrial Revolution and during the Napoleonic Wars. An 423
especially important factor was the practice of subdividing 593
the land which made early marriage possible, in particular after
the installation of the crofting system. Finally, but by no 161
means least significant, there was the persistence of many 175
typical features of the culture in the days of the clan. The 178
sentimental ties of kinship and attachment to the soil had 182
remained.

The population decrease, partially a result of the Skyeman's 161
involvement in the process of commercialization, was primarily 175
a result of a failure to fully adjust to the higher, more 178
heterogeneous socio-economic level. By the end of the second 184
period of the modern epoch, 1845, the people had become hostile
to the potato and their own fertility. When the potato failed
them, they had nothing to fall back upon, except the generosity
of their landlords. The castle and kelp markets had collapsed
at the end of the Wars, and the subdivided land could not
produce sufficient grain. The belief of many that the population had over-run the limited local resources was confirmed.

The growth of the population ended with a prolonged famine. 161
The proprietors, finding that the people's only justification 731
for crowding the estates and looking to their landlords for 427
help were some nebulous customary usages, facilitated the
decline by disregarding custom and throwing as much land into
sheep farming as was possible. While evictions were not new, 427
only after the famine did they result in an absolute reduction
in numbers. The Gaidhanach, fettered by a lack of capital 182
and an inability to break with the past, could not make the
final adjustment required by the process of commercialization,
specialization. In addition to emigration, the Clearances 167
and general economic hardship forced a postponement of 582
marriage. There was neither land nor regular employment to 464
provide a livelihood.

Later in the nineteenth century new influences began 161
to play a role in the continuing decline of the population. 167
Following the passage of the Crofters' Act, the nature of 178
emigration changed. Seasonal migration became negligible. 427
The provisions of the Act, and ensuing legislation, made it 671
possible for a man to remain away during his active years and
return to the parental croft to spend his old age. The ex-
tention of education not only equipped the youth for life in
the larger society but also created demands for objectives
which could not be attained at home under the existing order.
Thus, as in the period of population growth, the persistence of 161
many features of the old traditional culture, and the renewed 167
importance of others, were fraught with no little consequence. 182

of tenure function to protect the individual from potential 178
abuses by a landlord where customary usages once fulfilled the 182
need. Moreover, even though the tenure of the cultivated soil 423
grants all the rights of a landholder, including the rights 427
to bequeath the house and land to a member of one's family, 657
for more than half the year it is used communally.

The Gaidhanach has never adjusted sufficiently to become 178
a specialist, not even a specialized grazier. For him the 423
land has always had a more fundamental value than merely being
a means of livelihood. It is the ancestral home. There is a
sentimental attachment to the land which is an expression of
the affectionate bonds of kinship. The people have never lost
the tribal tie of the land and the group. Although the former
patriarchs disclaimed any sympathy with this point of view,
the landlords on Skye today have kept what little land they
have only because of its sentimental value. Indeed the atti- 656
tude of the largest landholder, the government of Scotland,
is that the crofting tradition is worth while preserving, if
for no other reason, because in the predominantly urban and
industrial civilization it has a romantic value. There are
other reasons. The Islands have long been looked upon as a 702
human reservoir for the armed forces, and, more recently, for 464
Lowland industry.

As a result of their partial adjustment to the higher 178
socio-cultural level, there have been changes in crops and stock. 231
The British market has influenced the crofters' output, within 740
ecological limitations. The old subsistence crops of oats and 423

465

465 WAGES AND SALARIES--wage levels (e.g., real and money wages); range and variation by occupational categories; composition (e.g., proportion paid in money, in board and keep, in share of product); fees and percentages; determination of wages (e.g., by custom, negotiation, edict or legislation); payments (e.g., daily, weekly, monthly); regulation (e.g., minimum wage legislation); etc. See also:

Income and purchasing power . . . . . 436 Standard of living 811

175 Around this time, various factors had encouraged
161 an increase in population. After Scotland's union
with England in 1707, the prohibition on the import of
cattle into England was lifted, and trade in cattle
became economically more important (Day 1918: 26).
The numerous wars of this period caused the price of
cattle to double between 1736 and 1766 (Day 1918: 180).
Clan warfare diminished; the potato was introduced;
and vaccine for smallpox became available.

175 The increase in population led to an extreme
161 crowding of land in some areas, which made agricultural
reform difficult. Many landlords tried to encourage
166 tenants of their estates to emigrate. The appearance of
a market for kelp, which lasted from the middle of the
18th century to about 1815, discouraged landlords from
implementing policies of depopulation that would
175 diminish their labor force. An alkaline extract of
824 kelp was used in a variety of manufactured goods, such
323 as soap and glass. The seaweed was gathered by men,
368 women and children living along the coasts, and burned
in rough open kilns. Tenants who worked at this
465 occupation received 13-4, and the landlords 118-20,
per ton (Mackinlay 1878: vii); the landlord received
as high an income as 110,000 to 120,000 a year from the
burning of kelp (Gray 1957: 42).

175 out in Lewis, and the Harris Tweed Association was
178 ineffective in enforcing its standards. In 1934,
283 weavers were allowed to use yarn spun in island mills,
284 and production increased; but no weaving was allowed
441 to be done in the mills. All looms were removed from
those mills which had tried to centralize this stage
of production. The actual process of weaving remained,
by legal definition, decentralized, although the word
"crofter" was changed to "islander," thus widening the
category of persons who could weave "Harris Tweed," and
paving the way for centralization of weavers in the town
of Stornoway.

236 Any person can purchase his own yarn, weave his own
283 tweeds, and sell them to tailors or summer tourists;
467 but before a weaver can weave for the mills, he must be
registered with the Weavers Union. The Weavers Union is
a branch of the Transport and General Workers Union,
which includes mill employees, hospital workers, lorry
297 drivers, and others. It is an anomaly of the Harris
467 Tweed industry that workers classed as self-employed
should join a union of employees and is another indication
of the centralization of control and power in the mills,
with whom the weavers, along with the mill workers, bargai
283 for higher wages. Weavers receive a basic sum of over
452 £10 for each length of tweed, which is usually 38 weaver's
467
804

465
185 yards (a weaver's yard is equal to 8 feet, a measure
185 which derives from the size of the frame once used
(804) to wind hanks of yarn). Payment varies according to
the number of colors used in the pattern. A weaver
288 may average 2½ tweeds per week when the work is available,
465 thus earning more than mill workers. A female mill
[562] worker earns about £11 or £12, and her male counterpart
about £3 more.

288 Because weavers are classed as self-employed, they
745 do not qualify for unemployment benefits. They may apply
659 for social security, but must submit to a "means" test,
and the possession of bank savings or other assets
disqualifies them from receiving such aid. All British
workers must pay a weekly sum for "insurance stamps," a
certain number of which makes the workers eligible for
small payments from the government during periods of
illness. Self-employed persons must pay for their own
insurance stamps, whereas employers pay for the stamps
of their workers. A weaver who does not keep up with his
payments of over one pound a week for insurance stamps
must pay the accumulated debt at a later time.

491 Weavers face other costs. They buy looms and bobbin-
288 winding machines, and pay for lighting, heating, and the
288 maintenance of all equipment. The preservation of this
463 anomalous status of "self-employed" is related to the
438

195 to join the Free Church (Donaldson 1960: 100). The Free
795 Presbyterians left the Free Church in 1893 because they
found it too "liberal." Several dissenting groups,
including most of the members of the Free Church, formed
[659] a United Free Church at the turn of the century. After
a long court case, the church property was left with the
Free Church, which continues to support itself without aid
195 from the state. Collections and funds solicited by
194 villagers who visit the households periodically are sent
• 465 to a central office in Edinburgh, which pays all ministers
an equal salary, despite variations in the size of their
congregations. About one-fourth of the church's income
comes from Lewis. A minister's salary is between £950-
1,000, and the upkeep and fueling of his manse is included.
The present minister in Shawbost uses oil and coal, but at
an earlier time received loads of peat from the villagers.
The villagers bring extra food to the manse when Communions
are held, although the church donates about £20 to be used
to provide for visiting ministers.

195 The Free Church maintains a number of presbyteries,
of which Lewis and Harris are one. An Assembly is held
each year which parallels the Assembly held by the Church
of Scotland. (According to one minister of the Free Church,
"A Berlin wall divides the two.") The Free Church publishes
a monthly report of church activities and amount of money

871 Education in the local school has included a great
875 deal of religious instruction; in other words, religious
771 and educational spheres commingle. Because of the
• [465] relative prestige which the teaching profession offers
to persons from the island, and because the islands are
considered "isolated" by most persons looking for jobs
(teaching posts on the island include an added sum
which is designated as "isolation payment"), most of
the island's teachers are themselves islanders. Education
[554] is one method by which one's position in the community is
elevated. The high status derived from having advanced
education also reflects favorably on the parents and posi-
tion of the family. But teachers and others who return
to the island are expected not to deviate from island
norms in important matters, such as fundamentalist religious
beliefs; hence teachers tend to perpetuate fundamentalist
religious beliefs within the classroom.

Formerly the minister visited the school once each
871 year to examine the children on their catechism, thus
771 testing the state of religious instruction in the school.
773 Several years ago this practice was stopped by the education
178 authorities of the County Council, and the minister now
gives a sermon in the school about once a month but is
not allowed to examine the children. Many ministers are
dissatisfied with the arrangement, as they are afraid that

*159 did not receive much schooling. He stayed at home for a
long time, helping his brothers with the crofting and
weaving, and working at the nearby dairy. For a time
the brothers made concrete blocks for sale, and ran a
[162] lorry. In his late 30's and still single, Padruig went
to the mainland, where he takes on various driving jobs,
returning home periodically.

Seonag Thormoid

*159 Seonag Thormoid left the island in 1933 at the age
164 of 16 to work in the hotels. Her mother had worked in
460 domestic service before the first world war. "You were
raised with the idea that you would go away. I've
prepared my children for the same thing. Any work that
exists here is temporary. You can't depend on it. Even
though things have been good since the war, they're getting
bad now."

Seonag went to Glasgow with three other girls from
Shawbost, and stayed with her aunt until she found a job.
"Jobs were very difficult to get, and the wages were low.
These were the depressed years, which didn't pick up until
just before the war. I earned £2/10 a month working for
• [465] a Mrs. Smith. You could buy shoes then for 12/6, but
that was a week's wages. The richer families in Glasgow
had five or six servants. You were treated like scum.

*159 with his brother-in-law, but they had only one loom.
288 At that time the mill was buying yarn from other mills
in town, warping it on the mill premises, and sending
it to the weavers together with the yarn for the weft.

Ruaridh heard through the grapevine that more warpers
were wanted at the time, and went to ask "the old man,
Coinneach Rod, himself," about the possibility of his
• [465] getting the job. He worked with five other warpers, who
averaged five warps a day, at four shillings each. They
were paid by piece work rather than on an hourly basis,
and received payment once monthly.

Business was going very well. The mill was receiving
large orders from America. A few more warpers were hired.
[458] A slump came in 1948, and Ruaridh Dan and several others
were laid off. Ruaridh went to work for a building contractor,
but was called back to the mill after a month's time.

*159 After warping for several years, he started work in
444 the yarn store, which dispensed yarn to the weavers.
"I was checking the yarn that was going out to the weavers,
weighing the wefts, checking the colors that were used,
keeping a record so we could tell at a glance what stock
we had, how much we would require for any further orders
we would get. Well, the job got to a stage where I just
couldn't manage it, and I protested. Another man started
to work with me. I was paid a regular wage so it was a

*195 mainder of Scotland where, under the school boards, education
871 became both free and compulsory.
696 In Lewis the school of real significance to the island was, and
*175 still it, the Nicolson Institute, founded by Alexander Morison
871 Nicolson and opened in February 1873, supported by bequests
159 from him and his brothers. Nicolson's grandfather was the founder
of the Lewis fish-curing trade, and was also shipowner and farmer.
Alexander was the fifth of six sons and was educated in Stornoway
parish school and in Glasgow High School. He served an
apprenticeship as an engineer with Thomson of Clydebank. Later
he entered the service of the Chinese Government and established
himself with a partner of a shipbuilding and foundry business in
Shanghai. In 1865, in his thirty-third year, he was killed in a
boiler explosion in one of his new ships going a trial run. His ideal
of establishing a school in Stornoway was subscribed to by his
brothers who were a widespread family: Yorkshire, Mississippi,
Western Australia, Tighnabruaich (Scotland) and South Africa.

*195 The first headmaster of the school received £82 per annum,
871 plus the school fees, which ranged from 2s 6d per quarter in the
875 lowest classes to 5s in the highest. The fees covered reading, writ-
875 ing, arithmetic, geography, English, history and English grammar
• [465] and composition; when Latin, Greek, French and mathematics
were taught, an additional shilling was charged for each subject.
But the teacher was always bound to teach gratuitously twenty
pupils selected by the Nicolson Trustees. In 1888, the school was
handed over to the school board. In 1901, by a Decree of the
Court of Session, its name, previously the Nicolson Public School,
was changed to the Nicolson Institute. In 1898, the first boys
went straight from the Institute to university, a trend that has
not ceased since (see Chapter 8).

As far back as the turn of this century a recommendation was
*195 made for the provision of technical education on the island. A
874 report on the subject of Higher Education in Lewis (1900) stated:
871 'Regarding the practical or scientific aspect of education . . . there
is a clamant need of a central Technical School in Lewis . . . the
local resources are quite inadequate for the establishment of such
a school, or its maintenance, on an effective basis. Such popular
technical instruction as Household Economy, Wood and Iron

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NEXT FICHE

APPENDIX II

434 (iii) *Fishing Industry* (1953)

228 The renewed Russian contracts for herring have meant loading of Baltic shipping at Stornoway with barrels of herring [439] cured both in Stornoway and Ullapool. Catching power in Scotland generally is hardly enough to meet this contract. Thus, while the numbers of boats continued to decline after the war, leaving only one steam and 33 motor drifters (over 30 feet keel) registered by 1953, the fishermen employed rose to 610, of whom some 520 were crofter-fishermen. Many worked much of the year; on the other hand, most of the winter catch went for 'oil and meal' at about 50s. per cran instead of the top price of over 80s. For local boats a figure of £30,000 is suggested for the catch of herring, say £10,000 for white fish, [178] with £5560 for shellfish. For "curing and associated income" the pre-war figures may be doubled.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island* (1953)

434 In mid-1953, of just 5000 registered for the Island as 465 employed—and other than the self-employed, *i.e.* the farmers and crofters, the hand-weavers and the boat-sharing fishers—1130 earned by the three industries first named, the rest by other trades and professions, 3870 in all. The unemployed numbered 1180. Analysis of wage-rates would throw light on [657] total earnings. As to unemployment, the fact that, like crofters and many fishers, hand-weavers count as 'self-employed' means that when out of work they are not covered by unemployment insurance, and have to be helped, at low rates, by public assistance.

(v) *Allowances, etc.* (1953)

434 Turning now to Remittances, to the manifold categories of 657 Pensions, National Insurance and National Assistance, and to Unemployment Benefit (a small item), the Table B, 1953–54, 436 shows the totals kindly furnished for this study, with £1,017,110 729 for all Lewis and an estimated £977,010 for rural Lewis.

466

466 LABOR RELATIONS--respective rights, privileges, and powers of employers and employees; hiring and firing; tenure of employment; instruction and supervision; promotion and retirement; pension plans; working conditions (e.g., hours, hygienic conditions, safety provisions, recreational facilities); prevalence and types of forced labor; indentured labor; regulation (e.g., labor legislation); etc. See also:

Business and industrial organization	47	Slavery	567
Domestic servants	357	Bride-service	583
Peonage and serfdom	566	Taxation through labor levies	651
Prison and penal labor	697	Social insurance	745
Military labor battalions	708	Vocational training	874

288 attempt to preserve the image of Harris Tweed as a
463 cottage industry, and thus maintain its market value.
[438] Many weavers, politicians and businessmen argue that the weaver should be reclassified.

However, the status of weavers as self-employed is not simply bureaucratic jargon designed to preserve
288 the Harris Tweed industry. In most employer-employee
● 466 situations, people are hired with the understanding that they have certain qualifications and will perform certain jobs. Weavers are not under such expectations and obligations. A mill has little idea of the skill or motivation of the weavers to whom they send their yarn. Weavers differ in matters such as degree of skill and state of health, and they also differ in the amount of time available to weave, and other matters that affect their production. Some weavers refuse to do complex patterns; some are busy with croft work and do not want to do "urgent" tweeds; others who are recovering from illness may prefer not to weave the heavier tweeds. The
[467] tweed van sent out by the mills to make deliveries all over the island meets one such variable situation after another, and thus finds it difficult to meet the demand of the Weavers Union, that tweeds should be equally distributed among all weavers on the island. Theoretically, the mills are supposed to deliver tweeds in strict

288
● 466 rotation to the weavers who are registered with them.

Other factors also hinder equal distribution of
[602] tweeds. Personal considerations enter; for example, the managers of the Shawbost mills feel a responsibility for the weavers in their own village, who are usually kinsmen. Exclusive distribution to local weavers is rationalized by saying that the tweeds must be done urgently; hence they are distributed only to the weaver who are known to do tweeds quickly.

288 The major factor hindering equal distribution of
494 tweeds is the expense which derives from the decentrali-
466 zation of weavers, that is, the cost of petrol and upkee of the vans, which is born by the mills. Before World
[175] War II, the weavers rather than the mills were responsib
[178] for transporting the tweeds, by cart and horse at first,
[493] and then by motorized transport.

288 During this period, independent entrepreneurs
175 carried tweeds in vans and buses at four shillings each,
492 a practice which stimulated the development of public
494 transportation. Although the number of passengers using such vans and buses for public transport fluctuated, the income derived from the cartage of tweeds was in itself large enough to be profitable and to maintain the
[178] enterprises. An efficient service existed, despite the

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436 found in a warehouse in Leith some years ag
*175 way back to Stornoway, where one can be
Library.

HARRIS TWEED

288 Today, with kelp long forgotten and fishing c
[178] it is the Harris Tweed industry which suppor
people, either directly or indirectly; an isla
with exports earnings exceeding £2,500,000 a
is exported to some thirty countries, includin
Australia, New Zealand, Japan and all the
The industry is in fact the basis of prosperi
dependent upon and supporting the crofter
286 the handloom in his home. Seven million
288 woven annually by the independent weavers
466 various mills. The weavers must finance ther
own looms and bobbins, equipping and mai
shops. Though they receive their supplies of
they are graded as self-employed persons a
entitled to unemployment benefit—a subjec
much argument.

286 One of the most outstanding facts about
essential qualities have remained unchanged
early formative years. But it has astonishing
5,000 patterns are available, including the c
heather colours.

288 A weaver on average can produce about
each week, a web measuring about 80 yd b
286 reward of some £8 per web, according to t
• [465] design or the number of colours involved. Th
[453] by a mobile bank making the rounds of the
out the island. It is reckoned that the mills,
1d to 6d a yard profit, depending on turnov
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*175 165 164 centre of the mud floor through tons and tons of decomposing organic matter or manure.'

The island, for all its ills and chills, had a high birth-rate and *175 163 165 a low death-rate. Martin Martin (1695) declared: 'It is a general observation of such as live on the sea coast that they are more prolific than any other people whatsoever.' In some areas of the island the birth-rate was as high as 35 per cent with a death-rate of about 12 per cent. The longevity of the islanders is well known, a fact confirmed by a glance any week at the Deaths columns of the *Stornoway Gazette*, regularly recording the decease of octogenarians, nonagenarians and some reaching their century.

*175 759 [751] In 1795 the island had only one surgeon. In Stornoway, 'Inoculation is performed here with success by the skill and attention of Mr Robert Millar, Surgeon.' Later, another doctor came to Stornoway, who attended to the sick in all parts of the island. By the turn of the century there were resident medical officers in each parish, with five doctors in practice in Stornoway.

*175 759 743 Just after the turn of the century, there was a medical club in the north of Harris. This had been formed by the proprietor, Sir Samuel Scott, whose crofters were supposed to pay 5s per annum and cottars 2s 6d; this subscription covered dependents. In return, Scott guaranteed the salary of a medical officer, thus securing the services of a resident doctor in the district. But there was apparently considerable reluctance to call a doctor, whether *175 759 465 the patient belonged to the club or not. The salary of the district Medical Officer of Health was £35 per annum, and from the North Harris Club he received some £200. Scott also provided 178 262 him with a home. Dr Fletcher reported in 1906 that a complete change had taken place in the diet of the people within the memory of the older inhabitants, whose accounts of what they called new diseases and lowered virility he found very interesting. Good, plain wholesome diet 'has been replaced by cheap stuff, of [272] questionable quality and purity. To this change there is another nondescript article which goes by the name of tea, in the use, or rather abuse, of which they are quite intemperate and from which they extract the last dregs by boiling. The result is disastrous to the strongest digestive system.'

*175 743 In 1892 'a well-equipped medical and surgical hospital was

found in a warehouse in Leith some years ago; a few found their way back to Stornoway, where one can be seen in the Public Library.

HARRIS TWEED

Today, with kelp long forgotten and fishing of minor importance, it is the Harris Tweed industry which supports many of the island people, either directly or indirectly; an island cottage industry with exports earnings exceeding £2,500,000 a year. Harris Tweed is exported to some thirty countries, including America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and all the European nations. The industry is in fact the basis of prosperity in the area, both dependent upon and supporting the crofter-weaver working at the handloom in his home. Seven million yards of tweed are woven annually by the independent weavers 'on the books' of the various mills. The weavers must finance themselves, buying their own looms and bobbins, equipping and maintaining their workshops. Though they receive their supplies of yarn from the mills, they are graded as self-employed persons and as such are not entitled to unemployment benefit—a subject which has caused much argument.

One of the most outstanding facts about the cloth is that its essential qualities have remained unchanged since the industry's early formative years. But it has astonishing versatility and over 5,000 patterns are available, including the crotal browns and the heather colours.

A weaver on average can produce about 2½ webs, or tweeds, each week, a web measuring about 80 yd by 28½ in, and gets a reward of some £8 per web, according to the intricacies of the design or the number of colours involved. The money is paid out by a mobile bank making the rounds of the townships throughout the island. It is reckoned that the mills, for their part, make 1d to 6d a yard profit, depending on turnover; the total annual value of the industry's output is in the region of £4,000,000.

Between them, the five mills in Stornoway and the one in Shawbost consume two-thirds of the Scottish wool clip—the native Western Islands' crop is sufficient for less than a month's production. A thousand pounds of raw wool end up as 885 yards of finished cloth.

sold, one such causing legal history. The chief garage proprietor in the town applied to use for his business a site he had purchased at a road junction near the western end of the town, close to the principal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate leading into the Castle grounds. It was a mistake in planning, and public disapproval began to make itself felt. The Trust, in an effort to redress the situation, sought to distrain the garage proprietor from extended use of the area. The parties went to law, and the case was fought through the courts until, in the House of Lords, the Trust finally lost and had to pay a bill of some £4,000, equivalent to a fine of £4 to £5 from every family in the burgh. The Trust drew its lesson, and since has formulated a more alert and constructive policy.

The town is well served by its shopping centre, with multiple stores jostling for custom with smaller private business concerns. Prosperity for all, however, depends on the well-being of the Harris Tweed industry. If there are recessions, as there have been in the past, the tills rattle spasmodically. Also standing to suffer are others such as the bus companies (who provide the efficient town services and link up Stornoway with the rural areas), the builders and the haulage contractors. In the ever-present climate of unemployment it is the policy of the mills to employ male labour, despite the fact that women would be cheaper. The mills, run by natives or by Lewis-born incomers of the second and third generation, realise a social obligation in recognising that in Lewis the strong tradition is that the man should be the head of the family in every sense. The mills also carry a proportion of surplus labour to offset the unpredictability of those workers who, with crofts to look after, occasionally have to take a day off 'at the peats' or some such activity. This is another of the island's distinctive traditions.

On Cromwell Street is the shop of James MacKenzie & Sons Limited, dealing in hardware, furniture and china. Nothing unusual in that, at first sight: yet it is another unique aspect of life in Lewis, being conducted as a charity for the benefit of, among others, the aged and infirm persons of Stornoway. The business was established in 1830, on its present site. In 1964, the then principal shareholder presented the building and the business as a

9 A HARRIS VIGNETTE

LIKE a Siamese twin, Harris is joined to Lewis in eternal geographical union. The junction is at the body, however; the head of each island part has always been clear to develop its own characteristic. Thus, Harris has a quite separate personality which has risen above the common factors it has with Lewis. Both have the same historical origin: the Clan Leoid. This clan comprised two leading tribes, the Siol Torquil (MacLeods of Lewis) and the Siol Tormod (MacLeods of Harris). Tradition has accorded to them a common progenitor, Leod; though by the time history in the Western Isles was old enough for the recorder's pen the two tribes, or families, were distinct and independent of each other. Malcolm, son of Tormod MacLeod, head of Siol Tormod, had a charter from David II for the lands of Glenelg, on the Scottish mainland, which he and his successors held from the Crown. Also included in his possessions were Skye and Harris, which came to his family after the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles in 1493. The MacLeods of Harris have, rather strangely, their clan seat at Dunvegan on Skye, and are more commonly known as the MacLeods of Dunvegan or Skye, though 'of Harris' is their correct title.

The MacLeods were, by and large, good proprietors. They held much fertile land and the clan was reasonably wealthy. Tenants' rents were paid mostly in Scots money and, to a lesser extent, in such farm produce as oats, barley, cheese, butter, wedders and marts, and in labour services. When times were hard for the tenants their rents were often 'eased' by the chief in the hope that subsequent years might prove more fruitful and that the eased rents would be paid in time. In 1705, a bad year, MacLeod actually cancelled 'eases' owing by the Harris tenants, as a gesture to them. In 1712, when some disaster had visited the St Kildans (the islands belonged to MacLeod), their chief provided them with a new boat and the islanders were allowed a two-year delay in payment of their rents to help the recovery of the community.

hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the mutton is said to be at its best.

Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogge but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whole is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry Giebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hogge on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hogge on the machair - in practice it is the best hogge that are sent. The minister at Timsgarry, who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well; the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked. Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.

Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grazed, are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Ambainn Thoraghain and Allt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area, still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment. There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil, three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

Mitchels's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present. The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric scheme site at Gisla and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

1. [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

467

467 LABOR ORGANIZATION--existence of labor organizations (e.g., craft guilds, labor unions); prevalent types (e.g., craft, industrial, company, and government-sponsored unions); rules of admission; dues; status levels (e.g., apprentices, journeymen); officers (e.g., mode of selection, functions, powers); services to members; general political activities (e.g., affiliation with political parties, political action committees); relations with other labor organizations; with international organizations; government regulation of labor organization; etc. See also:

Building trades	35	Mutual benefit societies	456
Specific political behavior	66	Mutual aid	476
Merchant guilds	441		

175 178 288 286 441 out in Lewis, and the Harris Tweed Association was ineffective in enforcing its standards. In 1934, weavers were allowed to use yarn spun in island mills, and production increased; but no weaving was allowed to be done in the mills. All looms were removed from those mills which had tried to centralize this stage of production. The actual process of weaving remained, by legal definition, decentralized, although the word "crofter" was changed to "islander," thus widening the category of persons who could weave "Harris Tweed," and paving the way for centralization of weavers in the town of Stornoway.

286 288 467 Any person can purchase his own yarn, weave his own tweeds, and sell them to tailors or summer tourists; but before a weaver can weave for the mills, he must be registered with the Weavers Union. The Weavers Union is a branch of the Transport and General Workers Union, which includes mill employees, hospital workers, lorry drivers, and others. It is an anomaly of the Harris Tweed industry that workers classed as self-employed should join a union of employees and is another indication of the centralization of control and power in the mills, with whom the weavers, along with the mill workers, bargain for higher wages. Weavers receive a basic sum of over £10 for each length of tweed, which is usually 38 weaver's

288 467 435 465 804

288 463 [438] attempt to preserve the image of Harris Tweed as a cottage industry, and thus maintain its market value. Many weavers, politicians and businessmen argue that the weaver should be reclassified.

However, the status of weavers as self-employed is not simply bureaucratic jargon designed to preserve the Harris Tweed industry. In most employer-employee situations, people are hired with the understanding that they have certain qualifications and will perform certain jobs. Weavers are not under such expectations and obligations. A mill has little idea of the skill or motivation of the weavers to whom they send their yarn. Weavers differ in matters such as degree of skill and state of health, and they also differ in the amount of time available to weave, and other matters that affect their production. Some weavers refuse to do complex patterns; some are busy with croft work and do not want to do "urgent" tweeds; others who are recovering from illness may prefer not to weave the heavier tweeds. The tweed van sent out by the mills to make deliveries all over the island meets one such variable situation after another, and thus finds it difficult to meet the demand of the Weavers Union, that tweeds should be equally distributed among all weavers on the island. Theoretically, the mills are supposed to deliver tweeds in strict

288 466 [467]

288 178 402 the automatic shuttle; all other processes have been built into the design of the Hattersley loom (cf. Thomson 1969). In other words, weaving does not entail very specialized skills and is not difficult to learn. A sailor can come home and learn to weave in a short period of time, or pick up the trade again with ease after having been absent from the loom for a long time. Neighbors substitute for each other when someone is ill if a tweed is "urgent." Wives help their husbands, and young boys their fathers and uncles. Such low-level specialization and substitutability are complementary to crofting activities and the maintenance of neighborhood ties, and may be seen to favor continuance of the occupation of weaving.

288 463 [591] [593]

874 286 The Lews Castle College in Stornoway, established as a technical college in 1953 in a building that was formerly the home of Sir James Matheson, offers training courses in weaving for adults which last for ten weeks and qualify a person for membership in the Weavers Union (cf. Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). The college also sends weaving instructors to all the public schools on the island to instruct young boys in the rudiments of weaving. The Highlands and Islands Development Board have in the past offered loans and grants with which to purchase looms, and government aid has protected the mills.

[467] [872] 654 286 288

Research into markets and more co-operative effort, into better use of the land with less dependence on subsidies and grants, is scheduled for the Western Isles Crofters' Union. 467

Fishing as an industry, though now receiving the necessary shot in the arm by the establishment of the nucleus of a local fishing fleet, is still bothered with the perennial problem of poaching. The Minch remains one of the great fishing areas of Britain, but, it is argued, its fertility is forever being depleted by fishing inside the three-mile limit. This limit was originally chosen because it was the effective range of a cannon ball about two centuries ago. Fish, however, when they choose their spawning grounds are uninfluenced by the range of eighteenth-century artillery, paying far more attention to the nature of the sea-bed, which varies as much inshore as it does offshore. 228

POLITICAL ORGANISATION

In 1918, the Outer Hebrides became a separate Parliamentary constituency known as the Western Isles, a recognition of their geographical position in relation to the many other islands off the west coast of Scotland. Before this constituency came into being, Lewis formed part of the County of Ross & Cromarty for Parliamentary purposes, while Harris and its own islands of Scarp, Taransay, Scalpay and the isles in the Sound of Harris were included in Inverness-shire. 631

For the purposes of local administration, however, Lewis still forms part of Ross-shire (part of Ross & Cromarty), with its centre at Dingwall, the Ross & Cromarty county town; while Harris, North Uist, South Uist, Benbecula and the Barra Isles belong to Inverness-shire, and are administered from far-away Inverness. The Lewis association with Ross-shire is a historical one. When the boundaries of the Earldom of Ross were changed in 1661, Lewis went with Ross as part of the possessions of the Lords of the Isles. The present districts recognised for administrative purposes do not in fact greatly differ from the divisions, or parishes, set up after the creation of the Bishopric of Ross in the twelfth century, the Lewis parishes being Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs. The County Council attends to finances, education, roads, [175]*

468

468 COLLECTIVE BARGAINING--negotiations between labor unions and employers; strikes and lockouts; strike-breaking and picketing; boycotts; labor agreements; arbitration; etc. See also:

Landlord-tenant negotiations 427
Rioting 579
Political movements 668
Contracts 676

People kept several cattle, some of which were dry most of the time. But because everyone was keeping cattle, milk could be gotten from a neighbor. One man was planting eight or nine hundredweights of potatoes before the war, some of which would be used to feed the livestock. "You couldn't buy milk then, so you had to keep a cow. And even though people were weaving, they weren't getting so much money as they are now. It was the barter system here for a long time. So they didn't have the money to buy feeding stuff. It was better to spend the time planting potatoes. Now of course there's more money in the weaving."

After the war, an act was passed which provided free milk for schoolchildren. Milk for the Shawbost school was supplied by a farm near Stornoway, and villagers first started buying the milk from the school milk van. A strike held by weavers during the war had increased the payments for weaving, and the barter system had stopped. More money was available. As the loom was more profitable, more people stopped keeping cows, and relied on their neighbors for milk, or got their milk from the van bringing milk to the school. And as the cattle got fewer, the market for bottled milk expanded. A dairy was started on the west side of the island in the mid-1960's which carries milk from Uig to Ness.

paucity of passengers, which provided rides to and from town many times a day; but with the "development," that is, the centralization, of industry, public transportation deteriorated. Visitors to the island unfamiliar with this history are struck by practices which they interpret as coming out of a clockless past, such as the present custom of stopping the bus midway in its journey to Stornoway so that the driver can eat dinner in his mother's house while all passengers wait on board. Such a custom is fairly recent, and indicates the deterioration of public services to populations which are marginal to the centralized source of these services.

During World War II, when the demand for tweed was high and the number of weavers small, the weavers staged an effective strike by which they received an increase in pay and the burden of cartage was shifted from them to the mills. This did not affect the system of transportation until the mills realized it would be cheaper to run their own transport rather than to pay the independent drivers a "cartage fee." The mills then began to use their own vans to deliver yarn and collect tweeds directly to and from the weavers. Once the mills took over transportation, they tended to deliver tweeds to weavers closest to the mills rather than to uphold the principle of equal distribution. This practice (made possible by

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175 from town many times a d
178 that is, the centralizat
472 portation deteriorated.
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175 the 1934 decision to change the word "crofter" to
178 "islander") led to the weavers living in council
288 [361] houses in town and working in loomsheds behind the houses. Unequal distribution has also contributed to Shawbost's relative prosperity, and to the decline of weaving in more remote parts of the island. The [464] unequal distribution of tweeds has made it difficult to maintain a large labor force, which in turn limits the growth and development of the industry.

288 3. Instability of the Industry: The Harris Tweed
433 industry has undergone a number of crises. Periods of
178 depression have alternated with periods of prosperity.
[458] (See Appendix B for the fluctuation in the number of yards stamped each year with the Harris Tweed trade-mark.) The very conditions which give the tweed its [435] market value--the decentralized, non-mechanized human [466] element--also limit the possibilities of growth in the industry, and contribute to the industry's instability.

288 When a business remains small, it must collect
441 orders before it can provide work to have the orders filled (except when demand for an item is strong, as occurred around the time of the previous world war; during the war and for a few years after, tweeds could be made first and then marketed, because any cloth [471] could be sold). Only a large business can keep weavers

An attempt has been made in
Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on
231 the individual croft to the size of holding and to the availability and age of the labour force.
311 In both diagrams there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0 - 7 units)
464 and the commercial holding (11+ units), but there is no definite relationship between stock
471 and size of holding or labour availability. The inclusion of the points of equilibrium for
certain lines in Figure 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected state of affairs: in the case of
233 crofters with regular work and full time crofters, those over the age of forty-five carry a
162 larger stock from those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to the economic problem of crofting lies in the amalgamation of holdings in order to create a more viable economic unit, but the indication from these diagrams is that an increase in
[443] the size of holding will not, of itself, lead to an increase in stock. It is the absence of accessible markets that deter the crofter from increasing his agricultural production.

511 In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihood
464 for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters under sixty-five almost 90% supplement the croft income by other employment. Of these casual labour (at present mainly at the Gisla hydro-electric scheme) accounts for 57% regular work - particularly weaving - 43%. The combination of crofting and weaving provides probably the best return for the labour: one crofter with a croft of 3.3 acres, carrying two cows, two followers and ninety sheep (sixty ewes) made the following estimates for 1958:

231 FROM THE CROFT:

434

Sale of two year-old calves	£80
236 Cow and calf subsidies	£40
286 Sale of wool at 4s. 3d. per lb.	£75
	£ 195 (1)

FROM WEAVING -

at two tweeds per week (32 hrs. p.w.)	£550
GROSS INCOME	£745

434 Weaving abour 30 hours a week apparently leaves him sufficient time to run the croft
[288] efficiently; at present a crofter supplementing his income by a labourer's wage at Gisla
[464] hydro electric scheme would have to put in nearly sixty hours per week to achieve the same financial reward.

433 The economy of the Valtos peninsula has been changing, and contracting, for several
178 years. The number of unoccupied crofts is increasing; commercial fishing ended at the time of the first World War; the shielings have been abandoned as summer cattle pastures.
R28 The Valtos shielings near Loch Scanadale were abandoned during the 1939 - 45 war, due
[231] mainly to the lack of manpower in the township, though some was used intermittently until 1953. The shielings of Kneep and Reef were abandoned in the late 1930's, at which time Kneep had some fifty milk cows as compared with fourteen in 1959.

1 Against this figure, must be set the costs of production (i.e. fertilisers, new seed, winter fodder supplements, sheep dips etc.)

As far as the crofting population is concerned, the benefits are rather negligible. In fact some of the crofters of Carbost township find the presence of the distillery to be a distinct disadvantage because they must keep their "fank" in an inaccess location well off the drainage slopes which serve the plant. I should add one additional fact. Like all the major commercia ventures on the Island, the distillery is owned by a corporatio with offices in Edinburgh.

Forestry. In recent years forestry has come to enjoy widespread popularity among critics of the "Highland Problem" as a remedy for the distress, lack of gainful employment, and depopulation of the area. Within the last decade or so forestry has become a source of employment for a small number of men on Skye. The Forestry Commission acquired 9000 acres of land between Glen Brittle and Loch Eynort. Houses were built for employees and nine new families were brought in. Planting has been carried on at a rate which gives regular employment to 12 men, one man to each 120 plantable acres. As the labor required for planting decreases, the men are being shifted to thinning operations. Ultimately, they will begin lumbering. It is anticipated that in time there will be jobs for sixty or more. For every 100 acres there will be one man engaged in planting, thinning, or lumbering and five men or women working in auxiliary employment, such as transportation, mill operations, and services to the anticipate village. The government has been impressed by the success of its experiment. Another large tract, a former sheep farm,

175 On one of the crofts along the strand are the
228 ruins of two curing houses, where the fish were salted
[348] and dried. Ling, cod, skate and halibut were cured
[129] and sold to local merchants for export. "The same as
[171] they do in Iceland this very day. That was the main
175 industry. Then the English came with their steam
648 trawlers; they ruined the fishing here, and then went
228 west to Iceland and the Faroes. In Iceland they get
fined for poaching, but here the trawlers often ignore
[433] the three-mile limit. But the fishing was the mainstay
here, before the Harris Tweed came along."

195 One man returned from sailing in 1932 and bought a
228 boat for L24. He had 32 lobster pots, and made L7 one
435 June by selling the lobsters at a shilling apiece.
[154] Another man, who returned from the United States in 1934
[471] because of the depression, bought a share in a 14-foot
boat. It was made in Ness, at the northern tip of Lewis,
[184] and cost about L14. He and his partners went out every
night possible; the fish provided an important part of
their income. The boat was sold in the 50's. "It wasn't
195 being kept up anyway." Around World War II there were as
228 many as twenty boats; man fished at night, after a day's
501 work. Today there are four 12-foot boats in Shawbost,
178 each shared by four or five men. The boats are used
501 intensively for fishing during certain times of the year,

445 yards (a weaver's yard is equal to 8 feet, a measure
455 which derives from the size of the frame once used
288 to wind hanks of yarn). Payment varies according to
[604] the number of colors used in the pattern. A weaver
288 may average 2½ tweeds per week when the work is available,
445 thus earning more than mill workers. A female mill
[562] worker earns about L11 or L12, and her male counterpart
about L3 more.

Because weavers are classed as self-employed, they
288 do not qualify for unemployment benefit. They may apply
745 for social security, but must submit to a "means" test,
659 and the possession of bank savings or other assets
disqualifies them from receiving such aid. All British
workers must pay a weekly sum for "insurance stamps," a
certain number of which makes the workers eligible for
small payments from the government during periods of
illness. Self-employed persons must pay for their own
insurance stamps, whereas employers pay for the stamps
of their workers. A weaver who does not keep up with his
payments of over one pound a week for insurance stamps
must pay the accumulated debt at a later time.

471 Weavers face other costs. They buy looms and bobbin-
288 winding machines, and pay for lighting, heating, and the
297 maintenance of all equipment. The preservation of this
463 anomalous status of "self-employed" is related to the
458

175 the 1934 decision to change the word "crofter" to
179 "islander") led to the weavers living in council
288 [361] houses in town and working in loomsheds behind the
houses. Unequal distribution has also contributed
to Shawbost's relative prosperity, and to the decline
of weaving in more remote parts of the island. The
[464] unequal distribution of tweeds has made it difficult
to maintain a large labor force, which in turn limits
the growth and development of the industry.

288 J. Instability of the Industry: The Harris Tweed
[154] industry has undergone a number of crises. Periods of
[176] depression have alternated with periods of prosperity.
[458] (See Appendix B for the fluctuation in the number of
yards stamped each year with the Harris Tweed trade-
mark.) The very conditions which give the tweed its
[435] [465] market value--the decentralized, non-mechanised human
element--also limit the possibilities of growth in the
industry, and contribute to the industry's instability.

288 When a business remains small, it must collect
441 orders before it can provide work to have the orders
filled (except when demand for an item is strong, as
occurred around the time of the previous world war;
during the war and for a few years after, tweeds could
be made first and then marketed, because any cloth
471 could be sold). Only a large business can keep weavers

288 at work producing tweeds which it then tries to market.
441 The latter method requires the investment of a great deal
491 of capital to make the tweeds and pay the weavers before
a buyer is found. The small mills require an immediate
return for their capital investment, which is ensured
[434] by not investing unless there is a definite order. The
fortunes of the weavers oscillate with the luck and skill
of the mills in soliciting orders; thus, the mills do
not provide a constant, stable source of income. The
288 [434] nature of the tweed, as a high-priced luxury item rather
than a basic necessity, contributes to the instability of
the demand. When fashions change or when world-wide
economic depressions come, the high-priced tweed with
its specialized image as a cloth for aristocratic,
[138] sporty dress is forgotten for awhile. Efforts are being
made to change this image; but the product's status as
a high-priced luxury item persists.

288 An extremely small business can survive periods of
441 depression when capital outlay in the form of machinery,
459 running costs, and so on is not large. An extremely
large business that has cornered a large share of the
market can often survive an erratic schedule of orders
because it has a larger accumulation of capital, but a
medium-sized business has too much overhead to survive
long periods of depression. Examples of all three exist

ECOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

361 The crofting township is not quite akin to the English or Low-
land village. Primarily it is a collection of dwellings of families
who, as social units, gain their subsistence from the land sur-
rounding the houses. The smallest number for a township is four
476 family units. A functional unit of four men was the minimum
necessary for a boat crew, or for the teamwork necessary to culti-
vate land; co-operation was essential if all four families were to
survive. And from this grew the same spirit of communal work
which in Lewis is seen at its best in the efforts to reclaim peat
bog and turn it into fertile grassland.

Hebridean townships come close to being the nearest approach
361 to a classless society. The shape of a township is largely dictated
[455] by the nature of the surrounding land. The shape of most of those
in Harris and in Lewis is either scattered or linear (houses disposed
in line at varying distances from each other), with little natural
[191] cover, either plantation or scrub. Often the main road runs
through the township; some have begun to develop lateral roads,
to give, from the air, the appearance of planning on a grid system.
244 Where gardens are cultivated, the produce tends to be a summer
vegetable supply for the household, little if any finding its way to
372 Stornoway shops for sale. Peat is the usual fuel, though in town-
ships near to the centres of Tarbert and Stornoway coal is burned;
the cost of freight, however, makes it expensive.

471 Most of the townships are owned by commercial companies;
individual lairds own some five dozen; the remainder belong to
public bodies, such as the Crofters' Trust. The actual distribution of ownership of
land on the island is as follows. Harris is virtually owned by in-
dividual lairds; a small percentage is owned by commercial
companies. The Lochs region of Lewis has a mixed ownership:
commercial companies, lairds, and public trust, the former being
the largest. Stornoway parish is wholly owned by public trust.
The Ness district is virtually the property of commercial com-
panies; a small fraction belongs to public trust. The Uig district
is the same, the smaller proportion, less than 10 per cent, being
the concern of an individual laird.

In Lewis, the public body mentioned is the Stornoway Trust,

THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

In Lewis, the public body mentioned is the Stornoway trust, 471 *
the only one of its kind in the Highlands: when Lewis was sold
by Lord Leverhulme in 1923, the parish of Stornoway Landward 175*
was given to the townspeople who, in effect, became shareholders
in the trust, formed to administer the estate. A resident factor in
Stornoway is answerable to a small council of the residents. Com-
mercial companies as owners appeared on the scene in Lewis after
the lands were offered for sale when Leverhulme pulled out of his
efforts to industrialise the Lewis folk. Considerable tracts of land
were sold for as little as £500; some at 1p per acre. The salmon
and trout fishings were, of course, a major attraction. Some small-
acreage estates were bought in Harris and Lewis by speculators
with island connections.

STORNOWAY

In contrast to the straggling and quite casual townships of the rural 361
areas of the island, Stornoway has logic in its layout. The harbour
and the grounds of Lews Castle have given the town a magnifi-
cent setting and a useful green belt surround it. The outlying
villages, however, tend to be miracles of chaos, showing both
architectural and planning anarchy. These only serve to add point
to the more formal layout of Stornoway with its regular streets,
some casual variation adding interest.

The town itself grew in recognisable stages. The first was centred 361
on the small peninsula known as the Point Street area. This land 175 *
finger protected the inner harbour of the Bayhead River and on it
grew the nucleus of the town, beside old Stornoway Castle, once 504
perched on a rock-ridden and now overgrown as rubble under the
steamer pier. Protection from storm was not really provided
until the nineteenth century, when a quay was built with space for
marketing and handling herring. About the seventeenth century,
houses began to string themselves out along the shores on the side
of the inner harbour (Bayhead Street and Cromwell Street) and
on that side of the outer harbour called Newton Street. From the
nineteenth century until about 1914, two-storey, flatted tene-
ments, hotels and middle-class houses were built on a grid plan
that followed on old field layouts and the associated ditches. Some
of the present-day roads, such as James Street, follow these

FISHING

for the steamers, he thought that any improvements in connection 228
with the fishing industry should be paid for largely by the fish- 175
curers themselves—though he did spend about £1,000 on con- 504
structing fish-curing houses. Why Sir James, with his experience
of business, should have taken this attitude is not clear; certainly
the fishing industry could have been given just the right impetus
with his interest, personal and financial. As it was, the industry
was left to develop on its own lines, with odd injections from
time to time.

Fluctuating prosperity

That the potential in the fishing grounds of the Minch was
enormous was realised before 1850 by fish-curers from the Scot- 501
tish mainland. But deep-sea-going boats were needed, and so 471
new designs were called for. James Methven of Leith, a pioneer
of deep-sea herring fishing, sank capital into the development of a 228
large class of boats known as the 'Anstruther build', or in the 175
islands as 'Eastraths'. These craft served the islanders well, and 113
Lewis prospered, as did Stornoway. In the five years 1870 to 228
1875, for example, the average number of barrels of herring cured 175
at Stornoway for export was some 80,000. From 1875 to 1900 113
the average Stornoway district catch of whole fish, much of it
caught by local boats and some of it cured at Carloway, was worth
over £100,000; it was sent to Ireland and the Clyde. After 1900,
fresh-trawled fish replaced the cured and the market fell away.
In 1921, the market value of cured fish from Stornoway was
about £500. Today it is almost nil.

The herring fishing held its own, against the decline of the 228
white fish. Stornoway, as Lochboisdale in the Southern Isles, be- 175
came for a while one of the world's most important fishing ports.
Prosperity was in the air; even when the fishings did eventually
fall away, there still remained, decades later, the whiff of past
success among the neglected curing sheds, the hangdown boats in
the quays, and the silent kippering houses. From 1917 to 1935, 501
the annual landings of herrings (in crans) varied from 25,486 (in 471
1934) to 221,519 (in 1927). In that year, a record one, it was
reported that 'even landsmen could hear the roar of herrings in
Loch Eriport. So dense were the shoals that their progress in the

195 rent averaging 31s., in addition to which there were over
473 1000 houses of the cottar class and 300 houses of the squatter class.

Lastly, Sir James trained no successor to follow up or improve upon his experience. But in death in 1898 Sir James was succeeded by his widow, and, nearly twenty years after, she was followed by a nephew and his son. But the expenses of Stornoway Castle and its burdens, accompanied by lower rents, weighed down the new proprietors.
[228] In 1918 the estate was sold to Lord Leverhulme, who shortly afterwards purchased Harris too, with a view to his great schemes of fishery development.

(c) FISHERIES: 1750–1919

195 For the greatest expanding industry of the northern
471 coastlands, Matheson had done comparatively little even
228 at Stornoway. In 1883, a former Factor (Mr. Mackenzie of Calgarry) stated that he had constantly asked for aid to the fisheries, especially by the building of harbours, pointing out that the landlord would reap benefit in rent.[1] But Matheson had replied that the fishermen and fishermen, the people engaged in the trade, should do this work
[654] for themselves. By the end of the century, harbours were being planned and built with State aid in the north, west and south-east of the Island (at Ness, Carloway and Uig,
[439] and Tarbert, Harris). In 1900 the Islanders possessed 150 herring boats, and in that year five boats from the Stornoway District sailed for the first time to Yarmouth,
[511] and from 1900 to 1914 inclusive, in most years there were
[113] 700 boats that participated in the herring fishery.[2]

[1] *Royal Commission on Housing*, 1917, p. 212. Cf. *Fraser Report on Cottars in Lewis*, 1888, and the recommendations by the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee, *Report on Rural Housing in Scotland*, 1937, pp. 56–63, 75–77.

[2] Brand Report (1902).

195 From the Napoleonic Wars to 1914 the amount of
228 herring cured on the West Coast of Scotland rose and fell.
251 In 1810–14 the East Coast cure was half the West Coast
471 cure, but the peace of 1815 brought the capture of the
458 Continental markets and the East Coast herring export leapt up. It averaged 500,000 barrels from 1850 to 1870, a million from 1880 to 1900, and one to two million barrels
[439] until 1914. With the decline in export to the Mediterranean, the West Coast export fell, to rise by 1890 and reach a peak from 1900 to 1914. Thus, although no more than from a tenth to a fifth of the East Coast yield, that of the West Coast had risen greatly.[1] Of this, the Stornoway
195 cure formed the major part.
228 The chief early type of catch, of white fish (cod, ling and hake), was developed too, and swelled to a peak by 1900, then dwindled and fell. The average Stornoway District catch of white fish for a dozen years to 1900 was valued at over £100,000, much of it caught by local boats, and some of it cured at small 'creeks' (*e.g.* on the west of the Island, on Loch Roag, notably at Carloway). The cure, a strong coarse food, was shipped to Ireland and the Clyde; but after 1900, fresh trawled fish replaced the cured. From £100,000 before 1900 the value fell to little
[654] over £10,000 in 1912–13, £1000 in 1920, and half that in
1921—½ per cent of the value in 1900![2]
[470] Thus the herring fishing became the most important
[511] to the Islanders, at first by employment on East Coast boats.
[652] Later they purchased boats and gear for themselves, helped
[113] finally by the advances from Island and East Coast curers, through also by State loans.

[1] *Fishery Board for Scotland*, Table 25 (1918), and Table 23: 600 barrels in 1790–95; 80,000 in 1870–71; 1000 in 1912, and 160,000 in 1913. For fair comparison with Table 25, about 25 per cent should be added to quantities, as explained in the notes to the Tables, on the 'assorick' and final reduced, or 'bungaached', state of barrelled herring (listed in Table 23).

195 though also by State loans. The efforts of the Island
228 fishermen in the sixty years from 1880 to 1939 can be
471 summed up in the values of their boats. From 1880 to
458 1900 values rose by one-half, but had fallen somewhat before the war of 1914–18 (to £20,000). Immediately after, the purchase of steam drifters at Stornoway and the fitting
[439] their herring boats with motors by the fishermen had tripled the value (close on £70,000 in 1920). But markets fell almost at once, and losses continued. By 1938 the Island fishing fleet was valued (or overvalued) at a quarter that figure, and was worth less than the fleet of sixty years before.[1]

(d) THE CROFTERS ACTS, 1886–1919: TOWNSHIP, LANDLORD AND STATE

195 Centuries of cattle-keeping having left the grass moors
236 in good condition, the profits of sheep-farming rose after
1770 with the price of wool for manufacture. Protected from foxes by modern guns, and handled in large flocks, the newly introduced Cheviot and Blackface sheep and
[178] lambs could graze in their thousands. In many estates the introduction of sheep, additional sheep, with the cattle, was tried and worked; but in others the people were
195 ruthlessly evicted. Although offset by many acts of wise
236 economy and generous aid, evictions were too frequent
427 during the next half-century, and they engendered growing bitterness.

Whereas in other Isles, and on the machar of Harris, the small joint tenantry and subtenantry were evicted in

[1] Figures 1828–33 quoted from J. P. Day, *Public Administration*, 1918; 1888–1900 from Appendix H, Report, 1901; 1912–1938 from *Fishery Board for Scotland* Tables (Table E-H, 1924–31, and Table 15 and A.1, 1938).

311 illustrates the narrow margin of habitability on these frag-
241 mented holdings.
423 Now, in Lewis periodic pooling and exchange, or the practice of *movable* run-rig on the small joint-tenants' farms, was abolished early in the nineteenth century, except
[473] upon the machar, where it still continues. Apparently the
[195] strips were simply fixed where they had last been appor-
[241] tioned by lot. Subdivision of the crofts among sons
[176] and grandsons followed, owing to inheritance without reclamation. Fairness gave 'the patchwork quilt' described;
[175] but it was fairness pushed to the point of folly, for differences in soil from one adjacent strip to another were slight! It is otherwise with the long, narrow plough-strips which run from the houses on the pure boulder clay down to the sandy shore; and run-rig, movable or fixed, is understandable and necessary there. The case just cited shows how a sensible communal tradition, such as that of '*movable* run-rig' with periodic pooling, may degenerate into absurdity by fixation. Happily the machar still shows the sane maintenance of a tradition, the pooling of resources.[1]

In 1924–25, widespread distress in the Isles, the failure
182 of the Leverhulme endeavour, the crofters' refusal to own
261 their own crofts, and the emigration which followed, caused
[178] lambs could graze in their thousands. In many estates the many outsiders to forecast rapid depopulation. It was all
182 the more interesting to note the confidence in the Island's
261 future shown by buyers of the great estate, all of whom
471 knew what they were about, for they were men with experience of the Island, of its rates and rentals and of its people. To a wealthy man who repurchased a sporting

[1] Apportionment of lands held in run-rig in the Carloway estate is described, and the principle, in Sir John Sinclair's *Agricultural Report*. (See *Scottish Law Rev.* vol. 28, 7; July 1912, pp. 51–54.) At the same time 'mechanization', or the co-operative utilization of implements had led to plan for 'collective farming'. (*Stornoway Gazette*, February 1944.)

182 After the first World War re-settlement schemes went ahead with renewed vigour.
261 Men serving in the Forces expected land to be available for them on their return and they
[178] were impatient to get it. By this time the Lewis estate belonged to the Lewis and Harris
[182] Development Co., in other words to Lord Leverhulme. The farms of Medistay, Ford,
[471] Cornish and Aird were all without tenants; Leverhulme agreed to break them into
[178] crofts, the lots varied in size from quarter-acre upwards, equipping the work, and the new settlers were able to commence cultivation on March 1, 1921. Timagarry farm, with which was the Big Shooting lodge, was in the hands of a tenant; but the Board obtained possession, reserving a small area around the lodge for amenity. Carsaig farm, Bernera, was also broken up. More than 50 new holdings received enlargements to their common pastures; details are given in Figure 10 and table 8, (pages 22 and 23). The schemes were done in haste, the Secretary of State for Scotland pressed them forward in the face of some opposition from Lewishmen. Here, as elsewhere, the ex-servicemen were restive; land raids and violence, with industrial unrest, occurred in Lewis.

In 1924, Linshader farm was threatened by land raiders. As a result this, too, was broken up and 16 new holdings were occupied as from Whitsuntide, 1925. This was part of the Grimersta grazing estate and the proprietors required that all the pillaes be given crofts. Linshader was not particularly suited to crofter-management: it consisted of 49 acres of old arable land and more than 8,000 acres of rough pasture, the furthest part of which was five miles distant and without road access. When the Land Court fixed the running the following remark was recorded:

> "Under a cleh stock" (i.e. a single flock) the more "might have been exploited to a very different extent, but in view of the fact that individual stocks are to be kept" (i.e. each crofter his own shepherd) "which is not conducive to profit, 70 sheep per share will be ample. If the whole outside ground were being fully made use of by the sheep stock the grazing of ten cows should be sufficient to maintain . . . but the wintering afforded on the inbiggs does not justify a larger summing" (than one cow). It had, in fact, been the practice at Linshader farm to lay in young cattle for summer grazing, and to send away the lambs to the Dingwall area for their first winter.

Thus, examples show that, while the defeat, or non-
182 realisation of Leverhulme's schemes, seemed to many out-
450 siders the beginning of a not distant 'end' to the Island community, the Islanders themselves did not contemplate a final exodus. They were quite uncertain what was to come, it is true. Who was not, in those years of discourag-
182 agement for Scotland and her people, for Wales, for
261 Ireland and Scandinavia? The years of Leverhulme's departure from Lewis and of his death brought bad seasons. In 1924 storms destroyed crops and the peat would not dry. Herring catches and prices, though, they had risen a little since 1921–22, had not allowed recovery from the losses sustained. The cessation of Leverhulme's wage-payments
[182] meant a gap in income which the Islanders could not fill
[194] at home. To relieve poverty in 1924–25, a Highlands and

195 Estate of the sporting estates of Grimersta, Scaliscro, Morsgail and Uig Lodge, on some
[471] of which a few cattle and sheep may be grazed, and a few small farms.

[182] There are 17 crofting townships. In area they extend from 7,000 acres (Linshader)
311 to 1,000 acres (Crulivig, excluding the farm shortened in Bernera Shooting). The number
241 of crofter tenants ranged from 4 in Unghadair and Earshadir: 6 in Breascleit, and the
[427] average amount of land occupied to each crofter is 7.2 acres of inbye and 126 acres of
[163] common pasture (table 10). Averages are misleading. As the table shows, between distinctive the amount of land available per crofter varies from about 90 to 900 acres; as between townships the range is even wider (table 11). To some extent this contrast is the result of re-settlement after the Second World War, when some crofters received holdings sufficient to yield a living family. The extent to which they were successful in this respect was limited by physical weaknesses, the lack of capital, and the farm's maximum number of holdings. Nevertheless the re-settled holdings have twice the average area of both inbye and common pasture (11.3 against 7.2 acres, and 225 against 126 acres, respectively).

TABLE 10

Average acreage of land available for each holding and working unit.

	INBYE LAND.		COMMON PASTURES.		NUMBER OF:	
CROFTING DISTRICTS:	1938	1948	1938	1948	1938	1948
Atlantic Coast	4.7	8.8	285	529	51	28
Big Port	5.1	16.8	255	325	42	43
Valtos-Reef	5.4	7.8	118	171	74	51
Little Loch Roag	7.6	11.8	116	138	35	35
Bernera Island	12.8	13.8	86	93	91	84
Bernera Shore	13.3	13.3	484	484	26	26
East Loch Roag	14.7	15.8	116	116	136	136
Loch Carloway	4.7	5.3	52	58	174	155
Non-crofting holdings	17.8	17.8	-	-	23	22
Lewis	7.2	9.0	126	157	699	580

NOTE: The distinction between 'holdings' and 'working units' is explained in the text.

427 Even amongst the old-established townships there is a tremendous range in amount of
[163] land available per tenant, the southern districts being best placed and those in the north
[163] worst, a situation which still remains. Indeed, the contrast in land available as between
[163] tenants (table 12) is even greater than that between townships, the average reported by a corresponding contrast in stock carried. Together with the rarity of effective fences between or within pastures, this contrast underlies the problem of grazing control, of the extent of bitter when each crofter keeps his own little pasture, and the excessive sheep/cattle ratio, this gives rise to serious problems which will be considered in Part III.

in Shawbost: a very small business, which until recently did not even have its own transport but hired facilities when they were needed and simply went into hibernation when orders stopped coming; a medium-sized business, which went into liquidation in 1971; and a large business, which continues to survive despite a depression which has continued since the late 1960's.

Harris Tweed is sent to markets all over the world; but because of the difficulty of maintaining a large labor force, the filling of orders is sometimes slow. If large orders cannot be met, weaving as an island-wide occupation cannot be maintained. The number of weavers on the island fluctuates, as slack periods come and men adopt the time-tested strategy of temporary migration in search of other jobs. One of the factors which aided the weavers during their strike of 1943 was the fact that so many other jobs were available during the war that the future of the industry was jeopardized.

In the last five years the number of mill employees as decreased from 800 to 500. The decrease is due in art to the introduction of more efficient techniques nd new equipment, but there is little room for improve-ent in the production of tweeds because the human lement, the weaver, is essential to its production.

471

471 OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF CAPITAL--major forms of productive cap
(e.g., land, cattle, industrial plants); extent to which the instruments of p
duction are individually, collectively, internationally and publicly owned; f
and elaboration of governmental control (e.g., nationalized industries); etc
generalized data will be filed here: for information on specific ownership a
organization, see the more specialized categories below. See also:

Capital goods industries 39
Property 42
Government enterprises and government regulation 65
General statements on different types of economic activity 433
Accumulation of wealth 55
Social classes 56
Political doctrines 66
Ideas about economics and political systems 82

Chapter 3

CHANGING ECONOMIC STRATEGIES: LAND, SEA AND LOOM

178 288 128

In Lewis, the change from a relatively self-sufficient community in which land and sea provided the economic base occurred in the context of the phenomenal rise of the Harris Tweed industry. In the following pages, the history of Harris Tweed is discussed in relation to changing strategies involving exploitation of land, sea and loom. Associated features of social life are discussed. Social boundary systems are defined and discussed in Chapter 4.

A. The Sea

175 228 [501] [471] [454]

Around World War I, nine boats, as long as 27 to 30 feet, driven by sails, used to go out regularly from the Shawbost harbor. From five to seven men, usually neighbors, had "shares" in a boat. They would go out fishing during the night and return the next day. "We [433] baited our lines with eel, for ling. We would catch maybe two or three hundred. I remember once we caught 1300."

4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots Lots
Uig

TABLE 11

Land Available by Numbers of Tenants

INBYE LAND Acres:	No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:	COMMON PASTURES Acres:	No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:
	(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
0-1.0	1		Less than 50	88	
1.0-2.5	73	2	51-100	332	14
2.6-5.0	241	19	101-200	139	12
5.1-7.5	137	22	201-300	52	-
7.6-10	66	23	301-400	32	32
10.1-15	56	23	401-500	8	8
15.1-20	30	17			
20.1-50	29	24	940	10	10

Note: 'New' townships, for this purpose, are those settled since 1900.

In detail the arrangement of the townships varies. Certain features are common: all inbye land and, consequently, all settlements, are coastal (except Lochganvich). Each has common pasture adjacent to the inbye and many have further areas of common - former shieling grazings - some distance inland (figure 1). This division of the hill grazings is to some extent nominal because fences are often absent or ineffective. Uninhabited islands, on the other hand, require no fences, and are particularly valuable for winter grazing; the smaller of them provide convenient natural paddocks for bulls and tups when out of season. The management of all these common pastures is controlled by the township committees. Unfortunately the most important aspect of stock management - control of numbers and maintenance of a proper balance of sheep and cattle - is almost universally neglected.

The total stock which each croft may put on the common pastures - the 'soum' - is defined in the Regulations. In the case of townships re-settled in the present century a specific soum is placed on each croft but, in most other cases, the old practice persists of stating the soum in terms of rent. Thus the soum of each croft may be defined as 1 cow, 1 two-year-old and 8 sheep per pound sterling rent (this is a very common souming). Such soumings have been in existence since time immemorial; they are mentioned in 1836*. Many of the Uig townships had their soumings stated by the Land Court in 1912; in most cases the soum was given "per pound sterling of rent" (presumably 1912 rent), but in a few "per pound sterling of rent payable in 1886". The rents had been substantially reduced in 1891, thus 1912 and 1886 rents were very different. Any township has a certain limited, stock-carrying capacity; therefore, if the total rental is thus changed without

* New Statistical Account, Vol. XIV, p.148.

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29

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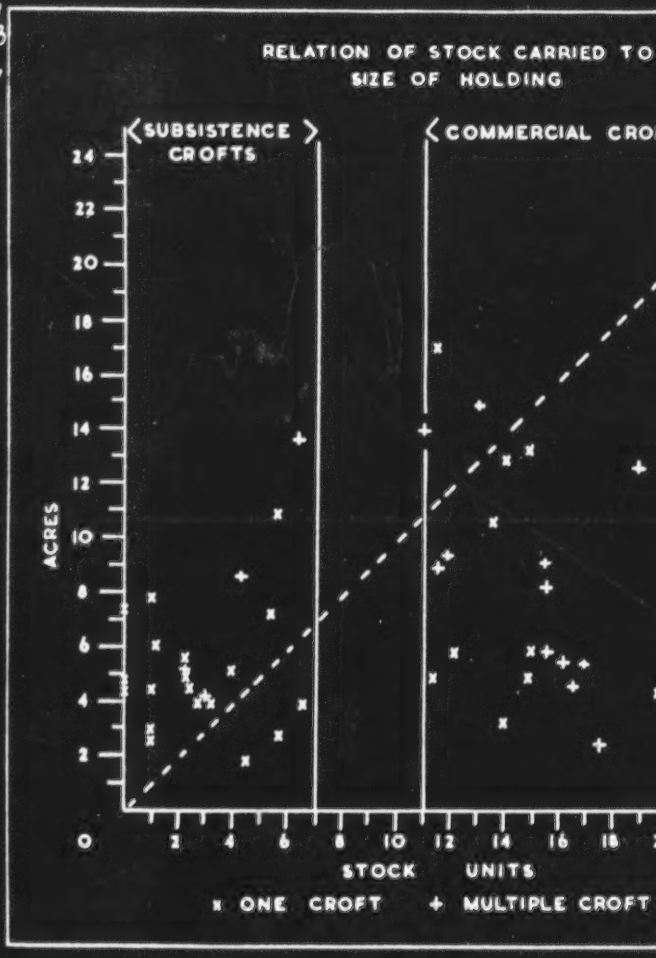

Figure 19
/facing p. 42/

1/A. [See p. 45 for discussion of chart--Analyst]

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

121 1794, for instance, their crews not only fishing but also
175 buying from local fishers. Islanders occasionally earned
228 a pittance as pilots, for until the charting of these rocky coasts navigation was most dangerous.

175 The herring industry was in the hands of 'adventurers'
228 (who 'ventured' their capital), and the Islanders benefited little. The British export was aided by a bounty which
• [472] helped to capture the Continental market; but, as Adam
[439] Smith pointed out, no bounty was given to the small, open boats suitable for the north-west lochs. Thus the operation
175 of the Salt Duty after 1707 and of the bounty system from
228 before 1745 until 1786, illustrates two of the recurrent
656 blights upon "Public Administration" in the Isles. As Day wrote, their interests have had to suffer "either deliberately, for the benefit of other parts, or other classes in the kingdom, or inadvertently from ignorance".[1] Although the bounty system was widened to include small boats after 1786, the Salt Tax remained until 1817.

To overcome difficulties, the British Fisheries Society was founded with Government support in 1786. Although Stornoway then seemed too far afield, the Society's concentration upon larger settlements foreshadowed Lord Lever-
[311] hulme's principles after 1918. At Ullapool, Tobermory and Lochbay (Skye), and at Wick, quays and stores were constructed and dwelling-houses built, with croft land and grass for a cow, to be reclaimed. Although concentration at Wick led to the sale of the three western properties about 1842, the Society had done some good work in the West. The chief difficulty of the West Coast north of the Clyde area and south of Stornoway District remained: the lack of a well-marked seasonal migration of herring.

[1] J. P. Day, *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918.

473

473 CORPORATE ORGANIZATION--business and industrial enterprises of a corporate nature (e.g., joint stock companies, holding companies, international stock companies); incorporation; registration; corporate securities (e.g., bonds, preferred and common stocks); managerial structure and functions (e.g., directors, officers, managers, foremen); rights, privileges, and powers of stockholders and management; corporation law; reorganization and receivership; etc. See also:

Incorporeal property	436	Monopolies and competition	477
Investment in corporate securities	464	Agency	676
Labor relations	466	Philanthropic foundations	741

2: Thompson H-4,5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

finished cloth. About 1,000 workers are employed at the mills, 288
representing about 95 per cent of the island's industry—not count- 464
ing, of course, the 1,200 or so self-employed weavers. The Shawbost mill, started in 1915 in a very small way, employs about seventy people from the surrounding crofting community on dyeing the wool, carding it and spinning it into yarn, and has about 500 weavers on its books. In 1955 it became a limited company [473] •
and a £35,000 finishing plant was added; other recent extensions have been made to the tune of £70,000. The establishment of such a large industrial complex in one of the remotest parts of Britain is an achievement to be underlined.

The early cloth industry

Coarse woollen cloth has been made in the Hebrides, as in 288
other rural Highland areas, from time immemorial. Rents were 175*
often paid in blankets or plaiding. In 1656, 'pladding' was one of [427]
the items of trade brought by Highland boats to Glasgow for sale there. In the late eighteenth century, blackfaced sheep were intro- [236]
duced into the Highlands and islands; the fleece from this breed was much heavier than that of the native sheep and consequently proved ideal raw material for local woollen manufacture for trade. In the Hebrides, the product was mainly for domestic and [438]
local consumption. The people of Harris, however, were well [439]
known for the excellence of their weaving which found a limited external market. In 1844, the Earl of Dunmore, the first non-native proprietor of Harris, had the Murray tartan copied in tweed by local weavers, so successfully that the Earl and his enterprising wife encouraged improvements in the product and introduced it to their friends. The cloth, ideal for outdoor pursuits such as fishing and stalking, found ready wearers. In 1857, [444]
an Edinburgh lady went about getting orders for the Harris weavers, and business increased so much that in 1888 she moved to London and opened a small depot for tweeds.

Thus by the time the nineteenth century had reached maturity tweed was becoming well known, and weavers and local merchants, usually shopkeepers, developed sales contacts on the mainland. At that time every web of tweed produced was unique: it could never be copied exactly. This of course added to its charm

474

474 COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATION--producers' and consumers' cooperatives; relationship between ownership, control, and management; organization (e.g., Rochdale plan); services to members; collective farms; etc. See also:

Wholesale marketing	442	Cooperative work groups	476
Craft guilds	467		

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

241 grazing land and he could not transfer such property in
175 a will. Similarly a crofter had no right to his buaile,
423 and could not formally protest if another crofter sought to apportion this land for his own use (see Chapter 2
[827] for a discussion of apportionments). But in both situations, informal understandings superseded legal rights.

241 Various legislative acts which followed the 1886
657 act focussed attention on the crofter. Various matters
175 associated with crofting are handled by a Crofters
[654] Commission. Crofters have access to grants and loans
• [499] to improve land and build fences and homes. They may buy goods at low prices in a nearby cooperative store. As crofts were fenced, land around the townships became scarce and non-crofters found it difficult to keep large numbers of cattle and sheep.

241 Within recent years it has become possible for non-
178 crofters to gain title to the small plots of land on
423 which their houses are built. Some loans are available
[452] to them for building houses. Non-crofters have access
[654] to the various subsidies available to all agriculturalists such as the subsidies for raising hill sheep and beef
[829] cattle. There is still the feeling, however, that crofters have rights which non-crofters do not have and that in conflicts over scarce goods crofters have

476

476 MUTUAL AID--cooperation in economic activities (e.g., mutual aid); exchange of services; cooperative work groups; material and social rewards of cooperation; interaction and relative elaboration of cooperative and competitive activities; etc. See also:

Personality 15
Organization of labor and division of products in food-getting and exploitative activities 22, 23, 24, 31
Interpersonal relations 57
Cooperative relationships among kin . . 59, 60, 61
Exchange of services for goods 437
Mutual benefit societies 458

175 423 427 Thus some tenants were relatively more prosperous than others. A large class of subtenants (scallags) did corvée labor in return for a small amount of arable land and the right to graze a few livestock. Their land was intermixed with that of their masters in the prevailing system of run-rig. "Crofters" had economic standing similar to that of scallags, but had permanent, compact allotments (Gray 1952: 49).

C. Joint Farm vs. "Crofting Township"

[632] The 1726 rental indicates that the "town" of Shawbost was a corporate unit and thus that "crofting townships" have a long history. However, Geddes (1948) argues that the form of the 1726 rental was due to the method by which it was collected. In 1726, officials toured the island and made a list in large public hearings of the rents of those assembled, thereby attempting to make certain that no tenants were excluded from the rent roll. The major cooperative work unit seems to [464] have been not the township but the joint farm, which [476] contained enough men to make up a crew for ploughing and fishing.

171 175 241 427 In the Lothians and eastern Lowlands, the land could be worked in larger units than in the Highlands, and a

171 175 427 241 typical homestead or "farmtoun" consisted of a "ploughgate" occupied by eight tenants, each of whom contributed one animal to the common plough and thus had an eighth of a share of land or one "oxgate" (Grant 1930: 97).

175 427 241 [476] [407] In the Highlands and particularly in Lewis, about four to six men and their families worked together and shared land which was held in run-rig. The Old Statistical Account (1796) lists 90 ploughs in the parish of Barvas or about one plough per five families (Geddes 1948: 57). Geddes maintains that joint tenants

175 427 241 114 233 paid an equal share of the rent and had equal "soumings" (the number of stock allowed on the common grazing land). In contrast, Walker (1812: 56) says that joint tenants paid different rents according to the share which they had in the arable land, and that the number of cattle which a tenant had on the common grazing land was soumed or proportioned to his rent; all the tenants worked the arable land together, and received a percentage of the produce which was appropriate to their share. Geddes' description (1948) emphasizes equality within the joint farm; Walker (1812) and Gray (1952) point to differences between tenants and subtenants.

241 654 continuing investment in crofting activities is the availability of various subsidies which, in the form of fencing grants, calf subsidies, and so on, are available to other agriculturalists as well as to crofters. The certainty of support which subsidy offe is important in the decision-making of crofters becaus of their generally fluctuating, low-level income, in contrast to the decision-making of farmers who keep sheep or cattle on a large scale. The latter are like to be more affected by market prices. Many Lewis crof [648] indicate that they would hesitate to support Britain's entry into the European Economic Community, despite th higher level of prices for beef, because their subsidi might be jeopardized. Subsidies can be important as incentives for specialized production, but do not them selves sustain crofting as a socioeconomic pattern. [178] And in general, despite the incentives, all agricultur production is declining in the face of more appealing alternatives available to the emerging generations.

178 241 476 A decline in township communalism, or an increase in the individuation of agricultural practices, is another index of change in economic strategy. The fencing of individual land and purchase of personal farming machinery are everyday occurrences in the life

175 441 452 went away to the fishing, their families bought groceries on credit. "If the merchant thought the fishing season would be good, he let them have as much as they wanted; otherwise he restricted them in their buying."

288 175 159 444 437 472 The barter system continued in Shawbost long after it stopped in Stornoway. A weaver was given credit in Coinneach Rod's store, until it closed in 1948, for the exact amount of the tweed. He never gave money. "You had to get just the right amount of goods, even down to tuppence in matches." People were forced to buy huge jars of jam which they did not really want or need. Some "cunning" fellows would slip a two-pound pair of shoes into a shoebox marked 15 shillings. "Coinneach Rod would ask if you wanted a wireless, or would a tweed jacket fit your son. You couldn't refuse, or you wouldn't do any weaving for him for long time."

288 175 159 472 452 Coinneach Rod bought looms for many weavers, and they would weave only for him to pay off the debt. "People living on the dole with a large family would go to him and ask him to buy them a loom. He would get the man a loom, and then get him a lot of tweeds to weave so the man could pay him off. It was two tweeds for yourself and one for the loom."

288 175 441 2. Centralization and Specialization: Centralization and specialization in handling the production of the tweed

288 466 rotation to the weavers who are registered with them.

Other factors also hinder equal distribution of [602] tweeds. Personal considerations enter; for example, the managers of the Shawbost mills feel a responsibility for the weavers in their own village, who are usually kinsmen. Exclusive distribution to local weavers is rationalized by saying that the tweeds must be done urgently; hence they are distributed only to the weavers who are known to do tweeds quickly.

288 494 466 The major factor hindering equal distribution of tweeds is the expense which derives from the decentralization of weavers, that is, the cost of petrol and upkeep of the vans, which is born by the mills. Before World [175] [178] [493] War II, the weavers rather than the mills were responsible for transporting the tweeds, by cart and horse at first, and then by motorized transport.

288 175 492 494 During this period, independent entrepreneurs carried tweeds in vans and buses at four shillings each, a practice which stimulated the development of public transportation. Although the number of passengers using such vans and buses for public transport fluctuated, the income derived from the cartage of tweeds was in itself large enough to be profitable and to maintain the [178] enterprises. An efficient service existed, despite the

288 paucity of passengers, which provided rides to and
175 from town many times a day; but with the "development,"
178 that is, the centralization, of industry, public trans-
472 portation deteriorated. Visitors to the island unfamiliar
494 with this history are struck by practices which they interpret as coming out of a clockless past, such as the present custom of stopping the bus midway in its journey to Stornoway so that the driver can eat dinner in his mother's house while all passengers wait on board. Such a custom is fairly recent, and indicates the deterioration of public services to populations which are marginal to the centralized source of these services.

288 During World War II, when the demand for tweed was
175 high and the number of weavers small, the weavers staged
[468] an effective strike by which they received an increase in pay and the burden of cartage was shifted from them
[178] to the mills. This did not affect the system of trans-
[494] portation until the mills realized it would be cheaper to run their own transport rather than to pay the independ-
[493] ent drivers a "cartage fee." The mills then began to use their own vans to deliver yarn and collect tweeds directly
175 to and from the weavers. Once the mills took over trans-
288 portation, they tended to deliver tweeds to weavers
178 closest to the mills rather than to uphold the principle
[494] of equal distribution. This practice (made possible by
[466]
[361]

463 One of his
326 apprentices was his sister's son, who built another
[874] smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip.
[604] People gathered there while he shoed horses that came
[521] from Barvas to Carloway."

444 A number of shops were established in Shawbost
178 that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At
[494] one time they numbered six altogether. These shops also ran the first buses between the village and
[477] Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared
[443] because of competition with larger companies. Mobile grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in large parts of the island, undercutting the local busi-
178 nesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-
434 sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and
571 sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on
621 local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town-
44 dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major
463 proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers,
178 fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage
472 collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal
[484] dealers and others extend goods and services from centralized sources to a market which has money to pay for them. The island's participation in this extensive market system is affected by its marginality to the

311 who wanted to keep his bullock on the reseeding for
233 another week because he wasn't ready to sell it; but
232 he should have known the rules. Some people want to
829 keep both cattle and sheep on at the same time, although the agricultural advisor says cattle should go on first, because sheep go for shorter grass. Other people want to put on twice as many sheep as those who have both cattle and sheep. When they stop keeping cattle, they think they're not getting a proper share of the reseedings.

"The Crofters Commission wanted communal township schemes. But people have different demands. It's better to go for an apportionment. You can do what you want with your own land."

178 The number of township members participating in
311 the communal schemes is diminishing to the point where
232 it is less expensive, and much less subject to conflict
423 arising over differences in stock-keeping, to invest in
476 individual holdings of land rather than try to sustain communal practices.

264 The only occasions on which it is customary to feed
574 someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as peat-
576 cutting. On such occasions the preparation of meals is
[461] done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual scrutiny,
[476] and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, the requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled by giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but which were much more abundant when the land was cultivated
[262] and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcakes,
264 clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foods
571 are usually offered to visitors along with tea, and in the
574 past this custom served to minimize the economic disparitie between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A similar
[737] function was served by the practice of giving part of
[431] each catch of fish to old widows and other villagers in need of aid. Even though food is more abundant and divers today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during a visit is still very important.

173 A 50-year-old man who "married into" a croft recalls,
[581] "I came from a family of ten children. Everyone had to
[428] leave, or marry a girl with a croft. Only the eldest son could inherit the croft." There was little room for
423 romanticism in the fight for scarce land among the sons
581 of large crofter and non-crofter families. "The most

233 As these quotations bring out, the subsidy enables
654 people to risk rearing cattle under conditions that would otherwise make success very uncertain.

476 5. Communalism: Despite the decline in various
571 agricultural activities and the individuation of land use, some activities persist which require mutual aid.
[484] Conditions of low geographical mobility, in which mutual watchfulness and competitive gamesmanship have developed (see section on "Social Marginality"), contribute to the strong boundedness of the township network. There is still competition over who begins an agricultural
[156] activity at a particular time of the year. No one wants
[221] to be so early that he stands out like an over-eager novice running risks of frost or other bad weather, but there is an element of pride in being the first to
314 harvest potatoes or bring in the peat. Almost everyone
571 cuts peat, a time-consuming and back-breaking job made
476 pleasanter with a large labor force; and every aspect of the activity--the time of cutting and bringing in, the length of time required to cut peats, the size of the peats when dry, the type of meal served to the work crew, the evenness of the final peat stack--is subject to intense scrutiny.

121 of the township with the larger society, and examines
128 the effect of geographical and social marginality on the boundedness of the township network. Chapter 6 discusses two important networks of social relations within the township.

B. Township as Social Boundary System

632 The township constitutes a relatively firmly bound
178 system, although its boundaries are weaker than formerl
621 when the township was relatively self-sufficient
[476] economically. Township members worked together in smal fishing crews, and families relied on each other for help when members of the family were away from the isla "at the fishing."

621 Relatives were expected to give priority to helpin
476 each other. According to one proverb, "A relative is
602 your best friend." First and second cousins were
[539] considered especially close, but knowledge of one's
[605] kinsmen extended to at least the fourth generation.
602 Ties of kinship became evident in ceremonies such as
576 funerals and weddings. One Gaelic proverb says, "You
585 know who your relatives are at weddings and funerals."
764 At weddings the onus was on the members of the bridal
[539] party to remember their relatives. "You have to sit and calculate who is closely related, and all those

472

2 INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE--business and industrial enterprises with owner management; specific characteristics and forms of organization (e.g., individual ownership and management, partnerships, family businesses); opportunities for and justifications of individual enterprise; distribution of profits between owners and employees; etc. See also:

Industrial enterprise 39
Mercantile enterprises 44
Bankruptcy 426
Income 434
Local and regional specialization 438
Domestic trade 438
Employer-employee relations 466
Accumulation of wealth 556

286 44 175 By 1911, the number of looms in Le
250-300 (Hunter 1964: 42).

288 184 By the late 19th century smal
domestic spinning and weaving in t
mainland. Weaving continued to be
the Hebrides where it was encourag
non-profit-making organizations su
Home Industries and Arts Associati
Industries Association, and the Cr
established at the end of the 19th
encouraged by local merchants who
middlemen in marketing the cloth.
small general stores throughout th
bought the tweed from local weaver
from their stores in exchange. Ma
in Lewis grew from such small gene
the barter system.

288 1. The Harris Tweed Industry

175 Rod, a man who started a tweed bus
159 of Lewis which eventually develope
472 with equipment for spinning yarn
was said to have been a risk-taker
first L50 he borrowed, but borrow
looked back, a man who throughout

ewis had increased to

ll mills had replaced
the Highlands on the
e a home industry in
ged by the support of
uch as the Highland
ion, the Scottish Home
rofters Agency--all
h century--and also
had begun to act as
These merchants owned
he island and either
rs or gave them goods
ny of the tweed firms
eral stores and from

in Shawbost: Coinneach
iness on the west side
d into a large mill
nd finishing tweeds,
, a man who lost the
d another L50 and never
his life gave fellow

288 businessmen nervous breakdowns because of the risks he
175 continued to take. "He was planning to start some
159 business. At one point it was going to be either
472 distilling or the tweed, and he just happened to go for the tweed."

Some say Coinneach Rod had physical disabilities, developed or aggravated by military service, which made him unable to work like other men, and hence he was forced to find other ways of earning a living. He was a merchant, like other islands who became entrepreneurs in the tweed business.

According to one version of Coinneach Rod's life, he began to handle tweed on a large scale as the result of an accident, when an agent selling tweed for a merchant on the east side of the island arrived on Lewis for the first time, asked for a "Kenneth Macleod, merchant," and was directed to Coinneach Rod of Shawbost.

"He was also an earthy, natural, easy man to get on with. He never changed, even after the money came. He would sit the buyers down with a plateful of cuddies and say 'Dig in,' 'Eat up.' He always ate them whole, and never spat out the bones. The buyers liked that. They liked his easy manner."

175 Between the first and second world wars, the merchant
441 was an extremely powerful figure. When men and women
452

178 of the normal capitalist farmer in the West; but in
241
476 crofting areas, these practices reveal a strain between communal and individual tendencies.

a. Fencing:

233 Although run-rig was replaced by fixed, compact
(178) holdings, the method of animal husbandry was not affected
(419) until the land began to be fenced. A single dry-stone
(333) dike enclosed the township, keeping livestock on the moor and away from the arable land. In different parts
(184) of the Hebrides, various types of herdsmen were hired to protect both the livestock and the growing crops (cf. Owen 1958-59 for a discussion of cattle, calf and sheep herdsmen in North Uist).

175 The township Constable had a great deal of power,
625 which included the right to evict people from their crofts, to enforce rules of good husbandry. The last Constable of Shawbost, who died at the turn of the century, has been credited with a number of ignoble actions, such as forcing an old woman with a sore leg to take her cow to the moor along with all the others. Old widows who had no one going to the fishing and hence no means of paying their rent might be evicted in favor of other persuasive, land-hungry members of the village.

(c) FARM-TEAM AND BOAT'S CREW

The strictly equal division of rent on each joint farm shows the equality of sharing among its workers by 'run-rig'. By this system, periodic pooling and redivision kept the land in convenient blocks, a wet part here and a dry one there, all shared out to give each man an equal chance whatever the weather might bring. Such sharing was not mere static division of goods: it was the means for co-operative work, in ploughing and harvesting, or cutting peats, on land, and in manning a boat for the fishing.

For ploughing, two or three men were needed—one leading the horses (walking backward and singing his encouragement), a second to hold the plough and perhaps a third to turn the sods; but four ponies abreast were needed to haul the plough, and each tenant possessed only one or two. In addition, the plough might be preceded by an instrument to clear the ground, a 'reestle', requiring two horses and one man. A Gaelic proverb notes the selection needed in the horse team, and one disabled by age could be replaced as leader by another. Ploughing was necessarily co-operative.

The rockiness and hilly ground of Uig and Lochs diminished the usefulness and, no doubt, the number of ploughs, but the importance of their fishing was some compensation for poor agriculture. In 1790 there were ninety ploughs in Barvas parish, where they were no doubt of ancient usage: a ratio of one plough to five families, or one per joint farm. To judge from the smoothness of Stornoway parish, ploughs were probably used there in a similar ratio.

While some jobs were done by no more than two people, —as when a ridge or 'lazy-bed' was put in order, the

couple advancing one on either side of it—many other tasks were definitely team-work. Such was peat-cutting. "When they are making peats, five people are employed. One cuts the peat, another places it on the brink of the ditch where it is dug; a third spreads it on the field, a fourth pares and cleans the moss; and a fifth man is resting, ready to relieve the man that cuts. The women are seldom at this work, but the men help one another alternately; sometimes they must rest satisfied with fewer hands; but the above is the full complement of men required to perform the work, according to their tastes." Buchanan's description was written 160 years ago (1793); it remained true till recently and generally it is so still. There was thus a normal team practice for work—even a man to rest was not forgotten! As the Gaelic proverb puts it: "They won't make power (add strength) without a threesome and they'll limp without a foursome!" (*Cha deanar treine gun triuir, 's bidh iad crubach gun cheathrar*). In Gaelic, as in Scots, one speaks of a team according to its number, as "a pair, a threesome, foursome" and so on, up to a tensome (*deichnear*). In Lewis the farm-team was usually a foursome or fivesome.

Only in exceptional cases was land worked and held singly—as when a smith was kept busy at his anvil in ploughing-time and harvest. Thus in 1715 one or two rural smiths had single holdings of average value or more (£1), and one artificer or tin-smith (caird) a holding of minimum value (5s.); and in the burgh all the small plots were held singly. As the women wove, at home mostly, no male rural weaver held a single plot; his weaving could be done at slack times, so long as there was light; at busy times he worked on the land with the rest of his team.

On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an

on the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an outlying reclaimable patch of arable, lying near distant, little-used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chance of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the man and his family; but there might be advantages such as an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as hunting 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunter-bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft was known as *Ruigh* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of poverty with individuality in isolation were handed down, for example, from one of my forebears who held such a *ruigh*, Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-feet contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the last of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *ruigh* may have originally been a summer shieling, only occupied when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with new possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led to settlement there.

At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of North Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lodges and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth, as they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such as one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small islets. But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single crofts are rare. And the clearest distinction must be drawn between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage or croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or even two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers; for even a few families form the germ of a community, in work and in leisure.

The potentialities of co-operative practice were overlooked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough. For when new methods were required, run-rig kept back the pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. Soon

after 1800, John Walker wrote that run-rig, "formerly very general in Scotland, was abolished with improvements but still subsists in many parts of the North. A number of tenants of the same farm have a common pasture for their cattle, and the arable is divided among them, by ridge and ridge alternately, which each cultivates for his own behoof. This gives them all a common interest in the crop and, when there was no inclosure by dyke or hedge, might be of some advantage" in giving each person some protection "against the encroachments of his neighbour's cattle". Speaking of joint possession this time, though without reference to survivals, Walker wrote that in the Lowlands "in old times a large farm might be occupied by a number of conjoint tenants who cultivated the farm in common and divided the produce. In this way the interest of each became the interest of the whole. They were ready, and were frequently called upon, to defend the common crop and cattle against depredations. There was then a necessity for such an allotment of land, especially in the Border country and in the Highlands." The team, in other words, was a unit of defence. But "nothing like improvement can be expected from farmers placed in this situation . . . [and] no community can ever equal the carefulness and industry of an individual in the management of his affairs".[1]

So far as it goes, such an analysis is incontrovertible; for Walker was one of many contemporary observers who could contrast both the "improvement, industry and carefulness" of the best individuals under a vigorous landlord, with the sluggishness of old-fashioned ways on backward estates. The fundamental reason for sluggishness was that

[1] John Walker, *Oeconomical History* [descriptive account] *of the Hebrides*, 1808.

the cultivable land and pasture having been shared out to minimal fractions, they called for a minimum of labour by the men—though housewives and mothers had always plenty to do. The morrow's tryst for work might prove a tryst with no work done. The men might foregather on the moor to cut peats, for instance, but if one of their number was late, become so absorbed by telling stories of the Fenians that, ere work had begun, it was time to go home—resolved to meet for work some other day! As a result, reformers advocated breaking-up the joint-holdings; and this was done in Lewis by 1830, as noted in the Brand Report. But mere division of the land did not increase its total amount.

Yet while noting the progress made by the liberation of individual initiative, we can see the drawbacks of individualism: the evictions made with no provision for new homes, and later the monotony and the loneliness of modern farm life, the mutual distrust of employer and employee, and the general inability of farmers, as yet, to co-operate. At the present, when planning, purchase and sale are required on a large scale, particularly among smallholders, the interest of each is still "the interest of the whole". The team-spirit must be recovered from the work (not simply the play) of school onwards to further education and communal effort.

To sum up, every farm-hamlet was held jointly and on equal terms, each joint holder being responsible for an equal share of the rent, and the movable run-rig system ensuring equal quality, as well as equal quantity, of land. Common interest was assured, and there was mutual support in distress or sickness, as when one member, named in a deposition of 1718, was 'valetudinary'. Lastly, work was done in common not only when it led to efficiency

through division of labour or united effort, but simply for the sake of mutual stimulus and pleasure!

(D) THE SHARING OF MACHAR, MOOR AND SEA

Embracing several joint-farms, each with its team or crew, came the township. The township had not only its common pasture, it had a special extensive system of run-rig on sandy, coastal machars, as in parts of the Island and in Uist—a system continued to this day.

On the machar of Barvas, cultivation strips are still re-allotted periodically, as they were annually on all the Island machars. The machars behind the 'storm-beach' dunes of the Outer Hebrides closely resemble one another, from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head. The immemorial system was noted by Walker and more fully by Carmichael, who called it 'intermediate run-rig' to distinguish it from the run-rig of older joint farms on boulder clay, and it persists at the present day.[1] In North Uist the machar land is laid off in large scatts or fields. Each scatt is divided into as many rigs as there are crofts in the township. There may be a dozen scatts in all, and usually half the number are lying out in natural pasture, but they are put under crop in rotation, so that each year one or two scatts will be brought into cultivation, and the others left out after a course of cropping. When a scatt is to be brought into cultivation the township 'constable' (who holds sway under the district ground officer) appoints a day for allocating the rigs.

[1] Walker (1808); Alexander Carmichael, appendix xlviii and xcix, pp. 213 ff. and 451 ff., Report of the Crofters' Commission, 1884. Socially these form the most significant evidence in this great Report. See also "Grazing and Agrestic Customs", *Celtic Review*, 1905. Cf. C. Macdonald, *Scot. J. Agric.*, 1919. See also his lively accounts of machar and pasture: *Highland Journey: Suil air ais*, 1943.

reach their shielings. From Point district (Eye Peninsula) the cattle are still brought inland to the moors south-west of Stornoway. And from Bernera on the west the cattle are swum to the hills of the main island, just as they once were swum from Bute to the hill-pastures of Cowal in Argyllshire across the Kyle at the 'Strait of the Swimming', Colintraive (Caol-an-t-snaimh). Nothing could be more natural, indeed inevitable, than pasture in common where large, open moors were to be found. The number of animals allowed to each holding was duly apportioned and then, as now, was known as the summing or 'souming', still checked at the annual gathering (*cosgoradh*).

Thus a cluster of conjoint farms shared "the grass on the Ben and the tillage on the machar" (*Fiar air beinn agus peighinn air machair*). Along the shore, sea-ware, driftwood and the like were allotted, too. And, as Carmichael put it, there was even "run-rig at sea", for the fishing banks were allotted among the available crews. Most of these rights are still shared by the members of a township. But any crew can now fish freely where they choose, and no township can legally keep away strange boats, nor even steamers beyond the three-mile limit. This loss of communal rights stands in the way of remunerative fish-farming and its promise.

Profound social implications distinguished these three concentric circles of community: the family; the farm-team and boat's crew; and the larger, township group. These implications concerned labour, duty and right. The labour of reclamation gave a 'right' to the land thus won from the moor; and the duty of labour together, for fruits equally shared, gave the farm-team and fishing crew cohesion on land or sea—team and crew working for a common purpose. On the other hand, as individual sharers in the common

pastures of machar and moor, each man had not so much a 'common interest' or duty as, individually, a 'like interest' or right. As now, each unit, whether team or individual, would tend to desire a maximum stock for itself, perhaps hoping it would have "the luck to rear" a little more than its apportioned souming, at the risk of the over-stocking which results in common loss. But though need, greed or rivalry offered temptations, morality invited careful sharing and was enforced by common interest. The chief distinction between team and township was that the tasks of the farm-team were constructive and, like that of the boat's crew, active and co-operative. It is true that in the township certain tasks were co-operative, such as the wolf scaring of old times or the fox 'hunting' or shooting on mainland moors today. The modern gathering of sheep is also done together. But no constructive effort was involved in the allotment of shares on the machar or of stock on the moor, which were—and remain—matters merely for communal control, not communal effort.

Now, the quality of a group alters with its quantity. The intimate cohesion of a very small group of no more than half a dozen members, diminishes with an increase in number; but increase brings a compensating gain in diversity. Ten or a dozen people tend to break up into sub-groups, whether for small jobs or to enjoy conversation. The smallness of a group limits the number of relationships; an increase in number multiplies sub-groups, and life is enriched. After living long with fewer than half a dozen acquaintances, the same subjects keep cropping up in talk, the same tales are re-told, too often, and people cannot get away from one another's idiosyncrasies! A very small addition turns the scale by renewing variety. Here lay the social value of a township and neighbourhood,

embracing several hamlets. Yet the strength of community life sprang from co-operation in the farm-team and in the boat's crew.

With the passing of the joint farm the greatest disciplinary factor for work in common passed away from agriculture. The fact that fishing still remained as a social discipline, and actually developed in importance as the farm-team declined and was abolished, was to prove all the more significant to the vitality of social life until 1914 and even to the present.

(E) THE COMMUNITY ORGANISED: STEERSMAN AND CONSTABLE

As small groups of two to half a dozen men could manage their agricultural affairs informally, by common consent, no official was formally chosen to manage the affairs of the fellow-workers on a farm. Where prompt decisions are needed, however, even a small group should be led: a boat's crew therefore choose their helmsman-skipper and obey him at sea. And where several farm-groups made up a township, more formal deliberations were required, and to carry out their decisions they chose a responsible man, the constable.

Of the crofters' manner of deciding communal affairs in Uist, Carmichael wrote, in 1884, that these meetings "were highly interesting, as showing the ability of the people, their logical and legal acumen, their readiness of resources and, I can happily add, their invariable courtesy towards one another. There was one regular official known as the constable on whom there lay the chief executive responsibility. When a crofter is elected constable of his town-land, he takes off his shoes and stockings and, taking

602 576 585 764 people will be doing the same. If they think they're close enough to be invited, they'll be annoyed if you don't include them." At funerals, relatives of the deceased to about third cousins were expected to participate.

621 602 476 571 When a population has lived in a small area for generations, a dense network of kinship develops. This fact, and the importance placed on mutual aid among fellow villagers, fostered the feeling that the network of township members, who ploughed, fished and tended cattle and sheep together, was also a network of kinsmen. "We're all the same people." "It's all one family here." Occupational and kinship spheres of social activity commingled. The importance of neighbors in contrast [539] with relatives was reflected in such proverbs as, "A neighbor close at hand is better than a relative in a distant land."

621 594 [178] [571] The nuclear family did not, according to Cohen's criteria, constitute a firmly bounded system. Then as now, women preferred the company of their "own kind," that is, the company of other women. The men worked and spent periods of recreation with other men. Children 621 596 spent about as much time in the homes of grandparents, uncles or fellow villagers as they did in their own homes. A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a

621 571 476 A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a common practice, when she was young, for children from large families to live for as long as six weeks with other families who were relatively better off. They would help harvest the hay or the potatoes or bring in the peat in return for food, lodging and perhaps some clothing. "They usually ate better than they did at home." The children were not necessarily relatives of the families with whom they boarded.

621 572 Strong friendship, that is, the kind of friendship associated with mobile urban life in which persons confide in each other and share secrets and build up an individual relationship based on extensive knowledge [602] of one another, was nonexistent. A "friend" was a relative, or someone who gave aid when it was needed.

621 178 572 181 [602] Today it is sometimes said, "It used to be that your relatives were your best friends; now your best friends are better than your relatives." An old man will meet another on the road and say, "I used to see more of you when you needed me." Neighbors used to [231] share sheep that were killed; now households kill and [251] consume their own sheep, and freeze the meat which they cannot use immediately. Groups that walked out together [464] to the peat to finish the job in a single day are being replaced by individual family units that can motor out and do the job in stages. People prefer to give money

181 621 178 437 829 572 621 [369] [521] [476] People prefer to give money in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat-cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendships are still weak, relative to friendships in urban settings. Most information which is shared between individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip. Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutual aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to confide and keep secrets.

621 178 602 [585] [576] Today many of the younger villagers do not know their relatives to the extent that their elders did. In one family, a girl who was about to get married had to ask her brother, who was the only one of the siblings interested in kinship connections, whom to invite to the wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of

602 484 one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there [178] I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in transportation and income, more islanders are taking brief trips away from the island. During these trips, they almost always stay with relatives.

857 577 829 178 It is frequently said that children are now "cheekier," less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, and that they prefer to watch television or read books by themselves to playing with each other.

child may come to spend nights or longer periods of time with them.

To some extent villagers are still dependent on each other for various kinds of help. It is considered extremely bad manners to refuse labor, a tool, or food to anyone who requests them. If someone refuses to aid another, people say, "What will he do when he needs help?" This attitude has made the island a paradise for the few salesmen who, in the last few prosperous years, have started to visit its communities; villagers find it difficult to say no to anyone who comes to their door with a request, including the request that they buy something.

A woman in childbirth was formerly attended by a local midwife, and kept in bed for two or three weeks. "Other women, both relatives and friends, came and stayed with them at night, fixing them warm tea and milk, whispering bhronag bochd (poor soul), how awful you look..." Just as today the neighbors gather at times of illness and death. It is more difficult for neighbors to come to the bedsides of young mothers of today, who are all taken to the hospital in Stornoway to have their babies; but the neighbors manage to visit the hospital, which has no choice but to ignore its rule of only two visitors per bed at a time.

The first thing that is said when for some reason a woman is left alone in the house is, "Who's going to go and sleep with her?" Often a child will be sent from a neighboring family, not always relatives, to stay with her at night. As in the past, it is not uncommon for a childless elderly couple or single person alone on a croft to take in a young, homeless couple, to whom they may or may not be related. The young couple cares for the old person or persons, and inherits the croft when they die.

"Keeping up the relation" is the process by which relatives sustain interaction and expectations of mutual aid even though their relatedness becomes more distant with succeeding generations. "I've got cousins in Ness that I stay with at the Communions. They're getting on into the third generation now." A cousin is a cousin even to the 42nd degree (Williams 1963: 142), as long as there is reason to sustain the relationship. "I know we're related, but I can't quite place it." "We're a bit related. I think she was a MacPhail before she married." "I don't quite know how we're related, but my mother and his mother considered it a close relationship, and he has kept it up."

Every villager has a vast amount of information about other villagers and their families, which may be

The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an industry which is compatible with crofting. Because weavers are self-employed, they can set their own schedule of work and thus continue to participate in croft work and fulfill various township obligations. The effects of this industry on the township as a social boundary system were investigated. The income available from weaving is unpredictable, which encourages the retention of crofting practices and other patterns of behavior, such as "occupational pluralism," that were found to be adaptive in the past. Such strategies also strengthen township boundaries; for example, they encourage mutual aid and communal township practices. But weaving also offers a high level of income; and some weavers, preferring to spend most of their time weaving, have neglected crofting, or have invested in tractors or other motorized transport which enables them to harvest crops, cut peat and perform other activities independent of other township members.

The fundamentalist Free Church constitutes an important boundary-maintaining mechanism, serving to exclude various external influences of the larger society from the township. However, a smaller network of persons engaged in the religious sphere of social activity, a subsystem within the township system, also exists which has the appearance of a firmly bounded system. These are members of the clique

THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

The crofting township is not quite akin to the English or Lowland village. Primarily it is a collection of dwellings of families who, as social units, gain their subsistence from the land surrounding the houses. The smallest number for a township is four family units. A functional unit of four men was the minimum necessary for a boat crew, or for the teamwork necessary to cultivate land; co-operation was essential if all four families were to survive. And from this grew the same spirit of communal work which in Lewis is seen at its best in the efforts to reclaim peat bog and turn it into fertile grassland.

Hebridean townships come close to being the nearest approach to a classless society. The shape of a township is largely dictated by the nature of the surrounding land. The shape of most of those in Harris and in Lewis is either scattered or linear (houses disposed in line at varying distances from each other), with little natural cover, either plantation or scrub. Often the main road runs through the township; some have begun to develop lateral roads, to give, from the air, the appearance of planning on a grid system. Where gardens are cultivated, the produce tends to be a summer vegetable supply for the household, little if any finding its way to Stornoway shops for sale. Peat is the usual fuel, though in townships near to the centres of Tarbert and Stornoway coal is burned; the cost of freight, however, makes it expensive.

Most of the townships are owned by commercial companies; individual lairds own some five dozen; the remainder belong to public bodies and trusts. The actual distribution of ownership of land on the island is as follows. Harris is virtually owned by individual lairds; a small percentage is owned by commercial companies. The Lochs region of Lewis has a mixed ownership: commercial companies, lairds, and public trust, the former being the largest. Stornoway parish is wholly owned by public trust. The Ness district is virtually the property of commercial companies; a small fraction belongs to public trust. The Uig district is the same, the smaller proportion, less than 10 per cent, being the concern of an individual laird.

In Lewis, the public body mentioned is the Stornoway Trust,

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121 From prehistory to the present day, these geographic
178 zones have played their parts as factors in evolution,
174 although the border-lines have changed at different historic
182 crises, and have been modified by economic and social
184 phase. At times the Hebrides have been more closely linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Central Scotland. In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in historic events, but comparability in stage and transition, even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of view, the revealing character of Island life lies not only in static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the Isles and vividly described as " the Past in the Present ". Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic strength of its continuity—notably of early or primitive Christianity—and also by the late occurrence of changes when, at last, they came.

18 The social consequences of these regional differences
62 in evolution are profound. In the ' Plain ', to the south-
174 east of the Severn-Tees line, large village communities
[423] with ' common fields ' prevailed, forming the later manor villages. To the north and west, the more varied, hillier
[192] lands encouraged the continuance of hamlets. These hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no more than four or five to a dozen relations or ' friends '—
—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word ' friend ' frequently implies kinship. Each small group
[462] formed a team. Together the men ploughed their mingled
• [476] rigs (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and on the coast they rowed their boat as its crew. The
[241] women, too, did much together, as when they spun their
[286] yarn, and fulled or ' waulked ' the cloth that one of them
[423] had woven, helping by turn in childbirth and child-care. Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

rent-rolls record something of more vital and enduring concern, the unit of community life in the Lews. This was the 'conjoint' or 'group' farm of the labouring peasantry —though it was overlaid in parts of the Island by the formation of tacks held by gentleman rent-farmers.

Both rolls are Judicial Rentals, that is to say, the tenants, great and small, were convened by the Government Commissioners and examined on oath as to the rents they formerly paid; the accounts were then entered and totalled. Because of the Jacobite resistance, the small amounts of rent and the maladministration of the Forfeited Estates, doubt was cast upon the first rental, of 1718. A second rental was therefore compiled in 1726, upon a different system, which confirms the correctness of the first.[1] All were named, including those absent or 'valetudinary'.

Owing to the Island's comparatively smooth land surface and access to the sea, the people could group themselves as they chose. Whereas in the Highland mainland many a pocket of land is too small to keep more than two or three families alive and no fishing grounds are available, in Lewis the people could join together in teams of four, five or six, to work a hamlet-farm or penny-land, definable as a joint-farm of unit size, and to man a boat with "four to row and one to steer".

The first point of interest is the equality of the shares, each man paying exactly the same as his fellow-tenants for his 'farthing',—a fourth, or other equal share of the farm. An average share of rent was a little over 10 shillings sterling with additional payments in farm produce, though not (as

[1] A. Geddes, "Conjoint Tenants", etc., *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Series, vol. i, no. 1, 1948, pp. 54-60. This reconciles the evidence of 1718, reproduced in the Brand Report (1902), Appx. O, and that of 1726, edited by J. R. N. Macphail (1916).

pastoral group, the germ (in the Hebrides) of the present township with its common grazing. Hamlets and township formed circles of cultural and religious life in common. These 'sociable hamlets', or 'little commonwealths', as they were called by understanding writers on the Highlands, lived on in the Hebrides almost until a century ago. Features of their form and life have long been known, but their life has not yet been envisaged in its full dynamic significance.

The homesteads, informally grouped in these small hamlets, have been mistakenly described as solitary or 'dispersed' by scholars accustomed to larger and more compact grouping. The mistake was made by geographers of the nineteenth century, such as Meitzen with reference to the hamlets of Brittany. Similarly, because of the small number composing a typical joint team, the vital fact of team-work and joint holding has frequently been overlooked; yet a fundamental mistake is made when such close-knit team-work and joint tenure are described as 'individualistic'. Moreover, these teams were linked together in larger, more loosely bound pastoral communities of township and district. In Scotland and elsewhere, it is true, such hamlets came historically to be split up in various ways, into smaller farms and scattered cottages. The larger link of common life was also superseded by the proprietor's estate. Indeed, the twofold revolution involved caused a fundamental regional cleavage within 'the North and West'.

Partly as a result of their small size, the tenure of farm-hamlets was frequently informal. In northern England, the hamlets and their lands were not entered in Domesday Book; still less are early entries complete in Scotland. For this and other reasons, jurist and historian may fail

CHAPTER V

FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP: THE CONTINUING COMMUNITY AND ITS SOCIAL ECONOMY TO 1815

INTRODUCTION (TO CHAPTERS V AND VI)

121 593 476 632 621

THE family, the 'conjoint' or 'farm group' of four or five families, and the larger group clustered in a glen or along a shoreland, are, in ascending order, the three concentric units whose mutual relationships we must visualise to understand the past. Enduring elements of life in family and neighbourhood today, with their own special qualities and limitations, can only be understood in terms of past needs and the relationships they evoked.

121 613 621 [171]

Having seen their relationships in family, team and township, we can next turn to the reciprocal relations of the people to their chief or lord, whose position dominates European, indeed world, history and prehistory. Here our concern must be the meaning of 'clanship' to the chiefs, the joint farm-groups (or 'small tenantry') and, latterly, the tacksmen placed above them.

121 174 178 [184]

We may find, throughout this study, that features and functions which at first sight seem peculiar to the Island are really local variants, more perfectly crystallised, of forms which we know existed at earlier periods in Scotland and in much of northern and western Britain. In the Isles,

15 words are used for neighbourly help among crofters and
65 for services to the chief.[1]
14
22

Full freedom of choice in marriage prevailed among
the people, who honoured marriage and enjoined contin-
ence; but the position of the chief placed him apart from
15 the rest of the community. Now, the more equalitarian
82 the community, the more free are a couple to choose one
another on grounds of mutual affection, passion and
respect; the parents, too, are more likely to encourage or
support a suitor for their child because of character and
virility, rather than means.

15 The lads of the clan, chief and people, grew up together
65 in an isle or glen. But in manhood, while a labouring lad
82 sought a wife from the girl playmates of his childhood and
his fellow-workers at the peats, at the harvest, or in the
shielings, a chief's choice was confined to his own class.
In pre-feudal clanship, tanistry, *i.e.* the choice of a chief
among the higher kin, gave a wider choice for marriage
near home than feudal primogeniture, irrespective of the
wishes of the chief's kin except in extreme cases of unfit-
ness. In Scotland, tanistry prevailed even in the royal
line until the eleventh century. But with the dominance
of primogeniture, the young chief chose a bride outside
his own community for reasons other than those of human
feeling, honoured by Gaelic lyrical and religious tradition
and even by the Church.

As a result, the chieftain's son was granted a licence
forbidden to the rest, a temptation to maidens and a bad

[1] *Cuid* (cognate with *quota*) means a portion, lot or share, or what is one's own (*a.f., gen. cuibch*); and the associated verb (*cuidich*) means not simply
2 to share but actively to help. The apportioned lodging given to the chief
16 and his 'tail' of 'lads' was the 'cuideachy'—*cuid-oidhche*; while the
famous motto of the Seaforth Highlanders is Help the King!—*Cuidich an Righ!*

175 co-operate in active endeavour. It was all the more
632 important to have an elected 'official', the Constable,
427 one of themselves but placed in authority. There could
be no restitution of the old joint farms where they had
[241] been broken down by migration. Yet it should have been
[624] still possible to extend the old spirit to the larger townships,
as the Commissioners held.

175 Again, the constitution of the township is bound up
632 with the rights of common pasture upon the moor all the
423 year, and in winter even on unfenced arable; but the
671 Crofters' Act failed to regulate the rights and obligations
of Common Grazings. It slackened the authority of the
estate without restoring the hold of the tenant community
upon its members. After five years the Government began
to recognise the mistake, and passed the first Crofters'
Common Grazings Regulation Act, permitting the crofters
to elect a Common Grazings Committee. But it was ill-
considered; most of all because non-crofters, that is,
cottars and squatters without legal tenure, were not bound
by the Regulations. On one hand they could not get per-
mission to 'resume' (or enclose) a portion of the outrun,
in order to reclaim it as a croft, without first obtaining the
unanimous consent of the township's crofters; and in large
[233] townships there might always be an objector. Yet each
cottar could, and did, put on stock, a cow or two and a
few sheep, so nullifying the possibility of discipline.

In 1908 a second Act was passed; but twenty years
had allowed tradition to lapse and difficulties to accumu-
late. In Isle Scalpay (Tarbert) for instance, by 1909 there
were only forty legitimate crofters, but eighty cottars; and
the legal crofters would not take part in depriving any
• [476] cottar of such grazing liberties as he exercised. All were
[462] neighbours and most were relations, and their principle

175 was to share; the children needed milk and the women
632 wool to work, while the men fished. As the Crofters'
423 Commission put it at the time, "Necessity has no law and
. . . it is scarcely possible to carry out . . . the Grazings
671 Acts in this island". The position remains little changed.
• [476] Still, in spite of sixty years' delay, and the law's failure to
[462] restore an executive, the Constable, to perform specified
duties as a member of the community, the Grazings Com-
mittees do perform useful functions with credit. They
form nuclei with which proprietor, Government or co-
operative agency actually deal, and the voluntary Clerk
may shoulder considerable responsibility.

175 With regard to small occupiers paying less than £6
423 rent per annum and holding less than 10 acres and 250
671 acres of souming (or share of pasture), the Napier Com-
mission declined to recommend the bestowal of rights or
immunities tending "to fix them in a condition from which
they ought to be resolutely though gently withdrawn".
The Act, however, did grant small occupiers immunity
from eviction, and made it hard for either landlord, State
or fellow-crofters even to refuse house sites or fresh hold-
ings, particularly in the crowded Lews. The squatter
continues; indeed he is favoured, by escaping the payment
of rent and rates though he shares in benefits. The rate-
payers are proportionately, and unjustly, handicapped.
But as isolation has diminished, landless squatters have
been allowed to 'resume' portions of the common grazing
for new holdings, as by common consent at Ness and in
Lochs, after Lord Leverhulme's death.

175 A further recommendation of the Napier Commission
168 was to aid emigration. Now Sir James Matheson's aid in
167 1863 proved successful, but his later efforts met with no
response. There were then, and still may be, in the Island

427 croft by subdivision, he would pay little, indirectly and by
656 arrangement; while if he simply built a hut or house on
a vacant spot he paid neither rates nor rent. Either course
was illegal; yet it was too expensive for the landlord,
however 'hard-hearted', to take legal proceedings to turn
off a squatter. As for wholesale expropriation the suffering
caused and the odium incurred would have involved—and
would still involve—both landlord and State in insurmount-
able difficulties by starting fresh agitation, perhaps with
outbreaks of law-breaking, repression and bad blood. Yet
these anomalies still discourage, and the normal illegalities
demoralise, all concerned.

656 Because of the provision by State and local authorities
178 of a growing range of services in other regions, and also
511 because of the special reasons of Insular poverty, State
action was increasingly taken in the Isles. To what extent
12 have the Islanders responded, it may be asked; or how
far may they have failed, in return for aid offered and
• [476] benefits received? Let us begin with mutual aid practised
among the people up to 1900, and then consider the repay-
ment of loans and grants under different conditions. Ob-
servations by those in touch with the Island for many
years, officially or privately, allow one to read between the
lines and attempt an impartial judgment.

175 As to the strength of independent mutual aid there
476 could be no doubt. Up to the beginning of this century,
[651] the amounts expended on parish relief were 'almost
nothing', and had shown no increase in preceding years.
General poverty, anomalies in the rating system, and the
mistakes such as the erection of poorhouses by the central
administration, diminished resources; but the people
generously gave help to their poorer neighbours in work
and gifts. Except for a year of overwhelming crisis,

175 perhaps once in a generation, the neighbours were still the
• 476 best administrators for poor relief. On the whole, this
651 remained true to 1914.

As to financial assistance from the Government, the
175 evidence seems at first bewildering in its contradictions,
651 suggesting utter inconsistency on the part of the people.
476 Thus, the record of the Lewis-and-Harris fishermen, in
repaying loans for the purchase of boats, was the most
honourable in the North-west. In 1900, of the total
capital on barely 100 loans made to them, 83 per cent had
been repaid, whereas on 150 loans elsewhere less than
60 per cent had been repaid.

Yet as to the record of Lewismen with regard to assist-
175 ance for road-making, the Brand Report was significantly
653 reticent. In 1891 a road was planned direct to Stornoway
from Loch Roag on the west coast at Carloway. This
short-cut of sixteen miles was to shorten the distance by
seven miles and so facilitate the transit of fish landed at
Carloway. Crofter labour was employed as a means of
'self-help'. The road was, mistakenly, printed as com-
plete on 'base maps' and other recent 'quarter-inch'
maps. By 1901, £15,500 had been spent, a sum which
exceeded the estimated cost, but only eight miles of road
had been completed and five miles partially made, while
three miles were quite incomplete. The estimate having
been exceeded and "financial difficulties having arisen"—
the contractor had gone bankrupt and the engineer was
dismissed—the work came to a standstill, £10,000 more
having been estimated as necessary to complete the road.
[18] Of that sum £8000 was granted.[1] But the road was left
[46] unfinished. These figures alone might not condemn

[1] J. P. Day (1918), p. 328. Day added that "the work should now, more than twenty years after its start, be approaching completion"!

185 construction of the Island must rest upon the improvement
311 of the land": and secondly, that by this means "it was
114 imperative to revive the traditional community spirit, the
essential feature of Hebridean civilisation". Those words
still hold good. Yet the land itself is too barren and the
soil too poor to provide a living for many by export of
[438] fresh agricultural produce to the mainland. Only a local
market could pay a fair price for most of the products of
159 intensive small-holding. Judging from the free, untram-
433 melled trade before 1914, Leverhulme held that fishing
could be set upon a commercial basis in the Isles; and
228 there could be few better judges of commercial possibilities
438 than this keen industrial thinker and organiser. If he was
right, as surely he was, to begin with, then the local market
to be created, or rather enlarged by growth of population
and prosperity at Stornoway, could have purchased the
fresh milk and eggs, the fresh greens and fruit, raised on
enlarged small-holdings and marketed co-operatively.

181 A final comment remains to be made. The community
• 476 spirit of Scots fishers from Berwickshire to Barra has gone
far to make co-operation among the men of the crews a
living thing. 'Work for Wages' offered little outlet for
this, indeed it virtually suppressed it; and 'co-partner-
ship' on the Port Sunlight model was a very different
matter from the co-partnership of a crew. Even if at that
time it had been proved impossible to organise free co-
operation in fishing, co-operation in small-holding town-
ships might have kept the communal spirit alive, for later
renewal at sea.

114 It is not easy to assess the after-effects of Leverhulme's
433 activity. Leverhulme certainly helped hundreds of families
by the provision of wages for the building or rebuilding
of roads and other works, of which some were completed

311 illustrates the narrow margin of habitability on these frag-
241 mented holdings.
423 Now, in Lewis periodic pooling and exchange, or the
practice of *movable* run-rig on the small joint-tenants'
241 farms, was abolished early in the nineteenth century, except
423 upon the machar, where it still continues. Apparently the
• 476 strips were simply fixed where they had last been appor-
198 tioned by lot. Subdivision of the little crofts among sons
[175] and grandsons followed, owing to inheritance without re-
clamation. Fairness gave 'the patchwork quilt' described;
but it was fairness pushed to the point of folly, for differ-
ences in soil from one adjacent strip to another were slight!
It is otherwise with the long, narrow plough-strips which
run from the houses on the pure boulder clay down to the
sandy shore: run-rig, movable or fixed, is understandable
and necessary there. The case just cited shows how a
sensible communal tradition, such as that of '*movable*
run-rig' with periodic pooling, may degenerate into ab-
surdity by fixation. Happily the machar still shows the
sane maintenance of a tradition, the pooling of resources:[1]

182 In 1924–25, widespread distress in the Isles, the failure
161 of the Leverhulme endeavour, the crofters' refusal to own
their own crofts, and the emigration which followed, caused
182 many outsiders to forecast rapid depopulation. It was all
161 the more interesting to note the confidence in the Island's
471 future shown by buyers of the great estate, all of whom
knew what they were about, for they were men with
experience of the Island, of its rates and rentals and of its
people. To a wealthy man who repurchased a sporting

[113] [1] Apportionment of lands held in run-rig in the Carloway estate is described, and the principle discussed, in *Scottish Land Court Reports*. (See *Scottish Law Rev.* vol. 28, 7: July 1949, pp. 51–54.) At the same time 'mechanisation', or the co-operative utilisation of tractors had led to pleas for 'collective farming'. (*Stornoway Gazette*, February 1944.)

181 for help?" In one of the Outer Isles, I know of one or
458 two crofters holding fifteen acres of arable, with a share of
a good outrun, who have let their stock dwindle and
746 deteriorate, and their crofts lie mostly fallow, though these
could support a horse or two, several cows, and fifty sheep.
After having found some casual labour, they discovered
they could live mostly idle 'on the dole'. Self-respecting
neighbours suffer: good families who prefer to be inde-
pendent of 'Assistance' and to improve their croft
• [476] and stock, and the outrun too. These find their stock
deteriorating for lack of co-operation in breeding, fencing,
and other communal duties, and see their crops invaded
by weeds, blown from a lazy neighbour's plot. While
an idle neighbour benefits by their industry, they them-
selves are losers.

In another island, a hard-working crofter lost a score
of good lambs through 'worrying' by the dogs of an idle
neighbour, whose own stock had dwindled to a trifle. He
was finally awarded legal compensation; but he found it
wiser not to exact it, for the unspoken threat of exaction
[476] gave him a hold upon the idle 'dole-drawer'. The worker
[626] could still insist that the idler pay his share of the cost of
posts and wire for a fence on the outrun, or contribute
the minimum hours of labour due for fencing and other
[461] statutory tasks in the township. Men like that idler sap
181 the urge to work. They lower communal morality to a
semblance of the social code once too commonly seen by
Islanders in the domestic service of the upper and middle
classes, a code by which chronic idleness was disguised as
'leisure' and conspicuous dependence upon the work of
others was honoured as 'independent means'.[1]

[1] A summary of production, and figures of productive and non-productive income, are given in Appendix I.

(c) THE OUTLOOK: 1939–54 AND SINCE

458 How then can the situation be assessed, as it was before
178 the outbreak of war and since then? By 1939 twenty years
had been partly lost; for the after-war years of the 'Lever-
hulme boom' were followed by discouragement and
poverty. During that time one might have hoped for half
[423] a generation of reconstruction and progress. On the other
hand the sore question of dividing the farms was settled,
so bringing raiding to an end. Congestion on the existing
crofts is less than it was, owing to this fact, and to the
[166] provision of feus. The poverty of many breadwinners
who had migrated to the cities first cut down the amounts
remitted to their Island dependents, then drove them home.
[433] A croft, or even a garden site, and the opportunity of
building a good house there made life still worth while,
[746] when other employment had failed. Unemployment
relief, though tempting some to idleness, gave a respite
[286] which many utilised to make a fresh start. As fishing
waned, many had taken advantage of the easy beginning
[226] offered to learn a new trade—weaving. This has made
many feel that the living to be found on the Island is
better than alternation of 'wage-earning' with unemploy-
ment, in Glasgow or abroad. They believe the situation
[311] of the Island community to be hopeful. While the land
remains little better than before, many, even of the younger
people, still care for the Island life among their own kin.
Given a clear lead, these could reorganise themselves, and
undertake the developments needed in fishing, weaving
and reclamation. The homes are sound, 'good neigh-
bourhood' endures, and given fresh opportunity, the
community could awaken to new life.

178 During and since the war, co-operative marketing was
44
• 476

178 developed through the township Grazing Committees by
• 476 the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society and its
44 associated Crofters' Agency. Lime and fertilisers were
[654] purchased, and wool and other products sold, co-oper-
atively. The co-operative marketing of lobsters, taking
[228] advantage of fluctuating London prices, has led to the
reconstruction of ponds for storage. By these and other
[654] means, government assistance is utilised but not squan-
dered; earlier initiative in agricultural organisation is
reinforced; and communal tradition is revived, linked
to personal responsibility through the crofters' lifelong
knowledge of one another.

178 As to the future, all agreed that unless the Harris Tweed
288 industry flourished, with work at reasonable wages, the
villages would be abandoned by the young, perhaps with
[829] no return such as hitherto on 'retirement'. Many young
people are content with life in the townships, provided
they can get a living there, though not all, for they are
somewhat divided; and work elsewhere, even in the mills
of Stornoway, is a counter-attraction.

178 Social life is undergoing changes which operate both
592 for and against the retention of the young. On one hand,
538 household interchange of conversation, song and story,
the *ceilidh*, has declined. On the other hand, one found
178 that, as regards religious prohibitions, and in spite of the
771 nervous tension expressed in 'Revivals', the young have
577 won greater freedom. Near one village a Nissen hut,
handed over to the Home Guard, was also used by young
[535] people for monthly dances. When I asked a young crofter
invalided from the Navy whether the Elders of the Kirk
made no protest, he replied that they had, but had to give
it up: "They see that we won't stand for it"! This
would have been unthinkable during the First World War,

Stock Management.

221 The annual rhythm of stock keeping has lost the clear definition it used to some extent
235 to possess. The decline in summer residence at shielings has already been mentioned:
178 most were in use up to 1914, and many were visited after the Great War, but the decline
continued during the inter-war period until practically the last visits were made between
1936 (Lundale) and 1939 (Tobson): very few shielings have been visited since. There
• [476] are one or two isolated examples of a summer visit to the pastures still surviving, but
they are not carried out by regular crofters having normal grazing rights. The
construction, since 1908, of ring fences around the inbye and the more recent fencing of
certain common grazings has further lessened the necessity of herding and co-operating
regularly on the commons. The importance of fencing may be judged by the fact that it
was estimated that, whereas prior to the construction of the fence there were about 4,000
sheep grazing over the Earshader - Crulivig - Lundale area, including about 2,000 from
the Bernera Shielings and about 200 from Uig, there are now only about 1,500. Figure
30 indicates both the periods when the sheep are on the hill and the variation in the
dates of movement. This applies mainly to the Island townships, for mainland townships
which are contiguous with the grazings, may keep sheep on the hill for as long as six
months each year. The rest of the year is spent on the township pasture and inbye.
Hacklete, Kirkibost and all but seven of the Tobson crofts are open in the winter to common
grazing. When the custom was more widespread the dates were clearly stated and
adhered to, now there is more variation, and November 7th or 14th (Hacklete) or 17th
(Kirkibost) have become indications rather than rules, depending on weather and the
lifting of crops. On the mainland, ('Bernera Shore') the sheep may be brought merely
nearer to the crofts rather than right onto the arable: where fences have been construc-
ted separating off an area of common grazing next the head dyke of the township, as at
Earshader (1908)*, Crulivig (1908, and 1939), and Lundale, this practice may be forma-
lised, so that only certain classes of sheep are ever taken on the croft. The movement
from the croft to the hills is governed mainly by the weather: the mild sheep will be sent
off to the hills some time in April if at all possible, and the ewes in lamb often there-
upon taken into the inbye if they are not there already. During May, when lambing is
safely accomplished, the beasts able to support themselves and when the weather is
suitable, the ewes with lambs are sent to the hill.

There are some places with special practices, notably Little Bernera which is closed
to grazing in July, August and September. Similarly each holding may graze a certain
proportion of replacement hogge upon the township common grazing of Breacleit while
the other stock is on the hill: this may formerly have been a more widespread custom:
it certainly has contemporary parallel in Kirkibost where some sheep remain on the
township common pasture to compensate for the much reduced numbers of cattle grazing
there in summer.

The individual crofter, or two or more in co-operation, keeps tups buying a new beast
from a different source every three years, unlike Sutherland where it is almost universal
to hire them. These are usually tethered upon the croft from August until tupping in
December. This again takes place on the croft (compare Sutherland, where, since the
tups are generally hired by the township, the tupping is usually done upon the hill and
often entails a good deal of herding). The ewes are not generally hand fed except in
emergency, though here, as in all other crofting areas, opinion is divided on the advisable
extent of this practice. It is however, more general to hand feed the hogge which, indeed,
may be kept under-cover at night in the worst weather, even though they are on the croft
[132] or (Bernera Shore) on the nearer common grazing during the day. It is clear, though,
that, in spite of the occasional hard weather, there is not generally the amount of snow
and frost in winter to cause that amount of hand feeding and care which is a necessity in
many parts of the mainland Highlands.

*Since 1950 about 120 acres have been divided in four and individually fenced.

hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center for tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependence on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villagers participate in a number of social activities which are not tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious asceticism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each with a population of about 300. All, except the ministers and school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle and sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potatoes and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All are bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither community has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. Glendale has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch which has been divided among the small farmers. The significant differences between them are three. The Glendale people are land owners. In this respect they are rather unique in the Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, rent their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glendale is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church-goers of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social activities other than an annual meeting of the share-holders in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a club organization for the men who gather for lectures and discussions of economic problems.

The labor in this pastoral-agricultural economy is provided by the crofter's family, periodically aided by some or all of the families who share in the common grazing.[11] Under the direction of the father, the mother and children care for the crops and cattle. Heavy work, such as ploughing, reaping, and feeding the cattle in the winter, is left to the men. The women milk the cattle, help at the harvest by raking and stacking, and care for the garden. Although men never do any work in the house, in the absence of a son the wives and daughters are expected to fill in the gaps in man's work in addition to running the household. Inter-family cooperation centers on the handling of the sheep. Frequently, the families who share the common own the sheep collectively, as a "club stock," and share in the expenses and profits as well as the labor. The only basic pattern in the division of labor is that women never shear, and it is their responsibility to feed the group.

Formerly, the annual economic cycle was adjusted to the demands of crop cultivation and cattle breeding. Within the last hundred years, however, sheep have assumed commercial importance and now determine the seasonal tempo of labor. The old year ends and the new begins with the bringing in of the rams from the hill. In March the sheep are dipped and then the preparations are made for the lambing season, in April. From spring until autumn there is a rapid succession of duties: ploughing, planting, peat cutting, dipping and shearing the sheep, stock sales, harvesting, and similar tasks. After the

[11] Cf. Ibid., pp. 53-64, 70-74.

change in the use of the grazing land or a desire of the young men to fence the crofts in an effort to improve the individual crofts the old men must have their say. Through their position in the churches, the old men also are the paramount source of social control, preserving their traditional habits and statuses, including a severe limitation on all social activity of a frivolous nature. This religiously sanctioned control is strengthened by the inability of the youth to form a solidarity. Indeed, one of the most serious limitations of the society of Skye is the small number of young men and women, boys and girls and the few opportunities which they have to come together as a group. The functions of the old men's age grade are identical with those described for the Irish small farmer.[21] Another social circle is composed of the affiliates of the same religious sect. They are mainly a mutual aid group.

Although the status equality noted in the township for all of the same sex and age carries over to the larger community, there are always a few people who have an achieved status. The minister enjoys high social prestige as the spiritual guardian of the people. The doctor is valued for his role in caring for the people's physical well-being. The school teacher is respected because he educates the youth and often acts as a spokeman for the group. If there is a member of the landed gentry, he will be accorded the highest status in the area. It is interesting to note that the achieved status positions are most often filled by newcomers to the island. The shopkeepers and

[21] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 125-139.

compared with 34.9 for Scotland. The death rate among Skyemen, however, was 17.4 compared with 22.0 for Scots in general. But Scotland had a net emigration rate of only 3.6 while the Skyemen were leaving at a rate of 16.5. In this decade no fewer than 3,115 left Skye.

By the end of the third period an additional influence of the process of commercialization had become apparent. The social hierarchy was modified in the direction of greater socio-economic differentiation.[68] At the time of the "Forty-five" Skye was inhabited by the families of three clan chiefs, 139 tacksmen, 517 joint-tenants, 1031 subtenants, and 444 servants. There were now 10 landlords. The tacksmen had been replaced by 29 graziers and 12 small farmers. The joint-tenants, subtenants, and servants had become 2043 crofters and 1227 cottars. In the past there may have been one innkeeper, at Portree, and a few millers; now there were 32 innkeepers, millers, and merchants.

The changes which we have been considering could not have left the patterns of interaction undisturbed. Cooperation among the members of the township would have been unnecessary. Since all were affected by prolonged destitution, mutual aid must have been severely curtailed. The extended family was broken by emigration. The nuclear family was seldom intact for more than part of the year. It seems the majority of the able-bodied men were travelling to the east coast each spring to find

[68] Lachlan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, pp. 4-7, 6-7, 11-12, 14-15; and J. G. MacKay, "Social Life in Skye from Legend and Story," TGSI, Vol. XXIX (1922), pp. 260-290.

amount of time which is allotted to each activity and in the pressure on the crofters to complete each chore within a relatively definite period. There are also differences in the number of non-crofting activities in which the individual can or must engage. Let us follow several crofters through the year to see what these differences are.

The Full-time Crofter. One might say the year for the full-time crofter begins during the first week of January when he goes out to the hill to bring in his rams. This is the first break in the monotony of his winter schedule, but it is only a momentary break. Not until March does his season of prolonged labor begin with the first "dipping" of the sheep to rid the animals of tick and parasites. He and his wife, their children, if they are old enough, and their neighbors or hired hands, crofters from nearby townships, join forces. Several of the men go off to the hill to gather the sheep and herd them down to the "fank," a stone or sheet iron inclosure consisting of either two or three pens, a trough for the "dip," and a shearing platform. While waiting for the sheep, the remaining men and women prepare the "fank" for the day's work. One by one the sheep move through the pens until all have been picked up bodily and submerged in the medicinal bath. The women not only help their fathers and husbands at the "fank" but also prepare a noon meal for the group.

Following the dipping, the crofter turns his attention to the soil. By late March or early April he has ploughed,

considered a busy month, June duties are even more pressing. Although the winter sales are over, the rainfall has begun to increase. A succession and variety of demands are made on the crofter's time. Once again the sheep must be brought down to the "fank." This time the purpose is to mark the lambs. The males, unless one or two healthy specimens are selected for future use as rams, are castrated and smeared with a dye to indicate their ownership. The females are smeared and have their ears cut to signify both ownership and age. Like the dipping, this operation requires the cooperation of the crofter and his family, the neighbors, and hired hands. Next the sheep without lambs are dipped once again and given a dose of medicine for liver fluke and a variety of diseases. At the same time, the early hay and, perhaps, the early potatoes are ready for harvesting. The end of June brings the Highland Wool Fair in Inverness. If he has Cheviot sheep, as most crofters do, the man must go to arrange for their wintering on the milder and drier east coast. Although Cheviots produce a finer wool than the more common Blackface sheep, they do not stand up to the incessant wind and rain of a Skye winter. If his wife can leave the children behind, she will accompany her husband. The old function of the Fair, the sale of wool, has disappeared under government price control legislation.

It is not unusual to have the early harvest delayed until July, but even then the mowing may have to wait because sheep must come first. On one of the dry days during the first

The Part-time Crofter. The part-time crofter follows much the same schedule and shares the same succession and variety of chores. Indeed, some are not so much part-time crofters as they are part-time employees. As such, they are successfully preserving a traditional economy no longer en rapport with the surrounding twentieth century commercial world by depending upon economic benefits of contractual relationships to the smallest possible degree. One fellow saw the situation this way: "We don't need factories and the like; what we need is something that will give us time to attend to our crofts." Others feel that if they have to abandon the traditional way of life, they might just as well leave the island for places where greater opportunities for social activity are joined with relative economic prosperity.

The part-time crofter has less land than the full-time crofter and less need for cultivating all of it because he has fewer cattle to feed during the winter. He, therefore, devotes less time to tilling his soil. On the other hand, although he has fewer sheep, the collective flock of his township is almost always larger than the stock of a large croft. Consequently, he spends more time dipping, marking, and shearing sheep in cooperation with his neighbors. Hired labor plays a minor role in the townships. Often the only hired hand is one of their number who assumes the responsibility of shepherding the flock. Some of the townships with club stocks, however, have adopted the practice of paying each shareholder for his labor out of the profits to encourage cooperation or to penalize those who do not do their full share.

those who do not do their full share.

The year for the part-time crofter begins with the preparation of his fields. As a general rule both the man who spends his winter working for the British Railways or away at sea, and the one who finds summer employment near home is found on his croft during this period. Following the example of the large crofter some use a tractor while others continue to plough by horse. More and more are tending to take advantage of the contracting service of the Department of Agriculture and hire a tractor and driver. Once the crops are in, the majority are free until the lambing season. Conservative in his belief that too much handling of the sheep is harmful or individually faced with the almost prohibitive task of singling a small flock out of several hundred sheep, he tends to omit the March dipping. During the lambing season, the several crofters of the township either take turns on the hill or hire a shepherd. The first chore, then, which brings them together as a group is the marking of the lambs and the first dipping of the sheep without lambs. The July shearing and the statutory dips in August and November are cooperative ventures shared by all crofters no matter what size croft they occupy.

In sundry ways, economic interests, judged in terms of commercial efficiency, play a smaller part in determining the economic cycle of the part-time crofter than in the case of the full-time crofter. The part-time crofter does not think it worthwhile to ship his few head of stock to the mainland auction markets. He sells them locally at the tri-annual sales.

division of labor. During the summer, she will milk the cows, and in the winter she will see that they are fed. If there is to be a harvest in the autumn, she will care for the crops.

Some women, in particular the older ones, plough with the caschrom, the foot plough. Other women use a small power driven plough or contract with the Department of Agriculture to have the ploughing done. The Department will also provide the men and machinery to harrow, cultivate, spread lime and manure, mow hay, cut and bind oats, dig potatoes, and thresh grain. By utilizing these services, if they can be afforded, the small crofter can free himself or, at least his wife, from many arduous tasks. The need for cooperation of the family and neighbors is thereby reduced. Although traditional mutual aid is being replaced by cash payment for labor, it is not the labor of a landless working class which commercialization often creates, but rather state provided services. Significantly, most Department employees are newcomers. The Skye man who works for the Department is a better worker away from the island. Since few are able to pay for these services, the wife digs the potatoes, and some women use the scythe to reap hay and oats. The scythe, it will be remembered is really a man's tool. Frequently, the break with tradition is avoided by the return of a son from the mainland or the sea. Running the household and working the croft is not all some women do. They also take in summer visitors, by the day or week, and provide teas for travellers.

In summary, it may be said that crofting is anything but an easy life with ample rewards. We have seen how meager the

fruits of labor are for the vast majority. Although they establish their own tempo, the crofters, both men and women, must follow the dictates of the seasons. Inclement weather imposes prolonged periods of idleness. There are conflicts. These are not conflicts of meaning, but they pose serious pro The small crofter has to decide how he can best allocate his time. He may want to get in his hay or try making silage, but his sheep, his main source of income, must come first. This does not mean that there is economic disintegration. Int gration does not mean smooth functioning. Perhaps, a further discussion of cooperation will clarify the situation.

Cooperation

Today it is commonplace to assert that the Sgiathanach, and the Highlander in general, is "independent" and "just not cooperative." Certainly they have come a long way from the days when the old four horse plough made cooperation essential and the use of the caschrom made it welcome. Population instability, subdivision of the crofts and the change from a subsistence economy to an export economy based on sheep and cattle could not have left the old pattern of mutual, reciprocal dependence undisturbed. But does this mean they no longer cooperate? I think not. In fact, I think critics of the Highland Problem have exaggerated,[9] and the people, always ready to glorify the past, have been influenced by stories of an ideal

d.

More than one crofter told me that one of the biggest
ges on Skye in the last thirty or forty years was that their
hbors are "less Christian," in the sense of being neighborly
helping each other, than they used to be. Once no one
, "I've finished my work," until everyone in the township
stacked his grain. "Colin is harvesting today and Murdo to-
ow; we'll go over and lend them a hand," was the expected
tude. Toward the end of the season, the whole township
d be seen working on an old widow's croft. "Now when a
has cleared his land, he says, 'I'm finished,' and that's
." such a statement has to be followed by asking if they
forget about the sick and the aged. The answer is always
same: "When a person needs help, his neighbors will help
Perhaps they can't do his corn, but they help by just
ing a few fish by the door or a pail of milk in his cottage."
hort, they continue to give mutual aid, but it is anonymous.
Highlander never looks for thanks and never offers it. I
mber our landlady complaining about an Eastcoaster in
ree whom she had helped by giving some outgrown children's
hes. The recipient had thanked her profusely. "You know,
," she said, "If anyone did that for me, I'd be too choked
o say anything."

Not all use the same colors to paint the scene. I was
told that the harvest was formerly a time of friendly
lry. The gobhair-bhacaig, two sheaths of oats tied at
t angles, used to be thrown on the unfinished fields within

each township as a sign of contempt.[10] This suggests that the practice of helping one's neighbors with the harvest was relatively recent. Again in the matter of cutting peats, frequently described as cooperative, and a communal undertaking as late as 20 years ago, there is disagreement. All in the township used to work together, cutting for each crofter in turn and enjoying a festive picnic. "Sure they would," others told me," but first they would cut for the minister and then for the shopkeeper." The shopkeeper was more important to them in those days because they would all be in perennial debt to him, and he might extend a little more credit if they were in his good graces. They would then cut for each other. By the time they got around to the old widow with no one to cut for her, they were all too busy. The sheep had to be dipped or the fields needed attention. I have heard conflicting versions of these stories from neighbors. Are we to conclude that cooperation varied from door to door and township to township?

The growth in importance of sheep as a major source of income, associated with the decline of the old subsistence economy, led to new patterns of cooperation. To be economic sheep must be raised in numbers. As we have seen, physical cooperation is imperative, and many crofters cooperate financially, pooling their capital and dividing the profits. This is true of the nine townships of Kilmuir. Moreover, even in townships where the crofters have rejected the club stock plan the individual flocks are generally handled as club stock.

[10] Cf. William MacKenzie, Skye: Iochdar-Trotternish, p.59.

In Claigan, for example, the crofters felt they would do better with private flocks than with a club stock. Although each man now has his own sheep on the township grazing, they are cared for like any club stock. The four crofters are needed for success at the dippings, marking, and shearing, and they are always at the fank on these occasions. In larger townships, those with ten or more holdings, the need for all the crofters to help out at the fank is less pressing while the felt need for auxiliary employment is stronger. In consequence, the cooperative work habits run less smoothly. In an attempt at adjustment, many townships have resorted to paying the share holders for their labor from the profits. To the best of my knowledge, only one township has witnessed the total suppression of the cooperative spirit; all the crofters are too busy with full-time employment to bother with the steadily declining sheep stock.

Nevertheless, it has become commonplace for the crofters to complain of at least one individual in the township who does not pull his full share, someone who is "trying to sabotage the whole thing."

Independence is a personality trait, but it is best described as a steadfast determination not to conform for the mere sake of conformity when an innovation handed down from the outside commercial world is at stake. The old ways are the best ways, even if only the old men think so. It is the old men who uphold the traditional practices. As long as they do, and as long as unanimous consent is required for any change,

157 476 829 808 the Highlander will be "independent." As for being "just not cooperative," what the critic really means is that the crofter is unable to cooperate in the ways city people or more sophisticated farmers do. The cooperative movement has come to Skye, but it was not a local venture. The Scottish Cooperative and Wholesale Society opened its shops, without shareholders. The distinction between the crofters' simple cooperation and sophisticated cooperation, including capital investment, does not invariably hold.[11] There are sheep stock clubs. Government loans, of course, provided the initial capital.

476 621 632 In dealing with the topic of cooperation, as any part of the economic aspect of the culture of the Sgiathanach, the basic importance of the township again and again emerges. Only a few crofts exist apart from a township. A more detailed analysis of the township system and the pressures it imposes on the crofter is, therefore, in order.

The Township

621 632 The efficient unit in the local economy is the township, the modern equivalent of the joint-tenants' and tacksmen's farms. Each township consists of a variable number of individual holdings, the low-lying arable and improved grass land held under hereditary tenure, and a more or less extensive area of rough, unimproved hill grazing held in common. The common, concurrent right of each crofter to use the hill grazing under the "souming" principle gives the township its focus.

[11] Cf. Darling and Morley, loc. cit.

361 632 162 The number of holdings which can be carved from the land in any one place and the proximity of these clusters of crofts to each other are determined to a large degree by the limiting influences of the environment. Landforms, climate, and soil have always restricted settlement to the coastal fringe and a few internal glens. Although the Sgiathanach has abandoned his former dependence on a subsistence economy, the original cultural adjustment, these natural features continue to exert a negative influence. Each man must have some arable land to provide winter feed for his cattle and to winter his sheep.

If the low-lying area is small and isolated, only a few holdings can be laid out. If the fertile area is large, the influence of the environment is less direct. In either case social and economic factors are important. The small isolated townships are invariably unsuccessful. A few, like Point of Sleat, are completely empty. Others are all but derelict. There is Kylerhea in Sleat where no children have been born in over fifteen years. Suisinish in Strath, a township well remembered from the days of the "Clearances," when a minister's sheep replaced the inhabitants, is now inhabited by an old man and his two elderly bachelor sons. All of these 476 231 162 failing townships are at the end of a road. Whereas the minimum size was once four able-bodied men, the number in a plough team or a boat crew,[12] it is now three. This functional trio is indispensible for the care of a sheep stock large enough to be worth keeping. Even three families do seem to satisfy the social minimum.

[12] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

632 621 233 476 162 The maximum is harder to determine, economically. There is some limit to the number who can stock a common grazing with individually owned stock without becoming involved in complicated entanglements over right, obligations, and questions of ownership. The few townships containing more than thirty crofts in the Western Highlands (91 out of 957),[13] and the negligible number on Skye (only ten), suggests that less than thirty holdings per township, no matter how much fertile land surrounds the cluster, has been found to be the optimum. Most of the townships contain between five and twenty crofts. The fact that many large, adjacent townships, such as Bornesketaig in Kilmuir and all those in the Braes, are losing their population is a reflection of a many faceted condition we have been exploring throughout this chapter--the vast majority of the crofts are too small to provide an adequate livelihood. One of the primary causes for this state of affairs would seem to be overcrowding on the land.

162 632 621 427 291 Congestion. In almost all but the recently established or replanned townships, congestion is a legacy of the increase in population during the first century of the modern period, often aggravated by coerced subdivision during the period of the "Clearances." Because of this, over-all statistics have little meaning. It is quite correct to say there are some 2300 crofts on Skye and approximately 2200 crofters, but this does not mean each family has a croft to itself. To take

[13] Ibid., table 1.

[Caversta]

Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for fanking or other purposes and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes are normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered, and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for black leg, braxy and louping ill, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third week of May.

The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep soum, but the overall stocking is only 88 per cent of the total souming. Two crofts only exceed their individual soums, while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however, poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuable for wintering the hoggs. Lewis Blackface sheep are the predominant breed and the wool, clipped in July, is sold to the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter house. The 1958 loss at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the growth of grass for the ewes. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early-born calves may be sold in the Autumn at six months old, those born later must be wintered to eight months until the Spring sales. The cows are served by the Department of Agriculture Highland bull at Habost, but although good prices are obtained for beef cattle, it is felt that for the family milk supply, a dairy bull would produce a better strain.

In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. In most cases the land under each crop is less than half an acre and nowhere does it exceed two acres. The land has been built up into lazybeds about six to ten feet wide, separated by open drainage channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor (hired from Habost) is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not altogether suitable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by marsh and steep faces of bare rock.

Neither Torista nor Caversta is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the road near Cromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and an inferior footpath joining the main road at Garyvard. The lack of a good road within the dyke acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilisers. Byre manure is used on all the crofts and seaweed is brought from the shore and spread on the lazybeds. Artificial manures, used on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. This lack of incentive to improve is perhaps even more marked by the fact that on one holding alone is a rotation practised - potatoes, oats undersown with clover, then hay for three or four years. Apart from this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the same strips for many years. Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay and is often cut from lazybeds that were formerly cultivated. On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridges can be seen to have a crescentic shape and are thought to date back more than one hundred years. A short distance beyond the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonised by heather.

Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch within the dyke, is cut on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and later brought home by creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens and all keep up to twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the larders, are also maintained.

In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Caversta and seven at Torista. After 1881, when maximum figures of fifty-nine and nineteen were noted, there was a secondary peak in 1911 in Caversta, followed by a steady drop to twenty in 1951 and eighteen in 1958.

[Marivig]

There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters wi no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundr and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, wh all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft, and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Storno and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two other are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobst during the winter and markets them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Geor fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-n (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. The is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remai and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply; rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for th drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring pros perity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

61 Ducey	E-4,5	(1953-1954)	1956	ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

*175 squatters without any legal hold on the land. In Duirinish
*178 parish, which includes Glendale, only twenty-one families had
427 enough land to meet even subsistence needs.[62] In one Glendale
233 township, Holmisdale, some crofts of four acres had as
166 many as fifteen people to support.[63] Part of this extreme
167 congestion was due to the continued practice of subdividing
425 one's croft when a child married. Although the population
162 in 1831 had fallen to 17,680, from 23,084 in 1841, almost
[161] every township had two or three times the number of families which had lived in them in 1841.[64]

*175 The loss of the summer shielings and the common grazings
*178 meant few could keep sheep.[65] The looms were silent. Since
427 the rent continued to be based on the value of livestock
233 and was wholly or partially paid from the sale of cattle, all
241 oats, which the graziers' sheep did not eat, went to feed the
[439] cattle. The mills were all but idle. The people had to buy
[242] flour, meal, and bread imported from Glasgow. Almost all
[452] were heavily in debt to the local merchants, who seem to have been newcomers with more associations with the graziers than
[272] the crofters and cottars. Milk became a precious commodity.
[482] Frequently, the old cow had only enough for her calf. Unable
[462] to keep horses, the women became beasts of burden. They carried

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[62] Ibid., p. 112.

[63] Alexander MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 419-420.

[64] Smith, op. cit., p. 317; Cummings, op. cit., p. 140; and Napier Report, p. 15.

[65] The following is drawn from the evidence presented to the Napier Commission by the crofters and cottars of Skye; see Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82.

484

484 TRAVEL--volume, frequency, range, and occasions of travel; trips and expeditions (e.g., tourist travel, exploring expeditions); routine of travel (e.g., marching, caravans, camping); commuting; etc. See also:

Means of travel	49, 50	Traveling salesmen	
Internal migration	166	Vacation resorts	
Immigration	167	Guest friendship	
Seasonal migrations	221	Visiting and hospitality	
Hunting trips	224	Government-supported exploration	
Trading expeditions	437	Military expeditions	
Itinerant merchants	443	Pilgrimages	

item. No fish without scales is eaten by the Skyeman.

The crofters use small boats, under thirty feet keel, and work in pairs. By contributing creels and sharing the risks as well as the profits, the cost of equipment for each individual is modest. Here, of course, is an additional form of cooperation which has not disappeared. The techniques have remained conservative. The use of small boats restricts operations to sheltered areas, and conservation is not an important consideration.[30] One order, for example, issued by the government prohibited the sale of berried lobsters (females with eggs) without success. The eggs are simply scrubbed off. The law will be useless as long as there are men among them who continue to believe that: "In the old days we took berried lobsters, and the lobsters thrived." Another order has made it illegal to take lobsters under nine inches, the favorite size in the London and Paris markets. This has not only spoiled the market but also is difficult on the crofters because they use small creels. Still, the real trouble is said to be the lack of a closed season. Bretons come over and work the waters during the summer when the Sgiathanach is busy on the land. Crofters from southern Skye are accused of poaching the northern lochs. This leaves few lobsters for the local residents who only go after lobster between November and March.

Although international considerations do not pertain to the question of a closed season, the British government considers

[30] Cf. Darling and Morley, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

dà peathar, and iar-oghaichean na peathar 's a' thràthar.

Within the group which the Sgiathanach calls his "family," we find that husband is fear, and wife is bean. Their children are mac and nighean. Marriage, of course, extends the circle of relatives. Both members of the married pair refer to their spouse's "people" as athair-céile for father-in-law, màthair-céile for mother-in-law, bràthair-céile for brother-in-law, and piuthar-céile for sister-in-law. Céile means mate's, in these cases. This leaves us with two classificatory terms which ignore sex. A grandchild is ogha, and a son-in-law or daughter-in-law is cliamhain.[21]

Although this nomenclature is correlated with expected patterns of ideal behavior, in reality, as I have said, the system has broken down under the impact of economic forces. With neo-local residence the township has come to be occupied by what the Sgiathanach calls "friends" rather than "people." Not uncommonly, brothers and sisters take up residence after marriage not only in different townships but also in distant neighborhoods. The sharing of work, then, mainly involves cousins. Unlike Ireland,[22] there is no strong taboo against marrying a cousin. Cousins marry "to keep the money in the family," and remote cousins were apparently preferred

[21] Although Arensberg and Kimball look upon the Irish System as essentially similar to that of northern and western Europe and the United States, excepting minor variations (op. cit., p.97), I was struck by the dissimilarity of the kinship system of the Sgiathanach to that of the United States. The underlying principles are, of course, the same, but the ramifications set the two apart; see, e.g., Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," American Anthropologist, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (Mar., 1943), pp.22-38; and David M. Schneider and George C. Homans, "Kinship Terminology and the American Kinship System," American Anthropologist, Vol. LVII, No. 6 (Dec., 1955), pp. 1194-1208.

[22] Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 83-86.

by a second cousin. The striking thing to realize here is that the nearest surviving relative always knows his obligation and is ready to fulfill it, without question. Fatherless children are buried by either their paternal or maternal uncle. I have not forgotten the existence of women. The simple fact is, women play no part as mourners. Indeed, the rare woman who goes to the grave becomes the subject of lasting gossip.

Fundamentally, the system of kinship is patrilineal. Linguistically, the terms for relatives may be bilateral, and inheritance of possessions other than the name may be matters of small importance, but the patrilineal emphasis remains. The Sgiathanach lives in a man's world. I shall explore this male dominance further in the following chapter. At present, I want to briefly discuss two additional cliques.

Religious and Age-Grade Cliques. Like the members of any society, the Sgiathanach associates most frequently with those who share his interests and attitudes. It is natural, then, for his associates, other than his kinsmen, to be people who attend his church and people of his own age group. We need not explore the nature of these cliques at this time; but we should have some understanding of their function. The religious clique is primarily a mutual aid group. There is reason to believe that this particular group has lost much of its importance of late, with the coming of the welfare state. Many feel that the government pays people to look after the aged and infirm. As far as doing a favor for someone is concerned, few of the same kirk, other than close friends,

blitz of London he was talking with a crofter's wife, and they 795 829 798
got to discussing Hitler. "What a terrible man he is," she
said, "Why he's worse than...worse than...almost as bad as the
Pope." In another township there is a Church of Scotland 795 797
missionary, a lay preacher. His religious sectarianism does
not prevent his interacting with the Free Presbyterians,
who are in the majority. Not infrequently, he visits his
neighbors and when they need help on the croft he is prepared
to lend a hand. When he pays a call, he establishes the
tempo of interaction at mealtime or tea time by saying grace
and returning the thanks. This is part of the hospitality 574 782
of the Sriathanach. The visitor is always asked to say
grace.

What is true of the township on Skye, is also partly 621 794
true of the neighborhood. Here the members and adherents of
the same church do get to know one another better because of
a common faith, or their particular interpretation of a faith
common to all. They see each other with greater regularity.
Then, too, since the congregations are small, they feel they
belong. At the same time, the patterns of interaction are
not exclusive, except in Glendale. The religious cliques are [476] [795]
mutual aid groups, doing what they can for the infirm and
destitute; they are not opposing factions. Nor does religious
homogeniety mean the absence of factions. Glendale has its
independents who are set against the disciples of the Department
of Agriculture. Anyone who knows Wales may be struck by this 795 171
difference, for in Wales the people are attached to a particular

477

477 COMPETITION--incidence of competition between economic enterprises of the same and of different organizational types; manifestations of competition (e.g., price-cutting); methods of restricting competition (e.g., price agreements, monopolistic arrangements); characteristics of competitive and monopolistic enterprises; regulation (e.g., "trust-busting"); etc.
See also:

Competitive and monopoly prices	435	Ingroup antagonisms	578
Sales promotion	446	Government monopolies	666
Competitive sports	526		

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

463 One of his
326 apprentices was his sister's son, who built another
[874] smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip.
[604] People gathered there while he shoed horses that came
[521] from Barvas to Carloway."

444 A number of shops were established in Shawbost
178 that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At
[494] one time they numbered six altogether. These shops
also ran the first buses between the village and
[477] Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared
[443] because of competition with larger companies. Mobile
grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming
in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in
large parts of the island, undercutting the local busi-
178 nesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-
434 sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and
571 sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on
621 local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town-
44 dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major
463 proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers,
178 fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage
[472] collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal
[484] dealers and others extend goods and services from
centralized sources to a market which has money to pay
for them. The island's participation in this extensive
market system is affected by its marginality to the

241 Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in 190
654 part stems from government-defined privileges and duties
288 regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed
477 industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides and
464 thus is protected from competition, has provided work
166 for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger
[434] members of croft families live in cities on the mainland,
and send part of their wages home; they return regularly
[162] to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus the
[632] township supplies urban workers who remain very much
attached to the rural townships, which are composed of
511 aged family members and a rural proletariat. The standard
454 of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated
273 savings, although much of this surplus is used by the men
for alcoholic drinks.

121 In Britain, rural communities have been interpreted as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf. Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall presented "an operational theory of role" by which he suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analyzed and compared. He developed the concept "density of role texture" to describe societies which lie along a continuum from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southall's concept along with other concepts to present a more complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "models" of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially lists

THE PATTERN OF CROFTING

427 Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire,
241 Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties o
178 Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some
423 districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the
477 nearest equivalent to peasant communities in Britain, although only a small minority of crofters
own their holdings, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, ha
all but disappeared.

175 Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to
427 compensation for improvements. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural
241 holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where th
423 annual rent paid was less than £30. Security of tenure, and compensation for improvements
were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £50. In all,
there are about 20,000 crofts in Scotland today[1] and Collier[2] estimated the crofting population at
[161] about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms
[162] a 1 per cent sample of the crofts, and a 0.9 per cent sample of the estimated crofting population.

Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

423 The characteristic settlement unit is the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal
427 distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the
241 individually held croft land, and the common grazings. The number of crofts per township
311 ranges from 6 in Caversta to 43 in Gravir.

432 The individually held croft land (1,839 acres) is partly 'outrun' or permanent pasture and the
233 holdings are usually but not always consolidated - in Gravir (Fig. 4) and Cromore some of the
crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated
from neighbouring units by a drystone dyke or fence but in Park, such demarcation is the
exception rather than the rule.

The croft land is separated from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wal
The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor, ill-
drained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park,
only Oronsay common pasture is fenced, the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by
crumbled turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture;
the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured, a term comparable to the
obsolescent 'gates' of northern England. In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young beast
up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per £1 rent. There is also a system of stated
equivalences (Gaelic 'coilpeachadh') in most townships whereby substitution of cattle for sheep and
sheep for cattle is permissible: in Gravir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumings
and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed,
soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming of
their croft.

[113] 1 Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

[113] 2 Adam Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1953.

482

482 BURDEN CARRYING--methods of carrying burdens (e.g., on head, shoulders, back); gear (e.g., head pad, tumpline, carrying pole, pack basket); specialists in burden carrying (e.g., porters, coolies); uses (e.g., on safari); etc.

See also:

Water carrying	312	Transport of corpse to place of disposal	764
Gathering of firewood	313	Methods of carrying infants	854
Litters	493		

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142
291
412
415

PLATE IXA. CROFTERS WITH FLAIL AND WINNOWING VESSEL

142
291
314
482
415

PLATE IXB. A LEWIS WOMAN CREELING PEAT (*c.* 1925)

Except in cold weather (as here) the skirt is rolled up over a petticoat to form a pad at the waist just below the creel

/facing p. 64/

195 a crew member. Another family is called "cook," the
222 first job which a novice had to assume when he joined
255 the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go
288 up the east-coast fishing in about 60 now, is the man
355 same back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats,
388 barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent
422 and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods.
455 They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover
488 the stone-walled or wood-lined *sigh dubh* (black house)
533 for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a
566 season. While the men were away at the fishing, the
599 remaining members of the family lived on benefits from
632 the local shops, and depended on the good will of
665 their neighbors.

195 Many men joined the armed services, and were
222 especially sought after by the Navy and the Merchant
255 Service. In 1900, there were 2,800 lewismen in the
288 Naval Reserve.

Around the turn of the century, until the first
world war and the growth of the weaving industry, the
girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to
this boat to see you off. You could go all the way to
Aberdeen for 10/6 on a special fish-worker ticket."
The girls went from the south of England to Shetland
in the far north.

233 As these quotations bring out, the subsidy enables
266 people to risk raising cattle under conditions that
299 would otherwise make success very uncertain.

476 2. Communitas: Despite the decline in various
509 agricultural activities and the individualism of land
542 use, some activities persist which require mutual aid.
575 Conditions of low geographical mobility, in which mutual
608 watchfulness and competitive gamesmanship have developed
(see section on "Social Marginality"), contribute to
the strong boundedness of the township network. There
is still competition over who begins an agricultural
activity at a particular time of the year. No one wants
to be so early that he stands out like an over-eager
novice running risks of frost or other bad weather, but
there is an element of pride in being the first to
harvest potatoes or bring in the peat. Almost everyone
does peat, a time-consuming and back-breaking job made
bearable with a large lubricant and every aspect
of the activity--the time of cutting and bringing in,
the length of time required to cut peats, the size of
the peats when dry, the type of meal served to the work
crew, the ceremonies of the final peat stack--is subject
to intense scrutiny.

463 One of his
496 apprentices was his sister's son, who built another
529 smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip.
People gathered there while he shoed horses that came
from Barvas to Carloway."

464 A number of shops were established in Shawbost
497 that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At
530 one time they numbered six altogether. These shops
563 also were the first house between the village and
596 Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared
629 because of competition with larger companies. Mobile
662 grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming
695 in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in
728 the parts of the island, undercutting the local busi-
761 nesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-
794 sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and
827 sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on
860 local lies and mutual aid. Today an array of town-
893 dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major
926 proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers,
959 fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage
992 collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile barber, coal
1025 dealers and others extend goods and services from
1058 centralized sources to a market which has money to pay
1091 for them. The island's participation in this extensive
1124 market system is affected by its marginality to the

181 People prefer to give money
214 in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat-
247 cutting, because "then you're independent." Friendships
280 are still weak, relative to friendships in urban
313 settings. Most informants which is shared between
346 individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip.
379 Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutual
412 aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to
445 confide and keep secrets.

Today many of the younger villagers do not know
their relatives to the extent that their elders did.
In one family, a girl who was about to get married had
to ask her brother's name, who was the only one of the siblings
interested in kinship connections, to invite to the
wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of
one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and
Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there
I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in
transportation and income, more islanders are taking
brief trips away from the island. During these trips,
they almost always stay with relatives.

It is frequently said that children are now "obnoxious,"
less inclined to run errands and chore orders meekly, and
that they prefer to watch television or read books by
themselves to playing with each other.

154 sympathetic with each others' idiosyncrasies. A constant
187 joking keeps people at arm's length and discourages the
220 intrusion of empathy.

Accompanying this style of indirect, inhibited
expressiveness and the low level of stimulation are
culturally prescribed opportunities for relatively
uninhibited expressiveness. Such opportunities include
the *ceilidh* ("visit"), the drinking situation (mainly
for men), the role of clown or "character," and holidays
464 much as New Year's. Although young villagers and
464 emigrants often describe the village as "dull" and "dead,"
881 the emigrants are happy enough to return to the island
for short periods of time, during which the participants
in these situations in which expressiveness and limited
license are accepted.

2. Ceilidh, Clown, and New Year's Festivities: Only
on certain occasions is relatively spontaneous and uninhibited
expressiveness condoned or encouraged within the
township, and even then the form which this expressiveness
takes is fairly narrowly circumscribed. The traditional
1092 *ceilidh* was such an occasion. In the past, people gathered
1125 informally at night in the *high ceilidh* (low *ceilidh* house,
1158 or home of someone in which a genial atmosphere existed;
1191 the *high ceilidh* was often the home of someone who lived
alone), where stories were endlessly repeated and elaborated,

529 Whereas at other times of the year there are specific
562 times which are considered appropriate for visiting,
595 especially if the visit includes a bottle, at New Year's
628 visitors may appear in the middle of the night or at
661 any time during the day. Some men may stay up for four
694 nights in a row, going back home for a few hours of sleep
727 or a bite to eat before setting off again. Various pranks
760 are played. Men climb through the window of darkened
793 houses, or wake up sleepers by making animal sounds. One
826 man went around the village showing a pig's foot to women
859 as though it were a penis.

But whether lasting for one night or for five,
festivities end with the arrival of Sunday; and the usual
common is, "Thank God it's Sunday."

The "exiles" prefer to return at such times as New
Year's, or during the summer months when the leaves are
blooming and the gales absent. They remember the
"characters" and other features of village life which
give it color, often forgetting the drab background out
of which the color was forged. Some villagers whose
siblings have married and left the island continue to live
alone in the house mainly to keep the house in order for
their return. "I wouldn't clean the whole place up then. They
come back every summer." A man thinking of emigrating

164 says, "I'll have to ask my brothers and sisters if they
197 mind, since they come back here every year." Some houses
230 which are almost empty for most of the year are over-
263 flowing during the summer months. Often the visitors
296 must come in stages.

The "exiles" sing the old songs with vigor, drink
heavily during their visit, and praise the island for
that "special quality" which is unmatched by life in the
direct, crowded, unfriendly city. Some plan to retire to
the village. The villagers take up the tune that their
society is eminently worthwhile. When talking to strangers,
they ask questions pertaining to this image of themselves,
such as, "Don't you think this place has something which
you will never find in a city?" "People come here during
the summer and they love it; they can't sleep away. So
they must find something here. What would you do in a
city anyway? Out here you're free."

The visitors not only bolster the self-esteem of the
islanders, but provide them with a fund of gossip. "You
summer visitors always turn things topsy turvy when you
come." Tales of the adventures of the summer visitors
helps to relieve the long winter nights of the islanders.

A comment frequently heard is, "He was awfully home-
sick leaving." That is, he was already longing to be back
on the island, his spiritual home. The image of the island

164 The image of the island
197 as spiritual home is fostered by The Stornoway Gazette,
230 read by nostalgic songs, most of which were written by
263 islanders who migrated to Canada in the first quarter
296 of the century.

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213 differentiation and differentiation in personal experience,
246 but to use it in the community, as social coin. The few
279 men who refuse to get involved in drinking episodes that
312 initiated on the basis of their available funds are called "mean"
and "tight-fisted."

"If I had a wish, I'd choose to live the same life all
over again, maybe a wee bit rougher. We don't get a chance
here. The poverty keeps us down. But what does it matter
to be a schoolmaster or a crofter? Services for young people, that is,
are serious enough to convert. These services,
which last from Monday through Friday, were started in
Ness after the first world war.

4. The Commission (Communitas): Communitas are given
twice a year, during autumn and late winter. They are
scheduled for different weeks in different parts of the
island, and neighboring congregations close their churches
when Communitas are being held nearby, so that during the
Communion season some persons may attend a number of
services at different churches.

In the days when transportation was limited, visitors
coming from a distance away stayed for an entire weekend.
All households prepared food and made ready for any overnight
guests who might arrive without prior warning.
Guests often slept on mattresses laid on the floor. After
facilities of transportation improved, it became common
for people to drive down for the day in private cars and
return to their own homes at night.

(Page 159 is blank; text continues on p.160 --Analyst)

into tiny squares. The ministers and the elders partake
A final hymn is full of rejoicing, and the minister
then exhorts the communicants to return to the world and
give witness of a live exemplary life.

The evening service on Sunday is evangelical, intended
for non-believers. After this service the communicants
conduct a brief prayer meeting to give thanks.

On Monday, the minister again tells the communicants
to go out into the world and declare publically their
experiences of the preceding days and to demonstrate in
everything they do and say that they are believers. In
the past, only a morning service was given, as most people
had a long journey ahead of them to return home; but now
that cars are available,a similar evening service is also
conducted.

2. The Process of Conversion: The process of conversion
may be sudden, but conversion is most common among
middle age and among women. One informant wryly observed,
"Only recently women were allowed to have souls. But
from the looks of the Communion table, mostly women are
going to heaven." Many of the women taking Communion are
dressed from head to foot in black, a color which indicates
their widowhood.

The first sign that a person is "Following" (Jaantail)
the church in that he begins to attend the weekly prayer

Chapter 7

Conclusions:

Summary and Theoretical Considerations

A. Summary

Crofting township of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland was within a few hours' travel of the major cities of Britain. An extremely high percentage of the crofting people in the crofting counties attend universities and other institutions of higher education. Politically, administratively, economically and in other ways, the crofting population participates in the larger urban-industrial society of Britain.

Despite this participation, the township-qua-village community is a relatively strongly bounded system. This thesis investigates factors contributing to the strong boundedness. From a relatively self-sufficient economic unit using agricultural practices suited to the extensive cultivation of marginal land by smallholders, the township has during recent decades changed to one dependent on goods and services provided by the larger society. Crofting activities nevertheless persist, in part because of the incentives offered by government bodies such as the Crofters Commission and the Department of Agriculture. Crofting

After being discharged from the army, he married the Shawbot
girl he had been courting, but soon after returned to
Glasgow in search of work. A doctor advised him to quit
the factory job he had found because the dust endangered
his wounded lung. He then attended a technical college
for eighteen months in preparation to set up his own
business, a bakery; and again, his wound defeated him.
A doctor advised him that a bakery filled with flour was
the worst environment imaginable for his condition and
should go back and work the land on the islands, where
the air was clean. He returned to Lewis and to the
croft, and when his sons were old enough they assisted him
with croft work and weaving. He still makes a yearly trip
to Glasgow.

The Bodach Beag

"The Bodach Beag" is known for his shrewdness,
industriousness, mechanical ability and kindness. He is
one of the many Lewismen who left the island in 1924 on
the ship called the Metagama, and like many others he
returned to the island during the depression. His eldest
brother survived the sinking of the Iolaire, the ship
returning home with survivors; after the war this man
not far from the Stornoway harbor in 1919, and was never
well afterwards. "He would sit in at night, off by

4 COMMUNICATIONS

FROM the earliest times, the provision of communications in one form or another has been a matter full of incident and high colour. Gaelic folk-song contains many references to the hazards of crossing the impetuous waters of the Minch. One such, a wassailing song still known today, commemorates the death of Iain Garbh Mac Gille Chalum, of Raasay in Skye, who was drowned in April 1617 on his way home from visiting the Earl of Seaforth in Lewis; it is said that he was drowned through the workings of his cruel 'muinn', or footwomen, who employed several famous witches to raise the tempest in which his ship was wrecked.

For well over a century the subject of adequate communications has aroused continuous argument. The strength of any island community lies in its ability to live within itself, while accepting the periodic injection of certain external items necessary for living or for work. A Londoner once expressed amazement at the isolation of Scarp, in West Harris, commenting that in Scarp they would not know what was happening in London. The indignant reply was: "We do they know in London that a fishing boat would be doing in Scarp." However, to a large island community, with a certain degree of economic significance, communications are the basic lifeline.

SEA ROUTES

When in the early 1800s formal sea communications were being established between the island and ports on the west coast of Scotland, down as far as the Clyde, the main communications were those little cried. Except for the professional clames (merchants, ministers and the like), they had little use for the sea links provided for them. Their economy not yet in the money economy, and travel was thus a luxury they could not afford. As the nature of local life began to change with the infiltration of some of the

SEA ROUTES

trappings of nineteenth-century civilisation, however, they grew to depend on items brought by sea. Imported food, clothing, wood, metal domestic utensils and the like were absorbed into an increasingly varied range of everyday articles. But there was relatively little export in return; then as now, any transport operator struggled with the fact that traffic was one-way and the freight charges must pay for the double voyage. Though the fishing industry and later the Harris Tweed industry were assured the turn of the century, to do much to determine and stabilise shipping developments, both passenger and cargo services were always facing loss rather than profit.

On the social side of the picture, the regular call of ships to the island, to Stornoway in particular, was a welcome, if not necessary, sign that the island was significant in some way to the outside world. The ships brought visitors who made the island, and the Hebrides in general, better known to other prospective visitors. The exposure of the island and its folk to the gaze of the mainland led to a wider knowledge and understanding which without doubt brought improvements in social welfare and a basis for economic development. When many islanders found it necessary to go to Glasgow and the mainland for work, the ships of the Minch served as a firm link with home, to which they returned whenever they could. The factor not until Sir James Mackenzie's death was to be doing in Scarp.' However, to a large island community, with a certain degree of economic significance, communications are the basic lifeline.

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COMMUNICATIONS

There were, of course, other types of flights before 1948. In
1937, Captain Fremon took the first silk person off the island
in his Short-Scion, the beginning of the air-ambulance service
to the islanders. During World War II, certain RAF mails were
flown between Glasgow and Stornoway, on which there were
first covers. December 1940, Glasgow/Stornoway; December
1943, Stornoway/Glasgow; and January 1944, Glasgow/
Stornoway. The present air services are supplied by BEA and
Loganair Ltd. The BEA plane route is Glasgow/Benbecula/
Inverness and return. Loganair offer a service Glasgow/
Benbecula/Stornoway and return. In recent years this small firm
has built up a most valuable inter-island air link.

OVERLAND ROUTES

The history of overland communications in the island is a short
one, though it does, like American history, have many character-
istic features. It is a history of the transition from a time when
was simply a matter of following well-worn tracks across the moor-
land, skirting lochsides and marshy lands and just taking the
shortest distance possible between starting and finishing points.
Considering the length and breadth of the island, it is surprising
that it was not until Sir James Mackenzie's generosity to Lewis
road-making was undertaken with any determination. This
activity stemmed largely from the desire to get something in return
for the outlay involved in keeping literal death from American
clear of the doors of the island folk.

The report of the Rev James Headrick (prepared for Lord Sea-
forth in 1800 and published about 1820) indicated that the pro-
vision of roads would be of great benefit to the island. A footnote
to the report (of probable date 1816) urge assistance from Parlia-
ment or the Board of Fisheries to complete the road from Storno-
way to Loch Roag, which had been begun by Lord Seaforth.
There is a bitter complaint that though the Seaforth property
bears a large share in the county assessment, 'not a penny of
public money has ever been laid out in Lewis'. Another footnote
records that the road from Stornoway to Aignish in the east was
made in 1815. No large undertakings followed Mr Headrick's

COMMUNICATIONS

When LORD LEVERHULME'S FISHERIES
be pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris,
he offered—such was the character of the man—to thanks for
the '98 per cent support' he got from the people of Lewis, to each
Lewis crofter-fisherman croft as a free gift, and he offered to go
together with all his property in Stornoway, to the people of the '931
town.

In 1919, Leverhulme became proprietor of Harris, and con-
centrated his efforts in Obbe, now called Leverburgh, in South
Harris. The harbour at Obbe lacked the natural advantages which
Stornoway had, so he spent large sums on making it navigable;
Rocky obstacles were blasted away; numerous buoys and beacons
were set up to guide vessels into harbour; new quays were built;
and kippering sheds, and other buildings necessary for packing
and curing herring were erected. Among the other amenities given
in Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he
put into effect the idea of the 34 miles of road between Leverburgh
and Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Brussels.
His Harris scheme came to an abrupt end. And the remains
of his activities in Harris are still to be seen in the ruins of the
little township named after one of the most stormy of boisterous
petrels that Britain has ever seen.

Tourism

Tourists has always been a perfunctory and casual affair, until
the introduction of the fast ferries which now link the mainland
(via Skye) with the Outer Isles. Some 1000 tourists a year came
from Skye to the Hebrides. In 1913, the Stornoway Tourist
Association had a struggle to increase the number of visitors to
the town, to make it as a tourist resort. It is much the same
today with the Western Isles Tourist Association, which is having
difficulty in integrating tourist facilities with crofting activities. In
Lewis, the Stornoway Trust has assisted in establishing pony-
trekking, a venture which has the potential to mirror the success
of a similar one in the Isle of Skye.

PRESENT INDUSTRY

Almost an echo of the kelp-burning industry is the alginate in
Harris. It provides employment for only small numbers, but is a

COMMUNICATIONS

factured goods and foreign produce. There is a Branch office of
the National Bank of Scotland, two friendly societies, four inns,
and so many as about a score of dram shops. The annual public
revenue was £17 3s and the expenditure £15 17s 6d. There
were about 600 inhabitants, a new mill, a mill for carding wool, a
corn mill, a very large malt barn and mill, and an extensive dis-
tillery. These buildings were constructed 'in a style not much in-
ferior to the best buildings of their class in Scotland'. A stranger
on arriving at it by any route, or from any quarter, is surprised
to see as large and flourishing a place in so remote and barren-looking
a corner. In broad field of houses, in capacious bay, and spacious
piers, in occasional crowd of shipping, and air of trade and gaiety,
and contrast of the aristocratic mansion and the cottage of the peasant,
there is a vivacity and very welcome relief to the prevailing
monotonous, sterility and inertion of the rude country in which it is
nestled.'

In 1901, when the West Highland line was opened, the return
fare from Mallaig to Stornoway by MacBrayne's steamer was
14s 6d. One could go from Glasgow to Stornoway by steamer
31s 6d return. A Guide for that year indicated that Stornoway
had three hotels, six churches and a Court House, singled out
for specific mention for some reason. A Rose-bowl Directory of
1911 describes the Nicholson Institute as one of the finest Higher
Student Centres in the country. In Leaving Certificate results were
the best in the north of Scotland, with a total of 300 higher and
234 lower passes, and no less than 20 passes in Higher Science.

Stornoway is a Burgh of Barony, dating from 18 October 1607.
It had, of course, been a town of sorts long before the Charter
was granted by James VI; the Charter was executed under the
Great Seal conveying equal shares to three of the leaders of the
Fife Adventurers. Under the Police Act of 1862 Stornoway became
a burgh and under what is now the Gaelic Versions of its main-
tained for hardy trekkers, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association
making a grant for running costs. Many visitors have found their
way to the town in search of the peace of happiness corresponding with its
remoteness from civilization.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in
the service sector.

The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be
tapped. MacBrayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity
of 50 cars and 600 passengers, makes two or three trips a day
between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than
two hours. The maintenance of tourist accommodation in Harris are
the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning
fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist
attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by providing a
full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant
lots.

An interesting tourist venture has been started at Rhenigidale.
A rough, stony track, one of the most tortuous and exciting in
Britain, takes the visitor from the end of the road at Tarbert, 'up
and turns in and out of gullies, over cliffsides and across the steep
heather-clad slopes of the Todhum, a dramatic little hill of 1,750 ft
which protects Rhenigidale village from the Atlantic gales. The
seven-mile track is the only marked route, though crofters take
a shorter way to the north west parishes begin; the local postman
makes a round of about 60 foot miles in the week, walking this
track and on to Tarbert and Stornoway and back again. He
relies on in sheltered harbour with a good natural rock pier; 'the
most communication is by water, all food and fuel coming this
way, best in the north of Scotland, with a total of 300 finfish and
shell fishing to supplement both diet and finances. Today the
interest in fishing has declined, as has the population. But in 1946
Mr Herbert Gatliff paid his first visit to Harris, discovered what
the island had to offer, and started a campaign to convince
travelling interests of the need to make some investment in the
Western Isles. A croft house in Rhenigidale was in 1961 equipped
as a hostel, and under what is now the Gatliff Trust it is main-
tained for hardy trekkers, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association
making a grant for running costs. Many visitors have found their
way to the town in search of the peace of happiness corresponding with its
remoteness from civilization.

ion on travel, such as for vacations, see category

528; or for work on the mainland, see

The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars
361 was the staple diet of the St Kildans; the oil and feathers were
162 the vital exports that paid the island rent to MacLeod of Harris,
*175 the owner of the group. These exports also helped to pay for the
[262] purchase of such foodstuffs as salt, sugar and tea, and other items
[427] which the island could not itself supply. The St Kildans owned
some hundreds of sheep, the wool being spun and woven into
[236] tweed, and a few cattle were also kept. But the seabirds were the foundation of the island economy.

The factor which led ultimately to the desertion of the island group was isolation. The community there was throughout its history undoubtedly the most isolated in the British Isles, though until the present century this mattered little to the St Kildans. All that was deemed necessary for the continuation of the com-
[438] munity was that, once a year, MacLeod of Harris should send his factor over from Skye to collect the island goods that were to be sold, and to bring with him those provisions which would see them through another twelvemonth. However, as the demand for
[178] the island's products declined, communications became more im-
[464] portant: to support the family a man had to leave to find work on the Scottish mainland. Large-scale emigration began in 1852
[167] when thirty-six islanders (with State aid) left for Australia. Island life was punctuated by loss of life; boating disasters and cliff-falls in particular deprived the community of the vital male elements needed for survival. Tetanus infantus, known on St Kilda as the
[164] 'eight-days' sickness', strangled two of every three babies born;
[165] this disease ravaged the island for almost a century and again struck harder at the male sex. About 1810 the population was about 200, a definite overcrowding. By 1861 it had fallen to 78; in 1911 it was 80, and in 1921, 73. A decade later it was nil.

484 Isolation tended to make the St Kildans a human menagerie.
361 With the improvement in boat services, St Kilda became a 'must'
*175 on tourist itineraries. The tourist trade took on an economic importance for the population after July 1877, when the *Dunera Castle* steamed north and west for a voyage to the 'romantic Western Isles and lone St Kilda'. The steamers continued to call throughout the three summer months annually for sixty years, their passengers eager to buy souvenirs: tweed, quern stones, spinning wheels, stuffed birds and eggs; indeed, anything to remind them,

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psychological evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'One cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with pocketsful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required money as an exchange commodity because the original native produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the food they required, provided communications with the mainland were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, as St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to the care and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be repeated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, poor folk, scarece learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the company of a minister who had been summoned to the island to denounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180 inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Baptist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds,

LIFE TODAY

LIFE TODAY

As in other Highland areas, some of the island's problems have become so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. They have been the *raison d'être* of so many commissions and committees of inquiry that their existence is now almost forgotten by the islander — if indeed he ever understood their nature. Some results have been seen, such as the Crofters Act of 1886 which gave Highland crofters security of tenure, perhaps the most valuable measure of the last century or two. But sometimes all things have not progressed so well since that date; at any rate not so fast that crofting, for instance, is now seen to be an economic form of land use of benefit to both local community and nation at large. Many problems have been virtually ignored by successive central Governments; at least, remoteness seems to qualify a topic for the office 'problem' very. It has yet to be fully realised that the island, with other Highland communities, is part and parcel of the area generally administered from London and Edinburgh, and merits as much attention to its welfare as other European governments, such as Norway, give to their remote mainland and island communities.

As usual, charity and self-help begin at home, and one of the most dramatic changes in island life has been the rapid rate of agricultural revolution of recent years which is changing once-brown moors to lush green pastures : reclamation by re-seeding. This revolution is still going on. Lewis crofters in particular are showing the way, with other Highland crofting areas following suit. The change in the Lewis scene is being emphasised by the planting of shelter-belts of hardy trees and the first of the new plantations of timber-producing trees. These show the promise of the future : a lively future for a lively community. The fishing industry also has a future, brighter on the horizon than it has been for many a poor year. The Harris Tweed industry, the staple employment-source in Lewis, is maintaining its ability to retain the interest of the market. And tourism, once a perfunctory and casual affair, promises to emerge as a useful source in the economy. There are, in addition, many small pockets of native initiativeness and enterprise which, given sufficient encouragement

ISLAND LIFE

and practical support, could win through to make marks on the island scene.

A significant event occurred in 1964 : the establishment of the Highlands & Islands Development Board. This was Britain's first regional development authority run by members who are either full- or part-time. The Board is grant-aided and has two broad functions : to improve the social and economic condition of the Highland people and assist in making the region more significant in a national context. The Board's attention in the Western Isles has been concentrated in the expansion of the fishing industry and the development of tourism. In both these fields there has been a considerable success : upwards of 100,000 visitors per annum visit the islands; and a fleet of over thirty boats, equipped with the latest gear, operate out of Stornoway.

Also in 1964 was produced the Development Plan for the County of Ross & Cromarty. So far as Lewis was concerned, the Plan was based on an average decrease in population of some 1,500 persons for every year in the future of the island. This, if carried to its logical conclusion, will see complete desertion in fifteen years or so! However, even if nothing further is done to halt emigration, particularly in the landward areas of the island, the population will remain around a stable 15,000. The County Development Plan contains much food for thought, but as with most county plans, does not indicate actual development projects. Rather, it lists all the resources of the island for the attention of those concerned. Potential developments include the setting up and exploitation of predominantly-fulltime crofts, shell-fishing, and inshore white fishing, herring and offshore white fishing, forestry, tourism and holiday accommodation, minerals, peat utilisation, hill-land improvement, marine reclamation and reserved resources. What is significant and merits the attention of the Highlands & Islands Development Board.

Harris, on the other hand, presents possibilities on a much smaller and limited scale. However, there are expansion potentials in tweed, knitwear, and craft industries, with tourism promising to be a good base for the island's economy. As the age-structure of the crofting population changes, there will be a useful re-organisation and enlargement of existing holdings to make for

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

Clanranald[1] and echo in the opening benediction of Alexander Macdonald's *Turtlins of Clanranald*", without which his 'Galley', for all the glory of its strife with storm, would never have won its place in the heart of the seafaring Gael.

As for journeys over sea, so for those over land, "Traversing corries, traversing forests, traversing valleys, long and wild . . ", the traveller or pilgrim, the drover or emigrant, leaving home and his friends, would have their prayers. They would accompany him on the first steps of the way with cheer and laughter or with tears, as those have told me who remembered my grandfather's leaving his home in Strath Spey more than a century ago. These journey-blessings were spoken by the traveller : " Life be in my speech, sense in what I say . . . ", or by those to whom he was dear. (*Carmina, Vol. 2, p.16; Guidhean Turais*, Nos. 266-276.) In these prayers, bodily travel and spiritual quest are sustained on the mountain-track by the strength of home-ties and fellowship, and by the hospitality of Christian on the path ahead.

When family and neighbour-team were closely knit, their own harmony drew the stranger in. " The Rune of Hospitality", threaded together from old fragments by the Kennedy MacLeod, breaks out into the refrain of the lark as she sings to the listening host : " Many, a many, a many a time, Comes the Christ in the stranger's guise! " [2] Hospitality is truest when its sacrifice—so real in a land of poverty—is given as a duty but with a smile!

[1] *Songs of the Hebrides, vol. i, pp. iv-x.*
[2] *" Cur mnig, a mnig, a mnig . . . !" " Dean na h-aoighaochd ".* (*An Gaidhal*, Dec. 1941.)

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along the western shore of Loch Ness, about two miles south of the Achnahannet Cafe on A-Route three miles north of Cromdale. Aird is approached by a winding road which ascends steeply through a gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then crosses a wide plain and descends to the lower side of the township by way of Carnoc on A-Route. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in arrangement and varying in size from 3½ to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the right 'rub of the river, up the steep, rocky slope above the half-built and widening out over the more gently slopes between the 150 ft. and 300 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently extended larger, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional ground to the north or south.

1. [See figures 12 (facing p.24) and 17 (facing p.29)—ann:yet]

[Service] [Dissapoint] [Tenure]

The Wrax Hill Community Twenty-Cord Smallholdings Scheme is predominantly a living community. The remote and not easy crofting scenes are under lodge and cost 1957 Scheme. Wrax Hill is a 1 mile from Wrax Hill, Wrax Hill is a 1 mile from Wrax Hill, Wrax Hill is a 1 mile from Wrax Hill,

parents and to Sabbath school, nor would they allow children 774
to play games in the house. Today the children of the Church 775
of Scotland people are allowed to go for a walk, ride, or 776
play games. Tourists, frequently, if not always, indifferent 485
of the strict Sabbath, have no doubt contributed to this 777
relaxation of tactics. Although a further development of the 778
tourist industry would be advantageous economically, tourists
have a interest not only in the Sabbath but also in the whole
religious complex. They set examples which the youth are
only too ready to emulate. Before the war every hotel on 485
the Island, including all in Portree, and every boarding 779
house posted notices requesting visitors to refrain from
using their cars for touring on the Sabbath. In many of the
guest houses the request was the equivalent of a warning of
removal. Today the signs are gone. Still not content, the
tourist agencies in England and the Lowlands continue to make
snide remarks in their literature, advertising "a little more
tolerance is needed in certain quarters." The youth and some 774
adults of Portree now have begun to go off for a drive around 775
the island. One reason why the Sabbath is still strong in
Kilmuir and Glendale is that tourists are not accepted in
either district.

Strict Sabbath observance distinguishes three broad 780
groups on the Island. Portree is set apart from the crofters 781
by laxity, and the county people are set apart from the 782
crofters by using the day for visiting and having afternoon
tea together. The gentry, of course, are not under the

There are 144 crofts in the village (nine of
which, in South Shawbost, were added after the
beginning of the century by non-crofters encamped on common grazing
land who applied to the landlord for crofter status).

Thirty-four (almost a quarter) of these crofts are
vacant; that is, the holders of the crofts live elsewhere. One of the vacant crofts is used by its absentee
tenant for holidays, and one sports a trailer (called
a "caravan" in Britain) which may be rented to tourists
during the summer. The rest are cultivated or used for
grazing by crofters or non-crofters in the village who
by inheritance or by formal or informal subletting have
the use of the land.

A little over half of the crofts are worked as
individual units; 44% of the crofts are worked as
combined units of two and three. Twenty-four men have
the use of two crofts each, and five men the use of three
crofts each.

16 A feature of crofting townships usually emphasized
in their disproportionately large number of aged people
and small number of young people, who tend to migrate
to the cities. An age-sex "population pyramid" of the
Highlands is not a pyramid but a top-heavy hourglass
(see Table 1). Most persons of child-bearing age have
migrated from the area and the number of children is
[See p.vii-Analysis]

on these occasions. At some point during the night the
bride and groom were prepared for their wedding night
together. The bride's female companions undressed her,
prepared her for bed, and put her into the bed with a
hot water bottle. She shared some sherry with them,
and they went out, whereupon the groom was brought in by
his male companions. After much joking the couple were
left together.

On the third night, a dinner was given for the older
persons who had not been able to come to the "pig"
wedding.

For some time after the wedding, the married couple
visited relatives and neighbors who had been unable to
come to the wedding, taking a bottle of whiskey with them.

Wake weddings declined in number during the war when
food was rationed, and as more persons changed from the
"black house" to the modern cottage, and more
elaborately furnished "white house." Most weddings are
now held in hotels, and consist of a single wedding dinner
and dance; they are often held on Thursdays, the day of
the herring in the past. The emphasis on community participation still exists: even though the practice of holding
hotel weddings has limited the number of guests, an
effort is made to invite someone from each household in
the village. In part to avoid disappointing the

return to their own homes at night. There is now less
need for the generalized hospitality of the past, which
was given to anyone who came to the door of a crofter's
house. Through these visits some families in
different villages have, however, established relationships which are kept up by exchanging hospitality at
times of Communion and also in other ways. A family in
Ness may send to a friendly family in Shawbost some smoked
goslings of solan geese which are captured by Neamen
on the island of Ross once a year and are salted to make
a delicacy that is in great demand. Through such contacts
a family wanting to purchase a cow may receive word of one
that is being offered for sale in the village of a
Communion contact.

Services of Communion last five days. All services
except that held on Sunday evening are intended for the
communicants or full members of the church, who are called
"the believers" and "good livers." During this time, no
dances are held in Shawbost, and in Carloway the hotel is
closed.

On Communion Sunday, the upper balcony of the church
is filled with villagers watching to see if any of the
recently converted have decided and have been allowed to
take Communion. Because the villagers watch very closely
the behavior of everyone else within the village, any change

FISHING

of Lord Seaforth's conduct in this matter. They alleged that he
'drave in hither an number of strangers who daylie resorts to and
fra Holland to the Lewes and continent next adjacent (the Roman
mainland peninsula) and has caused them be answered of all
such commodities as these bounds affords, as namell with fishes
and herrens quhilks with the hyde and tallow, with manie uthers
commodities they transport to Holland.'

To satisfy the Royal Burghs, Seaforth had some of his Dutch
friends sent away. But several Dutch families remained in Stornoway until the outbreak of hostilities between England and
Holland in 1653.

In Harris, similar efforts were promoted by Captain Alexander
MacLeod, who in 1779 bought Harris, together with St Kilda,
for £15,000 from the commissioners acting on behalf of Cromartie
Norman MacLeod. The latter had, in 1772, inherited from his
grandfather both the clanship of Harris and a debt on the
property amounting to some £50,000. Captain MacLeod, who
skippered the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, did much to stimulate
better conditions in Harris, and advocated the generation of a
fishing industry. In the face of opposition and ridicule he showed
by practical example what could be done to make a success of
the herring fishings, introducing a number of east-coast fishermen with Orkney twaits to teach the inhabitants, and reaping a
good harvest from the fishings off Scotland. The fishing stations
were offered by the Harris-folk. He improved the local harbour
accommodation and erected a storehouse for salt, casks and nets
like, he built a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread
and twine for herring-nets; he advanced money to these fishermen
who were interested for the purchase of boats and gear; and he
provided them with rent-free cottages with a ground-patch on
which they could grow potatoes: for built roads between the
village of Tarbert and the two jetties he made there, and he
erected a schoolhouse and an inn. But all this hard work to put
Harris on some realistic economic basis came to little. The native
population were slow to appreciate the potential income lying
about them.

The potential of the sea was of course eventually realised, particularly where the fishing grounds were favourable, Stornoway

SOCIAL LIFE

an enterprising radio firm in Stornoway; in customers receive
both BBC and Grampian Television programmes.

Some youth organisations are represented on the island. The
first troop of Boy Scouts was connected with the Stornoway
YMCA and was founded by forty boys in 1921. Founded (in
1912) on the island's close association with the sea was the Boys'
Brigade (Naval), later to become the Stornoway Naval Corps and
the Stornoway Boys' Naval Brigade. Its objects were to provide
instruction in drilling, signalling, seamanship and first aid; and to
foster a spirit of manliness and comradeship among its members.
The founder was Canon H. Anderson Meaden, of the Episcopal
Church in Stornoway (St Peter's). During the first war the boys
acted as signalmen at the Stornoway Battery.

But the provision of some organised recreational facilities for
young people on the island has long been a burning question. After
the first world war, the Rector of the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, proposed that village halls be built for village education and
recreation. This scheme was never fully realised—except at Sandwick, just outside Stornoway—mainly because of the strength of
institutional opposition. This attitude has been breaking down,
however, and it is now generally realised that the wealth of any
community is based on its youth. Most of the efforts to set about
activities for young people began after the second war; but work
was hard and challenging with not a few failures on the way;
perseverance was seen to the extent that there is now a 18-year
youth leader. Most of the cultural and recreational activities
are to be found in Stornoway; with a full range of interests. Formerly non-sectarian classes during the winter are also widely
attended for a variety of subjects.

In 1965, an excellent Youth Hostel was established at Stockinish, Harris, with the help of the Inverness-shire Education
Department. In its first season it recorded between 600 and 700
visitors (1,070 bed-nights). Also involved in the establishment of
the hostel was the Harris Society of Social Service; practical help
was given by the 2nd Stornoway Boy Scouts, who made a wall
map, cleared up grounds and shifted furniture. A group of English
enthusiasts have in previous years arranged a hotel at Kleagglabe,
Harris (see Chapter 9), which provides for some fifty to

THE PEOPLE

eighty visitors each year, but there is nothing similar in Lewis.
Hostellers who visit Stornoway can do little more than march
through the town to the mail-boat, or else return to Harris by the
land bus.

As might be expected, the reading tradition is strong, stemming from a natural desire to learn and from the fact that the
ceilidh could only partly satisfy the need for mental stimulation,
not to mention the need to alleviate loneliness. A century ago
books were to be found in many island homes: the family
Bible, often a massive volume clad in hairy calfskin, *Turas e
Chaisdeadh (Pilgrim's Progress)* and *Gras ann Fuilteas* (Bunyan's
Grace Abounding). As horizons became wider a public library
was set up in Stornoway in 1907 (see Chapter 8); a library was in
fact established there earlier, before 1897, but it was not a free
one. In round figures, the 15,600 people of Inverness-shire
(Lewis excluding Stornoway) borrow some 70,000 books annually,
though of course the actual readership figures are higher, books
borrowed being passed round the family and exchanged with
others until the 'mobile' calls again. The mobile library service
was established by the Ross & Cromarty County Council in 1955
for rural villages in thirty-one school districts.

ISLAND EMIGRANTS

For all that the island is a tight-knit community, paradoxically it
breeds many men and women whose dominant urge is to spread out
within the confines of its own shores, but at the ends of far
horizons. This is typical of most Highland areas: none who leave
them make a mark on other societies often greatly exceeding the
size of the community they left behind. Many 'great' people are
also directly descended from a crofting ancestry; minds and spirits
bred in the Highlands and Islands have potential for development
not always apparent on native soil but sometimes fully realised in
alien surroundings and conditions.

Harris and Lewis have contributed their share, and still do, to
the general weal of skill, ability and intellect in all fields of human
endeavour. For centuries, the export of brains was normal. Partly
fully the best known is Sir Alexander MacKenzie, who discovered

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ON
NEXT FICHE

SEA ROUTES

trappings of nineteenth-century civilisation, however, they grew to depend on items brought by sea. Imported food, clothing, wood, metal domestic utensils and the like were slowly assimilated as indispensable everyday articles. But there was relatively little export in return; then as now, any transport operator struggled with the fact that traffic was one-way and the freight charges must pay for the double voyage. Though the fishing industry and later the Harris Tweed industry were, around the turn of the century, to do much to determine and stabilise shipping developments, both passenger and cargo services were always facing loss rather than profit.

On the social side of the picture, the regular call of ships to the island, to Stornoway in particular, was a welcome, quickening sign that the island was significant in some way to the outside world. The ships brought visitors who made the island, and the Hebrides in general, better known to other prospective travellers. The exposure of the island and its folk to the gaze of the mainland led to a wider knowledge and understanding which without doubt brought improvements in social welfare and a basis for economic development. When many islanders found it necessary to go to Glasgow and the south for work, the ships of the Minch served as a firm link with home, to which they returned whenever they could. This feeling for home is still manifest today in the Lewismen in Canada who charter an aircraft to Prestwick each year so that they can holiday on the island. Since 1900 or so, passenger traffic has been two-way: emigrants, migrants, visitors and business travellers. When the fishing industry was in its heyday, the ships carried hundreds of fisherfolk across the Minch to ports as far south as Great Yarmouth to 'follow the herring' round the shores of Britain and back to the Minch again. Traffic today is still considerable, with the air-link with the island being used to its capacity.

In a community where Sabbath observance is an integral strand of religious belief, ministers have on occasions tried to preserve the Mosaic sanctity of the Sabbath Day by restricting the movement of ships in Stornoway harbour. In deference to local feeling the Stornoway steamer has always docked for twenty-four hours over Sunday, to leave port for Kyle just after midnight.

COMMUNICATIONS

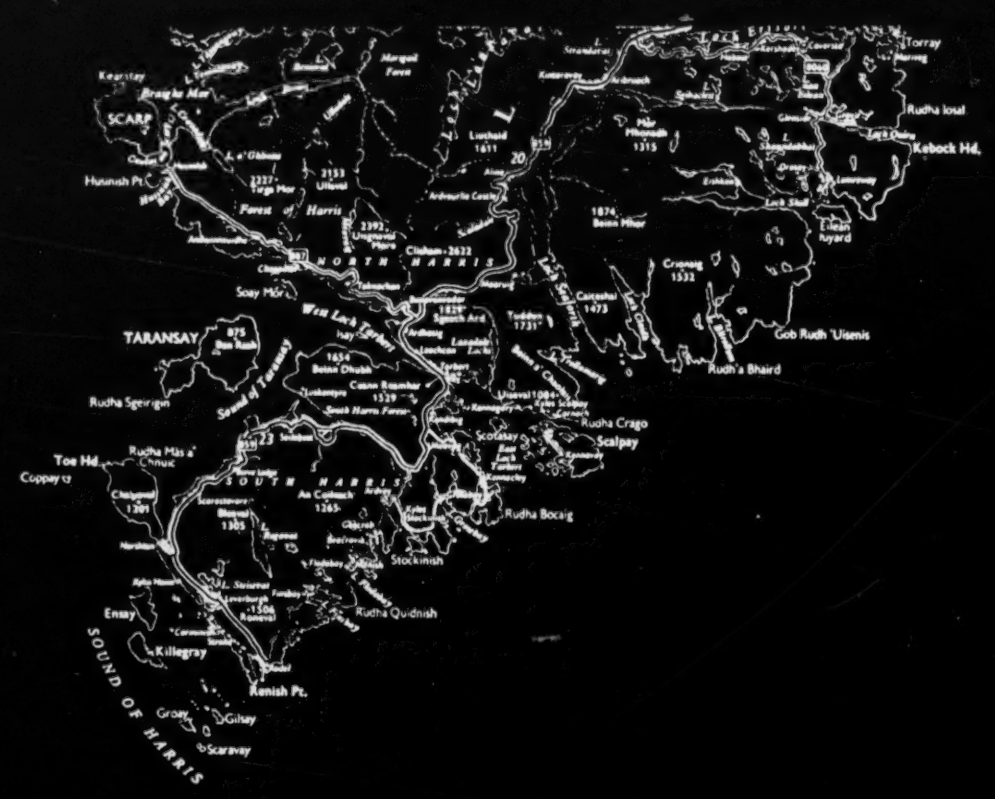
This is only relaxed if emergency sailings are necessary. During the second world war attempts were made by Free Church ministers to stop the movement of ships in Stornoway harbour, but needless to say the war effort took precedence.

THE SHIPS

When Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, sea communications were still erratic: a mailboat or packet was running thrice weekly between Stornoway and Poolewe on Scotland's west coast. Sir James decided that a craft based on Stornoway would serve more efficiently both for general trade and for island-to-mainland transport, and he provided a regular steamer service. As this craft, the *Mary Jane*, was to carry mails, Sir James thought the Post Office should promote the service, and he struggled with that department for some years, eventually being promised a subsidy of £1,300. Though the scheme was to cost far more and had won no other financial support, the service began in 1846, Sir James being surety for the whole concern. He lost some £17,000. Another of his ships was the PS *Ondine*, which carried mails between Ullapool and Stornoway during the 1870s and '80s.

Quite apart from the Matheson ventures, things had been stirring in the south; the sea communications of the West Highlands and Islands were about to be commercially developed. One of the first ships on a regular run between Stornoway and the south was the *Ben Nevis*, a small wooden paddle vessel later to be wrecked south of Campbeltown in 1831 while homeward bound from Stornoway. G. & J. Burns was one of the main companies operating the early West Highland trade, managing to survive the vagaries of fortune until 1851, when its interests were passed to David Hutcheson, its chief clerk, on the condition that the Burns's nephew, David MacBrayne, became one of the partners. This was the beginning of the company so well known today, Messrs David MacBrayne Ltd. The new company started off with a building programme and gave birth to a long line of ships, many of whose names were to become bywords in the Western Isles.

The PS *Clansman* was the first. Her route was the strenuous one of Glasgow, Oban, Skye and Stornoway. Alexander Smith's



2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

796 may need just one more dry day to finish his harvest. If the
241 next day is the Sabbath, his one dry day may be two or three weeks away and the hay a sodden heap. Nor did the Sgiathanach, or any newcomer with a croft, change during the war despite all the pleas of the government for full agricultural pro-
796 duction. This is the one time that the Older Order Amish slogan "And be not conformed to this world" fully applies to the island. Circumspect behavior on this day functions to remind the people of all the negations and all the sanctions which religion has bestowed on the culture.

178 As in the case of Communions, there has been a gradual
796 lessening of the importance of Sabbitarianism, especially since the return of many young men and women from the war.
[369] Again, the rather spontaneous relaxation of the rules is most common in Portree. It does not have the encouragement of the ministers of any church nor the elders of any church,
[226] except the Church of Scotland. Thirty or forty years ago the ministers and the lay kirk officers had enough influence to stop the running of trains throughout the western Highlands, shipping in the Western Isles, and the Kyle-Kyleakin ferry
[486] on the Sabbath. Public transportation is still at a stand-
[204] still on the first day of the week, but the Sunday papers appear in Portree after the evening services, despite all the efforts of the ministers. They come by car from Inverness, by row boat across the strait, and by car to the village.

178 Before the war no one in Portree would let their
796 children out of the house, except to go to church with their
857

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487 ROUTES--footpaths and trails (e.g., character, distribution); sea and air lanes trade and caravan routes; marking of routes (e.g., blazes, signposts); route m and charts; etc. See also:

Maps and place names	10	Railways	496
Topography	133	Aids to navigation	502
Streets	363	Map making	823
Highways	491		

ECOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

361 The crofting township is not quite akin to the English or Lowland village. Primarily it is a collection of dwellings of families who, as social units, gain their subsistence from the land surrounding the houses. The smallest number for a township is four family units. A functional unit of four men was the minimum
476 necessary for a boat crew, or for the teamwork necessary to cultivate land; co-operation was essential if all four families were to survive. And from this grew the same spirit of communal work which in Lewis is seen at its best in the efforts to reclaim peat bog and turn it into fertile grassland.

361 Hebridean townships come close to being the nearest approach
[565] to a classless society. The shape of a township is largely dictated by the nature of the surrounding land. The shape of most of those in Harris and in Lewis is either scattered or linear (houses disposed in line at varying distances from each other), with little natural
[491] cover, either plantation or scrub. Often the main road runs through the township; some have begun to develop lateral roads, to give, from the air, the appearance of planning on a grid system.
244 Where gardens are cultivated, the produce tends to be a summer vegetable supply for the household, little if any finding its way to
372 Stornoway shops for sale. Peat is the usual fuel, though in townships near to the centres of Tarbert and Stornoway coal is burned; the cost of freight, however, makes it expensive.

471 Most of the townships are owned by commercial companies; individual lairds own some five dozen; the remainder belong to public bodies and trusts. The actual distribution of ownership of land on the island is as follows. Harris is virtually owned by individual lairds; a small percentage is owned by commercial companies. The Lochs region of Lewis has a mixed ownership: commercial companies, lairds, and public trust, the former being the largest. Stornoway parish is wholly owned by public trust.

COMMUNICATIONS

509 There were, of course, other types of flights before 1948. In
*175 1937, Captain Fresson took the first sick person off the island on
[143] charter—the beginning of the air-ambulance service so valuable
[205] to the islanders. During World War II, certain RAF mails were flown between Glasgow and Stornoway, on which there were first covers (December 1943, Glasgow/Stornoway; December 1943, Stornoway/Glasgow; and January 1944, Glasgow/Stornoway). The present air services are supplied by BEA and Loganair Ltd. The BEA plane route is Glasgow/Benbecula/Inverness and return. Loganair offer a service Glasgow/Benbecula/Stornoway and return. In recent years this small firm has built up a most valuable inter-island air link.

OVERLAND ROUTES

484 The history of overland communications in the island is a short
*175 one, though it does, like American history, have many characteristic highlights. In early times getting from one place to another
[487] was simply a matter of following well-worn tracks across the moorland, skirting lochsides and marshy lands and just taking the shortest distance possible between starting point and destination.
[499] Considering the length and breadth of the island, it is surprising that it was not until Sir James Matheson's appearance in Lewis that road-making was undertaken with any determination. This activity stemmed largely from the desire to get something in return for the outlay involved in keeping literal death from starvation clear of the doors of the island folk.

• 491 The report of the Rev James Headrick (prepared for Lord Sea-
499 forth in 1800 and published about 1820) indicated that the pro-
*175 vision of roads would be of great benefit to the island. A footnote in the report (of probable date 1816) urges assistance from Parliament or the Board of Fisheries to complete the road from Stornoway to Loch Roag, which had been begun by Lord Seaforth

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Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in the services sector.

The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be tapped. MacBrayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity of 50 cars and 600 passengers, makes two or three trips a day between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than two hours. The mainstays of tourist accommodation in Harris are the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by offering full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant lets.

An interesting tourist venture has been started at Rhenigidale. A rough, stony track, one of the most tortuous and exciting in Britain, takes its leave from the main road over a ridge. It twists and turns in and out of gullies, over cliffsides and across the steep heather-clad slopes of the Toddum, a dramatic little hill of 1,730 ft which protects Rhenigidale village from the Atlantic gales. The seven-mile track is the only marked route, though crofters take a shorter way to the north over pathless bogs; the local postman makes a round of about 60 foot miles in the week, walking this track and on to Tarbert three times in all weathers. The village relies on its sheltered harbour with a good natural rock pier: most communication is by water, all food and fuel coming that way. In past times every household owned a boat for lobster and shell fishing to supplement both diet and finances. Today the interest in fishing has declined, as has the population. But in 1946 Mr Herbert Gatliff paid his first visit to Harris, discovered what the island had to offer, and started a campaign to convince hostelling interests of the need to make some investment in the Western Isles. A croft house in Rhenigidale was in 1961 equipped as a hostel, and under what is now the Gatliff Trust it is maintained for hardy trekkers, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association making a grant for running costs. Many visitors have found that the place offers a degree of happiness corresponding with its remoteness from civilisation.

As yet the tourist trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting relations but many houses offer suitable accommodation for people who would appreciate quiet holidays in these very beautiful surroundings. The distance from Stornoway, the difficulty of obtaining varied food supplies - and the weather - were cited as disadvantages! Passengers on a weekly coach tour from Stornoway are supplied with meals at an Ardroil house which has good access to the beach but otherwise the crofters show little interest in the possibilities of tourism.

In common with other crofting townships, the greatest problem here is that of an ageing population because the younger people seek employment outside their township. The diagrams illustrate the age-heavy structure of the permanent resident group and also the numbers of the insurable population periodically or permanently away. The lack of suitable work for young women particularly, is also shown. The ages of the tenants also illustrate this problem. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty or 54% are over sixty-five. Serious, too, is the loss by emigration of people between fifteen and sixty-five. Of the total 'working population', 35% have left this region since 1939. The corresponding figure for Crowlista alone, the older settlement with smaller crofts, is as high as 42%.

We found in this part of Uig some crofts efficiently and energetically worked by young tenants, and if reasonable stock prices are obtained the larger crofts can be worked profitably. However no croft will fully support a family; ancillary employment is always sought by crofters with growing families yet many crofts are carrying less stock than they might because some tenants are not interested in, or able for, agriculture. The croft is increasingly thought of as a home, as part-time employment - often for older members of the family - and as a place for retirement.

It is easy to list schemes for improvement and change:- dairying to supply Stornoway with milk, poultry and pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivation under glass, the tourist industry, forestry on a small scale, lobster and crab fishing, etc. Such schemes would require capital not available in the townships, careful planning, and tactful administration by people with real knowledge of this area and its people. Meanwhile even the potential production of the crofts is by no means realised.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along the western side of the steep and narrow valley of the Amhuinn Gil na h-Airde three miles north of Crowlista. After leaving Loch Meacheit, the river flows northward through a gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then across a narrow flood-plain into the rocky bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in arrangement and varying in size from 3½ to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the right bank of the river, up the steep, rocky slope above the left bank and widening out over the more gently slopes between the 100 ft. and 200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently enlarged, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional ground to the north or south.

1. [See figures 12 (facing p.34) and 17 (facing p.38)--Analyst]

(Lemreway) (Orinsay)

The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939. Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. Ruins of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs. Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the resident they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling, is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed contents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center for tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependence on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villagers participate in a number of social activities which are not tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious asceticism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each with a population of about 300. All, except the ministers and school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle and sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potatoes and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All are bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither community has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. Glendale has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch which has been divided among the small farmers. The significant differences between them are three. The Glendale people are land owners. In this respect they are rather unique in the Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, rent their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glendale is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church-goers of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social activities other than an annual meeting of the share-holders in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a club organization for the men who gather for lectures and discussions of economic problems.

division of labor. During the summer, she will milk the cows, and in the winter she will see that they are fed. If there is to be a harvest in the autumn, she will care for the crops.

Some women, in particular the older ones, plough with the caschrom, the foot plough. Other women use a small power driven plough or contract with the Department of Agriculture to have the ploughing done. The Department will also provide the men and machinery to harrow, cultivate, spread lime and manure, mow hay, cut and bind oats, dig potatoes, and thresh grain. By utilizing these services, if they can be afforded, the small crofter can free himself or, at least his wife, from many arduous tasks. The need for cooperation of the family and neighbors is thereby reduced. Although traditional mutual aid is being replaced by cash payment for labor, it is not the labor of a landless working class which commercialization often creates, but rather state provided services. Significantly, most Department employees are newcomers. The Skye man who works for the Department is a better worker away from the island. Since few are able to pay for these services, the wife digs the potatoes, and some women use the scythe to reap hay and oats. The scythe, it will be remembered is really a man's tool. Frequently, the break with tradition is avoided by the return of a son from the mainland or the sea. Running the household and working the croft is not all some women do. They also take in summer visitors, by the day or week, and provide teas for travellers.

In summary, it may be said that crofting is anything but an easy life with ample rewards. We have seen how meager the

mainland villages and crofting areas. Ministers from neighboring and even distant churches used to come to take part in conducting the services. There was no church to hold so many people, so the Communion was celebrated outside. Then, of course, the population was much larger and the majority belonged to one church, the Free Church.

The Communion Season is still marked by large gatherings of people at each church in turn. The "elect" from the neighboring churches and the ministers from churches near and far exchange visits. The adherents also participate in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. From Thursday until Monday the homes of the people in the vicinity are open to their relatives and friends who have come to partake of the sacrament or who find the highly emotional atmosphere and gregariousness stimulating. Some, especially the "elect" stay for the five days. Others will spend one or more nights. During the day and in the evening, whenever they are not attending religious services, they visit their "people" and "friends" to renew ties which in many cases have been allowed to languish since the last Communion. Thus, we find religion sanctioning the time-honored custom of Highland hospitality. It is interesting to note that many a woman who depends on the tourist trade for a good share of her income will not accept paying guests at this time. The local people have a further share in extending hospitality to their visitors. All who are able send food to the manse (parsonage) to lessen the burden on the minister who extends hospitality to the visiting clergy and as many of the laity as he can. This

ents and to Sabbath school, nor would they allow children 178
play games in the home. Today the children of the Church 796
Scotland people are allowed to go for a walk, read, or 857
y games. Tourists, frequently, if not always, intolerant 484
the strict Sabbath, have no doubt contributed to this 178
axation of taboos. Although a further development of the 796
rist industry would be advantageous economically, tourists
a threat not only to the Sabbath but also to the whole
igious complex. They set examples which the youth are
too ready to emulate. Before the war every hotel on 485
Island, including all in Portree, and every boarding 796
se posted notices requesting visitors to refrain from
ng their cars for touring on the Sabbath. In many of the
st homes the request was the equivalent of a warning of
val. Today the signs are gone. Still not content, the
rist agencies in England and the Lowlands continue to make
e remarks in their literature, suggesting "a little more
rance is needed in certain quarters." The youth and some 178
ts of Portree now have begun to go off for a drive around 796
island. One reason why the Sabbath is still strong in 484
uir and Glendale is that tourists are not accepted in
er district.

Strict Sabbath observance distinguishes three broad 796
ps on the Island. Portree is set apart from the crofters 565
axity, and the county people are set apart from the 369
ters by using the day for visiting and having afternoon 571
together. The gentry, of course, are not under the

486

486 REGULATION OF TRAVEL--restrictions on travel; permits and passports; examinations and inspections; registration; safe-conduct; etc. See also:

Immigration regulations 167
Traffic regulations 363, 494
Police 625
Diplomatic immunity 648

4 COMMUNICATIONS

FROM the earliest times, the provision of communications in one form or another has been a matter full of incident and high colour. Gaelic folk-song contains many references to the hazards of crossing the impatient waters of the Minch. One such, a waulking song still known today, commemorates the death of Iain Garbh Mac Gille Chaluim, of Raasay in Skye, who was drowned in April 1617 on his way home from visiting the Earl of Seaforth in Lewis; it is said that he was drowned through the workings of his own 'muime', or foster-mother, who employed several famous witches to raise the tempest in which his ship foundered.

For well over a century the subject of adequate communications has aroused continuous argument. The strength of any island community lies in its ability to live within itself, while accepting the periodic injection of certain external items necessary for living or for work. A Londoner once expressed amazement at the isolation of Scarp, in West Harris, commenting that in Scarp they would not know what was happening in London. The indisputable rejoinder was 'Nor do they know in London what we would be doing in Scarp.' However, to a large island community, with a certain degree of economic significance, communications are the basic lifeline.

SEA ROUTES

When in the early 1800s formal sea communications were being established between the island and ports on the west coast of Scotland, down as far as the Clyde, most of the islanders were of course little affected. Except for the professional classes (merchants, ministers and the like), they had little use for the sea links provided for them. Their economy was not yet a cash economy, and travel was thus a luxury they could not afford. As the nature of local life began to change with the infiltration of some of the

There were, of course, other types of flights before 1948. In 1937, Captain Fresson took the first sick person off the island on charter—the beginning of the air-ambulance service so valuable to the islanders. During World War II, certain RAF mails were flown between Glasgow and Stornoway, on which there were first covers (December 1943, Glasgow/Stornoway; December 1943, Stornoway/Glasgow; and January 1944, Glasgow/Stornoway). The present air services are supplied by BEA and Loganair Ltd. The BEA plane route is Glasgow/Benbecula/Inverness and return. Loganair offer a service Glasgow/Benbecula/Stornoway and return. In recent years this small firm has built up a most valuable inter-island air link.

OVERLAND ROUTES

The history of overland communications in the island is a short one, though it does, like American history, have many characteristic highlights. In early times getting from one place to another was simply a matter of following well-worn tracks across the moorland, skirting lochsides and marshy lands and just taking the shortest distance possible between starting point and destination. Considering the length and breadth of the island, it is surprising that it was not until Sir James Matheson's appearance in Lewis that road-making was undertaken with any determination. This activity stemmed largely from the desire to get something in return for the outlay involved in keeping literal death from starvation clear of the doors of the island folk.

The report of the Rev James Headrick (prepared for Lord Seaforth in 1800 and published about 1820) indicated that the provision of roads would be of great benefit to the island. A footnote in the report (of probable date 1816) urges assistance from Parliament or the Board of Fisheries to complete the road from Stornoway to Loch Roag, which had been begun by Lord Seaforth. There is a bitter complaint that though the Seaforth property bears a large share in the county assessment, 'not a penny of public money has ever been laid out in Lewis'. Another footnote records that the road from Stornoway to Aignish in the east was made in 1815. No large undertakings followed Mr Headrick's

(2,620 ft); grouped around this are the lesser peaks staring stark and treeless to the skies. At the feet of these hills are the small villages straggled along the shores of West Loch Tarbert. Much of this area is owned by the proprietors of Amhuinnsuidh Castle, a magnificent structure built by the Earl of Dunmore in the last century; the hills lying north of it are rich in red deer. The road past the castle trundles on until it peters out at the far-east village of Hushinish, beside a glorious scimitar-like curve of silver sand. Beyond Hushinish is the Island of Scarp.

The road along the shores of East Loch Tarbert ends at the village of Kyles Scalpay which overlooks Scalpay island. The Bays of Harris hold in their crevices the scattered groups of houses here and there, where an inlet of the rocky coast affords some anchorage and where a patch of ground is suitable for cultivation. Tortuous, winding footpaths have been gradually replaced by narrow roads connecting the townships. Lack of sufficient remunerative employment has led to considerable depopulation. Fifty years ago the population of the area was just over 5,400; it is now about 2,900.

The south of Harris is better known for its association with Lord Leverhulme. Obbe, later Leverburgh, became the centre of his schemes. He built a large pier, huge kippering sheds, houses for the workers, roads and lighthouses, and blasted away underwater rocks which hindered free navigation. The bulk of this work was complete in 1924, but when he died (in 1925) his successors, in the cold light of economics, decided to close down the embryo industry and realise its assets. The harbour works had cost £250,000; they were sold for £5,000 to a demolition company. Leverhulme's memorials are still to be seen. The west coast of Harris is now becoming known for the long stretches of shell sand and the green machar-land beside it, a true delight for the tourist seeking isolation.

Tarbert is the central village in Harris, with a population of about 400. It is a thriving community, nestling at the foot of Beinn an Teanga and at the head of the sheltered anchorage of East Loch Tarbert—sheltered from the prevailing south-westerly winds and from the Atlantic storms. The car ferries give direct contact with the Scottish mainland, via Skye, and Tarbert also

316 Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in 464 the services sector.

The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be 484 tapped. MacBrayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity [505] of 50 cars and 600 passengers, makes two or three trips a day between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than two hours. The mainstays of tourist accommodation in Harris are 484 the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning 485 fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist 529 attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by offering [226] full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant lets.

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361 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new
491 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all
487 but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
492 two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans call
205 but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor -
366 two wells only are in use.
494
312

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. Water supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses. The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all
[366] except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has
205 a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly
453 and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return
[494] fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars.

241 The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the
[231] smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, and
[467] Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from Brenish or Enaclete. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years age was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

242 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts
134 the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the
324 crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

488

488 WAREHOUSING--operation and regulation of warehouses; services (e.g., storage, preservation, stockpiling, care of goods in transit); organization and personnel; charges; etc. See also:

Storage and preservation of food . . . . . 251 Warehouse receipts as money. 436
Warehouse buildings 347

of Lord Seaforth's conduct in this matter. They alleged that he 228
'draiv in hither an number of strangers who daylie resorts to and 175*
fra Holland to the Lewes and continent next adjacent (the Ross 648
mainland presumably) and has caused them be answered of all such commodities as these bounds affords, as nameli with fishes and beeves quhilkis with the hyde and tallow, with manie utheris commodities they transport to Holland.'

To satisfy the Royal Burghs, Seaforth had some of his Dutch friends sent away. But several Dutch families remained in Stornoway until the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland in 1653.

In Harris, similar efforts were promoted by Captain Alexander 228
MacLeod, who in 1779 bought Harris, together with St Kilda, 175*
for £15,000 from the commissioners acting on behalf of General [425]
Norman MacLeod. The latter had, in 1772, inherited from his grandfather both the chiefship of Harris and a debt on the property amounting to some £50,000. Captain MacLeod, who skippered the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, did much to stimulate better conditions in Harris, and advocated the generation of a fishing industry. In the face of opposition and ridicule he showed by practical example what could be done to make a success of the herring fishings, introducing a number of east-coast fishermen with Orkney trawls to teach the inhabitants, and reaping a good harvest from the fishings off Rodel, despite the dismal auguries uttered by the Harris-folk. He improved the local harbour [503]
accommodation and erected a storehouse for salt, casks and the 488
like, he built a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread, 288
and twine for herring-nets; he advanced money to those fishermen 452
who were interested for the purchase of boats and gear; and he 427
provided them with rent-free cottages with a ground-patch on which they could grow potatoes. He built roads between the 491
village of Tarbert and the two jetties he made there, and he 346
erected a schoolhouse and an inn. But all this hard work to put 485
Harris on some realistic economic basis came to little. The native population were slow to appreciate the potential income lying about them.

The potential of the sea was of course eventually realised, particularly where the fishing grounds were favourable, Stornoway

489

489 TRANSPORTATION--extent of transportation; carrying capacity and volume of traffic by types of transport; transportation systems and their integration; regulation of transportation (e.g., permits, customs inspections); etc. See als

Land transport	49	Foreign trade	439
Water and air transport	50	Tariffs and tolls	651
Postal service	205	Government ownership and control	471, 655
Articles entering into domestic commerce	438	Military supply and transport services	706

HARRIS AND

/p. 8/

2: Thompson H 4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

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103
133
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LEWIS
BUTT OF LEWIS
Cellar Hd.
Tolsta Hd.
Tiumpan Hd.
Chicken Hd.
Rudha Leathann
Gress
Barvas
Arnol
Aird Dhail
Aird Dhubh
Ardroil
Stornoway
Arnish Point
Eye Peninsula
Point of Ness
Port of Ness
Loch Roag
Loch Erisort
Loch Seaforth
Loch Resort
Loch Ceos
Loch Shell
Loch Ashaig
Loch Langavat
Loch Cuaich
Loch Ceann Dibig
Loch Ceann Hulavig
Loch Ceann Ulabhig
Loch Ceann Ulabhig
Loch Ceann Ulabh

COMMUNICATIONS

and footpaths. Until this time, the greater part of the district of Park was accessible only on foot. Roads were 'at best rough narrow paths where rushes and grass grew between the tracks'. The Act improved the old *frith-rathad* (rough tracks) to such an extent that, says a report of 1902, 'a marked improvement has taken place in school attendance by their formation'. The opening up of the island certainly benefited the people. Though the moor tracks might give a more direct route to Stornoway, the roads at least offered a hard surface for horse-drawn cars and carts. The numbers of vehicles accordingly rose, and for long after the turn of the century the horse enjoyed a monopoly. Motor cars were beginning to be read about in the days-late newspapers brought to the island, but not until 1917 were the first complaints heard about cars tearing up the surfaces of the roads. Slowly but surely the inevitable pioneers emerged with their 'tin lizzies'. By 1925 there were an estimated 250 vehicles in Lewis—and traffic congestion was beginning to be a problem. The relative speed of cars was still something to be wondered at too: it was progress indeed to be able to travel from Ness to Stornoway and back again between a late breakfast and an early tea. But for all this progress, one could still buy a good dog-cart in excellent condition, to seat six people, for £9. A two-seater trap could be had for £6 10s; a set of harness cost 30s. And as for fuel—the best quality oats were 10s 6d per cwt. Indeed, it was not until 1943 that Stornoway Town Council sold its last horse—and only because no one could be found to look after it.

When Sir James Matheson came to Lewis in 1844 there was only one horse-drawn vehicle on the whole island. By 1872 eighty-seven wheeled vehicles were using his new roads. A pioneer of the wheel-carriage service, D. K. Henderson, began business in the 1850s. He was the first to carry mails and held a contract for the Stornoway to Tarbert run until the GPO introduced its own vehicles. As the motor took hold Henderson changed over and was the first to establish a motor-transport business on the island. Not all the local vehicles were of recognised makers' designs. A writer in the *Stornoway Gazette* in the mid-twenties commented on the fact that only the engine and the chassis of the local buses were imported. Bodies were then erected by carpenters . . . and

OVERLAND ROUTES

boat-builders; many of the bodies were 'fearfully and wonderfully made', an understatement that did not go unnoticed by those who had to travel in the emergent public transport. Combined interests led to the formation of the Lewis Motor Owners' Association which agitated for better roads; existing highways were being pot-holed with alarming and uncomfortable rapidity to the detriment of their vehicles.

Very slowly did public transport become co-ordinated for the benefit of the travelling country folk. Routes were planned and approved. In 1932 there were daily tours for visitors to the island, a series begun by the late John Mitchell, a pioneer in the provision of bus services, with Stornoway as the 'Rome' of Harris and Lewis. In 1935 he was granted permission by the Traffic Commissioners to run daily services between Stornoway and Rodel.

The expansion of the Harris Tweed industry was responsible for developing transport, both for conveying yarn to weavers throughout the island and for mill-workers. In May 1933 John Mitchell began a suburban bus service for the people of Stornoway, though more for the conveyance of workers in the fish trade; tweed-mill workers and others were not slow to take advantage of it. In the following month, June, Mitchell ran a bus from Stornoway to the Market Place just outside the town at Bannadrove (Beinn na Drobh—hill of the market), for a 6d fare. In October of the same year, Peter MacAulay provided a twenty-seater Bedford bus for the Carloway to Stornoway run, and this vehicle was not a home-made affair. Meanwhile in Stornoway, a traffic census showed that, on average, 628 vehicles crossed Cromwell Street, the main thoroughfare, every day—and 799 pedal cyclists.

POSTAL SERVICES

Until the late years of the nineteenth century, the lack of postal facilities were not considered a great disadvantage: few people wrote letters.

The *Scots Magazine* in 1756 noted that 'A Post Office is to be established at Stornoway, in the island of Lewis, from the fifth of July next, with packet-boats for maintaining a regular com-

FISHING

of Lord Seaforth's conduct in this matter. They alleged that he 'draiv in hither an number of strangers who daylie resorts to and fra Holland to the Lewes and continent next adjacent (the Ross mainland presumably) and has caused them be answered of all such commodities as these bounds affords, as nameli with fishes and beeves quhilkis with the hyde and tallow, with manie utheris commodities they transport to Holland.'

To satisfy the Royal Burghs, Seaforth had some of his Dutch friends sent away. But several Dutch families remained in Stornoway until the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland in 1653.

In Harris, similar efforts were promoted by Captain Alexander MacLeod, who in 1779 bought Harris, together with St Kilda, for £15,000 from the commissioners acting on behalf of General Norman MacLeod. The latter had, in 1772, inherited from his grandfather both the chiefship of Harris and a debt on the property amounting to some £50,000. Captain MacLeod, who skippered the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, did much to stimulate better conditions in Harris, and advocated the generation of a fishing industry. In the face of opposition and ridicule he showed by practical example what could be done to make a success of the herring fishings, introducing a number of east-coast fishermen with Orkney trawls to teach the inhabitants, and reaping a good harvest from the fishings off Rodel, despite the dismal auguries uttered by the Harris-folk. He improved the local harbour accommodation and erected a storehouse for salt, casks and the like, he built a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread, and twine for herring-nets; he advanced money to those fishermen who were interested for the purchase of boats and gear; and he provided them with rent-free cottages with a ground-patch on which they could grow potatoes. He built roads between the village of Tarbert and the two jetties he made there, and he erected a schoolhouse and an inn. But all this hard work to put Harris on some realistic economic basis came to little. The native population were slow to appreciate the potential income lying about them.

The potential of the sea was of course eventually realised, particularly where the fishing grounds were favourable, Stornoway

LORD LEVERHULME'S FISHERIES

When he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris, he offered—such was the character of the man—as thanks for the '98 per cent support' he got from the people of Lewis, to each Lewis crofter his own croft as a free gift, and the Lews Castle, together with all his property in Stornoway, to the people of the town.

In 1919, Leverhulme became proprietor of Harris, and concentrated his efforts in Obbe, now called Leverburgh, in South Harris. The harbour at Obbe lacked the natural advantage which Stornoway had, so he spent large sums on making it navigable. Rocky obstacles were blasted away; numerous buoys and beacons were set up to guide vessels into harbour; new quays were built; and kippering sheds, and other buildings necessary for packing and curing herring were erected. Among his other undertakings in Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he bore half the cost of the 5½ miles of road between Leverburgh and Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Brussels. His Harris schemes came to an abrupt end. And the remains of industrial history are still to be seen in the quietness of the little township named after one of the most stormy of business petrels that Britain has ever seen.

Tourism

Tourism has always been a perfunctory and casual affair, until the introduction of the fast ferries which now link the mainland (via Skye) with the Outer Isles. Some 10,000 cars cross each year from Skye to the Hebrides. In 1913, the Stornoway Tourist Association had a struggle to increase the number of visitors to the town, to establish it as a tourist resort. It is much the same today with the Western Isles Tourist Association, which is having difficulty in integrating tourist facilities with crofting activities. In Lewis, the Stornoway Trust has assisted in establishing pony-trekking, a venture which has the potential to mirror the success of a similar one in the Isle of Skye.

PRESENT INDUSTRY

Almost an echo of the kelp-burning industry is the alginate industry. It provides employment for only small numbers, but is a

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

(2,620 ft); grouped around this are the lesser peaks staring stark 631
and treeless to the skies. At the feet of these hills are the small 133
villages straggled along the shores of West Loch Tarbert. Much of this area is owned by the proprietors of Amhuinnsuidh Castle, a magnificent structure built by the Earl of Dunmore in the last century; the hills lying north of it are rich in red deer. The road [491]
past the castle trundles on until it peters out at the far-east village of Hushinish, beside a glorious scimitar-like curve of silver sand. Beyond Hushinish is the Island of Scarp.

The road along the shores of East Loch Tarbert ends at the 631
village of Kyles Scalpay which overlooks Scalpay island. The [491]
Bays of Harris hold in their crevices the scattered groups of houses [361]
here and there, where an inlet of the rocky coast affords some [133]
anchorage and where a patch of ground is suitable for cultivation. Tortuous, winding footpaths have been gradually replaced by [487]
narrow roads connecting the townships. Lack of sufficient re- [161]
munerative employment has led to considerable depopulation. [162]
Fifty years ago the population of the area was just over 5,400; it is now about 2,900.

The south of Harris is better known for its association with Lord Leverhulme. Obbe, later Leverburgh, became the centre of his schemes. He built a large pier, huge kippering sheds, houses for the workers, roads and lighthouses, and blasted away underwater rocks which hindered free navigation. The bulk of this work was complete in 1924, but when he died (in 1925) his successors, in the cold light of economics, decided to close down the embryo industry and realise its assets. The harbour works had cost £250,000; they were sold for £5,000 to a demolition company. Leverhulme's memorials are still to be seen. The west coast of Harris is now becoming known for the long stretches of shell sand and the green machar-land beside it, a true delight for the tourist seeking isolation.

Tarbert is the central village in Harris, with a population of 631
about 400. It is a thriving community, nestling at the foot of 621
Beinn an Teanga and at the head of the sheltered anchorage of East Loch Tarbert—sheltered from the prevailing south-westerly winds and from the Atlantic storms. The car ferries give direct [505]
contact with the Scottish mainland, via Skye, and Tarbert also

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

131 Before the making of
174 roads, it was ease of sailing which united island peoples and their territories. One can wade or drive, at low tide,
• [491] over the fords that unite the Isle of Benbecula with the two Uists, North and South: in fact, a bridge now connects
[505] Benbecula with South Uist. But only the roughest of
[491] hill tracks led through the hills of North Harris from the 'Tarbert' or Isthmus of Harris to the nearest habitation at the head of Loch Seaforth or Loch Erisort, in the Lews. This is a distance of some twenty miles, or a fair day's tramp for an unloaded man, and far too much for a return
[823] journey in one day. Hence separation of territory and name was natural. This separation no longer exists as
131 there is now a good 'bus service from Rodel via Tarbert
178 to Stornoway which links Harris with the daily Kyle to
823 Stornoway steamer. In this book, the Island, or the
494 Islanders, refers to Lewis-and-Harris with its people, as one.

101 Lewis is included in Ross-shire (of which the county town is Dingwall, north of Inverness) and Harris in
131 Inverness-shire, together with the rest of the 'Long
634 Island'. The county boundary cuts across the six-mile isthmus north of the hills of North Harris, from the in-reaching Loch Seaforth WNW. to Loch Resort (Fig. 8). All the Outer Hebrides are now included in the Parliamentary constituency of the Western Isles. Proposals to unite the Island under one District Council, or the Outer Hebrides under one County Council, are more favourably viewed in Stornoway than in Harris or the
632 Southern Isles. Harris forms one civil parish, while Lewis is divided into four: Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs.
[133] The Lewis parish boundaries traversing the moors are inset
[131] in Fig. 8 so that their trends can be readily grasped, and the inhabited portions of the parishes quickly located (p. 50).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

102
131
137
133

[632]
[634]
[491]

/p. 50/ FIG. 8

4

9

THE ENVIRONMENT

13 The district of Park lies in the parish of Lochs in south-east Lewis, almost cut off from the
101 rest of Lewis and Harris by Loch Erisort to the north and Loch Seaforth to the west. The district may be divided into two regions by Loch Shell and the valley to the west: this subdivision is meaningful physically, historically and from the socio-economic point of view.

13 The northern part of Park is a low, mamillated, ice-scraped plateau at an average altitude of 250 feet and a maximum altitude of about 450 feet, developed on Lewisian gneiss, a resistant acid rock of Pre-Cambrian age. Glacial erosion has scoured the area and expanses of bare rock are everywhere apparent. Coarse drift deposits are scattered throughout the area, but are more continuous along the southern shores of Loch Erisort between Shieldernish and Caversta, and at the head of Loch Ouirn. The cool, humid oceanic climate has led to the widespread accumulation of peat, and in the interior there are extensive areas of blanket bog. The Minch coast is rugged with cliffs attaining a height of 350 feet at Kebock Head, but there are several sheltered bays and inlets around which the crofting townships cling to the steep slopes. Along the more sheltered shores of Loch Erisort cliff features are almost absent and the physical landscape is less harsh and uninviting.

The mountainous area south of Loch Shell, an eastward continuation of the North Harris hills, attains a height of 1,885 feet. Glacial erosion has had more spectacular effects than in northern
8- 14 Park and corries and glacially modified valleys are numerous. Southern Park is now uninhabited but during the early nineteenth century a small population was scattered round the shores of the peninsula on areas of drift deposits.

There are no climatic statistics for Park, but the Stornoway figures can reasonably be applied to northern Park. The mean annual temperature for Stornoway is 47°F. ranging from 41°F in January and February to 56°F. in July. The mean annual rainfall in Stornoway is 50 inches, with May and June the driest months, but on average there are 260 rainy days. Wind, however, is the most notable element in the climate: an average of 155 days have gusts exceeding 38 m.p.h.

Soils are thin and immature, except on isolated patches of deeper drift: vegetation is dominated by heather (calluna vulgaris) purple moor grass (molinia) and sphagnum, and there are few trees, stunted rowans being almost the only species; trees are confined to islands in lochs and cliffs inaccessible to stock.

861 The aspect of Park is thus one of desolate moorland, and the human communities are without exception distributed round the coasts; the Minch coast townships are situated on sheltered bays or inlets and it is clear that the harvest of the sea was the original attraction rather than the agricultural possibilities on steeply sloping, rocky terrain.

18/ Park is the most isolated area of Lewis apart from South-west Uig. A sea-journey of only nine miles separates Lemreway in the south from Stornoway but the overland distance is 36 miles, which takes more than two hours by the daily bus service. Until 1924, there was no through-road beyond Habost although the Congested Districts Board provided a grant for the making of a road between Gravir and Cromore in 1901; in 1913 this road was extended to Garyvard. With the coming of the road, and the decline in the numbers of fishing boats, the people of Park have ceased to travel to Stornoway by sea. In terms of distance, Park is now more isolated than ever before.

101 Isolated, poor agriculturally, and without any industry, Park is a "Region of Difficulty" with
13 a rapidly declining population; basically the environment has little to offer in the twentieth
16 century.

4

491 HIGHWAYS--number
straight, meandering
bridges, causeways,
responsibility, techn
Urban streets . . . . .
Routes, footpaths, and ra

91

, location, and distribution of roads; character (e.g.,
g); surfacing and drainage; adjuncts (e.g., culverts,
tunnels, fords, ferries); highway maintenance (e.g.,
niques, special apparatus, personnel); etc. See also:
. . . . . 363 Use of roads 494
. . . . . 487 Ferry boats 501
ds . . . . . .

131 Lewis is about 40 miles long. The distance from Stornoway to the west side of the island is about 15 miles. Along a tar-macadam road through Barvas parish 361 from its northeast tip toward the southwest, about 491 18 villages are clustered along a relatively flat coast for as many miles until the land becomes hilly. The road then narrows and takes hairpin twists around blind, 361 stony corners. Villages become fewer, and nestle in protected coves or string haphazardly across the face of the hills.

Shawbost (from the Norse sja or sjo meaning "sea" [632] and bost or bolstadhr meaning "dwelling" or "homestead"), a village in the parish of Barvas, lies on three low hills on the west coast. Shawbost is 18 miles from Stornoway on a circular route in which Stornoway and Shawbost are antipodes.

172 On the south side of Shawbost bay, huddled beside the sea strand, is a cluster of ruins called Sean Bhaile (the old village), believed to have been occupied over 200 years ago when fishing was important in the local [348] economy. Banks of the streams are dotted with the ruins of old grinding mills and ovens for drying grain. [312] Fresh-water springs are still kept clear of rushes, although water is now piped to most houses from a nearby ooo loch. Hundreds of place names are known to the villagers

THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

The crofting township is not quite akin to the English or Lowland village. Primarily it is a collection of dwellings of families who, as social units, gain their subsistence from the land surrounding the houses. The smallest number for a township is four family units. A functional unit of four men was the minimum necessary for a boat crew, or for the teamwork necessary to cultivate land; co-operation was essential if all four families were to survive. And from this grew the same spirit of communal work which in Lewis is seen at its best in the efforts to reclaim peat bog and turn it into fertile grassland.

Hebridean townships come close to being the nearest approach to a classless society. The shape of a township is largely dictated by the nature of the surrounding land. The shape of most of those in Harris and in Lewis is either scattered or linear (houses disposed in line at varying distances from each other), with little natural cover, either plantation or scrub. Often the main road runs through the township; some have begun to develop lateral roads, to give, from the air, the appearance of planning on a grid system. Where gardens are cultivated, the produce tends to be a summer vegetable supply for the household, little if any finding its way to Stornoway shops for sale. Peat is the usual fuel, though in townships near to the centres of Tarbert and Stornoway coal is burned; the cost of freight, however, makes it expensive.

Most of the townships are owned by commercial companies; individual lairds own some five dozen; the remainder belong to public bodies and trusts. The actual distribution of ownership of land on the island is as follows. Harris is virtually owned by individual lairds; a small percentage is owned by commercial companies. The Lochs region of Lewis has a mixed ownership: commercial companies, lairds, and public trust, the former being the largest. Stornoway parish is wholly owned by public trust. The Ness district is virtually the property of commercial companies; a small fraction belongs to public trust. The Uig district is the same, the smaller proportion, less than 10 per cent, being the concern of an individual laird.

In Lewis, the public body mentioned is the Stornoway Trust,

There were, of course, other types of flights before 1948. In 1937, Captain Fresson took the first sick person off the island on charter—the beginning of the air-ambulance service so valuable to the islanders. During World War II, certain RAF mails were flown between Glasgow and Stornoway, on which there were first covers (December 1943, Glasgow/Stornoway; December 1943, Stornoway/Glasgow; and January 1944, Glasgow/Stornoway). The present air services are supplied by BEA and Loganair Ltd. The BEA plane route is Glasgow/Benbecula/Inverness and return. Loganair offer a service Glasgow/Benbecula/Stornoway and return. In recent years this small firm has built up a most valuable inter-island air link.

OVERLAND ROUTES

The history of overland communications in the island is a short one, though it does, like American history, have many characteristic highlights. In early times getting from one place to another was simply a matter of following well-worn tracks across the moorland, skirting lochsides and marshy lands and just taking the shortest distance possible between starting point and destination. Considering the length and breadth of the island, it is surprising that it was not until Sir James Matheson's appearance in Lewis that road-making was undertaken with any determination. This activity stemmed largely from the desire to get something in return for the outlay involved in keeping literal death from starvation clear of the doors of the island folk.

The report of the Rev James Headrick (prepared for Lord Seaforth in 1800 and published about 1820) indicated that the provision of roads would be of great benefit to the island. A footnote in the report (of probable date 1816) urges assistance from Parliament or the Board of Fisheries to complete the road from Stornoway to Loch Roag, which had been begun by Lord Seaforth. There is a bitter complaint that though the Seaforth property bears a large share in the county assessment, 'not a penny of public money has ever been laid out in Lewis'. Another footnote records that the road from Stornoway to Aignish in the east was made in 1815. No large undertakings followed Mr Headrick's

many recommendations, and though some road making began in 1791, progress was slow; in the course of fifty years, only 45 miles of road were created, less than a mile for each year. When Sir James Matheson took over in 1844 and planned to open up the island, he started with these 45 miles. On his death in 1878 there were more than 200 miles of road on which, with the necessary connecting bridges, he spent £25,593.

In the late autumn of 1882, a great gale swept away the hay and corn crops. This, added to the complete failure of the potato harvest, led to distress throughout the island. At a meeting called in Stornoway in December it was resolved that a memorial be forwarded to Mr Gladstone, then Prime Minister, craving aid from Government resources, or that some form of public works be started. No immediate response was made to this appeal. However, as the matter had been raised, investigations were made and eventually the Western Highlands and Islands (Scotland) Works Act, 1891, passed into law. It authorised, *inter alia*, the expenditure of a sum not exceeding £15,000 on constructing and improving the road between Carloway and Stornoway, and certain other roads approved by the Secretary for Scotland.

That Carloway was chosen as a terminus from Stornoway is significant. At the time it was probably the best fishing centre on the west coast of Lewis. Loch Carloway, which branches eastward from the mouth of Loch Roag, is a safe harbour and offers easy access; and any attempt to develop the real fishing potential of the district was a step in the right direction. At the time, the road from Carloway to Stornoway was a wandering one, 23 miles long, badly formed in many parts and ill-suited to heavy traffic. The proposed road was to be only 16 miles long and would, it was said, afford easy and quick access to Stornoway; fish would arrive there in fresh condition, suitable for transportation by boat to southern markets. As soon as the necessary plans were prepared and a contract drawn up, the work started. Progress was rapid, but financial difficulties arose. The contractor went bankrupt and the engineer was dismissed. The undertaking came to a complete standstill. Of the 16 miles, only 8 were completed. About 5 miles were partially made; the remaining 3 miles lay untouched.

The 1891 Act brought into existence a number of minor roads

men served in the various regiments at the front in South Africa, and over 300 in the Royal Navy.

In 1796 there were sixty-seven slated inhabited houses in the burgh, twenty-six of which had been built since 1784. Before this date most of the houses followed the constructional pattern of those found in rural Lewis. In 1838,

> Stornoway was, within the last twenty years, only a small fishing village, but from the spirited and patriotic exertions of Lord Seaforth, the proprietor, and the grant of irredeemable feus for building, it has become a place of considerable importance as a fishing station. It has a post office; and a packet sails regularly once a week with mail and passengers. No place in the North of Scotland, and in an insulated situation also, has made more rapid strides at improvement, both in a domestic and commercial point of view, than Stornoway.

COMMUNICATIONS

Mention of the sailing packet indicates the tedious manner in which mails came to the town for subsequent distribution in the island. Letters went by mailcoach north to Dingwall, thence by mail-gig west to Achnasheen. Because there was no road from Achnasheen to Poolewe, about thirty miles away, they had to be carried on horseback. The weekly sailing packet then picked up the bags, for which cargo the owners were paid £150 per annum. A letter from London to Stornoway cost 1s 5½d; the smallest enclosure made it double that amount. The mail-packet was often held up by bad weather. It was a wind-blown sailing ship that brought Stornoway the result of the Battle of Trafalgar and the death of Nelson, an event in which a number of Lewismen also took part and died; in St Columba's churchyard at Eye there can still be seen a Trafalgar officer's gravestone. A fortnight after this news arrived, the packet from Poolewe brought its stale message.

In 1844 seventy boats, ranging from 15 to 150 tons, were working out from Stornoway. The *Gazetteer* for Scotland for that year says, 'The grand trade of the place consists in the exchange of the produce of the fisheries and the kelp shores, for British manufactured goods and foreign produce.

population as it is one of accessibility. It is, for e
only 165 miles from Glasgow to Mallaig, but the trip ta
hours because of the constant succession of curves and
of severe gradients over which the railroad runs.

The General Appearance of Skye

Skye has an irregular shape. Large peninsulas ex
into the Minch on the northwest and into the Sea of the
on the southwest. Promontories, divided by sea lochs,
to the west and east. Numerous small lochs and several
sheltered bays contribute to the greatly indented coast
While philologists may doubt the derivation of the Gael
for the Island, Eilean Sgiathanach, from the Gaelic sgi
(a wing), "the winged isle" aptly describes Skye.

From the mainland, the Island appears to be domin
the jagged silhouette of the Cuillin Hills. Rising in
angular peaks, these mountains are the first indication
surface of Skye is as irregular as its shape. The char
typological features of the Island are the result of vo
action in the Tertiary period of the Cenozoic and subse
erosion, particularly during the Pleistocene when glaci
flows gouged and scoured the landscape.[1] Geologically
consists of an extensive basalt plateau; two intrusive
one of gabbro and the other of granite; and a complex o
differentiated strata and outcroppings which include Ju
and Cambrian limestone, Torridonian sandstone, and Arch

[1] F. Fraser Darling, "Relief, Landforms, Vegetatio
Communications," The West Highland Survey, F. Fraser Da
(mimeographed, 1950), Part II, pp. 26-28.

CHAPTER II

A FIRST IMPRESSION OF SKYE

131 133 Scotland includes among her distinctive characteristics the possession and jurisdiction of more islands, 787, than any other nation in Europe. Stretching along Scotland's west coast for 200 miles in an inner and outer archipelago, the Hebrides account for over 500 of these islands. The Isle of Skye is the largest of the Inner Hebrides. Reference to the map (Figure 2) will show that Skye is forty-nine miles long and from three to twenty-two wide. The coastline measures [184] 350 miles. The total area is 643 square miles. Although less than a mile separates Skye from the mainland at Kyle Akin and Kyle Rhea, the inhabitants are enisled geographically by the sea and culturally by the peripheral position of the Island to the main stream of British society and culture.

The isolation of Skye is due to two basic facts. The topography of the Highland region, with its scenic valleys, cut by sea lochs and flanked by precipitous mountains, has created natural barriers to communication with the cities of Lowland 487 Scotland and England. The second fact is that the transportation 131 133 facilities of the Western Highlands have never been integrated with Great Britain's main communication system. The problem, then, is not as much one of distance from the centers of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

(Chondrus), for example, is used as a thickener of milk to make a cheese-like mould. Dulse is also plucked.[1]

The type of coastal form and vegetation alters the relative importance of crofting and fishing—and the balance chosen is significant. (1) Where the coastline is smooth, and leads inland from sandy machar with its clover to sand-ameliorated 'black land' of smooth topography lending itself to ploughing, and the whole is backed by extensive pastures, the tract is relatively well-off for crofting but may be ill-placed for fishing. (2) Where the coast is either indented or salient with rocky loch-sides or steep promontory cliffs, a rolling or rocky topography, little shell sand, and (on the promontories) a shortage of pasture, it is ill-placed for crofting; but it is favourable to fishing either by virtue of sheltered sea lochs or of salient promontories, one or other side of which tends to give relative shelter to the fishing ground (chosen according to the direction of the wind, to avoid being blown on to a dangerous, lee shore). Hence the site of a settlement has had much to do with the choice and opportunities for a communal vocation, from prehistory to the present time, as we shall see.

Significant local characteristics emerge in the names of the ancient districts (inset with the Map of Vegetation, Fig. 8). In the north is Ness (Norse, 'nose' or cape); along the west is Cladach (Gaelic, a stony beach); while in South Harris the western 'Machar' contrasts with the eastern 'Bays'. 'Park', a sheep-run in the early nineteenth century, was the Norse 'East-fell'. In contrast, the parishes of Lewis centre on four churches, linked to the road-system. This radiates from Stornoway in five directions: east, NE., NW., SW., and south to Tarbert,

[1] Pulling dulse (*Rhodymenia*) is one of the 'delights' of Iona as told in a poem long attributed to Saint Columba!

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highlan
Lewis and

Harris; South Harris is ringed by a road, recently to take in the more isolated 'Bays' town

2. *The Crofts and Crofting Ways*

The prevailing modern unit of cultivation a in the Islands is the croft, the land held indivi each small landholder or 'crofter'. The Angl term croft (Gaelicised as *croit*) meant steadily infield land, manured and never left fallow, a guished from the unmanured outfield with its lo and poor out-turn. This term came into comm the Highlands and Isles in the eighteenth and n centuries with the splitting up of the older unit o tion and tenure, the small joint farm, with its litt fellow-workers or 'small tenants'. By 1830 gro had been replaced by individual holding of crofts, the pasture still held in common, as it is to the pr and an allotted strip of the machar.

The Lewis croft consists of a nominal five crops, of oats, barley (or bere) and potatoes, s with recent additions of turnips, and more ofte hay crop. The word 'nominal' is used becau the nineteenth century the croft had often been s between two or more sons, without addition by re to bring each subdivision up to the acreage of th croft. Moreover, in the hilly southern part of t cultivation is in little patches instead of in continu There, narrow ditches have been dug and the so up to form little ridges about ten feet by four, b by turf. These are known as *feannagan* in Ga English, 'lazy-beds'—a term in use as early as of Burt, two hundred years ago. Thus only a

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

342 adequate air-space, and windows opening at the top and
746 usually kept open by day, in which a woman can work at
178 ease. The Department of Agriculture aided the building
656 of a good standard type. The quality of joinery and
[335] masonry or concrete work improved, one fairly skilled
[333] workman usually directing the householder and friends as amateur builders. The cost of materials was met by a grant, generally of £250, half being repayable by an annual rent of £6 : 10s. for twenty years. Repayments proceeded satisfactorily. No scheme organised by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland won so general a commendation as this of house improvement. It made good use of family initiative and responsibility, with neighbourly co-operation not called for upon a large scale, a township at a time, but in quite a small, personal way. Nevertheless, had more guidance been provided to the builders, the
[464] houses could have been really well built. For lack of this, perhaps, crofters increasingly prefer to pay for skilled work, though helping actively. Appendces I (ii) and II (ii) gives pre-War and post-War statistics.

3. *The Township and its Changing Plan*

361 Where absence of rock and boulder permits ploughing,
[182] the village land is laid out in a series of parallel strips,
[491] aligned with the slope. The road runs either parallel with shore or river, or at right angles to it. The intermixed possession of strips by 'run-rig' characterised the Lowlands before the Enclosures, and is frequent in
[423] the Highlands and Isles. The apparent regularisation of field lines may conceal the fact that an individual holder's plots may be scattered amongst those of others in fixed
[182] run-rig. This is an advantage where quality of land is so patchy, and each man thus gets his share of good and bad

361 The chief advantage of moving uphill to the road has been
178 ease of communication and access to grocers' vans and mill-
311 spinners' lorries; but the disadvantage proves to be the
361 laying on of running water. A much-needed scheme for
491 water supply is now being applied by the Department of
654 Health for Scotland. Scrutiny of a 'quarter-inch' map will indicate the chief facts and tendencies and the conditions they involve.

4. Distribution of Population

162 The distribution of rural population can be closely
311 estimated by inspection of a 'quarter-inch' map, where both the area of cultivation and the house dots are noted. Comparison with parish populations shows that on an average one dot represents seven or eight houses or families and thirty to thirty-five persons. Since there are now no large farms, cultivation indicates crofting, and, therefore, a typical density of one person to a little over half an acre, or 1000–1200 per square mile. Rural numbers over the whole Island show a density of about twenty-five persons per square mile. If the fishing grounds, with a sail here and there on the wide sea, were added, the density would be lower still! A single dot found with cultivation indicates crofts, which are hardly ever found singly. Where no cultivation is shown around a single dot, this generally indicates an isolated stalker's house, a shooting lodge by a road, or a shieling (*dirigh*) out on the moor.

(B) STORNOWAY

1. Site, Plan and Development

361 The plan of Stornoway and its harbour shows three stages in the growth of the town, the first two picked out

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

CHAPTER NINE

THE ISLAND OF BERNERA AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS OF THE MAINLAND OF ROSS-SHIRE

('Bernera and Barvas Shore')

by

P. Wheeler

131 Of the three main sections of the parish of Uig, the Bernera district, consisting of Bernera Island (Breacleite, Croir, Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson) and the 'Shore' (Earshader, Crulivig and London together with the Island of Valtos and the peninsula of Linshader), presents a number of peculiarities due not primarily to physical conditions, but to isolation. Barvas district, though central to most of Uig and similar in many respects, has retained relatively inaccessible overland until the recent building of the road to Ardroil. Bernera District, however, has been cut off from the mainland by the bridge to the main Uig and a further two miles by tractor track over six miles to get from the island, even more than the adjacent mainland settlements of Barvas, Carloway and east-building population. Whether this isolation was relative sufficient vitality to resist the destructive effect of better communications in addition to the general forces eroding rural and especially highland life, remains to be seen.

The district shares the unpropitious physical characteristics described in the introduction. Like the rest of Barvas it is almost totally devoid of valuable mineral resources (1), and the herring and white fish industries have all declined to insignificance and even salmon is exterminated. Lobster fishing is, however, prosecuted by a few men (Appendix 1) to provide a good living but only for a small group of families. The rest depend on crofting or casual employment to eke out the principal source of income, the dole, which is variable, and the problems of permanent or seasonal absence in search of employment have common to the whole district, but little scope for making ends meet with the produce of crofting agriculture.

Settlement history and patterns.

The pattern of settlement in this inhospitable and discouraging environment is partly very old, and partly very recent. At least four brochs are known on Bernera and various standing stones of even earlier date, while continuous occupation from the early Christian era. Traces of old patterns and practices remain, in tangible form as in the persisted in little Bernera, at its oral tradition. All this continuity contrasts towards the very recent network of family relationships that binds the island fabric and to a lesser extent those on the adjacent mainland.

With the exceptions of Tobson, Boeta and Breacleite, all Bernera Island had been cleared by 1851. Resettlement began in 1860 when twelve families were moved from Boeta to Kirkibost, and continued at Hacklete in 1880, and subsequently elsewhere. Occasionally (at Kirkibost) old, pre-clearance crofting patterns were re-adopted, but generally settlement was laid out afresh. The township of Bernera Shore, were also affected by the clearances and resettlement, but to a lesser degree. Some families were left leaving the land under the sheep farmer of West Earshader and Crulivig (Appendix 2). The Bernera Island crofters were allowed to continue their customary use of shellings on the mainland, and the transfer in 1880 of these passages to their present position marked the

(1) A small deposit of bauxite has been exploited in Kirkibost since 1959. Only a few men are employed and the number is not likely to increase.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

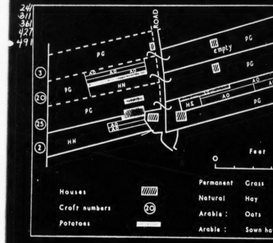
195 beginning of the resettlement movement which has given the modern crofters of the district almost all the lands formerly occupied by small tenants. This process was completed in the Bernera region even by the township (Inist), 88 working units on the island). If these shares are deducted it will be seen that only Kirkibost and Tobson common grazings exceed in 311 size those of Valtos and Linshader for the existing holdings (see Chapter III for the more detailed 232 information on clearance and resettlement).

364 The ground plans of the existing settlements were considerably, depending mainly on 364 the terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coast the natural 427 tendency is for the croft boundaries to run at right angles to the coast and for each house to be set on the croft. The best examples of this are Hacklete and Kirkibost, where 'an early nineteenth century (i.e. pre-clearance) crofting township' from which the township was re-settled in 1878. Linshader, London, Crulivig and Earshader also follow the pattern, but here the croft lots are not so regular, but Tobson, with the exception of Valtaig, is unmistakably 'nucleated', a lasting or partial effect of the clearances. Croir also differs: it was laid out in 1851 but the disposition of the planned township, Croir also differs: it organisation. The site of Breacleite is greatly broken by lochs and is very hilly and consequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Breacleite - Loch Big Breacleite axis, appears somewhat complicated. The arrangements in Croir contrast the control exercised by physical conditions at Croir with the subordination of physical conditions to a simple lotting plan at Hacklete, (Figure 28).

Within the township, with the exception of Kirkibost, the distribution of settlement 361 seem to have changed little since the original township, for in most cases the sites of the 361 old and present dwellings are little further apart than is dictated by the contours of the 178 dyrdshore. It would appear probable that black houses are unknown in the nineteenth 178 century except for the farmhouse at 1 Croir (the oldest 'white' house in Bernera). Their 178 houses, (18 Tobson), possibly the lieutenant's house at 1 Boeta, the farmhouse 2 Breacleite at 20 Kirkibost and at West Earshader. However, with the establishment of Congested 178 District Board and of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, early examples 178 being 10 Boeta and 2 Breacleite. The resettled township generally had improved accommodation from the start, but the improvement in housing only accelerated since 1911. In most cases at the present time housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and one near blackhouse are still occupied.

312 Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their private water supply, though it is hoped that money allowed may be forthcoming in the near 312 future for improvements. Sanitation varies in standard and in places there are still open 312 latrines, while the inevitable pigsties have water closets. It is worth remarking in this connection that all crofts and most are connected, though not. Electricity has been available since 1952 and is generally used for lighting and cooking, but not for heating. Fuel is cut by the people (peat) and bought (coal). Peat is cheap to those able to gather it themselves. Where, however, help is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road, difficulties may arise. The cost of hiring labour for peat cutting may be such that it is cheaper to buy coal.

Communications in Bernera by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Roag 364 provided a means of communication between the island and Barvas after the Great War, 364 and the 1927 bridge to Bernera Island, built in 1961, ensured the permanent 364 of access. Linshader is approached by a tarred branch road and the other Bernera districts are open to the narrow and heating road, though four of the six London crofts have no connection with it, and two of the Crulivig crofts, and West Earshader, are somewhat isolated. On Bernera Island the old cart track from the pier at Berrugion across to Tobson and Croir has been somewhat re-aligned since the construction of the 364 of Croir. The old road extend right, as part of the bounds to crofts 2, 3 Croir. The 364 of Croir is still accessible by tractor, though the outlying crofts near Berrugion were still without a road suited to vehicles. The Breacleite crofts are still almost unfarmed. There is a vessel to Hacklete from Breacleite which provides tolerable, though circuitous, communication. Valaisy is one of the most isolated settlements in Bernera, linked with Breacleite rather than with Tobson by the footbridge and causeway paid for by Congested District Board grant about 1903.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ZONE
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Croft
Croft
Croft

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

by

Brian Loughbrough

The seven crofting townships of Upper Carloway, (including Carloway Park), Borroweston, Garenin, Knock Carloway, Dun Carloway and Kirivick form a compact area of land in the north of the Parish of Uig bordering the coast and Loch Carloway. Here the Lewisian gneiss has a thin discontinuous covering of glacial drift which is most extensively developed immediately above the head of Loch Carloway. Three valleys help to determine the layout of the townships and settlements (figure 37). The townships to the north-west of the Carloway river are found on more gentle slopes than those to the south east where the slopes are less uniform and are less uniform and are often broken by short steep rocky faces. The north western area therefore offers an environment where almost continuous cultivation is possible whereas in the south east the frequent rock outcrops have led to fragmented cultivation on minute plots which are inaccessible to the tractor or other mechanised implements.

The soils are heavy and acid even on the skinned land of the boulder clay slopes nor is there any machair to mitigate the acidity of the peaty areas which descend almost to the shores. Only in one place is there any trace of the influence of the sand and this is to be found where the crofts numbered 1 to 3 Garenin border the small bay in the north of that township. Here the fierce gales have blown some of the finer beach deposits on to the croft land.

Much of the peat has been cut from the inner common pastures except in the case of Upper Garloway where active cutting is still taking place in the valley whose flanks are occupied by squatter settlements, to the east of the football pitch. On the common pasture the vegetation varies from peat moss and heather with bracken to fescue and close turf on the skinned land by the road to Dalemore. On the upper common pasture heather and bracken have increased since the abandonment of the shielings and the reduction of the cattle stock; many inhabitants remember that the hills once had a much greener aspect. Nor is this a feature confined to the common pastures; on one croft in Upper Carloway 1.9 acres are completely covered by heather whilst a neighbouring croft has a good crop of oats on similar land. At the loch in both Knock and Upper Carloway areas of former arable land have reverted to moss, the old lazy beds being picked out by lines of reeds.

Settlement. The settlement pattern is one of great interest for it shows in a clear way the effects of the distrinct phases in the historical geography of the area. The evidence of success and failure stands side by side. Before attempting to justify this assertion it is necessary to give a brief account of the physical evolution and distribution of settlement.

The origin of permanent settlement is believed * to have been the permanent occupation of shielings used by people from Bernera until the eighteenth century. Until about 1850 arable land was held run-rig and the houses were huddled together in tight little clusters. When individual crofts were lotted, about 1850, the houses werescattered, each on its croft and generally up to fifty yards from the present road (which was then no more than a rough track). Sea access was then most important but since the advent of modern road transport new houses have been built nearer to the roads, producing the modern markedly linear plan. The roads extend at different heights across the slopes

* based on information supplied by Mr Macleod of 27 Garenin.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

and across the croft boundaries and it is along these that the majority of the houses are to be found so that as the roads followed the easiest course open to them so the settlement has moved to the roads.

A particularly interesting example of this kind can be drawn from Upper Carloway where a twofold movement of settlements has taken place; first, from about 150 feet above sea level, where the original black houses were built, there was an uphill movement to the upper of the two roads which cross the township at from 150 to 170 feet above sea level, and, secondly (and more recently), there has been a move to build at from 25 to 30 feet above sea level along the lower road which has become the main axis for the public services. Three main types of building exist then in this township. The first is the blackhouse of which only one or two now remain. Even these are not the primitive type of blackhouse, for they all have proper chimneys. The second is an ill-defined group which includes buildings erected during the later years of the fishing boom and in the period up to the Second World War. These houses are either one or two storied often with the traditional dormer windows; they form the majority. Finally there is the development of the modern bungalows which are built by the crofters but based on plans supplied by the Department of Agriculture. Few have ventured to build away from the level of the lower road.

How then does this pattern of settlement illustrate the changes referred to at the beginning of this section? The original houses were abandoned gradually as the temporary prosperity of the fishing enabled the crofters to build the better houses. These have seen great changes, but in most cases they are still occupied. Some have been extended and improved by their owners whilst others remain without additions almost as they were when first built. That the crofter owns his own house has certainly encouraged replacement in recent times. The generous grants and loans provided by the Department of Agriculture have been utilised to construct the modern bungalows on crofts where the original croft house stands as a byre and where the second house is sometimes inhabited by some relative or person who sublets part of the croft. It is rare to see such successive phases so close together in a landscape.reflecting the varying fortunes of economic enterprise and the influence of government subsidies now so much a part of the life of the crofting township.

Roads and public services.

Carloway's importance as a centre for West Lewis is accounted for by the fact that at the break in the coastline caused by East Loch Roag the main road southwards from Barvas turns inland to Breasclete. Near the point where it crosses the Carloway river at Carloway bridge it is joined by a number of local township roads creating a focus for community services (figure 38).1 Here also the line of the still unfinished 'Pentland' road, projected as a direct link with Stornoway during the fishing boom, reaches Loch Carloway and passes along its north shore to the pier at Borroweston. This substantial pier was the scene of great activity during the period of commercial fishing before the First World War.

The six hundred residents of the immediate Carloway area are served by eight travelling shops as well as by the local stores. Bread, fish, meat, green-groceries, library and bank all come to the end of the croft if not to the crofter's door. Of the vans one is based on Carloway, one on Breasclete and the rest on Stornoway. A mobile film unit visits once each fortnight. The churches and school rightly reflect their importance in the community by the commanding position which they occupy just above the bridge. Here too is the showground; the annual show attracts people from all over the island, being as much a social as an agricultural gathering. Other services are more dispersed but not far away. They include doctor and district nurse, policeman, post office, and football

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 103]

1. [Presumably the author means figure 39--Analyst]

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491
631

Fig. 3. The Crofting Townships of Park

/facing p. 4/

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311
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491
241

Fig. 5. Kershader - Land use. The inset shows the complete layout of the township: A - the Croft land, B - Re-seeded Grazing Parks, C - The inner fenced area of the common grazing. The former shielings belonging to each croft are also shown: the numbers correspond to the crofts numbers. (Redrawn from 1:2500 fieldmap by P.W. Wheeler, M.A.)

/facing p. 6/

361 423 182 172

luck in land, but a disadvantage where control of a single area is desired by one man. Regularisation of roads, houses and holdings is relatively modern, for crofts and dwellings were once grouped in hamlets usually close to the seashore. The early hamlets can still be made out from their ruins among the rocks, sometimes sketched in the 'six inch to mile' Ordnance Survey plans. They were without formal order or arrangement, each homestead within its boundary wall. Where ploughing was and is too difficult, the soil is heaped up in ridges, 'lazy-beds', and dug.

361 491

Shawbost, on a rocky part of the west coast (six miles south of Barvas) consists of three main sections: a scatter of houses and ruins by the enclosed loch, two main streets linking the loch to the main coastal road, and inland another short street. The three can be made out on a 'quarter-inch' map. The two main streets were laid out by the Estate Officers following removals in the mid-nineteenth century from another part of the island, Uig, and the third running inland was laid out still later, when population was growing and land was needed. When the third street was laid out, the landlord, Matheson, lent good plough-horses for preliminary reclamation. The irregularly placed black houses near the sea are tending to be rebuilt close to the main road.

175 311

361 178 311 654 491

In addition to this type of movement, farms 'broken up' once more into crofts have been laid out on a regular grid plan, each house placed on a corner of its five, ten, or twenty-acre plot (*e.g.* Galson, Dalebeg, etc.). 'Skinned' land may also be reclaimed for crofts by squatters tolerated by the community, or on a regular grid by agreement of the assembled crofters, guided by the Department of Agriculture. Thus two distinct tendencies are seen: the grid plan in new settlements, road alinement in existing ones.

[Be-Forthbec] [Bhrisetaiel] [Ishcot]

Land of the original township appears to have been divided, as a result, many long-lazies, one of which is still known as Ishcot. Bhrisetaiel was the site of a township which was depopulated at the present population of twenty-three; one is permanently away and two temporarily. Ishcot, 1959. There is a fairly popular shooting-station, with a large number of sheds, accessible by car, for a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

In Sutherland and Ross-shire all settlement is below the road and lower; sites are on terraces, and are mostly of recent origin. Bhrisetaiel (sing.) of the Reaches ("Sutherland Estate"), Ishcot (sing.) of the Reaches ("Sutherland Estate"). Ishcot is a small township, with communication was by ferry 1958. Now a cart-track, fairly rutted, to Kinlochbervie. Access to the Corbett-Stornoway road two-mile-a-half miles away.

[illegible]

Bhrisetaiel, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs road. The three crofts are adapted on a well-drained sloping site, and have a tarmac road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put together to produce almost a single field. The croft grows neither oats nor potatoes, and now preferring to rotation two one-acre patches, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the stock on the hill-grazing in July. The croft has 20 ewes and 20 hogs, and the ewes lambed in April and will then be kept on the home in winter. The ewes are cross-bred Cheviot and are sold at seven and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although the acreage is adequate, the tenure of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total acreage of the three crofts is 42 acres. Stocking: Fishing is now only for domestic use though there is a small jetty on the. [illegible] Fair-weather weaving is performed on two of the six looms.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts, both at Bhrisetaiel - one vacant - are worked outside the township and thus [illegible] tenancy, being different of access and having little cultivable land. A better social to the crofters, and the vacant croft is being advertised as a grazing unit for crofting tenants. In the Lochinver area, the Crofters' Commission has recently made a vacant croft available to one of the crofts especially with fertilizing and re-seeding for hay and pasture and good crops of crops for sowing. It is hoped to have the common grazing rationalized and this will be proved - a great advantage. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Bhrisetaiel crofters can market their produce, and the Crofters' Commission has made a grant available for a boat - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the [illegible] from the Crofter's Commission.

HARBOST
Rachel A. Hiver

Ishcot is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Eriboll. Settlement is on a low-lying site - rock-strewn, sandy, and boggy - and is exposed to wind and weather. Ishcot is a small township, with communication was by ferry 1958. Now a cart-track, fairly rutted, to Kinlochbervie. Access to the Corbett-Stornoway road two-mile-a-half miles away. Ishcot is a small township, with communication was by ferry 1958. Now a cart-track, fairly rutted, to Kinlochbervie. Access to the Corbett-Stornoway road two-mile-a-half miles away.

[illegible]

[Borgh]

Only a fraction of the land which is cultivated by tractor and this is divided among seven crofts. In spite of the tractor, the average acreage of these cultivated is the object that be will never use it again, the use of the tractor will increase as more as the pressure are also in greater demand for land. Cultivation is carried out by the tractor and the crofters are also greater demand for land. Cultivation is carried out by the tractor and the crofters are also tractor by the disappointed user was the inevitable one that the crofts were smaller than in potatoes, the tractor is not suited to the soil. The nearest to this was given by one of the other crofters, who thought that the tractor was good for the sandy soil of the Machrins.

Stornoway, Sutherland. Shed the crofters practice a five-year crop rotation, mixing potatoes, oats, turnips and grass. Cultivation is carried out by the tractor and the crofters are also greater demand for land. Cultivation is carried out by the tractor and the crofters are also greater demand for land. Cultivation is carried out by the tractor and the crofters are also greater demand for land

and the homes of the ministers and the teacher. Standing 621
together, within a few hundred yards of each other, they 348
provide a focal point for the surrounding area. The remainder
of the buildings which we normally think of as forming a
village nucleus are widely dispersed. The post office, which 621
is also a general store, is just over a mile north of churches 348
and school, in the township of Kilvaxter. Another mile away, 361
off the main road, in Borneskitaig there is a small shop.
South of the churches and school, almost two miles away,
there is a shop and a smithy in Lintmore. The remaining shops
and workshops are similarly scattered hither and yon among
the crofts.

Glendale shows much the same pattern of settlement. 361
Stretching along the shore of Loch Dunvegan, through Glen- 621
dale, at the mouth of the Bealach River, and on along the
shore of Loch Pooltiel, there are 156 crofts in 11 town-
ships. These are the homes of 144 crofters. The total
population is in the neighborhood of 350. Like the people 348
of Kilmuir, the Glendale residents have also become dependent
on roads, and they have tended to build their new houses
near a road of their part. The single church, the post office 621
and the shop stand fairly close together near the center of 348
Glendale. One school is about a mile away in Borrodale,
and the other over a mile away in Colbost. Neither Glendale
nor Kilmuir have a village hall. When the Glendale crofters
have a meeting to discuss the club farm or when the Kilmuir
crofters hold a club meeting, they use the school. Now let 621

01 Ducey E-4.5 (1953-1954) 1956 $10 Highland Scots $310
Skye

By 1845 there was a small crescent of houses along the shore, 1854
about twenty in number, and on the raised terrace there was 1855
a new inn, a church, a post office, a bank, several shops, and 1856
a street of homes. The population had grown to alief 550. 1857
The existence of the village depended on the summer cattle 1858
markets and the fishing industry, which was in the hands of 1859
newcomers.

Following the establishment of Portree and accompanying 1858
the gradual decline in self-sufficiency, the Island was brought 1858
into closer contact with Great Britain by an extension of
regular means of communication.[29] Regular communications, of
course, are a prerequisite for commercialisation. There must
be access to markets for the local produce and access to
consumer goods. Without such access no man can specialize;
with it the Gelathanach has been dislodged to specialise. The 1861
old drove roads, the beaten paths which had served them well
for many centuries, were now supplemented by roads in the
Lowland sense and manner. By the end of the period of 1858
the more accessible townships had been connected with Portree
and the mainland, and a steamer had entered regular service
between Portree and Glasgow. These factors paved the way for
the introduction of commercial sheep farming.

[29] George and Peter Anderson, Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (3rd ed.; Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1849), p. 439; and ibid., pp. 225, 231, 234, 235.

[30] Census of Scotland: Increase.

[31] James MacDonald, op.cit., pp. 400, 799; MacCulloch, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 1257 and; p. 131, 299, 311, 320; and Pennant, op.cit., p. 301.

01 Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 $150 Highland Scots $150
Lewis and Harris

POSTAL SERVICES

A mounted
postman was at that time working between Tarbert and Flod- 205
dabay, halfway down the east coast of South Harris. Before this 175
transfer there was no direct mail link between Harris and Lewis. 192
With the introduction of a bus service, a local mail was intro- 192
duced between Stornoway, Tarbert and Leverburgh, and up to 1942
1955 all mails for Harris were dealt with at Tarbert and Lever- 192
burgh, being dispatched to and received from mainland offices
direct on a three-days-a-week basis. In 1955 a daily delivery ser-
vice was introduced throughout Harris (with the exception of
Scarp), all in-mails being handled at Stornoway.

TELEGRAPH, TELEPHONE AND RADIO

The first telephone in Lewis was installed in 1897. The first tele- 204
graphic office in Lewis in 1872 is on continual breakdown were a 175
constant source of annoyance, particularly to local businessmen
and fishermen. Another cable for money was pulled up but about
1910, between Broad Bay in Lewis and Inveraoidale on the Sot-
tish mainland. This worked duplex to Aberdeen, the 'B' leg of the
cable being used for an Inverness link. At about the same time,
a more-operated Stornoway-Lochmaddy-Castlebay (Barra) tele-
graph circuit was introduced which had to be balanced and corrected
morning before sending could begin. This was the last morse link
in Scotland until its withdrawal in 1948. Though latterly it went
only to Lochmaddy, originally it worked with one wire to Castle-
bay, Lochboisdale, and Lochmaddy, and thence to Tobermory
and Oban. It was a four-wire circuit to Tarbert and Stornoway use
to Castlebay; the batteries were housed in the attic of Stornoway
Post Office. A new trunk telephone service between Lewis and
the mainland began on 21 March 1955, celebrated by an in-
augural call from the Provost of Stornoway to the GPO
in Edinburgh. A four-core cable was laid from Loch Erisort
and Staffin in Skye, complemented with some 25 miles of overland
wire. It had to be balanced after every downpour of rain! The first
telephone was worked over this cable in the early 1930s. The use
to which the fishing trade put the connection can be gauged by the
fact that at the height of the fishing season up to 20,000 messages
were handled each month. The first trans-Atlantic call came in

01 Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 $150 Highland Scots $150
Lewis and Harris

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

but their negligence even in yr article appears from their sending 133
out annual dues 2000 of wood out of the country unmanufactured. 175
Harris was rented at £600. Exports were about 100 tons of 192
kelp (£325), and the value of 250 black cattle exported alive, with 192
With the introduction of a bus service, a local mail was intro- 192
duced between Stornoway, Tarbert and Leverburgh, and up to 1942
1955 all mails for Harris were dealt with at Tarbert and Lever- 192
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01 Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 $10 Highland Scots $10
Lewis and Harris

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE — PT. 1

233 according to the relief, as explained. Thus the Barvas
182 and Ness districts are smooth topography generally speaking,
233 and there is, or rather was, one horse between two crofts,
or one pair between four or five. In rocky Uig or in Lochs,
however, there is only one pony between ten or twelve crofts.
197 Lending or hiring of horses has still to be practised, but
197 within manageable limits, though the increase in 'cars' had
lessened the number of horses, even before the war-time in-
troduction of tractors. Hiring is often done for cash, though
this conflicts with older communal custom. Yet lending
had its difficulties: "The borrowed horse", says the lender
bitterly, in the Gaelic proverb, "is never tired!"
The number of sheep per holding is noticeably highest
in Harris, with one score ewes per holding. The sheep
pasture of North Harris was well spoken of by Dean
Monro, and the link with the home industry of Harris, its
weaving, is evident.
Comparisons with the western mainland show, in
holdings of similar or rather large size, the diminished
amount of cereals now grown there even by crofters. The
increased proportion of grass reflects both the greater
dependence on bought provisions, and also the fact that
the West is not a land to ripen crops, but that it can grow
grass for stock.

4. The Moors as Pasture: Game and Sport

311 In order to estimate the relative value of the rough
311 grazings of Lewis and Harris, it will be useful to compare
these with the moors lying across the Minch and east of
Cape Wrath. There also may be found crofting communities
whose economics are similar to those of Lewis, so
that the stock carried on their pastures will furnish some

1: Parnass E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 $150 Highland Scots $150
Shawbost

632 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the
363 sea; Caaan a Stiah (or Caaan a Ruch Ruaile, or Baile
103 Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the
sea), Shulishiir (an area identified with the keeping
of cattle), Gearraidh Mor, Creagan, Fliaig, and Maah a
Shal ("out the back," by a road built relatively recently)
A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the
moor, or common grazing land, is called Grianhaa, from
the name of a nearby loch.
The presence of a large Harris Tweed mill in
Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living
within the village. It is estimated that only 236 of
the 1,000 people of rural Lewis have cars; about 500 of
the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970
Shawbost had only one occupied high shiah, or "black
house" built of dry stones and roofed with thatch, which to
many islanders symbolizes a past life of poverty and
adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators,
deep freezers and electric toasters are common in
Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and
many have telephones.
The mill in Shawbost employs between 60 and 70
persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn
in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work
in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the

311 241 [175] [420] There are 144 crofts in the village (nine of which, in South Shawbost, were added after the turn of the century by non-crofters encamped on common grazing land who applied to the landlord for crofter status). Thirty-four (almost a quarter) of these crofts are vacant; that is, the holders of the crofts live elsewhere. [527] [493] [485] One of the vacant crofts is used by its absentee tenant for holidays, and one sports a trailer (called a "caravan" in Britain) which may be rented to tourists during the summer. The rest are cultivated or used for [428] [427] grazing by crofters or non-crofters in the village who by inheritance or by formal or informal subletting have gained use of the land.

241 A little over half of the crofts are worked as individual units; 44% of the crofts are worked as combined units of two and three. Twenty-four men have the use of two crofts each, and five men the use of three crofts each.

16 A feature of crofting townships usually emphasized is their disproportionately large number of aged people and small number of young people, who tend to migrate to the cities. An age-sex "population pyramid" of the Highlands is not a pyramid but a top-heavy hourglass (see Table I).[1] Most persons of child-bearing age have migrated from the area and the number of children is

1. [See p.vii--Analyst]

178 but not as often as in the past
501 were in danger of being smashed
228 and winds that gained easy acce
[493] [504] harbor; but today, because so
the boats can be sheltered in t
of Carloway, five miles up the
[434] of Shawbost. Despite this prot
in income since World War II wh
people to buy boats, the number

175 821 In the past certain people
"knowing the wind and the sea."
coming from different direction
kinds of weather; a line of wh
bad weather in a few days. A f
"My father and grandfather coul
coming. They needed to know, a
radio and television to tell th
signs, too, if I had listened t

175 228 464 551 Not only was there local f
to hire themselves as crew on c
Several nicknames reflect this
known by the nickname "Strachan
who lived on the east coast of
boat the head of the Shawbost f

. In the past boats
by the strong seas
ss to the Shawbost
many cars are available,
he more protected bays
coast to the southwest
ection and the increase
ich would enable more
of boats remains small.
were esteemed for
The sound of the turf
s presaged different
ite across the bay meant
ifty-year-old man says,
d tell when a storm was
nd they didn't have
em. I would know the
o them."
ishing, but the men used
ther fishing boats.
history. One family is
," the surname of a man
Scotland and on whose
amily had once worked as

288 466 rotation to the weavers who are registered with them.

Other factors also hinder equal distribution of [602] tweeds. Personal considerations enter; for example, the managers of the Shawbost mills feel a responsibili for the weavers in their own village, who are usually kinsmen. Exclusive distribution to local weavers is rationalized by saying that the tweeds must be done urgently; hence they are distributed only to the wea who are known to do tweeds quickly.

288 494 466 The major factor hindering equal distribution of tweeds is the expense which derives from the decentra zation of weavers, that is, the cost of petrol and up of the vans, which is born by the mills. Before Worl [175] [178] War II, the weavers rather than the mills were respon [493] for transporting the tweeds, by cart and horse at fir and then by motorized transport.

288 175 492 494 During this period, independent entrepreneurs carried tweeds in vans and buses at four shillings ea a practice which stimulated the development of public transportation. Although the number of passengers us such vans and buses for public transport fluctuated, the income derived from the cartage of tweeds was in itself large enough to be profitable and to maintain [178] enterprises. An efficient service existed, despite th

88 paucity of passengers, which provided rides to and
75 from town many times a day; but with the "development,"
78 that is, the centralization, of industry, public trans-
72 portation deteriorated. Visitors to the island unfamiliar
94 with this history are struck by practices which they
interpret as coming out of a clockless past, such as
the present custom of stopping the bus midway in its
journey to Stornoway so that the driver can eat dinner
in his mother's house while all passengers wait on board.
Such a custom is fairly recent, and indicates the
deterioration of public services to populations which
are marginal to the centralized source of these services.

88 During World War II, when the demand for tweed was
75 high and the number of weavers small, the weavers staged
58] an effective strike by which they received an increase
in pay and the burden of cartage was shifted from them
to the mills. This did not affect the system of trans-
8] portation until the mills realized it would be cheaper
94] to run their own transport rather than to pay the independ-
ent drivers a "cartage fee." The mills then began to use
13] their own vans to deliver yarn and collect tweeds directly
5 to and from the weavers. Once the mills took over trans-
88 portation, they tended to deliver tweeds to weavers
18 closest to the mills rather than to uphold the principle
94] of equal distribution. This practice (made possible by
66]
61]

584 groups on the sheilings or within the village as they
[834] were growing up, and even during courtship maintained
a joking, somewhat rude interaction. "If he says he
wouldn't touch her with a barge pole, he's obviously
smitten." Someone considering the dangers of marrying
an outsider[1] commented, "A devil you know is better than
a devil you don't know."

584 Now that facilities for transportation have increased
178 couples tend to pair off in cars rather than go in
[493] groups. They may even be seen together on a date in
[535] town. Activities such as dances still begin late in
the night, lasting from about 12:30 a.m. until early
morning. The seriousness of a relationship is kept
secret for as long as possible, but weddings today
require long-term planning because wedding dinners are
514 held in hotels rather than within the village. At an
584 earlier time, serious intentions were announced only a
few weeks before the weddin t a reiteach or dinner
party which signified a betrothal. Reiteach also
means "disentangling" or "reconciling," and was
described by one person as a means of "pouring oil

[1]The term "outsider" usually connotes non-Gaelic-speaking, but may also refer to someone from outside the village.

763 relived and shared. The person's exact age and the
764 identity of his closest kin are discussed. A van is
574 immediately dispatched to bring benches from the church,
● [493] which are set up throughout the house of the deceased,
and over the next few days a constant stream of visitors
[431] fills the benches. The visitors bring tea, sugar,
biscuits and other provisions for the days and nights
of communal trial. The tigh fhaire, "house of watching,"
as this wake is called, continues until the day of the
funeral.

764 In the past, persons sat up all night with the body.
[825] "It took so long to get a coffin. You didn't want to
[178] go in and find half the face eaten away by rats." This
custom is dying out, but lights are usually left on in
the room in which the coffin is placed. When an all-night
wake occurs, the atmosphere is one of relaxed story-telling
and the sad laughter of reminiscence.

764 At least two nights of "waking" usually precede the
574 funeral. During this time, hundreds of villagers attend
[152] the tigh fhaire. Grief is expressed throughout the vast
network in which the dead person was enmeshed. On rare
occasions when a single night precedes burial, the house
is filled to overflowing.

Throughout the day and evening, waves of newcomers
enter, and other sitters slip quietly away. Kinswomen of

764 Today coffins are brought to the cemetery in a
178
● [493] hearse, but the procession still carries the coffin
for a half mile or so to the hearse. The women gather
outside the house in the biting wind, huddled together,
beginning to sob as the heavy line of dark-coated,
slowly-moving men bear part of themselves away. In one
village on the west side, the women circled the coffin
as it left the house, chanting, "You are leaving us, you
are leaving us!"

764 Graveyards are maintained by members of the community.
[767] A cemetery committee collects dues of five shillings a
[435] year from all households for the upkeep of the cemetery.
Relatives and neighbors dig the graves of their fellow
villagers.

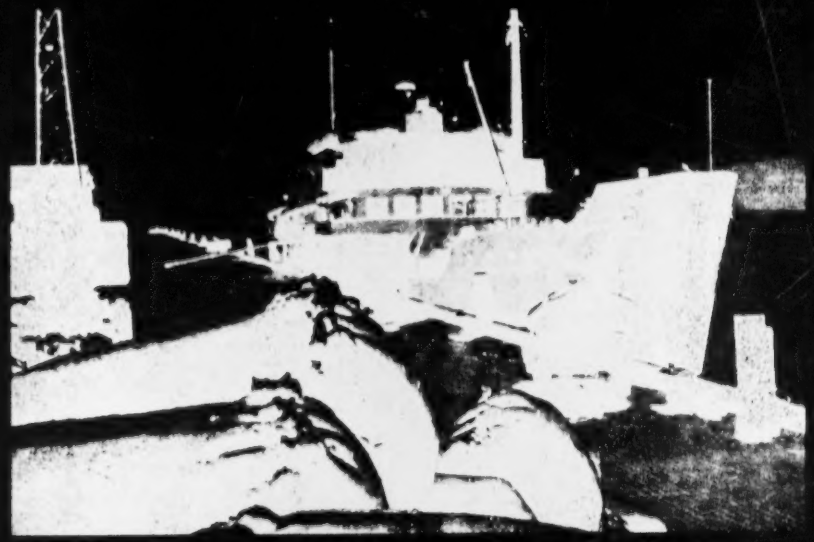
767 In 1911, a funeral society called the West of Lewis
Funeral Association was founded with the original
intention of bringing back the bodies of men and women
who had died when they were away from the island "at the
[435] fishing." Persons from Borve to Berneray pay two
shillings a year to the Association, which at present
has about L4,000 invested in bonds. A similar association
exists in other parts of the island. A person may join
between the ages of 12 and 40, after which he is not
eligible for membership. A member who has left the
island must continue to send in his dues, or members of

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

useful crofting ancillary which, unlike many others, is soundly based on a definite commercial demand. Various industries use the extracted acid for some 150 products. The Scottish alginate industry, the second largest in the world, is based on the process of E. C. Stanford, who discovered alginic acid in 1883, though today modern methods are used. For raw materials it has turned to the old kelping shores of the Hebrides and Northern Isles. On the island it has a factory at Keose on Loch Erisort, a site chosen for the easy access afforded to puffers; the factory receives the weed, dries, mills and bags it, and the boats then carry 200-ton loads to Girvan. The factory itself involved some £30,000 of capital layout and has a capacity of 120 wet tons per week—4 wet tons producing 1 dry milled ton. About a dozen Harris and Lewis crofters gather the seaweed crop, the most useful type being bladderwrack or rockweed *(ascophyllum nodosum)*, from the shores at Loch Erisort, East Loch Roag and Bernera in Lewis, Husinish and Scarp in Harris, and Loch Seaforth. Where there is road access the weed is cut by sickle and loaded into a lorry, but more often it is cut at low water to be floated with the incoming tide and rafted to Keose, hauled by motor boat.

A product of the land not readily associated with the Hebrides is bulbs. Bulb-growing deserves a mention, however, if only because the experiment to see whether it could become a commercial possibility in Lewis was carried out by the children of Lionel (Ness) Junior Secondary School. The MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust made an investment of £150 to cover initial expenses, and success followed. When the original project was completed it was extended, sales bringing the school a useful sum. But an attack of disease brought production to a standstill in 1966.

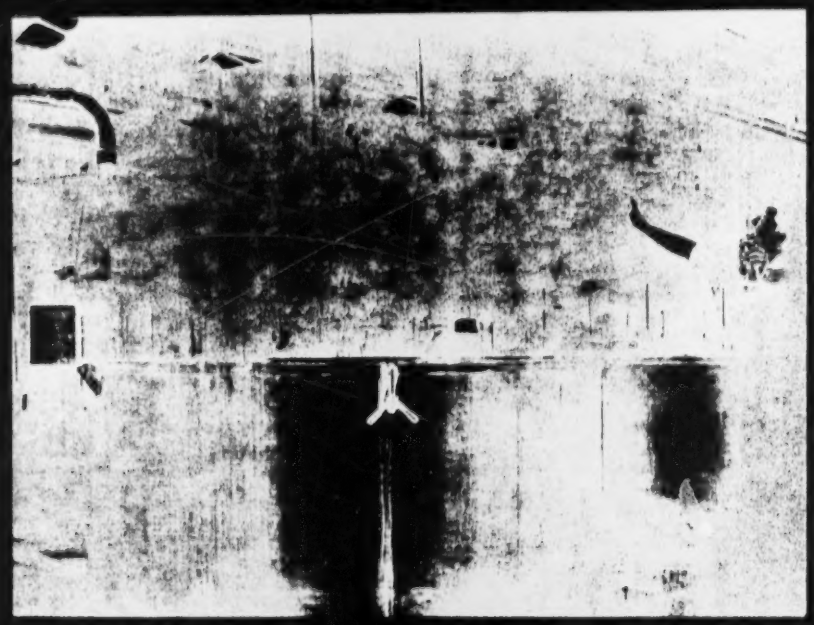
Another small industry is the aerated-water plant at Ness, which is operating with reasonable success, and could do better if imports of aerated waters from abroad were reduced. A number of recent surveys made in the island have found great interest in such activities as shell-fish processing in Harris to produce semi-preserves, using mostly cockles and mussels. Local knitting already has a name for its products and a potential for extension on a commercial scale; this latter began in late 1966. Some forty years ago knitting specialists went to Lewis to investigate the possibilities



(*above*) Bales of imported Scottish wool on the quay at Stornoway for the Harris Tweed industry

/p. 144/

(*below*) Dyeing wool in a Stornoway mill



clay is exposed, leaving what is vividly called 'skinned' land. And where drift is exposed, the mineral constituents are leached out, and a hard 'moor pan' is left a few inches below the surface.

Seen from the edge of the crofts, the typical 'skinned lands' of bare, blue or brownish clay, littered with stones, suggest a desert. Often, only a few blades of grass or tufts of heather grow on them. Indeed, 'skinned land' seems at first too mild a term, for on it the stones—thickest on top when undisturbed, and bleached by the acids of the peat that overlay them—suggest the prophet's 'field of bones'. One can only ask, is the rest of his vision ever to be fulfilled and life to spring again? In some hilly parts to south and west, not only the 'skin', the topmost layer of peat, but the very soil, the flesh as it were, is still being stripped bare to the bone, the actual rock. The evacuation of the islet of Bernera Beag (Uig) was largely due to this stripping. In the more level parts to the north, however, roadside pits show sections of clay with few stones, covered with perhaps six inches of clay with many stones. It is this top layer which gives the skinned land such a hopelessly stony appearance, and shows that reclamation is less miraculous than it seems.

With the coming of carts and lorries the increasing use of shell sand has become possible, whether for spreading on the land or for slipping into pockets, together with fertilisers, for potato seed. As to soils, shell sand and boulder clay possess complementary qualities in texture and chemical composition. The shell sand of the machars provided an early home for man, the light soil allowing rye, a poor variety of oats, and herbage, to ripen early and mature in late, wet seasons when the clays are sodden with rain. Yet the sand itself is so light that drought is

left the Island. Yet after 1931 many returned, owing to losses and unemployment both in British towns and overseas. When emigrants began to come home the 'Harris' tweed industry had spread to Lewis and offered increasing employment. Some men still fished in family-owned Island boats, and others as paid hands (on boats from the East Coast), though losses and unemployment were suffered.

Inter-war changes were hastened not only by movement beyond the Island—an influence at work for three or four generations before—but by mobility within it. In 1919 a small mail car made its way daily from Stornoway along each of the five main roads, with an occasional passenger. When crofters crossed the Island to Stornoway they went on foot or took the pony and cart at a slow walk: it was a day's journey. Ten years later, Ford vans, bought second-hand, ran daily to Stornoway from every township. Frequency, ease and relative cheapness of movement came late in an Island with no railway: the mobility of the motor for marketing and shopping brought rapid change.

'Hand-loom' weaving had become an important, if precarious, resource, important because of the capital invested and the labour employed, yet precarious because of its dependence upon name and sentiment, not only upon intrinsic value. In Harris many women had spun and woven for sale for over a generation before 1914, mostly weaving pure hand-spun yarn, and they continued to do so. For many years before 1914, an occasional weaver was to be found in villages in Lewis too, generally weaving a handspun weft upon a mill-spun warp. By 1939 it was estimated that there were about 1200 looms in the Island, chiefly weaving mill-spunyarn, most of it spun in the two principal Stornoway mills. A carding mill

178 exists at Tarbert and another was erected in 'the Bays'
286 district by Leverhulme. Leverhulme also appears to have introduced 'Automatic' hand-looms into Lewis.
[423] Today as in the past, the weavers possess a little croft or
[422] a feu, a cow, and a few sheep on the outrun, and perhaps a small boat.

121 Commercial fishing and weaving cannot, however, be
286 satisfactorily combined, for seasonal alternation of occupation entails waste of gear and plant, and interferes with
228 efficiency. Thus in the North Lochs fishing 'creek'
182 (Leurbost neighbourhood, immediately south of Stornoway), weaving became important, but none of the seven
178 large herring fishing boats (still registered in 1930) had been fitted with motors after 1918; they were idle and
[501] rotting, and by 1938 only one was still registered. In South Lochs, however, motor-boats were purchased, but there is little weaving. An obvious reason for the difference is the accessibility of the North Lochs area by road to
[493] Stornoway. Light passenger cars bring yarn to the village, besides groceries, etc., and take away rolls of tweed. South Lochs, on the other hand, considerably further from Stornoway by road, is still within reach for marketing fish. In North Lochs, merchant seamen at home and young men on their return from three months' work on East Coast fishing boats, turned increasingly to the 'Automatic' looms, manipulation being easily learnt; but such intermittent work alone gives little hope of progress. There is no more fascinating problem than the future of improved weaving.

2. *Unemployment and the Island Budget*

174 In the past, the storms of the Atlantic washed up on
731 the Island shores the wreckage of world commerce; and
434

231 summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' shielings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig shielings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Mealasta farm, until about 1939, shielings were used in that area.

314 No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near
241 the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation. Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

342 There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres
312 of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a
317 water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

226 Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very
301 little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers -
286 nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy;
464 in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady
464 income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside
[304] the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R.A.F. station and at least
[467] one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns a tractor which he hires
[445] out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

162 The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

181 The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

233 One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 3,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Moire peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

361 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new
491 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all
467 but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
[464] two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans call
[502] but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor -
[364] two wells only are in use.
[364]
[491]
[312]

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. Water supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses. The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all
[362] except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has
[265] a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly
[459] and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return
[477] fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars.

241 The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the
233 smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, and
311 Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from
427 Brenish or Enaclete. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years age was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

242 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts
134 the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the
224 crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

493 Problems of communication are not, however, solved merely by providing better
494 roads: at least one household in four has a car or van, and this, with the fall in population,
495 has caused a fatal decline in the use of public transport. The Bernera 'bus service was
496 discontinued in August, 1959, for lack of demand. This is not, of course, an isolated example: the problem is common to all the Highlands, and indeed, to all the rural areas of Britain: in Sutherland, for example, the number of registrations of private cars has risen to very nearly 250% since 1945, and the total number of registrations for all classes of vehicles up to 1958 had risen to almost 200%, while the number of hackney carriages, after reaching a peak in 1952, has since declined by 70%.

TABLE 21

Bernera District

Land related to tenants and working units

(all figures, except last column, are acres)

	Inbye: per tenant	Inbye: per working unit	Common grazing per tenant	Common grazing per working unit	Total land: per tenant	Total land: per working unit	Ratio of inbye to total land
Breaclete	8.0	7.4	99	92	107	99	1:13.3
Croir	29.2	33.4	78	89	107	122	1: 3.6
Hacklete	12.7	12.7	96	96	108	108	1: 8.5
Kirkibost	15.9	15.3	92	89	108	104	1: 6.8
Tobson	7.8	9.0	94	109	102	118	1:13.1
ISLAND TOTAL	13.2	13.5	93	95	106	108	1: 9.9
Earshader	11.5	9.5	264	220	275	230	1:24.1
Crulivig	14.0	14.0	220	220	234	234	1:16.7
Lundale	25.9	25.9	166	167	193	193	1: 7.4
Linshader	5.6	6.9	873	1,067	879	1,074	1:155.1
SHORE TOTAL	12.8	13.3	473	491	486	504	1:35.1
DISTRICT TOTAL	13.1	13.5	183	188	196	201	1:15.0

Note: in this table, "working units" include all crofts, whether stocked or not, and all other agricultural holdings. Two or more crofts worked together, whether registered under the same tenant or not, are counted as single working units. An agricultural holding is defined as one with at least one cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation.

[Habost]

134 Drift is found near the shore and laps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks.
137 Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, mourland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cocks foot. On the hills heather predominates.

195 Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shieldernish and took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Ailean Tailear came from Taransay, Harris,
692 to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being
621 there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

241 Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and
409 ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Croftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for
293 bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

[248] Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed
446 parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in
231 June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but
324 elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

251 The land is heavily overstocked: the soum is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is
255 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in
[452] Park Deer Forest by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garyvard in November
[221] and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

241 The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a bothy, which has not been used since
[311] before 1852. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Beinn Dhuidhe and
[228] below Loch na Ciste but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural
[228] townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and
[293] trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

361 Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has
[512] been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or
[554] from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed
241 clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably
241 by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining
[246] lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofts have
252 vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced
[324] crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

221 The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not
231 enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain through the winter and
253 no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the soum. Lambing takes
[324] place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second week of August and then dipped; November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The cows are served by an Aberdeen-Angus bull from Crobeg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing without special permission, or on fank days.

178 Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Caibost and Cromore, were used until
293 the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined; in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under
231 cultivation and from an an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips
[242] above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazing;
[246] it is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the road between Caversta and Gravir, about three miles south-south-east of Cromore and one mile north of Gravir.

17 Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore
229 fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this,
[324] however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and, in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo vessels bringing goods to Park.

293 In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by
[443] road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airidhvrusach. At present the average production is only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. During
[287] the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

162 In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the
166 middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have
167 been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting
164 with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

[441] Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by
[439] road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a van which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recent additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no
[366] shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday;

or inquires about a person's plans, he says, "You'll do it 763
tomorrow, then, if spared." 195

Occasionally, a man's prestige status can be judged by 764
the foretaste the people have of his funeral. This, too, is 554
disturbing for the newcomers who prefer to face death when the time comes. There is one member of the county people who is extremely popular. Many speak of him as a "true Skyeman." One day he was being discussed by a small group of women. After talking about his interest in Skye and what a good man he was, one summed up their estimation by saying, "Aye, what a wonderful funeral he'll have." What higher compliment could there be? The number who attend a person's funeral and, recently, the number who drive to his funeral are indicative of his status. Even though having a car does not give the [493] owner prestige - to the contrary it may give the people cause to wonder where he got his money - to have "friends" with cars does give prestige. When 200 or 300 men join in the funeral procession to carry the body to the grave, all the "people" of the deceased take pride in telling of the "mobs who came."

In death we find one aspect of the crofter's way of life 764
which puzzles the newcomer, especially the government officials, 554
more than anything else. The old people hoard their money. Welfare workers frequently say, "You never know how much they have until they die." There are a few crofters, mainly returned exiles, who are known to have money but continue to live in tumbled down houses. The newcomer says, "They must like to live that way." Quite to the contrary, the Sgiathanach has [761] traditionally prepared for death early in life. Once the first

494

494 HIGHWAY TRANSPORT--use of highways for travel and transportation; animal and vehicular traffic; private and public transport systems (e.g., carting, stagecoaches, cab services, trucking, tramways, bus lines); organization; specialized personnel (e.g., drivers, carters, tram and bus conductors); fares and tolls; regulation (e.g., licenses, traffic rules); highway patrols; etc. See also:

Urban transportation facilities . . . . . 36 Incidence of highway accidents 164, 168

(*above*) At Rishgarry Quay, Isle of Berneray, in the Sound of Harris, c 1900, showing the typical construction of the 'black house'

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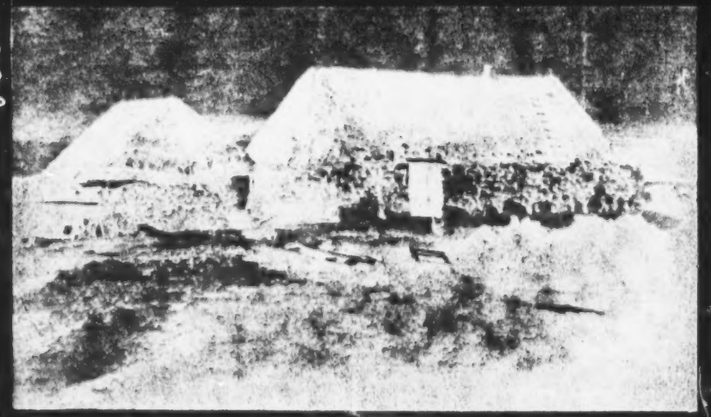
(*below*) The Claddach, Isle of Killegray, in the Sound of Harris, April 1897. The horse and cart was the most convenient means of transport. A spinning wheel is seen in action



and footpaths. Until this time, the greater part of the district of Park was accessible only on foot. Roads were 'at best rough narrow paths where rushes and grass grew between the tracks'. The Act improved the old *frith-rathad* (rough tracks) to such an extent that, says a report of 1902, 'a marked improvement has taken place in school attendance by their formation'. The opening up of the island certainly benefited the people. Though the moor tracks might give a more direct route to Stornoway, the roads at least offered a hard surface for horse-drawn cars and carts. The numbers of vehicles accordingly rose, and for long after the turn of the century the horse enjoyed a monopoly. Motor cars were beginning to be read about in the days-late newspapers brought to the island, but not until 1917 were the first complaints heard about cars tearing up the surfaces of the roads. Slowly but surely the inevitable pioneers emerged with their 'tin lizzies'. By 1925 there were an estimated 250 vehicles in Lewis—and traffic congestion was beginning to be a problem. The relative speed of cars was still something to be wondered at too: it was progress indeed to be able to travel from Ness to Stornoway and back again between a late breakfast and an early tea. But for all this progress, one could still buy a good dog-cart in excellent condition, to seat six people, for £9. A two-seater trap could be had for £6 10s; a set of harness cost 30s. And as for fuel—the best quality oats were 10s 6d per cwt. Indeed, it was not until 1943 that Stornoway Town Council sold its last horse—and only because no one could be found to look after it.

When Sir James Matheson came to Lewis in 1844 there was only one horse-drawn vehicle on the whole island. By 1872 eighty-seven wheeled vehicles were using his new roads. A pioneer of the wheel-carriage service, D. K. Henderson, began business in the 1850s. He was the first to carry mails and held a contract for the Stornoway to Tarbert run until the GPO introduced its own vehicles. As the motor took hold Henderson changed over and was the first to establish a motor-transport business on the island. Not all the local vehicles were of recognised makers' designs. A writer in the *Stornoway Gazette* in the mid-twenties commented on the fact that only the engine and the chassis of the local buses were imported. Bodies were then erected by carpenters . . . and

boat-builders; many of the bodies were 'fearfully and wonderfully made', an understatement that did not go unnoticed by those who had to travel in the emergent public transport. Combined interests led to the formation of the Lewis Motor Owners' Association which agitated for better roads; existing highways were being pot-holed with alarming and uncomfortable rapidity to the detriment of their vehicles.

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POSTAL SERVICES

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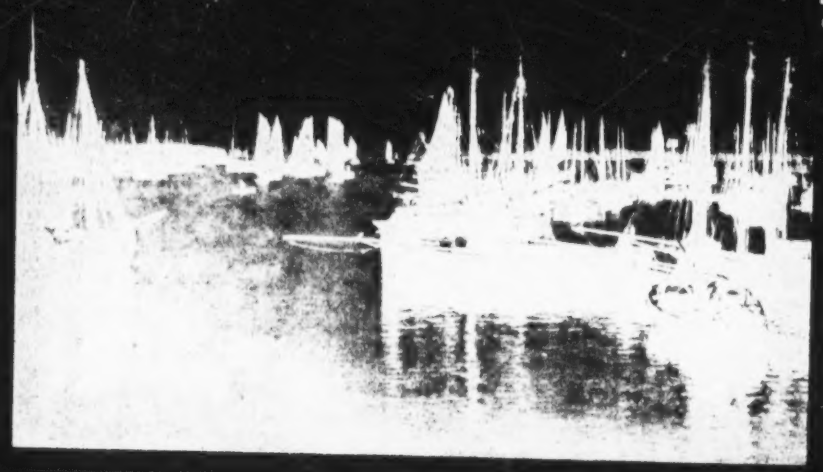
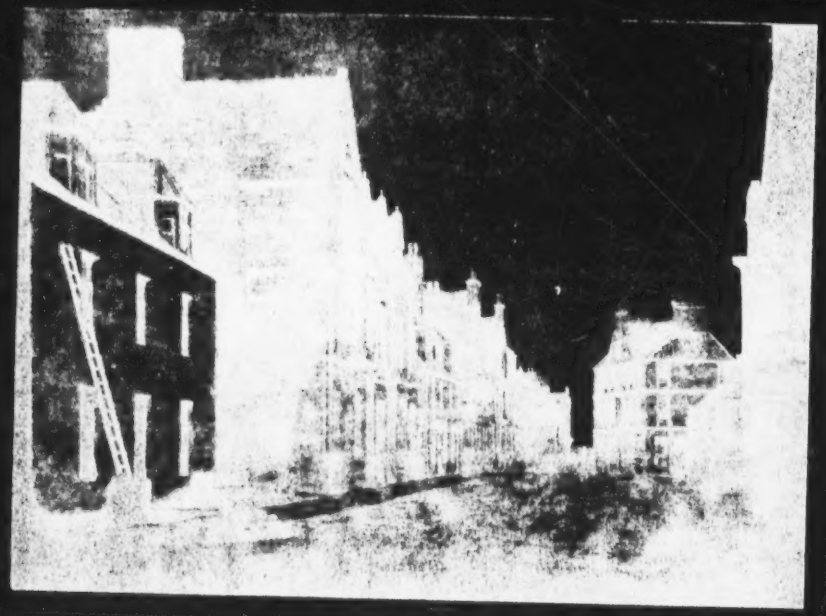


Two Stornoway scenes from the 'Grand Collotype Album of Views in Lewis' published c 1900 by Samuel Lawrence, 'Chemist, Druggist, Perfumer, Stationer and Tobacconist', Cromwell Street, Stornoway. (*above*) The herring fleet in Stornoway harbour, showing the wherries or 'Zulu' type craft; (*below*) Cromwell Street

/p. 89/



The removal of crofters from good to poorer ground was a significant factor in the destitution years of the nineteenth century, with the self-sufficiency factor becoming smaller and the dependence on imports (when there was money to buy these) increasing. Today, the crofter is of course not self-supporting, his economy being based on fishing and weaving with the produce of the croft yielding an annual average of some £200.

Acreages under certain crops show this trend to dependence on the produce of mainland farmers. In the island in 1911 some 3,673 acres were under potatoes, the present acreage being about one-third of that. The number of people per acre of potatoes for Scotland as a whole is 22 : 1. In the island it is about 15 : 1, indicating a heavy domestic consumption. Yet substantial imports of this crop are required to satisfy demand; a relevant point is that the milking cow commonly shares the potatoes. The barley crop, once much used in Lewis's former small distilleries, has been reduced to some 10 per cent during the past fifty years. On the other hand, the acreage of sheaf crops, oats, rye and mixed corn, generally fed to cattle, has about doubled. Oats in particular are in favour for cattle fodder; even before the turn of the present century oats were not widely used for human food, and oatmeal has for centuries been imported into the region. The turnip acreage has halved over the past fifty years, perhaps the result of the gradual disappearance of the horse, its steady labour and its dung being required to put good heart in to the land.

As the crofters' cropping policy has changed over the past half century, so has their animal husbandry. Animals are a main selling product, particularly cows and sheep. Horses, of course, have been drastically reduced from their total of 1,672 in 1911, as tractor, lorry and van have taken over their work. And though some cattle are raised, the numbers are now about 60 per cent below those of 1911. At that time the density of cattle per 1,000 acres was heavy (46-60) in the north-east of Lewis, less (31-45) in the north-west, and still less further south. The present average is around 18 beasts per 1,000 acres. This decline, in particular in the milk-yielding animals, has compelled Lewis to import 1,000 gallons of milk a day from the mainland.

It is sheep which today claim pride of place on the croft, valued

rotation to the weavers who are registered with them.

Other factors also hinder equal distribution of tweeds. Personal considerations enter; for example, the managers of the Shawbost mills feel a responsibility for the weavers in their own village, who are usually kinsmen. Exclusive distribution to local weavers is rationalized by saying that the tweeds must be done urgently; hence they are distributed only to the weavers who are known to do tweeds quickly.

The major factor hindering equal distribution of tweeds is the expense which derives from the decentralization of weavers, that is, the cost of petrol and upkeep of the vans, which is born by the mills. Before World War II, the weavers rather than the mills were responsible for transporting the tweeds, by cart and horse at first, and then by motorized transport.

During this period, independent entrepreneurs carried tweeds in vans and buses at four shillings each, a practice which stimulated the development of public transportation. Although the number of passengers using such vans and buses for public transport fluctuated, the income derived from the cartage of tweeds was in itself large enough to be profitable and to maintain the enterprises. An efficient service existed, despite the

paucity of passengers, which provided rides to and from town many times a day; but with the "development," that is, the centralization, of industry, public transportation deteriorated. Visitors to the island unfamiliar with this history are struck by practices which they interpret as coming out of a clockless past, such as the present custom of stopping the bus midway in its journey to Stornoway so that the driver can eat dinner in his mother's house while all passengers wait on board. Such a custom is fairly recent, and indicates the deterioration of public services to populations which are marginal to the centralized source of these services.

During World War II, when the demand for tweed was high and the number of weavers small, the weavers staged an effective strike by which they received an increase in pay and the burden of cartage was shifted from them to the mills. This did not affect the system of transportation until the mills realized it would be cheaper to run their own transport rather than to pay the independent drivers a "cartage fee." The mills then began to use their own vans to deliver yarn and collect tweeds directly to and from the weavers. Once the mills took over transportation, they tended to deliver tweeds to weavers closest to the mills rather than to uphold the principle of equal distribution. This practice (made possible by

463 One of his
326 apprentices was his sister's son, who built another
[874] smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip.
[604] People gathered there while he shoed horses that came
[521] from Barvas to Carloway."

444 A number of shops were established in Shawbost
178 that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At
[494] one time they numbered six altogether. These shops
also ran the first buses between the village and
[477] Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared
[443] because of competition with larger companies. Mobile
grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming
in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in
large parts of the island, undercutting the local busi-
178 nesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-
434 sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and
571 sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on
621 local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town-
44 dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major
463 proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers,
178 fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage
[472] collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal
[484] dealers and others extend goods and services from
centralized sources to a market which has money to pay
for them. The island's participation in this extensive
market system is affected by its marginality to the

105 of the converted, who occasionally neglect township and
794 neighborly duties in favor of religious activities. The
621 increase in private transportation during the past 25 years
632 has facilitated the maintenance of closer ties within the
184 clique. The existence of such a strongly bounded subsystem
[494] is an example of a trend toward the weakening of the
township as a social boundary system, but this trend is
countered by other factors that strengthen or help preserve
the township as a bounded system.

105 People come and go from the township, but this appears
632 to maintain rather than weaken township boundaries because
621 behavior different from that prescribed within the township
166 can be performed outside it, and conformist behavior
184 reassumed upon reentry. Those unable to conform with
standards of behavior prescribed within the township are
not likely to return.

[528] Township members who have settled away from the island
come back periodically for recreation and a sense of
[829] belonging. They increase the value of the township and
its way of life in the eyes of the inhabitants, and provide
them with subject matter for conversation until the next
holiday season, when the exiles again return.

105 The boundedness of the township is thus a qualified
632 boundedness that, over the past 100 years and especially
621 since the second world war, has decreased in strength but
184 is nevertheless strong today.
[178]

OVERLAND ROUTES

boat-builders; many of the bodies were 'fearfully and wonderfully made', an understatement that did not go unnoticed by those who had to travel in the emergent public transport. Combined interests led to the formation of the Lewis Motor Owners' Association which agitated for better roads; existing highways were being pot-holed with alarming and uncomfortable rapidity to the detriment of their vehicles.

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COMMUNICATIONS

munication with the mainland. The mail will be dispatched from Edinburgh every Thursday at eight o'clock at night, and should arrive at Edinburgh every Tuesday morning, but the arrival will sometimes be uncertain.' The development of a postal service in the hinterland of Stornoway was slow. In 1833 only one mail packet ran each week to Lewis, sailing from Poolewe to Stornoway, weather permitting (see Chapter 8), and the island still had only the one post office. By 1880, of course, more contact with the outside world was expected and there were eleven post offices in rural Lewis, with Stornoway's promoted to Head Office status. The latter had been for some time equipped with a money order and Savings Bank department. The telegraph had also been introduced, though no connection to any of the country offices existed; telegrams for all parts of the island other than Stornoway were, as a rule, forwarded by the first mail dispatched after the receipt of the message. By 1902 there were twelve telegraph offices in the country districts of Lewis (Harris was incommunicado with Stornoway, coming under the Inverness-shire arrangements). Some of these offices were set up under orders of the Highlands & Islands Work Board, the service being carried on by the Post Office without guarantee against loss. The office at Port of Ness was subsidised by the Fishery Board and Lloyd's, who had a signalling station at the lighthouse there.

Until 1926, when the long-universal red vans appeared, all mail was transported between the rural areas and Stornoway by private contractors, who used horses and latterly Albion coaches. A motor-launch operated between Callernish and Bernera; mails for South Lochs were conveyed across Loch Erisort from Crossbost to Cromore, and from Laxay to Kershader. In the early 1930s this area was served by mail van working between Stornoway and Lemreway. In 1950 full use was made of the existing BEA air service and, in order that mail from the rural areas could be included, additional main vans were outstationed at Lemreway, Callernish, and Port of Ness. These worked in to meet others working out from the town.

The Harris area was taken under the control of the head postmaster at Stornoway in 1937, having before this date been served by the head postmaster at Lochmaddy, North Uist. A mounted

POSTAL SERVICES

A mounted postman was at that time working between Tarbert and Flodabay, halfway down the east coast of South Harris. Before this transfer there was no direct mail link between Harris and Lewis. With the introduction of a bus service, a local mail was introduced between Stornoway, Tarbert and Leverburgh, and up to 1955 all mails for Harris were dealt with at Tarbert and Leverburgh, being dispatched to and received from mainland offices direct on a three-days-a-week basis. In 1955 a daily delivery service was introduced throughout Harris (with the exception of Scarp), all its mails being handled at Stornoway.

TELEGRAPH, TELEPHONE AND RADIO

The first telephone in Lewis was installed in 1897. The first telegraphic cable was laid in 1872; its continual breakdowns were a constant source of annoyance, particularly to local businessmen and fishcurers. Another cable for morse telegraph was laid about 1910, between Broad Bay in Lewis and Inverasdale on the Scottish mainland. This worked duplex to Aberdeen, the 'B' leg of the cable being used for an Inverness link. At about the same time, a morse-operated Stornoway-Lochmaddy-Castlebay (Barra) telegraph circuit was introduced which had to be balanced every morning before sending could begin. This was the last morse link in Scotland until its withdrawal in 1948. Though latterly it went only to Lochmaddy, originally it worked with one wire to Castlebay, Lochboisdale, and Lochmaddy, and thence to Tobermory and Oban. It was a four-wire circuit to Tarbert and single-wire to Castlebay; the batteries were housed in the attic of Stornoway Post Office. A new trunk telephone service between Lewis and the mainland began on 21 March 1933, celebrated by an inaugural call from the Provost of Stornoway to the GPO in Edinburgh. A four-core cable was laid between Loch Erisort and Staffin in Skye, complemented with some 25 miles of overland wire. It had to be balanced after every shower of rain! The first teleprinter was worked over this cable in the early 1930s. The use to which the fishing trade put the connection can be gauged by the fact that at the height of the fishing season up to 20,000 messages were handled each month. The first trans-Atlantic call came in

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes sixteen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Roadwork gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. I

Before the making of roads, it was case of sailing which united island peoples and their territories. One can wade or drive, at low tide, over the fords that unite the Isle of Benbecula with the two Uists, North and South: in fact, a bridge now connects Benbecula with South Uist. But only the roughest of hill tracks led through the hills of North Harris from the 'Tarbert' or Isthmus of Harris to the nearest habitation at the head of Loch Seaforth or Loch Erisort, in the Lews. This is a distance of some twenty miles, or a fair day's tramp for an unloaded man, and far too much for a return journey in one day. Hence separation of territory and name was natural. This separation no longer exists as there is now a good 'bus service from Rodel via Tarbert to Stornoway which links Harris with the daily Kyle to Stornoway steamer. In this book, the Island, or the Islanders, refers to Lewis-and-Harris with its people, as one.

Lewis is included in Ross-shire (of which the county town is Dingwall, north of Inverness) and Harris in Inverness-shire, together with the rest of the 'Long Island'. The county boundary cuts across the six-mile isthmus north of the hills of North Harris, from the in-reaching Loch Seaforth WNW. to Loch Resort (Fig. 8). All the Outer Hebrides are now included in the Parliamentary constituency of the Western Isles. Proposals to unite the Island under one District Council, or the Outer Hebrides under one County Council, are more favourably viewed in Stornoway than in Harris or the Southern Isles. Harris forms one civil parish, while Lewis is divided into four: Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs. The Lewis parish boundaries traversing the moors are inset in Fig. 8 so that their trends can be readily grasped, and the inhabited portions of the parishes quickly located (p. 50).

The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" huts, some still in good repair, are of uncertain date. The best preserved are on the Moragail Deer Forest, in remote situations which make it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; those on the Garynahine common pasture are associated with assymmetrically ridged, curving, lazybeds. This, however, need not imply permanent occupation of the site, nor does it solve the problem of age; such lazy-beds are certainly old, possibly pre-potato (c.1790 here) - but the huts do not decay with age and may be very much older.

Early in the eighteenth century the present area of the parish of Uig was held from the Seaforth clan chief by 26 tacksmen, whose names are recorded in the judicial-rental of 1718, (Fig.4). They, presumably, had sub-tenants but of these there is no record. Elsewhere in Lewis the same rental records many small tenants holding direct off the chief but in Uig, apparently, the tacksman and sub-tenant system remained intact. Although we cannot be certain of their precise extent, the distribution of the tacks coincides fairly well with that of the better agricultural ground (Fig.2). Five of them cluster round Uig bay, four were in the Valtos-Reef area, and three around the strait of Little Bernera. All these districts have machair; together they accounted for three quarters of the meal and more than half the sheep and money rents. What is more, these rents represented 27% of the total rental of Lewis, whereas by 1887 Uig yielded only 17% of the rental and by 1901 the proportion was reduced to 14%. The relative decline of Uig is largely due to the growth of Stornoway; this shift in the centre of gravity of Lewis has tended to exaggerate the remoteness and isolation of Uig in the present century.

By the end of the eighteenth century the tacksmen seem to have disappeared; at any rate they are not mentioned in the remarkably detailed account of the parish given in the Old Statistical Account, 1792. Meanwhile the small tenants had multiplied: whereas in 1755 the old parish * had supported 1,312 persons, in 1792 the minister recorded 1,898. At this time there was neither plough nor cart in the parish. The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them

TABLE 3

AVERAGE STOCK HELD BY EACH FAMILY

	1792	1959
Cattle and calves	9.2	2.1
Sheep	13	37
Horses	1.8	-
Goats	0.8	-
No. of families	387	450

Note: the figures for both dates refer to the area of the old parish.

* The old parish of Uig excluded the Loch Carloway district, from Kirivick north; this area lay in Lochs parish until 1891. Unless the old parish is specified figures quoted have been corrected to conform with the modern boundaries.

1, [See p. 2--Analyst]

Brenish, at the end of the tarred road which also serves Islivig, is forty miles from Stornoway. On the thrice weekly bus the return fare to Stornoway was £1, and freight cost half-a-crown for a hundredweight, but because of competition from privately owned vans the bus service ceased in 1960. Mangersta is reached from the same road by about a mile of untarred side-road of indifferent quality; formerly the only access to it was by a footpath over the sands to the south. General merchandise, fish and meat are supplied by weekly vans; there are no shops. There is a post-office at Islivig; banking facilities are supplied by a mobile bank.

The majority of the crofts are long narrow strips, with those in Mangersta being somewhat more compact. The area ranges from two to nine acres, with an average of about four acres; in Brenish and Islivick only about half is usually arable. All the crofts - or croft-units - are fenced, the work having been completed in Brenish in 1959. There are twenty-nine crofts in the rental for Brenish, ten for Islivick and thirteen for Mangersta; but, owing to amalgamations of various kinds the number of operative units is considerably less - fourteen in Brenish, five in Islivick and ten in Mangersta. There are no cottars.

As soils are reasonably good and comparatively free from rocky outcrops, the arable patches are large enough to be cultivated with a horse or tractor. There is a tractor in Brenish, and four horses, a horse in Mangersta and two in Islivick. All of these are hired for ploughing and carting peats. Very little work is done with the spade, unlike many of the other Uig townships.

While the general rhythm of township work through the year is similar to other areas, here the sheep are wintered up on the hills; some crofters winter lambs on their crofts. Brenish crofters are allowed to winter eight sheep, (or sixteen hogg, or four year-old heifers), on Mealasta Island - hogg are usually sent since their loss, by falling over the cliffs, is less serious than the loss of heifers. Eilean Molach is used by Mangersta crofters, who are allowed two sheep each in summer.

The only crops grown are potatoes and oats, with "black oats" (Avena strigosa) on the sandy soils in Mangersta. Since seed for "black oats" is unobtainable commercially, the crofters save theirown. A grass mixture is sown by the majority of crofters for hay, to qualify for the subsidy.

The extensive hill and mountain pastures are not separately fenced; sheep from all three townships graze over all. If the total sheep stock of the townships (about 3,300) is compared with the souming figures it is found to exceed the soum by about 50%. On the other hand, fewer cattle and horses are kept than formerly so that taking the total stock for all animals (horses, cattle and sheep) and comparing with the actual stock now carried, the area carries only 87% of the stock which the soum allowed. In the two older townships the souming was reckoned according to rent, being one cow, one two-year old and eight sheep for each £1. In Mangersta, however, the soum was one horse, three cows, one heifer, two stirks and twenty-five sheep for each croft.

Lambing percentage is about 80, and ewes form about 60% of the total sheep numbers (excluding lambs). In this district some wedders are kept for three years and then sold for meat, but the main income is from wool, about three pounds weight from each sheep, which sells at up to four shillings a pound.

Most crofters keep one or two cows, and the calves are normally sold in the autumn or spring sales. Brenish and Mangersta each have a bull, and in the three townships there are sixty-seven cattle and thirty calves. Shielings, formerly used for about seven weeks in

493 Problems of communication are not, however, solved merely by providing better
491 roads: at least one household in four has a car or van, and this, with the fall in population,
178 has caused a fatal decline in the use of public transport. The Bernera 'bus service was discontinued in August, 1959, for lack of demand. This is not, of course, an isolated example; the problem is common to all the Highlands, and indeed, to all the rural areas of Britain: in Sutherland, for example, the number of registrations of private cars has risen to very nearly 250% since 1945, and the total number of registrations for all classes of vehicles up to 1958 had risen to almost 200%, while the number of hackney carriages, after reaching a peak in 1952, has since declined by 70%.

TABLE 21

Bernera District

241 233 311 427

Land related to tenants and working units

(all figures, except last column, are acres)

	Inbye: per tenant	Inbye: per working unit	Common grazing per tenant	Common grazing per working unit	Total land: per tenant	Total land: per working unit	Ratio of inbye to total land
Breaclete	8.0	7.4	99	92	107	99	1:13.3
Croir	29.2	33.4	78	89	107	122	1: 3.6
Hacklete	12.7	12.7	96	96	108	108	1: 8.5
Kirkibost	15.9	15.3	92	89	108	104	1: 6.8
Tobson	7.8	9.0	94	109	102	118	1:13.1
ISLAND TOTAL	13.2	13.5	93	95	106	108	1: 9.9
Earshader	11.5	9.5	264	220	275	230	1:24.1
Crulivig	14.0	14.0	220	220	234	234	1:16.7
*Lundale	25.9	25.9	166	167	193	193	1: 7.4
Linshader	5.6	6.9	873	1,067	879	1,074	1:155.1
SHORE TOTAL	12.8	13.3	473	491	486	504	1:35.1
DISTRICT TOTAL	13.1	13.5	183	188	196	201	1:15.0

Note: in this table, "working units" include all crofts, whether stocked or not, and all other agricultural holdings. Two or more crofts worked together, whether registered under the same tenant or not, are counted as single working units. An agricultural holding is defined as one with at least one cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation.

23/There is no bull in Garynahine; the Department of Agriculture bull from Callanish is borrowed. Most crofters buy their milk either from the Admiral at the Lodge or from Stornoway whence a dairy delivers daily.

233 Eight crofters keep sheep; stocks vary between 5 and 30 per holding. Two crofters exceed their assuming (there is no equivalence in Garynahine because there has always been plenty of pasture). With a total of only 166 sheep and lambs on 1800 acres common pasture there is no danger of over-grazing.

312 The village has a good piped water supply from Loch Mhurchaidh, and has had elec-
311 tricity since 1954. There are excellent communications: 4 buses a day to Stornoway
311 and also one bus from Uig and one from Bernera passing through Garynahine. These
491 good communications have probably contributed to the declining interest in crofting.

463 There are only three full-time crofters (two of whom draw war pensions). Of the remaining 12 adult men permanently resident, 10 have regular or part time work, the remaining two being to old. Employment is either in Stornoway or at the Lodge. Only
[178] two people do part time weaving. Crofting is rapidly decaying in Garynahine. The croft land is reverting to rough grazing, and there is no indication of renewed interest in the land. Instead, life is becoming increasingly orientated towards Stornoway.

CALLANISH by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury

172 Callanish must be one of the original settlement sites of the Hebrides, as it boasts an impressive standing stone circle and two other groups of stones. The stone circle
133 is on a promontory, which projects into East Loch Roag. The promontory rises to about 125 ft, and then the land drops almost to sea-level at the neck (less than half a mile wide)
[361] which joins the promontory to the mainland. The township extends inland for about six miles in a belt roughly two miles wide. This inland area forms the common grazing; it is rough hummocky moorland with the general height rising gradually inland; the highest point is 425 ft.

195 The early crofts were situated close to the stone circle overlooking the Loch. The area was given to crofters who had been cleared from Linshader in the eighteenth century,
427 and it is said that until the Crofter's Act the Callanish crofters had to return to Linshader
361 to work (or one day a year in return for this grant of land. But later the crofts on the
341 more exposed westward facing side of the promontory were cleared and replaced by the 90 acre Callanish Farm. Some ruins of the croft houses still remain. The crofts then spread across the low lying neck to the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, which
241 now forms the boundary between the crofttland and the common pasture. The crofttland varies in quality, but it is mainly quite good potential arable. Fertiliser and manure are extensively used. Seaweed was widely used in the past but in more recent years the labour of gathering the seaweed has been out-balanced by the lower price of the artificial fertiliser. The main problem of the crofters is one of drainage, and in some parts the drainage channels have to be as wide as the strips of cultivation. Croft 29, situated on a small peninsula from the neck of low lying land, is almost cut off from the mainland at high tide.

175 The croft houses were then in two nuclei; one on each side of the narrow neck. Much
361 later a third nuclei developed, known as Callanish New Park, further north along the
427 Stornoway road, formed by evicted crofters from Bernera; they had put to sea in small boats with their belongings, and they happened to land at this point. They first became squatters on the common grazing but later gained crofter status.

427 There are 47 crofts in Callanish which vary in size from 2 acres to 9.7 acres. Some
311 of the larger crofts are a result of private enterprise; the crofters have, without any

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

312 There is no piped water supply and after even a short period of dry weather there is a
[604] water shortage. One prosperous crofter (where the crofter does weaving and one member of the family is periodically away with a Norwegian whaling fleet) bought a large modern Bendix electric washer only to find that there was not sufficient water to use it except on
[35] rare occasions. The croft houses have had electricity since 1954, and even the three remaining inhabited thatched houses now have electricity.

311 Although there are only 4 full-time crofters, most of the crofts are carefully and well worked. Only a few crofts are decaying, and there is a tendency for these to be sub-let to the more agriculturally inclined crofters instead of allowing the land to revert; in
[288] addition to the full-time crofters, 31 other men do part-time crofting. Eighteen men weave and this provides their main income, but this figure fluctuates according to the prosperity of the Harris Tweed industry; at present the figure is probably higher than
[166] average. Although 32 people have emigrated from the township since 1939 (many of them
[166] young people who have married on the mainland), there are still several young people and
[162] young families making their homes here. The dominant age-group of permanently resident adults is 15 to 44. Total population is steadily declining, but Callanish has always been a prosperous area and seems likely to remain among the more prosperous crofting communities.

BREASCLETE PARK by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

195 Breasclete Park, also known as New Park, Callanish, was settled by people cleared
427 from Resf in the mid 19th century. Two of the six original crofts have been subdivided, making nine. However, there are only five working units and on one there is no cultivation. There is also a feu house built in 1958.

361 The crofts, which are fenced, form broad strips perpendicular to the Breasclete-
241 Callanish road. Cultivation is mainly by tractor; oats, potatoes and some clover being grown. One progressive crofter has successfully experimented with re-seeding one
231 acre of grazing land on his own croft. Common pasture for the 148 sheep and 6 cattle is shared with Callanish, and for most purposes the Park can be considered a part of that township.

162 The total population is 26 of which 4 are permanently away. There are 6 people over 65, and 8 children under 15.

BREASCLETE by Margaret Grice and Doreen J. Phillips.

131 Breasclete is situated on the east side of East Loch Roag on land which rises gently
133 from the seashore to the moorland and is interrupted by rocky outcrops of gneiss in the northern part. It is separated from the township of Callanish to the south, by a small westerly flowing stream, at the mouth of which is the site of a mill.

491 The road on which most of the houses are situated, follows a curve through the
361 middle of the crofts, but newer houses and some feus have been built along the main
361 Callanish-Carloway road, nearer to the shore. Stornoway is 18 miles away along this road which is turned throughout. Breasclete could be served by the still unfinished Pentland Road, were it to be properly surfaced and this would make the journey shorter
[494] by 4 miles. Two buses in each direction per day connect the township to Stornoway, but high fares make visits to the town infrequent.

312 The township hopes to receive the mains water supply within the next few years, but, at the moment, relies on wells within easy access of most of the houses. Many houses have piped water from private wells, some of which go dry after two or three days good weather although the wells on the lower ground never fail.

361 and across the croft boundaries and it is along these that the majority of the houses are
491 to be found so that as the roads followed the easiest course open to them so the settlement
178 has moved to the roads.

A particularly interesting example of this kind can be drawn from Upper Carloway where a twofold movement of settlements has taken place; first, from about 150 feet above sea level, where the original black houses were built, there was an uphill movement to the upper of the two roads which cross the township at from 150 to 170 feet above sea level, and, secondly (and more recently), there has been a move to build at from 25 to 30 feet above sea level along the lower road which has become the main axis for the publi
342 services. Three main types of building exist then in this township. The first is the blackhouse of which only one or two now remain. Even these are not the primitive type of blackhouse, for they all have proper chimneys. The second is an ill-defined group which includes buildings erected during the later years of the fishing boom and in the period up to the Second World War. These houses are either one or two storied often with the traditional dormer windows; they form the majority. Finally there is the development of the modern bungalows which are built by the crofters but based on plans supplied by the Department of Agriculture. Few have ventured to build away from the level of the lower road.

342 How then does this pattern of settlement illustrate the changes referred to at the
178 beginning of this section? The original houses were abandoned gradually as the tempora prosperity of the fishing enabled the crofters to build the better houses. These have see great changes, but in most cases they are still occupied. Some have been extended and improved by their owners whilst others remain without additions almost as they were wh first built. That the crofter owns his own house has certainly encouraged replacement
[654] in recent times. The generous grants and loans provided by the Department of Agriculture have been utilised to construct the modern bungalows on crofts where the original croft house stands as a byre and where the second house is sometimes inhabited by some relative or person who sublets part of the croft. It is rare to see such successive phase so close together in a landscape reflecting the varying fortunes of economic enterprise and the influence of government subsidies now so much a part of the life of the crofting township.

Roads and public services.

491 Carloway's importance as a centre for West Lewis is accounted for by the fact that at the break in the coastline caused by East Loch Roag the main road southwards from Barvas turns inland to Breasclete. Near the point where it crosses the Carloway river at Carloway bridge it is joined by a number of local township roads creating a focus for community services (figure 38).* Here also the line of the still unfinished 'Pentland' road, projected as a direct link with Stornoway during the fishing boom, reaches Loch Carloway and passes along its north shore to the pier at Borrowston. This substantial pier was the scene of great activity during the period of commercial fishing before the First World War.

368 The six hundred residents of the immediate Carloway area are served by eight travel-
[494] ling shops as well as by the local stores. Bread, fish, meat, green-groceries, library
[494] and bank all come to the end of the croft if not to the crofter's door. Of the vans one is
[162] based on Carloway, one on Breasclete and the rest on Stornoway. A mobile film unit visits once each fortnight. The churches and school rightly reflect their importance in the community by the commanding position which they occupy just above the bridge. Here too is the showground; the annual show attracts people from all over the island, being as much a social as an agricultural gathering. Other services are more dispersed but not far away. They include doctor and district nurse, policeman, post office, and football

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 103]

*, [Presumably the author means figure 39--Analyst]

[Cromore]

The crofters sowed
241 clover with their oats in 1957; the quality of most of the natural grass could be improved considerably
241 by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining
246 lime and fertilisers, but seaweed and byre manure are widely used. Only seven crofts have
239 vegetable plots this year but that of No. 23, (partially enclosed by a dry-stone wall) has produced
324 crops of lettuce, cabbage, turnips and carrots.

222 The souming for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per £1 rental, but is not
231 enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throught the winter and
235 no one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the souming is exceeded by only
seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 75 per cent of the soum. Lambing takes
236 place in April and May and often a high proportion of ewes and lambs is lost. The sheep are
clipped in July and each crofter usually clips his own sheep. He either sells the fleece or has it
spun in Stornoway before weaving it himself. The lambs are taken from the ewes during the second
week of August and then dipped; November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his
own ram. Most crofts have a cow and a calf and the crofters like the calves to be born in March
so that they are six months old in October for the Garyvard sales. The cows are served by an
Aberdeen-Angus bull from Crobeg Farm. The township gates are opened in October and the cattle
remain within the bounds until May. An interesting regulation enforced by the Grazings Committee
is that each family can have only one dog, and that it cannot be taken on to the Common grazing
without special permission, or on fank days.

178 Shielings, situated on the common grazing between Calbost and Cromore, were used until
253 the 1890's. Active land use has gradually declined: in the 1920's, much of the outrun was under
317 cultivation and from an air photograph, it is evident that hay was being taken on the strips
above Cromore in 1946. The present trend is a continuing decrease in the amount of arable land but
242 this year ten crofters formed a group to enclose and improve a ten-acre plot on the common grazing;
it is unfortunate that all crofters are not willing to take part. Peats are now being cut near the
546 road between Caversta and Gravir, about three miles south- south-east of Cromore and one mile
north of Gravir.

171 Cromore was once a prosperous fishing village but now it has no fishing boats. Two Cromore
239 fishermen work on other boats (one from Marivig and one from Stornoway) and there are a few men
who would welcome the opportunity to start fishing again. There seem little prospect of this,
500 however. The landing-stage, completed in 1957, is regarded by many as a 'white elephant' and,
in fact, at low tide it is useless. So much for the hopes that it might have been used by cargo
vessels bringing goods to Park.

In Cromore there are fourteen looms for the weaving of Harris Tweed. Tweeds are obtained by
289 road from two mills in Stornoway and one in Airidhvruach. At present the average production is
453 only one tweed per loom per week but the weavers could quite easily double their production. During
the past two years this industry has been comparatively prosperous. Knitting is a winter pastime
292 but only for pleasure, although one household possesses a knitting machine.

162 In common with the rest of Park, Cromore has a high proportion of old people. Many from the
166 middle age groups have sought employment on the mainland, and the teenagers, many of whom have
been at school in Stornoway, seek jobs there or on the mainland, returning for holidays and assisting
with the croft work. Some younger folk are resident to care of aged parents.

Cromore is only eight miles by sea from Stornoway yet all communications with the town are by
641 road - a distance of thirty-two miles. There is a daily bus service and the sub-postmaster has a van
639 which is occasionally hired. Some people recalled that the only route to Stornoway was once by
boat to Crossbost and thence by bus. One resident owns a lorry and this is used for most of the
593 haulage in Cromore, particularly for bringing home peats during the summer. As a result of recent
additions to the roads, only three crofts remain inaccessible to vehicular traffic. There are no
366 shops in Cromore but grocery vans call on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday;

[Cromore] [Marivig]

366 butchers' vans call on Wednesday and Friday and a fish van once or twice during the week. Goods
498 are also conveyed by the daily bus. Electricity was brought to the village about four years ago
377 and the inhabitants now look forward to a supply of piped water in about two years' time. At present
312 only three or four houses have bathrooms.

The crofts, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a satis-
241 factory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It seems
236 that the recent subsidies for fishing are good enough to attract fishermen from Cromore and one or
239 two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were longer. Weaving has brought prosperity
235 but, as the Park Association states in its Second Progress Report "there is not sufficient weaving
available for the present number of weavers". The proposal to establish a spinning and processing
plant in the Park District made in the 1957 Report, would undoubtedly be of great value to the
000 people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants
suggested that a hotel built on Crobeg Farm would bring some benefit to the community. However,
even if these three increased sources of income became effective, one wonders whether they would
be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Stornoway.

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B. A.

131 Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triangular
sea loch opening to the north-east and sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, making
the loch an ideal anchorage and harbour.

133 The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slopes
more gradually and irregularly, with frequent precipitous rock outcrops, for two hundred to
five hundred yards to rise steeply to a line of low hills, two hundred and fifty feet to three hundred
feet high, surrounding the loch. All crofts thus have an easterly or north-easterly aspect, not
particularly favourable for agriculture, and only one has any appreciable area of level land
134 uninterrupted by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin,
and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely dispersed.

137 The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common
grazing, are mainly covered with heather, moor grass or sphagnum bog, while the lower areas
within the township are grassy, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not
yet a problem, and only small areas exist, mainly on the lower slopes of the western side of the
loch. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant
241 and worked by another crofter, and one worked from a house on the common. With the exception
652 of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which
closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in radial fashion (Fig. 4). The size of the crofts
varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight
acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and
few now cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses being
on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

241 Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' system. Owing to the rocky nature of the
244 terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two yards wide. Potatoes and oats are
244 grown in rotation, and hay taken from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters sow grass for hay
237 or undersow their crops. Dung and seaweed are used as fertilisers, with potato fertiliser as the
324 most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce,
carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

[Marivig]

231 There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with
no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep
sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred
and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore
islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while
185 all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters
keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

314 Peats cut on the common are transported by ferry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of
482 the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft,
128 and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway
301 and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated
before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others
are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters
during the winter and markets them in London.

143 Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the
146 roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia,
fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual
166 migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the
187 permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine
162 (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young
171 people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway,
while their sisters accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

205 The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a
206 shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There
266 is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road
290 which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much
452 better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig
and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the
368 sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while
361 the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain
362 and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron.
All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply;
377 rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a
312 well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

829 The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the
drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the
900 crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more
intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk,
potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought
from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival
of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest
house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring pros-
perity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the
capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

[Lemreway] [Orinsay]

229 The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing
196 township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were
boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent
554 and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there
617 one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway - working with modern equipment, drift
598 nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

161 An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared
162 those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is
considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one ho
and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of
resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty
resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other cr
townships in Park.

Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancilla
243 occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with re
241 employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weaver
236 over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy
235 nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1919.
164 Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships
187
607
597 Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every
392 has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells.
399 of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road.
372 of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the sh
361 up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the
Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.
917

Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most
484 attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Sco
Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the
they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than
985 of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considera
000 enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from
907 is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially o
511 extend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painte
all reflect a combined effort in improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman
243 being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver
463 contemporary employment combinations.

The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but abov
181 is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing condi
000 it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

131 Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the
361 a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within
241 of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to th

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting
to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed
113 tents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

361 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new
491 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all
487 but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
493 two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans call
205 but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor -
366 two wells only are in use.
491
312

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the house The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars

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491

241 The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the
23 smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, and
407 Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from Brenish or Enaclete. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years age was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

242 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts
134 the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the
324 crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

484 As yet the tourist trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting relations but many
485 houses offer suitable accommodation for people who would appreciate quiet holidays in these very beautiful surroundings. The distance from Stornoway, the difficulty of obtain-
[497] ing varied food supplies - and the weather - were cited as disadvantages! Passengers on a weekly coach tour from Stornoway are supplied with meals at an Ardroil house which has good access to the beach but otherwise the crofters show little interest in the possibilities of tourism.

162 In common with other crofting townships, the greatest problem here is that of an ageing
166 population because the younger people seek employment outside their township. The diagrams[1] illustrate the age-heavy structure of the permanent resident group and also the
464 numbers of the insurable population periodically or permanently away. The lack of suitable work, for young women particularly, is also shown. The ages of the tenants also illustrate this problem. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty or 34% are over sixty-five. Serious, too, is the loss by emigration of people between fifteen and sixty-five. Of the total 'working population', 35% have left this region since 1939. The corresponding figure for Crowlista alone, the older settlement with smaller crofts, is as high as 42%.

241 We found in this part of Uig some crofts efficiently and energetically worked by young
231 tenants, and if reasonable stock prices are obtained the larger crofts can be worked
427 profitably. However no croft will fully support a family; ancillary employment is always
[511] sought by crofters with growing families yet many crofts are carrying less stock than they
[887] might because some tenants are not interested in, or able for, agriculture. The croft is increasingly thought of as a home, as part-time employment - often for older members of the family - and as a place for retirement.

000 It is easy to list schemes for improvement and change:- dairying to supply Stornoway with milk, poultry and pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivation under glass, the tourist industry, forestry on a small scale, lobster and crab fishing, etc. Such schemes would require capital not available in the townships, careful planning, and tactful administration by people with real knowledge of this area and its people. Meanwhile even the potential production of the crofts is by no means realised.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

131 The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along the western side of the steep and narrow valley of the Amhuinn Gil na h-Airde three miles
133 north of Crowlista. After leaving Loch Meacheit, the river flows northward through a gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then across a narrow
427 flood-plain into the rocky bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in
133 arrangement and varying in size from 3¼ to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the right bank of the river, up the steep, rocky slope above the left bank and widening out over the more gently slopes between the 100 ft. and 200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently enlarged, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional ground to the north or south.

1. [See figures 12 (facing p.34) and 17 (

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

Recent trends also point to a decline in the number of sheep, although more are kept now than fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky, waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home, together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it. Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles distant.

Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of congestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

/p. 35/

496

496 RAILWAYS--number, location, and distribution of railways; tracks and roadbeds; bridges, trestles, and tunnels; sidings and switches; signaling and control systems; maintenance of roadbeds and rolling stock; etc. See also:

Signaling 202
Manufacture of railway equipment 397
Description of rolling stock 493
Tram lines 494
Railway construction 499
Military trains 715

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

3. *The Significance of Lewis-and-Harris*

181 The Highlands and Western Isles today, "The Land
184 of the Gael", may thus be grouped as two regions. The
361 North-west is mainly of 'township crofting' and distant
101 from the Lowlands—the other mainly of farming, living
[197] nearer to the Lowlands and in touch with them. Throughout the North-west, Gaelic is still the common speech,
[178] even of the children. The old community feeling is strong; it is that, indeed, which keeps the people attached to the villages.

101 From the plains and cities of the South it is a far cry to *Ultima Thule*, as Lewis, like Zetland, is sometimes called
131 even by its own people. Lying some twenty-five to thirty miles across the Minch from the mainland, its nearest links
[496] with the South lie even farther away. From Stornoway it is some seventy-five miles to Kyle of Lochalsh, the railhead for Inverness and North-east Scotland, and 100 miles to Mallaig, the railhead for Fort William and Glasgow. To reach Stornoway over the moors from the west coast
[504] townships is itself a journey. Stornoway is the Island's only port, though passengers are put off at Tarbert, at
[177] Stockinish and at Rodel in Harris. Isolation has always been a dominant factor in the Island's life. From pre-
[178] history through the Middle Ages to modern times, that factor played its changing part.

178 In Lewis, conditions had changed less than elsewhere during the last century; for example, the *New Statistical Account* of South-west Argyll in 1836-35 reads like a description of conditions in Lewis as they were until after 1914! Hence, as already said, the contrasts are very great indeed in the aspect of the country, its fields and houses, and in the number, character and ways of the people. It

499

499 HIGHWAY AND RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION--surveying of route; grading; construction of culverts, bridges, trestles, and tunnels; laying of ties and rails or of highway surface; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Specialization in construction 33
Labor 46
Weight-moving machinery 406
Corporate financing 454, 473
Public finance 682
Surveying 804

50

AND AIR TRANSPORT--general statements dealing with several
of the means and facilities for travel and transportation by water and
r general information on travel and transportation see 48.

4 COMMUNICATIONS

000 FROM the earliest times, the provision of communications in one form or another has been a matter full of incident and high colour. Gaelic folk-song contains many references to
533 the hazards of crossing the impatient waters of the Minch. One
484 such, a waulking song still known today, commemorates the death of Iain Garbh Mac Gille Chaluim, of Raasay in Skye, who was drowned in April 1617 on his way home from visiting the Earl of Seaforth in Lewis; it is said that he was drowned through the workings of his own 'muime', or foster-mother, who employed several famous witches to raise the tempest in which his ship foundered.

121 For well over a century the subject of adequate communications has aroused continuous argument. The strength of any island community lies in its ability to live within itself, while accepting the periodic injection of certain external items necessary for living or for work. A Londoner once expressed amazement at the isolation of Scarp, in West Harris, commenting that in Scarp they would not know what was happening in London. The indisputable rejoinder was 'Nor do they know in London what we would be doing in Scarp.' However, to a large island community, with a certain degree of economic significance, communications are the basic lifeline.

SEA ROUTES

• 50 When in the early 1800s formal sea communications were being
* 175 established between the island and ports on the west coast of
487 Scotland, down as far as the Clyde, most of the islanders were of course little affected. Except for the professional classes (merchants, ministers and the like), they had little use for the sea links
[433] provided for them. Their economy was not yet a cash economy,
* 175 and travel was thus a luxury they could not afford. As the nature
173 of local life began to change with the infiltration of some of the
439

501

501 BOATS--types of water craft (e.g., rafts, skin and plank boats, bark and dug-out canoes, motor boats, sailing vessels, steamships); specialized craft (e.g., ferries, tugs, canal boats, tankers); mode of propulsion (e.g., poling, towing, paddling, rowing, sailing, power propulsion); rigging; machinery; gear (e.g., oars, paddles, rudders, anchors); seating, eating, and sleeping accommodations; etc. This category is designed for descriptive data only. See also:

Power	37	Water transport	865
Cordage	283	Boat names	660
Shipbuilding	396	Naval vessels	716

Chapter 3

CHANGING ECONOMIC STRATEGIES: LAND, SEA AND LOOM

178 In Lewis, the change from a relatively self-
288 sufficient community in which land and sea provided
128 the economic base occurred in the context of the phenomenal rise of the Harris Tweed industry. In the following pages, the history of Harris Tweed is discussed in relation to changing strategies involving exploitation of land, sea and loom. Associated features of social life are discussed. Social boundary systems are defined and discussed in Chapter 4.

A. The Sea

175 Around World War I, nine boats, as long as 27 to
228 30 feet, driven by sails, used to go out regularly from
• [501] the Shawbost harbor. From five to seven men, usually
[491] neighbors, had "shares" in a boat. They would go out
[454] fishing during the night and return the next day. "We
[433] baited our lines with eel, for ling. We would catch maybe two or three hundred. I remember once we caught 1300."

175 On one of the crofts along the strand are the
228 ruins of two curing houses, where the fish were salted
[348] and dried. Ling, cod, skate and halibut were cured
[439] and sold to local merchants for export. "The same as
[171] they do in Iceland this very day. That was the main
175 industry. Then the English came with their steam
648 trawlers; they ruined the fishing here, and then went
228 west to Iceland and the Faroes. In Iceland they get fined for poaching, but here the trawlers often ignore
[433] the three-mile limit. But the fishing was the mainstay here, before the Harris Tweed came along."

175 One man returned from sailing in 1932 and bought a
228 boat for L24. He had 32 lobster pots, and made L7 one
435 June by selling the lobsters at a shilling apiece.
• 501 Another man, who returned from the United States in 1934
[454] because of the depression, bought a share in a 14-foot
[491] boat. It was made in Ness, at the northern tip of Lewis, and cost about L14. He and his partners went out every
[434] night possible; the fish provided an important part of their income. The boat was sold in the 50's. "It wasn't
175 being kept up anyway." Around World War II there were as
228 many as twenty boats; men fished at night, after a day's
501 work. Today there are four 12-foot boats in Shawbost,
178 each shared by four or five men. The boats are used
501 intensively for fishing during certain times of the year,
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178 but not as often as in the past. In the past boats
• 501 were in danger of being smashed by the strong seas
228 and winds that gained easy access to the Shawbost
[493] harbor; but today, because so many cars are available,
[504] the boats can be sheltered in the more protected bays of Carloway, five miles up the coast to the southwest
[434] of Shawbost. Despite this protection and the increase in income since World War II which would enable more people to buy boats, the number of boats remains small.

175 In the past certain people were esteemed for
821 "knowing the wind and the sea." The sound of the turf coming from different directions presaged different kinds of weather; a line of white across the bay meant bad weather in a few days. A fifty-year-old man says, "My father and grandfather could tell when a storm was coming. They needed to know, and they didn't have radio and television to tell them. I would know the signs, too, if I had listened to them."

175 Not only was there local fishing, but the men used
228 to hire themselves as crew on other fishing boats.
44 Several nicknames reflect this history. One family is
551 known by the nickname "Strachan," the surname of a man who lived on the east coast of Scotland and on whose boat the head of the Shawbost family had once worked as

SINCE THE SECOND WAR

furnished less than 1 per cent of Scottish landings. The war's 228
aftermath brought too many changes for the island to cope with. 175*
Markets had disappeared; food habits had changed; capital was scarce; and many ex-servicemen saw the writing on the wall for fishing as a full-time activity. Also, many sea-going crofters of the pre-war fishing fleet were now dead, memories on fading photographs. Nor had the Western Isles fisheries ever fully caught up with those of the main fishing bases of Britain and the east coast of Scotland. Hence the decline of the herring fishing hit them hardest of all. Today, Stornoway District is handicapped geographically, by distance from the markets; historically, by its late entry into the industry; and economically, in that it failed to participate in the trend towards the centralisation of the industry in share-holding companies within easy reach of London.

In the old days of sail it was easy for men to combine the two 228
occupations of crofting and fishing. When in the early years of • 501
this century power replaced sail (the first motor fishing boats went 178
to work in 1907) and the steam drifter took over from the sailboat, the whole nature of the fishing industry changed. Modern boats and gear had to be acquired if the work was to be profitable. But the islesmen, partly because of lack of capital, partly because of the lack of suitable anchorages and harbours, and partly because the combination of crofting and fishing had created a seasonal tradition incompatible with the use of expensive boats (which needed to be kept continually at sea if they were to pay at all), were unable to adjust themselves to meet the new challenges. In the inter-war years they had no option but to carry on as best they could in their old traditional role. The resultant decline meant that when opportunities did arise for fishermen generally in the form of grants and loan schemes (introduced in 1945 by the Fisheries Division of the Scottish Home Department and subsequently by the White Fish Authority and the Herring Industry Board), the bulk of the men living in the isles were unable to take advantage of them: they lacked the necessary qualifying experience in handling modern boats and equipment, as well as confidence in fishing as a full-time occupation. By 1959 there were only twenty-five boats of 40 ft or more in length based on Hebridean ports. Lewis had only six full-time crews; Harris had five.

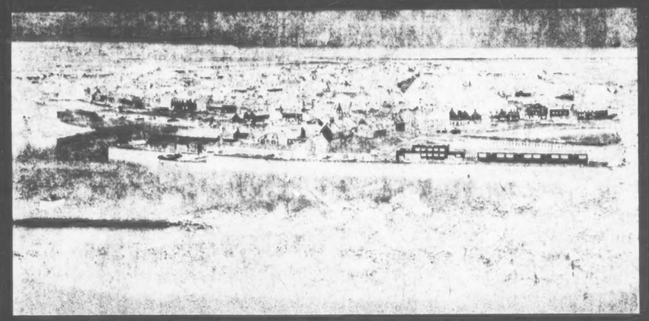
AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

228 This lack of a local fleet fishing in the Minch and associated
• 501 waters on a full-time basis has inevitably brought reluctance on
178 the part of Government bodies to invest capital in, say, harbour
[654] improvements, knowing that they would fail to yield an eventual return. Just after the first world war Lord Leverhulme formulated ambitious plans for a full-time fishing fleet based on Stornoway. More than thirty years later, in 1954, the Taylor Commission, set up to investigate the problems of crofting, summed up:

> Gone are the days when the crew of the fishing boat could haul up their craft on the beach and leave it there in safety. The modern seine-netter is much too heavy to be beached in that way and far too costly to be exposed to risk in unsafe anchorages . . . The capital outlay required for their purchase is such that it is not possible to operate them except on a full-time basis. It is still possible for smaller boats to be employed in fishing for lobster or crab, but the general trend of development is against the man who combines fishing with the work of the croft. We do not think it possible to reverse this trend; it should be accepted and an attempt made to establish a full-time fishing industry in Western waters.

228 The first vital step to do just this was taken in January 1959
429 when the MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust announced the introduc-
452 tion of a scheme to 'increase the number of modern boats with efficient crews operating from or based on Lewis'. This Trust was set up under the will of the late Murdo MacAulay of Ness, who left Lewis with little English, less money, but plenty of Gaelic and enterprising spirit, to acquire a considerable fortune in Rhodesia. He bequeathed the bulk of it to be applied for the good of his island home. Anyone applying for assistance under the scheme was required to give an undertaking that he would prosecute fishing on a full-time basis; further, no one would be assisted unless, in the opinion of the trustees, he was likely to make 'an
228 energetic and successful fisherman'. This pioneering venture
452 directly assisted three young men in Kirkibost, Bernera, to acquire
654 one of the best-equipped lobster boats in Scotland; and secondly it acted as a useful prototype for the Government scheme which was to augment and largely replace it a year later. In January 1960 the Government officially instituted the Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme. Free training was offered to men pre-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]



/p. 107/ General view of the town of Stornoway. Broad Bay is in the far background; the street on the right is South Beach

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When *LORD LEVERHULME'S FISHERIES*
he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris, 159
he offered—such was the character of the man—as thanks for 175*
the '98 per cent support' he got from the people of Lewis, to each 423
Lewis crofter his own croft as a free gift, and the Lews Castle, 431
together with all his property in Stornoway, to the people of the town.

In 1919, Leverhulme became proprietor of Harris, and con- 159
centrated his efforts in Obbe, now called Leverburgh, in South 175*
Harris. The harbour at Obbe lacked the natural advantage which Stornoway had, so he spent large sums on making it navigable. [503]
Rocky obstacles were blasted away; numerous buoys and beacons [228]
were set up to guide vessels into harbour; new quays were built, and kippering sheds, and other buildings necessary for packing
and curing herring were erected. Among his other undertakings [288]
in Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he 491
bore half the cost of the 5½ miles of road between Leverburgh and Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Brussels. His Harris schemes came to an abrupt end. And the remains of industrial history are still to be seen in the quietness of the little township named after one of the most stormy of business petrels that Britain has ever seen.

Tourism

Tourism has always been a perfunctory and casual affair, until 484
the introduction of the fast ferries which now link the mainland [501
(via Skye) with the Outer Isles. Some 10,000 cars cross each year [505
from Skye to the Hebrides. In 1913, the Stornoway Tourist Association had a struggle to increase the number of visitors to the town, to establish it as a tourist resort. It is much the same today with the Western Isles Tourist Association, which is having difficulty in integrating tourist facilities with crofting activities. In Lewis, the Stornoway Trust has assisted in establishing pony-trekking, a venture which has the potential to mirror the success of a similar one in the Isle of Skye.

PRESENT INDUSTRY

Almost an echo of the kelp-burning industry is the alginate in- 824
dustry. It provides employment for only small numbers, but is a 38

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(above) The car ferry *Hebridee*, at Tarbert Pier, Harris

/p. 18/

(below) The interior of St Clement's Church, Rodel, Harris, showing the carved tomb of Alasdair Crotach, a MacLeod of Dunvegan (d c 1547)

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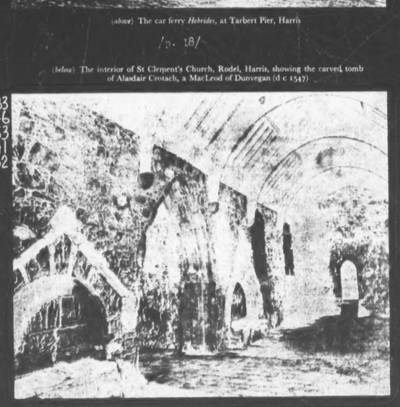

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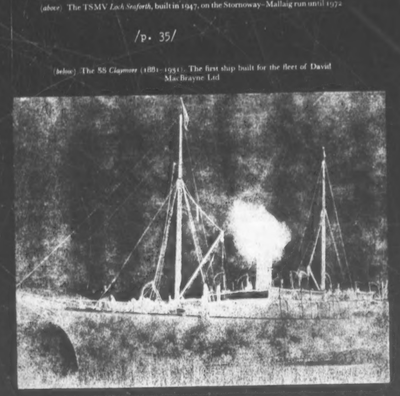
(above) The TSMV *Loch Seaforth*, built in 1947, on the Stornoway–Mallaig run until 1972

/p. 35/

(below) The SS *Clapmore* (1881–1951). The first ship built for the fleet of David MacBrayne Ltd



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(above) Drifters' fishing boats in Stornoway harbour. The new boats to form the basis for the island fleet of the future will be seine-net and dual-purpose

/p. 36/

(below) The Lewis village of Gravir, showing small fishing boats in Loch Odhairn, 1932

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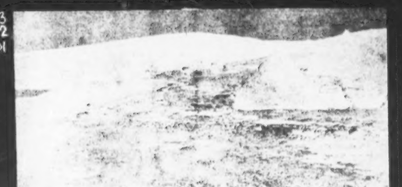

(above) At Rishgarry Quay, Isle of Berneray, in the Sound of Harris, c 1900, showing the typical construction of the 'black house'

/p. 53/

(below) The Claddach, Isle of Killegray, in the Sound of Harris, April 1897. The horse and cart was the most convenient means of transport. A spinning wheel is seen in action

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COMMUNICATIONS

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This is only relaxed if emergency sailings are necessary. During the second world war attempts were made by Free Church ministers to stop the movement of ships in Stornoway harbour, but needless to say the war effort took precedence.

THE SHIPS

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When Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, sea communications were still erratic: a mailboat or packet was running thrice weekly between Stornoway and Poolewe on Scotland's west coast. Sir James decided that a craft based on Stornoway would serve more efficiently both for general trade and for island-to-mainland transport, and he provided a regular steamer service.

[205]

As this craft, the *Mary Jane*, was to carry mails, Sir James thought the Post Office should promote the service, and he struggled with that department for some years, eventually being promised a subsidy of £1,300. Though the scheme was to cost far more and had won no other financial support, the service began in 1846, Sir James being surety for the whole concern. He lost some £17,000. Another of his ships was the PS *Ondine*, which carried mails between Ullapool and Stornoway during the 1870s and '80s.

Quite apart from the Matheson ventures, things had been stirring in the south; the sea communications of the West Highlands and Islands were about to be commercially developed. One of the

[501]

first ships on a regular run between Stornoway and the south was the *Ben Nevis*, a small wooden paddle vessel later to be wrecked south of Campbeltown in 1831 while homeward bound from Stornoway. G. & J. Burns was one of the main companies operating the early West Highland trade, managing to survive the vagaries of fortune until 1851, when its interests were passed to David Hutcheson, its chief clerk, on the condition that the Burns's nephew, David MacBrayne, became one of the partners. This was the beginning of the company so well known today, Messrs David MacBrayne Ltd. The new company started off with a building programme and gave birth to a long line of ships, many of whose names were to become bywords in the Western Isles.

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The PS *Clansman* was the first. Her route was the strenuous one of Glasgow, Oban, Skye and Stornoway. Alexander Smith's

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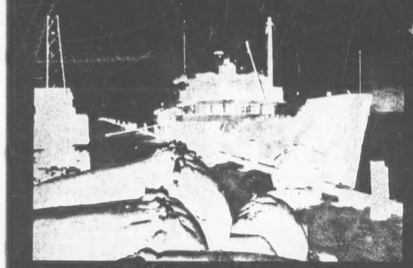

(above) Bales of imported Scottish wool on the quay at Stornoway for the Harris Tweed industry

/p. 144/

(below) Dyeing wool in a Stornoway mill

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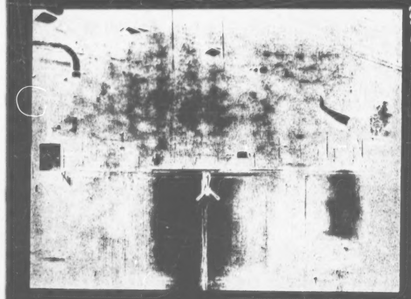

STORNOWAY

rocks about intrusions or dykes of more resistant crinanite. Second, 632
the better nature of the soil derived from the weatherings of the 133
sandstones and conglomerates has aided reclamation and cultivation.

In the long years of its existence the town has been a focal point 175*
of island history, fanning out to many corners of the world, where 632
it has been merged with the wider history of Britain, the Commonwealth and elsewhere. Detached as it was from the rest of [181]
Scotland by the Minch, Lewis often went its own way. In the 175*
reign of Queen Elizabeth, when England and Sweden plotted 632
against the Scottish crown, the emissaries of these countries met 648
in Stornoway. Later, in April 1719, a council of war was held in a room in Stornoway to plan the overthrow of the Hanoverian dynasty of Britain; included in the assembly were the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Tulibardine, George Keith, the hereditary Earl Marshal of Scotland, and his younger brother James, who was to become the famous Marshal Keith. Prince Charles Edward, though not setting foot in the town, looked at its twinkling lights from across the Bay, at Arnish, while his pilot tried to obtain a boat to take the royal fugitive to France.

The harbour has seen many kinds of ships on its waters. In 504
the twenties, the *Metagama*, the *Marloch*, and the *Canada* came 501 •
to take away almost a generation of young Lewis folk to the new 632
lands across the seas, because their own island could not support [167]
them. The *Iolaire* sank within sight and sound of the harbour mouth and dragged about 200 Lewismen with her into an island memory. The *Cervona*, of Dundee, dropped her anchor just by Arnish lighthouse in July 1904, carrying survivors from the emigrant ship *Norge*, sunk at Rockall with appalling loss of life. The *Victoria and Albert* visited Stornoway in September 1902, [643]
the first visit to the town by a reigning monarch. That was a great 701
day, the result of a letter from Provost Anderson of Stornoway in which he pointed out to His Majesty, King Edward, that with less than 30,000 inhabitants Lewis had 2,300 men in the Royal Naval Reserve, trained at the local Battery, the largest in Britain. There were also 1,100 men in the Seaforth & Cameron Militia, all of whom volunteered for foreign service in 1899, and 900 of whom did garrison duty in Egypt. Between 300 and 400 Lewis-

STORNOWAY

701 men served in the various regiments at the front in South Africa, and over 300 in the Royal Navy.

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In 1796 there were sixty-seven slated inhabited houses in the burgh, twenty-six of which had been built since 1784. Before this date most of the houses followed the constructional pattern of those found in rural Lewis. In 1838,

> Stornoway was, within the last twenty years, only a small fishing village, but from the spirited and patriotic exertions of Lord Seaforth, the proprietor, and the grant of irredeemable feus for building, it has become a place of considerable importance as a fishing station. It has a post office; and a packet sails regularly once a week with mail and passengers. No place in the North of Scotland, and in an insulated situation also, has made more rapid strides at improvement, both in a domestic and commercial point of view, than Stornoway.

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COMMUNICATIONS

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Mention of the sailing packet indicates the tedious manner in which mails came to the town for subsequent distribution in the island. Letters went by mailcoach north to Dingwall, thence by mail-gig west to Achnasheen. Because there was no road from Achnasheen to Poolewe, about thirty miles away, they had to be carried on horseback. The weekly sailing packet then picked up the bags, for which cargo the owners were paid £150 per annum. A letter from London to Stornoway cost 1s 5½d; the smallest enclosure made it double that amount. The mail-packet was often held up by bad weather. It was a wind-blown sailing ship that brought Stornoway the result of the Battle of Trafalgar and the death of Nelson, an event in which a number of Lewismen also took part and died; in St Columba's churchyard at Eye there can still be seen a Trafalgar officer's gravestone. A fortnight after this news arrived, the packet from Poolewe brought its stale message.

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In 1844 seventy boats, ranging from 15 to 150 tons, were working out from Stornoway. The *Gazetteer* for Scotland for that year says, 'The grand trade of the place consists in the exchange of the produce of the fisheries and the kelp shores, for British manufactured goods and foreign produce.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in 316
the services sector. 464

The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be 484
tapped. MacBrayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity [505]
of 50 cars and 600 passengers, makes two or three trips a day between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than two hours. The mainstays of tourist accommodation in Harris are 484
the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning 485
fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist 529
attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by offering [226]
full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant lets.

An interesting tourist venture has been started at Rhenigidale. 484
A rough, stony track, one of the most tortuous and exciting in 487
Britain, takes its leave from the main road over a ridge. It twists 529
and turns in and out of gullies, over cliffsides and across the steep heather-clad slopes of the Toddum, a dramatic little hill of 1,730 ft which protects Rhenigidale village from the Atlantic gales. The [205]
seven-mile track is the only marked route, though crofters take a shorter way to the north over pathless bogs; the local postman makes a round of about 60 foot miles in the week, walking this track and on to Tarbert three times in all weathers. The village 504
relies on its sheltered harbour with a good natural rock pier: 361
most communication is by water, all food and fuel coming that 505
way. In past times every household owned a boat for lobster and 501 •
shell fishing to supplement both diet and finances. Today the 226
interest in fishing has declined, as has the population. But in 1946 485
Mr Herbert Gatliff paid his first visit to Harris, discovered what the island had to offer, and started a campaign to convince hostelling interests of the need to make some investment in the Western Isles. A croft house in Rhenigidale was in 1961 equipped as a hostel, and under what is now the Gatliff Trust it is maintained for hardy trekkers, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association making a grant for running costs. Many visitors have found that the place offers a degree of happiness corresponding with its remoteness from civilisation.

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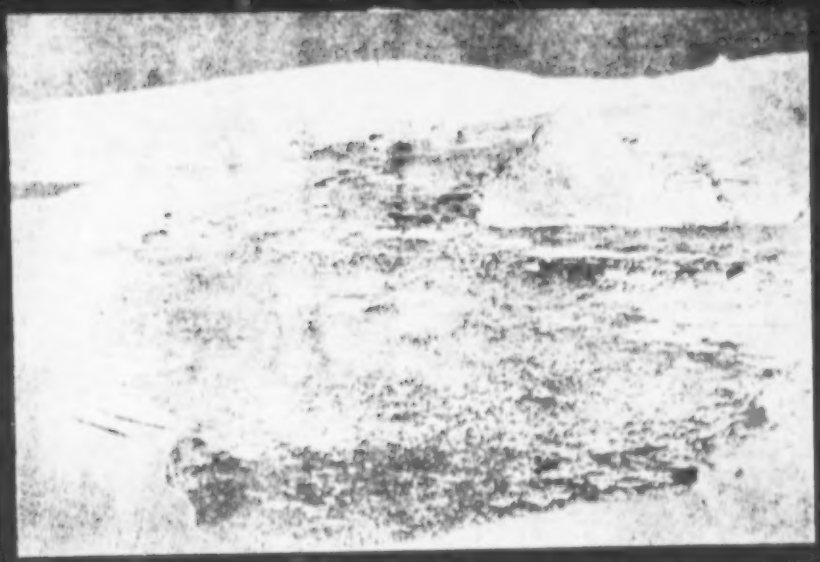

(*above*) At Rishgarry Quay, Isle of Berneray, in the Sound of Harris, c 1900, showing the typical construction of the 'black house'

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(*below*) The Claddach, Isle of Killegray, in the Sound of Harris, April 1897. The horse and cart was the most convenient means of transport. A spinning wheel is seen in action

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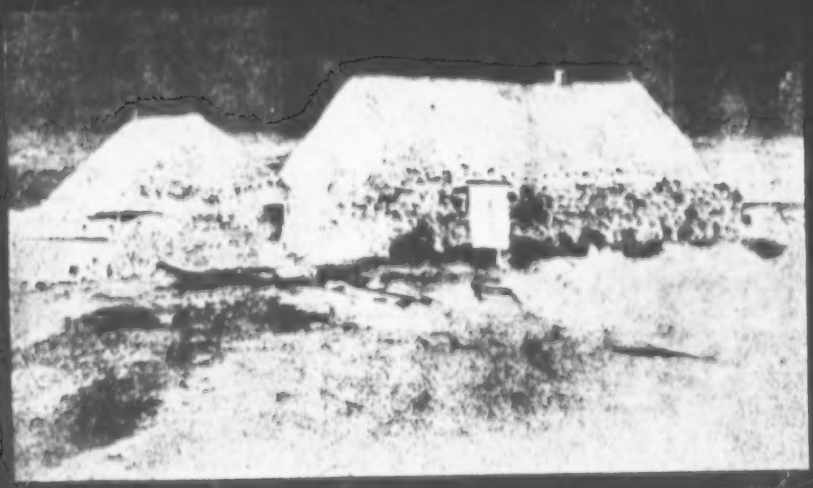

COMMUNICATIONS

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ne one of the partners. This
so well known today, Messrs
company started off with a
to a long line of ships, many
words in the Western Isles.
Her route was the strenuous
Stornoway. Alexander Smith's

Summer in Skye gives a fascinating account, written from first-hand experience, of working conditions aboard. *Clansman*'s speed on her first voyage back from Stornoway was 13 knots; she was wrecked on Sanda Island after only fourteen years' service. The company's PS *Glencoe* was originally the *Mary Jane* built by Sir James Matheson for his Stornoway run, launched in 1846. In that year she plied from Stornoway to Portree, Tobermoray, Oban and Glasgow, with calls at Kyleakin, Balmacara and Armadale. She passed to MacBrayne's in 1857, was lengthened and with other alterations emerged for a long life of sea service, braving the terrors of the Minch waters as the saloon steamer *Glencoe*. Refitted with new engines during her lifetime, her first horizontal boilers were replaced in 1883 by others which, in 1901, were succeeded by a haystack boiler from the *Fusilier*. *Glencoe*'s original length was 150 ft, later extended to 165 ft; she was 20 ft broad and after her lengthening had a gross tonnage of 226. Her original machinery was a steeple, one-cylinder 56-in engine of 177 nhp. The end of the much-loved *Glencoe* came in the summer of 1931, when, despite the display of much sentiment, she was broken up at Ardrossan—after eighty-five years of service. When she died she was one of the two oldest working ships in the world.

The PS *Stork* was first built for Messrs Burns's Liverpool service and was later on the Belfast run. Acquired by Hutcheson's in 1858 she was placed on the Glasgow/Stornoway run with the *Clansman*, but in 1860 was sold to the Italian Government. Another brief encounter was the SS *Fingal*, which knew Stornoway for a few short months before being sold for the American Blockade, after capture becoming a Federal gunboat. Then came the SS *Clydesdale*, built in 1862 for the company by J. & G. Thomson and used on the Glasgow/Stornoway twice-weekly cargo and passenger service. She was 197 ft long, 24 ft broad and drew 13½ ft of water; her gross tonnage was latterly 468. Her original engine (120 nhp) was a two-cylinder steeple (40 in—30 in); this was compounded in 1893, when she had a new double-ended boiler installed.

After the first *Clansman* came to grief on Sanda Island, a second ship of the same name was built for the Glasgow/Stornoway run. She was a most attractive two-masted iron ship, with a

There were, of course, other types of flights before 1948. In 1937, Captain Fresson took the first sick person off the island on charter—the beginning of the air-ambulance service so valuable to the islanders. During World War II, certain RAF mails were flown between Glasgow and Stornoway, on which there were first covers (December 1943, Glasgow/Stornoway; December 1943, Stornoway/Glasgow; and January 1944, Glasgow/Stornoway). The present air services are supplied by BEA and Loganair Ltd. The BEA plane route is Glasgow/Benbecula/Inverness and return. Loganair offer a service Glasgow/Benbecula/Stornoway and return. In recent years this small firm has built up a most valuable inter-island air link.

OVERLAND ROUTES

The history of overland communications in the island is a short one, though it does, like American history, have many characteristic highlights. In early times getting from one place to another was simply a matter of following well-worn tracks across the moorland, skirting lochsides and marshy lands and just taking the shortest distance possible between starting point and destination. Considering the length and breadth of the island, it is surprising that it was not until Sir James Matheson's appearance in Lewis that road-making was undertaken with any determination. This activity stemmed largely from the desire to get something in return for the outlay involved in keeping literal death from starvation clear of the doors of the island folk.

The report of the Rev James Headrick (prepared for Lord Seaforth in 1800 and published about 1820) indicated that the provision of roads would be of great benefit to the island. A footnote in the report (of probable date 1816) urges assistance from Parliament or the Board of Fisheries to complete the road from Stornoway to Loch Roag, which had been begun by Lord Seaforth. There is a bitter complaint that though the Seaforth property bears a large share in the county assessment, 'not a penny of public money has ever been laid out in Lewis'. Another footnote records that the road from Stornoway to Aignish in the east was made in 1815. No large undertakings followed Mr Headrick's

many recommendations, and though some road making began in 1791, progress was slow; in the course of fifty years, only 45 miles of road were created, less than a mile for each year. When Sir James Matheson took over in 1844 and planned to open up the island, he started with these 45 miles. On his death in 1878 there were more than 200 miles of road on which, with the necessary connecting bridges, he spent £25,593.

In the late autumn of 1882, a great gale swept away the hay and corn crops. This, added to the complete failure of the potato harvest, led to distress throughout the island. At a meeting called in Stornoway in December it was resolved that a memorial be forwarded to Mr Gladstone, then Prime Minister, craving aid from Government resources, or that some form of public works be started. No immediate response was made to this appeal. However, as the matter had been raised, investigations were made and eventually the Western Highlands and Islands (Scotland) Works Act, 1891, passed into law. It authorised, *inter alia*, the expenditure of a sum not exceeding £15,000 on constructing and improving the road between Carloway and Stornoway, and certain other roads approved by the Secretary for Scotland.

That Carloway was chosen as a terminus from Stornoway is significant. At the time it was probably the best fishing centre on the west coast of Lewis. Loch Carloway, which branches eastward from the mouth of Loch Roag, is a safe harbour and offers easy access; and any attempt to develop the real fishing potential of the district was a step in the right direction. At the time, the road from Carloway to Stornoway was a wandering one, 23 miles long, badly formed in many parts and ill-suited to heavy traffic. The proposed road was to be only 16 miles long and would, it was said, afford easy and quick access to Stornoway; fish would arrive there in fresh condition, suitable for transportation by boat to southern markets. As soon as the necessary plans were prepared and a contract drawn up, the work started. Progress was rapid, but financial difficulties arose. The contractor went bankrupt and the engineer was dismissed. The undertaking came to a complete standstill. Of the 16 miles, only 8 were completed. About 5 miles were partially made; the remaining 3 miles lay untouched.

The 1891 Act brought into existence a number of minor roads

175 427 233 319 359 449 426 The new proprietor was no better placed than Seaforth to change the fundamental causes of recurrent poverty and distress. But at least he had funds to ameliorate his tenants' lot and to allow experiments in land reclamation and industrial development. Existing sheep farms were extended and others formed. Land reclamation went forward hand in hand with industrial experiments such as distillation of paraffin from peat and brick and tile-making. A programme of road building was begun (the first roads beyond Stornoway were begun in 1791, but there were only 45 miles of road by 1836). In Uig the results were very obvious. Further clearances took place particularly from Timsgarry, Carnish (21 tenants), Reef (22 tenants), Garynahine, Dun Carloway. The small tenants of Valtos and Kneep were only saved from eviction by the intervention of the Fisheries Board, for they were important places for white fishing. By the 1850's, although the population of Uig was more than double that in 1755, and 60% greater than in 1800, it was crowded into little more than half the area. Emigration enforced by clearances reduced the population of Bernera and South Uig by nearly 500 between 1851 and 1861. 162 162

175 427 311 233 No other part of Lewis saw so many farms; nowhere else did the small tenants suffer so much from eviction. That was not all. Those who remained undisturbed were deprived of some of their traditional grazings and access to the rest was sometimes restricted. Moreover they had to make room for many of the evicted families in their own townships, thereby further increasing the problem of congestion caused by the rapid natural increase of population. Thus, for example, about 1825 there had been 22 families in Valtos and Kneep. By about 1880 there were almost 100. But, during the same period these townships were deprived of their island grazings - Pabay, Vacsay, Floday and Wiay - formerly used for wintering cattle - and of part of their hill grazings (the traditional shielings). Use of the hill-grazings was restricted, too. Thus, for example, only one day was allowed to pull heather for ropes; if men were away fishing or for other reasons, could not attend on that day, they risked punishment by going on any other. Such stories could be multiplied many times. 161 162

103 In the Bernera district, by the 1850's, only Tobson, Bosta and Breaclete (on the island) and Earshader and Crulivig (on the mainland) were left for the crofter families. Moreover their traditional summer grazings, which lay south east of the Deer Forest which was formed out of the Scaliscro sheep farm about 1850. Apparently their use of the old shielings was tolerated until 1878, after which date they were directed to the area north of the present road and which they have continued to use until the present day. Thus the shieling huts shown in fig.5 all post-date 1878; the area in which they lie may have been part of the West Earshader tacksman's holding. The date of discontinuance of that tack is not known but the house, now empty, was for long occupied by squatters and the old lazy beds around it still form part of a large squatter holding.

It is noteworthy that almost all the clearances were in the Bernera and South Uig districts and this is reflected in population changes between 1841 and 1851, shown in table 4.

The cleared areas included extensive hill and mountain grazings and some of the best wintering ground, including all the machairs except Valtos and Kneep. The East Loch Roag and Carloway districts were less attractive to the new farmers; as is so commonly the case in Lewis, their rough grazings lay on gently sloping low plateaux and were consequently ill-drained and of poor quality. About 1852 Dun Carloway was let as a tack but was never successfully farmed and was soon returned to crofter-occupation; it may never have been wholly cleared of crofters. Garynahine, at the southern end of East Loch Roag, next to Linshader, was also turned into a farm about 1852. Here the hill grazing was more extensive and, though seriously reduced by a crofter settlement scheme c. 1936, it remains

175 361 beginning of the resettlement movement which has given the modern crofters of the district almost all the lands formerly occupied by small tenants. This process was completed in the Bernera region soon after 1918, and the problem now - one which is obviously going to become increasingly important - is not to give the crofters more land, but to find active crofters for the existing holdings (see Chapter III for more detailed information on clearance and resettlement).

361 632 427 The ground plans of the existing settlements vary considerably, depending mainly on the terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coast the natural tendency is for the croft boundaries to run at right angles to the coast and for each house to be set on its own croft. The best examples of this are Hacklete and Kirkibost, where an early nineteenth century (i.e. pre-clearance) lotting was readopted when the township was re-settled in 1878. Linshader, Lundale, Crulivig and Earshader also follow the same type of layout as nearly as possible, but Tobson, with the exception of Valasay, is intermediate between a lotted and an unconsolidated township. Croir also differs: it was laid out in 1921 but the disposition of the potential arable forbade a coastwise organisation. The site of Breaclete is greatly broken by lochs and a sea inlet, and consequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Breaclete - Loch Beg Breaclete axis, appears somewhat complicated. The accompanying diagrams contrast the control exercised by physical conditions at Croir with the subordination of physical conditions to a simple lotting plan at Hacklete, (Figure 28).

361 342 178 632 Within the townships, with the exception of Kirkibost, the distribution of settlement seems to have changed little since the original lottings, for in most cases the sites of the old and present dwellings are little further apart than is dictated by constructional problems. It would appear generally that black houses were universal in the nineteenth century except for the farmhouse at 1 Croir (the oldest 'white' house in Bernera), Thule House, (18 Tobson), possibly the tacksman's house at 11 Hacklete, the former farmhouses at 20 Kirkibost and at West Earshader. However, with the establishment of Congested Districts Board and of Board of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, early examples being 5 Hacklete and 10 Breaclete. The resettled townships generally had improved accommodation from the start. Improvement has greatly accelerated since 1951. In most cases at the present time housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and one near blackhouse are still occupied.

312 514 164 354 Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their private water supply, thought it is hoped that mains schemes may be constructed within the next few years. Sanitation varies in standard and in places there are still open ditches, but all the newer houses have water closets. It is worth remarking in this connection that tuberculosis is almost eliminated. Electricity has been available since 1952 to all crofts and most are connected, though not necessarily in every room. Cooking is sometimes by electricity but more commonly by Calor gas and a peat-fired range or stove (open or enclosed). Peat is cheap to those able to gather it themselves. Where, however, help is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road, difficulties may arise. The cost of hiring labour for peat cutting may be such that it is cheaper to buy coal.

491 494 Access to Bernera by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Roag provided the highway of communication, the road built to Earshader after the Great War, and the £87,000. bridge to Bernera Island, built in 1953, have caused a revaluation of sites. Linshader is approached by a tarred branch road and the other Bernera shore townships lie upon the narrow and twisting main road, though four of the six Lundale crofts have no connection with it, and two of the Crulivig crofts, and West Earshader, are somewhat isolated. On Bernera Island the old cart track from the pier at Barraglom across to Tobson and Croir has been somewhat re-aligned since the construction of the bridge. This is a good tarred road, as is part of the branch to crofts 3...8 Croir. The old road to Kirkibost was tarred in 1959, though three outlying crofts near Barraglom were still without a road suited to vehicles, and the branch within Breaclete remained untarred. There is a new road to Hacklete from Breaclete which provides tolerable, though circuitous, communication. Valasay is one of the most isolated settlements in Bernera, linked with Breaclete rather than with Tobson by the footbridge and causeway paid for by Congested Districts Board grant about 1903.

427 authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common grazing. For
311 example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the croft has now almost
10 acres of land, of which the remaining 3 acres have been 'acquired' by enclosing part of
195 the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pieces, and in some
311 cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor's wife, Lady
Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because they were too close
427 to the standing stones. Croft houses 25 and 26, then near the stones, were moved to the
other side of the village and given parts of crofts 1 and 2 for their houses. Crofts 1 and
2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the parts of their crofts they
had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its croftland close to the stones so that an enclosure
could be made around the stones. About the same period, before the passing of the
Crofter's Act (1886), when the village was still 'ruled' by the township constable, and
several other changes took place. Croft 27 and 28 used to be where the croft houses are
at present and the surrounding adjacent area only; but it is said that the tenants of these
two houses, being influential with the constable, obtained part of Callanish Farm. Simi-
larly the tenants of crofts 30, 31 and 35 divided part of croft 19; these changes have
become permanent. The most recently formed croft was taken from the common pasture
in 1890. Since then three feus have been created, but two of these are holiday houses and
the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

241 There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed arable. All but
4 croft units grow oats, and there are 20 acres under oats (appendix C). Of the
remaining cultivated land 9 acres are potatoes and 5 acres sown hay. Most of the
land is cultivated by tractor; there are 6 tractors in the township. In the past there
were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still cultivate by spade.
The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August and the oats a
month later according to the weather.

231 Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township and tethered most
of the year on the crofts. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to graze one of their
neighbour's cows for part of the year in exchange for milk. There is beef-type short-
horn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Callanish Farm.

233 The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned stock of 904 sheep
311 and 561 lambs. Several crofters exceed their souming, but there is no shortage of
grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garynahine township pasture. Callanish also has
the use of the pasture on Orasay island; each year some of the sheep (one sheep or ram
221 per croft) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes are brought in for
233 tupping on November 14th, after the harvest is complete, and lambing takes place in
April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November 1st to May 10th;
in addition Callanish Farm (which has no sheep) is open for winter grazing. The sheep
are sheared in July, and the lambs are taken from the ewes a month later. The lambs
are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at Flodavat are
known to have been in use until 1921.

491 Communications are quite good; the village is close to a main road to Stornoway, and
131 there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-called roads are
merely rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by motor vehicle; it is
• [494] over a mile from the nearest track, separated from it by rough peat land. This year a
grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a road to this croft;
but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land refused to allow
a road to be built; and so croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of the village.
131 There are two shops in Callanish (one with a petrol pump); grocery, butchers' and fish
[366] vans deliver frequently. Callanish also has a stone jetty which in the past was important.
[504] There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and Bernera calling
at Linshader, which gradually declined in importance until the 1920s when it ceased to
[505] call at Linshader. The ferry to Bernera finally ceased in 1940 when the ferryman (who
lived at Callanish Farm) left for war service. After this the jetty was still used by small
private boats (e.g. Callanish church serves Linshader, and many people came to church
by boat until recently), but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

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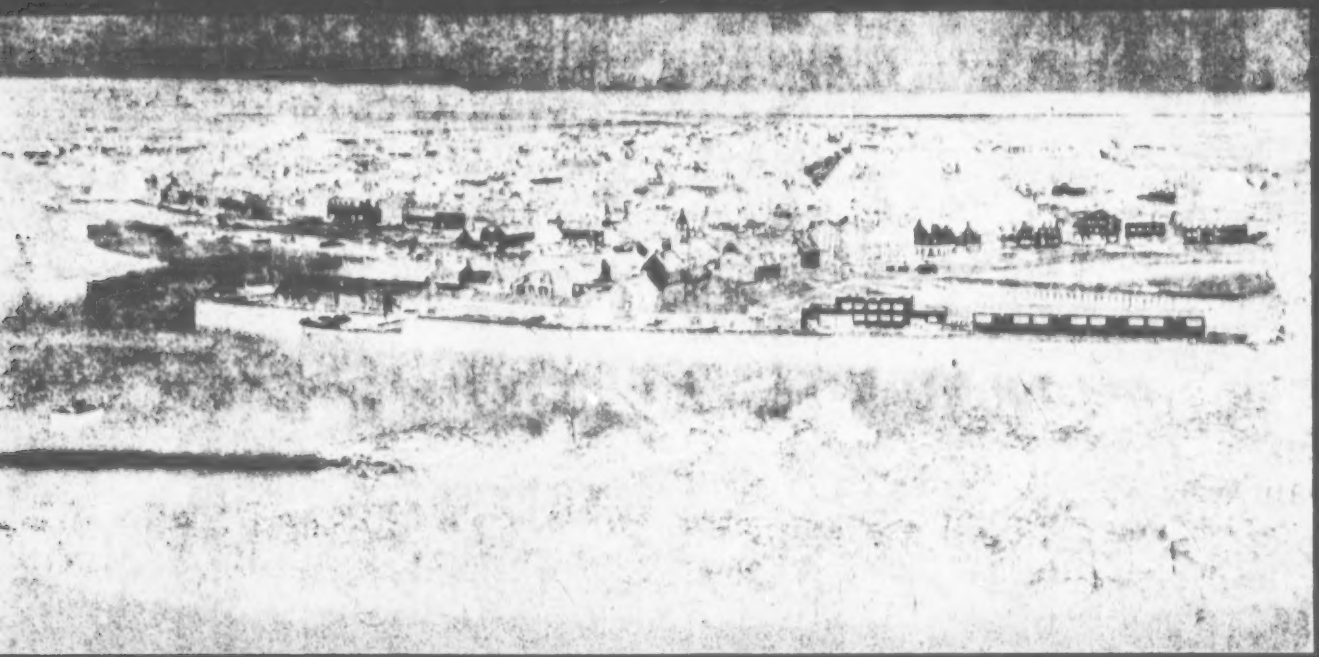

/p. 107/ General view of the town of Stornoway. Broad Bay is in the far background; the street on the right is South Beach

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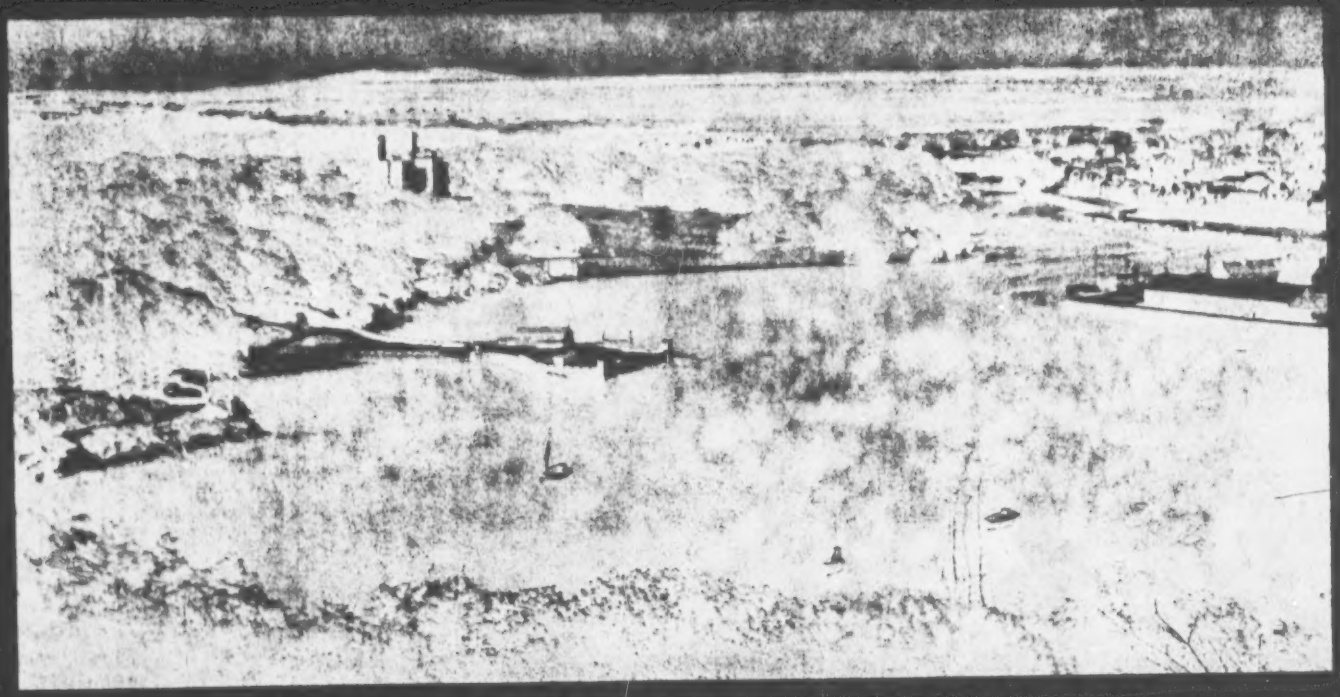

The inner harbour at Stornoway, taken from Gallows Hill. Lews Castle, now the Lews Technical College, is seen on the left.
The trees of the Castle policies were planted by Lady Matheson

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COMMUNICATIONS

501 505 175 Inverness cargo and passenger service, and the SS *Chieftain*. This latter was over 1,000 tons gross, with a clipper bow, single funnel, two masts, extensive passenger accommodation, triple-expansion engines, and silent-working electric winches.

[205] In 1929, the TSS *Lochness* was put into commission for the Mallaig/Kyle/Stornoway mail service. Of 777 tons gross, and built of steel, she was 200 ft long, 34 ft broad and drew 10½ ft. Her propelling machinery consisted of two sets of 150 nhp triple-expansion engines supplied by steam from single-ended, oil-fired Scotch boilers. These gave a full speed of about 14 knots. Many questions were raised in Parliament about the alleged inadequacy of the *Lochness* accommodation, particularly for third-class passengers, and the complaints led to the promise of a better ship. But the second world war intervened and it was not until 1945 that the *Loch Seaforth* (TMSV) was ordered. She was on duty in December 1947 and the *Lochness* transferred to the Islands route from Oban.

[205] MacBrayne's mail contract of December 1938 stipulated that the company would provide two vessels, one to be for the Stornoway mail service. This proposed ship was delayed until 1945 when the order for *Loch Seaforth* was placed with Messrs Denny's shipyard. This vessel was the first of the MacBrayne fleet to be fitted with radar and was much larger than any of her predecessors on the Stornoway mail service. She had a gross tonnage of 1,089 and was 229ft in length. In 1972 the *Loch Seaforth* was withdrawn from the Stornoway service. Her place was taken by the *Clansman* ferry for a short period until the '*Iona*' took over to inaugurate a new ferry service between Ullapool and Stornoway rather than the traditional Kyle-Stornoway link. The facilities on the *Iona* for vehicles are good but the passenger accommodation is indifferent.

The first official hint of the coming of drive-on/drive-off car ferries for the Western Isles was made at the commissioning of David MacBrayne's *Loch Arkaig* in 1960. Under the Highlands and Islands Shipping Services Act, 1960, three vessels were built for the Secretary of State for Scotland, and were chartered by him to David MacBrayne Ltd for the new ferry services. One of these ships is the *Hebrides*, a twin-screw passenger and vehicle ferry

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 73]

T

vessel with a service speed of 14 knots. She can
600 persons (400 in winter) and over fifty cars, ar
berths for fifty-one passengers. Powered by two
diesel engines of Crossley make, she has a lateral-t
unit in the bows to aid berthing at piers, and is fitt
isers. The MacBrayne colours have been used: l
and black funnel, white superstructure and thin w
The metal decking is painted a light green instea
usual brown or dark red. After completing her trial
Hebrides went into service on the Uig (Skye)/Ta
Lochmaddy (Uist) route on 15 April 1964. She
replacement of the *Lochmor* (of 1930), which ha
the Minch for almost thirty-five years, but which h
ports of call, based at Kyle of Lochalsh and Mal
plying to and from the north of Skye. The Hebride
at Tarbert and Lochmaddy on alternate nights, a
weekends at Tarbert. At the end of her first yea
she carried nearly 11,100 vehicles.

SEA-RESCUE WORK

Closely associated with the sea services to the islan
of lighting the seaways and the rescue work wh
required when the Hebridean seas are showing th
matter has occupied official attention for a very
ginning at the northern tip of the island, the lig
Butt of Lewis is one of Britain's major manned st
burning light was established there in 1862. In 19
verted to an incandescent light, with a range of tw
Three years earlier a fog signal was provided, and
less beacon was set up at the station. At Tiumpa
tip of the Eye Peninsula, the light was establish
was oil-burning, converted to an incandescent six y
fog signal was not provided until 1959.

Eilean Glas lighthouse is one of the major mann
guide ships up the Minch. On the easternmost
Island, in Harris, it was one of the four original li
by the Commissioners of Northern Lights in 1789

and Harris

HE SHIPS

accommodate 501
d has sleeping 505
supercharged 175*
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black hull, red
hite waterline.
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s on the Clyde,
rbert (Harris)/
was really a
d sailed across
ad many more
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an ferry berths
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r of operation

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ich is at times 502
eir teeth. The
long time. Be-
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in 1930 a wire-
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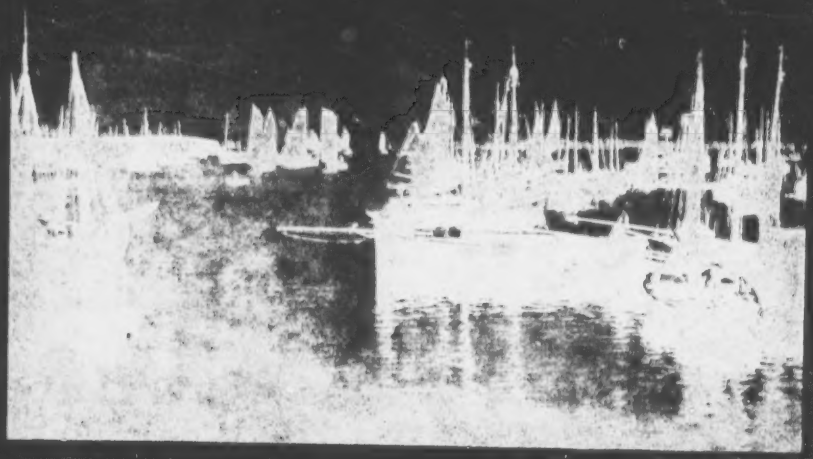

Two Stornoway scenes from the 'Grand Collotype Album of Views in Lewis' published c 1900 by Samuel Lawrence, 'Chemist, Druggist, Perfumer, Stationer and Tobacconist', Cromwell Street, Stornoway. (*above*) The herring fleet in Stornoway harbour, showing the wherries or 'Zulu' type craft; (*below*) Cromwell Street

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for the steamers, he thought that any improvements in connection with the fishing industry should be paid for largely by the fish-curers themselves—though he did spend about £1,000 on constructing fish-curing houses. Why Sir James, with his experience of business, should have taken this attitude is not clear; certainly the fishing industry could have been given just the right impetus with his interest, personal and financial. As it was, the industry was left to develop on its own lines, with odd injections from time to time.

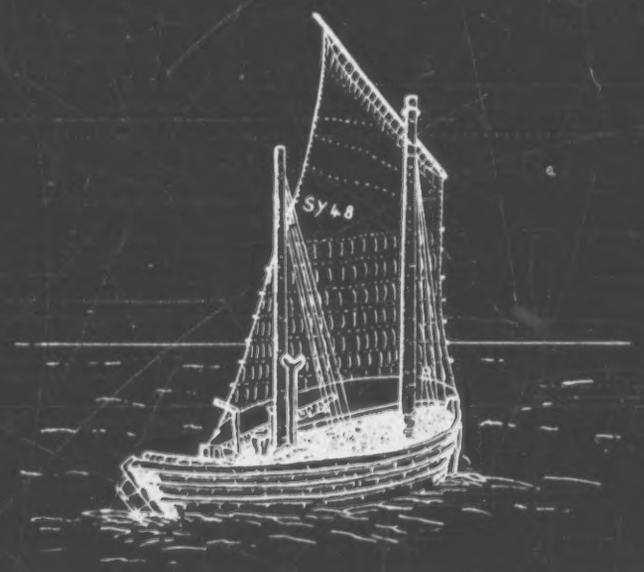
Fluctuating prosperity

That the potential in the fishing grounds of the Minch was enormous was realised before 1850 by fish-curers from the Scottish mainland. But deep-sea-going boats were needed, and so new designs were called for. James Methven of Leith, a pioneer of deep-sea herring fishing, sank capital into the development of a large class of boats known as the 'Anstruther build', or in the islands as 'Eanstrach'. These craft served the islanders well, and Lewis prospered, as did Stornoway. In the five years 1870 to 1875, for example, the average number of barrels of herring cured at Stornoway for export was some 80,000. From 1875 to 1900 the average Stornoway district catch of white fish, much of it caught by local boats and some of it cured at Carloway, was worth over £100,000; it was sent to Ireland and the Clyde. After 1900, fresh-trawled fish replaced the cured and the market fell away. In 1921, the market value of cured fish from Stornoway was about £500, ½ per cent of the 1900 value.

The herring fishing held its own, against the decline of the white fish. Stornoway, as Lochboisdale in the Southern Isles, became for a while one of the world's most important fishing ports. Prosperity was in the air; even when the fishings did eventually fall away, there still remained, decades later, the whiff of past success among the neglected curing sheds, the hangdown boats in the quays, and the silent kippering houses. From 1917 to 1935, the annual landings of herrings (in crans) varied from 25,486 (in 1934) to 221,519 (in 1927). In that year, a record one, it was reported that 'even landsmen could hear the roar of herrings in Loch Erisort. So dense were the shoals that their progress in the

water could be heard on shore.' Yet cash returns were poor: demand was falling off as foreign markets organised their own fleets, and the Scottish fishing industry as a whole was not commercially efficient. In 1936 landings were 40,829 crans; in 1937, 31,969.

From about 1850, Stornoway had begun to see the nucleus of what was to be a great fishing fleet in its harbours; but it had



A 'Zulu', a type of old fishing wherry used in Lewis at the turn of this century

something of the sort much before then. A pamphlet on the fishing industry published in 1790 tells us that the trade of the Stornoway merchants began to grow after the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, when Scottish herring were first admitted to the English colonial market. 'Some twenty-five or thirty years ago, all the fish they caught were carried for them to their port of destination by hired vessels. Now they can show in their own harbour, in the fishing time, upwards of thirty sail of stout handsome vessels, from 20 to 70 tons burden, all their own property.'

Towards the turn of the nineteenth century, the number of

FLUCTUATING PROSPERITY

rring boats belonging to Lewis was about 165, reaching a peak 197 in 1889; the number of boats used for cod and ling fish- g reached a peak of 704 in 1895. The figures, however, fluctu- e considerably from year to year. The main reason for this was obably that these boats were not personally owned, but largely longed to fish-curers and businessmen, to whom the boat crews ere in debt, having received capital advances from them and om the State for boats and gear. Crews who had bad luck at the hing had their boats impounded and sold to recover the amount the loan. Many boats were also wrecked, for navigation in bad eather is still difficult even in these days of advanced directional ds.

The state loans to fishermen are worthy of note here, because ey foreshadowed a similar scheme in the 1960s. They were ade under the Crofters Holding Act 1886. Section 32 of the ct authorised the Fishery Board for Scotland to make advances, y way of loan, to persons engaged in the prosecution of the fish- g industry, whether crofters or others in crofting parishes. For ew boats, the maximum sum advanced was £312. The loans arried an interest of 3½ per cent; repayments of principal and nterest were over a period of from four to ten years. Loans for he improvement of existing boats were also advanced, varying ccording to the condition of the boat or other circumstances ffecting the necessary security requirements. New boats were nortgaged to the Fishery Board.

Ninety-three Lewis fishermen received loans totalling some £12,000, and a sum of £18,000 was distributed in loans through- out all the crofting counties. In a report issued in 1901, it was ndicated that these ninety-three Lewis fishermen had repaid about 82 per cent of their principal and interests, but in other counties the repayment percentage was under 60 per cent. The Lewis figure would have been higher were it not for the loans made to the Barvas fishers, on which the repayment figure was only 24 per cent. When borrowers failed to observe their part of the contract the Fishery Board seized the boats. Many of these loans were originally made to aid a deserving class of men in adverse circumstances and surroundings. To achieve the high overall percentage of repayment (some indeed managed to pay

SINCE THE SECOND WAR

furnished less than 1 per cent of Scottish landings. The war's aftermath brought too many changes for the island to cope with. Markets had disappeared; food habits had changed; capital was scarce; and many ex-servicemen saw the writing on the wall for fishing as a full-time activity. Also, many sea-going crofters of the pre-war fishing fleet were now dead, memories on fading photographs. Nor had the Western Isles fisheries ever fully caught up with those of the main fishing bases of Britain and the east coast of Scotland. Hence the decline of the herring fishing hit them hardest of all. Today, Stornoway District is handicapped geographically, by distance from the markets; historically, by its late entry into the industry; and economically, in that it failed to participate in the trend towards the centralisation of the industry in share-holding companies within easy reach of London.

In the old days of sail it was easy for men to combine the two occupations of crofting and fishing. When in the early years of this century power replaced sail (the first motor fishing boats went to work in 1907) and the steam drifter took over from the sailboat, the whole nature of the fishing industry changed. Modern boats and gear had to be acquired if the work was to be profitable. But the islesmen, partly because of lack of capital, partly because of the lack of suitable anchorages and harbours, and partly because the combination of crofting and fishing had created a seasonal tradition incompatible with the use of expensive boats (which needed to be kept continually at sea if they were to pay at all), were unable to adjust themselves to meet the new challenges. In the inter-war years they had no option but to carry on as best they could in their old traditional role. The resultant decline meant that when opportunities did arise for fishermen generally in the form of grants and loan schemes (introduced in 1945 by the Fisheries Division of the Scottish Home Department and subsequently by the White Fish Authority and the Herring Industry Board), the bulk of the men living in the isles were unable to take advantage of them: they lacked the necessary qualifying experience in handling modern boats and equipment, as well as confidence in fishing as a full-time occupation. By 1959 there were only twenty-five boats of 40 ft or more in length based on Hebridean ports. Lewis had only six full-time crews; Harris had five.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

This lack of a local fleet fishing in the Minch and associated waters on a full-time basis has inevitably brought reluctance on the part of Government bodies to invest capital in, say, harbour improvements, knowing that they would fail to yield an eventual return. Just after the first world war Lord Leverhulme formulated ambitious plans for a full-time fishing fleet based on Stornoway. More than thirty years later, in 1954, the Taylor Commission, set up to investigate the problems of crofting, summed up:

> Gone are the days when the crew of the fishing boat could haul up their craft on the beach and leave it there in safety. The modern seine-netter is much too heavy to be beached in that way and far too costly to be exposed to risk in unsafe anchorages . . . The capital outlay required for their purchase is such that it is not possible to operate them except on a full-time basis. It is still possible for smaller boats to be employed in fishing for lobster or crab, but the general trend of development is against the man who combines fishing with the work of the croft. We do not think it possible to reverse this trend; it should be accepted and an attempt made to establish a full-time fishing industry in Western waters.

The first vital step to do just this was taken in January 1959 when the MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust announced the introduction of a scheme to 'increase the number of modern boats with efficient crews operating from or based on Lewis'. This Trust was set up under the will of the late Murdo MacAulay of Ness, who left Lewis with little English, less money, but plenty of Gaelic and enterprising spirit, to acquire a considerable fortune in Rhodesia. He bequeathed the bulk of it to be applied for the good of his island home. Anyone applying for assistance under the scheme was required to give an undertaking that he would prosecute fishing on a full-time basis; further, no one would be assisted unless, in the opinion of the trustees, he was likely to make 'an energetic and successful fisherman'. This pioneering venture directly assisted three young men in Kirkibost, Bernera, to acquire one of the best-equipped lobster boats in Scotland; and secondly it acted as a useful prototype for the Government scheme which was to augment and largely replace it a year later. In January 1960 the Government officially instituted the Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme. Free training was offered to men pre-

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clipper bow, figurehead, and bowsprit with ornamental carving at both bow and stern. The *Clansman* left Glasgow every Monday and arrived back on Saturday mornings, a regular pattern maintained from 1870 to 1909. She was 211 ft long, 27 ft broad, with a draw of 13 ft of water, her engines having a nominal horsepower of 171; her gross tonnage was latterly 619.

The SS *Locheil*, two-masted with a straight stem and single funnel, in her early career ran the Stornoway mails from Ullapool, in the late 1870s. In 1884 she was fitted out for a three-months' cruise in the neighbourhood of Skye, a gunboat in attendance with a view to suppressing any riots likely to result from the then recently-initiated legislation introduced by the London Land Reform Association. She was also on the Dunvegan service, via Harris and Lochmaddy. In 1907 she ran aground at Portree and was afterwards broken up.

In 1879, David MacBrayne became sole partner and owner of the fleet of David Hutcheson & Co, and the name of the company was changed to David MacBrayne Limited. The first ship built for the fleet by MacBrayne was launched in July 1881: the iron screw steamer *Claymore*. Her machinery consisted of a heavy two-cylinder compound engine supplied with steam from a pair of single-ended Scotch boilers; she never attained her full speed of 15 knots, at least not in service. She was 227 ft long, 29½ ft broad and drew 14½ ft of water. Her gross tonnage was latterly 776, and the indicated horsepower of her engines 1,400. She was sold in 1931 for breaking up. So high a regard did those on the west coast have for the *Claymore* that many parts of the ship went to places throughout Britain as souvenirs.

The PS *Great Western* was among MacBrayne's bought tonnage. This ship belonged to the GWR and spent most of her time on the Milford/Waterford route, though from 1878-85 she was transferred to Weymouth and ran across the Channel to Cherbourg. She came to northern waters as a straight-stemmed, two-masted, and two-funnelled cross-Channel steamer—both funnels being abaft the paddle boxes. MacBrayne placed her on the Stornoway mail service from Strome Ferry, which she maintained until being withdrawn temporarily in 1893 for a facelift in the MacBrayne standard design, emerging renamed *Lovedale*. She

was returned to the Stornoway route and, on the extension of the Skye line of the old Highland Railway from Strome Ferry to Kyle of Lochalsh in 1897, the latter port became the southern terminus in the mail service to Lewis, as it still is. She was broken up in 1904.

Yet another ship with fond connections with Lewis folk was the SS *Shiela*, the second steamer of the new MacBrayne family. Both hull and machinery were the product of Inglis of Pointhouse, and she had the distinction of being the first steamer in the MacBrayne fleet to be fitted with triple-expansion engines. She was launched in January 1904, a fine-looking craft, named after a character in William Black's novel *A Princess of Thule*.

Though of only 280 tons, she fulfilled an important role for the Stornoway folk and their country cousins. Summer and winter, fair weather or foul for over twenty years *Shiela* carried passengers, cargo and mails between Kyle of Lochalsh and Stornoway. Purely a functional craft, she gave her many thousands of passengers a rough time crossing the Minch; but though she was often late—many times the seas and winds prevented any headway at all, though steaming to the limit—she never failed to make port. This Stornoway/Kyle route is the hardest-worked of all the MacBrayne fleet; a Minch crossing is made twice in every twenty-four hours, with a weekend rest of less than a day in Stornoway. The sturdy *Shiela* met a tragic fate: she deserved a better. Her regular Captain Cameron was away on leave, enjoying a few days' well-earned rest. The ship was in the hands of a temporary officer, who was not as familiar with the devious ways of West Highland waters as he should have been. Though the exact details of the accident are not available to the writer, it seems that the officer of the watch never saw the south Rona light on the inward passage from Stornoway in the early hours of Saturday, 1 January 1927. Thinking he had run his distance, he altered course with a view to making the Applecross call. He did not discover his error until too late and the *Shiela* ran aground in the darkness on the shores of Cuaig Bay, just south of Loch Torridon. No lives were lost, but the ship was a write-off.

From 1927 to 1929 Stornoway was served by a number of ships including the *Clydesdale II*, designed and built for the Glasgow/

registered at the various 'creeks', obviously all cannot have been engaged; moreover, some strangers are invariably present, for which a guess of one-third would probably be conservative. The two sailing-boats were, of course, local.

Now, the average net tonnage of a drifter or a good East Coast motor-boat approached 40 tons, almost double the average tonnage of a local motor herring-boat (20 tons), and the catch was much in this ratio. During such a week and period, the total net tonnage of the 106 stranger drifters was thus about 106 × 40 tons, or say 4000 tons. That of stranger motor-boats may have been, say, 22 × 40 tons, or 800 to 900 tons, but the local tonnage was only 44 × 20 tons, another 800 to 900 tons, or, say, 1000 tons in all. This formed a fifth of the 'stranger' total of close on 5000 tons. As the Stornoway Fishing District includes Harris which provided a third of the herring fleet, there remained only some 600 tons for Lewis, barely an eighth of the stranger tonnage. A fifth, say, of the tonnage probably means less than a fifth of the catch but a still smaller fraction of the sums paid for it, for the cream of the prices is skimmed by the boats first in, generally the bigger and faster of the fleet. If we set against the catches probably due to the Harris boats, the catches of the winter fishing (about 15 per cent of the year's total), we shall still err on the safe side in estimating the annual catch due to boats from Lewis proper as no more than a fifth of the total (worth nearly £100,000), say £20,000.

To complete the estimate we add the curing of all herring brought into the District, almost all of it done in Stornoway. The difference between the value of the total catch (£98,000) and the gross value of cured herring (£162,000) is £64,000; but from this is deducted £26,000 for the imported barrels, salt, etc. This leaves an increment of £38,000 for the District curings, or, say, £35,000 for Lewis alone.

The landings of white fish (£13,600) and shell-fish (£6500) totalled £20,100 (Table 17). Of that, white fish valued at £4700 were brought into Stornoway port by East Coast 'great liners' (Table 13), but the remainder was caught by local

summer, were last used for cattle six to eight years ago by people in Brenish, but none are in use today. These shielings were at the western foot of Mealisval, only about a mile from the township. The Brenish 'distant' shielings, about six miles to the south-east of the township across the mountains, were not used after about 1920, while the adjoining Islivig shielings were last used in 1922. Mangersta may have had its original shielings to the east of Loch Melavat about a mile south of the township, but after obtaining the enlargement from Mealasta farm, until about 1939, shielings were used in that area.

No peats are cut on the crofts; the peat-cutting areas for all three townships are near the road and in no case far from the township. The common pasture near the crofts bears evidence of former cultivation, but it is at least fifty years ago since crops were grown on it. At this time the townships of Islivig and Brenish were over-populated with many cottars living on the crofts and all possible land on the crofts was already under cultivation. Today, less than half this 'old arable' is being cultivated, and in several cases the land is used solely for hay and grazing.

There are now no thatched houses inhabited in the townships and most houses have kitchen and other extensions added. Some crofters have built concrete two-storey byres of modern design. In Brenish, where the hills to the east provide a good catchment area and the Brenish river a good source of supply, all the crofts have their own private piped water supplies, while in Islivig and Mangersta most crofts now have, or are getting, a water supply. All croft houses are supplied with electricity from the grid.

Commercial fishing has long ceased and as there are only three boats there is now very little fishing for domestic use, the principal use of the boats being to ferry sheep to the off-shore islands. Weaving is an important occupation. There are seventeen weavers - nine in Brenish, two in Islivig and six in Mangersta, and during 1959 they were kept busy; in 1958, however, few orders were received. Weaving cannot be said to bring in a steady income here, and some of the weavers, and others, find additional employment outside the township - this includes four men at the hydro-electric scheme at Gisla, three at Mangersta Ministry of Civil Aviation station, three at Aird R.A.F. station and at least one in the Glen Valtos quarries. In addition, one man owns a tractor which he hires out, and one, owning a lorry and van, does haulage work. Altogether, out of a total of twenty-seven men under sixty-five who do work, all but three (one just out of school and one a semi-invalid) have other employment in addition to their crofts.

The total population for the three townships is one hundred and twenty-one residents, and fourteen permanently away from home. Of the residents, twenty-eight (or 23%) are children of, or below, school age, forty-seven (39%) are in the 15 - 45 age group, 15 (12%) are in the 45 - 65 age group, and 31 (26%) are over 65. Of the resident tenants, thirteen are over 65, twelve under 45, and five between 45 and 65.

The relatively young population may help to account, together with the better soils, for this area giving an impression of a fairly prosperous crofting district compared with some of the others in Uig. Amalgamation of crofts into larger units has also gone further. The use of a tractor or horse for ploughing, extensive use of artificial fertilisers, the sowing of grass seeds and the sale of sheep for meat, all seem evidence of a group of people who are determined to make the most of their limited resources.

One enterprise, that of the Aird Bheag sheep farm, deserves special mention. Four crofters (three from Brenish and one from Islivig) have purchased from the Uig shooting estate about 2,000 acres of land on the Aird Bheag and Aird Meire peninsulas, five miles south of Mealasta. Here they are running a flock of about five hundred sheep. There is

the crofts at Kneep are still highly fragmented: the fifteen crofts comprise over one hundred and eighty separate arable plots. The lotted crofts at Reef were cleared in 1842 to provide land for a sheep farm. Plans to clear the remainder of the Valtos peninsula were thwarted by the Fisheries Board because Valtos and Kneep were then good centres for the white fish industry. As late as 1892 Valtos and Kneep had forty boats, providing employment for one hundred and forty-five men. Valtos with thirty-two boats and one hundred and twenty fisher-men was second only to Carloway as a fishing centre in Uig. With the prosperity of the fishing industry, the population of Valtos and Kneep had risen rapidly - from 467 in 1841 to 659 in 1891. Some, at least, of the subdivisions of Kneep date from this period. Reef was scheduled by the Deer Forest Commission (1896) for resettlement by crofters and in 1908 an attempt was made to do this, but agricultural experts advised against it, on the grounds of poor water supply, scarcity of arable land (only ninety-three acres old arable) and the risk that, if cultivated, the machair would suffer wind erosion. Nevertheless, in 1921, Reef was resettled by ex-servicemen from Valtos and Kneep. At the time the sheep farm was only carrying a stock of one hundred and seventy sheep - less than half the crofters' sheep stock in 1959.

Tables 15 - 18 summarise the more significant points of the economy of the Valtos peninsula. Table 16 illustrates the fact that the economy is in decline. Only two-thirds of the total possible units are being worked. Many of the crofters have abandoned their crofts and the younger generations are unwilling to take over. Of those remaining to work the crofts 18% are over sixty-five, and a further 47% are between forty-five and sixty-four.

TABLE 16

Crofts and Crofters

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
Legal crofts:	40	18	15	73
No. in joint tenancy	2	4	0	6
Total possible units:	42	22	15	79
No. of operative units 8/59:	29 (60%)	15 (68%)	8 (53%)	52 (66%)
Joint tenancy crofts as one unit:	1	3	0	4
Cases of subletting:	8 (+2 part crofts)	4	6	18
Family combination of crofts:	2	1	1	4
Derelict crofts:	2	1	0	3
Crofts worked by: Full time crofter	3	1	1	5
crofter with regular work	8	7	0	15
crofter with periodic work	13	3	4	20
crofter over 65 (or invalid)	5	1	3	9

(b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices, however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the former case they heft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand. Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb. ewe fleeces about 3 lb. and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average sheep carcase weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category, and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption only) and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person has entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907 and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Caryward, Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilizing the population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

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harbour facilities. But his efforts to promote the town as an industrial centre were opposed, a dispute arising between him and parties who claimed interest in the quays which already existed; his action to set up the Harbour Commission and to acquire the Crown's interest in the shores of Stornoway Bay *ex adverso* found local opposition. He succeeded in quelling the doubts and the resulting counter-actions, however, and then, with the decks cleared, the Commission lost no time in getting developments under weigh. Authorisation to borrow up to £10,000 was obtained and work put in hand on building a timber wharf, 150 ft long, filling in certain areas for fish-curing and other purposes, and constructing sheds, works buildings and warehouses. By 1881 this work had been completed and, with the expansion of the herring industry, the Commission sought to increase its borrowing by £20,000; in 1892, further powers for borrowing the sum of £55,000 were sought and obtained. By the turn of the century all the works authorised by the 1892 Order were completed: they met the berthing needs of the fishing industry and also the reclaimed areas on South Beach, North Beach and the Cromwell Street quays were used continuously during the season as fish-curing stations, proving essential factors in the development of that industry.

Before the 1914-18 war ended, Lord Leverhulme had become proprietor of the island and, as such, a member of the Harbour Commission. He proposed further development of the existing facilities, to line up with his scheme for establishing Stornoway as a centre for industrial activity based on fishing. Plans were prepared, and a permanent way for a railway (linking the canning factory at Inaclete with the harbour) was formed. But the scheme did not materialise before he abandoned Lewis for Harris. Before he left, however, he conveyed free to the Harbour Commission considerable property round the inner shores of Stornoway Bay. At this stage the Commission promoted a New Harbour Order, passed by Parliament as the Stornoway Harbour Confirmation Act, 1926, in which provision was made for the increase of the Commission's borrowing powers (up to £70,000) and the setting up of a contingency fund of £10,000. Further improvements were put in hand. Another Order (1947) was obtained and

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the present harbour facilities are the result of this, with a causeway to Goat Island—a small snippet of land off the Newton shore—the King Edward Wharf extension to give a depth of 24 ft at low water, and the construction on Goat Island of a slipway and slipway jetty.

The present facilities are valued at several million pounds; they evoke, however, a blank stare of disbelief. Much of the industry for which the quays were first envisaged has now gone. The days of 300-400 fishing boats and the landing of several thousands of crans each week, with the attendant bustle and activity, belong to the past. The harbour remains reasonably active, with a considerable extent and variety of shipping: general traffic due to the Harris Tweed industry has continued to increase in recent years. The introduction of the ferry service direct from Skye to Tarbert, Harris, has however had perceptible effects.

When Leverhulme parted company with the people of Lewis, his gesture of farewell offered the island to its people. This brought into being an agency for the people of Stornoway and its rural areas, so that they were in effect in control of their own future to a degree unique in Britain. The Stornoway Trust was formed in 1924. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole of the landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor northwards to the township of Tolsta. Freshwater fishings are in its hands, as are the resources of the sea and inshore fishings on the shorelands. During its first five years the Trust was faced with a growing deficit, though this was redressed partly through agricultural derating and partly through the registration of the Trust as a charity, thus exempting it from income-tax demands.

The Town Council, the Harbour Commission, and the Trust have overlapping representation, for harmonious work on behalf of the community. Indeed, by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn up by Leverhulme (in 1923-4), the Stornoway Trust must include the Provost of the burgh as its chairman, together with magistrates and councillors. Throughout the years of its existence, the Trust has sought to increase its usefulness, but at the beginning decisions were often taken piecemeal. Portions of the property were

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504 PORT FACILITIES--boathouses; piers and docks; facilities for mooring, loading, and unloading; storage facilities; supply services (e.g., ship chandlers, fueling stations); facilities for repair and overhaul; use of natural harbors; etc.

See also:
Construction 33
Ship repairs 396
Cranes 406
Weight moving 483
Warehousing 488
Trucking 494
Rail terminals 498

but not as often as in the past. In the past boats were in danger of being smashed by the strong seas and winds that gained easy access to the Shawbost harbor; but today, because so many cars are available, the boats can be sheltered in the more protected bays of Carloway, five miles up the coast to the southwest of Shawbost. Despite this protection and the increase in income since World War II which would enable more people to buy boats, the number of boats remains small.

In the past certain people were esteemed for "knowing the wind and the sea." The sound of the turf coming from different directions presaged different kinds of weather; a line of white across the bay meant bad weather in a few days. A fifty-year-old man says, "My father and grandfather could tell when a storm was coming. They needed to know, and they didn't have radio and television to tell them. I would know the signs, too, if I had listened to them."

Not only was there local fishing, but the men used to hire themselves as crew on other fishing boats. Several nicknames reflect this history. One family is known by the nickname "Strachan," the surname of a man who lived on the east coast of Scotland and on whose boat the head of the Shawbost family had once worked as

[Garyvard]

Only a fraction of the total arable land is cultivated by tractor and this is divided among seven crofts. In spite of an emphatic statement by one of these cultivators to the effect that he will never use it again, the use of the tractor will increase as soon as the pioneers are able to prove to their neighbours its capabilities and as soon as the lazy-beds are joined together, an improvement which has already taken place in Habost. The main objection to the use of the tractor by the disappointed user was the inevitable one that the yields were smaller than in former years when he had used the spade. The answer to this was given by one of the other pioneers, who thought that time saved could be devoted to some other profitable occupation, for example, weaving. Six of the crofters practise a five-year crop rotation, sowing potatoes first, followed by oats under-sown with clover which for the following three years is cut for hay.

An interesting experiment has been that of the improvement of two acres of common grazing land by the road on the west side of the township, by nine of the crofters working together during the evenings. The work began early in Spring when 4 tons of lime, 10 cwts. of mineral phosphates and 8 cwts. of compound fertilizer were spread evenly over the land. The grass seed was sown in July, the most favourable time for sowing since there is less danger of a drought than earlier in the year, and more convenient too, in that the sheep had been gathered for shearing and 250 of them were available to be driven back and forth over the land to tramp the seeds in. In theory this land should be ready for grazing next Spring, but in practice it will be ready in November. It is planned to re-seed twelve acres in all.

Most crofters have a cow to provide milk for their own needs. The Black Poll bull at Gravir is preferred to the other township bulls since its progeny command higher prices. Sales are held in the district twice per year, once on the old lake-level on the east side of the township, and once at Balallan. Prices for calves are normally better in Spring than at the Autumn sale, nevertheless prices offered tend to be low. Even so, it is usually to the advantage of the crofter to part with the animal rather than bear the cost of taking it back to the croft and wintering it there. Naturally there is some bitterness that the middlemen who buythese animals will sell them at much higher prices on the mainland at Dingwall. Sheep are normally sold in Stornoway to the butchers but also at the local sales.

Crofting is not in itself a lucrative form of employment and in most households there is at least one other source of income. A majority of the crofters have regular employment, two working in quarries or on the roads for the County Council, another is postman, three are weavers, another both weaver and contractor, while yet another works in Antarctic waters aboard a whaling factory ship for eight months of the year. Weaving is undoubtedly the most lucrative of the ancillary occupations, though the weavers are suffering at the moment from the slump in the Harris Tweed industry which is also affecting the prices for wool. Contracting is also a paying proposition for one or two persons only, since the amount of freight is obviously limited.

Most crofters own a small rowing boat and it is not uncommon to see half a dozen nets set to catch mackerel and other demersal fish. There is not one large fishing boat, however, partly because of the scarcity of fish near the coasts, and partly because of the isolation of the area and the subsequent difficulty in marketing. The Fleetwood trawlers are regarded as pirates in the Minch, and one has to its credit the destruction of two long lines - the sum total of the tackle belonging to a local boat. To have eighteen pounds worth of gear lost in one night is ruin to a crofter-fisherman. Lobster fishing has died out at Garyvard though it could be quite extensively practised.

The main road from South Lochs to Stornoway through the village has obviously had a profound effect on the township. The sites of the old 'black houses' have been abandoned when new houses have been built, in favour of sites conveniently near to the road. The Road Age has greatly limited man's capacity for carrying goods. This is well illustrated by the fact that the majority of crofters in Garyvard use artificial fertilisers, whereas they are scarcely used at all in Caversta where the road ends about 50 yards from the nearest house.

[Caversta]

Each croft is fenced but has a gate giving access to the common grazing, in which each crofter holds an equal share. The township has no specially enclosed area for tasking or other purposes and no fixed date exists on which the crofters open their gates for winter grazing. Breeding ewes are normally brought in for tupping in mid-October and November when crops have been gathered, and lambing takes place in late March or April. After dipping and inoculation with vaccines for black leg, braxy and louping ill, the sheep are put out on the common grazing in the second or third week of May.

The 642 acres of common pasture support a sheep stock equal to the sheep soum, but the overall stocking is only 88 per cent of the total souming. Two crofts only exceed their individual soums, while the others are well below the number required for greatest efficiency. The grazing is, however, poor for summer pasture, owing to the lack of grass, but the heather is valuable for wintering the shaggy, Lewis Blackface sheep are the predominant breed and the wool, clipped in July, is sold to the Stornoway mills and the animals themselves are sent to the slaughter house. The 1958 loss at lambing was exceptionally high owing to a cold, dry spring preventing the growth of grass for the ewes. More than forty lambs and thirty ewes were lost by the township last winter, a number four or five times greater than the average loss.

Six cows, two heifers and four calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. Calves are born throughout the summer months, but whereas early-born calves may be sold in the Autumn at six months old, those born later must be wintered to eight months until the Spring sales. The cows are served by the Department of Agriculture Highland bull at Habost, but although good prices are obtained for beef cattle, it is felt that for the family milk supply, a dairy bull would produce a better strain.

In addition to keeping stock, oats are cultivated on five holdings and potatoes on six. In most cases the land under each crop is less than half an acre and nowhere does it exceed two acres. The land has been built up into lazybeds about six to ten feet wide, separated by open drainage channels and worked by the spade. There are only two holdings where a tractor (hired from Habost) is used and the acreage cultivated only amounts to three-quarters of an acre. Conditions are not altogether suitable for mechanisation at present, for the terrain is very uneven and broken up by marsh and steep faces of bare rock.

Neither Torista nor Caversta is on a main road. The former is served by a track joining the road near Cromore, while the latter has a secondary road running as far as the township dyke, and an inferior footpath joining the main road at Garyvard. The lack of a good road within the dyke acts as a deterrent to the use of modern equipment and fertilisers. Byre manure is used on all the crofts and seaweed is brought from the shore and spread on the lazybeds. Artificial manures, used on only three crofts, must be carried over rough ground from the dyke. This lack of incentive to improve is perhaps even more marked by the fact that on one holding alone is a rotation practised - potatoes, oats under-sown with clover, then hay for three or four years. Apart from this one instance, potatoes and oats are sown, perhaps alternately, on the same strips for many years. Natural grass yields the bulk of the hay and is often cut from lazybeds that were formerly cultivated. On one croft there is upwards of quarter of an acre where the old ridges can be seen to have a crescentic shape and are thought to date back more than one hundred years. A short distance beyond the township dyke is a similar stretch of land, now colonised by heather.

Peat still forms the principal fuel and, apart from one half acre patch within the dyke, is cut on the common grazing, as near the road as possible in May and June, and later brought home by creel, bicycle or tractor. Three of the six operative units still have gardens and all keep up to twenty chickens; rowing boats for line fishing, solely to supplement the larders,are also maintained.

In 1841 population records show that there were twenty-two persons at Caversta and seven at Torista. After 1881, when maximum figures of fifty-nine and nineteen were noted, there was a secondary peak in 1911 in Caversta, followed by a steady drop to twenty in 1951 and eighteen in 1958.

[Marivig]

There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for sheep in summer, while a boat belonging to one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the croft. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft, and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron. All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply; rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk asbestos slate, or of present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

item. No fish without scales is eaten by the Skyeman.

The crofters use small boats, under thirty feet keel, and work in pairs. By contributing creels and sharing the risks as well as the profits, the cost of equipment for each individual is modest. Here, of course, is an additional form of cooperation which has not disappeared. The techniques have remained conservative. The use of small boats restricts operations to sheltered areas, and conservation is not an important consideration.[30] One order, for example, issued by the government prohibited the sale of berried lobsters (females with eggs) without success. The eggs are simply scrubbed off. The law will be useless as long as there are men among them who continue to believe that: "In the old days we took berried lobsters, and the lobsters thrived." Another order has made it illegal to take lobsters under nine inches, the favorite size in the London and Paris markets. This has not only spoiled the market but also is difficult on the crofters because they use small creels. Still, the real trouble is said to be the lack of a closed season. Bretons come over and work the waters during the summer when the Sgiathanach is busy on the land. Crofters from southern Skye are accused of poaching the northern lochs. This leaves few lobsters for the local residents who only go after lobster between November and March.

Although international considerations do not pertain to the question of a closed season, the British government considers

[30] Cf. Darling and Morley, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

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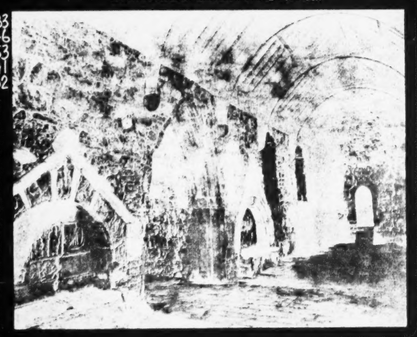
502 NAVIGATION--direction of water craft (e.g., steering, tacking, piloting); watches; laying of courses (e.g., by landmarks, compass); fixing of positions (e.g., by sounding, celestial observations); adjuncts to navigation (e.g., buoys, lighthouses); adaptations to special situations (e.g., docking, running of rapids, portaging, ice-breaking, canal navigation); maritime customs and regulations; shipwrecks; salvage; etc. See also:

Description of lighthouses	349	Boat racing	938
Optical instruments	416	Admiralty courts	698
Sea lanes and charts	487	Military use of radar and loran	718

(above) The car ferry *Hebridin*, at Tarbert Pier, Harris

/p. 18/

(below) The interior of St Clement's Church, Rodel, Harris, showing the carved tomb of Alasdair Crotach, a MacLeod of Dunvegan (d c 1547)



THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

In Lewis, the public body mentioned is the Stornoway trust, the only one of its kind in the Highlands: when Lewis was sold by Lord Leverhulme in 1923, the parish of Stornoway Landward was given to the townspeople who, in effect, became shareholders in the trust, formed to administer the estate. A resident factor in Stornoway is answerable to a small council of the residents. Commercial companies as owners appeared on the scene in Lewis after the lands were offered for sale when Leverhulme pulled out of his efforts to industrialise the Lewis folk. Considerable tracts of land were sold for as little as £500; some at 1p per acre. The salmon and trout fishings were, of course, a major attraction. Some small-acreage estates were bought in Harris and Lewis by speculators with island connections.

STORNOWAY

In contrast to the straggling and quite casual townships of the rural areas of the island, Stornoway has logic in its layout. The harbour and the grounds of Lews Castle have given the town a magnificent setting and a useful green belt surrounds it. The outlying villages, however, tend to be miracles of chaos, showing both architectural and planning anarchy. These only serve to add point to the more formal layout of Stornoway with its regular streets, some casual variation adding interest.

The town itself grew in recognisable stages. The first was centred on the small peninsula known as the Point Street area. This land finger protected the inner harbour of the Bayhead River and on it grew the nucleus of the town, beside old Stornoway Castle, once perched on a rocky islet and now existing as rubble under the steamer pier. Protection from storm was not really provided until the nineteenth century, when a quay was built with space for marketing and handling herring. About the seventeenth century, houses began to string themselves out along the shores on the side of the inner harbour (Bayhead Street and Cromwell Street) and on that side of the outer harbour called Newton Street. From the nineteenth century until about 1914, two-storey, flatted tenements, hotels and middle-class houses were built on a grid plan that followed on old field layouts and the associated ditches. Some of the present-day roads, such as James Street, follow these

The inner harbour at Stornoway, taken from Gallows Hill. Lews Castle, now the Lews Technical College, is seen on the left. The trees of the Castle policies were planted by Lady Matheson

/p. 90/

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

and its neighbourhood becoming the centre of the growing industry. In 1793, the Lewis Parish contributors to the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* indicated that upwards of 183 boats were fishing off the island. In Uig no less than 275 netmakers were recorded, showing that the fishing industry was prosecuted with some measure of enthusiasm. 'All the people dwell in little farm-villages and they fish in the summer season. The women do not fish; but almost at all times when there is occasion to go to sea, they never decline that service, and row powerfully.' In the parish of Barvas in the eighteenth century some 9,000 Scotch pints of oil were taken each year from dog-fish livers and sold to Stornoway merchants at from 6d to 8d per pint; it is related that the tenants of Ness were able for a long time to pay their rents with the oil proceeds. Cod and ling were the principal fish caught by the men of Lochs, an annual average of 24 tons being cured and sold in Stornoway. Generally, other fish caught were consumed locally.

Loch Roag on the west of Lewis proved to be about the best fishing ground; in 1794 about '90 sail' from all parts of the United Kingdom were at the herring fishing there. At one time Loch Roag-cured herring was exported exclusively to Sweden. The minister of Stornoway, contributing to the *Old Statistical Account*, gives figures showing the quantities of fish shipped from the port from 1791 to 1796. During these six years some 14,000 barrels of herring were exported to the Continent, and 20,000 sent for consumption in Britain; some 350 tons of cod and ling were destined for Continental markets. Herring, cod, and ling were thus pursued during the following years with growing vigour, though the inshore white fish took favour. The herring fishing did not make great strides, mainly because to the middle of the nineteenth century catches were confined to the inland sea lochs; the people for the most part were not familiar with deep-sea fishing, and their boats and nets were not suitable for it.

Indeed, when Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, he gave scant attention to the potential in the fishings round his island. Though he expended considerable amounts in securing a regular steamer communication between the mainland and the island, and spent over £2,000 in building a quay at Stornoway

vessel with a service speed of 14 knots. She can accommodate 600 persons (400 in winter) and over fifty cars, and has sleeping berths for fifty-one passengers. Powered by two supercharged diesel engines of Crossley make, she has a lateral-thrust propeller unit in the bows to aid berthing at piers, and is fitted with stabilisers. The MacBrayne colours have been used: black hull, red and black funnel, white superstructure and thin white waterline. The metal decking is painted a light green instead of the more usual brown or dark red. After completing her trials on the Clyde, *Hebrides* went into service on the Uig (Skye)/Tarbert (Harris)/Lochmaddy (Uist) route on 15 April 1964. She was really a replacement of the *Lochmor* (of 1930), which had sailed across the Minch for almost thirty-five years, but which had many more ports of call, based at Kyle of Lochalsh and Mallaig instead of plying to and from the north of Skye. The Hebridean ferry berths at Tarbert and Lochmaddy on alternate nights, and spends the weekends at Tarbert. At the end of her first year of operation she carried nearly 11,100 vehicles.

SEA-RESCUE WORK

Closely associated with the sea services to the islands is the work of lighting the seaways and the rescue work which is at times required when the Hebridean seas are showing their teeth. The matter has occupied official attention for a very long time. Beginning at the northern tip of the island, the lighthouse at the Butt of Lewis is one of Britain's major manned stations. An oil-burning light was established there in 1862. In 1905 it was converted to an incandescent light, with a range of twenty-five miles. Three years earlier a fog signal was provided, and in 1930 a wireless beacon was set up at the station. At Tiumpan Head, at the tip of the Eye Peninsula, the light was established in 1900; it was oil-burning, converted to an incandescent six years later. The fog signal was not provided until 1959.

Eilean Glas lighthouse is one of the major manned lights which guide ships up the Minch. On the easternmost tip of Scalpay Island, in Harris, it was one of the four original lighthouses built by the Commissioners of Northern Lights in 1789. A new tower

was built in 1824 with an oil-burning light, converted to incandescent in 1907. A fog signal was established in the same year.

The Arnish light is one of the first sights of Stornoway that welcome the island homecomer—and the last visible link when the island is left—so it has been duly celebrated in poem and song. Sited at the mouth of Stornoway Bay, it was established as an oil light in 1853, and in 1911 was converted to acetylene-gas operation. The keepers were withdrawn in 1963 and the light is now unwatched. Of the minor unmanned lights, Carloway is an acetylene-gas-burning light established in 1892; Greinam, on the shores of east Loch Roag, near Breasclete, was set up as an incandescent light in 1900. The light at Milaid Point, near Kebock Head on the east of Lewis, was established, with acetylene gas, in 1912; and the light at Rudh Uisenis, again on the east coast, a little south of Milaid Point, was an acetylene-gas burner set up in 1938.

But whatever the navigational aids, mishaps at sea still occur. The rescue services can help thwart the sting of death, not only for the islander but for the stranger craft feeling their way along unfamiliar, dark-night shorelines. The RNLI (Royal National Lifeboat Institution) station was first established in Stornoway in 1887, £1,000 being spent on building a lifeboat house and 140 ft launching slipway—launching was done by manual labour. The first lifeboat was the *Isabella*, costing £372 and the gift of a Mrs Duguid of London, a woman obviously true to her surname. The *Isabella* was launched only five times during her four years' service.

From 1901 to 1918, the *Sarah Pilkington* was launched five times and saved twelve lives from shipwreck. Then came the *Janet* (1918-24) which cost £810. She was launched only once, with no rescues. In the next four years the *James Marsh* saw no service; but the subsequent boat spent a busy quarter of a century (1929-54). She was the *William and Harriet*, built at a cost of £10,469; launched seventy-seven times, she rescued 130 lives, indicating the increase in sea traffic on the Minch and near waters. In 1954 her place was taken by the present lifeboat, the *James and Margaret Boyd*, then the largest type of lifeboat in the service until the building of 70 ft craft in 1965.

er is Harris behind in willing men. In December 1962 *Boston Heron* saw herself on off-lying rocks and broken in a full south-westerly gale. The rock island of Stila-calpay Island, gave the stranded crew little hope of ix Scalpay men saw the plight of the ship and went all open boat. Three of the trawlermen were saved, one as found clinging exhausted to a rock. The other seven fore more adequate aid could be brought. For their ese Scalpay men were awarded Vellum Certificates by The attitude of local men to the sea, and the sea's f men, was once summed up by an old Harrisman: were brought up in the school that taught them that cious and that the soul was priceless.'

nal organisation of sea rescue is found in the Coast-noway, the headquarters of the Stornoway District. the north-west coast of Scotland from Ardnamur-ll, to Cailleach Head, the Minches and the associated ncluding the Small Isles, Skye and the Outer Hebrides e 800 miles of coastline. The Stornoway station is base ct officer, a station officer and four coastguardsmen, by locally-enrolled residents who form the Auxiliary . Stornoway Coastguard is the launching station for vay and Barra lifeboats, advising when a launch is calling out the boat crew by firing two green maroons. coastguard liaison station for the GPO Coast Radio RS) at Oban, and it co-operates with Oban and Wick elephone station when lifeboats are launched on ser-is, in addition, liaison between Stornoway station AF, the Royal Navy and Lloyd's: Lloyd's come into when tugs, salvage and shipping information are

here have been many stranger ships and lives lost on the island's shores, local tragedies are not lacking. In 1862 disaster overtook five boats from Port of Ness, g white fish. A fierce gale sprang up and the fishing-d, with thirty-one lives. Twenty-four widows, seventy-s and thirty-one other dependents were left destitute, obtained some subsequent relief from a fund to which

Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, contributed handsomely. But that was only one item in a long chapter that will never close.

The most shattering disaster on Lewis shores was the loss of the *Iolaire* on the very last day of the year 1918. Before the New Year's Day of 1919 was a few hours old, over 200 sons and fathers were lying in the death-waters of their drowning, little more than a stone's-throw from their native island. Barely a village on the island was not affected by the sinking of the *Iolaire*, which was bringing soldiers and sailors back from the war to their homes. The subsequent findings of the Court of Inquiry are bald statements which convey nothing of the tragic loss of the cream of an island's male population in a matter of minutes. The jury found that the *Iolaire* went ashore and was wrecked on the rocks inside the 'Beasts of Holm' (outside Stornoway) about 1.55 on the morning of 1 January, resulting in the death of 205 men; that the officers in charge did not exercise sufficient prudence in approaching the harbour; that the boat did not slow down, and that the look-out was not on duty at the time of the accident; that the number of lifeboats, boats and rafts was insufficient for the number of people carried, and that no orders were given by the officers with a view to saving life; and, further, that there was a loss of valuable time between the signals of distress and the arrival of life-saving apparatus in the vicinity of the wreck. The sad affair is still remembered in the In Memoriam columns of the *Stornoway Gazette*.

AIR SERVICES

The people of the Outer Hebrides are among the most air-minded in the world. However, aeroplanes came late to the island. The first visit by an aircraft was in 1928, when Seaplane S1058 landed in Stornoway Harbour. The crew of five were treated to a luncheon by the town's civic heads. In 1932 the seaplane *Flying Cloud* arrived in the town, piloted by Lord Malcolm Douglas Hamilton. Owned by British Flying Boats Limited, it was the first commercial aircraft to land and caused some local talk about air services for the island. In June 1933 a large seven-seater air-

herring boats belonging to Lewis was about 165, reaching a peak of 197 in 1889; the number of boats used for cod and ling fishing reached a peak of 704 in 1895. The figures, however, fluctuate considerably from year to year. The main reason for this was probably that these boats were not personally owned, but largely belonged to fish-curers and businessmen, to whom the boat crews were in debt, having received capital advances from them and from the State for boats and gear. Crews who had bad luck at the fishing had their boats impounded and sold to recover the amount of the loan. Many boats were also wrecked, for navigation in bad weather is still difficult even in these days of advanced directional aids.

The state loans to fishermen are worthy of note here, because they foreshadowed a similar scheme in the 1960s. They were made under the Crofters Holding Act 1886. Section 32 of the Act authorised the Fishery Board for Scotland to make advances, by way of loan, to persons engaged in the prosecution of the fishing industry, whether crofters or others in crofting parishes. For new boats, the maximum sum advanced was £312. The loans carried an interest of 3½ per cent; repayments of principal and interest were over a period of from four to ten years. Loans for the improvement of existing boats were also advanced, varying according to the condition of the boat or other circumstances affecting the necessary security requirements. New boats were mortgaged to the Fishery Board.

Ninety-three Lewis fishermen received loans totalling some £12,000, and a sum of £18,000 was distributed in loans throughout all the crofting counties. In a report issued in 1901, it was indicated that these ninety-three Lewis fishermen had repaid about 82 per cent of their principal and interests, but in other counties the repayment percentage was under 60 per cent. The Lewis figure would have been higher were it not for the loans made to the Barvas fishers, on which the repayment figure was only 24 per cent. When borrowers failed to observe their part of the contract the Fishery Board seized the boats. Many of these loans were originally made to aid a deserving class of men in adverse circumstances and surroundings. To achieve the high overall percentage of repayment (some indeed managed to pay

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meaning that the men of that village, and its immediate neighbourhood, were the last to put to sea and the first to return. The Barvas folk could retort that they would have been fools to do anything else on a straight exposed coast; and that anyway their pony-drawn ploughs were of more use than the foot ploughs of the rocky south. A form of provender taken indirectly from the sea was the sea-birds and eggs from the sea-cliffs and islets like Rona, north-west of the Butt. This helped to support a few families in St. Kilda and on the rocky Shiant Islands south-east of Harris.

Fishing remained backward and primitive, however, until the nineteenth century. After developing in a promising way, it was checked before the First World War, and fell into decay during and after it. Decay has, of course, been widespread. In 1935 the chief ports of the East Coast, from Leith with Granton northward by Fraserburgh to Wick—a round dozen—had still an average of 250 to 300 vessels, 3000 in all. These were chiefly of steam or motor auxiliary power and valued (with fishing gear) at £2,750,000. Orkney and Zetland, too, had each their 300 boats. The whole West Coast, however, from Stornoway to Ballantrae, had only 2000 boats, valued at less than one-tenth of the fleet of the East, and worth only a fraction of this, to judge from prices in the open market. Nearly 400 boats were still on the register for Lewis and Harris (Stornoway district) and another 300 for the rest of the Outer Isles. But fewer put to sea each year, even from Stornoway itself.

A major drawback to herring fishing in the Stornoway district is the uncertainty in the movements of the herring shoals. On the Clyde, moreover, herring can be sent fresh to the city but further north they must be cured. Whereas

rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide for the lord's desires.

(E) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

The peaceful round of daily life formed the most enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tensest ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must speak for them. Many a song of the Isles conveys the team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men. And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portraying the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who warred against the waves and won. Alexander Macdonald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic, and probably in English, verse for its portraits of the crew in action, from steersman to 'look-out'. The flowing metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with "the Blessing of the Ship", the arms and the crew. Then the bard, speaking for the stately skipper, "incites the sixteen oarsmen to row" out of the bay, and they row to a rousing shanty, a *Iorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and

[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (2nd ed.), 1890 (pp. 1-28); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 65-85), 1940. Cf. A. Macleod (Ed.), *Sar Orain: Three Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1933. The different themes of its sections, each in its own metre, have been published separately, in *The Songs of the Hebrides*, and elsewhere.

with words of heartening but well-weighed praise, each post with its duties is apportioned to the man best fitted for it by his temper, strength and skill—or even by some special weakness! First the steersman:

"Let this broad heavy hero sit at the helm, powerful and limber . . .
Light handed on a helm, watchful and wary, cautious yet quick . . ."

Then others "Put this great-fisted and shrewd man to grapple with the rigging. . . . Windwise, he'll work with him that holds the shrouds . . . a thick-set, broad and craggy champion . . . and with him that grips the sheet, a neat and handy fellow. Set at the prow our pilot, keen-eyed for the airts, and with a sure sight for each landmark like a guiding star. And set at the halyard this self-reliant seaman, tried and clear-headed, grimly alert. . . ." They put to sea, and as the sea roughens, the steersman cries, "Quick at my ear a man to watch for the rain-squalls! Choose me a fellow who's half-fearful, yet not a real coward . . . for he must be quick to shout when he sights a big sea bearing down on us. But let no other but himself be by me, lest there be babble and hubbub to bewilder us." Then, as the seas break over the open vessel:

"To bale her let this strong man rise, active and brave,
Who will not blanch or yield or tremble for the shouting wave. . . ."

Next, "Let two stout fellows, these thick-boned, rough and hairy chaps, haul on the ropes behind the sails, to raise or lower them as we're lowered or uplifted by the surging seas. . . ." And last, for fear one fail or be dashed overboard by a wave, six nimble men are picked to stand by,

ready to leap fore or aft: "Quick to move as the mountain hare . . . or the hounds after him; quick to climb as a squirrel in the spring-time". Then comes the stirring evocation of the storm, testing each man's mettle and the discipline of all, until at last, their ship battered and themselves bruised and weary but undaunted, the crew reach Islay and round the sheltering point of Carrickfergus. There, with thanks to the High King, they drop anchor, the *birlinn* rides in peace, and all find meat and drink and rest.

As at sea, so in war, loyalty could rise to heroism in individuals and corps. Young men were attached to their chiefs by chivalrous leadership in warfare, both before 1745 and later. The Highlanders' high character contrasted with that of most Regiments of the Line, too often disciplined with the lash while demoralised by debauchery. From Lewis the Islesmen went out to the Seaforth or the Ross-shire Highlanders. General David Stewart of Garth, historian of the Highland regiments and people, wrote of these two regiments that again and again their courage and coolness in battle were proved.[1]

Not less striking was the record of Gaels among civil populations, whether in Britain, as in the 'Forty-five, or abroad. In Germany in 1761 and 1762 much was said of the Highlanders' kindness, "for the boors were much better treated by those savages than by the polished English and French". Similarly in the Low Countries in 1814 and 1815, they were *enfants de la famille* and "kind as well as brave". The mayor of Brussels declared that they "called forth the attachment and esteem of all", and the inhabitants requested him "to endeavour to detain the 78th (2nd battalion Ross-shire) regiment of Scotchmen in the town, and to prevent their being replaced by other troops".

[1] *Sketches of the Highlanders*, Edin., 1822, 2

exists at Tarbert and another was erected in 'the Bays' district by Leverhulme. Leverhulme also appears to have introduced 'Automatic' hand-looms into Lewis. Today as in the past, the weavers possess a little croft or a feu, a cow, and a few sheep on the outrun, and perhaps a small boat.

Commercial fishing and weaving cannot, however, be satisfactorily combined, for seasonal alternation of occupation entails waste of gear and plant, and interferes with efficiency. Thus in the North Lochs fishing 'creek' (Leurbost neighbourhood, immediately south of Stornoway), weaving became important, but none of the seven large herring fishing boats (still registered in 1930) had been fitted with motors after 1918; they were idle and rotting, and by 1938 only one was still registered. In South Lochs, however, motor-boats were purchased, but there is little weaving. An obvious reason for the difference is the accessibility of the North Lochs area by road to Stornoway. Light passenger cars bring yarn to the village, besides groceries, etc., and take away rolls of tweed. South Lochs, on the other hand, considerably further from Stornoway by road, is still within reach for marketing fish. In North Lochs, merchant seamen at home and young men on their return from three months' work on East Coast fishing boats, turned increasingly to the 'Automatic' looms, manipulation being easily learnt; but such intermittent work alone gives little hope of progress. There is no more fascinating problem than the future of improved weaving.

2. *Unemployment and the Island Budget*

In the past, the storms of the Atlantic washed up on the Island shores the wreckage of world commerce; and

(c) House-building. — From 1920 to 1940 the Department of Agriculture advanced loans for the erection of 760 new houses and the repair of 220 other houses. This, with the erection or repair of 40 steadings, may be taken as the equivalent of 1000 houses in the 20 years of peace, of which three-fourths were new. Rural building was at its height in the early 'thirties, but 1938 was a typical year. Taking the value of each house as £600 and subtracting half for imported materials, we may assume that for 50 houses built that year the labour given produced an output of £15,000. In addition, some house-building and repair was done without State aid, for which a guess of £15,000 may be made. Such sums may not appear large, but they correspond to the enduring fulfilment of a prime need, a 'real wage', of importance when compared to rents and costs elsewhere. Of the expenditure on house-building in Stornoway burgh during 1938, the value may be assessed as £10,000, of which £9000 was for Local Authority housing. Most of the total was produced by local labour.

(iii) *Fishing Industry—Net Output and Earnings*

(a) For 1938 the total catches, prices and quantities of fresh cured fish landed in Stornoway District show a value of nearly £100,000 (£98,000) for the herring catch, and of £162,400 for the cured herring. Our problem is to estimate what fraction of these sums may be included in the net output of the Island industry proper. The Fishery Board's *Statistical Tables* and *Annual Report* extract the produce brought in by local boats from the total, separating it from that due to 'strangers', and so permitting a fairly reliable estimate, checked by local enquiry.

Of the herring taken, nearly 80 per cent were caught in the summer fishing, June to August (*Annual Report*, p. 13). The week of maximum local activity in herring fishing for Stornoway District may be taken to be characteristic of this pre-war period (Table 8). There were then 111 steam-boats engaged; and as only five were locally registered (at Stornoway itself), the remaining 106 were strangers. There were also 66 motor-boats engaged and though 81 motor herring-boats are locally

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

/p. 107/ General view of the town of Stornoway. Broad Bay is in the far background; the street on the right is South Beach

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(*above*) Bales of imported S

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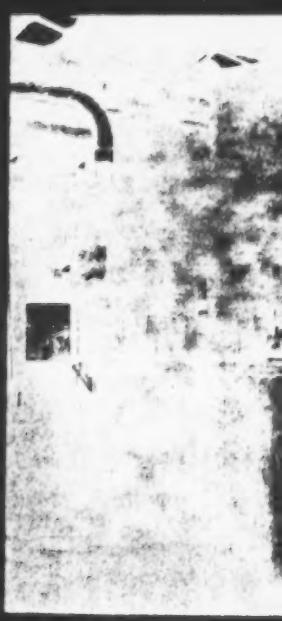

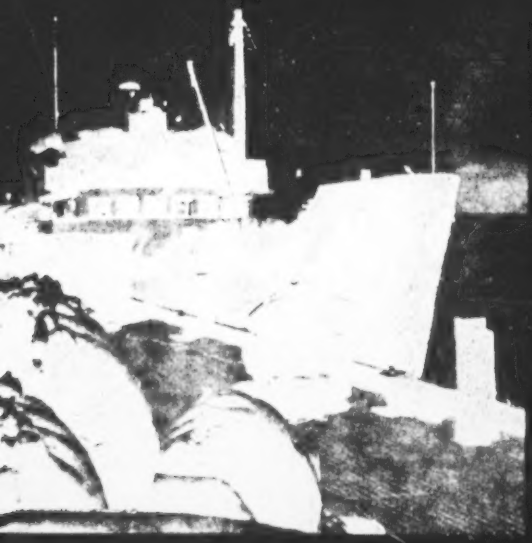

cottish wool on the quay at Stornoway for the Harris Tweed industry

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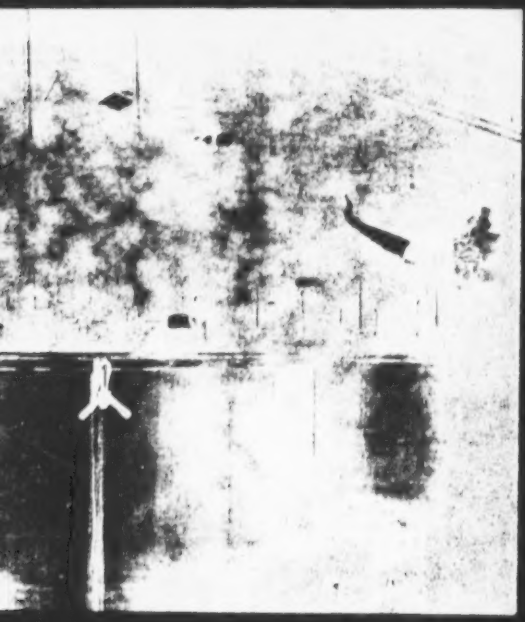
ow) Dyeing wool in a Stornoway mill



north-west of Gallan Head. There are seven main islands, all small, high and cliffbound, and a number of rock stacks and islets. All are uninhabited. Eilean Mhor, the largest, of 39 acres, has an automatic light. Dean Monro's description of the islands as 'nouder manurit, nor inhabit, but full of grein high hills and scheipe' still holds, for sheep are taken annually from Lewis to the grazing on the Flannans. Their name is said to be derived from the ninth-century St Flann, whose saintly influence was recognised during the centuries when men from Lewis visited the islands for their harvest of wool, wild fowl and feathers.

The Flannans were the scene of a great sea-mystery: the complete and utter disappearance of three men from the lighthouse at the turn of this century. In December 1900, the lighthouse, with its 140,000-candlepower beam 283 ft above sea level, was a year old. It had taken four years to build instead of the estimated two. All the materials had to be swung up piecemeal from the boats and hauled up the almost sheer 70 ft cliffs to the top. That month a passing ship, the *Archer*, noticed that the Flannans light was out; a message was sent to the Flannans shore station at Breasclete, Lewis, and the *Hesperus*, preparing to pay a Christmas visit to the lighthouse, got under weigh.

Its crew landed and searched the island, but found no trace of the missing keepers. In the lighthouse was an uncanny silence. The fire was dead. The clock had stopped ticking. The beds had been made up in the clean, clinical way of all sailors. And in the galley, the pots, pans and dishes sparkled their welcome to the searchers. In the lamp-room the lamp was cold. The wicks had been trimmed and the lenses polished. The logbook showed a last entry on 0900 hours, Saturday 15 December. In the subsequent investigation some theories were offered in explanation of the disappearance, but none quite fitted. The mystery remains, a haunting, unexorcised cloud hovering over the island.

The Shiant Isles

Turning to the east coast of Lewis, in the parish of Lochs are the Shiant Isles, about 4 miles off-shore, across the Sound of Shiant (Gaelic: charmed, enchanted). There are three islands in the group: Eilean an Tigh (House Island), Garbh Eilean (Rough

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503 WATERWAYS IMPROVEMENTS--description and building of canals; dredging of rivers and harbors; construction of piers and breakwaters; etc. See also:
Water supply . . . . . 312 Pile drivers 402
Logging . . . . . 315 Dredges 406
Development of water power . . . . . 376 Public finance 682

of Lord Seaforth's conduct in this matter. They alleged that he 'draiv in hither an number of strangers who daylie resorts to and fra Holland to the Lewes and continent next adjacent (the Ross mainland presumably) and has caused them be answered of all such commodities as these bounds affords, as nameli with fishes and beeves quhilkis with the hyde and tallow, with manie utheris commodities they transport to Holland.'

To satisfy the Royal Burghs, Seaforth had some of his Dutch friends sent away. But several Dutch families remained in Stornoway until the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland in 1653.

In Harris, similar efforts were promoted by Captain Alexander MacLeod, who in 1779 bought Harris, together with St Kilda, for £15,000 from the commissioners acting on behalf of General Norman MacLeod. The latter had, in 1772, inherited from his grandfather both the chiefship of Harris and a debt on the property amounting to some £50,000. Captain MacLeod, who skippered the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, did much to stimulate better conditions in Harris, and advocated the generation of a fishing industry. In the face of opposition and ridicule he showed by practical example what could be done to make a success of the herring fishings, introducing a number of east-coast fishermen with Orkney trawls to teach the inhabitants, and reaping a good harvest from the fishings off Rodel, despite the dismal auguries uttered by the Harris-folk. He improved the local harbour accommodation and erected a storehouse for salt, casks and the like, he built a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread, and twine for herring-nets; he advanced money to those fishermen who were interested for the purchase of boats and gear; and he provided them with rent-free cottages with a ground-patch on which they could grow potatoes. He built roads between the village of Tarbert and the two jetties he made there, and he erected a schoolhouse and an inn. But all this hard work to put Harris on some realistic economic basis came to little. The native population were slow to appreciate the potential income lying about them.

The potential of the sea was of course eventually realised, particularly where the fishing grounds were favourable, Stornoway

according to the amount of barilla (its great competitor, a carbonate of soda made from plant ashes) which found its way into the British market. When the American war interfered with the imports the kelp price was as high as £22 per ton. Prices began to decline about 1810, and from 1822 successive reductions in duties on salt and barilla resulted in the decline and demise of the kelp industry. As a consequence great distress appeared in those districts which had founded their whole economy on seaweed.

The weeds of most value to the industry, because they yielded most salts, included *laminaria digitata*, *laminaria bulbosa*, *ascophyllum nodosum* and *fucus serratus*. One ton of kelp yielded an average of 8 lb of iodine, with certain quantities of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, and carbonate of soda. When subjected to special treatment and distillation, 2-3 cwts of sulphate of ammonia, and several gallons of naphtha, paraffin oil, and volatile oil were also derived.

The fishing industry, discussed in the previous chapter, took over where the kelp-making industry left off and became another king-pin in the island economy. By the end of the last century it seemed set fair for continuing prosperity. In 1900, harbours were being planned and built with State aid in Uig, at Carloway, Ness and Tarbert. Then 1914 came, and with it sweeping changes in international trade. Island fishermen were left workless with wrecked and rotting fishing boats. In twenty years the number of Scotland's fishermen was halved; the remainder were all but ruined. The islanders' fate mirrored this pattern.

Yet another significant source of income for island families for almost 200 years came from the men in military service, who either sent money home or returned home with their gratuities and pay. In the wars of the last century many enlisted in the Highland regiments, the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Even today, the income from this external activity is not insignificant.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

Information and statistics about the economy of the island in the middle of the eighteenth century are to be found in Walker's *Economical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland*; his MS is in the British Museum.

LORD LEVERHULME'S FISHERIES

When he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris, he offered—such was the character of the man—as thanks for the '98 per cent support' he got from the people of Lewis, to each Lewis crofter his own croft as a free gift, and the Lews Castle, together with all his property in Stornoway, to the people of the town.

In 1919, Leverhulme became proprietor of Harris, and concentrated his efforts in Obbe, now called Leverburgh, in South Harris. The harbour at Obbe lacked the natural advantage which Stornoway had, so he spent large sums on making it navigable. Rocky obstacles were blasted away; numerous buoys and beacons were set up to guide vessels into harbour; new quays were built; and kippering sheds, and other buildings necessary for packing and curing herring were erected. Among his other undertakings in Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he bore half the cost of the 5½ miles of road between Leverburgh and Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Brussels. His Harris schemes came to an abrupt end. And the remains of industrial history are still to be seen in the quietness of the little township named after one of the most stormy of business petrels that Britain has ever seen.

Tourism

Tourism has always been a perfunctory and casual affair, until the introduction of the fast ferries which now link the mainland (via Skye) with the Outer Isles. Some 10,000 cars cross each year from Skye to the Hebrides. In 1913, the Stornoway Tourist Association had a struggle to increase the number of visitors to the town, to establish it as a tourist resort. It is much the same today with the Western Isles Tourist Association, which is having difficulty in integrating tourist facilities with crofting activities. In Lewis, the Stornoway Trust has assisted in establishing pony-trekking, a venture which has the potential to mirror the success of a similar one in the Isle of Skye.

PRESENT INDUSTRY

Almost an echo of the kelp-burning industry is the alginate industry. It provides employment for only small numbers, but is a

The previous building was only an idea in 1897; it took shape when Dr Andrew Carnegie offered to contribute £1,000 towards the construction of a library, provided the town adopted the Public Libraries Act. This was done, and the Council decided to incorporate the library into a larger structure, erected at a cost of £11,000 and opened in September 1905 by Lord Roseberry. Carnegie increased his contribution to £3,500, with other large donations from public-spirited industrialists of the time (eg Coats of Paisley, who also financed school libraries in the island).

Being a seaport, the sea has been basic to the town's livelihood. In the eighteenth century trade flourished between Stornoway and the Baltic, Scandinavia, Holland, France and the north of Ireland; and in the first half of the nineteenth century, fish was exported as far away as ports on the Mediterranean. The advent of steam killed the Stornoway sailing craft. At one time in its history, the shipyard (at Matheson's Patent Slip, now the site of the textile mill) turned out many fine vessels. The scent of tar and pitch, the crunch of a busy grindstone, the shaping of a ship's timbers, the steaming of her planks, the driving of pins and bolts, the music of mallet and caulking-iron, the buzz from the saw-pits and the riggers aloft, all gave the town a sense of at-one-ness with the waters in the bay. Then there were the schooners, brigs and barques of foreigners who put in for repairs or for merchandise. It was a time of glory that has now gone as surely as the sail has disappeared from the high seas. Ship-masters, ship-owners and sailors all added colour and variety in the streets as they mingled with the local population—which numbered 1,000 in 1801. Stornoway captains were world-known for their skippering: MacLeods, MacIvers, MacKenzies, Ryries, MacLeans, Morisons, Allans. These were the names that were once reeled off to be paired with the famous ships of the day: *Sir Launcelot, D. L. MacKenzie*, and *Assaye*.

While large numbers of its sons were sailing the high seas, many in ships of Stornoway origin, the town began to take on the first look of a port, with piers. On 9 August 1864, Sir James Matheson subscribed the instrument which took the Stornoway Harbour Commission into being. The following year, on 29 June 1865, the Commission was incorporated by Act of Parliament. Matheson had shown a great interest in the development of the existing

harbour facilities. But his efforts to promote the town as an industrial centre were opposed, a dispute arising between him and parties who claimed interest in the quays which already existed; his action to set up the Harbour Commission and to acquire the Crown's interest in the shores of Stornoway Bay *ex adverso* found local opposition. He succeeded in quelling the doubts and the resulting counter-actions, however, and then, with the decks cleared, the Commission lost no time in getting developments under weigh. Authorisation to borrow up to £10,000 was obtained and work put in hand on building a timber wharf, 150 ft long, filling in certain areas for fish-curing and other purposes, and constructing sheds, works buildings and warehouses. By 1881 this work had been completed and, with the expansion of the herring industry, the Commission sought to increase its borrowing by £20,000; in 1892, further powers for borrowing the sum of £55,000 were sought and obtained. By the turn of the century all the works authorised by the 1892 Order were completed: they met the berthing needs of the fishing industry and also the reclaimed areas on South Beach, North Beach and the Cromwell Street quays were used continuously during the season as fish-curing stations, proving essential factors in the development of that industry.

Before the 1914-18 war ended, Lord Leverhulme had become proprietor of the island and, as such, a member of the Harbour Commission. He proposed further development of the existing facilities, to line up with his scheme for establishing Stornoway as a centre for industrial activity based on fishing. Plans were prepared, and a permanent way for a railway (linking the canning factory at Inaclete with the harbour) was formed. But the scheme did not materialise before he abandoned Lewis for Harris. Before he left, however, he conveyed free to the Harbour Commission considerable property round the inner shores of Stornoway Bay. At this stage the Commission promoted a New Harbour Order, passed by Parliament as the Stornoway Harbour Confirmation Act, 1926, in which provision was made for the increase of the Commission's borrowing powers (up to £70,000) and the setting up of a contingency fund of £10,000. Further improvements were put in hand. Another Order (1947) was obtained and

the present harbour facilities are the result of this, with a causeway to Goat Island—a small snippet of land off the Newton shore—the King Edward Wharf extension to give a depth of 24 ft at low water, and the construction on Goat Island of a slipway and slipway jetty.

The present facilities are valued at several million pounds; they evoke, however, a blank stare of disbelief. Much of the industry for which the quays were first envisaged has now gone. The days of 300-400 fishing boats and the landing of several thousands of crans each week, with the attendant bustle and activity, belong to the past. The harbour remains reasonably active, with a considerable extent and variety of shipping: general traffic due to the Harris Tweed industry has continued to increase in recent years. The introduction of the ferry service direct from Skye to Tarbert, Harris, has however had perceptible effects.

When Leverhulme parted company with the people of Lewis, his gesture of farewell offered the island to its people. This brought into being an agency for the people of Stornoway and its rural areas, so that they were in effect in control of their own future to a degree unique in Britain. The Stornoway Trust was formed in 1924. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole of the landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor northwards to the township of Tolsta. Freshwater fishings are in its hands, as are the resources of the sea and inshore fishings on the shorelands. During its first five years the Trust was faced with a growing deficit, though this was redressed partly through agricultural derating and partly through the registration of the Trust as a charity, thus exempting it from income-tax demands.

The Town Council, the Harbour Commission, and the Trust have overlapping representation, for harmonious work on behalf of the community. Indeed, by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn up by Leverhulme (in 1923-4), the Stornoway Trust must include the Provost of the burgh as its chairman, together with magistrates and councillors. Throughout the years of its existence, the Trust has sought to increase its usefulness, but at the beginning decisions were often taken piecemeal. Portions of the property were

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504 PORT FACILITIES--boathouses; piers and docks; facilities for mooring, loading, and unloading; storage facilities; supply services (e.g., ship chandlers, fueling stations); facilities for repair and overhaul; use of natural harbors; etc.

See also:

Construction	33	Warehousing	488
Ship repairs	396	Trucking	494
Cranes	406	Rail terminals	498
Weight moving	483		

but not as often as in the past. In the past boats were in danger of being smashed by the strong seas and winds that gained easy access to the Shawbost harbor; but today, because so many cars are available, the boats can be sheltered in the more protected bays of Carloway, five miles up the coast to the southwest of Shawbost. Despite this protection and the increase in income since World War II which would enable more people to buy boats, the number of boats remains small.

In the past certain people were esteemed for "knowing the wind and the sea." The sound of the turf coming from different directions presaged different kinds of weather; a line of white across the bay meant bad weather in a few days. A fifty-year-old man says, "My father and grandfather could tell when a storm was coming. They needed to know, and they didn't have radio and television to tell them. I would know the signs, too, if I had listened to them."

Not only was there local fishing, but the men used to hire themselves as crew on other fishing boats. Several nicknames reflect this history. One family is known by the nickname "Strachan," the surname of a man who lived on the east coast of Scotland and on whose boat the head of the Shawbost family had once worked as

and its neighbourhood becoming the centre of the growing industry. In 1793, the Lewis Parish contributors to the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* indicated that upwards of 183 boats were fishing off the island. In Uig no less than 275 netmakers were recorded, showing that the fishing industry was prosecuted with some measure of enthusiasm. 'All the people dwell in little farm-villages and they fish in the summer season. The women do not fish; but almost at all times when there is occasion to go to sea, they never decline that service, and row powerfully.' In the parish of Barvas in the eighteenth century some 9,000 Scotch pints of oil were taken each year from dog-fish livers and sold to Stornoway merchants at from 6d to 8d per pint; it is related that the tenants of Ness were able for a long time to pay their rents with the oil proceeds. Cod and ling were the principal fish caught by the men of Lochs, an annual average of 24 tons being cured and sold in Stornoway. Generally, other fish caught were consumed locally.

Loch Roag on the west of Lewis proved to be about the best fishing ground; in 1794 about '90 sail' from all parts of the United Kingdom were at the herring fishing there. At one time Loch Roag-cured herring was exported exclusively to Sweden. The minister of Stornoway, contributing to the *Old Statistical Account*, gives figures showing the quantities of fish shipped from the port from 1791 to 1796. During these six years some 14,000 barrels of herring were exported to the Continent, and 20,000 sent for consumption in Britain; some 350 tons of cod and ling were destined for Continental markets. Herring, cod, and ling were thus pursued during the following years with growing vigour, though the inshore white fish took favour. The herring fishing did not make great strides, mainly because to the middle of the nineteenth century catches were confined to the inland sea lochs; the people for the most part were not familiar with deep-sea fishing, and their boats and nets were not suitable for it.

Indeed, when Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, he gave scant attention to the potential in the fishings round his island. Though he expended considerable amounts in securing a regular steamer communication between the mainland and the island, and spent over £2,000 in building a quay at Stornoway

for the steamers, he thought that any improvements in connection with the fishing industry should be paid for largely by the fish-curers themselves—though he did spend about £1,000 on constructing fish-curing houses. Why Sir James, with his experience of business, should have taken this attitude is not clear; certainly the fishing industry could have been given just the right impetus with his interest, personal and financial. As it was, the industry was left to develop on its own lines, with odd injections from time to time.

Fluctuating prosperity

That the potential in the fishing grounds of the Minch was enormous was realised before 1850 by fish-curers from the Scottish mainland. But deep-sea-going boats were needed, and so new designs were called for. James Methven of Leith, a pioneer of deep-sea herring fishing, sank capital into the development of a large class of boats known as the 'Anstruther build', or in the islands as 'Eanstrach'. These craft served the islanders well, and Lewis prospered, as did Stornoway. In the five years 1870 to 1875, for example, the average number of barrels of herring cured at Stornoway for export was some 80,000. From 1875 to 1900 the average Stornoway district catch of white fish, much of it caught by local boats and some of it cured at Carloway, was worth over £100,000; it was sent to Ireland and the Clyde. After 1900, fresh-trawled fish replaced the cured and the market fell away. In 1921, the market value of cured fish from Stornoway was about £500, ½ per cent of the 1900 value.

The herring fishing held its own, against the decline of the white fish. Stornoway, as Lochboisdale in the Southern Isles, became for a while one of the world's most important fishing ports. Prosperity was in the air; even when the fishings did eventually fall away, there still remained, decades later, the whiff of past success among the neglected curing sheds, the hangdown boats in the quays, and the silent kippering houses. From 1917 to 1935, the annual landings of herrings (in crans) varied from 25,486 (in 1934) to 221,519 (in 1927). In that year, a record one, it was reported that 'even landsmen could hear the roar of herrings in Loch Erisort. So dense were the shoals that their progress in the

he community generally—in particular for a landing stage in the North Harbour. The lighthouse at Eilean Glas, Scalpay, was in act erected as long ago as 1788; for a long time it was the only ighthouse in the Western Isles. In 1792 it was described as 'one of great utility to the numerous shipping that frequent this channel [between Skye and the Long Island] on their voyages to and from the Baltic'.

The independence of the islanders again appears in their attiude to the education facilities provided for their children. In 949 Scalpay parents staged a school strike in protest against the delay in the construction of a road to the school. At present the sland has a junior secondary school but in 1966 the Invernesshire County Council Education Committee proposed the transfer of the island pupils to the school at Tarbert; this would mean ach child rising early in the morning to face a trip across Scalpay Sound and then a road journey to Tarbert. The inevitable protests against this proposal were rooted in its deeper implicaions. The school roll on Scalpay (70 pupils) has maintained a emarkable level of continuity over the years, reflecting the eneral prosperity of the island. Forced attendance at a central ducational facility, the islanders maintain, will introduce an nsettling urban element into their children's adult views.

he smaller islands

To the west of Scalpay, in East Loch Tarbert, is the onequare-mile island of Scotosay. Its population was 14 in 1861, one in 1881, 18 in 1891, 15 in 1901, and 20 in 1911. In 1921 males and 12 females lived there, but none permanently since.

On the west of the Harris mainland is a high rocky island, four iles by one, called Taransay. In 1549 Dean Monro described it s being 'well inhabit and manurit', a place where people delved ith spades, and with good barley and corn, and fishing. There re two old chapels and a burying ground on the island. The opulation of Taransay has declined to a handful through the ears; its peak was 76 in 1911.

The Sound of Harris is 'a chaos of rocks and islands', so numerus that they cannot easily be counted. Some are mere pinpoints rock; others once supported small populations. Nearest to the

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. It has always been held in high regard by the
past it was regarded as one of the most important
vilised world: a saying attributed to a primitive
d into a proverb: *'steornabhagh mhor a' chaistea*
a 'th'air an t-saoghal gu leir ach Bail'-ath-Cliath
ongantach nach eil an Righ fhein a' tighinn a
" ('Stornoway the great, with its Castle, the largest
e world, except Dublin in Ireland; surprising it is
imself does not reside therein!') The affectionate
wn is 'Portrona', Port of Seals, which it is. A son
ce said, 'The founder of Portrona must have been
with a good eye for a refuge from the storm and
alling. No matter what winds rage outside, within
iner may drop his anchor, furl his sails, and take

kings first came to the western isles of what was
to become Scotland, they found a sandy spit of
hey could beach their longships in a sheltered bay.
, more than a haven; it was a place in which to
l rear the first of many generations. Later the
MacLeods took advantage of an outcrop of rock
to build a fortress. Later again a greenheart pier,
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omic and social significance.

es its origin to the Stornoway Beds, a sedimentary
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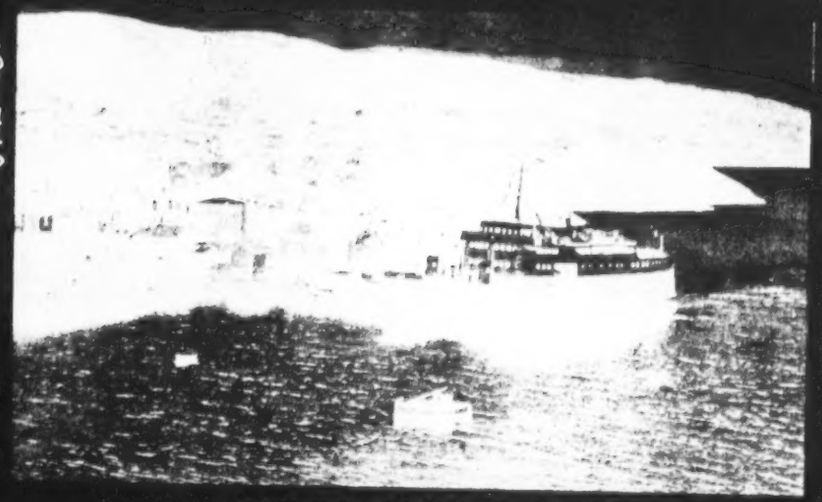

(*above*) The car ferry *Hebrides*, at Tarbert Pier, Harris

/p. 18/

(*below*) The interior of St Clement's Church, Rodel, Harris, showing the carved tomb of Alasdair Crotach, a MacLeod of Dunvegan (d c 1547)

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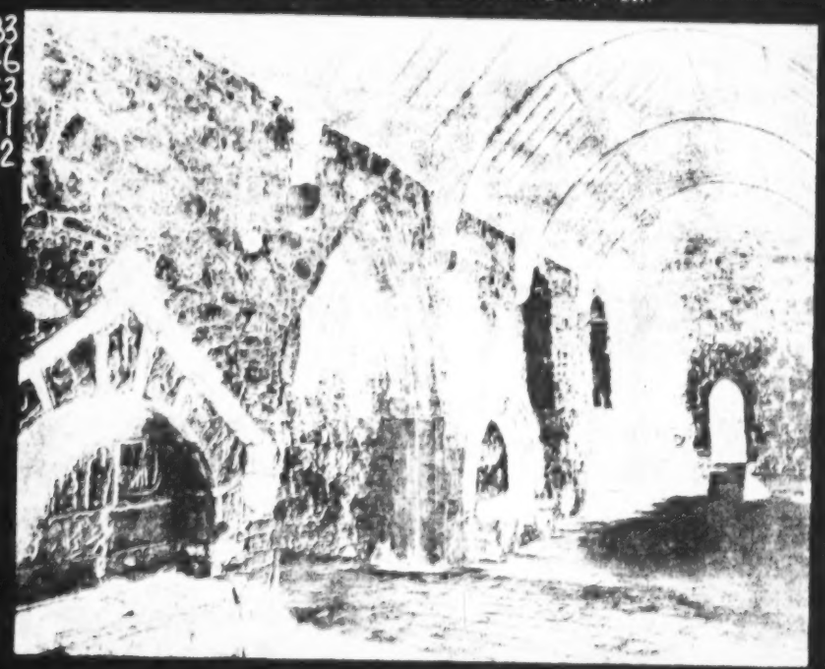

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trappings of nineteenth-century civilisation, however, they grew to depend on items brought by sea. Imported food, clothing, wood, metal domestic utensils and the like were slowly assimilated as indispensable everyday articles. But there was relatively little export in return; then as now, any transport operator struggled with the fact that traffic was one-way and the freight charges must pay for the double voyage. Though the fishing industry and later the Harris Tweed industry were, around the turn of the century, to do much to determine and stabilise shipping developments, both passenger and cargo services were always facing loss rather than profit.

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On the social side of the picture, the regular call of ships to the island, to Stornoway in particular, was a welcome, quickening sign that the island was significant in some way to the outside world. The ships brought visitors who made the island, and the Hebrides in general, better known to other prospective travellers. The exposure of the island and its folk to the gaze of the mainland led to a wider knowledge and understanding which without doubt brought improvements in social welfare and a basis for economic development. When many islanders found it necessary to go to Glasgow and the south for work, the ships of the Minch served as a firm link with home, to which they returned whenever they could. This feeling for home is still manifest today in the Lewismen in Canada who charter an aircraft to Prestwick each year so that they can holiday on the island. Since 1900 or so, passenger traffic has been two-way : emigrants, migrants, visitors and business travellers. When the fishing industry was in its heyday, the ships carried hundreds of fisherfolk across the Minch to ports as far south as Great Yarmouth to 'follow the herring' round the shores of Britain and back to the Minch again. Traffic today is still considerable, with the air-link with the island being used to its capacity.

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In a community where Sabbath observance is an integral strand of religious belief, ministers have on occasions tried to preserve the Mosaic sanctity of the Sabbath Day by restricting the movement of ships in Stornoway harbour. In deference to local feeling the Stornoway steamer has always docked for twenty-four hours over Sunday, to leave port for Kyle just after midnight.

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COMMUNICATIONS

This is only relaxed if emergency sailings are necessary. During the second world war attempts were made by Free Church ministers to stop the movement of ships in Stornoway harbour, but needless to say the war effort took precedence.

THE SHIPS

When Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, sea communications were still erratic: a mailboat or packet was running thrice weekly between Stornoway and Poolewe on Scotland's west coast. Sir James decided that a craft based on Stornoway would serve more efficiently both for general trade and for island-to-mainland transport, and he provided a regular steamer service. As this craft, the *Mary Jane*, was to carry mails, Sir James thought the Post Office should promote the service, and he struggled with that department for some years, eventually being promised a subsidy of £1,300. Though the scheme was to cost far more and had won no other financial support, the service began in 1846, Sir James being surety for the whole concern. He lost some £17,000. Another of his ships was the PS *Ondine*, which carried mails between Ullapool and Stornoway during the 1870s and '80s.

Quite apart from the Matheson ventures, things had been stirring in the south; the sea communications of the West Highlands and Islands were about to be commercially developed. One of the first ships on a regular run between Stornoway and the south was the *Ben Nevis*, a small wooden paddle vessel later to be wrecked south of Campbeltown in 1831 while homeward bound from Stornoway. G. & J. Burns was one of the main companies operating the early West Highland trade, managing to survive the vagaries of fortune until 1851, when its interests were passed to David Hutcheson, its chief clerk, on the condition that the Burns's nephew, David MacBrayne, became one of the partners. This was the beginning of the company so well known today, Messrs David MacBrayne Ltd. The new company started off with a building programme and gave birth to a long line of ships, many of whose names were to become bywords in the Western Isles.

The PS *Clansman* was the first. Her route was the strenuous one of Glasgow, Oban, Skye and Stornoway. Alexander Smith's

THE SHIPS

Summer in Skye gives a fascinating account, written from first-hand experience, of working conditions aboard. *Clansman*'s speed on her first voyage back from Stornoway was 13 knots; she was wrecked on Sanda Island after only fourteen years' service. The company's PS *Glencoe* was originally the *Mary Jane* built by Sir James Matheson for his Stornoway run, launched in 1846. In that year she plied from Stornoway to Portree, Tobermoray, Oban and Glasgow, with calls at Kyleakin, Balmacara and Armadale. She passed to MacBrayne's in 1857, was lengthened and with other alterations emerged for a long life of sea service, braving the terrors of the Minch waters as the saloon steamer *Glencoe*. Refitted with new engines during her lifetime, her first horizontal boilers were replaced in 1883 by others which, in 1901, were succeeded by a haystack boiler from the *Fusilier*. *Glencoe*'s original length was 150 ft, later extended to 165 ft; she was 20 ft broad and after her lengthening had a gross tonnage of 226. Her original machinery was a steeple, one-cylinder 56-in engine of 177 nhp. The end of the much-loved *Glencoe* came in the summer of 1931, when, despite the display of much sentiment, she was broken up at Ardrossan—after eighty-five years of service. When she died she was one of the two oldest working ships in the world.

The PS *Stork* was first built for Messrs Burns's Liverpool service and was later on the Belfast run. Acquired by Hutcheson's in 1858 she was placed on the Glasgow/Stornoway run with the *Clansman*, but in 1860 was sold to the Italian Government. Another brief encounter was the SS *Fingal*, which knew Stornoway for a few short months before being sold for the American Blockade, after capture becoming a Federal gunboat. Then came the SS *Clydesdale*, built in 1862 for the company by J. & G. Thomson and used on the Glasgow/Stornoway twice-weekly cargo and passenger service. She was 197 ft long, 24 ft broad and drew 13½ ft of water; her gross tonnage was latterly 468. Her original engine (120 nhp) was a two-cylinder steeple (40 in—30 in); this was compounded in 1893, when she had a new double-ended boiler installed.

After the first *Clansman* came to grief on Sanda Island, a second ship of the same name was built for the Glasgow/Stornoway run. She was a most attractive two-masted iron ship, with a

STORNOWAY

175 the present harbour facilities are the result of this, with a cause-
505 way to Goat Island—a small snippet of land off the Newton
632 shore—the King Edward Wharf extension to give a depth of
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423 brought into being an agency for the people of Stornoway and its
632 rural areas, so that they were in effect in control of their own
(425) future to a degree unique in Britain. The Stornoway Trust was formed in 1924. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole of the landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor northwards to the township of Tolsta. Freshwater fishings are in its hands, as are the resources of the sea and inshore fishings on the shorelands. During its first five years the Trust was faced with a growing deficit, though this was reduced partly through agricultural derating and partly through the registration of the Trust as a charity, thus exempting it from income-tax demands.

The Town Council, the Harbour Commission, and the Trust have overlapping representation, for harmonious work on behalf of the community. Indeed, by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn up by Leverhulme (in 1923-4), the Stornoway Trust must include the Provost of the burgh as its chairman, together with magistrates and councillors. Throughout the years of its existence, the Trust has sought to increase its usefulness, but at the beginning decisions were often taken piecemeal. Portions of the property were

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

621 has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway
631 and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway,
(505) and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West
(449) Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes six-
361 teen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population
360 within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a
363 post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a
(473) masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream.

Most of the working population is employed in the service in-
• (504) dustries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

444 The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as
(167) Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing
463 ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The
(241) main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being
(434) augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate
(726) on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from
(36) their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialize in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in
(522) some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Road-
(444) work gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

316 An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1963, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was pitchstone, a granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in 316
the services sector. 464

The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be 484
tapped. MacBrayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity (505)
of 50 cars and 500 passengers, makes two or three trips a day
between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than
two hours. The mainstays of tourist accommodation in Harris are 484
the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning 485
fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist 529
attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by offering (226)
full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant lets.

An interesting tourist venture has been started at Rhenigidale. 484
A rough, stony track, one of the most tortuous and exciting in 487
Britain, takes its leave from the main road over a ridge. It twists 529
and turns in and out of gullies, over cliffsides and across the steep heather-clad slopes of the Toddum, a dramatic little hill of 1,730 ft which protects Rhenigidale village from the Atlantic gales. The (205)
seven-mile track is the only marked route, though crofters take
a shorter way to the north over pathless bogs; the local postman makes a round of about 60 foot miles in the week, walking this track and on to Tarbert three times in all weathers. The village 504
relies on its sheltered harbour with a good natural rock pier: 361
most communication is by water, all food and fuel coming that 565
way. In past times every household owned a boat for lobster and 501
shell fishing to supplement both diet and finances. Today the 226
interest in fishing has declined, as has the population. But in 1946 485
Mr Herbert Gatliff paid his first visit to Harris, discovered what the island had to offer, and started a campaign to convince hostelling interests of the need to make some investment in the Western Isles. A croft house in Rhenigidale was in 1961 equipped as a hostel, and under what is now the Gatliff Trust it is maintained for hardy trekkers, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association making a grant for running costs. Many visitors have found that the place offers a degree of happiness corresponding with its remoteness from civilisation.

CH. I ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

3. The Significance of Lewis-and-Harris

181 The Highlands and Western Isles today, "The Land
184 of the Gael", may thus be grouped as two regions. The
361 North-west is mainly of 'township crofting' and distant
101 from the Lowlands—the other mainly of farming, living
(197) nearer to the Lowlands and in touch with them. Throughout the North-west, Gaelic is still the common speech,
(108) even of the children. The old community feeling is strong; it is that, indeed, which keeps the people attached to the villages.

101 From the plains and cities of the South it is a far cry
to *Ultima Thule*, as Lewis, like Zetland, is sometimes called
131 even by its own people. Lying some twenty-five to thirty miles across the Minch from the mainland, its nearest links with the South lie even farther away. From Stornoway
(464) it is some seventy-five miles to Kyle of Lochalsh, the railhead for Inverness and North-east Scotland, and 100 miles to Mallaig, the railhead for Fort William and Glasgow. To reach Stornoway over the moors from the west coast
• (504) townships is itself a journey. Stornoway is the Island's only port, though passengers are put off at Tarbert, at
(77) Stockinish and at Rodel in Harris. Isolation has always
(108) been a dominant factor in the Island's life. From prehistory through the Middle Ages to modern times, that factor played its changing part.

108 In Lewis, conditions had changed less than elsewhere
during the last century; for example, the *New Statistical*
131 *Account* of South-west Argyll in 1830-35 reads like a
131 description of conditions in Lewis as they were until after 1914! Hence, as already said, the contrasts are very great indeed in the aspect of the country, its fields and houses, and in the number, character and ways of the people. It

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. I

131 summits of up to 2622 feet. South of this chain of hills
133 the ground drops again on a peninsula some twelve miles long and only seven miles wide. This forms the more populous part of Harris with its 'sandy shore', the Machar, facing the Atlantic, and its rocky bays and fishing hamlets
(134) on the Minch.[1] Lewis has its 'machars' too, areas of white shell sand, which is so light that it blows up the
• (504) hillsides, thus improving the pasture-land; but there is little 'machar' on the eastern coast, save for the south-western shores of the great sandy North or Broad Bay, enclosed by the peninsula of I, or Eye, which also acts as the outer breakwater for the harbour of Stornoway.

131 Landing at Stornoway and leaving behind us the pines,
133 and the wind-pruned sycamore woods around Lewis
361 Castle, we find ourselves among the small fields of the
361 villages which are partly suburban to Stornoway. Inland
(137) stretch the gently rolling, brown and somewhat melancholy moors that cover so much of the Lews. From the Butt of Lewis to the beginning of the Harris hills one could make a bee-line SSW., midway through the Island for over thirty miles, without passing a house or a strip of corn, and seeing only a tiny, ramshackle hut, a shieling (or *airigh*), used for six weeks in the year when the cattle are taken to the summer pasture. All the villages are in sight of the sea, and generally close to it, with only one inland exception, Achmore, south-west of Stornoway, founded after 1850. The hills of Harris are not less lonely than the moors of the Lews.

18 Diversity is one of the fascinations of such an island
131 as this. Although, like the founders of Stornoway, all

[1] *An machair* ('ch' as in 'loch'), also anglicised as 'machar'), n.f. the grassy, smooth beach-land or links. A sandy beach or ebb-strand, *traigh*, n.f., backed by *machair*, contrasts with a pebbly beach, *cladach*, n.m., backed by rougher beach-land, as in the Cladach district of W. Lewis.

CH. II THE SEASONS

182 meaning that the men of that village, and its immediate
226 neighbourhood, were the last to put to sea and the first to
741 return. The Barvas folk could retort that they would
361 have been fools to do anything else on a straight exposed
(829) coast; and that anyway their pony-drawn ploughs were
(461) of more use than the foot ploughs of the rocky south. A form of provender taken indirectly from the sea was the sea-birds and eggs from the sea-cliffs and islets like Rona, north-west of the Butt. This helped to support a few families in St. Kilda and on the rocky Shiant Islands south-east of Harris.

175 Fishing remained backward and primitive, however,
226 until the nineteenth century. After developing in a
(178) promising way, it was checked before the First World
(346) War, and fell into decay during and after it. Decay has, of course, been widespread. In 1935 the chief ports of
• 504 the East Coast, from Leith with Granton northward by
501 Fraserburgh to Wick—a round dozen—had still an average of 250 to 300 vessels, 3000 in all. These were chiefly of steam or motor auxiliary power and valued (with fishing gear) at £4,750,000. Orkney and Zetland, too, had each their 300 boats. The whole West Coast, however, from Stornoway to Ballantrae, had only 2000 boats, valued at less than one-tenth of the fleet of the East, and worth only a fraction of this, to judge from prices in the open market. Nearly 400 boats were still on the register for Lewis and Harris (Stornoway district) and another 300 for the rest of the Outer Isles. But fewer put to sea each year, even from Stornoway itself.

182 A major drawback to herring fishing in the Stornoway
226 district is the uncertainty in the movements of the herring shoals. On the Clyde, moreover, herring can be sent fresh to the city but further north they must be cured. Whereas

CH. III THE ISLAND HOME

361 in solid black, and the third in hatching (Fig. 11). First,
upon the little peninsula or 'Point' which protects the
194 inner fishing harbour of the river there grew the nucleus
361 of the town, with its Castle upon the rocky islet now con-
226 cealed by the steamer pier. Sheltered from the waves by
• 504 the peninsula and from enemies by the Castle, MacLeod's galleys and the early fishing fleet must have congregated in the inner harbour. Protection from storm was specially needed until, in the nineteenth century, a quay was built, with space for marketing and handling the herring.

194 Inland from the Castle was the little church of the burgh,
361 dedicated to Saint Lennan (L). The little town can be
(346) imagined stretching inland from the church, its dwellings built along the 'Point Street' axis, until it met the track, road or street crossing the neck of the Point. The largest church of Lewis proper, now in ruins, stood apart from the burgh, at the south-west extremity of Eye Peninsula. Until trade developed, the backs of the houses would have been turned to the shore. To north, on the landward side from which cattle would come, the market developed.

175 Secondly, in the seventeenth century, thatched houses
361 were sited on the Point Street and the shore for the
342 Gaelic settlers, the fisher- and craftsman-crofters brought here to found a burgh and commercialise fishing. During

Key to Fig. 11 (opposite)

102 Buildings on John Wood's plan of 1821 are shown in black and radial
361 streets then proposed by pecked lines. Existing buildings are
174 shown hatched. The harbour development plan of 1946 (pecked lines) is shown by courtesy of the Stornoway Pier and Harbour Commission; it is now in commission.
L = site of St. Lennan's. T = former Town House. TH = Town House.
× = site of Castle. + = modern churches.

(Based on a British Admiralty chart with the permission of the Controller o. H.M. Stationery Office and of the Hydrographer of the Navy.)

authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common grazing. For example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the croft has now almost 12 acres of land, of which the remaining 5 acres have been 'acquired' by enclosing part of the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pieces, and in some cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor's wife, Lady Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because they were too close to the cattle sheds. Croft houses 23 and 24, for example, were moved to the other side of the cattle sheds. Croft houses 27 and 28 were moved to a quarter of their crofts 1 and 2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the loss of their croft houses had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its croftland close to the house so that an enclosure could be made around the steads. About the same period, before the passing of the Crofters' Act (1886), when the tenants were still regarded as the property of their landlords, and several other changes took place. Croft 27 and 28 used to be where the croft houses are at present and the surrounding adjacent area only, but it is said that the tenants of these two houses, being influential, with the consent, executed part of Callanish Farm. Similarly, croft 29 used to be where croft 30 is now, and croft 30 used to be where croft 29 is now, because it was enclosed. The most recently formed croft is that of croft 31 which came into existence in 1890. Since then three feus have been created, but two of these are holiday houses and the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed arable. All but 4 croft units grow oats, and the 32 acres under oats (appendix C 1) of the township represent 23.8% of the total arable acreage. Only 3 crofts have all of the land in cultivation (see table 1). There are 4 crofters who have no land in cultivation and were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still cultivate by spade. The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August and the oats a month later according to the weather.

Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township and tethered most of the year on the crofts. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to graze one of their neighbors's cows for part of the year in the year in exchange for milk. There is a bull-type short-horn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Callanish Farm.

The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned stock of 504 sheep and 161 lambs. Several crofters exceed their township limit in an shortage of grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garynahine township pasture. Callanish also has the use of the pasture on Great Bernera (Island), each year some of the sheep (one sheep or ram per croft) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes are brought in for the tupping (mating) in the last week of November and lambing takes place in April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November 1st to May 15th in addition Callanish Farm (which has no sheep) is open for winter grazing. The sheep are sheared in July, and the lambs are marked and castrated in August. At present the sheep are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at Fladavat are known to have been in use until 1914.

Communications are quite good; the village is close to a tar sealed road to Borrowday, and there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-called roads are merely rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by motor vehicle; it is reached by a narrow path from the road, supported from it by rough peat land. This year a grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a road to this croft, but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land refused to allow a road to be built; and as croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of the village. There are two shops in Callanish (one selling general goods, groceries, hardware and fish-and-chips) and one in Garynahine. The village has a post office, a school and a church. There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and Berneray calling at Linshader, which graduated (sic)(meant to conjecture) until the 1920s when it ceased to call at Linshader. The ferry to Berneray finally ceased in 1940 when the ferryman (who lived at Callanish Farm) left for war service. After the war the ferry was still used by small private boats (e.g. Callanish church service Linshader, and many people came to church by boat until recently) but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

[Crofters]

The crofters scend

The clover with their sale in 1957; the quality and of the natural grass could be improved considerably by extending this practice. Several of the crofters have taken advantage of the facilities for obtaining lime and fertilizers, but manures and lime seldom are widely used. Only seven crofts have vegetable plots this year but that of No. 22, (partially cultivated by a dry-stone wall) had produced potatoes, turnips, cabbage and carrots.

The annuring for Cromore is one cow, one heifer and eight sheep per 41 rental, but is not enforced. The crofters keep the stock which they can manage to maintain throughout the winter. No one appeared to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. In fact the annuring is exceeded by all seven crofters and the total stock for the township is only 79 per cent of the annu. Lambing takes place in April and May and calving is much irregular and is taken in hand. The sheep are clipped in July and crofts number single clips ten sheep. No other sells the fleece or has it spun or woven. Ewes are kept for breeding for 6 years, but the ewes during the second year are sold or kept and then dipped. November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. Ewes are kept in large proportion of the stock. Although twenty to thirty years ago it was not so. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-lying wet areas. There are a few willows and rowans and the pine and birch are old holdings, probably planted as wind-breaks.

Cromore was originally a single farm but the township was formed about 1820. The pattern of the crofts differs from the usual shore-to-dyke alignment. ss six crofts were allotted extra land on the valley which enters from the north, where a part of the valley floor was brought within the township dyke. There are now fourteen crofts of which four are worked by resident crofters and one is occupied by a non-resident crofter. Four crofts are used only for hay and grazing and are sub-let to crofters in Lochboisdale.

Cultivation is entirely by spade and of the 5.5 acres sine in cultivation, potatoes account for 2.1 acres. The remainder of the land is used for cereals and reflects the current crofting practice of one cow and two calves. Approximately twelve acres of hay are cut in each year for the 225 sheep which graze in the winter.

The lazy-bede in natural hay and the outcrop are being rapidly encroached on by bracken. The prevalence of bracken, and the amount of work needed to clear it, is likely to deter any attempt at renewed cultivation.

Cultivation was originally a fishing township in spite of its harbour being so exposed: boats have to be taken up on the shore instead of being moored in the bay. The decline of the fishing industry which has prevailed in Lewis has contributed towards the almost complete desertion of Cultivat, leaving only a few boats now used only for inshore purposes. Croft income is supplemented by only two of the men in the township, one a weaver and the other in the Merchant Navy. Although there are a few productive gardens, no attempt is made to market any produce.

The township dyke is very close to the settlement and in the past shielings were not widely use in Cultivat as elsewhere. The cattle were indeed brought near to the dyke for milking and allowed to graze on the common unattended. There are ruins of shielings to be found on the hills around Cultivat but a more interesting feature is the second dyke; enclosures were made adjoining the main dyke and in the late summer the cattle were brought to fresh pasture within these dykes before the opening of the township gates. Following the opening of the gates the stock are free to wander over all crofts but there seems today to be a move towards the complete enclosure of the crofts.

[Bertrish] [Calbost]

In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of shielings is here, and that of other crofting townships, is not only one of adverse aspect, soil and weather conditions, and of distance from markets, but a problem of the population finding a stable and viable level where agricultural units are large enough to encourage the active and enterprising section of the population to remain, and a problem of finding capital to equip a modern fishing fleet.

CALBOST

Anne Cooper

Calbost is situated five miles to the north-east of Gravir on the Minch coast of Park. It occupies a basin-like hollow in the centre of which is Loch Dubh, and is open to the sea on the east. The croft houses are scattered over a shelf 50 feet above sea-level round the sides of the hollow and the cultivated land is on the slopes and is hedged in and lambs in just. The sheep are clipped in July and crofts number single clips ten sheep. No other sells the fleece or has it spun or woven. Ewes are kept for breeding for 6 years, but the ewes during the second year are sold or kept and then dipped. November is the tupping period and almost every crofter had his own ram. Ewes are kept in large proportion of the stock. Although twenty to thirty years ago it was not so. Heather dominates the common pasture and rushes are widespread in the low-lying wet areas. There are a few willows and rowans and the pine and birch are old holdings, probably planted as wind-breaks.

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The factors which brought about centralisation of the industry [22] in Scotland, including commercialisation, availability of credit, access to markets, and local populations ready to specialize,[25] have also operated locally. The number of Test Highland fishermen has actually increased, but the increase occurred in a few centers. Skye, like most of the region,[26] [504] has numerous isolated coves but no harbor adapted for commercial fishing. Further, the changes in the economic pattern have severed the former relatedness and consistency of fishing with pastoral-agriculture. Moreover, fishing today, to be remunerative, has to be diligently followed. It must be a specialized occupation. The Brialchangh has not been able to make the adjustment necessary to become a full-time fisherman.

Of the 182 townships on Skye, fishing is important in 98.[27] In a few of these townships fish are an export item. [437] There is no longer any fishing done in eighty-four townships. Further, with its sheltered bay, is the base for a few full-time fishermen who sell locally. Uig Bay, Loch Pooltiel, and [504] Loch Bracadale, all once considered excellent harbors, are neglected. The lack of fishing in Loch Bracadale is striking. It is there that sixty families of Harris crofter-fishermen were settled and purposefully given small crofts with the expectation that they would continue to fish as they had on their native isle. They never tried exploiting the inshore

[25] Collier, The Crofting Problem, pp. 75-83.

[26] Ibid., pp. 78-83.

[27] Darling and Dorley, op. cit., pp. 42-45.

505

175 a crew member. Another family is called "cook," the
[224] first job which a novice had to assume when he joined
[241] the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go
[551] to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The men
[224] came back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats,
[241] barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent
[553] and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods.
They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover
[434] the stone-walled or wood-lined tigh dubh (black house)
for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a
[462] season. While the men were away at the fishing, the
[571] remaining members of the family lived on credit from
the local shops, and depended on the good will of
their neighbors.

Many men joined the armed services, and were
especially sought after by the Navy and the Merchant
Service. In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in the
Naval Reserve.

Around the turn of the century, until the first
175 world war and the growth of the weaving industry, the
[224] girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to
[241] the boat to see you off. You could go all the way to
[571] Aberdeen for 12/6 on a special fish-worker ticket."
[435]

The girls went from the south of England to Shetland
in the far north.

505 WATER TRANSPORT - number, types, and distribution of shipping services; passenger and freight capacity and traffic; sailing schedule; fares and freight charges; booking arrangements; specialized personnel (e.g., line and engineer officers, crews, longshoremen, traffic agents); organization (e.g., shipping companies); regulation, etc. See also:

Marine insurance	478	Compass equipment	479
Labor union	487	Government subsidies	484

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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ocks about intrusions or dykes of more resistant crinanite. Second, 632
he better nature of the soil derived from the weatherings of the 133
andstones and conglomerates has aided reclamation and cultiva-
ion.

In the long years of its existence the town has been a focal point 175*
f island history, fanning out to many corners of the world, where 632
has been merged with the wider history of Britain, the Com-
nonwealth and elsewhere. Detached as it was from the rest of [181]
cotland by the Minch, Lewis often went its own way. In the 175*
eign of Queen Elizabeth, when England and Sweden plotted 632
gainst the Scottish crown, the emissaries of these countries met 648
n Stornoway. Later, in April 1719, a council of war was held
n a room in Stornoway to plan the overthrow of the Hanoverian
ynasty of Britain; included in the assembly were the Earl of
eaforth, the Marquis of Tulibardine, George Keith, the here-
litary Earl Marshal of Scotland, and his younger brother James,
vho was to become the famous Marshal Keith. Prince Charles
Edward, though not setting foot in the town, looked at its twink-
ng lights from across the Bay, at Arnish, while his pilot tried
o obtain a boat to take the royal fugitive to France.

The harbour has seen many kinds of ships on its waters. In 504
he twenties, the *Metagama*, the *Marloch*, and the *Canada* came 501
o take away almost a generation of young Lewis folk to the new 632
ands across the seas, because their own island could not support [167]
hem. The *Iolaire* sank within sight and sound of the harbour
nouth and dragged about 200 Lewismen with her into an island
nemory. The *Cervona*, of Dundee, dropped her anchor just
y Arnish lighthouse in July 1904, carrying survivors from the
migrant ship *Norge*, sunk at Rockall with appalling loss of life.
The *Victoria and Albert* visited Stornoway in September 1902, [643]
he first visit to the town by a reigning monarch. That was a great 701
lay, the result of a letter from Provost Anderson of Stornoway
n which he pointed out to His Majesty, King Edward, that with
ess than 30,000 inhabitants Lewis had 2,300 men in the Royal
Naval Reserve, trained at the local Battery, the largest in Britain.
There were also 1,100 men in the Seaforth & Cameron Militia,
ll of whom volunteered for foreign service in 1899, and 900 of
vhom did garrison duty in Egypt. Between 300 and 400 Lewis-

STORNOWAY The previous
*175 building was only an idea in 1897; it took
632 shape when Dr Andrew Carnegie offered to contribute £1,000
217 towards the construction of a library, provided the town adopted the Public Libraries Act. This was done, and the Council decided to incorporate the library into a larger structure, erected at a cost of £11,000 and opened in September 1905 by Lord Roseberry. Carnegie increased his contribution to £3,500, with other large donations from public-spirited industrialists of the time (eg Coats of Paisley, who also financed school libraries in the island).

*175 Being a seaport, the sea has been basic to the town's livelihood.
632 In the eighteenth century trade flourished between Stornoway
• 504 and the Baltic, Scandinavia, Holland, France and the north of
439 Ireland; and in the first half of the nineteenth century, fish was exported as far away as ports on the Mediterranean. The advent
*175 of steam killed the Stornoway sailing craft. At one time in its
396 history, the shipyard (at Matheson's Patent Slip, now the site of
632 the textile mill) turned out many fine vessels. The scent of tar and pitch, the crunch of a busy grindstone, the shaping of a ship's timbers, the steaming of her planks, the driving of pins and bolts, the music of mallet and caulking-iron, the buzz from the saw-pits and the riggers aloft, all gave the town a sense of at-one-ness with the waters in the bay. Then there were the schooners, brigs and barques of foreigners who put in for repairs or for merchandise. It was a time of glory that has now gone as surely as the sail has disappeared from the high seas. Ship-masters, ship-owners and
[162] sailors all added colour and variety in the streets as they mingled with the local population—which numbered 1,000 in 1801. Stornoway captains were world-known for their skippering: MacLeods, MacIvers, MacKenzies, Ryries, MacLeans, Morisons, Allans. These were the names that were once reeled off to be paired with the famous ships of the day: *Sir Launcelot, D. L. MacKenzie*, and *Assaye*.

*175 While large numbers of its sons were sailing the high seas, many
504 in ships of Stornoway origin, the town began to take on the first
632 look of a port, with piers. On 9 August 1864, Sir James Matheson subscribed the instrument which took the Stornoway Harbour Commission into being. The following year, on 29 June 1865, the
[503] Commission was incorporated by Act of Parliament. Matheson had shown a great interest in the development of the existing

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175*
504
632
503

harbour facilities. But his efforts to promote the town as an industrial centre were opposed, a dispute arising between him and parties who claimed interest in the quays which already existed; his action to set up the Harbour Commission and to acquire the Crown's interest in the shores of Stornoway Bay *ex adverso* found local opposition. He succeeded in quelling the doubts and the resulting counter-actions, however, and then, with the decks cleared, the Commission lost no time in getting developments under weigh. Authorisation to borrow up to £10,000 was obtained and work put in hand on building a timber wharf, 150 ft long, filling in certain areas for fish-curing and other purposes, and constructing sheds, works buildings and warehouses. By 1881 this work had been completed and, with the expansion of the herring industry, the Commission sought to increase its borrowing by £20,000; in 1892, further powers for borrowing the sum of £55,000 were sought and obtained. By the turn of the century all the works authorised by the 1892 Order were completed: they met the berthing needs of the fishing industry and also the reclaimed areas on South Beach, North Beach and the Cromwell Street quays were used continuously during the season as fish-curing stations, proving essential factors in the development of that industry.

Before the 1914-18 war ended, Lord Leverhulme had become proprietor of the island and, as such, a member of the Harbour Commission. He proposed further development of the existing facilities, to line up with his scheme for establishing Stornoway as a centre for industrial activity based on fishing. Plans were prepared, and a permanent way for a railway (linking the canning factory at Inaclete with the harbour) was formed. But the scheme did not materialise before he abandoned Lewis for Harris. Before he left, however, he conveyed free to the Harbour Commission considerable property round the inner shores of Stornoway Bay. At this stage the Commission promoted a New Harbour Order, passed by Parliament as the Stornoway Harbour Confirmation Act, 1926, in which provision was made for the increase of the Commission's borrowing powers (up to £70,000) and the setting up of a contingency fund of £10,000. Further improvements were put in hand. Another Order (1947) was obtained and

STORNOWAY

the present harbour facilities are the result of this, with a causeway to Goat Island—a small nipper of land off the Newton shore—the King Edward Wharf extension to give a depth of 24 ft at low water, and the construction on Goat Island of a slipway and slipway jetty.

The present facilities are valued at several million pounds; they evoke, however, a blank stare of disbelief. Much of the industry for which the quays were first envisaged has now gone. The days of 300-400 fishing boats and the landing of several thousands of crans each week, with the attendant bustle and activity, belong to the past. The harbour remains reasonably active, with a considerable extent and variety of shipping: general traffic due to the Harris Tweed industry has continued to increase in recent years. The introduction of the ferry service direct from Skye to Tarbert, Harris, has however had perceptible effects.

When Leverhulme parted company with the people of Lewis, his gesture of farewell offered the island Stornoway Trust. This brought into being an agency for the people of Stornoway and its rural areas, so that they were in effect in control of their own future to a degree unique in Britain. The Stornoway Trust was formed in 1924. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole of the landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor northwards to the township of Tolsta. Freshwater fishings are in its hands, as are the resources of the sea and inshore fishings on the shorelands. During its first five years the Trust was faced with a growing deficit, though this was redressed partly through agricultural derating and partly through the registration of the Trust as a charity, thus exempting it from income-tax demands.

The Town Council, the Harbour Commission, and the Trust have overlapping representation, for harmonious work on behalf of the community. Indeed, by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn up by Leverhulme (in 1923-4), the Stornoway Trust must include the Provost of the burgh as its chairman, together with magistrates and councillors. Throughout the years of its existence, the Trust has sought to increase its usefulness, but at the beginning decisions were often taken piecemeal. Portions of the property were

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Lands were not allowed to become waste; in 1710, a Roderick Campbell in North Uist was paid to come north and settle in the island of Eensay, Sound of Harris.

It is significant that much of MacLeod's rents was paid in money rather than produce, for it emphasises the great value of the cattle trade in the Highlands, in which Harris played a not insignificant part—that is, compared with neighbouring Lewis. It was sound economy for the Highlands, and far in advance of the theories of the so-called 'improvers' of a later age. The rents of the MacLeod estates were collected by chamberlains, and part of the work of Malcolm Campbell, the chamberlain for Harris at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was the ferrying of Harris cattle to Skye. In Rodel, MacLeod had a 'keeping house', which probably consisted of rooms for the chief while in Harris; there was also a brew-house.

To introduce more efficient communications and to interconnect all the small Hebridean islands of the estate, a boat was purchased for a Lauchlan MacLean in 1705; he was empowered to maintain a regular ferry between Harris and Skye. This also operated between the mainland of Harris and the populated islands in the Sound, such as Berneray, Eensay, Killegray and Pabbay. In religion the estate was Presbyterian, and MacLeod had the burden of providing both suitable residences for the ministers and the communion elements. As mentioned earlier, the Rev Aulay MacAulay, the great-grandfather of Lord MacAulay, the English writer, was once minister in Harris.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw great changes in the ownership of the various islands comprising the Outer Hebrides. MacLeod of Harris retained Harris until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was purchased by a cadet of the family, a son of Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray, for £115,000. This son, Captain MacLeod, who had made a fortune in the East and ploughed some of it back into his native soil, was the man who introduced fishing as an industry to the Harris people. In 1834 the Harris estate passed to the Earl of Dunmore for £60,000. Dunmore sold north Harris to Sir Edward Scott in 1868 for £155,000. In 1919, Lord Leverhulme bought south Harris and St Kilda for £36,000.

λ. [See map, pp.8-9--Analys%]

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(2,620 ft); grouped around this are the lesser peaks staring stark and treeless to the skies. At the feet of these hills are the small villages straggled along the shores of West Loch Tarbert. Much of this area is owned by the proprietors of Amhuinnuidh Castle, a magnificent structure built by the Earl of Dunmore in the last century; the hills lying north of it are rich in red deer. The road past the castle trundles on until it peters out at the far-east village of Hushinish, beside a glorious scimitar-like curve of silver sand. Beyond Hushinish is the Island of Scarp.

The road along the shores of East Loch Tarbert ends at the village of Kyles Scalpay which overlooks Scalpay island. The Bays of Harris hold in their creeves the scattered groups of houses here and there, where an inlet of the rocky coast affords some anchorage and where a patch of ground is suitable for cultivation. Tortuous, winding footpaths have been gradually replaced by narrow roads connecting the townships. Lack of sufficient remunerative employment has led to considerable depopulation. Fifty years ago the population of the area was just over 5,400; it is now about 2,900.

The south of Harris is better known for its association with Lord Leverhulme. Obbe, later Leverburgh, became the centre of his schemes. He built a large pier, huge kippering sheds, houses for the workers, roads and lighthouses, and blasted away underwater rocks which hindered free navigation. The bulk of this work was complete in 1924, but when he died (in 1925) his successors, in the cold light of economics, decided to close down the embryo industry and realise its assets. The harbour works had cost £250,000; they were sold for £5,000 to a demolition company. Leverhulme's memorials are still to be seen. The west coast of Harris is now becoming known for the long stretches of shell sand and the green machar-land beside it, a true delight for the tourist seeking isolation.

Tarbert is the central village in Harris, with a population of about 400. It is a thriving community, nestling at the foot of Beinn an Teanga and at the head of the sheltered anchorage of East Loch Tarbert—sheltered from the prevailing south-westerly winds and from the Atlantic storms. The car ferries give direct contact with the Scottish mainland, via Skye, and Tarbert also

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has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway, and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes sixteen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream.

Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a re-fuelling point for ships.

The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the production of well-fashioned tweed and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Road-work gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

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Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in the service sector.

The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be tapped. MacBrayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity of 50 cars and 600 passengers, makes two or three trips a day between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than two hours. The mainstays of tourist accommodation in Harris are the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by offering full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant lets.

An interesting tourist venture has been started at Rhenigidale. A rough, stony track, one of the most tortuous and exciting in Britain, takes its leave from the main road over a ridge. It twists and turns in and out of gullies, over cliffsides and across the steep heather-clad slopes of the Toddum, a dramatic little hill of 1,730 ft which protects Rhenigidale village from the Atlantic gales. The seven-mile track is the only marked route, though crofters take a shorter way to the north over pathless bogs; the local postman makes a round of about 60 foot miles in the week, walking this track and on to Tarbert three times in all weathers. The village relies on its sheltered harbour with a good natural rock pier: at most communication is by water, all food and fuel coming that way. In past times every household owned a boat for lobster and shell fishing to supplement both diet and finances. Today the interest in fishing has declined, as has the population. But in 1946 Mr Herbert Gatliff paid his first visit to Harris, discovered what the island had to offer, and started a campaign to convince hostelling interests of the need to make some investment in the Western Isles. A croft house in Rhenigidale was in 1961 equipped as a hostel, and under what is now the Gatliff Trust it is maintained for hardy trekkers, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association making a grant for running costs. Many visitors have found that the place offers a degree of happiness corresponding with its remoteness from civilisation.

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vision of adequate educational facilities in remote spots becomes increasingly difficult.

In its time Scarp has contributed more per head of population to the professions than has any other community of similar size. The last of the native Scarp population left the island in November 1971: two families totalling seven people. The island has now attracted the attentions of a hippie community.

Scalpay

Scalpay Island, on the east side of Harris, was formerly occupied by one or three tacksmen in succession before being 'crofted out'. About 1843 the Harris factor settled twenty crofting families who managed to make a fair living there, but five years later another twenty families were added; some had been evicted from the island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris. This led to some subdivision of the available land. The 1861 population was 388, but the figure rose to a peak of 624 in 1921; in 1951 it had declined to 541. It is now in the region of 450.

Island Scalpay is in fact one of the few places in the Highlands and Islands area in which the normal trends associated with remote regions are operating in reverse. The island despite its smallness—it is a mere 3 miles long and 1½ miles across—supports a thriving and dynamic community and is the envy of its neighbours. Scalpay is retaining its young folk; and it boasts some of the finest homes in the Hebrides. From the agricultural point of view it is not greatly different from other islands in the Hebrides. Its forty crofts produce a good crop of oats; but less than 20 acres of the land are re-seeded.

The land being as poor as it is, the men of Scalpay have turned their faces to the sea—for a living, not for emigration. Scalpay has the largest number of full-time fishermen and a total of thirty-three boats, twelve of which are ringnetters of over 40 ft. Native enterprise is also shown in the ship-owning firm whose vessels carry freight and passengers to many parts of Scotland and on occasion to the Continent. A Harbour Association was formed on the island in 1966 to work for local amenities for fishermen and

SCALPAY

the community generally—in particular for a landing stage in the North Harbour. The lighthouse at Eilean Glas, Scalpay, was in fact erected as long ago as 1788; for a long time it was the only lighthouse in the Western Isles. In 1792 it was described as 'one of great utility to the numerous shipping that frequent this channel [between Skye and the Long Island] on their voyages to and from the Baltic'.

The independence of the islanders again appears in their attitude to the education facilities provided for their children. In 1949 local parents staged a school strike in protest against the delay in the construction of a new school to the school. At present the island has a junior secondary school but in 1966 the Inverness-shire County Council Education Committee proposed the transfer of the island pupils to the school at Tarbert; this would mean each child rising early in the morning to face a trip across Scalpay Sound and then a road journey to Tarbert. The inevitable protests against this proposal were rooted in its deeper implications. The school roll on Scalpay (70 pupils) has maintained a remarkable level of continuity over the years, reflecting the general prosperity of the island. Forced attendance at a central educational facility, the islanders maintain, will introduce an unsettling urban element into their children's adult views.

The smaller islands

To the west of Scalpay, in East Loch Tarbert, is the one-square-mile island of Scotosay. Its population was 14 in 1861, 16 none in 1881, 18 in 1891, 15 in 1901, and 20 in 1911. In 1921 it 7 males and 12 females lived there, but none permanently since.

On the west of the Harris mainland is a high rocky island, four miles by one, called Taransay. In the 18th century Dean Monro described it as being 'well inhabit and manuir', a place where people delved with spades, and with good barley and corn, and fishing. There are two old chapels and a burying ground on the island. The population of Taransay has declined to a handful through the years, its peak was 76 in 1911.

The Sound of Harris is 'a chaos of rocks and islands', so numerous that they cannot easily be counted. Some are mere pinpoints of rock; others once supported small populations. Nearest to the

ISLAND LIFE

198 and practical support, could win through to make marks on the
island scene.

185 A significant event occurred in 1964: the establishment of
the Highlands & Islands Development Board. This was Britain's
651 first regional development authority run by members who are
433 either full- or part-time. The Board is grant-aided and has two
broad functions: to improve the social and economic condition
of the Highland people and assist in making the region more
significant in a national context. The Board's attention in the
Western Isles has been concentrated in the expansion of the
[684] fishing industry and the development of tourism. In both these
• [806] fields there has been a considerable success: upwards of 100,000
visitors per annum visit the islands; and a fleet of over thirty
boats, equipped with the latest gear, operate out of Stornoway.

433 Also in 1964 was produced the Development Plan for the
185 County of Ross & Cromarty. So far as Lewis was concerned, the
Plan was based on an average decrease in population of some
[167] 1,500 persons for every year in the future of the island. This, if
carried to its logical conclusion, will see complete desertion in
fifteen years or so! However, even if nothing further is done to
halt emigration, particularly in the landward areas of the island,
the population will remain around a stable 15,000. The
County Development Plan contains much food for thought, but
as with most county plans, does not indicate actual development
projects. Rather, it lists all the resources of the island for the
attention of those concerned. Potential developments include the
setting up and exploitation of predominantly-fulltime crofts,
shell-fishing, and inshore white fishing, herring and offshore white
fishing, forestry, tourism and holiday accommodation, minerals,
peat utilisation, hill-land improvement, marine reclamation and
seaweed resources. This list is significant and merits the attention
of the Highlands & Islands Development Board.

Harris, on the other hand, presents possibilities on a much
smaller and limited scale. However, there are expansion potentials
in tweed, knitwear, and craft industries, with tourism promising
to be a good base for the island's economy. As the age-structure
of the crofting population changes, there will be a useful re-
organisation and enlargement of existing holdings to make for

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. I

131 Before the making of
174 roads, it was easy of sailing which united island peoples
and their territories. One can wade or drive, at low tide,
[441] over the fords that unite the Isle of Benbecula with the
• [505] two Uists, North and South: in fact, a bridge now connects
Benbecula with South Uist. But only the roughest of
[441] hill tracks led through the hills of North Harris from the
'Tarbert' or Isthmus of Harris to the nearest habitation
at the head of Loch Seaforth or Loch Erisort, in the Lewis.
This is a distance of some twenty miles, or a fair day's
tramp for an unloaded man, and far too much for a return
[823] journey in one day. Hence separation of territory and
name was natural. This separation no longer exists as
131 there is now a good 'bus service from Rodel via Tarbert
178 to Stornoway which links Harris with the daily Kyle to
823 Stornoway steamer. In this book, the Island, or the
484 Islanders, refers to Lewis-and-Harris with its people,
101 as one.

Lewis is included in Ross-shire (of which the county
131 town is Dingwall, north of Inverness) and Harris in
634 Inverness-shire, together with the rest of the 'Long
Island'. The county boundary cuts across the six-mile
isthmus north of the hills of North Harris, from the
in-reaching Loch Seaforth WNW. to Loch Resort
(Fig. 8). All the Outer Hebrides are now included in the
Parliamentary constituency of the Western Isles. Pro-
posals to unite the Island under one District Council, or
the Outer Hebrides under one County Council, are more
favourably viewed in Stornoway than in Harris or the
632 Southern Isles. Harris forms one civil parish, while Lewis
is divided into four: Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs.
[133] The Lewis parish boundaries traversing the moors are inset
[131] in Fig. 8 so that their trends can be readily grasped, and
the inhabited portions of the parishes quickly located (p. 50).

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 growth followed the increases in potato-growing and fish-
178 ing, in income and food production, and the introduction
431 of vaccination against smallpox, which had formerly taken
a heavy toll of child life.[1] This increase found an outlet
[433] in emigration to the Colonies, often led by departing tacks-
[761] men though discouraged at first by the Island lairds. For
example, in July 1773, 840 people sailed from Lewis.
175 "Alarmed by this, their master . . . came down from
434 London to treat with the remainder of his tenants. What
167 are the terms asked, think you? 'The land at the old
rents, the augmentation paid for three years back to be
refunded, and his Factor to be immediately dismissed!'"
[214] Although the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, from which this
quotation is taken, went on to say that it was expected that
the demands would be acceded to, or the Island would
become a desert, the Factor was retained.

175 The pressure of population can be imagined when the
167 appalling conditions of transport overseas are remembered.
A case is known of 700 Gaelic emigrants setting out from
• 505 the Clyde across the Atlantic in a vessel for which the
maximum human cargo of negro slaves permissible was
400. The regulations governing the transport of slaves
did not apply to the transport of 'freemen'. In quoting
this case, D. F. Macdonald suggests that while it was in
the interest of slave-owners that their slaves should arrive
in the Plantations alive, it was rather in the interest of
manufacturers to discourage emigration so as to keep a
supply of labour at home with which to meet their growing
demands and fill the gaps due to a high mortality, par-
ticularly among workers newly arrived from the country.[2]
It would also seem as if it had not been in the interests of
landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time,
[113]

[1] Examples were given of the rise in charges from 1914 to 1924, *e.g.* a web of tweed, Harris to Glasgow, from 1s. to 2s.; a box of lobsters, Harris to London, 4s. 6d. to 11s.; a barrel of herring, Stornoway to Kyle, 1s. to 3s. and so on. Although the rise on larger consignments was less, these were of no benefit to 'small folk'. Typical charges for the export of live-stock were: (Lochmaddy, N. Uist, to Oban, or from Harris) for sheep the rise was from 9d. to 2s.; for lambs, 6d. to 2s.; for horses or cows, 5s. to 18s.; for stirks, 2s. 6d. to 11s. 6d. The Committee's report was privately printed.

[2] Brand Report, 1902, p. xiv.

Scotland's Shifting Population, 1750–1850 (1941).

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

829 Islands Distress Fund was raised in the Lowlands. The
458 Committee organising it distributed relief, and purchased
[735] seed potatoes, etc. They also drew attention to some
431 important features of Island conditions. Among others was
735 that of the scale of charges for transport of goods and
• 505 passengers. These charges had risen by from two to
four times what they had been.[1] The steerage passengers
were poorly provided for; and a later improvement in
cabin comfort was not accompanied by improved steerage
accommodation. One remembers in particular the suffer-
ing of the 'fisher girls'. In good weather the passage
home (by day) was bearable; and though the song that
'lifted' as the boat left Kyle for the last lap to Storno-
way sank pathetically as the steamboat left the shelter of
Skye, voices began to rise again in the shelter of Storno-
way Bay, sounding clear as the boat drew in. In bad
weather the crowded women suffered sorely. Five hundred
might be packed on the deck with little or no shelter, or
covered the benches and floor of the steerage, sick and
[829] distraught. The Committee pointed out that "the Govern-
ment increasingly accepted responsibility for the roads of
the kingdom", and that sea communications were even
more vital than roads to Islanders, for they serve in place
of both road and rail. Some action was taken, but charges
remained high.

167 As a result of all these difficulties, many young men

[1] *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1750–1850* (1941).

[1] authority, simply moved their fences and enclosed part of the common grazing. For
example the crofter at 37, instead of having only the 6.7 acres of the croft has now nine
10 acres of land, of which the remaining 3 acres have been 'acquired' by enclosing part
the adjacent common pasture. Some of the crofts are in two or three pieces, and in so
cases this came about in the late nineteenth century when the proprietor's wife, Lady
Matheson objected to the position of some of the croft houses because they were too clos
[1] to the standing stones. Croft houses 25 and 26, then near the stones, were moved to th
other side of the village and given parts of crofts 1 and 2 for their houses. Croft 1 an
2 were given parts of crofts 25 and 26 as compensation for the parts of their crofts they
had lost. Croft 27 also lost part of its crofland close to the stones so that an enclosure
could be made around the stones. About the same period, before the passing of the
Crofter's Act (1886), when the village was still 'ruled' by the township constable, and
several other changes took place. Croft 27 and 28 used to be where the croft houses ar
at present and the surrounding ancient area only; but it is said that the tenants of these
two houses, being influential with the constable, obtained part of Callanish Farm. Simi-
larly the tenants of crofts 30, 31 and 35 divided part of croft 15; these changes have
become permanent. The most recently formed croft was taken from the common pastu
in 1890. Since then three less have been created, but two of these are holiday houses a
the third has only 0.5 acres of land.

[1] There are 36 working croft units with a total of 134.4 acres reputed arable. All bu
a croft units grow oats, and there are 20 acres under oats (Appendix C). Of the
remaining cultivated land 9 acres are potatoes and 5 acres sown hay. Most of th
land is cultivated by tractor; there are 6 tractors in the township. In the past there
were several horses but now there is only one. Five crofters still cultivate by spade.
The crops are sown in April, and the hay is usually harvested in August and the oats
month later according to the weather.

[1] Thirty-one cows, six heifers and 25 calves are kept in the township and tethered one
the year on the crofts. It is usual for the crofters without a cow to graze one of their
neighbour's cows for part of the year in exchange for milk. There is a beef-type short-
horn bull belonging to the Department of Agriculture, which is kept on Callanish Farm.

233 The 5,302 acres of common pasture support an individually owned stock of 904 sheep
[1] and 561 lambs. Several crofters exceed their sumning, but there is no shortage of
grazing. Some of the sheep graze on Garrabthe township pasture. Callanish also has
the use of the pasture on Orasay island: each year some of the sheep (one sheep or ram
[1] per 2 acres) are taken across by boat for a period. The breeding ewes are brought in for
[1] tupping on November 14th, after the harvest is complete, and lambing takes place in
April. The crofters open their gates for winter grazing from November 14 to May 10th
in addition Callanish Farm (which has no sheep) is open for winter grazing. The sheep
are sheared in July, and the lambs are taken from the ewes a month later. The lambs
are dipped in November and the other sheep in December. Shielings at Fiodavat are
known to have been in use until 1921.

[1] Communications are quite good: the village is close to a main road to Stornoway, a
there are four buses a day. But within the village itself many of the so-called roads are
more or less rough tracks, and one croft, number 29, is inaccessible by motor-car. It is
over a mile from the nearest track, separated from it by rough peat land. This year a
grant from the council was made towards the cost of construction of a road to this croft,
but several of the Callanish crofters who cut peat on the intervening land refused to allow
a road to be built: and so croft 29 is still almost cut off from the rest of the village. [1]
There are two shops in Callanish (one with a petrol pump), grocery, butchers' and fish
[1] vans deliver frequently. Callanish also has a stone jetty which is the port of Uig. [1]
There was a ferry for mail and passengers from here across to Uig and Barvas calling
at Linshader, which probably declined in importance after the 1920 war, and ceased to
call at Linshader. The ferry to Berneray finally ceased in 1940 when the ferryman (who
[1] was also a crofter at Callanish Farm) left his service. After this the jetty was still used by sma
private boats (e.g. Callanish church excursions to Linshader), and many people came to the
[1] by boat until recently, but gradually it has fallen into disuse.

clipper bow, figurehead, and bowsprit with ornamental carving at both bow and stern. The *Clansman* left Glasgow every Monday and arrived back on Saturday mornings, a regular pattern maintained from 1870 to 1909. She was 211 ft long, 27 ft broad, with a draw of 13 ft of water, her engines having a nominal horsepower of 171; her gross tonnage was latterly 619.

The SS *Locheil*, two-masted with a straight stem and single funnel, in her early career ran the Stornoway mails from Ullapool, in the late 1870s. In 1884 she was fitted out for a three-months' cruise in the neighbourhood of Skye, a gunboat in attendance with a view to suppressing any riots likely to result from the then recently-initiated legislation introduced by the London Land Reform Association. She was also on the Dunvegan service, via Harris and Lochmaddy. In 1907 she ran aground at Portree and was afterwards broken up.

In 1879, David MacBrayne became sole partner and owner of the fleet of David Hutcheson & Co, and the name of the company was changed to David MacBrayne Limited. The first ship built for the fleet by MacBrayne was launched in July 1881 : the iron screw steamer *Claymore*. Her machinery consisted of a heavy two-cylinder compound engine supplied with steam from a pair of single-ended Scotch boilers; she never attained her full speed of 15 knots, at least not in service. She was 227 ft long, 29½ ft broad and drew 14½ ft of water. Her gross tonnage was latterly 776, and the indicated horsepower of her engines 1,400. She was sold in 1931 for breaking up. So high a regard did those on the west coast have for the *Claymore* that many parts of the ship went to places throughout Britain as souvenirs.

The PS *Great Western* was among MacBrayne's bought tonnage. This ship belonged to the GWR and spent most of her time on the Milford/Waterford route, though from 1878-85 she was transferred to Weymouth and ran across the Channel to Cherbourg. She came to northern waters as a straight-stemmed, two-masted, and two-funnelled cross-Channel steamer—both funnels being abaft the paddle boxes. MacBrayne placed her on the Stornoway mail service from Strome Ferry, which she maintained until being withdrawn temporarily in 1893 for a facelift in the MacBrayne standard design, emerging renamed *Lovedale*. She

was returned to the Stornoway route and, on the extension of the Skye line of the old Highland Railway from Strome Ferry to Kyle of Lochalsh in 1897, the latter port became the southern terminus in the mail service to Lewis, as it still is. She was broken up in 1904.

Yet another ship with fond connections with Lewis folk was the SS *Shiela*, the second steamer of the new MacBrayne family. Both hull and machinery were the product of Inglis of Pointhouse, and she had the distinction of being the first steamer in the MacBrayne fleet to be fitted with triple-expansion engines. She was launched in January 1904, a fine-looking craft, named after a character in William Black's novel *A Princess of Thule*.

Though of only 280 tons, she fulfilled an important role for the Stornoway folk and their country cousins. Summer and winter, fair weather or foul for over twenty years *Shiela* carried passengers, cargo and mails between Kyle of Lochalsh and Stornoway. Purely a functional craft, she gave her many thousands of passengers a rough time crossing the Minch; but though she was often late—many times the seas and winds prevented any headway at all, though steaming to the limit—she never failed to make port. This Stornoway/Kyle route is the hardest-worked of all the MacBrayne fleet; a Minch crossing is made twice in every twenty-four hours, with a weekend rest of less than a day in Stornoway. The sturdy *Shiela* met a tragic fate: she deserved a better. Her regular Captain Cameron was away on leave, enjoying a few days' well-earned rest. The ship was in the hands of a temporary officer, who was not as familiar with the devious ways of West Highland waters as he should have been. Though the exact details of the accident are not available to the writer, it seems that the officer of the watch never saw the south Rona light on the inward passage from Stornoway in the early hours of Saturday, 1 January 1927. Thinking he had run his distance, he altered course with a view to making the Applecross call. He did not discover his error until too late and the *Shiela* ran aground in the darkness on the shores of Cuaig Bay, just south of Loch Torridon. No lives were lost, but the ship was a write-off.

From 1927 to 1929 Stornoway was served by a number of ships including the *Clydesdale II*, designed and built for the Glasgow/

Inverness cargo and passenger service, and the SS *Chieftain*. This latter was over 1,000 tons gross, with a clipper bow, single funnel, two masts, extensive passenger accommodation, triple-expansion engines, and silent-working electric winches.

In 1929, the TSS *Lochness* was put into commission for the Mallaig/Kyle/Stornoway mail service. Of 777 tons gross, and built of steel, she was 200 ft long, 34 ft broad and drew 10½ ft. Her propelling machinery consisted of two sets of 150 nhp triple-expansion engines supplied by steam from single-ended, oil-fired Scotch boilers. These gave a full speed of about 14 knots. Many questions were raised in Parliament about the alleged inadequacy of the *Lochness* accommodation, particularly for third-class passengers, and the complaints led to the promise of a better ship. But the second world war intervened and it was not until 1945 that the *Loch Seaforth* (TMSV) was ordered. She was on duty in December 1947 and the *Lochness* transferred to the Islands route from Oban.

MacBrayne's mail contract of December 1938 stipulated that the company would provide two vessels, one to be for the Stornoway mail service. This proposed ship was delayed until 1945 when the order for *Loch Seaforth* was placed with Messrs Denny's shipyard. This vessel was the first of the MacBrayne fleet to be fitted with radar and was much larger than any of her predecessors on the Stornoway mail service. She had a gross tonnage of 1,089 and was 229ft in length. In 1972 the *Loch Seaforth* was withdrawn from the Stornoway service. Her place was taken by the *Clansman* ferry for a short period until the *'Iona'* took over to inaugurate a new ferry service between Ullapool and Stornoway rather than the traditional Kyle-Stornoway link. The facilities on the *Iona* for vehicles are good but the passenger accommodation is indifferent.

The first official hint of the coming of drive-on/drive-off car ferries for the Western Isles was made at the commissioning of David MacBrayne's *Loch Arkaig* in 1960. Under the Highlands and Islands Shipping Services Act, 1960, three vessels were built for the Secretary of State for Scotland, and were chartered by him to David MacBrayne Ltd for the new ferry services. One of these ships is the *Hebrides*, a twin-screw passenger and vehicle ferry

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 73]

vessel with a service speed of 14 knots. She can accommodate 600 persons (400 in winter) and over fifty cars, and has sleeping berths for fifty-one passengers. Powered by two supercharged diesel engines of Crossley make, she has a lateral-thrust propeller unit in the bows to aid berthing at piers, and is fitted with stabilisers. The MacBrayne colours have been used: black hull, red and black funnel, white superstructure and thin white waterline. The metal decking is painted a light green instead of the more usual brown or dark red. After completing her trials on the Clyde, *Hebrides* went into service on the Uig (Skye)/Tarbert (Harris)/Lochmaddy (Uist) route on 15 April 1964. She was really a replacement of the *Lochmor* (of 1930), which had sailed across the Minch for almost thirty-five years, but which had many more ports of call, based at Kyle of Lochalsh and Mallaig instead of plying to and from the north of Skye. The Hebridean ferry berths at Tarbert and Lochmaddy on alternate nights, and spends the weekends at Tarbert. At the end of her first year of operation she carried nearly 11,100 vehicles.

SEA-RESCUE WORK

Closely associated with the sea services to the islands is the work of lighting the seaways and the rescue work which is at times required when the Hebridean seas are showing their teeth. The matter has occupied official attention for a very long time. Beginning at the northern tip of the island, the lighthouse at the Butt of Lewis is one of Britain's major manned stations. An oil-burning light was established there in 1862. In 1905 it was converted to an incandescent light, with a range of twenty-five miles. Three years earlier a fog signal was provided, and in 1930 a wireless beacon was set up at the station. At Tiumpan Head, at the tip of the Eye Peninsula, the light was established in 1900; it was oil-burning, converted to an incandescent six years later. The fog signal was not provided until 1959.

Eilean Glas lighthouse is one of the major manned lights which guide ships up the Minch. On the easternmost tip of Scalpay Island, in Harris, it was one of the four original lighthouses built by the Commissioners of Northern Lights in 1789. A new tower

munication with the mainland. The mail will be dispatched from Edinburgh every Thursday at eight o'clock at night, and should arrive at Edinburgh every Tuesday morning, but the arrival will sometimes be uncertain.' The development of a postal service in the hinterland of Stornoway was slow. In 1833 only one mail packet ran each week to Lewis, sailing from Poolewe to Stornoway, weather permitting (see Chapter 8), and the island still had only the one post office. By 1880, of course, more contact with the outside world was expected and there were eleven post offices in rural Lewis, with Stornoway's promoted to Head Office status. The latter had been for some time equipped with a money order and Savings Bank department. The telegraph had also been introduced, though no connection to any of the country offices existed; telegrams for all parts of the island other than Stornoway were, as a rule, forwarded by the first mail dispatched after the receipt of the message. By 1902 there were twelve telegraph offices in the country districts of Lewis (Harris was incommunicado with Stornoway, coming under the Inverness-shire arrangements). Some of these offices were set up under orders of the Highlands & Islands Work Board, the service being carried on by the Post Office without guarantee against loss. The office at Port of Ness was subsidised by the Fishery Board and Lloyd's, who had a signalling station at the lighthouse there.

Until 1926, when the long-universal red vans appeared, all mail was transported between the rural areas and Stornoway by private contractors, who used horses and latterly Albion coaches. A motor-launch operated between Callernish and Bernera; mails for South Lochs were conveyed across Loch Erisort from Crossbost to Cromore, and from Laxay to Kershader. In the early 1930s this area was served by mail van working between Stornoway and Lemreway. In 1950 full use was made of the existing BEA air service and, in order that mail from the rural areas could be included, additional main vans were outstationed at Lemreway, Callernish, and Port of Ness. These worked in to meet others working out from the town.

The Harris area was taken under the control of the head postmaster at Stornoway in 1937, having before this date been served by the head postmaster at Lochmaddy, North Uist. A mounted

When he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris, he offered—such was the character of the man—as thanks for the '98 per cent support' he got from the people of Lewis, to each Lewis crofter his own croft as a free gift, and the Lews Castle, together with all his property in Stornoway, to the people of the town.

In 1919, Leverhulme became proprietor of Harris, and concentrated his efforts in Obbe, now called Leverburgh, in South Harris. The harbour at Obbe lacked the natural advantage which Stornoway had, so he spent large sums on making it navigable. Rocky obstacles were blasted away; numerous buoys and beacons were set up to guide vessels into harbour; new quays were built; and kippering sheds, and other buildings necessary for packing and curing herring were erected. Among his other undertakings in Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he bore half the cost of the 5½ miles of road between Leverburgh and Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Brussels. His Harris schemes came to an abrupt end. And the remains of industrial history are still to be seen in the quietness of the little township named after one of the most stormy of business petrels that Britain has ever seen.

Tourism

Tourism has always been a perfunctory and casual affair, until the introduction of the fast ferries which now link the mainland (via Skye) with the Outer Isles. Some 10,000 cars cross each year from Skye to the Hebrides. In 1913, the Stornoway Tourist Association had a struggle to increase the number of visitors to the town, to establish it as a tourist resort. It is much the same today with the Western Isles Tourist Association, which is having difficulty in integrating tourist facilities with crofting activities. In Lewis, the Stornoway Trust has assisted in establishing pony-trekking, a venture which has the potential to mirror the success of a similar one in the Isle of Skye.

PRESENT INDUSTRY

Almost an echo of the kelp-burning industry is the alginate industry. It provides employment for only small numbers, but is a

701 men served in the various regiments at the front in South Africa, and over 300 in the Royal Navy.

In 1796 there were sixty-seven slated inhabited houses in the burgh, twenty-six of which had been built since 1784. Before this date most of the houses followed the constructional pattern of those found in rural Lewis. In 1838,

> Stornoway was, within the last twenty years, only a small fishing village, but from the spirited and patriotic exertions of Lord Seaforth, the proprietor, and the grant of irredeemable feus for building, it has become a place of considerable importance as a fishing station. It has a post office; and a packet sails regularly once a week with mail and passengers. No place in the North of Scotland, and in an insulated situation also, has made more rapid strides at improvement, both in a domestic and commercial point of view, than Stornoway.

COMMUNICATIONS

Mention of the sailing packet indicates the tedious manner in which mails came to the town for subsequent distribution in the island. Letters went by mailcoach north to Dingwall, thence by mail-gig west to Achnasheen. Because there was no road from Achnasheen to Poolewe, about thirty miles away, they had to be carried on horseback. The weekly sailing packet then picked up the bags, for which cargo the owners were paid £150 per annum. A letter from London to Stornoway cost 1s 5½d; the smallest enclosure made it double that amount. The mail-packet was often held up by bad weather. It was a wind-blown sailing ship that brought Stornoway the result of the Battle of Trafalgar and the death of Nelson, an event in which a number of Lewismen also took part and died; in St Columba's churchyard at Eye there can still be seen a Trafalgar officer's gravestone. A fortnight after this news arrived, the packet from Poolewe brought its stale message.

In 1844 seventy boats, ranging from 15 to 150 tons, were working out from Stornoway. The *Gazetteer* for Scotland for that year says, 'The grand trade of the place consists in the exchange of the produce of the fisheries and the kelp shores, for British manufactured goods and foreign produce.

factured goods and foreign produce. There is a Branch office of the National Bank of Scotland, two friendly societies, four inns, and so many as about a score of dram shops.' The annual burgh revenue was £17 3s and the expenditure £15 17s 6d. The town boasted ten streets, a saw mill, a mill for carding wool, a corn mill, a very large malt barn and mill, and an extensive distillery. These buildings were constructed 'in a style not much inferior to the best buildings of their class in Scotland . . . A stranger on arriving at it by any route, or from any quarter, is surprised to see so large and flourishing a place in so remote and uninviting a corner. Its broad field of houses, its capacious bay, and spacious piers, its occasional crowd of shipping, and stir of trade and gaiety, and the vicinity to it of the aristocratic mansion of Seaforth-lodge, render it a striking and very welcome relief to the prevailing dreariness, sterility and inertion of the rude country in which it is nestled.'

In 1901, when the West Highland line was opened, the return fare from Mallaig to Stornoway by MacBrayne's steamers was 14s 6d. One could go from Glasgow to Stornoway by steamer for 31s 6d return. A *Guide* for that year indicated that Stornoway had three hotels, six churches and a Court House, singled out for specific mention for some reason. A Ross-shire *Directory* of 1914 describes the Nicholson Institute as one of the four Junior Student Centres in the county. Its Leaving Certificate results were the best in the north of Scotland, with a total of 95 higher and 234 lower passes, and no less than 20 passes in Higher Science.

Stornoway is a Burgh of Barony, dating from 18 October 1607. It had, of course, been a town of sorts long before the Charter was granted by James VI; the Charter was executed under the Great Seal conveying equal shares to three of the leaders of the Fife Adventurers. Under the Police Act of 1862 Stornoway became a Police Burgh. A bank agent in the town was appointed first Chief Magistrate on 31 December 1863. Under the 1892 Act, the designation 'Town Council' superseded that of 'Burgh Commission' and the Chief Magistrate assumed the title of Provost, the senior and junior magistrates becoming known as senior and junior bailies. The present Municipal Buildings were opened in 1929. The previous building was only an idea in 1897; it took

Recent trends also point to a decline in the numbers of sheep, although more are kept now than fifteen years ago. From 1942-51 the numbers were more than doubled (263-565). A great deal of this increase must have been a result of the ewe subsidy, but part at least may be connected with the war and post-war boom in Harris tweed. By 1955, when the subsidy was suspended, numbers had already begun to decline and have since fallen steadily. This year the township has only 374 breeding ewes while the rearing of only 236 lambs would suggest a further decrease in the future.

All the crofters keep some sheep although individual stocks vary from 15 to 150. For most of the year these sheep are grazed on the common pasture on the moor or on the eighteen acre island in the bay. In August, however, the lambs are gathered in for weaning and dipping; in November the gates are opened and all the sheep allowed to graze on the cleaner pasture within the croft boundaries. If necessary they are given fodder, but from the beginning of January they are encouraged to return to the moor, although the gates are not 'officially' closed until May.

The total area of the common pasture exceeds 1500 acres, but most of this consists of hummocky, waterlogged peat moorland supporting only poor quality coarse grasses and sedges. Over 700 sheep now graze this area and the apparently large common pasture is in reality drastically overstocked, a process which must inevitably harm the animals as well as the land.

No pigs or horses are to be found in the township and each crofter keeps very few hens, normally just sufficient to provide eggs for home consumption. Any surplus eggs which do remain are sold to the Co-operative van, but prices are so low that the keeping of more than a dozen hens is far from profitable.

It can be appreciated that crofts of this size and quality can neither provide the crofter and his family with sufficient income, nor fully occupy the available labour force. As a result, people in the past have turned to the sea. Indeed the West Highland Survey describes Orinsay as "primarily a fishing township". Today the herring fishing has disappeared entirely and only one crofter still does a little lobster fishing, sending his catch direct to Billingsgate.

There are now 45 people resident in Orinsay but an examination of their ages reveals that less than half of them are between 15 and 64 years. Indeed there are only six resident males between these ages, and three of these spend at least part of their time working away from the township on the Eishken estate.

As there is neither a school, post office, shop nor garage in Orinsay, there is no available occupation in the 'service trades'. Therefore, over half of the males between the ages of 15 and 44 are permanently away in the Merchant Navy, returning home only for holidays, while another third are seasonally away with the whalers. Similarly almost half of the females of similar age work in domestic service in Glasgow. It must be realised that most of these people working away assist their families at home, and that a large part of the croft incomes are made up of money sent home, together with pensions and other allowances. Emigration from Orinsay to other areas has continued steadily, twenty people leaving the township since the war.

On the whole, housing conditions are good, due to relatively recent construction. There is only one traditional black-house, and even this house has electricity: only one house is without it. Water supply is not so certain as wells and springs are the only source. The township lacks a telephone and a shop, but is served by travelling vans. A good road, constructed within the last decade, connects Orinsay with Gravir; entering the township via the valley to the north-east, it serves directly all but three of the crofts. A bus leaves daily for Stornoway, about thirty miles distant.

Like so many other crofting townships Orinsay, above all else, gives an impression of congestion. The self-same hills that provide shelter also restrict cultivation. The crux of the situation is that land, extremely marginal in character, is being worked by too many tenants on holdings too small to be economic. With three residents to every two acres of cultivated land, Orinsay must be seen as an 'overspill' - an unfortunate result of the cottar problem in the 'twenties'.

/p. 35/

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

| | MALES | | |

AIR SERVICES

craft belonging to the Midland and Scottish Air Ferries Limited 509
came down at the golf course near Melbost; three or four attempts 506
were made to land, but each time it touched down a small boy 175*
ran out to meet it and it was forced to rise again. The directors of the company were interested in establishing an air contact with the island. In September of the same year a giant RAF seaplane landed in Stornoway Bay, the S1589, the largest naval flying boat in the world at the time.

In 1933, Highland Airways Limited proposed an air link between Stornoway and Inverness. The following year, in March, 509
saw the first commercial flight, piloted by an air pioneer in the 175*
north of Scotland, Captain E. E. Fresson. The service was intermittent, however. Then in September 1935 there was an agreement between the trustees of the Stornoway Estate and Captain Glyn Roberts of the West of Scotland Air Services Limited to establish an air service between Renfrew and Stornoway as soon as possible. The trustees gave this company the sole right to operate the service from the landing ground of Melbost golf course for a period of five years. Initially the service was to be thrice weekly, at £3 4s single fare. The interesting connection here was that Captain Roberts was the first man to operate an air mail service on behalf of the Canadian Government, along the route of the MacKenzie River, discovered by Stornoway's Sir Alexander MacKenzie; he carried mails to many of the settlements along the river which had previously been served irregularly. At the same time, survey flights over Lewis were being carried out by Captain Fresson of Highland Airways. These led [508] •
to the construction of 600-yard runways at Melbost, with a radio station to be installed when the airport was complete.

In March 1938, the *Lochgarry*, an old cumbersome, single-screw 509
vessel, was on the Stornoway run. When a sixty-mile an hour 205
gale blew up she was unable to leave Kyle of Lochalsh. The Post 175*
Office, with commendable enterprise, chartered a Highland Airways plane to fly the mails from Inverness to Stornoway and return with island mails. But no regular air service for mails on this route was introduced until 1948. No special mark was introduced by the GPO, but first covers were marked 'First Lewis Air Mail, Feb 16th 1948. Stornoway to Inverness'.

509

509 AIR TRANSPORT—number and distribution of airlines; passenger and freight capacity and traffic; mode of conveyance to and from airports; flight schedules; fares and freight charges; booking arrangements; specialised personnel (e.g., pilots, navigators, radio operators, stewardesses, ground crews, sales force); private and public operation; mail subsidies; government regulation; etc.
See also:
Postal system . . . . . 205 Military air transport services 708
Government aid 656

COMMUNICATIONS

507 Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII,
713 contributed handsomely. But that was only one item in a long
* 175 chapter that will never close.
[736] The most shattering disaster on Lewis shores was the loss of the *Iolaire* on the very last day of the year 1918. Before the New Year's Day of 1919 was a few hours old, over 200 sons and fathers were lying in the death-waters of their drowning, little more than a stone's-throw from their native island. Barely a village on the island was not affected by the sinking of the *Iolaire*, which was bringing soldiers and sailors back from the war to their homes. The subsequent findings of the Court of Inquiry are bald statements which convey nothing of the tragic loss of the cream of an island's male population in a matter of minutes. The jury found that the *Iolaire* went ashore and was wrecked on the rocks inside the 'Beasts of Holm' (outside Stornoway) about 1.55 on the morning of 1 January, resulting in the death of 205 men; that the officers in charge did not exercise sufficient prudence in approaching the harbour; that the boat did not slow down, and that the look-out was not on duty at the time of the accident; that the number of lifeboats, boats and rafts was insufficient for the number of people carried, and that no orders were given by the officers with a view to saving life; and, further, that there was a loss of valuable time between the signals of distress and the arrival of life-saving apparatus in the vicinity of the wreck. The sad affair is still remembered in the In Memoriam columns of the *Stornoway Gazette*.

AIR SERVICES

• 509 The people of the Outer Hebrides are among the most air-minded
506 in the world. However, aeroplanes came late to the island. The
* 175 first visit by an aircraft was in 1928, when Seaplane S1058 landed in Stornoway Harbour. The crew of five were treated to a luncheon by the town's civic heads. In 1932 the seaplane *Flying Cloud* arrived in the town, piloted by Lord Malcolm Douglas Hamilton. Owned by British Flying Boats Limited, it was the first commercial aircraft to land and caused some local talk about air services for the island. In June 1933 a large seven-seater air-

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

AIR SERVICES

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Lewis and Harris

COMMUNICATIONS

• 509 There were, of course, other types of flights before 1948. In
* 175 1937, Captain Fresson took the first sick person off the island on
[743] charter—the beginning of the air-ambulance service so valuable
[205] to the islanders. During World War II, certain RAF mails were flown between Glasgow and Stornoway, on which there were first covers (December 1943, Glasgow/Stornoway; December 1943, Stornoway/Glasgow; and January 1944, Glasgow/Stornoway). The present air services are supplied by BEA and Loganair Ltd. The BEA plane route is Glasgow/Benbecula/Inverness and return. Loganair offer a service Glasgow/Benbecula/Stornoway and return. In recent years this small firm has built up a most valuable inter-island air link.

OVERLAND ROUTES

484 The history of overland communications in the island is a short
* 175 one, though it does, like American history, have many character-
[487] istic highlights. In early times getting from one place to another was simply a matter of following well-worn tracks across the moorland, skirting lochsides and marshy lands and just taking the shortest distance possible between starting point and destination.
[499] Considering the length and breadth of the island, it is surprising that it was not until Sir James Matheson's appearance in Lewis that road-making was undertaken with any determination. This activity stemmed largely from the desire to get something in return for the outlay involved in keeping literal death from starvation clear of the doors of the island folk.

491 The report of the Rev James Headrick (prepared for Lord Sea-
499 forth in 1800 and published about 1820) indicated that the pro-
* 175 vision of roads would be of great benefit to the island. A footnote in the report (of probable date 1816) urges assistance from Parliament or the Board of Fisheries to complete the road from Stornoway to Loch Roag, which had been begun by Lord Seaforth. There is a bitter complaint that though the Seaforth property
[652] bears a large share in the county assessment, 'not a penny of public money has ever been laid out in Lewis'. Another footnote records that the road from Stornoway to Aignish in the east was made in 1815. No large undertakings followed Mr Headrick's

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COMMUNICATIONS

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* 175 Edinburgh every Thursday at eight o'clock at night, and should arrive at Edinburgh every Tuesday morning, but the arrival will sometimes be uncertain.' The development of a postal service in the hinterland of Stornoway was slow. In 1833 only one mail packet ran each week to Lewis, sailing from Poolewe to Stornoway, weather permitting (see Chapter 8), and the island still had only the one post office. By 1880, of course, more contact with the outside world was expected and there were eleven post offices in rural Lewis, with Stornoway's promoted to Head Office status.
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[505] A motor-launch operated between Callernish and Bernera; mails for South Lochs were conveyed across Loch Erisort from Cross-
[494] boat to Cromore, and from Laxay to Keshader. In the early 1930s this area was served by mail van working between Stornoway and Lemreway. In 1950 full use was made of the existing
• [509] BEA air service and, in order that mail from the rural areas could be included, additional main vans were outstationed at Lemreway, Callernish, and Port of Ness. These worked in to meet others working out from the town.

The Harris area was taken under the control of the head postmaster at Stornoway in 1937, having before this date been served by the head postmaster at Lochmaddy, North Uist. A mounted

511

511 STANDARD OF LIVING--ideal standards and actual levels of quantity and quality in regard to shelter, clothing, food, and other consumers' goods; extent to which actual levels fall below the minimal requirements for normal, healthy living; results of statistical studies (e.g., of family budgets); cultural standards of indulgence and luxuries in excess of minimal biological requirements; etc. See also:

Health and welfare 76
Nutrition 148
Population policy 168
Diet 262
Housing 362
Prevalence of home ownership and tenancy . . 437
Income and purchasing power 436
Wages and salaries 468
Leisure-time activities 517
Gradations in wealth 606
Social classes 665
Ownership of dwelling 692
Taxation 661
Poverty 786
Educational statistics 871

632 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the
363 sea: Ceann a Stigh (or Ceann a Stigh Bhaile, or Baile
103 Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the sea), Busilebhir (an area identified with the keeping of cattle), Gearraidh Mor, Creagan, Pluic, and Mach a Chul ("out the back," by a road built relatively recently). A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the moor, or common grazing land, is called Grinnbhat, from the name of a nearby loch.

● 511 The presence of a large Harris Tweed mill in
[348] Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living
[288] within the village. It is estimated that only 25% of
[493] the households of rural Lewis have cars; about 50% of the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970
[342] Shawbost had only one occupied tigh dubh, or "black house" built of dry stone and roofed with thatch, which to many islanders symbolizes a past life of poverty and
[404] adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators,
[251] deep freezers and electric toasters are common in
[207] Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and
[206] many have telephones.

288 The mill in Shawbost employs between 60 and 70
463 persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the

231 People kept several cattle, some of which were dry most
[234] of the time. But because everyone was keeping cattle,
[244] milk could be gotten from a neighbor. One man was
[246] planting eight or nine hundredweights of potatoes before the war, some of which would be used to feed the livestock.
● 511 "You couldn't buy milk then, so you had to keep a cow.
[234] And even though people were weaving, they weren't getting
231 so much money as they are now. It was the barter system
288 here for a long time. So they didn't have the money to
437 buy feeding stuff. It was better to spend the time planting potatoes. Now of course there's more money in the weaving."

175 After the war, an act was passed which provided free
202 milk for schoolchildren. Milk for the Shawbost school
234 was supplied by a farm near Stornoway, and villagers first
198 started buying the milk from the school milk van. A strike
175 held by weavers during the war had increased the payments
178 for weaving, and the barter system had stopped. More
288 money was available. As the loom was more profitable,
463 more people stopped keeping cows, and relied on their
437 neighbors for milk, or got their milk from the van bringing
231 milk to the school. And as the cattle got fewer, the
[292] market for bottled milk expanded. A dairy was started on
198 the west side of the island in the mid-1960's which carries
231 milk from Uig to Ness.
434
234

121 being determined by conditions of culture, such as
121 political and economic conditions. Under conditions
178 of gradual centralization of economic and political
182 systems, the geographically marginal crofting areas have evolved strategies, some of which puzzle agencies concerned with development or other aspects of governmental process.

178 Before the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board
365 began to operate in the crofting counties, not more
● 511 than one croft in every hundred had electricity; but by the end of 1951, one in every six holdings had been supplied (Taylor 1954: 20). "The light" came to
[354] Shawbost in 1951. Before then, the islanders used
[179] Tilley lamps, a Canadian invention; and before then,
[312] double-wick paraffin lamps. Piped water came a few
[464] years later, around 1955; it was brought from a nearby loch, and the construction work gave temporary jobs to
[344] local people. The availability of these services
[342] facilitated the building of county council houses, which many welcomed as providing a relief to the congestion caused in part by rules against building more than one house on a croft. But, paradoxically,
[651] with larger, better homes and all these services came a decrease in the advantages of living in a crofting township: property was assessed and people began paying rates or taxes.

241 Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in 190
654 part stems from government-defined privileges and dutie
288 regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed
477 industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides and
464 thus is protected from competition, has provided work for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger
166 [434] members of croft families live in cities on the mainlan and send part of their wages home; they return regularl to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus the
[162] [632] township supplies urban workers who remain very much attached to the rural townships, which are composed of
● 511 aged family members and a rural proletariat. The standa
464 of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated
213 savings, although much of this surplus is used by the me for alcoholic drinks.

121 In Britain, rural communities have been interpreted as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf. Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall presented "an operational theory of role" by which he suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analyzed and compared. He developed the concept "density of role texture" to describe societies which lie along a continuu from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southall's concept along with other concepts to present a more complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "models" of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially lists

[Seaforthhead] [Shieldernish] [Habost]

ppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now ven over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two have migrated nce 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males tween 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school e.

In Seaforthhead and Shieldernish all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on ght elevations. At Seaforthhead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's,'Seaforth Castle', w ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled, mmunication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives cess to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

IELDERNISH

Shieldernish, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Lochs nd. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the nd and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to ter management and new ideas.

Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put ether to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes, ferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the nbs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a ther acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and atoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although tle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total cking of the Shieldernish crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use ugh there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six fts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out he six crofts - both at Seaforthhead - are worked from outside the township and this lated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to zing. Shieldernish appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as ls are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing der crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be ewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Shieldernish better placed than Seaforthhead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a rkable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the nts from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement etches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained eys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to ten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place. rer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin s.

[Lemreway] [Orinsay]

228 The West Highland Survey Township Card[1] describes Lemreway as "predominantly a fishing
196 township". The remains of an old curing station are visible today and until 1947 there were twelve
[434] boats operating from Lemreway. A declining market, increasing cost of gear for obsolescent boats
435 and the lack of a landing stage led to the decline of the industry in this township. Today there is
[504] one fishing boat which lands its catch in Stornoway: working with modern equipment, drift and ring nets, it provides a regular income for a crew of six.

161 An examination of the population statistics proves interesting, especially when compared with
162 those for Orinsay. Lemreway's resident population of just over 70 males and 70 females is large considering that there are six unoccupied crofts. Eleven of the crofts have more than one house and the cottar population forms over a third of the total residents. More than two-thirds of this resident population is in the two important age groups - between 15 and 64. With over forty resident males in the working age group, Lemreway provides a striking contrast to other crofting townships in Park.

[463] Fourteen of these men are full-time croft workers, while nine others find work in ancillary
241 occupations such as weaving and fishing. A further eight supplement their croft work with regular
358 employment - a postmaster and a postman, a bus driver, a lorry driver and several weavers. Just
238 over thirty people work away from the township permanently, fourteen in the Merchant Navy and
205 nine girls in domestic service, while a further nine engage in seasonal work.
494

Emigration from the township has continued steadily with forty people leaving since 1939.
166 Nevertheless, Lemreway has a larger proportionate resident population than most townships.
167
505
[351]

Only four thatched houses are occupied and housing conditions generally are good. Every house
342 has electricity, but, with four exceptions, water has to be carried from springs and wells. Most
399 of the present houses were constructed in the 1930s and they are usually near to the road. Ruins
312 of the old houses remain, some being used as byres, and these were built either along the shore or
361 up the slope in the shelter of the hills, where the house was near the sheep, the peat and the springs.
[491] Today supplies of food, peat and even seaweed are brought by road.

484 Mention must be made of the possibilities of the tourist trade in Lemreway with its most attractive situation and reasonable road connections. An approach has been made to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association and while hostellers could not greatly increase the income of the residents, they would stimulate interest in the area. Accommodation for summer visitors, other than relatives
[485] of the crofters, is difficult to find but it seems that at least three houses could be used.

000 It is possible to be optimistic about the future of Lemreway, as at the moment considerable
407 enterprise is being shown. A Ferguson tractor, bought this year by a man returning from whaling,
311 is an example. It is to be hired out and could be put to good use in some parts, especially on the
242 outend. The attempt to improve the common pasture and the new extensions to neatly painted houses
463 all reflect a combined effort to improve conditions. The old economy of crofter-fisherman is being adapted to modern times and crofter-weaver, crofter-postman and crofter-bus driver are the contemporary employment combinations.

181 The pessimism and apathy noticed in many crofters is to be found in Lemreway but above this
000 is the impression of enterprise. If Lemreway can continue to adapt itself to changing conditions, it may be able to combat the 'drift to Glasgow' and continue as a successful community.

ORINSAY

Beth Blowers, Brenda Turner and John Wearmouth

131 Orinsay is a small crofting township clustered, in the form of a horseshoe, around the head of
361 a sheltered bay on the northern side of Loch Shell. Most of the houses are situated within fifty yards
241 of the shore on a narrow strip of level land, while the crofts extend from the shore on to the moor

1. The Directors of the Crofting Survey are grateful to Dr. F. Fraser Darling for granting access to the individual Township Cards, which are a storehouse of information. For detailed con-
[113] tents of the cards, see West Highland Survey p. 247.

1845 there was a small crescent of houses along the shore, 175* 178* 361 621 but twenty in number, and on the raised terrace there was new inn, a church, a post office, a bank, several shops, and [366] street of homes.[34] The population had grown to all of 510.[35] [368] existence of the village depended on the summer cattle [161] kets and the fishing industry, which was in the hands of comers.

Following the establishment of Portree and accompanying 175* 178* 648 gradual decline in self-sufficiency, the Island was brought o closer contact with Great Britain by an extension of ular means of communication.[36] Regular communications, of rse, are a prerequisite for commercialization. There must access to markets for the local produce and access to sumer goods. Without such access no man can specialize; h it the Sgiathanach has been diinclined to specialize. The [491] drove roads, the beaten paths which had served them well many centuries, were now supplemented by roads in the land sense of the term. By the end of the period most of [505] more accessible townships had been connected with Portree the mainland, and a steamer had entered regular service ween Portree and Glasgow. These factors paved the way for introduction of commercial sheep farming.

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[34] George and Peter Anderson, Guide to the Highlands and ands of Scotland (3rd ed.; Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 7), p. 435; and MSA, pp. 225, 231, 234, 235.

[35] Census of Scotland: Inverness.

[36] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 400, 759; MacCulloch, cit., Vol. III, p. 372; MSA, p. 231, 298, 311, 320; and olson, op. cit., p. 305.

506

506 AIRCRAFT--types of air and space craft (e.g., balloons, dirigibles, gliders, airplanes); mode of propulsion; machinery and instruments; landing gear; freight and passenger accommodations; etc. See also:

Power	37	Kites	624
Carrier birds	202	Rocket weapons	713
Manufacture of aircraft	399	Military aircraft	717
Air transport	509		

een Victoria and the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, ntributed handsomely. But that was only one item in a long apter that will never close.

The most shattering disaster on Lewis shores was the loss of *Iolaire* on the very last day of the year 1918. Before the New ar's Day of 1919 was a few hours old, over 200 sons and hers were lying in the death-waters of their drowning, little re than a stone's-throw from their native island. Barely a vil-e on the island was not affected by the sinking of the *Iolaire*, ich was bringing soldiers and sailors back from the war to ir homes. The subsequent findings of the Court of Inquiry are d statements which convey nothing of the tragic loss of the am of an island's male population in a matter of minutes. e jury found that the *Iolaire* went ashore and was wrecked on rocks inside the 'Beasts of Holm' (outside Stornoway) about 5 on the morning of 1 January, resulting in the death of 205 n; that the officers in charge did not exercise sufficient prudence approaching the harbour; that the boat did not slow down, d that the look-out was not on duty at the time of the accident; t the number of lifeboats, boats and rafts was insufficient for number of people carried, and that no orders were given by officers with a view to saving life; and, further, that there was oss of valuable time between the signals of distress and the ival of life-saving apparatus in the vicinity of the wreck. The l affair is still remembered in the In Memoriam columns of *Stornoway Gazette*.

AIR SERVICES

e people of the Outer Hebrides are among the most air-minded the world. However, aeroplanes came late to the island. The t visit by an aircraft was in 1928, when Seaplane S1058 landed Stornoway Harbour. The crew of five were treated to a cheon by the town's civic heads. In 1932 the seaplane *Flying oud* arrived in the town, piloted by Lord Malcolm Douglas milton. Owned by British Flying Boats Limited, it was the t commercial aircraft to land and caused some local talk about services for the island. In June 1933 a large seven-seater air-

craft belonging to the Midland and Scottish Air Ferries Limited came down at the golf course near Melbost; three or four attempts were made to land, but each time it touched down a small boy ran out to meet it and it was forced to rise again. The directors of the company were interested in establishing an air contact with the island. In September of the same year a giant RAF seaplane landed in Stornoway Bay, the S1589, the largest naval flying boat in the world at the time. 509 506 175*

In 1933, Highland Airways Limited proposed an air link between Stornoway and Inverness. The following year, in March, saw the first commercial flight, piloted by an air pioneer in the north of Scotland, Captain E. E. Fresson. The service was intermittent, however. Then, in September 1935 there was an agreement between the trustees of the Stornoway Estate and Captain Glyn Roberts of the West of Scotland Air Services Limited to establish an air service between Renfrew and Stornoway as soon as possible. The trustees gave this company the sole right to operate the service from the landing ground of Melbost golf course for a period of five years. Initially the service was to be thrice weekly, at £3 4s single fare. The interesting connection here was that Captain Roberts was the first man to operate an air mail service on behalf of the Canadian Government, along the route of the MacKenzie River, discovered by Stornoway's Sir Alexander MacKenzie; he carried mails to many of the settlements along the river which had previously been served irregularly. At the same time, survey flights over Lewis were being carried out by Captain Fresson of Highland Airways. These led to the construction of 600-yard runways at Melbost, with a radio station to be installed when the airport was complete. 509 175* [508]

In March 1938, the *Lochgarry*, an old cumbersome, single-screw vessel, was on the Stornoway run. When a sixty-mile an hour gale blew up she was unable to leave Kyle of Lochalsh. The Post Office, with commendable enterprise, chartered a Highland Airways plane to fly the mails from Inverness to Stornoway and return with island mails. But no regular air service for mails on this route was introduced until 1948. No special mark was introduced by the GPO, but first covers were marked 'First Lewis Air Mail, Feb 16th 1948. Stornoway to Inverness'. 509 205 175*

508

508 AIRPORT FACILITIES--air fields; loading, unloading, and fueling facilities; facilities for repair and overhaul; freight and passenger facilities at airports and air terminals; etc. See also:

Description of hangars and other structures . . . 349 Military airfields 718
Urban airport facilities 368

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

286 462 175 433 273 175 433 427 438 175 511 175 824 323 388 433

womenfolk, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five families. In Lewis, male weavers were more common: one to every twenty-five families. The making of whisky was introduced about the seventeenth century. This was in addition to the old drink of home-brewed beer or ale *(lionn)*, and much of it was made to pay rents; it must have consumed a considerable quantity of valuable foodstuff. However, the spread of distillation as a legitimate home industry by which the rent could be paid, in kind or by sale, was followed by legislation prohibiting all but very large stills; illegal distilling of course went on in a small way.

It was, then, by a very narrow margin that subsistence was won in the island some two centuries ago. Many times famine showed how close was the wolf to the island doors. The introduction of the potato, and the interest in the fishing industry led to an increase in the population, though as discussed in Chapter 3 this in turn brought more problems. Basically, the island economy had never been organised on a sound foundation, with the result that winds of change blew where they would with little or no control.

A new factor in the island economy was introduced after 1750. This was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed on the shore for subsequent use in the manufacture of alkali for the glass and soap industries. The first tentative move in the island was made by MacLeod of Harris in 1748, when he allowed some Irish labourers to make kelp on his shores; so little was the product's value realised at the time that he only charged them 2s per ton manufactured. As the burning of kelp came to be understood, and the marketable value of the product ascertained, the native population set to. Between 1772 and 1864, about 50 tons were produced in Lewis each year, compared with some 800 tons per annum in the Uists; the Harris figure was 500-600 tons. The growth of the industry began to snowball, and the Minister of Lochs, writing in the *Old Statistical Account*, states that at the time (1796) some 50 tons were being produced in that parish per annum. In Stornoway parish, though no figure is available, the minister reports that kelp-burning was the principal manufacture, and that everyone able to fill a creel, or carry one, was employed at it for about three months of the year. Little of it seems to have been done in Barvas parish. The price of kelp varied

[221]

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

175* 824 323 388 433

according to the amount of barilla (its great competitor, a carbonate of soda made from plant ashes) which found its way into the British market. When the American war interfered with the imports the kelp price was as high as £22 per ton. Prices began to decline about 1810, and from 1822 successive reductions in duties on salt and barilla resulted in the decline and demise of the kelp industry. As a consequence great distress appeared in those districts which had founded their whole economy on seaweed.

The weeds of most value to the industry, because they yielded most salts, included *laminaria digitata, laminaria bulbosa, ascophyllum nodosum* and *fucus serratus*. One ton of kelp yielded an average of 8 lb of iodine, with certain quantities of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, and carbonate of soda. When subjected to special treatment and distillation, 2-3 cwts of sulphate of ammonia, and several gallons of naphtha, paraffin oil, and volatile oil were also derived.

[137]

175* 228

The fishing industry, discussed in the previous chapter, took over where the kelp-making industry left off and became another king-pin in the island economy. By the end of the last century it seemed set fair for continuing prosperity. In 1900, harbours were being planned and built with State aid in Uig, at Carloway, Ness and Tarbert. Then 1914 came, and with it sweeping changes in international trade. Island fishermen were left workless with wrecked and rotting fishing boats. In twenty years the number of Scotland's fishermen was halved; the remainder were all but ruined. The islanders' fate mirrored this pattern.

[503] [653] [511]

175* 701 434

Yet another significant source of income for island families for almost 200 years came from the men in military service, who either sent money home or returned home with their gratuities and pay. In the wars of the last century many enlisted in the Highland regiments, the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Even today, the income from this external activity is not insignificant.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

175* 113

Information and statistics about the economy of the island in the middle of the eighteenth century are to be found in Walker's *Economical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland*; his MS is in the British Museum.

Island) and Eilean Mhuire (Mary's Island). The Shiants are the 131
eroded relic of the same age of volcanic activity that formed the
strange-looking columns of Staffa and of the Giant's Causeway [133]
in Antrim. The mass of cooling molten rock slowly crystallised
and changed in composition: the early-formed crystals sank to
the bottom, the later ones being found nearer the top. In 1845 one 361
family lived on Garbh Eilean, the largest, which is joined to 162
Eilean an Tigh by a low storm beach; but the family was lost, 175*
falling over one of the great precipices which are a feature of the
group. In 1821, 2 males and 4 females lived there; in 1891, 3
males and 5 females; and in 1901, 4 males and 4 females. But in
this year the last family upped and went to Tarbert, Harris; for
one of its members, a girl of 21, it was the first visit to the outside
world. Since then there has been no permanent population. Back
between 1811 and 1821 a visitor to the Shiants had some hard [511] •
things to say about the filth and darkness of the shepherd's dwelling in contrast with the 'loveliness of nature, the bright sand, the fair rock, the enamelled green turf, and the sweetness of the summer breeze'.

Records show that at one time in the islands' history some sixteen people lived there, working small crofts. The ruins of their chapel can still be seen. The author Sir Compton MacKenzie had the house on Eilean an Tigh renovated for a stay there, and later the islands were bought by Nigel Nicholson, author and publisher. Today they are used for grazing sheep.

St Kilda

The St Kilda group of islands, some 45 miles off the west coast [131]
of Lewis, belong to the parish of Harris. These islands have an [631]
extensive literature and can only be touched on here. When the
population was evacuated from St Kilda in 1930, the move broke
for all time almost 2,000 years of continuous island living; they
were taken off at their own request, after much careful and
serious deliberation by the St Kilda 'parliament'. Life in Hirta,
the only island in the group with a permanent human settlement,
depended on the seabirds that breed in their tens of thousands on
the cliffs of Hirta and Boreray, and the great stacks of Stac an
Armin and Stac Lee. The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars

11 ISLAND LIFE

181 As one might expect with an island that is not obviously surrounded with water, life in Harris and Lewis is lived out by an amalgam of communities somewhat similar to those found in very large cities, with defineable districts and recognisable boundaries. The island is too large for any physical feature to demonstrate that it is unconnected with a larger land mass. One looks to the horizon, down the coasts, at the satellite islands, and concludes that if indeed it is an island, the separate elements which combine to make an islander must be found elesewhere than in the landscape. And so they are: in the people, their way of living, their economic problems, their attitudes, and their own consciousness of the fact that distance over the hills and the moors to the sea is significant, in that one eventually comes to the end of a road or track; or that a river or stream runs itself out for ever into the sea. Harris and Lewis is the biggest of all the 'small'
[161] islands off the shores of Britain, and has been fortunate in its
[167] size: large enough to support a significant number of people who, despite emigration, have managed to maintain their numbers reasonably well and who are now making efforts to reduce emigration and its effects on the island communities to a bearable level.

177 Because it is an island, however, external influences are felt like cold winter winds. The 1966 seamen's strike was an example; Government intervention was needed to supply essential goods. After the strike many questions were asked. All had their roots in the island's dependence on the outside for not a few of the necessities which could be produced on Harris and Lewis itself, with either its own resources or the resourcefulness of the island
• 511 folk. To be short of fish, for instance—and this occurred—while
177 the seas around the island were teeming, was unhappy history repeating itself, a harking back to former times when starvation levels could have been avoided by looking around for the means to harvest the crop lying around. The strike also threw into relief the question of the viability of crofting as a full-time occupation.

233 according to the relief, as explained. Thus the Barvas
182 parish with its smooth topography permits of ploughing,
and there is, or rather was, one horse between two crofts,
231 or one pair between four or five. In rocky Uig or in Lochs,
however, there is only one pony between ten or twelve crofts.
492 Lending or hiring of horses has still to be practised, but
426 within manageable limits, though the increase in 'cars' had lessened the number of horses, even before the war-time introduction of tractors. Hiring is often done for cash, though this conflicts with older communal custom. Yet lending had its difficulties: "The borrowed horse", says the lender bitterly, in the Gaelic proverb, "is never tired!"

233 The number of sheep per holding is noticeably highest
184 in Harris, with one score ewes per holding. The sheep pasture of North Harris was well spoken of by Dean Monro, and the link with the home industry of Harris, its weaving, is evident.

241 Comparisons with the western mainland show, in
311 holdings of similar or rather large size, the diminished amount of cereals now grown there even by crofters. The increased proportion of grass reflects both the greater dependence on bought provisions, and also the fact that the West is not a land to ripen crops, but that it can grow grass for stock.

4. *The Moors as Pasture: Game and Sport*

311 In order to estimate the relative value of the rough
• 511 grazings of Lewis and Harris, it will be well to compare these with the moors lying across the Minch and east of Cape Wrath. There also may be found crofting communities whose economics are similar to those of Lewis, so that the stock carried on their pastures will furnish some

311 indication of their worth. As above, the period is *c.* 1937–
• 511 1938. The Island's increased sheep stock is shown in Appendix II (ii) (a) to 1953.

[233] The Lewis and Harris pastures carry on an average about one ewe to 9 or 10 acres, that is, one ewe or lamb to 4 acres in June (the month of the agricultural returns). A good mainland grazing like Glen Shiel carries one ewe to 6 acres, while poorer grazings like Kintail and Farr carry one ewe to 10 or 14 acres respectively. Nowhere, however, can the rough grazing support the newly weaned ewe lambs (or hoggs) throughout the winter, which have either to be brought to the enclosed 'low ground' (of which there is never enough to supply both grass and winter feed) or sent to the Lowlands in autumn and brought back in spring, at a total cost of about 10s. each before 1939. In Lewis, for lack of grass, there is considerable loss in winter among the crofters' sheep. Constructive measures for the future must be based on an increased supply of winter feed.

137 The game consist of red deer, grouse and hares, while
511 salmon and trout are fished in stream and loch. The deer range over Harris, Park and the Uig hills, but are seldom seen north of Achmore. They are of ordinary quality and size, and before 1939 the average number of heads for the year totalled about 190 stags and 80 hinds. It is not known
[529] when they were introduced. In the south there may be a certain amount of 'deer stealing', as in most deer forests surrounded by crofts, in spite of a score of keepers and deer-stalkers, and other employees at shooting lodges. Grouse are relatively scarce compared with those on drier
[825] mainland moors. Mountain hares have multiplied since their introduction in 1853, when, it is said, the first hare, seen near a village towards evening with its white winter coat, was thought to be supernatural.

• 511 coat, was thought to be supernatural. The fishi
226 of good standard: a typical annual catch includ
511 salmon, 5000 sea-trout and 1800 brown trout; a
for this, as well as for the shootings, that the m
taining to the different shooting or fishing lodges a
137 were bought at Lord Leverhulme's sale. The a
foxes was important to sheep-rearing before the i
233 tion of guns, and is still a favourable factor.

5. *Sea-fishing*

226 Fish have always contributed to the diet of the
178 whether they fished from coracles or boats, or wi
wands' from the shore as they still do, and as th
[262] the days of Dean Monro and, no doubt, right
[433] neolithic times. The relative importance of fis
agriculture, however, has always varied according
[241] and time.

182 Fishing in modern and historic, and also in pre
times—to judge from the kitchen middens of
226 always flourished more where there were deep s
241 and settlement resulted, even though rocky hillsid
ploughing difficult or impossible. Conversely, ag
[178] has offered better opportunity on smooth coast
[172] variety of soils, though fishing was poorer there
the men of Stornoway Bay and Eye, of eastern l
of the Harris bays, like those of Loch Roag on t
have long been partly fishermen. In the extrem
too, men of Ness—with the chance of choosing thei
grounds on the north, west or east of the island a
their little rocky port giving shelter, of a sort, fro
[461] west gales—were good fishermen; they are good
[829] still. "The fishing of the Barvas folk" is an o

175 natural zone, could not be extended. In any case, the re-
433 clamation of clay land tended to slacken as efforts turned
434 to fishing and kelp-making. The introduction or increased
[182] growing of potatoes added to the human, but hardly to the
[311] animal, food supply. Finally, while the beginnings of
[232] medical knowledge and vaccination had aided the growth
[422] of population after 1750, veterinary science had made no progress, nor did it advance in the Island for many years to come. We may conclude that an average stock per Island family about 1720 was rather more than that of 1790, and the acreage relatively larger, while both were greater than the average of today, particularly in the Lews.

175 What, then, could a family have to eat, from such crops
262 and stock? While in winter even now there is almost no
244 milk to be had on a croft, and there would be little then, there was salt meat, dried or salted cod (or herring) and fish oil; oat and barley meal and some rye meal; cabbages; and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, potatoes. Martin included potatoes among the crops grown even on far St. Kilda in 1697. A century later it was written that the people of Uig, for instance, had, though 'unwilling', been induced to grow and eat them 'forty years before'; and the years tend to be under-estimated where changes are slow and memories long! But it was written of Harris that by June the meal and potatoes had mostly been consumed, "and such as cannot afford to purchase imported meal subsist chiefly on the milk of their cows and sheep, with what fish they may chance to catch, till their wants are relieved by the first fruits of their potato crops early in Harvest".

175 We conclude that with even less money but a little
• 511 more grain the population in the Island had fluctuated
162 about a mean for some centuries before, as it had in so
171

175 much of Britain and Europe until about 1700. A modern
• 511 parallel may be found in Asiatic lands with the frequency
162 of famines alternating with periods of recovery or, in others,
171 the long-drawn misery of chronic under-nutrition and endemic disease. In modern Europe, only international
[731] or civil war can now bring such extreme widespread misery. And as peace brings partial healing, so in the Island past, when good seasons returned after famines, the life of the family renewed itself.[1]

175 The narrow margin of survival even in good seasons,
593 the risks of the bread-winner's death and of his family's destitution, and the need of co-operation in so many tasks made the family too small, weak and precarious a unit to stand alone. Even with relatively little division (or specialisation) of labour, and in spite of its apparent self-sufficiency, the family had perforce to link itself with wider circles of community life.

(B) JOINT LABOUR BY SMALL TEAMS: THE EVIDENCE OF TENURE IN 1715–26

175 Romance is hidden among the rent-rolls of the Seaforth
241 estates, all of which were forfeited when the Earl rose for
429 'King James VIII' in 1715. For of the rents withheld from the government until 1720, on the mainland at least
[642] the loyal clansmen paid a considerable portion to their
[613] exiled chief, styled 'Marquis' by 'King James'. But the

[1] The 'ups and downs' of a peasantry living on the margin of subsistence and subject to severe disease can be studied in India, 1871–1941, where the 'net' or mean change has to be correlated with the 'variability'.
[113] This wide problem was reviewed in a series of papers to 1948; "The Social and Psychological Significance of Variability in Regional Changes of Population", with examples taken from Indian villages. (A. Geddes, *Human Relations*, Vol. 1, 2, 1947–48; cf. *Geog. Rev.* 1942 and 1948; and *Geog. Journal*, 3, vol. 98, 1941).

175 On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an
693 outlying reclaimable patch of arable, lying near distant, little-
423 used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chance
[241] of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the man
[311] and his family; but there might be advantages such as
[184] an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as hunting
[224] 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunter-
[823] bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft was
175 known as *Ruigh* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of poverty
361 with individuality in isolation were handed down, for
• [511] example, from one of my forebears who held such a *ruigh*,
Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-feet
contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the last
of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *ruigh* may
have originally been a summer shieling, only occupied
when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with new
possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led to
settlement there.

178 At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of North
361 Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lodges
224 and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth, as
233 they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such as
one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small islets.
But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single crofts
361 are rare. And the clearest distinction must be drawn
621 between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage or
184 croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or even
two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers; for
even a few families form the germ of a community, in work
and in leisure.

175 The potentialities of co-operative practice were over-
178 looked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough. For
654 when new methods were required, run-rig kept back the
476 pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. Soon
241

175 About the seventeenth century there was introduced
433 the making of *aqua vitae*, *uisge-beatha* or 'whisky', an
273 addition to the ancient drink of home-brewed beer or ale
(*lionn*), a pleasant brew still tolerated by the Excise. In
[427] order to pay the rent, the making of whisky from home-
[651] grown barley must have consumed a precious foodstuff.
The small bulk of whisky facilitated export by tacksman
or Factor, and it also served to tickle the palate, cure the
[651] ills and cheer the spirits of the crofters themselves. But
before 1800 'the Gauger' was in the land, though there
were undoubtedly whisky stills that escaped his eye. In
some of the old houses a hollow space was left at a selected
spot between the inner and the outer walls, to conceal what
was not meant to be seen. A pleasant picture survives of
• [511] the eighteenth century. It is told of a man of exceptional
prosperity, that when he laid his head on a pillow "he
could hear on the one side the clacking of his corn mill and
on the other the babble of his still". What more could
[427] the good man want? Nevertheless, the increase of distilla-
[671] tion as a legitimate home industry by which to pay the rent
(in kind or by sale), followed by legislation prohibiting all
but large stills, first encouraged the Islanders in a taste for
strong drink, then tempted them to smuggling and breaking
the law.[1] Seaforth started two distilleries at Stornoway,
importing barley for the purpose. By 1825 these had ousted
the illicit stills, but they were closed about 1870.[2]

175 From a perilously narrow margin of subsistence, periodi-
178 cally overstepped in famines, the Islanders passed to a
larger measure of production for sale, and in the second
431 half of the eighteenth century population increased. Its
433
[113]

[1] Cf. D. Stewart of Garth, *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 1821, vol. i, pt. ii, sec. v.
[2] Brand Report, 1902.

000 landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time.

175 Wars brought enlistment in the Highland regiments,
162 the Navy and Merchant Marine. Owing to migrations of
all kinds, males came to be outnumbered by females, then
[702] as later (100 males to 114 females, 1931).[1] In Lewis in
[167] 1795 the proportion was 100 to 111, and in Harris 100 to
124. From this period onwards the 'export of men' con-
175 tinued, modified by the reserve for war. Men were trained
162 for the Naval Reserve and Militia; and in 1900 for instance
702 800 men were training at Fort George and 2500 sailors
were in the Reserve. The maintenance of a reserve for the
Navy was one of the strongest pleas for the framing of the
Crofters Act.

175 A new resource, important to the Islanders after 1750,
824 was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed upon
323 the shore, for use in the manufacture of alkali in the glass
388 and soap industries. From 1770 onwards the price rose,
heightened first by an import duty, then by the Napoleonic
175 Wars. Estimating from the high prices, averaging over
824 £10 per ton from 1800 to 1823, Sir John Sinclair put the
435 value of the annual produce (20,000 tons) at £200,000. "It
may appear surprising", he remarks, "how that sum could
be of such importance to 80,000 people"; but he goes
on to point out that this gave the additional cash needed
to supplement their subsistence. But even when Sinclair
wrote in 1825, the industry was in peril. Failure and loss
occurred almost immediately after, with disastrous effect.

175 It is complained in the *New Statistical Account* that
423 owing to the summer-time work of kelp-making up to
1830, the people could give little attention to the crofts, so
• [511] that their extension must almost have ceased. Nor could

[1] In 1951 the ratio in Lewis was 100 males to 112 females, and in Harris, 100 to 110.

175 small savings, if any, have been put to the purchase of fish-
• 511 ing gear and boats, for fishing, too, was summer work. By
[433] 1833 the poverty of the Outer Islesfolk and the bankruptcy
of the landlords were such that Parliamentary attention
was called to the state of the Hebrides. Poverty continued
to be extreme, but need turned the people to fishing.
[433] The loss of revenue to the lairds led to their making sheep
farms—somewhat unwillingly—with local evictions: in
Lewis chiefly from Park and from north of Stornoway, and
in Harris notably from the western Machars to the eastern
[423] Bays. In spite of this, it also brought about the sale of
[621] Harris by Macleod, and finally of Lewis by Seaforth in
1844.[1]

(B) NEW OWNERSHIP AND CAPITAL IN LEWIS: 1844–78

175 Lewis was bought by Mr. James Matheson, a gentleman
423 of Highland family, whose fortune had been made in China.
Sir James (as he became) put much capital, effort and
goodwill into the management and improvement of the
Island. Of the amounts expended we may distinguish, so
far as possible, what he spent as a rich man for his private
[931] pleasure from what he spent for the people. No sooner
had Matheson bought the Island than the 'potato famine'
of 1845–46 broke out. The terrible loss of life in Ireland,
and the depopulation of that country which followed, would
have been equalled in the Isles but for the action of
landowners like Matheson—who were the descendants of
'kinsmen', not of alien conquerors—and also of subscribers

[1] A sketch map of Harris showing the areas cleared (1816–54) and areas settled as a result, together with those re-settled by government help after 1900, is given by J. B. Caird, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67, 2, 1951, p. 94.

175 rent averaging 31s., in addition to which there were over
423 1000 houses of the cottar class and 300 houses of the
squatter class.[1]

Lastly, Sir James trained no successor to follow up or improve upon his experience. At his death in 1878 Sir James was succeeded by his widow, and, nearly twenty years after, she was followed by a nephew and his son. But the expenses of Stornoway Castle and its burdens, accompanied by lower rents, weighed down the new proprietors.
[228] In 1918 the estate was sold to Lord Leverhulme, who shortly afterwards purchased Harris too, with a view to his great schemes of fishery development.

(C) FISHERIES: 1750–1914

175 For the greatest expanding industry of the northern
411 coastlands, Matheson had done comparatively little even
at Stornoway. In 1883, a former Factor (Mr. Mackenzie
228 of Calgarry) stated that he had constantly asked for aid
to the fisheries, especially by the building of harbours,
pointing out that the landlord would reap benefit in rent.[2]
But Matheson had replied that the fishermen and fish-
curers, the people engaged in the trade, should do this work
[654] for themselves. By the end of the century, harbours were
being planned and built with State aid in the north, west
and south-east of the Island (at Ness, Carloway and Uig,
[439] and Tarbert, Harris). In 1900 the Islanders possessed
150 herring boats, and in that year five boats from the
Stornoway District sailed for the first time to Yarmouth,
• [511] and two to Lerwick. For the next dozen years there were
[113] real hopes that prosperity could be maintained.

[1] *Royal Commission on Housing*, 1917, p. 212. Cf. *Fraser Report on Cottars in Lewis*, 1888, and the recommendations by the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee, *Report on Rural Housing in Scotland*, 1937, pp. 56-63, 75-77.
[2] Brand Report (1902).

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427 croft by subdivision, he would pay little, indirectly and by
656 arrangement; while if he simply built a hut or house on
a vacant spot he paid neither rates nor rent. Either course
was illegal; yet it was too expensive for the landlord,
however 'hard-hearted', to take legal proceedings to turn
off a squatter. As for wholesale expropriation the suffering
caused and the odium incurred would have involved—and
would still involve—both landlord and State in insurmount-
able difficulties by starting fresh agitation, perhaps with
outbreaks of law-breaking, repression and bad blood. Yet
these anomalies still discourage, and the normal illegalities
demoralise, all concerned.

656 Because of the provision by State and local authorities
178 of a growing range of services in other regions, and also
because of the special reasons of Insular poverty, State
• 511 action was increasingly taken in the Isles. To what extent
have the Islanders responded, it may be asked; or how
12 far may they have failed, in return for aid offered and
[476] benefits received? Let us begin with mutual aid practised
among the people up to 1900, and then consider the repay-
ment of loans and grants under different conditions. Ob-
servations by those in touch with the Island for many
years, officially or privately, allow one to read between the
lines and attempt an impartial judgment.

175 As to the strength of independent mutual aid there
476 could be no doubt. Up to the beginning of this century,
the amounts expended on parish relief were 'almost
(657) nothing', and had shown no increase in preceding years.
General poverty, anomalies in the rating system, and the
mistakes such as the erection of poorhouses by the central
administration, diminished resources; but the people
generously gave help to their poorer neighbours in work
and gifts. Except for a year of overwhelming crisis,

175 CH. IX ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919
178 and savings were sent by emigrants who remained faithful
433 to parents and home.

If it be asked why most of the people kept to their
167 Island home in spite of its poverty and earned so little
175 away from it, one answer must be that their native tongue
178 formed a barrier encircling them as a community at home
197 and cutting them off from the rest of the nation. Seventy-
five years ago the new Education Acts were not yet in
(671) full operation. Comparing the relative well-being in the
Shetlands with the extreme poverty in the Hebrides at that
(871) time, a northern agriculturist wrote that in Scotland, only
• 511 in the Hebrides "is the food obtained by the peasant
occasionally so scanty" as to be unable "to maintain a
[184] labouring man in vigorous health". Inquiring why there
should be so great a difference between the Shetlanders
175 and the Hebrideans, living in similar, distant isles, he
178 wrote, "We think the answer may be given in one word—
197 *language*. . . . The population of the Hebrides cling to
their ancient Gaelic with consequences most disastrous to
182 themselves. . . . It handicaps them in the race for life . . .
is a hindrance in the cities and a check to the emigration
of both sexes to those world-wide regions where all who
speak the English tongue find themselves at home."[1] He
concurred with the Census Report of 1871, which stated:
"The Gaelic language may be what it likes, both as to
antiquity and beauty, but it decidedly stands in the way
of the civilisation of the natives making use of it, and shuts
them out from the paths open to their fellow-countrymen
who speak the English tongue". The Report concludes:
"It ought therefore to cease being taught in all our national
schools. We are one people and we ought to have but one

[1] James Mollison, in the Highland and Agricultural Society's *Report on the Present State of the Agriculture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878), pp. 136-38.

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175 language." Many Islanders would agree with the state-
178 ment that Gaelic was a barrier to economic progress.
197 It was not only Lowland schoolmasters, ignorant of Gaelic
182 but an educated, sensible class of men in their day, who
used the strap on the palms of the little children "for
their good" because they could not understand English.
• [510] An active Lewis country schoolmaster, who had considerable
175 rural knowledge and experience, said to me: "I know what
197 I have suffered through life from being brought up on
Gaelic. If I had my way, I would *punish* [with the strap]
871 every child I heard speaking Gaelic in the playground!"
Had the Island School Boards wished Gaelic to be con-
sistently taught with English, they could have prevailed.

114 One may not only disagree strongly with the means—
197 the strap—but hold that enlightened bilingual teaching is
871 both worth while culturally and also of assistance to
intelligence without interfering with use in English of the
three Rs, and of secondary and higher education. Yet in
153 Lewis recent non-verbal tests in English and Gaelic show
a mean intelligence quotient depressed by about 15 points.[1]
153 The conclusion seems to be that under the present system
197 the Gaelic school child is still at a disadvantage compared
182 to other school children. But even more important to the
child's development would seem to be the expression of
121 his response to his rural environment in his own tongue.
For this the school tests and the educational code do not
fully provide; nor do the tests of life when the adolescent
Islander suddenly finds himself at work in a Glasgow
175 factory or abroad in city streets. What concerns us here
197 is the economic drawback of a lack of ready English among
182
(113) [1] Christina A. Smith, M.A., B.Ed., *Mental Testing of Hebridean Children in Gaelic and English*. (Scot. Council on Research in Education, vol. xxvii (London, 1948); J. L. Campbell, *Gaelic in Scotland* (and ed.) (Edinburgh, 1948).

427 Nevertheless, the attachment to the holdings is very real and must be given careful con-
• 511 sideration when assessing their present utilisation and potential value. It is particularly
significant because it leads to large numbers of tenants retaining holdings which are far
[447] too small to yield a living. Inevitably they seek other sources of income either at home
(as by weaving or casual road labour) or away (as in the Merchant Navy, armed forces,
[29] police or other skilled or unskilled work). As a consequence the croft is neglected and
its potential resources, small as they are, are not realised. The decline in cattle
numbers since the late nineteenth century gives some indication of the scale of this lost
productivity over the parish as a whole. This is the crofter's own loss. Individually
one can appreciate the problem - "four cows will not give me a living - better to get
[445] work on the hydro-scheme and sell the cows". And when one hydro-scheme finishes
another will take its place, or there will be casual road work or other labour and, between
times, the unemployment benefit which the self-employed crofter does not get.

Certainly the land is of poor quality, the climate in some respects severe, and the
cost of transport, from Uig even to Stornoway let alone to the mainland, a perpetual prob-
[421] lem. But the root of the problem is the small size of most of the crofter-holdings, on
[187] the one hand, and, on the other, the importance which most crofters attach to the possess-
ion of a holding, no matter how small and how neglected it may be. How has this come
to be?

TABLE 5

The multiplication of crofter-tenants, and their increasing rents. 1850-1890.

	Tenants:		Rental:	
	1850	1890	1850	1890
Garenin	15	27	£70	£78
Tolsta Chaolis	29	40	£86	£96
Knock Carloway	16	33	£52	£66
Upper Carloway	25	53	£81	?
Breasclete	38	61	£111	£121
Breasclete Park	4	9	£9	£14
Callanish	38	52	£82	£104
Breanish	25	28	£94	£94
Islivick	13	10	£23	£28
Aird	9	10	£30	£29
Valtos	29	40	£149	?
Kneep	18	23	£89	£80

175 It is worth noting that the rental charged for the newly cleared farm of Carnish was
427 £55 - being £20 less than had been paid by the crofters. Thus it cannot be said that the
latter were evicted purely in order to obtain more rent. The proprietor must have been
taking a long term view, looking for land improvement rather than immediate gain. By
the 1870's the farm rentals had increased by 55%, those of the crofting townships by only
15%. And the latter often remained unpaid.

Thus, whilst the farmers prospered, the tenants became crowded in their townships
175 which were correspondingly less and less able to support their increasing numbers.
427 The crofts became so reduced that in an average year the produce of the land might keep
• 511 a crofter and his family for only six months; for the remainder of the year they had to find other means of
175 support. Fortunately, after the hungry years of the 'Forties', fishing provided just this.
226 Starting in 1851, an annual migration began, first to Caithness and later to the whole eas
44 coast of Scotland and England. By the 1880's not only were most of the able-bodied you
men following the herring as hired men on east coast boats, but many of the women-folk
[148] who had learned gutting, packing and kippering from English girls brought to Stornoway
[22] for the purposes, were also earning. This was summer work, and fitted well between
seed-time and harvest. In the winter, small local open boats worked long lines for
white fish which were dried and salted for local curers as they still are today on the
[517] Norwegian coast. Between the 1850's and 1880's there was a "condition of plenty" in
Lewis "which would not have been credited by those who judged of the condition of the
people by the external aspect or sanitary arrangement of their dwellings".* It was this
"condition of plenty" which encouraged the people to stay at home, to sub-divide their
crofts, and to live on the proceeds of paid labour rather than on the produce of the croft.

Re-settlement, 1878-1935.

175 The process of sub-division ceased only when economic conditions became less
427 favourable and emigration began to exceed natural increase. In the 1880's fishing and
445 farming suddenly became less profitable. Simultaneously, and given extra point by the
871 particular distress of the time, agitation for land reform, and in particular for the
relief of the most congested districts, became a political issue. This began in Uig in
175 1874 when an attempt was made to evict 56 crofters from Bernera; hundreds of crofters
448 resisted by force and subsequently marched on Stornoway. They were well received by
the proprietors - who appear to have been unaware of the inhumane be-
haviour of their chamberlain - and to the credit of all concerned the matter ended peace
fully. But land agitation continued.

175 The position in Bernera was eased in 1878 when Linshader farm was deprived of th
92 old township of Kirkibost which was resettled by crofters from Bosta, the latter being
let to the Tobson crofters as an enlargement to their pasture. In 1880 new holdings
were formed in Hacklete, which had been the grounds-officer's farm (but which, judging
from its population, had always contained a number of cottars or sub-tenants). The
grazing of Laimshader was probably returned to the Borreston crofters about 1886, hav
been part of Linshader farm and, in 1891, six new holdings were formed at Lonsle,
also part of the same farm. At the same period, under the new Act, the crofters of
Crowlista, Valtos, and Kneep applied unsuccessfully for enlargements from the farms,
but during the nineties the islands of Little Bernera and Eilean Kearstay were taken
Linshader farm and added to the township of Bernera, and Valtos obtained Pabay Mor.

*Report ... on the Condition of the Cottar population in the Lews. (C. 3265), 1888, p. 4

agrarian order. Crofting townships were created which contained holdings of a uniform size, often fit to provide only a bare subsistence living. This is still so today. There were and are no means of achieving ambition through some kind of agricultural promotion, no ladder to climb to prove one's ability to win the land over to one's side to increase its yield. And as each family increased, the progeny demanded land. The family acres were divided, subdivided and fragmented to a vicious mathematical system : more people, less land.

In the nineteenth century, many estates were sold. The newcomers, with no kinship ties with the small tenantry, saw that the only way to make their estates economic was to establish large farms, which meant the eviction, by force if necessary, of the small tenants. This is what happened. For those who did not emigrate, it was a life of huddling around a weak fire, whose flame itself could hardly stand, and thinking of the prospect of starvation and the 'old days'. Thoughts nourished on these old days became the root of action; and a fierce agitation for land reform started. The Minutes of Evidence of the Napier Commission (1882-4), of the Deer Forest Commission (1894-6) and the several official reports on the conditions of the crofters and cottars, give ample evidence of bitterness and despair as the result of poverty and lack of opportunity. About 1870, unrest in the congested areas of crofting townships became a political issue. The flames of ideals were burning high and bright. Ideals were transformed into action : take the land !

By 1880, the ripples from the stone flung into the agrarian pond were reaching the general public. Sides were taken : one stood either on the economic touchline, or on that dangerous thin red line of sentiment based on high feelings and a deep sense of wrongs being perpetrated on fellow humans. The landowners naturally insisted on the right to move into an era of land use in which management was not hampered by affairs of sentiment or philanthropy. Governed by the cold principles of business, they hardened themselves in the face of their attackers. And though they pointed to arrears in rent, and their inability to improve their land agriculturally while they had tenants not of their own choosing, they faced mounting antagonism.

6 TRADE AND INDUSTRY

IN the earliest times, the folk of the island of Harris and Lewis were self-supporting; all that they needed for life as it was lived in those days was available at near hand; their existence was self-contained, the economy virtually self-sufficient. By and large, the only commodities often imported were salt, iron, and, to a certain extent, wood. Rents were paid largely in kind: the produce of agriculture, fishing and labour. Surplus produce was directed to southern markets to bring in the odd shilling or two for which there was really very little need in the island. But once money became important in the national economy, it was not long before it was required in the island economy too. By 1790, if not well before, two or three open boats set out each year from Uig to Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. At about this time, too, changes were making their slow appearance in the island way of life and living. Specialists were being required: smiths, tinkers, shipwrights, netmakers, boatbuilders, weavers, tailors and millers. Each of these craftsmen generally held some cornland, either individually or in shares, and also had some rights in the common ground of the township in which he lived.

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

From the pure crofter class there emerged the crofter-craftsmen. In Lochs, for instance, by the turn of the seventeenth century 80 per cent were registered as fishers and netmakers. In the west, in the parish of Barvas, some 70 per cent were also fishers, with kelp-making as a seasonal occupation. In Stornoway parish, where sub-tenants paid 30s to 60s in rent, with twelve days' service, they sold ling to their tacksmen at 5d each, earned 20s a month on herring boats, made kelp at 30s a ton, and worked on roads for 8d per day.

In Harris in 1895, the eight trained male weavers worked for the gentry only. Weaving for the populace was done by the

It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Ulva. The only two families without other income are those where all the members are elderly. Of the about 60 such members in the working age-groups, five have one or more members employed in a secondary capacity on the Isle, and a further five have one member employed in a primary capacity.

Aird used to be a self-contained community: the land was fully cultivated and a certain amount of fishing was carried on despite the difficulty of drawing up the boats over the rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the D.A.P. scheme, and if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search of other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNOCK AND REEF

by David O. Symon.

On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Bragg is a secondary peninsula of more moderate, but some-like-it-hot-like-it-not, relief. This, together with an adjacent island, forms the parishes of Valtos and Knock, and Reef. The island, or more correctly tidal island, comprises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Knock and Reef.

This secondary peninsula is actually a tidal island, the only means of access being a causeway which is flooded at high tide. The area is about 1 mile (Ordnance Survey 1959) long by 1 mile wide (Ibid.). Arable land is to be found only on the machair of Reef and Knock (Valtos has no machair) but is very poorly developed and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair, which is part of a succession similar of tidal ranks, a belt of sand dunes (Dr. Ritchie, 1960) and a sandy plain sloping gently inland towards a dead flood lagoon, is composed of shell sand, which is very fertile, and is well drained by the sand dunes and, in addition, the sand has been found to contain 18% K. O. Except where the machair sand has drifted upstage to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin soils of the Valtos peninsula are probably mostly poor. Although the length of the peninsula faces with the extensive of Atlantic weather was moderated by the protection afforded by the Aird peninsula and the islands of Pabay and Valtos.

In the period before the letting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some five, perhaps - Valtos, Cliff, Knock, Uigean and Reef - sides of which should contain 12-20 families, in the manner of the Lewis "Ceallachs" (Symon, 1959). Valtos was cleared in 1841 (Valtos Uigean, Uigean and the island of Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clearing areas. Valtos and Cliff shared a common pasture and so became one township: similarly Knock and Uigean were combined.

In 1886 the crofts in the croft boundaries were not occupied by the crofters. Certain basic divisions between groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today, and within these basic divisions a certain regularity of distribution of strips persists, but

An attempt has been made in Figs 19 and 20 to relate the size of the stock carried on the individual croft to the size of holding and to the distance from the inner force. The scatter diagram there is a significant division between the subsistence holding (0-7 units) and the commercial holdings (7 units and over). There is no definite relationship between stock and size of holding in the subsistence group. The 7 units of the profit of equilibrium for certain lines in Figure. 20 reveals a somewhat unexpected result. The line for 1959 is the steepest, showing that the stock and the size of holding have moved in the same way, the line for 1960 is a larger stock from those under forty-five. It is frequently argued that the solution to the problem of crofting lies in spite of the difficulty of drawing up the boats over the rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the D.A.P. scheme, and if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search of other employment.

In their present state the crofts in the Valtos area are unable to provide a livelihood for the crofter and his family. Of the crofters under study five obtain 50% employment the croft income by other employment. Of those casual labour (at present unemployed) is the most significant, the remaining three are retired

normally determine the "acreage," the number of stock which each tenant is entitled to carry on the pasture.

The small croft has been less than two acres of arable and improved grass land. The average "acreage" in two cows and followers (heifer or bullock either) and usually ten to twenty sheep. Approximately 2000 of the crofts fall into this classification. The medium croft, representing about 270 landholding subjects, has between ten and twenty acres of land fit for crop cultivation and improved grass. The typical "acreage" is two to seven cows and followers, forty or fifty sheep, and occasionally, a horse. We might recall that the sheep may be either a club stock or a private flock. The large croft consists of almost 100 arable acres and, even more important in the predominately pastoral economy, an independent, self-contained grazing of 200 to well over 1000 acres. These claimsitre reasons easily carry ten or more cows and followers and several hundred sheep.

For those who prefer to think in terms of area rather than stock, the relative magnitude of these self-contained holdings may be stressed by adding the fact that only thirty townships on Skye have more than 200 acres of common grazing. There are, for example, Linicro with 729 acres of grazing in 19 shares, Tokavaig with 500 acres in 12 shares, and Borreraig with 375 acres in 42 shares. Over half the townships have less than 100 acres of grazing land.[5]

[5]Ibid., Table 3.

[6]Time to go home to Skye to die." I might add, "and to win a pension."

It is not only the tenant crofters who are non-resident. About 20 percent of the owner-occupiers in Glendale are non-resident. Only two townships have no derelict crofts. Those who have added these homes and land have no additional problem. Apparently unaware of the full implications of the Small Landholders legislation, they have received a rude awakening. The people whom they thought were their subtenants are, in the eyes of the Land Court, crofters entitled to security of tenure.

[7] One reason for absenteeism, as for emigration, is a [illegible] need for a higher standard of living than the croft can provide. This desire, common to almost all European peasants, as well as American farmers, has assumed increasing importance with the extension of communication and education. The outstanding exception to Europe is Italy. There the majority population has increased markedly since World War I. Today 92 percent in the majority category have a substandard livelihood, judged in terms of sheep necessity.[8] Only 800,000 families out of 5,000,000 have enough land to meet subsistence needs. The difference between the European peasant and the American farmer is that the American lacks any traditional

[8]Information from the files of the Italian Statistical Institute, as reported in the Glasgow Herald, Feb. 22, 1954.

[9]Attachment to the land, or his attachment is not strong enough to offset his desire for material rewards.[10] Beginning, a possible exception in the United Kingdom is to be found in the Southern Hebrides, where the people have a per annual income of less than $500.00.[11] These mountaineers, significantly, are largely of Irish and Scottish derivation. The Hyrenan who leaves in his youth returns in his old age, if he can. We may logically ask what opportunities exist on the Isle for employment which might enable the Gaidhaltachd to raise his standard of living without forsaking the land.

Fishing

Fishing, it will be remembered, was once a traditional and functional activity in the economic cycle of the Gaidhaltachd. But as far as the Hyrenan was concerned, it was no more than a supplement to crofting. It was fine to be able to bring home some fish to be smoked or salted for the winter. The wages earned as a hand on an east coast vessel during the summer months were also welcome. Beyond this, he did not care to become involved with the sea as an occupation. His attachment to the land was too strong.

[9]Cf. Dumont, The Peasant Group, pp. 341, 353, 358; and Mayfield and Young, The Ability of a Contemporary Community; Laboratory Bull. 19, Ithaca, 1944.

[10]Cf. T. Hamburger, "Farm Organization and Management," Economic and Social Problems and Policies, pp. 1-8, Ibadan, Nigeria, 1953; and Lloyd Fallers, Bantu Bureaucracy, "Population Distribution and Density," Ibid., pp. 120-134.

[11]Campbell, The Southern Hebrides and His Homeland.

as we shall see in the next chapter,

[12]Hostility between the Native dwellers and the crofters. One reason for this is the fact that the village pays more in property tax than the rest of the island put together while they receive relatively little in return. The feeling that the crofter is "eye wasteful", but never pays a cooper' (a penny in taxes) is not at all unusual.

Summary

If the economic aspect of the culture is judged in terms of the standard of living it affords, it cannot be considered an satisfactory. There are persistent environmental obstacles, among them geographical isolation and an unfavorable climate for pastoral-agriculture. We have seen that few can hope for anything which would approach a desirable income in the surrounding commercial society. The crofters have been caught between two cultural patterns. The old system of land use has persisted. A new system has been superimposed. From this new system, however, the Gaidhaltachd has accepted few innovations of more recent origin than the eighteenth century, except those of a material or technological nature. Still, he has ceased to be self-sufficient, and, in doing so, he has become dependent on the commercial world for the very essentials of physical exist ence. For many of the crofters this means seasonal migration in the quest of employment. For some it means part-time or full-time work locally. For a relatively large proportion of the population it means dependence on contributions of their children and government agencies. This dependence has not led to a full

acceptance of the potato, a staple food in Europe, made it possible for Irish people to live on less land. The introduction of a new industry, the kelp industry, provided employment and from time to time paid dependence on a subsistence economy. Vaccination reduced the mortality rate, and emigration and other factors wrought changes of reasoning maturity and procreativity were thus enhanced. Another important factor was the Expropriation of the Clan Property of British agriculturalists during the early years of the Industrial Revolution and during the Napoleonic Wars. A especially important factor was the creation of subsistence the land which made early marriage possible, in particular after the installation of the crofting system. Finally, but by no means least significant, there was the persistence of deep typical features of the culture in the days of the clan. The sentimental ties of kinship and attachment to the soil had remained.

The population decreased, partially a result of the Gaidhaltachd involvement in the process of commercialism lies, was primarily a result of a failure to fully adjust to the higher, more interdependence socio-economic level. By the end of the second period of the 20 years period, 1945, the people had become hostile to the potato and their own fertility. When the potato failed them, they had nothing to fall back upon, except the generosity of their landlords. The caste and kinship structure had collapsed in the wake of the Wars, and the subsidized land could not produce sufficient grain. Its relief if any that the population had ever-run the limits of total resources was conditioned.

usually an old woman, as the women were responsible for the milking, and the old men were usually fishing around the village.

We left for the shelling early in the morning, taking bed clothes and food. I walked out with my mother, who went back home in the morning. My mother came out with the provisions in the evening. If no Hyrenan came out that day, I went to sleep with someone else. You never slept alone. During the day we fished for trout or gathered small blackberries; or we looked for the nests of grouse and other birds. You would hair or read, and walk for miles to visit friends. The boys swam in the lochs, and sometimes the girls pinched their clothes. From the top of the hills you could see Stornoway, the Hills of Lochs, Tiglabhigh the lighthouse in Reay; on some days you could see the distant hills of Caithness on the mainland. It's on the shelling that I learned about other parts of the island.

I remember watching the sun and trying to will it to stay high in the sky, before our mothers came out from the village to milk in the evening. They called the cattle--"Boill, boill, boill"--and they carried the milk every day from the shelling to the village, all those miles. The cattle knew their own shellings; sometimes

512 DAILY ROUTINE--Succession of activities throughout a typical day; time of rising, meals, shelling, milking, and relaxation, daily chores, longer rhythms of work, social responsibility and leisure.

Visual cycle of economic activities	222	Distribution of labor and leisure	227
Economic cycle	224	Holidays	227
Year-round cycle	225		

The Role of Religion on the Croft

As the prestige of the old people and the control of the family-based elders over the social activities of the people was operated with religious sanction, the status of the father within the nuclear family has been reinforced by the religious expression of his role. As we know, the older inter-family patterns of economic cooperation have been disturbed by the changes stemming from the process of commercialism. This has not disturbed the position of the father as the source of authority and discipline. He continues to play a basic role in establishing the tempo of interaction within the home, the community, neighborhood, and community. He decides who will do the work and when. He determines to what social activities his wife and children will participate, always, of course, willingly guided by her ringmaster old man. His status is conditioned by age, sex, and, to a lesser degree, by economic proficiency. Every man is the king in his own home. For the majority of crofters, though by no means all of any sect, the day begins with the saying of grace before breakfast and the reciting of thanks after breakfast. The same pattern is repeated at the table of any food, including a cup of tea. The form of grace may be used to cast light on the religious outlook of the Gaidhaltachd. "Gracious God, we have sinned against Thee, and are unworthy of Thy mercy, pardon our sins, and bless these mercies for our use, and help us to eat and drink to Thy glory, for Christ's sake. Amen."

no road and access by foot is difficult. To reach the grazings the crofters travel by boat from Mealasta several times a year and stay in one of the two houses at Aird Bheag which, although vacant, is still in repair. These houses were formerly occupied by estate employees who had crofter status.

From the above account, it is evident that in this district as in others, a single croft is not sufficient to support a crofter and his family. On an average, each resident crofter has acquired the equivalent of two crofts, and in addition each crofter supplements the meagre income obtained from his croft by some other occupation, e.g. weaving, labouring, or driving.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE UIG BAY DISTRICT

(Carnish, Ardroil, Timsgarry and Crowlista)

by

Elizabeth Blowers.

Uig bay, in which low tide reveals several hundred acres of pure white sand, is surrounded by crofting townships. There are no extensive machair plains but the shell-sand forms a fringe of easily cultivated, lime-rich soils on all sides except Crowlista, and, blown inland by the Atlantic winds, it modifies and improves the texture and acidity of the peaty soil as much as 2,000 yards from the shore. It is not to be wondered at then, that this bay at one time formed one of the most important centres of population in Lewis. Signs of ancient cultivation, and the ruins of old clachans, are widespread, but most of the present settlements are less than forty years old: almost the whole area was cleared to make farms in the early nineteenth century. Only in Crowlista, with its thin, rocky, arable land and almost complete absence of machair, were the small tenants left undisturbed. Consequently the district provides an opportunity to compare "old" and "new" townships, both as to lay-out and operation.

Carnish, in the south-west, is dominated by a huge gravel ridge - probably an esker, - over a mile long and sloping steeply to the estuary of Amhuinn Chaslabhat with the rocky headland of Machair Carnish to the north. The arable land and houses of Ardroil are situated to the landward side of the hummocky machair land between the esturies of Amhuinn Chaslabhat and the Forsa river which drains Loche Suainavat and Stacsavat. To the north of the bay the old settlement of Crowlista is situated on the rocky headland to the west of the Rethall embayment; there is a good deal of level land in the centre of the township but the slope to the estuary in the north is steep and rocky outcrops occur on the headland. Timsgarry, to the east of Rethall, stretches inland between the headlands of Tolanish and Borranish along the valley of the Erista river.

There is a mantle of gravelly drift over this area; the Carnish esker has been mentioned and exposures of up to 120' were also seen in gravel pits in Ardroil and Timsgarry. Along the coast blown shell sand rests on this drift and reaches inland for up to half a mile.

484 As yet the tourist trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting relations but many
485 houses offer suitable accommodation for people who would appreciate quiet holidays in
these very beautiful surroundings. The distance from Stornoway, the difficulty of obtain-
[497] ing varied food supplies - and the weather - were cited as disadvantages! Passengers on
a weekly coach tour from Stornoway are supplied with meals at an Ardroil house which has
good access to the beach but otherwise the crofters show little interest in the possibilities
of tourism.

162 In common with other crofting townships, the greatest problem here is that of an ageing
population because the younger people seek employment outside their township. The
166 diagrams[1] illustrate the age-heavy structure of the permanent resident group and also the
464 numbers of the insurable population periodically or permanently away. The lack of suit-
able work, for young women particularly, is also shown. The ages of the tenants also
illustrate this problem. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty or 34% are over sixty-
five. Serious, too, is the loss by emigration of people between fifteen and sixty-five. Of
the total 'working population', 35% have left this region since 1939. The corresponding
figure for Crowlista alone, the older settlement with smaller crofts, is as high as 42%.

241 We found in this part of Uig some crofts efficiently and energetically worked by young
231 tenants, and if reasonable stock prices are obtained the larger crofts can be worked
427 profitably. However no croft will fully support a family; ancillary employment is always
[511] sought by crofters with growing families yet many crofts are carrying less stock than they
[867] might because some tenants are not interested in, or able for, agriculture. The croft is
increasingly thought of as a home, as part-time employment - often for older members of
the family - and as a place for retirement.

000 It is easy to list schemes for improvement and change:- dairying to supply Stornoway
with milk, poultry and pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivation under glass, the
tourist industry, forestry on a small scale, lobster and crab fishing, etc. Such schemes
would require capital not available in the townships, careful planning, and tactful adminis-
tration by people with real knowledge of this area and its people. Meanwhile even the
potential production of the crofts is by no means realised.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

131 The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along
the western side of the steep and narrow valley of the Amhuinn Gil na h-Airde three miles
133 north of Crowlista. After leaving Loch Meacheit, the river flows northward through a
gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then across a narrow
flood-plain into the rocky bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in
427 arrangement and varying in size from 3¼ to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow
133 strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the right bank of the river, up
the steep, rocky slope above the left bank and widening out over the more gently slopes
between the 100 ft. and 200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently en-
larged, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional
ground to the north or south.

1. [See figures 12 (facing p.34) and 17 (facing p.39)--Analyst]

330

In many homes breakfast is followed by family worship. 593
ather begins with a blessing; a prayer on behalf of his 787
y, and then leads the family in the singing of a few 787
s of psalm. Next he reads from Scripture, sometimes 787
e visitor because his Bible is not an English version, 512
ments on the meaning of the passage. He concludes with
yer. If the morning worship has been omitted, he holds 592
ening service. Some crofters have family worship both
ng and night. When the father is away, his wife or his
t son conducts the worship. Religious devotion on Skye 771
is more than Sabbath church attendance and attendance
eekly prayer meetings.

The Role of Religion in Township, Neighborhood, and Village

I did not attempt to devise a socio-metric scale to 795
mine the affiliation of members and adherents of the
al churches in either Glendale, Kilmuir or Portree. The
r disunity and conflicts which divided families, both
ar and consanguineal, township, neighborhoods, and the
ar estimate from abstinence of traditional religious
iation rather than from attachment to an established sect
happened to differ from the denomination of one's kinsman
ighbor. Today sectarian hostility is no longer prevalent
the people. The Gaidhanach only chafs his neighbor
ewhat easily and repartee, about his only slightly different
rian views. They refer to each other's sect by nicknames.
hurch of Scotland is the "Established Church." The

513

51

233 usually an old woman, as the women were responsible for
887 the milking, and the old men were usually fishing around
762 the ships.

233 "We left for the shelling early in the morning,
512 taking bed clothes and food. I walked out with my aunt,
who went back home in the morning. My mother came out
with the provisions in the evening. If no one came out
513 that day, I went to sleep with someone else. You never
slept alone. During the day we fished for trout or
gathered small blackberries; or we looked for the nests
of grouse and other birds. You would knit or read, and
walk for miles to visit friends. The boys swam in the
loch, and sometimes the girls pinched their clothes.
From the top of the hills you could see Stornoway, the
hills of Lochs, Uig and the lighthouse in Ness; on some
days you could see the distant hills of Caithness on the
mainland. It's on the shelling that I learned about
other parts of the island.

"I remember watching the sun and trying to will it
512 to stay high in the sky, before our mothers came out from
233 the village to milk in the evening. They called the
234 cattle--'Troit, troit, troit'--and they carried the milk
every day from the shelling to the village, all those
miles. The cattle knew their own shellings; sometimes

513 SLEEPING--hours of sleeping; postures in sleeping; segregation in sleeping (e.g., by age, by sex); bedding; ideas about sleep and sleepiness; naps and siestas, etc. See also:
Baths . . . . . 506 Social intercourse 820
Dream interpretation . . . . . 525 Sleeping habits of children 867
Conception of beings and souls 820

512 the cattle
233 knew their own shellings; sometimes
812 they came back before milking time and stuck their heads
234 inside. They stood outside the shelling at night, and
that's how you can tell where a shelling once was, even
though the walls have fallen, by the rich green grass.
Calves were born during the summer. A hollow was scooped
233 out in the peat, and lined with turf and moss. People
234 had as many as four or five cows. It was like Switzerland,
only we didn't have the bells on the cows. There was lots
809 of milk, fresh thick cream and crowdie (clotted sour
826 (234) milk); the old people knew how to make cheese.

233 "The moor was very eerie at night, with the sound of
231 the birds. There were only a few hours of darkness
234 513 anyway, and I'm sure we didn't get much sleep, but somehow
we were always fresh. It was the air, the moor air is
more health-giving. The air is different there. Ill
people benefited from the change. Sometimes a person
with TB would stay out there all summer. The air is heavy
by the sea.

805 "There was no sense of time the way there is today.
233 If you got lost in the snow or fog, you followed the cows
221 home. You had all summer to take home the peats, to work
824 the croft, to harvest the corn. There wasn't a world,
178 there was only ourselves. That has changed since the war.

106

621 The first thing that is said when for some reason
513 a woman is left alone in the house is, "Who's going to
858 go and sleep with her?" Often a child will be sent from
a neighboring family, not always relatives, to stay with
591 her at night. As in the past, it is not uncommon for
592 a childless elderly couple or single person alone on a
888 croft to take in a young, homeless couple, to whom they
may or may not be related. The young couple cares for
the old person or persons, and inherits the croft when
they die.

"Keeping up the relation" is the process by which
602 relatives sustain interaction and expectations of mutual
476 aid even though their relatedness becomes more distant
with succeeding generations. "I've got cousins in Ness
that I stay with at the Communions. They're getting on
into the third generation now." A cousin is a cousin
even to the 42nd degree (Williams 1963: 142), as long
as there is reason to sustain the relationship. "I know
we're related, but I can't quite place it." "We're a
bit related. I think she was a MacPhail before she
605 married." "I don't quite know how we're related, but
my mother and his mother considered it a close relation-
ship, and he has kept it up."

591 Every villager has a vast amount of information
592 about other villagers and their families, which may be
582

147

529 Whereas at other times of the year there are specific
273 times which are considered appropriate for visiting,
594 especially if the visit includes a bottle, at New Year's
visitors may appear in the middle of the night or at
any time during the day. Some men may stay up for four
513 nights in a row, going back home for a few hours of sleep
592 or a bite to eat before setting off again. Various pranks
527 are played. Men climb through the windows of darkened
594 houses, or wake up sleepers by making animal sounds. One
man went around the village showing a pig's foot to women
as though it were a penis.

527 But whether lasting for one night or for five,
festivities end with the arrival of Sunday; and the usual
comment is, "Thank God it's Sunday."

166 The "exiles" prefer to return at such times as New
221 Year's, or during the summer months when the beaches are
484 inviting and the gales absent. They remember the
(520) "characters" and other features of village life which
give it color, often forgetting the drab background out
of which the color was fashioned. Some villagers whose
siblings have married and left the island continue to live
alone in the house mainly to keep the house in order for
their return. "I wouldn't close the house on them. They
come back every summer." A man thinking of emigrating

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514 ELIMINATION--postures in urination and defecation; conception of appropriate times and places for elimination; spitting, disposal of excreta; toilet facilities and features; associated ideas and practices (e.g., modesty, scatologic rites); etc. See also:
Dirtiness . . . . . 164 Ritual magic 194
Description of outdoor latrines . . . . . 340 Use of cathartics 797
Foreign diagnosis . . . . . 426 Ideas about elimination 827
Anal humor . . . . . 885 Toilet training of children 863
Public health and sanitation 346

595 beginning of the resettlement movement which has given the modern crofters of the district almost all the lands formerly occupied by small tenants. This process was completed in the Bernera region soon after 1918, and the problem now, one which is obviously going to become increasingly important - is not to give the crofters more lands, but to find active crofters for the existing holdings (see Chapter III for more detailed information on clearance and resettlement).

The ground plans of the existing settlements vary considerably, depending merely on the terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coastal (or inland) 787 roadway in the form of the road boundaries run at right angles to the coast and for each house 427 a long narrow croft (see Fig. 2). This type of settlement was established in Bernera in the early nineteenth century (i.e. pre-clearance) lotting was conducted when the township was re-settled in 1878. Lochsaddle, Lonbain, Croistay and Earshader also follow the same type of layout as nearly as possible. Ion Tobson, with the exception of Valasay, is 787 a fairly compact township, with the crofts and houses in the centre and on a small area of land not in 1921 but the disposition of the potential arable lands is very uneven. It was laid out in 1921 but the disposition of the potential arable lands is very uneven. consequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Breacleit - Loch Eng Brasaclete main, appears somewhat complicated. The accompanying diagrams - physical conditions are brought by physical conditions. (Figure 28). Ion Tobson is a unique lotting plan at Bantaiv. (Figure 29).

Within the township, with the exception of Kirkibost, the bulk of the settlement 341 is concentrated on the coastal fringe of the township, the croft houses lie on the edge of the 342 old and present cultivation (see Photographs). Kirkibost is an exception to this and presents problems. It would appear generally that black houses were universal in the nineteenth 343 century except for the farmhouse at Crago (the oldest 'white' house in Bernera). There 344 houses, (18 Tobson), possibly the tacksman's house at 1 Backlate, the former farmhouse 345 at Croistay and 1 Earshader. Since the 1921 resettlement and subsequent grants from the District Board and of Board of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, only examples being 5 Backlate and 10 Breacleit. The resettled townships generally had improved accommodation from the start. Improvement has rapidly accelerated since 1951. In most cases at the present time housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and one near blackhouse are still occupied.

Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their own private water supply, though it is hoped that mains schemes may be conducted within the next few years. Sanitation is very primitive and standard. It consists in most cases of a 312 pit in the rear of the house (where there is room) or in a shed in the back yard. In the case of houses that have extensive lands attached, Elsewhere has been evaluated since 1951 in all crofts and most are connected, though not necessarily in every room. Cooking is 335 sometimes by electricity but more commonly by Calor gas and a pot-belly stove. Hot water is provided by a boiler in the kitchen range. Washing is done in the kitchen and outside help is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road. Difficulties may arise. The cost of transport to the nearest road may be such that it is uneconomic.

Access to Bernera by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Roag provided the highway of communication, the road built to Earnadale across Great Bay 787 and the £27,000 bridge to Bernera Island, built in 1953, have caused a revolution of 787 values. Lochsaddle is approached by a carried branch road and the other Bernera share townships lie upon the narrow and jutting main road, though four of the six Lochsaddle 787 crofts are now joined by a branch road. The road to Croistay is a cul-de-sac and is somewhat isolated. In Bernera Island the old cart track from the pier at Barraglom across to Tobson and Croistay has been somewhat re-aligned since the construction of the bridge. This is a good tarred road, as is part of the branch to crofts 1 - 8 Croistay. The old road to Kirkibost was tarred in 1955, though three outlying crofts near Barraglom 787 are still reached by a cart track. Kirkibost is the only Bernera township which is not 787 connected. There is a new road to Shulaiste from Breacleit which provides relatable, though circuitous, communication. Valasay is one of the most isolated settlements in Bernera, linked with Breacleit rather than with Tobson by the footbridge and causeway 787 paid for by Congested Districts Board grant about 1910.

515

515 PERSONAL HYGIENE--frequency and methods of bathing and laving; use of washing and bathing facilities; use of soap and other cleansers; use of towels; conception and idealisation of cleanliness, miscellaneous hygienic practices (e.g., brushing of teeth, washing of hair, removal of body hair, etc. See also:

Bathing equipt	102	Dress hygiene	232
Laundering and cleaning	230	Sexual hygiene	833
Washing of clothes	231	Sexual modesty	836
Bedchambers	560	Menstrual hygiene	841
Bath conveniences	580	Cleanliness among of children	865
Bathing rooms	830		

THE PEOPLE

in the exercises of swimming, archery, vaulting, or leaping'. He [175] also says that they were great lovers of music, and that when he [181] was in the island he heard of eighteen men who could play the [533] violin well without having been taught. [534]

The Rev William MacRae, minister of Barvas, writing in the *New Statistical Account*, gives a description of his parishioners (in 1836) which can be applied to all the country districts in the island at that time. After stating that in their habits much clean- [515] liness can scarcely be expected, considering their poverty and the wretchedness of their habitations, he says:

> Their mode of living most closely approaches the pastoral: without arts, trade, manufacture, navigation, or literature, their whole round of duty consists in securing fuel, in sowing and reaping their scanty crops, and in rearing their flocks, and tending them at pasture. Yet in these limited circumstances, while supplied with food and clothing of the plainest description, and able to pay their rents, their simple cottages are abodes of happiness and contentment. Blue kelt [a thick cloth] is almost the only dress [241] worn by the men, and stuffs, variously striped, by the women, with under dresses of plaiding, all home-made. In many instances, however, cotton shirts and print gowns are beginning to supersede the use of some of these articles. . . . Their ordinary food consists of oat and barley meal, potatoes and milk variously pre- [262] pared. Their domestic economy is frugal and moderate beyond conception. The produce of a foreign soil such as tea, coffee, and sugar, and the common conveniences of art, such as knives, forks, and etc., are to them altogether alien.

It is of interest that the change in dress-types (from woollen [647] homespun to cotton fabrics) was followed by an increase in the incidence of rheumatism.

Today, the island folk are reputed to be gloomy with a black, [181] depressive attitude towards life. The editor of the *Stornoway Gazette* has pointed out: 'We cannot understand a people and why they act as they do unless we know the content of their memories. We cannot understand the paradox of the naturally gay in heart seeking religious consolation in a grim and gritty Calvinism. We cannot understand why Lewis, which clothes the world in colourful tweeds, clothes most of the women in noth-

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236
241
133
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(Above: Sheep shearing, the first stage in Harris Tweed

/p. 143/

(below: Natives of Shawbost, Lewis, engaged on wool dyeing, c 1950

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241
142
336

DYEING WOOL - NATIVES OF SHAWBOST - ISLE OF LEWIS

516 POSTURES--bodily positions assumed in standing (e.g., with feet apart, on one leg, leaning against a support, slumping), relaxed postures (e.g., sitting, squatting, kneeling), recumbent postures (e.g., reclining on sofas), occasions for assuming particular postures; ideas about correct postures; motor habits not elsewhere described; etc. See also:

Motor habits in the use of artifacts	61	Dance postures	620
Nervous habits	187	Dramatic postures	630
Gestures	801	Etiquette	670
Furniture	880	Military drill	703
Cribs	481	Constitution	705
Positions in sleeping	515	Positions in sexual intercourse	833
Positions in childbirth	814		

517

050 relevant to village life, and thus is not attended to.

517 Comedies, soap operas and westerns constitute the
[207] favorite television programs. Many of the men read
[538] adventure stories--war, western and detective--on the
[204] quiet Sunday afternoons. Magazines and newspapers most often received include The Daily Express, The Sunday Mirror, The People's Journal, The Stornoway Gazette, The Oban Times, and True Romance, documents dealing with local events or with scandal and dramatic personal
52 accounts. In general, the news of the mass media to
181 which this audience attends is gossip writ large. Such news, like local gossip, is discussed endlessly, in elaborate detail, until sapped of all potential to excite or until new events capture the attention of the village audience.

Events which occur in the open, treeless countryside
517 are vivid and dramatic. The generally low level of
18 stimulation enhances their dramatic effect. A man appears on the hillside or a car along the horizon, and all ears and eyes attend. The British system of perennial number plates on cars makes it easy to identify the shifting cast of characters even at night. Even children memorize long lists of number plates. There is a perpetual audience looking for a play.

517 LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES--standards of amusement, recreation, and artistic appreciation; distribution of leisure time between active and passive, between social and individualistic, and between culturally preferred and less preferred pursuits; esthetic ideals and principles; canons of taste; levels of appreciation and "culture"; etc. See also:

Amusements	155	Distribution of labor and leisure	461
Artistic expression	50	Social classes	560
Entertainment	80	Visiting	574
Education	271	Religious activities	78, 158

142

154 sympathetic with each others' idiosyncrasies. A constant
572 joking keeps people at arm's length and discourages the
[522] development of empathy.

Accompanying this style of indirect, inhibited
154 expressiveness and the low level of stimulation are
154 culturally prescribed opportunities for relatively uninhibited expressiveness. Such opportunities include the ceilidh ("visit"), the drinking situation (mainly for men), the role of clown or "character," and holidays
146 such as New Year's. Although young villagers and
[198] emigrants often describe the village as "dull" and "dead,"
[181] the emigrants are happy enough to return to the island for short periods of time, during which they participate in those situations in which expressiveness and limited license are accepted.

154 3. Ceilidh, Clown, and New Year's Festivities: Only
154 on certain occasions is relatively spontaneous and uninhibited expressiveness condoned or encouraged within the
574 township, and even then the form which this expressiveness takes is fairly narrowly circumscribed. The traditional
[178] ceilidh was such an occasion. In the past, people gathered
[517] regularly at night in the high ceilidh (the ceilidh house,
[538] or home of someone in which a genial atmosphere existed;
[533] the high ceilidh was often the home of someone who lived alone), where stories were endlessly repeated and elaborated,

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154 genealogies told, and old songs were sung or new ones
572 composed. The concentration of expressiveness in these
[522] forms resulted in a well-developed, oral repertoire of
[533] literature and music.

The ceilidh still exists today in the form of less
[538] regular gatherings. Stories and genealogies are seldom
[533] recited, but songs are still sung. A few new songs are being composed. The word ceilidh is used as both a noun and a verb to mean "a visit" or "to visit," but implies a casual, relaxed atmosphere rather than a formal visit. A formal visit is made by relatives living in Stornoway, government officials or businessmen, and is characterized by more constrained behavior.

154 The ceilidh of today is often accompanied by the
572 drinking of beer or whiskey, but a distinction may be
203 made between a gathering which includes both males and
198 females, and a drinking situation at which only males are present. In the past, men often gathered in barns or weaving sheds to share bear made locally from barley or
273 brought from town in a large keg. The drinking of whiskey
[178] was reserved for special occasions, such as births, weddings,
[534] funerals, and the festivities surrounding the New Year, but increased income has resulted in the consumption of whiskey on many other occasions. Heavy drinking is still an
[205] activity engaged in largely by males, and occurs in extra-village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter 6).

5

2

that the people of Skye, including many of the newcomers, 785
have not been favorably impressed by Skye Week. The consensus 795
is that it is not representative of Skye. For the Sgiathanach 541
the Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and similar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree. 369
Here the members and the adherents of the Church of Scotland 795
partake of a number of recreational activities. In the winter 52 ● [526]
there is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer [526]
there is a little golf and tennis. The limitations are not religious; they are climatic. Then, too, there is shinty.
We have already noted the existence of many clubs. There are [535]
regular dances. Moving pictures take place twice a week. [546]
All of these activities are run by newcomers; the Skyemen have [167]
a more or less passive role. The "elect" of the two smaller 795
sects are, to say the least, very much disturbed by these 794
frivolities. What is worse, the children attend the dances 626
and the concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find 883 52
enough solidarity among those of their own age grade to outweigh the threats of their elders. Apparently they find enough security to be unaffected by the stern denunciations of the minister from the pulpit. When they marry, however, they 794
have to recast the pattern of their behavior, for now the 884 626
elders are in a position to exercise control by withholding baptism from their children. Some may turn to the Church of Scotland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glendale the 888
control by the aged is complete. There is not a single activity 883 626 [369]

at which the youth can join together as a sodality; hence, they 888
hardly ever have a chance to question the control of the "elect." 883 626
Only once in recent years has the control of the old people 578
been criticized. After World War II, the men who returned to 888
the neighborhood wanted to erect a village hall. This threatened 883 626
both family unity and the solidarity of the neighborhood. The young people were divided between the time honored obligation to honor their parents and their own desires for a fuller life. The parents were torn between religious beliefs and their affection for their children. The minister and his elders were faced with a situation which threatened the fundamental tenets of the faith and the continued ability of the religious expression to sanction the existing order. How strong are age controls? The youth did not get their village hall. Many of [167]
them left Skye for the Lowlands where social life is less restricted.

The difficulty is that until, say, forty years ago the 178
traditional outlets were sufficient. Middle-aged people 883
remember how the youth used to drop in on the old widow for 177 52 ●
a visit on an evening and then make their way off in couples for a bit of courting. Two World Wars and the continuing program of National Service, not to speak of the influence of the schools, have given the youth a new perspective. They have spent one or two years in an environment where recreational activities are considered not only innocent but also wholesome. The radio and magazines have contributed to the demands of the youth for amusements. As if this were not enough, there are

veral agencies who have taken the task of bringing movies 178
the remote crofters in the belief that the Highlander is 883
e likely to stay if he has a share in the life of the 177
lander and the Englishman. These agencies want to "create" 52 ●
ore adequate social organization."

Out of boredom, some young men try to add some spirit 273
their lives by turning to "the drink." Although the 779
igion of the Skyeman is strikingly similar to that of
rural dweller in Wales, I found the Welshman and the
athanach have quite different views on the subject of
perance.[26] All churches support temperance, from the
pit and from the kirk collections, but abstinence or
hibition has never been accepted. Perhaps, their main
son for consistently rejecting the idea is their wont
base many of their decisions on Biblical directions.
re can be nothing inherently wrong in the infallible Word
God. Then, too, to the Sgiathanach, whiskey is not Scotch; 273
is the "water of life." The importance attached to the
n can be judged from its functions at birth, marriage,
death. It is also the means of thanking a man for doing
avor which cannot be repaid. Thus, while abstinence is
ajor religious tenet for the Welsh, temperance is the
of the Skyeman.

The temperance movement has had an effect, all over 275
tland. The "pubs" are no more than a long bar set in a 185
room. Young men who have spent time in England, where
local "pub" is a closely knit club for the villagers, frequently

[26]Rees, op. cit., p. 127

man is no longer concerned with the necessity of having his 771
children baptized, the venerable old men, the family-head 554
elders, prolong their social control by sitting in judgment 183
on those who seek salvation. The strength of age controls 626
is indicated by the continued ability of the elders to resist [178]
all attempts to introduce secular innovations to the crofting
neighborhoods. Even in Portree the majority of the people
are under the watchful eyes of the old men.

Many of the meaningful patterns of interaction are 771
religious. The rites of passage function to augment social 182
control, restore disturbed equilibriums, and establish new 626
ascribed statuses. The rites of intensification, including
those associated with death, function to restore disturbed
patterns of interaction in the family, nuclear and extended,
and the larger social groups and to establish meaningful
relationships when large congregations gather for the
celebration of communion. Religion for the majority is not 771
merely dependent on attending church on the Sabbath and [782]
attending Wednesday night prayer meetings. Every day of
the week begins with a prayer and ends with family worship.
All social activity outside the home is ideally limited to [52] ●
the church, and the church is never used for mundane activity.
Only in Portree are there a number of social activities to [369]
tempt the people. Kilmuir has no more than a Crofters' [575]
Club for men, and Glendale has no social activities, unless
one would include the annual meeting of the share holders
in the farm.

521

521 CONVERSATION--loquacity and reserve; boasting and shyness; conversat
patterns (e.g., idle chatter, rambling discourse, discussion, argument);
casions and places; participants; typical subjects (e.g., weather, news, g
politics); privileged and unprivileged communications; etc. See also:

Interpersonal relations 87
Stylistics 196
Verbal news dissemination and rumor 203
Drinking establishments 275
Idling and loitering 461
Oratory . . . . . .
Story telling . . . . . .
Debates . . . . . .
Lying . . . . . .
Gossip and intentional silence as a means of social control . . . . . .

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183 The generally low level of stimulation derives in
181 part from values which restrict opportunities for self-
• [521] expression. People are ready to gossip, i.e., to partici-
pate vicariously in the escapades of others, but are less
[626] eager to act. Stories concerning mad-cap adventures of
some villagers do not belie the existence of constraints
[166] imposed on expressiveness. One of the major reasons given by young villagers for wanting to leave the island, and by emigrants for why they left, is that, "There is nothing to do. The place is dead."

156 In the everyday life of the village, a style of
181 indirectness and restricted communication is encouraged.
183 A man might be praised in an obituary by the phrase, "His
621 voice was never heard in the community." The encouragement of a "low profile" of behavior is characteristic of communities in which people meet each other frequently and know they will continue to meet and ask things of each other for a long time to come. Indirectness avoids conflict arising from divergent expectations, and embarrassment from changes in plans.

155 A major feature of practices of child-rearing on
861 the island is inconsistency, which develops a style of guarded watchfulness and hesitance to act or express oneself. Children are teased by being offered things which are then snatched away. Punishment is inconsistent.

166 says, "I'll have to ask my brothers and sisters if they
22 mind, since they come back here every year." Some houses
484 which are almost empty for most of the year are overflowing during the summer months. Often the visitors must come in stages.

166 The "exiles" sing the old songs with vigor, drink
484 heavily during their visit, and praise the island for
528 that "special quality" which is unmatched by life in the
181 dirty, crowded, unfriendly city. Some plan to retire in the village. The villagers take up the tune that their society is eminently worthwhile. When talking to strangers, they ask questions pertaining to this image of themselves, such as, "Don't you think this place has something which you will never find in a city?" "People come here during the summer and they love it; they can't keep away. So they must find something here. What would you do in a city anyway? Out here you're freer."

166 The visitors not only bolster the self-esteem of the
484 islanders, but provide them with a fund of gossip. "You
528 summer visitors always turn things topsy turvy when you
• 521 come." Talk of the adventures of the summer visitors helps to occupy the long winter nights of the islanders.

166 A comment frequently heard is, "He was awfully home-
484 sick leaving." That is, he was already longing to be back
528 on the island, his spiritual home. The image of the island

621 character traits just by virtue of his belonging to a
156 particular family; he is protected from the "out" world even though he may have broken its rules. The
[521] village provides a colorful arena of recreation in the
[574] form of ceilidh, the character, and holidays such as New Year's.

781 A major system of order and meaning is provided by
794 religion, and by the opportunity to belong to a tightly-
[181] knit religious clique. Lewis is sometimes called Tir an t-soisgeul, Land of the Scriptures, in contrast with
571 the decadent outer world. The male drinking fraternity
273 constitutes a second important group. And for everyone
• [521] there is the cinema of their neighbors' activities, which are placed in a vast human calendar that includes the behavior of many generations.

796 miscarriage occurring before marriage also requires
851 standing even when the child to be baptised was conceived
626 by the couple after marriage. A married man who has
848 impregnated a woman who is not his wife must undergo
[837] this ordeal before he can have his own children baptised.

It is the responsibility of the entire community to ensure that this punishment is carried out. On one occasi the minister forgot to lecture a couple, and afterwards sent them a note that they would not have to stand; but they insisted, afraid that people would say that they were getting special treatment.

[203] According to one minister, the manse is a kind of
• [521] "research center" to which all gossip is reported. Some
[793] ministers use this information in the pulpit, chiding
[794] people and calling attention to wrong-doings in front of the congregation. In contrast, a different attitude exist
[184] in parts of Stornoway, where villagers have approached
[759] doctors in the maternity ward for information regarding miscarriages and premarital births only to be told that this information is confidential. The ordeal of standing
[178] in church does not exist in Stornoway. In 1971 a person in Shawbost was accidentally exempted from this ordeal and his exemption was seen by some as providing an opportunity to stop what is considered by many to be an archaic custom.

522

522 HUMOR--conception of humor; sources of amusement (e.g., mishaps); types of humor (e.g., wit, puns, practical jokes); expressions of amusement (e.g., smiling, laughter); droll stories; coarse humor (e.g., anal, pornographic); humorists (e.g., wits, jesters, comedians); special elaborations of humor (e.g., comic strips); etc. See also:

Humor in the fine arts 53
Humor in entertainment 54
Patterned expression of emotion 201
Clowns 636
Joking relationships between kinsmen 602
Ridicule as a means of social control 626
Ideas about laughing and smiling 827
Obscenity and pornography 831

Chapter 2

HISTORY OF THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

A. "Crofting"

241 427 175 192 The word "croft," meaning an enclosed field, comes from Old English. In 1563, a rental of the bishopric of Moray mentions the lease of two crofts (Grant 1930: 272). Walker (1812: 51) refers to "cottars or crofters" as subtenants of Highland farms. The word croft appears in Gibbon's historical novel, A Scots Quair, and is still in common use around Aberdeenshire. In the Hebrides, a number of Gaelic words are used to refer to units of land (e.g., faich, fearann, fiadhaire, and fiannag), but the word for "croft" remains in Gaelic vocabulary as a foreign word, slightly Gaelicized as croit or lot (from "allotment").

• [522] A cynical definition of a croft, given by some academicians and administrators concerned with crofting, and supposedly first proposed by the son of a crofter, is "a piece of land entirely surrounded by legislation." 241 427 175 671 Crofting, as a particular method of land use, was introduced by "progressive" landlords in the mid-18th

175 484 166 [357] domestic servants among the well-to-do families in Glasgow and other cities on the mainland (see Appendix A).

175 484 166 462 [288] When the weaving started, some men settled at home permanently, but many continued to come and go between the sea and the loom. In 1931, the ratio of men to women in Lewis and Harris was 100:114. The men came home for temporary jobs, such as the construction of roads

• [522] or houses. Jokes are told of the common practice of sending for an extension of leave. The men found it easy

[906] to join the Naval Reserve because of their fishing experience; and it brought them a retainer's fee and expense-paid trips to places off the island for several weeks of training during the year. But when the wars came,

[901] the loss of men to the Navy and to the Merchant Service was heavy.

B. The Land

175 427 The number of arrears in rent in the Barvas rent ledger at the turn of the century indicates the small amount of money in circulation at the time. Between 1899 and 1914, several crofters paid part of their rent "by work," and six had some of their stock "uplifted by decree." For example, a Widow Catherine lost "one red

• 522 181 In nation-wide comic strips and jokes, the Highlan plays the role of the clown, the rustic country cousin. The comic strip "Angus Og" portrays a kilted Highlande sly and canny behind his apparent simplicity, tricking the landlord and searching for the Loch Ness monster. Stories of the lazy, dour crofter abound.[1]

166 181 When young men go away to the Army or Navy or to work on the mainland, they say that they feel like "foreigners." "Thirty years ago the island was very

175 166 182 871 isolated. It was difficult to get away. There were so few education grants available. I got my teaching certificate and wanted to get a post back on the islan but was told there wouldn't be a vacancy for another fifteen years. So I went down to England, and found I had to be at least as good as an Englishman if not better in my job to get ahead."

177 365 354 "When I went into the RAF, I had never seen light switches because we used paraffin lamps. An English chap told me to turn the light on, and I didn't know which way meant on or off. That memory still sticks i

[1] Even a high official in the Highlands and Island Development Board tells a joke, that is "presently goi round Westminster," of the Spaniard who approached the Highlander and told him of the word mañana which he tr lated as "Don't do today what you can put off till tomorrow," asking if there was a corresponding word i Gaelic. "In Gaelic," replied the Highlander, "we have no word that conveys such a sense of urgency."

288 Questions about the state of
"the tweed" permeate all discussions, and often
57 constitute an initial greeting. "Have you got a
458 tweed in the loom? How many do you have? Did you
521 see Stickey's tweed van going into Pairc? Did you
576 hear that Newalls has an order for about 800 pieces...?"

"The mills brought me two tweeds, and I got two in town myself. I stuck those two in the attic so that anyone who came in would be none the wiser," says one person in a whisper. Neighbors are in and out of each others' houses and loomsheds, observant and questioning, on the lookout for any indication that they have missed out on some transaction in the competition for scarce goods.

D. Weaving as Strategy

286 When weaving was done on a wooden hand loom, the
178 weaver required a longer period of apprenticeship.
402 Weaving was "more of an art," as some of the older weavers remember it today. Not only was the shuttle thrown back and forth by hand, but the lifting of different threads in the warp was done by manipulating
288 four foot pedals in the correct order. Today, the
178 process of weaving is very much simplified: the weaver
402 pushes only two foot pedals, and simply keeps an eye on

463 One of his
326 apprentices was his sister's son, who built another
[874] smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip.
[204]
[521] People gathered there while he shoed horses that came
from Barvas to Carloway."

444 A number of shops were established in Shawbost
178 that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At
[494] one time they numbered six altogether. These shops
also ran the first buses between the village and
[477] Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared
[443] because of competition with larger companies. Mobile
grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming
in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in
large parts of the island, undercutting the local busi-
178 nesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self
434 sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and
571 sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on
621 local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town-
44 dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major
463 proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocer
178 fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage
[472] collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal
[484] dealers and others extend goods and services from
centralized sources to a market which has money to pay
for them. The island's participation in this extensive
market system is affected by its marginality to the

181
621 People prefer to give money
178 in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat-
437 cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendships
829 are still weak, relative to friendships in urban
572 settings. Most information which is shared between
621 individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip.
[369]
• [521] Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutual
[476] aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to
confide and keep secrets.

621 Today many of the younger villagers do not know
178 their relatives to the extent that their elders did.
602 In one family, a girl who was abou' to get married had
[585] to ask her brother, who was the only one of the siblings
[576] interested in kinship connections, whom to invite to the
wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of
602 one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and
484 Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there
[178] I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in
transportation and income, more islanders are taking
brief trips away from the island. During these trips,
they almost always stay with relatives.

857 It is frequently said that children are now "cheekier,"
577 less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, and
829 that they prefer to watch television or read books by
178 themselves to playing with each other.

197 behavior characteristic of the
191
554 those that remain in the villag
571 unifying function, although its
184
578 diversity of elements.

184 Jokes are most humorous wh
197 conversation is punctuated with
538 stories. There is a vast oral
[522] of the village and generations
• [521] characteristics and escapades,
All of these tales, proverbs an
829 thousand times, but retain thei
speaking of today's children wh
a man says sadly, "They won't h
place will mean less to them th
moor is not an empty wasteland,
103 Thousands of place names are kn
175 name is a story. The major lan
lochs and headlands tend to hav
days when the Norsemen raided a
coasts; but the smaller hillock
the stream have Gaelic names, f
the One Night, Field of the Sla
[184] Boys, Hillock of William's Shei
names and their histories is to
community, which has been made
with the dominant society.

dominant group; but for
e, the language serves a
form is limited in

en told in Gaelic; and
Gaelic proverbs and old
lore, expressed in Gaelic,
of its members and their
a dense map of human events.
d jokes have been told a
r unifying function. When
o do not go to the sheiling,
ave our memories; this
an it does to us." The
but a map of memories.
own, and behind every place
dmarks such as mountains,
e Norse names, from the
nd settled along the island
ks and fields and bends in
or example, Sheiling of
ves, Slope of the Stone
ing. To know these place
participate in a distinct
even more distinct by contrast

166 2. The Exiles: An important source which supplies this sense of contrast is the large number of persons settled away from the island, often in "ghettoes" or neighborhoods in cities in which village ties are main-
[521] tained. It is said that gossip about Shawbost travels more quickly in the district called Partick Hill in
166 Glasgow than it does within Shawbost itself. It may be
621 argued that the "exiles," with their Lewis and Harris Societies and pilgrimages back to the village during the holidays, do a great deal to sustain the strong boundedness of the village as a sociocultural system. They and non-Gaelic-speaking outsiders (the Eminent Person writing his inevitable book in the romantic solitude of an isolated manse) help to maintain a feeling of worthwhileness in a place rife with feelings of ambivalence and negative comparison with the larger society.

181 Within the village, especially during the long, dark
621 winter, complaints are often heard of the "sameness" of
[195] things. A common phrase, almost a greeting, is, "Anything fresh?"—implying that the usual mode of existence is stale, sour, exhausted, and mucky with
621 overuse. Although the villagers have access to the
20 range of information available to all Britishers through
829 forms of mass media such as newspapers, radios and television sets, very little of this information is considered relevant to village life, and thus is not attended to.

16 accordingly small. In
born, and 264 people d
census, Shawbost had a
later, the population
community of interacti
greater number of peop
statistics, because th
play in their community

[877] Tables $I_{\wedge}^{1}$ and $II_{\wedge}^{2}$ do not
females in the 5-14 ag
females in the 15-24 a
home during the week t
but who return home duri

[464] The statistics also omi
females in the 15-24 a
seven females in the 25
between 35 and 44, and
45 and 54, who are away
as yet unmarried. Thes
long or short periods o
mill, to care for aged
of living until they be

[521] Their roots are in the
when they are physicall
the electrical storm of
$1_{\wedge}, 2_{\wedge}$, [See pp. vii-viii

Lewis in 1970, 211 babies were
ied. In the 1961 national
population of 598; ten years
was only 515. The significant
on, however, includes a much
le than are indicated by these
e roles which absentee members
y are important. The figures in
include five males and three
e category or six males and three
ge category who live away from
attend schools in Stornoway,
ng the weekend and for holidays.
t eighteen males and eighteen
ge category; fifteen males and
-34 age category; four males
two males and two females between
from the village working but are
e temporary exiles return for
f time, to weave or work in the
parents, and to vary their diet
come restless and set off again.
village, and during the times
y absent they are kept alive in
the village gossip system. To
respectively--Analyst]

525 (a Gaelic group), the Masonic Order, the Eastern Star, and
a post of the British Legion, which have representatives
524 from all walks of life. But far the most interesting
525 group is the village bridge club. If bridge clubs in America
are status conscious, those in Britain are especially aware
of "social" and "cultural" distinctions. In Portree such
524 differences matter very little. Like all of the above
525 167 mentioned organizations, the membership of the bridge club
is predominantly newcomers. It includes members of the gentry,
teachers, shop keepers and shop assistants, office workers,
and a mechanic. Once a week they come together for an
evening of cards and a few drinks. In all formal organizations,
the roles of leadership are left to newcomers or the gentry.
One young man, to give an extreme example, wondered one day
why he spent so much time attending committee meetings. On
reflection, he found that he was an officer in no less than
eleven clubs. It is to the gentry, however, that we must
turn to see the real expression of leadership.

The County Families

565 The landed gentry have been considered separately be-
184 cause they belong to the neighborhood in which they reside;
to the trade-center village, where they spend much of their
time either visiting each other or performing some social
service; and to the community as a whole. Even more than
belonging to Skye, they form a part of the national class
system of Britain. They are the "county families." Next

525

525 GAMBLING--laying of wagers on games, athletic contests, and spectacles; betting; lotteries; special gambling devices (e.g., roulette wheels); calculation of odds (e.g., bookmakers, parimutuel machines); informal gambling; gaming houses and their operation; gambling as a method of finance (e.g., government lotteries, church bingo games, hospital sweepstakes, club slot machines); specialists (e.g., gamblers, croupiers); prevalence of and attitudes toward gambling; restrictions and regulations; etc. See also:

Debts 456
Speculation 455
Horse racing 841
Illicit gambling establishments 848
Conception and manipulation of luck and chance 777

178 or after it. After 1914–18, the Rector of the Nicolson
771 Institute, Stornoway, proposed village halls for village
527 education and recreation.[1] The scheme was never fully
[346] realised except in one township, Sandwick, near Storno-
345 way, owing to the strength of puritanical opposition. In
1811 particular, dancing by young folk was condemned as
[535] "dancing upon the graves of their brothers". This atti-
tude is breaking down; social standards, in becoming less
repressive, may encourage young people to stay.

Broadcasting—a factor of change everywhere—came to
178 the townships as a revolution. Newspapers had already
207 filtered in; but for the first time the Gaelic-speaking
[204] home was entered and dominated by an English-speaking
voice. It has made itself heard there almost ceaselessly
ever since—in broadcast talks, discussions, announcements
178 of news, entertainment, singing and prayers. Only the
207 Sabbath imposes general silence. In the Scottish Home
795 Service great trouble has been taken to meet all tastes at
the highest level for each, from 'low-brow' to 'high-
brow' and from Clydeside to the Isles. To a thoughtful,
selective Island listener the new opportunity for imaginative
human contacts and for initiation of all kinds is immense.
And the purely Gaelic listener is not forgotten. He wel-
comes Gaelic song or story; and worship in Gaelic has
reached many an elderly person's bedside.

178 Yet few listeners select: much broadcasting is designed
207 for those whose only picture-galleries are advertisement
hoardings and whose only drama and music are to be found
[525] at "the Pictures". And through no fault of the B.B.C.,
the Sports News offers temptations for those in poverty to
acquire wealth innocently through luck in a football pool,

[1] W. J. Gibson, "Social Amenities in the Western Isles", *Sociological Rev.* (Jan. 1932).

178 so creating a small leak in the purse and in the mind,
207 leaving both a little emptier, week by week. Surveys made
[525] by teacher-members of the Educational Institute of Scot-
land describe the effects on listeners in Highland parishes
[829] as pernicious, in the main. The reports of the B.B.C., on
the other hand, emphasise their cultural endeavours, and
the lightening of house-work and of rural monotony or
solitude. Every effort is needed to aid a happy selection
in home and neighbourhood.

72 Experiences undergone in war were of very differing
201 types. Many men spent the war years in the Navy, without
contact with decent town life, or others in the Merchant
Marine. Of combatants in the land forces, the Territorials
of the original 51st Highland Division experienced a few
months of relative inactivity in France, then of a brief but
bitter campaign, followed by long years in prison camps,
while other soldiers underwent prolonged training in Britain,
followed by severe fighting for long periods, far afield.
Lastly, a limited number of men served in engineering or
other works of war-time industry, though labouring work,
at high wages, kept many of the older men employed at
[462] home. Of the women called up for service, some were
posted to the Forces, some to the Land Army, and some were
[162] sent to factories. The greater opportunities for women to
earn a living wage away from the Island tend to equalise
the ratio of the sexes.

177 An experience new to the Western Isles came with the
[464] establishment of Air Bases. Not only did their construc-
tion provide high wages for labouring for the older resident
crofters, brought daily to the Bases by bus from their
townships, but for the first time a heterogeneous mass of
men from every part of urban Britain was put down at
the doors of these quiet communities—at a time when

contrast the friendly and homely atmosphere of the English 275
"pub" with the austerity of the public bar on Skye. The same 185
man who went into the "Coach and Four" to play a game of
darts and sing a few songs over his pint of beer goes down
to the local hotel bar on Skye to toss off his dram, follow
it with a pint of beer, and chaff his neighbors. "There is
nothing else to do." Skye exiles in Glasgow, and not only 275
the youngest of them, often complain about the lack of 167
opportunity for social intercourse at home. What they really 571
mean is that "there is nothing else to do" unless they do
not care about the reaction of their "people and friends."
Moreover, they may want to return some day to stay, and,
then, they will have to face the judgment of the old men in
their neighborhood.

Another contrast of the Welsh and the Sgiathanach can 525
be found in their respective attitudes towards gambling.
Traditionally, both enjoyed forms of recreation in which
competition plays a major part, but the Welshman today does
little gambling, implicitly because of his religious outlook.[27]
The Sgiathanach, too, is not an open gambler, but the football
pools find many interested individuals on the Misty Isle.
There was, for example, the deacon in one church who forgot he 525
had a meeting to attend. Much to his dismay, when another 714
member of the kirk stopped by to see why he was late, he was
busy filling out his football coupon. Dissimilarities, of 785
course, are not particularly significant. In both regions

[27] Ibid.

526

526 ATHLETIC SPORTS--forms of exercise (e.g., hiking, swimming, skating, skiing, riding, mountain climbing, calisthenics, gymnastics); sports of pursuit (e.g., hide-and-seek, paper chases); individual contests (e.g., foot races, jumping, weight lifting, boxing, wrestling, archery, hoop and dart game, javelin throwing, trap shooting, bowling, tennis, golf); team contests (e.g., tug-of-war, boat races, lacrosse, hockey, football, baseball, basketball, polo); occasions; participants and spectators; special equipment; rules; associated ideas (e.g., sportsmanship, amateur status, value of physical fitness); organizers and sponsors of sports (e.g., clubs, schools, business organizations, promoters); etc. See also:

Fishing and hunting	22	Racing and fighting with animals	841
Recreational structures	545	Commercialized sports	842
Locomotion	481	Manufacture and distribution of sporting goods	849
Athletic clubs	529	Military training	702

the Outer Isles, an area of recent depopulation, there are 888
enough youth to resist the dictates of their elders.[25] If 541
they cannot have a dance in a hall, they hold their dance 626
on a plank bridge. In Kilmuir the crofters are looking forward to "Effectual Calling." To defy the elders, or allow their children to run counter to the wishes of the elders, would mean a loss of all hope for salvation.

For the majority of crofters, any form of amusement 785
is objectionable, but there are slight differences among 795
the affiliates of the several sects. The Church of Scotland is the most lenient. For adherents, concerts, film shows and similar organized forms of entertainment may be admissible, especially if they are held outside the neighborhood. There [547]
is a "picture bus" from Kilmuir to Portree on Wednesday and [349]
Saturday night. Sports activities are often considered [526]
as wholesome outlets for the youth. Some of the ministers, feel the lack of social contact with their people and believe they might do some good by taking part in life outside the pulpit. The Church of Scotland minister in Kilmuir occasionally attends the Crofters' Club, the only secular activity admitted in the neighborhood. Significantly, Free Church opinion, although the voice of a minority, has prohibited the playing of pipes and recitals of the Gaelic Choir at the annual agricultural show. The Church of Scotland minister in Sleat has taken a hand in the village hall. Unorganized dances are condemned. This is not because dancing [535]

[25] Darling and Morley, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 21-24.

at Skeabost. A minister drove by one day and said to the 785
workmen, "Don't you know you're building a house for the Devil?" 795
One of the laborers, a Lowlander, replied, "It's a good thing 575
we have a place to keep him." The Order of the Eastern Star and the Masons are condemned because, while they are religious, they are secret orders. Even if the person's religion did not stand in the way of his becoming a Mason, his distrust of mystery probably would. As one young fellow said one night in the bar when being chaffed about the Masons, "I'm not going to join any secret organization until I know what the secret is."

Included among the objectionable activities by these two 785
churches are the traditional Highland Games, held each year 795
at Portree in August, probably about the time of the old Saint's 541
Fair. The day is a school holiday. Aside from New Years, it is the big occasion of the year. People come in from all over the Island. Few of the Skyemen actively take part in [526]
the contests of tossing the caber and throwing the stone, or in the piping and dancing competitions, but they look forward to the event. It gives them an opportunity to see their [571]
"friends" and join them in the pub for a dram. Although the [793]
ministers disapprove, they lack the backing of the "elect," so the games go on each year. I hasten to add that they have lost much of their appeal in recent years, but I am told that this is due to the fact that the clique who runs the Skye Council of Social Service has, in an effort to attract tourists early in the season, set up Skye Week in May. Included in the Skye Week program are Highland Games. I might also add

that the people of Skye, including many of the newcomers, have not been favorably impressed by Skye Week. The consensus is that it is not representative of Skye. For the Sgiathanach the Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and similar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree. Here the members and the adherents of the Church of Scotland partake of a number of recreational activities. In the winter there is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer [5
there is a little golf and tennis. The limitations are not religious; they are climatic. Then, too, there is shinty. We have already noted the existence of many clubs. There are [
regular dances. Moving pictures take place twice a week. [5
All of these activities are run by newcomers; the Skyemen have a more or less passive role. The "elect" of the two smaller sects are, to say the least, very much disturbed by these frivolities. What is worse, the children attend the dances and the concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find enough solidarity among those of their own age grade to outweigh the threats of their elders. Apparently they find enough security to be unaffected by the stern denunciations of the minister from the pulpit. When they marry, however, they have to recast the pattern of their behavior, for now the elders are in a position to exercise control by withholding baptism from their children. Some may turn to the Church of Scotland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glendale the control by the aged is complete. There is not a single activit

233 One crofter who gets subsidies says that he keeps
241 sheep and ploughs the land to feed them only as a "hobby."
654 He uses the word "hobby" because, in comparison with the
523 income he gets from working regularly in the mill, he
434 does not get a good return for his investment.

233 A crofter who has been weaving all his life says
288 that the income he receives from his cattle and sheep
434 does not compare with the income he receives from weaving.
654 Subsidies are counted as an important part of the income he receives for the livestock. "Last year I got L28 for a heifer—not a very good price, but then I got an L11 subsidy as well." He does not believe that anyone could
829 make a living from crofting alone. "You say some of the
434 people in Uist are able to make a living at it? They
241 might be getting social security as well, they're that sly. Anyway, members of the family are probably sending money home from sea or from the mainland. You need a weekly wage. If the tweeds disappear, the only thing a man could do would be to go to sea." (See Appendix C for an example of the balance sheet of a croft.)

233 A few families work seriously at rearing cattle for
463 sale in local or town markets. These are usually composed of several male adults, of which one or more work in the mill or do weaving and someone is largely responsible for croft work. Most of these people look

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

but their negligence even in ye article appears from their sending 439
out annual above 2000 of wool out of the country unmanufacture.' 175*

Harris was rented at £600. Exports were some 100 tons of [427]
kelp (£325), and the value of 250 black cattle exported alive, with [435]
100 salted, was £445. Small quantities of cheese, wool, and the skins of sheep, otters and seals were exported. Grain was neither imported nor exported.

The plough, which is used here, and in most places of the long 407
island, is of a very peculiar construction. Its length is but 4 feet 175*
7 inches, and is drawn by four horses abreast. It has but one [492]
handle by which it is directed; the mold board is fastened with two leather thongs, and the soke and coulter are bound together at the point by a rim of iron. Beside kelp, there is little else manu- 175*
factured, except a little coarse woolen yarn, and some blanket- 439
ing, which they send yearly to Glasgow. They raise a little flax [286]
of which they make some coarse linen for their own use, but im- [248]
port all the fine linen which they consume. In the year 1756, an [177]
American vessel in distress was obliged to put out three hogsheads of lintseed in Harris, which was sown and afforded crops of lint which were above double the value of the usual crops. The east 228
and west of Loch Tarbert in the Harris are every year revisited 175*
by the herring shoals. During the five years from 1743 to 1747, the west loch was the principal seat of the herring fishery. About thirty vessels from 18 to 40 tons, belonging to Campbelltown, Greenock, and Irvine, were completely loaded each of these years at this place.

With even a modest amount of business taking place, it was a 443
natural step to establish commercial facilities. Stornoway men who 175*
once acted as agents became shopkeepers. The increase in the use [453]
of money attracted banks. During the Seaforth ownership of 436
Lewis, the island had its own currency or notes, designed and 175*
printed from plates in the same style as the modern banknote. The wording ran: 'I promise to pay on demand to the Chamberlain of the Lewis or Bearer ONE POUND Sterling at the Counting Room here.' The notes carried a date and were signed by the proprietor, J. A. Stewart MacKenzie. It is not known for certain how long the notes remained in currency, when they ceased to be used, or even whether they were officially acceptable. At one time, as rare [523]
items, they fetched high prices from collectors. A number were

5

524 GAMES--playthings (e.
(e.g., string figures,
(e.g., riddles, charad
checkers, card games)
participants and specta
of games (e.g., clique
tions); etc. See also:
Childhood activities . . . .

24

.g., dolls, blocks, mechanical toys); games of dexterity
tops, juggling, kite flying, billiards); problem games
es, puzzles); games of calculation (e.g., chess,
); special childrens' games; occasions for playing games;
tors; special equipment; rules; organizers and sponsors
s, clubs, churches, communities, business organiza-

. 857

197 Within the village there are no branches of An Comunn
178 Gaidhealach and few books written in Gaelic. Once a rural
166 family moves to Stornoway, children often refuse to speak
191 Gaelic, even though they understand it, and parents tend
to speak only English to their children, believing this
will help them "get on." In the next generation, the
[871] language is lost. Village children attending school in
Stornoway often prefer talking to their Gaelic-speaking
[867] roommates in English. A young island woman, married and
living in Edinburgh, says she would like her baby son
to learn Gaelic but feels that if he had a mixture of the
two languages the other children would laugh at him.

197 English is the language of the larger society, the
191 language spoken in school and the language required in
most jobs and in dealing with most officials. In Gaelic-
197 speaking areas, the speaking of English connotes high
191 554 status. If an English speaker mispronounces Gaelic words,
626 he is quickly forgiven, praised for trying to learn such
578 a difficult language, and asked why he bothers with a
language that "isn't any use anyway." But if a Gaelic
speaker makes mistakes in English, he is teased mercilessly.
[551] Many nicknames derive from such mistakes; for example,
"Peter Squeak" got his name by mispronouncing the word
"picturesque." People "win points" by competing with
• [524] each other in speaking English. "See how good you are in

197 English, no Gaelic allowed. I can beat you any time...."
191 One person observed, "People here make fun of each other
554 all the time. They're always trying to be superior, to
626 get one over the other person. Speaking English gives
578 you a feeling of superiority."
• [524]

If a Gaelic speaker chooses to speak English in a village situation where there are no officials present or other cues which make English-speaking appropriate, this indicates that he considers himself a cut above everyone else. "I went to help Calum pull his tractor out of the mud, and Malina was there with her husband. She was speaking <u>English</u>. Oh, I says to myself, lady, you're not for this place. You don't belong to <u>this</u> village."

In evaluating whether or not a particular woman is "snobbish," villagers may decide, "She must be; whenever I've seen her in the post office, she never speaks any Gaelic."

197 The sanctions against speaking English when all
191 persons present speak Gaelic indicate the effect of inter-
554 action between a socially marginal group and the dominant
571 group. The effect is to increase the emphasis on uniform
184 behavior within the marginal group. The existence of a
578 higher social stratum has diminished social differentiation
within the village setting. Individuals may move out of
that setting and adopt the language and other forms of

village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter 6). Drinking situations provide an important opportunity for relatively uninhibited expression by males, and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

The role of clown or "character" is well developed in Hebridean townships. In an environment which encourages quietly watchful and somewhat anxious, conformist behavior, the character is rude, raucous and outrageous, a bite of fire in cold waters. He represents a reversal of normal behavior. The villagers shake their heads, agree that he is impossible, but encourage him to continue, urge him on when he flags, and bring up his escapades for discussion during moments of boredom. There are usually several such characters in a village.

Reversal of low-profile and other "normal" behavior is also allowed on particular occasions such as New Year's, this time among all villagers. In the days of horses and carts, boys went around the village on New Year's night stealing carts and hiding them on the moor or down by the shore; today they steal gates. Between Christmas and New Year's, groups of boys visit houses in their neighborhood, collecting tea, sugar, biscuits, or money to be used for a party in one of the houses. Such boys are called <u>balaich na bannagan</u>, or boys of the <u>bannag</u>. In some Gaelic-speaking areas, <u>bannag</u> refers to a gift that is

Whereas at other times of the year there are specific times which are considered appropriate for visiting, especially if the visit includes a bottle, at New Year's visitors may appear in the middle of the night or at any time during the day. Some men may stay up for four nights in a row, going back home for a few hours of sleep or a bite to eat before setting off again. Various pranks are played. Men climb through the windows of darkened houses, or wake up sleepers by making animal sounds. One man went around the village showing a pig's foot to women as though it were a penis.

But whether lasting for one night or for five, festivities end with the arrival of Sunday; and the usual comment is, "Thank God it's Sunday."

The "exiles" prefer to return at such times as New Year's, or during the summer months when the beaches are inviting and the gales absent. They remember the "characters" and other features of village life which give it color, often forgetting the drab background out of which the color was forged. Some villagers whose siblings have married and left the island continue to live alone in the house mainly to keep the house in order for their return. "I wouldn't close the house on them. They come back every summer." A man thinking of emigrating

his neighbors, and he done them in and took all their money." 554 626

The villagers and, in particular, the county people 369 enjoy amusing stories about the crofters. One tale concerns a crofter who received electricity from the Hydro-Electric Board. After the cottage had been wired, his wife bought him an electric razor. This created a problem. If he plugged the razor into the single light socket, he could not see to shave on a winter morning, but if he had the light on he could not plug in the razor. There are many stories about crofters who refused electricity because they were afraid the house might blow up if hit by lightning, and there is the favorite story of the old woman, on the Isle of Lewis, who thought electricity was fine to see to light her candle.

To see how gossip, bordering on tradition, is indicative 522 of high prestige status, we may take the story of the doctor of Kilmuir. One day just after a cattle sale the doctor took the boat from Portree to Kyle. In addition to several local people and many cattle, there were two Sassanachs on board. The Englishmen asked the doctor how many cattle there were. He thought there were quite a few. A hundred, the Englishmen asked. "Sure," said the doctor. Two hundred, they asked. The doctor again said, "Sure." They then inquired whether or not the doctor could count. When he answered in the affirmative, they asked how many they and the doctor were. He replied, "One hundred, I am one and you two are nothings." The core of these stories always involves the doctor's getting the better of someone, especially an Englishman. It may be

added that the stories are frequently heard elsewhere in 522 the Highlands. This particular tale is also told in the Outer Isles, where the central figure is a famous drover, drovers still being important in the Outer Island cattle trade.

Stories about well-liked doctors getting the best of ministers are also told by members of the Church of Scotland. There is, for example, the tale about the doctor who went to the service of one of the seceder ministers. The sermon was on the immoral dress of women. After church the minister asked the doctor how he liked the service. Holding up his Bible, the doctor replied, "I enjoyed it fine, but I brought the wrong book. I should have had one of those mail order catalogues."

We should not, of course, overlook the fact that gossip 203 is the main form of communication on Skye. There are few aspects of life which do not interest the people enough to become matters of gossip. How, then, does gossip travel? All are carriers of gossip, but several occupational groups are primary carriers, especially the food van drivers, bus drivers and tradesmen. Perhaps, it is a widespread phenonenon that the gossip spreader does not know his role. One day a tradesman returned from the far end of the island. Following the pattern, he was asked "what's fresh?" and replied "nothing" and then proceeded to give the news he had picked up. After he had finished, he paused and said, "you'd wonder where these people get all the news."

In its less emotional aspect, gossip has been formalized 204 by one agency, the Skye Clarion, a local monthly newspaper.

5

523 HOBBIES--individual pas
technological pursuits int
cookery, embroidery, wo
hobbies (e.g., philately,
See also:

Hunting and fishing . . . . . .
Artistic hobbies . . . . . .
Personality traits . . . . . .
Museum and library collections .

23

times (e.g., reading); elaboration of economic and
o hobbies (e.g., animal breeding, bookbinding,
oodworking); construction of models; collectors'
coins, antiques, first editions); heirlooms; etc.

. . . . .	22	Commercial breeding of animals	232
. . . . .	53	Gardening	247
. . . . .	187	Special dealers	549
. . . . .	217	Club activities	575

behavior characteristic of the dominant group; but for those that remain in the village, the language serves a unifying function, although its form is limited in diversity of elements.

Jokes are most humorous when told in Gaelic; and conversation is punctuated with Gaelic proverbs and old stories. There is a vast oral lore, expressed in Gaelic, of the village and generations of its members and their characteristics and escapades, a dense map of human events. All of these tales, proverbs and jokes have been told a thousand times, but retain their unifying function. When speaking of today's children who do not go to the sheiling, a man says sadly, "They won't have our memories; this place will mean less to them than it does to us." The moor is not an empty wasteland, but a map of memories. Thousands of place names are known, and behind every place name is a story. The major landmarks such as mountains, lochs and headlands tend to have Norse names, from the days when the Norsemen raided and settled along the island coasts; but the smaller hillocks and fields and bends in the stream have Gaelic names, for example, Sheiling of the One Night, Field of the Slaves, Slope of the Stone Boys, Hillock of William's Sheiling. To know these place names and their histories is to participate in a distinct community, which has been made even more distinct by contrast with the dominant society.

156 sympathetic with each others' idiosyncrasies. A constant
572 joking keeps people at arm's length and discourages the
[522] development of empathy.

156 Accompanying this style of indirect, inhibited
154 expressiveness and the low level of stimulation are culturally prescribed opportunities for relatively uninhibited expressiveness. Such opportunities include the ceilidh ("visit"), the drinking situation (mainly for men), the role of clown or "character," and holidays
[166] such as New Year's. Although young villagers and
[484] emigrants often describe the village as "dull" and "dead,"
[181] the emigrants are happy enough to return to the island for short periods of time, during which they participate in those situations in which expressiveness and limited license are accepted.

156 3. Ceilidh, Clown, and New Year's Festivities: Only
154 on certain occasions is relatively spontaneous and unin-
574 hibited expressiveness condoned or encouraged within the township, and even then the form which this expressiveness takes is fairly narrowly circumscribed. The traditional
[178] ceilidh was such an occasion. In the past, people gathered
[517] regularly at night in the tigh ceilidh (the ceilidh house,
[538] or home of someone in which a genial atmosphere existed;
[533] the tigh ceilidh was often the home of someone who lived alone), where stories were endlessly repeated and elaborated,

To

many villagers, the concep

other than that time in th

natives return.

pt of "holiday" has no meaning

he yearly cycle when the

273 village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter
[154] 6). Drinking situations provide an important opportunity for relatively uninhibited expression by males, and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

522 The role of clown or "character" is well developed
156 in Hebridean townships. In an environment which encourages
154 quietly watchful and somewhat anxious, conformist behavior, the character is rude, raucous and outrageous, a bite of fire in cold waters. He represents a reversal of normal behavior. The villagers shake their heads, agree that he is impossible, but encourage him to continue, urge him on when he flags, and bring up his escapades for discussion during moments of boredom. There are usually several such characters in a village.

156 Reversal of low-profile and other "normal" behavior
154 is also allowed on particular occasions such as New Year's,
• 527 this time among all villagers. In the days of horses and
[522] carts, boys went around the village on New Year's night
[883] stealing carts and hiding them on the moor or down by the
[574] shore; today they steal gates. Between Christmas and
[431] New Year's, groups of boys visit houses in their neighborhood, collecting tea, sugar, biscuits, or money to be used for a party in one of the houses. Such boys are called
796 balaich na bannagan, or boys of the bannag. In some
431 Gaelic-speaking areas, bannag refers to a gift that is
184

796 given at Christmas; in Lewis, Christmas is identified
431 with Catholicism, and is an insignificant event in
184 comparison with New Year. To give two examples, a New
• 527 Year's dance is given, but not a Christmas dance; and
796 the mills continue working on Christmas if it occurs
184 on a week day, but close for at least two days at New Year's. In Shawbost, bannag is defined as a party associated with Hogmanay (New Year's eve).

527 In the recent past, until about ten years ago,
292 the boys dressed in women's clothes or wore masks. They
178 took turns wearing a cow's skin as they went from house to house. In each house, the boy wearing the skin was
[539] hit by the others as he chanted the rann na bannag (rhyme of the bannag):

Here I come again renewing Christmas.
(Or, in another version: This is the New Year's nigh
I'll take the bread without the butter,
And the butter without the bread,
And the cheese by itself.
Then we won't be empty-handed.
One thing I refuse is a mangy potato.
It gives a heavy feeling.
It's not healthy.
If you don't give me my bit of butter and my lump of cheese,
Everything you possess will be gotten by the crows on St. Patrick's Day.

527 As the balaich na bannagan left the house in which
431 they had received gifts, they blessed it. All food and
178 money was given to the woman who prepared the bannag.
[788] Today children tend to receive money more often than food, and use some of the money to buy sweets at the post

527 office or general store, preferring to divide the rest
178 between themselves for use at a later time. A 50-year-
431 old woman observed, "They don't appreciate the bannag like we used to. They get this kind of rich food all
527 the time." The practices of wearing costumes and speaking
178 the rhyme are disappearing. Children used to have the bannag until they left school at age 14 or 15; now only the younger children go. "Children grow up more quickly today."

527 New Year's is celebrated perhaps most intensively
562 by the men, who after seeing the New Year in by watching
273 a special New Year's program on television go visiting
574 neighbors and relatives with bottles of whiskey. The
[184] custom of "first-footing" on New Year's eve is found throughout Scotland; but in the Hebrides such visiting and heavy drinking may last from New Year's eve until the following Sunday. During this time, the woman of the house, who usually refrains from drinking and to some extent controls the drinking done by the males in her house, relaxes her attitude, and may even participate. The comment, "It's only once a year," is often heard.
[589] During this time, the shyest and most retiring bachelor becomes a Romeo; this is the only time of year he may be heard to mention the word marriage. For example, one bachelor in his 60's chooses a "bride" each New Year, and takes her with him on his all-night visiting.

527 Whereas at other times of the year there are specific
273 times which are considered appropriate for visiting,
574 especially if the visit includes a bottle, at New Year's visitors may appear in the middle of the night or at
[513] any time during the day. Some men may stay up for four nights in a row, going back home for a few hours of sleep
522 or a bite to eat before setting off again. Various pranks
527 are played. Men climb through the windows of darkened
574 houses, or wake up sleepers by making animal sounds. One man went around the village showing a pig's foot to women as though it were a penis.

527 But whether lasting for one night or for five, festivities end with the arrival of Sunday; and the usual comment is, "Thank God it's Sunday."

166 The "exiles" prefer to return at such times as New
221 Year's, or during the summer months when the beaches are
484 inviting and the gales absent. They remember the
[527] "characters" and other features of village life which give it color, often forgetting the drab background out of which the color was forged. Some villagers whose siblings have married and left the island continue to live alone in the house mainly to keep the house in order for their return. "I wouldn't close the house on them. They come back every summer." A man thinking of emigrating

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 £510 Highland Scots £510
Lewis and Harris

an enterprising radio firm in Stornoway; its customers receive both BBC and Grampian Television programmes. 207

Some youth organisations are represented on the island. The first troop of Boy Scouts was connected with the Stornoway YMCA and was founded by forty boys in 1921. Founded (in 1912) on the island's close association with the sea was the Boys' Brigade (Naval), later to become the Stornoway Naval Corps and the Stornoway Boys' Naval Brigade. Its objects were to provide instruction in drilling, signalling, seamanship and first aid; and to foster a spirit of manliness and comradeship among its members. The founder was Canon H. Anderson Meaden, of the Episcopal Church in Stornoway (St Peter's). During the first war the boys acted as signallers at the Stornoway Battery. 883 575 883 708 575

But the provision of some organised recreational facilities for young people on the island has long been a thorny question. After the first world war, the Rector of the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, proposed that village halls be built for village education and recreation. This scheme was never fully realised—except at Sandwick, just outside Stornoway—mainly because of the strength of puritanical opposition. This attitude has been breaking down, however, and it is now generally realised that the wealth of any community is based on its youth. Most of the efforts to set afoot activities for young people began after the second war; the work was hard and challenging with not a few failures on the way; perseverance has won to the extent that there is now a full-time youth leader. Most of the cultural and recreational activities are to be found in Stornoway, with a full range of interests. Evening non-vocational classes during the winter are also widely attended for a variety of subjects. 529 [178]

In 1965, an excellent Youth Hostel was established at Stockinish, Harris, with the help of the Inverness-shire Education Department. In its first season it recorded between 600 and 700 visitors (1,070 bed-nights). Also involved in the establishment of the hostel was the Harris Society of Social Service; practical help was given by the 2nd Stornoway Boy Scouts, who made a wall map, cleared up grounds and shifted furniture. A group of English enthusiasts have in previous years arranged a hotel at Rhenigidale, Harris (see Chapter 9), which provides for some fifty to 485 [575]

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

Fourteen employees were directly concerned, with another six in the services sector.

The potential of the tourist industry is only beginning to be tapped. MacBrayne's drive-on drive-off car ferry, with a capacity of 50 cars and 600 passengers, makes two or three trips a day between Uig in Skye and Tarbert, the journey taking less than two hours. The mainstays of tourist accommodation in Harris are the Tarbert and Rodel Hotels, both well appointed and owning fishing rights for salmon and trout. Sea fishing is another tourist attraction. Crofters participate in the holiday trade by offering full board or bed and breakfast, caravans, caravan sites or vacant lets.

An interesting tourist venture has been started at Rhenigidale. A rough, stony track, one of the most tortuous and exciting in Britain, takes its leave from the main road over a ridge. It twists and turns in and out of gullies, over cliffsides and across the steep heather-clad slopes of the Toddum, a dramatic little hill of 1,730 ft which protects Rhenigidale village from the Atlantic gales. The seven-mile track is the only marked route, though crofters take a shorter way to the north over pathless bogs; the local postman makes a round of about 60 foot miles in the week, walking this track and on to Tarbert three times in all weathers. The village relies on its sheltered harbour with a good natural rock pier: most communication is by water, all food and fuel coming that way. In past times every household owned a boat for lobster and shell fishing to supplement both diet and finances. Today the interest in fishing has declined, as has the population. But in 1946 Mr Herbert Gatliff paid his first visit to Harris, discovered what the island had to offer, and started a campaign to convince hostelling interests of the need to make some investment in the Western Isles. A croft house in Rhenigidale was in 1961 equipped as a hostel, and under what is now the Gatliff Trust it is maintained for hardy trekkers, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association making a grant for running costs. Many visitors have found that the place offers a degree of happiness corresponding with its remoteness from civilisation.

527

REST DAYS AND HOLIDAYS--days reserved for rest from labor; conceptualization (e.g., as harvest celebrations, as patriotic or commemorative occasions, as reserved by religious taboos); secular festivals (e.g., harvest, housewarming, patriotic); birthdays and anniversaries; holiday activities (e.g., feasting, drinking, visiting, games, pageants); etc, For ceremonies associated with specific economic activities see elsewhere under specialized categories (e.g., agricultural ceremonies, see 24). See also:

Potlatches 431
Distribution of labor and leisure 461
Leisure time activities 517
Pageants 541
Feasting 574
Victory celebrations 727
Taboos 784
Religious festivals 796

311 There are 144 crofts in the village (nine of
241 which, in South Shawbost, were added after the turn of
[175] the century by non-crofters encamped on common grazing
[427] land who applied to the landlord for crofter status).
Thirty-four (almost a quarter) of these crofts are
vacant; that is, the holders of the crofts live else-
[527] where. One of the vacant crofts is used by its absentee
[493] tenant for holidays, and one sports a trailer (called
[485] a "caravan" in Britain) which may be rented to tourists
during the summer. The rest are cultivated or used for
[428] grazing by crofters or non-crofters in the village who
[427] by inheritance or by formal or informal subletting have
gained use of the land.

241 A little over half of the crofts are worked as
individual units; 44% of the crofts are worked as
combined units of two and three. Twenty-four men have
the use of two crofts each, and five men the use of three
crofts each.

16 A feature of crofting townships usually emphasized
is their disproportionately large number of aged people
and small number of young people, who tend to migrate
to the cities. An age-sex "population pyramid" of the
Highlands is not a pyramid but a top-heavy hourglass
(see Table I).[1] Most persons of child-bearing age have
migrated from the area and the number of children is

1. [See p.vii--Analyst]

273 Excise taxes were first levied on whiskey in 1814,
175 and stills of less than 500-gallon capacity were prohibited.
65 Local, illegal distillation continued for a long time
[656] after 1814, and throughout the Highlands and Islands
tales are told of "the excise man" and how he was outwitted.
273 The Island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris was evacuated
175 in 1843, supposedly because of illegal distillation that
[166] was being carried on there. The ruins of old distilling
houses are found throughout Shawbost. Villagers say
that these were used in the time of their grandfather
or great-grandfather to distill whiskey for occasions
such as weddings.

• [527] In Shawbost, until recent times whiskey was associated
mainly with special ceremonial occasions: the birth of
[846] a child, weddings, and wakes. When a baby was born, the
father went into town for whiskey to be given to visitors
764 coming to see the baby. Having whiskey at a funeral was
273 so important that many a widow sold her cow to provide
it, so that people would not say it was a bad funeral.
A custom of sitting up all night in the house of the
deceased has stopped, probably in part because a prayer
meeting lasting from midnight until 2 a.m. was introduced
with the intention, according to one minister, of preventing
273 the wake from becoming too joyful an occasion. Whiskey
175 was abundant at New Year's, and at weddings. "The dance
[527]
[585]

273 out and celebrate. There's no other way to express
571 myself."
156
154

"Now that Ruaridh has stopped drinking, he's not very interesting to talk to. He's very dull these days. He doesn't say a thing."

273 During the Communions, a sense of excitement and
571 holiday permeates the village. Among the converted
• 527 members of the Free Church, this feeling is expressed in
794 vigorous participation in long church services and meetings
796 in the homes of the converted. In the rest of the village, the unconverted men don their best suits and head for the hotel, or the bothan opens earlier in the week than usual. All special occasions such as fank days or the arrival of relatives generate excitement, which is most often expressed, among the unconverted men, by drinking.

273 A man may propose to a woman, and the next day "forget"
571 this rash action with impunity. When a man has been
[584] drinking, he is more likely than on other occasions to be openly affectionate to a woman, or to express strong feelings of friendship to his fellows. "It's the only time when you're really happy. You can sing, tell your life story. It's the only time when people are really friendly. But it's a false friendship, because when you meet someone the next day, he's not the same person. He's distant, cold. You feel depressed. You want to recreate the situation, so you start drinking again."

528

528 VACATIONS--extended leave from labor; incidence, duration, and cultural justifications; vacation activities (e.g., rest, recreation, travel, visiting, frequenting of resorts); etc. See also:

Travel	484	Military leave	701
Visiting	574	Invalidism	734
Honeymoons	585	Pilgrimages	788

166 says, "I'll have to ask my brothers and sisters if
221 mind, since they come back here every year." Some
484 which are almost empty for most of the year are ove
flowing during the summer months. Often the visito
must come in stages.

166 The "exiles" sing the old songs with vigor, dr
484 heavily during their visit, and praise the island f
• 528 that "special quality" which is unmatched by life i
181 dirty, crowded, unfriendly city. Some plan to reti
the village. The villagers take up the tune that t
society is eminently worthwhile. When talking to s
they ask questions pertaining to this image of them
such as, "Don't you think this place has something
you will never find in a city?" "People come here
the summer and they love it; they can't keep away.
they must find something here. What would you do i
city anyway? Out here you're freer."

166 The visitors not only bolster the self-esteem
484 islanders, but provide them with a fund of gossip.
528 summer visitors always turn things topsy turvy when
521 come." Talk of the adventures of the summer visito
helps to occupy the long winter nights of the islan

166 A comment frequently heard is, "He was awfully
484 sick leaving." That is, he was already longing to
528 on the island, his spiritual home. The image of th

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105 794 621 632 184 [494] of the converted, who occasionally neglect township and neighborly duties in favor of religious activities. The increase in private transportation during the past 25 years has facilitated the maintenance of closer ties within the clique. The existence of such a strongly bounded subsystem is an example of a trend toward the weakening of the township as a social boundary system, but this trend is countered by other factors that strengthen or help preserve the township as a bounded system.

105 632 621 166 184 People come and go from the township, but this appears to maintain rather than weaken township boundaries because behavior different from that prescribed within the township can be performed outside it, and conformist behavior reassumed upon reentry. Those unable to conform with standards of behavior prescribed within the township are not likely to return.

[528] Township members who have settled away from the island come back periodically for recreation and a sense of [829] belonging. They increase the value of the township and its way of life in the eyes of the inhabitants, and provide them with subject matter for conversation until the next holiday season, when the exiles again return.

105 632 621 184 [178] The boundedness of the township is thus a qualified boundedness that, over the past 100 years and especially since the second world war, has decreased in strength but is nevertheless strong today.

529

529 RECREATIONAL FACILITIES--vacation resorts (e.g., spas, mountain retreats, winter sports facilities, beach resorts, state and national parks); bridge, chess, riding, and rifle clubs and their facilities; athletic and country clubs; amusement parks; enterprises catering to games and sports (e.g., pool rooms, bowling alleys, shooting galleries, gymnasiums, skating rinks); special equipment, organization, operation and specialized personnel; etc. See also:

Urban parks and recreational facilities	36	Hotels and tourist services	486
Facilities catering to entertainment	54	Manufacture and distribution of recreational equipment	549
Recreational structures	345	Social clubs	576

Hundreds
103 of place names are known to the villagers which are not marked on any map. These place names [193] constitute part of the oral tradition of a population which has lived in a confined geographical area for generations.

632 621 311 423 [363] In most of Lewis, village and township coincide. The village of Shawbost is composed of two townships, South Shawbost in which the crofts splay outward like a fan from roads which curve over an uneven landscape, and North Shawbost which is composed of linear streets (see Map C), to which the crofts are perpendicular. Each township has its own common grazing land, and its own grazing committee. All of South Shawbost and part of North Shawbost belong to one private estate (which includes other townships to the southwest), and most of North Shawbost belongs to an estate which extends to Barvas. Beyond the fact that non-crofters in South Shawbost have found it easier to acquire crofting status, little difference between the two townships appears to be due to their belonging to different estates. As [427] elsewhere in crofting regions, the landlords of the [529] two estates are concerned mainly with the sporting potential of their land.

632 The two townships are themselves divided into named neighborhoods (cf. Vallee 1955 for a discussion of "natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas).

311 indication of their worth. As above, the period is *c.* 1937–
511 1938. The Island's increased sheep stock is shown in Appendix II (ii) (a) to 1953.

33] The Lewis and Harris pastures carry on an average about one ewe to 9 or 10 acres, that is, one ewe or lamb to 4 acres in June (the month of the agricultural returns). A good mainland grazing like Glen Shiel carries one ewe to 6 acres, while poorer grazings like Kintail and Farr carry one ewe to 10 or 14 acres respectively. Nowhere, however, can the rough grazing support the newly weaned ewe lambs (or hoggs) throughout the winter, which have either to be brought to the enclosed 'low ground' (of which there is never enough to supply both grass and winter feed) or sent to the Lowlands in autumn and brought back in spring, at a total cost of about 10s. each before 1939. In Lewis, for lack of grass, there is considerable loss in winter among the crofters' sheep. Constructive measures for the future must be based on an increased supply of winter feed.

137 The game consist of red deer, grouse and hares, while
511 salmon and trout are fished in stream and loch. The deer range over Harris, Park and the Uig hills, but are seldom seen north of Achmore. They are of ordinary quality and size, and before 1939 the average number of heads for the year totalled about 190 stags and 80 hinds. It is not known
529] when they were introduced. In the south there may be a certain amount of 'deer stealing', as in most deer forests surrounded by crofts, in spite of a score of keepers and deer-stalkers, and other employees at shooting lodges. Grouse are relatively scarce compared with those on drier
525] mainland moors. Mountain hares have multiplied since their introduction in 1853, when, it is said, the first hare, seen near a village towards evening with its white winter cost, was thought to be supernatural.

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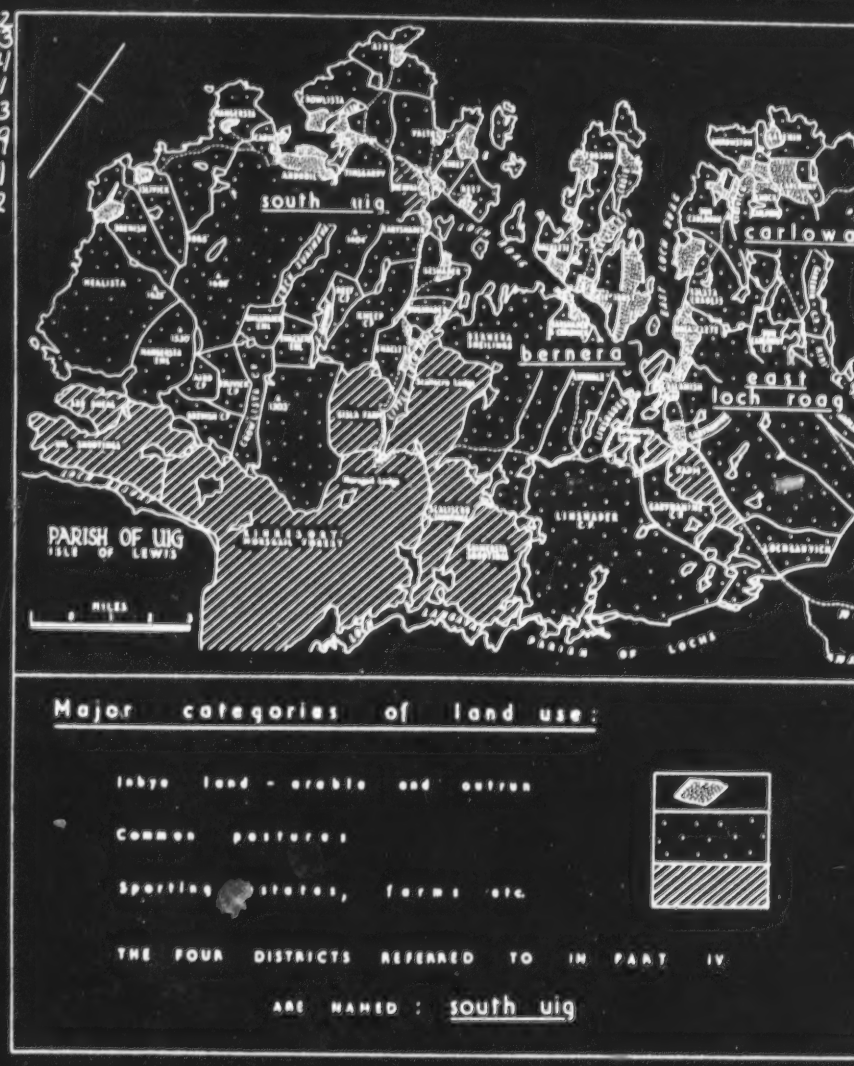

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532 REPRESENTATIVE ART--techniques in painting and sculpture (e.g., drawing or painting on flat surfaces, incising in relief, modeling or carving in the round); materials and implements used; subjects (e.g., still life, landscapes, human beings, abstractions); use of color; composition; appreciation of form and perspective; styles (e.g., naturalistic, idealistic, symbolic, abstract); special products (e.g., etchings, bas-reliefs, masks); specialized fields (e.g., portraiture, commercial art, religious sculpture); artists and sculptors; etc.

See also:

Commemorative statues 211
Photography 215
Art galleries 217
Lapidary art 306
Paints and pigments 386
Advertising 447
Art supplies industry 549
Idols and images 778
Ideas about form and color 929

Lewis and Harris

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(*above*) The car ferry *Hebrides*, at Tarbert Pier, Harris

/p. 18/

(*below*) The interior of St Clement's Church, Rodel, Harris, showing the carved tomb of Alasdair Crotach, a MacLeod of Dunvegan (d c 1547)

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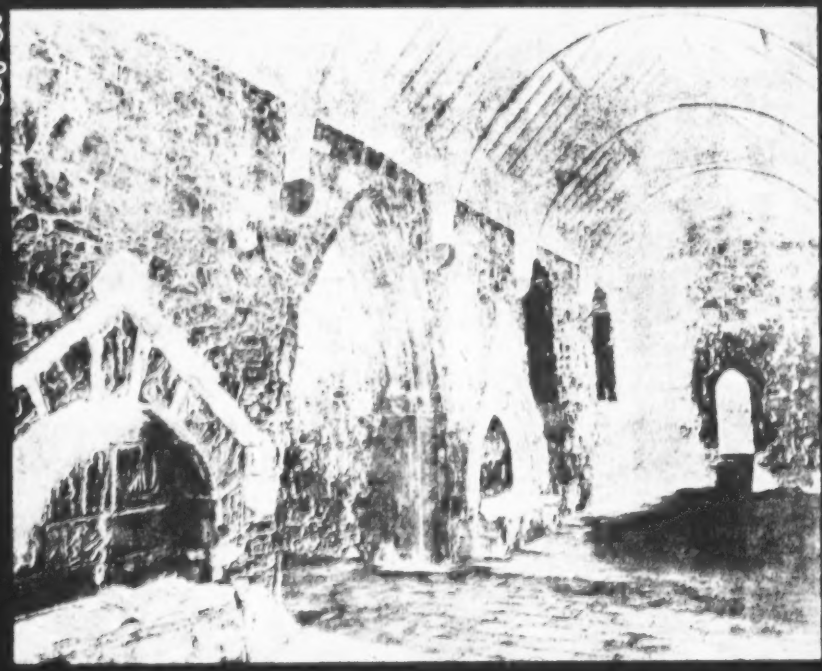

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156 particular family;
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521 village provides a
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181 knit religious cliq
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ast by virtue of his belonging to a
he is protected from the "out"
e may have broken its rules. The
colorful arena of recreation in the
e character, and holidays such as

of order and meaning is provided by
e opportunity to belong to a tightly-
ue. Lewis is sometimes called Tir an
the Scriptures, in contrast with
world. The male drinking fraternity
d important group. And for everyone
of their neighbors' activities,
a vast human calendar that includes
y generations.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Linking the present day firmly with an ancient past is the probably fourteenth-century church of St Clement's, at Rodel. It is an outstanding building, and the only considerable architectural monument in the Western Isles. Built of rubble, dressed with schist, and freestone which must have been imported for the purpose, it is cruciform, with nave, choir and two transeptal aisles, the fabric being covered with carvings and sculptured panels. The first mention of the building is made by Dean Monro, in his account of his tour of the Western Isles, *c* 1549. In the first half

St Clement's Church, at Rodel, Harris

of the sixteenth century it was extensively repaired by Alexander MacLeod of Harris, who died in 1547 and whose remarkable tomb it houses. He prepared it nineteen years before he died; reckoned to be among the finest in Scotland, elaborately wrought, and with Latin inscription, nine sculptured panels cover the rear wall of the alcove, with the recumbent effigy of an armoured warrior with ornamented bascinet and camail lying below. Round-toed sabbatons cover the warrior's feet, which rest on a lizard-like beast, a lion standing guard at head and feet.

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Make smooth and even the warp of my loom
And grant thy blessing, God, on me,
On all who here find shelter and room
And dwelling . . .

Thine arm be round each woman here
Who waulks this web of mine,
O aid her in her hour of need . . .

Keep the flock that we may win
Sweet and nourishing milk to drink
And wool to give, to weans and kin,
For wear!

Even now in Harris or the Lews, a brief good wish may be uttered—a "Health and strength to the wearers!" as the perspiring women end the waulking; but in the past the web was finally consecrated. Each of the family who was to wear a portion of it was named by the weaver herself, who led the consecration (*Carmina*, No. 113).

May the well-loved wearer of my web
Never be wounded . . .
May the sanctuary shield of the Lord be his. . . .

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[714]
[175]

The significance of this gift of hard-won cloth can now be seen, first for the family but next for the neighbourly team. We can understand how each 'set' or pattern of tartan stood for the spirit of the family and the group of kin and homeland, the clan. We conceive what it meant to the Gael when the tartan, with "the Highland dress . . . or any part of it whatsoever", was forbidden "to any man or boy" in the Highlands. Women were still allowed to wear it, it was true, but the dress ceased to be a symbol of community when its wear was confined to one sex. As a single exception, the Highland dress was retained for soldiers, but the militarisation of the tartan—though it seized upon one strand of clanship, that of

4 COMMUNICATIONS

FROM the earliest times, the provision of communications in one form or another has been a matter full of incident and high colour. Gaelic folk-song contains many references to the hazards of crossing the impatient waters of the Minch. One such, a waulking song still known today, commemorates the death of Iain Garbh Mac Gille Chaluim, of Raasay in Skye, who was drowned in April 1617 on his way home from visiting the Earl of Seaforth in Lewis; it is said that he was drowned through the workings of his own 'muime', or foster-mother, who employed several famous witches to raise the tempest in which his ship foundered.

For well over a century the subject of adequate communications has aroused continuous argument. The strength of any island community lies in its ability to live within itself, while accepting the periodic injection of certain external items necessary for living or for work. A Londoner once expressed amazement at the isolation of Scarp, in West Harris, commenting that in Scarp they would not know what was happening in London. The indisputable rejoinder was 'Nor do they know in London what we would be doing in Scarp.' However, to a large island community, with a certain degree of economic significance, communications are the basic lifeline.

SEA ROUTES

When in the early 1800s formal sea communications were being established between the island and ports on the west coast of Scotland, down as far as the Clyde, most of the islanders were of course little affected. Except for the professional classes (merchants, ministers and the like), they had little use for the sea links provided for them. Their economy was not yet a cash economy, and travel was thus a luxury they could not afford. As the nature of local life began to change with the infiltration of some of the

in the exercises of swimming, archery, vaulting, or leaping'. He also says that they were great lovers of music, and that when he was in the island he heard of eighteen men who could play the violin well without having been taught.

The Rev William MacRae, minister of Barvas, writing in the *New Statistical Account*, gives a description of his parishioners (in 1836) which can be applied to all the country districts in the island at that time. After stating that in their habits much cleanliness can scarcely be expected, considering their poverty and the wretchedness of their habitations, he says:

> Their mode of living most closely approaches the pastoral: without arts, trade, manufacture, navigation, or literature, their whole round of duty consists in securing fuel, in sowing and reaping their scanty crops, and in rearing their flocks, and tending them at pasture. Yet in these limited circumstances, while supplied with food and clothing of the plainest description, and able to pay their rents, their simple cottages are abodes of happiness and contentment. Blue kelt [a thick cloth] is almost the only dress worn by the men, and stuffs, variously striped, by the women, with under dresses of plaiding, all home-made. In many instances, however, cotton shirts and print gowns are beginning to supersede the use of some of these articles . . . Their ordinary food consists of oat and barley meal, potatoes and milk variously prepared. Their domestic economy is frugal and moderate beyond conception. The produce of a foreign soil such as tea, coffee, and sugar, and the common conveniences of art, such as knives, forks, and etc., are to them altogether alien.

It is of interest that the change in dress-types (from woollen homespuns to cotton fabrics) was followed by an increase in the incidence of rheumatism.

Today, the island folk are reputed to be gloomy with a black, depressive attitude towards life. The editor of the *Stornoway Gazette* has pointed out: 'We cannot understand a people and why they act as they do unless we know the content of their memories. We cannot understand the paradox of the naturally gay in heart seeking religious consolation in a grim and gritty Calvinism. We cannot understand why Lewis, which clothes the world in colourful tweeds, clothes most of the women in noth-

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Other tombs inside the church include that of Mary MacLeod, a bardess of the seventeenth century who was also governess to the young MacLeods at Dunvegan. She was probably the first to compose what may be called the 'court' song, in simple words and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels since her time. Her last elegy was composed to Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray in 1705.

So far as personal characteristics are concerned, there is a marked difference between the Herrach (Harrisman) and the Leodhasach (Lewisman). Their Gaelic dialects are different, the Harris pronunciation being much softer, with an attractive singing lilt. And Harris Gaelic has fewer words of Norse origin. The main reason for this difference has been a topographical one: before a road was cut, the mountain barrier of north Harris divided the inhabitants of the two parts of the same island, who developed in their own distinctive ways.

The character of the land of Harris has also had much to do with the difference. Harris for the most part is infertile, with great expanses of rock outcrops. The east side of the island is torn in shreds by fiord-like sea-mouths; the west coast is slow-moving, with large expanses of sand and machar-land which look out over the Atlantic breakers rolling in from a sea that is oceanic in appearance and in fact. From early times the Harris folk have had to work hard to scarify their snippets of land to make it fertile. Regular increases in population forced them to cultivate land extending up to 500 feet above sea level in some places, in the form of hard-won lazy-beds. After the clearances early last century, when the more fertile lands on the west coast were taken over for the formation of sheep farms, the people concentrated on the eastern side of the island, and on some of the higher ground in the west.

On Lord Leverhulme's death in 1925 the ownership of large tracts of Harris passed to absentee landlords. After this, some of the lands which had been cleared a century earlier were purchased by the Government and broken up into crofts again, enabling some of the indigenous population to come back to make use of the more fertile lands of the west. There are some 550 crofts in Harris, with 29 regulated common grazings; the total

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

181 "the lone shieling of the misty island". Traditional
[538] Gaelic songs tell rather of shielings grouped within hail,
[533] with their sweethearting and good cheer!

3. *Crops and Stock*, circa *1938*

178 As the thirties mark a transition between early condi-
241 tions prevailing until 1919 and those of 1947–53 (Appendix I), the present tense is used.

311 Of the Island's 528,000 acres, including deer forests
632 on the Harris border partly grazed, there are 24,000 acres of arable and grass land. Barvas parish leads with 6500 acres, then come Stornoway, Uig and Lochs, Harris being last with 3300 acres. Roughly one-third of the Island's arable and grass land, or 32 per cent, is permanent grass, chiefly machar, with a maximum of 39 per cent in Uig, but a minimum of 9 per cent in rocky
311 Lochs, most of this on one small farm. About 10 per
242 cent of the arable and grass land area is given to hay production; of this, rather less than one-third is rotation hay grown on the plough rigs or parks, and rather more than two-thirds is hay from permanent grass. Lochs, lacking machar, has 20 per cent hay, while Barvas, better
[632] off for machar, has only 4 per cent. Even this proportion of rotation hay shows an increase on the crofts since 1919. Stornoway parish, it will be noted, occupies an intermediate place, but if the facts for Point (Eye) district were contrasted with those for the villages along the machar, the differences between them would emerge clearly. As it is, they can be guessed from the vegetation map showing
311 the machar. Oats is the chief crop, and occupies 33 per
243 cent or just one-third of the arable and grass of the Island; excluding the permanent grass, it constitutes half the crop.

CHAPTER VI

CLANSHIP: PEOPLE, CHIEF AND TACKSMEN

(A) COMMUNAL EQUALITY AND LORDLY PRIVILEGE

175 THE equalitarian customs of hamlet and township
632 astonish many to whom the crofting villages are unknown and whose picture of the Gaelic past is
642 derived from tales of the 'Forty-five. The widespread
631 historic fact of lordship over a subject peasantry has obscured that of peasant-neighbourhood, more ancient, it would seem, and, in the Isles, still more enduring. The very existence of 'rural democracies' such as those just described has been doubted by certain scholars on the theoretic ground that they would be humanly unwork-
[614] able! Yet it is none the less true that the peasants as clansfolk gave loyalty to their chief. The fervent loyalty given to the exiled kinsmen-kings, the Stewarts, was a scarlet thread interwoven—or entangled—in the homespun
[533] web of community, of clanship. Wherever the Gaelic is spoken, the Jacobite songs are sung with passion, and their echo has gone round the world.

[171] So in the life of the Gael, without doubt—and in varying degree throughout Britain and the rest of Europe—we have to envisage a composite, perhaps a contradictory, state of things, in which communal equality is overlaid by

175 womanhood a prey to prostitution. The licence of a chief
585 among young women was preferable to this; but evils were inherent in the fact of lordship.

(C) TWO ISLAND BARDS: MARY MACLEOD AND THE BLIND HARPER

175 While in Lewis the continuity of clanship was sorely
613 shaken by the fall of the chiefs, the Torquil-MacLeods, in Harris it was maintained in the family of the Norman-
621 MacLeods of Dunvegan in Skye. The family of Dunvegan is famed for chivalry and gentleness, not only in the songs of the past but in the speech of Skyemen to the present day. Harris did not suffer the bloodshed endured in Lewis from the death of Torquil until after the accession of MacKenzie in 1611; and Harris was not involved, like Lewis, in the troubles of 1715. MacLeod of Dunvegan retained Harris until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was purchased by a cadet of the family who had made his fortune in the East; and it only passed out of MacLeod hands half a century later. Hence it is that while in Lewis there is still talk of the 'give and take' between later laird and people,
[533] in Harris there is more. In "the hereditary Hall of MacLeod" of Dunvegan, two Island bards gave birth to immortal song. Together, the tales of Lewis and the songs of Harris and Skye give us an authentic record of clanship in fact and feeling, linked with community today.

[628] In spite of the break in continuity, ease and warmth of feeling could spring up between a MacKenzie of Seaforth and the Lewismen, though Seaforth was a peer of the realm, and of a mainland name, not a MacLeod by direct descent. Playful rhyming, chaffing contests between titled laird and small tenant, are recorded by A. Carmichael and W. C.

175 Mackenzie. For all that, in 1900 a crofter said: "We called
613 the old proprietor Seaforth, but I believe his right name
621 was the Prince of Welsh". To him the Earls were royal!
[829] Freedom of intercourse is embodied in the language
to this day. With 'a stranger', a little spoken Gaelic
197 lessens 'strangeness' and quickens intimacy, because
565 Gaelic conveys essential human relationships as English
576 rarely can—even the English of the 'democratic' Low-
lands. For instance, a well-dressed stranger, though
young, is usually addressed in English as 'sir' by a senior
crofter, and, just as in the South, without the expectation
of 'sir' or 'ma'am' in return. In English, that is, respect
is given to class. In Gaelic, age receives respect: it is the
stranger, if the younger, who adopts the respectful 'you'
(the second person plural, *sibh*), while the crofter, if the
older, uses the friendly singular, 'thou' (*thu*). If they
are of equal age, and neither is elderly, 'thou' would be
[562] used by both. Similarly, respect is given to womanhood;
and an older woman who would say 'Sir' in English will
say 'My dear' in Gaelic.[1]

614 It is not only by daily contacts that we may understand
the relationship of people to chief, but by the height of
feeling it may attain, and by the beauty of its expression.
[175] Among the finest of the later songs of praise to Gaelic
[533] clanship and its chiefs are those composed by two Island
bards, a woman of Harris and a man of the Lews. Mary
MacLeod, *Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh*, was a kinswoman
of the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris, and a beloved

[123] [1] Calling on the sub-postmistress in a Highland place where I was known to be a friend of the laird, I was addressed as "Sir". But hardly had we passed to Gaelic when this woman, my elder and a person of culture, laughingly used an expression then strange to me. Halted, and suddenly shy at being forced to translate, she said at last, "When thou wast *a lump* [just a boy!] '*muair bha thu cnap*!" But rightly, she would have been slightly shocked had I said 'thou' to her.

175 nurse in the family. Born about 1615 in Rodel (south-east
533 Harris), she composed her last elegy (to Sir Norman
[614] MacLeod of Island Berneray, Harris) in 1705; she may
even have composed her last great song (on the birth of
the nineteenth chief) a year later.[1] Towards the end of
the century (between 1664 and 1693), Mary's younger
contemporary, Rory Morison was bard at Dunvegan, being
known as the Blind Harper, *An Clarsair Dall*. A Lewis-
man, Rory could not have found adequate patronage as a
bard in that Island, the chiefs of Lewis having passed
away. Morison is stated to have been a descendant of
the Gaelic judges or *brieves* of Ness and the son of a
minister, and he was to have entered the Church along
with two brothers, later ministers. But smallpox blinded
him, and he turned to oral, not to written 'literature',
perhaps to our ultimate gain.[2]

Here then were two bards, man and woman, whose
fame is growing, rather than waning, in our own day.
While Mary was illiterate, however rich in lore, Rory, with
his clerical home and family tradition of Gaelic jurisprud-
ence, must have begun to read Latin and English, perhaps
Greek, and also Gaelic, though not reaching Hebrew (as
his brothers would) before he was struck blind. Mary, so
far as is known, was the first to compose what may be called
'court' song in simple words and in the 'strophic' verse-
form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels, Scots
and Irish, since her time. Lacking the learning of the
dying school of classical bards, Mary is more personal
than they, "a lyrist not less than panegyrist"; and she is
[614] more spontaneous. The same seems true of Rory. Yet
[622] the themes of the classical bards were renewed by these

[113] [1] James Carmichael Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod*, 1934.
[2] John Mackenzie, *Sar Obair: Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, 1877.

two singers, as in the portrayal of a chief, "blue-eyed and with clustering, golden locks . . . and brown, ruddy cheeked"; in descriptions of "his wisdom, prowess and justice" or of his traits—his "joyous, fresh, and shamefast cheek", and as a friend to the poor seeking justice, and to men of learning, musicians and bards. In the halls of chiefs where ancient joys and traditions were maintained, the ideal of chiefship was essentially that of manhood. Nor is the chief's lady forgotten either by Mary or by older bards, though womanhood is a theme rather for lyrics and for sacred song.

Even at Dunvegan the stream of clan life was once interrupted in the lifetime of these two bards, as the *Clarsair* told in his satire on the anglicised seventeenth chief (1693–99), and as Mary hinted in her haunting 'Croon' or *Cronan*. Happily, the stream was renewed by this chief's successor. Tradition and song show that such renewal was primarily due to the strength of communal life among the 'people' which called out leadership from the chiefs, in justice, in war, and in the encouragement of the oral arts. High conduct from the chiefs was invoked by the expectations of their people. More important still, it was the warmth of feeling among the people as a group, and their ties to one another, which lit their personal loyalty to a chief and called forth his loyal leadership in return.[1]

[1] Gaelic loyalty was burned away in the Jacobite Risings, but as the last Rising left the Island relatively unscathed, one may simply refer to two works: Audrey Cunningham's *The Loyal Clans*, 1932; and J. L. Campbell's *Highland Songs of the 'Forty-five*, 1933 (Gaelic and translation). The first work analyses the need for a personal relationship to Scottish kingship, felt so keenly by the clansmen. The second gives authentic evidence of the spirit of loyalty. (Both the sense and a hint of the rhythm, with several of the airs, are available for the English reader.)

I know of no explicit statement of the conclusion given above, for lack of the sociological approach attempted here; but it is surely implicit in the thought of many a Gael.

The families of the young men might be willing to encourage enlistment. But they pled or bargained for an assurance that after service was over their sons should be returned to their homes and have land on which to settle down. The receipt of the bounty and their savings would help the men to pay rent later.

Passive resistance was offered at times, however, as when the Macleod Highlanders were raised in 1757, only a decade after the 'Forty-five. An Island friend has told me of a family tradition, that, as a young man at that time, his own great-grandfather was concealed to escape conscription. And the press gang was busy in Stornoway when the *Old Statistical Account* was written. Protest had usually to be made in secrecy or silence; but a revolt was organised by Stornoway men in 1793.[1] And the voice of one unwilling conscript has come down to us in a song, well known in the Isles (though little known in English), with the refrain—*Och ho ro*, brown lad, so bonnie (*'ille dhuinn*). Although it bears no sign of Jacobitism, it begins, "My grief to be wearing King George's red clothing!" It continues, "The short-coated sailors bore us to Holland. It was a Saturday evening when we fought; and many a wife was widowed ere dawn broke on the Lord's Day, their husbands ta'en, whom gold can never restore, stretched out among the rushes, blood pouring over their shoulders. . . .

'O'er the hills bear my greeting to Mull of the mountains;
Where cuckoos are cooing, on the braes before Beltane.'

'Bear my greeting to my mother, who nurtured me, to my sister who weeps for me, and to my sweetheart; I'll be home if death spares me."[2]

[1] Public Record Office, H.O. 50/2. Letters of Francis Humberstone Mackenzie (16th and 19th May 1793), communicated by Mr. J. R. Western.
[2] Charles Stewart, *The Killin Collection*.

776 fellowship. "The Irish Church", a Roman is said to
171 have exclaimed to a Gaelic Catholic in scorn, "has won
no martyr's crown!" "Ireland was named the Isle of
174 Saints not by persecuting but by cherishing God's elect",
was the reply. The Celtic Church linked the lands across
St. Patrick's Channel; and what was true of Patrick's
missionary field seems to have been as true of Celtic
Britain, the land of his birth. Kilpatrick on the Roman
Wall of Clyde has been claimed as the birthplace of one
who was certainly a Cymric Celt by birth and baptism, a
Gaul by training, and an Irishman by mission.[1]

771 This closeness of fellowship ranged from personal to
divine relationships in waking or rest, with an intimacy of
[782] expression all its own. A prayer for rest begins, "I shall
lie down with God, and God lie down with me. . . ." A
[181] simple and universal gesture of love, in which parent,
child or lover slips an arm under the loved one's head, is
carried into prayer at rest, "the arm of the Father", or
779 of Jesus or Mary, "under my head". This image must
be the inspiration of one of the loveliest of Christian tombs,
764 preserved by clan loyalty, respect for the dead, distance
and later forgetfulness on the priory isle of Inchmahome,
532 where the Highlands meet the Lowlands at the Lake of
Menteith. As on a number of medieval monuments,
knight and lady are sculptured side by side. But here
the two lie each with "an arm under the other's head",
the free arm of the knight reaching over to clasp hands

[1] While in Scotland the name Bride is now rare as a Christian name, that of Patrick is still found among Grants, Campbells, Macdonalds and others. It is even commoner than English speakers might suppose, owing to the practice—almost the necessity—of giving an English form to a Gaelic name when it is turned to English speech—as Daniel for Domhnuil (Donald), Aeness for Aonghas (Angus) or Peter for Padhruig (Patrick). Many a Gael in the Lowlands felt obliged to relinquish his baptismal (and ancestral) names, with their link to Celtic Christian tradition.

779 with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of
764 Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1294.
• 532 Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this
monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness.
175 The following year, 1295, saw the commencement of "the
three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction
644 of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King
[829] Alexander III, "that Scotland led in luve and law", peace
within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing
[648] Gaelic Christian traditions and Scoto-Norman arts. After
his death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars
181 can tell me, this almost unnoticed monument remains
764 unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts
of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement,
were shattered by invasions, and Gaelic tradition was only
to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all
time, we have become.

763 At the approach of death God's mercy and peace were
782 sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the
wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme
Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[2]
[174] In early times confession seems to have been made as
willingly to the 'Soul-friend', followed by Benediction.
764 When death had come, the mourners sang of sleep and
home. In Lewis today funerals are conducted in silence
to the graveside, where the last service is held; but

[113] [1] *A unique medieval tomb at Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.)
[2] It would be of deep interest to compare the attitudes to death found in 'Spiritual Songs' by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs on death which, though maybe of post-Reformation date, are of Roman Catholic origin (*e.g.* in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, poems on the Day
[171] of Judgment, and of Wrath; on age and on death; and on Purgatory: pp. 31, 85, 146; 34, 19, 21; 27). Some have much in common, both by virtue of the earlier traditions they shared and still more because of parallel trends of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Cf. *Carmina*.

533

533 MUSIC--musical form and structure (e.g., scale, pitch, tone, tempo, rhythm); melody; harmony; vocal music (e.g., singing, humming, chanting); instrumental music (e.g., accompaniment, solo playing, orchestras); occasions for music; song styles (e.g., work songs, drinking songs, dance songs, war songs, love songs, lullabies, sacred music, dirges and laments); musical training and appreciation; composition of music; specialization (e.g., composers, minstrels, musicologists, musicians); organization (e.g., choirs, bands, orchestras); etc. See also:
Property in songs 436
Palliation of labor with music 461
Musical texts 539
Musical performances on the stage 545

233 "You got away from village life when you went to
829 the sheiling. The youngsters ran wild. Everyone talked
more freely somehow. It didn't feel like a Sunday out
233 there—the minister couldn't see that far. Only the
883 young men and women in their late teens or 20's were out
at the weekends. They would send the younger ones home.
They came out in their good clothes, from Saturday night
to Monday morning. Groups of young people walked out and
back together, the girls in one group and the boys in
• [533] another, joking and teasing. They sang the old songs and
learned new ones from each other. Some were good at
making up songs. You wouldn't believe how many people
could sleep together in a single sheiling. It was a
[829] heaven on earth. Everybody was one family. The hills
were filled with the sound of voices."

233 Not every family in the village went to the sheiling
Some families had enough land within the township to graz
their cattle. But they usually went out at the weekends,
for the fun and company.

237 One of the most important products of the cow was
241 not milk but dung, which was used to keep the poor land
231 productive. Because people did not have the enriched
234 animal feeds available today, a cow might not have a calf
and thus did not give milk, for four or five years.

585 bridesmaid(s). The house was filled each night with
[43] visitors bringing new gifts or coming to see the latest additions. Enough presents were given during this
[203] time to set up a household. Invitations to the wedding were issued verbally, by persons going around to each
[602] house. Anyone could come to the church ceremony, which was relatively informal and jovial, but only the "closest" relatives were invited to the sumptuous wedding dinner which followed the service: the bride and groom, their parents, aunts and uncles, first cousins and usually second cousins. Many more were invited to the wedding supper which started after the dinner, at about 10:00 p.m., and continued throughout the night.

Three main nights were distinguished, although
585 preparations and festivities might go on for weeks. The
252 first night was the night before the wedding, when women of the village brought hundreds of chickens, which they plucked and cooked. Meat, usually mutton, was also cooked and sliced. Butter was rolled into balls. Neighbors brought milk and other provisions and assisted in the baking for a week beforehand.

585 On the second night, hundreds of villagers ate the
[535] chickens and mutton prepared for the wedding supper,
[533] and danced to the music of a piper or other musicians.
[273] Many young boys had their first taste of beer or whiskey on these occasions.

156 sympathetic with each others' idiosyncrasies. A constant
572 joking keeps people at arm's length and discourages the
[522] development of empathy.

156 Accompanying this style of indirect, inhibited
154 expressiveness and the low level of stimulation are culturally prescribed opportunities for relatively uninhibited expressiveness. Such opportunities include the ceilidh ("visit"), the drinking situation (mainly for men), the role of clown or "character," and holidays
[166] such as New Year's. Although young villagers and
[484] emigrants often describe the village as "dull" and "dead,"
[181] the emigrants are happy enough to return to the island for short periods of time, during which they participate in those situations in which expressiveness and limited license are accepted.

156 3. Ceilidh, Clown, and New Year's Festivities: Only
154 on certain occasions is relatively spontaneous and unin-
574 hibited expressiveness condoned or encouraged within the township, and even then the form which this expressiveness takes is fairly narrowly circumscribed. The traditional
[178] ceilidh was such an occasion. In the past, people gathered
[517] regularly at night in the tigh ceilidh (the ceilidh house,
[538] or home of someone in which a genial atmosphere existed;
[533] the tigh ceilidh was often the home of someone who lived alone), where stories were endlessly repeated and elaborated,

156
154 genealogies told, and old songs were sung or new ones
574 composed. The concentration of expressiveness in these
178 forms resulted in a well-developed, oral repertoire of
[517] literature and music.
[538]
[533]

The ceilidh still exists today in the form of less
[538] regular gatherings. Stories and genealogies are seldom
[533] recited, but songs are still sung. A few new songs are being composed. The word ceilidh is used as both a noun and a verb to mean "a visit" or "to visit," but implies a casual, relaxed atmosphere rather than a formal visit. A formal visit is made by relatives living in Stornoway, government officials or businessmen, and is characterized by more constrained behavior.

156 The ceilidh of today is often accompanied by the
154 drinking of beer or whiskey, but a distinction may be
574 made between a gathering which includes both males and
273 females, and a drinking situation at which only males are
178 present. In the past, men often gathered in barns or weaving sheds to share beer made locally from barley or brought from town in a large keg. The drinking of whiskey
[178] was reserved for special occasions, such as births, weddings,
[434] funerals, and the festivities surrounding the New Year, but increased income has resulted in the consumption of whiskey on many other occasions. Heavy drinking is still an
[273] activity engaged in largely by males, and occurs in extra-village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter 6).

166 The image of the island
484 as spiritual home is fostered by The Stornoway Gazette,
823 and by nostalgic songs, most of which were written by
204 islanders who emigrated to Canada in the first quarter
[533] of the century.

632 The crofting township as a strongly bounded network
241 continues to exist, although crofting as a socioeconomic pattern which evolved in a situation of limited social and geographical mobility, low cash reserves, and the restriction of a large population to a region of limited resources, is very different from crofting as defined by an office in Inverness. As far as the crofter is concerned, to be defined as a crofter by the Crofters Commis and other government agencies is to have access to resources which affect the environment in which he makes his choices.

241 The individual is faced with the semi-security of
288 crofting and weaving, in contrast with the exciting but risk-laden opportunities offered by the dominant urban-
[654] industrial mainland. Crofting and Harris Tweed have been protected by government legislation. Various subsidies
[745] and loans are available. In times of unemployment, social security is available. Extremely important as contributer
621 to boundedness are the non-economic incentives: the
156 individual has a place in a human community; he is given

warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, with peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven and waulked together ceased to be a sacrament when the tartan was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform with "England's cruel red".

The framers of this law, which stood on the statute book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath which reversed every benediction said by the women at their work: "I . . . do swear, as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, any gun, sword, pistol or arm whatever, and never use tartan, plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do, may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and property—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and be without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come across me if I break my oath". This Act, as law and symbol, struck full at the sacramental life of family, neighbour-team and clan community, in which labour and prayer had been indissolubly bound.[1]

(c) WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

Little remains of the tradition of worship in the tiny oratories, chapels or 'temples' whose ruins stud the shores

[1] The collaboration of friends in Lewis may allow mention of the Gaelic version of A. Geddes, *The Spirit of the Tartan, a Song Drama* (English Version); *Souvenir Programme and Book of Songs* (Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, 1932). In this the spirit of this labour sequence embodied in its songs and runes is dramatised in its setting of custom and history. The Gaelic version was prepared by the generous labours of James Thomson, M.A., Bayble, and the late Duncan Macdonald, M.A., Sandwick, Lewis.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

181 great freakness, as there is for reticence.[1] But since
184 Augustine, orthodox religion, Catholic and Protestant, has
overstressed and misunderstood the folk-lore of 'the Fall'
[771] —originally, it seems, a legend of fertility and fulfilment!
[1] its part as a result of the teaching of the doctrine of the
[6] 'Fall', there arises an attitude to parenthood which
[775] falls short of rational understanding and reverence for
human life.[2] If fact be the best guard against superstitious
fancy, and if sensibility and tact can soften the first shock
of adolescence, then the Gael knew wisdom.

121 Returning to the main theme, it is clear that primitive
religion and folk-lore alike show misunderstandings of
cause and effect, and of the action of 'mind' on 'body'
[121] and 'matter'. What are facts to faith may be symbols to
science; yet if these symbols prefigure truth, they may
[121] outlast the present stage of scientific recognition. Gaelic
[121] belief and practice show a recognition of communal as
well as individual spirituality; of the depth of conscious-
[181] ness below its upper surface, and its upwelling power;
and of the fusion of both without, in all its beauty, as a gate

[1] Needless to say, Gaelic verse has its moments of coarse freedom like that of any language. Of the lively line (*puirt-a-beul*) sung when there is no piper or violin to play for dancing, most of the words are delightful, but a few are coarse. Yet the Gaelic language is so rich in the vocabulary of the sex of the lover whose opportunities in the cities had not improved his character—once quoted a coarse jingle to me, only to see little amusement at his song and some contempt for its sense. He excused himself by saying, "It's rough . . . it's rough—but it's not dirty"! His excuse sums up the creative expression of animal spirits found in Gaelic jingles. One may adapt it as "Sometimes coarse, but rarely or never vicious".

[2] A. Geddes, "The Origin of Sex in Genesis and a Missing Legend", *Hibbert J.* vol. 44, Nos. 1 and 2, 1945-46. Cf. *The Legends of Creation; an Anthropo-Geographical Interpretation of Genesis*, (ed.with map), Hibbert J. vol. 43 (end), 1945.

The Genesis have given attention to the second chapter of Genesis, and the response of the Gael. Gaelic spiritual tradition seems to have been less influenced by such Gaelic mythology; and to have held firmly to the first chapter, in its noble simplicity.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

176 intuitive and traditional, of the people, and their love for
[181] the good and beautiful. Song collectors from outside the
[184] Islands have found little and assumed that song had been
[533] swept away. Discretion is certainly needed for song col-
lection! Years ago in Bernera I had been told of a pretty
125 love lament I had not heard. Calling with my hosts to
533 invite him to their house that evening, we found the singer,
185 a burly crofter of fifty or so. We had been about to
mention the word 'song', when the word was checked on
our lips by a swift, warning glance. The singer lived with
his old mother and she must not be told that her son went
533 out on such an errand! Nevertheless, Islanders them-
[178] selves are collecting many unpublished songs, where
[814] strangers failed. The Laxdale School choir wins prizes at
many a national gathering or *Mod*, for their spirited singing
of songs, many of them unpublished. Owing in part to
their very isolation, these songs have remained as pure in
form as in the Catholic Isles, whether in time and rhythm
or in scale and mode. Thus the sub-intervals of 'quarter-
tones' of the modal scale add subtlety to the melodic line
of an air, as in the melodies of Wales or of distant India.[1]
These intervals are rarely heard on concert platforms,
being unrecognised by many 'Mod medallists'. They
are rarely known to professional musicians trained to
the mechanical scale of the piano, and who are asked,
as adjudicators, to award praise or criticism by alien
standards.

181 Courtesy and modesty are noticeable among the young

[1] M. Kennedy-Fraser, *Preface, Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. Cf. Glynn-Williams, *Walk Through Wales*, 1937 (London: Penguin). *For India see* A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindostan* (1914), pp. 104 ff. and H. A. Popley, *The Music of India* (1921); cf. A. Geddes in A. Karpeles (ed.), *L'Inde et ses Arts*, Paris, 1931. While published phonographic records of Indian singing normally illustrate these intervals, those of Gaelic Hebridean singers rarely do, as they are accustomed to alter to suit a piano.

417 Gold about a people not unlike the crofters, and the prophecies
[112] were being fulfilled before the peoples' very eyes. In it any
[184] wonder that thousands gathered on the hillsides to listen to a
[179] minister whose dynamic appeals moved them to tears?

As the people turned to the new church and the emotionalism
[145] of the large outdoor gatherings, they continued to forsake
[533] their old customs and folklore. The songs, except in some
[185] cases the wealking songs which provided the tempo for shrinking
tweedsyn, and the tales were placed under clerical ban.[1] The
[783] Church and the 'God' insisted on the prerequisite of
gravity in all aspects of life for salvation.[2] The communion
roles were purged. In Bracadale, for example, there had been
258 communicant numbers. Following the Disruption there were
less than ten.[3] The same pattern was repeated elsewhere on
the island.[4]

[175] The religious patterns which had evolved were, never-
[176] theless, reinforcing much of the traditional way of life.
[178] The "men" of Skye had become elders in the Free Church. This
[783] status sanctioned their position in the community. Although
the age structure of the population had not yet altered

[1] Norman Shetlesh, *Set Free* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 12-13, 14.

[2] Norman Macleod, *Ode*, ii. p. 41; and Robert Lamont, *Struggle in Isle of Skye* (Stornoway: Eilanbaigh, 1933), pp. 17-20.

[3] Norman Macleod, *The Church of Fulfilment* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1937) pp. 11-12.

[4] Norman Shetlesh, *Set Free*, pp. 14-15, 18, 201-212. See also Nil Ten, *Finest Isle* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1937), pp. 46-47, 60.

534 MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS:-Idiophones (e. g., clappers, gongs, rattles); membranophones (e. g., drums); cordophones (e. g., zithers, lutes, harps); aerophones (e. g., flutes, pipes, trumpets); special instruments (e. g., bullroarers); complex mechanical instruments (e. g., piano, organ); care and repair of musical instruments; etc. See also:

Dance capering	205	Sound recordings	534
Radio	547	Musical engineer industry	649

THE PEOPLE

175* If May is considered a busy month, June duties are even
[181] more pressing. Although the winter days are over, the rain-
[533] fall has begun to increase. A succession and variety of de-
[534] mands are made on the crofter's time. Once again the sheep
must be brought down to the "fank." This time the purpose is
to mark the lambs. The males, unless one or two healthy
specimens are selected for future use as rams, are castrated
and smeared with a dye to indicate their ownership. The
females are smeared and have their ears cut to signify both
ownership and age. Like the dipping, this operation requires
[174] the cooperation of the crofter and his family, the neighbors,
[232] and hired hands. Meat the sheep without lambs are dipped
[232] once again and given a dose of medicine for liver flukes and
[241] a variety of diseases. At the same time, the early hay and,
[241] perhaps, the early potatoes are ready for harvesting. The end
[133] of June brings the Highland Wool Fair in Inverness. If he
[262] has Cheviot sheep, as most crofters do, the man must go to
arrange for their wintering on the mainland and drive east
coast. Although Cheviots produce a finer wool than the more
hardy Blackface sheep, they do not stand up to the incessant
wind and rain of a Skye winter. If his wife can leave the
[134] children behind, she will accompany her husband. The old
[534] function of the Fair, the sale of wool, has disappeared under
government price control legislation.

[181] It is not unusual to have the early harvest delayed
until July, but even then the sowing may have to wait because
sheep must come first. On one of the dry days during the first

535 DANCING:-dance styles (e.g., imitative, pantomimic, symbolic, stylized); technique (e.g., movements of the head, trunk, and limbs); gesture, posture, and their symbolisms; aids, pair, and group dancing; choreographic patterns; extemporization and formalization; rhythm; musical accompaniment; occasions for dancing and associated dance forms (e.g., war dances, shamanistic dances, ballroom dancing, kip dancing); participants and spectators; dancing places (e.g., dance halls); dance costumes and paraphernalia; emotional expression in dancing; training in dancing; specialized dancers and dance leaders; choreographic arts allied to dancing (e.g., figure skating); etc. See also:

Ballet	536	Dance of the Dead	540
Dance, primitive	537	Hoe dance	541
Dance, ritual	538	Hopping	542
Dance of Death	539	Tiddy	543

584 groups on the shellings or within the village as they
178 [839] were growing up, and even during courtship maintained
a fitting, somewhat rude interaction. "If he says he
wouldn't touch her with a barge pole, he's obviously
smitten." Someone considering the dangers of marrying
an outsider[1] commented, "A devil you know is better than
a devil you don't know."

584 Now that facilities for transportation have increased,
178 [145] couples tend to pair off in care rather than go in
groups. They may even be seen together on a date in
[535] public. Activities such as dances still begin late in
the night, lasting from about 10 p.m. until early
morning. The seriousness of a relationship is kept
secret for as long as possible, but weddings today
require long-term planning because wedding dinners are
584 held in hotels rather than within the village. At an
524 earlier time, serious intentions were announced only a
few weeks before the wedding, at a *ceitasch* or dinner
party which signified a betrothal. *Ceitasch* also
means "disentangling" or "reconciling," and was
described by one person as a means of "pouring oil

[1] The term "outsider" usually connotes non-Gaelic-speaking, but may also refer to someone from outside the village.

585 bridesmaid(s). The house was filled each night with
[173] visitors bringing new gifts or coming to see the latest
additions. Enough presents were given during this
[203] time to set up a household. Invitations to the wedding
were issued verbally, by persons going around to each
[142] house. Anyone could come to the church ceremony, which
was relatively informal and jovial, but only the
"closest" relatives were invited to the sumptuous wedding
dinner which followed the service. The bride and groom,
their parents, aunts and uncles, first cousins and
usually second cousins. Many more were invited to the
wedding supper which started after the dinner, at about
10:00 p.m., and continued throughout the night.

Three main nights were distinguished, although
[175] preparations and festivities might go on for weeks. The
[252] first night was the night before the wedding, when women
of the village brought hundreds of chicken pies, which they
plucked and cooked. Meat, usually mutton, was also cooked
and sliced. Butter was rolled into balls. Neighbors
brought milk and other provisions and assisted in the
baking for a week beforehand.

[175] On the second night, hundreds of villagers ate the
[252] chicken and mutton prepared for the wedding supper,
[173] and danced to the music of other musicians.
[203] Many young boys had their first taste of beer or whisky
on these occasions.

For some weeks after returning, the couple goes visiting
with a bottle. The scope of visits seems to have narrowed
to close relatives unable to attend the wedding, and
sometimes the custom is referred to as old-fashioned.
The bride usually sends pieces of bridal cake to
relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

[Q. Death]: At a time of illness or injury, an
individual may see persons he has not seen for years.
The house is filled with a constant flow of visitors
and the visitors recount every detail of a sick person's
pallor and movement. The room is usually occupied by
visitors when a person breathes his last.

In the past, wake consisted of every house in the
surrounding neighborhood when a person died. This no
longer occurs. (The story is told of a weaver who called
a mill in Stornoway to say that he could not finish an
urgent vessel because there had been a death in the
village, and was told, "You keep on weaving till the
WHAPPIC dies.") However, dances in the village are
cancelled, and the bothan (an isolated hut in which
liquor is sold illegally) may close. Outdoor work, much
as peat-cutting, which would be widely seen is avoided.

Word of the death spreads throughout the village and
beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulated
inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

The organization receives a large proportion of its funds
from the Scottish Education Department, whose statutory
duty is to foster the speaking of Gaelic in Gaelic-
speaking areas. In 1970-71 a series of evening meetings
were sponsored by An Comunn in Stornoway, but also
in other towns and also in other ways. A family in
Shawbost was hired to a friendly family in Shawbost some months
ago and some geese which are captured by Bassmen
on the island of Sona once a year and are salted to make
a delicacy that is in great demand. Through such contacts
a family wanting to purchase a cow may receive word of one
that is being offered for sale in the village of a
Communion contact.

Services of Communion last five days. All services
except that held on Sunday evening are intended for the
communicants or full members of the church, also called
"the believers" and "good livers." During this time, no
dances are held in Shawbost, and in Carloway the hotel is
closed.

On Communion Sunday, the upper balcony of the church
is filled with villagers watching to see if any of the
recently converted have decided and have been allowed to
take Communion. Because the villagers watch very closely
the behavior of everyone else within the village, any change

THE PEOPLE

Most of the outward changes which have occurred in the island
took place in the two decades just after the first world war. Food,
for instance, now tends to be better balanced and contains more
nutrients. Staple diets in the past were mostly confined to a few
items, and based on the cereals. The crofter fish, particularly those with
essential oils (eg cod) were, of course, available; but only if the
fishermen were lucky in the catch. As for vegetables and fresh
fruit, it was not until after the 1920s that these became generally
available all the year round.

Another outward change has been in dress. Until the beginning
of the twenties, the women wore a black petticoat striped with
colours, a dark blouse, dark tam, dark shoes, and a knitted muffler
round the neck and over the head. In summer, the tartan shawl
was more typical of Sundays than of weekdays. Men's clothes
tended to be of the homespun type, rich in water-resisting oil.
Later they were replaced, as far as they could with reasonable wages, by
the villages would be abandoned by the young, perhaps with
no return such as hitherto on 'retirement.' Many young
people are content with life in the townships, provided
they can get a living there, though not all, for they are
somewhat divided; and work elsewhere, even in the mills
of Stornoway, is a counter-attraction.

Social life is undergoing changes which operate both
against and for maintaining the unity of the young. In the island,
household interchange of conversation, song and story,
the ceilidh, has declined. On the other hand, one feels
that, as regards religious prohibitions, and in spite of the
nervous tension expressed in 'Revivals', the young have
been greater freedom. Near one village a Nissen hut,
handed over to the Home Guard, was also used by young
people for monthly dances. When I asked a young crofter
prohibited from the Navy whether the Elders of the Kirk
made no protest, he replied that they had, but had to give
it up: "They say that we won't stand for it." This
would have been unthinkable during the First World War,

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

developed through the township Grazing Committees, by
the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society and the
associated Crofters' Agency. Lime and fertilisers were
purchased, and seed and other products sold, co-operatively.
The co-operative marketing of lobsters, taking
advantage of fluctuating London prices, has led to the
reconstruction of creels for storage. By these and other
means, government assistance is utilised but not squandered;
rather initiative in agricultural co-operation is
reinforced; and communal tradition is revived, linked
to personal responsibility through the crofters' lifelong
knowledge of one another.

As to the future, all agreed that unless the Harris Tweed
Industry were replaced, as far as they could see, by
the young, perhaps in the
[illegible] and by the young, perhaps with
[illegible] of 'retirement.' Many young
[illegible] in the townships, provided
[illegible] in the island. In the island Home
[illegible] in the island. In the island Home
[illegible] Stornoway, is a counter-attraction.
[illegible] Social life is undergoing changes which operate both
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[illegible] made no protest, he replied that they had, but had to give
[illegible] up: "They say that we won't stand for it." This
[illegible] would have been unthinkable during the First World War,

CH. X BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

or after it. After 1924-25, the Rector of the Nicolson
Institute, Stornoway, visited the village halls for village
education and recreation.[1] The scheme was never fully
realized except in one township, Sandwick, near Stornoway,
owing to the strength of puritanical opposition. In
particular, dancing by young folk was condemned as
"dragging down the graces of their brethren". This and other
[illegible] social standards, in becoming less
[illegible] and encouraging people to emigrate,
[illegible] and communal tradition is revived, linked
[illegible] responsibility through the crofters' lifelong
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[illegible] up: "They say that we won't stand for it." This
[illegible] would have been unthinkable during the First World War,

[1] W. J. Carmichael, "Social Amenities in the Western Isles", *Sociological Rev. (Lon. 1929)*.

There must be enough interaction between the relatively small number of people of similar standing within
the local group and beyond if the consanguinal and affinal
relationships are to be "maintained", and they are not
to lose their identity as a group apart. They must not only
interact with other county families, but the county families
must be endogamous. Once a year the county families of Skye
gather together this needed opportunity to reaffirm their solidarity,
to cement their relationship with the upper class of British
society, and to arrange suitable matches for their sons and
daughters. A Skye County Ball is held in November. The
"county people" come from near and far to attend the affair,
one of a series of local balls held throughout the nation.
If anyone has any doubts about his acceptance during the holders
of highest station, he receives his single but exquisite
answer at this time. He must be invited to the ball. For
three days and two nights the festivities continue. High
society has not forgotten how to enjoy itself with its tenantry
from Edinburgh. The local people who are "Pa-pa's" have
taken over Portree.

On the first night of the ball, the young people are
escorted from the homes of the Skye aristocracy, who not
as hosts, or the more fashionable hotels to the Skye Gathering
Hall by their parents. During the dance and the supper which
follows, suitable introductions are arranged for their benefit.
Shortly after the conclusion of the ball, the young
people appear in couples. If they want to chaperone

the Outer Isles, an area of recent depopulation, there are
enough youth to realize the dilemma of their elders. Of
their number, some leave the island until their dance
is a plank bridge. In Lilmour the crofters are looking
forward to "Effectual Calling." To defy the elders, or
allow their children to run counter to the wishes of the
elders, would mean a loss of face for extinction.

For the majority of crofters, any form of amusement
is objectionable, but there are slight differences among
the affiliates of the several sects. The Church of Scotland
is the most lenient. For adherents, concerts, film shows
and similar organized forms of entertainment may be admissible,
especially if they are held outside the neighborhood. There
is a "picture hall" from Glasgow to Portree on Tuesday and
Saturday night. Sports activities are often considered
as wholesome outlets for the youth. Some of the ministers,
feel the lack of social contact with their people and
believe that they should be more fully involved in the interests
of the Church of Scotland minister in
Lilmour occasionally attends the Crofters' Club, the only
secular activity attended in the neighborhood. Significantly,
Free Church opinion, although the voice of a minority, has
prohibited the playing of pipes and recitals of the Gaelic
Choir at the annual Lilmouth show. The Church of Scotland
and the Free Church are the only sects in the village hall.
Dances are condemned. This is not because dancing is

in a sin but because of the excessive drinking and immorality
which might result from a promiscuous gathering. Organized
dances are, in general, not objectionable. Nevertheless, in
view of the attitudes of the people to these secular activities,
the Church of Scotland crofter believes in much the same way as
his neighbor who adheres to another sect. The elders of the
other sects have no influence over everyone in the neighborhood.
Every man must act himself. They will my Delphinium
The Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church people
condemn any and all social gatherings where songs, stories,
or other diversions are indulged in. Dancing is considered
as expense to reason circumspect in behavior. They may
discuss their problems and gossip about their neighbors or the
wicked sassenach. They may engage in cooperative or individual
work. They may get together in the home. They may not engage
in such activities outside the home. Religion on Skye for
the majority has received attention on the home. Let us look
at some of the activities which are condemned. There is the
Beatrix Bank Holiday which is a day set aside by the crofters
to stimulating home industries in rural areas and providing
educational programs, especially demonstrations and lectures
on domestic arts. One meeting, for example, is May, and for
Free Church opinion, although the voice of a minority, has
prohibited the playing of pipes and recitals of the Gaelic
Choir at the annual Lilmouth show. The Church of Scotland
and the Free Church are the only sects in the village hall.
Dances are condemned. This is not because dancing is

[2] Darling and Lively, *Ha-Ha*, pp. 23-24.

that the people of Skye, including many of the ministers,
have not been favorably impressed by Skye West. The economic
benefit it has brought to the people of Skye. The Kirkhouse of
the Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and
similar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree
than in the towns and the aftermath of the Church of Scotland
parlour of a number of recreational activities. In the winter
there is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer
there is a little golf and tennis. These activities are not
religious; they are climate. Town, too, there is shopping.
We have already noted the existence of many clubs. There are
regular dances. Boxing pictures take place twice a week.
All of these activities are rich in variety. The Dremen bring
a sure of less passive role. The "elect" of the smaller
sects who, by the least, very much disturbed by these
festivities. Many of the children attend the dances
the concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find
enough solidarity among those of their own age grade to outweigh
the threats of their elders. Apparently they find
enough security to be unaffected by the stern denunciations of
the minister from the pulpit. Even they marry, however, they
have to resent the pattern of their kinship, for now the
elders are in a position to exercise control by eliminating
access from their children. Some may turn to the Church of
Scotland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glendale the
control by the aged is complete. There is not a single antisocial

'first-footing'. In the past the lads came in bands singing carols, and once admitted—refusal of hospitality being out of the question—any misunderstandings and quarrels of the past year had to be forgiven and forgotten. With individual visits this is no longer possible, for though these maintain friendship, they cannot easily and naturally heal a quarrel.

From Lewis three fine carols once sung by youths are recorded, of which the fidelity of Carmichael's translation goes far to render both sense and feeling (Nos. 55-57).[1] In Ness I have sought in vain for the old melodies from the descendants of Angus Gunn. Born about 1800, Gunn had lived for many years as a shepherd on the islet of North Rona, unreached by the burning zeal of the Evangelists, so that his traditional piety survived. Could they be found, these melodies would enrich the remnant of authentic Christian lore in Britain, for even the well-known English carols are mostly of modern reconstruction.

The first Christmas Hail opens, "*Ho Ri*, Hail to the King, Blessed is He. . . . Blessed be the house and all therein. . . . Lasting . . . and healthy round the hearth be ye. . . ." It goes on, "This night is the eve of the great Nativity, the great Noel [*Nochd oidhche Nollaige moire* . . .]; Born is the Son. . . ." It closes, "Shone the mountains . . . earth, and land, Heard was the wave upon the strand. . . . Blessed be the King . . . to all ages, to all time." A fragment from Tolsta, Lewis, sung by boys on New Year's Eve as they begged for a Noel bannock from house to house, latterly began and ended with playful nonsense, yet it retained its traditional climax: "[On the first day of the New Year] I saw the Threesome [The Trinity] going to the shore. The land shone, the

[1] No. 59 is set to an Eriskay chant in *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, p. 159.

175 earth shone, The wave shone on the shore; The deer of
796 the mountain steep shone. . . ." [1]
533 "The Christ Child's Lullaby" is a lovely carol narrating the Christmas tale. Legend tells that it was sung by
175 'Mary-Mother' herself to an unwanted stepchild lost on
796 the moors, where his stepmother found him in the arms
533 of Mary, who sang as she lulled him. The stepmother
773 cherished this song with the lost child, henceforth loved as her own.[2] The poetry of the Gael, like the odes of Greece and the Psalms of the Hebrews, is luminous with the vision of mountains, land and sea, reflecting a light within that of sun or moon, and sonorous with the rhythm of wave, tide and season which are "of all ages and to all time,
[181] *gach linn gu brath*". Its adoration is full of nature and of humanity, yet it soars above mere nature worship or anthropomorphism.

175 While Christmas, more than any, was a festival of
796 leisure, others were closely linked to labour. The festival dates of Candlemas or Lent, of Saint Bride's, Saint Patrick's or Lady Day, marked the stages of spring's coming and the duties they brought. Summer came in at Beltane—held in May, though the word included other dates connected with spring fire; and on St. John's Day

113 [1] Donald Macdonald, M.A., MS. essay for the Royal Scot. Geog. Society.

[2] A short version is published in the *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. A translator may choose from its 29 stanzas—though all are true to the Gospel and worth translation. Of the simple choral variant of the air (as published) Fr. Allan Macdonald told Miss Amy Murray his grief that it had superseded the melodic variety given to the Lullaby when sung by one singer at a time (*Celtic Review*, 1905–6). From three variants noted from oral singing one can arrange a melodic sequence. To pass from a major variant (set to stanzas on Jesus's mother, the shepherds and the 'kings') to minor variants (set to the tale of Herod's evil deeds) restores much of the dramatic intensity of this noble carol. Only deep feeling for the Gospels could create and maintain, without written help, so full a version of the words and variety of associated melody. (The complete words, *Taladh Chriosta*, are in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, p. 7.)

342 yard and occasionally a barley-kiln in which to dry grain
343 before malting it for home-brewed beer. A 'black mill',
351 with its primitive horizontal water-wheel, stands apart by
[251] some burnside.
[273] Round the circular hearth, a large company can assemble in very social fashion for talk, story and song, the meeting
354 *together* (*ceilidh*). By the transfer of the hearth from the
571 centre and the substitution of a gable fireplace and regular
• 538 chimney, the social circle is halved, while meantime the
[178] tales of the *ceilidh* are forbidden or forgotten. Happily the bench still stands against the wall, near to the open
[353] door, through which neighbours slip in with a word of greeting to find a customary welcome.

342 The dwellings on the summer pastures out on the
361 moors show great variety, illustrated in Fig. 10(B). A simple type in use is built of turf and stones, lightly roofed with
[178] turf placed on spars. A more primitive 'beehive' type (which fell out of use before 1900) was stone-built and
[171] corbelled, probably for lack of timber. And whereas the lighter type always stands by itself, the corbelled type was added to until a dozen cells formed a single mass, suggestive of ancient 'neolithic' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney, described by Childe, and of the domed, corbelled huts of the ancient East.

[343] A further type was the 'spring house' of Tolsta, NE. Lewis, in which both cattle and folk sheltered in spring a little way from the village, before going out to the more
[124] distant moor. Mr. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S., a
[178] native of Tolsta, informs me that the spring house was in use until 1936. He remembers vividly how life in the shieling restored health and colour after the winter.

174 of the Norsemen, lay a succession of earlier periods. A
613 phase of primitive settlements is traceable in archaeo-
172 logical remains and in recent and contemporary survivals.
174 It is shown in the physical race-traits distinguishing those in one part of the Island from those in another. Fragments of tradition telling of the first Christian missionaries survived the Norse invasions and settlements, dated from A.D. 800 or before, down to Haco's defeat on the Clyde at Largs in 1256. These fragments can be linked to chronicles and to later tradition, on which they throw fresh light.

[144] A survey of the archaeology has been published,[1] but comparatively little, as yet, on race. Yet different communities are distinguished by marked racial types or strains. Although many, indeed most, of the race-strains of the Island must have entered it in prehistoric times, some are linked to tradition, and history accounts for the more
[141] recent immigrants. The striking element of race in the Outer Hebrides is a broad-headed type prevailing from Barra to the Lews, accompanied by medium stature and dark hair; it is also found across the Northern Minch. But within the Island are notable differences.

829 Variety of race being accentuated by difference in ways, the communities still comment pointedly upon one
• [538] another! For instance, an old saying is not forgotten: "The folk of Cladach, but the gentlemen of Uig!" (*Muinntir a' Chladaich, ach daoin' uasaile Uig*),
[433] 'Cladach' being the western 'Beach' district possessing
[632] ploughland but poor fishing, which covers the modern
[133] parish of Barvas (excluding the north-west cliff-promontory

[113] [1] Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, *Outer Hebrides, Skye etc.*); 1928. V. G. Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, 1935; *Scotland Before the Scots*, 1946.

174 to bleed or to set bones, while some elderly woman would
175 serve as physician and midwife. Spiritual consolation
462 and renewal too could be found, even in the absence of monk or nun, or of priest, minister or catechist. Enough
[463] here, that with agriculture and fishing, most crafts, except
[759] metal-work, were practised in every family. The 'range
[793] of skills' was therefore wider and richer in latent art than might be supposed from those needed on a little croft today.
[593] Hence the importance of understanding the roles of husbandman and housewife, of "the man and the woman of the house".

174 Their labours through the annual rhythm of the seasons
462 might be classed as efforts for the man and endurance for the women (Fig. 9). Man's muscular strength and free-
221 dom of limb rouse him to efforts demanded by the thrust
[181] and lift of peat-cutting, digging in stony soil, or pushing the foot-plough, step by step obliquely down a rocky slope. In the past an archer's chase of stag, wolf or boar demanded all a man's effort, and courage too, as fishing still does in the stormy north-western seas. With this facing of danger there came a gaiety that sparkled like the crest of a breaking wave. Women's work demanded by its unceasing activity a cheerful endurance, whether at labour on the croft, at corn-grinding, butter-making and peat-carrying, or carding, spinning and weaving; and with every task of day or season came the constant tending of cattle, of menfolk and children.

• [538] This allotment of seasonal tasks and skills is neatly put in the proverb, "A man's cow won't yield milk, nor a woman's horse ploughing" (*Cha bhi bainn' aig bo fir, 's cha bhi treabhadh 'an each mnatha*). Yet women have always taken a share of work on the croft—too heavy a share when the men were much away—and the habit of

175 couple advancing one on either side of it—many other
476 tasks were definitely team-work. Such was peat-cutting.
"When they are making peats, five people are employed.
175 One cuts the peat, another places it on the brink of the
476 ditch where it is dug; a third spreads it on the field, a
314 fourth pares and cleans the moss; and a fifth man is resting,
ready to relieve the man that cuts. The women are seldom
[462] at this work, but the men help one another alternately;
sometimes they must rest satisfied with fewer hands; but
the above is the full complement of men required to per-
[127] form the work, according to their tastes." Buchanan's
[178] description was written 160 years ago (1793); it remained
true till recently and generally it is so still. There was thus
a normal team practice for work—even a man to rest was not
• [538] forgotten! As the Gaelic proverb puts it: "They won't
make power (add strength) without a threesome and they'll
limp without a foursome!" (*Cha deanar treine gun triuir,*
[802] *'s bidh iad crubach gun cheathrar*). In Gaelic, as in Scots,
one speaks of a team according to its number, as "a pair,
a threesome, foursome" and so on, up to a tensome
(*deichnear*). In Lewis the farm-team was usually a foursome
or fivesome.

175 Only in exceptional cases was land worked and held
423 singly—as when a smith was kept busy at his anvil in
241 ploughing-time and harvest. Thus in 1715 one or two
rural smiths had single holdings of average value or more
[326] (£1), and one artificer or tin-smith (caird) a holding of
minimum value (5s.); and in the burgh all the small plots
[286] were held singly. As the women wove, at home mostly,
[462] no male rural weaver held a single plot; his weaving could
be done at slack times, so long as there was light; at busy
times he worked on the land with the rest of his team.

000 On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an

175 in communal organisation, historically brought about by
622 landlord or steward over a wide period, has commonly
557 been ascribed to some inherent feebleness in Gaelic
427 communal spirit. It is all the more vital to realise the
strength of community and its self-governance by neigh-
[623] bourly 'parliament' and chosen constable, by which the
people put their ideals into practice. These may be given
in the three traditional terms of fellowship, fairness and
freedom, summing up the Gaelic watchwords.[1] Unless the
struggle for freedom was too severe, fraternity, followed by
equality, came first.

• [538]

[1] *Companas, caidreabh* or *cairdeas*; *ceartas, coir, cead cothrom*, or *co-roinn*; and *saorsa*.

175 rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide
621 for the lord's desires.
622
427
184
565

(E) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

174 The peaceful round of daily life formed the most
614 enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners
577 of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tensest
ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether
[501] at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in
[726] war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must
speak for them. Many a song of the Isles conveys the
team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men.
174 And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley
614 be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portray-
501 ing the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who
warred against the waves and won. Alexander Mac-
• 538 donald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic,
and probably in English, verse for its portraits of the crew
in action, from steersman to 'look-out'. The flowing
metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's
vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of
a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

174 The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with "the
614 Blessing of the Ship", the arms and the crew. Then the
501 bard, speaking for the stately skipper, "incites the sixteen
539 oarsmen to row" out of the bay, and they row to a rousing
577 shanty, a *Iorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and
[113]

[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (2nd ed.), 1890 (pp. 1-28); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 65-85), 1940. Cf. A. Macleod (Ed.), *Sar Orain: Three Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1933. The different themes of its sections, each in its own metre, have been published separately, in *The Songs of the Hebrides*, and elsewhere.

771 xviii. 19-20). The worldly wise might think that the
794 spiritual fare of these poor folk must have been lean indeed;
while others, having heard much of the Highlanders'
[173] 'pagan' superstitions, may think even worse! The evi-
• [538] dence from which to judge is found in survivals from a
rich lore, and for most readers seen but 'darkly' through
prose translations from the poetry of a tongue now known
to few.

771 The richest collection is Alexander Carmichael's *Car-*
538 *mina Gadelica* (*Ortha nan Gaidheal*).[1] Others were made
by the Rev. Fr. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay, and by the
Rev. Kenneth Macleod with Mrs. M. Kennedy-Fraser in
the *Songs of the Hebrides*. Included here are unpublished
verses given by crofter-friends in the Isles and others from
Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection,[2] hitherto untranslated.
What still remains has come down to us only by narrow
771 escapes. One is reminded of 'Father Allan's' early
539 death, after nursing his parishioners through an epi-
demic; and Carmichael's escape from drowning as "on

113 [1] *Carmina Gadelica: Ortha Nan Gaedheal.* Hymns and incantations
114 with illustrative notes on words, rites and customs, dying and obsolete;
orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and translated into
English; vols. i and ii (1st ed., 1900; 2nd ed., 1928); vol. iii, 1940; vol. iv,
1941. The last two volumes were edited by the collector's grandson, Prof.
James Carmichael Watson, whose death as an Ordinary Seaman in war is
mourned by his friends, and has been described as a disaster to the cause
of Gaelic, and of humane learning in Scotland. One more volume edited
by James C. Watson awaits publication. (In the following, quotations are
referred to as from *Carmina*, followed by the number of the rune: Nos.
1-216, vols. i and ii; and Nos. 217-351, vol. iii. Vol. iv contains varied
lore.)

[2] Of all these four, the least known is Fr. Allan Macdonald's little
collection, *Comh-Chruinneachadh de Laoidhean Spioradail*, Hugh Macdonald,
Oban, 1893. It was privately printed, and lacks a translation and table of
contents. There could be no finer memorial to this man and the community
whose spiritual life he helped to record than a new edition of all its ancient
Gaelic 'spiritual songs', with the addition of others he wrote down before
his death in 1905, and perhaps, of some of his own poems, notably his famous
Eilean na h-óige, "Isle of the Young".

THE PEOPLE

SOCIAL LIFE

[571] In common with other aspects of island life, the social side has
[198] undergone considerable change. The world has been brought nearer the crofter's home by radio, television and film screen, reducing the social need for meeting with neighbours and friends
[574] for the ceilidh. The ceilidh was once the principal means of re-
[198] creation and instruction. There is no precise English equivalent for it, and it may be loosely described as an 'at home' to which all are welcome. It may be held in any house; in the past, the favourite resort was a home where the head (*fear an tigh*—man of the house) was an intelligent, communicative man; and if he had a number of eligible daughters so much the better. Ceilidhean were held after nightfall. Old tales were told, and songs sung, and public questions of the day were discussed. All women attending took with them an ample amount of work, sewing or knitting, to see them through the evening. Ceilidhean nowadays tend to be
[545] more organized, taking the form of popular 'concerts' which did not take root in the island until the turn of the century, though they were a common way of entertainment on the mainland at the time. Social life in the past was thus very intense, and was a natural evolution from the basic desire to forget the day's work and to have some pleasure of a kind.

[546] The pattern of recreation facilities has since become fairly varied. Films came early to Lewis, or rather Stornoway; the first Picture House was located in Keith Street, and presented both
[536] films and stage turns. A new Playhouse was opened in 1934 with *The Good Companions* and *Falling for You*, starring Jack Hulbert and Cicely Courtnedge. Films in the rural districts were a rarity, however, until in 1946 the Highlands & Islands Film Guild came into existence to bring the magic of the screen to
[207] scattered communities. This body ran several mobile cinema outfits in the deep crofting areas, until the advent of television in the region killed it off in 1971. While it existed, however, the Guild provided an essential service to remote communities and brought not only the world to their doorstep but ensured that they felt part and parcel of a much larger scheme of things.

[207] The first television service in Lewis began in 1959, 'piped' by

538

538 LITERATURE--literary styles; poetry (e.g., epic, lyric); verse forms (e.g., couplets, stanzas); poetic techniques (e.g., meter, rhyme, alliteration); prose forms (e.g., tales, sagas, proverbs, fiction, short stories, essays); narrative plot and structure; literary subjects and themes; characters (e.g., animals, man, gods); treatment (e.g., realism, fantasy, allegory, satire); composition; literary conventions; recitation and narration (e.g., occasions, audiences); specialists (e.g., poets, prose authors, story tellers, ghost writers); etc. This category is reserved for generalized descriptions of literature. For literary texts, and analyses and commentaries related to specific literary works see 539. See also:

Syllables	196	Riddles	894
News notes and magazine articles	204	Lectures	844
Books and their publication	214	Mythology	779
Exhaustion: ideals and causes of taste	817	Sacred literature	770
Wit and humor	820	Humanistic studies	814

197 behavior characteristic of the dominant group; but for
191 those that remain in the village, the language serves a
534 unifying function, although its form is limited in
188 diversity of elements.
578

184 Jokes are most humorous when told in Gaelic; and
197 conversation is punctuated with Gaelic proverbs and old
• 538 stories. There is a vast oral lore, expressed in Gaelic,
[522] of the village and generations of its members and their
[521] characteristics and escapades, a dense map of human events. All of these tales, proverbs and jokes have been told a
829 thousand times, but retain their unifying function. When speaking of today's children who do not go to the sheiling, a man says sadly, "They won't have our memories; this place will mean less to them than it does to us." The moor is not an empty wasteland, but a map of memories.
103 Thousands of place names are known, and behind every place
175 name is a story. The major landmarks such as mountains, lochs and headlands tend to have Norse names, from the days when the Norsemen raided and settled along the island coasts; but the smaller hillocks and fields and bends in the stream have Gaelic names, for example, Sheiling of the One Night, Field of the Slaves, Slope of the Stone
[184] Boys, Hillock of William's Sheiling. To know these place names and their histories is to participate in a distinct community, which has been made even more distinct by contrast with the dominant society.

000 relevant to village life, and thus is not attended to.
517 Comedies, soap operas and westerns constitute the
[207] favorite television programs. Many of the men read
• [538] adventure stories--war, western and detective--on the
[204] quiet Sunday afternoons. Magazines and newspapers most often received include The Daily Express, The Sunday Mirror, The People's Journal, The Stornoway Gazette, The Oban Times, and True Romance, documents dealing with local events or with scandal and dramatic personal
521 accounts. In general, the news of the mass media to
181 which this audience attends is gossip writ large. Such news, like local gossip, is discussed endlessly, in elaborate detail, until sapped of all potential to excite or until new events capture the attention of the village audience.

Events which occur in the open, treeless countryside
517 are vivid and dramatic. The generally low level of
181 stimulation enhances their dramatic effect. A man appears on the hillside or a car along the horizon, and all ears and eyes attend. The British system of perennial number plates on cars makes it easy to identify the shifting cast of characters even at night. Even children memorize long lists of number plates. There is a perpetual audience looking for a play.

156 sympathetic with each others' idiosyncrasies. A constant
572 joking keeps people at arm's length and discourages the
[522] development of empathy.

156 Accompanying this style of indirect, inhibited
154 expressiveness and the low level of stimulation are culturally prescribed opportunities for relatively uninhibited expressiveness. Such opportunities include the ceilidh ("visit"), the drinking situation (mainly for men), the role of clown or "character," and holidays
[166] such as New Year's. Although young villagers and
[483] emigrants often describe the village as "dull" and "dead,"
[181] the emigrants are happy enough to return to the island for short periods of time, during which they participate in those situations in which expressiveness and limited license are accepted.

156 1. Ceilidh, Clown, and New Year's Festivities: Only
154 on certain occasions is relatively spontaneous and unin-
574 hibited expressiveness condoned or encouraged within the township, and even then the form which this expressiveness takes is fairly narrowly circumscribed. The traditional
[178] ceilidh was such an occasion. In the past, people gathered
[517] regularly at night in the tigh ceilidh (the ceilidh house,
• [538] or home of someone in which a genial atmosphere existed;
[533] the tigh ceilidh was often the home of someone who lived alone), where stories were endlessly repeated and elaborated,

156 genealogies told, and old songs were sung or new ones
154 composed. The concentration of expressiveness in these
574 forms resulted in a well-developed, oral repertoire of
178 literature and music.
[517]
• [538]
[533]

The ceilidh still exists today in the form of less regular gatherings. Stories and genealogies are seldom
[538] recited, but songs are still sung. A few new songs are
[533] being composed. The word ceilidh is used as both a noun and a verb to mean "a visit" or "to visit," but implies a casual, relaxed atmosphere rather than a formal visit. A formal visit is made by relatives living in Stornoway, government officials or businessmen, and is characterized by more constrained behavior.

156 The ceilidh of today is often accompanied by the
154 drinking of beer or whiskey, but a distinction may be
574 made between a gathering which includes both males and
203 females, and a drinking situation at which only males are
198 present. In the past, men often gathered in barns or weaving sheds to share beer made locally from barley or
273 brought from town in a large keg. The drinking of whiskey
178 was reserved for special occasions, such as births, weddings,
434 funerals, and the festivities surrounding the New Year, but increased income has resulted in the consumption of whiskey on many other occasions. Heavy drinking is still an
[229] activity engaged in largely by males, and occurs in extra-village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter 6).

181 ing but black. The young have found the island a much more
kindly place. They have never been forced by circumstances
to choose between predestination and despair.'

To take account of matters beyond the material level is in-
herent in the Gaelic Celt. Celtic poetry and song, legend and
• [538] folklore, all so alive with fancy and so sympathetic towards the
things of nature, reflect the inborn sensitivity and character of the
present-day Highlander and Islander. Fiction's caricature of the
island-dweller (not only in Harris and Lewis, but in the other
islands) has been taken by another society with a different cultural
background, with insufficient knowledge of historical facts, as be-
ing virtually authentic. The Western Isles have had more than
their share of 'observers' who have failed to penetrate to the inner
Gael. Only with a knowledge of the background, social, cultural,
ethnic, historical and so on, can the 'larger than life' islander be
seen in perspective—as a normal human being.

RELIGION

771 There are few communities in the British Isles which have, since
the Christian dawning, so closely integrated religious belief with
secular day-to-day living as the Harris and Lewis people. Though
many times the religious element in island life foundered in a
Sargasso Sea of outright superstition, it has managed to survive
to its present-day form which might be described as cathartic in
nature. When one attempts to investigate religion and super-
stition as two separate subjects, one is forced to consider either
both as one, or one as complementary to the other. Even in those
times during the island's history when materialism was prominent,
somewhere in the background religion was acknowledged in one
form or another.

* 195 As mentioned in Chapter 3, in 1610 Lord Kintail brought
795 Farquhar MacRae, the vicar of Gairloch, to Lewis. The first Earl
of Seaforth, who built a church in Stornoway (St Lennan's) was
nominally Episcopalian. During the temporary supremacy of
Episcopacy in Scotland, there was little disturbance in the High-
[793] lands of the Presbyterian organisation. The bishops controlled
[794] their dioceses; but the ministers controlled their parishioners. In

485 eighty visitors each year, but there is nothing similar in Lewis.
Hostellers who visit Stornoway can do little more than march
through the town to the mail-boat, or else return to Harris by the
next bus.

212 As might be expected, the reading tradition is strong, stem-
ming from a natural desire to learn and from the fact that the
ceilidh could only partly satisfy the need for mental stimulation,
not to mention the need to alleviate loneliness. A century ago
• 538 three books were to be found in many island homes: the family
* 195 Bible, often a massive volume clad in hairy calfskin, *Turus a'*
Ghriosdaidh (Pilgrim's Progress) and *Gras am Pailteas* (Bunyan's
219 *Grace Abounding*). As horizons became wider a public library
was set up in Stornoway in 1907 (see Chapter 8); a library was in
fact established there earlier, before 1897, but it was not a free
one. In round figures, the 15,400 people of landward Lewis
(Lewis excluding Stornoway) borrow some 70,000 books annually,
though of course the actual readership figures are higher, books
borrowed being passed round the family and exchanged with
others until the 'mobile' calls again. The mobile library service
was established by the Ross & Cromarty County Council in 1955
for rural villages in thirty-one school districts.

ISLAND EMIGRANTS

181 For all that the island is a tight-knit community, paradoxically it
167 breeds many men and women whose destinies are not worked out
within the confines of its own shores, but at the ends of far
horizons. This is typical of most Highland areas: some who leave
them make a mark on other societies often greatly exceeding the
size of the community they left behind. Many 'great' people are
also directly descended from a crofting ancestry; minds and spirits
bred in the Highlands and Islands have potential for development
not always apparent on native soil but sometimes fully realised in
alien surroundings and conditions.

* 175 Harris and Lewis have contributed their share, and still do, to
167 the general weal of skill, ability and intellect in all fields of human
554 endeavour. For centuries, the export of brains was normal. Pos-
sibly the best known is Sir Alexander MacKenzie, who discovered

821 Two sayings sum up the lag of the seasons in the West
824 and its effect on crops. The first runs, "Winter comes
241 not till after New Year, nor Spring till after St. Patrick's
• [538] Day" (*Cha tig Geamhradh gu cul Calluinn, no Earrach gu*
cul Fheill Paruig). St. Patrick's Day is the 17th of March,
but old-style reckoning put both dates later still. The
[538] other runs, "A frosty winter, a misty spring, a chequered
summer, and a bright, sunny autumn, never left dearth in
Scotland" (*Geamhradh reodhtanach, Earrach ceothanach,*
Samhradh breac riabhach, us Foghar geal grianach, cha
d'fhag gort riamh an Alba). The retort is that though
western summers may often be chequered with sun and
showers well suited for growing grass and grain, the
autumns are not really sunny, but rainy. Hence 'dearth'
—of grain—must result from spoiled harvests. Not so for
grass, unharmed by a wet autumn. Hay, if ensilage is not
possible, can usually be gathered unharmed in sunny spells
[132] of summer if cut in good time. Agriculturally, the climate
favours 'grass' rather than grain.

132 Plentiful rainfall and coolness throughout the year do
137 not allow of complete neutral decomposition of vegetable
[134] matter in the presence of air. Hence, year by year, a
residuum of acid humus accumulates as peat on the ill-
drained surface. Prehistorically, more favourable phases
of climate permitted the growth of pines. Knowledge of
present temperature and rainfall alone would suggest the
growth of broad-leaved deciduous trees, but these are
absent except in the sheltered policies of Stornoway Castle.
About 1695 Martin noted 'hazel and birch' occurring on
the south side of Loch Stornoway, but nowhere else on the
Island. Even there trees are stunted as if pruned by the
wind.

132 The further inhibitive influence is indeed the wind

132 (Fig. 6). The anemograph at the Butt of Lewis records
one of the highest of British averages for gales and frequent
breeze: for 1930–35 the mean frequency of gales (winds
over 38 miles per hour) was 62. The mean speed for
December and January is 25 m.p.h., which can best be
realised by imagining winter travel in an open car with
no wind-screen. This mean maximum is a reminder of
the difficulty of tree-growth, as gales loosen or quite uproot
• [538] the trees. It also helps to explain the proverb: "A long
sleep in a big wind" (*cadal fada ri gaoith mhoir*). This is
as true for the byre as the bed-closet, for what could cattle-
beast or man be doing out of doors in a winter gale?
Although the mean speed drops from 18 m.p.h. in April
to 13 or 14 m.p.h. in July and August, it rises in Septem-
ber to 18 m.p.h., with ill effects on the harvesting of late
crops. Winter winds blow in full force from the end of
September to mid-February at an average of 22 m.p.h.
or more. The gales make winter fishing dangerous, and
their force smashes breakwaters on the west coast.

Yet winds at the exposed cliff-height of the Butt are
only slightly greater than those of similarly placed spots
on the mainland coast, or islets like the Bell Rock (Firth
of Tay), and the east of the Island is comparatively sheltered.
For example, the mean annual speed of wind at the Butt
was 19·2 m.p.h., and for the same period at the Bell Rock
it was 18·2, at Aberdeen 9, and at Kew 7·6. When the
anemograph at the Butt was moved even to a 'well-exposed'
spot near Stornoway, the average number of gales for
1937–40 dropped to two-thirds of the preceding triennium.
With shelter, the difference from the Butt and the approach
to normal conditions on the mainland would become greater
[317] still. The planting of shelter-belts would foster crops,
comfort and activity on the Island.

233 away, and for a shorter period. The sheep wander over
311 the moors all the year round, though they hang about the
crofts when the winter is severe.

221 A comparison with mountainous Norway or the Alps
132 and their high summer pastures suggests itself; but in
Lewis altitude is almost negligible, and the shielings may
171 lie only two to five hundred feet above that of the crofts
[133] beside the shore. The difference between winter and
[311] summer is in any case less, snow being rare and the condi-
tions being such that even in summer the shieling pasture
remains poor. Hence it is that while modern Norse and
Alpine economy still maintain the summer pasture, the
shielings have died out in the Highlands and are slowly
decaying in Lewis. Seasonally, stock are transported over
longer distances, from Highland to Lowland pastures.

181 Reasons for the continuance of these and other crofting
[178] ways, or for their abandonment, are not of an economic
[461] order alone: not only the remuneration received for labour,
but the feeling for the work counts enormously. Visiting
a couple of distant shielings in the summer of 1919, I
found that two lads newly home from the Navy had come
up from their village 'for a holiday', bringing rods for
trout-fishing and high spirits for play. By day they fished
or flirted. By night they slept in one of the two shielings,
while the two laughing lasses they had come to visit shared
the none too wide couch of the other shieling with the
two older women there. One of these was a matron with a
motherly twinkle in her eye, the other was a spinster in
whose eyes there shone a memorably vivid light; she was
the sister (as I found later) of a noted minister on the main-
land. The bare simplicity of shieling life is traditionally
softened by fellowship and a gaiety that is not beyond
• [538] control. A Lowland poet once coined a famous phrase,

181 "the lone shieling of the misty island". Traditional
• [539] Gaelic songs tell rather of shielings grouped within hail,
[533] with their sweethearting and good cheer!

3. *Crops and Stock*, circa *1938*

178 As the thirties mark a transition between early condi-
241 tions prevailing until 1919 and those of 1947–53 (Appendix I),
the present tense is used.

311 Of the Island's 528,000 acres, including deer forests
632 on the Harris border partly grazed, there are 24,000
acres of arable and grass land. Barvas parish leads with
6500 acres, then come Stornoway, Uig and Lochs, Harris
being last with 3300 acres. Roughly one-third of the
Island's arable and grass land, or 32 per cent, is per-
manent grass, chiefly machar, with a maximum of 39
per cent in Uig, but a minimum of 9 per cent in rocky
311 Lochs, most of this on one small farm. About 10 per
242 cent of the arable and grass land area is given to hay
production; of this, rather less than one-third is rotation
hay grown on the plough rigs or parks, and rather more
than two-thirds is hay from permanent grass. Lochs,
lacking machar, has 20 per cent hay, while Barvas, better
[482] off for machar, has only 4 per cent. Even this proportion
of rotation hay shows an increase on the crofts since 1919.
Stornoway parish, it will be noted, occupies an inter-
mediate place, but if the facts for Point (Eye) district were
contrasted with those for the villages along the machar,
the differences between them would emerge clearly. As
it is, they can be guessed from the vegetation map showing
311 the machar. Oats is the chief crop, and occupies 33 per
242 cent or just one-third of the arable and grass of the Island;
excluding the permanent grass, it constitutes half the crop.

536

36 DRAMA--compositions for dramatic representation; types (e.g., tragedy, comedy, farce); themes (e.g., from myth, history, everyday life); treatment (e.g., realistic, stylized); conventional limitations on dramatic composition; characters and parts; impersonation; acting techniques (e.g., gestures, postures, emotional expression); costumes and paraphernalia; make-up; staging (e.g., scenery, lighting, props, musical accompaniment); acts, scene choruses, and interludes; specialists (e.g., playwrights, actors, stagehands, directors); relation of drama to dancing, mythology, magic, and ritual; specia types of plays (e.g., puppet shows, shadow plays, musical comedies); special roles (e.g., clowns); etc. See also:

Gestures 201
Patterned expressions of emotion. 201
Radio and television 207
Cosmetics 302
Theater buildings 345
Postures 516
Humor 522
Masks 532
Pageants and circuses 541
Stage productions 546
Motion pictures 546
Religious ceremonial 796

873 old-fashioned if you were speaking it. I wrote like that
197 in my first few papers, and my professor stroked through
185 words and asked, 'Would you say that?' We can even put in an English word now and then."

197 One result of this restriction in the scope of
185 experience in which Gaelic is used, and of the treatment of Gaelic by government bodies and voluntary associations as a rare zoo animal that must be preserved rather than allowed to change, is a decline in written creative
197 expression in Gaelic. There are perhaps three major
● 536 writers of Gaelic plays in Scotland, whose major battle is to be considered serious writers rather than colorful freaks or queer saints out to redeem Gaelic culture. "Once you become self-conscious about the language you speak," says one writer, "the language is dead." It has then become an artificial showpiece, a museum relic instead of a living, changing, flexible human tool.
197 Outside the village the maintenance of the Gaelic language
186 and other customs identified with "Celtic culture" occurs
[57] mainly as a result of interaction between "Gaels" and "Galls" (a Gaelic word meaning outsider or foreigner), as Gaelic speakers become self-conscious of their distinctiveness and either abandon their heritage (for example, MacIver 1968) or invest in it.

175 widowed mother and her family, working in farm and town-
771 ship, sending merriment at Christmas, and comforting
776 sorrow at Easter or All Souls. And even as He had told the Disciples to heal by faith, so, they thought, had He bidden them. Who could have told the people, in their ignorance, that in a later age they would suffer for this faith?

175 Thus upon the Lessons read in church (or out of doors)
771 and cherished as the root and stock of faith, there were
78 grafted three types of native shoot. These were the para-
• 538 phrases, the meditations or commentaries, and the parables or legends. The paraphrases should need no justification here, in so far as the four Gospels are each incomplete and complementary—the Celtic clergy may have known the fragments of a fifth; these 'fulfilled' the older Law and the Prophets. Of the meditations, few would be censured by a Protestant or Catholic theologian on points on which both would agree; points of disagreement in the meditations hardly concerned them. (Cf. in the Rev. Allan Macdonald's collection, "Thoughts on Death", *Smaointean air a' Bhas*, or *Carmina*, No. 7, and many more.) As a theologian might criticise the parables, legends or marginal tales of which so many were told in medieval Christendom, a word should be said of these.

771 Legends were told of the appearance of Saints to be-
773 lievers, such as that of "The Christ-Child's Lullaby", and of the life of the Holy family. The Gaelic sense of parable was strong (*Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes, *Caim*). In these legends was expressed what the people themselves would have felt and thought in joy or suffering. Legitimately, a preacher suggests a motive or circumstance to bridge the gap in a Bible record; the people did the same. When reverently retold, some suggested circumstance would in time grow to be a legend taking a place close to the Gospel story. A

771 single example may be given; so far as
773 recorded. I learned it in South Uist, wh
[125] Protestant mingle in tolerance and sympat
[795] told by an old woman, a Catholic, to a yo
Protestant fisherman's son, later a ministe

539 The story takes place after the Crucifi
771 remembered that in the Gospels not a word
mother after His farewell to her from t
xix. 26). He—or she—who first conceive
have asked, would not a mother visit the
she had just lost? And surely she who
cried, "My soul magnifies the Lord . .
would be the first to seek Him out after
legend tells that, on the second day of t
Mary, Jesus's mother, in an agony of me
pense, visited the tomb of her son, calling
many an endearing name. From the tom
that she would be consoled, for He would
told her that because of the depth of her
of human love a mother's would be accou
for ever after.

771 The Gael had fused the grandeur of th
• 538 with the hope and humanity of the New
light of dawn on sea and snow awoke the
last example is taken from two fragments
[788] a single theme, perhaps of one original
[113]

[1] It is interesting to compare this quiet legend
(and Episcopalian) "Apostles' Creed", apparently ba
in the *Gospel of Bartholomew*: after Christ "was crucif
He descended into hell" (hades). Montagu R. Ja
Apocryphal New Testament, 1924.

[2] *Carmina Gadelica*, 201, 197. No translation
Carmichael offers alternatives: line 6, "*Ti nan dul*,
the elements"; l. 13, "light on the plain" or "the
last line is intimate and simple: "The hour (or er
(among us)," a *steach*, as into a dwelling.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

771 538 788 as the days lengthened during Christmastide, old style, it may be called " The Rune of the World's Light ".

539

The world, ere came the Son of God,
was black, a bog forlorn :
Void of sun, moon or star,
void of body, heart or form.

'Twas Mary Mother lowly kneeled,
and gave the Inmost Being birth ;
Darkness and tears were driven afar,
the guiding star rose over earth.

Light on the land, the deep illumed
from sullen pool to ocean stream ;
Grief was laid and joy was raised,
with praise and hail and harping free.

Light on the hills, light on the plains,
light o'er grey-green sea and firth ;
Light o'er all the world as one,
the hour God's Son came down to earth.

(D) THE CYCLE OF LIFE

796 852 88 584 The stages in life's sequence are marked by noble runes, of baptism, initiation in adolescence, betrothal and marriage, childbirth, and of confession and consolation in trials throughout life and, at its close, of farewell. As might be fitting, the benedictions were given by either man or woman : to a child by a parent or elder ; to the young and strong by the wise ; and by lovers to one another. And in the past, especially in trial, the ' soul-friend ' ministered —*an anam-chara*, a neighbour chosen from lifelong friendships for steadfastness and understanding.

852 At birth a babe was baptized ; and in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit the nurse placed three drops

852 of water on the child's forehead, successively invoking wisdom, peace and purity. Lay baptism, recognised by Greek, Latin, Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches, may be partly of pre-Christian communal origin. It retained special significance in isolated communities. Where a clergyman might come within eight days, a temporary name was given at birth: 'Tonsured of the Lord' (*Maol-domhnuich*) if a male child, and Gertrude (*Griadach*) if a female. Her immediate duties over after a safe delivery, the midwife forthwith became the celebrant or (as it were) lay priestess, and her neighbourly helpers, her acolytes. As the midwife intoned her part they gave the responses. "By the Book itself," said a reciter in Uist, for many years a skilled midwife, "ear has never heard music more beautiful than the music of the watching women when they are consecrating the seed of man and committing him to the great God of life." Those who care to ponder the thoughts then spoken may believe her word. (*Carmina*, Nos. 50 and 217-219)

86 Initiation grew as understanding dawned and the babe passed on in childhood to be an older helper. Gaelic child-lore gives many a stimulus to an infant's intelligent apprehension of life about him, and to poetic appreciation. These may lead by natural steps to deeper things in adolescence. Homely teaching which led to a first communion, remained an intimate part of life in home and township.

From many parts of the Highlands and Isles, Carmichael and his friends gathered variants of verse prayers invoking graces in the young: Invocations of the Graces, *Orachan Buadha* (*Buadh*, victory, achievement or grace; Nos. 3 and 278-281). In Tiree, of which the thoughtful minister had sent a fragment of verses to Carmichael,

814 the invocation was addressed to boys and girls, in Uist to
869 youths and maidens. The loveliest version of all had been
539 spoken by an old, evicted woman and learned from her by
867 a lad who, as a poor crofter in old age, passed it down for record, for ever. Of this invocation Carmichael wrote, "Probably it was composed to a maiden on her marriage. The phrase '*eala dhonn*', brown swan, would indicate that the girl was young—not yet a white swan", a tender and delicate recognition of youth still to attain perfection.
869 Not a thought jars, each stanza building up the rising move-
536 ment of the whole. In the hundred lines of this poem, metre and assonance are regular except where growing intensity creates new rhythm and design; and the last vowel-rhyme of each stanza leads on to those of the next one, to form an unbroken accent to the climax.[1]
869 The Invocation begins, "I bathe thy palms. . . . And
539 I place the nine pure choice graces in thy fair food face.
867 The grace of form . . . of fortune . . . of goodness . . . of wisdom . . . of charity . . . of choice maidenliness

[114]

[1] Certain critics, struck with the variety of the poem but missing its thought-sequence and unity of form, took Carmichael's note of 'many fragments' to imply that the poem was a composite version, piously restored by the editor—in spite of his statement that it was taken down from a single reciter (one Duncan Maclellan). Carmichael's spiritual power of evoking treasure from the reciters was inexpressible from his utter honesty. And the publication, forty years later, of four Invocations and of scores of fragments (cf. No. 277) has added (to the internal evidence cited) further proof that the poem was no editorial assemblage. Without doubt, the poem has grown from the inspired meditation of generations of poet-worshippers in a hundred glens and isles. But the English reader should realise what the Gaelic ear may hear: this poem forms an organic unity; though many petalled it is a single flower. Readers familiar with medieval or earlier chants know that the enumeration of attributes is a feature common to all, whether in Church Latin or other tongues, as in the English mediæval hymn beginning, "God in my head, and in my understanding." In Gaelic, however, the richness and freedom of the vowel-pattern and rhythms carries the thought onward, now on wave to its climax. A comparison poet of France, Pierre Emmanuel, to whom I introduced this poem, exclaimed, "This is a Christian Song of Songs!"

869 . . . of whole-souled loveliness . . . of winning speech."
539 Then, after the tender image of the brown swan and fare-
867 well on departure to a new home, comes a string of exquisite comparisons: to shade and shelter in need, to safety of isle and strength of fortress, to gift of health for the ailing. Each grace, each image, expresses not simply individual qualities but relationships and service for others. After eight choice lines in praise of the girl's womanly gifts—from "Thine is the faith of Mary", through chosen attributes of Bride, the Fairy Woman, Penelope, Emir, Darthula and Maeve, to "the charm of the sweet singer (*Binnebheul*)"—the poem, in Gaelic that is sonorous and succinct, passes beyond the sphere of comparison with things or even personal qualities. It acclaims her joyous girlhood as one with the powers of life-giving, life-abundant things, and as a reflection of the Divine:

Thou'rt the joy in every delight,
Thou the sunbeam's radiant light;
Thou'rt the gate of a welcoming chief,
Thou the clearest star to lead;
Thou'rt the step of the deer on a height,
Thou the pace of a steed ere the fight;
Thou'rt the calm of a gliding swan;
of longings thou'rt the loveliness.

The lovely likeness of the Lord
In in thy pure face,
The loveliest form
Was ere on earth.[1]

[538]
[192]

[1] Poetic form is integral to the conception; hence this translation in verse. But alternatives to Carmichael's choice of English prose may complement his own, in bringing out the meaning. *Line 1, 'joy'*: *ionan*—and a delightful or wonderful thing'; *ni ebhlann*; l. 3, *dorus*, doorway; l. 4, *tlul*, guidance, land-mark, way; l. 6, *ntend*, steell, would imply, in *bile*, a tree of battle, and, by contrast, l. 7, *nionh ail*, calm (rather than 'grace') of a floating, swimming swan; l. 8, *ntu*, secret inclination, longing, and hence too, a person beloved; ll. 9, 11, *cruth*, form, shapeliness (and by implication),

539 And so, after every good wish for days, years and life,
867 the Invocation closes: "Peter has come and Paul" . . .
869 the Disciples and the Archangels. . . . Jesus the mild and the Spirit of guidance have come,

And the King of kings has come on the helm,
To bestow on thee their affection and their love,
A tharruath dhit-se graidh us ruin.

The idea of choice maidenliness which this Invocation
867 portrays, culminates in the thought of the loveliness that
[539] was Christ. It rises, too, to stirring virility: "the island at sea, the fortress on land", or "the step of the steed on the plain". Yet when all is said, it is a womanly image which prevails: after the fortress comes the well in the desert, and after the charger's step, the gracious calm of a floating swan. It is all the more significant that the Invocation was addressed both 'to boys and girls' in one isle, and 'to youths and maidens' in another. Not simply was boyhood taught to honour girlhood: ideal womanhood was invoked to raise manhood itself to fullness.

885 Women marriage, the husband replaced the maiden's
[242] anood or *ithom* that bound her uncovered hair by the wifely
585 bachlid, *ceann breid*. Folded diagonally, its three-cornered
539 shape came to symbolize the Trinity, in benediction on the bride's head.[1] A poem to a bride, "now beginning her dual course", commences, "A thousand hails to thee

[538] likeness. The short second stanza given stands out alone: the poem,
[192] having attained its climax by a rhythm sustaining the upward, sonorous movement, is hushed by its few simple words. In *From the Hebrides*, Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser rearranged one or two of these lovely stanzas, as one of her lyrics with refrain[1]. *Cf.* A. Geddes, *The Songs of Craig and Bos*, vol. ii, 1955.

[1] The kertch is spoken of in many songs, in which a lover hopes to place it on his young love's head, or a husband praises its whiteness as worn by his wife. When first I knew the Lews, the kertch was still commonly worn under the more recent Lowland mutch, and either framed a young face, or an old one, charmingly. The two have not quite vanished, though memories of what the kertch once symbolized are hard to find.

885 in thy kertch!" and counsels her to be hospitable yet wise,
537 and courageous though calm; to be frank yet tactful, dignified though kind. The themes of this ode's melodious
885 verse recall the virtues of a wife enumerated mnemonically
538 in the acrostic which concludes the Book of Proverbs.
593 For in that, too, there is mention of "strength and dignity, wisdom and kindness", and the poor are not forgotten as the wife goes tirelessly about her work, sets her servants to their tasks and sells her merchandise at a profit. Yet the acrostic's emphasis on the wife's work and its gain reveal the writer as a shrewd citizen seeking to train a wife to ceaseless exertion and business dealing, with her husband's private profit and public honour as a most important end! The singer of 'The Kertch'—man or woman, one cannot tell—thought of conduct not for its profit first, but for its virtue, and dwelt upon motive, mind and heart.[1]

105 To tide over the supreme crisis of childbirth the mother
844 was strengthened in confidence, courage and calm. The need was the greater before modern midwifery. In Sutherland as late as 1908, a good professional nurse tending a difficult case of childbirth, anxious and powerless without doctor, found comfort, hinted to older wisdom. The patient's mother first filled a small basin with water into
[788] which she put trinkets of gold and silver. "She then held the basin to her dying daughter's lips, and made her drink three mouthfuls of the water, each mouthful in the name of Father, and of Son, and of Spirit, 'the three Persons of the Trinity invoked in prayer, *Tri Pears na Trianaid chaoimh chumhachdach*'. Soon after, the child came . . .

[113]

[1] *Am Bruid*, 'The Kertch'. *Carmina*, No. 116. Its quiet paraphrase by Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser, set to a lovely air and refrain, will be found in *From the Hebrides*. First published (imperfectly) in *Neither Lochaber* by the Rev. Alexander Stewart (1882, p. 4) with delightful notes

105 and all was well. . . . 'How the trinkets in the water
844 could affect the case', continued the nurse, 'I do not know, but that some occult power was at work . . . I am
788 certain.'"[1] As to the gold, did not the Magi offer the same 'magic' at the Nativity? Is a drink of water not the
844 simplest physic to cool a fevered system? Is not each
788 Name of the Trinity, breathed by a mother to her daughter in labour in her turn, a Word of tender power and courage: while the slow rhythm of the three Names may calm the wild beasts which had brought on haemorrhage, and lead to safe delivery?

771 Throughout life there prevailed the concept of God as 'encompassing' man, woman or child, old or young, in their weakness. This image is ancient, and is found in the Psalms (10, 12, 32, 142). So long as faith were alive the Lord's aid might be called upon for another in need of help, or for one's own protection. To clarify the concept, unseen, by help of a thing seen, a circle was drawn with the hand round oneself or another, in fear, danger or distress.[2] By such innocent aid the people strengthened confidence in sickness and resistance in temptation, and concentrated prayer for delivery from evil.

888 As age approached, its gifts were honoured. For in
[271] age, experience, tempered by labour, is leavened by leisure; the experience won on land and sea, or in group-farm and home, can be weighed. And gifts of feeling, sown in childhood and growing through life, ripen as grandchildren come in from their herding or play to listen and learn.
[538] When manuscripts or books were unobtainable, readings rarely heard, and the people illiterate, teaching could only

[1] *Carmina*, vol. iv, p. 283.
[2] *Carmina*, vol. iv, Notes; cf. Nos. 248-250, etc. Encircling or circuiting symbolically, was also known by a word of which only the literal meaning is here known to most: *cuartachadh*.

888 be given by ear and learning come by heart. Hence elders
538 were the holders of an inheritance of treasures which must be sought from them or be lost for ever. But to be transmitted, the word must remain alive in the mind. Thus both the faculty of memory and the fruit it bore in an elder's mind brought respect, even veneration. Accuracy in retelling is still immensely valued, but so, too, were thoughtful commentary and poetic enrichment. Respect for elders, though general, was not given blindly, but personally and by choice.

888 As handed down, the Fifth Commandment runs:
271 "Honour thy parents and hold them in loving regard"
562 (*Striochd dha do pharantan 's thoir speis dhaibh*).[1] The community was pervaded by the Christian concept of a Holy Family, rather than by that of a patriarchate. This concept took root from the first missions to the Celtic community, with which it harmonised and which formed fertile ground for this Christian seed. Hence there was no general assertion of paternal, still less of patriarchal, authority at the expense of youth. Where equal honour is due to both parents, the mother finds equal duty and regard with the father. And although the home is close at hand while the mother's may be a little distance away, her parents are likely to be the younger and the more active and helpful to their grandchildren, and the influence of all four grandparents fairly balanced.

[184] The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are named
[773] in a hymn of the Lews, sung when going up with the flocks
[771] and herds to the shielings; even this may be a Presbyterian
[171] adaptation (*Carmina*). But until the overwhelming weight
[175]

[1] Rev. Allan Macfonald, p. 62, *Na Faistean*. The omission of the Mosaic paternal precedence may be a courtesy to motherhood implying equality in parenthood.

539

CH. VIII RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

795 but still more to their repeated justification in the name
771 of the Lord 'God'. 'God' the universal (*Elohim*) came
536 to be identified with the tribal god Jahveh or Yahweh,
[792] altered, late in Jewish history, to "the LORD God", the
000 term still used in Bibles. The war cry of the Jewish tribes,
they swept in from the desert or tightened their hold
upon citizens and cultivators, was that of many wild
wanderers, before and since, who have cried upon their
God of Battles, upon Jahveh, or Allah. Magnificent in its
affirmations of righteousness, the Old Testament can be
terrible in its details of piety.

795 The Bible (literally *Biblia*, the Books) reflects the search
771 of a people through centuries towards the idea of God;
536 but the tragedy of the Bible, or rather of its historic misuse,
came with the acceptance of all 'Scripture' as equal in
inspiration and truth. The early and the late were accepted
together, the mixed or false with the true. The custom of
seeking Divine guidance by simply opening a page of 'the
blessed Book'—that is, any text on any page of any one
of its books—was an example of such acceptance; and it
[795] was only possible for the literate. In Lewis, Macfarlane
records the custom, practised by 'The Men', late in the
nineteenth century.

Reading came late to the Islanders, but its effects were
178 as direct as among the Puritans or Covenanters at an earlier
178 period. The people, whose hearts had long since been
771 wrung with pity at the Crucifixion and who were steeped
[538] in reverence for the Gospels, became 'changed' indeed.
[2172] Once their minds had been crushed by the Old Testa-
[795] ment's massive weight, the 'change' was reinforced by the
vision of a world to come, limned by fevered imagination
in the New Testament's finale, the Apocalypse. The
'change' was brought by Evangelicals who had themselves

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

178 developed through the township Grazing Committees by
178 the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society and its
44 associated Crofters' Agency. Lime and fertilisers were
[792] purchased, and wool and other products sold, co-oper-
000 atively. The co-operative marketing of lobsters, taking
[2222] advantage of fluctuating London prices, has led to the
reconstruction of ponds for storage. By these and other
[538] means, government assistance is utilised but not squan-
dered; earlier initiative in agricultural organisation is
reinforced; and communal tradition is revived, linked
to personal responsibility through the crofters' lifelong
knowledge of one another.

As to the future, all agreed that unless the Harris Tweed
[795] industry flourished, with work at reasonable wages, the
villages would be abandoned by the young, perhaps with
[829] no return such as hitherto on 'retirement'. Many young
people are content with life in the townships, provided
they can get a living there, though not all, for they are
somewhat divided; and work elsewhere, even in the mills
of Stornoway, is a counter-attraction.

Social life is undergoing changes which operate both
178 for and against the retention of the young. On one hand,
538 household interchange of conversation, song and story,
[538] the ceilidh, has declined. On the other hand, one found
that, as regards religious prohibitions, and in spite of the
178 nervous tension expressed in 'Revivals', the young have
771 won greater freedom. Near one village a Nissen hut,
[635] handed over to the Home Guard, was also used by young
people for monthly dances. When I asked a young crofter
[635] invalided from the Navy whether the Elders of the Kirk
made no protest, he replied that they had, but had to give
it up: "They see that we won't stand for it." This
would have been unthinkable during the First World War,

100

THE MAKING OF THE CROFTING LANDSCAPE

17 All landscapes in these islands have roots in the distant past. Park is no exception. Yet many
crofting traditional features have been significantly modified or even obliterated by the twentieth
[12] century. Some have been significantly extended or significantly contracted in the greater pattern, and
changes in the relative importance of the various components of the crofting landscape have
[12] occurred. The crofting landscape has its beginnings in the late seventeenth century, although there
are traces of earlier settlement.

Archaeological evidence, in the form of a stone assisted found near Shawbost, a fort on the
[17] Dun Lochan, Loch Ceann Ear, and a medieval chapel at Gisla, Gress, provides the earliest
[17] record of human settlement in Park. Place-name evidence indicates Norse settlement, and
[17] the place-name Ceann Ear (Gaelic, Ceann Ear, 'the East end') is thought to be a Gaelic
[17] re-interpretation of the Norse Austrheim, a name which is the equivalent of Eastern
[17] Gaelic Ceann Ear. Place-name evidence is also suggestive of Norse or Norse-influenced
[17] settlement at Gisla and Tendhamnt settlement. All the present township names contain Norse elements,
[17] as do most of the coastal and inshore place-names.

The name Park is derived from the Gaelic 'Pàirc' (in the gen. or dat. case 'Pàirce'), and the name
[17] is thought to be a reference to the Deer Forest of Harris, the east mainland. During the eighteenth century, a tithe
[17] or rent was levied on the inhabitants of Harris and Lochs Bayhurst, Seaforth, and Stornoway for the upkeep of
[17] chiefs' tithe, to enclose the deer forest. Before the enclosure of the forest, the inhabitants of Harris
[17] had been allowed to hunt the deer, but after the enclosure, the tithe was paid instead. Although the name Park
[648] is thought to be a Gaelic name, it is also the name of an enclosure in Dip in the Netherlands which dates from the
[17] seventeenth century. Thus it may well be that after the Norse population had revived, linked
[17] with the Netherlands, they took over place-name practice.

[17] It is believed that settlement in what is now the Deer Forest began about 1850. Confirmation of
[17] this came from an unpublished manuscript by Donald Ian Macleod, who was living in Stornoway
[538] in Lochs some after 1900. In the song, the author laments the fact that he may never see the Forest
[537] again, and says of Park:

Tha mi ann cuimhn-ne bhith
Bhith fo bhròn aig na bodach
D'am bu chòmnaidh na dromain.

"I deplore the state of the forest ... that I should be in subjection to the cattle whose
[17] ancestors had been a cause of great joy." Macleod, who was a bard, sang. The song gives no indication of
[17] the date of the clearances, but it does indicate that the forest was a place of settlement in Park.

[17] The first documentary evidence of settlement in the present crofting area is the Judicial Rental
[537] of Lewis, taken by the Fortrieve Estate Commissioner, Colin Clan, in 1718. Clan listed the names of
[17] major tenants, living in Shawbost, Carishader, and Gisla (Gress) - all situated along the
[17] southern shores of Loch Erisort. There is local tradition that Kershader and Melfing were sheilings

1 The editor is indebted to Miss Bridget M. Cherry, B.A., B.Lit. for an analysis and
[17] evaluation of the place-name evidence - see Appendix C.

2 For this extremely interesting information and the translation, the editor is indebted to Mr.
[17] William Matheson, M.A., of the Department of Celtic, Edinburgh University.

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[12] of the township with the larger society, and examines
[12] the effect of geographical and social marginality on
the boundedness of the township network. Chapter 6
discusses two important networks of social relations
within the township.

B. Township as Social Boundary System

632 The township constitutes a relatively firmly bounded
[12] system, though its boundaries are weaker than formerly
when the township was relatively self-sufficient
[494] economically. Township members worked together in small
fishing crews, and families relied on each other for
help when members of the family were away from the island
[12] on the fishing.

Relatives were expected to give priority to helping
[592] each other. According to one proverb, "A relative is
[592] your best friend." First and second cousins were
[538] considered especially close, but knowledge of one's
[538] kinsmen extended to at least the fourth generation.
[632] Ties of kinship became evident in ceremonies such as
[570] funerals and weddings. One Gaelic proverb says, "You
[570] know who your relatives are at weddings and funerals."
[632] At weddings the onus was on the members of the bridal
[538] party to remember their relatives. "You have to sit
[546] and calculate who is closely related, and all those

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[621] used on different occasions, for example, to discourage
[621] deviant behavior or certain marital alliances. Any sign
[582] of physical or emotional disability in someone planning
to get married invites an attempt by other villagers to
discourage an alliance. According to a Gaelic proverb,
[538] "If you want to be praised, die; if you want to be
criticised, marry (Na tha thu airson do sholadh, bàsaich;
na tha thu airson do chàineadh, sòrd)." The villagers
[621] consider not only the behavior of the person but of his
[621] ancestors. The individual is perceived as belonging to
[582] a family unit which through many generations has manifested
certain physical and behavioral traits. Traits of behavior
such as shyness, heavy drinking, stealing and tight-
fistedness are interpreted as hereditary traits. "It's in
the blood (Tha e anns an t'fhuil)." "It's in the people."
[143] Particular occupations are also associated with families.
Storeowner, which is not so "urban" as to have a constant
turnover of population, contains many examples of
occupations passed down through generations.

In Chapter 3 I mentioned the development of several
[632] groups in the crofting township which seem to be in conflict
578 with the township as a strongly bounded system. People
who keep only sheep have come to blows with those who keep
both sheep and cattle; and a distinction between crofters
and non-crofters may be seen. Many persons have preferred

794 given at Christmas; in Lewis, Christmas is identified
481 with Catholicism, and is an institution which arouses
187 suspicion with New Year. To give two examples, a New
527 Year's dance is given, but not a Christmas dance; and
774 the mills continue working on Christmas if it occurs
187 on a week day, but close for at least two days at New
Year's. In Shawbost, hannan is defined as a party
associated with Hogmanay (New Year's eve).

In the recent past, until about ten years ago,
527 the boys dressed in women's clothes or wore masks. They
178 took turns wearing a cow's skin as they went from house
to house. In each house, the boy wearing the skin was
[538] hit by the others as he chanted the rann na hannar (rhyme
of the hannar):

Here I come again renewing Christmas
(Or, in another version: this is the New Year's night.)
I'll take the bread without the butter,
And the butter without the bread,
And the cheese by itself.
If you don't give me my bit handed,
Then this I refuse in a mangy potato.
It gives a heavy feeling.
It's not healthy.
If you don't give me my bit of butter and my lump of
cheese,
Everything you possess will be gotten by the crows
on St. Patrick's Day.

527 As the hainish na hannaran left the house in which
[143] they had received gifts, they blessed it. All food and
178 money was given to the woman who prepared the hannar.
[788] Today children tend to receive money from man
food, and use some of the money to buy sweets at the post

791 press themselves in terms of religious values and ideas, the fear
[143] of having committed unforgivable sin. The normal adjustment,
[538] reflections and mental stocktaking of middle life are possibly more
[538] readily precipitated towards depression in an emotional people
[159] prone to serious thought. This brings of course a concomitant
spectrum of problems in an area where in general a maid is expected to take a dram and stand it; lush nature and nurture are relevant factors. In the words of Cunningham Graham (1899), the medical adviser finds himself 'preaching teetotalism, that is for others, but himself taking his pint of whisky for the reason which have been so cogently set forth by St Paul the Apostle to the Calcdonians.' For those who comment in isolation on community's indulgence in alcohol, one must quote a Gaelic proverb: '*Tha cnuidseg fàsis an ceann gach fuid*'—Every peat end has its own smoke.

From the earlier times the Western Isles have indeed been regarded as supporting a population with an uncanny preference for spiritous liquors. To a certain extent the spirits were
[538] preceded by ill-nourished crofters to keep out the damp and cold when on the moors or at sea; and perhaps in a depressed economic or mental condition fell well within the range of the
available drugs—forgetting the old Gaelic proverb 'Better the little fire that will warm than the great fire that will burn.' The evil effects of drinking have certainly at times been serious: in 1869 Sir James Matheson addressed a circular letter of remonstrance to his tenants, calculating that those guilty of misconduct were liable to be deprived of their holdings. In 1920 a vote was taken in Stornoway under the Scottish Temperance Act, with the result that the town went 'dry'; three years later the poll was upheld. Then in 1926, with a majority of 84, Stornoway went 'wet' again.

[215] But the 'drink question' has been given undue prominence as
[733] dragged out of its island context. For instance, Wilson (1961)
[733] claims all but three of the licensed premises on the island (at Tarbert, Rodel and Carloway) and, as the chief centre for business and pleasure, must naturally attract anyone seeking refreshment

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

788 592 354 539 (in Gaelic) by a housewife in a Catholic isle, as our friendship matured. It had been said nightly at her fire by her father-in-law until his death (not long before), which had come after that of his wife. "I smoo'r the fire tonight, As Mary's Son smoo'red. Be it well with house and fire; Be it well with all our household. Who are on this floor? Peter and Paul. Who are on watch tonight? Light-white Mary and her Son. Thus God's voice taught, And the Angel spoke: The Angel at my house door, Until the clear day come tomorrow. Amen." As this variant shows, memory still lives in the Isles.[1]

788 593 776 [779] In these runes, the key to the words "as Mary's Son and as Mary did, in their day" is the example of filial duty, of wifely and motherly care. In spite of lapses to 'Mariolatry' during periods of decadence in the Roman Church, the virtual banishment of Christ's mother from Protestantism has led to a loss deeper than Presbyterian Scotland has yet realised. Her name was a daily reminder, both of a woman's part in the spiritual life of the home, and of a son's self-discipline and affection: in a word, of mutual love.

788 [236] [286] [461] [127] [538] For wool, the sheep were blessed, as in the "Clipping Blessing". There were blessings of the loom and of warping and weaving; and after neighbourly fulling or 'waulking' of the finished web, came its consecration. As the work was solitary and communal in turn, so the prayer. Carmichael's own fine prose translations should be studied (*Carmina*, vol. i, Nos. 108-113; cf. vol. iv, pp. 88-99). Yet, those being available, we quote rhythmic

[113] [1] Cf. Rev. Allan Macdonald, *Comh-chruinneachadh*, p. 107; *Carmina* (Nos. 84-87, 324-326); and M. Kennedy-Fraser, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. ii, p. 31. Sacred lore is not to be picked up lightly by a stranger. It was only upon the second of my prolonged stays under her hospitable roof that this good woman would admit and impart her knowledge, treasured in the secret places of her heart

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

538 versions to suggest the significant poetic form of the original.

788 236 "The Clipping Blessing", being addressed to creatures, is simple in thought and form, and its opening may be rendered:

> O come back woolly, though now you're shorn,
> By May, may each a lamb have borne,
> May lovely Bride you endow,
> And Mary fair sustain you now!

[825] [538] It goes on to beg protection from wolf and bear, as well as fox, hoodie crow and eagle, and closes with the opening couplet.

236 461 From start to finish the work must be true. The wool is from the sheep they reared—it is not got by 'thigging', as a landlord takes 'gifts' from poor tenants; the yarn is sound with no odds of thread from worn-out cloth; the web is their very own, not the clergyman's due (*Carmina*, 786 110, 113, 109). Only so can the goodwife's web be beauti- 788 ful, and blest. "Thrums nor odds of thread, my hand never kept nor shall keep. Every hue in the bow-of-the- [539] shower has gone through my fingers beneath the cross." [593] The weaver, with her household cares and her bairns about her, to be clear in mind must be calm in heart as, thread by [796] thread, she prepares her warp. To start, she chooses Saint Columba's Day.

[539]

> Thursday of blessings
> For warping and waulking,
> Thrice fifty strands
> To number . . .
>
> Ward away the evil eye!
> Or evil will, or aught awry,
> Consecrate, O Lord on High,
> My Loom . . .

771 xviii. 19-20). The worldly wise might think that the
794 spiritual fare of these poor folk must have been lean indeed;
while others, having heard much of the Highlanders'
[113] pagan' superstitions, may think even worse! The evi-
[538] dence from which to judge is found in survivals from a
rich lore, and for most readers seen but 'darkly' through
prose translations from the poetry of a tongue now known
to few.

771 The richest collection is Alexander Carmichael's *Car-*
538 *mina Gadelica (Ortha nan Gaidheal)*.[1] Others were made
by the Rev. Fr. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay, and by the
Rev. Kenneth Macleod with Mrs. M. Kennedy-Fraser in
the *Songs of the Hebrides*. Included here are unpublished
verses given by crofter-friends in the Isles and others from
Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection,[2] hitherto untranslated.
What still remains has come down to us only by narrow
771 escapes. One is reminded of 'Father Allan's' early
• 539 death, after nursing his parishioners through an epi-
demic; and Carmichael's escape from drowning as "on

113 [1] *Carmina Gadelica: Ortha Nan Gaedheal*. Hymns and incantations
114 with illustrative notes on words, rites and customs, dying and obsolete:
orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and translated into
English; vols. i and ii (1st ed., 1900; 2nd ed., 1928); vol. iii, 1940; vol. iv,
1941. The last two volumes were edited by the collector's grandson, Prof.
James Carmichael Watson, whose death as an Ordinary Seaman in war is
mourned by his friends, and has been described as a disaster to the cause
of Gaelic, and of humane learning in Scotland. One more volume edited
by James C. Watson awaits publication. In following, quotations are
referred to as from *Carmina*, followed by the number of the rune: Nos.
1-216, vols. i and ii; and Nos. 217-351, vol. iii. Vol. iv contains varied
lore.)

[2] Of all these four, the least known is Fr. Allan Macdonald's little
collection, *Comh-Chruinneachadh de Laoidhean Spiraodail*, Hugh Macdonald,
Oban, 1893. It was privately printed, and lacks a translation and table of
contents. There could be no finer memorial to this man and the community
whose spiritual life he helped to record than a new edition of all its ancient
Gaelic 'spiritual songs', with the addition of others he wrote down before
his death in 1905, and perhaps, of some of his own poems, notably his famous
Eilean na h-Aige, "Isle of the Young".

771 a night of black mistiness . . . he waded nearly breast-
• 539 high" through the dangerous South Ford of Benbecula,
"conscious only of the roll and the singing of waters
and the rhythm of a poem he had taken down a few
hours before"—"The Invocation of the Graces", so
nearly lost with him! Much that Carmichael learned was
given him under a seal of confidence he never broke,
although he mourned the loss this meant. The confidence
he inspired—which even those who knew him only in their
childhood remember for life—was a source of his quiet,
unfailing power.

796 The following begins with the runes and rites of labour,
784 throughout the day, week and year, on land and sea and
[221] at home. Turning to the day of rest and to congregational
worship, one must enquire as to the presence of the clergy,
and question closely how far the people had access to the
Bible throughout the centuries: were they really cut off
from its riches, from its essence, as the Reformers and the
Evangelicals of last century asserted with such vehemence?
One can then turn to the runes and rites which opened the
phases of life, from birth to maturity, marriage and parent-
hood, leading at last to life's close.

128 But no social inheritance is without its burden. Having
181 told of the foundations of faith, something must be said
771 in the next chapter of the negative or superstitious side of
Island belief, of temptations and evils which the people
could face, and of others to which they submitted in
[124] ignorance. From the evidence of faith and wisdom, or
error, one must attempt some evaluation of attainment by
single souls and by the community, and of the power and
fullness of life in common.

175 As recorded by Carswell (and Martin), this prayer,
226 after calling upon the Trinity, tells that the Three-in-One,
788 ever living, guided Clan Israel through the Red Sea,
713 brought Jonah to land from the belly of the great ocean
beast, and led Paul and his companions from the torment
of the sea; after these three stanzas it closes with a general
supplication. As heard by Carmichael three centuries after
Carswell, the first three stanzas are identical, but they are
followed by the culmination. Recalling the hour "when
the storm poured on the Sea of Galilee . . .", the poem
goes on, "Be Thou, King of the elements, seated at our
helm, And lead us in peace to our voyage's end. . . ."
It is significant that the Reformation Liturgy includes the
story of Clan Israel's flight from their enemy whose
drowning forms the climax of the tale, and the absurd
miracle of the whale—a late interpolation in the con-
vincing original Hebrew poem on Jonah's voyage,[1]—but
that it omits the Christian climax, of the storm allayed by
Christ, the Helmsman of peace.

[539] Another fishers' rune (No. 120) concludes, "To whom
trembles the voice of the wind? To whom become tranquil
strait and ocean? To Jesus Christ, Chief of each saint,
Son of Mary, Root of Victory." These blessings, though
they refer to the Old Testament, dwell lovingly on the New.
Their thought is of the fishermen friends, Peter, Andrew
and John, of the Baptist and of Christ's mother, of Saint
Martin and later apostles to the Gael, and the Archangels,
and of Christ, Rock of rocks (*Carraig dil*), and the Trinity.
226 These bring strength in danger, peace after strife with the
776 elements, remembrance of the poor, and fellowship to the
crews. Peace and strength pervade the "Dawn Prayer of

[1] R. G. Moulton, *Modern Reader's Bible* (revised, 1935, pp. 1423-1424;
cf. Note to Matt. xii. 40, p. 1696).

788 Clanranald"[1] and echo in the opening benediction of
226 Alexander Macdonald's "*Birlinn* of Clanranald", without
which his 'Galley', for all the glory of its strife with
storm, would never have won its place in the heart of the
seafaring Gael.

788 As for journeys over sea, so for those over land, "Tra-
484 versing corries, traversing forests, traversing valleys, long
and wild . . .", the traveller or pilgrim, the drover or
emigrant, leaving home and his friends, would have their
prayers. They would accompany him on the first steps
of his way with cheer and laughter or with tears, as those
have told me who remembered my grandfather's leaving
• [539] his home in Strath Spey more than a century ago. These
journey-blessings were spoken by the traveller: "Life be
in my speech, sense in what I say . . .", or by those to
whom he was dear. (*Carmina*, No. 116; *Guidheachan*
Turais, Nos. 266-276.) In these prayers, bodily travel
and spiritual quest are sustained on the mountain-track by
the strength of home-ties and fellowship, and by the hos-
pitality of Christians on the path ahead.

When family and neighbour-team were closely knit,
their own harmony drew the stranger in. "The Rune of
Hospitality", threaded together from old fragments by
the Rev. Kenneth MacLeod, breaks out into the refrain
of the lark as she sings to the listening heart of the host:
[539] "Many, a many, a time a time, Comes the Christ in the
stranger's guise!"[2] Hospitality is truest when its sacri-
fice—so real in a land of poverty—is given as a duty but
with a smile!

[1] *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, pp. ix-x.

[2] "*Cur mòrag, a mòrag, a mòrag . . .!*" "*Duan na h-aoighaachd*". (*An*
Guidhiel, Dec. 1941.)

(b) SACRAMENTS OF THE HEARTH AND THE PLAIDING

788 For shelter and life by the hearth there are noble runes.
592 The house with its household was blessed, when newly
built by a bridegroom's friends, yearly after its thatching,
364 or regularly at nightfall. The blessing was said by the
goodman in the presence of his family and helper-neigh-
bours, or intimately by either of the parents as they went
to rest (*Carmina*, Nos. 44, 45).

In the darkness of the 'black house' the fire was a
354 centre of warmth and light, of life and union. "The
Blessing of the Living" (the Fire) was said by the house-
wife as she rekindled or, rather, uncovered the sleeping
788 embers when she rose. Those who, tired or in want,
592 have ever lit a fire in darkness may best feel, in her words,
how the glow without kindles the light within.
351
• 539 "I will kindle my fire today in presence of the angels . . .
Without malice . . . or fear . . . of any one under the
sun,
But the Holy Son of God to shield me."

And then (as the dim glow lightens and warms): "God,
kindle Thou in my heart within, A flame of love to my
neighbour, To my foe, to my friend, to my kindred all,
To the brave, to the knave, to the thrall. . . . From the
lowliest thing that hath To the name that is highest of
all (*Gu rwig an t-Aiteim is aiste*)." In spirit this reaches
universality; its verse-form is purest poetry (*Carmina*,
No. 82).

For the covering, smothering or smoo'ring of the
embers at night, the following was said to me not long ago

788 (in Gaelic) by a housewife in a Catholic isle, as our friend-
512 ship matured. It had been said nightly at her fire by her
364 father-in-law until his death (not long before), which had
• 539 come after that of his wife. "I smoo'r the fire tonight,
As Mary's Son smoo'red. Be it well with house and fire;
Be it well with all our household. Who are on this floor?
Peter and Paul. Who are on watch tonight? Light-white
Mary and her Son. Thus God's voice taught, And the
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day come tomorrow. Amen." As this variant shows,
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as a landlord takes 'gifts' from poor tenants; the yarn is
sound with no odds of thread from worn-out cloth; the
web is their very own, not the clergyman's due (*Carmina*,
786 110, 113, 109). Only so can the goodwife's web be beauti-
788 ful, and bleat. "Thrums nor odds of thread, my hand
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[194] thread, she prepares her warp. To start, she chooses Saint
Columba's Day.

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Thursday of blessings
For warping and waulking,
Thrice fifty strands
To number . . .

Ward away the evil eye!
Or evil will, or aught awry,
Consecrate, O Lord on High,
My Loom . . .

286 Make smooth and even the warp of my loom
788 And grant thy blessing, God, on me,
• 539 On all who here find shelter and room
And dwelling . . .

Thine arm be round each woman here
Who waulks this web of mine,
O aid her in her hour of need . . .

Keep the flock that we may win
Sweet and nourishing milk to drink
And wool to give, to weans and kin,
For wear!

Even now in Harris or the Lews, a brief good wish may be uttered—a "Health and strength to the wearers!" as the perspiring women end the waulking; but in the past the web was finally consecrated. Each of the family who was to wear a portion of it was named by the weaver herself, who led the consecration (*Carmina*, No. 113).

May the well-loved wearer of my web
Never be wounded . . .
May the sanctuary shield of the Lord be his. . . .

286 The significance of this gift of hard-won cloth can now
532 be seen, first for the family but next for the neighbourly
614 team. We can understand how each 'set' or pattern of
[593] tartan stood for the spirit of the family and the group of
[621] kin and homeland, the clan. We conceive what it meant
to the Gael when the tartan, with "the Highland dress
[291] . . . or any part of it whatsoever", was forbidden "to
any man or boy" in the Highlands. Women were still
allowed to wear it, it was true, but the dress ceased to be
a symbol of community when its wear was confined to
[714] one sex. As a single exception, the Highland dress was
[175] retained for soldiers, but the militarisation of the tartan—
though it seized upon one strand of clanship, that of

771 single example may be given; so far as I know, it is un-
773 recorded. I learned it in South Uist, where Catholic and
Protestant mingle in tolerance and sympathy; it had been
[125] told by an old woman, a Catholic, to a young neighbour, a
[795] Protestant fisherman's son, later a minister.[1]

The story takes place after the Crucifixion. It may be
• 539 remembered that in the Gospels not a word is said of Jesus's
771 mother after His farewell to her from the Cross (John,
xix. 26). He—or she—who first conceived the legend may
have asked, would not a mother visit the tomb of the son
she had just lost? And surely she who at His birth had
cried, "My soul magnifies the Lord . . . my Saviour",
would be the first to seek Him out after His death? The
legend tells that, on the second day of the Entombment,
Mary, Jesus's mother, in an agony of mourning and sus-
pense, visited the tomb of her son, calling upon Him with
many an endearing name. From the tomb He answered
that she would be consoled, for He would arise. And He
told her that because of the depth of her love, of all forms
of human love a mother's would be accounted the highest
for ever after.

771 The Gael had fused the grandeur of the Old Testament
536 with the hope and humanity of the New; for them the
light of dawn on sea and snow awoke the light within. A
last example is taken from two fragments forming part of
[788] a single theme, perhaps of one original poem.[2] Chanted
[113]

[1] It is interesting to compare this quiet legend with the late Roman (and Episcopalian) "Apostles' Creed", apparently based on the vivid story in the *Gospel of Bartholomew*: after Christ "was crucified, dead, and buried. He descended into hell" (hades). Montagu R. James (translator), *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 1924.

[2] *Carmina Gadelica*, 301, 197. No translation can be perfect, and Carmichael offers alternatives: line 6, "*Ti nan dul*, Being of life", or "of the elements"; l. 13, "light on the plain" or "the land", *fearann*. The last line is intimate and simple: "The hour (or era) God's Son came in (among us)," a *steach*, as into a dwelling.

771 as the days lengthened during Christmastide, old style,
538 it may be called "The Rune of the World's Light".
788

The world, ere came the Son of God,
was black, a bog forlorn:
• 539 Void of sun, moon or star,
void of body, heart or form.

'Twas Mary Mother lowly kneeled,
and gave the Inmost Being birth;
Darkness and tears were driven afar,
the guiding star rose over earth.

Light on the land, the deep illumed
from sullen pool to ocean stream;
Grief was laid and joy was raised,
with praise and hail and harping free.

Light on the hills, light on the plains,
light o'er grey-green sea and firth;
Light o'er all the world as one,
the hour God's Son came down to earth.

(6) THE CYCLE OF LIFE

796 The stages in life's sequence are marked by noble
852 runes, of baptism, initiation in adolescence, betrothal and
88 marriage, childbirth, and of confession and consolation in
584 trials throughout life and, at its close, of farewell. As might
be fitting, the benedictions were given by either man or
woman; to a child by a parent or elder; to the young and
strong by the wise; and by lovers to one another. And
in the past, especially in trial, the 'soul-friend' ministered
—*an anam-chara*, a neighbour chosen from lifelong friend-
ships for steadfastness and understanding.

852 At birth a babe was baptized; and in the name of
Father, Son and Holy Spirit the nurse placed three drops

811 the invocation was addressed to boys and girls, in Uist to
869 youths and maidens. The loveliest version of all had been
538 spoken by an old, evicted woman and learned from her by
867 a lad who, as a poor crofter in old age, passed it down for
record, for ever. Of this invocation Carmichael wrote,
"Probably it was composed to a maiden on her marriage.
The phrase '*eala dhonn*', brown swan, would indicate
that the girl was young—not yet a white swan", a tender
and delicate recognition of youth still to attain perfection.
869 Not a thought jars, each stanza building up the rising move-
538 ment of the whole. In the hundred lines of this poem,
metre and assonance are regular except where growing
intensity creates new rhythm and design; and the last
vowel-rhyme of each stanza leads on to those of the next
one, to form an unbroken ascent to the climax.[1]

869 The Invocation begins, "I bathe thy palms. . . . And
• 539 I place the nine pure choice graces in thy fair fond face.
867 The grace of form . . . of fortune . . . of goodness . . .
of wisdom . . . of charity . . . of choice maidenliness
[114]

[1] Certain critics, struck with the variety of the poem but missing its thought-sequence and unity of form, took Carmichael's note of 'many fragments' to imply that the poem was a composite version, piously restored by the editor—in spite of his statement that it was taken down from a single reciter (one Duncan Macfellan). Carmichael's spiritual power of evoking treasures from the reciters was inseparable from his utter honesty. And the publication, forty years later, of four Invocations and of scores of fragments (cf. No. 277) has added (to the internal evidence cited) further proof that the poem was no editorial assemblage. Without doubt, the poem has grown from the inspired meditation of generations of poet-worshippers in a hundred glens and isles. But the English reader should realise what the Gaelic ear may hear: this poem forms an organic unity; though many petalled it is a single flower. Readers familiar with medieval or earlier chants know that the enumeration of attributes is a feature common to all, whether in Church Latin or other tongues, as in the English medieval hymn beginning, "God in my head, and in my understanding". In Gaelic, however, the richness and freedom of the vowel-pattern and rhythms carries the thought onward, wave on wave to its climax. A foremost poet of France, Pierre Emmanuel, to whom I introduced this poem, exclaimed, "This is a Christian Song of Songs!"

869 . . . of whole-souled loveliness . . . of winning speech."
• 539 Then, after the tender image of the brown swan and fare-
867 well on departure to a new home, comes a string of ex-
quisite comparisons: to shade and shelter in need, to safety
of isle and strength of fortress, to gift of health for the ailing.
Each grace, each image, expresses not simply individual
qualities but relationships and service for others. After
eight choice lines in praise of the girl's womanly gifts—
from "Thine is the faith of Mary", through chosen attri-
butes of Bride, the Fairy Woman, Penelope, Emir, Darthula
and Maeve, to "the charm of the sweet singer (*Binne-
bheul*)"—the poem, in Gaelic that is sonorous and succinct,
passes beyond the sphere of comparison with things or even
personal qualities. It acclaims her joyous girlhood as one
with the powers of life-giving, life-abundant things, and
as a reflection of the Divine:

Thou'rt the joy in every delight,
Thou the sunbeam's radiant light;
Thou'rt the gate of a welcoming chief,
Thou the clearest star to lead;
Thou'rt the step of the deer on a height,
Thou the pace of a steed ere the fight;
Thou'rt the calm of a gliding swan;
of longings thou'rt the loveliness.

The lovely likeness of the Lord
Is in thy pure face,
The loveliest form
Was ere on earth.[1]

[538] [1] Poetic form is integral to the conception; hence this translation in
[192] verse. But alternatives to Carmichael's choice of English prose may compli-
ment his own, in bringing out the meaning. Line 1, '*joy*', *ronas*—and a
delightful or wonderful thing[1]; *ni eibhinn*; l. 3, *dorus*, doorway; l. 4,
ial, guidance, land-mark, way; l. 6, *steud*, steed, would imply, in *Ailr*, 'a
field' of battle, and, by contrast, l. 7, *stimh eal*, calm (rather than 'grace')
of a floating, swimming swan; l. 8, *rún*, secret inclination, longing, and hence
too, a person beloved; ll. 9, 11, *cruth*, form, shapeliness (and by implication),

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

8 STORNOWAY

STORNOWAY is the only real town in the Hebrides. Some even say that it is the only real town in the world, as its basic living patterns are those of the countryside from which it sprang. It has always been held in high regard by the islanders. In the past it was regarded as one of the most important places in the civilised world: a saying attributed to a primitive native has passed into a proverb: *'steornabhagh mhor a' chaisteal —baile 's mosha 'th'air an t-saoghal gu leir ach Bail'-ath-Cliath an Eirinn—'s iongantach nach eil an Righ fhein a' tighinn a comhnuigh ann!'* ('Stornoway the great, with its Castle, the largest town in the wide world, except Dublin in Ireland; surprising it is that the King himself does not reside therein!') The affectionate name for the town is 'Portrona', Port of Seals, which it is. A son of Stornoway once said, 'The founder of Portrona must have been some sea rover with a good eye for a refuge from the storm and the peril of his calling. No matter what winds rage outside, within the bay the mariner may drop his anchor, furl his sails, and take his ease.'

When the Vikings first came to the western isles of what was later in history to become Scotland, they found a sandy spit of land on which they could beach their longships in a sheltered bay. It was, however, more than a haven; it was a place in which to settle down and rear the first of many generations. Later the Norse-derived MacLeods took advantage of an outcrop of rock beside the beach to build a fortress. Later again a greenheart pier, and later still a concrete wharf, have given the town the outward symbols of economic and social significance.

Stornoway owes its origin to the Stornoway Beds, a sedimentary formation much younger than the Lewisian gneiss. These Beds have had two effects. First, their existence and formation allowed a deep indentation, giving a good harbour with a protecting isthmus not far way. The harbour itself is due to the erosion of these

from the old chiefs' families, as in the genealogies of MacDonald of the Isles and the MacLeods. A special feature contrasting with English history is that claims to differences of descent, instead of being maintained—as between the Saxon and the conqueror of Norman blood—were fused. Even when the ancestor of the chief was alien to the locality, the people and the chiefs ultimately claimed to be of one and the same descent. Neighbourhood softened the impositions of the hunting herdsman upon his human herd, and the feeling of kinship brought reconciliation.

How far, then, can the family name, which proclaims every 'son' and 'daughter' of Leod to be of the *clann*, the 'children'[1] of the first Leod, really betoken a blood tie? Both the differences of race to be found in clanship and the ties it formed are well brought out in a tale of Highland pride, still told with Highland laughter across the Minch in Kintail. A French skipper (an importer of claret) touching at Kintail three hundred years ago, met a short, dark man and asked him of whose clan he was. "The Clan Rae," was the reply, "but we are of two kinds, the tall, fair MacRaes and" (a little pityingly) "the short, dark MacRaes." "And which are you?" "I," said the wee, black fellow, drawing himself up, "am one of the tall, fair MacRaes!" "Then God help the short, dark MacRaes!" said the skipper. Even one link with the blood of the chief—and that not necessarily legitimate—was enough for a man to found a claim to kinship, not merely as a MacRae, but with the tall, fair chief through

[1] In Gaelic, as a man is called MacLeoid (son of Leod), so a woman is NicLeoid (daughter), and the clan, *Clann Leoid*. The absurd addition of 'son' to a woman's name (as in English surnames such as 'Johnson') is unthinkable in Gaelic, in which a woman would be named 'John's daughter', *NicIain*.

rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide for the lord's desires.

(E) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

The peaceful round of daily life formed the most enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tensest ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must speak for them. Many a song of the Isles conveys the team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men. And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portraying the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who warred against the waves and won. Alexander Macdonald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic, and probably in English, verse for its portraits of the crew in action, from steersman to 'look-out'. The flowing metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with "the Blessing of the Ship", the arms and the crew. Then the bard, speaking for the stately skipper, "incites the sixteen oarsmen to row" out of the bay, and they row to a rousing shanty, a *Iorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and

[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (2nd ed.), 1890 (pp. 1-28); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 65-85), 1940. Cf. A. Macleod (Ed.), *Sar Orain: Three Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1933. The different themes of its sections, each in its own metre, have been published separately, in *The Songs of the Hebrides*, and elsewhere.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

174 614 501 539 577

with words of heartening but well-weighed praise, each post with its duties is apportioned to the man best fitted for it by his temper, strength and skill—or even by some special weakness! First the steersman:

"Let this broad heavy hero sit at the helm, powerful and limber . . .
Light handed on a helm, watchful and wary, cautious yet quick . . ."

Then others "Put this great-fisted and shrewd man to grapple with the rigging. . . . Windwise, he'll work with him that holds the shrouds . . . a thick-set, broad and craggy champion . . . and with him that grips the sheet, a neat and handy fellow. Set at the prow our pilot, keen-eyed for the airts, and with a sure sight for each landmark like a guiding star. And set at the halyard this self-reliant seaman, tried and clear-headed, grimly alert. . . ." They put to sea, and as the sea roughens, the steersman cries, "Quick at my ear a man to watch for the rain-squalls! Choose me a fellow who's half-fearful, yet not a real coward . . . for he must be quick to shout when he sights a big sea bearing down on us. But let no other but himself be by me, lest there be babble and hubbub to bewilder us." Then, as the seas break over the open vessel:

"To bale her let this strong man rise, active and brave,
Who will not blanch or yield or tremble for the shouting wave. . . ."

Next, "Let two stout fellows, these thick-boned, rough and hairy chaps, haul on the ropes behind the sails, to raise or lower them as we're lowered or uplifted by the surging seas. . . ." And last, for fear one fail or be dashed overboard by a wave, six nimble men are picked to stand by,

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

174 614 501 539 577

ready to leap fore or aft: "Quick to move as the mountain hare . . . or the hounds after him; quick to climb as a squirrel in the spring-time". Then comes the stirring evocation of the storm, testing each man's mettle and the discipline of all, until at last, their ship battered and themselves bruised and weary but undaunted, the crew reach Islay and round the sheltering point of Carrickfergus. There, with thanks to the High King, they drop anchor, the *birlinn* rides in peace, and all find meat and drink and rest.

175 614 721 703

As at sea, so in war, loyalty could rise to heroism in individuals and corps. Young men were attached to their chiefs by chivalrous leadership in warfare, both before 1745 and later. The Highlanders' high character contrasted with that of most Regiments of the Line, too often disciplined with the lash while demoralised by debauchery. From Lewis the Islesmen went out to the Seaforth or the Ross-shire Highlanders. General David Stewart of Garth, historian of the Highland regiments and people, wrote of these two regiments that again and again their courage and coolness in battle were proved.[1]

175 618

Not less striking was the record of Gaels among civil populations, whether in Britain, as in the 'Forty-five, or abroad. In Germany in 1761 and 1762 much was said of the Highlanders' kindness, "for the boors were much better treated by those savages than by the polished English and French". Similarly in the Low Countries in 1814 and 1815, they were *enfants de la famille* and "kind as well as brave". The mayor of Brussels declared that they "called forth the attachment and esteem of all", and the inhabitants requested him "to endeavour to detain the 78th (2nd battalion Ross-shire) regiment of Scotchmen in the town, and to prevent their being replaced by other troops".

[113]

[1] *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 2 vols., vol. 1

175 702

The families of the young men might be willing to encourage enlistment. But they pled or bargained for an assurance that after service was over their sons should be returned to their homes and have land on which to settle down. The receipt of the bounty and their savings would help the men to pay rent later.

175 702 668

Passive resistance was offered at times, however, as when the Macleod Highlanders were raised in 1757, only a decade after the 'Forty-five. An Island friend has told me of a family tradition, that, as a young man at that time, his own great-grandfather was concealed to escape conscription. And the press gang was busy in Stornoway when the *Old Statistical Account* was written. Protest had usually to be made in secrecy or silence; but a revolt was organised by Stornoway men in 1793.[1] And the voice of one unwilling conscript has come down to us in a song, well known in the Isles (though little known in English), with the refrain—*Och ho ro*, brown lad, so bonnie (*'ille dhuinn*). Although it bears no sign of Jacobitism, it begins, "My grief to be wearing King George's red clothing!" It continues, "The short-coated sailors bore us to Holland. It was a Saturday evening when we fought; and many a wife was widowed ere dawn broke on the Lord's Day, their husbands ta'en, whom gold can never restore, stretched out among the rushes, blood pouring over their shoulders. . . .

[533] 175 702 668 539

'O'er the hills bear my greeting to Mull of the mountains;
Where cuckoos are cooing, on the braes before Beltane.'

'Bear my greeting to my mother, who nurtured me, to my sister who weeps for me, and to my sweetheart; I'll be home if death spares me."[2]

[1] Public Record Office, H.O. 50/2. Letters of Francis Humberstone Mackenzie (16th and 19th May 1793), communicated by Mr. J. R. Western.
[2] Charles Stewart, *The Killin Collection*.

885 in thy kertch!" and counsels her to be hospitable yet wise,
537 and courageous though calm; and to be frank yet tactful,
dignified though kind. The themes of this ode's melodious
885 verse recall the virtues of a wife enumerated mnemonically
538 in the acrostic which concludes the Book of Proverbs.
593 For in that, too, there is mention of "strength and dignity,
wisdom and kindness", and the poor are not forgotten as
the wife goes tirelessly about her work, sets her servants
to their tasks and sells her merchandise at a profit. Yet
the acrostic's emphasis on the wife's work and its gain
reveal the writer as a shrewd citizen seeking to train a
wife to ceaseless exertion and business dealing, with her
husband's private profit and public honour as a most
important end! The singer of 'The Kertch'—man or
woman, one cannot tell—thought of conduct not for its
profit first, but for its virtue, and dwelt upon motive, mind
and heart.[1]

To tide over the supreme crisis of childbirth the mother
175 was strengthened in confidence, courage and calm. The
841 need was the greater before modern midwifery. In Suther-
land as late as 1908, a good professional nurse tending a
difficult case of childbirth, anxious and powerless without
a doctor, found herself indebted to older wisdom. The
patient's mother first filled a small basin with water into
788 which she put trinkets of gold and silver. "She then held
the basin to her dying daughter's lips, and made her drink
three mouthfuls of the water, each mouthful in the name
of Father, and of Son, and of Spirit, the three Persons
of the Trinity of kindness and power, *Tri Pears na Trianaid*
chaoimh chumhachdaich'. Soon after, the child came . . .

113 [1] *An Breid*, 'The Kertch'. *Carmina*, No. 215. A short paraphrase by Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser, set to a lovely air and refrain, will be found in *From the Hebrides*. First published (imperfectly) in *Nether Lochaber* by the Rev. Alexander Stewart (1883, p. 4) with delightful notes.

764 Carmichael found versions of a mourners' hymn then still
remembered as sung at funerals there. "Never could they
who had heard it forget the solemnity of the occasion,
where all was so natural and beautiful, and nature seemed
to join in the feelings of humanity."[1] "I am going with
thee to thy home! . . . Thy home of winter." ". . . To
thy home of autumn, spring and summer . . . to thine
eternal bed, thy perpetual sleep." "I am going home with
thee, thou child of my love, To my dear Son of blessing,
to the Father of grace."

764 *Tha mi dol dachaidh leat,*
• 539 *Go do thaigh! go do thaigh!*
Tha mi dol dachaidh leat
Go do thaigh geamhraidh . . .

Tha mi dol dachaidh leat,
A leanabh mo luaidh,
Go Macan nam beannachd,
Go Athair nam buadh.

"The Death Croon", handed down by the Rev. Dr.
Kenneth Macleod, leads on from almost the same opening,
the Soul-friend singing to the fellow-watchers' refrain:[2]
"Sleep, oh love, on thy Mother's bosom, Sleep while she
sings soft lullings to thee, The sleep of the Son on Mary's
breast. Sleep and put off from thee every woe. . . .
Sleep of Jesus's youth . . . life . . . and glory . . . of
His love . . . joy . . . and peace. . . . Sleep of the seven
virtues . . . the seven moons . . . the seven slumbers
upon thee. . . . Dream of Mary and God in her side,
Dream of Columba in Isle of Saints, Dream of the Child

[1] *Carmina*, No. 346. The word *Mac*, Son, is here given a tender diminutive form, *Macan*, 'dear Son', as if to complement the infinity of the Father's "achievement, victory or grace".
[2] *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, pp. 98-105.

764 that never aged: Each one of these dreams, dear love, be
• 539 thine. . . .

The dusk of the Death-sleep is, love, in thine eye,
But softly thou'll sleep, softly sleep. . . .
In name of the Three in One,
Peace to thy plain,
The Christ is come . . .
Softly sleep, softly sleep. . . .

14 The late Professor Sir J. Arthur Thomson, deeply moved
on hearing it sung for the first time, exclaimed, "How
profound the civilisation of those who composed and
handed down this hymn of farewell!" The Soul-
friend and Watchers seem to unfold before us the wide
range of human love, and—as they recall the tender rela-
tionships of birth, childhood, parenthood and parting—to
touch the universal.

17 All landscapes in these islands have roots in the distant past. Park is no exception. Yet many crofting landscapes have been significantly re-fashioned within the present century after major changes in the nineteenth century. Park does not entirely correspond to the general pattern, and the present cultural landscape has its beginnings in the late seventeenth century, although there are traces of earlier settlement.

Archaeological evidence, in the form of a stone sunhead found near Habost, a dun on the brackish Loch Cromore, and a mediaeval chapel on Eilean Calum Cille, provides the earliest record of human settlement in Park. *Vikar-nam-veidhna*[1] indicates Norse occupation: the elements 'bost', a contraction of the Norse word *bólstaðr* – a homestead, and 'veit', a shed or hutty situated in pastureland but not regularly lived in, indicate a thin dispersion of farmers practising an extensive and transhumant economy: all the present township names contain Norse elements.

The name Park, is derived from the Gaelic 'A'Phairc' – the park or deer forest: the old name of the district was Deer-park ('Herd' is the same etymologically). During the eighteenth century, a dyke or turf-wall was built between Loch Erisort and Loch Seaforth – 'garadh an tighearna' – the lord of chiefs' dyke, to enclose the deer forest. A lodge for the gamekeeper was built. Park was shooting ground used by tenants in Big (near Leverburgh) – one of the Macleod shielings has the same Airigh (Shoinbuoli Chaim and Dondonal Cam was chief of the Macleods in Dig at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Thus it may well be that after the Norse population left or were absorbed, Park was simply used as summer pasture.

It is believed that settlement in what is now the Deer Forest began about 1650. Confirmation of this comes from an unpublished Gaelic ring by Archibald MacDonald (An Ciaran Mabach) composed in Leith soon after 1660. In the song, the author laments the fact that he may never see the Forest again, and says of Park

"'n ni leam caradh na fridhe
Bhith fo bhrón air mo bhaiseit
D'am bo chomadh cas-chrom."

"I deplore the state of the forest . . . . . that it should be in subjection to the caries whose livelihood is a cas-chrom" (lost plough – literally crooked spade). The song gives no indication of numbers, and unfortunately no rental of the period is extant.[2]

From rentals and other evidence, Park was the last area in Lewis to be colonised in permanent settlement, the fact that the population of Loche parish increased from 912 in 1755 to 1750 in 1831, supports the view that the late eighteenth century saw the extension of modern settlement in Park.

The first documentary evidence of settlement in the present crofting area is the Judicial Rental of Lewis, taken by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners circa 1771. This rental records tacksmen, or major tenants, living in Habost, Swainbost, and Eilean Calum Cille – all situated along the southern shores of Loch Erisort: there is local tradition that Kershader and Marivig were shielings

1 The editor is indebted to Miss Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt. for an analysis and evaluation of the place-name evidence – see Appendix C.

2 For this extremely interesting information and the translation, the editor is indebted to Mr. William Matheson, M.A., of the Department of Celtic, Edinburgh University.

541

541 SPECTACLES -- patriotic celebrations; parades; fireworks displays; military reviews; secular pageants; carnivals, circuses, and rodeos; animal racing and fighting (e.g., horse and dog races, bull baiting, cockfighting); gladiatorial combats; public hangings; organisation of spectacles; financing (e.g., by profits, voluntary contributions, subsidies); admissions (e.g., gratis, by tickets); specialists (e.g., organisers, performers); etc. See also:
Breeding of racehorses. . . . . 320 Circus 822, 836
Animal transport . . . . . 480 Religious spectacle 796
Animals gambling. 820

at Skeabost. A minister drove by one day and said to the 785
workmen, "Don't you know you're building a house for the Devil?" 795
One of the laborers, a Lowlander, replied, "It's a good thing 575
we have a place to keep him." The Order of the Eastern Star
and the Masons are condemned because, while they are religious,
they are secret orders. Even if the person's religion did not
stand in the way of his becoming a Mason, his distrust of
mystery probably would. As one young fellow said one night in
the bar when being chaffed about the Masons, "I'm not going
to join any secret organization until I know what the secret is."

Included among the objectionable activities by these two 785
churches are the traditional Highland Games, held each year 795
at Portree in August, probably about the time of the old Saint's 541
Fair. The day is a school holiday. Aside from New Years, it
is the big occasion of the year. People come in from all
over the Island. Few of the Skyemen actively take part in [526]
the contests of tossing the caber and throwing the stone, or
in the piping and dancing competitions, but they look forward
to the event. It gives them an opportunity to see their [571]
"friends" and join them in the pub for a dram. Although the [743]
ministers disapprove, they lack the backing of the "elect," so
the games go on each year. I hasten to add that they have
lost much of their appeal in recent years, but I am told that
this is due to the fact that the clique who runs the Skye
Council of Social Service has, in an effort to attract tourists
early in the season, set up Skye Week in May. Included in
the Skye Week program are Highland Games. I might also add

that the people of Skye, including many of the newcomers, 785
have not been favorably impressed by Skye Week. The consensus 795
is that it is not representative of Skye. For the Griathanach 541
the Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and
similar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree. 338
Here the members and the adherents of the Church of Scotland 53
partake of a number of recreational activities. In the winter [526]
there is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer [526]
there is a little golf and tennis. The limitations are not
religious; they are climatic. Then, too, there is shinty.
We have already noted the existence of many clubs. There are [535]
regular dances. Moving pictures take place twice a week. [546]
All of these activities are run by newcomers; the Skyemen have [447]
a more or less passive role. The "elect" of the two smaller 795
sects are, to say the least, very much disturbed by these 794
frivolities. What is worse, the children attend the dances 224
and the concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find 853
enough solidarity among those of their own age grade to out- 52
weigh the threats of their elders. Apparently they find
enough security to be unaffected by the stern denunciations of
the minister from the pulpit. When they marry, however, they 794
have to recast the pattern of their behavior, for now the 853
elders are in a position to exercise control by withholding 624
baptism from their children. Some may turn to the Church of
Scotland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glendale the 853
control by the aged is complete. There is not a single activity 55

543

543 EXHIBITIONS--international expositions; local and regional fairs; animal-judging contests (e.g., horse and dog shows); handicraft displays; automobile and flower shows; art exhibitions; special exhibits (e.g., by libraries and museums); offering of prizes and awards; organization of exhibitions; mode of finance (e.g., by sale of tickets, sale of articles on display, voluntary contributions); specialized organizers and dealers; etc. See also:

Libraries, art galleries, and museums	251	Markets	443
Zoological and botanical gardens	287	Sales promotion	446
Auctioning	437	Advertising	447

If May is considered a busy month, June duties are even 221
more pressing. Although the winter rains are over, the rain 231
fell has begun to increase. A succession and variety of de-
mands are made on the crofter's time. Once again the sheep
must be brought down to the "fank." This time the purpose is
to mark the lambs. The males, unless one or two healthy
specimens are selected for future use as rams, are castrated
and smeared with a dye to indicate their ownership. The
females are smeared and have their ears cut to signify both
ownership and age. Like the dipping, this operation requires 476
the cooperation of the crofter and his family, the neighbors,
and hired hands. Next the sheep without lambs are dipped 232
once again and given a dose of medicine for liver fluke and
a variety of diseases. At the same time, the early hay and, 241
perhaps, the early potatoes are ready for harvesting. The end 543
of June brings the Highland Wool Fair in Inverness. If he 233
has Cheviot sheep, as most crofters do, the man must go to
arrange for their wintering on the milder and drier east
coast. Although Cheviots produce a finer wool than the more
common Blackface sheep, they do not stand up to the incessant
wind and rain of a Skye winter. If his wife can leave the
children behind, she will accompany her husband. The old 534
function of the Fair, the sale of wool, has disappeared under 266
government price control legislation.

It is not unusual to have the early harvest delayed 221
until July, but even then the mowing may have to wait because 234
sheep must come first. On one of the dry days during the first 237

545

545 MUSICAL AND THEATRICAL PRODUCTIONS--public concerts; operatic productions; performances by dance troupes (e.g., ballets); burlesque and vaudeville; production of musical comedies and plays, stock companies, amateur musicals and theatricals; metropolitan show business (e.g., selection of a play, backers, producers, casting, try-outs, staging, rehearsals, promotion, advance sales, first nights, reviews, runs, motion picture rights, royalties, returns on investment, road companies); promotion of other musical and dramatic productions; etc. See also:

Fine arts	82	Theatrical supplies industry	548

571 In common with other aspects of island life, the social side has
178 undergone considerable change. The world has been brought
nearer the crofter's home by radio, television and film screen,
reducing the social need for meeting with neighbours and friends
574 for the ceilidh. The ceilidh was once the principal means of re-
178 creation and instruction. There is no precise English equivalent
for it, and it may be loosely described as an 'at home' to which all
are welcome. It may be held in any house; in the past, the
favourite resort was a home where the head (*fear an tigh*—man
of the house) was an intelligent, communicative man; and if he
had a number of eligible daughters so much the better. Ceilidhean
were held after nightfall. Old tales were told, and songs sung, and
public questions of the day were discussed. All women attending
took with them an ample amount of work, sewing or knitting, to
see them through the evening. Ceilidhean nowadays tend to be
545 more organised, taking the form of popular 'concerts' which did
not take root in the island until the turn of the century, though
they were a common way of entertainment on the mainland at
the time. Social life in the past was thus very intense, and was a
natural evolution from the basic desire to forget the day's work
and to have some pleasure of a kind.

546 The pattern of recreation facilities has since become fairly
varied. Films came early to Lewis, or rather Stornoway; the first
Picture House was located in Keith Street, and presented both
536 films and stage turns. A new Playhouse was opened in 1934 with
The Good Companions and *Falling for You*, starring Jack Hul-
bert and Cicely Courtnedge. Films in the rural districts were a
rarity, however, until in 1946 the Highlands & Islands Film
209 Guild came into existence to bring the magic of the screen to
scattered communities. This body ran several mobile cinema out-
fits in the deep crofting areas, until the advent of television in
the region killed it off in 1971. While it existed, however, the
Guild provided an essential service to remote communities and
brought not only the world to their doorstep but ensured that
they felt part and parcel of a much larger scheme of things.

209 The first television service in Lewis began in 1959, 'piped' by

546

546 MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY--production, distribution, and exhibition of motion pictures; script writing; casting; locations and sets; filming; special equipment and techniques (e.g., technicolor, sound); products (e.g., film plays, animated cartoons, educational and documentary films); system of distribution (e.g., chains, block booking, runs); motion picture theatre and their operation; specialists (e.g., producers, script writers, actors, cameramen, distributors, operators); economic organization of the industry; regulation; etc. See also:

Fine arts	82	Cameras	416
Photography	315	Visual aids in education	876
Sound recording	316		

571 In common with other aspects of island life, the social side has
178 undergone considerable change. The world has been brought
nearer the crofter's home by radio, television and film screen,
reducing the social need for meeting with neighbours and friends
574 for the ceilidh. The ceilidh was once the principal means of re-
178 creation and instruction. There is no precise English equivalent
for it, and it may be loosely described as an 'at home' to which all
are welcome. It may be held in any house; in the past, the
favourite resort was a home where the head (*fear an tigh*—man
of the house) was an intelligent, communicative man; and if he
had a number of eligible daughters so much the better. Ceilidhean
were held after nightfall. Old tales were told, and songs sung, and
public questions of the day were discussed. All women attending
took with them an ample amount of work, sewing or knitting, to
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the Outer Isles, an area of recent depopulation, there are 88
enough youth to resist the dictates of their elders.[25] If 89
they cannot have a dance in a hall, they hold their dance
on a plank bridge. In Kilmuir the crofters are looking
forward to "Effectual Calling." To defy the elders, or
allow their children to run counter to the wishes of the
elders, would mean a loss of all hope for salvation.

For the majority of crofters, any form of amusement 73
is objectionable, but there are slight differences among 74
the affiliates of the several sects. The Church of Scotland
is the most lenient. For adherents, concerts, film shows
and similar organized forms of entertainment may be admissible
especially if they are held outside the neighborhood. There
is a "picture bus" from Kilmuir to Portree on Wednesday and
Saturday night. Sports activities are often considered
as wholesome outlets for the youth. Some of the ministers,
feel the lack of social contact with their people and
believe they might do some good by taking part in life
outside the pulpit. The Church of Scotland minister in
Kilmuir occasionally attends the Crofters' Club, the only
secular activity admitted in the neighborhood. Significantly
Free Church opinion, although the voice of a minority, has
prohibited the playing of pipes and recitals of the Gaelic
Choir at the annual agricultural show. The Church of Scotland
minister in Sleat has taken a hand in the village hall.
Unorganized dances are condemned. This is not because dancing

[25] Darling and Dorley, op. cit., pp. 21-24.

CONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

539 And so, after every good wish for days, years and life,
867 the Invocation closes: "Peter has come and Paul" . . .
869 the Disciples and the Archangels. . . . Jesus the mild and the Spirit of guidance have come,

> And the King of kings has come on the helm,
> To bestow on thee their affection and their love,
> *A bhaireadh duit-se graidh us ruin.*

The ideal of choice maidenliness which this Invocation portrays, culminates in the thought of the loveliness that
867 was Christ. It rises, too, to stirring virility: "the island
at sea, the fortress on land", or "the step of the steed on
[539] the plain". Yet when all is said, it is a womanly image which prevails: after the fortress comes the well in the desert, and after the charger's step, the gracious calm of a floating swan. It is all the more significant that the Invocation was addressed both 'to boys and girls' in one isle, and 'to youths and maidens' in another. Not simply was boyhood taught to honour girlhood: ideal womanhood was invoked to raise manhood itself to fullness.

885 Upon marriage, the husband replaced the maiden's
[292] snood or *stiom* that bound her uncovered hair by the wifely
[585] kerchief, *am breid*. Folded diagonally, its three-cornered shape came to symbolise the Trinity, in benediction on
[539] the bride's head.[1] A poem to a bride, "now beginning her dual course", commences, "A thousand hails to thee

[538] likeness. The short second stanza given stands out alone: the poem,
[192] having attained its climax by a rhythm sustaining the upward, sonorous movement, is hushed by its few simple words. In *From the Hebrides*, Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser rearranged one or two of these lovely stanzas, as one of her 'lyrics with refrain'. *Cf.* A. Geddes, *The Songs of Craig and Ben*, vol. ii, 1955.

[1] The kertch is spoken of in many songs, in which a lover hopes to place it on his young love's head, or a husband praises its whiteness as worn by his wife. When first I knew the Lews, the kertch was still commonly worn
[178] under the more recent Lowland mutch, and either framed a young face, or an old one, charmingly. The two have not quite vanished, though memories of what the kertch once symbolised are hard to find.

that the people of Skye, including many of the newcomers, 785
have not been favorably impressed by Skye Week. The consensus 795
is that it is not representative of Skye. For the Sgiathanach 541
the Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and similar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree. 369
Here the members and the adherents of the Church of Scotland 795
partake of a number of recreational activities. In the winter 52
there is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer [526] [526]
there is a little golf and tennis. The limitations are not religious; they are climatic. Then, too, there is shinty. [535]
We have already noted the existence of many clubs. There are regular dances. Moving pictures take place twice a week. [546] [167]
All of these activities are run by newcomers; the Skyemen have a more or less passive role. The "elect" of the two smaller 795
sects are, to say the least, very much disturbed by these 794
frivolities. What is worse, the children attend the dances 626
and the concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find 883
enough solidarity among those of their own age grade to out- 52
weigh the threats of their elders. Apparently they find enough security to be unaffected by the stern denunciations of the minister from the pulpit. When they marry, however, they 794
have to recast the pattern of their behavior, for now the 884
elders are in a position to exercise control by withholding 626
baptism from their children. Some may turn to the Church of Scotland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glendale the 888
control by the aged is complete. There is not a single activity 883
626
[369]

55

55 INDIVIDUATION AND MOBILITY--general statements covering several aspe of individuation and mobility; status, names, and naming. The term "status is here used to connote the position occupied by an individual in any repetitiv social relationship. The behavior exhibited by the occupant of a status is hi "role," i.e., his enactment of his part in the relationship. Societies tend to rank certain statuses as higher and lower, and within a status to rank the ro of different individuals in terms of how adequately they measure up to the cultural expectations for that status. The "prestige" of any individual reflec both the level of the various statuses that he occupies and the social estimate of his roles in each. Some statuses are ascribed and not achievable, being gained either automatically or not at all. An individual can enhance his pres tige through his own effort only by improving the performance of his roles or by moving into achievable statuses of higher social standing. By "mobility" is meant the means by which these objectives are accomplished.

The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in ferm-toun and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged in planning for post-war housing and community life. But sound planning must be based on survey, long overdue; though elementary, this key map appears to be the first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units of farm-team and township that Scots rural society must be rebuilt, region by region.

One further contrast between the farming and the crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World—return home to their native township when they can, and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand, though they usually spend their lives in the county or region of their birth, have been on the move from farm to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new hiring, the married once a year. Families were annually uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all! The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence many men have few ties, their wives still fewer. The children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they could look back to no "Auld Lang Syne", of which the

551

551 PERSONAL NAMES--proper names of individuals (e.g., number and vari
meanings, circumstances of use); sex and status differences, special nam
usages (e.g., nicknames, aliases, teknonymy); name taboos and avoidanc
etc. See also:

Incorporeal property	434	Kinship terms	
Naming	563	Names as souls	
Titles	554		

178 but not as often as in the past. In the past boats
501 were in danger of being smashed by the strong seas
228 and winds that gained easy access to the Shawbost
[493] harbor; but today, because so many cars are available
[504] the boats can be sheltered in the more protected bays
of Carloway, five miles up the coast to the southwest
[434] of Shawbost. Despite this protection and the increase
in income since World War II which would enable more
people to buy boats, the number of boats remains small

175 In the past certain people were esteemed for
821 "knowing the wind and the sea." The sound of the turf
coming from different directions presaged different
kinds of weather; a line of white across the bay mean
bad weather in a few days. A fifty-year-old man says,
"My father and grandfather could tell when a storm was
coming. They needed to know, and they didn't have
radio and television to tell them. I would know the
signs, too, if I had listened to them."

175 Not only was there local fishing, but the men used
228 to hire themselves as crew on other fishing boats.
464 Several nicknames reflect this history. One family is
551 known by the nickname "Strachan," the surname of a man
who lived on the east coast of Scotland and on whose
boat the head of the Shawbost family had once worked as

97 One of the
93 richest sources of Gaelic vocabulary now available is
79 the Gaelic Bible, but many villagers, especially the
younger ones, complain that they are unable to understand
many of the Gaelic words used by the minister in his sermons.

Although provision for teaching Gaelic in the schools
17 was made in the Education Act of 1918, only within the
71 last ten years have schools incorporated classes in which
Gaelic is taught at both primary and secondary levels.
Gaelic is taught as a foreign language like French or Latin,
rather than used as a medium of instruction, which would
require a much larger vocabulary than most teachers possess.
[75] The present schoolmaster in Shawbost differs from past
[51] schoolmasters in that he addresses the children by their
Gaelic names,[2] and devises projects intended to encourage
a sense of pride in "Celtic culture."

The Department of Celtic Studies at the University of
3 Glasgow, which includes in its staff a Lewis poet and
7 several Scottish Nationalists, is described as "progressive."
5 According to an islander who is a student in the Department,
"They believe that if Gaelic is to survive as a language,
it must be written as it is spoken. At school we were
taught to write 'proper' Gaelic, Gaelic that's considered

[2] Persons who come from Gaelic-speaking areas are addressed and referred to by Gaelicized names, such as "Murchadh" rather than "Murdo," and usually these names take the form of patronymics, which may or may not include nicknames (for example, Iain Dhomhnuill Bhain, i.e., John the son of fair Donald).

197 Within the village there are no branches of An Comunn
178 Gaidhealach and few books written in Gaelic. Once a rural
166 family moves to Stornoway, children often refuse to speak
191 Gaelic, even though they understand it, and parents tend
to speak only English to their children, believing this
will help them "get on." In the next generation, the
[871] language is lost. Village children attending school in
Stornoway often prefer talking to their Gaelic-speaking
[867] roommates in English. A young island woman, married and
living in Edinburgh, says she would like her baby son
to learn Gaelic but feels that if he had a mixture of the
two languages the other children would laugh at him.

197 English is the language of the larger society, the
191 language spoken in school and the language required in
most jobs and in dealing with most officials. In Gaelic-
197 speaking areas, the speaking of English connotes high
191 554 status. If an English speaker mispronounces Gaelic words,
626 he is quickly forgiven, praised for trying to learn such
578 a difficult language, and asked why he bothers with a
language that "isn't any use anyway." But if a Gaelic
speaker makes mistakes in English, he is teased mercilessly.
• [551] Many nicknames derive from such mistakes; for example,
"Peter Squeak" got his name by mispronouncing the word
[524] "picturesque." People "win points" by competing with
each other in speaking English. "See how good you are in

FIRE AND SWORD

Recorded history begins with the Icelandic sagas. In 1098 Magnus 175*
Bareleg plundered Lewis and devastated the island with both fire
and sword. A skald named Bjorr Cripplehand, who accompanied
Magnus on the expedition, reported that 'Fire played in the fig-
trees of Liodhus; it mounted up to heaven. Far and wide the
people were driven to flight. The fire gushed out of the houses.'
The *Irish Annals* tell us that Skye was pillaged by the Norse in
794, and no doubt Lewis did not escape their attentions, then or
earlier. Towards the end of the ninth century a stream of Norse 175*
folk left their homes to start the work of colonisation. Iceland, 648
the Faroes, the Orkneys, the Shetlands and the Hebrides soon 167
became thriving communities in which the earlier native popula-
tion were as thralls, serving ruthless masters.

By about AD 1000, the island, with others as far south as Man,
was in the sure and steady grip of men of Scandinavian or semi-
Scandinavian origin, who were destined to become premier
clans such as Clan Donald. It was not until the Battle of Largs in
1263 that this grip was loosened. In 1266 the Western Isles
were ceded by Norway to Scotland, following which event the
Gaelic people and their former Norse masters were soon to be
merged in the marriage bed. As for the common language, it was [197]
the Celtic elements which took over after, one supposes, some
generations of suppression. The result in any case was a highly
individual people, strong in character, and resilient enough to
take the rough times with the smooth.

In the thirteenth century, Harris was in the possession of the 175
MacLeods of Harris, and Lewis belonged to three powerful clans: 614
the Morisons in Ness, the MacAulays in Uig, and the MacLeods [551]
of Lewis in the remainder of the island. Other smaller clans were
the MacIvers, the MacRaes, and the Nicolsons. The Harris Mac-
Leods were allied by kinship to the Lewis MacLeods, though the
relationship was to become quite distant—and their destiny more
fortunate. History from this time is one of disputes, internecine
warfare, murders, and similar crises deemed to be of the highest
importance by the clans, both inside the island and between the
islanders and strangers. An enormous amount of blood was spilled

TACKSMEN AND TENANTS

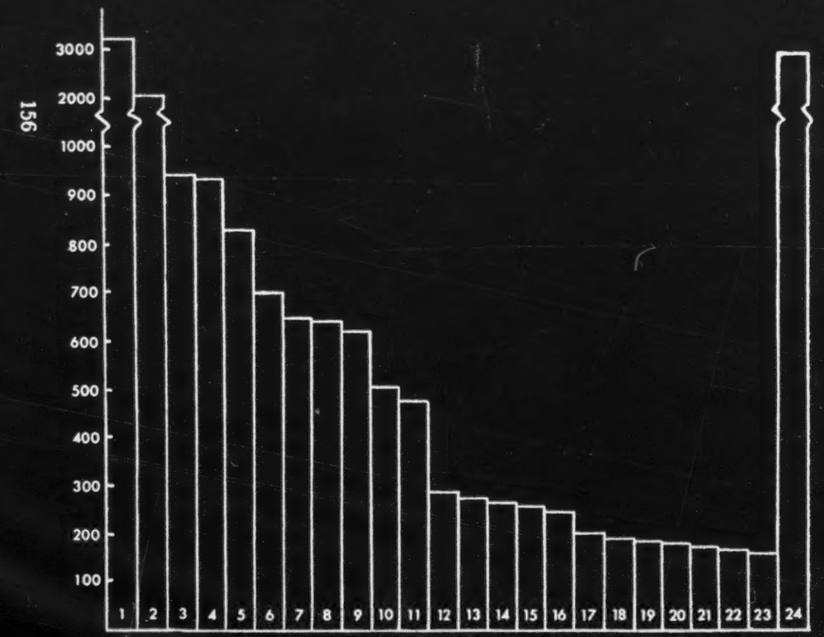
rental were published for the benefit of intending purchasers, a value in sterling being placed on the items: 175* 241 427

Money	£713	3	3
Oatmeal, 256 bolls	89	2	2
Sheep, 228	25	6	8
Butter, 173 stones	28	19	7
Tallow, 7 stones	1	3	4
Salmon, 1 barrel	3	0	0
Total =	£860	15	0

The most important event in the agricultural history of the island at this time was the introduction of the potato. Though the exact date is not known, some evidence from the writer on Lewis in the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* (1796) places it about 1757. 'With the utmost difficulty . . . the people were prevailed on to plant potatoes, but of which they now plant great quantities by the plough and by the spade, and find them to be the most useful of all crops raised in the Parish.' 175* 137 244

The substantial tacksman seemed, in Lewis, to deal kindly with those who called him Fear Baile (Town Man—almost a mayor, without the trappings and self-elected). Serious complaints against tacksmen are few. But winds of change were blowing. John MacKenzie, who had for some years been Chamberlain of the Lewis Estate, was examined before the Napier Commission in Edinburgh in 1883. He knew the island's history well. 427 175* [554]

> Till the beginning of this century, the greater part of the Lewis was in the hands of tacksmen, or middlemen, who got in some cases from their sub-tenants in money, produce, and labour what nearly paid their rents. There were the MacIvers of the Parish of Stornoway, the Morisons and Murrays of Barvas, the MacAulays of Uig, and the MacLeods of Lochs. When Mr Stewart-MacKenzie married the Hon Lady Hood, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and took the management of the estate into his own hands, he did away with the middlemen and let the land directly to the crofters. This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction, but it had its disadvantages, as the example of a good middleman, who looked after his people, and who was industrious in farming and attentive in stock-breeding, was beneficial to the people, though in some cases they may have been petty tyrants. [551] •



Frequency of Lewis surnames, based on 1961 census

551 •

1 MacLeod
2 MacDonald
3 Morison
4 MacKenzie
5 MacIver
6 MacLean
7 Smith
8 MacKay
9 Murray
10 Campbell
11 MacAulay
12 Nicolson
13 Graham
14 MacLennan
15 Matheson
16 MacArthur
17 MacMillan
18 MacRae
19 MacKinnon
20 MacRitchie
21 Martin
22 Montgomery
23 MacAskill
24 Others

NORTH RONA

hough the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says 175*
at in his time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving 241
ly, and an abundance of clover-grass for sheep. The island also 231
oduced a fine bere-meal which the islanders stuffed into the [429]
ins of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of
ewis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest 181
hristian building in Britain remaining in its original state, 175*
Monro says: 'As the ancients of the country allege, they leave a [346]
ade and a shuil [shovel] when any man dies, and upon the [429]
orrow find the place of the grave marked with a spade, as they
llege.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680:

The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Com- [788]
mandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have [494]
cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly
ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They
know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either;
they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as
they want; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied
with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very
precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of
them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his
property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of man-
kind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take [551] •
their surname from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and clouds. [162]
There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant [342]
has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects
are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side
to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and
thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis,
which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm 175*
f rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the food. 731
few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders [145]
f their only bull. 'These misfortunes and the want of supply [166]
rom Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all
hat ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony 175*
as sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical* 162

175 and still more to pay arrears, was "the rugged Hag,
241 Poverty, that would resist both King and Government".
427 We may guess that MacAulay passed a hint to the tenantry
451 that (in a good Gaelic idiom) they had better 'disremember'
details of arrears: and this they did.

195 Of the four names on the deposition quoted, one or
• 551 two may have been surnames, others the patronymics of
613 kinsmen. As is still the custom, clansmen knew one another
[198] by names of many kinds. Stature or colour was used to
distinguish a big John from a little one, a fair from a dark,
or a pale from a swarthy; occupations such as smith or
caird (artificer, not necessarily travelling tinker as now) were
[241] used, and also mere nicknames. Of the eighty-one crofters
[226] or fisher-burghers in Stornoway, fourteen were Mac-
Kenzies; and other mainland surnames, such as Fraser and
Gunn, Matheson and MacLennan, also showed their
descent from the immigrants brought in when MacKenzie
of Kintail founded the burgh to encourage fisheries after
1611. Each held a single holding, usually rented at two
shillings sterling.

175 To conclude, rentals about 1715 show (1) the character-
241 istic equalitarian grouping of small peasants as fellow-
427 workers in the hamlet-farms still held directly from the
631 superior, Seaforth; (2) the eighty-one small burghers of
Stornoway; and (3) tacksmen, responsible for the larger
part of the Island rent, but under whom we know that the
labouring peasantry, though without the local independence
of the others, also continued to dwell and to work together.
The tacksmen were to pass away, as many of them had
originally come, at the desire of a mainland lord, and the
lord, in his turn, was to leave; but the small peasantry of
immemorial stock still hold and work their land.

173 from the old chiefs' families, as in the genealogies of
622 MacDonald of the Isles and the MacLeods. A special
631 feature contrasting with English history is that claims to
[199] differences of descent, instead of being maintained—as
[171] between the Saxon and the conqueror of Norman blood—
were fused. Even when the ancestor of the chief was alien
to the locality, the people and the chiefs ultimately claimed
173 to be of one and the same descent. Neighbourhood
621 softened the impositions of the hunting herdsman upon
his human herd, and the feeling of kinship brought
reconciliation.

173 How far, then, can the family name, which proclaims
621 every 'son' and 'daughter' of Leod to be of the *clann*,
614 the 'children'[1] of the first Leod, really betoken a blood
829 tie? Both the differences of race to be found in clanship
and the ties it formed are well brought out in a tale of
Highland pride, still told with Highland laughter across
539 the Minch in Kintail. A French skipper (an importer of
claret) touching at Kintail three hundred years ago, met a
short, dark man and asked him of whose clan he was.
"The Clan Rae," was the reply, "but we are of two kinds,
the tall, fair MacRaes and" (a little pityingly) "the short,
dark MacRaes." "And which are you?" "I," said the
wee, black fellow, drawing himself up, "am one of the
tall, fair MacRaes!" "Then God help the short, dark
193 MacRaes!" said the skipper. Even one link with the
621 blood of the chief—and that not necessarily legitimate—
614 was enough for a man to found a claim to kinship, not
829 merely as a MacRae, but with the tall, fair chief through
• [551]

[1] In Gaelic, as a man is called MacLeoid (son of Leod), so a woman is NicLeoid (daughter), and the clan, *Clann Leoid*. The absurd addition of 'son' to a woman's name (as in English surnames such as 'Johnson') is unthinkable in Gaelic, in which a woman would be named 'John's daughter', *NicIain*.

(D) TACKSMEN AND SUBTENANTRY, FACTOR AND LORD: 1611–1800

175 We saw that in the Rent-roll of Lewis in 1718 the first
429 sixty-four entries, signed personally, recorded comparatively large holdings (tacks), the annual rentals of which were
614 from £3:6:8 to over £10, the occupant of one (or more)
621 of which would be styled Tacksman or 'Man of the Farmtown' (*Fear Baile*). While one or two tacks were shared, a few tacksmen may have held more than one tack—though one cannot be sure, owing to the recurrence of the same
• [551] Christian names in each clan. It is striking that half the tacks—though mostly small ones—were held by men of undoubted mainland names, of which there were twenty-two MacKenzies, four MacLennans and three Mathesons.
[166] These were doubtless the descendants of gentlemen from the mainland who in 1611 had helped to win and hold the
[551] Island for MacKenzie of Kintail, later Lord Seaforth. Of native Lewis names the principal are MacAulay, Morison and perhaps MacIver.[1] Only three small tacks were held by MacLeods, who may have been of Island stock. Lochs and Eye on the east coast had largely been granted in tack to the new-comers; on the south-west and west coast MacAulays and MacIvers held much of Uig and a few farms in Cladach; but more of Cladach and most of Ness (in the north) were still held by joint tenants. Stornoway was held by burghers, of whom perhaps two-thirds bore mainland names. The peasantry remained as unnamed subtenants on these holdings, of which the total rents show

[114] [1] The writers of the Brand Report (1902) assumed that MacIver is a native name. This would seem to be borne out by its frequency as a surname today, in contrast to NacKenzie, Matheson or MacLennan, though W. C. Mackenzie (1919, p. 92) thought the MacIver tacksmen arrived with Seaforth.

000 and to prevent their being replaced by other troops".

175 Such discipline was only possible when their officers
703 trusted to feelings and character. The officers were usually Highlanders, though some notable Lowlanders led Highland corps, and a Welshman commanded the Ross-shire Highlanders with success. Stewart, who had served with the regiment, after recounting their disciplined courage in battle in India, wrote: "The notice of all India was attracted by the temperate habits of the soldiers and Colonel Mackenzie's mode of punishment, by a threat to inform his parents of the misconduct of a delinquent, or to send a bad character of him to his native country". In the twenty-five years of peace and war during which the first battalion had been established, there had not been desertion among the men enlisted in the Highlands. "There were in this battalion nearly 300 men from Lord Seaforth's estate in the Lewis. Several years elapsed before any of these men were charged with a crime deserving severe punishment. In 1799 a man was tried and punished. This so shocked his comrades that he was put out of their society as a degraded man who brought shame to his kindred. The unfortunate outcast became unhappy and desperate, and Colonel Mackenzie, to save him from destruction, applied and got him sent to England, where his disgrace would be unknown and unnoticed . . . [and] he quite recovered his character."

If the officers' regard for their men led to true discipline, the men's expectations of high conduct from their officers brought forth leadership in the field. Mutual regard began in peace. When Stewart of Garth first joined his regiment as a young ensign, his colonel assigned to him an elderly private to act not only as servant, according to regulations,
• [551] but also as intimate counsellor. Stewart tells how this

175 private naturally addressed him in Gaelic by his Christian
703 name, and writes of him with the warmth and respect due
• [551] to an elderly relation. Something of this mutual regard remains; and young Englishmen of education have told me of their surprised admiration for the character of the best traditional type of 'Regular' Scottish, and particularly Highland, non-commissioned officer, before and during the two world wars.

175 Such bravery and character abroad led Stewart to the
829 conviction that their foundation must be the character of the peasantry at home. He held that the Highlanders' home life demanded support, and having served with the Sutherland Highlanders, he felt the deepest grief and anger at the clearances of the Sutherland estates by an English
[720] proprietor. When Stewart remarked that a few deaths mattered little when compared to the nation's renown, for this 'endures for ever', he referred to deaths in battle, which he analysed as typically of 1 to 2 per cent of the men. Whereas upon long voyages or in unhealthy stations, 25 per cent of soldiers or civilians might die of disease.

175 Yet, to the Gael, discipline did not mean blind sub-
703 mission to injustice. "Accustomed to obey their im-
614 mediate chiefs, who durst not break a compact with them, and to have promises punctually fulfilled, implicit submission was not yielded when they had rights to preserve." For the bond by which, of old, the Highlanders "were held to their superiors and one another" was "the bond
[648] of fidelity and affection. . . . In later times, when they entered the King's service, they considered themselves as contracting parties", and resented breaches of faith. Of eight mutinies in as many regiments, that of the Seaforth in 1778 should be instanced here. The regiment included many Lewismen, with Mackenzies and Macraes, and also

[Ploughed] [Ploughed]
common grazing - at present approximately correctly ploughed - cannot therefore provide
much employment. Hence it is the standard of agriculture that must be improved. Since the
land does not permit striking extension or improvement of the cultivated area, development
must be directed towards improving pasture, with more re-seeding and controlled grazing
similar to that already described. All this, however, is of little avail if prices for cattle, sheep
and wool remain low, or at least lower than prices prevailing on the mainland. The first priority,
therefore, in the establishment of a prosperous agriculture is a guaranteed market-price. Given
this, it might become worthwhile to take steps to increase the carrying capacity of the crofts.
It may be assumed that this would involve an all-round improvement which could give a firm
basis to the economic existence of the community: until this is achieved, stability and continuity
are out of the question.

GARYVARD

Gwenyth R. Page, B. A.

The landscape of the south-east coast of Loch Eriboll is a sombre and rugged one. The
Quaternary ice sheets left in their wake troughs now filled by the sea loch, innumerable lochs
covered in water lilies, a massive area of indeterminate drainage and expanses of bare gneiss.

Garryvard is set on the fringe of this landscape on a 20 to 25° slope with the crofts aligned
from the moor to the sea, on a mantle of drift. Here is the home of the MacLeods, the Mackinnons
and the Montgomerys. Life beats out its regular pattern of existence during the winter months
on the croft, followed by an increasing tempo and variety of work during the rest of the year. In
January and February the animals must be fed on hay or lose the battle to survive. In February
there are preparations for the year's tasks, making repairs and improvements to the croft.
Next month will find the crofter on the land, making or clearing drains and putting fences and
dykes in order. The tempo of life quickens with the year; April sees the first sheep dipping, the
land turned over, potatoes and oats sown. From mid-May, the sheep leave the crofts to fend
for themselves on the common grazing. The following three or four months are times of tremen-
dous activity on the moors when the peats are cut, to be stacked later, first in fours, then in
eights, so that the wind may dry them, till eventually bee-hive-shaped stacks - some four feet
high - can be seen near the peat banks in August. Then begins the wearisome task of carrying the
peats home, all too frequently in creels carried on the back, since the peat workings of Garryard
are on the moore up to half a mile from road. Altogether some two miles of roads are needed to
peat on their crofts, whilst others have permission to cut from Cromore or Cawstra common
grazings close to the road. All the while croft work continues, varying from hoeing, weeding and
cutting hay to the gathering of sheep for shearing. As there are no fences between the various
commons, crofters must travel from one township task to another, seeking their own. In August
the lambs are weaned. Hay making generally ends in August and is immediately followed by the
oat harvest in September. By the time both oats and hay have been gathered in, the potatoes
are lifted and the sheep are brought in from the common grazing about October 12th. The last
sheep dipping takes place in November and is followed by tupping.

There are eleven crofts altogether, though one is divided, each portion having a legal tenant
who has a half share in the common grazing. Two crofts are 12 acres in extent, the half crofts
2.75 acres only, though the acre cultivated on the common grazing by one of the latter crofters
since 1933, has recently been officially recognised. Most crofts are in strips running from the
sea-shore up the slope some 500 yards to the township dyke, and are clearly demarcated by
fences erected just after the last war. Three crofts have additional strips whilst one croft was
an extra strip belonging to another croft. The additional strips date back about 100 years to a
time when the township grew rapidly as a result of evictions in southern Park. One croft is
divided and worked in three separate parts so in effect there are fourteen operative units in Garryard.

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553 NAMING--bestowal of names in infancy; name givers and namesakes; naming ceremonies; exchange of names; reciprocal relationships created by naming or name exchange; assumption of new names (e.g., occasions, ceremonial); posthumous assumption of names; reasons for name changing; bestowal and assumption of honorific names and titles; etc. See also:

Personal names	551	Godparents and godchildren	860
Twins	554	Ceremonies during infancy	855

The visitors each give the child a gift, especially a silver 842 coin. This token of good luck is placed under the child's 831 pillow. The relationships, then, are essentially reciprocal and individual.

The child's position within the extended family is also 553 fixed at the time of birth by his naming. As a rule, the first 851 son is named after his paternal grandfather, and the first daughter, after her maternal grandmother. The second son is given the name of his maternal grandfather, and the second daughter, that of her paternal grandmother. There are exceptions to this pattern. One grandmother was adverse to having her granddaughter named after her, because nowadays, with late marriage, the naming frequently follows the death of the individual. By far the most common exceptions occur when someone in either parent's family of orientation has passed away. Where the mother's father has died, the first boy is named after him. The same is true for girls when the father's mother has passed away. When a brother or sister of either parent has died, especially without issue, the second born is named "in honor of his memory." In these days of small families, this has led to giving a girl the equivalent of a man's name. There was, for example, Angusina who had been named after her uncle who was killed in the war. Again, with delayed marriage, the couple may have only one child. He or she is given the names of both the paternal and maternal grandparents, such as Ian (for father's father) Ducan (for mother's father) or Morag (after mother's mother) Flora (after father's mother). Aside from serving to identify members of

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alternating generations and being felt as an obligation to 553 perpetuate family names, these various practices serve to limit confusion among a people who share rather few surnames. I never knew a child who had been named for his parents.

The relationship of father and child is formally es- 851 tablished at baptism. As we shall see in the following chapter, the mother takes little or no part in arranging for the sacrament. The spiritual welfare of the children is the father's 593 concern. He is also the disciplinarian, but in the pre-school years discipline is lax. Both parents freely indulge the child, and they spend a great deal of time with him. The belt, an 861 ever-present, ever-threatened means of punishment, only appears when the child assumes the rights and duties which he will exercise as long as he remains on his parents' croft.

When he begins school at five or, in remote townships, 847 at six, the rights and duties determined by age and sex begin 842 to emerge in perspective. Actually, the child has already begun to make a pretense, playfully imitating his or her father or mother, at assuming his role, but the influence of the sex category is not marked. A small boy may fetch some peat for the fire or some water for the dishes. Once he starts school, he is no longer asked to do these chores. As soon as he is able to carry a pail he may feed the chickens; now he only feeds the calves. His first real task is tending the cattle, bringing them down from the hill and driving them out after the milking. As time goes on, he learns how to plant and dig potatoes, cut turf, harvest hay and oats, and at last how to shear sheep.

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554 STATUS, ROLE, AND PRESTIGE--relative prevalence of ascribed and achievable statuses; statuses adapted to particular personality types; general comments on the social ranking of statuses and roles; types of roles and achievable statuses which bring the largest rewards in prestige; individuals typifying the foregoing (e.g., celebrities, national heroes); symbolic tokens of the achievement of prestige (e.g., medals, titles, insignia, praise songs, special privileges); general statements on the various avenues of mobility (e.g., technological skill, wealth, shrewdness, valor, piety, wisdom); etc. See also:

Social stratification	68	Occupational specialization	463
Relation between individual roles and culturally defined statuses	186	Ethnical ideals	877
Ethos	181	Military virtues and prestige	705

121 individuals; rather, causal primacy in human action is given to the sociocultural environment, which determines what choices are available to be made and what behavior is valued. Because the exercise of choice is a human universal, i.e., a constant, it cannot be used to explain variation (cf. Barth 1966).

Actors within a community which is marginal to a larger industrial society make choices within an environment characterized by constraints and incentives which derive from both the local sociocultural system and the larger system. The state of boundedness of the local system is maintained or modified as a result of the strategies adopted by its members. I have suggested that the Scottish crofting township persists as a relatively strongly bounded system not because it is inherently static, isolated, or resistive of change, but because of the constraints and incentives stemming from the larger society. For example, the British government has provided various incentives to 657 197 554 encourage the persistence of crofting and township communalism; and to a certain extent, Gaelic speech or English spoken with a "Hielan'" (Highland) accent constitute social stigma (Goffman 1963) by which a person from the Highlands and Islands is assigned a somewhat lower social status in British social structur

For example,
a Widow Catherine
175 mare and foal (L10)
427 heifer (L1/10)." O
[435] by being fiddlers f
• [551] James Matheson), th
Their income stoppe
time, a great-grand
converted to the Fr

In 1899 and in
that two crofters w
in the township."
[628] a conflict ensued b
[764] township over the e
precious to take ou
of another village.

173 A 65-year-old
24 from the land and s
[233] young. They used t
[237] soil. The entire c
only 2½ acres, but
stacks of barley to
173 a number of kilns t
243 to grind the barley
256 recently rebuilt by
[251] was in operation fr
[877]

lost "one red
, one dun cow (L3/10), and one dun
ne family is said to have paid rent
or "the castle" (the home of Sir
us earning the patronymic, "Fiddler."
d abruptly when the fiddler at the
father of descendants now living,
ee Church and smashed his instrument.
1905 it was noted in the rent ledger
anted "first chance of a vacant croft
In the first quarter of the century,
etween Shawbost and a neighboring
xtension of a cemetery; land was too
t of cultivation and give to the dead

man recalls, "Men got their living
ea. They kept more cattle when I was
he dung of the cattle to fertilize the
croft was used. My father's croft was
he worked it well and harvested eight
see us through the year." There were
o dry grain, and mills along the streams
. The "old Norse mill" which was
the school children as a school project
om 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got

175 228 464 551 a crew member. Another family is called "cook," the first job which a novice had to assume when he joined the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The men 221 241 434 came back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats, barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods. 353 They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover the stone-walled or wood-lined <u>tigh dubh</u> (black house) 434 for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a season. While the men were away at the fishing, the 452 571 remaining members of the family lived on credit from the local shops, and depended on the good will of their neighbors.

175 701 706 505 Many men joined the armed services, and were especially sought after by the Navy and the Merchant Service. In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in the Naval Reserve.

175 228 484 571 435 Around the turn of the century, until the first world war and the growth of the weaving industry, the girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to the boat to see you off. You could go all the way to Aberdeen for 12/6 on a special fish-worker ticket." The girls went from the south of England to Shetland in the far north.

197 Within the village there are no branches of An Com
178 Gaidherlach and few books written in Gaelic. Once a ru
166 family moves to Stornoway, children often refuse to spe
191 Gaelic, even though they understand it, and parents ten
to speak only English to their children, believing this
will help them "get on." In the next generation, the
[871] language is lost. Village children attending school in
Stornoway often prefer talking to their Gaelic-speaking
[867] roommates in English. A young island woman, married an
living in Edinburgh, says she would like her baby son
to learn Gaelic but feels that if he had a mixture of th
two languages the other children would laugh at him.

197 English is the language of the larger society, the
191 language spoken in school and the language required in
most jobs and in dealing with most officials. In Gaelic
197 speaking areas, the speaking of English connotes high
●554 status. If an English speaker mispronounces Gaelic word
626 he is quickly forgiven, praised for trying to learn such
578 a difficult language, and asked why he bothers with a
language that "isn't any use anyway." But if a Gaelic
speaker makes mistakes in English, he is teased merciles
[551] Many nicknames derive from such mistakes; for example,
"Peter Squeak" got his name by mispronouncing the word
[524] "picturesque." People "win points" by competing with
each other in speaking English. "See how good you are

Education in the local school has included a great deal of religious instruction; in other words, religious and educational spheres commingle. Because of the relative prestige which the teaching profession offers to persons from the island, and because the islands are considered "isolated" by most persons looking for jobs (teaching posts on the island include an added sum which is designated as "isolation payment"), most of the island's teachers are themselves islanders. Education is one method by which one's position in the community is elevated. The high status derived from having advanced education also reflects favorably on the parents and position of the family. But teachers and others who return to the island are expected not to deviate from island norms in important matters, such as fundamentalist religious beliefs; hence teachers tend to perpetuate fundamentalist religious beliefs within the classroom.

Formerly the minister visited the school once each year to examine the children on their catechism, thus testing the state of religious instruction in the school. Several years ago this practice was stopped by the education authorities of the County Council, and the minister now gives a sermon in the school about once a month but is not allowed to examine the children. Many ministers are dissatisfied with the arrangement, as they are afraid that

TACKSMEN AND TENANTS

rental were published for the benefit of intending purchasers, a value in sterling being placed on the items:

Money	£713	3	3
Oatmeal, 256 bolls	89	2	2
Sheep, 228	25	6	8
Butter, 173 stones	28	19	7
Tallow, 7 stones	1	3	4
Salmon, 1 barrel	3	0	0
Total =	£860	15	0

The most important event in the agricultural history of the island at this time was the introduction of the potato. Though the exact date is not known, some evidence from the writer on Lewis in the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* (1796) places it about 1757. 'With the utmost difficulty . . . the people were prevailed on to plant potatoes, but of which they now plant great quantities by the plough and by the spade, and find them to be the most useful of all crops raised in the Parish.'

The substantial tacksman seemed, in Lewis, to deal kindly with those who called him Fear Baile (Town Man—almost a mayor, without the trappings and self-elected). Serious complaints against tacksmen are few. But winds of change were blowing. John MacKenzie, who had for some years been Chamberlain of the Lewis Estate, was examined before the Napier Commission in Edinburgh in 1883. He knew the island's history well.

Till the beginning of this century, the greater part of the Lewis was in the hands of tacksmen, or middlemen, who got in some cases from their sub-tenants in money, produce, and labour what nearly paid their rents. There were the MacIvers of the Parish of Stornoway, the Morisons and Murrays of Barvas, the MacAulays of Uig, and the MacLeods of Lochs. When Mr Stewart-MacKenzie married the Hon Lady Hood, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and took the management of the estate into his own hands, he did away with the middlemen and let the land directly to the crofters. This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction, but it had its disadvantages, as the example of a good middleman, who looked after his people, and who was industrious in farming and attentive in stock-breeding, was beneficial to the people, though in some cases they may have been petty tyrants.

THE PEOPLE

eighty visitors each year, but there is nothing similar in Lewis. Hostellers who visit Stornoway can do little more than march through the town to the mail-boat, or else return to Harris by the next bus.

As might be expected, the reading tradition is strong, stemming from a natural desire to learn and from the fact that the ceilidh could only partly satisfy the need for mental stimulation, not to mention the need to alleviate loneliness. A century ago three books were to be found in many island homes: the family Bible, often a massive volume clad in hairy calfskin, *Turus a' Chriosdaidh (Pilgrim's Progress)* and *Gras am Pailteas* (Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*). As horizons became wider a public library was set up in Stornoway in 1907 (see Chapter 8); a library was in fact established there earlier, before 1897, but it was not a free one. In round figures, the 15,400 people of landward Lewis (Lewis excluding Stornoway) borrow some 70,000 books annually, though of course the actual readership figures are higher, books borrowed being passed round the family and exchanged with others until the 'mobile' calls again. The mobile library service was established by the Ross & Cromarty County Council in 1955 for rural villages in thirty-one school districts.

ISLAND EMIGRANTS

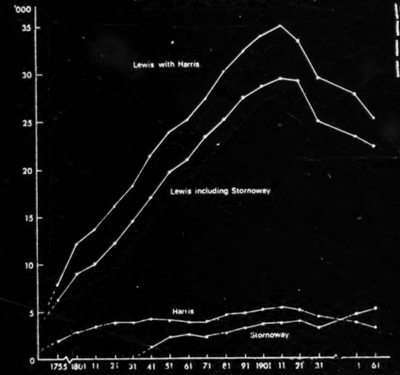
For all that the island is a tight-knit community, paradoxically it breeds many men and women whose destinies are not worked out within the confines of its own shores, but at the ends of far horizons. This is typical of most Highland areas: some who leave them make a mark on other societies often greatly exceeding the size of the community they left behind. Many 'great' people are also directly descended from a crofting ancestry; minds and spirits bred in the Highlands and Islands have potential for development not always apparent on native soil but sometimes fully realised in alien surroundings and conditions.

Harris and Lewis have contributed their share, and still do, to the general weal of skill, ability and intellect in all fields of human endeavour. For centuries, the export of brains was normal. Possibly the best known is Sir Alexander MacKenzie, who discovered

ISLAND EMIGRANTS

the MacKenzie River; he was born in Stornoway in 1764, in what was known as Luskentyre House, at the corner of Kenneth Street and Francis, where Martin's Memorial Church now stands. Another MacKenzie, Lt-Col Colin MacKenzie, was born in Stornoway about 1754 and went to Madras in 1772 as a cadet in the Engineer Corps under the East India Company. In India, MacKenzie followed a career of high professional distinction,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]



Population trends *c* 1755 to 1961 for the island as a whole; for Lewis, including Stornoway; for Harris; and for Stornoway. The population peak occurred in 1911. The dip in the Stornoway curve was due to the effects of emigration, as is the more pronounced dip in the island curve. Stornoway's curve in 1961 was on the upward trend, due to migration from the landward parts of the island into the town. Over the past 150 years, however, population mobility within the island has been virtually nil; movement has been emigration rather than migration

ISLAND EMIGRANTS

surveying Mysore (40,000 square miles), a work of great difficulty, and ultimately becoming Surveyor-General of India. Though not island-born, Thomas Babington MacAulay, the first and only Baron MacAulay of Rothley, was an issue from the very heart of the Hebrides. He was only one generation removed from Gaelic-speaking ancestors. His grandfather was born in the Manse of Harris, and a great-grandfather in the far-off parish of Uig, in Lewis; a great-grandmother was born in the old Manse of Stornoway.

The MacIvers of Liverpool were a Lewis family who took a leading part in the development of regular steamship travel across the Atlantic and in the foundation of the Cunard Line. The brothers David and Charles MacIver first operated with passenger ships (the City of Glasgow Steam Packet Company, 1844) on the Clyde coast. Before that they ran a petty smack between Loch Roag and Campbeltown. Kenneth Morison, the founder of the Railway Clearing House, was born in Stornoway in 1805; in an unusual field there was Aeneas MacKenzie, who scripted many Hollywood films; W. E. Gladstone's mother was a native of Stornoway; and the last of the tea-clipper skippers was Captain Murdo Stewart MacDonald, who skippered the *Sir Launcelot*. Yet another local boy who made good is R. M. MacIver, who left Stornoway at the age of sixteen to make a journey, first to Edinburgh University and then on to Oxford, Canada and America. He has in his lifetime collected eight Honorary Degrees, became Lieber Professor of political philosophy at Columbia University, and President, and then Chancellor, of the New School for Social Research.

24 36 with its tied cottages and frequently a 'bothy' for the unmarried. Next to this comes the full-time small-holding,
(184) important in the North-east and the Southern Highlands of Scotland. Great as are the differences between these types of unit today, they go back, to a considerable extent,
(174) to common origins. The sites of the farms are ancient. And their people, though since divided into masters and men, are the successors to those who were once the 'kindly co-operators' of older 'farm groups', of Lowland *ferm-toun* and
(184) Gaelic *baile* (pronounced like 'ballie'). The island counterpart of these, and their life, will be described in Part Two. Hence, before we turn to further analysis of the Highlands and Isles, a word more should be said of Lowland types.

24 36 464 An important social index in the Lowlands of Scotland is the number composing the farm labour-team, averaged for each county. Villages and even hamlets are few, largely because farmers and farm servants live on the farms.
(171) Compared to those of most of England, Scots labour-teams are small. Yet, as the map indicates, there is a
(184) wide range from the 'large' teams of South-east Scotland, through the 'medium' teams of adjacent areas, to the 'small' teams of the West and North-east. Not only do the contacts of employer with employees partly depend upon the number in the team, but so do the farm servants' relations to one another. On the whole, the larger the team, the more formal its organisation; and the smaller
• (554) the team, the greater a worker's own responsibility. The
(178) 'family farmer' of the West and North-east is often an ex-farm servant. From Burns's time, his character and enterprise have been recognised in Scotland, and in the last forty years have become well known in South-east England. But the isolation of these little farms brought its problems and its hardships.

i [see map p. 16 .. analysi][20]

175 427 614 621 they were composed of at least one to four or five hamlet-farms. The tacksmen also had cottars for service.

Thus in Lewis a special reason, the accession of Seaforth, had led to the granting of many tacks to his own clansmen and to natives. Elsewhere in the Highlands the
175 procedure is noteworthy during the sixteenth, seventeenth
427 and eighteenth centuries, for the collection of rents from
614 the peasantry by means of large tenants had financial
184 advantages for the greater landlords (I. F. Grant, 1930). The tacksman's continuation as tenant depended on his
(661) paying regularly, for the lease was not a hereditary grant. A tack could also provide for a lord's younger sons or
(565) immediate relations, such as formed the gentry of the clan. Along with smaller lairds, these furnished the cadres of officers who led the clan regiments down to the 'Forty-five, and later the Highland Regiments of the line and the Fencibles down to Waterloo. Like MacKenzie, other great chiefs such as Argyle or Breadalbane leased tacks when they acquired the status of peers and took possession of fresh lands with Royal support, after vain resistance from native chiefs and their followers. In Lewis, the fiscal status of tacksmen was applied both to MacKenzie's supporters from the mainland and to those with ancient roots in the west of the Island. The latter may have thought a mere lease a poor substitute for hereditary tenure, though a legal compromise necessary if their possession was to be
(166) continued. The lack of permanent tenure ultimately led to the departure of their descendants.

175 621 614 From the families of these tacksmen have sprung most of those of Lewis birth or descent who achieved fame before the twentieth century. Of the MacAulays, we saw Zacharias was Chamberlain during and after the 'Fifteen.
• 554 Thomas Babington Macaulay came of the same line, as
(668)

175 554 614 621 did another Zacharias, closer than Thomas to the Lewis
• (668) tree, who worked nobly with Wilberforce for the emancipation of the slaves.[1] Still another connection was a Canadian emigrant, grandfather of the late T. B. Macaulay, LL.D. Alexander Mackenzie, the explorer of the Mackenzie River, was a descendant of Lewis tacksmen. MacIvers and Morisons also distinguished themselves.
(178) But the sons and daughters of crofters had to await the
(871) provision of education in English before they could rise in trade, learning or war; hence few Lewismen of the greatest Lewis name, MacLeod, achieved eminence until the twentieth century.

175 554 565 427 As for the peasantry, the interposition of a new or enlarged class of tenantry between themselves and the superior must have meant that they had to labour on the tacksman's home farm, and no doubt pay more in produce or cash. Hence the Gaelic saying that if the position of the small (joint) tenants was bad, that of the subtenants was worse, "the Evil One itself". Following the long fight with the Fife Adventurers, hardship may have been greatest where mainland tacksmen were placed above the joint tenants; but even under MacAulays and MacIvers rents may have been raised and some of the joint freedom lost which was still enjoyed in Ness. Whatever adjustments had been made in an earlier period had to be re-made with the beginning of Seaforth's new order.

In the following generations, contradictory accounts of lairds, factors and tacksmen are given by contemporary observers. Certain of these insisted that, given the poverty of the lands as a whole, the chiefs and landlords, factors and tacksmen, were the saviours of their people. Yet even among those who supported authority in general, there was
(113)

[1] Charles Booth, *Zachary Macaulay*, 1934.

175 seldom agreement as to which of these three types brought
• 554 the greater good or wrought the lesser evil. As elsewhere,
565 tacksmen declined by the end of the eighteenth century.
427 Buchanan wrote in 1793, "The greatest tacksman in Lewis is the Laird's ground officer"; but he added that the Island was for the most part inhabited by tenants holding directly from Seaforth, who "easily perceived the folly, as well as the inhumanity, of lending out the people on his island to imperious tacksmen, for the purpose of raising fortune to themselves on the ruins of the unfortunate subtenants". At a later date a former Chamberlain of the Lewis estate, John Munro Mackenzie of Calgarry, held otherwise. To the Napier Crofters' Commission in 1883, he said: "Till the beginning of this century the greater part of the Lewis was in the hands of tacksmen, or middlemen, who got in some cases from their subtenants in money, produce, and labour, what nearly paid their rents". Their names were those of the seventeenth century. Early in the century, "when Mr. Stewart-Mackenzie married the Hon. Lady Hood, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and took the management of the estate into his own hands, he did away with the middlemen, and let the land direct to the crofters.
(232) This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction, but it had its disadvantages, as the example of a good middleman, who looked after his people, and who was industrious in farming . . . and stock-breeding, was beneficial to the people, though in some cases they may have been petty tyrants." He might no doubt have added that they could, if need be, stand between a bad factor and the crofters.
(278) When they lost their tacks, some of these 'middlemen' turned to the growing fishing industry and helped to supply capital and enterprise as curers; their successors were active through the nineteenth century and I spoke with

175 the last of these in outlying villages after 1918. When
554 Matheson purchased the Island in 1844 he left the fishing
565 industry to the curers, great and small. Particularly before
427 most fishermen could speak and write English, the local
228 curers were best fitted to take action not only in marketing but in approaching the Government to aid the construction of piers and harbours. On the whole, their long ties with place and people, coupled with education, made them useful leaders of a community in which leaders were needed to adapt life to a changing economy. Here and there one or two small farmers survive, a little apart from the main townships. Aided by a long cultural tradition, they meet changing times by combining with their inheritance a sane selection of new elements.

175 Looking beyond the Island to the mainland, the time is
621 approaching for a fair assessment to be made of the historic
622 parts of chief and landlord, factor and tacksman. Not only
427 is there an enlarging body of documentation, but a growing
184 understanding of communal strands in tradition and of
178 changing social economy seen in relation to geographic
182 factors of place and region. And in the Gaeldom, conditions varied greatly between bordering areas from Mar to Kintyre,[1] and the heartland of tradition in the Hebrides. In the Island, one must remember the fundamental opposition, yet the recurrent readjustments of chiefs and people. These, and not only individual differences in character and conduct, explain the differences of experience and opinion
829 quoted above. The people's belief, so frequently given to me thirty years ago, that it was bad factors, not the landlord, who taxed and harried them unjustly, expressed an idealistic faith in a chief, rather than the facts of economy
565 and history. For lordship begins with the imposition of
113

[1] A. McKerral, *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, 1947.

175 Such are the mingled traditions of the Highland
701 regiments which served in so many wars, for right or for wrong. Of all the desperate alternatives before the Gael
614 —famine at home, semi-slavery in the factory towns, death-stricken sea voyages, pioneering in the forested hills of Eastern North America, or war, it was this last which offered the men not only the trappings and glamour of clanship but continuing fellowship. In the regiment a Gael was among friends. Modern civilisation offered him no other life promising social continuity and the hope of a return to croft and township, " if death should spare him ".

175 It would be wrong to suggest that only the gentry could
701 rise to command, for as English and literacy were acquired,
565 the sons of small tenants received commissions. British
554 military discipline has too often driven a breach between the men and the non-commissioned officers, spoiling the
703 latter's fitness for higher leadership. But among Highlanders " the bond of faith and affection " led naturally to commissioned rank. For generations, historic precedent
178 was carried on in living tradition.[1] Given education, the
871 sons of Island crofters have risen to command on land and sea; but education came late.

CONCLUSION

175 Thus in the ' little commonwealths ' of the farm-hamlets
621 grouped within the township, personal right and equal
631 shares were balanced by common duty, summed up in the principle of duty-right or coir.
577
614

[1] The tradition of leadership calls for review but here one can only cite examples. For instance, descendants of his neighbours in Strath Spey told me that my paternal grandfather, as a penniless lad speaking Gaelic and English (in which he was literate), enlisted in the Black Watch about 1829. He was known as a N.C.O. for his power of quiet, reasoning discipline. He thrice refused the offer of a commission, which was then given to others, of whom more than one rose to high command in the battalion.

221 rams are put out in November, the pace becom
231 main job being the feeding of cattle.

434 The economy is neither a subsistence n
economy for the majority. All but a few lar
to supplement their income from the croft wi
outside employment or independent source of
427 ample, contributions from a child or a pensi
361 croft is no more than a home. For an aged p
a means of living cheaply. The rent, which
427 is only nominal, and the taxes are negligibl
571
361 crofting than simple economic considerations.
were only a matter of economy, the system wo
554 abandoned long ago. It is a way of life in
finds meaningful patterns of interaction and
compatible with his aspirations. The land
potential source of income. It is the ancest
tie to the land is an expression of the senti
kinship.[12] Many, perhaps the majority, have
of their lives in other parts of the world w
and looking forward to the day they might re
Isle. Although only the Glendale crofters a
the law has given the tenants complete securi
the right to bequeath the croft to a member o
Thus, they can return to their township and f

[12] Cf. Ibid., pp. 64, 81.

es slower, the

or a self-sufficient
ge crofters have
th some form of
income, for ex-
on. For many the
erson, it provides
is fixed by law,
e. There is more to
. Indeed, if it
uld have been
which the individual
an ascribed status
is more than a
tral home. The
mental bond of
spent a good part
rking for a wage
urn to the Misty
e land owners,
ty of tenure and
f their family.
ind solidarity.

to the traditions of the past. I shall discuss this further when I describe the extended family.

The Township. The township is a cooperating economic unit. Communal use of an interest in the common grazing lands gives the township its focus. Living on the several crofts, there will be found an aggregate of nuclear families and unmarried individuals who, especially in the older townships, are related and re-related on both sides. Only in the more modern townships does the degree of relationship become tenuous and finally disappear. In interpersonal activities the neighbors have a rate of interaction second only to that of the nuclear family.

The dominant social trait is the strong emphasis on the ascription of status on the basis of kinship, sex and age. There are no socially valued achieved statuses. The facts are simple. Males enjoy higher prestige than females, and the old men and women are respected by the youth. All of the same age grade and sex are essentially equal. Again we have a parallel with the Irish small farmer.[18]

There is no room for the expression of a role of leadership in economic activities. The governing principle of township administration is so-called primitive democracy. All males have an equal voice in determining the acceptance of any policy or action which concerns the group, and unanimous consent is necessary for the adoption of any change. Although each township has an elected grazing clerk and a grazing

[18]Cf. Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 45, 109-110; and Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63, 181-231.

committee, a legal requirement, these individuals lack authority. They are figureheads whose primary function to advise the government of the decisions reached by all crofters who share in the grazing and to regulate the u the land by self-imposed rights. In townships where the are owned as club stock the clerk serves to distribute profits from the sale of stock, and he may also keep a of the individuals who are entitled to payment for labor townships where money has replaced customary reciprocity In any cooperative venture beyond the family level, ther no one who can step forward to act as a foreman. The as sumption of this role would upset the basic status equal of the crofters, unless the person wishes to be regarded eccentric.

The Crofting Neighborhood. The crofting neighborhood co sists of an aggregate of individuals and nuclear familie who dwell in several townships, standing in close spatia proximity. It is, therefore, natural that the ties of residence and kinship should continue to operate. The i portant distinguishing features between the township and larger social entity are two: (1) cooperation in agricul and pastoral activities is replaced by mutual aid, and (there is a greater wealth of formal and informal inter- personal activities in which the people associate.

There are invariably established social circles wi which the individuals habitually move. One always consi of the individual's kinsmen, "his people," his family of orientation, and "his close friends," all other relative the fourth degree of relationship.

change in the use of the grazing land or a desire of the young men to fence the crofts in an effort to improve the individual crofts the old men must have their say. Through their position in the churches, the old men also are the paramount source of social control, preserving their traditional habits and statuses, including a severe limitation on all social activity of a frivolous nature. This religiously sanctioned control is strengthened by the inability of the youth to form a solidarity. Indeed, one of the most serious limitations of the society of Skye is the small number of young men and women, boys and girls and the few opportunities which they have to come together as a group. The functions of the old men's age grade are identical with those described for the Irish small farmer.[21] Another social circle is composed of the affiliates of the same religious sect. They are mainly a mutual aid group.

Although the status equality noted in the township for all of the same sex and age carries over to the larger community, there are always a few people who have an achieved status. The minister enjoys high social prestige as the spiritual guardian of the people. The doctor is valued for his role in caring for the people's physical well-being. The school teacher is respected because he educates the youth and often acts as a spokeman for the group. If there is a member of the landed gentry, he will be accorded the highest status in the area. It is interesting to note that the achieved status positions are most often filled by newcomers to the island. The shopkeepers and

[21]Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 125-139.

tradesmen are respected, but since most are crofters, they are treated like all other men.

The Village. The village contains a heterogeneous population. At least a third of the families have arrived in the recent past. They have come to fill positions in the county and national government offices; in Lowland directed banks or business houses which have extended their field of operations to Skye; and in the professions as doctors, lawyers, ministers, and schoolteachers. A few have come to Skye to open a shop or offer their services as tradesmen. The remainder are either Skye folk who have recently moved into the village to see employment or families that have been in Portree for one or more generations. Very few families seem to have lived in the village for more than three generations.

While there are many opportunities for an individual to achieve status in Portree, the cultural heritage and the economic limitations under which the Sgiathanach labors has not allowed him to compete with the newcomers. His ability to compete is further restricted by the prevailing policy of the government and the national corporations to bring in managerial and, often, clerical personnel from the outside. All share one socio-economic trait; they are non-crofting. As yet there is no class structure beyond the polarity of the landed gentry and the crofters who participate in village life. There is verticality. Highest prestige status is accorded to those who have been accepted among the local aristocracy. Below them rank the ministers, doctors, and school teachers.

the remainder of the population, as a general rule, it may aid that a person's status depends on personal qualities er than on occupation. This is especially true of men who an active part in the church. In terms of interaction, social hierarchy is extremely fluid. People who elsewhere Britain would be "working" or "middle" class not infrequently with members of the "upper" class in both formal and in- al social groups.[22] This underlying equalitarian pattern always characterized the interpersonal relations of Skye's ety. There is, of course, cleavage between the upper l of the society and the bulk of the population; inter- iage is impossible.

The social life of the village revolves around the new- rs and the landed gentry. In addition to the social les based upon age, sex, kinship, and religion, the indi- al belongs to several small groups of friends and, perhaps, w formally organized clubs. When the native-born take in the formal activities they do so as participants rather as organizers or directors. The necessary roles of leader- are left to the newcomers or to the landed gentry. The er, in particular, are responsible for community affairs, as the chief and his kinsmen were formerly looked to as leaders of the people. Occasionally, an influential new- r gives them able assistance. The influence of the old is not as marked in the village as in the crofting communities,

[22]Roy Lewis and Angus Maude, The English Middle Classes don: Phoenix House, 1949), pp. 13-26, 87-110.

mainly because there are enough young people to form a strong age grade of their own. The more liberal outlook of the villagers is, however, tempered by the old men.

Religion

The attachment to the past embodied in the social and economic aspects of the culture carries over into the religious life of the Sgiathanach. He is a Presbyterian who continues to worship and view the world within a pattern which characterized the Scots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The doctrine and theology are derived from the teachings of Calvin as interpreted by John Knox and refined by the Covenanters of the seventeenth century. To the original ethical code a strong measure of influence from the English Puritan movement has been added. The guiding principles are still foreordination and election. The dominant motivating factor is asceticism.

One of the outstanding features of the island today is the large number of churches for such a limited population. To serve the 8,600 people there are 21 churches with ministers and 13 mission stations. A hundred years ago, when the population was almost triple the present number, there were only seven ministers on Skye. The present abundance is the outcome of a series of religious schisms of the past century. There are now four Presbyterian sects. Of all the neighborhoods on Skye, only Glendale is religiously homogeneous.

employment as hands on fishing vessels. The young women followed these fleets seeking work as gutters and curers in the ports. Some may have made their way to Portree, where a woolen mill had been erected by the Highland Destitution Committee. The population of Portree increased during thes years from 510, in 1841, to 893, in 1881, but this can hard be regarded as a significant trend.

The really striking aspect of this period is the almo complete lack of protest by the Sgiathanach against the violation of his presumptive right to the land. The disapp of the tacksmen, of course, had left the people without the counselors and leaders in secular affairs, and many of the ministers, especially those who were themselves sheep farme counseled submission to the will of God. Then, too, the et of the Skyemen would not allow them to ventilate their grie They despised the Sassanach and felt that "the landlord was bad enough, but the factor was the Devil himself." Still those who knew them well and those who rambled by their cot wrote unanimously of a people who endured overwhelming suff in patience and reticence.[69] The betrayal of any weakness, especially before the cursed Sassanach, was a breach of pro

The Skyeman had not lost his capacity to respond to leadership. Throughout the nineteenth century there had be widespread and growing discontent all over Europe with the

[69]Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82; and Cummings, op. cit., p. 136. See also Robert Buchanan, The Hebride Isles (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883), p. 324; and Malcol Ferguson, Rambles in Skye (Irvine: Charles Murchland, 1885), pp. 121, 122.

[70]Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 136.

197 behavior characteristic of the dominant group; but for
191
554 those that remain in the village, the language serves a
57
182 unifying function, although its form is limited in
189
578 diversity of elements.

184 Jokes are most humorous when told in Gaelic; and
197 conversation is punctuated with Gaelic proverbs and old
538 stories. There is a vast oral lore, expressed in Gaelic,
[522] of the village and generations of its members and their
[521] characteristics and escapades, a dense map of human events.
All of these tales, proverbs and jokes have been told a
829 thousand times, but retain their unifying function. When
speaking of today's children who do not go to the sheiling,
a man says sadly, "They won't have our memories; this
place will mean less to them than it does to us." The
moor is not an empty wasteland, but a map of memories.
103 Thousands of place names are known, and behind every place
175 name is a story. The major landmarks such as mountains,
lochs and headlands tend to have Norse names, from the
days when the Norsemen raided and settled along the island
coasts; but the smaller hillocks and fields and bends in
the stream have Gaelic names, for example, Sheiling of
the One Night, Field of the Slaves, Slope of the Stone
[184] Boys, Hillock of William's Sheiling. To know these place
names and their histories is to participate in a distinct
community, which has been made even more distinct by contrast
with the dominant society.

English, no Gaelic allowed. I can beat you any time...."
One person observed, "People here make fun of each other
all the time. They're always trying to be superior, to
get one over the other person. Speaking English gives
you a feeling of superiority."

If a Gaelic speaker chooses to speak English in a village situation where there are no officials present or other cues which make English-speaking appropriate, this indicates that he considers himself a cut above everyone else. "I went to help Calum pull his tractor out of the mud, and Malina was there with her husband. She was speaking English. Oh, I says to myself, lady, you're not for this place. You don't belong to this village."

In evaluating whether or not a particular woman is "snobbish," villagers may decide, "She must be; whenever I've seen her in the post office, she never speaks any Gaelic."

The sanctions against speaking English when all persons present speak Gaelic indicate the effect of interaction between a socially marginal group and the dominant group. The effect is to increase the emphasis on uniform behavior within the marginal group. The existence of a higher social stratum has diminished social differentiation within the village setting. Individuals may move out of that setting and adopt the language and other forms of

told about a people not unlike the crofters, and the prophesies were being fulfilled before the peoples' very eyes. Is it any wonder that thousands gathered on the hillsides to listen to a minister whose dynamic appeals moved them to tears?

As the people turned to the new church and the emotionalism of the large outdoor gatherings, they continued to forsake their old customs and folklore. The songs, except in some cases the waulking songs which provided the tempo for shrinking homespun, and the tales were placed under clerical bann.[75] The ministers and the "Men" insisted on the prerequisite of gravity in all aspects of life for salvation.[76] The communion roles were purged. In Bracadale, for example, there had been 258 communicant members. Following the Disruption there were less than ten.[77] The same pattern was repeated elsewhere on the island.[78]

The religious patterns which had evolved were, nevertheless, reinforcing much of the traditional way of life. The "Men" of Skye had become elders in the Free Church. This status sanctioned their position in the community. Although the age structure of the population had not yet altered

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[75] Norman MacLean, Set Free (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 949), pp. 11-12, 14.

[76] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 35; and Daniel Lamont, trath: In Isle of Skye (Glasgow: A. Sinclair, 1913), pp. 27-30.

[77] Norman MacLean, The Years of Fulfillment (London: Hodder nd Stoughton, 1953) pp. 113-119.

[78] Norman MacLean, Set Free, pp. 14-15, 18, 203-212. See lso his The Former Days (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1945), p. 40-49, 80.

175 sufficiently to make age controls an irresistible force, the 178 prestige status of the small number of the "elect," those 182 795 who had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the 793 554 elders gave them complete control over all social and religious activity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about these facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now is that the religious patterns provided a framework in which the culture could find continuity and through which the society could achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like customs resulted in a change of content, but there were positive results as well. Above all, there was a change in [24] focus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in clan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a known religious brotherhood.

175 178 427 423 Summary. The third period of the modern phase of Skye's culture history saw the culmination of the process of commercialization of the land. All the influences necessary for the conversion of the subsistence economy, albeit a much [233] deteriorated economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming, on a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy. [167] Newcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved [184] methods of land utilization were replacing the conservative [311] and impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial [621] farmers consolidated their holdings, the communal townships [554] were being obliterated. The concept of individual possession of the land was replacing the customary rights of the small tenants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

from these influences. Now the government provided the capital, by grant, subsidy, and loan, and the guidance necessary for a fuller utilization of the land. The crofters who had already seen their subsistence economy disappear became a part of the national system of commerce. What effect have these influences had on the culture? 175 178 184 241

Throughout the modern epoch there has been a tendency to increase the production of exports, first cattle and then sheep, at the expense of the traditional subsistence crops. Within ecological limits, the national markets have determined what the Sgiathanach might produce. Since the environment has made Skye a pastoral land and agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years, abandonment of a subsistence economy has meant dependence on stock breeding for export. Commercialization of the land and increasing dependence on imported food has resulted in a growth of the importance of money. The decline in household industries, caused by economic deterioration, has also played its part in the people's dependence on currency. As a measurement of values, however, the importance of money has declined since the period of the large sheep farms. The crofter's margin of profit is small, and his opportunities to earn a wage are limited. Economic differentiation no longer [554] affects the traditional status values, except within the traditional polarity of landed gentry and tenant. 175 178 439 175 178 439 436

In a comparable way, the utilization of more efficient methods of production is less important now than it was during the period of the "Clearances." Techniques have improved for the majority in so far as labor saving devices are available, but the achieving of modern efficiency is precluded by the 175 178 427 241

6: Ducey	E-4,5	(1953-1954)	1956	ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

crofting districts. Shops, schools, inns, and churches increased in numbers, but they have not clustered to form a village nucleus. In more recent years the county has tried to stimulate village growth by building houses at a few centers. Someday they may succeed in altering the settlement pattern.

As a consequence of the increasing integration of the Sgiathanach within the national scene, government regulations have expanded and have come to be enforceable by a local police. Government services too have increased in scope. Many of the traditional functions of the family and the local group are now functions of an ever increasing number of government employees. Nevertheless, the traditional statuses of the members of the group have persisted and social control has not been reduced in favor of action by the state.

The class structure has changed several times. It has vacillated between a leveling of socio-economic differentiation and a growing polarity of status. At present there is no local class structure beyond the old polarity of landed gentry and crofters. Those who fall between these groups are ranked on prestige values of long standing. Even though many of the intermediate group would be working or middle class if they lived elsewhere in Britain, on Skye personal factors play a more important role in determining prestige than socio-economic differences. Leadership and political power remain in the hands of the gentry.

If the foregoing material suggests that there is evidence on Skye for Redfield's concepts of disorganization

6: Ducey	E-4,5	(1953-1954)	1956	ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

One further word of caution is in order before we proceed. It will soon become obvious to the reader that my main interest in the social organization of the Sgiathanach is a concern with status. In the final analysis, I have decided that this is the only fruitful means to seek cultural continuity despite population change. Therefore, I have glossed over many details of the social organization, and I have described others only in so far as they throw light on the ascription and achievement of status. With this in mind, let us turn to a consideration of the Islanders' society.

Kith and Kin within the Township and on the Croft

The society of the Sgiathanach is no different from any other society in the world in ordering interpersonal relationships by attaching cultural significance to the physical factors of kinship, age, and sex. As Linton has asserted, kinship establishes the individual's relation with his cultural recognized relatives; age and sex establish his relationship with the total society and the section of the culture in which he can participate.[10] Skye differs from many societies, especially contemporary American society, by using these factors exclusively in determining the status and role of the members of the township. The status and role of every individual is ascribed.[11] The only way an individual can achieve status is

[10] Ralph Linton, "A Neglected Aspect of Social Organization," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLV, No. 6 (December, 1940), pp. 870-886; and "Age and Sex Categories," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 5 (October, 1942), pp. 589-603.

[11] The theoretical concept, of course, is Linton's (The Study of Man, pp. 113-131).

6: Ducey	E-4,5	(1953-1954)	1956	ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

by leaving, for if he fails to conform to the traditional norms and patterns of behavior, he will be locked upon as an eccentric. This fact has continuity through all periods of Skye's history.

We have already seen how the age and sex structure of the population has changed in response to social and economic conditions and how this change has influenced the ascription of statuses within the crofters' division of labor. Briefly, there has been a contraction of the number of opportunities for ascribing status. This had made it necessary for some men to perform tasks once the exclusive domain of women and for women to participate in activities which formerly were the responsibility of their men folk. Older people must now function in ways which once were the responsibilities of the youth and young adults. These changes, however, have been accompanied by persistencies, in particular a continuity of basic status values. I think this will become clear through a discussion of the family structure. We shall begin with the nuclear family.

The Nuclear Family. Since my interest is in status, I shall adopt the unorthodox procedure of considering the nuclear family in terms of the changing status of the individual member from birth to maturity. This will give us a dynamic picture of family life. At birth the individual's relationships within the crofting family and, to a lesser degree, within the township are established. Like those of his parents, who now have the ascribed statuses of mother and father, his relationships will remain unchanged until he marries and founds

share similar social attitudes and a distinctive way of life.[27] The investigator can understand the society with greater ease once he can equate the differing cultural expressions with the sense of status.

Ascribed status continues to be important in Portree, at least in stratifying the old Skye families. On the fringes of the village there are a few part-time crofters or tradesmen who keep some stock and grow a little grain and few potatoes. These men and their families as well as the crofters from the hinterland find their place in the village society through clique groups, in particular those based upon kinship and "friendship." Several of the county families reside in the village and, with the landed gentry who continue to live on their estates, take an active part in village life.

Between the two poles there is a large intermediate group. Their occupations range from the professions, including doctors, ministers, teachers, and lawyers; through employees of the national and county gouvernments, including estate factors, policemen, office managers, and clerks; to shopkeepers, tradesmen, truck drivers, and laborers. Elsewhere in Great Britain these people would fall into the middle and working classes.[28] On Skye such stratification is unimportant. If we cannot use the British scheme, we certainly cannot employ the American system developed by Warner.[29]

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[27] Cf. MacIver, op. cit., pp. 166-167.

[28] Cf. Lewis and Maude, The English Middle Classes.

[29] W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); and The Status System of Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

pplicability of Warner's scheme within the United States
n demonstrated by Kroeber,[30] and its use beyond the
States has been censured by Steward.[31] Now, while the
tend to admit more freely to the existence of class
ericans do, the social fluidity of the village has
ed many newcomers who grew up in the Lowlands or England.
f stratification exists,[32] there is general agreement
eavage or social distance will be found. Murdock,
only one authority, has said the cultural differences
ial distance commonly present between groups separated
ly are frequently found in socially separated groups.[33]
certainly true for the landed gentry and the crofters,
regards to the intermediate population, Portree seems
ery much like Sublette, Kansas.[34] The presence of the

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[30] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 270-272.

[31] Steward, Area Research, pp. 40-49.

[32] My general approach to the class structure followed that
West (Plainville, U. S. A. [New York: Columbia University
1945], pp. 116-130); but I also used Warner's objective-
ional technique (W. Lloyd Warner, M. Meeker, and K.
Social Class in America. A Manual of Procedure for the
ent of Social Status [Chicago: Science Research Associates,
and I employed the so-called "judges" technique. For
presentation of this last approach, see Leonard Broom
ip Selznick, Sociology (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson
1955), pp. 172-173.

[33] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 265-266. See also Linton, The
Men, and Gillan, The Ways of Men, p. 355.

[34] Earl H. Bell, The Culture of a Contemporary Rural
y: Sublette, Kansas (Rural Life Studies," No. 2;
on, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1942),
Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 384.

565 many newcomers and the high rates of inward, outward, and
mobility seems to have worked against any clear cut patter
Certainly, it requires more than non-membership in the hig
and lowest classes of socially recognized strata to form a
middle class. I look upon this indefinable strata as a ne
class. This is not meant to imply the absence of ranking
prestige status. Ranking is no less important than it is
the rural neighborhood.

As in the neighborhood, a few professions automatica
162 554 463 183 carry high prestige; these are the ministry, medicine, and
teaching. Otherwise, a man's prestige depends more on his
outside activities than his occupation. Bankers are often
thought of as having prestige. In Portree one banker is
highly regarded because "he does an awful lot for the chur
Another, although respected, as evidenced by the use of hi
surname when referring to him, is socially inferior because
"he never mixes with people" and "no one ever gets invited
to his house." The same holds for other occupations. One
man may be looked up to because he has taken an active pa
in organizing an old people's welfare committee and was
instrumental in founding the Skye Council of Social Servic
the only rural social service council in Scotland. Anothe
of the same occupation is looked down upon because he keep
to himself. To cast a shadow on whatever prestige he may
have, the people talk about a shady deal in which he suppo
got involved and claim that his wife sells eggs. No one b
a crofter's wife sells eggs. If a man is a native Sgiathe

tinction. During the war when Skye had its own little 875
y, he came to know many of the old crofters quite well. 554 576
ally, he came to use personal names when speaking to them
asked to be called by his first name. The people explained
t they might be older than he, but he was too important
be spoken to as anything other than mister.

The tradesmen and the shopkeepers in Glendale and 554 443
muir are not any different from any other man. They are
specialists. They are part-time crofters. We have to
n to Portree to see what status position they fill in the
iety of Skye. I might just add that they are on a first
basis with their neighbors, and, like the crofters, they
known beyond the neighborhood by their first name and
nship, such as Ian Borve or Murdo Stein.

To summarize, there is additional evidence for cultural 596 182
tinuity in the structure of the neighborhood. The ex-
ded family, although very unstable and, therefore, some-
t amorphous, is still a reality in the minds of the people.
still has two functions which it must have had in the
ote past: seeing that all are cared for and given a decent
al. The ascription of status noted for the township 554 182
ies over to the neighborho d, as does the underlying status
ility and need for unanimous consent. Among the crofters
ership is still undeveloped. The old men can enforce [888]
formity but they cannot lead. Although prestige ranking
eveloped, in the form of the achieved statuses of ministers,
ors, and teachers, it is significant that, except for the
ster in Glendale, all holders of prestige status are

newcomers to the neighborhood, if not the island. Let us now turn to Portree to see how important status is in this alien village.

The Trade-Center Village

We come now to a consideration of the trade center village of Portree. We have seen how this small settlement was created by a landlord in the early nineteenth century and how it has been fostered by the government. We have also seen how the village has assumed a host of important functions. Primarily, it exists to serve the rural neighborhoods and to provide a link with the outside world. For the crofting neighborhoods it is, in order of importance, an administrative, economic, religious, and social center. Here are found the Ministry of Labor, the Department of Agriculture, the National Assistance Board, the sanitary and road engineers, the local Registrar, the central police headquarters, the main post office and telephone exchange, the court of the justice of the peace, and the seldom functioning sheriff's court. It is to Portree that the Land Court comes to decide on such important matters as rents and succession to the croft. As a seat of education, Portree's influence extends even wider, for it is the only secondary school in all of the islands of the county of Inverness. For people on the southern end of the island the village exists only for administrative purposes.

The crofters of northern Skye are dependent upon the

the social superiors of women. The aged are the social superiors of the youth and young adults. The father determines how his wife and children will behave as long as they remain under his control. The old man, or men, determine what changes will be accepted or rejected. There is no way to question their decisions, unless one leaves the croft. Still, at the bottom, there is equality. No man can step forward as a leader. We are now in a position to look at the larger social grouping, the neighborhood.

Kith and Kin within the Neighborhood

During the days of the clan, the residents of the neighborhood were bound together by real and fictitious ties of consanguinity and affinity, which were reinforced by the strong attachment to the soil and propinquity. Only the fictitious bonds have been forgotten. Like the township, the neighborhood consists of an aggregate of conjugal families whose inter-personal relationships are reinforced by a complicated network of kinship. Once, perhaps as late as 100 years ago, the neighborhood was a highly cooperative social unit. When the local mills were in use and the church had not been broken by schism, the people must have had a more definite focus for their common interests. In more remote times, it was a defensive entity. Today the neighborhood is no longer a cooperative unit. On the analogy of the old horse plough and the caschrom, cooperation is essential to the township but superfluous to this larger group. That the neighborhoods have not lost the potential for concerted action in times of crisis is attested by the uprisings

offer help without an expectation of payment. Nevertheless, anonymous donations of food and casual visits make sure that none of their number becomes absolutely destitute. In Glendale this religious clique merges with the person's "people and friends." Kilmuir has two religious cliques.

We have had ample opportunity to examine the age-grades of Skye's society and in the next chapter we shall have a closer look at the functions of the age-grades, especially that of the old men. One of the most important weaknesses of the social structure, in my mind, is the lack of age mates for children and adolescents. They find it difficult, almost impossible, to come together as a sodality. In Kilmuir, for example, there are only fifteen boys under twenty in an area of ten square miles. A youth is anyone under forty. Of the total population 60 percent are over fifty. For this reason the important age grade clique tends to merge with the religious social circle. The situation is much the same in Glendale. There the age-grade and kinship groups are intertwined with the kirk congregation.

Status Equality within the Neighborhood. The fundamental status equality which we found for the crofters within the township carries over to the neighborhood, but, as would be expected, there is often a need for leadership in this larger group. Let us look at the two neighborhoods which I know best to cast light on the methods employed in the self-election of a leader and the means of expressing leadership as a role. Kilmuir has a Crofters' Club, which was originally formed by

a former school teacher. The present sponsor and chairman is his successor. The teacher is automatically rated socially because of his important function, educating the children of a people who value education, and his university background. Further, he is from the Outer Isles and, therefore, is not expected to conform to all the traditional norms. Were he a Sgiathanach he probably would not accept the office for it would conflict with older and far deeper values.

The Glendale club farm is administered by a committee of five, a secretary, and a chairman. Here all are crofters from the several townships. All, therefore, are equals. Who, then, might they have for a chairman? They have selected an elder of the church. A church elder is the highest lay official in church government and, on Skye, one of the oldest men in the neighborhood. As one man asked, "If you can't respect an elder, who can you respect?"

Selecting members for the committee and electing a secretary is a real problem. Each man serves for three years. How the original committee was formed I do not know, but I had an opportunity to see how vacancies are filled. In 1953 there were three vacant posts. Parliamentary procedure has been introduced, but it finds limited expression. For two of the seats, the retiring members were "re-elected;" a crofter nominated them and after a long pause another man seconded the nomination. No vote is taken; silence means unanimous consent. A story slightly off the point illustrates this. At the same meeting the committee's stock report was read. Following parliamentary procedure, it

had to be accepted. Not a word was heard. At length one crofter simply said, "No one has anything to say, so I guess we all are agreed." One of the former members of the committee could not be re-elected; he had passed away. This was a thorny matter. A series of men were proposed, and each in turn declined. Finally, a man was nominated and seconded before he had a chance to deny himself the honor. Election, of course, was automatic.

The committee administers the farm, handles stocking, employs the necessary shepherds, sells the stock, and rents the hunting lodge. They do so, however, within the now traditional framework. They have neither been granted nor assumed a role of independent action. They do not reach independent decisions. They rather weigh and put into operation decisions made by the Department of Agriculture. As we shall see, even the elder, despite his high prestige status, has power to enforce social conformity rather than the authority to direct or lead men.

It is significant that while the share-holding crofters own the farm and their crofts, they have not achieved independence from outside control. Many of the Glendale crofters frankly admit they are afraid of independence. As in any township or neighborhood there are two opposing groups. "There always is someone who tries to sabotage the whole thing," said one man. One group has favored the guidance of the officers of the Department. The other group resents the interference of the government in their affairs. At the same time, however, they do not want to be cast off on their own. They want some form

of farm management under a resident manager, preferably not a Skyeman. The attitude of the former faction was aptly expressed by one person who was about to leave Skye: "We need the Department. If they withdrew, we wouldn't have anybody to go to for anything." This is in striking contrast to the Irish small farmer for whom land ownership is an all important factor in regulating social interaction and status.[24] On Skye land ownership has not led to any change in the traditional status values. A Glendale crofter is not a better man because he owns land.

Prestige Ranking within the Neighborhood. In so far as prestige ranking is concerned, status is more developed within the neighborhood than within the township. In addition to the crofters and their families, there are always several individuals who are given status because of their performance of the necessary functions of ministering to the peoples' spiritual and physical needs and educating the children. These are the only achieved statuses which are valued by the crofters. Noteworthy enough, only the minister of Glendale serves his own "people and friends."

The minister's status depends to some degree on his denomination and the religious sympathies of the people. In Glendale the minister enjoys the highest possible status. In Kilmuir, with two ministers, each is valued by his own congregation with whom he interacts. Nevertheless, all ministers are treated with respect. They are always addressed as the Reverend Mister MacDonald or Mister MacDonald. It is interesting to note that

[24] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 72-100; Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 98-144.

while only the Church of Scotland ministers will assume roles in government, on the district council or the county council, on the education committee, and similar bodies, they have not been given higher status than the ministers of other denominations, who firmly believe the function of the minister is only to correct the public servants when they err.

The doctor is coming to fill a status held by no other person, except the county people, the landed gentry. Traditionally, they have ranked second only to the minister, but there is a marked trend to accord them more and more statu The doctors, of course, are less restricted in their social activities and can participate more fully in secular affairs than the ministers. They have a wider range of interaction, entering the homes of all regardless of sectarian differences. In Glendale there is no question about the relative positions of the minister and doctor, who lives in Dunvegan. In Kilmuir on the other hand, the doctor is vying with the ministers. He is always addressed by his title, but often, at least in indirect speech, he is Doctor (Ian) rather than Doctor MacLeod. Many of the doctors on Skye have begun to form a cleavage between their families and the crofters. They are sending their sons to private schools. The ministers' children attend the local schools.

The school teachers also enjoy high prestige status. They are always addressed by their surname, prefixed by mister, even by older men whom they call by their Christian names. One newcomer was especially struck by this careful

554 his own family of procreation or ceases to be an integral member of the social units. Many features of these relationships will persist throughout his life.

844 The Sgiathanach treats the event of birth as something in which man is only the agent of a higher power. This fact was brought home to me one night during a discussion of the declining size of families. The question of subsidies to encourage larger families was broached. Although all take advantage of government grants for their stock and care of the land, this form of subsidy was unanimously rejected. As one man said, this would place man in the unthinkable position of a creator. Only the essential arrangements for the care of the mother and her expected child are made before birth. There are no "showers." "Showers," said one woman, "how can you tell if the child will be a boy or girl, or even live?" Today most women go to the maternity hospital at Uig for the delivery, but a few prefer to remain at home under the care of their mothers. To expect that the father's mother would take charge, even under the clan system, would be carrying the 846 patriarchial emphasis too far. Within a few days, the obligations of the parents, their relations, and the people of the township become apparent. One by one the individuals and couples make their way to the cottage to welcome the child. This individual visiting is a modified survival of the old custom of "kirking," a group offering of thanks, at the church, for a safe mother and a healthy child, followed by a dance [57] and feast at home. The parents are obliged to provide a [273] dram of whiskey so that all the visitors can toast the child.

192 requirements of adulthood, and also old age, are still boys
561 and girls.

554 Status Equality within the Township. The ascription of status on the basis of age and sex has resulted in a straightforward [562] system of status. The facts are simple. Men are the social [561] superiors of women. Youth are socially inferior to their senio Men, or women, of a common age category are equals. We shall now examine a few interpersonal relationships to see how the [264] system operates. Unless a man and his wife are eating alone, women never eat with men. They wait until the men have finishe 576 before taking their meal. When neighbors come to visit, the 582 man of the house does not rise for a woman. He does rise for 594 a man and shakes him by the hand. The woman of the house, on the other hand, rises for both men and women. Furthermore, when a couple comes to call, the woman greets the man first. Only after he has been offered a chair does she greet the [858] woman. Young people are seen but seldom heard. They do not [882] speak unless addressed.

626 All societies allow some deviation from traditional 178 norms of expected behavior. On Skye, as elsewhere, excessive deviation is censured. Neither increased opportunities for education nor the steady flow of Skye men and women to the four corners of the earth, accompanied by the slow returning trickle, have disturbed these fundamental values. Like the youth who leaves home to achieve upward mobility through outward mobility, the man who returns must conform to the traditional norms, which he learned as a child, or be regarded

626 178 [571] as an eccentric. Included among these norms is a willingness to satisfy the curiosity of one's neighbors. Although the old woma who acts in mysterious ways is no longer regarded as a witch, two of the loneliest people I knew on Skye were two old spinsters who had kept their past concealed. No one in the township would have anything to do with them. Were it not for periodic visits by the local Red Cross, they could have died and hardly been missed.

554 626 829 This status equality for all of the same sex and age grade leaves no room for the status and role of a leader.[15] Occasionally, an individual fancies himself as a self-elected leader, but he is always resented by the remainder of the township and his neighbors do not hesitate to show their displeasure. As an eccentric, he is dubbed with a cynical title, such as "the sheriff." If he can keep himself immune to the taunts and jibes of the people, he is accepted in time or, rathe comes to be tolerated. He gives the people something to talk about. The aspiring leader becomes the subject of numerous jokes. Any human failing he displays is immediately taken as a means to censure him. These are negative social sanctions less drastic than ostracism. I only knew one of these self-styled leaders. He was a well traveled man and a walking encycleopedia of miscellaneous facts. Walking the hill with him, I was told how Boston compared with Glasgow; how the British fought the Crimean War; how the money they received from the Turks helped Skye during the potato famine; and how the

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[15] Cf. Darling and Morley, "The Social Situation," The West Highland Survey, pt. VI, pp. 24-25.

626 829 knew more about the world than about Skye. He could not ur-
stand why so many people made fun of him when he was only
trying to help.

626 632 In the absence of any traditionally valued status and
role of leadership, administration of the common interests
of the township members is the concern of all. We say in t
last chapter that primitive democracy is the guiding rule.
Each crofter has an equal voice in deciding any question
which affects the group and all, without exception, have to
agree before any action is taken. Consent is expressed by
silence. Typically, the crofters will have talked the
[624] matter over among themselves beforehand. At such times the
fact clearly emerges that the grazing clerk and the grazing
committee are no more than figureheads required by law.
They have no coercive or disciplinary powers. In any group
situation, their views are taken no more seriously than tho
of any other man.

887 888 It is the old men who gather at one anothers' homes o
on the hill on a summer evening to weigh the innovation whi
626 632 the youth want introduced. If they find the change accepta
they approve it at a meeting of the township by keeping sil
If they believe it will upset the communal system, they dis
approve it. The dissenting voice of one old crofter is all
that is required to maintain the conservative patterns,
economically and socially.

182 626 In summary, we may say that within the township and
on the croft the cultural patterns reveal a fundamental
continuity. As of old, status is ascribed. Men have remai

Villagers say he married above his station. His daughter, they believe, married below her station. He that as it may, he disowned his daughter. He never spoke to her again. The third case involved the marriage of one of the poor, but nevertheless accepted, gentry and a crofter's daughter. He has fared differently. Rather than cast him out, his mother refused to recognize the marriage. He was forbidden to bring his wife home. To this day he continues to divide his time between his estate and his "town house," where he keeps his wife. Further, this man, who I have been told should have become chief of Clan Ranald, is no longer of the county people.

Among the distinctive features which overtly characterize the county people is their ascribed status and role of leadership. Indeed, this is their most important function. As the tacksmen were once the counselors of their substemants, so today the landed gentry must fill this role which the Gréithanach from the croft will not assume. Even if a Skyeman here and there feels that the local proprietors would like nothing better than to have all the people behave like serfs, bowing and scraping before them, he expects the proprietors to get things done. In Portree the local gentry form the village council. During the war when they were on active duty, there was no village council. The Skye District Council, which replaced the old parish councils and which, acting as an agent for the County Council, is the only administrative body on the island, revels a similar membership. In any of

the nine election districts where a member of the gentry is resident, he is the people's choice. Otherwise, the post passes to a newcomer, especially a minister, if he will accept, a non-crofter of relatively recent arrival, a returned exile, or an eccentric. The Skye delegates to the County Council are similarly elected. The village of Portree and the neighborhood of Glenisle are represented by members of the county people; Kilmuir is represented by a minister of the Church of Scotland.

The function of the landed gentry emerges even more clearly when non-political leadership is considered. We may take the Skye Council of Social Service and the Old People's Welfare Committee as examples. The Skye Council of Social Service is dedicated to the promotion of the "general good of the community," and the assistance of the work of statutory authorities and voluntary organisations engaged in improving education, health, and economic conditions. Although the Scottish Council of Social Service claims this is a product of the people of Skye, it was not a spontaneous development. A retired Registrar General for Scotland was responsible for the initial interest. The Scottish Council seems to have stimulated this interest by securing financial assistance in the initial stages and paying 75 percent of the annual expenses. The local organizers were county people, and their success was due in no small way to the efforts of an officer of the Department of Agriculture. Today the "virile leadership and local followership," of which the Scottish Council is wont to speak, is to be found in one clique of the

landed gentry. The people take relatively little part in any of the activities. Most of the crofters with whom I spoke had only the vagguest idea of the work or the achievements of the council, beyond the fact that the council had instituted Skye Week to attract tourists.

The Old People's Welfare Committee was established in the winter of 1953. It provides us with an excellent opportunity to see how things are accomplished on Skye. For several months the clique which is responsible for the Skye Council of Social Service had been thinking that Skye needed some such agency to look after the old people. At length it was decided a public meeting should be held to give the people an opportunity to decide whether or not the need was acute. Each of the county people explained the need, aided by two social workers from Edinburgh. Then, with the assistance of a local minister, the doctor, and the officer from the Department of Agriculture, who aided in establishing the Skye Council, the people were gently led around to their position: A committee of investigation was organized to inquire into the matter in more detail. About a month later a second public meeting was held for the purpose of establishing a permanent Old People's Welfare Committee. Like the initial meeting, it was proceeded by a small conference among the gentry. The decision was that Skye should have a central committee and fourteen local committees. This was unanimously accepted. Now came the problem of who would serve. The first selections were obvious; in each local area the minister, doctor, and district nurse were "elected." When it came to the question

of individuals to organize each committee, no one was willing to accept the post without persuasion. In every case where there was a resident of the county people in the general vicinity, the man or his wife was chosen. The remaining chairs went to newcomers, especially doctors and teachers or their wives, mainly by default. They were not preacts. No one on Skye ever overtly seeks a role of responsibility. For the central committee, it was suggested, by a newcomer, that there should be at least two Skye people over sixty to get the point of view of the people who were to be helped. When the committee was finally formed, there was not one native Skye person on it. The chairman was the wife of a local landlord; the four members were another proprietor's wife, a Lowland woman, the minister, and an Austrian woman.

At no time was a vote taken. The person who can be persuaded to accept office is always unanimously "elected." On another occasion someone had made the mistake of nominating two women to fill one post. Rather than put the matter to a vote, the people present "elected" me, as a disinterested participant, to select the woman who would serve.

By the time I left the Misty Isle only one of the local committees had taken a step in the direction of organizing itself. A meeting was called in Kilmarnish where either a returned exile or the minister was to preside. Neither of them would step forward. Above the task fell to one of the county people. She drove up from Portree to take the chair and help the people elect the members of their committee. Her journey was fruitless. Hardly anyone attended the meeting,

and no one thought himself capable of running a future meeting. At least reports, the wife of another proprietor was having her impression that "it's not as easy as it sounds just to call a public meeting in Glendale," confirmed. While the majority of the crofters thought an Old People's Welfare Committee was a good idea, they had no intention of being instrumental in its organization or in assuming any position which might elevate them above their neighbors. Throughout this chapter, the stress on conformity has been apparent, let us now turn to the problem of social control for a clearer picture of how conformity is enforced and to see how the Gréithanach handles the deviant.

Social Control

Since social control is an important topic, I want to go into a further analysis of the manner in which the group influences the behavior of its members. For the sake of clarity, we must distinguish between social and political control. By social control I mean the informal pressure or spontaneous action which any organized group can muster to exert an influence on its members sufficient to encourage conformity to tradition patterns of behavior. Political control, to me, involves the independent or requested interference of the state, as represented by the police, in any case which involves the enforcement and maintenance of law and order as prescribed by legal enactments. On Skye the laws of the land do not always have the same meaning to the

strongly about this infringement of the traditional norms. Gossip spreads very rapidly. The offenders are said to be "no better than the tinkers." While tinkers are respected because they have the power of the evil eye, they are not accorded any more prestige than we would give a beggar. All who have any contact with the neighborhood or the village where the deviants live soon know all the details. Since most of the adulterers on Skye have been in Portree, it adds another brick to the wall which separates the rural neighborhoods and the trade-center village. The offenders normally leave Skye as quickly as possible.

The Gréithanach cannot be said to have a strong sense of property, or, more correctly, the land is valued as a place of residence and identity not as something to be bought and sold. We have seen that he uses his land communally and that he often will not leave a will for the house, not to mention his land. Even though the state thinks otherwise, he looks upon the natural resources of the island as his for the taking. At the same time, he normally respects the fruits of his neighbor's labor. Any one can cut peat on the moor, but no one, except an unthinking tourist, would take a piece of turf once it had been cut. In a similar way, the children are generally well behaved. In the village there is a bit of stone throwing, a little profanity, and unceremonly some drinking on the sly, but rarely do children show any disrespect for the rights of others. One contractor, a Lowlander who came up to Skye to make alterations on the school, was amazed. Skye

miserable they have left the island. Adultery, as we have seen, is an excellent illustration. Another example is church going. Almost everyone goes to church. It is expected. Several newcomers frankly admitted that they only go because the people would talk about them.

Gossip has another important social function. It is a means of social sanction, and as much reinforces the "unconscious system of meaning" to use Herskovits' words.[40] Through its positive and negative aspects, the use of gossip as a social sanction contributes to the solidarity of the group by creating a feeling of oneness. It can also accord status to individuals, and it can either make an individual with high status more secure in his belief of superiority or make a person of low status feel less inferior.

The crofters relish stories of human failings among those of high status. The landed gentry seldom give them much to talk about, but the few unexpected things they do, such as marrying outside their circle, are long remembered. The villagers often provide them with choice stories. Anyone, especially a native son, who moves into Portree or returns to Portree and sets up a business is bound to be talked about. You know what I heard? Well, I heard that he got his money down south and just beat the police out of town." Men who have shops which their fathers or grandfathers established escape, but the founder of the business is still remembered. "You know where the old man got his money? He was going home one night after a cattle sale with a group of

[40] Herskovits, Man and His Works, p. 222.

his neighbors, and he done them in and took all their money."

The villagers and, in particular, the county people enjoy amusing stories about the crofters. One tale concerns a crofter who received electricity from the Hydro-Electric Board. After the cottage had been wired, his wife bought him an electric razor. This created a problem. If he plugged the razor into the single light socket, he could not see to shave on a winter morning, but if he had the light on he could not plug in the razor. There are many stories about crofters who refused electricity because they were afraid the house might blow up if hit by lightning, and there is the favorite story of the old woman, on the Isle of Lewis, who thought electricity was fine to see to light her candle.

To see how gossip, bordering on tradition, is indicative of high prestige status, we may take the story of the doctor of Kilmuir. One day just after a cattle sale the doctor took the boat from Portree to Kyle. In addition to several local people and many cattle, there were two Sassunnach on board. The Englishmen asked the doctor how many cattle there were. He thought there were quite a few. A hundred, the Englishmen asked. "Sure," said the doctor. Two hundred, they asked. The doctor again said, "Sure." They then inquired whether or not the doctor could count. When he answered in the affirmative, they asked how many they and the doctor were. He replied, "One hundred, I am one and you two are nothings." The core of these stories always involves the doctor's getting the better of someone, especially an Englishman. It may be

Founded in 1951 as a single sheet of 200 words it has grown 204
to sixteen pages. It has the distinction of being the only
news magazine in Great Britain written in longhand. The 203
shopkeepers also pass along the local *kan*, as it is called.
There is a common belief that the telephone operators are
another source. I have known people to drive several miles
to make a call from a box in another exchange district because
they were sure the people of their neighborhood would have the
news before they had hung up the receiver, if they made the
call locally. The post office is also said to be a transmitter
in the bush telegraph; some say the post mistresses steam open 207
their letters. On shopping days in Portree the women carry 208
home more than the week's groceries. Down at the square at
night, they gather in small groups to transmit their tantalizing
tidbits of news and, perhaps, scandal.

Two status groups are left out of the normal gossip 203
cycle. These are the county people and the ministers. The 251
former may get a bit of *kan* from time to time, but much of the 775
local news passes without reaching them. The ministers'
information is generally limited to questions of health, events
in the life cycle, or cases of moral or religious backsliding
on the part of their congregations. The degree to which the
landed gentry participates in the verbal spread of news and
rumor depends to a great extent on personal qualifications.
There are one or two who have contacts through whom gossip
carries across the lines of cleavage in the social hierarchy.
Ministers are probably the least well informed of anybody on
the happenings of everyday life. Once when asking a minister

a question about a certain man I was told: "I can't help you 203
on that. Whenever I go into a shop or meet them on the street, 251
they change their conversation." Another told me I should ask 775
the doctor, "He's the one who really knows their problems."

Summary

The society of the *Sgiathanach* reveals additional evidence 182
for cultural continuity. In family structure, both nuclear 516
and extended, the patrilineal emphasis has been preserved. Even
though both suffer from chronic instability and the extended
family has become rather amorphous, kinship remains an important
regulator of interpersonal relationships. It involves obli-
gations and privileges which few take lightly. Within the 182
social units based on territory, the township and neighborhood 621
status continues to be ascribed on the basis of age, sex, 554
and kinship. Women have remained socially inferior to the
men. As the father controls his family, the old men of the
township and neighborhood exercise a power over their juniors
to force conformity to traditional ways. Fundamentally, all
of the same age and sex are equals. This status equality
underlies the entire social structure. There is no room for a
leader. When essential, the newcomer, normally the teacher or
minister, and the landed gentry are expected to assume the role
of leadership. In the village the emphasis on ascribed status
for the *Sgiathanach* is also important. The majority of achieved
statuses are left to be filled by newcomers. In the community,
as a whole, beyond the polarity of the landed gentry and the

crofters, an individual's prestige depends more on what he 182
does for the group than on occupation. 621
554

The society has a strong degree of integration. This 182
is shown by the requirement of unanimous consent on all under- 621
takings, even in the village, and by the continued success 554
of the group in exercising social control by positive co-
operated action and by employing gossip as a negative socia.
sanction. The norms of behavior and the values have remain d
common and clear.

We are now closer to an understanding of how the 128
Sgiathanach has maintained a continuity. For a full under-
standing of the social organization and to answer the question
why there has been continuity we must take one final step.
The religious aspect of the culture holds the key to the
unanswered questions.

good to say about him." Death is one of the two occasions for 743
an extended family gathering. Indeed, a man's prestige is best 554
seen at his funeral. Without exaggeration, death is the most 559
significant event of living. It is constantly visualized and
discussed. "Second Sight," the ability to foresee future 743
events, is mainly concerned with the death of one's "people"
and friends. Since the ministers have been striving to wipe
out this belief, it is difficult to get the people to talk
about it, except in retrospect. Still most of the people,
including many of the newcomers, and not a few of the ministers,
continue to believe that some old people,--they are always
old men and women,--are afflicted with this power. There
was an old man in one township who would not go out at dusk
for fear of seeing a funeral, and there was an old woman who
foretold her daughter's death. Lights seen in strange places
also tell of death. Even the sophisticated *Sgiathanach* who
has been born and missed in Portree sometimes forgets himself.
A current story on the island tells of a "ghost bus." The
headlights suddenly appear behind a driver on the Sligihan
road. For the newcomers this is a fanciful tale, but for
several of the natives it has a meaning, death.

All plans are prefixed with the phrase "If spared." 743
"If spared, we'll shear the sheep on Thursday." "If spared, 175
I'll go down to see my brother soon." Many of the newcomers
are made to feel very uneasy by this habit, which is as much
a form of speech as greeting people with, "It's wet," or,
"It's cold." When a *Sgiathanach* asks to have something done

or inquires about a person's plans, he says, "You'll do it 743
tomorrow, then, if spared." 175

Occasionally, a man's prestige status can be judged by 764
the fortuate the people have of his funeral. This, too, is 554
disturbing for the newcomers who prefer to face death when
the time comes. There is one member of the county people who
is extremely popular. Many speak of him as a "true Skyeman."
One day he was being discussed by a small group of women.
After talking about his interest in Skye and what a good man
he was, one summed up their estimation by saying, "Aye, what
a wonderful funeral he'll have." What higher compliment could
there be? The number who attend a person's funeral and,
recently, the number who drive to his funeral are indicative
of his status. Even though having a car does not give the 493
owner prestige - to the contrary it may give the people cause
to wonder where he got his money - to have "friends" with cars
does give prestige. When 200 or 300 men join in the funeral
procession to carry the body to the grave, all the "people"
of the deceased take pride in telling of the "mobs who came."

In death we find one aspect of the crofter's way of life 764
which puzzles the newcomer, especially the government officials, 554
more than anything else. The old people hoard their money.
Welfare workers frequently say, "You never know how much they
have until they die." There are a few crofters, mainly returned
exiles, who are known to have money but continue to live in
tumbled down houses. The newcomer says, "They must like to
live that way." Quite to the contrary, the *Sgiathanach* has 741
traditionally prepared for death early in life. Once the first

eternity. If he was one of the "elect," he will enjoy eternal 743
life. If he was not one of these venerable old men and women, 554
he can expect to suffer eternal damnation. Although baptism 251
is a sacrament and removes original sin, it is only the initial 783
step in the direction of salvation, which election alone con-
firms. Neither the minister nor any member of the bereaved 761
family offers a prayer. "What more can you do than bury him," 743
one woman asked. An old man said, "They are just as well 762
remembered without praying for them." In a community which
is dominated by the old people, and in the crofting neighbor-
hoods where so many of the crofters are very old, death can
be expected to disturb the equilibrium of social interaction.
In Glendale during November and December of 1953 funeral
processions made their way through the glen no less than nine
times. The function of the minister is to restore the dis- 743
turbed patterns, both in the family and in the neighborhood 783
(or village). All work stops in the township for three days
from the time of death. Some of the cosmopolitans of the 369
village, seeking to justify their deviating behavior, assert 829
that the lazy crofter looks forward to a funeral because it
means three days of idleness. In the village, of course, it 369
is no longer possible to bring daily life to a standstill be-
cause the villagers serve a wide area. The "people" of the
deceased do stop work and close their shops. On the day of the
funeral all blinds are drawn until after the procession has
passed.

As he would if there were illness in the family, the 993
minister calls on the bereaved family and leads them in family 764

allowing his flock to attend concerts, had a point of differ- 993
once with the Synod and was removed. In the Brae which had 775
been as staunchly Free Presbyterian as Glendale, roughly 778
half of the congregation changed their adherence to the Free
Church. The remainder have continued true to their own sect
under a new minister.

There are numerous Free Presbyterian families far 795
beyond the reach of a minister. All they can hope for is an
occasional visit, and there are no missionaries of this sect
on the island. Although they attend services at the nearest
kirk of the Free Church, doctrinal differences are still
important enough in their minds to keep them within the folds
of their sect. They were born in it and will die in it.
Moreover, despite the lack of a minister in Glendale between 778
1908-1911, 1913-1920, and 1931-1933, the people are as staunch 783
as ever. At such times one of the elders steps forward to 784
conduct services as he would during the temporary absence 554
of the minister. His ability to fill the role of a spiritual
leader fortifies his control and his prestige. This is true
in Portree. The elder, even a newcomer, who stands in the
pulpit is deeply respected. Identity with, and attachment 778
to the denomination is maintained in the absence of a minister
by visiting other churches at the Communion season and by
the visits of a minister on the Sabbath and for annual
Thanksgiving services following the harvest. So strong is 778
the sectarianism of the Glendale crofters that the Church of
Scotland minister for Duirinish is convinced that "Churchianity

There is another aspect to the prayer meetings. They are no longer held in the Church of Scotland in Portree. The ministers of the other sects say this is an indication of the low degree of spiritual enlightenment among that congregation. Further, Wednesday night is picture night in the village. The newcomers taunt the devout with, "off to the pictures?" 796 795 794 369

It is at these Wednesday night meetings that the people get to know one another. They participate in the worship through the eminent "Men," who in a society such as Skye where almost everybody is related on one side of the family or the other by some bond of consanguinity or affinity, are the "people" or "friends" of the worshippers. This custom of offering extempore prayers not only augments the prestige of the "elect" but it intensifies the unity of the group and makes them secure in the knowledge that they belong. This feeling of unity and the sense of belonging is further strengthened in some churches by setting aside a day of Humiliation. Services are held during which the congregation as a group beseech God for forgiveness for the poor spiritual condition of the world. In their minds the God of this world is surely the Prince of Darkness. 554 571 796 794 [602] [782]

But for the interaction of the members of the several sects, the control of the "elect" would not be as strong as it is. The elders of one kirk cannot exercise any direct control over the adherents of another sect. Through what agency could they express their judicial and authoritarian 794 795 626

that young sinners will not escape from his kingdom." Another of the same church expressed himself, "One is constrained to look upon this world as a great battlefield between Christ and the devil and between grace and sin. In our day the kingdom of darkness is carrying everything before it; the Prince of the kingdom of darkness is the god of this world." This attitude is not, however, carried to the extreme that characterizes the Old Order Amish in their determination to "Be not conformed to this world."[24] On Skye, the position is rather that the church, as Christ's witness, must resist the encroachment of worldly pursuits. In a world which is moving as fast as ours, the success of the resistance of the church is indicative of the hold of the pillars of the faith, the venerable old man, over the group. We have learned how the prestige status of the "elect" and the elders stems from their high position in the esoteric religious hierarchy, and how, through their power to withhold the sacraments, they enforce social control. When the elders sit in judgment of the father who has come to ask that his child be baptized, or the person who thinks he has experienced a "saving change," they base their estimation of him on his non-religious behavior as much as his knowledge of the tenets of the faith. He must not only attend church regularly and conduct family worship; he must also deny himself all pleasures of a frivolous nature. 785 779 888 626 794 [554] [785]

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[24] Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, p. 1

is a sin but because of the excessive drinking and immorality which might result from a promiscuous gathering. Organized dances are, in general, not objectionable. Nevertheless, in spite of the attitudes of the people to these secular activities, the Church of Scotland crofter behaves in much the same way as his neighbor who adheres to another sect. The elders of the other sects have an influence over everyone in the neighborhood. Every man must ask himself, "What will my neighbors say?"

The Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church people condemn any and all social gatherings where songs, stories, or other diversions are admitted. When people visit, they are expected to remain circumspect in behavior. They may discuss their problems and gossip about their neighbors or the wicked newcomers. They may engage in cooperative or individual work. They may eat together in the home. They may not engage in such activities outside the home. Religion on Skye for the majority has centred attention on the home. Let us look at some of the activities which are condemned. There is the Woman's Rural Institute, an organized woman's club dedicated to stimulating home industries in rural areas and providing educational programs, especially demonstrations and lectures on domestic arts. One meeting, for example, at Uig, not far from Kilmuir, was addressed by a school teacher on the subject of Highland Folklore. He was followed by a knitting contest and tea. Youth Clubs and Young Farmers Clubs do not exist, except in Kilmuir where the Young Farmers Club is under the Crofters' Club, and, of course, in Portree. Village halls are dens of iniquity. While we were on Skye one was built

control of the "elect" crofters. They, are the "elect," and their status is independent of the control of the venerable old men.

Summary

Whereas the culture of the Sgiathanach was oriented around the clan system in the remote past and was intelligible only by an awareness of the all-pervasive influence of the clan, today congregational religion provides the focus for the culture. If we are to understand the Sgiathan we must fathom his religion, that is, the interpretation which he has given to Calvinism. Moreover, this highly integrated and systematized aspect of his culture has provided the means for preserving cultural continuity. Economic and social organization aid us in recognizing how cultural continuity has been maintained. Religion puts at our finger tips the how and the way.

The basic status values have held good because religi has sanctioned them. The old men of the neighborhood have been successful in sustaining their statuses and habits through their position in the esoteric religious hierarchy. By holding the father responsible for the spiritual welfare of his family, and judging a man's spiritual enlightenment on his renunciation of mundane pleasures as well as his knowledge of religious tenets, the elders exercise judicial and authoritarian functions. At the same time, the status of the father within the family is strengthened. After a

is occupation matters very little. Unlike the Welsh,[35] he Sriathanach does not particularly look up to the man ho prospers. Indeed, the people are more than likely to ttribute his success to dishonesty or find fault with his haracter. I shall have more to say about this when we onsider the topic of gossip.

At the same time, occupation is a factor in the orration of cliques. The school teachers form one clique hich has tended to become more and more exclusive in recent ears. The shop keepers also have their small clique. nce a year they have a dance at the Royal Hotel. Within oth social circles there are, of course, special groups f friends who associate regularly. Age grades provide nother basis for clique formation. Clerks, shop assistants, nd employees of the government are divided on this basis. nce it is government and, apparently, business and nking house policy to use theremote rural areas for a aining ground and to make promotions, most of the new-mers and local residents who work for these agencies are ung men.

Neither occupation nor age-grades are exclusive factors determining the social structure of Portree as they are r the crofters. If they were, I could not support the sertion that there is fluidity among the village population. ere are several clubs and fraternal organizations, such a drama society, the Women's Rural Institute, An Comun

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[35]Rees, op. cit., p. 127.

rather than Christianity is the prevailing practice in Glendale." 795 [798]
This attachment to a sect is all the more significant in the crofting neighborhoods because there is not one iota of difference in the Gaelic services in any church. The difference is doctrinal.

In the neighborhood the affiliates of the same church 571 794 have been said to interact with their fellows more regularly 795 than with the remainder of the group. They come together on 796 the Sabbath for a regular service and on Wednesday night for a prayer meeting. On the Sabbath they come as families, [593] husband, wife and children and they sit together. Normally [562] the sexes are segregated in public. Indeed, in the home [574] men keep to one side of the fire and women to the other when there are callers. They also leave in family groups. Their interaction is spiritual. There are no gatherings outside the church either before or after the service to gossip, discuss the stock, or even comment on the weather. They will all know who was absent, but they will only greet their fellows with a slight nod. The Wednesday night prayer meeting is different. This is a group situation. Some come by bus and gossip on the way. Others get together before and after the service for a chat. At these prayer meetings [554] the stature of the "elect" again emerges. They offer the [888] prayers on behalf of the congregation. The prayers, it should [782] be noted, are extempore. No form is followed. The basis for them are passages from Scripture and interpretations of the passages.

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[561] of friends who associate regularly. Age grades provide another basis for clique formation. Clerks, shop assistants, and employees of the government are divided on this basis. Since it is government and, apparently, business and banking house policy to use theremote rural areas for a training ground and to make promotions, most of the newcomers and local residents who work for these agencies are young men.

[621] Neither occupation nor age-grades are exclusive factors in determining the social structure of Portree as they are for the crofters. If they were, I could not support the assertion that there is fluidity among the village population.
575 There are several clubs and fraternal organizations, such as a drama society, the Women's Rural Institute, An Comun

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[35] Rees, op. cit., p. 127.

557

557 MANIPULATIVE MOBILITY--extent to which desirable statuses and the prestige they bring can be achieved by opportunistic manipulation of social relationships (e.g., cultivation of persons in authority, political machinations, exploitation of friends and relatives, backslapping, marriages of convenience); prominence and relative effectiveness of manipulative techniques as compared with acquisition of skills and wealth; desirable statuses achievable thereby (e.g., political preferment); etc. See also:

Interpersonal relations . . . . . 87 Traits of leadership 187
Political behavior 66

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

his bonnet in his hand and bowing low and reverently, he declares on honour in presence of earth and heaven, in presence of God and men—*Am fianuis uir agus adhair, am fianuis Dia agus daoine*—that he shall be faithful to his trust. This simple declaration of office is extremely impressive, though now, alas, becoming obsolete from the fears of the shallow thoughtless and the scoffs of the severely wise. The duties of the constables were to divide a new peat-moss into banks for which lots are cast, to see that every crofter does his share of free labour in road building and repair, to engage herds and the like." (*Napier Crofters' Commission*, 1884.)

Naturally such duties called not only for tact, firmness and authority, temporal and spiritual, on the part of the constable, but for strong backing by the crofters, as a body, of the man they had freely elected. But hence too, the advantage to a covetous landlord of superseding free election by appointing his own nominee. Martin found that this had been done in St. Kilda shortly before his visit (about 1695) and the people complained bitterly, as well they might. We shall see that the same suppression of liberty was resented in Lewis less than a century ago. As a mere estate employee, moreover, the constable's position between the landlord's factor (or ground officer) and his fellow-crofters, was always difficult; and it might be cruelly hard, as when he was forced to help in destroying a neighbour's house at an eviction. Neighbourly union in a township was damaged by this duality of function, when he who should have been their own impartial executive was in the landlord's pay. When affairs got too bad in a Lewis township the people would appoint their own constable in addition to the landlord's; even so, rivalry and dual functions weakened the community. Such weakness

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

in communal organisation, historically brought about by landlord or steward over a wide period, has commonly been ascribed to some inherent feebleness in Gaelic communal spirit. It is all the more vital to realise the strength of community and its self-governance by neighbourly 'parliament' and chosen constable, by which the people put their ideals into practice. These may be given in the three traditional terms of fellowship, fairness and freedom, summing up the Gaelic watchwords.[1] Unless the struggle for freedom was too severe, fraternity, followed by equality, came first.

[1] *Companas, caidreabh* or *cairdeas*; *ceartas, coir, cead cothrom*, or *co-roinn*; and *saorsa*.

561

561 AGE STRATIFICATION--recognized age levels and their differentiation (e
age terms); generalized information on rites of passage from level to leve
organized age-grades (e.g., composition, admission, advancement, symb
of membership, activities); relations between age levels and age groups;
division of labor by age; etc. See also:

Status and activities of children . . . . . 86 Sodalities . . . . . .
Status and activities of adolescents, adults,
and the aged 88

Additional modifications have been found in the division 178 182
labor. Although no Skyeman has shown a disposition to assume 162
sponsibility for domestic work, unless he lives alone, the
men of Skye are expected to function in roles which once were
led exclusively by men. Old men and women for many years [561]
have continued to perform tasks which formerly were their
lies as youths and young adults. These changes, like those
have pointed, are partially traceable to an incomplete
ustment to the contractual, commercial world. This has led [162]
striking alterations in the age structure of the population
it is the youth who forsake the island and the aged who
rn to return. Nevertheless, there have been no observable [554]
nges in the status system of the rural neighborhoods.
mitive democracy, distinguished from our form of democracy 621
the principle of unanimous consent rather than majority rule 554 182
times to operate in the townships. The existence of such
institution implies a maximum of equality co-existing with
inimum of authority. The continued ability of the crofters
maintain primitive democracy in a nation like Great Britain
possible only because there is a high degree of social
egration. The simple system of ranking, on the basis of [561]
and sex, has persisted. Men are the social superiors of [562]
en; old men are the social superiors of their juniors. I
lieve we shall understand how continuity of status has been
served if we turn to a consideration of the role of religion
the island.

If I am right in asserting that a belief in clan brother- 178
was an all pervading cultural pattern in bygone days and 182 619

sanctioned the qualities which had given the people their 178
characteristic strength of character. 182 771

The churches of Skye made conservatism an official policy in 1843, and in 1892 reaffirmed this policy. For well over 100 years religion has had a strength and vitality which has enabled the Skyeman to pass through times of extreme distress, not to mention chronic economic deficiencies. Among 182 554 ●
the most important religious sanctions are those which reinforce 771
the status values of the culture. The father's status in the 593
nuclear family was reaffirmed at a time when his socio-economic importance was declining. He has been held responsible for the spiritual welfare of his wife and children. The prestige 182
of the old men, the family-head elders, and their control over 554 771
the neighborhood group was similarly bolstered by making them 888
the judges of a man's spiritual enlightenment. Spiritual enlightenment is weighed on a scale which will not balance unless a person's religious knowledge is matched by conformity to the ways the old men think a man should behave. Again we 182
are not dealing with a completely negative attitude. In the 771
place of frivolous amusements, religion has offered highly [194]
emotional, spiritual patterns of behavior. Religion has preserved the Gaelic language by using it in formal worship and [197]
within the home for family worship. In these and other ways religion has indeed enabled the culture to achieve a reorientation and maintain its continuity.

How similar Skye is to the Old Order Amish in this respect.[3]

[3] Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

a tremendous strength. There are villagers who dislike the 182
crofters, but few would intentionally slight an old crofter's 571
wife because it might give her something to talk about. I 703
shall elaborate this point shortly when I come to social control.

If there had been a decrease in the frequency of inter- 182
action, the traditional norms and sanctions should have become 554 ●
less common and clear. In particular, social ranking based 565
on leadership in communal activities should have become less [571]
definite. Although anomie, as used by Homans, is an internal condition, I shall introduce a consideration of cross-group norms in order to present a clearer picture of the status system. Despite the extreme fluidity between the county people and the members of the intermediate social heirarchy in informal clique groups, such as the bridge club, there has been no tendency to obscure the lines of cleavage. The class structure, in terms of the whole community, has remained rigid. The county people are at the apex of the prestige status and class hierarchy. They are, of course, members of a group which extends across the length and breadth of Great Britain. In any neighborhood where there is a member of the landed gentry resident, he is always looked to for leadership. In Glendale, a privately owned neighborhood, a nearby landlord is their political spokesman. In Portree the gentry have done more than uphold social ranking based on leadership; they have created and introduced new activities in which they express their role. These are the Skye Council of Social Service, the village council, and the Old People's Welfare Committee. They may be aided by others, but their decisions are the others to be followed. The gentry

maintain their position by intermarriage, by educating their 182
children in England, and by interacting with people of similar 571 554 ●
status within the community and beyond. 565

The crofters continue to stand at the opposite pole. They seldom achieve status within their neighborhood. Upward mobility is possible only through outward mobility. Leadership fails to find expression among them in the township or the neighborhood. The rare exception is the crofter's son who becomes a [795]
minister and returns to lead his people spiritually. When the [794]
crofters must select a leader, from their own number, the status is accorded to an elder of the church. The elder [794]
already has high status because of his advanced age and his position in the kirk. As I have said, the continued operation of primitive democracy means a minimum of authority and a maximum of equality.

The intermediate group in the social hierarchy cannot be 182
profitably used in this discussion. They are primarily newcomers, 554
people from the Lowlands or England, who have joined with the 565
relatively few Skyemen who have left the croft. Sufficient time 167
has not elapsed for a class oriented structure to emerge. Then, too, they are not a numerous group. Still, status is important in the village. As in the crofting neighborhood, ministers, doctors, and teachers achieve high status through their occupation. For the remainder of the population of Portree, status depends more on personal qualities and outside activities, especially in the kirk, than on the way one may make his living.

While we are on the topic of status and ranking, let us 121
554

see what Linton, the most explicit exponent of the concept of 121
status and role, has to say about societies which are faced with 554
changing conditions and disorganization.[15] Linton believes that such societies attempt to develop new social patterns by allowing individual initiative, thought, and competition free rein. They are characterized by a wealth of achievable statuses. With adjustment, ascribed statuses again become common. The con- 554
clusion seems inescapable that Skye has adjusted. Perhaps a 626
few additional illustrations will make my point clearer. The crofter who assumes a role of leadership is regarded as an eccentric, someone to poke fun at no less than the village idiot. The crofters' children who find their status too con- 554
fining must leave the island to achieve status. Some succeed, 626
to a limited degree, by moving to Portree, but they are never 167
free of suspicion. Since the majority of achieved statuses on Skye are left to newcomers, it might be said that the Sgiathanach has selected place of birth as a means to ascribe status. Not infrequently the newcomer's acceptance is followed by his being placed in roles of responsibility in both formal organizations and informal groups. The reader may remember the case of the young man from the East Coast who found himself on no less than eleven committees. In Kilmuir the people are represented on the County Council by a minister and the Crofters' Club is run by the school teacher.

I believe that the most important feature of the concept 626
of anomie is the loss of social control which is said to follow 182

[15] Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 113-131.

555

555 TALENT MOBILITY--extent to which prestige can be gained by mastering or excelling in some complex or difficult cultural activity (e.g., religious ritual, fine arts, scholarship, war, technology, business); talents and skills most highly rewarded in prestige (e.g., directly rather than indirectly through the material remuneration they may bring); frequency with which such channels of mobility are chosen; desirable statuses achievable thereby; symbolic tokens of success; specific techniques (e.g., counting coup, writing a bestseller, making a scientific discovery, winning an Olympic race); etc. See also:

Education	87	Preferment of war veterans	729
Occupational specialization	463		

change in the use of the grazing land or a desire of the young men to fence the crofts in an effort to improve the individual crofts the old men must have their say. Through their position in the churches, the old men also are the paramount source of social control, preserving their traditional habits and statuses, including a severe limitation on all social activity of a frivolous nature. This religiously sanctioned control is strengthened by the inability of the youth to form a solidarity. Indeed, one of the most serious limitations of the society of Skye is the small number of young men and women, boys and girls and the few opportunities which they have to come together as a group. The functions of the old men's age grade are identical with those described for the Irish small farmer.[21] Another social circle is composed of the affiliates of the same religious sect. They are mainly a mutual aid group.

Although the status equality noted in the township for all of the same sex and age carries over to the larger community, there are always a few people who have an achieved status. The minister enjoys high social prestige as the spiritual guardian of the people. The doctor is valued for his role in caring for the people's physical well-being. The school teacher is respected because he educates the youth and often acts as a spokesman for the group. If there is a member of the landed gentry, he will be accorded the highest status in the area. It is interesting to note that the achieved status positions are most often filled by newcomers to the island. The shopkeepers and

[21] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 125-139.

556

556 ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH--extent to which prestige can be gained through amassing wealth; means used to accumulate wealth or degree of skill involved; principal objects of wealth (e.g., money, cattle, slaves, land); relative importance of sheer accumulation, of display, of generosity in distribution; prominence of wealth accumulation as a mobility mechanism; desirable statuses achievable thereby; symbolic tokens of success; specific techniques (e.g., conspicuous consumption, potlatching, endowing a college, buying a title); etc. See also:

Property	42	Individual enterprise	672
Potlatches	481	Wealth in relation to social classes	565
Saving and investment	664	Hospitality	574

sufficiently to make age controls an irresistible force, the prestige status of the small number of the "elect," those who had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the elders gave them complete control over all social and religious activity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about these facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now is that the religious patterns provided a framework in which the culture could find continuity and through which the society could achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like customs resulted in a change of content, but there were positive results as well. Above all, there was a change in focus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in clan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a known religious brotherhood.

Summary. The third period of the modern phase of Skye's culture history saw the culmination of the process of commercialization of the land. All the influences necessary for the conversion of the subsistence economy, albeit a much deteriorated economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming, on a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy. Newcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved methods of land utilization were replacing the conservative and impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial farmers consolidated their holdings, the communal townships were being obliterated. The concept of individual possession of the land was replacing the customary rights of the small tenants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.

These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now was a spare-time pursuit. The Sriathanach was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any marked movement into the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was being lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the "Men" became an official policy of a new church. The emotional approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium. Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

TA

Crofter-Tenants

	Are	
	0-5 acres	
MALES UNDER 65	39%	
of whom with:		
Regular employment		2
Casual employment		
No other employment		
MALES OVER 65	23%	
FEMALES UNDER 65	8%	
FEMALES OVER 65	10%	
ABSENT: Males	14%	
Females	5%	
ALL TENANTS	100% (314	

/p. 28/

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig
/62
311
427
561
562
164

ABLE 12

by Status and Size of Holding

a of croft (inbye):			All
	5-10 acres	10-50 acres	Crofts
	46%	45%	43% (267)
6%	28%	26%	27% (170)
7%	8%	14%	9% (55)
6%	10%	5%	7% (46)
	27%	35%	26% (167)
	5%	7%	7% (43)
	7%	4%	8% (49)
	12%	6%	12% (75)
	1%	3%	4% (24)
)	100% (201)	100% (114)	100% (629)

Owing to rounding totals may not add.

231 Table III reveals that there are 177 agricultural units with a souming; ten units are crofts in Glengravir without a souming and the remainder of the 219 units have no grazing rights. From this Table, it is clear that full stocking and overstocking increase with the size of the croft: the units of ten acres and over, on the basis of stock carry, would appear to be the most intensive
[463] worked. In all, just over half of the units take up their full souming. Table IV gives an
[561] analysis of employment ancillary to croft work for 141 of the 219 units and it would appear that
[887] neither ancillary employment nor age is significantly related to the intensity of croft working. Table V points to the fact that more full-time croftere are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables
[311] III, IV and V underline the fact that the larger units are also the more successful and it is significant that the larger units are almost all on the better land in the agricultural townships. The average size of holding in the agricultural township is nine acres, compared with less than eight acres in the fishing townships, where the land is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

175 The trends in agriculture are illustrated by Tables VI and VII. The Crofters' Commission ma
178 a survey of the crofts through the medium of Estate Factors in 1883; from Table VI it is evident
241 that the number of cattle was much higher at that time and that the cattle-sheep ratio in the
231 selected townships was 1:3 as compared with 1:25 in 1958. Table VII gives agricultural statistics for the parish of Loche as a whole; separate figures for Park are not available. Since 1913, radical changes in the crop and stock patterns have taken place; bere (Hordeum vulgare) has disappeared as a crop, and sown grass and permanent grass for hay have since 1947 become the leading crops. Horses have all but disappeared, and the cattle-sheep ratio has risen from less than 1:4 to 1:39 for the whole parish. Since 1938, cultivation in Lochs Parish has declined by 36
[518] per cent. Large areas of lazy-beds, no longer cultivated, are visible landscape signs of these
[824] changes; seaweed, the sine quae non for laybed cultivation, is no longer carried to the upper par of the crofts. In fact, many of the crofts no longer use seaweed as a fertiliser.

233 From the foregoing account, it is clear that there are two major agricultural problems in Par
241 the lack of sufficiently large crofts with good arable land and an insufficiency of common grazing; these deficiences bring in their train the problem of overstocking, and the existence of uneconomi holdings.

241 The more progressive crofters, significantly resident on the better crofts of the agricultural
242 townships, have shown how croft land can be improved by re-seeding and sowing down to grass,
176 practices which could be fruitfully extended throughout Park. In addition, several townships by c operative effort, have reseeded small areas of the commons grazings with splendid results.

241 However it is clear that it is not possible for 219 viable agricultural units to be maintained on the present crofting area. The optimum size of croft which could maintain a family is a moot point, for the location and situation of a croft and the quality of the land and common pasture would all have to be taken into account in making an assessment.

231 This problem was referred to a practical agriculturalist who was asked to state what size of
241 croft and number of stock would be required to provide an annual income of £300, excluding croft
242 benefit (milk, eggs and potatoes consumed on the croft) and any costing for labour. To fulfil these conditions, one of the fishing townships was carefully analysed, and the expert came to the following approximations, assuming that the rules of good husbandry were in force after the croft had been brought up to a good standard of cultivation and re-seeding had been carried out where possible on the outrun and Common Pasture, and provided there was no overstocking, and that present favourable subsidies and prices continue:-

6: Ducey	E-4,5	(1958-1954)	1956	ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

to the traditions of the past. I shall discuss this further when I describe the extended family.

The Township. The township is a cooperating economic unit. Communal use of an interest in the common grazing lands gives the township its focus. Living on the several crofts, there will be found an aggregate of nuclear families and unmarried individuals who, especially in the older townships, are related and re-related on both sides. Only in the more modern townships does the degree of relationship become tenuous and finally disappear. In interpersonal activities the neighbors have a rate of interaction second only to that of the nuclear family.

The dominant social trait is the strong emphasis on the ascription of status on the basis of kinship, sex and age. There are no socially valued achieved statuses. The facts are simple. Males enjoy higher prestige than females, and the old men and women are respected by the youth. All of the same age grade and sex are essentially equal. Again we have a parallel with the Irish small farmer.[18]

There is no room for the expression of a role of leadership in economic activities. The governing principle of township administration is so-called primitive democracy. All males have an equal voice in determining the acceptance of any policy or action which concerns the group, and unanimous consent is necessary for the adoption of any change. Although each township has an elected grazing clerk and a grazing

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[18] Cf. Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 45, 109-110; and Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63, 181-231.

no longer concerned with the necessity of having his 771
en baptized, the venerable old men, the family-head 554
, prolong their social control by sitting in judgment 183 626
ge who seek salvation. The strength of age controls [178]
icated by the continued ability of the elders to resist
tempts to introduce secular innovations to the crofting
orhoods. Even in Portree the majority of the people
der the watchful eyes of the old men.

Many of the meaningful patterns of interaction are 771
ous. The rites of passage function to augment social 182
l, restore disturbed equilibriums, and establish new 626
ed statuses. The rites of intensification, including
associated with death, function to restore disturbed
ns of interaction in the family, nuclear and extended,
e larger social groups and to establish meaningful
onships when large congregations gather for the
ation of communion. Religion for the majority is not 771
dependent on attending church on the Sabbath and [782]
ing Wednesday night prayer meetings. Every day of
ek begins with a prayer and ends with family worship.
cial activity outside the home is ideally limited to [52]
urch, and the church is never used for mundane activity.
n Portree are there a number of social activities to [369]
the people. Kilmuir has no more than a Crofters' [575]
or men, and Glendale has no social activities, unless
uld include the annual meeting of the share holders
farm.

796 into tiny squares. The ministers and the elders partake
794 first. A final hymn is full of rejoicing, and the minist
then exhorts the communicants to return to the world and
give witness and to live exemplary lives.

The evening service on Sunday is evangelical, intend
for non-believers. After this service the communicants
conduct a brief prayer meeting to give thanks.

[829] On Monday, the minister again tells the communicants
to go out into the world and declare publically their
experiences of the preceding day; and to demonstrate in
everything they do and say that they are believers. In
[178] the past, only a morning service was given, as most peopl
[484] had a long journey ahead of them to return home; but now
that cars are available, a similar evening service is also
conducted.

781 5. The Process of Conversion: The process of conver
794 may be slow or sudden, but conversion is most common at
796 middle age and among women. One informant wryly observed
[561] "Only recently women were allowed to have souls. But
[562] from the looks of the Communion table, mostly women are
[589] going to heaven." Many of the women taking Communion are
[822] dressed from head to foot in black, a color which indicat
their widowed status.

781 The first sign that a person is "following" (leannta
794 the church is that he begins to attend the weekly prayer

[192] This, perhaps, one reason for the government's attitude regarding deferments.

[192] Since the majority of the people converse among themselves in the Gaelic, I should like to conclude this study of the crofting family with a brief discussion of status in Gaelic terminology. The Gaelic language reveals the significance of several aspects of the relationship of family members and clearly marks the changing status of the individual. At birth both boys and girls are [561]leanabh. If the parents are feeling protective towards the child, at time of illness or some mishap, they use this term until the age of three or four, but, normally, at two the children are called [561]clann. Specifically, a small boy is [561]balach, and a small girl is [561]caileag. At puberty, when the [561]clann and their associates become conscious of the physical changes accompanying adolescence, a boy becomes [561]gille, and a girl, [561]nighean. With this change, the boy puts on his first pair of long trousers, and the girl receives her first long skirt. [561]Gille and [561]nighean apply until marriage. A brother and sister, however, often use them throughout life, as synonyms for [561]bràthair (brother) and [561]piuthar (sister). There is one additional fact which we should note at this time. [561]Nighean means both girl and daughter. Boys and the [561]clann, are distinguished. Any boy is [561]gille, but a son is [561]mac. Only at marriage does the [561]gille become a [561]duine, a man, and the [561]nighean, a [561]bean, a woman. Just as the girl and daughter are not distinguished, neither are woman and wife. [561]Bean means both. A man is not only a [561]duine; he is also a [561]fear, a husband. In the Gaelic, many people who have all the physiological

[192] [561] requirements of adulthood, and also old age, are still boys and girls.

[559]Status Equality Within the Township. The ascription of status on the basis of age and sex has resulted in a straightforward [562]system of status. The facts are simple. Men are the social [561]superiors of women. Youth are socially inferior to their seniors. Men, or women, of a common age category are equals. We shall now examine a few interpersonal relationships to see how the [249]system operates. Unless a man and his wife are eating alone, women never eat with men. They wait until the men have finished [576]before taking their meal. When neighbors come to visit, the [577]man of the house does not rise for a woman. He does rise for a man and shakes him by the hand. The woman of the house, on the other hand, rises for both men and women. Furthermore, when a couple comes to call, the woman greets the man first. Only after he has been offered a chair does she greet the [855]woman. Young people are seen but seldom heard. They do not [882]speak unless addressed.

[426] [176] All societies allow some deviation from traditional norms of expected behavior. On Skye, as elsewhere, excessive deviation is censured. Neither increased opportunities for education nor the steady flow of Skye men and women to the four corners of the earth, accompanied by the slow returning trickle, have disturbed these fundamental values. Like the youth who leaves home to achieve upward mobility through outward mobility, the man who returns must conform to the traditional norms, which he learned as a child, or be regarded

offer help without an expectation of payment. Nevertheless, anonymous donations of food and casual visits make sure that none of their number becomes absolutely destitute. In Glendale this religious clique merges with the person's "people and friends." Kilmuir has two religious cliques.

We have had ample opportunity to examine the age-grades [561] of Skye's society and in the next chapter we shall have a closer look at the functions of the age-grades, especially that of the old men. One of the most important weaknesses [857] of the social structure, in my mind, is the lack of age mates [882] for children and adolescents. They find it difficult, almost [561] impossible, to come together as a sodality. In Kilmuir, for example, there are only fifteen boys under twenty in an area of ten square miles. A youth is anyone under forty. Of the [162] total population 60 percent are over fifty. For this reason [561] the important age grade clique tends to merge with the re- [794] ligious social circle. The situation is much the same in Glendale. There the age-grade and kinship groups are intertwined with the kirk congregation.

Status Equality within the Neighborhood. The fundamental [621] status equality which we found for the crofters within the [534] township carries over to the neighborhood, but, as would be [571] expected, there is often a need for leadership in this larger group. Let us look at the two neighborhoods which I know best to cast light on the methods employed in the self-election of a leader and the means of expressing leadership as a role. Kilmuir has a Crofters' Club, which was originally formed by [573]

[162] his occupation matters very little. Unlike the Welsh,[35] [557] the Gàidhealach does not particularly look up to the man [463] who prosperes. Indeed, the people are more than likely to [183] [559] attribute his success to dishonesty or find fault with his character. I shall have more to say about this when we consider the topic of gossip.

[463] At the same time, occupation is a factor in the [573] formation of cliques. The school teachers form one clique which has tended to become more and more exclusive in recent years. The shop keepers also have their small clique. Once a year they have a dance at the Royal Hotel. Within both social circles there are, of course, special groups [561] of friends who associate regularly. Age grades provide another basis for clique formation. Clerks, shop assistants, and employees of the government are divided on this basis. Since it is government and, apparently, business and banking house policy to use the remote rural areas for a training ground and to make promotions, most of the newcomers and local residents who work for these agencies are young men.

[621] Neither occupation nor age-grades are exclusive factors in determining the social structure of Portree as they are for the crofters. If they were, I could not support the assertion that there is fluidity among the village population. [575] There are several clubs and fraternal organizations, such as a drama society, the Women's Rural Institute, An Comun

[35] Rees, op. cit., p. 127.

The man who seeks sensory pleasures and finds enjoyment in [785] mundane recreation is believed to be spiritually un- [779] enlightened. It seems almost an anticlimax to add that social life is restricted.

Beyond the Highlands and, indeed, within the Highlands [771] in certain prosperous areas, where poverty has not been [882] a factor of such importance that it requires religious [571] sanction, the Church of Scotland has endeavored to find room within the church for recreational activities, especially for the youth. As in America, the church feels a responsibility to the youth which requires a combination of religion and recreation if the citizens of the community are to be well-rounded adults. Youth programs and youth clubs, young adult groups, and social circles for the older men and women are an essential part of church work. In [794] an organizational sense, the Church of Scotland on Skye [571] has, at the most, a Woman's Guild which meets once a month to hear a lecture on a topic such as missionary work in India, and which holds an occasional sale of work to reduce the church debt or buy the minister an electric tea kettle to keep in his vestry; and a choir, which meets once a week for rehearsal. It is, as I have said before, not the overall policy of the church which determines the activities in which the people participate or which they reject. The [888] elders are the prime movers. Were the youth in Kilmuir [561] anyone under thirty, instead of anyone under forty, the [626] control of the aged might not be as strong as it is. In

the Outer Isles, an area of recent depopulation, there are [888] enough youth to resist the dictates of their elders.[25] If [561] they cannot have a dance in a hall, they hold their dance [626] on a plank bridge. In Kilmuir the crofters are looking forward to "Effectual Calling." To defy the elders, or allow their children to run counter to the wishes of the elders, would mean a loss of all hope for salvation.

For the majority of crofters, any form of amusement [785] is objectionable, but there are slight differences among [795] the affiliates of the several sects. The Church of Scotland is the most lenient. For adherents, concerts, film shows and similar organized forms of entertainment may be admissible, especially if they are held outside the neighborhood. There [546] is a "picture bus" from Kilmuir to Portree on Wednesday and [546] Saturday night. Sports activities are often considered [526] as wholesome outlets for the youth. Some of the ministers, feel the lack of social contact with their people and believe they might do some good by taking part in life outside the pulpit. The Church of Scotland minister in Kilmuir occasionally attends the Crofters' Club, the only secular activity admitted in the neighborhood. Significantly, Free Church opinion, although the voice of a minority, has prohibited the playing of pipes and recitals of the Gaelic Choir at the annual agricultural show. The Church of Scotland minister in Sleat has taken a hand in the village hall. Unorganized dances are condemned. This is not because dancing [535]

[25] Darling and Morley, op. cit., pp. 21-24.

Additional modifications have been found in the division [178] of labor. Although no Skyeman has shown a disposition to assume [192] responsibility for domestic work, unless he lives alone, the [626] women of Skye are expected to function in roles which once were filled exclusively by men. Old men and women for many years [561] now have continued to perform tasks which formerly were their duties as youths and young adults. These changes, like those we have [illegible], are partially traceable to an incomplete adjustment to the contractual, commercial world. This has led [162] to striking alterations in the age structure of the population for it is the youth who forsake the island and the aged who yearn to return. Nevertheless, there have been no observable [558] changes in the status system of the rural neighborhoods. Primitive democracy, distinguished from our form of democracy [621] by the principle of unanimous consent rather than majority rule, [534] continues to operate in the townships. The existence of such an institution implies a maximum of equality co-existing with a minimum of authority. The continued sodality of the crofters to maintain primitive democracy in a nation like Great Britain is possible only because there is a high degree of social integration. The simple system of ranking, on the basis of [561] age and sex, has persisted. Men are the social superiors of [562] women; old men are the social superiors of their juniors. I believe we shall understand how continuity of status has been preserved if we turn to a consideration of the role of religion on the island.

If I am right in asserting that a belief in clan brother- [178] hood was an all pervasive cultural pattern in bygone days and [192] [626]

562

562 SEX STATUS--rights, privileges, powers, duties, and disabilities of each sex (e.g., legal, domestic, economic, political, ceremonial); special exemptions for each sex; general statements bearing upon the status inferiority or superiority of women; special alphabetizing (e.g., chivalry, notions of the uncleanness of women); explications of sex differences; etc. See also:
[illegible] 227
[illegible] 238
Division of labor by age 255
Franchise 241
[illegible] 227
[illegible] 238
Transvestism 238
Menstrual seclusion 239

445 yards (a weaver's yard is equal to 8 feet, a measure
283 which derives from the size of the frame once used
(BONE) to wind hanks of yarn). Payment varies according to
the number of colors used in the pattern. A weaver
292 may average 2½ tweeds per week when the work is available,
425 thus earning more than mill workers. A female mill
[562] worker earns about £11 or £12, and her male counterpart
about £3 more.

238 Because weavers are classed as self-employed, they
245 do not qualify for unemployment benefit. They may apply
657 for social security, but must submit to a "means" test,
and the possession of bank savings or other assets
disqualifies them from receiving such aid. All British
workers must pay a weekly sum for "insurance stamps," a
certain number of which makes the workers eligible for
small payments from the government during periods of
illness. Self-employed persons must pay for their own
insurance stamps, whereas employers pay for the stamps
of their workers. A weaver who does not keep up with his
payments of over one pound a week for insurance stamps
must pay the accumulated debt at a later time.

Weavers face other costs. They buy looms and bobbin-
491 winding machines, and pay for lighting, heating, and the
234 maintenance of all equipment. The preservation of this
292 anomalous status of "self-employed" is related to the
425
438

527 office or general store, preferring to divide the rest
178 between themselves for use at a later time. A 50-year-
431 old woman observed, "They don't appreciate the bannag
like we used to. They get this kind of rich food all
527 the time." The practices of wearing costumes and speaking
178 the rhyme are disappearing. Children used to have the
bannag until they left school at age 14 or 15; now only
the younger children go. "Children grow up more quickly
today."

529 A New Year's is celebrated perhaps most intensively
562 by the men, who after seeing the New Year in by watching
573 a special New Year's program on television go visiting
574 neighbors and relatives with bottles of whiskey. The
[184] custom of "first-footing" on New Year's eve is found
throughout Scotland; but in the Hebrides much visiting
and heavy drinking may last from New Year's eve until
the following Sunday. During this time, the woman of the
house, who usually refrains from drinking and to some
extent controls the drinking done by the males in her
house, relaxes her attitude, and may even participate.
The comment, "It's only once a year," is often heard.
[589] During this time, the shyest and most retiring bachelor
becomes a Romeo; this is the only time of year he may
be heard to mention the word marriage. For example, one
bachelor in his 60's chooses a "bride" each New Year, and
takes her with him on his all-night visiting.

796 into tiny squares. The ministers and the elders partake
794 first. A final hymn is full of rejoicing, and the minister
then exhorts the communicants to return to the world and
give witness and to live exemplary lives.

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experiences of the preceding day; and to demonstrate in
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[178] this past, only a morning service was given, as most people
[489] had a long journey ahead of them to return home; but now
that cars are available, a similar evening service is also
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6. The Process of Conversion: The process of conversion
789 may be slow or sudden, but conversion is most common at
793 middle age and among women. One informant wryly observed,
[562] "Only recently women were allowed to have souls. But
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dressed from head to foot in black, a color which indicates
their widowed status.

The first sign that a person is "following" (leannsail)
781 the church is that he begins to attend the weekly prayer
794

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

by Captain Dymes. The saint laboured mainly in the Hebrides; 175*
he died in the north of Scotland and was buried at Rosemarkie, 246
on the Scottish mainland. Tradition ascribes the building of the [173]
church to the tenth century by King Olaf of Norway. Though it
a more realistic date for its foundation is the fourteenth century.
That it occupies, as so many other small churches do, the site of a
former cell is quite acceptable. The church, no Dymes tells us, [562] *
had a 'sanctum sanctorum,' so holy in fact that no women were
ever allowed to enter it.

In Harris, the outstanding religious building is St Clement's,
at Rodel, described in Chapter 8. There are, sprinkled like a
measured largesse, small ruins of chapels, cells, oratories and wells;
but only tradition has clothed these tumbled stones with the aire
of the once-living. A map of the island will show up these sites,
which are well worth a visit if only to spend a short time in reflec-
tion under the island sky beside ancient stones.

Other old ruins are to be found on the island of Calum Cille
(Columba) in Loch Eriskort. It is on record that the monks who [199]
came from Iona to convert the islanders from pagan forms of
religion to Christianity landed on the island about the middle of
the sixth century. They founded a church with its burial ground,
that they dedicated to their master, hence the Gaelic name:
Eaglais, Cladh, agus Eilean Chalum Cille. Tradition also men-
tions a mill, Muileann-na-manach, but there is not one stone left
on another to indicate its exact site. The old burial ground served
the parish of Lochs for many generations until about a century
ago. The people of the island were in medieval and post-medieval
times profoundly religious; this reverence was more often than
not carried over into the half-world of superstition.

Though the tangible remains of religion's progress are to be 175*
seen, the recorded history of religious progress, its phases and 199
developments, is scant. One can only assume that it was the
Columban Church which first introduced the new Christianity
to the Lewis folk. The earlier religion was the stock on to which
the new was grafted. The result was an amalgam which was
nothing if not strange to those many visitors who came to com-
ment on the island scene; for it was neither Christian nor heathen.
Yet, again, a strong thread of veneration ran through the ancient

so literate as to have drawn up a bond, unaided and with a re- 175*
markable degree of legal precision. 212

It was not until Lewis belonged to the Seaforth family that 175*
anything in the nature of education generally came the way of 871
the common folk of the island. John Morison, a native of Lewis,
who wrote about 1690, says:

Quite for the time the country is possessed and sagile governed
by the Earle of Seaforth, by whose industrious care and benevo-
lence the people, formerly inclined to rudeness and barbarity, are
reduced to civilitie, much understanding and knowledge by the
flourishing schooll planted and maintained by the said Earle all
the time in the town of Stornoway. And not onlie the people of
the Lewis, but also those of the nist adjacent Iles. The gentlemens
sons and daughters are hered in that school to the great good and
comfort of their parents; so that there are few families but at least
the master can read and write: I do remember in my own
time that there was not three in all the countrie that knew A. b.
by A Bible.

Martin Martin mentions this Stornoway school as teaching both
Latin and English. During the eighteenth century a school for
teaching both those subjects with writing and arithmetic was
established.

Martin also indicates that it was never considered necessary [562] *
or desirable to educate girls, whether they were common folk or
daughters of the upper classes, unless they were daughters of
chiefs and next in line to succeed their father, there being no male
issue before them. Towards the close of the eighteenth century,
efforts were made to educate the children of the island. Paro-
chial schools had by that time been established; the Society in
Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge and the Gaelic
School Society supported several. Clergymen of the period, how-
ever, claimed that the advantages of education were not appreci-
ated; as a consequence, the schools were not well attended.

The SSPCK had its origins in 1701, when a few private gentle-
men met in Edinburgh and resolved to establish schools in the
Highlands and Islands, and to appeal to the public for subscrip- [213]
tions for the purpose. They had a fitful beginning, but Queen
Anne encouraged the scheme by royal proclamation and sub-

CLANSHIP

175 Mackenzie. For all that, in 1900 a crofter said: "We called
615 the old proprietor Seaforth, but I believe his right name
621 was the Prince of Welsh". To him the Earls were royal!
[824]

Freedom of intercourse is embodied in the language
to this day. With 'a stranger', a little spoken Gaelic
197 lessens 'strangeness' and quickens intimacy, because
565 Gaelic conveys emotional human relationships as English
576 rarely can—even the English of the 'democratic' Low-
lands. For instance, a well-dressed stranger, though
young, is usually addressed in English as 'sir' by a senior
crofter, and, just as in the South, without the expectation
of 'sir' or 'ma'am' in return. In English, that is, respect
is given to class. In Gaelic, age receives respect: it is the
stranger, if the younger, who adopts the respectful 'you'
(the second person plural, *abh*), while the crofter, if the
older, uses the friendly singular, 'thou' (*dhu*). If they
are of equal age, and neither is elderly, 'thou' would be
used by both. Similarly, respect is given to womanhood;
and an older woman who would say 'Sir' in English will
say 'My dear' in Gaelic.[1]

614 It is not only by daily contacts that we may understand
the relationship of people to chief, but by the height of
[175] feeling it may attain, and by the beauty of its expression.
[532] Among the finest of the later songs of praise to Gaelic
clanship and its chiefs are those composed by two Island
bards, a woman of Harris and a man of the Lewis. Mary
MacLeod, *Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh*, was a kinswoman
of the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris, and a beloved
[173]

[1] Calling on the sub-postmistress in a Highland place where I was known to be a friend of the land, I was addressed as "Sir". Had bitterly had we passed to Gaelic when this woman, my elder and a person of culture, laughingly used an expression then strange to me. Halted, and suddenly aby at being focused to translate, she said at last, "When thou wast a *boog* (just a boy)!" meant as a joke. But rightly, she would have been slightly shocked had I said 'thou' to her.

888 be given by ear and learning come by heart. Hence elders
588 were the holders of an inheritance of treasures which must
be sought from them or be lost for ever. But to be trans-
mitted, the word must remain alive in the mind. Thus
both the faculty of memory and the fruit it bore in an
elder's mind brought respect, even veneration. Accuracy
in retelling is still immensely valued, but so, too, were
thoughtful commentary and poetic enrichment. Respect
for elders, though general, was not given blindly, but
personally and by choice.

As handed down, the Fifth Commandment runs:
888 "Honour thy parents and hold them in loving regard"
771 (*Cuidhd do phaireant ri chuir speis dhaibh*).[1] The
562 community was pervaded by the Christian concept of a
Holy Family, rather than by that of a patriarchate. This
concept took root from the first missions to the Celtic
community, with which it harmonised and which formed
fertile ground for this Christian seed. Hence there was
no general assertion of paternal, still less of patriarchal,
authority at the expense of youth. Where equal honour
is due to both parents, the mother finds equal duty and
regard with the father. And although the father's home
is close at hand while the mother's may be a little distance
away, her parents are likely to be the younger and the
more active and helpful to their grandchildren, and the
influence of all four grandparents fairly balanced.

The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are named
[614] in a hymn of the Lews, along when giving up with the flocks
[773] and herds to the shieldings; even this may be a Presbyterian
[175] adaptation (*Carmina*). But until the overwhelming weight

[1] Rev. Allan Macdonald, p. 62, *Na Paisnean*. The omission of the Mosaic paternal precedence may be a courtesy to motherhood implying equality in parenthood.

absence of terms for in-laws, these relatives are simply 601
red to as the husband's or wife's kin. Hence, structurally,
xtended family on Skye is comparable to the Irish system,[19]
obviously, is dissimilar to our bilateral family structure.[20]
Because the extended family is so very unstable, it is 596
cult to describe it functionally. There was a time when
eople were divided into three communities of fate, the
rs of which were bound together by the bonds of real and
tious kinship. Today individuals whose remote ancestors
together in defense of their homes may not have seen
brothers in many years. The material I gathered allows
two generalizations. Any member of the extended family
ways free to call upon his kinsmen for help or, at least,
tality in need; and the closest surviving relatives always
their obligations and are ready to fulfill them. Thus,
amily is a mutual aid group. The primary responsibilities
kin are to see that all have food, shelter, and a proper
l.

There are additional social circles in the crofting 561 888 626
nity. The youth, young adults, and the aged are divided
age grades. Of these, the age grade of the old men is
ially important. They control the economic progress of
sland by their deliberative function concerning any
ation in the crofting system. Whether it is a suggested

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[19] Cf. Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 79-85.

[20] Cf. Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary
d States," American Anthropologist, XLV (January-March,
, pp. 22-38.

ge in the use of the grazing land or a desire of the young 561
to fence the crofts in an effort to improve the individual 888
ts the old men must have their say. Through their position 626
he churches, the old men also are the paramount source of
al control, preserving their traditional habits and statuses,
uding a severe limitation on all social activity of a
clous nature. This religiously sanctioned control is
ngthened by the inability of the youth to form a solidarity.
ed, one of the most serious limitations of the society of
is the small number of young men and women, boys and girls
the few opportunities which they have to come together as
oup. The functions of the old men's age grade are identical
those described for the Irish small farmer.[21] Another 794
al circle is composed of the affiliates of the same religious
. They are mainly a mutual aid group. [476]

Although the status equality noted in the township for 554
of the same sex and age carries over to the larger community,
e are always a few people who have an achieved status. The [793]
ster enjoys high social prestige as the spiritual guardian
he people. The doctor is valued for his role in caring for [759]
people's physical well-being. The school teacher is re- [875]
ted because he educates the youth and often acts as a spoke-
for the group. If there is a member of the landed gentry, [545]
ill be accorded the highest status in the area. It is [555]
resting to note that the achieved status positions are most
n filled by newcomers to the island. The shopkeepers and

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[21]Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 125-139.

of the Old Testament made itself felt, as in Lewis-and-Harris in the nineteenth century, this narrower patriarchal example hardly affected thought.[1] Rooted in a wider form of family than a patriarchate, and reverencing a Holy Family and all fellowship, Gaelic society honoured age and parenthood for their inheritance, and childhood and youth for their promise.

Such ideals of human relationship led to the veneration of the Saints of the Gospels and of later history, and also of those of legend, especially Bride. Dedications to Bride or 'Bridget' are widespread from Wales to the Lews; yet her memory has been all but lost in Britain, except in the Isles. Carmichael wrote that "Bride and her services" are dear to the hearts of the people. She is called "Bride of the white feet . . . of calmness . . . of the kine; woman-comrade . . . and woman-helper . . ." "I am in the keeping of my Saint Mary: My companion beloved is Bride" (*Carmina*, Nos. 70-71; 263-264). As joy, steadfastness and attainment are generally linked to one notable stage in the life of each 'holy companion', the example, aid and fellowship of each saint in turn was especially sought, at a corresponding stage or crisis of one's own life.

The Gael's veneration for saintly men and women was shared by Catholic peasantry throughout Christendom; but its special quality seems to have been closeness of

[1] Clanship has repeatedly been said to be 'patriarchal', as an ideal and a system. A different conclusion, that community is the root of clanship (even in its political forms), may come as a surprise. The English or Lowland reader has had access only to the writings of strangers such as Burt. Not knowing Gaelic, these derived their information from Highland speakers of English who, deliberately or unconsciously, were biased by ranking as chief or gentry, and not unnaturally explained their position as patriarchal. Thus strangers ignored the co-parental life of farm-groups and townships, economically humble but spiritually rich, as the root of a clan-community.

T

Crofter-Tenant

	Are	
	0-5 acres	
MALES UNDER 65	39%	
of whom with:		
Regular employment		
Casual employment		
No other employment		
MALES OVER 65	23%	
FEMALES UNDER 65	8%	
FEMALES OVER 65	10%	
ABSENT: Males	14%	
Females	5%	
ALL TENANTS	100% (314	

/p. 28/

162
311
427
561
562
464

ABLE 12

s by Status and Size of Holding

	ea of croft (inbye):			All
		5-10 acres	10-50 acres	Crofts
		46%	45%	43% (267)
26%	28%		26%	27%(170)
7%	8%		14%	9% (55)
6%	10%		5%	7% (46)
		27%	35%	26% (167)
		5%	7%	7% (43)
		7%	4%	8% (49)
		12%	6%	12% (75)
		1%	3%	4% (24)
)		100%(201)	100% (114)	100% (629)

Owing to rounding totals may not add.

166 that the movement of whole families is unusual, although a few have migrated to Stornoway, particularly from the south. In this respect Uig, except to some extent the south, differs from Park; only 15% of emigrants have gone to Stornoway, c.f. 32% from Park.

TABLE 51

The Destination of Emigrants, 1939 - 1959

Destination	Males (No.)	Females (No.)	(1)	Total (No.)	(%)	c.f. Park (%)
Stornoway	37	44	(26)	81	(15)	(32)
Other Lewis	24	52	(35)	76	(14)	(7)
Other crofting counties	27	33	(25)	60	(11)	(9)
Glasgow	56	57	(48)	113	(21)	(22)
Other Scotland	47	60	(39)	107	(20)	(17)
Other U.K.	17	26	(25)	43	(8)	(8)
Overseas	28	19	(8)	47	(9)	(5)
All destinations	236	291	(206)	527	(100)	(100)

Note: (1) The figure in parenthesis under 'females' indicates those who became 'migrants' on marriage.

Male emigrants from Uig go mainly to Glasgow and other parts of the mainland (table 51). Since 1939 (in effect since 1945) only 12% have gone overseas; 16% have moved to Stornoway and a further 10% to other parts of Lewis. This is almost entirely a movement in search of work. Female emigrants from the parish are less widely dispersed: more went to other parts of Lewis and fewer overseas. There is a special factor in the case of female emigrants. Social intercourse between the different island districts is very active, despite the apparent lack of facilities; almost a third of the female emigrants from Uig became migrants on marriage into other Lewis parishes. Even if we discount such migration, more women than men migrated from Uig between 1939 and 1959. Weaving retains young men but not the young women.

582 564 288

Migration from a crofting district is a somewhat indeterminate process. Young people of both sexes go to Glasgow or elsewhere in search of work. For a while they maintain their island homes but, eventually, they set up homes of their own. Our criterion of 'migration', as against (working permanently away', was this setting up of a home. Thus the critical point is often marriage and it will be noted (table 51 and Appendices B(3) and D(3) that a very large proportion of female emigrants appear to have emigrated on marriage; in the case of migration outwith Lewis this usually means that for some time previous to their becoming 'emigrants' they had seasonal or permanent employment away from home. Indeed, our enquiries showed that the great majority of young women who took employment on the mainland eventually married and settled away from Lewis. Only a small minority returned, often giving up their employment in order to care for ageing relatives. An island man may occasionally return with a mainland wife but cases of island girls bringing mainland men to settle in the island are rare indeed.

582

Maisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Dig

emporary feature in 1959 due to the annual employment provided by a hydro-electric ome at Cuoin (Figure 16).

is this respect the critical age-group is 15-44 years (table 54). Few older people work away from home. Of that age-group, 138 (and of full persons are only. ers account for 139, men for only 139. the difference is a strong indication of the of employment opportunities for women in Lewis. The contrasting experience of ers is shown in the Skyeman's Skyeman Dig. A far greater proportion of men y away from the two northern districts than from the south. This reflects the greater importance of weaving in the north. The explanation for this lies in the generally smaller size of crofts of the north, partly in this type of employ- a suitable locality and partly in the customary choice of employment away, which ed in the district. Social customs, which may vary as between one township the next, has a strong bearing on whether and when young men and women choose to

TABLE 54

The 15-44 age-group, distinguishing men and women

		Residents	Partentially empl.	Permanently empl.	Totals
		%	%	%	% (No.)
hrish	M	71	7	22	100 (91)
ists	F	37	17	46	100 (480)
ists Dig	M	60(1)	8	32	100 (138)
	F	50	14	36	100 (134)
rwen	M	52(2)	14	33	100 (98)
	F	39	20	41	100 (90)
ert Lash Rang	M	59	17	25	100 (127)
	F	53	16	30	100 (127)
ylemsy	M	49	24	27	100 (148)
	F	58	22	20	100 (137)

ES: (1) including at least 16 (12%) temporarily employed on construction work at Kishk.

(2) including 11 (12%) full-time fishermen.

50

Social Organization

54 The Croft. Ideally, the croft is the home of a nuclear 54 family. Social instability and economic limitations, however, have given rise to a situation in which the ideal is becoming progressively harder to attain. In fact, crofts which once were occupied by a three generation family group, that is, by grandparents, parents and children, are now inhabited by an aging bachelor, a spinster, or an unwed brother and sister. Others are the homes of an old widow or widower and, perhaps, one or two of their children who are well beyond marriageable age.

54 As an irremovable social entity, the nuclear family has been surrounded by the universally recognized functions of sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction, and education. In addition, important functions of a religious and a social character have been given to it. The members share the work of the croft, have a higher rate of interaction than any other social group, and, in most homes, worship together seven days a week. Within the family, the father is the source of all authority. He directs the labor of his wife and children, determines their patterns of interaction outside the home, and leads them in family worship. The family's economic well-being and spiritual welfare are his responsibilities.

54 Learning the essential tasks necessary to the crofting 54 of life by imitation and informal guidance, sons move in the sphere of their father and daughters in the sphere of their mother. While the father is the disciplinarian, both children are expected to respect the wishes of their mother, except that they can never be asked to do the work of a woman. At the same time, however, in the absence of a boy, a girl will take his place in the division of labor. The high status of the male and the subservient position of the female have persisted over the centuries. Always, male and female relationships are reciprocal and complimentary.

The patterns of interaction and the statuses and roles 54 which are manifest within the nuclear family on Skye are much the same as those described for the Irish small farmers.[15] The main difference is the occupation of the Irish farm by a three generation family group. Comparable family structures are found in the United States among the old Order Amish and, apparently, among the mountain people of the Southern Appalachians, many of whom are descendants of Scottish and Irish migrants.[16] Under Le Play's classification, the Skyeman's family is the famille-souche or stem family.[17] Although strongly patriarchal, the family on Skye has been weakened by economic limitations. At the same time, the Sgriathanach, as a member of both a nuclear and an extended family, has not lost his attachment to the land, to his kinsmen, or

[15] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 55-61; and Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63-74.

[16] Dollmorph, op. cit.; and Faith M. Williams, "Variations in Farm-Family Living," 10 Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1942), pp. 137-154. For the background of the Southern Highlander, see J. C. Campbell, The Southern Highlands and His Problems (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1921).

[17] See Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 57-59, 61-62.

51

to the traditions of the past. I shall discuss this further 54 when I describe the extended family.

The Township. The township is a cooperating economic unit. 621 621 The township has an interest in the common grazing lands given 621 the township its focus. Living on the several crofts, there 621 will be found an aggregate of nuclear families and unmarried individuals who, especially in the older townships, are related and re-related on both sides. Only in the more modern townships does the degree of relationship become tenuous and finally disappear. In interpersonal activities the neighbors have a rate of interaction second only to that of the nuclear family.

The dominant social trait is the strong emphasis on the 621 ascription of status on the basis of kinship, sex and age. 564 There are no socially valued achieved statuses. The facts are simple. Males enjoy higher prestige than females, and the 564 old men and women are respected by the youth. All of the same 564 age grade and sex are essentially equal. Again we have a parallel with the Irish small farmer.[18]

There is no room for the expression of a role of leader- 621 ship in economic activities. The governing principle of 621 township administration is so-called primitive democracy. All males have an equal voice in determining the acceptance of any policy or action which concerns the group, and unanimous consent is necessary for the adoption of any change. Al- 620 though each township has an elected grazing clerk and a grazing

[18] Cr. Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 45, 109-110; and Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63, 101-231.

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behavior which have given the individual and the culture their 781 ability to continue in spite of social instability and acute 782 economic hardship. In many respects, the Skyeman's religion is strikingly similar to that of the Welshman.[23]

The status of the father within the nuclear family has 127 been maintained, despite changing economic roles which might 127 have led to a loss of prestige, by his religious sanction. The aged men of the community, in particular the elders, the 620 elected lay kirk officers, have been able to continue to exer- cise stringent control over their families and neighbors. In 564 a negative way, the socially inferior status of the women has been maintained by debarring them from active roles in the church. In religious activity the people find meaningful patterns of interaction. The small congregations, rarely over 300 people, give the Skyeman a sense of belonging. In the 564 home the practice of daily worship intensifies family inter- action. Above all, at the semi-annual communion celebrations, 182 highly emotional meetings which partake much of revivalism, 771 the people find solidarity. As each church in turn celebrates 572 the Lord's Supper, the people from the neighboring churches of the same sect come to share one to five days of worshipping together and renewing their ties of friendship. At the daily church services the people meet and hear visiting ministers of their sect and the eminent Wee Members of the elect, from other parts of the island. The identical pattern is found in Wales where the intense patterns of interaction center around the singing festivals.[24]

[23] Rees, op. cit., pp. 114-130.

[24] Ibid., pp. 129-130.

139

the dung from the byre, the peats from the moor, and the cats 175 from the fields. When the land had been turned by ploughing, 175 they yoked themselves to a harrow. The crofters, in Kilmuir, as 235 elsewhere, lost the right to the rivers for fish, to the moors 429 for game, and to the coast for sea weed. The land became ex- hausted from over tillage. They had clung tenaciously to the old methods. Even if they could have obtained credit and could have broken with the ways of their forefathers, the fear of reincurring would have deterred them.

A degree of preciousness can be given to this general 175 picture by comparing the arable acreage and stocking of Skye 175 in 1810, the year crofters first appeared, and 1870. In 1810, 233 30,000 acres were listed as arable, either cultivated or 311 susceptible to it; there were 18,000 cattle and 40,000 sheep.[66] By 1870 no more than 8,383 acres were considered as arable; there were only 9,341 cattle, but there were 136,077 sheep. The magnitude of this change can be emphasized by adding the fact that there were less than 14,000 sheep on the Island at the turn of the century.[67]

The end of the shieling life brought an end to the 175 traditional season for courting. Destitution forced a post- 594 ponement of marriage and an absolute reduction in the number 594 of marriages. As a natural consequence the birth rate declined. 175 In the decade 1861-1870 the birth rate of Skye stood at 26.1 178 compared with 34.6 for Scotland.[68]

[66] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 748, 754.

[67] Ibid., II, 553; III, 247; IV, 131; XVI, 148, 225, 537; XVIII, 184.

254

A girl also makes an early pretense at assuming her role. 847 While a boy is never seen helping within the house, and, there- 424 fore, his duties begin later, a small girl soon begins to help make beds and do the cleaning. If she is an only child, or has been left behind by her brothers who have left the Island, she is expected to take their place on the croft. In any event, she will be taught how to milk, how to plant a garden, and how to help in all other tasks of crofting, except cutting 564 corn and sheaving. She learns at a very early age and in diverse ways that the primary role of a woman is to serve the needs of can, some man, throughout her life, unless she is strong enough to live alone.

Learning the virtues valued by their parents and the community, as well as the tasks essential to crofting, both boys and girls are indoctrinated with the ethos of the Islander long before they can understand the importance of their object lessons. They are separated by more than the division of labor of their parents. As we shall see, the almost unaltered status values of the culture relegate males and females to two different, but complimentary, spheres of activity.

871 As they progress in school, conflicts begin to develop. 150 In one way this is inevitable. Until 1953 there was no attempt to teach the children anything that would directly relate to the life expected of them on Skye. In particular there were no agricultural subjects. Even now, there is but one travelling teacher of agriculture to serve the entire

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172 requirements of adulthood, and also old age, are still boys 564 and girls.

554 Status Equality Within the Township. The ascription of status on the basis of age and sex has resulted in a straightforward 564 system of status. The facts are simple. Men are the social 564 superiors of women. Youth are socially inferior to their seniors. Men, or women, of a common age category are equals. We shall now examine a few interpersonal relationships to see how the 260 system operates. Unless a man and his wife are eating alone, women never eat with men. They wait until the men have finished 572 before taking their meal. When neighbors come to visit, the 572 woman of the house does not rise for a woman. He does rise for a man and shakes him by the hand. The woman of the house, on the other hand, rises for both men and women. Furthermore, when a couple comes to call, the woman greets the man first. Only after he has been offered a chair does she greet the 553 553 man. Young people are seen but seldom heard. They do not speak unless addressed.

446 All societies allow some deviation from traditional 446 norms of expected behavior. On Skye, as elsewhere, excessive deviation is censured. Neither increased opportunities for education nor the steady flow of Skye men and women to the four corners of the earth, accompanied by the slow returning trickle, have disturbed these fundamental values. Like the youth who leaves home to achieve upward mobility through outward mobility, the man who returns must conform to the traditional norms, which he learned as a child, or be regarded

by a second cousin. The striking thing to realise here is that 595
the nearest surviving relative always knows his obligation and 596
is ready to fulfill it, without question. Fatherless children 597
are buried by either their paternal or maternal uncle. I have 598
not forgotten the existence of women. The simple fact is, 599
women play no part as sponsors. Indeed, the rare woman who goes
to the grave becomes the subject of lasting gossip. 562

Fundamentally, the system of kinship is patrilineal.
Linguistically, the terms for relatives may be bilateral, and 611
inheritance of possessions other than the name may be matters 612
of small importance, but the patrilineal emphasis remains.
The Gaisbhannaich lives in a man's world. I shall explore this 613
male dominance further in the following chapter. At present,
I want to briefly discuss two additional cliques.

Religious and Age-Grade Cliques. Like the members of any
society, the Gaisbhannaich associates most frequently with those
who share his interests and attitudes. It is natural, then,
for his associates, other than his kinsmen, to be people who
attend his church and people of his own age group. We need
not explore the nature of these cliques at this time; but
we should have some understanding of their function. The 573
religious clique is primarily a mutual aid group. There is 574
reason to believe that this particular group has lost much 575
of its importance of late, with the coming of the welfare
state. Many feel that the government pays people to look
after the aged and infirm. As far as doing a favor for someone
is concerned, few of the same kirk, other than close friends,

the child. Consequently, the sacrament is normally administered 587
without even the formality of a kirk session examination. The 588
ministers of the other churches assert that non-church-going, 589
drunken fathers whom the kirk session has refused have gone to 590
the Church of Scotland and have received the sacrament for their
children after pretending to mend their ways. They have then
come back to their former habits. It may be so, but at least
one man in Portree was very surprised to find that the Church
of Scotland can require a severe examination.

At baptism the child is formally introduced into the 591
folds of his father's church. His mother and father stand 592
before the minister and are admonished to bring up the child
in the nurture and admonition of God, to the best of their
ability.

Marriage is not a sacrament in Scotland, and, therefore 593
does not provoke any strong resentment beyond a feeling that
the Church of Scotland should not have the exclusive right
to preside the banns of marriage. It is too one time in 594
the life of a woman when she is the center of attention and 595
has complete control over the situation. She decides where
she will be married and what minister will preside. Church
affiliation seems to make little difference. At least, the
wedding of a daughter of a strict Free Presbyterian family
in the Church of Scotland did not give the people any cause
to gossip. Although a wedding is no more than a legal formality,
the vows made at marriage are sacred. It would not strike
Americans as being particularly significant to omit the promise
to obey from the ceremony; Americans are said to have an

equality of the sexes. On Skye, where women are the social 595
inferiors of men, its omission is curious. The ministers have 596
taken the promise of the ceremony out because, as one said, "The
man may be a rogue, irresponsible, making it impossible for
the woman to obey." Some nevertheless promises to be "loving,
truthful, and dutiful."

Election, as a passage rite, marks the attainment of the 597
status of the elderly. We already know that to become one of 598
the "elect" the individual, man or woman, must not only
experience a soul-saving change but also manifest steadfast
conformity to the ideals of behavior which have religious
approval. These ideals are the habits and statuses which
the old people are striving to maintain. Thus religion 599
sanctions the status of the venerable old people. Their 600
interpretation of "Effectual Calling" functions to provide 601
the elders, the most eminent of the "elect" with an additional
means to exercise their judicial and authoritarian roles.
There can be no rapid conversion. Whether or not the pro- 602
bationary period of three years imposed by the "Men" in the
last century is still enforced I do not know. The person who
believes he has experienced a saving change, "a visitation
from the Holy Spirit," is examined by the minister and his
elders. Like the father who is seeking baptism for his child,
such an old man or woman is judged on his knowledge of the
Bible and the Shorter Catechism and on his conformity to the
righteous life. No one can experience a saving change unless
he is known, by observation, to have lived an upright life.
The person who continues to pursue his own mundane pleasures

cannot be spiritually enlightened. The individual who is asked 603
about the nature of his visitation is not judged on his ability 604
to raise his family in the nurture of the church. He is rather
judged on his preparation to carry on the tradition. He must
be worthy of the respect due to one of his status. While old 605
women are numbered among the "elect," their exclusion from any
active role in the church has kept them socially inferior to
the old men.

I wish I could give some examples of the nature of this 606
"visitation;" however, Skye is a land where the direct question 607
is not used. One can ask a direct question without offending,
but the code of hospitality requires an either affirmative
answer or the answer you think your guest expects. My
circuitous promptings on this topic only succeeded in arousing
concern for my soul.

Two groups escape from the control of the elders as it 608
is exercised through acceptance of an individual into the 609
"elect." As mentioned earlier, the newcomers to Skye have 610
come from different backgrounds. Beyond the Highlands, the
meaning of "Effectual Calling" has changed over the years. The 611
youth attend a young communicants' class in which they are
taught the meaning of church membership. Notestein, writing
about the national character of the Scot, maintains that
interest in "election" has disappeared.[14] Most of the members
of the Church of Scotland in Portree would no doubt agree with
him. One attempt has been made on Skye to hold a young 612
communicants' class. It took place, of course, in the Church 613

[14] Notestein, op. cit., p. 157.

worship. If the deceased is a Gaisbhannach, the minister will 613
call every night, if he can. Otherwise, he may call only
once. His participation in family worship helps to reforms
the patterns of interaction within the nurture family and
within the small circle of "people," "friends," and neighbors
who come to visit and take part. Some sophisticated villagers 614
take this opportunity to justify their own deviations, such
as going to a concert; for them this is all "a religious ceilidh
with all their psalm singing, preaching, and greeting." The 615
people do not mean, as they do in Ireland, but the women are
seldom dry-eyed. Again the villager may comment that the
minister at least should say a few kind words about the dead,
"just to comfort his family."

On the day of burial a second and more inclusive rite of
intensification is held. On this occasion the function of the
minister, often aided by an elder, is to restore the equilibrium
within the total sphere in which the deceased habitually moved
during his life. If the person had high prestige status, the
ministers of two churches conduct the family worship. All
the "people," "friends," and neighbors, both men and women,
attend. The minister begins with a prayer for the family,
asking God's guidance. This is followed by the singing of a
few verses of psalm by all who have gathered. Next the minister
reads from Scripture. He concludes with another prayer for
the family. If there are two ministers, or a minister and
an elder present, they alternate in leading the group. If
there are any present who do not "have the Gaelic," they
also alternate between English and Gaelic. We have seen how 616

her brothers and their wives come to visit, and at New Years 616
they came by with their bottle of wine, whisky being a man's 617
drink, to toast the New Year.

Excepting Glendale, where church membership and af- 618
filiation is synonymous with the neighborhood, the township 619
may contain affiliates of two or three churches. One small
township contains two Free Church families, two Free
Presbyterian families, and one Church of Scotland family.
As in any township, they visit one another and cooperate
in handling the sheep flocks. Further, the Church of
Scotland family often gets out the truck on the Sabbath
and drives everyone to church. This is one of those isolated
townships far off the beaten track. Although I certainly
agree that people who meet together at a church and pray
together get to know each other better because of their
religious unity, in this township the families have come
to know each other better because they go off to their
respective churches together. There is a firm, basic belief 620
among the people that no one should be slighted, even by a 621
minister, because he has differing religious sympathies.
Some time ago, the minister begins with a prayer for the family,
asking God's guidance. This is followed by the singing of a
few verses of psalm by all who have gathered. Next the minister
reads from Scripture. He concludes with another prayer for
the family. If there are two ministers, or a minister and
an elder present, they alternate in leading the group. If
there are any present who do not "have the Gaelic," they
also alternate between English and Gaelic. We have seen how 622

rather than Christianity is the prevailing practice in Glendale.[15] 623
This attachment to a sect is all the more significant in the
crofting neighborhoods because there is not one iota of differ-
ence in the Gaelic services in any church. The differences is
doctrinal.

In the neighborhood the affiliates of the same church 624
have been said to interact with their fellows more regularly 625
than with the remainder of the group. They come together on 626
the Sabbath for a regular service and on Wednesday night
for a prayer meeting. On the Sabbath they come as families, 627
husband, wife and children and they sit together. Normally 628
the sexes are segregated in public. Indeed, in the home
men keep to one side of the fire and women to the other when
there are callers. They also leave in family groups. Their
interaction is spiritual. There are no gatherings outside
the church either before or after the service to gossip,
discuss the stock, or even comment on the weather. They
will all know who was absent, but they will only greet their
fellows with a slight nod. The Wednesday night prayer
meeting is different. This is a group situation. Some come
by bus and gossip on the way. Others get together before
and after the service for a chat. At these prayer meetings 629
the stature of the "elect" again emerges. They offer the 630
prayers on behalf of the congregation. The prayers, it should 631
be noted, are extempore. No form is followed. The basis for
them are passages from Scripture and interpretations of the
passages.

Additional modification have been found in the division 632
of labor. Although no Skyeman has shown a disposition to assume 633
responsibility for domestic work, unless on lives alone, the
women of Skye are expected to function in roles which once were
filled exclusively by men. Old men and women for many years 634
have been continued to perform tasks which formerly were their
duties as youths and young adults. These changes, like those
we have reviewed, are partially traceable to an incomplete
adjustment to the contractual, commercial world. This has led 635
to striking alterations in the age structure of the population
for it is the youth who forsake the island and the aged who
years to return. Nevertheless, there have been no observable 636
changes in the status system of the rural neighborhoods.
Primitive democracy, distinguished from our form of democracy 637
by the principle of unanimous consent rather than majority rule,
continues to operate in the townships. The existence of such
an institution implies a maximum of equality co-existing with
a minimum of authority. The continued ability of the crofters
to maintain primitive democracy in a nation like Great Britain
is possible only because there is a high degree of social
integration. The simple system of ranking, on the basis of 638
age and sex, has persisted. Men are the social superiors of 639
women; old men are the social superiors of their juniors. I
believe we shall understand how continuity of status has been
preserved if we turn to a consideration of the role of religion
on the island.

If I am right in asserting that a belief in clan brother- 640
hood was an all pervading cultural pattern in bygone days and

565

CLASSES--presence or absence of stratified groups between which mobility is to at least some extent possible; number and ranking of social classes; composition and distribution; basis of differentiation (e.g., wealth, occupation, ascribed status, conquest); class consciousness; degree of class organization; integration of cliques with classes; class prerogatives and disabilities; insignia and stigmata of classes; relations between classes; extent of intermarriage; status and affiliation of children of interclass marriages; special social classes (e.g., royalty, nobles and commoners, bourgeois and proletariat); etc. See also:

Mobility 58
Political statuses 62, 63, 64, 66
Occupational specialization 463
Standards of living 611
Cliques 573
Revolutionary movements 689
Poverty 735

286 175 731 735 of potato crops by blight had contributed to widespread poverty. The production of cloth for non-local markets 286 175 741 439 was promoted initially by philanthropic proprietors in an effort to ameliorate such conditions. Lady Dunmore, of the Dunmore family that owned Harris during most of the 19th century, was largely responsible for developing a market in London and elsewhere for cloth woven in Harris. [565] The cloth was popular first among the aristocracy, who [438] wore it for hunting and other sporting occasions. The [435] romantic image of a cottage industry promoted for charitable purposes contributed to the market value of the tweed.

The market expanded in the second half of the 19th century, aided by ladies of leisure who followed the example 286 441 175 set by Lady Dunmore (cf. Hunter 1964: 24-26). The production of cloth for a commercial market spread from Harris to the southern isles, but was slow in coming to [964] Lewis, where the proprietor, Sir James Matheson, provided the people with construction jobs. After Matheson died in 1878, weaving for outside markets began in Lewis in the parish bordering Harris, and the name "Harris Tweed" was used because a market for cloth of this name had already been established. By World War I, weaving for outside markets was being done in all four parishes in Lewis. In 1899 there were 55 looms in Lewis and over 200 in Harris.

THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

[61] The crofting township is not quite akin to the English or Lowland village. Primarily it is a collection of dwellings of families who, as social units, gain their subsistence from the land surrounding the houses. The smallest number for a township is four family units. A functional unit of four men was the minimum
[76] necessary for a boat crew, or for the teamwork necessary to cultivate land; co-operation was essential at all forms familial were to survive. And from this grew the same spirit of communal work which in Lewis is seen at its best in the efforts to reclaim peat bog and turn it into fertile grassland.

[61] Hebridean townships come close to being the nearest approach
[125] to a classless society. The shape of a township is largely dictated by the nature of the surrounding land. The shape of most of those in Harris and in Lewis is either scattered or linear (houses disposed in line at varying distances from each other), with little natural
[191] cover, either plantation or scrub. Often the main road runs through the township; some have begun to develop lateral roads, to give, from the air, the appearance of planning on a grid system.
[144] Where gardens are cultivated, the produce tends to be a summer vegetable supply for the household, little if any finding its way to
[172] Stornoway shops for sale. Peat is the usual fuel, though in townships near to the centres of population, Stornoway coal is burned; the cost of freight, however, makes it expensive.

[171] Most of the townships are owned by commercial companies; individual lairds own some five dozen; the remainder belong to public bodies and trusts. The actual distribution of ownership of land on the island is as follows. Harris is virtually owned by individual lairds; a small percentage is owned by commercial companies. The Lochs region of Lewis has a mixed ownership: commercial companies, lairds, and public trust, the former being the largest. Stornoway parish is wholly owned by public trust. The Ness district is virtually the property of commercial companies; a small fraction belongs to public trust. The Uig district is the same, the smaller proportion, less than 10 per cent, being the concern of an individual laird.

In Lewis, the public body mentioned is the Stornoway Trust,

[173] his near kin. Again, much as in the medieval *gestes* of
[621] France, fosterage of an heir by a clanswoman formed the
[614] closest possible tie to at least one family of the people
[829] from ancient to recent times. For it linked the heir by
[171] sympathy—though not by equal obligation—to elders and playmates in childhood and his contemporaries in later life.

• [565] To re-state this 'contradiction' of equality and privileges, we have thus a hierarchy of 'class' imposed upon a 'classless' society. For the joint farms and the township were essentially classless. The two classes, the lord and the people, were primarily opposed, war having placed the conqueror above those who fed him. This state of things was not active 'class-war', for the armistice could endure indefinitely by means of the bargain made between the classes for some exchange of services; none the less, it was built upon class conquest.

[175] That all should ultimately claim the lineage of their
[565] chief was a remarkable solution to the hereditary opposition
[614] of class. A man who knew the Islanders well, John Lane
[622] Buchanan (1793), noted how in conditions of the utmost poverty the poorest addressed each other as 'lady and
[576] gentleman', *lean-usual* and *shire-usual*, a courtesy not lost today. And every clansman had a right to shake the hand of his chief, as Edmund Burt observed in his vivid *Letters*
[577] *from the North* (written after 1721). Indeed the sense of mutual obligation implicit in Gaelic society is well illustrated by the homely word *coir*, usually translated 'right'; it is equally used for right's correlative, duty—as when a Scots or Irish crofter may say "You've a right (a duty) to help your mother"—and for a 'right' (privilege) to shake the chief's hand. An English equivalent would be duty-privilege, or duty-right. Similarly, the same

[175] • [565] [614] [622] words are used for neighbourly help among crofters and for services to the chief.[1]

Full freedom of choice in marriage prevailed among the people, who honoured marriage and enjoined continence; but the position of the chief placed him apart from
[175] [582] the rest of the community. Now, the more equalitarian the community, the more free are a man's choices in choosing one another on grounds of mutual affection, passion and respect; the parents, too, are more likely to encourage or support a suitor for their child because of character and virility, rather than means.

[175] The lads of the clan, chief and people, grew up together
[565] in an isle or glen. But in manhood, while a labouring lad
[582] sought a wife from the girl playmates of his childhood and his fellow-workers at the peats, at the harvest, or in the shielings, a chief's choice was confined to his own class. In pre-feudal clanship, tanistry, *i.e.* the choice of a chief among the higher kin, gave a wider choice for marriage near home than feudal primogeniture, irrespective of the wishes of the chief's kin except in extreme cases of unfitness. In Scotland, tanistry prevailed even in the royal line until the eleventh century. But with the dominance of primogeniture, the young chief chose a bride outside his own community for reasons other than those of human feeling, honoured by Gaelic lyrical and religious tradition and even by the Church.

As a result, the chieftain's son was granted a licence forbidden to the rest, a temptation to maidens and a bad

[192] [476] [1] *Cuid* (cognate with *quota*) means a portion, lot or share, or what is one's own (*i.e.*, *pro. indefi.*) and the associated verb *fuidich* means not simply to share but actively to help. The apportioned lodging given to the chief and his 'suit' of 'lads' was the 'coidhecht'—*cuid-oidhche*; while the famous motto of the Seaforth Highlanders is Help the King!—*Cuidich an Righ!*

[175] • [565] [582] example to lads! Often of tall, fair stock, physically superior from better feeding, accustomed to have his own way, better taught, finely dressed, free and welcomed wherever he went in the glen that fed and fostered him, the young chief had favour on his side; moreover he was protected from the vengeance of jealousy. A song in praise of a young chief of Clan Leod boasts that "the girls
[830] would give their snoods for Rory"! When she lost her maiden snood to him, a girl would be counted, and be free: 'natural' child not dishonoured, but granted a share of paternal affection and inheritance. After marriage, a chief's
[175] lady made allowances for his past. But licence, once a
[839] habit, is hard to check, and the Gael tell bitter tales of jealous wives, married for policy, and their revenge upon a rival. One gathers that where there were enough gentry to meet, choose and intermarry freely, *ménage* was the order, if the
[562] used by both. Similarly, respect is given to womanhood; and an older woman who would say 'Sir' in English will say 'My dear' in Gaelic.[1]

[614] It is not only by daily contacts that we may understand the relationship of people to chief, but by the height of feeling it may attain, and by the beauty of its expression.
[175] [533] Among the finest of the later songs of praise to Gaelic clanship and its chiefs are those composed by two Island bards, a woman of Harris and a man of the Lews. Mary MacLeod, *Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh*, was a kinswoman of the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris, and a beloved

[123] [1] Calling on the sub-postmistress in a Highland place where I was known to be a friend of the laird, I was addressed as "Sir". But hardly had we passed to Gaelic when this woman, my elder and a person of culture, blushingly; and the expression then came to me. Halted, and suddenly shy at being forced to translate, she said at last, "When thou wast *a lamp* (just a boy!) "*mair lib the cnap!*" But rightly, she would have been slightly shocked had I said 'thou' to her.

[175] Mackenzie. For all that, in 1900 a crofter said: "We called
[613] the old proprietor Seaforth, but I believe his right name
[621] was the Prince of Welsh". To him the Earls were royal!
[829] Freedom of intercourse is embodied in the language to this day. With 'a stranger', a little spoken Gaelic
[197] lessens 'strangeness' and quickens intimacy, because
• [565] Gaelic conveys essential human relationships as English
[576] rarely can—even the English word 'democratic' Lowlands. For instance, a well-dressed stranger, though young, is usually addressed in English as 'sir' by a senior crofter, and, just as in the South, without the expectation of 'sir' or 'ma'am' in return. In English, that is, respect is given to class. In Gaelic, age receives respect: it is the stranger, if the younger, who adopts the respectful 'you'. The seniority of person plus, in some degree, that of the crofter, if the older, uses the friendly singular, 'thou' (*thu*). If they are of equal age, and neither is elderly, 'thou' would be

[614] [1] *Gaelic when this manuscript was in preparation, I was asked by a Gaelic scholar to make a translation of the Gaelic phrase, "Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh, a kinswoman of the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris, and a beloved*

[175] they were composed of at least one to four or five hamlet-
[427] farms. The tacksmen also had cottars for service.
[614]
[621] Thus in Lewis a special reason, the accession of Seaforth, had led to the granting of many tacks to his own
[175] clansmen and to natives. Elsewhere in the Highlands the procedure is noteworthy during the sixteenth, seventeenth
[427] and eighteenth centuries, for the collection of rents from
[614] the peasantry, by means of tacks, was a financial
[621] advantages for the greater landlords (I. F. Grant, 1930).
[184] The tacksman's continuation as tenant depended on his
[661] paying regularly, for the lease was not a hereditary grant.
[175] A tack could also provide for a lord's younger sons or
• [565] immediate relations, such as formed the gentry of the clan.
[427] Along with smaller lairds, these furnished the cadres of officers who led the clan regiments down to the Forty-five, and later the Highland Regiments of the line and the Fencibles down to Waterloo. Like MacKenzie, other great chiefs such as Argyle or Breadalbane leased tacks when they acquired the status of peers and took possession of fresh lands with Royal support, after vain resistance from native chiefs and their followers. In Lewis, the fiscal status of tacksmen was applied both to MacKenzie's supporters from the mainland and to those with ancient roots in the west of the Island. The latter may have thought a mere lease a poor substitute for hereditary tenure, though a legal compromise necessary if their possession was to be
[662] continued. The lack of permanent tenure ultimately led to the departure of their descendants.

[175] From the families of these tacksmen have sprung most
[621] of those of Lewis birth or descent who achieved fame
[614] before the twentieth century. Of the MacAulays, we saw
[554] Zacharias was Chamberlain during and after the 'Fifteen.
[668] Thomas Babington Macaulay came of the same line, as

[175] did another Zacharias, closer than Thomas to the Lewis
[554] tree, who worked nobly with Wilberforce for the emanci-
[614] pation of the slaves.[1] Still another connection was a
[621] Canadian emigrant, grandfather of the late T. B. Macaulay,
[668] LL.D. Alexander Mackenzie, the explorer of the Mac-
kenzie River, was a descendant of Lewis tacksmen. MacIvers and Morisons also distinguished themselves.
[178] But the sons and daughters of crofters had to await the
[811] provision of education in English before they could rise in trade, learning or war; hence few Lewismen of the greatest Lewis name, MacLeod, achieved eminence until the twentieth century.

[175] As for the peasantry, the interposition of a new or
[554] enlarged class of tenantry between themselves and the
[614] superior must have meant that they had to labour on the
• [565] tacksman's home farm, and no doubt pay more in produce
[427] or cash. Hence the Gaelic saying that if the position of the small (joint) tenants was bad, that of the subtenants was worse, "the Evil One itself"[1]. Following the long fight with the Fife Adventurers, hardship may have been greatest where mainland tacksmen were placed above the joint tenants; but even under MacAulays and MacIvers rents may have been raised and some of the joint freedom lost which was still enjoyed in Ness. Whatever adjustments had been made in an earlier period had to be re-made with the beginning of Seaforth's new order.

In the following generations, contradictory accounts of lairds, factors and tacksmen are given by contemporary observers. Certain of these insisted that, given the poverty of the lands as a whole, the chiefs and landlords, factors and tacksmen, were the saviours of their people. Yet even among those who supported authority in general, there was

[113] [1] *Charles Booth, Zachary Macaulay*, 1934.

175 seldom agreement as to which of these three types brought
554 the greater good or wrought the lesser evil. As elsewhere,
565 tacksmen declined by the end of the eighteenth century.
427 Buchanan wrote in 1793, "The greatest tacksman in Lewis is the Laird's ground officer"; but he added that the Island was for the most part inhabited by tenants holding directly from Seaforth, who "easily perceived the folly, as well as the inhumanity, of lending out the people on his island to imperious tacksmen, for the purpose of raising fortune to themselves on the ruins of the unfortunate subtenants". At a later date a former Chamberlain of the Lewis estate, John Munro Mackenzie of Calgarry, held otherwise. To the Napier Crofters' Commission in 1883, he said: "Till the beginning of this century the greater part of the Lewis was in the hands of tacksmen, or middlemen, who got in some cases from their subtenants in money, produce, and labour, what nearly paid their rents". Their names were those of the seventeenth century. Early in the century, "when Mr. Stewart-Mackenzie married the Hon. Lady Hood, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and took the management of the estate into his own hands, he did away with the middlemen, and let the land direct to the crofters.
[232] This, no doubt, was a step in the right direction, but it had its disadvantages, as the example of a good middleman, who looked after his people, and who was industrious in farming . . . and stock-breeding, was beneficial to the people, though in some cases they may have been petty tyrants." He might no doubt have added that they could, if need be, stand between a landlord and his tenants.
[228] When they lost their tacks, some of these 'middlemen' turned to the growing fishing industry and helped to supply capital and enterprise as curers; their successors were active through the nineteenth century and I spoke with

175 the last of these in outlying villages after 1918. When
554 Matheson purchased the Island in 1844 he left the fishing
565 industry to the curers, great and small. Particularly before
427 most fishermen could speak and write English, the local
278 curers were best fitted to take action not only in marketing but in approaching the Government to aid the construction of piers and harbours. On the whole, their long ties with place and people, coupled with education, made them useful leaders of a community in which leaders were needed to adapt life to a changing economy. Here and there one or two small farmers survive, a little apart from the main townships. Aided by a long cultural tradition, they meet changing times by combining with their inheritance a sane selection of new elements.

Looking beyond the Island to the mainland, the time is approaching for a fair assessment to be made of the historic parts of chief and landlord, factor and tacksman. Not only
175 is there an enlarging body of documentation, but a growing
621 understanding of communal strands in tradition and of
672 changing social economy seen in relation to geographic
427 factors of place and region. And in the Gaeldom, conditions varied greatly between bordering areas from Mar to
184 Kintyre,[1] and the heartland of tradition in the Hebrides.
[178] In the Island, one must remember the fundamental opposi-
[182] tion, yet the recurrent readjustments of chiefs and people. These, and not only individual differences in character and conduct, explain the differences of experience and opinion
[829] quoted above. The people's belief, so frequently given to me thirty years ago, that it was bad factors, not the landlord, who taxed and harried them unjustly, expressed an idealistic faith in a chief, rather than the facts of economy
[565] and history. For lordship begins with the imposition of
[113]

[1] A. McKerral, *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, 1947.

175 rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide
621 for the lord's desires.
672
427
184
565

(e) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

174 The peaceful round of daily life formed the most
614 enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners
577 of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tensest
[561] ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether
[726] at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must speak for them. Many a song of the Isles conveys the
174 team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men.
614 And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley
501 be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portray-
538 ing the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who warred against the waves and won. Alexander Macdonald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic, and probably in English, verse for its portraits of the crew in action, from steersman to 'look-out'. The flowing metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

174 The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with "the
614 Blessing of the Ship", the arms and the crew. Then the
501 bard, speaking for the stately skipper, "incites the sixteen
539 oarsmen to row" out of the bay, and they row to a rousing
577 shanty, a *Iorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and
[113]

[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (and ed.), 1890 (pp. 1-18); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 82-84), 1940. Cf. A. Macleod (Ed.), *Sar Orain: Three Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1935. The different themes of its sections, such as its own metre, have been published separately, in *The Songs of the Hebrides*, and elsewhere.

175 Such are the mingled traditions of the Highland
701 regiments which served in so many wars, for right or for
565 wrong. Of all the desperate alternatives before the Gael
[614] —famine at home, semi-slavery in the factory towns, death-stricken sea voyages, pioneering in the forested hills of Eastern North America, or war, it was this last which offered the men not only the trappings and glamour of clanship but continuing fellowship. In the regiment a Gael was among friends. Modern civilization offered him no other life promising social continuity and the hope of a return to croft and township, "if death should spare him".

175 It would be wrong to suggest that only the gentry could
701 rise to command, for as English and literacy were acquired,
565 the sons of small tenants received commissions. British
554 military discipline has too often driven a breach between
433 the men and the non-commissioned officers, spoiling the latter's fitness for higher leadership. But among Highlanders "the bond of faith and affection" led naturally to
[103] commissioned rank. For generations, historic precedent was carried on in living tradition.[1] Given education, the
[108] sons of Island crofters have risen to command on land and
[Gaelic] sea; but education came late.

CONCLUSION

175 Thus in the 'little commonwealths' of the farm-hamlets
621 grouped within the township, personal right and equal
631 shares were balanced by common duty, summed up in the
577 [illegible] of duty right or [illegible]
614

[1] The Highland Regiments are legion and one can only cite examples. For instance, descendants of his neighbours in Strath Spey told me that my paternal grandfather, as a pensioner led speaking Gaelic and English (in which he was literate), enlisted in the Black Watch about 1829. He was known as a N.C.O. for his power of quiet, reasoning discipline. He thrice refused the offer of a commission, which was then given to others, of whom more than one rose to high command in the battalion.

423 In May 1918 Lewis was bought by Lever of Port
565 Sunlight, then Baron Leverhulme of Bolton-le-Moors (his
157 birthplace), the head of a great combine with 50,000 white
174 and 25,000 black employees. Meeting him in Lewis Castle in August 1919, Dr. Hardy and I found him troubled by a human situation he had failed to diagnose. Short and stocky but very erect, quick-eyed and rapid of manner, and with a wide expressive mouth, he spoke earnestly of his plans; but his eyes flashed and his mouth set, as he rapped out, "They keep putting off, yet they leave the people in houses *not fit for Kaffirs*!" The question, "What objective inspired—or misled—Leverhulme to buy the Island?" is answered by his son and biographer.[1]

159 By 1917 Leverhulme had felt it was time to devolve
423 his personal authority over his business, in the interests
433 of its future. Hence he looked about him for an estate in which he could exercise "his passion for changing the face of nature", and his eagerness for 'planning' with drawing board and T-square, and for philanthropy.[2] He nearly bought an estate in the Midlands in order to develop it; but work had already begun there, and he wished to find a place which would be his to remodel from the start. Thirty years before, Leverhulme had visited Lewis and now in 1917 he spent a week there, motoring all over the Island. "He was enraptured . . . he saw not merely a countryside in need of more and better roads, not only a residence and grounds capable of alteration and improvement, but a problem to be solved, a human and racial problem which had so far baffled all who had tried to solve it. . . . He had been told the Lewis man was lazy,
[13] [illegible]

[1] Leverhulme (2nd Viscount), *Leverhulme: By His Son*, 1927, chap. xxvi, p. 271 ff. Lord Leverhulme, who had thought of styling himself 'Of the Isles' took the title 'Of the Lewis'.

[2] Leverhulme (1927), cf. pp. 81-86.

change in the use of the grazing land or a desire of the young 561
men to fence the crofts in an effort to improve the individual 688
crofts the old men must have their say. Through their position 676
in the churches, the old men also are the paramount source of social control, preserving their traditional habits and statuses, including a severe limitation on all social activity of a frivolous nature. This religiously sanctioned control is strengthened by the inability of the youth to form a solidarity. Indeed, one of the most serious limitations of the society of Skye is the small number of young men and women, boys and girls and the few opportunities which they have to come together as a group. The functions of the old men's age grade are identical with those described for the Irish small farmer.[21] Another 774
social circle is composed of the affiliates of the same religious sect. They are mainly a mutual aid group. [172]

Although the status equality noted in the township for 554
all of the same sex and age carries over to the larger community, there are always a few people who have an achieved status. The [773]
minister enjoys high social prestige as the spiritual guardian of the people. The doctor is valued for his role in caring for [757]
the people's physical well-being. The school teacher is respected because he educates the youth and often acts as a spokesman for the group. If there is a member of the landed gentry, [545]
he will be accorded the highest status in the area. It is [555]
interesting to note that the achieved status positions are most often filled by newcomers to the island. The shopkeepers and

[21] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 125-139.

tradesmen are respected, but since most are crofters, they are 559
treated like all other men.

The Village. The village contains a heterogeneous population. 621
At least a third of the families have arrived in the recent 143
past. They have come to fill positions in the county and 147
national government offices; in Lowland directed banks or business houses which have extended their field of operations to Skye; and in the professions as doctors, lawyers, ministers, and schoolteachers. A few have come to Skye to open a shop or offer their services as tradesmen. The remainder are either Skye folk who have recently moved into the village to see employment or families that have been in Portree for one or more generations. Very few families seem to have lived in the village for more than three generations.

While there are many opportunities for an individual to 554
achieve status in Portree, the cultural heritage and the 184
economic limitations under which the Sgiathanach labors has not allowed him to compete with the newcomers. His ability to compete is further restricted by the prevailing policy of the government and the national corporations to bring in managerial and, often, clerical personnel from the outside. All share one socio-economic trait; they are non-crofting. As 545
yet there is no class structure beyond the polarity of the landed gentry and the crofters who participate in village life. There is verticality. Highest prestige status is accorded to those who have been accepted among the local aristocracy. Below them rank the ministers, doctors, and school teachers.

For the remainder of the population, as a general rule, it may be said that a person's status depends on personal qualities rather than on occupation. This is especially true of men who take an active part in the church. In terms of interaction, the social hierarchy is extremely fluid. People who elsewhere in Britain would be "working" or "middle" class not infrequently join with members of the "upper" class in both formal and informal social groups.[22] This underlying equalitarian pattern has always characterized the interpersonal relations of Skye's society. There is, of course, cleavage between the upper level of the society and the bulk of the population; intermarriage is impossible.

The social life of the village revolves around the newcomers and the landed gentry. In addition to the social circles based upon age, sex, kinship, and religion, the individual belongs to several small groups of friends and, perhaps, a few formally organized clubs. When the native-born take part in the formal activities they do so as participants rather than as organizers or directors. The necessary roles of leadership are left to the newcomers or to the landed gentry. The latter, in particular, are responsible for community affairs, just as the chief and his kinsmen were formerly looked to as the leaders of the people. Occasionally, an influential newcomer gives them able assistance. The influence of the old men is not as marked in the village as in the crofting communities,

[22] Roy Lewis and Angus Maude, The English Middle Classes (London: Phoenix House, 1949), pp. 13-26, 87-110.

compared with 34.9 for Scotland. The death rate among Skyemen, however, was 17.4 compared with 22.0 for Scots in general. But Scotland had a net emigration rate of only 3.6 while the Skyemen were leaving at a rate of 16.5. In this decade no fewer than 3,115 left Skye.

By the end of the third period an additional influence of the process of commercialization had become apparent. The social hierarchy was modified in the direction of greater socio-economic differentiation.[68] At the time of the "Forty-five" Skye was inhabited by the families of three clan chiefs, 139 tacksmen, 517 joint-tenants, 1031 subtenants, and 444 servants. There were now 10 landlords. The tacksmen had been replaced by 29 graziers and 12 small farmers. The joint-tenants, subtenants, and servants had become 2043 crofters and 1227 cottars. In the past there may have been one innkeeper, at Portree, and a few millers; now there were 32 innkeepers, millers, and merchants.

The changes which we have been considering could not have left the patterns of interaction undisturbed. Cooperation among the members of the township would have been unnecessary. Since all were affected by prolonged destitution, mutual aid must have been severely curtailed. The extended family was broken by emigration. The nuclear family was seldom intact for more than part of the year. It seems the majority of the able-bodied men were travelling to the east coast each spring to find

[68] Lachlan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, pp. 4-5, 6-7, 11-12, 14-15; and J. G. MacKay, "Social Life in Skye from Legend and Story," TGSI, Vol. XXIX (1922), pp. 260-290.

sanction and endowed with privileges and immunities by which self-regulation, stability, expansion, and improvement might be attained. Additional provisions called for the replacement of the repudiated customary usages by national laws of land tenure.

The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 embodied many of the Commission's proposals.[80] The crofter became, perhaps, the only class, as a horizontal segment of the population, with a minimal legal definition. He was a pastoral agriculturalist who resided on his holding, the annual rent of which was less than £30, (later raised to £50) in a crofting parish. Such an individual was entitled to a fixed, fair rent, just compensation for improvements made by himself or his predecessors in the same family should he leave his holding, security of tenure, and modified right to bequeath the holding to a member of his family. Except for the statutory conditions that he must not alienate the holding from his family, sublet without consent, or violate the rights of his neighbors or his landlord, including withholding rent and contributing to the deterioration of the land and dwelling, the crofter was given all the privileges of a landowner with few of the responsibilities. A Crofters Commission, with executive functions, was established to carry out the provisions of the act and to assign "available" land to the townships as

[80] I owe a debt of gratitude to innumerable government officials in Portree, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London for their patience and cooperation in providing me with the necessary information to discuss this final period of the history of Skye. The facts are theirs; the interpretation is my own responsibility.

culture which can hardly be distinguished from that of the Lowland rural areas, but it has by no means disappeared.

Socially, these changes, particularly the introduction of national laws of land tenure, involved a leveling of the social hierarchy. The old polarity of the land lord and tenant, with an intermediate group of doctors, ministers, and tradesmen, was restored. The place of the tacksman, of course, has been filled by the government. The bulk of the population was once again undifferentiated socially or economically. Land lost much of its commercial value for the proprietors. It once again had more of an intrinsic value, almost as in the days of the clan. The status of the proprietors, locally and as a horizontal segment of the total British population, depended on land ownership. The graziers and the proprietors who had appeared during the "Clearances" withdrew, selling out to the national government.

These changes did not work to halt the continuous outward flow of the Sgiathanach. To the contrary, increasing integration with the national culture created new needs, such as a demand for a higher standard of living and an opportunity to achieve status, and provided the training necessary for the youth to find roles more suitable to their talents elsewhere in the world. The young men and women of Skye journeyed to the Lowlands to join the national labor force, to enter the professions, or to seek other permanent employment. Thus, emigration changed from a movement by families to a movement by individuals. At the same time, the benefits of the crofters' legislation and the program of government assistance made it possible for the

crofting districts. Shops, schools, inns, and churches increased in numbers, but they have not clustered to form a village nucleus. In more recent years the county has tried to stimulate village growth by building houses at a few cente Someday they may succeed in altering the settlement pattern.

As a consequence of the increasing integration of the Sgiathanach within the national scene, government regulations have expanded and have come to be enforceable by a local police. Government services too have increased in scope. Many of the traditional functions of the family and the local group are now functions of an ever increasing number of government employees. Nevertheless, the traditional statuses of the members of the group have persisted and social control has not been reduced in favor of action by the state.

The class structure has changed several times. It has vacillated between a leveling of socio-economic differentiati and a growing polarity of status. At present there is no local class structure beyond the old polarity of landed gentr and crofters. Those who fall between these groups are ranked on prestige values of long standing. Even though many of the intermediate group would be working or middle class if they lived elsewhere in Britain, on Skye personal factors play a more important role in determining prestige than socio-econon differences. Leadership and political power remain in the hands of the gentry.

If the foregoing material suggests that there is evidence on Skye for Redfield's concepts of disorganization

121 The inapplicability of Warner's scheme within the United States has been demonstrated by Kroeber,[30] and its use beyond the [554] United States has been censured by Steward.[31] Now, while the British tend to admit more freely to the existence of class than Americans do, the social fluidity of the village has impressed many newcomers who grew up in the Lowlands or England.

121 If stratification exists,[32] there is general agreement 565 that cleavage or social distance will be found. Murdock, to cite only one authority, has said the cultural differences and social distance commonly present between groups separated spatially are frequently found in socially separated groups.[33] 565 This is certainly true for the landed gentry and the crofters, but in regards to the intermediate population, Portree seems to be very much like Sublette, Kansas.[34] The presence of the

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[30] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 270-272.

[31] Steward, Area Research, pp. 40-49.

[32] My general approach to the class structure followed that of James West (Plainville, U. S. A. [New York: Columbia University Press, 1945], pp. 116-130); but I also used Warner's objective-reputational technique (W. Lloyd Warner, M. Meeker, and K. Eells, Social Class in America. A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status [Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949]); and I employed the so-called "judges" technique. For a clear presentation of this last approach, see Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1955), pp. 172-173.

[33] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 265-266. See also Linton, The Study of Man, and Gillan, The Ways of Men, p. 355.

[34] Earl H. Bell, The Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Sublette, Kansas (Rural Life Studies," No. 2; Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1942), cited by Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 384.

many newcomers and the high rates of inward, outward, and upward mobility seems to have worked against any clear cut pattern. Certainly, it requires more than non-membership in the highest and lowest classes or socially recognized strata to form a middle class. I look upon this indefinable strata as a neo-class. This is not meant to imply the absence of ranking or prestige status. Ranking is no less important than it is in the rural neighborhood.

As in the neighborhood, a few professions automatically carry high prestige; these are the ministry, medicine, and teaching. Otherwise, a man's prestige depends more on his outside activities than his occupation. Bankers are often thought of as having prestige. In Portree one banker is highly regarded because "he does an awful lot for the church." Another, although respected, as evidenced by the use of his surname when referring to him, is socially inferior because "he never mixes with people" and "no one ever gets invited to his house." The same holds for other occupations. One man may be looked up to because he has taken an active part in organizing an old people's welfare committee and was instrumental in founding the Skye Council of Social Service, the only rural social service council in Scotland. Another of the same occupation is looked down upon because he keeps to himself. To cast a shadow on whatever prestige he may have, the people talk about a shady deal in which he supposedly got involved and claim that his wife sells eggs. No one but a crofter's wife sells eggs. If a man is a native Sgiathanach

575 (a Gaelic group), the Masonic Order, the Eastern Star, and a post of the British Legion, which have representatives
574 from all walks of life. But far the most interesting
575 group is the village bridge club. If bridge clubs in America are status conscious, those in Britain are especially aware of "social" and "cultural" distinctions. In Portree such
574 differences matter very little. Like all of the above
575 167 mentioned organizations, the membership of the bridge club is predominantly newcomers. It includes members of the gentry, teachers, shop keepers and shop assistants, office workers, and a mechanic. Once a week they come together for an evening of cards and a few drinks. In all formal organizations, the roles of leadership are left to newcomers or the gentry. One young man, to give an extreme example, wondered one day why he spent so much time attending committee meetings. On reflection, he found that he was an officer in no less than eleven clubs. It is to the gentry, however, that we must turn to see the real expression of leadership.

The County Families

565 The landed gentry have been considered separately be-
184 cause they belong to the neighborhood in which they reside; to the trade-center village, where they spend much of their time either visiting each other or performing some social service; and to the community as a whole. Even more than belonging to Skye, they form a part of the national class system of Britain. They are the "county families." Next

565 to the aristocracy they are among the foremost citizens of
184 the nation, and two of the local gentry are included among the nation's peerage. Although I doubt if any of these land owners can validate a claim to being direct descendants of the clan chiefs or descendants of the cadets of the clans, several of them are related in one way or another to the central derbfine of the old clans.

Occupying the highest status positions, the county families manifest many social and cultural expressions which distinguish them from the remainder of the population. The men are always given the distinction of a military title; they are major, colonel, or general. One man has not seen
565 military service, but he is given a rank anyhow. In indirect
184 speech their title often includes their residence or estate,
576 such as Col. Macleod Mulgrave or Mrs. Macleod Mulgrave. Behind their backs, they may be referred to by their first name, prefixed by the title, but never in direct speech.

565 Religiously, many tend to be Episcopal sympathizers, in
184 contrast to the staunchly Protestant crofters. The men all
795 attend the local kirk of the Church of Scotland and serve as elders of the kirk, but their outlook is quite different from that of their conservative tenants. One family is
565 Catholic. As would be expected, all are property owners.
184 This is not a question of socio-economic status as much as
423 one of social differentiation. The loss of large parts of their estates, under the pressure of debt contracted by their ancestors, has not reduced their prestige.

184 There must be enough interaction between the rela-
565 tively small number of people of similar standing within the local group and beyond if the consanguinial and affinal basis of the class is to be maintained, and they are not
582 to lose their identity as a group apart. They must not only interact with other county families, but the county families
184 must be endogamous. Once a year the county families of Skye
565 are given this needed opportunity to reaffirm their solidarity,
535 to cement their relationship with the upper class of British
584 society, and to arrange suitable matches for their sons and daughters. A Skye County Ball is held in November. The "county people" come from near and far to attend the affair, one of a series of local balls held throughout the nation. If anyone has any doubts about his acceptance among the holders of highest status, he receives his simple but explicit answer at this time. He must be invited to the ball. For three days and two nights the festivities continue. High society has come to Skye and has brought with it its caterers from Edinburgh. The local people say the "Ya-ya's" have taken over Portree.

On the first night of the ball, the young people are escorted from the homes of the Skye aristocracy, who act as hosts, or the more fashionable hotels to the Skye Gathering Hall by their parents. During the dance and the supper which follows, suitable introductions are arranged for their sons and daughters. On the second night of the ball, the young people appear in couples. If I were asked to characterize

000 the ball in a few words, I would say, it is a marriage market.

565 Social distance and class endogamy can also be demon-
582 strated by a negative approach to the question. Within recent years there have been a few cases of marriage across the social cleavage line. The results, as we shall see, show a strong drive for social exclusiveness. One of the county people married a daughter of the "new rich." Her father was a crofter's son who made a fortune as a whiskey distiller and exporter, especially during the days of prohibition in the United States. His fortune made, he returned to Skye and purchased part of the old Clan MacLeod lands. Although land ownership is a prerequisite for being included among the upper stratum, neither land nor wealth guarantees acceptance for a man from the croft. No one received the marriage of his daughter happily. The villagers and crofters
582 said it was a marriage of necessity. The young aristocrat's parents' reaction is at least partially reflected by the fact that it was one of those very rare Skye marriages which end in divorce. Until his remarriage in 1954, he was the only divorced man on Skye. In the second case, a crofter married into a county family. His wife was the daughter of one of the most prominent ministers of the Church of Scotland in the present century. Although the minister was himself the son of a school master, his high prestige status had led to his acceptance by the "first family of Skye," and his second marriage was into this family. Some of the crofters and

565 villagers say he married above his station. His daughter,
582 they believe, married below her station. Be that as it may, he disowned his daughter. He never spoke to her again. The third case involved the marriage of one of the poor, but nevertheless accepted, gentry and a crofter's daughter. He has fared differently. Rather than cast him out, his mother refused to recognize the marriage. He was forbidden to bring his wife home. To this day he continues to divide his time between his estate and his "town house," where he keeps his wife. Further, this man, who I have been told should have become chief of Clan Ranald, is no longer of the county people.

565 Among the distinctive features which overtly characterize
559 the county people is their ascribed status and role of leadership. Indeed, this is their most important function. As the tacksmen were once the counselors of their subtenants, so today the landed gentry must fill this role which the
626 Sgiathanach from the croft will not assume. Even if a Skyeman here and there feels that the local proprietors would like nothing better than to have all the people behave like serfs, bowing and scraping before them, he expects the proprietors
565 to get things done. In Portree the local gentry form the
559 village council. During the war when they were on active
623 duty, there was no village council. The Skye District Council, which replaced the old parish councils and which, acting as an agent for the County Council, is the only administrative body on the island, reveals a similar membership. In any of

565 the nine election districts where a member of the gentry is
559 resident, he is the people's choice. Otherwise, the post
666 passes to a newcomer, especially a minister, if he will accept, a non-crofter of relatively recent arrival, a returned exile, or an eccentric. The Skye delegates to the County Council are similarly elected. The village of Portree and the neighborhood of Glendale are represented by members of the county people; Kilmuir is represented by a minister of the Church of Scotland.

565 The function of the landed gentry emerges even more
559 clearly when non-political leadership is considered. We
747 may take the Skye Council of Social Service and the old People's Welfare Committee as examples. The Skye Council of Social Service is dedicated to the promotion of the "general good of the community," and the assistance of the work of statutory authorities and voluntary organizations engaged in improving education, health, and economic conditions. Although the Scottish Council of Social Service claims this is a product of the people of Skye, it was not a spontaneous development. A retired Registrar General for Scotland was responsible for the initial interest. The Scottish Council seems to have stimulated this interest by securing financial assistance in the initial stages and paying 75 percent of the annual expenses. The local organizers were county people, and their success was due in no small way to the efforts of an officer of the Department of Agriculture. Today the "visible leadership and local followership," of which the Scottish Council is wont to speak, is to be found in one clique of the

565 landed gentry. The people take relatively little part in any
559 of the activities. Most of the crofters with whom I spoke
747 had only the vaguest idea of the work or the achievements of the council, beyond the fact that the council had instituted Skye Week to attract tourists.

The Old People's Welfare Committee was established in the winter of 1953. It provides us with an excellent oppor-
523 tunity to see how things are accomplished on Skye. For several months the clique which is responsible for the Skye Council of Social Service had been thinking that Skye needed some such agency to look after the old people. At length it was decided a public meeting should be held to give the people an opportunity to decide whether or not the need was acute. Each of the county people explained the need, sided by two social workers from Edinburgh. Then, with the assistance of a local minister, the doctor, and the officer from the Department of Agriculture, who aided in establishing the Skye Council, the people were gently led around to their position. A committee of investigation was organized to inquire into the matter in more detail. About a month later a second public meeting was held for the purpose of establishing a permanent Old People's Welfare Committee. Like the initial meeting, it was proceeded by a small conference among the gentry. The decision was that Skye should have a central committee and fourteen local committees. This was unanimously accepted. Now came the problem of who would serve. The first selections were obvious; in each local area the minister, doctor, and district nurse were "elected." When it came to the question

565 of individuals to organize each committee, no one was willing
559 to accept the post without persuasion. In every case there
747 there was a resident of the county people in the general vicinity, the man or his wife was chosen. The remaining chairs went to newcomers, especially doctors and teachers or their wives, mainly by default. They were not present. No one on Skye ever overtly seeks a role of responsibility. For the central committee, it was suggested, by a newcomer, that there should be at least two Skye people over sixty to get the point of view of the people who were to be helped. When the committee was finally formed, there was not one native Skye person on it. The chairman was the wife of a local landlord; the four members were another proprietor's wife, a Lowland woman, the minister, and an Austrian woman.

At no time was a vote taken. The person who can be persuaded to accept office is always unanimously "elected." On another occasion someone had made the mistake of nominating
623 two women to fill one post. Rather than put the matter to a vote, the people present "elected" me, as a disinterested participant, to select the woman who would serve.

By the time I left the Misty Isle only one of the local committees had taken a step in the direction of organizing itself. A meeting was called in Waternish where either a returned exile or the minister was to preside. Neither of them would step forward. Again the task fell to one of the county people. She drove up from Portree to take the chair and help the people elect the members of their committee. Her journey was fruitless. Hardly anyone attended the meeting,

565 and no one thought himself capable of running a future meeting.
559 At last reports, the wife of another proprietor was having
747 her impression that "It's not as easy as it sounds just to call a public meeting in Glendale," confirmed. While the majority of the crofters thought an Old People's Welfare Committee was a good idea, they had no intention of being instrumental in its organization or in assuming any position which might elevate them above their neighbors. Throughout this chapter, the stress on conformity has been apparent, let us now turn to the problem of social control for a clearer picture of how conformity is enforced and to see how the Sgiathanach handles the deviant.

Social Control

626 Since social control is an important topic, I want to go into a further analysis of the manner in which the group influences the behavior of its members. For the sake of clarity, we must distinguish between social and political
12 control. By social control I mean the informal pressure or spontaneous action which any organized group can muster to exert an influence on its members sufficient to encourage conformity to tradition patterns of behavior. Political control, to me, involves the independent or requested interference of the state, as represented by the police, in any case which involves the enforcement and maintenance of law
671 and order as prescribed by legal enactments. On Skye the
826 laws of the land do not always have the same meaning to the

747 125 members. That the Sgiathanach has not been influenced by
747 the laxity of the newcomers in self-examination is indicated by the existence of 450 adherents. Further, the Free Church has only 21 members in a congregation of some 200, and the Free Presbyterian Church only 20 members in a congregation of 320.

The esoteric religious hierarchy established by the "Men" during the nineteenth century revivals continues to influence the lives of the people. From the small number of the "elect" are chosen the elders, the venerable guardians of behavior, and the deacons. The majority have been baptized
565 but are in a lesser condition. Shall we stretch an analogy and ask is this not comparable to the social hierarchy of ceann-cinnidh (clan chief), daoin'-uaisle (tacksmen), and clanna (clansmen) of the past? This much is certain: a strong hierarchial sense must be numbered among the persistenci
888 In our discussion of the Islanders' economy we noted
575 two significant facts concerning the sodality of the old
747 men of the neighborhoods. We saw that they have a deliberative
622 function in discussing economic innovations before they pass down to the townships, and that they are able to block any innovation of which they disapprove through the requirement of complete unaninity in township affairs. We may also recall the statement, "If you can't respect an elder of the church, who can you respect?" We may now add they have judicial and authoritarian functions in the religious sphere of activity, and, through their status within the church, they ultimately control the patterns of social behavior.

maintain their position by intermarriage, by educating their 182 571 554 565 children in England, and by interacting with people of similar status within the community and beyond.

The crofters continue to stand at the opposite pole. They seldom achieve status within their neighborhood. Upward mobility is possible only through outward mobility. Leadership fails to find expression among them in the township or the neighborhood. The rare exception is the crofter's son who becomes a [795] minister and returns to lead his people spiritually. When the [794] crofters must select a leader, from their own number, the status is accorded to an elder of the church. The elder [794] already has high status because of his advanced age and his position in the kirk. As I have said, the continued operation of primitive democracy means a minimum of authority and a maximum of equality.

The intermediate group in the social hierarchy cannot be 182 profitably used in this discussion. They are primarily newcomers, 554 565 people from the Lowlands or England, who have joined with the 167 relatively few Skyemen who have left the croft. Sufficient time has not elapsed for a class oriented structure to emerge. Then, too, they are not a numerous group. Still, status is important in the village. As in the crofting neighborhood, ministers, doctors, and teachers achieve high status through their occupation. For the remainder of the population of Portree, status depends more on personal qualities and outside activities, especially in the kirk, than on the way one may make his living.

While we are on the topic of status and ranking, let us 121 554

5

571 SOCIAL RELATIONSHI
ships (e.g., face-to-fa
rates); categories of s
servations on the natur
classifiable elsewhere
elites, etc.); sociomet
formation; general sta
Information on specific
groups, etc. will be fil

Personality . . . . . .
Property relationships . . .
Economic organization . . .
Family organization . . . .
Political organization . . .
Ecclesiastical organization .

71

PS AND GROUPS--incidence of types of social relation-
ce, stereotyped); social interaction (e.g., interaction
ocial groups (e.g., primary, secondary); general ob-
e, structure and interrelations of social groups not
(e.g., intelligentsia, Philistines, secular cult groups,
ric data; evidence bearing upon the dynamics of group
tements on decision-making within social groups; etc.
interest groups, kin groups, political and religious
ed elsewhere under specialized categories. See also:

. . . . . 15 Age-grades 561
. . . . . 42 Ingroup antagonisms 578
. . . . . 47 Kin relationships 602
. . . . . 59 Community organization 621
. . . . . 63, 64 Contractual relationships 675
. . . . . 79 Children's play groups 857

175 a crew member. Another family is called "cook," the
228 first job which a novice had to assume when he joined
484 the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go
[551] to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The men
[221] came back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats,
[241] barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent
[434] and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods.
[353] They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover
the stone-walled or wood-lined tigh dubh (black house)
[434] for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a
season. While the men were away at the fishing, the
[452] remaining members of the family lived on credit from
[571] the local shops, and depended on the good will of
their neighbors.

175 Many men joined the armed services, and were
701 especially sought after by the Navy and the Merchant
706 Service. In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in the
505 Naval Reserve.

175 Around the turn of the century, until the first
228 world war and the growth of the weaving industry, the
484 girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to
[571] the boat to see you off. You could go all the way to
[435] Aberdeen for 12/6 on a special fish-worker ticket."
The girls went from the south of England to Shetland
in the far north.

of Scotland in Portree. Only one girl appeared for instruction. After the significance of her preparation had been fully explained, she declined to take the final step. She did not disagree with the minister's view that she was prepared for membership and communion, but she was afraid of what her friends in the Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church might say. She was probably wondering what the middle-aged adherents of her church might have to say, too. When the Sgiathanach takes his first Communion, in Glendale, Kilmuir, or Portree, the people must be able to look up to him.

The second exception to the age-grade requirement rules among the county people. Because of their social position in the community, which rests on the expression of their statuses, as roles, as landlords, village and neighborhood representatives and leaders, and members of the national class system, and because of their education in England, the county people attain membership in the church at an early age. Some have become elders of the church at twenty-one. To subject them to the control of the crofters would, obviously, be incompatible with their social standing. Although they are all Church of Scotland, here again religion is a reinforcing factor for the structure of the society.

Dying, the final act of living, reveals a host of traits which only receive covert expression during an individual's life. While the youth is censured for his spontaneous pleasures and the adult is criticized for his behavior, the deceased is always respected. As one woman said, "It is the one time in a person's life that the people have nothing but

parents and to Sabbath school, nor would they allow children 178
to play games in the home. Today the children of the Church 796
of Scotland people are allowed to go for a walk, read, or 857
play games. Tourists, frequently, if not always, intolerant 484
of the strict Sabbath, have no doubt contributed to this 178
relaxation of taboos. Although a further development of the 796
tourist industry would be advantageous economically, tourists are a threat not only to the Sabbath but also to the whole religious complex. They set examples which the youth are only too ready to emulate. Before the war every hotel on 485
the Island, including all in Portree, and every boarding 796
house posted notices requesting visitors to refrain from using their cars for touring on the Sabbath. In many of the guest homes the request was the equivalent of a warning of removal. Today the signs are gone. Still not content, the tourist agencies in England and the Lowlands continue to make snide remarks in their literature, suggesting "a little more tolerance is needed in certain quarters." The youth and some 178
adults of Portree now have begun to go off for a drive around 796
the island. One reason why the Sabbath is still strong in 484
Kilmuir and Glendale is that tourists are not accepted in either district.

Strict Sabbath observance distinguishes three broad 796
groups on the Island. Portree is set apart from the crofters 565
by laxity, and the county people are set apart from the [369]
crofters by using the day for visiting and having afternoon [571]
teas together. The gentry, of course, are not under the

control of the "elect" crofters. They, are the "elect," 796
and their status is independent of the control of the vener- 565 626
able old men. 554

Summary

Whereas the culture of the Sgiathanach was oriented 771
around the clan system in the remote past and was intelli- [178]
gible only by an awareness of the all-pervasive influence
of the clan, today congregational religion provides the
focus for the culture. If we are to understand the Sgiathanach, [121]
we must fathom his religion, that is, the interpretation
which he has given to Calvinism. Moreover, this highly 182
integrated and systematized aspect of his culture has pro- 771
vided the means for preserving cultural continuity. Economics
and social organization aid us in recognizing how cultural
continuity has been maintained. Religion puts at our finger
tips the how and the why.

The basic status values have held good because religion 771
has sanctioned them. The old men of the neighborhood have 554
been successful in sustaining their statuses and habits 183 626
through their position in the esoteric religious hierarchy.
By holding the father responsible for the spiritual welfare [593]
of his family, and judging a man's spiritual enlightenment
on his renunciation of mundane pleasures as well as his
knowledge of religious tenets, the elders exercise judicial
and authoritarian functions. At the same time, the status [593]
of the father within the family is strengthened. After a

a tremendous strength. There are villagers who dislike the crofters, but few would intentionally slight an old crofter's wife because it might give her something to talk about. I shall elaborate this point shortly when I come to social cont

If there had been a decrease in the frequency of interaction, the traditional norms and sanctions should have becom less common and clear. In particular, social ranking based on leadership in communal activities should have become less definite. Although anomie, as used by Homans, is an internal condition, I shall introduce a consideration of cross-group norms in order to present a clearer picture of the status system. Despite the extreme fluidity between the county peopl and the members of the intermediate social heirarchy in inform clique groups, such as the bridge club, there has been no tendency to obscure the lines of cleavage. The class structur in terms of the whole community, has remained rigid. The cour people are at the apex of the prestige status and class hiera They are, of course, members of a group which extends across the length and breadth of Great Britain. In any neighborhood where there is a member of the landed gentry resident, he is always looked to for leadership. In Glendale, a privately own neighborhood, a nearby landlord is their political spokesman. In Portree the gentry have done more than uphold social rankin based on leadership; they have created and introduced new activities in which they express their role. These are the Skye Council of Social Service, the village council, and the Old People's Welfare Committee. They may be aided by others, but their decisions are the orders to be followed. The gentry

l be called into National Service. It has become very
d to obtain a deferment. One reason is that the govern-
t believes too many have been dodging their obligation.
re was a man, for example, who applied for a deferment
his son on the ground that he was needed on the croft.
inarily the boy might have been deferred, but not when the
icer found his father was collecting unemployment compen-
ion. The most popular field for girls at eighteen is
sing. One family has sent three girls through nursing
ool. Another popular profession, for both boys and girls,
teaching. The boys who go to university take their degrees
pure science, medicine, and agriculture.

There is an interesting contrast here between the Highlands
the rest of Great Britain, especially England. In England
working men consider sending their children on to college.
Skye, the majority of those who go to the university from
local schools are from poor homes. The landed gentry send
ir children to preparatory schools in England, and most of
doctors send their sons to private schools. Somehow the
s and girls from the crofts scrape through. An additional
t I might mention is that despite the government's interest
maintaining the Highland population because, among other
sons, it is a reservoir for the armed forces, very few boys
even fewer girls voluntarily select a military career.
eed, few men have seen service with the Army or Navy. The
viously mentioned sample of the marital status of males also
ealed that only 57 of the 270 men have seen active service
units other than the Territorial Army or Home Guard. This

264 The only occasions on which it is customary to
574 someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as p
576 cutting. On such occasions the preparation of meals
[461] [476] done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual scrut
and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, t
requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled
giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but
which were much more abundant when the land was culti
[262] and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcake
264 clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foo
571 are usually offered to visitors along with tea, and i
574 past this custom served to minimize the economic disp
between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A sim
[737] [431] function was served by the practice of giving part o
each catch of fish to old widows and other villagers
need of aid. Even though food is more abundant and c
today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during
visit is still very important.

173 A 50-year-old man who "married into" a croft rec
[581] [428] "I came from a family of ten children. Everyone had
leave, or marry a girl with a croft. Only the eldest
could inherit the croft." There was little room for
423 581 romanticism in the fight for scarce land among the so
of large crofter and non-crofter families. "The most

32 with the decision which they know is to be made usually
71 do not attend the meeting. Thus, apparent consensus is
46 always maintained.

Changes in the character of the township as social
32 78 boundary system are apparent in ceremonial occasions such as weddings and funerals, which will be discussed in the following pages.

14 1. Courtship and Marriage: Courtship occurred during the dark hours when the older members of a household had gone to bed. A great deal of courting was done in company. Because transportation was limited, groups of young people went together to dances; and on other nights, bands of young men would visit a house in which several girls were sleeping together, climb in through a window, and perhaps lie beside the girls, fully dressed, filling the dark with whispered jokes. Such a custom, a form of bundling, was called "night visiting" (ruith na h-oidhche); the male visitor was called caraid na h-oidhche, "companion of the night."

When couples began serious courting, they would meet outside at night, or the girl would let her bramar (sweetheart) into the house after the old people had gone to bed. A couple would never consider walking hand in hand along the road during the day. Boys and girls were seated separately in school, went around in separate

The
570 organization receives a large proportion of its funds
197 from the Scottish Education Department, whose statutory
186 duty is to foster the speaking of Gaelic in Gaelic-
[189] speaking areas. In 1970-71 a series of evening meetings were sponsored by An Comunn in Stornoway; but the serious meetings, such as readings of Gaelic poetry, were attended largely by schoolmasters.

Associations which sponsor Highland dancing and the opportunity to get together with other Gaelic speakers thrive in Glasgow, London, Toronto and Detroit, everywhere
[148] but in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands. Such associations serve important functions in situations of interaction between Gaelic speakers and members of the dominant society; they provide identity and self-defense against those who react to them as members of a lower-status minority group.

A girl who teaches Gaelic in Glasgow and comes home
535 to the island only for holidays never goes to the island
186 dances, but loves going to the dances sponsored by the
148 Lewis and Harris Society in Glasgow. All the young people from the islands come, and dance away accumulated insults in a fiery sense of belonging.

464 A girl who worked in hotels on the mainland found
197 herself speaking Gaelic with her fellow workmates who
186 came from Lewis or other Gaelic-speaking areas, although
571

464 on the island she had spoken English in school and had
197 not given much thought to which language she was speaking.
186 "I suppose it was because the other girls couldn't under-
571 stand us. They always used to mimic us, making noises like they were talking it. It was nice to be able to talk about things and not have anyone else understand, especially when they teased us so much."

197 But on the island itself, the number of persons
178 speaking Gaelic is declining; and the scope of the language,
[192] i.e., the range of situations to which it applies (as reflected in the diversity of vocabulary used), is becoming
196 more restricted. A psychological experiment in which the
191 semantic differential was used to study the organization of English and Gaelic vocabulary in the cognitive processes of Gaelic speakers suggests that Gaelic speakers are not bilingual but monolingual in particular situations (Macleod
197 1966). Gaelic is the language of hearth, home, family and
191 community. English is the language of education, the business world, and various transactions with the larger
197 society. Most Gaelic speakers spoke only Gaelic when they
871 entered school, but were required to speak only English in
191 the classroom. One islander recalls, "The first English
[176] words you learned were 'Sit' and 'Stand.' Those were the days you got strapped if you spoke any Gaelic." Children were addressed by their full English names. One of the

873 old-fashioned if you were speaking it. I wrote like that
197 in my first few papers, and my professor stroked through
185 words and asked, 'Would you say that?' We can even put in an English word now and then."

197 One result of this restriction in the scope of
186 experience in which Gaelic is used, and of the treatment of Gaelic by government bodies and voluntary associations as a rare zoo animal that must be preserved rather than allowed to change, is a decline in written creative
197 expression in Gaelic. There are perhaps three major
536 writers of Gaelic plays in Scotland, whose major battle is to be considered serious writers rather than colorful freaks or queer saints out to redeem Gaelic culture. "Once you become self-conscious about the language you speak," says one writer, "the language is dead." It has then become an artificial showpiece, a museum relic instead of a living, changing, flexible human tool.
197 Outside the village the maintenance of the Gaelic language
186 and other customs identified with "Celtic culture" occurs
571 mainly as a result of interaction between "Gaels" and "Galls" (a Gaelic word meaning outsider or foreigner), as Gaelic speakers become self-conscious of their distinctiveness and either abandon their heritage (for example, MacIver 1968) or invest in it.

197 English, no Gaelic allowed. I can beat you any time...."
191 One person observed, "People here make fun of each other
554 all the time. They're always trying to be superior, to
626 get one over the other person. Speaking English gives
578 you a feeling of superiority."
[524] If a Gaelic speaker chooses to speak English in a village situation where there are no officials present or other cues which make English-speaking appropriate, this indicates that he considers himself a cut above everyone else. "I went to help Calum pull his tractor out of the mud, and Malina was there with her husband. She was speaking English. Oh, I says to myself, lady, you're not for this place. You don't belong to this village."

In evaluating whether or not a particular woman is "snobbish," villagers may decide, "She must be; whenever I've seen her in the post office, she never speaks any Gaelic."

The sanctions against speaking English when all
197 persons present speak Gaelic indicate the effect of inter-
191 action between a socially marginal group and the dominant
554 group. The effect is to increase the emphasis on uniform
571 behavior within the marginal group. The existence of a
184 higher social stratum has diminished social differentiation
578 within the village setting. Individuals may move out of that setting and adopt the language and other forms of

197 behavior characteristic of the dominant group; but for
191 those that remain in the village, the language serves a
554 unifying function, although its form is limited in
571 diversity of elements.
184
578

184 Jokes are most humorous when told in Gaelic; and
197 conversation is punctuated with Gaelic proverbs and old
532 stories. There is a vast oral lore, expressed in Gaelic,
[522] of the village and generations of its members and their
[521] characteristics and escapades, a dense map of human events. All of these tales, proverbs and jokes have been told a
829 thousand times, but retain their unifying function. When speaking of today's children who do not go to the sheiling, a man says sadly, "They won't have our memories; this place will mean less to them than it does to us." The moor is not an empty wasteland, but a map of memories.
103 Thousands of place names are known, and behind every place
175 name is a story. The major landmarks such as mountains, lochs and headlands tend to have Norse names, from the days when the Norsemen raided and settled along the island coasts; but the smaller hillocks and fields and bends in the stream have Gaelic names, for example, Sheiling of the One Night, Field of the Slaves, Slope of the Stone
[184] Boys, Hillock of William's Sheiling. To know these place names and their histories is to participate in a distinct community, which has been made even more distinct by conti with the dominant society.

621 character traits just by virtue of his belonging to a
156 particular family; he is protected from the "out"
world even though he may have broken its rules. The
[521] village provides a colorful arena of recreation in the
[574] form of ceilidh, the character, and holidays such as
New Year's.

[78] A major system of order and meaning is provided by
194 religion, and by the opportunity to belong to a tightly-
[181] knit religious clique. Lewis is sometimes called Tir an
t-soisgeul, Land of the Scriptures, in contrast with
• 571 the decadent outer world. The male drinking fraternity
[123] constitutes a second important group. And for everyone
[521] there is the cinema of their neighbors' activities,
which are placed in a vast human calendar that includes
the behavior of many generations.

Chapter 6

THE BIBLE AND THE BOTTLE

• 571 Two of the most important networks in the village are
794 the converted members of the Free Church, and the drinking
273 fraternity of the males, especially the unmarried males
who lack the obligations of married men, and who can
therefore drink with greater freedom.

A. The Bottle

273 The word "whiskey" (or "whisky," as it is spelled in
175 Scotland) is almost synonymous with "Scotland," despite
the fact that the earliest reference to whiskey in that
country appears only in the late 15th century. The word
is derived from the Gaelic uisge beatha, "water of life,"
a translation from the Latin aqua vita.

Martin Martin (1716: 3) describes the types of liquor
made from "corn" in the Outer Hebrides as Common Usquebaugh,
Trestarig (three times distilled), and Usquebaugh-baugh
(four times distilled). He states, "...two spoonfuls of
this last Liquor is a sufficient Dose; and if any Man
exceed this, it would presently stop his Breath and
endanger his life."

273 one night of the week in which controls are imposed, by
275 the arrival of Sunday when no one is supposed to drink.
[571] The bothan was occasionally open on Friday night, and
on Monday night. ("If there's anything left from Saturday
[221] night, we finish it on Monday.") During the summer of
1971 when the days were long and filled with communal
township activities such as peat-cutting, the bothan was
open every night of the week. The bothan closed when the
man supplying it with drink suddenly died, and has not
reopened.

273 2. Functions of Drinking: If a man decides not to
• 571 participate in drinking, he is not praised for his self-
156 control or his ability to abstain; rather, people say,
"What's the matter with him that he doesn't mix?" A man
goes off to the hotel or to a bothan "for a wee nip" or
"for a pint" (the pint of beer which serves as a chaser
for glasses of straight whiskey). Both phrases are
euphemisms for the huge amount of whiskey and beer which
must be consumed if a man is to satisfy the canons of
social intercourse which obtain. A man can drink alone
or, in the company of others, drink very little only at
great social cost.

"You can't go in for a casual pint in a place like
the bothan because it's a place where people mix, and
you're bound to meet old friends you haven't seen for

273
• 571
156 a while. It would be an insult not to take a drink with
[576] them; you mustn't miss your round."

273 The usual practice when drinking with friends is
571 for one person to buy the drinks; everyone drinks
156 together, and then someone else buys the next round. To
431 drink slowly is to indicate that you intend to miss your
round. A relative who returns to the island for a holiday
usually pays for more rounds than he receives, and may
spend as much as L80 in a single week.

If a man wants more drink than his fellows, he has
several choices. He may step up the pace of drinking by
buying more rounds, which means that he is likely to pay
a larger share than the others during the evening as they
will be ready to quit before he is; or he may keep a bottle
hidden outside the room, and disappear periodically for a
private nip, after which he returns to the group.

273 As incomes have grown, excessive drinking, which was
571 once confined to a small number of occasions, has also
156 increased. In the days when money was scarce, people shared
178 with others what they had. Elaborate and relatively lavish
424 ceremonies in which all community members participated
were possible because of the contribution in labor and goods
of members of the community. The custom prevailing today is
to use the added money not to purchase more goods and services,
to travel, or in other ways that might result in both social

273 differentiation and differentiation in personal experience,
• 571 but to use it in the community, as social coin. The few
156 men who refuse to get involved in drinking episodes that
178 would deplete their available funds are called "mean"
434 and "tight-fisted."

"If I had a wish, I'd choose to live the same life all
over again, maybe a wee bit rougher. We don't get a chance
here. The poverty keeps us down. But what does it matter
to be a schoolteacher or a minister? What good does it do
you? If I have a shilling in my pocket, I've got to spend
it. I remember ten years ago, I went into town with L60
in tweed payments to buy a new stove. I met some of my
[435] pals, so I put L20 down on a L50 stove and spent the rest.
What a time we had."

"I went for a holiday on the mainland and came back
[484] with money in my pocket because it's no use drinking in a
place where you don't know people. You want a yarn."

273 Drinking occurs at night behind the gray, concrete
571 shield of the bothan or in hotels. Drinking situations
156 provide opportunities, rare in the repressive arena of the
154 village, to express emotions and ideas. These expressions
can always be retracted in the cold, sober light of day.

"I used to be an alcoholic. Now I spend most of my
weekends feeding my brother lager so he won't get the DT's.
When something good happens, I wish like hell I could get

[Page 159 is blank; text continues on p.160
--Analyst]

273
• 571 out and celebrate. There's no other way to express
156 myself."
154

"Now that Ruaridh has stopped drinking, he's no
very interesting to talk to. He's very dull these d
He doesn't say a thing."

273 During the Communions, a sense of excitement an
571 holiday permeates the village. Among the converted
521 members of the Free Church, this feeling is expresse
794 vigorous participation in long church services and m
792 in the homes of the converted. In the rest of the vi
the unconverted men don their best suits and head for
hotel, or the bothan opens earlier in the week than u
All special occasions such as fank days or the arriva
of relatives generate excitement, which is most often
expressed, among the unconverted men, by drinking.

273 A man may propose to a woman, and the next day "
571 this rash action with impunity. When a man has been
[584] drinking, he is more likely than on other occasions t
be openly affectionate to a woman, or to express stro
feelings of friendship to his fellows. "It's the only
time when you're really happy. You can sing, tell you
life story. It's the only time when people are really
friendly. But it's a false friendship, because when y
meet someone the next day, he's not the same person.
distant, cold. You feel depressed. You want to recre
the situation, so you start drinking again."

element, the weaver, is essential to its production. In 1960 weavers receiving tweed yarns from the mills totalled about 1,500 persons, a number which held for about three years and then started dropping at a rate of about 100 a year. In 1971 the number of weavers was less than 1,000, and trends of change appeared to presage a continued dwindling of numbers. It is estimated that emigration increased during 1970-71. Men have returned to the sea, have gone to Glasgow as laborers, or have taken advantage of training courses offered by the Labor Exchange, courses that will eventually remove them from the island setting.

The instability of the industry and the fluctuation in amount of weaving work available at any given time has created an environment in which personal ties and individual maneuvering rather than a widespread adherence to impersonal rules such as equal distribution are emphasized. Strategies which involve the mobilization of kinship and neighborhood ties and involve an emphasis on personal relationships rather than the depersonalization usually associated with industry are made possible by economic factors such as the dependence of decentralized weavers on centralized mills. The watchfulness and consciousness of one's neighbors so characteristic of village life prevail. Questions about the state of

288 57 458 [521] [576] Questions about the state of "the tweed" permeate all discussions, and often constitute an initial greeting. "Have you got a tweed in the loom? How many do you have? Did you see Stickey's tweed van going into Pairc? Did you hear that Newalls has an order for about 800 pieces...?"

"The mills brought me two tweeds, and I got two in town myself. I stuck those two in the attic so that anyone who came in would be none the wiser," says one person in a whisper. Neighbors are in and out of each others' houses and loomsheds, observant and questioning, on the lookout for any indication that they have missed out on some transaction in the competition for scarce goods.

D. Weaving as Strategy

286 178 402 When weaving was done on a wooden hand loom, the weaver required a longer period of apprenticeship. Weaving was "more of an art," as some of the older weavers remember it today. Not only was the shuttle thrown back and forth by hand, but the lifting of different threads in the warp was done by manipulating four foot pedals in the correct order. Today, the 288 178 402 process of weaving is very much simplified: the weaver pushes only two foot pedals, and simply keeps an eye on

288 178 402 the automatic shuttle; all other processes have
built into the design of the Hattersley loom (cf.
Thomson 1969). In other words, weaving does not
288 463 very specialized skills and is not difficult to l
A sailor can come home and learn to weave in a sh
period of time, or pick up the trade again with e
after having been absent from the loom for a long
[571] Neighbors substitute for each other when someone
if a tweed is "urgent." Wives help their husband
[593] young boys their fathers and uncles. Such low-le
specialization and substitutability are complemen
to crofting activities and the maintenance of nei
hood ties, and may be seen to favor continuance o
occupation of weaving.

874 286 [467] The Lews Castle College in Stornoway, establ
as a technical college in 1953 in a building that
formerly the home of Sir James Matheson, offers t
courses in weaving for adults which last for ten
and qualify a person for membership in the Weaver
Union (cf. Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). T
[872] college also sends weaving instructors to all the
schools on the island to instruct young boys in t
654 286 288 rudiments of weaving. The Highlands and Islands
Development Board have in the past offered loans
grants with which to purchase looms, and governme
has protected the mills.

233 654 As these quotations bring out, the subsidy enables people to risk rearing cattle under conditions that would otherwise make success very uncertain.

476 571 5. Communalism: Despite the decline in various agricultural activities and the individuation of land use, some activities persist which require mutual aid. [484] Conditions of low geographical mobility, in which mutual watchfulness and competitive gamesmanship have developed (see section on "Social Marginality"), contribute to the strong boundedness of the township network. There is still competition over who begins an agricultural [156] [221] activity at a particular time of the year. No one wants to be so early that he stands out like an over-eager novice running risks of frost or other bad weather, but there is an element of pride in being the first to 314 harvest potatoes or bring in the peat. Almost everyone 571 cuts peat, a time-consuming and back-breaking job made 476 pleasanter with a large labor force; and every aspect of the activity--the time of cutting and bringing in, the length of time required to cut peats, the size of the peats when dry, the type of meal served to the work crew, the evenness of the final peat stack--is subject to intense scrutiny.

463 326 [874] [204] [521] One of his apprentices was his sister's son, who built another smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip. People gathered there while he shoed horses that came from Barvas to Carloway."

444 178 A number of shops were established in Shawbost that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At [494] one time they numbered six altogether. These shops also ran the first buses between the village and [479] [443] Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared because of competition with larger companies. Mobile grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in large parts of the island, undercutting the local busi- 178 nesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self- 434 sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and 571 sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on 621 local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town- 44 463 dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major 178 proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers, [472] [484] fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal dealers and others extend goods and services from centralized sources to a market which has money to pay for them. The island's participation in this extensive market system is affected by its marginality to the

602 576 585 764 people will be doing the same. If they think they're close enough to be invited, they'll be annoyed if you don't include them." At funerals, relatives of the deceased to about third cousins were expected to participate.

621 602 476 571 When a population has lived in a small area for generations, a dense network of kinship develops. This fact, and the importance placed on mutual aid among fellow villagers, fostered the feeling that the network of township members, who ploughed, fished and tended cattle and sheep together, was also a network of kinsmen. "We're all the same people." "It's all one family here." Occupational and kinship spheres of social activity commingled. The importance of neighbors in contrast [539] with relatives was reflected in such proverbs as, "A neighbor close at hand is better than a relative in a distant land."

621 594 [178] [571] The nuclear family did not, according to Cohen's criteria, constitute a firmly bounded system. Then as now, women preferred the company of their "own kind," that is, the company of other women. The men worked and spent periods of recreation with other men. Children 621 596 spent about as much time in the homes of grandparents, uncles or fellow villagers as they did in their own homes. A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a

621 571 476 A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a common practice, when she was young, for children from large families to live for as long as six weeks with other families who were relatively better off. They would help harvest the hay or the potatoes or bring in the peat in return for food, lodging and perhaps some clothing. "They usually ate better than they did at home." The children were not necessarily relatives of the families with whom they boarded.

621 572 Strong friendship, that is, the kind of friendship associated with mobile urban life in which persons confide in each other and share secrets and build up an individual relationship based on extensive knowledge [602] of one another, was nonexistent. A "friend" was a relative, or someone who gave aid when it was needed.

621 178 572 181 Today it is sometimes said, "It used to be that your relatives were your best friends; now your best friends are better than your relatives." An old man [602] will meet another on the road and say, "I used to see more of you when you needed me." Neighbors used to [231] share sheep that were killed; now households kill and [251] consume their own sheep, and freeze the meat which they cannot use immediately. Groups that walked out together [464] to the peat to finish the job in a single day are being replaced by individual family units that can motor out 000 and do the job in stages. People prefer to give money

Despite these tendencies, an individual is still enmeshed in familial and village ties. Villagers walk in and out of each others' houses without knocking; only a "stranger" knocks. Goods such as tape recorders, binoculars and books are passed around the village; people even borrow each others' reading glasses.

Children are "borrowed" as well. They are loaned out to relatives and neighbors to run errands, or may even live with them. They are scolded as often by a neighbor or other villager as by a parent. A child might be told, "When someone (any adult) tells you to do something, you do it, no matter who that person is." The parents of one household are criticized for taking their children's side against other children and other parents. "He's teaching his children not to mix with others. One child is as good as another. They may be good one day, but they're likely to be bad the next." A child or adult who enjoys spending time by himself is still considered extremely odd. An important criterion by which someone's mental health or general personality is evaluated is whether or not he "mixes" well. It is fairly common for childless households to "adopt" a child of neighbors or relatives; that is, the child spends a great deal of time with them. They may go to the child's house to put him to bed at night, or the

632 578 to neglect crofting and to concentrate on weaving. Those who still participate in crofting activities may neglect their communal obligations, such as going out on the moor after sheep, and may prefer to harvest crops, cut peat or perform other agricultural activities independent of other villagers.

632 182 462 Despite these tendencies, certain criteria of firm boundedness are still found in the township network. All the adult males of the township, including non-crofters, are responsible for serving as officers in the township grazing committee. The committee draws up rules for the [654] organization of communal crofting activities, and applies for grants from the Crofters Commission or Department of Agriculture, for example, to build a new township fence, plant trees as shelter belts for livestock, extend a peat road, or to fence and reseed areas of moorland in "township [464] reseeding schemes" (see Chapter 2). All adult males of the township are expected to provide labor to implement such plans.

632 571 666 Township meetings, chaired by the clerk of the grazing committee, are held twice a year. A vote is taken when any decision is to be made. The vote is usually unanimous, as all discussion, argument and persuasion have occurred before the meeting, and those who disagree

fourth degree of relationship. Although the extended 621
ly is now rather amorphous compared to what it must have 571 602
a century or two ago, it is still very real to the 596
thanach. Once, perhaps, the townships and their historic 591
cedents were patrilocal settlements. Then, of course, 175
question of the availibility of land and the legality of
ivision were of small importance. Now the rigid system 591
and use enforces neo-local post-marital residence, often 127
great distance from the parents, and very often means
the younger generation must join the constant outward
ent of the population. Thus, the extended family is
m, if ever, found intact. Indeed, the only times its
rs come together as a group is at a funeral or a wedding.
ese occasions the strong patrilineal emphasis becomes ap-
t, and the fact that the individual always remains a
r of his or her family group is revealed. It is, then, a
family.

In structure the extended family includes all males and 596
es out to, and including, third cousins. The kinship 601
nology is descriptive. Excepting grandchildren, all
ives are distinguished by sex and generation. Members of
arental generation and lineal descendents of the parents
teral kin are distinguished by their relationship to the
idual's parents. Members of the grandparental and great-
parental generations and their lineal descendents are
arly distinguished. The same descriptive technique ex-
to kinsmen of the first and second descending generations.

For the remainder of the population, as a general rule, it may 554 184
be said that a person's status depends on personal qualities
rather than on occupation. This is especially true of men who
take an active part in the church. In terms of interaction,
the social hierarchy is extremely fluid. People who elsewhere 545
in Britain would be "working" or "middle" class not infrequently
join with members of the "upper" class in both formal and in-
formal social groups.[22] This underlying equalitarian pattern 57
has always characterized the interpersonal relations of Skye's
society. There is, of course, cleavage between the upper 582
level of the society and the bulk of the population; inter-
marriage is impossible.

The social life of the village revolves around the new- 571 184
comers and the landed gentry. In addition to the social 554
circles based upon age, sex, kinship, and religion, the indi-
vidual belongs to several small groups of friends and, perhaps,
a few formally organized clubs. When the native-born take
part in the formal activities they do so as participants rather
than as organizers or directors. The necessary roles of leader- 545
ship are left to the newcomers or to the landed gentry. The
latter, in particular, are responsible for community affairs,
just as the chief and his kinsmen were formerly looked to as
the leaders of the people. Occasionally, an influential new-
comer gives them able assistance. The influence of the old 888
men is not as marked in the village as in the crofting communities,

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[22] Roy Lewis and Angus Maude, The English Middle Classes (London: Phoenix House, 1949), pp. 13-26, 87-110.

mainly because there are enough young people to form a strong age grade of their own. The more liberal outlook of the villagers is, however, tempered by the old men.

Religion

The attachment to the past embodied in the social and economic aspects of the culture carries over into the religious life of the Sgiathanach. He is a Presbyterian who continues to worship and view the world within a pattern which characterized the Scots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The doctrine and theology are derived from the teachings of Calvin as interpreted by John Knox and refined by the Covenanters of the seventeenth century. To the original ethical code a strong measure of influence from the English Puritan movement has been added. The guiding principles are still foreordination and election. The dominant motivating factor is asceticism.

One of the outstanding features of the island today is the large number of churches for such a limited population. To serve the 8,600 people there are 21 churches with ministers and 13 mission stations. A hundred years ago, when the population was almost triple the present number, there were only seven ministers on Skye. The present abundance is the outcome of a series of religious schisms of the past century. There are now four Presbyterian sects. Of all the neighborhoods on Skye, only Glendale is religiously homogeneous.

CHAPTER VI

THE ISLANDERS' SOCIETY

The Units of Social Organization

Since the Sgiathanach has consistently been more bound to his locality groups than the relatively mobile members of the main stream of Western Society, I think that we shall find a pause to review the character of the social systems which are primarily based on territoriality a valuable aid to our understanding of how cultural continuity has been preserved. By now we are all well aware of the fact that the township is the efficient economic unit. It is also a social entity. The members of each township display a consciousness of common interest, symbolized by the communal hill grazing; and their inter-personal relationships, reflecting ties of kinship and friendship, reveal a rate of interaction second only to those of the crofting family. In most of the townships, the people are related and re-related on both sides by descent and marriage. Laid out along the coast or in a fertile glen, with the cottages on the individual crofts, it has a discernible form. The township is a small cluster of five to twenty homes; approximately an equal number of garden-like farms, stretching out behind the houses; and,

342 343 351 251 273 354 571 538 178 353 342 361 178 171 343 124 178

yard and occasionally a barley-kiln in which to dry grain before malting it for home-brewed beer. A 'black mill', with its primitive horizontal water-wheel, stands apart by some burnside.

Round the circular hearth, a large company can assemble in very social fashion for talk, story and song, the meeting *together* (*ceilidh*). By the transfer of the hearth from the centre and the substitution of a gable fireplace and regular chimney, the social circle is halved, while meantime the tales of the *ceilidh* are forbidden or forgotten. Happily the bench still stands against the wall, near to the open door, through which neighbours slip in with a word of greeting to find a customary welcome.

The dwellings on the summer pastures out on the moors show great variety, illustrated in Fig. 10(B). A simple type in use is built of turf and stones, lightly roofed with turf placed on spars. A more primitive 'beehive' type (which fell out of use before 1900) was stone-built and corbelled, probably for lack of timber. And whereas the lighter type always stands by itself, the corbelled type was added to until a dozen cells formed a single mass, suggestive of ancient 'neolithic' hamlets as at Skara Brae in Orkney, described by Childe, and of the domed, corbelled huts of the ancient East.

A further type was the 'spring house' of Tolsta, NE. Lewis, in which both cattle and folk sheltered in spring a little way from the village, before going out to the more distant moor. Mr. Donald Macdonald, F.R.S.G.S., a native of Tolsta, informs me that the spring house was in use until 1936. He remembers vividly how life in the shieling restored health and colour after the winter.

621 423

pastures of machar and moor, each man had not so much a 'common interest' or duty as, individually, a 'like interest' or right. As now, each unit, whether team or individual, would tend to desire a maximum stock for itself, perhaps hoping it would have "the luck to rear" a little more than its apportioned souming, at the risk of the over-stocking which results in common loss. But though need, greed or rivalry offered temptations, morality invited careful sharing and was enforced by common interest. The chief distinction between team and township was that the tasks of the farm-team were constructive and, like that of the boat's crew, active and co-operative. It is true that in the township certain tasks were co-operative, such as the wolf scaring of old times or the fox 'hunting' or shooting on mainland moors today. The modern gathering of sheep is also done together. But no constructive effort was involved in the allotment of shares on the machar or of stock on the moor, which were—and remain—matters merely for communal control, not communal effort.

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• 571

Now, the quality of a group alters with its quantity. The intimate cohesion of a very small group of no more than half a dozen members, diminishes with an increase in number; but increase brings a compensating gain in diversity. Ten or a dozen people tend to break up into sub-groups, whether for small jobs or to enjoy conversation. The smallness of a group limits the number of relationships; an increase in number multiplies sub-groups, and life is enriched. After living long with fewer than half a dozen acquaintances, the same subjects keep cropping up in talk, the same tales are re-told, too often, and people cannot get away from one another's idiosyncrasies! A very small addition turns the scale by renewing variety. Here lay the social value of a township and neighbourhood,

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101 621 68 365 465 164

hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center fo tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependen on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villag participate in a number of social activities which are no tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious as cism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each

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a population of about 300. All, except the ministers and school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potat

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and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither communit

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has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. G has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch wh has been divided among the small farmers. The significan

42 164

differences between them are three. The Glendale people land owners. In this respect they are rather unique in t

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Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glend

79 18

is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church- of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social activities other than an annual meeting of the share-hold in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a clu organization for the men who gather for lectures and disc of economic problems.

• 57

221 rams are put out in November, the pace becomes slower, the
231 main job being the feeding of cattle.

434 The economy is neither a subsistence nor a self-sufficient economy for the majority. All but a few large crofters have to supplement their income from the croft with some form of outside employment or independent source of income, for ex-
427 ample, contributions from a child or a pension. For many the
361 croft is no more than a home. For an aged person, it provides a means of living cheaply. The rent, which is fixed by law,
427 is only nominal, and the taxes are negligible. There is more to
571 crofting than simple economic considerations. Indeed, if it
361 were only a matter of economy, the system would have been
[554] abandoned long ago. It is a way of life in which the individual finds meaningful patterns of interaction and an ascribed status compatible with his aspirations. The land is more than a potential source of income. It is the ancestral home. The tie to the land is an expression of the sentimental bond of kinship.[12] Many, perhaps the majority, have spent a good part of their lives in other parts of the world working for a wage and looking forward to the day they might return to the Misty Isle. Although only the Glendale crofters are land owners, the law has given the tenants complete security of tenure and the right to bequeath the croft to a member of their family. Thus, they can return to their township and find solidarity.

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[12]Cf. Ibid., pp. 64, 81.

committee, a legal requirement, these individuals lack 621
authority. They are figureheads whose primary function is 632
to advise the government of the decisions reached by all the 554
crofters who share in the grazing and to regulate the use of 624
the land by self-imposed rights. In townships where the sheep are owned as club stock the clerk serves to distribute the profits from the sale of stock, and he may also keep a tally of the individuals who are entitled to payment for labor in townships where money has replaced customary reciprocity. In any cooperative venture beyond the family level, there is no one who can step forward to act as a foreman. The assumption of this role would upset the basic status equality of the crofters, unless the person wishes to be regarded as an eccentric.

The Crofting Neighborhood. The crofting neighborhood con- 621
sists of an aggregate of individuals and nuclear families 632
who dwell in several townships, standing in close spatial 571
proximity. It is, therefore, natural that the ties of common residence and kinship should continue to operate. The important distinguishing features between the township and the larger social entity are two: (1) cooperation in agricultural and pastoral activities is replaced by mutual aid, and (2) there is a greater wealth of formal and informal interpersonal activities in which the people associate.

There are invariably established social circles within 621
which the individuals habitually move. One always consists 571
of the individual's kinsmen, "his people," his family of 602
orientation, and "his close friends," all other relatives within the fourth degree of relationship.

361 above the settled area, the hill. In its spatial existence, the township is normally bounded at either extremity by one or more similar clusters of homes and patches of land.

621 571 As it exists in space, so it exists in time. Allowing for the removal of the population during the "Clearances" and for a certain amount of arbitrariness on the part of the government commissioners responsible for replanning during the past fifty odd years, the majority of the townships are decended from the old farms on which the clansmen lived as tenants and subtenants. On the rent rolls and in local traditions, the townships bear the names of these long forgotten farms. The functions of the township include the provision of a means of livelihood and systematic arrangement of social relationships. Both functions are made possible by the formal structure and are facilitated by the informal organization of the members.

The next significant social unit is the neighborhood. This is not the neighborhood of current American sociological and anthropological usage; it is the Old World open country neighborhood. As such, it corresponds to Murdock's community, "the maximal group of persons who normally reside together in face to face association,"[1] and differs from MacIver's definition of neighborhood, "the first grouping beyond the family which has social significance and which is conscious of some local unity."[2] MacIver's simplest community, as he

[1]George P. Murdock, Social Structure (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1949), p. 79.

[2]Robert M. MacIver, Society: A Textbook of Sociology (New York: Farrar and Rhinehart, Inc., 1937), p. 148.

621 571 calls it, is my township. Nevertheless, since I share Kroeber's feeling toward the free coinage of terminology,[3] I shall not look for a new word.[4] The neighborhood on Skye is a collection of townships which are separated from surrounding clusters by 361 topographical features. Along the coastal plains and up the glens stretch the crofts, some parallel to each other, like the French line village, and others spread out in the checker board form of the true British open county neighborhood. Scattered among the crofts, one finds one or two shops, a few workshops, and a post office. The focal point for the members is provided by the church, or a pair of churches, and the school, which more often than not stand together. There is no other nucleus of community buildings which even approximate a village center.

621 571 Social factors as well as geographical features play their role in determining the extent of the neighborhood. It has been suggested that the upper limit for the size of a group is determined by the prevalent form of their economy which limits the possibility of forming close contacts with habitual attitudes.[5] Although the neighborhoods and the component townships contained many more people a hundred years ago than they do today, all are now within the maximal figures suggested by Linton and Murdock for agricultural pastoralists, 350 and

[3]Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 261.

[4]I suppose Murdock's "deme" would be an acceptable substitute (op. cit., p. 63). Arensberg has used Einzelhof to describe the Irish pattern (The Irish Countryman, p. 43)

[5]Murdock, op. cit., p. 81; and Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, p. 218.

621 571 450 respectively.[6]

Unlike the township, the neighborhood typically has no formal organization and is not necessarily a cooperating, 621 economic unit. Always, of course, there is a consciousness 571 186 of common interest. In the case of Glendale this is spiritually symbolized by the church and economically, by the large club 368 farm in which all the owner-occupiers have a share. In Kilmuir there are two churches, standing close together, and the crofters have a common economic focus in the drained loch which all use in equal shares for meadowland. There is also a crofters' club. Further symbolization of their common interest is provided by traditions, memories of notable personages and events peculiar to themselves. Always, the consciousness of common interest is expressed by a feeling of superiority over the members of other neighborhoods.

361 There is but one trade-center village on the island, the village of Portree.[7] It is the only true nucleated settlement. Built on the square, but still retaining the appearance of an overgrown hamlet, it is a small grouping of non-agricultural dwellings, government offices, churches, shops, a school, and the homes of those who make their living by serving the 621 rural areas. In addition to its function of providing goods and services for the surrounding neighborhoods, it also links the island with the outside world. Although thirty-six miles from the mainland, it is the entry port for the government officials,

[6]Murdock, loc. cit.; and Linton, loc. cit.

[7]For a discussion of the importance of the trade-center village, see Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 188-197.

as an eccentric. Included among these norms is a willingness to satisfy the curiosity of one's neighbors. Although the old woman who acts in mysterious ways is no longer regarded as a witch, two of the loneliest people I knew on Skye were two old spinsters who had kept their past concealed. No one in the township would have anything to do with them. Were it not for periodic visits by the local Red Cross, they could have died and hardly been missed.

This status equality for all of the same sex and age grade leaves no room for the status and role of a leader.[15] Occasionally, an individual fancies himself as a self-elected leader, but he is always resented by the remainder of the township and his neighbors do not hesitate to show their displeasure. As an eccentric, he is dubbed with a cynical title, such as "the sheriff." If he can keep himself immune to the taunts and jibes of the people, he is accepted in time or, rather, comes to be tolerated. He gives the people something to talk about. The aspiring leader becomes the subject of numerous jokes. Any human failing he displays is immediately taken as a means to censure him. These are negative social sanctions less drastic than ostracism. I only knew one of these self-styled leaders. He was a well traveled man and a walking encycleopedia of miscellaneous facts. Walking the hill with him, I was told how Boston compared with Glasgow; how the British fought the Crimean War; how the money they received from the Turks helped Skye during the potato famine; and how the

[15]Cf. Darling and Morley, "The Social Situation," The West Highland Survey, pt. VI, pp. 24-25.

during the "Clearences."

Strong in-group feeling is manifested not only in a belief that people of other neighborhoods are not quite as good somehow, but also by the tendency to withhold social acceptance. There is, for example, a family of newcomers in Kilmuir. One day when they were being discussed one old crofter remarked, "Well, when they have been here as long as Jock over there, they will be just like one of us." It turned out that Jock's family had come to Kilmuir three generations ago. More than once I was reminded of the story of the Yorkshire man who moved from one village to another. He persisted in calling everybody a foreigner, and when asked why, he replied, "I've lived here sixty years, and they still call me a foreigner." The newcomer to Skye is known only by his nationality. The few Polish war refugees are "the Poles." The man from England is "the Englishman" or, in Gaelic, Sassanach, a term also applied to Lowlanders. They have no real place in the scheme of things.

Within the neighborhood, there are invariably established social circles within which the people habitually move. These cliques take several forms on Skye,[16] as in most cultures, and cross cut each other as well as the townships. The most important clique consists of "my people and friends," the individual's kinsmen. The Sgiathanach carefully distinguishes between his "family," his wife and children; his "people,"

[16]Although I consider "clique" to be an unfortunate choice of terms, because it has unfavorable connotations in the lay mind, it has been introduced into the vocatulary of the social sciences; see, e.g., Steward, Area Research, pp. 40, 49; Murdock, op. cit., p. 88; Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 135.

his parents, brothers, and sisters; and his "friends," his m
remote kinsmen.[17]

The Extended Family. I regret to say that I am unable to pr
a complete picture of the functioning of the extended family.
In view of what I have already said about instability in the
nuclear family, it should not surprise the reader to learn tha
I could not uncover even the approximation of an extended fa
Too many absent relatives thwarted my investigation. I do n
however, regard this omission as a serious handicap. After
we know almost nothing about the rights and responsibilities
of the individual members of the derbfine during the clan da

The important fact for my study of cultural continuity is that the derbfine is still a reality in the minds of the people.[18] The fact that the extended family today is as much a four generation group as the derbfine was brought home to me early in the study by a casual remark by an officer of the Department of Agriculture. "I don't understand these people," he said, "they'll tell you they're not related to someone, an then you find out they're fourth cousins." What this means is the people commonly distinguish only near cousins (first cousins) and cousins (second and third cousins) in English. I always took a great deal of persuasion to get a person to say a "friend" was a distant cousin.

This distinction is drawn even finer in the Gaelic.

[17]Cf. Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 79-80

[18]Cf. Ibid., pp. 79-90.

000 return to their own homes at night. There is now less
796 need for the generalized hospitality of the past, which
794 was given to anyone who came to the door looking for food
829 and shelter. Through these visits some families in
571 different villages have, however, established relation-
574 ships which are kept up by exchanging hospitality at times of Communion and also in other ways. A family in
262 Ness may send to a friendly family in Shawbost some guga,
251 goalings of solan geese which are captured by Nessmen on the island of Rona once a year and are salted to make a delicacy that is in great demand. Through such contacts a family wanting to purchase a cow may receive word of one that is being offered for sale in the village of a Communion contact.

796 Services of Communion last five days. All services except that held on Sunday evening are intended for the communicants or full members of the church, also called
535 "the believers" and "good livers." During this time, no
485 dances are held in Shawbost, and in Carloway the hotel is closed.

796 On Communion Sunday, the upper balcony of the church
794 is filled with villagers watching to see if any of the
829 recently converted have decided and have been allowed to take Communion. Because the villagers watch very closely the behavior of everyone else within the village, any change

781 153 "It was the Monday after the Communions, about midnight. I was lying in bed not thinking about anything in particular. Then all of a sudden I felt God speaking to me. It was the strangest feeling, like I didn't feel safe. With each tick of the clock, time was running out, the world was rushing to its end.

"Four days I was like that, dazed and uncertain, not feeling safe. I was sitting down, unable to work. I didn't know what I was doing most of the time. Then all of a sudden I had a vision, of Christ on the cross who died for us. I had been praying to God and here was my answer, trust in the Lord Jesus Christ. God does everything for you. He makes you breathe, lifts your lungs in and out, makes your blood flow. Everything is in the Bible, every event in 1970. Once I realized that, I could take the days as they came, from one day to the next. We came bare into this world, and we leave it bare; but I'm certain of one thing, that we go with Jesus into heaven after death, and no one can talk me out of that."

781 571 Although conversion is supposedly an individual matter, and one's fate is thought to be pre-determined, conversion often occurs among many persons at the same time. "It's like a chain of fireworks. Once one person goes, the rest go, too." Through the dense network of social contacts that criss-crosses the island, villagers are aware of

781 conversions that take place in other villages. "Five
• 571 persons converted recently in Lochs. Two used to drink
a lot, they're saying." Sometimes mass conversions occur,
[786] called "revivals," during which people shout, chant,
speak in tongues, and sometimes collapse.

794 Although strict observance of religious practices
829 must be maintained by the converted while they are on the
island, it is possible for them to relax this observance
when they visit mainland cities. The converted see nothing
wrong with attending plays or movies in Glasgow, as long
as no one observes them. A non-believer once commented
wrly, "They believe in the 11th commandment: thou shallt
not be seen." Women who have spent many years in domestic
service on the mainland, where they generally live very
different sorts of lives from those of island people, often
return to the island to retire. They then take up the
[292] color of their surroundings. The long black dress then
becomes the appropriate garb for them on Sundays. As one
person observed, "Women deposit their curam in the Left
Luggage Department at Stornoway, and pick it up fifty years
later."

779 The beliefs of the Free Church include explanations
for all events. "Everything of importance that happened
in history is recorded in the Bible." Predestination lies
behind all unexpected events; a sense of fatalism dulls

THE CROFTER

241 The pursuit of agricultural processes, their growth, development
and improvement, to establish a foundation for a secure society
has never been easy on the island. The unyielding nature of the
[135] base rock, Archaean gneiss, its hardness, its non-porous property,
have all contributed to the resultant pattern and character of
society which emerged. Though one is tempted to define crofting
as an agricultural activity, it is also something much more intan-
[113] gible: a way of life. To quote the Napier Report on *The condition
of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scot-
land* (1884): 'Habit and local affection bear so great a sway in
[181] the actions of mankind, that Highlanders will be found who would
rather be proprietors in the mountains of Skye, or the wastes of
Lewis, than on the fertile plains of Manitoba.' 'There is the
Island of Lewis, with poor, peaty soil covering the Archaean
gneiss, but with a crowded, lively, vivid community,' said the
Taylor commision in 1955 (Commission of Inquiry into Crofting
Holdings).

The Highland crofter is the subject of an extensive literature.
[657] A special authority, the Crofters Commission, exists solely for
the purpose of caring for his needs. He has special rights and
privileges which are safeguarded by the Land Court. Crofters'
unions have formed themselves into a strong federated wall for the
system's defence.

241 Socially, the term 'crofter' means, on the island at any rate, a
423 landholder who cultivates his own (arable) holding, his croft. He
233 shares the common pastures with his fellow-crofters, each of whom
has a right to carry a sum of so much stock, the 'souming'. These
• [571] common pastures or grazings are a social link of some consider-
[632] able significance, forming the basis for the crofting township, as
[621] distinct from the communities set up under the influence of some
agricultural land use such as hamlet or village, where there are
both small-holders and true farms, and the only communal land
is the village green or common. For instance, outside the crofting
counties area the main unit of Scots life in the country is the
farm, with its tied cottages. Then come the full-time small-hold-
ings important in the north-east and the southern Highlands.

SOCIAL LIFE

In common with other aspects of island life, the social side has undergone considerable change. The world has been brought nearer the crofter's home by radio, television and film screen, reducing the social need for meeting with neighbours and friends for the ceilidh. The ceilidh was once the principal means of recreation and instruction. There is no precise English equivalent for it, and it may be loosely described as an 'at home' to which all are welcome. It may be held in any house; in the past, the favourite resort was a home where the head (*fear an tigh*—man of the house) was an intelligent, communicative man; and if he had a number of eligible daughters so much the better. Ceilidhean were held after nightfall. Old tales were told, and songs sung, and public questions of the day were discussed. All women attending took with them an ample amount of work, sewing or knitting, to see them through the evening. Ceilidhean nowadays tend to be more organised, taking the form of popular 'concerts' which did not take root in the island until the turn of the century, though they were a common way of entertainment on the mainland at the time. Social life in the past was thus very intense, and was a natural evolution from the basic desire to forget the day's work and to have some pleasure of a kind.

The pattern of recreation facilities has since become fairly varied. Films came early to Lewis, or rather Stornoway; the first Picture House was located in Keith Street, and presented both films and stage turns. A new Playhouse was opened in 1934 with *The Good Companions* and *Falling for You*, starring Jack Hulbert and Cicely Courtnedge. Films in the rural districts were a rarity, however, until in 1946 the Highlands & Islands Film Guild came into existence to bring the magic of the screen to scattered communities. This body ran several mobile cinema outfits in the deep crofting areas, until the advent of television in the region killed it off in 1971. While it existed, however, the Guild provided an essential service to remote communities and brought not only the world to their doorstep but ensured that they felt part and parcel of a much larger scheme of things.

The first television service in Lewis began in 1959, 'piped' by

and clothing, firing and shelter produced met local needs. Further questions of early economy belong to Part Two, as do those of the festivals by which the seasons were initiated and closed, along with the phases of human life.

A century later (as indicated in the lower graph), agricultural tasks were much the same, but the character of fishing had altered greatly. Herring fishing was at its height in the Island for some fifteen years, or half a generation, before 1914; but it never recovered from the difficulties of the war and after-war periods. The curves of the summer, autumn and winter fishing indicate the 'full-time' activity of summer, and the 'part-time' work of early winter. Not only the men, but the women participated, the women being employed in gutting and kippering. Boats and men fished further afield. Women were employed in gutting in early summer in the Scots East Coast fishing, which preceded that of the West Coast and was followed by the East Anglian autumn fishing. Some line-fishing continued locally in summer, but it has now almost ceased. The building and repair of roads increased after the middle of the century. The carting of peats, stacked by the roadsides, lessened 'creeling'; but it is particularly haulage by lorry which has replaced carrying by the creel, so lightening women's labour.

Indoors, primitive crafts tended to be superseded as machine-made articles replaced those of native material and manufacture; but the *ceilidh* ('*cailey*'), the meeting 'together', continued, though the arts of song and poetic improvisation declined. In Harris the women had woven and spun for centuries and have continued to do so for home use and sale; in Lewis the women gave up weaving in the last century, few spinning since then and none weaving. Thirty years ago only an occasional weaver, always a man, could be

r than Christianity is the prevailing practice in Glendale." 795 [798]
attachment to a sect is all the more significant in the
ing neighborhoods because there is not one iota of differ-
in the Gaelic services in any church. The difference is
inal.

In the neighborhood the affiliates of the same church 571 794
been said to interact with their fellows more regularly 795
with the remainder of the group. They come together on 796
Sabbath for a regular service and on Wednesday night
a prayer meeting. On the Sabbath they come as families, [593]
and, wife and children and they sit together. Normally [562]
sexes are segregated in public. Indeed, in the home [574]
keep to one side of the fire and women to the other when
e are callers. They also leave in family groups. Their
raction is spiritual. There are no gatherings outside
church either before or after the service to gossip,
uss the stock, or even comment on the weather. They
all know who was absent, but they will only greet their
ows with a slight nod. The Wednesday night prayer
ing is different. This is a group situation. Some come
us and gossip on the way. Others get together before
after the service for a chat. At these prayer meetings [554]
stature of the "elect" again emerges. They offer the [888]
ors on behalf of the congregation. The prayers, it should [782]
ted, are extempore. No form is followed. The basis for
are passages from Scripture and interpretations of the
ages.

There is another aspect to the prayer meetings. They 796
are no longer held in the Church of Scotland in Portree. 795
The ministers of the other sects say this is an indication 794
of the low degree of spiritual enlightenment among that 369
congregation. Further, Wednesday night is picture night in
the village. The newcomers taunt the devout with, "off to
the pictures?"

It is at these Wednesday night meetings that the people 554
get to know one another. They participate in the worship 571
through the eminent "Men," who in a society such as Skye 796
where almost everybody is related on one side of the family 794
or the other by some bond of consanguinity or affinity, are [602]
the "people" or "friends" of the worshippers. This custom of
offering extempore prayers not only augments the prestige of
the "elect" but it intensifies the unity of the group and
makes them secure in the knowledge that they belong. This
feeling of unity and the sense of belonging is further
strengthened in some churches by setting aside a day of
Humiliation. Services are held during which the congregation [782]
as a group beseech God for forgiveness for the poor spiritual
condition of the world. In their minds the God of this world
is surely the Prince of Darkness.

But for the interaction of the members of the several 794
sects, the control of the "elect" would not be as strong as 795
it is. The elders of one kirk cannot exercise any direct 626
control over the adherents of another sect. Through what
agency could they express their judicial and authoritarian

functions? Certainly not the kirk session. But since they 7
share a common tradition, which is reinforced by interaction
and mutual respect, the elders impose more or less common
standards. The norms are the by-product of the history of
Skye. If there was cleavage, might not the behavior of the
people begin to diverge? In Kilmuir there are three sects.
Two of them have churches. The Church of Scotland is in the
majority. The Free Presbyterians are a definite minority;
I think there is only one family of them. Although several
ministers of the Church of Scotland have begun to follow
the example of the national church elsewhere in Scotland and
celebrate Christmas, at least on an appropriate Sunday,
there is no Christmas in Kilmuir any more than there is in
Glendale. The custom is said to be "popish." Naturally,
if the birth of Christ is not celebrated, his rebirth cannot
be commemorated at Easter. All churches, on the other hand,
celebrate New Years, which is also the traditional time to
exchange gifts among members of the family. It is a time
of license. After midnight the people of the townships 7
practice "first footing." Until early in the morning, the [2
people make their rounds exchanging visits and toasting one
another and the New Year with whiskey, for the men, and wine,
for the women. The people of Kilmuir are noted for their
inter-relationships. "You have to watch what you say up
there," I was told, "they're all relatives and friends of
each other."

The situation in Portree for the Sgiathanach is much the

same as in the crofting areas. When a young girl presented 794
herself for instruction in the significance and meaning of 796
church membership, preparatory to her acceptance of Communion, 369 626
she refused to take the final step not because of any personal religious problem, but rather because such a step would upset her normal associations. What her Free Church and Free Presbyterian friends would say was her main concern. Who was she to become an "elect" member? Here, then, is the answer to how the elders of the other sects are able to control behavior of the larger group, through the fear of gossip as a negative social sanction and, perhaps, rejection.

The semi-annual Communion celebrations are rites of 794
intensification par excellence. Although some churches 796
celebrate only one commemoration of the sacrament, and it may be as early as February or as late as November, the months from late April until early September, are commonly referred to as the "Communion Season." The activities of the people during this period cast additional light on the influence of religion in ordering social relationships. While [573] [571]
clique membership based on sectarian affiliation is a secondary factor in determining the patterns of interaction in the extended family in the local group, it is very important in determining one's wider relationships, the relationships between the neighborhoods and between the Sgiathanach and the mainland Highlander.

Within living memory thousands used to come to the 178
Communion celebrations from all parts of Skye and many nearby 794 796

mainland villages and crofting areas. Ministers from 178
neighboring and even distant churches used to come to take 794 796
part in conducting the services. There was no church to hold so many people, so the Communion was celebrated outside. Then, of course, the population was much larger and the majority belonged to one church, the Free Church.

The Communion Season is still marked by large gatherings 794
of people at each church in turn. The "elect" from the 796
neighboring churches and the ministers from churches near and far exchange visits. The adherents also participate in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. From Thursday until 794
Monday the homes of the people in the vicinity are open to 796 574
their relatives and friends who have come to partake of the sacrament or who find the highly emotional atmosphere and gregariousness stimulating. Some, especially the "elect" stay for the five days. Others will spend one or more nights. During the day and in the evening, whenever they are not [571]
attending religious services, they visit their "people" and "friends" to renew ties which in many cases have been allowed to languish since the last Communion. Thus, we find religion [182]
sanctioning the time-honored custom of Highland hospitality. It is interesting to note that many a woman who depends on [485]
the tourist trade for a good share of her income will not accept paying guests at this time. The local people have a further 794
share in extending hospitality to their visitors. All who 796 574
are able send food to the manse (parsonage) to lessen the 793
burden on the minister who extends hospitality to the visiting clergy and as many of the laity as he can. This

help without an expectation of payment. Nevertheless, 794
ous donations of food and casual visits make sure that 573
f their number becomes absolutely destitute. In Glendale
eligious clique merges with the person's "people and
s." Kilmuir has two religious cliques.

We have had ample opportunity to examine the age-grades 561
e's society and in the next chapter we shall have a
look at the functions of the age-grades, especially
f the old men. One of the most important weaknesses 857
social structure, in my mind, is the lack of age mates 883
ildren and adolescents. They find it difficult, almost 561
ible, to come together as a sodality. In Kilmuir, for
e, there are only fifteen boys under twenty in an area
square miles. A youth is anyone under forty. Of the [162]
population 60 percent are over fifty. For this reason 561
mportant age grade clique tends to merge with the re- 794
s social circle. The situation is much the same in
le. There the age-grade and kinship groups are inter-
with the kirk congregation.

Equality within the Neighborhood. The fundamental 621
equality which we found for the crofters within the 534 571
p carries over to the neighborhood, but, as would be
d, there is often a need for leadership in this larger
Let us look at the two neighborhoods which I know best
light on the methods employed in the self-election of
r and the means of expressing leadership as a role.
has a Crofters' Club, which was originally formed by 573

her brothers and their wives came to visit, and at New Years they came by with their bottle of wine, whiskey being a man's drink, to toast the New Year. 576 795 273 562

Excepting Glendale, where church membership and affiliation is synonymous with the neighborhood, the township may contain affiliates of two or three churches. One small township contains two Free Church families, two Free Presbyterian families, and one Church of Scotland family. As in any township, they visit one another and cooperate in handling the sheep flocks. Further, the Church of Scotland family often gets out the truck on the Sabbath and drives everyone to Church. This is one of those isolated townships far off the beaten track. Although I certainly agree that people who meet together at a church and pray together get to know each other better because of their religious unity, in this township the families have come to know each other better because they go off to their respective churches together. There is a firm, basic belief among the people that no one should be slighted, even by a minister, because he has differing religious sympathies. Were this not so, think of the position in which I would have found myself. One Free Presbyterian family put it this way, "Who can tell which church is the right one since they all claim to be on top of the pole? Maybe they all are and everyone will get to his final resting place." The "all" was later qualified to exclude Catholics. One of the gentry told me an amusing story on this point. One day during the 621 795 571 795 829 798

794 thanksgiving service. The visiting ministers, the "elect,"
794 and the adherents go their own separate ways. They have spent
five days in intense, emotional spiritual communion and they
carry away with them definite, vivid remembrances. Many of
them will meet again in a few weeks when they will exchange
[571] the roles of guests and hosts. The reciprocal nature in all
interpersonal activity on Skye is well developed. In many
ways, the Communion season parallels the Welsh Song Festivals.[18]

794 We noted earlier in our discussion of the Communion
794 season that there has been a decline in the number who attend
178 the Communions. I should like to add a few general consider-
ation to what I have already said on this point. Aside from
the influence of depopulation, there have been several influ-
ential factors in operation. The smaller attendance is
traceable to some extent to an almost imperceptible movement
by the youth away from the more conservative denominations.
The ever-increasing necessity of working for a wage, es-
pecially since most employment opportunities are in summer time
programs, is another cause. This factor is not, however,
important within the local kirk district because most ad-
herents and all the "elect" who work take a vacation in order
to attend. It does mean that visitors may only be able to
attend on the Sabbath.

179 The custom of visiting has almost disappeared in some
794 churches, including the Church of Scotland in Portree where
794 the fellowship meeting is no longer significant because the
369
574

[18] Rees, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

The man who seeks sensory pleasures and finds enjoyment in 785
mundane recreation is believed to be spiritually un- 779
enlightened. It seems almost an anticlimax to add that
social life is restricted.

Beyond the Highlands and, indeed, within the Highlands 771
in certain prosperous areas, where poverty has not been 883
a factor of such importance that it requires religious 571
sanction, the Church of Scotland has endeavored to find
room within the church for recreational activities, es-
pecially for the youth. As in America, the church feels
a responsibility to the youth which requires a combination
of religion and recreation if the citizens of the community
are to be well-rounded adults. Youth programs and youth
clubs, young adult groups, and social circles for the older
men and women are an essential part of church work. In 794
an organizational sense, the Church of Scotland on Skye 571
has, at the most, a Woman's Guild which meets once a month
to hear a lecture on a topic such as missionary work in
India, and which holds an occasional sale of work to reduce
the church debt or buy the minister an electric tea kettle
to keep in his vestry; and a choir, which meets once a week
for rehearsal. It is, as I have said before, not the over-
all policy of the church which determines the activities
in which the people participate or which they reject. The 888
elders are the prime movers. Were the youth in Kilmuir 561
anyone under thirty, instead of anyone under forty, the 626
control of the aged might not be as strong as it is. In

is a sin but because of the excessive drinking and immorality 785
which might result from a promiscuous gathering. Organized 795
dances are, in general, not objectionable. Nevertheless, in [535]
spite of the attitudes of the people to these secular activities,
the Church of Scotland crofter behaves in much the same way as
his neighbor who adheres to another sect. The elders of the [888]
other sects have an influence over everyone in the neighborhood. [554]
Every man must ask himself, "What will my neighbors say?"

The Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church people 785
condemn any and all social gatherings where songs, stories, 795
or other diversions are admitted. When people visit, they 571
are expected to remain circumspect in behavior. They may 574
discuss their problems and gossip about their neighbors or the
wicked newcomers. They may engage in cooperative or individual
work. They may eat together in the home. They may not engage [769]
in such activities outside the home. Religion on Skye for 785
the majority has centered attention on the home. Let us look 795
at some of the activities which are condemned. There is the 575
Women's Rural Institute, an organized woman's club dedicated
to stimulating home industries in rural areas and providing
educational programs, especially demonstrations and lectures
on domestic arts. One meeting, for example, at Uig, not far
from Kilmuir, was addressed by a school teacher on the subject
of Highland Folklore. He was followed by a knitting contest
and tea. Youth Clubs and Young Farmers Clubs do not exist,
except in Kilmuir where the Young Farmers Club is under the
Crofters' Club, and, of course, in Portree. Village halls
are dens of iniquity. While we were on Skye one was built

at Skeabost. A minister drove by one day and said to the 785
workmen, "Don't you know you're building a house for the Devil?" 795
One of the laborers, a Lowlander, replied, "It's a good thing 575
we have a place to keep him." The Order of the Eastern Star
and the Masons are condemned because, while they are religious,
they are secret orders. Even if the person's religion did not
stand in the way of his becoming a Mason, his distrust of
mystery probably would. As one young fellow said one night in
the bar when being chaffed about the Masons, "I'm not going
to join any secret organization until I know what the secret is."

Included among the objectionable activities by these two 785
churches are the traditional Highland Games, held each year 795
at Portree in August, probably about the time of the old Saint's 541
Fair. The day is a school holiday. Aside from New Years, it
is the big occasion of the year. People come in from all
over the Island. Few of the Skyemen actively take part in [526]
the contests of tossing the caber and throwing the stone, or
in the piping and dancing competitions, but they look forward
to the event. It gives them an opportunity to see their [571]
"friends" and join them in the pub for a dram. Although the [793]
ministers disapprove, they lack the backing of the "elect," so
the games go on each year. I hasten to add that they have
lost much of their appeal in recent years, but I am told that
this is due to the fact that the clique who runs the Skye
Council of Social Service has, in an effort to attract tourists
early in the season, set up Skye Week in May. Included in
the Skye Week program are Highland Games. I might also add

contrast the friendly and homely atmosphere of the English 275
"pub" with the austerity of the public bar on Skye. The same 185
man who went into the "Coach and Four" to play a game of
darts and sing a few songs over his pint of beer goes down
to the local hotel bar on Skye to toss off his dram, follow
it with a pint of beer, and chaff his neighbors. "There is
nothing else to do." Skye exiles in Glasgow, and not only 275
the youngest of them, often complain about the lack of 167
opportunity for social intercourse at home. What they really 571
mean is that "there is nothing else to do" unless they do
not care about the reaction of their "people and friends."
Moreover, they may want to return some day to stay, and,
then, they will have to face the judgment of the old men in
their neighborhood.

Another contrast of the Welsh and the Sgiathanach can 525
be found in their respective attitudes towards gambling.
Traditionally, both enjoyed forms of recreation in which
competition plays a major part, but the Welshman today does
little gambling, implicitly because of his religious outlook.[27]
The Sgiathanach, too, is not an open gambler, but the football
pools find many interested individuals on the Misty Isle.
There was, for example, the deacon in one church who forgot he 526
had a meeting to attend. Much to his dismay, when another 794
member of the kirk stopped by to see why he was late, he was
busy filling out his football coupon. Dissimilarities, of 785
course, are not particularly significant. In both regions

[27] Ibid.

parents and to Sabbath school, nor would they allow children 178
to play games in the home. Today the children of the Church 796
of Scotland people are allowed to go for a walk, read, or 857
play games. Tourists, frequently, if not always, intolerant 484
of the strict Sabbath, have no doubt contributed to this 178
relaxation of taboos. Although a further development of the 796
tourist industry would be advantageous economically, tourists
are a threat not only to the Sabbath but also to the whole
religious complex. They set examples which the youth are
only too ready to emulate. Before the war every hotel on 485
the Island, including all in Portree, and every boarding 796
house posted notices requesting visitors to refrain from
using their cars for touring on the Sabbath. In many of the
guest homes the request was the equivalent of a warning of
removal. Today the signs are gone. Still not content, the
tourist agencies in England and the Lowlands continue to make
snide remarks in their literature, suggesting "a little more
tolerance is needed in certain quarters." The youth and some 178
adults of Portree now have begun to go off for a drive around 796
the island. One reason why the Sabbath is still strong in 484
Kilmuir and Glendale is that tourists are not accepted in
either district.

Strict Sabbath observance distinguishes three broad 796
groups on the Island. Portree is set apart from the crofters 565
by laxity, and the county people are set apart from the 369
crofters by using the day for visiting and having afternoon [571]
teas together. The gentry, of course, are not under the

including almost all with private flocks, the crofters continue 178
to cooperate. The church has been broken by schism, not once 182
but four times. On Skye, however, the schisms have had as 795
their purpose conservatism, not greater leniency as in Hilltown. 182
Moreover, the schisms have been solidifying factors. The
progressively more dynamic world denying sects, after a period
of communal strife, have given the people an emotional unity.
The crofters have become dependent on the trade-center village 182
and the wider national markets. Many must seek employment beyond
the island. The interests of the Sgiathanach are not outside
the neighborhood, except in so far as events from the outside
affect them and, especially, to the extent that ties of kinship
and religious brotherhood reach beyond the local group. We
are hardly talking about the same situation as Homans. As we
continue to explore this condition we may also ask has there
been a decline in the frequency of interaction in the internal
sphere of activity?

The old ceilidh has disappeared under clerical bann, but 182
it has been replaced by "going to have a crack," going to visit 571
and gossip with one's friends and "people." The people may [178]
no longer gather to hear the old men tell stories of clan battles.
They now discuss the latest local gossip and the news of the
outside world. The Islander has never been given to formal [575]
social organizations; they half distrust such orders as the
Masons and Eastern Star. Still there are chapters of both in
Portree. In the crofting neighborhoods face to face relation-
ships continue to preserve strong interpersonal sentiments. The [203]
postman's van and the grocer's trucks have relieved the people

from the necessity of daily calls at the post office and shop, 182
but the drivers serve the function of passing on the news of the 571
day at each stop. 203

Standing in the place of many of the traditional social 182
outlets which have disappeared or been modified, there are the 794
religious occasions for joining together as a small group. We
have found the Sgiathanach to be very religious. Everyone is [796]
expected to go to church on the Sabbath, and everyone goes to
church. Irregular attendance soon becomes noticed by one's
neighbors, the kirk elders, and the minister. Concern over [626]
what one's neighbors may think, in itself a strong motivating
factor, is reinforced by a forbidding fear of what the venerable
old men may do whenever an opportunity presents itself. There
are Wednesday night prayer meetings for further social inter-
course. Above all, there are the semi-annual Communions which, 182
except in Sleat and Strath and one Bracadale sect, bring to- 794
gether the people of the kirk, the members of the same sect from 796
other neighborhoods, and affiliates of the denomination from
the mainland. Even the adherent, the individual who has not
experienced a saving change because he is not old enough, normally
takes his vacation, if he is employed, at the time of the
Communions in order to attend.

The decline in interpersonal religious strife does not 182
mean that strong personal sentiments are not present. No one, 571
other than the eccentric, is indifferent to his neighbors or 203
others with whom he may have dealings. The crofter and his [442]
village cousin may not bother to vote, but they closely watch [666]
and freely discuss their representatives. Gossip has retained

a tremendous strength. There are villagers who dislike the 182
crofters, but few would intentionally slight an old crofter's 571
wife because it might give her something to talk about. I 703
shall elaborate this point shortly when I come to social control.

If there had been a decrease in the frequency of inter- 182
action, the traditional norms and sanctions should have become 554
less common and clear. In particular, social ranking based 565
on leadership in communal activities should have become less [571]
definite. Although anomie, as used by Homans, is an internal
condition, I shall introduce a consideration of cross-group
norms in order to present a clearer picture of the status
system. Despite the extreme fluidity between the county people
and the members of the intermediate social heirarchy in informal
clique groups, such as the bridge club, there has been no
tendency to obscure the lines of cleavage. The class structure,
in terms of the whole community, has remained rigid. The county
people are at the apex of the prestige status and class hierarchy.
They are, of course, members of a group which extends across
the length and breadth of Great Britain. In any neighborhood
where there is a member of the landed gentry resident, he is
always looked to for leadership. In Glendale, a privately owned
neighborhood, a nearby landlord is their political spokesman.
In Portree the gentry have done more than uphold social ranking
based on leadership; they have created and introduced new
activities in which they express their role. These are the
Skye Council of Social Service, the village council, and the
Old People's Welfare Committee. They may be aided by others,
but their decisions are the orders to be followed. The gentry

aintain their position by intermarriage, by educating their 182
hildren in England, and by interacting with people of similar 571 554
tatus within the community and beyond. 565

The crofters continue to stand at the opposite pole. They
eldom achieve status within their neighborhood. Upward mobility
s possible only through outward mobility. Leadership fails
o find expression among them in the township or the neighbor-
ood. The rare exception is the crofter's son who becomes a [795]
inister and returns to lead his people spiritually. When the [794]
rofters must select a leader, from their own number, the
tatus is accorded to an elder of the church. The elder [794]
lready has high status because of his advanced age and his
osition in the kirk. As I have said, the continued operation
f primitive democracy means a minimum of authority and a
aximum of equality.

The intermediate group in the social hierarchy cannot be 182
rofitably used in this discussion. They are primarily newcomers, 554 565
eople from the Lowlands or England, who have joined with the 167
elatively few Skyemen who have left the croft. Sufficient time
as not elapsed for a class oriented structure to emerge. Then,
oo, they are not a numerous group. Still, status is important
n the village. As in the crofting neighborhood, ministers,
octors, and teachers achieve high status through their occupation.
or the remainder of the population of Portree, status depends
ore on personal qualities and outside activities, especially
n the kirk, than on the way one may make his living.

While we are on the topic of status and ranking, let us 121 554

religious groups." As a result of urbanization almost all 171
rural areas have experienced the pangs of social mobility and 182 771
few have escaped unscathed from a clash with the economic 786
forces which impinge from the outside. This predisposes the 781
people to the appeal of an emotional religion, revivalism.
Frequently, the sect becomes uncompromising and rejects the
outside world in an attempt to bolster group security. The
sequence of events on Skye enables me to add that the sect
can also reject a great deal of the former content of the
culture. Be that as it may, the authors show how emotional [571]
religious movements restore or replace meaningful patterns
of interaction among groups whose social systems have deteri-
orated. Revivalism is a counter agent for anomie.

The first period of social and cultural disequilibrium 175
which the Sgiathanach experienced may be placed in the first 178 771
half of the nineteenth century, with a climax around 1840. 786
To paraphrase Loomis and Beegle, it was no mere coincidence 182
that an emotional religious movement should have appeared and
found so many converts. The closing years of the eighteenth
century had witnessed numerous changes in the content of the
culture and the collapse of the old social heirarchy. While
these events doubtlessly had an influence on all levels of
the society, it was not until the turn of the century that
they broke forth upon the masses. Within a decade a revival
had reached effective proportions. This was a time of estate
reorganization. The tacksmen, the traditional leaders, were
quickly disappearing. The runrig farm was being abolished.
Sheep were beginning to replace men in one parish (Bracadale).

ver signs there were of social or cultural dis- 175
n, or threatened disintegration, in the nineteenth 178
y have disappeared. Steward's theory that folk 182
o not entirely disappear but are rather modified 771
readaptation to the higher level of socio-cultural 786
n of which they become a part is borne out by the 121
om the Isle of Skye.[17] At the same time, on the
ents in the culture history of the Sgiathanach,
lify his theory by introducing a new condition.
elatively simple, kinship oriented societies and
ich must achieve a reintegration if they are to
eir continuity readapt, not only to the higher
ral level, but also to the older way of life.
nclusion, I regard Skye as a community which has 178
a continuity of culture despite marked population 182
e continued distinctiveness has been made possible [161] [571]
gration of the culture and a restoration of the
relationships which make for harmonious living
As in any socio-cultural group which has passed
iods of threatened disintegration, the joints of
be weak. Conflicts are tending to appear. The
o has refused to fully adapt to commercialism,
ly faced with a variety and succession of tasks
ricultural in the wider society would tolerate.
s desire of the youth, who are too few in numbers
odality, for a share in the mundane pleasures of

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ward, Area Research, p. 111; see also Wagley and
cit., p. 441.

572

572 FRIENDSHIPS--conceptualization of friendship; informal friendships and their development; formal friendships (e.g., best friends, guest friendship); reciprocal obligations of friends; etc. See also:

Economic partnerships 472
Economic cooperation 476
Blood brotherhood and other artificial kin relationships 608
Relationships with nonrelatives 609

A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a 102
621 common practice, when she was young, for children from
571 large families to live for as long as six weeks with
476 other families who were relatively better off. They would help harvest the hay or the potatoes or bring in the peat in return for food, lodging and perhaps some clothing. "They usually ate better than they did at home." The children were not necessarily relatives of the families with whom they boarded.

621 Strong friendship, that is, the kind of friendship
572 associated with mobile urban life in which persons confide in each other and share secrets and build up an individual relationship based on extensive knowledge
[602] of one another, was nonexistent. A "friend" was a relative, or someone who gave aid when it was needed.

621 Today it is sometimes said, "It used to be that
178 your relatives were your best friends; now your best
572 friends are better than your relatives." An old man
181 will meet another on the road and say, "I used to see
[602] more of you when you needed me." Neighbors used to
[231] share sheep that were killed; now households kill and
[251] consume their own sheep, and freeze the meat which they cannot use immediately. Groups that walked out togethe
[464] to the peat to finish the job in a single day are being replaced by individual family units that can motor out
000 and do the job in stages. People prefer to give money

of farm management under a resident manager, preferably not a Skyeman. The attitude of the former faction was aptly expressed by one person who was about to leave Skye: "We need the Department. If they withdrew, we wouldn't have anybody to go to for anything." This is in striking contrast to the Irish small farmer for whom land ownership is an all important factor in regulating social interaction and status.[24] On Skye land ownership has not led to any change in the traditional status values. A Glendale crofter is not a better man because he owns land.

Prestige Ranking within the Neighborhood. In so far as prestige ranking is concerned, status is more developed within the neighborhood than within the township. In addition to the crofters and their families, there are always several individuals who are given status because of their performance of the necessary functions of ministering to the peoples' spiritual and physical needs and educating the children. These are the only achieved statuses which are valued by the crofters. Noteworthy enough, only the minister of Glendale serves his own "people and friends."

The minister's status depends to some degree on his denomination and the religious sympathies of the people. In Glendale the minister enjoys the highest possible status. In Kilmuir, with two ministers, each is valued by his own congregation with whom he interacts. Nevertheless, all ministers are treated with respect. They are always addressed as the Reverend Mister MacDonald or Mister MacDonald. It is interesting to note that

[24] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 72-100; Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 98-144.

share similar social attitudes and a distinctive way of life.[27] The investigator can understand the society with greater ease once he can equate the differing cultural expressions with the sense of status.

Ascribed status continues to be important in Portree, at least in stratifying the old Skye families. On the fringes of the village there are a few part-time crofters or tradesmen who keep some stock and grow a little grain and few potatoes. These men and their families as well as the crofters from the hinterland find their place in the village society through clique groups, in particular those based upon kinship and "friendship." Several of the county families reside in the village and, with the landed gentry who continue to live on their estates, take an active part in village life.

Between the two poles there is a large intermediate group. Their occupations range from the professions, including doctors, ministers, teachers, and lawyers; through employees of the national and county gouvernments, including estate factors, policemen, office managers, and clerks; to shopkeepers, tradesmen, truck drivers, and laborers. Elsewhere in Great Britain these people would fall into the middle and working classes.[28] On Skye such stratification is unimportant. If we cannot use the British scheme, we certainly cannot employ the American system developed by Warner.[29]

[27] Cf. MacIver, op. cit., pp. 166-167.

[28] Cf. Lewis and Maude, The English Middle Classes.

[29] W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); and The Status System of Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

162 his occupation matters very little. Unlike the Welsh,[35]
554 the Sgiathanach does not particularly look up to the man
463 who prospers. Indeed, the people are more than likely to
183 [556] attribute his success to dishonesty or find fault with his character. I shall have more to say about this when we consider the topic of gossip.

463 At the same time, occupation is a factor in the
• 573 formation of cliques. The school teachers form one clique which has tended to become more and more exclusive in recent years. The shop keepers also have their small clique. Once a year they have a dance at the Royal Hotel. Within both social circles there are, of course, special groups
[561] of friends who associate regularly. Age grades provide another basis for clique formation. Clerks, shop assistants, and employees of the government are divided on this basis. Since it is government and, apparently, business and banking house policy to use theremote rural areas for a training ground and to make promotions, most of the newcomers and local residents who work for these agencies are young men.

[621] Neither occupation nor age-grades are exclusive factors in determining the social structure of Portree as they are for the crofters. If they were, I could not support the assertion that there is fluidity among the village population.
575 There are several clubs and fraternal organizations, such as a drama society, the Women's Rural Institute, An Comun

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[35] Rees, op. cit., p. 127.

565 landed gentry. The people take relatively little part in any
554 of the activities. Most of the crofters with whom I spoke
747 had only the vaguest idea of the work or the achievements of the council, beyond the fact that the council had instituted Skye Week to attract tourists.

The Old People's Welfare Committee was established in the winter of 1953. It provides us with an excellent oppor-
[573] tunity to see how things are accomplished on Skye. For several months the clique which is responsible for the Skye Council of Social Service had been thinking that Skye needed some such agency to look after the old people. At length it was decided a public meeting should be held to give the people an opportunity to decide whether or not the need was acute. Each of the county people explained the need, aided by two social workers from Edinburgh. Then, with the assistance of a local minister, the doctor, and the officer from the Department of Agriculture, who aided in establishing the Skye Council, the people were gently led around to their position. A committee of investigation was organized to inquire into the matter in more detail. About a month later a second public meeting was held for the purpose of establishing a permanent Old People's Welfare Committee. Like the initial meeting, it was proceeded by a small conference among the gentry. The decision was that Skye should have a central committee and fourteen local committees. This was unanimously accepted. Now came the problem of who would serve. The first selections were obvious; in each local area the minister, doctor, and district nurse were "elected." When it came to the question

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 Esio Highland Scots Esio
Skye

second cousin. The striking thing to realize here is that 593
nearest surviving relative always knows his obligation and 144 [602]
eady to fulfill it, without question. Fatherless children [603]
buried by either their paternal or maternal uncle. I have
forgotten the existence of women. The simple fact is, [562]
n play no part as mourners. Indeed, the rare woman who goes
the grave becomes the subject of lasting gossip.

Fundamentally, the system of kinship is patrilineal. 611
guistically, the terms for relatives may be bilateral, and [601]
eritance of possessions other than the name may be matters [428]
small importance, but the patrilineal emphasis remains.
Sgiathanach lives in a man's world. I shall explore this [128]
e dominance further in the following chapter. At present,
ant to briefly discuss two additional cliques.

igious and Age-Grade Cliques. Like the members of any 573
iety, the Sgiathanach associates most frequently with those
share his interests and attitudes. It is natural, then,
his associates, other than his kinsmen, to be people who
and his church and people of his own age group. We need
explore the nature of these cliques at this time; but
should have some understanding of their function. The 794
igious clique is primarily a mutual aid group. There is 573 [476]
son to believe that this particular group has lost much [178]
its importance of late, with the coming of the welfare
te. Many feel that the government pays people to look
er the aged and infirm. As far as doing a favor for someone
concerned, few of the same kirk, other than close friends,

offer help without an expe
anonymous donations of foo
none of their number becom
this religious clique merg
friends." Kilmuir has two

We have had ample op
of Skye's society and in t
closer look at the functio
that of the old men. One
of the social structure, i
for children and adolescen
impossible, to come togeth
example, there are only fi
of ten square miles. A yo
total population 60 percen
the important age grade c
ligious social circle. Th
Glendale. There the age-g
twined with the kirk congr

Status Equality within the
status equality which we f
township carries over to t
expected, there is often a
group. Let us look at the
to cast light on the metho
a leader and the means of
Kilmuir has a Crofters' Cl

ctation of payment. Nevertheless, 791
l and casual visits make sure that 573
es absolutely destitute. In Glendale
es with the person's "people and
religious cliques.

portunity to examine the age-grades 561
he next chapter we shall have a
ns of the age-grades, especially
of the most important weaknesses 857
n my mind, is the lack of age mates 883
ts. They find it difficult, almost 561
er as a sodality. In Kilmuir, for
fteen boys under twenty in an area
uth is anyone under forty. Of the [162]
t are over fifty. For this reason 561
lique tends to merge with the re- 794
e situation is much the same in
rate and kinship groups are inter-
egation.

Neighborhood. The fundamental 621
cund for the crofters within the 554 571
he neighborhood, but, as would be
need for leadership in this larger
two neighborhoods which I know best
ds employed in the self-election of
expressing leadership as a role.
ub, which was originally formed by 573

a former school teacher. The present sponsor and chairman 573
is his successor. The teacher is automatically rated socially 875
because of his important function, educating the children of a 554
people who value education, and his university background.
Further, he is from the Outer Isles and, therefore, is not
expected to conform to all the traditional norms. Were he a
Sgiathanach he probably would not accept the office for it
would conflict with older and far deeper values.

The Glendale club farm is administered by a committee 573
of five, a secretary, and a chairman. Here all are crofters 241 554
from the several townships. All, therefore, are equals. Who, 794
then, might they have for a chairman? They have selected an elder
of the church. A church elder is the highest lay official in
church government and, on Skye, one of the oldest men in the
neighborhood. As one man asked, "If you can't respect an elder,
who can you respect?"

Selecting members for the committee and electing a secretary 573
is a real problem. Each man serves for three years. How the 241 554
original committee was formed I do not know, but I had an
opportunity to see how vacancies are filled. In 1953 there were
three vacant posts. Parliamentary procedure has been introduced,
but it finds limited expression. For two of the seats, the
retiring members were "re-elected;" a crofter nominated them
and after a long pause another man seconded the nomination. No
vote is taken; silence means unanimous consent. A story slightly
off the point illustrates this. At the same meeting the committee's
stock report was read. Following parliamentary procedure, it

55 Lies are frequently told. "Every other sentence my
61 father says is a lie. If you believe half of what he
77 says, you're a fool. If you believe a quarter of what
93 he says, you're getting near the truth. If you believe
an eighth of what he says, it's probably the wrong eighth."

56 Villagers engage with each other in constant, quiet
21 game-playing. They are dependent on each other for many
things, but try to minimize the control that others have
over them while improving their own positions. If someone
brings plants or shrubs as a gift, the response is likely
to be, "She was probably pruning her garden and needed to
get rid of the leftover garbage." Such negativism releases
the person from feeling obligated. (See Emmett 1964:
16-17, for a description of a similar situation in Wales.)
A man who is asked about his new tractor replies, "Its
faults will come out later." If he were to say it was
all right and then it broke down, he would have lost points.
In discussing the mental health of a villager recently
returned from Craig Dunain (a mental hospital near Inverness)
someone observed, "He's better than the doctor who let him
out." If another breakdown were to occur soon, someone
would be sure to comment, "And so-and-so said he looked
all right."

56 Such training allows little room for the development
72 of close friendships in which the individuals involved are

156 sympathetic with each others' idiosyncrasies. A constant
572 joking keeps people at arm's length and discourages the
[522] development of empathy.

156 Accompanying this style of indirect, inhibited
154 expressiveness and the low level of stimulation are culturally prescribed opportunities for relatively uninhibited expressiveness. Such opportunities include the ceilidh ("visit"), the drinking situation (mainly for men), the role of clown or "character," and holidays
[166] such as New Year's. Although young villagers and
[484] emigrants often describe the village as "dull" and "dead,"
[181] the emigrants are happy enough to return to the island for short periods of time, during which they participate in those situations in which expressiveness and limited license are accepted.

156 3. Ceilidh, Clown, and New Year's Festivities: Only
154 on certain occasions is relatively spontaneous and unin-
574 hibited expressiveness condoned or encouraged within the township, and even then the form which this expressiveness takes is fairly narrowly circumscribed. The traditional
[178] ceilidh was such an occasion. In the past, people gathered
[517] regularly at night in the tigh ceilidh (the ceilidh house,
[538] or home of someone in which a genial atmosphere existed;
[533] the tigh ceilidh was often the home of someone who lived alone), where stories were endlessly repeated and elaborated,

havior which have given the individual and the culture their 781
ility to continue in spite of social instability and acute 182
onomic hardship. In many respects, the Skyemen's religion is
rikingly similar to that of the Welshmen.[23]

The status of the father within the nuclear family has 182
en maintained, despite changing economic roles which might 771
ve led to a loss of prestige, by his religious sanction. [549]
e aged men of the community, in particular the elders, the [888]
ected lay kirk officers, have been able to continue to exer-
se stringent control over their families and neighbors. In [567]
negative way, the socially inferior status of the women has
en maintained by debarring them from active roles in the
urch. In religious activity the people find meaningful
tterns of interaction. The small congregations, rarely over
0 people, give the Skyemen a sense of belonging. In the [593]
me the practice of daily worship intensifies family inter-
tion. Above all, at the semi-annual communion celebrations, 182
ghly emotional meetings which partake much of revivalism, 771
e people find solidarity. As each church in turn celebrates 781 [572]
e Lord's Supper, the people from the neighboring churches
the same sect come to share one to five days of worshipping
gether and renewing their ties of friendship. At the daily
urch services the people meet and hear visiting ministers
their sect and the eminent Men, members of the elect, from
her parts of the island. The identical pattern is found in
les where the intense patterns of interaction center around
e singing festivals.[24]

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[23] Rees, op. cit., pp. 114-130.

[24] Ibid., pp. 129-130.

573

573 CLIQUES--groups of intimate friends; basis of association; organization and leadership; attitude toward outsiders; clique activities; special types of cliques (e.g., gangs); etc. See also:

Leadership traits 187
Age-grades 561
Integration of cliques with class structure . . . 565
Neighborliness 621
Children's cliques and gangs 857
Adolescent gangs 883

had to be accepted. Not a word was heard. At length one crofter simply said, "No one has anything to say, so I guess we all are agreed." One of the former members of the committee could not be re-elected; he had passed away. This was a thorny matter. A series of men were proposed, and each in turn declined. Finally, a man was nominated and seconded before he had a chance to deny himself the honor. Election, of course, was automatic.

The committee administers the farm, handles stocking, employs the necessary shepherds, sells the stock, and rents the hunting lodge. They do so, however, within the now traditional framework. They have neither been granted nor assumed a role of independent action. They do not reach independent decisions. They rather weigh and put into operation decisions made by the Department of Agriculture. As we shall see, even the elder, despite his high prestige status, has power to enforce social conformity rather than the authority to direct or lead men.

It is significant that while the share-holding crofters own the farm and their crofts, they have not achieved independence from outside control. Many of the Glendale crofters frankly admit they are afraid of independence. As in any township or neighborhood there are two opposing groups. "There always is someone who tries to sabotage the whole thing," said one man. One group has favored the guidance of the officers of the Department. The other group resents the interference of the government in their affairs. At the same time, however, they do not want to be cast off on their own. They want some form

the approaching evening and many nights to come. 794 796 [573]

Saturday is a day of preparation. After a morning vice, those who have been examined by the elders and ad- ted to church membership, and the visitors who satisfy the ers of the kirk that they are worthy to receive Communion, ive tokens which will admit them to the Lord's Table on following day.

On the Sabbath the service is oriented around an "Action mon." The minister speaks of the sufferings and blessings Christ. At the conclusion of the sermon, the Lord's Table "fenced." Once all the Highland churches gave communion a table with a rail around it. Now there is only one kirk Skye with the fenced table, the old parish church in cadale. Today the first few pews are used. The minister 794 ws a sharp distinction between those who are entitled to 796 at the "table" and those who do not have the right to 573 take of Christ's body and drink of His blood. The former reminded of the dangers which neglecting to come forward olves. The latter are warned of their promised damnation a consequence of partaking unworthily. Since only the [888] men and women are worthy of the sacrament, the minister's [626] ortions and denouncements function to sanction the prestige [182] the old people before the congregation and the wider com- ity. After reading from the Bible, offering a prayer, and 794 ressing the communicants on their humble position, the bread 796 wine is distributed.

The Communion is concluded on Monday morning with a

574

574 VISITING AND HOSPITALITY--extent and occasions of visiting; social relationships characterized by reciprocal visiting; reception and entertainment of visitors; informal and formal hospitality; offering of food and drink; feasts and parties; etc. See also:

Drinking	27	Travel	484
Recreation	52	Banquet speeches	544
Eating	264	Wedding feasts	585
Gift giving	431	Mortuary feasts	765

173 "Then the tweeds got
243 going and the barley took too much
257 no use for the mill."
829

173 A 60-year-old woman remembers,
262 potato and fished a lot. I was rai
bannocks, and salt herring. There
school canteens when I was young;
[264] own 'piece' to school. We had porr
for breakfast, oatcakes and butter
at 4:00, of potatoes and fish and m
once a week. My father poached a l
[261] and the roe of the salmon fresh, an
Once among the cleanest, Hebridean
164 British cities in extent of decay.
759 a child in his first year of school
pulled by the travelling dentist.

261 Various customs associated wit
272 reflect the days when fare was meag
[171] omnipresent in Britain, but in the
272 special significance. The taking o
574 the denouement of a visit, and almo
[576] someone steps over someone else's t
tea has some of the connotations of
take only tea, without food, is to
(empty cup).

trouble; so they had

"They depended on the
sed on oatcakes, barley
were no vans and no
you had to carry your
idge with fresh milk
for lunch. Dinner was
ilk. We had meat maybe
ot. We ate the heads
d salted the rest."
teeth now vie with
It is not uncommon for
to have six teeth

h food which exist today
er. Tea-drinking is
islands it has
f tea constitutes
st always occurs when
hreshold. To refuse
an insult; and to
have a copan falamh

264 The only occasions on which it is customary to feed
•574 someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as peat-
576 cutting. On such occasions the preparation of meals is
[461] done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual scrutiny,
[476] and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, the
requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled by
giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but
which were much more abundant when the land was cultivated
[262] and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcakes,
264 clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foods
57 are usually offered to visitors along with tea, and in the
574 past this custom served to minimize the economic disparities
between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A similar
[737] function was served by the practice of giving part of
[431] each catch of fish to old widows and other villagers in
need of aid. Even though food is more abundant and diverse
today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during a
visit is still very important.

173 A 50-year-old man who "married into" a croft recalls,
[581] "I came from a family of ten children. Everyone had to
[428] leave, or marry a girl with a croft. Only the eldest son
could inherit the croft." There was little room for
423 romanticism in the fight for scarce land among the sons
581 of large crofter and non-crofter families. "The most

597 child may come to spend nights or longer periods of time
62 with them.

476 To some extent villagers are still dependent on
621 each other for various kinds of help. It is considered
[576] extremely bad manners to refuse labor, a tool, or food
to anyone who requests them. If someone refuses to aid
another, people say, "What will he do when he needs
[443] help?" This attitude has made the island a paradise
for the few salesmen who, in the last few prosperous
years, have started to visit its communities; villagers
find it difficult to say no to anyone who comes to their
door with a request, including the request that they
buy something.

621 A woman in childbirth was formerly attended by a
•574 local midwife, and kept in bed for two or three weeks.
844 "Other women, both relatives and friends, came and staye
with them at night, fixing them warm tea and milk,
whispering bhronag bochd (poor soul), how awful you look
just as today the neighbors gather at times of illness
and death. It is more difficult for neighbors to come
[178] to the bedsides of young mothers of today, who are all
[743] taken to the hospital in Stornoway to have their babies;
but the neighbors manage to visit the hospital, which ha
no choice but to ignore its rule of only two visitors
per bed at a time.

1: Parman

797
573
575

[For information on the curamach (the "clique of the converted

"), see category 794.]

same as in the crofting areas. When a young girl presented 794
herself for instruction in the significance and meaning of 796
church membership, preparatory to her acceptance of Communion, 369 626
she refused to take the final step not because of any personal religious problem, but rather because such a step would upset her normal associations. What her Free Church and Free Presbyterian friends would say was her main concern. Who was she to become an "elect" member? Here, then, is the answer to how the elders of the other sects are able to control behavior of the larger group, through the fear of gossip as a negative social sanction and, perhaps, rejection.

The semi-annual Communion celebrations are rites of 794
intensification par excellence. Although some churches 796
celebrate only one commemoration of the sacrament, and it may be as early as February or as late as November, the months from late April until early September, are commonly referred to as the "Communion Season." The activities of the people during this period cast additional light on the influence of religion in ordering social relationships. While [573] [571]
clique membership based on sectarian affiliation is a secondary factor in determining the patterns of interaction in the extended family in the local group, it is very important in determining one's wider relationships, the relationships between the neighborhoods and between the Sgiathanach and the mainland Highlander.

Within living memory thousands used to come to the 178
Communion celebrations from all parts of Skye and many nearby 794 796

People prefer to give money in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat-cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendships are still weak, relative to friendships in urban settings. Most information which is shared between individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip. Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutual aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to confide and keep secrets.

Today many of the younger villagers do not know their relatives to the extent that their elders did. In one family, a girl who was about to get married had to ask her brother, who was the only one of the siblings interested in kinship connections, whom to invite to the wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in transportation and income, more islanders are taking brief trips away from the island. During these trips, they almost always stay with relatives.

It is frequently said that children are now "cheekier," less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, and that they prefer to watch television or read books by themselves to playing with each other.

527 Whereas at other times of the year there are specific
273 times which are considered appropriate for visiting,
• 574 especially if the visit includes a bottle, at New Year's
visitors may appear in the middle of the night or at
any time during the day. Some men may stay up for four
[513] nights in a row, going back home for a few hours of sleep
522 or a bite to eat before setting off again. Various pranks
527 are played. Men climb through the windows of darkened
574 houses, or wake up sleepers by making animal sounds. One
man went around the village showing a pig's foot to women
as though it were a penis.

527 But whether lasting for one night or for five,
festivities end with the arrival of Sunday; and the usual
comment is, "Thank God it's Sunday."

166 The "exiles" prefer to return at such times as New
221 Year's, or during the summer months when the beaches are
484 inviting and the gales absent. They remember the
[529] "characters" and other features of village life which
give it color, often forgetting the drab background out
of which the color was forged. Some villagers whose
siblings have married and left the island continue to live
alone in the house mainly to keep the house in order for
their return. "I wouldn't close the house on them. They
come back every summer." A man thinking of emigrating

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10

621 character traits just by virtue of his belonging to a
156 particular family; he is protected from the "out"
[527] world even though he may have broken its rules. The
• 574 village provides a colorful arena of recreation in the
form of ceilidh, the character, and holidays such as
New Year's.

781 A major system of order and meaning is provided by
794 religion, and by the opportunity to belong to a tightly-
[181] knit religious clique. Lewis is sometimes called Tir an
t-soisgeul, Land of the Scriptures, in contrast with
571 the decadent outer world. The male drinking fraternity
273 constitutes a second important group. And for everyone
[521] there is the cinema of their neighbors' activities,
which are placed in a vast human calendar that includes
the behavior of many generations.

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10

794 called on an awful lot to give prayers in church, and it's
781 hard for some of them to get up and speak." The Reverend
829 Macleod notes in his diary that private meetings were
[175] initiated on the island in 1826.

A quarterly meeting (coinne raith) is held in Stornoway,
[196] to which many of the converted from the villages go. The
Communions are held twice a year. "Special services," or
"small communions," held soon after the Communions, are
intended as evangelical services for young people, that is,
services enjoining people to convert. These services,
which last from Monday through Friday, were started in
Ness after the first world war.

796 4. The Communions (Orduighean): Communions are given
794 twice a year, during autumn and late winter. They are
scheduled for different weeks in different parts of the
island, and neighboring congregations close their churches
when Communions are being held nearby, so that during the
Communion season some persons may attend a number of
services at different churches.

In the days when transportation was limited, visitors
796 coming from a distance away stayed for an entire weekend.
• 574 All households prepared food and made ready for any over-
794 night visitors who might arrive without prior warning.
178 Guests often slept on mattresses laid on the floor. After
484 facilities of transportation improved, it became common
for people to drive down for the day in private cars and
return to their own homes at night.

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10

000 return to their own homes at night. There is now less
796 need for the generalized hospitality of the past, which
794 was given to anyone who came to the door looking for food
829 and shelter. Through these visits some families in
571 different villages have, however, established relation-
• 574 ships which are kept up by exchanging hospitality at
times of Communion and also in other ways. A family in
[262] Ness may send to a friendly family in Shawbost some guga,
[251] gealings of solan geese which are captured by Nessmen
on the island of Rona once a year and are salted to make
a delicacy that is in great demand. Through such contacts
a family wanting to purchase a cow may receive word of one
that is being offered for sale in the village of a
Communion contact.

796 Services of Communion last five days. All services
except that held on Sunday evening are intended for the
communicants or full members of the church, also called
[535] "the believers" and "good livers." During this time, no
[485] dances are held in Shawbost, and in Carloway the hotel is
closed.

796 On Communion Sunday, the upper balcony of the church
794 is filled with villagers watching to see if any of the
829 recently converted have decided and have been allowed to
take Communion. Because the villagers watch very closely
the behavior of everyone else within the village, any change

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10

THE PEOPLE

SOCIAL LIFE

571 In common with other aspects of island life, the social side has
198 undergone considerable change. The world has been brought
nearer the crofter's home by radio, television and film screen,
reducing the social need for meeting with neighbours and friends
• 574 for the ceilidh. The ceilidh was once the principal means of re-
198 creation and instruction. There is no precise English equivalent
for it, and it may be loosely described as an 'at home' to which all
are welcome. It may be held in any house; in the past, the
favourite resort was a home where the head (*fear an tigh*—man
of the house) was an intelligent, communicative man; and if he
had a number of eligible daughters so much the better. Ceilidhean
were held after nightfall. Old tales were told, and songs sung, and
public questions of the day were discussed. All women attending
took with them an ample amount of work, sewing or knitting, to
see them through the evening. Ceilidhean nowadays tend to be
[545] more organised, taking the form of popular 'concerts' which did
not take root in the island until the turn of the century, though
they were a common way of entertainment on the mainland at
the time. Social life in the past was thus very intense, and was a
natural evolution from the basic desire to forget the day's work
and to have some pleasure of a kind.

546 The pattern of recreation facilities has since become fairly
varied. Films came early to Lewis, or rather Stornoway; the first
Picture House was located in Keith Street, and presented both
[536] films and stage turns. A new Playhouse was opened in 1934 with
The Good Companions and *Falling for You*, starring Jack Hul-
bert and Cicely Courtnedge. Films in the rural districts were a
rarity, however, until in 1946 the Highlands & Islands Film
Guild came into existence to bring the magic of the screen to
[207] scattered communities. This body ran several mobile cinema out-
fits in the deep crofting areas, until the advent of television in
the region killed it off in 1971. While it existed, however, the
Guild provided an essential service to remote communities and
brought not only the world to their doorstep but ensured that
they felt part and parcel of a much larger scheme of things.

207 The first television service in Lewis began in 1959, 'piped' by

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

788 Clanranald "[1] and echo in the opening benediction of
226 Alexander Macdonald's "*Birlinn* of Clanranald", without which his 'Galley', for all the glory of its strife with storm, would never have won its place in the heart of the seafaring Gael.

788 As for journeys over sea, so for those over land, "Traversing corries, traversing forests, traversing valleys, long
484 and wild . . .", the traveller or pilgrim, the drover or emigrant, leaving home and his friends, would have their prayers. They would accompany him on the first steps of his way with cheer and laughter or with tears, as those have told me who remembered my grandfather's leaving
[539] his home in Strath Spey more than a century ago. These journey-blessings were spoken by the traveller: "Life be in my speech, sense in what I say . . .", or by those to whom he was dear. (*Carmina*, No. 116; *Guidheachan Turais*, Nos. 266-276.) In these prayers, bodily travel and spiritual quest are sustained on the mountain-track by the strength of home-ties and fellowship, and by the hospitality of Christians on the path ahead.

788 When family and neighbour-team were closely knit,
• 574 their own harmony drew the stranger in. "The Rune of Hospitality", threaded together from old fragments by the Rev. Kenneth MacLeod, breaks out into the refrain of the lark as she sings to the listening heart of the host:
[539] "Many, a many, a many a time, Comes the Christ in the stranger's guise!"[2] Hospitality is truest when its sacrifice—so real in a land of poverty—is given as a duty but with a smile!

[1] *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, pp. ix-x.
[2] "*Gur minig, a minig, a minig . . .!*" "*Duan na h-aoigheachd*". (*An Gaidheal*, Dec. 1942.)

574 his own family of procreation or ceases to be an integral
554 member of the social units. Many features of these relationships will persist throughout his life.

844 The Sgiathanach treats the event of birth as something in which man is only the agent of a higher power. This fact was brought home to me one night during a discussion of the declining size of families. The question of subsidies to encourage larger families was broached. Although all take advantage of government grants for their stock and care of the land, this form of subsidy was unanimously rejected. As one man said, this would place man in the unthinkable position of a creator. Only the essential arrangements for the care of the mother and her expected child are made before birth. There are no "showers." "Showers," said one woman, "how can you tell if the child will be a boy or girl, or even live?" Today most women go to the maternity hospital at Uig for the delivery, but a few prefer to remain at home under the care of their mothers. To expect that the father's mother would take charge, even under the clan system, would be carrying the
846 patriarchial emphasis too far. Within a few days, the obligations of the parents, their relations, and the people of the township become apparent. One by one the individuals and couples make their way to the cottage to welcome the child. This individual visiting is a modified survival of the old custom of "kirking," a group offering of thanks, at the church, for a safe mother and a healthy child, followed by a dance
• [57] and feast at home. The parents are obliged to provide a
[273] dram of whiskey so that all the visitors can toast the child.

192 requirements of adulthood, and also old age, are still boys
561 and girls.

554 Status Equality within the Township. The ascription of status on the basis of age and sex has resulted in a straightforward
[562] system of status. The facts are simple. Men are the social
[561] superiors of women. Youth are socially inferior to their seniors. Men, or women, of a common age category are equals. We shall now examine a few interpersonal relationships to see how the
[264] system operates. Unless a man and his wife are eating alone, women never eat with men. They wait until the men have finished
576 before taking their meal. When neighbors come to visit, the
542 man of the house does not rise for a woman. He does rise for
• 574 a man and shakes him by the hand. The woman of the house, on the other hand, rises for both men and women. Furthermore, when a couple comes to call, the woman greets the man first. Only after he has been offered a chair does she greet the
[858] woman. Young people are seen but seldom heard. They do not
[882] speak unless addressed.

626 All societies allow some deviation from traditional
178 norms of expected behavior. On Skye, as elsewhere, excessive deviation is censured. Neither increased opportunities for education nor the steady flow of Skye men and women to the four corners of the earth, accompanied by the slow returning trickle, have disturbed these fundamental values. Like the youth who leaves home to achieve upward mobility through outward mobility, the man who returns must conform to the traditional norms, which he learned as a child, or be regarded

605 spouses not too long ago.[23] Perhaps, more than any other
592 factor, it is the tendency of the aged parents to hold on
477 to the croft until they die that is struggling the kinship
573 system. Still the extended family is a strong mutual aid
602 group. Anyone with a recognized degree of kinship is
576 entitled to hospitality. When the exiles return to visit
602 the Misty Isle, they always try to make the rounds of their
• 574 kinsmen. This is more than a question of not becoming an economic burden on a favorite aunt; they do not want to be guilty of slighting anyone. There is reciprocity here.
[265] In return for food and shelter, the visitor freely gives his kinsman all the news he has gathered about the activities of their distant kin. He acts like a roving reporter, cementing the solidarity of an otherwise fragmented group.

602 The expression given to the degree of consanguinity and
764 affinity is revealed most completely at a funeral. As one of the two occasions on which the extended family comes together, the other being a wedding, it reveals a host of significant traits. The first thing I noticed was that although the inavailability of land and the illegality of subdivision enforces neo-local post marital residence, burial is ideally patrilocal. On more than one occasion the steamer came in at night with a body which had been shipped home from Glasgow or
602 Edinburgh for interment in the deceased's neighborhood. This
573 also means that the husband and wife remain integral members of their respective families. The founding of a family of

[23] Norman MacLeod, Reminiscences of a Highland Parish, p. 196

blitz of London he was talking with a crofter's wife, and they 799
got to discussing Hitler. "What a terrible man he is," she 829
said, "Why he's worse than...worse than...almost as bad as the 798
Pope." In another township there is a Church of Scotland 795
missionary, a lay preacher. His religious sectarianism does 797
not prevent his interacting with the Free Presbyterians, who are in the majority. Not infrequently, he visits his neighbors and when they need help on the croft he is prepared to lend a hand. When he pays a call, he establishes the tempo of interaction at mealtime or tea time by saying grace and returning the thanks. This is part of the hospitality 574 •
of the Sgiathanach. The visitor is always asked to say 782
grace.

What is true of the township on Skye, is also partly 621
true of the neighborhood. Here the members and adherents of 794
the same church do get to know one another better because of a common faith, or their particular interpretation of a faith common to all. They see each other with greater regularity. Then, too, since the congregations are small, they feel they belong. At the same time, the patterns of interaction are not exclusive, except in Glendale. The religious cliques are [476]
mutual aid groups, doing what they can for the infirm and [745]
destitute; they are not opposing factions. Nor does religious homogeniety mean the absence of factions. Glendale has its independents who are set against the disciples of the Department of Agriculture. Anyone who knows Wales may be struck by this 79
difference, for in Wales the people are attached to a particular 17

574 584 on troubled waters," or bringing the two families together.[2]

585 The most important of the ceremonies surrounding marriage was not the church service (posadh) but the wedding dinner and dance following the church service (banais, from bean meaning "woman" or "wife," and feis meaning "feast").

"House weddings," as they were called, were held in the home of the bride. For several weeks beforehand, [431] neighbors and relatives brought gifts to the bride's house, where they were displayed in a room set aside for them along with the dresses to be worn by the bride and

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574 584 184 [2] Morag Macleod of the School of Scottish Studies describes a custom still existing on the Isle of Scalpay off the Isle of Harris, called reiteach mor (big reiteach), in contrast with the reiteach bheag (small reiteach) or simple dinner party which existed until fairly recently on mainland Harris. The reiteach mor is a dramatic event involving a humorous exchange between male speakers for "the groom's side," and male spokesmen for "the bride's side." The bride is hidden, and the groom's men ask for the bride indirectly. They desire a sheep, perhaps, or a length of tweed. The desired object constitutes a theme which is developed in humorous give-and-take between the two sides, as various females are brought out one by one by the bride's people, from the most undesirable old maid to the bridesmaid and finally to the bride. Until the bride finally appears, the groom's spokesmen must find something wrong with each female presented, along the lines of the chosen theme. The sheep's fleece is not curly enough, and so on. The bride sits at the table after she appears, is given a glass of whiskey which she sips and then passes to her fiance, and the performance is over.

585 on these occasions. At some point during the night the bride and groom were prepared for their wedding night together. The bride's female companions undressed her, prepared her for bed, and put her into the bed with a hot water bottle. She shared some sherry with them, and they went out, whereupon the groom was brought in by his male companions. After much joking the couple were left together.

[574] On the third night, a dinner was given for the older persons who had not been able to come to the "big" wedding.

[293] For some time after the wedding, the married couple [431] visited relatives and neighbors who had been unable to come to the wedding, taking a bottle of whiskey with them.

585 House weddings declined in number during the war when 178 food was rationed, and as more persons changed from the [342] "black house" to the less easily cleaned and more elaborately furnished "white house." Most weddings are [485] now held in hotels, and consist of a single wedding dinner and dance; they are often held on Thursdays, the day of the banais in the past. The emphasis on community participation still exists: even though the practice of holding hotel weddings has limited the number of guests, an effort is made to invite someone from each household in the neighborhood. In part to avoid disappointing the

585 178 For some weeks after returning, the couple goes visiting with a bottle. The scope of visits seems to have narrowed to close relatives unable to attend the wedding, and sometimes the custom is referred to as old-fashioned.

[431] The bride usually mails pieces of bridal cake to [205] relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

758 574 2. Death: At a time of illness or injury, an individual may see persons he has not seen for years. The house is filled with a constant flow of visitors, and the visitors recount every detail of a sick person's [763] pallor and movement. The room is usually occupied by visitors when a person breathes his last.

763 46 [178] [288] In the past, work ceased in every house in the surrounding neighborhood when a person died. This no longer occurs. (The story is told of a weaver who called a mill in Stornoway to say that he could not finish an urgent tweed because there had been a death in the village, and was told, "You keep on weaving till the weaver dies.") However, dances in the village are [535 444] cancelled, and the bothan (an isolated hut in which liquor is sold illegally) may close. Outdoor work, such as peat-cutting, which would be widely seen is avoided.

763 [203] Word of the death spreads throughout the village and beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulated inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

763 relived and shared. The person's exact age and the 764 identity of his closest kin are discussed. A van is 574 immediately dispatched to bring benches from the church, [493] which are set up throughout the house of the deceased, and over the next few days a constant stream of visitors [431] fills the benches. The visitors bring tea, sugar, biscuits and other provisions for the days and nights of communal trial. The tigh fhaire, "house of watching," as this wake is called, continues until the day of the funeral.

764 In the past, persons sat up all night with the body. [825] "It took so long to get a coffin. You didn't want to [178] go in and find half the face eaten away by rats." This custom is dying out, but lights are usually left on in the room in which the coffin is placed. When an all-night wake occurs, the atmosphere is one of relaxed story-telling and the sad laughter of reminiscence.

764 574 At least two nights of "waking" usually precede the funeral. During this time, hundreds of villagers attend [152] the tigh fhaire. Grief is expressed throughout the vast network in which the dead person was enmeshed. On rare occasions when a single night precedes burial, the house is filled to overflowing.

Throughout the day and evening, waves of newcomers enter, and other sitters slip quietly away. Kinswomen of

764 the deceased or the remaining family assist in preparing 574 endless cups of tea, using the provisions that are brought by the visitors. The newcomers enter, exchange greetings, memories, sighs and moral judgements in rapid whispers. "Oich, oich... that should teach us, we're all going to go. That's how it was meant to be. It makes you wonder why we live at all, well, well." They recall other deaths. "That was a bad death. His liver was bad, and he turned yellow, then all black...." [152] They weep, circumspectly observe the appearance of the [197] room and its occupants, and speak only in Gaelic, the language of hearth and heart.

764 793 The minister usually attends a prayer meeting which is held in the tigh fhaire around midnight of the night before the funeral, but his presence is not necessary. The prayer meeting may be conducted by the elders. The elders may also hold the service which precedes the burial. The minister may walk for a short distance in the funeral procession or speak a brief few words at the graveside, but his role in the community drama is minimal.

764 621 592 At least one person from all households within the village is expected to go to the tigh fhaire of someone who has died within the village, "to show respect." The male head of the household is expected to attend the

156 sympathetic with each others' idiosyncrasies. A constant
572 joking keeps people at arm's length and discourages the
[522] development of empathy.

156 Accompanying this style of indirect, inhibited
154 expressiveness and the low level of stimulation are culturally prescribed opportunities for relatively uninhibited expressiveness. Such opportunities include the ceilidh ("visit"), the drinking situation (mainly for men), the role of clown or "character," and holidays
[166] such as New Year's. Although young villagers and
[484] emigrants often describe the village as "dull" and "dead,"
[181] the emigrants are happy enough to return to the island for short periods of time, during which they participate in those situations in which expressiveness and limited license are accepted.

156 3. Ceilidh, Clown, and New Year's Festivities: Only
154 on certain occasions is relatively spontaneous and unin-
• 574 hibited expressiveness condoned or encouraged within the township, and even then the form which this expressiveness takes is fairly narrowly circumscribed. The traditional
[178] ceilidh was such an occasion. In the past, people gathered
[517] regularly at night in the tigh ceilidh (the ceilidh house,
[538] or home of someone in which a genial atmosphere existed;
[533] the tigh ceilidh was often the home of someone who lived alone), where stories were endlessly repeated and elaborated,

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154
• 574 genealogies told, and old songs were sung or new ones
178 composed. The concentration of expressiveness in these
[517] forms resulted in a well-developed, oral repertoire of
[538] literature and music.
[533]

The ceilidh still exists today in the form of less
[538] regular gatherings. Stories and genealogies are seldom recited, but songs are still sung. A few new songs are
[533] being composed. The word ceilidh is used as both a noun and a verb to mean "a visit" or "to visit," but implies a casual, relaxed atmosphere rather than a formal visit. A formal visit is made by relatives living in Stornoway, government officials or businessmen, and is characterized by more constrained behavior.

156 The ceilidh of today is often accompanied by the
154 drinking of beer or whiskey, but a distinction may be
574 made between a gathering which includes both males and
273 females, and a drinking situation at which only males are
178 present. In the past, men often gathered in barns or weaving sheds to share beer made locally from barley or
273 brought from town in a large keg. The drinking of whiskey
178 was reserved for special occasions, such as births, weddings,
[434] funerals, and the festivities surrounding the New Year, but increased income has resulted in the consumption of whiskey on many other occasions. Heavy drinking is still an
[275] activity engaged in largely by males, and occurs in extra-village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter 6).

273 village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter
[154] 6). Drinking situations provide an important opportunity for relatively uninhibited expression by males, and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

522 The role of clown or "character" is well developed
156 in Hebridean townships. In an environment which encourages
154 quietly watchful and somewhat anxious, conformist behavior, the character is rude, raucous and outrageous, a bite of fire in cold waters. He represents a reversal of normal behavior. The villagers shake their heads, agree that he is impossible, but encourage him to continue, urge him on when he flags, and bring up his escapades for discussion during moments of boredom. There are usually several such characters in a village.

156 Reversal of low-profile and other "normal" behavior
154 is also allowed on particular occasions such as New Year's,
527 this time among all villagers. In the days of horses and
[522] carts, boys went around the village on New Year's night
[383] stealing carts and hiding them on the moor or down by the
• [574] shore; today they steal gates. Between Christmas and
[431] New Year's, groups of boys visit houses in their neighborhood, collecting tea, sugar, biscuits, or money to be used for a party in one of the houses. Such boys are called
796 balaich na bannagan, or boys of the bannag. In some
431 Gaelic-speaking areas, bannag refers to a gift that is
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527 office or general store, preferring to divide the rest
178 between themselves for use at a later time. A 50-year-
431 old woman observed, "They don't appreciate the bannag like we used to. They get this kind of rich food all
527 the time." The practices of wearing costumes and speaking
178 the rhyme are disappearing. Children used to have the bannag until they left school at age 14 or 15; now only the younger children go. "Children grow up more quickly today."

527 New Year's is celebrated perhaps most intensively
562 by the men, who after seeing the New Year in by watching
273 a special New Year's program on television go visiting
• 574 neighbors and relatives with bottles of whiskey. The
[184] custom of "first-footing" on New Year's eve is found throughout Scotland; but in the Hebrides such visiting and heavy drinking may last from New Year's eve until the following Sunday. During this time, the woman of the house, who usually refrains from drinking and to some extent controls the drinking done by the males in her house, relaxes her attitude, and may even participate. The comment, "It's only once a year," is often heard.
[589] During this time, the shyest and most retiring bachelor becomes a Romeo; this is the only time of year he may be heard to mention the word marriage. For example, one bachelor in his 60's chooses a "bride" each New Year, and takes her with him on his all-night visiting.

with the decision which they know is to be made usually do not attend the meeting. Thus, apparent consensus is always maintained.

Changes in the character of the township as social boundary system are apparent in ceremonial occasions such as weddings and funerals, which will be discussed in the following pages.

1. Courtship and Marriage: Courtship occurred during the dark hours when the older members of a household had gone to bed. A great deal of courting was done in company. Because transportation was limited, groups of young people went together to dances; and on other nights, bands of young men would visit a house in which several girls were sleeping together, climb in through a window, and perhaps lie beside the girls, fully dressed, filling the dark with whispered jokes. Such a custom, a form of bundling, was called "night visiting" (ruith na h-oidhche); the male visitor was called caraid na h-oidhche, "companion of the night."

When couples began serious courting, they would meet outside at night, or the girl would let her bramar (sweetheart) into the house after the old people had gone to bed. A couple would never consider walking hand in hand along the road during the day. Boys and girls were seated separately in school, went around in separate

584 [834] groups on the sheilings or within the village as they were growing up, and even during courtship maintained a joking, somewhat rude interaction. "If he says he wouldn't touch her with a barge pole, he's obviously smitten." Someone considering the dangers of marrying an outsider[1] commented, "A devil you know is better than a devil you don't know."

584 178 [493] Now that facilities for transportation have increased, couples tend to pair off in cars rather than go in groups. They may even be seen together on a date in [535] town. Activities such as dances still begin late in the night, lasting from about 12:30 a.m. until early morning. The seriousness of a relationship is kept secret for as long as possible, but weddings today require long-term planning because wedding dinners are held in hotels rather than within the village. At an 574 584 earlier time, serious intentions were announced only a few weeks before the wedding, at a <u>reiteach</u> or dinner party which signified a betrothal. <u>Reiteach</u> also means "disentangling" or "reconciling," and was described by one person as a means of "pouring oil

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[1]The term "outsider" usually connotes non-Gaelic-speaking, but may also refer to someone from outside the village.

172 "I was in the Navy during the last war. We were
156 in Norway, and got an invitation to visit the palace.
I didn't go. I was afraid I'd make a mess of things."

"This place has an inferiority complex. It's mainland-oriented; so you feel outlandish."

575 The new director of an association which promotes
197 the speaking of Gaelic is a Lowland Scot who learned
186 Gaelic when he was in England. He was working in England
[181] and, as a Scotsman, felt so much like a foreigner that he decided "to be a real foreigner"—so he studied Gaelic. Motives which prompted legislation protecting crofting also lie behind the development of organizations which attempt to protect and preserve the Gaelic language.

An Comunn Gaidhealach, the Highland Association
[175] which promotes the speaking of Gaelic, was founded in 1891 in a town on the mainland, and has always been urban-based. Eighty years passed before the association established its headquarters in Stornoway; but the headquarters were relegated to hindquarters when the director found that he needed to be on the mainland to exert pressure on influential organizations for aid and support.
[993] The organization is condemned by ministers on the island, who see it as an organization that sponsors light-hearted
[214] singing. The magazines and books which it publishes or sponsors are seldom read by the rural islanders. The

The
575 organization receives a large proportion of its funds
197 from the Scottish Education Department, whose statutory
186 duty is to foster the speaking of Gaelic in Gaelic-
[89] speaking areas. In 1970-71 a series of evening meetings were sponsored by An Comunn in Stornoway; but the serious meetings, such as readings of Gaelic poetry, were attended largely by schoolmasters.

Associations which sponsor Highland dancing and the opportunity to get together with other Gaelic speakers thrive in Glasgow, London, Toronto and Detroit, everywhere
[48] but in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands. Such associations serve important functions in situations of interaction between Gaelic speakers and members of the dominant society; they provide identity and self-defense against those who react to them as members of a lower-status minority group.

535 A girl who teaches Gaelic in Glasgow and comes home
186 to the island only for holidays never goes to the island
48 dances, but loves going to the dances sponsored by the Lewis and Harris Society in Glasgow. All the young people from the islands come, and dance away accumulated insults in a fiery sense of belonging.

464 A girl who worked in hotels on the mainland found
197 herself speaking Gaelic with her fellow workmates who
186 came from Lewis or other Gaelic-speaking areas, although
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an enterprising radio firm in Stornoway; its customers receive 207
both BBC and Grampian Television programmes.

Some youth organisations are represented on the island. The 883
first troop of Boy Scouts was connected with the Stornoway 575
YMCA and was founded by forty boys in 1921. Founded (in 883
1912) on the island's close association with the sea was the Boys' 708
Brigade (Naval), later to become the Stornoway Naval Corps and 575
the Stornoway Boys' Naval Brigade. Its objects were to provide instruction in drilling, signalling, seamanship and first aid; and to foster a spirit of manliness and comradeship among its members. The founder was Canon H. Anderson Meaden, of the Episcopal Church in Stornoway (St Peter's). During the first war the boys acted as signallers at the Stornoway Battery.

But the provision of some organised recreational facilities for 529
young people on the island has long been a thorny question. After the first world war, the Rector of the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, proposed that village halls be built for village education and recreation. This scheme was never fully realised—except at Sandwick, just outside Stornoway—mainly because of the strength of puritanical opposition. This attitude has been breaking down, [178]
however, and it is now generally realised that the wealth of any community is based on its youth. Most of the efforts to set afoot activities for young people began after the second war; the work was hard and challenging with not a few failures on the way; perseverance has won to the extent that there is now a full-time youth leader. Most of the cultural and recreational activities are to be found in Stornoway, with a full range of interests. Evening non-vocational classes during the winter are also widely attended for a variety of subjects.

In 1965, an excellent Youth Hostel was established at Stock- 485
inish, Harris, with the help of the Inverness-shire Education Department. In its first season it recorded between 600 and 700 visitors (1,070 bed-nights). Also involved in the establishment of the hostel was the Harris Society of Social Service; practical help [575]
was given by the 2nd Stornoway Boy Scouts, who made a wall map, cleared up grounds and shifted furniture. A group of English enthusiasts have in previous years arranged a hotel at Rhenigidale, Harris (see Chapter 9), which provides for some fifty to

162 his occupation matters very little. Unlike the Welsh,[35]
559 the Sristpanach does not particularly look up to the man
463 who prospers. Indeed, the people are more than likely to
183 attribute his success to dishonesty or find fault with his
556 character. I shall have more to say about this when we consider the topic of gossip.

463 At the same time, occupation is a factor in the
573 formation of cliques. The school teachers form one clique which has tended to become more and more exclusive in recent years. The shop keepers also have their small clique. Once a year they have a dance at the Royal Hotel. Within both social circles there are, of course, special groups
[561] of friends who associate regularly. Age grades provide another basis for clique formation. Clerks, shop assistants, and employees of the government are divided on this basis. Since it is government and, apparently, business and banking house policy to use theremote rural areas for a training ground and to make promotions, most of the newcomers and local residents who work for these agencies are young men.

[621] Neither occupation nor age-grades are exclusive factors in determining the social structure of Portree as they are for the crofters. If they were, I could not support the assertion that there is fluidity among the village population.

575 There are several clubs and fraternal organizations, such as a drama society, the Women's Rural Institute, An Comun

[35] Rees, op. cit., p. 127.

575 (a Gaelic group), the Masonic Order, the Eastern Ster, and a post of the British Legion, which have representatives
574 from all walks of life. But by far the most interesting
575 group is the village bridge club. If bridge clubs in America are status conscious, those in Britain are especially aware of "social" and "cultural" distinctions. In Portree such
574 differences matter very little. Like all of the above
575 mentioned organizations, the membership of the bridge club
167 is predominantly newcomers. It includes members of the gentry, teachers, shop keepers and shop assistants, office workers, and a mechanic. Once a week they come together for an evening of cards and a few drinks. In all formal organizations the roles of leadership are left to newcomers or the gentry. One young man, to give an extreme example, wondered one day why he spent so much time attending committee meetings. On reflection, he found that he was an officer in no less than eleven clubs. It is to the gentry, however, that we must turn to see the real expression of leadership.

The County Families

565 The landed gentry have been considered separately be-
189 cause they belong to the neighborhood in which they reside; to the trade-center village, where they spend much of their time either visiting each other or performing some social service; and to the community as a whole. Even more than belonging to Skye, they form a part of the national class system of Britain. They are the "county families." Next

125 members. That the Sgiathanach has not been influenced by the laxity of the newcomers in self-examination is indicated by the existence of 450 adherents. Further, the Free Church has only 21 members in a congregation of some 280, and the Free Presbyterian Church only 20 members in a congregation of 320.

The esoteric religious hierarchy established by the "Men" during the nineteenth century revivals continues to influence the lives of the people. From the small number of the "elect" are chosen the elders, the venerable guardians of behavior, and the deacons. The majority have been baptized but are in a fallen condition. Shall we stretch an analogy and ask is this not comparable to the social hierarchy of ceann-cinnidh (clan chief), daoin'-uaisle (tacksmen), and clanna (clansmen) of the past? This much is certain: a strong hierarchial sense must be numbered among the persistencies.

In our discussion of the Islanders' economy we noted two significant facts concerning the sodality of the old men of the neighborhoods. We saw that they have a deliberative function in discussing economic innovations before they pass down to the townships, and that they are able to block any innovation of which they disapprove through the requirement of complete unanimity in township affairs. We may also recall the statement, "If you can't respect an elder of the church, who can you respect?" We may now add they have judicial and authoritarian functions in the religious sphere of activity, and, through their status within the church, they ultimately control the patterns of social behavior.

Their deliberative, judicial, and authoritarian functions are identical with those found among the Catholic small farmers of Ireland.[9] Of course, it is by no means unique in human groups for the aged to attempt to maintain their accustomed habits and statuses while the youth endeavor to find acceptance for new ideas.[10] Nor is it unique for the younger members of the society to resent the restraints imposed by the older people to punish deviation from traditional behavior.[11] Culture phases, as Kroeber has pointed out, associated with age tend to correspond to changes taking place within the society, rather than reflect static lines of segregation, such as those which exist between classes.[12] If these assertions are valid, the success which the elderly, as a sodality, enjoy in barring the youth from achieving acceptance of novel patterns should be indicative of the importance of age controls on the Isle of Skye. In order to see how they exercise control and how successful they are, let us consider those events in the life cycle which Van Gennep has called rites of passage.[13]

Rites of Passage

Rites of Passage function in all societies to mark the

[9] Arensberg, The Irish Countryman, pp. 122-139.

[10] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 274-275.

[11] Herskovits, Man and His Works, p. 479.

[12] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 274-275.

[13] Arnold Van Gennep, Les Rites de Passage (Paris: E. Nourry, 1909).

Religion has done more to keep the Gaelic language alive than any of the numerous outside agencies dedicated to the preservation of the language, such as An Comunn Gaidhealach, a national organization which sponsors a series of local, regional, and national programs in an attempt to maintain and stimulate an interest in the Highlands and their songs and stories. Except in Portree and at Dunvegan, church services are mostly conducted in Gaelic. The newcomer who wishes to attend church services in the crofting areas, and he had better, must either learn Gaelic or be content with the few words the minister may speak in English for his benefit if the minister is aware of the presence of someone who does not "have the Gaelic." Some might feel that this is rude since most Skyemen are bi-lingual, but the crofter seems to think quicker in his own tongue. Many crofters' children learn English only when they begin to attend school or pick it up from an older sibling who is going to school. Family worship is almost always in Gaelic, unless there is a visitor. We have already seen that the family worship at the time of death is in Gaelic or in Gaelic and English. Again we have a parallel with Wales, in that Welsh has been mainly preserved through religion.[19]

Making Gaelic the language of their religion has, however, led to several problems. It has weakened township solidarity on occasion. There are many isolated townships beyond the reach of a minister. In one of these remote

[19] Ibid., p. 129

is a sin but because of the excessive drinking and immorality which might result from a promiscuous gathering. Organized dances are, in general, not objectionable. Nevertheless, in spite of the attitudes of the people to these secular activities, the Church of Scotland crofter behaves in much the same way as his neighbor who adheres to another sect. The elders of the other sects have an influence over everyone in the neighborhood. Every man must ask himself, "What will my neighbors say?"

The Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church people condemn any and all social gatherings where songs, stories, or other diversions are admitted. When people visit, they are expected to remain circumspect in behavior. They may discuss their problems and gossip about their neighbors or the wicked newcomers. They may engage in cooperative or individual work. They may eat together in the home. They may not engage in such activities outside the home. Religion on Skye for the majority has centered attention on the home. Let us look at some of the activities which are condemned. There is the Woman's Rural Institute, an organized woman's club dedicated to stimulating home industries in rural areas and providing educational programs, especially demonstrations and lectures on domestic arts. One meeting, for example, at Uig, not far from Kilmuir, was addressed by a school teacher on the subject of Highland Folklore. He was followed by a knitting contest and tea. Youth Clubs and Young Farmers Clubs do not exist, except in Kilmuir where the Young Farmers Club is under the Crofters' Club, and, of course, in Portree. Village halls are dens of iniquity. While we were on Skye one was built

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

stom is well established. Even war-time restrictions and 794
tioning had little effect on Communion attendance. Skye 796
iles in the United States and Canada sent food parcels 793
the ministers and their kinsmen to provide for their 574 ●
sitors. The minister takes in as many as he can. One [167]
nister, for example, not very far from Portree has a large
nse with seventeen rooms. It is customary for him to have [264]
enty-five or thirty people for lunch and again for high
a (the Skyeman's evening meal) on Friday and the Sabbath.
ny of his guests spend five days with him.

Some idea of the size of the gatherings may be gained 794
om the need for the Free Presbyterian Church in Portree 796
hold duplicate services. The church, I should think,
lds around 300. During the Communion Season, the con-
egation takes over the drill hall, normally used by the
rritorial Army for training and by the villagers for social
fairs, in addition to the kirk. In the drill hall services
e held in English; in the kirk, they are in Gaelic.

Such large gatherings of people require a means to
tablish meaningful contacts and create a feeling of belonging.
ursday is a fast day. All work stops. The people attend
rvices in the morning, at noon, and again in the evening.
eir minister, assisted by two visiting clergymen conducts
em in a dynamic, highly emotional appraisal of the coming
ent. All the ministers participate in the sermons, stressing [783]
e confession of sin and the need for humiliation. Many
inisters are known for their preaching ability, that is their

794 thanksgiving service. The visiting ministers, the "elect,"
796 and the adherents go their own separate ways. They have spent
five days in intense, emotional spiritual communion and they
carry away with them definite, vivid remembrances. Many of
them will meet again in a few weeks when they will exchange
[571] the roles of guests and hosts. The reciprocal nature in all
interpersonal activity on Skye is well developed. In many
ways, the Communion season parallels the Welsh Song Festivals.[16]

794 We noted earlier in our discussion of the Communion
796 season that there has been a decline in the number who attend
178 the Communions. I should like to add a few general consider-
ation to what I have already said on this point. Aside from
the influence of depopulation, there have been several influ-
ential factors in operation. The smaller attendance is
traceable to some extent to an almost imperceptible movement
by the youth away from the more conservative denominations.
The ever-increasing necessity of working for a wage, es-
pecially since most employment opportunities are in summer time
programs, is another cause. This factor is not, however,
important within the local kirk district because most ad-
herents and all the "elect" who work take a vacation in order
to attend. It does mean that visitors may only be able to
attend on the Sabbath.

178 The custom of visiting has almost disappeared in some
794 churches, including the Church of Scotland in Portree where
794 the fellowship meeting is no longer significant because the
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574 ●

[16] Rees, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

"elect" are predominantly newcomers and the elders are either 178
members of the landed gentry or newcomers. I was rather 794
amazed one day when a Skyewoman told me, "the 'Wee-Frees' 796
and 'Seceders' are no better than the Mohammedans giving 574 ●
gifts to idols," when they sent food to the manse for the 369
minister's guests at the Communion. Over in Bracadale the [798]
custom is also losing its importance, except in the Free
Presbyterian Church, and the fellowship meeting has been
abandoned in the United Free Church because of the reluctance
of the members to engage in public displays, either at
Communions or at prayer meetings. The custom of visiting
has entirely disappeared in Sleat and Strath. One of the
ministers ascribed this to the isolation of the two parishes
from the rest of the island and from each other. Certainly
the Sgiathanach on the south end of the island seldom looks
to Portree and the northern crofter hardly ever goes to
Sleat, but this does not explain why people from the mainland
will go to Bracadale, by-passing Strath.

The vitality of religion can over-ride considerations 771
of family and friendship if a Sgiathanach deviates from the 626
accepted norm. We may recall the young girl who stole church
funds and was ostracized by her "people" and the whole com-
munity. Let us consider another example. Marriage vows, as 586
we know, are held to be sacred on Skye. Divorce is all but 771
unknown and separation is uncommon. To be precise there are 626
four known cases of separation. Nevertheless, if a husband
or wife were to break a taboo, it is expected that the offender
would be cast out. Forgiveness is not compatible with a

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which might result from a promi
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575 SODALITIES--prevalence of clubs, fraternities, and comparable voluntary associations; types (e.g., lodges, secret societies, men's clubs, women's clubs); organization, characteristics, and activities of each type (e.g., intersodality relationships; origin accounts, paraphernalia, etc.); selection of members; initiation; meetings; special rituals; etc. See also:

Medicine societies 78
Clubhouses 345
Mutual-benefit societies 466
Craft guilds and labor unions 467
Athletic clubs 529
Age-grades 861
Military societies 701
Veterans' organizations 729
Cult groups 794
Initiation at puberty 881

1: Parman

ES10 Highland Scots ES10

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[For information on the curamach (the "clique of the converted"), see category 794.]

than Christianity is the prevailing practice in Glendale." 795 [798]
ttachment to a sect is all the more significant in the
ng neighborhoods because there is not one iota of differ-
n the Gaelic services in any church. The difference is
nal.

In the neighborhood the affiliates of the same church 571 794 795 796
een said to interact with their fellows more regularly
ith the remainder of the group. They come together on
bbath for a regular service and on Wednesday night
prayer meeting. On the Sabbath they come as families, [593]
d, wife and children and they sit together. Normally [562]
xes are segregated in public. Indeed, in the home [574]
ep to one side of the fire and women to the other when
are callers. They also leave in family groups. Their
ction is spiritual. There are no gatherings outside
urch either before or after the service to gossip,
s the stock, or even comment on the weather. They
ll know who was absent, but they will only greet their
s with a slight nod. The Wednesday night prayer
g is different. This is a group situation. Some come
and gossip on the way. Others get together before
ter the service for a chat. At these prayer meetings [554] [888]
ature of the "elect" again emerges. They offer the
s on behalf of the congregation. The prayers, it should [782]
d, are extempore. No form is followed. The basis for
are passages from Scripture and interpretations of the
ges.

inland villages and crofting areas. Ministers from 178
ighboring and even distant churches used to come to take 794
rt in conducting the services. There was no church to hold 796
many people, so the Communion was celebrated outside. Then,
course, the population was much larger and the majority
longed to one church, the Free Church.

The Communion Season is still marked by large gatherings 794
people at each church in turn. The "elect" from the 796
ighboring churches and the ministers from churches near and
r exchange visits. The adherents also participate in the
lebration of the Lord's Supper. From Thursday until 794
nday the homes of the people in the vicinity are open to 796
eir relatives and friends who have come to partake of the 574
crament or who find the highly emotional atmosphere and
egariousness stimulating. Some, especially the "elect"
ay for the five days. Others will spend one or more nights.
ring the day and in the evening, whenever they are not [571]
tending religious services, they visit their "people" and
riends" to renew ties which in many cases have been allowed
languish since the last Communion. Thus, we find religion [182]
anctioning the time-honored custom of Highland hospitality.
is interesting to note that many a woman who depends on [485]
e tourist trade for a good share of her income will not accept
aying guests at this time. The local people have a further 794
are in extending hospitality to their visitors. All who 796
e able send food to the manse (parsonage) to lessen the 574
rden on the minister who extends hospitality to the 793
siting clergy and as many of the laity as he can. This

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People prefer to give money in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat-cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendships are still weak, relative to friendships in urban settings. Most information which is shared between individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip. Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutual aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to confide and keep secrets.

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Today many of the younger villagers do not know their relatives to the extent that their elders did. In one family, a girl who was about to get married had to ask her brother, who was the only one of the siblings interested in kinship connections, whom to invite to the wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in transportation and income, more islanders are taking brief trips away from the island. During these trips, they almost always stay with relatives.

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It is frequently said that children are now "cheekier," less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, and that they prefer to watch television or read books by themselves to playing with each other.

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child may come to spend nights or longer periods of time with them.

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To some extent villagers are still dependent on each other for various kinds of help. It is considered extremely bad manners to refuse labor, a tool, or food to anyone who requests them. If someone refuses to aid another, people say, "What will he do when he needs help?" This attitude has made the island a paradise for the few salesmen who, in the last few prosperous years, have started to visit its communities; villagers find it difficult to say no to anyone who comes to their door with a request, including the request that they buy something.

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A woman in childbirth was formerly attended by a local midwife, and kept in bed for two or three weeks. "Other women, both relatives and friends, came and stayed with them at night, fixing them warm tea and milk, whispering bhronag bochd (poor soul), how awful you look..." just as today the neighbors gather at times of illness and death. It is more difficult for neighbors to come to the bedsides of young mothers of today, who are all taken to the hospital in Stornoway to have their babies; but the neighbors manage to visit the hospital, which has no choice but to ignore its rule of only two visitors per bed at a time.

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a while. It would be an insult not to take a drink with them; you musn't miss your round."

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The usual practice when drinking with friends is for one person to buy the drinks; everyone drinks together, and then someone else buys the next round. To drink slowly is to indicate that you intend to miss your round. A relative who returns to the island for a holiday usually pays for more rounds than he receives, and may spend as much as L80 in a single week.

If a man wants more drink than his fellows, he has several choices. He may step up the pace of drinking by buying more rounds, which means that he is likely to pay a larger share than the others during the evening as they will be ready to quit before he is; or he may keep a bottle hidden outside the room, and disappear periodically for a private nip, after which he returns to the group.

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As incomes have grown, excessive drinking, which was once confined to a small number of occasions, has also increased. In the days when money was scarce, people shared with others what they had. Elaborate and relatively lavish ceremonies in which all community members participated were possible because of the contribution in labor and goods of members of the community. The custom prevailing today is to use the added money not to purchase more goods and services to travel, or in other ways that might result in

173 his near kin. Again, much as in the medieval *gestes* of
621 France, fosterage of an heir by a clanswoman formed the
614 closest possible tie to at least one family of the people
829 from ancient to recent times. For it linked the heir by
sympathy—though not by equal obligation—to elders
[171] and playmates in childhood and his contemporaries in later life.

565 To re-state this 'contradiction' of equality and privilege, we have thus a hierarchy of 'class' imposed upon a 'classless' society. For the joint farms and the township were essentially classless. The two classes, the lord and the people, were primarily opposed, war having placed the conqueror above those who fed him. This state of things was not active 'class-war', for the armistice could endure indefinitely by means of the bargain made between the classes for some exchange of services; none the less, it was built upon class conquest.

175 That all should ultimately claim the lineage of their
565 chief was a remarkable solution to the hereditary opposition
614 of class. A man who knew the Islanders well, John Lane
Buchanan (1793), noted how in conditions of the utmost
622 poverty the poorest addressed each other as 'lady and
[576] gentleman', *bean-uasal* and *duine-uasal*, a courtesy not lost
today. And every clansman had a right to shake the hand
of his chief, as Edmund Burt observed in his vivid *Letters*
[577] *from the North* (written after 1721). Indeed the sense
of mutual obligation implicit in Gaelic society is well illustrated by the homely word *coir*, usually translated 'right'; it is equally used for right's correlative, duty—as when a Scots or Irish crofter may say "You've a right (a duty) to help your mother"—and for a 'right' (privilege) to shake the chief's hand. An English equivalent would be duty-privilege, or duty-right. Similarly, the same

175 Mackenzie. For all that, in 1900 a crofter said: "We called
613 the old proprietor Seaforth, but I believe his right name
621 was the Prince of Welsh". To him the Earls were royal!
[829] Freedom of intercourse is embodied in the language
to this day. With 'a stranger', a little spoken Gaelic
197 lessens 'strangeness' and quickens intimacy, because
Gaelic conveys essential human relationships as English
565 rarely can—even the English of the 'democratic' Low-
576 lands. For instance, a well-dressed stranger, though
young, is usually addressed in English as 'sir' by a senior crofter, and, just as in the South, without the expectation of 'sir' or 'ma'am' in return. In English, that is, respect is given to class. In Gaelic, age receives respect: it is the stranger, if the younger, who adopts the respectful 'you' (the second person plural, *sibh*), while the crofter, if the older, uses the friendly singular, 'thou' (*thu*). If they are of equal age, and neither is elderly, 'thou' would be
[562] used by both. Similarly, respect is given to womanhood; and an older woman who would say 'Sir' in English will say 'My dear' in Gaelic.[1]

614 It is not only by daily contacts that we may understand the relationship of people to chief, but by the height of feeling it may attain, and by the beauty of its expression.
[175] Among the finest of the later songs of praise to Gaelic clanship and its chiefs are those composed by two Island
[533] bards, a woman of Harris and a man of the Lews. Mary MacLeod, *Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh*, was a kinswoman of the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris, and a beloved

[123] [1] Calling on the sub-postmistress in a Highland place where I was known to be a friend of the laird, I was addressed as "Sir". But hardly had we passed to Gaelic when this woman, my elder and a person of culture, laughingly used an expression then strange to me. Halted, and suddenly shy at being forced to translate, she said at last, "When thou wast *a lump* [just a boy!] '*muair bha thu cnap*!" But rightly, she would have been slightly shocked had I said 'thou' to her.

world.

More than one crofter told me that one of the biggest changes on Skye in the last thirty or forty years was that thei neighbors are "less Christian," in the sense of being neighborl and helping each other, than they used to be. Once no one said, "I've finished my work," until everyone in the township had stacked his grain. "Colin is harvesting today and Murdo tomorrow; we'll go over and lend them a hand," was the expected attitude. Toward the end of the season, the whole township would be seen working on an old widow's croft. "Now when a man has cleared his land, he says, 'I'm finished,' and that's that." such a statement has to be followed by asking if they now forget about the sick and the aged. The answer is always the same: "When a person needs help, his neighbors will help out. Perhaps they can't do his corn, but they help by just leaving a few fish by the door or a pail of milk in his cottage In short, they continue to give mutual aid, but it is anonymous The Highlander never looks for thanks and never offers it. I remember our landlady complaining about an Eastcoaster in Portree whom she had helped by giving some outgrown children's clothes. The recipient had thanked her profusely. "You know, Paul," she said, "If anyone did that for me, I'd be too choked up to say anything."

Not all use the same colors to paint the scene. I was also told that the harvest was formerly a time of friendly rivalry. The gobhair-bhacaig, two sheaths of oats tied at right angles, used to be thrown on the unfinished fields within

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at Skeabost. A minister drove by one day and said to the 785
workmen, "Don't you know you're building a house for the Devil?" 795
One of the laborers, a Lowlander, replied, "It's a good thing 575
we have a place to keep him." The Order of the Eastern Star
and the Masons are condemned because, while they are religious,
they are secret orders. Even if the person's religion did not
stand in the way of his becoming a Mason, his distrust of
mystery probably would. As one young fellow said one night in
the bar when being chaffed about the Masons, "I'm not going
to join any secret organization until I know what the secret is."

Included among the objectionable activities by these two 785
churches are the traditional Highland Games, held each year 795
at Portree in August, probably about the time of the old Saint's 541
Fair. The day is a school holiday. Aside from New Years, it
is the big occasion of the year. People come in from all
over the Island. Few of the Skyemen actively take part in [526]
the contests of tossing the caber and throwing the stone, or
in the piping and dancing competitions, but they look forward
to the event. It gives them an opportunity to see their [571]
"friends" and join them in the pub for a dram. Although the [793]
ministers disapppprve, they lack the backing of the "elect," so
the games go on each year. I hasten to add that they have
lost much of their appeal in recent years, but I am told that
this is due to the fact that the clique who runs the Skye
Council of Social Service has, in an effort to attract tourists
early in the season, set up Skye Week in May. Included in
the Skye Week program are Highland Games. I might also add

man is no longer concerned with the necessity of having his 771
children baptized, the venerable old men, the family-head 554
elders, prolong their social control by sitting in judgment 183
on those who seek salvation. The strength of age controls 626
is indicated by the continued ability of the elders to resist [178]
all attempts to introduce secular innovations to the crofting
neighborhoods. Even in Portree the majority of the people
are under the watchful eyes of the old men.

Many of the meaningful patterns of interaction are 771
religious. The rites of passage function to augment social 182
control, restore disturbed equilibriums, and establish new 626
ascribed statuses. The rites of intensification, including
those associated with death, function to restore disturbed
patterns of interaction in the family, nuclear and extended,
and the larger social groups and to establish meaningful
relationships when large congregations gather for the
celebration of communion. Religion for the majority is not 771
merely dependent on attending church on the Sabbath and [782]
attending Wednesday night prayer meetings. Every day of
the week begins with a prayer and ends with family worship.
All social activity outside the home is ideally limited to [52]
the church, and the church is never used for mundane activity.
Only in Portree are there a number of social activities to [369]
tempt the people. Kilmuir has no more than a Crofters' [575]
Club for men, and Glendale has no social activities, unless
one would include the annual meeting of the share holders
in the farm.

including almost all with private flocks, the crofters continue 178
to cooperate. The church has been broken by schism, not once 182
but four times. On Skye, however, the schisms have had as 795
their purpose conservatism, not greater leniency as in Hilltown. 182
Moreover, the schisms have been solidifying factors. The
progressively more dynamic world denying sects, after a period
of communal strife, have given the people an emotional unity.
The crofters have become dependent on the trade-center village 182
and the wider national markets. Many must seek employment beyond
the island. The interests of the Sgiathanach are not outside
the neighborhood, except in so far as events from the outside
affect them and, especially, to the extent that ties of kinship
and religious brotherhood reach beyond the local group. We
are hardly talking about the same situation as Homans. As we
continue to explore this condition we may also ask has there
been a decline in the frequency of interaction in the internal
sphere of activity?

The old ceilidh has disappeared under clerical bann, but 182
it has been replaced by "going to have a crack," going to visit 571
and gossip with one's friends and "people." The people may [178]
no longer gather to hear the old men tell stories of clan battles.
They now discuss the latest local gossip and the news of the
outside world. The Islander has never been given to formal [575]
social organizations; they half distrust such orders as the
Masons and Eastern Star. Still there are chapters of both in
Portree. In the crofting neighborhoods face to face relation-
ships continue to preserve strong interpersonal sentiments. The [263]
postman's van and the grocer's trucks have relieved the people

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576 ETIQUETTE--greetings and salutations; obeisances; compliments; concept of courtesy; general patterns of etiquette in eating, drinking, smoking, visiting, and travel; deference to status superiors; noblesse oblige; breaches of etiquette and the resulting social sanctions; etc. See also:

Drinking etiquette 27
Patterned behavior toward kinsmen 60
Sexual etiquette 83
Table manners 384
Postures 516
Polite conversation 521
Sportsmanship 536
Chivalry 542
Intentional impoliteness 578
Informal social control 626
Court etiquette 644
Diplomacy 648
Propitiation 702
Religious ritual 788
Training of children in etiquette 867
Treatment of the aged 888

173 "Then the tweeds got
243 going and the barley took too much trouble; so they had
285 no use for the mill."
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173 A 60-year-old woman remembers, "They depended on the
262 potato and fished a lot. I was raised on oatcakes, barley
bannocks, and salt herring. There were no vans and no
school canteens when I was young; you had to carry your
[264] own 'piece' to school. We had porridge with fresh milk
for breakfast, oatcakes and butter for lunch. Dinner was
at 4:00, of potatoes and fish and milk. We had meat maybe
once a week. My father poached a lot. We ate the heads
[261] and the roe of the salmon fresh, and salted the rest."
Once among the cleanest, Hebridean teeth now vie with
164 British cities in extent of decay. It is not uncommon for
759 a child in his first year of school to have six teeth
pulled by the travelling dentist.

261 Various customs associated with food which exist today
292 reflect the days when fare was meager. Tea-drinking is
[171] omnipresent in Britain, but in the islands it has
272 special significance. The taking of tea constitutes
574 the denouement of a visit, and almost always occurs when
someone steps over someone else's threshold. To refuse
• [576] tea has some of the connotations of an insult; and to
take only tea, without food, is to have a <u>copan falamh</u>
(empty cup).

264 The only occasions on which it is customary to feed
574 someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as peat-
• 576 cutting. On such occasions the preparation of meals is
[461] done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual scrutiny,
[476] and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, the
requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled by
giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but
which were much more abundant when the land was cultivated
[242] and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcakes,
264 clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foods
571 are usually offered to visitors along with tea, and in the
574 past this custom served to minimize the economic disparities
between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A similar
[737] function was served by the practice of giving part of
[431] each catch of fish to old widows and other villagers in
need of aid. Even though food is more abundant and diverse
today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during a
visit is still very important.

173 A 50-year-old man who "married into" a croft recalls,
[581] "I came from a family of ten children. Everyone had to
[428] leave, or marry a girl with a croft. Only the eldest son
could inherit the croft." There was little room for
423 romanticism in the fight for scarce land among the sons
581 of large crofter and non-crofter families. "The most

288 Questions about the state of
"the tweed" permeate all discussions, and often
511 constitute an initial greeting. "Have you got a
458 tweed in the loom? How many do you have? Did you
[521] see Stickey's tweed van going into Pairc? Did you
• [576] hear that Newalls has an order for about 800 pieces...?"

"The mills brought me two tweeds, and I got two in town myself. I stuck those two in the attic so that anyone who came in would be none the wiser," says one person in a whisper. Neighbors are in and out of each others' houses and loomsheds, observant and questioning, on the lookout for any indication that they have missed out on some transaction in the competition for scarce goods.

<u>D. Weaving as Strategy</u>

286 When weaving was done on a wooden hand loom, the
178 weaver required a longer period of apprenticeship.
402 Weaving was "more of an art," as some of the older
weavers remember it today. Not only was the shuttle
thrown back and forth by hand, but the lifting of
different threads in the warp was done by manipulating
288 four foot pedals in the correct order. Today, the
178 process of weaving is very much simplified: the weaver
402 pushes only two foot pedals, and simply keeps an eye on

121 of the township with the larger society, and examines
128 the effect of geographical and social marginality on
the boundedness of the township network. Chapter 6
discusses two important networks of social relations
within the township.

<u>B. Township as Social Boundary System</u>

632 The township constitutes a relatively firmly bounded
178 system, although its boundaries are weaker than formerly
621 when the township was relatively self-sufficient
[476] economically. Township members worked together in small
fishing crews, and families relied on each other for
help when members of the family were away from the island
"at the fishing."

621 Relatives were expected to give priority to helping
476 each other. According to one proverb, "A relative is
602 your best friend." First and second cousins were
[539] considered especially close, but knowledge of one's
[605] kinsmen extended to at least the fourth generation.

602 Ties of kinship became evident in ceremonies such as
• 576 funerals and weddings. One Gaelic proverb says, "You
585 know who your relatives are at weddings and funerals."
764 At weddings the onus was on the members of the bridal
[539] party to remember their relatives. "You have to sit
and calculate who is closely related, and all those

602 people will be doing the same. If they think they're
• 576 close enough to be invited, they'll be annoyed if you
585 don't include them." At funerals, relatives of the
764 deceased to about third cousins were expected to
participate.

621 When a population has lived in a small area for
602 generations, a dense network of kinship develops. This
476 fact, and the importance placed on mutual aid among
571 fellow villagers, fostered the feeling that the network
of township members, who ploughed, fished and tended
cattle and sheep together, was also a network of kinsmen.
"We're all the same people." "It's all one family here."
Occupational and kinship spheres of social activity
commingled. The importance of neighbors in contrast
[539] with relatives was reflected in such proverbs as, "A
neighbor close at hand is better than a relative in a
distant land."

621 The nuclear family did not, according to Cohen's
594 criteria, constitute a firmly bounded system. Then as
178 now, women preferred the company of their "own kind,"
[571] that is, the company of other women. The men worked
and spent periods of recreation with other men. Children
621 spent about as much time in the homes of grandparents,
596 uncles or fellow villagers as they did in their own
homes. A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a

192 561 requirements of adulthood, and also old age, are still boys and girls.

554 Status Equality within the Township. The ascription of status on the basis of age and sex has resulted in a straightforward [562] [561] system of status. The facts are simple. Men are the social superiors of women. Youth are socially inferior to their seni Men, or women, of a common age category are equals. We shall now examine a few interpersonal relationships to see how the [264] system operates. Unless a man and his wife are eating alone, women never eat with men. They wait until the men have finish 576 before taking their meal. When neighbors come to visit, the 562 594 man of the house does not rise for a woman. He does rise for a man and shakes him by the hand. The woman of the house, on the other hand, rises for both men and women. Furthermore, when a couple comes to call, the woman greets the man first. Only after he has been offered a chair does she greet the [858] [882] woman. Young people are seen but seldom heard. They do not speak unless addressed.

626 178 All societies allow some deviation from traditional norms of expected behavior. On Skye, as elsewhere, excessive deviation is censured. Neither increased opportunities for education nor the steady flow of Skye men and women to the four corners of the earth, accompanied by the slow returning trickle, have disturbed these fundamental values. Like the youth who leaves home to achieve upward mobility through outward mobility, the man who returns must conform to the traditional norms, which he learned as a child, or be regarded

793 while only the Church of Scotland ministers will assume role
554 in government, on the district council or the county council on the education committee, and similar bodies, they have not been given higher status than the ministers of other denominations, who firmly believe the function of the minister is only to correct the public servants when they err.

759 The doctor is coming to fill a status held by no other
554 person, except the county people, the landed gentry. Tra-
793 ditionally, they have ranked second only to the minister, but there is a marked trend to accord them more and more sta The doctors, of course, are less restricted in their social activities and can participate more fully in secular affairs than the ministers. They have a wider range of interaction, entering the homes of all regardless of sectarian difference In Glendale there is no question about the relative position of the minister and doctor, who lives in Dunvegan. In Kilmuir on the other hand, the doctor is vying with the ministers. He is always addressed by his title, but often, at least in indirect speech, he is Doctor (Ian) rather than Doctor MacLeod. Many of the doctors on Skye have begun to form a cleavage between their families and the crofters. The are sending their sons to private schools. The ministers' children attend the local schools.

875 The school teachers also enjoy high prestige status.
554 They are always addressed by their surname, prefixed by
576 mister, even by older men whom they call by their Christian names. One newcomer was especially struck by this careful

distinction. During the war when Skye had its own little 875 554 576
army, he came to know many of the old crofters quite well. Finally, he came to use personal names when speaking to them and asked to be called by his first name. The people explained that they might be older than he, but he was too important to be spoken to as anything other than mister.

The tradesmen and the shopkeepers in Glendale and 554 443
Kilmuir are not any different from any other man. They are not specialists. They are part-time crofters. We have to turn to Portree to see what status position they fill in the society of Skye. I might just add that they are on a first name basis with their neighbors, and, like the crofters, they are known beyond the neighborhood by their first name and township, such as Ian Borve or Murdo Stein.

To summarize, there is additional evidence for cultural 596 182
continuity in the structure of the neighborhood. The extended family, although very unstable and, therefore, somewhat amorphous, is still a reality in the minds of the people. It still has two functions which it must have had in the remote past: seeing that all are cared for and given a decent burial. The ascription of status noted for the township 554 182
carries over to the neighborhood, as does the underlying status equality and need for unanimous consent. Among the crofters leadership is still undeveloped. The old men can enforce [888]
conformity but they cannot lead. Although prestige ranking is developed, in the form of the achieved statuses of ministers, doctors, and teachers, it is significant that, except for the minister in Glendale, all holders of prestige status are

565 184 to the aristocracy they are among
the nation, and two of the local g
the nation's peerage. Although I
owners can validate a claim to bei
the clan chiefs or descendants of
several of them are related in one
central derbfine of the old clans.

Occupying the highest status
families manifest many social and
distinguish them from the remainder
men are always given the distinctio
they are major, colonel, or general
565 184 military service, but he is given a
speech their title often includes t
576 such as Col. Macleod Dulgrave or Mr
Behind their backs, they may be ref
name, prefixed by the title, but ne
565 184 795 Religiously, many tend to be Episco
contrast to the staunchly Protestan
attend the local kirk of the Church
elders of the kirk, but their outlo
from that of their conservative ten
565 184 423 Catholic. As would be expected, al
This is not a question of socio-eco
one of social differentiation. The
their estates, under the pressure o
ancestors, has not reduced their pr

he foremost citizens of
ntry are included among
oubt if any of these land
g direct descendants of
he cadets of the clans,
way or another to the

positions, the county
ultural expressions which
of the population. The
n of a military title;
. One man has not seen
rank anyhow. In indirect
heir residence or estate,
s. Macleod Mulgrave.
erred to by their first
ver in direct speech.
pal sympathizers, in
t crofters. The men all
of Scotland and serve as
ok is quite different
ants. One family is
l are property owners.
nomic status as much as
loss of large parts of
f debt contracted by their
estige.

cannot be spiritually enlightened. The individual who is asked about the nature of his visitation is not judged on his ability to raise his family in the nurture of the church. He is rather judged on his preparation to carry on the tradition. He must be worthy of the respect due to one of his status. While old women are numbered among the "elect," their exclusion from any active role in the church has kept them socially inferior to the old men.

I wish I could give some examples of the nature of this "visitation;" however, Skye is a land where the direct question is not used. One can ask a direct question without offending, but the code of hospitality requires an either affirmative answer or the answer you think your guest expects. My circuitous promptings on this topic only succeeded in arousing concern for my soul.

Two groups escape from the control of the elders as it is exercised through acceptance of an individual into the "elect." As mentioned earlier, the newcomers to Skye have come from different backgrounds. Beyond the Highlands, the meaning of "Effectual Calling" has changed over the years. The youth attend a young communicants' class in which they are taught the meaning of church membership. Notestein, writing about the national character of the Scot, maintains that interest in "election" has disappeared.[14] Most of the members of the Church of Scotland in Portree would no doubt agree with him. One attempt has been made on Skye to hold a young communicants' class. It took place, of course, in the Church

[14] Notestein, op. cit., p. 153.

175 614 577 621 principle of duty-right or *coir*. Further, in so far as chief and people claimed unity as the children, the clan, of one ancestor, they had crystallised a fair ideal, realised by an exchange of services ('cuideachy'). Gaelic clanship was not without its Lowland counterpart in 'kindness' which linked those of one 'kind'—'kinsfolk' and neighbours—to their ferm-toun and parish, to one another, and to the laird. Tyranny and betrayal by chief and laird make one share the bitterness of grief once felt as competition for scarce land broke up 'kindness'. Yet the people's endeavour and attainment in the past give hope for the future.

175 614 621 622 All have heard of the hereditary Highland chief and many have read of the gentlemen-farmers, but too few have heard of team and crew, and township-parliament. It is time we learned not only of the aristocratic chief but of the chosen helmsman and the democratic constable. So long as the fallacy is repeated that the Highlanders "never co-operated, and could not act together except under the orders of a chief", so long will it be easy to add, "and they never will"! Historic truth may have much to teach [642] for the renewal of leadership for life together. And beyond the Highlands, the example of this aristo-democracy, at its worst and its best, may contribute to new concepts of community.

178 476 44 developed through the township Grazing Committees by the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society and its associated Crofters' Agency. Lime and fertilisers were [654] purchased, and wool and other products sold, co-operatively. The co-operative marketing of lobsters, taking [228] advantage of fluctuating London prices, has led to the reconstruction of ponds for storage. By these and other [654] means, government assistance is utilised but not squandered; earlier initiative in agricultural organisation is reinforced; and communal tradition is revived, linked to personal responsibility through the crofters' lifelong knowledge of one another.

178 288 As to the future, all agreed that unless the Harris Tweed industry flourished, with work at reasonable wages, the villages would be abandoned by the young, perhaps with [829] no return such as hitherto on 'retirement'. Many young people are content with life in the townships, provided they can get a living there, though not all, for they are somewhat divided; and work elsewhere, even in the mills of Stornoway, is a counter-attraction.

178 592 538 Social life is undergoing changes which operate both for and against the retention of the young. On one hand, household interchange of conversation, song and story, the *ceilidh*, has declined. On the other hand, one found 178 771 that, as regards religious prohibitions, and in spite of the nervous tension expressed in 'Revivals', the young have won greater freedom. Near one village a Nissen hut, • 577 handed over to the Home Guard, was also used by young [535] people for monthly dances. When I asked a young crofter invalided from the Navy whether the Elders of the Kirk made no protest, he replied that they had, but had to give it up: "They see that we won't stand for it"! This would have been unthinkable during the First World War,

178 771 • 577 [346] 345 181 [535] or after it. After 1914–18, the Rector of the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, proposed village halls for village education and recreation.[1] The scheme was never fully realised except in one township, Sandwick, near Stornoway, owing to the strength of puritanical opposition. In particular, dancing by young folk was condemned as "dancing upon the graves of their brothers". This attitude is breaking down; social standards, in becoming less repressive, may encourage young people to stay.

178 207 [204] Broadcasting—a factor of change everywhere—came to the townships as a revolution. Newspapers had already filtered in; but for the first time the Gaelic-speaking home was entered and dominated by an English-speaking voice. It has made itself heard there almost ceaselessly ever since—in broadcast talks, discussions, announcements 178 of news, entertainment, singing and prayers. Only the Sabbath imposes general silence. In the Scottish Home 207 Service great trouble has been taken to meet all tastes at 795 the highest level for each, from 'low-brow' to 'high-brow' and from Clydeside to the Isles. To a thoughtful, selective Island listener the new opportunity for imaginative human contacts and for initiation of all kinds is immense. And the purely Gaelic listener is not forgotten. He welcomes Gaelic song or story; and worship in Gaelic has reached many an elderly person's bedside.

178 207 [525] Yet few listeners select: much broadcasting is designed for those whose only picture-galleries are advertisement hoardings and whose only drama and music are to be found at "the Pictures". And through no fault of the B.B.C., the Sports News offers temptations for those in poverty to acquire wealth innocently through luck in a football pool,

[1] W. J. Gibson, "Social Amenities in the Western Isles", *Sociological Rev.* (Jan. 1932).

578

578 INGROUP ANTAGONISMS--prevalence and importance of antagonisms within the society; sources (e.g., economic deprivation, sexual rivalry, political repression, ethnic and religious cleavages, rigor of socialization or social control); expression in individual behavior (e.g., snobbishness, intentional impoliteness, ridicule, insults, vituperation); prevalence, causes and forms of quarrels; participants (e.g., husband and wife, business competitors, rival claimants to property); manifestations (e.g., verbal exchanges, fist fights, duels); reaction of onlookers; repression and control of aggression; etc.

See also:

Social stratification	60	Informal justice	627, 628
Family antagonisms	59	Torts and crimes	673
Ethnocentrism	186	Slander	683
Economic competition	477	Litigation	691
Wit and practical jokes	552	Sorcery	784
Rivalry in sports	576	Cursing	789
Lying	577	Religious persecution	790
Avoidance relationships	602	Quarreling and fighting by children	857
Motety rivalries	616	Control of aggression in children	865
Social control and gossip	626		

178 311 232 233 • [578] "The cattle give too much trouble." A smaller scheme is grazed only by sheep. On the schemes where mixed grazing is practiced, a number of conflicts arise between those who have only sheep, and those who have cattle as well. To accommodate different demands, one township scheme was divided with a fence; cattle were put in for a month in one part, and then shifted to the second part. The sheep were then brought into the first half. All stock had to be removed from the scheme a month before the lambs were weaned, so that all worm eggs and other harmful elements in the dung of animals previously present would have time to die. What was once used for a single purpose by everyone now has to be divided.

[435] [578] "I paid one pound a head to put cattle on the reseeding," says a man named Iain. "Now I have to move them off already. Those sheep people want it for themselves. I won't use it if they're going to be like that. Next year I'll have the use of two crofts and my

[409] [242] apportionment. And now that I have my own tractor I can put a load of sand at the bottom of the croft to make the grazing better."

311 233 232 829 According to another person, who also keeps cattle on the reseeding, "Some people want to move their livestock on and off the schemes when it suits them, like Iai

241 288 183 233 The competition between the loom and the croft is evident in the few communal township practices which still exist. One of the rules of township organization is that all households must bring their sheep in from the moor on the same day. Other rules are that no one [231] should go out on the moor at any other time with a dog, and everyone who has sheep should go out on the day designated by the township grazings committee to collect them. The moor is extensive, and the sheep wander over a wide area. Only if a large number of men go out together and come in with their dogs like a wide net can the sheep be brought in with a minimum of effort over the stream-cut, uneven ground. Anyone who goes out alone disturbs the grazing animals and probably drives them farther away from the village.

233 183 These rules have strong ethical import and are much more than a set of procedural rules prescribed by the Crofters Commission. "There is a code of ethics which you learn as you grow up, as you go with your ●[578] elders out to the moor. You can fight with a man over a woman and make it up next week; but if you fight with a man over a sheep, you won't make it up for thirty [178] years." That these rules are weakening in importance is indicated by situations in which only two or three men have gone out in the early morning to bring in the

233 183 178 sheep. These men arrive back in the village hours later to find the road lined with the cars of men who have come to look for their own sheep among the flock but who had not bothered to spend the time collecting them. Many have gotten rid of their sheep to "concentrate on the weaving."

233 178 ●578 2. Sheep vs. Cattle: As mentioned in the section entitled "Changing Land Use" (cf. Chapter 2), a split has emerged between those who keep cattle, and those who keep only sheep. Cattle were once predominant, but the number of sheep has greatly increased. The conflict between raisers of sheep and of cattle extends beyond the use of the reseeding schemes (see Chapter 2).

Cattle are usually brought in from the reseedings or from the common grazing lands where they are tethered, and put on the unfenced, arable inner grazing land of the township at the same time that the sheep are brought in from the moor. In one township on the west side of Lewis, the cattle were released a few days before the fank,[1] which resulted in the formation of two groups, sheep-only people and sheep-and-cattle people, which opposed each other. At the fank held a few days later,

[1]The word "fank" refers to the process of bringing the sheep in from the moor, and to the wooden pen in which the sheep are gathered and claimed by their owners.

233 178 ●578 sheep were let out of the pens, and a fight broke out between the two groups of people.

241 657 578 175 [671] 3. Crofters vs. Non-crofters: Another division within the township has developed largely because of the attention paid by outside agencies to "crofting." The Crofters Act of 1886 defined crofters and gave them a protected, privileged status. In fact, very little distinction existed between non-crofters (sometimes called squatters and/or cottars) and crofters, and in some places, such as the Isle of Scalpay, non-crofters even out-numbered crofters. Both categories were linked to each other by bonds of kinship and mutual dependence. Non-crofters were in fact favored economically. They did not have to pay rent, but had the same opportunities to graze stock and plough land as did crofters. Many crofters themselves had buaile, units of land not recognized as part of the croft and not included in the land for which rent was paid but recognized as property by the villagers themselves to the extent that these bits of moorland passed down through families or could be given by one person to another. Even today, a young girl thinking of getting married says her future husband might build their house on her father's buaile, and a man may build a house on moorland "given" to him by his wife's aunt. Officially, a non-crofter had no "rights" to a house which he built on the common

241 175 423

241 178 423 829 the edge over non-crofters. "Squatters can do what they like, cut peats, put sheep and cattle on the co grazing, but this is a privilege, not a right."

The clerk of a grazings committee says, "When i comes to an argument between a crofter and a squatte the crofter always wins. A squatter has rights only with the grazing committee's permission. If one cro disagrees, the squatter is out."

241 423 ●578 A squatter muses bitterly, "I wanted crofting s because I wanted to get a Department of Agriculture grant to build a house. I work on the peat road; I to all the fanks. But at a township meeting, they d want me to get crofting status. They were afraid I would start grabbing peat banks or apportionments in the common grazing or something. There's your broth love for you."

311 654 4. Subsidies: In the section entitled "Changin Land Use" I suggested that the availability of subsi has encouraged a more specialized investment in agri activites.

654 829 241 The villagers are keenly aware of outside insti which give money. They speak to each other about fo which they receive from the Department of Agricultur and the Crofters Commission, in much the same way as they are curious about the number of tweeds which an

of the Free Church are "the Nee Frees." The Free 795
rians are the "Seceders" or, at least to some of
try, the "Split P's." Arguing about religion is [576]
red very bad taste. It is left to the ministers, 793
y do have their points of difference. One Free 795
erian minister, for example, told me that no one in 798
rch of Scotland, including the minister, was worthy
ive Communion. On many occasions during the year
nisters of the Free Church and Free Presbyterian
devote part of their sermon to a criticism of the
of Scotland, not to mention the avid hostility of all
n toward Catholics.
dherents of the several sects intermarry with no qualms 582
thout suffering any loss of status. By the time a 715
gets to be a member, marriage is no longer in his
Husband and wife continue to adhere to their respective 593
nations, those in which they were baptized. The children 715
lly, are baptized and raised in the church of their [251]
. Extended families are often divided religiously 596
sectarian lines. In one family one brother and his 715
ere Free Presbyterians, another brother and his wife
ree Church, a sister was Church of Scotland. The
s had been Free Church but became Free Presbyterians
turn of the Century. At least one cousin was United
hurch. This religious schism did not affect their
ion for one another. Once a week the sister went to
es with her Free Church sister-in-law. Periodically

asceticism is fundamental to the peoples' lives. A brief 785
discussion of the Sabbath will serve to conclude my discussion [196]
of religion and to indicate some additional difficulties which [128]
the Sgiathanach faces in his attempt to preserve his culture.

Sunday does not exist on Skye. There is the "Continental 796
Sunday" and the Sabbath. On any other day of the week, the [576]
greeting is, "It's a fine day," or, more often, "It's a wet
day." The Sabbath, however, is "no day to be speaking of [576]
days." Keeping the Sabbath is almost a fetish among the
people. It is a readily observable test of an individual's
religious capacity. All unnecessary work, all unnecessary
words, and all unnecessary thought is taboo. Only the
barest minimum of worldly activities are permissible. This
does not mean a day spent in idleness; the time should be
spent in public worship at the kirk, private spiritual con-
templation and family worship. The Skyeman's estimation of [183]
a newcomer may depend on his keeping the Sabbath. One man
was very surprised to learn how long a memory the people have
when a man deviates from the expected. A visitor asked a
crofter what kind of a man a certain newcomer to Kilmair
was, to which the crofter replied, "He's all right, except
six years ago he played the pipes on the Sabbath." Most
newcomers, including the few Catholics, respect the Sabbath.

No crofter would ever think of doing any work on this [461]
day beyond feeding his cattle as an act of mercy. After [231]
weeks of rain, the crop of oats or hay may be ready for 796
harvesting on the Sabbath, but he will not touch it. A man 241

577

577 ETHICS--abstract ethical ideals (e.g., truth, righteousness, justice); ideals of individual virtue (e.g., honesty, loyalty, industry, courage, temperance, tolerance, filial piety); notions of right and wrong; conception of conscience and character; incidence and causes of, and attitudes toward breaches of ethics (e.g., lying, cowardice, flouting of kinship obligations); conflicts between ideal values and practical considerations; etc. See also:

Personality	18	Punishment of social offenses	869
Law	87	Military virtues	785
Ethos	181	Professional ethics	890, 759
Industry and sloth	461	Philosophical systems of ethics	812
Aesthetic ideals	517	Ethnopsychological concepts of character	856
Organized vice	546	Chastity	631
Informal social control	626	Sexual modesty	634
Civic virtues	641	Inculcation of ethics	467
Crime and sin	673		

600 in the far north. "There were two fishing seasons.
175 For one season you went to Fraserburgh, Stronsay,
288 Lerwick and Peterhead; and then the winter fishing was
[221] in England, at Yarmouth, Scarborough and Loucester.

I remember in Yarmouth we didn't like the English
[262] bread, it was such a dull color. We liked the pure
white Scotch bread."

They lived in small huts, and the work was hard but
full of fun. Neighborhood girls used to go together,
bringing bedding and different items in large chests to
share in the housekeeping. Three girls worked together
in a crew, and there were as many as six sharing a room,
in double bunks. Some of the huts were so small that
there was barely enough room for the beds and the cup-
boards. At night the boys would come in off the boats.
"You were so tired from being up since early morning;
[577] but you were always able to dance. You were treated with
[178] respect; the youngsters today aren't so good." The
women who married non-islanders that they met at the
fishing were not likely to return.

175 When the weaving started on a large scale, the girls
288 were glad enough to have work at home, even though the
464 work was hard." But many continued their temporary
175 absences from the island, working in hotels or as
464
172
357

181 People prefer to give money
621 in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat-
178 cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendships
183 are still weak, relative to friendships in urban
829 settings. Most information which is shared between
572 individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip.
621 Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutual
[369] aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to
[521] confide and keep secrets.
[476]

Today many of the younger villagers do not know
621 their relatives to the extent that their elders did.
178 In one family, a girl who was about to get married had
602 to ask her brother, who was the only one of the siblings
[683] interested in kinship connections, whom to invite to the
[596] wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of
602 one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and
484 Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there
I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in
[178] transportation and income, more islanders are taking
brief trips away from the island. During these trips,
they almost always stay with relatives.

It is frequently said that children are now "cheekier,"
857 less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, and
572 that they prefer to watch television or read books by
822 themselves to playing with each other.
178

155 Lies are frequently told. "Every other sentence my
861 father says is a lie. If you believe half of what he
577 says, you're a fool. If you believe a quarter of what
[673] he says, you're getting near the truth. If you believe
an eighth of what he says, it's probably the wrong eighth."

156 Villagers engage with each other in constant, quiet
621 game-playing. They are dependent on each other for many
things, but try to minimize the control that others have
over them while improving their own positions. If someone
brings plants or shrubs as a gift, the response is likely
to be, "She was probably pruning her garden and needed to
get rid of the leftover garbage." Such negativism releases
the person from feeling obligated. (See Emmett 1964:
16-17, for a description of a similar situation in Wales.)
A man who is asked about his new tractor replies, "Its
faults will come out later." If he were to say it was
all right and then it broke down, he would have lost points.
In discussing the mental health of a villager recently
returned from Craig Dunain (a mental hospital near Inverness),
someone observed, "He's better than the doctor who let him
out." If another breakdown were to occur soon, someone
would be sure to comment, "And so-and-so said he looked
all right."

156 Such training allows little room for the development
572 of close friendships in which the individuals involved are

173 his near kin. Again, much as in the medieval *gestes* of
621 France, fosterage of an heir by a clanswoman formed the
614 closest possible tie to at least one family of the people
829 from ancient to recent times. For it linked the heir by
[171] sympathy—though not by equal obligation—to elders and playmates in childhood and his contemporaries in later life.

565 To re-state this 'contradiction' of equality and privilege, we have thus a hierarchy of 'class' imposed upon a 'classless' society. For the joint farms and the township were essentially classless. The two classes, the lord and the people, were primarily opposed, war having placed the conqueror above those who fed him. This state of things was not active 'class-war', for the armistice could endure indefinitely by means of the bargain made between the classes for some exchange of services; none the less, it was built upon class conquest.

175 That all should ultimately claim the lineage of their
565 chief was a remarkable solution to the hereditary opposition
614 of class. A man who knew the Islanders well, John Lane
622 Buchanan (1793), noted how in conditions of the utmost
[574] poverty the poorest addressed each other as 'lady and gentleman', *bean-uasal* and *duine-uasal*, a courtesy not lost today. And every clansman had a right to shake the hand of his chief, as Edmund Burt observed in his vivid *Letters*
• [577] *from the North* (written after 1721). Indeed the sense of mutual obligation implicit in Gaelic society is well illustrated by the homely word *coir*, usually translated 'right'; it is equally used for right's correlative, duty—as when a Scots or Irish crofter may say "You've a right (a duty) to help your mother"—and for a 'right' (privilege) to shake the chief's hand. An English equivalent would be duty-privilege, or duty-right. Similarly, the same

175 two singers, as in the portrayal of a chief, "blue-eyed and
533 with clustering, golden locks . . . and brown, ruddy
614 checked"; in descriptions of "his wisdom, prowess and
622 justice" or of his traits—his "joyous, fresh, and shamefast cheek", and as a friend to the poor seeking justice, and to men of learning, musicians and bards. In the halls of chiefs where ancient joys and traditions were maintained, the ideal of chiefship was essentially that of manhood. Nor is the chief's lady forgotten either by Mary or by older bards, though womanhood is a theme rather for lyrics and for sacred song.

Even at Dunvegan the stream of clan life was once interrupted in the lifetime of these two bards, as the *Clarsair* told in his satire on the anglicised seventeenth chief (1693–99), and as Mary hinted in her haunting 'Croon' or *Cronan*. Happily, the stream was renewed
[173] by this chief's successor. Tradition and song show that such renewal was primarily due to the strength of communal life among the 'people' which called out leadership from the chiefs, in justice, in war, and in the encouragement of the oral arts. High conduct from the chiefs was invoked
• [577] by the expectations of their people. More important still, it was the warmth of feeling among the people as a group, and their ties to one another, which lit their personal loyalty to a chief and called forth his loyal leadership in return.[1]

[1] Gaelic loyalty was burned away in the Jacobite Risings, but as the last Rising left the Island relatively unscathed, one may simply refer to two works: Andrew Cunningham's *The Loyal Clans*, 1932; and J. L. Campbell's *Highland Songs of the Forty-five*, 1933 (Gaelic and translation). The first work analyses the need for a personal relationship to Scottish kingship, felt so keenly by the clansmen. The second gives authentic evidence of the spirit of loyalty. (Both the sense and a hint of the rhythm, with several of the airs, are available for the English reader.)

I know of no explicit statement of the conclusion given above, for lack of the sociological approach attempted here; but it is surely implicit in the thought of many a Gael.

175 rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide
621 for the lord's desires.
622
427
184
565

(e) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

174 The peaceful round of daily life formed the most
614 enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners
• 577 of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tensest ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether
[501] at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in
[726] war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must speak for them. Many a song of the Isles conveys the team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men.

174 And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley
614 be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portray-
501 ing the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who
538 warred against the waves and won. Alexander Macdonald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic, and probably in English, verse for its portraits of the crew in action, from steersman to 'look-out'. The flowing metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

174 The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with "the
614 Blessing of the Ship", the arms and the crew. Then the
501 bard, speaking for the stately skipper, "incites the sixteen
539 oarsmen to row" out of the bay, and they row to a rousing
577 shanty, a *Jorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and
[113]

[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (and ed.), 1890 (pp. 1–25); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 65–85), 1940. Cf. A. Macleod (Ed.), *Sar Orain: Three Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1932. The different themes of its sections, each in its own metre, have been published separately, in *The Songs of the Hébrides*, and elsewhere.

174 with words of heartening but well-weighed praise, each
614 post with its duties is apportioned to the man best fitted
501 for it by his temper, strength and skill—or even by some
539 special weakness! First the steersman:
• 577 "Let this broad heavy hero sit at the helm, powerful and limber . . .
Light handed on a helm, watchful and wary, cautious yet quick . . ."

Then others "Put this great-fisted and shrewd man to grapple with the rigging. . . . Windwise, he'll work with him that holds the shrouds . . . a thick-set, broad and craggy champion . . . and with him that grips the sheet, a neat and handy fellow. Set at the prow our pilot, keen-eyed for the airts, and with a sure sight for each landmark like a guiding star. And set at the halyard this self-reliant seaman, tried and clear-headed, grimly alert. . . ." They put to sea, and as the sea roughens, the steersman cries, "Quick at my ear a man to watch for the rain-squalls! Choose me a fellow who's half-fearful, yet not a real coward . . . for he must be quick to shout when he sights a big sea bearing down on us. But let no other but himself be by me, lest there be babble and hubbub to bewilder us." Then, as the seas break over the open vessel:

"To bale her let this strong man rise, active and brave,
Who will not blanch or yield or tremble for the shouting wave. . . ."

Next, "Let two stout fellows, these thick-boned, rough and hairy chaps, haul on the ropes behind the sails, to raise or lower them as we're lowered or uplifted by the surging seas. . . ." And last, for fear one fail or be dashed overboard by a wave, six nimble men are picked to stand by,

174 ready to leap fore or aft: "Quick to move as the mountain
614 hare . . . or the hounds after him; quick to climb as a
501 squirrel in the spring-time". Then comes the stirring
539 evocation of the storm, testing each man's mettle and the
• 577 discipline of all, until at last, their ship battered and themselves bruised and weary but undaunted, the crew reach Islay and round the sheltering point of Carrickfergus. There, with thanks to the High King, they drop anchor, the *birlinn* rides in peace, and all find meat and drink and rest.

175 As at sea, so in war, loyalty could rise to heroism in
614 individuals and corps. Young men were attached to their
721 chiefs by chivalrous leadership in warfare, both before
203 1745 and later. The Highlanders' high character contrasted with that of most Regiments of the Line, too often disciplined with the lash while demoralised by debauchery. From Lewis the Islesmen went out to the Seaforth or the Ross-shire Highlanders. General David Stewart of Garth, historian of the Highland regiments and people, wrote of these two regiments that again and again their courage and coolness in battle were proved.[1]

175 Not less striking was the record of Gaels among civil
618 populations, whether in Britain, as in the 'Forty-five, or abroad. In Germany in 1761 and 1762 much was said of the Highlanders' kindness, "for the boors were much better treated by those savages than by the polished English and French". Similarly in the Low Countries in 1814 and 1815, they were *enfants de la famille* and "kind as well as brave". The mayor of Brussels declared that they "called forth the attachment and esteem of all", and the inhabitants requested him "to endeavour to detain the 78th (2nd battalion Ross-shire) regiment of Scotchmen in the town, and to prevent their being replaced by
[113] other troops".

[1] The Highlanders in Canada, as far as I know, do not have one can only cite examples. For instance, descendants of his neighbours in Strath Spey told me that my paternal grandfather, as a penniless lad speaking Gaelic and English (in which he was literate), enlisted in the Black Watch about 1829. He was known as a N.C.O. for his power of quiet, reasoning discipline. He thrice refused the offer of a commission, which was then given to others, of whom more than one rose to high command in the battalion.

175 Such are the mingled traditions of the Highland
701 regiments which served in so many wars, for right or for
[614] wrong. Of all the desperate alternatives before the Gael—famine at home, semi-slavery in the factory towns, death-stricken sea voyages, pioneering in the forested hills of Eastern North America, or war, it was this last which offered the men not only the trappings and glamour of clanship but continuing fellowship. In the regiment a Gael was among friends. Modern civilisation offered him no other life promising social continuity and the hope of a return to croft and township, "if death should spare him".

175 It would be wrong to suggest that only the gentry could
701 rise to command, for as English and literacy were acquired,
565 the sons of small tenants received commissions. British
554 military discipline has too often driven a breach between
[903] the men and the non-commissioned officers, spoiling the latter's fitness for higher leadership. But among Highlanders "the bond of faith and affection" led naturally to commissioned rank. For generations, historic precedent
[198] was carried on in living tradition.[1] Given education, the
[871] sons of Island crofters have risen to command on land and sea; but education came late.

CONCLUSION

175 Thus in the 'little commonwealths' of the farm-hamlets
621 grouped within the township, personal right and equal
631 shares were balanced by common duty, summed up in the principle of duty-right, or duty-
• 577 [illegible] examples. For instance, descendants of his neighbours in Strath Spey told me that my paternal grandfather, as a penniless lad speaking Gaelic and English (in which he was literate), enlisted in the Black Watch about 1829. He was known as a N.C.O. for his power of quiet, reasoning discipline. He thrice refused the offer of a commission, which was then given to others, of whom more than one rose to high command in the battalion.
614

264 The only occasions on which it is customary to feed
574 someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as peat-
576 cutting. On such occasions the preparation of meals is
[461] done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual scrutiny,
[492] and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, the
requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled by
giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but
which were much more abundant when the land was cultivated
[262] and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcakes,
264 clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foods
571 are usually offered to visitors along with tea, and in the
574 past this custom served to minimize the economic disparities
between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A similar
[737] function was served by the practice of giving part of
[431] each catch of fish to old widows and other villagers in
need of aid. Even though food is more abundant and diverse
today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during a
visit is still very important.

193 A 50-year-old man who "married into" a croft recalls,
● [581] "I came from a family of ten children. Everyone had to
[428] leave, or marry a girl with a croft. Only the eldest son
could inherit the croft." There was little room for
423 romanticism in the fight for scarce land among the sons
581 of large crofter and non-crofter families. "The most

● 581 "The most
584 important thing about courting was the land. If a girl
423 was going to get a croft, she could have the pick of
anyone." Stories are told of broken alliances and the
interference of parents, all related to the inheritance
of the croft. For example, the father of a 70-year-old
woman living today deserted the beautiful girl to whom
he was engaged to marry a girl with a croft. "Never
mind beauty, just a bit of land." A man would hike
fourteen miles across the moor into town to bring back the
jug of beer required for the reiteach (the dinner party
announcing an intended marriage), only to find that the
girl was having a reiteach with someone else.

233 Cattle were much more important than sheep in the
early economic history of the Highlands. Scottish history
is full of stories of cattle thieves, and of "the drove,"
in which large herds were driven to Lowland markets. The
[789] most common examples of witchcraft concerned spells cast
on cows. Many Lewismen still remember market days on
Lewis, the day of the drove when cattle were herded into
Stornoway from all parts of the island; when children
were taken from school to help with the drive, and shop-
keepers put up extra stalls for the occasion.

Until as recently as ten years ago, a form of
transhumance was practiced on Lewis whereby the cattle

582

582 REGULATION OF MARRIAGE--minimum and average age at marriage for each sex; postponement of marriage (e.g., for economic reasons, to enable an elder sibling to marry first); marriage laws and regulations; physical and mental bars to marriage; endogamous and exogamous restrictions; primary marriage preference and practice (e.g., with a cross-cousin, hypergamy); explanations and rationalizations of marriage restrictions; tests of marriageability (e.g., of skill, prowess, fertility); etc. See also:

Marriages between members of different social strata 56
Kin group exogamy 81
Preferred secondary marriages 567
Polygamous marriages 595
Local exogamy and endogamy 621
Sex and marital offenses 694
Incest taboos and privileged sex relationships 838
Premarital sexuality 838
Puberty ordeals 881
Definition of majority 894

288 through alleys to rummage through the trash cans of
464 hospitals or other large institutions for food. The
167 occupational histories of the weavers support the
162 generalization made by an official of the Harris Tweed
Association that the younger weavers leave because
they do not like the weaving and they are replaced
mainly by older men who want to settle down after a
life at sea. (See Appendix A for several life histories
of weavers.)

E. Crofting as Strategy

241 Because of the relatively high income provided by
288 the Harris Tweed industry, those who remain within the
434 township have tended to emphasize weaving and neglect
the croft.

592 1. Croft as Place of Residence vs. Agricultural Unit:
Most of the 169 households consist of married couples with
● [582] their unmarried children. A tendency to marry rather
late in life and for children not to marry while their
parents are still living is evident in Table VI$\frac{1}{4}$ (Partial
List of Households According to Type of Household and
Age of Household Head).

Fourteen households of married couples and their
children (not included in Table VI$\frac{1}{4}$) include at least one
1/4 [This source as received did not contain this
table--Analyst]

621 The first thing that is said when for some reason
513 a woman is left alone in the house is, "Who's going to
858 go and sleep with her?" Often a child will be sent from
a neighboring family, not always relatives, to stay with
her at night. As in the past, it is not uncommon for
621 a childless elderly couple or single person alone on a
572 croft to take in a young, homeless couple, to whom they
888 may or may not be related. The young couple cares for
the old person or persons, and inherits the croft when
they die.

602 "Keeping up the relation" is the process by which
476 relatives sustain interaction and expectations of mutual
aid even though their relatedness becomes more distant
605 with succeeding generations. "I've got cousins in Ness
that I stay with at the Communions. They're getting on
into the third generation now." A cousin is a cousin
even to the 42nd degree (Williams 1963: 142), as long
as there is reason to sustain the relationship. "I know
we're related, but I can't quite place it." "We're a
bit related. I think she was a MacPhail before she
married." "I don't quite know how we're related, but
my mother and his mother considered it a close relation-
ship, and he has kept it up."

621 Every villager has a vast amount of information
626 about other villagers and their families, which may be
● 582

621 used on different occasions, for example, to discourage
626 deviant behavior or certain marital alliances. Any sign
• 582 of physical or emotional disability in someone planning
to get married invites an attempt by other villagers to
539 discourage an alliance. According to a Gaelic proverb,
"If you want to be praised, die; if you want to be
criticised, marry (Ma tha thu airson do mholadh, basaich;
621 ma tha thu airson do chaineadh, pos)." The villagers
626 consider not only the behavior of the person but of his
582 ancestors. The individual is perceived as belonging to
827 a family unit which through many generations has manifested
certain physical and behavioral traits. Traits of behavior
such as shyness, heavy drinking, stealing and tight-
fistedness are interpreted as hereditary traits. "It's in
the blood (Tha e anns an t'fhuil)." "It's in the people."
Particular occupations are also associated with families.
463 Stornoway, which is not so "urban" as to have a constant
turnover of population, contains many examples of
occupations passed down through generations.

632 In Chapter 3 I mentioned the development of several
578 groups in the crofting township which seem to be in conflict
with the township as a strongly bounded system. People
who keep only sheep have come to blows with those who keep
both sheep and cattle; and a distinction between crofters
and non-crofters may be seen. Many persons have preferred

827 Islanders themselves sometimes talk of a lowered
stamina and poorer health today than in the past. In-
178 breeding is widely held to account for this. Even if health
• 582 be really poorer, this explanation is untenable, since
marriage outside the village has greatly increased in the
166 last century. Everywhere there is movement along the
801 roads; a school placed half-way between two villages
fosters early acquaintance; immigrants trickle in from the
mainland, and emigrants occasionally marry beyond the
Island. Moreover, the people of certain villages were
transplanted in large numbers eighty years ago, as from
143 Valtos, Uig, northward to Shawbost. In any case, in-
breeding itself does not produce degeneration; for though
it may "fix" or bring out harmful tendencies where there
is already some poor or dangerous strain, it can also fix
good characteristics in a healthy population.[1]

178 All these changes were hastened and reinforced by two
199 new, revolutionary means. First, the physical mobility
166 suddenly brought to an area with no railway by the motor-
car, van and light lorry-bus; then, towards the end of the
inter-war years, the penetration of the Gaelic-speaking
home by the ceaseless voices of broadcasting.

[1] J. A. Thomson and P. Geddes, *Life: Outlines of General Biology*, 1931, vol. i, p. 473.

175 words are used for neighbourly help among crofters and
565 for services to the chief.[1]
614
622 Full freedom of choice in marriage prevailed among
the people, who honoured marriage and enjoined contin-
175 ence; but the position of the chief placed him apart from
• 582 the rest of the community. Now, the more egualitarian
the community, the more free are a couple to choose one
another on grounds of mutual affection, passion and
respect; the parents, too, are more likely to encourage or
support a suitor for their child because of character and
virility, rather than means.

175 The lads of the clan, chief and people, grew up together
565 in an isle or glen. But in manhood, while a labouring lad
582 sought a wife from the girl playmates of his childhood and
his fellow-workers at the peats, at the harvest, or in the
shielings, a chief's choice was confined to his own class.
In pre-feudal clanship, tanistry, *i.e.* the choice of a chief
among the higher kin, gave a wider choice for marriage
near home than feudal primogeniture, irrespective of the
wishes of the chief's kin except in extreme cases of unfit-
ness. In Scotland, tanistry prevailed even in the royal
line until the eleventh century. But with the dominance
of primogeniture, the young chief chose a bride outside
his own community for reasons other than those of human
feeling, honoured by Gaelic lyrical and religious tradition
and even by the Church.

As a result, the chieftain's son was granted a licence
forbidden to the rest, a temptation to maidens and a bad

192 [1] *Cuid* (cognate with *quota*) means a portion, lot or share, or what is one's
476 own (*e.f., gen. coducb*); and the associated verb (*cuidich*) means not simply
to share but actively to help. The apportioned lodging given to the chief
and his 'tail' of 'lads' was the 'cuideachy'—*cuid-oidhche*; while the
famous motto of the Seaforth Highlanders is Help the King!—*Cuidich an Righ!*

175 example to lads! Often of tall, fair stock, physically
565
• 582 superior from better feeding, accustomed to have his own
way, better taught, finely dressed, free and welcomed
wherever he went in the glen that fed and fostered him,
the young chief had favour on his side; moreover he was
protected from the vengeance of jealousy. A song in
praise of a young chief of Clan Leod boasts that "the girls
836 would give their snoods for Rory"! When she lost her
maiden snood to him, a girl would be excused, and her
'natural' child not dishonoured, but granted a share of
paternal affection and inheritance. After marriage, a chief's
175 lady made allowances for his past. But licence, once a
habit, is hard to check, and the Gael tell bitter tales of
837 jealous wives, married for policy, and their revenge upon
a rival. One gathers that where there were enough gentry
to meet, choose and inter-marry freely, as among the island
tacksmen, decency was better observed; but among land-
lords in the Highlands, as in other lands, local licence
was common down to the last century. Then, whereas a
Minister of the Established Church could hardly blame
his own Patron (or his son), a Free Church Minister could
speak out from the pulpit!

175 Of the legendary *jus primae noctis*, the 'law of the first
585 night' of Boece and other old historians by which a lord
had at one time the 'right' to rape the bride of any of his
serfs or tenants, there is no authentic record. Yet from
the primal right or wrong of conquest, some such 'law'
was forced upon the Gael, as upon other peoples. Boswell
records MacQuarrie of Ulva's belief that the custom of
paying him a sheep when a tenant married was followed in
lieu of such a right! Obligatory hospitality also lent itself
to abuse. In all relations of chief to people, there were
adjustments. In more complex society, poverty makes

166 that the movement of whole families is unusual, although a few have migrated to Stornoway,
particularly from the south. In this respect Uig, except to some extent the south, differs
from Park; only 15% of emigrants have gone to Stornoway, c.f. 32% from Park.

TABLE 51

The Destination of Emigrants, 1939 - 1959

Destination	Males (No.)	Females (No.) (1)	Total (No.) (%)	c.f. Park (%)
Stornoway	37	44 (20)	81 (15)	(32)
Other Lewis	24	52 (23)	76 (14)	(7)
Other crofting counties	27	33 (23)	60 (11)	(9)
Glasgow	56	57 (49)	113 (21)	(22)
Other Scotland	47	60 (39)	107 (20)	(12)
Other U.K.	17	26 (25)	43 (9)	(8)
Overseas	28	19 (8)	47 (9)	(5)
All destinations	236	291 (208)	527 (100)	(100)

Note: (1) The figure in parenthesis under 'females' indicates those who become 'migrants' on marriage.

Main emigrants from Uig go mainly to Glasgow and other parts of the mainland (table 51). Since 1939 (in effect since 1945) only 12% have gone overseas; 16% have moved to Stornoway and a further 10% to other parts of Lewis. This is almost entirely a move-ment in search of work. Female emigrants from the parish are less widely dispersed: more went to other parts of Lewis and fewer overseas. There is a special factor in the case of female emigrants: Social intercourse between the different island districts is very active, despite the apparent lack of facilities; almost a third of the female emigrants from Uig became migrants on marriage into other Lewis parishes. Even if we discount such migration, more women than men migrated from Uig between 1939 and 1959. Weaving retains young men but not the young women.

Migration from a crofting district is a somewhat indeterminate process. Young people of both sexes go to Glasgow or elsewhere in search of work. For a while they maintain their island homes but, eventually, they set up homes of their own. Our criterion of 'migration', against 'working permanently away', was this setting up of a home. Thus the critical point is often marriage and it will be noted (table 51 and Appendices B(i) and D(i)) that a very large proportion of female emigrants appear to have emigrated on marriage; in the case of migration outwith Lewis this usually means that for some time previous to this becoming 'emigrants' they had seasonal or permanent employment away from home. Indeed, our enquiries showed that the great majority of young women who leave employment on the mainland eventually married and settled away from Lewis. Only a small minority returned, often giving up their employment in order to care for ageing
582 relatives. An island man may occasionally return with a mainland wife but cases of island girls bringing mainland men to settle in the island are rare indeed.

For the remainder of the population, as a general rule, it may
be said that a person's status depends on personal qualities 184
rather than on occupation. This is especially true of men who
take an active part in the church. In terms of interaction,
the social hierarchy is extremely fluid. People who elsewhere 536
in Britain would be "working" or "middle" class not infrequently
join with members of the "upper" class in both formal and in-
formal social groups.[22] This underlying equalitarian pattern 571
has always characterized the interpersonal relations of Skye's
society. There is, of course, cleavage between the upper 582
level of the society and the bulk of the population; inter-
marriage is impossible.

The social life of the village revolves around the new- 571
comers and the landed gentry. In addition to the social 184
circles based upon age, sex, kinship, and religion, the indi- 554
vidual belongs to several small groups of friends and, perhaps,
a few formally organized clubs. When the native-born take
part in the formal activities they do so as participants rather
than as organizers or directors. The necessary roles of leader- 571
ship are left to the newcomers or to the landed gentry. The
latter, in particular, are responsible for community affairs,
just as the chief and his kinsmen were formerly looked to as
the leaders of the people. Occasionally, an influential new- 828
comer gives them able assistance. The influence of the old
men is not as marked in the village as in the crofting communities

[22] Roy Lewis and Angus Maude, The English Middle Classes (London: Phoenix House, 1949), pp. 13-20, 67-110.

used on different occasions, for example, to discourage deviant behavior or certain marital alliances. Any sign of physical or emotional disability in someone planning to get married invites an attempt by other villagers to discourage an alliance. According to a Gaelic proverb, "If you want to be praised, die; if you want to be criticized, marry (Ma tha thu airson do mholadh, basaich; ma tha thu airson do chaineadh, pos)." The villagers consider not only the behavior of the person but of his ancestors. The individual is perceived as belonging to a family unit which through many generations has manifested certain physical and behavioral traits. Traits of behavior such as shyness, heavy drinking, stealing and tight-fistedness are interpreted as hereditary traits. "It's in the blood (Tha e anns an t'fhuil)." "It's in the people." Particular occupations are also associated with families. Stornoway, which is not so "urban" as to have a constant turnover of population, contains many examples of occupations passed down through generations.

In Chapter 3 I mentioned the development of several groups in the crofting township which seem to be in conflict with the township as a strongly bounded system. People who keep only sheep have come to blows with those who keep both sheep and cattle; and a distinction between crofters and non-crofters may be seen. Many persons have preferred

632 to neglect crofting and to concentrate on weaving. Those
578 who still participate in crofting activities may neglect their communal obligations, such as going out on the moor after sheep, and may prefer to harvest crops, cut peat or perform other agricultural activities independent of other villagers.

632 Despite these tendencies, certain criteria of firm
182 boundedness are still found in the township network. All
462 the adult males of the township, including non-crofters, are responsible for serving as officers in the township grazing committee. The committee draws up rules for the
[654] organization of communal crofting activities, and applies for grants from the Crofters Commission or Department of Agriculture, for example, to build a new township fence, plant trees as shelter belts for livestock, extend a peat road, or to fence and reseed areas of moorland in "township reseeding schemes" (see Chapter 2). All adult males of
[464] the township are expected to provide labor to implement such plans.

632 Township meetings, chaired by the clerk of the
571 grazing committee, are held twice a year. A vote is
666 taken when any decision is to be made. The vote is usually unanimous, as all discussion, argument and persuasion have occurred before the meeting, and those who disagree

197 Within the village there are no branches of An Comunn
178 Gaidhealach and few books written in Gaelic. Once a rural
166 family moves to Stornoway, children often refuse to speak
191 Gaelic, even though they understand it, and parents tend
to speak only English to their children, believing this
will help them "get on." In the next generation, the
[871] language is lost. Village children attending school in
Stornoway often prefer talking to their Gaelic-speaking
[867] roommates in English. A young island woman, married and
living in Edinburgh, says she would like her baby son
to learn Gaelic but feels that if he had a mixture of the
two languages the other children would laugh at him.

197 English is the language of the larger society, the
191 language spoken in school and the language required in
most jobs and in dealing with most officials. In Gaelic-
197 speaking areas, the speaking of English connotes high
191 554 status. If an English speaker mispronounces Gaelic words,
626 he is quickly forgiven, praised for trying to learn such
578 a difficult language, and asked why he bothers with a
language that "isn't any use anyway." But if a Gaelic
speaker makes mistakes in English, he is teased mercilessly.
[551] Many nicknames derive from such mistakes; for example,
"Peter Squeak" got his name by mispronouncing the word
[524] "picturesque." People "win points" by competing with
each other in speaking English. "See how good you are in

197 English, no Gaelic allowed. I can beat you any time...."
191 One person observed, "People here make fun of each other
554 all the time. They're always trying to be superior, to
626 get one over the other person. Speaking English gives
578 you a feeling of superiority."
[524]

If a Gaelic speaker chooses to speak English in a village situation where there are no officials present or other cues which make English-speaking appropriate, this indicates that he considers himself a cut above everyone else. "I went to help Calum pull his tractor out of the mud, and Malina was there with her husband. She was speaking English. Oh, I says to myself, lady, you're not for this place. You don't belong to this village."

In evaluating whether or not a particular woman is "snobbish," villagers may decide, "She must be; whenever I've seen her in the post office, she never speaks any Gaelic."

197 The sanctions against speaking English when all
191 persons present speak Gaelic indicate the effect of inter-
554 action between a socially marginal group and the dominant
571 group. The effect is to increase the emphasis on uniform
184 behavior within the marginal group. The existence of a
578 higher social stratum has diminished social differentiatio
within the village setting. Individuals may move out of
that setting and adopt the language and other forms of

behavior characteristic of the dominant group; but for those that remain in the village, the language serves a unifying function, although its form is limited in diversity of elements.

Jokes are most humorous when told in Gaelic; and conversation is punctuated with Gaelic proverbs and old stories. There is a vast oral lore, expressed in Gaelic, of the village and generations of its members and their characteristics and escapades, a dense map of human events. All of these tales, proverbs and jokes have been told a thousand times, but retain their unifying function. When speaking of today's children who do not go to the sheiling, a man says sadly, "They won't have our memories; this place will mean less to them than it does to us." The moor is not an empty wasteland, but a map of memories. Thousands of place names are known, and behind every place name is a story. The major landmarks such as mountains, lochs and headlands tend to have Norse names, from the days when the Norsemen raided and settled along the island coasts; but the smaller hillocks and fields and bends in the stream have Gaelic names, for example, Sheiling of the One Night, Field of the Slaves, Slope of the Stone Boys, Hillock of William's Sheiling. To know these place names and their histories is to participate in a distinct community, which has been made even more distinct by contrast with the dominant society.

at which the youth can join together as a sodality; hence, they hardly ever have a chance to question the control of the "elect." Only once in recent years has the control of the old people been criticized. After World War II, the men who returned to the neighborhood wanted to erect a village hall. This threatened both family unity and the solidarity of the neighborhood. The young people were divided between the time honored obligation to honor their parents and their own desires for a fuller life. The parents were torn between religious beliefs and their affection for their children. The minister and his elders were faced with a situation which threatened the fundamental tenets of the faith and the continued ability of the religious expression to sanction the existing order. How strong are age controls? The youth did not get their village hall. Many of them left Skye for the Lowlands where social life is less restricted.

The difficulty is that until, say, forty years ago the traditional outlets were sufficient. Middle-aged people remember how the youth used to drop in on the old widow for a visit on an evening and then make their way off in couples for a bit of courting. Two World Wars and the continuing program of National Service, not to speak of the influence of the schools, have given the youth a new perspective. They have spent one or two years in an environment where recreational activities are considered not only innocent but also wholesome. The radio and magazines have contributed to the demands of the youth for amusements. As if this were not enough, there are

er. If the child was a boy, they gave some to the first 175*
they met; if a girl, to the first woman. The Reformed 852
continued the practice of public baptism before the
regation. The father, or godfather, continued to recite
Apostle's Creed. The Lord's Prayer was said, and a doxology
sung. When an attempt was made to abolish set prayers
liturgy sometime around 1650, baptism ceased to be performed
urch. Following baptism, the festivities of the kirking
repeated. Private baptism was not forbidden until 1690.

iage. Marriage, either regular or irregular, for a life- 175*
or a year, was a contract. The young clansman with his 58
er and friends went to the girl's home where the oldest
e group told who was wanted. If her parents thought the
iage desirable, the party was invited in to eat and drink.
was the "little agreement." In about two weeks the "great
act," the settlement of the dowry and date of the wedding
concluded at a dance and feast. Among the gentry a great
of money passed in marriage contracts. Both dowries and
rs, a form of dower, were settled. The dowry varied with
tatus of the woman; the tocher with the position of the
6

The "booking" may have occured on Skye. Elsewhere, at
, shortly before the fixed date the couple bound themselves,
penalty of a money fine, to marry by the date. The money
laced in the hands of a neutral party, usually the session
who entered their intentions in his books. In view of the

[96] Lachlan MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

resistance of the Skye ministers to p
ever, the "booking" is dubious.

About a week before the wedding
out together to invite their guests.
and drink for the feast. Before the
assembled at his home and the bride's
took place in the church, at least af
by festivities at her home which last
were gone, three days was the minimum
marriage, the bride's mother bound he
linen coif before rising.[98] Her frie
couple was toasted with whiskey while
took place on Thursday and the party
kirking on Sunday. The Kirk censured
especially the piping, promiscuous da

At the end of the rejoicing, th
their new home by the party. As they
broke a bannock over the bride's head
of the lucky bannock. The first man
had to address her in verse, the poet
perhaps in return for the food and dr
presented the chief with a horse or c
to marry without showing the chief he

[97] Cf. MacTavish, op. cit., Vol.
[98] Plant, op. cit., pp. 256-257.
[99] Graham, op. cit., p. 187.

parish registers,[97] how- 175*
58

, the young couple went
All who came brought food
marriage the groom's party
at hers. The marriage
ter 1690, and was followed
ed until the refreshments
. On the morning after
r daughter's hair in a
nds then dressed her. The
they sat in bed. Marriage
had to last until after the
the Sabbath celebration,
ncing, and drunkenness.[99]
e couple was conveyed to
entered, the eldest man
; all tried to get a piece
the bride met on the path
's blessing. Her father,
ink sent by the chief,
w. No one was allowed
was able to support a wife.

I, p. 37.

581

581 BASIS OF MARRIAGE--theories of the origin, purpose, sanctity, and permanency of marriage; conception of the marriage bond and of the status of matrimony; economic, sexual, and romantic factors in marriage; incentive to marriage; qualities desired in a spouse (e.g., beauty, wealth, industry, skill); relation of marriage to the family; etc. See also:

Family organization . . . . . 59 Marriages of convenience . . . . . .
Sex 83

58

GE--general statements dealing with several specific aspects of mar-
larriage is a socially sanctioned relationship between a man and a
volving economic cooperation and residential and sexual cohabitation.
rally patterned norms of this relationship regularly specify who may
not enter into it, how it may be established and terminated, and what
ner may and may not do within it. As a relationship, marriage is to be
hed sharply from the family, the social group within which it is typi-
bedded.

three children, but this will only be for a few weeks in the spring and autumn. The large crofter, who has only recently appeared, is the only one who can use one or two helping hands all through the year.

One may logically ask, what if the thought that they are not needed never occurs to the children and they resolve the conflict of individual expression and subservience to the father and the group? The answer is an ever increasing number have at least one more important decision to make. As the boys grow into young men, they must decide whether or not they will remain bachelors, which remaining with the parents means, or found their own families of procreation. Girls must similarly decide between spinsterhood and marriage. There is no pattern on Skye, like that found in Ireland,[12] for turning over the croft to a son, much less a daughter, while the parents are still alive. Some, of course, marry after their parents die, but often it is too late for them to have children. The township of Bornesketaig, for example, has not celebrated a birth in years; there simply are no children and none to come. Other men and women feel it is too late for marriage when they get possession of the croft. I doubt that there is a single township on Skye which does not have at least one bachelor or spinster. Totescore has earned fame as being a township of bachelors. Commonly, a brother and sister live together on the croft.

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[12] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 72-79, 85; Arensberg and Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland, pp. 123-144. There are, of course, many comparisons which could be made with the Irish small farmer, but most of them would apply to peasants everywhere.

247

I hardly need to add after our discussion of the islanders' 582 427
conomy that the chances of a young couple finding a vacant
roft are slim. It may be of interest to indicate just how slim
hey really are. In 1953-54, in 82 townships, which I visited,
here were only eight vacancies. Six of these were no larger
han cottars' gardens. There were no vacant holdings in Kilmuir
r Glendale. I am not talking about derelict crofts in the
ands of absentees. Moreover, if the individual decides that 464
orking in Portree is better than leaving the island, his 582 362
rospects are no better. The County Council had sixty-six units
n a public housing scheme under construction, in 1953, in
ddition to fifty-six completed since the end of World War II.
here were three applicants for each apartment. The county
anitary engineer, who was responsible for allocating the a-
artments, began to think half the population of Portree was
ying, and the other half was dead. In order to get priority,
he people were claiming disabilities, "some of them with names
s long as your arm." Many of the people, especially young
eople, regard winning out in the competition as an indication
f status. But we are getting away from the croft. We still
ave to consider how a person gets possession of the croft.

As we know, the crofter has the right to bequeath his 427 428
roft to a member of his family; however, he seldom bothers
o exercise his right. Here is another example of their
ncomplete adaptation to the higher socio-cultural level. The
and and the house have very little monetary value. Usually,
he man who leaves a will has been talked into it by an
fficer of the Department of Agriculture. He, then, assigns

his croft to his eldest son. Some reformers feel that the youngest son or daughter who has stayed at home to care for his parents is cheated. When there is no will, the State steps in and assigns the croft to the widow, the eldest son, or the child who has remained behind.

The growth of the welfare state has had its influence in determining this pattern. On the one hand, there are payments to unmarried children who remain at home to look after their parents. On the other hand, there are the old age pensions. While the pension has made the transition of the old couple from active crofters and parents to grandparents easier for the Irish small farmer,[13] on Skye the coming of the pension saw the end of the old pattern of the oldest son returning, with his wife, to care for his parents and raise his own family. With a pension the old couple had little need to work the croft. The children were not needed, and not infrequently the old people enjoyed their independence and their freedom from turning the house over to a woman whose ideas and beliefs conflicted with their own. The common desire of parents today is that one of their children will stay on to take over or return after they are gone. Naturally, no one likes to see his children far from home, but what can they do?

Aside from the difficulties of inheriting a croft or finding a vacant holding, it has become increasingly difficult for a young man to find a wife. Most of the crofters' daughters

[13] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 85-86; Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., p. 125.

feel that marriage should offer them something better than they can attain on their own. In particular, the young woman has very little desire to marry a small crofter, because she knows full well that her husband may have to leave most of the work to her. Summing up all the social and economic determinants influencing marriage, we find two trends: (1) there are fewer and fewer marriages at a later and later age, and (2) more and more girls are marrying Lowlanders and Englishmen.

With respect to the first trend, a random sampling of 270 males above the age of twenty revealed only three married men under thirty, out of sixty-four, and sixteen married men between thirty and thirty-five, out of thirty-four. The postponement of marriage is also marked for females. Of the 1550 married women on Skye, in 1951, 149 were under thirty, out of 641, and 140 were between thirty and thirty-five, out of 210.[14]

Regarding the second trend, I found the Sgiathanach to be philosophical about having his womenfolk marry Sassanach men. "It's a turning of the tables, you know," I was told. "Up until the end of the Great War (World War I), our boys brought back wives from all over. We even had a French girl here in Kilmuir." I do know one Austrian woman who married a man from Glendale. In view of these difficulties there is one further question to be asked concerning the youth of Skye, what becomes of the young men and women who leave?

[14] Census of Scotland: Inverness, 1951.

601 dà peathar, and iar-ghaichean na peathar 's a' thràthar.

Within the group which the Sgiathanach calls his "family," we find that husband is fear, and wife is bean. Their children are mac and nighean. Marriage, of course, extends the circle of relatives. Both members of the married pair refer to their spouse's "people" as athair-céile for father-in-law, màthair-céile for mother-in-law, bràthair-céile for brother-in-law, and piuthar-céile for sister-in-law. Céile means mate's, in these cases. This leaves us with two classificatory terms which ignore sex. A grandchild is ogha, and a son-in-law or daughter-in-law is cliamhain.[21]

601 Although this nomenclature is correlated with expected
602 patterns of ideal behavior, in reality, as I have said, the
178 system has broken down under the impact of economic forces.
591 With neo-local residence the township has come to be occupied by what the Sgiathanach calls "friends" rather than "people." Not uncommonly, brothers and sisters take up residence after marriage not only in different townships but also in distant
605 neighborhoods. The sharing of work, then, mainly involves
582 cousins. Unlike Ireland,[22] there is no strong taboo against
[179] marrying a cousin. Cousins marry "to keep the money in the family," and remote cousins were apparently preferred

[21] Although Arensberg and Kimball look upon the Irish System as essentially similar to that of northern and western Europe and the United States, excepting minor variations (op. cit., p.97), I was struck by the dissimilarity of the kinship system of the Sgiathanach to that of the United States. The underlying principles are, of course, the same, but the ramifications set the two apart; see, e.g., Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," American Anthropologist, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (Mar., 1943), pp.22-38; and David M. Schneider and George C. Homans, "Kinship Terminology and the American Kinship System," American Anthropologist, Vol. LVII, No. 6 (Dec., 1955), pp. 1194-1208.

[22] Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 83-86.

605 spouses not too long ago.[23] Perhaps, more than any other
582 factor, it is the tendency of the aged parents to hold on
427 to the croft until they die that is strangling the kinship
593 system. Still the extended family is a strong mutual aid
602 group. Anyone with a recognized degree of kinship is
596 entitled to hospitality. When the exiles return to visit
602 the Misty Isle, they always try to make the rounds of their
574 kinsmen. This is more than a question of not becoming an economic burden on a favorite aunt; they do not want to be guilty of slighting anyone. There is reciprocity here.
[103] In return for food and shelter, the visitor freely gives his kinsman all the news he has gathered about the activities of their distant kin. He acts like a roving reporter, cementing the solidarity of an otherwise fragmented group.

602 The expression given to the degree of consanguinity and
769 affinity is revealed most completely at a funeral. As one of the two occasions on which the extended family comes together, the other being a wedding, it reveals a host of significant traits. The first thing I noticed was that although the inavailability of land and the illegality of subdivision enforces neo-local post marital residence, burial is ideally patrilocal. On more than one occasion the steamer came in at night with a body which had been shipped home from Glasgow or
602 Edinburgh for interment in the deceased's neighborhood. This
593 also means that the husband and wife remain integral members of their respective families. The founding of a family of

[23] Norman MacLeod, Reminisences of a Highland Parish, p. 196

he ball in a few words, I would say, it is a marriage
arket.

Social distance and class endogamy can also be demon-
trated by a negative approach to the question. Within recent
ears there have been a few cases of marriage across the
ocial cleavage line. The results, as we shall see, show a
trong drive for social exclusiveness. One of the county
ople married a daughter of the "new rich." Her father was
crofter's son who made a fortune as a whiskey distiller
d exporter, especially during the days of prohibition in
e United States. His fortune made, he returned to Skye
d purchased part of the old Clan MacLeod lands. Although
nd ownership is a prerequisite for being included among
e upper stratum, neither land nor wealth guarantees
ceptance for a man from the croft. No one received the
rriage of his daughter happily. The villagers and crofters
id it was a marriage of necessity. The young aristocrat's
rents' reaction is at least partially reflected by the fact
t it was one of those very rare Skye marriages which end
divorce. Until his remarriage in 1954, he was the only
vorced man on Skye. In the second case, a crofter married
o a county family. His wife was the daughter of one of
most prominent ministers of the Church of Scotland in
present century. Although the minister was himself the
of a school master, his high prestige status had led to
acceptance by the "first family of Skye," and his second
riage was into this family. Some of the crofters and

565 562 villagers say he married above his station. His daughter, they believe, married below her station. Be that as it may, he disowned his daughter. He never spoke to her again. The third case involved the marriage of one of the poor, but nevertheless accepted, gentry and a crofter's daughter. He has fared differently. Rather than cast him out, his mother refused to recognize the marriage. He was forbidden to bring his wife home. To this day he continues to divide his time between his estate and his "town house," where he keeps his wife. Further, this man, who I have been told should have become chief of Clan Ranald, is no longer of the county people.

565 554 Among the distinctive features which overtly characterize the county people is their ascribed status and role of leadership. Indeed, this is their most important function. As the tacksmen were once the counselors of their subtenants, so today the landed gentry must fill this role which the 874 Sgiathanach from the croft will not assume. Even if a Skyeman here and there feels that the local proprietors would like nothing better than to have all the people behave like serfs, bowing and scraping before them, he expects the proprietors 565 554 623 to get things done. In Portree the local gentry form the village council. During the war when they were on active duty, there was no village council. The Skye District Council, which replaced the old parish councils and which, acting as an agent for the County Council, is the only administrative body on the island, reveals a similar membership. In any of

people of the Free Church are "the Wee Frees." The Free 795
Presbyterians are the "Seceders" or, at least to some of
the gentry, the "Split P's." Arguing about religion is 576
considered very bad taste. It is left to the ministers, 793
and they do have their points of difference. One Free 795
Presbyterian minister, for example, told me that no one in 798
the Church of Scotland, including the minister, was worthy
to receive Communion. On many occasions during the year
the ministers of the Free Church and Free Presbyterian
Church devote part of their sermon to a criticism of the
Church of Scotland, not to mention the avid hostility of all
Skyemen toward Catholics.

Adherents of the several sects intermarry with no qualms 582
and without suffering any loss of status. By the time a 795
person gets to be a member, marriage is no longer in his
mind. Husband and wife continue to adhere to their respective 593
denominations, those in which they were baptized. The children 795
naturally, are baptized and raised in the church of their 851
father. Extended families are often divided religiously 596
along sectarian lines. In one family one brother and his 795
wife were Free Presbyterians, another brother and his wife
were Free Church, a sister was Church of Scotland. The
parents had been Free Church but became Free Presbyterians
at the turn of the Century. At least one cousin was United
Free Church. This religious schism did not affect their
affection for one another. Once a week the sister went to
have tea with her Free Church sister-in-law. Periodically

acceptance of the potato, a much more productive and dependable 161
subsistence item than grain on Skye, made it possible for more 175
people to live on less land. The introduction of a new industry 178 241
kelping, provided many with employment and freed them from com- 464
plete dependence on a subsistence economy. Vaccination reduced 757
the mortality rate, especially among infants whose chances of 165
reaching maturity and procreating were thus enhanced. Another 511
important factor was the Skyeman's share in the general pros-
perity of British agriculturalists during the early years of
the Industrial Revolution and during the Napoleonic Wars. An 423
especially important factor was the practice of subdividing 592
the land which made early marriage possible, in particular after
the installation of the crofting system. Finally, but by no 161
means least significant, there was the persistence of many 175
typical features of the culture in the days of the clan. The 178
sentimental ties of kinship and attachment to the soil had 182
remained.

The population decrease, partially a result of the Skyeman's 161
involvement in the process of commercialization, was primarily 175
a result of a failure to fully adjust to the higher, more 178
heterogeneous socio-economic level. By the end of the second 184
period of the modern epoch, 1845, the people had become hostages
to the potato and their own fertility. When the potato failed
them, they had nothing to fall back upon, except the generosity
of their landlords. The cattle and kelp markets had collapsed
at the end of the Wars, and the subdivided land could not
produce sufficient grain. The belief of many that the pop-
ulation had over-run the limited local resources was confirmed.

The growth of the population ended with a prolonged famine. 161
The proprietors, finding that the people's only justification 731
for crowding the estates and looking to their landlords for 427
help were some nebulous customary usages, facilitated the
decline by disregarding custom and throwing as much land into
sheep farming as was possible. While evictions were not new, 427
only after the famine did they result in an absolute reduction
in numbers. The Sgiathanach, fettered by a lack of capital 182
and an inability to break with the past, could not make the
final adjustment required by the process of commercialization,
specialization. In addition to emigration, the Clearences 167
and general economic hardship forced a postponement of 582
marriage. There was neither land nor regular employment to 464
provide a livelihood.

Later in the nineteenth century new influences began 161
to play a role in the continuing decline of the population. 167
Following the passage of the Crofters' Act, the nature of 178
emigration changed. Seasonal migration became negligible. 427
The provisions of the Act, and ensuing legislation, made it 671
possible for a man to remain away during his active years and
return to the parental croft to spend his old age. The ex- 871
tention of education not only equipped the youth for life in
the larger society but also created demands for objectives
which could not be attained at home under the existing order.
Thus, as in the period of population growth, the persistence of 161
many features of the old traditional culture, and the renewed 167
importance of others, were features of no little consequence. 182

584

584 ARRANGING A MARRIAGE--marriage preliminaries; courtship (e.g., opportunities, methods); initiation of negotiations (e.g., by youth, by girl, by parents of either); conduct of negotiations (e.g., by parents, through a go-between); marriage brokers; proposal of marriage. methods and consequences of rejection; requirement of consent (e.g., of youth, of girl, of parents, of chief); betrothal (e.g., conceptualization, announcement, ceremonial, symbols, duration); status and behavior of betrothed persons; infant betrothal (e.g., prevalence, procedure, nullification); breaking an engagement (e.g., reasons, procedure, consequences); adjustment to death of betrothed (e.g., substitution of a sibling); etc. See also:

Sex status . . . . . 662 Sexual overtures 836
Contractual relationships . . . . . 678 Adolescent activities 883

581 "The most
584 important thing about courting was the land. If a girl
423 was going to get a croft, she could have the pick of anyone." Stories are told of broken alliances and the interference of parents, all related to the inheritance of the croft. For example, the father of a 70-year-old woman living today deserted the beautiful girl to whom he was engaged to marry a girl with a croft. "Never mind beauty, just a bit of land." A man would hike fourteen miles across the moor into town to bring back the jug of beer required for the reiteach (the dinner party announcing an intended marriage), only to find that the girl was having a reiteach with someone else.

233 Cattle were much more important than sheep in the early economic history of the Highlands. Scottish history is full of stories of cattle thieves, and of "the drove," [789] in which large herds were driven to Lowland markets. The most common examples of witchcraft concerned spells cast on cows. Many Lewismen still remember market days on Lewis, the day of the drove when cattle were herded into Stornoway from all parts of the island; when children were taken from school to help with the drive, and shopkeepers put up extra stalls for the occasion.

Until as recently as ten years ago, a form of transhumance was practiced on Lewis whereby the cattle

632 with the decision which they know is to be made usually
571 do not attend the meeting. Thus, apparent consensus is
666 always maintained.

632 Changes in the character of the township as social
178 boundary system are apparent in ceremonial occasions such as weddings and funerals, which will be discussed in the following pages.

584 1. Courtship and Marriage: Courtship occurred during the dark hours when the older members of a household had gone to bed. A great deal of courting was done in [504] company. Because transportation was limited, groups of young people went together to dances; and on other nights, bands of young men would visit a house in which several girls were sleeping together, climb in through a window, and perhaps lie beside the girls, fully dressed, filling the dark with whispered jokes. Such a custom, a form of bundling, was called "night visiting" (ruith na h-oidhche); the male visitor was called caraid na h-oidhche, "companion of the night."

When couples began serious courting, they would meet outside at night, or the girl would let her bramar (sweetheart) into the house after the old people had gone [834] to bed. A couple would never consider walking hand in hand along the road during the day. Boys and girls were seated separately in school, went around in separate

584 groups on the sheilings or within the village as they
[837] were growing up, and even during courtship maintained a joking, somewhat rude interaction. "If he says he wouldn't touch her with a barge pole, he's obviously smitten." Someone considering the dangers of marryin an outsider[1] commented, "A devil you know is better t a devil you don't know."

584 Now that facilities for transportation have incr
178 couples tend to pair off in cars rather than go in
[493] groups. They may even be seen together on a date in town. Activities such as dances still begin late in [535] the night, lasting from about 12:30 a.m. until early morning. The seriousness of a relationship is kept secret for as long as possible, but weddings today require long-term planning because wedding dinners ar held in hotels rather than within the village. At an
574 earlier time, serious intentions were announced only
584 few weeks before the wedding, at a reiteach or dinner party which signified a betrothal. Reiteach also means "disentangling" or "reconciling," and was described by one person as a means of "pouring oil

[1]The term "outsider" usually connotes non-Gaelic speaking, but may also refer to someone from outside the village.

on troubled waters," or bringing the two families together.[2]

The most important of the ceremonies surrounding marriage was not the church service (posadh) but the wedding dinner and dance following the church service (banais, from bean meaning "woman" or "wife," and feis meaning "feast").

"House weddings," as they were called, were held in the home of the bride. For several weeks beforehand, neighbors and relatives brought gifts to the bride's house, where they were displayed in a room set aside for them along with the dresses to be worn by the bride and

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[2] Morag Macleod of the School of Scottish Studies describes a custom still existing on the Isle of Scalpay off the Isle of Harris, called reiteach mor (big reiteach), in contrast with the reiteach bheag (small reiteach) or simple dinner party which existed until fairly recently on mainland Harris. The reiteach mor is a dramatic event involving a humorous exchange between male speakers for "the groom's side," and male spokesmen for "the bride's side." The bride is hidden, and the groom's men ask for the bride indirectly. They desire a sheep, perhaps, or a length of tweed. The desired object constitutes a theme which is developed in humorous give-and-take between the two sides, as various females are brought out one by one by the bride's people, from the most undesirable old maid to the bridesmaid and finally to the bride. Until the bride finally appears, the groom's spokesmen must find something wrong with each female presented, along the lines of the chosen theme. The sheep's fleece is not curly enough, and so on. The bride sits at the table after she appears, is given a glass of whiskey which she sips and then passes to her fiance, and the performance is over.

out and celebrate. There's no other way to express myself."

"Now that Ruaridh has stopped drinking, he's not very interesting to talk to. He's very dull these days. He doesn't say a thing."

During the Communions, a sense of excitement and holiday permeates the village. Among the converted members of the Free Church, this feeling is expressed in vigorous participation in long church services and meetings in the homes of the converted. In the rest of the village, the unconverted men don their best suits and head for the hotel, or the bothan opens earlier in the week than usual. All special occasions such as fank days or the arrival of relatives generate excitement, which is most often expressed, among the unconverted men, by drinking.

A man may propose to a woman, and the next day "forget" this rash action with impunity. When a man has been drinking, he is more likely than on other occasions to be openly affectionate to a woman, or to express strong feelings of friendship to his fellows. "It's the only time when you're really happy. You can sing, tell your life story. It's the only time when people are really friendly. But it's a false friendship, because when you meet someone the next day, he's not the same person. He's distant, cold. You feel depressed. You want to recreate the situation, so you start drinking again."

The fact that crofting townships are loca
land is one reason that the larger so
to exploit the land. The Crofters Ho
and subsequent legislation ensured pr
incentives for continued maintenance
the crofting township.

Protective government legislati
for housing, subsidies for rearing l
low taxes, and the economic protecti
socialistic government in times of c
maintain a core of crofting families

The predominance of older persons in
striking, but many of the younger pe
the island to work on the mainland
contribute part of their salary to
members, and plan eventually to mar
the village or to retire there. Lo
kin-linked families in a small area
to the boundedness of the township

The policy of the government,
agencies such as the Highlands and
Board, has been to support economic
complement rather than interfere w
the crofting township with its sma
practices. The Harris Tweed indus

ated on marginal
ociety is not motivated
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ivestock, relatively
ion provided by a
crisis have helped to
for many generations.
the township is
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return frequently,
the remaining family
ry and settle down in
ng-term residence of
has in itself contributed
etwork.
through developmental
Islands Development
strategies that
h the functioning of
holdings and communal
y is lauded as an

as the days lengthened during Christmastide, old style, it may be called " The Rune of the World's Light ".

The world, ere came the Son of God,
was black, a bog forlorn:
Void of sun, moon or star,
void of body, heart or form.

'Twas Mary Mother lowly kneeled,
and gave the Inmost Being birth;
Darkness and tears were driven afar,
the guiding star rose over earth.

Light on the land, the deep illumed
from sullen pool to ocean stream;
Grief was laid and joy was raised,
with praise and hail and harping free.

Light on the hills, light on the plains,
light o'er grey-green sea and firth;
Light o'er all the world as one,
the hour God's Son came down to earth.

(D) THE CYCLE OF LIFE

The stages in life's sequence are marked by noble runes, of baptism, initiation in adolescence, betrothal and marriage, childbirth, and of confession and consolation in trials throughout life and, at its close, of farewell. As might be fitting, the benedictions were given by either man or woman: to a child by a parent or elder; to the young and strong by the wise; and by lovers to one another. And in the past, especially in trial, the ' soul-friend ' ministered —*an anam-chara*, a neighbour chosen from lifelong friendships for steadfastness and understanding.

At birth a babe was baptized; and in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit the nurse placed three drops

people, although life in crowded quarters and daily concern with the rearing of animals make for a frankness not readily understood by strangers in Victorian times. The standard of morality in the Isles is high, and the rate of illegitimacy low. A courting custom, once common through the northern and western coasts of Britain, as in Norway and New England, was ' bundling ', a preliminary to marriage, or bed-fellowship (*leapachas*). This is noted with disarming frankness by various writers.[1] After the ceremonial and festivities of the betrothal, *reiteach*, a young man was allowed to sleep beside his betrothed; but the marriage ceremony was to precede, not follow, consummation. At wedding festivities, sweethearts found their way to the barn and took their rest together on the straw. In the shielings, too, courtship was given some freedom: trust is a necessity where there could not be total restraint.

To what extent marriage sometimes took place or may still occur after consummation and the expectation of a first child, only one with close local knowledge could say. ' Hand-fasting ', marriage made binding only by the conception of a first child, was an ancient custom. Two things must be remembered. First, the strength of parental benediction and authority, backed by a community in which all knew one another from childhood, gave binding force to betrothal and its obligations; and ceremonies such as that of the kertching effectually replaced legal and ecclesiastical marriage when there was neither registrar, minister nor priest. Secondly, marriages blest with children tend to be happy ones. Fulfilling the cycle of life, children also provided the support to old age needed among peasants living on the edge of poverty.

[1] W. A. Smith, *Lewiana*; and Brand Report, 1902.

184 There must be e
565 tively small number o
the local group and b
basis of the class is
[582] to lose their identit
interact with other c
184 must be endogamous.
565 are given this needed
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584 to cement their relat
society, and to arran
daughters. A Skye Co
"county people" come
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If anyone has any dou
of highest status, he
answer at this time.
three days and two ni
society has come to S
from Edinburgh. The
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opportunity to reaffirm their solidarity,
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unty Ball is held in November. The
from near and far to attend the affair,
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He must be invited to the ball. For
ghts the festivities continue. High
kye and has brought with it its caterers
local people say the "Ya-ya's" have

ght of the ball, the young people are
es of the Skye aristocracy, who act
fashionable hotels to the Skye Gathering
. During the dance and the supper which
roductions are arranged for their sons
e second night of the ball, the young
les. If I were asked to characterize

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[For additional general information on runes and rites at various phases of the life-cycle, see category 796, pp. 158-192, passim.]

175 565 582 example to lads! Often of tall, fair stock, physically superior from better feeding, accustomed to have his own way, better taught, finely dressed, free and welcomed wherever he went in the glen that fed and fostered him, the young chief had favour on his side; moreover he was protected from the vengeance of jealousy. A song in praise of a young chief of Clan Leod boasts that "the girls [836] would give their snoods for Rory"! When she lost her maiden snood to him, a girl would be excused, and her 'natural' child not dishonoured, but granted a share of paternal affection and inheritance. After marriage, a chief's 175 lady made allowances for his past. But licence, once a habit, is hard to check, and the Gael tell bitter tales of 837 jealous wives, married for policy, and their revenge upon a rival. One gathers that where there were enough gentry to meet, choose and inter-marry freely, as among the Island tacksmen, decency was better observed; but among landlords in the Highlands, as in other lands, local licence was common down to the last century. Then, whereas a Minister of the Established Church could hardly blame his own Patron (or his son), a Free Church Minister could speak out from the pulpit!

175 Of the legendary *jus primae noctis*, the 'law of the first ● 585 night' of Boece and other old historians by which a lord had at one time the 'right' to rape the bride of any of his serfs or tenants, there is no authentic record. Yet from the primal right or wrong of conquest, some such 'law' was forced upon the Gael, as upon other peoples. Boswell records MacQuarrie of Ulva's belief that the custom of paying him a sheep when a tenant married was followed in lieu of such a right! Obligatory hospitality also lent itself to abuse. In all relations of chief to people, there were adjustments. In more complex society, poverty makes

175 ● 585 womanhood a prey to prostitution. The licence of a chief among young women was preferable to this; but evils were inherent in the fact of lordship.

(c) TWO ISLAND BARDS: MARY MACLEOD AND THE BLIND HARPER

175 While in Lewis the continuity of clanship was sorely 613 shaken by the fall of the chiefs, the Torquil-MacLeods, 621 in Harris it was maintained in the family of the Norman-MacLeods of Dunvegan in Skye. The family of Dunvegan is famed for chivalry and gentleness, not only in the songs of the past but in the speech of Skyemen to the present day. Harris did not suffer the bloodshed endured in Lewis from the death of Torquil until after the accession of MacKenzie in 1611; and Harris was not involved, like Lewis, in the troubles of 1715. MacLeod of Dunvegan retained Harris until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was purchased by a cadet of the family who had made his fortune in the East; and it only passed out of MacLeod hands half a century later. Hence it is that while in Lewis there is still talk of the 'give and take' between later laird and people, [533] in Harris there is more. In "the hereditary Hall of MacLeod" of Dunvegan, two Island bards gave birth to immortal song. Together, the tales of Lewis and the songs of Harris and Skye give us an authentic record of clanship in fact and feeling, linked with community today.

[628] In spite of the break in continuity, ease and warmth of feeling could spring up between a MacKenzie of Seaforth and the Lewismen, though Seaforth was a peer of the realm, and of a mainland name, not a MacLeod by direct descent. Playful rhyming, chaffing contests between titled laird and small tenant, are recorded by A. Carmichael and W. C.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

539 And so, after every good wish for days, years and life,
867 the Invocation closes: "Peter has come and Paul" . . .
869 the Disciples and the Archangels. . . . Jesus the mild and the Spirit of guidance have come,

And the King of kings has come on the helm,
To bestow on thee their affection and their love,
A bhaireadh duit-se graidh us ruin.

The ideal of choice maidenliness which this Invocation portrays, culminates in the thought of the loveliness that
867 was Christ. It rises, too, to stirring virility: "the island
[539] at sea, the fortress on land", or "the step of the steed on the plain". Yet when all is said, it is a womanly image which prevails: after the fortress comes the well in the desert, and after the charger's step, the gracious calm of a floating swan. It is all the more significant that the Invocation was addressed both 'to boys and girls' in one isle, and 'to youths and maidens' in another. Not simply was boyhood taught to honour girlhood: ideal womanhood was invoked to raise manhood itself to fullness.

885 Upon marriage, the husband replaced the maiden's
[292] snood or *stiom* that bound her uncovered hair by the wifely kerchief, *am breid*. Folded diagonally, its three-cornered
• [585] shape came to symbolise the Trinity, in benediction on
[539] the bride's head.[1] A poem to a bride, "now beginning her dual course", commences, "A thousand hails to thee
[538] likeness. The short second stanza given stands out alone: the poem, having attained its climax by a rhythm sustaining the upward, sonorous
[192] movement, is hushed by its few simple words. In *From the Hebridi*, Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser rearranged one or two of these lovely stanzas, as one of her 'lyrics with refrain'. *Cf.* A. Geddes, *The Songs of Craig and Ben*, vol. ii, 1935.

[1] The kertch is spoken of in many songs, in which a lover hopes to place it on his young love's head, or a husband praises its whiteness as worn by his wife. When first I knew the Lews, the kertch was still commonly worn
[198] under the more recent Lowland mutch, and either framed a young face, or an old one, charmingly. The two have not quite vanished, though memories of what the kertch once symbolised are hard to find.

CH. VIII RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

181 people, although life in crowded quarters and daily con-
cern with the rearing of animals make for a frankness not
183 readily understood by strangers in Victorian times. The
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584 through the northern and western coasts of Britain, as in Norway and New England, was 'bundling', a preliminary to marriage, or bed-fellowship (*leapachas*). This is noted
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[113] [1] W. A. Smith, *Lewiana*; and Brand Report, 1902.

175 wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.
177
427 These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and
123 the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted
354 emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work
167 away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate.
464
• 585 Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now
241 was a spare-time pursuit. The Sgiathanach was dependent on
511 money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most
241 of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few
242 potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the
731 crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force
464
146 appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any marked movement into the village by the crofters.

175 While much of what was meaningful to the people was being
178 lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the
182 "Men" became an official policy of a new church. The emotional
186 approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders
715
781 in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor
771 meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium.
793

Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

the child. Consequently, the sacrament is normally administere
without even the formality of a kirk session examination. The
ministers of the other churches assert that non-church-going,
drunken fathers whom the kirk session has refused have gone to
the Church of Scotland and have secured the sacrament for their
children after pretending to mend their ways. They have then
gone back to their former habits. It may be so, but at least
one man in Portree was very surprised to find that the Church
of Scotland can require a severe examination.

At baptism the child is formally introduced into the 851
folds of his father's church. His mother and father stand 744
before the minister and are admonished to bring up the child
in the nurture and admonition of God, to the best of their
ability.

Marriage is not a sacrament in Scotland, and, therefore, 58
does not provoke any strong resentment beyond a feeling that [173
the Church of Scotland should not have the exclusive right
to proclaim the banns of marriage. It is the one time in 585
the life of a woman when she is the center of attention and 562
has complete control over the situation. She decides where 744
she will be married and what minister will preside. Church
affiliation seems to make little difference. At least, the
wedding of a daughter of a strict Free Presbyterian family
in the Church of Scotland did not give the people any cause
to gossip. Although a wedding is no more than a legal formality,
the vows made at marriage are sacred. It would not strike
Americans as being particularly significant to omit the promise
to obey from the ceremony; Americans are said to have an

dung from the byre, the peats from the moor, and the oats
the fields. When the land had been turned by *caschrom*,
yoked themselves to a harrow. The crofters, in Kilmuir, as
where, lost the right to the rivers for fish, to the moors
game, and to the coast for sea weed. The land became ex-
ted from over tillage. They had clung tenaciously to the
methods. Even if they could have obtained credit and could
broken with the ways of their forefathers, the fear of
renting would have deterred them.

A degree of preciseness can be given to this general
ure by comparing the arable acreage and stocking of Skye
1810, the year graziers first appeared, and 1870. In 1810,
00 acres were listed as arable, either cultivated or
eptible to it; there were 18,000 cattle and 40,000 sheep.[66]
870 no more than 8,383 acres were considered as arable;
were only 9,341 cattle, but there were 136,077 sheep.
agnitude of this change can be emphasized by adding the
that there were less than 14,000 sheep on the Island at
turn of the century.[67]

The end of the shieling life brought an end to the
itional season for courting. Destitution forced a post-
nent of marriage and an absolute reduction in the number of
iages. As a natural consequence the birth rate declined.
he decade 1861-1870 the birth rate of Skye stood at 26.1
pared with 24.9 for Scotland.

66 James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 748, 754.

67 Ibid., II, 553; III, 247; IV, 131; XVI, 148, 225, 537;
I, 184.

There must be enough interaction between the rela-
tively small number of people of similar standing within
the local group and beyond if the consanguinial and affinal
basis of the class is to be maintained, and they are not
to lose their identity as a group apart. They must not only
interact with other county families, but the county families
must be endogamous. Once a year the county families of Skye
are given this needed opportunity to reaffirm their solidarity,
to cement their relationship with the upper class of British
society, and to arrange suitable matches for their sons and
daughters. A Skye County Ball is held in November. The
"county people" come from near and far to attend the affair,
one of a series of local balls held throughout the nation.
If anyone has any doubts about his acceptance among the holders
of highest status, he receives his simple but explicit
answer at this time. He must be invited to the ball. For
three days and two nights the festivities continue. High
society has come to Skye and has brought with it its caterers
from Edinburgh. The local people say the "Ya-ya's" have
taken over Portree.

On the first night of the ball, the young people are
escorted from the homes of the Skye aristocracy, who act
as hosts, or the more fashionable hotels to the Skye Gathering
Hall by their parents. During the dance and the supper which
follows, suitable introductions are arranged for their sons
and daughters. On the second night of the ball, the young
people appear in couples. If I were asked to characterize

585

585 NUPTIALS--wedding (e.g., preferred time and place, ceremonial, persons attending and officiating); symbolic rites; means of assuring publicity and legality (e.g., banns, licenses); civil and ecclesiastical weddings; variations dependent upon status; associated property transactions (e.g., transfer of gifts, of bride-price); homecoming of bridal couple; consummation (e.g., immediate or deferred, private or public); defloration rites (e.g., jus primae noctis); concern for virginity of bride (e.g., exhibiting tokens); postwedding events (e.g., honeymoon, exchange of visits); status and activities of newly married persons; etc. See also:
marital sexuality . . . . . 85 Residence in marriage 591

of the township with the larger society, and examines
the effect of geographical and social marginality on
the boundedness of the township network. Chapter 6
discusses two important networks of social relations
within the township.

B. Township as Social Boundary System

The township constitutes a relatively firmly bounded
system, although its boundaries are weaker than formerly
when the township was relatively self-sufficient
economically. Township members worked together in small
fishing crews, and families relied on each other for
help when members of the family were away from the island
"at the fishing."

Relatives were expected to give priority to helping
each other. According to one proverb, "A relative is
your best friend." First and second cousins were
considered especially close, but knowledge of one's
kinsmen extended to at least the fourth generation.
Ties of kinship became evident in ceremonies such as
funerals and weddings. One Gaelic proverb says, "You
know who your relatives are at weddings and funerals."
At weddings the onus was on the members of the bridal
party to remember their relatives. "You have to sit
and calculate who is closely related, and all those

people will be doing the same. If they think they're
close enough to be invited, they'll be annoyed if you
don't include them." At funerals, relatives of the
deceased to about third cousins were expected to
participate.

When a population has lived in a small area for
generations, a dense network of kinship develops. This
fact, and the importance placed on mutual aid among
fellow villagers, fostered the feeling that the network
of township members, who ploughed, fished and tended
cattle and sheep together, was also a network of kinsmen.
"We're all the same people." "It's all one family here."
Occupational and kinship spheres of social activity
commingled. The importance of neighbors in contrast
with relatives was reflected in such proverbs as, "A
neighbor close at hand is better than a relative in a
distant land."

The nuclear family did not, according to Cohen's
criteria, constitute a firmly bounded system. Then as
now, women preferred the company of their "own kind,"
that is, the company of other women. The men worked
and spent periods of recreation with other men. Children
spent about as much time in the homes of grandparents,
uncles or fellow villagers as they did in their own
homes. A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a

People prefer to give money
in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat-
cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendships
are still weak, relative to friendships in urban
settings. Most information which is shared between
individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip.
Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutual
aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to
confide and keep secrets.

Today many of the younger villagers do not know
their relatives to the extent that their elders did.
In one family, a girl who was about to get married had
to ask her brother, who was the only one of the siblings
interested in kinship connections, whom to invite to the
wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of
one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and
Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there
I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in
transportation and income, more islanders are taking
brief trips away from the island. During these trips,
they almost always stay with relatives.

It is frequently said that children are now "cheekie
less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, and
that they prefer to watch television or read books by
themselves to playing with each other.

574 on troubled waters," or bringing the two families
584 together.[2]

• 585 The most important of the ceremonies surrounding marriage was not the church service (posadh) but the wedding dinner and dance following the church service (bannais, from bean meaning "woman" or "wife," and feis meaning "feast").

"House weddings," as they were called, were held
[431] in the home of the bride. For several weeks beforehand, neighbors and relatives brought gifts to the bride's house, where they were displayed in a room set aside for them along with the dresses to be worn by the bride and

[2] Morag Macleod of the School of Scottish Studies
574 describes a custom still existing on the Isle of
584 Scalpay off the Isle of Harris, called reitseach mor
784 (bhig reitseach), in contrast with the reitseach bheag (small reitseach) or simple dinner party which existed until fairly recently on mainland Harris. The reitseach mor is a dramatic event involving a humorous exchange between male speakers for "the groom's side," and male spokesmen for "the bride's side." The bride is hidden, and the groom's men ask for the bride indirectly. They desire a sheep, perhaps, or a length of tweed. The desired object constitutes a theme which is developed in humorous give-and-take between the two sides, as various females are brought out one by one by the bride's people, from the most undesirable old maid to the bridesmaid and finally to the bride. Until the bride finally appears, the groom's spokesmen must find something wrong with each female presented, along the lines of the chosen theme. The sheep's fleece is not curly enough, and so on. The bride sits at the table after she appears, is given a glass of whiskey which she sips and then passes to her fiance, and the performance is over.

• 585 bridesmaid(s). The house was filled each night with
[435] visitors bringing new gifts or coming to see the latest additions. Enough presents were given during this
[203] time to set up a household. Invitations to the wedding were issued verbally, by persons going around to each
[602] house. Anyone could come to the church ceremony, which was relatively informal and jovial, but only the "closest" relatives were invited to the sumptuous wedding dinner which followed the service: the bride and groom, their parents, aunts and uncles, first cousins and usually second cousins. Many more were invited to the wedding supper which started after the dinner, at about 10:00 p.m., and continued throughout the night.

Three main nights were distinguished, although
535 preparations and festivities might go on for weeks. The
252 first night was the night before the wedding, when women of the village brought hundreds of chickens, which they plucked and cooked. Meat, usually mutton, was also cooked and sliced. Butter was rolled into balls. Neighbors brought milk and other provisions and assisted in the baking for a week beforehand.

535 On the second night, hundreds of villagers ate the
535 chickens and mutton prepared for the wedding supper,
533 and danced to the music of a piper or other musicians.
[273] Many young boys had their first taste of beer or whiskey on these occasions.

• 585 on these occasions. At some point during the night the bride and groom were prepared for their wedding night together. The bride's female companions undressed her, prepared her for bed, and put her into the bed with a hot water bottle. She shared some sherry with them, and they went out, whereupon the groom was brought in by his male companions. After much joking the couple were left together.

[574] On the third night, a dinner was given for the older persons who had not been able to come to the "big" wedding.

[273] For some time after the wedding, the married couple
[431] visited relatives and neighbors who had been unable to come to the wedding, taking a bottle of whiskey with them.

535 House weddings declined in number during the war when
178 food was rationed, and as more persons changed from the
[342] "black house" to the less easily cleaned and more elaborately furnished "white house." Most weddings are
[485] now held in hotels, and consist of a single wedding dinner and dance; they are often held on Thursdays, the day of the bannais in the past. The emphasis on community participation still exists: even though the practice of holding hotel weddings has limited the number of guests, an effort is made to invite someone from each household in the neighborhood. In part to avoid disappointing the

• 585 In part to avoid disappointing the
178 vast number of relatives who by custom must be invited
[602] but for whom there is now not enough room, many weddings are held away from the island in places such as Inverness
[431] and Glasgow. Gifts are still given in great numbers and displayed, despite the decrease in numbers attending the wedding dinner and the feeling that only those who are invited to the wedding should give presents. The
[202] custom still exists of neighborhoods or entire villages placing flags outside their homes on the day of a villager's wedding (except when the wedding is held away from the island); isolated flags within a village signify that the household is related to someone in a neighboring village who is getting married. And when the wedding car has picked up the bride and is leaving for the hotel in town, the road is often littered with barrels and other barriers.

Couples now often leave the wedding dinner and dance and go to undisclosed destinations for their honeymoon. But when they return to the community they must undergo a simple rite of passage that gives sanction to their new social status. On the first Sunday following their return, they are expected to come to church with the other members of the bridal party, a process called kirkadh (a slightly Gaelicised rendition of Scottish "kirking").

• 585 For some weeks after returning, the couple goes visiting
178 with a bottle. The scope of visits seems to have narrowed to close relatives unable to attend the wedding, and sometimes the custom is referred to as old-fashioned.
[431] The bride usually mails pieces of bridal cake to
[205] relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

758 2. Death: At a time of illness or injury, an
574 individual may see persons he has not seen for years. The house is filled with a constant flow of visitors, and the visitors recount every detail of a sick person's
[763] pallor and movement. The room is usually occupied by visitors when a person breathes his last.

763 In the past, work ceased in every house in the
461 surrounding neighborhood when a person died. This no
[178] longer occurs. (The story is told of a weaver who called
[288] a mill in Stornoway to say that he could not finish an urgent tweed because there had been a death in the village, and was told, "You keep on weaving till the
[535] weaver dies.") However, dances in the village are
[444] cancelled, and the bothan (an isolated hut in which liquor is sold illegally) may close. Outdoor work, such as peat-cutting, which would be widely seen is avoided.

763 Word of the death spreads throughout the village and
[203] beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulated inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

273 Excise taxes were first levied on whiskey in 1814,
175 and stills of less than 500-gallon capacity were prohibited.
251 Local, illegal distillation continued for a long time
[259] after 1814, and throughout the Highlands and Islands tales are told of "the excise man" and how he was outwitted.
273 The Island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris was evacuated
175 in 1843, supposedly because of illegal distillation that
[48] was being carried on there. The ruins of old distilling houses are found throughout Shawbost. Villagers say that these were used in the time of their grandfather or great-grandfather to distill whiskey for occasions such as weddings.

In Shawbost, until recent times whiskey was associated
[527] mainly with special ceremonial occasions: the birth of
[846] a child, weddings, and wakes. When a baby was born, the father went into town for whiskey to be given to visitors coming to see the baby. Having whiskey at a funeral was
764 so important that many a widow sold her cow to provide
273 it, so that people would not say it was a bad funeral. A custom of sitting up all night in the house of the deceased has stopped, probably in part because a prayer meeting lasting from midnight until 2 a.m. was introduced with the intention, according to one minister, of preventing the wake from becoming too joyful an occasion. Whiskey
273 was abundant at New Year's, and at weddings. "The dance
175
• [520]
[585]

273 [at a wedding] would be held in the barn, with sheets
175 lining the walls so that if a man staggered against the
• 585 wall he wouldn't dirty himself. There were four and one-half gallons jugs of beer and a few bottles of whiskey. Sometimes someone would spew on the floor. People got drunk on very little, because they didn't have it so often."

273 Occasionally the word went out that someone had
175 brought a jug of beer from town, and the men gathered in someone's barn or weaving shed, usually on a Saturday night.

"The war changed that. When you were at sea, you
273 lived from day to day. There was no tomorrow." "When
175 my brother was away at sea, most of the money he earned
[824] was saved for him, and when he got back we gave it to him to do whatever he liked with it. The men would go off to town drinking. They had money, and they had nothing else to do; and they had learned to drink during the war. Maybe if the TV had been around then they wouldn't have started that kind of drinking."

175 1. Bothans: Because most parishes in Lewis were
276 "dry," that is, no licensed purveyors were allowed, a
273 journey of many miles had to be made to purchase beer and
[671] whiskey in Stornoway. Around 1930, Nessmen (many of whom were sailors) began to bring back from town several kegs

lity of the sexes. On Skye, where women are the social
ector of sex, its omission is curious. The ministers have
n the promise of the ceremony out because, as one said, "The
may be a rogue, irresponsible, making it impossible for
woman to obey." She nevertheless promises to be "loving,
ful, and dutiful."

Election, as a passage rite, marks the attainment of the
t of the elderly. We already know that to become one of
"elect" the individual, man or woman, must not only
rience a soul-saving change but also manifest steadfast
mmity to the ideals of behavior which have religious
val. These ideals are the habits and statuses which
old people are striving to maintain. Thus, religion
ficiates the status of the venerable old people. Their
rpretation of "Effectual Calling" functions to provide
elders, the most eminent of the "elect" with an additional
n to exercise their judicial and authoritarian roles.
e can be no rapid conversion. Whether or not the
mary period of three years imposed by the "Men" in the
ntry is still enforced I do not know. The person who
ves he has experienced a saving change, "a visitation
the Holy Spirit," is examined by the minister and his
rs. Like the father who is seeking baptism for his child,
an old man or woman is judged on his knowledge of the
s and the Shorter Catechism and on his conformity to the
ecious life. No one can experience a saving change unless
e known, by observation, to have lived an upright life.
erson who continues to pursue his own mundane pleasures

586

586 TERMINATION OF MARRIAGE--methods (e.g., desertion, separation, annulment, divorce); prevalence of each; reasons (e.g., cruelty, infidelity, barrenness, sterility); initiative and rights of each sex; procedure; residence requirements; allocation of children (e.g., to mother, to father, to parent least at fault, division by age or sex); property arrangements (e.g., return of bride-price, alimony); subsequent relations of divorced spouses; social attitudes toward separation and divorce; etc. See also:

Sex and sexual offenses	499	Termination of marriage following the death of one spouse	589
Sex and marital offenses	499	Adultery	227
Dependency	136	Barrenness and sterility	541

COMMUNICATIONS

632 secondary school, the 'Nicolson', has had since its inception a
871 formidable academic record. Back in 1907 work from the school
was included in the examination set for an International Eis-
648 bition held in Christchurch, New Zealand; this was appropriate
1471 because emigrants from the west Highlands, notably from Harris
and Lewis, were among the pioneers of New Zealand education
a century ago. In 1957 new extensions were opened, costing about
£300,000 and making the school the largest of its kind in the
Highlands area. It is co-educational, its primary and junior
secondary departments taking only Stornoway children and its
senior secondary department catering for those from both Stornoway and rural Lewis. Many board out in the town during the week, returning home at weekends.

In providing social facilities, the town has placed itself in the
632 position of an agent for those things deemed necessary for life,
565 and is a middle-ground between the rural repression of the Free
771 Church and the city abandon of the mainland, with resulting
183 dilemma. The public houses, the cinema, youth clubs, dances and
1349 juke boxes are all in direct opposition to the preaching of the Free
1184 Church. The result is tension between the town's desire to act as
host for tourists and its wish to fulfil its duty on a religious
565 plane; to instance this, the Stornoway Sabbath is less strict than
the Lewis Sabbath. In keeping with the rest of Lewis, social
592 standards are extremely high. Home is the centre of life, as it
626 always was; the sense of community and communal responsibility
1474 is there. Discipline is practisedby unheard of, and the incidence of
crime, as such, is extremely low.

the ball in a few words, I would say, it is a marriage
market.

565 Social distance and class endogamy can also be demon-
648 strated by a negative approach to the question. Within recent
years there have been a few cases of marriage across the
social cleavage line. The results, as we shall see, show a
strong drive for social exclusiveness. One of the county
PresbyMarried a daughter of the "new rich." Her father was
a crofter's son who made a fortune as a whisky distiller
and exporter, especially during days of prohibition in
the United States. His fortune made, he returned to Skye
and purchased part of the old Clan MacLeod lands. Although
land ownership is a prerequisite for being included among
the upper stratum, neither land nor wealth guarantees
acceptance for a man from the croft. No one received the
marriage of his daughter happily. The villagers and crofters
565 said it was a marriage of necessity. The young aristocrat's
parents' reaction is at least partially reflected by the fact
that it was one of those very rare Skye marriages which end
in divorce. Until his demarriage in 1-54, he was the only
divorced man on Skye. In the second case, a crofter married
into a county family. His wife was the daughter of one of
the most prominent ministers of the Church of Scotland in
the present century. Although the minister was himself the
son of a school master, his high prestige status had led to
his acceptance by the "first family of Skye," and his second
marriage was into this family. Some of the crofters and

"elect" are predominantly newcomers and the elders are either
177 members of the landed gentry or newcomers. I was rather
amused one day when a Shyewman told me, "the 'Tee-Tees'
578 and 'Gentees' are no better than the Nobnamedes giving
579 gifts to idols," when they sent food to the manse for the
minister's guests at the Communion. Over in Breadale the
custom is also losing its importance, except in the Free
PresbyterianChurch, and the fellowship meeting has been
abandoned in the United Free Church because of the reluctance
of the members to engage in public displays, either at
Communions or at prayer meetings. The custom of visiting
has entirely disappeared in Sleat and Strath. One of the
ministers ascribed this to the isolation of the two parishes
from the rest of the island and from each other. Certainly
the Kilchoagach on the south end of the island seldom leaves
to Portree and the northern crofter hardly ever goes to
Sleat, but this does not explain why people from the mainland
will go to Breadale, by-passing Strath.

The vitality of religion can over-ride considerations
of family and friendship; if a Kilchoagach marries outside
accepted norms. We may recall the young girl who stole church
funds and was ostracized by her "people" and the whole com-
munity. Let us consider another example. Marriage vows, as
we know, are held to be sacred on Skye. Divorce is all but
unknown and separation is uncommon. To be precise there are
four known cases of separation. Nevertheless, if a husband
or wife vows to love a lover, it is expected that the offender
would be cast out. Forlyveness is not compatible with a

belief in a God who punishes iniquity "unto the third and
591 fourth generation."

In one family the wife transgressed by committing
484 adultery, albeit a rare sin. Her husband was one of the
626 "elect" and a deacon in the Free Church. Fully aware of
the fact that his wife had remained away from Skye until
after her child was born, he took her back. He was older
than she and devoted to her. The story could not be covered
up on Skye, where the elders have their thumbs on the pulse
of the congregation. The elders summoned him before the
kirk session. After he admitted he knew all the details and
the fact that his sister-in-law had taken the child, they
declared him to be excommunicate. The control of the elders
is still characterized by austerity and severity toward the
godly and ungodly alike. What hope has a Kilchoagach once
771 he has been eternally denied salvation? Perhaps, someday
774 he will again receive a visitation from the Holy Spirit
and experience a saving change. Although no longer entitled
to the benefits of the church, he continues to attend, as an
adherent. One may ask, what was the reaction of the people
to this punishment? A few Church of Scotland people, feel
that the elders might have tempered their decision. As one
said, "They thought only of Moses on Mount Sinai and forgot
Jesus on Calvary." Most of the people, however, including
all in the Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church, either
approved the action taken or, at least, would not question
the judgment of the elders.

589 CELIBACY--prevalence of bachelors and spinsters; reasons for celibacy; status and activities of unmarried, widowed, and divorced children; etc. See also:

Religious celibate	78	Chastity	231
Care of widows	136	Premarital sexlessness	485
Mourning	165		

592 unmarried sibling. Eleven households consist only of
siblings who have never married, men and women who in
1971 were 45 years old or older. Two widows live with
589 their unmarried siblings. Sixteen widows or widowers
live alone, and sixteen unmarried persons live alone.

The large number of households occupied by single,
241 elderly people reflects the use of the croft as a place
423 of residence rather than as an agricultural unit, a
477 view of the croft that was given legal expression in
486 1966 by the Miscellaneous Provisions Act. Before 1966,
592 the croft went automatically to the eldest son if a
crofter died intestate. Since 1966, the rights of
different claimants must be considered and tenancy by
a new person must be confirmed. District and county
councillors argued for this change, saying that a widow
was often left on the croft and her security endangered
because the eldest son was usually far away from the
island, in Canada or some other country. In other words,
rather than an agricultural unit which should naturally
be taken over and worked by the male head of the house-
hold, the croft is seen as a place of residence for
the infirm and for the aged, and especially for the aged
female.

The Crofters Commission has suggested that elderly
people be allowed to rent small plots of land on which

527 office or general store, preferring to divide the rent
178 between themselves for use at a later time. A 50-year-
431 old woman observed, "They don't appreciate the bannag
like we used to." They get this kind of rich food all
527 the time." The practices of wearing costumes and speaking
178 the rhyme are disappearing. Children used to have the
bannag until they left school at age 14 or 15; now only
the younger children go. "Children grow up more quickly
today."

509 New Year's is celebrated perhaps most intensively
529 by the men, who after seeing the New Year in by watching
213 a special New Year's program on television go visiting
574 neighbors and relatives with bottles of whiskey. The
194 custom of "First-footing" on New Year's eve is found
throughout Scotland; but in the Hebrides such visiting
and heavy drinking may last from New Year's eve until
the Following Sunday. During this time, the woman of the
house, who usually refrains from drinking and to some
extent controls the drinking done by the males in her
house, relaxes her attitude, and may even participate.
The comment, "It's only once a year," is often heard.
589 During this time, the shyest and most retiring bachelor
becomes a Romeo; this is the only time of year he may
be heard to mention the word marriage. For example, one
bachelor in his 60's chooses a "Bride" each New Year, and
takes her with him on his all-night visiting.

into tiny squares. The ministers and the elders partake first. A final hymn is full of rejoicing, and the minister then exhorts the communicants to return to the world and give witness and to live exemplary lives.

The evening service on Sunday is evangelical, intended for non-believers. After this service the communicants conduct a brief prayer meeting to give thanks.

On Monday, the minister again tells the communicants to go out into the world and declare publically their experiences of the preceding week and to demonstrate in everything they do and say that they are believers. In the past, only a morning service was given, and there was had a long journey ahead of them to return home; but now that cars are available,a similar evening service is also conducted.

2. The Process of Conversion: The process of conversion may be slow or sudden, but conversion is most common at middle age and young women. One informant wryly observed, "Only recently women were allowed to have souls. But from the time of the Communion until, mostly women are going to heaven." Many of the women taking Communion are dressed from head to foot in black, a color which indicates their widowed status.

The first sign that a person is "following" (leanmail) the church is that he begins to attend the weekly prayer

three children, but this will only be for a few weeks in the spring and autumn. The large crofters, who has only recently appeared, is the only one who can use one or two helping hands all through the year.

One may logically ask, what if the thought that they are being forced to leave the crofts and their resulting conflict of individual expression and subservience to the father and the group? The answer is an ever increasing number have at least one more important decision to make. As the boys grow into young men, they must decide whether or not they will remain bachelors, which remaining with the parents means, of course, no further family of procreation. Girls must similarly decide between spinsterhood and marriage. There is no pat:on on Skye, but there is found in Ireland,[20] for instance, that the crofts have sufficient land for a daughter, while the parents are still alive. Some, of course, marry after their parents die, but often it is too late for them to have children. In Barnesville, for example, the average, has not celebrated a birth in years; there simply are no children and none to come. Other men and women feel it is too late for marriage when they get possession of the croft. I doubt that there is a single township on Skye which does not have at least one bachelor or spinster. Tolerance has earned fame as being a township of nonbachelors. Commonly, a brother and sister live together on the croft.

[20] Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 70-75; Eric Arensberg and Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland, (Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 79-84. There are, of course, many communities which could be made with the Irish small farmer, but the Irish case will would apply to peasants everywhere.

591

the Fourth degree of relationship. Although the extended family is not usually corporate, more than a few people have been a century or two ago, it is still very real to the Highlands. Here, perhaps, the township and their historical antecedents were patrilineal in their ethos. Of course, and the question of the availability of land and the legality of subdivision were of small importance. For the right system of land use enforces non-local post-marital residence, thus at a great distance from the parents, and very often among that the younger generation must join the constant outmoce movement of the population. Then, the extended family is seldom, if ever, found intact. Indeed, the only times its members come together as a group is at a funeral or a wedding. In these occasions the entire family participates emphatically present, and the fact that the individual always remains a member of his or her family clan is revealed. It is, then, a live reality.

In structure the extended family includes all males and females not to, and including, third cousins. The kinship terminology is descriptive. Excepting grandchildren, all relatives are distinguished by sex and generation. Members of the parental generation and ascending are the parents or collateral kin and are distinguished by their relationship to the individual's parents. Members of the grandparental and great-grandparental generations are their lineal descendants are similarly distinguished. The same descriptive technique extends to kinsmen of the first and second descending generations.

soon became apparent. There was a leveling of the social hierarchy. The former joint-tenants, subtenants, and cotters had become crofters. Whatever socio-economic distinctions had once marred the clansmen, all were now more or less equal in status. The cotters seem to have temporarily disappeared.[22] The proprietors were absent, and the tacksmen were almost gone. Indeed, the indignant withdrawal of the tacksman has contributed to the circumstances which made the abolition of rundig possible.

Although the crofts were small and the roots were high, the people were able to satisfy most of their domestic needs by combining cultivation, stock breeding, and fishing. They could also make enough from the growing trade and, in certain areas, helping to pay the rent from the income from the crafts the crofters were considered more than adequate. Early marriage and subdivision of the crofts became common practice.[23] When a crofter died, his land was divided among his sons, leaving his father's land and build a house. The proprietors may have explicitly encouraged the practice of early marriage and subdivision. These, one could be gently prodded into leaving or commercial fishing not only produced a valuable export but also paid for the privilege of working in the form of high rents. While a generation three and four landless families were living on crofts originally intended for one. When subdivision was at last forbidden, about 1840, the crofter simply took his

[22] See Macfarlane, The Macfarlane and Murray Lairds of Auchleek (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1968), pp. 20-21, 25-26, and Gray, (Edinburgh, Mac. Ed. 1957), pp. 20-21.

[23] Mac. pp. 225, 236, 279, 272-273, 277, 305, 314, 345.

married sons into the house. Family solidarity was strengthened as each cotta:e came to be the house of a three generation family group. Joint-tenant crofts, more large than a house, were bound together in a network of collateral and affinal relatives. Two of the underlying principles of the clan were reaffirmed. The father was the senior male member of the group of courses, and the strong, almost sentimental, attachment for the land was an expression of the sentimental tie of kinship. Economically, subdivision was saving the way for disaster. It formed a steadily increasing dependence on the potato; the people could not grow enough grain for household needs.

Commercialization soon brought a large contravention of land to a source of monetary revenue and the supplanting of customary usages by contractual relationships. For its fulfillment it requires the crofts to become individuals and development of a division of labor which allows specialization. Events in England and Lowland Scotland, could not have left the island untouched. The first wanton of the Industrial Revolution had been followed by a vigorous growth of urban centers. The mass movements of the rural population into these communities, as their rights to the land were disregarded and the people were driven off or made into wage laborers, were creating a new cultural pattern. The benefits of the home to the nation had the appearance of a mere trifle. Commercial fishing and villages should be advocated, planned, and fostered on Skye, the most populous of all the Hebrides. It was no less inevitable that villages should have limited attraction for the Highlands.

through alleys to rummage through the trash cans of hospitals or other large institutions for food. The occupational histories of the weavers support the contention that the ranks of the Harris Tweed Association that the younger weavers leave because they do not like the weaving and they are replaced mainly by older men who want to settle down after a life at sea. (See Appendix A for several life histories of weavers.)

B. Crofting as Survivor

Because of the relatively high income provided by the Harris Tweed industry, those who remain within the township have tended to emphasize weaving and neglect the crofts.

1. Croft as Place of Residence vs. Agricultural Unit: Most of the 159 households consist of married couples with their unmarried children. A newborn is merely rather late in life and for children not to marry while their parents are still living is evident in Table VI. Partial list of Households According to Type of Household and Year Established.

Fourteen households of married couples and their children (not included in Table VI) include at least one [illegible] (This statistic revealed did not contain this table--also yet)

unmarried sibling. Eleven households consist only of siblings who have never active crofters, but the township associated with Prospect, Ontario, and some who in 1971 were 45 years old or older. Two widows live with their unmarried siblings. Sixteen widows or widowers live with their married children. Seven widows live alone. The large number of households occupied by single, elderly people reflects the use of the croft as a place to live and as a place to work. Although an agricultural unit, a view of the croft that was given legal expression in 1964 by the Miscellaneous Provisions Act. Before 1964, the crofts were automatically passed on. Since, one of a crofter died intestate. Since 1964, the rights of different claimants must be considered and tenancy by a new person may be granted by the District and county councillors argued for this change, saying that a widow was often left on the croft and her security endangered because the eldest son was usually far away from the island, in Canada or some other country. In other words, rather than an agricultural unit which keep the money to be taken over and worked by the male head of the household, the croft is seen as a place of residence for a female who is a crofter only. The weaving didn't start until the 30's. He was wounded in the war. He got a pension and sold a cow or a few sheep each year. But I didn't

their houses are located, and that most of the land freed for use by more active crofters, but the land associated with Prospect, Ontario, and some who in plan extremely difficult to implement. "The-croft is your home, the only thing you have. You don't want it taken away, even if someone else is using it otherwise anyway. Our county councillor suggested amalgamating the unused crofts at a recent meeting. No one said anything, but no one wanna it."

Of the five households that have the use of vacant crofts each, one consists of a bachelor who uses the croft for grazing his number of sheep. A second household is composed of two brothers who had stayed at home to take care of their aged parents. One of these brothers recently married, after the last parent died. These two have long cattle and sheep, and both work in Stornoway.

A third household is headed by a married man who has recently sold most of his livestock in order to "concentrate on the weaving." His father, who died about year with a brace and cart in exchange for the use of grazing land on that his family never had to pay. His sheilings, died a few years ago. My father was a crofter only. The weaving didn't start until the 30's. He was wounded in the war. He got a pension and sold a cow or a few sheep each year. But I didn't

592
24
31 like to leave the loom for the time it took to look
288 after the sheep."

592 A fourth household consists of three unmarried
23 siblings in their 40's and 50's who recently sold th
24 cattle and now keep only sheep for their own consump
[233] They cultivate a small amount of oats and hay to fee
[246] the sheep during the winter. The brother who was la
[288] responsible for taking care of the livestock is now
[463] "concentrating on the loom," and his brother works i
the mill. Their sister, who used to work in hotels
[407] the mainland, now keeps house for them. Described a
[404] "self-contained family," they have a tractor and a d
freeze and take care of their peat and the harvestin
654 of crops by themselves. One of their crofts has bec
423 too waterlogged even for grazing and was sold recentl
to the son of a local crofter, not for agriculture bu
as a prerequisite for applying to the Department of
Agriculture for a housing grant. Only tenants of cro
can apply for such grants. As this particular croft
too wet to be cultivated or used as a house site, the
only motive which the new tenant has to become a crof
is to gain access to governmental subsidy.

592 The fifth household is composed of a retired cou
233 and their son and his wife and family. They have no
311 cattle, and use the crofts for grazing sheep.

621 The first thing that is said when for some reason
513 a woman is left alone in the house is, "Who's going to
858 go and sleep with her?" Often a child will be sent from
a neighboring family, not always relatives, to stay with
621 her at night. As in the past, it is not uncommon for
592 a childless elderly couple or single person alone on a
888 croft to take in a young, homeless couple, to whom they
may or may not be related. The young couple cares for
the old person or persons, and inherits the croft when
they die.

602 "Keeping up the relation" is the process by which
476 relatives sustain interaction and expectations of mutual
aid even though their relatedness becomes more distant
605 with succeeding generations. "I've got cousins in Ness
that I stay with at the Communions. They're getting on
into the third generation now." A cousin is a cousin
even to the 42nd degree (Williams 1963: 142), as long
as there is reason to sustain the relationship. "I know
we're related, but I can't quite place it." "We're a
bit related. I think she was a MacPhail before she
married." "I don't quite know how we're related, but
my mother and his mother considered it a close relation-
ship, and he has kept it up."

621 Every villager has a vast amount of information
626 about other villagers and their families, which may be
582

COMMUNICATIONS

632 secondary school, the 'Nicolson', has had since its inception a
871 formidable academic record. Back in 1907 work from the school
was included in the educational section of an International Ex-
(548) hibition held in Christchurch, New Zealand: this was appropriate
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(363) juke boxes are all in direct opposition to the preaching of the Free
(184) Church. The result is tension between the town's desire to act as
a host for tourists and its wish to fulfil its duty on a religious
plane; to instance this, the Stornoway Sabbath is less strict than
the Lewis Sabbath. In keeping with the rest of Lewis, social
(392) standards are extremely high. Home is the centre of life, as it
(863) always was; the sense of community and communal responsibility
(694) is there. Divorce is practically unheard of, and the incidence of
crime, as such, is extremely low.

CH. VII SPIRITUAL LIFE OF COMMUNITY

(a) SACRAMENTS OF THE HEARTH AND THE PLAIDING

788 For shelter and life by the hearth there are noble runes.
592 The house with its household was blessed, when newly
364 built by a bridegroom's friends, yearly after its thatching,
or regularly at nightfall. The blessing was said by the
goodman in the presence of his family and helper-neigh-
bours, or intimately by either of the parents as they went
to rest (*Carmina*, Nos. 44, 45).

In the darkness of the 'black house' the fire was a
(364) centre of warmth and light, of life and union. "The
Blessing of the Living" (the Fire) was said by the house-
wife as she rekindled or, rather, uncovered the sleeping
788 embers when she rose. Those who, tired or in want,
592 have ever lit a fire in darkness may best feel, in her words,
354 how the glow without kindles the light within.
539

"I will kindle my fire today in presence of the angels . . .
Without malice . . . or fear . . . of any one under the
sun,
But the Holy Son of God to shield me."

And then (as the dim glow lightens and warms): "God,
kindle Thou in my heart within, A flame of love to my
neighbour, To my foe, to my friend, to my kindred all,
To the brave, to the knave, to the thrall. . . . From the
lowliest thing that liveth To the name that is highest of
all (*Gu ruig an t-Ainm is airde*)." In spirit this reaches
universality; its verse-form is purest poetry (*Carmina*,
No. 82).

For the covering, smothering or smoo'ring of the
embers at night, the following was said to me not long ago

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

788 (in Gaelic) by a housewife in a Catholic isle, as our friend-
592 ship matured. It had been said nightly at her fire by her
364 father-in-law until his death (not long before), which had
539 come after that of his wife. "I smoo'r the fire tonight,
As Mary's Son smoo'red. Be it well with house and fire;
Be it well with all our household. Who are on this floor?
Peter and Paul. Who are on watch tonight? Light-white
Mary and her Son. Thus God's voice taught, And the
Angel spoke: The Angel at my house door, Until the clear
day come tomorrow. Amen." As this variant shows,
memory still lives in the Isles.[1]

788 In these runes, the key to the words "as Mary's Son
592 and as Mary did, in their day" is the example of filial duty,
776 of wifely and motherly care. In spite of lapses to 'Mario-
(779) latry' during periods of decadence in the Roman Church,
the virtual banishment of Christ's mother from Protestant-
ism has led to a loss deeper than Presbyterian Scotland has
yet realised. Her name was a daily reminder, both of a
woman's part in the spiritual life of the home, and of a son's
self-discipline and affection: in a word, of mutual love.

For wool, the sheep were blessed, as in the "Clipping
788 Blessing". There were blessings of the loom and of
230 warping and weaving; and after neighbourly fulling or
786 'waulking' of the finished web, came its consecration.
(461) As the work was solitary and communal in turn, so the
127 prayer. Carmichael's own fine prose translations should be
538 studied (*Carmina*, vol. i, Nos. 108-113; cf. vol. iv, pp.
88-99). Yet, those being available, we quote rhythmic
(113)

[1] Cf. Rev. Allan Macdonald, *Comh-chruinneachadh*, p. 107; *Carmina* (Nos. 84-87, 324-326); and M. Kennedy-Fraser, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. ii, p. 31. Sacred love is not to be picked up lightly by a stranger. It was only upon the second of my prolonged stays under her hospitable roof that this good woman would admit and impart her knowledge, treasured in the secret places of her heart.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

198 developed through the township Grazing Committees by
476 the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society and its
44 associated Crofters' Agency. Lime and fertilisers were
purchased, and wool and other products sold, co-oper-
(654) atively. The co-operative marketing of lobsters, taking
(228) advantage of fluctuating London prices, has led to the
reconstruction of ponds for storage. By these and other
(654) means, government assistance is utilised but not squan-
dered; earlier initiative in agricultural organisation is
reinforced; and communal tradition is revived, linked
to personal responsibility through the crofters' lifelong
knowledge of one another.

198 As to the future, all agreed that unless the Harris Tweed
288 industry flourished, with work at reasonable wages, the
villages would be abandoned by the young, perhaps with
(824) no return such as hitherto on 'retirement'. Many young
people are content with life in the townships, provided
they can get a living there, though not all, for they are
somewhat divided; and work elsewhere, even in the mills
of Stornoway, is a counter-attraction.

198 Social life is undergoing changes which operate both
592 for and against the retention of the young. On one hand,
538 household interchange of conversation, song and story,
the *ceilidh*, has declined. On the other hand, one found
198 that, as regards religious prohibitions, and in spite of the
771 nervous tension expressed in 'Revivals', the young have
577 won greater freedom. Near one village a Nissen hut,
(535) handed over to the Home Guard, was also used by young
people for monthly dances. When I asked a young crofter
invalided from the Navy whether the Elders of the Kirk
made no protest, he replied that they had, but had to give
it up: "They see that we won't stand for it"! This
would have been unthinkable during the First World War,

Social Organization

592 The Croft. Ideally, the croft is the home of a nuclear
(574) family. Social instability and economic limitations, how-
ever, have given rise to a situation in which the ideal is
becoming progressively harder to attain. In fact, crofts
which once were occupied by a three generation family group,
that is, by grandparents, parents and children, are now
inhabited by an aging bachelor, a spinster, or an unwed
brother and sister. Others are the homes of an old widow or
widower and, perhaps, one or two of their children who are
well beyond marriageable age.

574 As an irremovable social entity, the nuclear family
has been surrounded by the universally recognized functions
of sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction,
and education. In addition, important functions of a religious
and a social character have been given to it. The members
share the work of the croft, have a higher rate of inter-
action than any other social group, and, in most homes,
worship together seven days a week. Within the family, the
father is the source of all authority. He directs the labor
of his wife and children, determines their patterns of inter-
action outside the home, and leads them in family worship.
The family's economic well-being and spiritual welfare are
his responsibilities.

574 Learning the essential tasks necessary to the crofting
(592) of life by imitation and informal guidance, sons move
in the sphere of their father and daughters in the sphere of

593

593 FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS--patterns of behavior between spouses, between parents and children, between siblings; rights, privileges, and powers of husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, brother, and sister; family law; emotional attachments, evidence of ambivalence, etc. See also:

Kinship terminology and personal relatives
between secondary and remoter relatives . . . 25
Marital sexuality 26
Care, raise, activities of children 27
Socialization 28
Personality traits 187
Division of labor by sex 452
Sex norms 863
Quarrels 572
Conception of marriage 651
Incest taboo 666
Theory of paternity 845

288 the automatic shuttle; all other processes have been
178 built into the design of the Hattersley loom (cf.
402 Thomson 1969). In other words, weaving does not entail
288 very specialised skills and is not difficult to learn.
443 A sailor can come home and learn to weave in a short
period of time, or pick up the trade again with ease
after having been absent from the loom for a long time.
(571) Neighbors substitute for each other when someone is ill
if a tweed is "urgent." Wives help their husbands, and
(573) young boys their fathers and uncles. Such low-level
specialization and substitutability are complementary
to crofting activities and the maintenance of neighbor-
hood ties, and may be seen to favor continuance of the
occupation of weaving.

874 The Lewis Castle College in Stornoway, established
226 as a technical college in 1953 in a building that was
(467) formerly the home of Sir James Matheson, offers training
courses in weaving for adults which last for ten weeks
and qualify a person for membership in the Weavers
(872) Union (cf. Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). The
college also sends weaving instructors to all the public
schools on the island to instruct young boys in the
554 rudiments of weaving. The Highlands and Islands
286 Development Board have in the past offered loans and
288 grants with which to purchase looms, and government aid
has protected the mills.

Despite these aids and incentives, parents do not encourage their children to weave. The weavers themselves describe the job as dull, offering no security and no possibilities for advancement.

Referring to her young son, a mother says, "By the time he's old enough to weave, the tweeds will have failed." Another mother says, "I want him to learn some trade, if he's intelligent enough. I don't want him to stay here. The tweeds are so uncertain." "There's no future in it," says the father of another young boy, "I definitely wouldn't want him to be a weaver. It would be good if he went in for engineering."

The histories of the weavers reveal many examples of shifting occupations. Weaving often alternates with work in the local mill, which is also relatively unspecialised. The Shawbost mill must tolerate this unstable labor force, as labor is difficult to find. Eldest sons tend to leave the island for more stable, permanent jobs, leaving the croft and the loom to their younger siblings. Table V[2] shows the number of male weavers in each age group.

The fact that Shawbost has the same age structure as the rest of rural Lewis (see Table II),[3] and less unemployment signifies that weaving has not served as an adequate incentive to keep young people on the island.

[3] [See p. xi—Analyst]
[2] [See p.xiii—Analyst]

Lies are frequently told. "Every other sentence my father says is a lie. If you believe half of what he says, you're a fool. If you believe a quarter of what he says, you're getting near the truth. If you believe an eighth of what he says, it's probably the wrong eighth."

Villagers engage with each other in constant, quiet game-playing. They are dependent on each other for many things, but try to minimise the control that others have over them while improving their own positions. If someone brings plants or shrubs as a gift, the response is likely to be, "She was probably pruning her garden and needed to get rid of the leftover garbage." Such negativism releases the person from feeling obligated. (See Emmett 1964: 16-17, for a description of a similar situation in Wales.) A man who is asked about his new tractor replies, "Its faults will come out later." If he were to say it was all right and then it broke down, he would have lost points. In discussing the mental health of a villager recently returned from Craig Dunain (a mental hospital near Inverness), someone observed, "He's better than the doctor who let him out." If another breakdown were to occur soon, someone would be sure to comment, "And so-and-so said he looked all right."

Such training allows little room for the development of close friendships in which the individuals involved are

the children might not receive proper religious instruction.

"Family worship" is considered an important part of daily life. Prayers should be said before meals and teas, and the head of the household should read passages from the Bible to the assembled members of the household every morning and evening. The practice of "reading the books" prevails in households headed by older men, but is less common among families headed by younger men.

2. The Clique of the Converted: The second network within the religious sphere is a special religious in-group, the clique of the converted (*curamach*). This clique constitutes a relatively strongly bounded system which to some extent competes with the township boundary system. Owen (Rees 1960) has noted that as persons become more involved with religion in the Protestant Hebrides, they tend to remove themselves from community life.

Intense involvement with the church sometimes conflicts with township activities since people may attend Communions at times when a fank is planned, leaving the work to be done by others. When elders of the church are present at activities, such as fanks, which are otherwise usually boisterous and full of humor, behavior tends to be "properly" restrained.

the township; and to each were allotted the rights of the common grazing and the fishing grounds. For more than a century the croft has been held individually, though in the townships the common grazing is still held in common. Beyond these 'homely' limits lie wider horizons, in the past those of seafaring and of droving or the chase, and today of fishing and gilleing at home, or of ocean journeys, urban occupations or colonisation.

In the Lowland regions each symbol represents 100 holdings. For (A), mixed and dairy farming, the particular type of symbol shows the average number of workers employed on a farm-holding in each county. On each farm the employed workers form what may be called the 'Labour-Team'. A team may be 'small', 'medium' or 'large'. The Scottish averages of these three types (indicated in the inset key to the map) are roughly three, five and seven workers per team. Four 'casual' workers are counted as equivalent to one 'permanent' worker, but farmers' wives are excluded. Under (B), for the same Lowland counties and areas, full-time small-holdings are shown separately. The Scottish average of less than one full-time worker employed, most often a son or daughter of the small-holder, is typical of all the counties.

As to the relative importance of the different classes of farms and small-holdings in Scotland, true agricultural land-holders number 68,000, of which fully one-third hold part-time holdings (like the Island crofters); one-third 'full-time farms', and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold 'full-time small-holdings'. The remainder accounts for other types of less importance. The farms predominate in terms of improved land, full-time employment, and of course of production. As to area, farms cover 80 per cent of agricultural land. The farmers employ nearly 90,000 workers,

[2] [refer to map p. 16 - analyst]

weaving and fishing, the fall in population would probably be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was not so much a decrease in the number of families as in the number per family. The Island was only then following the restriction of population begun half a century before in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is a land of house-building, not of ruin and abandonment; of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agricultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were at work: first, loans, grants and unemployment insurance and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly, the money sent to elderly parents and dependants at home by young folk in Glasgow or abroad, or savings brought back by the young people themselves. Yet there is some fishing and agriculture still. Above all, 'hand-weaving' has grown, even if this be partly 'artificial'. Recently it was not only the elders who had returned to the Island, but men and women in the prime of life, so that the question of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to be re-examined afresh.

The emigration which took place from 1949 to 1951 followed directly upon the losses and the unemployment in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted from the imposition in 1949 of a Purchase Tax on hand-woven Harris tweed of 666 per cent. If the tax had been maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects on population would have been far-reaching.

FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP: THE CONTINUING COMMUNITY AND ITS SOCIAL ECONOMY TO 1815

INTRODUCTION (TO CHAPTERS V AND VI)

THE family, the 'conjoint' or 'farm group' of four or five families, and the larger group clustered in a glen or along a shoreland, are, in ascending order, the three concentric units whose mutual relationships we must visualise to understand the past. Enduring elements of life in family and neighbourhood today, with their own special qualities and limitations, can only be understood in terms of past needs and the relationships they evoked.

Having seen their relationships in family, team and township, we can next turn to the reciprocal relations of the people to their chief or lord, whose position dominates European, indeed world, history and prehistory. Here our concern must be the meaning of 'clanship' to the chiefs, the joint farm-groups (or 'small tenantry') and, latterly, the tacksmen placed above them.

We may find, throughout this study, that features and functions which at first sight seem peculiar to the Island are really local variants, more perfectly crystallised, of forms which we know existed at earlier periods in Scotland and in much of northern and western Britain. In the Isles,

to bleed or to set bones, while some elderly woman woul serve as physician and midwife. Spiritual consolatio and renewal too could be found, even in the absence monk or nun, or of priest, minister or catechist. Enoug here, that with agriculture and fishing, most crafts, exc metal-work, were practised in every family. The 'rang of skills' was therefore wider and richer in latent art tha might be supposed from those needed on a little croft today Hence the importance of understanding the roles of hus bandman and housewife, of "the man and the woman o the house".

Their labours through the annual rhythm of the season might be classed as the man and endurance fo the women (Fig. 9). Man's muscular strength and free dom of limb rouse him to efforts demanded by the thru and lift of peat-cutting, digging in stony soil, or pushin the foot-plough, step by step obliquely down a rocky slope In the past an archer's chase of stag, wolf or boar demande all a man's effort, and courage too, as fishing still does i the stormy north-western seas. With this facing of dange there came a gaiety that sparkled like the crest of a breakin wave. Women's work demanded by its unceasing activit a cheerful endurance, whether at labour on the croft, a corn-grinding, butter-making and peat-carrying, or card ing, spinning and weaving; and with every task of day o season came the constant tending of cattle, of menfolk an children.

This allotment of seasonal tasks and skills is neatly pu in the proverb, "A man's cow won't yield milk, nor a woman's horse ploughing" (*Cha bhi bainn' aig ba fir, 'sa bhi treabhadh 'an each mnatha*). Yet women have always taken a share of work on the croft—too heavy a share when the men were much away—and the habit o

764 the deceased or the remaining family assist in preparing
574 endless cups of tea, using the provisions that are brought by the visitors. The newcomers enter, exchange greetings, memories, sighs and moral judgements in rapid whispers. "Oich, oich... that should teach us, we're all going to go. That's how it was meant to be. It makes you wonder why we live at all, well, well." They recall other deaths. "That was a bad death. His liver was bad, and he turned yellow, then all black...."
[152] They weep, circumspectly observe the appearance of the
[197] room and its occupants, and speak only in Gaelic, the language of hearth and heart.

764 The minister usually attends a prayer meeting which
793 is held in the tigh fhaire around midnight of the night before the funeral, but his presence is not necessary. The prayer meeting may be conducted by the elders. The elders may also hold the service which precedes the burial. The minister may walk for a short distance in the funeral procession or speak a brief few words at the graveside, but his role in the community drama is minimal.

764 At least one person from all households within the
62 village is expected to go to the tigh fhaire of someone
592 who has died within the village, "to show respect." The male head of the household is expected to attend the

764 funeral procession in which the coffin is carried for
[62] about half a mile from the house to the waiting hearse.
[592] Over 100 men usually walk in these processions. The more well-known the person or unexpected the death, the larger the procession is likely to be. Relatives
[602] of the deceased walk at the head of the procession, at the head and foot of the coffin, while other villagers take turns carrying the bier. The pallbearers serve in relays. Eight men carry the coffin, four on each side, and are replaced frequently by pairs of men who assume the rear positions. The two who have been displaced at the head of the coffin stand outside the line, facing outward, until the procession has filed past them, whereupon they join the end of the procession.

764 In the past, coffins were carried for miles from
178 the house to the cemetery. The procession rested period-
293 ically, and the men usually carried an earthenware jug of whiskey (piggy uisge beatha) "to ward off the cold." The custom of giving a glass of whiskey to men as they left the house to carry the coffin was still recently followed in Skye; and in some areas a funeral is still evaluated by the amount of whiskey available for consumption ("That was a good funeral"). Tales are told of coffins buried without bodies.

871 791 793 178 the children might not receive proper religious instruction.

"Family worship" is considered an important part 771 782 593 of daily life. Prayers should be said before meals and teas, and the head of the household should read passages from the Bible to the assembled members of the household every morning and evening. The practice of [178] "reading the books" prevails in households headed by • [592] older men, but is less common among families headed by younger men.

794 632 621 3. The Clique of the Converted: The second network within the religious sphere is a special religious in-group, the clique of the converted (curamach). This clique constitutes a relatively strongly bounded system which to some extent competes with the township boundary system. Owen (Rees 1960) has noted that as persons become more involved with religion in the Protestant Hebrides, they tend to remove themselves from community life.

Intense involvement with the church sometimes conflicts with township activities since people may attend Communions at times when a fank is planned, leaving the work to be done by others. When elders of the church are present at activities, such as fanks, which are otherwise usually boisterous and full of humor, behavior tends to be "properly" restrained.

The insurance company * 159 paid him L600, and the pubs let him drink half of that [745] before he even got the money. The house, in which he continues to live, stands as it was left by the fire, with walls blackened, blistered and bare.

Uilleam Glen

Uilleam, named after the owner of a fishing boat on which he used to serve as a crew member, is the 70- • [592] year-old head of a croft household. He came from a family of four sons and two daughters. He was not the eldest son but he was his father's favorite. Before his father died he built the house in which he presently stays so that he would have some claim to the croft. The eldest brother was sailing, and upon his return he married a girl with a croft. Uilleam Glen made his living from the croft--he had a reputation for being good with livestock--and from occasional wage labor in Stornoway; he also followed the fishing.

Another brother of Uilleam Glen married into another croft in Shawbost, after serving in World War I as a sailor, and a sister married a boy from a neighboring [167] village. The youngest brother, Murdo, emigrated to the United States with the second sister, and they lived and worked together in Detroit until the depression drove them home again. They then lived with Uilleam Glen, who had

59 married a neighboring girl only shortly before they returned, and all of them started weaving. Murdo and his sister had lived together for many years and were quite close. Her marriage at the age of 55 surprised and dismayed the family. Murdo, still a bachelor, lives on in the house.

12) Uilleam Glen had six children. His eldest son, Iain Uilleam Glen, spent a brief period in the navy during the war, but since then has not left the island. He lives with his father, weaves, and is largely responsible for maintaining the croft. They keep cattle, and a number of sheep. Several years ago Iain reseeded a buaile which his grandfather had before him, which he uses to graze cattle. When he was in his early 30's, to everyone's surprise he married a woman ten years older than himself, who gave him a son. The only other member of the household is the youngest son of the family, Calum Uilleam Glen, who weaves and earns money during the summer by hauling peat, hay, and corn. Calum once took a six-month course in carpentry sponsored by the Labor Exchange, but has never used his trade. Two sisters are married on the island. Another brother jumped ship in Australia, married, and has never returned home.

Uilleam Glen's fourth son, Padruig Uilleam Glen, spent a number of years in a sanitorium with lung problems, and

F. The Decline in Self-Sufficiency

Until the second world war, when weavers began to earn larger sums of money for their weaving, the township was relatively self-sufficient. The land was more thoroughly cultivated, and the village boasted a number of local specialists. These specializations were linked with particular family lines. Certain families were blacksmiths; others were undertakers, joiners, cobblers, or midwives. As generations succeed one another, occupations were not thrown open in the competitive, individualistic way of the mobile city. Certain occupations were seen to be "naturally" linked with particular families. Sometimes it was said that people of a particular family (which might include quite a number of collateral lines) had hereditary characteristics which suited them for particular occupations.

"Taggy was an expert bone-setter. He wasn't a doct at all, but he could set bones better than any doctor. And he used to let blood, when people were dizzy with threatening strokes, or had pneumonia. It was in the people. He was a direct descendent, through his mother, of the Murrays of South Shawbost, the people who had the mill and were the blacksmiths for generations. He got that ability from them."

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175 Much of Britain and Europe until about 1500. A modern parallel may be found in Asiatic lands with the frequency of famines alternating with periods of recovery or, in others, the long-drawn misery of chronic under-nutrition and endemic disease. In modern Europe, only internecine war or civil war can now bring such extreme widespread misery. And as peace brings partial healing, so in the Island past, when good seasons returned after famines, the life of the family renewed itself.

The narrow margin of survival even in good seasons, the risks of the bread-winner's death and of his family's destitution, and the need of co-operation in so many tasks made the family too small, weak and precarious to stand alone. Even with relatively little division (or specialisation) of labour, and in spite of its apparent self-sufficiency, the family had perforce to link itself with wider circles of community life.

(b) JOINT LABOUR BY SMALL TEAMS: THE EVIDENCE OF TENURE IN 1716-26

175 Romantic is hidden among the rent-rolls of the Seaforth estates, all of which were forfeited when the last Earl of "King James VIII" in 1715. For of the rents withheld from the government until 1720, on the mainland at least the loyal clansmen paid a considerable portion to their exiled chief, styled 'Marquis' by 'King James'. But the

[1] The 'ups and downs' of a peasantry living on the margin of subsistence, which subject is so well-known to be noted in India, (1891-1941), where the subject is accordingly the most-studied one in Indian Economics. This wide problem was reviewed in a series of papers in 1948: "The Social and Psychological Significance of Variability in Regional Changes of Population", with examples taken from Indian villages. (A. Geddes, *Human Relations*, Vol. 2, n. (3)-(4), of *Eng. Rev.* 1948 and 1948; and *Eng. Journal*, 3, vol. of, 1947)

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175 ● 513 ... the ... family ... the ... family ... the ... family

married sons into the house. Family solidarity was strengthened
as each cottage came to be the home of a three generation family
group. Adjacent crofts, more likely than not, were bound to-
gether in a network of collateral and affinal relatives. Two
of the underlying principles of the clan were reaffirmed. The
father was the source of the means of subsistence, and the
strong, almost sentimental, attachment for the land was an
expression of the sentimental tie of kinship. Economically,
subdivision was paving the way for disaster. It forced a
steadily increasing dependence on the potato; the people
could not grow enough grain for household needs.

Commercialization meant more than the conversion of land
to a source of monetary revenue and the supplanting of customary
usages by contractual relationships. For its fulfillment it
requires the growth of villages and the development of a di-
vision of labor which allows specialization. Events in England
and Lowland Scotland, could not have left the island unbounded.
The first rumbles of the Industrial Revolution had been followed
by a vigorous growth of urban centers. The mass movements of
the rural population into these communities, as their rights
to the land were disregarded and the people were driven off
or made into wage laborers, were creating a new cultural
pattern. The benefits of the towns to the nation had the
appearance of being unlimited. It was inevitable that villages
should be advanced, planned, and fostered on Skye, the most
populous of all the Hebrides. It was no less inevitable that
villages should have limited attraction for the Sgiathanach.

Each man received a permanent, compact plot of arable in place
of his former concurrent right to a whole farm. The change, on
the surface, seems have been superficial. The grazings
remained common property and the arable land became common
property after the harvest. The significant fact is that
commercialization had not yet led to a disregard for the custom-
ary rights of the small tenant, except in a few isolated areas.

There were other effects of the change in tenure beyond
a leveling of the social hierarchy. By giving more people
a direct share in the land emigration was stopped. The practice
of subdividing the crofts among the children, as they married,
at once favored an increase in population and strengthened the
family of orientation, if not the extended family. At the same
time, it placed a greater dependence on the potato; the people
became hostages to the health of the potato and their own
fertility. In time progressive economic deterioration began.
The old subsistence economy had been weakened by subdivision
of the small plots, increasing dependence on external markets for
profits from the sale of cattle, and wages from helping or a
little fishing. When the markets broke, destitution and em-
migration reappeared. Finally, with a failure of the potato, the
economic structure collapsed. The population trends were
reversed. The people had remained unspecialized in a nation
of specialists.

The next stage in the process of commercialization, the
growth of a village and the extension of communications, had
little perceptible effect on the Sgiathanach. Villages were

The Income of a Small Croft. The small croft is regarded by
local agricultural experts as having a potential income of
£20 a year. In addition, it provides a house, potatoes, some
vegetables, milk, eggs, and the right to cut peat. Even if
not quite legal until June, 1954, it frequently supplies
mutton and, less often, beef for the family. The budget for
this type of holding in my sample reveals that even when
fully stocked and the ground tilled, the income may be negli-
gible. Let us look at the cash income and net profit for
1952 and 1953.

In 1952 the cash income for the croft was £8 13s. 11d.
The net profit, which takes into account depreciation and
stock valuation after sales was £2 1s. 11d. In 1953 the
cash income was £12 0s. 9d., and the net profit was £2 0s.
These figures include money from the sale of stock, government
subsidies and grants, and home grown produce eaten by
the family. Unfortunately, I do not know the number of hours
which were spent earning this meager return. The crofter's
wife said about 300 hours of her labor. To this we must add
seasonal cooperative labor.

This particular croft is rented by a middle-aged married
couple and a spinster sister of the wife. The man works full
time as truck driver, leaving most of the work on the croft
to his wife. The stock is two cows and followers and sixteen
to eighteen sheep. There are six acres of arable land, half
of it under hay and grass. The remainder is planted in oats,
potatoes, and turnips. The budget may not be typical. For

lambing season, the crofter and his family go out on the moor
to pasture their flock of sheep. The man uses a
"tusser," a two-bladed spade, to cut the peat. His wife or
his children follow behind, tossing the peats out of the ditch
and building small, loose stacks for drying. After the lambs
have been marked and the sheep dipped in June and the shearing
finished in July, the family returns to the home to carry
the peats to the nearest road, actually a beaten cart path,
in creels. They are then carted home and stacked near the door.
There is a growing tendency for both the part-time and spare-
time crofter to buy coal for peat. It is not because peat
is cheaper or he needs time for other pressing chores. His
auxiliary occupation will not permit his devoting the necessary
time to this long and arduous task. He is caught between the
traditional economic patterns and the money economy of which
he has become a part.

The year for our part-time crofter, as for all active
crofters ends in November. By then the oat and hay harvest has
been stacked by the house and the potatoes and turnips stored
in the ground, the wool shipped off to market, the surplus
sheep and cattle have gone to market, and the rams are on the
hill. Now follows a period of enforced idleness, broken by
feeding the cattle. As we have seen many go away to find
employment, leaving the care of the croft to their wives who
have shared the work of crofting in addition to their own
womanly responsibilities. We must turn to the spare-time
crofter to discover just how heavy the burden of labor may
depend upon the women of Skye.

depend upon the women of Skye.

The Spare-time Crofter. Under this type we must include not
only the elderly, married man who tends to become a full-
time wage earner; but also the old, pensioned, married and
unmarried men and women who are no longer able to perform
the necessary chores. For the latter, whether they have a
small or medium-sized croft, the croft becomes a means of
living within a pension rather than a potential source of
livelihood. For the former, the croft becomes a means of
living supplement.

When the crofter goes out to work, he either tends to
neglect the croft or expects his wife to manage it. Oc-
casionally, the husband will help with the ploughing or the
harvest in the evening, but he never lends his wife a helping
hand in her domestic duties. The only men on the island that
I know who helped their wives with the dishes or the care of
the children, except disciplinary measures, were a minister
from the Outer Isles and several Lowlanders in Portree. Since
very few crofters have plumbing, the wife must fetch water
from a well and dispose of waste in the nearest stream. If
there is to be a supply of peats, she must cut them. If
there are cattle and sheep, she looks after them. Lambing
may be left to the township shepherd if the crofters can afford
one, and shearing is usually left to the men of the township.
An exceptional spinster or widow may shear, but it is indeed
an unusual married woman who will break with the traditional

division of labor. During the summer, she will milk the cows,
and in the winter she will see that they are fed. If there is
to be a harvest in the autumn, she will care for the crops.

Some women, in particular the older ones, plough with
the reaschram, the foot plough. Other women use a small power
driven plough or contract with the Department of Agriculture
to have the ploughing done. The Department will also provide
the men and machinery to harrow, cultivate, spread lime and
manure, sow hay, cut and bind oats, dig potatoes, and thresh
grain. By utilizing these services, if they can be afforded,
the small crofter can free himself or, at least his wife,
from many arduous tasks. The need for cooperation of the family
and neighbors is thereby reduced. Although traditional mutual
aid is being replaced by cash payment for labor, it is not the
labor of a landless working class which commercialization often
creates, but rather state provided services. Significantly,
most Department employees are newcomers. The Skye man who
works for the Department is a better worker away from the island.
Since few are able to pay for these services, the wife digs the
potatoes, and once women use the scythe to reap hay and oats.
The scythe, it will be remembered is really a man's tool.
Frequently, the break with tradition is revealed by the return of
a son from the mainland or the sea. Running the household and
working the croft is not all once woman do. They also take in
summer visitors, by the day or week, and provide teas for travellers.

In summary, it may be said that crofting is anything but
an easy life with ample rewards. We have seen how meager the

alternating generations and being felt as an obligation to
perpetuate family names, these various practices serve to
limit confusion among a people who share rather few surnames.
I never know a child who had been named for his parents.

The relationship of father and child is formally es-
tablished at baptism. As we shall see in the following chapter,
the mother takes little or no part in arranging for the sacra-
ment. The spiritual welfare of the children is the father's
concern. He is also the disciplinarian, but in the pre-school
years discipline is lax. Both parents freely indulge the child,
and they spend a great deal of time with him. The belt, an
ever-present, ever-threatened means of punishment, only appears
when the child assumes the rights and duties which he will
exercise as long as he remains on his parents' croft.

When he begins school at five or, in remote townships,
at six, the rights and duties determined by age and sex begin
to emerge in perspective. Actually, the child has already
begun to make a pretense, playfully imitating his or her father
or mother, at assuming his role, but the influence of the
sex category is not marked. A small boy may fetch some peat
for the fire or some water for the dishes. Once he starts
school, he is no longer exposed to the women's chores. As soon
as he is able to carry a pail he may feed the children; then
he only feeds the calves. His first real task is tending the
cattle, bringing them down from the hill and driving them out
after the milking. As time goes on, he learns how to plant
and dig potatoes, cut turf, harvest hay and oats, and at last
how to shear sheep.

Island. Being taught about the larger world beyond, most
children begin to show exasperation with the croft and the
duties it imposes. At first they become reluctant to do their
chores after school hours or on holidays, or unable to earn
the strong authority of their fathers, they do the work
grudgingly. This is especially true of lads who are planning
to go to a university. While many boys take an interest in
the stock and lies to plough, if there is a tractor, they
frequently complain about the slow pace, the boredom of the
long winters, the restrictions on their time, and the weather-
above all, the weather. Girls are no less unhappy. In
particular, the girl who has been left behind by her older
brothers and sisters to care for the parents will feel that
such a life leaves much to be desired. She learns of an-
other, entirely different life in school, and she hears her
siblings tell of this new life when they return for a visit.
Naturally, she begins to think digging potatoes is beneath
her dignity. The most frequently heard complaint is, "You
can't dress out here." The underlying conflict for both boys
and girls in their teens seems to be one between a desire for
adventure or opportunities for individual choice and the
routine, circumspect behavior expected of them.

Added to this desire is the realization that they may
not really be needed at home. The small crofter with a piece
of land hardly larger than a German laborer's garden can handle
all the necessary chores by himself or, at periods of peak
activity, with the concentration of his wife and his neighbors.
A medium sized croft may provide work for one, two, or even

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FROM
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593 three children, but this will only be for a few weeks in the
582 spring and autumn. The large crofter, who has only recently appeared, is the only one who can use one or two helping hands all through the year.

589 One may logically ask, what if the thought that they are
582 not needed never occurs to the children and they resolve the conflict of individual expression and subservience to the father and the group? The answer is an ever increasing number have at least one more important decision to make. As the boys grow into young men, they must decide whether or not they will remain bachelors, which remaining with the parents means, or found their own families of procreation. Girls must similarly decide between spinsterhood and marriage. There is no pattern on Skye, like that found in Ireland,[12] for turning over the croft to a son, much less a daughter, while the parents are still alive. Some, of course, marry after their parents die, but often it is too late for them to have children. The township of Bornesketaig, for example, has not celebrated a birth in years; there simply are no children and none to come. Other men and women feel it is too late for marriage when they get possession of the croft. I doubt that there is a single township on Skye which does not have at least one bachelor or spinster. Totescore has earned fame as being a township of bachelors. Commonly, a brother and sister live together on the croft.

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[12] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 72-79, 85; Arensberg and Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland, pp. 123-144. There are, of course, many comparisons which could be made with the Irish small farmer, but most of them would apply to peasants everywhere.

his croft to his eldest son. Some reformers feel that the youngest son or daughter who has stayed at home to care for his parents is cheated. When there is no will, the State steps in and assigns the croft to the widow, the eldest son, or the child who has remained behind.

The growth of the welfare state has had its influence in determining this pattern. On the one hand, there are payments to unmarried children who remain at home to look after their parents. On the other hand, there are the old age pensions. While the pension has made the transition of the old couple from active crofters and parents to grandparents easier for the Irish small farmer,[13] on Skye the coming of the pension saw the end of the old pattern of the oldest son returning, with his wife, to care for his parents and raise his own family. With a pension the old couple had little need to work the croft. The children were not needed, and not infrequently the old people enjoyed their independence and their freedom from turning the house over to a woman whose ideas and beliefs conflicted with their own. The common desire of parents today is that one of their children will stay on to take over or return after they are gone. Naturally, no one likes to see his children far from home, but what can they do?

Aside from the difficulties of inheriting a croft or finding a vacant holding, it has become increasingly difficult for a young man to find a wife. Most of the crofters' daughters

[13] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 85-86; Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., p. 125.

the social superiors of women. The aged are the social superiors of the youth and young adults. The father determines how his wife and children will behave as long as they remain under his control. The old man, or man, determine what changes will be accepted or rejected. There is no way to question their decisions, unless one leaves the croft. Still, at the bottom, there is equality. No man can step forward as a leader. We are now in a position to look at the larger social grouping, the neighborhood.

Kith and Kin within the Neighborhood

During the days of the clan, the residents of the neighborhood were bound together by real and fictitious ties of consanguinity and affinity, which were reinforced by the strong attachment to the soil and propinquity. Only the fictitious bonds have been forgotten. Like the township, the neighborhood consists of an aggregate of conjugal families whose inter-personal relationships are reinforced by a complicated network of kinship. Once, perhaps as late as 100 years ago, the neighborhood was a highly cooperative social unit. Then the local mills were in use and the church had not been broken by schism, the people must have had a more definite focus for their common interests. In more remote times, it was a defensive entity. Today the neighborhood is no longer a cooperative unit. On the analogy of the old horse plough and the [illegible], cooperation is essential to the township but superfluous to this larger group. That the neighborhoods have not lost the potential for concerted action in times of crisis is attested by the uprisings

spouses not too long ago.[23] Perhaps, more than any other factor, it is the tendency of the aged parents to hold on to the croft until they die that is strangling the kinship system. Still the extended family is a strong mutual aid group. Anyone with a recognized degree of kinship is entitled to hospitality. When the exiles return to visit the Misty Isle, they always try to make the rounds of their kinsmen. This is more than a question of not becoming an economic burden on a favorite aunt; they do not want to be guilty of slighting anyone. There is reciprocity here. In return for food and shelter, the visitor freely gives his kinsman all the news he has gathered about the activities of their distant kin. He acts like a roving reporter, cementing the solidarity of an otherwise fragmented group.

The expression given to the degree of consanguinity and affinity is revealed most completely at a funeral. As one of the two occasions on which the extended family comes together, the other being a wedding, it reveals a host of significant traits. The first thing I noticed was that although the inavailability of land and the illegality of subdivision enforces neo-local post marital residence, burial is ideally patrilocal. On more than one occasion the steamer came in at night with a body which had been shipped home from Glasgow or Edinburgh for interment in the deceased's neighborhood. This also means that the husband and wife remain integral members of their respective families. The founding of a family of

[23] Morern MacLeod, Reminiscences of a Highland Parish, p. 196

procreation does not absolve the individuals from their obligations to their "people."

Although the wake and the post-interment feast have been given up under religious censure, and the ministers refuse to consecrate burial, the method of burial is fundamentally the same as it was before the Reformation. At the time of interment the coffin is carried out of the house by the closest relatives. Ideally, for a man this means his father walks in front of the coffin, his oldest son (over fifteen) walks behind, and his brothers and uncles (paternal) carry the body. For a married woman the ideal is to have her husband walk in front, her father behind, and her brothers and uncles carry. When a child dies, his father walks in front; his oldest brother walks behind, and the father's brothers for a boy and the mother's brothers for a girl are the carriers. Outward mobility, as well as infirmity and death, has had its influence. The nearest male relative not only walks in front of his deceased kinsman but also takes charge of the funeral. A few cases of who has filled this function will indicate how the situation is handled when the ideal cannot be fulfilled. For a man this role normally passes first to his oldest son and then to his brother. I have seen a grandson take charge, and at one very atypical funeral, a brother-in-law. He was the nearest surviving male relative who could be contacted in time.

Arrangements for the burial of a widow are made by her son or brother. There was, however, one widow, a woman from the Outer Isles, who was returned to her native island for burial

by a second cousin. The striking thing to realize here is that the nearest surviving relative always knows his obligation and is ready to fulfill it, without question. Fatherless children are buried by either their paternal or maternal uncle. I have not forgotten the existence of women. The simple fact is, women play no part as mourners. Indeed, the rare woman who goes to the grave becomes the subject of lasting gossip.

Fundamentally, the system of kinship is patrilineal. Linguistically, the terms for relatives may be bilateral, and inheritance of possessions other than the name may be matters of small importance, but the patrilineal emphasis remains. The Sgiathanach lives in a man's world. I shall explore this male dominance further in the following chapter. At present, I want to briefly discuss two additional cliques.

Religious and Age-Grade Cliques. Like the members of any society, the Sgiathanach associates most frequently with those who share his interests and attitudes. It is natural, then, for his associates, other than his kinsmen, to be people who attend his church and people of his own age group. We need not explore the nature of these cliques at this time; but we should have some understanding of their function. The religious clique is primarily a mutual aid group. There is reason to believe that this particular group has lost much of its importance of late, with the coming of the welfare state. Many feel that the government pays people to look after the aged and infirm. As far as doing a favor for someone is concerned, few of the same kirk, other than close friends,

The Role of Religion on the Croft

As the prestige of the old people and the control of the family-head elders over the social activities of the people has persisted with religious sanction, the status of the father within the nuclear family has been reinforced by the religious expression of his role. As we know, the older inter-family patterns of economic cooperation have been disturbed by the changes stemming from the process of commercialization. This has not disturbed the position of the father as the source of authority and discipline. He continues to play a basic role in establishing the tone of interaction within the home, the township, neighborhood, and community. He decides who will do the work and when. He determines in what social activities his wife and children will participate, always, of course, ultimately guided by the venerable old men. His status is confirmed at baptism, when he is judged, and it is commonly reaffirmed every day in the home. For the majority of crofters, though by no means all of any sect, the day begins with the saying of grace before breakfast and the returning of thanks after breakfast. The same pattern is repeated at the taking of any food, including a cup of tea. The form of grace may be used to cast light on the religious outlook of the Sgiathanach: "Gracious God, we have sinned against Thee, and are unworthy of Thy mercy; pardon our sins, and bless these mercies for our use, and help us to eat and drink to Thy glory, for Christ's sake. Amen."

In many homes breakfast is followed by family worship. The father begins with a blessing, a prayer on behalf of his family, and then leads the family in the singing of a few verses of psalm. Next he reads from Scripture, sometimes to the visitor because his Bible is not an English version, and comments on the meaning of the passage. He concludes with a prayer. If the morning worship has been omitted, he holds an evening service. Some crofters have family worship both morning and night. When the father is away, his wife or his eldest son conducts the worship. Religious devotion on Skye, then, is more than Sabbath church attendance and attendance at weekly prayer meetings.

The Role of Religion in Township, Neighborhood, and Village

I did not attempt to devise a socio-metric scale to determine the affiliation of members and adherents of the several churches in either Glendale, Kilmuir or Portree. The former disunity and conflicts which divided families, both nuclear and consanguineal, townships, neighborhoods, and the village stemmed from abandonment of traditional religious affiliation rather than from attachment to an established sect which happened to differ from the denomination of one's kinsman or neighbor. Today sectarian hostility is no longer prevalent among the people. The Sgiathanach only chaffs his neighbor in friendly sally and repartee, about his only slightly different sectarian views. They refer to each other's sect by nicknames. The Church of Scotland is the "Established Church." The

people of the Free Church are "the Free Frees." The Free 795
Presbyterians are the "Seceders" or, at least to some of
the gentry, the "Split P's." Arguing about religion is [574]
considered very bad taste. It is left to the ministers, 793
and they do have their points of difference. One Free 795
Presbyterian minister, for example, told me that no one in 798
the Church of Scotland, including the minister, was worthy
to receive Communion. On many occasions during the year
the ministers of the Free Church and Free Presbyterian
Church devote part of their sermon to a criticism of the
Church of Scotland, not to mention the evid hostility of all
Skyemen toward Catholics.

Adherents of the several sects intermarry with no qualms 582
and without suffering any loss of status. By the time a 795
person gets to be a member, marriage is no longer in his
mind. Husband and wife continue to adhere to their respective 593
denominations, those in which they were baptized. The children 795
naturally, are baptized and raised in the church of their [589]
father. Extended families are often divided religiously 596
along sectarian lines. In one family one brother and his 795
wife were Free Presbyterians, another brother and his wife
were Free Church, a sister was Church of Scotland. The
parents had been Free Church but became Free Presbyterians
at the turn of the Century. At least one cousin was United
Free Church. This religious schism did not affect their
affection for one another. Once a week the sister went to
have tea with her Free Church sister-in-law. Periodically

rather than Christianity is the prevailing practice in Glenisle.795
This attachment to a sect is all the more significant in the 796
crofting neighborhoods because there is not one iota of difference in the Gaelic services in any church. The difference is
doctrinal.

In the neighborhood the affiliates of the same church 571
have been said to interact with their fellows more regularly 795
than with the remainder of the group. They come together on 796
the Sabbath for a regular service and on Wednesday night
for a prayer meeting. On the Sabbath they come as families,
husband, wife and children and they sit together. Normally 593 ●
the sexes are segregated in public. Indeed, in the home 562
men keep to one side of the fire and women to the other when 596
there are callers. They also leave in family groups. Their
interaction is spiritual. There are no gatherings outside
the church either before or after the service to gossip,
discuss the stock, or even comment on the weather. They
will all know who was absent, but they will only greet their
fellows with a slight nod. The Wednesday night prayer
meeting is different. This is a group situation. Some come
by bus and gossip on the way. Others get together before
and after the service for a chat. At these prayer meetings 554
the stature of the "elect" again emerges. They offer the 596
prayers on behalf of the congregation. The prayers, it should 797
be noted, are extempore. No form is followed. The basis for
them are passages from Scripture and interpretations of the
passages.

control of the "elect" crofters. They, are the "elect," 794
and their status is independent of the control of the venera- 565
ble old men. 626
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Summary

Whereas the culture of the Gziathanach was oriented 771
around the clan system in the remote past and was intelli- [178]
gible only by an awareness of the all-pervasive influence
of the clan, today congregational religion provides the
focus for the culture. If we are to understand the Gziathanach [121]
we must fathom his religion, that is, the interpretation
which he has given to Calvinism. Moreover, this highly 182
integrated and systematized aspect of his culture has pro- 771
vided the means for preserving cultural continuity. Economics
and social organization aid us in recognizing how cultural
continuity has been maintained. Religion puts at our finger
tips the how and the why.

The basic status values have held good because religion 771
has sanctioned them. The old men of the neighborhood have 554
been successful in sustaining their statuses and habits 182
through their position in the esoteric religious hierarchy. 626
By holding the father responsible for the spiritual welfare 593 ●
of his family, and judging a man's spiritual enlightenment
on his remuneration of mundane pleasures as well as his
knowledge of religious tenets, the elders exercise judicial
and authoritarian functions. At the same time, the status
of the father within the family is strengthened. After a

sanctioned the qualities which had given the people their 178
characteristic strength of character. 182
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The churches of Skye made conservatism an official
policy in 1843, and in 1892 reaffirmed this policy. For well
over 100 years religion has had a strength and vitality which
has enabled the Skyeman to pass through times of extreme
distress, not to mention chronic economic deficiencies. Among 182
the most important religious sanctions are those which reinforce 554
the status values of the culture. The father's status in the 771
nuclear family was reaffirmed at a time when his socio-economic 593 ●
importance was declining. He has been held responsible for
the spiritual welfare of his wife and children. The prestige 182
of the old men, the family-head elders, and their control over 554
the neighborhood group was similarly bolstered by making them 771
the judges of a man's spiritual enlightenment. Spiritual 626
enlightenment is weighed on a scale which will not balance
unless a person's religious knowledge is matched by conformity
to the ways the old men think a man should behave. Again we 182
are not dealing with a completely negative attitude. In the 771
place of frivolous amusements, religion has offered highly [182]
emotional, spiritual patterns of behavior. Religion has pre- [197]
served the Gaelic language by using it in formal worship and
within the home for family worship. In these and other ways
religion has indeed enabled the culture to achieve a reorientation and maintain its continuity.

Now similar Skye is to the Old Order Amish in this respect.[3]

[3]Yoder, Jon, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

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594 NUCLEAR FAMILY--degree of emphasis on the social group consisting of a married couple and their children; exclusiveness with which this group is associated with economic, sexual, reproductive, child-rearing, and educational functions; other family functions (e.g., religious, recreational); domicile (e.g., single dwelling, apartment); family authority (e.g., matripotestal, patripotestal); family possessions; etc. See also:

Neighborhood	86	Family budget	811
Education	97	Primary group	371
Use of Leisure	585	Collective liability	873
Inheritance	488	Child care	855

602 people will be doing the same. If they think they're
505 close enough to be invited, they'll be annoyed if you.
595 don't include them." At funerals, relatives of the
764 deceased to about third cousins were expected to
participate.

When a population has lived in a small area for
621 generations, a dense network of kinship develops. This
602 fact, and the importance placed on mutual aid among
616 fellow villagers, fostered the feeling that the network
571 of township members, who ploughed, fished and tended
cattle and sheep together, was also a network of kinsmen.
"We're all the same people." "It's all one family here."
Occupational and kinship spheres of social activity
commingled. The importance of neighbors in contrast
[539] with relatives was reflected in such proverbs as, "A
neighbor close at hand is better than a relative in a
distant land."

The nuclear family did not, according to Cohen's
● 621 criteria, constitute a firmly bounded system. Then as
596 now, women preferred the company of their "own kind,"
[178] that is, the company of other women. The men worked
[571] and spent periods of recreation with other men. Children
621 spent about as much time in the homes of grandparents,
596 uncles or fellow villagers as they did in their own
○○○ homes. A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a

#159 himself. If he had a drink he might come out. When the
weaving started, he took that up; and he tilled the
croft, kept cattle and all that; but socially he was a
misfit. It was a terrible tragedy, the Zolaire."

[402] When the Bodach Beag returned from the United States,
he bought a Hattersley loom to replace the old wooden loom
with which his brother had been weaving. They worked the
croft together. The Bodach Beag knew he would get the
croft. He married soon after he returned, and for the
next forty years never left the island. His wife took a
six-month course in poultry-keeping and milking, and they
concentrated on cattle rather than sheep. His wife sold
fresh butter to the mobile vans.

#159 Their family grew and dispersed. The eldest son
● 594 attended the secondary school in Stornoway, emigrated to
(147) Rhodesia and married an English girl who was working there
as a nurse. They had to return when economic earthquakes
shook Rhodesia and he lost his job. He stayed at home for
a year and built a new house on the croft; and then,
unexpectedly, he started work to complete the necessary
exams to enter a university and become a teacher.

[166] The youngest son became an engineer, married a Glasgow
Highlander whose parents came from Lewis, and settled in
Glasgow. Their sister married a tradesman on the mainland.
The third son, unmarried but engaged to a local girl, works
in the local tweed mill and lives at home with his parents.

592 594 The Croft. Ideally, the croft is the home of a nuclear family. Social instability and economic limitations, however, have given rise to a situation in which the ideal is becoming progressively harder to attain. In fact, crofts which once were occupied by a three generation family group, that is, by grandparents, parents and children, are now inhabited by an aging bachelor, a spinster, or an unwed brother and sister. Others are the homes of an old widow or widower and, perhaps, one or two of their children who are well beyond marriageable age.

594 As an irremovable social entity, the nuclear family has been surrounded by the universally recognized functions of sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction, and education. In addition, important functions of a religious and a social character have been given to it. The members share the work of the croft, have a higher rate of interaction than any other social group, and, in most homes, worship together seven days a week. Within the family, the father is the source of all authority. He directs the labor of his wife and children, determines their patterns of interaction outside the home, and leads them in family worship. The family's economic well-being and spiritual welfare are his responsibilities.

594 562 Learning the essential tasks necessary to the crofting way of life by imitation and informal guidance, sons move in the sphere of their father and daughters in the sphere of

their mother. While the father is the disciplinarian, both 594 562 children are expected to respect the wishes of their mother, except that a boy can never be asked to do the work of a woman. At the same time, however, in the absence of a boy, a girl will take his place in the division of labor. The high status of the male and the subservient position of the female has persisted over the centuries. Always, male and female relationships are reciprocal and complimentary.

The patterns of interaction and the statuses and roles 594 which are manifest within the nuclear family on Skye are much the same as those described for the Irish small farmers.[15] The main difference is the occupation of the Irish farm by a three generation family group. Comparable family structures arefound in the United States among the old Order Amish and, apparently, among the mountain people of the Southern Appalachians, many of whom are descendants of Scottish and Irish migrants.[16] Under Le Play's classification, the Skyeman's family is the famille-souche or stem family.[17] Although strongly patriarchial, the family on Skye has been weakened by economic limitations. At the same time, the Sgiathanach, as a member of both a nuclear and an extended family, has not lost his attachment to the land, to his kinsmen, or

[15] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 55-63; and Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63-74.

[16] Kollmorgen, op. cit.; and Faith M. Williams, "Variations in Farm-Family Living," in Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1942), pp. 137-154. For the background of the Southern Highlander, see J. C. Campbell, The Southern Highlander and His Homeland (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1921). 113

[17] See Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 57-59, 61-62.

to the traditions of the past. I shall discuss this f
when I describe the extended family.

The Township. The township is a cooperating economic
Communal use of an interest in the common grazing land
the township its focus. Living on the several crofts,
will be found an aggregate of nuclear families and unm
individuals who, especially in the older townships, ar
and re-related on both sides. Only in the more modern
does the degree of relationship become tenuous and fin
appear. In interpersonal activities the neighbors hav
of interaction second only to that of the nuclear fami

The dominant social trait is the strong emphasis
ascription of status on the basis of kinship, sex and
There are no socially valued achieved statuses. The f
are simple. Males enjoy higher prestige than females,
old men and women are respected by the youth. All of
age grade and sex are essentially equal. Again we hav
parallel with the Irish small farmer.[18]

There is no room for the expression of a role of
ship in economic activities. The governing principle
township administration is so-called primitive democra
males have an equal voice in determining the acceptanc
any policy or action which concerns the group, and una
consent is necessary for the adoption of any change.
though each township has an elected grazing clerk and

[18] Cf. Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 45, 109-110; and
and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63, 161-231.

behavior which have given the individual and the culture their ability to continue in spite of social instability and acute economic hardship. In many respects, the Skyemen's religion is strikingly similar to that of the Welshmen.[23]

The status of the father within the nuclear family has been maintained, despite changing economic roles which might have led to a loss of prestige, by his religious sanction. The aged men of the community, in particular the elders, the elected lay kirk officers, have been able to continue to exercise stringent control over their families and neighbors. In a negative way, the socially inferior status of the women has been maintained by debarring them from active roles in the church. In religious activity the people find meaningful patterns of interaction. The small congregations, rarely over 300 people, give the Skyemen a sense of belonging. In the home the practice of daily worship intensifies family interaction. Above all, at the semi-annual communion celebrations, highly emotional meetings which partake much of revivalism, the people find solidarity. As each church in turn celebrates the Lord's Supper, the people from the neighboring churches of the same sect come to share one to five days of worshipping together and renewing their ties of friendship. At the daily church services the people meet and hear visiting ministers of their sect and the eminent Men, members of the elect, from other parts of the island. The identical pattern is found in Wales where the intense patterns of interaction center around the singing festivals.[24]

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[23] Rees, op. cit., pp. 114-130.

[24] Ibid., pp. 129-130.

compared with 34.9 for Scotland. The death rate among Skyemen, however, was 17.4 compared with 22.0 for Scots in general. But Scotland had a net emigration rate of only 3.6 while the Skyemen were leaving at a rate of 16.5. In this decade no fewer than 3,115 left Skye.

By the end of the third period an additional influence of the process of commercialization had become apparent. The social hierarchy was modified in the direction of greater socio-economic differentiation.[68] At the time of the "Forty-five" Skye was inhabited by the families of three clan chiefs, 139 tacksmen, 517 joint-tenants, 1031 subtenants, and 444 servants. There were now 10 landlords. The tacksmen had been replaced by 29 graziers and 12 small farmers. The joint-tenants, subtenants, and servants had become 2043 crofters and 1227 cottars. In the past there may have been one innkeeper, at Portree, and a few millers; now there were 32 innkeepers, millers, and merchants.

The changes which we have been considering could not have left the patterns of interaction undisturbed. Cooperation among the members of the township would have been unnecessary. Since all were affected by prolonged destitution, mutual aid must have been severely curtailed. The extended family was broken by emigration. The nuclear family was seldom intact for more than part of the year. It seems the majority of the able-bodied men were travelling to the east coast each spring to find

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[68] Lachlan MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, pp. 4-5, 6-7, 11-12, 14-15; and J. G. MacKay, "Social Life in Skye from Legend and Story," TGSI, Vol. XXIX (1922), pp. 260-290.

Skye

he general term for third cousins is anns na dubh-oghaichean literally, in the black grandchildship), "in the state of being reat-great-grandchildren." When two fourth cousins are found nd they are asked what they are to one another, almost inveri-bly the reply is caraid (a friend). Again when working out r checking family structure and terminology, I was always told fter getting the term for third cousin, "There's not much point n going any further." It is important to remember that caraid s the usual designation for all relatives beyond the immediate uclear family.

One of the striking facts about the extended family of he Sgiathanach is that the terminology is almost completely escriptive and predominately denotive. It provides a classic xample of what Lowie has called bifurcate collateral terminolo-y.[19] In addition to collaterality and bifurcation, the main rinciples on which the system is ordered are generation and ex.[20] Affinal relatives, excepting the immediate families of he spouses, their "people," are excluded. Only on the second scending and second descending generations is the sex of erson through whom the relationship exists ignored, and only on he second descending generation is sex ignored.

In the Gaelic, the members of the group which the giathanach calls his "people" are athair, màthair, bràthair, and

[19] Robert H. Lowie, "A Note on Relationship Terminologies," merican Anthropologist, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (June, 1928), pp. 265-66.

[20] For a critique of these principles, see Murdock, p. cit., pp. 91-112.

6: Ducey E-4.3 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

piuthar; that is, father, mother, brother, and sister. He calls his father's brothers bràthair athar and his father's sisters piuthar athar. His mother's brothers and sisters are bràthair màthar and piuthar màthar. Grandaprents, as I pointed out, are addressed by classificatory terms. Grandfather is seanair (old father), and grandmother, seanmhair (old mother).

Turning to the more remote relatives, we find that a nephew is mac bràthar or mac peathar. In other words, brother's son or sister's son. Similarly, a niece is nighean bràthar or nighean peathar. The extent to which the descriptive principle is carried is most clearly shown by the terms for cousins. Long ago, I was told, there were classificatory terms for cousins, but they have disappeared. Today when an individual speaks about these collateral relatives, he must employ an ascending order of circumlocution. The general term for first cousins is anns na h-oghaichean (in the state of being grandchildren). Specifically, a first cousin is clann an dà bhràthar (children of the two brothers), clann an dà pheathar (children of the two sisters), or clann na peathar 's a' bhràthar (children of the sister and brother). Second cousins can be referred to as anns na h-iar-oghaichean (in the state of being great-grandchildren), but again there are denotive terms: oghaichean an dà bhrathar, oghaichean an dà pheathar, and oghaichean na peathar 's a' bhràthar. For third cousins, we have noted that the general term is anns na dubh-oghaichean. Specifically, the terms for third cousins are: iar-oghaichean an dà bhràthar, iar-oghaichean an

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pound, single large d
matrilineal, patriline
dividual ownership of
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Property and inheritance .
Kin relationships . . . .
Lineages . . . . . .

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ES--incidence of extended families; prevailing type or
cal, avunculocal, patrilocal, and bilocal extended fami-
families); size and composition; domicile (e.g., com-
lwelling); locus of authority; rule of succession (e.g.,
eal, succession by a younger sibling); collective or in-
f dwelling, land, food stores, and household equipment;
n; routine activities; collective responsibility; cohesive
s; etc. See also:

. . . . . 42 Clans 618
. . . . . 602 Collective liability 672
. . . . . 613 Ancestor worship 769

602 576 585 764 people will be doing the same. If they think they're close enough to be invited, they'll be annoyed if you don't include them." At funerals, relatives of the deceased to about third cousins were expected to participate.

621 602 476 571 When a population has lived in a small area for generations, a dense network of kinship develops. This fact, and the importance placed on mutual aid among fellow villagers, fostered the feeling that the network of township members, who ploughed, fished and tended cattle and sheep together, was also a network of kinsmen. "We're all the same people." "It's all one family here." Occupational and kinship spheres of social activity commingled. The importance of neighbors in contrast [539] with relatives was reflected in such proverbs as, "A neighbor close at hand is better than a relative in a distant land."

621 594 [178] [571] The nuclear family did not, according to Cohen's criteria, constitute a firmly bounded system. Then as now, women preferred the company of their "own kind," that is, the company of other women. The men worked and spent periods of recreation with other men. Children 621 596 spent about as much time in the homes of grandparents, uncles or fellow villagers as they did in their own homes. A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a

the fourth degree of relationship. Although the extended family is now rather amorphous compared to what it must have been a century or two ago, it is still very real to the Sgiathanach. Once, perhaps, the townships and their historic antecedents were patrilocal settlements. Then, of course, the question of the availibility of land and the legality of subdivision were of small importance. Now the rigid system of land use enforces neo-local post-marital residence, often at a great distance from the parents, and very often means that the younger generation must join the constant outward movement of the population. Thus, the extended family is seldom, if ever, found intact. Indeed, the only times its members come together as a group is at a funeral or a wedding. On these occasions the strong patrilineal emphasis becomes apparent, and the fact that the individual always remains a member of his or her family group is revealed. It is, then, a stem family.

621 571 602 596 [591] [175] [591] [127]

In structure the extended family includes all males and females out to, and including, third cousins. The kinship terminology is descriptive. Excepting grandchildren, all relatives are distinguished by sex and generation. Members of the parental generation and lineal descendents of the parents collateral kin are distinguished by their relationship to the individual's parents. Members of the grandparental and great-grandparental generations and their lineal descendents are similarly distinguished. The same descriptive technique extends to kinsmen of the first and second descending generations.

596 601

her brothers and their wives came to visit, and at New Years they came by with their bottle of wine, whiskey being a man's drink, to toast the New Year.

Excepting Glendale, where church membership and affiliation is synonymous with the neighborhood, the township may contain affiliates of two or three churches. One small township contains two Free Church families, two Free Presbyterian families, and one Church of Scotland family. As in any township, they visit one another and cooperate in handling the sheep flocks. Further, the Church of Scotland family often gets out the truck on the Sabbath and drives everyone to Church. This is one of those isolated townships far off the beaten track. Although I certainly agree that people who meet together at a church and pray together get to know each other better because of their religious unity, in this township the families have come to know each other better because they go off to their respective churches together. There is a firm, basic belief among the people that no one should be slighted, even by a minister, because he has differing religious sympathies. Were this not so, think of the position in which I would have found myself. One Free Presbyterian family put it this way, "Who can tell which church is the right one since they all claim to be on top of the pole? Maybe they all are and everyone will get to his final resting place." The "all" was later qualified to exclude Catholics. One of the gentry told me an amusing story on this point. One day during the

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597 ADOPTION--extent to which children are adopted or exchanged; motives and procedure; status of adopted children; reciprocal relations of adoptive parents and adopted children; relations between adoptive siblings; special types of adoption (e.g., adoption of adults, posthumous adoption; ceremonial adoption); etc. See also:

Guardianship 429
Adoption of slaves 567
Artificial kin relationships 608
Adoption of captives. 727
Care of orphans 736
Fosterage 853
Status of children 858

Despite these tendencies, an individual is still enmeshed in familial and village ties. Villagers walk in and out of each others' houses without knocking; only a "stranger" knocks. Goods such as tape recorders, binoculars and books are passed around the village; people even borrow each others' reading glasses.

Children are "borrowed" as well. They are loaned out to relatives and neighbors to run errands, or may even live with them. They are scolded as often by a neighbor or other villager as by a parent. A child might be told, "When someone (any adult) tells you to do something, you do it, no matter who that person is." The parents of one household are criticized for taking their children's side against other children and other parents. "He's teaching his children not to mix with others. One child is as good as another. They may be good one day, but they're likely to be bad the next." A child or adult who enjoys spending time by himself is still considered extremely odd. An important criterion by which someone's mental health or general personality is evaluated is whether or not he "mixes" well. It is fairly common for childless households to "adopt" a child of neighbors or relatives; that is, the child spends a great deal of time with them. They may go to the child's house to put him to bed at night, or the

599 621 child may come to spend nights or longer periods of time with them.

476 621 [576] To some extent villagers are still dependent on each other for various kinds of help. It is considered extremely bad manners to refuse labor, a tool, or food to anyone who requests them. If someone refuses to aid another, people say, "What will he do when he needs [443] help?" This attitude has made the island a paradise for the few salesmen who, in the last few prosperous years, have started to visit its communities; villagers find it difficult to say no to anyone who comes to their door with a request, including the request that they buy something.

621 574 844 A woman in childbirth was formerly attended by a local midwife, and kept in bed for two or three weeks. "Other women, both relatives and friends, came and stayed with them at night, fixing them warm tea and milk, whispering bhronag bochd (poor soul), how awful you look..." just as today the neighbors gather at times of illness and death. It is more difficult for neighbors to come [178] [743] to the bedsides of young mothers of today, who are all taken to the hospital in Stornoway to have their babies; but the neighbors manage to visit the hospital, which has no choice but to ignore its rule of only two visitors per bed at a time.

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601 KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY--lists and application of kinship terms; genealogical kinship charts; use of kinship terms relative to personal names and teknonymy; differentiation of vocative and referential forms; morphological typology (e.g., elementary, derivative, and descriptive terms); number of elementary terms; incidence of denotative and classificatory terms; classificatory distinctions observed and overridden (e.g., generation, sex, affinity, collaterality, bifurcation, polarity, relative age, speaker's sex, decedence); classification of avuncular and nepotic terms (e.g., bifurcate collateral, bifurcate merging, lineal, generation); classification of cousin terminology (e.g., Eskimo, Hawaiian, Iroquois, Crow, Sudanese, Omaha); correlation between terminology and patterns of behavior; historical and functional interpretations of kinship systems; etc. See also:

Dynastic genealogies . . . . . 173 Personal names and teknonymy. 551
Linguistic relationships 197

the fourth degree of relationship. Although the extended family is now rather amorphous compared to what it must have been a century or two ago, it is still very real to the Sgiathanach. Once, perhaps, the townships and their histori antecedents were patrilocal settlements. Then, of course, the question of the availibility of land and the legality of subdivision were of small importance. Now the rigid system of land use enforces neo-local post-marital residence, often at a great distance from the parents, and very often means that the younger generation must join the constant outward movement of the population. Thus, the extended family is seldom, if ever, found intact. Indeed, the only times its members come together as a group is at a funeral or a weddin On these occasions the strong patrilineal emphasis becomes a parent, and the fact that the individual always remains a member of his or her family group is revealed. It is, then, stem family.

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distinction. During the war when Skye had its own little army, he came to know many of the old crofters quite well. Finally, he came to use personal names when speaking to them and asked to be called by his first name. The people explained that they might be older than he, but he was too important to be spoken to as anything other than mister.

The tradesmen and the shopkeepers in Glendale and Kilmuir are not any different from any other man. They are not specialists. They are part-time crofters. We have to turn to Portree to see what status position they fill in the society of Skye. I might just add that they are on a first name basis with their neighbors, and, like the crofters, they are known beyond the neighborhood by their first name and township, such as Ian Borve or Murdo Stein.

To summarize, there is additional evidence for cultural continuity in the structure of the neighborhood. The extended family, although very unstable and, therefore, somewhat amorphous, is still a reality in the minds of the people. It still has two functions which it must have had in the remote past: seeing that all are cared for and given a decent burial. The ascription of status noted for the township carries over to the neighborho d, as does the underlying status equality and need for unanimous consent. Among the crofters leadership is still undeveloped. The old men can enforce conformity but they cannot lead. Although prestige ranking is developed, in the form of the achieved statuses of ministers, doctors, and teachers, it is significant that, except for the minister in Glendale, all holders of prestige status are

a question about a certain man I was told: "I can't help you on that. Whenever I go into a shop or meet them on the street, they change their conversation." Another told me I should ask the doctor, "He's the one who really knows their problems."

Summary

The society of the Sgiathanach reveals additional evidence for cultural continuity. In family structure, both nuclear and extended, the patrilineal emphasis has been preserved. Even though both suffer from chronic instability and the extended family has become rather amorphous, kinship remains an important regulator of interpersonal relationships. It involves obligations and privileges which few take lightly. Within the social units based on territory, the township and neighborhood, status continues to be ascribed on the basis of age, sex, and kinship. Women have remained socially inferior to the men. As the father controls his family, the old men of the township and neighborhood exercise a power over their juniors to force conformity to traditional ways. Fundamentally, all of the same age and sex are equals. This status equality underlies the entire social structure. There is no room for a leader. When essential, the newcomer, normally the teacher or minister, and the landed gentry are expected to assume the role of leadership. In the village the emphasis on ascribed status for the Sgiathanach is also important. The majority of achieved statuses are left to be filled by newcomers. In the community, as a whole, beyond the polarity of the landed gentry and the

good to say about him." Death is one of the two occasions for an extended family gathering. Indeed, a man's prestige is best seen at his funeral. Without exaggeration, death is the most significant event of living. It is constantly visualized and discussed. "Second Sight," the ability to foresee future events, is mainly concerned with the death of one's "people" and friends. Since the ministers have been striving to wipe out this belief, it is difficult to get the people to talk about it, except in retrospect. Still most of the people, including many of the newcomers, and not a few of the ministers, continue to believe that some old people,--they are always old men and women,--are afflicted with this power. There was an old man in one township who would not go out at dusk for fear of seeing a funeral, and there was an old woman who foretold her daughter's death. Lights seen in strange places also tell of death. Even the sophisticated Sgiathanach who has been born and mised in Portree sometimes forgets himself. A current story on the island tells of a "ghost bus." The headlights suddenly appear behind a driver on the Sligihan road. For the newcomers this is a fanciful tale, but for several of the natives it has a meaning, death.

All plans are prefixed with the phrase "if spared." "If spared, we'll shear the sheep on Thursday." "If spared, I'll go down to see my brother soon." Many of the newcomers are made to feel very uneasy by this habit, which is as much a form of speech as greeting people with, "It's wet," or, "It's cold." When a Sgiathanach asks to have something done

people of the Free Church are "the Wee Frees." The Free Presbyterians are the "Seceders" or, at least to some of the gentry, the "Split P's." Arguing about religion is considered very bad taste. It is left to the ministers, and they do have their points of difference. One Free Presbyterian minister, for example, told me that no one in the Church of Scotland, including the minister, was worthy to receive Communion. On many occasions during the year the ministers of the Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church devote part of their sermon to a criticism of the Church of Scotland, not to mention the avid hostility of all Skyemen toward Catholics.

Adherents of the several sects intermarry with no qualms and without suffering any loss of status. By the time a person gets to be a member, marriage is no longer in his mind. Husband and wife continue to adhere to their respective denominations, those in which they were baptized. The children naturally, are baptized and raised in the church of their father. Extended families are often divided religiously along sectarian lines. In one family one brother and his wife were Free Presbyterians, another brother and his wife were Free Church, a sister was Church of Scotland. The parents had been Free Church but became Free Presbyterians at the turn of the Century. At least one cousin was United Free Church. This religious schism did not affect their affection for one another. Once a week the sister went to have tea with her Free Church sister-in-law. Periodically

his own family of procreation or ceases to be an integral member of the social units. Many features of these relationships will persist throughout his life.

The Sgiathanach treats the event of birth as something in which man is only the agent of a higher power. This fact was brought home to me one night during a discussion of the declining size of families. The question of subsidies to encourage larger families was broached. Although all take advantage of government grants for their stock and care of the land, this form of subsidy was unanimously rejected. As one man said, this would place man in the unthinkable position of a creator. Only the essential arrangements for the care of the mother and her expected child are made before birth. There are no "showers." "Showers," said one woman, "how can you tell if the child will be a boy or girl, or even live?" Today most women go to the maternity hospital at Uig for the delivery, but a few prefer to remain at home under the care of their mothers. To expect that the father's mother would take charge, even under the clan system, would be carrying the patriarchial emphasis too far. Within a few days, the obligations of the parents, their relations, and the people of the township become apparent. One by one the individuals and couples make their way to the cottage to welcome the child. This individual visiting is a modified survival of the old custom of "kirking," a group offering of thanks, at the church, for a safe mother and a healthy child, followed by a dance and feast at home. The parents are obliged to provide a dram of whiskey so that all the visitors can toast the child.

by leaving, for if he fails to conform to the traditional norms and patterns of behavior, he will be locked upon as an eccentric This fact has continuity through all periods of Skye's history.

We have already seen how the age and sex structure of the population has changed in response to social and economic conditions and how this change has influenced the ascription of statuses within the crofters' division of labor. Briefly, there has been a contraction of the number of opportunities for ascribing status. This had made it necessary for some men to perform tasks once the exclusive domain of women and for women to participate in activities which formerly were the responsibility of their men folk. Older people must now function in ways which once were the responsibilities of the youth and young adults. These changes, however, have been accompanied by persistencies, in particular a continuity of basic status values. I think this will become clear through a discussion of the family structure. We shall begin with the nuclear family.

The Nuclear Family. Since my interest is in status, I shall adopt the unorthodox procedure of considering the nuclear family in terms of the changing status of the individual members from birth to maturity. This will give us a dynamic picture of family life. At birth the individual's relationships within the crofting family and, to a lesser degree, within the township are established. Like those of his parents, who now have the ascribed statuses of mother and father, his relationships will remain unchanged until he marries and founds

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[17] Cf. Arensberg and

[18] Cf. Ibid., pp. 79

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Kimball, op. cit., pp. 79-80
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605 spouses not too long ago.[23] Perhaps, more than any other
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427 factor, it is the tendency of the aged parents to hold on
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602 to the croft until they die that is strangling the kinship
596 system. Still the extended family is a strong mutual aid
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574 group. Anyone with a recognized degree of kinship is entitled to hospitality. When the exiles return to visit the Misty Isle, they always try to make the rounds of their kinsmen. This is more than a question of not becoming an economic burden on a favorite aunt; they do not want to be guilty of slighting anyone. There is reciprocity here.
[203] In return for food and shelter, the visitor freely gives his kinsman all the news he has gathered about the activities of their distant kin. He acts like a roving reporter, cementing the solidarity of an otherwise fragmented group.

602 The expression given to the degree of consanguinity and
769 affinity is revealed most completely at a funeral. As one of the two occasions on which the extended family comes together, the other being a wedding, it reveals a host of significant traits. The first thing I noticed was that although the inavailability of land and the illegality of subdivision enforces neo-local post marital residence, burial is ideally patrilocal. On more than one occasion the steamer came in at night with a body which had been shipped home from Glasgow or
602 Edinburgh for interment in the deceased's neighborhood. This
593 also means that the husband and wife remain integral members of their respective families. The founding of a family of

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[23] Norman MacLeod, Reminisences of a Highland Parish, p. 19

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[19]Cf. Arensberg and K

[20]Cf. Talcott Parsons
United States," American An
1943), pp. 22-38.

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disintegrated as the feudal

Had the tuath and mortu
there was no room for them i
hand, there was no opportuni
and, especially, the Islands
For over four hundred years
able to secure an unfluctuat
Whatever course events took,
mortuath, the toiseach, the
moar, a subordinate chieftai
arrangement there appeared a
fate. On the Isle of Skye t
Soil Torquil (MacLeods of Le
Dunvegan), Clann Finnon (Mac
and Clann Uisdein (MacDonald

Clan Membership. The clan w
security.[23] The nucleus was

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[20] See, e.g., Robertson
op. cit., pp. 204, 210-211;
309.

[21] Terry, op. cit., pp.

[22] Alexander Cameron, H
Skye (Inverness: E. Forsyth,

[23] See, e.g., Thomas In
Clans and Families of Scotla
1938). This authoritative w
Scotland, the custodian of S
treatises consulted were: Fra
Regiments of the Western Hig
W. and A. K. Johnston, 1923)
of the Scottish Highlands an
1906).

e reign of David I.[20] It appeared 175*
eudalism, and, as we shall see, it 602
order decayed. 614
618

uath persisted under the Norse,
n a feudal polity.[21] On the other
ty to assimilate the remote Highlands
with the Lowland half of the Kingdom.
no king, Scottish or British, was
ing vassalage of the Highlanders.
the mormear, once chief of the
old chief of the tuath, and the
n, were gone. In place of the tribal
host of distinct communities of
he most important of these were the
wis), Soil Tormod (MacLeods of
Kinnons), Clann Nicholl (Nicolsons),
s of Skye).[22]

as a means of administration and
a derbfine, a four generation

, op. cit., pp. 384-385; and Reit,
Skene, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 303,

36-37; and Reit, op. cit., pp. 204.
story and Traditions of the Isle of
1871), pp. 16-19, 21-30.

es of Letrney, The Tartans of the
d (Edinburgh: W. and A. K. Johnston,
rk was written by the Lord Lyon of
ottish heraldry. Other standard
K Adam, The Clans, Septs, and
lands of Scotland (new ed.; Edinburgh:
and W. C. MacKenzie, A Short History
Isles (Paisley: Alexander Gardener,

patrilineal family group whose members, in theory, were able to trace their descent from the founder of the clan, the sourc of the clan's patronymic. The membership was expanded by including descendants of members of the derbfine beyond the thir descending generation. Thus, the size of the clan grew in proportion to the natural proliferation of the descendants. Numerical strength was further augmented by the inclusion of dependents. Small groups attached themselves to powerful clan by a contract of man-rent. The senior member of a derbfine accepted the adopted chief as the superior of himself, his son and brothers, and their heirs and agreed to obey the chief in all lawful duties, excepting those conflicting with the obligations of kinship.[24] The clan was further recruited by th adoption of broken men, individuals cut loose from their own clan for punishment, and, on occasion, native men, the former inhabitants of newly acquired territory.

Large clans contained a number of septs. The sept was essentially a small clan within a clan. The distinguishing feature being that the nucleus of kin were related to the common ancestor through a younger son of the founder or one of the younger son's lineal descendants rather than in the direct line of descent. In addition to the patronymic, the sept bore a territorial title. Some septs became strong enough numerically to acquire their own territory and rank as independent clans. Others, due to the loss of territory or the need for

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[24]Cf., e.g., Lachlan MacDonald, "Gleanings from Lord MacDonald's Charter Chest," Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. XIV (1889), pp. 63-73. Hereafter, I shall cite these transactions as TGSI.

e general term for third cousins is anns na dubh-oghaichean
iterally, in the black grandchildship), "in the state of being
eat-great-grandchildren." When two fourth cousins are found
d they are asked what they are to one another, almost invari-
ly the reply is caraid (a friend). Again when working out
checking family structure and terminology, I was always told
ter getting the term for third cousin, "There's not much point
going any further." It is important to remember that caraid
the usual designation for all relatives beyond the immediate
clear family.

One of the striking facts about the extended family of
e Sgiathanach is that the terminology is almost completely
scriptive and predominately denotive. It provides a classic
ample of what Lowie has called bifurcate collateral terminolo-
.[19] In addition to collaterality and bifurcation, the main
inciples on which the system is ordered are generation and
x.[20] Affinal relatives, excepting the immediate families of
e spouses, their "people," are excluded. Only on the second
cending and second descending generations is the sex of
rson through whom the relationship exists ignored, and only on
e second descending generation is sex ignored.

In the Gaelic, the members of the group which the
iathanach calls his "people" are athair, màthair, bràthair, and

[19]Robert H. Lowie, "A Note on Relationship Terminologies,"
erican Anthropologist, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (June, 1928), pp. 265-
6.

[20]For a critique of these principles, see Murdock,
. cit., pp. 91-112.

piuthar; that is, father
calls his father's broth
sisters piuthar athar.
bràthair màthar and piut
pointed out, are address
father is seanair (old f
(old mother).

Turning to the mor
nephew is mac bràthar or
son or sister's son. Si
or nighean peathar. The
principle is carried is
cousins. Long ago, I wa
terms for cousins, but t
individual speaks about
employ an ascending orde
term for first cousins i
of being grandchildren).
clann an dà bhràthar (ch
an dà pheathar (children
peathar 's a' bhràthar (
Second cousins can be re
(in the state of being g
are denotive terms: ogha
an dà pheathar, and ogha
For third cousins, we ha
anns na dubh-oghaichean.
cousins are: iar-oghaich

r, mother, brother, and sister. He
hers bràthair athar and his father's
His mother's brothers and sisters are
thar màthar. Grandaprents, as I
sed by classificatory terms. Grand-
father), and grandmother, seanmhair

e remote relatives, we find that a
mac peathar. In other words, brother's
milarly, a niece is nighean bràthar
extent to which the descriptive
most clearly shown by the terms for
s told, there were classificatory
hey have disappeared. Today when an
these collateral relatives, he must
r of circumlocution. The general
anns na h-oghaichean (in the state
Specifically, a first cousin is
ildren of the two brothers), clann
of the two sisters), or clann na
children of the sister and brother).
ferred to as anns na h-iar-oghaichean
eat-grandchildren), but again there
chean an dà bhrathar, oghaichean
chean na peathar 's a' bhràthar.
e noted that the general term is
Specifically, the terms for third
an an dà bhràthar, iar-oghaichean an

dà peathar, and iar-oghaichean na peathar 's a' bhràthar.

Within the group which the Sgiathanach calls his "family," we find that husband is fear, and wife is bean. Their children are mac and nighean. Marriage, of course, extends the circle of relatives. Both members of the married pair refer to their spouse's "people" as athair-céile for father-in-law, màthair-céile for mother-in-law, bràthair-céile for brother-in-law, and piuthar-céile for sister-in-law. Céile means mate's, in these cases. This leaves us with two classificatory terms which ignore sex. A grandchild is ogha, and a son-in-law or daughter-in-law is cliamhain.[21]

Although this nomenclature is correlated with expected patterns of ideal behavior, in reality, as I have said, the system has broken down under the impact of economic forces. With neo-local residence the township has come to be occupied by what the Sgiathanach calls "friends" rather than "people." Not uncommonly, brothers and sisters take up residence after marriage not only in different townships but also in distant neighborhoods. The sharing of work, then, mainly involves cousins. Unlike Ireland,[22] there is no strong taboo against marrying a cousin. Cousins marry "to keep the money in the family," and remote cousins were apparently preferred

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[21] Although Arensberg and Kimball look upon the Irish System as essentially similar to that of northern and western Europe and the United States, excepting minor variations (op. cit., p.97), I was struck by the dissimilarity of the Kinship system of the Sgiathanach to that of the United States. The underlying principles are, of course, the same, but the ramifications set the two apart; see, e.g., Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," American Anthropologist, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (Mar., 1943), pp.22-38; and David M. Schneider and George C. Homans, "Kinship Terminology and the American Kinship System," American Anthropologist, Vol. LVII, No. 6 (Dec., 1955), pp. 1194-1208.

[22] Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 83-86.

by a second cousin. The striking thing to realize here is that the nearest surviving relative always knows his obligation and is ready to fulfill it, without question. Fatherless children are buried by either their paternal or maternal uncle. I have not forgotten the existence of women. The simple fact is, women play no part as mourners. Indeed, the rare woman who goes to the grave becomes the subject of lasting gossip.

Fundamentally, the system of kinship is patrilineal. Linguistically, the terms for relatives may be bilateral, and inheritance of possessions other than the name may be matters of small importance, but the patrilineal emphasis remains. The Sgiathanach lives in a man's world. I shall explore this male dominance further in the following chapter. At present, I want to briefly discuss two additional cliques.

Religious and Age-Grade Cliques. Like the members of any society, the Sgiathanach associates most frequently with those who share his interests and attitudes. It is natural, then, for his associates, other than his kinsmen, to be people who attend his church and people of his own age group. We need not explore the nature of these cliques at this time; but we should have some understanding of their function. The religious clique is primarily a mutual aid group. There is reason to believe that this particular group has lost much of its importance of late, with the coming of the welfare state. Many feel that the government pays people to look after the aged and infirm. As far as doing a favor for someone is concerned, few of the same kirk, other than close friends,

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602 KIN RELATIONSHIPS--conception of kinship; cultural definition of kinship statuses; kinship symbolism and its extensions (e.g., to kings, to gods); interpenetration of kinship with other aspects of culture (e.g., nepotism); analyses of patterned kinship behavior; incidence and interpretations of stereotyped patterns (e.g., joking, respect, avoidance); categories of kin not classifiable elsewhere (e.g., patrikin and matrikin, general affinal relatives) and relationships among them; etc. Data on relationships between specific secondary and tertiary relatives will be found in separate categories. See also:

Kin groups	61	Political nepotism	661
Functional integration	182	Mortuary functions of kinsmen	764
Mutual aid	476	Sex prohibitions and permissions between kinsmen	836
Visiting and hospitality	574	Changes in social relationships upon birth of child	861
Ingroup antagonisms	578	Instruction of children in kinship behavior	867
Marriage restrictions	582		
Patterned behavior between primary relatives	593		
Kin relationships within polygamous families	595		

rotation to the weavers who are registered with them.

Other factors also hinder equal distribution of tweeds. Personal considerations enter; for example, the managers of the Shawbost mills feel a responsibility for the weavers in their own village, who are usually kinsmen. Exclusive distribution to local weavers is rationalized by saying that the tweeds must be done urgently; hence they are distributed only to the weavers who are known to do tweeds quickly.

The major factor hindering equal distribution of tweeds is the expense which derives from the decentralization of weavers, that is, the cost of petrol and upkeep of the vans, which is born by the mills. Before World War II, the weavers rather than the mills were responsible for transporting the tweeds, by cart and horse at first, and then by motorized transport.

During this period, independent entrepreneurs carried tweeds in vans and buses at four shillings each, a practice which stimulated the development of public transportation. Although the number of passengers using such vans and buses for public transport fluctuated, the income derived from the cartage of tweeds was in itself large enough to be profitable and to maintain the enterprises. An efficient service existed, despite the

element, the weaver, is essential to its production. In 1960 weavers receiving tweed yarns from the mills totalled about 1,500 persons, a number which held for about three years and then started dropping at a rate of about 100 a year. In 1971 the number of weavers was less than 1,000, and trends of change appeared to presage a continued dwindling of numbers. It is estimated that emigration increased during 1970-71. Men have returned to the sea, have gone to Glasgow as laborers, or have taken advantage of training courses offered by the Labor Exchange, courses that will eventually remove them from the island setting.

The instability of the industry and the fluctuation in amount of weaving work available at any given time has created an environment in which personal ties and individual maneuvering rather than a widespread adherence to impersonal rules such as equal distribution are emphasized. Strategies which involve the mobilization of kinship and neighborhood ties and involve an emphasis on personal relationships rather than the depersonalization usually associated with industry are made possible by economic factors such as the dependence of decentralized weavers on centralized mills. The watchfulness and consciousness of one's neighbors so characteristic of village life prevail. Questions about the state of

of the township with the larger society, and examines the effect of geographical and social marginality on the boundedness of the township network. Chapter 6 discusses two important networks of social relations within the township.

B. Township as Social Boundary System

The township constitutes a relatively firmly bounded system, although its boundaries are weaker than formerly when the township was relatively self-sufficient economically. Township members worked together in small fishing crews, and families relied on each other for help when members of the family were away from the island "at the fishing."

Relatives were expected to give priority to helping each other. According to one proverb, "A relative is your best friend." First and second cousins were considered especially close, but knowledge of one's kinsmen extended to at least the fourth generation. Ties of kinship became evident in ceremonies such as funerals and weddings. One Gaelic proverb says, "You know who your relatives are at weddings and funerals." At weddings the onus was on the members of the bridal party to remember their relatives. "You have to sit and calculate who is closely related, and all those

people will be doing the same. If they think they're close enough to be invited, they'll be annoyed if you don't include them." At funerals, relatives of the deceased to about third cousins were expected to participate.

When a population has lived in a small area for generations, a dense network of kinship develops. This fact, and the importance placed on mutual aid among fellow villagers, fostered the feeling that the network of township members, who ploughed, fished and tended cattle and sheep together, was also a network of kinsmen. "We're all the same people." "It's all one family here." Occupational and kinship spheres of social activity commingled. The importance of neighbors in contrast with relatives was reflected in such proverbs as, "A neighbor close at hand is better than a relative in a distant land."

The nuclear family did not, according to Cohen's criteria, constitute a firmly bounded system. Then as now, women preferred the company of their "own kind," that is, the company of other women. The men worked and spent periods of recreation with other men. Children spent about as much time in the homes of grandparents, uncles or fellow villagers as they did in their own homes. A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a

A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a
621 common practice, when she was young, for children from
571 large families to live for as long as six weeks with
476 other families who were relatively better off. They
would help harvest the hay or the potatoes or bring
in the peat in return for food, lodging and perhaps
some clothing. "They usually ate better than they did
at home." The children were not necessarily relatives
of the families with whom they boarded.

621 Strong friendship, that is, the kind of friendship
572 associated with mobile urban life in which persons
confide in each other and share secrets and build up
an individual relationship based on extensive knowledge
[602] of one another, was nonexistent. A "friend" was a
relative, or someone who gave aid when it was needed.

621 Today it is sometimes said, "It used to be that
178 your relatives were your best friends; now your best
572 friends are better than your relatives." An old man
181 will meet another on the road and say, "I used to see
[602] more of you when you needed me." Neighbors used to
[231] share sheep that were killed; now households kill and
[251] consume their own sheep, and freeze the meat which they
cannot use immediately. Groups that walked out together
[464] to the peat to finish the job in a single day are being
replaced by individual family units that can motor out
000 and do the job in stages. People prefer to give money

181
621 People prefer to give money
178 in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat-
437 cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendships
829 are still weak, relative to friendships in urban
572 settings. Most information which is shared between
621 individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip.
[369] Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutual
[521] aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to
[476] confide and keep secrets.

621 Today many of the younger villagers do not know
178 their relatives to the extent that their elders did.
602 In one family, a girl who was about to get married had
[685] to ask her brother, who was the only one of the siblings
[576] interested in kinship connections, whom to invite to the
wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of
602 one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and
484 Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there
I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in
[178] transportation and income, more islanders are taking
brief trips away from the island. During these trips,
they almost always stay with relatives.

857 It is frequently said that children are now "cheek
577 less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, an
829 that they prefer to watch television or read books by
178 themselves to playing with each other.

621 513 858 The first thing that is said when for some reason a woman is left alone in the house is, "Who's going to go and sleep with her?" Often a child will be sent from a neighboring family, not always relatives, to stay with her at night. As in the past, it is not uncommon for 621 592 888 a childless elderly couple or single person alone on a croft to take in a young, homeless couple, to whom they may or may not be related. The young couple cares for the old person or persons, and inherits the croft when they die.

602 476 "Keeping up the relation" is the process by which relatives sustain interaction and expectations of mutual aid even though their relatedness becomes more distant 605 with succeeding generations. "I've got cousins in Ness that I stay with at the Communions. They're getting on into the third generation now." A cousin is a cousin even to the 42nd degree (Williams 1963: 142), as long as there is reason to sustain the relationship. "I know we're related, but I can't quite place it." "We're a bit related. I think she was a MacPhail before she married." "I don't quite know how we're related, but my mother and his mother considered it a close relationship, and he has kept it up."

621 626 582 Every villager has a vast amount of information about other villagers and their families, which may be

585 [43] bridesmaid(s). The house was filled each night with visitors bringing new gifts or coming to see the latest additions. Enough presents were given during this [203] time to set up a household. Invitations to the wedding were issued verbally, by persons going around to each [602] house. Anyone could come to the church ceremony, which was relatively informal and jovial, but only the "closest" relatives were invited to the sumptuous wedding dinner which followed the service: the bride and groom, their parents, aunts and uncles, first cousins and usually second cousins. Many more were invited to the wedding supper which started after the dinner, at about 10:00 p.m., and continued throughout the night.

Three main nights were distinguished, although 585 preparations and festivities might go on for weeks. The 252 first night was the night before the wedding, when women of the village brought hundreds of chickens, which they plucked and cooked. Meat, usually mutton, was also cooked and sliced. Butter was rolled into balls. Neighbors brought milk and other provisions and assisted in the baking for a week beforehand.

585 On the second night, hundreds of villagers ate the [535] chickens and mutton prepared for the wedding supper, [533] and danced to the music of a piper or other musicians. [273] Many young boys had their first taste of beer or whiskey on these occasions.

his parents, brothers, and sisters; and his "friends," his more remote kinsmen.[17]

The Extended Family. I regret to say that I am unable to present a complete picture of the functioning of the extended family. In view of what I have already said about instability in the nuclear family, it should not surprise the reader to learn that I could not uncover even the approximation of an extended family. Too many absent relatives thwarted my investigation. I do not, however, regard this omission as a serious handicap. After all, we know almost nothing about the rights and responsibilities of the individual members of the derbfine during the clan days.

The important fact for my study of cultural continuity is that the derbfine is still a reality in the minds of the people.[18] The fact that the extended family today is as much a four generation group as the derbfine was brought home to me early in the study by a casual remark by an officer of the Department of Agriculture. "I don't understand these people," he said, "they'll tell you they're not related to someone, and then you find out they're fourth cousins." What this means is the people commonly distinguish only near cousins (first cousins) and cousins (second and third cousins) in English. It always took a great deal of persuasion to get a person to say a "friend" was a distant cousin.

This distinction is drawn even finer in the Gaelic.

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[17]cf. Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 79-80

[18]cf. Ibid., pp. 79-90.

585 178 [602] [431] [202]

In part to avoid disappointing the vast number of relatives who by custom must be invited but for whom there is now not enough room, many weddings are held away from the island in places such as Inverness and Glasgow. Gifts are still given in great numbers and displayed, despite the decrease in numbers attending the wedding dinner and the feeling that only those who are invited to the wedding should give presents. The custom still exists of neighborhoods or entire villages placing flags outside their homes on the day of a villager's wedding (except when the wedding is held away from the island); isolated flags within a village signify that the household is related to someone in a neighboring village who is getting married. And when the wedding car has picked up the bride and is leaving for the hotel in town, the road is often littered with barrels and other barriers.

Couples now often leave the wedding dinner and dance and go to undisclosed destinations for their honeymoon. But when they return to the community they must undergo a simple rite of passage that gives sanction to their new social status. On the first Sunday following their return, they are expected to come to church with the other members of the bridal party, a process called kirkadh (a slightly Gaelicized rendition of Scottish "kirking").

764 [621] [692] [602]

funeral procession in which
about half a mile from the
Over 100 men usually walk i
more well-known the person
the larger the procession i
of the deceased walk at the
at the head and foot of the
take turns carrying the bie
relays. Eight men carry th
and are replaced frequently
the rear positions. The tw
the head of the coffin
outward, until the processi
whereupon they join the end

764 178 273

In the past, coffins w
the house to the cemetery.
ically, and the men usually
of whiskey (piggy uisge bea
The custom of giving a glas
left the house to carry the
followed in Skye; and in s
evaluated by the amount of
tion ("That was a good fune
coffins buried without bodi

the coffin is carried for
house to the waiting hearse.
n these processions. The
or unexpected the death,
s likely to be. Relatives
head of the procession,
coffin, while other villagers
r. The pallbearers serve in
e coffin, four on each side,
by pairs of men who assume
o who have been displaced at
stand outside the line, facing
on has filed past them,
of the procession.
ere carried for miles from
The procession rested period-
carried an earthenware jug
tha) "to ward off the cold."
of whiskey to men as they
coffin was still recently
me areas a funeral is still
hiskey available for consump-
al"). Tales are told of
s.

committee, a legal requirement, these individuals lack 621
authority. They are figureheads whose primary function is 632
to advise the government of the decisions reached by all the 554
crofters who share in the grazing and to regulate the use of 624
the land by self-imposed rights. In townships where the sheep are owned as club stock the clerk serves to distribute the profits from the sale of stock, and he may also keep a tally of the individuals who are entitled to payment for labor in townships where money has replaced customary reciprocity. In any cooperative venture beyond the family level, there is no one who can step forward to act as a foreman. The assumption of this role would upset the basic status equality of the crofters, unless the person wishes to be regarded as an eccentric.

The Crofting Neighborhood. The crofting neighborhood con- 621
sists of an aggregate of individuals and nuclear families 632
who dwell in several townships, standing in close spatial 571
proximity. It is, therefore, natural that the ties of common residence and kinship should continue to operate. The important distinguishing features between the township and the larger social entity are two: (1) cooperation in agricultural and pastoral activities is replaced by mutual aid, and (2) there is a greater wealth of formal and informal interpersonal activities in which the people associate.

There are invariably established social circles within 621
which the individuals habitually move. One always consists 571
of the individual's kinsmen, "his people," his family of 602
orientation, and "his close friends," all other relatives within the fourth degree of relationship.

absence of terms for in-laws, these relatives are simply 596
ed to as the husband's or wife's kin. Hence, structurally, 601
tended family on Skye is comparable to the Irish system,[19]
bviously, is dissimilar to our bilateral family structure.[20]
Because the extended family is so very unstable, it is 596
ult to describe it functionally. There was a time when
ople were divided into three communities of fate, the
s of which were bound together by the bonds of real and
ious kinship. Today individuals whose remote ancestors
together in defense of their homes may not have seen
brothers in many years. The material I gathered allows
wo generalizations. Any member of the extended family
ays free to call upon his kinsmen for help or, at least,
ality in need; and the closest surviving relatives always
heir obligations and are ready to fulfill them. Thus,
mily is a mutual aid group. The primary responsibilities
kin are to see that all have food, shelter, and a proper
.

There are additional social circles in the crofting 561
ity. The youth, young adults, and the aged are divided 888
ge grades. Of these, the age grade of the old men is 626
ally important. They control the economic progress of
land by their deliberative function concerning any
tion in the crofting system. Whether it is a suggested

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[19] Cf. Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 79-85.

[20] Cf. Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporar
States," American Anthropologist, XLV (January-March,
pp. 22-38.

rotection were absorbed. Clan strength was also reinforced
y the existence of dependent clans. Unlike the septs, de-
endent clans retained their indentity and their territory,
hile entering into a security pact.

Once the clan system was established, there were few
ndividuals without allegiance to some chief. The individual's
tatus and protection depended on clan membership. An individual
ho could not name his chief had no dignity. Thus, under the
aw of Arms of Scotland the clan is described as an aggregate of
amilies actually descended, or accepting themselves as descended,
rom a common ancestor.[25]

he Clan Chief. At the head of the clan stood the ceann-cinnidh
literally the head of the kin), the living representative of
he common ancestor and the group. While giving the clan
oherence and endurance, he served as the military leader,
rotector, lawgiver, arbitor, judge, and administrator of the
ommunity of fate. His power and position, backed by a resolute
ody of supporters, was almost independent of royal authority.
e did not, however, enjoy absolute power. The obligation to
onsult the leading men of the clan on communal affairs tempered
is rule. He was a patriarch who governed by custom and general
onsent. Always, in a general sense, he was the father of his
eople. His government rested on reciprocal relations. The
hief and the clan brotherhood mutually owed and received
evotion. Right or wrong the clansmen were sheltered and
efended in quarrels by their chief.

[25] Innes of Learney, op. cit., p. 25.

without fealty or service.[33] Unde
which the Lords of the Isles intr
of the Norse, the chiefs relinqui
domain. After the Crown finally
who had obtained possession of al
of the mainland through matrimoni
viceroys, and Scottish earls, as
almost all the Hebridean chiefs a
on service of ward and relief.[34]
tenants, forfeiting all claims to
James VI, all Celtic usages incon
of the Crown were ignored.[35]

Nevertheless, the chiefs wh
continued to administer to the cl
Gavelkind tenure was not oblitera
nuclear derbfine, who received an
ruling kinsman. As we shall see,
value, and, therefore, was freely
tenure on condition of service.
each other.[36] Under both possessi
pedigree. While the king could a
forfeiture and regrant, the clan c

[33] John Cameron, op. cit., p
pp. 9-10.

[34] Alexander Cameron, op. ci
op. cit., pp. 84-88; and Canon R.
(2 vols.; Aberdeen: Third Spauldi

[35] Rait, op. cit., p. 211.

[36] Cf., e.g., Innes of Learn
and Grant, op. cit., pp. 502, 516

r the attenuated feudalism 175*
oduced following the expulsion 602
shed their claims to absolute 614
broke the Lords of the Isles, 618
l the Western Isles and much
al alliances with the Norse
well as by armed conquest,
ccepted charters from the Crown
Those who failed to do so became
the land, because, under
sistent with the principles

o accepted their feudal status
an under the old tribal usages.
ted for the kinsmen of the
allotment of land from their
the land had no commercial
given to all ready to accept
Feudalism and clanship reinforced
on of the land depended on
lter the feudal pedigree by
hief's pedigree depended on the

. 166; and MacLeod, op. cit.,

L., pp. 23, 27; MacKenzie,
C. MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan
ng Club, 1938), Vol. I, pp. 1-4.

ey, op. cit., pp. 3-5, 15-16;

additional elements of kinship. While the feudal customs of 175*
charter, resignation, regrant, and wadsett, a mortgage of the 602
land on security of the rental, secured the possessions of the 614
central derbfine by law, extra-legal tribal custom secured them 618
by force. The general will of the clan backed the chief as a patriarch; the laws of the kingdom supported him as crown vassal.

Each chief was surrounded by hereditary officers of dignity whose number was a mark of the individual's status. These included pipers, marshalls, stewards, standard bearers, and armed retainers. There was also a seannachie (bard), who kept the pedigree of the clan, deduced descent of clan members, and preserved clan traditions. Some chiefs had a breitheamh (judge), but more often the chief, who had hereditary jurisdiction, and some of his principle men, including a baron-bailey, sat in judgement. According to a minister of Kilmuir parish,[37] the customs and new statutes were reduced to writing around 1670 and proclaimed annually at the church doors. Although the chief lacked the jurisdiction of a feudal baron, the government was loath to disturb his tribal jurisdiction, which depended on the cooperation of the clan, because the crown recognized the stability of the tribal tie and the impossibility of integrating the remote islanders with the national system of justice.

In return for their services the officers of dignity were given a grant of land, and they were free to call upon the

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[37] J. G. MacKay, "Social Life in Skye from Legend and Story," TGSI, Vol. XXIX (1919), pp. 260-290.

ovided the framework within which the functions of the tribal
ader and the spirit of the clan brotherhood could be preserved
d extended. The family possessions could be secured by law
d the clan system could be stabilized. At the same time, how-
er, the tribal tie remained paramount in the local system.
e general will of the clan backed the chief as the patriarch,
d kinship, however unreal, conflicted with the obligations
mere tenantry.

The chief was the living representative of the common
cestor of the group. He gave the clan coherence and endurance;
s leadership was almost independent of royal authority.
cked by a resolute body of supporters, he governed by custom
d general consent. His jurisdiction flowed from his patriarchial
sition and depended on the recognition and cooperation of
e clan. To secure his position and maintain the belief in
mmon kinship, the chief planted his collateral and lineal
scendants on the land. These men, either cadets of the clan
tacksmen, held their land by lease. They were the local
presentatives of the central family. Their most important
nction was bridging the cleavage which ran through the clan
forming a ministry to the chief and supporting his dignity
d by being the councilors of the people. The gradual subsidence
the members of the central derbfine through the tacksmen
o the body of the clan reinforced the belief in kinship.
e belief was further strengthened by the custom of fosterage,
e custom of giving a son to one of the clan to be raised and
ucated. The clansmen were the embodiment of the clan system.
y were given land as joint-tenants of the chief or as subtenants

of the tacksmen. Here was the essence of the clan system, the common tie of territory and kinship. The land was not the mere means of subsistence, it was the ancestral home.

The clan was strongly patrilineal. The father of the individual family stood to his children as the senior member of the derbfine to his kinsmen, the tacksmen to his followers, and the chief to the body of the clan. The fundamental underlying principle was mutual, reciprocal devotion. The system was equalitarian. Although the chief was the landowner, and the tacksmen received their land on lease, for which they owed the chief the duties of service and a rent just as their tenants owed the tacksmen, the land had no commercial value. Rent was an ill defined and secondary consideration. The dignity of the clan depended on the number of supporters, who could be maintained on the land under the system of land use.

Economic Activities

The principles of land use and tenure on the Isle of Skye up to the early years of the eighteenth century were similar to those prevailing all over Scotland.[59] The land was used under a system of runrig agriculture. The word runrig appears to be a modification of the Gaelic reinn-ruith, a parallel or running division. The bulk of the population, as tenants of the land

[59] Henry Grey Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (3rd ed.; London: Adam and Charles Black, 1906), pp. 154-165; Malcolm Gray, "The Abolition of Runrig in the Highlands of Scotland," The Economic History Review, Vol. V, No. 1 (1952), pp. 46-57; and James E. Handley, Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1953), pp. 54-73, 91-100.

the social superiors of women. The aged are the social superiors of the youth and young adults. The father determines how his wife and children will behave as long as they remain under his control. The old man, or men, determine what changes will be accepted or rejected. There is no way to question their decisions, unless one leaves the croft. Still, at the bottom, there is equality. No man can step forward as a leader. We are now in a position to look at the larger social grouping, the neighborhood.

Kith and Kin within the Neighborhood

During the days of the clan, the residents of the neighborhood were bound together by real and fictitious ties of consanguinity and affinity, which were reinforced by the strong attachment to the soil and propinquity. Only the fictitious bonds have been forgotten. Like the township, the neighborhood consists of an aggregate of conjugal families whose inter-personal relationships are reinforced by a complicated network of kinship. Once, perhaps as late as 100 years ago, the neighborhood was a highly cooperative social unit. When the local mills were in use and the church had not been broken by schism, the people must have had a more definite focus for their common interests. In more remote times, it was a defensive entity. Today the neighborhood is no longer a cooperative unit. On the analogy of the old horse plough and the caschrom, cooperation is essential to the township but superfluous to this larger group. That the neighborhoods have not lost the potential for concerted action in times of crisis is attested by the uprisings

during the "Clearances."

Strong in-group feeling is manifested not only in a belief that people of other neighborhoods are not quite as good somehow, but also by the tendency to withhold social acceptance. There is, for example, a family of newcomers in Kilmuir. One day when they were being discussed one old crofter remarked, "Well, when they have been here as long as Jock over there, they will be just like one of us." It turned out that Jock's family had come to Kilmuir three generations ago. More than once I was reminded of the story of the Yorkshire man who moved from one village to another. He persisted in calling everybody a foreigner, and when asked why, he replied, "I've lived here sixty years, and they still call me a foreigner." The newcomer to Skye is known only by his nationality. The few Polish war refugees are "the Poles." The man from England is "the Englishman" or, in Gaelic, Sassanach, a term also applied to Lowlanders. They have no real place in the scheme of things.

Within the neighborhood, there are invariably established social circles within which the people habitually move. These cliques take several forms on Skye,[16] as in most cultures, and cross cut each other as well as the townships. The most important clique consists of "my people and friends" the individual's kinsmen. The Sgiathanach carefully distinguishes between his "family," his wife and children; his "people,"

[16] Although I consider "clique" to be an unfortunate choice of terms, because it has unfavorable connotations in the lay mind, it has been introduced into the vocabulary of the social sciences; see, e.g., Stewart, Area Research, pp. 40, 49; Murdock, op. cit., p. 88; Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 139.

his parents, brothers, and sisters; and his "friends," his more remote kinsmen.[17]

The Extended Family. I regret to say that I am unable to present a complete picture of the functioning of the extended family. In view of what I have already said about instability in the nuclear family, it should not surprise the reader to learn that I could not uncover even the approximation of an extended family. Too many absent relatives thwarted my investigation. I do not, however, regard this omission as a serious handicap. After all, we know almost nothing about the rights and responsibilities of the individual members of the derbfine during the clan days.

The important fact for my study of cultural continuity is that the derbfine is still a reality in the minds of the people.[18] The fact that the extended family today is as much a four generation group as the derbfine was brought home to me early in the study by a casual remark by an officer of the Department of Agriculture. "I don't understand these people," he said, "they'll tell you they're not related to someone, and then you find out they're fourth cousins." What this means is the people commonly distinguish only near cousins (first cousins) and cousins (second and third cousins) in English. It always took a great deal of persuasion to get a person to say a "friend" was a distant cousin.

This distinction is drawn even finer in the Gaelic.

[17] Cf. Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 79-80

[18] Cf. Ibid., pp. 79-90.

601 The general term for third cousins is anns na dubh-ghaichean
602 (literally, in the black grandchildship), "in the state of being great-great-grandchildren." When two fourth cousins are found and they are asked what they are to one another, almost invariably the reply is caraid (a friend). Again when working out or checking family structure and terminology, I was always told after getting the term for third cousin, "There's not much point in going any further." It is important to remember that caraid is the usual designation for all relatives beyond the immediate nuclear family.

601 One of the striking facts about the extended family of the Sgiathanach is that the terminology is almost completely descriptive and predominately denotive. It provides a classic example of what Lowie has called bifurcate collateral terminology.[19] In addition to collateralty and bifurcation, the main principles on which the system is ordered are generation and sex.[20] Affinal relatives, excepting the immediate families of the spouses, their "people," are excluded. Only on the second ascending and second descending generations is the sex of the person through whom the relationship exists ignored, and only on the second descending generation is sex ignored.

594 601 In the Gaelic, the members of the group which the Sgiathanach calls his "people" are athair, màthair, bràthair, and

[19] Robert H. Lowie, "A Note on Relationship Terminologies," American Anthropologist, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (June, 1928), pp. 265-266.

[20] For a critique of these principles, see Murdock, op. cit., pp. 91-112.

601 dà peathar, and iar-ghaichean na peathar 's a' bhràthar.

Within the group which the Sgiathanach calls his "family," we find that husband is fear, and wife is bean. Their children are mac and nighean. Marriage, of course, extends the circle of relatives. Both members of the married pair refer to their spouse's "people" as athair-céile for father-in-law, màthair-céile for mother-in-law, bràthair-céile for brother-in-law, and piuthar-céile for sister-in-law. Céile means mate's, in these cases. This leaves us with two classificatory terms which ignore sex. A grandchild is ogha, and a son-in-law or daughter-in-law is cliarhain.[21]

601 Although this nomenclature is correlated with expected
602 patterns of ideal behavior, in reality, as I have said, the
178 system has broken down under the impact of economic forces.
591 With neo-local residence the township has come to be occupied by what the Sgiathanach calls "friends" rather than "people." Not uncommonly, brothers and sisters take up residence after marriage not only in different townships but also in distant
605 neighborhoods. The sharing of work, then, mainly involves
592 cousins. Unlike Ireland,[22] there is no strong taboo against
178 marrying a cousin. Cousins marry "to keep the money in the family," and remote cousins were apparently preferred

[21] Although Arensberg and Kimball look upon the Irish System as essentially similar to that of northern and western Europe and the United States, excepting minor variations (op. cit., p.97), I was struck by the dissimilarity of the kinship system of the Sgiathanach to that of the United States. The underlying principles are, of course, the same, but the ramifications set the two apart; see, e.g., Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," American Anthropologist, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (Jan., 1943), pp.22-38; and David M. Schneider and George C. Homans, "Kinship Terminology and the American Kinship System," American Anthropologist, Vol. LVII, No. 6 (Dec., 1955), pp. 1194-1208.

[22] Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 83-86.

605 592 spouses not too long ago.[23] Perhaps, more than any other
427 factor, it is the tendency of the aged parents to hold on
593 602 to the croft until they die that is strangling the kinship
576 system. Still the extended family is a strong mutual aid
602 group. Anyone with a recognized degree of kinship is
574 entitled to hospitality. When the exiles return to visit the Misty Isle, they always try to make the rounds of their kinsmen. This is more than a question of not becoming an economic burden on a favorite aunt; they do not want to be guilty of slighting anyone. There is reciprocity here.
[202] In return for food and shelter, the visitor freely gives his kinsman all the news he has gathered about the activities of their distant kin. He acts like a roving reporter, cementing the solidarity of an otherwise fragmented group.

602 The expression given to the degree of consanguinity and
764 affinity is revealed most completely at a funeral. As one of the two occasions on which the extended family comes together, the other being a wedding, it reveals a host of significant traits. The first thing I noticed was that although the inavailability of land and the illegality of subdivision enforces neo-local post marital residence, burial is ideally patrilocal. On more than one occasion the steamer came in at night with a body which had been shipped home from Glasgow or
602 Edinburgh for interment in the deceased's neighborhood. This
593 also means that the husband and wife remain integral members of their respective families. The founding of a family of

[23] Norman MacLeod, Reminiscences of a Highland Parish, p. 196

procreation does not absolve the individuals from their obli- 602
gations to their "people." 593

Although the wake and the post-interment feast have been 583
given up under religious censure, and the ministers refuse to 764
consecrate burial, the method of burial is fundamentally the 178
same as it was before the Reformation. At the time of interment the coffin is carried out of the house by the closest relatives. Ideally, for a man this means his father walks in front of the [604]
coffin, his oldest son (over fifteen) walks behind, and his brothers and uncles (paternal) carry the body. For a married woman the ideal is to have her husband walk in front, her father behind, and her brothers and uncles carry. When a child [604]
dies, his father walks in front; his oldest brother walks behind, and the father's brothers for a boy and the mother's brothers for a girl are the carriers. Outward mobility, as well as infirmity and death, has had its influence. The nearest male relative not only walks in front of his deceased kinsman but also takes charge of the funeral. A few cases of who has filled this function will indicate how the situation is handled when the ideal cannot be fulfilled. For a man this role normally passes first to his oldest son and then to his brother. I have [607]
seen a grandson take charge, and at one very atypical funeral, a brother-in-law. He was the nearest surviving male relative who could be contacted in time.

Arrangements for the burial of a widow are made by her son or brother. There was, however, one widow, a woman from the Outer Isles, who was returned to her native island for burial

the local representatives of the nuclear derbfine. they were 175*
the leading men of the clan in each district. Although they 602 ●
were appointed by the chief, their recognition depended on the 614 618
willingness of the clansmen to form a following rather than on title or a right of succession. This following determined how many men the chief could bring into battle and how many officers of dignity he could support from their contributions.

The most important function of this group, all of whom could trace descent within the central family, was their bridging the cleavage which ran through all clans. They formed a ministry to the chief and were the councilors of the clansmen. The bond with the former was proven kinship, with the latter, a sense of kinship. They were the mainstay of the system. When the chiefs fell into debt, a frequent occurrence, the tacksmen came to their aid by pledging themselves to preserve the family and the estates, to reduce the debt.[44] They were also the local merchants, an important function in an area with only semi-annual markets and sparse money.[45]

The Clansmen. The clanna (literally the children) included all within the jurisdiction of the clan chief. Their relationship was real or fictitious kinship, tenancy, or contract. To the Lowlanders and the English, their relationship seemed to be a

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[44] Cf. Ibid. pp. 65, 73-74. See also MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vo. I. pp. 18-19.

[45] Gartmore, loc. cit.

* 175 186 the Scottish kings against the demands of the English Parliament would have restricted English influence to a negligible role until the final Highland uprising was crushed in 1745.

Social and Political Organization

*175 ● 602 614 618 The characteristic unit of the social and political organization of the Isle of Skye during the Feudal period of Scottish history was the clan. All who have theorized about the clan agree that it was a social, political and economic entity. There is, however, no simple, universally accented interpretation of the nature of the clan. Unfortunately, interest in its structure and function is late. Many assertions suffer from the prejudices and sympathies of the authors toward the Highlands at the time of the eighteenth century rebellions or the nineteenth century land clearances. Lacking Scottish sources, historians turned to the Irish codes of law and imposed them on the clan system without asking whether or not four centuries of Norse domination might have resulted in at least a partial assimilation of the old Celtic tribal organization with the Norse political organization. Nor has allowance always been made for internal development during the five centuries in which the clan was the distinctive organizational unit. Today historians are almost apologetic about the Highland clan system. The subject has become the province of amateur antiquarians.

Anthropologists apparently look upon the clan as a social unit hardly worthy of comment. As far as I know,

*175 Morgan stands alone in believing the clan to have been a true
602 gens in organization and spirit.[15] He saw in it the typical
614
618 features of gentile society, vitality of gens life over the members in moulding individual character, feuds and blood revenge, localization by clans, common use of the land, fidelity to the chief and each other, and descent in the male line. Rivers viewed the clan as more nearly a tribe.[16] Piddington denies the Highland clan the status of a true clan because, although patrilineal, it has never been shown to have been exogamous.[17] I have no doubt that most anthropologists would agree with Piddington on similar grounds. Linton has recently compared the Polynesian tribe with the Highland clan.[18] He seemed to share River's view, saying the clan was localized by territory and was normally endogamous.

The Clans of Skye

Although some historians, probably reasoning from pre-Roman Gallic organization, believe the clan was inherent in the Celtic tribal system,[19] most date the origin of the Highland

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[15] Lewis H. Morgan, Ancient Society (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1878), pp. 357-358.

[16] W. R. R. Rivers, Social Organization, ed. W. J. Perry (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924), p. 20.

[17] Ralph Piddington, An Introduction to Social Anthropology (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1950), pp. 150, 154.

[18] Ralph Linton, The Tree of Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 184.

[19] See, e.g., I. F. Grant, Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1603 (Edinburgh: W. and A. K. Johnston, 1930), pp. 51-52.

servile and abject obedience approaching despotism.[46] Still, 175*
the early travelers never ceased to be astonished at the 602
familiarity with which the chiefs treated their people, aghast 614
at the chief's partaking of the people's diversions, and astounded 618
that the chief would shake them by the hand whenever he met them.[47] At the bottom, the system was equalitarian. Every man had the right to address his chief and call upon him for support in times of adversity.

The clansmen were continuously recruited by natural increase, adoption, and the gradual subsidence of the younger members of the nuclear derbfine into the body of the clan. The downward mobility of the remote collateral relatives of the chief was of paramount importance. It reinforced the belief in kinship of the clansmen and the chief. The feeling of kinship was further reinforced by the institution of fosterage, a practice common to pre-Feudal Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.[48] Under fosterage children were exchanged between families of equal status or the son, often the heir, of the chief or tacksman was given to one of the clan to be raised and educated. Fosterage served to form mutual alliances between families and clans, to ensure the loyalty of the people for their chief, strengthen the attachment of the chief for his followers, and bind the

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[46] Andrew Lang (ed.), The Highlands of Scotland in 1750 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1898), pp. IX-XII.

[47] See, e.g., Marshall Wade, "Proceedings in the Highlands of Scotland," in Burt, op. cit., Vol. II, Appendix 3, pp. 269-288; and MacKay, op. cit., pp. 335-350.

[48] John Cameron, op. cit., pp. 62-68.

members of the clan to each other.[49] Strong attachments were formed between the foster brothers. Often the foster brother later acted as the henchman of the future chief.[50]

The clansmen were given land as joint-tenants of the chief or as subtenants or cotters of the tacksmen and joint tenants. In return for the land, the subtenants owed their superior the duties of cain, a fixed payment in kind, conveth, a contribution of food for the maintainence of the chief and his retinue, feacht, an obligation to follow the chief in offensive war, and sluagad, an obligation to attend the chief for defense.[51] These burdens were shared by tribal Scotland and Ireland.[52] When a chief gave a farm to a tenant, whether for one or more years, it was customary to give the tenant a stick of wood and some straw.[53] This was immediately returned to the master. Both parties were then obliged to fulfil their respective conditions as if they had signed a lease or deed. There were additional duties on the land.[54] Upon the death of

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[49]Samuel Johnson, A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland, ed. R. W. Chapman (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 122; and Frederick Pottle and Charles Bennett, Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson (New York: The Viking Press, 1936), pp. 259-260.

[50]Marjorie Plant, The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1952), p. 7.

[51]J. MacMaster Campbell, "Organization and Tenures," in Home Life of the Highlanders, 1400-1746 (Glasgow: Highland Village Association, 1911), p. 32; and John Cameron, op. cit., pp. 173-177.

[52]John Cameron, loc. cit. [53]Martin, op. cit., p. 184

[54]MacKay, op. cit., pp. 280-290, 335-340; Gantmore, op. cit., pp. 339-343; Martin, op. cit., p. 171.

a tenant, the chief was entitled to
payment for the continuation of the
land. The tenants were also requir
chief's bodyguard.

In this group, the clanna, wa
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the bond of affection of kinship by
The soil was not the mere means of
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could not be diverted of his heredi

Not a great deal is known of
clansmen. Undoubtedly, the people
organization. The senior member of
patriarchial authority over his kins
clan affairs just as the flath had

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[55]Lord Lovat, "Memorial, Addre
the State of the Highlands in 1724,"
Appendix 2, pp. 254-266.

[56]Cf. Rait, op. cit., p. 204.

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were grouped into a derbfine
the derbfine, I assume, had
smen and represented them in
in the pre-Feudal period.[56]

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ess to George I, Concerning
" in Burt, op. cit., Vol. II,

It is by no means insignificant that despite a large degree of 175X
Norse influence in political and economic life, there is only 602
a little vague evidence of a linguistic nature for Norse influence 614
on family life.[57] There are very few words pertaining to the 618
family which can be traced to a Norse derivation. In battle the clansmen stood by extended families, brothers and their sons fighting together. The importance of the derbfine as a social unit can be judged from the following statement: in an argument between two men, if one were to swear by the father of his adversary, it was a great indignity; but if one were to cast a reflection on the father and the grandfather of the other man, the next word would be accompanied by a blow.[58] He would have been named after his grandfather for the clanna used genealogical strings.

Summary. The clan was a composite organization. From the old tribal organization it took the derbfine, four generation extended family, the territorial tie of the group, and the mutual, reciprocal obligations of service, support, and defence. Under the Norse, collateral descent as a system of inheritance of the title and land of the tribe disappeared but the tribal principle of gavelkind, by which the land was divided among the members of the derbfine who in turn divided the land among their real and fictitious kinsmen, persisted. Scottish nonmanorial feudalism

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[57] George Henderson, The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1910), pp. 49, 131-133, 136-137, 185.

[58] Martin, op. cit., p. 179.

ansmen for food and lodging whenever their duties took them 175*
ay from home. The decay of the clan system can, perhaps, best 602
seen in the disappearance of several of these offices and 614
strictions placed on others. By the seventeenth century, 618
ter failing in a scheme to integrate the Hebrides by the
tirpation of the rude, barbarous, and uncivil peoples, the
own succeeded in forcing the chiefs to give up their bards,
assume full responsibility for the obedience of their follow-
s to the laws of the kingdom, and to limit their armed retinue
a small personal bodyguard.[38] Clan warfare ceased and the
iefs henceforth gave unwavering support to the Stuart kings,
least against the English.

e Cadets of the Clan. Below the chief of the larger clans
nked the ceann-tighe, (literally the head of the house). They
re the brothers of the chief and stood in relation to the
ot as the chief stood to the clan. In the MacDonalds of
eat the eldest brother usually held the lands in North Uist.[39]
the MacLeods of Dunvegan the eldest brother received the
rm of Talisker.[40] As senior cadets, the eldest brothers led
e clan on marches and held the principle post of honor in
ttle. They served as stewards, collecting the revenues of
e estate and fulfilling the duties of the chief during his

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[38] "State of the Highlands at the Beginning of the
venteenth Century," in Burt, op. cit., Vol. II, Appendix 1,
. 238-253.

[39] Alexander Cameron, op. cit., pp. 24, 80.

[40] James Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides,
. R. W. Chapman (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 328.

absence or incapacity. The senior cadets also acted as tutors of the heir to the chiefship, and if the heir succeeded while a minor, as guardians. The cadets bore the surname of the clan and/or a territorial title, for example, MacLeod of Talisker or simply Talisker.

175* 602 614 618

The Gentry of the Clan. The next lower level in the hierarchy consisted of the daoin'-uaisle (literally the high people). The chief established his younger brothers, sons, and other near relatives, those within the derbfine, on the land. They held farms by what amounted to be leases for a term of lives. At first the leases were typically for three lifetimes, but by the seventeenth century they had been reduced to the individual's life plus a number of years to begin on the decease of the holder in favor of his son.[41] At the expiration of the lease, a nearer relative was commonly favored with the farm. The former holder either sought a military career abroad, in Holland or France, or extorted a living by gentle begging.[42] Some obtained land on wadsett, a mortgage contract under which the lender of money received possession of the land until the debt was repaid.[43] Most of his descendants passed into the body of the clan.

The gentry, also known as tacksmen (leaseholders), were

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[41]MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, p. 82.

[42](Gartmore), "An Inquiry into the Causes which Facilitate The Rise and Progress of Rebellions and Insurrections in the Highlands of Scotland," in Burt, op. cit., Vol. II, Appendix 4, pp. 339-344.

[43]MacDonald, op. cit., p. 63.

second cousin. The striking thing to realize here is that 593 764
earest surviving relative always knows his obligation and 602
ady to fulfill it, without question. Fatherless children 603
uried by either their paternal or maternal uncle. I have
orgotten the existence of women. The simple fact is, 562
play no part as mourners. Indeed, the rare woman who goes
e grave becomes the subject of lasting gossip.

Fundamentally, the system of kinship is patrilineal. 611
istically, the terms for relatives may be bilateral, and 601
itance of possessions other than the name may be matters 428
all importance, but the patrilineal emphasis remains.
Sgiathanach lives in a man's world. I shall explore this 128
dominance further in the following chapter. At present,
t to briefly discuss two additional cliques.

ious and Age-Grade Cliques. Like the members of any 573
ty, the Sgiathanach associates most frequently with those
hare his interests and attitudes. It is natural, then,
is associates, other than his kinsmen, to be people who
d his church and people of his own age group. We need
xplore the nature of these cliques at this time; but
ould have some understanding of their function. The 794 573
ious clique is primarily a mutual aid group. There is 476
n to believe that this particular group has lost much 178
s importance of late, with the coming of the welfare
. Many feel that the government pays people to look
the aged and infirm. As far as doing a favor for someone
oncerned, few of the same kirk, other than close friends,

nearest kin carry the body from the house. The custom 764
to carry the coffin until the procession is out of sight
the house. This may mean a few hundred yards or several
es. Once the body was carried all the way to the grave.
skeptic said this is why Skye has lost so many people,
lf of them died carrying the other half to the grave." In
tree the body is carried across the bridge on the far side
the town. All the mourners, except the women who remain at
e, and the two nearest kin who walk before and after the
fin, are given an opportunity to carry. They continuously
nge positions with the carriers, stepping out at the head
the line by sixes and waiting for the coffin. Those who
e carried fall in at the rear of the procession. When they [602]
ch the graveyard, the original carriers, his nearest kin,
ove the body from the hearse and lower it into the grave.
the grave the minister delivers a short lecture on the merits [793]
living in the nurture of God. Only the Church of Scotland [795]
isters offer an additional prayer for the family. The other
ts believe a prayer at the grave is a prayer for the dead.
lowing the interment, the bereaved family provides the [273]
rners with a dram of whiskey. Does the minister take a [793]
m? I can only give the reader the answer I received after
funeral. One fellow said, "I guess nobody saw him take his
p, but if he didn't I'd be surprised." On the following day
e returns to normal. The equilibrium of interaction has
n restored.

There is another aspect to the prayer meetings. They 796
are no longer held in the Church of Scotland in Portree. 795
The ministers of the other sects say this is an indication 794
of the low degree of spiritual enlightenment among that 369
congregation. Further, Wednesday night is picture night in
the village. The newcomers taunt the devout with, "off to
the pictures?"

It is at these Wednesday night meetings that the people 554
get to know one another. They participate in the worship 57
through the eminent "Men," who in a society such as Skye 776
where almost everybody is related on one side of the family 794
or the other by some bond of consanguinity or affinity, are [602]
the "people" or "friends" of the worshippers. This custom of
offering extempore prayers not only augments the prestige of
the "elect" but it intensifies the unity of the group and
makes them secure in the knowledge that they belong. This
feeling of unity and the sense of belonging is further
strengthened in some churches by setting aside a day of
humiliation. Services are held during which the congregation [782]
as a group beseech God for forgiveness for the poor spiritual
condition of the world. In their minds the God of this world
is surely the Prince of Darkness.

But for the interaction of the members of the several 794
sects, the control of the "elect" would not be as strong as 795
it is. The elders of one kirk cannot exercise any direct 626
control over the adherents of another sect. Through what
agency could they express their judicial and authoritarian

functions? Certainly no
share a common tradition
and mutual respect, the
standards. The norms ar
Skye. If there was clea
people begin to diverge?
Two of them have churches
majority. The Free Prest
I think there is only one
ministers of the Church o
the example of the nation
celebrate Christmas, at l
there is no Christmas in
Glendale. The custom is
if the birth of Christ is
be commemorated at Easter.
celebrate New Years, which
exchange gifts among membe
of license. After midnigh
practice "first footing."
people make their rounds e
another and the New Year wi
for the women. The people
inter-relationships. "You
there," I was told, "they'r
each other."

The situation in Portr

the kirk session. But since they 794
which is reinforced by interaction 795
626
lders impose more or less common
the by-product of the history of
age, might not the behavior of the
In Kilmuir there are three sects. 795
. The Church of Scotland is in the 796
yterians are a definite minority;
family of them. Although several
f Scotland have begun to follow
al church elsewhere in Scotland and
east on an appropriate Sunday,
Kilmuir any more than there is in
said to be "popish." Naturally,
not celebrated, his rebirth cannot
. All churches, on the other hand,
n is also the traditional time to
ers of the family. It is a time
nt the people of the townships 796
Until early in the morning, the [273]
exchanging visits and toasting one
with whiskey, for the men, and wine,
of Kilmuir are noted for their 571
602
n have to watch what you say up
're all relatives and friends of

tree for the Sgiathanach is much the 600

603

603 GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN--patterns of behavior between grandparents and grandchildren; respective rights, privileges, and powers of the relatives involved; relationships between great uncles and aunts and grand nephews and nieces; etc. See also:
Activities and status of the aged 88

by a second cousin. The striking thing to realize here is that the nearest surviving relative always knows his obligation and is ready to fulfill it, without question. Fatherless children are buried by either their paternal or maternal uncle. I have not forgotten the existence of women. The simple fact is, women play no part as mourners. Indeed, the rare woman who goes to the grave becomes the subject of lasting gossip.

Fundamentally, the system of kinship is patrilineal. Linguistically, the terms for relatives may be bilateral, and inheritance of possessions other than the name may be matters of small importance, but the patrilineal emphasis remains. The Sgiathanach lives in a man's world. I shall explore this male dominance further in the following chapter. At present, I want to briefly discuss two additional cliques.

Religious and Age-Grade Cliques. Like the members of any society, the Sgiathanach associates most frequently with those who share his interests and attitudes. It is natural, then, for his associates, other than his kinsmen, to be people who attend his church and people of his own age group. We need not explore the nature of these cliques at this time; but we should have some understanding of their function. The religious clique is primarily a mutual aid group. There is reason to believe that this particular group has lost much of its importance of late, with the coming of the welfare state. Many feel that the government pays people to look after the aged and infirm. As far as doing a favor for someone is concerned, few of the same kirk, other than close friends,

604

604 AVUNCULAR AND NEPOTIC RELATIVES--patterns of behavior between paternal and maternal uncles and aunts and fraternal and sororal nephews and nieces; respective rights, privileges, and powers of the relatives involved; special elaborations (e.g., avunculate, amitate); relationships with the spouses of avuncular and nepotic relatives; etc. See also:

Avunculocal residence 601

One of his apprentices was his sister's son, who built another smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip. People gathered there while he shoed horses that came from Barvas to Carloway."

A number of shops were established in Shawbost that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At one time they numbered six altogether. These shops also ran the first buses between the village and Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared because of competition with larger companies. Mobile grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in large parts of the island, undercutting the local businesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town-dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers, fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal dealers and others extend goods and services from centralized sources to a market which has money to pay for them. The island's participation in this extensive market system is affected by its marginality to the

piuthar; that is, father, mother, brother, and sister. He calls his father's brothers bràthair athar and his father's sisters piuthar athar. His mother's brothers and sisters are bràthair màthar and piuthar màthar. Grandaprents, as I pointed out, are addressed by classificatory terms. Grandfather is seanair (old father), and grandmother, seanmhair (old mother).

Turning to the more remote relatives, we find that a nephew is mac bràthar or mac peathar. In other words, brother's son or sister's son. Similarly, a niece is nighean bràthar or nighean peathar. The extent to which the descriptive principle is carried is most clearly shown by the terms for cousins. Long ago, I was told, there were classificatory terms for cousins, but they have disappeared. Today when an individual speaks about these collateral relatives, he must employ an ascending order of circumlocution. The general term for first cousins is anns na h-oghaichean (in the state of being grandchildren). Specifically, a first cousin is clann an dà bhràthar (children of the two brothers), clann an dà pheathar (children of the two sisters), or clann na peathar 's a' bhràthar (children of the sister and brother). Second cousins can be referred to as anns na h-iar-oghaichean (in the state of being great-grandchildren), but again there are denotive terms: oghaichean an dà bhrathar, oghaichean an dà pheathar, and oghaichean na peathar 's a' bhràthar. For third cousins, we have noted that the general term is anns na dubh-oghaichean. Specifically, the terms for third cousins are: iar-oghaichean an dà bhràthar, iar-oghaichean an

procreation does not absolve the individuals from their obli- 602 513
gations to their "people."

Although the wake and the post-interment feast have been 593
given up under religious censure, and the ministers refuse to 764 178
consecrate burial, the method of burial is fundamentally the
same as it was before the Reformation. At the time of interment
the coffin is carried out of the house by the closest relatives.
Ideally, for a man this means his father walks in front of the 604
coffin, his oldest son (over fifteen) walks behind, and his
brothers and uncles (paternal) carry the body. For a married
woman the ideal is to have her husband walk in front, her
father behind, and her brothers and uncles carry. When a child 604
dies, his father walks in front; his oldest brother walks behind,
and the father's brothers for a boy and the mother's brothers
for a girl are the carriers. Outward mobility, as well as
infirmity and death, has had its influence. The nearest male
relative not only walks in front of his deceased kinsman but
also takes charge of the funeral. A few cases of who has filled
this function will indicate how the situation is handled when
the ideal cannot be fulfilled. For a man this role normally
passes first to his oldest son and then to his brother. I have 607
seen a grandson take charge, and at one very atypical funeral,
a brother-in-law. He was the nearest surviving male relative
who could be contacted in time.

Arrangements for the burial of a widow are made by her
son or brother. There was, however, one widow, a woman from
the Outer Isles, who was returned to her native island for burial

609

609 BEHAVIOR TOWARD NONRELATIVES--cultural definition of nonrelatives; relationships and associated behavior defined by absence of kinship ties; behavior toward strangers and aliens; etc. See also:

Interpersonal relationships 57
Behavior toward individual observers 123
Ethnocentrism 186
Behavior toward ethnic subgroups 563
International relations 648

767 his family must maintain the payments. Many persons who have settled in cities on the British mainland or abroad are not concerned with retaining membership in the Association, but members of their family who remain within the village usually continue to pay their dues for them. Even if in death, the "exiles" eventually return to home and community.

764 423 Families buy cemetery plots for as many as six to eight persons. The deceased is buried in an area designated as belonging to his family. He is not buried alone but beside his parents and their unmarried siblings if he is unmarried, or with his spouse. "I wouldn't like the idea of being cremated. I want to be buried with my family." Even though a woman is buried beside her husband, her maiden name is placed on the coffin. Often neighbors have plots near each other.

A special part of the cemetery is reserved for 609 strangers. A "man from out" remains an outsider, even in death.

611

611 RULE OF DESCENT--unilinear rules (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal); am descent (i.e., in each successive generation descent is traced through eit parent); bilateral descent (i.e., absence of unilinear emphasis); double ((i.e., concurrent matrilineal and patrilineal descent); anomalous rules (linked descent); special exceptions (e.g., ambil-anak or matrilineal des one generation in default of direct male heirs); degree of correspondence gence between the rule of descent and the recognition of kinship; evidenc former or recent transitions in the rule of descent; etc. See also:

Descent of children in marriages between persons of different castes or social classes . . 56
Rules of succession to authority in the family or household 59
Inheritance rules 428
Allocation of the children of divorced parents. . 586
Rules of residence. . . . . .
Succession to chiefship in the community. . .
Succession to executive positions in the state . .
Theory of paternity . . . . . .
Social placement of infants. . . . . .

procreation does not absolve the individuals from their obli- 602 593
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son or brother. There was, however, one widow, a woman from
the Outer Isles, who was returned to her native island for burial

605

605 COUSINS--patterns of behavior between cousins; distinctions between types of cousins (e.g., first and second cousins, cross and parallel cousins); respective rights, privileges, and powers of the relatives involved; etc. See also:
Preferential cross-cousin marriage . . . . . 582 Privileged sex relationships 836

121 of the township with the larger society, and examines
128 the effect of geographical and social marginality on
the boundedness of the township network. Chapter 6
discusses two important networks of social relations
within the township.

B. Township as Social Boundary System

632 The township constitutes a relatively firmly bounded
178 system, although its boundaries are weaker than formerly
621 when the township was relatively self-sufficient
[476] economically. Township members worked together in small
fishing crews, and families relied on each other for
help when members of the family were away from the island
"at the fishing."

621 Relatives were expected to give priority to helping
476 each other. According to one proverb, "A relative is
602 your best friend." First and second cousins were
[539] considered especially close, but knowledge of one's
[605] kinsmen extended to at least the fourth generation.

602 Ties of kinship became evident in ceremonies such as
576 funerals and weddings. One Gaelic proverb says, "You
585 know who your relatives are at weddings and funerals."
764 At weddings the onus was on the members of the bridal
[539] party to remember their relatives. "You have to sit
and calculate who is closely related, and all those

621 The first thing that is said when for some reason
513 a woman is left alone in the house is, "Who's going to
858 go and sleep with her?" Often a child will be sent from
a neighboring family, not always relatives, to stay with
621 her at night. As in the past, it is not uncommon for
592 a childless elderly couple or single person alone on a
888 croft to take in a young, homeless couple, to whom they
may or may not be related. The young couple cares for
the old person or persons, and inherits the croft when
they die.

602 "Keeping up the relation" is the process by which
476 relatives sustain interaction and expectations of mutual
aid even though their relatedness becomes more distant
605 with succeeding generations. "I've got cousins in Ness
that I stay with at the Communions. They're getting on
into the third generation now." A cousin is a cousin
even to the 42nd degree (Williams 1963: 142), as long
as there is reason to sustain the relationship. "I know
we're related, but I can't quite place it." "We're a
bit related. I think she was a MacPhail before she
married." "I don't quite know how we're related, but
my mother and his mother considered it a close relation-
ship, and he has kept it up."

621 Every villager has a vast amount of information
626 about other villagers and their families, which may be
582

601 dà peathar, and iar-ghaisheap na peathar 's a' phràthair.

Within the group which the Sgiathanach calls his "family," we find that husband is fear, and wife is bean. Their children are mac and nighean. Marriage, of course, extends the circle of relatives. Both members of the married pair refer to their spouse's "people" as athair-céile for father-in-law, màthair-céile for mother-in-law, bràthair-céile for brother-in-law, and piuthar-céile for sister-in-law. Céile means mate's, in these cases. This leaves us with two classificatory terms which ignore sex. A grandchild is ogha, and a son-in-law or daughter-in-law is cliarhain.[21]

601 Although this nomenclature is correlated with expected
602 patterns of ideal behavior, in reality, as I have said, the
178 system has broken down under the impact of economic forces.
511 With neo-local residence the township has come to be occupied
by what the Sgiathanach calls "friends" rather than "people."
Not uncommonly, brothers and sisters take up residence after
marriage not only in different townships but also in distant
605 neighborhoods. The sharing of work, then, mainly involves
582 cousins. Unlike Ireland,[22] there is no strong taboo against
476 marrying a cousin. Cousins marry "to keep the money in
the family," and remote cousins were apparently preferred

[21] Although Arensberg and Kimball look upon the Irish System as essentially similar to that of northern and western Europe and the United States, excepting minor variations (op. cit., p.97), I was struck by the dissimilarity of the kinship system of the Sgiathanach to that of the United States. The underlying principles are, of course, the same, but the ramifications set the two apart; see, e.g., Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," American Anthropologist, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (Mar., 1943), pp.22-38; and David M. Schneider and George C. Homans, "Kinship Terminology and the American Kinship System," American Anthropologist, Vol. LVII, No. 6 (Dec., 1955), pp. 1194-1208.

[22] Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 83-86.

605 spouses not too long ago.[23] Perhaps, more than any other
582
427 factor, it is the tendency of the aged parents to hold on
593 to the croft until they die that is strangling the kinship
602
system. Still the extended family is a strong mutual aid
576
602 group. Anyone with a recognized degree of kinship is
574 entitled to hospitality. When the exiles return to visit
the Misty Isle, they always try to make the rounds of their
kinsmen. This is more than a question of not becoming an
economic burden on a favorite aunt; they do not want to
be guilty of slighting anyone. There is reciprocity here.
In return for food and shelter, the visitor freely gives
his kinsman all the news he has gathered about the activities
of their distant kin. He acts like a roving reporter, cementing
the solidarity of an otherwise fragmented group.

602 The expression given to the degree of consanguinity and
769 affinity is revealed most completely at a funeral. As one
of the two occasions on which the extended family comes to-
gether, the other being a wedding, it reveals a host of sig-
nificant traits. The first thing I noticed was that although
the inavailability of land and the illegality of subdivision
enforces neo-local post marital residence, burial is ideally
patrilocal. On more than one occasion the steamer came in at
night with a body which had been shipped home from Glasgow or
602 Edinburgh for interment in the deceased's neighborhood. This
593 also means that the husband and wife remain integral members
of their respective families. The founding of a family of

[23] Norman MacLeod, Reminiscences of a Highland Parish, p. 196

607

607 SIBLINGS-IN-LAW--patterns of behavior between brothers-in-law, betwee
sisters-in-law, and between brothers- and sisters-in-law; respective righ
privileges, and powers of the relatives involved; relationships with the sp
of siblings-in-law; etc. See also:
Levirate and sororate marriages . . . . . 587 Privileged sex relationships . . . . . .

piuthar; that is, father, mother, brother, and sister. He calls his father's brothers bràthair athar and his father's sisters piuthar athar. His mother's brothers and sisters are bràthair màthar and piuthar màthar. Grandaprents, as I pointed out, are addressed by classificatory terms. Grandfather is seanair (old father), and grandmother, seanmhair (old mother).

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175 585 womanhood a prey to prostitution. The licence of a chief among young women was preferable to this; but evils were inherent in the fact of lordship.

(c) TWO ISLAND BARDS: MARY MACLEOD AND THE BLIND HARPER

175 • 613 621 While in Lewis the continuity of clanship was sorely shaken by the fall of the chiefs, the Torquil-MacLeods, in Harris it was maintained in the family of the Norman-MacLeods of Dunvegan in Skye. The family of Dunvegan is famed for chivalry and gentleness, not only in the songs of the past but in the speech of Skyemen to the present day. Harris did not suffer the bloodshed endured in Lewis from the death of Torquil until after the accession of MacKenzie in 1611; and Harris was not involved, like Lewis, in the troubles of 1715. MacLeod of Dunvegan retained Harris until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was purchased by a cadet of the family who had made his fortune in the East; and it only passed out of MacLeod hands half a century later. Hence it is that while in Lewis there is still talk of the 'give and take' between later laird and people, [533] in Harris there is more. In "the hereditary Hall of MacLeod" of Dunvegan, two Island bards gave birth to immortal song. Together, the tales of Lewis and the songs of Harris and Skye give us an authentic record of clanship in fact and feeling, linked with community today.

[628] In spite of the break in continuity, ease and warmth of feeling could spring up between a MacKenzie of Seaforth and the Lewismen, though Seaforth was a peer of the realm, and of a mainland name, not a MacLeod by direct descent. Playful rhyming, chaffing contests between titled laird and small tenant, are recorded by A. Carmichael and W. C.

175 Mackenzie. For all that, in 1900 a croft
• 613 the old proprietor Seaforth, but I beli
621 was the Prince of Welsh". To him th
[829] Freedom of intercourse is embodi
to this day. With 'a stranger', a l
lessens 'strangeness' and quickens
197 Gaelic conveys essential human relati
565 rarely can—even the English of the
576 lands. For instance, a well-dressed
young, is usually addressed in English
crofter, and, just as in the South, with
of 'sir' or 'ma'am' in return. In Eng
is given to class. In Gaelic, age receiv
stranger, if the younger, who adopts th
(the second person plural, *sibh*), while
older, uses the friendly singular, 'th
are of equal age, and neither is elderly
[562] used by both. Similarly, respect is giv
and an older woman who would say '
say 'My dear' in Gaelic.[1]

614 It is not only by daily contacts that
the relationship of people to chief, bu
feeling it may attain, and by the beaut
[175] Among the finest of the later songs
clanship and its chiefs are those comp
[533] bards, a woman of Harris and a man o
MacLeod, *Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruai*
of the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Ha

[123] [1] Calling on the sub-postmistress in a High
known to be a friend of the laird, I was addresse
had we passed to Gaelic when this woman, my elde
laughingly used an expression then strange to me
shy at being forced to translate, she said at last, "
[just a boy!] '*muair bha thu cnap!*' But right
slightly shocked had I said 'thou' to her.

ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

er said: "We called
eve his right name
e Earls were royal!
ed in the language
ittle spoken Gaelic
intimacy, because
onships as English
democratic' Low-
stranger, though
as 'sir' by a senior
out the expectation
glish, that is, respect
es respect: it is the
e respectful 'you'
the crofter, if the
ou' (*thu*). If they
, 'thou' would be
en to womanhood;
Sir' in English will

we may understand
t by the height of
y of its expression.
of praise to Gaelic
osed by two Island
f the Lews. Mary
lh, was a kinswoman
rris, and a beloved

land place where I was
l as "Sir". But hardly
r and a person of culture,
. Halted, and suddenly
When thou wast *a lump*
y, she would have been

614

614 SIBS--presence of unilinear kin groups of traditional, but not actually traceable, common descent; number and distribution; affiliation (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal); regulation of marriage (e.g., exogamy, agamy, endogamy); distinguishing characteristics (e.g., names, insignia, totemism, food taboos); origin and traditions; organization; headship and succession; prerogatives and obligations of members; solidarity and group responsibility; common property and cult; relationship to clans; unilinear kin groups intermediate between sibs and phratries; relations between sibs; etc. See also:

Property 42
Mutual aid 476
Marriage restrictions 582
Blood vengeance 628
Totemism 779
Taboos 784

241 century as an attempt to reform the previous system
427 of run-rig; but it is usually identified with the
175 definition given it by the Crofters Holdings (Scotland)
671 Act of 1886, as a form of land tenure to which many protections accrue. The Act defined crofts and crofting areas in Scotland, and assured the crofter of security of tenure, hereditary succession and fair rent. The legislature which followed on the heels of this act, which is sometimes referred to as the Magna Carta of the Highlands (Day 1918: 190), is mountainous. The flow stems from two perhaps incompatible aims: the desire to provide security for the landholder, and to enhance agricultural productivity. The difficulty of developing the land as an efficient agricultural unit has always existed in an area characterized by a wet climate, unproductive soil, and smallness of holdings in heavily populated areas, and was one of the factors that prompted agricultural reform in the 18th century.

175 B. Stratified Tenantry vs. Egalitarian Society
423
427 At the time of the break-up of the clan system in
● [614] the first half of the 18th century, three categories of persons held land under the Highland proprietor or "laird": tacksmen (gentlemen farmers, often relatives

FIRE AND SWORD

Recorded history begins with the Icelandic sagas. In 1098 Magnus 175*
Bareleg plundered Lewis and devastated the island with both fire and sword. A skald named Bjorr Cripplehand, who accompanied Magnus on the expedition, reported that 'Fire played in the fig-trees of Liodhus; it mounted up to heaven. Far and wide the people were driven to flight. The fire gushed out of the houses.' The *Irish Annals* tell us that Skye was pillaged by the Norse in 794, and no doubt Lewis did not escape their attentions, then or earlier. Towards the end of the ninth century a stream of Norse 175*
folk left their homes to start the work of colonisation. Iceland, 648
the Faroes, the Orkneys, the Shetlands and the Hebrides soon 167
became thriving communities in which the earlier native population were as thralls, serving ruthless masters.

By about AD 1000, the island, with others as far south as Man, was in the sure and steady grip of men of Scandinavian or semi-Scandinavian origin, who were destined to become premier clans such as Clan Donald. It was not until the Battle of Largs in 1263 that this grip was loosened. In 1266 the Western Isles were ceded by Norway to Scotland, following which event the Gaelic people and their former Norse masters were soon to be merged in the marriage bed. As for the common language, it was [197]
the Celtic elements which took over after, one supposes, some generations of suppression. The result in any case was a highly individual people, strong in character, and resilient enough to take the rough times with the smooth.

In the thirteenth century, Harris was in the possession of the 175*
MacLeods of Harris, and Lewis belonged to three powerful clans: 614 ●
the Morisons in Ness, the MacAulays in Uig, and the MacLeods [551]
of Lewis in the remainder of the island. Other smaller clans were the MacIvers, the MacRaes, and the Nicolsons. The Harris MacLeods were allied by kinship to the Lewis MacLeods, though the relationship was to become quite distant—and their destiny more fortunate. History from this time is one of disputes, internecine warfare, murders, and similar crises deemed to be of the highest importance by the clans, both inside the island and between the islanders and strangers. An enormous amount of blood was spilled

HISTORY

*175 [614] in the following two centuries as clan rivalry, with its claims and counter-claims for territorial and other rights, was predominant. Generally, what could not be taken by intermarriage was snatched by fiercer means.

Though these times generated a tradition of extraordinary richness, one must wonder what would have been the result had more attention been spared for the development of the island. Progress was retarded. The lawlessness was not worse than that endemic on much of the Scottish and English mainland or in Europe, but the island was of course more cut off from the gradual infiltration of civilising agencies and influences; at some times in its history it was found to be more than a century behind even the rest of Scotland.

MOVEMENTS TOWARD CIVILISATION

*175 657 614 And what was the Scots Government in Edinburgh doing about the Western Isles? In the Middle Ages, the answer is very little. It had enough troubles of its own without endeavouring to police the clan warfare in that remote part of the kingdom; in any case the islands of the west were difficult to get to and probably best left alone. This attitude did not hold indefinitely. Once the semblance of peaceful conditions was established throughout the Scottish mainland, attention was duly focused further afield. In 1506 Stornoway Castle was beseiged and captured by the Earl of Huntly—the first time cannon and gunpowder were used in the Western Isles, and the first of a number of punitive expeditions arranged to bring the unruly clans to heel.

*175 657 614 643 One of the leaders of disorder at this time was Roderic MacLeod of Lewis, and it was to parley with him that no less a person than James V decided to visit the island. In 1540 James, with devastating swiftness, determined to quell these fighting chiefs once and for all, arrived to examine conditions on the spot. Titles to land were closely looked at and the equivalent of our 'small print' read carefully. All the chiefs who owned anything in the islands were forced to accompany the King on his tour of inspection. No doubt this close contact resulted in James becoming as fluent in the Gaelic language as his father had been in his time.

MOVEMENTS TOWARDS CIVILISATION

For Gaelic was still spoken in most parts of Scotland, and it was the language which the chiefs themselves understood to the last fine shade. James's visit was followed by a period of unusual calm, ensured by the detention of hostages; in Lewis, the brew of trouble had been turned down to a simmer. 175* 657 614 643

After the death of the chief of the Lewis MacLeods, Roderic, however, rival dynastic claims turned up the heat again. Newcomers appeared on the scene: the MacKenzies of Kintail. Carefully they manipulated the events of history, indeed twisted them, until with the Crown on their side they had established beyond doubt that they were legally entitled to Lewis. In many ways, Lewis was fortunate in its new proprietor, Kenneth MacKenzie, Lord Kintail. Both he and his successor, Colin, the first Earl of Seaforth, were enlightened men, of different calibre from those they had displaced. They were in close contact with the immediate outside world, the emerging Scotland; and they were familiar with the amenities which that world offered. They were also aware of the needs of a community little removed from the early phases of cultural progress. In particular Seaforth, a man of ability and foresight, recognised, as did others before him, that the prosperity of the island had to be based on fish. He was also aware of the value of strong connections with Church and education. The Lewis historian, W. C. MacKenzie, writes: 175* (614)

> At the end of the seventeenth century, the picture we have of Lewis is that of a people pursuing their avocations in peace, but not in plenty. The Seaforths had been extravagant, and the people had to pay for their extravagances; they were politicians, and the people had to pay for their politics. Yet, it is clear that, besides establishing orderly Government in the island, they had done a good deal to rescue the people from the slough of ignorance and incivility in which they found themselves immersed. But in the sphere of economics their policy apparently was of little service to the community.

Under the Seaforths, Lewis became involved in external affairs. During the times of the Covenanting troubles, it sent a contingent to the Battle of Auldearn, where the Covenanters were defeated by Montrose. At the Battle of Worcester, one of the two leaders of the thousand MacLeods taking part in that 'stiff fight' was 175* 648

CHAPTER IV

THE EVOLUTION OF ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN THE ISLAND ENVIRONMENT

829 FROM the first approach we saw that while the 'Outer' Hebrides may seem to strangers a distant *Ultima Thule*, the Islesmen may regard their home as lying at the core of our country and its life: of ancient ways, be they foolish or wise; and of deeply rooted faiths, be they superstition or truth. The purpose in this Part is to view the essential phases in the occupation of the land and coasts, and in the development of the people's means of subsistence, 'work ways', society and spiritual life. We shall find enduring traits, important at the present time, and which affect the future. Distance over sea and moor is still significant, as every Islesman knows; and position affected the peopling of the Island, its races and their long-continued customs. It must be asked whether sites first chosen upon the Island are still significant with regard to land-use and to sea-fishing. Did the types of class and community, the bonds of co-operation and kinship formed, correspond to needs we can still understand? Can we enter into the life of our forebears in black house and township, the thought-world of mingled fact, myth and religion, in which they carried on their work on land and sea?

174 Before what may be called the age of clanship, which
613 dawned as Gaelic culture reasserted itself after the defeat

174 613 of the Norsemen, lay a succession of earlier p
phase of primitive settlements is traceable i
172 logical remains and in recent and contemporary
174 It is shown in the physical race-traits dis
those in one part of the Island from those i
Fragments of tradition telling of the first
missionaries survived the Norse invasions and s
dated from A.D. 800 or before, down to Haco's
the Clyde at Largs in 1256. These fragmen
linked to chronicles and to later tradition, on
throw fresh light.

(144) A survey of the archaeology has been publ
comparatively little, as yet, on race. Yet diff
munities are distinguished by marked racial types
Although many, indeed most, of the race-stra
Island must have entered it in prehistoric times
linked to tradition, and history accounts for
(141) recent immigrants. The striking element of
Outer Hebrides is a broad-headed type preva
Barra to the Lews, accompanied by medium s
dark hair; it is also found across the Northe
But within the Island are notable differences.

829 Variety of race being accentuated by differen
the communities still comment pointedly
(538) another! For instance, an old saying is not
"The folk of Cladach, but the gentlemen
(*Muinntir a' Chladaich, ach daoin' uas*
(433) 'Cladach' being the western 'Beach' district
(632) ploughland but poor fishing, which covers th
(133) parish of Barvas (excluding the north-west cliff-p

(113) [1] Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, *Outer H*
etc.); 1928. V. G. Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, 19
Before the Scots, 1946.

144 little sign of Norse blood, can hold their own as fishers with
172 the men of Ness.

174 Third, it is still commonly stated not only that the "great majority" under the clan system were "without
174 any legal status", but that their tenure "depended on the
[613] good will of the chief or tacksman".[1]

As the last lawbooks of the Gael were taken from Lewis
174 by its first mainland lord in 1611—never to be heard of
675 again—it may well be that, as recognised in the Northern Isles, so in the Western Isles, peasant tenure was perma-
[175] nent according to regional law. In practice, mere 'good-will' is so uncertain a quantity that if this statement had been true, it is hardly credible that communities could have remained so stably rooted as their race-types show them to be. Evictions of groups or individuals at the whim of chief or tacksman would have broken down their
[178] homogeneity of race. In the Lowlands, where eviction had become so frequent by 1500 and insecurity for the
[184] mass of the country people has prevailed ever since, such localisations of race would be unthinkable and do not exist except in certain fishing communities who possess a pride, almost a caste-code, of their own: the Newhaven fishers within Edinburgh remain apart, with a dialect and a dress of their own. Great stability of tenure—in fact as in customary claim—is shown by the racial homogeneity of Gaelic communities.

174 Lastly, it is common to state that the nobility and gentry of a countryside constitute its 'old' or 'original' families. It is true that some land-owning families seem 'old' compared to recent purchasers—successively the merchants and lawyers, venturers and planters of the

[113] [1] From a representative report on the Highlands and Islands, that of the Scottish Economic Committee, 1938 (Historical Preface, p. 9).

But the last MacLeods of Lewis, torn by family dissensions, fell fighting before the power of King James VI (and I), who backed the 'capitalist' fishery enterprise of 'the Fife Adventurers'. Although these were routed by the Islanders, a Highland lord and chief, MacKenzie of Kintail, received Lewis from the Crown in 1611, taking his title from Loch Seaforth, near which he had built his Lewis hunting-lodge. Except for a period of forfeiture after 1715, the Seaforth family held the Island until its purchase by a wealthy and beneficent tea merchant, Matheson, in 1844. From Seaforth's tenure and the Papers of the Forfeited Estates are left records of ancient life and of the introduction of changes, temporal and spiritual. These are reviewed in the next five chapters. Chapter X brings the Island story to the year 1953, and its prospects.

CHAPTER V

FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP: THE CONTINUING COMMUNITY AND ITS SOCIAL ECONOMY TO 1815

INTRODUCTION (TO CHAPTERS V AND VI)

THE family, the 'conjoint' or 'farm group' of four or five families, and the larger group clustered in a glen or along a shoreland, are, in ascending order, the three concentric units whose mutual relationships we must visualise to understand the past. Enduring elements of life in family and neighbourhood today, with their own special qualities and limitations, can only be understood in terms of past needs and the relationships they evoked.

Having seen their relationships in family, team and township, we can next turn to the reciprocal relations of the people to their chief or lord, whose position dominates European, indeed world, history and prehistory. Here our concern must be the meaning of 'clanship' to the chiefs, the joint farm-groups (or 'small tenantry') and, latterly, the tacksmen placed above them.

We may find, throughout this study, that features and functions which at first sight seem peculiar to the Island are really local variants, more perfectly crystallised, of forms which we know existed at earlier periods in Scotland and in much of northern and western Britain. In the Isles,

much of Britain and Europe until about 1700. A n
parallel may be found in Asiatic lands with the free
of famines alternating with periods of recovery or, in
the long-drawn misery of chronic under-nutritio
endemic disease. In modern Europe, only intern
or civil war can now bring such extreme widespread
And as peace brings partial healing, so in the Islan
when good seasons returned after famines, the life
family renewed itself.[1]

The narrow margin of survival even in good s
the risks of the bread-winner's death and of his fa
destitution, and the need of co-operation in so many
made the family too small, weak and precarious a
stand alone. Even with relatively little divisio
specialisation) of labour, and in spite of its apparen
sufficiency, the family had perforce to link itself with
circles of community life.

(B) JOINT LABOUR BY SMALL TEAMS: T
EVIDENCE OF TENURE IN 1715-26

Romance is hidden among the rent-rolls of the Se
estates, all of which were forfeited when the Earl r
'King James VIII' in 1715. For of the rents wi
from the government until 1720, on the mainland a
the loyal clansmen paid a considerable portion to
exiled chief, styled 'Marquis' by 'King James'. B

[1] The 'ups and downs' of a peasantry living on the margin of
ence and subject to severe disease can be studied in India, 18
where the 'net' or mean change has to be correlated with the 'vari
This wide problem was reviewed in a series of papers to 1948; "Th
and Psychological Significance of Variability in Regional Cha
Population", with examples taken from Indian villages. (A.
Human Relations, Vol. 1, 2, 1947–48; cf. *Geog. Rev.* 1942 and 194
Geog. Journal, 3, vol. 98, 1941).

175 241 427 436 might be thought) in cured fish. Here is a sample Deposition from Borve (W. Lewis), a township then composed of five hamlet-farms, or 'pennylands', with their share of outrun, peats and fishing grounds over the whole and known as Five-Penny Borve.

> Donald McGillimichaell, William McHomas, Gillichallum McCoilog, and John McConnell in five penny land of Borrow and Parish of Cladach afor[d] MAKE OATH severally that neither of them has any Tack of their possessions, But that each of them pay yearly to ye above Mr. Zachary McAuly for behoof of ye Countes (of Seaforth) for[d] Nyne Pounds Scots (*i.e.* 15/- sterling), Two Bolls one Lipie meall, Fifteen pound weight of Butter, and three-fourths of a mutton. Depone they and each of them are someqt in arrear but know not the Particullars, and this is ye truth as they and each of them shall answer to God, and depone they can't write.
>
> (Signed) DAVID BETHUNE
> (Sheriff Substitute of Ross).

175 241 427 451 [642] [643] The only point on which these good fellows must have had to face qualms in 'answering to God' was their lapse of memory as to 'Particullars of arrears'! None of the 222 small tenants could remember this! Although the Chamberlain or Factor, Zachary MacAulay, denied it, he may have exhorted or compelled payment of rent in order to forward it to the exiled 'Marquis'. Mainland rents were actually despatched to France from Leith in broad daylight under an armed guard of clansmen! At the same time, neither MacAulay nor the joint tenants were of Clan Kenneth, the MacKenzies. MacAulay himself was a man of high character—and a poet too—and not one to collect rents in order to embezzle them. His affirmation has the ring of truth, with little alloy. To the Government Commissioners he wrote that what made it impossible for Lewis peasant-fishers to have paid rent in full during civil war,

175 241 427 451 and still more to pay arrears, was "the rugged Hag, Poverty, that would resist both King and Government". We may guess that MacAulay passed a hint to the tenantry that (in a good Gaelic idiom) they had better 'disremember' details of arrears: and this they did.

175 551 613 [178] [241] [226] Of the four names on the deposition quoted, one or two may have been surnames, others the patronymics of kinsmen. As is still the custom, clansmen knew one another by names of many kinds. Stature or colour was used to distinguish a big John from a little one, a fair from a dark, or a pale from a swarthy; occupations such as smith or caird (artificer, not necessarily travelling tinker as now) were used, and also mere nicknames. Of the eighty-one crofters or fisher-burghers in Stornoway, fourteen were MacKenzies; and other mainland surnames, such as Fraser and Gunn, Matheson and MacLennan, also showed their descent from the immigrants brought in when MacKenzie of Kintail founded the burgh to encourage fisheries after 1611. Each held a single holding, usually rented at two shillings sterling.

175 241 427 631 To conclude, rentals about 1715 show (1) the characteristic equalitarian grouping of small peasants as fellow-workers in the hamlet-farms still held directly from the superior, Seaforth; (2) the eighty-one small burghers of Stornoway; and (3) tacksmen, responsible for the larger part of the Island rent, but under whom we know that the labouring peasantry, though without the local independence of the others, also continued to dwell and to work together. The tacksmen were to pass away, as many of them had originally come, at the desire of a mainland lord, and the lord, in his turn, was to leave; but the small peasantry of immemorial stock still hold and work their land.

second cousin. The striking thing to realize here is that nearest surviving relative always knows his obligation and eady to fulfill it, without question. Fatherless children buried by either their paternal or maternal uncle. I have forgotten the existence of women. The simple fact is, n play no part as mourners. Indeed, the rare woman who goes he grave becomes the subject of lasting gossip.

Fundamentally, the system of kinship is patrilineal. uistically, the terms for relatives may be bilateral, and ritance of possessions other than the name may be matters mall importance, but the patrilineal emphasis remains. Sgiathanach lives in a man's world. I shall explore this dominance further in the following chapter. At present, nt to briefly discuss two additional cliques.

gious and Age-Grade Cliques. Like the members of any ety, the Sgiathanach associates most frequently with those share his interests and attitudes. It is natural, then, his associates, other than his kinsmen, to be people who nd his church and people of his own age group. We need explore the nature of these cliques at this time; but hould have some understanding of their function. The gious clique is primarily a mutual aid group. There is on to believe that this particular group has lost much ts importance of late, with the coming of the welfare e. Many feel that the government pays people to look r the aged and infirm. As far as doing a favor for someone oncerned, few of the same kirk, other than close friends,

613

613 LINEAGES--presence of unilinear kin groups consisting of persons who can trace actual descent from a common ancestor; affiliation (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal); regulation of marriage (e.g., exogamy, agamy, endogamy); distinguishing characteristics (e.g., names, insignia, totemism, food taboos); traditions; organization; headship and succession; prerogatives and obligations of members (e.g., mutual aid, blood vengeance); solidarity and group responsibility; common property; relationship to extended families and clans; unilinear kin groups intermediate between lineages and sibs; relations between lineages (e.g., subsibs); etc. See also:

Property 42
Mutual aid 476
Marriage restrictions 582
Extended families 596
Blood vengeance 628
Totemism 771
Taboos 784

aborigines in India—lovable people when unspoiled by tyranny, caste or industrial exploitation, as I can testify.[1] Yet Gomme, like many since, leaves the reader with an impression which must be re-examined: that the Islesfolk are the representatives of a backward race who have clung to predominantly superstitious, pre-Christian customs and beliefs. As a people, the Gael received and welcomed Christianity in one of its earliest historic forms, and maintained its spirit through poverty and famine. To this inheritance we shall turn in Chapter VII, when the rhythm of life and its changes have been followed out in the following chapters.

To begin with, the briefest outline of historic sequence is all that can be recapitulated, the Island annals having been recorded in the excellent Brand Report (1902), and by W. C. Mackenzie (1903 to 1937). Politically and strategically, the age of clanship may be thought of as a period of struggle between the Islands and the Mainland to the south or east. The long-drawn conflict of Clan Campbell of Argyll with Clan Donald—whose Chief was the Lord of the Isles of which Islay and Skye were the two dominant, western keys, and Lewis and Harris the northern outposts—offers a parallel to the conflict of MacKenzie of Kintail with the last MacLeods of Lewis. Obscurity veils the early origins of the Island clans, with their mingled Norse and Gaelic lineage, but chronicles are more reliable by the time of forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles to the Crown in 1493. The MacLeods of Dunvegan, chiefs in north-west Skye, continued to hold Harris until late in the eighteenth century, and they maintained an indirect connection until the nineteenth.

[1] A. Geddes, *Au pays de Tagore: la civilisation rurale du Bengale Occidental*, Paris, 1927.

648
167
614

[For information on the early history of the isla
emphasis on foreign relations, immigration and cla
116, pp. 31-44.]

nds of Lewis and Harris prior to 1603, with particular
ns, see ES10 Highland Scots, 2: Thompson, Category

For a number of years it had been the practice for a considerable proportion of the older schoolboys during their attendance at the Secondary School to put in their training with the local body of Territorials—the Ross Mountain Battery. At the School Prize-giving of 1914, these boys attended in their uniform to be ready to go off the same evening by steamer en route for the annual training camp. Before the School re-opened, the Territorial Force was mobilised, and for some of these lads there intervened four long years of toil, of fighting, and of sickness overseas, before they ever saw their homes again.

Later (1938), the unit became the 203rd (Ross) Battery of the 51st (West Highland) Anti-tank Regiment. It was whilst fighting as an anti-tank battery that, with other units of the 51st Division, the men were taken prisoner at St Valery in 1940. Today, after more changes, the battery is the oldest in 540 LAA Regt RA, TA (the Lovat Scouts). In 1960 the Ross Battery received the Freedom of the Burgh of Stornoway in recognition of a century of voluntary service to the community and the nation.

LAND USE AND CROFTING

The history of land use and the crofting system in the Highlands and Islands (see Chapter 5) is full of difficulties. In the older days of the clan system, before the rot set in, though the clan members belonged to the chief, they also belonged to the land and the land to them. In such a climate, the agricultural system, for it was such then, was in a reasonably healthy state; the land was worked to the full. Good land was available for the support of the clan, and as often as not in good years there was ample produce, crops, and livestock, to send south to well-paying markets. That fertile lands abounded is indicated by the reports of visitors in various centuries. But times changed. The increase in population after the breakdown of the clan system by statutory legislation, and the policy of population placement carried out with a rigorous enthusiasm, planted seeds of discontent—in particular a hunger for land. The land was in any case becoming ever more inadequate to support those already on it.

The story of the agrarian troubles in the Highlands area is well

173 his near kin. Again, much as in the medieval *gestes* of
62 France, fosterage of an heir by a clanswoman formed the
• 614 closest possible tie to at least one family of the people
829 from ancient to recent times. For it linked the heir by
[171] sympathy—though not by equal obligation—to elders
and playmates in childhood and his contemporaries in later
life.

565 To re-state this 'contradiction' of equality and privi-
lege, we have thus a hierarchy of 'class' imposed upon
a 'classless' society. For the joint farms and the township
were essentially classless. The two classes, the lord and
the people, were primarily opposed, war having placed the
conqueror above those who fed him. This state of things
was not active 'class-war', for the armistice could endure
indefinitely by means of the bargain made between the
classes for some exchange of services; none the less, it
was built upon class conquest.

175 That all should ultimately claim the lineage of their
565 chief was a remarkable solution to the hereditary opposition
614 of class. A man who knew the Islanders well, John Lane
Buchanan (1793), noted how in conditions of the utmost
622 poverty the poorest addressed each other as 'lady and
[576] gentleman', *bean-uasal* and *duine-uasal*, a courtesy not lost
today. And every clansman had a right to shake the hand
[577] of his chief, as Edmund Burt observed in his vivid *Letters from the North* (written after 1721). Indeed the sense
of mutual obligation implicit in Gaelic society is well
illustrated by the homely word *coir*, usually translated
'right'; it is equally used for right's correlative, duty—as
when a Scots or Irish crofter may say "You've a right (a
duty) to help your mother"—and for a 'right' (privilege)
to shake the chief's hand. An English equivalent would
be duty-privilege, or duty-right. Similarly, the same

175 words are used for neighbourly help among crofters and
565 • 614 for services to the chief.[1]
622

Full freedom of choice in marriage prevailed among
the people, who honoured marriage and enjoined contin-
175 ence; but the position of the chief placed him apart from
582 the rest of the community. Now, the more equalitarian
the community, the more free are a couple to choose one
another on grounds of mutual affection, passion and
respect; the parents, too, are more likely to encourage or
support a suitor for their child because of character and
virility, rather than means.

175 The lads or glen. But in manhood, while a labouring lad
565 sought a wife from the girl playmates of his childhood and
582 his fellow-workers at the peats, at the harvest, or in the
shielings, a chief's choice was confined to his own class.
In pre-feudal clanship, tanistry, *i.e.* the choice of a chief
among the higher kin, gave a wider choice for marriage
near home than feudal primogeniture, irrespective of the
wishes of the chief's kin except in extreme cases of unfit-
ness. In Scotland, tanistry prevailed even in the royal
line until the eleventh century. But with the dominance
of primogeniture, the young chief chose a bride outside
his own community for reasons other than those of human
feeling, honoured by Gaelic lyrical and religious tradition
and even by the Church.

As a result, the chieftain's son was granted a licence
forbidden to the rest, a temptation to maidens and a bad

[192] [1] *Cuid* (cognate with quote) means a portion, lot or share, or what is one's
[476] own (*c.f., gen. cuidsh*); and the associated verb (*cuidigh*) means not simply
to share but actively to help. The apportioned lodging given to the chief
and his 'suit' of 'lads' was the 'cuidreachd'—*cuid-sdhoiche*; while the
famous motto of the Seaforth Highlanders is Help the King!—*Cuidich an Righ!*

175 Mackenzie. For all that, in 1900 a crofter said: "We called
615 the old proprietor Seaforth, but I believe his right name
621 was the Prince of Welsh". To him the Earls were royal!
[829] Freedom of intercourse is embodied in the language
to this day. With 'a stranger', a little spoken Gaelic
lessens 'strangeness' and quickens intimacy, because
197 Gaelic conveys essential human relationships as English
565 rarely can—even the English of the 'democratic' Low-
576 lands. For instance, a well-dressed stranger, though
young, is usually addressed in English as 'sir' by a senior
crofter, and, just as in the South, without the expectation
of 'sir' or 'ma'am' in return. In English, that is, respect
is given to class. In Gaelic, age receives respect: it is the
stranger, if the younger, who adopts the respectful 'you'
(the second person plural, *nibh*), while the crofter, if the
older, uses the friendly singular, 'thou' (*thu*). If they
are of equal age, and neither is elderly, 'thou' would be
[562] used by both. Similarly, respect is given to womanhood;
and an older woman who would say 'Sir' in English will
• 614 say 'My dear' in Gaelic.[1]

It is not only by daily contacts that we may understand
the relationship of people to chief, but by the height of
feeling it may attain, and by the beauty of its expression.
[175] Among the finest of the later songs of praise to Gaelic
[533] clanship and its chiefs are those composed by two Island
bards, a woman of Harris and a man of the Lews. Mary
MacLeod, *Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh*, was a kinswoman
[123] of the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris, and a beloved

[1] Calling on the sub-postmistress in a Highland place where I was
known to be a friend of the laird, I was addressed as "Sir". But hardly
had we passed to Gaelic when this woman, my elder and a person of culture,
laughingly used an expression then strange to me. Halted, and suddenly
shy at being forced to translate, she said at last, "When thou wast a *laoigh*
[just a boy] I *smacht* like the *crop*!" But rightly, she would have been
slightly shocked had I said 'thou' to her.

175 nurse in the family. Born about 1615 in Rodel (south-east
533 Harris), she composed her last elegy (to Sir Norman
• [614] MacLeod of Island Berneray, Harris) in 1705; she may
even have composed her last great song (on the birth of
the nineteenth chief) a year later.[1] Towards the end of
the century (between 1664 and 1693), Mary's younger
contemporary, Rory Morison was bard at Dunvegan, being
known as the Blind Harper, *An Clarsair Dall*. A Lewis-
man, Rory could not have found adequate patronage as a
bard in that Island, the chiefs of Lewis having passed
away. Morison is stated to have been a descendant of
the Gaelic judges or *brieves* of Ness and the son of a
minister, and he was to have entered the Church along
with two brothers, later ministers. But smallpox blinded
him, and he turned to oral, not to written 'literature',
perhaps to our ultimate gain.[2]

Here then were two bards, man and woman, whose
fame is growing, rather than waning, in our own day.
While Mary was illiterate, however rich in lore, Rory, with
his clerical home and family tradition of Gaelic jurisprud-
ence, must have begun to read Latin and English, perhaps
Greek, and also Gaelic, though not reaching Hebrew (as
his brothers would) before he was struck blind. Mary, so
far as is known, was the first to compose what may be called
'court' song in simple words and in the 'strophic' verse-
form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels, Scots
and Irish, since her time. Lacking the learning of the
dying school of classical bards, Mary is more personal
[614] than they, "a lyrist not less than panegyrist"; and she is
more spontaneous. The same seems true of Rory. Yet
[622] the themes of the classical bards were renewed by these
[113]

[1] James Carmichael Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod*, 1934.
[2] John Mackenzie, *Sar Obair: Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, 1877.

175 two singers, as in the portrayal of a chief, "blue-eyed and
533 with clustering, golden locks . . . and brown, ruddy
• 614 cheeked"; in descriptions of "his wisdom, prowess and
622 justice" or of his traits—his "joyous, fresh, and shame-
fast cheek", and as a friend to the poor seeking justice,
and to men of learning, musicians and bards. In the halls
of chiefs where ancient joys and traditions were main-
tained, the ideal of chiefship was essentially that of man-
hood. Nor is the chief's lady forgotten either by Mary
or by older bards, though womanhood is a theme rather
for lyrics and for sacred song.

Even at Dunvegan the stream of clan life was once
interrupted in the lifetime of these two bards, as the
Clarsair told in his satire on the anglicised seventeenth
chief (1693–99), and as Mary hinted in her haunting
'Croon' or *Cronan*. Happily, the stream was renewed
[173] by this chief's successor. Tradition and song show that
such renewal was primarily due to the strength of com-
munal life among the 'people' which called out leadership
from the chiefs, in justice, in war, and in the encouragement
of the oral arts. High conduct from the chiefs was invoked
[577] by the expectations of their people. More important still,
it was the warmth of feeling among the people as a group,
and their ties to one another, which lit their personal loyalty
to a chief and called forth his loyal leadership in return.[1]

[1] Gaelic loyalty was burned away in the Jacobite Risings, but as the last
Rising left the Island relatively unscathed, one may simply refer to two
works: Audrey Cunningham's *The Loyal Clans*, 1932; and J. L. Campbell's
Highland Songs of the Forty-five, 1933 (Gaelic and translation). The first
work analyses the need for a personal relationship to Scottish kingship, felt
so keenly by the clansmen. The second gives authentic evidence of the
spirit of loyalty, in the sense and a tune of the rhythm, with several of
the airs, are available for the English reader.)

I know of no explicit statement of the conclusion given above, for lack
of the sociological approach attempted here; but it is surely implicit in
the thought of many a Gael.

(9) TACKSMEN AND SUBTENANTRY, FACTOR AND LORD: 1611–1800

175 We saw that in the Rent-roll of Lewis in 1718 the first
42 sixty-four entries, signed personally, recorded comparatively large holdings (tacks), the annual rentals of which were
• 614 from £3 16 8 to over £10, the occupant of one (or more)
621 of which would be styled Tacksman or 'Man of the Farm-
town' (*Fear Baile*). While one or two tacks were shared,
a few tacksmen may have held more than one tack—though
one cannot be sure, owing to the recurrence of the same
[551] Christian names in each clan. It is striking that half the
tacks—though mostly small ones—were held by men of
undoubted mainland names, of which there were twenty-
two MacKenzies, four MacLennans and three Mathesons.
[166] These were doubtless the descendants of gentlemen from
the mainland who in 1611 had helped to win and hold the
[551] Island for MacKenzie of Kintail, later Lord Seaforth. Of
native Lewis names the principal are MacAulay, Morison
and perhaps MacIver.[1] Only three small tacks were held
by MacLeods, who may have been of Island stock. Lochs
and Eye on the east coast had largely been granted in tack
to the new-comers; on the south-west and west coast
MacAulays and MacIvers held much of Uig and a few
farms in Cladach; but more of Cladach and most of Ness
(in the north) were still held by joint tenants. Stornoway
was held by burghers, of whom perhaps two-thirds bore
mainland names. The peasantry remained as unnamed
subtenants on these holdings, of which the total rents show
[114]

[1] The writers of the Brand Report (1902) assumed that MacIver is a
native name. This would seem to be borne out by its frequency as a sur-
name today, in contrast to MacKenzie, Matheson or MacLennan; though
W. C. Mackenzie (1919, p. 98) thought the MacIver tacksmen arrived with
Seaforth.

175 they were composed of at least one to four or five hamlet-
42 farms. The tacksmen also had cottars for service.
• 614 In Lewis a special reason, the accession of Sea-
621 forth, had led to the granting of many tacks to his own
clansmen and to natives. Elsewhere in the Highlands the
175 procedure is noteworthy during the sixteenth, seventeenth
427 and eighteenth centuries, for the collection of rents from
614 the peasantry by means of large tenants had financial
184 advantages for the greater landlords (I. F. Grant, 1930).
The tacksman's continuation as tenant depended on his
[166] paying regularly; for the lease was not a hereditary grant.
A tack could also provide for a lord's younger sons or
[565] immediate relations, such as formed the gentry of the clan.
Along with smaller lairds, these furnished the cadres of
officers who led the clan regiments down to the 'Forty-
five, and later the Highland Regiments of the line and
the Fencibles down to Waterloo. Like MacKenzie, other
great chiefs such as Argyle or Breadalbane leased tacks
when they acquired the status of peers and took possession of
fresh lands with Royal support, after vain resistance from
native chiefs and their followers. In Lewis, the fiscal
status of tacksmen was applied both to MacKenzie's sup-
porters from the mainland and to those with ancient roots
in the west of the Island. The latter may have thought a
mere lease a poor substitute for hereditary tenure, though
a legal compromise necessary if their possession was to be
[166] continued. The lack of permanent tenure ultimately led
to the departure of their descendants.

175 From the families of these tacksmen have sprung most
621 of those of Lewis birth or descent who achieved fame
614 before the twentieth century. Of the MacAulays, we saw
55b Zacharias was Chamberlain during and after the 'Fifteen.
[468] Thomas Babington Macaulay came of the same line, as

175 did another Zacharias, closer than Thomas to the Lewis
551 tree, who worked nobly with Wilberforce for the emanci-
• 614 pation of the slaves.[1] Still another connection was a
621 Canadian emigrant, grandfather of the late T. B. Macaulay,
[668] LL.D. Alexander Mackenzie, the explorer of the Mac-
kenzie River, was a descendant of Lewis tacksmen.
MacIvers and Morisons also distinguished themselves.
[178] But the sons and daughters of crofters had to await the
[871] provision of education in English before they could rise
in trade, learning or war; hence few Lewismen of the
greatest Lewis name, MacLeod, achieved eminence until
the twentieth century.

175 As for the peasantry, the interposition of a new or
551 enlarged class of tenantry between themselves and the
545 superior must have meant that they had to labour on the
472 tacksman's home farm, and no doubt pay more in produce
or cash. Hence the Gaelic saying that if the position of
the small (joint) tenants was bad, that of the subtenants
was worse, "The Evil One Sister itself." Surviving the long
fight with the Fife Adventurers, hardship may have been
greatest where mainland tacksmen were placed above the
joint tenants; but even under MacAulays and MacIvers
rents may have been raised and some of the joint freedom
lost which was still enjoyed in Ness. Whatever adjust-
ments had been made in an earlier period had to be re-made
with the beginning of Seaforth's new order.

In the following generations, contradictory accounts of
lairds, factors and tacksmen are given by contemporary
observers. Certain of these insisted that, given the poverty
of the lands as a whole, the chiefs and landlords, factors
and tacksmen, were the saviours of their people. Yet even
among those who supported authority in general, there was

[1] Charles Booth, *Zachary Macaulay*, 1934.

621 rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide
622 for the lord's desires.
427
184
585

(o) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

174 The peaceful round of daily life formed the most
• 614 enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners
577 of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tenant
[601] ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether
[726] at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in
war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must
speak for them. Many a song of the Islea conveys the
team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men.
And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley
be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portray-
ing the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who
warred against the waves and won. Alexander Mac-
donald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic,
and probably in English, verse for its portraits of the crew
in action, from steersman to 'look-out'. The flowing
metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's
vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of
a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

174 The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with "the
614 Blessing of the Ship", the arms and the crew. Then the
501 bard, speaking for the stately skipper, "incites the sixteen
539 oarsmen to row" out of the bay, and they row to a rousing
577 shanty, a *Iorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and

[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (2nd ed.), 1890 (pp. 1-18); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 6-8), 1940. Cf. A. Macleod (Ed.), *Sar Orain: Tiree Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1932. The different themes of its sections, each in its own metre, have been published separately, in *The Songs of the Hebrides*, and elsewhere.

174 with words of heartening but well-weighed praise, each
• 614 poet with its duties is apportioned to the man best fitted
501 for it by his temper, strength and skill—or even by some
539 special weakness! First the steersman:
577

"Let this broad heavy hero sit at the helm, powerful and limber . . .
Light handed on a helm, watchful and wary, cautious yet quick . . ."

Then others "Put this great-fisted and shrewd man to grapple with the rigging. . . . Windwise, he'll work with him that holds the shrouds . . . a thick-set, broad and craggy champion . . . and with him that grips the sheet, a neat and handy fellow. Set at the prow our pilot, keen-eyed for the airts, and with a sure sight for each landmark like a guiding star. And set at the halyard this self-reliant seaman, tried and clear-headed, grimly alert. . . ." They put to sea, and as the sea roughens, the steersman cries, "Quick at my ear a man to watch for the rain-squalls! Choose me a fellow who's half-fearful, yet not a real coward . . . for he must be quick to shout when he sights a big sea bearing down on us. But let no other but himself be by me, lest there be babble and hubbub to bewilder us." Then, as the seas break over the open vessel:

"To bale her let this strong man rise, active and brave,
Who will not blanch or yield or tremble for the shouting wave. . . ."

Next, "Let two stout fellows, these thick-boned, rough and hairy chaps, haul on the ropes behind the sails, to raise or lower them as we're lowered or uplifted by the surging seas. . . ." And last, for fear one fail or be dashed over-board by a wave, six nimble men are picked to stand by,

174 ready to leap fore or aft: "Quick to move as the mountain
• 614 hare . . . or the hounds after him; quick to climb as a
501 squirrel in the spring-time". Then comes the stirring
539 evocation of the storm, testing each man's mettle and the
577 discipline of all, until at last, their ship battered and them-
selves bruised and weary but undaunted, the crew reach
Islay and round the sheltering point of Carrickfergus.
There, with thanks to the High King, they drop anchor,
the *birlinn* rides in peace, and all find meat and drink
and rest.

175 As at sea, so in war, loyalty could rise to heroism in
614 individuals and corps. Young men were attached to their
721 chiefs by chivalrous leadership in warfare, both before
703 1745 and later. The Highlanders' high character con-
trasted with that of most Regiments of the Line, too often
disciplined with the lash while demoralised by debauchery.
From 1745 the Lewismen went out to the Seaforth or the
Ross-shire Highlanders. General David Stewart of Garth,
historian of the Highland regiments and people, wrote of
these two regiments that again and again their courage and
coolness in battle were proved.[1]

175 Not less striking was the record of Gaels among civil
646 populations, whether in Britain, as in the 'Forty-five, or
abroad. In Germany in 1761 and 1762 much was said of
the Highlanders' kindness, "for the boors were much better
treated by those savages than by the polished English and
French". Similarly in the Low Countries in 1814 and
1815, they were *enfants de la famille* and "kind as well as
brave". The mayor of Brussels declared that they "called
forth the attachment and esteem of all"; and the inhabitants
requested him "to endeavour to detain the 78th (2nd
battalion Ross-shire) regiment of Scotchmen in the town,
[113] and to prevent their being replaced by
other troops".

175 private naturally addressed him in Gaelic by his Christian
703 name, and writes of him with the warmth and respect due
[551] to an elderly relation. Something of this mutual regard
remains; and young Englishmen of education have told
me of their highland admiration for the character and
best traditional type of 'Regular' Scottish, and particularly
Highland, non-commissioned officer, before and during the
two world wars.

175 Such bravery and character abroad led Stewart to the
821 conviction that their foundation must be the character
of the peasantry at home. He held that the Highlanders'
home life demanded support, and having served with the
Sutherland-fencibles he felt a high character grief and anger
at the clearances of the Sutherland estates by an English
[721] proprietor. When Stewart remarked that a few deaths
"mattered little when compared to the nation's renown, for
them to India—although his fortune and title would have
allowed him ease at home, or the purchase of higher
military rank. His death on the long voyage contributed
to the men's "prostration of mind which made them
succumb more easily to the effects of disease", scurvy, of
which 230 out of 1100 died before reaching Madras,
and others soon after. As we have told, the survivors
fought with disciplined courage.

175 To a chief, recruitment was financially important, for
702 he, and not only the recruiter, received a handsome bounty.
614 Simultaneously it provided him with a commission with-
out the cost of purchase—previous training and promotion
being considered unnecessary. The clansmen knew these
facts of bounty and command, and generally responded to
an appeal. When Stewart of Garth was recruiting for the
Ross-shire Regiment, a band of young Lewismen joined it
for half the bounty offered by a Lowland regiment!

175 Such are the mingled traditions of the Highland
701 regiments which served in so many wars, for right or for
• [614] wrong. Of all the departure asterisks before the Gael
ancestor, they had crystallised a fair ideal, realised by
exchange of services ('cuideachy'). Gaelic clanship
not without its Lowland counterpart in 'kindness' whic
linked those of one 'kind'—kinafolk' and neighbours
to their ferm-toun and parish, to one another, and to
laird. Tyranny and betrayal by chief and laird make on
share the bitterness of grief once felt as competition
scarce land broke up 'kindness'. Yet the people's endeav
our and attainment in the past give hope for the future.

All have heard of the hereditary Highland chief and
175 many have read of the gentlemen-farmers, but few
614 have heard of team and crew, and township-parliament
621 It is time we learned not only of the aristocratic chief
622 of the chosen helmsman and the democratic constable. So
long as the fallacy is repeated that the Highlanders "neve
co-operated, and could not act together except under the
orders of a chief", so long will it be easy to add, "
they never will"! Historic truth may have much to teach
[642] for the renewal of leadership for life together. And beyond
the Highlands, the example of this aristo-democracy, at its
worst and its best, may contribute to new concepts of
community.

175 principle of duty-right or *coir*. Further, in so far as chie
• 614 and people claimed unity as the children, the clan, of on
621 ancestor, they had crystallised a fair ideal, realised by
622 exchange of services ('cuideachy'). Gaelic clanship
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[642] for the renewal of leadership for life together. And beyond
the Highlands, the example of this aristo-democracy, at its
worst and its best, may contribute to new concepts of
community.

CONCLUSION

175 Thus in the 'little commonwealths' of the farm-hamlets
621 grouped within the township, personal right and equal
631 shares were balanced by common duty, summed up in the
570 principle of duty-right or *coir*. Yet not one only one
614 examples. For instance, descendants of his neighbours in Steeth Spey told me that my grandfather, as a pensioner had speaking Gaelic and English (in which he was literate), enlisted in the Black Watch about 1840. He was known as a N.C.O. for his power of quiet, reasoning discipline. He thrice refused the offer of a commission, which was then given to others, of whom more than one rose to high command in the battalion.

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

9 A HARRIS VIGNETTE

181 [133] LIKE a Siamese twin, Harris is joined to Lewis in eternal geographical union. The junction is at the body, however; the head of each island part has always been clear to develop its own characteristic. Thus, Harris has a quite separate personality which has risen above the common factors it has with Lewis. Both have the same historical origin: the Clan Leoid. This clan comprised two leading tribes, the Siol Torquil (MacLeods of Lewis) and the Siol Tormod (MacLeods of Harris). Tradition has accorded to them a common progenitor, Leod; though by the time history in the Western Isles was old enough for the recorder's pen the two tribes, or families, were distinct and independent of each other. Malcolm, son of Tormod MacLeod, head of Siol Tormod, had a charter from David II for the lands of Glenelg, on the Scottish mainland, which he and his successors held from the Crown. Also included in his possessions were Skye and Harris, which came to his family after the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles in 1493. The MacLeods of Harris have, rather strangely, their clan seat at Dunvegan on Skye, and are more commonly known as the MacLeods of Dunvegan or Skye, though 'of Harris' is their correct title.

• 614 * 175 [173]

The MacLeods were, by and large, good proprietors. They held much fertile land and the clan was reasonably wealthy. Tenants' rents were paid mostly in Scots money and, to a lesser extent, in such farm produce as oats, barley, cheese, butter, wedders and marts, and in labour services. When times were hard for the tenants their rents were often 'eased' by the chief in the hope that subsequent years might prove more fruitful and that the eased rents would be paid in time. In 1705, a bad year, MacLeod actually cancelled 'eases' owing by the Harris tenants, as a gesture to them. In 1712, when some disaster had visited the St Kildans (the islands belonged to MacLeod), their chief provided them with a new boat and the islanders were allowed a two-year delay in payment of their rents to help the recovery of the community.

614 * 175 427 466

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

Lands were not allowed to become waste; in 1710, a Roderick Campbell in North Uist was paid to come north and settle in the island of Ensay, Sound of Harris. 614 • 175 * 427

It is significant that much of MacLeod's rents was paid in money rather than produce, for it emphasises the great value of the cattle trade in the Highlands, in which Harris played a not insignificant part—that is, compared with neighbouring Lewis. It was sound economy for the Highlands, and far in advance of the theories of the so-called 'improvers' of a later age. The rents of the MacLeod estates were collected by chamberlains, and part of the work of Malcolm Campbell, the chamberlain for Harris at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was the ferrying of Harris cattle to Skye. In Rodel, MacLeod had a 'keeping house', which probably consisted of rooms for the chief while in Harris; there was also a brew-house. [231]

To introduce more efficient communications and to interconnect all the small Hebridean islands of the estate, a boat was purchased for a Lauchlan MacLean in 1705; he was empowered to maintain a regular ferry between Harris and Skye. This also operated between the mainland of Harris and the populated islands in the Sound, such as Berneray, Ensay, Killegray and Pabbay. In religion the estate was Presbyterian, and MacLeod had the burden of providing both suitable residences for the ministers and the communion elements. As mentioned earlier, the Rev Aulay MacAulay, the great-grandfather of Lord MacAulay, the English writer, was once minister in Harris. 614 175* 505 [795]

The first half of the nineteenth century saw great changes in the ownership of the various islands comprising the Outer Hebrides. MacLeod of Harris retained Harris until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was purchased by a cadet of the family, a son of Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray, for £15,000. This son, Captain MacLeod, who had made a fortune in the Far East and ploughed some of it back into his native soil, was the man who introduced fishing as an industry to the Harris people. In 1834 the Harris estate passed to the Earl of Dunmore for £60,000. Dunmore sold north Harris to Sir Edward Scott in 1868 for £155,000. In 1919, Lord Leverhulme bought south Harris and St Kilda for £36,000. 614 175* 423 [228]

1, [See map, pp.8-9--Analyst]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 H
Lew

621 427 174 [172] light, suggests that such lordship goes back
quests of self-supporting agricultural and
munities by well-armed raiders of many r
the Celtic-speaking swordsmen of the Iron
and most notable of these conquering rai
Norsemen. Their influence was profound, w
direct from the Scandinavian forest settleme
they raided and settled as heathen Viking
later stage, they invaded England from No
fertile province which they had made the
name—under the panoply of civilisation a
benediction. A generation after the Conqu
menced the penetration of Scotland.

183 181 • [614] The paradox of loyalty to one's fellow
to a lord, of stoutly equalitarian thinking b
fervid admiration for an aristocracy, is
marked than among the Gael. They soug
these conflicting loyalties by claiming comm
chief and people, as the children (*clann*)
history or myth. The years 1945-47, wh
centenary of the last of the desperate Jac
stood at the close of the latest of many wars
has been won for the symbol of clanship—t
proscribed (by the Act of 1747) 'to every
in the Highlands'. At such a time, the Ga
the death cannot be forgotten although
chiefs have gone. But its paradox must n
membered but understood, from its roots
life and environment through history. No
done can important phases of our own ti
stood, such as the failure of Lord Leverh
years' endeavour in Lewis; nor can the p
tunity of Highland renewal be grasped b

[121] [182] [184]

SCAPE

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CHAPTER VI

CLANSHIP: PEOPLE, CHIEF AND TACKSMEN

(A) COMMUNAL EQUALITY AND LORDLY PRIVILEGE

175 THE equalitarian customs of hamlet and township
632 astonish many to whom the crofting villages are
642 unknown and whose picture of the Gaelic past is
631 derived from tales of the 'Forty-five. The widespread historic fact of lordship over a subject peasantry has obscured that of peasant-neighbourhood, more ancient, it would seem, and, in the Isles, still more enduring. The very existence of 'rural democracies' such as those just described has been doubted by certain scholars on the theoretic ground that they would be humanly unwork-
• (614) able! Yet it is none the less true that the peasants as clansfolk gave loyalty to their chief. The fervent loyalty given to the exiled kinsmen-kings, the Stewarts, was a scarlet thread interwoven—or entangled—in the homespun
[533] web of community, of clanship. Wherever the Gaelic is spoken, the Jacobite songs are sung with passion, and their echo has gone round the world.

[171] So in the life of the Gael, without doubt—and in varying degree throughout Britain and the rest of Europe—we have to envisage a composite, perhaps a contradictory, state of things, in which communal equality is overlaid by

173 from the old chiefs' families, as in the genealogies of
622 MacDonald of the Isles and the MacLeods. A special
631 feature contrasting with English history is that claims to
[177] differences of descent, instead of being maintained—as
[171] between the Saxon and the conqueror of Norman blood—were fused. Even when the ancestor of the chief was alien to the locality, the people and the chiefs ultimately claimed
173 to be of one and the same descent. Neighbourhood
621 softened the impositions of the hunting herdsman upon his human herd, and the feeling of kinship brought reconciliation.

173 How far, then, can the family name, which proclaims
621 every 'son' and 'daughter' of Leod to be of the *clann*,
• 614 the 'children'[1] of the first Leod, really betoken a blood tie? Both the differences of race to be found in clanship
829 and the ties it formed are well brought out in a tale of Highland pride, still told with Highland laughter across
539 the Minch in Kintail. A French skipper (an importer of claret) touching at Kintail three hundred years ago, met a short, dark man and asked him of whose clan he was. "The Clan Rae," was the reply, "but we are of two kinds, the tall, fair MacRaes and" (a little pityingly) "the short, dark MacRaes." "And which are you?" "I," said the wee, black fellow, drawing himself up, "am one of the tall, fair MacRaes!" "Then God help the short, dark
173 MacRaes!" said the skipper. Even one link with the
621 blood of the chief—and that not necessarily legitimate—
614 was enough for a man to found a claim to kinship, not merely as a MacRae, but with the tall, fair chief through
829

[1] In Gaelic, as a man is called MacLeoid (son of Leod), so a woman is
[551] NicLeoid (daughter), and the clan, *Clann Leoid*. The absurd addition of 'son' to a woman's name (as in English surnames such as 'Johnson') is unthinkable in Gaelic, in which a woman would be named 'John's daughter', *NicIain*.

documented; and Harris and Lewis played out their part in the agitation for more land. Briefly, when the clan system was broken down, the clansman found himself freed of the obligation of service to the chief. The chief, on his side, found himself thrown to the economic dogs. Payments in kind were no currency; a house in London or in Edinburgh had to be paid for in cash, and a London hairdresser would hardly accept half a dozen eggs for his services. The effect of the Heritable Jurisdictions Act was like a butcher's chopper. With a stroke a social organisation was given notice to change overnight, with no period of transition allowed. The chiefs looked to the land for their money. In the old system, their prosperity had been largely measured in fighting men. Now the pressures of economics demanded increased rents from those who were being called tenants. Increased rents can, however, be paid only when the land's productivity rises. The agricultural changes percolating through the Lowlands of Scotland had not even begun to penetrate to the Highlands area. Many tenants found that, unable to pay the increased rent demands, they were ejected from the lands which, incidentally, they had held by traditional understanding—written deeds were rare. Emigration started, and the vacant lands went to sheep-farmers, well able to pay good money for the grazings.

Some chiefs did give their tenants time to change to new methods of land use, and were careful not to make a breach between agriculture and grazing. Their tenants in turn improved the land, changing in particular from the old run-rig system, whereby a man working a piece of ground one year had the same piece the following year only if the dice were thrown his way. But the class of farmers' tenants called crofters (who had no security of tenure) or cottars (a squatter type with no legal recognition) found themselves on the verge of starvation. The few acres of ground they had, or to which they had been removed, were quite unsuitable for intensive cultivation to produce even the basic necessities of life.

The picture of land use was that of a great black pot boiling furiously with a brew of which the final taste was quite uncertain. When the boiling was controlled, the land began to be parcelled out, a share to each family. This led to a rigid, almost monolithic,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

Morgan stands alone in believing the clan to have been a true gens in organization and spirit.[15] He saw in it the typical features of gentile society, vitality of gens life over the members in moulding individual character, feuds and blood revenge, localization by clans, common use of the land, fidelity to the chief and each other, and descent in the male line. Rivers viewed the clan as more nearly a tribe.[16] Piddington denies the Highland clan the status of a true clan because, although patrilineal, it has never been shown to have been exogamous.[17] I have no doubt that most anthropologists would agree with Piddington on similar grounds. Linton has recently compared the Polynesian tribe with the Highland clan.[18] He seemed to share Rivers's view, saying the clan was localized by territory and was normally endogamous.

The Clans of Skye

Although some historians, probably reasoning from pre-Roman Celtic organization, believe the clan was inherent in the Celtic tribal system,[19] most date the origin of the Highland

[15] Lewis H. Morgan, Ancient Society (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1878), pp. 357-358.

[16] W. H. R. Rivers, Social Organization, ed. W. J. Perry (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924), p. 20.

[17] Ralph Piddington, An Introduction to Social Anthropology (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1950), pp. 150, 154.

[18] Ralph Linton, The Tree of Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 1.4.

[19] See, e.g., I. F. Grant, Social and Economic Development of Scotland Before 1603 (Edinburgh: T. and A. C. Johnston, 1930), pp. 51-52.

clan as not earlier than the reign of David I.[20] It appeared after the introduction of feudalism, and, as we shall see, it disintegrated as the feudal order decayed.

Had the tuath and mathscha persisted under the Norse, there was no room for them in a feudal polity.[21] On the other hand, there was no opportunity to assimilate the remote Highlands and, especially, the Islands with the Lowland half of the kingdom. For over four hundred years no king, Scottish or British, was able to secure an unfluctuating vassalage of the Highlanders. Whatever course events took, the mormaer, once chief of the mathscha, the toiseach, the old chief of the tuath, and the mnaer, a subordinate chieftain, were gone. In place of the tribal arrangement there appeared a host of distinct communities of fate. On the Isle of Skye the most important of these were the Siol Torcuil (MacLeods of Lewis), Siol Tormod (MacLeods of Dunvegan), Clann Finnon (MacKinnons), Clann Fingheil (Nicolsons), and Clann Hugain (MacDonalds of Skye).[22]

Clan Membership. The clan was a means of administration and security.[23] The nucleus was a derbfhine, a four generation

[20] See, e.g., Robertson, op. cit., pp. 364-385; and Reitz, op. cit., pp. 204, 210-211; Steele, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 303, 309.

[21] Terry, op. cit., pp. 36-37; and Reitz, op. cit., pp. 204.

[22] Alexander Cameron, History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye (Inverness: R. Forsyth, 1871), pp. 16-18, 21-26.

[23] See, e.g., Thomas Innes of Learney, The Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland (Edinburgh: T. and A. C. Johnston, 1938). This authoritative work was written by the Lord Lyon of Scotland, the custodian of Scottish heraldry. Other standard treatises consulted here: Frank Adam, The Clans, Septs and Septs of Ane Scotish Nyt Aance of Scotland (New ed.; Edinburgh: T. and A. C. Johnston, 1952); and W. G. Stoekmale, A Short History of the Scottish Highlands and Isles (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1906).

patrilineal family group whose members, in theory, were able to trace their descent from the founder of the clan, the source of the clan's patronymic. The membership was expanded by including descendants of members of the derbfhine beyond the third descending generation. Thus, the size of the clan grew in proportion to the natural proliferation of the descendants. Numerical strength was further augmented by the inclusion of dependents. Small groups attached themselves to powerful clans by a contract of man-rent. The senior member of a derbfhine accepted the adopted chief as the superior of himself, his sons and brothers, and their heirs and agreed to obey the chief in all lawful duties, excepting those conflicting with the obligations of kinship.[24] The clan was further recruited by the adoption of broken men, individuals cut loose from their own clan for punishment, and, on occasion, native men, the former inhabitants of newly acquired territory.

Large clans contained a number of septs. The sept was essentially a small clan within a clan. The distinguishing feature being that the nucleus of kin were related to the common ancestor through a younger son of the founder or one of the younger son's linesal descendants rather than in the direct line of descent. In addition to the patronymic, the sept bore a territorial title. Some septs became strong enough numerically to acquire their own territory and rank as independent clans. Others, due to the loss of territory or the need for

[24] Cf., e.g., Lachlan MacDonald, "Gleanings from Lord MacDonald's Charter Chest," Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. XIV (1889), pp. 63-72. Hereafter, I shall cite these transactions as TGSI.

protection were absorbed. Clan strength was also reinforced by the existence of dependent clans. Unlike the septs, dependent clans retained their identity and their territory, while entering into a security pact.

Once the clan system was established, there were few individuals without allegiance to some chief. The individual's status and protection depended on clan membership. An individual who could not name his chief had no dignity. Thus, under the Law of Arms of Scotland the clan is described as an aggregate of families actually descended, or accepting themselves as descended, from a common ancestor.[25]

The Clan Chief. At the head of the clan stood the ceann-cinnidh (literally the head of the kin), the living representative of the common ancestor and the group. While giving the clan coherence and endurance, he served as the military leader, protector, lawgiver, arbitor, judge, and administrator of the community of fate. His power and position, backed by a resolute body of supporters, was almost independent of royal authority. He did not, however, enjoy absolute power. The obligation to consult the leading men of the clan on communal affairs tempered his rule. He was a patriarch who governed by custom and general consent. Always, in a general sense, he was the father of his people. His government rested on reciprocal relations. The chief and the clan brotherhood mutually owed and received devotion. Right or wrong the clansmen were sheltered and defended in quarrels by their chief.

[25] Innes of Learney, op. cit., p. 25.

without fealty or service.[33] Under the attenuated feudalism which the Lords of the Isles introduced following the expulsion of the Norse, the chiefs relinquished their claims to absolute domain. After the Crown finally broke the Lords of the Isles, who had obtained possession of all the Western Isles and much of the mainland through matrimonial alliances with the Norse viceroys, and Scottish earls, as well as by armed conquest, almost all the Hebridean chiefs accepted charters from the Crown on service of ward and relief.[34] Those who failed to do so became tenants, forfeiting all claims to the land, because, under James VI, all Celtic usages inconsistent with the principles of the Crown were ignored.[35]

Nevertheless, the chiefs who accepted their feudal status continued to administer to the clan under the old tribal usages. Gavelkind tenure was not obliterated for the kinsmen of the nuclear derbfhine, who received an allotment of land from their ruling kinsman. As we shall see, the land had no commercial value, and, therefore, was freely given to all ready to accept tenure on condition of service. Feudalism and clanship reinforced each other.[36] Under both possession of the land depended on pedigree. While the king could alter the feudal pedigree by forfeiture and regrant, the clan chief's pedigree depended on the

[33] John Cameron, op. cit., p. 166; and MacLeod, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

[34] Alexander Cameron, op. cit., pp. 23, 27; MacKenzie, op. cit., pp. 34-38; and Canon R. C. MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan (2 vols.; Aberdeen: Third Spalding Club, 1938), Vol. I, pp. 1-4.

[35] Reitz, op. cit., p. 211.

[36] Cf., e.g., Innes of Learney, op. cit., pp. 3-5, 15-16; and Grant, op. cit., pp. 502, 516.

additional elements of kinship. While the feudal customs of charter, resignation, regrant, and wadsett, a mortgage of the land on security of the rental, secured the possessions of the central derbfhine by law, extra-legal tribal custom secured them by force. The general will of the clan backed the chief as a patriarch; the laws of the kingdom supported him as crown vassal.

Each chief was surrounded by hereditary officers of dignity whose number was a mark of the individual's status. These included pipers, marshalls, stewards, standard bearers, and armed retainers. There was also a seannachie (bard), who kept the pedigree of the clan, deduced descent of clan members, and preserved clan traditions. Some chiefs had a breithemh (judge), but more often the chief, who had hereditary jurisdiction, and some of his principle men, including a baron-bailie, sat in judgement. According to a minister of Kilmuir parish,[37] the customs and new statutes were reduced to writing around 1670 and proclaimed annually at the church doors. Although the chief lacked the jurisdiction of a feudal baron, the government was loath to disturb his tribal jurisdiction, which depended on the cooperation of the clan, because the crown recognized the stability of the tribal tie and the impossibility of integrating the remote islanders with the national system of justice.

In return for their services the officers of dignity were given a grant of land, and they were free to call upon the

[37] J. G. MacKay, "Social Life in Skye from Legend and Story," SHR, Vol. XXIX (1919), pp. 260-290.

clansmen for food and lodging whenever their duties took them away from home. The decay of the dun system can, perhaps, best be seen in the disappearance of several of these offices and restrictions placed on others. By the seventeenth century, after failing in a scheme to integrate the Hebrides by the extirpation of the rude, barbarous, and uncivil peoples, the crown succeeded in forcing the chiefs to give up their bards, to assume full responsibility for the obedience of their followers to the laws of the kingdom, and to limit their armed retinue to a small personal bodyguard.[38] Clan warfare ceased and the chiefs henceforth gave unwavering support to the Stuart kings, at least against the English.

The Chiefs of the Clan. Below the chief of the larger clans ranked the ceann-tighe, (literally the head of the house). They were the brothers of the chief and stood in relation to the sept as the chief stood to the clan. In the MacDonalds of Sleat the eldest brother usually held the lands in North Uist.[39] In the MacLeods of Dunvegan the eldest brother received the farm of Talisker.[40] As senior cadets, the eldest brothers led the clan on marches and held the principle post of honor in battle. They served as stewards, collecting the revenues of the estate and fulfilling the duties of the chief during his

[38] "State of the Highlands at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century," in Burt, op. cit., Vol. II, Appendix 1, pp. 235-253.

[39] Alexander Cameron, op. cit., pp. 24, 80.

[40] James Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, ed. R. W. Chapman (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 320.

absence or incapacity. The senior cadets also acted as tutors of the heir to the chiefship, and if the heir succeeded while a minor, as guardians. The cadets bore the surname of the clan and/or a territorial title, for example, MacLeod of Talisker or simply Talisker.

The Gentry of the Clan. The next lower level in the hierarchy consisted of the daoin'-uaisle (literally the high people). The chief established his younger brothers, sons, and other near relatives, those within the derbfine, on the land. They held farms by what amounted to be leases for a term of lives. At first the leases were typically for three lifetimes, but by the seventeenth century they had been reduced to the individual's life plus a number of years to begin on the decease of the holder in favor of his son.[41] At the expiration of the lease, a nearer relative was commonly favored with the farm. The former holder either sought a military career abroad, in Holland or France, or extorted a living by gentle begging.[42] Some obtained land on wadsett, a mortgage contract under which the lender of money received possession of the land until the debt was repaid.[43] Most of his descendants passed into the body of the clan.

The gentry, also known as tacksmen (leaseholders), were

[41]MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, p. 82.

[42](Gartmore), "An Inquiry into the Causes which Facilitate The Rise and Progress of Rebellions and Insurrections in the Highlands of Scotland," in Burt, op. cit., Vol. II, Appendix 4, pp. 339-344.

[43]MacDonald, op. cit., p. 63.

the local representatives of the nuclear derbfine. They were the leading men of the clan in each district. Although they were appointed by the chief, their recognition depended on the willingness of the clansmen to form a following rather than on title or a right of succession. This following determined how many men the chief could bring into battle and how many officers of dignity he could support from their contributions.

The most important function of this group, all of whom could trace descent within the central family, was their bridging the cleavage which ran through all clans. They formed a ministry to the chief and were the councilors of the clansmen. The bond with the former was proven kinship, with the latter, a sense of kinship. They were the mainstay of the system. When the chiefs fell into debt, a frequent occurrence, the tacksmen came to their aid by pledging themselves to preserve the family and the estates, to reduce the debt.[44] They were also the local merchants, an important function in an area with only semi-annual markets and sparse money.[45]

The Clansmen. The clanna (literally the children) included all within the jurisdiction of the clan chief. Their relationship was real or fictitious kinship, tenancy, or contract. To the Lowlanders and the English, their relationship seemed to be a

[44]Cf. Ibid, pp. 65, 73-74. See also MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. I, pp. 16-19.

[45]Gartmore, loc. cit.

servile and abject obedience approaching despotism.[46] Still, the early travelers never ceased to be astonished at the familiarity with which the chiefs treated their people, upset at the chief's partaking of the people's diversions, and astounded that the chief would shake them by the hand whenever he met them.[47] At the bottom, the system was equalitarian. Every man had the right to address his chief and call upon him for support in times of adversity.

The clansmen were continuously recruited by natural increase, adoption, and the gradual subsidence of the younger members of the nuclear derbfine into the body of the clan. The downward mobility of the remote collateral relatives of the chief was of paramount importance. It reinforced the belief in kinship of the clansmen and the chief. The feeling of kinship was further reinforced by the institution of fosterage, a practice common to pre-Feudal Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.[48] Under fosterage children were exchanged between families of equal status or the son, often the heir, of the chief or tacksman was given to one of the clan to be raised and educated. Fosterage served to form mutual alliances between families and clans, to ensure the loyalty of the people for their chief, strengthen the attachment of the chief for his followers, and bind the

[46]Andrew Lang (ed.), The Highlands of Scotland in 1750 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1898), pp. 14-ff.

[47]See, e.g., Marshall Wade, "Proceedings in the Highlands of Scotland," in Burt, op. cit., Vol. II, Appendix 3, pp.269-285; and MacKay, op. cit., pp. 335-350.

[48]John Cameron, op. cit., pp. 62-68.

members of the clan to each other.[49] Strong attachments were formed between the foster brothers. Often the foster brother later acted as the henchman of the future chief.[50]

The clansmen were given land as joint-tenants of the chief or as subtenants or cottars of the tacksmen and joint tenants. In return for the land, the subtenants owed their superior the duties of cain, a fixed payment in kind, convaith, a contribution of food for the maintainence of the chief and his retinue, feasgh, an obligation to follow the chief in offensive war, and aluaraid, an obligation to attend the chief for defense.[51] These burdens were shared by tribal Scotland and Ireland.[52] When a chief gave a farm to a tenant, whether for one or more years, it was customary to give the tenant a stick of wood and some straw.[53] This was immediately returned to the master. Both parties were then obliged to fulfil their respective conditions as if they had signed a lease or deed. There were additional duties on the land.[54] Upon the death of

[49]Samuel Johnson, A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland, ed. R. W. Chapman (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 122; and Frederick Pottle and Charles Bennett, Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson (New York: The Viking Press, 1936), pp. 259-260.

[50]Marjorie Plant, The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1952), p. 7.

[51]J. MacCaster Campbell, "Organization and Tenures," in Home Life of the Highlanders, 1400-1746 (Glasgow: Highland Village Association, 1911), p. 38; and John Cameron, op. cit., pp. 173-177.

[52]John Cameron, loc. cit. [53]Martin, op. cit., p. 184

[54]MacKay, op. cit., pp. 280-290, 335-340; Gantmore, op. cit., pp. 339-343; Martin, op. cit., p. 171.

a tenant, the chief was entitled to the best horse or cow as payment for the continuation of the tenant's family on the land. The tenants were also required to give hospitality to the chief's bodyguard.

In this group, the clanna, was found the essence of the clan system and the basic principal of the territorial tie and the bond of affection of kinship by consanguinity and affinity. The soil was not the mere means of subsistence; it was the ancestral home. Much to the annoyance of the crown, the clansmen frequently emphasized the tribal tie.[55] When clan lands were declared forfeit, the clansmen continued to support their landless chief, even when placed under a feudal overlord. The belief in kinship conflicted with the obligations of mere tenantry. Thus, the MacLeods held Trotternish by charter, but the MacDonalds held it by tribal custom and manpower. As territorial power made inroads in the Highlands, some proprietors were able to bring out their tenants for national defense, but they could never be sure whether or not the people would suddenly throw over the claims of their feudal superior in favor of their landless chief, who could not be diverted of his hereditary privileges as a patriarch.

Not a great deal is known of the kinship system among the clansmen. Undoubtedly, the people were grouped into a derbfine organization. The senior member of the derbfine, I assume, had patriarchial authority over his kinsmen and represented them in clan affairs just as the flath had in the pre-Feudal period.[56]

[55]Lord Lovat, "Memorial, Address to George I, Concerning the State of the Highlands in 1724," in Burt, op. cit., Vol. II, Appendix 2, pp. 254-266.

[56]Cf. Rait, op. cit., p. 204.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

286 Make smooth and even the warp of my loom
288 And grant thy blessing, God, on me,
On all who here find shelter and room
539 And dwelling . . .

Thine arm be round each woman here
Who waulks this web of mine,
O aid her in her hour of need . . .

Keep the flock that we may win
Sweet and nourishing milk to drink
And wool to give, to weans and kin,
For wear!

Even now in Harris or the Lews, a brief good wish may be uttered—a "Health and strength to the wearers!" as the perspiring women end the waulking; but in the past the web was finally consecrated. Each of the family who was to wear a portion of it was named by the weaver herself, who led the consecration (*Carmina*, No. 113).

May the well-loved wearer of my web
Never be wounded . . .
May the sanctuary shield of the Lord be his. . . .

286 The significance of this gift of hard-won cloth can now
532 be seen, first for the family but next for the neighbourly
614 team. We can understand how each 'set' or pattern of
93] tartan stood for the spirit of the family and the group of
621] kin and homeland, the clan. We conceive what it meant
91] to the Gael when the tartan, with "the Highland dress . . . or any part of it whatsoever", was forbidden "to any man or boy" in the Highlands. Women were still allowed to wear it, it was true, but the dress ceased to be a symbol of community when its wear was confined to
714] one sex. As a single exception, the Highland dress was
75] retained for soldiers, but the militarisation of the tartan—though it seized upon one strand of clanship, that of

286 warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, with
532 peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven and
614 waulked together ceased to be a sacrament when the tartan
714 was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform with
[178] "England's cruel red".
[648] The framers of this law, which stood on the statute
175 book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they
648 did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath which
286 reversed every benediction said by the women at their
291 work: "I . . . do swear, as I shall answer to God at
782 the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, any
641 gun, sword, pistol or arm whatever, and never use tartan, plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do, may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and property—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and be without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come across me if I break my oath". This Act, as law and symbol, struck full at the sacramental life of family, neighbour-team and clan community, in which labour and prayer had been indissolubly bound.[1]

(c) WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

178 Little remains of the tradition of worship in the tiny
771 oratories, chapels or 'temples' whose ruins stud the shores

[1] The collaboration of friends in Lewis may allow mention of the Gaelic
346 version of A. Geddes, *The Spirit of the Tartan, a Song Drama* (English
172 Version); *Souvenir Programme and Book of Songs* (Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, 1932). In this the spirit of this labour sequence embodied in its
[113] songs and runes is dramatised in its setting of custom and history. The Gaelic version was prepared by the generous labours of James Thomson, M.A., Bayble, and the late Duncan Macdonald, M.A., Sandwick, Lewis.

888 of the Old Testament made itself felt, as in Lewis-and-
771 Harris in the nineteenth century, this narrower patriarchal
562 example hardly affected thought.[1] Rooted in a wider form
[184] of family than a patriarchate, and reverencing a Holy Family
[773] and all fellowship, Gaelic society honoured age and parent-
[177] hood for their inheritance, and childhood and youth for
[175] their promise.

Such ideals of human relationship led to the veneration of the Saints of the Gospels and of later history, and also of those of legend, especially Bride. Dedications to Bride
773 or 'Bridget' are widespread from Wales to the Lews;
776 yet her memory has been all but lost in Britain, except in the Isles. Carmichael wrote that "Bride and her services" are dear to the hearts of the people. She is called "Bride of the white feet . . . of calmness . . . of the kine; woman-comrade . . . and woman-helper . . ." "I am in the keeping of my Saint Mary: My companion beloved is Bride" (*Carmina*, Nos. 70-71; 263-264). As joy, steadfastness and attainment are generally linked to one notable stage in the life of each 'holy companion', the example, aid and fellowship of each saint in turn was especially sought, at a corresponding stage or crisis of one's own life.

776 The Gael's veneration for saintly men and women was
171 shared by Catholic peasantry throughout Christendom;
174 but its special quality seems to have been closeness of

[1] Clanship has repeatedly been said to be 'patriarchal', as an ideal and
[614] a system. A different conclusion, that community is the root of clanship (even in its political forms), may come as a surprise. The English or Lowland reader has had access only to the writings of strangers such as Burt. Not knowing Gaelic, these derived their information from Highland speakers of English who, deliberately or unconsciously, were biased by ranking as
[621] chief or gentry, and not unnaturally explained their position as patriarchal. Thus strangers ignored the co-parental life of farm-groups and townships, economically humble but spiritually rich, as the root of a clan-community.

192 The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" huts, some still in good repair, are of uncertain date. The best preserved are on the Morsgail Deer Forest, in remote situations which make it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; those on the Garynahine common pasture are associated with assymmetrically ridged, curving, lazybeds. This, however, need not imply permanent occupation of the site, nor does it solve the problem of age; such lazy-beds are certainly old, possibly pre-potato (c. 1790 here) - but the huts do not decay with age and may be very much older.

175 422 228 Early in the eighteenth century the present area of the parish of Uig was held from the Seaforth clan chief by 26 tacksmen, whose names are recorded in the judicial-rental of 1718, (Fig. 4). They, presumably, had sub-tenants but of these there is no record. Elsewhere in Lewis the same rental records many small tenants holding direct off the chief but in Uig, apparently, the tacksman and sub-tenant system remained intact. Although we cannot be certain of their precise extent, the distribution of the tacks coincides fairly well with that of the better agricultural ground (Fig. 2).* Five of them cluster round Uig bay, four were in the Valtos-Reef area, and three around the strait of Little Bernera. All these districts have machair; together they accounted for three quarters of the meal and more than half the sheep and money rents. What is more, these rents represented 27% of the total rental of Lewis, whereas by 1887 Uig yielded only 17% of the rental and by 1901 the proportion was reduced to 14%. The relative decline of Uig is largely due to the growth of Stornoway; this shift in the centre of gravity of Lewis has tended to exaggerate the remoteness and isolation of Uig in the present century.

[241] [178] [369]

161 175 422 407 490 600 By the end of the eighteenth century the tacksmen seem to have disappeared; at any rate they are not mentioned in the remarkably detailed account of the parish given in the Old Statistical Account, 1792. Meanwhile the small tenants had multiplied: whereas in 1755 the old parish * had supported 1,312 persons, in 1792 the minister recorded 1,698. At this time there was neither plough nor cart in the parish. The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them

TABLE 3

AVERAGE STOCK HELD BY EACH FAMILY

162 178 233 422

	1792	1959
Cattle and calves	9.2	2.1
Sheep	13	37
Horses	1.8	-
Goats	0.8	-
No. of families	387	450

Note: the figures for both dates refer to the area of the old parish.

[632] * The old parish of Uig excluded the Loch Carloway district, from Kirivick north; this area lay in Lochs parish until 1891. Unless the old parish is specified figures quoted have been corrected to conform with the modern boundaries.

1. [See p. 2--Analyst]

The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them as an example to the crofters who were still reluctant to adopt the new crop. Some 70 boats were fishing; this was mainly in Loch Roag for they were small open boats greatly outnumbered in good herring seasons by boats from other parts of the kingdom. To encourage curing, particularly of white fish, the proprietor had set up two storehouses to supply salt; he, or his agents, were probably the only buyers - indeed John Knox, who visited Lewis about 1786, tells us that the estate factor held a monopoly for trading in cattle, dried fish and other products. The absolute power of the clan chieftain seems to have survived in Lewis until impending bankruptcy forced the sale of the estate in 1844. But it was kelp, more than fishing, that helped to support the people of Uig in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lewis made little kelp compared with the Uists, but the Loch Roag kelp was of particularly good quality and commanded more than the average price. Further, many people from Uig migrated seasonally to make kelp in Harris and Uist. Thus even at this time, the intrinsic resources of the parish appear to have been inadequate to support the population. In this connection it is worth noting the change in the average stock held by each family since 1792 as shown in table 3.

175 [243] 228 [251] 441 [614] 175 [232] [221] [233] 162 [178]

Clearance and Congestion.

175 228 Even after the end of the tremendous boom in kelp, brought about throughout the Hebrides by the Napoleonic wars, some production continued in Uig. In 1825, when the land rent of the old parish was £1,862, the proceeds of kelp, after deducting expenses, yielded £1,010 to the proprietor. Thereafter it failed. Meanwhile Seaforth was attempting industrial developments and agricultural improvements. The former included short-lived distilleries in Stornoway, the latter involved the removal of some small tenants in order to introduce mainland farmers. For these Uig was particularly attractive, the extensive mountain pasture offering good prospects for sheep graziers. The exact dates of the formation of the earliest farms are not remembered nor are they precisely recorded, but at least as early as 1826 Alexander Macrae of Kintail had the tack of Scalisclro, with the extensive grazings (now partly occupied by Bernera summer pastures) east of Little Loch Roag. About 1823 the small tenants of Mealasta and Breanish were deprived of Mealasta Island, which suggests that a sheep farmer was already installed in that district. About 1838 all the small tenants were cleared out of Mealasta, six families being put into Breanish; the remainder are said to have been sent to America.

175 233 166 427 [274]

175 427 In Bernera island, Kirkibost was cleared about 1822, having been lotted in individual crofts some years earlier. Thereafter Kirkibost formed part of the large farm of Linshader. Little Bernera, too, formed part of this farm. On the mainland, opposite Bernera, small tenants were cleared from the shores of Loch Roag (e.g. Stroma and Drovernish) in the early nineteenth century, and a tacksman was installed at west Earshader. Further east the small tenantry were cleared from Ceanhulavaig and Linshader.

175 By 1844 the kelp shores were almost valueless to the proprietor (though seaweed as fertilizer remained a vital necessity to the small cultivators, often working the same land year after year). In 1861 the Chamberlain of the Lews suggested to the Select Committee on Emigration that some 6,000 persons should emigrate because the land was inadequate to support them. In 1844, of necessity, Seaforth sold the island. The population of Lewis was then 17,000 (Uig 3,316); little did the Chamberlain imagine that in the following ten years it would increase by 16%, and that by the turn of the century would reach almost 30,000, (Uig 4,463 Figure 8).* [162]

1. [See p. 18--Analyst]

* 175 186 the Scottish kings against the demands of the English Parliament, would have restricted English influence to a negligible role until the final Highland uprising was crushed in 1745.

Social and Political Organization

* 175 602 614 618 The characteristic unit of the social and political organization of the Isle of Skye during the Feudal period of Scottish history was the clan. All who have theorized about the clan agree that it was a social, political and economic entity. There is, however, no simple, universally accented interpretation of the nature of the clan. Unfortunately, interest in its structure and function is late. Many assertions suffer from the prejudices and sympathies of the authors toward the Highlands at the time of the eighteenth century rebellions or the nineteenth century land clearances. Lacking Scottish sources, historians turned to the Irish codes of law and imposed them on the clan system without asking whether or not four centuries of Norse domination might have resulted in at least a partial assimilation of the old Celtic tribal organization with the Norse political organization. Nor has allowance always been made for internal development during the five centuries in which the clan was the distinctive organizational unit. Today historians are almost apologetic about the Highland clan system. The subject has become the province of amateur antiquarians.

Anthropologists apparently look upon the clan as a social unit hardly worthy of comment. As far as I know,

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It is by no means insignificant that despite a large degree of Norse influence in political and economic life, there is only a little vague evidence of a linguistic nature for Norse influence on family life.[57] There are very few words pertaining to the family which can be traced to a Norse derivation. In battle the clansmen stood by extended families, brothers and their sons fighting together. The importance of the *dorbhine* as a social unit can be judged from the following statement: in an argument between two men, if one were to swear by the father of his adversary, it was a great indignity; but if one were to cast a reflection on the father and the grandfather of the other man, the next word would be accompanied by a blow.[58] He would have been named after his grandfather for the *slanna* used genealogical strings.

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Summary. The clan was a composite organization. From the old tribal organization it took the *dorbhine*, four generation extended family, the territorial tie of the group, and the mutual, reciprocal obligations of service, support, and defence. Under the Norse, collateral descent as a system of inheritance of the title and land of the tribe disappeared but the tribal principle of *gavelkind*, by which the land was divided among the members of the *dorbhine* who in turn divided the land among their real and fictitious kinsmen, persisted. Scottish nonmanorial feudalism

[57] George Henderson, The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1910), pp. 49, 131-133, 136-137, 185.

[58] Martin, op. cit., p. 179.

provided the framework within which the functions of the tribal leader and the spirit of the clan brotherhood could be preserved and extended. The family possessions could be secured by law and the clan system could be stabilized. At the same time, however, the tribal tie remained paramount in the local system. The general will of the clan backed the chief as the patriarch, and kinship, however unreal, conflicted with the obligations of mere tenantry.

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The chief was the living representative of the common ancestor of the group. He gave the clan coherence and endurance; his leadership was almost independent of royal authority. Backed by a resolute body of supporters, he governed by custom and general consent. His jurisdiction flowed from his patriarchial position and depended on the recognition and cooperation of the clan. To secure his position and maintain the belief in common kinship, the chief planted his collateral and lineal descendants on the land. These men, either cadets of the clan or tacksmen, held their land by lease. They were the local representatives of the central family. Their most important function was bridging the cleavage which ran through the clan by forming a ministry to the chief and supporting his dignity and by being the counsellors of the people. The gradual subsidence of the members of the central *dorbhine* through the tacksmen into the body of the clan reinforced the belief in kinship. The belief was further strengthened by the custom of fosterage, the custom of giving a son to one of the clan to be raised and educated. The clansmen were the embodiment of the clan system. They were given land as joint-tenants of the chief or as subtenants

of the tacksmen. Here was the essence of the clan system, the common tie of territory and kinship. The land was not the sole means of subsistence, it was the ancestral home.

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The clan was strongly patrilineal. The father of the individual family stood to his children as the senior member of the *dorbhine* to his kinsmen, the tacksmen to his followers, and the chief to the body of the clan. The fundamental underlying principle was mutual, reciprocal devotion. The system was equalitarian. Although the chief was the landowner, and the tacksmen received their land on lease, for which they owed the chief the duties of service and a rent just as their tenants owed the tacksmen, the land had no commercial value. Rent was an ill defined and secondary consideration. The dignity of the clan depended on the number of supporters, who could be maintained on the land under the system of land use.

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Economic Activities

The principles of land use and tenure on the Isle of Skye up to the early years of the eighteenth century were similar to those prevailing all over Scotland.[59] The land was used under a system of runrig agriculture. The word runrig appears to be a modification of the Gaelic roinn-muith, a parallel or running division. The bulk of the population, as tenants of the land

[59] Henry Grey Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (3rd ed., London: Adam and Charles Black, 1906), pp. 154-160; Malcolm Gray, "The Abolition of Runrig in the Highlands of Scotland," The Economic History Review, Vol. V, No. 1 (1952), pp. 46-57; and Henry G. Graham, Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1952), pp. 34-73, 91-106.

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sufficiently to make age controls an irresistible force, the prestige status of the small number of the "elect," those who had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the elders gave them complete control over all social and religious activity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about these facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now is that the religious patterns provided a framework in which the culture could find continuity and through which the society could achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like customs resulted in a change of content, but there were positive results as well. Above all, there was a change in focus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in clan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a known religious brotherhood.

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Summary. The third period of the modern phase of Skye's culture history saw the culmination of the process of commercialization of the land. All the influences necessary for the conversion of the subsistence economy, albeit a much deteriorated economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming, on a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy.

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Newcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved methods of land utilization were replacing the conservative and impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial farmers consolidated their holdings, the communal townships were being obliterated. The concept of individual possession of the land was replacing the customary rights of the small tenants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

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Additional modifications have been found in the division of labor. Although no Skyeman has shown a disposition to assume responsibility for domestic work, unless he lives alone, the women of Skye are expected to function in roles which once were filled exclusively by men. Old men and women for many years now have continued to perform tasks which formerly were their duties as youths and young adults. These changes, like those we have previous, are partially traceable to an incomplete adjustment to the contractual, commercial world. This has led to striking alterations in the age structure of the population for it is the youth who forsake the island and the aged who yearn to return. Nevertheless, there have been no observable changes in the status system of the rural neighborhoods. Primitive democracy, distinguished from our form of democracy by the principle of unanimous consent rather than majority rule, continues to operate in the townships. The existence of such an institution implies a maximum of equality co-existing with a minimum of authority. The continued ability of the crofters to maintain primitive democracy in a nation like Great Britain is possible only because there is a high degree of social integration. The simple system of ranking, on the basis of age and sex, has persisted. Men are the social superiors of women; old men are the social superiors of their juniors. I believe we shall understand how continuity of status has been preserved if we turn to a consideration of the role of religion on the island.

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If I am right in asserting that a belief in clan brotherhood was an all pervading cultural pattern in bygone days and

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that the clan ceased to provide a focus for the culture almost two centuries ago, the reader may ask how can a culture without a focus find continuity, how can a culture without a central theme, something around which to orient itself, achieve integration? Religion provides the answer. Congregational religion has taken the place of the clan.

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The acceptance of the new religious focus curtailed many traits and complexes characteristic of the old culture. This is why the older folktales, songs and superstitions, the festive celebrations held at times of birth, baptism, marriage, and death, the traditional social patterns of visiting, and all frivolous activities were abandoned or modified. In a time of acute distress the *Sgriatanach* turned to religion as a means of consolation. His religion required circumspect behavior. Perhaps, the sheer impossibility of supporting the traditional forms of social interaction had forced a change in cultural content when the religious leaders placed these forms under censure. I have suggested that religion did no more than sanction poverty. This much is certain: religion provided the means for the culture to maintain its continued distinctiveness. The Scots of the Presbyterian image of the days of Knox, of the times of the Covenanters, and the year of the Glorious Revolution continue to exert their influence on the *Sgriatanach*. While the ministers and the venerable old men of the laity stamped out all practices which they considered pagan or Catholic, as well as modifying the social aspect of the culture, the process was not completely negative. The religious expression

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618 CLANS--presence of localized kin groups consisting of unilineally related persons of one sex and their spouses and young children but not including their outmarrying siblings of opposite sex; structural type (e.g., matri-clans, patri-clans, avunc-clans, amnik-clans); size (e.g., clan-barrios, clan-communities); number and distribution; subdivision (e.g., into subclans, extended families); organization; leadership and succession; functions (e.g., economic, political); reciprocal relations between members; cohesive and fissive tendencies; land holdings; relations between clans; etc. Only data on clan-barrios will normally be filed under this category. See also:

Property . . . . . 1 Communal ownership
Kinship . . . . . 4 Communal ownership 481

The Scottish kings against the demands of the English Parliament, 1754
would have restricted English influence to a negligible role 602
until the final Highland uprising was crushed in 1745. 618

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Morgan stands alone in believing the clan to have been a true 1754
gens in organization and spirit.[15] He saw in it the typical 602
features of gentile society, vitality of gens life over the 618
members in moulding individual character, feuds and blood revenge, localization by clans, common use of the land, fidelity to the chief and each other, and descent in the male line. Rivers viewed the clan as more nearly a tribe.[16] Piddington denies the Highland clan the status of a true clan because, although patrilineal, it has never been shown to have been exogamous.[17] I have no doubt that most anthropologists would agree with Piddington on similar grounds. Linton has recently compared the Polynesian tribe with the Highland clan.[18] It seemed to some Rivers's view, saying the clan was localized by territory and was normally endogamous.

The Clans of Skye

Although some historians, probably reasoning from pre-Norman Celtic organization, believe the clan was inherent in the Celtic tribal system,[19] most date the origin of the Highland

[15] Lewis H. Morgan, Ancient Society (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1878), pp. 397-504.

[16] W. R. H. Rivers, Social Organization, ed. W. J. Perry (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924), pp. 71-72.

[17] Ralph Piddington, An Introduction to Social Anthropology (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1950), pp. 150, 154.

[18] Ralph Linton, The Tree of Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 324, 344 ff.

[19] See, e.g., T. F. Grant, Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1603 (Edinburgh: H. and A. A. Johnston, 1930), pp. 31-32.

clan as not earlier than the reign of David I.[20] It appeared 1754
after the introduction of feudalism, and, as we shall see, it 602
disintegrated as the feudal order decayed. 618

Had the kinship and principle prevailed under the Norse, there was no room for them in a feudal polity.[21] On the other hand, there was no opportunity to assimilate the remote Highlands and, especially, the Islands with the Lowland half of the kingdom. For over four hundred years no king, Scottish or British, was able to secure an unflinching vassalage of the Highlanders. Whatever course events took, the mormaer, once chief of the earldom, the toiseach, the old chief of the kindh, and the mosr, a subordinate chieftain, were gone. In place of the tribal arrangement there appeared a host of distinct communities of fate. On the Isle of Skye the most important of these were the Siol Torquil (MacLeods of Lewis), Siol Tormod (MacLeods of Dunvegan), Clann Donald (MacKinnons), Clann Thorkill (Nicolsons), and Clann Uisgein (MacDonalds of Sleat).[22]

Clan Membership. The clan was a means of administration and security.[23] The nucleus was a derbfhin, a four generation

[20] See, e.g., Robertson, op. cit., pp. 304-305; and Brit. Enc., pp. 208, 210-211; Encyc. Brit., Vol. III, pp. 303, 307.

[21] Terry, op. cit., pp. 36-37; and Brit. Enc., pp. 204.

[22] Alexander Cameron, History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye (Inverness: R. Fraser, 1871), pp. 18-19, 23-30.

[23] See, e.g., Thomas Innes of Learney, The Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland (Edinburgh: W. and R. C. Johnston, 1957), p. 24; Innes, op. cit., pp. 5-7; and Grant, op. cit., pp. 31-32. In the evolution of Scottish society, Scottish alliance treaties concluded were: Treaty Anent the Marches (1249); Treaty of Perth (1266); Band of Bot Kennaird and Lochindorb (1290-92); Treaty of Edinburgh (1357); Treaty of Ardtalnaig (1426); Treaty of Lochgarbh (1462); Treaty of Lochgilphead (1493); Treaty of Ardchattan (1501); Treaty of Ardchattan (1523); Bond of Kilchurn (1523); Bond of Ardchattan (1527); Bond of Ardchattan (1529); Bond of Ardchattan (1531); Bond of Ardchattan (1533); Bond of Ardchattan (1537); Bond of Ardchattan (1538); Bond of Ardchattan (1539); Bond of Ardchattan (1540); Bond of Ardchattan (1541); Bond of Ardchattan (1542); Bond of Ardchattan (1543); Bond of Ardchattan (1544); Bond of Ardchattan (1545); Bond of Ardchattan (1546); Bond of Ardchattan

clansmen for food and lodging whenever their duties took them away from home. The decay of the clan system can, perhaps, best be seen in the disappearance of several of these offices and restrictions placed on others. By the seventeenth century, after failing in a scheme to integrate the Hebrides by the extirpation of the rude, barbarous, and uncivil peoples, the crown succeeded in forcing the chiefs to give up their bards, to assume full responsibility for the obedience of their followers to the laws of the kingdom, and to limit their armed retinue to a small personal bodyguard.[38] Clan warfare ceased and the chiefs henceforth gave unwavering support to the Stuart kings, at least against the English.

The Cadets of the Clan. Below the chief of the larger clans ranked the ceann-tighe, (literally the head of the house). They were the brothers of the chief and stood in relation to the sept as the chief stood to the clan. In the MacDonalds of Sleat the eldest brother usually held the lands in North Uist.[39] In the MacLeods of Dunvegan the eldest brother received the farm of Talisker.[40] As senior cadets, the eldest brothers led the clan on marches and held the principle post of honor in battle. They served as stewards, collecting the revenues of the estate and fulfilling the duties of the chief during his

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[38] "State of the Highlands at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century," in Burt, op. cit., Vol. II, Appendix 1, pp. 238-253.

[39] Alexander Cameron, op. cit., pp. 24, 80.

[40] James Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, ed. R. W. Chapman (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 328.

absence or incapacity. The senior cadet
of the heir to the chiefship, and if the
a minor, as guardians. The cadets bore
clan and/or a territorial title, for exa
Talisker or simply Talisker.

The Gentry of the Clan. The next lower
consisted of the daoin'-uaisle (literall
The chief established his younger brothe
near relatives, those within the derbfin
held farms by what amounted to be leases
At first the leases were typically for t
by the seventeenth century they had been
vidual's life plus a number of years to
of the holder in favor of his son.[41] At
lease, a nearer relative was commonly fa
The former holder either sought a milita
Holland or France, or extorted a living
Some obtained land on wadsett, a mortgag
the lender of money received possession
debt was repaid.[43] Most of his descendant
body of the clan.

The gentry, also known as tacksmen

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[41] MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, p.

[42] (Cartmore), "An Inquiry into the
The Rise and Progress of Rebellions and
Highlands of Scotland," in Burt, op. cit.
pp. 339-344.

[43] MacDonald, op. cit., p. 63.

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Causes which Facilitate
nsurrections in the
, Vol. II, Appendix 4,

the local representatives of the nuclear derbfine. they were 175
the leading men of the clan in each district. Although they 602
were appointed by the chief, their recognition depended on the 614
willingness of the clansmen to form a following rather than 618
on title or a right of succession. This following determined how many men the chief could bring into battle and how many officers of dignity he could support from their contributions.

The most important function of this group, all of whom could trace descent within the central family, was their bridging the cleavage which ran through all clans. They formed a ministry to the chief and were the councilors of the clansmen. The bond with the former was proven kinship, with the latter, a sense of kinship. They were the mainstay of the system. When the chiefs fell into debt, a frequent occurrence, the tacksmen came to their aid by pledging themselves to preserve the family and the estates, to reduce the debt.[44] They were also the local merchants, an important function in an area with only semi-annual markets and sparse money.[45]

The Clansmen. The clanna (literally the children) included all within the jurisdiction of the clan chief. Their relationship was real or fictitious kinship, tenancy, or contract. To the Lowlanders and the English, their relationship seemed to be a

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[44] Cf. Ibid, pp. 65, 73-74. See also MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vo. I. pp. 18-19.

[45] Gartmore, loc. cit.

familiarity with which the chiefs treated their people, aghast at the chief's partaking of the people's diversions, and astou that the chief would shake them by the hand whenever he met them.[47] At the bottom, the system was equalitarian. Every man had the right to address his chief and call upon him for suppo in times of adversity.

The clansmen were continuously recruited by natural increase, adoption, and the gradual subsidence of the younger members of the nuclear derbfine into the body of the clan. The downward mobility of the remote collateral relatives of the chief was of paramount importance. It reinforced the belief in kinship of the clansmen and the chief. The feeling of kinship was further reinforced by the institution of fostera a practice common to pre-Feudal Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.[48] Under fosterage children were exchanged between families of equal status or the son, often the heir, of the chief or tacksm was given to one of the clan to be raised and educated. Fostera served to form mutual alliances between families and clans, to ensure the loyalty of the people for their chief, strengthen the attachment of the chief for his followers, and bind the

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[46]Andrew Lang (ed.), The Highlands of Scotland in 1750 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1898), pp. IX-XII.

[47]See, e.g., Marshall Wade, "Proceedings in the Highlands of Scotland," in Burt, op. cit., Vol. II, Appendix 3, pp.269-288; and MacKay, op. cit., pp. 335-350.

[48]John Cameron, op. cit., pp. 62-68.

There were additiona

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[49]Samuel Johns
Scotland, ed. R. W.
1924), p. 122; and F
Journal of a Tour to
The Viking Press, 19

[50]Marjorie Pla
Eighteenth Century (
p. 7.

[51]J. MacMaster
Home Life of the Hig
Village Association,
pp. 173-177.

[52]John Cameron

[54]MacKay, op.
op. cit., pp. 339-34

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on, A Journey to the Western Isles of
Chapman (London: Oxford University Pr
rederick Pottle and Charles Bennett,
the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson (Me
36), pp. 259-260.

nt, The Domestic Life of Scotland in
Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Campbell, "Organization and Tenures,
hlanders, 1400-1746 (Glasgow: Highlan
1911), p. 32; and John Cameron, op.

, loc. cit.

53 Martin, op. cit., p

cit., pp. 280-290, 335-340; Gantmore,
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621 COMMUNITY STRUCTURE--physical type (e.g., migratory band, settled vil
lage, neighborhood of scattered households, aggregation of hamlets, ward or
other local subdivision of a town); kinship structure (e.g., clan-community,
endogamous or exogamous deme, segmented community of associated clan-
barrios, unsegmented but homogeneous community, heterogeneous communit
socio-political and economic structure and organization; local subdivisions
of the community; community population (e.g., mean, range); area of terri-
tory exploited (e.g., mean, range); distinguishing characteristics (e.g.,
name, local dialect, local culture); tendency toward local endogamy or
exogamy; cohesive and fissive tendencies; neighborliness; local pride;
etc. See also:

Physical characteristics and facilities of settlements 36
Social stratification 56
Interpersonal relations 57
Town and city government 83
Place names 108
Real property 433
Clans 618

Hundreds
103 of place names are known to the villagers
[193] which are not marked on any map. These place names constitute part of the oral tradition of a population which has lived in a confined geographical area for generations.

In most of Lewis, village and township coincide.
632 621 311 423 [363] The village of Shawbost is composed of two townships, South Shawbost in which the crofts splay outward like a fan from roads which curve over an uneven landscape, and North Shawbost which is composed of linear streets (see Map C), to which the crofts are perpendicular. Each township has its own common grazing land, and its own grazing committee. All of South Shawbost and part of North Shawbost belong to one private estate (which includes other townships to the southwest), and most of North Shawbost belongs to an estate which extends to Barvas. Beyond the fact that non-crofters in South Shawbost have found it easier to acquire crofting status, little difference between the two townships appears to be due to their belonging to different estates. As
[427] [529] elsewhere in crofting regions, the landlords of the two estates are concerned mainly with the sporting potential of their land.

632 The two townships are themselves divided into named neighborhoods (cf. Vallee 1955 for a discussion of "natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas).

288 463 [424] finished lengths of tweed. For a tweed to be classified as "Harris Tweed," it must be hand-woven by Outer Hebrideans in their own homes, but the weavers are
288 essentially employees of the mill. All the large Harris Tweed mills in Lewis, except the one in Shawbost, are located in Stornoway. A few smaller businesses, which design and market tweeds but have no elaborate machinery to process the tweed further, are scattered throughout the island.

621 162 [429] The village of Shawbost is composed of 169 households, of which 110 are headed by "crofters," persons recognized as legal tenants of a croft. Of the remaining 59
[361] households, 16 rent houses which were built and are maintained by the County (called "council houses"), 11 have erected houses on the crofts of relatives, and
463 241 32 have built homes on the common grazing lands. Non-crofters participate in the agricultural activities of the township. It would not be unusual, for example, for a non-crofter to serve as the clerk of a grazings committee.

342 166 In North Shawbost, one croft house and two non-croft houses are used only when the owner returns to Shawbost from the mainland for a holiday. The school-
[875] [193] master lives in a house adjoining the school, and the minister in a manse located between Shawbost and the neighboring village of Bragar.

463 One of his
322 apprentices was his sister's son, who built another
[374] [604] smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip. People gathered there while he shoed horses that came
[521] from Barvas to Carloway."

444 A number of shops were established in Shawbost
178 that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At
[494] one time they numbered six altogether. These shops also ran the first buses between the village and
[477] [443] Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared because of competition with larger companies. Mobile grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in large parts of the island, undercutting the local busi-
178 43 571 621 nesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town-
44 463 178 dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers,
[472] [484] fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal dealers and others extend goods and services from centralized sources to a market which has money to pay for them. The island's participation in this extensive market system is affected by its marginality to the

121 128 of the township with the larger society, and examines the effect of geographical and social marginality on the boundedness of the township network. Chapter 6 discusses two important networks of social relations within the township.

B. Township as Social Boundary System

632 178 621 The township constitutes a relatively firmly bounded system, although its boundaries are weaker than formerly when the township was relatively self-sufficient
[476] economically. Township members worked together in small fishing crews, and families relied on each other for help when members of the family were away from the island "at the fishing."

621 476 602 [539] [605] Relatives were expected to give priority to helping each other. According to one proverb, "A relative is your best friend." First and second cousins were considered especially close, but knowledge of one's kinsmen extended to at least the fourth generation.

602 576 585 764 [539] Ties of kinship became evident in ceremonies such as funerals and weddings. One Gaelic proverb says, "You know who your relatives are at weddings and funerals." At weddings the onus was on the members of the bridal party to remember their relatives. "You have to sit and calculate who is closely related, and all those

A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a
621 common practice, when she was young, for children from
537 large families to live for as long as six weeks with
476 other families who were relatively better off. They
would help harvest the hay or the potatoes or bring
in the peat in return for food, lodging and perhaps
some clothing. "They usually ate better than they did
at home." The children were not necessarily relatives
of the families with whom they boarded.

Strong friendship, that is, the kind of friendship
621 associated with mobile urban life in which persons
578 confide in each other and share secrets and build up
an individual relationship based on extensive knowledge
[602] of one another, was nonexistent. A "friend" was a
relative, or someone who gave aid when it was needed.

Today it is sometimes said, "It used to be that
621 your relatives were your best friends; now your best
178 friends are better than your relatives." An old man
592 will meet another on the road and say, "I used to see
187 more of you when you needed me." Neighbors used to
[602] share sheep that were killed; now households kill and
[821] consume their own sheep, and freeze the meat which they
[851] cannot use immediately. Groups that walked out together
to the peat to finish the job in a single day are being
[464] replaced by individual family units that can motor out
000 and do the job in stages. People prefer to give money

181 People prefer to give money
• 621 in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat-
178 cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendships
187 are still weak, relative to friendships in urban
592 settings. Most information which is shared between
821 individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip.
[369] Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutual
[521] aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to
[476] confide and keep secrets.

621 Today many of the younger villagers do not know
178 their relatives to the extent that their elders did.
602 In one family, a girl who was about to get married had
[685] to ask her brother, who was the only one of the siblings
[596] interested in kinship connections, whom to invite to the
wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of
602 one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and
424 Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there
I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in
[178] transportation and income, more islanders are taking
brief trips away from the island. During these trips,
they almost always stay with relatives.

It is frequently said that children are now "cheekier,"
369 less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, and
570 that they prefer to watch television or read books by
821 themselves to playing with each other.
178

• 621 Despite these tendencies, an individual is still
571 enmeshed in familial and village ties. Villagers walk
in and out of each others' houses without knocking;
[426] only a "stranger" knocks. Goods such as tape recorders,
binoculars and books are passed around the village;
people even borrow each others' reading glasses.

Children are "borrowed" as well. They are loaned
858 out to relatives and neighbors to run errands, or may
865 even live with them. They are scolded as often by a
861 neighbor or other villager as by a parent. A child
621 might be told, "When someone (any adults) tells you to do
something, you do it, no matter who that person is."
The parents of one household are criticised for taking
their children's side against other children and other
parents. "He's teaching his children not to mix with
others. One child is as good as another. They may be
good one day, but they're likely to be bad the next."
A child or adult who enjoys spending time by himself is
[156] still considered extremely odd. An important criterion
by which someone's mental health or general personality
597 is evaluated is whether or not he "mixes" well. It is
621 fairly common for childless households to "adopt" a
child of neighbors or relatives; that is, the child
spends a great deal of time with them. They may go to
the child's house to put him to bed at night, or the

597 child may come to spend nights or longer periods of time
• 621 with them.

To some extent villagers are still dependent on
476 each other for various kinds of help. It is considered
621 extremely bad manners to refuse labor, a tool, or food
[576] to anyone who requests them. If someone refuses to aid
another, people say, "What will he do when he needs
[443] help?" This attitude has made the island a paradise
for the few salesmen who, in the last few prosperous
years, have started to visit its communities; villagers
find it difficult to say no to anyone who comes to their
door with a request, including the request that they
buy something.

621 A woman in childbirth was formerly attended by a
579 local midwife, and kept in bed for two or three weeks.
844 "Other women, both relatives and friends, came and stayed
with them at night, fixing them warm tea and milk,
whispering bhronag bochd (poor soul), how awful you look..."
Just as today the neighbors gather at times of illness
and death. It is more difficult for neighbors to come
to the bedsides of young mothers of today, who are all
[178] taken to the hospital in Stornoway to have their babies;
[743] but the neighbors manage to visit the hospital, which has
no choice but to ignore its rule of only two visitors
per bed at a time.

• 621 The first thing that is said when for some reason
513 a woman is left alone in the house is, "Who's going to
358 go and sleep with her?" Often a child will be sent from
a neighboring family, not always relatives, to stay with
621 her at night. As in the past, it is not uncommon for
572 a childless elderly couple or single person alone on a
888 croft to take in a young, homeless couple, to whom they
may or may not be related. The young couple cares for
the old person or persons, and inherits the croft when
they die.

602 "Keeping up the relation" is the process by which
476 relatives sustain interaction and expectations of mutual
aid even though their relatedness becomes more distant
605 with succeeding generations. "I've got cousins in Ness
that I stay with at the Communions. They're getting on
into the third generation now." A cousin is a cousin
even to the 42nd degree (Williams 1963: 142), as long
as there is reason to sustain the relationship. "I know
we're related, but I can't quite place it." "We're a
bit related. I think she was a MacPhail before she
married." "I don't quite know how we're related, but
my mother and his mother considered it a close relation-
ship, and he has kept it up."

621 Every villager has a vast amount of information
621 about other villagers and their families, which may be
582

• 621 used on different occasions, for example, to discourage
621 deviant behavior or certain marital alliances. Any sign
582 of physical or emotional disability in someone planning
to get married invites an attempt by other villagers to
discourage an alliance. According to a Gaelic proverb,
[539] "If you want to be praised, die; if you want to be
criticised, marry (Ma tha thu airson do mholadh, bamaich;
ma tha thu airson do chaineadh, pos)." The villagers
621 consider not only the behavior of the person but of his
626 ancestors. The individual is perceived as belonging to
582 a family unit which through many generations has manifested
821 certain physical and behavioral traits. Traits of behavior
such as shyness, heavy drinking, stealing and tight-
fistedness are interpreted as hereditary traits. "It's in
the blood (Tha e anns an t'fhuil)." "It's in the people."
Particular occupations are also associated with families.
[463] Stornoway, which is not so "urban" as to have a constant
turnover of population, contains many examples of
occupations passed down through generations.

632 In Chapter 3 I mentioned the development of several
578 groups in the crofting township which seem to be in conflict
with the township as a strongly bounded system. People
who keep only sheep have come to blows with those who keep
both sheep and cattle; and a distinction between crofters
and non-crofters may be seen. Many persons have preferred

764 the deceased or the remaining family assist in preparing
574 endless cups of tea, using the provisions that are
brought by the visitors. The newcomers enter, exchange
greetings, memories, sighs and moral judgements in
rapid whispers. "Oich, oich... that should teach us,
we're all going to go. That's how it was meant to be.
It makes you wonder why we live at all, well, well."
They recall other deaths. "That was a bad death. His
liver was bad, and he turned yellow, then all black...."
[152] They weep, circumspectly observe the appearance of the
[197] room and its occupants, and speak only in Gaelic, the
language of hearth and heart.

764 The minister usually attends a prayer meeting which
193 is held in the sigh fhaire around midnight of the night
before the funeral, but his presence is not necessary.
The prayer meeting may be conducted by the elders. The
elders may also hold the service which precedes the
burial. The minister may walk for a short distance in
the funeral procession or speak a brief few words at
the graveside, but his role in the community drama is
minimal.

764 At least one person from all households within the
• 621 village is expected to go to the sigh fhaire of someone
592 who has died within the village, "to show respect." The
male head of the household is expected to attend the

764 521 [519] funeral procession in which the coffin is carried for about half a mile from the house to the waiting hearse. Over 100 men usually walk in these processions. The more well-known the person or unexpected the death, the larger the procession is likely to be. Relatives [602] of the deceased walk at the head of the procession, at the head and foot of the coffin, while other villagers take turns carrying the bier. The pallbearers serve in relays. Eight men carry the coffin, four on each side, and are replaced frequently by pairs of men who assume the rear positions. The two who have been displaced at the head of the coffin stand outside the line, facing outward, until the procession has filed past them, whereupon they join the end of the procession.

764 178 273 In the past, coffins were carried for miles from the house to the cemetery. The procession rested periodically, and the men usually carried an earthenware jug of whiskey (piggy uisge beatha) "to ward off the cold." The custom of giving a glass of whiskey to men as they left the house to carry the coffin was still recently followed in Skye; and in some areas a funeral is still evaluated by the amount of whiskey available for consumption ("That was a good funeral"). Tales are told of coffins buried without bodies.

166 2. The Exiles: An important source which supplies this sense of contrast is the large number of persons settled away from the island, often in "ghettoes" or neighborhoods in cities in which village ties are main- [521] tained. It is said that gossip about Shawbost travels more quickly in the district called Partick Hill in 166 Glasgow than it does within Shawbost itself. It may be • 621 argued that the "exiles," with their Lewis and Harris Societies and pilgrimages back to the village during the holidays, do a great deal to sustain the strong boundedness of the village as a sociocultural system. They and non-Gaelic-speaking outsiders (the Eminent Person writing his inevitable book in the romantic solitude of an isolated manse) help to maintain a feeling of worthwhileness in a place rife with feelings of ambivalence and negative comparison with the larger society.

181 621 [195] Within the village, especially during the long, dark winter, complaints are often heard of the "sameness" of things. A common phrase, almost a greeting, is, "Anything fresh?"--implying that the usual mode of 621 20 929 existence is stale, sour, exhausted, and mucky with overuse. Although the villagers have access to the range of information available to all Britishers through forms of mass media such as newspapers, radios and television sets, very little of this information is considered relevant to village life, and thus is not attended to.

183 181 [521] The generally low level of stimulation derives in part from values which restrict opportunities for self-expression. People are ready to gossip, i.e., to partici- [626] pate vicariously in the escapades of others, but are less eager to act. Stories concerning mad-cap adventures of some villagers do not belie the existence of constraints [166] imposed on expressiveness. One of the major reasons given by young villagers for wanting to leave the island, and by emigrants for why they left, is that, "There is nothing to do. The place is dead."

156 181 183 • 621 In the everyday life of the village, a style of indirectness and restricted communication is encouraged. A man might be praised in an obituary by the phrase, "His voice was never heard in the community." The encouragement of a "low profile" of behavior is characteristic of communities in which people meet each other frequently and know they will continue to meet and ask things of each other for a long time to come. Indirectness avoids conflict arising from divergent expectations, and embarrassment from changes in plans.

155 861 A major feature of practices of child-rearing on the island is inconsistency, which develops a style of guarded watchfulness and hesitance to act or express oneself. Children are teased by being offered things which are then snatched away. Punishment is inconsistent.

155 861 577 [673] Lies are frequently told. "Every other sentence my father says is a lie. If you believe half of what he says, you're a fool. If you believe a quarter of what he says, you're getting near the truth. If you believe an eighth of what he says, it's probably the wrong eighth."

156 • 621 Villagers engage with each other in constant, quiet game-playing. They are dependent on each other for many things, but try to minimize the control that others have over them while improving their own positions. If someone brings plants or shrubs as a gift, the response is likely to be, "She was probably pruning her garden and needed to get rid of the leftover garbage." Such negativism releases the person from feeling obligated. (See Emmett 1964: 16-17, for a description of a similar situation in Wales.) A man who is asked about his new tractor replies, "Its faults will come out later." If he were to say it was all right and then it broke down, he would have lost points. In discussing the mental health of a villager recently returned from Craig Dunain (a mental hospital near Inverness), someone observed, "He's better than the doctor who let him out." If another breakdown were to occur soon, someone would be sure to comment, "And so-and-so said he looked all right."

156 572 Such training allows little room for the development of close friendships in which the individuals involved are

166 484 823 204 [533] The image of the island as spiritual home is fostered by The Stornoway Gazette, and by nostalgic songs, most of which were written by islanders who emigrated to Canada in the first quarter of the century.

632 241 The crofting township as a strongly bounded network continues to exist, although crofting as a socioeconomic pattern which evolved in a situation of limited social and geographical mobility, low cash reserves, and the restriction of a large population to a region of limited resources, is very different from crofting as defined by an office in Inverness. As far as the crofter is concerned, to be defined as a crofter by the Crofters Commission and other government agencies is to have access to resources which affect the environment in which he makes his choices.

241 288 The individual is faced with the semi-security of crofting and weaving, in contrast with the exciting but risk-laden opportunities offered by the dominant urban- [654] industrial mainland. Crofting and Harris Tweed have been protected by government legislation. Various subsidies [745] and loans are available. In times of unemployment, social security is available. Extremely important as contributers • 621 156 to boundedness are the non-economic incentives: the individual has a place in a human community; he is given

• 621 156 character traits just by virtue of his belonging to a particular family; he is protected from the "out" [570] world even though he may have broken its rules. The [574] village provides a colorful arena of recreation in the form of ceilidh, the character, and holidays such as New Year's.

781 194 A major system of order and meaning is provided by religion, and by the opportunity to belong to a tightly- [181] knit religious clique. Lewis is sometimes called Tir an a-moisgeul, Land of the Scriptures, in contrast with 571 the decadent outer world. The male drinking fraternity 223 [521] constitutes a second important group. And for everyone there is the cinema of their neighbors' activities, which are placed in a vast human calendar that includes the behavior of many generations.

121 From prehistory to the present day, these geographic
178 zones have played their parts as factors in evolution,
174 although the border-lines have changed at different historic
182 crises, and have been modified by economic and social
184 phase. At times the Hebrides have been more closely linked to Ulster or to Norway than to Central Scotland. In viewing these zones, we shall not find simultaneity in historic events, but comparability in stage and transition, even at differing periods. From the evolutionary point of view, the revealing character of Island life lies not only in static survivals, in what Sir Arthur Mitchell found in the Isles and vividly described as " the Past in the Present ". Island life is characterised still more by the dynamic strength of its continuity—notably of early or primitive Christianity—and also by the late occurrence of changes when, at last, they came.

18 The social consequences of these regional differences
• 621 in evolution are profound. In the ' Plain ', to the south-
174 east of the Severn-Tees line, large village communities
[423] with ' common fields ' prevailed, forming the later manor villages. To the north and west, the more varied, hillier
[192] lands encouraged the continuance of hamlets. These hamlets housed close-knit groups of families, often of no more than four or five to a dozen relations or ' friends '—
—in Scots even today (much as in Gaelic) the word
[462] ' friend ' frequently implies kinship. Each small group formed a team. Together the men ploughed their mingled
[476] rigs (or ridges) and herded their stock in common, and
[241] on the coast they rowed their boat as its crew. The women, too, did much together, as when they spun their
[286] yarn, and fulled or ' waulked ' the cloth that one of them
[423] had woven, helping by turn in childbirth and child-care. Usually several of these teams were linked in a larger

18 pastoral group, the germ (in the Hebrides) of the present
• 621 township with its common grazing. Hamlets and town-
174 ship formed circles of cultural and religious life in common.
[423] These ' sociable hamlets ', or ' little commonwealths ', as they were called by understanding writers on the Highlands, lived on in the Hebrides almost until a century ago. Features of their form and life have long been known, but their life has not yet been envisaged in its full dynamic significance.

127 The homesteads, informally grouped in these small
36 hamlets, have been mistakenly described as solitary or
174 ' dispersed ' by scholars accustomed to larger and more compact grouping. The mistake was made by geographers
[423] of the nineteenth century, such as Meitzen with reference to the hamlets of Brittany. Similarly, because of the
[476] small number composing a typical joint team, the vital fact of team-work and joint holding has frequently been overlooked; yet a fundamental mistake is made when such close-knit team-work and joint tenure are described as
174 ' individualistic '. Moreover, these teams were linked to-
621 gether in larger, more loosely bound pastoral communities
631 of township and district. In Scotland and elsewhere, it is true, such hamlets came historically to be split up in various
[241] ways, into smaller farms and scattered cottages. The larger link of common life was also superseded by the
[178] proprietor's estate. Indeed, the twofold revolution involved caused a fundamental regional cleavage within ' the North and West '.

[182] Partly as a result of their small size, the tenure of farm-
[184] hamlets was frequently informal. In northern England, the hamlets and their lands were not entered in Domesday
[178] Book; still less are early entries complete in Scotland. For this and other reasons, jurist and historian may fail

174 to notice the absorption or suppression of rights held in
• 621 common in ' the North and West ', together with the
631 abolition of the duties of fellow-workers to one another. Too frequently they have not troubled to enquire into the
178 former existence of common rights and fellowship duties,
184 the observances of which have so much to teach. Yet to judge from the completeness of the Hebridean evidence, and from wider evidence to be touched upon with reference to Norse and Lowland conditions, suppression caused a profound social and moral revolution.

178 Indeed, the profound character of that revolution makes
184 it hard to recognise the common origin of features which may differ greatly today. To choose four examples, the
[428] long succession from father to son, found from end to end
[166] of an Island township, contrasts with a restless movement of farm servants, and even tenant-farmers, all too common until 1939 in Lowland Scotland and parts of Northern
[181] England. The ideals held by fellow-workers in Gaelic tradition, of kindly and courteous co-operation, contrast with the avowals of rugged individualism made on many a farm even of the southern Highlands today, and certainly of
[291] the Scottish Lowlands and Northern England. Languages have changed as English has advanced during 1500 years: the Lewis crofters' children still speak Gaelic, but children in Stornoway ceased to do so forty or fifty years ago.
[771] And in the recorded religious life of Gaelic hamlets far from any priest (or later, minister), the part of revered men and women is very different from the part played in Calvinism by the Minister and the male Elders of the Kirk. All these four contrasts are due to revolutionary changes in home, work, language and religion. Such changes, of which all trace may be lost elsewhere, are traceable from the fullest evidence among the Gael.

184 Comparisons at the present day are most illuminating.
[791] In the Hebrides one may pass from Calvinist Lewis-and-Harris to Catholic Barra, through South Uist, where Presbyterian and Roman Catholic dwell, side by side, in mutual respect. Although their home life, economy and language are the same, the influence of a comparatively
[121] recent divergence in religion is marked. Such Island evidence, present and past, forces one to re-examine conclusions upon life in the Lowlands accepted until recently, and to seek for the truth upon earlier forms of life in common and for their meaning today throughout ' the North and West '.

175 Ancient elements of unity, and later ways in which
423 these were broken, adapted or remade, region by region,
427 are being unravelled. The Old Estate Plans, made at the outset of the agricultural revolution, show these immedi-
• 621 ately before the re-planning of fields and farms (*circa* 1750–90). These plans also reveal the existence of still
178 earlier types, not otherwise recognisable even on the spot.
[184] With their rentals (when available) they reveal the ways in which old joint farms were placed under a single tenant, as in Lothian, or were split up among several tenants, as in Ayrshire.[1] From such geographical data, both the economic and the deeper social aspects of rural life emerge with new clarity. Such data may be linked to Planning Surveys of land and rural life for tomorrow.

621 Now, although so fundamentally equalitarian within
427 themselves, these hamlet communities of the Gael were subjected to the overlordship of a chief or laird, either directly or through an intermediate gentleman-tenant, a
[174] ' tacksman '. History, with archaeology read in history's
[172]
[113]

[1] For Lothian, see Arthur Geddes (1938 and 1951); for Ayrshire, see J. H. G. Lebon, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, Vols. 62, 1945 (pp. 7-13); 63, 1946 (pp. 100-110). Further references in Bibliography.

621 light, suggests that such lordship goes back to early con-
427 quests of self-supporting agricultural and pastoral com-
174 munities by well-armed raiders of many races, including
the Celtic-speaking swordsmen of the Iron Age. The last
[172] and most notable of these conquering raiders were the
Norsemen. Their influence was profound, whether, sailing
direct from the Scandinavian forest settlements and fjords,
they raided and settled as heathen Viking crews, or, at a
later stage, they invaded England from Normandy—that
fertile province which they had made theirs in fact and
name—under the panoply of civilisation and with Papal
benediction. A generation after the Conquest they com-
menced the penetration of Scotland.

183 The paradox of loyalty to one's fellows with loyalty
181 to a lord, of stoutly equalitarian thinking bound up with
fervid admiration for an aristocracy, is nowhere more
[614] marked than among the Gael. They sought to reconcile
these conflicting loyalties by claiming common ancestry for
chief and people, as the children (*clann*) of a hero of
history or myth. The years 1945-47, which marked a
centenary of the last of the desperate Jacobite Risings,
stood at the close of the latest of many wars in which fame
has been won for the symbol of clanship—the tartan, long
proscribed (by the Act of 1747) 'to every man and boy
in the Highlands'. At such a time, the Gaels' loyalty to
the death cannot be forgotten although old kings, old
[121] chiefs have gone. But its paradox must not only be re-
[182] membered but understood, from its roots in communal
life and environment through history. Not until this is
[184] done can important phases of our own time be under-
stood, such as the failure of Lord Leverhulme's seven
years' endeavour in Lewis; nor can the present oppor-
tunity of Highland renewal be grasped by the help of

121 And region by region, a fairer balance must be struck
185 between country and town. In Lewis, the part of Storno-
way town, with its population nearing 5000 (in 1951), is
[162] important. Its port, its fisheries, its spinning mills for the
[184] crofters' hand-loom weaving, its merchants' shops, and its
local, administrative and professional services, are essential
to the Island. Its economic and social evolution, too, are
[162] interesting. Stornoway's plans for the future are active
and ambitious, and these, it is realised, depend upon the
prosperity of the 19,000 crofting people of Lewis proper.

121 But the subject of this book is primarily rural. It is to
128 see with fresh eyes what, from our Harris mountain-top,
we viewed as a unit at the core of 'the North and West'.
After the island has been described in terms of its physical
and human geography (Part One), the endeavour (in Part
Two) will be to give a completer account than may yet
have been given of the nature of Gaelic community, with
[621] its temporal duties and its spiritual sanctions. The three
concentric circles of community are described: the family,
the farm team and boat's crew, and the larger township
groups. The relations of this threefold grouping of livelihood and society to Chiefs and Church are studied, and
followed out in later evolution, until today. Elsewhere
I have endeavoured to show how the Island can worthily
maintain itself, and thereby find a new freedom. The final
chapter returns to the broader aspects of society and region
touched on here.

If this intensive study of a single isle and community
can throw fresh light upon certain essential characters of
the less-understood region of the British Isles—that lying
outside the south-eastern 'Plain'—it may help to con-
121 tribute to more than economic reorientation. The significance of the Island life—not so much for the past, which

182 Let us begin with the economic and the social signi-
184 ficance of the Highlands and Isles with which we are
concerned. Economically the crofters' 'living space' is
311 the narrow interrupted belt of improved land (shown black)
[241] which is generally fronted by the sea and its inshore waters,
and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (enclosed by line
[427] C on the map). Some 700 crofting townships or com-
[361] munities are found in Zetland, the North-west mainland
and the Western Isles, each with its Common Grazing;
the line C also encloses a small area devoted to other
grazings. Deer forests predominate on the eastern, main-
land, side of the line. On the remainder of the hill country
are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with other small farms
and small-holdings.

174 In the past the fishing crew at sea and the joint labour-
621 team on land formed the communal units contained within

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423
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102
131
133
[311]
[241]
[361]

Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Areas)

1. The dotted line C .... C encloses the Crofters' Grazings, mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black areas: strips of 'Isolated Arable' within the rough pastures of the Highlands and Southern Uplands (left blank).
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'three-mile' belt of 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and Small-Holdings
(in the Lowlands)

The symbols show the average number of employees per team in each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

(a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm
— 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
◆ 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
■ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(b) Per Full-time Small Holding
● 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages for Scotland.)

174 the township; and to each were allotted the rights of the
226 common grazing and the fishing grounds. For more than
241 a century the croft has been held individually, though in
423 the townships the common grazing is still held in common.
621 Beyond these 'homely' limits lie wider horizons, in the
632 past those of seafaring and of droving or the chase, and
[178] today of fishing and gillieing at home, or of ocean journeys,
urban occupations or colonisation.

In the Lowland regions each symbol represents 100
182 holdings. For (A), 'mixed and dairy farming', the par-
184 ticular type of symbol shows the average number of workers
241 employed on a farm-holding in each county. On each
farm the employed workers form what may be called the
'Labour-Team'. A team may be 'small', 'medium' or
'large'. The Scottish averages of these three types (indi-
cated in the inset key to the map) are roughly three, five
and seven workers per team. Four 'casual' workers are
counted as equivalent to one 'permanent' worker, but
farmers' wives are excluded. Under (B), for the same
Lowland counties and areas, full-time small-holdings are
[593] shown separately. The Scottish average of less than one
full-time worker employed, most often a son or daughter
of the small-holder, is typical of all the counties.

241 As to the relative importance of the different classes of
[162] farms and small-holdings in Scotland, true agricultural
land-holders number 68,000, of which fully one-third hold
part-time holdings (like the Island crofters), one-third
'full-time farms', and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold 'full-
time small-holdings'. The remainder accounts for other
types of less importance. The farms predominate in terms
of improved land, full-time employment, and of course of
[311] production. As to area, farms cover 80 per cent of agri-
[464] cultural land. The farmers employ nearly 90,000 workers,
[162] [refer to map p. 16 .. analyst]

before 1883 but now serves as a school museum. When it closed, most of the members changed to the Free Church.

The present congregation includes many families from the neighboring village of Bragar, who come to church for the morning service and usually attend a prayer meeting in their own village in the evening. Once a month the minister gives an evening sermon in Bragar. The left side of the church, where most of the Bragar people sit, is called "the Bragar side."

Lay officers of the church, called elders and deacons, are elected by the communicants, those members of the congregation who have taken Communion. Both elders and deacons sit in special seats at the front of the church beneath the pulpit. Deacons, who are concerned with material matters such as collections and church property, sit in the "wee seats" slightly lower than the partitioned seats of the elders, the "big seats." The deacons meet in a deacons' court which the elders may attend. A meeting is held once a year at which the congregation is told matters such as how the church money was spent. Kirk sessions are limited to elders, who decide who will be baptised or take Communion.

Each street or neighborhood within the village has its own deacon and elder, to whom members of the street bring various matters that concern church organization, such as plans for baptism.

794 621 2. The Township as Religious Network: The religious sphere has two distinguishable social networks, one of which coincides in personnel with the village network. Most households within the village feel obligated to "make an appearance" during at least one of the two 796 851 Sunday services. Most children are sent to Sunday school, and all are baptised. In baptism, fathers stand with the children, promise to raise them in the church, and to set a good example for them. Baptism must precede Communion, the ceremony by which a person becomes a full member of the church. Baptism signifies membership in the community, the village-qua-congregation. "Somehow you're not really legal until you've been baptised." Some feel that the child's soul may be endangered if he should die without baptism, although this idea is discouraged by the church. [199] According to the Calvinistic ideas of predestination, the fate of one's soul has already been decided.

796 851 626 848 The pressure to have children baptised enables the village-as-congregation to exert social control over deviant individuals. If a child is conceived out of wedlock, the parents of the child (if they have gotten married) or the unwed mother alone must stand in front of the congregation and be lectured by the minister before the child may be baptised. A woman who has married a man known not to be the father of her child must also stand by herself. A

The 105 241 654 [311] [671] fact that crofting townships are located on marginal land is one reason that the larger society is not motivat to exploit the land. The Crofters Holding Act of 1886 and subsequent legislation ensured protection of and incentives for continued maintenance of crofting and the crofting township.

Protective government legislation, grants and loans for housing, subsidies for rearing livestock, relatively low taxes, and the economic protection provided by a socialistic government in times of crisis have helped to maintain a core of crofting families for many generations. 105 162 632 166 434 584 The predominance of older persons in the township is striking, but many of the younger people who have left the island to work on the mainland return frequently, contribute part of their salary to the remaining family members, and plan eventually to marry and settle down in the village or to retire there. Long-term residence of [621] kin-linked families in a small area has in itself contrib to the boundedness of the township network.

105 241 654 632 The policy of the government, through developmental agencies such as the Highlands and Islands Development Board, has been to support economic strategies that complement rather than interfere with the functioning of the crofting township with its small holdings and communal 000 practices. The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an

105 The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an
241 industry which is compatible with crofting. Because
188 weavers are self-employed, they can set their own schedule
632 of work and thus continue to participate in croft work
and fulfill various township obligations. The effects
[121] of this industry on the township as a social boundary
[434] system were investigated. The income available from
[463] weaving is unpredictable, which encourages the retention
of crofting practices and other patterns of behavior,
such as "occupational pluralism," that were found to be
[476] adaptive in the past. Such strategies also strengthen
[082] township boundaries; for example, they encourage mutual
[434] aid and communal township practices. But weaving also
[407] offers a high level of income; and some weavers, preferring
to spend most of their time weaving, have neglected
crofting, or have invested in tractors or other motorized
transport which enables them to harvest crops, cut peat
and perform other activities independent of other township
members.

105 The fundamentalist Free Church constitutes an important
•621 boundary-maintaining mechanism, serving to exclude various
795 external influences of the larger society from the township.
632 However, a smaller network of persons engaged in the
184 religious sphere of social activity, a subsystem within
105 the township system, also exists which has the appearance
794 of a firmly bounded system. These are members of the clique
621
632
184

105 of the converted, who occasionally neglect township and
794 neighborly duties in favor of religious activities. The
•621 increase in private transportation during the past 25 years
632 has facilitated the maintenance of closer ties within the
184 clique. The existence of such a strongly bounded subsystem
[444] is an example of a trend toward the weakening of the
township as a social boundary system, but this trend is
countered by other factors that strengthen or help preserve
the township as a bounded system.

105 People come and go from the township, but this appears
632 to maintain rather than weaken township boundaries because
621 behavior different from that prescribed within the township
166 can be performed outside it, and conformist behavior
184 reassumed upon reentry. Those unable to conform with
standards of behavior prescribed within the township are
not likely to return.

[528] Township members who have settled away from the island
come back periodically for recreation and a sense of
[829] belonging. They increase the value of the township and
its way of life in the eyes of the inhabitants, and provide
them with subject matter for conversation until the next
holiday season, when the exiles again return.

105 The boundedness of the township is thus a qualified
632 boundedness that, over the past 100 years and especially
621 since the second world war, has decreased in strength but
184 is nevertheless strong today.
[178]

105 is nevertheless strong today. The relatively strong
632 boundedness derives from a number of factors. Important
•621 among these are economic adaptations to modern conditions,
184 which consist in part of the retention in modified form
of traditional economic activities in response to various
constraints and incentives presented by larger British
society. Also important are institutionalized bonds of
affect, particularly of kinship and community, and ties
of religious affiliation and identification. These ties
continue to be functionally important in part because of
the geographical and social marginality of the crofting
township. This combination of factors has resulted in
the persistence of a relatively strongly bounded system
which retains distinctive features in an extensively
urbanized and industrialized nation.

B. Theoretical Considerations

121 In the United States, the concept of "peasant" has
provided the main conceptual tool by which rural communi-
ties which are structurally integrated with the larger
nation-state may be studied (cf. Foster 1967, Wolf 1966).
[632] The Scottish crofting township has some of the character-
[621] istics of a closed corporate peasant community (Wolf 1957),
but it is difficult to apply the word "peasant" to such a
000 community. Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

THE CROFTER

The pursuit of agricultural processes, their growth, development and improvement, to establish a foundation for a secure society has never been easy on the island. The unyielding nature of the base rock, Archaean gneiss, its hardness, its non-porous property, have all contributed to the resultant pattern and character of society which emerged. Though one is tempted to define crofting as an agricultural activity, it is also something much more intangible: a way of life. To quote the Napier Report on *The condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (1884): 'Habit and local affection bear so great a sway in the actions of mankind, that Highlanders will be found who would rather be proprietors in the mountains of Skye, or the wastes of Lewis, than on the fertile plains of Manitoba.' 'There is the Island of Lewis, with poor, peaty soil covering the Archaean gneiss, but with a crowded, lively, vivid community,' said the Taylor commision in 1955 (Commission of Inquiry into Crofting Holdings).

The Highland crofter is the subject of an extensive literature. A special authority, the Crofters Commission, exists solely for the purpose of caring for his needs. He has special rights and privileges which are safeguarded by the Land Court. Crofters' unions have formed themselves into a strong federated wall for the system's defence.

Socially, the term 'crofter' means, on the island at any rate, a landholder who cultivates his own (arable) holding, his croft. He shares the common pastures with his fellow-crofters, each of whom has a right to carry a sum of so much stock, the 'souming'. These common pastures or grazings are a social link of some considerable significance, forming the basis for the crofting township, as distinct from the communities set up under the influence of some agricultural land use such as hamlet or village, where there are both small-holders and true farms, and the only communal land is the village green or common. For instance, outside the crofting counties area the main unit of Scots life in the country is the farm, with its tied cottages. Then come the full-time small-holdings important in the north-east and the southern Highlands.

7 THE PEOPLE

THOUGH there are a number of large island communities in the British Isles, Harris and Lewis have in particular retained their individual characteristics, mainly because the Minch has acted as a buffer against effective infiltration of alien influences. The relative insularity of the north-west Highlands has enhanced this isolation, to preserve what is probably one of the oldest forms of communal life in Britain. It has some unique characteristics which are evident even in these days of sophisticated civilisation. The basis of life, although today the individual is beginning to show face, is a communal spirit, based on team-work. Work undertaken with the willing help of others is easier, lighter and quicker done: livestock is easier handled in a large controlled flock; boats are best rowed with a crew. And the women, with the same inborn communal spirit, once spun yarn together; waulked or fulled the cloth together; and helped each other in childbirth, child-care and the deaths which affected the community.

Several of these teams eventually merged to form what is now called the crofting township. And, though a township may nowadays number 1,000 people, to keep, if not pull, together is still a priority if the social structure is not to fail. Townships have been called in the past, by understanding writers, 'sociable hamlets' and 'little commonwealths'. Though these are of long standing historically, they are still a dynamic form of social integration of the kind found elsewhere only in working-class districts of cities such as Glasgow and Manchester. This is not to say that one must be 'poor' in order to participate in such a society. In the material world, to be poor is to be without money; in a crofting society, lack of money, although this commodity has tended in recent years to assume for itself an out-of-proportion standing and status, does not necessarily mean destitution; for help to keep the body together is always to hand, though the donor may never be seen or known.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

2,620 ft); grouped around this are the lesser peaks staring stark 631
and treeless to the skies. At the feet of these hills are the small 133
villages straggled along the shores of West Loch Tarbert. Much of this area is owned by the proprietors of Amhuinnsuidh Castle, a magnificent structure built by the Earl of Dunmore in the last century; the hills lying north of it are rich in red deer. The road [491]
past the castle trundles on until it peters out at the far-east village of Hushinish, beside a glorious scimitar-like curve of silver sand. Beyond Hushinish is the Island of Scarp.

The road along the shores of East Loch Tarbert ends at the 631
village of Kyles Scalpay which overlooks Scalpay island. The [491]
Bays of Harris hold in their crevices the scattered groups of houses [361]
here and there, where an inlet of the rocky coast affords some [133]
anchorage and where a patch of ground is suitable for cultivation. Tortuous, winding footpaths have been gradually replaced by [487]
narrow roads connecting the townships. Lack of sufficient re- [161]
munerative employment has led to considerable depopulation. [162]
Fifty years ago the population of the area was just over 5,400; it is now about 2,900.

The south of Harris is better known for its association with Lord Leverhulme. Obbe, later Leverburgh, became the centre of his schemes. He built a large pier, huge kippering sheds, houses for the workers, roads and lighthouses, and blasted away underwater rocks which hindered free navigation. The bulk of this work was complete in 1924, but when he died (in 1925) his successors, in the cold light of economics, decided to close down the embryo industry and realise its assets. The harbour works had cost £250,000; they were sold for £5,000 to a demolition company. Leverhulme's memorials are still to be seen. The west coast of Harris is now becoming known for the long stretches of shell sand and the green machar-land beside it, a true delight for the tourist seeking isolation.

Tarbert is the central village in Harris, with a population of 631
about 400. It is a thriving community, nestling at the foot of 621
Beinn an Teanga and at the head of the sheltered anchorage of East Loch Tarbert—sheltered from the prevailing south-westerly winds and from the Atlantic storms. The car ferries give direct [505]
contact with the Scottish mainland, via Skye, and Tarbert also

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway, and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes sixteen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Roadwork gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

vision of adequate educational facilities in remote spots becomes increasingly difficult.

In its time Scarp has contributed more per head of population to the professions than has any other community of similar size. The last of the native Scarp population left the island in November 1971 : two families totalling seven people. The island has now attracted the attentions of a hippie community.

Scalpay

Scalpay Island, on the east side of Harris, was formerly occupied by two or three tacksmen in succession before being 'crofted out'. About 1843 the Harris factor settled twenty crofting families who managed to make a fair living there, but five years later another twenty families were added; some had been evicted from the island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris. This led to some subdivision of the available land. The 1861 population was 388, but the figure rose to a peak of 624 in 1921; in 1951 it had declined to 541. It is now in the region of 450.

Island Scalpay is in fact one of the few places in the Highlands and Islands area in which the normal trends associated with remote regions are operating in reverse. The island despite its smallness—it is a mere 3 miles long and 1½ miles across—supports a thriving and dynamic community and is the envy of its neighbours. Scalpay is retaining its young folk; and it boasts some of the finest homes in the Hebrides. From the agricultural point of view it is not greatly different from other islands in the Hebrides. Its forty crofts produce a good crop of oats; but less than 20 acres of the land are re-seeded.

The land being as poor as it is, the men of Scalpay have turned their faces to the sea—for a living, not for emigration. Scalpay has the largest number of full-time fishermen and a total of thirty-three boats, twelve of which are ringnetters of over 40 ft. Native enterprise is also shown in the ship-owning firm whose vessels carry freight and passengers to many parts of Scotland and on occasion to the Continent. A Harbour Association was formed on the island in 1966 to work for local amenities for fishermen and

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[For information on the sale, purchase and ownership of Lew
257-274.]

vis and Harris, see category 423, pp. 230-234;

195 693 473 (241) (311) (184) (224) (823) 195 361 (511)

on the Highland fringe, Lowland and Highland alike, outlying reclainable patch of arable, lying near distant, little-used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chance of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the man and his family; but there might be advantages such as an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as hunting 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunter-bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft was known as *Ruigh* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of poverty with individuality in isolation were handed down, for example, from one of my forebears who held such a *ruigh*, Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-feet contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the last of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *ruigh* may have originally been a summer shieling, only occupied when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with new possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led to settlement there.

198 361 224 233 621 184

At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of North Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lodges and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth, as they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such as one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small islets. But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single crofts are rare. And the clearest distinction must be drawn between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage or croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or even two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers; for even a few families form the germ of a community, in work and in leisure.

195 198 654 496 241

The potentialities of co-operative practice were overlooked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough. For when new methods were required, run-rig kept back the pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. Soon

233 473 (632)

reach their shielings. From Point district (Eye Peninsula) the cattle are still brought inland to the moors south-west of Stornoway. And from Brenera on the west the cattle are swum to the hills of the main island, just as they once were swum from Bute to the hill-pastures of Cowal in Argyllshire across the Kyle at the 'Strait of the Swimming', Colintraive (Caol-an-t-snaimh). Nothing could be more natural, indeed inevitable, than pasture in common where large, open moors were to be found. The number of animals allowed to each holding was duly apportioned and then, as now, was known as the summing or 'souming', still checked at the annual gathering (*cosgoradh*).

473 621 433 (195) (198)

Thus a cluster of conjoint farms shared "the grass on the Ben and the tillage on the machar" (*Fiar air beinn agus paighinn air machair*). Along the shore, sea-ware, drift-wood and the like were allotted, too. And, as Carmichael put it, there was even "run-rig at sea", for the fishing banks were allotted among the available crews. Most of these rights are still shared by the members of a township. But any crew can now fish freely where they choose, and no township can legally keep away strange boats, nor even steamers beyond the three-mile limit. This loss of communal rights stands in the way of remunerative fish-farming and its promise.

621 473 (593) (241) (496) (232)

Profound social implications distinguished these three concentric circles of community: the family; the farm-team and boat's crew; and the larger, township group. These implications concerned labour, duty and right. The labour of reclamation gave a 'right' to the land thus won from the moor; and the duty of labour together, for fruits equally shared, gave the farm-team and fishing crew cohesion on land or sea—team and crew working for a common purpose. On the other hand, as individual sharers in the common

621 473

pastures of machar and moor, each man had not so much a 'common interest' or duty as, individually, a 'like interest' or right. As now, each unit, whether team or individual, would tend to desire a maximum stock for itself, perhaps hoping it would have "the luck to rear" a little more than its apportioned souming, at the risk of the over-stocking which results in common loss. But though need, greed or rivalry offered temptations, morality invited careful sharing and was enforced by common interest.

473 497 (10) 632

The chief distinction between team and township was that the tasks of the farm-team were constructive and, like that of the boat's crew, active and co-operative. It is true that in the township certain tasks were co-operative, such as the wolf scaring of old times or the fox 'hunting' or shooting on mainland moors today. The modern gathering of sheep is also done together. But no constructive effort was involved in the allotment of shares on the machar or of stock on the moor, which were—and remain—matters merely for communal control, not communal effort.

511

Now, the quality of a group alters with its quantity. The intimate cohesion of a very small group of no more than half a dozen members, diminishes with an increase in number; but increase brings a compensating gain in diversity. Ten or a dozen people tend to break up into sub-groups, whether for small jobs or to enjoy conversation. The smallness of a group limits the number of relationships; an increase in number multiplies sub-groups, and life is enriched. After living long with fewer than half a dozen acquaintances, the same subjects keep cropping up in talk, the same tales are re-told, too often, and people cannot get away from one another's idiosyncrasies! A very small addition turns the scale by renewing variety. Here lay the social value of a township and neighbourhood,

621 496 (632) 198 461 496 621

embracing several hamlets. Yet the strength of community life sprang from co-operation in the farm-team and in the boat's crew.

With the passing of the joint farm the greatest disciplinary factor for work in common passed away from agriculture. The fact that fishing still remained as a social discipline, and actually developed in importance as the farm-team declined and was abolished, was to prove all the more significant to the vitality of social life until 1914 and even to the present.

(9) THE COMMUNITY ORGANISED: STEERSMAN AND CONSTABLE

621 (22)

As small groups of two to half a dozen men could manage their agricultural affairs informally, by common consent, no official was formally chosen to manage the affairs of the fellow-workers on a farm. Where prompt decisions are needed, however, even a small group should be led: a boat's crew therefore choose their helmsman-skipper and obey him at sea. And where several farm-groups made up a township, more formal deliberations were required, and to carry out their decisions they chose a responsible man, the constable.

195 621 (181) 195 622 (882)

Of the crofters' manner of deciding communal affairs in Uist, Carmichael wrote, in 1884, that these meetings "were highly interesting, as showing the ability of the people, their logical and legal acumen, their readiness of resources and, I can happily add, their invariable courtesy towards one another. There was one regular official known to us as the constable on whom there lay the chief executive responsibility. When a crofter is elected constable of his town-land, he takes off his shoes and stockings and, taking

195 (631) 632 621 (191) 621

lordly rank: a working, equalitarian democracy dominated by an aristocracy proudly refusing to work. The fascination of Gaelic community is, first, that its elements stand out so clearly, and, secondly, that links were forged in clanship which made its living chain, though heavy, a thing that shone with pride, and beauty too.

(10) CLANSHIP, COMMON DESCENT AND CLAN-HELP ('CUIDEACHY')

621 192 621 197

To what extent is it now possible to disentangle the two contrasted elements of the lord or chief and the farm-teams and townships? Prehistory is hard to unravel; but the successive waves of conquest flung upon the Island shores have left their jetsam, unmistakably. The circle of huts found near a broch or commanding site recalls the tensants' village grouped close to the castle of a chief, from early history down to the 'Forty-five, and suggests a primitive form of feudalism or of clanship. Traditions add their part. In Uist one may still hear the ancient heroic lays traditionally ascribed to Ossian, Oisean, son of Fionn or Fingal—lays of which Macpherson's sonorous prose gave free rendering. The Fingalian tales differ from the lays, being frankly fantastic. Lewis had its own cycle of Fingalian tales; examples are given by W. C. Mackenzie (1919). Both lays and legends tell of an aristocracy or warrior class, the Feinians, of their enjoyment of the chase, and of their relative comfort, with wealth in gold and silver, in banners and flowing mantles. The chase combined with riches implies the existence of a community to feed and clothe the huntsmen. The traditions of the Cuchulainn cycle, with closer approximation to historical and archaeological truth, tell the same tale. Historically, in-

173 177 621 631 (191) 192 621

coming Viking chiefs, who often intermarried with women of the older aristocracy, seem to have retained some elements of a pre-existing order, as did their successors, the Scoto-Norman lords.

So, from history back to 'proto-history', there is increasingly discerned the stages of superimposition, in the Isles as elsewhere. In Central Europe archaeology has recapitulated the stages by which peasant-villagers were raided, then conquered by desperate herdsmen, on horseback or bearing better arms, who had ridden in from the drying grasslands further east. In the Isles the later conquerors were the fierce raiders from the sea, sailing in from the fjords of the North. An unbroken chain of tradition from Viking to Gael is vividly conveyed in the stirring saga of the Lords of Dunvegan of Clanranald, composed only a year or two before the 'Forty-five (epitomised, Chapter VI (9)).

173 622 631

When the conqueror had won the submission of the conquered and secured his livelihood, comfort and leisure by their work, he came in time to bring their interests nearer to his own. Yet whenever the ambitions of two rival chiefs conflicted, the essential predatory attitude remained and either might bring fire and sword against the other's harmless people. Through time, the successive tides of emigration and storms of conquest bridged the contrast of extremes. Not two orders of chiefs and people, but successive strata, with intermixture of blood and of tradition, must be sought in the Isles as elsewhere. Traditional life in so difficult an environment tended to be diversified and to encourage all-round aptitudes in people and chief, their characters having much in common. As to blood, the history of Island Norsemen records the marriage of the new-coming chiefs with heiresses

(197)

173 622 631 (197) (171) 173 621 193 621 614 824 539 173 622 631 193 621 614 824 (551)

from the old chiefs' families, as in the genealogies of MacDonald of the Isles and the MacLeods. A special feature contrasting with English history is that claims to differences of descent, instead of being maintained—as between the Saxon and the conqueror of Norman blood—were fused. Even when the ancestor of the chief was alien to the locality, the people and the chiefs ultimately claimed to be of one and the same descent. Neighbourhood softened the impositions of the hunting herdsman upon his human herd, and the feeling of kinship brought reconciliation.

How far, then, can the Gaelic tradition, which proclaims every 'son' and 'daughter' of Leod to be of the *clann*, the 'children' of the first Leod, really broaden a blood tie? Both the differences of race to be found in clanship and the ties it formed are well brought out in a tale of Highland pride, still told with Highland laughter across the Minch in Kintail. A French skipper (an importer of claret) touching at Kintail three hundred years ago, met a short, dark man and asked him of whose clan he was. "The Clan Rae," was the reply, "but we are of two kinds, the tall, fair MacRaes and" (a little pityingly) "the short, dark MacRaes." "And which are you?" "I," said the wee, black fellow, drawing himself up, "am one of the tall, fair MacRaes!" "Then God help the short, dark MacRaes!" said the skipper. Even one link with the blood of the chief—and that not necessarily legitimate—was enough for a man to found a claim to kinship, not merely as a MacRae, but with the tall, fair chief through

* In Gaelic, as a man is called MacLeod (son of Leod), so a woman is NicLeòd (daughter), and the clan, *Clann Leòd*. The absurd addition of 'son' to a woman's name (as in English surnames such as 'Johnson') is unthinkable in Gaelic, in which a woman would be named 'John's daughter', *NicIoain*.

173 his near kin. Again, much as in the medieval *gester* of
621 France, fosterage or an heir by a clanswoman formed the
614 closest possible tie to at least one family of the people
829 from ancient to recent times. For it linked the heir by
[171] sympathy—though not by equal obligation—to elders
and playmates in childhood and his contemporaries in later
565 life.

To re-state this 'contradiction' of equality and privi-
leges, we have thus a hierarchy of 'class' imposed upon
a 'classless' society. For the joint farms and the township
were essentially classless. The two classes, the lord and
the people, were primarily opposed, war having placed the
conqueror above those who fed him. This state of things
was not active 'class-war', for the armistice could endure
indefinitely by means of the bargain made between the
classes for some exchange of services; none the less, it
was built upon class conquest.

That all should ultimately claim the lineage of their
175 chief was a remarkable solution to the hereditary opposition
526 of class. A man who knew the Islanders well, John Lane
614 Buchanan (1793), noted how in conditions of the utmost
622 poverty the poorest addressed each other as 'lady and
[574] gentleman', *bean-uasal* and *daire-uasal*, a courtesy not lost
today. And every clansman had a right to shake the hand
of his chief, as Edmund Burt observed in his vivid *Letters*
[577] *from the North* (written after 1721). Indeed the sense
of mutual obligation implicit in Gaelic society is well
illustrated by the homely word *cair*, usually translated
'right'; it is equally used for right's correlative, duty—as
when a Scots or Irish crofter may say "You've a right (a
duty) to help your mother." And for a 'right' (privilege)
to shake the chief's hand. An English equivalent would
be duty-privilege, or duty-right. Similarly, the same

175 womanhood a prey to prostitution. The licence of a chief
585 among young women was preferable to this; but evils were
inherent in the fact of lordship.

(c) TWO ISLAND BARDS: MARY MACLEOD AND THE BLIND HARPER

175 While in Lewis the continuity of clanship was sorely
63 shaken by the fall of the chiefs, the Torquil-MacLeods,
621 in Harris it was maintained in the family of the Norman-
MacLeods of Dunvegan in Skye. The family of Dunvegan
is famed for chivalry and gentleness, not only in the songs
of the past but in the speech of Skyemen to the present day.
Harris did not suffer the bloodshed endured in Lewis from
the death of Torquil until after the accession of MacKenzie
in 1611; and Harris was not involved, like Lewis, in the
troubles of 1715. MacLeod of Dunvegan retained Harris
until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was pur-
chased by a cadet of the family who had made his fortune
in the East; and it only passed out of MacLeod hands half
a century later. Hence it is that while in Lewis there is still
talk of the 'give and take' between the lesser laird and people,
in Harris there is more. In "the hereditary Hall of
MacLeod" of Dunvegan, two Island bards gave birth to
immortal song. Together, the tales of Lewis and the songs
of Harris and Skye give us an authentic record of clanship
in fact and feeling, linked with community today.

[628] In spite of the break in continuity, ease and warmth of
feeling could spring up between a MacKenzie of Seaforth
and the Lewiaman, though Seaforth was a peer of the realm,
and of a mainland name, not a MacLeod by direct descent.
Playful rhyming, chaffing contests between tilled laird and
small tenant, are recorded by A. Carmichael and W. C.

175 Mackenzie. For all that, in 1900 a crofter said: "We called
613 the old proprietor Seaforth, but I believe he right name
621 was the Prince of Welsh". To him the Earls were royal!
[829] Freedom of intercourse is embodied in the language
to this day. With 'a stranger', a little spoken Gaelic
197 lessens 'strangeness' and quickens intimacy, because
565 Gaelic conveys essential human relationships as English
576 rarely can—even the English of the 'democratic' Low-
lands. For instance, a well-disposed stranger, though
young, is usually addressed in English as 'sir' by a senior
crofter, and, just as in the South, without the expectation
of 'sir' or 'ma'am' in return. In English, that is, respect
is given to class. In Gaelic, age receives respect: *ît* is the
stranger, if the younger, who adopts the respectful 'you'
(the second person plural, *sibh*), while the crofter, if the
older, uses the familiar (and respectful) 'thou' (*thou*). If they
are of equal age, and neither is elderly, 'thou' would be
[562] used by both. Similarly, respect is given to womanhood;
and an older woman who would say 'Sir' in English will
say 'My dear' in Gaelic.[1]
614 It is not only by daily contacts that we may understand
the relationship of people to chief, but by the height of
feeling it may attain, of which the beauty of utter expression.
[175] Among the finest of the short-lived songs of praise to Gaelic
[533] clanship and its chiefs are those composed by two Island
bards, a woman of Harris and a man of the Lews. Mary
MacLeod, *Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh*, was a kinswoman
of the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris, and a beloved

[123] [1] Calling on the sub-postmistress in a Highland place where I was known to be a friend of the laird, I was addressed as "Sir". But hardly had we passed to Gaelic when this woman, my elder and a person of culture, laughingly used an expression then strange to me. Halted, and suddenly shy at being forced to translate, she said at last, "When thou want a *dump* (just a boy!) '*mair the the cup*!" But rightly, she would have been slightly shocked had I said 'thou' to her.

(d) TACKSMEN AND SUBTENANTRY, FACTOR AND LORD: 1611–1800

175 We saw that in the Rent-roll of Lewis in 1718 the first
421 sixty-four entries, signed personally, recorded comparatively large holdings (tacks), the annual rentals of which were
614 from £3:6:8 to over £10, the occupant of one (or more)
621 of which would be styled Tacksman or 'Man of the Farm-town' (*Fear Baile*). While one or two tacks were shared, a few tacksmen may have held more than one tack—though one cannot be sure, owing to the recurrence of the same
[551] Christian names in each clan. It is striking that half the tacks—though mostly small ones—were held by men of undoubted mainland names, of which there were twenty-two MacKenzies, four MacLennans and three Matheisons.
[166] These were doubtless the descendants of gentlemen from
the mainland who in 1611 had helped to win and hold the
[551] Island for MacKenzie of Kintail, later Lord Seaforth. Of native Lewis names the principal are MacAulay, Morison and perhaps MacIver.[1] Only three small tacks were held by MacLeods, who may have been of Island stock. Lochs and Eye on the east coast had largely been granted in tack to the new-comers; on the south-west and west coast MacAulays and MacIvers held much of Uig and a few farms in Cladach; but more of Cladach and most of Ness (in the north) were still held by joint tenants. Stornoway was held by burghers, of whom perhaps two-thirds bore mainland names. The peasantry remained as unnamed subtenants on these holdings, of which the total rents show

[114] [1] The writers of the Brend Report (1901) assumed that MacIver is a native name. This would seem to be borne out by its frequency as a surname today, in contrast to MacKenzie, Matheson or MacLennan, though W. C. Mackenzie (1919, p. 92) thought the MacIver tacksmen arrived with Seaforth.

175 they were composed of at least one to four or five hamlet-
421 farms. The tacksmen also had quarters for service.
614 Thus in Lewis a special reason, the accession of Sea-
621 forth, had led to the granting of many tacks to his own
clansmen and to natives. Elsewhere in the Highlands the
175 procedure is noteworthy during the sixteenth, seventeenth
427 and eighteenth centuries, for the collection of rents from
614 the peasantry by means of large tenants had financial
advantages for the greater landlords (T. F. Grant, 1930).
184 The tacksman's continuance in tenant depended on his
paying regularly, for the lease was not a hereditary grant.
[661] A tack could also provide for a lord's younger sons or
[565] immediate relations, such as formed the gentry of the clan.
Along with smaller lairds, these furnished the cadres of
officers who led the clan regiments down to the 'Forty-
five, and later the Highland Regiments to the line and
422 the Peninsular and Waterloo. Like MacKenzie, other
great chiefs such as Argyle or Breadalbane leased tacks
when they acquired the status of peers and took possession of
fresh lands with Royal support, after vain resistance from
native chiefs and their followers. In Lewis, the fiscal
status of tacksmen was applied both to MacKenzie's sup-
porters from the mainland and to those with ancient roots
in the north-west. Many of these may have thought a
mere lease a poor substitute for hereditary tenure, though
a legal compromise necessary if their possession was to be
[166] continued. The lack of permanent tenure ultimately led
to the departure of their descendants.
175 From the families of these tacksmen have sprung most
621 of those of Lewis birth or descent who achieved fame
614 before the twentieth century. Of the MacAulays, we saw
Zacharias was Chamberlain during and after the 'Fifteen.
554 Thomas Babington Macaulay came of the same line, as

175 did another Zacharias, closer than Thomas to the Lewis
554 tree, who worked nobly with Wilberforce for the emanci-
344 pation of the slaves.[1] Still another connection was a
621 Canadian emigrant, grandfather of the late T. B. Macaulay,
[662] LL.D. Alexander Mackenzie, the explorer of the Mac-
kenzie River, was a descendant of Lewis tacksmen.
MacIvers and Morisons also distinguished themselves.
[198] But the sons and daughters of crofters had to await the
[871] provision of education in English before they could rise
in trade, learning or war; hence few Lewismen of the
greatest Lewis name, MacLeod, achieved eminence until
the twentieth century.

175 As for the peasantry, the interposition of a new or
554 enlarged class of tenantry between themselves and the
562 superior must have meant that they had to labour on the
427 tacksman's home farm, and no doubt pay more in produce
184 or cash. Hence the Gaelic saying that if the position of
the small (joint) tenants was bad, that of the subtenants
was worse, "the Evil One itself". Following the long
fight with Fife Adventurers, hardship may have been
greatest where mainland tacksmen were placed above the
joint tenants; but even under MacAulays and MacIvers
rents may have been raised and some of the joint freedom
lost which was still enjoyed in Ness. Whatever adjust-
ments were made in an earlier period had to be re-made
with the beginning of Seaforth's new order.

In the following generations, contradictory accounts of
lairds, factors and tacksmen are given by contemporary
observers. Certain of these insisted that, given the poverty
of the lands as a whole, the chiefs and landlords, factors
and tacksmen, were the saviours of their people. Yet even
among those who supported authority in general, there was

[113] [1] Charles Booth, *Zachary Macaulay*, 1934.

175 the last of these in outlying villages after 1918. When
554 the fishery industry in the Lewis, the fishing
565 most fishermen could speak and write English, the local
421 curers were best fitted to take action not only in marketing
228 but in approaching the Government to aid the construction of piers and harbours. On the whole, their long ties with place and people, coupled with education, made them useful leaders of community in which leaders were needed to adapt life to a changing economy. Here and there one or two small farmers survive, a little apart from the main townships. Aided by a long cultural tradition, they meet changing times by combining with their inheritance a sane selection of new elements.

Looking beyond the Island to the mainland, the time is
175 approaching for a development to be made of the historic
621 parts of chief and landlord, factor and tacksman. Not only
622 is there an enlarging body of documentation, but a growing
427 understanding of communal strands in tradition and of
184 changing social economy seen in relation to geographic
factors of place and region. And in the Gaeldom, condi-
[178] tions varied greatly between bordering areas from Mar to
[182] Kintail, and from the heartland of tradition in the Hebrides. In the Island, one must remember the fundamental opposition, yet the recurrent readjustments of chiefs and people. These, and not only individual differences in character and conduct, explain the differences of experience and opinion
[829] quoted above. The people's belief, so frequently given to me thirty years ago, that it was bad factors, not the landlord, who taxed and harried them unjustly, expressed an idealistic faith in a chief, rather than the facts of economy
[565] and history. For lordship begins with the imposition of

[113] [1] A. McKerral, *Stat. Hist. Rev.*, 1947.

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rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide for the lord's desires.

(E) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

174 614 577 [501] [726]

The peaceful round of daily life formed the most enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tensest ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must speak for them. Many a song of the Isles conveys the team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men.

174 614 501 538

And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portraying the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who warred against the waves and won. Alexander Macdonald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic, and probably in English, verse for its portraits of the crew in action, from steersman to 'look-out'. The flowing metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

174 614 501 539 577

The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with "the Blessing of the Ship", the arms and the crew. Then the bard, speaking for the stately skipper, "incites the sixteen oarsmen to row" out of the bay, and they row to a rousing shanty, a *Iorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and

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[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (2nd ed.), 1890 (pp. 1-28); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 65-85), 1940. Cf. A. Macleod (Ed.), *Sar Orain: Three Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1933. The different themes of its sections, each in its own metre, have been published separately, in *The Songs of the Hebrides*, and elsewhere.

175 701 [614]

Such are the mingled traditions of the Highland regiments which served in so many wars, for right or for wrong. Of all the desperate alternatives before the Gael —famine at home, semi-slavery in the factory towns, death-stricken sea voyages, pioneering in the forested hills of Eastern North America, or war, it was this last which offered the men not only the trappings and glamour of clanship but continuing fellowship. In the regiment a Gael was among friends. Modern civilisation offered him no other life promising social continuity and the hope of a return to croft and township, "if death should spare him".

175 701 565 554 [703]

It would be wrong to suggest that only the gentry could rise to command, for as English and literacy were acquired, the sons of small tenants received commissions. British military discipline has too often driven a breach between the men and the non-commissioned officers, spoiling the latter's fitness for higher leadership. But among Highlanders "the bond of faith and affection" led naturally to commissioned rank. For generations, historic precedent

[178] [871]

was carried on in living tradition.[1] Given education, the sons of Island crofters have risen to command on land and sea; but education came late.

CONCLUSION

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Thus in the 'little commonwealths' of the farm-hamlets grouped within the township, personal right and equal shares were balanced by common duty, summed up in the principle of duty-right or coir.

[1] The tradition of leadership calls for review but here one can only cite examples. For instance, descendants of his neighbours in Strath Spey told me that my paternal grandfather, as a penniless lad speaking Gaelic and English (in which he was literate), enlisted in the Black Watch about 1829. He was known as a N.C.O. for his power of quiet, reasoning discipline. He thrice refused the offer of a commission, which was then given to others, of whom more than one rose to high command in the battalion.

175 614 577 621 principle of duty-right or *coir*. Further, in so far as chief and people claimed unity as the children, the clan, of one ancestor, they had crystallised a fair ideal, realised by an exchange of services ('cuideachy'). Gaelic clanship was not without its Lowland counterpart in 'kindness' which linked those of one 'kind'—'kinsfolk' and neighbours—to their ferm-toun and parish, to one another, and to the laird. Tyranny and betrayal by chief and laird make one share the bitterness of grief once felt as competition for scarce land broke up 'kindness'. Yet the people's endeavour and attainment in the past give hope for the future.

175 614 621 622 All have heard of the hereditary Highland chief and many have read of the gentlemen-farmers, but too few have heard of team and crew, and township-parliament. It is time we learned not only of the aristocratic chief but of the chosen helmsman and the democratic constable. So long as the fallacy is repeated that the Highlanders "never co-operated, and could not act together except under the orders of a chief", so long will it be easy to add, "and they never will"! Historic truth may have much to teach [642] for the renewal of leadership for life together. And beyond the Highlands, the example of this aristo-democracy, at its worst and its best, may contribute to new concepts of community.

CHAPTER VII

THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

771 [221] [796] As in every form of religion rooted in communal life, the sacraments and prayers of the Gael were linked to labour and to the phases of life's cycle. While some of the 'runes' or prayers were essentially personal and others were breathed only in the closest intimacy, many were shared by a group of families: the tried team of the men or women of a joint farm, the people of a [621] neighbourhood and township or wider group. The communities being so small and isolated, their members depended greatly upon themselves and upon one another. [794] As in worship in common, so in healing of body or spirit and in the invocation of grace upon youth, now one, now another might lead in praise and prayer. So, too, the leader of a little team would lead in the dedication of their work, and, when it was completed, be 'the consecrator' of its fruit.

771 794 Where no clergy were at hand, neighbours, perforce, practised the saying of one they called their 'foster-brother': that if no more than "two of you agree on earth about anything you pray for, it will be done for you by my Father in heaven. For where two or three have gathered in my name, I am there among them" (Matt

and with the addition of 10,000 workers on full-time small-holdings, these constitute a labour force of nearly 100,000. Nevertheless, there are more crofts than farms in Scotland, and more small (part-time) crofters than farmers, besides 'full-time small-holders', of whom so many are crofters, north of the Highland line. Thus the number of crofter families forms an important item of Scotland's rural population. Of these, the families of Lewis-and-Harris form fully one-fifth, owing to the remarkable growth of population until 1925. Even in the little burgh of Stornoway many families hold a plot of land, and at heart they may be almost as much 'crofters' as townsmen.

Socially, what is meant in the Island by the term 'crofters'? Although each Island crofter cultivates his own arable holding (his croft), he shares the common pastures with fellow-crofters, each having a right to a 'sum' of so much stock, 'his souming'. Open, sandy land by the shore, if any, may also be shared. These common grazings, shared together by the crofters of one community—a hamlet, a village or township—form a social link of great significance. They distinguish what we shall call 'township crofting' from individual holding, whether of part-time or full-time small-holdings, or of true farms. The common grazings, enclosed by line C (Fig. 2), thus form an important social index. About 75 per cent of the area included forms Common (or other Crofters') Grazings. The close dots of the dotted line divide the 'Commons' from Deer Forests, as in the Island and inland from the north-western coasts. Widely spaced dots divide the Commons from the Sheep Farms and other mixed holdings further south.

Outside the tract of 'township crofting' in the north and west, the chief unit of Scots rural life is the farm,

[see p. 16 -- analyst]

CHAPTER V

FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP: THE CONTINUING COMMUNITY AND ITS SOCIAL ECONOMY TO 1815

INTRODUCTION (TO CHAPTERS V AND VI)

121 593 476 632 621 THE family, the 'conjoint' or 'farm group' of four or five families, and the larger group clustered in a glen or along a shoreland, are, in ascending order, the three concentric units whose mutual relationships we must visualise to understand the past. Enduring elements of life in family and neighbourhood today, with their own special qualities and limitations, can only be understood in terms of past needs and the relationships they evoked.

121 613 621 [171] Having seen their relationships in family, team and township, we can next turn to the reciprocal relations of the people to their chief or lord, whose position dominates European, indeed world, history and prehistory. Here our concern must be the meaning of 'clanship' to the chiefs, the joint farm-groups (or 'small tenantry') and, latterly, the tacksmen placed above them.

121 174 178 [184] We may find, throughout this study, that features and functions which at first sight seem peculiar to the Island are really local variants, more perfectly crystallised, of forms which we know existed at earlier periods in Scotland and in much of northern and western Britain. In the Isles,

by help of oral tradition and of the living witness of continuing usage, we can reconstitute Gaelic life from the view-points of both people and chief. Elsewhere, even in Scotland, only fragments of early life are recorded, in parchments written by the lawyers of landlord and king, and almost always from the privileged side. History is indebted to modern lawyers who have deciphered and published the faded documents of their predecessors. But the very training as solicitor-factors which fitted them for this specialised task, in no way prepared them to view life as seen, experienced and felt by the men and women of the past, or even by the elders or youth of the townships today, with whom they have rarely laboured and whose mother tongue they rarely understand.

(A) THE LABOURS OF MAN AND WIFE, AND THE REWARD

We have seen that until the nineteenth century the township in the main was self-contained. Its people grew, reared or caught their food, and also found the raw materials for their clothing; they built their own shelter, and cut their own firing. As a result, both men and women had each to develop "a wide range of simple skills", in the apt phrase of a Lewisman, Mr. Donald MacLean, M.A. Beyond the co-operative effort within a family, a farm group, or a body of 'fellow-townsmen'—in which each was competent to take a share according to sex and age—aptitude and family tradition initiated some local division of labour. The resident smith and the 'caird' (usually a wandering craftsman or tinker) appear in the oldest tales and in the first rent-rolls. In addition there were honorary tasks. The smith might act as the village surgeon, ready

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Make smooth and even the warp of my loom
And grant thy blessing, God, on me,
On all who here find shelter and room
And dwelling . . .

Thine arm be round each woman here
Who waulks this web of mine,
O aid her in her hour of need . . .

Keep the flock that we may win
Sweet and nourishing milk to drink
And wool to give, to weans and kin,
For wear!

Even now in Harris or the Lews, a brief good wish may be uttered—a "Health and strength to the wearers!" as the perspiring women end the waulking; but in the past the web was finally consecrated. Each of the family who was to wear a portion of it was named by the weaver herself, who led the consecration (*Carmina*, No. 113).

May the well-loved wearer of my web
Never be wounded . . .
May the sanctuary shield of the Lord be his. . . .

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The significance of this gift of hard-won cloth can now be seen, first for the family but next for the neighbourly team. We can understand how each 'set' or pattern of tartan stood for the spirit of the family and the group of kin and homeland, the clan. We conceive what it meant to the Gael when the tartan, with "the Highland dress . . . or any part of it whatsoever", was forbidden "to any man or boy" in the Highlands. Women were still allowed to wear it, it was true, but the dress ceased to be a symbol of community when its wear was confined to one sex. As a single exception, the Highland dress was retained for soldiers, but the militarisation of the tartan—though it seized upon one strand of clanship, that of

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

of the Old Testament made itself felt, as in Lewis-and-Harris in the nineteenth century, this narrower patriarchal example hardly affected thought.[1] Rooted in a wider form of family than a patriarchate, and reverencing a Holy Family and all fellowship, Gaelic society honoured age and parenthood for their inheritance, and childhood and youth for their promise.

Such ideals of human relationship led to the veneration of the Saints of the Gospels and of later history, and also of those of legend, especially Bride. Dedications to Bride or 'Bridget' are widespread from Wales to the Lews; yet her memory has been all but lost in Britain, except in the Isles. Carmichael wrote that "Bride and her services" are dear to the hearts of the people. She is called "Bride of the white feet . . . of calmness . . . of the kine; woman-comrade . . . and woman-helper . . ." "I am in the keeping of my Saint Mary: My companion beloved is Bride" (*Carmina*, Nos. 70-71; 263-264). As joy, steadfastness and attainment are generally linked to one notable stage in the life of each 'holy companion', the example, aid and fellowship of each saint in turn was especially sought, at a corresponding stage or crisis of one's own life.

The Gael's veneration for saintly men and women was shared by Catholic peasantry throughout Christendom; but its special quality seems to have been closeness of

[1] Clanship has repeatedly been said to be 'patriarchal', as an ideal and a system. A different conclusion, that community is the root of clanship (even in its political forms), may come as a surprise. The English or Lowland reader has had access only to the writings of strangers such as Burt. Not knowing Gaelic, these derived their information from Highland speakers of English who, deliberately or unconsciously, were biased by ranking as chief or gentry, and not unnaturally explained their position as patriarchal. Thus strangers ignored the co-parental life of farm-groups and townships, economically humble but spiritually rich, as the root of a clan-community.

"The Iona Community is a Brotherhood of men within the Church of Scotland seeking to find the implications of the Kingdom of God for modern society. During the summer months they worship, work and live together on Iona, rebuilding the ruined Abbey on a co-operative basis. Half the Brotherhood are young clergy pledged to work for two years in the difficult places of the cities (after three months in Iona), emphasising the place of the Church in the New Community that is emerging in the world. The other half are skilled artisans who desire to express their labour as a ministry within the Priesthood of all Believers and create—in the building—a microcosmic witness of how labouring is transformed when seen as a Sacrament. The Brotherhood is based on Reformation principles. Several members of the Community are married. At present the artisans return to the ordinary labour market in the winter time." [1]

In the Iona Community, theology is linked to communal labour and the re-shaping of society; and its symbolic centre, Iona, is more than a literary name, or a historic ruin, to those who have set about rebuilding its cathedral tower, cloister and surrounding dwellings. Continuity is exemplified in its leader, the Rev. George F. Macleod, a descendant of Dr. Norman Macleod, the friend of McLeod Campbell. The significance of this Community to the theme of this chapter lies in the endeavour of its members to learn, by help of ancient native ways, new ways of Christian life in their own land. The attempt to link industrial Scotland, and lands beyond, to the Gaelic West, is a notable recognition of what Celtic Christianity, maintained and renewed by communal tradition, has yet to give the world.

[1] From the magazine of the Iona Community, *The Coracle*.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

(A) TRANSITION: MIGRATION, FISHING AND KELP-MAKING

175 433 [621] [427] [794] [437] UNTIL the 'Forty-five the township had lived an almost self-contained life. Its traditional economy was self-sufficient except for two indispensable commodities—salt for the housewife and iron for the smith. Beyond this, the chief demand for payment was the rent to the lord, with tithes for the kirk. For these needs and demands a step towards production for exchange was required, the more so that what was exported might include the very necessities of life in 'bad years'. The rent was paid largely by the sale of a surplus steer or two, and 175 317 436 [435] drovers called for the cattle. By 1790, if not before, two or three open boats set out annually from Uig, for instance, for Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. Although salt seems of little account today, it once bulked large in the Budget, its price being heightened by duty, especially after 1707: "as dear as salt", was a saying, *cho* [251] *daor ris an t-salluinn.* Salt was needed to preserve the carcase of a 'cattle-beast' or sheep killed in autumn, and 175 433 for cod and herring curing. Wrecks were valuable, as on all infertile undeveloped coastlands, both for their timber and their iron. Cairds or tinkers occasionally brought [326] metal goods; or a packman called, as strange a figure then [443]

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 511 (433) small savings, if any, have been put to the purchase of fishing gear and boats, for fishing, too, was summer work. By 1833 the poverty of the Outer Islesfolk and the bankruptcy of the landlords were such that Parliamentary attention was called to the state of the Hebrides. Poverty continued to be extreme, but need turned the people to fishing. (433) The loss of revenue to the lairds led to their making sheep farms—somewhat unwillingly—with local evictions: in Lewis chiefly from Park and from north of Stornoway, and in Harris notably from the western Machars to the eastern (423) Bays. In spite of this, it also brought about the sale of (621) Harris by Macleod, and finally of Lewis by Seaforth in 1844.[1]

(B) NEW OWNERSHIP AND CAPITAL IN LEWIS: 1844–78

175 Lewis was bought by Mr. James Matheson, a gentleman 423 of Highland family, whose fortune had been made in China. Sir James (as he became) put much capital, effort and goodwill into the management and improvement of the Island. Of the amounts expended we may distinguish, so far as possible, what he spent as a rich man for his private (131) pleasure from what he spent for the people. No sooner had Matheson bought the Island than the 'potato famine' of 1845–46 broke out. The terrible loss of life in Ireland, and the depopulation of that country which followed, would have been equalled in the Isles but for the action of landowners like Matheson—who were the descendants of 'kinsmen', not of alien conquerors—and also of subscribers

[1] A sketch map of Harris showing the areas cleared (1816–54) and areas settled as a result, together with those re-settled by government help after 1900, is given by J. B. Caird, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67, 2, 1951, p. 94.

175 429 311 a well cultivated small farm, a striking example of what can be done with this unpromising terrain. It is probably true that one of the objects of forming farms was to introduce improved methods and so set an example to the small tenants. The contrast, today, between Garynahine Farm and the nearby crofts, suggests that more than example is required.

161 162 115

TABLE 4

POPULATION CHANGES 1841-1851

District	1841	1851	Change	(%)
Carloway	554	659	+105	(+19)
E. L. Roag	581	717	+136	(+23)
Barnera	670	676	+6(1)	(+1)
L. L. Roag	217	259	+42	(+19)
Valtos etc.	711	484	-227(2)	(-32)
Uig Bay	520	426	-94(3)	(-18)
South	384	348	-36	(-9)

Notes: (1) Vuamore - 46 (-100%). Kirkibost, Linshader, etc. had already been cleared.
(2) Reef -180 (-96%).
(3) Carnish - 60 (-36%) - but completely cleared before 1861.
(Township figures are not available before 1841).

The birth of the crofting landscape.

175 429 37 638 A further mid-nineteenth century attempt to improve the productivity of the small-tenants' holdings was the lotting of runrig lands to form individual crofts. In a report to Seaforth c. 1800, the Rev. Headwick had recommended the abolition of runrig* and some lotting of crofts took place about 1811** about which time runrig was being abolished in North and South Uist - but many townships in Uig, as elsewhere in Lewis, escaped this lotting. In Barnera, Kirkibost was probably lotted at this time and the crofts fenced; in 1853, despite clearance, the first Ordnance surveyors were able to record the old fences (which were used as the croft divisions when Kirkibost was re-settled in 1878). The now much divided crofts of Kneep (see also fig.22) are probably of the same date. Reef appears, also, to have been lotted early, for the remnants of fences recorded by the Ordnance Surveyors in 1850-1852, (Reef was cleared in 1850), show crofts of the same general form as those of Kirkibost, and quite unlike those of the 1850 lotting. Consequently, in many townships until this date, the houses remained huddled together in tight little groups, often inter-communicating one with another. The groups, or clachans, were usually set in the midst of the arable land. The runrig system had certain disadvantages, but, as a basic agricultural structure for small holders, it had two considerable advantages which may be relevant to modern conditions. Firstly, it was flexible: within it the individual's holdings varied in size and rent and it was possible, at the periodic re-allocation, to adjust the size according to family needs. An elderly person did not need to be burdened with a holding larger than he required, or was able, to cultivate; a young man with a

[621]

[113] ** Report .... on the Condition of the Cottar Population of the Lewis. (C.5265), 1888, p.37

* The essence of runrig was that any individual's arable land was in many pieces, scattered promiscuously amongst those of his neighbours. Periodic re-allocation of pieces was usual, but the period varied and in some cases was infrequent.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 15]

511 (46) (288) It is obvious that crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Aird; the only two families without ancillary occupations are those where all the members are elderly. Of the others with members in the working age-groups, five have one or more members employed in a civilian capacity at the R.A.F. station and there are five regular weavers.

621 178 Aird used to be a self-contained community; the land was fully cultivated and a certain amount of fishing was carried on in spite of the difficulty of drawing up the boats over the rocky beach. Now it is prosperous, but very much dependent on the R.A.F. station, and if this should ever close down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search of other employment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF

by

David G. Symes.

131 133 On the eastern side of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a secondary peninsula of more moderate, but none-the-less broken relief. This, together with an adjacent area of the main peninsula, the islands of Pabay, Vacsay, Vuia Mor and several smaller islands, comprises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Kneep and Reef.

133 This secondary peninsula is accidented in the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock and steeply angled small hills. The relief is greater in the west (summit 450') than in the east (summit 275'). Relatively level land is to be found only on the machairs of Reef and 133 Cliff (the latter only poorly developed) and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair, 134 about 180 acres, consists of a succession landwards of tidal sands, a belt of sand dunes (c. 20' O.D.) and a sandy plain sloping gently inland towards a reed filled lagoon. The machair at Cliff is approximately 40 acres in extent; here there are fixed dunes and, in addition, the sand has been blown inland to at least 100 ft. O.D. Except where the machair sand has drifted upslope to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin epis of the Valtos peninsula are predominantly peaty. Although the length of the peninsula faces north the extremes of Atlantic weather are moderated by the protection afforded by the Aird peninsula and the islands of Pabay and Vacsay.

175 In the period before the lotting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some five 429 clachans - Valtos, Cliff, Kneep, Uigean and Reef - some of which shared common pastures. 34 During the early part of the nineteenth century and earlier, apparently, than the 1850 lotting 638 carried out in most of Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clachan areas: Valtos and Cliff shared a common pasture and so became one township; similarly Kneep and Uigean were combined.

175 In Kneep it seems that the croft boundaries were not accepted by the crofters. Certain 311 basic divisions between groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today, 427 and within these basic divisions a certain regularity of distribution of strips persists, but

[Eshost]

134 Drift is found near the shore and laps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, bere was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks.
137 Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cock's foot. On the hills heather predominates.

175 Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shiddernish and took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Aileen Tailear came from Tarasnay, Harris, 652 to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1957 four cottars were created, there being 621 there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

261 Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and 607 ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Crofimasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for 293 bringing in peats, hay and similar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

[204] Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed 546 parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in 291 June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but 629 elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

251 The land is heavily overstocked: the soum is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is 255 141, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in 652 Park Deer Forest by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of ewes are held at Garyvard in November [262] and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

241 The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since 312 before 1882. There used to be shielings on the north side of the common on Beinn Bhuidhe and 224 below Loch na Ciste but these have not been used since 1886. Habost is one of the agricultural 292 townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and 293 trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock to market and two have butcher's rounds in Loche. There are two small stores.

561 Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has 572 been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or 654 from a main tank. Drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

871 799 793 178 the children might not receive proper religious instruction.

"Family worship" is considered an important part 771 of daily life. Prayers should be said before meals 782 and teas, and the head of the household should read 593 passages from the Bible to the assembled members of the household every morning and evening. The practice of [178] "reading the books" prevails in households headed by [592] older men, but is less common among families headed by younger men.

794 632 621 3. The Clique of the Converted: The second network within the religious sphere is a special religious in-group, the clique of the converted (curamach). This clique constitutes a relatively strongly bounded system which to some extent competes with the township boundary system. Owen (Rees 1960) has noted that as persons become more involved with religion in the Protestant Hebrides, they tend to remove themselves from community l

Intense involvement with the church sometimes confli with township activities since people may attend Communic at times when a fank is planned, leaving the work to be done by others. When elders of the church are present at activities, such as fanks, which are otherwise usually boisterous and full of humor, behavior tends to be "properly" restrained.

Chapter 7

Conclusions:

Summary and Theoretical Considerations

A. Summary

105 [131] [484] Crofting townships of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland are within a few hours' travel of the major cities of Britain. An extremely high percentage of the young [873] people in the crofting counties attend universities and other institutions of higher education. Politically, [641] administratively, economically and in other ways, the crofting population participates in the larger urban-industrial society of Britain.

105 632 62 [121] Despite this participation, the township-qua-village-community is a relatively strongly bounded system. This thesis investigates factors contributing to the strong boundedness. From a relatively self-sufficient economic 105 178 632 241 unit using agricultural practices suited to the extensive cultivation of marginal land by smallholders, the township has during recent decades changed to one dependent on goods and services provided by the larger society.

105 241 654 Crofting activities nevertheless persist, in part because of the incentives offered by government bodies such as the Crofters Commission and the Department of Agriculture. The

101 161 162 more recent to the west, and in the industrial area of the Great Glen the trend is reversing itself. To the north and south depopulation has been more serious. To the east the general trend has been similar to that of Skye. We need not be troubled by statistics at this time, but for convenience [178] the population figures are given in Table 1. The Outer Hebrideans have preserved more of the social aspect of the old culture than the Skye people while the Mainlander has felt the effects of the processes of acculturation with more obvious results than the people of Skye. In short, the Highlands are not a homogeneous region. They represent a great diversity of conditions.

101 115 My information on the contemporary culture of the Isle of Skye was provided by the residents of three communities, the villagers of Portree and the crofters of Glendale and 101 621 Kilmuir. Portree is a small nucleated village with a population of a thousand. It is important to the study because [368] in many ways it represents an alien way of life. Here are found the county and national government offices, staffed mainly by newcomers to Skye, which serve the whole island. [344] Here too, are the grocery, drug, clothing, and hardware stores which depend on the people of at least, northern Skye [344] for a large part of their trade. There are a number of craftsmen who are equally dependent on the rural population. For the most part, the members of both groups are newcomers [368] from the Lowlands or elsewhere in the Highlands. As the [345] terminus for the mail steamer which links Skye with the mainland, and the hub of the daily bus service which connects the rural

101 621 [345] [345] [115] [164] hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center for tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependence on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villagers participate in a number of social activities which are not tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious asceticism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each with [46] a population of about 300. All, except the ministers and school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle and sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potatoes [47] and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All are bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither community [47] has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. Glendale [34] has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch which has been divided among the small farmers. The significant [42] differences between them are three. The Glendale people are [167] land owners. In this respect they are rather unique in the [42] Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, rent [73] their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glendale [184] is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church-goers [67] of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social activities other than an annual meeting of the share-holders in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a club organization for the men who gather for lectures and discussions of economic problems.

36 basalt plateau where the light and potentially rich soil and the relatively luxuriant pasture land are valuable assets. The remainder of the island has been generally avoided, except for a few isolated areas of mixed beaches, moraine, and similar 36 162 deposits of local importance. The contrasting population densities in modern times support my assertion. With an overall density for the Island of thirteen per square mile, northern Skye has a density of nineteen per square mile in contrast to six per square mile in southern Skye. This three to one ratio has persisted for at least two centuries.

361 Until the nineteenth century all the inhabitants of Skye lived in isolated hamlet-like clusters. The majority continue to dwell in dispersed crofting communities. Indeed, the dominant characteristic of the settlement pattern is, with a single exception, the lack of nucleated villages. Skye is not unique in this respect. The Irish and the Welsh have never made the village a part of their cultural heritage.[13] The pattern I am about to describe will, no doubt, be unfamiliar to many who are only acquainted with rural communities of the Western Hemisphere. The units of settlement on Skye are on a very diminutive scale compared to those to which we are accustomed.

361 621 As we have seen, the efficient socio-economic unit is the township, the collection of individual crofts and the communal grazing lands. Skye contains 182 townships. All of them are found in an inhabited area of roughly thirty square miles.

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[13] Conrad M. Arensberg, The Irish Countryman (New York: Peter Smith, 1950), pp. 146-155; and Alwyn Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1954), pp. 128-129.

to the traditions of the past. I shall discuss this further when I describe the extended family.

The Township. The township is a cooperating economic unit. Communal use of an interest in the common grazing lands gives the township its focus. Living on the several crofts, there will be found an aggregate of nuclear families and unmarried individuals who, especially in the older townships, are related and re-related on both sides. Only in the more modern townships does the degree of relationship become tenuous and finally disappear. In interpersonal activities the neighbors have a rate of interaction second only to that of the nuclear family.

The dominant social trait is the strong emphasis on the ascription of status on the basis of kinship, sex and age. There are no socially valued achieved statuses. The facts are simple. Males enjoy higher prestige than females, and the old men and women are respected by the youth. All of the same age grade and sex are essentially equal. Again we have a parallel with the Irish small farmer.[18]

There is no room for the expression of a role of leadership in economic activities. The governing principle of township administration is so-called primitive democracy. All males have an equal voice in determining the acceptance of any policy or action which concerns the group, and unanimous consent is necessary for the adoption of any change. Although each township has an elected grazing clerk and a grazing

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[18]Cf. Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 45, 109-110; and Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63, 161-231.

committee, a legal requirement, these individuals lack authority. They are figureheads whose primary function is to advise the government of the decisions reached by all the crofters who share in the grazing and to regulate the use of the land by self-imposed rights. In townships where the sheep are owned as club stock the clerk serves to distribute the profits from the sale of stock, and he may also keep a tally of the individuals who are entitled to payment for labor in townships where money has replaced customary reciprocity. In any cooperative venture beyond the family level, there is no one who can step forward to act as a foreman. The assumption of this role would upset the basic status equality of the crofters, unless the person wishes to be regarded as an eccentric.

The Crofting Neighborhood. The crofting neighborhood consists of an aggregate of individuals and nuclear families who dwell in several townships, standing in close spatial proximity. It is, therefore, natural that the ties of common residence and kinship should continue to operate. The important distinguishing features between the township and the larger social entity are two: (1) cooperation in agricultural and pastoral activities is replaced by mutual aid, and (2) there is a greater wealth of formal and informal interpersonal activities in which the people associate.

There are invariably established social circles within which the individuals habitually move. One always consists of the individual's kinsmen, "his people," his family of orientation, and "his close friends," all other relatives with the fourth degree of relationship.

Township size is variable. There is a complete range from one township with a single inhabited croft and a population of three, an old man and his two sons, to one with fifty crofts, held by thirty-two families, and a population of almost eighty. Most townships contain between six and twenty crofts.

The crofts are set out in long, parallel strips, typically, at right angles to the coast, or, if the township is in a glen, across the glen. In the older townships, the houses tend to be built at one end of the strip on the least productive land. The byre, if there is one, stands at the rear or either side of the house. Exposure or road access have not always been determining factors. Most frequently, it would seem, alignment along a road is present only because the county government has built a road into the township. Only in the more modern townships, those planned or re-organized within the last fifty years, have the crofters tended to build near the road. Several of the townships lack any apparent orientation. The houses are scattered up and down the lower slopes of the hills which rise above the cultivated land.

Wherever the configuration of the land and the environmental factors of soil and rainfall permit large settlements, there is a grouping of townships into the pattern of the British open country neighborhood or the French line village.[14] Scattered among the crofts, without any nucleus of community buildings, there are, usually, a school, one or two churches,

[14] For an analysis of rural settlement patterns, see Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 229-231, 234-237.

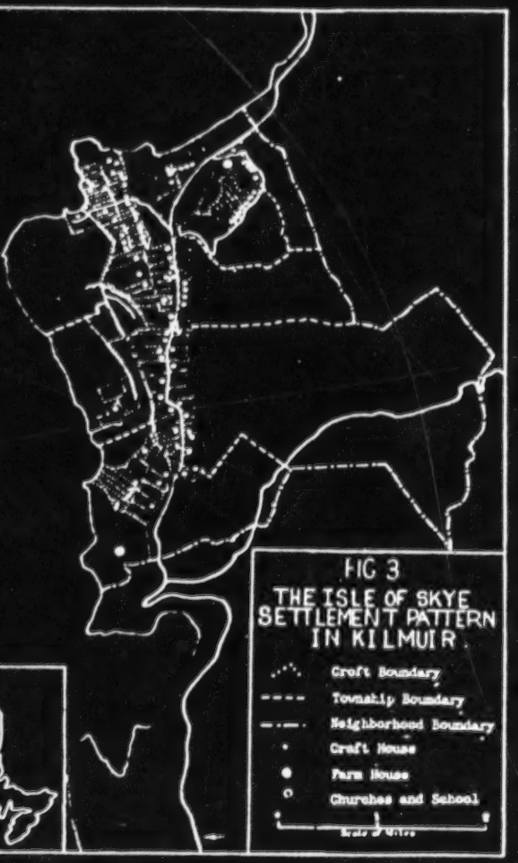
one or more country stores, a few workshops, and a post office. Kilmuir will serve as an example of these larger settlements.

Along the shore of Loch Snizort, on the peninsula of Trotternish, there is a broad, fertile plain. Including old Loch Chaluim Chille, there are approximately ten square miles of good land. Although the soil is not cultivated as intensively as in the days when Kilmuir was "the granary of Skye," this is regarded as the best agricultural region on the island. In all there are 122 crofts, held by 105 crofters, in 9 townships. There are also two small farms. The population is slightly over 300.

The crofters' cottages are loosely strung around the old loch and across the plain in an irregular "Y" shaped pattern (Figure 3). Basically the pattern resembles the French line village, but there are several features reminiscent of the British open country neighborhood. Most of the cottages, it would seem, were originally built on the landward fringe of the plain and along the shore of a small bay, known as Camus Mor, without any regard for road access. In recent years, increasing dependence on motor transport has led to demands for roads. Now almost all the crofters, except those in Bornesketaig, have a paved road running by their door. About a third of the houses are on the county road which encircles the peninsula and links Kilmuir with the outside world via Portree.

In the center of Kilmuir, in the township of Balgown, stand two spireless churches, a church hall, a two room school,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]



and the homes of the ministers and the teacher. Standing together, within a few hundred yards of each other, they provide a focal point for the surrounding area. The remainder of the buildings which we normally think of as forming a village nucleus are widely dispersed. The post office, which is also a general store, is just over a mile north of churches and school, in the township of Kilvaxter. Another mile away, off the main road, in Bornesketaig there is a small shop. South of the churches and school, almost two miles away, there is a shop and a smithy in Linicro. The remaining shops and workshops are similarly scattered hither and yon among the crofts. 621 368 621 366 368

Glendale shows much the same pattern of settlement. Stretching along the shore of Loch Dunvegan, through Glendale, on either side of the Hamara River, and out along the shore of Loch Poolteil, there are 156 crofts in 11 townships. These are the homes of 144 crofters. The total population is in the neighborhood of 350. Like the people of Kilmuir, the Glendale residents have also become dependent on roads, and they have tended to build their new cottages near a road of some sort. The single church, the post office, and the shop stand fairly close together near the center of Glendale. One school is about a mile away in Borrodale, and the other over a mile away in Colbost. Neither Glendale nor Kilmuir have a village hall. When the Glendale crofters have a meeting to discuss the club farm or when the Kilmuir crofters hold a club meeting, they use the school. Now let 361 621 [491] 368 621 [366] 621

us journey over to the "Capital of Skye" which stands on Portree Loch. 621

The village of Portree, as stated earlier, represents the only successful attempt to introduce a nucleated settlement to the island. It was created by a landlord in the early nineteenth century and has been fostered by the national and county government, especially within the last twenty years. Nothing has disturbed the English and the Lowland Scots more than the alien nature of town life in the cultural heritage of the Sgiathanach. Ever since the sixteenth century the Hebrideans have been resisting the introduction of villages. The Scottish and, later, the British, government has been only slightly less adamant in its determination that the country people should have a town, if not a burgh, come what may. [654] 621 648

Indicative of its calculated creation, Portree has been built "on the square," like so many English villages. Around the square are found the police station, courthouse, and jail; two banks and one private home; two churches and the Masonic building; and a hotel and two boarding houses. Equally indicative of the alien nature of the village, the square is normally used only when the people are going to or coming from their place of worship or business, or when they are entering or leaving Portree by the road which cuts across the square. The exceptions are an occasional civil ceremony and performance put on for the benefit of the summer tourists. 621 348 321 177

In reality, the village might best be described as an overgrown hamlet, even though it was planned. The main function of the village as far as the whole island is concerned is that 621 366

an administrative center. The government offices, however, 621 36
e scattered about the village. One is down at the pier;
other is half way out of Portree on a trunk road, and still
third is tucked away on a side road down by the shore of the
rbor. The post office is behind the court house, on the
posite end of the village, and the school, the only secondary
hool in all the Hebrides of the County of Inverness, is out
the village all together on another trunk road. For northern
ye, Portree is the shopping center. The shops are along the
in streets which run off the square and along the road which
ads down to the pier. All of them are in remodeled houses.
r the immediate area surrounding the village, Portree is a 621 368
ligious center. The churches stand together, except one
ich is on the opposite side of the village; the ministers'
mes are dispersed on the fringes of the village. Long ago 621
rtree was known as Ceilltarraglan, (burying place at the foot
the glen). The old village was no more than a church, school,
n, and jail which stood overlooking the houses of a few
shermen along the bay. The surrounding area was given over to
rming. The differing ages of the buildings show how the
llage spread along the bay, up over the terraces, out across
flats, and finally, with the assistance of the County
ncil which has built all of the new houses, on to the hill
ch overlooks the shops and the harbor. Although only the [161]
l remains as a sentinel of the past, the differing ages of
houses also tell how the population grew from a mere hand-
to 1000 in over a century and a half.

162 extreme examples, Bornesketaig in Kilmuir consists of 47 crofts
632 held by 35 crofters, but Aird in Sleat has 39 crofters who
621 rent 20 crofts. In one badly subdivided township, Calligary
427 in Sleat, one holding is held in the following shares: four
241 men each have five-twenty-fourths, one has one-sixth, and one has "a part." The whole, indeed, is more than the sum of its parts. Moreover, townships with a balance of crofts and crofters, and even those with fewer crofters than crofts, often show the effects of subdivision. Another Kilmuir township, Herbusta, is laid out in eight holdings. Although there are an equal number of landholders, several of the crofts are divided into half shares. Then, there is Kilvaxter, also a Kilmuir township, with 11 tenants and 12 crofts; one man has three full shares while two others have only half a croft each. Multiple crofts are not necessarily adjacent. Some crofters hold land in two different townships. One of my informants rents two crofts separated by over twenty miles. On foot, it takes him two days to make the trip between his two holdings.

000 Subdivision, frequently carried to its ludicrous extreme, is not a problem confined to the Highlands of Scotland. All over Europe the traditional laws of succession have had a similar result. In consequence, the governments of all European countries have been striving to initiate reform. Generally, the aim has been to consolidate scattered patches, but almost always the schemes have become more comprehensive, attempting to create economic farms and increase productivity. Since the

241 where the population has suffered the greatest decline and,
161 therefore, where enlargements, by legal or illegal means,
433 have been the most extensive, crop production has declined the most. Nor has the decline in population, accompanied by land redistribution, altered the fundamental problem.

427 The cottars (subtenants) have almost disappeared there-
241 by easing the excessive pressure on the land and removing the threat of recurring destitution. Today they are found only in a few scattered dwellings and isolated clusters. Most of them have secured some form of employment or have reached the age when a government pension is sufficient to satisfy
427 their needs. The number of crofters, on the other hand, has
241 increased. If the figures 2043 and 1227 can be accepted as
161 nearly correct for the respective numbers of crofters and
162 cottars in 1886,[15] they have increased at the expense of the latter and, also, the sheep farmer, whom they have replaced.

632 To briefly summarize the foregoing discussion of the
621 township, let us look at Kilmuir. Table 3 shows the number
161 of crofts and crofters in each of the nine townships together
162 with the acreage and "souming" rights available to each indi-
241 vidual. Although replanning during the past fifty years has
427 benefited many of the local residents, crowding upon the land
231 is still apparent.
311

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[15] L. MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 6, 17.

161 CROFT
162
231
241
311 Township
427 Bornesketaig
621
632 Hungladder

Balgown

Kilvaxter

Linicro

Peingown

Herbusta

Totescore

Monkstadt

---

[a]Arabl
unless other
arable land
held.

[b]Shared

[113] Source
of Inverness,
Department o
Department o

TABLE 3

S, CROFTERS, ARABLE ACREAGE, AND SOUMING RIGHTS
IN THE KILMUIR TOWNSHIPS

Crofts	Crofters	Arable Acres[a]	Common Grazing	Souming
47	35	4	273	2 cows, 1 calf, 12 sheep
14	9	5	236	2 cows, 1 calf, 10 sheep
4	5	13, 14, 34, 46, 66	177	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
12	11	27	...b	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
19	17	15	729	5 cows, 5 calves 40 sheep 1 horse
3	4	18	187	7 cows, 7 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
8	8	12	308	3 cows, 3 calves 26 sheep 1 horse
12	13	21	500	3 cows, 3 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
3	3	27, 27, 5	420	9 cows, 9 calves 40 sheep 2 horses

e acres are given in average acres per holding,
wise indicated. Except in Borneskeisig and Hungladder,
includes outrun, improved pasture land individually

d with Kilvaxter.

s: Compiled from The Valuation Roll of the County
, 1953; information extracted from the files of the
f Health for Scotland; and data supplied by the
f Agriculture for Scotland.

Township Government. The township system has another marked influence on the economy of the Sgiathanach. By far the largest obstacle in the path of reform is the persistence of primitive democracy, distinguished from the democracy of Western Civilization by the requirement of unanimous consent rather than majority rule. The individual who comes to realize that it is possible to improve on the ways his father did things is deterred from attempting to introduce innovations. He cannot, for example, erect a fence around his croft unless everyone in his township approves such a departure from tradition. The dissenting voice of one old man is sufficient to thwart any plan. Unanimous decisions on all township affairs mean that the most progressive worker must keep pace with the most conservative. This fact goes a long way in explaining the essential agricultural disharmony of Skye, and most of the Highlands, with the rest of Great Britain. It is also a singular example of the incomplete adaptation of the culture to the higher socio-cultural organization.

When coupled with the many limitations on the economy, township government helps the outsider to understand why many younger crofters feel that the primary value of their few arable acres is their use as pasture. Even in townships which have been fenced, the prevailing practice is to open the crofts after the harvest. All winter long the stock is free to graze where it will. "My arable is no use at all, except to winter my sheep," said one young crofter. Another asserted, "I have three crofts and the use of one more, but it's not

worth while to cultivate any of the arable, so I use it for grazing." A case which aptly illustrates the influence of the township system as an agent of conservatism is the breedin of pigs. Although several old crofters told me how many people during the times of the "Clearances" kept a pig, they are rarely found anywhere in the Highlands today. The Biblica injunction against the flesh of swine has been taken literally The older people simply have a strong aversion to handling pigs. One man, a very successful cattle and sheep breeder, put it this way: "Pigs are filthy brutes. I just don't want to touch them -- I never have kept any and never will." At the same time, there are men who believe that the prices these animals bring at the mainland markets more than compensate for the individual's revulsion, especially as long as the Ministry of Food pays for the cost of transportation. These men cannot try branching out because they have no way to restrict the foraging animals. "Skye is ideal for pigs," on young fellow told me, "but I don't have the freedom to work the croft to suit myself."

Smaller deviations from the traditional methods of land use face the same difficulties. A progressive crofter who attempts to improve the value of his stock by growing scientifi mixtures of grasses is always penalized. As soon as the harves is over, the stock of all his neighbors will show their appreciation by concentrating on his croft, trampling his fields, and overgrazing his grass. Nor is this his only penalty. His neighbors will regard him with skepticism for his departure from the ways handed down from the past.

Not only were villages completely alien to his heritage but also he had neither the need to purchase commodities nor the opportunity to accumulate a surplus for buying more than a little grain or an occasional necessity. Whatever his small needs, they could be satisfied locally, especially, by turning to a local tacksman or the estate factor, both of whom made grain and a few sundries available on an extended credit-with-barter basis.

5 Plans were drawn up for the establishment of a village at Portree shortly after the Forty-five.[29] Over fifty years later the best that could be said of Portree was that it had "the appearance of a village."[30] Another attempt to bring a village to Skye was made in 1787 when a group of exiled Highlanders in London built the abortive fishing village of Stein.[31] As a part of the reorganization of the MacDonald estates, villages were laid out at Portree and Kyleakin sometime after 1811.[32] Kyleakin failed to develop.

[8] By 1820 Portree had become an administrative center with its own jail,[33] one of the hallmarks of civilization.

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[29] Boswell, op. cit., p. 279.

[30] John Knox, A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles in 1786 (London: J. Walter, 1787), p. 135.

[31] Anderson, An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides, p. 89; Canon MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan, Vol. II, pp. 120-121; and Nicolson, History of Skye, pp. 298-299.

[32] MacCulloch, The Highlands and Isles, Vol. III, p. 445; and NSA, p. 307.

[33] MacCulloch, The Highlands and Isles, Vol. III, pp. 366-368.

By 1845 there was a small crescent of houses along the shore, about twenty in number, and on the raised terrace there was a new inn, a church, a post office, a bank, several shops, and a street of homes.[34] The population had grown to all of 510.[35] The existence of the village depended on the summer cattle markets and the fishing industry, which was in the hands of newcomers. 175* 178* 361 421 [366] [368] [161]

Following the establishment of Portree and accompanying the gradual decline in self-sufficiency, the Island was brought into closer contact with Great Britain by an extension of regular means of communication.[36] Regular communications, of course, are a prerequisite for commercialization. There must be access to markets for the local produce and access to consumer goods. Without such access no man can specialize; with it the Sgiathanach has been diinclined to specialize. The old drove roads, the beaten paths which had served them well for many centuries, were now supplemented by roads in the Lowland sense of the term. By the end of the period most of the more accessible townships had been connected with Portree and the mainland, and a steamer had entered regular service between Portree and Glasgow. These factors paved the way for the introduction of commercial sheep farming. 175* 178* 648 [491] [505]

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[34] George and Peter Anderson, Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (3rd ed.; Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1847), p. 435; and NSA, pp. 225, 231, 234, 235.

[35] Census of Scotland: Inverness.

[36] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 400, 759; MacCulloch, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 372; NSA, p. 231, 298, 311, 320; and Nicolson, op. cit., p. 305.

Each man received a permanent, compact plot of arable in pla of his former concurrent right to a whole farm. The change, the surface, seems to have been superficial. The grazings remained common property and the arable land became common property after the harvest. The significant fact is that commercialization had not yet led to a disregard for the cus ary rights of the small tenant, except in a few isolated are

There were other effects of the change in tenure beyon a leveling of the social hierarchy. By giving more people a direct share in the land emigration was stopped. The prac of subdividing the crofts among the children, as they marrie at once favored an increase in population and strengthened t family of orientation, if not the extended family. At the s time, it placed a greater dependence on the potato; the peop became hostages to the health of the potato and their own fertility. In time progressive economic deterioration began The old subsistence economy had been weakened by subdivision of the small plots, increasing dependence on external market profts from the sale of cattle, and wages from kelping or a little fishing. When the markets broke, destitution and emi gration reappeared. Finally, with a failure of the potato, economic structure collapsed. The population trends were reversed. The people had remained unspecialized in a nation of specialists.

The next stage in the process of commercialization, th growth of a village and the extension of communications, had little perceptible effect on the Sgiathanach. Villages were

alien to their heritage. There was little local need for roads and steamships, but they were paving the way for the final stage in commercialization, the conversion of the island into sheep farms.

The record suggests that the culture was suffering from disorganization and the society had been threatened by disintegration. The Revival, which began at the close of the initial period, became full blown. This movement confirms what the record suggests. A new pattern of social behavior and religious life came into being. The traditional secular patterns of interaction were being replaced by patterns of sacred interaction. New values, new statuses, and new roles were evolving to give religious sanction to the old patterns. The result was an esoteric religious hierarchy. The religious leaders, both the "Men" and the ministers, were coming from the people rather than the old hereditary families who had been closely related to the gentry. Religion replaced the clan as the focus for the culture. The similarity of the story unfolded in the Bible and the past and present conditions of the crofters made the presage of the coming dissolution vivid. By the end of the period, dissension within the Church had become a significant factor and was paving the way for individual secession. The third period of the modern era was to witness more than a social and economic transformation; there was to be religious schism.

sufficiently to make age controls an irresistible force, the prestige status of the small number of the "elect," those who had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the elders gave them complete control over all social and religious activity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about these facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now is that the religious patterns provided a framework in which the culture could find continuity and through which the society could achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like customs resulted in a change of content, but there were positive results as well. Above all, there was a change in focus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in clan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a known religious brotherhood.

Summary. The third period of the modern phase of Skye's culture history saw the culmination of the process of commercialization of the land. All the influences necessary for the conversion of the subsistence economy, albeit a much deteriorated economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming, on a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy. Newcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved methods of land utilization were replacing the conservative and impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial farmers consolidated their holdings, the communal townships were being obliterated. The concept of individual possession of the land was replacing the customary rights of the small tenants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

th degree of relationship. Although the extended 621
s now rather amorphous compared to what it must have 571
entury or two ago, it is still very real to the 602
ach. Once, perhaps, the townships and their historic 596
nts were patrilocal settlements. Then, of course, [591]
tion of the availibility of land and the legality of [175]
ion were of small importance. Now the rigid system [591]
use enforces neo-local post-marital residence, often [427]
at distance from the parents, and very often means
younger generation must join the constant outward
of the population. Thus, the extended family is
if ever, found intact. Indeed, the only times its
come together as a group is at a funeral or a wedding.
occasions the strong patrilineal emphasis becomes ap-
and the fact that the individual always remains a
his or her family group is revealed. It is, then, a
ly.

structure the extended family includes all males and 596
out to, and including, third cousins. The kinship 601
ogy is descriptive. Excepting grandchildren, all
are distinguished by sex and generation. Members of
ntal generation and lineal descendents of the parents
l kin are distinguished by their relationship to the
l's parents. Members of the grandparental and great-
ental generations and their lineal descendents are
distinguished. The same descriptive technique ex-
kinsmen of the first and second descending generations.

56

radesmen are respected, but since most are crofters, they are 554
reated like all other men.

he Village. The village contains a heterogeneous population. 621
t least a third of the families have arrived in the recent 162 167
ast. They have come to fill positions in the county and
ational government offices; in Lowland directed banks or
usiness houses which have extended their field of operations
o Skye; and in the professions as doctors, lawyers, ministers,
nd schoolteachers. A few have come to Skye to open a shop or
ffer their services as tradesmen. The remainder are either
kye folk who have recently moved into the village to see
mployment or families that have been in Portree for one or
ore generations. Very few families seem to have lived in
he village for more than three generations.

While there are many opportunities for an individual to 554
chieve status in Portree, the cultural heritage and the 184
conomic limitations under which the Sgiathanach labors has
ot allowed him to compete with the newcomers. His ability
o compete is further restricted by the prevailing policy of
he government and the national corporations to bring in
anagerial and, often, clerical personnel from the outside.
ll share one socio-economic trait; they are non-crofting. As 565
et there is no class structure beyond the polarity of the
anded gentry and the crofters who participate in village life.
here is verticality. Highest prestige status is accorded to
hose who have been accepted among the local aristocracy. Be-
ow them rank the ministers, doctors, and school teachers.

he land into large commercial farms.[26] Even had the landlords esired to emulate the results achieved elsewhere, it is doubtful hat the persistent demands of the steadily increasing numbers f people for a share in the land could have been disregarded t this time. On Skye, as in most of the Western Highlands, he arable of the old farms was simply divided into as many qual shares of five to ten acres as possible. The grazing ands continued to be held in common and used under a system f stinted rights, and the arable was used communally between arvesting and spring ploughing. Lacking any legally recognized raditional or written right to the land, the people remained enants at will, enjoying hereditary tenure as long as they ad the good will of the landlord and, especially, that of his actor.

The people, then, were each given a precisely equal share, hich was often assigned by lot, in the old farms. Just as the ld infield and outfield system had functioned to provide each an with a bit of the worst and a bit of the best soil, the hares were set out in long strips. After the former joint-enants and subtenants received their fixed allotments, they oved their dwellings from the small hamlet-like clusters near he center of each farm to the individual plots. The township ettlement patterns, as we now know it, came into existence.

The effects of this rather superficial reorganization

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[26]Cf., e.g., Malcolm Gray, "The Abolition of Runrig in he Highlands of Scotland," pp. 52-53, 54; and Handley, Scottish arming in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 190-202.

arried sons into the house. Family solidarity was strengthened 175* 178* 427 593 591
each cottage came to be the home of a three generation family
roup. Adjacent crofts, more likely than not, were bound to-
ether in a network of collateral and affinal relatives. Two
the underlying principles of the clan were reaffirmed. The
ather was the source of the means of subsistence, and the
trong, almost sentimental, attachment for the land was an
xpression of the sentimental tie of kinship. Economically,
ubdivision was paving the way for disaster. It forced a
teadily increasing dependence on the potato; the people
uld not grow enough grain for household needs.

Commercialization means more than the conversion of land 175* 178* 361 621
a source of monetary revenue and the supplanting of customary
sages by contractual relationships. For its fulfillment it
equires the growth of villages and the development of a di-
sion of labor which allows specialization. Events in England
d Lowland Scotland, could not have left the island untouched.
e first rumbles of the Industrial Revolution had been followed
a vigorous growth of urban centers. The mass movements of
e rural population into these communities, as their rights
the land were disregarded and the people were driven off
made into wage laborers, were creating a new cultural
ttern. The benefits of the towns to the nation had the
pearance of being unlimited. It was inevitable that villages
ould be advocated, planned, and fostered on Skye, the most
pulous of all the Hebrides. It was no less inevitable that
llages should have limited attraction for the Sgiathanach.

Period IV (1886 - 1953)

175 The year 1886 is a chronological hinge in the culture history of the Sgiathanach. The British government began to play a positive, continuing role in local affairs for the first time in history. Hitherto, the interest of the government had been confined to proscriptions, recruiting, and taxation, occasionally interspersed with relief for the destitute. With the change in policy, we enter the realm of the contemporary culture; therefore, all I wish to do is indicate the direction the processes, which we have been following, took under the national attempt to rechannel them. The major trends to be noted are two. The proprietors' influence in determining how the land was to be used was curtailed, and, with a redirection of the commercialization of the estates, many of the traits and complexes characteristic of the traditional culture assumed renewed importance.

Since the Napier Commission had been mainly concerned with the disregard of the customary rights of the crofters and their inconsiderate treatment by proprietors, the recommendations which were presented to Parliament sought a land reformation within the framework of local custom.[79] Unlike the Continental Commune, a local, self-governing body, the Highland township had never legally existed. Elsewhere in Scotland this communal agricultural unit had been replaced by individual farm occupancy, just as had been happening on Skye. The major proposal was a retrogressive step; the township system should be given legal

[79] Napier Report, pp. 7-15.

owed with privileges and immunities by which
stability, expansion, and improvement might be
ional provisions called for the replacement of
ustomary usages by national laws of land tenure.
rs' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 embodied
ission's proposals.[80] The crofter became,
class, as a horizontal segment of the popu-
inimal legal definition. He was a pastoral
who resided on his holding, the annual rent
than £30, (later raised to £50) in a crofting
individual was entitled to a fixed, fair rent,
for improvements made by himself or his
he same family should he leave his holding,
e, and modified right to bequeath the holding
s family. Except for the statutory conditions
alienate the holding from his family, sublet
or violate the rights of his neighbors or
luding withholding rent and contributing to
of the land and dwelling, the crofter was
vileges of a landowner with few of the
A Crofters Commission, with executive
tablished to carry out the provisions of the
"available" land to the townships as

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ebt of gratitude to innumerable government
ree, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London for
l cooperation in providing me with the necessary
scuss this final period of the history of Skye.
irs; the interpretation is my own responsibility.

The substantial tenants had their own private tutors, but the people, in general, received only informal schooling until well into the nineteenth century when several charitable societies entered the field.[85] All schools were essentially religious. The act of 1872, and subsequent legislation, changed the program and made education compulsory for all. It was not until the end of the century that adequate facilities were available and the system began to function, with the beginning of free education.[86]

175* 178* 658 [71

Informal control within the community was augmented by the establishment of a rural police force, with headquarters in Portree and local stations at convenient points around the Island. Health and welfare became a responsibility of the state. A regional medical plan provided doctor's care and hospital facilities for all regardless of means. Old age pensions were granted to the elderly. Later, the scope of assistance for the infirm, aged, and the poor, and the unemployed was increased. Thus, the government continually usurped many of the functions of the family and the local group, especially following the abolition of the parish council in 1929.[87] Although the parish councils, or the still older parochial boards, had no legislative powers, they did handle welfare and, until 1918, education. Now, in 1929, a Skye

175* 178* 657 [625] [737] 175* 178* 657 621

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[85] NSA, pp. 233, 281, 294, 298, 312, 321, 355.

[86] Napier Report, p. 70; and Norman MacLean, Set Free, p. 211.

[87] C. De B. Murray, How Scotland Is Governed (Glasgow: Art and Educational Publishers, 1947), pp. 118-136; 195-196.

Claigan, for example, the crofters felt they would do 236
tter with private flocks than with a club stock. Although 476
ch man now has his own sheep on the township grazing, they 178
e cared for like any club stock. The four crofters are
eded for success at the dippings, marking, and shearing,
d they are always at the fank on these occasions. In larger 236
wnships, those with ten or more holdings, the need for all 476
e crofters to help out at the fank is less pressing while 621
e felt need for auxiliary employment is stronger. In con- 632
quence, the cooperative work habits run less smoothly. In
attempt at adjustment, many townships have resorted to
ying the share holders for their labor from the profits.
the best of my knowledge, only one township has witnessed
e total suppression of the cooperative spirit; all the
ofters are too busy with full-time employment to bother with
e steadily declining sheep stock.

Nevertheless, it has become commonplace for the crofters [829]
complain of at least one individual in the township who
es not pull his full share, someone who is "trying to
botage the whole thing."

Independence is a personality trait, but it is best 157
scribed as a steadfast determination not to conform for the 476
re sake of conformity when an innovation handed down from 829
e outside commercial world is at stake. The old ways are the 888
st ways, even if only the old men think so. It is the old
n who uphold the traditional practices. As long as they do,
d as long as unanimous consent is required for any change,

157 the Highlander will
476 cooperative," what t
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[888] is unable to cooperat
cated farmers do. T
but it was not a loc
Wholesale Society op
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phisticated cooperati
not invariably hold.
ment loans, of cours

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the basic importance
Only a few crofts ex
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on the crofter is, t

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farms. Each townshi
holdings, the low-ly
under hereditary tem
of rough, unimproved
concurrent right of
the "souming" princi

[11] Cf. Darling

be "independent." As for being "just not
he critic really means is that the crofter
te in the ways city people or more sophisti-
he cooperative movement has come to Skye,
al venture. The Scottish Cooperative and
ened its shops, without shareholders. The
the crofters' simple cooperation and so-
ion, including capital investment, does
ll There are sheep stock clubs. Govern-
e, provided the initial capital.
h the topic of cooperation, as any part
ct of the culture of the Sgiathanach,
of the township again and again emerges.
ist apart from a township. A more detailed
ship system and the pressures it imposes
herefore, in order.

The Township

nit in the local economy is the township,
of the joint-tenants' and tacksmen's
consists of a variable number of individual
ng arable and improved grass land held
re, and a more or less extensive area
hill grazing held in common. The common,
ach crofter to use the hill grazing under
le gives the township its focus.

nd Morley, loc. cit.

The maximum is harder to determine, economically. There is some limit to the number who can stock a common grazing with individually owned stock without becoming involved in complicated entanglements over right, obligations, and questions of ownership. The few townships containing more than thirty crofts in the Western Highlands (91 out of 957),[13] and the negligible number on Skye (only ten), suggests that less than thirty holdings per township, no matter how much fertile land surrounds the cluster, has been found to be the optimum. Most of the townships contain between five and twenty crofts. The fact that many large, adjacent townships, such as Bornesketaig in Kilmuir and all those in the Braes, are losing their population is a reflection of a many faceted condition we have been exploring throughout this chapter--the vast majority of the crofts are too small to provide an adequate livelihood. One of the primary causes for this state of affairs would seem to be overcrowding on the land.

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Congestion. In almost all but the recently established or replanned townships, congestion is a legacy of the increase in population during the first century of the modern period, often aggravated by coerced subdivision during the period of the "Clearances." Because of this, over-all statistics have little meaning. It is quite correct to say there are some 2300 crofts on Skye and approximately 2200 crofters, but this does not mean each family has a croft to itself. To take

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[13] Ibid., table 1.

*175 District Council was established, but the only functions left
*178 to the Islanders were such minor ones as providing recreation
657 grounds and maintaining footpaths. Today the members of the
621 Council can only make the local needs known to the county council and carry out the functions of the county council.

*175 In more recent years the functions of the county and
*178 national governments have increased still more. Government
657 employees have multiplied. After the Second World War, the
[36] county became a landlord, building subsidized housing. Since
[361] the county has built these houses at Portree and at a few centers such as Broadford, Uig, and Dunvegan, where the police have their stations, they are still persisting in the attempt to
[49] bring villages to the island. Roads have become the concern of the county. Within this period, then, the crofter became dependent on the county and national government for the satis-
[181] faction of many of his needs. Although he resents authority, he has not shown any resentment at the continual encroachment of the government's services. To him the government is a "rich man" who has bestowed many favors and may be asked to bestow a few more, like electricity and plumbing.

*178 Like European peasants in general, the Skye crofters
181 have lost three important things: isolation, political independence, and self-sufficiency. At the same time, they have retained a good deal of their former identity, a continuity of culture, and an attachment to the land and to the traditional way of life. The culture has been modified by adaption to the higher socio-cultural organization, especially in material

share similar social attitudes and a distinctive way of life.[27] The investigator can understand the society with greater ease once he can equate the differing cultural expressions with the sense of status.

Ascribed status continues to be important in Portree, at least in stratifying the old Skye families. On the fringes of the village there are a few part-time crofters or tradesmen who keep some stock and grow a little grain and few potatoes. These men and their families as well as the crofters from the hinterland find their place in the village society through clique groups, in particular those based upon kinship and "friendship." Several of the county families reside in the village and, with the landed gentry who continue to live on their estates, take an active part in village life.

Between the two poles there is a large intermediate group. Their occupations range from the professions, including doctors, ministers, teachers, and lawyers; through employees of the national and county gouvernments, including estate factors, policemen, office managers, and clerks; to shopkeepers, tradesmen, truck drivers, and laborers. Elsewhere in Great Britain these people would fall into the middle and working classes.[28] On Skye such stratification is unimportant. If we cannot use the British scheme, we certainly cannot employ the American system developed by Warner.[29]

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[27]Cf. MacIver, op. cit., pp. 166-167.

[28]Cf. Lewis and Maude, The English Middle Classes.

[29]W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S.Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); and The Status System of Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

his occupation matters very little
the Sriathanach does not particula
who prospers. Indeed, the people
attribute his success to dishonest
character. I shall have more to s
consider the topic of gossip.

At the same time, occupation
formation of cliques. The school
which has tended to become more an
years. The shop keepers also have
Once a year they have a dance at t
both social circles there are, of
of friends who associate regularly.
another basis for clique formation.
and employees of the government are
Since it is government and, apparen
banking house policy to use theremo
training ground and to make promoti
comers and local residents who work
young men.

Neither occupation nor age-gr
in determining the social structure
for the crofters. If they were, I
assertion that there is fluidity am
There are several clubs and fratern
as a drama society, the Women's Rur

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[35]Rees, op. cit., p. 127.

. Unlike the Welsh,[35]
rly look up to the man
are more than likely to
y or find fault with his
ay about this when we

is a factor in the
teachers form one clique
l more exclusive in recent
their small clique.
he Royal Hotel. Within
course, special groups
. Age grades provide
. Clerks, shop assistants,
divided on this basis.
tly, business and
te rural areas for a
ons, most of the new-
for these agencies are

ades are exclusive factors
of Portree as they are
could not support the
ong the village population.
al organizations, such
al Institute, An Comun

a question about a certain man I was told: "I can't help you on that. Whenever I go into a shop or meet them on the street, they change their conversation." Another told me I should ask the doctor, "He's the one who really knows their problems."

Summary

The society of the Sgiathanach reveals additional evidence for cultural continuity. In family structure, both nuclear and extended, the patrilineal emphasis has been preserved. Even though both suffer from chronic instability and the extended family has become rather amorphous, kinship remains an important regulator of interpersonal relationships. It involves obligations and privileges which few take lightly. Within the social units based on territory, the township and neighborhood status continues to be ascribed on the basis of age, sex, and kinship. Women have remained socially inferior to the men. As the father controls his family, the old men of the township and neighborhood exercise a power over their juniors to force conformity to traditional ways. Fundamentally, all of the same age and sex are equals. This status equality underlies the entire social structure. There is no room for a leader. When essential, the newcomer, normally the teacher or minister, and the landed gentry are expected to assume the role of leadership. In the village the emphasis on ascribed status for the Sgiathanach is also important. The majority of achieved statuses are left to be filled by newcomers. In the community, as a whole, beyond the polarity of the landed gentry and the

Ducey	E-4,5	(1953-1954)	1956	ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

bove the settled area, the hill. In its spatial existence, he township is normally bounded at either extremity by one or ore similar clusters of homes and patches of land.

As it exists in space, so it exists in time. Allowing or the removal of the population during the "Clearances" nd for a certain amount of arbitrariness on the part of the overnment commissioners responsible for replanning during the ast fifty odd years, the majority of the townships are de-ended from the old farms on which the clansmen lived as tenants nd subtenants. On the rent rolls and in local traditions, he townships bear the names of these long forgotten farms. he functions of the township include the provision of a means f livelihood and systematic arrangement of social relation-hips. Both functions are made possible by the formal structure nd are facilitated by the informal organization of the members.

The next significant social unit is the neighborhood. his is not the neighborhood of current American sociological nd anthropological usage; it is the Old World open country eighborhood. As such, it corresponds to Murdock's community, the maximal group of persons who normally reside together n face to face association,"[1] and differs from MacIver's efinition of neighborhood, "the first grouping beyond the amily which has social significance and which is conscious f some local unity."[2] MacIver's simplest community, as he

[1]George P. Murdock, Social Structure (New York: The acMillan Co., 1949), p. 79.

[2]Robert M. MacIver, Society: A Textbook of Sociology New York: Farrar and Rhinehart, Inc., 1937), p. 148.

50 respectively.[6]

Unlike the township, the neighborhood typically has no ormal organization and is not necessarily a cooperating, conomic unit. Always, of course, there is a consciousness f common interest. In the case of Glendale this is spiritually ymbolized by the church and economically, by the large club arm in which all the owner-occupiers have a share. In Kilmuir here are two churches, standing close together, and the crofters ave a common economic focus in the drained loch which all use n equal shares for meadowland. There is also a crofters' club. urther symbolization of their common interest is provided y traditions, memories of notable personages and events eculiar to themselves. Always, the consciousness of common nterest is expressed by a feeling of superiority over the embers of other neighborhoods.

There is but one trade-center village on the island, the village of Portree.[7] It is the only true nucleated settlement. Built on the square, but still retaining the appearance of an overgrown hamlet, it is a small grouping of non-agricultural dwellings, government offices, churches, shops, a school, and the homes of those who make their living by serving the rural areas. In addition to its function of providing goods and services for the surrounding neighborhoods, it also links the island with the outside world. Although thirty-six miles from the mainland, it is the entry port for the government officials,

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[6] Murdock, loc. cit.; and Linton, loc. cit.

[7] For a discussion of the importance of the trade-center village, see Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 188-197.

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

urists, and newcomers who carry with them ideas of reform. 621

urther, as well as being mutually dependent commercially, the rofters and the villagers interact formally and informally n social, political, and, especially, religious activities. he consciousness of common interest of the villagers, however, 621 186 tems more from a knowledge that they are different from the rofters than from any common symbol. The 1000 villagers [162] re from diverse backgrounds. They find solidarity in being ifferent rather than in "neighboring" or all attending the ame church. The village also lacks the time depth of the ural settlements, being a creation of an individual in the ast century.

For community I prefer an inclusive definition on the 631 rder of Redfield's.[8] A community is characterized by conentional understandings, the occupation of a territory, and he possession of a culture. Thus, we shall refer to the sle of Skye as the community.

It will be noted that I have not used the term parish. 632 794 lthough the parish was once important politically and religiously, 178 s the older baronies were replaced, it lost these functions n 1929.[9] People reside within parishes and they, along with heir crops and stock, are enumerated by parishes, but the arish is now little more than a statistical convenience. Church rganization and political administrative units cross-cut nd override parish boundaries. Indeed, I doubt if the people [186] ver thought of themselves as members of a parish.

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[8]Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, pp. 15-16.

[9]See, e.g., C. De B. Murray, How Scotland is Governed (Glasgow: Art and Educational Publishers, Ltd., 1947), pp. 113-118, et passim.

182 the social superiors of women. The aged are the social
626 superiors of the youth and young adults. The father determines
[593] how his wife and children will behave as long as they remain
[888] under his control. The old man, or men, determine what changes
will be accepted or rejected. There is no way to question
[559] their decisions, unless one leaves the croft. Still, at the
bottom, there is equality. No man can step forward as a
leader. We are now in a position to look at the larger
social grouping, the neighborhood.

Kith and Kin within the Neighborhood

During the days of the clan, the residents of the
182 621 neighborhood were bound together by real and fictitious
ties of consanguinity and affinity, which were reinforced
by the strong attachment to the soil and propinquity. Only
[601] the fictitious bonds have been forgotten. Like the township,
the neighborhood consists of an aggregate of conjugal fami-
lies whose inter-personal relationships are reinforced by a
178 complicated network of kinship. Once, perhaps as late as
182 621 100 years ago, the neighborhood was a highly cooperative
social unit. When the local mills were in use and the church
had not been broken by schism, the people must have had a
more definite focus for their common interests. In more
remote times, it was a defensive entity. Today the neighbor-
182 hood is no longer a cooperative unit. On the analogy of the
621 old horse plough and the <u>caschrom</u>, cooperation is essential
to the township but superflucus to this larger group. That the
neighborhoods have not lost the potential for concerted
action in times of crisis is attested by the uprisings

during the "Clearances." 182 621

Strong in-group feeling is manifested not only in a belief that people of other neighborhoods are not quite as good somehow, but also by the tendency to withhold social acceptance. There is, for example, a family of newcomers in Kilmuir. One day when they were being discussed one old crofter remarked, "Well, when they have been here as long as Jock over there, they will be just like one of us." It turned out that Jock's family had come to Kilmuir three generations ago. More than once I was reminded of the story of the Yorkshire man who moved from one village to another. He persisted in calling everybody a foreigner, and when asked why, he replied, "I've lived here sixty years, and they still call me a foreigner." The newcomer to Skye is known only by his nationality. The few Polish war refugees are "the Poles." The man from England is "the Englishman" or, in Gaelic, Sassenach, a term also applied to Lowlanders. They have no real place in the scheme of things. 186 621 571 [182]

Within the neighborhood, there are invariably established social circles within which the people habitually move. These cliques take several forms on Skye,[16] as in most cultures, and cross cut each other as well as the townships. The most important clique consists of "my people and friends," the individual's kinsmen. The Sgiathanach carefully distinguishes between his "family," his wife and children; his "people," 571 602

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[16] Although I consider "clique" to be an unfortunate choice of terms, because it has unfavorable connotations in the lay mind, it has been introduced into the vocabulary of the social sciences; see, e.g., Steward, Area Research, pp. 40, 49; Murdock, op. cit., p. 88; Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 135.

her brothers and their wives came to visit, and at New Years they came by with their bottle of wine, whiskey being a man's drink, to toast the New Year. 576 775 [273] [562]

Excepting Glendale, where church membership and affiliation is synonymous with the neighborhood, the township may contain affiliates of two or three churches. One small township contains two Free Church families, two Free Presbyterian families, and one Church of Scotland family. As in any township, they visit one another and cooperate in handling the sheep flocks. Further, the Church of Scotland family often gets out the truck on the Sabbath and drives everyone to Church. This is one of those isolated townships far off the beaten track. Although I certainly agree that people who meet together at a church and pray together get to know each other better because of their religious unity, in this township the families have come to know each other better because they go off to their respective churches together. There is a firm, basic belief among the people that no one should be slighted, even by a minister, because he has differing religious sympathies. Were this not so, think of the position in which I would have found myself. One Free Presbyterian family put it this way, "Who can tell which church is the right one since they all claim to be on top of the pole? Maybe they all are and everyone will get to his final resting place." The "all" was later qualified to exclude Catholics. One of the gentry told me an amusing story on this point. One day during the 621 795 571 795 829 798

talking with a crofter's wife, and they 795
r. "What a terrible man he is," she 829
han...worse than...almost as bad as the 798
ship there is a Church of Scotland 795
her. His religious sectarianism does 797
ting with the Free Presbyterians,
. Not infrequently, he visits his
need help on the croft he is prepared
ays a call, he establishes the
mealtime or tea time by saying grace
s. This is part of the hospitality 574
e visitor is always asked to say 782

he township on Skye, is also partly 621
d. Here the members and adherents of 794
to know one another better because of
r particular interpretation of a faith
each other with greater regularity.
ngregations are small, they feel they
ze, the patterns of interaction are
Glendale. The religious cliques are [476]
what they can for the infirm and [795]
opposing factions. Nor does religious
sence of factions. Glendale has its
against the disciples of the Department
who knows Wales may be struck by this 795
the people are attached to a particular 171

Religion has done more to keep the Gaelic language 771
alive than any of the numerous outside agencies dedicated 191
to the preservation of the language, such as An Comunn [186]
Gaidhealach, a national organization which sponsors a series [575]
of local, regional, and national programs in an attempt to
maintain and stimulate an interest in the Highlands and their
songs and stories. Except in Portree and at Dunvegan, church 191
services are mostly conducted in Gaelic. The newcomer who 794
wishes to attend church services in the crofting areas, and
he had better, must either learn Gaelic or be content with
the few words the minister may speak in English for his
benefit if the minister is aware of the presence of someone
who does not "have the Gaelic." Some might feel that this
is rude since most Skyemen are bi-lingual, but the crofter
seems to think quicker in his own tongue. Many crofters' [871]
children learn English only when they begin to attend school
or pick it up from an older sibling who is going to school.
Family worship is almost always in Gaelic, unless there is [782]
a visitor. We have already seen that the family worship
at the time of death is in Gaelic or in Gaelic and English.
Again we have a parallel with Wales, in that Welsh has been
mainly preserved through religion.[19]

Making Gaelic the language of their religion has, 191
however, led to several problems. It has weakened township 771
solidarity on occasion. There are many isolated townships 621
beyond the reach of a minister. In one of these remote

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[19] Ibid., p. 129

the ways handed down from the past. We might note at this that even the progressive crofter is not always quite en ort with modern techniques. There was, for example, a man two calves infested with liver fluke. Convinced that cine was the only solution, and equally convinced that a on cannot believe everything he reads, he obtained a bottle iver fluke medicine which was plainly marked: "for sheep ." When asked how his calves responded to the treatment, esponded, "Och, they both died."

Because of the restrictions which the township system ses, there has been a growing, perceptible rumble of ation for supplanting unanimous consent with majority rule. however, would go as far as a retired seaman who returned kye after forty years. He would like to see the township em abolished. Another small group believe the Sgiathanach d be better off if the Island were given over to communal s. Most seem to favor the continuation of the present em. Of course, the majority is composed of the conserva- old men.

The Aged and the Absentee Crofter

No appraisal of the crofting system is complete without scussion of two additional factors which have affected the of the land and the present unsatisfactory economic condition he Island. One of the factors is the aged tenant, who, e have just seen, exercises a strong control over the ger men through township government. He has also influenced

CHAPTER VI

THE ISLANDERS' SOCIETY

The Units of Social Organization

Since the Sgiathanach has consistently been more bound to his locality groups than the relatively mobile members of the main stream of Western Society, I think that we shall find a pause to review the character of the social systems which are primarily based on territoriality a valuable aid to our understanding of how cultural continuity has been preserved. By now we are all well aware of the fact that the township is the efficient economic unit. It is also a social entity. The members of each township display a consciousness of common interest, symbolized by the communal hill grazing; and their inter-personal relationships, reflecting ties of kinship and friendship, reveal a rate of interaction second only to those of the crofting family. In most of the townships, the people are related and re-related on both sides by descent and marriage. Laid out along the coast or in a fertile glen, with the cottages on the individual crofts, it has a discernible form. The township is a small cluster of five to twenty homes; approximately an equal number of garden-like farms, stretching out behind the houses; and,

calls it, is my township. Nevertheless, since I share Kroeber's feeling toward the free coinage of terminology,[3] I shall not look for a new word.[4] The neighborhood on Skye is a collection of townships which are separated from surrounding clusters by topographical features. Along the coastal plains and up the glens stretch the crofts, some parallel to each other, like the French line village, and others spread out in the checker board form of the true British open county neighborhood. Scattered among the crofts, one finds one or two shops, a few workshops, and a post office. The focal point for the members is provided by the church, or a pair of churches, and the school, which more often than not stand together. There is no other nucleus of community buildings which even approximate a village center. Social factors as well as geographical features play their role in determining the extent of the neighborhood. It has been suggested that the upper limit for the size of a group is determined by the prevalent form of their economy which limits the possibility of forming close contacts with habitual attitudes.[5] Although the neighborhoods and the component townships contained many more people a hundred years ago than they do today, all are now within the maximal figures suggested by Linton and Murdock for agricultural pastoralists, 350 and

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[3]Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 261.

[4]I suppose Murdock's "deme" would be an acceptable substitute (op. cit., p. 63). Arensberg has used Einzelhof to describe the Irish pattern (The Irish Countryman, p. 43)

[5]Murdock, op. cit., p. 81; and Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, p. 218.

offer help without an expectation of payment. Nevertheless, 791
anonymous donations of food and casual visits make sure that 573
none of their number becomes absolutely destitute. In Glendale
this religious clique merges with the person's "people and
friends." Kilmuir has two religious cliques.

We have had ample opportunity to examine the age-grades 561
of Skye's society and in the next chapter we shall have a
closer look at the functions of the age-grades, especially
that of the old men. One of the most important weaknesses 857
of the social structure, in my mind, is the lack of age mates 883
for children and adolescents. They find it difficult, almost 561
impossible, to come together as a sodality. In Kilmuir, for
example, there are only fifteen boys under twenty in an area
of ten square miles. A youth is anyone under forty. Of the [162]
total population 60 percent are over fifty. For this reason 561
the important age grade clique tends to merge with the re- 791
ligious social circle. The situation is much the same in
Glendale. There the age-grade and kinship groups are inter-
twined with the kirk congregation.

<u>Status Equality within the Neighborhood</u>. The fundamental 621
status equality which we found for the crofters within the 534
township carries over to the neighborhood, but, as would be 571
expected, there is often a need for leadership in this larger
group. Let us look at the two neighborhoods which I know best
to cast light on the methods employed in the self-election of
a leader and the means of expressing leadership as a role.
Kilmuir has a Crofters' Club, which was originally formed by 573

304

crofters, an individual's prestige depends more on what he 182 621 554
does for the group than on occupation.

The society has a strong degree of integration. This 182 621 626
is shown by the requirement of unanimous consent on all undertakings, even in the village, and by the continued success of the group in exercising social control by positive concerted action and by employing gossip as a negative social sanction. The norms of behavior and the values have remained common and clear.

We are now closer to an understanding of how the 128
Sgiathanach has maintained a continuity. For a full understanding of the social organization and to answer the question why there has been continuity we must take one final step. The religious aspect of the culture holds the key to the unanswered questions.

Skye

glens a family, newcomers to Skye, prevailed on the local 191
school teacher to hold a Sabbath school for the children. 771
The local missionary objected. If they were going to have 621
Sabbath school, it should be in Gaelic. His prestige and control over the population secured his position. The children of the people who originated and organized the program were excluded because they did not "have the Gaelic."

Another problem which is beginning to stem from the 191
use of Gaelic as the language of religion is the difficulty 793
of securing a minister. Traditionally, it was an ideal to [183]
send a son to study for the ministry. This ideal remains, [874]
but in the last few years only one young man from Skye has shown a desire to become a minister. Indeed, the majority of ministers on Skye are not Skyemen. I believe the only minister who serves his own neighborhood, the neighborhood in which he was born and raised, is the Free Presbyterian minister in Glendale. It is becoming more and more difficult to fill charges as they go vacant. Each year several Highland charges are changed from "Gaelic essential" to "Gaelic preferred." If we go beyond the role 121
of religion as it orders human relationships, through its 771
more formal aspects, and consider the influence of religion 626
on the secular behavior of the Sgiathanach, 178
we can come closer to an understanding of why the youth are slowly turning away. At the same time we shall be able to round out our picture of the expression given to the Presbyterian ethic on Skye.

6. Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 E310 Highland Scot E310
Skye

Additional modifications have been found in the division 178
of labor. Although no Skyeman has shown a disposition to assume 182
responsibility for domestic work, unless he lives alone, the [162]
women of Skye are expected to function in roles which once were filled exclusively by men. Old men and women for many years [561]
now have continued to perform tasks which formerly were their duties as youths and young adults. These changes, like those we have reviewed, are partially traceable to an incomplete adjustment to the contractual, commercial world. This has led [162]
to striking alterations in the age structure of the population for it is the youth who forsake the island and the aged who yearn to return. Nevertheless, there have been no observable [554]
changes in the status system of the rural neighborhoods. Primitive democracy, distinguished from our form of democracy 621
by the principle of unanimous consent rather than majority rule 554
continues to operate in the townships. The existence of such 182
an institution implies a maximum of equality co-existing with a minimum of authority. The continued ability of the crofters to maintain primitive democracy in a nation like Great Britain is possible only because there is a high degree of social integration. The simple system of ranking, on the basis of [561]
age and sex, has persisted. Men are the social superiors of [562]
women; old men are the social superiors of their juniors. I believe we shall understand how continuity of status has been preserved if we turn to a consideration of the role of religion on the island.

If I am right in asserting that a belief in clan brother- 178
hood was an all pervading cultural pattern in bygone days and 182
614

6

622 HEADMEN--existence
of selection (e.g., by
or patrilineal success
special status and func
etc. See also:
Headmen of kin groups . .
Chiefs of territorial divisions

22

of community chiefs or headmen; qualifications; mode
eniority, informal acceptance, election, matrilineal
on); functions and activities; domestic establishment;
tions of headman's relatives; authority; prerogatives;

. . . . . 61 Leadership traits 157
. . . . . 63 Chief executive of the state 643

621 embracing several hamlets. Yet the strength of com-
476 munity life sprang from co-operation in the farm-team and
632 in the boat's crew.

178 With the passing of the joint farm the greatest dis-
461 ciplinary factor for work in common passed away from
476 agriculture. The fact that fishing still remained as a social discipline, and actually developed in importance as the farm-team declined and was abolished, was to prove all the more significant to the vitality of social life until 1914 and even to the present.

(B) THE COMMUNITY ORGANISED: STEERSMAN AND CONSTABLE

621 As small groups of two to half a dozen men could manage their agricultural affairs informally, by common consent, no official was formally chosen to manage the affairs of the
• 622 fellow-workers on a farm. Where prompt decisions are needed, however, even a small group should be led: a boat's crew therefore choose their helmsman-skipper and obey him at sea. And where several farm-groups made up a township, more formal deliberations were required, and to carry out their decisions they chose a responsible man, the constable.

175 Of the crofters' manner of deciding communal affairs
621 in Uist, Carmichael wrote, in 1884, that these meetings
181 "were highly interesting, as showing the ability of the people, their logical and legal acumen, their readiness of resources and, I can happily add, their invariable courtesy
175 towards one another. There was one regular official known
622 as the constable on whom there lay the chief executive responsibility. When a crofter is elected constable of his
[782] town-land, he takes off his shoes and stockings and, taking

175 his bonnet in his hand and bowing low and reverently,
• 622 declares on honour in presence of earth and heaven,
[782] presence of God and men—*Am fianuis uir agus adhair,*
fianuis Dia agus daoine—that he shall be faithful to
[178] trust. This simple declaration of office is extremely i
pressive, though now, alas, becoming obsolete from t
fears of the shallow thoughtless and the scoffs of the severe
[626] wise. The duties of the constables were to divide a n
peat-moss into banks for which lots are cast, to see th
every crofter does his share of free labour in road buildi
and repair, to engage herds and the like." (*Napier Crofte*
Commission, 1884.)

Naturally such duties called not only for tact, firmne
and authority, temporal and spiritual, on the part of t
constable, but for strong backing by the crofters, as a bod
175 of the man they had freely elected. But hence too, t
622 advantage to a covetous landlord of superseding fr
557 election by appointing his own nominee. Martin fou
427 that this had been done in St. Kilda shortly before his vi
(about 1695) and the people complained bitterly, as w
they might. We shall see that the same suppression
liberty was resented in Lewis less than a century ago.
a mere estate employee, moreover, the constable's positi
between the landlord's factor (or ground officer) and
fellow-crofters, was always difficult; and it might be cruc
hard, as when he was forced to help in destroying a neig
bour's house at an eviction. Neighbourly union in a tow
ship was damaged by this duality of function, when
who should have been their own impartial executive w
in the landlord's pay. When affairs got too bad in
Lewis township the people would appoint their own co
stable in addition to the landlord's; even so, rivalry a
dual functions weakened the community. Such weakne

in communal organisation, historically brought about by landlord or steward over a wide period, has commonly been ascribed to some inherent feebleness in Gaelic communal spirit. It is all the more vital to realise the strength of community and its self-governance by neighbourly 'parliament' and chosen constable, by which the people put their ideals into practice. These may be given in the three traditional terms of fellowship, fairness and freedom, summing up the Gaelic watchwords.[1] Unless the struggle for freedom was too severe, fraternity, followed by equality, came first.

[1] *Comunnar, cuidreabh* or *cairdeas*; *ceartas, coir, cead cathrom*, or *co-ionnan*, and *saoirse*.

173 coming Viking chiefs, who often intermarried with women
177 of the older aristocracy, seem to have retained some ele-
621 ments of a pre-existing order, as did their successors, the
631 Scoto-Norman lords.

So, from history back to 'proto-history', there is
192 increasingly discerned the stages of superimposition, in
621 the Isles as elsewhere. In Central Europe archaeology has recapitulated the stages by which peasant-villagers were raided, then conquered by desperate herdsmen, on horseback or bearing better arms, who had ridden in from the drying grasslands further east. In the Isles the later conquerors were the fierce raiders from the sea, sailing in from
173 the fjords of the North. An unbroken chain of tradition
621 from Viking to Gael is vividly conveyed in the stirring
177 saga of the Galley or Birlinn of Clanranald, composed only a year or two before the 'Forty-five (epitomised, Chapter VI (e)).

173 When the conqueror had won the submission of the
622 conquered and secured his livelihood, comfort and leisure
631 by their work, he came in time to bring their interests nearer to his own. Yet whenever the ambitions of two rival chiefs conflicted, the essential predatory attitude remained and either might bring fire and sword against the other's harmless people. Through time, the successive tides of emigration and storms of conquest bridged the contrast of extremes. Not two orders of chiefs and people, but successive strata, with intermixture of blood and of tradition, must be sought in the Isles as elsewhere. Traditional life in so difficult an environment tended to be diversified and to encourage all-round aptitudes in people and chief, their characters having much in
[177] common. As to blood, the history of Island Norsemen records the marriage of the new-coming chiefs with heiresses

173 from the old chiefs' families, as in the genealogies of
• 622 MacDonald of the Isles and the MacLeods. A special
631 feature contrasting with English history is that claims to differences of descent, instead of being maintained—as
[177] between the Saxon and the conqueror of Norman blood—
[171] were fused. Even when the ancestor of the chief was alien to the locality, the people and the chiefs ultimately claimed
173 to be of one and the same descent. Neighbourhood
621 softened the impositions of the hunting herdsman upon his human herd, and the feeling of kinship brought reconciliation.

193 How far, then, can the family name, which proclaims
621 every 'son' and 'daughter' of Leod to be of the *clann*,
614 the 'children' of the first Leod, really betoken a blood
829 tie? Both the differences of race to be found in clanship and the ties it formed are well brought out in a tale of Highland pride, still told with Highland laughter across
539 the Minch in Kintail. A French skipper (an importer of claret) touching at Kintail three hundred years ago, met a short, dark man and asked him of whose clan he was. "The Clan Rae," was the reply, "but we are of two kinds, the tall, fair MacRaes and" (a little pityingly) "the short, dark MacRaes." "And which are you?" "I," said the wee, black fellow, drawing himself up, "am one of the tall, fair MacRaes!" "Then God help the short, dark
193 MacRaes!" said the skipper. Even one link with the
621 blood of the chief—and that not necessarily legitimate—
614 was enough for a man to found a claim to kinship, not
829 merely as a MacRae, but with the tall, fair chief through

[1] In Gaelic, as a man is called MacLeoid (son of Leod), so a woman is NicLeoid (daughter), and the clan, *Clann Leoid*. The absurd addition of 'son' to a woman's name (as in English surnames such as 'Johnson') is unthinkable in Gaelic, in which a woman would be named 'John's daughter', *NicIain*.

173 his near kin. Again, much as in the medieval *gestes* of
621 France, fosterage of an heir by a clanswoman formed the
614 closest possible tie to at least one family of the people
829 from ancient to recent times. For it linked the heir by sympathy—though not by equal obligation—to elders
[191] and playmates in childhood and his contemporaries in later life.

565 To re-state this 'contradiction' of equality and privilege, we have thus a hierarchy of 'class' imposed upon a 'classless' society. For the joint farms and the township were essentially classless. The two classes, the lord and the people, were primarily opposed, war having placed the conqueror above those who fed him. This state of things was not active 'class-war', for the armistice could endure indefinitely by means of the bargain made between the classes for some exchange of services; none the less, it was built upon class conquest.

195 That all should ultimately claim the lineage of their
565 chief was a remarkable solution to the hereditary opposition
614 of class. A man who knew the Islanders well, John Lane
622 Buchanan (1793), noted how in conditions of the utmost
• 622 poverty the poorest addressed each other as 'lady and
[576] gentleman', *bean-uasal* and *duine-uasal*, a courtesy not lost today. And every clansman had a right to shake the hand of his chief, as Edmund Burt observed in his vivid *Letters*
[577] *from the North* (written after 1721). Indeed the sense of mutual obligation implicit in Gaelic society is well illustrated by the homely word *coir*, usually translated 'right'; it is equally used for right's correlative, duty—as when a Scots or Irish crofter may say "You've a right (a duty) to help your mother"—and for a 'right' (privilege) to shake the chief's hand. An English equivalent would be duty-privilege, or duty-right. Similarly, the same

195 words are used for neighbourly help among crofters and
565 for services to the chief.[1]
614
• 622 Full freedom of choice in marriage prevailed among the people, who honoured marriage and enjoined continence; but the position of the chief placed him apart from
195 the rest of the community. Now, the more egalitarian
582 the community, the more free are a couple to choose one another on grounds of mutual affection, passion and respect; the parents, too, are more likely to encourage or support a suitor for their child because of character and virility, rather than means.

195 The lads of the clan, chief and people, grew up together
565 in an isle or glen. But in manhood, while a labouring lad
582 sought a wife from the girl playmates of his childhood and his fellow-workers at the peats, at the harvest, or in the shielings, a chief's choice was confined to his own class. In pre-feudal clanship, tanistry, *i.e.* the choice of a chief among the higher kin, gave a wider choice for marriage near home than feudal primogeniture, irrespective of the wishes of the chief's kin except in extreme cases of unfitness. In Scotland, tanistry prevailed even in the royal line until the eleventh century. But with the dominance of primogeniture, the young chief chose a bride outside his own community for reasons other than those of human feeling, honoured by Gaelic lyrical and religious tradition and even by the Church.

As a result, the chieftain's son was granted a licence forbidden to the rest, a temptation to maidens and a bad

[1] *Cuid* (cognate with *quota*) means a portion, lot or share, or what is one's own (*n.f., gen. codach*); and the associated verb (*cuidich*) means not simply to share but actively to help. The apportioned lodging given to the chief and his 'suil' of 'lads' was the '*cuidreachy*'—*cuid-sidhche*; while the famous motto of the Seaforth Highlanders is Help the King!—*Cuidich an Righ!*

195 nurse in the family. Born about 1615 in Rodel (south-east
533 Harris), she composed her last elegy (to Sir Norman
[614] MacLeod of Island Berneray, Harris) in 1705; she may even have composed her last great song (on the birth of the nineteenth chief) a year later.[1] Towards the end of the century (between 1664 and 1693), Mary's younger contemporary, Rory Morison was bard at Dunvegan, being known as the Blind Harper, *An Clarsair Dall*. A Lewisman, Rory could not have found adequate patronage as a bard in that Island, the chiefs of Lewis having passed away. Morison is stated to have been a descendant of the Gaelic judges or *brieves* of Ness and the son of a minister, and he was to have entered the Church along with two brothers, later ministers. But smallpox blinded him, and he turned to oral, not to written 'literature', perhaps to our ultimate gain.[2]

Here then were two bards, man and woman, whose fame is growing, rather than waning, in our own day. While Mary was illiterate, however rich in lore, Rory, with his clerical home and family tradition of Gaelic jurisprudence, must have begun to read Latin and English, perhaps Greek, and also Gaelic, though not reaching Hebrew (as his brothers would) before he was struck blind. Mary, so far as is known, was the first to compose what may be called 'court' song in simple words and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels, Scots and Irish, since her time. Lacking the learning of the dying school of classical bards, Mary is more personal
[614] than they, "a lyrist not less than panegyrist"; and she is
• 622 more spontaneous. The same seems true of Rory. Yet the themes of the classical bards were renewed by these
[113]

[1] James Carmichael Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod*, 1934.
[2] John Mackenzie, *Sar Obair: Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, 1877.

175 two singers, as in the portrayal of a chief, " blue-eyed and
533 with clustering, golden locks . . . and brown, ruddy
614 cheeked " ; in descriptions of " his wisdom, prowess and
• 622 justice " or of his traits—his " joyous, fresh, and shame-
fast cheek ", and as a friend to the poor seeking justice,
and to men of learning, musicians and bards. In the halls
of chiefs where ancient joys and traditions were main-
tained, the ideal of chiefship was essentially that of man-
hood. Nor is the chief's lady forgotten either by Mary
or by older bards, though womanhood is a theme rather
for lyrics and for sacred song.

Even at Dunvegan the stream of clan life was once
interrupted in the lifetime of these two bards, as the
Clarsair told in his satire on the anglicised seventeenth
chief (1693–99), and as Mary hinted in her haunting
' Croon ' or *Cronan*. Happily, the stream was renewed
[173] by this chief's successor. Tradition and song show that
such renewal was primarily due to the strength of com-
munal life among the ' people ' which called out leadership
from the chiefs, in justice, in war, and in the encouragement
of the oral arts. High conduct from the chiefs was invoked
[577] by the expectations of their people. More important still,
it was the warmth of feeling among the people as a group,
and their ties to one another, which lit their personal loyalty
to a chief and called forth his loyal leadership in return.[1]

[1] Gaelic loyalty was burned away in the Jacobite Risings, but as the last Rising left the Island relatively unscathed, one may simply refer to two works: Audrey Cunningham's *The Loyal Clans*, 1932; and J. L. Campbell's *Highland Songs of the 'Forty-five*, 1933 (Gaelic and translation). The first work analyses the need for a personal relationship to Scottish kingship, felt so keenly by the clansmen. The second gives authentic evidence of the spirit of loyalty. (Both the sense and a hint of the rhythm, with several of the airs, are available for the English reader.)

I know of no explicit statement of the conclusion given above, for lack of the sociological approach attempted here; but it is surely implicit in the thought of many a Gael.

175 the last of these in outlying villages after 1918. When
554 Matheson purchased the Island in 1844 he left the fishing
565 industry to the curers, great and small. Particularly before
427 most fishermen could speak and write English, the local
228 curers were best fitted to take action not only in marketing
but in approaching the Government to aid the construc-
tion of piers and harbours. On the whole, their long ties
with place and people, coupled with education, made them
useful leaders of a community in which leaders were needed
to adapt life to a changing economy. Here and there one
or two small farmers survive, a little apart from the main
townships. Aided by a long cultural tradition, they meet
changing times by combining with their inheritance a sane
selection of new elements.

175 Looking beyond the Island to the mainland, the time is
621 approaching for a fair assessment to be made of the historic
• 622 parts of chief and landlord, factor and tacksman. Not only
is there an enlarging body of documentation, but a growing
427 understanding of communal strands in tradition and of
184 changing social economy seen in relation to geographic
[178] factors of place and region. And in the Gaeldom, condi-
[182] tions varied greatly between bordering areas from Mar to
Kintyre,[1] and the heartland of tradition in the Hebrides.
In the Island, one must remember the fundamental opposi-
tion, yet the recurrent readjustments of chiefs and people.
These, and not only individual differences in character and
conduct, explain the differences of experience and opinion
[829] quoted above. The people's belief, so frequently given
to me thirty years ago, that it was bad factors, not the
landlord, who taxed and harried them unjustly, expressed
an idealistic faith in a chief, rather than the facts of economy
[565] and history. For lordship begins with the imposition of
[113]

[1] A. McKerral, *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, 1947.

175 rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide
621 for the lord's desires.
• 622
427
184
565

(B) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

174 The peaceful round of daily life formed the most
614 enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners
577 of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tensest
[501] ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether
[726] at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in
war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must
speak for them. Many a song of the Isles conveys the
team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men.
174 And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley
614 be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portray-
501 ing the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who
538 warred against the waves and won. Alexander Mac-
donald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic,
and probably in English, verse for its portraits of the crew
in action, from steersman to ' look-out '. The flowing
metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's
vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of
a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

174 The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with " the
614 Blessing of the Ship ", the arms and the crew. Then the
501 bard, speaking for the stately skipper, " incites the sixteen
539 oarsmen to row " out of the bay, and they row to a rousing
577 shanty, a *Iorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and
[113]

[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (2nd ed.), 1890 (pp. 1-28); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 65-83), 1940. Cf. A. Macleod (Ed.), *Sar Orain: Three Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1933. The different themes of its sections, each in its own metre, have been published separately, in *The Songs of the Hebrides*, and elsewhere.

175 principle of duty-right or *coir*. Further, in so far as chief
614 and people claimed unity as the children, the clan, of one
577 ancestor, they had crystallised a fair ideal, realised by an
621 exchange of services (' cuideachy '). Gaelic clanship was
not without its Lowland counterpart in ' kindness ' which
linked those of one ' kind '—' kinsfolk ' and neighbours—
to their ferm-toun and parish, to one another, and to the
laird. Tyranny and betrayal by chief and laird make one
share the bitterness of grief once felt as competition for
scarce land broke up ' kindness '. Yet the people's endeav-
our and attainment in the past give hope for the future.

175 All have heard of the hereditary Highland chief and
614 many have read of the gentlemen-farmers, but too few
621 have heard of team and crew, and township-parliament.
• 622 It is time we learned not only of the aristocratic chief but
of the chosen helmsman and the democratic constable. So
long as the fallacy is repeated that the Highlanders " never
co-operated, and could not act together except under the
orders of a chief ", so long will it be easy to add, " and
they never will "! Historic truth may have much to teach
[642] for the renewal of leadership for life together. And beyond
the Highlands, the example of this aristo-democracy, at its
worst and its best, may contribute to new concepts of
community.

623

623 COUNCILS--existence of advisory or deliberative bodies within the community (e.g., 'council of elders, assembly of adult males); membership; mode of selection; organization; functions (e.g., advisory, judicial, legislative); conduct of sessions; powers and prerogatives; etc. See also:

Councils of territorial division . . . . . 63 Legislative and deliberative bodies of the state . . 646

APPENDIX III

(A) THE STORNOWAY TRUST: A COMMUNAL OPPORTUNITY

THE people of Stornoway town and rural parish are in a position to control their own future to a degree unusual in Britain since the general loss of common lands in the eighteenth century. Three or four bodies or groups are important in local governance, and in addition to these an effort to arouse citizenship has taken shape in the Lewis Association. As elsewhere, the Town Council acts for the burgh and, it should be added, the Grazing Committees for the townships, the District Council and County Council acting for wider spheres. The Harbour Trust has its special charge. In addition, the fact of corporate ownership is important, as vested in the Stornoway Trust. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor north to Tolsta. It should not be forgotten that the resources of the sea are public property and that the inshore fishings, owing to a considerable measure of protection, are virtually in the possession of the coastal communities. Freshwater fishing is also in the hands of the Trust. Thus, not only building property but essential sources of production on land and sea are in communal possession. The Trust was formed in 1924.

During the first five years of its existence the Trust was burdened with a growing deficit, but since 1929 it accumulated a credit balance, due partly to agricultural derating and partly to the registration of the Trust as a charity and the resulting relief from income tax. Possession without prevision can do little, however; and hence the need for the citizens of town and country to regroup themselves as thinkers for the common

good. In response to this realisation, an
the growth and prosperity of the tweed
Association sprang into being in 1942–43
aims are survey, planning and the initiat
public welfare, economic, social and s
should be said of each of these bodies in t

The membership of the Town Council
Stornoway Trust overlap, the Town being
Trusts. Indeed by the conditions of the
up by Leverhulme (in 1923–24), the St
include the Provost of the Burgh as its Ch
Magistrates and Councillors. For some t
and Councillors have been chosen from
business men of the town. Indeed as a r
tion of the Stornoway Trust, urban interes
easily gain undue preponderance at the ex
Nevertheless two members with strong r
to the Trust in recent years.

In view of the growing burden of d
unable to frame a general policy, still less t
To meet the deficit, the Trust sold portions
reference to any general plan of town or
the Trust began to accumulate a favoural
mouth decisions continued to be made,
clear policy. The most lamentable cas
garage site was given to the chief Stornov
a road junction near the western entranc
to the principal new housing schemes an
gate of Lews Castle and the Lady Lever
mistake in siting soon caused strong pu
Trust repented, and sought to distrain t
from extended use of the area. The par
the case was fought through the courts un
reached in the House of Lords, the Trust
bill of some £4000. The lesson of defeat in
capped as it was by the equivalent of a fi
every family in the burgh. Coming at a

d encouraged too by
industry, the Lewis
. The Association's
ion of action for the
piritual. Something
urn.
, Harbour Trust and
represented on both
Deed of Trust drawn
ornoway Trust must
airman, together with
ime past the Provosts
the more important
esult of the constitu-
ts and outlooks might
pense of rural needs.
ural ties were elected

eficit, the Trust felt
o carry it into action.
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way bus proprietor at
e to the town, close
d opposite the main
Park. The palpable
blic criticism. The
he garage proprietor
ties went to law and
til, in a final decision
lost and had to pay a
the court was severe,
ne of £4 or £5 from
time when the need

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

in communal organisation, historically brought about by landlord or steward over a wide period, has commonly been ascribed to some inherent feebleness in Gaelic communal spirit. It is all the more vital to realise the strength of community and its self-governance by neighbourly 'parliament' and chosen constable, by which the people put their ideals into practice. These may be given in the three traditional terms of fellowship, fairness and freedom, summing up the Gaelic watchwords.[1] Unless the struggle for freedom was too severe, fraternity, followed by equality, came first.

[1] *Companas, caidreabh* or *cairdeas*; *ceartas, coir, cead cothrom*, or *coroinn*; and *saorsa*.

the mansion, lodges, and grounds or 'policies', much was built and laid out for himself at the time, though part was for reclamation. This contrasts with his provision for those whose homeland he had bought—the sum spent upon his own mansions and grounds being nearly half that spent directly for the good of some 20,000 fellow-Gaels.

Matheson was not technically equipped for his chosen task of 'reconstruction'. Nor was he fitted by trade in the East for the leadership of a people accustomed, in spite of dire poverty, to considerable freedom. Ignorant, one gathers, of the language of the people, his choice of a later Factor was hardly a happy one. Tradition in Lewis speaks of this Donald Munro as an 'autocrat', and evidence in 1874 confirms it. In addition to being the Factor for an ageing man and so holding economic sway over the people, he held seventeen public and semi-public offices in the Island, from Justice of the Peace to Captain of the Volunteers, still other offices being held by his clerk! The extent of his sway is also shown by his having served summonses of removal upon fifty-six families on his own authority. As a result of the treatment of the officer sent to serve the summonses, three crofters were tried on a charge of "assault committed on an officer of the law in revenge for having executed his duty". When asked in court if Sir James would not have disapproved of this step and the manner of its execution, Munro replied that it was his practice "never to trouble Sir James with small matters". "Then you consider the eviction of fifty-six families a small matter?" was the retort. These 'Bernera rioters' were found not guilty, they and their neighbours were left in possession, and soon after the Factor demitted office.[1] Lewismen felt the result to be a moral victory,

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. lxxi.

(B) SLOW CHANGE: 1925–39

1. *The Land, the Sea, and the Loom*

When Leverhulme parted company with the people of Lewis his gesture of farewell was one of generosity: the offer of Lewis to its people. The Stornoway Trust was formed, and this accepted the gift of the adjacent crofting townships of the Parish, and of the Castle and its beautiful Park or 'policies'. In crofting townships, however, the people declined the offered gift of land, finding that they could not afford the augmentation of rates entailed by acceptance. So the remainder of the estate was offered for sale in several lots, which were bought by individuals and have proved safe investments. The letting of sporting rights adds a further, albeit a variable, return of income to that of the rents received. It is indeed anomalous that a crofting estate, such as a Lewis parish, can yield a good return to a purchaser, yet that the crofter-occupiers themselves would lose by receiving it as a gift.[1] Much-needed improvements in housing would also be discouraged, for fear of increase in their rates. It is true that if (under existing laws of assessment) all the farmers and crofters, cottars and squatters of a county were to become owners at the same moment, the total increase in assessments would either be repaid in greater services or met by lowered rates

[1] The reasons (as indicated in Chapter IX (E)) are briefly that a crofter (or 'small landholder'), as occupier of an agricultural holding, can only be assessed at three-eighths of the occupier's half of the assessment on his Fair Rent, *i.e.* at less than a quarter of the whole rental. Although he may have built a good house and other buildings he is not assessed at their full value; neither is his landlord. Were he to become owner he would then be liable to assessment both as occupier and as owner, on the full annual value of land and of buildings too; with deduction of five-eighths on the agricultural value as occupier only.

λ [see pp. 320-323 · analysis]

—or by a compromise between. But as it is, if one crofter, or a small group of crofters like those of a township or parish of Lewis, were to become owner-occupiers (even by gift), they would be penalised as compared to others. Hence the Lewismen preferred to go on paying rent as statutory crofting tenants. Leverhulme sold the land and received the price; the new owners paid for it and received an investment; and the only 'loser' on this curious transaction was the Local Authority, the County, which failed to make more in rates!

Further reasons why the great majority of crofters declined Leverhulme's offer have been given by the Lewis Association's Economic Committee (1944):

(a) As individual proprietors, they would lose the advantages of the jurisdiction of the Scottish Land Court in dealing with their disputes, and any litigation would take a more costly form.

(b) They would be debarred from obtaining loans from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland for the improvement of their holdings or houses; as the Department would no longer have the "Corner Stone" of a landlord to fall back upon in the event of renunciation.

(c) The crofters were afraid that as individual proprietors they would forfeit their share of the Common Grazing rights.

(d) Should they wish to quit their holdings they would be compelled to find a buyer in the open market, instead of renouncing to their landlords and getting valuation.

(e) There is a feeling among Lewis crofters that they prefer to have a landlord before whom they can lay their difficulties and disputes, and who will attend to their wants; an authority that relieves them of responsibility.

As the historical evidence has shown, a lack of responsibility has been greatly due to the undermining and then the abolition of the authority of the township's own elected Constable.

The Trustees of the Stornoway Trust have not found it easy to meet the cost of keeping up the valuable property of the Castle and Park, nor to carry the burden of its rates, no adequate income being available for the purpose. Today, however, Leverhulme's gift is being put to good use as a Technical College, opened in September 1952.

Division of the available farms, after providing about 200 small crofts (of ten acres or so), still left the problem of finding legal homes on legal tenure for the remaining cottars and squatters.[1] The Department of Agriculture arranged to feu plots of 'skinned land' on the outrun of certain townships, including one in the extreme north and others in Lochs. About 200 of these little holdings with potato ground were provided. On the holders' behalf the Department feued land from the owner, after obtaining the consent of the Common Grazings Committee of the township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', *i.e.* for enclosure of a portion of the common. The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem disproportionate to the economic value of the holdings. Yet difficulties of law and custom had been allowed to go from bad to worse during the past eighty years; and these difficulties were overcome.

To encourage better housing in the crofting counties, loans are made to 'crofters and fishermen feuars' personally. Local stone, or latterly concrete, is used, and much of the building is done by the 'man of the house' himself, and his friends. From 1920 to 1940, nearly 1200 loans were made in Lewis and Harris for the erection (or improvement) of houses, and in a few cases for the erection

[1] Estimated at 1200 to 1500 shortly before, the open question was whether subdivision during the previous eighty years was to be recognised and accepted.

427 651 crofter pays only half of the assessment, which is based on rental value, and he is granted an additional benefit by having the land devalued seven-eighths for purposes of taxation. The majority pay £3 a year, or less, in rent, and, with a rateable value of 5s, or less, between 1s and 2s in taxes annually. Many pay no taxes.

427 341 423 On his small plot of land the crofter has his cottage. Here we find another rather unique interpretation of the laws of land tenure. Although the crofter is an occupier of the land, he is the owner of his dwelling. If he or one of his ancestors did not build the house, frequently with a grant and/or loan from the government, he will have paid "compensation" to his landlord for the dwelling upon accepting occupancy. Should he, at any time, relinquish his right to the croft, the crofter, in turn, will be entitled to full "compensation" for the value of the improvements on the holding as determined by the Land Court. The crofter's home is not entered on the county valuation roll and, therefore, is not subject to assessment.

427 241 233 In addition to the land under crops and improved grass, the crofter's rent entitles him to a share in the unimproved township grazing lands which are held in common and used under a system of allocation known as "souming." In each township, 623 624 the collection of individual holdings, the crofters elect a grazing clerk and committee. They determine the number of cattle, sheep, and horses the individual is allowed to put out to graze. Usually each crofter has an equal share, but in

565 582 villagers say he married above his station. His daughter, they believe, married below her station. Be that as it may, he disowned his daughter. He never spoke to her again. The third case involved the marriage of one of the poor, but nevertheless accepted, gentry and a crofter's daughter. He has fared differently. Rather than cast him out, his mother refused to recognize the marriage. He was forbidden to bring his wife home. To this day he continues to divide his time between his estate and his "town house," where he keeps his wife. Further, this man, who I have been told should have become chief of Clan Ranald, is no longer of the county people.

565 554 Among the distinctive features which overtly characterize the county people is their ascribed status and role of leadership. Indeed, this is their most important function. As the tacksmen were once the counselors of their subtenants, so today the landed gentry must fill this role which the 624 feirthpasch from the croft will not assume. Even if a Skyeman here and there feels that the local proprietors would like nothing better than to have all the people behave like serfs, bowing and scraping before them, he expects the proprietors 565 554 423 to get things done. In Portree the local gentry form the village council. During the war when they were on active duty, there was no village council. The Skye District Council, which replaced the old parish councils and which, acting as an agent for the County Council, is the only administrative body on the island, reveals a similar membership. In any of

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624 LOCAL OFFICIALS--specialized offices within the community (e.g., war chief, fire chief, talking chief, recorder of deeds, surveyor, herald, chief priest); qualifications, mode of selection, functions, activities, and prerogatives of each type of official; etc. See also:

Officials of territorial division . . . . . 63 State bureaucracy 667
Military organization . . . . . 76 Priesthood 793

423 632 241 rigs. The rigs are numbered and then balloted for by a double ballot. First the men approach the hat in any order and pick out a number: this is to decide the order in which they will approach the hat in the second draw. The second draw then decides the number of the rig. The crofter retains the rig while this particular scatt remains in cultivation, usually for a period of two or three years. The machar is shared by the whole township. The crops grown include a light type of oats, barley, a little rye, and potatoes; and clover may be cut.

423 244 624 In the division of the machar for potatoes at Barvas, there are now no such hard-and-fast rules. The Common Grazings Committee select a certain area for cultivation and each crofter is allowed to take as much land as he requires within this area. This land is only cultivated for one year in six to ten years, and then reverts to grass. If cultivated for two or more years in succession there is a danger of the sand being blown away, and grass would be difficult to establish again. Potatoes are now the only crop grown on the Barvas machar.

134 195 423 241 Beyond the machar of the Isles lies the moor with its fringe of reclaimed croft land. By Carmichael's day this was held in individual portions, though, as he said, most of it was once held in 'farms' in run-rig practised by small units, not by the whole township. Why this difference between the arable of the machar and of the moorland? Carmichael did not explain it.

134 241 Three explanatory points are, first, that the whole cultivated land of the scatt or the machar is continuous, whereas the moorland is hummocky and boggy by turns, and cultivation is therefore patchy; secondly, that, unlike the stony clays, the light shell sand is easily forked or ploughed and needs no 'team' to plough it; and thirdly,

195 632 427 [241] 624 co-operate in active endeavour. It was all the more important to have an elected 'official', the Constable, one of themselves but placed in authority. There could be no restitution of the old joint farms where they had been broken down by migration. Yet it should have been still possible to extend the old spirit to the larger townships, as the Commissioners held.

195 632 423 671 Again, the constitution of the township is bound up with the rights of common pasture upon the moor all the year, and in winter even on unfenced arable; but the Crofters' Act failed to regulate the rights and obligations of Common Grazings. It slackened the authority of the estate without restoring the hold of the tenant community upon its members. After five years the Government began to recognise the mistake, and passed the first Crofters' Common Grazings Regulation Act, permitting the crofters to elect a Common Grazings Committee. But it was ill-considered; most of all because non-crofters, that is, cottars and squatters without legal tenure, were not bound by the Regulations. On one hand they could not get permission to 'resume' (or enclose) a portion of the outrun, in order to reclaim it as a croft, without first obtaining the unanimous consent of the township's crofters; and in large 233 townships there might always be an objector. Yet each cottar could, and did, put on stock, a cow or two and a few sheep, so nullifying the possibility of discipline.

In 1908 a second Act was passed; but twenty years had allowed tradition to lapse and difficulties to accumulate. In Isle Scalpay (Tarbert) for instance, by 1909 there were only forty legitimate crofters, but eighty cottars; and the legal crofters would not take part in depriving any 496 462 cottar of such grazing liberties as he exercised. All were neighbours and most were relations, and their principle

423 431 477 632 829 —or by a compromise between. But as it is, if one crofter, or a small group of crofters like those of a township or parish of Lewis, were to become owner-occupiers (even by gift), they would be penalised as compared to others. Hence the Lewismen preferred to go on paying rent as statutory crofting tenants. Leverhulme sold the land and received the price; the new owners paid for it and received an investment; and the only 'loser' on this curious transaction was the Local Authority, the County, which failed to make more in rates!

623 Further reasons why the great majority of crofters declined Leverhulme's offer have been given by the Lewis Association's Economic Committee (1944):

(a) As individual proprietors, they would lose the advantages of the jurisdiction of the Scottish Land Court in dealing with their disputes, and any litigation would take a more costly form.

(b) They would be debarred from obtaining loans from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland for the improvement of their holdings or houses; as the Department would no longer have the "Corner Stone" of a landlord to fall back upon in the event of renunciation.

(c) The crofters were afraid that as individual proprietors they would forfeit their share of the Common Grazing rights.

(d) Should they wish to quit their holdings they would be compelled to find a buyer in the open market, instead of renouncing to their landlords and getting valuation.

(e) There is a feeling among Lewis crofters that they prefer to have a landlord before whom they can lay their difficulties and disputes, and who will attend to their wants; an authority that relieves them of responsibility.

181 624 195 As the historical evidence has shown, a lack of responsibility has been greatly due to the undermining and then the abolition of the authority of the township's own elected Constable.

to the traditions of the past. I shall discuss this further when I describe the extended family. 594

The Township. The township is a cooperating economic unit. Communal use of an interest in the common grazing lands gives the township its focus. Living on the several crofts, there will be found an aggregate of nuclear families and unmarried individuals who, especially in the older townships, are related and re-related on both sides. Only in the more modern townships does the degree of relationship become tenuous and finally disappear. In interpersonal activities the neighbors have a rate of interaction second only to that of the nuclear family. 621 632 341

The dominant social trait is the strong emphasis on the ascription of status on the basis of kinship, sex and age. There are no socially valued achieved statuses. The facts are simple. Males enjoy higher prestige than females, and the old men and women are respected by the youth. All of the same age grade and sex are essentially equal. Again we have a parallel with the Irish small farmer.[18] 621 594

There is no room for the expression of a role of leadership in economic activities. The governing principle of township administration is so-called primitive democracy. All males have an equal voice in determining the acceptance of any policy or action which concerns the group, and unanimous consent is necessary for the adoption of any change. Although each township has an elected grazing clerk and a grazing 621 632 594 624

[18]Cf. Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 45, 109-110; and Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63, 161-231.

committee, a legal requirement, these individuals lack authority. They are figureheads whose primary function is to advise the government of the decisions reached by all the crofters who share in the grazing and to regulate the use of the land by self-imposed rights. In townships where the sheep are owned as club stock the clerk serves to distribute the profits from the sale of stock, and he may also keep a tally of the individuals who are entitled to payment for labor in townships where money has replaced customary reciprocity. In any cooperative venture beyond the family level, there is no one who can step forward to act as a foreman. The assumption of this role would upset the basic status equality of the crofters, unless the person wishes to be regarded as an eccentric. 621 632 594 624

The Crofting Neighborhood. The crofting neighborhood consists of an aggregate of individuals and nuclear families who dwell in several townships, standing in close spatial proximity. It is, therefore, natural that the ties of common residence and kinship should continue to operate. The important distinguishing features between the township and the larger social entity are two: (1) cooperation in agricultural and pastoral activities is replaced by mutual aid, and (2) there is a greater wealth of formal and informal interpersonal activities in which the people associate. 621 632 571

There are invariably established social circles within which the individuals habitually move. One always consists of the individual's kinsmen, "his people," his family of orientation, and "his close friends," all other relatives within the fourth degree of relationship. 621 571 662

427 651 crofter pays only half of the assessment, which is based on rental value, and he is granted an additional benefit by having the land devalued seven-eighths for purposes of taxation. The majority pay £3 a year, or less, in rent, and, with a rateable value of 5s, or less, between 1s and 2s in taxes annually. Many pay no taxes. 624

427 442 423 On this small plot of land the crofter has his cottage. Here we find another rather unique interpretation of the laws of land tenure. Although the crofter is an occupier of the land, he is the owner of his dwelling. If he or one of his ancestors did not build the house, frequently with a grant and/or loan from the government, he will have paid "compensation" to his landlord for the dwelling upon accepting occupancy. Should he, at any time, relinquish his right to the croft, the crofter, in turn, will be entitled to full "compensation" for the value of the improvements on the holding as determined by the Land Court. The crofter's home is not entered on the county valuation roll and, therefore, is not subject to assessment.

427 241 233 In addition to the land under crops and improved grass, the crofter's rent entitles him to a share in the unimproved township grazing lands which are held in common and used under a system of allocation known as "souming." In each township, 623 624 the collection of individual holdings, the crofters elect a grazing clerk and committee. They determine the number of cattle, sheep, and horses the individual is allowed to put out to graze. Usually each crofter has an equal share, but in

559 626 829 New Zealanders breed sheep and make linen. One might say he knew more about the world than about Skye. He could not understand why so many people made fun of him when he was only trying to help.

626 632 In the absence of any traditionally valued status and role of leadership, administration of the common interests of the township members is the concern of all. We say in the last chapter that primitive democracy is the guiding rule. Each crofter has an equal voice in deciding any question which affects the group and all, without exception, have to agree before any action is taken. Consent is expressed by silence. Typically, the crofters will have talked the 624 matter over among themselves beforehand. At such times the fact clearly emerges that the grazing clerk and the grazing committee are no more than figureheads required by law. They have no coercive or disciplinary powers. In any group situation, their views are taken no more seriously than those of any other man.

887 888 626 632 It is the old men who gather at one anothers' homes or on the hill on a sunny evening to weigh the innovation which the youth want introduced. If they find the change acceptable, they approve it at a meeting of the township by keeping silent. If they believe it will upset the communal system, they disapprove it. The dissenting voice of one old crofter is all that is required to maintain the conservative patterns, economically and socially.

182 626 In summary, we may say that within the township and on the croft the cultural patterns reveal a fundamental continuity. As of old, status is ascribed. Men have remained

625

625 POLICE--specialized law-enforcement organs within the community and higher political units; personnel (e.g., qualifications, appointment, training, organization, promotion, retirement); equipment (e.g., uniform, insignia, arms); functions (e.g., crime prevention and detection, quelling disturbances, traffic control); specialization (e.g., patrolmen, detectives, vice squad); powers (e.g., arrest, detention, summary justice); degree of civilian control; special police organizations (e.g., state police, secret police); private police (e.g., bodyguards, watchmen, industrial police, private detectives); etc. See also:

Fire protection	368	Political graft	667
Examination of suspects	486	Legal and judicial personnel	693
Highway patrols	496	Methods of crime detection	694
Organized vice	548	Jails and prisons	697
Riots	570	Military police	708
Government pensions	657		

175 632 241 In any case, the "town" or township was not the effective work unit, but rather was the larger neighborhood in which several joint farms existed. [233] The tenants of several joint farms grazed their stock on the surrounding moorland (i.e., on common grazing land).

D. From Run-rig to Crofting

175 233 241 311 Run-rig was an agricultural system suited to a pastoral people, who required the use of open, common pasture for grazing their livestock; the arable land was limited, and of varying quality (according to Day (1918: 12), 54% of the land in crofting counties was mountain and heath used for grazing, and only 5% was [423] arable land). Residents worked several strips of different quality, and the strips (in drained beds of earth a few feet wide and many feet long called lazy-beds or fiennagan) were usually re-allocated every few [625] years. A "constable" acting for the landlord ensured that proper husbandry was maintained.

175 241 178 427 The joint farm, and the stratification of tenants and subtenants within the farm, disappeared as "progressive" landlords began, in the second half of the 18th century, to substitute compact holdings for the "mingle-mangle of dispersed strips (Gray 1952: 46)" which characterized run-rig. Hamlets or clachans

178 241 476 of the normal capitalist farmer in the West; but in crofting areas, these practices reveal a strain between communal and individual tendencies.

a. Fencing:

233 (178) (417) (333) Although run-rig was replaced by fixed, compact holdings, the method of animal husbandry was not affected until the land began to be fenced. A single dry-stone dike enclosed the township, keeping livestock on the moor and away from the arable land. In different parts (184) of the Hebrides, various types of herdsmen were hired to protect both the livestock and the growing crops (cf. Owen 1958-59 for a discussion of cattle, calf and sheep herdsmen in North Uist).

175 625 The township Constable had a great deal of power, which included the right to evict people from their crofts, to enforce rules of good husbandry. The last Constable of Shawbost, who died at the turn of the century, has been credited with a number of ignoble actions, such as forcing an old woman with a sore leg to take her cow to the moor along with all the others. Old widows who had no one going to the fishing and hence no means of paying their rent might be evicted in favor of other persuasive, land-hungry members of the village.

175 166 In the last half of the 19th century, many families were "cleared" from the district of Uig and resettled in Shawbost. According to a local version of village 173 625 166 history, the Constable evicted persons from North Shawbost and resettled them in New Shawbost. "The people from Uig were fishermen, so they needed to be by the sea. They wouldn't take a croft in New Shawbost at all." According to another version, the crofts once extended all the way across from Carnan to the loch; when the Uig people came, the crofts were chopped in half, and the street called Baile Stigh was created.

175 625 Whatever effect the Constables had on land use and animal husbandry, they are now referred to as "tyrants," who went mad or committed suicide after the Crofters Act of 1886.

175 311 233 Cattle and horses were tethered or herded within easy walking distance from the township; sheep could be left on the moor without much surveillance. At a much earlier time another dike existed out beyond the (178) (221) township dike. The dikes were used according to principles found in grazing schemes today: the sheep were kept far out on the moor, beyond the second dike, until midsummer when they were moved in closer to the village. At this point they were still out of the arable land of the

175 275 273 of beer at one time to avoid having to mal round trip very often. Men met to drink tigh ceilidh, the houses in which people evening visiting, but for this purpose eve huts of stone or concrete, or used shelter available such as the shells of old buses built by the armed forces but no longer us (361) These shelters, separate from the rest of were called bothans. One or a few men bro 275 from town, and the drinks were sold at cos 273 a bothan was raided by the police and the 625 But in 1967, a court case found six men 681 trafficking in exciseable liquor because evidence that money had changed hands. Th the accused men argued that the drink was It was simply available, and drinkers made contributions to a common kitty.

175 273 275 The first bothan in Shawbost was sta second world war, by a sailor home on lea brought to an old Nissen hut, which event by a small concrete hut with gas lighting built overnight, because if anyone knew it they would protest." "It was built inside so no one would know. On the day they we the Nissen hut, a minister was passing by

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public health and general administration, and has offices in Stornoway. Stornoway itself is largely looked after by a Town Council which deals with the property of the burgh, makes and administers byelaws and imposes burgh rates. The police are under County administration, each burgh paying an annual contribution for their services; the law is administered by a sheriff-principal and two sheriff-substitutes, one of whom holds court in Stornoway. Each parish has a local committee of management.

The political history of the Western Isles, and no less Harris and Lewis, reflects the agrarian troubles. Before 1917, when Lewis was a Parliamentary part of Ross & Cromarty, and Harris part of Inverness, the electorate was both Liberal and Radical; traditionally there has been a significant anti-Tory vote. In 1917, the Boundary Commission for Scotland set up the Parliamentary County of Inverness and Ross & Cromarty, with three divisions: Inverness, Ross & Cromarty and the Western Isles. In 1918 the Western Isles voted for the first time as a Parliamentary constituency of its own, and showed a predominant Liberal sympathy; the returned candidate was also standing for the reform of the Land Law.

In the General Election of 1923 a Liberal candidate was again returned, with a repeat performance in 1929. In the latter election however, the Socialist came in second place. In the crisis or scare election of 1931, the Labour Party did not contest the seat, which was won by a Liberal-National candidate opposed by a full-blooded Conservative. In 1935 the Labour candidate, a native of Lewis, was returned with a 1,345 majority. This Member retained his seat through all subsequent elections losing it only in 1970 to a member of the Scottish National Party, who became a lone Home Ruler in the House. Labour, Conservative and Scottish National parties are represented in the constituency, with a small Liberal showing. The revision of local authorities has given virtual autonomy to the Western Isles.

PUBLIC SERVICES

The lack of adequate social and public services has been cited by some authorities as a factor encouraging people to leave the

through division of labour or united effort, but simply for the sake of mutual stimulus and pleasure!

(D) THE SHARING OF MACHAR, MOOR AND SEA

Embracing several joint-farms, each with its team or crew, came the township. The township had not only its common pasture, it had a special extensive system of run-rig on sandy, coastal machars, as in parts of the Island and in Uist—a system continued to this day.

On the machar of Barvas, cultivation strips are still re-allotted periodically, as they were annually on all the Island machars. The machars behind the 'storm-beach' dunes of the Outer Hebrides closely resemble one another, from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head. The immemorial system was noted by Walker and more fully by Carmichael, who called it 'intermediate run-rig' to distinguish it from the run-rig of older joint farms on boulder clay, and it persists at the present day.[1] In North Uist the machar land is laid off in large scatts or fields. Each scatt is divided into as many rigs as there are crofts in the township. There may be a dozen scatts in all, and usually half the number are lying out in natural pasture, but they are put under crop in rotation, so that each year one or two scatts will be brought into cultivation, and the others left out after a course of cropping. When a scatt is to be brought into cultivation the township 'constable' (who holds sway under the district ground officer) appoints a day for allocating the rigs.

[1] Walker (1808); Alexander Carmichael, appendix xlviii and xcix, pp. 213 ff. and 451 ff., Report of the Crofters' Commission, 1884. Socially these form the most significant evidence in this great Report. See also "Grazing and Agrestic Customs", *Celtic Review*, 1905. Cf. C. Macdonald, *Scot. J. Agric.*, 1919. See also his lively accounts of machar and pasture: *Highland Journey: Suil air ais*, 1943.

185 for the social arts, education could be won abroad by those who have imbibed at least some part of their native heritage but who cannot easily learn how to make the best of their birthright. At this time, change of outlook must be radical for all, but most of all perhaps for those communities who are in process of changing from one tongue to another, and for whom there is therefore so much to lose, so much—potentially—to keep, and so much to be gained.

In the Island there is a strong feeling that reorientation is required to direct surveys which may enlighten policy and lead to action in common. It was as a result of this that the Lewis Association came to be formed.

(B) THE LEWIS ASSOCIATION

185 In the constitution of the Lewis Association are embodied 'six
623 fundamental principles' which illustrate the feeling quickened among thoughtful citizens in time of war, that 'temporal' considerations require the guidance of the spiritual. They run as follows: "(1) There is a law of God, to which all men must conform in their social, economic and political relationships. (2) The Resources of this Island should be used as God's gift and for future generations. . . . (3) Every child should find itself a member of a family housed with decency and dignity, in a happy fellowship, unspoiled by drab surroundings; and (4) have an education, planned for his aptitudes and development and inspired by faith. . . . (5) Every citizen should be secure to enable him to maintain a home. . . . (6) The community should provide for its members' recreation to enable them to enjoy a full personal life. . . ."

What is the Association achieving, it will be asked. A member remarked that, imperfect as the findings might be, a useful purpose was served in regular gatherings of a number of people to thrash out the facts together. A remarkable and perhaps a surprising measure of agreement has been reached, in view of the highly controversial nature of many of the

subjects discussed, and their relation to issues which had aroused heated public argument and even led to lawsuits. It was thought that conveners of committees might have difficulty in maintaining harmony, but this had not been the case; discussion had been frank and warm, but not overheated. Preparatory discussions, followed by publicity, had done much to arouse the townsfolk, in particular, to questions of planning. The result contributed to greater keenness in the elections to the Trust, and led to new activity in Trust and Council. As a local association such as this is somewhat unusual as yet, is it an early sign, as one would hope, of a widespread movement for survey and service? Their example is being followed elsewhere.

When formed, the personnel of the Association, compared to that of many war-time bodies, was comparatively young; and younger members found a welcome and a role to fill on their return from the Forces. The Association owes its inception both to men and women, to natives and residents of long standing, and also to comparative new-comers. The first Chairman, a minister of the Church of Scotland with experience of local government in a great Lowland county, was the Rev. Ian Carmichael, D.S.O., M.C. The Honorary Secretary, Mr. J. S. Grant, is the editor of the weekly *Stornoway Gazette* in succession to his father. An able journalist, Mr. Grant is reputed throughout Scotland as a writer of plays on themes significant to national life. To start with, the membership was largely urban, though country schoolmasters and others whose duties lie in the landward townships took an active part. Meetings were then held in villages to enlarge the rural membership and justify the name and aims of the Association, by making it truly " representative of each district in the island of Lewis ". Its publications are models of their kind.

CONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

623 633 433 361 for planning preceded by adequate survey became publicly recognised, this crisis seems to have caused a change to constructive policy on the part of the Trust. It led to the election of a new member of the Trust on a planning platform, and to a general searching of heart and mind in the community.

[184] Meantime the movement for town planning which had spread from the bombed cities to the rest of the country, led to a closer co-ordination of planning aims between the Trust and the Town Council, and there is real hope of progress in collaboration with the County Council as the statutory planning authority.

In brief, the opportunity arose for the Trust to frame a comprehensive policy, one binding together the objects separately listed in the Deed, " to promote the material and social welfare of the community ". The ' material ' provisions of the Deed allow for the promotion of industry—including fishing, of course—of agriculture and afforestation, and of communications by land, sea and air. Medical service is not forgotten. The encouragement of social life and education is foreseen, and bursaries may be provided to enable deserving scholars to proceed to secondary schools and universities.

185 It is felt by far-sighted citizens that these aims should be properly co-ordinated. Development of resources and social life, they feel, could be combined with education and training deliberately designed to equip young people to return to the Island and use their capacities to serve their own community. [311] Thus among the development schemes which have been mooted are the reclamation of peat, the reclamation of the sandy inlet just north of Stornoway, and local afforestation. [871] All these technical jobs require training, at the levels of engineer and skilled foreman or working hand. Bursaries might take [168] the form of education for such rural tasks. The ' export ' of talent may be necessary when no outlet is possible at home, but in the end it can drain away the community's youth. Hence a policy for the return of talent is required. For fishing, for industry and particularly for the weaving arts, training is required in preparation for possible careers at home. Lastly

183 The generally low level of stimulation derives in
181 part from values which restrict opportunities for self-
[521] expression. People are ready to gossip, i.e., to partici-
pate vicariously in the escapades of others, but are less
• [626] eager to act. Stories concerning mad-cap adventures of
some villagers do not belie the existence of constraints
[166] imposed on expressiveness. One of the major reasons
given by young villagers for wanting to leave the island,
and by emigrants for why they left, is that, "There is
nothing to do. The place is dead."

156 In the everyday life of the village, a style of
181 indirectness and restricted communication is encouraged.
183 A man might be praised in an obituary by the phrase, "His
621 voice was never heard in the community." The encouragement
of a "low profile" of behavior is characteristic of
communities in which people meet each other frequently
and know they will continue to meet and ask things of
each other for a long time to come. Indirectness avoids
conflict arising from divergent expectations, and embarrass-
ment from changes in plans.

155 A major feature of practices of child-rearing on
861 the island is inconsistency, which develops a style of
guarded watchfulness and hesitance to act or express
oneself. Children are teased by being offered things
which are then snatched away. Punishment is inconsistent.

794 2. The Township as Religious Network: The religious
621 sphere has two distinguishable social networks, one of
which coincides in personnel with the village network.
Most household within the village feel obligated to
"make an appearance" during at least one of the two
796 Sunday services. Most children are sent to Sunday school,
851 and all are baptised. In baptism, fathers stand with the
children, promise to raise them in the church, and to set
a good example for them. Baptism must precede Communion,
the ceremony by which a person becomes a full member of
the church. Baptism signifies membership in the community,
the village-qua-congregation. "Somehow you're not really
legal until you've been baptised." Some feel that the
child's soul may be endangered if he should die without
baptism, although this idea is discouraged by the church.
[199] According to the Calvinistic ideas of predestination, the
fate of one's soul has already been decided.

796 The pressure to have children baptised enables the
851 village-as-congregation to exert social control over deviant
• 626 individuals. If a child is conceived out of wedlock, the
848 parents of the child (if they have gotten married) or the
unwed mother alone must stand in front of the congregation
and be lectured by the minister before the child may be
baptised. A woman who has married a man known not to be
the father of her child must also stand by herself. A

796 miscarriage occurring before marriage also requires
851 standing even when the child to be baptised was conceived
• 626 by the couple after marriage. A married man who has
848 impregnated a woman who is not his wife must undergo
[857] this ordeal before he can have his own children baptised.

It is the responsibility of the entire community to
ensure that this punishment is carried out. On one occasion,
the minister forgot to lecture a couple, and afterwards
sent them a note that they would not have to stand; but
they insisted, afraid that people would say that they
were getting special treatment.

[203] According to one minister, the manse is a kind of
[521] "research center" to which all gossip is reported. Some
[193] ministers use this information in the pulpit, chiding
[194] people and calling attention to wrong-doings in front of
the congregation. In contrast, a different attitude exists
[184] in parts of Stornoway, where villagers have approached
[159] doctors in the maternity ward for information regarding
miscarriages and premarital births only to be told that
this information is confidential. The ordeal of standing
[178] in church does not exist in Stornoway. In 1971 a person
in Shawbost was accidentally exempted from this ordeal
and his exemption was seen by some as providing an
opportunity to stop what is considered by many to be an
archaic custom.

175 his bonnet in his hand and bowing low and reverently, he
622 declares on honour in presence of earth and heaven, in
[782] presence of God and men—*Am fianuis uir agus adhair, am*
[178] *fianuis Dia agus daoine*—that he shall be faithful to his
trust. This simple declaration of office is extremely im-
pressive, though now, alas, becoming obsolete from the
fears of the shallow thoughtless and the scoffs of the severely
• [626] wise. The duties of the constables were to divide a new
peat-moss into banks for which lots are cast, to see that
every crofter does his share of free labour in road building
and repair, to engage herds and the like." (*Napier Crofters' Commission*, 1884.)

Naturally such duties called not only for tact, firmness
and authority, temporal and spiritual, on the part of the
constable, but for strong backing by the crofters, as a body,
175 of the man they had freely elected. But hence too, the
622 advantage to a covetous landlord of superseding free
559 election by appointing his own nominee. Martin found
427 that this had been done in St. Kilda shortly before his visit
(about 1695) and the people complained bitterly, as well
they might. We shall see that the same suppression of
liberty was resented in Lewis less than a century ago. As
a mere estate employee, moreover, the constable's position
between the landlord's factor (or ground officer) and his
fellow-crofters, was always difficult; and it might be cruelly
hard, as when he was forced to help in destroying a neigh-
bour's house at an eviction. Neighbourly union in a town-
ship was damaged by this duality of function, when he
who should have been their own impartial executive was
in the landlord's pay. When affairs got too bad in a
Lewis township the people would appoint their own con-
stable in addition to the landlord's; even so, rivalry and
dual functions weakened the community. Such weakness

181 for help?" In one of the Outer Isles, I know of one or
458 two crofters holding fifteen acres of arable, with a share of
746 a good outrun, who have let their stock dwindle and
deteriorate, and their crofts lie mostly fallow, though these
could support a horse or two, several cows, and fifty sheep.
After having found some casual labour, they discovered
they could live mostly idle 'on the dole'. Self-respecting
neighbours suffer: good families who prefer to be inde-
pendent of 'Assistance' and to improve their crott
[472] and stock, and the outrun too. These find their stock
deteriorating for lack of co-operation in breeding, fencing,
and other communal duties, and see their crops invaded
by weeds, blown from a lazy neighbour's plot. While
an idle neighbour benefits by their industry, they them-
selves are losers.

In another island, a hard-working crofter lost a score
of good lambs through 'worrying' by the dogs of an idle
neighbour, whose own stock had dwindled to a trifle. He
was finally awarded legal compensation; but he found it
wiser not to exact it, for the unspoken threat of exaction
[472] gave him a hold upon the idle 'dole-drawer'. The worker
• [626] could still insist that the idler pay his share of the cost of
posts and wire for a fence on the outrun, or contribute
the minimum hours of labour due for fencing and other
[461] statutory tasks in the township. Men like that idler sap
181 the urge to work. They lower communal morality to a
semblance of the social code once too commonly seen by
Islanders in the domestic service of the upper and middle
classes, a code by which chronic idleness was disguised as
'leisure' and conspicuous dependence upon the work of
others was honoured as 'independent means'.[1]

[1] A summary of production, and figures of productive and non-productive income, are given in Appendix I.

In the absence of terms for in-laws, these relatives are simply referred to as the husband's or wife's kin. Hence, structurally, the extended family on Skye is comparable to the Irish system,[19] and, obviously, is dissimilar to our bilateral family structure.[20]

Because the extended family is so very unstable, it is difficult to describe it functionally. There was a time when the people were divided into three communities of fate, the members of which were bound together by the bonds of real and fictitious kinship. Today individuals whose remote ancestors stood together in defense of their homes may not have seen their brothers in many years. The material I gathered allows only two generalizations. Any member of the extended family is always free to call upon his kinsmen for help or, at least, hospitality in need; and the closest surviving relatives always know their obligations and are ready to fulfill them. Thus, the family is a mutual aid group. The primary responsibilities of the kin are to see that all have food, shelter, and a proper burial.

There are additional social circles in the crofting community. The youth, young adults, and the aged are divided into age grades. Of these, the age grade of the old men is especially important. They control the economic progress of the island by their deliberative function concerning any innovation in the crofting system. Whether it is a suggested

[19]Cf. Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 79-85.

[20]Cf. Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," American Anthropologist, XLV (January-March, 1943), pp. 22-38.

change in the use of the grazing land or a desire of the young men to fence the crofts in an effort to improve the individual crofts the old men must have their say. Through their position in the churches, the old men also are the paramount source of social control, preserving their traditional habits and statuses, including a severe limitation on all social activity of a frivolous nature. This religiously sanctioned control is strengthened by the inability of the youth to form a solidarity. Indeed, one of the most serious limitations of the society of Skye is the small number of young men and women, boys and girls and the few opportunities which they have to come together as a group. The functions of the old men's age grade are identical with those described for the Irish small farmer.[21] Another social circle is composed of the affiliates of the same religious sect. They are mainly a mutual aid group.

Although the status equality noted in the township for all of the same sex and age carries over to the larger community, there are always a few people who have an achieved status. The minister enjoys high social prestige as the spiritual guardian of the people. The doctor is valued for his role in caring for the people's physical well-being. The school teacher is respected because he educates the youth and often acts as a spokesman for the group. If there is a member of the landed gentry, he will be accorded the highest status in the area. It is interesting to note that the achieved status positions are most often filled by newcomers to the island. The shopkeepers and

[21]Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 125-139.

enlargements when the proprietor would not lease it on reasonable terms. Thus, the government began to protect the crofter from potential abuses and to restore the land to the descendants of the clanna, who had, to say the least, manifested a persistent disinclination to accept any other system of land use. A complete reformation, however, was not yet possible.

The crux of the problem of maintaining the crofting population was succinctly stated in 1851 by the chairman of the Highland Destitution Board. The people could not support themselves, at a subsistence level, unless each crofting family were given ten acres of arable land plus pasture. Not only was there not enough land, but without credit facilities, a man could not find local employment until the land began to produce, and, if he sought employment at a distance, he could not work his land to free himself from the necessity of working for a wage. In 1883 it was estimated that a 50 percent reduction in population would not leave enough land to give each family an adequate holding, ten acres of arable and 277 acres of grazing land.[81] How right they were. Today the population is less than half that of 1883, and still very few have what was considered an adequate holding a hundred years ago. Let us see what measures the government took in the attempt to solve this problem.

At first the land reorganization program was thwarted by a lack of available land and by the continued tendency of

[81]Napier Report, pp. 100-101.

the people to overstock. No land could be assigned as an enlargement if it would impair the value of a sheep farm or deer forest. The remainder of the island was already possessed by crofters. Moreover, there was no one to regulate the use of the common grazings. As the Crofters Commission usurped the functions of the landlord, estate management became lax. The township constable had disappeared. The cotters, 36 percent of the population, had been omitted from the provisions of the Crofters Act. Later when the government provided for a grazing committee to draft voluntary regulations for sharing the common grazing and, finally, coerced the crofters to elect a grazing committee, the regulations could not be enforced, except by appealing to the sheriff.

At length another commission of inquiry visited the Highlands to decide how the resettlement program might be extended. Then, in 1897, the Congested Districts Board was created. The Board was given power to purchase land for enlargements and for creating new holdings, to resettle crofters and cottars from congested districts, to foster the development of stock breeding, agriculture, fishing, and home industries, and to improve communications. It was not intended that the government should become a landlord. The crofters, like the Irish small farmers, were supposed to have acquired a desire to own their own land. In 1904 the estates of Glendale, the present twelve townships, and Kilmuir, the whole parish and part of the parish of Snizort, were purchased. On the Kilmuir Estate there were 450 crofts in 35 townships and 10 large farms.

Township Government. The township system has another marked influence on the economy of the Sriathanach. By far the largest obstacle in the path of reform is the persistence of primitive democracy, distinguished from the democracy of Western Civilization by the requirement of unanimous consent rather than majority rule. The individual who comes to realize that it is possible to improve on the ways his father did things is deterred from attempting to introduce innovations. He cannot, for example, erect a fence around his croft unless everyone in his township approves such a departure from tradition. The dissenting voice of one old man is sufficient to thwart any plan. Unanimous decisions on all township affairs mean that the most progressive worker must keep pace with the most conservative. This fact goes a long way in explaining the essential agricultural disharmony of Skye, and most of the Highlands, with the rest of Great Britain. It is also a singular example of the incomplete adaptation of the culture to the higher socio-cultural organization.

When coupled with the many limitations on the economy, township government helps the outsider to understand why many younger crofters feel that the primary value of their few arable acres is their use as pasture. Even in townships which have been fenced, the prevailing practice is to open the crofts after the harvest. All winter long the stock is free to graze where it will. "My arable is no use at all, except to winter my sheep," said one young crofter. Another asserted, "I have three crofts and the use of one more, but it's not

the people to overstock. No land could be assigned as an enlargement if it would impair the value of a sheep farm or deer forest. The remainder of the island was already possessed by crofters. Moreover, there was no one to regulate the use of the common grazings. As the Crofters Commission usurped the functions of the landlord, estate management became lax. The township constable had disappeared. The cottars, 36 percent of the population, had been omitted from the provisions of the Crofters Act. Later when the government provided for a grazing committee to draft voluntary regulations for sharing the common grazing and, finally, coerced the crofters to elect a grazing committee, the regulations could not be enforced, except by appealing to the sheriff.

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The substantial tenants had their own private tutors, but the 175* people, in general, received only informal schooling until 178* well into the nineteenth century when several charitable societies 658 entered the field.[85] All schools were essentially religious. [794] The act of 1872, and subsequent legislation, changed the program and made education compulsory for all. It was not until the end of the century that adequate facilities were available and the system began to function, with the beginning of free education.[86]

Informal control within the community was augmented by 175* the establishment of a rural police force, with headquarters 178* in Portree and local stations at convenient points around the 657 Island. [625] Health and welfare became a responsibility of the state. A regional medical plan provided doctor's care and hospital facilities for all regardless of means. Old age [737] pensions were granted to the elderly. Later, the scope of assistance for the infirm, aged, and the poor, and the unemployed was increased. Thus, the government continually 175* usurped many of the functions of the family and the local group, 178* especially following the abolition of the parish council in 657 1929.[87] Although the parish councils, or the still older 621 parochial boards, had no legislative powers, they did handle welfare and, until 1918, education. Now, in 1929, a Skye

[85] NSA, pp. 233, 281, 294, 298, 312, 321, 355.

[86] Napier Report, p. 70; and Norman MacLean, Set Free, p. 211.

[87] C. De B. Murray, How Scotland Is Governed (Glasgow: Art and Educational Publishers, 1947), pp. 118-136; 195-196.

421 "rich man, the government." Since subsidies depend on the 887 number of stock, he may forget that all or part of his "souming" 231 has been given away. One old crofter, for example, a few years 824 ago asked a young lady to fill out his agricultural return. She knew his estimates gave a great deal of reason to doubt his veracity, but, preferring not to question the point, she entered his figures. When it came time to sign the report, he was canny. "Och," he said, "just put a tremble in your hand and sign it yourself." There are other crofters who puzzle the authorities by returning the same number of cattle and sheep year after year. Although even the best crofters and farmers lose a few sheep and an occasional cow, they insist [625] that their stock has produced as many as have been sold. As a means of protecting the government from paying for non-existent stock, the police have to be notified when the annual stock counts are to be made. Even when they do supervise the counting, allowances for stragglers have to be made.

654 So pernicious is the effect of non-residence and decrepit 427 crofts, that a recent government commission has recommended the 888 severance of the house from the land in the case of the aged and the eviction of the absentee, as a means of bolstering the economy and alleviating the widespread condition of bad 427 husbandry.[17] This could be the final blow for the culture. Not 888 uncommonly, the croft is subjected to both absenteeism and the infirmity of old age. The heir does not return until he has passed the age of retirement and begins to think, "It would be

[17] Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions, pp. 42-43, 46-47, cb.

685 then, is theft handled?

685 The police who are charged with the responsibility of 625 protecting and restoring the property of the local citizens are faced with many difficulties. To begin with, the local people will not always complain to them. Even if the help of the police is sought, the person seeking it will not tell who might have committeed the crime. Even if he knows who is guilty, he will not tell. The police must build their case with care. If the facts are clear and straightforward, the 685 defender invariably confesses. One reason for this is the 692 fact that a confession means a local trial by a justice of the peace rather than one before a sheriff. The defendant can hope for sympathy, and he rests secure in his knowledge that his sentence will be lighter because of statutory 685 limitations. If witnesses are required, the police must almost 625 put words in their mouths, and they are never free from the possibility that a witness may change his story when he is put on oath. One policeman said, "They hold their church services up there," pointing to the court room, which was being used by one sect while their church was being repaired, "on the Sabbath from 10:30 until 2:00 and they're back again at 6:30, but they tell the damnedest lies in the same room."

685 We are dealing with a dichotomy like that we noted in 183 the case of poaching. As far as I was able to determine, those cases which come to court involve activities which do not affect the norms of the group. There was for example, a girl in Portree who stole the equivalent of some five or six thousand dollars in cash and material over a period of two

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626 SOCIAL CONTROL--incentives to conformity (e.g., expectation of rewards, reciprocity, fear of social and supernatural sanctions, conscience); means of inducing conformity (e.g., example, precept, praise, rewards, warnings, threats); pressure of public opinion; informal mechanisms of social control (e.g., criticism, ridicule, gossip, cursing, sorcery, intentional silence, ostracism); incidence and effectiveness of such sanctions as compared with the application of physical force; etc. See also:

Socialization 86
Social norms 183
Public opinion 208
Wit and humor 522
Status and prestige 554
Loss of face 558
Primary groups 571
Reactions to breaches of etiquette 576
Breaches of ethics 577
Ingroup antagonisms 578
Sorcery 754
Supernatural sanctions for violations of taboos and other offenses 784
Cursing 789

621 used on different occasions, for example, to discourage
626 deviant behavior or certain marital alliances. Any sign
582 of physical or emotional disability in someone planning to get married invites an attempt by other villagers to
[539] discourage an alliance. According to a Gaelic proverb, "If you want to be praised, die; if you want to be criticized, marry (Ma tha thu airson do mholadh, basaich; ma tha thu airson do chaineadh, pos)." The villagers
621 consider not only the behavior of the person but of his
626 ancestors. The individual is perceived as belonging to
582 a family unit which through many generations has manifested
827 certain physical and behavioral traits. Traits of behavior such as shyness, heavy drinking, stealing and tight-fistedness are interpreted as hereditary traits. "It's in the blood (Tha e anns an t'fhuil)." "It's in the people." Particular occupations are also associated with families.
[463] Stornoway, which is not so "urban" as to have a constant turnover of population, contains many examples of occupations passed down through generations.

632 In Chapter 3 I mentioned the development of several
578 groups in the crofting township which seem to be in conflict with the township as a strongly bounded system. People who keep only sheep have come to blows with those who keep both sheep and cattle; and a distinction between crofters and non-crofters may be seen. Many persons have preferred

197 Within the village there are no branches of An Comunn
178 Gaidhealach and few books written in Gaelic. Once a rural
166 family moves to Stornoway, children often refuse to speak
191 Gaelic, even though they understand it, and parents tend to speak only English to their children, believing this will help them "get on." In the next generation, the
[871] language is lost. Village children attending school in Stornoway often prefer talking to their Gaelic-speaking
[867] roommates in English. A young island woman, married and living in Edinburgh, says she would like her baby son to learn Gaelic but feels that if he had a mixture of the two languages the other children would laugh at him.

197 English is the language of the larger society, the
191 language spoken in school and the language required in most jobs and in dealing with most officials. In Gaelic-
197 speaking areas, the speaking of English connotes high
191 status. If an English speaker mispronounces Gaelic words,
554 he is quickly forgiven, praised for trying to learn such
626 a difficult language, and asked why he bothers with a
578 language that "isn't any use anyway." But if a Gaelic speaker makes mistakes in English, he is teased mercilessly.
[551] Many nicknames derive from such mistakes; for example, "Peter Squeak" got his name by mispronouncing the word
[524] "picturesque." People "win points" by competing with each other in speaking English. "See how good you are in

197 English, no Gaelic allowed. I can beat you any time...."
191 One person observed, "People here make fun of each other
554 all the time. They're always trying to be superior, to
626 get one over the other person. Speaking English gives
578 you a feeling of superiority."
[524] If a Gaelic speaker chooses to speak English in a village situation where there are no officials present or other cues which make English-speaking appropriate, this indicates that he considers himself a cut above everyone else. "I went to help Calum pull his tractor out of the mud, and Malina was there with her husband. She was speaking English. Oh, I says to myself, lady, you're not for this place. You don't belong to this village."

In evaluating whether or not a particular woman is "snobbish," villagers may decide, "She must be; whenever I've seen her in the post office, she never speaks any Gaelic."

197 The sanctions against speaking English when all
191 persons present speak Gaelic indicate the effect of inter
554 action between a socially marginal group and the dominant
571 group. The effect is to increase the emphasis on uniform
184 behavior within the marginal group. The existence of a
578 higher social stratum has diminished social differentiati within the village setting. Individuals may move out of that setting and adopt the language and other forms of

worth while to cultivate any of the arable, so I use it for 626 632
grazing." A case which aptly illustrates the influence of 621 233
the township system as an agent of conservatism is the breeding 231
of pigs. Although several old crofters told me how many 779
people during the times of the "Clearances" kept a pig, they 183 632
are rarely found anywhere in the Highlands today. The Biblical 621 626
injunction against the flesh of swine has been taken literally. The older people simply have a strong aversion to handling pigs. One man, a very successful cattle and sheep breeder, put it this way: "Pigs are filthy brutes. I just don't want to touch them -- I never have kept any and never will." At the same time, there are men who believe that the prices these animals bring at the mainland markets more than compensate for the individual's revulsion, especially as long as the Ministry of Food pays for the cost of transportation. These men cannot try branching out because they have no way to restrict the foraging animals. "Skye is ideal for pigs," one young fellow told me, "but I don't have the freedom to work the croft to suit myself."

Smaller deviations from the traditional methods of land 621
use face the same difficulties. A progressive crofter who 632
attempts to improve the value of his stock by growing scientific 626 232
mixtures of grasses is always penalized. As soon as the harvest 241 178
is over, the stock of all his neighbors will show their appreciation by concentrating on his croft, trampling his fields, and overgrazing his grass. Nor is this his only penalty. His neighbors will regard him with skepticism for his departure from the ways handed down from the past.

621 from the ways handed down from
632 time that even the progressive
626 rapport with modern techniques.
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with two calves infested with li
medicine was the only solution,
person cannot believe everything
of liver fluke medicine which w
only." When asked how his calve
he responded, "Och, they both di

632 Because of the restrictio
621 imposes, there has been a growi
626 agitation for supplanting unani
178
Few, however, would go as far a
to Skye after forty years. He
system abolished. Another smal
would be better off if the Isla
farms. Most seem to favor the
system. Of course, the majorit
tive old men.

The Aged and the Abs

241 No appraisal of the croft
427 a discussion of two additional
887 use of the land and the present
888
311 of the Island. One of the facto
as we have just seen, exercises
younger men through township go

the past. We might note at this
crofter is not always quite en
There was, for example, a man
iver fluke. Convinced that
and equally convinced that a
he reads, he obtained a bottle
as plainly marked: "for sheep
es responded to the treatment,
led."
ns which the township system
ng, perceptible rumble of
ous consent with majority rule.
a retired seaman who returned
would like to see the township
group believe the Sgiathanach
nd were given over to communal
continuation of the present
is composed of the conserva-

ntee Crofter

ing system is complete without
factors which have affected the
unsatisfactory economic condition
ors is the aged tenant, who,
a strong control over the
vernment. He has also influenced

192 requirements of adulthood, and also old age, are still boy
561 and girls.

554 Status Equality within the Township. The ascription of st
on the basis of age and sex has resulted in a straightforw
[562] system of status. The facts are simple. Men are the soci
[561] superiors of women. Youth are socially inferior to their
Men, or women, of a common age category are equals. We sh
now examine a few interpersonal relationships to see how t
[267] system operates. Unless a man and his wife are eating alo
women never eat with men. They wait until the men have fi
576 before taking their meal. When neighbors come to visit, t
562 594 man of the house does not rise for a woman. He does rise
a man and shakes him by the hand. The woman of the house,
the other hand, rises for both men and women. Furthermore,
when a couple comes to call, the woman greets the man first
Only after he has been offered a chair does she greet the
[858] woman. Young people are seen but seldom heard. They do n
[882] speak unless addressed.

626 178 All societies allow some deviation from traditional
norms of expected behavior. On Skye, as elsewhere, excessi
deviation is censured. Neither increased opportunities for
education nor the steady flow of Skye men and women to the
four corners of the earth, accompanied by the slow returnin
trickle, have disturbed these fundamental values. Like the
youth who leaves home to achieve upward mobility through ou
ward mobility, the man who returns must conform to the
traditional norms, which he learned as a child, or be regar

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an eccentric. Included among these norms is a willingness to tisfy the curiosity of one's neighbors. Although the old woman o acts in mysterious ways is no longer regarded as a witch, o of the loneliest people I knew on Skye were two old insters who had kept their past concealed. No one in the wnship would have anything to do with them. Were it not for riodic visits by the local Red Cross, they could have died l hardly been missed.

This status equality for all of the same sex and age ade leaves no room for the status and role of a leader.[15] casionally, an individual fancies himself as a self-elected ader, but he is always resented by the remainder of the wnship and his neighbors do not hesitate to show their dis-easure. As an eccentric, he is dubbed with a cynical title, h as "the sheriff." If he can keep himself immune to the unts and jibes of the people, he is accepted in time or, rather, es to be tolerated. He gives the people something to talk ut. The aspiring leader becomes the subject of numerous es. Any human failing he displays is immediately taken a means to censure him. These are negative social sanctions. s drastic than ostracism. I only knew one of these self-led leaders. He was a well traveled man and a walking ycleopedia of miscellaneous facts. Walking the hill with , I was told how Boston compared with Glasgow; how the tish fought the Crimean War; how the money they received from Turks helped Skye during the potato famine; and how the

[15] Cf. Darling and Morley, "The Social Situation," The t Highland Survey, pt. VI, pp. 24-25.

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554 626 829 New Zealanders breed sheep and make linen. One might say he knew more about the world than about Skye. He could not understand why so many people made fun of him when he was only trying to help.

626 632 In the absence of any traditionally valued status and role of leadership, administration of the common interests of the township members is the concern of all. We say in the last chapter that primitive democracy is the guiding rule. Each crofter has an equal voice in deciding any question which affects the group and all, without exception, have to agree before any action is taken. Consent is expressed by silence. Typically, the crofters will have talked the [624] matter over among themselves beforehand. At such times the fact clearly emerges that the grazing clerk and the grazing committee are no more than figureheads required by law. They have no coercive or disciplinary powers. In any group situation, their views are taken no more seriously than those of any other man.

887 888 626 632 It is the old men who gather at one anothers' homes or on the hill on a summer evening to weigh the innovation which the youth want introduced. If they find the change acceptable, they approve it at a meeting of the township by keeping silent. If they believe it will upset the communal system, they disapprove it. The dissenting voice of one old crofter is all that is required to maintain the conservative patterns, economically and socially.

182 626 In summary, we may say that within the township and on the croft the cultural patterns reveal a fundamental continuity. As of old, status is ascribed. Men have remained

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al superiors of women. The aged are the social
s of the youth and young adults. The father determines
wife and children will behave as long as they remain
s control. The old man, or men, determine what changes
accepted or rejected. There is no way to question
cisions, unless one leaves the croft. Still, at the
there is equality. No man can step forward as a
We are now in a position to look at the larger
rouping, the neighborhood.

Kith and Kin within the Neighborhood

ring the days of the clan, the residents of the
hood were bound together by real and fictitious
consanguinity and affinity, which were reinforced
trong attachment to the soil and propinquity. Only
itious bonds have been forgotten. Like the township,
hborhood consists of an aggregate of conjugal fami-
se inter-personal relationships are reinforced by a
ted network of kinship. Once, perhaps as late as
s ago, the neighborhood was a highly cooperative
nit. When the local mills were in use and the church
been broken by schism, the people must have had a
inite focus for their common interests. In more
imes, it was a defensive entity. Today the neighbor-
no longer a cooperative unit. On the analogy of the
e plough and the caschrom, cooperation is essential
ownship but superfluous to this larger group. That the
hoods have not lost the potential for concerted
n times of crisis is attested by the uprisings

565 and no one thought himself capable of running a future meeting.
554 At last reports, the wife of another proprietor was having
747 her impression that "It's not as easy as it sounds just to call a public meeting in Glendale," confirmed. While the majority of the crofters thought an Old People's Welfare Committee was a good idea, they had no intention of being instrumental in its organization or in assuming any position which might elevate them above their neighbors. Throughout this chapter, the stress on conformity has been apparent, let us now turn to the problem of social control for a clearer picture of how conformity is enforced and to see how the Sgiathanach handles the deviant.

Social Control

626 Since social control is an important topic, I want to go into a further analysis of the manner in which the group influences the behavior of its members. For the sake of clarity, we must distinguish between social and political
121 control. By social control I mean the informal pressure or spontaneous action which any organized group can muster to exert an influence on its members sufficient to encourage conformity to tradition patterns of behavior. Political control, to me, involves the independent or requested interference of the state, as represented by the police, in any case which involves the enforcement and maintenance of law
671 and order as prescribed by legal enactments. On Skye the
829 laws of the land do not always have the same meaning to the

671 people as they have for the larger society. This is true
829 in spite of several hundred years of continuous and increasing contact.

Poaching provides an excellent contrast between the two forms of control and the differing attitudes of the state and the Sgiathanach. In Great Britain the tenant of the land does not automatically have hunting and fishing rights. The landlords, including the Department of Agriculture, lease them separately and the county taxes them separately. The crofters, and many of the villagers, have never fully accepted the legality of their being barred from the rivers for fish, the moors for grouse, and the hills for deer. The police enforce the law to the best of their ability, but they cannot always count on the support of the local justices of the peace, much less the cooperation of the people. Several of the local justices of the peace, those who are not landlords, feel that a man catching a few fish for his own use is not poaching.

626 If social control were to assume importance with respect
671 to poaching, it should appear in Glendale. When the crofter
829 owner-occupiers are able to rent the hunting lodge and gaming rights which they received as part of the purchase, they all share in the rent and benefit by not having to pay both owners' and occupiers' rates on the property and the gaming rights. Unfortunately, they have had a great deal of trouble in finding tenants and even more difficulty in keeping them. The river and land is all poached. When asked by whom, one man replied, "Och, who but ourselves would be doing it?" The

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iserable they have left the island. Adultery, as we have 626
een, is an excellent illustration. Another example is
hurch going. Almost everyone goes to church. It is expected.
everal newcomers frankly admitted that they only go because
he people would talk about them.

Gossip has another important social function. It is a 626
ans of social sanction, and as such reinforces the "unconscious 182
ystem of meanings" to use Herskovits' words.[40] Through its
ositive and negative aspects, the use of gossip as a social
anction contributes to the solidarity of the group by creating
feeling of oneness. It can also accord status to individuals,
d it can either make an individual with high status more
ecure in his belief of superiority or make a person of low
tatus feel less inferior.

The crofters relish stories of human failings among 554
hose of high status. The landed gentry seldom give them 626
ch to talk about, but the few unexpected things they do,
ch as marrying outside their circle, are long remembered.
e villagers often provide them with choice stories. Any-
e, especially a native son, who moves into Portree or
turns to Portree and sets up a business is bound to be
lked about. "Do you know what I heard? Well, I heard that
got his money down south and just beat the police out of
wn." Men who have shops which their fathers or grandfathers
tablished escape, but the founder of the business is still
membered. "You know where the old man got his money? He
s going home one night after a cattle sale with a group of

[40] Herskovits, Man and His Works, p. 222.

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his neighbors, and he done them in and took all their money." 554 626

The villagers and, in particular, the county people 369
enjoy amusing stories about the crofters. One tale concerns
a crofter who received electricity from the Hydro-Electric
Board. After the cottage had been wired, his wife bought him
an electric razor. This created a problem. If he plugged
the razor into the single light socket, he could not see to
shave on a winter morning, but if he had the light on he could
not plug in the razor. There are many stories about crofters
who refused electricity because they were afraid the house
might blow up if hit by lightning, and there is the favorite
story of the old woman, on the Isle of Lewis, who thought
electricity was fine to see to light her candle.

To see how gossip, bordering on tradition, is indicative 522
of high prestige status, we may take the story of the doctor
of Kilmuir. One day just after a cattle sale the doctor took
the boat from Portree to Kyle. In addition to several local
people and many cattle, there were two Sassannachs on board.
The Englishmen asked the doctor how many cattle there were.
He thought there were quite a few. A hundred, the Englishmen
asked. "Sure," said the doctor. Two hundred, they asked.
The doctor again said, "Sure." They then inquired whether
or not the doctor could count. When he answered in the
affirmative, they asked how many they and the doctor were.
He replied, "One hundred, I am one and you two are nothings."
The core of these stories always involves the doctor's getting
the better of someone, especially an Englishman. It may be

304

crofters, an individual's prestige depends more on what he 182
does for the group than on occupation. 621
384

The society has a strong degree of integration. This 182
is shown by the requirement of unanimous consent on all under- 621
takings, even in the village, and by the continued success 626
of the group in exercising social control by positive con-
certed action and by employing gossip as a negative social
sanction. The norms of behavior and the values have remained
common and clear.

We are now closer to an understanding of how the 128
Sgiathanach has maintained a continuity. For a full under-
standing of the social organization and to answer the question
why there has been continuity we must take one final step.
The religious aspect of the culture holds the key to the
unanswered questions.

315

794 125 members. That the Sgiathanach has not been influenced by
the laxity of the newcomers in self-examination is indicated
by the existence of 450 adherents. Further, the Free Church
has only 21 members in a congregation of some 280, and the
Free Presbyterian Church only 20 members in a congregation of
320.

The esoteric religious hierarchy established by the
"Men" during the nineteenth century revivals continues to
influence the lives of the people. From the small number of
the "elect" are chosen the elders, the venerable guardians
of behavior, and the deacons. The majority have been baptized
but are in a fallen condition. Shall we stretch an analogy 545
and ask is this not comparable to the social hierarchy of
ceann-cinnidh (clan chief), daoin'-uaisle (tacksmen), and
clanna (clansmen) of the past? This much is certain: a
strong hierarchial sense must be numbered among the persistencies.

889 In our discussion of the Islanders' economy we noted
575 two significant facts concerning the sodality of the old
794 men of the neighborhoods. We saw that they have a deliberative
626 function in discussing economic innovations before they
pass down to the townships, and that they are able to block
any innovation of which they disapprove through the require-
ment of complete unanimity in township affairs. We may also
recall the statement, "If you can't respect an elder of the
church, who can you respect?" We may now add they have
judicial and authoritarian functions in the religious sphere
of activity, and, through their status within the church,
they ultimately control the patterns of social behavior.

316

Their deliberative, judicial, and authoritarian functions 626
are identical with those found among the Catholic small 171
farmers of Ireland.[9] Of course, it is by no means unique in 175
human groups for the aged to attempt to maintain their 794
accustomed habits and statuses while the youth endeavor to 121
find acceptance for new ideas.[10] Nor is it unique for the
younger members of the society to resent the restraints
imposed by the older people to punish deviation from tradition-
al behavior.[11] Culture phases, as Kroeber has pointed out,
associated with age tend to correspond to changes taking
place within the society, rather than reflect static lines
of segregation, such as those which exist between classes.[12]
If these assertions are valid, the success which the elderly, 88
as a sodality, enjoy in barring the youth from achieving 626
acceptance of novel patterns should be indicative of the
importance of age controls on the Isle of Skye. In order to
see how they exercise control and how successful they are,
let us consider those events in the life cycle which Van Gennep
has called rites of passage.[13]

Rites of Passage

Rites of Passage function in all societies to mark the 121

[9] Arensberg, The Irish Countryman, pp. 122-139.

[10] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 274-275.

[11] Herskovits, Man and His Works, p. 479.

[12] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 274-275.

[13] Arnold Van Gennep, Les Rites de Passage (Paris: E. Nourry, 1909).

passage of the individual from birth, through his age statuses, 121
to death and to re-establish meaningful patterns of interaction
after a disturbance by an event in the life cycle. When 851
individual and reciprocal patterns of behavior following birth 794
were described, I pointed out that they were a much modified
survival of the old practice of kirking, the custom of having
the parents, their "people," and "friends" attend a church
service to offer thanks, followed by a feast and dance. Similar
festivities once accompanied baptism. As the first event in
the life cycle which concerns the church, and as one of the
two sacraments celebrated in the church, baptism is of supreme
importance. In addition to revealing the amount of control [121]
the elderly have over the group, it shows how the status and
role of the father has been maintained.

The child's father, as the religiously sanctioned head 626
of the family, approaches the elder for his township and 851
requests the administration of the sacrament. The elder, in 888
turn, intimates the father's request to the minister, who 794
then calls a kirk session. At the kirk session the father is
examined. He must live an exemplary life, in the way of the
church, including regular sabbath church attendance, daily
worship in the home, and the renunciation of all forms of
frivolous amusement. The elders, of course, know how he
habitually behaves by observation and reputation. In Glendale,
if not in Kilmuir, the minister knows as well, for, as one
woman said, "You never know what your neighbors will run and
tell the minister." Sudden reform is not good enough. The [177]
father must also demonstrate his ability to raise the child

in the nurture of the church by being tested on his knowledge 626
of the Bible and the Shorter Catechism. The elders, then, 851
sit in a judicial capacity. If the father measures up to the 888
standards imposed by the elders and the minister, who is their 794
choice and, therefore, must reflect their views, the father
is told to present the child for baptism. If he does not
satisfy the elders, his child is refused the rewards of the
church until his father mends his ways. Here the authoritarian
function of the elderly finds expression.

Many men are reluctant to approach the elders to ask
for the sacrament. Everyone knows when a man is going to be
tested and judged. The humiliation of being refused forces
the father to reform. Since the elders think in terms of
habitual behavior, one or even two years may pass before the
father will feel that he has continuously demonstrated his
conformity to the satisfaction of the elders. Nor is the bond
of affection between the elder and his people and friends
strong enough to prompt any leniency. To do so would threaten
the status of the elders and the continuation of their control.
In one case a first cousin of the minister was refused.

In the trade center village the question of baptism is 369
a sore point for the ministers of the Free Church and the Free 626
Presbyterian Church. As might be expected, the elders of the 851
Church of Scotland are chosen from the county families and 888
the prominent newcomers. Neither group shares the views of 794
the *Sgiathanach* as far as their interpretation of circumspect
behavior is concerned. For them baptism is administered to

the child. Consequently, the sacrament is normally administered 369
without even the formality of a kirk session examination. The 626
ministers of the other churches assert that non-church-going, 851
drunken fathers whom the kirk session has refused have gone to 888
the Church of Scotland and have secured the sacrament for their 794
children after pretending to mend their ways. They have then
gone back to their former habits. It may be so, but at least
one man in Portree was very surprised to find that the Church
of Scotland can require a severe examination.

At baptism the child is formally introduced into the 851
folds of his father's church. His mother and father stand 794
before the minister and are admonished to bring up the child
in the nurture and admonition of God, to the best of their
ability.

Marriage is not a sacrament in Scotland, and, therefore, 585
does not provoke any strong resentment beyond a feeling that [177]
the Church of Scotland should not have the exclusive right
to proclaim the banns of marriage. It is the one time in 585
the life of a woman when she is the center of attention and 562
has complete control over the situation. She decides where 794
she will be married and what minister will preside. Church
affiliation seems to make little difference. At least, the
wedding of a daughter of a strict Free Presbyterian family
in the Church of Scotland did not give the people any cause
to gossip. Although a wedding is no more than a legal formality,
the vows made at marriage are sacred. It would not strike
Americans as being particularly significant to omit the promise
to obey from the ceremony; Americans are said to have an

equality of the sexes. On Skye, where women are the social 585
inferiors of men, its omission is curious. The ministers have 562
taken the promise of the ceremony out because, as one said, "The 794
man may be a rogue, irresponsible, making it impossible for
the woman to obey." She nevertheless promises to be "loving,
truthful, and dutiful."

Election, as a passage rite, marks the attainment of the 794
status of the elderly. We already know that to become one of 888
the "elect" the individual, man or woman, must not only 626
experience a soul-saving change but also manifest steadfast
conformity to the ideals of behavior which have religious
approval. These ideals are the habits and statuses which
the old people are striving to maintain. Thus religion 794
sanctions the status of the venerable old people. Their 888
interpretation of "Effectual Calling" functions to provide 626
the elders, the most eminent of the "elect," with an additional [182]
means to exercise their judicial and authoritarian roles.
There can be no rapid conversion. Whether or not the pro-
bationary period of three years imposed by the "men" in the
last century is still enforced I do not know. The person who
believes he has experienced a saving change, "a visitation
from the Holy Spirit," is examined by the minister and his
elders. Like the father who is seeking baptism for his child,
such an old man or woman is judged on his knowledge of the
Bible and the Shorter Catechism and on his conformity to the
righteous life. No one can experience a saving change unless
he is known, by observation, to have lived an upright life.
The person who continues to pursue his own mundane pleasures

cannot be spiritually enlightened. The individual who is asked
about the nature of his visitation is not judged on his ability
to raise his family in the nurture of the church. He is rather
judged on his preparation to carry on the tradition. He must
be worthy of the respect due to one of his status. While old [56]
women are numbered among the "elect," their exclusion from any
active role in the church has kept them socially inferior to
the old men.

I wish I could give some examples of the nature of this 121
"visitation;" however, Skye is a land where the direct question 57
is not used. One can ask a direct question without offending,
but the code of hospitality requires an either affirmative
answer or the answer you think your guest expects. My
circuitous promptings on this topic only succeeded in arousing
concern for my soul.

Two groups escape from the control of the elders as it 626
is exercised through acceptance of an individual into the 888
"elect." As mentioned earlier, the newcomers to Skye have 794
come from different backgrounds. Beyond the Highlands, the 167
meaning of "Effectual Calling" has changed over the years. The [184]
youth attend a young communicants' class in which they are
taught the meaning of church membership. Notestein, writing
about the national character of the Scot, maintains that
interest in "election" has disappeared.[14] Most of the members
of the Church of Scotland in Portree would no doubt agree with
him. One attempt has been made on Skye to hold a young 77
communicants' class. It took place, of course, in the Church 77
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[14] Notestein, op. cit., p. 153.

848 father. So well is the situation handled that the child in many cases does not know of his illegitimacy. We may illustrate this point with the story of a young lad of fifteen.

An old woman applied to the local office of the Ministry of Labor on behalf of "her son" for acceptance in an apprenticeship training course given in Glasgow. The manager of the exchange, who had recently arrived from the Lowlands, was suspicious. He pressed her for information until she admitted the child was her grandson. At a later conference, the boy was asked if he had any place to stay in Glasgow. He replied that he could live with his married "sister." In this case the girl had married someone other than the boy's father. There is no pattern of marriage in these situations. Sometimes the unwed mother-to-be marries the child's father before the child is born. Financial hardship often forces a postponement of the marriage until the very last minute. One couple was married on the day of their child's birth. Other girls never marry. In the latter event gossip appears as a social sanction. As I mentioned earlier, the native who has prospered is not always held in high esteem by the local people. There are several stories on Skye about such men, especially men in Portree, and their illegitimate children.

837 626 Extra-marital relations present a different problem. They definitely are not characteristic of the Sgiathanach. When a husband or wife does commit adultery, he or she is usually a newcomer. Nevertheless, the Islanders feel

strongly about this infringement of the traditional norms. 837 626 Gossip spreads very rapidly. The offenders are said to be "no better than the tinkers." While tinkers are respected [554] [754] because they have the power of the evil eye, they are not accorded any more prestige than we would give a beggar. All who have any contact with the neighborhood or the village where the deviants live soon know all the details. Since [369] most of the adulterers on Skye have been in Portree, it adds another brick to the wall which separates the rural neighborhoods and the trade-center village. The offenders normally leave Skye as quickly as possible.

The Sgiathanach cannot be said to have a strong sense 423 421 of property, or, more correctly, the land is valued as a place of residence and identity not as something to be bought and sold. We have seen that he uses his land communally and that he often will not leave a will for the house, not to mention his land. Even though the state thinks otherwise, he looks upon the natural resources of the island as his for the taking. At the same time, he normally respects the fruits of 421 his neighbor's labor. Any one can cut peat on the moor, but [314] no one, except an unthinking tourist, would take a piece of turf once it had been cut. In a simlar way, the children are 857 generally well behaved. In the village there is a bit of stone throwing, a little profanity, and uncommonly some drinking on the sly, but rarely do children show any disrespect for the rights of others. One contractor, a Lowlander who came up to Skye to make alterations on the school, was amazed. Skye

683 discovered on many o
183 that its absence was
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once during the mode
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[793] Today only the minis
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each other or the po
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forgets himself is a
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attention to this fa

ccasions. I once entertained the thought
indicative of a decadent culture. Then
was a traditional norm of behavior. Only
rn period has there been any aggressive
closing years of the "Clearances." Some
old warriors" who were not afraid to stand
wonder why their descendents have changed.
ters are aggressive in their dealing with
and they reserve their aggressive pose
sons. Naturally, the people quarrel among
ple of drunken men may come to blows with
liceman who interferes. In any group
dealings with outsiders, however, dislike
the form of placid resistance. The Islander
d suffers in silence. This is "affect
art from Protestantizing the crofters.[39]
ndividual, unless he stands among the gentry
tige status through his profession, is
ric. He must stand the snickers of the
itle of a "worthy," a man who does not act

nifested by a loud or quavering voice, or
ching one's fist or other recognizable signs,
c of the Sgiathgnach in public. The man who
lways taken in hand by the minister, an old
He may feel righteous indignation, but if he

d to Conrad Arensberg for calling my
ct.

becomes too worked up, he is expected to withdraw. On occasions, such as weddings, when all have had their share of the uisge beatha (water of life), there may be heated quarrels, including the raking over of old clan feuds. Again, some older man will take the offender in hand, "It's not you that's talking, Murdo, it's the drink." The man almost invariably expresses regret for his outbreak later. Political meetings, often explosive situations in a democratic country, may involve some heated debate, but the code of etiquette is never breached. When one politician told the Kilmuir crofters that something should be done to stop depopulation because soon they might not have any young men for the army, the people were indignant, but they remained quiet. In the case of the cattle thief, cited above, no one lost his temper. In fact, the matter was discussed almost in a monotone.

People still talk about the one outstanding example of aggression which has occurred recently in Portree. At the end of World War II, a collection was made for the benefit of the returning servicemen. A public meeting was held to discuss what would be done with the money and who was eligible to receive a gift. Two young men, both of whom had spent several years in a German prison, and had been drinking, became boisterous. They accused the committee of spending the money and trying to cover it up. The chairman left the meeting. His replacement, a newcomer, restored order by threatening to call a policeman, something which never had been suggested at a public meeting. The boys were forgiven because they had been

German prisoners and must have had a terrible experience, and anyone knows the uisge beatha brings back memories.

Gossip

Social control does not always take such dramatic forms as those we have been considering. Infringement of the traditional norms is deterred, and deviation from the expected patterns of behavior are censured, by a more informal technique, namely gossip. It is not an exaggeration to say that everyone within each neighborhood knows his neighbors intimately. They know the individual, his family, and his ancestral stock. They are aware of his activities inside and outside his cottage, the way in which he meets his moral and religious obligations, and his general outlook on the world. The villagers are equally aware of the character and behavior of one another. Further, almost all the crofters who have dealings in the village know and are known by the villagers, at least by reputation. If any individual is not known, personally, it is relatively easy for a person to find out all he wants to know from another villager. To remain a mystery is dangerous; it begets resentment. Any new arrival to the island, other than a tourist during the summer, soon becomes known in the local area. If he is an important person, his arrival and departure are heralded across the island.

Gossip has enough emotional force on Skye to deter deviations by the native and to mold the newcomer's behavior to no small degree. It has been known to make people so

626 last tenant apparently decided the whole island was working
671 against him. Unable to catch a single salmon in the Hamara
829 River, an excellent fishing stream, he drove into Portree to buy one from the local fish shop. After he had purchased a fine salmon, he asked the shopkeeper where it was from. Not knowing the gentleman, the fishmonger told him it was fresh in from the Hamara. Buying his own fish, so to speak, was too much for him to take.

626 Favorite subjects in discussions of social control,
834 or the lack of it, are pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relations. One reason for this is, no doubt, the fact that
836 the social control of sex is a universal.[36] In an area such as Skye where the most powerful institution to which the Sgiathanach looks for guidance, the church, forbids or condemns open courting, young people must court in secret. Moreover, for a people who find marriage all but impossible in their younger years, secretive courting not infrequently is accompanied by illegitimacy. A pattern has evolved on Skye to handle such mishaps.[37]

848 The child of an unwed mother is "adopted" by the girl's parents, or, less often, the girl's brother or sister. The foster parents raise the child as their own. People exercise great caution in asking about the parentage of a child who does not seem to be compatible with the age of his mother and

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[36] Murdock, op. cit., p. 260.

[37] I have recently found the same pattern in northern New York, and I suspect that it probably exists in other rural areas throughout the Western World.

the Outer Isles, an area of recent depopulation, there are 888
enough youth to resist the dictates of their elders.[25] If 541
they cannot have a dance in a hall, they hold their dance 626 •
on a plank bridge. In Kilmuir the crofters are looking
forward to "Effectual Calling." To defy the elders, or
allow their children to run counter to the wishes of the
elders, would mean a loss of all hope for salvation.

For the majority of crofters, any form of amusement 785
is objectionable, but there are slight differences among 795
the affiliates of the several sects. The Church of Scotland
is the most lenient. For adherents, concerts, film shows
and similar organized forms of entertainment may be admissible,
especially if they are held outside the neighborhood. There [54]
is a "picture bus" from Kilmuir to Portree on Wednesday and [34]
Saturday night. Sports activities are often considered [526]
as wholesome outlets for the youth. Some of the ministers,
feel the lack of social contact with their people and
believe they might do some good by taking part in life
outside the pulpit. The Church of Scotland minister in
Kilmuir occasionally attends the Crofters' Club, the only
secular activity admitted in the neighborhood. Significantly,
Free Church opinion, although the voice of a minority, has
prohibited the playing of pipes and recitals of the Gaelic
Choir at the annual agricultural show. The Church of Scotland
minister in Sleat has taken a hand in the village hall.
Unorganized dances are condemned. This is not because dancing [535]

[25] Darling and Morley, op. cit., pp. 21-24.

that the people of Skye, including many of the newcomers, 785
have not been favorably impressed by Skye Week. The consensus 795
is that it is not representative of Skye. For the Sgiathanach 541
the Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and
similar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree. 369
Here the members and the adherents of the Church of Scotland 795
partake of a number of recreational activities. In the winter 52
there is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer [526]
there is a little golf and tennis. The limitations are not
religious; they are climatic. Then, too, there is shinty.
We have already noted the existence of many clubs. There are [535]
regular dances. Moving pictures take place twice a week. [54]
All of these activities are run by newcomers; the Skyemen have [167]
a more or less passive role. The "elect" of the two smaller 795
sects are, to say the least, very much disturbed by these 794
frivolities. What is worse, the children attend the dances 626 •
and the concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find 883
enough solidarity among those of their own age grade to out- 52
weigh the threats of their elders. Apparently they find
enough security to be unaffected by the stern denunciations of
the minister from the pulpit. When they marry, however, they 794
have to recast the pattern of their behavior, for now the 883
elders are in a position to exercise control by withholding 626
baptism from their children. Some may turn to the Church of
Scotland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glendale the 888
control by the aged is complete. There is not a single activity 883
626
[34]

at which the youth can join together as a sodality; hence, they 888
hardly ever have a chance to question the control of the "elect." 883
Only once in recent years has the control of the old people 626 •
been criticized. After World War II, the men who returned to 578
the neighborhood wanted to erect a village hall. This threatened 888
both family unity and the solidarity of the neighborhood. 883
The young people were divided between the time honored obligation 626
to honor their parents and their own desires for a fuller life.
The parents were torn between religious beliefs and their
affection for their children. The minister and his elders
were faced with a situation which threatened the fundamental
tenets of the faith and the continued ability of the religious
expression to sanction the existing order. How strong are age
controls? The youth did not get their village hall. Many of [167]
them left Skye for the Lowlands where social life is less
restricted.

The difficulty is that until, say, forty years ago the 178
traditional outlets were sufficient. Middle-aged people 883
remember how the youth used to drop in on the old widow for 177
a visit on an evening and then make their way off in couples 52
for a bit of courting. Two World Wars and the continuing
program of National Service, not to speak of the influence of
the schools, have given the youth a new perspective. They
have spent one or two years in an environment where recreational
activities are considered not only innocent but also wholesome.
The radio and magazines have contributed to the demands of the
youth for amusements. As if this were not enough, there are

796 may need just one more dry day to finish his harvest. If the
241 next day is the Sabbath, his one dry day may be two or three
weeks away and the hay a sodden heap. Nor did the Sgiathanach,
or any newcomer with a croft, change during the war despite
all the pleas of the government for full agricultural pro-
796 duction. This is the one time that the Older Order Amish
slogan "And be not conformed to this world" fully applies
to the island. Circumspect behavior on this day functions
to remind the people of all the negations and all the sanctions
which religion has bestowed on the culture.

178 As in the case of Communions, there has been a gradual
796 lessening of the importance of Sabbitarianism, especially
since the return of many young men and women from the war.
[36] Again, the rather spontaneous relaxation of the rules is
most common in Portree. It does not have the encouragement
of the ministers of any church nor the elders of any church,
• [622] except the Church of Scotland. Thirty or forty years ago
the ministers and the lay kirk officers had enough influence
to stop the running of trains throughout the western Highlands,
shipping in the Western Isles, and the Kyle-Kyleakin ferry
[487] on the Sabbath. Public transportation is still at a stand-
[204] still on the first day of the week, but the Sunday papers
appear in Portree after the evening services, despite all the
efforts of the ministers. They come by car from Inverness, by
row boat across the strait, and by car to the village.

178 Before the war no one in Portree would let their
796 children out of the house, except to go to church with their
857

control of the "elect" crofters. They, are the "elect," 796
and their status is independent of the control of the vener- 545
able old men. 626 •
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Summary

Whereas the culture of the Sgiathanach was oriented 771
around the clan system in the remote past and was intelli- [178]
gible only by an awareness of the all-pervasive influence
of the clan, today congregational religion provides the
focus for the culture. If we are to understand the Sgiathanach [21]
we must fathom his religion, that is, the interpretation
which he has given to Calvinism. Moreover, this highly 182
integrated and systematized aspect of his culture has pro- 771
vided the means for preserving cultural continuity. Economics
and social organization aid us in recognizing how cultural
continuity has been maintained. Religion puts at our finger
tips the how and the why.

The basic status values have held good because religion 771
has sanctioned them. The old men of the neighborhood have 584
been successful in sustaining their statuses and habits 182
through their position in the esoteric religious hierarchy. 626
By holding the father responsible for the spiritual welfare [593]
of his family, and judging a man's spiritual enlightenment
on his renunciation of mundane pleasures as well as his
knowledge of religious tenets, the elders exercise judicial
and authoritarian functions. At the same time, the status [593]
of the father within the family is strengthened. After a

man is no longer concerned with the necessity of having his 771
children baptized, the venerable old men, the family-head 554
elders, prolong their social control by sitting in judgment 193
on those who seek salvation. The strength of age controls 626 ●
is indicated by the continued ability of the elders to resist 178
all attempts to introduce secular innovations to the crofting
neighborhoods. Even in Portree the majority of the people
are under the watchful eyes of the old men.

Many of the meaningful patterns of interaction are 771
religious. The rites of passage function to augment social 182
control, restore disturbed equilibriums, and establish new 626
ascribed statuses. The rites of intensification, including
those associated with death, function to restore disturbed
patterns of interaction in the family, nuclear and extended,
and the larger social groups and to establish meaningful
relationships when large congregations gather for the
celebration of communion. Religion for the majority is not 771
merely dependent on attending church on the Sabbath and 782
attending Wednesday night prayer meetings. Every day of
the week begins with a prayer and ends with family worship.
All social activity outside the home is ideally limited to 52
the church, and the church is never used for mundane activity.
Only in Portree are there a number of social activities to 349
tempt the people. Kilmuir has no more than a Crofters' 575
Club for men, and Glendale has no social activities, unless
one would include the annual meeting of the share holders
in the farm.

barley have been replaced by grass and hay. Conceivably, this 178
is a more complete adjustment to the environment, which has been 231
made possible by integration with a commercial economy, than 241
an adjustment to the demands of the outside world. Whereas 233
the objective of the local economy once was the export of
cattle, today the purpose is the breeding of cattle and sheep
for the national markets. We have seen that there are a host 182
of limitations and difficulties in the economic aspect of the 231
culture. Many of these are due to the persistence of con- 241
servative practices. Each crofter must keep pace with his 233
tradition-practicing neighbors, with the old men of the town- 626 ●
ship. Others are the result of an inhospitable environment.
The economy does not run smoothly, but this is not conclusive
evidence for disorganization. Integration does not mean
smooth functioning. In the spring and autumn the crofter is
confronted with a variety and succession of tasks which would
fill a specialist with dizzy. Very often, these pastoral
and agricultural chores have to be carried on in conjunction
with outside employment. In return for his labor, the crofter 34
receives a meager income, frequently supplemented by con- 457
tributions from his children or the government. As a further 167
result of the partial adjustment to the wider society and
culture, the people leave the island to seek employment and
to achieve an upward mobility impossible on Skye. Economically 175
Skye, along with most of the Highlands, may be viewed as
presenting a picture of the Lowlands of Scotland 200 years ago.
That is the extent of the economic adaptation of the Sgiathanach
to the national culture.

from the necessity of daily calls at the post office and shop, 182
but the drivers serve the function of passing on the news of the 571
day at each stop. 243

Standing in the place of many of the traditional social 182
outlets which have disappeared or been modified, there are the 794
religious occasions for joining together as a small group. We
have found the Sgiathanach to be very religious. Everyone is 794
expected to go to church on the Sabbath, and everyone goes to
church. Irregular attendance soon becomes noticed by one's
neighbors, the kirk elders, and the minister. Concern over 626 ●
what one's neighbors may think, in itself a strong motivating
factor, is reinforced by a forbidding fear of what the venerable
old men may do whenever an opportunity presents itself. There
are Wednesday night prayer meetings for further social inter-
course. Above all, there are the semi-annual Communions which, 182
except in Sleat and Strath and one Bracadale sect, bring to- 794
gether the people of the kirk, the members of the same sect from 796
other neighborhoods, and affiliates of the denomination from
the mainland. Even the adherent, the individual who has not
experienced a saving change because he is not old enough, normally
takes his vacation, if he is employed, at the time of the
Communions in order to attend.

The decline in interpersonal religious strife does not 182
mean that strong personal sentiments are not present. No one, 571
other than the eccentric, is indifferent to his neighbors or 243
others with whom he may have dealings. The crofter and his 647
village cousin may not bother to vote, but they closely watch 668
and freely discuss their representatives. Gossip has retained

see what Linton, the most explicit exponent of the concept of 121
status and role, has to say about societies which are faced with 554
changing conditions and disorganization.[15] Linton believes that
such societies attempt to develop new social patterns by allowing
individual initiative, thought, and competition free rein. They
are characterized by a wealth of achievable statuses. With
adjustment, ascribed statuses again become common. The con-
clusion seems inescapable that Skye has adjusted. Perhaps a
few additional illustrations will make my point clearer. The
crofter who assumes a role of leadership is regarded as an
eccentric, someone to poke fun at no less than the village
idiot. The crofters' children who find their status too con- 554
fining must leave the island to achieve status. Some succeed, 626
to a limited degree, by moving to Portree, but they are never 167
free of suspicion. Since the majority of achieved statuses
on Skye are left to newcomers, it might be said that the
Sgiathanach has selected place of birth as a means to ascribe
status. Not infrequently the newcomer's acceptance is followed
by his being placed in roles of responsibility in both formal
organizations and informal groups. The reader may remember
the case of the young man from the East Coast who found himself
on no less than eleven committees. In Kilmuir the people are
represented on the County Council by a minister and the Crofters'
Club is run by the school teacher.

I believe that the most important feature of the concept 626
of anomie is the loss of social control which is said to follow 182

[15] Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 113-131.

disequilibrium. I find it difficult to understand how any 626 ●
group could have a low rate of interaction without a loss of 182
social control. Conversely, I feel that it is all but incon-
ceivable that a group could continue to exercise social control
without a high frequency of face to face contact. On Skye
social control is a very potent factor. Gossip is a double
edged weapon. It not only continues to enforce acceptance
of the traditional norms by the Sgiathanach and, to a lesser
extent, the newcomer but also can be used to punish the
deviant. People have been known to leave the island after 167
a deviation which rendered them unacceptable. Gossip became
a source of misery from which there was no escape other than
flight. Exactly how powerful the dread of gossip is in Portree
can be judged from the experience of my wife and myself. We
have played chaperons to people much our superiors in age.
Nor can one escape gossip by secrecy. The person who remains
a mystery is rejected as a deviant.

The amount and influence of social control, of course, 626
depends on the values of the Sgiathanach. Poaching is rather 665
good sport, but the theft of stock is a serious offense. The
one is the concern of the police and the justices of the peace;
the other is a matter which the people prefer to handle them-
selves. It is quite wrong to purgle a home, but theft from
a shop is a different matter, especially when the store is
owned by a Lowland corporation. A similar dichotomy applies 684
in the case of illicit sexual activities. A pattern has 626
evolved to protect the unwed mother, but the married man or
woman who violates the taboo is severely censured. Ideally,
the offender is cast out by the community and his spouse, or

else the spouse is likely to lose status.

The most powerful of all agents for social control are
the old men of the neighborhood. Through their position in
the church, a religious sanction for their prestige status,
they enforce conformity to the norms of behavior which relig
has sanctioned either positively or negatively. No one, nor
any group, has been successful in questioning the right of
these venerable men to maintain their habits and statuses
which have been preserved over the generations. The baptism
of a man's children and his own salvation depends on accepta
of the authority of the elders, for they will be his judges.

As far as the contemporary scene is concerned, there
is no anomie. The content of the culture has been greatly
modified, but the form, the underlying distinctive pattern,
has been preserved. We are dealing with a single tradition
in which the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them
have remained common and clear. This is all the more strikin
because there have been periods in which cultural and social
disintegration threatened to overwhelm the Sgiathanach. This
brings us back to the role of religion in preserving cultura
continuity.

Lomais and Beegle have employed Durkheim's theory to
analyze the growth and spread of fundamentalist religious
sects in contemporary United States.[16] They conclude: "It
is no mere coincidence that various types of emotional
religious sects are now among the most rapidly expanding

[16] Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 401-407

ctland in Portree. Only one girl appeared for instruction. 794
the significance of her preparation had been fully explained, 779
eclined to take the final step. She did not disagree 184
the minister's view that she was prepared for membership
ommunion, but she was afraid of what her friends in the
Church and Free Presbyterian Church might say. She was
bly wondering what the middle-aged adherents of her church
have to say, too. When the Sgiathanach takes his first
nion, in Glendale, Kilmuir, or Portree, the people must
le to look up to him.

The second exception to the age-grade requirement rules 626 ●
the county people. Because of their social position 888
e community, which rests on the expression of their statuses, 565 794
les, as landlords, village and neighborhood representatives
eaders, and members of the national class system, and
se of their education in England, the county people
n membership in the church at an early age. Some have
e elders of the church at twenty-one. To subject them
s control of the crofters would, obviously, be incompati-
ith their social standing. Although they are all Church [182]
otland, here again religion is a reinforcing factor for
tructure of the society.

Dying, the final act of living, reveals a host of traits 763
only receive covert expression during an individual's 829
While the youth is censured for his spontaneous
ures and the adult is criticized for his behavior, the
sed is always respected. As one woman said, "It is the
ime in a person's life that the people have nothing but

There is another aspect to the prayer meetings. They 796
are no longer held in the Church of Scotland in Portree. 795
The ministers of the other sects say this is an indication 794
of the low degree of spiritual enlightenment among that 369
congregation. Further, Wednesday night is picture night in
the village. The newcomers taunt the devout with, "off to
the pictures?"

It is at these Wednesday night meetings that the people 554
get to know one another. They participate in the worship 571
through the eminent "Men," who in a society such as Skye 796
where almost everybody is related on one side of the family 794
or the other by some bond of consanguinity or affinity, are [602]
the "people" or "friends" of the worshippers. This custom of
offering extempore prayers not only augments the prestige of
the "elect" but it intensifies the unity of the group and
makes them secure in the knowledge that they belong. This
feeling of unity and the sense of belonging is further
strengthened in some churches by setting aside a day of
Humiliation. Services are held during which the congregation [782]
as a group beseech God for forgiveness for the poor spiritual
condition of the world. In their minds the God of this world
is surely the Prince of Darkness.

But for the interaction of the members of the several 794
sects, the control of the "elect" would not be as strong as 795
it is. The elders of one kirk cannot exercise any direct 626 ●
control over the adherents of another sect. Through what
agency could they express their judicial and authoritarian

functions? Certainly not the kirk session. But since they 794
share a common tradition, which is reinforced by interaction 795
and mutual respect, the elders impose more or less common 626 ●
standards. The norms are the by-product of the history of
Skye. If there was cleavage, might not the behavior of the
people begin to diverge? In Kilmuir there are three sects. 795
Two of them have churches. The Church of Scotland is in the 796
majority. The Free Presbyterians are a definite minority;
I think there is only one family of them. Although several
ministers of the Church of Scotland have begun to follow
the example of the national church elsewhere in Scotland and
celebrate Christmas, at least on an appropriate Sunday,
there is no Christmas in Kilmuir any more than there is in
Glendale. The custom is said to be "popish." Naturally,
if the birth of Christ is not celebrated, his rebirth cannot
be commemorated at Easter. All churches, on the other hand,
celebrate New Years, which is also the traditional time to
exchange gifts among members of the family. It is a time
of license. After midnight the people of the townships 796
practice "first footing." Until early in the morning, the [273]
people make their rounds exchanging visits and toasting one
another and the New Year with whiskey, for the men, and wine,
for the women. The people of Kilmuir are noted for their 571
inter-relationships. "You have to watch what you say up 602
there," I was told, "they're all relatives and friends of
each other."

The situation in Portree for the Sgiathanach is much the 400

same as in the crofting areas. When a young girl presented herself for instruction in the significance and meaning of church membership, preparatory to her acceptance of Communion, she refused to take the final step not because of any personal religious problem, but rather because such a step would upset her normal associations. What her Free Church and Free Presbyterian friends would say was her main concern. Who was she to become an "elect" member? Here, then, is the answer to how the elders of the other sects are able to control behavior of the larger group, through the fear of gossip as a negative social sanction and, perhaps, rejection.

The semi-annual Communion celebrations are rites of intensification par excellence. Although some churches celebrate only one commemoration of the sacrament, and it may be as early as February or as late as November, the months from late April until early September, are commonly referred to as the "Communion Season." The activities of the people during this period cast additional light on the influence of religion in ordering social relationships. While clique membership based on sectarian affiliation is a secondary factor in determining the patterns of interaction in the extended family in the local group, it is very important in determining one's wider relationships, the relationships between the neighborhoods and between the Sgiathanach and the mainland Highlander.

Within living memory thousands used to come to the Communion celebrations from all parts of Skye and many nearby

for the approaching evening and many nights to come.

Saturday is a day of preparation. After a morning service, those who have been examined by the elders and admitted to church membership, and the visitors who satisfy the elders of the kirk that they are worthy to receive Communion, receive tokens which will admit them to the Lord's Table on the following day.

On the Sabbath the service is oriented around an "Action Sermon." The minister speaks of the sufferings and blessings of Christ. At the conclusion of the sermon, the Lord's Table is "fenced." Once all the Highland churches gave communion at a table with a rail around it. Now there is only one kirk on Skye with the fenced table, the old parish church in Bracadale. Today the first few pews are used. The minister draws a sharp distinction between those who are entitled to sit at the "table" and those who do not have the right to partake of Christ's body and drink of His blood. The former are reminded of the dangers which neglecting to come forward involves. The latter are warned of their promised damnation as a consequence of partaking unworthily. Since only the old men and women are worthy of the sacrament, the minister's exhortions and denouncements function to sanction the prestige of the old people before the congregation and the wider community. After reading from the Bible, offering a prayer, and addressing the communicants on their humble position, the bread and wine is distributed.

The Communion is concluded on Monday morning with a

"elect" are predominantly newcomers and the elders are either members of the landed gentry or newcomers. I was rather amazed one day when a Skyewoman told me, "the 'Wee-Frees' and 'Seceders' are no better than the Mohammedans giving gifts to idols," when they sent food to the manse for the minister's guests at the Communion. Over in Bracadale the custom is also losing its importance, except in the Free Presbyterian Church, and the fellowship meeting has been abandoned in the United Free Church because of the reluctance of the members to engage in public displays, either at Communions or at prayer meetings. The custom of visiting has entirely disappeared in Sleat and Strath. One of the ministers ascribed this to the isolation of the two parishes from the rest of the island and from each other. Certainly the Sgiathanach on the south end of the island seldom looks to Portree and the northern crofter hardly ever goes to Sleat, but this does not explain why people from the mainland will go to Bracadale, by-passing Strath.

The vitality of religion can over-ride considerations of family and friendship if a Sgiathanach deviates from the accepted norm. We may recall the young girl who stole church funds and was ostracized by her "people" and the whole community. Let us consider another example. Marriage vows, as we know, are held to be sacred on Skye. Divorce is all but unknown and separation is uncommon. To be precise there are four known cases of separation. Nevertheless, if a husband or wife were to break a taboo, it is expected that the offender would be cast out. Forgiveness is not compatible with a

ef in a God who punishes iniquity "unto the third and 586 771 th generation." 626

In one family the wife transgressed by committing 684 tery, albeit a rare sin. Her husband was one of the 794 ct" and a deacon in the Free Church. Fully aware of 626 fact that his wife had remained away from Skye until r her child was born, he took her back. He was older she and devoted to her. The story could not be covered n Skye, where the elders have their thumbs on the pulse he congregation. The elders summoned him before the session. After he admitted he knew all the details and fact that his sister-in-law had taken the child, they ared him to be excommunicate. The control of the elders till characterized by austerity and severity toward the y and ungodly alike. What hope has a Sgiathanach once 771 as been eternally denied salvation? Perhaps, someday 794 ill again receive a visitation from the Holy Spirit experience a saving change. Although no longer entitled he benefits of the church, he continues to attend, as an rent. One may ask, what was the reaction of the people his punishment? A few Church of Scotland people, feel the elders might have tempered their decision. As one "They thought only of Moses on Mount Sinai and forgot on Calvary." Most of the people, however, including n the Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church, either oved the action taken or, at least, would not question judgment of the elders.

glens a family, newcomers to Skye, prevailed on the local 191 school teacher to hold a Sabbath school for the children. 771 621 The local missionary objected. If they were going to have Sabbath school, it should be in Gaelic. His prestige and control over the population secured his position. The children of the people who originated and organized the program were excluded because they did not "have the Gaelic."

Another problem which is beginning to stem from the 191 use of Gaelic as the language of religion is the difficulty 793 of securing a minister. Traditionally, it was an ideal to 183 send a son to study for the ministry. This ideal remains, 874 but in the last few years only one young man from Skye has shown a desire to become a minister. Indeed, the majority of ministers on Skye are not Skyemen. I believe the only minister who serves his own neighborhood, the neighborhood in which he was born and raised, is the Free Presbyterian minister in Glendale. It is becoming more and more difficult to fill charges as they go vacant. Each year several Highland charges are changed from "Gaelic essential" to "Gaelic preferred." If we go beyond the role 121 of religion as it orders human relationships, through its 771 more formal aspects, and consider the influence of religion 626 178 on the secular behavior of the Sgiathanach, we can come closer to an understanding of why the youth are slowly turning away. At the same time we shall be able to round out our picture of the expression given to the Presbyterian ethic on Skye.

that young sinners will not escape from his kingdom." 785 779
Another of the same church expressed himself, "One is constrained to look upon this world as a great battlefield between Christ and the devil and between grace and sin. In our day the kingdom of darkness is carrying everything before it; the Prince of the kingdom of darkness is the god of this world." This attitude is not, however, carried to the extreme that characterizes the Old Order Amish in their determination to "Be not conformed to this world."[24] On Skye, the position is rather that the church, as Christ's witness, must resist the encroachment of worldly pursuits. In a world which is moving as fast as ours, the success 888 626 794 of the resistance of the church is indicative of the hold of the pillars of the faith, the venerable old man, over the group. [554] We have learned how the prestige status of the "elect" and the elders stems from their high position in the esoteric religious hierarchy, and how, through their power to withhold the sacraments, they enforce social control. When the elders sit in judgment of the father who has come to ask that his child be baptized, or the person who thinks he has experienced a "saving change," they base their estimation of him on his non-religious behavior as much as his knowledge of the tenets of the faith. He must [785] not only attend church regularly and conduct family worship; he must also deny himself all pleasures of a frivolous nature.

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[24] Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, p. 1

The man who seeks sensory pleasures and finds enjoyment in 785 779 mundane recreation is believed to be spiritually unenlightened. It seems almost an anticlimax to add that social life is restricted.

Beyond the Highlands and, indeed, within the Highlands 771 883 571 in certain prosperous areas, where poverty has not been a factor of such importance that it requires religious sanction, the Church of Scotland has endeavored to find room within the church for recreational activities, especially for the youth. As in America, the church feels a responsibility to the youth which requires a combination of religion and recreation if the citizens of the community are to be well-rounded adults. Youth programs and youth clubs, young adult groups, and social circles for the older men and women are an essential part of church work. In 794 571 an organizational sense, the Church of Scotland on Skye has, at the most, a Woman's Guild which meets once a month to hear a lecture on a topic such as missionary work in India, and which holds an occasional sale of work to reduce the church debt or buy the minister an electric tea kettle to keep in his vestry; and a choir, which meets once a week for rehearsal. It is, as I have said before, not the overall policy of the church which determines the activities in which the people participate or which they reject. The 888 561 626 elders are the prime movers. Were the youth in Kilmuir anyone under thirty, instead of anyone under forty, the control of the aged might not be as strong as it is. In

Keavay
Braigh Mor
SCARP
Huisnish Pt.
Loch Seaforth
Loch Langavat
Mergadale Forest
Loch Leurbost
Loch Ceiriscleit
Loch Ceiriscleit
Loch Ceiriscleit

2:: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

102
103
133
491
631 •

HARRIS AND

/p. 8/

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

102
103
133
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• 631

LEWIS
BUTT OF LEWIS
Ard Dail
Cellar Hd.
Tolsta Hd.
Thompson Hd.
Aird Uig
Vatisker Pt.
Ness
Port of Ness
Cliffen Hd.
Ruthin Lauthern
Stornoway
Tong
Garrabost
Point
Aird Mhor
Carloway
Dun Carloway
Loch Roag
Loch Erisort
Loch Seaforth
Loch Shiel
Loch Ceann Hulavig
Loch Langavat
Loch Ardbeg
Loch Ardvourlie
Loch Leurbost
Loch Ceann Dibig
Loch Ceann Hulavig
Loch Ceann Ulabhaig
Loch Ceann Ulabhaig
Loch Ceann Ulabha

627

627 INFORMAL INGROUP JUSTICE--unformalized mechanisms for adjusting grievances and applying sanctions within the community; private retaliation (e.g., lynching, tarring and feathering, feuding); negotiation and compromise; informal hearings before the headman or local council; etc. Data on justice will be filed under 69 rather than under this category whenever formal judicial institutions are found even at the community level. See also:

Liability . . . . . 67 Offenses and punishments 68

241 175 423 grazing land and he could not transfer such property in a will. Similarly a crofter had no right to his buaile, and could not formally protest if another crofter sought to apportion this land for his own use (see Chapter 2 [627] for a discussion of apportionments). But in both situations, informal understandings superseded legal rights.

241 657 175 Various legislative acts which followed the 1886 act focussed attention on the crofter. Various matters associated with crofting are handled by a Crofters Commission. Crofters have access to grants and loans [654] to improve land and build fences and homes. They may [494] buy goods at low prices in a nearby cooperative store. As crofts were fenced, land around the townships became scarce and non-crofters found it difficult to keep large numbers of cattle and sheep.

241 178 423 Within recent years it has become possible for non-crofters to gain title to the small plots of land on which their houses are built. Some loans are available [452] to them for building houses. Non-crofters have access [654] to the various subsidies available to all agriculturalists, such as the subsidies for raising hill sheep and beef [629] cattle. There is still the feeling, however, that crofters have rights which non-crofters do not have and that in conflicts over scarce goods crofters have

685 183 years from her employer, an outside concern. She spent the money on clothes and holidays in London, and gave the material to her friends. She was brought to trial and given a sentence of six months. Upon her return, she was welcomed with open arms. The sympathy of the people was with her rather than with the organization with its main office in far off Edinburgh. As they said, "Poor Jane, she was a good girl." "Poor Jane" died not long after being released.

When traditional norms are involved the situation is handled quite differently. There was another young girl in the village who was guilty of a similar petty crime, on a smaller scale. During the last war, one of the local ministers organized a group of girls from the school hostel to make a door to door collection for a charity. One of the girls, a "foster child," had never been given any spending money. The temptation was too great. She spent her collection. To replace the money, she stole from a fellow hosteler. When she was found out, she was expelled from the hostel. The school year had two remaining weeks, at the end of which she was to graduate. Not one Sgiathanach, including her "people" and "friends" of her relatives, would have anything to do with her. As far as they were concerned she had exiled herself. She was an outcast.

685 627 Now let us turn to the crofting neighborhood to see how a crime is handled there. In most cases the neighborhood, as the fundamental locus of social control,[38] is able to deal with

[38] Cf. Murdock, op. cit., p. 84.

685 627 deviants without recourse to the court. Indeed in Kilmuir they do so well that I never heard of any theft. Still, there has been some theft in Glendale. Shortly before each cattle sale the shepherds on the club farm found one or two cattle had disappeared. At first they thought the cattle might have gone over the cliff, but coincidence soon indicated they had a thief in their midst. One of the crofters, a retired Glasgow policeman, took a hand in discovering the guilty party. At length he found out who it was. At the annual meeting several weeks later, he stood up and told the shareholders exactly what he had seen. Here were the facts, in detail. He did not, however, name the guilty person. After he had finished, the crofters calmly asked him to retell several parts of his story, and then there was a period of silence. Finally, the man publicly confessed and expressed repentance. He was not cast out or handed over to the police -- I doubt if the police know of this even now. His humiliation was sufficient punishment.

682 [743] Among such crimes and the forms of social control which they prompt, however, murder is almost unknown, deterred by the tales which tell of being plagued by the man's ghost to the grave, and suicide is extremely rare, with only three cases in many, many years. Much more important, however, is the influence of social control over public behavior.

683 183 157 During my stay on Skye, I was struck by the lack of overt aggression. Aggression was an outstanding characteristic of the culture during the days of the clan, as the Crown ruefully

628

628 INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONS--traditional friendships and rivalries between communities; establishing, maintaining, and breaking relations; blood vengeance; feuds; negotiation and composition (e.g., payment of wergild); mediation and arbitration; etc. See also:

Formal justice . . . . . 69 Gang wars 870
War . . . . . 72 International law 648

For example, 46
a Widow Catherine lost "one red
175 mare and foal (L10), one dun cow (L3/10), and one dun
42 heifer (L1/10)." One family is said to have paid rent
435 by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir
551 James Matheson), thus earning the patronymic, "Fiddler."
Their income stopped abruptly when the fiddler at the
time, a great-grandfather of descendants now living,
converted to the Free Church and smashed his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1905 it was noted in the rent ledger
that two crofters wanted "first chance of a vacant croft
in the township." In the first quarter of the century,
• 628 a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighboring
764 township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too
precious to take out of cultivation and give to the dead
of another village.

173 A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living
241 from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was
233 young. They used the dung of the cattle to fertilize the
220 soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was
only 2½ acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight
stacks of barley to see us through the year." There were
173 a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the streams
213 to grind the barley. The "old Norse mill" which was
252 recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project
251 was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got
897

175 womanhood a prey to prostitution. The licence of a chief
585 among young women was preferable to this; but evils were
inherent in the fact of lordship.

(c) TWO ISLAND BARDS: MARY MACLEOD AND THE BLIND HARPER

175 While in Lewis the continuity of clanship was sorely
63 shaken by the fall of the chiefs, the Torquil-MacLeods,
621 in Harris it was maintained in the family of the Norman-
MacLeods of Dunvegan in Skye. The family of Dunvegan
is famed for chivalry and gentleness, not only in the songs
of the past but in the speech of Skyemen to the present day.
Harris did not suffer the bloodshed endured in Lewis from
the death of Torquil until after the accession of MacKenzie
in 1611; and Harris was not involved, like Lewis, in the
troubles of 1715. MacLeod of Dunvegan retained Harris
until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was pur-
chased by a cadet of the family who had made his fortune
in the East; and it only passed out of MacLeod hands half
a century later. Hence it is that while in Lewis there is still
talk of the 'give and take' between later laird and people,
533 in Harris there is more. In "the hereditary Hall of
MacLeod" of Dunvegan, two Island bards gave birth to
immortal song. Together, the tales of Lewis and the songs
of Harris and Skye give us an authentic record of clanship
in fact and feeling, linked with community today.

• 628 In spite of the break in continuity, ease and warmth of
feeling could spring up between a MacKenzie of Seaforth
and the Lewismen, though Seaforth was a peer of the realm,
and of a mainland name, not a MacLeod by direct descent.
Playful rhyming, chaffing contests between titled laird and
small tenant, are recorded by A. Carmichael and W. C.

63

63 TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION--general statements dealing with several distinct levels of political territorial organization. Statements dealing with territorial hierarchy will be filed in 631. Material on political institutions of administrative or territorial units intermediate in size or functional scope between the community and the state, the sovereign or maximal political unit will be filed in the three digit categories below. It will be used only for societies of some political complexity, not for those in which communities are politically independent or for those with petty states embracing only a single district or a small city with its environs. The individual categories represent increasing levels of size and complexity, but since these are not universally comparable they must be considered subject to modification in order to adapt them to the actual territorial units of particular societies.

APPENDIX II

178 300 houses, with nearly 30 built by "private enterprise"; in
362 addition the Local Authorities built 140 in the immediate
647 'suburbs' (of which 50 were temporary), a total of over 470
• 63 and an average of, say, 47. Another 115 were built in the rural
429 townships. If we give a round total of £125,000 as the value

	Barvas	Lochs	Stornoway	Uig	Lewis Total	Harris
Holdings						
Full-time	5	12	8	21	49	34
Part- and spare-time	1,050	580	1,160	630	3,420	510
June 1953 (acres)						
Oats	2,080	520	1,220	900	4,730	710
Potatoes	550	180	450	260	1,440	210
Tillage	2,860	730	1,810	1,196	6,590	1,280
Rotation Grass	580	300	690	290	1,850	260
Permanent Grass	2,870	2,460	3,250	3,150	11,730	4,030
Grass	3,450	2,760	3,940	3,440	12,580	4,290
Rough Grazing	93,580	107,180	56,480	111,250	368,490	111,170
(head)						
Cattle	1,350	860	1,330	1,360	4,900	1,640
Sheep	38,110	37,810	23,670	42,690	142,280	43,380
Pigs	10	2	110	3	130	..
Poultry	25,370	9,880	25,010	13,060	74,220	12,240
Horses	180	25	60	60	320	60
February 1954						
Tractors	24	4	24	5	57	8

434 241 231 184

178 for an average year (such as 1953) for Local Authority Housing,
362 we may allot half this to net output of local materials and to
647 wages earned by Lewismen, some £65,000, of which rural
63 wages were a small fraction, say £20,000.
435 For crofters and cottars, however, in 1953, a fairly typical
year, there was much local effort and achievement, by help
434 of 180 loans and grants from the Department of Agriculture
647 for Scotland, totalling £81,000 for new houses or house im-
654 provements (with a very few steadings). £80,000 may be
426 allotted to local materials and to labour paid or given by house-
holders themselves.

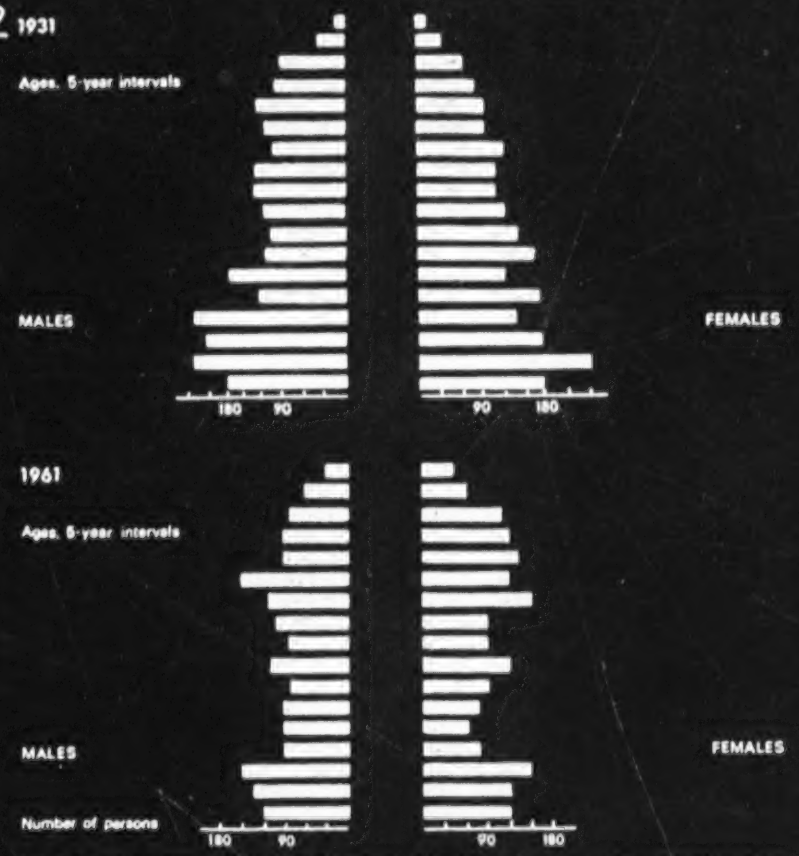
631

631 TERRITORIAL HIERARCHY--territorial structure of the state; the various levels of territorial and administrative organization within the state and their reconciliation with the categories below; hierarchy of political officials; integration with larger political units (e.g., Ukraine within the USSR); general nature of the territorial hierarchy (e.g., feudal, administrative, federal); degree of local differentiation in structural forms (e.g., federal districts, free cities, territories, colonies); etc. See also:
Identification of the cultural group in relation to culture areas and neighboring societies. 101

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

423 acreage of regulated common grazings amounts to 65,000 acres.
241 The working units (as distinct from crofts) in Harris are classified according to the arable acreage; the majority have up to 10 acres arable land. Less than 250 acres of land have been improved.

162



The age stucture of the Harris population in 1931 and 1961, showing the decline in numbers and rise in age

• 631 There are four districts in Harris: North Harris, with its islands; the Bays of Harris on the east coast; the Leverburgh area, with the islands of the Sound of Harris; and the west coast.
[133] North Harris is mountainous country, dominated by the Clisham

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

(2,620 ft); grouped around this are the lesser peaks staring stark 631 •
and treeless to the skies. At the feet of these hills are the small 133
villages straggled along the shores of West Loch Tarbert. Much of this area is owned by the proprietors of Amhuinnsuidh Castle, a magnificent structure built by the Earl of Dunmore in the last century; the hills lying north of it are rich in red deer. The road [491]
past the castle trundles on until it peters out at the far-east village of Hushinish, beside a glorious scimitar-like curve of silver sand. Beyond Hushinish is the Island of Scarp.

The road along the shores of East Loch Tarbert ends at the 631
village of Kyles Scalpay which overlooks Scalpay island. The [491]
Bays of Harris hold in their crevices the scattered groups of houses [361]
here and there, where an inlet of the rocky coast affords some [133]
anchorage and where a patch of ground is suitable for cultivation. Tortuous, winding footpaths have been gradually replaced by [487]
narrow roads connecting the townships. Lack of sufficient re- [161]
munerative employment has led to considerable depopulation. [162]
Fifty years ago the population of the area was just over 5,400; it is now about 2,900.

The south of Harris is better known for its association with Lord Leverhulme. Obbe, later Leverburgh, became the centre of his schemes. He built a large pier, huge kippering sheds, houses for the workers, roads and lighthouses, and blasted away underwater rocks which hindered free navigation. The bulk of this work was complete in 1924, but when he died (in 1925) his successors, in the cold light of economics, decided to close down the embryo industry and realise its assets. The harbour works had cost £250,000; they were sold for £5,000 to a demolition company. Leverhulme's memorials are still to be seen. The west coast of Harris is now becoming known for the long stretches of shell sand and the green machar-land beside it, a true delight for the tourist seeking isolation.

Tarbert is the central village in Harris, with a population of 631
about 400. It is a thriving community, nestling at the foot of 621
Beinn an Teanga and at the head of the sheltered anchorage of East Loch Tarbert—sheltered from the prevailing south-westerly winds and from the Atlantic storms. The car ferries give direct [505]
contact with the Scottish mainland, via Skye, and Tarbert also

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway, and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes sixteen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Roadwork gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

SULASGEIR

Dean Monro, in his 1549 account, refers to the vast numbers of wild fowl and mentions that the men of Ness sail there and stay for seven or eight days and bring back a boat full of dried wild fowl and feathers. The *Old Statistical Account* (1796) says: 'There is in Ness a most adventurous set of people who, for a few years back, at the hazard of their lives, went there in an open six-oared boat without even the aid of a compass.' The boat, says the *Account*, could not be pulled up out of the sea, and therefore, while some of the men worked on the birds, the others had to stay in the boat on the most sheltered side of the sheer-cliffed island. This custom of hunting young gannets (or 'guga') on Sulasgeir still continues. Under the Protection of Wild Birds Act, 1954, the gannet is protected by law, but so that the Ness men could continue their old custom, a Statutory Order was passed making a special exemption (from 31 August each year at the end of the close season) of the gannets on Sulasgeir. With North Rona, Sulasgeir is one of the great breeding grounds for British oceanic seabirds.

The Loch Roag islands

The one large inhabited island off the Lewis coast is Great Bernera, though technically it is not now an island, having been connected to the mainland of Lewis in 1953 by a bridge. It is part of the parish of Uig, as are the other islands in Loch Roag. Its population reached a peak of 730 in 1911, but has now fallen to about half that figure. Off the west of Great Bernera is Little Bernera, which in Dean Monro's time was 'inhabit and manurit', but which has had no population recorded since the 1861 Census. Monro describes it as full of rough little craigs, but with fertile earth between.

Also in Loch Roag are three islands which, now deserted, once supported families: Pabbay had 17 people in 1861, 9 in 1881, and none since; Vacsay had nine men in 1861, and none since; Orasay in 1891 had one man and one woman, but none since.

The Flannans

Belonging again to the parish of Uig is the group of islands known as the Flannans, or Seven Hunters, some twenty miles

THE OTHER ISLANDS

north-west of Gallan Head. There are seven main islands, all small, high and cliffbound, and a number of rock stacks and islets. All are uninhabited. Eilean Mhor, the largest, of 39 acres, has an automatic light. Dean Monro's description of the islands as 'nouder manurit, nor inhabit, but full of grein high hills and scheipe' still holds, for sheep are taken annually from Lewis to the grazing on the Flannans. Their name is said to be derived from the ninth-century St Flann, whose saintly influence was recognised during the centuries when men from Lewis visited the islands for their harvest of wool, wild fowl and feathers.

The Flannans were the scene of a great sea-mystery: the complete and utter disappearance of three men from the lighthouse at the turn of this century. In December 1900, the lighthouse, with its 140,000-candlepower beam 283 ft above sea level, was a year old. It had taken four years to build instead of the estimated two. All the materials had to be swung up piecemeal from the boats and hauled up the almost sheer 70 ft cliffs to the top. That month a passing ship, the *Archer*, noticed that the Flannans light was out; a message was sent to the Flannans shore station at Breaclete, Lewis, and the *Hesperus*, preparing to pay a Christmas visit to the lighthouse, got under weigh.

Its crew landed and searched the island, but found no trace of the missing keepers. In the lighthouse was an uncanny silence. The fire was dead. The clock had stopped ticking. The beds had been made up in the clean, clinical way of all sailors. And in the galley, the pots, pans and dishes sparkled their welcome to the searchers. In the lamp-room the lamp was cold. The wicks had been trimmed and the lenses polished. The logbook showed a last entry on 0900 hours, Saturday 15 December. In the subsequent investigation some theories were offered in explanation of the disappearance, but none quite fitted. The mystery remains, a haunting, unexorcised cloud hovering over the island.

The Shiant Isles

Turning to the east coast of Lewis, in the parish of Lochs are the Shiant Isles, about 4 miles off-shore, across the Sound of Shiant (Gaelic: charmed, enchanted). There are three islands in the group: Eilean an Tigh (House Island), Garbh Eilean (Rough

[For further information on particles, see category code

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

CHAPTER VI

CLANSHIP: PEOPLE, CHIEF AND TACKSMEN

(A) COMMUNAL EQUALITY AND LORDLY PRIVILEGE

175 632 642 631 THE equalitarian customs of hamlet and township astonish many to whom the crofting villages are unknown and whose picture of the Gaelic past is derived from tales of the 'Forty-five. The widespread historic fact of lordship over a subject peasantry has obscured that of peasant-neighbourhood, more ancient, it would seem, and, in the Isles, still more enduring. The very existence of 'rural democracies' such as those just described has been doubted by certain scholars on the theoretic ground that they would be humanly unworkable! (614) Yet it is none the less true that the peasants as clansfolk gave loyalty to their chief. The fervent loyalty given to the exiled kinsmen-kings, the Stewarts, was a scarlet thread interwoven—or entangled—in the homespun web of community, of clanship. [533] Wherever the Gaelic is spoken, the Jacobite songs are sung with passion, and their echo has gone round the world.

[171] So in the life of the Gael, without doubt—and in varying degree throughout Britain and the rest of Europe—we have to envisage a composite, perhaps a contradictory, state of things, in which communal equality is overlaid by

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 631 632 642 [171] [621] lordly rank: a working, equalitarian democracy dominated by an aristocracy proudly refusing to work. The fascination of Gaelic community is, first, that its elements stand out so clearly, and, secondly, that links were forged in clanship which made its living chain, though heavy, a thing that shone with pride, and beauty too.

(B) CLANSHIP, COMMON DESCENT AND CLAN-HELP ('CUIDEACHY')

621 To what extent is it now possible to disentangle the two contrasted elements of the lord or chief and the farm-teams and townships? 172 Prehistory is hard to unravel; but the successive waves of conquest flung upon the Island shores 621 have left their jetsam, unmistakably. The circle of huts 177 found near a broch or commanding *dùn* recalls the tenants' village grouped close to the castle of a chief, from early history down to the 'Forty-five, and suggests a primitive 173 form of feudalism or of clanship. Traditions add their 621 part. In Uist one may still hear the ancient heroic lays 631 traditionally ascribed to Ossian, Oisean, son of Fionn or Fingal—lays of which Macpherson's sonorous prose gave free rendering. The Fingalian tales differ from the lays, being frankly fantastic. Lewis had its own cycle of Fingalian tales; examples are given by W. C. Mackenzie (1919). Both lays and legends tell of an aristocracy or warrior class, the Fenians, of their enjoyment of the chase, and of their relative comfort, with wealth in gold and silver, in banners and flowing mantles. The chase combined with riches implies the existence of a community to feed and clothe the huntsmen. The traditions of the Cuchulainn cycle, with closer approximation to historical and [177] archaeological truth, tell the same tale. Historically, in-

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

173 177 621 631 coming Viking chiefs, who often intermarried with women of the older aristocracy, seem to have retained some elements of a pre-existing order, as did their successors, the Scoto-Norman lords.

So, from history back to 'proto-history', there is 172 621 increasingly discerned the stages of superimposition, in the Isles as elsewhere. In Central Europe archaeology has recapitulated the stages by which peasant-villagers were raided, then conquered by desperate herdsmen, on horseback or bearing better arms, who had ridden in from the drying grasslands further east. In the Isles the later conquerors were the fierce raiders from the sea, sailing in from 173 the fjords of the North. An unbroken chain of tradition 621 from Viking to Gael is vividly conveyed in the stirring 177 saga of the Galley or Birlinn of Clanranald, composed only a year or two before the 'Forty-five (epitomised, Chapter VI (E)).

173 When the conqueror had won the submission of the 622 conquered and secured his livelihood, comfort and leisure 631 by their work, he came in time to bring their interests nearer to his own. Yet whenever the ambitions of two rival chiefs conflicted, the essential predatory attitude remained and either might bring fire and sword against the other's harmless people. Through time, the successive tides of emigration and storms of conquest bridged the contrast of extremes. Not two orders of chiefs and people, but successive strata, with intermixture of blood and of tradition, must be sought in the Isles as elsewhere. Traditional life in so difficult an environment tended to be diversified and to encourage all-round aptitudes in people and chief, their characters having much in [177] common. As to blood, the history of Island Norsemen records the marriage of the new-coming chiefs with heiresses

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

173 622 631 [177] [171] from the old chiefs' families, as in the genealogies of MacDonald of the Isles and the MacLeods. A special feature contrasting with English history is that claims to differences of descent, instead of being maintained—as between the Saxon and the conqueror of Norman blood—were fused. Even when the ancestor of the chief was alien to the locality, the people and the chiefs ultimately claimed 173 621 to be of one and the same descent. Neighbourhood softened the impositions of the hunting herdsman upon his human herd, and the feeling of kinship brought reconciliation.

173 How far, then, can the family name, which proclaims every 'son' and 'daughter' of Leod to be of the *clann*, 621 614 the 'children'[1] of the first Leod, really betoken a blood tie? Both the differences of race to be found in clanship 829 and the ties it formed are well brought out in a tale of Highland pride, still told with Highland laughter across 539 the Minch in Kintail. A French skipper (an importer of claret) touching at Kintail three hundred years ago, met a short, dark man and asked him of whose clan he was. "The Clan Rae," was the reply, "but we are of two kinds, the tall, fair MacRaes and" (a little pityingly) "the short, dark MacRaes." "And which are you?" "I," said the wee, black fellow, drawing himself up, "am one of the tall, fair MacRaes!" "Then God help the short, dark 173 MacRaes!" said the skipper. Even one link with the 621 blood of the chief—and that not necessarily legitimate—614 was enough for a man to found a claim to kinship, not 829 merely as a MacRae, but with the tall, fair chief through

[1] In Gaelic, as a man is called MacLeoid (son of Leod), so a woman is NicLeoid (daughter), and the clan, *Clann Leoid*. The absurd addition of [551] 'son' to a woman's name (as in English surnames such as 'Johnson') is unthinkable in Gaelic, in which a woman would be named 'John's daughter', *NicIain*.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 Such are the mingled traditions of the Highland
701 regiments which served in so many wars, for right or for
wrong. Of all the desperate alternatives before the Gael
[614] —famine at home, semi-slavery in the factory towns, death-
stricken sea voyages, pioneering in the forested hills of
Eastern North America, or war, it was this last which
offered the men not only the trappings and glamour of
clanship but continuing fellowship. In the regiment a
Gael was among friends. Modern civilisation offered him
no other life promising social continuity and the hope of a
return to croft and township, " if death should spare him ".

175 It would be wrong to suggest that only the gentry could
701 rise to command, for as English and literacy were acquired,
the sons of small tenants received commissions. British
565 military discipline has too often driven a breach between
554 the men and the non-commissioned officers, spoiling the
[703] latter's fitness for higher leadership. But among High-
landers " the bond of faith and affection " led naturally to
commissioned rank. For generations, historic precedent
[178] was carried on in living tradition.[1] Given education, the
[871] sons of Island crofters have risen to command on land and
sea ; but education came late.

CONCLUSION

175 Thus in the ' little commonwealths ' of the farm-hamlets
621 grouped within the township, personal right and equal
631 shares were balanced by common duty, summed up in the
577 principle of " duty-right or cor-
614

[1] The training or leadership came for review but here one can only cite examples. For instance, descendants of his neighbours in Strath Spey told me that my paternal grandfather, as a penniless lad speaking Gaelic and English (in which he was literate), enlisted in the Black Watch about 1849. He was known as a N.C.O. for his power of quiet, reasoning discipline. He thrice refused the offer of a commission, which was then given to others, of whom more than one rose to high command in the battalion.

APPENDIX C continued

(3) Tenants, according to status, by size of holding, August 1959.

162 311 427 464 631

Status* of tenants:		Area of holding (in acres): 0.0-2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	More than 20.0	TOTAL:
BERNERA DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	2	6	3	8	10	4	4	37
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	M under 65	-	-	-	1	4	3	4	12
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	M under 65	-	1	1	2	2	1	-	7
	M over 65	-	5	1	3	8	4	4	25
	F under 65	-	-	1	1	3	1	-	6
	F over 65	-	-	3	2	1	-	1	7
Absent		-	1	3	1	3	2	3	13
TOTAL		2	13	12	18	32	15	17	109
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	4	21	13	3	2	2		45
	M over 65	-	1	1	-	-	-		2
	F under 65	-	1	-	-	-	-		1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
B	M under 65	2	6	4	-	1	-		13
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	1	-		1
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
C	M under 65	-	4	7	2	-	-	-	13
	M over 65	6	15	15	5	3	2	-	46
	F under 65	-	4	4	-	-	-	1	9
	F over 65	2	5	2	1	2	-	-	13
Absent		6	15	6	2	-	2	-	30
TOTAL		20	72	53	13	8	5	1	172
GARLOWAY DISTRICT									
A	M under 65	5	24	10	3	-	2	-	44
	M over 65	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	4
	F under 65	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	M under 65	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	3
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	M under 65	3	7	1	-	1	-	-	12
	M over 65	3	18	7	-	1	-	-	29
	F under 65	1	13	3	2	-	-	-	19
	F over 65	4	14	4	-	-	-	-	22
Absent		4	12	1	1	1	-	-	19
TOTAL		21	92	28	7	4	3	-	155

* : A with regular employment.
B with irregular employment.
C without employment ('full-time crofters').

APPENDIX C continued

(4) Principal croft workers, according to status, by size of effective agricultural unit, August 1959.

162 311 427 464 631 631

Status of croft worker		Less than 2.5	2.6-5.0	5.1-7.5	7.6-10.0	10.1-15.0	15.1-20.0	More than 20.0	TOTAL:
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Regularly employed	M under 65	4	7	6	11	15	12	11	66
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregularly employed	M under 65	1	1	-	2	8	3	2	17
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not employed	M under 65	-	-	1	3	2	1	1	9
	M over 65	-	-	4	2	1	-	-	7
	F under 65	-	-	2	1	2	2	1	8
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL		5	8	13	19	28	17	15	105
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Regularly employed	M under 65	4	24	17	13	18	3	3	82
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregularly employed	M under 65	1	1	5	1	1	1	-	10
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not employed	M under 65	-	-	4	-	3	1	1	9
	M over 65	3	7	4	3	2	1	1	21
	F under 65	-	2	3	1	1	-	-	7
	F over 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL		8	35	33	18	25	6	5	130
GARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Regularly employed	M under 65	20	39	16	8	4	4	1	92
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregularly employed	M under 65	2	1	3	1	-	-	-	7
	M over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F under 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F over 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not employed	M under 65	7	7	2	2	1	1	-	20
	M over 65	1	4	8	-	1	2	-	16
	F under 65	3	5	3	-	-	-	-	11
	F over 65	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	7
TOTAL		36	59	35	11	6	7	1	155

APPENDIX C continued

(5) Stock and cultivation by size of effective units, August 1959.

231 311 631

(a) STOCK

Stock as proportion of sums of each unit:	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units: 0.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0 acres	All sizes	Actual number of units
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Nil	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
Less than 50%	-	5	3	4	6	3	4	25	27
50%-100%	1	5	2	11	13	5	6	43	46
100%-200%	1	3	3	4	9	6	4	30	32
More than 200%	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	2
All units	2	13	8	19	29	14	15	100	108
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Nil	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	6	7
Less than 50%	2	8	9	4	5	2	2	32	42
50%-100%	1	6	8	5	6	2	2	29	39
100%-200%	-	7	4	6	9	1	-	19	25
More than 200%	-	7	2	2	2	2	-	14	18
All units	4	30	25	17	15	6	3	100	133
GARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Nil	2	2	1	-	-	1	1	3	6
Less than 50%	4	16	9	2	3	1	1	36	44
50%-100%	2	11	12	2	2	2	-	31	38
100%-200%	2	12	5	2	2	-	-	22	27
More than 200%	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	6	7
All units	10	43	29	7	7	4	1	100	122

241 311 631

(b) CULTIVATION

Acres cultivated:	Percentage of total number of effective agricultural units: 0.0-2.5 acres	2.6-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	More than 20.0 acres	All sizes	Actual number of units
BERNERA DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	5	6
0.5-1.0	1	3	2	2	1	-	2	10	12
1.1-2.5	2	6	5	10	19	9	6	58	66
2.6-5.0	-	1	1	5	8	3	6	24	27
More than 5.0	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	3
All units	4	13	8	18	28	13	15	100	114
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	4	6
0.5-1.0	2	3	1	1	-	-	-	7	8
1.1-2.5	1	15	9	4	1	-	-	30	43
2.6-5.0	-	12	13	8	11	4	4	52	74
More than 5.0	-	-	4	4	2	1	1	9	13
All units	6	29	24	16	15	6	5	100	142
GARLOWAY DISTRICT									
Less than 0.5	10	5	3	-	1	-	-	18	28
0.5-1.0	10	11	7	1	1	1	-	32	48
1.1-2.5	3	20	13	5	2	1	-	43	66
2.6-5.0	-	3	1	-	1	1	-	7	10
More than 5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All units	22	38	24	6	6	3	1	100	152

APPENDIX C continued

(6) Stock carried according to classification of principal croft worker of each working unit*

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STOCK CARRIED		Under 65 years: Full-time crofter	Croft and regular work	Croft and periodic work	Over 65 years: Male	Female	ALL UNITS **
BERNERA DISTRICT:							
CATTLE ***	nil	3	2	1	4	-	10
	1	8	8	3	1	1	44
	2	4	15	1	1	-	19
	3	-	4	1	-	-	5
	more than 3	-	1	-	-	-	1
SHEEP	nil	2	-	-	-	-	2
	less than 6	1	-	1	-	-	2
	6-10	2	2	-	-	-	6
	11-20	-	3	2	1	-	8
	21-50	8	13	4	2	1	38
	51-100	2	15	2	-	-	23
	more than 100	-	1	-	-	-	1
EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT:							
CATTLE ***	nil	5	13	5	-	-	27
	1	12	53	4	16	1	86
	2	2	9	6	-	1	18
	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
	more than 3	-	-	-	-	-	-
SHEEP	nil	2	10	4	3	1	20
	less than 6	1	2	-	2	-	5
	6-10	6	5	3	1	-	17
	11-20	4	22	1	3	-	30
	21-50	2	25	3	7	-	39
	51-100	4	9	-	-	-	13
	more than 100	-	-	-	-	-	-
GARLOWAY DISTRICT:							
CATTLE ***	nil	3	6	-	2	1	12
	1	21	72	3	11	4	113
	2	5	10	3	2	1	19
	3	-	1	-	-	-	1
	more than 3	-	-	-	-	-	-
SHEEP	nil	9	17	2	6	4	38
	less than 6	2	5	-	2	-	9
	6-10	4	8	-	1	-	13
	11-20	6	17	1	2	1	28
	21-50	5	32	1	3	1	42
	51-100	2	6	1	1	-	10
	more than 100	1	3	-	-	-	4

* some units are omitted for lack of data.
** two years and over.

Island) and Eilean Mhuire (Mary's Island). The Shiants are the eroded relic of the same age of volcanic activity that formed the strange-looking columns of Staffa and of the Giant's Causeway in Antrim. The mass of cooling molten rock slowly crystallised and changed in composition: the early-formed crystals sank to the bottom, the later ones being found nearer the top. In 1845 one family lived on Garbh Eilean, the largest, which is joined to Eilean an Tigh by a low storm beach; but the family was lost, falling over one of the great precipices which are a feature of the group. In 1821, 2 males and 4 females lived there; in 1891, 3 males and 5 females; and in 1901, 4 males and 4 females. But in this year the last family upped and went to Tarbert, Harris; for one of its members, a girl of 21, it was the first visit to the outside world. Since then there has been no permanent population. Back between 1811 and 1821 a visitor to the Shiants had some hard things to say about the filth and darkness of the shepherd's dwelling in contrast with the 'loveliness of nature, the bright sand, the fair rock, the enamelled green turf, and the sweetness of the summer breeze'.

Records show that at one time in the islands' history some sixteen people lived there, working small crofts. The ruins of their chapel can still be seen. The author Sir Compton MacKenzie had the house on Eilean an Tigh renovated for a stay there, and later the islands were bought by Nigel Nicholson, author and publisher. Today they are used for grazing sheep.

St Kilda

The St Kilda group of islands, some 45 miles off the west coast of Lewis, belong to the parish of Harris. These islands have an extensive literature and can only be touched on here. When the population was evacuated from St Kilda in 1930, the move broke for all time almost 2,000 years of continuous island living; they were taken off at their own request, after much careful and serious deliberation by the St Kilda 'parliament'. Life in Hirta, the only island in the group with a permanent human settlement, depended on the seabirds that breed in their tens of thousands on the cliffs of Hirta and Boreray, and the great stacks of Stac an Armin and Stac Lee. The flesh of puffins, gannets and fulmars

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

Research into markets and more co-operative effort, into better use of the land with less dependence on subsidies and grants, is scheduled for the Western Isles Crofters' Union. 467

Fishing as an industry, though now receiving the necessary shot in the arm by the establishment of the nucleus of a local fishing fleet, is still bothered with the perennial problem of poaching. The Minch remains one of the great fishing areas of Britain, but, it is argued, its fertility is forever being depleted by fishing inside the three-mile limit. This limit was originally chosen because it was the effective range of a cannon ball about two centuries ago. Fish, however, when they choose their spawning grounds are uninfluenced by the range of eighteenth-century artillery, paying far more attention to the nature of the sea-bed, which varies as much inshore as it does offshore. 228

POLITICAL ORGANISATION

In 1918, the Outer Hebrides became a separate Parliamentary constituency known as the Western Isles, a recognition of their geographical position in relation to the many other islands off the west coast of Scotland. Before this constituency came into being, Lewis formed part of the County of Ross & Cromarty for Parliamentary purposes, while Harris and its own islands of Scarp, Taransay, Scalpay and the isles in the Sound of Harris were included in Inverness-shire. 631

For the purposes of local administration, however, Lewis still forms part of Ross-shire (part of Ross & Cromarty), with its centre at Dingwall, the Ross & Cromarty county town; while Harris, North Uist, South Uist, Benbecula and the Barra Isles belong to Inverness-shire, and are administered from far-away Inverness. The Lewis association with Ross-shire is a historical one. When the boundaries of the Earldom of Ross were changed in 1661, Lewis went with Ross as part of the possessions of the Lords of the Isles. The present districts recognised for administrative purposes do not in fact greatly differ from the divisions, or parishes, set up after the creation of the Bishopric of Ross in the twelfth century, the Lewis parishes being Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs. The County Council attends to finances, education, roads, [175]*

631 public health and general administration, and has offices in Stornoway. Stornoway itself is largely looked after by a Town 632 Council which deals with the property of the burgh, makes and 625 administers byelaws and imposes burgh rates. The police are 634 under County administration, each burgh paying an annual con- 693 tribution for their services; the law is administered by a sheriff-principal and two sheriff-substitutes, one of whom holds court 631 in Stornoway. Each parish has a local committee of management.

631 The political history of the Western Isles, and no less Harris and Lewis, reflects the agrarian troubles. Before 1917, when Lewis *175 was a Parliamentary part of Ross & Cromarty, and Harris part 665 of Inverness, the electorate was both Liberal and Radical; traditionally there has been a significant anti-Tory vote. In 1917, the [634] Boundary Commission for Scotland set up the Parliamentary County of Inverness and Ross & Cromarty, with three divisions: Inverness, Ross & Cromarty and the Western Isles. In 1918 the Western Isles voted for the first time as a Parliamentary constituency of its own, and showed a predominant Liberal sympathy; the returned candidate was also standing for the reform of the Land Law.

666 In the General Election of 1923 a Liberal candidate was again returned, with a repeat performance in 1929. In the 665 latter election however, the Socialist came in second place. In *175 the crisis or scare election of 1931, the Labour Party did not contest the seat, which was won by a Liberal-National candidate opposed by a full-blooded Conservative. In 1935 the Labour candidate, a native of Lewis, was returned with a 1,345 majority. This Member retained his seat through all subsequent elections losing it only in 1970 to a member of the Scottish National Party, who became a lone Home Ruler in the House. Labour, Conservative and Scottish National parties are represented in the constituency, with a small Liberal showing. The revision of local authorities has given virtual autonomy to the Western Isles.

PUBLIC SERVICES

36 The lack of adequate social and public services has been cited by some authorities as a factor encouraging people to leave the

18 pastoral group, the germ (in the Hebrides)
621 township with its common grazing. Haml
174 ship formed circles of cultural and religious li
[423] These 'sociable hamlets', or 'little comm
they were called by understanding writers
lands, lived on in the Hebrides almost until
Features of their form and life have long be
their life has not yet been envisaged in its
significance.

127 The homesteads, informally grouped i
36 hamlets, have been mistakenly described
174 'dispersed' by scholars accustomed to lar
compact grouping. The mistake was made b
[423] of the nineteenth century, such as Meitzen
to the hamlets of Brittany. Similarly, b
[476] small number composing a typical joint te
fact of team-work and joint holding has fre
overlooked; yet a fundamental mistake is ma
close-knit team-work and joint tenure are
174 'individualistic'. Moreover, these teams w
621 gether in larger, more loosely bound pastoral
of township and district. In Scotland and e
63 true, such hamlets came historically to be split
[241] ways, into smaller farms and scattered c
larger link of common life was also super
[178] proprietor's estate. Indeed, the twofold r
volved caused a fundamental regional cleavag
North and West'.

[182] Partly as a result of their small size, the te
hamlets was frequently informal. In north
[184] the hamlets and their lands were not entered
Book; still less are early entries complete
[178] For this and other reasons, jurist and histo

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

174 to notice the absorption or suppression of rights held in
621 common in 'the North and West', together with the
631 abolition of the duties of fellow-workers to one another.
178 Too frequently they have not troubled to enquire into the
former existence of common rights and fellowship duties,
184 the observances of which have so much to teach. Yet to judge from the completeness of the Hebridean evidence, and from wider evidence to be touched upon with reference to Norse and Lowland conditions, suppression caused a profound social and moral revolution.

178 Indeed, the profound character of that revolution makes
184 it hard to recognise the common origin of features which may differ greatly today. To choose four examples, the
[428] long succession from father to son, found from end to end
[166] of an Island township, contrasts with a restless movement of farm servants, and even tenant-farmers, all too common until 1939 in Lowland Scotland and parts of Northern
[181] England. The ideals held by fellow-workers in Gaelic tradition, of kindly and courteous co-operation, contrast with the avowals of rugged individualism made on many a farm even of the southern Highlands today, and certainly of
[291] the Scottish Lowlands and Northern England. Languages have changed as English has advanced during 1500 years: the Lewis crofters' children still speak Gaelic, but children in Stornoway ceased to do so forty or fifty years ago.
[771] And in the recorded religious life of Gaelic hamlets far from any priest (or later, minister), the part of revered men and women is very different from the part played in Calvinism by the Minister and the male Elders of the Kirk. All these four contrasts are due to revolutionary changes in home, work, language and religion. Such changes, of which all trace may be lost elsewhere, are traceable from the fullest evidence among the Gael.

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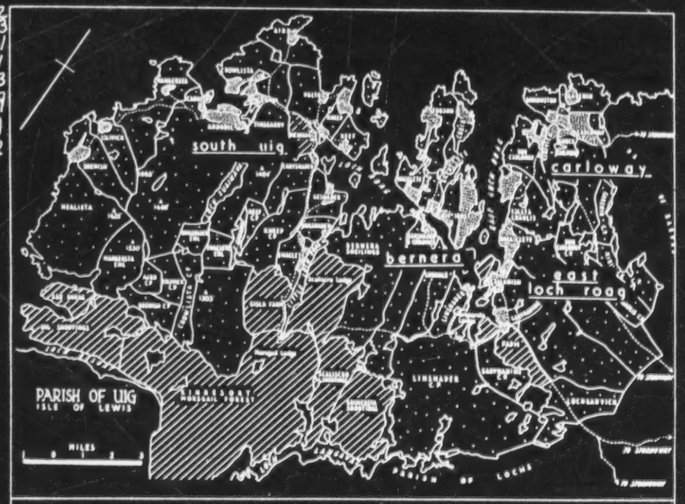

Major categories of land use:

Infield land - arable and pasture

Common pastures

Sporting estates, farms etc.

THE FOUR DISTRICTS REFERRED TO IN PART IV ARE NAMED : south uig

TABLE 37

The Crofting Structure Re-organised

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(a) Holdings

District	Proportion of holdings grouped according to area of infield land: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All holdings
South Uig	49%	36%	15%	100% (195)
Bernera	14%	27%	59%	100% (109)
East Loch Roag	53%	38%	9%	100% (172)
Carloway	72%	23%	5%	100% (155)
WHOLE PARISH	50%	32%	18%	100% (629)

[128] Note: These are the registered crofts and similar agricultural tenancies as on the 1958 valuation roll. About 50 holdings omitted for lack of data.

(b) Effective agricultural units

District	Proportion of units grouped according to area of infield land: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres	All units
South Uig	33%	34%	33%	100% (165)
Bernera	13%	30%	56%	100% (105)
East Loch Roag	33%	39%	28%	100% (130)
Carloway	61%	30%	10%	100% (155)
WHOLE PARISH	38%	32%	30%	100% (555)

[128] Note: About 20 units omitted for lack of data.

(c) Summary (excluding Carloway, see note)

	Proportion of holdings (generally registered crofts):	Proportion of effective agricultural units:
Under 8 acres	72%	47%
8 acres and over	28%	53%
All holdings/units	100% (474)	100% (400)

[128] Note: The Carloway district is here excluded because about 30 small de facto agricultural units without crofter status obscure the effect of unofficial amalgamation of crofter-tenancies.

Sources: Appendices A(3) and (4) and C(3) and (4).

TABLE 39

Stock carried by working units

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STOCK HELD AS PROPORTION OF SOUM	Percentage of units in each district with stock indicated: South Uig %	Bernera %	East Loch Roag %	Carloway %	WHOLE PARISH %	(No.)
Nil	3	1	7	5	4	(20)
Less than 50%	26	25	32	36	31	(155)
50% - 100%	32	43	29	31	35	(173)
101% - 200%	31	30	19	22	26	(131)
More than 200%	8	2	14	6	4	(40)
All units	100	100	100	100	100	(499)

233 C(2)) and the cattle soums appear impossibly high unless large quantities of winter fodder
311 are imported. In the old townships the soums of each croft are still based on minor
178 variants of the traditional "1 cow and follower and 8 sheep per pound rent"; the rents,
427 however, were calculated on the potential value of the croft in days when an inexhaustible supply of labour was available for production of winter fodder by cultivation. This is no longer the case and the old assumption no longer holds.

Township pastures are seldom, if ever, used to best advantage. Because the regulations generally allow unlimited substitution of sheep for cattle, the soumings are not, in theory, exceeded by the presence of the increased flocks of sheep. In practice, however, the situation is quite different. In the first place the difference between the effects of the grazing of sheep and cattle on the hills is not widely appreciated. In discussions some crofters remarked on the change during the present century in the appearance of the nearer hill pastures - "they were green when I was a boy, now they are black", - but this was seldom correlated with the decline in cattle and increase in sheep. There can be no doubt that the increase in the ratio of sheep to cattle has generally led to a deterioration of the grazings. Further, there are almost five hundred separate sheep packs on the parish pastures, most of them with less than 20 ewes; at some fanks the men and dogs seem to outnumber the sheep! Little real sheep-herding is done - nor can it be by men who have other regular employment. Consequently the hills are not grazed evenly: some areas are grossly over-grazed whilst others are neglected. This situation has grown worse with the decline in cattle numbers and consequent abandonment of the shielings, the occupation of which ensured that use was made of the more distant pastures.

361 Yet another factor inhibiting proper use of township pastures is their situation and
233 shape. Many townships, particularly in South Uig, have detached areas of hill pasture,
311 former shielings. These are often singularly inaccessible now that the custom of
178 staying at shieling huts has ceased. Other township pastures are long narrow strips running inland for up to seven miles. Straying from one township's lands to those of another is therefore common. Individual allocation of the hill pastures is not practicable but a certain amount of fencing and, possibly, the employment of a paid township shepherd (as in the nineteenth century), would help.

233 If we examine the stocking of individual working units, Table 39, we find that only 30%
311 carry more than their total soum, 35% carry between a half and a full soum and a further
631 35% carry less than half their soum. The situation does not vary very much as between the four districts, although there appears to be a slight tendency for working units in

TABLE 40

Individual sheep and cattle stocks by districts

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Holdings: Stocks		Proportion of units with stock as indicated: South Uig	Bernera	East Loch Roag	Carloway	Whole Parish (No.)
		%	%	%	%	%
CATTLE:	nil	12	13	21	8	14 (65)
	1	54	56	70	78	65 (314)
	2	29	24	9	13	18 (86)
	more than 2	5	7	-	1	3 (15)
All units		100	100	100	100	100 (478)
SHEEP:	nil	6	3	16	26	14 (68)
	1 - 5	1	3	4	6	4 (17)
	6 - 10	8	6	14	9	9 (43)
	11 - 20	9	10	24	19	16 (78)
	21 - 50	35	48	32	29	34 (164)
	51 -100	34	29	10	7	19 (89)
	more than 100	7	1	-	3	3 (14)
		100	100	100	100	100 (473)

233 Bernera and South Uig to carry more stock than those in East Loch Roag and Carloway. Taking the total scum (cattle and sheep together) obscures some aspects of the livestock
311 economy. If we examine cattle and sheep separately quite a different picture emerges
631 (Table 40). As to cattle over one year old, two-thirds of the units carry but one cow, 14% have none, and only 3% carry two or more. In all districts the majority of units carry but one cow, but in South Uig and Bernera a significant proportion carry two - either a second milk cow or a young beast, the latter probably for sale in the autumn. Clearly, the great majority keep a cow mainly as a walking dairy; experience in other areas confirms this and in the Point and Tolsta districts of Stornoway parish many crofts have ceased to keep cattle at all since organised milk supplied became available. Sheep stocks, on the other hand, vary far more from unit to unit (Table 40). There is a marked tendency for the flocks to be bigger in the south and Bernera districts, where units without sheep are also rare, whereas in the north a quarter of the units in the Carloway district are without sheep and few have more than 50. In other words, agricultural production per working unit is greater in the two southern districts than in the north.

233 The management of the 500 or more sheep flocks deserves some comment, even from
[227] the non-agriculturalist. Lambing takes place in April on the crofts or on near-by common land; the ewes, with lambs, go to the hills in May, weaning takes place at the end of August and at the end of October or early November all sheep return to the croft land or near-by common pastures. The lambing percentages (60% - 90%, see appendices A(2) and C(2)) as reported to us appear optimistic, even for a good year, but this is probably because they were given to us before weaning; at least a 10% reduction of the figures given would be realistic. Except for certain South Uig flocks few lambs are sold; the

TABLE 43

Classification of croft workers

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Principal croft workers:			c.f. Tenants (from Table 12):
Males under 65	77%		51%
of whom: in regular employment		55%	32%
in casual employment		12%	10%
with no other work		10%	9%
Males over 65	15%		31%
Females under 65	5%		8%
Females over 65	3%		9%
All persons	100% (557)		100% (530)

employment and, as we shall see, in most cases, the croft carries so little stock that it cannot be the most important source of income.

This situation does not vary very much from district to district (Table 44), except that South Uig has a noticeably high proportion of elderly croft workers. This is to be correlated with the unsatisfactory age structure of the south Uig district which, in turn, is probably a reflection of the poorer employment opportunities there and consequent emigration. Weaving, in particular, is less important than elsewhere. This situation is also reflected in the smaller proportion of crofters with regular employment and the larger proportion which relies on casual employment as shown in Table 44.

162 Finally, we may enquire whether the size of agricultural unit available to a man has
311 any influence on his employment status. To this end status has been plotted against size
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TABLE 44

Principal croft workers by districts

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Croft workers by districts:	S. Uig:	Bernera:	E.L. Roag:	Carloway:
Males under 65:	72%	86%	70%	77%
regular employment	43%	62%	63%	59%
casual employment	20%	16%	8%	5%
no other work	12%	8%	7%	12%
Males over 65	24%	7%	16%	10%
Females	4%	7%	5%	12%
	100% (165)	100% (107)	100% (130)	100% (155)

Sources: Appendices A(4) and C(4).

TABLE 45

Principal croft workers by size of effective agricultural units

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Size of unit (acres):	Nil to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	7.6 to 10.0	10.1 to 15.0	15.1 to 20.0	more than 20
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Males under 65:							
regular employment	55	61	47	60	52	57	60
casual employment	7	11	13	12	17	9	12
no other work	16	7	7	7	15	11	12
Males over 65	11	13	23	16	11	18	15
Females	10	9	9	4	4	4	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: Appendices A(4) and C(4)

of unit; the result (Table 45) does not suggest that the possession of a large agricu unit encourages a man to become a full-time rather than a spare-time agricultura Indeed, the possession of a large unit, built up by amalgamation, is often a fortui
[462] result of marriage, death, or inheritance, rather than a matter of individual choi only significant correlation in the table seems to be the understandable tendency f female croft workers to work the smaller, rather than the larger, crofts.

241 The cultivated land
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The chief crops are hay, oats and potatoes, in that order:

DISTRICT	Acreage of: Oats	Potatoes	Hay	All Crops	Average
South Uig	149	50	209	407	2.
Bernera	121	38	69	228	2.
East Loch Roag	83	35	170	288	2.
Carloway	113	42	202	357	2.
TOTAL	466	165	650	1,280	2.

241 Barley, which in the form of bere was important until the 1920's, has almost
[178] disappeared. Turnips, marigolds, rape and other animal food crops are only gr

175 and still more to pay arrears, was "the rugged Hag,
241 Poverty, that would resist both King and Government".
427 We may guess that MacAulay passed a hint to the tenantry
451 that (in a good Gaelic idiom) they had better 'disremember' details of arrears: and this they did.

175 Of the four names on the deposition quoted, one or
551 two may have been surnames, others the patronymics of
613 kinsmen. As is still the custom, clansmen knew one another
178] by names of many kinds. Stature or colour was used to distinguish a big John from a little one, a fair from a dark, or a pale from a swarthy; occupations such as smith or caird (artificer, not necessarily travelling tinker as now) were
241] used, and also mere nicknames. Of the eighty-one crofters
226] or fisher-burghers in Stornoway, fourteen were MacKenzies; and other mainland surnames, such as Fraser and Gunn, Matheson and MacLennan, also showed their descent from the immigrants brought in when MacKenzie of Kintail founded the burgh to encourage fisheries after 1611. Each held a single holding, usually rented at two shillings sterling.

175 To conclude, rentals about 1715 show (1) the character-
241 istic equalitarian grouping of small peasants as fellow-
427 workers in the hamlet-farms still held directly from the
331 superior, Seaforth; (2) the eighty-one small burghers of Stornoway; and (3) tacksmen, responsible for the larger part of the Island rent, but under whom we know that the labouring peasantry, though without the local independence of the others, also continued to dwell and to work together. The tacksmen were to pass away, as many of them had originally come, at the desire of a mainland lord, and the lord, in his turn, was to leave; but the small peasantry of immemorial stock still hold and work their land.

Fig. 3. The Crofting Townships of Park

/facing p. 4/

121 a wider applicability of my thesis. The evidence in support of
101 my assertion was collected on the culture history of the Isle of Skye, a part of the area known as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

101 Since I shall frequently speak of the Highlands and Islands in the following pages, we should have a precise definition of th
133 region (Figure 1). Geographically, the Highland boundary should be placed at the Great Highland Fault, a series of geological faults which extend across Scotland from the River Clyde to Stonehaven, south of Aberdeen. Politically and economically,
131 however, this line has receded to the north and west. Since 1883 it has been common in Scotland to equate the Highlands and Island with the "Seven Crofting Counties," those counties in which the
241 predominate form of land use is the crofting system. Crofting may be defined as a system of hereditary tenure of a few acres of arable land combined with common tenure of hill grazings.
684 These counties are: Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty,
633 Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney, and Zetland. Out of the 163 parishes in these counties only 12 are considered non-crofting.[1]
161 In addition to this shared socio-economic pattern, the seven counties have experienced common economic-geographical influences a century of accelerating population growth, followed by a centur of persistent depopulation.

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[1] Adam Collier, The Crofting Problem: A Social and Economic Study (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953),
794 p. 11n. A parish in Scotland is an ecclesiastical district which until 1929 was also a civil unit with self-government in such local affairs as education, relief for the poor and infirm, and health. If the British county is thought of as analogous to an American state, the parish can be thought of as a county, but one devoid of any function.

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

tourists, and newcomers who carry with them ideas of reform. 621
Further, as well as being mutually dependent commercially, the crofters and the villagers interact formally and informally in social, political, and, especially, religious activities. The consciousness of common interest of the villagers, however, 621 186 stems more from a knowledge that they are different from the crofters than from any common symbol. The 1000 villagers [162] are from diverse backgrounds. They find solidarity in being different rather than in "neighboring" or all attending the same church. The village also lacks the time depth of the rural settlements, being a creation of an individual in the last century.

For community I prefer an inclusive definition on the 631 order of Redfield's.[8] A community is characterized by conventional understandings, the occupation of a territory, and the possession of a culture. Thus, we shall refer to the Isle of Skye as the community.

It will be noted that I have not used the term parish. 632 799 Although the parish was once important politically and religiously, 178 as the older baronies were replaced, it lost these functions in 1929.[9] People reside within parishes and they, along with their crops and stock, are enumerated by parishes, but the parish is now little more than a statistical convenience. Church organization and political administrative units cross-cut and override parish boundaries. Indeed, I doubt if the people [186] ever thought of themselves as members of a parish.

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[8]Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, pp. 15-16.

[9]See, e.g., C. De B. Murray, How Scotland is Governed (Glasgow: Art and Educational Publishers, Ltd., 1947), pp. 113-118, et passim.

632

632 TOWNS--political organization of municipalities (e.g., towns, townships, boroughs, parishes) embracing a number of communities; governmental personnel (e.g., executive, advisory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection (e.g., appointment, election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority, prerogatives, functions, and activities associated with each position; etc. See also:

Physical characteristics and facilities of settlements. 36

000 24,863 acres. The value of this boggy property, as
423 far as the landlords are concerned, is determined by
427 its fishing potential. The landlords generally reside
226 away from their property, and brave the buffeting gales
several times a year to return to fish for trout and
[463] salmon. For the rest of the year they hire river-
watchers to prevent their tenants from poaching. As
[635] in Wales (Emmett 1964), the islanders continue to poach,
[171] in part as an expression of their identity as independ-
ent countrymen, a minority group in a nation-state.

161 Lewis is the most populated area in the Outer
162 Hebrides, containing 21,934 of the 32,607 Outer Hebrideans
437 numbered in the 1961 census. It is part of the County
of Ross and Cromarty, whose headquarters are on the
• 632 mainland near Inverness. Lewis has four administrative
areas called civil parishes in which births, deaths
[197] and other vital statistics are recorded. Stornoway
parish is largest, containing the town of Stornoway
on the east side of the island in which many non-Gaelic
speakers live. Of the other three parishes, the largest
[162] is Barvas which stretches along the west side of the
[197] island and contains 4,331 persons, of whom 94.5% are
Gaelic speakers. The people of Stornoway refer to someone
[186] from the west side as a siarach (west-sider), a term
which connotes rusticity.

131 Lewis is about 40 miles long. The distance from
Stornoway to the west side of the island is about 15
361 miles. Along a tar-macadam road through Barvas parish
491 from its northeast tip toward the southwest, about
18 villages are clustered along a relatively flat coast
for as many miles until the land becomes hilly. The
narrows and takes hairpin twists around blind,
361 stony corners. Villages become fewer, and nestle in
protected coves or string haphazardly across the face
of the hills.

Shawbost (from the Norse nid or sid meaning "sea"
• [632] and bost or bolstadhr meaning "dwelling" or "homestead"),
a village in the parish of Barvas, lies on three low
hills on the west coast. Shawbost is 18 miles from
Stornoway on a circular route in which Stornoway and
Shawbost are antipodes.

172 On the south side of Shawbost bay, huddled beside
the sea strand, is a cluster of ruins called Sean Bhaile
(the old village), believed to have been occupied over
200 years ago when fishing was important in the local
[348] economy. Banks of the streams are dotted with the ruins
of old grinding mills and ovens for drying grain.
[312] Fresh-water springs are still kept clear of rushes,
although water is now piped to most houses from a nearby
000 loch. Hundreds of place names are known to the villagers

Hundreds
103 of place names are known to the villagers
[193] constitute part of the oral tradition of a population
which has lived in a confined geographical area for
generations.

In most of Lewis, village and township coincide.
• 632 The village of Shawbost is composed of two townships,
621 South Shawbost in which the crofts splay outward like
311 a fan from roads which curve over an uneven landscape,
423 and North Shawbost which is composed of linear streets
[363] (see Map C), to which the crofts are perpendicular.
Each township has its own common grazing land, and its
own grazing committee. All of South Shawbost and part
of North Shawbost belong to one private estate (which
includes other townships to the southwest), and most
of North Shawbost belongs to an estate which extends to
Barvas. Beyond the fact that non-crofters in South
Shawbost have found it easier to acquire crofting status,
little difference between the two townships appears to
be due to their belonging to different estates. As
[427] elsewhere in crofting regions, the landlords of the
[524] two estates are concerned mainly with the sporting
potential of their land.

632 The two townships are themselves divided into named
neighborhoods (cf. Vallee 1955 for a discussion of
"natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas).

000 "natural neighborhoods" in crofting areas). The
363 northernmost street of North Shawbost is called Carnan
103 (carn = a heap of stones), and the street parallel to
it, by the loch and the sea, is Baile Stigh ("the town
within," i.e., in toward the sea. In everyday speech,
[196] one goes "in" to the sea and "out" to the moor, a
reference which probably derives from the days when
fishing was extremely important. The sea was then the
focus, from which the village expanded "outward." Today
the road is the source of goods and transport). Part of
the Baile Stigh is sometimes called Gearraidh Buidhe
(buidhe means "yellow"; gearraidh is the land from which
peat has been stripped). The Baile Stigh intersects
the main road and continues toward the moor, where it
becomes New Shawbost. New Shawbost, once called New North
Shawbost, is also called Pairc, referring to a farm which
existed there before the land was turned into crofts.

The neighborhood regions of South Shawbost are less easily
• 632 recognizable as the land is not divided into linear
363 streets. To the people of North Shawbost, South Shawbost
103 is simply Baile Thall, "the town over yonder." (Residents
of South Shawbost also refer to North Shawbost as Baile
Thall, but also frequently refer to the different streets.)
Within South Shawbost, several neighborhoods are
distinguished on the basis of the clustering of houses,

• 632 distinctive geographical features, and nearness to the
363 sea: Ceann a Stigh (or Ceann a Stigh Bhaile, or Baile
105 Stigh, the "town" at the "head" of the road "in" by the
sea), Ruailebhir (an area identified with the keeping
of cattle), Gearraidh Mor, Creagan, Pluic, and Mach a
Chul ("out the back," by a road built relatively recently).
A street which leaves the main road and cuts into the
moor, or common grazing land, is called Grinnbhat, from
the name of a nearby loch.

511 The presence of a large Harris Tweed mill in
[348] Shawbost has contributed to a high standard of living
[288] within the village. It is estimated that only 25% of
[493] the households of rural Lewis have cars; about 50% of
the households in Shawbost possess them. In 1970
[342] Shawbost had only one occupied tigh dubh, or "black
house" built of dry stone and roofed with thatch, which to
many islanders symbolizes a past life of poverty and
[404] adverse times. Modern appliances such as refrigerators,
[251] deep freezers and electric toasters are common in
[207] Shawbost. Most homes also have television sets, and
[206] many have telephones.

238 The mill in Shawbost employs between 60 and 70
463 persons to dye, card and spin yarn, to prepare the yarn
in warps which are then delivered to weavers who work
in their own homes, and to darn, wash and market the

175 Thus some tenants were relatively more prosperous than
423 others. A large class of subtenants (scallags) did
427 corvée labor in return for a small amount of arable
land and the right to graze a few livestock. Their
land was intermixed with that of their masters in the
prevailing system of run-rig. "Crofters" had economic
standing similar to that of scallags, but had permanent,
compact allotments (Gray 1952: 49).

C. Joint Farm vs. "Crofting Township"

The 1726 rental indicates that the "town" of
• [632] Shawbost was a corporate unit and thus that "crofting
townships" have a long history. However, Geddes (1948)
argues that the form of the 1726 rental was due to the
method by which it was collected. In 1726, officials
toured the island and made a list in large public
hearings of the rents of those assembled, thereby attempting
to make certain that no tenants were excluded from the
[461] rent roll. The major cooperative work unit seems to
[476] have been not the township but the joint farm, which
contained enough men to make up a crew for ploughing
and fishing.

171 In the Lothians and eastern Lowlands, the land could
192 be worked in larger units than in the Highlands, and a
287
427

175 In any case, the "town" or township was not the
• 632 effective work unit, but rather was the larger
241 neighborhood in which several joint farms existed.
[239] The tenants of several joint farms grazed their stock
on the surrounding moorland (i.e., on common grazing
land).

D. From Run-rig to Crofting

175 Run-rig was an agricultural system suited to a
233 pastoral people, who required the use of open, common
241 pasture for grazing their livestock; the arable land
311 was limited, and of varying quality (according to Day
(1918: 12), 54% of the land in crofting counties was
mountain and heath used for grazing, and only 5% was
[423] arable land). Residents worked several strips of
different quality, and the strips (in drained beds of
earth a few feet wide and many feet long called lazy-
beds or fiannagan) were usually re-allocated every few
[625] years. A "constable" acting for the landlord ensured
that proper husbandry was maintained.

175 The joint farm, and the stratification of tenants
241 and subtenants within the farm, disappeared as
178 "progressive" landlords began, in the second half of
427 the 18th century, to substitute compact holdings for
the "mingle-mangle of dispersed strips (Gray 1952: 46)"
000 which characterized run-rig. Hamlets or clachans

175 Geddes (1948: 56) gives evidence that joint farms
178 were abolished in Lewis early in the 19th century.
241 Gray (1952: 50) says that by 1819 there was little
423 run-rig left in Lewis. The factor's notebook for
Bressclete, on the west side of the island, shows the destruction of clachans around 1850, and their replacement by linear townships.

175 In the Napier Commission's "Evidence" (1884) for
423 the parish of Barvas, it was mentioned that the rent
427 had been increased because of improvements made by the
• 632 landlord, Sir James Matheson, between 1849 and 1852.
178 Land had been drained and new townships created; and both old and new townships were lotted and rented in 1850 and 1851 (Napier 1884: 959). The Ordinance Survey
195 map drawn up in 1852-53 reveals several interesting
361 features of Shawbost: "New Shawbost" has recently been
423 laid out; and in an area now incorporated by only a
427 few separate crofts on "Carnan," a cluster of houses
178 appears, perhaps the clachan in which joint tenants lived, and from which they went out to farm their various strips of land, before Matheson reorganized the land in linear strips with dispersed housing. The peat banks
(314) in the Carnan area are almost exhausted, indicating a
(194) long period of settlement in this area.

175 F. The Decline in Self-Sufficiency
• 632 Until the second world war, when weavers began to
433 earn larger sums of money for their weaving, the
175 township was relatively self-sufficient. The land was
463 more thoroughly cultivated, and the village boasted a
(240) number of local specialists. These specializations
175 were linked with particular family lines. Certain
592 families were blacksmiths; others were undertakers, joiners, cobblers, or midwives. As generations succeeded one another, occupations were not thrown open in the competitive, individualistic way of the mobile city. Certain occupations were seen to be "naturally" linked with particular families. Sometimes it was said that people of a particular family (which might include quite a number of collateral lines) had hereditary characteristics which suited them for particular occupations.

"Taggy was an expert bone-setter. He wasn't a doctor
(199) at all, but he could set bones better than any doctor. And he used to let blood, when people were dizzy with threatening strokes, or had pneumonia. It was in the
(827) people. He was a direct descendent, through his mother, of the Murrays of South Shawbost, the people who had the mill and were the blacksmiths for generations. He got that ability from them."

121 of the township with the larger society, and examines
128 the effect of geographical and social marginality on the boundedness of the township network. Chapter 6 discusses two important networks of social relations within the township.

B. Township as Social Boundary System

• 632 The township constitutes a relatively firmly bounded
178 system, although its boundaries are weaker than formerly
621 when the township was relatively self-sufficient economically. Township members worked together in small
(496) fishing crews, and families relied on each other for help when members of the family were away from the island "at the fishing."

621 Relatives were expected to give priority to helping
476 each other. According to one proverb, "A relative is
602 your best friend." First and second cousins were
(539) considered especially close, but knowledge of one's
(605) kinsmen extended to at least the fourth generation.

602 Ties of kinship became evident in ceremonies such as
576 funerals and weddings. One Gaelic proverb says, "You
585 know who your relatives are at weddings and funerals."
164 At weddings the onus was on the members of the bridal
(539) party to remember their relatives. "You have to sit and calculate who is closely related, and all those

621 used on different occasions, for example, to discourage
622 deviant behavior or certain marital alliances. Any sign
582 of physical or emotional disability in someone planning to get married invites an attempt by other villagers to
(539) discourage an alliance. According to a Gaelic proverb, "If you want to be praised, die; if you want to be criticised, marry (Ma tha thu airson do sholadh, bassich; ma tha thu airson do chainsadh, pos)." The villagers
621 consider not only the behavior of the person but of his
622 ancestors. The individual is perceived as belonging to
582 a family unit which through many generations has manifested
827 certain physical and behavioral traits. Traits of behavior such as shyness, heavy drinking, stealing and tightfistedness are interpreted as hereditary traits. "It's in the blood (Tha e anns an t'fhuil)." "It's in the people." Particular occupations are also associated with families.
(463) Stornoway, which is not so "urban" as to have a constant turnover of population, contains many examples of occupations passed down through generations.

• 632 In Chapter 3 I mentioned the development of several
578 groups in the crofting township which seem to be in conflict with the township as a strongly bounded system. People who keep only sheep have come to blows with those who keep both sheep and cattle; and a distinction between crofters and non-crofters may be seen. Many persons have preferred

• 632 to neglect crofting and to concentrate on weaving. Those
578 who still participate in crofting activities may neglect their communal obligations, such as going out on the moor after sheep, and may prefer to harvest crops, cut peat or perform other agricultural activities independent of other villagers.

632 Despite these tendencies, certain criteria of firm
178 boundedness are still found in the township network. All
462 the adult males of the township, including non-crofters, are responsible for serving as officers in the township grazing committee. The committee draws up rules for the
(654) organization of communal crofting activities, and applies for grants from the Crofters Commission or Department of Agriculture, for example, to build a new township fence, plant trees as shelter belts for livestock, extend a peat road, or to fence and reseed areas of moorland in "township reseeding schemes" (see Chapter 2). All adult males of
(464) the township are expected to provide labor to implement such plans.

632 Township meetings, chaired by the clerk of the
571 grazing committee, are held twice a year. A vote is
666 taken when any decision is to be made. The vote is usually unanimous, as all discussion, argument and persuasion have occurred before the meeting, and those who disagree

• 632 with the decision which they know is to be made usually
571 do not attend the meeting. Thus, apparent consensus is
666 always maintained.

632 Changes in the character of the township as social
178 boundary system are apparent in ceremonial occasions such as weddings and funerals, which will be discussed in the following pages.

584 1. Courtship and Marriage: Courtship occurred during the dark hours when the older members of a household had gone to bed. A great deal of courting was done in
(574) company. Because transportation was limited, groups of young people went together to dances; and on other nights, bands of young men would visit a house in which several girls were sleeping together, climb in through a window, and perhaps lie beside the girls, fully dressed, filling the dark with whispered jokes. Such a custom, a form of bundling, was called "night visiting" (ruith na h-oidhche); the male visitor was called carsid na h-oidhche, "companion of the night."

When couples began serious courting, they would meet outside at night, or the girl would let her hrannar (sweetheart) into the house after the old people had gone
(539) to bed. A couple would never consider walking hand in hand along the road during the day. Boys and girls were seated separately in school, went around in separate

164 The image of the island
484 as spiritual home is fostered by The Stornoway Gazette,
823 and by nostalgic songs, most of which were written by
204 islanders who emigrated to Canada in the first quarter
(533) of the century.

• 632 The crofting township as a strongly bounded network
241 continues to exist, although crofting as a socioeconomic pattern which evolved in a situation of limited social and geographical mobility, low cash reserves, and the restriction of a large population to a region of limited resources, is very different from crofting as defined by an office in Inverness. As far as the crofter is concerned, to be defined as a crofter by the Crofters Comm and other government agencies is to have access to resources which affect the environment in which he makes his choices.

241 The individual is faced with the semi-security of
288 crofting and weaving, in contrast with the exciting but risk-laden opportunities offered by the dominant urban-
(654) industrial mainland. Crofting and Harris Tweed have bee protected by government legislation. Various subsidies
(745) and loans are available. In times of unemployment, soci security is available. Extremely important as contribu
621 to boundedness are the non-economic incentives: the
156 individual has a place in a human community; he is give

TABLE 47

Population of Uig Parish 1901 - 1959

1901	1911	1921	1931	1939 (a)	1951	1959 (b)
4,463	4,462	3,956	3,364	3,110	2,718	2,390

(a) National Registration, not strictly comparable with decennial Census figures.

(b) Our own survey count.

return of unemployed men and families from the mainland and overseas. Thus we found, in 1959, that the population of Uig was less than in any year since 1811. Nevertheless it was still double that reported to Webster in 1755, before the potato, kelp and fishing led to inflation.

These changes have not affected all parts of the parish at the same time, nor to the same extent. The position is summarised in table 48 and figure 45. Summaries by districts conceal a good deal of the truth; each township has had its individual history and no two are alike. Township figures are given in Appendix E.

TABLE 48

Changes in the relative distribution of population 1841 - 1959
For details by townships see figure 45.

	Proportion of the total in each district in the year: 1841	1891	1931	1951	1959
South Uig District	52	51	31	28	27
Bernera District	16	15	19	18	18
East Loch Roag District	17	23	24	25	25
Carloway District	15	23	26	29	29
	100	100	100	100	100

South Uig, in 1841, had more than half the population of Uig, despite the early clearances. t has now little more than a quarter, and is still declining most rapidly. In Aird and Crowlista, for example, where there were 321 persons in 1891, we counted but 71; in Valtos in the same period the decline was from 480 to 113. Most striking of all, in Ungshader, where 38 persons were living as recently as 1931, we found only 9. Bernera and Bernera Shore have slightly increased their share of the population of Uig, since 1891, although the actual number has fallen from 650 to 424. Clearances never had the same depopulating effect in Bernera as they had in the south, and fishing remained prosperous longer. The re-settlement of Linshader farm by crofters in 1925 had little effect but Bernera itself, despite isolation, has retained its population quite remarkably. Many go away to find work but few leave for ever. The development of lobster fishing has helped.

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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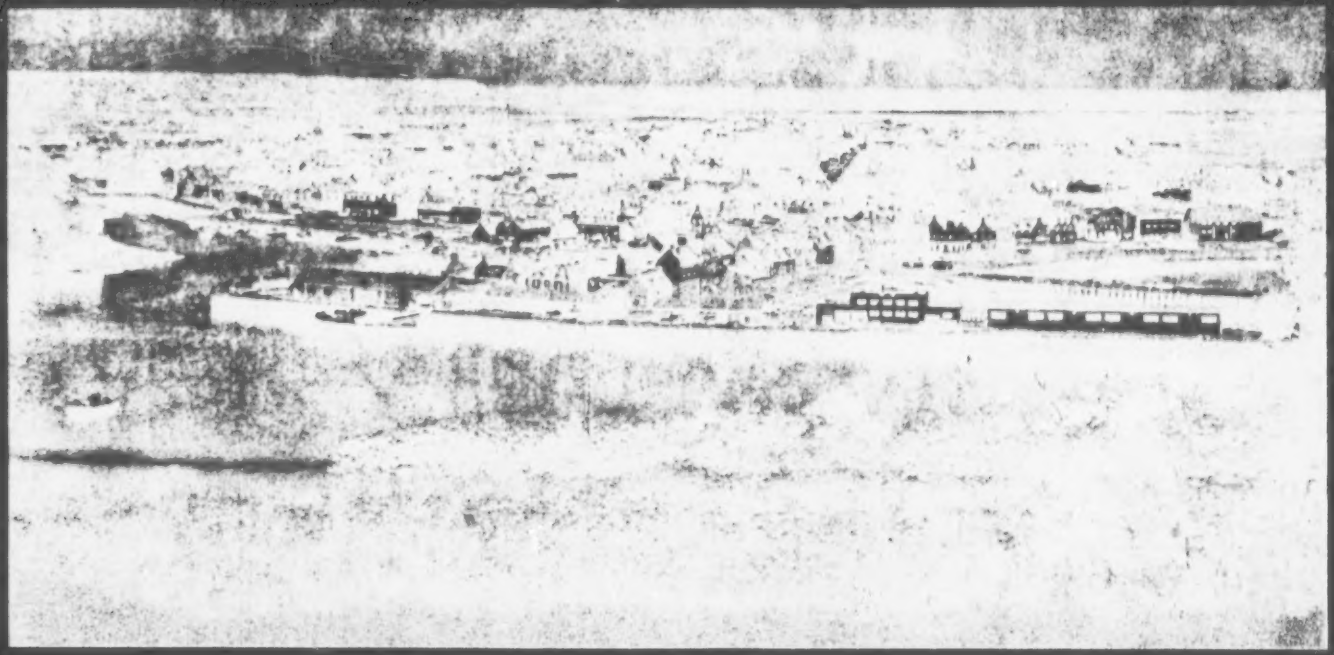

/p. 107/ General view of the town of Stornoway. Broad Bay is in the far background; the street on the right is South Beach

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7 THE PEOPLE

THOUGH there are a number of large island communities in the British Isles, Harris and Lewis have in particular retained their individual characteristics, mainly because the Minch has acted as a buffer against effective infiltration of alien influences. The relative insularity of the north-west Highlands has enhanced this isolation, to preserve what is probably one of the oldest forms of communal life in Britain. It has some unique characteristics which are evident even in these days of sophisticated civilisation. The basis of life, although today the individual is beginning to show face, is a communal spirit, based on team-work. Work undertaken with the willing help of others is easier, lighter and quicker done: livestock is easier handled in a large controlled flock; boats are best rowed with a crew. And the women, with the same inborn communal spirit, once spun yarn together; waulked or fulled the cloth together; and helped each other in childbirth, child-care and the deaths which affected the community.

Several of these teams eventually merged to form what is now called the crofting township. And, though a township may nowadays number 1,000 people, to keep, if not pull, together is still a priority if the social structure is not to fail. Townships have been called in the past, by understanding writers, 'sociable hamlets' and 'little commonwealths'. Though these are of long standing historically, they are still a dynamic form of social integration of the kind found elsewhere only in working-class districts of cities such as Glasgow and Manchester. This is not to say that one must be 'poor' in order to participate in such a society. In the material world, to be poor is to be without money; in a crofting society, lack of money, although this commodity has tended in recent years to assume for itself an out-of-proportion standing and status, does not necessarily mean destitution; for help to keep the body together is always to hand, though the donor may never be seen or known.

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

8 STORNOWAY

STORNOWAY is the only real town in the Hebrides. Some even say that it is the only real town in the world, as its basic living patterns are those of the countryside from which it sprang. It has always been held in high regard by the islanders. In the past it was regarded as one of the most important places in the civilised world: a saying attributed to a primitive native has passed into a proverb: *'steornabhagh mhor a' chaisteal —baile 's modha 'th'air an t-saoghal gu leir ach Bail'-ath-Cliath an Eirinn—'s iongantach nach eil an Righ fhein a' tighinn a comhnuigh ann!'* ('Stornoway the great, with its Castle, the largest town in the wide world, except Dublin in Ireland; surprising it is that the King himself does not reside therein!') The affectionate name for the town is 'Portrona', Port of Seals, which it is. A son of Stornoway once said, 'The founder of Portrona must have been some sea rover with a good eye for a refuge from the storm and the peril of his calling. No matter what winds rage outside, within the bay the mariner may drop his anchor, furl his sails, and take his ease.'

When the Vikings first came to the western isles of what was later in history to become Scotland, they found a sandy spit of land on which they could beach their longships in a sheltered bay. It was, however, more than a haven; it was a place in which to settle down and rear the first of many generations. Later the Norse-derived MacLeods took advantage of an outcrop of rock beside the beach to build a fortress. Later again a greenheart pier, and later still a concrete wharf, have given the town the outward symbols of economic and social significance.

Stornoway owes its origin to the Stornoway Beds, a sedimentary formation much younger than the Lewisian gneiss. These Beds have had two effects. First, their existence and formation allowed a deep indentation, giving a good harbour with a protecting isthmus not far way. The harbour itself is due to the erosion of these

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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rocks about intrusions or dykes of more resistant crinanite. Second, the better nature of the soil derived from the weatherings of the sandstones and conglomerates has aided reclamation and cultivation.

In the long years of its existence the town has been a focal point of island history, fanning out to many corners of the world, where it has been merged with the wider history of Britain, the Commonwealth and elsewhere. Detached as it was from the rest of Scotland by the Minch, Lewis often went its own way. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when England and Sweden plotted against the Scottish crown, the emissaries of these countries met in Stornoway. Later, in April 1719, a council of war was held in a room in Stornoway to plan the overthrow of the Hanoverian dynasty of Britain; included in the assembly were the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Tulibardine, George Keith, the hereditary Earl Marshal of Scotland, and his younger brother James, who was to become the famous Marshal Keith. Prince Charles Edward, though not setting foot in the town, looked at its twinkling lights from across the Bay, at Arnish, while his pilot tried to obtain a boat to take the royal fugitive to France.

The harbour has seen many kinds of ships on its waters. In the twenties, the *Metagama*, the *Marloch*, and the *Canada* came to take away almost a generation of young Lewis folk to the new lands across the seas, because their own island could not support them. The *Iolaire* sank within sight and sound of the harbour mouth and dragged about 200 Lewismen with her into an island memory. The *Cervona*, of Dundee, dropped her anchor just by Arnish lighthouse in July 1904, carrying survivors from the emigrant ship *Norge*, sunk at Rockall with appalling loss of life. The *Victoria and Albert* visited Stornoway in September 1902, the first visit to the town by a reigning monarch. That was a great day, the result of a letter from Provost Anderson of Stornoway in which he pointed out to His Majesty, King Edward, that with less than 30,000 inhabitants Lewis had 2,300 men in the Royal Naval Reserve, trained at the local Battery, the largest in Britain. There were also 1,100 men in the Seaforth & Cameron Militia, all of whom volunteered for foreign service in 1899, and 900 of whom did garrison duty in Egypt. Between 300 and 400 Lewis-

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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men served in the various regiments at the front in South Africa, and over 300 in the Royal Navy.

In 1796 there were sixty-seven slated inhabited houses in the burgh, twenty-six of which had been built since 1784. Before this date most of the houses followed the constructional pattern of those found in rural Lewis. In 1838,

> Stornoway was, within the last twenty years, only a small fishing village, but from the spirited and patriotic exertions of Lord Seaforth, the proprietor, and the grant of irredeemable feus for building, it has become a place of considerable importance as a fishing station. It has a post office; and a packet sails regularly once a week with mail and passengers. No place in the North of Scotland, and in an insulated situation also, has made more rapid strides at improvement, both in a domestic and commercial point of view, than Stornoway.

COMMUNICATIONS

Mention of the sailing packet indicates the tedious manner in which mails came to the town for subsequent distribution in the island. Letters went by mailcoach north to Dingwall, thence by mail-gig west to Achnasheen. Because there was no road from Achnasheen to Poolewe, about thirty miles away, they had to be carried on horseback. The weekly sailing packet then picked up the bags, for which cargo the owners were paid £150 per annum. A letter from London to Stornoway cost 1s 5½d; the smallest enclosure made it double that amount. The mail-packet was often held up by bad weather. It was a wind-blown sailing ship that brought Stornoway the result of the Battle of Trafalgar and the death of Nelson, an event in which a number of Lewismen also took part and died; in St Columba's churchyard at Eye there can still be seen a Trafalgar officer's gravestone. A fortnight after this news arrived, the packet from Poolewe brought its stale message.

In 1844 seventy boats, ranging from 15 to 150 tons, were working out from Stornoway. The *Gazetteer* for Scotland for that year says, 'The grand trade of the place consists in the exchange of the produce of the fisheries and the kelp shores, for British manufactured goods and foreign produce.

factured goods and foreign produce. There is a Branch office of the National Bank of Scotland, two friendly societies, four inns, and so many as about a score of dram shops.' The annual burgh revenue was £17 3s and the expenditure £15 17s 6d. The town boasted ten streets, a saw mill, a mill for carding wool, a corn mill, a very large malt barn and mill, and an extensive distillery. These buildings were constructed 'in a style not much inferior to the best buildings of their class in Scotland . . . A stranger on arriving at it by any route, or from any quarter, is surprised to see so large and flourishing a place in so remote and uninviting a corner. Its broad field of houses, its capacious bay, and spacious piers, its occasional crowd of shipping, and stir of trade and gaiety, and the vicinity to it of the aristocratic mansion of Seaforth-lodge, render it a striking and very welcome relief to the prevailing dreariness, sterility and inertion of the rude country in which it is nestled.'

In 1901, when the West Highland line was opened, the return fare from Mallaig to Stornoway by MacBrayne's steamers was 14s 6d. One could go from Glasgow to Stornoway by steamer for 31s 6d return. A *Guide* for that year indicated that Stornoway had three hotels, six churches and a Court House, singled out for specific mention for some reason. A Ross-shire *Directory* of 1914 describes the Nicholson Institute as one of the four Junior Student Centres in the county. Its Leaving Certificate results were the best in the north of Scotland, with a total of 95 higher and 234 lower passes, and no less than 20 passes in Higher Science.

Stornoway is a Burgh of Barony, dating from 18 October 1607. It had, of course, been a town of sorts long before the Charter was granted by James VI; the Charter was executed under the Great Seal conveying equal shares to three of the leaders of the Fife Adventurers. Under the Police Act of 1862 Stornoway became a Police Burgh. A bank agent in the town was appointed first Chief Magistrate on 31 December 1863. Under the 1892 Act, the designation 'Town Council' superseded that of 'Burgh Commission' and the Chief Magistrate assumed the title of Provost, the senior and junior magistrates becoming known as senior and junior bailies. The present Municipal Buildings were opened in 1929. The previous building was only an idea in 1897; it took

STORNOWAY The previous building was only an idea in 1897; it took shape when Dr Andrew Carnegie offered to contribute £1,000 towards the construction of a library, provided the town adopted the Public Libraries Act. This was done, and the Council decided to incorporate the library into a larger structure, erected at a cost of £11,000 and opened in September 1905 by Lord Roseberry. Carnegie increased his contribution to £3,500, with other large donations from public-spirited industrialists of the time (eg Coats of Paisley, who also financed school libraries in the island).

Being a seaport, the sea has been basic to the town's livelihood. In the eighteenth century trade flourished between Stornoway and the Baltic, Scandinavia, Holland, France and the north of Ireland; and in the first half of the nineteenth century, fish was exported as far away as ports on the Mediterranean. The advent of steam killed the Stornoway sailing craft. At one time in its history, the shipyard (at Matheson's Patent Slip, now the site of the textile mill) turned out many fine vessels. The scent of tar and pitch, the crunch of a busy grindstone, the shaping of a ship's timbers, the steaming of her planks, the driving of pins and bolts, the music of mallet and caulking-iron, the buzz from the saw-pits and the riggers aloft, all gave the town a sense of at-one-ness with the waters in the bay. Then there were the schooners, brigs and barques of foreigners who put in for repairs or for merchandise. It was a time of glory that has now gone as surely as the sail has disappeared from the high seas. Ship-masters, ship-owners and sailors all added colour and variety in the streets as they mingled with the local population—which numbered 1,000 in 1801. Stornoway captains were world-known for their skippering: MacLeods, MacIvers, MacKenzies, Ryries, MacLeans, Morisons, Allans. These were the names that were once reeled off to be paired with the famous ships of the day: *Sir Launcelot, D. L. MacKenzie*, and *Assaye*.

While large numbers of its sons were sailing the high seas, many in ships of Stornoway origin, the town began to take on the first look of a port, with piers. On 9 August 1864, Sir James Matheson subscribed the instrument which took the Stornoway Harbour Commission into being. The following year, on 29 June 1865, the Commission was incorporated by Act of Parliament. Matheson had shown a great interest in the development of the existing

harbour facilities. But his efforts to promote the town as an industrial centre were opposed, a dispute arising between him and parties who claimed interest in the quays which already existed; his action to set up the Harbour Commission and to acquire the Crown's interest in the shores of Stornoway Bay *ex adverso* found local opposition. He succeeded in quelling the doubts and the resulting counter-actions, however, and then, with the decks cleared, the Commission lost no time in getting developments under weigh. Authorisation to borrow up to £10,000 was obtained and work put in hand on building a timber wharf, 150 ft long, filling in certain areas for fish-curing and other purposes, and constructing sheds, works buildings and warehouses. By 1881 this work had been completed and, with the expansion of the herring industry, the Commission sought to increase its borrowing by £20,000; in 1892, further powers for borrowing the sum of £55,000 were sought and obtained. By the turn of the century all the works authorised by the 1892 Order were completed: they met the berthing needs of the fishing industry and also the reclaimed areas on South Beach, North Beach and the Cromwell Street quays were used continuously during the season as fish-curing stations, proving essential factors in the development of that industry.

Before the 1914-18 war ended, Lord Leverhulme had become proprietor of the island and, as such, a member of the Harbour Commission. He proposed further development of the existing facilities, to line up with his scheme for establishing Stornoway as a centre for industrial activity based on fishing. Plans were prepared, and a permanent way for a railway (linking the canning factory at Inaclete with the harbour) was formed. But the scheme did not materialise before he abandoned Lewis for Harris. Before he left, however, he conveyed free to the Harbour Commission considerable property round the inner shores of Stornoway Bay. At this stage the Commission promoted a New Harbour Order, passed by Parliament as the Stornoway Harbour Confirmation Act, 1926, in which provision was made for the increase of the Commission's borrowing powers (up to £70,000) and the setting up of a contingency fund of £10,000. Further improvements were put in hand. Another Order (1947) was obtained and

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

71 the children might not receive proper religious
71 instruction.
93
78

"Family worship" is considered an important part
71 of daily life. Prayers should be said before meals
82 and teas, and the head of the household should read
93 passages from the Bible to the assembled members of the household every morning and evening. The practice of
78 "reading the books" prevails in households headed by
92 older men, but is less common among families headed by younger men.

94 3. The Clique of the Converted: The second network
32 within the religious sphere is a special religious in-
21 group, the clique of the converted (curamach). This clique constitutes a relatively strongly bounded system which to some extent competes with the township boundary system. Owen (Rees 1960) has noted that as persons become more involved with religion in the Protestant Hebrides, they tend to remove themselves from community life.

Intense involvement with the church sometimes conflicts with township activities since people may attend Communions at times when a fank is planned, leaving the work to be done by others. When elders of the church are present at activities, such as fanks, which are otherwise usually boisterous and full of humor, behavior tends to be "properly" restrained.

Chapter 7

Conclusions:

Summary and Theoretical Considerations

A. Summary

105 Crofting townships of the Highlands and Islands of
[131] Scotland are within a few hours' travel of the major cities
[484] of Britain. An extremely high percentage of the young
[873] people in the crofting counties attend universities and other institutions of higher education. Politically,
[641] administratively, economically and in other ways, the crofting population participates in the larger urban-industrial society of Britain.

105 Despite this participation, the township-qua-village-
•632 community is a relatively strongly bounded system. This
621 thesis investigates factors contributing to the strong
[121] boundedness. From a relatively self-sufficient economic
105 unit using agricultural practices suited to the extensive
178 cultivation of marginal land by smallholders, the township
632 has during recent decades changed to one dependent on
241 goods and services provided by the larger society.

105 Crofting activities nevertheless persist, in part because
241 of the incentives offered by government bodies such as the
654 Crofters Commission and the Department of Agriculture. The

The
105 fact that crofting townships are located on marginal
241 land is one reason that the larger society is not motivated
654 to exploit the land. The Crofters Holding Act of 1886
[311] and subsequent legislation ensured protection of and
[671] incentives for continued maintenance of crofting and the crofting township.

Protective government legislation, grants and loans for housing, subsidies for rearing livestock, relatively low taxes, and the economic protection provided by a socialistic government in times of crisis have helped to maintain a core of crofting families for many generations.

105 The predominance of older persons in the township is
162 striking, but many of the younger people who have left
•632 the island to work on the mainland return frequently,
166 contribute part of their salary to the remaining family
434 members, and plan eventually to marry and settle down in
584 the village or to retire there. Long-term residence of
[621] kin-linked families in a small area has in itself contributed to the boundedness of the township network.

105 The policy of the government, through developmental
241 agencies such as the Highlands and Islands Development
654 Board, has been to support economic strategies that
632 complement rather than interfere with the functioning of the crofting township with its small holdings and communal
000 practices. The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an

105 The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an
241 industry which is compatible with crofting. Because
788
•632 weavers are self-employed, they can set their own schedule of work and thus continue to participate in croft work and fulfill various township obligations. The effects
[121] of this industry on the township as a social boundary
[434] system were investigated. The income available from
[463] weaving is unpredictable, which encourages the retention of crofting practices and other patterns of behavior, such as "occupational pluralism," that were found to be
[476] adaptive in the past. Such strategies also strengthen
[182] township boundaries; for example, they encourage mutual
[434] aid and communal township practices. But weaving also
[407] offers a high level of income; and some weavers, preferring to spend most of their time weaving, have neglected crofting, or have invested in tractors or other motorized transport which enables them to harvest crops, cut peat and perform other activities independent of other township members.

105 The fundamentalist Free Church constitutes an important
621 boundary-maintaining mechanism, serving to exclude various
795 external influences of the larger society from the township.
632 However, a smaller network of persons engaged in the
184 religious sphere of social activity, a subsystem within
105 the township system, also exists which has the appearance
794 of a firmly bounded system. These are members of the clique
621
632
184

105 of the converted, who occasionally neglect township and
794 neighborly duties in favor of religious activities. The
621
•632 increase in private transportation during the past 25 year
184 has facilitated the maintenance of closer ties within the
[494] clique. The existence of such a strongly bounded subsyste is an example of a trend toward the weakening of the township as a social boundary system, but this trend is countered by other factors that strengthen or help preserv the township as a bounded system.

105 People come and go from the township, but this appear
632 to maintain rather than weaken township boundaries because
621 behavior different from that prescribed within the townshi
166 can be performed outside it, and conformist behavior
184 reassumed upon reentry. Those unable to conform with standards of behavior prescribed within the township are not likely to return.

[528] Township members who have settled away from the islan come back periodically for recreation and a sense of
[829] belonging. They increase the value of the township and its way of life in the eyes of the inhabitants, and provid them with subject matter for conversation until the next holiday season, when the exiles again return.

105 The boundedness of the township is thus a qualified
632 boundedness that, over the past 100 years and especially
621 since the second world war, has decreased in strength but
184 is nevertheless strong today.
[178]

is nevertheless strong today. The relatively strong boundedness derives from a number of factors. Important among these are economic adaptations to modern conditions, which consist in part of the retention in modified form of traditional economic activities in response to various constraints and incentives presented by larger British society. Also important are institutionalized bonds of affect, particularly of kinship and community, and ties of religious affiliation and identification. These ties continue to be functionally important in part because of the geographical and social marginality of the crofting township. This combination of factors has resulted in the persistence of a relatively strongly bounded system which retains distinctive features in an extensively urbanized and industrialized nation.

B. Theoretical Considerations

In the United States, the concept of "peasant" has provided the main conceptual tool by which rural communities which are structurally integrated with the larger nation-state may be studied (cf. Foster 1967, Wolf 1966). The Scottish crofting township has some of the characteristics of a closed corporate peasant community (Wolf 1957), but it is difficult to apply the word "peasant" to such a community. Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in

Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in part stems from government-defined privileges and duties regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides and thus is protected from competition, has provided work for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger members of croft families live in cities on the mainland, and send part of their wages home; they return regularly to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus the township supplies urban workers who remain very much attached to the rural townships, which are composed of aged family members and a rural proletariat. The standard of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated savings, although much of this surplus is used by the men for alcoholic drinks.

In Britain, rural communities have been interpreted as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf. Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall presented "an operational theory of role" by which he suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analyzed and compared. He developed the concept "density of role texture" to describe societies which lie along a continuum from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southall's concept along with other concepts to present a more complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "models" of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially lists

THE CROFTER

The pursuit of agricultural processes, their growth, development and improvement, to establish a foundation for a secure society has never been easy on the island. The unyielding nature of the base rock, Archaean gneiss, its hardness, its non-porous property, have all contributed to the resultant pattern and character of society which emerged. Though one is tempted to define crofting as an agricultural activity, it is also something much more intangible: a way of life. To quote the Napier Report on *The condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (1884): 'Habit and local affection bear so great a sway in the actions of mankind, that Highlanders will be found who would rather be proprietors in the mountains of Skye, or the wastes of Lewis, than on the fertile plains of Manitoba.' 'There is the Island of Lewis, with poor, peaty soil covering the Archaean gneiss, but with a crowded, lively, vivid community,' said the Taylor commision in 1955 (Commission of Inquiry into Crofting Holdings).

The Highland crofter is the subject of an extensive literature. A special authority, the Crofters Commission, exists solely for the purpose of caring for his needs. He has special rights and privileges which are safeguarded by the Land Court. Crofters' unions have formed themselves into a strong federated wall for the system's defence.

Socially, the term 'crofter' means, on the island at any rate, a landholder who cultivates his own (arable) holding, his croft. He shares the common pastures with his fellow-crofters, each of whom has a right to carry a sum of so much stock, the 'souming'. These common pastures or grazings are a social link of some considerable significance, forming the basis for the crofting township, as distinct from the communities set up under the influence of some agricultural land use such as hamlet or village, where there are both small-holders and true farms, and the only communal land is the village green or common. For instance, outside the crofting counties area the main unit of Scots life in the country is the farm, with its tied cottages. Then come the full-time small-holdings important in the north-east and the southern Highlands.

of larger and more economic working units of over 30 acres of arable land is also apparent in the southern Hebrides, the west mainland of Ross & Cromarty, Argyll (mainland and islands) and Caithness.

The acreage of common grazings held per holding varies from under 50 to some 200. The crofts, as already mentioned, are in townships, of which the island has 168, half being fenced and half consisting of individually fenced crofts. During the winter most of the crofts are laid open for winter grazing by sheep of general ownership. Manure resources are mainly dung, seaweed, shell sand and of course artificials where necessary.

A new aspect of crofting in Lewis is its extension into forestry. A recent survey by the Forestry Commission indicated that under 400 acres of the land not being used for crofting were suitable for afforestation, and that these acres were made up from twenty-three different plots. At Garynahine Estate can be seen the beginnings of a real afforestation unit of some 500 acres, a scheme of the utmost significance for the economic future of Lewis and for the relationship between crofter and landlord. Too often in the past this relationship has been biting, hard and inflexible; in particular the crofter was understandably unwilling to release good land for planting trees. But the crofters of Callernish agreed that the right of usage of 285 acres of the common grazings belonging to their township should revert to the landlord, this land being thrown in with 220 acres of the Garynahine Estate. Labour comes from the affected township and others in the area.

FISHING

Early beginnings

It is the humble herring that has contributed so much to the island's economy and its history. At a very early date in history, the Hebridean fishings were worked by Frenchmen and Spaniards who must have found them rich enough to repay the long journey and weeks away from home in the cold Minch waters. It was not, however, until the end of the sixteenth century that the wealth of the Minch was really discovered, this time by the fishermen on the mainland of Scotland who copied the tricks of their trade

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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Photograph by Robert M. Adam

PLATE I. ON THE ATLANTIC COAST OF LEWIS

The township of Cliff, Valtos, on West Loch Roag (April 1938). In the right foreground are three 'black houses', one with a new chimney and gable end

/facing p. 26/

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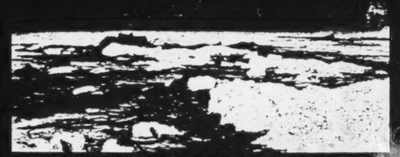

PLATE IIIA. ROCKY, SEA-ABRADED PLATFORM OFF THE BUTT OF LEWIS

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• 632

Photographs by Mrs. Harriman

PLATE IIIB. LAXDALE TOWNSHIP, ON THE FLATS NEAR BROAD BAY

'Black houses' and 'white houses' can be seen. The fields have been modernized for ploughing

/p. 40-A/

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• [632]
[634]
[491]

/p. 50/

FIG. 8

181 "the lone shieling of the misty island". Traditional
[538] Gaelic songs tell rather of shielings grouped within hail,
[533] with their sweethearting and good cheer!

3. *Crops and Stock*, circa *1938*

178 As the thirties mark a transition between early condi-
241 tions prevailing until 1919 and those of 1947–53 (Appendix I), the present tense is used.

311 Of the Island's 528,000 acres, including deer forests
• 632 on the Harris border partly grazed, there are 24,000 acres of arable and grass land. Barvas parish leads with 6500 acres, then come Stornoway, Uig and Lochs, Harris being last with 3300 acres. Roughly one-third of the Island's arable and grass land, or 32 per cent, is permanent grass, chiefly machar, with a maximum of 39 per cent in Uig, but a minimum of 9 per cent in rocky
311 Lochs, most of this on one small farm. About 10 per cent of the arable and grass land area is given to hay
242 production; of this, rather less than one-third is rotation hay grown on the plough rigs or parks, and rather more than two-thirds is hay from permanent grass. Lochs, lacking machar, has 20 per cent hay, while Barvas, better
[632] off for machar, has only 4 per cent. Even this proportion of rotation hay shows an increase on the crofts since 1919. Stornoway parish, it will be noted, occupies an intermediate place, but if the facts for Point (Eye) district were contrasted with those for the villages along the machar, the differences between them would emerge clearly. As it is, they can be guessed from the vegetation map showing
311 the machar. Oats is the chief crop, and occupies 33 per
243 cent or just one-third of the arable and grass of the Island; excluding the permanent grass, it constitutes half the crop.

311 In Lochs it occupies only one-quarter of arable and grass.
243 Barley, mostly four-row, or bere, is less important as a food today than formerly, and now occupies only 6 per cent, and, though it reaches 13 per cent in Barvas, with its
• [632] machar, hardly any is grown in Lochs. Rye (*seagal*), still found in the machars of the Uists, is little grown in the Lews. Potatoes grow well everywhere, occupying about 15 per cent of the area, though townships with plentiful machar land grow most. Turnips are being gradually introduced, and though their liability to disease has somewhat discouraged the crofters, the proportion is now about
311 2·3 per cent. Cabbages occupy a small area (1 per cent),
244 latterly along with lettuces, carrots and the like.

Rotation hay and turnips being almost unused up to
241 1919, oats was grown repeatedly before rotation with barley or potatoes, and with no bare fallow. While heavy manuring maintained the fertility, the crop by July was ablaze with corn marigold (and other weeds) through which the thin oats struggled to rear its head. Thickly sown, the return was exceedingly small. Except for the machar (if any) there was no 'out-field' as elsewhere in old Scotland.

The smallness of the crofts and the poorness of the crops explain the very small total return. Hence little oats is now ground for meal and the potatoes do not last
[198] through the year, though few are sold. The low out-turn
[246] also explains why even fodder is scarce, though much more of the crop is secured for wintering than formerly. Summing up, a croft of 6 acres—though a little too large to be quite typical—includes a couple of acres of grass and hay, almost as much of oats, and the remainder bears potatoes and barley, with turnips, cabbages and garden produce.

[174] In the past, the cropped land was unfenced and un-
[178] walled. At present, the rule is to encourage the con-

241 struction of a single ring fence round the croft land, which also circumscribes a good deal of rough grass, the ground
[178] being generally rough in parts. Individual crofts are fenced only where exceptionally large, or when the pos-
[654] sessor is unusually enterprising or is isolated. Depart-
• [632] mental help is given in the provision of fencing materials for a township, the crofters supplying labour. As the
233 animals are allowed to graze freely in winter, this limits
241 crops to those sown and harvested in the summer half-year —a serious matter for any man of enterprise who cannot afford a fence of his own. Cattle kept on the croft when the fields are under crops have to be either tethered or driven to a common pasture. A drystone dyke may enclose a small patch of garden, rarely well tended, the school gardens providing a laudable exception.

233 Shortly before 1939, the stock included under 1000 agricultural horses and well over 10,000 cattle (of which more than 6500 were milch-cows), but practically no pigs. Sheep number 42,000 ewes, or 94,000 ewes and followers in June. Thus there are 2·5 cattle on an average holding, of which more than 1·5 are milch cows; and there are
233 half a score ewes or about a score of sheep in June. The
178 size and the quality of the cattle have greatly improved since first I visited the island in 1919; at that time the mongrel Highland breed must have been the very poorest in Britain. The Blackface sheep are small, either through underfeeding or because of traces left from the old, smaller Hebridean breed, or from both causes. On an average there is, or was, one horse, or pony, to every five or six
23 crofter holdings, but their number is much reduced.
233 Actually, such Island averages for horses and sheep are somewhat misleading. In particular, either there are more
[182] horses than the average in a given district, or almost none,

361 it command and make it the leading settlement of the
366 Hebrides, with a population fluctuating around 5000.[1]
162

2. Aspects and Problems of the Burgh

361 The little town pleases by its views over the harbours,
• 632 outer or inner—sheltering perhaps a steamer or two and the clustered fishing vessels—across to the wooded skyline and the beautiful grounds of the Castle, a-flower in spring with rhododendrons. Or framed in trees from the Castle policies, the harbour and even the roofs and
[342] smoke of the houses are not unpleasing (Plate II). But the town's chief charm is its setting, not itself, though its plain dwellings with 'harled' or rough-cast walls and slate
[146] roofs are simple and inoffensive. In rehousing, the Local
656 Authority had respected Scottish domestic features. But the greater use of local materials, labour and skill is surely desirable in the Island with its many half-employed men, who need such work to maintain income, health and morale.
[362] As is to be expected in view of low incomes, and the extremely primitive housing in the country, urban housing
[162] is inadequate. In Stornoway burgh in 1931, 44 per cent, or nearly half the population, still dwelt in houses of one to three rooms, 17 per cent in four (including attics often with no dormer windows), 20 per cent in five or six, and 18 per cent in seven rooms and over. There has been improvement up to 1939, and after 1945, but much remains to be done.

369 Turning to cultural life, profound differences divide
632 the town from the country about it. Whereas in the townships of rural Lewis the people are almost purely natives

[1] The burghal area was extended in 1935. At the census of 1951 its population stood at 4950. This showed an increase of 15·9 per cent above the population enumerated in the same area in 1931.

369 of the place, even the schoolmaster and ministers being
• 632 mostly Islanders, in Stornoway an important minority of the officials and business men hail from the mainland, and some of them from the Lowlands. New blood has undoubtedly been needed to promote enterprise, to foresee new possibilities, and even, at times, to make the best of the past. At the same time, the cleavage between town and country is marked in ways of thought and feeling as in
369 livelihood. To take a single criterion, that of speech, most
632 of the children of the town speak no Gaelic and many
197 hardly understand it. While the percentage of Gaelic speakers was 95 in the three outlying parishes in 1931, in the burgh only 70 per cent could still speak the old tongue. By 1951 the ratio, still almost unchanged in the outlying parishes and townships, had considerably lowered in the burgh.

369 The attempt to harmonise the interests of country and
632 town forms a hopeful aspect of the activities both of the Stornoway Trust, which holds the rural and urban property
656 presented to the people of Stornoway parish by the first Lord Leverhulme, and of the Lewis Association, formed
[427] in 1943 to undertake studies of the Island to guide action
654 for the future. The maintenance of the town's prosperity
228 will depend greatly upon its industries of fishing and of spinning; and these are almost inseparable from the
288 maintenance of the rural population for whom Stornoway acts as regional centre, and who weave with the yarn spun in the mills. Unity in constructive purpose could go far to build up the prosperity of the community.

361 With the recognition of the need for planning aroused
369 by the problems which faced the country with the return
632 of peace, it is proposed, at the centre of the Burgh, to rebuild the whole of the peninsular area of Point Street,

361 by co-operation of three authorities: the Town Council,
369 the Piers and Harbour Commission, and the Stornoway
• 632 Trust as owner of property, including Lews Castle with its grounds. The social situation is of quite exceptional
[656] interest, and an attempt to describe some of its features is
[654] made in Appendix II, on the Stornoway Trust and the Lewis Association.

(c) CHANGES IN ISLAND POPULATION, AND THE FUTURE

1. From 1801 to 1939

175 Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the growth
162 of population was periodically checked or even set back by famines and epidemics, such as smallpox, or by warfare.
[731] In 1801 the total population of the Outer Hebrides (in round numbers) was 21,700, and in 1831 it was 32,000. Of this total, Lewis carried 9200 and Harris 3000 in 1801 and, a generation later, in 1831, respectively 14,500 and 3900. In the graph (Fig. 12) the curve showing the average for the five landward or rural parishes of the Island (excluding Stornoway Burgh) indicates the fairly steady numerical increase there, almost to the close of the
[731] century. Following the evictions after 1831 and the potato famine of 1846–48, emigration caused a fall in the southern islands (*e.g.* in South Uist, Fig. 12). Forty years later, in 1871, the Outer Hebridean total reached nearly 40,000, of which Lewis alone, with 21,000, now gave more than half the total, and Harris—in spite of an intervening drop owing to evictions—4800. By 1901, in spite of losses in the southern isles, the total for the Outer Hebrides reached a peak of 46,200. Of this, Lewis already contributed almost

174 of the Norsemen, lay a succession of earlier periods. A
623 phase of primitive settlements is traceable in archaeo-
172 logical remains and in recent and contemporary survivals.
174 It is shown in the physical race-traits distinguishing those in one part of the Island from those in another. Fragments of tradition telling of the first Christian missionaries survived the Norse invasions and settlements, dated from A.D. 800 or before, down to Haco's defeat on the Clyde at Largs in 1256. These fragments can be linked to chronicles and to later tradition, on which they throw fresh light.

[144] A survey of the archaeology has been published,[1] but comparatively little, as yet, on race. Yet different communities are distinguished by marked racial types or strains. Although many, indeed most, of the race-strains of the Island must have entered it in prehistoric times, some are linked to tradition, and history accounts for the more
[141] recent immigrants. The striking element of race in the Outer Hebrides is a broad-headed type prevailing from Barra to the Lews, accompanied by medium stature and dark hair; it is also found across the Northern Minch. But within the Island are notable differences.

829 Variety of race being accentuated by difference in ways, the communities still comment pointedly upon one
[538] another! For instance, an old saying is not forgotten: "The folk of Cladach, but the gentlemen of Uig!" (*Muinntir a' Chladaich, ach daoin' uasaile Uig*),
[433] 'Cladach' being the western 'Beach' district possessing
• 632 ploughland but poor fishing, which covers the modern
[133] parish of Barvas (excluding the north-west cliff-promontory
[113]

[1] Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, *Outer Hebrides, Skye etc.*); 1928. V. G. Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, 1935; *Scotland Before the Scots*, 1946.

ONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

the present harbour facilities are the result of this, with a causeway to Goat Island—a small snippet of land off the Newton shore—the King Edward Wharf extension to give a depth of 24 ft at low water, and the construction on Goat Island of a slipway and slipway jetty.

The present facilities are valued at several million pounds; they evoke, however, a blank stare of disbelief. Much of the industry for which the quays were first envisaged has now gone. The days of 300-400 fishing boats and the landing of several thousands of crans each week, with the attendant bustle and activity, belong to the past. The harbour remains reasonably active, with a considerable extent and variety of shipping: general traffic due to the Harris Tweed industry has continued to increase in recent years. The introduction of the ferry service direct from Skye to Tarbert, Harris, has however had perceptible effects.

When Leverhulme parted company with the people of Lewis, his gesture of farewell offered the island to its people. This brought into being an agency for the people of Stornoway and its rural areas, so that they were in effect in control of their own future to a degree unique in Britain. The Stornoway Trust was formed in 1924. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole of the landward area of the parish, from Arnish Moor northwards to the township of Tolsta. Freshwater fishings are in its hands, as are the resources of the sea and inshore fishings on the shorelands. During its first five years the Trust was faced with a growing deficit, though this was redressed partly through agricultural derating and partly through the registration of the Trust as a charity, thus exempting it from income-tax demands.

The Town Council, the Harbour Commission, and the Trust have overlapping representation, for harmonious work on behalf of the community. Indeed, by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn up by Leverhulme (in 1923-4), the Stornoway Trust must include the Provost of the burgh as its chairman, together with magistrates and councillors. Throughout the years of its existence, the Trust has sought to increase its usefulness, but at the beginning decisions were often taken piecemeal. Portions of the property were

sold, one such causing legal history. The chief garage proprietor in the town applied to use for his business a site he had purchased at a road junction near the western end of the town, close to the principal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate leading into the Castle grounds. It was a mistake in planning, and public disapproval began to make itself felt. The Trust, in an effort to redress the situation, sought to distrain the garage proprietor from extended use of the area. The parties went to law, and the case was fought through the courts until, in the House of Lords, the Trust finally lost and had to pay a bill of some £4,000, equivalent to a fine of £4 to £5 from every family in the burgh. The Trust drew its lesson, and since has formulated a more alert and constructive policy.

The town is well served by its shopping centre, with multiple stores jostling for custom with smaller private business concerns. Prosperity for all, however, depends on the well-being of the Harris Tweed industry. If there are recessions, as there have been in the past, the tills rattle spasmodically. Also standing to suffer are others such as the bus companies (who provide the efficient town services and link up Stornoway with the rural areas), the builders and the haulage contractors. In the ever-present climate of unemployment it is the policy of the mills to employ male labour, despite the fact that women would be cheaper. The mills, run by natives or by Lewis-born incomers of the second and third generation, realise a social obligation in recognising that in Lewis the strong tradition is that the man should be the head of the family in every sense. The mills also carry a proportion of surplus labour to offset the unpredictability of those workers who, with crofts to look after, occasionally have to take a day off 'at the peats' or some such activity. This is another of the island's distinctive traditions.

On Cromwell Street is the shop of James MacKenzie & Sons Limited, dealing in hardware, furniture and china. Nothing unusual in that, at first sight: yet it is another unique aspect of life in Lewis, being conducted as a charity for the benefit of, among others, the aged and infirm persons of Stornoway. The business was established in 1830, on its present site. In 1964, the then principal shareholder presented the building and the business as a

going concern to a trust which was set up to receive the gift and whose first object is to assist aged and infirm residents in the burgh. In effect, all profits earned by the shop are passed to the trust for distribution to those in need.

Almost half the houses in Stornoway were built by the local authority. The Town Council has never been afraid of rooting out unfit houses. By 1937, under the 1930 Slum Clearance Act, one person in four in the town lived in a council house. The housing schemes, though large, have still that element of community with personality, something often lacking in newly developed areas of other towns and cities. The Council also supports private housing by taking up sites, clearing and servicing them and then feuing them to private owners. The rents policy is to have no housing deficit beyond the statutory rate contribution (which works out at between £6,000 and £7,000 per annum). The Council's tenants co-operate with rent collection to a unique degree: collection figures are something like 99 per cent and on occasion 100 per cent. A vigorous housing policy is important to the town, as its population is now over 5,300 and still growing, mainly at the expense of the rural areas. Development plans at present envisage a 1981 population of about 9,100 persons within the parish boundary and including the burgh.

Stornoway is an island town and is an island's town: its rhythms of life are those of the island, regular and timed by nature, but with an added syncopation—the result of an urban outlook. In this context, Gaelic is the language, though English is the lingua franca. Deeper still in the methods used for communication is a kind of patois based on Gaelicised English, Anglicised Gaelic, with some other words that defy investigation into their origin. Many words find their natural forebears in Scots, American and the maritime tongues of Europe, which might be expected in view of Stornoway's importance as a sea-port of significance a century or two ago. The Stornoway language, as spoken by true-born natives, recognisable anywhere by another native, reflects the life of the cosmopolitan, sea-faring people.

Apart from its industrial opportunities, Stornoway has many of the more sophisticated urban facilities that people everywhere seem to crave, particularly with regard to education. The senior

Before the making of roads, it was ease of sailing which united island peoples and their territories. One can wade or drive, at low tide, over the fords that unite the Isle of Benbecula with the two Uists, North and South: in fact, a bridge now connects Benbecula with South Uist. But only the roughest of hill tracks led through the hills of North Harris from the 'Tarbert' or Isthmus of Harris to the nearest habitation at the head of Loch Seaforth or Loch Erisort, in the Lews. This is a distance of some twenty miles, or a fair day's tramp for an unloaded man, and far too much for a return journey in one day. Hence separation of territory and name was natural. This separation no longer exists as there is now a good 'bus service from Rodel via Tarbert to Stornoway which links Harris with the daily Kyle to Stornoway steamer. In this book, the Island, or the Islanders, refers to Lewis-and-Harris with its people, as one.

Lewis is included in Ross-shire (of which the county town is Dingwall, north of Inverness) and Harris in Inverness-shire, together with the rest of the 'Long Island'. The county boundary cuts across the six-mile isthmus north of the hills of North Harris, from the in-reaching Loch Seaforth WNW. to Loch Resort (Fig. 8). All the Outer Hebrides are now included in the Parliamentary constituency of the Western Isles. Proposals to unite the Island under one District Council, or the Outer Hebrides under one County Council, are more favourably viewed in Stornoway than in Harris or the Southern Isles. Harris forms one civil parish, while Lewis is divided into four: Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs. The Lewis parish boundaries traversing the moors are inset in Fig. 8 so that their trends can be readily grasped, and the inhabited portions of the parishes quickly located (p. 50).

131 (1) Stornoway stretches from the town north to Tolsta;
632 (2) Barvas from the north of the Island southwards, past Barvas village (WNW. of Stornoway) five miles further to Bragar;
(3) Uig covers the rest of the south-west coast; and
(4) Lochs, the remainder of the south-east coast.

131 Seen from the sea, the Island chiefly presents dark,
133 gneissic, heath-fringed cliffs whose steep walls become gentle slopes towards the south as we enter the bays, sea lochs and firths which run far inland (Plates I to IV). As one sails northward along the east coast of Lewis, there are few hills to be seen, and these are below 1000 feet; most of the island is rolling moor, rarely rising above 300 feet. Here and there new houses stand out, the 'white houses' (*tighean geala*), which, however, are usually grey
342 or even dark in colour. These dwellings have generally been stone-built and were often slate-roofed; asbestos roofs are now common. Yet even when dark, these new cottages are conspicuous beside the low 'black houses' with their rounded forms of wall and roof, and with thatch overspread by a faint haze of blue peat reek, like the bloom
133 upon a fruit. Their plots of corn, though each may be so
[243] tiny as to appear but a spot at a distance, together form a bright patch against the dark brown moor. In the sketch which forms the Key to the Map of Vegetation and Settlements (Fig. 8), an attempt has been made to bring the map and the landscape alive to the mind's eye, from the hills of North Harris north-eastward to the Butt of Lewis.

131 Turning the north cape of Lewis, 'the Butt', and sailing
133 southwards along the west coast, we see hills increasing in height in the Uig district, rising to those of Harris with

public health and general administration, and has offices in Stornoway. Stornoway itself is largely looked after by a Town Council which deals with the property of the burgh, makes and administers byelaws and imposes burgh rates. The police are under County administration, each burgh paying an annual contribution for their services; the law is administered by a sheriff-principal and two sheriff-substitutes, one of whom holds court in Stornoway. Each parish has a local committee of management.

The political history of the Western Isles, and no less Harris and Lewis, reflects the agrarian troubles. Before 1917, when Lewis was a Parliamentary part of Ross & Cromarty, and Harris part of Inverness, the electorate was both Liberal and Radical; traditionally there has been a significant anti-Tory vote. In 1917, the Boundary Commission for Scotland set up the Parliamentary County of Inverness and Ross & Cromarty, with three divisions: Inverness, Ross & Cromarty and the Western Isles. In 1918 the Western Isles voted for the first time as a Parliamentary constituency of its own, and showed a predominant Liberal sympathy; the returned candidate was also standing for the reform of the Land Law.

In the General Election of 1923 a Liberal candidate was again returned, with a repeat performance in 1929. In the latter election however, the Socialist came in second place. In the crisis or scare election of 1931, the Labour Party did not contest the seat, which was won by a Liberal-National candidate opposed by a full-blooded Conservative. In 1935 the Labour candidate, a native of Lewis, was returned with a 1,345 majority. This Member retained his seat through all subsequent elections losing it only in 1970 to a member of the Scottish National Party, who became a lone Home Ruler in the House. Labour, Conservative and Scottish National parties are represented in the constituency, with a small Liberal showing. The revision of local authorities has given virtual autonomy to the Western Isles.

PUBLIC SERVICES

The lack of adequate social and public services has been cited by some authorities as a factor encouraging people to leave the

Let us begin with the economic and ficance of the Highlands and Isles with concerned. Economically the crofters' the narrow interrupted belt of improved la which is generally fronted by the sea and it and is backed by the Crofters' Grazings (C on the map). Some 700 crofting tow munities are found in Zetland, the Nort and the Western Isles, each with its Co the line C also encloses a small area d grazings. Deer forests predominate on th land, side of the line. On the remainder o are to be found the hill-sheep farms, with and small-holdings.

In the past the fishing crew at sea and team on land formed the communal units

Key to use of Land and Sea
(Highland, Island and Urban Ar

1. The dotted line C .... C encloses the C mainly 'Commons'.
2. Black areas: strips of 'Isolated Arable' w pastures of the Highlands and Southern Upla
3. Horizontal ruling: open sea, outside the 'th 'inshore fishing' (left blank).
4. Vertical ruling: urban and industrial regions.

Key to Size of Labour-Teams of Farms and
(in the Lowlands)

The symbols show the average number of emplo each county.

(1 symbol = 100 teams)

(a) Per Mixed and Dairy Farm
— 2·2 to 3·8 (3·1)
◆ 4·1 to 5·6 (4·9)
■ 6·4 to 8·2 (7·1)

(b) Per Full-time Small Holding
• 0·7 to 1·0 (0·85)

(The numbers in brackets are the averages f

SCAPE

the social signi-
n which we are
living space ' is
nd (shown black)
s inshore waters,
enclosed by line
vnships or com-
h-west mainland
mmon Grazing;
levoted to other
e eastern, main-
f the hill country
other small farms

the joint labour-
contained within

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eas)
ofters' Grazings,

within the rough
nds (left blank).
ree-mile ' belt of

Small-Holdings

yees per team in

r Scotland.)

the township; and to each were allotted the rights of the common grazing and the fishing grounds. For more than a century the croft has been held individually, though in the townships the common grazing is still held in common. Beyond these ' homely ' limits lie wider horizons, in the past those of seafaring and of droving or the chase, and today of fishing and gillieing at home, or of ocean journeys, urban occupations or colonisation.

In the Lowland regions each symbol represents 100 holdings. For (A), ' mixed and dairy farming ', the particular type of symbol shows the average number of workers employed on a farm-holding in each county. On each farm the employed workers form what may be called the ' Labour-Team '. A team may be ' small ', ' medium ' or ' large '. The Scottish averages of these three types (indicated in the inset key to the map) are roughly three, five and seven workers per team. Four ' casual ' workers are counted as equivalent to one ' permanent ' worker, but farmers' wives are excluded. Under (B), for the same Lowland counties and areas, full-time small-holdings are shown separately. The Scottish average of less than one full-time worker employed, most often a son or daughter of the small-holder, is typical of all the counties.

As to the relative importance of the different classes of farms and small-holdings in Scotland, true agricultural land-holders number 68,000, of which fully one-third hold part-time holdings (like the Island crofters), one-third ' full-time farms ', and rather fewer (one-fifth) hold ' full-time small-holdings '. The remainder accounts for other types of less importance. The farms predominate in terms of improved land, full-time employment, and of course of production. As to area, farms cover 80 per cent of agricultural land. The farmers employ nearly 90,000 workers,

secondary school, the 'Nicolson', has had since its inception a formidable academic record Back in 1907 work from the school was included in the educational section of an International Exhibition held in Christchurch, New Zealand: this was appropriate because emigrants from the west Highlands, notably from Harris and Lewis, were among the pioneers of New Zealand education a century ago. In 1957 new extensions were opened, costing about £300,000 and making the school the largest of its kind in the Highlands area. It is co-educational, its primary and junior secondary departments taking only Stornoway children and its senior secondary department catering for those from both Stornoway and rural Lewis. Many board out in the town during the week, returning home at weekends.

In providing social facilities, the town has placed itself in the position of an agent for those things deemed necessary for life, and is a middle-ground between the rural repression of the Free Church and the city abandon of the mainland, with resulting dilemma. The public houses, the cinema, youth clubs, dances and juke boxes are all in direct opposition to the preaching of the Free Church. The result is tension between the town's desire to act as a host for tourists and its wish to fulfil its duty on a religious plane; to instance this, the Stornoway Sabbath is less strict than the Lewis Sabbath. In keeping with the rest of Lewis, social standards are extremely high. Home is the centre of life, as it always was; the sense of community and communal responsibility is there. Divorce is practically unheard of, and the incidence of crime, as such, is extremely low.

121 by help of oral tradition and of the living witness of con-
174 tinuing usage, we can reconstitute Gaelic life from the
178 view-points of both people and chief. Elsewhere, even in Scotland, only fragments of early life are recorded, in
175 parchments written by the lawyers of landlord and king, and almost always from the privileged side. History is
814 indebted to modern lawyers who have deciphered and
127 published the faded documents of their predecessors. But the very training as solicitor-factors which fitted them for this specialised task, in no way prepared them to view life as seen, experienced and felt by the men and women of the past, or even by the elders or youth of the townships today, with whom they have rarely laboured and whose mother tongue they rarely understand.

(A) THE LABOURS OF MAN AND WIFE, AND THE REWARD

621 We have seen that until the nineteenth century the
• 632 township in the main was self-contained. Its people grew,
175 reared or caught their food, and also found the raw materials
[433] for their clothing; they built their own shelter, and cut their own firing. As a result, both men and women had
174 each to develop "a wide range of simple skills", in the
175 apt phrase of a Lewisman, Mr. Donald MacLean, M.A. Beyond the co-operative effort within a family, a farm
462 group, or a body of 'fellow-townsmen'—in which each was competent to take a share according to sex and age—aptitude and family tradition initiated some local division
[463] of labour. The resident smith and the 'caird' (usually a wandering craftsman or tinker) appear in the oldest tales and in the first rent-rolls. In addition there were honorary
[759] tasks. The smith might act as the village surgeon, ready

241 through division of labour or uni
423 the sake of mutual stimulus and
427

476 (D) THE SHARING OF MACH

Embracing several joint-farm
175 crew, came the township. The t
• 632 common pasture, it had a spe
241 run-rig on sandy, coastal machars
and in Uist—a system continued
423 On the machar of Barvas, c
re-allotted periodically, as they
632 Island machars. The machars b
241 dunes of the Outer Hebrides close
423 from the Butt of Lewis to Barra
[178] system was noted by Walker and n
who called it 'intermediate run-ri
[127] the run-rig of older joint farms on
sists at the present day.[1] In Nort
laid off in large scatts or fields. Ea
many rigs as there are crofts in th
be a dozen scatts in all, and usu
lying out in natural pasture, but
in rotation, so that each year on
brought into cultivation, and the
[625] course of cropping. When a sca
cultivation the township 'constable
the district ground officer) appoint
rigs.

[113] [1] Walker (1808); Alexander Carmicha
pp. 213 ff. and 451 ff., Report of the Crofter
these form the most significant evidence i
"Grazing and Agrestic Customs", *Celtic Re*
Scot. J. Agric., 1919. See also his lively ac
Highland Journey: Suil air ais, 1943.

423 rigs. The rigs are numbered and then balloted for by a
632 double ballot. First the men approach the hat in any
241 order and pick out a number: this is to decide the order in which they will approach the hat in the second draw. The second draw then decides the number of the rig. The crofter retains the rig while this particular scatt remains in cultivation, usually for a period of two or three years. The machar is shared by the whole township. The crops grown include a light type of oats, barley, a little rye, and potatoes; and clover may be cut.

423 In the division of the machar for potatoes at Barvas,
244 there are now no such hard-and-fast rules. The Common Grazings Committee select a certain area for cultivation
[624] and each crofter is allowed to take as much land as he requires within this area. This land is only cultivated for one year in six to ten years, and then reverts to grass. If cultivated for two or more years in succession there is a danger of the sand being blown away, and grass would be difficult to establish again. Potatoes are now the only crop
[134] grown on the Barvas machar.

Beyond the machar of the Isles lies the moor with its
175 fringe of reclaimed croft land. By Carmichael's day this
423 was held in individual portions, though, as he said, most of it was once held in 'farms' in run-rig practised by small
241 units, not by the whole township. Why this difference between the arable of the machar and of the moorland? Carmichael did not explain it.

134 Three explanatory points are, first, that the whole
241 cultivated land of the scatt or the machar is continuous, whereas the moorland is hummocky and boggy by turns, and cultivation is therefore patchy; secondly, that, unlike the stony clays, the light shell sand is easily forked or ploughed and needs no 'team' to plough it; and thirdly,

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of Ness), while Uig is the most westerly promontory with its natural fishing harbours. The authorship of the proverb may be ascribed to the ladies and gentlemen of Uig; yet the personal appearance of the victims, who are more broad-headed, gives the proverb a physical foundation. Again, the tall men of Ness, dark or fair, and rather longer-headed, still form a group apart from those of Cladach, each having taken root in prehistory, *i.e.* earlier than surviving record.

Such facts correct several current misconceptions as to race and heredity in their relation to Gaelic society, past and possible. First, it is still common to contrast a 'Celtic' with a 'Norse race'. Now, Norse immigrants belonged to several races, and when they arrived, several race-streams were already mixing and eddying in the Isles. After the immigration of Norsemen, the next recorded was in 1611, consisting of gentlemen-tacksmen from Kintail and burghal settlers to Stornoway, who were composed of Gaelic-speaking families from Easter Ross, where the people of today resemble some Scandinavian types rather than typical broad-headed Lewismen.

Second, it follows that no sweeping generalisations can yet be made as to the ways and habits of particular races. The "Celtic race", one reads, have "never taken to the sea" as have the Norsemen.[1] The facts in the Island are that though the men of Ness, with a possible Norse admixture, were considered better fishermen than those of Cladach, and the present generation includes a great number of seamen, their opportunities have been greater —their cape commanding wider fishing grounds and their little port providing relative safety in storm. And the men of Lochs and of the 'Bays' of Harris, though they show

[1] For example, in the Brand Report on Lewis (1902).

CHAPTER V

FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP: THE CONTINUING COMMUNITY AND ITS SOCIAL ECONOMY TO 1815

INTRODUCTION (TO CHAPTERS V AND VI)

121 593 476 632 621 THE family, the 'conjoint' or 'farm group' of four or five families, and the larger group clustered in a glen or along a shoreland, are, in ascending order, the three concentric units whose mutual relationships we must visualise to understand the past. Enduring elements of life in family and neighbourhood today, with their own special qualities and limitations, can only be understood in terms of past needs and the relationships they evoked.

121 613 621 [171] Having seen their relationships in family, team and township, we can next turn to the reciprocal relations of the people to their chief or lord, whose position dominates European, indeed world, history and prehistory. Here our concern must be the meaning of 'clanship' to the chiefs, the joint farm-groups (or 'small tenantry') and, latterly, the tacksmen placed above them.

121 174 178 [184] We may find, throughout this study, that features and functions which at first sight seem peculiar to the Island are really local variants, more perfectly crystallised, of forms which we know existed at earlier periods in Scotland and in much of northern and western Britain. In the Isles,

134 that no initial reclamation had been needed on the scatt.
241 In each year of cultivation, it is true, manures by a sort, principally seaweed and sooty sods from the roof, are applied; but they form a temporary improvement only for the crop to be taken, and do not constitute reclamation. After manuring, the grasses and clovers are simply turned over and the land, 'rested' and manured by cattle, straight-way gives its best crop.

175 It is otherwise with what is won from the moorland. 311 As Dean Monro wrote of the western Highlands in 1549: "In this country all is peat moss-land at the sea coast" (the long machars of the west of Uist give place to rocky coasts round much of Lewis), "and the place where he wins his peats this year, there he can not win the next year; after that he guids it weill with sea-ware". Even where the slopes are fairly smooth, the peat land has not the uniformity of the machar and the continuity of its arable strips. In addition to sea-ware, sand may be brought by creel or by pony pannier to reclaim peat, forming a heavy burden. Moreover, the first crop is always a poor one, and may be almost lost. Although in his brief notes Monro used the singular "the peat", he knew that the peat was usually cut co-operatively by teams. Hence most of the hard labour of reclamation may, indeed must, have been done co-operatively too, but by small teams, not by the members of a whole township together.

233 The sharing of common pastures is the last, but im-
423 portant, feature of land holding in common. The two kinds of pasture required were, firstly, those close at hand, animals being tethered or herded in them during the season, and secondly, the more distant summer pastures.
632 The people of certain townships, which were without a large outrun close at hand, had to go some distance to

233 reach their shielings. From Point district (Fye Peninsula)
423 the cattle are still brought inland to the moors south-west
of Stornoway. And from Bernera on the west the cattle
632 are swum to the hills of the main island, just as they once were swum from Bute to the hill-pastures of Cowal in Argyllshire across the Kyle at the 'Strait of the Swimming', Colintraive (Caol-an-t-snaimh). Nothing could be more natural, indeed inevitable, than pasture in common where large, open moors were to be found. The number of animals allowed to each holding was duly apportioned and then, as now, was known as the summing or 'sounting', still checked at the annual gathering (*cosgardh*).

423 Thus a cluster of conjoint farms shared "the grass on
621 the hills and the tillage on the ploughed lands" (*Fair air beinn agus feighinn air machair*). Along the shore, sea-ware, drift-
433 wood and the like were allotted, too. And, as Carmichael
175 put it, there was even "run-rig at sea", for the fishing
311 banks were allotted among the crews. Many of
178 these rights are still shared by the members of a township. But any crew can now fish freely where they choose, and no township can legally keep away strange boats, nor even steamers beyond the three-mile limit. This loss of communal rights stands in the way of remunerative fish-farming and its promise.

621 Profound social implications distinguished these three
423 concentric circles of community: the family; the farm-team
613 and boat's crew; and the larger, township group. These
241 implications concerned labour, duty and right. The labour
of reclamation gave a 'right' to the land thus won from the
476 moor; and the duty of labour required, for fruits equitably
622 shared, gave the farm-team and fishing crew cohesion on land or sea—team and crew working for a common purpose. On the other hand, as individual sharers in the common

621 pastures of machar and moor, each man had not so much
423 a 'common interest' or duty as, individually, a 'like
632 interest' or right. As now, each unit, whether team or individual, would tend to desire a maximum stock for itself, perhaps hoping it would have "the luck to rear" a little more than its apportioned sounting, at the risk of the over-stocking which results in common loss. But though need, greed or rivalry offered temptations, morality invited careful sharing and was enforced by common interest.

423 The chief distinction between team and township was that
476 the tasks of the farm-team were constructive and, like that
632 of the boat's crew, active and co-operative. It is true that in the township certain tasks were co-operative, such as the wolf scaring of old times or the fox 'hunting' or shooting on mainland moors today. The modern practice of sheep is also done together. But no constructive effort was involved in the allotment of shares on the machar or of stock on the moor, which were—and remain—matters merely for communal control, not communal effort.

501 Now, the quality of a group alters with its quantity. The intimate cohesion of a very small group of no more than half a dozen members, diminishes with an increase in number; but increase brings a countervailing gain in diversity. Ten or a dozen people tend to break up into sub-groups, whether for small jobs or to enjoy conversation. The smallness of a group limits the number of relationships; an increase in number multiplies sub-groups, and life is enriched. After living long with fewer than half a dozen acquaintances, the same subjects keep cropping up in talk, the same tales are re-told, too often, and people cannot get away from one another's idiosyncrasies! A very small addition turns the scale by renewing variety. Here lay the social value of a township and neighbourhood,

621 embracing several hamlets. Yet the strength of com-
476 munity life sprang from co-operation in the farm-team and
632 in the boat's crew.

108 With the passing of the joint farm the greatest disci-
461 plinary factor for work in common passed away from
476 agriculture. The fact that fishing still remained as a social discipline, and actually developed in importance as the farm-team declined and was abolished, was to prove all the more significant to the vitality of social life until 1914 and even to the present.

(b) THE COMMUNITY ORGANISED: STEERSMAN AND CONSTABLE

621 As small groups of two to half a dozen men could manage
their agricultural affairs informally, by common consent,
622 no official was formally chosen to manage the affairs of the fellow-workers on a farm. Where prompt decisions are needed, however, even a small group should be led: a boat's crew therefore choose their helmsman-skipper and obey him at sea. And where several farm-groups made up a township, more formal deliberations were required, and to carry out their decisions they chose a responsible man, the constable.

175 Of the crofters' manner of deciding communal affairs
621 in Uist, Carmichael wrote, in 1884, that these meetings
181 "were highly interesting, as showing the ability of the people, their logical and legal acumen, their readiness of speech, their humour, their invariable courtesy towards one another. There was one regular official known as the constable on whom there lay the chief executive responsibility. When a crofter is elected constable of his town-land, he takes off his shoes and stockings and, taking

175 lordly rank: a working, equalitarian democracy dominated
by an aristocracy proudly refusing to work. The fascina-
632 tion of Gaelic community is, first, that its elements stand out so clearly, and, secondly, that links were forged in
170 citizenship which made its living chain, though heavy, a
171 thing that shone with pride, and beauty too.
621

(c) CLANSHIP, COMMON DESCENT AND CLAN-HELP (CUIDEACHD)

621 To what extent is it now possible to disentangle the two
contrasted elements of the lord or chief and the farm-teams
172 and townships? Prehistory is hard to unravel; but the
621 successive waves of conquest flung upon the Island shores
have left their jetsam, unmistakably. The circle of huts
197 found near a broch or commanding *dun* recalls the tenants' village grouped close to the castle of a chief; from early history down to the 'Forty-five, and suggests a primitive
173 form of feudalism or clanship. Traditions add their
part. In Uist one may still hear the ancient heroic lays
621 traditionally ascribed to Ossian, Oisean, son of Fionn or
631 Fingal—lays of which Macpherson's sonorous prose gave free rendering. The Fingalian tales differ from the lays, being frankly fantastic. Lewis had its own cycle of Fingalian tales; examples are given by W. C. Mackenzie (1919). Both lays and legends tell of an aristocracy or warrior class, the Fenians, of their enjoyment of the chase, and of their relative comfort, with wealth in gold and silver, in bannered and embroidered tents, as contrasted with riches implies the existence of a community to feed and clothe the huntsmen. The traditions of the Cuchulainn cycle, with closer approximation to historical and
197 archaeological truth, tell the same tale. Historically, in-

CHAPTER VI

CLANSHIP: PEOPLE, CHIEF AND TACKSMEN

(a) COMMUNAL EQUALITY AND LORDLY PRIVILEGE

175 THE equalitarian customs of hamlet and township
632 astonish many to whom the crofting villages are
647 unknown and whose picture of the Gaelic past is
631 derived from tales of the 'Forty-five. The widespread historic fact of lordship over a subject peasantry has obscured that of peasant-neighbourhood, more ancient, it would seem, and, in the Isles, still more enduring. The very existence of 'rural democracies' such as those just described has been doubted by certain scholars on the theoretic ground that they would be humanly unworkable! Yet it is none the less true that the peasants as clansfolk gave loyalty to their chief. The fervent loyalty
644 given to the exiled kinsmen-kings, the Stewarts, was a scarlet thread interwoven—or entangled—in the homespun
538 web of community, of clanship. Wherever the Gaelic is spoken, the Jacobite songs are sung with passion, and their echo has gone round the world.

171 So in the life of the Gael, without doubt—and in varying degree throughout Britain and the rest of Europe—we have to envisage a composite, perhaps a contradictory, state of things, in which communal equality is overlaid by
182 lordly rank: a working, equalitarian democracy dominated by an aristocracy proudly refusing to work. The fascination of Gaelic community is, first, that its elements stand out so clearly, and, secondly, that links were forged in clanship which made its living chain, though heavy, a thing that shone with pride, and beauty too.

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171 So in the life of the Gael, without doubt—and in varying degree throughout Britain and the rest of Europe—we have to envisage a composite, perhaps a contradictory, state of things, in which communal equality is overlaid by

175 the legal recognition, improvement and enlargement of the
654 township', defined as a farm, or part of a farm, occupied
in common or division by several tenants, three or more in
632 number. The executive officer of the township, the Con-
644 stable, was to be elected annually by the community.

The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 did
175 embody three of the chief recommendations made, but the
671 first, the recognition of the township, was omitted. The
671 Crofters Act gave security of tenure, compensation for
477 improvements, and some facilities for enlargement of hold-
ings. Security was perpetual in consideration of the crofter; the crofter was not compelled to act in his own interest;
632 The Act discarded the core of the Napier Commission's scheme, that of "a recognised local community, the town-ship, with its constable, office-bearer, of agreements with the proprietor. Although this was not a recommendation of the Commission, the Act also provided for official revision of rents. A 'fair rent' was to be proportionate to the
829 value of the holding, together with the value for improvements, was to be fixed on application to a body of the three Commissioners, 'the Crofters Commission'. In Lewis between 1887 and 1912 this brought a lowering of the rent by over a quarter and the cancelling of two-thirds of arrears accumulated earlier. The rental for a 'croft' was to be below £30; this figure was raised to £50 in 1911, except in Lewis, where £30 remained the limit in order to allow the excessive congestion to be relieved by division even of small farms.

The passing of the Small Landholders' Act of 1911 completed the code known as the Landholders' Acts, 1886–1911. The Land Court replaced the Crofters' Com-
647 mission. The Department (then still the Board) of Agriculture took over the powers of the Congested Districts

175 Board, created in 1897 to develop agriculture, fishing and
671 home industries, to form new holdings, to assist migration,
421 and to provide public works such as roads, bridges and
647 piers. These powers were further extended by the Land Settlement (Scotland) Act of 1919, passed to provide land for ex-Servicemen.[1]

The Crofters' Act granted to the individual crofter most of the rights advocated by the Napier Commission, and other advantages besides, but it did not impose upon him the corresponding duties. As Day wrote, "The land-
632 holding was conceived to be in the interests of the crofter; the crofter was not compelled to act in his own interest"
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647 mission. The Department (then still the Board) of Agriculture took over the powers of the Congested Districts

[1] A useful summary of the legislation is given by the Rt. Hon. Chrimes's Report, 1938, pp. 17-21, and a searching review in J. P. Day's *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918, a work of real social insight.

The Act of 1919 is still the current code under which land settlement schemes may be undertaken in Scotland; but the Agriculture (Scotland) Act 1948 included new powers to allow the creation of holdings up to 75 acres in extent and £150 in rental. After the Second World War a special emergency code was in force in regard to settlement of ex-Servicemen and little progress has been made in carrying out schemes, despite many unfulfilled applications in the Hebrides and elsewhere where the demand for crofts exceeds the supply.

195 death of Sir James had left his widow in possession of the
423 estate, a lady with little training for its responsibilities.
668 In south-east Lewis, in November 1887, a body of landless men attempted to settle on the peninsula of Park, Loch Seaforth, after which some of the illegal settlers or raiders were tried and acquitted, and fourteen small crofts with outrun were provided. In January 1888, 300 men marched from Barvas to petition Lady Matheson that the sheep farm of Galson should be allotted to some of them at a fair valuation, as they could not live on their tiny plots. Lady Matheson refused to consider the petition until the arrears of rent due by Barvas tenants were paid. Less than a week after, sheep were driven off Aignish (Eye) and police, reinforced by marines and soldiers, arrested eleven men. Two days later, more sheep runs were invaded, fences demolished, and sheep driven off. On January 20, 500
(701) marines were ordered to Lewis (of whom 200 actually
(687) sailed). On February 2, the Aignish raiders were found guilty and sentenced to terms of from nine to fifteen months' imprisonment. After this the disturbances gradually passed away. Yet the seeds of trouble only lay dormant; they were to spring up a generation later, and again after the war of 1914-18.

195 In defending the Napier Commission's plan to recog-
632 nise the township, one may accept their definition of it as
427 a farm held by tenants, singly or in common. Yet it must
[241] be remembered that the word 'farm' had come to have a very elastic meaning. The joint farm-group was once the active group for labour in common; but if the 'township' included several joint-farms, as it generally had in the Island, its people formed a relatively 'passive' community. Members of the township enjoyed rights in common, and shared in duties of observance; but they had seldom to

co-operate in active endeavour. It was all the more
632 important to have an elected 'official', the Constable,
427 one of themselves but placed in authority. There could be no restitution of the old joint farms where they had
[241] been broken down by migration. Yet it should have been
[674] still possible to extend the old spirit to the larger townships, as the Commissioners held.

195 Again, the constitution of the township is bound up
632 with the rights of common pasture upon the moor all the
423 year, and in winter even on unfenced arable; but the
671 Crofters' Act failed to regulate the rights and obligations of Common Grazings. It slackened the authority of the estate without restoring the hold of the tenant community upon its members. After five years the Government began to recognise the mistake, and passed the first Crofters' Common Grazings Regulation Act, permitting the crofters to elect a Common Grazings Committee. But it was ill-considered; most of all because non-crofters, that is, cottars and squatters without legal tenure, were not bound by the Regulations. On one hand they could not get permission to 'resume' (or enclose) a portion of the outrun, in order to reclaim it as a croft, without first obtaining the unanimous consent of the township's crofters; and in large
[233] townships there might always be an objector. Yet each cottar could, and did, put on stock, a cow or two and a few sheep, so nullifying the possibility of discipline.

In 1908 a second Act was passed; but twenty years had allowed tradition to lapse and difficulties to accumulate. In Isle Scalpay (Tarbert) for instance, by 1909 there were only forty legitimate crofters, but eighty cottars; and the legal crofters would not take part in depriving any
(416) cottar of such grazing liberties as he exercised. All were
(462) neighbours and most were relations, and their principle

195 was to share; the children needed milk and the women
632 wool to work, while the men fished. As the Crofters'
423 Commission put it at the time, "Necessity has no law and
671 . . . it is scarcely possible to carry out . . . the Grazings Acts in this island". The position remains little changed. Still, in spite of sixty years' delay, and the law's failure to restore an executive, the Constable, to perform specified duties as a member of the community, the Grazings Committees do exercise useful functions with credit. They form nucleus with which proprietor, Government or co-operative agency actually deal, and the voluntary Clerk may shoulder considerable responsibility.

195 With regard to small occupiers paying less than £6
423 rent per annum and holding less than 10 acres and 250
632 acres of souming (or share of pasture), the Napier Commission declined to recommend the bestowal of rights or immunities tending "to fix them in a condition from which they ought to be resolutely though gently withdrawn". The Act, however, did grant small occupiers immunity from eviction, and made it hard for either landlord, State or fellow-crofters even to refuse house sites or fresh holdings, particularly in the crowded Lewis. The squatter continues; indeed he is favoured, by escaping the payment of rent and rates though he shares in benefits. The ratepayers are proportionately, and unjustly, handicapped. But as isolation has diminished, landless squatters have been allowed to 'resume' portions of the common grazing for new holdings, as by common consent at Ness and in Lochs, after Lord Leverhulme's death.

195 A further recommendation of the Napier Commission
632 was to aid emigration. Now Sir James Matheson's aid in
423 1863 proved successful, but his later efforts met with no
671 response. There were then, and still may be, in the Island

(c) SLOW CHANGE: 1925–39

1. The Land, the Sea, and the Loom

423 When Leverhulme parted company with the people of
632 Lewis his gesture of farewell was one of generosity; the
431 offer of Lewis to its people. The Stornoway Trust was
623 formed, and this accepted the gift of the adjacent crofting township of the Parish, and of the Castle and its beautiful Park or 'policies'. In crofting townships, however, the people declined the offered gift of land, finding that they could not afford the augmentation of rates entailed by acceptance. So the remainder of the estate was offered for sale in several lots, which were bought by individuals
423 and have proved safe investments. The letting of sporting
632 rights adds a further, albeit a variable, return of income to
427 that of the rents received. It is indeed anomalous that a crofting estate, such as a Lewis parish can yield a good
[624] return to a purchaser, yet that the crofter-occupiers themselves would lose by receiving it as a gift.[1] Much-needed improvements in housing would also be discouraged, for fear of increase in their rates. It is true that if (under existing laws of assessment) all the farmers and crofters, cottars and squatters of a county were to become owners at the same moment, the total increase in assessments would either be repaid in greater services or met by lowered rates

[1] The resources in question belonged to Chapter IX (or, more accurately, to the 'small landholder'), as occupier of an agricultural holding, can only be assessed at three-eighths of the occupier's half of the assessment, on his Fair Rent, *i.e.* at less than a quarter of the whole rental. Although he may have built a year or two before, other buildings he is not assessed at their full value; neither is his landlord. Were he to become owner he would then be liable to assessment both as occupier and as owner, on the full annual value of land and of buildings (not, with deduction of five-eighths on the agricultural value as occupier only.

↓ (see pp. 320-323 - analysis)

423 —or by a compromise between. But as it is, if one crofter,
431 or a small group of crofters like those of a township or
[17] parish of Lewis, were to become owner-occupiers (even by
632 gift), they would be penalised as compared to others.
632 Hence the Lewismen preferred to go on paying rent as
824 statutory crofting tenants. Leverhulme sold the land and received the price; the new owners paid for it and received an investment; and the only 'loser' on this curious transaction was the Local Authority, the County, which failed to make more in rates!

[623] Further reasons why the great majority of crofters declined Leverhulme's offer have been given by the Lewis Association's Economic Committee (1944):

(a) As individual proprietors, they would lose the advantages of the jurisdiction of the Scottish Land Court in dealing with their disputes, and any litigation would take a more costly form.

(b) They would be debarred from obtaining loans from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland for the improvement of their holdings or houses; as the Department would no longer have the "Corner Stone" of a landlord to fall back upon in the event of remuneration.

(c) The crofters were afraid that as individual proprietors they would forfeit their share of the Common Grazing rights.

(d) Should they wish to quit their holdings they would be compelled to find a buyer in the open market, instead of renouncing to their landlords and getting valuation.

(e) There is a feeling among Lewis crofters that they prefer to have a landlord before whom they can lay their difficulties and disputes, and who will attend to their wants; an authority that relieves them of responsibility.

(181) As the historical evidence has shown, a lack of responsi-
[624] bility has been greatly due to the undermining and then the
[195] abolition of the authority of the township's own elected Constable.

178 2110. The average under potatoes declined steadily: 3940,
431 3730, 1650. Barley dwindled from 250 acres to 130, and
241 130. Turnips reached a maximum of 510 acres in 1939, but were not worth noting by 1953. These crop acreages reflect the change in stock-rearing, with the decline in the number of
178 cattle but the great increase in the number of sheep. Taking
431 the three successive totals for 1918, 1939 and 1953, cattle
231 numbered 13,620, 9060 and 6540 head; but this diminution by more than half was chiefly due to the small number of bullocks reared. Cows and heifers, 7650 in 1918, still stood at about 4500 in 1953, and they are now of far better quality in weight and milk production. The totals of sheep are successively, 78,150, 114,330, 185,860; by use of mainland rams their average weight has increased, while the wool is rather more abundant but coarser. Taking the Lewis Association's equivalent of 1 cattle beast to 8 sheep, the livestock carry increased by nearly 25 per cent; and if we add the increased value of the cattle the livestock income counts for very much more. Horses, it is true, fell to 380 by 1953; as before, most had been bought in from Uist, not bred. Hence a new charge on agriculture, the purchase and use of the 65 tractors owned by farmers and crofters, and their running costs, is relatively less heavy than it would be in a horse-breeding area. The poultry are still deplorably few: 86,460, or about 20 per croft.

632 The Table on p. 316 sums up the conditions, fairly accurately
[1] somewhat stabilised for the time being, parish by parish, and invites comparison with Chapter II, pp. 67-68.

178 (b) and (c) *Peat-moss and Peat-building.*—While *peat-*
222 *cutting* is still important, more coal is used than formerly, and
314 hence the peat is valued here much as in 1938. *Housing* is
[1] more important; Local Authority housing by the Burgh
178 struggles to meet the need of a growing urban and 'suburban'
178 population as in other towns in Britain, but with an additional
362 "remote area subsidy" to meet mainland contractors' extra
[1] costs. There is little truly rural housing by the County Council and rents are too high for the houses to be fully occupied. The
[2] figures for Stornoway Burgh for the ten years 1945-54 exceed
[162] 315

(a) THE STORNOWAY TRUST: A COMMUNAL OPPORTUNITY

632 The people of Stornoway town and rural parish are in a
178 position to control their own future to a degree unusual in
[1] Britain since the general loss of common lands in the eighteenth
632 century. Three or four bodies or groups are important in
[1] local governance, and in addition to these an effort to arouse
632 citizenship has taken shape in the Lewis Association. As elec-
423 where, the Town Council acts for the burgh and, it should be
632 added, the Grazing Committees for the townships, the District
423 Council and County Council acting for wider spheres. The
361 Harbour Trust has its special charge. In addition, the fact of
[1] public ownership is important, as vested in the Stornoway Trust. Besides property in the burgh and its suburbs, including the Castle and its park or policies, the Trust owns virtually the whole lands(and area of the parish, from Arnish Moor north to Tolsta. It should not be forgotten that the resources of the sea are public property and that the inshore fishings, owing to a considerable measure of protection, are virtually in the possession of the coastal communities. Freshwater fishing is also in the hands of the Trust. Thus, not only building property but essential sources of production on land and sea are in proximal possession. The Trust was formed in 1924.

673 During the first five years of its existence the Trust was
[1] burdened with a growing deficit, but since 1929 it accumulated
433 a credit balance, due partly to agricultural derating and partly to the registration of the Trust as a charity and the resulting relief from income tax. Possession without provision can do little, however, and hence the need for the citizens of town and country to regroup themselves as thinkers for the common

Figure 1.

/Footer p. 1/

GALLAN HEAD
ARD MORE
BERNERA
PARISH OF UIG
ISLE OF LEWIS
MILES
1 0 1 2 3
HILLS RISING ABOVE PLATEAUX SURFACES
SUMMITS EXCEEDING 1000'
AREAS OF SAND ACCUMULATION ('MACHAIR' & SAND-MODIFIED SOILS)
SEVERELY ICE-MODIFIED SLOPES
CORRIES
SHARPLY
SLOPE,
EXCEEDING

Figure 2.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

/p. 22/

4: Mbisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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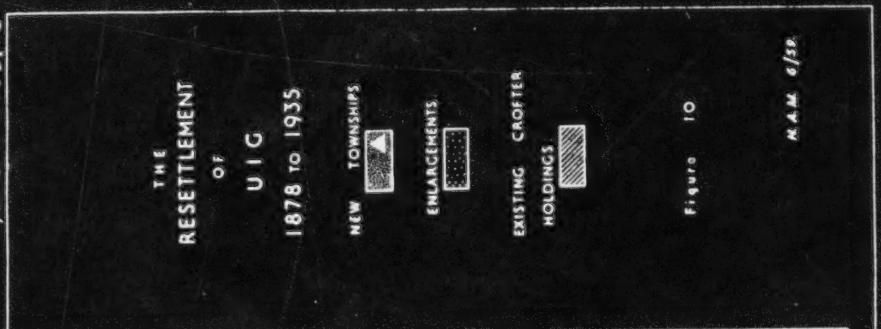

TABLE 8

THE RE-SETTLEMENT OF UIG, ISLE OF LEWIS

(See also Fig. 10).

103
175
178
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427
632

This table may not be complete for the earlier years; acreages are approximate

Date:	Farm:	Township	New Holdings	Holdings enlarged	Area (Acres)
1878	Linshader	Kirkibost	26(1)	-	c.1,300
1880	Hacklete	Hacklete	20	-	c.1,000
1886 (?)	Linshader	Borroston	-	-	500
1886	Dalsmore	Carloway	-	-	60
1891	Linshader	Lundale	6	-	1,156
1892	Linshader	Kirkibost	-	26	1,000
1893	Linshader	Hacklet & Breaclet	-	32	314
		Valtos	-	30	c.300
1910	Mangersta	Mangersta	13	-	2,250
1912	Dalsmore	Garenin	-	27	c.700
1921	Reef	Reef	15	-	1,254
		Aird & Reef	-	10	206
		Crowlista & Kneep	-	43	105
		Garyshader	-	13	88
1921	Timsgarry	Timsgarry	8	-	4,113 (2)
		Enaclete	-	9	621
		Geshader	-	11	} 603 (3)
		Ungshader	-	4	
1921	Croir	Croir	8	-	522
1921	Carnish & Ardroil	Carnish	6	-	288
		Ardroil	14	-	797
		Carnish & Ardroil common grazing			7.153
1921	Mealasta	Mangersta	-	10	1,866
		Brenish	-	29	4,116
1921	Dalsmore	Garenin	-	27	c.300
1925	Linshader	Linshader	10	-	11,109
1932	Uig Lodge	Ard Bheag	2	-	809
1935	Garynahine	Garynahine	12	-	1,915
			140	245	about 45,000

Notes: (1) Crofters were moved to Kirkibost from Bosta (425 acres), which was given as an enlargement to Tobson crofters.
(2) Partly off Timsgarry.
(3) Partly off Carnish and Ardroil.

162
241
233
311
361
423
427
632

TABLE 9

The Agricultural Structure of the Parish of Uig, 1958

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	Townships (no.)	Inbye (acres)	Common pasture (acres)	Agricultural holdings (on Valuation Roll) Crofts:	Others:	Crofter-tenants Total	(of whom) non-residents	Agricultural holdings without croft status**
Atlantic Coast	3	246	14,800	51	1	42	(12)	-
Uig Bay	5	636	15,800	62	-	55	(9)	-
Valtos-Reef	3	398	8,700	74	-	68	(14)	1
Little L. Roag	4	266	4.400	38	-	39	(4)	1
Bernera Island	5	1,213	8.200	91	4	88	(12)	8
Bernera Shore	4	359	13,100	26	1	26	(2)	2
East L. Roag	6	1,101	15,700	183	1	178	(26)	6
L. Carloway	7	856	9,400	174	7	167	(23)	35
Individual holdings * (non-crofting)		161	1,200	-	9	-		9
	37	5,236	91,300	6,999	23	663	(102)	62

NOTE: *Individual holdings include only those not using the common pastures; the 'common' pasture' figure is their rough grazing.

**These include individual holdings, as defined, and all cottars, squatters, feuars and allotment holders having more than a quarter acre of cultivation or a cow or 5 sheep. Their holdings are included in 'Inbye'.

sists of the sporting estates of Grimersta, Scaliscro, Morsgail and Uig Lodge, on some of which a few cattle and sheep may be grazed, and a few small farms.

There are 37 crofting townships. In area they extend from 9,000 acres (Linshader) to about 500 acres (Croir, excluding de facto shares in Bernera Shielings). The number of crofter tenants ranged from 4 in Ungshadir and Earshadir to 61 in Breasclete, and the average amount of land available to each crofter is 7.2 acres of inbye and 126 acres of common pasture (table 10). Averages are misleading. As the table shows, between districts the amount of land available per crofter varies from about 50 to 500 acres; as between townships the range is even wider (table 11). To some extent this contrast is the result of resettlement schemes which, in general, attempted to provide new holdings sufficient to yield a family living. The extent to which they were successful in this respect was limited by political pressure, especially in the 1920's, to provide the maximum number of holdings. Nevertheless the re-settled holdings have twice the average areas of both inbye and common pasture (13.3 against 7.2 acres, and 225 against 126 acres, respectively).

TABLE 10

Average acreage of land available for each holding and working unit.

CROFTING DISTRICTS:	INBYE LAND: Holdings	INBYE LAND: Working Units	COMMON PASTURES: Holdings	COMMON PASTURES: Working Units	NUMBER OF: Holdings	NUMBER OF: Working Units
Atlantic Coast	4.7	8.8	285	529	51	28
Uig Bay	10.1	14.8	255	367	62	43
Valtos-Reef	5.4	7.8	118	171	74	51
Little Loch Roag	7.0	7.6	116	126	38	35
Bernera Island	12.8	13.8	86	93	91	84
Bernera Shore	13.3	13.3	484	484	26	26
East Loch Roag	6.0	8.1	85	114	183	136
Loch Carloway	4.7	5.3	52	58	174	155
Non-crofting holdings	17.9	17.9	-	-	23	22
	7.2	9.0	126	157	699	580

NOTE: The distinction between "holdings" and "working units" is explained in the text.

Even amongst the old-established townships there is a tremendous range in amount of land available per tenant, the southern districts being best placed and those in the north worst, a situation which still remains. Indeed, the contrast in land available as between tenants (table 11) is a fundamental one; surprisingly, it is not on the whole reflected by a corresponding contrast in stock carried. Together with the rarity of effective fences between or within township pastures, the impossibility of properly hefting sheep to the hills when each crofter keeps his own little pack, and the excessive sheep/cattle ratio, this gives rise to serious problems which will be examined in Part III.

Land A

Acres:	INBYE LAND No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish: (a)	(b) in 'new' townships: (b)
0-1.0	1	
1.0-2.5	73	2
2.6-5.0	241	19
5.1-7.5	137	22
7.6-10	66	23
10.1-15	56	23
15.1-20	30	17
20.1-50	29	24

Note: 'New' townships, for this pu

In detail the arrangement of the all inbye land and, consequently, al has common pasture adjacent to the former shieling grazings - some di grazings is to some extent nominal Uninhabited islands, on the other ha for winter grazing; the smaller of t and tups when out of season. The by the township committees. Unfo ment - control of numbers and main almost universally neglected.

The total stock which each croft defined in the Regulations. In the c specific soum is placed on each cro of stating the soum in terms of rent 1 cow, 1 two-year-old and 8 sheep p Such soumings have been in existenc 1836*. Many of the Uig townships h in most cases the soum was given " but in a few "per pound sterling of r reduced in 1891, thus 1912 and 1886 r limited, stock-carrying capacity; th

* New Statistical Account, Vol. XIV

TABLE 11

vailable by Numbers of Tenants

Acres:	COMMON PASTURES No. of tenants: (a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:
	(a)	(b)
Less than 50	88	
51-100	332	14
101-200	139	12
201-300	52	-
301-400	32	32
401-500	8	8
940	10	10

rpose, are those settled since 1900.

townships varies. Certain features are common:
l settlements, are coastal (except Lochganvich). Each
inbye and many have further areas of common -
stance inland (figure 1). This division of the hill
because fences are often absent or ineffective.
nd, require no fences, and are particularly valuable
them provide convenient natural paddocks for bulls
management of all these common pastures is controlled
rtunately the most important aspect of stock manage-
tenance of a proper balance of sheep and cattle - is

may put on the common pastures - the 'soum' - is
case of townships re-settled in the present century a
ft but, in most other cases, the old practice persists
. Thus the soum of each croft may be defined as
er pound sterling rent (this is a very common souming).
ce since time immemorial; they are mentioned in
had their soumings stated by the Land Court in 1912;
per pound sterling of rent" (presumably 1912 rent),
rent payable in 1886". The rents had been substantially
rents were very different. Any township has a certain
herefore, if the total rental is thus changed without

V, p.148.

XI CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

102
311
632

Figure 11.

THE ATLANTIC COAST DISTRICT

C.P. : detached commo
pasture (shieling

ENL. : enlargement to
common pasture

Table 13

24/1
233
4/27
632

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Ard Bheag	-	-	c.2,000	-	1	(4)
Brenish	140	5,493	940	28	-	22
Islivig	51	1,342	620	10	-	7
Mangersta	55	2,197	1,850	13	-	13
	246	9,432	5,410	51	1	42

/facing p. 32/

192 The circular, corbelled stone "beehive" huts, some still in good repair, are of uncertain date. The best preserved are on the Morsgail Deer Forest, in remote situations which make it almost certain that they were only occupied seasonally; those on the Garynahine common pasture are associated with assymmetrically ridged, curving, lazybeds. This, however, need not imply permanent occupation of the site, nor does it solve the problem of age; such lazy-beds are certainly old, possibly pre-potato (c.1790 here) - but the huts do not decay with age and may be very much older.

195 429 [64] Early in the eighteenth century the present area of the parish of Uig was held from the Seaforth clan chief by 26 tacksmen, whose names are recorded in the judicial-rental of 1718, (Fig.4). They, presumably, had sub-tenants but of these there is no record. Elsewhere in Lewis the same rental records many small tenants holding direct off the chief but in Uig, apparently, the tacksman and sub-tenant system remained intact. Although we cannot be certain of their precise extent, the distribution of the tacks coincides fairly well with that of the better agricultural ground (Fig.2). * Five of them [241] cluster round Uig bay, four were in the Valtos-Reef area, and three around the strait of Little Bernera. All these districts have machair; together they accounted for three quarters of the meal and more than half the sheep and money rents. What is more, these rents represented 27% of the total rental of Lewis, whereas by 1887 Uig yielded only 17% [178] of the rental and by 1901 the proportion was reduced to 14%. The relative decline of Uig is largely due to the growth of Stornoway; this shift in the centre of gravity of Lewis [369] has tended to exaggerate the remoteness and isolation of Uig in the present century.

161 175 [632] 407 499 200 By the end of the eighteenth century the tacksmen seem to have disappeared; at any rate they are not mentioned in the remarkably detailed account of the parish given in the Old Statistical Account, 1792. Meanwhile the small tenants had multiplied: whereas in 1755 the old parish * had supported 1,312 persons, in 1792 the minister recorded 1,898. At this time there was neither plough nor cart in the parish. The minister was cultivating potatoes and his family were eating them

TABLE 3

AVERAGE STOCK HELD BY EACH FAMILY

162 178 233 422

	1792	1959
Cattle and calves	9.2	2.1
Sheep	13	37
Horses	1.8	-
Goats	0.8	-
No. of families	387	450

Note: the figures for both dates refer to the area of the old parish.

[632] * The old parish of Uig excluded the Loch Carloway district, from Kirivick north; this area lay in Lochs parish until 1891. Unless the old parish is specified figures quoted have been corrected to conform with the modern boundaries.

1. [See p. 2 - analyst]

195 429 311 a well cultivated small farm, a striking example of what can be done with this unpromising terrain. It is probably true that one of the objects of forming farms was to introduce improved methods and so set an example to the small tenants. The contrast, today, between Garynahine Farm and the nearby crofts, suggests that more than example is required.

TABLE 4

POPULATION CHANGES 1841-1851

161 162 175

District	1841	1851	Change	(%)
Carloway	554	659	+105	(+19)
E.L. Roag	581	717	+136	(+23)
Bernera	670	676	+6(1)	(+1)
L.L. Roag	217	259	+42	(+19)
Valtos etc.	711	484	-227(2)	(-32)
Uig Bay	520	426	-94(3)	(-18)
South	384	348	-36	(-9)

Notes: (1) Viuamore - 46 (-100%). Kirkibost, Linshader, etc. had already been cleared.
(2) Reef -180 (-96%).
(3) Carnish - 60 (-36%) - but completely cleared before 1861.

(Township figures are not available before 1841).

The birth of the crofting landscape.

195 429 311 632 A further mid-nineteenth century attempt to improve the productivity of the small-tenants' holdings was the lotting of runrig lands to form individual crofts. In a report to Seaforth c.1800, the Rev. Headwick had recommended the abolition of runrig* and some lotting of crofts took place about 1811 ** - about which time runrig was being abolished in North and South Uist - but many townships in Uig, as elsewhere in Lewis, escaped this lotting. In Bernera, Kirkibost was probably lotted at this time and the crofts fenced; in 1852, despite clearance, the first Ordnance surveyors were able to record the old fences (which were used as the croft divisions when Kirkibost was re-settled in 1878). The now much divided crofts of Kneep (see also fig.22) are probably of the same date. Reef appears, also, to have been lotted early, for the remnants of fences recorded by the Ordnance Surveyors in 1850-1852, (Reef was cleared in 1850), show crofts of the same [621] general form as those of Kirkibost, and quite unlike those of the 1850 lotting. Consequently, in many townships until this date, the houses remained huddled together in tight little groups, often inter-communicating one with another. The groups, or clachans, were usually set in the midst of the arable land. The runrig system had certain disadvantages, but, as a basic agricultural structure for small holders, it had two considerable advantages which may be relevant to modern conditions. Firstly, it was flexible: within it the individual's holdings varied in size and rent and it was possible, at the periodic re-allocation, to adjust the size according to family needs. An elderly person did not need to be burdened with a holding larger than he required, or was able, to cultivate; a young man with a

[113] ** Report.... on the Condition of the Cottar Population of the Lewis. (C.5265), 1888, p.37

* The essence of runrig was that any individual's arable land was in many pieces, scattered promiscuously amongst those of his neighbours. Periodic re-allocation of pieces was usual, but the period varied and in some cases was infrequent.

NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

102
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● 632

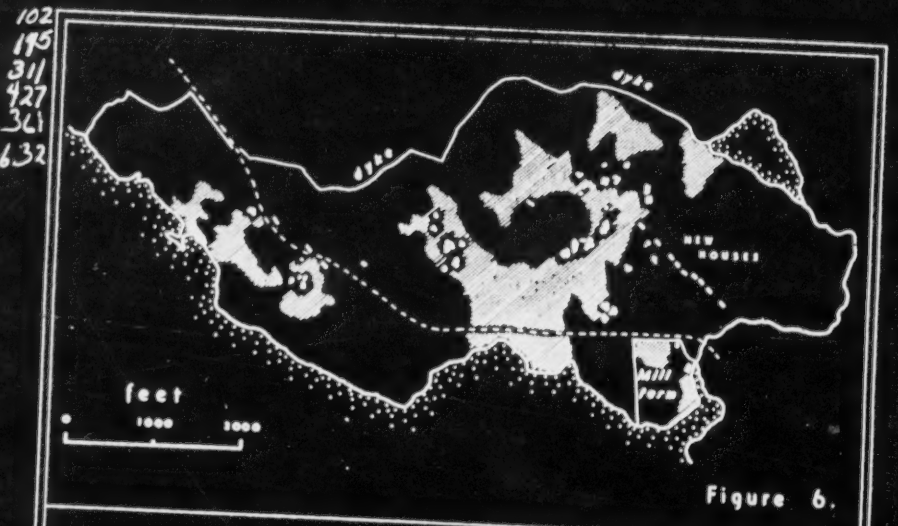

Figure 6.

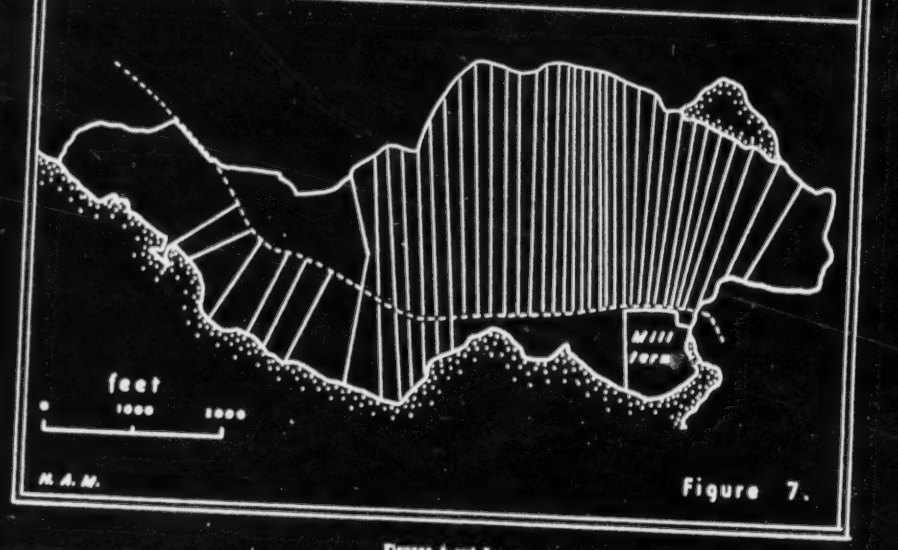

Figure 7.

Figures 6 and 7

THE LOTTING OF BREASCLETE

Figure 6 shows the irregular clusters of old houses and patches of arable land (hatched) within the infield dyke. On the right the first of the new houses, standing in a row each on its own 'lot' (or 'croft'), are shown.

Figure 7, from the contemporary Factor's notebook, shows the new crofts as lotted in 1856. Note that these were not fenced.

/p. 14/

195 growing family could increase the size of his holding. Secondly, in the absence of fences
427 a certain discipline of agricultural management had to be maintained; moreover the
311 proprietor, through the factor, grounds officers and township constables, saw to it that
● 632 it was. This "good husbandry", albeit at a rather low level, was maintained in the interests of tenants and land-owner alike. After the arable land was lotted permanently to individuals, there was less flixibility and less need for communal management. But the absence of fences between the new lots, or crofts, meant that they were still common land during the winter months. In some cases the proprietors paid the tenants to erect fences round the newly lotted inbye land of the whole township but, even when a ring fence existed, stock was allowed to graze indiscriminately within it from November until April.

It is fortunate that the first Ordnance surveyors were at work in Lewis just as the lotting was coming into effect. The new lots were not divided by fences, therefore they were not marked by the surveyors, but in several townships they arrived in time to plot the clachans and in some - Breasclete, for example (fig. 6) - the first edition six-inch maps show some of the new houses, neatly spaced out on the new lots. The arrangement of the latter is recorded in the Factor's sketch books, of which fig. 7 is an example.

175 Thus whilst we have little evidence of the appearance of the former rural landscape,
632 we have an excellent record of the birth of the new. The characteristic units of the new
178 lotting were townships divided into long narrow strips, arranged parallel and fan-wise more or less in the direction of steepest slope. Such an arrangement was simple to lay out; it tended to give everyone a fair share of the land of each kind - ill-drained and well-drained, high and low. And, if a road or track passed through the township it was usually possible to give each lot or croft direct access to it without the necessity for side-roads.
[367] Consequently the houses, when re-built, were usually put on the crofts. A dispersed pattern of settlement replaced the little huddles of the clachans. The extent to which it was dispersed depended on the width of the lots; the greater the number of tenants to be accommodated in a given area, the narrower were the lots. In extreme cases they might be as little as 20-30 yards in width and then the houses, aligned along the road or access track might form a virtually continuous terrace or street.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CROFTING STRUCTURE

427 In the parish of Uig about 90% of the families are crofters. That is to say, they owe their presence in Uig to their hereditary tenancy of a small-holding of croft status. To these holdings they have a deep attachment; many of them have been inherited through
[428] several generations. Others were obtained more recently during the process of re-settlement of farm land which followed the Napier Commission report and 1886 Act. Many older crofters regard the resettled townships as the fruits of a hard-won victory. Nevertheless, we have seen, very few of the holdings are in fact more than 110 years
[165] old. And, whilst some families can certainly trace their ancestors in the district for several centuries, there has always been a good deal of movement between townships. Thus the claim that they occupy holdings which were carved out of the barren moor by the toil and sweat of their ancestors is, in most cases, metaphor rather than strict truth.

102
311
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Figure 18

VALTOS
KNEEP
and
REEF.

C.P. : Common pasture

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 15

231
241
427
632

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	COMMON PASTURES: Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Valtos	149	1,482*	3,905**	40	1	36
Kneep	155	459*	1,806**	19	-	18
Reef	94	207 101(M)	770	15	-	14
	398	2,249	6,481	74	1	68***

NOTES: * including some machair; ** shielings;
M machair; *** Of whom 14 absent.

/facing p. 41/

crofting no longer affords a livelihood in Aird; the only two families
upations are those where all the members are elderly. Of the others
working age-groups, five have one or more members employed in a
e R.A.F. station and there are five regular weavers.

self-contained community; the land was fully cultivated and a certain
carried on in spite of the difficulty of drawing up the boats over the
t is prosperous, but very much dependent on the R.A.F. station, and
ose down, most of the younger people would have to leave in search of

CHAPTER SEVEN

VALTOS, KNEEP AND REEF

by

David G. Symes.

le of the Aird peninsula, facing east to Loch Roag is a secondary
derate, but none-the-less broken relief. This, together with an
nain peninsula, the islands of Pabay, Vacsay, Vuia Mor and several
prises the territorial limits of the townships of Valtos, Kneep and

ninsula is accidented in the extreme, with outcrops of bare rock and
hills. The relief is greater in the west (summit 450') than in the
Relatively level land is to be found only on the machairs of Reef and
poorly developed) and on the glebe at Uigean. The Reef machair,
ists of a succession landwards of tidal sands, a belt of sand dunes
andy plain sloping gently inland towards a reed filled lagoon. The
proximately 40 acres in extent; here there are fixed dunes and, in
been blown inland to at least 100 ft. O.D. Except where the machair
ope to produce a "brown machair" of mixed sand and peat, the thin
ninsula are predominantly peaty. Although the length of the pen-
extremes of Atlantic weather are moderated by the protection afforded
and the islands of Pabay and Vacsay.

re the lotting of crofts the whole peninsula was occupied by some five
iff, Kneep, Uigean and Reef - some of which shared common pastures.
of the nineteenth century and earlier, apparently, than the 1850 lotting
Lewis, crofts were allotted in each of the clachan areas: Valtos and
n pasture and so became one township; similarly Kneep and Uigean

that the croft boundaries were not accepted by the crofters. Certain
n groups of crofts (usually three in number) are discernable today,
divisions a certain regularity of distribution of strips persists, but

195 the crofts at Kneep are still highly fragmented: the fifteen crofts comprise over one hundr
311 and eighty separate arable plots. The lotted crofts at Reef were cleared in 1842 to provid
427 land for a sheep farm. Plans to clear the remainder of the Valtos peninsula were thwarte
228 by the Fisheries Board because Valtos and Kneep were then good centres for the white fish
50 industry. As late as 1892 Valtos and Kneep had forty boats, providing employment for on
464 hundred and forty-five men. Valtos with thirty-two boats and one hundred and twenty
fisher-men was second only to Carloway as a fishing centre in Uig. With the prosperity
of the fishing industry, the population of Valtos and Kneep had risen rapidly - from 467 in
1841 to 659 in 1891. Some, at least, of the subdivisions of Kneep date from this period.
Reef was scheduled by the Deer Forest Commission (1896) for resettlement by crofters
and in 1908 an attempt was made to do this, but agricultural experts advised against it, on
the grounds of poor water supply, scarcity of arable land (only ninety-three acres old aral
and the risk that, if cultivated, the machair would suffer wind erosion. Nevertheless, in
1921, Reef was resettled by ex-servicemen from Valtos and Kneep. At the time the shee
233 farm was only carrying a stock of one hundred and seventy sheep - less than half the croft
sheep stock in 1959.

427 Tables 15 - 18 summarise the more significant points of the economy of the Valtos
178 peninsula. Table 16 illustrates the fact that the economy is in decline. Only two-thirds
the total possible units are being worked. Many of the crofters have abandoned their cro
162 and the younger generations are unwilling to take over. Of those remaining to work the
crofts 18% are over sixty-five, and a further 47% are between forty-five and sixty-four.

TABLE 16

Crofts and Crofters

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
427				
463 Legal crofts:	40	18	15	73
632 No. in joint tenancy	2	4	0	6
Total possible units:	42	22	15	79
No. of operative units 8/59:	29 (60%)	15 (68%)	8 (53%)	52 (66%)
Joint tenancy crofts as one unit:	1	3	0	4
Cases of subletting:	8 (+2 part crofts)	4	6	18
Family combination of crofts:	2	1	1	4
Derelict crofts:	2	1	0	3
Crofts worked by: Full time crofter	3	1	1	5
crofter with regular work	8	7	0	15
crofter with periodic work	13	3	4	20
crofter over 65 (or invalid)	5	1	3	9

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ATLANTIC COAST

(Brenish, Islivig, and Mangersta)

by

Pamela M. Gough.

131 Brenish, Islivig and Mangersta are situated in the extreme south-west of Lewis, on the Atlantic coast of the parish of Uig and forty miles from Stornoway.

133 Brenish has a south-westerly aspect whilst Islivick faces north-west; in both the elevation of the crofts decreases seawards from about 125 ft. in the east to 50 - 25 ft. in the west. Only one croft in Islivig, and the eight most southerly crofts in Brenish, run to the sea - the rest obtain some shelter from a line of low hills about 300 yards wide and rising to a little over 100 feet, which forms their western boundary. The land terminates in low cliffs from 25' - 100' in height, and a rocky foreshore. Behind these townships to the east a range of mountains from 1,500' - 1,800' in height and dominated by the highest hill in Lewis, Mealisval, (1,885'), gives protection from easterly influences.

Mangersta lies to the north of these mountains; here the crofts lie in a sheltered
134 valley to the west of which the land rises to over 200 feet. The valley opens southwards to the sea where there is a sandy beach and machair. The crofts range from about 150 feet to 100 feet above sea level; those nearest the sea have soils which contain a substantial proportion of machair sand.

Soils are generally deep, and there are few rocky outcrops on the crofts which are fairly level. In Brenish and Islivig the soils are mainly peaty, becoming wetter in the west. Where visible the sub-soil is gravel or stony boulder clay. In Mangersta the transition from peaty soils on the northern crofts to sandy soils on the southern crofts, is marked by the increasingly continuous cultivation, drains being unneccessary on the latter.

137 There are no trees or shrubs, and vegetation consists of marshy grass moors in the Mealasta area with a considerable amount of cotton grass bog further north. West and south of Mangersta the machair area is characterised by a calceole plant community similar in content to that found in many parts of the chalk and limestone areas of England.

361 Brenish and Islivig are old settlements, never cleared. In both, the sites of the
[172] original clachans can still be seen clustered around the mouths of their respective streams. The houses are now situated at the east end of the crofts, near to the road.

175 To the south, Mealasta - cleared in the 1840's to make a sheep farm - was divided in
632 1921 to give enlargements to the common grazings of both Brenish and Mangersta. The
311 arable land was divided into twenty-nine shares as enlargements to Brenish crofts, and is held in a modified form of runrig.

Mangersta was cleared in 1837 to make a farm; subsequently fishermen-cottars settled on the farm but they moved to Dun Carloway in 1873. In 1910, however, a new township of thirteen crofts was set up by the Congested Districts Board; the new settlers were cottars, mainly from Brenish.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highla

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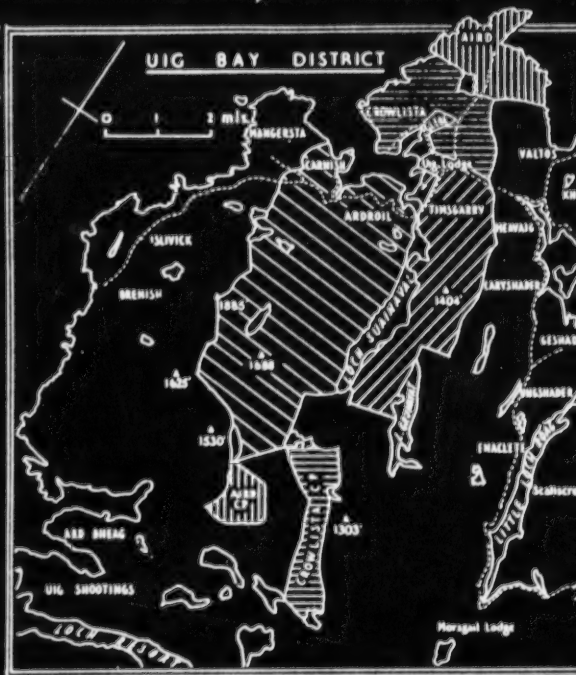

231
427
632

TOWNSHIP farm etc	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: adjacent:	detached:	AGRICULT HOLDIN crofts: o
	acres	acres	acres	no.
Carnish	67	177 44(M)	6,708	6
Ardroil	358	320 131(M)		14
Timsgarry	81	3,297	-	8
Crowlista	101	1,840 240(G)	1,352*	24
Aird	49	1,163	556*	10
Non-crofting	8	-	-	-
	306	7,212	8,616	62

NOTES:
M = manhair; G = part of Glebe; *
of whom nine are absent.

/facing p. 35/

Figure 14

CROWLISTA :
- lay out of crofts of an 'old' township lotted c. 1850.
- crofts shown hatched are held runrig by pairs of tenants

(Compare Fig. 15)

/facing p. 36/

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233
241
361
632

Figure 15.

ARDROIL CARNISH and TIMSGARRY - lay-out of crofts from farms in 1921 Compare fig. 14

/facing p. 37/

APPENDIX A

(1) Agricultural statistics for South Uig -

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts:	Others:	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: Oats:	Potatoes:	Hay:	Pasture: (acres)	Gardens	CATTLE: Sows:	Milk:	Others:
ARD DHEAG	-	1	1	-	-	-	-		-	-	-
BORNISH	28	-	13	16	4	20	100	11	84	18	15
DELIVIG	10	-	5	7	2	11	30	3	43	6	3
HAMINSTA	13	-	10	12	3	17	23	3	68	16	9
GARRISH	6	-	3	2	1	4	61	4	26	4	1
ARDROIL	14	-	12	7	2	11	321	13	62	15	5
TINGARRY	8	-	7	5	1	12	63	7	23	8	-
HAMIE ETC.	-	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	-	2	-
AIRD	10	-	8	4	1	3	35	8	34	6	2 (Goats
GROSLISTA	24	-	13	16	7	19	59	6	89	15	3
VALTOS	40	1	29	22	7	15	104	19	220	41	1
SHEEP	13	-	13	11	7	19	118	10	76	14	6
NEAP	15	-	8	5	2	9	77	7	45	7	3
CARTHADER	14	1	12	6	4	3	24	3	32	8	1 (2 Goat
GERRADER	11	-	11	14	3	16	82	10	38	15	4
UIGGHADER	4	-	3	5	1	7	23	3	27	3	1
EDACLEIT	9	-	9	13	3	13	44	6	32	14	2
OTHERS (non-crofting)	-	5	5	3	1	7	54	2	-	7 (16 pigs	16 2

Notes:

(a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in the

(b) Sowings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date w other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

(c) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions (ewes/lambs/

(d) Where there is a specific sum for a horse this has been added, (half to th allowing for any horses actually present.

(e) Where there is a sum for two-year old cattle this has been included in the

4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

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August, 1959.

	Calves:	SHEEP: Sows:	Ewes:	Lambs:	Others:	Rams	Tups
	-	-	a.500	?	?		
	13	508	703	443	568	4	1
	4	228	224	174	105	2	-
	13	385	474	334	371	1	-
	4	270	110	89	40	1	-
	9	625	358	277	171	1	-
	4	275	177	143	108	1	-
	1	-.	38	35	5	-	-
)	1	206	226	193	166	-	-
	9	414	487	374	227	-	-
	29	1,033	914	781	584	-	-
	9	455	403	337	247	1	-
	9	225	249	202	190	-	-
	4	183	199	176	110	1	-
e)	11	337	594	442	415	-	-
	2	150	130	125	125	-	-
	12	323	335	247	308	-	-
	12 goats)	-	295	210	231	-	1

text.

on the grazing regulations were first made unless some

/others) are as reported (see Appendix A (2)).
cattle sows and half to the sheep sows) after

cattle sowes at the rate of 2 two-year olds to one sow.

APPENDIX A, continued.

(2) Additional data relating to township sheep stocks, August, 1959

TOWNSHIP:	TOTAL STOCK: as recorded: (including lambs)	TOTAL STOCK: as estimated: (including lambs)	LAMBING: as reported:	STOCKING RATIO: estimated: (per 100 acres of common grazing)	STOCKING RATIO: sound: (per 100 acres of common grazing)
BRENDISH	1,714	1,700	63%	25	7
ISLIVIG	503	500	78%	26	11
BARCHENNYA	1,179	1,200	70%	30	10
CARNISH & ARDPOLL	1,045	1,200	78%	16	12
TORGARRY	428	650	81%	20	8
AIRD	505	600	85%	35	12
CROMLISTA	1,086	1,200	77%	35	12
VALTOS	2,221	2,300	86%	43	19
KNEP	987	1,000	84%	44	20
REAY	641	800	82%	74	21
CARYNHADER	485	500	80%	40	15
UNGUSHADER & GESHADER	1,851	1,800	78%	95	26
HACKLETE	890	900	74%	70	26

NOTES: (a) The ratio of estimated sheep stock to each 100 acres of common grazings cannot be compared directly with the sum per 100 acres because the latter takes no account of the lambs of the current season.

(b) Notes (b) and (d) to Appendix A (1) apply to this table also.

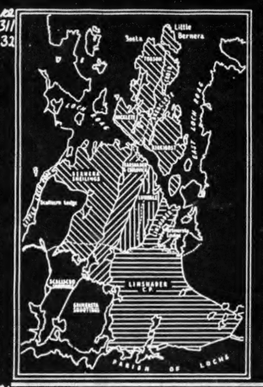

Figure 27

THE BERNERA DISTRICT

Table 20

TOWNSHIP:	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: (acres)		AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
Croir	234	280	Bernera	8	-	8
Breaclete	104	481	Little Bernera 316 acres	13	3	13
Hacklete	254	731	shielings	20	1	20
Kirkibost	429	984	N. Barvas 176 a.	26	4	26
Tobson	171	689	Swin 485 a.	24	-	21
Earshader	57	2,640		4	2	4
Cruivig	84			6	-	6
Lundale	156	1,000		6	-	6
Linshader	62	9,412	N. on Tighe 14 a.	10	-	10

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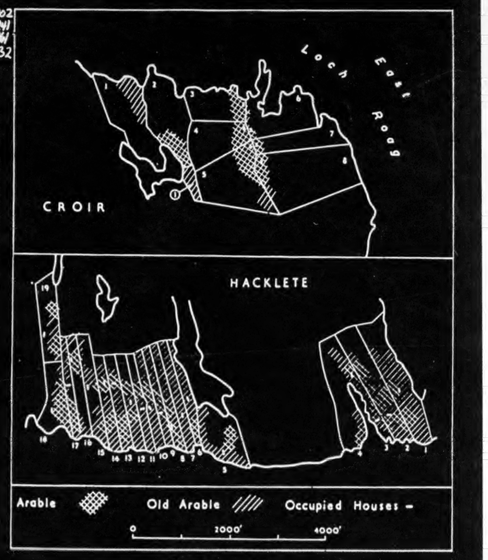

Figure 28

Contrasting lay-out of crofts in an older township (Hacklete) and one re-settled by the Department of Agriculture (Croir). Note the relationship between croft boundaries and the better (i.e. potential arable) land.

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beginning of the resettlement movement which has given the modern crofters of the district almost all the lands formerly occupied by small tenants. This process was completed in the Bernera region soon after 1918, and the problem now - one which is obviously going to become increasingly important - is not to give the crofters more land, but to find active crofters for the existing holdings (see Chapter iii for more detailed information on clearance and resettlement).

The ground plans of the existing settlements vary considerably, depending mainly on the terrain. Where a township is spread along a fairly straight coast the natural tendency is for the croft boundaries to run at right angles to the coast and for each house to be set on its own croft. The best examples of this are Hacklete and Kirkibost, where an early nineteenth century (i.e. pre-clearance) lotting was readopted when the township was re-settled in 1878. Linshader, Lundale, Cruilvig and Earshader also follow the same type of layout as nearly as possible, but Tobson, with the exception of Valasay, is intermediate between a lotted and an unconsolidated township. Croir also differs: it was laid out in 1921 but the disposition of the potential arable forbade a coastwise organisation. The site of Breaclete is greatly broken by lochs and a sea inlet, and consequently an essentially regular layout based along a main Loch Breaclete - Loch Beg Breaclete axis, appears somewhat complicated. The accompanying diagrams contrast the control exercised by physical conditions at Croir with the subordination of physical conditions to a simple lotting plan at Hacklete, (Figure 28).

Within the townships, with the exception of Kirkibost, the distribution of settlement seems to have changed little since the original lottings, for in most cases the sites of the old and present dwellings are little further apart than is dictated by constructional problems. It would appear generally that black houses were universal in the nineteenth century except for the farmhouse at 1 Croir (the oldest 'white' house in Bernera), Thula House, (18 Tobson), possibly the tackesman's house at 11 Hacklete, the former farmhouses at 20 Kirkibost and at West Earshader. However, with the establishment of Congested Districts Board and of Board of Agriculture grants, housing was improved, early examples being 5 Hacklete and 10 Breaclete. The resettled townships generally had improved accommodation from the start. Improvement has greatly accelerated since 1951. In most cases at the present time housing is of very high standard, only one blackhouse and one near blackhouse are still occupied.

Water supplies and sanitation are less satisfactory. Most crofts by now have their private water supply, thought it is hoped that mains schemes may be constructed within the next few years. Sanitation varies in standard and in places there are still open ditches, but all the newer houses have water closets. It is worth remarking in this connection that tuberculosis is almost eliminated. Electricity has been available since 1952 to all crofts and most are connected, though not necessarily in every room. Cooking is sometimes by electricity but more commonly by Calor gas and a peat-fired range or stove (open or enclosed). Peat is cheap to those able to gather it themselves. Where, however, help is needed to carry the cut and dried peats to the nearest road, difficulties may arise. The cost of hiring labour for peat cutting may be such that it is cheaper to buy coal.

Access to Bernera by road is now comparatively easy. Where formerly Loch Roag provided the highway of communication, the road built to Earshader after the Great War, and the £87,000 bridge to Bernera Island, built in 1953, have caused a revaluation of sites. Linshader is approached by a tarred branch road and the other Berners shore townships lie upon the narrow and twisting main road, though four of the six Lundale crofts have no connection with it, and two of the Cruivig crofts, and West Earshader, are somewhat isolated. On Bernera Island the old cart track from the pier at Barraglom across to Tobson and Croir has been somewhat re-aligned since the construction of the bridge. This is a good tarred road, as is part of the branch to crofts 3...8 Croir. The old road to Kirkibost was tarred in 1959, though three outlying crofts near Barraglom were still without a road suited to vehicles, and the branch within Breaclete remained untarred. There is a new road to Hacklete from Breaclete which provides tolerable, though circuitous, communication. Valasay is one of the most isolated settlements in Bernera, linked with Breaclete rather than with Tobson by the footbridge and causeway paid for by Congested Districts Board grant about 1903.

Crofts and Commons

A crofting area normally consists of the croft land proper - the inbye (arable and unimproved land, and various common grazings. Table 20 summarises the situation in Bernera. Kirkibost has by far the largest inbye and the Bernera island townships generally are larger than those of Bernera Shore. That the positions are reversed with regard to common grazings is due to the limited hill of Croir and the very extensive hill of Linshader. The Bernera island townships would, however, be much worse off (or hill land had they not various special common grazings (except Croir) and did they not share in the 4,341 acre of the Barvas shielings on the mainland. It is possible to calculate the appropriate shieling share for each township on the basis that, though the theoretical sums for each township and common grazing are exact, in fact all working units may send animals to the

TABLE 22

Bernera District

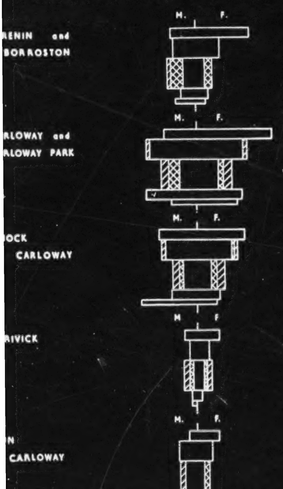
Sub-division and Amalgamation

	ISLAND: Breaclete	Croir	Hacklete	Kirkibost	Tobson	TOTAL	SHORE: Earshader	Cruivig	Lundale	Linshader	TOTAL	DISTRICT TOTAL
Registered crofter-tenants	13	8	20	26	22	89	4	6	6	10	26	115
Agricultural feus	2	-	1	1	-	4	1	-	-	1	2	6
Agricultural cottars	-	-	1	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Agricultural squattars	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Working units (a)	14	7	20	28	19	88	6	6	6	9	27	115
Known sub-lets	3	1	1	2	1	7	-	-	-	2	2	9
Joint working (b)	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Joint working (c)	1	-	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Sub-divisions (d)	1	-	1	4	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
Other feus (e)	4	1	1	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Other cottars	-	-	1	-	3	4	-	1	-	-	1	5

Notes: (a) Whether stocked or not
(b) Family co-operation involving amalgamation of holdings.
(c) " " not " " " "
(d) Usually between members of a family, but not recognised on the Valuation Roll.
(e) Excluding those without occupied dwellings.

Figure 43

POPULATION: AGE and SEX composition



permanent grass. The pre-eminence of the Carloway area is then only a relative one where the decline in cultivation is taking place at a slower rate. Isolation, the decline in fishing and the lack of alternative employment leading to a greater decline in population may explain the more rapid decline in the Valtos area. Whether Carloway will see a similar decline remains to be seen.

Table 35

Stock carried as a proportion of total soum of each township - Carloway district, August 1959

TOWNSHIP	All Stock	Cattle	Sheep*
Carloway	63%	53%	70%
Carloway Park	87%	64%	119%
Borroweston	74%	15%	121%
Garenin	97%	30%	160%
Knock Carloway	64%	30%	90%
Kirivick	73%	25%	124%
Dun Carloway	104%	21%	187%

* As recorded in some cases these figures are too low (see Appendix C (2)); the maximum error is probably around 10%.

Table 35 summarises the agricultural system; further details of the relations between size of unit, status of tenant, stock of cultivation, will be found in Appendix C (3), (4), (5) and (6). Though the total soumings (that is the conversion of both cattle and sheep units to 'cow units' expressed as a percentage of the soumings) never fall below 60% the sheep souming is exceeded in five townships and that grossly in two cases. Once again however this is not as serious as it is in the Valtos area where soumings are exceeded by up to three times the figure allowed. Nor does the mere statistical analysis reveal all the picture for it is essential that a proportionate number of cattle be kept so that the grazing of both cattle and sheep may regulate the growth of the grass. As it is, the relative and absolute increase in the numbers of sheep is having a serious effect on the quality of the pastures.

Sheep are given less attention that the cattle whether they need it or not and few of the present generation are prepared to tolerate the life of the shieling in its old form where the cattle were taken in the summer. In consequence the grazing on the outer moor is almost entirely given up to sheep. The shielings are now only marked by small broken stone mounds which were once the shelters and by the small surrounding areas of greener sward. The changing aspect of the hill landscape has already been mentioned.

Comparison of the totals given in Appendix C (1) shows how the present pattern is developing. 167 milk cows are being raised on 171 agricultural units and with these are 113 calves. Appendices C (5) and C (6) indicate that the agricultural unit farming the basis

(1a) Agricultural Statistics of Bernera District, August 1959

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts	Others	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: Oats	Potatoes	Hay	Pasture (acres)	Cultivated (ha.)	CATTLE: Sound	Milk	Others	Calves	SHEEP: Sound	Ewes	Lambs	Others	Horses	Tractors
Breaclete	13	3	14	13	3	8	80	10	49	14	11	15	512	221	164	241	-	-
Croir	8	-	7	6	2	4	222	1	37	7	4	7	96	133	110	137	-	-
Hacklete	20	1	20	26	6	12	210	-	122	30	22	19	661	486	390	495	2	1
Kirkibost	26	4	28	26	9	22	373	9	144	35	14	27	866	496	381	620	5	1
Tobson	24	-	19	22	7	3	160	7	97	30	6	24	784	562	305	248	-	-
BERNERA ISL.	91	8	88	93	27	49	1045	27	459	116	57	92	2713	1698	1350	1545	7	2
Earshader	4	2	6	7	1	7	43	4	17	6	1	6	104	149	121	168	-	-
Cruivig	6	-	6	9	3	4	68	-	25	8	6	5	163	193	168	213	-	-
Lundale	6	-	6	6	3	2	144	3	34	7	4	7	132	197	187	141	-	1
Linshader	10	-	9	6	4	7	45	9	13	6	2	4	130	307	218	227	-	-
'SHORE'	26	2	27	28	11	20	300	16	89	27	13	22	729	846	674	749	-	1
FARMS etc.	-	4	4	-	-	-	7	2	-	5	33	5	-	180	130	205	-	-
TOTAL BERNERA DISTRICT	117	14	119	121	38	69	1345	45	548	148	103	119	3508	2724	2154	2439	7	3

Notes: (a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in the text.

(b) Croft holdings include duplicate tenancies; other holdings include de facto holdings such as cottars and squattars if carrying crops or stock; effective agricultural units include only holdings with at least a cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation; duplicate tenancies and privately sub-let crofts are not counted twice.

(c) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the regulations were made unless some other date is specified.

(d) Additional sheep figures are given in Appendix C(2).

APPENDIX C

(1b) Agricultural Statistics of East Loch Roag and Carloway districts

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts	Others	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: Oats	Potatoes	Hay	Pasture (acres)	Cultivated (ha.)	CATTLE: Sound	Milk	Others	Horses	Tractors
EAST LOCH ROAG:													
Garynahine	12	1	11	2	1	13	66	7	18	4			
Gallanach	48	-	52	20	9	34	177	13	124 (1957)	28			
Breaclete Pt.	2	1	5	3	2	6	21	7	31	3			
Breaclete	63	3	54	34	11	58	273	43	121	48			
Tolsta Chaolais	43	3	30	17	9	47	222	13	26	20			
Lochganvich	8	-	7	4	2	12	48	4	11	7			
Others	-	3	3	5	1	8	493	1	-	8			
CARLOWAY DISTRICT													
Dun Carloway	24	6	25	18	7	29	141	13	130 (1957)	25	10		
Kirivick	14	2	13	8	2	20	50	8	60	13			
Knock Carloway	33	7	35	13	6	28	131	33	132	33			
Carloway	53	18	50	39	14	67	99	35	116	54			
Carloway Park	6	-	5	5	1	8	5	4	14	6			
Borroweston	16	-	13	8	3	25	18	12	38 (1957)	12			
Garenin	28	2	23	22	9	27	53	7	26 (1957)	24			

Notes: (a), (b), and (c) - as for Appendix C(1a).

(d) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions are as re

(e) Where an alternative figure is shown beneath the sum there is doubt as regulation.

423 shielings, and that therefore the shieling area per township is in proportion to the number
427 of working units in that township (total, 88 working units on the Island). If these shares
311 are deducted it will be seen that only Kirkibost and Tobson common grazings exceed in
632 area those of Londale, the smallest of the Bernera Shore grazings, and that even this is
no longer so if the special grazings, mainly later enlargements, are further deducted.
(698) All this serves to emphasize the relative crowding on Bernera Island and the consequent
vital importance to most working units of the shielings. This has probably increased in
the last decade with the construction of the bridge, for whereas previously there was a
biannual ferrying operation to the mainland, tedious, unpleasant, and exhausting for both
beast and man, nowadays driving to the hills is an easy matter.

A somewhat different picture emerges when land is related to tenants and working
units (table 21). If the inbye per croft tenant is calculated it is seen that Croir has the
largest, (29 acres), rivalled only by Londale, (26 acres), Hacklete, Kirkibost, Earshader,
and Crulivig form an intermediate group (11 to 16 acres), while Breaclete, Tobson and
Linshader have but eight acres or less. However, the average area of inbye is more
revealing if calculated in relation to working units: then the Bernera Island townships are
seen to range from 7 acres (Breaclete) to 33 (Croir) while only Londale has more than
20 acres, the others having 16 or less. For the whole Island the average of inbye per
tenant (11.2 acres) is close to that for the Shore (12.8 acres) and the inbye per working
unit (13.5 acres: 13.3 acres) is almost identical. Thus, there is considerable variation
in the amount of inbye land available per tenant and the amalgamation of tenancies into
working units does not seriously change this distribution.

None of the Bernera Island townships has as much common grazing per tenant, nor
per working unit, as any of the Bernera Shore townships, (little more than 100 acres as
opposed to never less than 160 acres). The Bernera Shore townships as a group have
about five times more pasture per tenant and per working unit than those of Bernera
Island. Breaclete stands out as the township with the greatest shortage of land.

The various forms of subdivision and amalgamation of crofts and parts of crofts, or
other holdings, are summarised in Table 22. In the small township of Bernera Shore
only Earshader, with four crofters, has non-crofting holdings with stock; there is little
amalgamation. In Bernera Island, however, only Hacklete has the same number of
working units as of registered croft holders and Breaclete, the township with the greatest
shortage of land, is also the township with the greatest degree of unofficial change and
intermission. In contrast, Tobson, in spite of its unconsolidated plan, presents a simple
picture. Breaclete also has the largest number of feus, including the only feus not
functioning as agricultural units. This emphasizes its function as a centre for the Island.
(548) It has both manses, both churches, the War Memorial, the school and the District Nurse.

(18) These changes must however be seen in perspective. The Bernera region has not
(427) suffered from the type of amalgamation which is the result of decay and which facilitates
further decay; the actual change is not very great. The number of agricultural working
units is 98% of the number of crofters-tenants. It is illuminating to compare the region
with Sutherland where many former crofts, quite abandoned to rough pasture, have been
taken off the rental. Apart from changes due to clearance, the Bernera region has
none of either type. Of 575 holdings examined in thirty-one townships in Sutherland,
amalgamation has reduced the number of effective crofting units to only 437, i.e. 76% of
the formal figure. Amalgamations by family co-operation are comparatively few in
Sutherland (26 out of 173 known examples) whereas subletting is common. A further brief
example may be taken from one of the Shetland islands where amalgamation has reduced
the original number of holdings from something like 350 to about 250 working units.

TABLE 23

Bernera District

Size-distribution of working units.

(The double asterisk ** indicates the approximate position of the modal mean)

311
632

Area of unit in acres:

	nil to 1.0	1.1 to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	7.6 to 10.0	10.1 to 15.0	15.1 to 20.0	more than 20.0	Average
Breaclete	2	-	4	1 **	3	4	-	-	7.4
Croir	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5 **	33.4
Hacklete	-	-	2	7 **	5	4	2	1	12.7
Kirkibost	-	-	2	5	2	*10*	4	3	15.3
Tobson	-	2	5	3 **	3	4	1	-	8.9
ISLAND TOTAL	2	2	11	11	15 **	23**	11	12	13.7
Earshader	1	-	-	-	- **	5	-	-	9.5
Crulivig	-	-	-	-	-	4 **	2	-	14.0
Londale	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	4 **	25.9
Linshader	-	-	4	- **	4	1	-	-	6.9
SHORE TOTAL	1	-	4	-	4 **	12	2	4	13.3
DISTRICT	3	2	15	11	19 **		13	16	13.5

Once the interchanges are understood and the numbers of working units accepted, it
is possible to analyze the relative inbye sizes of the agricultural units, (table 23). Croir
and Londale have the highest average size and highest modal mean; and the other
townships with the exceptions of Breaclete, Tobson and Linshader, falling in the 10.1-15
acre class. On Bernera Shore, Linshader has the smallest working unit but the range
of variation even there is comparatively small, whereas on Bernera Island, except in the
resettled township of Croir, there is always a range of five or six categories. Hence
the occasional divergence between the modal and arithmetic means. Again this is the
cause and sign of a greater degree of adjustment on Bernera Island.

TABLE 24

Bernera District

Common Pastures, Soumings, and actual stock.

(Stock in "cow units" calculated according to

the Grazing Regulations).

231
235
423
423
311
632

	AREA:	SOUMING:		ACTUAL STOCK:		
	Acres	Cow units	Acres per cow	Cow units	As % of soum	Acres per cow unit
Breaclete	1,284	105	12.3	88	84	14.6
Croir	622	43	14.1	49	114	12.6
Hacklete	1,913	259	7.4	189	73	10.1
Kirkibost	2,491	303	8.2	188	63	13.3
Tobson	2,059	253	8.2	120	48	17.1
ISLAND	8,363	962	8.7	634	66	13.2
Earshader	1,320	38	35.1	65	174	20.2
Crulivig	1,320	51	26.8	70	140	18.6
Londale	1,000	72	13.9	62	86	16.1
Linshader	9,426	95	100.0	92	96	102.5
SHORE	13,066	255	51.5	290	114	45.2
BERNERA DISTRICT	21,451	1,237	17.5	924	74.7	23.4

423 Stock - potential and actual.*
427 The croft is in almost every case primarily a stock raising unit and cultivation apart
from certain items - particularly potatoes for domestic use - is connected with stock
231 rearing. The basis of the stock system is the soum, the share of the common pasture
311 in terms of horses, cattle and sheep. The largest total soums (more than two hundred
632 cow-units) are held by Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson; all the other townships have a
hundred or less cow-units (Table 24). This has some relation to the size of common
grazing. The very large area of Linshader is that of the former farm: the present

* Details of actual stock and souming for each township will be found in Appendix A.

231 soum is less than the capacity of the grazing and represents the Land Court's estimate
235 of the stock the crofters would be able to keep: the consequent discrepancy and retro-
423 gression in total stocking is a typical result of the replacement of commercial farms by
427 crofting subjects (c.f. page 25 above). It is better however to consider the area of
311 common grazing and soum combined: in fact, the average acreage per cow-unit is fairly
632 uniform for Bernera Island, (8.7 acres). Bernera Shore has a wider variation of from
11.6 to 100.5 acres per cow-unit: obviously, either the Bernera Island townships grazings,
particularly Bernera shielings, were originally estimated as of superior value, or, for
whatever cause, the common grazings of Bernera Shore are relatively under-used. How
is this reflected in practice?

TABLE 25

Bernera District

Comparison of soums and actual stock,

by township.

	Average soum per working unit	Actual stock per working unit	Soum held per working unit	Working units with less than 50% of their soum
Bearclete	6.5	5.5	84%	19%
Croir	6.2	7.0	114%	nil
Hacklete	12.9	9.5	73%	25%
Kirkibost	10.8	6.7	63%	29%
Tobson	13.3	6.3	46%	58%
BERNERA ISLAND	10.6	5.5	66%	43%
Earshader	6.3	10.9	174%	nil
Crulivig	8.4	11.8	140%	nil
Londale	9.0	10.4	86%	nil
Linshader	10.6	10.2	96%	22%
BERNERA SHORE	9.8	11.6	114%	8%
BERNERA DISTRICT	10.6	6.5	75%	25%

Note: all soums and stock are calculated in "cow units", using the sheep equivalences as
given in the Grazing Regulations.

423 Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson have by far the largest total holdings of stock but are
427 eclipsed in regard to percentage of soum actually held by Breaclete, Croir and all the
311 Bernera Shore townships. In fact the average percentage soum held is 66% on the Island
632 as against 114% on the Shore. If efficiency is interpreted in terms of stock rearing
therefore, Tobson is less than 50% efficient, Hacklete and Kirkibost 50% to 75% Breaclete
Linshader and Londale 75 to 100%, and the rest 100% to 175% efficient, the average
falling at 75%.

It is also interesting to remark the area of common grazing per cow-unit actually
held. This shows that, in effect, the Bernera Island townships, as might be expected
from their use of one main common grazing, have much the same amount of land per beast
The Bernera Shore townships apparently enjoy rather larger areas of land per cow-unit;
the excessively large area shown for Linshader indicates understocking.

(427) Figure 29 summarizes the incidence of soums and actual stock carried. It will be
seen that, although there are some crofts with soums of under five and over fifteen cow-
units, the majority lie between those limits with a marked peak in the 7.5 to 10 cow-unit
class. The largest soums seem to be under-utilized. Figure 28 shows the percentage of
the soum held. Almost a quarter of the working units have less than 50% of their soum
and must therefore be considered as inefficient in their chief function of stock raising,
about one third have 50 - 100% and rather less than 1/3 have over 100%

The incidence from township to township varies (table 25) but generally the Bernera
Shore townships have more uniform individual soums than the older and larger Island
townships, though the range of size of stock holdings and percentage of soums held is
more comparable. Table 25 shows the average soum per croft or working unit. Breaclete
and Croir are similar with only just over half the average for the rest of Bernera Island.
None of the Bernera Shore townships have soums as large as the bigger Island ones, and
one of them, Earshader has no more than Breaclete or Croir. Kirkibost and Tobson
stand out as far the most generously treated township, but is this justified in practice?

Expressed in terms of cow units, (table 25) the total soums reveal that, on Bernera
Island, only Croir is really efficient with just over 100% of its soum: Breaclete,
Hacklete and Kirkibost are satisfactory - and no more - with 50 - 80%; but Tobson has
only 45% of its soum. This is a very much poorer showing than that for the Bernera Shore
townships, only one of which drops much below 100%. Therefore on the Shore the soums,
though smaller, are better taken up than on the Island. Further it is clear that, of the
individual working units on Bernera Island, some of those of Croir are unsatisfactory,
three out of sixteen at Breaclete are not satisfactory, five out of twenty at Hacklete,
eight out of twenty-eight at Kirkibost and eleven out of nineteen at Tobson, whereas on
Bernera Shore there are only two unsatisfactory units - at Linshader - one of which is
presently vacant with a dispute over the tenancy.

231 But so far, only the total soum has been considered: in fact it is necessary to consider
235 the elements of that soum, for in order to maintain the pasture one must have a stock
suitably balanced as between cattle and sheep. When the soums were originally calcu-
311 lated this was borne in mind and were every one fully occupied in the proportions
originally planned, the balance of grazing would presumably be satisfactory. Table 26
shows the stock equivalents in sheep units. In Croir the soum would indicate a marked
preponderance of cattle +, in Linshader (with its extensive hill lands) of sheep; otherwise
there is a rough balance in the soumings between large and small horned beasts.
(656) Occasionally there are special permissive or restrictive clauses in the regulations. For
instance, on Breaclete township common grazing, "...a landholder...shall be entitled to
graze thereon, free of charge, during summer and autumn, two hoggs for every pound
sterling of rent, for replacing the cast ewes...". Similarly, in Linshader horses are
not allowed on a fenced area of 800 acres, and on Little Bernera horses are specifically
disallowed. But generally the various classes of stock have clear equivalents which are
freely interchangeable. How does this work in practice?

(698) Editorial Note: this was probably because, when the Land Court determined the soums,
Croir had no share in Bernera Shielings. This now calls for adjustment, which should
be made when the Crofters Commission re-enact the local Grazing Regulations.

TABLE 26

Bernera District

Souming calculated in sheep units

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	Basic soums in sheep units				
	Horses	Cattle	Horses & Cattle	Sheep	Special Grazings
Breaclete	-	9	9	8	8
Croir	-	21	21	12	-
Hacklete	-	9	9	8	8
Kirkibost	-	9	9	8	-
Tobson	-	9	9	8	16
Earshader	-	21	21	26	1
Crulivig	-	21	21	27	-
Londale	-	28	28	32	-
Linshader	6	7	13	30	-

Table 27 shows the cattle soum and holding: there is a marked similarity between the
Island townships, (all holding about one third of their soum), and the Shore townships,
three of which range from 96% to 100% and only one of which, Londale, has less than 60%.
That these averages are not obstructive is proved by the fact that the scatter of percentages
of cattle-soum held per working unit is less wide for the Bernera Island townships than for
those of the Bernera Shore, bearing in mind the smaller number of units in the latter.

It is a little difficult to account for this, particularly when it is observed (Table 28)
that there is no correlation with the percentages of the sheep stock held; the Island town-
ships vary from having half their soum of sheep (Tobson) to double (Croir), and those of
the Shore from a shortage for sheep in everywhere high and non-sheep-keeping crofters to a
number of overstockings for sheep in everywhere high and sheep-keeping crofters; and
rare, there are 10 agricultural units with no cattle and 25 with only one cattle beast.

August, 1959

| | SHEEP: | | | |

TABLE 27

Bernera District: Cattle

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of cattle soum actually carried.

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	Number of units with:									Aver. all units
	Less than 100% of soum:					Less than 100% of soum:				
	Nil	1-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	101-125	126-150	151-200	200+	
Breaclete	-	6	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	33%
Croir	1	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	32%
Hacklete	1	6	10	2	-	-	1	-	-	34%
Kirkibost	1	7	15	4	1	-	-	-	-	29%
Tobson	1	5	9	1	2	-	-	-	-	34%
ISLAND	4	24	42	9	4	-	1	-	-	32%
Earshader	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	62%
Crulivig	-	-	3	-	2	1	-	-	-	72%
Lundale	1	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	38%
Linshader	4	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	-	96%
SHORE	5	1	9	2	4	1	2	1	-	60%
DISTRICT	9	25	51	11	8	1	3	1	-	37%

231 is probable that the constant but rather low incidence of cattle on the Island is governed
233 by two factors: first the shortage of common grazings near the township and the neglect
311 of the only alternative source, the shielings, and second, the memory of past isolation -
632 and the present impossibility otherwise of getting milk save from a neighbour - which makes a milch-cow a necessary part of the equipment of almost every household. On the mainland, where the common grazings are contiguous with the inbye, summer grazing of cattle is much easier particularly, as in Crulivig and Linshader, where there are special fences to divide the near and far pastures (cf. the old Norwegian spring-autumn and high summer seters.

We may compare fifteen Sutherland townships, in which 89% of the stock held is sheep
[178] with the Bernera District in which 80% of the total stock is sheep. That this balance of stock is not old-established is revealed by comparison with the stock figures collected for

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TABLE 28

Bernera District: Sheep

Number of agricultural units according to proportion of

Sheep soum actually carried.

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	Number of units with:									Av all
	Less than 100% of soum:					More than 100% of soum:				
	nil	1-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-100%	101-125%	126-150%	151-200%	more than 200%	
Breaclete	1	-	-	1	3	3	-	2	-	1
Croir	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	4	2
Hacklete	-	2	2	4	2	1	5	1	3	
Kirkibost	1	3	2	4	9	3	2	3	1	
Tobson	2	1	3	8	2	2	-	-	-	
ISLAND	4	6	7	17	16	9	8	8	8	
Earshader	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	2
Crulivig	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3	1
Lundale	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	1
Linshader	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	1	3	1
SHORE	1	-	1	2	2	2	4	4	9	1
DISTRICT	5	6	8	19	18	11	12	12	17	1

231 the Napier Commission in 1883; these show that the Bernera region now keeps le
233 half the former number of full grown cattle beasts but only a slightly higher perce
311 of sheep. It is an unavoidable conclusion that resettlement and enlargement has
632 to greater agricultural efficiency: since it was carried out for social and not econ
reasons, this is perhaps not unreasonable, but it augurs ill for the future of a com
[128] which must be largely dependent on agriculture.

Land Use and Cultivation*.

241 Before considering the details of stock management it is well to review land-u
[231] cultivation is subsidiary to, and directed at, stock keeping. Few crofts have no

* Details of crops and grass by townships will be found in Appendix A.

TABLE 17

Livestock

	Valtos	Kneep	Reef	Total
of crofts with 3 cows	0	1	0	1
" 2 "	13	2	2	17
" 1 "	14	7	3	24
" 0 "	2	5	3	10
" 50 + sheep	11	6	5	22
" 1-50 "	15	5	2	22
" 0 "	3	3	1	7
" 20 + cow units	1	2	0	3
" 10-20 "	14	4	6	24
" 1-10 "	14	5	1	20
" 0 "	0	3	1	4
" oversoumed (total stock)	7/29	9/11	5/7	21/47
" " sheep	14/29	8/11	7/7	29/47
ep soum for township	1038	152	225	
p stock in township	1154	537	410	

241 198 The area under cultivation has contracted in the past twenty years. Before 1939 most crofts had about twice as much land under cultivation and at Valtos some were cultivating small patches outside the township fence. The cultivation of the common machair at Cliff ceased in 1939. The land had been "too long in labour" (potatoes had been planted on the same ground for nearly one hundred years), and the soil had been affected by over-liberal applications of sulphate of ammonia which replaced the traditional soot-impregnated thatch from the black-houses. Moreover the Cliff machair was particularly vulnerable to "blow-outs" after ploughing. Cultivation of the Kneep common arable has all but ceased, and the fifty-two acres of arable machair in the township of Reef have been untouched since the 1930s. It is noticeable that the common machair cultivation and the shieling economy [231] ended about the same time. Smaller numbers of better-quality cattle were needed to meet the daily milk requirements of the croft; a much smaller area of cultivation was therefore needed to provide winter fodder and consequently more land was available on the croft for potato cultivation. Consequently the more distant machair was replaced by cultivation within the croft.

433 178 Contraction and decline of the economy is common to all three townships, but the form and cause of this decline is different for each, and where the township consists of two separate settlement nuclei there is frequently a difference between the two parts:

632 427 361 311 The township of Valtos is in two distinct parts: crofts 1 - 34 are a succession of narrow strips about ½ mile in length stretching from the shore to about 200' O.D.. The boundaries of the outer crofts (nos. 1 and 34) if projected to a point on Pabay, form an angle of 45°, so that the crofts are narrower at the shore (40 - 70') than at the upper limit (100 - 180'). Of these 34 crofts, 19 are in so-called runrig, eight in pairs and one group of three. (Fig. 21) Cultivation is carried out on numerous intermixed small patches, held permanently; the grazings are interchanged at the year end. Fragmentation imposes a severe limitation on the economic efficiency of the croft. None of the crofts at Valtos is individually fenced [241] though some groups of two or three are fenced together. With the contraction of cultivation only the less steep areas are cultivated, to facilitate ploughing.[1] As a result, the bulk of the cultivated plots are to be found at either end of the croft - near the shore and on the hill top against the township fence.

The remaining five crofts of Valtos, and a squatter, are at Cliff in the valley separating the Valtos peninsula from that of Aird. Here the crofts are fenced, more compact and slightly larger (4.8 acres as against 3.8 acres) and they occupy more level terrain than [24] those in Valtos. Two of the crofts are worked in runrig - these being situated on the machair. The houses are set back about a hundred yards from the road, along the western township fence.

Kneep township is again in two parts: Crofts 16 - 18 together with the Manse and two cottars, are situated across the neck of the Glebe promontory, on the south side of the peninsula. The five legal crofts are today worked as three units, fenced, reasonably compact and with holdings of exceptional size for the area - average 15.1 acres. Crofts [243] 1 - 15 at Kneep on the northern side of the peninsula adjoin those of Valtos. Here is a climax of land fragmentation, which imposes severe limits upon croft efficiency. Twelve of the fifteen crofts are worked; of these only numbers 4 and 5 are compact homogenous crofts; numbers 3 and 6 are compact except that part of the land which lies within their boundaries belongs to croft no. 13. The remaining eight crofts comprise a hundred and eight separate plots of croftland and fifty-two separate plots on the common machair. One croft with 2.8 acres arable the average size of each piece is a mere 0.15 acres! [243] The grazing land on the croft is divided into strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into

1. Pre-1939 much of Valtos was cultivated in lazy beds - by spade. Today 9% is cultivated by spade: 43% by horse plough + 48% by tractor.

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Figure 25

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

ENL.: Enlargement to common pasture.

0 1 2 3 miles

Table 19

TOWNSHIP or farm etc.	INBYE:	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent:	Detached:	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: crofts:	others:	CROFTER-TENANTS:
	acres	acres	acres	no.	no.	no.
Caryshader	44	1,260	-	14	1	14
Ungshader	35	435	598	4	-	4
Geshader	114	850		11	-	11
Enaclete	73	662	617	9	-	8
Non-crofting	c.40	800+	-	-	4	-
	306	4,007+	1,215	38	5	37*

NOTES: + also unrecorded areas of grazing on deer forests
* Of whom four are absent.

/facing p. 48/

CHAPTER EIGHT

LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Meavaig, Caryshader, Ungshader, Geshader, Enac

by

Annie Heawood.

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Little Loch Roag is a narrow sea loch extending southwards from Loch Roag proper. It has been formed by glacial erosion n.n.e. to s.s.w. lines of weakness characteristic of the Lewisi generally steep-sided, recent glaciation left much ground morai preserved on the less steep slopes, provides arable land for sev or near its western shores. The eastern shore is the more rug small townships once existed there is now only the small farm ar Scaliscro. At the head of the loch is an estate cottage for Mors large mansion with extensive fishing and shooting rights, grandl inland from the main road.

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The district here described includes Gisla, near the head of Ungshader, and Geshader, on the western shores of Loch Roag strung out on or close to the main road. Meavaig, like Gisla, functions as something of a metropolis for south Uig; it has the functions include registrar and receiver of wrecks it has two chu change, the district doctor and manse, and a petrol pump. At t was also the base for the 'bus service. Its metropolitan functio the road replaced a ferry boat service from Callanish; here the some date in the 1920s, and here, too, the estate kept coach and Uig lodge, three miles further west.

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There is no record of the original settlement of the four crof Gisla, which was a township (or 'joint farm') of five crofters unt modern houses and bungalows have been built, many with easier the old black houses, now often used as byres. Water supply do serious problem because of the extensive moorland gathering gr are not at present any water-supply schemes. Electricity is, o Caryshader and Enaclete are on the main Stornoway road being s 'bus and by vans selling meat, groceries and fish at least once a sub-post-office. Geshader is less fortunate since, although var must be met at the junction of the unsurfaced track and the main the school serving this district also stands. The track has been so that it now reaches all the houses. Ungshader, however, is has had similar delivery arrangements, it is now a dying settlen inaccessibility.

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The crofts are mostly regular in shape on the landward side the land is very broken as in northern Enaclete. In Caryshader crofts which at present are worked as eleven units; one is used by its owner-occupier and there is one squatter on the common there are eleven crofts, each worked independantly; Ungshader

lets and Gisla).

about twelve miles inland
picking out one of the
n gneiss. Although
he and this material, best
eral small townships on
ged and although a few
d shooting lodge of
gail Lodge which is a
y isolated about a mile

Little Loch Roag, Enaclete,
proper. All these are
s a small farm but also
post-master, whose other
rches, a telephone ex-
he time of our visit it
ns arose in the days before
mails were landed until
horses for transport to

ting townships, nor of
il about 1850. Some
access to the road than
oes not seem to present a
ounds to the west, but there
f course, available.
served at present by the
week. Enaclete has a
s call regularly, 'buses
Stornoway road, where
extended in recent years
smaller and although it
nent largely due to its

and fenced except where
there are fourteen legal
only as a holiday home
grazing. In Geshader
has four crofts but the

427 632 311 joint tenants of one have moved to Geshader while continuing to work the Ungshader land. Another is preparing to move to Enaclete and yet another lives on a feu at Loch Chroistean Cottage. At present, three working units remain. Enaclete consists of nine crofts with ten units, one being rented by joint tenants.

221 The rhythm of work is similar to that in other parts of western Uig. Potatoes and oats are planted in April followed by lambing and peat cutting in May. In June and July the sheep are shorn and subsequently sent to the common grazings. In August the peats are carted, once they are dry, by lorry direct to the crofts. Hay-making follows. The lambs are weaned in September, harvest is then carried in and tupping and statutory dipping take place in November. The sheep are then returned to the township grazing though the lambs may be fed with hay on the croft. There is little regular crop rotation and only a small number of crofters seem to undersow oats, thus improving the quality of future hay crops. Gardens are not important and only provide for family needs but Caryshader particularly has a number, some growing flowers as well as vegetables. Fertilisers vary widely from croft to croft as well township to township. Enaclete potatoes are still grown near the shore and thrive on seaweed; those of Caryshader are usually fed on artificials. 241

231 Most crofters keep one milk cow with a calf; a few rear a young beast for the autumn sales in Caryshader. However, some now rely on their neighbours for milk in return for grazing and one croft has turned to goats, as giving less trouble. The bull for the whole district is a beef shorthorn and is kept on Geshader -Ungshader common grazing as it is completely fenced; and Geshader is responsible for its upkeep.

233 Lambing seems to have been generally good in 1959 but it was not easy to get exact figures. The Morsgail Estate and Gisla farm also run considerable flocks. The common pastures total 3,119 acres with an enlargement, formerly used as shielings, of 1,215 acres for Enaclete, Geshader and Ungshader near Loch Suainaval, and for Caryshader 88 acres on Floday island. The shielings have been disused since the war. Peat is normally cut to the west of the road but at least one elderly tenant in Geshader has kept a section of his croft for this purpose to save the effort of working further afield. [344]

241 178 231 Generally speaking the land now cropped only represents one third to one half of that worked by spade 20 - 50 years ago when the crofting population was larger and when much greater numbers of cattle were kept through the winter, thus requiring more potatoes and more oats. The cattle numbers are much less than the total souming but sheep are in excess. In Enaclete, at least, overgrazing by sheep has caused a decline in grazing quality.

464 Clearly in these townships, apart from the very few crofts still fully cultivated, the means of livelihood is sought elsewhere. At present there are altogether fifty-three men in the working age group (15 - 64) in all four townships. Of these fourteen are away, nine permanently and five periodically. Thirty have regular or periodic employment besides crofting and of these seven work at Gisla on the hydro-electric scheme, seven weave, some of them part-time, four hire out vans, two do post-office work and others have varied occupations while only three are full-time crofters. At present there are few men in the Merchant Navy and fishing does not provide an occupation although many share rowing-boats in their spare time, and fish for domestic use.

162 [164] The population as a whole is ageing and of the group between 15 and 64, forty-four (roughly 30%) work away permanently or have emigrated. It is noticeable that there are few crofts worked by people with young families

000 In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that the fate of the crofting townships depends mor

strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.

The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

Fig. 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

361 at Carloway Bridge. In addition to the main settlement which is irregularly disposed on either side of the two roads, a group of Swedish timber Council houses has been built in a somewhat forbidding situation on the common pasture adjoining the 'Pentland' road.

427 311 The thirty three registered crofts and thirteen feus or allotments (of which only five are non-agricultural) are worked in thirty four units. Three of the tenants of the Swedish houses have crofts, two in Knock Carloway and one in Upper Carloway.

311 The land use figures show that Knock Carloway has a much greater percentage of permanent grass than has Borrowston on the opposite shore of the loch. These figures reflect not only the less rewarding physical environment on the south shore, but also the lower intensity of cultivation which bears a direct relationship to the type, number and quality of the stock. The township has less than the total number of animals permitted by the souming though the higher figure for sheep than cattle reflects the general trend for the area. No horses are kept but the township has the bull which serves the area - a privately owned beef-shorthorn.

464 286 632 Weaving remains the major occupation but the emphasis is less heavy than in the other townships for the community services centred here employ a number of the inhabitants. It may be that here lies part of the answer to the problems of the community as a whole: but even if employment in services were to be increased it could never be very significant in a district with a total population of only 600.

KIRIVICK

361 162 133 Adjoining Knock Carloway is the small township of Kirivick which has forty one permanent residents. It occupies the least rewarding agricultural environment of the area. Crofts 1 to 13 rise from the shore of Loch Carloway on the broken hill face to the Carloway-Breasclete road, whilst number 14 occupies the head of a small valley which was once part of the common pasture beyond the road.

361 133 The houses are set back from the road occasionally sheltering in the lee of the frequent knolls of bare rock which are exposed on the croft land. These rock surfaces together with the irregular deposition of the drift account for the fragmentation of the cultivated strips in small hand-dug lazy beds on the upper parts of the crofts inaccessible to the tractor.

361 427 311 There are fourteen crofts, three feus and one squatter settlement and all but two of these are fenced. Two of the crofts are held in 'fixed runrig' and the small sections in which the land is cultivated are shown in figure 41 which also illustrates the regular distribution of sections between the two. Though it used to be the normal practice the crofts are not now open to common grazing in the winter.

311 The restricted amount of land available for common grazing ensured the continued use of the shielings until 1939; small patches were cultivated on the common grazing about forty years ago and this fact too is the only recorded instance of a practice that was a community by the size of the working unit and the land available. At the moment there is no proposal for reseeding of any part of the common pasture* because of the difficulty of getting access for tractors. As in the case of Knock Carloway the total souming is not exceeded, but the sheep stock is 25% above the sheep soum.

162 The population figures emphasise the problem of the whole of this southern area and here is the most extreme case of incipient decline. There are two fulltime crofters, six crofters who weave and five crofters over sixty five. Seventy per cent of the population is over 45 and only two children attend the school neither of whom is likely to take up crofting.

1,[Figure 42--Analyst]
A

Figure 43

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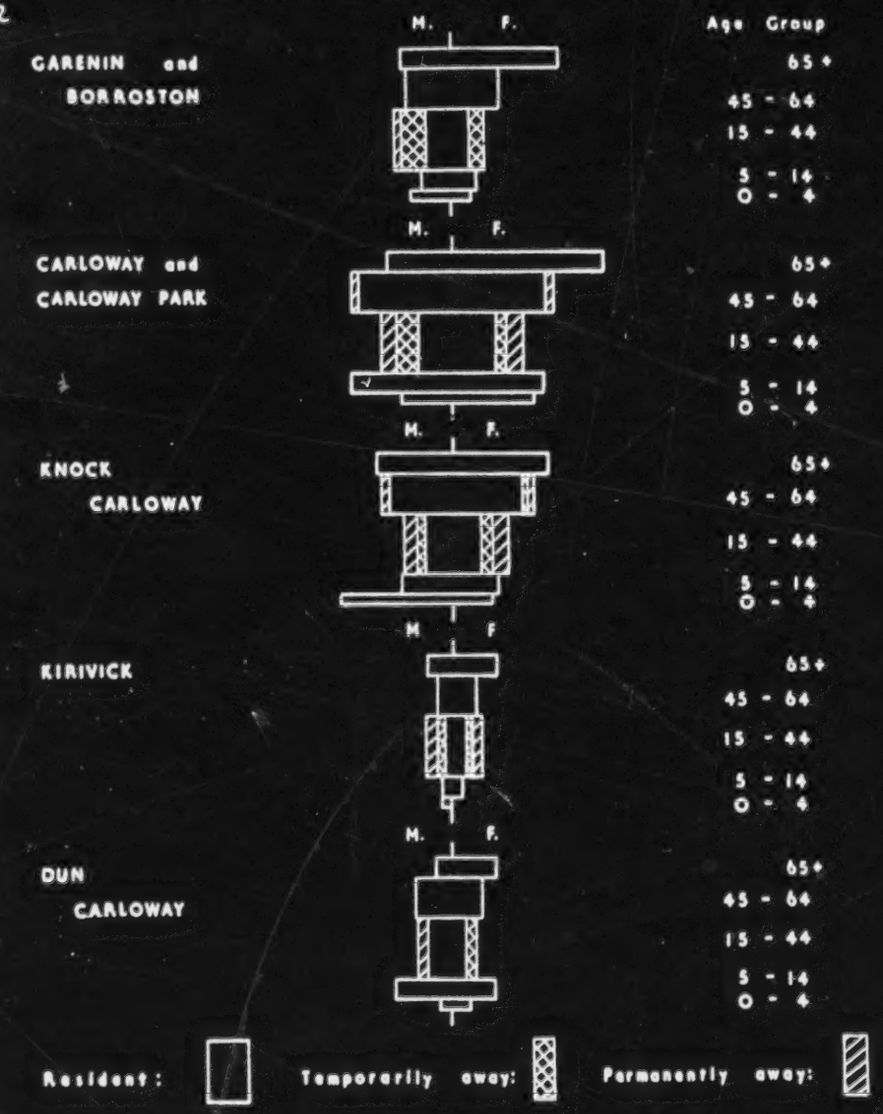
POPULATION: AGE and SEX composition



permanent grass. The pre-eminence of the Carloway area is then only a relative one where the decline in cultivation is taking place at a slower rate. Isolation, the decline in fishing and the lack of alternative employment leading to a greater decline in population may explain the more rapid decline in the Valtos area. Whether Carloway will see a similar decline remains to be seen.

Table 35

Stock carried as a proportion of total soum of each township - Carloway district, August 1959

TOWNSHIP	All Stock	Cattle	Sheep*
Carloway	63%	53%	70%
Carloway Park	87%	64%	119%
Borrowston	74%	15%	121%
Garenin	97%	30%	160%
Knock Carloway	64%	30%	90%
Kirivick	73%	25%	124%
Dun Carloway	104%	21%	187%

* As recorded in some cases these figures are too low (see Appendix C (2)): the maximum error is probably around 10%.

Table 35 summarises the agricultural system; further details of the relations between size of unit, status of tenant, stock of cultivation, will be found in Appendix C (3), (4), (5) and (6). Though the total soumings (that is the conversion of both cattle and sheep units to 'cow units' expressed as a percentage of the souming) never fall below 60% the sheep souming is exceeded in five townships and that grossly in two cases. Once again however this is not as serious as it is in the Valtos area where soumings are exceeded by up to three times the figure allowed. Nor does the mere statistical analysis reveal all the picture for it is essential that a proportionate number of cattle be kept so that the grazing of both cattle and sheep may regulate the growth of the grass. As it is, the relative and absolute increase in the numbers of sheep is having a serious effect on the quality of the pastures.

Sheep are given less attention that the cattle whether they need it or not and few of the present generation are prepared to tolerate the life of the shieling in its old form where the cattle were taken in the summer. In consequence the grazing on the outer moor is almost entirely given up to sheep. The shielings are now only marked by small broken stone mounds which were once the shelters and by the small surrounding areas of greener sward. The changing aspect of the hill landscape has already been mentioned.

Comparison of the totals given in Appendix C (1) shows how the present pattern is developing. 167 milk cows are being raised on 171 agricultural units and with these are 113 calves. Appendixes C (5) and C (6) indicate that the agricultural unit farming the basis of farming is the single milk cow and annual calf which carries a subsidy if it passes the inspector of the Department of Agriculture. A few crofters are raising young beasts for sale but there is a general unwillingness to grow more fodder to raise cattle for an uncertain market which may be affected at any moment by an increase in transport costs which are already high. Without the subsidy such enterprises would hardly be possible at all and indeed one could say this of many aspects of life in the island today. Some of the calves are wintered, but the usual practice is to sell off late in the year.

APPENDIX C

(1a) Agricultural Statistics of Bernera District, August 1959

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts	Others	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: (acres) Oats	Potatoes	Hay	Pasture	Gardens (No.)	CATTLE: Soum	Milk	Others	Calves	SHEEP: Soum	Ewes	Lambs	Others	Horses	Tractors
Breaclete	13	3	14	13	3	8	80	10	59	14	11	15	312	221	164	241	-	-
Croir	8	-	7	6	2	4	222	1	37	7	4	7	96	133	110	137	-	-
Backlete	20	1	20	26	6	12	210	-	122	30	22	19	661	486	390	499	2	1
Kirkibost	26	4	28	26	9	22	373	9	144	35	14	27	866	496	381	420	5	1
Tobson	24	-	19	22	7	3	160	7	97	30	6	24	784	362	305	248	-	-
BERNERA ISL.	91	8	88	93	27	49	1045	27	452	116	57	92	2719	1698	1350	1545	7	2
Earshader	4	2	6	7	1	7	43	4	17	6	1	6	104	149	121	168	-	-
Crulivig	6	-	6	9	3	4	68	-	25	8	6	5	163	193	168	213	-	-
Lumsle	6	-	6	6	3	2	144	3	34	7	4	7	192	197	167	141	-	1
Linshader	10	-	9	6	4	7	45	9	11	6	2	4	330	307	218	227	-	-
'SHORE'	26	2	27	28	11	20	300	16	89	27	13	22	789	846	674	749	-	1
FARMS etc.	-	4	4	-	-	-	7	2	-	5	33	5	-	180	130	205	-	-
TOTAL BERNERA DISTRICT	117	14	119	121	38	69	1345	45	548	148	103	119	3508	2724	2154	2499	7	3

Notes: (a) The total areas of common and inbye land for each township are given in the text.

(b) Croft holdings include duplicate tenancies; other holdings include de facto holdings such as cottars and squatters if carrying crops or stock; effective agricultural units include only holdings with at least a cow, or five sheep, or half an acre of cultivation; duplicate tenancies and privately sub-let crofts are not counted twice.

(c) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the regulations were made unless some other date is specified.

(d) Additional sheep figures are given in Appendix C (2).

(1) Population totals by t

	MALES																			
	RESIDENT										PERIODICALLY AWAY				PERMANE					
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
RANSHADYE	1	5	4	5	2	-	3	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CHILIVIG	3	1	6	1	5	-	3	4	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
LUNDALE	-	-	2	5	1	-	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
LINSHADER	2	-	2	1	5	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL F	6	6	14	12	13	1	12	11	2	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
HACKLOTZ	2	7	11	14	4	1	19	4	1	3	2	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
KINGSBUST	2	3	16	14	9	4	19	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TORSCH	4	4	12	9	6	3	11	4	3	1	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
BRIACLETS	-	3	11	8	3	1	13	1	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CROIR	1	-	5	4	2	-	6	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL G	9	17	55	49	24	9	68	14	13	5	2	4	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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APPENDIX D

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632

Township	Females	Resident	Permanently absent	Temporarily absent	Males	Resident	Permanently absent	Temporarily absent
		0 – 4	5 – 9	10 – 14	15 – 19	20 – 24	25 – 34	35 – 44
		1	5	3	2	1	1	1
		1	1	1	1

(IIb) Agricultural Statistics of East Loch Roag and Carloway districts, August, 1959

TOWNSHIP etc.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS: Crofts	Others	EFFECTIVE AGRICULTURAL UNITS	INBYE LAND: (Acres) Oats	Potatoes	Hay	Pasture	Gardens	CATTLE: Soum	Milk	Others	Calves	SHEEP: Soum	Ewes	Lambs	Others	Horses	Tractors
EAST LOCH ROAG:																		
Garynahine	12	1	11	2	1	19	66	7	18	4	-	2	180	98	94	31	-	-
Callanish	48	-	52	20	9	34	177	13	124 (138†)	28	5	23	671 (928†)	549	509	253	1	2
Breasclete Pt.	9	1	5	3	2	6	21	7	37	3	1	2	124	68	52	34	-	1
Breasclete	63	3	54	34	11	58	273	43	191	48	4	32	567	601	479	368	1	-
Tolsta Chaolis	43	3	30	17	9	47	222	13	96	28	2	24	573	700	520	270	1	2
Lochganvich	8	-	7	4	2	12	48	4	33	7	1	4	155	140	134	48	-	2
Others	-	3	3	5	1	8	493	1	-	8	1	5	-	42	40	17	-	1
CARLOWAY DISTRICT																		
Dun Carloway	24	6	25	18	7	29	141	13	130 (164†)	25	10	17	460 (574†)	612	400	492	1	1
Kirivick	14	2	13	8	2	20	50	8	60	13	2	8	202	205	163	92	-	-
Knock Carloway	33	7	33	13	6	28	131	33	132	33	6	25	530	407	301	140	-	-
Carloway	53	18	50	39	14	67	99	35	116	54	2	34	520	314	248	197	3	1
Carloway Park	6	-	5	3	1	8	5	4	14	6	1	5	81	70	62	53	1	-
Borrowston	16	-	13	8	3	25	18	12	98 (116†)	12	3	8	392 (464†)	362	277	228	-	-
Garenin	28	2	23	22	9	27	53	7	98 (114†)	24	-	16	341 (539†)	419	281	257	3	-

Notes: (a), (b), and (c) - as for Appendix C(1a).

(d) The sheep totals are known to be incomplete but the proportions are as reported. See also Appendix C(2).

(e) Where an alternative figure is shown beneath the soum there is doubt as to the interpretation of the regulation.

APPENDIX C continued

(2) Additional data relating to township sheep stocks, August 1959

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311
632

TOWNSHIP:	TOTAL STOCK: (including lambs) as recorded:	as estimated:	LAMBING: as reported:	STOCKING RATIO: (per 100 acres of grazing common) estimated:	scum:
Breasclete	626	650	74%	49	24
Croir	380	380	83%	64	20
Mackleta	1,375	1,400	80%	73	35
Kirkibost	1,297	1,300	77%	52	35
Tobson	915	950	84%	46	30
Earshader	438	480	81%	36	8
Crulivig	574	600	87%	45	12
Lundale	505	550	85%	55	19
Linshader	752	750	71%	8	4
Garynahine	223	250	96%	15	11
Callanish (including Breasclete Park)	1,465	1,600	91%	30	15
Breasclete	1,448	1,600	80%	41	15
Teleta Chaolis	1,490	1,550	74%	57	21
Lochganvich	414	?	85%	(20)	8
Dun Carloway	1,504	1,550	65%	70	21
Kirivick	460	550	79%	71	26
Knock Carloway	848	950	74%	70	39
Carloway (including C.Park)	944	1,000	81%	42	28
Borrowston	867	950	76%	114	59
Garenin	957	1,000	67%	55	19

[128]

NOTES: (a) The last two columns cannot be directly compared because the sheep scum per 100 acres of common grazing does not include lambs.

(b) Soumings have been calculated according to the rent operative at the date when the grazing regulations were first made unless some other rent is specifically quoted in the regulations.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

TABLE 29

Bernera District: cultivation

	'Old arable as % of inbye (%)	Av. area of inbye per unit (acres)	Crops as % of inbye (%)	No. of units according to acres of crop: Nil	less than 0.5	0.6 to 1.0	1.1 to 1.5	1.6 to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	more than 7.5
Breaclete	14	7.4	26	1	1	2	2	6	2	-	-
Croir	7	33.4	4	-	-	1	4	1	1	-	-
Hacklete	18	12.7	15	1	-	1	6	9	3	-	-
Kirkibost	17	15.3	13	-	-	4	9	8	6	1	-
Tobson	26	9.0	17	2	-	2	7	7	1	-	-
ISLAND	21	13.5	18	4	1	10	28	31	13	1	-
Earshader	38	9.5	15	1	-	1	2	1	1	-	-
Crulivig	24	14.0	16	-	-	1	-	3	1	1	-
Lundale	35	25.9	10	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-
L nshader	67	6.9	30	-	1	1	1	3	3	-	-
SHORE	39	13.3	16	1	1	3	3	11	7	1	-
DISTRICT TOTAL	26	13.5	17	5	2	13	31	42	20	2	-

tion at all, but even fewer have more than 2.6 acres (table 29). Expressed as a percentage, le more than a quarter of the total inbye area is even "old arable", of which only about two-rds is cultivated. Oats are every-where the most important crop: they are used almost clusively for fodder. Potatoes, mainly for domestic use, are the only other significant op; the absence of turnips is noteworthy. The crops are in general subject to some sort rotation within the physical limits of each croft unit; oats are usually undersown with grass en the arable is to be left unploughed for a period but the "sown grass for pasture" is gely reseeded pasture land. The rest of the croft is left for pasture and hay, and, in ny cases the cutting of peat - a sure sign of agricultural decline. The inbye economy ends upon so many unpredictable variables that it becomes extremely difficult to generalise out the areas thus used. Forty-seven gardens exist in the Bernera region, but many of them almost 'notional' and others are merely potato patches: perhaps half-a-dozen are at all l cultivated, for flowers or food.

The main change in the crops grown, apart from the introduction of sown grass, has n in the corn crops, where barley has been completely displaced by oats. Barley was wn up to 1936 - at least in Crulivig - and gave a good crop. It used to be pulled, (not thed), stacked, then the ears cut off with a sickle and the stalks used for thatching. bably the disappearance of thatch and the replacement of barley bread by the products of town bakery account for the decline in barley. Fewer potatoes are grown than formerly: directly reflects the decline in population. The absence of turnips is due at least in t to the heavy incidence of finger-and-toe disease.

TABLE 30

Bernera District

Number of crofts using various fertilisers, etc.

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	Artificial	Dung	Lime	Seaweed	Shell sand	None
Breaclete	10	10	4	1	-	-
Croir	7	6	4	3	-	-
Hacklete	18	18	12	14	-	1
Kirkibost	25	28	17	12	1	1
Tobson	14	16	10	4	1	3
Earshader	6	5	3	1	-	-
Crulivig	6	5	5	5	-	-
Lundale	5	4	3	4	1	1
Linshader	8	7	-	4	-	-
DISTRICT TOTAL	99	99	58	48	3	10

241
237
824

The fertilisers used in the past were dung and sea-ware. The sea-ware, mainly bladderwrack, and the tough stems of oar weed, was, wherever possible, simply gathered from the beach, though in the more sheltered areas, particularly along Bernera Shore, it was actually cut and towed in rafts to the crofts. There seems to have been little rigid allocation of the rights in sea-ware. In Breaclete each croft had its own stretch of shore and possibly in Tobson, but elsewhere there seems to have been plenty for every-one. The actual gathering in March was a long, strenuous and unpleasant task. The application of sea-ware seems to have been rather rough and ready; certainly there was no careful selection of different types for different crops and purposes: presumably it was merely gathered, mixed with dung to facilitate the rotting, and spread on the arable after sowing. It is reckoned now that about 160 creels are necessary to the acre in Earshader and Lundale.

102
311
632

Figure 32

EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRIC

231
241
423
427
632

TOWNSHIP ETC.	INBYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	Others (No.)
Callanish	237	----- 5,302 -----		57	1
Breaclete	374	----- 3,861 -----		65	2
Tolsta Chaolis	396	----- 2,700 -----		43	3
Garynahine	95	----- 1,824 -----		12	1
Lochganvich	67	----- 2,000 -----		8	-
Others	506	-	-	-	3

/p. 84/

CHAPTER TEN

EAST LOCH ROAG DISTRICT

(Garynahine, Callanish, Breasclete, and Tolsta Chaolis)

GARYNAHINE by Anne Iredale and Jennifer Oxenbury.

131 632 133 Garynahine is a townships of twelve crofts which are situated on the eastern arm of Loch Ceann Thulabhig. The crofts nowhere extend more than one-third of a mile from the coast. There is a hinterland of about 1,800 acres of common grazing, which is mostly about 100 ft above sea-level, though it rises to 200 ft in a few isolated areas; the crofts are lower, and maximum elevation is 80 ft.

134 Most of the croft land is drained by the stream Allt Mhurchaidh which flows through all but two of the crofts. But the soils are heavy, and several crofters cut peat on their crofts. Many crofters complained that their land was too peaty for cultivation.

361 The crofts form a regular pattern beside the south side of the main road from Stornoway to Breasclete, with two small feus and a 21 acre freeholding on the north side of the road. In addition there is a farm (Garynahine Lodge) of 400 acres east of the crofts, and likewise stretching along the south side of the Stornoway road. The main road to Uig passes through the farm, dividing the cultivated area in the west from the grazing section.

195 361 The regular lay-out of the crofts dates from the formation of the township in 1935. On the same site, but long cleared, there had been an older village about the same size i.e. twelve crofts, known to be in existence in the 1850's. The crofts were in a similar position, but were a different shape, and the ruins of some of the croft houses still remain. This village was completely burnt out one gusty winter evening when, it is said, a spark from a crofter's pipe was blown onto one of the thatched roofs, and the wind quickly spread the blaze to consume the entire village. The crofters left the area, many going to the neighbouring township of Callanish; Garynahine then became one large farm until 1935 when the land was re-allocated into crofts. The new crofters came from a variety of areas, several coming from Crulivig, others from Breasclete and Callanish. The owners of the farm had also opened an hotel which prospered until 1945 when the farm was sold to its present owner Admiral Drummond, who has since used the house of a 241 private house. Nine acres of the farm land is cultivated, and the remaining 391 acres 311 are used for grazing. In contrast to the usual practice in this area the oats have been undersown with rye grass. Another beneficial innovation at the farm is the introduction of shelter belts. Trees have been successfully planted, making it possible to produce good crops of soft fruits such as raspberries, strawberries etc. Both the crops and the stock on the farm are of a high standard, showing that with capital and correct management the land can be remarkably productive.

In contrast to the large scale economy of the farm, the twelve crofts (ten operative units) are each between 4.6 and 6.2 acres, and the total reputed arable is 67.3 acres. In all there are only 9.5 acres under crop (oats 6 acres and potatoes 3.5 acres), and 2.25 acres under sown grass. The crofts are worked either by spade, horse (hire from croft 40 Callanish) or by tractor (hire from the Lodge). The seasonal rhythm of cultivation and of stock rearing is that in Callanish.

Enquiries soon reveal that crofting is not the main occupation of the croft tenants. Another indication of the declining interest in the land is the fencing of the crofts. All were fenced when they were formed in 1935; since then there has been no refencing. Now a grant is available to pay 75% of the cost of re-fencing but little has been done.

234 Stock totals (see Appendix C) have declined recently and this trend will probably continue. There are only four cows and two calves in the township (plus six at the farm).

Table 33

CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
56
61
43
12
7
-

Since 1939,
166 462 54 people have emigrated whereas only 4 have immigrated. Most of the girls have to leave home when they finish school as there is no employment locally. Many of them go into domestic service or nursing in Glasgow. Many of the younger men also spend time away from home, often in the Merchant Navy. Breasclete is also the temporary home of the families of lighthousemen on duty in the Flannan Isles.

288 Although the people live and work on the croft, weaving the Harris Tweed provides the main source of income. This is a rather irregular occupation owing to the uncertain demand for the tweed, and although the men are nominally self-employed they rely on the mills to supply them with work. The tweed is woven on treadle looms, which, with ancillary equipment such as bobbin winders, are all owned by the crofters.

[458] As 1959 was a good year for the tweed industry, there was an air of prosperity in the township, and with the aid of government housing grants many new bungalows were being erected. But should there be a slump, the crofts would be unable to support the population and most of the bread-winners will have to leave.

TOLSTA CHAOLAIS by Roger H. Thomas.

131 133 361 The township of Tolsta Chaolais lies in a shallow glaciated depression occupied by Loch a' Bhaile and Loch Shader. Most of the crofts are situated near the shore of these lochs, for westwards to the sea the terrain is too rocky and irregular for either settlement or cultivation, whilst to the east of Loch a' Bhaile the land slopes precipitously from 250 ft. to the loch shore. As Figure 36 shows settlement takes advantage of the more gentle drift-covered slopes, generally of small extent.

137 [241] Cultivation is very noticeably limited to three areas - along the west shore of Loch a' Bhaile, along the north-east shore of Loch Shader, and in the valley of the small stream draining from the north into the head of Loch a' Bhaile. Most of the croft land is composed of rock outcrops, rarely exceeding 100 ft. in height, separated by damp depressions frequently filled by reeds and rushes; bracken was apparent only on three crofts. In particular, the area between the two lochs is badly in need of draining and is largely colonised by reeds and very coarse grasses, of no use whatsoever as pasture. One enterprising person suggested that the township should hire a ditching machine - this could certainly be put to use with great advantage.

632 311 427 The settlement comprises 43 registered crofts, 6 feus, 2 squatters, 1 cottar, and 2 holiday bungalows, with the croft holdings aligned north-east/south-west between the two lochs and the sea, except for nos. 28 and 29. The 53 holdings are unofficially amalgamated in various ways and so reduced to 35 operative agricultural units. The acreage of crofts varies from 2.2 to 20.75 acres - a considerable variation. Fencing of the crofts - except for 1A, B, and C, and 12A, B, and C which are held 'run-rig' - was carried out between 1945 and 1950, whilst in 1946 the common pasture of 2,700 acres was fenced into two parks - an inner and an outer one, the division coinciding with the Carloway to Breasclete road. An area stretching from crofts 18A to 21 has, however, been most haphazardly divided. The seaward halves of some five crofts were redivided amongst seventeen crofts in the southern [illegible] of the township to compensate them for lack of grazing area within their own croft [illegible]ndaries. This division is said to date from about 1886.

241 [407] Most of the cultivation is carried out with hired tractor, although two crofts owned small mechanical cultivators. Ploughing by tractor and horse, as opposed to spade cultivation, depends either on the urgency of the operation, or on the accessibility of the plot, for any small patches of cultivation on the rougher terrain are dug by spade, as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 95]

102 311 632

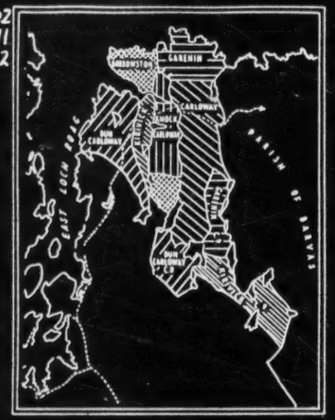


Figure 37

THE CARLOWAY DISTRICT

C.P. : detached common pasture (shielings)

Table 34

233 241 423 427 632

TOWNSHIP ETC.		INDYE: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Adjacent: (acres)	COMMON PASTURES: Detached: (acres)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Crofts: (No.)	AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: Other: (No.)	CROFTER TENANTS: (No.)
Dun Carloway		194	----- 2,219 -----		24	6	22
Kirivick		81	495	281	14	2	13
Knock Carloway	(a)	156	643	720	33	-	30
	(b)	23	-	-	-	7	-
Carloway	(a)	234	1,234	1,139	59	-	58
	(b)	43	-	-	-	18	-
Barroston		54	516	320	16	-	16
Garenin		111	994	825	28	2	27

Note: Where there is a large area of non-crofting holdings (feus, allotments, cottars or squatters) this is shown separately against (b).

102
311
427
491
632

Figu
/p. 98/

TLAND IN THE CARLOWAY AREA.

-- ROADS C·P COMMON PASTURE

½ 1 MILE

38

4: Moisley et al.	K-S	(1959)	1962	ES10	Highland Scots Uig	ES10

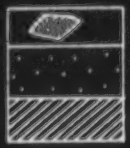
102
233
241
311
133
529
631
632

Major categories of land use:

Inbye land - arable and cultivation

Common pastures

Sporting estates, farms etc.



THE FOUR DISTRICTS REFERRED TO IN PART IV

ARE NAMED : south uig

TABLE 37

The Crofting Structure Re-organised

(a) Holdings

241
311
631
632
423
427

District	Proportion of holdings grouped according to area of inbye land: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres
South Uig	49%	36%	15%
Berneray	14%	27%	59%
East Loch Roag	53%	38%	9%
Carloway	72%	23%	5%
WHOLE PARISH	50%	32%	18%

[128] Note: These are the registered crofts and similar agricultural tenancies as on t valuation roll. About 50 holdings omitted for lack of data.

(b) Effective agricultural units a

District	Proportion of units grouped according to area of inbye land: 0 - 5 acres	5 - 10 acres	10 - 50 acres
South Uig	33%	34%	33%
Berneray	15%	30%	56%
East Loch Roag	33%	39%	28%
Carloway	61%	30%	10%
WHOLE PARISH	30%	32%	30%

[128] Note: About 20 units omitted for lack of data.

(c) Summary (excluding Carloway, see note)

	Proportion of holdings (generally registered crofts):	Proportion of agricultur
Under 8 acres	72%	47%
8 acres and over	28%	53%
All holdings/units	100% (474)	100% (

[128] Note: The Carloway district is here excluded because about 30 small de facto agricultural units without crofter status obscure the effect of unof amalgamation of crofter-tenancies.

Sources: Appendices A(3) and (4) and C(3) a

[Seaforthhead]

161 Table XVII reinforces the idea that there is a striking dichotomy between the agricultural
162 and fishing townships. The former are characterised by a more stable population trend,
166 significantly fewer of the population in permanent employment forth of Park, and a smaller loss by
169 migration. In the fishing townships, where growth and decline have been equally meteoric,
194 there is a larger proportion of persons in permanent employment furth of Park, and migration
225 losses have been greater. It is also significant that there is a smaller natural increase of
552 0.5 per cent in the agricultural townships. The only township which shows a natural decrease over this period is Calbost, one of the fishing townships.

SEAFORTHHEAD AND SHIELDERNISH

Rachel A. Hirst

131 Seafortthead and Shielderniah are separated by 4,485 acres of rough grazing, the former lying on the northern shore of Loch Seaforth and the latter on the southern shore of Loch Erisort.

SEAFORTHHEAD

135 Seafortthead, the most isolated of all the Park townships, consists of three crofts and a
361 gamekeeper's holding. The township boundary is situated between the 50 and 75 foot contours which at their furthest extent are only 150 yards from the shore. Immediately behind the road the land rises very steeply in rough uncultivable moorland covered with many boulders but generally below the road the land slopes gently at about 5-10 degrees, in places being
[247] completely flat. Here, however, the lazy-beds are very boggy and rushes have appeared in the ten years since cultivation ceased.

134 The soils are deep near the shore due to soil creep; higher up they are very thin and peat
157 accumulates to at least 3 feet both below and above the road. There is little cover; bracken is rare, but silverweed and heather, moorland sedges and grasses soon colonise disused lazy-beds.

241 Legally there are three crofts but only one is still cropped, the other two being used solely
[255] for grazing. There is, however, a gamekeeper's holding within the township boundary worked as a croft. The other two crofts are used as ancillary grazings to holdings in Airidhvruach and Baialian and have not been lived on for forty years and ten years respectively.

[244] The chief crops are oats and potatoes, though the gamekeeper had a patch of turnips and the other croft had grown them during the last few years until 'finger and toe' developed.
[407] Patches, about half an acre in extent, are drained with stone drains and ploughed by tractor, after which potatoes are grown to clean the soil, followed by oats for one year and then sown hay
[314] for three to four years. This is not strictly adhered to and several lazy-beds appeared to be in natural hay. There is no peat-cutting on the crofts as peat is secured just outside the township fence on the common pasture. Lambing has been poor for the past two years being
[251] only 50 per cent in 1958; the stock carried is twice the sheep soum. The cattle, Highland and Ayrshire or Shorthorn crosses, are below the soum, but previously nine cows and followers have been kept.

161 There has been a great decrease in population and cultivation since the resettlement in
162 1886. In Seafortthead and Shielderniah as a whole, there were twelve crofters before the
241
178

[Seaforthhead] [Shielderniah] [Habost]

161 suppression of the original townships opposed to six today. As a result, many lazy-beds, now
162 given over to natural grass, are being gradually encroached on by heather and juncus. Out
241 of the present population of twenty-three, one is permanently away and two have migrated
178 since 1939. There is a more healthy population structure, with a large number of males between 15 and 44, due to a large family having returned home and six children, five of school age.

361 In Seafortthead and Shielderniah all settlement is below the road and house-sites are on
[509] slight elevations. At Seafortthead is the reputed hunting lodge of the Seaforth's,'Seaforth Castle',
[505] now ruined, but still showing signs of abnormal size and arrangement. When first settled,
[491] communication was by ferry (1820). Now a cart-track, deeply rutted, to Eisken Lodge gives
[378] access to the Tarbert-Stornoway road two-and-a-half miles away.

SHIELDERNISH

131 Shielderniah, also consisting of three crofts, is better situated on the Park and South Loche
361 road. The three houses are situated on a well-drained northerly slope, half-way between the
552 road and the shore, but the three crofts are on better land and greater accessibility has led to better management and new ideas.

241 Cultivation in isolated patches reaches up to nearly 100 feet and the lazy-beds have been put
311 together to permit ploughing by horse or tractor. One croft grows neither oats nor potatoes,
[246] preferring to enclose two one-acre parks, re-seed them, cut the hay in June, and wean the
[251] lambs on the aftermath. By next year, this crofter hopes to have enclosed and re-seeded a
[244] further acre and will then use the three in rotation. The other two crofts grow both oats and potatoes and one is also sowing down. The crofts average fourteen acres in size but although gentle slopes are extensive, the major part of the crofts is in permanent pasture. The total
[322] stocking of the Shielderniah crofts is below the souming. Fishing is now only for domestic use
[288] though there is a small jetty on No. 1. Part-time weaving is performed on two of the six crofts.

The future pattern would appear to progress to more grazing and less cultivation. Two out of the six crofts - both at Seafortthead - are worked from outside the township and this isolated township, being difficult of access and having little cultivable land, is better suited to grazing. Shielderniah appears more suitable for enclosing parks for fattening lambs, as soils are deeper and slopes gentler, making the use of a tractor feasible. More could be got out of the crofts especially with fertilising and re-seeding for hay and pasture and growing
[125] fodder crops for wintering. It is hoped to fence the common securely, and then stock will be renewed - a great necessity. Daily communication with Stornoway also means that Shielderniah is better placed than Seafortthead for a flourishing settlement. The crofts are certainly of a workable size - provided part-time work, such as weaving, is maintained, along with the grants from the Crofter's Commission.

HABOST

Rachel A Hirst

131 Habost is scattered around a small bay on the south shore of Loch Erisort. Settlement
133 stretches for over a mile encroaching on three small hills separated by wide, well-drained
241 valleys which soon rise to the dominating Craigeal (225 feet). Slopes are varied but tend to
361 flatten out at about 100 feet near the road and on this flat, most of the cultivation takes place. Nearer the shore, slopes are much steeper and on the hills there are bare rock faces and thin
[154] soils.

[Habost]

134 Drift is found near the shore and laps round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominantly heavy clay with small boulders; this is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks. Vegetation is poor; there is no bracken or cover and within the crofts, moorland grasses and
137 sedges predominate on rough land, though there are many lazy-beds sown down to clover and cock's foot. On the hills heather predominates.

195 Habost is the oldest township in Park. In 1843 Maclennan came from Shielderniah and
[492] took what are now Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 and Aileen Tailear came from Taransay, Harris,
552 to No. 7. By 1886 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded, three being
621 there before 1886; in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1906, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen operative units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, for there are three non-crofting units.

241 Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and
409 ploughed by tractor owned by one crofter who loans it out to Habost and Kershader. There are three 'Croftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but these are only heavy enough for
293 bringing in peats, hay and similiar light work. The progressive Habost community has fenced off part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

[249] Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed
[246] parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in
[251] June and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but
[324] elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphates, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old lazy-beds.

251 The land is heavily overstocked: the soum is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is
235 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 618 respectively, including the sheep stocked in
[452] Park Deer Forest by seven of the Habost tenants. Sales of cattle are held at Garyvard in November
[251] and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958, 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and other sheep have died.

241 The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since before 1852. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Beinn Bhuidhe and
[317] below Loch na Cista but these have not been used since 1888. Habost is one of the agricultural
[226] townships and fishing is only for domestic use; looms are to be found on only four crofts and
[251] trade is slack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying peats, fertilisers and stock
[293] to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are two small stores.

561 Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has
[512] been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or
[554] from a rain tank, drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

[Garyvard] [Caversta]

242 At the moment Garyvard appears to be a go-ahead village, carrying out communal schemes
[242] which will benefit the township as a whole. However, the age structure of the population is abnormal
182 since 60 per cent of the population is over 45 years. The future in Garyvard offers young people hard work, little money and no entertainment, making the attractions of the cities and industries of the mainland quite irresistible. Unless some industry can be started the future bodes ill for the area, since most crofters are of the opinion that a weekly wage packet would more than compensate
191 the loss of their independence. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the age of National Assistance and subsidies that man cares more for momentary rewards and the luxuries of life. This is well understood by parents who encourage their children to leave the islands to seek employment either in Britain or within the Commonwealth. The Lewisman is no sentimentalist clinging to dying traditi and a way of life. His present desires have been re-cast as a result of his increasing contact with the world beyond the Hebrides and he is prepared to abandon his home where it defeats his aims and purpose. Unless prosperity can be brought in by way of industry, tourism or increased croft efficiency, possibly through co-operation in working and marketing, it is possible that we are witnessing the end of a community.

CAVERSTA

Helen Mackenzie

181 Caversta lies along a southern inlet of Loch Erisort, five miles from the Minch and is partially sheltered from east winds by the Cromore peninsula and Eilean Chaluim Chille.

193 The physical nature of the terrain is irregular, rising steeply from the water's edge to a level
361 of approximately 225 feet. To the west and to the east, the land slopes to the river estuary and it is here that the settlement occurs. Particularly in the north-west, two marked breaks in slope are visible at 75 feet and 100 feet above the loch, which is here bordered by a 25 foot rock face. The resulting platforms are separated by faces of bare rock. The valley of the Caversta River is a noteworthy feature. Below a small loch, the river follows an irregular course though a wide and shallow moraine-strewn depression and a quarter-of-a-mile from its estuary, has cut through some low hills rising about 30 feet above the depression. At this point, its course becomes steeper as it passes through a small gorge, which is probably an overflow channel.

137 Trees are non-existent and the natural vegetation consists of Sphagnum on the peat bogs in the hollows and grasses and sedges on the gentler slopes. The steeper, less waterlogged slopes, often broken by rocky bluffs, have heather cover; bracken growth is kept in check by heavy grazing.
194 Forty-six acres of land have been reclaimed by clearing heather and removing peat to form the
511 crofts, but the soil, which varies in depth from a few inches to a few feet, is very acid.

The six legal crofts vary in acreage from 4.75 to 8.5 acres and a squatter has 5.5 acres of
125 enclosed land. The township is in two parts: Torista, with the two smallest crofts, lies at the east
241 ern extremity, while the other five holdings, also bounded by a dyke, border Tob Caversta, an
552 inlet of Loch Erisort. The crofts, which run from the shore to the township dyke, were set prior
[125] to 1861, originally the township formed part of Grobeg Farm. The legal units are, in fact, operativ units except that one of the Torista crofts, now unoccupied, is used for wintering lambs by the absentee's brother, a resident of Caversta.

542 There are no occupied black houses remaining in either Torista or Caversta, as during the past fifty years new dwellings have been erected in dressed stone or corrugated iron, usually with roofs of asbestos slate, tarred felt, or corrugated iron. Several old thatched houses are now used as barns and byres.

[Caverstr] [Cromore]

161 The 1914-18 war had a marked effect on the Caverstra population - 16 out of 54 (29 per cent) left after
167 1911 and no re-population took place. Since 1939, seven people have migrated to Stornoway or the
mainland, (16 per cent of the total 1939 population), and six of these were from Toristra (i.e. 50
166 per cent of the 1939 Toristra population); only one family now remains there. The demographic
167 position is becoming more acute for there are no young married couples and no youngsters growing
166 up. The girls have left to marry and most of the men have sought temporary or permanent employ-
ment elsewhere, for with better communications, education and the radio, the pull to the towns has
become stronger. There are now only two people in the township who could be described as full-
time crofters, earning no supplementary income by weaving tweed on commission from the Stronoway
mills.

241 Caversta is not one of the most progressive of the South Lochs townships. Although the crofts
235 are fenced, the common pasture is not visibly delimited from either the Cromore or Garyvard
232 pastures. At present, the grazing is fully stocked according to the soum, but the committee has not
as yet initiated any re-seeding schemes. As the pasture is not of the best quality, some newly sown
grass would benefit every crofter. Lack of manpower may in part account for this deficiency but even
a small acreage of re-seeding would be a great asset.

000 The future position of the township is rather doubtful: it is not the best type of land for mechanisa-
tion and is badly served by communications. The future of Toristra appears to be probably one of
abandonment, unless it is more easily linked with Cromore. The possibility of a good road being
built here is remote, as there is only one family to serve. The main part of Caversta is also open
to question. Amalgamation of the crofts would not necessarily make more efficient units for the
present units are not used to their full extent. Amalgamation with Garyvard might benefit the
township a great deal, as the Caversta population is rather small to flourish in isolation. The future
of Garyvard, Kershader and Habost is one of hope, but unless some change takes place soon, it is
not difficult to see Caversta, and Toristra, following the same course as Calbost and in thirty to
forty years being little more than grazing land.

CROMORE

G. Mary Swindell, B.A., and Dennis F. Fancett, B.A.

131 Cromore is situated on a peninsula between Loch Erisort and Loch Cromore. Approaching it
561 from the access road, Cromore has the appearance of a nucleated settlement, but in fact each
house is situated on the owner's croft. The crofts are so arranged that each has a portion of land
on the more level surface of drift deposits; houses 1 to 20 stand at the junction of the drift and the
134 Lewisian gneiss. Soils are poor and thin, and there are numerous outcrops of barren rock amongst
157 the arable land. The natural vegetation is heather moorland with extensive patches of rushes and
cotton grass, the pattern of most of the 'outrun' around Cromore.

241 The township comprises twenty-seven crofts and there are twenty-seven working units; two
632 crofts are subdivided while another four form double crofts. In addition there are five cottars and
the Schoolhouse fen. Outside the township dyke there are two feus and four squatters. The croft
layout differs from most other townships as each croft is in four non-adjacent pieces, one piece
around the house, another above Creag Cromore and two pieces on another area of enclosed land
on the common. Two crofts on the eastern side of Loch Cromore, have most of their arable land
around the croft-house while three crofts have only one share in the other area of enclosed land.

241 Until this decade all the land around the houses, and much of that above Creag Cromore, was
611 regularly cultivated. Some of the lazy-beds on the higher land are being cut for hay this year but
cultivation is limited to the land around the croft houses and is completely unmechanised. The only
[246] crops at present are oats and potatoes and these are usually grown in rotation. The crofters sowed

[Cromore] [Marivig]

366 butchers' vans call on Wednesday and Friday and a fish van once or twice during the week. Goods
491 are also conveyed by the daily bus. Electricity was brought to the village about four years ago
577 and the inhabitants now look forward to a supply of piped water in about two years' time. At present
512 only three or four houses have bathrooms.

24 The crofts, when worked well, are good enough to provide the existing population with a satis-
434 factory subsistence, but each family unit must have some additional source of income. It seems
229 that the recent subsidies for fishing are good enough to attract fishermen from Cromore and one or
288 two boats might be sent out from the bay if the quay were larger. Weaving has brought prosperity
but, as the Park Association states in its Second Progress Report "there is not sufficient weaving
available for the present number of weavers". The proposal to establish a spinning and processing
plant in the Park District made in the 1957 Report, would undoubtedly be of great value to the
000 people of Cromore. The village is sited in a most picturesque spot and one of the inhabitants
suggested that a hotel built on Crobeg Farm would bring some benefit to the community. However,
even if these three increased sources of income became effective, one wonders whether they would
be sufficient to attract the younger generation, already urbanised by schooldays spent in Stornoway.

MARIVIG

Pamela Gough, B. A.

131 Marivig is situated on the western and south-eastern sides of Loch Marivig, a small triangular
sea loch opening to the north-east and sheltered from storms and swells by Torray Island, making
the loch an ideal anchorage and harbour.

133 The land rises steeply from the shore of the loch for twenty-five feet to fifty feet, then slopes
more gradually and irregularly, with frequent precipitous rock outcrops, for two hundred to
five hundred yards to rise steeply to a line of low hills, two hundred and fifty feet to three hundred
feet high, surrounding the loch. All crofts thus have an easterly or north-easterly aspect, not
particularly favourable for agriculture, and only one has any appreciable area of level land
134 uninterrupted by rock outcrops. Soils, derived from glacial drift, are unevenly distributed, thin,
and very stony, and cultivable areas are thus small and widely dispersed.

157 The surrounding hills, which form part of the eight hundred and sixty-three acres of common
grazing, are mainly covered with heather, moor grass or sphagnum bog, while the lower areas
within the township are grassy, but drainage is poor, and rushes are widespread. Bracken is not
yet a problem, and only small areas exist, mainly on the lower slopes of the western side of the
loch. A few rowans and willows survive here also, but otherwise the area is devoid of cover.

241 There are twenty-four registered crofts in Marivig, twenty-two being inhabited, one vacant
692 and worked by another crofter, and one worked from a house on the common. With the exception
of two crofts, one of which is on the common, all the boundaries run from the township dyke, which
closely follows the two hundred foot contour, to the sea in radial fashion (Fig. 4). The size of the crofts
varies from 1.25 acres to 22.25 acres but only seven crofts and less than four or more than eight
acres in size. No croft has more than three acres of land which has ever been cultivated, and
few now cultivate more than one acre. There are thirteen cottars and squatters, five houses being
on the common, three of them cultivating small areas adjacent to their houses.

241 Cultivation is exclusively by spade on the 'lazy-bed' system. Owing to the rocky nature of the
246 terrain, the 'lazy-beds' are narrow, often only one or two yards wide. Potatoes and oats are
244 grown in rotation, and hay taken from lazy beds left fallow. Very few crofters sow grass for hay
237 or undersow their crops. Dung and seaweed are used as fertilisers, with potato fertiliser as the
824 most general 'artificial'. Small enclosed gardens, often somewhat neglected, produce lettuce,
carrots, cabbage and soft fruits on about half the crofts, but no garden produce is marketed.

[Gr-vir] [Glengr-vir]

241 beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other lazy-beds are permanently in natural
237 hay; only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'old arable' is now in oats and potatoes. If
natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than
the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the
old arable (ninety acres) after 1850-52. As in all the fishing townships the area of sown grass is
infinitesimal for only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering
capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of under-
sowing.

124 There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives.
425 All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition
to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and squatters and feuars, besides the fifteen legal
Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir common. The common
132 has been encroached on by several feus for Gravir is the functional centre of Park: the Free
046 Church of Scotland and Manse, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionaries
159 (assistant ministers) are all located in Gravir.
793

Gravir and Glengravir thus have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than
233 half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty per cent of
511 the soum, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 2,652 acres is in general of
poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957,
a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded: only twelve of the operative units participated in this
reclamation work, and the ages of the participants ranged between 27 and 58 years; this is sig-
nificant as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended
annually; if potential improvements to the crofts are limited, pasture amelioration is virtually
635 without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater
numbers; at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the sheep soum, and a ewe and
lamb sell for as little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the consequences of over-stocking. The
cattle stock is below the souming and this paucity of cattle is one of the notable changes in the agri-
culture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The
total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the souming by thirty-five per cent.

231 The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from
241 the souming of sheep per cow and follower and eight pounds per pound sterling of rent in a township where
434 only seven crofts pay more than £2 rent, they were never intended to be self-supporting agricultural
units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, bere or oats,
locally milled by the three Gravir water mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family.
Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and
228 eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for
lobsters.

463 If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of insurable age and
298 service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupation
are sufficiently available or attractive to keep the insurable population in the district. Twelve of
166 the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in
167 permanent employment furth of Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential male resident population.

175 The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute
229 after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the hey-day of the fishing most of the men fished
434 all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a
man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sal-
of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted
253 the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the souming, the income of the largest croft
including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home
consumption of potatoes and milk.

[Orinsay]

361 which rises steeply, exceeding 375 feet in the west and 150 feet to the north and east. From
361 the north-west and north-east two glacially deepened valleys drain southwards, their lower ends
[795] being "drowned" by northward extensions of the loch.

134 Although peat covers most of the surface it is only in the hollows that it is significantly deep.
for even on the gentler slopes the peat cover is frequently so thin as to expose a layer of morainic
sub-soil containing many stones and boulders.

137 Two rowans and a dozen willows represent the only tree growth, but tree stumps frequently
exposed in peat-cuttings suggest that woodland was formerly more evident. Whether this former
woodland disappeared as a result of human action or of climatic change it is not possible to say, but
it is certain that a century of overgrazing has not favoured natural regeneration. Moorland grasses,
sedges and a little poor heather characterise much of the area, and reflect the poor grazing
capacity of much of the moorland. Bracken has established itself in one limited area on a patch
of neglected croft land.

195 Orinsay is unique in Park, for the present township is entirely a twentieth century development.
652 In the early 19th century there was a settlement at the head of the loch, but in 1843 the residents
were removed and the area enclosed and added to Crobeg sheep farm. In 1916, there was a proposal
to establish fourteen crofts, but the applicants were requested to wait until after the war. At the
end of the war the return of many young men with a desire to settle down led to serious overcrowd-
ing in Lemreway. Several of them 'raided' the Orinsay area. At first living in huts, they built
their own houses, and in 1922 the Department of Agriculture intervened, recognising and fencing
off fourteen legal crofts, and at the same time providing a good footpath. Seeing the success of
their neighbours, four other Lemreway families, comprising 26 people, went to Miamreway, about
a mile to the west of Orinsay. Here, however, the Department of Agriculture did not intervene and
with the community remaining isolated, most of the settlers returned to Lemreway within three
years, although one family remained until 1939.

24 Six of the crofts have an area of less than ten acres, six have between ten and fifteen acres,
while the remaining two occupy eighteen and twenty-five acres: the largest croft originally belonged
to the shepherd on the sheep farm. Three of these crofts are not occupied, although worked by
other crofters, with the result that eleven operative units share 16½ acres.

241 Only a small part of the croft acreage is actually cultivable: even less is cultivated in practice.
311 The broken and rocky terrain combined with the peaty soil allows nothing but the cultivation by spade
of tiny lazy-beds. The total area now cultivated does not exceed 25 acres, although in the past it
may have been nearer 40 acres.

241 Oats and potatoes are the staple crops, occupying 9 and 6½ acres respectively in 1958. Individual
246 croft acreages of these crops vary in relation to the requirements for winter stock-feed, and in the
246 case of potatoes, to domestic consumption. Nevertheless to produce even these meagre returns
the soil requires careful preparation. A plentiful supply of seaweed is obtained from the shore and
is the most frequently used fertiliser, while a little sulphate of ammonia is applied. Only two
crofters use lime.

[297] In the last two decades a marked reduction in the amount of oats grown has accompanied a
decrease in the numbers of cattle and an increasing use of hay for fodder. Nevertheless only about
17½ acres of hay altogether are cut, and only five of the crofters sow any grass seed.

231 In August 1958, the township supported only 13 cows, 3 young beasts and 8 calves. Half of the
crofters have a cow and a calf, but three have no cattle at all, and one even used condensed milk,
a sad commentary on the state of crofting in Orinsay, but a phenomenon by no means uncommon in
crofting areas.

(2) Population by Townships, et

	1841	1891	1931	1939	1951	1959
SOUTH UIG DISTRICT						
Mealasta	25	20	-	-	-	-
Brenish	174	229	110	78	60	62
Ielivig	37	54	34	30	19	17
Mangersta	117	4	58	50	58	48
Carnish	168	14	17	10	7	13
Ardroil			69	60	60	58
Timsgarry	55	14	34	33	23	23
Crowlista	196	238	96	75	55	41
Aird	52	83	43	37	30	30
Valtos	335	480	175	149	145	116
Kneep	187	235	92	71	62	46
Reef	189	11	58	58	39	30
Caryshader	46	88	70	59	48	30
Geshader	60	142	62	57	34	37
Ungshader	22	32	36	37	26	10
Knaclete	55	52	52	38	36	36
Scaliscro	33	9	5	6	5	3
Others	114	71	29	43	35	29
TOTAL	1,865	1,756	1,042	897	742	629
LITTLE LOCH ROAG DISTRICT						
Garynahine	69	12	13	63	57	60
Callanish	202	311	209	184	175	119
Breasclete Park	-	50	31	18	17	22
Breasclete	196	374	320	332	257	248
Tolsta Chaolis	183	298	203	152	152	138

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APPENDIX E continued

...., in selected years since 1841

	1841	1891	1931	1931	1951	1959
BENBECULA DISTRICT						
Strome & Drovernish	24	-	-	-	-	-
Earshader	36	24	19	19	40	32
Cruilivig	31	72	44	40	34	26
Lundale	-	-	32	26	23	19
Linshader	28	17	33	46	34	24
Enoclete	75	122	101	100	80	88
Kirkibost	8	148	157	156	102	79
Tobson	180	178	136	121	90	79
Boste	79	-	-	-	-	-
Breaclete	57	84	72	74	64	59
Creir	75	3	39	43	24	-
Vuisamore	46	-	-	-	-	-
CARLOWAY DISTRICT						
Dun Carloway	128	298	203	134	152	88
Kirivick	53	105	98	80	65	47
Knock Carloway	97	219	122	172	176	167
Carloway	124	321	220	226	236	220
Carloway Park	?		54	70	16	15
Borrueton	77	96	68	49	52	40
Garenin	75	164	142	126	101	93

Sources:
1841, 1891, 1931, and 1951 - unpublished official census returns, by courtesy of the Registrar General of Scotland.
1959 - National Register.
1959 - Glasgow University and G.P.O. survey.

175 While the Royal Commission of 1883-6 was investigating Crofting conditions in Scotland, the
423 farm of Seaforthhead and Shieldernish was restored to six crofters. Six years later, the Royal
311 Commission of Enquiry into the Highlands and Islands scheduled the following land as suitable for new crofting townships: Stiemreway, Eilean Calum Cille, Crobeg, and the islands of Orosaidh and Rossaidh, a total area of 153 acres arable and 3,502 acres grazing. A further 165 acres of arable and 40,135 acres of grazing in the Park Deer Forest were scheduled as land suitable for the extension of existing holdings. The Report of the Commission considered "that in the case of Lewis, it cannot be left out of view that the congestion is very great, and the demand by crofters for access to lands now scheduled is of a very urgent nature ..... The Deer Forest Commissioners do not believe that the lands now scheduled are suitable for new holdings: but were these lands occupied as common pasture by crofters, under a properly adjusted system of management, their occupation would be of much advantage to the occupants and more than outweigh the disadvantages."[4] As a result of this recommendation, the islands of Rossaidh, Orosaidh and Iubhairt, in all 90 of the 43,728 acres scheduled, were given to Marivig, Calbost, and Lemreway, respectively, as additions to the common pastures; the sheep farm comprising Crobeg, Oronsay and Stiemreway, and the Deer Forest were left undisturbed.

175 In 1924, after raiding, Oronsay was reconstituted as a crofting township, all but one of the new
423 tenants coming from the overcrowded crofts of Lemreway. An unsuccessful attempt was made by
632 squatters who had built houses at Stiemreway, to have their unofficial lots recognised, but some
311 families remained there till 1945. In 1934, fifteen small lots were cut out of the Gravir common
[163] pasture to relieve pressure on the Gravir crofts: this Department of Agriculture scheme marked the end of a century of population redistribution.

Thus the full recommendations of the Deer Forest Commission have never been implemented, but one can only conclude, after a study of the crofting economy, that greater participation by the crofters in the Deer Forest grazing would bring increased viability to the crofting community.

175 The landscape of Park has thus experienced four formative periods. Of the prehistoric era and
142 the early historical period, when the Norsemen held sway, a few archaeological sites and a large
361 number of place-names remain. From 1660 until the early nineteenth century settlement was
632 slowly established and spread over all the coastal fringe: this period saw the maximum areal distribution of the small tenantry. From 1828 to 1843, eviction stripped the entire area south of Gravir and west of Habost of population, and large scale sheep farming was extended at the expense of the small tenants. The fishing townships from Cromore to Gravir were greatly expanded at
[163] this time. From 1858-1924, three of the cleared townships were reconstituted: the population in the majority of the fishing townships continued to grow till 1911. Since 1924, fifteen new lots have been formed in Park but the population has progressively declined.

The absence of large scale resettlement since 1886 differentiates Park from most other crofting districts, but the exodus of population since 1918 and the existence of a population constantly struggling for viability in an area deficient in resources are features common to the entire crofting area.

[113] 4 Report of the Royal Commission Highlands and Islands, 1892, (often known as the "Deer Forest Commission").

THE PATTERN OF CROFTING

427 Crofting, a distinctive system of land tenure, is confined to Argyllshire, Inverness-shire,
241 Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, the seven Crofting Counties of
178 Scotland. Small agricultural units sharing rights in common land, usually pasture but in some
423 districts arable land also, survive in 151 out of the 163 parishes, and these holdings form the
477 nearest equivalent to peasant communities in Britain, although only a small minority of crofters own their holdings, and the true subsistence element, implicit in any definition of peasantry, has all but disappeared.

175 Before 1886, the crofter was a tenant-at-will, with no security of tenure, and no right to
427 compensation for improvements. The Crofter's Act of 1886, defined a croft as an agricultural
241 holding in a parish where there existed, or had existed, rights of common grazing, and where the
423 annual rent paid was less than £30. Security of tenure, and compensation for improvements were the main provisions of the 1886 Act; the rent qualification was later raised to £50. In all, there are about 20,000 crofts in Scotland today[1] and Collier[2] estimated the crofting population at
[161] about 100,000. The number of crofts in Park is 215, with population of 908. Thus Park forms
[162] a 1 per cent sample of the crofts, and a 0.9 per cent sample of the estimated crofting population.

Crofting Organisation, Layout, and Settlement.

423 The characteristic settlement unit is the crofting township: Figure 3 illustrates the areal
427 distribution of the 12 townships in Park. Each township comprises two main elements, the
361 individually held croft land, and the common grazings. The number of crofts per township
311 ranges from 6 in Caversta to 43 in Gravir.

632 The individually held croft land (1,839 acres) is partly 'outrun' or permanent pasture and the
233 holdings are usually but not always consolidated - in Gravir (Fig. 4) and Cromore some of the crofts comprise as many as five non-adjacent pieces of land. Each croft is normally separated from neighbouring units by a drystone dyke or fence but in Park, such demarcation is the exception rather than the rule.

The croft land is separated from the common pasture by the township dyke, a stone or turf wall. The Park common pastures consist of 22,023 acres of moor grazing - generally very poor, ill-drained land with a large percentage of bare rock, areas of peat, and numerous lochs. In Park, only Oronsay common pasture is fenced, the limits of the remainder being faintly marked by crumbled turf dykes. Each croft has a defined right of grazing or 'soum' on the common pasture; the 'soum' is the number of beasts which may be pastured, a term comparable to the obsolescent 'gates' of northern England. In Gravir, the soum is 1 cow and follower or young beast up to 6 quarters old (i.e. 18 months), and 8 sheep, per £1 rent. There is also a system of stated equivalences (Gaelic 'coilpeachadh') in most townships whereby substitution of cattle for sheep and sheep for cattle is permissible: in Gravir, the exchange rate is one cow for five sheep. Soumings and equivalences vary throughout Park. In former times, when a subsistence economy prevailed, soumings were enforced but nowadays the majority of the crofters do not even know the souming of their croft.

[113] 1 Crofters' Commission, Annual Report 1958.

[113] 2 Adam Collier, "The Crofting Problem", 1953.

427 241 [227] 423 178 233 Although the croftland is individually held, individual control of the crofts only applies for six months of the year. After the harvest, the croft land reverts to common grazing and the whole township stock graze indiscriminately over the crofts. Thus basically the whole area of the township, the individually held crofts and the common pasture, is common land, and it is clear that the agricultural revolution with its system of enclosure has not yet fully refashioned the Crofting Area.

175 233 Before 1900, there was a third element in the crofting landscape, the shieling (Gaelic - 'airigh'). The sites of the shielings are usually on slopes commanding a view of the surrounding area near a spring or stream and usually two to nine huts belonging to the same township are grouped together on a site; isolated shielings are rather rare. In order to conserve the pasture within the township dyke for wintering and to protect the unfenced crops, the cattle were removed to the hill early in June, and the younger members of the households went out to live in small stone or turf-walled huts to tend the cattle. The milk was either carried back to the township daily or made into butter or cheese at the shieling. The distance of shielings from the crofts varied from one to five miles in Park.

632 The affairs of the townships are managed by the Grazing Committee, elected triennially by the township and presided over by the Clerk of the Committee. The duties of the Committee in the past related mainly to the enforcement of soumings, but are now reduced to the disbursement of subsidies, although responsibility for the maintenance of the township dyke and the care of the township bull (usually lent by the Department of Agriculture but sometimes communally owned) are also the province of the Committee.

[361] [342] [78] The layout of the townships varies with the topography but the majority of the crofts are aligned in strips from the moor to the sea (figures 4 and 5). Most croft houses are built on the crofts; in former times, the majority of the houses were sited on the poorest part of the croft as all the cultivable land was required for crops, but nowadays the houses tend to be sited near the road.

162 361 427 241 [464] The official pattern of crofting is thus one of tenants, each living on his or her croft and sharing in the rights and duties of the township. Table I gives an analysis of the tenants of the 215 Park crofts. It will be noted that only one-fifth of the crofts are tenanted by those in the 15-44 age group: a similar proportion are tenanted by those over 65 years of age. Absentee tenants account for 14 per cent of the total. Women form under 10 per cent of the total, but only one in seven of the women tenants is the sole labour force on the croft. The intrinsic worth of the holdings can be inferred from the fact that two-thirds of the male tenants in the insurable age group take supplementary work, two-fifths of them furth of Lewis. With such a large proportion of the tenants either fully employed in ancillary occupations in Park or elsewhere it is hardly surprising that the theoretical township organisation exists mainly in name alone.

427 241 Each croft, however, is not necessarily an agricultural unit; some are sublet by absentee tenants or by tenants who are too old or too infirm to work their crofts. Of the 215 crofts, one-fifth are wholly or partly sublet. In addition to the legal crofts, there are unofficial holdings which fall into three categories, cottars, squatters and feuars, all legally without grazing rights. A cottar[1] is a person, usually a close relative of the tenant, who builds another house on

1 These are the de facto definitions. Section 34 of the Crofters' Act of 1886 defines a cottar as follows:- "Cottar" means the occupier of a dwelling-house situate in a crofting parish with or without land who pays no rent to the landlord, as also the tenant from year to year of a dwelling house situated in a crofting parish who resides therein, and who pays to the landlord therefor an annual rent not exceeding six pounds in money, whether with or without garden ground, but without arable or pasture land". For fuller treatment, see Scott, J., "The Law of Smallholdings in Scotland," 1933, pages 152-155. [113]

There is no legal definition of a squatter, and the above definition does not include any distinction between houses built on a croft and houses built on the Common Grazings.

TABLE XII

Population of Townships and Inhabited Places
(Material by courtesy of the Registrar-General)

161 162 632

TOWNSHIP or INHABITED PLACE:	1830[1]	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1939[2]	1951	1958[3]
SEAFORTH HEAD	-	8	-	-	-	-	22	14	15	12	8	17	4	9
SHIELDENISH	62	47	-	-	-	-	27	24	12	13	21	17	12	13
HAROST	49	53	68	89	96	98	113	121	111	105	87	85	67	61
FERNEMORE	66	70	81	84	104	114	103	111	101	93	94	77	59	54
GARYVARD	38	46	63	77	94	103	101	74	100	117	99	80	88	69
CAVERSTA[4]	-	29	-	38	42	78	45	54	64	47	45	41	24	20
CROMORE	124	127	170	182	221	259	271	294	284	240	209	205	184	137
CROBEG	41	9	50	30	10	11	6	3	3	8	2	2	-	-
MARIVIG	115	98	146	189	206	206	205	225	206	181	160	166	127	107
CALBOST	55	67	105	122	158	183	197	200	187	189	151	120	64	22
GRAVIR	197	233	270	326	353	368	389	416	468	385	341	338	263	209
LEMREMAY	144	179	-	209	256	265	261	316	339	289	228	211	188	154
DROMAT	119	148	-	-	-	-	4	2	5	35	91	98	71	53
EISKEN	104	-	-	11	17	29	11	14	14	10	12	30	10	5
STIEMREMAY	46	62	89	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KENMORE[5]	-	4	-	9	3	-	2	-	3	-	-	3	-	-
VALAMUS	-	8	-	7	3	-	9	-	3	9	1	7	3	-
HOLMAGERY	-	3	5	9	-	3	-	6	-	-	-	3	-	-
SHELL HEAD	-	-	2	6	-	7	19	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
CEANN CARRAIGH	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-
BACLUIN	-	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"ALL" PARK[6]	89	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS:	1269	1213	1049	1388	1563	1704	1785	1876	1922	1733	1549	1500	1164	913

1. Manuscript-Seaforth Papers, Box 62, No. 158. Register House.
2. National Identity Card Enumeration by courtesy of Department of Health for Scotland.
3. Glasgow University-Geographical Field Group Enumeration, August 1958: the figures include all permanent residents and those who are in seasonal employment furth of Park.
4. Including Torisk. 5. Unidentified. 6. Park south of Loch Shell.

/p. 12-A/

a wider applicability of my thesis. The evidence in support of my assertion was collected on the culture history of the Isle of Skye, a part of the area known as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

Since I shall frequently speak of the Highlands and Islands in the following pages, we should have a precise definition of th region (Figure 1). Geographically, the Highland boundary should be placed at the Great Highland Fault, a series of geological faults which extend across Scotland from the River Clyde to Stonehaven, south of Aberdeen. Politically and economically, however, this line has receded to the north and west. Since 1883 it has been common in Scotland to equate the Highlands and Island with the "Seven Crofting Counties," those counties in which the predominate form of land use is the crofting system. Crofting may be defined as a system of hereditary tenure of a few acres of arable land combined with common tenure of hill grazings. These counties are: Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney, and Zetland. Out of the 163 parishes in these counties only 12 are considered non-crofting.[1] In addition to this shared socio-economic pattern, the seven counties have experienced common economic-geographical influence a century of accelerating population growth, followed by a centu of persistent depopulation.

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[1] Adam Collier, The Crofting Problem: A Social and Economic Study (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 11n. A parish in Scotland is an ecclesiastical district which until 1929 was also a civil unit with self-government in such local affairs as education, relief for the poor and infirm, and health. If the British county is thought of as analogous to an American state, the parish can be thought of as a county, but one devoid of any function.

61 Ducey	E-4,5	(1953-1954)	1956	2310 Highland Scot 2310 Skye

101 The Highlands and Islands are often divided into a Wester and an Eastern subregion. The Western Highlands include all of the Hebrides and, approximately, the western half of the counties of Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness, and Argyl This leaves the remainder of the seven crofting counties, including the islands of Orkney and Shetland, to the Eastern [632] Highlands. The seventy-two parishes of the Western Highlands have been isolated by physical barriers from communication with Great Britain. Here, too, differences of race, language, and culture have continued to distinguish the people from the other Scots. With this rudimentary delimitation of the areas in mind, let us briefly review their population cycles.

161 162 When Alexander Webster, then Moderator of the Church of Scotland, compiled his enumeration of the population of Scotland in 1755, the Highlands contained 257,183 people, and the Western Highlands had a population of 114,884. In terms of percentages, the total region, 47 percent of Scotland, had 20.3 percent of Scotland's population, and the subregion, 29 percent of Scotland, had 9.1 percent of the national population. By 1831, despite chronic emigration, the population of the Western Highlands rose to 200,955 (see table 1) but there had been a decline to 8.5 percent of the national total. In 1841 the total Highland population reached a peak of 396,045 but now only 15.1 percent of the Scots were Highlanders. By 1851 depopulation had begun. The Highlanders in the West had decreased in numbers to 190,728 and those in the whole area, to 395,540. From that day to this depopulation has been continuous. Although the 1951 census is still above Webster's

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

TABLE 38

Stock carried 80 years ago compared with that carried today and with the soumings

	Cattle (more than 1 year old): 1863 or 1879	1959	Soum	Sheep (all ages): 1863 or 1879	1959	Soum
OLD TOWNSHIPS						
South Uig	716	178	677	3,173	10,500	3,557
Bernera	446	183	464	1,713	5,400	2,890
N.L. Roag	555	132	481	1,652	5,200	2,090
Carloway	682	191	648	2,818	6,000	2,596
NEW TOWNSHIPS	-	104	329	-	5,800	2,858
FARMS etc.	404	44	-	4,400	900	-

Note: Figures for individual townships are given in Appendix E.

not have crofter status. Thus, despite the rigidity imposed by crofting legislation, the crofting structure is evolving; whether the larger units so formed are agriculturally more productive than the smaller, statutory, units is another question.

Cattle and sheep stocks

The production of cattle and sheep is the main function of the croft, from the agricultural point of view, and the main function of the crofting parish. In this respect a great change has occurred in the last 80 years: about 1880 some 3,300 cattle and 14,000 sheep (of all ages) were kept; in 1959 the corresponding figures were 1,281 and 35,000. This change is by no means the result of the re-settlement of crofters on former farms; in 1879, according to the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the sheep:cattle ratio was 2.3:1 on the crofting townships and 9.6:1 on the farms: now it is 27:1 over the whole parish. The change (Table 38) has been fairly uniform over the parish except that, whereas sheep stocks generally have more or less trebled, in the Carloway district they have little more than doubled.

The decline of cattle numbers has been at the same rate as that of the human population and this, together with the much lower sheep:cattle ratio on crofting townships than on farms in 1879, suggests that, 80 years ago just as to-day, the main object of cattle keeping was subsistence rather than commerce. The increase in sheep numbers on the other hand is probably no more than a reflection of increasing disregard of the soumings.

If we compare the cattle and sheep stocks with the soumings shown in Table 38 and Appendix E we find that 80 years ago, except in Bernera, there was rough agreement between stock and soum. To-day cattle stocks are around one-third of those allowed by the soum whereas sheep stocks are greatly in excess. Examination of the soumings leads one to question their validity in the light of modern conditions: the sheep soums bear no regular relation to the available areas of common pastures (Appendices A(2) and

APPENDIX E

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(1) Stock carried about 80 years ago compared with that carried today.

(a) Old Townships

	Cattle (more than 1 year old)			Sheep (all ages)		
	1883	1959	Soum	1883	1959	Soum
Brenish *	131	33	84	447	1,700	508
Islivig	46	9	43	93	500	228
Crowlista	101	18	89	632	1,200	414
Aird	40	6	34	137	600	206
Valtos	158	42	220	647	2,300	1,033
Knasp	84	22	76	341	1,000	455
Caryshader	42	9	45	267	500	183
Ungashader *	20	4	38	107	1,800	110
Ceshader *	46	19	31	330		237
Enaclete *	48	16	17	172	900	298
Breaclete	53	25	59	215	630	312
Kirkibost	143	49	144	449	1,300	866
Hacklete	89	52	122	290	1,400	661
Tobson	116	36	97	534	950	784
Earshader	20	7	17	109	480	104
Crulivig	25	14	25	116	600	163
Callanish	160	41	161	397	1,600	795
Breasclete	188	52	191	629	1,600	567
Tolsta Chaolis	176	30	96	501	1,550	573
Lochganvich	31	9	33	125	414	155
Dun Carloway	121	35	130	530	1,550	460
Kirivich	63	15	60	280	550	202
Knock Carloway	118	39	132	524	950	530
Carloway	208	63	130	715	1,000	671
Borrowston	62	15	98	368	950	392
Garenin	110	24	98	401	1,000	341

(b) New Townships compared with former farms

	Cattle (more than 1 year old)			Sheep (all ages)		
	1879	1959	Soum	1879	1959	Soum
Mangersta *	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	25	68	Farms not individually distinguished (see total below)	1,200	385
Carnish		5	26		1,200	270
Ardroil		20	62			
Timsgarry		8	23		650	625
Reef		10	45		800	275
Croir		11	36		380	225
Lundale *		11	36		550	96
Linshader		8	15		750	192
Garynahine		6	18		250	330
Farms etc.	404	44	-	4,400	914	180

Note These soums given do not allow for enlargements which should substantially increase the stock capacity of townships marked *.

Sources 1879: Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture.
1883: Evidence given to the Napier Commission.

to the traditions of the past. I shall discuss this further when I describe the extended family.

The Township. The township is a cooperating economic unit. Communal use of an interest in the common grazing lands gives the township its focus. Living on the several crofts, there will be found an aggregate of nuclear families and unmarried individuals who, especially in the older townships, are related and re-related on both sides. Only in the more modern townships does the degree of relationship become tenuous and finally disappear. In interpersonal activities the neighbors have a rate of interaction second only to that of the nuclear family.

The dominant social trait is the strong emphasis on the ascription of status on the basis of kinship, sex and age. There are no socially valued achieved statuses. The facts are simple. Males enjoy higher prestige than females, and the old men and women are respected by the youth. All of the same age grade and sex are essentially equal. Again we have a parallel with the Irish small farmer.[18]

There is no room for the expression of a role of leadership in economic activities. The governing principle of township administration is so-called primitive democracy. All males have an equal voice in determining the acceptance of any policy or action which concerns the group, and unanimous consent is necessary for the adoption of any change. Although each township has an elected grazing clerk and a grazing

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[18]Cf. Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 45, 109-110; and Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 63, 161-231.

6: Ducey

632

[For information on neighborhoods, see Category 621.]

ES10 Highland Scots ES10

sanction and endowed with privileges and immunities by which self-regulation, stability, expansion, and improvement might be attained. Additional provisions called for the replacement of the repudiated customary usages by national laws of land tenure.

The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 embodied many of the Commission's proposals.[80] The crofter became, perhaps, the only class, as a horizontal segment of the population, with a minimal legal definition. He was a pastoral agriculturalist who resided on his holding, the annual rent of which was less than £30, (later raised to £50) in a crofting parish. Such an individual was entitled to a fixed, fair rent, just compensation for improvements made by himself or his predecessors in the same family should he leave his holding, security of tenure, and modified right to bequeath the holding to a member of his family. Except for the statutory conditions that he must not alienate the holding from his family, sublet without consent, or violate the rights of his neighbors or his landlord, including withholding rent and contributing to the deterioration of the land and dwelling, the crofter was given all the privileges of a landowner with few of the responsibilities. A Crofters Commission, with executive functions, was established to carry out the provisions of the act and to assign "available" land to the townships as

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[80] I owe a debt of gratitude to innumerable government officials in Portree, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London for their patience and cooperation in providing me with the necessary information to discuss this final period of the history of Skye. The facts are theirs; the interpretation is my own responsibility.

person who left in his youth to return in his old age. The new pattern of emigration not only resulted in a continuation of the persistent depopulation of the island but also, with the return flow which countered emigration of the youth with immigration of the older people, led to striking changes in the age structure of the population. If the population pyramids for the years 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1951 are compared, the significance of the new pattern becomes apparent (see figure 4). The 1861 pyramid has a strong base, despite evictions and death. By 1901 the aging of the population was already marked. There were fewer people in all age groups, but a disproportionate increase in those over sixty-five. Females had joined the exodus. Partly as a result of the emigration of young adults, and partly as a consequence of a declining marriage rate and delayed marriage, the structure was growing top-heavy.

The pyramids for 1931 and 1951 are far from ideal. The differing movements of the population has resulted in a situation in which the society can no longer reproduce itself. Natural increase became a negative factor in the decade 1921-1930. Since then births have exceeded deaths in only one year, 1949. If the population is being maintained in part by the return of exiles, one must not only ask who leaves and why but also who returns and why.

An additional change within this period was the growth of Portree as a trade center and as an administrative "capital." The cycle of population, however, was erratic. In 1891 there were 1,003 people in the village, but in 1921 there were only 793.

In 1951 the population stood at 1,094. There has been a slight shift from the rural areas to the village, but it can hardly be regarded as significant. For one thing, the 1951 figure included an unknown number of workers on the hydro-electric scheme. Then, too, it included children from the Outer Isles who attend school in Portree, not to mention the very large number of newcomers, teachers, government employees, shopkeepers, management personnel in the stores and banks, and tradesmen, to give only a few examples.

The trend toward religious conservatism continued in the fourth period. During the closing years of the preceding period, the Free Church attempted to modify her theology and polity. The old trend toward relaxing the rigor of Presbyterianism, in accordance with the feelings of the other dissenting denominations in Scotland in order to pave the way for union, was renewed by the passing of a Declaratory Act which stated that the Free Church does not teach and does not regard the Confession of Faith as teaching the foreordination of men to death (eternal damnation) irrespective of their sin. Further, that while the Gospel is the ordinary means of salvation, it does not follow that all who die in infancy are lost. The elders, the lay kirk officers, of Skye protested violently.[88] It was popery to make the Church the judge of spiritual affairs. More important, it threatened their prestige status, which had been sanctioned by the interpretation of the religious ethic. In several parishes the elders threatened to withdraw from

[88] The Free Presbyterian Church, History of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1893-1933 (Glasgow: R. Adshead and Son, 1933), pp. 96-130.

normally determines the "souming," the number of stock which each tenant is entitled to carry on the common.

The small croft has less than ten acres of arable and improved grass land. The average "souming" is two cows and followers (heifer or bullock calves) and usually ten to twenty sheep. Approximately 2000 of the crofts fall into this classification. The medium croft, representing about 250 land-holding subjects, has between ten and twenty acres of land fit for crop cultivation and improved grass. The typical "souming" is two to seven cows and followers, forty or fifty sheep, and occasionally, a horse. We might recall that the sheep may be either a club stock or a private flock. The large croft consists of almost 100 arable acres and, even more important in the predominately pastoral economy, an independent, self-contained grazing of 200 to well over 1000 acres. These diminutive ranches easily carry ten or more cows and followers and several hundred sheep.

For those who prefer to think in terms of area rather than stock, the relative magnitude of these self-contained holdings may be stressed by adding the fact that only thirty townships on Skye have more than 200 acres of common grazing. There are, for example, Linicro with 729 acres of grazing in 19 shares, Totescore with 500 acres in 12 shares, and Bornesketaig with 273 acres in 47 shares. Over half the townships have less than 100 acres of grazing land.[5]

[5] Ibid., Table 3.

extreme examples, Bornesketaig in Kilmuir consists of 47 crofts held by 35 crofters, but Aird in Sleat has 39 crofters who rent 20 crofts. In one badly subdivided township, Calligary in Sleat, one holding is held in the following shares: four men each have five-twenty-fourths, one has one-sixth, and one has "a part." The whole, indeed, is more than the sum of its parts. Moreover, townships with a balance of crofts and crofters, and even those with fewer crofters than crofts, often show the effects of subdivision. Another Kilmuir township, Herbusta, is laid out in eight holdings. Although there are an equal number of landholders, several of the crofts are divided into half shares. Then, there is Kilvaxter, also a Kilmuir township, with 11 tenants and 12 crofts; one man has three full shares while two others have only half a croft each. Multiple crofts are not necessarily adjacent. Some crofters hold land in two different townships. One of my informants rents two crofts separated by over twenty miles. On foot, it takes him two days to make the trip between his two holdings.

Subdivision, frequently carried to its ludicrous extreme, is not a problem confined to the Highlands of Scotland. All over Europe the traditional laws of succession have had a similar result. In consequence, the governments of all European countries have been striving to initiate reform. Generally, the aim has been to consolidate scattered patches, but almost always the schemes have become more comprehensive, attempting to create economic farms and increase productivity. Since the

where the population has suffered the greatest decline and, therefore, where enlargements, by legal or illegal means, have been the most extensive, crop production has declined the most. Nor has the decline in population, accompanied by land redistribution, altered the fundamental problem.

The cottars (subtenants) have almost disappeared thereby easing the excessive pressure on the land and removing the threat of recurring destitution. Today they are found only in a few scattered dwellings and isolated clusters. Most of them have secured some form of employment or have reached the age when a government pension is sufficient to satisfy their needs. The number of crofters, on the other hand, has increased. If the figures 2043 and 1227 can be accepted as nearly correct for the respective numbers of crofters and cottars in 1886,[15] they have increased at the expense of the latter and, also, the sheep farmer, whom they have replaced.

To briefly summarize the foregoing discussion of the township, let us look at Kilmuir. Table 3 shows the number of crofts and crofters in each of the nine townships together with the acreage and "souming" rights available to each individual. Although replanning during the past fifty years has benefited many of the local residents, crowding upon the land is still apparent.

[15] L. MacDonald, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters, sheets 6, 17.

TABLE 3

CROFTS, CROFTERS, ARABLE ACREAGE, AND SOUMING RIGHTS IN THE KILMUIR TOWNSHIPS

Township	Crofts	Crofters	Arable Acres[a]	Common Grazing	Souming
Bornesketaig	47	35	4	273	2 cows, 1 calf, 12 sheep
Hungladder	14	9	5	236	2 cows, 1 calf, 10 sheep
Balgown	4	5	13, 14, 34, 46, 66	177	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Kilvaxter	12	11	27	...b	4 cows, 4 calves 26 sheep
Linicro	19	17	15	729	5 cows, 5 calves 40 sheep 1 horse
Peingown	3	4	18	187	7 cows, 7 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Herbusta	8	8	12	308	3 cows, 3 calves 26 sheep 1 horse
Totescore	12	13	21	500	3 cows, 3 calves 20 sheep 1 horse
Monkstadt	3	3	27, 27, 5	420	9 cows, 9 calves 40 sheep 2 horses

[a] Arable acres are given in average acres per holding, unless otherwise indicated. Except in Bornesketaig and Hungladder arable land includes outrun, improved pasture land individually held.

[b] Shared with Kilvaxter.

[113] Sources: Compiled from The Valuation Roll of the County of Inverness, 1953; information extracted from the files of the Department of Health for Scotland; and data supplied by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

Township Government. The township system has another marked influence on the economy of the Sgriathanach. By far the largest obstacle in the path of reform is the persistence of primitive democracy, distinguished from the democracy of Western Civilization by the requirement of unanimous consent rather than majority rule. The individual who comes to realize that it is possible to improve on the ways his father did things is deterred from attempting to introduce innovations. He cannot, for example, erect a fence around his croft unless everyone in his township approves such a departure from tradition. The dissenting voice of one old man is sufficient to thwart any plan. Unanimous decisions on all township affairs mean that the most progressive worker must keep pace with the most conservative. This fact goes a long way in explaining the essential agricultural disharmony of Skye, and most of the Highlands, with the rest of Great Britain. It is also a singular example of the incomplete adaptation of the culture to the higher socio-cultural organization.

When coupled with the many limitations on the economy, township government helps the outsider to understand why many younger crofters feel that the primary value of their few arable acres is their use as pasture. Even in townships which have been fenced, the prevailing practice is to open the crofts after the harvest. All winter long the stock is free to graze where it will. "My arable is no use at all, except to winter my sheep," said one young crofter. Another asserted, "I have three crofts and the use of one more, but it's not

worth while to cultivate any of the arable, so I use it for grazing." A case which aptly illustrates the influence of the township system as an agent of conservatism is the breeding of pigs. Although several old crofters told me how many people during the times of the "Clearances" kept a pig, they are rarely found anywhere in the Highlands today. The Biblical injunction against the flesh of swine has been taken literally. The older people simply have a strong aversion to handling pigs. One man, a very successful cattle and sheep breeder, put it this way: "Pigs are filthy brutes. I just don't want to touch them -- I never have kept any and never will." At the same time, there are men who believe that the prices these animals bring at the mainland markets more than compensate for the individual's revulsion, especially as long as the Ministry of Food pays for the cost of transportation. These men cannot try branching out because they have no way to restrict the foraging animals. "Skye is ideal for pigs," one young fellow told me, "but I don't have the freedom to work the croft to suit myself."

Smaller deviations from the traditional methods of land use face the same difficulties. A progressive crofter who attempts to improve the value of his stock by growing scientific mixtures of grasses is always penalized. As soon as the harvest is over, the stock of all his neighbors will show their appreciation by concentrating on his croft, trampling his fields, and overgrazing his grass. Nor is this his only penalty. His neighbors will regard him with skepticism for his departure from the ways handed down from the past.

from the ways handed down from the past. We might note at this time that even the progressive crofter is not always quite en rapport with modern techniques. There was, for example, a man with two calves infested with liver fluke. Convinced that medicine was the only solution, and equally convinced that a person cannot believe everything he reads, he obtained a bottle of liver fluke medicine which was plainly marked: "for sheep only." When asked how his calves responded to the treatment, he responded, "Och, they both died."

Because of the restrictions which the township system imposes, there has been a growing, perceptible rumble of agitation for supplanting unanimous consent with majority rule. Few, however, would go as far as a retired seaman who returned to Skye after forty years. He would like to see the township system abolished. Another small group believe the Sgriathanach would be better off if the Island were given over to communal farms. Most seem to favor the continuation of the present system. Of course, the majority is composed of the conservative old men.

The Aged and the Absentee Crofter

No appraisal of the crofting system is complete without a discussion of two additional factors which have affected the use of the land and the present unsatisfactory economic condition of the Island. One of the factors is the aged tenant, who, as we have just seen, exercises a strong control over the younger men through township government. He has also influenced

In Claigan, for example, the crofters felt they would do better with private flocks than with a club stock. Although each man now has his own sheep on the township grazing, they are cared for like any club stock. The four crofters are needed for success at the dippings, marking, and shearing, and they are always at the fank on these occasions. In larger townships, those with ten or more holdings, the need for all the crofters to help out at the fank is less pressing while the felt need for auxiliary employment is stronger. In consequence, the cooperative work habits run less smoothly. In an attempt at adjustment, many townships have resorted to paying the share holders for their labor from the profits. To the best of my knowledge, only one township has witnessed the total suppression of the cooperative spirit; all the crofters are too busy with full-time employment to bother with the steadily declining sheep stock.

Nevertheless, it has become commonplace for the crofters to complain of at least one individual in the township who does not pull his full share, someone who is "trying to sabotage the whole thing."

Independence is a personality trait, but it is best described as a steadfast determination not to conform for the mere sake of conformity when an innovation handed down from the outside commercial world is at stake. The old ways are the best ways, even if only the old men think so. It is the old men who uphold the traditional practices. As long as they do, and as long as unanimous consent is required for any change,

the Highlander will be "independent." As for being "just not cooperative," what the critic really means is that the crofter is unable to cooperate in the ways city people or more sophisticated farmers do. The cooperative movement has come to Skye, but it was not a local venture. The Scottish Cooperative and Wholesale Society opened its shops, without shareholders. The distinction between the crofters' simple cooperation and sophisticated cooperation, including capital investment, does not invariably hold.[11] There are sheep stock clubs. Government loans, of course, provided the initial capital.

In dealing with the topic of cooperation, as any part of the economic aspect of the culture of the Sgiathanach, the basic importance of the township again and again emerges. Only a few crofts exist apart from a township. A more detailed analysis of the township system and the pressures it imposes on the crofter is, therefore, in order.

The Township

The efficient unit in the local economy is the township, the modern equivalent of the joint-tenants' and tacksmen's farms. Each township consists of a variable number of individual holdings, the low-lying arable and improved grass land held under hereditary tenure, and a more or less extensive area of rough, unimproved hill grazing held in common. The common, concurrent right of each crofter to use the hill grazing under the "souming" principle gives the township its focus.

[11] Cf. Darling and Morley, loc. cit.

361 632 162 The number of holdings which can be carved from the land in any one place and the proximity of these clusters of crofts to each other are determined to a large degree by the limiting influences of the environment. Landforms, climate, and soil have always restricted settlement to the coastal fringe and a few internal glens. Although the Sgiathanach has abandoned his former dependence on a subsistence economy, the original cultural adjustment, these natural features continue to exert a negative influence. Each man must have some arable land to provide winter feed for his cattle and to winter his sheep.

If the low-lying area is small and isolated, only a few holdings can be laid out. If the fertile area is large, the influence of the environment is less direct. In either case social and economic factors are important. The small isolated townships are invariably unsuccessful. A few, like Point of Sleat, are completely empty. Others are all but derelict. There is Kylerhea in Sleat where no children have been born in over fifteen years. Suisinish in Strath, a township well remembered from the days of the "Clearances," when a minister's sheep replaced the inhabitants, is now inhabited by an old man and his two elderly bachelor sons. All of these failing townships are at the end of a road. Whereas the 476 231 162 minimum size was once four able-bodied men, the number in a plough team or a boat crew,[12] it is now three. This functional trio is indispensible for the care of a sheep stock large enough to be worth keeping. Even three families do seem to satisfy the social minimum.

[12] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

632 621 233 476 162 The maximum is harder to determine, economically. There is some limit to the number who can stock a common grazing with individually owned stock without becoming involved in complicated entanglements over right, obligations, and questions of ownership. The few townships containing more than thirty crofts in the Western Highlands (91 out of 957),[13] and the negligible number on Skye (only ten), suggests that less than thirty holdings per township, no matter how much fertile land surrounds the cluster, has been found to be the optimum. Most of the townships contain between five and twenty crofts. The fact that many large, adjacent townships, such as Bornesketaig in Kilmuir and all those in the Braes, are losing their population is a reflection of a many faceted condition we have been exploring throughout this chapter--the vast majority of the crofts are too small to provide an adequate livelihood. One of the primary causes for this state of affairs would seem to be overcrowding on the land.

162 632 621 427 241 Congestion. In almost all but the recently established or replanned townships, congestion is a legacy of the increase in population during the first century of the modern period, often aggravated by coerced subdivision during the period of the "Clearances." Because of this, over-all statistics have little meaning. It is quite correct to say there are some 2300 crofts on Skye and approximately 2200 crofters, but this does not mean each family has a croft to itself. To take

[13] Ibid., table 1.

CHAPTER VI

THE ISLANDERS' SOCIETY

The Units of Social Organization

Since the Sgiathanach has consistently been more bound to his locality groups than the relatively mobile members of the main stream of Western Society, I think that we shall find a pause to review the character of the social systems which are primarily based on territoriality a valuable aid to our understanding of how cultural continuity has been preserved. By now we are all well aware of the fact that the township is the efficient economic unit. It is also a social entity. The members of each township display a consciousness of common interest, symbolized by the communal hill grazing; and their inter-personal relationships, reflecting ties of kinship and friendship, reveal a rate of interaction second only to those of the crofting family. In most of the townships, the people are related and re-related on both sides by descent and marriage. Laid out along the coast or in a fertile glen, with the cottages on the individual crofts, it has a discernible form. The township is a small cluster of five to twenty homes; approximately an equal number of garden-like farms, stretching out behind the houses; and,

tourists, and newcomers who carry with them ideas of reform. Further, as well as being mutually dependent commercially, the crofters and the villagers interact formally and informally in social, political, and, especially, religious activities. The consciousness of common interest of the villagers, however, stems more from a knowledge that they are different from the crofters than from any common symbol. The 1000 villagers are from diverse backgrounds. They find solidarity in being different rather than in "neighboring" or all attending the same church. The village also lacks the time depth of the rural settlements, being a creation of an individual in the last century.

For community I prefer an inclusive definition on the order of Redfield's.[8] A community is characterized by conventional understandings, the occupation of a territory, and the possession of a culture. Thus, we shall refer to the Isle of Skye as the community.

It will be noted that I have not used the term parish. Although the parish was once important politically and religiously, as the older baronies were replaced, it lost these functions in 1929.[9] People reside within parishes and they, along with their crops and stock, are enumerated by parishes, but the parish is now little more than a statistical convenience. Church organization and political administrative units cross-cut and override parish boundaries. Indeed, I doubt if the people ever thought of themselves as members of a parish.

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[8] Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, pp. 15-16.

[9] See, e.g., C. De B. Murray, How Scotland is Governed (Glasgow: Art and Educational Publishers, Ltd., 1947), pp. 113-118, et passim.

New Zealanders breed sheep and
knew more about the world than
stand why so many people made f
trying to help.

In the absence of any tra
role of leadership, administrat
of the township members is the
last chapter that primitive dem
Each crofter has an equal voice
which affects the group and all
agree before any action is take
silence. Typically, the crofte
matter over among themselves be
fact clearly emerges that the
committee are no more than figu
They have no coercive or discip
situation, their views are take
of any other man.

It is the old men who gat
on the hill on a summer evening
the youth want introduced. If
they approve it at a meeting of
If they believe it will upset t
approve it. The dissenting voi
that is required to maintain th
economically and socially.

In summary, we may say th
on the croft the cultural patte
continuity. As of old, status

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make linen. One might say he
about Skye. He could not under-
un of him when he was only

ditionally valued status and
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in deciding any question
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razing clerk and the grazing
reheads required by law.
linary powers. In any group
n no more seriously than those

her at one anothers' homes or
to weigh the innovation which
they find the change acceptable,
the township by keeping silent.
he communal system, they dis-
ce of one old crofter is all
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at within the township and
rns reveal a fundamental
is ascribed. Men have remained

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newcomers to the neighborhood, if not the island. Let us 559
now turn to Portree to see how important status is in this 182
alien village.

The Trade-Center Village

We come now to a consideration of the trade center 632 ●
village of Portree. We have seen how this small settlement
was created by a landlord in the early nineteenth century
and how it has been fostered by the government. We have
also seen how the village has assumed a host of important
functions. Primarily, it exists to serve the rural neighbor- 632
hoods and to provide a link with the outside world. For the 368
crofting neighborhoods it is, in order of importance, an
administrative, economic, religious, and social center. Here
are found the Ministry of Labor, the Department of Agriculture,
the National Assistance Board, the sanitary and road engineers,
the local Registrar, the central police headquarters, the
main post office and telephone exchange, the court of the
justice of the peace, and the seldom functioning sheriff's
court. It is to Portree that the Land Court comes to decide
on such important matters as rents and succession to the
croft. As a seat of education, Portree's influence extends
even wider, for it is the only secondary school in all of the
islands of the county of Inverness. For people on the southern
end of the island the village exists only for administrative
purposes.

The crofters of northern Skye are dependent upon the 600

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633 CITIES--political organization of urban aggregates larger than towns (e.g., cities, metropolitan districts); governmental personnel (e.g., executive, advisory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection (e.g., appointment, election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority, prerogatives, functions, and activities associated with each position; etc. See also:
Settlements and urban and rural contrasts . . 36 Political machines. 687

Period IV (1886 - 1953)

*175 *178 648 The year 1886 is a chronological hinge in the culture history of the Sgiathanach. The British government began to play a positive, continuing role in local affairs for the first time in history. Hitherto, the interest of the government had been confined to proscriptions, recruiting, and taxation, occasionally interspersed with relief for the destitute. With the change in policy, we enter the realm of the contemporary culture; therefore, all I wish to do is indicate the direction the processes, which we have been following, took under the national attempt to rechannel them. The major trends to be [72] noted are two. The proprietors' influence in determining how [182] the land was to be used was curtailed, and, with a redirection of the commercialization of the estates, many of the traits and complexes characteristic of the traditional culture assumed renewed importance.

*175 *178 657 423 671 621 632 Since the Napier Commission had been mainly concerned with the disregard of the customary rights of the crofters and their inconsiderate treatment by proprietors, the recommendations which were presented to Parliament sought a land reformation within the framework of local custom.[79] Unlike the Continental Commune, a local, self-governing body, the Highland township had never legally existed. Elsewhere in Scotland this communal agricultural unit had been replaced by individual farm occupancy, just as had been happening on Skye. The major proposal was a retrogressive step; the township system should be given legal

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[79] Napier Report, pp. 7-15.

ittee, a legal requirement, these individuals lack 621
ority. They are figureheads whose primary function is 632
dvise the government of the decisions reached by all the 584
ters who share in the grazing and to regulate the use of 624
land by self-imposed rights. In townships where the sheep
owned as club stock the clerk serves to distribute the
its from the sale of stock, and he may also keep a tally
he individuals who are entitled to payment for labor in
ships where money has replaced customary reciprocity.
ny cooperative venture beyond the family level, there is
ne who can step forward to act as a foreman. The as-
tion of this role would upset the basic status equality
he crofters, unless the person wishes to be regarded as an
ntric.

Crofting Neighborhood. The crofting neighborhood con- 621
s of an aggregate of individuals and nuclear families 632
dwell in several townships, standing in close spatial 571
imity. It is, therefore, natural that the ties of common
dence and kinship should continue to operate. The im-
ant distinguishing features between the township and the
er social entity are two: (1) cooperation in agricultural
pastoral activities is replaced by mutual aid, and (2)
e is a greater wealth of formal and informal inter-
onal activities in which the people associate.

There are invariably established social circles within 621
h the individuals habitually move. One always consists 571
he individual's kinsmen, "his people," his family of 602
ntation, and "his close friends," all other relatives within
fourth degree of relationship.

public health and general administration, and has offices in Stornoway. Stornoway itself is largely looked after by a Town Council which deals with the property of the burgh, makes and administers byelaws and imposes burgh rates. The police are under County administration, each burgh paying an annual contribution for their services; the law is administered by a sheriff-principal and two sheriff-substitutes, one of whom holds court in Stornoway. Each parish has a local committee of management.

The political history of the Western Isles, and no less Harris and Lewis, reflects the agrarian troubles. Before 1917, when Lewis was a Parliamentary part of Ross & Cromarty, and Harris part of Inverness, the electorate was both Liberal and Radical; traditionally there has been a significant anti-Tory vote. In 1917, the Boundary Commission for Scotland set up the Parliamentary County of Inverness and Ross & Cromarty, with three divisions: Inverness, Ross & Cromarty and the Western Isles. In 1918 the Western Isles voted for the first time as a Parliamentary constituency of its own, and showed a predominant Liberal sympathy; the returned candidate was also standing for the reform of the Land Law.

In the General Election of 1923 a Liberal candidate was again returned, with a repeat performance in 1929. In the latter election however, the Socialist came in second place. In the crisis or scare election of 1931, the Labour Party did not contest the seat, which was won by a Liberal-National candidate opposed by a full-blooded Conservative. In 1935 the Labour candidate, a native of Lewis, was returned with a 1,345 majority. This Member retained his seat through all subsequent elections losing it only in 1970 to a member of the Scottish National Party, who became a lone Home Ruler in the House. Labour, Conservative and Scottish National parties are represented in the constituency, with a small Liberal showing. The revision of local authorities has given virtual autonomy to the Western Isles.

PUBLIC SERVICES

The lack of adequate social and public services has been cited by some authorities as a factor encouraging people to leave the

Before the making of roads, it was ease of sailing which united island peoples and their territories. One can wade or drive, at low tide, over the fords that unite the Isle of Benbecula with the two Uists, North and South: in fact, a bridge now connects Benbecula with South Uist. But only the roughest of hill tracks led through the hills of North Harris from the 'Tarbert' or Isthmus of Harris to the nearest habitation at the head of Loch Seaforth or Loch Erisort, in the Lews. This is a distance of some twenty miles, or a fair day's tramp for an unloaded man, and far too much for a return journey in one day. Hence separation of territory and name was natural. This separation no longer exists as there is now a good 'bus service from Rodel via Tarbert to Stornoway which links Harris with the daily Kyle to Stornoway steamer. In this book, the Island, or the Islanders, refers to Lewis-and-Harris with its people, as one.

Lewis is included in Ross-shire (of which the county town is Dingwall, north of Inverness) and Harris in Inverness-shire, together with the rest of the 'Long Island'. The county boundary cuts across the six-mile isthmus north of the hills of North Harris, from the in-reaching Loch Seaforth WNW. to Loch Resort (Fig. 8). All the Outer Hebrides are now included in the Parliamentary constituency of the Western Isles. Proposals to unite the Island under one District Council, or the Outer Hebrides under one County Council, are more favourably viewed in Stornoway than in Harris or the Southern Isles. Harris forms one civil parish, while Lewis is divided into four: Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs. The Lewis parish boundaries traversing the moors are inset in Fig. 8 so that their trends can be readily grasped, and the inhabited portions of the parishes quickly located (p. 50).

S.W.
DIAGRAMMATIC VIEW ACROSS LEWIS
N.E.
Crofts
Sandy Pastures
Deep Peat and Peat Hag Moss
Marshy 'Grass' Moors
Hill and Rair Pastures
Woods
Rocky Pastures
Heaths
Butt of Lewis
Europe
Port of Ness
Cellar Head
Tolsta Head
Broad Bay
Tungaro Hd
Eye Peninsula
Chicken Head
A: Ashmore
Cooks Ch.
B: Bodafeo
C: Grevir
D: Seaforth Head
E: Zimarvig
Cullivoe
Colbost
Uig
Mealista
Scarp
Tarbert
Scalpay I.
Seaforth Hd
Shiant Is.
Sound of Shiant
Tarasaigh I.
Ceann Ear
Ceann Iar
Ceann Ear
Ceann Iar
Ceann Ear
Ceann Iar

a wider applicability of my thesis. The evidence in support of my assertion was collected on the culture history of the Isle of Skye, a part of the area known as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

Since I shall frequently speak of the Highlands and Islands in the following pages, we should have a precise definition of the region (Figure 1). Geographically, the Highland boundary should be placed at the Great Highland Fault, a series of geological faults which extend across Scotland from the River Clyde to Stonehaven, south of Aberdeen. Politically and economically, however, this line has receded to the north and west. Since 1883 it has been common in Scotland to equate the Highlands and Islands with the "Seven Crofting Counties," those counties in which the predominate form of land use is the crofting system. Crofting may be defined as a system of hereditary tenure of a few acres of arable land combined with common tenure of hill grazings. These counties are: Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney, and Zetland. Out of the 163 parishes in these counties only 12 are considered non-crofting.[1] In addition to this shared socio-economic pattern, the seven counties have experienced common economic-geographical influences, a century of accelerating population growth, followed by a century of persistent depopulation.

[1] Adam Collier, The Crofting Problem: A Social and Economic Study (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 11n. A parish in Scotland is an ecclesiastical district which until 1929 was also a civil unit with self-government in such local affairs as education, relief for the poor and infirm, and health. If the British county is thought of as analogous to an American state, the parish can be thought of as a county, but one devoid of any function.

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641 CITIZENSHIP--conception of the relationship of the individual to the state; territorial versus gentile affiliation; distinctions between citizens and residents, and between different categories of citizens; rights, duties, privileges, powers, and liabilities of the citizen or subject (e.g. civil liberties, franchise, liability to military service); acquisition of citizenship (e.g., naturalization); loss of citizenship (e.g., through serious crime); notions of civic virtues; etc. See also:

Social stratification 56
Justice 89
Immigration 187
Symbolic representations of nationalism and patriotism 188
Forced or indentured labor 488
Taxation 831
Public service 663
Voting 666
Treason 667
Military service 701
Social insurance 748
Ideas about political behavior 829
Legal majority 884

Chapter 7

Conclusions:

Summary and Theoretical Considerations

A. Summary

Crofting townships of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland are within a few hours' travel of the major cities of Britain. An extremely high percentage of the young people in the crofting counties attend universities and other institutions of higher education. Politically, administratively, economically and in other ways, the crofting population participates in the larger urban-industrial society of Britain.

Despite this participation, the township-qua-village-community is a relatively strongly bounded system. This thesis investigates factors contributing to the strong boundedness. From a relatively self-sufficient economic unit using agricultural practices suited to the extensive cultivation of marginal land by smallholders, the township has during recent decades changed to one dependent on goods and services provided by the larger society. Crofting activities nevertheless persist, in part because of the incentives offered by government bodies such as the Crofters Commission and the Department of Agriculture. The

warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, with peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven and waulked together ceased to be a sacrament when the tartan was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform with "England's cruel red".

The framers of this law, which stood on the statute book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath which reversed every benediction said by the women at their work: "I . . . do swear, as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, any gun, sword, pistol or arm whatever, and never use tartan, plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do, may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and property—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and be without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come across me if I break my oath". This Act, as law and symbol, struck full at the sacramental life of family, neighbour-team and clan community, in which labour and prayer had been indissolubly bound.[1]

(c) WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

Little remains of the tradition of worship in the tiny oratories, chapels or 'temples' whose ruins stud the shores

[1] The collaboration of friends in Lewis may allow mention of the Gaelic version of A. Geddes, *The Spirit of the Tartan, a Song Drama* (English Version); *Souvenir Programme and Book of Songs* (Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, 1932). In this the spirit of this labour sequence embodied in its songs and runes is dramatised in its setting of custom and history. The Gaelic version was prepared by the generous labours of James Thomson, M.A., Bayble, and the late Duncan Macdonald, M.A., Sandwick, Lewis.

642

642 CONSTITUTION--prevailing system governing the distribution of political power and authority; extent of agreement or disagreement between formal constitutional provisions and actual practice; rights, privileges, and powers assigned or delegated to each organ of government, including the power to alter their distribution; centralisation and diffusion of power; constitutional principles (e.g., separation of powers); temporary relaxations or extensions of political authority (e.g., interregnums, war powers); form of the state (e.g., empire, union, federal republic, U.N. trusteeships, colony proletcorate); form of rule (e.g., autocratic, oligarchic, aristocratic, theocratic, democratic); type of constitution (e.g., written, unwritten); framing and amending of constitutions; constitutional law; etc. See also:

Family authority 59
Authority within kin groups 61
Authority in the community 65
Law 67
Hierarchy of political officials 635
Political parties 645
Judicial authority 692
Political theory 829

APPENDIX III

23 good. In response to this realisation, and encouraged too by
33 the growth and prosperity of the tweed industry, the Lewis
Association sprang into being in 1942–43. The Association's
aims are survey, planning and the initiation of action for the
public welfare, economic, social and spiritual. Something
should be said of each of these bodies in turn.

23 The membership of the Town Council, Harbour Trust and
Stornoway Trust overlap, the Town being represented on both
33 Trusts. Indeed by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn
433 up by Leverhulme (in 1923–24), the Stornoway Trust must
361 include the Provost of the Burgh as its Chairman, together with
Magistrates and Councillors. For some time past the Provosts
and Councillors have been chosen from the more important
369 business men of the town. Indeed as a result of the constitu-
tion of the Stornoway Trust, urban interests and outlooks might
easily gain undue preponderance at the expense of rural needs.
Nevertheless two members with strong rural ties were elected
to the Trust in recent years.

In view of the growing burden of deficit, the Trust felt
unable to frame a general policy, still less to carry it into action.
To meet the deficit, the Trust sold portions of properties without
reference to any general plan of town or country. Even after
the Trust began to accumulate a favourable balance, hand-to-
mouth decisions continued to be made, undirected by any
clear policy. The most lamentable case occurred when a
garage site was given to the chief Stornoway bus proprietor at
a road junction near the western entrance to the town, close
to the principal new housing schemes and opposite the main
gate of Lews Castle and the Lady Lever Park. The palpable
mistake in siting soon caused strong public criticism. The
Trust repented, and sought to distrain the garage proprietor
(686) from extended use of the area. The parties went to law and
the case was fought through the courts until, in a final decision
reached in the House of Lords, the Trust lost and had to pay a
bill of some £4000. The lesson of defeat in the court was severe,
capped as it was by the equivalent of a fine of £4 or £5 from
every family in the burgh. Coming at a time when the need

APPENDIX III

623 for planning preceded by adequate survey became publicly
633 recognised, this crisis seems to have caused a change to con-
433 structive policy on the part of the Trust. It led to the election
361 of a new member of the Trust on a planning platform, and to a
general searching of heart and mind in the community.

(184) Meantime the movement for town planning which had
spread from the bombed cities to the rest of the country, led
to a closer co-ordination of planning aims between the Trust
and the Town Council, and there is real hope of progress in
collaboration with the County Council as the statutory planning
authority.

In brief, the opportunity arose for the Trust to frame
a comprehensive policy, one binding together the objects
separately listed in the Deed, "to promote the material and
social welfare of the community". The 'material' provisions
of the Deed allow for the promotion of industry—including
fishing, of course—of agriculture and afforestation, and of
communications by land, sea and air. Medical service is not
forgotten. The encouragement of social life and education is
foreseen, and bursaries may be provided to enable deserving
scholars to proceed to secondary schools and universities.

185 It is felt by far-sighted citizens that these aims should be
properly co-ordinated. Development of resources and social
life, they feel, could be combined with education and training
deliberately designed to equip young people to return to the
Island and use their capacities to serve their own community.
(311) Thus among the development schemes which have been
mooted are the reclamation of peat, the reclamation of the
sandy inlet just north of Stornoway, and local afforestation.
(871) All these technical jobs require training, at the levels of engineer
and skilled foreman or working hand. Bursaries might take
(168) the form of education for such rural tasks. The 'export' of
talent may be necessary when no outlet is possible at home,
but in the end it can drain away the community's youth.
Hence a policy for the return of talent is required. For fishing,
for industry and particularly for the weaving arts, training is
required in preparation for possible careers at home. Lastly

634

634 DISTRICTS--political organization of moderately extensive territories embracing a number of settlements or municipalities (e.g., a subtribe, an English or American county, a French department); governmental personnel (e.g., executive, advisory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection (e.g., appointment, election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority, prerogatives, functions, and activities associated with each position; etc.

Map A

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The Seven Crofting Counties of Scotland

634 The Outer Hebrides, a chain of islands over a
[131] hundred miles long which lie to the northwest of the Scottish mainland, are part of "Ross and Cromarty" and "Inverness," two of the seven crofting counties of Scotland (see Map A). The seven crofting counties
[103] (Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland) constitute the scenically beautiful but agriculturally marginal land often referred to as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.
101 The word "Highland" also refers to features of social
197 life such as crofting tenure, strong community feeling and Gaelic-speaking which are characteristic of many communities in both the Highlands and Islands as well as in cities such as Glasgow in which persons from the Highlands and Islands have settled. For example, a Gaelic speaker whose parents came from the Islands and settled in Glasgow may be called a "Glasgow Highlander." The first four crofting counties listed above have a large percentage of Gaelic speakers. In the national
[162] census of 1961, 82.3% of the 32,607 inhabitants of the Outer Hebrides were Gaelic speakers.

131 Lewis and Harris, a single body of land which is
133 sometimes referred to as two islands because the mountainous southern section called Harris differs markedly from the flat, northern moorland of Lewis, is the northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides (see Map B).

000 24,863 acres. The value of this boggy property, as
423 far as the landlords are concerned, is determined by
427 its fishing potential. The landlords generally reside
226 away from their property, and brave the buffeting gales several times a year to return to fish for trout and
[463] salmon. For the rest of the year they hire river-
[685] watchers to prevent their tenants from poaching. As
[171] in Wales (Emmett 1964), the islanders continue to poach, in part as an expression of their identity as independent countrymen, a minority group in a nation-state.

161 Lewis is the most populated area in the Outer
162 Hebrides, containing 21,934 of the 32,607 Outer Hebrideans
634 numbered in the 1961 census. It is part of the County of Ross and Cromarty, whose headquarters are on the
632 mainland near Inverness. Lewis has four administrative areas called civil parishes in which births, deaths and other vital statistics are recorded. Stornoway
[197] parish is the largest, containing the town of Stornoway on the east side of the island in which many non-Gaelic speakers live. Of the other three parishes, the largest
[162] is Barvas which stretches along the west side of the
[197] island and contains 4,331 persons, of whom 94.6% are Gaelic speakers. The people of Stornoway refer to someone
[186] from the west side as a <u>siarach</u> (west-sider), a term which connotes rusticity.

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642

[For information on the sale, purchase and ownership of
257-274.]

Lewis and Harris, see category 423, pp. 230-234;

CON

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ON
T FICHE

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[For information on the various commissions involved

in land tenure and its reform, see category 656.]

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

175 much of Britain and Europe until about 1700. A modern
511 parallel may be found in Asiatic lands with the frequency
162 of famines alternating with periods of recovery or, in others,
171 the long-drawn misery of chronic under-nutrition and endemic disease. In modern Europe, only international
[731] or civil war can now bring such extreme widespread misery. And as peace brings partial healing, so in the Island past, when good seasons returned after famines, the life of the family renewed itself.[1]

175 The narrow margin of survival even in good seasons,
593 the risks of the bread-winner's death and of his family's destitution, and the need of co-operation in so many tasks made the family too small, weak and precarious a unit to stand alone. Even with relatively little division (or specialisation) of labour, and in spite of its apparent self-sufficiency, the family had perforce to link itself with wider circles of community life.

(B) JOINT LABOUR BY SMALL TEAMS: THE EVIDENCE OF TENURE IN 1715–26

175 Romance is hidden among the rent-rolls of the Seaforth
241 estates, all of which were forfeited when the Earl rose for
427 'King James VIII' in 1715. For of the rents withheld from the government until 1720, on the mainland at least
• [642] the loyal clansmen paid a considerable portion to their
[613] exiled chief, styled 'Marquis' by 'King James'. But the

[1] The 'ups and downs' of a peasantry living on the margin of subsistence and subject to severe disease can be studied in India, 1871–1941, where the 'net' or mean change has to be correlated with the 'variability'.
[113] This wide problem was reviewed in a series of papers to 1948; "The Social and Psychological Significance of Variability in Regional Changes of Population", with examples taken from Indian villages. (A. Geddes, *Human Relations*, Vol. 1, 2, 1947–48; cf. *Geog. Rev.* 1942 and 1948; and *Geog. Journal*, 3, vol. 98, 1941).

175 might be thought) in cured fish. Here is a sample Deposi-
241 tion from Borve (W. Lewis), a township then composed of
427 five hamlet-farms, or 'pennylands', with their share of
436 outrun, peats and fishing grounds over the whole and known as Five-Penny Borve.

> Donald McGillimichaell, William McHomas, Gillichallum McCoilog, and John McConnell in five penny land of Borrow and Parish of Cladach afor[d] MAKE OATH severally that neither of them has any Tack of their possessions, But that each of them pay yearly to ye above Mr. Zachary McAuly for behoof of ye Countes (of Seaforth) for[d] Nyne Pounds Scots (*i.e.* 15/- sterling), Two Bolls one Lipie meall, Fifteen pound weight of Butter, and three-fourths of a mutton. Depone they and each of them are someqt in arrear but know not the Particullars, and this is ye truth as they and each of them shall answer to God, and depone they can't write.
>
> (Signed) DAVID BETHUNE
> (Sheriff Substitute of Ross).

175 The only point on which these good fellows must have
241 had to face qualms in 'answering to God' was their lapse
427 of memory as to 'Particullars of arrears'! None of the 222 small tenants could remember this! Although the
451 Chamberlain or Factor, Zachary MacAulay, denied it, he may have exhorted or compelled payment of rent in order
• [642] to forward it to the exiled 'Marquis'. Mainland rents
[613] were actually despatched to France from Leith in broad daylight under an armed guard of clansmen! At the same time, neither MacAulay nor the joint tenants were of Clan Kenneth, the MacKenzies. MacAulay himself was a man of high character—and a poet too—and not one to collect rents in order to embezzle them. His affirmation has the ring of truth, with little alloy. To the Government Commissioners he wrote that what made it impossible for Lewis peasant-fishers to have paid rent in full during civil war,

CHAPTER VI

CLANSHIP: PEOPLE, CHIEF AND TACKSMEN

(A) COMMUNAL EQUALITY AND LORDLY PRIVILEGE

175 THE equalitarian customs of hamlet and township
632 astonish many to whom the crofting villages are unknown and whose picture of the Gaelic past is
• 642 derived from tales of the 'Forty-five. The widespread
631 historic fact of lordship over a subject peasantry has obscured that of peasant-neighbourhood, more ancient, it would seem, and, in the Isles, still more enduring. The very existence of 'rural democracies' such as those just described has been doubted by certain scholars on the theoretic ground that they would be humanly unwork-
[614] able! Yet it is none the less true that the peasants as clansfolk gave loyalty to their chief. The fervent loyalty given to the exiled kinsmen-kings, the Stewarts, was a scarlet thread interwoven—or entangled—in the homespun
[533] web of community, of clanship. Wherever the Gaelic is spoken, the Jacobite songs are sung with passion, and their echo has gone round the world.

[171] So in the life of the Gael, without doubt—and in varying degree throughout Britain and the rest of Europe—we have to envisage a composite, perhaps a contradictory, state of things, in which communal equality is overlaid by

175 631 632 642 [171] [621]

lordly rank: a working, equalitarian democracy dominated by an aristocracy proudly refusing to work. The fascination of Gaelic community is, first, that its elements stand out so clearly, and, secondly, that links were forged in clanship which made its living chain, though heavy, a thing that shone with pride, and beauty too.

(B) CLANSHIP, COMMON DESCENT AND CLAN-HELP ('CUIDEACHY')

621 172 621 177 173 621 631 [177]

To what extent is it now possible to disentangle the two contrasted elements of the lord or chief and the farm-teams and townships? Prehistory is hard to unravel; but the successive waves of conquest flung upon the Island shores have left their jetsam, unmistakably. The circle of huts found near a broch or commanding *dùn* recalls the tenants' village grouped close to the castle of a chief, from early history down to the 'Forty-five, and suggests a primitive form of feudalism or of clanship. Traditions add their part. In Uist one may still hear the ancient heroic lays traditionally ascribed to Ossian, Oisean, son of Fionn or Fingal—lays of which Macpherson's sonorous prose gave free rendering. The Fingalian tales differ from the lays, being frankly fantastic. Lewis had its own cycle of Fingalian tales; examples are given by W. C. Mackenzie (1919). Both lays and legends tell of an aristocracy or warrior class, the Fenians, of their enjoyment of the chase, and of their relative comfort, with wealth in gold and silver, in banners and flowing mantles. The chase combined with riches implies the existence of a community to feed and clothe the huntsmen. The traditions of the Cuchulainn cycle, with closer approximation to historical and archaeological truth, tell the same tale. Historically, in-

175 614 577 621

principle of duty-right or *coir*. Further, in so far as chief and people claimed unity as the children, the clan, of one ancestor, they had crystallised a fair ideal, realised by an exchange of services ('cuideachy'). Gaelic clanship was not without its Lowland counterpart in 'kindness' which linked those of one 'kind'—'kinsfolk' and neighbours—to their ferm-toun and parish, to one another, and to the laird. Tyranny and betrayal by chief and laird make one share the bitterness of grief once felt as competition for scarce land broke up 'kindness'. Yet the people's endeavour and attainment in the past give hope for the future.

175 614 621 622 [642]

All have heard of the hereditary Highland chief and many have read of the gentlemen-farmers, but too few have heard of team and crew, and township-parliament. It is time we learned not only of the aristocratic chief but of the chosen helmsman and the democratic constable. So long as the fallacy is repeated that the Highlanders "never co-operated, and could not act together except under the orders of a chief", so long will it be easy to add, "and they never will"! Historic truth may have much to teach for the renewal of leadership for life together. And beyond the Highlands, the example of this aristo-democracy, at its worst and its best, may contribute to new concepts of community.

643

643 CHIEF EXECUTIVE--type of executive (e.g., paramount chief, king, president); plural executives (e.g., peace chief and war leader, king and chief priest, constitutional monarch and prime minister, triumvirate, executive council); authority (e.g., supreme, nominal, dependent upon personal qualities); prestige (e.g., sanctity of person, divine descent); functions (e.g., administrative, judicial, military, religious); prerogatives; symbols of office; mode of selection (e.g., by election, seniority, matrilineal or patrilineal succession); qualifications (e.g., age, sex, rank, wealth, prowess, piety); installation; termination of tenure (e.g., deposition, expiration of term, killing of divine king); etc. See also:

Executives and rule of succession in the family . 59
Executives and succession in kin groups 61
Dynastic lists and genealogies 173
Executives and succession in the community . . 623
Mortuary rites 764, 766

175 in the following two centuries as clan rivalry, with its claims and
[614] counter-claims for territorial and other rights, was predominant. Generally, what could not be taken by intermarriage was snatched by fiercer means.

Though these times generated a tradition of extraordinary richness, one must wonder what would have been the result had more attention been spared for the development of the island. Progress was retarded. The lawlessness was not worse than that endemic on much of the Scottish and English mainland or in Europe, but the island was of course more cut off from the gradual infiltration of civilising agencies and influences; at some times in its history it was found to be more than a century behind even the rest of Scotland.

MOVEMENTS TOWARD CIVILISATION

175 And what was the Scots Government in Edinburgh doing about
657 the Western Isles? In the Middle Ages, the answer is very little.
614 It had enough troubles of its own without endeavouring to police the clan warfare in that remote part of the kingdom; in any case the islands of the west were difficult to get to and probably best left alone. This attitude did not hold indefinitely. Once the semblance of peaceful conditions was established throughout the Scottish mainland, attention was duly focused further afield. In 1506 Stornoway Castle was beseiged and captured by the Earl of Huntly—the first time cannon and gunpowder were used in the Western Isles, and the first of a number of punitive expeditions arranged to bring the unruly clans to heel.

175 One of the leaders of disorder at this time was Roderic Mac-
657 Leod of Lewis, and it was to parley with him that no less a person
614 than James V decided to visit the island. In 1540 James, with
643 devastating swiftness, determined to quell these fighting chiefs once and for all, arrived to examine conditions on the spot. Titles to land were closely looked at and the equivalent of our 'small print' read carefully. All the chiefs who owned anything in the islands were forced to accompany the King on his tour of inspection. No doubt this close contact resulted in James becoming as fluent in the Gaelic language as his father had been in his time.

For Gaelic was still spoken in most parts of Scotland, and it was 175*
the language which the chiefs themselves understood to the last 657
fine shade. James's visit was followed by a period of unusual calm, 614
ensured by the detention of hostages; in Lewis, the brew of trouble 643 •
had been turned down to a simmer.

After the death of the chief of the Lewis MacLeods, Roderic, 175*
however, rival dynastic claims turned up the heat again. New- [614]
comers appeared on the scene: the MacKenzies of Kintail. Carefully they manipulated the events of history, indeed twisted them, until with the Crown on their side they had established beyond doubt that they were legally entitled to Lewis. In many ways, Lewis was fortunate in its new proprietor, Kenneth MacKenzie, Lord Kintail. Both he and his successor, Colin, the first Earl of Seaforth, were enlightened men, of different calibre from those they had displaced. They were in close contact with the immediate outside world, the emerging Scotland; and they were familiar with the amenities which that world offered. They were also aware of the needs of a community little removed from the early phases of cultural progress. In particular Seaforth, a man of ability and foresight, recognised, as did others before him, that the prosperity of the island had to be based on fish. He was also aware of the value of strong connections with Church and education. The Lewis historian, W. C. MacKenzie, writes:

> At the end of the seventeenth century, the picture we have of Lewis is that of a people pursuing their avocations in peace, but not in plenty. The Seaforths had been extravagant, and the people had to pay for their extravagances; they were politicians, and the people had to pay for their politics. Yet, it is clear that, besides establishing orderly Government in the island, they had done a good deal to rescue the people from the slough of ignorance and incivility in which they found themselves immersed. But in the sphere of economics their policy apparently was of little service to the community.

Under the Seaforths, Lewis became involved in external affairs. 175*
During the times of the Covenanting troubles, it sent a contingent 648
to the Battle of Auldearn, where the Covenanters were defeated by Montrose. At the Battle of Worcester, one of the two leaders of the thousand MacLeods taking part in that 'stiff fight' was

so literate as to have drawn up a bond, unaided and with a re- 175* 212
markable degree of legal precision.

It was not until Lewis belonged to the Seaforth family that 175*
anything in the nature of education generally came the way of 871
the common folk of the island. John Morison, a native of Lewis, who wrote about 1680, says:

> Onlie for the tyme the countris is possessed and saglie governed by the Earle of Seaforth, by whose industrious care and benevolence the people, formerly inclined to rudeness and barbarity, are reduced to civilitie, much understanding and knowledge by the flourishing schooll planted and maintained by the said Earle all the tyme in the toun of Stornoway. And not onlie the people of the Lews, but also those of the nixt adjacent Isles. The gentlemens sons and daughters are bred in that schooll to the great good and comfort of that people; so that there are few families but at least the maister can read and write: I do remember in my own tyme that there was not three in all the countrie that knew A. b. by A Bible.

Martin Martin mentions this Stornoway school as teaching both Latin and English. During the eighteenth century a school for teaching both these subjects with writing and arithmetic was established.

Martin also indicates that it was never considered necessary [562]
or desirable to educate girls, whether they were common folk or daughters of the upper classes, unless they were daughters of chiefs and next in line to succeed their father, there being no male issue before them. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, efforts were made to educate the children of the island. Parochial schools had by that time been established; the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge and the Gaelic School Society supported several. Clergymen of the period, however, claimed that the advantages of education were not appreciated; as a consequence, the schools were not well attended.

The SSPCK had its origins in 1701, when a few private gentlemen met in Edinburgh and resolved to establish schools in the Highlands and Islands, and to appeal to the public for subscriptions for the purpose. They had a fitful beginning, but Queen [643] •
Anne encouraged the scheme by royal proclamation and sub-

* 175 scriptions flowed in. In 1709 the Queen granted Letters Patent
871 under the Great Seal for erecting certain of the subscribers into
• [643] a corporation. Thus did the SSPCK come into being, with an initial capital fund of £1,000. Its progress was rapid. In 1711, it supported twelve schools; in 1795, 323 schools. In addition to paying the teachers' salaries, the Society supplied the children with school books, established public libraries in various parishes, and defrayed the expenses of printing Gaelic Bibles and other books.

Harris here enters in an interesting sideline. In the records of
[217] the Presbytery of Mull, 1730, it is reported that 'Mr M'Aula . . . carried off the library to Harris, because he was not paid for his expenses in bringing them [the books of the Society] to Coll.' This MacAulay was the great-grandfather of the English man of letters, Lord MacAulay.

The Gaelic School Society was founded in 1811 and existed until 1892. It supported a large number of schools, as the desire for education had exceeded the capacity of the SSPCK. In 1796
[874] there were two schools and a spinning school in the parish of Stornoway. The minister of Barvas, writing in that year, says
[794] that there had not been a parochial school in that parish for many years, but that there was a Society school at Ness, attended by about twenty pupils, instead of treble that number had all the
[874] children been made to attend. The minister of Uig stated that three spinning schools were established there by Lady Seaforth, but he does not refer to ordinary schools in his parish at that time.
[794] According to the minister of Lochs, a parochial school was built there in 1795, and a Society school some three years earlier.

By the middle of the nineteenth century matters had improved considerably, though there were still complaints that education was not appreciated. In fact, education tended to be discouraged
[829] for a very practical reason. Back in 1811 an observer in the island stated in his report that the great mass of the Lewis people would not send their children to school. 'When reproached on this head they answer "If we give them education, they will leave us."' Seventy-two years later (1883), the Napier Commission was told that 'Sir James (Matheson) supported and contributed to seventeen schools in the Island, many of which he built with teachers'

rocks about intrusions or dykes of more resistant crinanite. Second, the better nature of the soil derived from the weatherings of the sandstones and conglomerates has aided reclamation and cultivation.

In the long years of its existence the town has been a focal point of island history, fanning out to many corners of the world, where it has been merged with the wider history of Britain, the Commonwealth and elsewhere. Detached as it was from the rest of Scotland by the Minch, Lewis often went its own way. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when England and Sweden plotted against the Scottish crown, the emissaries of these countries met in Stornoway. Later, in April 1719, a council of war was held in a room in Stornoway to plan the overthrow of the Hanoverian dynasty of Britain; included in the assembly were the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Tulibardine, George Keith, the hereditary Earl Marshal of Scotland, and his younger brother James, who was to become the famous Marshal Keith. Prince Charles Edward, though not setting foot in the town, looked at its twinkling lights from across the Bay, at Arnish, while his pilot tried to obtain a boat to take the royal fugitive to France.

The harbour has seen many kinds of ships on its waters. In the twenties, the *Metagama*, the *Marloch*, and the *Canada* came to take away almost a generation of young Lewis folk to the new lands across the seas, because their own island could not support them. The *Iolaire* sank within sight and sound of the harbour mouth and dragged about 200 Lewismen with her into an island memory. The *Cervona*, of Dundee, dropped her anchor just by Arnish lighthouse in July 1904, carrying survivors from the emigrant ship *Norge*, sunk at Rockall with appalling loss of life. The *Victoria and Albert* visited Stornoway in September 1902, the first visit to the town by a reigning monarch. That was a great day, the result of a letter from Provost Anderson of Stornoway in which he pointed out to His Majesty, King Edward, that with less than 30,000 inhabitants Lewis had 2,300 men in the Royal Naval Reserve, trained at the local Battery, the largest in Britain. There were also 1,100 men in the Seaforth & Cameron Militia, all of whom volunteered for foreign service in 1899, and 900 of whom did garrison duty in Egypt. Between 300 and 400 Lewis-

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644 EXECUTIVE HOUSEHOLD--executive residence and domestic establishment; guards, servants, and retainers; court personnel (e.g., number, characteristics, mode of selection, activities, prerogatives); court etiquette and ceremonial; special status and functions of executive's relatives; etc. See also:

Public buildings	344	Royalty as a social class	566
Manipulative mobility	557	Palace intrigue	662

with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1294. Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness. The following year, 1295, saw the commencement of "the three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King Alexander III, "that Scotland led in luve and law", peace within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing Gaelic Christian traditions and Scoto-Norman arts. After his death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars can tell me, this almost unnoticed monument remains unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement, were shattered by invasions, and Gaelic tradition was only to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all time, we have become.

At the approach of death God's mercy and peace were sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[2] In early times confession seems to have been made as willingly to the 'Soul-friend', followed by Benediction. When death had come, the mourners sang of sleep and home. In Lewis today funerals are conducted in silence to the graveside, where the last service is held; but

[1] *A unique medieval tomb at Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.)

[2] It would be of deep interest to compare the attitudes to death found in 'Spiritual Songs' by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs on death which, though maybe of post-Reformation date, are of Roman Catholic origin (*e.g.* in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, poems on the Day of Judgment, and of Wrath; on age and on death; and on Purgatory: pp. 31, 85, 146; 34, 19, 21; 27). Some have much in common, both by virtue of the earlier traditions they shared and still more because of parallel trends of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Cf. *Carmina*.

646

646 PARLIAMENT--presence of deliberative or legislative bodies; type (e.g., council of headmen, popular assembly, oligarchical junta, elective legislature); number of houses (e.g., unicameral legislature, bicameral congress, three estates); membership qualifications; selection (e.g., appointment, election, succession); principle of representation; tenure (e.g., life, term, until deposed or recalled); powers and prerogatives; functions (e.g., advisory, legislative); organization; procedure (e.g., introduction, debating, passage of bills); special legislative provisions (e.g., executive veto, judicial review, popular referendum); etc. See also:

Comparable bodies in subordinate political divisions	63	Comparable bodies in the community	623
		Electoral process	666
		Statute law	671

175 which heartened them for resistance in common against
829 landlord and State, both in the agitation for reform of the Land Laws during the next ten years and in their demands for 'the return' of sheep farms to crofting, which continued until all these were divided soon after 1919 and the ex-Servicemen's return.

175 Expenditure of capital in Lewis during more than a generation, from the purchase of the estate in 1844 down
423 to the death of Sir James in 1878, helped to maintain the
• 646 people and provide relief in bad seasons. It left Lewis greatly improved in roads and paths, in sea communica-
175 tions and in buildings of various sorts. Two real efforts had been made to utilise Lewis peat, industrially for paraffin
646 oil, and agriculturally by reclamation. Given the resources
311 and knowledge of a century ago, these attempts did their
[161] initiator credit. Yet failure left the Islanders to continue crofting without either an additional occupation or the extension of croft land, even at the high population density (per acre of arable) which Matheson had found on his purchase in 1844.

175 Subdivision of crofts was the first result. A father
423 would simply divide his croft between himself and a son, who might not even be entered on the rent-roll of the estate, and the two would inevitably need more stock than before upon the common. The second result was simply 'squatting': the building of a house, perhaps with a tiny kailyard, on a piece of the 'skinned' land. As building went on overcrowding old sites, filth accumulated and springs were contaminated, crofting was hindered and cows became fewer per family, in spite of overstocking. By 1886 about two-thirds the number of the cottars and squatters found in 1914 were already in occupation. In 1914 there were over 3000 statutory crofts in Lewis, their

from the necessity of daily calls at the
but the drivers serve the function of pas
day at each stop.

Standing in the place of many of th
outlets which have disappeared or been mo
religious occasions for joining together
have found the Sgiathanach to be very rel
expected to go to church on the Sabbath,
church. Irregular attendance soon become
neighbors, the kirk elders, and the minis
what one's neighbors may think, in itself
factor, is reinforced by a forbidding fea
old men may do whenever an opportunity pr
are Wednesday night prayer meetings for f
course. Above all, there are the semi-an
except in Sleat and Strath and one Bracad
gether the people of the kirk, the member
other neighborhoods, and affiliates of th
the mainland. Even the adherent, the ind
experienced a saving change because he is
takes his vacation, if he is employed, at
Communions in order to attend.

The decline in interpersonal religi
meen that strong personal sentiments are
other than the eccentric, is indifferent
others with whom he may have dealings. T
village cousin may not bother to vote, bu
and freely discuss their representatives.

post office and shop, 182
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igious. Everyone is [796]
and everyone goes to
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a strong motivating
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s of the same sect from
e denomination from
ividual who has not
not old enough, normally
the time of the

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not present. No one, 571 203
to his neighbors or
he crofter and his [646]
t they closely watch [666]
Gossip has retained

647

647 **ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES**--special bureaus, institutions, boards, and commissions charged with conducting the activities of the state; responsibility (e.g., to chief executive, to cabinet officers, to parliament); organization, personnel, and authority of each agency; civil service; bureaucracy and its characteristics; public administration; etc. See also:

Comparable agencies in subordinate political divisions 63
Activities of these agencies 65
Government officials as an occupational class. . 463
Comparable agencies in the community 624
Administrative law 671

175 the legal re
654 'township
in common
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1886–1911.
[647] mission. T
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cognition, improvement and enlargement of the
', defined as a farm, or part of a farm, occupied
or division by several tenants, three or more in
The executive officer of the township, the Con-
to be elected annually by the community.
rofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 did
ree of the chief recommendations made, but the
ecognition of the township, was omitted. The
ct gave security of tenure, compensation for
nts, and some facilities for enlargement of hold-
urity was perpetual and could be passed on by
within his family, though renounceable by him
year's notice, upon fair statutory conditions.
conditions were payment of rent, fair mainten-
e holding, and respect of agreements with the
Although this was not a recommendation of
ssion, the Act also provided for official revision
A 'fair rent' was to be proportionate to the
the croft, and this, together with the value for
nts, was to be fixed on application to a body
e Commissioners, 'the Crofters Commission'.
etween 1887 and 1912 this brought a lowering
al by over a quarter and the cancelling of two-
rrears accumulated earlier. The rental for a
s to be below £30; this figure was raised to
1, except in Lewis, where £30 remained the
der to allow the excessive congestion to be
division even of small farms.
ssing of the Small Landholders' Act of 1911
the code known as the Landholders' Acts,
The Land Court replaced the Crofters' Com-
The Department (then still the Board) of Agri-
k over the powers of the Congested Districts

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

159 conclusion—undoubtedly a sound one—that the most
433 effective action for commercial fisheries (as then known)
228 must be taken at one Island centre, Stornoway. As a direct result he considered how to feed the growing town, in particular how to give its children fresh milk. He saw the farms round Broad Bay ready to be turned to high-class dairy farms, if capitalised, and for this purpose they were swiftly scheduled in his mind.

159 "His early days were happy ones"—wrote his son—
433 "but they were not to last for long. He encountered the first obstacle on his path in the late summer of 1918, when
423 the Scottish Board of Agriculture declared its intention to
[647] take over the few remaining farms in the Island for crofts." By this declaration the Board spoke for many Islesmen in the Forces. The voices of Servicemen, not those of either a Government or a philanthropic millionaire, counted over-
[727] whelmingly, on the Island and beyond. When the war was over and the men came home, many set about examining their boats and fitting them up with motors, and in a few months the evening's departure for the fishing from Stornoway had lost some of the picturesqueness of the old, stately procession of sail moving out to the Minch at sunset, but had gained in efficiency as the motorised boats went puffing out to find the shoals, sure of return without delay after the catch was hauled in. Yet fishing was still precarious: there might be no catch, and even if there were, prices were a gamble. Hence many a cottar-fisherman wished to ensure a home for himself and applied for a croft, with his eyes on the farms. Farms were few, and not enough to go round more than some 10 to 15 per cent of squatters and cottars. Still, a promise is a promise: the farms were there, why not have them and be done with it? Knowing this feeling in the Island, aware of its support

(c) House-building. — From 1920 to 1940 the Department of

APPENDIX I

647 Agriculture advanced loans for the erection of 760 new houses
654 and the repair of 220 other houses. This, with the erection
746 or repair of 40 steadings, may be taken as the equivalent of
362 1000 houses in the 20 years of peace, of which three-fourths
356 were new. Rural building was at its height in the early 'thirties,
but 1938 was a typical year. Taking the value of each house
as £600 and subtracting half for imported materials, we may
434 assume that for 50 houses built that year the labour given
362 produced an output of £15,000. In addition, some house-
356 building and repair was done without State aid, for which a
guess of £15,000 may be made. Such sums may not appear
[435] large, but they correspond to the enduring fulfilment of a prime
need, a 'real wage', of importance when compared to rents
and costs elsewhere. Of the expenditure on house-building
in Stornoway burgh during 1938, the value may be assessed as
£10,000, of which £9000 was for Local Authority housing.
Most of the total was produced by local labour.

(iii) *Fishing Industry—Net Output and Earnings*

434 (*a*) For 1938 the total catches, prices and quantities of
228 fresh cured fish landed in Stornoway District show a value of
nearly £100,000 (£98,000) for the herring catch, and of £162,400
for the cured herring. Our problem is to estimate what fraction
of these sums may be included in the net output of the Island
[127] industry proper. The Fishery Board's *Statistical Tables* and
Annual Report extract the produce brought in by local boats
from the total, separating it from that due to 'strangers', and
so permitting a fairly reliable estimate, checked by local enquiry.

228 Of the herring taken, nearly 80 per cent were caught in the
summer fishing, June to August (*Annual Report*, p. 13). The
501 week of maximum local activity in herring fishing for Stornoway
District may be taken to be characteristic of this pre-war period
(Table 8). There were then 111 steam-boats engaged; and as
only five were locally registered (at Stornoway itself), the
remaining 106 were strangers. There were also 66 motor-
boats engaged and though 81 motor herring-boats are locally

C. Geddes K-4,6 (1919-1932) 1933 £310 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 Board, created in 1897 to develop agriculture, fishing and
671 home industries, to form new holdings, to assist migration,
427 and to provide public works such as roads, bridges and
[647] piers. These powers were further extended by the Land Settlement (Scotland) Act of 1919, passed to provide land for ex-Servicemen.[1]

The Crofters' Act granted to the individual crofter most of the rights advocated by the Napier Commission, and other advantages besides, but it did not impose upon him the corresponding duties. As Day wrote, "The landlord was compelled to act in the interests of the crofter; the crofter was not compelled to act in his own interest". [632] The Act discarded the core of the Napier Commission's scheme, that of "a recognised local community, the township, with an executive officer, the Constable, working for the improvement of the township, by fencing, draining and other works, with the assistance of the proprietor", the whole scheme enforceable by "legal compulsion on either [829] side". As a Gael might say, the Act discarded *duty-right* of members of the community to one another.

175 As a result, peace did not descend upon the Island at
423 once. The demand for land continued, followed up by attempts to settle upon it, in spite of police and armed force.
[668] A legal victory was to be pressed home. In Lewis the

[113] [1] A useful summary of the legislation is given by the Scot. Econ. Committee's Report, 1938, pp. 17-21, and a searching review in J. P. Day's *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918, a work of real social insight.

The Act of 1919 is still the main enactment under which land settlement schemes may be undertaken in Scotland; but the Agriculture (Scotland) Act 1948 included new provision to allow the creation of holdings up to 75 acres in extent and £150 in rental. After the Second World War a more cautious policy was adopted in regard to settlement of ex-Servicemen and little progress has been made in carrying out schemes, despite many unfulfilled applications in the Hebrides and elsewhere where the demand for crofts exceeds the supply.

some whose feelings and interests opposed emigration. Free Church ministers foresaw that the beliefs they had introduced would be shaken by travel; and their income, like that of the merchants, would have disappeared as a result of depopulation. The Congested Districts Board, however, sponsored two schemes of colonisation in 1888–89. In the first scheme thirty families, and in the second, fifty families were taken to Canada, mostly from the Island.[1] The first and smaller group repaid their loans and received their lands; but the second failed to do so, and the State was only reimbursed by sale of the land.

The story of the schemes suggests the lack of four elements needed for success: promptitude in organisation; sympathy with strictness, and a sufficiency of funds; a year's experience of new conditions or technical guidance, rather than segregation of the inexperienced without leadership; and choice of vocation as farmer or as farm servant. Many a crofter-emigrant has succeeded as a shepherd and farm hand or as an independent farmer; but not every Islesman, particularly a cottar or landless squatter, is fit to conduct a farm. Technically, an all-round experience of part-time crofting and fishing by rule of thumb does not train a man for farming in a new environment without even a year's apprenticeship. Success is possible in schemes which overcome initial difficulties by providing training, companionship and community life, in a suitable physical environment.

One further principle of communal life was the spiritual, which Parliament and administration failed to grasp. The most significant evidence in the Napier Commission was that of A. Carmichael; and from this the Commissioners

[1] J. P. Day, 1918, pp. 123-125, from Reports of Congested Districts Board, and Crofters and Colonisation Commissioners (Fifteenth Report).

APPENDIX II

2110. The acreage under potatoes declined steadily: 3940, 3730, 1650. Barley dwindled from 2350 acres to 1340, and 130. Turnips reached a maximum of 510 acres in 1939, but were not worth noting by 1953. These crop acreages reflect the change in stock-rearing, with the decline in the number of cattle but the great increase in the number of sheep. Taking the three successive totals for 1918, 1939 and 1953, cattle numbered 13,620, 9060 and 6540 head; but this diminution by more than half was chiefly due to the small number of bullocks reared. Cows and heifers, 7650 in 1918, still stood at about 4500 in 1953, and they are now of far better quality in weight and milk production. The totals of sheep were successively, 78,150, 114,330, 185,860; by use of mainland rams their average weight has increased, while the wool is rather more abundant but coarser. Taking the Lewis Association's equivalent of 1 cattle beast to 8 sheep, the livestock carry increased by nearly 25 per cent; and if we add the increased value of the cattle the livestock increase counts for very much more. Horses, it is true, fell to 380 by 1953; as before, most had been bought in from Uist, not bred. Hence a new charge on agriculture, the purchase and use of the 65 tractors owned by farmers and crofters, and their running costs, is relatively less heavy than it would be in a horse-breeding area. The poultry are still deplorably few: 86,460, or about 20 per croft.

The Table on p. 316 sums up the conditions, apparently somewhat stabilised for the time being, parish by parish, and invites comparison with Chapter II, pp. 67-68.

(b) and (c) *Peat-making and House-building.*—While *peat-cutting* is still important, more coal is used than formerly, and hence the peat is valued here much as in 1938. *Housing* is most important; Local Authority housing by the Burgh struggles to meet the need of a growing urban and 'suburban' population as in other towns in Britain, but with an additional "remote area subsidy" to meet mainland contractors' extra costs. There is little truly rural housing by the County Council and rents are too high for the houses to be fully occupied. The figures for Stornoway Burgh for the ten years 1945–54 exceed

APPENDIX II

300 houses, with nearly 30 built by "private enterprise"; in addition the Local Authorities built 140 in the immediate 'suburbs' (of which 50 were temporary), a total of over 470 and an average of, say, 47. Another 115 were built in the rural townships. If we give a round total of £125,000 as the value

	Barvas	Lochs	Stornoway	Uig	Lewis Total	Harris
Holdings						
Full-time	5	12	8	21	49	34
Part- and spare-time	1,050	580	1,160	630	3,420	510
June 1953 (acres)						
Oats	2,080	520	1,220	900	4,730	710
Potatoes	550	180	450	260	1,440	210
Tillage	2,860	730	1,810	1,196	6,590	1,280
Rotation Grass	580	300	690	290	1,850	260
Permanent Grass	2,870	2,460	3,250	3,150	11,730	4,030
Grass	3,450	2,760	3,940	3,440	12,580	4,290
Rough Grazing	93,580	107,180	56,480	111,250	368,490	111,170
(head)						
Cattle	1,350	860	1,330	1,360	4,900	1,640
Sheep	38,110	37,810	23,670	42,690	142,280	43,580
Pigs	10	2	110	3	130	..
Poultry	25,370	9,880	25,910	13,060	74,220	12,240
Horses	180	25	60	60	320	60
February 1954						
Tractors	24	4	24	5	57	8

for an average year (such as 1953) for Local Authority Housing, we may allot half this to net output of local materials and to wages earned by Lewismen, some £65,000, of which rural wages were a small fraction, say £20,000.

For crofters and cottars, however, in 1953, a fairly typical year, there was much local effort and achievement, by help of 180 loans and grants from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, totalling £81,000 for new houses or house improvements (with a very few steadings). £80,000 may be allotted to local materials and to labour paid or given by householders themselves.

6

648 INTERNATIONAL RE
states; relations betw
foreign policy (e.g.,
and breaking diploma
matic); specialized p
tary attachés, consul
of consuls and diplom
sages; negotiation of
trade agreements; e
national conventions;
tween states (e.g., a
national political org
politics; peacetime
War . . . . . .
Codes and ciphers . . .
Foreign trade . . . . .
Travel . . . . . .
International sports . .

48

LATIONS--traditional friendships and rivalries with other
veen sovereign and dependent powers; determination of
influence of domestic affairs); establishing, maintaining,
tic relations; foreign services (e.g., consular, diplo-
ersonnel (e.g., ambassadors, chargés d'affaires, mili-
s); prerogatives (e.g., diplomatic immunity); activities
ats; transmission of intelligence and diplomatic mes-
treaties, military alliances, foreign aid programs and
conomic sanctions (e.g., embargoes); adherence to inter-
international law; peaceful settlement of disputes be-
rbitration, special peace tribunals); relations with inter-
anizations (e.g., United Nations); international power
spionage; etc. See also:

	72	Behavior toward strangers and aliens	609
	202	Informal intergroup justice	628
	439	Dependencies	636
	484	Punishment of espionage	687
	542		

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Early Scotland ES6

[For information on the early history of the islands of Lewis and Harris prior to 1603, with particular emphasis on foreign relations, immigration and clans, see ES10 Highland Scots, 2: Thompson, Category 116, pp. 31-44.]

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

648 Scottish crofting townships in the Outer Hebrides,
014 in which I did anthropological fieldwork for fourteen
months in 1970-71, participate extensively in the
political, educational, economic and administrative
181 systems of larger British society. Despite this partici-
pation, the township presents various anomalous features,
i.e., features which are inconsistent with what we would
expect given our conceptions of the conditions of a
modern, urban-industrial nation-state. The expectation
that township members will manifest values and beliefs
congruent with those prevalent in larger British society,
and that patterns of economic specialization and
individualization will be found among persons working
in the available industries, is not fulfilled. Crofters
continue to work small plots of land and engage in
communal township activities even while employed by
large industrial firms. Distinct patterns of value and
belief persist, and are evident even in the use of new
ideas and material goods.

121 This thesis attempts to describe and interpret
the seemingly anomalous survival of crofting and crofting

241 continuing investment in crofting activities is the
654 availability of various subsidies which, in the form
of fencing grants, calf subsidies, and so on, are
available to other agriculturalists as well as to
crofters. The certainty of support which subsidy offers
is important in the decision-making of crofters because
of their generally fluctuating, low-level income, in
contrast to the decision-making of farmers who keep
sheep or cattle on a large scale. The latter are likely
to be more affected by market prices. Many Lewis crofters
648 indicate that they would hesitate to support Britain's
entry into the European Economic Community, despite the
higher level of prices for beef, because their subsidies
might be jeopardized. Subsidies can be important as
incentives for specialized production, but do not them-
selves sustain crofting as a socioeconomic pattern.
178 And in general, despite the incentives, all agricultural
production is declining in the face of more appealing
alternatives available to the emerging generations.

178 A decline in township communalism, or an increase
241 in the individuation of agricultural practices, is
496 another index of change in economic strategy. The
fencing of individual land and purchase of personal
farming machinery are everyday occurrences in the life

175 On one of the crofts along the strand are the
228 ruins of two curing houses, where the fish were salted
348 and dried. Ling, cod, skate and halibut were cured
439 and sold to local merchants for export. "The same as
171 they do in Iceland this very day. That was the main
175 industry. Then the English came with their steam
648 trawlers; they ruined the fishing here, and then went
228 west to Iceland and the Faroes. In Iceland they get
fined for poaching, but here the trawlers often ignore
433 the three-mile limit. But the fishing was the mainstay
here, before the Harris Tweed came along."

175 One man returned from sailing in 1932 and bought a
228 boat for L24. He had 32 lobster pots, and made L7 one
435 June by selling the lobsters at a shilling apiece.
501 Another man, who returned from the United States in 1934
454 because of the depression, bought a share in a 14-foot
491 boat. It was made in Ness, at the northern tip of Lewis,
434 and cost about L14. He and his partners went out every
night possible; the fish provided an important part of
their income. The boat was sold in the 50's. "It wasn't
175 being kept up anyway." Around World War II there were as
228 many as twenty boats; men fished at night, after a day's
501 work. Today there are four 12-foot boats in Shawbost,
178 each shared by four or five men. The boats are used
501 intensively for fishing during certain times of the year,
228

233 829 648 654 Most of these people look askance at the idea of Britain joining the European Economic Community. "If the Common Market comes, that means no more subsidy for livestock. That'll mean the end of crofting. They'll get good prices for their beef, but feeding stuff will be very expensive."

"I don't know much about the Common Market, but I'm against it. They'll do away with the subsidies. If it weren't for the subsidies, most people just wouldn't bother with cattle and sheep; it wouldn't be worth their while, the feeding stuff is getting so [246] expensive. The people here used to take in a hundred bags or so of potatoes to feed the stock. But the climate is so bad you don't know what kind of a return you're going to get, and the work is so hard it just isn't worth the bother, so people prefer to buy feeding stuff. And if you spend more on feeding your animals than you get for them, what's the use? Of course we've been here all our lives. It would be hard to leave. But if the weaving goes--"

"I was talking to my cousin in Glasgow. He says the cattle are going to be the big thing with the Common Market. The price of beef is going to go up. I don't think people here can keep cattle if they don't get the subsidy. They can't keep enough cattle, and they can't be sure of a good price every year."

175 261 [132] [443] During a huge snow-fall that occurred on Lewis in the 1950's, the mobile grocery vans and other supply vehicles could not come out to the west side, and a group of men had to make an expedition into town for provisions, after which many families made certain that they always had a good supply of meal, salted [404] mackerel and herring. Many villagers have gotten deep [365] freezers to store beef and mutton; others say they do not trust the freezers, that a failure in electricity--which occasionally happens in this region of gales and far-away repairmen--would bring disaster if they depended fully on them for keeping their meat. When the tweed 458 226 industry is going through one of its periodic depressions, more men go out more often to fish. "I've been going out every night for the last week or so. I don't have a tweed, and I won't have one for the next six weeks. I don't know what I'm going to do; maybe I'll go back to sea. Three of us caught one hundred mackerel last [251] night. I salted my share, and didn't give any of them away. These are the hard times. We're going to need them during the next six weeks."

233 [654] A few people raise beef cattle, depending largely on subsidies for encouragement to do so. A few are [234] beginning to keep cows again for milk, giving as their [435] reasons that freight charges make the bottled milk too [434] • [648]

233 234 435 434 • 648 costly, that the Common Market will soon drive up milk prices, and that income from the weaving has become too uncertain.

412 178 Many tools and techniques associated with crofting have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (two pieces of wood joined with leather); the sheepskin stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate chaff and grain; rope made of plaited heather and straw. 241 Each spring the byre was cleaned of its accumulated dung [221] and urine, and this was turned into the ground along [237] with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among [824] the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be [173] mobilized under changed conditions, as when alternatives [887] to crofting are no longer available or are too costly. However, the longer crofting is neglected, the less it will provide an alternative strategy. "The artificial 241 824 fertilizers are ruining the land; that's why the turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to [233] water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and streams--rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep--the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather work the land than the blinkin' loom, but we tried the potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

241 178 Crofting constitutes a dormant strategy which can be mobilized if deterioration of land has not proceeded too far, and if the skills of land use are not lost by succeeding generations who have grown up in an environment which presented them with more appealing strategies.

B. Social Marginality

166 464 1. Linguistic Distinctiveness: Social marginality began when the Highlander had to leave his place of origin and go to the cities of the south in search of [197] employment. The feature which most distinguished him was his Gaelic speech.

101 186 In Glasgow the common word for Highlander is "teuchter," a slang word with derogatory implications • 648 which, according to one theory, developed when Gaelic speakers coming into English-speaking cities mispronounce the word "sugar" so that it sounded like "teuchter." [829] (Glasgow Highlanders have developed their own defensive explanation: when the civilized Highlanders came down among the uneducated barbarians of the south, they came as tutors, a word which their uneducated Lowland pupils mispronounced.) According to a university student from the islands, the word was once used by the English to refer to the Scottish Lowlanders.

575 organization receives a large proportion of its funds
197 from the Scottish Education Department, whose statutory
186 duty is to foster the speaking of Gaelic in Gaelic-
[659] speaking areas. In 1970-71 a series of evening meetings were sponsored by An Comunn in Stornoway; but the serious meetings, such as readings of Gaelic poetry, were attended largely by schoolmasters.

Associations which sponsor Highland dancing and the opportunity to get together with other Gaelic speakers thrive in Glasgow, London, Toronto and Detroit, everywhere
• [648] but in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands. Such associations serve important functions in situations of interaction between Gaelic speakers and members of the dominant society; they provide identity and self-defense against those who react to them as members of a lower-status minority group.

535 A girl who teaches Gaelic in Glasgow and comes home
186 to the island only for holidays never goes to the island
648 dances, but loves going to the dances sponsored by the Lewis and Harris Society in Glasgow. All the young people from the islands come, and dance away accumulated insults in a fiery sense of belonging.

464 A girl who worked in hotels on the mainland found
197 herself speaking Gaelic with her fellow workmates who
186 came from Lewis or other Gaelic-speaking areas, although
571

172

Artist's impression of some of the twelfth-century walrus-ivory chess pieces found at Uig in 1831

as beaker ware, from its distinctive shape, were recovered. The diet of these early Harris folk appears to have been largely shellfish, particularly limpets. The house of the latest period is ruined; three courses of walling were revealed.

103 Placenames have often been a mirror of history. The biggest
• 648 event in Harris and Lewis's history was the Norse invasion, commemorated in the names of many townships that still exist: Ness (nes, headland), Arnish (Ari's ness), Erisort (Eri's firth), Carloway (Karli's bay). But the Gaelic is there too: Loch Shell (Sealg, chase or hunt, thus endorsing Dean Monro's statement that this loch bordered a deer-forest), and similar topographical features. While the Norse names are to be found on the island coasts (the bosts and stads), the Gaelic names are largely found in the interior (eg, Airidhs—sheilings).

FIRE AND SWORD

FIRE AND SWORD

ecorded history begins with the Icelandic sagas. In 1098 Magnus releg plundered Lewis and devastated the island with both fire d sword. A skald named Bjorr Cripplehand, who accompanied agnus on the expedition, reported that 'Fire played in the fig-es of Liodhus; it mounted up to heaven. Far and wide the ople were driven to flight. The fire gushed out of the houses.' e *Irish Annals* tell us that Skye was pillaged by the Norse in 4, and no doubt Lewis did not escape their attentions, then or rlier. Towards the end of the ninth century a stream of Norse k left their homes to start the work of colonisation. Iceland, e Faroes, the Orkneys, the Shetlands and the Hebrides soon came thriving communities in which the earlier native popula-n were as thralls, serving ruthless masters.

By about AD 1000, the island, with others as far south as Man, s in the sure and steady grip of men of Scandinavian or semi-andinavian origin, who were destined to become premier ns such as Clan Donald. It was not until the Battle of Largs in 63 that this grip was loosened. In 1266 the Western Isles ere ceded by Norway to Scotland, following which event the elic people and their former Norse masters were soon to be erged in the marriage bed. As for the common language, it was e Celtic elements which took over after, one supposes, some nerations of suppression. The result in any case was a highly dividual people, strong in character, and resilient enough to ke the rough times with the smooth.

In the thirteenth century, Harris was in the possession of the acLeods of Harris, and Lewis belonged to three powerful clans: e Morisons in Ness, the MacAulays in Uig, and the MacLeods Lewis in the remainder of the island. Other smaller clans were e MacIvers, the MacRaes, and the Nicolsons. The Harris Mac-eods were allied by kinship to the Lewis MacLeods, though the lationship was to become quite distant—and their destiny more rtunate. History from this time is one of disputes, internecine arfare, murders, and similar crises deemed to be of the highest portance by the clans, both inside the island and between the anders and strangers. An enormous amount of blood was spilled

MOVEMENTS TOWARDS CIVILISATION

For Gaelic was still spoken in most parts of Scotland, and it was the language which the chiefs themselves understood to the last fine shade. James's visit was followed by a period of unusual calm, ensured by the detention of hostages; in Lewis, the brew of trouble had been turned down to a simmer.

After the death of the chief of the Lewis MacLeods, Roderic, however, rival dynastic claims turned up the heat again. New-comers appeared on the scene: the MacKenzies of Kintail. Carefully they manipulated the events of history, indeed twisted them, until with the Crown on their side they had established beyond doubt that they were legally entitled to Lewis. In many ways, Lewis was fortunate in its new proprietor, Kenneth MacKenzie, Lord Kintail. Both he and his successor, Colin, the first Earl of Seaforth, were enlightened men, of different calibre from those they had displaced. They were in close contact with the immediate outside world, the emerging Scotland; and they were familiar with the amenities which that world offered. They were also aware of the needs of a community little removed from the early phases of cultural progress. In particular Seaforth, a man of ability and foresight, recognised, as did others before him, that the prosperity of the island had to be based on fish. He was also aware of the value of strong connections with Church and education. The Lewis historian, W. C. MacKenzie, writes:

> At the end of the seventeenth century, the picture we have of Lewis is that of a people pursuing their avocations in peace, but not in plenty. The Seaforths had been extravagant, and the people had to pay for their extravagances; they were politicians, and the people had to pay for their politics. Yet, it is clear that, besides establishing orderly Government in the island, they had done a good deal to rescue the people from the slough of ignorance and incivility in which they found themselves immersed. But in the sphere of economics their policy apparently was of little service to the community.

Under the Seaforths, Lewis became involved in external affairs. During the times of the Covenanting troubles, it sent a contingent to the Battle of Auldearn, where the Covenanters were defeated by Montrose. At the Battle of Worcester, one of the two leaders of the thousand MacLeods taking part in that 'stiff fight' was

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Norman MacLeod, of Bernera, Harris. The result of the Seaforth family becoming involved in royalist activities was that Lewis was occupied by a Cromwellian garrison. Their station was close by old Stornoway Castle, now a heap of rubble under Stornoway's modern quays; and later a fort was built from the stones of the Castle, broken down by the English. The affair of the 'Fifteen', 1715, again brought Lewis into prominence. And a considerable part of the force raised for the Earl of Mar was recruited there. Four years later, plans for yet another Rising were hatched out at Seaforth Lodge, near where Lews Castle now stands. Only indirectly was Lewis involved in the last rising, the 'Forty-five'. Prince Charles Edward, a fugitive, reached Stornoway in search of a ship which would get him away from the cold western islands to the warmth of France. He met an indifferent welcome. The townspeople, weary of past punishment, gave him no help; nor, despite the large reward on the Prince's head, did they do him harm or betray him. Today, at Arnish Point, at the mouth of Stornoway Bay, a cairn commemorates the visit of that ill-fated man, the falling star in the Stuart firmament.

THE FIFE ADVENTURERS

One of the main episodes in Lewis history in the early years of the island's emergence as an area worthy of commercial exploitation was the expedition of the Fife Adventurers. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the name of Lewis was being mentioned in the same breath as 'profit'. At that time, Lewis was in a state of anarchy. The deeds, misdeeds, and defiance of both law and order by Roderick MacLeod, chief, were enough to inspire any central authority with a zeal to convert the island and bring it to heel. And if, by happy chance, it were to become profitable to the converters, they would be well rewarded. The 'civilisation' of a territory has often been forcible, bringing the inhabitants suddenly and painfully into a new air of living, in which the things that it seemed reasonable to do yesterday are done today on pain of death. In Scotland at that time, recognition of the law and the Church were the prime factors of civilisation, such as it was, the marks of superiority. Lewis, on the other hand, had a barbarous

they could. Winter winds and the damp climate brought many to an early deathbed; dysentery ran rife. A message was sent south to obtain relief, but the messenger was captured at sea by one of the MacLeods. Again a message was sent. And hardly had this errand of mercy sailed out of sight than the MacLeods descended on the 'toun' with 'two hundred barbarous, bludie, and wiket Hielandmen' to attack the Adventurers and kill twenty-two of them, burn some property and make off with livestock. In fact, the methods which the Adventurers had hoped to used on the islanders to 'civilise' them were now being turned on themselves, to prevent the resented conversion. They left Lewis in a black cloud of despair. In 1605 they made another attempt. Again they were met by the MacLeods under the leadership of Neil MacLeod, who prevented all endeavours to establish a Fife colony on the island. Four years later a last bid was made to bring the island and its resources under their control. And again they failed.

In 1610, after the collapse of the third colonisation attempt by the Adventurers, they sold their charter rights to Kenneth MacKenzie of Kintail who, from the very beginning of the scheme, had veered hot and cold to the Crown, the Adventurers, and the Lewismen. His reward for his craft was Lewis—though it took him a further two years to reduce the MacLeods to accepting him as the new owner of the island.

UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH

Cromwell and England: the two names are so allied that it seems to strain fiction to link Cromwell and Lewis, more particularly Stornoway. Yet the main shopping street in the town has been, from about the 1820s, 'Cromwell Street'; when, or why, or who, changed its former title of 'Dempster Street' are matters lost forever. Cromwell himself was never in Lewis, but he did once take an interest in it.

The island took his attention, firstly, because its owner, a youth of sixteen who was later Earl of Seaforth, was 'playing rex' there. When Scotland was subjugated by the English Commonwealth, and the administration was placed in the hands of General Monk,

a group of Highland Royalists refused to submit. Among them was the youthful Seaforth. At the time he was rich; he belonged to a powerful and influential family; and he could call up many hundreds of claymores. He could hardly be ignored.

The second factor which disturbed Cromwell was the island's position. When the war between the Commonwealth and Holland broke out, it was seen that co-operation between Highland malcontents and the Dutch could prove to be a source of great danger for England; Stornoway had the best harbour on the west coast of Scotland and, as Cromwell wrote, the Dutch 'had an eye on it'. Events were accelerated by an incident in Stornoway harbour in May 1653, when Seaforth caused some offence to the captain of a privateer, the *Fortune*. When Seaforth discovered the vessel to be in the employ of the Commonwealth, he arrested the boat's crew and offered them terms of surrender. Captain Brassie replied with a couple of broadsides on the town and sailed away to complain to Colonel Lilburn, who had succeeded Monk as commander-in-chief in Scotland. An example had to be made; defiance of the Commonwealth had to be put down. 'I doubt nott,' he reported to Cromwell, 'but what wee may be able to doe uppon that island, will soe startle the whole Highlands and Islands that wee shall nott bee much troubled with them in such like cases hereafter. Undoubtedly to make the Lord Seaforth and his island (called the Lewes) exemplary will bee a very great advantage to the peace of this nation.'

Under the command of Colonel Cobbet, a military force, with warships and provision ships, was sent from Leith to take possession of Lewis. Some resistance was put down with a bit of trouble. A report in a contemporary London newspaper indicates that an attack by the Lewismen (who had fled to the hills, and who were armed with bows and arrows) was so fierce that the English were 'constrained to make face about'. The resistance was overcome, however, and Cobbet placed Lewis in the charge of a Major Crispe and a garrison of four companies. This garrison settled down to the task of making Lewis secure against possible attacks by the Dutch. A fort was built in Stornoway, and some armouring was undertaken at the small Goat Island in Stornoway Bay. A ground-plan of the 'Cromwellian' fortifications is in Wor-

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*175 cester College, Oxford University, with an estimated date of 1653, 648 the year in which the English garrison was placed in Lewis. Nothing now remains of that fort built by Crispe's soldiers, though the whole area on the small point of land, present-day Point Street, is redolent of historical atmosphere, despite new buildings.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

*175 Ecclesiology is a horse of many different colours in the island. Tradition goes right back to the early stirrings of Christianity in Scotland. Indeed, one of the most important religious sites on the [346] island is St Columba's at Eye, near Aignish, some seven miles from Stornoway. Though the name might suggest it, there is no proof that the Gaelic abbot visited Lewis. But it is more than likely that a follower of his did so in his name. Part of the church at Eye is Norman, which gives an approximate date of origin, though it is necessary to take some account of the long interval between a development phase in one country and its adoption in another country quite insulated from change, as were the Outer [173] Isles in medieval times. According to tradition, the church was built on the site of a cell occupied by the Celtic saint Catan, who is believed to have lived in the sixth or seventh century. Possibly this is the same Catan to whom a shrine is dedicated at Mealasta, in Uig, close by which the remains of a nunnery have been found, called by a Gaelic name meaning 'the house of the old black women'.

*175 St Columba's is mentioned in records from 1506, when it is 346 described as a 'rectory'. At present, though in a ruined state, it still shows its former strength of character, both as a building, a place of sanctuary, and a place of worship. It has also been called [764] the Valhalla of Lewis, for tradition says that some nineteen Chiefs of Siol Torquil, the MacLeods of Lewis, are buried in its grounds. William, the fifth Earl of Seaforth, also found there an uneasy bed beside the enemies of his ancestors, who wrested Lewis from the MacLeods.

Another significant church is St Olaf's, or St Molua's at Eoropie, at the Butt of Lewis. Recorded evidence first indicates the existence of the church in 1630, where it occurs in a report

ISLAND REGIMENTS

At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth 175* centuries, many villages in the north of Scotland suffered from 702 the attentions of ship-borne press-gangs, who swooped down on unsuspecting communities and whisked away the best of the males they could find. Lewis did not escape this enforced service. Local traditions have much to say about compulsion, though not by press-gang. Young men were pressed into service through personal influence, by bribe or by blackmail. However, in the case of the Seaforth Highlanders, the raising of recruits was by appeal to the men of the clan and the clan adherents.

The first battalion of Seaforths was raised in December 1777 175* by Kenneth, the sixth Earl of Seaforth. By far the greater num- 702 ber of soldiers were from the MacKenzie estates on the mainland: 704 from Applecross, Kintail, and Lochalsh. Few Lewismen served among the soldiers of Coinneach Og, as the Earl was called. The real beginning of the Seaforth Regiment was in March 1793, when a Letter of Service was granted to Lord Seaforth. The chief himself personally toured his estates for recruits, to offer the King's Shilling. His visit to Lewis was at first regarded with some suspicion; he even met some active opposition in Uig, which was overcome by his explanation of the country's need to counteract the widespread effects of the high tide of the social revolution begun in France. In 1804, another battalion was raised; some 200 Lewismen volunteered, a fact recounted in tradition with great pride. The history of the regiment in those early formative years is [726] detailed with battles in many parts of the world: Nimogen in [648] Holland, Quiberon Bay in Brittany, Cape Town, India (Assaye is remembered in a Stornoway street name), Java, Messina, and so on.

In Egypt, many a Lewis lad found himself face to face with 175* the Turks, and subsequently in a slave market in Cairo. One of 704 the old soldiers of Uig has left traditions of his seven years' ex- 648 perience as a prisoner of the Turks. Some youths who had volunteered for service early in life were so ignorant of their island's geography that they found themselves in Stornoway on their return looking around for a guide to show them the way across the moors to their long-left homes. The hot, white sun of Egypt [727] brought loss of sight to many soldiers, who returned to a Lewis which they could never see again. Some who were blinded at

SINCE THE SECOND WAR

pared to make fishing their career, together with financial assist- 228
ance to those who satisfactorily completed their training and 452
who wished to acquire boats of their own. This Scheme is now 664
run by the Highlands & Islands Development Board. The Board's participation in the expansion of the fishing potential around the island has been first-class, with commensurate results from an investment of some £500,000.

Illegal fishing

Like goldfields, the seas around the island have always attracted 685
the unscrupulous, those for whom the word 'conservation' has no 226
meaning, and who are careless of the dangers of over-fishing. 175*
Illegal trawling began around the year 1894 and by now has [185]
drastically impoverished the inshore fishings to which the Harris and Lewis crofters once looked for a supplement to diet and income. The rapid adoption of efficient trawlers was attended by an increasing number of reports of their poaching within the three-mile territorial limit. Though the islanders tried many times to involve the Government's cruisers for the protection of their shores, the poaching went on, and still continues today. Even some of the violence which attended the early attempts to clear the scum from the sea, as it were, continues, part and parcel of the island's sea-life.

Fish processing

A former freezing plant in Stornoway, run by the Herring 228
Industry Board has been converted into a fish-processing factory.
This facility, of great value to the port, is run by Rolf Olsen A/S, [648] •
a long-established Norwegian company with a successful background in fish processing. The company has received investment aid from the Highlands & Islands Development Board, the Highland Fund and the Stornoway Trust; the latter's interest is significant in that it is the first time in which the funds of the Trust have been invested in a private concern, to help retain Stornoway as a successful fishing port.

The most regular shore-side as distinct from maritime industry is the processing of prawns (scampi, or *nephrops norvegicus*). Two firms buy the prawns at the pierhead, shell, cook and freeze them,

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rocks about intrusions or dykes of more resistant crinanite. Second, 632
the better nature of the soil derived from the weatherings of the 133
sandstones and conglomerates has aided reclamation and cultivation.

In the long years of its existence the town has been a focal point 175*
of island history, fanning out to many corners of the world, where 632
it has been merged with the wider history of Britain, the Commonwealth and elsewhere. Detached as it was from the rest of [181]
Scotland by the Minch, Lewis often went its own way. In the 175*
reign of Queen Elizabeth, when England and Sweden plotted 632
against the Scottish crown, the emissaries of these countries met 648 •
in Stornoway. Later, in April 1719, a council of war was held in a room in Stornoway to plan the overthrow of the Hanoverian dynasty of Britain; included in the assembly were the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Tulibardine, George Keith, the hereditary Earl Marshal of Scotland, and his younger brother James, who was to become the famous Marshal Keith. Prince Charles Edward, though not setting foot in the town, looked at its twinkling lights from across the Bay, at Arnish, while his pilot tried to obtain a boat to take the royal fugitive to France.

The harbour has seen many kinds of ships on its waters. In 504
the twenties, the *Metagama*, the *Marloch*, and the *Canada* came 501
to take away almost a generation of young Lewis folk to the new 632
lands across the seas, because their own island could not support [167]
them. The *Iolaire* sank within sight and sound of the harbour mouth and dragged about 200 Lewismen with her into an island memory. The *Cervona*, of Dundee, dropped her anchor just by Arnish lighthouse in July 1904, carrying survivors from the emigrant ship *Norge*, sunk at Rockall with appalling loss of life. [143]
The *Victoria and Albert* visited Stornoway in September 1902, 701
the first visit to the town by a reigning monarch. That was a great day, the result of a letter from Provost Anderson of Stornoway in which he pointed out to His Majesty, King Edward, that with less than 30,000 inhabitants Lewis had 2,300 men in the Royal Naval Reserve, trained at the local Battery, the largest in Britain. There were also 1,100 men in the Seaforth & Cameron Militia, all of whom volunteered for foreign service in 1899, and 900 of whom did garrison duty in Egypt. Between 300 and 400 Lewis-

COMMUNICATIONS

secondary school, the 'Nicolson', has had since its inception a 632
formidable academic record. Back in 1907 work from the school 871
was included in the educational section of an International Ex- [648] •
hibition held in Christchurch, New Zealand: this was appropriate [167]
because emigrants from the west Highlands, notably from Harris and Lewis, were among the pioneers of New Zealand education a century ago. In 1957 new extensions were opened, costing about £300,000 and making the school the largest of its kind in the Highlands area. It is co-educational, its primary and junior secondary departments taking only Stornoway children and its senior secondary department catering for those from both Stornoway and rural Lewis. Many board out in the town during the week, returning home at weekends.

In providing social facilities, the town has placed itself in the 632
position of an agent for those things deemed necessary for life, 368
and is a middle-ground between the rural repression of the Free 77
Church and the city abandon of the mainland, with resulting 183
dilemma. The public houses, the cinema, youth clubs, dances and [369]
juke boxes are all in direct opposition to the preaching of the Free Church. The result is tension between the town's desire to act as [184]
a host for tourists and its wish to fulfil its duty on a religious plane; to instance this, the Stornoway Sabbath is less strict than the Lewis Sabbath. In keeping with the rest of Lewis, social standards are extremely high. Home is the centre of life, as it [592]
always was; the sense of community and communal responsibility 586
is there. Divorce is practically unheard of, and the incidence of 674
crime, as such, is extremely low.

174 ready to leap fore or aft: "Quick to move as the mountain
614 hare . . . or the hounds after him; quick to climb as a
501 squirrel in the spring-time". Then comes the stirring
539 evocation of the storm, testing each man's mettle and the
577 discipline of all, until at last, their ship battered and themselves bruised and weary but undaunted, the crew reach Islay and round the sheltering point of Carrickfergus. There, with thanks to the High King, they drop anchor, the *birlinn* rides in peace, and all find meat and drink and rest.

175 As at sea, so in war, loyalty could rise to heroism in
614 individuals and corps. Young men were attached to their
721 chiefs by chivalrous leadership in warfare, both before
703 1745 and later. The Highlanders' high character contrasted with that of most Regiments of the Line, too often disciplined with the lash while demoralised by debauchery. From Lewis the Islesmen went out to the Seaforth or the Ross-shire Highlanders. General David Stewart of Garth, historian of the Highland regiments and people, wrote of these two regiments that again and again their courage and coolness in battle were proved.[1]

175 Not less striking was the record of Gaels among civil
• 618 populations, whether in Britain, as in the 'Forty-five, or abroad. In Germany in 1761 and 1762 much was said of the Highlanders' kindness, "for the boors were much better treated by those savages than by the polished English and French". Similarly in the Low Countries in 1814 and 1815, they were *enfants de la famille* and "kind as well as brave". The mayor of Brussels declared that they "called forth the attachment and esteem of all", and the inhabitants requested him "to endeavour to detain the 78th (2nd battalion Ross-shire) regiment of Scotchmen in the town, [113] and to prevent their being replaced by other troops".

175 private naturally addressed him in Gaelic by his Christian
703 name, and writes of him with the warmth and respect due
[551] to an elderly relation. Something of this mutual regard remains; and young Englishmen of education have told me of their surprised admiration for the character of the best traditional type of 'Regular' Scottish, and particularly Highland, non-commissioned officer, before and during the two world wars.

175 Such bravery and character abroad led Stewart to the
829 conviction that their foundation must be the character of the peasantry at home. He held that the Highlanders' home life demanded support, and having served with the Sutherland Highlanders, he felt the deepest grief and anger at the clearances of the Sutherland estates by an English
[727] proprietor. When Stewart remarked that a few deaths mattered little when compared to the nation's renown, for this 'endures for ever', he referred to deaths in battle, which he analysed as typically of 1 to 2 per cent of the men. Whereas upon long voyages or in unhealthy stations, 25 per cent of soldiers or civilians might die of disease.

175 Yet, to the Gael, discipline did not mean blind sub-
703 mission to injustice. "Accustomed to obey their im-
614 mediate chiefs, who durst not break a compact with them, and to have promises punctually fulfilled, implicit submission was not yielded when they had rights to preserve." For the bond by which, of old, the Highlanders "were held to their superiors and one another" was "the bond
• [648] of fidelity and affection. . . . In later times, when they entered the King's service, they considered themselves as contracting parties", and resented breaches of faith. Of eight mutinies in as many regiments, that of the Seaforth in 1778 should be instanced here. The regiment included many Lewismen, with Mackenzies and Macraes, and also

175 some 200 men enlisted at Perth. When, shortly after they
703 had been embodied, the men were quartered in Leith prior
614 to embarkation, complaints arose about infringement of engagements. "The regiment refused to embark, and
• 648 marching out of Leith, with pipes playing and two plaids fixed on poles instead of colours, took a position on Arthur's Seat at Dunsappie, of which they kept possession for several days." The inhabitants of Edinburgh, who had encouraged them, supplied them with provisions and ammunition. "After much negotiation, a proper understanding was brought about . . . and they marched down the hill . . . with pipes playing and with the Earls of Seaforth and Dunmore, and General Skene, at their head. They entered Leith, and went on board the transports
[721] with the greatest readiness. . . ." None of the men were tried or confined. Seaforth, as their colonel, set out with them to India—although his fortune and title would have allowed him ease at home, or the purchase of higher military rank. His death on the long voyage contributed to the men's "prostration of mind which made them succumb more easily to the effects of disease", scurvy, of which 230 out of 1100 fit men died before reaching Madras, and others soon after. As we have told, the survivors fought with disciplined courage.

175 To a chief, recruitment was financially important, for
702 he, and not only the recruits, received a handsome bounty.
614 Simultaneously it provided him with a commission without the cost of purchase—previous training and promotion being considered unnecessary. The clansmen knew these facts of bounty and command, and generally responded to an appeal. When Stewart of Garth was recruiting for the Ross-shire Regiment, a band of young Lewismen joined it for half the bounty offered by a Lowland regiment!

286 warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, with
532 peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven and
614 waulked together ceased to be a sacrament when the tartan
714 was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform with
[178] "England's cruel red".

• [648] The framers of this law, which stood on the statute book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they
175 did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath which
648 reversed every benediction said by the women at their work: "I . . . do swear, as I shall answer to God at
286 the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, any
291 gun, sword, pistol or arm whatever, and never use tartan,
782 plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do,
641 may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and property—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and be without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come across me if I break my oath". This Act, as law and symbol, struck full at the sacramental life of family, neighbour-team and clan community, in which labour and prayer had been indissolubly bound.[1]

(c) WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

178 Little remains of the tradition of worship in the tiny
771 oratories, chapels or 'temples' whose ruins stud the shores

[1] The collaboration of friends in Lewis may allow mention of the Gaelic
346 version of A. Geddes, *The Spirit of the Tartan, a Song Drama* (English
172 Version); *Souvenir Programme and Book of Songs* (Outlook Tower, Edin-
burgh, 1932). In this the spirit of this labour sequence embodied in its
[113] songs and runes is dramatised in its setting of custom and history. The Gaelic version was prepared by the generous labours of James Thomson, M.A., Bayble, and the late Duncan Macdonald, M.A., Sandwick, Lewis.

175 visited the chapel of St. Rona. It was fenced, and was
814 swept every day, suggesting daily worship; and the Lord's
771 Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments were repeated
there every Sunday morning. This led Martin to say that
[788] the people had no vices; and indeed the Gael's own
prayers insist upon the beauty of virtues rather than on
the evil of vices. In Lewis at that time (1695) there were
two ministers, at Stornoway and at Barvas; and the Barvas
minister visited Rona yearly. Isolated though they were
from their fellow-Lewismen, the Rona folk thus had annual
contact with organised religion, such as was lacking even
on the main island during periods of stress in Scotland.
[648] Invasions, repeated destruction and prolonged intrigue by
the Norsemen or the English Kings, led to, and intensified,
[798] internal strife. And in Lewis forty years of warring inter-
regnum had followed the 'Reformation'.

175 These and other notes of worship given by Martin,
771 such as those of the Lewismen's devotions when touching
at the Flannan Isles, show that the worshippers relied
798 greatly upon themselves and one another. They did so
even after their primitive Christian modes of worship had
been blamed and derided by Reformers, and the new modes
in their turn condemned by such ordained priests as secretly
made their way north from Armagh to Uist, Harris and
probably to Lewis. How much more stable must their
community's faith have been before the tragic upheavals
[797] which began at the Reformation. Some four centuries
earlier, the Roman Church supplanted the institutions
developed by the early Celtic missionaries from regional
and rural growth, by a formal organisation developed upon
an imperial and civic model. Thus they may already have
shaken faith by undermining the authority of communal
[795] sanctions and traditions. But the break caused by medieval

779 with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of
764 Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1294.
532 Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this
monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness.
175 The following year, 1295, saw the commencement of "the
three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction
644 of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King
[829] Alexander III, "that Scotland led in luve and law", peace
within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing
• [648] Gaelic Christian traditions and Scoto-Norman arts. After
his death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars
181 can tell me, this almost unnoticed monument remains
764 unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts
of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement,
were shattered by invasions, and Gaelic tradition was only
to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all
time, we have become.

763 At the approach of death God's mercy and peace were
782 sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the
wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme
Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[2]
[174] In early times confession seems to have been made as
willingly to the 'Soul-friend', followed by Benediction.
When death had come, the mourners sang of sleep and
764 home. In Lewis today funerals are conducted in silence
to the graveside, where the last service is held; but

[113] [1] *A unique medieval tomb at Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.)
[2] It would be of deep interest to compare the attitudes to death found in 'Spiritual Songs' by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs on death which, though maybe of post-Reformation date, are of Roman Catholic origin (*e.g.* in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, poems on the Day of Judgment, and of Wrath; on age and on death; and on Purgatory:
[171] pp. 31, 85, 146; 34, 19, 21; 27). Some have much in common, both by virtue of the earlier traditions they shared and still more because of parallel trends of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Cf. *Carmina*.

175 real hopes that prosperity could be
228 war came, followed by sweeping ch
178 trade. These changes left the Islan
[439] and with wrecked and rotting boats
number of Scotland's fishermen wa
mainder all but ruined. For guida
past losses should be reviewed, i
measures can be taken to restore pro

121 For the slow growth of a native
175 factors were to blame: the povert
gether with the unsettled state of
182 seems, the jealousy of urban interest
228 sented, to 1603 and even after, by t
from 1707 by the British Parliamen
certainly developed Scottish trade
their own ports, but they feared com
any direct contact of other ports, su
foreign fishers and traders. From the
• [648] this difficulty had hampered regio
was in spite of royal prohibition tha
Dutch curers to settle, an arrangeme
with Holland in 1653 and 1665. C
and the East Coast were encouraged
men, and from time to time through t
efforts were made from the south
panies, and in the Island to encourag
from example in the catching of her
and cod.[1] The people fished for fo
from the shore, and in frail boats in
[648] could, they also sold a surplus. Fish
direct to Glasgow, but sold at home, fir
and later to British boats, of which n

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919,

175 favour of sheep farmers, in Lewis there had been very few
236 evictions. Early in the days of the sheep-farming boom,
427 one of the Seaforths had been offered ' double rents ', and refused them rather than turn the people away. Later on, when the wars were over, and when the Seaforth fortunes were failing, subtenants and their cattle had been replaced by sheep stock in three tacks around Broad Bay (at Coll and Gress and at Aignish at the base of Eye
[731] Peninsula). The failure of kelp-burning and the potato famine brought acute want in rocky parts of the Isle, and led to the desertion of their homes by certain communities.
175 In 1863, out of a total of forty crofters in a township of
16 Barvas parish, more than half emigrated by help of Sir James Matheson. Local resettlement was aided by Sir
[423] James, who provided horses and implements for Uig people who moved to Shawbost (6 miles north of Loch Roag). Abandoned places became farms; and although agricultural prices fell and Sir James made little profit from the erection of buildings and the drainage, dyking and fencing on farms, land was improved, and better stock was bred, of which some was available to improve that of crofters,
175 too. Twenty years later, however, increasing numbers
427 increased the demand for crofts, and the people sought to reoccupy their forebears' land. In this, the Lewismen
[171] shared in a widespread movement, extending from the Scottish Isles to Wales and Ireland.

175 As a result of the real sufferings of the people in the
654 Highlands and Isles, and of the growing interest in the land shown in the country and in Parliament, where Irish
• [648] members made themselves the crofters' allies, the Government in 1883 appointed a Royal Commission of Enquiry under a fair-minded judge, Lord Napier. As a remedy, the Commissioners recommended measures based upon

000 to one another, to the landlord and to the State would hav
been profoundly different.

(2) STATE AID, THE LAND, AND THE CROFTERS RESPONSE

175 Until 1914 the congestion in each Island townshi
162 dotted between the wide, lonely moors, had increased, an
362 it was still increasing. To every two legal crofters, eithe
a cottar or a landless squatter was to be found, on th
175 ' skinned land ' outside the crofts. Parliament, in 1886
656 had discarded the Napier Commission's recommendation
• 648 to give powers to extend the crofts from portions of th
common, or to supply a house site and garden space fo
[362] men of independent occupations such as fishermen. Thi
congestion embarrassed Government and local services.

427 The associated rating system was also at fault; indee
656 it has still to be put right. For instance, a crofter's son—
able to make a living, say, as a fisherman, and about t
marry but having no croft—was penalised by high rates
should he take up his proper status of a legal cottar at
small rent. Throughout the crofting counties, the lega
crofter, as an agricultural landholder, was (and is) de-rated
and had only to pay one-eighth the rates for a non-agri
cultural holding of the same rental. Only since 1938 ha
the value of the house been assessed. A recognised cotta
paying rent to an estate was rated as owner and occupier
being treated in fact as a feuar; [1] and as such he had t
bear a heavy burden of rates, possibly of over 30s. in the £
Whereas if he ' lay low ' and shared his father's or brother'

[1] *Feuar*, in Scotland one who holds real estate in consideration of
stipulated annual payment; lit. on *feudal* tenure. Cf. J. P. Day (1918)
pp. 383-384.

HISTORY

175 Some who were blinded at
704 Rosetta were granted a pension of about £30 per annum, with
648 an allowance of £12 per annum for a guide to lead them
727 about.
729 On 21 December 1859, 'a public meeting of the Inhabitants
175 of Stornoway was held in the Mason Hall to consider the pro-
702 priety of organising an Artillery Volunteer Corps for the defence
704 of this Island'. About a month later, Sir James Matheson, Baronet of Achany, and Member of Parliament for the Lews, was asked to tender to Her Majesty the services of eighty-one gentlemen who wished to form the corps. The unit eventually formed was the 1st Company in the County of Ross and held the 44th place in the Artillery Volunteer Force of Great Britain. After many ups and downs in its history, this corps exists today as the Ross Battery.

For more than half a century the activities of the corps were peaceful. The only highlight was its participation in the famous Wet Review at Edinburgh, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. Matching the rain which lashed down in sheets from the sky, a sewer burst open in the centre of the parade ground. Company after company divided ranks as they approached the disagreeable fountain in their path. But Lt John N. Anderson, later Provost of Stornoway, gave the order 'Right into it!' Amid a great roaring of cheers from the watching crowds, the Stornoway Volunteers marched straight on in perfect order. It was perhaps prophetic of the sterner tests to come.

175 The unit was one of the Royal Garrison Artillery in 1908 when
704 it was reformed as the Ross Mountain Battery of the 4th High-
726 land (Mountain) Brigade. Later, as a regular division, the battery
648 was the first field artillery to be landed at Cape Helles, in the Gallipoli campaign. At Suvla Bay, it lost 50 per cent of its strength in two days. At Ismailia it mustered again to fight against the Turks in the Canal area, but it was not allowed to remain to assist in driving back the enemy. Instead, it was moved to Salonika to help the mountain batteries, now much depleted by malaria. The final move was to Bulgaria, where the Lewismen were the first gunners, if not the first British troops, to enter that country.

175 Before, during, and for a time after, the first world war, the
702 Ross Battery had close ties with the Nicolson Institute. To quote
704 from a past Rector of the school:

CROFTING CHANGES

of larger and more economic working units of over 30 acres of 241
arable land is also apparent in the southern Hebrides, the west 311
mainland of Ross & Cromarty, Argyll (mainland and islands) and 178
Caithness.

The acreage of common grazings held per holding varies from
under 50 to some 200. The crofts, as already mentioned, are in [632]
townships, of which the island has 168, half being fenced and half consisting of individually fenced crofts. During the winter most of the crofts are laid open for winter grazing by sheep of general ownership. Manure resources are mainly dung, seaweed, shell sand and of course artificials where necessary.

A new aspect of crofting in Lewis is its extension into forestry. 311
A recent survey by the Forestry Commission indicated that under 313
400 acres of the land not being used for crofting were suitable for 178
afforestation, and that these acres were made up from twenty-three different plots. At Garynahine Estate can be seen the beginnings of a real afforestation unit of some 500 acres, a scheme of the utmost significance for the economic future of Lewis and for the relationship between crofter and landlord. Too often in the past this relationship has been biting, hard and inflexible; in particular the crofter was understandably unwilling to release good land for planting trees. But the crofters of Callernish agreed that the right of usage of 285 acres of the common grazings belonging to their township should revert to the landlord, this land being thrown in with 220 acres of the Garynahine Estate. Labour comes from the affected township and others in the area.

FISHING

Early beginnings

226
It is the humble herring that has contributed so much to the 175*
island's economy and its history. At a very early date in history, [648]
the Hebridean fishings were worked by Frenchmen and Spaniards who must have found them rich enough to repay the long journey and weeks away from home in the cold Minch waters. It was not, however, until the end of the sixteenth century that the wealth of the Minch was really discovered, this time by the fishermen on the mainland of Scotland who copied the tricks of their trade

226 from the enterprising Dutch. Dutch fishing-busses were constantly
*175 off the island coast as early as the reign of James V. In 1594 the
[648] Hollanders made their first recorded visit to Lewis; they had a licence from Scotland's James VI which allowed them to fish outside a limit of twenty-eight miles.

228 It was, indeed, partly the success of the Dutch fishings which
*175 attracted the Gentlemen Adventurers of Fife, backed by the King in their unsuccessful endeavours to colonise Lewis. James VI's son, Charles I, was similarly enticed by the Minch, proposals being put forward for the purchase of Lewis by the Crown and for the formation of a new corporation, under English auspices, which would develop the island's fisheries. The corporation, founded in 1633, was the 'Company of the General Fishery of Great Britain and Ireland' and its main seat of operation was to be in Lewis. As Lord Seaforth was owner of the island at the time, he was invited to join the company's board, so that he could, with his influence, 'keep the islanders in awe'. One of the fishing stations set up in the Hebrides was on the island of Hermetray in the Sound of Harris. Martin Martin, writing of this island at the close of the same century, says that he saw 'the foundation of a house built by the English, in King Charles the First's time, for one of their magazines to lay up the cask, salt, etc, for carrying on the fishery, which was then begun in the Western Islands; but this design miscarried because of the civil wars which then broke out.' The scheme indeed fell flat (in 1640), and though Charles II tried to revive it on a commercial basis, lack of capital caused it again to come to nothing.

228 Where were the islanders in all this activity to develop the
*175 fishings around them? Strangely, there was a definite disinclina-
648 tion to fish until the Dutch, by their example, illustrated how fish could become a new factor in their economy. Lord Seaforth was vitally interested on his own account. When he acquired Lewis (in 1610) he set about establishing what amounted to a principality quite independent of recognised authority; and in contravention of the laws and privileges of Royal Burghs, he set up Stornoway as a fishing port, introducing a number of Dutch fishermen to prosecute the fishings in the Minch. In 1629, the Commissioners of Royal Burghs complained to the Privy Council

of Lord Seaforth's conduct in this matter. They alleged that he 228
'draiv in hither an number of strangers who daylie resorts to and 175*
fra Holland to the Lewes and continent next adjacent (the Ross 648
mainland presumably) and has caused them be answered of all such commodities as these bounds affords, as nameli with fishes and beeves quhilkis with the hyde and tallow, with manie utheris commodities they transport to Holland.'

To satisfy the Royal Burghs, Seaforth had some of his Dutch friends sent away. But several Dutch families remained in Stornoway until the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland in 1653.

228 In Harris, similar efforts were promoted by Captain Alexander
175* MacLeod, who in 1779 bought Harris, together with St Kilda,
[425] for £15,000 from the commissioners acting on behalf of General Norman MacLeod. The latter had, in 1772, inherited from his grandfather both the chiefship of Harris and a debt on the property amounting to some £50,000. Captain MacLeod, who skippered the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, did much to stimulate better conditions in Harris, and advocated the generation of a fishing industry. In the face of opposition and ridicule he showed by practical example what could be done to make a success of the herring fishings, introducing a number of east-coast fishermen with Orkney trawls to teach the inhabitants, and reaping a good harvest from the fishings off Rodel, despite the dismal auguries uttered by the Harris-folk. He improved the local harbour [503]
accommodation and erected a storehouse for salt, casks and the [488]
like, he built a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread, [288]
and twine for herring-nets; he advanced money to those fishermen [452]
who were interested for the purchase of boats and gear; and he [427]
provided them with rent-free cottages with a ground-patch on which they could grow potatoes. He built roads between the [491]
village of Tarbert and the two jetties he made there, and he [346]
erected a schoolhouse and an inn. But all this hard work to put [485]
Harris on some realistic economic basis came to little. The native population were slow to appreciate the potential income lying about them.

The potential of the sea was of course eventually realised, particularly where the fishing grounds were favourable, Stornoway

r about it; the Lewismen, said an official indictment, had 'given 175*
emselves over to all kynd of barbaritie and inhumanitie', and 648
ey were 'voyd of ony knawledge of God or His religion'. Thus
e people of Lewis had something coming to them.

For some time King James VI of Scotland (James I of Eng-
nd) had been concerned with the problem of bringing the Mac-
eods of Lewis into an awareness of his authority. His 'maill' and
ressum', the duties owed to him by the MacLeods, were long
verdue; there was nothing for it but to go and collect. The fact
at Lewis had been described to him as 'inrychit with ane in-
edibill fertilitie of cornis and store of fischeingis and utheris
ecessaris, surpassing far the plenty of any pairt of the inland'
robably inspired his scheme to gather it all within the hem of his
oak. Whether he was aware of the true level of the island's pro-
uce is not known; though the sea was rich indeed. In any event,
e scheme was nothing if not predatory. The 'civilisation' motive
as a veneer to cover up any action deemed necessary to secure
e island for the Crown. A contract was drawn up between the
ing and the Adventurers. These men, drawn largely from Fife,
ere also inspired by the supposed El Dorado lying just beyond
e mountains of the Highlands and the waters of the Minch.
n adventure it was thought, for Lewis was as remote to the Fifers
s the Americas were to the Spaniards; and an adventure it proved
be. The Adventurers landed in November 1598. Lewis showed
em little signs of welcome. Cold, high winds, rain, bleak cliffs,
nd a Gaelic-speaking people whom they could not understand
et them; and to compensate for the chill of the season, Mac-
eod of Lewis gave them a warm-up fight. But the mercenaries
hich the Adventurers brought with them proved the better men
r a time.

Resistance overcome, the incomers established themselves as
est they could. They built a 'prettie toun' in the part of Storno-
ay known as South Beach, facing Stornoway Bay. That small
urve of land is still there today, probably as it was almost 400
ears ago. Food ran short. The Adventurers had thought that this
nd of milk and plenty would supply them with sufficient pro-
isions on arrival; so they had brought only emergency stores.
tarvation forced them to obtain what they could locally, as best

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

For a year or two after the war many men and women returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found employment in the Stornoway Harris Tweed industry. This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving at home (work in which the wives and children also helped by this family is jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to return to the hard work of the pre-war days. The whaling station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950, and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised cultivation. The war-time conscripts who had of fields had ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was assisted by government grants.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders' main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds. Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there were strong arguments for the extension of the tax to Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish Border or the manufacture of the Wool Riding should not be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the stopping of a handicraft practised by peasant or artisan favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the end, the mass-production is dependent for inspiration. The obvious economic handicaps of Island hand-weaving may surely permit some leniency. The report trade in Harris Tweed, in which the impondorable 'sentimental

ON & BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

value' is important, is an appreciable dollar-earning asset; and because of the flourishing Harris Tweed industry, factoring must be stabilised by sales at home.

These and other facts suggest that if some share of taxation had to be imposed in the national interest, it should have been done by steps to prevent the growth of readjustment in manufacturing and of adaptation to the carefully fostered market. What seems indefensible, even in the national interest, was the imposition of the full 66⅔ purchase tax. As a result of this blow, the crofter's web could not be sold, and lay, a prey to moths, in his home, while the mill owner's stock piled up in the warehouse. 'Hand-looms', newly bought or hired, lay idle in the crofts, or the sheds and the machinery of the mills stood idle. The hand-weavers with their helpers and the employees in the mills, their savings spent, began to seek work beyond the Island. As the season of April 1950 was approaching, the prospects had been falling as workers trickled away by every steamer. Some adjustment was made, it is true, late in 1951; but the case of the small independent weaver remained as hard as ever.

The amount of tweed stamped with the Orb Trade Mark, which diminished slowly from 4,484,000 standard yards in 1948 to 4,140,000 in 1949 and 3,780,000 in 1950, fell when the tax was imposed to 2,800,000 in 1951. In 1952 there was a recovery, maintained in 1953. Over 5,000,000 yards will have been stamped in 1954.

ses journey ever to the Capital of Skyer which stands on Portree Loch.

The Village of Portree, as stated earlier, represents the only successful attempt to introduce a modicum of settlement to the island. It was created by a landlord in the early nineteenth century and has been fostered by the national and county government, especially within the last twenty years. Nothing has distributed the English and the Lowland Scots more widely than the alien nature of town life in the national heritage of the Scottish Gaels. Ever since the nineteenth century the Sutherlands have been resisting the introduction of villages. The decision of the Sutherland family, generations ago, that only slightly less element in its determination that the country people should have a farm, if not a burgh, come what may.

Portree is a village of the nineteenth century, the population has been falling as workers trickled away by every steamer. Some adjustment was made, it is true, late in 1951; but the case of the small independent weaver remained as hard as ever.

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ployment. In 1911 the first alterations in the traditional system of land use were made. A religious revival was underway. The former social hierarchy had almost disappeared, and population growth accelerated. The year 1911 witnessed a cultural upheaval and a rejuvenation of the culture. The alien element had been broken by schism. Famine was widespread. Large scale commercial farming was replacing the subsistence economy, and the population began to decline. In 1911 the government passed the first law specifically designed for the Highlands since the beginning of the modern period. Commercial farming was restricted in favour of the traditional economy. Within a few years religious schism again appeared. Population decline accelerated and the age structure began to be modified in the direction of an aging population.

Period I (1745 - 1911)

The failure of the 'Forty-five' is popularly regarded as the beginning of the end of the Highland way of life. Contemporary sanity and the heralding of the beginning of the modern period of Highland history. In reality, the break with the past was not as sudden or complete as is commonly thought. The clan organization had undergone pre-front modification and functionally was in a state of decay before the abortive rebellion provoked the British government to abandon the semi-de jure. The event was only the catalyst which hastened the political and economic assimilation of the region with the Lowlands of Scotland. In retrospect, the reforms and innovations which

shattered the social organization, economic system and pattern of religious life formerly characteristic of the Isle of Skye can in many cases be traced well back of the 'Forty-five.' The crucial fact is that only after this date did they assume importance. Moreover, many traits which typified the culture in the days when a belief in clan brotherhood was an all pervading regulator of human relationships persisted with varying intensity and duration, and the form of the culture was maintained.

The British government was determined to shatter the remaining vestiges of clan authority, which had acquired an synonymous with hostility to peace and to settled habits of industry. The clansmen, rebels and loyalists alike, were pressed and forbidden to wear their distinctive dress. Redundatory jurisdictions, the heritable jurisdictions and sheriff-substitutes replaced the local barons' courts. The disaffected chiefs were deprived of their estates. In short, the political and military power of the clan chiefs was broken. The English believed they had emasculated and emasculated and poverty-stricken people from the yoke of arbitrary and tyrannical power.[2]

Where formerly such men was restricted and protected by his chief and clansmen there was a void. The system of justice for the island was placed under a single sheriff-substitute.[3] Beyond his presence, the influence of the British Government

Was felt only when men were enlisted into the armed forces, or when fiscal enactments were enforced.[4] But in there any indication that the people were inclined to look to the government for assistance. Social control was strong enough to deal with transgressors. In Dalriadic period, for example, the ministrel reported that "for four thirty persons have been expelled for theft, not by sentence of the magistrate, but by the united efforts of the better sort of inhabitants."[5]

The Highlands of Scotland did not in themselves have any effect on the day to day life of the people. We must, then, turn to the attitudes and policies of the former clan chiefs to find the source of the disruption. The government had been fomal progressive and, in consequence, some of their dignity and influence the chiefs had two functions left to them. They still had the authority of the estate and the sheriff and sheriff-substitutes replaced the local barons' courts. The disaffected chiefs were deprived of their estates. In short, the political and military power of the clan chiefs was broken. The English believed they had emasculated and emasculated and poverty-stricken people from the yoke of arbitrary and tyrannical power.[2]

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dynamic evangelical form of worship in preference to the moderate, humanistic preaching of their own ministers.

Period IV (1811-1845)

The year 1811 marks a turning point in the culture history of the Isle of Skye. During the second period the processes we have observed in the initial period gained strength and began to unfold in their characteristic forms. By this time the Industrial Revolution was nearly 100 years old. Skye, Britain was on the verge of its leading in the world. Population of the area and her commercial empire was her major concern. Since the government remained disinterested in the Highlands, the sources for culture change must spend in sought in the attitudes and policies of the local landlords.

Exercising their legal power to separate and remove the inferior tenants, the landlords, in the interest of economy, [illegible] the proprietors began a reorganization of their estates.[24] between 1811 and 1831 enough was virtually abolished.[25] In the Lowlands and Britain multiple alienation of the traditional system of land use and tenure had only been a step in the direction of a more sweeping reform, consolidation of

[2] Gaman Dodsleed, The Book of Deuteronomy, Vol. I, p. 110; Lachlan Macbean, Ancient Celtic Institutions, Edinburgh: Publication of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. 1, p. 1; Donald Mackenzie, Ancient Celtic Institutions, Edinburgh: Publication of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. 1, p. 1.

[3] Gaman Dodsleed, The Book of Deuteronomy, Vol. I, p. 110; Lachlan Macbean, Ancient Celtic Institutions, Edinburgh: Publication of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. 1, p. 1; Donald Mackenzie, Ancient Celtic Institutions, Edinburgh: Publication of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. 1, p. 1.

[4] Sources of Scottish Innovations.

[5] Gaman Dodsleed, The Book of Deuteronomy, Vol. I, p. 110; Lachlan Macbean, Ancient Celtic Institutions, Edinburgh: Publication of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. 1, p. 1; Donald Mackenzie, Ancient Celtic Institutions, Edinburgh: Publication of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. 1, p. 1.

[24] Donald Sutherland, Ancient Celtic Institutions, Edinburgh: Publication of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. 1, p. 1.

[25] Donald Sutherland, Ancient Celtic Institutions, Edinburgh: Publication of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. 1, p. 1.

By 1861 there was a small crescent of houses along the shore, about twenty in number, and on the raised terrace there was a new tax, a church, a post office, a hotel, several shops, and a street of houses. The population had grown to 400 or 500. The existence of the village depended on the steamer cattle market and the fishing industry, which was in the hands of merchants.

Following the establishment of Portree and accompanying the gradual decline in self-sufficiency, the island was brought into closer contact with Great Britain by an extension of regular means of communication.[6] Regular communications, of course, are a prerequisite for commercialization. There must be a market for the products of the region and a means of transport to the market. Without such access no man can specialize; with it the Islanders had been diminished to specialize. The old three rents, the bailie rents which had served them well for many centuries, were now supplemented by rents in the lowland sense of the term. By the end of the period most of the more accessible crofts had been connected with Portree and the mainland, and a steamer had entered regular service between Portree and Glasgow. These factors paved the way for the introduction of commercial sheep farming.

[6] George and Peter Anderson, Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (4th ed.), Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1863, pp. 1-2; Donald Sutherland, op. cit., p. 1.

While the process of commercialization proceeded apace the institutional efforts of the people to maintain their traditional way of life, events in Great Britain were beginning to have a pronounced adverse effect on the local economy. The end of the century witnessed the population at the lowest ebb. Although the drowing trade remained brisk, the value of the stock declined markedly.[7] An increase in the number of cattle on the peninsula was a means to maintain an economic equilibrium, the people, however, in the region of the contemporary outlaws; therefore, all I wish to do is indicate the direction the processes, which we have been following, took under the national attempt to redressed them. The major trends to be noted are two. The proprietors' influence in determining how the Highlands should be developed, and, with a relaxation of the commercialization of the estates, many of the crofts and cottages characteristic of the traditional culture assumed renewed vigor.

Since the Ryder Commission had been mainly concerned with the disregard of the customary rights of the crofters and their inconsiderate treatment by proprietors, the recommendations which were pice steel to Parliament sought a land reformation within the framework of local mutual.[8] Unlike the Continental Commons, a local, self-governing body, the Highland township had never legally existed. Elsewhere in Scotland this communal agricultural unit had been replaced by individual farm occupancy, but in the Lowlands and Britain the Highlands was a retrogressive step; the township should be given legal

[7] Major Scott, pp. 7-17.

The year 1886 is a chronological hinge in the culture history of the Highlands. The British government began to take an active interest in the Highland affairs for the first time in history. Hitherto, the interest of the government had been confined to prosecuting, restricting, and taxation, occasionally interspersed with relief for the destitution. With the change in policy, we enter the realm of the contemporary culture; therefore, all I wish to do is indicate the direction the processes, which we have been following, took under the national attempt to redressed them. The major trends to be noted are two. The proprietors' influence in determining how the Highlands should be developed, and, with a relaxation of the commercialization of the estates, many of the crofts and cottages characteristic of the traditional culture assumed renewed vigor.

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651

651 TAXATION AND PUBLIC INCOME.—sources of public income (e.g., gifts and tribute, rubrics, income from ground rents, profits from public enterprises, fines, confiscations, tolls, taxes); types of taxes (e.g., taxes in kind, labor-taxes, poll taxes, property taxes, inheritance taxes, income taxes, sales taxes, tariffs); taxation and public income in primitive and ancient societies; differentiation by administrative level; principles of taxation; the law, rules, and regulations governing taxation; the effects of taxation; the incidence of taxation; tax exemptions, etc. See also:

- income tax 651.1
- income taxes 651.2
- income taxes 651.3
- income taxes 651.4
- income taxes 651.5

(21) being determined by conditions of culture, such as political and economic conditions. Under conditions of gradual centralization of economic and political systems, the geographically marginal crofting areas lag the most and strategies of survival of which pseudo agrarian commercial with development or other aspects of governmental processes.

18 Before the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board to operate in the crofting counties, not more than one croft in every hundred had electricity; but by the end of 1951, one in every six holdings had been supplied (Taylor 1954: 20). "The light" came to Shawbost in 1953. Before then, the islanders used Tilley lamps, a Canadian invention; and before then, double-wick paraffin lamps. Piped water came a few years later, around 1955; it was brought from a nearby loch, and the construction work gave temporary jobs to local people. The availability of these services facilitated the building of county council houses, which many welcomed as providing a relief to the congestion caused in part by rules against building more than one house on a croft. But, paradoxically, with larger, better homes and all these services came a decrease in the advantages of living in a crofting township: property was assessed and people began paying rates or taxes.

(24) The Harris Tweed industry has provided a higher standard of living, but income from this source is inconsistent. The standards produced during prosperous times cannot be met during difficult times. Many crowded houses with indoor plumbing are more heatily taxed than small, older ones. Some "luxuries" have become a car and a television once gotten are difficult to give up. A weaver must pay for his insurance stamp, which amounts to over £70 a year; and income tax takes a large percentage of a person's income, in large lump sums which are paid twice a year rather than in small amounts throughout the year. When income fluctuates, any constant demand for monetary outlay constitutes a liability. (p. 9)

To many persons outside the island concerned with Highland and Island development, Lewis has a reputation for "subsidy-grabbing." According to one official, "The people are too used to getting subsidies. They tend to sit back and rely on the subsidies, which makes it difficult to develop the place."

"We pay tax," said one weaver. "Why not get back what we can in subsidy?"

Income tax collectors shake their heads in despair at the thought of trying to get a true estimate of a crofter's income, except for jobs such as weaving for

(25) which official records are kept by the mills. If you say jokingly to a fisherman who has brought in a large catch that he should put some money aside for the income tax man, he is likely to reply, "We'll have to catch six first." A tradesman may be earning large sums of money doing local work as a skilled specialist at the same time that he is collecting social security. A man may move in and out of a number of different jobs and never report his income. "Occupational pluralism" (C. Brox 1966) rather than economic specialization has developed as a strategy in various countries along the North Atlantic rim, including Iceland, the Faroes, northern Norway and Newfoundland, as well as the west coast and islands of Scotland. In these marginal areas, income from specialized occupations is, in the long run, more stable than income from farming.

In times of national economic depression, strikes, shifts between socialist and conservative governments, and other crises, crofting provides an alternative strategy. During late last war, many islanders who had left the island (including some who had been quite prosperous in the cities) returned to spend the duration of the war in the village, glad of the relative security provided by the relative abundance of food and less strict rationing. During a huge snow-fall that occurred on

Resins taxes were first levied on whisky in 1814, and stills of less than 500-gallon capacity were prohibited. Small, illegal distillation continued for a long time after 1814, and throughout the Highlands and Islands tales are told of "the excise men" and how he was outwitted. The Island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris was evacuated in 1843, supposedly because of illegal distillation that was being carried on there. The ruins of old distilling houses are found throughout Shawbost. Villagers say that these were used in the time of their grandfather or great-grandfather to distill whisky for occasions such as weddings.

In Shawbost, until recent times whisky was associated mainly with special ceremonial occasions: the birth of a child, weddings, and wakes. When a baby was born, the male guests would leave the house to wait for the news coming to see the baby. Having whisky at a funeral was so important that many a widow sold her cow to provide it, so that people would not say it was a bad funeral.

A curse was uttered against all night in the house of the deceased has stopped, probably in part because a prayer meeting lasting from midnight until 2 a.m. was introduced with the intention, according to one minister, of preventing the wake from becoming too joyful on occasion. Whisky was abundant at New Year's, and at weddings. "The dance

(159) is over. All of a sudden I know I had to get back. I drove everybody crazy trying to get a ship back as soon as possible. And the day I arrived in a British port, my brother—the one who had been staying with my parents—left the island. Over all those miles, did they somehow let me know? I don't know. It's best not to talk about it.

"I was going to leave the island the first year after I got back. I didn't like the weaving. But it's hard to leave parents who are old. I was caught here by circumstances. I was trained not to think of the future. I kept busy. I built the house myself, learning to do the bricklaying and joinery work as I went along. The weaving isn't too bad, except you have to be careful you don't earn too much, or you'll end up in the poorhouse. I had to pay £90 in tax this year. The tweeds don't come regularly, especially in the winter. Sometimes I have to go out and beseech the wives give you credit. You don't need money all the time. The worst thing is the drink. Some people can live on 15 a week and a Bible, but I can't."

Calliam's brother lived with him for years. They kept a lot of sheep and shared the weaving. Their father died and then their mother died after a long illness. As though the most important rite to the island had been broken, Calliam's brother then left the island, taking advantage of a six-month course offered by the Labor Exchange. He

(160) noisily triumphant yet unassuming way. He does not kill any of his sheep for home consumption.

His involvement with the croft is a "hobby" because the output does not compare with the income he receives from weaving. Whereas he might make as much as £100 from his crofting activities, his income from weaving is over £600.

(161) £7-800 a year. As a married man, he can earn as much as £8,5,6 without paying income tax.

(162) Income:

Sheep:	127/—	(three sheep sold to the slaughterhouse at £42 apiece)
	1/6	(one "Blackface" for the three sheep that were sold)
	16/10	(Subsidy of 1/- shillings each for 11 shearings and six sheep)
	22/10	(Subsidy of 2/- shillings for 11 ewes and six lambs)
	17/6	(Subsidy of 1/- shilling for 17 Cattle Show)
	1/6	(Fourteen fleece sold to the Wool Board at 2/- shillings per fleece)
	1,00/14	(Subsidy of 1/- shilling for 14 lambs at 1/- per fleece. The island breed sells for less than the Blackface, but has strong appetites for the fleece for two years. Many crofters prefer not to keep sheep, but, if they sell their fleeces to the mill, they can buy sheep-ewes in Britain who have high spirits, because of the location of the Harris Tweed mills on the island. But if they "go-off" in Britain, the mill will refuse to buy the fleece.)

(163) Cattle: 126/— (Calf sold)
1/6 (Subsidy for the calf)
1/- (Subsidy for the cow)
1,57/10
Total: 1,215/14

THE ISLAND HOME

(164) ewing and fishing, the fall in population would probably be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was not so much a decrease in the number of families as in the size of family. The land was only then following the restriction of population begun half a century before in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

(165) Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is a land also of home-building, and of rents and abandonment; of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agricultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were at work: free loans, grants and unemployment insurance and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly, the Government's policy of making the land of a man of exceptional prosperity, that when he laid his head on a pillow "he could hear on the one side the clacking of his corn mill and on the other side of him the bubble of his still." What more could the good man want? Nevertheless, the increase of distillation was not only the direct result of the prosperity in the island, but men and women in the prime of life, so that the question of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to be re-examined afresh.

(166) The emigration which took place from 1929 to 1951 followed directly upon the boom and the unemployment in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted from the imposition in 1929 of a Purchase Tax on handwoven Harris tweed of 66⅔ per cent. If the tax had been maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects on population would have been far-reaching.

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

(175) About the seventeenth century there was introduced the making of aqua vitae, usige-beatha or 'whisky', and addition of the ancient drink of home-brewed beer or ale (lionn), a pleasant brew still tolerated by the Excise. In the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

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COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

(178) For a year or two after the war many men and women returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry. This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving factories—work in which the male weaver was helped by his family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses such as those of the years after 1920. Few women wished to return to the hard, uncertain work of gutting. The whaling station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950 and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed in 1952. Crofting was hindered by some mechanised cultivation. The war-time construction of air-fields had ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was sustained by Government grants.

(179) In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders' main source for earning, was employed by 1,500 persons and a 662 per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds. Fashions had changed so that as a non-utility product, its export sales alone could be expected to fall from 1,500,000 yards (in kind or by sale), followed by legislation prohibiting all but large mills, first encouraged the Islanders in a tame for strong drink, then tempted them to smuggling and breaking the law.[1] Seaforth started two distilleries at Stornoway, importing barley for the purpose. By 1891 these had ceased the illicit stills, but they were closed about 1890.[2]

From a precisely narrow margin of subsistence, periodically overstepped in famine, the Islanders passed to a larger measure of production for sale, and in the second half of the eighteenth century population increased. Its

[1] Cf. D. Macleod, *Memoirs of Church, Director of the Highlands*, 1841, vol. I, p. 6.
[2] Ibid.

BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

value[1] is important, in an appreciable dollar-earning asset and because of the fluctuating export market, its manufacturing must be stabilized by sales at home.

These and other factors underlie the plea that if some share of taxation had to be imposed in the national interest it should have been done by steps to permit of readjustment in manufacturing and of adaptation to the carefully fostered market. What seems indefensible, even in the national interest, was the imposition of the full 66⅔ purchase tax. As a result of this blow, the crofter's web could not be sold and by, a prey to moths, in his home, while the mill owner's stock piled up in his warehouse. Hand-loom "newly bought or partly paid for, lay rusting in the sheds and the machinery of the mills was idle. The hand-weavers with their helpers and the employees in the mills, their savings spent, began to seek work beyond the Island. As the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Hudson, stated, there had been falling as workers trickled away by every steamer. Some adjustment was made, it is true, late in 1951 in the case of the small independent weaver remained as hard as ever.

The amount of tweed stamped with the Orb Trade Mark, which diminished slowly from 4,464,000 standard yards in 1948 to 4,211,000 in 1949 and 3,780,000 in 1950, fell when the tax was imposed to 2,800,000 in 1951. In 1952 there was a recovery, maintained in 1953. Over 5,000,000 yards will have been stamped in 1954.

[1] Cf. D. Macleod, *Memoirs of Church, Director of the Highlands*, 1841, vol. I, p. 6.
[2] Ibid.

COMMUNICATIONS

491 and footpaths. Until this time, the greater part of the district of
• 653 Park was accessible only on foot. Roads were 'at best rough nar-
*175 row paths where rushes and grass grew between the tracks'. The Act improved the old *frith-rathad* (rough tracks) to such an extent that, says a report of 1902, 'a marked improvement has taken place in school attendance by their formation'. The opening up of the island certainly benefited the people. Though the moor tracks
491 might give a more direct route to Stornoway, the roads at least
493 offered a hard surface for horse-drawn cars and carts. The num-
bers of vehicles accordingly rose, and for long after the turn of
*175 the century the horse enjoyed a monopoly. Motor cars were beginning to be read about in the days-late newspapers brought to the island, but not until 1917 were the first complaints heard about cars tearing up the surfaces of the roads. Slowly but surely the inevitable pioneers emerged with their 'tin lizzies'. By 1925 there were an estimated 250 vehicles in Lewis—and traffic congestion was beginning to be a problem. The relative speed of cars was still something to be wondered at too: it was progress indeed to be able to travel from Ness to Stornoway and back again between a late breakfast and an early tea. But for all this progress, one could still buy a good dog-cart in excellent condition, to seat
[435] six people, for £9. A two-seater trap could be had for £6 10s; a set of harness cost 30s. And as for fuel—the best quality oats were 10s 6d per cwt. Indeed, it was not until 1943 that Stornoway Town Council sold its last horse—and only because no one could be found to look after it.

When Sir James Matheson came to Lewis in 1844 there was only one horse-drawn vehicle on the whole island. By 1872 eighty-seven wheeled vehicles were using his new roads. A pioneer of the wheel-carriage service, D. K. Henderson, began business in the
[205] 1850s. He was the first to carry mails and held a contract for the Stornoway to Tarbert run until the GPO introduced its own vehicles. As the motor took hold Henderson changed over and was the first to establish a motor-transport business on the island. Not all the local vehicles were of recognised makers' designs. A writer in the *Stornoway Gazette* in the mid-twenties commented on the fact that only the engine and the chassis of the local buses were imported. Bodies were then erected by carpenters . . . and

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

according to the amount of barilla (its great competitor, a carbon- 175*
ate of soda made from plant ashes) which found its way into the 824
British market. When the American war interfered with the im- 323
ports the kelp price was as high as £22 per ton. Prices began to 388
decline about 1810, and from 1822 successive reductions in duties 433
on salt and barilla resulted in the decline and demise of the kelp industry. As a consequence great distress appeared in those districts which had founded their whole economy on seaweed.

The weeds of most value to the industry, because they yielded most salts, included *laminaria digitata, laminaria bulbosa, asco-* [137]
phyllum nodosum and *fucus serratus*. One ton of kelp yielded an average of 8 lb of iodine, with certain quantities of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, and carbonate of soda. When subjected to special treatment and distillation, 2-3 cwts of sulphate of ammonia, and several gallons of naphtha, paraffin oil, and volatile oil were also derived.

The fishing industry, discussed in the previous chapter, took 175*
over where the kelp-making industry left off and became another 228
king-pin in the island economy. By the end of the last century it seemed set fair for continuing prosperity. In 1900, harbours were [503]
being planned and built with State aid in Uig, at Carloway, Ness [653] •
and Tarbert. Then 1914 came, and with it sweeping changes in international trade. Island fishermen were left workless with [511]
wrecked and rotting fishing boats. In twenty years the number of Scotland's fishermen was halved; the remainder were all but ruined. The islanders' fate mirrored this pattern.

Yet another significant source of income for island families for 175*
almost 200 years came from the men in military service, who 701
either sent money home or returned home with their gratuities 434
and pay. In the wars of the last century many enlisted in the Highland regiments, the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Even today, the income from this external activity is not insignificant.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

175*
Information and statistics about the economy of the island in the 113
middle of the eighteenth century are to be found in Walker's *Economical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland*; his MS is in the British Museum.

113

175 perhaps once in a generation, the neighbours were still the
476 best administrators for poor relief. On the whole, this
657 remained true to 1914.

As to financial assistance from the Government, the
175 evidence seems at first bewildering in its contradictions,
657 suggesting utter inconsistency on the part of the people.
Thus, the record of the Lewis-and-Harris fishermen, in
476 repaying loans for the purchase of boats, was the most honourable in the North-west. In 1900, of the total capital on barely 100 loans made to them, 83 per cent had been repaid, whereas on 150 loans elsewhere less than 60 per cent had been repaid.

175 Yet as to the record of Lewismen with regard to assist-
• 653 ance for road-making, the Brand Report was significantly reticent. In 1891 a road was planned direct to Stornoway from Loch Roag on the west coast at Carloway. This short-cut of sixteen miles was to shorten the distance by seven miles and so facilitate the transit of fish landed at Carloway. Crofter labour was employed as a means of 'self-help'. The road was, mistakenly, printed as complete on 'base maps' and other recent 'quarter-inch' maps. By 1901, £15,500 had been spent, a sum which exceeded the estimated cost, but only eight miles of road had been completed and five miles partially made, while three miles were quite incomplete. The estimate having been exceeded and "financial difficulties having arisen"—the contractor had gone bankrupt and the engineer was dismissed—the work came to a standstill, £10,000 more having been estimated as necessary to complete the road.
[181] Of that sum £8000 was granted.[1] But the road was left
[461] unfinished. These figures alone might not condemn

[1] J. P. Day (1918), p. 328. Day added that "the work should now, more than twenty years after its start, be approaching completion"!

175 the work done—or rather not done—by the local labourers;
• 653 for deep peat has misled road engineers elsewhere.
But impartial observers have left no doubt that the work
461 was shirked—partly from the labourers' lack of will,
181 in other words from laziness, and partly from the not unnatural desire that further grants might continue, offering easy money. Inspection revealed deliberate and combined concealment of bad work, road metal being thrown on to give a surface which had no foundation. The Carloway road, which was to help the Loch Roag fishermen by rapid transport of fresh catches, was never completed. The bad work of many contributed to the undoing of all.

175 . How are these two apparently contradictory responses
657 to help to be explained? The answer lies in the completely
653 different methods of expending the grants. A loan to fishermen for a boat was put into their own responsible
121 hands. The hope of profit in which each could share stimulated their enterprise; and where both the private honour of each member and the corporate honour of each crew was at stake, mutual obligation and team-spirit spurred them to work. But road-making—a work many had done for contractors elsewhere as navvies under de-
181 grading conditions—was different. A Gael responds when his imagination is fired, whether for selfish or unselfish ends; but he can also enjoy leisure as to the manner born! Not only was personal skill or effort in road-making of no advantage to an individual; there was little to call out either personal prowess or team-spirit in the work. Moreover, little effort appears to have been made by the administration to arouse ardour. The ultimate advantage of a good road to the people on the west of the Island, as a whole, was clear. Yet since bad work and delay led (at first) to further

175 Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the proprietors were obliged,
427 pressure of population within, and of public opinion without, to made some conce
to their small tenantry. It may be relevant to point out that this was a period of fa
agricultural prices and declining farm rentals; indeed the time was not far off whe
farms would not find tenants at any rental:

TABLE 7

Farm:	Rental at c. 1875/80	Rental at c. 1885/90	
Mealasta	£130	£85	
Mangersta	£132	£95	
Ardroil & Carnish	£285	£245	
Timsgarry	£108	£80	(1)
Linshader	£349	£278	(2)

Notes: (1) Small reduction for enlargement to Glebe.
(2) £22 reduction for Laimeshader and Grimersta Lodge.

125 The crofters of south Uig were in particular difficulty at this time for here fishin
126 declined earlier than elsewhere but the townships remained greatly overcrowded. I
161 Breanish and Islivig had 14 cottar families, (most of them sharing crofts with the of
162 tenants), and three of squatters, i.e. on the common pasture. Here fishing had alm
ceased and the people were almost entirely dependent on their crofts or on employme
231 from home. In Valtos and Kneep there were 21 cottar families; they had 31 cattle a
sheep flocks. Here, too, fishing was on the decline. It was perhaps because of thi
289 commercial weaving was developed in South Uig earlier than in most parts of Lewis.
175 early as 1900 Uig was classed with Harris, by the local committee of the Congested D
tricts Board, as producing a superior quality of tweed. Two 30 gallon iron pots were s
out so that enough wool could be dyed at one boiling to obviate irregular colouring in a
• 653 one tweed. The C. D. B. also made grants for roads, footpaths and "marine works".
Amongst the latter the pier at Valtos (1899) was an attempt to resuscitate local fishing
but it came too late.

175 The Congested Districts Board was the first government agency with funds at its
653 disposal to aid the crofting townships. One of its largest grants went in aid of the Ca
Road (or Pentland Road as it is now known). This scheme arose out of an abortive pr
posal for a railway from Loch Carloway to Stornoway. It was thought that this could
enable trawlers and other large fishing boats to land their catch for quick transport to
Stornoway and so to the mainland whilst the fishing vessels returned to sea with minim
175 delay. The road, an excellently engineered one, is still not properly surfaced. A n
effective C. D. B. - aided scheme was the resettlement of crofters on Mangersta Farm
657 the rent of which had fallen to £70 and which the proprietors were willing to break up.
427 Thirteen new buildings were formed here and the first harvest was taken by the new
settlers in 1911. The crofters' rent was fixed at £73 and the C. D. B. paid £566 in gr
241 to purchase the sheep stock and improvements, and towards the cost of fencing. Abo
the same time the Board paid a grant to the township of Garenin for fencing a substanti
enlargement to their pasture, obtained off Dalbeg. Here, and at Reef farm, small-
holding resettlement schemes were vetoed by the Crofters Commission whose
experts regarded the areas as unsuitable. Both have since been re-settled by crofter

APPENDIX I

128 An effort has been made to separate crofting from other in-
433 come, and also to average the income from the sources given of
162 the total rural households, numbering 4700, composed of those on the 3650 *occupied* crofts plus an estimated 1050 others, namely, cottars and squatters, and 'feuars'—*i.e.* holding land in feu.

434 Finally, to the productive income earned on the Island there should be added that received by earnings sent or brought home to dependants, together with pensions, unemployment relief and the like. I am greatly indebted to the appropriate officials for the figures cited for 1937–38 or the year immediately preceding. These sources average £45 per rural household.
[128] The figures tabled all apply to Lewis alone; but many figures having been obtained for Harris also, conclusions are similar there. The concluding Table (pp. 314-315) bears a note on other sources of income, with a similar table for 1953.

(i) *Tweed Industry*

128 After deducting the cost of wool imported from the main-
434 land and certain other costs, the net productive income was taken to be £307,000. The estimate may still err on the high
288 side but it indicates the prime importance of the industry in the Lews. For 1938 the quantity of tweed stamped, and certified as hand-woven by the Harris Tweed Association Ltd., was 2,830,900 imperial yards, rising in 1939 and 1940 to 4,000,000 yards, though falling thereafter. The value of the tweed produced in 1938 was approximately £500,000. The total wages paid in 1938 amounted to £140,000 (£139,600), rather more than half of which was paid to the weavers working at home. In 1940 this had risen to nearly £200,000, a slightly higher proportion falling to the weavers.

[365] In addition to the wages paid and the price paid for local wool, the industry is a valuable customer of the Electricity Company and directly or indirectly provides much other employment
[651] in the Island. The industry also provided a market for a large quantity of Scottish wool and contributed to taxation.

[458] The productivity and earnings of the industry continued to

APPENDIX I

128
434 be high until 1948. The year 1947 was the peak year for the pro-
288 duction of Harris Tweed, with over 5,000,000 yards (of which 3,765,000 yards were stamped, and some 1,500,000 unstamped).
458 In 1948 the production of unstamped tweed had fallen to 500,000 yards but stamped tweed came to 4,380,000 yards.

[651] Then, in the year 1948 the imposition of a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax struck the industry a crippling blow. The rise in prices of wool increased difficulties, and by 1950 few orders were being booked and men were being paid off. A few small men who had relatively large stocks frozen by the purchase tax were able to sell them off, but this minor compensation for losses was short-lived. The outlook is disquieting.

(ii) *Agriculture, Peat-making and House-building*, 1938

434 (a) *Agriculture.*—The estimated agricultural output shows
241 a total value of £189,100, and of this total the quantity fed to animals was valued at £103,000. This leaves £86,100 as the estimated value of crop produce consumed on the Island. Adding this figure to the gross livestock output we arrive at a total valuation of the agricultural production of Lewis of approximately £194,100. To arrive at the average output per croft there was deducted the farm production, estimated at $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total by calculation from known crop and stock returns. This gives a figure for crofts alone of £184,400. By dividing by 3750, we obtain an average value of the gross annual production by crofters as £49, or say £50. The inclusion of squatters' produce would add so slightly to the total figure as hardly to affect the average for rural households. Outlays being small, most of this net output may be regarded as 'net earnings'.

434 (*b*) *Peat.*—To this sum must be added firing and some share
222 in housing. The peat cut has been valued at £90,000, an average of £24 per croft; it demands much labour. As peat
314 is freely cut by cottars and squatters, etc. (estimated at 1050 or so), the average value might be given as £19 per rural
[372] household. In Stornoway the chief fuel is coal.

(*c*) *House-building.*—From 1920 to 1940 the Department of

241 restore it from the throes of disintegration, but even
427 important was the disinclination of the people to accep
fundamental changes. Indeed, only the following three
essential to crofting distinguish the system from that
teristic during the days of the clan: (1) individual a
land held in compact, permanent plots rather than dispe
and shifting cultivated strips, (2) the payment of a mo
rather than providing services and a share in the produ
the landlord, and (3) legal protection of the tenant fr
potential abuses by the proprietor or an intermediary.

The Croft

427 Land Tenure. The majority of Skye crofters rent a smal
acreage of arable and improved grass land from a landlo
the Department of Agriculture for Scotland. Although t
crofters pay an annual rent, their rather unique form o
tenure, granted under the Crofters' Act of 1886 and sub
sequent legislation, confers upon them almost all the r
of land ownership with few of the responsibilities. Th
crofter has security of tenure, the right to bequeath h
land to a member of his family, and relative freedom in
deciding what use shall be made of the croft. His nomi
rent very often has not been increased since the time o
Crofters Commission. Even where the Land Court has rev
the rents, they are not substantially higher than those
427 at the turn of the century. If his rent is nominal, hi
651 are negligible. In Scotland property tax is paid in equ
shares by the owner and occupier. Thus, as an occupier,

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427 crofter pays only half of the assessment, which is based on
651 rental value, and he is granted an additional benefit by having the land devalued seven-eighths for purposes of taxation. The majority pay £3 a year, or less, in rent, and, with a rateable value of 5s, or less, between 1s and 2s in taxes annually. Many pay no taxes.

427 342 423 On his small plot of land the crofter has his cottage. Here we find another rather unique interpretation of the laws of land tenure. Although the crofter is an occupier of the land, he is the owner of his dwelling. If he or one of his ancestors did not build the house, frequently with a grant and/or loan from the government, he will have paid "compensation" to his landlord for the dwelling upon accepting occupancy. Should he, at any time, relinquish his right to the croft, the crofter, in turn, will be entitled to full "compensation" for the value of the improvements on the holding as determined by the Land Court. The crofter's home is not entered on the county valuation roll and, therefore, is not subject to assessment.

427 241 233 In addition to the land under crops and improved grass, the crofter's rent entitles him to a share in the unimproved township grazing lands which are held in common and used under [623] a system of allocation known as "souming." In each township, [624] the collection of individual holdings, the crofters elect a grazing clerk and committee. They determine the number of cattle, sheep, and horses the individual is allowed to put out to graze. Usually each crofter has an equal share, but in

the cash income was £1044 3s 3d for 1952 and £1527 3s 9d for 1953. 427 241 231 434
I do not know the net profit.

Summary. The foregoing facts and figures should make it abundantly clear that a man with less than ten acres of arable land and with a "souming" of less than three or four cows and fifty sheep can expect only a meager and definitely inadequate return for his investment of time and money. Several crofters thought thirty or forty acres were required. This would mean a "souming" of 10 or 12 cows and 200 sheep, if the present proportion of grazing land to cultivated area were maintained. Some said 300 to 500 sheep would be closer to the mark in order to make a good living on the land. The budget for the large croft confirms this view, but even then we have seen crofting to contain a precarious element of risk. Most crofters felt that with twice their present acreage and "souming" they would be faced with a less hopeless proposition.[6] This, of course, would involve a further, coerced reduction in population. But this is all a matter for future planning. What we want to know is the contribution of crofting to the local and national economy.

The Contribution of Crofting to the Economy

If we are to determine the value of agricultural production from crofting, we must consider not only the crops and 231 241 651 657

[6] It is not only the Skyemen who want more land; see The Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954), pp. 18-19.

stock grown for local household consumption and export but also the subsidies and grants provided by the national government. I hasten to add that it is impossible to estimate accurately the specific contribution of crofting to the economy of Skye. There is no available means of distinguishing the status of crofter from that of farmer in the annual returns of crops and stock or in the applications of farmers and crofters for subsidies and grants. Before getting down to pounds and shillings, we may find a brief digression to review the acreages of land devoted to crop and stock raising and the yields to be expected helpful in our attempt to understand the many problems under which the Skyeman labors.

The total area of Skye is approximately 447,000 acres. Of this area, 422,415 acres were classified, in 1953, as rough grazing.[7] The land under cultivation, excluding grasses, was only 3,254 acres. There were 6,258 acres of grass intended for use as hay and 12,339 acres of permanent grass or improved pasture. The remainder, about 2,500 acres, was unclassified.

The stock, in 1953, was 1808 dairy cows and heifers, 8,108 cattle, 143,422 sheep, 41,888 fowls, 436 horses, and 319 pigs.[8] The dairy cows are mainly beef breeds which give a low yield of milk. The sheep are primarily the hardy blackface variety but some crofters have cheviots, which produce a finer wool. For each sheep there are about three acres of grazing

[7] Agricultural Returns, June 4, 1953, Department of Agriculture for Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland (in the files of the Department). These figures include adjacent small isles.

[8] Ibid.

As we shall see in the next chapter, there is hostility between the Portree dwellers and the crofters. One reason for this is the fact that the village pays more in property tax than the rest of the island put together while they receive relatively little in return. The feeling that the crofter is "aye wantin', but never pays a cooper" (a penny in taxes) is not at all unusual.

Summary

If the economic aspect of the culture is judged in terms of the standard of living it affords, it cannot be considered as satisfactory. There are persistent environmental obstacles, among them geographical isolation and an unfavorable climate for pastoral-agriculture. We have seen that few can hope for anything which would approach a desirable income in the surrounding commercial society. The crofters have been caught between two cultural patterns. The old system of land use has persisted. A new system has been superimposed. From this new system, however, the Sgiathanach has accepted few innovations of more recent origin than the eighteenth century, except those of a material or technological nature. Still, he has ceased to be self-sufficient, and, in doing so, he has become dependent on the commercial world for the very essentials of physical existence. For many of the crofters this means seasonal migration in the quest of employment. For some it means part-time or full-time work locally. For a relatively large proportion of the population it means dependence on contributions of their children and government agencies. This dependence has not led to a full

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652 PUBLIC FINANCE--government budgets and financial estimates; statistics of public revenues and expenditures; government accounts; appropriations and financial legislation; disposition of surplus revenues; methods of meeting deficits (e.g., borrowing, currency inflation, debt repudiation); fiscal policies (e.g., use of public finance to influence foreign trade or employment); public debt and debt service; issuance and manipulation of currency; relations of the treasury with private banks; government banks; etc. See also:

Borrowing and lending	426	Accounting	481
Money	436	Banking	453

There were, of course, other types of flights before 1948. In 1937, Captain Fresson took the first sick person off the island on charter—the beginning of the air-ambulance service so valuable to the islanders. During World War II, certain RAF mails were flown between Glasgow and Stornoway, on which there were first covers (December 1943, Glasgow/Stornoway; December 1943, Stornoway/Glasgow; and January 1944, Glasgow/Stornoway). The present air services are supplied by BEA and Loganair Ltd. The BEA plane route is Glasgow/Benbecula/Inverness and return. Loganair offer a service Glasgow/Benbecula/Stornoway and return. In recent years this small firm has built up a most valuable inter-island air link.

OVERLAND ROUTES

The history of overland communications in the island is a short one, though it does, like American history, have many characteristic highlights. In early times getting from one place to another was simply a matter of following well-worn tracks across the moorland, skirting lochsides and marshy lands and just taking the shortest distance possible between starting point and destination. Considering the length and breadth of the island, it is surprising that it was not until Sir James Matheson's appearance in Lewis that road-making was undertaken with any determination. This activity stemmed largely from the desire to get something in return for the outlay involved in keeping literal death from starvation clear of the doors of the island folk.

The report of the Rev James Headrick (prepared for Lord Seaforth in 1800 and published about 1820) indicated that the provision of roads would be of great benefit to the island. A footnote in the report (of probable date 1816) urges assistance from Parliament or the Board of Fisheries to complete the road from Stornoway to Loch Roag, which had been begun by Lord Seaforth. There is a bitter complaint that though the Seaforth property bears a large share in the county assessment, 'not a penny of public money has ever been laid out in Lewis'. Another footnote records that the road from Stornoway to Aignish in the east was made in 1815. No large undertakings followed Mr Headrick's

factured goods and foreign produce. There is a Branch office of the National Bank of Scotland, two friendly societies, four inns and so many as about a score of dram shops.' The annual burgh revenue was £17 3s and the expenditure £15 17s 6d. The town boasted ten streets, a saw mill, a mill for carding wool, a corn mill, a very large malt barn and mill, and an extensive distillery. These buildings were constructed 'in a style not much inferior to the best buildings of their class in Scotland . . . A stranger on arriving at it by any route, or from any quarter, is surprised to see so large and flourishing a place in so remote and uninviting a corner. Its broad field of houses, its capacious bay, and spacious piers, its occasional crowd of shipping, and stir of trade and gaiety, and the vicinity to it of the aristocratic mansion of Seaforth-lodge, render it a striking and very welcome relief to the prevailing dreariness, sterility and inertion of the rude country in which it is nestled.'

In 1901, when the West Highland line was opened, the return fare from Mallaig to Stornoway by MacBrayne's steamers was 14s 6d. One could go from Glasgow to Stornoway by steamer for 31s 6d return. A *Guide* for that year indicated that Stornoway had three hotels, six churches and a Court House, singled out for specific mention for some reason. A Ross-shire *Directory* of 1914 describes the Nicholson Institute as one of the four Junior Student Centres in the county. Its Leaving Certificate results were the best in the north of Scotland, with a total of 95 higher and 234 lower passes, and no less than 20 passes in Higher Science.

Stornoway is a Burgh of Barony, dating from 18 October 1607. It had, of course, been a town of sorts long before the Charter was granted by James VI; the Charter was executed under the Great Seal conveying equal shares to three of the leaders of the Fife Adventurers. Under the Police Act of 1862 Stornoway became a Police Burgh. A bank agent in the town was appointed first Chief Magistrate on 31 December 1863. Under the 1892 Act, the designation 'Town Council' superseded that of 'Burgh Commission' and the Chief Magistrate assumed the title of Provost, the senior and junior magistrates becoming known as senior and junior bailies. The present Municipal Buildings were opened in 1929. The previous building was only an idea in 1897; it took

175 From the Napoleonic Wars to 1914 the amount of
228 herring cured on the West Coast of Scotland rose and fell.
251 In 1810–14 the East Coast cure was half the West Coast
458 cure, but the peace of 1815 brought the capture of the Continental markets and the East Coast herring export leapt up. It averaged 500,000 barrels from 1850 to 1870, a million from 1880 to 1900, and one to two million barrels
[439] until 1914. With the decline in the export to the Plantations, the West Coast export fell, to rise by 1890 and reach a peak from 1900 to 1914. Thus, although no more than from a tenth to a fifth of the East Coast yield, that of the West Coast had risen greatly.[1] Of this, the Stornoway cure formed the major part.

175 The chief early type of catch, of white fish (cod, ling
228 and hake), was developed too, and swelled to a peak by 1900, then dwindled and fell. The average Stornoway District catch of white fish for a dozen years to 1900 was valued at over £100,000, much of it caught by local boats, and some of it cured at small 'creeks' (*e.g.* on the west of the Island, on Loch Roag, notably at Carloway). The cure, a strong coarse food, was shipped to Ireland and the Clyde; but after 1900, fresh trawled fish replaced the cured. From £100,000 before 1900 the value fell to little over £10,000 in 1912–13, £1000 in 1920, and half that in 1921—½ per cent of the value in 1900!

Thus the herring fishing became the most important
[471] to the Islanders, at first by employment on East Coast boats.
452 Later they purchased boats and gear for themselves, helped
[652] principally by advances from Island and East Coast curers, though also by State loans.

[1] *Fishery Board for Scotland*, Table 25 (1938), and Table 23: 6000 barrels in 1790–95; 80,000 in 1870–75; 100,000 in 1912, and 160,000 in 1913. For fair comparison with Table 25, about 25 per cent should be added to quantities, as explained in the notes to the Tables, on the 'seastick', and final reduced, or 'bungpacked', state of barrelled herring (listed in Table 23).

623 The Trustees of the Stornoway Trust have not found
423 it easy to meet the cost of keeping up the valuable property
427 of the Castle and Park, nor to carry the burden of its rates,
178 no adequate income being available for the purpose.
874 Today, however, Leverhulme's gift is being put to good use as a Technical College, opened in September 1952.

Division of the available farms, after providing about
311 200 small crofts (of ten acres or so), still left the problem
427 of finding legal homes on legal tenure for the remaining
362 cottars and squatters.[1] The Department of Agriculture
656 arranged to feu plots of 'skinned land' on the outrun of certain townships, including one in the extreme north and others in Lochs. About 200 of these little holdings with potato ground were provided. On the holders' behalf the Department feued land from the owner, after obtaining the consent of the Common Grazings Committee of the township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', *i.e.* for enclosure of a portion of the common. The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem disproportionate to the economic value of the holdings. Yet difficulties of law and custom had been allowed to go from bad to worse during the past eighty years; and these difficulties were overcome.

To encourage better housing in the crofting counties,
362 loans are made to 'crofters and fishermen feuars' person-
652 ally. Local stone, or latterly concrete, is used, and much
[347] of the building is done by the 'man of the house' himself, and his friends. From 1920 to 1940, nearly 1200 loans were made in Lewis and Harris for the erection (or improvement) of houses, and in a few cases for the erection

[162] [1] Estimated at 1200 to 1500 shortly before, the open question was whether subdivision during the previous eighty years was to be recognised and accepted.

362 of new steadings. The average amount of loans (totalling
652 £166,000) was under £150; repayment has been satisfactory, and the arrangements made by the Department of Agriculture won general praise among the people. Yet 1200 houses were very far from replacing all the 'black houses', and many more are needed.

433 In terms of cash profit, ten crofters today run their
427 crofts less remuneratively than the farmer they dispos-
241 essed; even together they may show little more total production than the farmer. Nevertheless, these ten crofts each allow a part, at least, of the basis for a country home.
[423] Hence the weight of public opinion supported, nay, insisted on 'giving back' the land to the descendants of those who
654 had worked it sixty or a hundred years before. The State
423 bought the farm stock at a high valuation, and till lately without adequate reform of crofting use and wont. The farms having now been divided, a great emotional issue, which had smouldered for half a century, has been brought to an end. Although the practical results are small, the crofters feel that justice has been done, and that fact may
311 be a great gain. Now that there is no more green reclaimed land to be had, the reclamation of the peat moor, or the grey 'skinned' boulder clay has to be faced.

By financing the renewal of Leverhulme's brief attempt to reclaim deep peat on Arnish Moor, south of Stornoway, the Canadian, T. B. Macaulay, made a resolute attempt to
[241] solve the island's main agricultural problem. Good crops were grown, potatoes and silage produced, and a dairy farm established. But the difficulties called for continuity of effort and research. From the practical point of view of 'demonstration' it had been a mistake to tackle deep and almost level peat, black in colour and viscous in consistency.
[407] There was not the light machinery required for cultivation.

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653 PUBLIC WORKS—government construction of dams, reservoirs, canals, ship channels, railways, highways, sewers, and public buildings; method of accomplishment (e.g., by labor drafts, by contract with private entrepreneurs); public works policies (e.g., to relieve unemployment, to increase public revenues); maintenance of public works; etc. See also:

Cultural goals	188	Forced labor	488
Water supply	313	Highway and railway construction	489
Construction contractors	331	River and harbor improvements	603
Public buildings	344	Political graft	687
Sewers	366	Public works programs to relieve unemployment	748

1901, the average was only 5·086, the county average being 3·983. 161
The population was still to reach its peak in Lewis, some 30,000, 162
in 1911. Emigration was at a fairly high rate, some 2,000 every 175*
decade, but this was no relief with births between 8,000 and [167]
9,000 during the same period. In 1894 it was estimated that the number of cottars (or squatters) as distinct from crofters was in the region of 1,000. These people, mostly relatives of crofters, constituted a serious incubus on every crofting township.

Elsewhere in the Highlands, the enlargement of crofting hold- 175*
ings relieved the land-hunger situation. It was not possible for 423
the same to be done in Lewis, and Harris possessed even less 241
useful land to share out. Many applications were made by crofters either for an increase in their own holdings or an increase in the acreage of common grazings held by each township. Though some 500 acres were in fact handed over by the estate management for crofting purposes, there was a steady refusal to diminish the acreage of farms.

The Congested Districts Board was appointed in 1897, super- 175*
vising public works to relieve the people of a certain amount of 657
their ills. It carried on until 1912, when it passed into the newly- 656
formed Board of Agriculture. The Congested Districts Board 423
could have achieved much more than it did. It scraped away 427
only a little of the vast problem. The next major landmark in the 241
history of crofting legislation was the Small Landholders (Scot- [653]
land) Act of 1911. It extended certain provisions introduced for the crofter in 1886, and further increased the class of tenants who benefited by bringing in the tenants of holdings rented at not more than £50 (£30 in Lewis) or not exceeding 50 acres (30 acres in Lewis). The 1911 Act also brought into existence the Scottish Land Court in place of the Crofters Commission. In Lewis, however, the hunger for more land went on unabated and reached a not insignificant peak during the later years of Lord Leverhulme's regime.

A new Crofters Commission was set up in 1955, following on the report of a Commission of Enquiry under the chairmanship of the then Principal T. M. Taylor of Aberdeen University. Fresh provision[2] for the reorganisation, development and regulation of the crofting system in the seven crofting counties of Scotland

many recommendations, and though some road making began in 491
1791, progress was slow; in the course of fifty years, only 45 miles 497
of road were created, less than a mile for each year. When Sir 175*
James Matheson took over in 1844 and planned to open up the island, he started with these 45 miles. On his death in 1878 there were more than 200 miles of road on which, with the necessary connecting bridges, he spent £25,593. 731

In the late autumn of 1882, a great gale swept away the hay 175*
and corn crops. This, added to the complete failure of the potato [146]
harvest, led to distress throughout the island. At a meeting called 653 •
in Stornoway in December it was resolved that a memorial be forwarded to Mr Gladstone, then Prime Minister, craving aid from Government resources, or that some form of public works be started. No immediate response was made to this appeal. However, the matter had been raised, investigations were made and 653
eventually the Western Highlands and Islands (Scotland) Works 175*
Act, 1891, passed into law. It authorised, *inter alia*, the expenditure of a sum not exceeding £15,000 on constructing and improving the road between Carloway and Stornoway, and certain other roads approved by the Secretary for Scotland.

That Carloway was chosen as a terminus from Stornoway is 491
significant. At the time it was probably the best fishing centre on 228
the west coast of Lewis. Loch Carloway, which branches eastward 175*
from the mouth of Loch Roag, is a safe harbour and offers easy access; and any attempt to develop the real fishing potential of the district was a step in the right direction. At the time, the road from Carloway to Stornoway was a wandering one, 23 miles long, badly formed in many parts and ill-suited to heavy traffic. The proposed road was to be only 16 miles long and would, it was said, afford easy and quick access to Stornoway; fish would arrive there in fresh condition, suitable for transportation by boat to southern markets. As soon as the necessary plans were prepared and a contract drawn up, the work started. Progress was rapid, but financial difficulties arose. The contractor went bankrupt and the engineer was dismissed. The undertaking came to a complete standstill. Of the 16 miles, only 8 were completed. About 5 miles were partially made; the remaining 3 miles lay untouched. 491
The 1891 Act brought into existence a number of minor roads 653
79 175*

178 purposes, to a community which, as an agricultural
311 entity, requires transfusions from the larger society, is accompanied by patterns of specialization and individuation. The following table (Table III)[1] of agricultural statistics for the parish of Barvas demonstrates the change, over the past 100 years, from intensive subsistence agriculture to specialized production. From a broad-based subsistence use of the croft (as revealed by the number of acres cultivated for barley, potatoes and oats; and by the number of cattle, especially milk cows), there emerges a tendency
[231] toward specialized production. The number of sheep,
[236] which require less attention than cattle, has increased
[241] since the late 1920's when the weaving of Harris Tweed
[246] commenced in earnest; and around this time there also occurs a differentiation in cultivation, between the production of barley and potatoes (used largely for human consumption) and the production of oats (used largely for
[231] feeding livestock). After 1931 agricultural returns began to distinguish between beef and dairy cattle. During the past ten years the number of beef cattle in the parish of Barvas has increased.

241 An important factor which crofters on Lewis now
654 take into account when making decisions about their

[1] [See p.ix--Analyst]

241 continuing investment in crofting acti
654 availability of various subsidies whic
of fencing grants, calf subsidies, and
available to other agriculturalists as
crofters. The certainty of support wh
is important in the decision-making of
of their generally fluctuating, low-le
contrast to the decision-making of far
sheep or cattle on a large scale. The
to be more affected by market prices.
[648] indicate that they would hesitate to s
entry into the European Economic Commu
higher level of prices for beef, becau
might be jeopardized. Subsidies can b
incentives for specialized production,
selves sustain crofting as a socioecon
[178] And in general, despite the incentives
production is declining in the face of
alternatives available to the emerging

178 A decline in township communalism
241 in the individuation of agricultural p
496 another index of change in economic st
fencing of individual land and purchas
farming machinery are everyday occurre

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ich subsidy offers
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Many Lewis crofters
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land is reduced if his application is granted. Also, a group of men in a township may apply to the Crofters Commission for permission to fence off a portion of the common grazing land and improve it as grazing for their mutual use. Grants are available for both schemes. The township reseeding schemes, adopted widely after their introduction, have been superseded by the number of individual apportionments.

The first township reseeding schemes in Lewis were tried as an experiment in Ness, Harris, Barvas and Bragar. "The Department of Agriculture fellow [654] watched us every step because it was an experiment. Oh, there were times we cursed him and wanted him away." In Shawbost, a few interested crofters went around the village to see if others were interested. "We got a bad name for it; no one could see anything to it. But those people got the benefit of it." According to one man, initial reluctance to participate in the schemes was overcome when the agricultural advisor pointed out that if they overstated their costs, they would not have to pay much money themselves.

Between 1959 and 1962, seven township reseeding schemes were developed in North and New Shawbost, and four in South Shawbost. They were intended to give

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RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT--government-supported research in applied science (e.g., agriculture, fisheries, mining, forestry, nutrition, medicine); public extension and demonstration services; government subsidies to weak or essential industries (e.g., airlines, shipping, agriculture); exploration; coast, geodetic, and geological surveys; meteorological research and weather stations; etc. See also:

Mining and forestry	31	Agricultural science	242
Water and air transport	50	Exploring expeditions	481
Cultural goals	165	Military research	711
Marine industries	228	Public Health	744

171 three-field system with improve
involving consolidation of land
ment feared that consolidation
meant a reduction in taxes and
175 The British government was face
423 in the migration from the Highl
[166] had long been a source of good

A reaction against the mat
industrial revolution developed
holders sold their land to larg
laborers. The Taylor Report (1
[181] value which is still placed on
that crofting communities "emb
way of life which in a civilisa
and industrial in character is
own intrinsic quality."

175 The various acts protectin
241 attempts to keep labor disperse
423 improve the use of land, and th
self-sufficiency in food produc
• [654] agencies and subsidies were int
to achieve such aims. Among th
affected by these encouragement
central government were crofte

ed rotation methods
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l in England as small-
ge landholders to become
954: 9) reflects the
country life by maintaining
body a free and independent
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g smallholdings were also
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e many agriculturalists
s emanating from the
rs.

175 information via the technology of mass society to
423 affect the choices made by succeeding generations.
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178 For example, young people are able to leave the island
[464] and work in British cities or abroad, sending money
[457] home to sustain their aged parents who by law cannot
be removed from the croft.

E. Changing Land Use

311 Darling (1955) described the previous Highland way
175 of life as a well-adapted, ecologically balanced system,
182 in which proper use of land was attempted by limiting
the number of livestock, preserving a proper ratio
between cattle and sheep, and regulating the flow of
stock on the land throughout the year. Dikes (fences
of turf or stone) and drains were communally repaired
178 and cleaned. Although continuity with the previous way
311 of life is evident today, the overall picture is one of
[182] partial use, and misuse, of natural resources. Various
[654] advisors from government organizations and colleges have
been brought in to encourage effective husbandry and
land use.

1. Specialization and Individuation: The change
from an ecologically adapted, internally regulated
community in which land was used intensively for subsistence

288 the automatic shuttle; all other processes have been
178 built into the design of the Hattersley loom (cf.
402 Thomson 1969). In other words, weaving does not entail
288 very specialized skills and is not difficult to learn.
463 A sailor can come home and learn to weave in a short period of time, or pick up the trade again with ease after having been absent from the loom for a long time.
[571] Neighbors substitute for each other when someone is ill
[573] if a tweed is "urgent." Wives help their husbands, and young boys their fathers and uncles. Such low-level specialization and substitutability are complementary to crofting activities and the maintenance of neighborhood ties, and may be seen to favor continuance of the occupation of weaving.

874 The Lews Castle College in Stornoway, established
286 as a technical college in 1953 in a building that was
[469] formerly the home of Sir James Matheson, offers training courses in weaving for adults which last for ten weeks and qualify a person for membership in the Weavers Union (cf. Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). The
[872] college also sends weaving instructors to all the public schools on the island to instruct young boys in the
• 654 rudiments of weaving. The Highlands and Islands
286 Development Board have in the past offered loans and
288 grants with which to purchase looms, and government aid has protected the mills.

592 like to leave the loom for the time it took to look
241 after the sheep."
311
288

592 A fourth household consists of three unmarried
23 siblings in their 40's and 50's who recently sold their
24 cattle and now keep only sheep for their own consumption.
[233] They cultivate a small amount of oats and hay to feed
[246] the sheep during the winter. The brother who was largely
[288] responsible for taking care of the livestock is now
[463] "concentrating on the loom," and his brother works in the mill. Their sister, who used to work in hotels on the mainland, now keeps house for them. Described as a
[409] "self-contained family," they have a tractor and a deep-
[404] freeze and take care of their peat and the harvesting
• 654 of crops by themselves. One of their crofts has become
423 too waterlogged even for grazing and was sold recently to the son of a local crofter, not for agriculture but as a prerequisite for applying to the Department of Agriculture for a housing grant. Only tenants of crofts can apply for such grants. As this particular croft is too wet to be cultivated or used as a house site, the only motive which the new tenant has to become a crofter is to gain access to governmental subsidy.

592 The fifth household is composed of a retired couple
233 and their son and his wife and family. They have no
311 cattle, and use the crofts for grazing sheep.

241 grazing land and he could not transfer such property in
175 a will. Similarly a crofter had no right to his buaile,
423 and could not formally protest if another crofter sought to apportion this land for his own use (see Chapter 2
[829] for a discussion of apportionments). But in both situations, informal understandings superseded legal rights.

241 Various legislative acts which followed the 1886
657 act focussed attention on the crofter. Various matters
175 associated with crofting are handled by a Crofters
• [654] Commission. Crofters have access to grants and loans
[498] to improve land and build fences and homes. They may buy goods at low prices in a nearby cooperative store. As crofts were fenced, land around the townships became scarce and non-crofters found it difficult to keep large numbers of cattle and sheep.

241 Within recent years it has become possible for non-
178 crofters to gain title to the small plots of land on
423 which their houses are built. Some loans are available
[452] to them for building houses. Non-crofters have access
[654] to the various subsidies available to all agriculturalists, such as the subsidies for raising hill sheep and beef
[829] cattle. There is still the feeling, however, that crofters have rights which non-crofters do not have and that in conflicts over scarce goods crofters have

241 the edge over non-crofters. "Squatters can do what
178 they like, cut peats, put sheep and cattle on the common
423 grazing, but this is a privilege, not a right."
829

The clerk of a grazings committee says, "When it comes to an argument between a crofter and a squatter, the crofter always wins. A squatter has rights only with the grazing committee's permission. If one crofter disagrees, the squatter is out."

241 A squatter muses bitterly, "I wanted crofting status
423 because I wanted to get a Department of Agriculture
578 grant to build a house. I work on the peat road; I go to all the fanks. But at a township meeting, they didn't want me to get crofting status. They were afraid I would start grabbing peat banks or apportionments in the common grazing or something. There's your brotherly love for you."

311 4. Subsidies: In the section entitled "Changing
• 654 Land Use" I suggested that the availability of subsidies has encouraged a more specialized investment in agricultural activites.

654 The villagers are keenly aware of outside institutions
829 which give money. They speak to each other about forms
241 which they receive from the Department of Agriculture and the Crofters Commission, in much the same way as they are curious about the number of tweeds which another

• 654 person has. The gigantic bureaucracy of government
829 agencies is mysterious and unpredictable. One can
241 never be certain when or for what reason another economic increment may come. "I used to throw away a form from the Department of Agriculture until I found out from somebody that you could get money with it. You say you're planting so much of your land in oats, and later you fill out another form saying you didn't get a very good return, and they send you a deficiency payment."

For some crofters, the requirements of the subsidies
241 have affected the extent and techniques of agricultural
242 activity. For example, one man used to work his land
654 in the way that his ancestors learned would bring best
178 results: lazybeds were aligned in strips that would drain well and catch the sun, and stones were left in the soil to capture the sun's warmth and thereby facilitate the growth of potatoes. Now he has merged the separate strips, cleared the stones, and divided the land into units that allow him easily to calculate how much he has used for what crops, because to be eligible for a particular grant, a certain percentage of arable land must be ploughed with grass seed and rotated with other crops.

241 The Department of Agriculture and the Crofters
654 Commission often overlap in their subsidy-giving function

241 The Department of Agriculture dispenses subsidies to
• 654 all Scottish farmers, not just to crofters, and handles
[433] about 210,000 claims per year. Lewis produces 0.4%
of the agricultural output of Scotland, and 8.1% of the
agricultural output of the Scottish islands.

654 The major subsidies available to Scottish farmers,
233 including crofters, are for raising hill cattle, beef
calves, and hill and upland sheep. Sheep and cattle
subsidies were made available in 1941, in the early years
of the war, to increase their production. During wartime,
Britain was more dependent than formerly on her own
resources, and attempted to encourage production. Between
[458] the two world wars, agriculture had undergone a recession,
especially in the hills and uplands, because of a number
of events in world economics, such as competition from
New Zealand and Argentina in production of cattle. As
part of the scheme of the postwar Labor government,
agricultural support was made statutory.

For example, a man who keeps hill cattle may receive
L18.70 per cow as well as L5 for each acre cultivated to
feed his cattle during the winter. He receives L5 for
each cow which is tested for brucellosis. In the 1970-71
agricultural year, Shawbost received over L2,000 in sheep
and cattle subsidies, divided among 37 men receiving
subsidies for cattle and 36 men receiving subsidies for
sheep.

• 654 Subsidies for fertilizer and for lime to neutralize
241 acidic soil also originated during wartime, when the
government was trying to control scarce materials.
Agricultural subsidies in the form of cropping grants
and improvement grants are available both to crofters
(from the Crofters Commission) and to others of the same
economic status as crofters (from the Department of
Agriculture). Most of the improvement grants are for
fencing (rather than drainage or other improvements).
To receive a cropping grant, a farmer must sow one-third
of all tilled acres in grass, and apply three hundred-
weights of fertilizer to each acre planted with oats,
barley or wheat. Lewis is in the third or poorest
category of agricultural land designated by the Department
of Agriculture, and receives the highest rate of subsidy
(L11 per acre, as opposed to L5 per acre for good land).

For some people, even the incentive of subsidies
is not sufficient to stimulate them to farm or keep live-
654 stock. "It's too expensive to work the croft. There's
241 not enough return to make it worth it. The Department
829 of Agriculture gives you a subsidy for fertilizer, but
it still costs you something if you're not doing much
of anything else with the land. The croft is a sideline;
it helps you keep busy; you grow some of your own food.
But you've got to make a living some other way."

233 One crofter who gets subsidies says that he keeps
241 sheep and ploughs the land to feed them only as a "hobby."
• 654 He uses the word "hobby" because, in comparison with the
523 income he gets from working regularly in the mill, he
434 does not get a good return for his investment.

233 A crofter who has been weaving all his life says
288 that the income he receives from his cattle and sheep
434 does not compare with the income he receives from weaving.
654 Subsidies are counted as an important part of the income
he receives for the livestock. "Last year I got L28 for
a heifer—not a very good price, but then I got an L11
829 subsidy as well." He does not believe that anyone could
434 make a living from crofting alone. "You say some of the
241 people in Uist are able to make a living at it? They
might be getting social security as well, they're that
sly. Anyway, members of the family are probably sending
money home from sea or from the mainland. You need a
weekly wage. If the tweeds disappear, the only thing a
man could do would be to go to sea." (See Appendix C
for an example of the balance sheet of a croft.)

233 A few families work seriously at rearing cattle for
463 sale in local or town markets. These are usually
composed of several male adults, of which one or more
work in the mill or do weaving and someone is largely
responsible for croft work. Most of these people look

233 Most of these people look
829 askance at the idea of Britain joining the European
648 Economic Community. "If the Common Market comes, that
• 654 means no more subsidy for livestock. That'll mean the
end of crofting. They'll get good prices for their
beef, but feeding stuff will be very expensive."

"I don't know much about the Common Market, but
I'm against it. They'll do away with the subsidies.
If it weren't for the subsidies, most people just
wouldn't bother with cattle and sheep; it wouldn't be
worth their while, the feeding stuff is getting so
[246] expensive. The people here used to take in a hundred
bags or so of potatoes to feed the stock. But the climate
is so bad you don't know what kind of a return you're
going to get, and the work is so hard it just isn't worth
the bother, so people prefer to buy feeding stuff. And
if you spend more on feeding your animals than you get
for them, what's the use? Of course we've been here
all our lives. It would be hard to leave. But if the
weaving goes—"

"I was talking to my cousin in Glasgow. He says
the cattle are going to be the big thing with the Common
Market. The price of beef is going to go up. I don't
think people here can keep cattle if they don't get the
subsidy. They can't keep enough cattle, and they can't
be sure of a good price every year."

632 578 to neglect crofting and to concentrate on weaving. Those who still participate in crofting activities may neglect their communal obligations, such as going out on the moor after sheep, and may prefer to harvest crops, cut peat or perform other agricultural activities independent of other villagers.

632 182 462 Despite these tendencies, certain criteria of firm boundedness are still found in the township network. All the adult males of the township, including non-crofters, are responsible for serving as officers in the township grazing committee. The committee draws up rules for the [654] organization of communal crofting activities, and applies for grants from the Crofters Commission or Department of Agriculture, for example, to build a new township fence, plant trees as shelter belts for livestock, extend a peat road, or to fence and reseed areas of moorland in "township reseeding schemes" (see Chapter 2). All adult males of [464] the township are expected to provide labor to implement such plans.

632 571 666 Township meetings, chaired by the clerk of the grazing committee, are held twice a year. A vote is taken when any decision is to be made. The vote is usually unanimous, as all discussion, argument and persuasion have occurred before the meeting, and those who disagree

288 434 The Harris Tweed industry has provided a higher standard of living, but income from this source is [458] inconsistent. The standards developed during prosperous [342] times cannot be met during difficult times. Many-roomed [336] houses with indoor plumbing are more heavily taxed than [661] smaller, less modern homes; loans must be repayed; [426] a car and a television once gotten are difficult to [745] give up. A weaver must pay for his insurance stamp, [651] which amounts to over L70 a year; and income tax takes a large percentage of a person's income, in large lump sums which are paid twice a year rather than in small amounts throughout the year. When income fluctuates, any constant demand for monetary outlay constitutes a liability.

654 181 To many persons outside the island concerned with Highland and Island development, Lewis has a reputation for "subsidy-grabbing." According to one official, "The people are too used to getting subsidies. They tend to sit back and rely on the subsidies, which makes it difficult to develop the place."

[829] "We pay tax," said one weaver. "Why not get back what we can in subsidy?"

651 434 Income tax collectors shake their heads in despair at the thought of trying to get a true estimate of a crofter's income, except for jobs such as weaving for

175 261 [132] [443] During a huge snow-fall that o
Lewis in the 1950's, the mobile g
supply vehicles could not come ou
and a group of men had to make an
for provisions, after which many
that they always had a good suppl
[404] [365] mackerel and herring. Many villa
freezers to store beef and mutton
not trust the freezers, that a fa
which occasionally happens in thi
far-away repairmen—would bring d
458 226 fully on them for keeping their m
industry is going through one of
more men go out more often to fis
out every night for the last week
a tweed, and I won't have one for
I don't know what I'm going to do
sea. Three of us caught one hund
[251] night. I salted my share, and di
away. These are the hard times.
them during the next six weeks."

233 [654] A few people raise beef catt
on subsidies for encouragement to
[234] [435] [434] [648] beginning to keep cows again for
reasons that freight charges make

ocurred on
rocery vans and other
to the west side,
expedition into town
families made certain
of meal, salted
gers have gotten deep
others say they do
llure in electricity--
region of gales and
isaster if they depended
eat. When the tweed
its periodic depressions,
n. "I've been going
or so. I don't have
the next six weeks.
maybe I'll go back to
red mackerel last
dn't give any of them
We're going to need

le, depending largely
do so. A few are
milk, giving as their
the bottled milk too

166 The image of the island
484 as spiritual home is fostered by The Stornoway Gazette,
823 and by nostalgic songs, most of which were written by
204 islanders who emigrated to Canada in the first quarter
[533] of the century.

632 The crofting township as a strongly bounded network
241 continues to exist, although crofting as a socioeconomic pattern which evolved in a situation of limited social and geographical mobility, low cash reserves, and the restriction of a large population to a region of limited resources, is very different from crofting as defined by an office in Inverness. As far as the crofter is concerned, to be defined as a crofter by the Crofters Commission and other government agencies is to have access to resources which affect the environment in which he makes his choices.

241 The individual is faced with the semi-security of
288 crofting and weaving, in contrast with the exciting but risk-laden opportunities offered by the dominant urban-
• [654] industrial mainland. Crofting and Harris Tweed have been protected by government legislation. Various subsidies
[745] and loans are available. In times of unemployment, social security is available. Extremely important as contributers
621 to boundedness are the non-economic incentives: the
156 individual has a place in a human com[illegible] he is given

Chapter 7

Conclusions:

Summary and Theoretical Considerations

A. Summary

105 Crofting townships of the Highlands and Islands
[131] Scotland are within a few hours' travel of the major
[484] of Britain. An extremely high percentage of the you
[873] people in the crofting counties attend universities
other institutions of higher education. Politically
[641] administratively, economically and in other ways, th
crofting population participates in the larger urban
industrial society of Britain.

105 Despite this participation, the township-qua-vi
632 community is a relatively strongly bounded system.
621 thesis investigates factors contributing to the stro
[121] boundedness. From a relatively self-sufficient econ
105 unit using agricultural practices suited to the exte
178 cultivation of marginal land by smallholders, the to
632 has during recent decades changed to one dependent o
241 goods and services provided by the larger society.
105 Crofting activities nevertheless persist, in part be
241 of the incentives offered by government bodies such
• 654 Crofters Commission and the Department of Agricultur

233 As these quotations bring out, the subsidy enables
654 people to risk rearing cattle under conditions that would otherwise make success very uncertain.

476 5. Communalism: Despite the decline in various
571 agricultural activities and the individuation of land use, some activities persist which require mutual aid.
[484] Conditions of low geographical mobility, in which mutual watchfulness and competitive gamesmanship have developed (see section on "Social Marginality"), contribute to the strong boundedness of the township network. There is still competition over who begins an agricultural
[156] activity at a particular time of the year. No one wants
[221] to be so early that he stands out like an over-eager novice running risks of frost or other bad weather, but there is an element of pride in being the first to
314 harvest potatoes or bring in the peat. Almost everyone
571 cuts peat, a time-consuming and back-breaking job made
476 pleasanter with a large labor force; and every aspect of the activity--the time of cutting and bringing in, the length of time required to cut peats, the size of the peats when dry, the type of meal served to the work crew, the evenness of the final peat stack--is subject to intense scrutiny.

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198 and practical support, could win through to make marks on the
island scene.

A significant event occurred in 1964: the establishment of
185 the Highlands & Islands Development Board. This was Britain's
• 654 first regional development authority run by members who are
433 either full- or part-time. The Board is grant-aided and has two
broad functions: to improve the social and economic condition
of the Highland people and assist in making the region more
significant in a national context. The Board's attention in the
Western Isles has been concentrated in the expansion of the
[198] fishing industry and the development of tourism. In both these
[205] fields there has been a considerable success: upwards of 100,000
visitors per annum visit the islands; and a fleet of over thirty
boats, equipped with the latest gear, operate out of Stornoway.

Also in 1964 was produced the Development Plan for the
433 County of Ross & Cromarty. So far as Lewis was concerned, the
185 Plan was based on an average decrease in population of some
[169] 1,500 persons for every year in the future of the island. This, if
carried to its logical conclusion, will see complete desertion in
fifteen years or so! However, even if nothing further is done to
halt emigration, particularly in the landward areas of the island,
the population will remain around a stable 15,000. The
County Development Plan contains much food for thought, but
as with most county plans, does not indicate actual development
projects. Rather, it lists all the resources of the island for the
attention of those concerned. Potential developments include the
setting up and exploitation of predominantly-fulltime crofts,
shell-fishing, and inshore white fishing, herring and offshore white
fishing, forestry, tourism and holiday accommodation, minerals,
peat utilisation, hill-land improvement, marine reclamation and
seaweed resources. This list is significant and merits the attention
of the Highlands & Islands Development Board.

Harris, on the other hand, presents possibilities on a much
smaller and limited scale. However, there are expansion potentials
in tweed, knitwear, and craft industries, with tourism promising
to be a good base for the island's economy. As the age-structure
of the crofting population changes, there will be a useful re-
organisation and enlargement of existing holdings to make for

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178 follows that as the descendants of the crofters of the South-
west and East Highlands could and did change their ways
within the space of a lifetime, so those of the North-west
114 Highlands and the Isles can change too. Given the co-
176 operative leadership which is arising in the twentieth
century and was totally lacking in the ideals and training
185 typical of the nineteenth, that change may be not only for
the better in the development of 'individual' qualities,
such as the power to do hard work for 'success'; change
may also maintain and develop what still remains of the
old characteristics which gave the community life of
the Gael, with all its faults, elements of beauty and
sanctity.

In an article on "The Human Geography of Lewis",
A. Stevens (1925) described the Island and people. His
comparison of the cold, wet 'desert' of Lewis and its
corn-patch 'oases' with the desert of heat and drought
[182] and its oases of palms, is ingenious and suggestive. One
[241] might follow up the analogy and compare irrigation to the
drainage of moorland and its fertilisation, which form the
means of reclamation at home, and draw parallels between
their immediate results on the land and the ultimate effects
on work and social life.

194 Until the agricultural revolution, the unwritten story
241 of Scotland was in great part that of a long, uneven struggle
to make sour soils fit for cultivation and productive of a
134 livelihood. Most of all is this true for North-west Scot-
178 land; moreover, there, for eighty years past, the struggle
has been a losing one, in the sense that arable land has been
241 decreasing and rough pasture deteriorating. In spite of
subsidies, the 'marginal farms' of Scotland have a tough
134 fight. Yet lands from Scandinavia to Finland and North
176 Germany are giving a lead in peat-reclamation, where
• 654

CH. I ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

241 Scotland had begun to lag since her pioneering effort from
134 1750 to 1880.
178 Fortunately, Scotland is now recognising that in peat
• 654 reclamation, on the one hand, and the improvement of
[632] rough grazing, or at least its maintenance, on the other,
[185] there lies a problem of national importance. More than
half the land surface of the country consists of mountain
311 and heath land used for grazing, not including 'deer
forests' from which sheep had been altogether excluded.
The arable land of Scotland is less than one-sixth of the
whole, with about one-twelfth in addition under permanent
grass. Moreover, since most of the enclosed land is distant
from the area of rough grazing, the latter is partly wasted.
The difficulties of soil and sea and of the whole economic
situation are great, and must be understood.

(*b*) THE ISLAND LANDSCAPE, LAND-FORMS AND GEOLOGY

1. Aspects of the Isle

131 Lewis-and-Harris, the most northerly isle of the
Outer Hebrides, and the largest, is roughly lozenge-shaped.
Although only thirty miles in width, it is over sixty miles
in length. Attached to Harris parish is the little isle of
[163] Berneray, half a dozen miles farther south. It puzzles
[829] the stranger that, while the archipelago of the Outer
Hebrides is best known to the inhabitants as "The Long
Island", Lewis (or the Lews) and Harris, which actually
form one island, are spoken of as separate islands.[1] Yet
nothing could be more natural, given the mere
[113] horses than the average in a given district, or almost none,

[1] "The Long Island", Gaelic *An Eilean Fada*, as a name for the Outer Hebrides has the sanction of traditional usage; as Alexander Carmichael noted in his Introduction to *Carmina Gadelica* (vol. i, 1900; and 1928).

CH. II THE SEASONS

241 struction of a single ring fence round the croft land, which
[178] also circumscribes a good deal of rough grass, the ground
being generally rough in parts. Individual crofts are
fenced only where exceptionally large, or when the pos-
1 • 654 sessor is unusually enterprising or is isolated. Depart-
[632] mental help is given in the provision of fencing materials
for a township, the crofters supplying labour. As the
233 animals are allowed to graze freely in winter, this limits
241 crops to those sown and harvested in the summer half-year
—a serious matter for any man of enterprise who cannot
afford a fence of his own. Cattle kept on the croft when
the fields are under crops have to be either tethered or
driven to a common pasture. A drystone dyke may
enclose a small patch of garden, rarely well tended, the
school gardens providing a laudable exception.

233 Shortly before 1939, the stock included under 1000
agricultural horses and well over 10,000 cattle (of which
more than 6500 were milch-cows), but practically no pigs.
Sheep number 42,000 ewes, or 94,000 ewes and followers
in June. Thus there are 2·5 cattle on an average holding,
of which more than 1½ are milch cows; and there are
233 half a score ewes or about a score of sheep in June. The
176 size and the quality of the cattle have greatly improved
since first I visited the island in 1919; at that time the
mongrel Highland breed must have been the very poorest
in Britain. The Blackface sheep are small, either through
underfeeding or because of some faces left from the old, smaller
Hebridean breed, or from both causes. On an average
there is, or was, one horse, or pony, to every five or six
23 crofter holdings, but their number is much reduced.
233 Actually, such Island averages for horses and sheep are
[182] somewhat misleading. In particular, either there are more

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361 luck in land, but a disadvantage where control of a single
[423] area is desired by one man. Regularisation of roads,
[182] houses and holdings is relatively modern, for crofts and
dwellings were once grouped in hamlets usually close to
[172] the seashore. The early hamlets can still be made out
from their ruins among the rocks, sometimes sketched in
the 'six inch to mile' Ordnance Survey plans. They were
without formal order or arrangement, each homestead
within its boundary wall. Where ploughing was and is too
difficult, the soil is heaped up in ridges, 'lazy-beds', and dug.

361 Shawbost, on a rocky part of the west coast (six miles
491 south of Barvas) consists of three main sections: a scatter
of houses and ruins by the enclosed loch, two main streets
linking the loch to the main coastal road, and inland another
short street. The three can be made out on a 'quarter-
inch' map. The three main streets were laid out by the
[175] Estate Officers following removals in the mid-nineteenth
[341] century from another part of the island, Uig, and the third
running inland was laid out still later, when population was
growing and land was needed. When the third street was
laid out, the landlord, Matheson, lent good plough-horses
for preliminary reclamation. The irregularly placed black
houses near the sea are tending to be rebuilt close to the
main road.

361 In addition to this type of movement, farms 'broken
178 up' once more into c.ofts have been laid out on a regular
grid plan, each house placed on a corner of its five, ten,
311 or twenty-acre plot (*e.g.* Galson, Dalebeg, etc.). 'Skinned'
• 654 land may also be reclaimed for crofts by squatters tolerated
by the community, or on a regular grid by agreement of the
assembled crofters, guided by the Department of Agri-
[491] culture. Thus two distinct tendencies are seen: the grid
plan in new settlements, road alinement in existing ones.

CH. III THE ISLAND HOME

361 The chief advantage of moving uphill to the road has been
178 ease of communication and access to grocers' vans and mill-
311 spinners' lorries; but the disadvantage proves to be the
491 laying on of running water. A much-needed scheme for
water supply is now being applied by the Department of
• 654 Health for Scotland. Scrutiny of a 'quarter-inch' map
will indicate the chief facts and tendencies and the condi-
tions they involve.

4. Distribution of Population

162 The distribution of rural population can be closely
311 estimated by inspection of a 'quarter-inch' map, where
both the area of cultivation and the house dots are noted.
Comparison with parish population shows that on an
average one dot represents seven or eight houses or families
and thirty to thirty-five persons. Since there are now no
large farms, cultivation indicates crofting, and, therefore,
a typical density of one person to a little over half an acre,
or 1000–1200 per square mile. Rural numbers over the
whole Island show a density of about twenty-five persons
per square mile. If the fishing grounds, with a sail here
and there on the wide sea, were added, the density would
be lower still! A single dot found with cultivation indi-
cates crofts, which are hardly ever found singly. Where
no cultivation is shown around a single dot, this generally
indicates an isolated stalker's house, a shooting lodge by a
road, or a shieling (*airigh*) out on the moor.

(*c*) STORNOWAY

1. Site, Plan and Development

361 The plan of Stornoway and its harbour shows three
stages in the growth of the town, the first two picked out

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 89]

CH. III THE ISLAND HOME

349 of the place, even the schoolmaster and ministers being
632 mostly Islanders, in Stornoway an important minority of
the officials and business men hail from the mainland,
and some of them from the Lowlands. New blood has
undoubtedly been needed to promote enterprise, to foresee
new possibilities, and even, at times, to make the best of
the place. At the same time, the cleavage between town
and country is marked in ways of thought and feeling as in
349 livelihood. To take a single criterion, that of speech, most
632 of the children of the town speak no Gaelic and many
197 hardly understand it. While the percentage of Gaelic
speakers was 95 in the three outlying parishes in 1931, in
the burgh only 70 per cent could still speak the old tongue.
By 1951 the ratio, still almost unchanged in the outlying
parishes and townships, had considerably lowered in the
burgh.

349 The attempt to harmonise the interests of country and
632 town forms a hopeful aspect of the activities both of the
Stornoway Trust, which holds the rural and urban property
256 presented to the people of Stornoway parish by the first
427 Lord Leverhulme, and of the Lewis Association, formed
in 1943 to undertake studies of the Island to guide action
• 654 for the future. The maintenance of the town's prosperity
228 will depend greatly upon its industries of fishing and of
spinning; and these are almost inseparable from the
288 maintenance of the rural population for whom Stornoway
acts as regional centre, and who weave with the yarn spun
in the mills. Thus, in counties, a purpose could go far
to build up the prosperity of the community.

361 With the recognition of the need for planning aroused
349 by the problems which faced the country with the return
632 of peace, it is proposed, at the centre of the Burgh, to
rebuild the whole of the peninsular area of Point Street,

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361 by co-operation of three authorities: the Town Council,
369 the Piers and Harbour Commission, and the Stornoway
632 Trust as owner of property, including Lews Castle with
364 its grounds. The social situation is of quite exceptional
(654) interest, and an attempt to describe some of its features is made in Appendix II, on the Stornoway Trust and the Lewis Association.

(c) CHANGES IN ISLAND POPULATION, AND THE FUTURE

1. From 1801 to 1939

175 Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the growth
162 of population was periodically checked or even set back by
(193) famines and epidemics, such as smallpox, or by warfare. In 1801 the total population of the Outer Hebrides (in round numbers) was 21,700, and in 1831 it was 32,000. Of this total, Lewis carried 9200 and Harris 3000 in 1801 and, a generation later, in 1831, respectively 14,500 and 3900. In the graph (Fig. 12) the curve showing the average for the five landward or rural parishes of the Island (excluding Stornoway Burgh) indicates the fairly steady numerical increase there, almost to the close of the (193) century. Following the evictions after 1831 and the potato famine of 1846–48, emigration caused a fall in the southern islands (*e.g.* in South Uist, Fig. 12). Forty years later, in 1871, the Outer Hebridean total reached nearly 40,000, of which Lewis alone, with 21,000, now gave more than half the total, and Harris—in spite of an intervening drop owing to evictions—4800. By 1901, in spite of losses in the southern isles, the total for the Outer Hebrides reached a peak of 46,200. Of this, Lewis already contributed almost

175 COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II
63 on the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an
682 enclosing reclaimable patch of arable, lying near distant, little-
423 used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chance
424 of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the
211 small Celtic family; but there might be advantages such as
(211) an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as hunting
188 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunter-
(188) bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft was known as *Rough* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of poverty
223 with individuality in isolation were handed down, for
(223) example, from one of my forebears who held such a *rough*,
175 Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-feet
362 contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the fast
(511) of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *rough* may have originally been a summer shieling, only occupied when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with new possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led to settlement there.

178 At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of North
364 Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lodges
224 and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth, as
(230) they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such as one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small islets.

But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single crofts
361 are rare. And the clearest distinction must be drawn
62 between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage or
(184) croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or even two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers; for even a few families form the germ of a community, in work and in leisure.

175 The potentialities of co-operative practice were over-
176 looked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough. For
• 654 when new methods were required, run-rig kept back the
496 pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. Soon
241
423

CH. V FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP

175 after 1800, John Walker wrote that run-rig, "formerly very
176 common in Scotland, was abolished with improvements but
241 still subsists in many parts of the North. A number of
476 tenants of the same farm have a common pasture for their
• 654 cattle, and the arable is divided among them, by ridge
423 and ridge alternately, which each cultivates for his own
(184) behoof. This gives them all a common interest in the crop and, when there was no inclosure by dyke or hedge, might be of some advantage" in giving each person some protection "against the encroachments of his neighbour's cattle". Speaking of joint possession this time, though without reference to survivals, Walker wrote that in the Lowlands "in old times a large farm might be occupied by a number of conjoint tenants who cultivated the farm in common and divided the produce. In this way the interest of each became the interest of the whole. They were ready, and were frequently called upon, to defend the common crop and cattle against depredations. There was then a necessity for such an allotment of land, especially in the Border country and in the Highlands." The team, in other words, was a unit of defence. But "nothing like improvement can be expected from farmers placed in this situation . . . [and] no community can ever equal the carefulness and industry of an individual in the management of his affairs".[1]

(127) So far as it goes, such an analysis is incontrovertible;
(181) for Walker was one of many contemporary observers who could contrast both the "improvement, industry and carefulness" of the best individuals under a vigorous landlord, with the sluggishness of old-fashioned ways on backward estates. The fundamental reason for sluggishness was that

(113) [1] John Walker, *Oeconomical History* [descriptive account] *of the Hebrides*, 1808.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 the cultivable land and pasture having been shared out to
178 minimal fractions, they called for a minimum of labour by
241 a men—though housewives and mothers had always
476 plenty to do. The memory of a tryst for work might prove
• 654 a tryst with no work done. The men might forther
423 on the moor to cut peats, for instance, but if one of their
(184) number was late, become so absorbed by telling stories of the Fenians that, on their work being begun, it was time to go home—resolved to meet for work some other day! As a result, reformers advocated breaking-up the joint-holdings; and this was done in Lewis by 1830, as noted in the Brand Report. But mere division of the land did not increase its total amount.

175 Yet while noting the progress made by the liberation
178 of individual initiative, we can see the drawbacks of
657 individualism: the evictions made with no provision for
• 654 new homes, and the monotony and the loneliness of
364 modern farm life, the mutual distrust of employer and employee, and the general inability of farmers, as yet, to
423 co-operate. At the present, when planning, purchase and
476 sale are required on a large scale, particularly among small-
(184) holders, the interest of each is still "the interest of the whole". The team-spirit must be recovered from the work (not simply the play) of school onwards to further education and communal effort.

175 To sum up, every farm-hamlet was held jointly and on
• 654 equal terms, each joint holder being responsible for an
241 equal share of the rent, and the movable run-rig system
427 ensuring equal quality, as well as equal quantity, of land.
476 Common interest was assured, and there was mutual sup-
(439) port in distress or sickness, as when one member, named in
473 a deposition of 1718, was 'valetudinary'. Lastly, work was done in common not only when it led to efficiency

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 rent averaging 31s., in addition to which there were over
423 1000 houses of the cottar class and 300 houses of the squatter class.[1]

Lastly, Sir James trained no successor to follow up or improve upon his experience. At his death in 1878 Sir James was succeeded by his widow, and, nearly twenty years after, she was followed by a nephew and his son. But the expenses of Stornoway Castle and its burdens, accompanied by heavy rents, weighed down the new proprietors. In 1918 the estate was sold to Lord Leverhulme, who shortly afterwards purchased Harris too, with a view to his great schemes of fishery development.

(c) FISHERIES: 1750–1914

175 For the greatest expanding industry of the northern
471 coastlands, Matheson had done comparatively little even
228 at Stornoway. In 1883, a former Factor (Mr. Mackenzie of Calgarry) stated that he had constantly asked for aid to the fisheries, especially by the building of harbours, pointing out that the landlord would reap benefit in rent.[1] But Matheson had replied that the fishermen and fishcurers, the people engaged in the trade, should do this work for themselves. By the end of the century, harbours were
• (654) being planned and built with State aid in the north, west
and south-east of the Island (at Ness, Carloway and Uig,
(439) and Tarbert, Harris). In 1900 the Islanders possessed 250 herring boats, and in that year five boats from the Stornoway District sailed for the first time to Yarmouth,
(511) and two to Lerwick. For the great dozen years there were
(113) "at least twelve herring curers in Stornoway, employing from 200 to 300 men and women in curing herrings."

[1] Royal Commission on Hawkers, 1903, p. 212. Cf. *Fraser Report on Cottars in Lewis*, 1888, and the recommendations by the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee, *Report on Rural Housing in Scotland*, 1937, pp. 56-63, 79-77.

[1] *Brand Report* (1902).

CH. IX ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1914

175 favour of sheep farmers, in Lewis there had been very few
• 654 evictions. Early in the days of the sheep-farming boom,
(632) one of the Seaforths had been offered 'double rents', and
(668) refused them rather than turn the people away. Later on, when the wars were over, and when the Seaforth fortunes were failing, subtenants and their cattle had been replaced by sheep stock in three tacks around Broad Bay (at Coll and Gress and at Aignish at the base of Eye
(731) Peninsula). The failure of kelp-burning and the potato famine had made waste land in rocky parts of the Isle, and led to the desertion of these homes by certain communities. In 1863, out of a total of forty crofters in a township of
175 Barvas parish, more than half emigrated by help of Sir
16 James Matheson. Local resentement was aided by Sir
(428) James, who provided horses and implements to the people who moved to Shawbost (6 miles north of Loch Roag). Abandoned places became farms; and although agricultural prices fell and Sir James made little profit from the erection of buildings and the drainage, dyking and fencing on farms, land was improved, and better stock was bred, of which some was available to improve that of crofters.

175 Twenty years later, however, increasing numbers
427 increased the demand for crofts, and the people sought to
(191) reoccupy their forebears' land. In this, the Lewisman shared in a widespread movement, extending from the Scottish Isles to Wales and Ireland.

175 As a result of the real sufferings of the people in the
• 654 Highlands and Isles, and of the growing interest in the
(648) land shown in the country and in Parliament, where Irish members made themselves the crofters' allies, the Government in 1883 appointed a Royal Commission of Enquiry under a fair-minded judge, Lord Napier. As a remedy, the Commissioners recommended measures based upon

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

CH. IX ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1914

175 the legal recognition, improvement and enlargement of the
• 654 'township', defined as a farm, or part of a farm, occupied
in common or division by several tenants, three or more in
(632) number. The executive officer of the township, the Con-
(668) stable, was to be elected annually by the community.

The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 did
175 embody three of the chief recommendations made, but the
671 first, the recognition of the township, was omitted. The
427 Crofters Act gave security of tenure, compensation for improvements, and some facilities for enlargement of holdings. Security was perpetual and could be passed on by the crofter within his family, though renounceable by him upon one year's notice, upon fair statutory conditions. The chief conditions were payment of rent, fair maintenance of the holding, and respect of agreements with the proprietor. Although this was not a recommendation of the Commission, the Act also provided for official revision of rents. A 'fair rent' was to be proportionate to the produce of the croft, and this, together with the value for improvements, was to be fixed on application to a body of the three Commissioners, 'the Crofters Commission'. In Lewis between 1887 and 1912 this brought a lowering of the rental by over a quarter and the cancelling of two-thirds of arrears accumulated earlier. The rental for a 'croft' was to be below £20; this figure was raised to £30 in 1911, except in Lewis, where £30 remained the limit in order to allow the excessive congestion to be relieved by division even of small farms.

The passing of the Small Landholders' Act of 1911 completed the code known as the Landholders' Acts, 1886–1911. The Land Court replaced the Crofters' Commission. The Department (then still the Board) of Agriculture took over the powers of the Congested Districts

175 CH. IX ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919
182 rural Islanders throughout the nineteenth century and eve
today.

From 1887 the State made efforts to improve th
175 crofters' lot. Crofters' claims to stake shares upon the onl
427 available reclaimed land in the Island, that of a few farm
241 had been refused in the 'eighties, but came to be grant
in principle and in fact, after 1900. During the war o
427 1914–18 the Government reaffirmed its promise to divid
sheep farms into crofts for men returning from the Servic
and the Land Settlement Act became law in 1919. Yet i
spite of tentative experiments and schemes, a determine
effort to see the Island possibilities and face its problem
as a whole, still remained to be made in the twentie
century.

When war broke out in 1914 over 5000 men left Lewi
175 to join the Services, and corresponding numbers left from
161 Harris. Others, too, served in the Merchant Marine, ex
72 posed to U-boat warfare. From the first months of th
701 war, Lewismen in the Seaforth Highlanders, and men from Harris in the Camerons, fought in the Highland Divisio as shock troops in the attacks which cost the Divisio the highest casualties of any in the British Army. Th Lovat Scouts, the Mountain Battery, the Garrison Artiller and other units, also enrolled their men, and suffered ver
175 The last blow to the Island came after anxiety had ceased
161 Early in 1919 the transport *Iolaire* struck a rock and sank
at the entrance to Stornoway harbour; and 200 men who
73 had withstood dangers and hardships during four years of war went down in the dark of a winter's night, almos within call of their waiting relatives massed on the pier to welcome them.

The fact that crofting townships are located on marginal land is one reason that the larger society is not motivated to exploit the land. The Crofters Holding Act of 1886 and subsequent legislation ensured protection of and incentives for continued maintenance of crofting and the crofting township.

Protective government legislation, grants and loans for housing, subsidies for rearing livestock, relatively low taxes, and the economic protection provided by a socialistic government in times of crisis have helped to maintain a core of crofting families for many generations. The predominance of older persons in the township is striking, but many of the younger people who have left the island to work on the mainland return frequently, contribute part of their salary to the remaining family members, and plan eventually to marry and settle down in the village or to retire there. Long-term residence of kin-linked families in a small area has in itself contributed to the boundedness of the township network.

The policy of the government, through developmental agencies such as the Highlands and Islands Development Board, has been to support economic strategies that complement rather than interfere with the functioning of the crofting township with its small holdings and communal practices. The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an

Cultivation for subsistence is minimal, and in part stems from government-defined privileges and duties regarding maintenance of a croft. The Harris Tweed industry, which is restricted to the Outer Hebrides and thus is protected from competition, has provided work for a large number of islanders. Many of the younger members of croft families live in cities on the mainland, and send part of their wages home; they return regularly to the island, and many plan to retire there. Thus the township supplies urban workers who remain very much attached to the rural townships, which are composed of aged family members and a rural proletariat. The standard of living is high, and many crofters have accumulated savings, although much of this surplus is used by the men for alcoholic drinks.

In Britain, rural communities have been interpreted as lying somewhere along a rural-urban continuum (cf. Southall 1959, Frankenberg 1966). In 1959, Southall presented "an operational theory of role" by which he suggested that heterogeneous societies may be analyzed and compared. He developed the concept "density of role texture" to describe societies which lie along a continuum from rural to urban. Frankenberg (1966) uses Southall's concept along with other concepts to present a more complete model of an urban-rural continuum. The "models" of both Southall and Frankenberg are essentially lists

*159 232 233 quietly triumphant yet unassuming way. He does not kill any of his sheep for home consumption.

*159 241 288 434 His involvement with the croft is a "hobby" because its output does not compare with the income he receives from weaving. Whereas he might make as much as L100 from his crofting activities, his income from weaving averages [651] L7-800 a year. As a married man, he can earn as much as L848 without paying income tax.

*159 233 434 654 **Income:**

Sheep:	L27/—	(three sheep sold to the slaughterhouse in Stornoway)
	1/16	("Fat Sheep Subsidy" for the three sheep that were sold)
	16/10	(Subsidy of 12 shillings each for 11 shearlings and six sheep)
	22/10	(Prize money from the Carloway Cattle Show)
	12/10	(Three lambs sold locally)
	12/ 8	(Fourteen fleece sold to the Wool Marketing Board, at an average of 3/11 per pound, or about 17/6 per fleece. The island tweed mills pay only 2/5 per pound. He has been sending his fleece to the Board for two years. Many crofters prefer not to bother with the Board, and sell their fleece to the mills. They are the only sheep-owners in Britain who have this option, because of the location of the Harris Tweed mills on the islands. But as of 1970-71, the mills refused to buy fleece.)
	L90/14	

*159 233 434 654

Cattle:	L28/--	(Calf sold)
	11/ 5	(Subsidy for the calf)
	18/ 5	(Subsidy for the cow)
	L57/10	

Total: L165/14

*159 435 246 **Costs:**

L50/--	(Fodder used from December to August; a hundredweight bag costing L2/14 is used almost every two weeks. Other crofters do not use this much.)
8/--	(Stack of oats)
6/ 8	(Oat seed for 7/8 acres)
6/--	(Tractor hired)
9/--	(Six hundredweights of fertilizer for oats and grass. For a cropping grant of L17/10, three hundredweights of fertilizer must be put on each acre of hay.)
L79/ 8	

[427] [407] [241] [654]

*159 434 435

Income:	L165/14
Costs:	79/ 8
Profit:	L 86/ 6 (or about L2 back for every L1 he invested)

*159 434 Net cash income or profit from the croft thus represents 9% to 10% of his gross earnings from weaving. If computed as cash, uncalculated income from the croft in the forms of garden vegetables and milk products would raise the croft income by L30 to L40. In those households that consume their own sheep, the croft contributes an even greater amount.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

228 501 178 654 This lack of a local fleet fishing in the Minch and associated waters on a full-time basis has inevitably brought reluctance on the part of Government bodies to invest capital in, say, harbour improvements, knowing that they would fail to yield an eventual return. Just after the first world war Lord Leverhulme formulated ambitious plans for a full-time fishing fleet based on Stornoway. More than thirty years later, in 1954, the Taylor Commission, set up to investigate the problems of crofting, summed up:

> Gone are the days when the crew of the fishing boat could haul up their craft on the beach and leave it there in safety. The modern seine-netter is much too heavy to be beached in that way and far too costly to be exposed to risk in unsafe anchorages . . . The capital outlay required for their purchase is such that it is not possible to operate them except on a full-time basis. It is still possible for smaller boats to be employed in fishing for lobster or crab, but the general trend of development is against the man who combines fishing with the work of the croft. We do not think it possible to reverse this trend; it should be accepted and an attempt made to establish a full-time fishing industry in Western waters.

228 429 452 The first vital step to do just this was taken in January 1959 when the MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust announced the introduction of a scheme to 'increase the number of modern boats with efficient crews operating from or based on Lewis'. This Trust was set up under the will of the late Murdo MacAulay of Ness, who left Lewis with little English, less money, but plenty of Gaelic and enterprising spirit, to acquire a considerable fortune in Rhodesia. He bequeathed the bulk of it to be applied for the good of his island home. Anyone applying for assistance under the scheme was required to give an undertaking that he would prosecute fishing on a full-time basis; further, no one would be assisted unless, in the opinion of the trustees, he was likely to make 'an energetic and successful fisherman'. This pioneering venture directly assisted three young men in Kirkibost, Bernera, to acquire one of the best-equipped lobster boats in Scotland; and secondly it acted as a useful prototype for the Government scheme which was to augment and largely replace it a year later. In January 1960 the Government officially instituted the Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme. Free training was offered to men pre-

228 452 654

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

pared to make fishing their career, together with financial assistance to those who satisfactorily completed their training and who wished to acquire boats of their own. This Scheme is now run by the Highlands & Islands Development Board. The Board's participation in the expansion of the fishing potential around the island has been first-class, with commensurate results from an investment of some £500,000.

Illegal fishing

Like goldfields, the seas around the island have always attracted the unscrupulous, those for whom the word 'conservation' has no meaning, and who are careless of the dangers of over-fishing. Illegal trawling began around the year 1894 and by now has drastically impoverished the inshore fishings to which the Harris and Lewis crofters once looked for a supplement to diet and income. The rapid adoption of efficient trawlers was attended by an increasing number of reports of their poaching within the three-mile territorial limit. Though the islanders tried many times to involve the Government's cruisers for the protection of their shores, the poaching went on, and still continues today. Even some of the violence which attended the early attempts to clear the scum from the sea, as it were, continues, part and parcel of the island's sea-life.

Fish processing

A former freezing plant in Stornoway, run by the Herring Industry Board has been converted into a fish-processing factory. This facility, of great value to the port, is run by Rolf Olsen A/S, a long-established Norwegian company with a successful background in fish processing. The company has received investment aid from the Highlands & Islands Development Board, the Highland Fund and the Stornoway Trust; the latter's interest is significant in that it is the first time in which the funds of the Trust have been invested in a private concern, to help retain Stornoway as a successful fishing port.

The most regular shore-side as distinct from maritime industry is the processing of prawns (scampi, or *nephrops norvegicus*). Two firms buy the prawns at the pierhead, shell, cook and freeze them,

(c) House-building APPENDIX I
From 1930 to 1949 the Department of
641 Agriculture advanced loans for the erection of 760 new houses
654 and the repair of 220 other houses. This, with the erection
747 or repair of 40 steadings, may be taken as the equivalent of
367 1000 houses in the 20 years of peace, of which three-fourths
350 were new. Rural building was at its height in the early 'thirties,
but 1938 was a typical year. Taking the value of each house
431 at £600 and subtracting half for imported materials, we may
assume that for 50 houses built that year the labour given
362 produced an output of £15,000. The value of the house-
356 building and repair was done without State aid, for which a
241 grass of £15,000 may be made. Such sums may not appear
1439 large, but they correspond to the enduring fulfilment of a prime
need, a 'real wage', of importance when compared to rents
and costs elsewhere. Of the capital expenditure made
in Stornoway burgh during 1938, the value may be assessed as
£10,000, of which £9000 was for Local Authority housing.
Most of the total was produced by local labour.

(iii) *Fishing Industry—Net Output and Earnings*

434 From the total catches, prices and quantities of
241 herring in Stornoway District show a value of
720 nearly £100,000 (£98,000) for the herring catch, and of £162,400
for the cured herring. Our problem is to estimate what fraction
of these sums may be included in the net output of the Island
[127] industry proper. The Fishery Board's *Statistical Tables* and
Annual Report extract the value of herrings brought in boats
from the total, separating it from that due to 'strangers', and
so permitting a fairly reliable estimate, checked by local enquiry.
128 Of the herring taken, nearly 80 per cent were caught in the
summer fishing, June to August (*Annual Report*, p. 13). The
501 week of maximum local activity in herring fishing for Stornoway
District may be taken to be characteristic of this pre-war period
(Table 8). There were then 111 steam-boats engaged; and as
only five were locally registered (at Stornoway itself), the
remaining 106 were strangers. There were also 66 motor-
boats engaged and though 81 motor herring-boats are locally

APPENDIX II

178 300 houses, with nearly 30 built by "private enterprise"; in
362 addition the Local Authorities built 140 in the immediate
649 suburbs' (of which 50 were temporary), a total of over 470
643 and an average of, say, 47. Another 115 were built in the rural
739 townships. If we give a round total of £125,000 as the value

	Barvas	Lochs	Stornoway	Uig	Lewis Total	Harris
Holdings						
Full-time	5	12	8	21	46	34
Part- and spare-time	1,050	580	1,160	630	3,420	510
June 1953 (acres)						
Oats	2,080	320	1,220	900	4,720	710
Potatoes	550	180	450	260	1,440	110
Tillage	2,860	730	1,810	1,196	6,596	1,280
Rotation Grass	880	200	600	290	1,850	260
Permanent Grass	4,870	2,480	3,960	3,950	15,750	4,300
Grass	5,450	2,760	3,940	3,440	15,580	4,300
Rough Grazing (head)	92,580	107,180	56,480	111,230	368,490	111,170
Cattle	1,350	860	1,330	1,360	4,900	1,640
Sheep	38,110	37,810	23,570	42,890	142,380	43,580
Pigs	110	50	60	50	270	50
Poultry	25,370	9,880	25,910	13,060	74,220	12,240
Horses	180	25	80	50	335	60
February 1954						
Tractors	24	4	24	5	57	8

108 for an average year (such as 1953) for Local Authority Housing,
362 we may allot half this to net output of local materials and to
643 wages earned by Lewismen, some £65,000, of which rural
643 wages were a small fraction, say £20,000.

For crofters and cottars, however, in 1953, a fairly typical
435 year, there was much food and achievement, by help
of 180 loans and grants from the Department of Agriculture
434 for Scotland, totalling £81,000 for new houses or house im-
647 provements (with a very few steadings). £80,000 may be
654 allotted to local materials and to labour paid or given by house-
[illegible] holders themselves.

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to three of Crowlista and Valtos
to the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land island is peaty, and Aird
[illegible] has the advantage of being connected to the rest of the mainland by a causeway. The village
[illegible] there is now an E.A.F. radar station on Butha Cast, built on what was part of the common
pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the
inhabitants.

The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N.A.A.F.I.
within the Camp. The road from the Camp to the township is maintained by the Ministry
of Works. The road ends at the last house built directly on to the road, with byres, wearing abods
and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases houses and byres are arranged along below
the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
[illegible] the usual crofting township, but there is no post office. The number of new houses
[illegible] houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
[illegible] more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
modern byres.

There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
split up to make a separate croft. Of these, one is an assessor and another an
elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so
that there are actually eight operating units. The crofts are forced in their upper portions,
but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to
the single excursion township which separates the two.

The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown
grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial
fertilisers are used. The two largest particulars still include some tillage near the river where the
cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horses.
[illegible] Most of the cultivated land is on the gentle slope behind the houses, where the use of a
tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
vated: here was grown and grazed all the mill lot meal for farlan bread. Seaweed was
extensively used as a fertilizer and most of the familiar kept eight or nine cows, so that
there was a much greater proportion of arable land in the past than now. Cows were kept for
domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses
no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Aird.

On the other hand, the sheep stock is generally extended: instead of the settlement
of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The
[illegible] lambs are sold early in August and go to the Mainland. Only a few ewes are not presented
(this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many
in October to reduce the number that must be pastured during the winter.

The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there
are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most
of them are complete familiar: only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
habitually working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither
[illegible] there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the
[illegible] The remaining 16 were of the crofter class - one was a bull, the only one in the 15 -
44 age-group is a non-comer to the district and does little croft work.

241 Table. 10 shows the present use of fertilizers and manure. It will be seen that
243 dung is still widely used but seaweed is used in a minority of cases, particularly
253 in Breckelet and Earnabeder. The first at least may be related to the various troubles
[illegible] that have afflicted the township since the end of the last mainland inquiry. Whether
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cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horses.
[illegible] Most of the cultivated land is on the gentle slope behind the houses, where the use of a
tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
vated: here was grown and grazed all the mill lot meal for farlan bread. Seaweed was
extensively used as a fertilizer and most of the familiar kept eight or nine cows, so that
there was a much greater proportion of arable land in the past than now. Cows were kept for
domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses
no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Aird.

On the other hand, the sheep stock is generally extended: instead of the settlement
of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The
[illegible] lambs are sold early in August and go to the Mainland. Only a few ewes are not presented
(this) and wedders are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many
in October to reduce the number that must be pastured during the winter.

The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there
are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most
of them are complete familiar: only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
habitually working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither
[illegible] there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the
[illegible] The remaining 16 were of the crofter class - one was a bull, the only one in the 15 -
44 age-group is a non-comer to the district and does little croft work.

241 Table. 10 shows the present use of fertilizers and manure. It will be seen that
243 dung is still widely used but seaweed is used in a minority of cases, particularly
253 in Breckelet and Earnabeder. The first at least may be related to the various troubles
[illegible] that have afflicted the township since the end of the last mainland inquiry. Whether
[illegible] this is true or not the result is the same: the crofter is discouraged from raising stock.

Many crofters with whom we discussed this problem realized that, by fully stocking
and cultivating their crofts they might double, or even treble, their income from
agriculture. Some realized that sound management of land and stock on the crofts had now
[illegible] been frittered away on the common pasture, which is shared with Park Carloway. The
[illegible] problem has been that the crofter has had no certainty of stock
[illegible] of blackhouse, for they all have proper chimneys. The second is an ill-defined group
which began immediately after the Second World War. These houses are either one or two storied
[illegible] the township. Fishing there is the
development of the modern bungalows which are built by the crofters but based on plans
[illegible] Harris. For the majority, Fishing is a part-time
[illegible]

How does this pattern of settlement illustrate the changes referred to at the
beginning of this section? The original houses were abandoned gradually as the temporary
[illegible] of the original crofters died or were evicted. These were made
great changes, but in most cases they are still occupied. Some have been extended and
[illegible] Thus the crofter owns his own house but certainly encouraged replacement
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[Intro]

Drift is found near the shore and lape round the three hills nearly up to the road, predominately heavy clay with small boulders and is replaced above the road by peaty loam on rock. At one time, here was grown on the heavy drift. There is peat accumulation on the flat land near the road to a depth of about six feet and there are one or two peat banks. Glacial moraine is found on the hillsides in rough mounds and within the crofts, moraland grasses and sedges predominate on rough land. Moraine is also found on the hill tops in clumps and rock-free. On the hills heather predominates, where many bare-rock areas show in clumps.

Holmest is the sidest township in Park. In 1841 Macleonas came from Shulishruish and took what are now Nos. 8, 10, 11, 12 and Allan Tulloar came from Tarnaway, Harris, to No. 7. By 1881 there were thirteen crofts; in 1907 four cottars were recorded. Here being there before 1881, in 1957, No. 11 which had been shared between two brothers since 1936, became legally 11A and 11B making fourteen crofts. There are also fourteen spare-active units although two are worked from Kershader, both as 'hay and grazing' units, and two are worked as one unit within the township, the croft of Ceann Ard and Ceann Ard Beag.

Only sixteen lazy-beds are dug by spade, the rest have been drained with stone drains and cultivated by tractor owned by one crofter who lives it out to Holmet and Kershader. There are three 'Craftmasters' (hand-tractors) in the township but there are only heavy enough for stripping to peats, hay and similar light work. The improvement of the grazing generally has fenced all part of the common grazing, to keep the weaned lambs off the croft from August till November and so save fodder for winter when the croft land is open to grazing.

Oats and potatoes alternate in the rotation, with a little sown grass for hay, sown in enclosed parks of about one acre. The tendency now is to increase the number of parks, cut the hay in them and build up the lambs on the new grass. Shell-sand is used to fertilise the parks but elsewhere artificials, such as superphosphate, 'potato manure', potash, nitro-chalk and lime are used in addition to dung and, near the shore, seaweed. Most of the hay is taken from old hay-beds.

The land is heavily overstocked: the stock is equivalent to 79 cow units, and actual stock is 144, whilst the figures for sheep are 191 and 518 respectively, including the sheep stocked in Park Deer Forest by agreement of the Holmest township. Sales of cattle are held at Dunvegan in November and May and sheep and lambs are sold in Stornoway. Lambing was poor in 1958. 50-75 per cent being general, but many breeding ewes and sheep have been culled.

The only cultivation on the common land belongs to the unofficial holdings. Behind Craigeal, however, there are some old lazy-beds, a well and ruins of a hut, which has not been used since before 1881. There used to be shielings on the far side of the common on Suisn Bhuidhe and Sgurr Lochan. These have not been used since 1888. Holmest is one of the agricultural townships and fishing is only incidental. Lobsters are taken in creels and crabs and crate or stack. One crofter has a lorry for contracting, carrying sand and gravel, potatoes and stock to market and two have butcher's rounds in Lochs. There are no small stores.

Settlement is scattered, always on elevated ground, and in many cases the new house has been built in close proximity to the old house site. All have piped water either from the well or from a rain tank. Drinking water being carried in the latter case. Grants from the Crofting Commission are enabling new building and improvements to be carried out.

[Lemreway]

Ploughgate is dominant. Long, which has interest considerable mid water, often occurs with Fleming, Melinda, Bitter Cherryblossom and Kriegsbrown. A few remains, usually near the shore, and low elevation, usually within stone enclosures, with the exception of the Long, can be seen.

Of the thirty-three legal crofts in Lemreway, nine comprise less than five acres, while seventeen have between five and ten acres. Of the remainder, only two exceed fifteen acres and one of these is 30 acres. Six unoccupied crofts are worked by neighbouring crofters as their tenants; so actually the 250 acres of croft land are shared by nine crofters. The remaining six crofters are 'absent' was originally occupying one-acre; and working another four acres. Thus the annual today must be regarded as the monopoly of four 'unofficial' holders.

Little more than a quarter of the croft land is cultivable and even less is actually cultivated yearly. Figure 5 illustrates the crofting township of Lemreway. The main and the whole nature of the soil has permitted the cultivation of tiny 'lazybeds' and the total cultivated area is now about 48 acres. Only the strips of land on the gentler slopes, where the soil is deepest, are now cultivated, not every croft shows signs of former, more extensive, lazybed cultivation, often covering at least two acres. For example, on the east side, natural bay is cut on the well-marked lazybeds at about 225 feet.

Oats and potatoes, 29, 5 and 16 acres respectively, occupy almost all of the cultivated ground. Most crofts grow about half an acre of potatoes and some one acre of oats. Yields of both acreages have declined, the former with a declining population and the latter with a reduction in the importance of cattle, hay has increased in importance. No here is now grown, though before 1900 it was grown in small areas. Some of the here mill, which caused to function at the beginning of the century, can still be seen. Fifteen acres of natural grass are cut for hay but only four crofters had even grass for hay in 1958, about three acres in all. Few vegetables other than potatoes are grown though carrots are used to grow well, and formerly turnips and cabbage were grown. The soil needs careful preparation to be productive and almost every crofter used some seaweed and at least twenty drew substitute for and artificial fertilisers in 1958.

Stock totals have declined recently but the township has 36 cows and 22 calves. Only one croft keeps most cattle and 22 of the 32 working cows belong to one croft. The township has an Ayrshire bull on loan from the Department of Agriculture. One of the two crofters keeping stockmate at the co-operative township system is that this animal is fed by the other, as, in return, is fodder during the winter.

All but two crofters keep sheep: stocks vary between ten and 120 per holding but the majority have about 25 ewes with two lambs. Although numbers have declined recently, the 3,525 acres of very moderate common pasture support a flock of about 1,100 sheep, including about 400 breeding ewes and about 300 lambs.

The township is not referred in Lemreway and it is remarkable that the total stock tallies almost exactly in the number of cows and calves. An examination of the sheep ewes reveals that the stock of 517 (including lambs) comfortably exceeds the sheep-cow ratio of 5:2. It is interesting that it is nearly always the working cattle of over 10 acres that are capable of receive each stock, eight keep more sheep than they are entitled to. Most of these crofts are grouped on the eastern side of the township where the croft have a larger estate.

Thus, while overgrazing is not an issue as in many townships, it represents a potential threat, particularly if the common pasture is not improved. However, in 1958 ten acres of the common pasture have been enclosed and re-seeded. Six acres were sown with ordinary mixed grass seed, two acres with polished seed and two acres with polished and inoculated seed. The sixteen crofters taking part in the scheme put on 100 tons of sand to help drain and aerate the peaty soil, 12 tons of lime, 2 tons of phosphate and 1 tons of concentrated compound fertilizer, grades 1 and 2 - all at 12 cwt. per acre. The seed was sown in May 1958, by the following August, there was a striking difference between and the sown and unsown areas. In the spring, sixteen more will be graced on this area. With the success of this scheme, it is hoped that more of the crofters will co-operate in re-seeding further areas.

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The estimated income from the sale of stock and produce 434 amounts to some £66 per holding. One of my informants, an 437 agriculturalist of wide experience, thought that the estimate 241 was too high. He would put it at £126,000, or £55 per holding. 543 In addition to the actual production, we must consider government 462 subsidies and grants.

The most important subsidies are those to sheep and hill cattle. Each of these average over £30,000 annually. 454 There are also calf rearing subsidies, marginal grants, 231 and several other available sources of aid which amount to some £20,000 each year. Thus, the total income for the Skye crofters and farmers is increased by roughly £80,000. Production and subsidies together give an average income of about £200 per holding. We have already seen that the crofter's income may be either a fraction of this figure or several times the average income depending upon the size of his croft. To fully understand the significance of this fact and to explore further the evidence for cultural continuity, it is desirable to inquire into the seasonal routine of the crofters of Skye.

The Annual Economic Cycle

As crofts are delimited according to size and potential 221 income, the crofters may be classified as full-time, part-time, and spare-time pastoral agriculturalists. Obviously, all crofters who work the land will follow a similar schedule, performing more or less the same variety and succession of tasks. There are, however, significant differences in the

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division of labor. During the summer, she will milk the cows, 231 and in the winter she will see that they are fed. If there is 241 to be a harvest in the autumn, she will care for the crops.

Some women, in particular the older ones, plough with 241 the *caschrom*, the foot plough. Other women use a small power 462 driven plough or contract with the Department of Agriculture to have the ploughing done. The Department will also provide the men and machinery to harrow, cultivate, spread lime and manure, mow hay, cut and bind oats, dig potatoes, and thresh grain. By utilizing these services, the crofter can be afforded, the small crofter can free himself or, at least his wife, from many arduous tasks. The need for cooperation of the family 170 and neighbors is thereby reduced. Although traditional mutual 174 aid is being replaced by cash payment for labor, it is not the 176 labor of a landless working class which commercialization often creates, but rather state provided services. Significantly, most Department employees are newcomers. The Skye man who works for the Department is a better worker away from the island. Since few are able to pay for these services, the wife digs the 241 potatoes, and some women use the scythe to reap hay and oats. 462 The scythe, it will be remembered is really a man's tool. Frequently, the break with tradition is avoided by the return of a son from the mainland or the sea. Running the household and 105 working the croft is not all some women do. They also take in 241 summer visitors, by the day or week, and provide teas for travellers.

In summary, it may be said that crofting is anything but 241 an easy life with ample rewards. We have seen how meager the

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421 rich man, the government." Since subsidies depend on the 231 number of stock, he may forget that all or part of his "scouning" 237 has been given away. One old crofter, for example, a few years 241 ago asked a young lady to find out his agricultural return. 543 She knew his estimates gave a great deal of reason to doubt 462 his veracity, but, preferring not to question the point, she entered his figures. When it came time to sign the report, he was canny. "Ooh," he said, "just put a tremble in your hand and sign it yourself." There are other crofters who puzzle the authorities by returning the same number of cattle and sheep year after year. Although even the best crofters and farmers lose a few sheep and an occasional cow, they insist 454 that their stock has produced as many as have been sold. As 231 a means of protecting the government from paying for non-existent stock, the police have to be notified when the annual stock counts are to be made. Even when they do supervise the counting, allowances for stragglers have to be made.

So pernicious is the effect of non-residence and decrepit 454 crofts, that a recent government commission has recommended the 231 severance of the house from the land in the case of the aged and the eviction of the absentee, as a means of bolstering the economy and alleviating the widespread condition of bad husbandry.[17] This could be the final blow for the culture. Not uncommonly, the croft is subjected to both absenteism and the infirmity of old age. The heir does not return until he has passed the age of retirement and begins to think, "It would be

[17] Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Crofting Conditions, pp. 42-43, 46-47, etc.

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the suggestion detrimental to the best interests of the national 228 economy. There is no doubt that the Skye crofters would benefit. Their peak year, culminating in 1947, coincided with a time when the area was restricted for reasons of security during the Second World War. Additional problems include the loss of creels during gales and transportation difficulties. It takes a day and half for a lobster to reach the London market when all connections are made. The high cost of shipment and the high mortality rate reduce the crofters' profits.

The attitude of the government concerning the domestic 454 feasibility of encouraging the local fisheries may be summed 231 up by the following question by a fishery expert: "Can we afford to jeopardize the livelihoods of men who devote their lives to the sea in favor of an industry which may never develop? There's no official policy yet, but I don't think the Board will ever try to revive the industry on Skye." Although they slightly exaggerate the situation, a few state- 228 ments by Skye men sum up the present condition of this activity 229 pretty well. On one estate the landlord who has seen fishing die altogether in the last few years, said: "There are no boats at all, not even for lobsters. Even young men gave it up. All of a sudden it just died, stopped." A man from Stein, an abortive fishing village established by the British Fishery Society in 1790, has also seen fishing cease, "The few boats are beached, look at them rotting on the beach." He believes the decline in fishing is one reason for the continued depopulation. Others share his belief. A school teacher said, "Few realize how recent the decline in fishing really is.

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mainland for the summer. For many of these people, unemploy- 464 ment is a misnomer. It means they are receiving a weekly 715 allowance from the government while they wait for the next seasonal opportunity to turn from crofting to wage labor. More- 464 over, providing work and paying unemployment compensation is 657 by no means all the government does for the Island's economy. Through the National Assistance Program many more are aided financially. In 1956 for example, there were no fewer than 726 individuals receiving some form of national assistance.[33] Most of this number were recipients of a non-contributory old age pension. The next largest category were young women required at home to care for aged and infirm parents. Of the total number, only thirty were Portree residents. Then, too, 657 there are the previously mentioned subsidies and grants for agricultural improvement and fuller exploitation of the land.

We may conclude, then, that cultural continuity is an 182 expensive proposition with a double-edged penalty. On the 687 one hand, there is the sentimental distress which depopulation 657 involves. Both the man who leaves Skye and those he leaves behind feel the loss of their loved ones. On the other hand, there is the expense to the government, which must be staggering and out of all proportion to the amount contributed by the people in taxes. It is not that the Islands receive any special grants, but, as one newcomer said, "They just happen to qualify for all the grants, dodges, and subsidies there are." He, of course, was exaggerating. As we shall see in the next chapter,

[33] Information extracted from the files of the National Assistance Board in Scotland, Edinburgh.

669 for crofts in Tongue, a township north of Stornoway, took
423 the law into their own hands, seized one of the fields of the adjacent farms, and threatened to take the remainder. It is easy to understand that when a man has come home from the war to his sweetheart, and after being promised a site on which to build a home (even a black house for a start), with a plot for potatoes, and 'a cow's grass', a year's vain delay may breed impatience! Leverhulme motored to the township, and with his customary vigour and persuasiveness spoke of his plans for 'work and wages' to be concentrated at Stornoway. He again declared that if the farms were divided this would cripple his schemes, and work would stop at once. The majority there agreed to fall in with his plans; in any case, only a
159 minority could find crofts on the farms. Leverhulme felt
433 that he had carried his point. He forgot not only that his oratory deserved applause and had won it for its own
669 sake, but that the people could not lightly afford to say 'no', if this meant immediate stoppage of wages. It was the after-thoughts on the morrow and in the following months, rather than agreement at the moment, that signi-
[228] fied. In 1920 herring fetched a fair price, the herring fishery prospects were encouraging, and work was resumed for a time. Yet one raid having begun and "the die having been cast, lawlessness spread rapidly". Leverhulme stopped expenditure, and obtained an interdict against the
[423] 'raiders', though he did not prosecute. After further
[654] parley, the Secretary for Scotland agreed to suspend division for ten years, and in 1921 Leverhulme resumed
159 operations. "Unfortunately very soon afterwards", wrote
433 his biographer, owing to "the general industrial depression which followed the boom in trade after the war", Lever-
458 hulme felt impelled to close down work for the time being,

159 and he was unable to make plans or promises for the future.
433 Meantime, it should be said, the Island herring catch and
458 prices fell rapidly (the catch by 50 per cent and prices by
[228] 60 per cent from 1920 to 1921). As a result, crofts now seemed more precious than ever to the applicants.

159 With what Leverhulme regarded as 'almost indecent
423 haste', the Secretary for Scotland proceeded to fulfil the promise to divide the farms. Most of the farms remaining
654 were divided into some fifty crofts, of ten acres or so with outrun, supplying little more than 10 per cent of the landless men. The Manor dairy farm, near Stornoway Castle and town, though raided by a few men, was retained to contribute to the town's supply of milk, along with two or three smaller farms close to Stornoway (Melbost, and Stoneyfield with Holm). Leverhulme felt that his offer to Lewis had been turned down, and he then concentrated his efforts upon Harris.

159 At the extreme south of Harris (midway along the
433 south-west coast), in the 'Hope' or natural harbour of
228 Obbe, Leverhulme built new piers. He transferred the machinery of the canning factory and the kippering sheds he had commenced to build at Stornoway. He started to build houses, a number being provided on generous terms; and "at the people's wish", the settlement was renamed Leverburgh. With the transference of his energy from Lewis to Harris, Leverhulme's "optimism and determination were intensified", wrote his son. They were not to last long. After a visit to the Congo in 1925, Leverhulme died suddenly in Brussels. How far the new plans might have succeeded had Leverhulme lived, his son has commented, "remains uncertain". What is certain is that the second Lord Leverhulme toured Harris, visiting the works on hand and examining the accounts. No doubt he also

185 In 1919, when the men came home to Lewis they could
727 still see reasons for hope. They found a strange proprietor, known first for his outstanding—some said ruthless—
[159] business ability, and only secondly for his philanthropy. They heard his plans and were inclined to listen.

185 Yet, remembering their pre-war losses and the notorious fluctuations of prices and employment in the fisheries, they wished for a policy of insurance, as it were; so, if their home lay near a promised farm, of which they had long
159 meant to claim a share, they claimed this forthwith. Only too soon after, in the early years of Leverhulme's adventure,
458 the fall in total sales and prices of fish brought immediate
433 loss to the keenest and hardest working of the fishermen,
228 and to their financial backers in Stornoway. These losses warned others of the uncertainties of fishing. Now the fall in the fishing industry is not so much as mentioned in the biography of Leverhulme; nor do we remember a
[654] word of it in Leverhulme's speeches. One finds no data to show a substantial endeavour by the Scottish Office to co-operate with Leverhulme in framing policies either to change the trend of European markets or to make local adaptations to combat downward trends. The Fishery Reports certainly record the losses, year by year. As for the Island fishermen, they shared the feeling expressed by other Scots fishermen, that the old markets across the North Sea, eastward to what had been St. Petersburg, could and should be reopened, not closed 'for party reasons' by 'English politicians'. Although ostensibly Leverhulme ignored it, he cannot really have been unaware of the effect of the downward trend of the fisheries upon his own prospects of success, and upon the hopes and confidence of the fishermen. Having been so outspoken upon the shortcomings of Government with regard to local

362 of new steadings. The average amount of loans (totalling
652 £166,000) was under £150; repayment has been satisfactory, and the arrangements made by the Department of Agriculture won general praise among the people. Yet 1200 houses were very far from replacing all the 'black houses', and many more are needed.

433 In terms of cash profit, ten crofters today run their
427 crofts less remuneratively than the farmer they dispos-
241 sessed; even together they may show little more total production than the farmer. Nevertheless, these ten crofts each allow a part, at least, of the basis for a country home.
[423] Hence the weight of public opinion supported, nay, insisted on 'giving back' the land to the descendants of those who
• 654 had worked it sixty or a hundred years before. The State
423 bought the farm stock at a high valuation, and till lately without adequate reform of crofting use and wont. The farms having now been divided, a great emotional issue, which had smouldered for half a century, has been brought to an end. Although the practical results are small, the crofters feel that justice has been done, and that fact may
311 be a great gain. Now that there is no more green reclaimed land to be had, the reclamation of the peat moor, or the grey 'skinned' boulder clay has to be faced.

By financing the renewal of Leverhulme's brief attempt to reclaim deep peat on Arnish Moor, south of Stornoway, the Canadian, T. B. Macaulay, made a resolute attempt to
[241] solve the island's main agricultural problem. Good crops were grown, potatoes and silage produced, and a dairy farm established. But the difficulties called for continuity of effort and research. From the practical point of view of 'demonstration' it had been a mistake to tackle deep and almost level peat, black in colour and viscous in consistency.
[402] There was not the light machinery required for cultivation.

178 developed through the township Grazing Committees by
476 the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society and its
44 associated Crofters' Agency. Lime and fertilisers were
• [654] purchased, and wool and other products sold, co-operatively. The co-operative marketing of lobsters, taking
[228] advantage of fluctuating London prices, has led to the reconstruction of ponds for storage. By these and other
[654] means, government assistance is utilised but not squandered; earlier initiative in agricultural organisation is reinforced; and communal tradition is revived, linked to personal responsibility through the crofters' lifelong knowledge of one another.

178 As to the future, all agreed that unless the Harris Tweed
288 industry flourished, with work at reasonable wages, the villages would be abandoned by the young, perhaps with
[829] no return such as hitherto on 'retirement'. Many young people are content with life in the townships, provided they can get a living there, though not all, for they are somewhat divided; and work elsewhere, even in the mills of Stornoway, is a counter-attraction.

178 Social life is undergoing changes which operate both
592 for and against the retention of the young. On one hand,
538 household interchange of conversation, song and story, the *ceilidh*, has declined. On the other hand, one found
178 that, as regards religious prohibitions, and in spite of the
771 nervous tension expressed in 'Revivals', the young have
577 won greater freedom. Near one village a Nissen hut, handed over to the Home Guard, was also used by young
[535] people for monthly dances. When I asked a young crofter invalided from the Navy whether the Elders of the Kirk made no protest, he replied that they had, but had to give it up: "They see that we won't stand for it"! This would have been unthinkable during the First World War,

464 For a year or two after the war many men and women
[288] returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry.
[729] This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving at home—work in which the male weaver was helped by
[226] his family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses
[178] such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to return to the hard, uncertain work of gutting. The whaling
[462] station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950, and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed
[241] in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised
[722] cultivation. The war-time construction of air-fields had ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was
• [654] assisted by government grants.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders'
288 main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of
651 a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds.
648 Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the
[433] position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there were strong arguments for the extension of the tax to
[171] Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artist favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the end, the mass-production is an unacknowledging debtor. The obvious economic handicaps of Island hand-weaving
[439] may surely permit some latitude. The export trade in
[458] Harris Tweed, in which the imponderable 'sentimental

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GOVERNMENT REGULATION--policies underlying government regulation of private enterprises and activities; general aspects of supervision, restriction, and enforcement; specific instances of government regulation not classifiable elsewhere; etc. See also:

Government regulation of hunting and fishing . . . 22
Government regulation of food processing 26
Government regulation of the manufacture and distribution of liquor and drugs 27
Government regulation of banking and finance . . 45
Government regulation of business and industry . . 47
Government regulation of travel and transportation 48
Government regulation of immigration 167
Conservation policies 186
Government regulation of radio 207
Government regulation of dairying 234
Rationing 434
Price controls 436
Government regulation of wages 465
Government regulation of marriage 582
Wartime regulations 722
Government regulation of medical personnel . . 759
Government regulation of weights and measures . 804

175 423 427 [161] Factors which led to further crowding were the development of industry and an increased demand for wool in the south, which occurred when traditional ties between laird and tenant had been loosened. The clans had been disbanded after the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745; those landlords who had not forfeited their estates received huge sums of money as compensation for the abolition of hereditary jurisdiction. They had experienced travel and the luxuries of other countries, and were not eager to remain on their estates. They accepted the huge rents offered to them by sheep farmers to the south, and turned vast amounts of land into sheep tracts. Tenants [361] were crowded together along the seashore, or lived on tiny holdings dispersed among the larger farms or on moorland, earning their living by doing wage labor.

175 423 241 178 [656] Despite the factors which encouraged a high level of population to remain on the land, proprietors attempted to destroy the joint farm with its small, dispersed holdings and collective rights. Run-rig agriculture was abolished in Argyll in 1776 (Day 1918: 180; Gray 1957: 49), and over the next 80 years it disappeared from the Highlands (cf. Gray 1952: 49-50), to be replaced by townships of compact holdings surrounded by undivided hill grazing lands.

was made in the Crofters (Scotland) Bill of 1961; this had a mixed reception. In general, today, small crofts predominate in most areas. Out of some 18,000 (the number is decreasing annually) about 15 per cent exceed 20 acres (see Chapter 5). But size has little to do with the type of land; whether arable or rough grazing. In fact, the proportion indicates that some 85 per cent of all crofts in Scotland, and this applies to Harris and Lewis, cannot be considered as full-time now or as potentially full-time.

EDUCATION

In general, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland owe their introduction to letters to the early Christian missionaries. One of the main provisions in the early monastic Church in Ireland and Scotland was for the cultivation of learning and the training of its members in sacred and profane literature. Associated as they were so closely with the common folk on the one hand and the aristocracy on the other, something of this learning and desire for learning rubbed off to advantage on to willing recipients. Literacy however, has had many ups and downs since the dawning of the Christian era in the Hebrides. Though it is impossible to ascertain to what extent the common folk participated in the knowledge imparted by the early Celtic monasteries, there are many references to a class of cleric called 'scolocs', whose learning was accessible to the poorer classes of the emergent Highland society. The 'scoloc' is still retained in Gaelic as 'sgalag', a farm servant, the poor searcher after knowledge who received education in the monasteries in return for services as labourer on the church lands, and who appears in monastic records as late as the fourteenth century.

As late as the sixteenth century, however, after the influence of the Church had diminished, the inhabitants were almost wholly illiterate. When the Fife Adventurers came to Lewis in 1598, they brought a schoolmaster with them; though it can be taken that his services were intended for the improvement of the incomers rather than the islesfolk. Old Roderic MacLeod, doughty chief of the MacLeods of Lewis at the time of the Fifers' arrival, was unable to sign his name. Two of his sons, on the other hand, were

houses prior to 1854. Monthly returns of attendance were sent to my office, and parents who did not keep their children at school were dealt with, but in many cases to no avail, as they often told me they did not want to give their children wings to leave them.'

In 1833 there were thirteen schools in the parish of Stornoway, according to the *New Statistical Account*, 1840-46, which records that there were 586 children between the ages of six and fifteen years, and 1,265 persons above the age of fifteen in the parish who could not read. Barvas had three schools in 1836; Uig had five in 1833. In Lochs, in 1833 a parish school had just been erected, and four schools were maintained by the Gaelic School Society; yet out of a parish population of 3,067, only 12 could write. After the Disruption of 1843, the Free Church established a large number of schools throughout the island. And soon after Sir James Matheson took over the island he built schools in those districts not catered for by other agencies.

In 1865, the Government began to prepare for the Education Act of 1872, and sent Sheriff-Substitute Nicolson to the island to investigate the state of education there. At the time of his visit there were forty-seven schools, supported by as many as nine different agencies, persons, or institutions. The number of pupils on the rolls was 3,332, with 2,647 in actual attendance. Nicolson computed that there were some 2,500 children on the island who did not normally attend school, and who should have done. A large number of schools were little more than thatched houses. Fifteen were good; fourteen tolerable; and eighteen bad or inadequate. In the third group he classes 'those that cannot by any standard of comfort or fitness above that of troglodyte, be considered suitable for having the work of education carried on in them, or any work indeed, to which the prevalence of smoke and moisture are infavourable.' Of the children who attended these schools, 79 per cent received tuition in the Scriptures; 85 per cent were taught to read; 39 per cent were taught writing; 32 per cent were taught arithmetic; and 16 per cent taught needlework.

The Education Act of 1872 put an end to the old parochial system, and virtually to other agencies which it found at work. The schools on the island were brought into line with the re-

mainder of Scotland where, under the school boards, education became both free and compulsory.

In Lewis the school of real significance to the island was, and still it, the Nicolson Institute, founded by Alexander Morison Nicolson and opened in February 1873, supported by bequests from him and his brothers. Nicolson's grandfather was the founder of the Lewis fish-curing trade, and was also shipowner and farmer. Alexander was the fifth of six sons and was educated in Stornoway parish school and in Glasgow High School. He served an apprenticeship as an engineer with Thomson of Clydebank. Later he entered the service of the Chinese Government and established himself with a partner of a shipbuilding and foundry business in Shanghai. In 1865, in his thirty-third year, he was killed in a boiler explosion in one of his new ships going a trial run. His ideal of establishing a school in Stornoway was subscribed to by his brothers who were a widespread family: Yorkshire, Mississippi, Western Australia, Tighnabruaich (Scotland) and South Africa.

The first headmaster of the school received £82 per annum, plus the school fees, which ranged from 2s 6d per quarter in the lowest classes to 5s in the highest. The fees covered reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English, history and English grammar and composition; when Latin, Greek, French and mathematics were taught, an additional shilling was charged for each subject. But the teacher was always bound to teach gratuitiously twenty pupils selected by the Nicolson Trustees. In 1888, the school was handed over to the school board. In 1901, by a Decree of the Court of Session, its name, previously the Nicolson Public School, was changed to the Nicolson Institute. In 1898, the first boys went straight from the Institute to university, a trend that has not ceased since (see Chapter 8).

As far back as the turn of this century a recommendation was made for the provision of technical education on the island. A report on the subject of Higher Education in Lewis (1900) stated: 'Regarding the practical or scientific aspect of education . . . there is a clamant need of a central Technical School in Lewis . . . the local resources are quite inadequate for the establishment of such a school, or its maintenance, on an effective basis. Such popular technical instruction as Household Economy, Wood and Iron

2. *From Black House to White House*

Discontent with the old black house grew with the knowledge and experience of better housing in Stornoway and on the mainland. The congestion which developed during the nineteenth century meant that often one house was fouled by another above it, leading to typhoid epidemics. While the smoky atmosphere of the 'black houses' inflamed the eyes and irritated the respiratory system, the roof was high and the fire kept the air in motion by day, ventilating it to the chimney hole, while the lack of glass often made it necessary to work with the door open. The ravages of tuberculosis came towards the end of the nineteenth century, when Islanders went to our crowded towns and, not being immunised, were dangerously infected. Returning home, too often to linger and die in a house now provided with tiny, fixed panes which permitted a closed door and made it stuffier than before, patients spread infection. Flight to a tiny, air-tight wooden cabin or to a small white house of stone and lime often followed. The availability for the first time of planks and timber, a certain practice in boat-repairing, and possibly acquaintance at first- or second-hand with Canadian wooden houses, may have influenced the choice of wood. The early 'white' houses, with an attic lit by skylight, were airtight, for the windows were too often fixed or only opened at the bottom. The door was left open in warm weather, but it was not high enough to allow the escape of the stale, upper layer of air which the women breathed as they did their cooking and baking.

In the inter-war period, particularly in its last decade, the 'black house' was being abandoned, not for something worse, but far better. The Government-aided houses have

342 adequate air-space, and windows opening at the top and
746 usually kept open by day, in which a woman can work at
178 ease. The Department of Agriculture aided the building
656 of a good standard type. The quality of joinery and
[335] masonry or concrete work improved, one fairly skilled
[333] workman usually directing the householder and friends as amateur builders. The cost of materials was met by a grant, generally of £250, half being repayable by an annual rent of £6: 10s. for twenty years. Repayments proceeded satisfactorily. No scheme organised by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland won so general a commendation as this of house improvement. It made good use of family initiative and responsibility, with neighbourly co-operation not called for upon a large scale, a township at a time, but in quite a small, personal way. Nevertheless, had more guidance been provided to the builders, the
[464] houses could have been really well built. For lack of this, perhaps, crofters increasingly prefer to pay for skilled work, though helping actively. Appendices I (ii) and II (ii) gives pre-War and post-War statistics.

3. *The Township and its Changing Plan*

361 Where absence of rock and boulder permits ploughing,
[182] the village land is laid out in a series of parallel strips,
[491] aligned with the slope. The road runs either parallel with shore or river, or at right angles to it. The intermixed possession of strips by 'run-rig' characterised the Lowlands before the Enclosures, and is frequent in
[423] the Highlands and Isles. The apparent regularisation of field lines may conceal the fact that an individual holder's plots may be scattered amongst those of others in fixed
[182] run-rig. This is an advantage where quality of land is so patchy, and each man thus gets his share of good and bad

361 it command and make it the leading settlement of the
366 Hebrides, with a population fluctuating around 5000.[1]
162

2. *Aspects and Problems of the Burgh*

361 The little town pleases by its views over the harbours,
632 outer or inner—sheltering perhaps a steamer or two and the clustered fishing vessels—across to the wooded skyline and the beautiful grounds of the Castle, a-flower in spring with rhododendrons. Or framed in trees from the Castle policies, the harbour and even the roofs and
[342] smoke of the houses are not unpleasing (Plate II). But the town's chief charm is its setting, not itself, though its plain dwellings with 'harled' or rough-cast walls and slate
[746] roofs are simple and inoffensive. In rehousing, the Local
656 Authority had respected Scottish domestic features. But the greater use of local materials, labour and skill is surely desirable in the Island with its many half-employed men, who need such work to maintain income, health and morale.
[362] As is to be expected in view of low incomes, and the extremely primitive housing in the country, urban housing
[162] is inadequate. In Stornoway burgh in 1931, 44 per cent, or nearly half the population, still dwelt in houses of one to three rooms, 17 per cent in four (including attics often with no dormer windows), 20 per cent in five or six, and 18 per cent in seven rooms and over. There has been improvement up to 1939, and after 1945, but much remains to be done.

369 Turning to cultural life, profound differences divide
632 the town from the country about it. Whereas in the townships of rural Lewis the people are almost purely natives

[1] The burghal area was extended in 1935. At the census of 1951 its population stood at 4950. This showed an increase of 15·9 per cent above the population enumerated in the same area in 1931.

369 of the place, even the schoolmaster and ministers being
632 mostly Islanders, in Stornoway an important minority of the officials and business men hail from the mainland, and some of them from the Lowlands. New blood has undoubtedly been needed to promote enterprise, to foresee new possibilities, and even, at times, to make the best of the past. At the same time, the cleavage between town and country is marked in ways of thought and feeling as in
369 livelihood. To take a single criterion, that of speech, most
632 of the children of the town speak no Gaelic and many hardly understand it. While the percentage of Gaelic
197 speakers was 95 in the three outlying parishes in 1931, in the burgh only 70 per cent could still speak the old tongue. By 1951 the ratio, still almost unchanged in the outlying parishes and townships, had considerably lowered in the burgh.

369 The attempt to harmonise the interests of country and
632 town forms a hopeful aspect of the activities both of the Stornoway Trust, which holds the rural and urban property
656 presented to the people of Stornoway parish by the first Lord Leverhulme, and of the Lewis Association, formed
[427] in 1943 to undertake studies of the Island to guide action
[654] for the future. The maintenance of the town's prosperity will depend greatly upon its industries of fishing and of
228 spinning; and these are almost inseparable from the
[288] maintenance of the rural population for whom Stornoway acts as regional centre, and who weave with the yarn spun in the mills. Unity in constructive purpose could go far to build up the prosperity of the community.

361 With the recognition of the need for planning aroused
369 by the problems which faced the country with the return
632 of peace, it is proposed, at the centre of the Burgh, to rebuild the whole of the peninsular area of Point Street,

361 by co-operation of three authorities: the Town Council,
369 the Piers and Harbour Commission, and the Stornoway
632 Trust as owner of property, including Lews Castle with its grounds. The social situation is of quite exceptional
656 interest, and an attempt to describe some of its features is
[654] made in Appendix II, on the Stornoway Trust and the Lewis Association.

(c) CHANGES IN ISLAND POPULATION, AND THE FUTURE

1. *From 1801 to 1939*

175 Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the growth
162 of population was periodically checked or even set back by famines and epidemics, such as smallpox, or by warfare.
[731] In 1801 the total population of the Outer Hebrides (in round numbers) was 21,700, and in 1831 it was 32,000. Of this total, Lewis carried 9200 and Harris 3000 in 1801 and, a generation later, in 1831, respectively 14,500 and 3900. In the graph (Fig. 12) the curve showing the average for the five landward or rural parishes of the Island (excluding Stornoway Burgh) indicates the fairly steady numerical increase there, almost to the close of the
[731] century. Following the evictions after 1831 and the potato famine of 1846–48, emigration caused a fall in the southern islands (*e.g.* in South Uist, Fig. 12). Forty years later, in 1871, the Outer Hebridean total reached nearly 40,000, of which Lewis alone, with 21,000, now gave more than half the total, and Harris—in spite of an intervening drop owing to evictions—4800. By 1901, in spite of losses in the southern isles, the total for the Outer Hebrides reached a peak of 46,200. Of this, Lewis already contributed almost

175 rent-rolls record something of more vital and enduring
241 concern, the unit of community life in the Lews. This was
427 the 'conjoint' or 'group' farm of the labouring peasantry
[496] —though it was overlaid in parts of the Island by the formation of tacks held by gentleman rent-farmers.

Both rolls are Judicial Rentals, that is to say, the
175 tenants, great and small, were convened by the Govern-
241 ment Commissioners and examined on oath as to the rents
427 they formerly paid; the accounts were then entered and totalled. Because of the Jacobite resistance, the small
656 amounts of rent and the maladministration of the Forfeited Estates, doubt was cast upon the first rental, of 1718. A second rental was therefore compiled in 1726, upon a different system, which confirms the correctness of the first.[1] All were named, including those absent or 'valetudinary'.

175 Owing to the Island's comparatively smooth land sur-
361 face and access to the sea, the people could group themselves as they chose. Whereas in the Highland mainland many
[182] a pocket of land is too small to keep more than two or three
[184] families alive and no fishing grounds are available, in Lewis the people could join together in teams of four, five or six,
[433] to work a hamlet-farm or penny-land, definable as a
[496] joint-farm of unit size, and to man a boat with "four to row and one to steer".

175 The first point of interest is the equality of the shares,
241 each man paying exactly the same as his fellow-tenants for
427 his 'farthing',—a fourth, or other equal share of the farm. An average share of rent was a little over 10 shillings sterling
[436] with additional payments in farm produce, though not (as
[113]

[1] A. Geddes, "Conjoint Tenants", etc., *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Series, vol. i, no. 1, 1948, pp. 54-60. This reconciles the evidence of 1718, reproduced in the Brand Report (1902), Appx. O, and that of 1726, edited by J. R. N. Macphail (1916).

1794, for instance, their crews not only fishing but also buying from local fishers. Islanders occasionally earned a pittance as pilots, for until the charting of these rocky coasts navigation was most dangerous.

The herring industry was in the hands of 'adventurers' (who 'ventured' their capital), and the Islanders benefited little. The British export was aided by a bounty which helped to capture the Continental market; but, as Adam Smith pointed out, no bounty was given to the small, open boats suitable for the north-west lochs. Thus the operation of the Salt Duty after 1707 and of the bounty system from before 1745 until 1786, illustrates two of the recurrent blights upon "Public Administration" in the Isles. As Day wrote, their interests have had to suffer "either deliberately, for the benefit of other parts, or other classes in the kingdom, or inadvertently from ignorance".[1] Although the bounty system was widened to include small boats after 1786, the Salt Tax remained until 1817.

To overcome difficulties, the British Fisheries Society was founded with Government support in 1786. Although Stornoway then seemed too far afield, the Society's concentration upon larger settlements foreshadowed Lord Leverhulme's principles after 1918. At Ullapool, Tobermory and Lochbay (Skye), and at Wick, quays and stores were constructed and dwelling-houses built, with croft land and grass for a cow, to be reclaimed. Although concentration at Wick led to the sale of the three western properties about 1842, the Society had done some good work in the West. The chief difficulty of the West Coast north of the Clyde area and south of Stornoway District remained: the lack of a well-marked seasonal migration of herring.

[1] J. P. Day, *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918.

to one another, to the landlord and to the State would have been profoundly different.

(8) STATE AID, THE LAND, AND THE CROFTERS' RESPONSE

Until 1914 the congestion in each Island township dotted between the wide, lonely moors, had increased, and it was still increasing. To every two legal crofters, either a cottar or a landless squatter was to be found, on the 'skinned land' outside the crofts. Parliament, in 1886, had discarded the Napier Commission's recommendations to give powers to extend the crofts from portions of the common, or to supply a house site and garden space for men of independent occupations such as fishermen. This congestion embarrassed Government and local services.

The associated rating system was also at fault; indeed it has still to be put right. For instance, a crofter's son—able to make a living, say, as a fisherman, and about to marry but having no croft—was penalised by high rates, should he take up his proper status of a legal cottar at a small rent. Throughout the crofting counties, the legal crofter, as an agricultural landholder, was (and is) de-rated, and had only to pay one-eighth the rates for a non-agricultural holding of the same rental. Only since 1938 has the value of the house been assessed. A recognised cottar paying rent to an estate was rated as owner and occupier, being treated in fact as a feuar;[1] and as such he had to bear a heavy burden of rates, possibly of over 30s. in the £. Whereas if he 'lay low' and shared his father's or brother's

[1] *Feuar*, in Scotland one who holds real estate in consideration of a stipulated annual payment; lit. on *feudal* tenure. Cf. J. P. Day (1918), pp. 383–384.

croft by subdivision, he would pay little, indirectly and by arrangement; while if he simply built a hut or house on a vacant spot he paid neither rates nor rent. Either course was illegal; yet it was too expensive for the landlord, however 'hard-hearted', to take legal proceedings to turn off a squatter. As for wholesale expropriation the suffering caused and the odium incurred would have involved—and would still involve—both landlord and State in insurmountable difficulties by starting fresh agitation, perhaps with outbreaks of law-breaking, repression and bad blood. Yet these anomalies still discourage, and the normal illegalities demoralise, all concerned.

Because of the provision by State and local authorities of a growing range of services in other regions, and also because of the special reasons of Insular poverty, State action was increasingly taken in the Isles. To what extent have the Islanders responded, it may be asked; or how far may they have failed, in return for aid offered and benefits received? Let us begin with mutual aid practised among the people up to 1900, and then consider the repayment of loans and grants under different conditions. Observations by those in touch with the Island for many years, officially or privately, allow one to read between the lines and attempt an impartial judgment.

As to the strength of independent mutual aid there could be no doubt. Up to the beginning of this century, the amounts expended on parish relief were 'almost nothing', and had shown no increase in preceding years. General poverty, anomalies in the rating system, and the mistakes such as the erection of poorhouses by the central administration, diminished resources; but the people generously gave help to their poorer neighbours in work and gifts. Except for a year of overwhelming crisis,

schemes, and knowing how much local fishing depended upon international policy, particularly the resumption of trade relations with the chief customers of the past, Leverhulme, one feels, should have dealt no less outspokenly with these. The removal of trade barriers lay not in the hands of the Scottish Office or of Scots officials (however internationally minded these might be as private citizens), but in the hands of Ministers of Cabinet rank and leading financiers, of whom Leverhulme himself was one.

In brief, the Scots fisheries suffered after the war as neither Leverhulme nor others had foreseen when first he laid his plans for the Island's prosperity. It seems clear that had this major change been squarely faced by Leverhulme and Government alike, in 1920, 1921 or even later, they could never have fallen apart about a relatively minor issue, that of the farms. Both sides turned their faces away from this disquieting factor of the Baltic markets, though both knew it to be fundamental to the success of Scots fisheries and the Island's future. Had they faced it together frankly, then, even if powerless to effect a remedy, their sincerity might have prevented a deadlock upon a secondary matter.

To Leverhulme, given his large scale of expenditure and return, the division of a few farms formed a minor issue. But to a number of ex-Servicemen, 'crofters' without a croft, the division meant a home and relative stability. Moreover, what was merely a matter for personal decision to Leverhulme, was a lifelong issue to many people brought up in congestion on the wrong side of the boundary fence. Meantime, milk from Easter Ross was available in Stornoway, at town if not at country prices. Lastly, further possibilities of land-development lay open to Leverhulme, though not so readily to the unaided people. In reading

The Trustees of the Stornoway Trust have not found it easy to meet the cost of keeping up the valuable property of the Castle and Park, nor to carry the burden of its rates, no adequate income being available for the purpose. Today, however, Leverhulme's gift is being put to good use as a Technical College, opened in September 1952.

Division of the available farms, after providing about 200 small crofts (of ten acres or so), still left the problem of finding legal homes on legal tenure for the remaining cottars and squatters.[1] The Department of Agriculture arranged to feu plots of 'skinned land' on the outrun of certain townships, including one in the extreme north and others in Lochs. About 200 of these little holdings with potato ground were provided. On the holders' behalf the Department feued land from the owner, after obtaining the consent of the Common Grazings Committee of the township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', *i.e.* for enclosure of a portion of the common. The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem disproportionate to the economic value of the holdings. Yet difficulties of law and custom had been allowed to go from bad to worse during the past eighty years; and these difficulties were overcome.

To encourage better housing in the crofting counties, loans are made to 'crofters and fishermen feuars' personally. Local stone, or latterly concrete, is used, and much of the building is done by the 'man of the house' himself, and his friends. From 1920 to 1940, nearly 1200 loans were made in Lewis and Harris for the erection (or improvement) of houses, and in a few cases for the erection

[1] Estimated at 1200 to 1500 shortly before, the open question was whether subdivision during the previous eighty years was to be recognised and accepted.

In 19th-century Scotland, the cause of the Highland tenants and subtenants was taken up, as part of the trend of the times and because a series of famines occurring in the Highlands caught the attention of Britain. After the kelp industry was destroyed at the beginning of the 19th century, landlords maintained high rents on the assumption that the depression was only temporary, which caused tenants to deplete their capital by selling their cattle (Gray 1957: 38). A number of reports were published on the plight of Highland smallholders: Fullarton and Baird (1838), MacNeil (1851), Mackinlay (1878), and finally the Napier Commission's report of 1884 which was followed by the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886.

The 1884 Napier Commission Report tried to resolve the conflict between the rights of the individual smallholder and the maintenance of agricultural efficiency in a situation which still had communal elements of social organization, by recommending an organization much along the lines of the old joint farm. The township was defined as a farm, or part of a farm, which was occupied in common or in division by several tenants. The township, seen as an agricultural unit, was to be given various immunities and powers by which to achieve

stability and improvement; e.g., an exe
the Constable, was to be elected annuall
community, and he would oversee various
the township (Napier 1884; Day 1918: 18

However, the Crofters Act of 1886 c
township a unit of local government. It
concerned with protecting the individual
rights than with the creation of a self-
self-correcting economic unit. The Napi
had recommended the consolidation of cro
rented at less than L6 a year, and a pol
by which the excess population would be
emigrate or specialize as laborers, fish

Instead, the 1886 Act provided secu
for a large number of crofters, as well
rent and compensation for improvements i
chose to leave the croft. These assuran
creation of a variety of agencies (such
Districts Board, the Crofters Commission
of Agriculture) whose purpose was to enc
improvement by providing funds, equipmen
seeds, advice and so on, constituted a s
These incentives combined with a number
including improved transportation and th

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273 175 65 [656] Excise taxes were first levied on whiskey in 1814, and stills of less than 500-gallon capacity were prohibited. Local, illegal distillation continued for a long time after 1814, and throughout the Highlands and Islands tales are told of "the excise man" and how he was outwitted.

273 175 [66] The Island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris was evacuated in 1843, supposedly because of illegal distillation that was being carried on there. The ruins of old distilling houses are found throughout Shawbost. Villagers say that these were used in the time of their grandfather or great-grandfather to distill whiskey for occasions such as weddings.

[527] In Shawbost, until recent times whiskey was associated mainly with special ceremonial occasions: the birth of [846] a child, weddings, and wakes. When a baby was born, the father went into town for whiskey to be given to visitors 764 coming to see the baby. Having whiskey at a funeral was 273 so important that many a widow sold her cow to provide it, so that people would not say it was a bad funeral. A custom of sitting up all night in the house of the deceased has stopped, probably in part because a prayer meeting lasting from midnight until 2 a.m. was introduced with the intention, according to one minister, of preventing 273 the wake from becoming too joyful an occasion. Whiskey 175 was abundant at New Year's, and at weddings. "The dance [527] [585]

For a number of years it had been the practice for a considerable proportion of the older schoolboys during their attendance at the Secondary School to put in their training with the local body of Territorials—the Ross Mountain Battery. At the School Prize-giving of 1914, these boys attended in their uniform to be ready to go off the same evening by steamer en route for the annual training camp. Before the School re-opened, the Territorial Force was mobilised, and for some of these lads there intervened four long years of toil, of fighting, and of sickness overseas, before they ever saw their homes again.

Later (1938), the unit became the 203rd (Ross) Battery of the 51st (West Highland) Anti-tank Regiment. It was whilst fighting as an anti-tank battery that, with other units of the 51st Division, the men were taken prisoner at St Valery in 1940. Today, after more changes, the battery is the oldest in 540 LAA Regt RA, TA (the Lovat Scouts). In 1960 the Ross Battery received the Freedom of the Burgh of Stornoway in recognition of a century of voluntary service to the community and the nation.

LAND USE AND CROFTING

The history of land use and the crofting system in the Highlands and Islands (see Chapter 5) is full of difficulties. In the older days of the clan system, before the rot set in, though the clan members belonged to the chief, they also belonged to the land and the land to them. In such a climate, the agricultural system, for it was such then, was in a reasonably healthy state; the land was worked to the full. Good land was available for the support of the clan, and as often as not in good years there was ample produce, crops, and livestock, to send south to well-paying markets. That fertile lands abounded is indicated by the reports of visitors in various centuries. But times changed. The increase in population after the breakdown of the clan system by statutory legislation, and the policy of population placement carried out with a rigorous enthusiasm, planted seeds of discontent—in particular a hunger for land. The land was in any case becoming ever more inadequate to support those already on it.

The story of the agrarian troubles in the Highlands area is well

1901, the average was only 5·086, the county average being 3·983. The population was still to reach its peak in Lewis, some 30,000 in 1911. Emigration was at a fairly high rate, some 2,000 every decade, but this was no relief with births between 8,000 and 9,000 during the same period. In 1894 it was estimated that the number of cottars (or squatters) as distinct from crofters was in the region of 1,000. These people, mostly relatives of crofters, constituted a serious incubus on every crofting township.

Elsewhere in the Highlands, the enlargement of crofting holdings relieved the land-hunger situation. It was not possible for the same to be done in Lewis, and Harris possessed even less useful land to share out. Many applications were made by crofters either for an increase in their own holdings or an increase in the acreage of common grazings held by each township. Though some 500 acres were in fact handed over by the estate management for crofting purposes, there was a steady refusal to diminish the acreage of farms.

The Congested Districts Board was appointed in 1897, supervising public works to relieve the people of a certain amount of their ills. It carried on until 1912, when it passed into the newly-formed Board of Agriculture. The Congested Districts Board could have achieved much more than it did. It scraped away only a little of the vast problem. The next major landmark in the history of crofting legislation was the Small Landholders (Scotland) Act of 1911. It extended certain provisions introduced for the crofter in 1886, and further increased the class of tenants who benefited by bringing in the tenants of holdings rented at not more than £50 (£30 in Lewis) or not exceeding 50 acres (30 acres in Lewis). The 1911 Act also brought into existence the Scottish Land Court in place of the Crofters Commission. In Lewis, however, the hunger for more land went on unabated and reached a not insignificant peak during the later years of Lord Leverhulme's regime.

A new Crofters Commission was set up in 1955, following on the report of a Commission of Enquiry under the chairmanship of the then Principal T. M. Taylor of Aberdeen University. Fresh provision for the reorganisation, development and regulation of the crofting system in the seven crofting counties of Scotland

HISTORY

*175 [614] in the following two centuries as clan rivalry, with its claims and counter-claims for territorial and other rights, was predominant. Generally, what could not be taken by intermarriage was snatched by fiercer means.

Though these times generated a tradition of extraordinary richness, one must wonder what would have been the result had more attention been spared for the development of the island. Progress was retarded. The lawlessness was not worse than that endemic on much of the Scottish and English mainland or in Europe, but the island was of course more cut off from the gradual infiltration of civilising agencies and influences; at some times in its history it was found to be more than a century behind even the rest of Scotland.

MOVEMENTS TOWARD CIVILISATION

*175 • 657 614 And what was the Scots Government in Edinburgh doing about the Western Isles? In the Middle Ages, the answer is very little. It had enough troubles of its own without endeavouring to police the clan warfare in that remote part of the kingdom; in any case the islands of the west were difficult to get to and probably best left alone. This attitude did not hold indefinitely. Once the semblance of peaceful conditions was established throughout the Scottish mainland, attention was duly focused further afield. In 1506 Stornoway Castle was beseiged and captured by the Earl of Huntly—the first time cannon and gunpowder were used in the Western Isles, and the first of a number of punitive expeditions arranged to bring the unruly clans to heel.

*175 657 614 643 One of the leaders of disorder at this time was Roderic MacLeod of Lewis, and it was to parley with him that no less a person than James V decided to visit the island. In 1540 James, with devastating swiftness, determined to quell these fighting chiefs once and for all, arrived to examine conditions on the spot. Titles to land were closely looked at and the equivalent of our 'small print' read carefully. All the chiefs who owned anything in the islands were forced to accompany the King on his tour of inspection. No doubt this close contact resulted in James becoming as fluent in the Gaelic language as his father had been in his time.

MOVEMENTS TOWARDS

For Gaelic was still spoken in most parts o
the language which the chiefs themselves
fine shade. James's visit was followed by a p
ensured by the detention of hostages; in Lew
had been turned down to a simmer.

After the death of the chief of the Lewi
however, rival dynastic claims turned up
comers appeared on the scene: the MacKe
fully they manipulated the events of history
until with the Crown on their side they h
doubt that they were legally entitled to
Lewis was fortunate in its new proprietor,
Lord Kintail. Both he and his successor,
Seaforth, were enlightened men, of differ
they had displaced. They were in close cont
outside world, the emerging Scotland; a
with the amenities which that world offered.
of the needs of a community little removed
of cultural progress. In particular Seaforth
foresight, recognised, as did others before h
of the island had to be based on fish. He
value of strong connections with Church
Lewis historian, W. C. MacKenzie, writes:

> At the end of the seventeenth century,
> Lewis is that of a people pursuing their a
> not in plenty. The Seaforths had been extr
> had to pay for their extravagances; they w
> people had to pay for their politics. Yet,
> establishing orderly Government in the i
> good deal to rescue the people from the s
> incivility in which they found themselve
> sphere of economics their policy apparentl
> the community.

Under the Seaforths, Lewis became invo
During the times of the Covenanting troub
to the Battle of Auldearn, where the Cove
by Montrose. At the Battle of Worcester,
of the thousand MacLeods taking part i

CIVILISATION

f Scotland, and it was 175* 657 • 614 643
understood to the last
eriod of unusual calm,
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s MacLeods, Roderic, 175* [614]
the heat again. New-
nzies of Kintail. Care-
, indeed twisted them,
ad established beyond
Lewis. In many ways,
Kenneth MacKenzie,
Colin, the first Earl of
ent calibre from those
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nd they were familiar
. They were also aware
from the early phases
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im, that the prosperity
was also aware of the
and education. The

the picture we have of
vocations in peace, but
avagant, and the people
vere politicians, and the
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lough of ignorance and
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y was of little service to

lved in external affairs. 175* 648
les, it sent a contingent
nanters were defeated
one of the two leaders
n that 'stiff fight' was

HISTORY

*175 423 668 427 The crofters were in a state of revolt against the accumulation of trends and events which now stood like a high dam against their progress to a higher level of acceptance in the social scene. They stood in open conflict with local and national authority. Unhappy scenes were enacted, many being in complete variance with the natural temperament of the Highlander. Lewis crofters were not far behind with their contribution to the agitation for land reform, though they had perhaps suffered less direct action from landowners than had crofters in the Highlands and southern Islands. But their living conditions had deteriorated. And an inhumanly-efficient factor made for deep unrest.

*175 • 657 423 427 [668] Land agitation began in Lewis in 1881, and large numbers of Lewis crofters gave evidence before the Napier Commission. This Commission was the result of agitation for an enquiry into crofting conditions in the Highlands. Its setting up relieved a situation of acute tension, though it neither extinguished political agitation nor mitigated the disaffection felt in the more disturbed districts. Under Lord Napier's direction a mass of information was collected. The official findings of the Commission were almost identical with political declarations in the country, but did not altogether coincide with the requirements of the crofters and their spokesmen. The resultant Crofters' Act of 1886 fixed the crofting system into that rigid trance in which agricultural innovation, opportunity for improvement, the social progress of crofting communities are largely lacking. It did give all crofters permanency of tenure, where they had none before, fair rents for the land they had and compensation for improvements. But the old demand for new smallholdings and settlements persisted with greater insistence and further pressure on high political circles.

[735] [746] In 1888, members of the new Crofters Commission visited Lewis and found that poverty was so general in the island that among 607 crofters for whom fair rents were fixed, there were scarcely a dozen who had not been recipients of 'destitution' meal or some other form of relief. The population was too much for the land to support it under the distribution system prevailing. The number of persons per family in 1871 was on average 5·358, as compared with 4·232 on the mainland of Ross and Cromarty, the county of which Lewis formed a part. Thirty years later, in

161 162 *175

If May is considered a busy month, June duties are even more pressing. Although the winter gales are over, the rainfall has begun to increase. A succession and variety of demands are made on the crofter's time. Once again the sheep must be brought down to the "fank." This time the purpose is to mark the lambs. The males, unless one or two healthy specimens are selected for future use as rams, are castrated and smeared with a dye to indicate their ownership. The females are smeared and have their ears cut to signify both ownership and age. Like the dipping, this operation requires the cooperation of the crofter and his family, the neighbors, and hired hands. Next the sheep without lambs are dipped once again and given a dose of medicine for liver fluke and a variety of diseases. At the same time, the early hay and, perhaps, the early potatoes are ready for harvesting. The end of June brings the Highland Wool Fair in Inverness. If he has Cheviot sheep, as most crofters do, the man must go to arrange for their wintering on the milder and drier east coast. Although Cheviots produce a finer wool than the more common Blackface sheep, they do not stand up to the incessant wind and rain of a Skye winter. If his wife can leave the children behind, she will accompany her husband. The old function of the Fair, the sale of wool, has disappeared under government price control legislation.

It is not unusual to have the early harvest delayed until July, but even then the mowing may have to wait because sheep must come first. On one of the dry days during the first

had to be accepted. Not a word was heard. At length one crofter simply said, "No one has anything to say, so I guess we all are agreed." One of the former members of the committee could not be re-elected; he had passed away. This was a thorny matter. A series of men were proposed, and each in turn declined. Finally, a man was nominated and seconded before he had a chance to deny himself the honor. Election, of course, was automatic.

The committee administers the farm, handles stocking, employs the necessary shepherds, sells the stock, and rents the hunting lodge. They do so, however, within the now traditional framework. They have neither been granted nor assumed a role of independent action. They do not reach independent decisions. They rather weigh and put into operation decisions made by the Department of Agriculture. As we shall see, even the elder, despite his high prestige status, has power to enforce social conformity rather than the authority to direct or lead men.

It is significant that while the share-holding crofters own the farm and their crofts, they have not achieved independence from outside control. Many of the Glendale crofters frankly admit they are afraid of independence. As in any township or neighborhood there are two opposing groups. "There always is someone who tries to sabotage the whole thing," said one man. One group has favored the guidance of the officers of the Department. The other group resents the interference of the government in their affairs. At the same time, however, they do not want to be cast off on their own. They want some form

of farm management under a resident manager, preferably not a Skyeman. The attitude of the former faction was aptly expressed by one person who was about to leave Skye: "We need the Department. If they withdrew, we wouldn't have anybody to go to for anything." This is in strixing contrast to the Irish small farmer for whom land ownership is an all important factor in regulating social interaction and status.[24] On Skye land ownership has not led to any change in the traditional status values. A Glendale crofter is not a better man because he owns land.

Prestige Ranking within the Neighborhood. In so far as prestige ranking is concerned, status is more developed within the neighborhood than within the township. In addition to the crofters and their families, there are always several individuals who are given status because of their performance of the necessary functions of ministering to the peoples' spiritual and physical needs and educating the children. These are the only achieved statuses which are valued by the crofters. Noteworthy enough, only the minister of Glendale serves his own "people and friends."

The minister's status depends to some degree on his denomination and the religious sympathies of the people. In Glendale the minister enjoys the highest possible status. In Kilmuir, with two ministers, each is valued by his own congregation with whom he interacts. Nevertheless, all ministers are treated with respect. They are always addressed as the Reverend Mister MacDonald or Mister MacDonald. It is interesting to note that

[24] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 72-100; Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 98-144.

of tenure function to protect the individual from potential abuses by a landlord where customary usages once fulfilled the need. Moreover, even though the tenure of the cultivated soil grants all the rights of a landholder, including the rights to bequeath the house and land to a member of one's family, for more than half the year it is used communally.

The Sgiathanach has never adjusted sufficiently to become a specialist, not even a specialized grazier. For him the land has always had a more fundamental value than merely being a means of livelihood. It is the ancestral home. There is a sentimental attachment to the land which is an expression of the affectionate bonds of kinship. The people have never lost the tribal tie of the land and the group. Although the former patriarchs disclaimed any sympathy with this point of view, the landlords on Skye today have kept what little land they have only because of its sentimental value. Indeed the attitude of the largest landholder, the government of Scotland, is that the crofting tradition is worth while preserving, if for no other reason, because in the predominantly urban and industrial civilization it has a romantic value. There are other reasons. The Islands have long been looked upon as a human reservoir for the armed forces, and, more recently, for Lowland industry.

As a result of their partial adjustment to the higher socio-cultural level, there have been changes in crops and stock. The British market has influenced the crofters' output, within ecological limitations. The old subsistence crops of oats and

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657 PUBLIC WELFARE--pensions and welfare services for government employees; government care and administration of dependent ethnic groups (e.g., reservations); extent of public support of social work, welfare, relief, social insurance and public health; etc. See also:

Social problems	73	Public health	744
Government housing programs	362	Social insurance	748
Public parks and playgrounds	367	Public assistance	748
Administration of dependent territories	636		

121 individuals; rather, causal primacy in human action is given to the sociocultural environment, which determines what choices are available to be made and what behavior is valued. Because the exercise of choice is a human universal, i.e., a constant, it cannot be used to explain variation (cf. Barth 1966).

Actors within a community which is marginal to a larger industrial society make choices within an environment characterized by constraints and incentives which derive from both the local sociocultural system and the larger system. The state of boundedness of the local system is maintained or modified as a result of the strategies adopted by its members. I have suggested that the Scottish crofting township persists as a relatively strongly bounded system not because it is inherently static, isolated, or resistive of change, but because of the constraints and incentives stemming from the larger society. For example, the British government has provided various incentives to encourage the persistence of crofting and township communalism; and to a certain extent, Gaelic speech or English spoken with a "Hielan'" (Highland) accent constitute social stigma (Goffman 1963) by which a person from the Highlands and Islands is assigned a somewhat lower social status in British social structure.

657 192 554

465 335 288 804 yards (a weaver's yard is equal to 8 feet, a measure which derives from the size of the frame once used to wind hanks of yarn). Payment varies according to the number of colors used in the pattern. A weaver may average 2½ tweeds per week when the work is available, thus earning more than mill workers. A female mill worker earns about L11 or L12, and her male counterpart about L3 more.

288 465 562

Because weavers are classed as self-employed, they do not qualify for unemployment benefit. They may apply for social security, but must submit to a "means" test, and the possession of bank savings or other assets disqualifies them from receiving such aid. All British workers must pay a weekly sum for "insurance stamps," a certain number of which makes the workers eligible for small payments from the government during periods of illness. Self-employed persons must pay for their own insurance stamps, whereas employers pay for the stamps of their workers. A weaver who does not keep up with his payments of over one pound a week for insurance stamps must pay the accumulated debt at a later time.

288 745 657

Weavers face other costs. They buy looms and bobbin-winding machines, and pay for lighting, heating, and the maintenance of all equipment. The preservation of this anomalous status of "self-employed" is related to the

401 288 288 463 438

592 unmarried sibling. Eleven households consist only of siblings who have never married, men and women who in 1971 were 45 years old or older. Two widows live with their unmarried siblings. Sixteen widows or widowers live alone, and sixteen unmarried persons live alone.

589

The large number of households occupied by single, elderly people reflects the use of the croft as a place of residence rather than as an agricultural unit, a view of the croft that was given legal expression in 1968 by the Miscellaneous Provisions Act. Before 1968, the croft went automatically to the eldest son if a crofter died intestate. Since 1968, the rights of different claimants must be considered and tenancy by a new person must be confirmed. District and county councillors argued for this change, saying that a widow was often left on the croft and her security endangered because the eldest son was usually far away from the island, in Canada or some other country. In other words, rather than an agricultural unit which should naturally be taken over and worked by the male head of the household, the croft is seen as a place of residence for the infirm and for the aged, and especially for the aged female.

241 592 423 671 888 428

The Crofters Commission has suggested that elderly people be allowed to rent small plots of land on which

657 185 423 888 311

657 their houses are located, and that most of the land b
185 freed for use by more active crofters, but the ideolo
423 associated with possession of the croft makes such a
888 plan extremely difficult to implement. "The croft is
311 your base, the only thing you have. You don't want i
taken away, even if someone else is using it already
anyway. Our county councillor suggested amalgamating
the unused crofts at a recent meeting. No one said
anything, but no one wants it."

Of the five households that have the use of thre
592 crofts each, one consists of a bachelor who uses the
241 crofts for grazing a large number of sheep. A second
311 household is composed of two brothers who had stayed
at home to take care of their aged parents. One of
these brothers recently married, after the last parent
died. These men keep cattle and sheep, and both weav

A third household is headed by a married man who
592 has recently sold most of his livestock in order to
241 "concentrate on the weaving." His father, who used t
311 haul peat with a horse and cart in exchange for the
288 use of grazing land so that his family never had to
go to the sheilings, died a few years ago. "My fathe
was a crofter only. The weaving didn't start until
the 30's. He was wounded in the war. He got a pensi
and sold a cow or a few sheep each year. But I didn't

APPENDIX I

228 average wage for the summer season dropped to about £25.

434 The number of women engaged in gutting and packing (and kippering) herrings varies from year to year. In 1938 1000

228 were engaged locally in summer, most of whom also went to

434 East Anglia. As always, the greater part of the wages was earned in the summer and the remainder in the East Anglia

462 (autumn) fishing season. The net average earnings per worker of the Scottish gutters and packers were estimated at £16 at the Scottish summer fishings and £17 at the East Anglian fishing (*Annual Report*, p. 12). This figure included 'arles' (*i.e.* earnest money), but excluded travelling expenses. The Stornoway District earnings averaged £16 at the local summer fishing but only £15 at the East Anglia fishing. The latter is a small return to place against the skill of the worker and the discomfort she endures. The women work in small teams together, and their efficiency is partly due to their comradeship.

228 Figures for catches have already been given as approaching

434 £20,000 for herring and £10,000 for white fish and shell-fish. While the net earnings derived, after subtracting the working expenses of boats and outlays for gear, were very much less than this gross sum, a substantial part should be counted as equivalent to earnings (Statistical Table 21).

Summing up the total net earnings, we arrive at the follow-

[462] ing for Lewis proper. The women's total net earnings may be taken as £25,000. We add to the probable earnings of the men at the herring fishing an allowance for their profits from other catches, making a total of say £15,000.

198 The industry was still declining here as elsewhere in Scotland. About 1930 the earnings of hired hands alone

228 reached £30,000 and that of women twice as much, say £60,000.

434 Besides this was the important sum earned by men with share of boats. The local white fish and shell-fish catches were also

656 considerably higher at that period. As to the future, much will depend on what can be done to rehabilitate the local industry by compensation for losses incurred in war, and by assurance that government policy will encourage local fishermen to embark on their enterprise without the risk of the

TABLE 11

Land Available by Numbers of Tenants

162 241 427 233 632

INBYE LAND			COMMON PASTURES		
	No. of tenants:			No. of tenants:	
Acres:	(a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:	Acres:	(a) in whole parish:	(b) in 'new' townships:
	(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
0-1.0	1		Less than 50	88	
1.0-2.5	73	2	51-100	332	14
2.6-5.0	241	19	101-200	139	12
5.1-7.5	137	22	201-300	52	-
7.6-10	66	23	301-400	32	32
10.1-15	56	23	401-500	8	8
15.1-20	30	17			
20.1-50	29	24	940	10	10

Note: 'New' townships, for this purpose, are those settled since 1900.

361 632 In detail the arrangement of the townships varies. Certain features are common: all inbye land and, consequently, all settlements, are coastal (except Lochganvich). Each has common pasture adjacent to the inbye and many have further areas of common - former shieling grazings - some distance inland (figure 1). This division of the hill grazings is to some extent nominal because fences are often absent or ineffective. Uninhabited islands, on the other hand, require no fences, and are particularly valuable for winter grazing; the smaller of them provide convenient natural paddocks for bulls

[471] and tups when out of season. The management of all these common pastures is controlled by the township committees. Unfortunately the most important aspect of stock management - control of numbers and maintenance of a proper balance of sheep and cattle - is almost universally neglected.

233 427 656 The total stock which each croft may put on the common pastures - the 'soum' - is defined in the Regulations. In the case of townships re-settled in the present century a specific soum is placed on each croft but, in most other cases, the old practice persists of stating the soum in terms of rent. Thus the soum of each croft may be defined as 1 cow, 1 two-year-old and 8 sheep per pound sterling rent (this is a very common souming). Such soumings have been in existence since time immemorial; they are mentioned in 1836*. Many of the Uig townships had their soumings stated by the Land Court in 1912; in most cases the soum was given "per pound sterling of rent" (presumably 1912 rent), but in a few "per pound sterling of rent payable in 1886". The rents had been substantially reduced in 1891, thus 1912 and 1886 rents were very different. Any township has a certain limited, stock-carrying capacity; therefore, if the total rental is thus changed without

[113] * New Statistical Account, Vol. XIV, p.148.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

233 427 656 175 change in area, then the amount of stock allowed, per pound sterling of rent, ought to be changed, too.

This does not appear to have been done in Uig although in Stornoway parish the soum per pound was increased after rents were reduced in the late nineteenth century. More recently, the Crofters Commission, in re-stating soumings for some townships, has generally (but not invariably) applied the soum to the 1886 rent, regardless of the wording of the 1912 regulations. This may appear to have the merit of consistency and, insofar as crofters pay any attention to the Regulations, it satisfies them because the greater (1886) rent gives them a larger soum and less likelihood of being criticised or penalised for overstocking. However, it perpetuates inconsistencies which originated during the nineteenth century when the stock allowed per pound sterling rent was not reduced although total rentals were increasing as squatters' and cottars' holdings were added (see page above). Moreover, the old souming referred to the old type of highland cattle which were much smaller beasts than those kept today, and it assumed that the shieling pastures would be in full use. A further complication arises because about 1920 some townships acquired substantial enlargements but the soumings do not appear to have been adjusted. Altogether it is little wonder that the Grazing Regulations are seldom observed, for they seldom bear any close relationship to the grazing capacity of township lands. Proper observance of carefully revised Regulations, in which unlimited substitution of sheep in place of cattle was specifically forbidden, would be of considerable benefit to the crofters.

241 233 417 188 The inbye, or croft, land is invariably separated from the common pasture by a ring fence, the gates of which are generally closed for protection of crops from May to November. Progressive townships are installing grids to obviate the twin nuisances of traffic interference and straying stock. The fencing of individual crofts was rare until the 1930's and is still by no means general. The inbye land is, in many townships, the best winter grazing and its division into innumerable tiny fenced patches, whilst advantageous for cultivation, would restrict the movement of stock in search of water and shelter; in a predominantly pastoral economy complete enclosure of individual holdings is not

[189] necessarily an advantage. This problem will be discussed in Part III but, in the present context, it is relevant to point out that the small crofts of Lewis contrast strongly with the larger ones of, for example, the Uists and Tiree. Therefore, what may be advantageous in the latter may be retrograde in much of Lewis.

The lay-out of the crofts aggravates this problem. The long narrow strips of the 1850 lotting, well-suited to spade cultivation and common winter grazing, may require four or five times the length of fencing required by an equi-dimensional croft of similar area. If fenced the stock may be deprived of both water and shelter; since arable cultivation has become relatively unimportant a suitable solution to this problem might be to fence a small potato plot near the house and to put the rest of the inbye down to sown grass in three or four communal parks in which grazing could be properly controlled. A particular problem is posed by crofts which have been sub-divided. These may take the form of strips as much as half a mile long by 10 yards wide or, more commonly (and much worse), of piece-meal sharing of innumerable plots, a system known locally, but incorrectly, as 'run-rig'. This is seen at its height in Kneep (fig 22), where every croft in the township is affected. The problem does not arise in townships with large crofts, which are usually more nearly equi-dimensional. These are mostly the result of re-settlement schemes and have long been fenced, (see, for example, figure 15).

Crofter-tenants.

162 427 463 An analysis of crofter-tenants according to age, sex and occupation (table 12) provides several important clues as to the present unsatisfactory state of crofting. More than one-third of the tenants are over 65 years of age; a further 16% are absent, some of these may also be over 65, others are younger people working away from home, a few are tenants

231 Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson have by far the largest total holdings of stock but are
311 eclipsed in regard to percentage of soum actually held by Breaclete, Croir, and all the
632 Bernera Shore townships. In fact the average percentage soum held is 66% on the Island as against 114% on the Shore. If efficiency is interpreted in terms of stock rearing therefore, Tobson is less than 50% efficient, Hacklete and Kirkibost 50% to 75% Breaclete Linshader and Lundale 75 to 100%, and the rest 100% to 175% efficient, the average falling at 75%.

It is also interesting to remark the area of common grazing per cow-unit actually held. This shows that, in effect, the Bernera Island townships, as might be expected from their use of one main common grazing, have much the same amount of land per beast The Bernera Shore townships apparently need rather larger areas of land per cow-unit; the excessively large area shown for Linshader indicates understocking.

[427] Figure 29 summarises the incidence of soums and actual stock carried. It will be seen that, although there are some crofts with soums of under five and over fifteen cow-units, the majority lie between those limits with a marked peak in the 7.5 to 10 cow-unit class. The largest soums tend to be under-utilised. Figure 28 shows the percentage of the soum held. Almost a quarter of the working units have less than 50% of their soum and must therefore be considered as inefficient in their chief function of stock raising, about one third have 50 - 100% and rather less than 1/3 have over 100%

The incidence from township to township varies (table 25) but generally the Bernera Shore townships have more uniform individual soums than the older and larger Island townships, though the range of size of stock holdings and consequently of soums held is more comparable. Table 25 shows the average soum per croft or working unit: Breaclete and Croir are similar with only just over half the average for the rest of Bernera Island. None of the Bernera Shore townships have soums as large as the bigger Island ones, and one of them, Earshader has no more than Breaclete or Croir. Kirkibost and Tobson stand out as far the most generously treated townships, but is this justified in practice?

Expressed in terms of cow units, (table 25) the total soums reveal that, on Bernera Island, only Croir is really efficient with just over 100% of its soum: Breaclete, Hacklete and Kirkbost are satisfactory - and no more - with 60 - 80%; but Tobson has only 45% of its soum. This is a very much poorer showing than that for the Bernera Shore townships, only one of which drops much below 100%. Therefore on the Shore the soums, though smaller, are better taken up than on the Island. Further it is clear that, of the individual working units on Bernera Island, none of those of Croir are unsatisfactory, three out of sixteen at Breaclete are not satisfactory, five out of twenty at Hacklete, eight out of twenty-eight at Kirkibost and eleven out of nineteen at Tobson, whereas on Bernera Shore there are only two unsatisfactory units - at Linshader - one of which is presently vacant with a dispute over the tenancy.

231 But so far, only the total soum has been considered: in fact it is necessary to consider
233 the elements of that soum, for in order to maintain the pasture one must have a stock
311 suitably balanced as between cattle and sheep. When the soums were originally calculated this was borne in mind and were every soum fully occupied in the proportions originally planned, the balance of grazing would presumably be satisfactory. Table 26 shows the stock equivalents in sheep units. In Croir the soum would indicate a marked preponderance of cattle +, in Linshader (with its extensive hill lands) of sheep; otherwise there is a rough balance in the soumings between large and small hooved beasts.
[656] Occasionally there are special permissive or restrictive clauses in the regulations. For instance, on Breaclete township common grazing, "...a landholder...shall be entitled to graze thereon, free of charge, during summer and autumn, two hoggs for every pound sterling of rent, for replacing the cast ewes...". Similarly, in Linshader horses are not allowed on a fenced area of 800 acres, and on Little Bernera horses are specifically disallowed. But generally the various classes of stock have clear equivalents which are freely interchangeable. How does this work in practice?

[698] + Editorial Note: this was probably because, when the Land Court determined the soum, Croir had no share in Bernera Sheilings. This now calls for adjustment, which should be made when the Crofters Commission re-enact the local Grazing Regulations.

us journey over to the "Capital of Skye" which stands on 621
Portree Loch.

The village of Portree, as stated earlier, represents the only successful attempt to introduce a nucleated settlement to the island. It was created by a landlord in the [656] early nineteenth century and has been fostered by the national and county government, especially within the last twenty years. Nothing has disturbed the English and the Lowland Scots more 621 than the alien nature of town life in the cultural heritage 648 of the Sgiathanach. Ever since the sixteenth century the Hebrideans have been resisting the introduction of villages. The Scottish and, later, the British, government has been only slightly less adamant in its determination that the country people should have a town, if not a burgh, come what may.

Indicative of its calculated creation, Portree has been 621 built "on the square," like so many English villages. Around 348 the square are found the police station, courthouse, and jail; 177 two banks and one private home; two churches and the Masonic building; and a hotel and two boarding houses. Equally indicative of the alien nature of the village, the square is normally used only when the people are going to or coming from their place of worship or business, or when they are entering or leaving Portree by the road which cuts across the square. The exceptions are an occasional civil ceremony and performance put on for the benefit of the summer tourists.

In reality, the village might best be described as an 621 overgrown hamlet, even though it was planned. The main function 348 of the village as far as the whole island is concerned is that

some townships the large crofter is given an allocation in 427
proportion to his rent. The payment of his rent also entitles 241
the crofter to gather seaweed along the coast for fertilizer [233]
and to cut peat for fuel on the common grazing or in special 222
peat areas. In a number of townships he has a further right 314
to pasture his rams in a "tup park" and his horses in a "horse park." These are lowlying areas of improved pasture. There is the general picture. [233]

There are three important exceptions to the typical 427
means of land tenure. First, there are the Glendale crofters 423
who own their land. Each individual has purchased his croft, 421
and the members of each township own the common grazing collectively. Before the law they are no longer entitled to the [656]
benefits of crofting status because, by legal definition, the crofter is a small farmer who rents his land. Second, there [233]
are the crofters of six Kilmuir townships who have individual areas of "outrun," good lowlying cattle pastures, in addition to the normal crofter's holding. Even though the Glendale crofters are landowners and the Kilmuir crofters have their own cattle pasture, they are subject to "souming" regulations. Third, there are a few large, isolated crofts which are self-contained units. The individual has his own cultivated land, pasture, and rough grazing. In reality, many of these large holdings are farms, but as long as the annual rent does not exceed £50, the benefits of crofting status are not withdrawn. The crofter, of course, stocks his holding as he thinks best. While the Irish and Scottish Highland systems of land use

233 178 578 sheep were let out of the pens, and a fight broke out between the two groups of people.

241 657 578 175 [671] 3. Crofters vs. Non-crofters: Another division within the township has developed largely because of the attention paid by outside agencies to "crofting." The Crofters Act of 1886 defined crofters and gave them a protected, privileged status. In fact, very little distinction existed between non-crofters (sometimes called squatters and/or cottars) and crofters, and in some places, such as the Isle of Scalpay, non-crofters even out-numbered crofters. Both categories were linked to each other by bonds of kinship and mutual dependence. Non-crofters were in fact favored economically. They did not have to pay rent, but had the same opportunities to graze stock and plough land as did crofters. Many crofters themselves had buaile, units of land not recognized as part of the croft and not included in the land for which rent was paid but recognized as property by the villagers themselves to the extent that these bits of moorland passed down through families or could be given by one person to another. Even today, a young girl thinking of getting married says her future husband might build their house on her father's buaile, and a man may build a house on moorland "given" to him by his wife's aunt. Officially, a non-crofter had no "rights" to a house which he built on the common

241 175 423 grazing land and he coul
a will. Similarly a cro
and could not formally p
to apportion this land f
[627] for a discussion of appo
situations, informal und
rights.

241 657 175 Various legislative
act focussed attention o
associated with crofting
[654] Commission. Crofters ha
[494] to improve land and buil
buy goods at low prices
As crofts were fenced, la
scarce and non-crofters
large numbers of cattle

241 178 423 [452] Within recent years
crofters to gain title t
which their houses are b
to them for building hou
[654] to the various subsidies
such as the subsidies fo
[829] cattle. There is still
crofters have rights whic
and that in conflicts ove

d not transfer such property in
fter had no right to his buaile,
rotest if another crofter sought
or his own use (see Chapter 2
rtionments). But in both
erstandings superseded legal

acts which followed the 1886
n the crofter. Various matters
are handled by a Crofters
ve access to grants and loans
d fences and homes. They may
in a nearby cooperative store.
and around the townships became
found it difficult to keep
and sheep.
it has become possible for non-
o the small plots of land on
uilt. Some loans are available
ses. Non-crofters have access
available to all agriculturalists,
raising hill sheep and beef
the feeling, however, that
ch non-crofters do not have
er scarce goods crofters have

Chapter 5

GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL MARGINALITY

182 Despite the growth of the Harris Tweed industry and the gradual disappearance of some of the techniques and expectations associated with heavy reliance on the land and the sea, an important factor which helps to sustain some of these patterns is the social and geographical marginality of the islanders.

175 When the young men who survived the second world [729] war returned to the island, most households still had [231] horses to cultivate the croft, but a few years later [407] the tractors replaced the horses. The Labor government, 175 which came into power after the war, passed legislation •657 which extended the processes of centralization that had proceeded since the breakdown of the clan system. The National Health Service was established. Free milk [871] became available in schools. More scholarships (called "bursaries") became available for further schooling. [207] Television came in the 1960's. In short, the islander was exposed to a number of new alternatives.

182 To the extent that persons became involved in these possibilities, the island became peripheral or marginal. The island has become more dependent upon central

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

THE CROFTER

241 The pursuit of agricultural processes, their growth, development and improvement, to establish a foundation for a secure society has never been easy on the island. The unyielding nature of the [135] base rock, Archaean gneiss, its hardness, its non-porous property, have all contributed to the resultant pattern and character of society which emerged. Though one is tempted to define crofting as an agricultural activity, it is also something much more intan- [113] gible: a way of life. To quote the Napier Report on *The condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scot-* [181] *land* (1884): 'Habit and local affection bear so great a sway in the actions of mankind, that Highlanders will be found who would rather be proprietors in the mountains of Skye, or the wastes of Lewis, than on the fertile plains of Manitoba.' 'There is the Island of Lewis, with poor, peaty soil covering the Archaean gneiss, but with a crowded, lively, vivid community,' said the Taylor commision in 1955 (Commission of Inquiry into Crofting Holdings).

The Highland crofter is the subject of an extensive literature. [657] A special authority, the Crofters Commission, exists solely for the purpose of caring for his needs. He has special rights and privileges which are safeguarded by the Land Court. Crofters' unions have formed themselves into a strong federated wall for the system's defence.

241 Socially, the term 'crofter' means, on the island at any rate, a 423 landholder who cultivates his own (arable) holding, his croft. He 233 shares the common pastures with his fellow-crofters, each of whom has a right to carry a sum of so much stock, the 'souming'. These [571] common pastures or grazings are a social link of some consider- [632] able significance, forming the basis for the crofting township, as [621] distinct from the communities set up under the influence of some agricultural land use such as hamlet or village, where there are both small-holders and true farms, and the only communal land is the village green or common. For instance, outside the crofting counties area the main unit of Scots life in the country is the farm, with its tied cottages. Then come the full-time small-holdings important in the north-east and the southern Highlands.

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

LIFE TODAY

As in other Highland areas, some of the island's problems have become so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. They have been the *raison d'être* of so many commissions and committees of inquiry that their existence is now almost forgotten by the islander —if indeed he ever understood their nature. Some results have been seen, such as the Crofters Act of 1886 which gave Highland crofters security of tenure, perhaps the most valuable measure of the last century or two. But somehow all things have not progressed so well since that date; at any rate not so fast that crofting, for instance, is now seen to be an economic form of land use of benefit to both local community and nation at large. Many problems have been virtually ignored by successive central Governments; at least, remoteness seems to qualify a topic for the office 'pending' tray. It has yet to be fully realised that the island, with other Highland communities, is part and parcel of the area generally administered from London and Edinburgh, and merits as much attention to its welfare as other European governments, such as Norway, give to their remote mainland and island communities.

As usual, charity and self-help begin at home, and one of the most dramatic changes in island life has been the result of the agricultural revolution of recent years which is changing once-brown moors to lush green pastures: reclamation by re-seeding. This revolution is still going on. Lewis crofters in particular are showing the way, with other Highland crofting areas following suit. The change in the Lewis scene is being emphasised by the planting of shelter-belts of hardy trees and the first of the new plantations of timber-producing trees. These show the promise of the future: a lively future for a lively community. The fishing industry also has a future, brighter on the horizon than it has been for many a poor year. The Harris Tweed industry, the staple employment-source in Lewis, is maintaining its ability to retain the interest of the market. And tourism, once a perfunctory and casual affair, promises to emerge as a useful sector in the economy. There are, in addition, many small pockets of native initiative and enterprise which, given sufficient encouragement

1901, the average was only 5·086, the county average being 3·983. The population was still to reach its peak in Lewis, some 30,000 in 1911. Emigration was at a fairly high rate, some 2,000 every decade, but this was no relief with births between 8,000 and 9,000 during the same period. In 1894 it was estimated that the number of cottars (or squatters) as distinct from crofters was in the region of 1,000. These people, mostly relatives of crofters, constituted a serious incubus on every crofting township.

Elsewhere in the Highlands, the enlargement of crofting holdings relieved the land-hunger situation. It was not possible for the same to be done in Lewis, and Harris possessed even less useful land to share out. Many applications were made by crofters either for an increase in their own holdings or an increase in the acreage of common grazings held by each township. Though some 500 acres were in fact handed over by the estate management for crofting purposes, there was a steady refusal to diminish the acreage of farms.

The Congested Districts Board was appointed in 1897, supervising public works to relieve the people of a certain amount of their ills. It carried on until 1912, when it passed into the newly-formed Board of Agriculture. The Congested Districts Board could have achieved much more than it did. It scraped away only a little of the vast problem. The next major landmark in the history of crofting legislation was the Small Landholders (Scotland) Act of 1911. It extended certain provisions introduced for the crofter in 1886, and further increased the class of tenants who benefited by bringing in the tenants of holdings rented at not more than £50 (£30 in Lewis) or not exceeding 50 acres (30 acres in Lewis). The 1911 Act also brought into existence the Scottish Land Court in place of the Crofters Commission. In Lewis, however, the hunger for more land went on unabated and reached a not insignificant peak during the later years of Lord Leverhulme's regime.

A new Crofters Commission was set up in 1955, following on the report of a Commission of Enquiry under the chairmanship of the then Principal T. M. Taylor of Aberdeen University. Fresh provision for the reorganisation, development and regulation of the crofting system in the seven crofting counties of Scotland

HISTORY

was made in the Crofters (Scotland) Bill of 1961; this had a mixed reception. In general, today, small crofts predominate in most areas. Out of some 18,000 (the number is decreasing annually) about 15 per cent exceed 20 acres (see Chapter 5). But size has little to do with the type of land; whether arable or rough grazing. In fact, the proportion indicates that some 85 per cent of all crofts in Scotland, and this applies to Harris and Lewis, cannot be considered as full-time now or as potentially full-time.

EDUCATION

In general, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland owe their introduction to letters to the early Christian missionaries. One of the main provisions in the early monastic Church in Ireland and Scotland was for the cultivation of learning and the training of its members in sacred and profane literature. Associated as they were so closely with the common folk on the one hand and the aristocracy on the other, something of this learning and desire for learning rubbed off to advantage on to willing recipients. Literacy however, has had many ups and downs since the dawning of the Christian era in the Hebrides. Though it is impossible to ascertain to what extent the common folk participated in the knowledge imparted by the early Celtic monasteries, there are many references to a class of cleric called 'scolocs', whose learning was accessible to the poorer classes of the emergent Highland society. The 'scoloc' is still retained in Gaelic as 'sgalag', a farm servant, the poor searcher after knowledge who received education in the monasteries in return for services as labourer on the church lands, and who appears in monastic records as late as the fourteenth century.

As late as the sixteenth century, however, after the influence of the Church had diminished, the inhabitants were almost wholly illiterate. When the Fife Adventurers came to Lewis in 1598, they brought a schoolmaster with them; though it can be taken that his services were intended for the improvement of the incomers rather than the islesfolk. Old Roderic MacLeod, doughty chief of the MacLeods of Lewis at the time of the Fifers' arrival, was unable to sign his name. Two of his sons, on the other hand, were

175 perhaps once in a generation, the neighbours were still the
476 best administrators for poor relief. On the whole, this
• 657 remained true to 1914.

As to financial assistance from the Government, the
175 evidence seems at first bewildering in its contradictions,
657 suggesting utter inconsistency on the part of the people.
476 Thus, the record of the Lewis-and-Harris fishermen, in repaying loans for the purchase of boats, was the most honourable in the North-west. In 1900, of the total capital on barely 100 loans made to them, 83 per cent had been repaid, whereas on 150 loans elsewhere less than 60 per cent had been repaid.

175 Yet as to the record of Lewismen with regard to assist-
653 ance for road-making, the Brand Report was significantly reticent. In 1891 a road was planned direct to Stornoway from Loch Roag on the west coast at Carloway. This short-cut of sixteen miles was to shorten the distance by seven miles and so facilitate the transit of fish landed at Carloway. Crofter labour was employed as a means of 'self-help'. The road was, mistakenly, printed as complete on 'base maps' and other recent 'quarter-inch' maps. By 1901, £15,500 had been spent, a sum which exceeded the estimated cost, but only eight miles of road had been completed and five miles partially made, while three miles were quite incomplete. The estimate having been exceeded and "financial difficulties having arisen"—the contractor had gone bankrupt and the engineer was dismissed—the work came to a standstill, £10,000 more having been estimated as necessary to complete the road.
[181 Of that sum £8000 was granted.[1] But the road was left
461] unfinished. These figures alone might not condemn

[1] J. P. Day (1918), p. 328. Day added that "the work should now, more than twenty years after its start, be approaching completion"!

175 the work done—or rather not done—by the local labourers;
653 for deep peat has misled road engineers elsewhere. But impartial observers have left no doubt that the work
461 was shirked—partly from the labourers' lack of will,
181 in other words from laziness, and partly from the not unnatural desire that further grants might continue, offering easy money. Inspection revealed deliberate and combined concealment of bad work, road metal being thrown on to give a surface which had no foundation. The Carloway road, which was to help the Loch Roag fishermen by rapid transport of fresh catches, was never completed. The bad work of many contributed to the undoing of all.

175 . How are these two apparently contradictory responses
• 657 to help to be explained? The answer lies in the completely different methods of expending the grants. A loan to
653 fishermen for a boat was put into their own responsible
121 hands. The hope of profit in which each could share stimulated their enterprise; and where both the private honour of each member and the corporate honour of each crew was at stake, mutual obligation and team-spirit spurred them to work. But road-making—a work many had done for contractors elsewhere as navvies under de-
181 grading conditions—was different. A Gael responds when his imagination is fired, whether for selfish or unselfish ends; but he can also enjoy leisure as to the manner born! Not only was personal skill or effort in road-making of no advantage to an individual; there was little to call out either personal prowess or team-spirit in the work. Moreover, little effort appears to have been made by the administration to arouse ardour. The ultimate advantage of a good road to the people on the west of the Island, as a whole, was clear. Yet since bad work and delay led (at first) to further

181 grants, then, in the absence of an immediate goal, the combination of the corporate interest in bad work with natural inclination to an easy time proved overwhelming! The problem of assuring good work and prompt repayment is real: it calls for the right appeal to team-spirit coupled with personal responsibility. Many short roads to small new settlements have been economically built.

175 With regard to loans for settlement and housing, similar
• 657 contrasts are found. Near Stornoway the farm of Aignish
476 (Eye) was divided in 1905 into thirty-two fishermen's holdings (rented at £3). The Congested Districts Board lent £3600 for housing and spent £1600 on fencing and £450 on administrative expenses, a total of about £180 per holding; but in seven years the holders had paid only one-seventh of the annuities due, and were in arrears with the rent.[1] Yet on the housing loans made on a wide scale since 1919, there was mutual aid among neighbours and the repayment has been satisfactory.

SUMMARY: 1750—1914—1919

175 The transition from the old economy of mutual aid in
178 self-support, little changed down to the 'Forty-five, to the development of production for sale had proceeded far
433 by 1914. Yet change had not continued steadily. There had been fluctuations, from the land and back again, or towards individualism with returns to common action. Kelp-making, migration, and commercial fishing alternated in importance as means to earn a living without losing the
[731] anchorage of home. After the potato famine, a century
[166] ago, the people tended to move away from the outlying
[167] townships and emigrate; but the next generation agitated

[1] J. P. Day (1918), pp. 312-314.

APPENDIX I

178 crippling losses suffered after 1914–18. A beginning has
228 certainly been made. The Herring Industry Board's scheme for 'Queen of Scots' kippers will help the Minch fishing. It will
434 not necessarily help the ports of Stornoway or Tarbert, because herring can be landed at mainland ports and treated there or else taken by road to the Moray Firth, kippered there, and still qualify under the scheme. The Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society has aided the marketing of lobsters to good purpose.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island*

114 It is to be hoped that members of the Lewis Association
814 may ascertain these, perhaps in collaboration with University research workers. This, in turn, might instructively be collated with the imports and exports of the Island, which are recorded and ascertainable with a precision impossible for a similar area on the mainland. Thus the facts would throw light on the economy of other crofting districts.

(v) *Allowances, Pensions, Unemployment Assistance and Remittances*

• 657 With regard to money received by the crofting communities
434 of Lewis from other than 'productive' sources, figures have kindly been made available regarding three sources, namely, (*a*)
436 Allowances made to members of the Forces and their depend-
729 ents, and Pensions, (*b*) Unemployment payments, and (*c*)
434 Money Orders and Postal Orders. The yearly periods for which figures are available are close enough to permit of reasonable comparisons. Among other sources, Bank Drafts form an insignificant fraction of monies received by crofters from outside
[505] the Island. It is impossible to say how much cash is brought
[464] home by men paid off from the Merchant Service and other employment, or how much may be sent through the post in the form of notes, whether registered or unregistered. The amount is known to be large, however, and an estimate based on the number of insured employed, and other figures, would be of value. A token figure is suggested in a note to the concluding Table.

APPENDIX I

729 For the year 1937–38, Allowances paid to members of the
434 Forces and their dependants in Lewis (proper) came to £40,000. Of this sum a greater part was paid through Stornoway Post Office than might have been expected from the town's population. But able-bodied recipients of Allowances are attracted to the town by the likelihood of finding work there, while men of higher rank and pay are apt to be townsfolk, and their
• 657 dependants also. Old Age, Orphans' and Widows' Pensions
434 exceeded £80,000. Of this sum a relatively large amount was also paid through Stornoway Post Office, partly for administrative reasons, rendering other causes harder to disentangle.

We turn now to the next source named, Unemployment Assistance. The Bureau made payments of £120,000 in 1936—the last year for which relevant statistics were made available. Of this sum, about one-third was Insurance Benefit, derivable in principle from the joint earnings of workers, and two-thirds were Public Assistance, contributions to which were made from local rates. The fraction paid to Stornoway workers was relatively small, and may be estimated at barely £10,000, that of rural payees accounting for the remaining £110,000. As the Means Test took account of the croft (or smaller holding with house), the average payment to individuals was small.

434 Turning to Money Orders, and taking the balance of pay-
436 ment and issue at face value, there was actually an outflow from the Island instead of an influx, for the issues exceeded the payments. In Lewis in 1937–38, whereas nearly £60,000 was issued in Money Orders, only a little over £30,000 was paid. Even allowing for the fact that part of the payments is cashed through banks or cleared at a central Post Office on the mainland, there would appear to be an outflow, as centralised clearances probably amount to no more than 35 to 40 per cent. The amounts in Postal Orders paid were smaller, totalling £23,000, and the difference between payments and issues less.

434 Comparisons between town and country are instructive.
436 Stornoway's position as a shopping centre is reflected in the heavier average of Money Order payments per head per annum
369 as compared with rural areas (£8·4 as against £1·1); and the

APPENDIX I

434 difference between the issues and the payments in rural areas
436 (£28,000 as against £13,000) is no doubt due to orders drawn to pay accounts. In this connection, a comparison of con-
369 ditions at an interval of nine years is suggestive for any attempt to distinguish the difference between rural incomes before and after the economic depression. In rural Lewis the total Order payments fell from over £33,000 in 1928–29 to barely £22,000 in 1937–38, a fall of more than a third. Although a decline in the payment of Money Orders in Stornoway was partly offset by an increase in that of Postal Orders there, it is thought that even this reflects a fall in the cash available in the townships, by indicating a fall in the average amount of accounts paid by country customers to Stornoway tradesmen. Even here, it is true, some allowances must be made, as latterly more shopping was done by customers coming into Stornoway by car and probably paying to a greater extent in cash.

• [657] Comparisons may now be made, for all the data quoted, between Stornoway and the rural or 'landward' areas of Lewis, and also between landward parishes for all except the
[161] Unemployment payments. Population having changed but little from 1931 to 1938, and economic conditions not being very different in the Island in the financial years 1936 and 1937–38, an approximation can be made of payments averaged per head of population. In the following table these are shown in £ sterling to one decimal place.

Average Payments (per Head per Annum)

434
436
369
657
729

	Stornoway Burgh	Stornoway Landward	Barvas	Lochs	Uig	Average Landward
	£	£	£	£	£	£
(a) Allowances and Pensions	10·2	3·3	4·0	3·6	5·9	3·9
(b) Unemployment Payments	2·6	..	..	..	..	5·1
(c) Money and Postal Orders	(8·4)	1·0	0·9	1·2	1·3	1·1
Total	..	..	..	..	..	10·1

434
436
369
657
729

(B) REMITTANCES (BY POST), ALLOWANCES, PENSIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS

With Averages per Rural Household

(i) Urban and Rural		(ii) Rural (a) Official Rural	(b) Estimated Rural	(c) Average per Household
Money and Postal Orders	£53,700	£31,700	£34,900	£7·4
Allowances (Forces)	41,000	30,400	33,000	7·0
Pensions (State)	82,700	54,100	60,000	12·7
Unemployment payments	120,000	110,000	110,000	23·4
Total (B, i)	£297,400	Total (B, ii) £226,200	£237,500	£50·5
Total (i, A and B)	£1,026,500	Total (ii, A and B) £650,550	(Approx.) £661,850	£51 £141

NOTE.—To complete the estimate of rural income, partly indicated by (A) and (B) we should require to group with (A) certain sources of income of productive character such as road-making and the creation of other services, and to add to (B) other savings and pensions from outside the Island which may be received as Bank-notes by post, as Bank Drafts, and in cash brought home by earners. The figures of £110,000 for Unemployment Assistance, and of £35,000 for Money and Postal Orders, suggest that it would not be too much to add a figure equal to at least the two combined, or £145,000, towards making an income of another £30 or so per rural household. By bringing the sources of income to at least £170—still a very small amount—we should approach a true figure, which cannot, at best, be large.

3t Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 E810 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

APPENDIX II

434 (iii) *Fishing Industry* (1953)

228 The renewed Russian contracts for herring have meant loading of Baltic shipping at Stornoway with barrels of herring [439] cured both in Stornoway and Ullapool. Catching power in Scotland generally is hardly enough to meet this contract. Thus, while the numbers of boats continued to decline after the war, leaving only one steam and 33 motor drifters (over 30 feet keel) registered by 1953, the fishermen employed rose to 610, of whom some 520 were crofter-fishermen. Many worked much of the year; on the other hand, most of the winter catch went for 'oil and meal' at about 50s. per cran instead of the top price of over 80s. For local boats a figure of £30,000 is suggested for the catch of herring, say £10,000 for white fish, [178] with £5560 for shellfish. For "curing and associated income" the pre-war figures may be doubled.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island* (1953)

434 In mid-1953, of just 5000 registered for the Island as 465 employed—and other than the self-employed, *i.e.* the farmers and crofters, the hand-weavers and the boat-sharing fishers—1130 earned by the three industries first named, the rest by other trades and professions, 3870 in all. The unemployed numbered 1180. Analysis of wage-rates would throw light on [657] total earnings. As to unemployment, the fact that, like crofters and many fishers, hand-weavers count as 'self-employed' means that when out of work they are not covered by unemployment insurance, and have to be helped, at low rates, by public assistance.

(v) *Allowances, etc.* (1953)

434 Turning now to Remittances, to the manifold categories of 657 Pensions, National Insurance and National Assistance, and to Unemployment Benefit (a small item), the Table B, 1953–54, 436 shows the totals kindly furnished for this study, with £1,017,110 729 for all Lewis and an estimated £977,010 for rural Lewis.

(B) *REMITTANCES (BY PO*

(i) URBAN AND RURA

319

Money and Postal Orders
Allowances (Forces) and Pensions (State
Unemployment payments

Total (B, i)

Total (i, A

434
436
657
729
369

ST), ALLOWANCES, PENSIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS

With Averages per Rural Household (1953-54)

L			(ii) Rural (a) *Official Rural*	(b) *Estimated Rural*	(c) *Average per Household*
), with	£196,680		£85,600	96,160	£20·5
	820,430		590,470	880,850	187·4
	£1,017,110	Total (B, ii)	£676,070	£977,010	£207·9
and B)	£2,990,670	Total (ii, A and B)	£1,598,070	£1,899,010	(Approx.) £208 (Approx.) £405

175 427 Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the proprietors were obliged, by pressure of population within, and of public opinion without, to made some concessions to their small tenantry. It may be relevant to point out that this was a period of falling agricultural prices and declining farm rentals; indeed the time was not far off when some farms would not find tenants at any rental:

TABLE 7

Farm:	Rental at c.1875/80	Rental at c.1885/90
Mealasta	£130	£85
Mangersta	£132	£95
Ardroil & Carnish	£285	£245
Timsgarry	£108	£80 (1)
Linshader	£349	£278 (2)

Notes: (1) Small reduction for enlargement to Glebe.
(2) £22 reduction for Laimeshader and Grimersta Lodge.

525 526 [161] [162] The crofters of south Uig were in particular difficulty at this time for here fishing declined earlier than elsewhere but the townships remained greatly overcrowded. In 1910 Breanish and Islivig had 14 cottar families, (most of them sharing crofts with the official tenants), and three of squatters, i.e. on the common pasture. Here fishing had almost ceased and the people were almost entirely dependent on their crofts or on employment away [231] from home. In Valtos and Kneep there were 21 cottar families; they had 31 cattle and sheep flocks. Here, too, fishing was on the decline. It was perhaps because of this that 288 commercial weaving was developed in South Uig earlier than in most parts of Lewis. As 175 early as 1900 Uig was classed with Harris, by the local committee of the Congested Districts Board, as producing a superior quality of tweed. Two 30 gallon iron pots were sent out so that enough wool could be dyed at one boiling to obviate irregular colouring in any [653] one tweed. The C.D.B. also made grants for roads, footpaths and "marine works". Amongst the latter the pier at Valtos (1899) was an attempt to resuscitate local fishing, but it came too late.

175 603 The Congested Districts Board was the first government agency with funds at its disposal to aid the crofting townships. One of its largest grants went in aid of the Carloway Road (or Pentland Road as it is now known). This scheme arose out of an abortive proposal for a railway from Loch Carloway to Stornoway. It was thought that this could enable trawlers and other large fishing boats to land their catch for quick transport to Stornoway and so to the mainland whilst the fishing vessels returned to sea with minimum 175 delay. The road, an excellently engineered one, is still not properly surfaced. A more effective C.D.B. - aided scheme was the resettlement of crofters on Mangersta Farm, 657 the rent of which had fallen to £70 and which the proprietors were willing to break up. 427 Thirteen new buildings were formed here and the first harvest was taken by the new settlers in 1911. The crofters' rent was fixed at £73 and the C.D.B. paid £566 in grants [241] to purchase the sheep stock and improvements, and towards the cost of fencing. About the same time the Board paid a grant to the township of Garenin for fencing a substantial enlargement to their pasture, obtained off Dalbeg. Here, and at Reef farm, small-holding resettlement schemes were vetoed by the Crofters Commission whose experts regarded the areas as unsuitable. Both have since been re-settled by crofters.

175 311 427 657 [471] After the first World War re-settlement schemes went ahead with renewed vigour. Men serving in the Forces expected land to be available for them on their return and they were impatient to get it. By this time the Lewis estate belonged to the Lewis and Harris Development Co. - in other words to Lord Leverhulme. The farms of Mealasta, Reef, Carnish and Ardroil were all without tenants; Leverhulme agreed to break them into crofts, the Board of Agriculture surveyors were speedily put to work, and the new settlers were able to commence cultivation on March 1, 1921. Timsgarry farm, with which was the Uig shooting lodge, was in the hands of a tenant; but the Board obtained possission, reserving a small area around the lodge for amenity. Croir farm, Bernera, was also broken up. More than 50 new holdings received enlargements to their common pastures; details are given in Figure 10 and table 8, (pages 22 and 23). The schemes were done in haste, the Secretary for Scotland pushed them forward in the face of some opposition from Leverhulme. Here, as elsewhere, the ex-servicemen were restive; land raids and violence, with inevitable political repercussion, were feared.

In 1924, Linshader farm was threatened by land raiders. As a result this, too, was broken up and 10 new holdings were occupied as from Whitsuntide, 1925. This was part of the Grimersta sporting estate and the proprietors required that all the ghillies be given crofts. Linshader was not particularly suited to crofter-management: it consisted of 49 acres of old arable land and more than 8.000 acres of rough pasture, the furthest part of which was five miles distant and without road access. When the Land Court fixed the souming the following remark was recorded:

"Under a club stock" (i.e. a single flock) the moor "might have been exploited to a very different extent, but in view of the fact that individual stocks are to be kept" (i.e. each crofter his own shepherd) "which is not conducive to hefting, ... 30 sheep per share will be ample. If the whole outside ground were being fully made use of by the sheep stock the grazing of ten cows should do no harm .... but the wintering afforded on the holdings does not justify a larger souming" (than one cow). It had, in fact, been the practise at Linshader farm to buy in young cattle for summer grazing, and to send away the lambs to the Dingwall area for their first winter.

Finally, in the thirties, two long established cottar families at Aird Bheag an isolated spot on the Uig shootings, applied for and obtained recognition as crofters. Their holdings have since been abandoned and now form part of the sheep farm operated by a syndicate of four Breanish and Islivig crofters. Finally, in 1935 a further 12 new holdings were formed by a partial break-up of Garynahine farm. Thus in all, 140 new crofts and 45,000 acres [161] have been added to the crofter holdings of Uig since 1878. During that period the population of the parish has declined from 4,500 to 2,700. Neither the formation of new crofts, [162] nor the enlargement the old, has prevented depopulation. Little, if any, more land is available and depopulation continues. The only hope, now, is to make the existing land - individual holdings and commons alike - more productive.

Table 8 and the map, figure 10, illustrate the progress of resettlement.

Crofts and Crofters.

491 427 311 The parish of Uig is now mainly owned by five small limited companies: Uig Crofters, Bernera Crofters, Grimersta Estate, Carloway Estate, and Lewis Island Crofters. In addition, when Lord Leverhulme sold the Lewis estate a few crofters accepted their holdings as free gifts; consequently they lost legal crofter status (which is confined to tenants) although they continue to share in their respective townships. More recently four crofters in the south purchased some 2,000 acres of rough sheep grazings, including the now defunct settlement of Ard Bheag. There is no official record of the extent of crofters' land, but we accounted for some 95,000 acres (table 9). The remainder con-

Period IV (1886 - 1953)

*175 *178 648 The year 1886 is a chronological hinge in the culture history of the Sgiathanach. The British government began to play a positive, continuing role in local affairs for the first time in history. Hitherto, the interest of the government had been confined to proscriptions, recruiting, and taxation, occasionally interspersed with relief for the destitute. With the change in policy, we enter the realm of the contemporary culture; therefore, all I wish to do is indicate the direction the processes, which we have been following, took under the national attempt to rechannel them. The major trends to be noted are two. The proprietors' influence in determining how the land was to be used was curtailed, and, with a redirection of the commercialization of the estates, many of the traits and complexes characteristic of the traditional culture assumed renewed importance.

*175 *178 657 423 671 621 632 Since the Napier Commission had been mainly concerned with the disregard of the customary rights of the crofters and their inconsiderate treatment by proprietors, the recommendations which were presented to Parliament sought a land reformation within the framework of local custom.[79] Unlike the Continental Commune, a local, self-governing body, the Highland township had never legally existed. Elsewhere in Scotland this communal agricultural unit had been replaced by individual farm occupancy, just as had been happening on Skye. The major proposal was a retrogressive step; the township system should be given legal

[79] Napier Report, pp. 7-15.

*175 *178 657 423 671 621 632 sanction and endowed with privileges and immunities by which self-regulation, stability, expansion, and improvement might attained. Additional provisions called for the replacement the repudiated customary usages by national laws of land ten

*175 *178 671 241 427 565 The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 embodied many of the Commission's proposals.[80] The crofter became, perhaps, the only class, as a horizontal segment of the popu lation, with a minimal legal definition. He was a pastoral agriculturalist who resided on his holding, the annual rent of which was less than £30, (later raised to £50) in a crofti parish. Such an individual was entitled to a fixed, fair re just compensation for improvements made by himself or his predecessors in the same family should he leave his holding, security of tenure, and modified right to bequeath the holdi to a member of his family. Except for the statutory conditi that he must not alienate the holding from his family, sublet without consent, or violate the rights of his neighbors or his landlord, including withholding rent and contributing to the deterioration of the land and dwelling, the crofter was given all the privileges of a landowner with few of the responsibilities. A Crofters Commission, with executive functions, was established to carry out the provisions of the act and to assign "available" land to the townships as

[80] I owe a debt of gratitude to innumerable government officials in Portree, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London for their patience and cooperation in providing me with the neces information to discuss this final period of the history of Sk The facts are theirs; the interpretation is my own responsibi

weaving and fishing, the fall in population would probably be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was not so much a decrease in the number of families as in the number per family. The Island was only then following the restriction of population begun half a century before in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is a land of house-building, not of ruin and abandonment; of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agricultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were at work: first, loans, grants and unemployment insurance and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly, the money sent to elderly parents and dependants at home by young folk in Glasgow or abroad, or savings brought back by the young people themselves. Yet there is some fishing and agriculture still. Above all, 'hand-weaving' has grown, even if this be partly 'artificial'. Recently it was not only the elders who had returned to the Island, but men and women in the prime of life, so that the question of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to be re-examined afresh.

The emigration which took place from 1949 to 1951 followed directly upon the losses and the unemployment in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted from the imposition in 1949 of a Purchase Tax on hand-woven Harris tweed of 666 per cent. If the tax had been maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects on population would have been far-reaching.

427 croft by subdivision, he would pay little, indirectly and by
656 arrangement; while if he simply built a hut or house on a vacant spot he paid neither rates nor rent. Either course was illegal; yet it was too expensive for the landlord, however 'hard-hearted', to take legal proceedings to turn off a squatter. As for wholesale expropriation the suffering caused and the odium incurred would have involved—and would still involve—both landlord and State in insurmountable difficulties by starting fresh agitation, perhaps with outbreaks of law-breaking, repression and bad blood. Yet these anomalies still discourage, and the normal illegalities demoralise, all concerned.

656 Because of the provision by State and local authorities
178 of a growing range of services in other regions, and also because of the special reasons of Insular poverty, State
511 action was increasingly taken in the Isles. To what extent have the Islanders responded, it may be asked; or how
12 far may they have failed, in return for aid offered and
[476] benefits received? Let us begin with mutual aid practised among the people up to 1900, and then consider the repayment of loans and grants under different conditions. Observations by those in touch with the Island for many years, officially or privately, allow one to read between the lines and attempt an impartial judgment.

175 As to the strength of independent mutual aid there
476 could be no doubt. Up to the beginning of this century, the amounts expended on parish relief were 'almost
[657] nothing', and had shown no increase in preceding years. General poverty, anomalies in the rating system, and the mistakes such as the erection of poorhouses by the central administration, diminished resources; but the people generously gave help to their poorer neighbours in work and gifts. Except for a year of overwhelming crisis,

enlargements when the proprietor would not lease it on reasonable terms. Thus, the government began to protect the crofter from potential abuses and to restore the land to the descendents of the clanna, who had, to say the least, manifested a persistent disinclination to accept any other system of land use. A complete reformation, however, was not yet possible.

The crux of the problem of maintaining the crofting population was succinctly stated in 1851 by the chairman of the Highland Destitution Board. The people could not support themselves, at a subsistence level, unless each crofting family were given ten acres of arable land plus pasture. Not only was there not enough land, but without credit facilities, a man could not find local employment until the land began to produce, and, if he sought employment at a distance, he could not work his land to free himself from the necessity of working for a wage. In 1883 it was estimated that a 50 percent reduction in population would not leave enough land to give each family an adequate holding, ten acres of arable and 277 acres of grazing land.[81] How right they were. Today the population is less than half that of 1883, and still very few have what was considered an adequate holding a hundred years ago. Let us see what measures the government took in the attempt to solve this problem.

At first the land reorganization program was thwarted by a lack of available land and by the continued tendency of

[81] Napier Report, pp. 100-101.

the people to overstock. No land could be assigned as an enlargement if it would impair the value of a sheep farm or deer forest. The remainder of the island was already possessed by crofters. Moreover, there was no one to regulate the use of the common grazings. As the Crofters Commission usurped the functions of the landlord, estate management became lax. The township constable had disappeared. The cotters, 36 percent of the population, had been omitted from the provisions of the Crofters Act. Later when the government provided for a grazing committee to draft voluntary regulations for sharing the common grazing and, finally, coerced the crofters to elect a grazing committee, the regulations could not be enforced, except by appealing to the sheriff.

At length another commission of inquiry visited the Highlands to decide how the resettlement program might be extended. Then, in 1897, the Congested Districts Board was created. The Board was given power to purchase land for enlargements and for creating new holdings, to resettle crofters and cotters from congested districts, to foster the development of stock breeding, agriculture, fishing, and home industries, and to improve communications. It was not intended that the government should become a landlord. The crofters, like the Irish small farmers, were supposed to have acquired a desire to own their own land. In 1904 the estates of Glendale, the present twelve townships, and Kilmuir, the whole parish and part of the parish of Snizort, were purchased. On the Kilmuir Estate there were 450 crofts in 35 townships and 10 large farms.

Heavy rackrenting in the past had led to dissatisfaction and arrears in rent, the crofters' weapon against the landlord. The rents were revised and most of the arrears were cancelled. All the farms but one were subdivided to form 79 new holdings in 7 reorganized townships and to make enlargements to the other townships. The Glendale estate received similar treatment, being made over into 147 crofts in 12 townships plus a jointly held club farm. Both estates were sold to the crofters on a fifty year annuity basis. Then came a rude awakening. Within ten years the crofters found ownership to be a dubious privilege, especially since it excluded them from the benefits of legislation favoring the small tenant. The Kilmuir crofters were released from the contract, but the government refused to accept the petition of the Glendale people, who still are not pleased with their rather unique position. Private ownership of the land might be said to be as alien to their heritage as village settlements.

Land settlement continued, with the introduction of certain refinements, the most important of which was the power to use compulsion to acquire land for crofting in the national interest. Today over half the Island is owned by the national government and administered by the Department of Agriculture. The tendency in recent years has been to create more adequate holdings. On the Kilmuir estate the number of crofts has been reduced from 530 to 442. The process of resettlement, or de-commercialization, has been carried further on Skye than in any other Highland area.[82] It has also included the only major

[82] Cf., e.g., Collier, op. cit., pp. 90-113; and Hance, op. cit., pp. 61-62, 64-68.

migration scheme to be attempted. In 1923 sixty-eight families from the Isle of Harris, in the Outer Hebrides, were brought over to Skye and settled in Bracadale. Probably, close to 300 new holdings and in the neighborhood of 200 enlargements have been made since 1897. This clearly reflects the limited space available for crofting at the end of the "Clearances."

In addition to land settlement, the government has continued to stimulate improvements in stock breeding techniques and to foster more efficient land utilization. Credit facilities, by grant and loan, were offered to enable the crofters to purchase stock, especially sheep, and to build new cottages. Grants and subsidies, in an ever increasing number, have been made available to promote a fuller use of the land. Initially, under the Congested Districts Board, these facilities were devised specifically for the Highlands. By the time the Congested Districts Board was abolished, the crofters had become officially integrated with the national agricultural scene so that specific subsidies, grants, and loans were replaced with an opportunity to apply for assistance within the national program of agricultural development. Instruction in scientific methods of agriculture has been another continuing function of the government through a series of advisory services and, more recently, by a program of demonstration crofts and farms. Access to markets has similarly been facilitated by improving communications by land and, to a lesser extent, by sea.

Security and protection for the crofters has been another unfailing interest of the government. Again, with official integration, the scope of legislation has been extended to

include all small tenants in Scotland. The landlords have lost their right to evict a crofter for breach of conditions. Since 1911 only the Land Court, which replaced the Crofters Commission, can remove a tenant who is guilty of bad husbandry. Moreover, such action can only be taken after the general circumstances of the crofter and his need of the croft for a home have been considered. To date, no Highland crofter has been removed. In fact, security of tenure has been carried to the extreme that the individual no longer has to reside in Scotland much less on his croft. Although this change is now regarded as inadvertent, the courts have ruled in favor of the small tenant. The only remaining functions of the landlord in estate management are to collect his rents and pay compensation should a tenant desire to leave. Both the rents and the compensation are determined by the Land Court.

Accompanying the integration of the Island with the national scene, politically and economically, were extensions of social services. Prior to 1872 education was the responsibility of the church, charitable agencies, and, especially in the Highlands, the local proprietors and their financially secure tenantry.[83] Although the parish school system was national, the administration of each parochial school was local. The ideal of a school in each parish was neither adequate nor easily obtainable. The result was a few regularly taught schools.[84]

[83] DSA, XVI, 156-157, 226, 539; XVIII, 188; XXI, 430.
[84] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 771-774.

The substantial tenants had their own private tutors, but the people, in general, received only informal schooling until well into the nineteenth century when several charitable societies entered the field.[85] All schools were essentially religious. The act of 1872, and subsequent legislation, changed the program and made education compulsory for all. It was not until the end of the century that adequate facilities were available and the system began to function, with the beginning of free education.[86]

Informal control within the community was augmented by the establishment of a rural police force, with headquarters in Portree and local stations at convenient points around the Island. Health and welfare became a responsibility of the state. A regional medical plan provided doctor's care and hospital facilities for all regardless of means. Old age [737] pensions were granted to the elderly. Later, the scope of assistance for the infirm, aged, and the poor, and the unemployed was increased. Thus, the government continually usurped many of the functions of the family and the local group, especially following the abolition of the parish council in 1929.[87] Although the parish councils, or the still older parochial boards, had no legislative powers, they did handle welfare and, until 1918, education. Now, in 1929, a Skye

[85] DSA, pp. 233, 281, 294, 298, 312, 321, 355.
[86] Napier Report, p. 70; and Norman MacLean, Sgt Fyss, p. 211.
[87] C. De B. Murray, How Scotland Is Governed (Glasgow: Art and Educational Publishers, 1947), pp. 118-136; 195-196.

#175 District Council was established, but the only functions left
#178 to the Islanders were such minor ones as providing recreation
657 grounds and maintaining footpaths. Today the members of the
621 Council can only make the local needs known to the county council and carry out the functions of the county council.

#175 In more recent years the functions of the county and
#178 national governments have increased still more. Government
657 employees have multiplied. After the Second World War, the
[34] county became a landlord, building subsidized housing. Since
[36] the county has built these houses at Portree and at a few centers, such as Broadford, Uig, and Dunvegan, where the police have their stations, they are still persisting in the attempt to
[48] bring villages to the island. Roads have become the concern of the county. Within this period, then, the crofter became dependent on the county and national government for the satis-
[18] faction of many of his needs. Although he resents authority, he has not shown any resentment at the continual encroachment of the government's services. To him the government is a "rich man" who has bestowed many favors and may be asked to bestow a few more, like electricity and plumbing.

#178 Like European peasants in general, the Skye crofters
181 have lost three important things: isolation, political independence, and self-sufficiency. At the same time, they have retained a good deal of their former identity, a continuity of culture, and an attachment to the land and to the traditional way of life. The culture has been modified by adaption to the higher socio-cultural organization, especially in material

#175 crofting districts. Shops, schools, inns, and churches in-
#178 creased in numbers, but they have not clustered to form a
361 village nucleus. In more recent years the county has tried to stimulate village growth by building houses at a few centers. Someday they may succeed in altering the settlement pattern.

#175 As a consequence of the increasing integration of the
#178 Sgiathanach within the national scene, government regulations
657 have expanded and have come to be enforceable by a local police. Government services too have increased in scope. Many of the traditional functions of the family and the local group are now functions of an ever increasing number of government employees. Nevertheless, the traditional statuses of the members of the group have persisted and social control has not been reduced in favor of action by the state.

#175 The class structure has changed several times. It has
#178 vacillated between a leveling of socio-economic differentiation
565 and a growing polarity of status. At present there is no local class structure beyond the old polarity of landed gentry and crofters. Those who fall between these groups are ranked
[59] on prestige values of long standing. Even though many of the intermediate group would be working or middle class if they lived elsewhere in Britain, on Skye personal factors play a more important role in determining prestige than socio-economic differences. Leadership and political power remain in the hands of the gentry.

#175 If the foregoing material suggests that there is
#178 evidence on Skye for Redfield's concepts of disorganization
182
771

427 than the bare essentials, these people just get along. Even
511 so, they would be unable to get by were it not for some form of
[44] supplementary income. This essential prerequisite for the
[65] individual or family who upholds the crofting tradition may take the form of seasonal employment on the island or away from home; contributions from a child or, less frequently, a brother or sister; or payments from the government in the form of unemployment compensation, relief, or a pension.

427 Many a Sgiathanach thinks of his croft as a home more
181 than anything else. There are men who have found full time employment. Some in this catagory work the croft in the evening. Others expect their wives to care for the crops
[88] and stock, or they leave the land untouched. Then, there are the old men and women who have returned to their an-
[147] cestral homes to spend the twilight of their lives. These exiles come back from cities as near as Inverness and from places as far away as the sheep ranches of Montana or the cities of Australia. Perhaps, the most significant point is that for all Skyemen the croft cannot be evaluated merely in terms of acreage and income. As we shall see, it is a way of life in which an attachment to the land, as an embodiment of kinship, plays a very important part.

427 The incomes of three representative crofts clearly
514 reveal the financial difficulties under which the crofting family labors. Although I have somewhat arbitrarily divided the holdings into small, medium and large on the basis of acres of arable land, it should be remembered that this

the cash income was £1044 3s 3d for 1952 and £1527 3s 9d for 1953. 427
I do not know the net profit. 241 231 434

Summary. The foregoing facts and figures should make it abundantly clear that a man with less than ten acres of arable land and with a "souming" of less than three or four cows and fifty sheep can expect only a meager and definitely inadequate return for his investment of time and money. Several crofters thought thirty or forty acres were required. This would mean a "souming" of 10 or 12 cows and 200 sheep, if the present proportion of grazing land to cultivated area were maintained. Some said 300 to 500 sheep would be closer to the mark in order to make a good living on the land. The budget for the large croft confirms this view, but even then we have seen crofting to contain a precarious element of risk. Most crofters felt that with twice their present acreage and "souming" they would be faced with a less hopeless proposition.[6] This, of course, would involve a further, coerced reduction in population. But this is all a matter for future planning. What we want to know is the contribution of crofting to the local and national economy.

The Contribution of Crofting to the Economy

If we are to determine the value of agricultural pro- 231
duction from crofting, we must consider not only the crops and 241 657

[6] It is not only the Skyemen who want more land; see The Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954), pp.18-19.

stock grown for local household consumption and export but 241
also the subsidies and grants provided by the national govern- 231 657
ment. I hasten to add that it is impossible to estimate 657
accurately the specific contribution of crofting to the economy of Skye. There is no available means of distinguishing the status of crofter from that of farmer in the annual returns of crops and stock or in the applications of farmers and crofters for subsidies and grants. Before getting down to pounds and shillings, we may find a brief digression to review the acreages of land devoted to crop and stock raising and the yields to be expected helpful in our attempt to understand the many problems under which the Skyeman labors.

The total area of Skye is approximately 447,000 acres. 311
Of this area, 422,415 acres were classified, in 1953, as rough 151 231
grazing.[7] The land under cultivation, excluding grasses, 241
was only 3,254 acres. There were 6,258 acres of grass intended for use as hay and 12,339 acres of permanent grass or improved pasture. The remainder, about 2,500 acres, was unclassified.

The stock, in 1953, was 1808 dairy cows and heifers, 231
8,108 cattle, 143,422 sheep, 41,888 fowls, 436 horses, and 319 pigs.[8] The dairy cows are mainly beef breeds which give a low yield of milk. The sheep are primarily the hardy blackface variety but some crofters have cheviots, which produce a finer wool. For each sheep there are about three acres of grazing

[7] Agricultural Returns, June 4, 1953, Department of Agriculture for Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland (in the files of the Department). These figures include adjacent small isles.

[8] Ibid.

equal number, but mainly newcomers to Skye, are teachers 462 464
nurses. The remainder are employees of the national and
nty government, serving as postmistresses and clerks. In
ition, an indeterminate number of women, in Portree and in
rural hinterland, but none in Kilmuir or Glendale, add
heir income by taking in summer visitors. This practice is
strictly legal for the crofters, in as much as it casts
t on the agricultural valuation or devaluation, but the
ty government has not attempted to discourage the practice.

Turning to the men of Skye, we find that the largest
oyer is the county government, with well over 200 men on
payroll as road workers and general laborers. The national
rnment, directly and indirectly, in recent years has employed
her 200 or more men through the Department of Agriculture,
verseers, agricultural workers, and laborers; through the
n of Scotland Hydo-electric Board; and in the post offices.
add the number who work for the nationalized ferry service [657]
the subsidized steamer service, we find that over half of
vage earners on the island depend on the government for
wages. The only other fields open to men are in agriculture,
rm help or township shepherds; in transport, as bus and
drivers; and in hotels, as barmen, waiters, and porters.

These jobs are by no means permanent or regular. It is 464
t all unusual to have 300 or 400 unemployed during the
r when road work falls off and the tourist season is ended,
will then draw compensation from the Ministry of Labor, [745]
ll the younger men and women who have been working on the

mainland for the summer. For many of these people, unemploy- 464 745
ment is a misnomer. It means they are receiving a weekly
allowance from the government while they wait for the next
seasonal opportunity to turn from crofting to wage labor. More- 464 657 745
over, providing work and paying unemployment compensation is
by no means all the government does for the Island's economy.
Through the National Assistance Program many more are aided
financially. In 1954, for example, there were no fewer than
726 individuals receiving some form of national assistance.[33]
Most of this number were recipients of a non-contributory old
age pension. The next largest category were young women
required at home to care for aged and infirm parents. Of the
total number, only thirty were Portree residents. Then, too, [657]
there are the previously mentioned subsidies and grants for
agricultural improvement and fuller exploitation of the land.

We may conclude, then, that cultural continuity is an 182 167 657
expensive proposition with a double-edged penalty. On the
one hand, there is the sentimental distress which depopulation
involves. Both the man who leaves Skye and those he leaves
behind feel the loss of their loved ones. On the other hand,
there is the expense to the government, which must be staggering
and out of all proportion to the amount contributed by the
people in taxes. It is not that the islands receive any special
grants, but, as one newcomer said, "They just happen to qualify
for all the grants, doles, and subsidies there are." He, of
course, was exaggerating. As we shall see in the next chapter,

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[33] Information extracted from the files of the National Assistance Board in Scotland, Edinburgh.

As we shall see in the next chapter, 232
178 there is hostility between the Portree dwellers and the crofters.
651 One reason for this is the fact that the village pays more in
657 property tax than the rest of the island put together while they receive relatively little in return. The feeling that the crofter is "aye wantin', but never pays a cooper" (a penny in taxes) is not at all unusual.

Summary

511 If the economic aspect of the culture is judged in terms
182 of the standard of living it affords, it cannot be considered
184 as satisfactory. There are persistent environmental obstacles,
178 among them geographical isolation and an unfavorable climate for pastoral-agriculture. We have seen that few can hope for anything which would approach a desirable income in the surrounding commercial society. The crofters have been caught between two cultural patterns. The old system of land use
[177] has persisted. A new system has been superimposed. From this new system, however, the Sgiathanach has accepted few innovations of more recent origin than the eighteenth century, except those of a material or technological nature. Still, he has ceased to be self-sufficient, and, in doing so, he has become dependent on the commercial world for the very essentials of physical existence. For many of the crofters this means seasonal migration in the quest of employment. For some it means part-time or full-time work locally. For a relatively large proportion of the population it means dependence on contributions of their children and government agencies. This dependence has not led to a full

427 his croft to his eldest son. Some reformers feel that the
428 youngest son or daughter who has stayed at home to care for his parents is cheated. When there is no will, the State steps in and assigns the croft to the widow, the eldest son, or the child who has remained behind.

657 The growth of the welfare state has had its influence
745 in determining this pattern. On the one hand, there are
593 payments to unmarried children who remain at home to look after their parents. On the other hand, there are the old age pensions. While the pension has made the transition of the old couple from active crofters and parents to grandparents easier for the Irish small farmer,[13] on Skye the coming of the pension saw the end of the old pattern of the oldest son returning, with his wife, to care for his parents and raise his own family. With a pension the old couple had little need to work the croft. The children were not needed, and not infrequently the old people enjoyed their independence and their freedom from turning the house over to a woman whose ideas and beliefs conflicted with their own. The common desire of parents today is that one of their children will stay on to take over or return after they are gone. Naturally, no one likes to see his children far from home, but what can they do?

582 Aside from the difficulties of inheriting a croft or finding a vacant holding, it has become increasingly difficult for a young man to find a wife. Most of the crofters' daughters

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[13] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 85-86; Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., p. 125.

I were to adapt this argument, I might even be convincing, but my dissertation would have a fallacious conclusion. Emphatically, irreparable cultural disorganization is not a characteristic of the culture history of Skye. 178 182

Continuity has been maintained through a reintegration. In part, Skye has made an adjustment to the higher socio-cultural organization of Great Britain and Western Civilization. This phase of the culture's readaptation, however, is an incomplete adjustment. The Sgiathanach has remained enisled geographically and culturally. A readaptation has also been made in the older, traditional culture. 178 182 184

The national culture has played no insignificant role in the readaptation. Parliament turned back the process of commercialization in 1886 and undertook to rechannel the trends toward ever increasing commercialization of the land, ultimately leading to the socialization of the land. The essentials of the old system of land use and tenure were not only reaffirmed but also given legal sanction to insure their stability. The nation confirmed the customary usages. In many townships and in whole neighborhoods the crofting system was restored. As far as the Sgiathanach is concerned, he has never known any other economic structure than communal use and tenure of the land. There are only three significant differences between the runrig farm, whether the farm was a tacksman's or the common holding of several joint-tenants, and the crofting township. The arable acreage is held in compact, permanent blocks instead of dispersed and shifting strips; the crofter pays a money rent in place of goods in kind and services; and national laws 178 182 423 427 657

of tenure function to protect the individual from potential abuses by a landlord where customary usages once fulfilled the need. Moreover, even though the tenure of the cultivated soil grants all the rights of a landholder, including the rights to bequeath the house and land to a member of one's family, for more than half the year it is used communally. 178 182 423 427 657

The Sgiathanach has never adjusted sufficiently to become a specialist, not even a specialized grazier. For him the land has always had a more fundamental value than merely being a means of livelihood. It is the ancestral home. There is a sentimental attachment to the land which is an expression of the affectionate bonds of kinship. The people have never lost the tribal tie of the land and the group. Although the former patriarchs disclaimed any sympathy with this point of view, the landlords on Skye today have kept what little land they have only because of its sentimental value. Indeed the attitude of the largest landholder, the government of Scotland, is that the crofting tradition is worth while preserving, if for no other reason, because in the predominantly urban and industrial civilization it has a romantic value. There are other reasons. The Islands have long been looked upon as a human reservoir for the armed forces, and, more recently, for Lowland industry. 178 423 [656] [702] [464]

As a result of their partial adjustment to the higher socio-cultural level, there have been changes in crops and stock. The British market has influenced the crofters' output, within ecological limitations. The old subsistence crops of oats and 178 231 241 433

barley have been replaced by grass and hay. Conceivably, this is a more complete adjustment to the environment, which has been made possible by integration with a commercial economy, than an adjustment to the demands of the outside world. Whereas the objective of the local economy once was the export of cattle, today the purpose is the breeding of cattle and sheep for the national markets. We have seen that there are a host of limitations and difficulties in the economic aspect of the culture. Many of these are due to the persistence of conservative practices. Each crofter must keep pace with his tradition-practicing neighbors, with the old men of the township. Others are the result of an inhospitable environment. The economy does not run smoothly, but this is not conclusive evidence for disorganization. Integration does not mean smooth functioning. In the spring and autumn the crofter is confronted with a variety and succession of tasks which would fill a specialist with dismay. Very often, these pastoral and agricultural chores have to be carried on in conjunction with outside employment. In return for his labor, the crofter receives a meager income, frequently supplemented by contributions from his children or the government. As a further result of the partial adjustment to the wider society and culture, the people leave the island to seek employment and to achieve an upward mobility impossible on Skye. Economically, Skye, along with most of the Highlands, may be viewed as presenting a picture of the Lowlands of Scotland 200 years ago. That is the extent of the economic adaptation of the Sgiathanach to the national culture. 178 231 241 433 [629] [134] [657] [167] [175]

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658 PUBLIC EDUCATION--extent of direct and indirect public support to education; government sponsorship and support of the fine arts, pure science, libraries, and museums; etc. See also:

Fine arts 55
Science 81
Education 87
Libraries and museums 217
Musical and theatrical productions 648

include all small tenants in Scotland. The landlords have lost their right to evict a crofter for breach of conditions. Since 1911 only the Land Court, which replaced the Crofters Commission, can remove a tenant who is guilty of bad husbandry. Moreover, such action can only be taken after the general circumstances of the crofter and his need of the croft for a home have been considered. To date, no Highland crofter has been removed. In fact, security of tenure has been carried to the extreme that the individual no longer has to reside in Scotland much less on his croft. Although this change is now regarded as inadvertent, the courts have ruled in favor of the small tenant. The only remaining functions of the landlord in estate management are to collect his rents and pay compensation should a tenant desire to leave. Both the rents and the compensation are determined by the Land Court.

Accompanying the integration of the Island with the national scene, politically and economically, were extensions of social services. Prior to 1872 education was the responsibility of the church, charitable agencies, and, especially in the Highlands, the local proprietors and their financially secure tenantry.[83] Although the parish school system was national, the administration of each parochial school was local. The ideal of a school in each parish was neither adequate nor easily obtainable. The result was a few regularly taught schools.[84]

[83] OSA, XVI, 156-157, 226, 539; XVIII, 188; XXI, 430.

[84] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 771-774.

The substantial tenants had their own private tutors, but the people, in general, received only informal schooling until well into the nineteenth century when several charitable societies entered the field.[85] All schools were essentially religious. The act of 1872, and subsequent legislation, changed the program and made education compulsory for all. It was not until the end of the century that adequate facilities were available and the system began to function, with the beginning of free education.[86]

Informal control within the community was augmented by the establishment of a rural police force, with headquarters in Portree and local stations at convenient points around the Island. Health and welfare became a responsibility of the state. A regional medical plan provided doctor's care and hospital facilities for all regardless of means. Old age pensions were granted to the elderly. Later, the scope of assistance for the infirm, aged, and the poor, and the unemployed was increased. Thus, the government continually usurped many of the functions of the family and the local group, especially following the abolition of the parish council in 1929.[87] Although the parish councils, or the still older parochial boards, had no legislative powers, they did handle welfare and, until 1918, education. Now, in 1929, a Skye

[85] NSA, pp. 233, 281, 294, 298, 312, 321, 355.

[86] Napier Report, p. 70; and Norman MacLean, Sat Free, p. 211.

[87] C. De B. Murray, How Scotland Is Governed (Glasgow: Art and Educational Publishers, 1947), pp. 118-136; 195-196.

632 578 to neglect crofting and to concentrate on weaving. Those who still participate in crofting activities may neglect their communal obligations, such as going out on the moor after sheep, and may prefer to harvest crops, cut peat or perform other agricultural activities independent of other villagers.

632 182 462 Despite these tendencies, certain criteria of firm boundedness are still found in the township network. All the adult males of the township, including non-crofters, are responsible for serving as officers in the township grazing committee. The committee draws up rules for the [654] organization of communal crofting activities, and applies for grants from the Crofters Commission or Department of Agriculture, for example, to build a new township fence, plant trees as shelter belts for livestock, extend a peat road, or to fence and reseed areas of moorland in "township [464] reseeding schemes" (see Chapter 2). All adult males of the township are expected to provide labor to implement such plans.

632 571 666 Township meetings, chaired by the clerk of the grazing committee, are held twice a year. A vote is taken when any decision is to be made. The vote is usually unanimous, as all discussion, argument and persuasion have occurred before the meeting, and those who disagree

632 571 666 with the decision which they know is to be made usually do not attend the meeting. Thus, apparent consensus is always maintained.

632 178 Changes in the character of the township as social boundary system are apparent in ceremonial occasions such as weddings and funerals, which will be discussed in the following pages.

584 1. Courtship and Marriage: Courtship occurred during the dark hours when the older members of a household had gone to bed. A great deal of courting was done in [574] company. Because transportation was limited, groups of young people went together to dances; and on other nights, bands of young men would visit a house in which several girls were sleeping together, climb in through a window, and perhaps lie beside the girls, fully dressed, filling the dark with whispered jokes. Such a custom, a form of bundling, was called "night visiting" (ruith na h-oidhche); the male visitor was called caraid na h-oidhche, "companion of the night."

When couples began serious courting, they would meet outside at night, or the girl would let her bramar (sweetheart) into the house after the old people had gone to bed. A couple would never consider walking hand in [831] hand along the road during the day. Boys and girls were seated separately in school, went around in separate

273 216 175 the Lord that his prayers had been answered.") Another bothan was started in an old bus.

Today only one bothan exists in Shawbost. It is a [554] small concrete structure, lit by gas and heated with coal, which is burned in an expensive fireplace. Like most bothans, the one entrance faces away from the main road. Unlike most bothans, it has a small window which is curtained but nevertheless reveals whether or not the light is on inside. Most bothans present blank, windowless and doorless faces that give no indication whether or not the building is occupied.

[208] Every three years a poll may be taken within a parish to determine whether the parish should be wet or dry. [446] After the parish of Uig voted itself "wet," the Doune Braes Hotel was opened in Carloway, only five miles from Shawbost. [829] One of the arguments for making the parish "wet" was that drinking at the bothans would cease, and men would drink under more controlled circumstances. "The married men usually went home from the bothan at a reasonable hour, but the single men just stayed there talking all night. At the hotel, they have to go home at 10:00."

Despite the opening of the hotel so close to Shawbost, the bothan remained open. The drink was cheaper and the atmosphere less formal. Unlike the bothans in Ness, however, [901] the Shawbost bothan was usually open only on Saturday, the

631 632 626 634 693 631 public health and general administration, and has offices in Stornoway. Stornoway itself is largely looked after by a Town Council which deals with the property of the burgh, makes and administers byelaws and imposes burgh rates. The police are under County administration, each burgh paying an annual contribution for their services; the law is administered by a sheriff-principal and two sheriff-substitutes, one of whom holds court in Stornoway. Each parish has a local committee of management.

631 *172 665 The political history of the Western Isles, and no less Harris and Lewis, reflects the agrarian troubles. Before 1917, when Lewis was a Parliamentary part of Ross & Cromarty, and Harris part of Inverness, the electorate was both Liberal and Radical; traditionally there has been a significant anti-Tory vote. In 1917, the [234] Boundary Commission for Scotland set up the Parliamentary County of Inverness and Ross & Cromarty, with three divisions: Inverness, Ross & Cromarty and the Western Isles. In 1918 the Western Isles voted for the first time as a Parliamentary constituency of its own, and showed a predominant Liberal sympathy; the returned candidate was also standing for the reform of the Land Law.

644 665 *175 In the General Election of 1923 a Liberal candidate was again returned, with a repeat performance in 1929. In the latter election however, the Socialist came in second place. In the crisis or scare election of 1931, the Labour Party did not contest the seat, which was won by a Liberal-National candidate opposed by a full-blooded Conservative. In 1935 the Labour candidate, a native of Lewis, was returned with a 1,345 majority. This Member retained his seat through all subsequent elections losing it only in 1970 to a member of the Scottish National Party, who became a lone Home Ruler in the House. Labour, Conservative and Scottish National parties are represented in the constituency, with a small Liberal showing. The revision of local authorities has given virtual autonomy to the Western Isles.

PUBLIC SERVICES

36 The lack of adequate social and public services has been cited by some authorities as a factor encouraging people to leave the

175 654 the legal recognition, improvement and enlargement of the 'township', defined as a farm, or part of a farm, occupied in common or division by several tenants, three or more in [630] number. The executive officer of the township, the Con- [666] stable, was to be elected annually by the community.

The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 did 175 embody three of the chief recommendations made, but the first, the recognition of the township, was omitted. The 671 Crofters Act gave security of tenure, compensation for 427 improvements, and some facilities for enlargement of holdings. Security was perpetual and could be passed on by the crofter within his family, though renounceable by him upon one year's notice, upon fair statutory conditions. The chief conditions were payment of rent, fair maintenance of the holding, and respect of agreements with the proprietor. Although this was not a recommendation of the Commission, the Act also provided for official revision of rents. A 'fair rent' was to be proportionate to the produce of the croft, and this, together with the value for improvements, was to be fixed on application to a body of the three Commissioners, 'the Crofters Commission'. In Lewis between 1887 and 1912 this brought a lowering of the rental by over a quarter and the cancelling of two-thirds of arrears accumulated earlier. The rental for a 'croft' was to be below £30; this figure was raised to £50 in 1911, except in Lewis, where £30 remained the limit in order to allow the excessive congestion to be relieved by division even of small farms.

The passing of the Small Landholders' Act of 1911 completed the code known as the Landholders' Acts, 1886-1911. The Land Court replaced the Crofters' Com- [649] mission. The Department (then still the Board) of Agriculture took over the powers of the Congested Districts

565 559 666 the nine election districts where a member of the gentry is resident, he is the people's choice. Otherwise, the post passes to a newcomer, especially a minister, if he will accept, a non-crofter of relatively recent arrival, a returned exile, or an eccentric. The Skye delegates to the County Council are similarly elected. The village of Portree and the neighborhood of Glendale are represented by members of the county people; Kilmuir is represented by a minister of the Church of Scotland.

565 559 797 The function of the landed gentry emerges even more clearly when non-political leadership is considered. We may take the Skye Council of Social Service and the old People's Welfare Committee as examples. The Skye Council of Social Service is dedicated to the promotion of the "general good of the community," and the assistance of the work of statutory authorities and voluntary organizations engaged in improving education, health, and economic conditions. Although the Scottish Council of Social Service claims this is a product of the people of Skye, it was not a spontaneous development. A retired Registrar General for Scotland was responsible for the initial interest. The Scottish Council seems to have stimulated this interest by securing financial assistance in the initial stages and paying 75 percent of the annual expenses. The local organizers were county people, and their success was due in no small way to the efforts of an officer of the Department of Agriculture. Today the "civile leadership and local followership," of which the Scottish Council is wont to speak, is to be found in one clique of the

from the necessity of daily calls at the post office and shop, 182 but the drivers serve the function of passing on the news of the 571 day at each stop. 243

Standing in the place of many of the traditional social 182 outlets which have disappeared or been modified, there are the 794 religious occasions for joining together as a small group. We have found the Sgiathanach to be very religious. Everyone is [796] expected to go to church on the Sabbath, and everyone goes to church. Irregular attendance soon becomes noticed by one's neighbors, the kirk elders, and the minister. Concern over [626] what one's neighbors may think, in itself a strong motivating factor, is reinforced by a forbidding fear of what the venerable old men may do whenever an opportunity presents itself. There are Wednesday night prayer meetings for further social intercourse. Above all, there are the semi-annual Communions which, 182 except in Sleat and Strath and one Bracadale sect, bring to- 794 gether the people of the kirk, the members of the same sect from 796 other neighborhoods, and affiliates of the denomination from the mainland. Even the adherent, the individual who has not experienced a saving change because he is not old enough, normally takes his vacation, if he is employed, at the time of the Communions in order to attend.

The decline in interpersonal religious strife does not 182 mean that strong personal sentiments are not present. No one, 571 other than the eccentric, is indifferent to his neighbors or 243 others with whom he may have dealings. The crofter and his [646] village cousin may not bother to vote, but they closely watch 666 and freely discuss their representatives. Gossip has retained

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668 POLITICAL MOVEMENTS--mass movements for substantial political change; types (e.g., messianic, nativistic, nationalistic, radical, revolutionary, reactionary); organisation (e.g., into political parties, underground cells); leadership; doctrines, policies, and programs (e.g., socialism, communism, fascism); overt activities (e.g., passive resistance, propaganda, pressure politics, mass demonstrations, fomenting of labor disturbances); covert activities (e.g., infiltration, circulation of disparaging rumors, secret distribution of inflammatory literature, "front" organizations); proportion of population affected; etc. See also:

Social unrest	178	Socialism	671
Reform movements	186	Development of nationalism	819
Propaganda	208	Temperance movement	733
Collective bargaining	488	Sociopolitical theories	829

LAND USE AND CROFTING

agrarian order. Crofting townships were created which contained 195* holdings of a uniform size, often fit to provide only a bare sub- 423 sistence living. This is still so today. There were and are no means 311 of achieving ambition through some kind of agricultural promotion, 241 no ladder to climb to prove one's ability to win the land over to [108] one's side to increase its yield. And as each family increased, the progeny demanded land. The family acres were divided, subdivided and fragmented to a vicious mathematical system: more people, less land.

In the nineteenth century, many estates were sold. The new- [427] comers, with no kinship ties with the small tenantry, saw that the only way to make their estates economic was to establish large farms, which meant the eviction, by force if necessary, of the small tenants. This is what happened. For those who did not 195* emigrate, it was a life of huddling around a weak fire, whose flame 423 itself could hardly stand, and thinking of the prospect of starva- 668 tion and the 'old days'. Thoughts nourished on these old days 427 became the root of action; and a fierce agitation for land reform [511] started. The Minutes of Evidence of the Napier Commission (1882-4), of the Deer Forest Commission (1894-6) and the several official reports on the conditions of the crofters and cottars, give ample evidence of bitterness and despair as the result of poverty and lack of opportunity. About 1870, unrest in the congested areas of crofting townships became a political issue. The flames of ideals were burning high and bright. Ideals were transformed into action: take the land!

By 1880, the ripples from the stone flung into the agrarian pond were reaching the general public. Sides were taken: one stood either on the economic touchline, or on that dangerous thin red line of sentiment based on high feelings and a deep sense of wrongs being perpetrated on fellow humans. The landowners naturally insisted on the right to move into an era of land use in which management was not hampered by affairs of sentiment or philanthropy. Governed by the cold principles of business, they hardened themselves in the face of their attackers. And though they pointed to arrears in rent, and their inability to improve their land agriculturally while they had tenants not of their own choosing, they faced mounting antagonism.

HISTORY

*195 423 668 427 The crofters were in a state of revolt against the accumulation of trends and events which now stood like a high dam against their progress to a higher level of acceptance in the social scene. They stood in open conflict with local and national authority. Unhappy scenes were enacted, many being in complete variance with the natural temperament of the Highlander. Lewis crofters were not far behind with their contribution to the agitation for land reform, though they had perhaps suffered less direct action from landowners than had crofters in the Highlands and southern Islands. But their living conditions had deteriorated. And an inhumanly-efficient factor made for deep unrest.

*195 657 423 427 [668] Land agitation began in Lewis in 1881, and large numbers of Lewis crofters gave evidence before the Napier Commission. This Commission was the result of agitation for an enquiry into crofting conditions in the Highlands. Its setting up relieved a situation of acute tension, though it neither extinguished political agitation nor mitigated the disaffection felt in the more disturbed districts. Under Lord Napier's direction a mass of information was collected. The official findings of the Commission were almost identical with political declarations in the country, but did not altogether coincide with the requirements of the crofters and their spokesmen. The resultant Crofters' Act of 1886 fixed the crofting system into that rigid trance in which agricultural innovation, opportunity for improvement, the social progress of crofting communities are largely lacking. It did give all crofters permanency of tenure, where they had none before, fair rents for the land they had and compensation for improvements. But the old demand for new smallholdings and settlements persisted with greater insistence and further pressure on high political circles.

[735] [746] In 1888, members of the new Crofters Commission visited Lewis and found that poverty was so general in the island that among 607 crofters for whom fair rents were fixed, there were scarcely a dozen who had not been recipients of 'destitution' meal or some other form of relief. The population was too much for the land to support it under the distribution system prevailing. The 161 162 *175 number of persons per family in 1871 was on average 5·358, as compared with 4·232 on the mainland of Ross and Cromarty, the county of which Lewis formed a part. Thirty years later, in

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9 MISCELLANEOUS GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES--governmental activities not classifiable elsewhere (e.g., census taking, government support of national and state forests; of established churches); expenditures on public safety (e.g., military establishment, police, fire protection, disaster relief); etc. See also:

Census data	86	Police	655
Army, navy, and air forces	70	Disaster relief	725
Fire prevention	368	Established churches	795
State and national parks	539		

575 The
197 organization receives a large proportion of its funds
186 from the Scottish Education Department, whose statutory
• 659 duty is to foster the speaking of Gaelic in Gaelic-
speaking areas. In 1970-71 a series of evening meetings
were sponsored by An Comunn in Stornoway; but the
serious meetings, such as readings of Gaelic poetry, were
attended largely by schoolmasters.

Associations which sponsor Highland dancing and the
opportunity to get together with other Gaelic speakers
thrive in Glasgow, London, Toronto and Detroit, everywhere
648 but in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands. Such associations
serve important functions in situations of interaction
between Gaelic speakers and members of the dominant
society; they provide identity and self-defense against
those who react to them as members of a lower-status
minority group.

535 A girl who teaches Gaelic in Glasgow and comes home
186 to the island only for holidays never goes to the island
648 dances, but loves going to the dances sponsored by the
Lewis and Harris Society in Glasgow. All the young
people from the islands come, and dance away accumulated
insults in a fiery sense of belonging.

464 A girl who worked in hotels on the mainland found
197 herself speaking Gaelic with her fellow workmates who
186 came from Lewis or other Gaelic-speaking areas, although
571

175 to join the Free Church (Donaldson 1960: 100). The Free
795 Presbyterians left the Free Church in 1893 because they
found it too "liberal." Several dissenting groups,
including most of the members of the Free Church, formed
• 659 a United Free Church at the turn of the century. After
a long court case, the church property was left with the
Free Church, which continues to support itself without aid
795 from the state. Collections and funds solicited by
791 villagers who visit the households periodically are sent
465 to a central office in Edinburgh, which pays all ministers
an equal salary, despite variations in the size of their
congregations. About one-fourth of the church's income
comes from Lewis. A minister's salary is between L950-
1,000, and the upkeep and fueling of his manse is included.
The present minister in Shawbost uses oil and coal, but at
an earlier time received loads of peat from the villagers.
The villagers bring extra food to the manse when Communions
are held, although the church donates about L20 to be used
to provide for visiting ministers.

795 The Free Church contains a number of presbyteries,
of which Lewis and Harris are one. An Assembly is held
each year which parallels the Assembly held by the Church
of Scotland. (According to one minister of the Free Church,
"A Berlin wall divides the two.") The Free Church publishes
a monthly report of church activities and amount of money

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Other tombs inside the church include that of Mary MacLeod, 175 *
a bardess of the seventeenth century who was also governess to 346
the young MacLeods at Dunvegan. She was probably the first to 764
compose what may be called the 'court' song, in simple words (533)
and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed
by all Gaels since her time. Her last elegy was composed to Sir
Norman MacLeod of Berneray in 1705.

So far as personal characteristics are concerned, there is a 181
marked difference between the Herrach (Harrisman) and the 197
Leodhasach (Lewisman). Their Gaelic dialects are different, the
Harris pronunciation being much softer, with an attractive sing-
ing lilt. And Harris Gaelic has fewer words of Norse origin. The
main reason for this difference has been a topographical one: be-
fore a road was cut, the mountain barrier of north Harris divided
the inhabitants of the two parts of the same island, who developed
in their own distinctive ways.

The character of the land of Harris has also had much to do 181
with the difference. Harris for the most part is infertile, with great 133
expanses of rock outcrops. The east side of the island is torn in
shreds by fiord-like sea-mouths; the west coast is slow-moving,
with large expanses of sand and machar-land which look out over
the Atlantic breakers rolling in from a sea that is oceanic in
appearance and in fact. From early times the Harris folk have 175 *
had to work hard to scarify their snippets of land to make it fer- 181
tile. Regular increases in population forced them to cultivate land 133
extending up to 500 feet above sea level in some places, in the 241
form of hard-won lazy-beds. After the clearances early last cen- (236)
tury, when the more fertile lands on the west coast were taken
over for the formation of sheep farms, the people concentrated on
the eastern side of the island, and on some of the higher ground
in the west.

On Lord Leverhulme's death in 1925 the ownership of large 423
tracts of Harris passed to absentee landlords. After this, some of (659) •
the lands which had been cleared a century earlier were pur-
chased by the Government and broken up into crofts again, en-
abling some of the indigenous population to come back to make 423
use of the more fertile lands of the west. There are some 550 241
crofts in Harris, with 29 regulated common grazings; the total

THE OTHER ISLANDS

* 175 *Account*, there was one family there, that of the person employed
162 by the owner to look after the livestock. The owner was a Ness
(422) tacksman who paid £4 sterling rent per annum. The island pro-
duce was corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep and sometimes a cow,
and some wild fowl and feathers.

* 175 In 1844 Rona was evacuated, its last inhabitant being, in the
166 seventh year of Queen Victoria's reign, the 'King of Rona',
Donald MacLeod, who lived in almost prehistoric conditions.
Rona was without inhabitants until 1884, when a last attempt
(785) at resettlement was made by two men from Ness. This was a self-
imposed exile, after a difference of opinion with the minister of
their parish; in penance, they hied themselves off to Rona. In
1885 a relief boat called and found both men dead, one from
natural causes, the other from starvation and exhaustion after
nursing his friend. By the fireside of their hut was a pot ready
for the preparation of a meal they never ate.

236 Today, man's connection with the island is maintained by the
221 small party of Lewis shepherds who each year make the journey
to shear the sheep which still graze on the green slopes around the
now-ruined village. Otherwise, only the occasional traveller now
• 659 lands there. In June 1956, North Rona with its associated rock,
185 Sulasgeir, was declared a National Nature Reserve on account
of its importance as a breeding ground for colonies of oceanic
birds—guillemots, puffins, kittiwakes, and fulmars—and for its
seal colony.

133 *Sulasgeir*

(131) Sulasgeir is twelve miles west of North Rona, a lonely rock in
the Atlantic, bleak and grassless, and tunnelled by caves and
gullies. The only life it has ever supported is seabirds—officially.
(316) Yet one of the old buildings said to be a chapel and is called
173 'Tigh Beannaicht' (House of Blessing). According to Ness tradi-
tion, Sulasgeir was once used as a prison for sheep-stealers, and
it is also said that Brenhilda, sister to St Ronan, was left on the
island to perish. Yet another tradition claims that it was at this
rock that Prince Charles Edward made his first contact with his
Scots clansmen, when the ship that carried him to Scotland was
spoken to by a Ness boat making for North Rona.

661

661 EXPLOITATION--exercise of their power by holders of political office to further personal goals, whether materialistic, psychological, or ideological; perquisites of office (e.g., exceptional income and material comforts, special sexual or marital privileges, unusual honors or deference); use of office for self-aggrandisement (e.g., exhibitionism, extortion of bribes, protection of vice, acceptance of commissions for services rendered); employment of power to force others to conform to personal ethical or religious convictions; suppression of rivals (e.g., purges); oppression of opponents; nepotism; protection of vested interests; etc. See also:

Organized vice	848	Religious persecution	780
Political machines	667		

175 they were composed of at least one to four or five hamlet-
427 farms. The tacksmen also had cottars for service.
614 Thus in Lewis a special reason, the accession of Sea-
621 forth, had led to the granting of many tacks to his own
clansmen and to natives. Elsewhere in the Highlands the
175 procedure is noteworthy during the sixteenth, seventeenth
427 and eighteenth centuries, for the collection of rents from
614 the peasantry by means of large tenants had financial
184 advantages for the greater landlords (I. F. Grant, 1930).
The tacksman's continuation as tenant depended on his
• [661] paying regularly, for the lease was not a hereditary grant.
[565] A tack could also provide for a lord's younger sons or
immediate relations, such as formed the gentry of the clan.
Along with smaller lairds, these furnished the cadres of
officers who led the clan regiments down to the 'Forty-
five, and later the Highland Regiments of the line and
the Fencibles down to Waterloo. Like MacKenzie, other
great chiefs such as Argyle or Breadalbane leased tacks
when they acquired the status of peers and took possession of
fresh lands with Royal support, after vain resistance from
native chiefs and their followers. In Lewis, the fiscal
status of tacksmen was applied both to MacKenzie's sup-
porters from the mainland and to those with ancient roots
in the west of the Island. The latter may have thought a
mere lease a poor substitute for hereditary tenure, though
a legal compromise necessary if their possession was to be
[660] continued. The lack of permanent tenure ultimately led
to the departure of their descendants.
175 From the families of these tacksmen have sprung most
621 of those of Lewis birth or descent who achieved fame
614 before the twentieth century. Of the MacAulays, we saw
Zacharias was Chamberlain during and after the 'Fifteen.
554 Thomas Babington Macaulay came of the same line, as
[668]

175 the mansion, lodges, and grounds or 'policies', much was
747 built and laid out for himself at the time, though part was
423 for reclamation. This contrasts with his provision for
those whose homeland he had bought—the sum spent
upon his own mansions and grounds being nearly half that
spent directly for the good of some 20,000 fellow-Gaels.
175 Matheson was not technically equipped for his chosen
157 task of 'reconstruction'. Nor was he fitted by trade in
the East for the leadership of a people accustomed, in
[623] spite of dire poverty, to considerable freedom. Ignorant,
one gathers, of the language of the people, his choice of a
175 later Factor was hardly a happy one. Tradition in Lewis
623 speaks of this Donald Munro as an 'autocrat', and evidence
423 in 1874 confirms it. In addition to being the Factor for
an ageing man and so holding economic sway over the
• 661 people, he held seventeen public and semi-public offices
in the Island, from Justice of the Peace to Captain of the
Volunteers, still other offices being held by his clerk! The
extent of his sway is also shown by his having served
summonses of removal upon fifty-six families on his own
authority. As a result of the treatment of the officer sent
to serve the summonses, three crofters were tried on a
charge of "assault committed on an officer of the law in
revenge for having executed his duty". When asked in
court if Sir James would not have disapproved of this step
and the manner of its execution, Munro replied that it was
his practice "never to trouble Sir James with small
matters". "Then you consider the eviction of fifty-six
families a small matter?" was the retort. These 'Bernera
rioters' were found not guilty, they and their neighbours
were left in possession, and soon after the Factor demitted
175 office.[1] Lewismen felt the result to be a moral victory,
829

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. lxxi.

665

665 POLITICAL PARTIES--organization for the purpose of acquiring and retaining political power; political factions; organized political parties (e.g., number, composition, leadership, objectives); party organization (e.g., national, regional, and local committees); methods of recruiting and rewarding members (e.g., spoils system); nomination procedure (e.g., caucuses, primaries, conventions, slates); special organization during electoral campaigns; integration of political parties with the structure of the state and its subdivisions; etc.

631 public health and general administration, and has offices in
632 Stornoway. Stornoway itself is largely looked after by a Town
626 Council which deals with the property of the burgh, makes and
634 administers byelaws and imposes burgh rates. The police are
643 under County administration, each burgh paying an annual con-
tribution for their services; the law is administered by a sheriff-
principal and two sheriff-substitutes, one of whom holds court
631 in Stornoway. Each parish has a local committee of management.
631 The political history of the Western Isles, and no less Harris
*175 and Lewis, reflects the agrarian troubles. Before 1917, when Lewis
was a Parliamentary part of Ross & Cromarty, and Harris part
• 665 of Inverness, the electorate was both Liberal and Radical; tradi-
tionally there has been a significant anti-Tory vote. In 1917, the
[634] Boundary Commission for Scotland set up the Parliamentary
County of Inverness and Ross & Cromarty, with three divisions:
Inverness, Ross & Cromarty and the Western Isles. In 1918 the
Western Isles voted for the first time as a Parliamentary constitu-
ency of its own, and showed a predominant Liberal sympathy;
the returned candidate was also standing for the reform of the
Land Law.
666 In the General Election of 1923 a Liberal candidate was
665 again returned, with a repeat performance in 1929. In the
latter election however, the Socialist came in second place. In
*175 the crisis or scare election of 1931, the Labour Party did not
contest the seat, which was won by a Liberal-National candidate
opposed by a full-blooded Conservative. In 1935 the Labour
candidate, a native of Lewis, was returned with a 1,345 majority.
This Member retained his seat through all subsequent elections
losing it only in 1970 to a member of the Scottish National
Party, who became a lone Home Ruler in the House. Labour,
Conservative and Scottish National parties are represented in
the constituency, with a small Liberal showing. The revision of
local authorities has given virtual autonomy to the Western Isles.

36 PUBLIC SERVICES

The lack of adequate social and public services has been cited by
some authorities as a factor encouraging people to leave the

666

666 ELECTIONS--voting; informal methods of selecting public officials; organized electoral systems (e.g., election districts, registration of voters, requirements for nomination, polling places, balloting, precautions against fraud); election campaigns (e.g., fund raising, campaign platforms, speaking tours, use of publicity and propaganda); voting behavior and its determinants; electoral intimidation and fraud; methods of minority control (e.g., gerrymandering, rotten-borough system, poll taxes); etc. See also:

Nonelectoral methods of filling political offices 63, 63, 64
Molding of public opinion 208
Oratory 837
Franchise 641
Punishment of electoral fraud 687

175 427 614 621 175 427 614 184 [661] [565] [166] 175 621 614 554 [668]

they were composed of at least one to four or five hamlet-farms. The tacksmen also had cottars for service.

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175 554 614 621 [668] [178] [871] 175 554 565 427 [113]

did another Zacharias, closer than Thomas to the Lewis tree, who worked nobly with Wilberforce for the emancipation of the slaves.[1] Still another connection was a Canadian emigrant, grandfather of the late T. B. Macaulay, LL.D. Alexander Mackenzie, the explorer of the Mackenzie River, was a descendant of Lewis tacksmen. MacIvers and Morisons also distinguished themselves. But the sons and daughters of crofters had to await the provision of education in English before they could rise in trade, learning or war; hence few Lewismen of the greatest Lewis name, MacLeod, achieved eminence until the twentieth century.

As for the peasantry, the interposition of a new or enlarged class of tenantry between themselves and the superior must have meant that they had to labour on the tacksman's home farm, and no doubt pay more in produce or cash. Hence the Gaelic saying that if the position of the small (joint) tenants was bad, that of the subtenants was worse, "the Evil One itself". Following the long fight with the Fife Adventurers, hardship may have been greatest where mainland tacksmen were placed above the joint tenants; but even under MacAulays and MacIvers rents may have been raised and some of the joint freedom lost which was still enjoyed in Ness. Whatever adjustments had been made in an earlier period had to be re-made with the beginning of Seaforth's new order.

In the following generations, contradictory accounts of lairds, factors and tacksmen are given by contemporary observers. Certain of these insisted that, given the poverty of the lands as a whole, the chiefs and landlords, factors and tacksmen, were the saviours of their people. Yet even among those who supported authority in general, there was

[1] Charles Booth, *Zachary Macaulay*, 1934.

175 The families of the young men might be willing to
702 encourage enlistment. But they pled or bargained for an assurance that after service was over their sons should be returned to their homes and have land on which to settle down. The receipt of the bounty and their savings would help the men to pay rent later.

175 Passive resistance was offered at times, however, as
702 when the Macleod Highlanders were raised in 1757, only
• 668 a decade after the 'Forty-five. An Island friend has told me of a family tradition, that, as a young man at that time, his own great-grandfather was concealed to escape conscription. And the press gang was busy in Stornoway when the *Old Statistical Account* was written. Protest had usually to be made in secrecy or silence; but a revolt was
[533] organised by Stornoway men in 1793.[1] And the voice of one unwilling conscript has come down to us in a song, well known in the Isles (though little known in English), with the refrain—*Och ho ro*, brown lad, so bonnie (*'ille dhuinn*). Although it bears no sign of Jacobitism, it begins,
175 " My grief to be wearing King George's red clothing! "
702 It continues, " The short-coated sailors bore us to Holland.
668 It was a Saturday evening when we fought; and many a
539 wife was widowed ere dawn broke on the Lord's Day, their husbands ta'en, whom gold can never restore, stretched out among the rushes, blood pouring over their shoulders. . . .

' O'er the hills bear my greeting to Mull of the mountains;
Where cuckoos are cooing, on the braes before Beltane.'

' Bear my greeting to my mother, who nurtured me, to my sister who weeps for me, and to my sweetheart; I'll be home if death spares me." [2]

[1] Public Record Office, H.O. 50/2. Letters of Francis Humberstone Mackenzie (16th and 19th May 1793), communicated by Mr. J. R. Western.
[2] Charles Stewart, *The Killin Collection*.

175 year in which John Bunyan was born ". Archbishop Sharp
178 " banished him to the dungeons of the Bass Rock for
794 twenty-eight years, and it was during his imprisonment that the meetings of communicants were kept going by a parishioner,—a reformed tinker and a gifted and consecrated lieutenant ". This tradition of the ' Men ' renewed itself and spread with each wave of ' Revival '. It sprang up in the Islands more than a century ago, as it had on the north-western mainland during the later eighteenth century, and in ' Easter ' Ross two hundred years before.

[798] The spiritual crises of the Reformation and of the Cromwellian and Covenanting age are still profoundly influential; yet they seem hard for those from the Lowlands and England to understand because they occurred so long ago. But in Lewis, Macfarlane writes of the ' Men ' whom he knew and admired, in order to keep their memory green. Once more, life in the Isles throws fresh light on the past, revealing its significance.

(D) EVANGELISM AND ERASTIANISM, WRATH AND WOE

175 The Disruption [1] gave a powerful urge to the move-
• 668 ment for freedom, in many ways. Throughout Scotland the people were made to feel that both landlordism and the
[795]

[1] The issues of Disruption, for the sake of freedom from the choice of a minister by the landlord's patronage and from State control, were reviewed by the Rev. Prof. G. D. Henderson, in *Heritage of the Disruption*, 1943 (published at the centenary, and nearly half a generation after the Union of 1929). While the Free Church still maintains a strong hold in the Island—and among a small minority elsewhere who feel that even the terms of the Union could not secure full moral freedom—it is claimed by the Church of Scotland that its constitution now goes far to solve " the age-long antinomy of establishment and freedom ", a view widely held abroad, both in Germany and in the smaller lands of North-west Europe occupied by the invader, at the time of the centenary.

employment as hands on fishing vessels. The young women followed these fleets seeking work as gutters and curers in the ports. Some may have made their way to Portree, where a woolen mill had been erected by the Highland Destitution Committee. The population of Portree increased during these years from 510, in 1841, to 893, in 1881, but this can hardly be regarded as a significant trend.

The really striking aspect of this period is the almost complete lack of protest by the Sgiathanach against the violation of his presumptive right to the land. The disappearance of the tacksmen, of course, had left the people without their counselors and leaders in secular affairs, and many of the ministers, especially those who were themselves sheep farmers, counseled submission to the will of God. Then, too, the ethos of the Skyemen would not allow them to ventilate their grievances. They despised the Sassanach and felt that "the landlord was bad enough, but the factor was the Devil himself." Still those who knew them well and those who rambled by their cottages wrote unanimously of a people who endured overwhelming sufferings in patience and reticence.[69] The betrayal of any weakness, especially before the cursed Sassanach, was a breach of propriety.[70]

The Skyeman had not lost his capacity to respond to leadership. Throughout the nineteenth century there had been widespread and growing discontent all over Europe with the

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[69] Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82; and Cummings, op. cit., p. 136 . See also Robert Buchanan, The Hebride Isles (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883), p. 324; and Malcolm Ferguson, Rambles in Skye (Irvine: Charles Murchland, 1885), pp. 121, 122.

[70] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 136.

existing system of propr
were formed to give body
finally reached Scotland
on Skye. Significantly,
agitation were Irishmen.
of action advocated by th
famine which coincided wi
on the east coast fishing
law into their own hands.
pay their rent. The Glen
sheep off their old cattl
Royal Marines were dispat
came the appointment of a
but their work is our sub
pressing problem is what
religious outlook of the
have on the configuration

While the Revival wa
of the century, the Genera
was witnessing a renewed b
patronage, the right of th
minister. Finally, in 184

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[71] Ferguson, op. cit.

[72] See Collier, op. c
in Relation to Highland De

[73] Detailed accounts
the police can be found in
in 1882-1883 (Inverness: A
See also Cummings, op. cit
op. cit., pp. 24-25.

letorship. At length, land leagues
to the peasants' protest. The movement
in 1880. By 1883 it had become important
the agents responsible for the Skyemen's
71 The stimulus for accepting the course
hese agents was provided by another
th the loss of wages from employment
vessels.[72] The crofters took the
The Kilmuir crofters refused to
dale crofters forcibly drove the
e grazings. Glasgow police and the
ched to Skye.[73] Out of this unrest
royal commission of investigation,
ject for the fourth period. A more
effect did these events have on the
crofter and what influence did religion
of the culture.
as underway during the first half
al Assembly of the Church of Scotland
battle over the old question of
he proprietor to select the kirk's
-3, the Church was broken by schism

, pp. 41-43, 121-123.

cit., pp. 81-82; Hance, The Outer Hebrides
population, p. 91.

of the land raids and resistance to
Alexander MacKenzie, The Isle of Skye
. and W. MacKenzie, 1884, pp. 7-144.
., pp. 146-147 and William MacKenzie,

669

669 REVOLUTION--attempts to seize political power by violent means; types (e.
palace revolts, fifth columns, insurrections, class uprisings, civil wars);
causes and objectives; rationalizations; participants; tactics (e.g., seizure
leading opponents, of military strongholds, of strategic urban utilities); coun
revolutionary tactics and movements; results of success and failure; etc. Se
also:

History and culture change 17
Social stratification 56
War 72
Cultural goals 185
Ingroup antagonisms 57
Riots 57
Punishment of treason 68

les

information on the Reformation and its effect upon the c

hurch in Scotland, see category 798, pp. 193-

175 State were in the wrong: the people were with God and,
668 most of all when they suffered, God was with them! The sense of liberation brought to the Highlanders and Islesmen encouraged them to press their claim to the land they worked, strengthening the agrarian movement of 1880–86. The moral victory of 1843 contributed to legal victory in 1886.

175 The influence of Evangelism continued for some time
178 at fever heat. "Even down to the present time (1877)
771 there are tokens of the gracious working of the Spirit on
795 men's minds, although it is a day of small things compared with the past and, in the case of some, a day of stumbling and instability. How humbling to behold the first reaction in favour of worldly and Erastian [1] principles, manifesting itself on the spot where the gospel banner was first unfurled in Lewis! But there is a God that judgeth in the earth, and his time to vindicate his cause shall come. 'Offences must come, but woe unto that man by whom they shall come!'" [2]

181 What comment can be made on this? One shudders at first, to hear of 'gross vices' among the people, only to find that by these 'vices' was meant fidelity to the religious past. It may seem strange that Highlanders such as these writers on the 'Disruption Worthies', who were almost as proud of Columba as of the Covenanters, were blinded to the enduring values in Columban tradition. They were certainly unable to foresee the effects of their preaching.

[1] 'Erastianism' is the doctrine of the supremacy of the State in ecclesiastical causes, a term which came into use in Britain in the seventeenth century. Actually the problem is one which Erastus, 1524–83, nowhere entered upon; none the less, the name is established, and it denotes a major issue of principles.

[2] J. Greig (ed.), *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands* (1877).

175 Board, created in 1897 to develop agriculture, fishing and
671 home industries, to form new holdings, to assist migration,
427 and to provide public works such as roads, bridges and
[647] piers. These powers were further extended by the Land Settlement (Scotland) Act of 1919, passed to provide land for ex-Servicemen.[1]

The Crofters' Act granted to the individual crofter most of the rights advocated by the Napier Commission, and other advantages besides, but it did not impose upon him the corresponding duties. As Day wrote, "The landlord was compelled to act in the interests of the crofter; the crofter was not compelled to act in his own interest".
[632] The Act discarded the core of the Napier Commission's scheme, that of "a recognised local community, the township, with an executive officer, the Constable, working for the improvement of the township, by fencing, draining and other works, with the assistance of the proprietor", the whole scheme enforceable by "legal compulsion on either
[829] side". As a Gael might say, the Act discarded *duty-right* of members of the community to one another.

175 As a result, peace did not descend upon the Island at
423 once. The demand for land continued, followed up by attempts to settle upon it, in spite of police and armed force.
[668] A legal victory was to be pressed home. In Lewis the

[113] [1] A useful summary of the legislation is given by the Scot. Econ. Committee's Report, 1938, pp. 17-21, and a searching review in J. P. Day's *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918, a work of real social insight.

The Act of 1919 is still the main enactment under which land settlement schemes may be undertaken in Scotland; but the Agriculture (Scotland) Act 1948 included new provision to allow the creation of holdings up to 75 acres in extent and £150 in rental. After the Second World War a more cautious policy was adopted in regard to settlement of ex-Servicemen and little progress has been made in carrying out schemes, despite many unfulfilled applications in the Hebrides and elsewhere where the demand for crofts exceeds the supply.

175 death of Sir James had left his
423 estate, a lady with little train
668 In south-east Lewis, in Novem
men attempted to settle on th
Seaforth, after which some of
were tried and acquitted, and
outrun were provided. In Janu
from Barvas to petition Lady
farm of Galson should be allott
valuation, as they could not liv
Matheson refused to consider t
of rent due by Barvas tenants w
after, sheep were driven off Ai
forced by marines and soldiers,
days later, more sheep runs
[701] molished, and sheep driven
marines were ordered to Lew
[687] sailed). On February 2, the
guilty and sentenced to terms of
imprisonment. After this t
passed away. Yet the seeds o
they were to spring up a gene
the war of 1914–18.

175 In defending the Napier C
632 nise the township, one may ac
a farm held by tenants, singly
427 be remembered that the word
very elastic meaning. The joi
[241] active group for labour in com
included several joint-farms,
Island, its people formed a rela
Members of the township enjo
shared in duties of observanc

1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

s widow in possession of the
ning for its responsibilities.
ıber 1887, a body of landless
he peninsula of Park, Loch
the illegal settlers or raiders
fourteen small crofts with
uary 1888, 300 men marched
Matheson that the sheep
ted to some of them at a fair
e on their tiny plots. Lady
the petition until the arrears
were paid. Less than a week
gnish (Eye) and police, rein-
, arrested eleven men. Two
were invaded, fences de-
off. On January 20, 500
vis (of whom 200 actually
Aignish raiders were found
from nine to fifteen months'
he disturbances gradually
f trouble only lay dormant;
ration later, and again after

Commission's plan to recog-
cept their definition of it as
or in common. Yet it must
' farm ' had come to have a
nt farm-group was once the
non; but if the ' township '
as it generally had in the
tively ' passive ' community.
yed rights in common, and
; but they had seldom to

St Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

159 of the owners—but farmers knew it was futile to protest,
473 and they suffered with a wry smile and a shrug of the
433 shoulders. After all, most of the farmers had stayed at
home and their affairs had prospered, in war-time; whereas
427 all but the older crofters had had years of seafaring or
fighting, and the nation's debt to them had not yet been
forgotten. The farmers kept quiet and waited.

159 Meantime, Leverhulme made public war upon the
Government. Speaking in Edinburgh in November 1919,
668 he declared that " Reports, thick as leaves in Vallombrosa,
433 have been the dominating feature of Government policy
in the Highlands and Isles . . . but the invariable rule
seems to have been, whenever expenditure of public money
was recommended, for the Government either to ignore
such reports or to cut down expenditure so penuriously
as only to result in waste . . . by not spending to the
full amount . . . Lewis and Harris have too long been
[213] the Cinderella in the Government pantomime." [1] The
crofters, reading this in the daily papers, and again in the
weekly *Stornoway Gazette* a day or two later, chuckled
with glee, rolling the phrases on their tongues. They
might not all have been able to explain the strange words,
like Vallombrosa or Cinderella, though they sounded fine;
but all had heard of pantomimes, and some might even
have seen one, without saying too much about it to the
minister. About ' penurious expenditure ' they could
have no doubt. Yes, a fine speech, they felt! Yet in
spite of the sting of truth contained in such orations, these
did not make it easier for Government to co-operate with
the orator, to prevent raiding or to deal with it should it
begin.

000 Raiding did begin in the spring of 1920. Applicants

[1] Lecture at Edin. Phil. Instn., 1920. Quoted in Leverhulme (1927).

4: Moisley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

175 It is worth noting that the rental charged for the newly cleared farm of Carnish was
427 £55 - being £20 less than had been paid by the crofters. Thus it cannot be said that the latter were evicted purely in order to obtain more rent. The proprietor must have been taking a long term view, looking for land improvement rather than immediate gain. By the 1870's the farm rentals had increased by 55%, those of the crofting townships by only 15%. And the latter often remained unpaid.

175 Thus, whilst the farmers prospered, the tenants became crowded in their townships
427 which were correspondingly less and less able to support their increasing numbers.
511 The crofts became so reduced that in an average year the produce of the land might keep a crofter and his family for only six months; for the rest he had to find other means of
175 support. Fortunately, after the hungry years of the 'forties', fishing provided just this.
226 Starting in 1851, an annual migration began, first to Caithness and later to the whole east
464 coast of Scotland and England. By the 1880's not only were most of the able-bodied young
166 men following the herring as hired men on east coast boats, but many of the women-folk,
who had learned gutting, packing and kippering from English girls brought to Stornoway
[223] for the purposes, were also earning. This was summer work, and fitted well between seed-time and harvest. In the winter, small local open boats worked long lines for white fish which were dried and salted for local curers as they still are today on the
[511] Norwegian coast. Between the 1850's and 1880's there was a "condition of plenty" in Lewis "which would not have been credited by those who judged of the condition of the people by the external aspect or sanitary arrangement of their dwellings".* It was this "condition of plenty" which encouraged the people to stay at home, to sub-divide their crofts, and to live on the proceeds of paid labour rather than on the produce of the croft.

Re-settlement, 1878-1935.

175 The process of sub-division ceased only when economic conditions became less
427 favourable and emigration began to exceed natural increase. In the 1880's fishing and
166 farming suddenly became less profitable. Simultaneously, and given extra point by the
226 particular distress of the time, agitation for land reform, and in particular for the
511 relief of the most congested districts, became a political issue. This began in Uig in
175 1874 when an attempt was made to evict 56 crofters from Bernera; hundreds of crofters
668 resisted by force and subsequently marched on Stornoway. They were well received by the proprietors - who appear to have been unaware of the summary and inhumane behaviour of their chamberlain - and to the credit of all concerned the matter ended peacefully. But land agitation continued.

175 The position in Bernera was eased in 1878 when Linshader farm was deprived of the
427 old township of Kirkibost which was resettled by crofters from Bosta, the latter being let to the Tobson crofters as an enlargement to their pasture. In 1880 new holdings were formed in Hacklete, which had been the grounds-officer's farm (but which, judging from its population, had always contained a number of cottars or sub-tenants). The grazing of Laimshader was probably returned to the Borroston crofters about 1886, having been part of Linshader farm and, in 1891, six new holdings were formed at Lundale, also part of the same farm. At the same period, under the new Act, the crofters of Crowlista, Valtos, and Kneep applied unsuccessfully for enlargements from the farms, but during the nineties the islands of Little Bernera and Eilean Kearstay were taken off Linshader farm and added to the townships of Bernera, and Valtos obtained Pabay Mor.

* Report....on the Condition of the Cottar population in the Lews. (C.5265), 1888, p.4.

67

-general statements dealing with several aspects of customar
of behavior for violations of which sanctions may be enforce
or agency of the politically organized community or state, an
gh informal mechanisms of social control.

241 century as an attempt to reform the previous system
427 of run-rig; but it is usually identified with the
175 definition given it by the Crofters Holdings (Scotland)
671 Act of 1886, as a form of land tenure to which many protections accrue. The Act defined crofts and crofting areas in Scotland, and assured the crofter of security of tenure, hereditary succession and fair rent. The legislature which followed on the heels of this act, which is sometimes referred to as the Magna Carta of the Highlands (Day 1918: 190), is mountainous. The flow stems from two perhaps incompatible aims: the desire to provide security for the landholder, and to enhance agricultural productivity. The difficulty of developing the land as an efficient agricultural unit has always existed in an area characterized by a wet climate, unproductive soil, and smallness of holdings in heavily populated areas, and was one of the factors that prompted agricultural reform in the 18th century.

175 B. Stratified Tenantry vs. Egalitarian Society
423
427 At the time of the break-up of the clan system in
[614] the first half of the 18th century, three categories of persons held land under the Highland proprietor or "laird": tacksmen (gentlemen farmers, often relatives

175 stability and improvement; e.g., an executive offic
423 the Constable, was to be elected annually by the
656 community, and he would oversee various improvements
the township (Napier 1884; Day 1918: 187-9).

175 However, the Crofters Act of 1886 did not make t
423 township a unit of local government. It was more
67 concerned with protecting the individual crofter's
rights than with the creation of a self-sustaining,
[656] self-correcting economic unit. The Napier Commission
[168] had recommended the consolidation of crofts which wer
rented at less than £6 a year, and a policy of persua
by which the excess population would be encouraged to
emigrate or specialize as laborers, fishermen, and so

175 Instead, the 1886 Act provided security of tenur
423 for a large number of crofters, as well as a fixed fa
67 rent and compensation for improvements if the crofter
178 [656] chose to leave the croft. These assurances, and the
creation of a variety of agencies (such as the Conges
Districts Board, the Crofters Commission, and the Boa
of Agriculture) whose purpose was to encourage agricu
improvement by providing funds, equipment, breeding a
seeds, advice and so on, constituted a set of incenti
These incentives combined with a number of other fact
including improved transportation and the spread of

[Marivig]

231 There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters w
no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep
sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hund
and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore
islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, w
[235] all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofter
keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

314 Peats cut on the common are transported to lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north en
482 the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft,
228 and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Storn
501 and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated
before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two other
are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobst
during the winter and markets them in London.

463 Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the
464 roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Geor
fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual
166 migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the
167 permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-ni
162 (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young
271 people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway,
while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

205 The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a
206 shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. Ther
366 is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road
490 which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much
495 better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig
491 and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.
446

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the
363 sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while
361 the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain
342 and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron.
377 All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply;
312 rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a
well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

829 The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the
drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the
900 crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more
intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk,
potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought
from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival
of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest
house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring pros-
perity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the
capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

671

671 LEGAL NORMS--extent of differentiation of social norms enforceable by a
organ of politically constituted society from those enforced only by informa
social control; conception of law (e.g., as precedent, as a body of absolut
relative principles); comparative prevalence of customary or common law
of "made" laws (e.g., edicts, decrees, ordinances, statutes, constitution
binding judicial or administrative decisions, imposed taboos, divine revel
lawgivers; law codes; legal categories (e.g., civil and criminal law); leg
rules and administrative law; jurisprudence; uniform and multiple system
law; etc. See also:

Justice 69
Innovation 176
Customary norms 183
Property law 421
Family law 605
Informal social control 626
Informal justice . . . . . .
Civil rights . . . . . .
Constitutional law . . . . . .
Government regulation . . . . . .
Martial law . . . . . .

Chapter 2

HISTORY OF THE CROFTING TOWNSHIP

A. "Crofting"

241 427 175 192 The word "croft," meaning an enclosed field, come from Old English. In 1563, a rental of the bishopric of Moray mentions the lease of two crofts (Grant 1930: 272). Walker (1812: 51) refers to "cottars or crofters as subtenants of Highland farms. The word croft appear in Gibbon's historical novel, A Scots Quair, and is sti in common use around Aberdeenshire. In the Hebrides, a number of Gaelic words are used to refer to units of land (e.g., faich, fearann, fiadhaire, and fiannag), but the word for "croft" remains in Gaelic vocabulary as a foreign word, slightly Gaelicized as croit or lot (from "allotment").

[522] A cynical definition of a croft, given by some academicians and administrators concerned with crofting, and supposedly first proposed by the son of a crofter, is "a piece of land entirely surrounded by legislation." 241 427 175 171 Crofting, as a particular method of land use, was introduced by "progressive" landlords in the mid-18th

669 for crofts in Tongue, a township north of Stornoway, took
423 the law into their own hands, seized one of the fields of the adjacent farms, and threatened to take the remainder. It is easy to understand that when a man has come home from the war to his sweetheart, and after being promised a site on which to build a home (even a black house for a start), with a plot for potatoes, and 'a cow's grass', a year's vain delay may breed impatience! Leverhulme motored to the township, and with his customary vigour and persuasiveness spoke of his plans for 'work and wages' to be concentrated at Stornoway. He again declared that if the farms were divided this would cripple his schemes, and work would stop at once. The majority there agreed to fall in with his plans; in any case, only a
159 minority could find crofts on the farms. Leverhulme felt
433 that he had carried his point. He forgot not only that his oratory deserved applause and had won it for its own
669 sake, but that the people could not lightly afford to say 'no', if this meant immediate stoppage of wages. It was the after-thoughts on the morrow and in the following months, rather than agreement at the moment, that signi-
[228] fied. In 1920 herring fetched a fair price, the herring fishery prospects were encouraging, and work was resumed for a time. Yet one raid having begun and "the die having been cast, lawlessness spread rapidly". Leverhulme stopped expenditure, and obtained an interdict against the
[423] 'raiders', though he did not prosecute. After further parley, the Secretary for Scotland agreed to suspend
[654] division for ten years, and in 1921 Leverhulme resumed
159 operations. "Unfortunately very soon afterwards", wrote
433 his biographer, owing to "the general industrial depression which followed the boom in trade after the war", Lever-
458 hulme felt impelled to close down work for the time being,

RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

121 to the world within. Above all, harmony of relations, at
791 every stage of life, in man and woman, was felt to pre-
181 figure relations with the Divine. The religious poetry of which the Gael were the creators and heirs, promoted courage and calm. True, its very power could lead to superstitious respect for mere forms of words, debased as 'magical' charms. Such misuse was 'superstitious', being false in itself and falling short of the clearest thought, the highest aspiration, of the time and the community. Worse still, use with evil intent could concentrate ill-will and evoke mutual fears. Yet at its best, thought was clearer, less confused, than is commonly imagined. To the aspiration and attainment of the Gael—in congregation or solitude, in meditation or labour, in love and faith or in works—the fragments of their oral heritage bear witness.

(c) LITERACY AND EVANGELISM: 'THE MEN' AND THE DISRUPTION

175 From before 1680 "a school for the gentlemen's sons
178 and daughters" was open in Stornoway. Latin and
871 English were taught, and a century later even Greek had been added, as recorded by W. J. Gibson, for many years Rector of Stornoway's high school, the Nicolson Institute, in his *Education in Scotland*, 1912 (chap. v). Particularly towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Gaelic School Society and other bodies, like the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, sent out schoolmasters to teach the reading of the Scriptures. Industrial schools were set up at the same time by Lady Seaforth, to teach spinning
• (671) by the wheel, replacing the slow distaff. It was not till nearly a century later that teaching of English was widely taken advantage of—partly by the compulsion of the

175 Education Act of 1872, for the people "did not want to
198 give their children wings to leave them".[1]
871 The reading of Gaelic progressed fairly rapidly after
• (671) 1800, in order that the Bible might be read. By 1833 something like one in three or four of the population, or more than half of the younger people, could read Gaelic. The Hon. Mrs. Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth, it seems, had a 'warm sympathy' both with teaching to read the Scriptures and with evangelical preaching. The coming
175 to Lewis in 1824 of the first evangelical minister, the Rev.
114 Alexander MacLeod, an Assynt man, is described in his
793 memoir in a striking volume, *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands*, edited by J. Greig (1877).

"At the distance of more than half a century it is not
175 easy to form a conception of the religious and moral
791 condition of Lewis previous to the year 1824. The present
793 writer has heard a still living minister of the Free Church, who is a native of Uig, declare publicly that only two or three copies of the Bible could be found within the wide extent of the parish, and that he himself travelled a journey in search of a copy of the blessed book, and all in vain. . . . The denesest intellectual and spiritual darkness held universal sway. Notwithstanding the pleasing features that characterise Highlanders, even in their most primitive condition, this state of things could not fail to be attended with baleful influence. Despite their constitutional warmth of heart and loyalty of nature, unbending fidelity to what they esteemed to be honour, and their unbounded kindness and hospitality, many gross vices were found commingling in the characters and lives of the Lewis people. For, however strange it may appear, at the first prayer-meeting

[1] Quotations to this effect, dating from the *Old Statistical Account* until 1883, are given in the Brand Report of 1902.

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

175 About the seventeenth century there was introduced
198 the making of *aqua vitae*, *uisge-beatha* or 'whisky', an
433 addition to the ancient drink of home-brewed beer or ale
273 (*lionn*), a pleasant brew still tolerated by the Excise. In
(430) order to pay the rent, the making of whisky from home-
(427) grown barley must have consumed a precious foodstuff.
(651) The small bulk of whisky facilitated export by tacksman or Factor, and it also served to tickle the palate, cure the
175 ills and cheer the spirits of the crofters themselves. But
(651) before 1800 'the Gauger' was in the land, though there were undoubtedly whisky stills that escaped his eye. In some of the old houses a hollow space was left at a selected spot between the inner and the outer walls, to conceal what was not meant to be seen. A pleasant picture survives of
(511) the eighteenth century. It is told of a man of exceptional prosperity, that when he laid his head on a pillow "he could hear on the one side the clacking of his corn mill and on the other the babble of his still". What more could
(427) the good man want? Nevertheless, the increase of distilla-
• (671) tion as a legitimate home industry by which to pay the rent (in kind or by sale), followed by legislation prohibiting all but large stills, first encouraged the landowners in a more strong drink, then tempted them to smuggling and breaking the law.[1] Seaforth started two distilleries at Stornoway, importing barley for the purpose. By 1825 these had ousted the illicit stills, but they were closed about 1870.[2]
175 From a perilously narrow margin of subsistence, periodi-
178 cally overstepped in famines, the Islanders passed to a
431 larger measure of production for sale, and in the second
498 half of the eighteenth century population increased. Its
(113)

[1] *Cf.* D. Stewart of Garth, *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 1821, vol. i, pt. ii, sec. v.
[2] Brand Report, 1902.

175 the legal recognition, improvement and enlargement of the
651 'township', defined as a farm, or part of a farm, occupied in common or division by several tenants, three or more in
(430) number. The executive officer of the township, the Con-
273 stable, was to be elected annually by the community.
(666) The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 did embody three of the chief recommendations made, but the
175 first, the recognition of the township, was omitted. The
• 671 Crofters Act gave security of tenure, compensation for
427 improvements, and some facilities for enlargement of holdings. Security was perpetual and could be passed on by the crofter within his family, though renounceable by him upon one year's notice, upon fair statutory conditions. The chief conditions were payment of rent, fair maintenance of the holding, and respect of agreements with the proprietor. Although this was not a recommendation of the Commission, the Act also provided for official revision of rents. A 'fair rent' was to be proportionate to the produce of the croft, and this, together with the value for improvements, was to be fixed on application to a body of the three Commissioners, 'the Crofters Commission'. In Lewis between 1887 and 1912 this brought a lowering of the rental by over a quarter and the cancelling of two-thirds of arrears accumulated earlier. The rental for a 'croft' was to be below £30; this figure was raised to £50 in 1911, except in Lewis, where £30 remained the limit in order to allow the excessive congestion to be relieved by division even of small farms.

The passing of the Small Landholders' Act of 1911 completed the code known as the Landholders' Acts, 1886–1911. The Land Court replaced the Crofters' Com-
(647) mission. The Department (then still the Board) of Agriculture took over the powers of the Congested Districts

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

175 Board, created in 1897 to develop agriculture, fishing and
• 671 home industries, to form new holdings, to assist migration,
427 and to provide public works such as roads, bridges and piers. These powers were further extended by the Land
(647) Settlement (Scotland) Act of 1919, passed to provide land for ex-Servicemen.[1]

The Crofters' Act granted to the individual crofter most of the rights advocated by the Napier Commission, and other advantages besides, but it did not impose upon him the corresponding duties. As Day wrote, "The landlord was compelled to act in the interests of the crofter; the crofter was not compelled to act in his own interest". The Act discarded the core of the Napier Commission's
(632) scheme, that of "a recognised local community, the township, with an executive officer, the Constable, working for the improvement of the township, by fencing, draining and other works, with the assistance of the proprietor", the whole scheme enforceable by "legal compulsion on either
(829) side". As a Gael might say, the Act discarded *duty-right* of members of the community to one another.

175 As a result, peace did not descend upon the Island at
423 once. The demand for land continued, followed up by
(668) attempts to settle upon it, in spite of police and armed force. A legal victory was to be pressed home. In Lewis the

(113)

[1] A useful summary of the legislation is given by the Scot. Econ. Committee's Report, 1938, pp. 17-21, and a searching review in J. P. Day's *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918, a work of real social insight.

The Act of 1919 is still the main enactment under which land settlement schemes may be undertaken in Scotland; but the Agriculture (Scotland) Act 1948 included new provision to allow the creation of holdings up to 75 acres in extent and £150 in rental. After the Second World War a more cautious policy was adopted in regard to settlement of ex-Servicemen and little progress has been made in carrying out schemes, despite many unfulfilled applications in the Hebrides and elsewhere where the demand for crofts exceeds the supply.

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

175 co-operate in active endeavour. It was all the more
632 important to have an elected 'official', the Constable,
427 one of themselves but placed in authority. There could be no restitution of the old joint farms where they had
(241) been broken down by enagration. Yet it should have been
(674) still possible to extend the old spirit to the larger townships, as the Commissioners held.

175 Again, the constitution of the township is bound up
632 with the rights of common pasture upon the moor all the
427 year, and in winter even on unfenced arable; but the
423 Crofters' Act failed to regulate the rights and obligations
• 671 of Common Grazings. It slackened the authority of the estate without restoring the hold of the tenant community upon its members. After five years the Government began to recognise the mistake, and passed the first Crofters' Common Grazings Regulation Act, permitting the crofters to elect a Common Grazings Committee. But it was ill-considered; most of all because non-crofters, that is, cottars and squatters without legal tenure, were not bound by the Regulations. On one hand they could not get permission to 'resume' (or enclose) a portion of the outrun, in order to reclaim it as a croft, without first obtaining the unanimous consent of the township's crofters; and in large
(233) townships there might always be an objector. Yet each cottar could, and did, put on stock, a cow or two and a few sheep, so nullifying the possibility of discipline.

In 1908 a second Act was passed; but twenty years had allowed tradition to lapse and difficulties to accumulate. In Isle Scalpay (Tarbert) for instance, by 1909 there were only forty legitimate crofters, but eighty cottars; and the legal crofters would not take part in depriving any
(476) cottar of such grazing liberties as he exercised. All were
(362) neighbours and most were relations, and their principle

175 was to share; the children needed milk and the women
632 wool to work, while the men fished. As the Crofters'
423 Commission put it at the time, "Necessity has no law and
• 671 . . . it is scarcely possible to carry out . . . the Grazings Acts in this island". The position remains little changed.
(476) Still, in spite of sixty years' delay, and the law's failure to
(462) restore an executive, the Constable, to perform specified duties as a member of the community, the Grazings Committees do perform useful functions with credit. They form nuclei with which proprietor, Government or co-operative agency actually deal, and the voluntary Clerk may shoulder considerable responsibility.

175 With regard to small occupiers paying less than £6
423 rent per annum and holding less than 10 acres and 250
671 acres of scaming (or share of pasture), the Napier Commission declined to recommend the bestowal of rights or immunities tending "to fix them in a condition from which they ought to be resolutely though gently withdrawn". The Act, however, did grant small occupiers immunity from eviction, and made it hard for either landlord, State or fellow-crofters even to refuse house sites or fresh holdings, particularly in the crowded Lewis. The squatter continues; indeed he is favoured, by escaping the payment of rent and rates though he shares in benefits. The rate-payers are proportionately, and unjustly, handicapped. But as isolation has diminished, landless squatters have been allowed to "resume" portions of the common grazing for new holdings, as by common consent at Ness and in Lochs, after Lord Leverhulme's death.

175 A further recommendation of the Napier Commission
168 was to aid emigration. Now Sir James Matheson's aid in
163 1863 proved successful, but his later efforts met with no
161 response. There were then, and still may be, in the Island

The year 1886 is a chronological hinge in the culture history of the Gaidhealtachd. The British government began to play a positive, continuing role in local affairs for the first time in history. Hitherto, the interest of the government had been confined to proscriptions, recruiting, and taxation, occasionally interspersed with relief for the destitute. With the change in policy, we enter the realm of the contemporary culture; therefore, all I wish to do is indicate the direction the processes, which we have been following, took under the national attempt to rechannel them. The major trends to be noted are two. The proprietors' influence in determining how the land was to be used was curtailed, and, with a redirection of the commercialization of the estates, many of the traits and complexes characteristic of the traditional culture assumed renewed importance.

Since the Napier Commission had been mainly concerned with the disregard of the customary rights of the crofters and their inconsiderate treatment by proprietors, the recommendations which were pres nted to Parliament sought a land reformation within the framework of local custom.[79] Unlike the Continental Commune, a local, self-governing body, the Highland township had never legally existed. Elsewhere in Scotland this communal agricultural unit had been replaced by individual farm occupancy, just as had been happening on Skye. The major proposal was a retrogressive step; the township system should be given legal

[79] Napier Report, pp. 7-15.

sanction and endowed with privileges and immunities by which self-regulation, stability, expansion, and improvement might be attained. Additional provisions called for the replacement of the repudiated customary usages by national laws of land tenure.

The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 embodied many of the Commission's proposals.[80] The crofter became, perhaps, the only class, as a horizontal segment of the population, with a minimal legal definition. He was a pastoral agriculturalist who resided on his holding, the annual rent of which was less than £30, (later raised to £50) in a crofting parish. Such an individual was entitled to a fixed, fair rent, compensation for improvements made by himself or his predecessors in the same family should he leave his holding, security of tenure, and modified right to bequeath the holding to a member of his family. Except for the statutory conditions that he must not alienate the holding from his family, sublet without consent, or violate the rights of his neighbors or his landlord, including withholding rent and contributing to the deterioration of the land and dwelling, the crofter was given all the privileges of a landowner with few of the responsibilities. A Crofters Commission, with executive functions, was established to carry out the provisions of the act and to assign "available" land to the townships as

[80] I owe a debt of gratitude to innumerable government officials in Portree, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London for their patience and cooperation in providing me with the necessary information to discuss this final period of the history of Skye. The facts are theirs; the interpretation is my own responsibility.

enlargements when the proprietor would not lease it on reasonable terms. Thus, the government began to protect the crofter from potential abuses and to restore the land to the descendants of the clansmen, who had, to say the least, manifested a persistent disinclination to accept any other system of land use. A complete refrication, however, was not yet possible.

The crux of the problem of maintaining the crofting population was succinctly stated in 1851 by the chairman of the Highland Destitution Board. The people could not support themselves, at a subsistence level, unless each crofting family were given ten acres of arable land plus pasture. Not only was there not enough land, but without credit facilities, a man could not find local employment until the land began to produce, and, if he sought employment at a distance, he could not work his land to free himself from the necessity of working for a wage. In 1883 it was estimated that a 50 percent reduction in population would not leave enough land to give each family an adequate holding, ten acres of arable and 277 acres of grazing land.[81] How right they were. Today the population is less than half that of 1883, and still very few have what was considered an adequate holding a hundred years ago. Let us see what measures the government took in the attempt to solve this problem.

At first the land reorganization program was thwarted by a lack of available land and by the continued tendency of

[81] Napier Report, pp. 100-101.

the people to overstock. No land could be assigned as an enlargement if it would impair the value of a sheep farm or deer forest. The remainder of the island was already possessed by crofters. Moreover, there was no one to regulate the use of the common grazings. As the Crofters Commission usurped the functions of the landlord, estate management became lax. The township constable had disappeared. The cottars, 36 percent of the population, had been omitted from the provisions of the Crofters Act. Later when the government provided for a grazing committee to draft voluntary regulations for sharing the common grazing and, finally, coerced the crofters to elect a grazing committee, the regulations could not be enforced, except by appealing to the sheriff.

At length another commission of inquiry visited the Highlands to decide how the resettlement program might be extended. Then, in 1897, the Congested Districts Board was created. The Board was given power to purchase land for enlargements and for creating new holdings, to resettle crofters and cottars from congested districts, to foster the development of stock breeding, agriculture, fishing, and home industries, and to improve communications. It was not intended that the government should become a landlord. The crofters, like the Irish small farmers, were supposed to have acquired a desire to own their own land. In 1904 the estates of Glendale, the present twelve townships, and Kilmuir, the whole parish and part of the parish of Snizort, were purchased. On the Kilmuir Estate there were 450 crofts in 35 townships and 10 large farms.

Heavy rackrenting in the past had led to dissatisfaction and arrears in rent, the crofters' weapon against the landlord. The rents were revised and most of the arrears were cancelled. All of the farms but one were subdivided to form 79 new holdings in 7 reorganized townships and to make enlargements to the other townships. The Glendale estate received similar treatment, being made over into 12 townships and 12 townships plus a jointly held club farm. Both estates were sold to the crofters on a fifty year annuity basis. Then came a rude awakening. Within ten years the crofters found ownership to be a dubious privilege, especially since it excluded them from the benefits of legislation favoring the small tenant. The Kilmuir crofters were released from the contract, but the government refused to accept the petition of the Glendale people, who still are not pleased with their rather unique position. Private ownership of the land might be said to be as alien to their heritage as village settlements.

Land settlement continued, with the introduction of certain refinements, the most important of which was the power to use compulsion to acquire land for crofting in the national interest. Today over half the Island is owned by the national government and administered by the Department of Agriculture. The tendency in recent years has been to create more adequate holdings. On the Kilmuir estate the number of crofts has been reduced from 530 to 442. The process of resettlement, or de-commercialization, has been carried further on Skye than in any other Highland area.[82] It has also included the only major

[82] Cf., e.g., Collier,

migration scheme to be attempted. In 1923 sixty-eight fa from the Isle of Harris, in the Outer Hebrides, were brougt to Skye and settled in Bracadale. Probably, close to 300 holdings and in the neighborhood of 200 enlargements have b made since 1897. This clearly reflects the limited space a ble for crofting at the end of the "clearances."

In addition to land settlement, the government has co to stimulate improvements in stock breeding techniques and t foster more efficient land utilization. Credit facilities, grant and loan, were offered to enable the crofters to purchase stock, especially sheep, and to build new cottages. Grants and subsidies, in an ever increasing number, have been made available to promote a fuller use of the land. Initiall under the Congested Districts Board, these facilities were devised specifically for the Highlands. By the time the Conge Districts Board was abolished, the crofters had become offici integrated with the national agricultural scene so that specif subsidies, grants, and loans were replaced with an opportunity to apply for assistance within the national program of agricultural development. Instruction in scientific methods of agriculture has been another continuing function of the govern- ment through a series of advisory services and, more recently, by a program of demonstration crofts and farms. Access to markets has similarly been facilitated by improving communication by land and, to a lesser extent, by sea.

Security and protection for the crofters has been anothe

information via the technology of mass society to affect the choices made by succeeding generations. For example, young people are able to leave the island and work in British cities or abroad, sending money home to sustain their aged parents who by law cannot be removed from the croft.

E. Changing Land Use

Darling (1955) described the previous Highland way of life as a well-adapted, ecologically balanced system, in which proper use of land was attempted by limiting the number of livestock, preserving a proper ratio between cattle and sheep, and regulating the flow of stock on the land throughout the year. Dikes (fences of turf or stone) and drains were communally repaired and cleaned. Although continuity with the previous way of life is evident today, the overall picture is one of partial use, and misuse, of natural resources. Various advisors from government organizations and colleges have been brought in to encourage effective husbandry and land use.

1. Specialization and Individuation: The change from an ecologically adapted, internally regulated community in which land was used intensively for subsistence

592 unmarried sibling. Eleven households consist only of siblings who have never married, men and women who in 1971 were 45 years old or older. Two widows live with [589] their unmarried siblings. Sixteen widows or widowers live alone, and sixteen unmarried persons live alone.

241 The large number of households occupied by single, 592 elderly people reflects the use of the croft as a place 423 of residence rather than as an agricultural unit, a 671 888 view of the croft that was given legal expression in 1968 by the Miscellaneous Provisions Act. Before 1968, [428] the croft went automatically to the eldest son if a crofter died intestate. Since 1968, the rights of different claimants must be considered and tenancy by a new person must be confirmed. District and county councillors argued for this change, saying that a widow was often left on the croft and her security endangered because the eldest son was usually far away from the island, in Canada or some other country. In other words, rather than an agricultural unit which should naturally be taken over and worked by the male head of the household, the croft is seen as a place of residence for the infirm and for the aged, and especially for the aged female.

57 The Crofters Commission has suggested that elderly 35 people be allowed to rent small plots of land on which 33 38 11

233 178 578 sheep were let out of the pens, and a fight broke out between the two groups of people.

241 657 578 175 [671] 3. Crofters vs. Non-crofters: Another division within the township has developed largely because of the attention paid by outside agencies to "crofting." The Crofters Act of 1886 defined crofters and gave them a protected, privileged status. In fact, very little distinction existed between non-crofters (sometimes called squatters and/or cottars) and crofters, and in some places, such as the Isle of Scalpay, non-crofters even out-numbered crofters. Both categories were linked to each other by bonds of kinship and mutual dependence. Non-crofters were in fact favored economically. They did not have to pay rent, but had the same opportunities to graze stock and plough land as did crofters. Many crofters themselves had buaile, units of land not recognized as part of the croft and not included in the land for which rent was paid but recognized as property by the villagers themselves to the extent that these bits of moorland passed down through families or could be given by one person to another. Even today, a young girl thinking of getting married says her future husband might build their house on her father's buaile, and a man may build a house on moorland "given" to him by his wife's aunt. Officially, a non-crofter had no "rights" to a house which he built on the common

241 175 423

273 175 585 [at a wedding] would be held in the barn, with sheets lining the walls so that if a man staggered against the wall he wouldn't dirty himself. There were four and one-half gallons jugs of beer and a few bottles of whiskey. Sometimes someone would spew on the floor. People got drunk on very little, because they didn't have it so often."

273 175 Occasionally the word went out that someone had brought a jug of beer from town, and the men gathered in someone's barn or weaving shed, usually on a Saturday night.

273 175 829 "The war changed that. When you were at sea, you lived from day to day. There was no tomorrow." "When my brother was away at sea, most of the money he earned was saved for him, and when he got back we gave it to him to do whatever he liked with it. The men would go off to town drinking. They had money, and they had nothing else to do; and they had learned to drink during the war. Maybe if the TV had been around then they wouldn't have started that kind of drinking."

175 275 273 [671] 1. Bothans: Because most parishes in Lewis were "dry," that is, no licensed purveyors were allowed, a journey of many miles had to be made to purchase beer and whiskey in Stornoway. Around 1930, Nessmen (many of whom were sailors) began to bring back from town several kegs

105 24 654 [311] [671] The fact that crofting townships are located on marg land is one reason that the larger society is no to exploit the land. The Crofters Holding Act o and subsequent legislation ensured protection of incentives for continued maintenance of crofting the crofting township.

Protective government legislation, grants a for housing, subsidies for rearing livestock, re low taxes, and the economic protection provided socialistic government in times of crisis have h maintain a core of crofting families for many ge

105 162 632 166 434 584 [621] The predominance of older persons in the townshi striking, but many of the younger people who have the island to work on the mainland return frequen contribute part of their salary to the remaining members, and plan eventually to marry and settle the village or to retire there. Long-term reside kin-linked families in a small area has in itself to the boundedness of the township network.

105 24 654 632 000 The policy of the government, through develo agencies such as the Highlands and Islands Develo Board, has been to support economic strategies th complement rather than interfere with the functio the crofting township with its small holdings and practices. The Harris Tweed industry is lauded a

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Dean Monro, in his 1549 account, refers to the vast numbers of wild fowl and mentions that the men of Ness sail there and stay for seven or eight days and bring back a boat full of dried wild fowl and feathers. The *Old Statistical Account* (1796) says: 'There is in Ness a most adventurous set of people who, for a few years back, at the hazard of their lives, went there in an open six-oared boat without even the aid of a compass.' The boat, says the *Account*, could not be pulled up out of the sea, and therefore, while some of the men worked on the birds, the others had to stay in the boat on the most sheltered side of the sheer-cliffed island. This custom of hunting young gannets (or 'guga') on Sulasgeir still continues. Under the Protection of Wild Birds Act, 1954, the gannet is protected by law, but so that the Ness men could continue their old custom, a Statutory Order was passed making a special exemption (from 31 August each year at the end of the close season) of the gannets on Sulasgeir. With North Rona, Sulasgeir is one of the great breeding grounds for British oceanic seabirds.

The Loch Roag islands

The one large inhabited island off the Lewis coast is Great Bernera, though technically it is not now an island, having been connected to the mainland of Lewis in 1953 by a bridge. It is part of the parish of Uig, as are the other islands in Loch Roag. Its population reached a peak of 730 in 1911, but has now fallen to about half that figure. Off the west of Great Bernera is Little Bernera, which in Dean Monro's time was 'inhabit and manurit', but which has had no population recorded since the 1861 Census. Monro describes it as full of rough little craigs, but with fertile earth between.

Also in Loch Roag are three islands which, now deserted, once supported families: Pabbay had 17 people in 1861, 9 in 1881, and none since; Vacsay had nine men in 1861, and none since; Orasay in 1891 had one man and one woman, but none since.

The Flannans

Belonging again to the parish of Uig is the group of islands known as the Flannans, or Seven Hunters, some twenty miles

LIFE TODAY

As in other Highland areas, some of the island's problems have become so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. They have been the *raison d'être* of so many commissions and committees of inquiry that their existence is now almost forgotten by the islander —if indeed he ever understood their nature. Some results have been seen, such as the Crofters Act of 1886 which gave Highland crofters security of tenure, perhaps the most valuable measure of the last century or two. But somehow all things have not progressed so well since that date; at any rate not so fast that crofting, for instance, is now seen to be an economic form of land use of benefit to both local community and nation at large. Many problems have been virtually ignored by successive central Governments; at least, remoteness seems to qualify a topic for the office 'pending' tray. It has yet to be fully realised that the island, with other Highland communities, is part and parcel of the area generally administered from London and Edinburgh, and merits as much attention to its welfare as other European governments, such as Norway, give to their remote mainland and island communities.

As usual, charity and self-help begin at home, and one of the most dramatic changes in island life has been the result of the agricultural revolution of recent years which is changing once-brown moors to lush green pastures: reclamation by re-seeding. This revolution is still going on. Lewis crofters in particular are showing the way, with other Highland crofting areas following suit. The change in the Lewis scene is being emphasised by the planting of shelter-belts of hardy trees and the first of the new plantations of timber-producing trees. These show the promise of the future: a lively future for a lively community. The fishing industry also has a future, brighter on the horizon than it has been for many a poor year. The Harris Tweed industry, the staple employment-source in Lewis, is maintaining its ability to retain the interest of the market. And tourism, once a perfunctory and casual affair, promises to emerge as a useful sector in the economy. There are, in addition, many small pockets of native initiative and enterprise which, given sufficient encouragement

he growth of the population ended with a prolonged famine. 161
he proprietors, finding that the people's only justification 731
or crowding the estates and leaving to their landlords for 425
elp were some nebulous customary usages, facilitated the
decline by disregarding custom and throwing as much land into
heep farming as was possible. While evictions were not new, 427
nly after the famine did they result in an absolute reduction
n numbers. The Gaidhealtachd, fettered by a lack of capital 182
nd an inability to break with the past, could not make the
inal adjustment required by the process of commercialization,
pecialization. In addition to emigration, the Clearances 167
nd general economic hardship forced a postponement of 582
marriage. There was neither land nor regular employment to 469
provide a livelihood.

Later in the nineteenth century new influences began 161
to play a role in the continuing decline of the population. 167
Following the passage of the Crofters' Act, the nature of 178
emigration changed. Seasonal migration became negligible. 427
The provisions of the Act, and ensuing legislation, made it 671
possible for a man to remain away during his active years and
return to the parental croft to spend his old age. The ex- 871
tention of education not only equipped the youth for life in
the larger society but also created demands for objectives
which could not be attained at home under the existing order.
Thus, as in the period of population growth, the persistence of 161
many features of the old traditional culture, and the renewed 167
importance of others, were factors of no little consequence. 182

674

674 CRIME--prevalence and incidence of crime; common and rare offenses; crime statistics (e.g., number of reported violations, arrests, and convictions for various offenses); types of offenders (e.g., juvenile delinquents, criminal castes; narcotic addicts, professional criminals); motives in crime (e.g., greed, frustration, sexual jealousy); contributory social factors (e.g., poverty, oppression); criminology, etc. See also:

Socialization	80	Crime prevention	625
Incomes and professions	158	Sanctions	681
Organized vice	649	Longevity of civil-case	691
Ingroup antagonisms	678	Juvenile delinquency	738
Hostility and piracy	679	Suicide	785

CRIME

CRIME

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found in the old records of the Sheriff Court of Ross County. The 673
first minute in the records concerns the appointment of George 217
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regulation was made to save defenders from unnecessary trouble, 691
hardship and expense in travelling to relatively distant courts where actions were raised against them; litigants had, before Munro's appointment, been faced with a long and hazardous journey to either Dingwall or Tain on the Scottish mainland.

The old Court Records date from 1788 and 1826 and record 175*
a number of interesting cases. Sheep-stealing was common, but 674
other forms of theft less so; this is indicated by the fact that much 217
of the Court Records are taken up with the minutiae of court 685
appointments. In a case concerning wrecking, Lloyd's of London are mentioned as being represented in Stornoway as early as 1824 if not earlier. The defendants were fined £4 for destroying the mast of a ship found by them in Lemreway, in Lochs.

In a report dated 1902, a survey of crimes (offences against 175*
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ber compared with the large influx of strangers to Stornoway
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numerous enough, however: minor assaults, breaches of the
peace and disorderly conduct, occurring mainly in Stornoway. 673
Much of this 'crime' was traceable to drink. The island's first 682
and only murder occurred a year or two ago.

COMMUNICATIONS

secondary school, the 'Nicolson', has had since its inception a 632
formidable academic record. Back in 1907 work from the school 871
was included in the educational section of an International Ex- 648
hibition held in Christchurch, New Zealand: this was appropriate 167
because emigrants from the west Highlands, notably from Harris and Lewis, were among the pioneers of New Zealand education a century ago. In 1957 new extensions were opened, costing about £300,000 and making the school the largest of its kind in the Highlands area. It is co-educational, its primary and junior secondary departments taking only Stornoway children and its senior secondary department catering for those from both Stornoway and rural Lewis. Many board out in the town during the week, returning home at weekends.

In providing social facilities, the town has placed itself in the 632
position of an agent for those things deemed necessary for life, 369
and is a middle-ground between the rural repression of the Free 671
Church and the city abandon of the mainland, with resulting 183
dilemma. The public houses, the cinema, youth clubs, dances and 369
juke boxes are all in direct opposition to the preaching of the Free 184
Church. The result is tension between the town's desire to act as a host for tourists and its wish to fulfil its duty on a religious plane; to instance this, the Stornoway Sabbath is less strict than the Lewis Sabbath. In keeping with the rest of Lewis, social
standards are extremely high. Home is the centre of life, as it 592
always was; the sense of community and communal responsibility 595
is there. Divorce is practically unheard of, and the incidence of 674*
crime, as such, is extremely low.

675

675 CONTRACTS--conception of contractual relations; agreements, bargains, promises, and their enforceability; consideration; rights, privileges, and powers of contracting parties; procedure in the conclusion of contracts (e.g., presence of witnesses); terms and stipulations; types of contracts (e.g., legal forms, oral agreements, covenants); etc. See also:

Bribery and corruption	328	Social relationships	671
Loans	428	Marriage contracts	866
Leases	430	Treaties and alliances	869
Sales	436	Penalties for breaches of contract	680
Insurance contracts	466	Religious vows	785
Labor relations			

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

141 little sign of Norse blood, can hold their own as fishers with
144 the men of Ness.
112
174 Third, it is still commonly stated not only that the
"great majority" under the clan system were "without
174 any legal status", but that their tenure "depended on the
[613] good will of the chief or tacksman".*

As the last lawbooks of the Gael were taken from Lewis
174 by its first mainland lord in 1611—never to be heard of
675 again—it may well be that, as recognised in the Northern
Tales, so in the Western Isles, peasant tenure was perma-
[175] nent according to regional law. In practice, mere 'good-
will' is so uncertain a quantity that if this statement had been true, it is hardly credible that communities could have remained so stably rooted as their race-types show them to be. Evictions of groups or individuals at the whim of chief or tacksman would have broken down their
178 homogeneity of race. In the Lowlands, where eviction
had become so frequent by 1500 and insecurity for the
184 mass of the country people has prevailed ever since, such localisations of race would be unthinkable and do not exist except in certain fishing communities who possess a pride, almost a caste-code, of their own: the Newhaven fishers within Edinburgh remain apart, with a dialect and a dress of their own. Great stability of tenure—in fact as in customary claim—is shown by the racial homogeneity of Gaelic communities.

174 Lastly, it is common to state that the nobility and gentry of a countryside constitute its 'old' or 'original' families. It is true that some land-owning families seem 'old' compared to recent purchasers—successively the merchants and lawyers, venturers and planters of the

[113] * From a representative report on the Highlands and Islands, that of the Scottish Economic Committee, 1938 (Historical Preface, p. 9).

681

681 SANCTIONS--incidence and distribution of the major types of sanctions; capital punishment (e.g., hanging, decapitation, strangling, burning, dismembering); corporal punishment (e.g., flogging, mutilation, torture); property sanctions (e.g., damages, fines, confiscation); public humiliation (e.g., ridicule, pillory); deprivation of civil rights (e.g., enslavement, outlawry, imprisonment); theory of sanctions, systematisation of sanctions (e.g., wergild, criminal codes); purpose of sanctions (e.g., compensation, punishment, prevention); penology; recipient of fines, damages, confiscated property (e.g., state, injured party); etc. See also:

Formal justice	89	Informal justice	
Social control	658	Protests and penal labor	

175 of beer at one time to avoid having to make the 30-mile
275 round trip very often. Men met to drink in barns or in
213 high ceilidh, the houses in which people gathered for evening visiting, but for this purpose eventually built huts of stone or concrete, or used shelters already available such as the shells of old buses or Nissen huts built by the armed forces but no longer used by them.
[361] These shelters, separate from the rest of the village, were called bothans. One or a few men brought the drink
275 from town, and the drinks were sold at cost. In 1963
213 a bothan was raided by the police and the men fined.
225 But in 1967, a court case found six men not guilty of
681 trafficking in exciseable liquor because there was no evidence that money had changed hands. The lawyer for the accused men argued that the drink was not "for sale." It was simply available, and drinkers made "voluntary" contributions to a common kitty.

175 The first bothan in Shawbost was started after the
213 second world war, by a sailor home on leave. Liquor was
275 brought to an old Nissen hut, which eventually was replaced by a small concrete hut with gas lighting. ("It was built overnight, because if anyone knew it was being built, they would protest." "It was built inside the Nissen hut so no one would know. On the day they were tearing down the Nissen hut, a minister was passing by and he praised

682

682 OFFENSES AGAINST LIFE--definitions of and sanctions for homicide (e.g., murder, manslaughter); punishments for attempted homicide and attempted suicide; penalties for abortion and infanticide, etc. See also:

Euthanasia	19	Manslaughter	701, 707
Accidents	344, 345	Suicide	702
Cannibalism	360	Abortion and infanticide	847
Blood feuds	637, 638	Killing the aged	888

Liability in instances of accidents or self defense. 872

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683

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182 aggression. Aggression was an outstanding characteristic of the
157 culture during the days of the clan, as the Crown ruefully

683 OFFENSES AGAINST THE PERSON--definitions of and sanctions for acts of physical and verbal aggression (e.g., assault, battery, mayhem, slander, libel); penalties for sorcery; etc. See also:

Quarrels	678	Sorcery	744
Gossip	688		

6: Ducey E-4.5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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295

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295

* 683 discovered on many occasions. I once entertained the thought
183 that its absence was indicative of a decadent culture. Then
157 I discovered that it was a traditional norm of behavior. Only once during the modern period has there been any aggressive behavior, during the closing years of the "Clearances." Some who remember these "old warriors" who were not afraid to stand up for their rights wonder why their descendants have changed.
[713] Today only the ministers are aggressive in their dealing with their congregations, and they reserve their aggressive pose for their Sunday sermons. Naturally, the people quarrel among themselves and a couple of drunken men may come to blows with each other or the policeman who interferes. In any group situation or in any dealings with outsiders, however, dislike or resentment takes the form of placid resistance. The Islander
683 remains courteous and suffers in silence. This is "affect
183 suppression," resultant from Protestantizing the crofters.[39]
157 Even the talkative individual, unless he stands among the gentry
626 or has achieved prestige status through his profession, is considered an eccentric. He must stand the snickers of the group and bear the title of a "worthy," a man who does not act his age.

152 Real anger, manifested by a loud or quavering voice, or
626 table pounding, clenching one's fist or other recognizable signs,
156 is not characteristic of the Gaithaigach in public. The man who forgets himself is always taken in hand by the minister, an old man, or a teacher. He may feel righteous indignation, but if he

[39] I am indebted to Conrad Arensberg for calling my attention to this fact.

nclude all small tenants in Scotland. The landlords have ost their right to evict a crofter for breach of conditions. ince 1911 only the Land Court, which replaced the Crofters ommission, can remove a tenant who is guilty of bad husbandry. oreover, such action can only be taken after the general ircumstances of the crofter and his need of the croft for a ome have been considered. To date, no Highland crofter has een removed. In fact, security of tenure has been carried o the extreme that the individual no longer has to reside n Scotland much less on his croft. Although this change is ow regarded as inadvertent, the courts have ruled in favor f the small tenant. The only remaining functions of the andlord in estate management are to collect his rents and pay ompensation should a tenant desire to leave. Both the rents nd the compensation are determined by the Land Court.

Accompanying the integration of the Island with the ational scene, politically and economically, were extensions f social services. Prior to 1872 education was the responsibility f the church, charitable agencies, and, especially in the ighlands, the local proprietors and their financially secure enantry.[83] Although the parish school system was national, the dministration of each parochial school was local. The ideal f a school in each parish was neither adequate nor easily btainable. The result was a few regularly taught schools.[84]

[83] OSA, XVI, 156-157, 226, 539; XVIII, 188; XXI, 430.

[84] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 771-774.

427 241 162 of the holders reside on their land for more than half the year. The lowest rate of absenteeism is found among the tenants of the Department of Agriculture. There are 76 absentees out of a total of 667 tenants. Most of the non-resident crofters are permanently absent. On the small estate mentioned above thirty-seven of the forty-two absentees have not been seen in years. Five of them usually return to Skye to spend their summer vacation.

427 241 311 887 Thus, we have a situation in which, perhaps, a third of the crofts are held by people who either cannot work them because of old age or infirmity, or do not choose to work them because of greater opportunities elsewhere. What, then, happens to this land? Some of the old people allow a neighbor to use the land. Almost invariably this means the few fertile acres will be used for grass and hay. Absentees "entrust" the [671] croft, house and land, to a landless family. While Parliament inadvertently gave the crofter a right to keep his holding whether he resided on it or not, it is illegal to sublet. So far, this has not concerned the crofters. Other absentees "entrust" the land to someone in the township who uses it for grass.

427 887 231 Turning to the influence of old age and absenteeism on stocking, we find a series of entanglements. If the township is inhabited solely by old people, like Aird in Sleat, the township becomes derelict. More commonly, the absentee and the old person allows someone else to take over his "souming" so [829] that some crofters have far more than their share. Not infrequently, this gives the crofter a chance to outwit that

565 554 747 and no one thought himself capable of running a future At last reports, the wife of another proprietor was ha her impression that "It's not as easy as it sounds jus call a public meeting in Glendale," confirmed. While majority of the crofters thought an Old People's Welfa mittee was a good idea, they had no intention of being instrumental in its organization or in assuming any po which might elevate them above their neighbors. Throu this chapter, the stress on conformity has been appare let us now turn to the problem of social control for a picture of how conformity is enforced and to see how t Sgiathanach handles the deviant.

Social Control

626 Since social control is an important topic, I wa go into a further analysis of the manner in which the influences the behavior of its members. For the sake clarity, we must distinguish between social and politi 121 control. By social control I mean the informal pressu spontaneous action which any organized group can muste exert an influence on its members sufficient to encour conformity to tradition patterns of behavior. Politic control, to me, involves the independent or requested ference of the state, as represented by the police, in case which involves the enforcement and maintenance of 671 and order as prescribed by legal enactments. On Skye 829 laws of the land do not always have the same meaning t

671 829 people as they have for the larger society. This is true in spite of several hundred years of continuous and increasing contact.

Poaching provides an excellent contrast between the two forms of control and the differing attitudes of the state and the Sgiathanach. In Great Britain the tenant of the land does not automatically have hunting and fishing rights. The landlords, including the Department of Agriculture, lease them separately and the county taxes them separately. The crofters, and many of the villagers, have never fully accepted the legality of their being barred from the rivers for fish, the moors for grouse, and the hills for deer. The police enforce the law to the best of their ability, but they cannot always count on the support of the local justices of the peace, much less the cooperation of the people. Several of the local justices of the peace, those who are not landlords, feel that a man catching a few fish for his own use is not poaching.

626 671 829 If social control were to assume importance with respect to poaching, it should appear in Glendale. When the crofter owner-occupiers are able to rent the hunting lodge and gaming rights which they received as part of the purchase, they all share in the rent and benefit by not having to pay both owners' and occupiers' rates on the property and the gaming rights. Unfortunately, they have had a great deal of trouble in finding tenants and even more difficulty in keeping them. The river and land is all poached. When asked by whom, one man replied, "Och, who but ourselves would be doing it?" The

626 671 829 last tenant apparently decided the whole island was working against him. Unable to catch a single salmon in the Hamara River, an excellent fishing stream, he drove into Portree to buy one from the local fish shop. After he had purchased a fine salmon, he asked the shopkeeper where it was from. Not knowing the gentleman, the fishmonger told him it was fresh in from the Hamara. Buying his own fish, so to speak, was too much for him to take.

626 834 Favorite subjects in discussions of social control, or the lack of it, are pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relations. One reason for this is, no doubt, the fact that 836 the social control of sex is a universal.[36] In an area such as Skye where the most powerful institution to which the Sgiathanach looks for guidance, the church, forbids or condemns open courting, young people must court in secret. Moreover, for a people who find marriage all but impossible in their younger years, secretive courting not infrequently is accompanied by illegitimacy. A pattern has evolved on Skye to handle such mishaps.[37]

848 The child of an unwed mother is "adopted" by the girl's parents, or, less often, the girl's brother or sister. The foster parents raise the child as their own. People exercise great caution in asking about the parentage of a child who does not seem to be compatible with the age of his mother and

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[36] Murdock, op. cit., p. 260.

[37] I have recently found the same pattern in northern New York, and I suspect that it probably exists in other rural areas throughout the Western World.

684

SEX AND MARITAL OFFENSES--definitions of and penalties for sex offenses (e.g., fornication, seduction, adultery, prostitution, incest, miscegenation, rape, sodomy, bestiality); punishments for marital and family offenses (e.g., nonsupport, desertion, neglect of children); etc. See also:

Marriage 58
Sex 83
Prostitution 548
Miscegenation 563
Illegitimacy 848

lef in a God who punishes iniquity "unto the third and 586
rth generation." 771 626

In one family the wife transgressed by committing 684
ltery, albeit a rare sin. Her husband was one of the 794
ect" and a deacon in the Free Church. Fully aware of 626
fact that his wife had remained away from Skye until
r her child was born, he took her back. He was older
she and devoted to her. The story could not be covered
n Skye, where the elders have their thumbs on the pulse
he congregation. The elders summoned him before the
session. After he admitted he knew all the details and
fact that his sister-in-law had taken the child, they
ared him to be excommunicate. The control of the elders
till characterized by austerity and severity toward the
y and ungodly alike. What hope has a Sgiathanach once 771
as been eternally denied salvation? Perhaps, someday 794
ill again receive a visitation from the Holy Spirit
experience a saving change. Although no longer entitled
he benefits of the church, he continues to attend, as an
rent. One may ask, what was the reaction of the people
his punishment? A few Church of Scotland people, feel
the elders might have tempered their decision. As one
, "They thought only of Moses on Mount Sinai and forgot
s on Calvary." Most of the people, however, including
in the Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church, either
oved the action taken or, at least, would not question
judgment of the elders.

e the spouse is likely to lose status. 626 684

The most powerful of all agents for social control are 626
old men of the neighborhood. Through their position in 888
church, a religious sanction for their prestige status, [794]
enforce conformity to the norms of behavior which religion
sanctioned either positively or negatively. No one, nor
group, has been successful in questioning the right of
e venerable men to maintain their habits and statuses
h have been preserved over the generations. The baptism
man's children and his own salvation depends on acceptance
he authority of the elders, for they will be his judges.

As far as the contemporary scene is concerned, there 182
o anomie. The content of the culture has been greatly 178
fied, but the form, the underlying distinctive pattern,
teen preserved. We are dealing with a single tradition
hich the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them
remained common and clear. This is all the more striking
use there have been periods in which cultural and social
ntegration threatened to overwhelm the Sgiathanach. This
gs us back to the role of religion in preserving cultural
tinuity.

Loomis and Beegle have employed Durkheim's theory to 171
yze the growth and spread of fundamentalist religious 182
s in contemporary United States.[16] They conclude: "It 771
o mere coincidence that various types of emotional 786
rious sects are now among the most rapidly expanding 781

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[16] Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 401-407.

685

685 PROPERTY OFFENSES--definitions of and penalties for stealing (e.g., theft, poaching, robbery, burglary, fraud, embezzlement); definitions of and punishment for property damage (e.g., trespass, arson, malicious mischief); etc.
See also:
Property . . . . . 42 Banditry 579

24,863 acres. The value of this boggy property, as far as the landlords are concerned, is determined by its fishing potential. The landlords generally reside away from their property, and brave the buffeting gales several times a year to return to fish for trout and salmon. For the rest of the year they hire river-watchers to prevent their tenants from poaching. As in Wales (Emmett 1964), the islanders continue to poach, in part as an expression of their identity as independent countrymen, a minority group in a nation-state.

Lewis is the most populated area in the Outer Hebrides, containing 21,934 of the 32,607 Outer Hebrideans numbered in the 1961 census. It is part of the County of Ross and Cromarty, whose headquarters are on the mainland near Inverness. Lewis has four administrative areas called civil parishes in which births, deaths and other vital statistics are recorded. Stornoway parish is the largest, containing the town of Stornoway on the east side of the island in which many non-Gaelic speakers live. Of the other three parishes, the largest is Barvas which stretches along the west side of the island and contains 4,331 persons, of whom 94.6% are Gaelic speakers. The people of Stornoway refer to someone from the west side as a <u>siarach</u> (west-sider), a term which connotes rusticity.

behind the tweed's popularity. The tweed was more than a cloth; it was peat smoke and windswept moorland, the image of the free man who had escaped city life and machines and was the master of his own destiny. Steps had been taken all along the way to preserve the image of home-crafted goods, as when, in an effort to prevent machine-spinning, carding mills were built in Lewis and Harris at the turn of the century to prevent wool from being sent to mills on the mainland, where it was both carded and spun. As early as 1906, a man was convicted in London of selling power-loomed tweed under the name "Harris Tweed." Today power-driven looms can produce double-width cloth 54 inches wide, a width much preferred to the 28-inch cloth produced on the Hattersley loom because there is less waste when the cloth is cut. But because "Harris Tweed" must be hand-woven, new looms of light-weight metal are being designed on which double-width cloth can be hand-woven. The new looms will cost so much that many weavers say they would be unlikely to invest in them, especially given the uncertain future of the industry.

The Harris Tweed Association, formed in 1909, was granted a certification mark by the Board of Trade which was stamped on tweeds that were hand-spun and hand-woven in the islands. During World War I, hand-spinning died

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could have a low rate of interaction without a loss of 182
control. Conversely, I feel that it is all but incon-
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d to protect the unwed mother, but the married man or
who violates the taboo is severely censured. Ideally,
fender is cast out by the community and his spouse, or

pared to make fishing their career, together with financial assist- 228
ance to those who satisfactorily completed their training and 452
who wished to acquire boats of their own. This Scheme is now 654
run by the Highlands & Islands Development Board. The
Board's participation in the expansion of the fishing potential
around the island has been first-class, with commensurate results
from an investment of some £500,000.

Illegal fishing

Like goldfields, the seas around the island have always attracted 685 •
the unscrupulous, those for whom the word 'conservation' has no 226
meaning, and who are careless of the dangers of over-fishing. 175* [185]
Illegal trawling began around the year 1894 and by now has
drastically impoverished the inshore fishings to which the Harris
and Lewis crofters once looked for a supplement to diet and in-
come. The rapid adoption of efficient trawlers was attended by an
increasing number of reports of their poaching within the three-
mile territorial limit. Though the islanders tried many times to
involve the Government's cruisers for the protection of their
shores, the poaching went on, and still continues today. Even
some of the violence which attended the early attempts to clear
the scum from the sea, as it were, continues, part and parcel of
the island's sea-life.

Fish processing

A former freezing plant in Stornoway, run by the Herring 228
Industry Board has been converted into a fish-processing factory.
This facility, of great value to the port, is run by Rolf Olsen A/S, [648]
a long-established Norwegian company with a successful back-
ground in fish processing. The company has received investment
aid from the Highlands & Islands Development Board, the
Highland Fund and the Stornoway Trust; the latter's interest
is significant in that it is the first time in which the funds of the
Trust have been invested in a private concern, to help retain
Stornoway as a successful fishing port.

The most regular shore-side as distinct from maritime industry
is the processing of prawns (scampi, or *nephrops norvegicus*). Two
firms buy the prawns at the pierhead, shell, cook and freeze them,

CRIME

Serious crime is rare in the island, though it was not always so. 175*
Some light on the life lived in Lewis nearly two centuries ago is 674
found in the old records of the Sheriff Court of Ross County. The 693
first minute in the records concerns the appointment of George [217]
Munro, Writer in Dingwall, as the first Sheriff Substitute 'within
the Island of Lewis'. The date is 1788. Munro's commission em-
powered him to sit 'in the town of Stornoway or anywhere else
he may find most eligible at the time within the said Island of
Lewis and hold Sheriff courts there, judge, decide and determine
in all causes civil and criminal coming before him.' In those days
a case might be raised in any of the county courts. In 1788, a 175*
regulation was made to save defenders from unnecessary trouble, 691
hardship and expense in travelling to relatively distant courts
where actions were raised against them; litigants had, before
Munro's appointment, been faced with a long and hazardous
journey to either Dingwall or Tain on the Scottish mainland.

The old Court Records date from 1788 and 1826 and record 175*
a number of interesting cases. Sheep-stealing was common, but 674
other forms of theft less so; this is indicated by the fact that much 217
of the Court Records are taken up with the minutiae of court 685 •
appointments. In a case concerning wrecking, Lloyd's of London
are mentioned as being represented in Stornoway as early as 1824
if not earlier. The defendants were fined £4 for destroying the
mast of a ship found by them in Lemreway, in Lochs.

In a report dated 1902, a survey of crimes (offences against 175*
the person and offences against property) revealed that Lewis and 674
Stornoway had good characters; considering the population num-
ber compared with the large influx of strangers to Stornoway
during the fishing season, local people emerge as more law-abiding
than the national average. Miscellaneous petty crimes were
numerous enough, however: minor assaults, breaches of the
peace and disorderly conduct, occurring mainly in Stornoway. [203]
Much of this 'crime' was traceable to drink. The island's first [682]
and only murder occurred a year or two ago.

17 or summer pastures for the tenants of Laxay and Harnish respectively, townships on the north
17 shores of the loch. In 1775, there were four tenants in Kershader, but their place of origin
162 is unknown. In 1805, five tenants are recorded, two of them from Uig; by 1826 there were 10
30 tenants. Thus the growth of population in Lewis during the second half of the eighteenth century
31 may well have been the major reason for the colonisation of one of the least agriculturally
161 attractive districts of the island.

From Figure 1, which shows most of the thirty-four occupied places south of Loch Shell about 1828, it is evident that colonisation had extended south into the mountainous area. The evictions, which commenced in Harris in 1816, may have increased the population already there as early as 1660, for many of these families came from Harris. The numerous shielings in South Park speak of a vigorous community. It is possible that South Park was more densely populated than the northern area up till 1800.

162 During the period 1818 to 1842, when the grazier, Donald Stewart, and his brothers had a lease
175 of South Park, most of these settlements were cleared (Fig 2): in addition, between 1838 and
34 1843, 68 tenants and sub-tenants in Shieldernish, Cleiter, Seafordthead, Lemreway, Oronsay,
311 Stornrabagh and Ingion were removed, in all about 436 people.[1] Some 27 families were sent to
161 Crossboat in North Lochs; others went to Tolsta and Tong in Stornoway parish, and some emigrated. The main body of those evicted settled in the township in North Park: Marivig in 1838 had 6 tenants; by 1850, 22 are recorded. Thus the present distribution of population crystallised about 1840 and by then the townships along the shore of Loch Erisort from Habost to Garyvard were well established. The Minch coast townships from Cromore to Gravir, first settled about 1800, were greatly expanded, and Park south of Gravir became a sheep grazing devoid of small tenantry.

175 In 1844, the Seaforth family, which had held Lewis for over two centuries, sold the island to
425 Sir James Matheson. The estate management soon wrought great changes in the landscape. Until
311 1850-52, the run-rig system prevailed, a system whereby a group of joint tenants, or a tacksman
341 and subtenants, cultivated in small patches what arable land had been reclaimed, each share
291 being periodically re-allocated. The crofts, or individually held land, date from 1850-52, when the land was lotted and most of the present crofts were formed at this period. The settlement pattern associated with run-rig was one of closely nucleated groups of houses but when run-rig was abolished, houses were built on the individual crofts.

175 In 1858, Lemreway was once again made available to crofters, most of whom came from the
162 fishing townships where population pressure was building up. After the disastrous potato famine
433 of 1846-7, and the final failure of the kelp industry from 1840 to 1844, the population of the Outer
731 Isles experienced great hardship. By the early 1850's, the lotting of the crofts and the rapid
229 development of the fishing industry brought a period of prosperity and the population grew rapidly
161 especially in the fishing townships of the Minch coast. The prosperity was such that numerous cottars built houses on the lotted crofts, and their stock-keeping on the common was tolerated because of the demand for fishing crews. About 1884, the system whereby each boat was tied to individual fish merchants, who advanced meal and provisions against the catch, was discontinued. When this system was replaced by the auctioning of catches, such was the privation in Lewis that the Royal Commission investigating the poverty of the population in 1888 found conditions almost as severe as those prevailing during the potato famine forty years earlier. It was during this period
• 685 that the Park Deer Raid occurred. Park became a Deer Forest in 1883 at the end of the grazier's lease. In 1886, as a demonstration of their grievances, a large number of crofters from the Park townships went into the Deer Forest and killed about 200 deer, cooking the meat in the open for all to see. Some were arrested but after trial acquitted.[2] A few good fishing seasons remedied this unhappy situation and the population of the fishing townships rose to a peak in 1911.

[115] 1 Evidence given to Royal Commission of Inquiry into Crofters and Cottars 1883. (Also known as the Napier Commission).

[113] 2 Report on the Conditions of the Cottar Population in the Lews, 1888.

[113] 3 Stornoway Gazette, 27.1.59.

857 was the first place he had ever worked where his men did not
have to lock up their tools at lunch time, and the windows
• 685 were not broken as fast as they went into the frames. Still
there is some theft.

As might be expected in any area of low per capita
income and seasonal employment, some people succumb to temp-
685 tation. Children, now and then, find the temptation of a
857 candy bar, a shiny pocket knife and other such items which
[131] shopkeepers may have on the counter too strong to resist. The
striking thing is that they always share their loot with
685 their schoolmates. Around New Years, when unemployment is
[273] at its height and a man needs his bottle to see in the New
Year in the traditional way, some men turn to theft. It
never takes the form of house burglarly or armed robbery. As
far as I know, the only case of armed robbery in which a
man from Skye was involved happened on a train in England.
His weapon was a rolling pin. The people at home were very
amused when he said he was taking the rolling pin to his
mother. The usual forms are to take a cow or sheep or to
685 loot a shop. No answer can be given to the question, how
824 much theft is there? The responses vary. "If you stood on
the corner and forgot who you were, they'd have you off in
five minutes, so they would," was one man's opinion. The
police say, "There's quite a bit of it." An old whiskey
smuggler told me, "There's no theft around Portree, but you're
not safe with five pence in your pocket in Skeabost." This
685 obviously is an expression of neighborhood loyalty. How,

• 685 then, is theft handled?

685 The police who are charged with the responsibility of
625 protecting and restoring the property of the local citizens are
faced with many difficulties. To begin with, the local people
will not always complain to them. Even if the help of the
police is sought, the person seeking it will not tell who
might have committed the crime. Even if he knows who is
guilty, he will not tell. The police must build their case
with care. If the facts are clear and straightforward, the
685 defender invariably confesses. One reason for this is the
692 fact that a confession means a local trial by a justice of
the peace rather than one before a sheriff. The defendant
can hope for sympathy, and he rests secure in his knowledge
that his sentence will be lighter because of statutory
685 limitations. If witnesses are required, the police must almost
625 put words in their mouths, and they are never free from the
possibility that a witness may change his story when he is
put on oath. One policeman said, "They hold their church
services up there," pointing to the court room, which was
being used by one sect while their church was being repaired,
"on the Sabbath from 10:30 until 2:00 and they're back again
at 6:30, but they tell the damnedest lies in the same room."

685 We are dealing with a dichotomy like that we noted in
183 the case of poaching. As far as I was able to determine,
those cases which come to court involve activities which do
not affect the norms of the group. There was for example, a
girl in Portree who stole the equivalent of some five or six
thousand dollars in cash and material over a period of two

685 183 years from her employer, an outside concern. She spent the money on clothes and holidays in London, and gave the material to her friends. She was brought to trial and given a sentence of six months. Upon her return, she was welcomed with open arms. The sympathy of the people was with her rather than with the organization with its main office in far off Edinburgh. As they said, "Poor Jane, she was a good girl." "Poor Jane" died not long after being released.

When traditional norms are involved the situation is handled quite differently. There was another young girl in the village who was guilty of a similar petty crime, on a smaller scale. During the last war, one of the local ministers organized a group of girls from the school hostel to make a door to door collection for a charity. One of the girls, a "foster child," had never been given any spending money. The temptation was too great. She spent her collection. To replace the money, she stole from a fellow hosteler. When she was found out, she was expelled from the hostel. The school year had two remaining weeks, at the end of which she was to graduate. Not one Sgiathanach, including her "people" and "friends" of her relatives, would have anything to do with her. As far as they were concerned she had exiled herself. She was an outcast.

685 627 Now let us turn to the crofting neighborhood to see how a crime is handled there. In most cases the neighborhood, as the fundamental locus of social control,[38] is able to deal with

[38] Cf. Murdock, op. cit., p. 84.

685 627 deviants without reccurse to the court. Indeed in Kilmuir they do so well that I never heard of any theft. Still, there has been some theft in Glendale. Shortly before each cattle sale the shepherds on the club farm found one or two cattle had disappeared. At first they thought the cattle might have gone over the cliff, but coincidence soon indicated they had a thief in their midst. One of the crofters, a retired Glasgow policeman, took a hand in discovering the guilty party. At length he found out who it was. At the annual meeting several weeks later, he stood up and told the shareholders exactly what he had seen. Here were the facts, in detail. He did not, however, name the guilty person. After he had finished, the crofters calmly asked him to retell several parts of his story, and then there was a period of silence. Finally, the man publicly confessed and expressed repentance. He was not cast out or handed over to the police -- I doubt if the police know of this even now. His humiliation was sufficient punishment.

682 [763] Among such crimes and the forms of social control which they prompt, however, murder is almost unknown, deterred by the tales which tell of being plagued by the man's ghost to the grave, and suicide is extremely rare, with only three cases in many, many years. Much more important, however, is the influence of social control over public behavior.

683 183 157 During my stay on Skye, I was struck by the lack of overt aggression. Aggression was an outstanding characteristic of the culture during the days of the clan, as the Crown ruefully

disequilibrium. I find it difficult to understand how any group could have a low rate of interaction without a loss of social control. Conversely, I feel that it is all but inconceivable that a group could continue to exercise social control without a high frequency of face to face contact. On Skye social control is a very potent factor. Gossip is a double edged weapon. It not only continues to enforce acceptance of the traditional norms by the Sgiathanach and, to a lesser extent, the newcomer but also can be used to punish the deviant. People have been known to leave the island after [167] a deviation which rendered them inacceptable. Gossip became a source of misery from which there was no escape other than flight. Exactly how powerful the dread of gossip is in Portree can be judged from the experience of my wife and myself. We have played chaperons to people much our superiors in age. Nor can one escape gossip by secrecy. The person who remains a mystery is rejected as a deviant. 626 182

The amount and influence of social control, of course, depends on the values of the Sgiathanach. Poaching is rather good sport, but the theft of stock is a serious offense. The one is the concern of the police and the justices of the peace; the other is a matter which the people prefer to handle themselves. It is quite wrong to burgle a home, but theft from a shop is a different matter, especially when the store is owned by a Lowland corporation. A similar dichotomy applies in the case of illicit sexual activities. A pattern has evolved to protect the unwed mother, but the married man or woman who violates the taboo is severely censured. Ideally, the offender is cast out by the community and his spouse, or 624 685 684 626

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686 NONFULFILLMENT OF OBLIGATIONS--penalties for breach of contract and nonpayment of debts; definition of and sanctions for criminal negligence; etc.

See also:

Borrowing and lending 426
Contracts 675
Enforcement of contracts and debts 690

623 good. In response to this realisation, and encouraged too by
433 the growth and prosperity of the tweed industry, the Lewis Association sprang into being in 1942–43. The Association's aims are survey, planning and the initiation of action for the public welfare, economic, social and spiritual. Something should be said of each of these bodies in turn.

623 The membership of the Town Council, Harbour Trust and Stornoway Trust overlap, the Town being represented on both
633 Trusts. Indeed by the conditions of the Deed of Trust drawn
433 up by Leverhulme (in 1923–24), the Stornoway Trust must
361 include the Provost of the Burgh as its Chairman, together with Magistrates and Councillors. For some time past the Provosts and Councillors have been chosen from the more important
[369] business men of the town. Indeed as a result of the constitution of the Stornoway Trust, urban interests and outlooks might easily gain undue preponderance at the expense of rural needs. Nevertheless two members with strong rural ties were elected to the Trust in recent years.

In view of the growing burden of deficit, the Trust felt unable to frame a general policy, still less to carry it into action. To meet the deficit, the Trust sold portions of properties without reference to any general plan of town or country. Even after the Trust began to accumulate a favourable balance, hand-to-mouth decisions continued to be made, undirected by any clear policy. The most lamentable case occurred when a garage site was given to the chief Stornoway bus proprietor at a road junction near the western entrance to the town, close to the principal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate of Lews Castle and the Lady Lever Park. The palpable mistake in siting soon caused strong public criticism. The Trust repented, and sought to distrain the garage proprietor
[686] from extended use of the area. The parties went to law and the case was fought through the courts until, in a final decision reached in the House of Lords, the Trust lost and had to pay a bill of some £4000. The lesson of defeat in the court was severe, capped as it was by the equivalent of a fine of £4 or £5 from every family in the burgh. Coming at a time when the need

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687 OFFENSES AGAINST THE STATE--definitions of and punishments for politic
offenses (e.g., treason, espionage, illegal entry, conspiracy, lese majesty,
electoral fraud, malfeasance in office); penalties for military offenses (e.g.,
insubordination, cowardice, desertion, mutiny); definitions of and punishmen
for judicial offenses (e.g., giving or receiving bribes, perjury, subornation,
barratry, contempt of court); penalties for monetary or fiscal offenses (e.g.
counterfeiting, falsification of records or documents, smuggling, tax evasion
etc. See also:

Money	436	Revolution	68
Smuggling	439	Court procedure	69
International law	648	Courts-martial	69
Taxation	651	Military discipline	70

175 death of Sir James had left his widow in possession of the
423 estate, a lady with little training for its responsibilities.
668 In south-east Lewis, in November 1887, a body of landless men attempted to settle on the peninsula of Park, Loch Seaforth, after which some of the illegal settlers or raiders were tried and acquitted, and fourteen small crofts with outrun were provided. In January 1888, 300 men marched from Barvas to petition Lady Matheson that the sheep farm of Galson should be allotted to some of them at a fair valuation, as they could not live on their tiny plots. Lady Matheson refused to consider the petition until the arrears of rent due by Barvas tenants were paid. Less than a week after, sheep were driven off Aignish (Eye) and police, reinforced by marines and soldiers, arrested eleven men. Two days later, more sheep runs were invaded, fences de-
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[687] sailed). On February 2, the Aignish raiders were found guilty and sentenced to terms of from nine to fifteen months' imprisonment. After this the disturbances gradually passed away. Yet the seeds of trouble only lay dormant; they were to spring up a generation later, and again after the war of 1914–18.

175 In defending the Napier Commission's plan to recog-
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427 a farm held by tenants, singly or in common. Yet it must be remembered that the word 'farm' had come to have a very elastic meaning. The joint farm-group was once the
[241] active group for labour in common; but if the 'township' included several joint-farms, as it generally had in the Island, its people formed a relatively 'passive' community. Members of the township enjoyed rights in common, and shared in duties of observance; but they had seldom to

691

691 LITIGATION--incidence of civil actions; statistics of civil cases; causes
types of litigation; abuses (e.g., barratry, ambulance chasing); etc. See

Ingroup aggression 678
Informal justice 627
Torts 673
Incidence of criminal actions and criminal behavior . . . . . .

Some light on the life lived
found in the old records of t
first minute in the records
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traceable to drink. The island's first [682]
a year or two ago.

n, is theft handled?

The police who are charged with the responsibility of tecting and restoring the property of the local citizens are ed with many difficulties. To begin with, the local people l not always complain to them. Even if the help of the ice is sought, the person seeking it will not tell who ht have committeed the crime. Even if he knows who is lty, he will not tell. The police must build their case h care. If the facts are clear and straightforward, the ender invariably confesses. One reason for this is the t that a confession means a local trial by a justice of peace rather than one before a sheriff. The defendant hope for sympathy, and he rests secure in his knowledge t his sentence will be lighter because of statutory itations. If witnesses are required, the police must almost words in their mouths, and they are never free from the sibility that a witness may change his story when he is on oath. One policeman said, "They hold their church vices up there," pointing to the court room, which was ng used by one sect while their church was being repaired, the Sabbath from 10:30 until 2:00 and they're back again 6:30, but they tell the damnedest lies in the same room."

We are dealing with a dichotomy like that we noted in case of poaching. As far as I was able to determine, se cases which come to court involve activities which do affect the norms of the group. There was for example, a l in Portree who stole the equivalent of some five or six usand dollars in cash and material over a period of two

69

693 LEGAL AND JUDICIAL PERSONNEL--specialized other than police (e.g., sheriffs, bailiffs, constabl attorneys at law (e.g., counselors, barristers); ba the peace; court officials (e.g., judges, prosecuti fenders, clerks, court reporters); grand and petit tion officers; executioners; qualifications, selecti tives of each; payment (e.g., fees, commissions, etc. See also:

Police . . . . . 625 Legal education

3

law-enforcement personnel
es, posses, coroners);
r associations; justices of
g attorneys, public de-
jurors; parole and proba-
n, functions, and preroga-
salaries); legal ethics;
. 874

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

CRIME

Serious crime is rare in the island, though it was not always so. 175* Some light on the life lived in Lewis nearly two centuries ago is 674 found in the old records of the Sheriff Court of Ross County. The 693 • first minute in the records concerns the appointment of George [217] Munro, Writer in Dingwall, as the first Sheriff Substitute 'within the Island of Lewis'. The date is 1788. Munro's commission empowered him to sit 'in the town of Stornoway or anywhere else he may find most eligible at the time within the said Island of Lewis and hold Sheriff courts there, judge, decide and determine in all causes civil and criminal coming before him.' In those days a case might be raised in any of the county courts. In 1788, a 175* regulation was made to save defenders from unnecessary trouble, 691 hardship and expense in travelling to relatively distant courts where actions were raised against them; litigants had, before Munro's appointment, been faced with a long and hazardous journey to either Dingwall or Tain on the Scottish mainland.

The old Court Records date from 1788 and 1826 and record 175* a number of interesting cases. Sheep-stealing was common, but 674 other forms of theft less so; this is indicated by the fact that much 217 of the Court Records are taken up with the minutiae of court 685 appointments. In a case concerning wrecking, Lloyd's of London are mentioned as being represented in Stornoway as early as 1824 if not earlier. The defendants were fined £4 for destroying the mast of a ship found by them in Lemreway, in Lochs.

In a report dated 1902, a survey of crimes (offences against 175* the person and offences against property) revealed that Lewis and 674 Stornoway had good characters; considering the population number compared with the large influx of strangers to Stornoway during the fishing season, local people emerge as more law-abiding than the national average. Miscellaneous petty crimes were numerous enough, however: minor assaults, breaches of the peace and disorderly conduct, occurring mainly in Stornoway. [273] Much of this 'crime' was traceable to drink. The island's first [682] and only murder occurred a year or two ago.

*175 which firmly held the folk. The Reformed Church of Scotland
799 did little in the later centuries in Lewis. The Fife Adventurers brought a clergyman with them, a Robert Durie, minister of Anstruther, but it can be taken that his ministrations were for the benefit of the Fifers. The aborigines were left to their own brand of faith, to find grace as and where they could.

The interregnum between the abolition of Romanism and the effective establishment of the Reformed Church in the islands was marked by a decline in the 'Christian-ness' of the people. Former teachings were forgotten, and it is no coincidence that in this interim period social anarchy was rife. The credit for restoring Christian principles to Lewis rests with a Farquhar MacRae, vicar of Gairloch, a young man of about thirty years of age whom Lord Kintail brought to Lewis in 1610. On his arrival he found it necessary to baptise all under forty years of age, and practically to reintroduce the institution of marriage. The first Earl of Seaforth was a religious man; he built St Lennan's church in Stornoway, now non-existent, on North Beach. In 1626 there were two ministers in Lewis (Barvas and Eye), and gradually the influence of religion was restored.

ISLAND REGIMENTS

*175 It is a natural enough step from wielding a sword in the protec-
701 tion of one's home island to bearing arms for King and Country. After the 'natives had been pacified' over a period of a century or so, the national call to arms came north across the Hebrid seas. The warlike character of the clans in the north of Scotland had not escaped the notice of those charged with keeping England and the later Britain busy with overseas interests which required some military backing to maintain and improve. Lewis, in particular, despite its small size, has over the past couple of centuries contributed much of great importance both in regiments and fighting men; its military history is a subject that has escaped many past writers on the island.

*175 There is possibly no British regiment more closely associated
704 with historic deeds of heroism than the Seaforths, the Seaforth
000 Highlanders. At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

according to the amount of barilla (its great competitor, a carbon- 175*
ate of soda made from plant ashes) which found its way into the 824
British market. When the American war interfered with the im- 323
ports the kelp price was as high as £22 per ton. Prices began to 388
decline about 1810, and from 1822 successive reductions in duties 433
on salt and barilla resulted in the decline and demise of the kelp industry. As a consequence great distress appeared in those districts which had founded their whole economy on seaweed.

The weeds of most value to the industry, because they yielded
most salts, included *laminaria digitata*, *laminaria bulbosa*, *asco-* (37)
phyllum nodosum and *fucus serratus*. One ton of kelp yielded an average of 8 lb of iodine, with certain quantities of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, and carbonate of soda. When subjected to special treatment and distillation, 2-3 cwts of sulphate of ammonia, and several gallons of naphtha, paraffin oil, and volatile oil were also derived.

The fishing industry, discussed in the previous chapter, took 175*
over where the kelp-making industry left off and became another 228
king-pin in the island economy. By the end of the last century it seemed set fair for continuing prosperity. In 1900, harbours were (503)
being planned and built with State aid in Uig, at Carloway, Ness (653)
and Tarbert. Then 1914 came, and with it sweeping changes in
international trade. Island fishermen were left workless with (511)
wrecked and rotting fishing boats. In twenty years the number of Scotland's fishermen was halved; the remainder were all but ruined. The islanders' fate mirrored this pattern.

Yet another significant source of income for island families for 175*
almost 200 years came from the men in military service, who 701 •
either sent money home or returned home with their gratuities 434
and pay. In the wars of the last century many enlisted in the Highland regiments, the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Even today, the income from this external activity is not insignificant.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

175*
Information and statistics about the economy of the island in the 113
middle of the eighteenth century are to be found in Walker's *Economical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland* ; his MS is in the British Museum.

STORNOWAY

rocks about intrusions or dykes of more resistant crinanite. Second, 632
the better nature of the soil derived from the weatherings of the 133
sandstones and conglomerates has aided reclamation and cultivation.

In the long years of its existence the town has been a focal point 175*
of island history, fanning out to many corners of the world, where 632
it has been merged with the wider history of Britain, the Commonwealth and elsewhere. Detached as it was from the rest of (181)
Scotland by the Minch, Lewis often went its own way. In the 175*
reign of Queen Elizabeth, when England and Sweden plotted 32
against the Scottish crown, the emissaries of these countries met 648
in Stornoway. Later, in April 1719, a council of war was held in a room in Stornoway to plan the overthrow of the Hanoverian dynasty of Britain; included in the assembly were the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Tulibardine, George Keith, the hereditary Earl Marshal of Scotland, and his younger brother James, who was to become the famous Marshal Keith. Prince Charles Edward, though not setting foot in the town, looked at its twinkling lights from across the Bay, at Arnish, while his pilot tried to obtain a boat to take the royal fugitive to France.

The harbour has seen many kinds of ships on its waters. In 504
the twenties, the *Metagama*, the *Marloch*, and the *Canada* came 501
to take away almost a generation of young Lewis folk to the new 632
lands across the seas, because their own island could not support (167)
them. The *Iolaire* sank within sight and sound of the harbour mouth and dragged about 200 Lewismen with her into an island memory. The *Cervona*, of Dundee, dropped her anchor just by Arnish lighthouse in July 1904, carrying survivors from the emigrant ship *Norge*, sunk at Rockall with appalling loss of life. The *Victoria and Albert* visited Stornoway in September 1902, (643)
the first visit to the town by a reigning monarch. That was a great 701 •
day, the result of a letter from Provost Anderson of Stornoway in which he pointed out to His Majesty, King Edward, that with less than 30,000 inhabitants Lewis had 2,300 men in the Royal Naval Reserve, trained at the local Battery, the largest in Britain. There were also 1,100 men in the Seaforth & Cameron Militia, all of whom volunteered for foreign service in 1899, and 900 of whom did garrison duty in Egypt. Between 300 and 400 Lewis-

STORNOWAY

• 701 men served in the various regiments at the front in South Africa, and over 300 in the Royal Navy.

*175 In 1796 there were sixty-seven slated inhabited houses in the
632 burgh, twenty-six of which had been built since 1784. Before this
(362) date most of the houses followed the constructional pattern of those found in rural Lewis. In 1838,

> Stornoway was, within the last twenty years, only a small fishing village, but from the spirited and patriotic exertions of Lord Seaforth, the proprietor, and the grant of irredeemable feus for building, it has become a place of considerable importance as a fishing station. It has a post office; and a packet sails regularly once a week with mail and passengers. No place in the North of Scotland, and in an insulated situation also, has made more rapid strides at improvement, both in a domestic and commercial point of view, than Stornoway.

(205)
(505)

COMMUNICATIONS

*175 Mention of the sailing packet indicates the tedious manner in
205 which mails came to the town for subsequent distribution in the
132 island. Letters went by mailcoach north to Dingwall, thence by
505 mail-gig west to Achnasheen. Because there was no road from
(489) Achnasheen to Poolewe, about thirty miles away, they had to be carried on horseback. The weekly sailing packet then picked up the bags, for which cargo the owners were paid £150 per annum. A letter from London to Stornoway cost 1s 5½d; the smallest enclosure made it double that amount. The mail-packet was often held up by bad weather. It was a wind-blown sailing ship that brought Stornoway the result of the Battle of Trafalgar and the death of Nelson, an event in which a number of Lewismen also took part and died; in St Columba's churchyard at Eye there can still be seen a Trafalgar officer's gravestone. A fortnight after this news arrived, the packet from Poolewe brought its stale message.

*175 In 1844 seventy boats, ranging from 15 to 150 tons, were work-
439 ing out from Stornoway. The *Gazetteer* for Scotland for that year
632 says, 'The grand trade of the place consists in the exchange of
(501) the produce of the fisheries and the kelp shores, for British manufactured goods and foreign produce.'

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 Such are the mingled traditions of the Highland
• 701 regiments which served in so many wars, for right or for
(614) wrong. Of all the desperate alternatives before the Gael —famine at home, semi-slavery in the factory towns, death-stricken sea voyages, pioneering in the forested hills of Eastern North America, or war, it was this last which offered the men not only the trappings and glamour of clanship but continuing fellowship. In the regiment a Gael was among friends. Modern civilisation offered him no other life promising social continuity and the hope of a return to croft and township, " if death should spare him ".

175 It would be wrong to suggest that only the gentry could
701 rise to command, for as English and literacy were acquired,
565 the sons of small tenants received commissions. British
554 military discipline has too often driven a breach between
(703) the men and the non-commissioned officers, spoiling the latter's fitness for higher leadership. But among Highlanders " the bond of faith and affection " led naturally to commissioned rank. For generations, historic precedent
(198) was carried on in living tradition.[1] Given education, the
(871) sons of Island crofters have risen to command on land and sea ; but education came late.

CONCLUSION

175 Thus in the ' little commonwealths ' of the farm-hamlets
621 grouped within the township, personal right and equal
631 shares were balanced by common duty, summed up in the
577 principle of duty-right or croft-
614

[1] The tradition of leadership calls for review but here one can only cite examples. For instance, descendants of his neighbours in Strath Spey told me that my paternal grandfather, as a penniless lad speaking Gaelic and English (in which he was literate), enlisted in the Black Watch about 1820. He was known as a N.C.O. for his power of quiet, reasoning discipline. He thrice refused the offer of a commission, which was then given to others, of whom more than one rose to high command in the battalion.

175 death of Sir James had left his widow in possession of the
423 estate, a lady with little training for its responsibilities.
668 In south-east Lewis, in November 1887, a body of landless men attempted to settle on the peninsula of Park, Loch Seaforth, after which some of the illegal settlers or raiders were tried and acquitted, and fourteen small crofts with outrun were provided. In January 1888, 300 men marched from Barvas to petition Lady Matheson that the sheep farm of Galson should be allotted to some of them at a fair valuation, as they could not live on their tiny plots. Lady Matheson refused to consider the petition until the arrears of rent due by Barvas tenants were paid. Less than a week after, sheep were driven off Aignish (Eye) and police, reinforced by marines and soldiers, arrested eleven men. Two days later, more sheep runs were invaded, fences demolished, and sheep driven off. On January 20, 500
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175 rural Islanders throughout the nineteenth century and even
182 today.
197

From 1887 the State made efforts to improve the
175 crofters' lot. Crofters' claims to stake shares upon the only
654 available reclaimed land in the Island, that of a few farms,
241 had been refused in the 'eighties, but came to be granted,
427 in principle and in fact, after 1900. During the war of 1914–18 the Government reaffirmed its promise to divide sheep farms into crofts for men returning from the Services, and the Land Settlement Act became law in 1919. Yet in spite of tentative experiments and schemes, a determined effort to see the Island possibilities and face its problems, as a whole, still remained to be made in the twentieth century.

175 When war broke out in 1914 over 5000 men left Lewis
161 to join the Services, and corresponding numbers left from
72 Harris. Others, too, served in the Merchant Marine, ex-
• 701 posed to U-boat warfare. From the first months of the war, Lewismen in the Seaforth Highlanders, and men from Harris in the Camerons, fought in the Highland Division as shock troops in the attacks which cost the Division the highest casualties of any in the British Army. The Lovat Scouts, the Mountain Battery, the Garrison Artillery and other units, also enrolled their men, and suffered loss.
175 The last blow to the Island came after anxiety had ceased.
161 Early in 1919 the transport *Iolaire* struck a rock and sank
731 at the entrance to Stornoway harbour; and 200 men who had withstood dangers and hardships during four years of war went down in the dark of a winter's night, almost within call of their waiting relatives massed on the pier to welcome them.

178 so creating a small leak in the purse and in the mind,
209 leaving both a little emptier, week by week. Surveys made
[525] by teacher-members of the Educational Institute of Scot-
[829] land describe the effects on listeners in Highland parishes as pernicious, in the main. The reports of the B.B.C., on the other hand, emphasise their cultural endeavours, and the lightening of house-work and of rural monotony or solitude. Every effort is needed to aid a happy selection in home and neighbourhood.

72 Experiences undergone in war were of very differing
• 701 types. Many men spent the war years in the Navy, without contact with decent town life, or others in the Merchant Marine. Of combatants in the land forces, the Territorials of the original 51st Highland Division experienced a few months of relative inactivity in France, then of a brief but bitter campaign, followed by long years in prison camps, while other soldiers underwent prolonged training in Britain, followed by severe fighting for long periods, far afield. Lastly, a limited number of men served in engineering or other works of war-time industry, though labouring work, at high wages, kept many of the older men employed at
[462] home. Of the women called up for service, some were posted to the Forces, some to the Land Army, and some were
[162] sent to factories. The greater opportunities for women to earn a living wage away from the Island tend to equalise the ratio of the sexes.

177 An experience new to the Western Isles came with the
[464] establishment of Air Bases. Not only did their construction provide high wages for labouring for the older resident crofters, brought daily to the Bases by bus from their townships, but for the first time a heterogeneous mass of men from every part of urban Britain was put down at the doors of these quiet communities—at a time when

TABLE VIII

EMPLOYMENT OF MALES IN WORKING AGE GROUP (15-

462
464

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Fulltime Croft Work	20(9)	51 (29)	71 (18.0)
Croft Work and Regular Employment	13(14)	63 (25)	76 (19.0)
Croft Work and Occasional Employment	2(1)	12 (7)	14 (3.5)
Non-crofting Employment	15(7)	14 (9)	29 (7.0)
Unemployed or sick	10(4)	12 (7)	22 (5.5)
Total Resident Population	80(35)	132 (77)	212 (53
Seasonally Employed Furth of Park	29(13)	11 (6)	40 (10.0)
Schoolchildren (15-18)	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
Students	2(1)	-	2 (0.5)
National Servicemen	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
Sick	1(1)	3 (1)	4 (1.0)
Total Seasonally Absent	48(21)	14 (7)	62 (15
Regular Employment Furth of Park	99(44)	26 (16)	125 (31.5)
Total Regularly Absent	99(44)	26 (16)	125
Totals	227(100)	172 (100)	399

[877]
• [701]
[164]
166
169
464

/p. 10-A/

COMMUNICATIONS

one such causing legal history. The chief garage proprietor 175*
e town applied to use for his business a site he had purchased 632
road junction near the western end of the town, close to the 429
cipal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate lead- 175*
into the Castle grounds. It was a mistake in planning, and 632
ic disapproval began to make itself felt. The Trust, in an 429
t to redress the situation, sought to distrain the garage pro- 691
tor from extended use of the area. The parties went to law,
the case was fought through the courts until, in the House
ords, the Trust finally lost and had to pay a bill of some
000, equivalent to a fine of £4 to £5 from every family in
burgh. The Trust drew its lesson, and since has formulated a
e alert and constructive policy.

he town is well served by its shopping centre, with multiple 632
es jostling for custom with smaller private business concerns. 366
sperity for all, however, depends on the well-being of the Harris
eed industry. If there are recessions, as there have been in the
, the tills rattle spasmodically. Also standing to suffer are others [365]
as the bus companies (who provide the efficient town ser-
s and link up Stornoway with the rural areas), the builders
the haulage contractors. In the ever-present climate of un- [464]
oloyment it is the policy of the mills to employ male labour, [462]
oite the fact that women would be cheaper. The mills, run
natives or by Lewis-born incomers of the second and third
eration, realise a social obligation in recognising that in Lewis
strong tradition is that the man should be the head of the
ily in every sense. The mills also carry a proportion of surplus [466]
our to offset the unpredictability of those workers who, with
fts to look after, occasionally have to take a day off 'at the
ts' or some such activity. This is another of the island's dis-
tive traditions.

On Cromwell Street is the shop of James MacKenzie & Sons 366
nited, dealing in hardware, furniture and china. Nothing un- 632
al in that, at first sight: yet it is another unique aspect of life 747
Lewis, being conducted as a charity for the benefit of, among
ers, the aged and infirm persons of Stornoway. The business
s established in 1830, on its present site. In 1964, the then [429]
ncipal shareholder presented the building and the business as a

692

692 JUDICIAL AUTHORITY--extent to which the settlement of disputes, redress of injuries, and application of sanctions is withdrawn from the parties concerned and vested in some constituted authority; degree of identification or separation of judicial and executive authority; specialized judges and courts; judicial system (e.g., courts of original and appellate jurisdiction, courts of law and equity, civil and criminal courts); jurisdiction of each type of court; judicial powers and prerogatives; etc. See also:

Judicial authority of executive and administrative officials 63, 64
Concept of justice 677
Informal justice within the community 627
Constitution 642
Legal norms 671
Special courts 696

public health and general administration, and has offices in Stornoway. Stornoway itself is largely looked after by a Town Council which deals with the property of the burgh, makes and administers byelaws and imposes burgh rates. The police are under County administration, each burgh paying an annual contribution for their services; the law is administered by a sheriff-principal and two sheriff-substitutes, one of whom holds court in Stornoway. Each parish has a local committee of management.

The political history of the Western Isles, and no less Harris and Lewis, reflects the agrarian troubles. Before 1917, when Lewis was a Parliamentary part of Ross & Cromarty, and Harris part of Inverness, the electorate was both Liberal and Radical; traditionally there has been a significant anti-Tory vote. In 1917, the Boundary Commission for Scotland set up the Parliamentary County of Inverness and Ross & Cromarty, with three divisions: Inverness, Ross & Cromarty and the Western Isles. In 1918 the Western Isles voted for the first time as a Parliamentary constituency of its own, and showed a predominant Liberal sympathy; the returned candidate was also standing for the reform of the Land Law.

In the General Election of 1923 a Liberal candidate was again returned, with a repeat performance in 1929. In the latter election however, the Socialist came in second place. In the crisis or scare election of 1931, the Labour Party did not contest the seat, which was won by a Liberal-National candidate opposed by a full-blooded Conservative. In 1935 the Labour candidate, a native of Lewis, was returned with a 1,345 majority. This Member retained his seat through all subsequent elections losing it only in 1970 to a member of the Scottish National Party, who became a lone Home Ruler in the House. Labour, Conservative and Scottish National parties are represented in the constituency, with a small Liberal showing. The revision of local authorities has given virtual autonomy to the Western Isles.

PUBLIC SERVICES

The lack of adequate social and public services has been cited by some authorities as a factor encouraging people to leave the

69

698 SPECIAL COURTS--courts with special functions (
claims courts, probate courts, juvenile courts, ad
tion tribunals; commissions with judicial authority
diction, powers, and procedure of each type; etc.

Probate procedure . . . . . 428 International co
Marine customs and regulations . . . . . 602 Military discipl

8

s (e.g., courts-martial,
admiralty courts); arbitra-
ity; special personnel, juris-
c. See also:
al courts 648
scipline 703

231 Hacklete, Kirkibost and Tobson have by far the largest total holdings of stock but are
311 eclipsed in regard to percentage of soum actually held by Breaclete, Croir, and all the
632 Bernera Shore townships. In fact the average percentage soum held is 66% on the Island as against 114% on the Shore. If efficiency is interpreted in terms of stock rearing therefore, Tobson is less than 50% efficient, Hacklete and Kirkibost 50% to 75% Breaclete Linshader and Lundale 75 to 100%, and the rest 100% to 175% efficient, the average falling at 75%.

It is also interesting to remark the area of common grazing per cow-unit actually held. This shows that, in effect, the Bernera Island townships, as might be expected from their use of one main common grazing, have much the same amount of land per beast The Bernera Shore townships apparently need rather larger areas of land per cow-unit; the excessively large area shown for Linshader indicates understocking.

[427] Figure 29 summarises the incidence of soums and actual stock carried. It will be seen that, although there are some crofts with soums of under five and over fifteen cow-units, the majority lie between those limits with a marked peak in the 7.5 to 10 cow-unit class. The largest soums tend to be under-utilised. Figure 28 shows the percentage of the soum held. Almost a quarter of the working units have less than 50% of their soum and must therefore be considered as inefficient in their chief function of stock raising, about one third have 50 - 100% and rather less than 1/3 have over 100%

The incidence from township to township varies (table 25) but generally the Bernera Shore townships have more uniform individual soums than the older and larger Island townships, though the range of size of stock holdings and consequently of soums held is more comparable. Table 25 shows the average soum per croft or working unit: Breaclete and Croir are similar with only just over half the average for the rest of Bernera Island. None of the Bernera Shore townships have soums as large as the bigger Island ones, and one of them, Earshader has no more than Breaclete or Croir. Kirkibost and Tobson stand out as far the most generously treated townships, but is this justified in practice?

Expressed in terms of cow units, (table 25) the total soums reveal that, on Bernera Island, only Croir is really efficient with just over 100% of its soum: Breaclete, Hacklete and Kirkbost are satisfactory - and no more - with 60 - 80%; but Tobson has only 45% of its soum. This is a very much poorer showing than that for the Bernera Shore townships, only one of which drops much below 100%. Therefore on the Shore the soums, though smaller, are better taken up than on the Island. Further it is clear that, of the individual working units on Bernera Island, none of those of Croir are unsatisfactory, three out of sixteen at Breaclete are not satisfactory, five out of twenty at Hacklete, eight out of twenty-eight at Kirkibost and eleven out of nineteen at Tobson, whereas on Bernera Shore there are only two unsatisfactory units - at Linshader - one of which is presently vacant with a dispute over the tenancy.

But so far, only the total soum has been considered: in fact it is necessary to consider
231 the elements of that soum, for in order to maintain the pasture one must have a stock
233 suitably balanced as between cattle and sheep. When the soums were originally calcu-
311 lated this was borne in mind and were every soum fully occupied in the proportions originally planned, the balance of grazing would presumably be satisfactory. Table 26 shows the stock equivalents in sheep units. In Croir the soum would indicate a marked preponderance of cattle +, in Linshader (with its extensive hill lands) of sheep; otherwise there is a rough balance in the soumings between large and small hooved beasts.
[656] Occasionally there are special permissive or restrictive clauses in the regulations. For instance, on Breaclete township common grazing, "...a landholder...shall be entitled to graze thereon, free of charge, during summer and autumn, two hoggs for every pound sterling of rent, for replacing the cast ewes...". Similarly, in Linshader horses are not allowed on a fenced area of 800 acres, and on Little Bernera horses are specifically disallowed. But generally the various classes of stock have clear equivalents which are freely interchangeable. How does this work in practice?

[698] + Editorial Note: this was probably because, when the Land Court determined the soum, Croir had no share in Bernera Sheilings. This now calls for adjustment, which should be made when the Crofters Commission re-enact the local Grazing Regulations.

include all small tenants in Scotland. The landlords have lost their right to evict a crofter for breach of conditions. Since 1911 only the Land Court, which replaced the Crofters Commission, can remove a tenant who is guilty of bad husbandry. Moreover, such action can only be taken after the general circumstances of the crofter and his need of the croft for a home have been considered. To date, no Highland crofter has been removed. In fact, security of tenure has been carried to the extreme that the individual no longer has to reside in Scotland much less on his croft. Although this change is now regarded as inadvertent, the courts have ruled in favor of the small tenant. The only remaining functions of the landlord in estate management are to collect his rents and pay compensation should a tenant desire to leave. Both the rents and the compensation are determined by the Land Court.

Accompanying the integration of the Island with the national scene, politically and economically, were extensions of social services. Prior to 1872 education was the responsibility of the church, charitable agencies, and, especially in the Highlands, the local proprietors and their financially secure tenantry.[83] Although the parish school system was national, the administration of each parochial school was local. The ideal of a school in each parish was neither adequate nor easily obtainable. The result was a few regularly taught schools.[84]

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[83] OSA, XVI, 156-157, 226, 539; XVIII, 188; XXI, 430.

[84] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 771-774.

701

701 MILITARY ORGANIZATION--purpose of military organization (e.g., defense, internal police, prestige); composition of the armed forces in peace and war; standing army and navy (e.g., size, disposition, state of preparedness); eligibility and liability for military service (e.g., age and sex qualifications); status of warriors (e.g., prerogatives, disabilities); military leaders (e.g., qualifications, mode of selection, authority, functions); extent of differentiation of military from political organization; coordination of armed forces (e.g., of a war party, an army, a complex military establishment); hierarchical organization (e.g., gradations in rank, chain of command); system of payment, promotion, and retirement; furloughs and leave; special organizations (e.g., military societies); etc. See also:

Prestige and mobility 58
Political organization 62, 63, 64
Military technology and equipment 71
Leadership traits 157

175 228 464 [551] a crew member. Another family is called "cook," the first job which a novice had to assume when he joined the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men to go to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The men [221] [241] [434] came back from the fishing in time to bring in the oats, barley and potatoes, and the money was used for rent and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other goods. [353] They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to cover the stone-walled or wood-lined tigh dubh (black house) [434] for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages for a season. While the men were away at the fishing, the [452] [571] remaining members of the family lived on credit from the local shops, and depended on the good will of their neighbors.

175 701 706 505 Many men joined the armed services, and were especially sought after by the Navy and the Merchant Service. In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in the Naval Reserve.

175 228 484 [571] [435] Around the turn of the century, until the first world war and the growth of the weaving industry, the girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone came to the boat to see you off. You could go all the way to Aberdeen for 12/6 on a special fish-worker ticket." The girls went from the south of England to Shetland in the far north.

175 464 166 [357] domestic servants among the well-to-do families in Glasgow and other cities on the mainland (see Appendix A).

175 464 166 462 [288] When the weaving started, some men settled at home permanently, but many continued to come and go between the sea and the loom. In 1931, the ratio of men to women in Lewis and Harris was 100:114. The men came home for temporary jobs, such as the construction of road [522] or houses. Jokes are told of the common practice of [706] sending for an extension of leave. The men found it easy to join the Naval Reserve because of their fishing experience; and it brought them a retainer's fee and expense-paid trips to places off the island for several weeks of training during the year. But when the wars cam [701] the loss of men to the Navy and to the Merchant Service was heavy.

B. The Land

175 427 The number of arrears in rent in the Barvas rent ledger at the turn of the century indicates the small amount of money in circulation at the time. Between 1899 and 1914, several crofters paid part of their rent "by work," and six had some of their stock "uplifted by decree." For example, a Widow Catherine lost "one red

59 "I couldn't get back my health, but I
62 didn't want to go home, because the houses weren't so good there as on the mainland. I went to work on a farm. It was for the cream I was going. I was so weak I couldn't lift the milk pails for a week, but I got on so well with the old lady that the farmer let me stay in and keep her company. The other girls were always running off to dances and out late at night, but I didn't care about that. I stayed in with her, and got so pally with her that the others were jealous."

66 She had been coming back every winter to be with her mother, and during the war returned to nurse her until she died. Anna then returned to Glasgow, where she married a widower from the mainland. When he died a few years later, she returned permanently to the island. Although
94 she had not belonged to the Free Church while living in Glasgow, she became a member when she settled permanently in Shawbost.

The Baker

"The Baker" was 22 when the first world war broke
702 out. Many Shawbost villagers joined branches of the armed services at that time. The Baker joined the army, and two months later was wounded in one lung. Tough as salted dogfish and solid as Lewisian gneiss at the age of 78, he pounds his chest and shows visitors his scar. After

ISLAND REGIMENTS

At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many villages in the north of Scotland suffered from the attentions of ship-borne press-gangs, who swooped down on unsuspecting communities and whisked away the best of the males they could find. Lewis did not escape this enforced service. Local traditions have much to say about compulsion, though not by press-gang. Young men were pressed into service through personal influence, by bribe or by blackmail. However, in the case of the Seaforth Highlanders, the raising of recruits was by appeal to the men of the clan and the clan adherents. 175* 702

The first battalion of Seaforths was raised in December 1777 by Kenneth, the sixth Earl of Seaforth. By far the greater number of soldiers were from the MacKenzie estates on the mainland: from Applecross, Kintail, and Lochalsh. Few Lewismen served among the soldiers of Coinneach Og, as the Earl was called. The real beginning of the Seaforth Regiment was in March 1793, when a Letter of Service was granted to Lord Seaforth. The chief himself personally toured his estates for recruits, to offer the King's Shilling. His visit to Lewis was at first regarded with some suspicion; he even met some active opposition in Uig, which was overcome by his explanation of the country's need to counteract the widespread effects of the high tide of the social revolution begun in France. In 1804, another battalion was raised; some 200 Lewismen volunteered, a fact recounted in tradition with great pride. The history of the regiment in those early formative years is detailed with battles in many parts of the world: Nimogen in Holland, Quiberon Bay in Brittany, Cape Town, India (Assaye is remembered in a Stornoway street name), Java, Messina, and so on. 175* 702 704 [726] [648]

In Egypt, many a Lewis lad found himself face to face with the Turks, and subsequently in a slave market in Cairo. One of the old soldiers of Uig has left traditions of his seven years' experience as a prisoner of the Turks. Some youths who had volunteered for service early in life were so ignorant of their island's geography that they found themselves in Stornoway on their return looking around for a guide to show them the way across the moors to their long-left homes. The hot, white sun of Egypt brought loss of sight to many soldiers, who returned to a Lewis which they could never see again. Some who were blinded at 175* 704 648 [727]

HISTORY

Some who were blinded at Rosetta were granted a pension of about £30 per annum, with an allowance of £12 per annum for a guide to lead them about.

On 21 December 1859, 'a public meeting of the Inhabitants of Stornoway was held in the Mason Hall to consider the propriety of organising an Artillery Volunteer Corps for the defence of this Island'. About a month later, Sir James Matheson, Baronet of Achany, and Member of Parliament for the Lews, was asked to tender to Her Majesty the services of eighty-one gentlemen who wished to form the corps. The unit eventually formed was the 1st Company in the County of Ross and held the 44th place in the Artillery Volunteer Force of Great Britain. After many ups and downs in its history, this corps exists today as the Ross Battery.

For more than half a century the activities of the corps were peaceful. The only highlight was its participation in the famous Wet Review at Edinburgh, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. Matching the rain which lashed down in sheets from the sky, a sewer burst open in the centre of the parade ground. Company after company divided ranks as they approached the disagreeable fountain in their path. But Lt John N. Anderson, later Provost of Stornoway, gave the order 'Right into it!' Amid a great roaring of cheers from the watching crowds, the Stornoway Volunteers marched straight on in perfect order. It was perhaps prophetic of the harder tests to come.

The unit was one of the Royal Garrison Artillery in 1908 when it was reformed as the Ross Mountain Battery of the 4th Highland (Mountain) Brigade. Later, as a regular division, the battery was the first field artillery to be landed at Cape Helles, in the Gallipoli campaign. At Suvla Bay, it lost 50 per cent of its strength in two days. At Ismailia it mustered again to fight against the Turks in the Canal area, but it was not allowed to remain to assist in driving back the enemy. Instead, it was moved to Salonika to help the mountain batteries, now much depleted by malaria. The final move was to Bulgaria, where the Lewismen were the first gunners, if not the first British troops, to enter that country.

Before, during, and for a time after, the first world war, the Ross Battery had close ties with the Nicolson Institute. To quote from a past Rector of the school:

ISLAND REGIMENTS

For a number of years it had been the practice for a considerable proportion of the older schoolboys during their attendance at the Secondary School to put in their training with the local body of Territorials—the Ross Mountain Battery. At the School Prize-giving of 1914, these boys attended in their uniform to be ready to go off the same evening by steamer en route for the annual training camp. Before the School re-opened, the Territorial Force was mobilised, and for some of these lads there intervened four long years of toil, of fighting, and of sickness overseas, before they ever saw their homes again.

Later (1938), the unit became the 203rd (Ross) Battery of the 51st (West Highland) Anti-tank Regiment. It was whilst fighting as an anti-tank battery that, with other units of the 51st Division, the men were taken prisoner at St Valery in 1940. Today, after more changes, the battery is the oldest in 540 LAA Regt RA, TA (the Lovat Scouts). In 1960 the Ross Battery received the Freedom of the Burgh of Stornoway in recognition of a century of voluntary service to the community and the nation.

LAND USE AND CROFTING

The history of land use and the crofting system in the Highlands and Islands (see Chapter 5) is full of difficulties. In the older days of the clan system, before the rot set in, though the clan members belonged to the chief, they also belonged to the land and the land to them. In such a climate, the agricultural system, for it was such then, was in a reasonably healthy state; the land was worked to the full. Good land was available for the support of the clan, and as often as not in good years there was ample produce, crops, and livestock, to send south to well-paying markets. That fertile lands abounded is indicated by the reports of visitors in various centuries. But times changed. The increase in population after the breakdown of the clan system by statutory legislation, and the policy of population placement carried out with a rigorous enthusiasm, planted seeds of discontent—in particular a hunger for land. The land was in any case becoming ever more inadequate to support those already on it.

The story of the agrarian troubles in the Highlands area is well

some 200 men enlisted at Perth. When, shortly after they had been embodied, the men were quartered in Leith prior to embarkation, complaints arose about infringement of engagements. "The regiment refused to embark, and marching out of Leith, with pipes playing and two plaids fixed on poles instead of colours, took a position on Arthur's Seat at Dunsappie, of which they kept possession for several days." The inhabitants of Edinburgh, who had encouraged them, supplied them with provisions and ammunition. "After much negotiation, a proper understanding was brought about . . . and they marched down the hill . . . with pipes playing and with the Earls of Seaforth and Dunmore, and General Skene, at their head. They entered Leith, and went on board the transports with the greatest readiness. . . ." None of the men were tried or confined. Seaforth, as their colonel, set out with them to India—although his fortune and title would have allowed him ease at home, or the purchase of higher military rank. His death on the long voyage contributed to the men's "prostration of mind which made them succumb more easily to the effects of disease", scurvy, of which 230 out of 1100 fit men died before reaching Madras, and others soon after. As we have told, the survivors fought with disciplined courage.

To a chief, recruitment was financially important, for he, and not only the recruits, received a handsome bounty. Simultaneously it provided him with a commission without the cost of purchase—previous training and promotion being considered unnecessary. The clansmen knew these facts of bounty and command, and generally responded to an appeal. When Stewart of Garth was recruiting for the Ross-shire Regiment, a band of young Lewismen joined it for half the bounty offered by a Lowland regiment!

The families of the young men might be willing to encourage enlistment. But they pled or bargained for an assurance that after service was over their sons should be returned to their homes and have land on which to settle down. The receipt of the bounty and their savings would help the men to pay rent later.

Passive resistance was offered at times, however, as when the Macleod Highlanders were raised in 1757, only a decade after the 'Forty-five. An Island friend has told me of a family tradition, that, as a young man at that time, his own great-grandfather was concealed to escape conscription. And the press gang was busy in Stornoway when the *Old Statistical Account* was written. Protest had usually to be made in secrecy or silence; but a revolt was organised by Stornoway men in 1793.[1] And the voice of one unwilling conscript has come down to us in a song, well known in the Isles (though little known in English), with the refrain—*Och ho ro*, brown lad, so bonnie ('*ille dhuinn*). Although it bears no sign of Jacobitism, it begins, "My grief to be wearing King George's red clothing!" It continues, "The short-coated sailors bore us to Holland. It was a Saturday evening when we fought; and many a wife was widowed ere dawn broke on the Lord's Day, their husbands ta'en, whom gold can never restore, stretched out among the rushes, blood pouring over their shoulders. . . .

'O'er the hills bear my greeting to Mull of the mountains;
Where cuckoos are cooing, on the braes before Beltane.'

'Bear my greeting to my mother, who nurtured me, to my sister who weeps for me, and to my sweetheart; I'll be home if death spares me."[2]

[1] Public Record Office, H.O. 50/2. Letters of Francis Humberstone Mackenzie (16th and 19th May 1793), communicated by Mr. J. R. Western.
[2] Charles Stewart, *The Killin Collection*.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time.

Wars brought enlistment in the Highland regiments, the Navy and Merchant Marine. Owing to migrations of all kinds, males came to be outnumbered by females, then as later (100 males to 114 females, 1931).[1] In Lewis in 1795 the proportion was 100 to 111, and in Harris 100 to 124. From this period onwards the 'export of men' continued, modified by the reserve for war. Men were trained for the Naval Reserve and Militia; and in 1900 for instance 800 men were training at Fort George and 2500 sailors were in the Reserve. The maintenance of a reserve for the Navy was one of the strongest pleas for the framing of the Crofters Act.

A new resource, important to the Islanders after 1750, was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed upon the shore, for use in the manufacture of alkali in the glass and soap industries. From 1770 onwards the price rose, heightened first by an import duty, then by the Napoleonic Wars. Estimating from the high prices, averaging over £10 per ton from 1800 to 1823, Sir John Sinclair put the value of the annual produce (20,000 tons) at £200,000. "It may appear surprising", he remarks, "how that sum could be of such importance to 80,000 people"; but he goes on to point out that this gave the additional cash needed to supplement their subsistence. But even when Sinclair wrote in 1825, the industry was in peril. Failure and loss occurred almost immediately after, with disastrous effect.

It is complained in the *New Statistical Account* that owing to the summer-time work of kelp-making up to 1830, the people could give little attention to the crofts, so that their extension must almost have ceased. Nor could

[1] In 1951 the ratio in Lewis was 100 males to 112 females, and in Harris, 100 to 110.

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

We have already seen where some of the crofters sons and daughters have gone - all over the world. It may be of interest to indicate the fields which are attracting the present generation. In Scotland children graduate from school at fifteen or, if they have qualified for the university training course, at eighteen. Let us see what happens to those who leave school at fifteen. A reasonable number of the boys go back to the croft, but the school teachers usually try to guide the best students into other fields. Since there is a very limited choice of skilled or semi-skilled jobs on the island, this means they will go to a city in southern Scotland and find an apprenticeship, either on their own initiative or under the Ministry of Labor training program. The favorite trades are mechanics, electricians, and carpenters. A few go to sea, especially as stewards and wireless operators. Every now and then a boy will become a male nurse, a police cadet, or an office worker. Hotel service, laboring, and especially, truck driving, at home or away, attracts many. Girls leaving school at fifteen often go back to the croft for a year or two and then move away. The best girl students either go into office work or take advantage of the Ministry of Labor apprenticeship program, especially in dressmaking, hairdressing, and domestic science. Some go to pre-nursing schools. Others find employment in stores or hotels on Skye or in Lowland Scotland.

At eighteen it is very difficult to keep a boy at home. Those who have remained and have not taken a university course

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

will be called into National Service. It has become very hard to obtain a deferment. One reason is that the government believes too many have been dodging their obligation. There was a man, for example, who applied for a deferment for his son on the ground that he was needed on the croft. Ordinarily the boy might have been deferred, but not when the officer found his father was collecting unemployment compensation. The most popular field for girls at eighteen is nursing. One family has sent three girls through nursing school. Another popular profession, for both boys and girls, is teaching. The boys who go to university take their degrees in pure science, medicine, and agriculture.

There is an interesting contrast here between the Highlands and the rest of Great Britain, especially England. In England few working men consider sending their children on to college. On Skye, the majority of those who go to the university from the local schools are from poor homes. The landed gentry send their children to preparatory schools in England, and most of the doctors send their sons to private schools. Somehow the boys and girls from the crofts scrape through. An additional fact I might mention is that despite the government's interest in maintaining the Highland population because, among other reasons, it is a reservoir for the armed forces, very few boys and even fewer girls voluntarily select a military career. Indeed, few men have seen service with the Army or Navy. The previously mentioned sample of the marital status of males also revealed that only 57 of the 270 men have seen active service in units other than the Territorial Army or Home Guard. This

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

is, perhaps, one reason for the government's attitude regarding deferments.

Since the majority of the people converse among themselves in the Gaelic, I should like to conclude this study of the crofting family with a brief discussion of status in Gaelic terminology. The Gaelic language reveals the significance of several aspects of the relationship of family members and clearly marks the changing status of the individual. At birth both boys and girls are leanabh. If the parents are feeling protective towards the child, at time of illness or some mishap, they use this term until the age of three or four, but, normally, at two the children are called clann. Specifically, a small boy is balach, and a small girl is caileag. At puberty, when the clann and their associates become conscious of the physical changes accompanying adolescence, a boy becomes gille, and a girl, nighean. With this change, the boy puts on his first pair of long trousers, and the girl receives her first long skirt. Gille and nighean apply until marriage. A brother and sister, however, often use them throughout life, as synonyms for bràthair (brother) and piuthar (sister). There is one additional fact which we should note at this time. Nighean means both girl and daughter. Boys, on the other hand, are distinguished. Any boy is gille, but a son is mac. Only at marriage does the gille become a duine, a man, and the nighean, a bean, a woman. Just as the girl and daughter are not distinguished, neither are woman and wife. Bean means both. A man is not only a duine; he is also a fear, a husband. In the Gaelic, many people who have all the physiological

tenure function to protect the individual from potential 178
uses by a landlord where customary usages once fulfilled the 182
ed. Moreover, even though the tenure of the cultivated soil 423
ants all the rights of a landholder, including the rights 427
bequeath the house and land to a member of one's family, 657
r more than half the year it is used communally.

The Sgiathanach has never adjusted sufficiently to become 178
specialist, not even a specialized grazier. For him the 423
nd has always had a more fundamental value than merely being
means of livelihood. It is the ancestral home. There is a
ntimental attachment to the land which is an expression of
e affectionate bonds of kinship. The people have never lost
e tribal tie of the land and the group. Although the former
triarchs disclaimed any sympathy with this point of view,
e landlords on Skye today have kept what little land they
ve only because of its sentimental value. Indeed the atti- [654]
de of the largest landholder, the government of Scotland,
that the crofting tradition is worth while preserving, if
r no other reason, because in the predominantly urban and
dustrial civilization it has a romantic value. There are
her reasons. The Islands have long been looked upon as a [702] •
man reservoir for the armed forces, and, more recently, for [969]
wland industry.

As a result of their partial adjustment to the higher 178
cio-cultural level, there have been changes in crops and stock 231
e British market has influenced the crofters' output, within 241
ological limitations. The old subsistence crops of oats and 433

703

703 DISCIPLINE AND MORALE--military virtues (e.g., courage, obedience); punitive and summary judicial powers of military leaders; military rewards (e.g., medals, badges, special privileges); level of morale in the armed forces; integrating and demoralizing factors; special techniques of instilling morale; etc. See also:

Symbolic tokens of prestige	504	Military offenses and sanctions	687
Ethical ideals	577	Courts-martial	690
Ingroup antagonisms	578	Prerogatives of veterans	789

174 ready to leap fore or aft: "Quick to move as the mountain
614 hare . . . or the hounds after him; quick to climb as a
501 squirrel in the spring-time". Then comes the stirring
539 evocation of the storm, testing each man's mettle and the
577 discipline of all, until at last, their ship battered and themselves bruised and weary but undaunted, the crew reach Islay and round the sheltering point of Carrickfergus. There, with thanks to the High King, they drop anchor, the *birlinn* rides in peace, and all find meat and drink and rest.

175 As at sea, so in war, loyalty could rise to heroism in
644 individuals and corps. Young men were attached to their
721 chiefs by chivalrous leadership in warfare, both before
• 703 1745 and later. The Highlanders' high character contrasted with that of most Regiments of the Line, too often disciplined with the lash while demoralised by debauchery. From Lewis the Islesmen went out to the Seaforth or the Ross-shire Highlanders. General David Stewart of Garth, historian of the Highland regiments and people, wrote of these two regiments that again and again their courage and coolness in battle were proved.[1]

175 Not less striking was the record of Gaels among civil
618 populations, whether in Britain, as in the 'Forty-five, or abroad. In Germany in 1761 and 1762 much was said of the Highlanders' kindness, "for the boors were much better treated by those savages than by the polished English and French". Similarly in the Low Countries in 1814 and 1815, they were *enfants de la famille* and "kind as well as brave". The mayor of Brussels declared that they "called forth the attachment and esteem of all", and the inhabitants requested him "to endeavour to detain the 78th (2nd battalion Ross-shire) regiment of Scotchmen in the town, and to prevent their being replaced by
[113] other troops".

[1] *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 2 vols., 1822.

000 and to prevent their being replaced by other troops".

175 Such discipline was only possible when their officers
• 703 trusted to feelings and character. The officers were usually Highlanders, though some notable Lowlanders led Highland corps, and a Welshman commanded the Ross-shire Highlanders with success. Stewart, who had served with the regiment, after recounting their disciplined courage in battle in India, wrote: "The notice of all India was attracted by the temperate habits of the soldiers and Colonel Mackenzie's mode of punishment, by a threat to inform his parents of the misconduct of a delinquent, or to send a bad character of him to his native country". In the twenty-five years of peace and war during which the first battalion had been established, there had not been desertion among the men enlisted in the Highlands. "There were in this battalion nearly 300 men from Lord Seaforth's estate in the Lewis. Several years elapsed before any of these men were charged with a crime deserving severe punishment. In 1799 a man was tried and punished. This so shocked his comrades that he was put out of their society as a degraded man who brought shame to his kindred. The unfortunate outcast became unhappy and desperate, and Colonel Mackenzie, to save him from destruction, applied and got him sent to England, where his disgrace would be unknown and unnoticed . . . [and] he quite recovered his character."

If the officers' regard for their men led to true discipline, the men's expectations of high conduct from their officers brought forth leadership in the field. Mutual regard began in peace. When Stewart of Garth first joined his regiment as a young ensign, his colonel assigned to him an elderly private to act not only as servant, according to regulations,
[551] but also as intimate counsellor. Stewart tells how this

175 private naturally addressed him in Gaelic by his Christian
• 703 name, and writes of him with the warmth and respect due
[551] to an elderly relation. Something of this mutual regard remains; and young Englishmen of education have told me of their surprised admiration for the character of the best traditional type of 'Regular' Scottish, and particularly Highland, non-commissioned officer, before and during the two world wars.

175 Such bravery and character abroad led Stewart to the
824 conviction that their foundation must be the character of the peasantry at home. He held that the Highlanders' home life demanded support, and having served with the Sutherland Highlanders, he felt the deepest grief and anger at the clearances of the Sutherland estates by an English
[727] proprietor. When Stewart remarked that a few deaths mattered little when compared to the nation's renown, for this 'endures for ever', he referred to deaths in battle, which he analysed as typically of 1 to 2 per cent of the men. Whereas upon long voyages or in unhealthy stations, 25 per cent of soldiers or civilians might die of disease.

175 Yet, to the Gael, discipline did not mean blind sub-
703 mission to injustice. "Accustomed to obey their im-
614 mediate chiefs, who durst not break a compact with them, and to have promises punctually fulfilled, implicit submission was not yielded when they had rights to preserve." For the bond by which, of old, the Highlanders "were held to their superiors and one another" was "the bond
[648] of fidelity and affection. . . . In later times, when they entered the King's service, they considered themselves as contracting parties", and resented breaches of faith. Of eight mutinies in as many regiments, that of the Seaforth in 1778 should be instanced here. The regiment included many Lewismen, with Mackenzies and Macraes, and also

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175 some 200 men enlisted at Perth. When, shortly after they
•703 had been embodied, the men were quartered in Leith prior
614 to embarkation, complaints arose about infringement of
648 engagements. "The regiment refused to embark, and marching out of Leith, with pipes playing and two plaids fixed on poles instead of colours, took a position on Arthur's Seat at Dunsappie, of which they kept possession for several days." The inhabitants of Edinburgh, who had encouraged them, supplied them with provisions and ammunition. "After much negotiation, a proper understanding was brought about . . . and they marched down the hill . . . with pipes playing and with the Earls of Seaforth and Dunmore, and General Skene, at their head. They entered Leith, and went on board the transports
[721] with the greatest readiness. . . ." None of the men were tried or confined. Seaforth, as their colonel, set out with them to India—although his fortune and title would have allowed him ease at home, or the purchase of higher military rank. His death on the long voyage contributed to the men's "prostration of mind which made them succumb more easily to the effects of disease", scurvy, of which 230 out of 1100 fit men died before reaching Madras, and others soon after. As we have told, the survivors fought with disciplined courage.

175 To a chief, recruitment was financially important, for
702 he, and not only the recruits, received a handsome bounty.
614 Simultaneously it provided him with a commission without the cost of purchase—previous training and promotion being considered unnecessary. The clansmen knew these facts of bounty and command, and generally responded to an appeal. When Stewart of Garth was recruiting for the Ross-shire Regiment, a band of young Lewismen joined it for half the bounty offered by a Lowland regiment!

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 Such are the mingled traditions of the Highland
701 regiments which served in so many wars, for right or for
wrong. Of all the desperate alternatives before the Gael
[614] —famine at home, semi-slavery in the factory towns, death-stricken sea voyages, pioneering in the forested hills of Eastern North America, or war, it was this last which offered the men not only the trappings and glamour of clanship but continuing fellowship. In the regiment a Gael was among friends. Modern civilisation offered him no other life promising social continuity and the hope of a return to croft and township, "if death should spare him".

175 It would be wrong to suggest that only the gentry could
701 rise to command, for as English and literacy were acquired,
565 the sons of small tenants received commissions. British
554 military discipline has too often driven a breach between the men and the non-commissioned officers, spoiling the latter's fitness for higher leadership. But among High-
•[703] landers "the bond of faith and affection" led naturally to commissioned rank. For generations, historic precedent
[198] was carried on in living tradition.[1] Given education, the
[871] sons of Island crofters have risen to command on land and sea; but education came late.

CONCLUSION

175 Thus in the 'little commonwealths' of the farm-hamlets
621 grouped within the township, personal right and equal
631 shares were balanced by common duty, summed up in the
577 principle of duty, right or gain.
614

[1] The tradition of bloodshed and war for revenge, but here one can only cite examples. For instance, descendants of his neighbours in Strath Spey told me that my paternal grandfather, as a penniless lad speaking Gaelic and English (in which he was literate), enlisted in the Black Watch about 1829. He was known as a N.C.O. for his power of quiet, reasoning discipline. He thrice refused the offer of a commission, which was then given to others, of whom more than one rose to high command in the battalion.

6: Ducey E-4, 5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

a tremendous strength. There are villagers who dislike the 182
crofters, but few would intentionally slight an old crofter's 571
wife because it might give her something to talk about. I 703 •
shall elaborate this point shortly when I come to social control.

If there had been a decrease in the frequency of inter- 182
action, the traditional norms and sanctions should have become 554
less common and clear. In particular, social ranking based 565
on leadership in communal activities should have become less [571]
definite. Although anomie, as used by Homans, is an internal condition, I shall introduce a consideration of cross-group norms in order to present a clearer picture of the status system. Despite the extreme fluidity between the county people and the members of the intermediate social heirarchy in informal clique groups, such as the bridge club, there has been no tendency to obscure the lines of cleavage. The class structure, in terms of the whole community, has remained rigid. The county people are at the apex of the prestige status and class hierarchy. They are, of course, members of a group which extends across the length and breadth of Great Britain. In any neighborhood where there is a member of the landed gentry resident, he is always looked to for leadership. In Glendale, a privately owned neighborhood, a nearby landlord is their political spokesman. In Portree the gentry have done more than uphold social ranking based on leadership; they have created and introduced new activities in which they express their role. These are the Skye Council of Social Service, the village council, and the Old People's Welfare Committee. They may be aided by others, but their decisions are the orders to be followed. The gentry

704

704 GROUND COMBAT FORCES--specific organization of the army; high command; specialized combat branches (e.g., infantry, cavalry, artillery, tank corps); combat units (e.g., squads, companies, battalions, regiments, divisions); composition, organization, and special functions of each; specialized combat forces (e.g., scouts, marines, anti-aircraft defense units); etc.
See also:
Land transport . . . . . 49 Tactics 726
Military technology and equipment 71

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

HISTORY

*175 which firmly held the folk. The Reformed Church of Scotland
797 did little in the later centuries in Lewis. The Fife Adventurers brought a clergyman with them, a Robert Durie, minister of Anstruther, but it can be taken that his ministrations were for the benefit of the Fifers. The aborigines were left to their own brand of faith, to find grace as and where they could.

The interregnum between the abolition of Romanism and the effective establishment of the Reformed Church in the islands was marked by a decline in the 'Christian-ness' of the people. Former teachings were forgotten, and it is no coincidence that in this interim period social anarchy was rife. The credit for restoring Christian principles to Lewis rests with a Farquhar MacRae, vicar of Gairloch, a young man of about thirty years of age whom Lord Kintail brought to Lewis in 1610. On his arrival he found it necessary to baptise all under forty years of age, and practically to reintroduce the institution of marriage. The first Earl of Seaforth was a religious man; he built St Lennan's church in Stornoway, now non-existent, on North Beach. In 1626 there were two ministers in Lewis (Barvas and Eye), and gradually the influence of religion was restored.

ISLAND REGIMENTS

*175 It is a natural enough step from wielding a sword in the protec-
701 tion of one's home island to bearing arms for King and Country. After the 'natives had been pacified' over a period of a century or so, the national call to arms came north across the Hebrid seas. The warlike character of the clans in the north of Scotland had not escaped the notice of those charged with keeping England and the later Britain busy with overseas interests which required some military backing to maintain and improve. Lewis, in particular, despite its small size, has over the past couple of centuries contributed much of great importance both in regiments and fighting men; its military history is a subject that has escaped many past writers on the island.

*175 There is possibly no British regiment more closely associated
•704 with historic deeds of heroism than the Seaforths, the Seaforth
000 Highlanders. At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth

702

CRUITMENT AND TRAINING--induction into the armed forces (e.g., volun-
enlistment, conscription); screening (e.g., tests of fitness, medical
minations); training (e.g., instruction, drill, practice with weapons,
ical maneuvers); special elaborations (e.g., recruiting stations, manuals
rms); etc. See also:

hletics 526
ilitary reviews 541
itizenship 641
Training camps 712
Military schools and colleges 874

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

The small shop stocks essential household items, and extensive use is made of mail-order. A few years ago a telephone to the mainland was supplied, much valued in emergencies.

Scarp in fact has a small place of its own in the history of communications: on 28 July 1934 one of three British rocket-mail experiments (for which special stamps were printed) was held there. The inventor of the rocket, Herr Zucker, was later to become prominent in V-rocket work during the second German war. Herr Zucker personally conducted the firings. His rocket, a large cylinder with pointed nose, something like a heavy shell, was 3 ft long and weighed 30 lb, with capacity for several thousand letters. The motive force was ordinary high explosive contained in a large cartridge about 18 in long; the device was designed to burn with a series of rapid explosions and produce a flight speed of 1,000 mph. The firing apparatus was a flimsy wooden structure providing a runway rising at an angle from the ground, an elastic sling giving the rocket an initial impulse. The first rocket was fired on Scarp, to the mainland: it exploded prematurely and most of the mail was damaged. The postmaster applied to the backs of the damaged covers a three-line cachet in violet: 'Damaged by first explosion at Scarp—Harris.' In order that this mail should be actually flown, it was re-transmitted by the second firing made in the opposite direction, Harris—Scarp. The whole experiment was deemed a failure, however. The route taken by the mail addressed to Kirkwall was unique; rocket, ferryboat, motorcar, mail steamer, railway train, and finally by Highland Airways to Kirkwall.

Depopulation in Scarp was encouraged by the lack of employment prospects, and centralised education, of the type which has already played havoc with remote rural communities elsewhere, is felt to be a black cloud darkening the future. Much the same problem faces Scalpay Island, mentioned later. Children are removed from their home environments for higher secondary education at a central school: for Harris children this is at Portree, Skye. Many islanders argue that the scheme tends to destroy the family unit, urbanising the children so that they become unsuited to, and with no inclination for, rural life. Some sympathy must be felt for the education authorities, of course, as the pro-

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[460]

714

714 UNIFORM AND ACCOUTERMENT--military garb (e.g., hair style, body armor, body painting, amulets and charms, uniform); description of personal equipment (e.g., canteen, haversack, helmet, gas mask, first-aid kit, shields); distinctions (e.g., according to rank, between different corps and services, between parade and field uniforms and equipment); etc. See also:

Clothing and accessories 29
Adornment. 30
Military medals and badges 703

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

286 788 539

Make smooth and even the warp of my loom
And grant thy blessing, God, on me,
On all who here find shelter and room
And dwelling . . .

Thine arm be round each woman here
Who waulks this web of mine,
O aid her in her hour of need . . .

Keep the flock that we may win
Sweet and nourishing milk to drink
And wool to give, to weans and kin,
For wear!

Even now in Harris or the Lews, a brief good wish may be uttered—a "Health and strength to the wearers!" as the perspiring women end the waulking; but in the past the web was finally consecrated. Each of the family who was to wear a portion of it was named by the weaver herself, who led the consecration (*Carmina*, No. 113).

May the well-loved wearer of my web
Never be wounded . . .
May the sanctuary shield of the Lord be his. . . .

286 532 614 [593] [621] [291] [714] [175]

The significance of this gift of hard-won cloth can now be seen, first for the family but next for the neighbourly team. We can understand how each 'set' or pattern of tartan stood for the spirit of the family and the group of kin and homeland, the clan. We conceive what it meant to the Gael when the tartan, with "the Highland dress . . . or any part of it whatsoever", was forbidden "to any man or boy" in the Highlands. Women were still allowed to wear it, it was true, but the dress ceased to be a symbol of community when its wear was confined to one sex. As a single exception, the Highland dress was retained for soldiers, but the militarisation of the tartan—though it seized upon one strand of clanship, that of

175 286 532 614 714 [178] [648] 175 648 286 291 782 641

CH. VII SPIRITUAL LIFE OF COMMUNITY

warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, with peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven and waulked together ceased to be a sacrament when the tartan was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform with "England's cruel red".

The framers of this law, which stood on the statute book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath which reversed every benediction said by the women at their work: "I . . . do swear, as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, any gun, sword, pistol or arm whatever, and never use tartan, plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do, may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and property—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and be without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come across me if I break my oath". This Act, as law and symbol, struck full at the sacramental life of family, neighbour-team and clan community, in which labour and prayer had been indissolubly bound.[1]

(c) WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

178 771 346 172 [113]

Little remains of the tradition of worship in the tiny oratories, chapels or 'temples' whose ruins stud the shores

[1] The collaboration of friends in Lewis may allow mention of the Gaelic version of A. Geddes, *The Spirit of the Tartan, a Song Drama* (English Version); *Souvenir Programme and Book of Songs* (Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, 1932). In this the spirit of this labour sequence embodied in its songs and runes is dramatised in its setting of custom and history. The Gaelic version was prepared by the generous labours of James Thomson, M.A., Bayble, and the late Duncan Macdonald, M.A., Sandwick, Lewis.

72

72 WAR--general statements dealing with several aspects of the conduct and sults of contests between independent political units involving the use of or ganised military force. For ingroup violence see 578; for revolution and war see 669.

ISLAND REGIMENTS

: the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth 175*
turies, many villages in the north of Scotland suffered from 702
attentions of ship-borne press-gangs, who swooped down on
uspecting communities and whisked away the best of the
les they could find. Lewis did not escape this enforced service.
cal traditions have much to say about compulsion, though not
press-gang. Young men were pressed into service through per-
al influence, by bribe or by blackmail. However, in the case
the Seaforth Highlanders, the raising of recruits was by appeal
he men of the clan and the clan adherents.

The first battalion of Seaforths was raised in December 1777 175*
Kenneth, the sixth Earl of Seaforth. By far the greater num- 702
of soldiers were from the MacKenzie estates on the mainland: 704 •
m Applecross, Kintail, and Lochalsh. Few Lewismen served
ong the soldiers of Coinneach Og, as the Earl was called. The
l beginning of the Seaforth Regiment was in March 1793,
en a Letter of Service was granted to Lord Seaforth. The chief
nself personally toured his estates for recruits, to offer the King's
lling. His visit to Lewis was at first regarded with some suspicion;
even met some active opposition in Uig, which was overcome
his explanation of the country's need to counteract the wide-
ead effects of the high tide of the social revolution begun in
ance. In 1804, another battalion was raised; some 200 Lewis-
n volunteered, a fact recounted in tradition with great pride.
e history of the regiment in those early formative years is [726]
tailed with battles in many parts of the world: Nimogen in [648]
olland, Quiberon Bay in Brittany, Cape Town, India (Assaye is
nembered in a Stornoway street name), Java, Messina, and so

In Egypt, many a Lewis lad found himself face to face with 175*
Turks, and subsequently in a slave market in Cairo. One of 704
old soldiers of Uig has left traditions of his seven years' ex- 648
rience as a prisoner of the Turks. Some youths who had volun-
ered for service early in life were so ignorant of their island's
ography that they found themselves in Stornoway on their
urn looking around for a guide to show them the way across
moors to their long-left homes. The hot, white sun of Egypt [727]
ought loss of sight to many soldiers, who returned to a Lewis
hich they could never see again. Some who were blinded at

HISTORY

*175 704 648 727 729 *175 702 704 *175 704 726 648 *175 702 704

Some who were blinded at Rosetta were granted a pension of about £30 per annum, with an allowance of £12 per annum for a guide to lead them about.

On 21 December 1859, 'a public meeting of the Inhabitants of Stornoway was held in the Mason Hall to consider the propriety of organising an Artillery Volunteer Corps for the defence of this Island'. About a month later, Sir James Matheson, Baronet of Achany, and Member of Parliament for the Lews, was asked to tender to Her Majesty the services of eighty-one gentlemen who wished to form the corps. The unit eventually formed was the 1st Company in the County of Ross and held the 44th place in the Artillery Volunteer Force of Great Britain. After many ups and downs in its history, this corps exists today as the Ross Battery.

For more than half a century the activities of the corps were peaceful. The only highlight was its participation in the famous Wet Review at Edinburgh, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. Matching the rain which lashed down in sheets from the sky, a sewer burst open in the centre of the parade ground. Company after company divided ranks as they approached the disagreeable fountain in their path. But Lt John N. Anderson, later Provost of Stornoway, gave the order 'Right into it!' Amid a great roaring of cheers from the watching crowds, the Stornoway Volunteers marched straight on in perfect order. It was perhaps prophetic of the sterner tests to come.

The unit was one of the Royal Garrison Artillery in 1908 when it was reformed as the Ross Mountain Battery of the 4th Highland (Mountain) Brigade. Later, as a regular division, the battery was the first field artillery to be landed at Cape Helles, in the Gallipoli campaign. At Suvla Bay, it lost 50 per cent of its strength in two days. At Ismailia it mustered again to fight against the Turks in the Canal area, but it was not allowed to remain to assist in driving back the enemy. Instead, it was moved to Salonika to help the mountain batteries, now much depleted by malaria. The final move was to Bulgaria, where the Lewismen were the first gunners, if not the first British troops, to enter that country.

Before, during, and for a time after, the first world war, the Ross Battery had close ties with the Nicolson Institute. To quote from a past Rector of the school:

SEA-RESCUE WORK

But neither is Harris behind in willing men. In December 1962 502
he trawler *Boston Heron* saw herself on off-lying rocks and broken 175*
urf water in a full south-westerly gale. The rock island of Stila-
nair, off Scalpay Island, gave the stranded crew little hope of
help. But six Scalpay men saw the plight of the ship and went
out in a small open boat. Three of the trawlermen were saved, one
of whom was found clinging exhausted to a rock. The other seven
perished before more adequate aid could be brought. For their
heroism, these Scalpay men were awarded Vellum Certificates by
the RNLI. The attitude of local men to the sea, and the sea's
treatment of men, was once summed up by an old Harrisman:
'Our men were brought up in the school that taught them that
life was precious and that the soul was priceless.'

The formal organisation of sea rescue is found in the Coast- 502
guard Stornoway, the headquarters of the Stornoway District. 706 •
This covers the north-west coast of Scotland from Ardnamur-
chan, Argyll, to Cailleach Head, the Minches and the associated
sea areas, including the Small Isles, Skye and the Outer Hebrides
—in all some 800 miles of coastline. The Stornoway station is base
for a district officer, a station officer and four coastguardsmen,
supported by locally-enrolled residents who form the Auxiliary
Coastguard. Stornoway Coastguard is the launching station for
the Stornoway and Barra lifeboats, advising when a launch is
needed and calling out the boat crew by firing two green maroons.
It is also a coastguard liaison station for the GPO Coast Radio
Station (CRS) at Oban, and it co-operates with Oban and Wick
as a radio-telephone station when lifeboats are launched on ser-
vice. There is, in addition, liaison between Stornoway station [456]
and the RAF, the Royal Navy and Lloyd's: Lloyd's come into
the picture when tugs, salvage and shipping information are
required.

Though there have been many stranger ships and lives lost on 502
and around the island's shores, local tragedies are not lacking. In 731
December 1862 disaster overtook five boats from Port of Ness, 175*
but pursuing white fish. A fierce gale sprang up and the fishing-
fleet perished, with thirty-one lives. Twenty-four widows, seventy-
nine orphans and thirty-one other dependents were left destitute, [736]
though they obtained some subsequent relief from a fund to which

708

708 AUXILIARY CORPS--organization and functions of specialized noncombat services (e.g., medical and sanitary corps, army engineers, labor battalions, signal corps, intelligence services, military police); other specialized personnel (e.g., paymasters, chaplains, judge advocates, military government officers, specialists in communications and psychological warfare); etc. See also:

Communication	90	Supply and commissary services	708
Medicine	75	Military engineering	711
Police	625	Military government	757
Peacetime espionage	648	Public health	744
Court-martial	698		

SOCIAL LIFE

an enterprising radio firm in Stornoway; its customers receive 207
both BBC and Grampian Television programmes.

Some youth organisations are represented on the island. The 883
first troop of Boy Scouts was connected with the Stornoway 575
YMCA and was founded by forty boys in 1921. Founded (in 883
1912) on the island's close association with the sea was the Boys' 708 •
Brigade (Naval), later to become the Stornoway Naval Corps and 575
the Stornoway Boys' Naval Brigade. Its objects were to provide instruction in drilling, signalling, seamanship and first aid; and to foster a spirit of manliness and comradeship among its members. The founder was Canon H. Anderson Meaden, of the Episcopal Church in Stornoway (St Peter's). During the first war the boys acted as signallers at the Stornoway Battery.

But the provision of some organised recreational facilities for 529
young people on the island has long been a thorny question. After the first world war, the Rector of the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, proposed that village halls be built for village education and recreation. This scheme was never fully realised—except at Sandwick, just outside Stornoway—mainly because of the strength of
puritanical opposition. This attitude has been breaking down, [178]
however, and it is now generally realised that the wealth of any community is based on its youth. Most of the efforts to set afoot activities for young people began after the second war; the work was hard and challenging with not a few failures on the way; perseverance has won to the extent that there is now a full-time youth leader. Most of the cultural and recreational activities are to be found in Stornoway, with a full range of interests. Evening non-vocational classes during the winter are also widely attended for a variety of subjects.

In 1965, an excellent Youth Hostel was established at Stock- 485
inish, Harris, with the help of the Inverness-shire Education Department. In its first season it recorded between 600 and 700 visitors (1,070 bed-nights). Also involved in the establishment of
the hostel was the Harris Society of Social Service; practical help [575]
was given by the 2nd Stornoway Boy Scouts, who made a wall map, cleared up grounds and shifted furniture. A group of English enthusiasts have in previous years arranged a hotel at Rhenigidale, Harris (see Chapter 9), which provides for some fifty to

712

712 MILITARY INSTALLATIONS--defensive fortifications; harbor and coast defenses (e.g., coast artillery emplacements, antisubmarine nets); radar and antiaircraft installations; military camps and posts; arsenals; naval stations and bases; military airfields; missile bases; construction, maintenance, and distribution of military installations; etc. See also:

Construction trades	33	Antiaircraft defense units	704
Settlements	36	Organization of coast guard and naval shore stations	706
Civilian airport facilities	508		

HISTORY

172 of these prehistoric remains indicates that before the Christian era began the island supported a considerable population. Generally speaking, the remains left by unrecorded history indicate three phases of cultural and economic development: the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age. The dates usually associated with these 'ages' are approximate where the island is concerned. Because of their remoteness and isolation, the inhabitants may well have reached, say, the Bronze Age state of civilisation at a much later date than did people living in more direct contact with civilising influences. It has been conjectured that, where Lewis is con- [133] [134] cerned, peat several feet thick may have covered much of the ground which, in another time, was cultivated and lived on; and that the peat blanket hides the remains of very old constructions. Chambered cairns, duns or forts (round towers) built in lochs, by the seashore and on promontories, galleried duns, earth houses, standing stones, stone circles and ecclesiastical ruins are all to be found.

[112] The duns, or brochs, are believed to have had a defensive function, acting as lookout towers. Primitive dwellings would have been scattered nearby, with generally free-ranging livestock. If attack threatened, inhabitants and cattle together entered the tower, whose double walls held rough but welcome compartments for temporary living during the siege. Sometimes a dun was built on an islet in a freshwater loch, such as Dun Cromore in the Lochs district of Lewis; there is a similar example in Loch Bharabhat in Uig. A stone causeway connects each with the nearest point on the loch shore. Many of these causeways had a rocking-stone, a stepping stone so placed that the weight of a foot on it rocked it enough to warn the inmates of the dun that someone was approaching.

The most famous of the round towers is at Carloway, perched on the crest of a rocky slope on the west coast of Lewis near the crofting township of that name and overlooking much of Loch Roag. Its average external diameter is 47 ft, the walls varying in thickness from 10 to 12 ft. Though in a ruinous state, one side of its wall is still some 30 ft high. Dun Carloway is, after the broch on the Shetland isle of Mousa, the finest example of its kind in the country. About eight miles from Carloway, at Bragar, is Dun

ST KILDA

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the 484
hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the 361
world. The tourists were charitable, but this brought a psycho- 175*
logical evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: 'One [155]
cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral
injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with
pocketsful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple
people.' It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a [434]
profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived
during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required 436
money as an exchange commodity because the original native 198
produce was becoming less saleable, hastened the decline of effort
to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered [239]
steadily fell; paraffin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St [364]
Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with [461]
others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the
food they required, provided communications with the mainland
were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, as [161]
St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the
mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to 166
the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to the care
and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the
National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small
human tragedy of a kind that has been repeated, and will be re-
peated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the
case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island [112] •
is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the
Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildans were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple, 175*
poor folk, scarece learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin 181
published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the com-
pany of a minister who had been summoned to the island to de-
nounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180
inhabitants (pretending he was an emissary of St John the Ba-
tist). Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy [825]
and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds,

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. I

175 the eighteenth century these 'black houses' would be
342 replaced by houses of stone and lime, and a few of those
361 survive.

Of the fort built by Cromwell on the Point, no signs
172 remain. For tactical reasons, the best site would seem
174 to be the neck of the Point, from which the guns of the
• 712 fort could defend the houses, stores and quays. The
irregular building line near the point marked T, a
Town House at a later period, may correspond to the
175 northern angle of the fort. The fort appears to have been
712 standing when the original drawing was made for the
engraving in the Old (or First) Statistical Account of
Stornoway, *c.* 1793.

175 By the time Wood drew his plan in 1820, houses on
361 the Point no longer looked exclusively on to the axial
street. The main alinement of interest came to be the
shore, marked by a properly built quay. Today, the Point
Street houses have fallen into decay but many older houses
still stand in fair repair along the 'Beach' or Quay.

175 Thirdly, from the nineteenth century, until 1914, two-
361 storey, flatted tenements, hotels and houses of middle-class
34 people were built upon a grid that followed upon the old
field plans. In an alternative plan, proposed about 1820
but not adopted, a diagonal vista opened out to the Estab-
lished Church, built in 1794 on rising ground. The
modest Seaforth Lodge which had stood across the harbour
was replaced in 1850 by Stornoway (or Lews) Castle, its
pseudo-Tudor style designed to please the new improving
landlord, Sir James Matheson, who had purchased Lewis
in 1844. Presented to the people on the break-up of the
Leverhulme Estates in 1925, a new technical school has
175 taken it over. A few villas also grew up on outlying roads.
361 Thus, a mere village in 1801, and among the smaller burghs
162
226

4: Moisley et al, K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Uig

233 hundred and thirteen - but most crofters had from forty-five to one hundred and twenty. Wedders are sold at two-three years old when the position is said to be at its best.

231 Parts of the common pasture - usually the machair, are set aside for wintering hogge but the usual practice is to keep as many as possible on the croft. The soum as a whole
[472] is not enforced but shares in the wintering parks are adhered to. For example:- Timsgarry Glebe is leased to Crowlista and one share entitles a crofter to winter twenty-five hogge on it. In Ardroil one share allows one cow or four yearlings or eight sheep or eight hogge
[232] on the machair - in practice it is the best hogge that are sent. The minister of Timsgarry who is much interested in sheep husbandry, has bred a heavier sheep with longer legs by crossing the Hebridean blackface with Swaledales and these seem to be doing very well; the minister is more attentive to his sheep than are many of the crofters, but some local crofters are showing interest in this crossbreed. The lambing percentage, so dependant upon the winter and spring weather, was about 80% in 1959 and this was regarded as good.*

Enquiries show that some crofts in each township far exceed their souming but because others carry no stock the four townships are understocked according to the total soum, here expressed in cow units. Sheep stocks in Timsgarry approximate to the sheep soum, Crowlista is overstocked by 130%, while the other townships are understocked.
[235] Some of the figures used for sheep stock were approximate or estimated. Nearly all crofts keep some poultry and surplus eggs may be sold to the grocery vans.

The rhythm of work on the croft during the year is shown on Figure 16, overleaf.[1]

241 Part of the hill common west of Crowlista was cultivated until the beginning of the
175 present century, at which time the township was overcrowded with two or three houses on
361 each croft. A similar area west of Carnish was cultivated and old lazy beds, now grassed, are to be seen on slopes south of the road in Ardroil, in the valleys of Ambuian Thoraghain and Aiilt a'Gharaidh and on the Borranish peninsula. The ruined shieling huts for this area, still to be seen around and beyond Loch Suainaval were in use until 1934 - '35. (Figure 5).

461 Ancillary employment is sought by all but nine of the thirty men under sixty-five in these townships and the wives of two of the 'full-time crofters' have regular employment.
228 There is no commerical fishing by local boats though the Bernera lobster boats are seen frequently off Uig Bay. The ruined curing house and piers at Crowlista, and the 'port' shown on the O.S. map near the site of the clachan in Carnish, point to the former importance of fishing.

288 At present the weaving of Harris tweed from yarn supplied by the Stornoway mills is more lucrative. There are two looms (plus one other weaver) in Carnish, two in Ardroil, three in Timsgarry and two (plus one other weaver) in Crowlista. All these looms were in use and two tweeds woven a week bring in a useful income but the supply of weaving is irregular. The future security of these weavers depends on the prosperity of the Harris tweed industry.

464 Mitchele's sand and gravel quarry at Carnish provides employment for from three to
[344] ten men. Five men from Ardroil and one from Carnish are employed there at present.
[712] The Aird R.A.F. station draws most of its civilian employees from Aird Uig but two
[371] Ardroil men work there. One Crowlista man is employed at the hydro-electric scheme
[462] site at Giala and this work will last for another year or two. Employers recognise the particular needs of their crofter employees and 'days off' are allowed for sheep fanks and other necessary work.

* The minister's ewes gave 103%.

1. [For Fig. 16, see page preceding p.38--Analyst]

713

713 ORDNANCE--specialised military weapons; description of complex weapons (e.g., small arms, artillery, poison gas, flamethrowers, torpedoes, mines, bombs, rockets); description of accessory equipment (e.g., cavalry gear, gun mounts and carriages, armor, range finders, ammunition); ordnance stocks; etc. See also:

Atomic energy	378	Rifling gear	490
Unspecialised weapons	411	Ordnance manufacture	719

For a number of years it had been the practice for a considerable proportion of the older schoolboys during their attendance at the Secondary School to put in their training with the local body of Territorials—the Ross Mountain Battery. At the School Prize-giving of 1914, these boys attended in their uniform to be ready to go off the same evening by steamer en route for the annual training camp. Before the School re-opened, the Territorial Force was mobilised, and for some of these lads there intervened four long years of toil, of fighting, and of sickness overseas, before they ever saw their homes again.

175* 702 704

ater (1938), the unit became the 203rd (Ross) Battery of the 51st West Highland) Anti-tank Regiment. It was whilst fighting as n anti-tank battery that, with other units of the 51st Division, e men were taken prisoner at St Valery in 1940. Today, after ore changes, the battery is the oldest in 540 LAA Regt RA, TA he Lovat Scouts). In 1960 the Ross Battery received the Free-om of the Burgh of Stornoway in recognition of a century of oluntary service to the community and the nation.

LAND USE AND CROFTING

241 614 182 311 175*

he history of land use and the crofting system in the Highlands nd Islands (see Chapter 5) is full of difficulties. In the older days f the clan system, before the rot set in, though the clan members elonged to the chief, they also belonged to the land and the land them. In such a climate, the agricultural system, for it was ch then, was in a reasonably healthy state; the land was worked the full. Good land was available for the support of the clan, nd as often as not in good years there was ample produce, crops, nd livestock, to send south to well-paying markets. That fertile nds abounded is indicated by the reports of visitors in various enturies. But times changed. The increase in population after e breakdown of the clan system by statutory legislation, and the olicy of population placement carried out with a rigorous thusiasm, planted seeds of discontent—in particular a hunger r land. The land was in any case becoming ever more in-dequate to support those already on it.

[443] [161] [56]

The story of the agrarian troubles in the Highlands area is well

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706 NAVY--specific organization of the navy; high command; combat units (e.g., scouting and task forces); organization of a ship (e.g., command, complement, line and engineering specialization, communications personnel); fleet auxiliaries; organization of ports, yards, depots, and other shore establishments; special naval forces (e.g., coast guard, submarine service); etc. See also:

Ships, navigation, and water transport 80
Naval vessels, ordnance, and equipment . . . 71
Naval strategy and tactics 72
Marine corps 704

175 228 484 [551] [221] [241] [434] [353] [434] [452] [571]

a crew member. Another family is called "cook," t first job which a novice had to assume when he joi the crew of a fishing boat. One of the last men t to the east-coast fishing is about 60 now. The me came back from the fishing in time to bring in the barley and potatoes, and the money was used for re and the purchase of various foodstuffs and other g They usually brought enough rolls of wallpaper to the stone-walled or wood-lined tigh dubh (black hou for another year. Twenty pounds were good wages f season. While the men were away at the fishing, t remaining members of the family lived on credit fr the local shops, and depended on the good will of their neighbors.

175 701 706 505

Many men joined the armed services, and were especially sought after by the Navy and the Mercha Service. In 1900, there were 2,500 Lewismen in th Naval Reserve.

175 228 484 [571] [435]

Around the turn of the century, until the fir world war and the growth of the weaving industry, girls used to "follow the fishing." "Everyone cam the boat to see you off. You could go all the way Aberdeen for 12/6 on a special fish-worker ticket. The girls went from the south of England to Shetla in the far north.

175 464 166 [359] domestic servants among the well-to-do families in Glasgow and other cities on the mainland (see Appendix A).

175 464 166 462 [288] When the weaving started, some men settled at home permanently, but many continued to come and go between the sea and the loom. In 1931, the ratio of men to women in Lewis and Harris was 100:114. The men came home for temporary jobs, such as the construction of roads [522] or houses. Jokes are told of the common practice of ● [706] sending for an extension of leave. The men found it easy to join the Naval Reserve because of their fishing experience; and it brought them a retainer's fee and expense-paid trips to places off the island for several weeks of training during the year. But when the wars came, [701] the loss of men to the Navy and to the Merchant Service was heavy.

B. The Land

175 429 The number of arrears in rent in the Barvas rent ledger at the turn of the century indicates the small amount of money in circulation at the time. Between 1899 and 1914, several crofters paid part of their rent "by work," and six had some of their stock "uplifted by decree." For example, a Widow Catherine lost "one red

*159 288 stand beside him as he pedalled, and yell 'Stop!' when the bobbin was about to run out. By post-war, the single-shuttles were gone. Most men had the six-shuttle box.

*159 ● 706 "It was all the rage then to join the Naval Reserve. You got a free trip every now and again to the south of England, and thirty shillings a month retainer. I was sailing for about 18 months before I was called up to the war.

"I was in the war for a full six years. I liked to visit every place, but I preferred the white countries. I didn't like Africa or India. China wasn't so bad. Russia was awful. It was cold, and there was nothing you could buy.

"You made very good friends on board ship. You never forgot the face of a man you served with. Most of them were English. I felt very awkward at first with English. I was very slow translating Gaelic into English, not eloquent at all. The English had the gift of the gab. But I got used to this."

*159 Neilie became engaged to marry a Shawbost girl soon after his return to the village but the marriage did not take place for a number of years because his intended wife had to raise the children of her invalid sister. During the year of their marriage he built a new house. His

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

174 ready to leap fore or aft: "Quick to move as the mountain
614 hare . . . or the hounds after him; quick to climb as a
501 squirrel in the spring-time". Then comes the stirring
539 evocation of the storm, testing each man's mettle and the
577 discipline of all, until at last, their ship battered and themselves bruised and weary but undaunted, the crew reach Islay and round the sheltering point of Carrickfergus. There, with thanks to the High King, they drop anchor, the *birlinn* rides in peace, and all find meat and drink and rest.

175 As at sea, so in war, loyalty could rise to heroism in
614 individuals and corps. Young men were attached to their
721 chiefs by chivalrous leadership in warfare, both before
703 1745 and later. The Highlanders' high character contrasted with that of most Regiments of the Line, too often disciplined with the lash while demoralised by debauchery. From Lewis the Islesmen went out to the Seaforth or the Ross-shire Highlanders. General David Stewart of Garth, historian of the Highland regiments and people, wrote of these two regiments that again and again their courage and coolness in battle were proved.[1]

175 Not less striking was the record of Gaels among civil
618 populations, whether in Britain, as in the 'Forty-five, or abroad. In Germany in 1761 and 1762 much was said of the Highlanders' kindness, "for the boors were much better treated by those savages than by the polished English and French". Similarly in the Low Countries in 1814 and 1815, they were *enfants de la famille* and "kind as well as brave". The mayor of Brussels declared that they "called forth the attachment and esteem of all", and the inhabitants requested him "to endeavour to detain the 78th (2nd battalion Ross-shire) regiment of Scotchmen in the town, and to prevent their being replaced by
[113] other troops".

[1] *Sketches of the Highlanders*, 1 vols., 1822, 2.

3. Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1932) 1935 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

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some 200 men enlisted at Perth. When, shortly after they had been embodied, the men were quartered in Leith prior to embarkation, complaints arose about infringement of engagements. "The regiment refused to embark, and marching out of Leith, with pipes playing and two plaids fixed on poles instead of colours, took a position on Arthur's Seat at Dunsappie, of which they kept possession for several days." The inhabitants of Edinburgh, who had encouraged them, supplied them with provisions and ammunition. "After much negotiation, a proper understanding was brought about . . . and they marched down the hill . . . with pipes playing and with the Earls of Seaforth and Dunmore, and General Skene, at their head. They entered Leith, and went on board the transports with the greatest readiness. . . ." None of the men were tried or confined. Seaforth, as their colonel, set out with them to India—although his fortune and title would have allowed him ease at home, or the purchase of higher military rank. His death on the long voyage contributed to the men's "prostration of mind which made them succumb more easily to the effects of disease", scurvy, of which 230 out of 1100 fit men died before reaching Madras, and others soon after. As we have told, the survivors fought with disciplined courage.

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To a chief, recruitment was financially important, for he, and not only the recruits, received a handsome bounty. Simultaneously it provided him with a commission without the cost of purchase—previous training and promotion being considered unnecessary. The clansmen knew these facts of bounty and command, and generally responded to an appeal. When Stewart of Garth was recruiting for the Ross-shire Regiment, a band of young Lewismen joined it for half the bounty offered by a Lowland regiment!

7

722 WARTIME ADJUSTMENT
time restrictions; dispo
to place of security, mob
taboos); means of mainta
economic readjustments
Rationing . . . . . .
Price controls . . . . . .
Wartime extensions of political a

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TS--emergency adjustments (e.g., martial law); war-
ition and behavior of noncombatants (e.g., removal
ilization for war industries, observance of special
ining civilian morale; civilian defense activities;
to war; etc. See also:

. . . . . 434 Public finance 652
. . . . . 435 Government regulation 656
uthority . . . 642 Conscription 702

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

651 which official records are kept by the mills. If you
434 say jokingly to a fisherman who has brought in a large
catch that he should put some money aside for the
income tax man, he is likely to reply, "He'll have to
463 catch me first." A tradesman may be earning large sums
434 of money doing local work as a skilled specialist at
[745] the same time that he is collecting social security.
A man may move in and out of a number of different jobs,
[171] and never report his income. "Occupational pluralism"
(cf. Brox 1968) rather than economic specialization has
developed as a strategy in various countries along the
North Atlantic fringe, such as Iceland, the Faroes,
northern Norway and Newfoundland, as well as the west
coast and islands of Scotland. In these marginal areas,
income from specialized occupations is, in the long run,
unpredictable and inconsistent.

178 In times of national economic depression, strikes,
468 shifts between socialist and conservative governments,
241 and other crises, crofting provides an alternative
175 strategy. During the last war, many islanders who had
722 left the island (including some who had been quite
166 prosperous in the cities) returned to spend the duration
of the war in the village, glad of the relative security
provided by the relative abundance of food and less strict
000 rationing. During a huge snow-fall that occurred on

rural Islanders throughout the nineteenth century and even today.

From 1887 the State made efforts to improve the crofters' lot. Crofters' claims to stake shares upon the only available reclaimed land in the Island, that of a few farms, had been refused in the 'eighties, but came to be granted, in principle and in fact, after 1900. During the war of 1914–18 the Government reaffirmed its promise to divide sheep farms into crofts for men returning from the Services, and the Land Settlement Act became law in 1919. Yet in spite of tentative experiments and schemes, a determined effort to see the Island possibilities and face its problems, as a whole, still remained to be made in the twentieth century.

When war broke out in 1914 over 5000 men left Lewis to join the Services, and corresponding numbers left from Harris. Others, too, served in the Merchant Marine, exposed to U-boat warfare. From the first months of the war, Lewismen in the Seaforth Highlanders, and men from Harris in the Camerons, fought in the Highland Division as shock troops in the attacks which cost the Division the highest casualties of any in the British Army. The Lovat Scouts, the Mountain Battery, the Garrison Artillery and other units, also enrolled their men, and suffered loss. The last blow to the Island came after anxiety had ceased. Early in 1919 the transport *Iolaire* struck a rock and sank at the entrance to Stornoway harbour; and 200 men who had withstood dangers and hardships during four years of war went down in the dark of a winter's night, almost within call of their waiting relatives massed on the pier to welcome them.

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land describe the effects on li
as pernicious, in the main. T
the other hand, emphasise th
the lightening of house-work
solitude. Every effort is nee
in home and neighbourhood.

Experiences undergone in
types. Many men spent the w
contact with decent town life
Marine. Of combatants in th
of the original 51st Highland
months of relative inactivity i
bitter campaign, followed by
while other soldiers underwent
followed by severe fighting
Lastly, a limited number of
other works of war-time indu
at high wages, kept many of
home. Of the women calle
posted to the Forces, some to t
sent to factories. The greate
earn a living wage away from
the ratio of the sexes.

An experience new to the
establishment of Air Bases.
tion provide high wages for la
crofters, brought daily to th
townships, but for the first t
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the doors of these quiet co

2) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

the purse and in the mind,
week by week. Surveys made
Educational Institute of Scot-
isteners in Highland parishes
The reports of the B.B.C., on
heir cultural endeavours, and
k and of rural monotony or
ded to aid a happy selection

n war were of very differing
war years in the Navy, without
e, or others in the Merchant
he land forces, the Territorials
l Division experienced a few
n France, then of a brief but
long years in prison camps,
prolonged training in Britain,
for long periods, far afield.
men served in engineering or
stry, though labouring work,
the older men employed at
d up for service, some were
he Land Army, and some were
r opportunities for women to
n the Island tend to equalise

Western Isles came with the
Not only did their construc-
bouring for the older resident
he Bases by bus from their
me a heterogeneous mass of
an Britain was put down at
mmunities—at a time when

721

721 INSTIGATION OF WAR--frequency of war (e.g., common, rare, unknown); military preparedness; scale, severity, and duration of wars; small-scale military operations (e.g., raids for slaves or cattle, headhunting, privateering); conception of war (e.g., as glorious, as holy, as wrong but inevitable, as less debilitating than peace); prevalent motives for waging war (e.g., vengeance, self-defense, aggrandizement, prestige); predominance of offensive or defensive warfare; material gains through war (e.g., booty, trophies, slaves, women, mercantile advantages, territory); decision as to war (e.g., deliberations, negotiations); methods of initiating hostilities (e.g., challenges, declarations of war, attacks without warning); etc. See also:

Ethnocentrism 196
Cannibalism 266
Prestige 554
Riots, piracy and banditry 579
Feuds 628
International relations 648
Revolution 669

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

174 The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely
184 significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to
279 developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in
55 ferm-toun and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons
128 throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed
out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat
scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged
121 in planning for post-war housing and community life.
185 But sound planning must be based on survey, long over-
due; though elementary, this key map appears to be the
first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units
of farm-team and township that Scots rural society must
be rebuilt, region by region.

184 One further contrast between the farming and the
24 crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the
36 types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-
166 nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their
croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World
—return home to their native township when they can,
and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand,
though they usually spend their lives in the county or
region of their birth, have been on the move from farm
to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland
seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the
[164] English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired
for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new
hiring, the married once a year. Families were annually
uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all!
[922] The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to
[198] check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence
many men have few ties, their wives still fewer. The
children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they
could look back to no "Auld Lang Syne", of which the

i [see p. 16 -- analyst]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

464 For a year or two after the war many men and women
[288] returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found
employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry.
[729] This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving
at home—work in which the male weaver was helped by
his family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen
[216] dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses
[178] such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to
[462] return to the hard, uncertain work of gutting. The whaling
station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open
for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950,
and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed
[241] in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised
[922] cultivation. The war-time construction of air-fields had
ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was
[654] assisted by government grants.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders'
288 main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of
651 a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds.
648 Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export
sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the
[433] position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there
were strong arguments for the extension of the tax to
[171] Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish
Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not
be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the
crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artist
favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional
and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the
end, the mass-production is an unacknowledging debtor.
The obvious economic handicaps of Island hand-weaving
[439] may surely permit some latitude. The export trade in
[458] Harris Tweed, in which the imponderable 'sentimental

724

724 LOGISTICS--wartime procurement of military supplies; logistic planning; organisation of land, sea, and air transport; expediting of supplies; depots, dumps, and supply trains; etc. See also:

Land transport	49	Military vehicles, naval vessels, and military aircraft	71
Water and air transport	60	Organised commissariat and supply services	706

2: Thompson H-4, 5 (no date) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

COMMUNICATIONS

779 This is only related if emergency sailings are necessary. During
486 the second world war attempts were made by Free Church min-
505 isters to stop the movement of ships in Stornoway harbour, but
*175 needless to say the war effort took precedence.
[724]

THE SHIPS

*175 When Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, sea com-
505 munications were still erratic: a mailboat or packet was running
[501] thrice weekly between Stornoway and Poolewe on Scotland's
west coast. Sir James decided that a craft based on Stornoway
would serve more efficiently both for general trade and for island-
to-mainland transport, and he provided a regular steamer service.
[205] As this craft, the *Mary Jane*, was to carry mails, Sir James thought
the Post Office should promote the service, and he struggled with
that department for some years, eventually being promised a sub-
sidy of £1,300. Though the scheme was to cost far more and had
won no other financial support, the service began in 1846, Sir
James being surety for the whole concern. He lost some £17,000.
Another of his ships was the PS *Ondine*, which carried mails be-
tween Ullapool and Stornoway during the 1870s and '80s.

Quite apart from the Matheson ventures, things had been stir-
ring in the south; the sea communications of the West Highlands
and Islands were about to be commercially developed. One of the
[501] first ships on a regular run between Stornoway and the south was
the *Ben Nevis*, a small wooden paddle vessel later to be wrecked
south of Campbeltown in 1831 while homeward bound from
Stornoway. G. & J. Burns was one of the main companies operat-
ing the early West Highland trade, managing to survive the
vagaries of fortune until 1851, when its interests were passed to
David Hutcheson, its chief clerk, on the condition that the Burns's
nephew, David MacBrayne, became one of the partners. This
was the beginning of the company so well known today, Messrs
David MacBrayne Ltd. The new company started off with a
building programme and gave birth to a long line of ships, many
of whose names were to become bywords in the Western Isles.

The PS *Clansman* was the first. Her route was the strenuous
501 one of Glasgow, Oban, Skye and Stornoway. Alexander Smith's
505
*175

726

726 WARFARE--wartime mobilization; departure of troops (e.g., public ceremonies, rituals for securing supernatural aid, exhortations to bravery); military expeditions (e.g., marching, scouts, protection of flanks and rear, camping, mounting of guards, foraging, billeting); types of combat (e.g., skirmishes, surprise attacks, assaults, pitched battles, siege operations); joining battle (e.g., choice of time and place, ritual preliminaries and precautions); deploying and coordination of forces; special characteristics of naval and air combat; military conventions and rules of war (e.g., flag of truce); personal encounters (e.g., duels between champions); termination of combat (e.g., after first casualty, after desperate last stand); tactical withdrawals; flight and pursuit; surrender; etc. See also:

Religious practice	78	International law	648
War songs	533	Organization of army or war party	701

ISLAND REGIMENTS

175* At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth
702 centuries, many villages in the north of Scotland suffered from the attentions of ship-borne press-gangs, who swooped down on unsuspecting communities and whisked away the best of the males they could find. Lewis did not escape this enforced service. Local traditions have much to say about compulsion, though not by press-gang. Young men were pressed into service through personal influence, by bribe or by blackmail. However, in the case of the Seaforth Highlanders, the raising of recruits was by appeal to the men of the clan and the clan adherents.

175* The first battalion of Seaforths was raised in December 1777
702 by Kenneth, the sixth Earl of Seaforth. By far the greater number of soldiers were from the MacKenzie estates on the mainland;
704 from Applecross, Kintail, and Lochalsh. Few Lewismen served among the soldiers of Coinneach Og, as the Earl was called. The real beginning of the Seaforth Regiment was in March 1795, when a Letter of Service was granted to Lord Seaforth. The chief himself personally toured his estates for recruits, to offer the King's Shilling. His visit to Lewis was at first regarded with some suspicion; he even met some active opposition in Uig, which was overcome by his explanation of the country's need to counteract the widespread effects of the high tide of the social revolution begun in France. In 1804, another battalion was raised; some 200 Lewismen volunteered, a fact recounted in tradition with great pride.
726 • The history of the regiment in those early formative years is
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702 Ross Battery had close ties with the Nicolson Institute. To quote
704 from a past Rector of the school:

CLANSHIP

175 rents, and its end is in sight when these cease to provide
621 for the lord's desires.
622
427
184
565

(e) STORM AND GALLEY; BATTLEFIELD AND REGIMENT

194 The peaceful round of daily life formed the most
614 enduring test of the mutual loyalty uniting the commoners
577 of the clan, and linking chief to people. Yet the tensest
[601] ordeals came in hours of danger faced together, whether
• [726] at sea in a small fishing boat or a many-oared galley, or in war in a clan company. The Gaels' own records must speak for them. Many a song of the Isles conveys the team-spirit of the crew though without describing its men. And although Mary MacLeod's song of MacLeod's Galley
194 be irretrievably lost, there survives one epic poem portray-
614 ing the ship, the storm and, man by man, the crew who
501 warred against the waves and won. Alexander Mac-
538 donald's *Birlinn of Clanranald* is unmatched in Gaelic, and probably in English, verse for its portraits of the crew in action, from steersman to 'look-out'. The flowing metrical translation by Pattison with Hugh MacDiarmid's vivid prose helps to give the English reader some vision of a crew of Gaelic freemen at their best.[1]

194 The poem opens in slow traditional rhythm with "the
614 Blessing of the Ship", the arms and the crew. Then the
501 bard, speaking for the stately skipper, "incites the sixteen
539 oarsmen to row" out of the bay, and they row to a rousing
570 shanty, a *Iorram*. Next, in readiness for the voyage and
[113]

[1] Thomas Pattison, *The Gaelic Bards* (and ed.), 1890 (pp. 1-28); and Hugh MacDiarmid (Ed.), *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (pp. 65-85), 1940. Cf. A. Macleod (Ed.), *Sar Orain: Three Gaelic Poems*, Glasgow, 1933. The different themes of its sections, such as its own metre, have been published separately, in *The Songs of the Hebrides*, and elsewhere.

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727 AFTERMATH OF COMBAT--number and nature of casualties; treatment of own casualties (e.g., retrieving and disposal of dead, care of wounded); treatment of enemy casualties (e.g., despoiling, mutilation, killing); taking of trophies; treatment of captives and prisoners (e.g., slaughter, torture, mutilation, release, exchange, holding for ransom, adoption, enslavement, sacrifice); punishment of enemy leaders; military occupation and military government; homecoming after war (e.g., return trip, reception of returning warriors); home reactions to victory and defeat; victory celebrations (e.g., dances, feasts, memorials); demobilisation; resumption of normal life; reconstruction of war damage; etc. See also:

Commemorative statues and monuments	211	Slavery	847
Constitution	368	Colonial administration	638
Mutiny	304	Prisons	697
War dances	838	Mortuary practices	164

Chapter 5

GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL MARGINALITY

182 Despite the growth of the Harris Tweed industry and the gradual disappearance of some of the techniques and expectations associated with heavy reliance on the land and the sea, an important factor which helps to sustain some of these patterns in the social and geographical marginality of the islanders.

175 When the young men who survived the second world
• [728] war returned to the island, most households still had
[230] horses to cultivate the croft, but a few years later
[407] the tractors replaced the horses. The Labor government,
175 which came into power after the war, passed legislation
657 which extended the processes of centralization that had proceeded since the breakdown of the clan system. The National Health Service was established. Free milk
[871] became available in schools. More scholarships (called "bursaries") became available for further schooling.
[207] Television came in the 1950's. In short, the islander was exposed to a number of new alternatives.

182 To the extent that persons became involved in these possibilities, the island became peripheral or marginal. The island has become more dependent upon central

2. Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 £510 Highland Scots £510
Lewis and Harris

ISLAND REGIMENTS

175* 702

At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many villages in the north of Scotland suffered from the attentions of ship-borne press-gangs, who swooped down on unsuspecting communities and whisked away the best of the males they could find. Lewis did not escape this enforced service. Local traditions have much to say about compulsion, though not by press-gang. Young men were pressed into service through personal influence, by bribe or by blackmail. However, in the case of the Seaforth Highlanders, the raising of recruits was by appeal to the men of the clan and the clan adherents.

175* 702 704

The first battalion of Seaforths was raised in December 1777 by Kenneth, the sixth Earl of Seaforth. By far the greater number of soldiers were from the MacKenzie estates on the mainland: from Applecross, Kintail, and Lochalsh. Few Lewismen served among the soldiers of Coinneach Og, as the Earl was called. The real beginning of the Seaforth Regiment was in March 1793, when a Letter of Service was granted to Lord Seaforth. The chief himself personally toured his estates for recruits, to offer the King's Shilling. His visit to Lewis was at first regarded with some suspicion; he even met some active opposition in Uig, which was overcome by his explanation of the country's need to counteract the widespread effects of the high tide of the social revolution begun in France. In 1804, another battalion was raised; some 200 Lewismen volunteered, a fact recounted in tradition with great pride. The history of the regiment in those early formative years is detailed with battles in many parts of the world: Nimogen in Holland, Quiberon Bay in Brittany, Cape Town, India (Assaye is remembered in a Stornoway street name), Java, Messina, and so on. [726] [648]

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In the pyramid for rural Lewis (b) the differences are striking, and are mainly due to two factors: the 'natural' ratio of births to deaths, and migration. Beginning from the bottom of the pyramid, it will be seen that in 1931 there were fewer infants (from 0–5 years) than children from 5–10 years, fewer in fact than in the three older age-groups. In 1951 (c), the birth rate having risen sharply after the war and preceding depression, infants formed a much larger ratio (over 5 per cent).

In rural Lewis, emigration asserted itself earliest with girls, as they left the Island chiefly for domestic service; but soon after the age of 20 as many young men left as young women. In 1931 the discrepancy was most marked from the age of 30 to 35. This was further accentuated by the heavy death-roll among the younger men during the 1914–18 war, deaths having totalled more than 1100, perhaps the heaviest proportionate loss in the Empire. Only when they marry and return, permanently or for a period, to the croft (vacated it may be by the death of a parent), do the numbers of men tend to balance those of women. Thereafter the falling away among men is due to their shorter life expectation.

In 1951 National Service had drawn away lads of 18 to 20, so that the difference between the sexes is much less marked in the 15–19 age-group than it was in 1931. Mortality in the 1914–18 war contributes to the shortage of men between 50 and 55 in 1951, and the mortality of the 1939–45 war has also left its trace—or the birth rate would have been still higher (always excluding the factor of migration). For the men, those jobs not requiring per-

has improved, but detailed analytical statistics for 1951 were not available by 1954. Allowances being made for the effects of the wars, for the high ratio of births immediately after, and for emigration from Lewis after 1949, the age-grouping in the island changed but little from 1931.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

185 In 1919, when the men came home to Lewis they could
• 727 still see reasons for hope. They found a strange proprietor,
known first for his outstanding—some said ruthless—
[159] business ability, and only secondly for his philanthropy.
They heard his plans and were inclined to listen.

185 Yet, remembering their pre-war losses and the notorious
fluctuations of prices and employment in the fisheries, they
wished for a policy of insurance, as it were; so, if their
home lay near a promised farm, of which they had long
159 meant to claim a share, they claimed this forthwith. Only
458 too soon after, in the early years of Leverhulme's adventure,
the fall in total sales and prices of fish brought immediate
433 loss to the keenest and hardest working of the fishermen,
228 and to their financial backers in Stornoway. These losses
warned others of the uncertainties of fishing. Now the
fall in the fishing industry is not so much as mentioned in
the biography of Leverhulme; nor do we remember a
[654] word of it in Leverhulme's speeches. One finds no data
to show a substantial endeavour by the Scottish Office to
co-operate with Leverhulme in framing policies either to
change the trend of European markets or to make local
adaptations to combat downward trends. The Fishery
Reports certainly record the losses, year by year. As for
the Island fishermen, they shared the feeling expressed
by other Scots fishermen, that the old markets across the
North Sea, eastward to what had been St. Petersburg,
could and should be reopened, not closed 'for party
reasons' by 'English politicians'. Although ostensibly
Leverhulme ignored it, he cannot really have been unaware
of the effect of the downward trend of the fisheries upon
his own prospects of success, and upon the hopes and
confidence of the fishermen. Having been so outspoken
upon the shortcomings of Government with regard to local

CH. X BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER

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729 WAR VETERANS--status and activities of military veterans; special prerogatives (e.g., political and economic preferment); military pensions and soldiers' bonuses; special institutions (e.g., old soldiers' homes, veterans' hospitals); veterans' organizations; reunions; etc. See also:

Prestige and stability 55
Patriotic holidays and anniversaries 627
Sodalities 875
Veterans administration 647
Public welfare 657
Hospitals 743

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TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Lord Leverhulme's fisheries

159 The era of Lord Leverhulme, the soap magnate, is well docu-
*175 mented; a complicated story and not yet told in full. The con-
frontation of a dynamic industrialist from England with the
deep-thinking crofter of Lewis has formed the subject of much
speculation, particularly with regard to the non-success—rather
than failure—of Leverhulme's schemes for the island. Leverhulme
bought Lewis in 1918. He had visited the island about twenty
years before and had no doubt thought that with proper direction
and adequate capital much could be done to bring it out into a
fresh, lively economic air, profitable both to himself and the in-
habitants. He was a visionary; but he was also a practical man,
with great successes in the commercial world to prove it. In 1919,
159 contracts were placed with Sir Robert MacAlpine Limited to
*175 begin operations in Stornoway: excavating, levelling and build-
228 ing in preparation for the new town and its factories. The Lever-
hulme Syndicate bought deep-sea trawlers in Aberdeen, Hull,
Fleetwood and other ports, and also retail fish shops in many
towns on the mainland. This side of the enterprise was known as
The Mac Fisheries Limited, and the island developments were
under the direction of the 'Lewis & Harris Welfare & Develop-
ment Company Limited'.

Leverhulme's main idea was to establish Stornoway as the
centre of a great fishing and fish-processing industry. As he put it,
acre for acre the seas surrounding the Hebrides were infinitely
richer than the land. He maintained that in any programme for
the improvement of the islanders' economic position, fishing must
become their primary if not their only activity. Such, however,
159 was the land hunger of returning ex-servicemen that his attentions
*175 were almost wholly given over to trying to persuade those want-
423 ing crofts that they would be, materially at least, better off in his
• 729 canning factories. But farms were broken up to satisfy the demand
for land until the time came when Leverhulme felt he had to
abandon Lewis. The Board of Agriculture and the Scottish Office
were also principal actors in the play, mostly on the side of the
land raiders who squatted on farm land in the island so causing
the farms' eventual fragmentation into small units of economic
ooo insignificance. When he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris,

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COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

464 For a year or two after the war many men and women
[288] returning from the Services, the sea or the factories found
• [729] employment in the flourishing Harris Tweed industry. This included work in the spinning mills and hand-weaving at home—work in which the male weaver was helped by his family in jobs such as bobbin winding. Few fishermen
[226] dared to sink capital in new boats and gear, and risk losses
[178] such as those sustained after 1920. Few women wished to return to the hard, uncertain work of gutting. The whaling
[462] station, built on West Loch Tarbert before 1914 and open for a short time between the wars, was reopened in 1950, and employed some 30 men for 18 months before it closed
[241] in 1952. Crofting was lightened by some mechanised
[722] cultivation. The war-time construction of air-fields had ceased, though some harbour-work and road-making was
[654] assisted by government grants.

In 1949 the Harris Tweed industry, now the Islanders'
288 main source for earning, was crippled by the imposition of
651 a 66⅔ per cent purchase tax on hand-woven Harris Tweeds.
648 Parliament decided that as a non-utility product, its export sales alone could be exempt from tax. Viewing the
[433] position of the tweed industry in Britain as a whole, there were strong arguments for the extension of the tax to
[171] Harris Tweeds: the high-grade industry of the Scottish Border or the manufactures of the West Riding should not be subjected to unfair handicap. At the same time the crippling of a handicraft practised by peasant or artist favours mass-production to the loss or ruin of traditional and experimental workmanship or design to which, in the end, the mass-production is an unacknowledging debtor. The obvious economic handicaps of Island hand-weaving
[439] may surely permit some latitude. The export trade in
[458] Harris Tweed, in which the imponderable 'sentimental

APPENDIX I

178 crippling losses suffered after 1914–18. A beginning has
228 certainly been made. The Herring Industry Board's scheme for
434 'Queen of Scots' kippers will help the Minch fishing. It will not necessarily help the ports of Stornoway or Tarbert, because herring can be landed at mainland ports and treated there or else taken by road to the Moray Firth, kippered there, and still qualify under the scheme. The Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society has aided the marketing of lobsters to good purpose.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island*

It is to be hoped that members of the Lewis Association
14 may ascertain these, perhaps in collaboration with University
814 research workers. This, in turn, might instructively be collated with the imports and exports of the Island, which are recorded and ascertainable with a precision impossible for a similar area on the mainland. Thus the facts would throw light on the economy of other crofting districts.

(v) *Allowances, Pensions, Unemployment Assistance and Remittances*

With regard to money received by the crofting communities
657 of Lewis from other than 'productive' sources, figures have
434 kindly been made available regarding three sources, namely, (*a*)
436 Allowances made to members of the Forces and their depend-
• 729 ents, and Pensions, (*b*) Unemployment payments, and (*c*)
434 Money Orders and Postal Orders. The yearly periods for which figures are available are close enough to permit of reasonable comparisons. Among other sources, Bank Drafts form an insignificant fraction of monies received by crofters from outside
[508] the Island. It is impossible to say how much cash is brought
[464] home by men paid off from the Merchant Service and other employment, or how much may be sent through the post in the form of notes, whether registered or unregistered. The amount is known to be large, however, and an estimate based on the number of insured employed, and other figures, would be of value. A token figure is suggested in a note to the concluding Table.

APPENDIX I

• 729 For the year 1937–38, Allowances paid to members of the
434 Forces and their dependants in Lewis (proper) came to £40,000. Of this sum a greater part was paid through Stornoway Post Office than might have been expected from the town's population. But able-bodied recipients of Allowances are attracted to the town by the likelihood of finding work there, while men of higher rank and pay are apt to be townsfolk, and their
657 dependants also. Old Age, Orphans' and Widows' Pensions
434 exceeded £80,000. Of this sum a relatively large amount was also paid through Stornoway Post Office, partly for administrative reasons, rendering other causes harder to disentangle.

We turn now to the next source named, Unemployment Assistance. The Bureau made payments of £120,000 in 1936—the last year for which relevant statistics were made available. Of this sum, about one-third was Insurance Benefit, derivable in principle from the joint earnings of workers, and two-thirds were Public Assistance, contributions to which were made from local rates. The fraction paid to Stornoway workers was relatively small, and may be estimated at barely £10,000, that of rural payees accounting for the remaining £110,000. As the Means Test took account of the croft (or smaller holding with house), the average payment to individuals was small.

434 Turning to Money Orders, and taking the balance of pay-
436 ment and issue at face value, there was actually an outflow from the Island instead of an influx, for the issues exceeded the payments. In Lewis in 1937–38, whereas nearly £60,000 was issued in Money Orders, only a little over £30,000 was paid. Even allowing for the fact that part of the payments is cashed through banks or cleared at a central Post Office on the mainland, there would appear to be an outflow, as centralised clearances probably amount to no more than 35 to 40 per cent. The amounts in Postal Orders paid were smaller, totalling £23,000, and the difference between payments and issues less.

434 Comparisons between town and country are instructive.
436 Stornoway's position as a shopping centre is reflected in the heavier average of Money Order payments per head per annum
369 as compared with rural areas (£8·4 as against £1·1); and the

APPENDIX I

434 difference between the issues and the payments in rural areas
436 (£28,000 as against £13,000) is no doubt due to orders drawn
369 to pay accounts. In this connection, a comparison of conditions at an interval of nine years is suggestive for any attempt to distinguish the difference between rural incomes before and after the economic depression. In rural Lewis the total Order payments fell from over £33,000 in 1928–29 to barely £22,000 in 1937–38, a fall of more than a third. Although a decline in the payment of Money Orders in Stornoway was partly offset by an increase in that of Postal Orders there, it is thought that even this reflects a fall in the cash available in the townships, by indicating a fall in the average amount of accounts paid by country customers to Stornoway tradesmen. Even here, it is true, some allowances must be made, as latterly more shopping was done by customers coming into Stornoway by car and probably paying to a greater extent in cash.

Comparisons may now be made, for all the data quoted,
[657] between Stornoway and the rural or 'landward' areas of Lewis, and also between landward parishes for all except the
[161] Unemployment payments. Population having changed but little from 1931 to 1938, and economic conditions not being very different in the Island in the financial years 1936 and 1937–38, an approximation can be made of payments averaged per head of population. In the following table these are shown in £ sterling to one decimal place.

Average Payments (per Head per Annum)

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	Stornoway Burgh	Stornoway Landward	Barvas	Lochs	Uig	Average Landward
	£	£	£	£	£	£
(*a*) Allowances and Pensions	10·2	3·3	4·0	3·6	5·9	3·9
(*b*) Unemployment Payments	2·6	..	..	..	..	5·1
(*c*) Money and Postal Orders	(8·4)	1·0	0·9	1·2	1·3	1·1
Total	..	..	..	..	..	10·1

(B) REMITTANCES (BY POST), ALLOWANCES, PENSIONS A

With Averages per Rural Househ

(i) Urban and Rural

Money and Postal Orders	£53,700		
Allowances (Forces)	41,000		
Pensions (State)	82,700		
Unemployment payments	120,000		
Total (B, i)	£297,400	Total (B, ii)	
Total (i, A and B)	£1,026,500	Total (ii, A	

Note.—To complete the estimate of rural income, partl
should require to group with (A) certain sources of income c
road-making and the creation of other services, and to add to
from outside the Island which may be received as Bank-notes
cash brought home by earners. The figures of £110,000 f
and of £35,000 for Money and Postal Orders, suggest that it
a figure equal to at least the two combined, or £145,000, towarc
£30 or so per rural household. By bringing the sources of i
very small amount—we should approach a true figure, which

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

AND UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS

old

(ii) RURAL

(a) *Official Rural*	(b) *Estimated Rural*	(c) *Average per Household*
£31,700	£34,900	£7·4
30,400	33,000	7·0
54,100	60,000	12·7
110,000	110,000	23·4
£226,200	£237,500	£50·5
	(Approx.)	£51
and B) £650,550	£661,850	£141

y indicated by (A) and (B) we
of productive character such as
(B) other savings and pensions
by post, as Bank Drafts, and in
or Unemployment Assistance,
would not be too much to add
ds making an income of another
ncome to at least £170—still a
cannot, at best, be large.

432 strips running across the slope, which are interchanged each year, whilst a large part of
427 the common grazing lands are divided into interchangeable sections ("quarters") to
311 accommodate each of the groups of crofts. See Figures 22 and 23.

[233]

[139] The cultivable croftland at Kneep is relatively flat and the natural drainage is poorly developed; the quality of this land, depends to a very great extent on the upkeep of a dyke
[312] running across the croftland from a small marshy loch to the sea. This dyke has not been cleaned for several years, and as a result a large area has been invaded by reeds. Other parts of the croftland have been similarly overrun by 'wild rhubarb'. Such deterioration is almost inevitable when land is so fragmented.

The crofts at Reef are grouped in three separate localities. Crofts 1, 2 and 3, on the edge of the machair have probably never been occupied since the crofts were allotted in 1921 and are now used only for grazing. The main body of the crofts (nos. 3 - 13) face south - they are more compact than those in Valtos and Reef, but they vary in size from 2.9 to 13.25 acres and their boundaries are irregular in shape. Two crofts (14 and 15) are separated from the main parts of Reef: they are both small (2.5 acres) but the size is compensated by their situation on the level terrain of the machair. The old farm house
[241] is used as the dwelling for both 14 and 15. Much of the cultivation at Reef, except on the machair crofts, is on lazy beds - but many of these have decayed with the advent of horse
[407] and tractor ploughing; 35% of the land is cultivated by spade, and the remainder by horse plough.

The crofting economy is probably at its lowest ebb in Reef. Only eight of the fifteen
433 crofts are occupied and of these five are worked by disabled crofters or crofters over
[729] sixty-five. The Reef crofts were settled in 1921 by returning ex-servicemen and today seven are being worked by the original settlers; there is little evidence of a desire among the younger generation to succeed to the crofts.

[233] Until 1956, crofters on Reef used to graze both sheep and young cattle on the Flannan Islands, fifteen miles west of Uig.

162 Fig: 24 shows the age/sex structure of the population in the three townships. It tells a story familiar to crofting townships: 55% of the resident population are over forty-five years of age; 9% of the total population are permanently away; and since 1939 the population has declined by at least 15% as the result of emigration alone. But perhaps the
163 most significant fact is the very small proportion of women of a child-bearing age and the consequence that only three children are being born each year to replace the older generations.

131 By their very position, the townships of the Valtos peninsula are isolated. Fifty years
20 ago communication with the rest of Lewis was by boat. The road to Valtos and Kneep was built originally to bring the mails from the pier at Meavaig; the motor road to Reef was completed in 1956. Shopping facilities are provided at Valtos, for the people at
[443] Valtos and Kneep, and at Meavaig which serves Reef, Uigean and Cliff. These are supplemented by travelling shops which call once per week, by Indian dealers and by the local 'bus-driver who makes purchases in Stornoway on behalf of customers on the
[346] peninsula. The school for the whole area is situated mid-way between Cliff and Valtos and two kirks and the doctor's house lie at the junction of the Valtos and Reef roads.

7

731 DISASTERS--prevale
demics, conflagratio
plagues); explanation
(e.g., train wrecks);
public); role of spec
reconstruction; preve
Relief agencies . . . . .
Cyclonic storms . . . . .
Areas of volcanic and seism
Occurrence of epidemics .

31

nce and major types of disasters (e.g., earthquakes, epi-
ns, typhoons, tornadoes, floods, droughts, famines, insect
s and rationalizations; incidence of disastrous accidents
reactions to disasters; organization of relief (e.g., private,
al relief agencies (e.g., Red Cross); emergency measures;
ntive measures (e.g., flood control); etc. See also:

. . . . .	74	Adjustments to famine	281
. . . . .	132	Water supply	312
nic activity	133	Municipal fire-fighting services	368
. . . . .	164	Reconstruction of war damage	727

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

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In 19th-century Scotland, the cause of the Highland tenants and subtenants was taken up, as part of the trend of the times and because a series of famines occurring in the Highlands caught the attention of Britain. After the kelp industry was destroyed at the beginning of the 19th century, landlords maintained high rents on the assumption that the depression was only temporary, which caused tenants to deplete their capital by selling their cattle (Gray 1957: 38). A number of reports were published on the plight of Highland smallholders: Fullarton and Baird (1838), MacNeil (1851), Mackinlay (1878), and finally the Napier Commission's report of 1884 which was followed by the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886.

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The 1884 Napier Commission Report tried to resolve the conflict between the rights of the individual smallholder and the maintenance of agricultural efficiency in a situation which still had communal elements of social organization, by recommending an organization much along the lines of the old joint farm. The townsh was defined as a farm, or part of a farm, which was occupied in common or in division by several tenants. The township, seen as an agricultural unit, was to be given various immunities and powers by which to achieve

159 conclusion—undoubtedly a sound one—that the most
433 effective action for commercial fisheries (as then known)
228 must be taken at one Island centre, Stornoway. As a direct result he considered how to feed the growing town, in particular how to give its children fresh milk. He saw the farms round Broad Bay ready to be turned to high-class dairy farms, if capitalised, and for this purpose they were swiftly scheduled in his mind.

159 "His early days were happy ones"—wrote his son—
433 "but they were not to last for long. He encountered the first obstacle on his path in the late summer of 1918, when
423 the Scottish Board of Agriculture declared its intention to
[647] take over the few remaining farms in the Island for crofts." By this declaration the Board spoke for many Islesmen in the Forces. The voices of Servicemen, not those of either a Government or a philanthropic millionaire, counted over-
[727] whelmingly, on the Island and beyond. When the war was over and the men came home, many set about examining their boats and fitting them up with motors, and in a few months the evening's departure for the fishing from Stornoway had lost some of the picturesqueness of the old, stately procession of sail moving out to the Minch at sunset, but had gained in efficiency as the motorised boats went puffing out to find the shoals, sure of return without delay after the catch was hauled in. Yet fishing was still precarious: there might be no catch, and even if there were, prices were a gamble. Hence many a cottar-fisherman wished to ensure a home for himself and applied for a croft, with his eyes on the farms. Farms were few, and not enough to go round more than some 10 to 15 per cent of squatters and cottars. Still, a promise is a promise: the farms were there, why not have them and be done with it? Knowing this feeling in the Island, aware of its support

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

APPENDIX II

(iii) *Fishing Industry* (1953)

434 228 [439] The renewed Russian contracts for herring have meant loading of Baltic shipping at Stornoway with barrels of herring cured both in Stornoway and Ullapool. Catching power in Scotland generally is hardly enough to meet this contract. Thus, while the numbers of boats continued to decline after the war, leaving only one steam and 33 motor drifters (over 30 feet keel) registered by 1953, the fishermen employed rose to 610, of whom some 520 were crofter-fishermen. Many worked much of the year; on the other hand, most of the winter catch went for 'oil and meal' at about 50s. per cran instead of the top price of over 80s. For local boats a figure of £30,000 is suggested for the catch of herring, say £10,000 for white fish, [178] with £5560 for shellfish. For "curing and associated income" the pre-war figures may be doubled.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island* (1953)

434 465 In mid-1953, of just 5000 registered for the Island as employed—and other than the self-employed, *i.e.* the farmers and crofters, the hand-weavers and the boat-sharing fishers—1130 earned by the three industries first named, the rest by other trades and professions, 3870 in all. The unemployed numbered 1180. Analysis of wage-rates would throw light on [657] total earnings. As to unemployment, the fact that, like crofters and many fishers, hand-weavers count as 'self-employed' means that when out of work they are not covered by unemployment insurance, and have to be helped, at low rates, by public assistance.

(v) *Allowances, etc.* (1953)

434 657 436 729 Turning now to Remittances, to the manifold categories of Pensions, National Insurance and National Assistance, and to Unemployment Benefit (a small item), the Table B, 1953–54, shows the totals kindly furnished for this study, with £1,017,110 for all Lewis and an estimated £977,010 for rural Lewis.

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(B) *REMITTANCES (BY POST), ALLOWANCES, PENSIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS*

With Averages per Rural Household (1953-54)

(i) Urban and Rural		(ii) Rural	(a) *Official Rural*	(b) *Estimated Rural*	(c) *Average per Household*
and Postal Orders	£196,680		£85,600	96,160	£20·5
ces (Forces) and Pensions (State), with nployment payments	820,430		590,470	880,850	187·4
Total (B, i)	£1,017,110	Total (B, ii)	£676,070	£977,010	£207·9
Total (i, A and B)	£2,990,670	Total (ii, A and B)	£1,598,070	£1,899,010	(Approx.) £208 (Approx.) £405

private naturally addressed him in Gaelic by his Christian name, and writes of him with the warmth and respect due to an elderly relation. Something of this mutual regard remains; and young Englishmen of education have told me of their surprised admiration for the character of the best traditional type of 'Regular' Scottish, and particularly Highland, non-commissioned officer, before and during the two world wars.

Such bravery and character abroad led Stewart to the conviction that their foundation must be the character of the peasantry at home. He held that the Highlanders' home life demanded support, and having served with the Sutherland Highlanders, he felt the deepest grief and anger at the clearances of the Sutherland estates by an English proprietor. When Stewart remarked that a few deaths mattered little when compared to the nation's renown, for this 'endures for ever', he referred to deaths in battle, which he analysed as typically of 1 to 2 per cent of the men. Whereas upon long voyages or in unhealthy stations, 25 per cent of soldiers or civilians might die of disease.

Yet, to the Gael, discipline did not mean blind submission to injustice. "Accustomed to obey their immediate chiefs, who durst not break a compact with them, and to have promises punctually fulfilled, implicit submission was not yielded when they had rights to preserve." For the bond by which, of old, the Highlanders "were held to their superiors and one another" was "the bond of fidelity and affection. . . . In later times, when they entered the King's service, they considered themselves as contracting parties", and resented breaches of faith. Of eight mutinies in as many regiments, that of the Seaforth in 1778 should be instanced here. The regiment included many Lewismen, with Mackenzies and Macraes, and also

CHAPTER X

BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER: 1918–1952

(A) SEVEN YEARS' ENDEAVOUR, 1918–1925

1. *A Planner: Lord Leverhulme of the Lews*

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LOOKING back to the aftermath of unemployment following the First World War and forward to anxieties ahead, a soldier in 1944 protested that it would be exacting too great a sacrifice from the country's manhood to throw it unaided, upon "the hazards of peace", for the second time in a generation! If Island life is to be planned for in the ensuing peace, we must ask, "What of plans last time?" Depression in the Island was not primarily due to the failure of any one of the three parties immediately concerned—to the Islanders, the crofters, cottars or fishermen, to the Scottish Office or its Departments, or to a particular philanthropist—nor even to failures by all three to get together for the Island's good. All three may deserve their share of praise or blame; who might not, stranded without warning by such an ebbing tide? Behind the personal factors on which biographers and writers have insisted, in retelling Leverhulme's Island adventure, larger forces were at work, undoing the efforts of all. Further, by undermining confidence and preying upon anxiety, disaster upon an international scale brought the Island consultations from unity to feud and to frustration.

[114]

But neither is Harris behind in willing men. In December 1962 502
e trawler *Boston Heron* saw herself on off-lying rocks and broken 175*
rf water in a full south-westerly gale. The rock island of Stila-
air, off Scalpay Island, gave the stranded crew little hope of
elp. But six Scalpay men saw the plight of the ship and went
ut in a small open boat. Three of the trawlermen were saved, one
whom was found clinging exhausted to a rock. The other seven
erished before more adequate aid could be brought. For their
eroism, these Scalpay men were awarded Vellum Certificates by
e RNLI. The attitude of local men to the sea, and the sea's
eatment of men, was once summed up by an old Harrisman:
Our men were brought up in the school that taught them that
'e was precious and that the soul was priceless.'

The formal organisation of sea rescue is found in the Coast- 502
uard Stornoway, the headquarters of the Stornoway District. 706
his covers the north-west coast of Scotland from Ardnamur-
han, Argyll, to Cailleach Head, the Minches and the associated
a areas, including the Small Isles, Skye and the Outer Hebrides
-in all some 800 miles of coastline. The Stornoway station is base
r a district officer, a station officer and four coastguardsmen,
pported by locally-enrolled residents who form the Auxiliary
oastguard. Stornoway Coastguard is the launching station for
e Stornoway and Barra lifeboats, advising when a launch is
eeded and calling out the boat crew by firing two green maroons.
is also a coastguard liaison station for the GPO Coast Radio
ation (CRS) at Oban, and it co-operates with Oban and Wick
a radio-telephone station when lifeboats are launched on ser-
ce. There is, in addition, liaison between Stornoway station [456]
nd the RAF, the Royal Navy and Lloyd's: Lloyd's come into
e picture when tugs, salvage and shipping information are
quired.

Though there have been many stranger ships and lives lost on 502
nd around the island's shores, local tragedies are not lacking. In 731 •
ecember 1862 disaster overtook five boats from Port of Ness, 175*
ut pursuing white fish. A fierce gale sprang up and the fishing-
eet perished, with thirty-one lives. Twenty-four widows, seventy-
e orphans and thirty-one other dependents were left destitute, [736]
ough they obtained some subsequent relief from a fund to which

COMMUNICATIONS

Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, contributed handsomely. But that was only one item in a long chapter that will never close.

The most shattering disaster on Lewis shores was the loss of the *Iolaire* on the very last day of the year 1918. Before the New Year's Day of 1919 was a few hours old, over 200 sons and fathers were lying in the death-waters of their drowning, little more than a stone's-throw from their native island. Barely a village on the island was not affected by the sinking of the *Iolaire*, which was bringing soldiers and sailors back from the war to their homes. The subsequent findings of the Court of Inquiry are bald statements which convey nothing of the tragic loss of the cream of an island's male population in a matter of minutes. The jury found that the *Iolaire* went ashore and was wrecked on the rocks inside the 'Beasts of Holm' (outside Stornoway) about 1.55 on the morning of 1 January, resulting in the death of 205 men; that the officers in charge did not exercise sufficient prudence in approaching the harbour; that the boat did not slow down, and that the look-out was not on duty at the time of the accident; that the number of lifeboats, boats and rafts was insufficient for the number of people carried, and that no orders were given by the officers with a view to saving life; and, further, that there was a loss of valuable time between the signals of distress and the arrival of life-saving apparatus in the vicinity of the wreck. The sad affair is still remembered in the In Memoriam columns of the *Stornoway Gazette*.

AIR SERVICES

The people of the Outer Hebrides are among the most air-minded in the world. However, aeroplanes came late to the island. The first visit by an aircraft was in 1928, when Seaplane S1058 landed in Stornoway Harbour. The crew of five were treated to a luncheon by the town's civic heads. In 1932 the seaplane *Flying Cloud* arrived in the town, piloted by Lord Malcolm Douglas Hamilton. Owned by British Flying Boats Limited, it was the first commercial aircraft to land and caused some local talk about air services for the island. In June 1933 a large seven-seater air-

OVERLAND

many recommendations, and though some road m
1791, progress was slow; in the course of fifty year
of road were created, less than a mile for each y
James Matheson took over in 1844 and planned
island, he started with these 45 miles. On his deat
were more than 200 miles of road on which, wit
connecting bridges, he spent £25,593.

In the late autumn of 1882, a great gale swep
and corn crops. This, added to the complete failu
harvest, led to distress throughout the island. At a
in Stornoway in December it was resolved that a m
warded to Mr Gladstone, then Prime Minister, c
Government resources, or that some form of p
started. No immediate response was made to thi
ever, as the matter had been raised, investigations
eventually the Western Highlands and Islands (S
Act, 1891, passed into law. It authorised, *inter al*
ture of a sum not exceeding £15,000 on constr
proving the road between Carloway and Stornow
other roads approved by the Secretary for Scotland

That Carloway was chosen as a terminus fro
significant. At the time it was probably the best f
the west coast of Lewis. Loch Carloway, which bra
from the mouth of Loch Roag, is a safe harbour
access; and any attempt to develop the real fish
the district was a step in the right direction. At th
from Carloway to Stornoway was a wandering on
badly formed in many parts and ill-suited to he
proposed road was to be only 16 miles long an
said, afford easy and quick access to Stornoway; f
there in fresh condition, suitable for transporta
southern markets. As soon as the necessary plans
and a contract drawn up, the work started. Pro
but financial difficulties arose. The contractor we
the engineer was dismissed. The undertaking cam
standstill. Of the 16 miles, only 8 were completed
were partially made; the remaining 3 miles la

The 1891 Act brought into existence a number

D ROUTES

aking began in 491
s, only 45 miles 499
year. When Sir 175*
to open up the
h in 1878 there
h the necessary

t away the hay 731 •
re of the potato 175*
meeting called
emorial be for- [746]
aving aid from [653]
ublic works be
s appeal. How- 653
were made and 175*
cotland) Works
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n Stornoway is 491
shing centre on 228
nches eastward 175*
and offers easy
ng potential of
time, the road
, 23 miles long,
vy traffic. The
would, it was
sh would arrive
ion by boat to
were prepared
ress was rapid,
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to a complete
About 5 miles
untouched.
of minor roads 491
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2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

427 With the disappearance of the middlemen, their sub-tenants be-
*175 came tenants of the proprietor; and the descendants of these are most of today's crofters. Mr Thomas Knox, who became Chamberlain of Lewis in 1833, was examined before a Select Committee of the Houses of Parliament on the question of emigration from the island in 1841. At that time there were 1,913 small tenants on the island who paid yearly rents varying from 63s 9d
[433] to 72s 3d. He stated that the country produced sufficient corn for
• [731] the use of the people in most seasons. The years 1836-7 were
167 exceptional and outside relief became necessary. But he did not
427 consider that any person in Lewis was poor who had a lot of land, however small, if it were sufficiently stocked. There were,
*175 however, in the island, small tenants occupying land unsuitable for raising grain; and in order to avoid such distress as had occurred in recent years he had advocated the emigration of about 6,000 people, the vacant ground to be put under sheep. This course had been followed in 1838, when five families numbering about seventy people were removed and the land they had occupied was converted into sheep farms.

In the end, however, only a small fraction of the proposed 6,000 persons ever left Lewis under Knox's scheme. Those who were left worked their land under a cloud of increasing distress, in a system which had them in an iron grip. Eventually the bubble burst, as indicated in Chapter 3. The pressure of social conditions, and the events of historical progress, were manifested first in the social action against the agricultural system and finally in the legislation which gave the crofter certain rights.

CROFTING CHANGES

*175 In general, the island during the last century was able to support
244 its population, failing to do so only when disease struck at the
731 staple potato. Each family unit in the crofting township was self-
433 sufficient in most grown produce and the milk products from the family cow. Very poor families grew potatoes only and depended on neighbours for milk. But when the potato crops failed, distress knocked at almost every door, the fishing communities on the
000 island tending to relieve hunger by looking to the sea. The removal

magic is always efficacious—however desperate the need, however pure the motives of those who ask. These men were said to be the most successful fishers in the place; they were also Elders of the Kirk, who saw no wrong in what they did. They did not inform the minister; but the good man was not a fisherman and did not understand either the mysterious ways of fish or the incitement of a crew!

While this *neid fire* was kindled in all earnestness, a miming song-dance I have seen in Eriskay is pure fun: 'the Carline or Witch-wife of the Mill-dust' (*Cailleach an Dudain*), who falls down dead and is brought to life again! Once, perhaps, a half-remembered symbolic 'play' of the seasonal fall and resurrection of seed, it is certainly in form and spirit a thing of happy laughter now! Tales were retold by Martin and a seventeenth-century English skipper, of offerings made to a sea-god, Shony, at Eoropie, Ness, for the sake of seaweed, followed by feasting and drinking in the chapel there.[1] The story may be garbled or, if true, may record a pre-Christian survival turned to merriment and of no more significance to the people of the time than 'the Carline of the Mill-dust'. The prayers for the seaweed necessary for agriculture and daily bread are Christian in spirit.

When the people were at the mercy of periodic famines, diseases and sudden death, there were ample grounds for fears. Hence a word must be said of a belief widespread and ancient in the Old World, 'the evil eye' (*droch shuil*). In the absence of clinical diagnosis, a malady, or a misfortune to oneself or a valued possession, might cast suspicion on someone present when it occurred; and

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 143-208. Contrast *Carmina*, vol. iv, pp. 33-35.

small savings, if any, have been put to the purchase of fishing gear and boats, for fishing, too, was summer work. By 1833 the poverty of the Outer Islesfolk and the bankruptcy of the landlords were such that Parliamentary attention was called to the state of the Hebrides. Poverty continued to be extreme, but need turned the people to fishing. The loss of revenue to the lairds led to their making sheep farms—somewhat unwillingly—with local evictions: in Lewis chiefly from Park and from north of Stornoway, and in Harris notably from the western Machars to the eastern Bays. In spite of this, it also brought about the sale of Harris by Macleod, and finally of Lewis by Seaforth in 1844.[1]

(8) NEW OWNERSHIP AND CAPITAL IN LEWIS: 1844–78

Lewis was bought by Mr. James Matheson, a gentleman of Highland family, whose fortune had been made in China. Sir James (as he became) put much capital, effort and goodwill into the management and improvement of the Island. Of the amounts expended we may distinguish, so far as possible, what he spent as a rich man for his private pleasure from what he spent for the people. No sooner had Matheson bought the Island than the 'potato famine' of 1845–46 broke out. The terrible loss of life in Ireland, and the depopulation of that country which followed, would have been equalled in the Isles but for the action of landowners like Matheson—who were the descendants of 'kinsmen', not of alien conquerors—and also of subscribers

[1] A sketch map of Harris showing the areas cleared (1816–54) and areas settled as a result, together with those re-settled by government help after 1900, is given by J. B. Caird, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, vol. 67, 2, 1951, p. 94.

in Scottish cities, who came forward again in 1888 and in 1925. Of the £33,000 Matheson expended on meal and seed potatoes for relief, about half was repaid in labour by the recipients. Here are the outlays reclassified from the Brand Report (1902, p. xv):

Castle buildings and grounds and shooting lodges			£120,000
Buildings and Land reclamation		£100,000	
Industries and Communications:—			
Chemical Works, for manufacturing paraffin oil from peat	£33,000		
Roads and Bridges	25,000		
Brickworks (from local clay)	6,000		
Patent Slipway, Quays, etc., at Stornoway	10,000		
		74,000	
Other expenditure:—			
Net Losses on Steamers and Mails	£32,000		
Industrial and Other Schools	12,000		
Emigration (2200 persons)	12,000		
Miscellaneous	1,000		
Relief (Meal, etc.), gross outlay	33,000		
		90,000	
Total expenditure, other than on Castle, etc.			264,000
Original Cost of Island			190,000
GRAND TOTAL			£574,000

Thus, of a capital outlay of over half a million pounds, roughly a quarter of a million was spent directly on the development of the estate. The rental in 1844 (exclusive of feu-duties) was nearly £11,000, and this rose to £18,000 within a few years, though it had been reduced to £15,000 at the end of the century. It will be seen that the praise given to Sir James Matheson for his liberal expenditure was well won, if allowance is made for the standards of his class and generation. Yet of the £120,000 he spent upon

favour of sheep farmers, in Lewis there had been very few evictions. Early in the days of the sheep-farming boom, one of the Seaforths had been offered 'double rents', and refused them rather than turn the people away. Later on, when the wars were over, and when the Seaforth fortunes were failing, subtenants and their cattle had been replaced by sheep stock in three tacks around Broad Bay (at Coll and Gress and at Aignish at the base of Eye Peninsula). The failure of kelp-burning and the potato famine brought acute want in rocky parts of the Isle, and led to the desertion of their homes by certain communities. In 1863, out of a total of forty crofters in a township of Barvas parish, more than half emigrated by help of Sir James Matheson. Local resettlement was aided by Sir James, who provided horses and implements for Uig people who moved to Shawbost (6 miles north of Loch Roag). Abandoned places became farms; and although agricultural prices fell and Sir James made little profit from the erection of buildings and the drainage, dyking and fencing on farms, land was improved, and better stock was bred, of which some was available to improve that of crofters, too. Twenty years later, however, increasing numbers increased the demand for crofts, and the people sought to reoccupy their forebears' land. In this, the Lewismen shared in a widespread movement, extending from the Scottish Isles to Wales and Ireland.

As a result of the real sufferings of the people in the Highlands and Isles, and of the growing interest in the land shown in the country and in Parliament, where Irish members made themselves the crofters' allies, the Government in 1883 appointed a Royal Commission of Enquiry under a fair-minded judge, Lord Napier. As a remedy, the Commissioners recommended measures based upon

grants, then, in the absence of an immediate goal, the combination of the corporate interest in bad work with natural inclination to an easy time proved overwhelming! The problem of assuring good work and prompt repayment is real: it calls for the right appeal to team-spirit coupled with personal responsibility. Many short roads to small new settlements have been economically built.

With regard to loans for settlement and housing, similar contrasts are found. Near Stornoway the farm of Aignish (Eye) was divided in 1905 into thirty-two fishermen's holdings (rented at £3). The Congested Districts Board lent £3600 for housing and spent £1600 on fencing and £450 on administrative expenses, a total of about £180 per holding; but in seven years the holders had paid only one-seventh of the annuities due, and were in arrears with the rent.[1] Yet on the housing loans made on a wide scale since 1919, there was mutual aid among neighbours and the repayment has been satisfactory.

SUMMARY: 1750–1914–1919

The transition from the old economy of mutual aid in self-support, little changed down to the 'Forty-five, to the development of production for sale had proceeded far by 1914. Yet change had not continued steadily. There had been fluctuations, from the land and back again, or towards individualism with returns to common action. Kelp-making, migration, and commercial fishing alternated in importance as means to earn a living without losing the anchorage of home. After the potato famine, a century ago, the people tended to move away from the outlying townships and emigrate; but the next generation agitated

[1] J. P. Day (1918), pp. 312-314.

for a firmer hold upon the land and for a return to abandoned sites. The communal possession of joint farms, held directly or under tacksmen, gave place to individual possession of crofts. Yet the legal recognition of perpetual tenure in 1886 gave not only the crofter's home but the crofting neighbourhood a security unequalled in Britain. The use of moor and machar in common was retained; but its control for improvement or reclamation by the estate or the township was weakened, rather than strengthened, by the Crofters' Acts. Confusion grew—both upon the arable land, subdivided, unenlarged and unimproved, and also upon the common grazing, sorely overstocked in spite of ever diminishing 'soumings' (or family shares) of cattle. Rating difficulties and anomalies appeared. Communal discipline, maintained at sea by fishing, was weakened on land after the abolition of the joint farm-group, and almost nullified in the townships by subdivision and squatting.

A year before the potato famine of 1845, a new landlord had brought good-will, capital and pioneering effort to Lewis. These had been directed to experiments in the reclamation and the industrial utilisation of deep peat. Helped by employment on these and other works, the population of Lewis continued to increase, when increase in Harris was arrested for a generation. Yet while neither experiment with peat met with success, little aid had been given to develop fisheries. In both parts of the Island a growing population was supported from the 'seventies onwards by help of earnings derived from the seasonal herring fishing on the East Coast and from inshore line fishing at home. Women added to the Island income by seasonal 'gutting' and, in Harris, by their spinning and weaving. Money was earned by work on the mainland,

rural Islanders throughout the nineteenth century and even today.

From 1887 the State made efforts to improve the crofters' lot. Crofters' claims to stake shares upon the only available reclaimed land in the Island, that of a few farms, had been refused in the 'eighties, but came to be granted, in principle and in fact, after 1900. During the war of 1914–18 the Government reaffirmed its promise to divide sheep farms into crofts for men returning from the Services, and the Land Settlement Act became law in 1919. Yet in spite of tentative experiments and schemes, a determined effort to see the Island possibilities and face its problems, as a whole, still remained to be made in the twentieth century.

When war broke out in 1914 over 5000 men left Lewis to join the Services, and corresponding numbers left from Harris. Others, too, served in the Merchant Marine, exposed to U-boat warfare. From the first months of the war, Lewismen in the Seaforth Highlanders, and men from Harris in the Camerons, fought in the Highland Division as shock troops in the attacks which cost the Division the highest casualties of any in the British Army. The Lovat Scouts, the Mountain Battery, the Garrison Artillery and other units, also enrolled their men, and suffered loss. The last blow to the Island came after anxiety had ceased. Early in 1919 the transport *Iolaire* struck a rock and sank at the entrance to Stornoway harbour; and 200 men who had withstood dangers and hardships during four years of war went down in the dark of a winter's night, almost within call of their waiting relatives massed on the pier to welcome them.

exists at Tárbert and another was erected in 'the Bays' district by Leverhulme. Leverhulme also appears to have introduced 'Automatic' hand-looms into Lewis. Today as in the past, the weavers possess a little croft or a feu, a cow, and a few sheep on the outrun, and perhaps a small boat.

Commercial fishing and weaving cannot, however, be satisfactorily combined, for seasonal alternation of occupation entails waste of gear and plant, and interferes with efficiency. Thus in the North Lochs fishing 'creek' (Leurbost neighbourhood, immediately south of Stornoway), weaving became important, but none of the seven large herring fishing boats (still registered in 1930) had been fitted with motors after 1918; they were idle and rotting, and by 1938 only one was still registered. In South Lochs, however, motor-boats were purchased, but there is little weaving. An obvious reason for the difference is the accessibility of the North Lochs area by road to Stornoway. Light passenger cars bring yarn to the village, besides groceries, etc., and take away rolls of tweed. South Lochs, on the other hand, considerably further from Stornoway by road, is still within reach for marketing fish. In North Lochs, merchant seamen at home and young men on their return from three months' work on East Coast fishing boats, turned increasingly to the 'Automatic' looms, manipulation being easily learnt; but such intermittent work alone gives little hope of progress. There is no more fascinating problem than the future of improved weaving.

2. *Unemployment and the Island Budget*

In the past, the storms of the Atlantic washed up on the Island shores the wreckage of world commerce; and

fragments of spars and other needful things lacking on croft and moor were picked up and carefully allotted. So, after 1919, from the wreckage of modern industry borne on the ground-swell of 'Depressions', there came to the Islesfolk the frail raft of unemployment relief, doled out like driftwood long ago.

Some assessment is therefore required. The total amounts of relief disbursed before 1931 were comparatively bountiful; and they certainly exceeded the sum of the crofters' contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund. After a couple of months of wage labour at road-mending, harbour-repair, or the like, young men were qualified for 'the dole'. Furnished with this, they returned to the croft when paid employment gave out, to cart in their peat, collect stones for a new house or saunter out with a rod for a little fishing from the rocks. All this was done 'on the dole', with complete legality, so long as their names were duly inscribed at Stornoway Labour Exchange as seeking fresh employment. Not a few prayed that 'employment' would not come inconveniently soon, as they would then be legally bound to accept it and to leave the croft. No doubt, even if only a part of the money received was urgently needed, the surplus was not squandered, as it might have been in a town. Extra cash, if any, served to buy a loom here, fencing for the garden there, and other things of permanent use. Yet morally it constituted misappropriation of relief. As a result, through no real fault of their own, young men began to lose independence and self-respect. This general problem for youth was widespread in years of 'depression', and it was peculiarly severe both in industrial Clydeside and the fishing villages of Scotland, and also throughout the 'depressed areas' of northern and western Britain, of which the Isles form the outermost fringe.

THE PEOPLE

733 734 158 people; Lewis can be taken as representative of the Hebrides and the Highlands in general. The incidence of involutional melancholia, occurring mainly in middle life, is high and, to quote one expert, 'It would seem profitable to consider the states of fear and distress with which it has been associated.'

731 165 Those in Harris and Lewis aged fifty or over have their recollections charged with little else than disaster. Not only did the island lose an abnormally high percentage of its young men in

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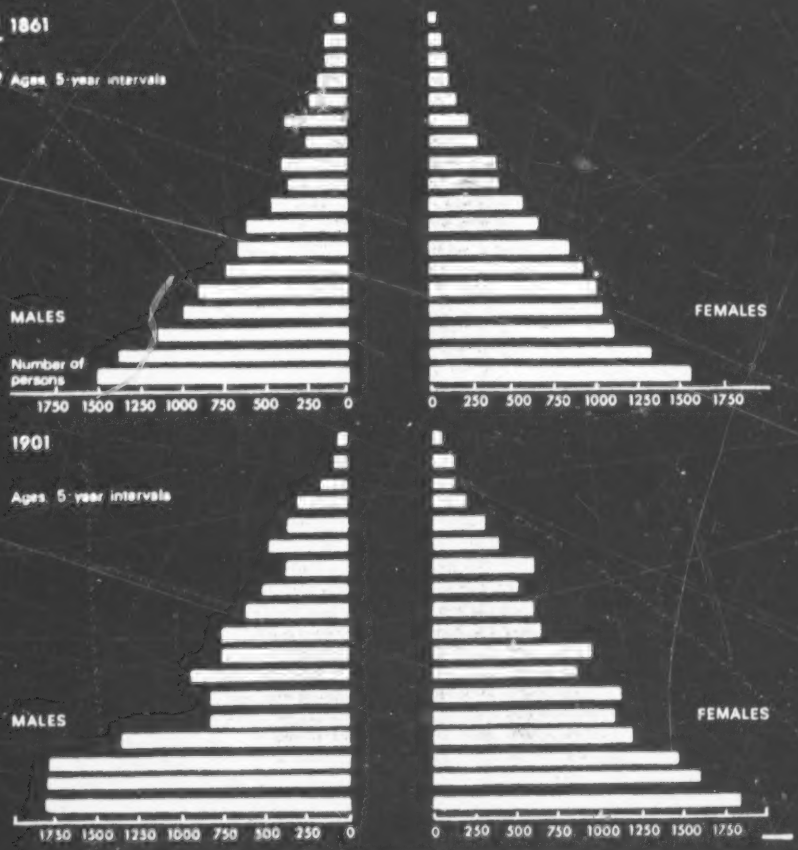

The age structure of the Lewis population in 1861 and 1901, showing the trend toward ageing as the younger elements emigrate (age scale 5-90 years reading from base)

HEALTH AND HOUSING

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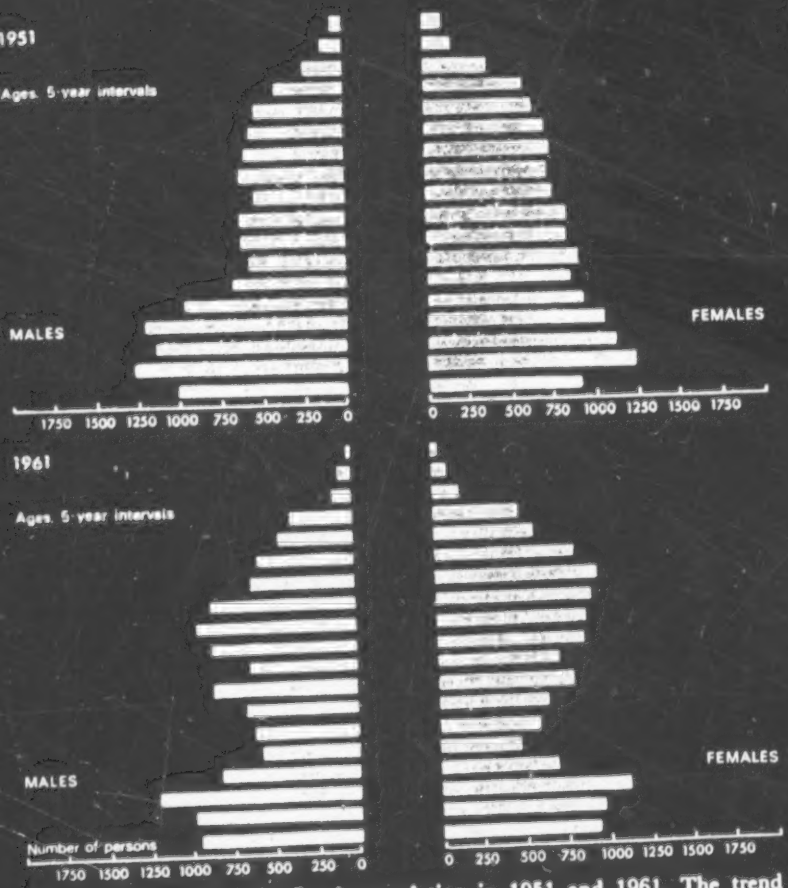

The age structure of the Lewis population in 1951 and 1961. The trend shown over the forty years 1861-1901 has strengthened and consolidated, so that the 1961 population is middle-aged

the 1914 war, but some 200 of those who survived the holocaust were lost in the wreck of the *Iolaire* on New Year's morning, 1919 —the first morning of the first new year of peace, literally within sight of home. Again, the effect of emigration was a loss, in many small communities, of a full generation. Where religion is strong and thrice-distilled, there tends also to prevail a state of mind which dwells on guilt and, where people are accustomed to ex-

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NORTH RONA

Though the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says that in his time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving only, and an abundance of clover-grass for sheep. The island also produced a fine bere-meal which the islanders stuffed into the skins of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of Lewis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest Christian building in Britain remaining in its original state, Monro says: 'As the ancients of the country allege, they leave a spade and a shuil [shovel] when any man dies, and upon the morrow find the place of the grave marked with a spade, as they allege.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680:

> The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either; they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as they want; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of mankind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take their surname from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and clouds. There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis, which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm of rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the food. A few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders of their only bull. 'These misfortunes and the want of supply from Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all that ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony was sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical*

THE OTHER ISLANDS

even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil. Martin speaks of the islands with amusement and admiration. He indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they were illiterate, and wondered naïvely at the newcomers and their manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty.'

In May 1877, when the local tourist trade had hardly started, HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what they invariably asked for'. The ordinary diet of the island consisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Seabirds' eggs, from March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had zinc roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had been erected about 1863, 'and are certainly much superior to the inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the Western Isles'. All were well furnished, peat was used for fuel and there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only two of them were unmarried, with twelve spinsters still to choose from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoemakers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses, and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each croft and house was rented at £2 annually, sheep being charged for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in kind.

Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers; and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

361 by co-operation of three authorities: the Town Council,
369 the Piers and Harbour Commission, and the Stornoway
632 Trust as owner of property, including Lews Castle with
[656] its grounds. The social situation is of quite exceptional
[654] interest, and an attempt to describe some of its features is made in Appendix II, on the Stornoway Trust and the Lewis Association.

(c) CHANGES IN ISLAND POPULATION, AND THE FUTURE

1. *From 1801 to 1939*

175 Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the growth
162 of population was periodically checked or even set back by famines and epidemics, such as smallpox, or by warfare.
• [731] In 1801 the total population of the Outer Hebrides (in round numbers) was 21,700, and in 1831 it was 32,000. Of this total, Lewis carried 9200 and Harris 3000 in 1801 and, a generation later, in 1831, respectively 14,500 and 3900. In the graph (Fig. 12) the curve showing the average for the five landward or rural parishes of the Island (excluding Stornoway Burgh) indicates the fairly steady numerical increase there, almost to the close of the
[731] century. Following the evictions after 1831 and the potato famine of 1846–48, emigration caused a fall in the southern islands (*e.g.* in South Uist, Fig. 12). Forty years later, in 1871, the Outer Hebridean total reached nearly 40,000, of which Lewis alone, with 21,000, now gave more than half the total, and Harris—in spite of an intervening drop owing to evictions—4800. By 1901, in spite of losses in the southern isles, the total for the Outer Hebrides reached a peak of 46,200. Of this, Lewis already contributed almost

175 much of Britain and Europe until about 1700. A modern
511 parallel may be found in Asiatic lands with the frequency
162 of famines alternating with periods of recovery or, in others, the long-drawn misery of chronic under-nutrition and
171 endemic disease. In modern Europe, only international or civil war can now bring such extreme widespread misery.
• [731] And as peace brings partial healing, so in the Island past, when good seasons returned after famines, the life of the family renewed itself.[1]

175 The narrow margin of survival even in good seasons,
593 the risks of the bread-winner's death and of his family's destitution, and the need of co-operation in so many tasks made the family too small, weak and precarious a unit to stand alone. Even with relatively little division (or specialisation) of labour, and in spite of its apparent self-sufficiency, the family had perforce to link itself with wider circles of community life.

(B) JOINT LABOUR BY SMALL TEAMS: THE EVIDENCE OF TENURE IN 1715–26

175 Romance is hidden among the rent-rolls of the Seaforth
241 estates, all of which were forfeited when the Earl rose for 'King James VIII' in 1715. For of the rents withheld
429 from the government until 1720, on the mainland at least
[642] the loyal clansmen paid a considerable portion to their
[613] exiled chief, styled 'Marquis' by 'King James'. But the

[1] The 'ups and downs' of a peasantry living on the margin of subsistence and subject to severe disease can be studied in India, 1871–1941, where the 'net' or mean change has to be correlated with the 'variability'. This wide problem was reviewed in a series of papers to 1948; "The Social
[113] and Psychological Significance of Variability in Regional Changes of Population", with examples taken from Indian villages. (A. Geddes, *Human Relations*, Vol. 1, 2, 1947–48; cf. *Geog. Rev.* 1942 and 1948; and *Geog. Journal*, 3, vol. 98, 1941).

The number of cattle diminished as milk became available by other means; and when the township reseeding schemes came into existence, the need to go to the sheilings for an "early bite" was removed. The sheilings that remain in use today are huts of tin, wood and concrete within easy walking distance from the highway, used on weekends and during summer holidays. Most of these modern sheilings are close to Stornoway, and serve as summer retreats for the relatively harried urban dwellers such as publicans. On the west side, the sheilings are no longer used, but remain as a theme of songs and in nostalgic memories.

C. The Loom

Clo Mor, the big cloth, was woven in the Highlands and Islands for hundreds of years. Martin Martin, who travelled through the Outer Hebrides in the late 17th century, describes the export of "plaiding," and the practice of waulking or shrinking the woven length of cloth (Martin 1716). Weaving was done on wooden looms, and produced only for local markets until the middle of the 19th century.

By the middle of the 19th century, the failure of the kelp industry, decline of fishing, and destruction

286 175 731 735 286 175 741 439 of potato crops by blight had contributed to widespread poverty. The production of cloth for non-local markets was promoted initially by philanthropic proprietors in an effort to ameliorate such conditions. Lady Dunmore, of the Dunmore family that owned Harris during most of the 19th century, was largely responsible for developing a market in London and elsewhere for cloth woven in Harris. [565] The cloth was popular first among the aristocracy, who [438] wore it for hunting and other sporting occasions. The [435] romantic image of a cottage industry promoted for charitable purposes contributed to the market value of the tweed.

The market expanded in the second half of the 19th century, aided by ladies of leisure who followed the example 286 set by Lady Dunmore (cf. Hunter 1964: 24-26). The 441 production of cloth for a commercial market spread from 175 Harris to the southern isles, but was slow in coming to [964] Lewis, where the proprietor, Sir James Matheson, provided the people with construction jobs. After Matheson died in 1878, weaving for outside markets began in Lewis in the parish bordering Harris, and the name "Harris Tweed" was used because a market for cloth of this name had already been established. By World War I, weaving for outside markets was being done in all four parishes in Lewis. In 1899 there were 55 looms in Lewis and over 200 in Harris.

5: Caird et al.	K-5	(1958)	1959	ES10 Highland Scots Park	ES10

summer pastures for the tenants of Laxay and Barnish respectively, townships on the north
ores of the loch. In 1775, there were four tenants in Kershader, but their place of origin
unknown. In 1805, five tenants are recorded, two of them from Uig; by 1824 there were 10
ants. Thus the growth of population in Lewis during the second half of the eighteenth century
y well have been the major reason for the colonisation of one of the least agriculturally
active districts of the island.

From Figure 1, which shows most of the thirty-four occupied places south of Loch Shell
ut 1828, it is evident that colonisation had extended south into the mountainous area. The
ctions, which commenced in Harris in 1816, may have increased the population already there
early as 1660, for many of these families came from Harris. The numerous shielings in
th Park speak of a vigorous community: it is possible that South Park was more densely
ulated than the northern area up till 1800.

During the period 1818 to 1842, when the grazier, Donald Stewart, and his brothers had a lease
outh Park, most of these settlements were cleared (Fig 2): in addition, between 1838 and
3, 68 tenants and sub-tenants in Shieldernish, Cleiter, Seaforthhead, Lemreway, Oronsay,
mrabagh and Isginn were removed, in all about 436 people.[1] Some 27 families were sent to
sabost in North Lochs; others went to Tolsta and Tong in Stornoway parish, and some
grated. The main body of those evicted settled in the townships in North Park: Marivig in
had 6 tenants; by 1850, 22 are recorded. Thus the present distribution of population
tablished about 1840 and by then the townships along the shore of Loch Erisort from Habost to
yvard were well established. The Minch coast townships from Cromore to Gravir, first settled
t 1800, were greatly expanded, and Park south of Gravir became a sheep grazing devoid of
ll tenantry.

In 1844, the Seaforth family, which had held Lewis for over two centuries, sold the island to
James Matheson. The estate management soon wrought great changes in the landscape. Until
-52, the run-rig system prevailed, a system whereby a group of joint tenants, or a tacksman
subtenants, cultivated in small patches what arable land had been reclaimed, each share
g periodically re-allocated. The crofts, or individually held land, date from 1850-52, when
and was lotted and most of the present crofts were formed at this period. The settlement
rn associated with run-rig was one of closely nucleated groups of houses but when run-rig was
ished, houses were built on the individual crofts.

n 1858, Lemreway was once again made available to crofters, most of whom came from the
ng townships where population pressure was building up. After the disastrous potato famine
46-7, and the final failure of the kelp industry from 1840 to 1844, the population of the Outer
experienced great hardship. By the early 1850's, the lotting of the crofts and the rapid
lopment of the fishing industry brought a period of prosperity and the population grew rapidly
cially in the fishing townships of the Minch coast. The prosperity was such that numerous
rs built houses on the lotted crofts, and their stock-keeping on the common was tolerated
use of the demand for fishing crews. About 1884, the system whereby each boat was tied to
vidual fish merchants, who advanced meal and provisions against the catch, was discontinued.
this system was replaced by the auctioning of catches, such was the privation in Lewis that
Royal Commission investigating the poverty of the population in 1888 found conditions almost as
re as those prevailing during the potato famine forty years earlier. It was during this period
the Park Deer Raid occurred: Park became a Deer Forest in 1883 at the end of the grazier's
. In 1888, as a demonstration of their grievances, a large number of crofters from the Park
ships went into the Deer Forest and killed about 200 deer, cooking the meat in the open for all
e. Some were arrested but after trial acquitted.[2] A few good fishing seasons remedied this
ppy situation and the population of the fishing townships rose to a peak in 1911.

Evidence given to Royal Commission of Inquiry into Crofters and Cottars 1883. (Also known as
he Napier Commission).

Report on the Conditions of the Cottar Population in the Lews, 1888.

Stornoway Gazette, 27.1.59.

6: Ducey	E-4,5	(1953-1954)	1956	ES10 Highland Scots Skye	ES10

to the health of the potato and their own fertility.[40] Many men turned to fishing, on a part-time basis, but once again the initial success was short-lived. Others supplemented their diminishing incomes from the croft by seasonal employment in the Lowlands. Crofting had ceased to be a subsistence economy; the people had lost their self-sufficiency. Nor were they ever again able to escape from a dependence on some form of supplementary income to provide the bare essentials of life. The difference between conditions then and now is that the pressure of the population on the means of subsistence increased until it approached a Malthusian ceiling.

In the thirties epidemic and famine began to take their toll. Destitution became widespread and there was no system of relief beyond the moral obligation of the proprietors to provide grain. The marriage rate fell. In Kilmuir the average annual number of marriages fell from twenty-one to six. Subdivision was forbidden, but it was too late. In two districts of Kilmuir there were 190 lots, crofts, and farms to support 421 families in 1840. In all of Skye, after the emigration of at least 1500 people, there were 1900 crofters and 1531 cottars. Despite the fact that oats had become as big a luxury as meat and the fact that many were living on potatoes and fish, the population continued to increase. By 1841 it reached 23,074. Finally, the economic structure collapsed.

In the autumn of 1846 there were no potatoes. A blight destroyed the entire crop. Although the famine was universal

[40]For details concerning the plight of the crofters at this time, see MSA, pp. 216-360.

6: Ducey	E-4,5	(1953-1954)	1956	ES10 Highland Scots Skye	ES10

in Scotland, it lacked the same effects elsewhere. There is a significant correlation in the Highlands and Islands, as in Ireland, of the disproportion of the population to the means of subsistence, due to a change from subsistence farming to a partially commercial system of land use, and the intensity of the crop failure. In both countries the persistence of innumerable traits from the traditional economy, including conservative techniques, attachment to the land, and a tendency to share the land among the kin, hampered commercialization or, at least, specialization and led to devestation.

Five years of famine ended the growth of population. The emigration of large numbers and the death of untold numbers must have seriously disturbed the patterns of interaction within the extended family and the township. Although the proprietors made a final effort to help their tenants, ruining themselves financially, they had foresaken their people. The ministers were no longer able to contribute to group solidarity,[41] because the symbols and values they upheld reflected the attitudes of the landlords and lacked significance for the people.

A religious revival reached effective proportions by 1812.[42] The appearance of the Revival suggests that the culture was far more disorganized than the scant social and economic record indicates. Normally, the attempt to seek supernatural assistance as a source of comfort and hope appears only after the culture has become thoroughly disorganized.[43]

[41]MSA, pp. 269-272.

[42]MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 15, 165; and MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

[43]Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 437-440.

Each man received a permanent, compact plot of arable in place of his former concurrent right to a whole farm. The change, on the surface, seems to have been superficial. The grazings remained common property and the arable land became common property after the harvest. The significant fact is that commercialization had not yet led to a disregard for the customary rights of the small tenant, except in a few isolated areas. 175* 178* 427

There were other effects of the change in tenure beyond a leveling of the social hierarchy. By giving more people a direct share in the land emigration was stopped. The practice of subdividing the crofts among the children, as they married, at once favored an increase in population and strengthened the family of orientation, if not the extended family. At the same time, it placed a greater dependence on the potato; the people became hostages to the health of the potato and their own fertility. In time progressive economic deterioration began. The old subsistence economy had been weakened by subdivision of the small plots, increasing dependence on external markets for profts from the sale of cattle, and wages from kelping or a little fishing. When the markets broke, destitution and emigration reappeared. Finally, with a failure of the potato, the economic structure collapsed. The population trends were reversed. The people had remained unspecialized in a nation of specialists. [167] [161] [593] 175* 178* 731

The next stage in the process of commercialization, the growth of a village and the extension of communications, had little perceptible effect on the Sgiathanach. Villages were 175* 178* 621

existing system of proprietorship. At length, land leagues were formed to give body to the peasants' protest. The movement finally reached Scotland in 1880. By 1883 it had become important on Skye. Significantly, the agents responsible for the Skyemen's agitation were Irishmen.[71] The stimulus for accepting the course of action advocated by these agents was provided by another famine which coincided with the loss of wages from employment on the east coast fishing vessels.[72] The crofters took the law into their own hands. The Kilmuir crofters refused to pay their rent. The Glendale crofters forcibly drove the sheep off their old cattle grazings. Glasgow police and the Royal Marines were dispatched to Skye.[73] Out of this unrest came the appointment of a royal commission of investigation, but their work is our subject for the fourth period. A more pressing problem is what effect did these events have on the religious outlook of the crofter and what influence did religion have on the configuration of the culture. *175 *178 668 [73] [12]

While the Revival was underway during the first half of the century, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was witnessing a renewed battle over the old question of patronage, the right of the proprietor to select the kirk's minister. Finally, in 1843, the Church was broken by schism *175 *178 745

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[71] Ferguson, op. cit., pp. 41-43, 121-123.

[72] See Collier, op. cit., pp. 81-82; Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 91.

[73] Detailed accounts of the land raids and resistance to the police can be found in Alexander MacKenzie, The Isle of Skye in 1882-1883 (Inverness: A. and W. MacKenzie, 1884, pp. 7-144. See also Cummings, op. cit., pp. 146-147 and William MacKenzie, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

The growth of the population ended with a prolonged famine. The proprietors, finding that the people's only justification for crowding the estates and looking to their landlords for help were some nebulous customary usages, facilitated the decline by disregarding custom and throwing as much land into sheep farming as was possible. While evictions were not new, only after the famine did they result in an absolute reduction in numbers. The Sgiathanach, fettered by a lack of capital and an inability to break with the past, could not make the final adjustment required by the process of commercialization, specialization. In addition to emigration, the Clearances and general economic hardship forced a postponement of marriage. There was neither land nor regular employment to provide a livelihood. 161 [731] [427] [182] [167] [582] [464]

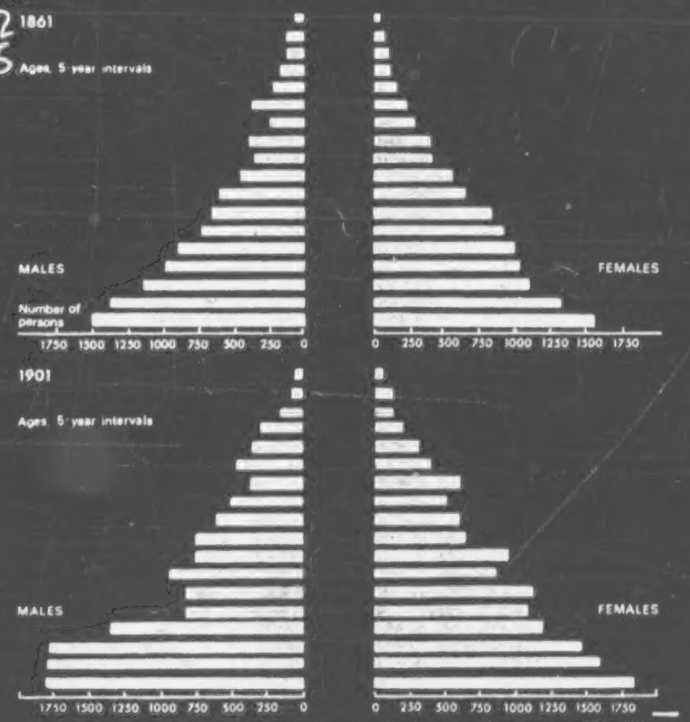
Later in the nineteenth century new influences began to play a role in the continuing decline of the population. Following the passage of the Crofters' Act, the nature of emigration changed. Seasonal migration became negligible. The provisions of the Act, and ensuing legislation, made it possible for a man to remain away during his active years and return to the parental croft to spend his old age. The extention of education not only equipped the youth for life in the larger society but also created demands for objectives which could not be attained at home under the existing order. Thus, as in the period of population growth, the persistence of many features of the old traditional culture, and the renewed importance of others, were factors of no little consequence. 161 167 178 427 671 [871] 161 167 182

THE PEOPLE

733 people; Lewis can be taken as representative of the Hebrides and
734 the Highlands in general. The incidence of involutional melan-
158 cholia, occurring mainly in middle life, is high and, to quote one expert, 'It would seem profitable to consider the states of fear and distress with which it has been associated.'

731 Those in Harris and Lewis aged fifty or over have their recol-
165 lections charged with little else than disaster. Not only did the island lose an abnormally high percentage of its young men in

162 *175



The age structure of the Lewis population in 1861 and 1901, showing the trend toward ageing as the younger elements emigrate (age scale 5-90 years reading from base)

735

735 POVERTY--prevalence and definition of poverty; causes (e.g., low income, unemployment, sickness, alcoholism, improvidence, indolence); social attitudes toward poverty; begging and beggars; poor relief (e.g., almsgiving, private charity, public relief); special institutions for the poor (e.g., almshouses); support of institutions (e.g., municipal, ecclesiastical, private endowment); etc. See also:

Social stratification 56
Social insurance, public assistance, and private welfare agencies 74
Laziness 461
Wages 465
Housing 362
Gift giving 431
Income 434
Standards and levels of living 511

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Shawbost

178 The number of cattle diminished as milk became
231 available by other means; and when the township reseedin
234 schemes came into existence, the need to go to the
233 sheilings for an "early bite" was removed. The sheilings
178 that remain in use today are huts of tin, wood and
342 concrete within easy walking distance from the highway, used on weekends and during summer holidays. Most of these modern sheilings are close to Stornoway, and serve as summer retreats for the relatively harried urban
[184] dwellers such as publicans. On the west side, the sheilings are no longer used, but remain as a theme of songs and in nostalgic memories.

C. The Loom

175 Clo Mor, the big cloth, was woven in the Highlands
286 and Islands for hundreds of years. Martin Martin, who travelled through the Outer Hebrides in the late 17th century, describes the export of "plaiding," and the practice of waulking or shrinking the woven length of cloth (Martin 1716). Weaving was done on wooden looms, and produced only for local markets until the middle of the 19th century.

[731] By the middle of the 19th century, the failure of
[735] the kelp industry, decline of fishing, and destruction

1: Parman E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Shawbost

286 175 731 735 286 175 741 439 of potato crops by blight had contributed to widespread poverty. The production of cloth for non-local markets was promoted initially by philanthropic proprietors in an effort to ameliorate such conditions. Lady Dunmore, of the Dunmore family that owned Harris during most of the 19th century, was largely responsible for developing a market in London and elsewhere for cloth woven in Harris. [565] The cloth was popular first among the aristocracy, who [438] wore it for hunting and other sporting occasions. The [435] romantic image of a cottage industry promoted for charitable purposes contributed to the market value of the tweed.

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2: Thompson H-4.6 (no date) 1976 ES10 Highland Lewis and Harris

HISTORY

*175 423 668 429 The crofters were in a state of revolt against the accumulation of trends and events which now stood like a high dam against their progress to a higher level of acceptance in the social scene. They stood in open conflict with local and national authority. Unhappy scenes were enacted, many being in complete variance with the natural temperament of the Highlander. Lewis crofters were not far behind with their contribution to the agitation for land reform, though they had perhaps suffered less direct action from landowners than had crofters in the Highlands and southern Islands. But their living conditions had deteriorated. And an inhumanly-efficient factor made for deep unrest.

*175 657 423 429 [668] Land agitation began in Lewis in 1881, and large numbers of Lewis crofters gave evidence before the Napier Commission. This Commission was the result of agitation for an enquiry into crofting conditions in the Highlands. Its setting up relieved a situation of acute tension, though it neither extinguished political agitation nor mitigated the disaffection felt in the more disturbed districts. Under Lord Napier's direction a mass of information was collected. The official findings of the Commission were almost identical with political declarations in the country, but did not altogether coincide with the requirements of the crofters and their spokesmen. The resultant Crofters' Act of 1886 fixed the crofting system into that rigid trance in which agricultural innovation, opportunity for improvement, the social progress of crofting communities are largely lacking. It did give all crofters permanency of tenure, where they had none before, fair rents for the land they had and compensation for improvements. But the old demand for new smallholdings and settlements persisted with greater insistence and further pressure on high political circles.

[735] [746] In 1888, members of the new Crofters Commission visited Lewis and found that poverty was so general in the island that among 607 crofters for whom fair rents were fixed, there were scarcely a dozen who had not been recipients of 'destitution' meal or some other form of relief. The population was too much for the 161 162 land to support it under the distribution system prevailing. The *175 number of persons per family in 1871 was on average 5·358, as compared with 4·232 on the mainland of Ross and Cromarty, the county of which Lewis formed a part. Thirty years later, in

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

733

LCOHOLISM AND DRUG ADDICTION--incidence of excessive or chronic use alcohol or narcotics; social problems arising therefrom (e.g., poverty, de-nquency, broken homes); care and treatment of alcoholics and drug addicts .g., neglect, attempts at restraint and cure); special institutions for the eatment and cure of alcoholics and addicts; temperance movements; etc.

e also:

Use of alcoholic beverages and narcotics 27
Psychiatric aspects of alcoholism and drug addiction 158
Organised vice 548
Political movements 668
Relief of dependents 736

781 273 795 794 [161] 3. Bible vs. Bottle: An islander living on the mainland once observed that the Free Church plays cat and mouse with members of the community who drink heavily. Death is a common event in a community which has a large number of old people, and the theme of death appears repeatedly in sermons and in the conversations of those who have undergone religious conversion. The temporary pleasures of drink are contrasted with the eternal joys awaiting those who have been saved. The "false" friend-781 794 ships of the drinking situations are contrasted with the more lasting, consistent relations which characterize the clique of the converted. "You have lots of friends when you get converted, and they don't change overnight the way your drinking companions do."

273 [434] [781] "With the drink it's easy to get started and just not be able to stop drinking, especially with the money there is now. Everything's unsteady here except religion."

273 794 • 733 781 [743] Many of the most deeply religious male members of the church were once heavy drinkers. One villager observed, "If a man went to extremes as a sinner, he'll be just as fanatical when he becomes holy. Had it not been for religion, some of them would have landed in Craig Dunain [the mental hospital near Inverness]. The talk is forever on religion. That keeps their mind at rest."

an urgent necessity for the island of Lewis', and a committee was 175* appointed to collect funds, the subscription list being headed by 743 Lady Matheson; for a period of three years donations flowed in from all parts of the world. The Lewis cottage hospital was opened on 1 February 1896, starting with only fifteen beds; the number was increased to twenty in 1915. An extension was opened in 1925, and the hospital was provided with a surgeon and an ambulance. Another extension in 1929 was the result of a gift of £3,000 from Mr John Bain, of Chicago, a Lewis son who was President of no less than fourteen banks in the Mid-West. The Lewis Sanatorium was started in 1926.

Tuberculosis was at one time in the island's history a disease 175* that caused many deaths and much sorrow. About 1930 an Assist- 164 ant Medical Officer of Health was appointed, Dr R. Stevenson 744 Doig (who died in 1965), who spent his career-life in Lewis stamp- 759 ing out what was called in the island the 'white scourge'; he lived [165] long enough to see the introduction of preventive medicine and the decline of the killing and crippling diseases he found on his first years in Lewis.

In dental health, progress has, as in so many areas, been 164 reversed. At one time the island teeth were so well known for 178 their strength and beauty that a film was made by the Army for showing to audiences considered in need of dental-health education. In 1966 the picture had changed: a survey revealed that 95 per cent of Lewis children were in need of dental treatment. [262] The mainland addiction to sugary foods has spread.

As distinct from the island's general medical services, centred 734 on Stornoway, the psychiatric services are based at Inverness. What was formerly the Inverness District Asylum, now called Craig Dunain Hospital, is the only mental hospital in the Highlands area, with a few long-term beds in the Institution at Lochmaddy; the general hospital at Stornoway conducts monthly out-patient clinics. Over the area served, the rate of admission to Craig Dunain Hospital is around 3·3 persons per 1,000 of population, compared with a figure of 4·68 for Scotland as a whole, 5·5 for Lewis and 2 for Harris.

The drink problem and Lewis's relatively high rate of admis- 733 • sions to mental hospital both stem from the background of the 734 158

• 733 734 158 people; Lewis can be taken as representative of the Hebrides and the Highlands in general. The incidence of involutional melancholia, occurring mainly in middle life, is high and, to quote one expert, 'It would seem profitable to consider the states of fear and distress with which it has been associated.'

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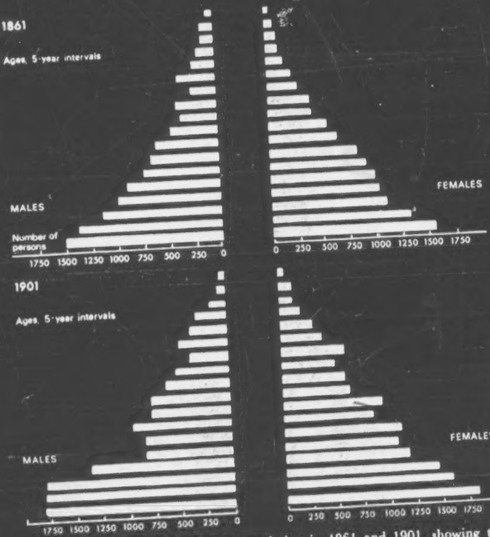
162 *175 1861 Ages, 5-year intervals



The age structure of the Lewis population in 1861 and 1901, showing trend toward ageing as the younger elements emigrate (age scale 5-90 ye reading from base)

771 783 158 [158] press themselves in terms of religious values and ideas, the fear of having committed unforgivable sin. The normal adjustments, reflections and mental stocktaking of middle life are possibly more readily precipitated towards depression in an emotional people • 733 prone to serious thought. This brings of course a concomitant 157 spectrum of problems in an area where in general a man is expected to take a dram and stand it; both nature and nurture are relevant factors. In the words of Cunningham Graham (1899), the medical adviser finds himself 'preaching teetotalism, that is for others, but himself taking his glass of whisky for the reasons which have been so cogently set forth by St Paul the Apostle to the Caledonians.' For those who comment in isolation on a com- [539] munity's indulgence in alcohol, one must quote a Gaelic proverb: *'Tha smuideag fhein an ceann gach foid'*—Every peat-end has its own smoke.

733 From the earliest times the Western Isles have indeed been regarded as supporting a population with an uncanny predilec- *175 tion for spiritous liquors. To a certain extent the spirits were [539] needed by ill-nourished crofters to keep out the damp and cold when on the moors or at sea; and people in a depressed economic or mental condition will anywhere seek refuge in alcohol or other available drugs—forgetting the old Gaelic proverb 'Better the little fire that will warm than the great fire that will burn.' The evil effects of drinking have certainly at times been serious: in 1869 Sir James Matheson addressed a circular letter of remonstrance to his tenants, indicating that those guilty of misconduct were liable to be deprived of their holdings. In 1920 a vote was taken in Stornoway under the Scottish Temperance Act, with the result that the town went 'dry'; three years later the poll was upheld. Then in 1926, with a majority of 84, Stornoway went 'wet' again.

275 But the 'drink question' has been given undue prominence and [733] dragged out of its island context. For instance, Stornoway contains all but three of the licensed premises on the island (at Tarbert, Rodel and Carloway) and, as the chief centre for business and pleasure, must naturally attract anyone seeking refreshment.

734

734 INVALIDISM--chronic illness and invalidism (e.g., mental illness, tuberculosis, multiple sclerosis); prolonged convalescence after illness; treatment and care (e.g., hospitalization, neglect, euthanasia, nursing, diet, rest); home care and institutionalization; sanatoriums, mental institutions, convalescent homes; economic problems arising from chronic illness; relief of the chronically ill and their families (e.g., charity, public relief), etc. See also:

Malnutrition	146	Hospitals and clinics	743
Morbidity	164	Social insurance	745
Insurance	456	General data on medical care	768

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1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

264 The only occasions on which it is customary to feed
574 someone an entire meal is at a work party, such as peat-
576 cutting. On such occasions the preparation of meals is
[461] done in an atmosphere of competition and mutual scrutiny,
[476] and the meals are often elaborate. At other times, the
requirements of etiquette can be minimally fulfilled by
giving foods which are still relatively abundant, but
which were much more abundant when the land was cultivated
[262] and cows kept. Such foods are barley bread, oatcakes,
264 clotted sour milk, cream and fresh butter. These foods
571 are usually offered to visitors along with tea, and in the
574 past this custom served to minimize the economic disparities
between villagers, to spread scarce resources. A similar
[737] function was served by the practice of giving part of
[431] each catch of fish to old widows and other villagers in
need of aid. Even though food is more abundant and diverse
today, the taking of tea, and especially food, during a
visit is still very important.

173 A 50-year-old man who "married into" a croft recalls,
[581] "I came from a family of ten children. Everyone had to
[428] leave, or marry a girl with a croft. Only the eldest son
could inherit the croft." There was little room for
423 romanticism in the fight for scarce land among the sons
581 of large crofter and non-crofter families. "The most

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

154
The substantial tenants had their own private tutors, but the 175* 178* 658
people, in general, received only informal schooling until 671
well into the nineteenth century when several charitable societies [741]
entered the field.[85] All schools were essentially religious.
The act of 1872, and subsequent legislation, changed the program
and made education compulsory for all. It was not until the
end of the century that adequate facilities were available and
the system began to function, with the beginning of free
education.[86]

Informal control within the community was augmented by 175* 178* 657
the establishment of a rural police force, with headquarters [625]
in Portree and local stations at convenient points around the
Island. Health and welfare became a responsibility of the
state. A regional medical plan provided doctor's care and
hospital facilities for all regardless of means. Old age [737]
pensions were granted to the elderly. Later, the scope of
assistance for the infirm, aged, and the poor, and the un-
employed was increased. Thus, the government continually 175* 178* 657
usurped many of the functions of the family and the local group, 621
especially following the abolition of the parish council in
1929.[87] Although the parish councils, or the still older
parochial boards, had no legislative powers, they did handle
welfare and, until 1918, education. Now, in 1929, a Skye

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[85] NSA, pp. 233, 281, 294, 298, 312, 321, 355.

[86] Napier Report, p. 70; and Norman MacLean, Set Free, p. 211.

[87] C. De B. Murray, How Scotland Is Governed (Glasgow: Art and Educational Publishers, 1947), pp. 118-136; 195-196.

741

741 PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS--private endowments for relief of distress, social welfare, health, and education; church endowments for philanthropic and educational purposes; corporate foundations for the promotion of health, welfare, science, and education; special philanthropic organizations (e.g., community trusts); organization, administration, and policies of foundations; finance (e.g., gifts, investments, tax exemption); fund-raising methods; distribution of funds; etc. See also:

Institutions for defectives, dependents, and delinquents	73	Gift giving	431
Science and the humanities	81	Investment	454
Education	87	Taxation	681
Trusts	429	Church organizations	794

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741

[For information on the philanthropic activities of Baron Leverhulme of Bolton-le-Moors, Lever of Port Sunlight, see category 159, pp. 257-273.]

COMMUNICATIONS

509 There were, of course, other types of flights before 1948. In
*175 1937, Captain Fresson took the first sick person off the island on
• [743] charter—the beginning of the air-ambulance service so valuable
[205] to the islanders. During World War II, certain RAF mails were flown between Glasgow and Stornoway, on which there were first covers (December 1943, Glasgow/Stornoway; December 1943, Stornoway/Glasgow; and January 1944, Glasgow/Stornoway). The present air services are supplied by BEA and Loganair Ltd. The BEA plane route is Glasgow/Benbecula/Inverness and return. Loganair offer a service Glasgow/Benbecula/Stornoway and return. In recent years this small firm has built up a most valuable inter-island air link.

OVERLAND ROUTES

484 The history of overland communications in the island is a short
*175 one, though it does, like American history, have many characteristic highlights. In early times getting from one place to another
[487] was simply a matter of following well-worn tracks across the moorland, skirting lochsides and marshy lands and just taking the shortest distance possible between starting point and destination.
[499] Considering the length and breadth of the island, it is surprising that it was not until Sir James Matheson's appearance in Lewis that road-making was undertaken with any determination. This activity stemmed largely from the desire to get something in return for the outlay involved in keeping literal death from starvation clear of the doors of the island folk.

491 The report of the Rev James Headrick (prepared for Lord Sea-
499 forth in 1800 and published about 1820) indicated that the provision of roads would be of great benefit to the island. A footnote
*175 in the report (of probable date 1816) urges assistance from Parliament or the Board of Fisheries to complete the road from Stornoway to Loch Roag, which had been begun by Lord Seaforth.
[652] There is a bitter complaint that though the Seaforth property bears a large share in the county assessment, 'not a penny of public money has ever been laid out in Lewis'. Another footnote records that the road from Stornoway to Aignish in the east was made in 1815. No large undertakings followed Mr Headrick's

THE PEOPLE

*175
165 centre of the mud floor through
164 organic matter or manure.'

The island, for all its ills and c
*175 a low death-rate. Martin Martin
163 observation of such as live on th
165 prolific than any other people wh
island the birth-rate was as high a
of about 12 per cent. The longevit
a fact confirmed by a glance any
the *Stornoway Gazette*, regularly
genarians, nonagenarians and son

*175 In 1795 the island had only o
759 oculation is performed here with
tion of Mr Robert Millar, Surgeo
[751] to Stornoway, who attended to th
By the turn of the century there w
each parish, with five doctors in

*175 Just after the turn of the cent
759 in the north of Harris. This had
Sir Samuel Scott, whose crofters
• 743 annum and cottars 2s 6d; this su
In return, Scott guaranteed the s
securing the services of a resident
was apparently considerable reluc
*175 the patient belonged to the club o
759 Medical Officer of Health was
485 North Harris Club he received so
178 him with a home. Dr Fletcher re
262 change had taken place in the
memory of the older inhabitants,
called new diseases and lowered vi
Good, plain wholesome diet 'has b
questionable quality and purity.
[212] nondescript article which goes by
rather abuse, of which they are qu
they extract the last dregs by boil
the strongest digestive system.'

*175 In 1892 'a well-equipped med
743

tons and tons of decomposing

hills, had a high birth-rate and
1695) declared: 'It is a general
e sea coast that they are more
atsoever.' In some areas of the
s 35 per cent with a death-rate
y of the islanders is well known,
week at the Deaths columns of
recording the decease of octo-
ne reaching their century.
ne surgeon. In Stornoway, 'In-
success by the skill and atten-
n.' Later, another doctor came
e sick in all parts of the island.
vere resident medical officers in
practice in Stornoway.
ury, there was a medical club
been formed by the proprietor,
were supposed to pay 5s per
bscription covered dependents.
alary of a medical officer, thus
doctor in the district. But there
tance to call a doctor, whether
r not. The salary of the district
£35 per annum, and from the
me £200. Scott also provided
orted in 1906 that a complete
diet of the people within the
whose accounts of what they
rility he found very interesting.
een replaced by cheap stuff, of
To this change there is another
the name of tea, in the use, or
te intemperate and from which
ing. The result is disastrous to

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HEALTH AND HOUSING

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ant Medical Officer of Health was appointed, Dr R. Stevenson 744
Doig (who died in 1965), who spent his career-life in Lewis stamp- 759
ing out what was called in the island the 'white scourge'; he lived [165
long enough to see the introduction of preventive medicine and the decline of the killing and crippling diseases he found on his first years in Lewis.

In dental health, progress has, as in so many areas, been 164
reversed. At one time the island teeth were so well known for 178
their strength and beauty that a film was made by the Army for showing to audiences considered in need of dental-health education. In 1966 the picture had changed: a survey revealed that 95 per cent of Lewis children were in need of dental treatment. [262
The mainland addiction to sugary foods has spread.

As distinct from the island's general medical services, centred 734
on Stornoway, the psychiatric services are based at Inverness. What was formerly the Inverness District Asylum, now called Craig Dunain Hospital, is the only mental hospital in the Highlands area, with a few long-term beds in the Institution at Lochmaddy; the general hospital at Stornoway conducts monthly out-patient clinics. Over the area served, the rate of admission to Craig Dunain Hospital is around 3·3 persons per 1,000 of population, compared with a figure of 4·68 for Scotland as a whole, 5·5 for Lewis and 2 for Harris.

The drink problem and Lewis's relatively high rate of admis- 733
sions to mental hospital both stem from the background of the 734
158

Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, contributed handsomely. But that was only one item in a long chapter that will never close.

The most shattering disaster on Lewis shores was the loss of the *Iolaire* on the very last day of the year 1918. Before the New Year's Day of 1919 was a few hours old, over 200 sons and fathers were lying in the death-waters of their drowning, little more than a stone's-throw from their native island. Barely a village on the island was not affected by the sinking of the *Iolaire*, which was bringing soldiers and sailors back from the war to their homes. The subsequent findings of the Court of Inquiry are bald statements which convey nothing of the tragic loss of the cream of an island's male population in a matter of minutes. The jury found that the *Iolaire* went ashore and was wrecked on the rocks inside the 'Beasts of Holm' (outside Stornoway) about 1.55 on the morning of 1 January, resulting in the death of 205 men; that the officers in charge did not exercise sufficient prudence in approaching the harbour; that the boat did not slow down, and that the look-out was not on duty at the time of the accident; that the number of lifeboats, boats and rafts was insufficient for the number of people carried, and that no orders were given by the officers with a view to saving life; and, further, that there was a loss of valuable time between the signals of distress and the arrival of life-saving apparatus in the vicinity of the wreck. The sad affair is still remembered in the In Memoriam columns of the *Stornoway Gazette*.

AIR SERVICES

The people of the Outer Hebrides are among the most air-minded in the world. However, aeroplanes came late to the island. The first visit by an aircraft was in 1928, when Seaplane S1058 landed in Stornoway Harbour. The crew of five were treated to a luncheon by the town's civic heads. In 1932 the seaplane *Flying Cloud* arrived in the town, piloted by Lord Malcolm Douglas Hamilton. Owned by British Flying Boats Limited, it was the first commercial aircraft to land and caused some local talk about air services for the island. In June 1933 a large seven-seater air-

737

737 OLD AGE DEPENDENCY--incidence of dependency for the aged of both sexes care and support of the aged (e.g., support by relatives, private charity, public relief, institutionalization); special institutions for the aged (e.g., old people's homes); support of institutions (e.g., private, municipal, fraternal, ecclesiastical); etc. See also:

Age distribution of the population 162
Savings 454
Annuities 456
Pensions and social insurance 745
Public assistance 746
Status and treatment of the aged 888

The substantial tenants had their own private tutors, but the people, in general, received only informal schooling until well into the nineteenth century when several charitable societies entered the field.[85] All schools were essentially religious. The act of 1872, and subsequent legislation, changed the program and made education compulsory for all. It was not until the end of the century that adequate facilities were available and the system began to function, with the beginning of free education.[86]

175* 178* 658 621 [741]

Informal control within the community was augmented by the establishment of a rural police force, with headquarters in Portree and local stations at convenient points around the Island. Health and welfare became a responsibility of the state. A regional medical plan provided doctor's care and hospital facilities for all regardless of means. Old age pensions were granted to the elderly. Later, the scope of assistance for the infirm, aged, and the poor, and the unemployed was increased. Thus, the government continually usurped many of the functions of the family and the local group, especially following the abolition of the parish council in 1929.[87] Although the parish councils, or the still older parochial boards, had no legislative powers, they did handle welfare and, until 1918, education. Now, in 1929, a Skye

175* 178* 657 [625] [737] 175* 178* 657 621

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[85] NSA, pp. 233, 281, 294, 298, 312, 321, 355.

[86] Napier Report, p. 70; and Norman MacLean, Set Free, p. 211.

[87] C. De B. Murray, How Scotland Is Governed (Glasgow: Art and Educational Publishers, 1947), pp. 118-136; 195-196.

743

743 HOSPITALS AND CLINICS--number and availability of special institutions for medical care; organization and operation of clinics and hospitals; personnel (e.g., administrative and medical staffs, nurses, orderlies, technicians); equipment; special services; charges and fees; sources of financial support (e.g., governmental, ecclesiastical, private); ambulatory clinics. See also:

Physicians, nurses, and medical care 75
Hospital buildings 344
Care of war veterans 729
Institutions for the care of defectives 732
Care of alcoholics and drug addicts 733
Sanatoriums, convalescent homes, mental institutions, and leproseries 734

597 621 child may come to spend nights or longer periods of time with them.

476 621 [576] To some extent villagers are still dependent on each other for various kinds of help. It is considered extremely bad manners to refuse labor, a tool, or food to anyone who requests them. If someone refuses to aid another, people say, "What will he do when he needs [443] help?" This attitude has made the island a paradise for the few salesmen who, in the last few prosperous years, have started to visit its communities; villagers find it difficult to say no to anyone who comes to their door with a request, including the request that they buy something.

621 574 844 A woman in childbirth was formerly attended by a local midwife, and kept in bed for two or three weeks. "Other women, both relatives and friends, came and stayed with them at night, fixing them warm tea and milk, whispering bhronag bochd (poor soul), how awful you look..." just as today the neighbors gather at times of illness and death. It is more difficult for neighbors to come [178] [743] to the bedsides of young mothers of today, who are all taken to the hospital in Stornoway to have their babies; but the neighbors manage to visit the hospital, which has no choice but to ignore its rule of only two visitors per bed at a time.

781 273 795 794 [761] 3. Bible vs. Bottle: An islander living on the mainland once observed that the Free Church plays cat and mouse with members of the community who drink heavily. Death is a common event in a community which has a large number of old people, and the theme of death appears repeatedly in sermons and in the conversations of those who have undergone religious conversion. The temporary pleasures of drink are contrasted with the eternal joys awaiting those who have been saved. The "false" friend- 781 794 ships of the drinking situations are contrasted with the more lasting, consistent relations which characterize the clique of the converted. "You have lots of friends when you get converted, and they don't change overnight the way your drinking companions do."

273 [434] [781] "With the drink it's easy to get started and just no be able to stop drinking, especially with the money there is now. Everything's unsteady here except religion."

273 794 733 781 [743] Many of the most deeply religious male members of the church were once heavy drinkers. One villager observ "If a man went to extremes as a sinner, he'll be just as fanatical when he becomes holy. Had it not been for religion, some of them would have landed in Craig Dunain [the mental hospital near Inverness]. The talk is forev on religion. That keeps their mind at rest."

estate, or where a single lodge was bought as a home for retirement, depopulation might not matter. Certain populated parishes, however, were bought as investments by men of comparatively modest means. The principal reasons for his purchase given to me by a retired man, formerly connected with the administration of the Lews estate, were two. Asked if he had found, and expected, steady, remunerative payment of rent, he replied: "Certainly!" Next, in view of Press forecasts of general emigration, I referred to the fact that if large numbers of crofters decided to give a year's legal notice of departure and apply for compensation for improvements, including the erection of a 'white house' (otherwise than by Government aid), the landowner would be faced by heavy liabilities while deprived of income. Had the purchaser no fear of such an eventuality? "Certainly not!" was the reply, "the crofters will stick to their homes for many a long year."

These examples show that, while the defeat, or non-realisation of Leverhulme's schemes, seemed to many outsiders the beginning of a not distant 'end' to the Island community, the Islanders themselves did not contemplate a final exodus. They were quite uncertain what was to come, it is true. Who was not, in those years of discouragement for Scotland and her people, for Wales, for Tyneside and Lancashire? The years of Leverhulme's departure from Lewis and of his death brought bad seasons. In 1924 storms destroyed crops and the peat would not dry. Herring catches and prices, though they had risen a little since 1921–22, had not allowed recovery from the losses sustained. The cessation of Leverhulme's wage-payments meant a gap in income which the Islanders could not fill at home. To relieve poverty in 1924–25, a Highlands and

Islands Distress Fund was raised in the Lowlands. The Committee organising it distributed relief, and purchased seed potatoes, etc. They also drew attention to some important features of Island conditions. Among others was that of the scale of charges for transport of goods and passengers. These charges had risen by from two to four times what they had been.[1] The steerage passengers were poorly provided for; and a later improvement in cabin comfort was not accompanied by improved steerage accommodation. One remembers in particular the suffering of the 'fisher girls'. In good weather the passage home (by day) was bearable; and though the song that 'lifted' as the boat left Kyle for the last lap to Stornoway sank pathetically as the steamboat left the shelter of Skye, voices began to rise again in the shelter of Stornoway Bay, sounding clear as the boat drew in. In bad weather the crowded women suffered sorely. Five hundred might be packed on the deck with little or no shelter, or covered the benches and floor of the steerage, sick and distraught. The Committee pointed out that "the Government increasingly accepted responsibility for the roads of the kingdom", and that sea communications were even more vital than roads to Islanders, for they serve in place of both road and rail. Some action was taken, but charges remained high.

As a result of all these difficulties, many young men

[1] Examples were given of the rise in charges from 1914 to 1924, *e.g.* a web of tweed, Harris to Glasgow, from 1s. to 3s.; a box of lobsters, Harris to London, 4s. 6d. to 11s.; a barrel of herring, Stornoway to Kyle, 1s. to 3s. and so on. Although the rise on larger consignments was less, these were of no benefit to 'small folk'. Typical charges for the export of livestock were: (Lochmaddy, N. Uist, to Oban, or from Harris) for sheep the rise was from 9d. to 2s.; for lambs, 6d. to 2s.; for horses or cows, 5s. to 18s.; for stirks, 2s. 6d. to 11s. 6d. The Committee's report was privately printed.

736

736 DEPENDENCY--incidence of dependency (e.g., orphans, widows, deserted and divorced wives, families of defectives and alcoholics, families of invalids and criminals); attitudes toward dependency; care and support of dependents (e.g., adoption, support by relatives, private charity, public relief); special institutions for dependents (e.g., orphanages); etc. See also:

Social insurance, public assistance, and private welfare agencies 74
Insurance 456
Levirate 587
Status of widows 589
Adoption 597
Treatment of motherless infants 846

But neither is Harris behind in willing men. In December 1962 the trawler *Boston Heron* saw herself on off-lying rocks and broken surf water in a full south-westerly gale. The rock island of Stilamair, off Scalpay Island, gave the stranded crew little hope of help. But six Scalpay men saw the plight of the ship and went out in a small open boat. Three of the trawlermen were saved, one of whom was found clinging exhausted to a rock. The other seven perished before more adequate aid could be brought. For their heroism, these Scalpay men were awarded Vellum Certificates by the RNLI. The attitude of local men to the sea, and the sea's treatment of men, was once summed up by an old Harrisman: 'Our men were brought up in the school that taught them that life was precious and that the soul was priceless.' 502 175*

The formal organisation of sea rescue is found in the Coastguard Stornoway, the headquarters of the Stornoway District. This covers the north-west coast of Scotland from Ardnamurchan, Argyll, to Cailleach Head, the Minches and the associated sea areas, including the Small Isles, Skye and the Outer Hebrides —in all some 800 miles of coastline. The Stornoway station is base for a district officer, a station officer and four coastguardsmen, supported by locally-enrolled residents who form the Auxiliary Coastguard. Stornoway Coastguard is the launching station for the Stornoway and Barra lifeboats, advising when a launch is needed and calling out the boat crew by firing two green maroons. It is also a coastguard liaison station for the GPO Coast Radio Station (CRS) at Oban, and it co-operates with Oban and Wick as a radio-telephone station when lifeboats are launched on service. There is, in addition, liaison between Stornoway station and the RAF, the Royal Navy and Lloyd's: Lloyd's come into the picture when tugs, salvage and shipping information are required. 502 706 [456]

Though there have been many stranger ships and lives lost on and around the island's shores, local tragedies are not lacking. In December 1862 disaster overtook five boats from Port of Ness, out pursuing white fish. A fierce gale sprang up and the fishing-fleet perished, with thirty-one lives. Twenty-four widows, seventy-one orphans and thirty-one other dependents were left destitute, though they obtained some subsequent relief from a fund to which 502 731 175* [736]

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7 THE PEOPLE

THOUGH there are a number of large island communities in the British Isles, Harris and Lewis have in particular retained their individual characteristics, mainly because the Minch has acted as a buffer against effective infiltration of alien influences. The relative insularity of the north-west Highlands has enhanced this isolation, to preserve what is probably one of the oldest forms of communal life in Britain. It has some unique characteristics which are evident even in these days of sophisticated civilisation. The basis of life, although today the individual is beginning to show face, is a communal spirit, based on team-work. Work undertaken with the willing help of others is easier, lighter and quicker done: livestock is easier handled in a large controlled flock; boats are best rowed with a crew. And the women, with the same inborn communal spirit, once spun yarn together; waulked or fulled the cloth together; and helped each other in childbirth, child-care and the deaths which affected the community.

Several of these teams eventually merged to form what is now called the crofting township. And, though a township may nowadays number 1,000 people, to keep, if not pull, together is still a priority if the social structure is not to fail. Townships have been called in the past, by understanding writers, 'sociable hamlets' and 'little commonwealths'. Though these are of long standing historically, they are still a dynamic form of social integration of the kind found elsewhere only in working-class districts of cities such as Glasgow and Manchester. This is not to say that one must be 'poor' in order to participate in such a society. In the material world, to be poor is to be without money; in a crofting society, lack of money, although this commodity has tended in recent years to assume for itself an out-of-proportion standing and status, does not necessarily mean destitution; for help to keep the body together is always to hand, though the donor may never be seen or known.

THE PEOPLE

1976 In 1899, the Medical Officer of Health for the Parish of Barvas described the typical Lewis crofter's house of the time. It had "three apartments, two for the family, and a third for the cattle; this new arrangement was the result of the Regulations issued by the Sanitary Inspector for the betterment of the estate. The low thick walls were built of stone, or stone and turf, with a packing of loose earth, and were perennially damp. The roof, composed of a framework of wooden rafters and couples resting on the inner edge of these walls, was covered over with turf divots and straw, bound with ropes of straw, heather or coarse thatching rope, and weighted down with stones. It was never air-or water-tight, and roof water usually soaked into the packing of the walls and thus oozed into the house. Further, only the slightest attention was given to situation and drainage. The floor of the cottage apartment was composed of a pavement of rough stones covered over with clay—and a cold damp floor it was. The cattle apartment had no pavement, so that the manure liquids and slop water percolated into the ground at a faster found their way into neighbouring dwelling houses and even into the drinking wells. Many of the houses were built in clusters and were arranged in rows three deep. Lighting was deficient and the windows, fixed either in walls or roof, were not made to open.

Some houses had a hatched portholes in the roof at the top of the gable wall which might be opened or closed at pleasure; these served for lighting and ventilation at the best of times, though occasionally they were present also at the living end. Draughts coming in through the door and the hatched portholes, meeting in the centre of the middle apartment, helped to keep the air in motion, but the smoke from the fire frequently filled the upper portions of the room and, there still being no chimney or other outlet as a rule, it pervaded the whole atmosphere of the house. A primary point of view such houses had the greatest evil defects: it amazed visiting doctors that infectious diseases were frequent absent. Yet generally speaking the people were healthy, general well-being and immunity from serious disease with those more favourably situated. Tuberculosis was the most prevalent enemy.

In 1879, improving leases were offered to those who were willing

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

HEALTH AND HOUSING

ing to put their houses into better condition. The leases required, inter alia, that the thatch was not to be stripped off or removed for manurial purposes; that the feu was to be a separate holding; and that the dung was to be removed regularly to a distant dung-heap. A Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1898 noted that "the new houses being erected were following the old traditional pattern. And though the introduction of sanitary requirements did bring real improvements, as late as 1902 it was reported: 'The insanitary houses and the impure water to which the people have long been accustomed, would lead an enquiry to expect a high death-rate. That is not so, however. The island is occasionally visited by epidemics of measles, or whooping-cough, like other parts of the country; and there are sometimes outbreaks of dysentery—a preventable malady—but altogether the general health is good."

The Sanitary Inspector's Report for 1898 described certain water supplies in the island as 'little better than cesspools for surface making'. And five years later the sanitary inspector was 'merely a few holes dug out amongst the arable land next to the houses; and polluted with the manure dissolved of their arable ground; and in some cases communicated with blocked sewage percolating through the soil from their houses.' In 1899 there was no outbreak of typhoid fever in Lewis, but it was thought to be the contaminated stream whose water was used as a drinking-water supply. Improvements in the water supplies were eventually put into effect, with a marked decrease in the ailments which the people had come to expect as normal to their way of life.

The rate of infant mortality was high. The weakling died young. Only the strong survived to attend the innumerable dry-stone roundings. A peculiar form of disease was associated with the island: it attacked a child about the fifth night after its birth and was consequently called the 'fifth night's sickness'. According to medical opinion this was infant lockjaw (*tetanus neonatorum*). The doctor of Lochs in 1892 reported that it was common among the infants of his parish, being most frequently met with in those dwelling houses where sanitation in its most rudimentary form is entirely ignored; where we have to walk to the fireplace in the

HEALTH AND HOUSING

an urgent necessity for the island of Lewis', and a committee was appointed to collect funds, the subscription list being headed by Lady Matheson; for a period of three years donations had come in from all parts of the world. The Lewis cottage hospital was opened on 1 February 1896, starting with only fifteen beds; the number was increased to twenty in 1915. An extension was opened in 1925, and the hospital was provided with a surgeon and an ambulance. Another extension in 1929 has the result of a gift of £3,000 from Mr John Bain, of Chicago, a Lewis son who was President of no less than twenty banks in the Mid-West. The Lewis Sanatorium was started in 1926.

Tuberculosis was at one time in the island's history a disease that caused many deaths and much sorrow. About 1930 an Assistant Medical Officer of Health was appointed, Dr R. Somerville Doig (who died in 1965), who spent his career-life in Lewis stamping out what was called in the island the 'white scourge', he lived long enough to see the introduction of preventive medicine and the decline of the killing and crippling diseases he found on his first years in Lewis.

In dental health, progress has, as in so many areas, been reversed. At one time the island teeth were so well known that their strength and beauty that a film was made by the Army for showing to audiences considered in need of dental-health education. In 1966 the picture had changed: a survey revealed that 95 per cent of Lewis children were in need of dental treatment. The matter was taken up and the tragedy finds hangyrat.

As distinct from the island's general medical services, centred on Stornoway, the psychiatric services are based at Inverness. What was formerly the Inverness District Asylum, now called Craig Dunain Hospital, is the other mental hospital in the Highlands area, with a few long-term beds in the Institution at Lochmaddy; the single general hospital at Stornoway conducts monthly out-patient clinics. Over the area served, the rate of admission to Craig Dunain Hospital is around 9.5 persons per 1,000 of population, compared with a figure of 4.9 for Scotland as a whole. Lewis for Lewis and 2 for Harris.

The drink problem and Lewis's relatively high rate of admissions to mental hospital both stem from the background of the

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465 / 1465 parts (a weaver's yard is equal to 5 feet, a measure
1465 which derives from the size of the frame once used
1465 to wind wool of yarn). Payment varies according to
the number of colours used in the pattern. A weaver
288 / 288 may average 72 tweeds per week when the work is available,
1465 plus earning more than mill workers. A female mill
1465 worker earns about £11 or £12, and her male counterpart
about £2 more.

288 / 288 Weavers are classed as self-employed, they
1465 do not qualify for unemployment benefit. They may apply
for social security, but must submit to a "means" test,
and the possession of bank savings or other assets
disqualifies them from receiving benefit. The British
workers must pay a weekly sum for "insurance stamps," a
certain number of which makes the workers eligible for
small payments from the government during periods of
illness. Self-employed persons must pay for their own
insurance stamps, whereas employers pay for the stamps
of their workers. A weaver who does not keep up with his
payments of over one pound a week for insurance stamps
must pay the accumulated debt at a later time.

Weavers face other costs. They have looms and behind-the-
winding machines, and pay for lighting, heating, and the
maintenance of all equipment. The preservation of this
enormous status of "self-employed" is related to the

124

288 / 288 The Harris Tweed industry has provided a higher
1465 standard of living, but income from this source is
inconsistent. The standards demanded by the manufacturer
times cannot be met during difficult times. Many-roomed
1465 houses with indoor plumbing are more heavily taxed than
smaller, less modern homes; loans must be repayed;
a car and a television once gotten are difficult to
give up. A weaver must pay for his insurance stamp,
which amounts to over £70 a year; and income tax takes
a large percentage of a person's income, in large lump
sums which are paid twice a year rather than in small
amounts throughout the year. When income arrives,
any constant demand for monetary outlay constitutes a
liability.

In many patterns outside the island concerned with
Highland and Island development, there is a reputation
for "weekly-grabbing." According to one officer quoted,
"The people are too used to getting subsidies. They
tend to sit back and rely on the subsidies, which
make it difficult to develop the places."

"We pay tax," said one weaver. "Why not get back
what we can in subsidy?"

Income tax collectors shake their heads in despair
at the thought of trying to get a true estimate of a
crofter's income, except for jobs such as weaving for

125

651 / 439 which official records are kept by the mills. If you
say jokingly to a fisherman who has brought in a large
catch that he should put some money aside for the
income tax man, he is likely to reply, "He'll have to
463 / 1475 catch me first." A tradesman may be earning large sums
of money doing local work as a skilled specialist at
the same time that he is collecting social security.
A man may move in and out of a number of different jobs,
and never report the income. "Occasional pluralism"
[cf. Brox 1966] rather than economic specialization has
developed as a strategy in various countries along the
North Atlantic fringe, such as Iceland, the Faroes,
northern Norway and Newfoundland, as well as the west
coast and islands of Scotland. In these marginal areas,
income from specialized occupations is, in the long run,
unpredictable and inconsistent.

In times of national economic depression, strikes,
shifts between socialist and conservative governments,
and other crises, crofting provides an alternative
strategy. During the last war, many islanders who had
left the island (including some who had been quite
prosperous in the cities) returned to spend the duration
of the war in the village, glad of the relative security
provided by the relative abundance of food and less strict
rationing. During a huge snow-fall that occurred on

126

The insurance company
157 / 157 said this 1600, and the pubs let him drink half of them
before he even got the money. The house, in which he
continues to live, stands as it was left by the fire,
with walls blackened, blistered and bare.

Tillean Glen

Tillean, named after the owner of a fishing boat on which he used to serve as a crew member, is the 70-year-old head of a croft household. He came from a family of four children and lives with his wife and son. He was not the eldest and but he was his father's favorite. Before his father died he built the house in which he presently stays so that he would have some claim to the croft. The eldest brother was exiling, and upon his return he married a girl with a croft. Tillean Glen made his living from fishing and had a reputation for being good with livestock—and from smuggling and wage labor in Stornoway; he also followed the fishing.

Another brother of Tillean Glen married into another croft in Shawbost, after serving in World War I as a sailor, and a sister married a boy from a neighboring village. The younger brother, Murdo, emigrated to the United States with the second sister, and they lived and worked together in Detroit. Murdo's principal contribution to boundedness was the remittance of money. Individual has a place in a human community; he is given

Fragments of spars and other sundry things lacking in craft and power were picked up and carefully shared. So, after 1919, from the wreckage of the Hebridean Sea, a few pieces were saved of Napier's dream, came to the Islands the final raft of unemployment relief, and the last of the famous long ships.

Some assessment is therefore required. The total amounts of relief distributed before 1931 were comparatively modest; and they certainly succeeded the aims of the crofters' contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund. After a couple of months of hard labour at road-mending, harbour-repair, or the like, young men were qualified for "the dole". Furnished with this, they returned to the croft when paid employment gave out, to met in their peat, collect stones for a new house or assist out with a rod for a little fishing from the rocks. All this was done "on the dole"; and such complete legality, so long as their names were duly inscribed at Stornoway Labour Exchange as seeking fresh employment. Not a few prayed that "employment" would not come unconscionably soon, as they would then be legally bound to accept it and to leave the croft, even if only for a part of the money received was urgently needed, the surplus was not squandered, as it might have been in a town. Extra cash, if conserved by buy a loom here, fencing for the garden there, and other things of permanent use. Yet mostly it constituted misappropriation of relief. As a result, though no real fault of their own, young men began to lose independence and self-respect, the great pride of the Islands was undeveloped in years of "depression", and it was peculiarly severe both in industrial Clydeside and the fishing villages of Scotland, and also throughout the "depressed areas" of Northern and Western Britain, of which the Islands form the outermost fringe.

TABLE 3

The multiplication of crofter tenants, and their increasing rents, 1886–1920

	1886	1896	1910	1920
Carinish	17	40	£14	£16
Torrin Obsdale	25	40	£24	£34
South Uisenish	12	30	£12	£18
Upper Carbrooy	20	35	£21	£31
Benmore	12	30	£12	£18
Kinloch Park	20	35	£20	£30
Calbost	18	35	£22	£34
Ardroil	15	30	£18	£28
Leurbost	15	30	£15	£22
Valtos	20	40	£18	£28
Borve	20	40	£20	£30

An equal number, but mainly newcomers to Skye, are teachers and nurses. The remainder are employees of the national and county government, serving as postmistresses and clerks. In addition, an indeterminate number of women, in Portree and in the rural hinterland, but none in Kilmuir or Glenshiel, add to their income by taking in summer visitors. This practice is not strictly legal for the crofters, in as much as it casts doubt on the agricultural valuation or devaluation, but the county government has not attempted to discourage the practice.

Turning to the men of Skye, we find that the largest employer is the county government, with well over 200 men on the payroll as road workers and general labourers. The national government, through the Forestry Commission, has employed another 200 or more men through the Department of Agriculture, as overseers, agricultural workers, and labourers; through the Board of Scotland Inland Revenue, as clerks and officers. If we add the number who work for the nationalized ferry service and the substituted coaster service, we find their chief employer is the state, and that the state is the largest employer in the Islands.

Privately and locally, the largest employer is the county council, which employs about 200 men, mainly on the roads. The remainder are employees of the national and county government, serving as postmistresses and clerks. In addition, an indeterminate number of women, in Portree and in the rural hinterland, but none in Kilmuir or Glenshiel, add to their income by taking in summer visitors. This practice is not strictly legal for the crofters, in as much as it casts doubt on the agricultural valuation or devaluation, but the county government has not attempted to discourage the practice.

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THE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE—was supported expense for the administration and the printing of relief, congested and by ... grants to ready workers, invalids, ... public works programme; public welfare plans; provision of public welfare ... Expenditure for relief, etc. Expenditure on ... Expenditure for relief, etc. Expenditure for ... number of employees

HISTORY

The crofters were in a state of revolt against the accumulation of rents, and the Government was in a state of revolt against their progress to a higher level of acceptance in the social scale. They were in a state of revolt against the landed and industrial authority. Unhappy bosses were created, many being in complete variance with the same or successive crofters, and the Government, which could not for behind with their contribution to the agitation for land reform, through they had perhaps suffered less direct action from landowners than had crofters in the Highlands and southern Islands. But they had their own conditions had destroyed. And an industrial efficiency factor made for deep unrest.

Land Raids, Crofters' Commission, Land Court, and large numbers of Lewis crofters gave evidence before the Napier Commission. This Commission was set up to inquire into the crofters' and cottars' crofting conditions in the Highlands. In setting up relieved a division of a series of Commissions, which, when Liberal Government began, have mitigated the dissatisfaction felt in the more disturbed districts. Under Land Raids, Commission, and Land Court, the crofter was still the crofter. The crofting of the Commission were almost identical with proposals which the crofters had put forward. But not altogether coincide with the requirements of the crofters and their spokesmen. The crofters wanted the Land Court to be the crofting system into that rigid tenure in which agricultural innovation, opportunity for improvement, and the growth of crofting communities are largely lacking. It did give all crofters permanency of tenure, where they had none before, for only after the land they had and compensation for improvements. But the old demand for new smallholdings and enforcement protected with greater insistence and further pressure on high political circles.

In 1886 the Napier Commission and the Crofters Commission visited Lewis and found that poverty was so general in the island that ... Lewis crofters had put forward. The Commission found ... poverty a direct result of the land policy of the proprietors of Stornoway and ... of the system of relief. The Commission found that the ... Lewis crofters had put forward. The Commission found ... The number of persons per family in 1871 was on average 7.5 ... the county rent of £20 on the estate of Sir Rose and Cromarty, ... the county of which Lewis formed a part. Thirty years later, in

many recommendations, and though some road making began in 1891 ... 1891, progress was slow and the rent was high, only 6 miles of ... of road were created, less than a mile for each year. When Sir ... James Matheson bought the island, he found the people ... island, he started with three 45 miles. On his death in 1878 there were more than 200 miles of road in Lewis, with the exception of connecting bridges, he spent £25,593.

In the late autumn of 1882, a great gale swept over the ... and corn crops. This added to the complete failure of the potato harvest, had to distress throughout the Island. At a meeting of the crofters in Stornoway, in December it was resolved that a memorial be forwarded to Sir Charles Dilke, Liberal Leader and Land Reformer. Government resources, or that some forms of public works be ... Memorial. Immediate response was made to this appeal, and ... over, as the matter had been raised, investigations were made and ... eventually the Island Government, which Balfour had created ... Act, 1891, passed into law. It authorized, *inter alia*, the expenditure of a sum of £50,000 for the relief of distress. For lack of this ... proving the road between Carloway and Stornoway, and certain ... Commission found it cheaper to employ a crofter than before, ... patients spread infection. Flight to a tray, air-night ... sufficient, in the case of the Island of Scarp and some and lonely ... often followed. The availability for the first time of planks ... from the market, a sawn timber, enabled the crofters, and ... ably acquaintance at first- or second-hand with Canadian ... wooden houses, may have influenced the choice of wood.

The early 'white' houses, with an attic, lit by skylight, were airtight, for the windows were too often fixed or only opened at the bottom. The door was left open in warm weather, but it was not high enough to allow the escape of the ashes, upon which the cooking was performed and as they did their cooking and baking.

In the interest of health, and especially in its last decade, the 'black house' was being abandoned, not for something better, but for better. The Government-aided houses have

adequate air-space, and windows opening at the top and ... it communal and the Hebrides, with a population of 1,000 ... Hebrides, with a population fluctuating around 500.

3. Aspects and Problems of the Bogs

The little town places by its views over the harbour ... *outer or inner*—sheltering perhaps a steamer or ... the clustered fishing vessels—across to the wooded ... and the beautiful and beautiful of the Castle, ... in spring with rhododendrons. Or framed in trees ... the Castle pavilion, the harbour and even the ... family industry of Stornoway Tweeds (Plate 11). ... the town's chief charm is its setting, not itself, ... Stornoway is a place of a few streets, ... roads are simple and inoffensive. In rehousing, the ... Stornoway Tweeds (Plate 11). ... the greater use of local materials, labour and skill is ... Stornoway Tweeds (Plate 11). ... who need such work to maintain income, health and ... Stornoway Tweeds (Plate 11). ... tremendously relinative housing in the country, urban housing ... is inadequate. In Stornoway bogs in 1931-44, 40 per ... cent of the population, 231 clerk in houses of ... to three rooms, 17 per cent in four (including attic ... with no dormer windows), 42 per cent in five or ... 18 per cent in seven rooms and over. There ... Stornoway Tweeds (Plate 11). ... the town's chief charm is its setting, not itself, ... Stornoway Tweeds (Plate 11). ... to be done.

Turning to cultural life, profound differences ... field from they conceal the fact that an individual ... Stornoway Tweeds (Plate 11). ... run-rig. This is an advantage where quality of land is ... patchy, and each man thus gets his share of good and bad

[1] The bogland area was considerable in 1931, and the population ... Stornoway Tweeds (Plate 11). ... the population concentrated in the same area in 1931.

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174 731 434 458 fragments of spars and other needful things lacking on croft and moor were picked up and carefully allotted. So, after 1919, from the wreckage of modern industry borne on the ground-swell of 'Depressions', there came to the Islesfolk the frail raft of unemployment relief, doled out like driftwood long ago.

458 746 Some assessment is therefore required. The total amounts of relief disbursed before 1931 were comparatively bountiful; and they certainly exceeded the sum of [745] the crofters' contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund. After a couple of months of wage labour at road-mending, harbour-repair, or the like, young men were qualified for 'the dole'. Furnished with this, they returned to the croft when paid employment gave out, to cart in their peat, collect stones for a new house or saunter out with a rod for a little fishing from the rocks. All this was done 'on the dole', with complete legality, so long as their names were duly inscribed at Stornoway Labour Exchange as seeking fresh employment. Not a few prayed that 'employment' would not come inconveniently soon, as they would then be legally bound to accept it and to leave the croft. No doubt, even if only a part of the money received was urgently needed, the surplus was not squandered, as it might have been in a town. Extra cash, if any, served to buy a loom here, fencing for the garden there, and other things of permanent use. Yet morally it constituted misappropriation of relief. As a result, through no real fault of their own, young men began to lose independence and self-respect. This general problem for youth [361] was widespread in years of 'depression', and it was [184] peculiarly severe both in industrial Clydeside and the fishing villages of Scotland, and also throughout the 'depressed areas' of northern and western Britain, of which the Isles form the outermost fringe.

458 746 which the Isles form the outermost fringe. Particular aspects of the Island's problem were its own.

The application of 'the Means Test' was therefore to the good in the Isles to begin with, whatever was to be said for or against it in towns. Many honest crofters thought the test should have been much more rigidly applied in the [162] Islands. In 1932, after the worst of the depression had passed, there were in Lewis (proper) some 750 registered unemployed men (with only 5 boys), of whom 250 were seamen from the Merchant Service; and the other 500 included dockers and casual labourers of various sorts, many of whom had returned from the cities. The seamen, to take the largest class, constituted one for which relief was thoroughly justified; unemployment benefit was paid to each man until he had been unemployed for over six months. The Public Assistance Committee then gave 'Transitional Payment' after applying the Means Test, in which they took the produce of the croft into consideration. Public Assistance might follow later. Out of 250 cases, soon after the Means Test was applied, there was none in which the Committee assessed the need as equal to the benefit formerly received. In the Lowlands, on the other hand, the real need was usually found to be greater than the 'benefit' paid, and therefore relief could not in fairness be reduced.

There were years when work at sea was not to be had. As one left the Firth of Clyde, by the railroad to the Isles, one could count sometimes a dozen, sometimes a score of good 'tramp' steamers dossed in the Gareloch; and one thought of their crews, good men, but idle and rusting too. At such a time reduced payment to Island seamen with a croft, in place of total payment to town-dwelling seamen without one, effected a saving to the public purse. The

458 746 problem remains that Island seamen may thus continue indefinitely to be crofters receiving partial relief, seamen only in name. Without doubt, part-time work on a croft is socially a lesser evil than prolonged unemployment in a slum or semi-slum. The crofter's family, too, is relatively better reared than that of many a poor seaman in Glasgow, Liverpool or Cardiff. Yet if this were all, it would be no adequate life for a man, while continuing to be an expense [461] to the State. The more satisfactory side of such relief is [311] that the Islanders, when unemployed, turn to building new 'white houses', and either to making small improvements on their crofts, or as in Ness (a progressive village with a high proportion of seamen), to the reclamation of new holdings on 'skinned land'. In all such cases a means test provides against full payment to those who could do without.

458 746 462 To women normally employed in 'gutting', unemployment relief is given only at such time as there is no work during the season when it might be expected, *i.e.* from May or June to December. Gutters from the Island [228] are busiest for the months from June to August on the West and East Coast of Scotland, and again for two months, from October to November, in East Anglia. The number of Lewis women normally employed was over 1500 in a typical season (1930), the earnings averaging £19 each for the summer fishing in Stornoway, and as much again for the gutting in East Anglia. But the demand fell, and by 1932, for instance, some 250 women were obtaining relief, through Stornoway, in early August, the number doubling during the slack months from mid-August.

181 458 746 The tragedy and the danger of any means test are that in effect it asks, not "How prosperous can you become if given help?" but "How poor can you become to qualify

for help?" In one of the Outer Isles, I know of one or two crofters holding fifteen acres of arable, with a share of a good outrun, who have let their stock dwindle and deteriorate, and their crofts lie mostly fallow, though these could support a horse or two, several cows, and fifty sheep. After having found some casual labour, they discovered they could live mostly idle 'on the dole'. Self-respecting neighbours suffer: good families who prefer to be independent of 'Assistance' and to improve their croft and stock, and the outrun too. These find their stock deteriorating for lack of co-operation in breeding, fencing, and other communal duties, and see their crops invaded by weeds, blown from a lazy neighbour's plot. While an idle neighbour benefits by their industry, they themselves are losers.

In another island, a hard-working crofter lost a score of good lambs through 'worrying' by the dogs of an idle neighbour, whose own stock had dwindled to a trifle. He was finally awarded legal compensation; but he found it wiser not to exact it, for the unspoken threat of exaction gave him a hold upon the idle 'dole-drawer'. The worker could still insist that the idler pay his share of the cost of posts and wire for a fence on the outrun, or contribute the minimum hours of labour due for fencing and other statutory tasks in the township. Men like that idler sap the urge to work. They lower communal morality to a semblance of the social code once too commonly seen by Islanders in the domestic service of the upper and middle classes, a code by which chronic idleness was disguised as 'leisure' and conspicuous dependence upon the work of others was honoured as 'independent means'.[1]

[1] A summary of production, and figures of productive and non-productive income, are given in Appendix I.

(c) THE OUTLOOK: 1939–54 AND SINCE

How then can the situation be assessed, as it was before the outbreak of war and since then? By 1939 twenty years had been partly lost; for the after-war years of the 'Leverhulme boom' were followed by discouragement and poverty. During that time one might have hoped for half a generation of reconstruction and progress. On the other hand the sore question of dividing the farms was settled, so bringing raiding to an end. Congestion on the existing crofts is less than it was, owing to this fact, and to the provision of feus. The poverty of many breadwinners who had migrated to the cities first cut down the amounts remitted to their Island dependents, then drove them home. A croft, or even a garden site, and the opportunity of building a good house there made life still worth while, when other employment had failed. Unemployment relief, though tempting some to idleness, gave a respite which many utilised to make a fresh start. As fishing waned, many had taken advantage of the easy beginning offered to learn a new trade—weaving. This has made many feel that the living to be found on the Island is better than alternation of 'wage-earning' with unemployment, in Glasgow or abroad. They believe the situation of the Island community to be hopeful. While the land remains little better than before, many, even of the younger people, still care for the Island life among their own kin. Given a clear lead, these could reorganise themselves, and undertake the developments needed in fishing, weaving and reclamation. The homes are sound, 'good neighbourhood' endures, and given fresh opportunity, the community could awaken to new life.

During and since the war, co-operative marketing was

(c) House-building. — From 1920 to 1940 the Department of Agriculture advanced loans for the erection of 760 new houses and the repair of 220 other houses. This, with the erection or repair of 40 steadings, may be taken as the equivalent of 1000 houses in the 20 years of peace, of which three-fourths were new. Rural building was at its height in the early 'thirties, but 1938 was a typical year. Taking the value of each house as £600 and subtracting half for imported materials, we may assume that for 50 houses built that year the labour given produced an output of £15,000. In addition, some house-building and repair was done without State aid, for which a guess of £15,000 may be made. Such sums may not appear large, but they correspond to the enduring fulfilment of a prime need, a 'real wage', of importance when compared to rents and costs elsewhere. Of the expenditure on house-building in Stornoway burgh during 1938, the value may be assessed as £10,000, of which £9000 was for Local Authority housing. Most of the total was produced by local labour.

APPENDIX I

(iii) *Fishing Industry—Net Output and Earnings*

(*a*) For 1938 the total catches, prices and quantities of fresh cured fish landed in Stornoway District show a value of nearly £100,000 (£98,000) for the herring catch, and of £162,400 for the cured herring. Our problem is to estimate what fraction of these sums may be included in the net output of the Island industry proper. The Fishery Board's *Statistical Tables* and *Annual Report* extract the produce brought in by local boats from the total, separating it from that due to 'strangers', and so permitting a fairly reliable estimate, checked by local enquiry.

Of the herring taken, nearly 80 per cent were caught in the summer fishing, June to August (*Annual Report*, p. 13). The week of maximum local activity in herring fishing for Stornoway District may be taken to be characteristic of this pre-war period (Table 8). There were then 111 steam-boats engaged; and as only five were locally registered (at Stornoway itself), the remaining 106 were strangers. There were also 66 motor-boats engaged and though 81 motor herring-boats are locally

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747 PRIVATE WELFARE AGENCIES--private fund-raising organizations (e.g., community chests); private, semi-private, fraternal, and ecclesiastical operating relief agencies (e.g., Red Cross, Salvation Army, family welfare organizations); welfare institutions not elsewhere described (e.g., settlement houses, city missions, day nurseries, church community houses); organization, administration, financial support, and activities of each type; etc. See also: institutions caring for specific types of defectives, dependents, and delinquents . . . . 73 Church welfare work 794

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sold, one such causing legal history. The chief garage proprietor in the town applied to use for his business a site he had purchased at a road junction near the western end of the town, close to the principal new housing schemes and opposite the main gate leading into the Castle grounds. It was a mistake in planning, and public disapproval began to make itself felt. The Trust, in an effort to redress the situation, sought to distrain the garage proprietor from extended use of the area. The parties went to law, and the case was fought through the courts until, in the House of Lords, the Trust finally lost and had to pay a bill of some £4,000, equivalent to a fine of £4 to £5 from every family in the burgh. The Trust drew its lesson, and since has formulated a more alert and constructive policy.

The town is well served by its shopping centre, with multiple stores jostling for custom with smaller private business concerns. Prosperity for all, however, depends on the well-being of the Harris Tweed industry. If there are recessions, as there have been in the past, the tills rattle spasmodically. Also standing to suffer are others such as the bus companies (who provide the efficient town services and link up Stornoway with the rural areas), the builders and the haulage contractors. In the ever-present climate of unemployment it is the policy of the mills to employ male labour, despite the fact that women would be cheaper. The mills, run by natives or by Lewis-born incomers of the second and third generation, realise a social obligation in recognising that in Lewis the strong tradition is that the man should be the head of the family in every sense. The mills also carry a proportion of surplus labour to offset the unpredictability of those workers who, with crofts to look after, occasionally have to take a day off 'at the peats' or some such activity. This is another of the island's distinctive traditions.

On Cromwell Street is the shop of James MacKenzie & Sons Limited, dealing in hardware, furniture and china. Nothing unusual in that, at first sight: yet it is another unique aspect of life in Lewis, being conducted as a charity for the benefit of, among others, the aged and infirm persons of Stornoway. The business was established in 1830, on its present site. In 1964, the then principal shareholder presented the building and the business as a

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going concern to a trust which was set up to receive the gift and whose first object is to assist aged and infirm residents in the burgh. In effect, all profits earned by the shop are passed to the trust for distribution to those in need.

Almost half the houses in Stornoway were built by the local authority. The Town Council has never been afraid of rooting out unfit houses. By 1937, under the 1930 Slum Clearance Act, one person in four in the town lived in a council house. The housing schemes, though large, have still that element of community with personality, something often lacking in newly developed areas of other towns and cities. The Council also supports private housing by taking up sites, clearing and servicing them and then selling them to private owners. The rents policy is to have no housing deficit beyond the statutory rate contribution (which works out at between £6,000 and £7,000 per annum). The Council's tenants co-operate with rent collection to a unique degree: collection figures are something like 99 per cent and on occasion 100 per cent. A vigorous housing policy is important to the town, as its population is now over 5,300 and still growing, mainly at the expense of the rural areas. Development plans at present envisage a 1981 population of about 9,100 persons within the parish boundary and including the burgh.

Stornoway is an island town and is an island's town: its rhythms of life are those of the island, regular and timed by nature, but with an added syncopation—the result of an urban outlook. In this context, Gaelic is the language, though English is the lingua franca. Deeper still in the methods used for communication is a kind of patois based on Gaelicised English, Anglicised Gaelic, with some other words that defy investigation into their origin. Many words find their natural forebears in Scots, American and the maritime tongues of Europe, which might be expected in view of Stornoway's importance as a sea-port of significance a century or two ago. The Stornoway language, as spoken by true-born natives, recognisable anywhere by another native, reflects the life of the cosmopolitan, sea-faring people.

Apart from its industrial opportunities, Stornoway has many of the more sophisticated urban facilities that people everywhere seem to crave, particularly with regard to education. The senior

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in Scottish cities, who came forward again in 1888 and in 1925. Of the £33,000 Matheson expended on meal and seed potatoes for relief, about half was repaid in labour by the recipients. Here are the outlays reclassified from the Brand Report (1902, p. xv):

Castle buildings and grounds and shooting lodges			£120,000
Buildings and Land reclamation		£100,000	
Industries and Communications:—			
Chemical Works, for manufacturing paraffin oil from peat	£33,000		
Roads and Bridges	25,000		
Brickworks (from local clay)	6,000		
Patent Slipway, Quays, etc., at Stornoway	10,000		
		74,000	
Other expenditure:—			
Net Losses on Steamers and Mails	£32,000		
Industrial and Other Schools	12,000		
Emigration (2200 persons)	12,000		
Miscellaneous	1,000		
Relief (Meal, etc.), gross outlay	33,000		
		90,000	
Total expenditure, other than on Castle, etc.			264,000
Original Cost of Island			190,000
GRAND TOTAL			£574,000

Thus, of a capital outlay of over half a million pounds, roughly a quarter of a million was spent directly on the development of the estate. The rental in 1844 (exclusive of feu-duties) was nearly £11,000, and this rose to £18,000 within a few years, though it had been reduced to £15,000 at the end of the century. It will be seen that the praise given to Sir James Matheson for his liberal expenditure was well won, if allowance is made for the standards of his class and generation. Yet of the £120,000 he spent upon

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 the mansion, lodges, and grounds or 'policies', much was
• 747 built and laid out for himself at the time, though part was
423 for reclamation. This contrasts with his provision for those whose homeland he had bought—the sum spent upon his own mansions and grounds being nearly half that spent directly for the good of some 20,000 fellow-Gaels.

175 Matheson was not technically equipped for his chosen
151 task of 'reconstruction'. Nor was he fitted by trade in the East for the leadership of a people accustomed, in
623 spite of dire poverty, to considerable freedom. Ignorant,
175 one gathers, of the language of the people, his choice of a later Factor was hardly a happy one. Tradition in Lewis
623 speaks of this Donald Munro as an 'autocrat', and evidence in 1874 confirms it. In addition to being the Factor for
423 an ageing man and so holding economic sway over the
66 people, he held seventeen public and semi-public offices in the Island, from Justice of the Peace to Captain of the Volunteers, still other offices being held by his clerk! The extent of his sway is also shown by his having served summonses of removal upon fifty-six families on his own authority. As a result of the treatment of the officer sent to serve the summonses, three crofters were tried on a charge of "assault committed on an officer of the law in revenge for having executed his duty". When asked in court if Sir James would not have disapproved of this step and the manner of its execution, Munro replied that it was his practice "never to trouble Sir James with small matters". "Then you consider the eviction of fifty-six families a small matter?" was the retort. These 'Bernera rioters' were found not guilty, they and their neighbours were left in possession, and soon after the Factor demitted
175 office.[1] Lewismen felt the result to be a moral victory,
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[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. lxxi.

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565 the nine election districts where a member of the gentry is
559 resident, he is the people's choice. Otherwise, the post
666 passes to a newcomer, especially a minister, if he will accept, a non-crofter of relatively recent arrival, a returned exile, or an eccentric. The Skye delegates to the County Council are similarly elected. The village of Portree and the neighborhood of Glendale are represented by members of the county people; Kilmuir is represented by a minister of the Church of Scotland.

565 The function of the landed gentry emerges even more
559 clearly when non-political leadership is considered. We
• 747 may take the Skye Council of Social Service and the old People's Welfare Committee as examples. The Skye Council of Social Service is dedicated to the promotion of the "general good of the community," and the assistance of the work of statutory authorities and voluntary organizations engaged in improving education, health, and economic conditions. Although the Scottish Council of Social Service claims this is a product of the people of Skye, it was not a spontaneous development. A retired Registrar General for Scotland was responsible for the initial interest. The Scottish Council seems to have stimulated this interest by securing financial assistance in the initial stages and paying 75 percent of the annual expenses. The local organizers were county people, and their success was due in no small way to the efforts of an officer of the Department of Agriculture. Today the "virile leadership and local followership," of which the Scottish Council is wont to speak, is to be found in one clique of the

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565 landed gentry. The people take relatively little part in any
559 of the activities. Most of the crofters with whom I spoke
• 747 had only the vaguest idea of the work or the achievements of the council, beyond the fact that the council had instituted Skye Week to attract tourists.

The Old People's Welfare Committee was established in the winter of 1953. It provides us with an excellent oppor-
573 tunity to see how things are accomplished on Skye. For several months the clique which is responsible for the Skye Council of Social Service had been thinking that Skye needed some such agency to look after the old people. At length it was decided a public meeting should be held to give the people an opportunity to decide whether or not the need was acute. Each of the county people explained the need, aided by two social workers from Edinburgh. Then, with the assistance of a local minister, the doctor, and the officer from the Department of Agriculture, who aided in establishing the Skye Council, the people were gently led around to their position. A committee of investigation was organized to inquire into the matter in more detail. About a month later a second public meeting was held for the purpose of establishing a permanent Old People's Welfare Committee. Like the initial meeting, it was proceeded by a small conference among the gentry. The decision was that Skye should have a central committee and fourteen local committees. This was unanimously accepted. Now came the problem of who would serve. The first selections were obvious; in each local area the minister, doctor, and district nurse were "elected." When it came to the question

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565 and no one thought himself capable of running a future meeting.
559 At least reports, the wife of another proprietor was having
• 747 her impression that "It's not as easy as it sounds just to call a public meeting in Glendale," confirmed. While the majority of the crofters thought an Old People's Welfare Committee was a good idea, they had no intention of being instrumental in its organization or in assuming any position which might elevate them above their neighbors. Throughout this chapter, the stress on conformity has been apparent, let us now turn to the problem of social control for a clearer picture of how conformity is enforced and to see how the Sgiathanach handles the deviant.

Social Control

626 Since social control is an important topic, I want to go into a further analysis of the manner in which the group influences the behavior of its members. For the sake of clarity, we must distinguish between social and political
121 control. By social control I mean the informal pressure or spontaneous action which any organized group can muster to exert an influence on its members sufficient to encourage conformity to tradition patterns of behavior. Political control, to me, involves the independent or requested interference of the state, as represented by the police, in any case which involves the enforcement and maintenance of law
671 and order as prescribed by legal enactments. On Skye the
227 laws of the land do not always have the same meaning to the

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565 of individuals to organize each committee, no one was willing
559 to accept the post without persuasion. In every case where
• 747 there was a resident of the county people in the general vicinity, the man or his wife was chosen. The remaining chairs went to newcomers, especially doctors and teachers or their wives, mainly by default. They were not present. No one on Skye ever overtly seeks a role of responsibility. For the central committee, it was suggested, by a newcomer, that there should be at least two Skye people over sixty to get the point of view of the people who were to be helped. When the committee was finally formed, there was not one native Skye person on it. The chairman was the wife of a local landlord; the four members were another proprietor's wife, a Lowland woman, the minister, and an Austrian woman.

At no time was a vote taken. The person who can be persuaded to accept office is always unanimously "elected." On another occasion someone had made the mistake of nominating
623 two women to fill one post. Rather than put the matter to a vote, the people present "elected" me, as a disinterested participant, to select the woman who would serve.

By the time I left the Misty Isle only one of the local committees had taken a step in the direction of organizing itself. A meeting was called in Waternish where either a returned exile or the minister was to preside. Neither of them would step forward. Again the task fell to one of the county people. She drove up from Portree to take the chair and help the people elect the members of their committee. Her journey was fruitless. Hardly anyone attended the meeting,

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751 PREVENTIVE MEDICINE--conception of health and hygiene; health regime
protective measures (e.g., sun tan lotion, amulets, charms, spells, prop
lasis, immunization), etc. See also:

Incidence of disease	164	Health insurance	45
Diet	503	Personal hygiene	15
Exercise	808	Magic	1
Public health and sanitation	744	Infant care	35
Fatalism	778	Child care	80
Tobacco	786	Prescriptions for longevity	28

The cattle knew their own sheilings; sometimes they came back before milking time and stuck their heads inside. They stood outside the sheiling at night, and that's how you can tell where a sheiling once was, even though the walls have fallen, by the rich green grass. Calves were born during the summer. A hollow was scooped out in the peat, and lined with turf and moss. People had as many as four or five cows. It was like Switzerland, only we didn't have the bells on the cows. There was lots of milk, fresh thick cream and crowdie (clotted sour milk); the old people knew how to make cheese.

"The moor was very eerie at night, with the sound of the birds. There were only a few hours of darkness anyway, and I'm sure we didn't get much sleep, but somehow we were always fresh. It was the air, the moor air is more health-giving. The air is different there. Ill people benefited from the change. Sometimes a person with TB would stay out there all summer. The air is heavy by the sea.

"There was no sense of time the way there is today. If you got lost in the snow or fog, you followed the cows home. You had all summer to take home the peats, to work the croft, to harvest the corn. There wasn't a world, there was only ourselves. That has changed since the war.

centre of the mud floor through tons and tons of decomposing organic matter or manure.'

The island, for all its ills and chills, had a high birth-rate and a low death-rate. Martin Martin (1695) declared: 'It is a general observation of such as live on the sea coast that they are more prolific than any other people whatsoever.' In some areas of the island the birth-rate was as high as 35 per cent with a death-rate of about 12 per cent. The longevity of the islanders is well known, a fact confirmed by a glance any week at the Deaths columns of the *Stornoway Gazette*, regularly recording the decease of octogenarians, nonagenarians and some reaching their century.

In 1795 the island had only one surgeon. In Stornoway, 'Inoculation is performed here with success by the skill and attention of Mr Robert Millar, Surgeon.' Later, another doctor came to Stornoway, who attended to the sick in all parts of the island. By the turn of the century there were resident medical officers in each parish, with five doctors in practice in Stornoway.

Just after the turn of the century, there was a medical club in the north of Harris. This had been formed by the proprietor, Sir Samuel Scott, whose crofters were supposed to pay 5s per annum and cottars 2s 6d; this subscription covered dependents. In return, Scott guaranteed the salary of a medical officer, thus securing the services of a resident doctor in the district. But there was apparently considerable reluctance to call a doctor, whether the patient belonged to the club or not. The salary of the district Medical Officer of Health was £35 per annum, and from the North Harris Club he received some £200. Scott also provided him with a home. Dr Fletcher reported in 1906 that a complete change had taken place in the diet of the people within the memory of the older inhabitants, whose accounts of what they called new diseases and lowered virility he found very interesting. Good, plain wholesome diet 'has been replaced by cheap stuff, of questionable quality and purity. To this change there is another nondescript article which goes by the name of tea, in the use, or rather abuse, of which they are quite intemperate and from which they extract the last dregs by boiling. The result is disastrous to the strongest digestive system.'

In 1892 'a well-equipped medical and surgical hospital was

175 growth followed the increases in potato-growing and fish-
178 ing, in income and food production, and the introduction
434 of vaccination against smallpox, which had formerly taken a heavy toll of child life.[1] This increase found an outlet
(433) in emigration to the Colonies, often led by departing tacks-
(751) men though discouraged at first by the Island lairds. For example, in July 1773, 840 people sailed from Lewis.
175 "Alarmed by this, their master . . . came down from
434 London to treat with the remainder of his tenants. What
167 are the terms asked, think you? 'The land at the old rents, the augmentation paid for three years back to be refunded, and his Factor to be immediately dismissed!'"
(214) Although the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, from which this quotation is taken, went on to say that it was expected that the demands would be acceded to, or the Island would become a desert, the Factor was retained.

175 The pressure of population can be imagined when the
167 appalling conditions of transport overseas are remembered.
505 A case is known of 700 Gaelic emigrants setting out from the Clyde across the Atlantic in a vessel for which the maximum human cargo of negro slaves permissible was 400. The regulations governing the transport of slaves did not apply to the transport of 'freemen'. In quoting this case, D. F. Macdonald suggests that while it was in the interest of slave-owners that their slaves should arrive in the Plantations alive, it was rather in the interest of manufacturers to discourage emigration so as to keep a supply of labour at home with which to meet their growing demands and fill the gaps due to a high mortality, particularly among workers newly arrived from the country.[2] It would also seem as if it had not been in the interests of landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time,

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. xiv.

(113) [2] *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1750–1850* (1941).

754

754 SORCERY--ideas of the causation of disease and death through witchcraft and sorcery; actual and reputed prevalence of sorcery; motives for practicing sorcery; methods (e.g., bone pointing, manipulation of effigies, exuvial magic, invocation of spirit aids); employment of sorcerers; witches, wizards, and sorcerers; physical, social and mental characteristics; sources of power, training; organization; special types of sorcerers (e.g., werewolves, vampires, individuals with the evil eye); evidence as to the efficacy of sorcery; reactions to sorcerers (e.g., witch hunts); etc. See also:

Ingroup antagonisms 678
Sorcery as a factor in social control 686
Punishment of sorcery. 683
Counter-measures to sorcery. 766
Familiar spirits. 776
Uses of magic other than for the causation or cure of disease. 789

121 magic is always efficacious—however desperate the nee
however pure the motives of those who ask. These me
771 were said to be the most successful fishers in the plac
788 they were also Elders of the Kirk, who saw no wrong
what they did. They did not inform the minister; b
the good man was not a fisherman and did not understar
either the mysterious ways of fish or the incitement of
crew!

While this *neid fire* was kindled in all earnestness,
miming song-dance I have seen in Eriskay is pure fur
'the Carline or Witch-wife of the Mill-dust' (*Cailleach*
Dudain), who falls down dead and is brought to life agai
(174) Once, perhaps, a half-remembered symbolic 'play' of t
seasonal fall and resurrection of seed, it is certainly
(178) form and spirit a thing of happy laughter now! Tales we
retold by Martin and a seventeenth-century English skippe
of offerings made to a sea-god, Shony, at Eoropie, Ne
for the sake of seaweed, followed by feasting and drinki
(174) in the chapel there.[1] The story may be garbled or, if tru
may record a pre-Christian survival turned to merrime
and of no more significance to the people of the time th
(241) 'the Carline of the Mill-dust'. The prayers for the se
weed necessary for agriculture and daily bread are Christi
in spirit.

771 When the people were at the mercy of periodic famine
731 diseases and sudden death, there were ample grounds f
fears. Hence a word must be said of a belief widespre
171 and ancient in the Old World, 'the evil eye' (*droch shui*
In the absence of clinical diagnosis, a malady, or a mi
754 fortune to oneself or a valued possession, might ca
suspicion on someone present when it occurred; an

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 143-208. Contrast *Carmina*, vol. i
pp. 33-35.

S: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

	Bedfordshire	Buckinghamshire	Cambridgeshire	Cornwall	Cumberland	Derbyshire	Devon	Dorset	Durham	Essex	Gloucestershire	Hertfordshire	Huntingdonshire	Kent	Lancashire	Leicestershire	Lincolnshire	Middlesex	Norfolk	Northamptonshire	Northumberland	Nottinghamshire	Oxfordshire	Rutland	Shropshire	Somerset	Staffordshire	Suffolk	Surrey	Sussex	Warwickshire	Westmorland	Wiltshire	Worcestershire	Yorkshire	Township Totals
161	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	21
162	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	56
166	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	82
167	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	123
241	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	71
462	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	71
463	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	76
464	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	28
[877]	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
[505]	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	36
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7

| FEMALES | | |

71 though the suspected person was not thereby accused of
554 ill will, he would have to make some effort to put it right. 'Cure' might be sought either by counter-malediction on the supposed ill-wisher, known or unknown, or else by prayer that the evil should be spread so widely as to be harmless, as "on all the wild birds of Heaven . . . that it would do them no harm"—a charming touch! (*Carmina*,
82 vol. iii). Prayer was the normal and the best protection, free of any malediction, and was included in general intercession for loved ones. But fears remain—not only in 'distant' isles—both in peace and in the extreme stress of war.

14 A psychotherapist of 1917–18, A. J. Brock, wrote that
55 the "War was not in essence a new thing, the ordinary life of every day being itself a sort of battle".[1] Brock brought the hard-learned psychotherapy of war to bear upon a fresh understanding of the countryman struggling against an environment with which he has got out of tune. Failing in spite of strained effort to get the food and warmth he needs for himself and his 'wife and weans', the peasant may lose happiness in home and village, and faith in the future. "How did primitive people express all this?" asked Brock, noting that the risks and casualties of bad times in the past brought fears and floating pictures comparable to those of 'shell-shocked' patients.

1 In all lands the unity of family life and labour is
6 symbolised in homelier folk-lore by the protective spirit of each homestead. As long as the work is carried on heartily and thriftily the Brownie is pleased. But the people may become negligent, or begin to labour from mercenary motives. The true spirit of the work is then upset and (in all folk-lore) the Brownies begin to give
13]

[1] A. J. Brock, *Health and Conduct*, 1923, pp. 155-170.

strongly about this infringement of the traditional norms. 837
Gossip spreads very rapidly. The offenders are said to be 426
"no better than the tinkers." While tinkers are respected [554] [754]
because they have the power of the evil eye, they are not accorded any more prestige than we would give a beggar. All who have any contact with the neighborhood or the village where the deviants live soon know all the details. Since [369]
most of the adulterers on Skye have been in Portree, it adds another brick to the wall which separates the rural neighborhoods and the trade-center village. The offenders normally leave Skye as quickly as possible.

The Sgiathanach cannot be said to have a strong sense 423
of property, or, more correctly, the land is valued as a 421
place of residence and identity not as something to be bought and sold. We have seen that he uses his land communally and that he often will not leave a will for the house, not to mention his land. Even though the state thinks otherwise, he looks upon the natural resources of the island as his for the taking. At the same time, he normally respects the fruits of 421
his neighbor's labor. Any one can cut peat on the moor, but [314]
no one, except an unthinking tourist, would take a piece of turf once it had been cut. In a simlar way, the children are 857
generally well behaved. In the village there is a bit of stone throwing, a little profanity, and uncommonly some drinking on the sly, but rarely do children show any disrespect for the rights of others. One contractor, a Lowlander who came up to Skye to make alterations on the school, was amazed. Skye

7

755 MAGICAL AND MENT
of faith, self-analysis
stances, arrangement
of symptoms); therape
couch); methods (e.g.
recapture of soul, suc
prescriptions (e.g., r
prognosis; ritual bani
scientific systems of p
mental hygiene); evide
therapy; etc. See also
Behavior processes and person
Shamanistic dances . . . .

55

AL THERAPY--individual therapeutic efforts (e.g., acts
); resorting to a specialized practitioner (e.g., circum-
s, payments); diagnosis (e.g., divination, interpretation
eutic procedure (e.g., shamanistic seances, analytic
, interpretation of dreams, countermagic, exorcism,
king out of intrusive object, resort to spirit helpers);
nedication, purification, expiation, imposition of taboos);
shment of disease (e.g., scapegoat); faith healing;
sychotherapy (e.g., psychoanalysis, psychiatry,
nce as to the effectiveness of magical and mental
o:

ality. . . . . 15 Soul concepts 774
. . . . . .535 Spirit possession and dream interpretation . . 787

175 827 463 [205] Whatever the rationalization, cobbler fathers begot cobbler sons. The present postmaster's grandfather was the first postmaster in Shawbost, and when help is needed in delivering the mail it is the postmaster's first [767] cousins who are likely to help out. As late as the 1950's, the township still had its own undertaker, a man who had learned from his father the art of laying out and dressing the body but who didn't like the job very much and was happy enough to turn it over to an undertaker who traveled from Stornoway.

463 [232] The island has had a veterinarian, based in Stornoway, for the past 30 years or so. Earlier, certain blacksmiths and farmers treated ailing livestock when the crofters [278] [755] needed them. For human ailments, there were many cures by plant and spell.

463 326 The man who was the last village blacksmith died not long ago. His smithy was in the center of the village. [342] His home and smithy were mortared stone buildings with corrugated iron roofs that were once estate houses for the men who worked the experimental farm established by Sir James Matheson in what is now New Shawbost. The blacksmith was also a shopkeeper and butcher. As a 463 326 874 blacksmith, his work was principally shoeing horses and making harrows and peat-cutters, which he did with the aid of one and sometimes two apprentices. One of his

757

757 MEDICAL THERAPY--extent of differentiation of medical from magical and mental therapy; home remedies and self-medication; resorting to a specialized practitioner (e.g., circumstances, arrangements, payments); diagnosis (e.g., examination for symptoms, diagnostic aids); consultations; therapeutic principles (e.g., counterirritation, homeopathy); therapeutic methods (e.g., bloodletting, administration of cathartics and emetics, medication); prescribed regimen (e.g., rest, diet, isolation); remedies for specific complaints (e.g., fevers, colds, toothache, indigestion, rheumatism, infectious diseases); etc. See also:

Ideas about anatomy and physiology . . . . . 82 Medical research 742
Obstetrics . . . . . 84 Public health and sanitation 744
Materia medica and pharmacology . . . . . 278 Surgery 752

THE GAELIC LANGUAGE

ing, 73 per cent have the language, which has been introduced 197
by immigrant country folk and their descendants.

HEALTH AND HOUSING

Despite the harsh conditions of centuries, the physical health of 175*
the island was good in early times. Epidemics were rare due to 164
isolation, though on occasion smallpox carried away many children. The commonest diseases were fevers, jaundice, dysentery and diarrhoea. Bloodletting (as in many another more advanced community) was the usual cure for fevers and dysentery. For coughs 175* 157
the people took a 'brochan' or soup of roots of nettles and reeds boiled in water with yeast; the meal of a black bean, mixed with boiled milk, was a useful cure for dysentery. Reports describe the 175*
folk as being well-proportioned, free from bodily imperfections and 142
of good stature; healthful and strong-bodied.

But privations, particularly the frequent recurrences of near- 175*
famine, coupled with the primitive housing conditions, began to 164
take their toll. The increasing sickness rate aroused the concern of authority. The most primitive dwellings had but one room 175*
with the cattle at one end and the family at the other. In 1830 242
Seaforth sought at least to put an end to this, ordering that a 231
partition must be erected between beast and man, 'and that more light should be admitted into the dark recesses of their habitation'. This type of one-room dwelling was not confined to the island, 184
being found with many variants throughout the Highlands and Islands area. The old Lewis house was, as a rule, an oblong structure, varying in length according to the means and requirements of the occupier. It had but one door, and frequently had no windows. Chimneys did not find favour, mainly because any open- 354
ing for the escape of smoke from the centrally-sited hearth tended 241
to reduce the quality of soot produced; and soot was regarded as a valuable manurial product. If there was a hole in the roof to admit some light, a small pane of glass was fixed into it: this soon had a coating of soot, and the sole source of light was the doorway—when the door was open. The family and the cattle used the same 231
entrance; and the cows' dung was removed once a year in the springtime.

acceptance of the potato, a much more productive and dependable 161
subsistence item than grain on Skye, made it possible for more 175
people to live on less land. The introduction of a new industry 247
keeping, provided many with employment and freed them from com- 184
plete dependence on a subsistence economy. Vaccination reduced 157
the mortality rate, especially among infants whose chances of 166
reaching maturity and procreating were thus enhanced. Another 511
important factor was the Skyeman's share in the general prosperity of British agriculturalists during the early years of the Industrial Revolution and during the Napoleonic Wars. An 423
especially important factor was the practice of subdividing 493
the land which made early marriage possible, in particular after the installation of the crofting system. Finally, but by no 161
means least significant, there was the persistence of many 175
typical features of the culture in the days of the clan. The 178
sentimental ties of kinship and attachment to the soil had 182
remained.

The population decrease, partially a result of the Skyeman's 161
involvement in the process of commercialization, was primarily 175
a result of a failure to fully adjust to the higher, more 178
heterogeneous socio-economic level. By the end of the second 184
period of the modern epoch, 1845, the people had become hostages to the potato and their own fertility. When the potato failed them, they had nothing to fall back upon, except the generosity of their landlords. The cattle and kelp markets had collapsed at the end of the Wars, and the subdivided land could not produce sufficient grain. The belief of many that the population had over-run the limited local resources was confirmed.

758

758 MEDICAL CARE--regimes and care of sick persons (e.g., diet, rest, isolation); apparatus and paraphernalia of medical care (e.g., clinical thermometers, bed pans); general availability of medical advice, treatment, and care (e.g., organization, finance, services); etc. This category is intended for general information on medical care. For specialized data see relevant categories in 73, 74 and 75. See also:

Gift giving . . . . . 431 Visiting 574

585 For some weeks after returning, the couple goes visiting
198 with a bottle. The scope of visits seems to have narrowed to close relatives unable to attend the wedding, and sometimes the custom is referred to as old-fashioned.

[421] The bride usually mails pieces of bridal cake to
[205] relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

759 2. Death: At a time of illness or injury, an
574 individual may see persons he has not seen for years. The house is filled with a constant flow of visitors, and the visitors recount every detail of a sick person's
[763] pallor and movement. The room is usually occupied by visitors when a person breathes his last.

763 In the past, work ceased in every house in the
46 surrounding neighborhood when a person died. This no
[178] longer occurs. (The story is told of a weaver who called
[288] a mill in Stornoway to say that he could not finish an urgent tweed because there had been a death in the village, and was told, "You keep on weaving till the weaver dies.") However, dances in the village are
535 cancelled, and the bothan (an isolated hut in which
444 liquor is sold illegally) may close. Outdoor work, such as peat-cutting, which would be widely seen is avoided.

763 Word of the death spreads throughout the village and
[203] beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulated inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

759

759 MEDICAL PERSONNEL--prevalent types of medical specialists (e.g., herbalists, diagnosticians, physicians, surgeons, dentists, nurses, technicians, midwives); qualifications, training, status, and activities of each type; prerogatives and disabilities of medical personnel; special garb, paraphernalia, and behavior; remuneration (e.g., fees, salaries); penalties for failure; medical organizations; professional ethics; medical cults (e.g., acupuncture, osteopathy); examination and licensing of medical practitioners; etc. See also:

Medical personnel in ceremonies and other ritualistic situations, dependents, and delinquents 78
Public health, hospital, and research personnel . 74
Psychiatrists, shamans, and medicine men . . . 750
Role of midwives at childbirth 864
Medical and nursing schools 876

193 "Then the tweeds got 47
237 going and the barley took too much trouble; so they had
884 no use for the mill."

A 60-year-old woman remembers, "They depended on the
193 potato and fished a lot. I was raised on oatcakes, barley
242 bannocks, and salt herring. There were no vans and no school canteens when I was young; you had to carry your
own 'piece' to school. We had porridge with fresh milk
[264] for breakfast, oatcakes and butter for lunch. Dinner was at 4:00, of potatoes and fish and milk. We had meat maybe once a week. My father poached a lot. We ate the heads
[251] and the roe of the salmon fresh, and salted the rest."

Once among the cleanest, Hebridean teeth now vie with
164 British cities in extent of decay. It is not uncommon for
759 a child in his first year of school to have six teeth pulled by the travelling dentist.

261 Various customs associated with food which exist today
272 reflect the days when fare was meager. Tea-drinking is
[171] omnipresent in Britain, but in the islands it has
272 special significance. The taking of tea constitutes
574 the denouement of a visit, and almost always occurs when
[576] someone steps over someone else's threshold. To refuse tea has some of the connotations of an insult; and to take only tea, without food, is to have a copan falamh (empty cup).

F. The Decline in Self-Sufficiency

175 Until the second world war, when weavers began to
432 earn larger sums of money for their weaving, the
435 township was relatively self-sufficient. The land was
175 more thoroughly cultivated, and the village boasted a
463 number of local specialists. These specializations
[240] were linked with particular family lines. Certain
175 families were blacksmiths; others were undertakers,
463 joiners, cobblers, or midwives. As generations succeeded
592 one another, occupations were not thrown open in the competitive, individualistic way of the mobile city. Certain occupations were seen to be "naturally" linked with particular families. Sometimes it was said that people of a particular family (which might include quite a number of collateral lines) had hereditary characteristics which suited them for particular occupations.

"Taggy was an expert bone-setter. He wasn't a doctor
[159] at all, but he could set bones better than any doctor. And he used to let blood, when people were dizzy with threatening stroke, or had pneumonia. It was in the people. He was a direct descendent, through his mother,
[827] of the Murrays of South Shawbost, the people who had the mill and were the blacksmiths for generations. He got that ability from them."

796 miscarriage occurring before marriage also requires
857 standing even when the child to be baptised was conceived
626 by the couple after marriage. A married man who has
898 impregnated a woman who is not his wife must undergo
[837] this ordeal before he can have his own children baptised.

It is the responsibility of the entire community to ensure that this punishment is carried out. On one occasion, the minister forgot to lecture a couple, and afterwards sent them a note that they would not have to stand; but they insisted, afraid that people would say that they were getting special treatment.

[203] According to one minister, the manse is a kind of
[521] "research center" to which all gossip is reported. Some
[743] ministers use this information in the pulpit, chiding
[194] people and calling attention to wrong-doings in front of the congregation. In contrast, a different attitude exists
[184] in parts of Stornoway, where villagers have approached
• [759] doctors in the maternity ward for information regarding miscarriages and premarital births only to be told that this information is confidential. The ordeal of standing
[178] in church does not exist in Stornoway. In 1971 a person in Shawbost was accidentally exempted from this ordeal and his exemption was seen by some as providing an opportunity to stop what is considered by many to be an archaic custom.

THE PEOPLE

*195 165 164 centre of the mud floor through tons and tons of decomposing organic matter or manure.'

The island, for all its ills and chills, had a high birth-rate and
*195 163 165 a low death-rate. Martin Martin (1695) declared: 'It is a general observation of such as live on the sea coast that they are more prolific than any other people whatsoever.' In some areas of the island the birth-rate was as high as 35 per cent with a death-rate of about 12 per cent. The longevity of the islanders is well known, a fact confirmed by a glance any week at the Deaths columns of the *Stornoway Gazette*, regularly recording the decease of octogenarians, nonagenarians and some reaching their century.

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*195 763 423 the patient belonged to the club or not. The salary of the district Medical Officer of Health was £35 per annum, and from the
178 262 North Harris Club he received some £200. Scott also provided him with a home. Dr Fletcher reported in 1906 that a complete change had taken place in the diet of the people within the memory of the older inhabitants, whose accounts of what they called new diseases and lowered virility he found very interesting. Good, plain wholesome diet 'has been replaced by cheap stuff, of
[272] questionable quality and purity. To this change there is another nondescript article which goes by the name of tea, in the outset, or rather abuse, of which they are quite intemperate and from which they extract the last drops by boiling. The result is disastrous to the strongest digestive system.'

*195 743 In 1892 'a well-equipped medical and surgical hospital was

HEALTH AND HOUSING

an urgent necessity for the island of Lewis', and a committee was
appointed to collect funds, the subscription list being headed by 175*
Lady Matheson; for a period of three years donations flowed in 743
from all parts of the world. The Lewis cottage hospital was opened
on 1 February 1896, starting with only fifteen beds; the number
was increased to twenty in 1915. An extension was opened in
1925, and the hospital was provided with a surgeon and an ambulance. Another extension in 1929 was the result of a gift of
£3,000 from Mr John Bain, of Chicago, a Lewis son who was
President of no less than fourteen banks in the Mid-West. The
Lewis Sanatorium was started in 1926.

Tuberculosis was at one time in the island's history a disease
that caused many deaths and much sorrow. About 1930 an Assist- 175*
ant Medical Officer of Health was appointed, Dr R. Stevenson 164
Doig (who died in 1965), who spent his career-life in Lewis stamp- 744
ing out what was called in the island the 'white scourge'; he lived 759
long enough to see the introduction of preventive medicine and 165
the decline of the killing and crippling diseases he found on his first years in Lewis.

In dental health, progress has, as in so many areas, been 164
reversed. At one time the island teeth were so well known for 178
their strength and beauty that a film was made by the Army for showing to audiences considered in need of dental-health education. In 1966 the picture had changed: a survey revealed that 95 per cent of Lewis children were in need of dental treatment. (262)
The mainland addiction to sugary foods has spread. 734

As distinct from the island's general medical services, centred
on Stornoway, the psychiatric services are based at Inverness.
What was formerly the Inverness District Asylum, now called
Craig Dunain Hospital, is the only mental hospital in the Highlands area, with a few long-term beds in the Institution at Lochmaddy; the general hospital at Stornoway conducts monthly outpatient clinics. Over the area served, the rate of admission to
Craig Dunain Hospital is around 3·3 persons per 1,000 of population, compared with a figure of 4·68 for Scotland as a whole, 5·5
for Lewis and 2 for Harris.

The drink problem and Lewis's relatively high rate of admis- 733
sions to mental hospital both stem from the background of the 734
158

CH. V FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP

121 by help of oral tradition and of the living witness of con-
194 tinuing usage, we can reconstitute Gaelic life from the
108 view-points of both people and chief. Elsewhere, even in
175 Scotland, only fragments of early life are recorded, in
84 parchments written by the lawyers of landlord and king,
127 and almost always from the privileged side. History is indebted to modern lawyers who have deciphered and published the faded documents of their predecessors. But the very training as solicitor-factors which fitted them for this specialised task, in no way prepared them to view life as seen, experienced and felt by the men and women of the past, or even by the elders or youth of the townships today, with whom they have rarely laboured and whose mother tongue they rarely understand.

(A) THE LABOURS OF MAN AND WIFE, AND THE REWARD

621 We have seen that until the nineteenth century the
632 township in the main was self-contained. Its people grew,
175 reared or caught their food, and also found the raw materials
[833] for their clothing; they built their own shelter, and cut
194 their own firing. As a result, both men and women had
175 each to develop "a wide range of simple skills", in the
462 apt phrase of a Lewisman, Mr. Donald MacLean, M.A. Beyond the co-operative effort within a family, a farm group, or a body of 'fellow-townsmen'—in which each was competent to take a share according to sex and age—
[463] aptitude and family tradition initiated some local division of labour. The resident smith and the 'caird' (usually a wandering craftsman or tinker) appear in the oldest tales
• [759] and in the first rent-rolls. In addition there were honorary tasks. The smith might act as the village surgeon, ready

194 to bleed or to set bones, while some elderly woman would
175 serve as physician and midwife. Spiritual consolation
462 and renewal too could be found, even in the absence of
[463] monk or nun, or of priest, minister or catechist. Enough
• [759] here, that with agriculture and fishing, most crafts, except
[793] metal-work, were practised in every family. The 'range
[593] of skills' was therefore wider and richer in latent art than might be supposed from those needed on a little croft today. Hence the importance of understanding the roles of husbandman and housewife, of "the man and the woman of the house".

194 Their labours through the annual rhythm of the seasons
462 might be classed as efforts for the man and endurance for
221 the women (Fig. 9). Man's muscular strength and free-
[181] dom of limb rouse him to efforts demanded by the thrust and lift of peat-cutting, digging in stony soil, or pushing the foot-plough, step by step obliquely down a rocky slope. In the past an archer's chase of stag, wolf or boar demanded all a man's effort, and courage too, as fishing still does in the stormy north-western seas. With this facing of danger there came a gaiety that sparkled like the crest of a breaking wave. Women's work demanded by its unceasing activity a cheerful endurance, whether at labour on the croft, at corn-grinding, butter-making and peat-carrying, or carding, spinning and weaving; and with every task of day or season came the constant tending of cattle, of menfolk and children.

[539] This allotment of seasonal tasks and skills is neatly put in the proverb, "A man's cow won't yield milk, nor a woman's horse ploughing" (*Cha bhi bainn' aig bo fir, 's cha bhi treabhadh 'an each mnatha*). Yet women have always taken a share of work on the croft—too heavy a share when the men were much away—and the habit of

5: Caird et al. K-3 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other lazy-beds are permanently in natural pasture; only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'old arable' is now in oats and potatoes. If natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the old arable (ninety acres) after 1850-52. As in all the fishing townships the area of sown grass is indicational for only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering capacity of the croftis could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of undersowing.

There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives. All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and squatters and lessors, besides the fifteen legal Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir commons. The common has been encroached on by several feus for Gravir is the functional centre of Park: the Free Church of Scotland and Manse, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the catechistes (assistant ministers) are all located in Gravir.

Gravir and Glengravir thus have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty per cent of the stock, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 2,652 acres is in general of poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957 a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded: only twelve of the operative units participated in this reclamation work, and the ages of the participants ranged between 27 and 58 years; this is significant as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended annually; if potential participants in the scheme are limited, pasture amelioration is actually [495] numbers; at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the sheep room, and a ewe and lamb sell for as little as £2·10s to £3·10s, an indication of the consequence of over-stocking. The cattle stock is below the somming and this paucity of cattle is one of the notable changes in the agriculture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the somming by thirty-five per cent.

The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from the somming of one cow and follower and eight sheep per pound sterling of rent in a township where only seven crofts pay more than £2 rent, they were never intended to be self-supporting agricultural units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, here on sale, locally milled by the three Gravir water mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family. Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for lobsters.

If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of innovable age and service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupation are sufficiently available or attractive to keep the innovable population in the district. Twelve of the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in permanent employment forth of Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential male resident population.

The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the bay-day of the fishing most of the men fished all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £80 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sale of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the somming, the income of the largest croft including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

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achieved status positions are most
the island. The shopkeepers and

le only the Church of Scotland ministers will assume roles
government, on the district council or the county council,
the education committee, and similar bodies, they have
been given higher status than the ministers of other de-
inations, who firmly believe the function of the minister
only to correct the public servants when they err.

The doctor is coming to fill a status held by no other
son, except the county people, the landed gentry. Tra-
ionally, they have ranked second only to the minister,
there is a marked trend to accord them more and more status.
doctors, of course, are less restricted in their social
ivities and can participate more fully in secular affairs
n the ministers. They have a wider range of interaction,
ering the homes of all regardless of sectarian differences.
Glendale there is no question about the relative positions
the minister and doctor, who lives in Dunvegan. In
muir on the other hand, the doctor is vying with the
isters. He is always addressed by his title, but often,
least in indirect speech, he is Doctor (Ian) rather than
tor MacLeod. Many of the doctors on Skye have begun to
a cleavage between their families and the crofters. They
sending their sons to private schools. The ministers'
dren attend the local schools.

The school teachers also enjoy high prestige status.
are always addressed by their surname, prefixed by
er, even by older men whom they call by their Christian
s. One newcomer was especially struck by this careful

761

761 LIFE AND DEATH--theories about life and death; notion of a life force; conception of death (e.g., as natural, as unnatural); beliefs about the causes of death; attitude toward death (e.g., confidence, fear, fatalism); etc. See also:

Theories of health and disease 78
Conception of fate, animistic beliefs, eschatology, and myths about origin of death . 77
Mortality statistics 165
Prescriptions for longevity. 886

781 273 795 794 [761] 781 794 273 [434] [781] 273 794 733 781 [743]

2. Bible vs. Bottle: An islander living on the mainland once observed that the Free Church plays cat and mouse with members of the community who drink heavily. Death is a common event in a community which has a large number of old people, and the theme of death appears repeatedly in sermons and in the conversations of those who have undergone religious conversion. The temporary pleasures of drink are contrasted with the eternal joys awaiting those who have been saved. The "false" friendships of the drinking situations are contrasted with the more lasting, consistent relations which characterize the clique of the converted. "You have lots of friends when you get converted, and they don't change overnight the way your drinking companions do."

"With the drink it's easy to get started and just not be able to stop drinking, especially with the money there is now. Everything's unsteady here except religion."

Many of the most deeply religious male members of the church were once heavy drinkers. One villager observed, "If a man went to extremes as a sinner, he'll be just as fanatical when he becomes holy. Had it not been for religion, some of them would have landed in Craig Dunain [the mental hospital near Inverness]. The talk is forever on religion. That keeps their mind at rest."

*159 781 787 [761] *159 781 [761]

later that these were all people who eventually got the Curam. The only conversion I didn't expect was Norrie Bheag. I saw her one night crying outside the church, and knew her time had come.

"In the dream I was at the very end of the line, only I wasn't wearing a white dress. I was naked, and kept trying to cover myself.

"Not a day passes that I don't think of death. I want to pray, but I don't know who to pray to. I've been going to church regularly now, sort of hoping and sort of being afraid that I'll find the answer. I've read too much, and I met too many kinds of people while I was working in Glasgow. I didn't live near other people from Shawbost when I was in Glasgow. I got to know Jews, tinkers, Catholics, and Jehovah's Witnesses. The world is full of different religions. I believe that you can convert to a religion, from to Buddhism or to Christianity, but not to a church like the Free Church or the Church of Scotland. This place is called Tir an t-soisgeul where the true gospel is preached, but the whole world should be called that."

Ruaridh Dan

*159 288

Ruaridh Dan was married in January and began to work as a warper in the Shawbost mill the following October, just after the end of World War II. He had been weaving

324 763 195 764 559 [493] 764 459 [761]

or inquires about a person's plans, he says, "You'll do it tomorrow, then, if spared."

Occasionally, a man's prestige status can be judged by the foretaste the people have of his funeral. This, too, is disturbing for the newcomers who prefer to face death when the time comes. There is one member of the county people who is extremely popular. Many speak of him as a "true Skyeman." One day he was being discussed by a small group of women. After talking about his interest in Skye and what a good man he was, one summed up their estimation by saying, "Aye, what a wonderful funeral he'll have." What higher compliment could there be? The number who attend a person's funeral and, recently, the number who drive to his funeral are indicative of his status. Even though having a car does not give the owner prestige - to the contrary it may give the people cause to wonder where he got his money - to have "friends" with cars does give prestige. When 200 or 300 men join in the funeral procession to carry the body to the grave, all the "people" of the deceased take pride in telling of the "mobs who came."

In death we find one aspect of the crofter's way of life which puzzles the newcomer, especially the government officials, more than anything else. The old people hoard their money. Welfare workers frequently say, "You never know how much they have until they die." There are a few crofters, mainly returned exiles, who are known to have money but continue to live in tumbled down houses. The newcomer says, "They must like to live that way." Quite to the contrary, the Sgristhanach has traditionally prepared for death early in life. Once the first

762

762 SUICIDE--incidence of suicide; motives (e.g., humiliation, thwarted love); common methods (e.g., jumping, drowning, shooting, poison); stereotyped methods (e.g., suttee, hara-kiri); justifications; attitude toward suicides; etc. See also:
Personality disorders . . . . . 158 Punishment of attempted suicides. 692

695 deviants without recourse to the court. Indeed in Kilmuir
627 they do so well that I never heard of any theft. Still, there has been some theft in Glendale. Shortly before each cattle sale the shepherds on the club farm found one or two cattle had disappeared. At first they thought the cattle might have gone over the cliff, but coincidence soon indicated they had a thief in their midst. One of the crofters, a retired Glasgow policeman, took a hand in discovering the guilty party. At length he found out who it was. At the annual meeting several weeks later, he stood up and told the shareholders exactly what he had seen. Here were the facts, in detail. He did not, however, name the guilty person. After he had finished, the crofters calmly asked him to retell several parts of his story, and then there was a period of silence. Finally, the man publicly confessed and expressed repentance. He was not cast out or handed over to the police -- I doubt if the police know of this even now. His humiliation was sufficient punishment.

682 Among such crimes and the forms of social control which
762 they prompt, however, murder is almost unknown, deterred by the tales which tell of being plagued by the man's ghost to the grave, and suicide is extremely rare, with only three cases in many, many years. Much more important, however, is the influence of social control over public behavior.

683 During my stay on Skye, I was struck by the lack of overt
183 aggression. Aggression was an outstanding characteristic of the
157 culture during the days of the clan, as the Crown ruefully

763

763 DYING--omens and predictions of death; notions about dying; recognizing the approach of death; settlement of affairs; assembling of relatives; attempts to postpone death; preparing the patient for death (e.g., removal from dwelling, dressing in mortuary garments, last rites); preparing the funeral equipment (e.g., shroud, coffin); last words and last favors; criteria of death (e.g., coma, cessation of breath or heart action); attempts at revival; reaction to the impact of death (e.g., wailing, flight, self-mutilation); announcement of death; post-mortem examinations; etc. See also:
Deathbed testaments . . . . . 438 Omens 787
Capital punishment 681

585 For some weeks after returning, the couple goes visiting
178 with a bottle. The scope of visits seems to have narrowed to close relatives unable to attend the wedding, and sometimes the custom is referred to as old-fashioned.

[431] The bride usually mails pieces of bridal cake to
[205] relatives who were unable to attend the wedding.

758 2. Death: At a time of illness or injury, an
574 individual may see persons he has not seen for years. The house is filled with a constant flow of visitors, and the visitors recount every detail of a sick person's
763 pallor and movement. The room is usually occupied by visitors when a person breathes his last.

In the past, work ceased in every house in the
763 surrounding neighborhood when a person died. This no
46 longer occurs. (The story is told of a weaver who called
[178] a mill in Stornoway to say that he could not finish an
[288] urgent tweed because there had been a death in the village, and was told, "You keep on weaving till the weaver dies.") However, dances in the village are
[535] cancelled, and the bothan (an isolated hut in which
[444] liquor is sold illegally) may close. Outdoor work, such as peat-cutting, which would be widely seen is avoided.

763 Word of the death spreads throughout the village and
[803] beyond within a few hours. From an immense, accumulated inventory, memories of the deceased are brought out,

763 relived and shared. The person's exact age and the
764 identity of his closest kin are discussed. A van is
574 immediately dispatched to bring benches from the church,
[493] which are set up throughout the house of the deceased, and over the next few days a constant stream of visitors
[431] fills the benches. The visitors bring tea, sugar, biscuits and other provisions for the days and nights of communal trial. The tigh fhaire, "house of watching," as this wake is called, continues until the day of the funeral.

764 In the past, persons sat up all night with the body.
[825] "It took so long to get a coffin. You didn't want to
[198] go in and find half the face eaten away by rats." This custom is dying out, but lights are usually left on in the room in which the coffin is placed. When an all-night wake occurs, the atmosphere is one of relaxed story-telling and the sad laughter of reminiscence.

At least two nights of "waking" usually precede the
764 funeral. During this time, hundreds of villagers attend
574 the tigh fhaire. Grief is expressed throughout the vast
[152] network in which the dead person was enmeshed. On rare occasions when a single night precedes burial, the house is filled to overflowing.

Throughout the day and evening, waves of newcomers enter, and other sitters slip quietly away. Kinswomen of

779 with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of
764 Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1294.
532 Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this
monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness.
195 The following year, 1295, saw the commencement of "the
three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction
644 of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King
[829] Alexander III, "that Scotland led in luve and law", peace
within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing
[648] Gaelic Christian traditions and Scoto-Norman arts. After
his death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars
181 can tell me, this almost unnoticed monument remains
764 unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts
of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement,
were shattered by invasions, and Gaelic tradition was only
to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all
time, we have become.

763 At the approach of death God's mercy and peace were
782 sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the
wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme
Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona.*[2]
[174] In early times confession seems to have been made as
willingly to the 'Soul-friend', followed by Benediction.
When death had come, the mourners sang of sleep and
764 home. In Lewis today funerals are conducted in silence
to the graveside, where the last service is held; but

[113] [1] *A unique medieval tomb at Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.)
[2] It would be of deep interest to compare the attitudes to death found in 'Spiritual Songs' by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs on death which, though maybe of post-Reformation date, are of Roman Catholic origin (*e.g.* in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, poems on the Day of Judgment, and of Wrath; on age and on death; and on Purgatory: pp. 31, 85, 146; 34, 19, 21; 27). Some have much in common, both by
[19] virtue of the earlier traditions they shared and still more because of parallel trends of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Cf. *Carmina.*

of Scotland in Portree. Only one girl appeared for instruction. 794
After the significance of her preparation had been fully explained 779
she declined to take the final step. She did not disagree 484
with the minister's view that she was prepared for membership
and communion, but she was afraid of what her friends in the
Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church might say. She was
probably wondering what the middle-aged adherents of her church
might have to say, too. When the Sgiathanach takes his first
Communion, in Glendale, Kilmuir, or Portree, the people must
be able to look up to him.

The second exception to the age-grade requirement rules 626
among the county people. Because of their social position 988
in the community, which rests on the expression of their statuses, 565 794
as roles, as landlords, village and neighborhood representatives
and leaders, and members of the national class system, and
because of their education in England, the county people
attain membership in the church at an early age. Some have
become elders of the church at twenty-one. To subject them
to the control of the crofters would, obviously, be incompati-
ble with their social standing. Although they are all Church [182]
of Scotland, here again religion is a reinforcing factor for
the structure of the society.

Dying, the final act of living, reveals a host of traits 763
which only receive covert expression during an individual's 829
life. While the youth is censured for his spontaneous
pleasures and the adult is criticized for his behavior, the
deceased is always respected. As one woman said, "It is the
one time in a person's life that the people have nothing but

good to say about him." Death is one of the two occasions for 763
an extended family gathering. Indeed, a man's prestige is best 829
seen at his funeral. Without exaggeration, death is the most [546] [564]
significant event of living. It is constantly visualized and
discussed. "Second Sight," the ability to foresee future 763
events, is mainly concerned with the death of one's "people"
and friends. Since the ministers have been striving to wipe
out this belief, it is difficult to get the people to talk
about it, except in retrospect. Still most of the people,
including many of the newcomers, and not a few of the ministers,
continue to believe that some old people,—they are always
old men and women,—are afflicted with this power. There
was an old man in one township who would not go out at dusk
for fear of seeing a funeral, and there was an old woman who
foretold her daughter's death. Lights seen in strange places
also tell of death. Even the sophisticated Sgiathanach who
has been born and raised in Portree sometimes forgets himself.
A current story on the island tells of a "ghost bus." The
headlights suddenly appear behind a driver on the Sligihan
road. For the newcomers this is a fanciful tale, but for
several of the natives it has a meaning, death.

All plans are prefixed with the phrase "if spared." 763
"If spared, we'll shear the sheep on Thursday." "If spared, 195
I'll go down to see my brother soon." Many of the newcomers
are made to feel very uneasy by this habit, which is as much
a form of speech as greeting people with, "It's wet," or,
"It's cold." When a Sgiathanach asks to have something done

or inquires about a person's plans, he says, "You'll do it 763
tomorrow, then, if spared." 195

Occasionally, a man's prestige status can be judged by 764
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disturbing for the newcomers who prefer to face death when
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In death we find one aspect of the crofter's way of life 764
which puzzles the newcomer, especially the government officials, 559
more than anything else. The old people hoard their money.
Welfare workers frequently say, "You never know how much they
have until they die." There are a few crofters, mainly returned
exiles, who are known to have money but continue to live in
tumbled down houses. The newcomer says, "They must like to
live that way." Quite to the contrary, the Sgiathanach has [741]
traditionally prepared for death early in life. Once the first

duty of a wife was to weave her winding sheet. Nor is the cost 764
of burial merely buying a coffin. As at birth and marriage, 559
the people who attend a funeral must have their dram. Just as [829]
they do not want subsidies to begin life, they do not want to
be buried with public assistance. They hoard their money, even
if it is only a few pounds, to assure themselves of a decent
burial. Another thing that disturbs the welfare officers is 763
the determination of the old and infirm to remain on their 186
croft in spite of all efforts to move them to a "Twilight
Home." Some of these people may have returned to Skye for
no other reason than the feeling, "If I could go back to Skye
to die it would be fine." I knew many people who had come to
America as young adults and "liked it fine." Why did they
return? The answer is always the same, "I was getting old, you
know, and began to think of home." This, of course, is another
expression of the sentimental attachment for the land and its
identity with one's "people."

Paradoxically, for a people who are so aware of death 763
and look upon it so significantly, the churches, one and all, 796
have refused to consecrate burial. There are no prayers for [782]
the dead. There is no service for the dying or at the grave
as the body is lowered into the soil. The ritual which accompanies
this final act of living is better described as a rite of
intensification rather than as a passage rite, to adopt the
terminology of Chapple and Coon.[15]

Once the individual dies, his status is fixed for all

[15] Chapple and Coon, Principles of Anthropology, pp. 398-399.

eternity. If he was one of the "elect," he will enjoy eternal 763
life. If he was not one of these venerable old men and women, 554 775
he can expect to suffer eternal damnation. Although baptism 851
is a sacrament and removes original sin, it is only the initial 783
step in the direction of salvation, which election alone confirms. Neither the minister nor any member of the bereaved 764
family offers a prayer. "What more can you do than bury him," 793
one woman asked. An old man said, "They are just as well 782
remembered without praying for them." In a community which is dominated by the old people, and in the crofting neighborhoods where so many of the crofters are very old, death can be expected to disturb the equilibrium of social interaction. In Glendale during November and December of 1953 funeral processions made their way through the glen no less than nine times. The function of the minister is to restore the dis- 793
turbed patterns, both in the family and in the neighborhood 782
(or village). All work stops in the township for three days from the time of death. Some of the cosmopolitans of the 369
village, seeking to justify their deviating behavior, assert 287
that the lazy crofter looks forward to a funeral because it means three days of idleness. In the village, of course, it 369
is no longer possible to bring daily life to a standstill because the villagers serve a wide area. The "people" of the deceased do stop work and close their shops. On the day of the funeral all blinds are drawn until after the procession has passed.

As he would if there were illness in the family, the 793
minister calls on the bereaved family and leads them in family 764

764

764 FUNERAL.--attitude toward the corpse; mortuary toilet (e.g., dressing and decorating the body); laying out in state; preservative techniques (e.g., embalming, desiccation, mummification); determination of time, place, and mode of burial; interval between death and burial (e.g., duration, measures to prevent further deaths, manifestations of grief); vigils and wakes; place of disposal of corpse (e.g., cemetery, ossuary); receptacles (e.g., coffin, canoe, urn, tomb); method of disposal (e.g., abandonment, inhumation, cremation, sea burial, cave burial, tree or scaffold burial); preparation of grave, pyre, or scaffold; transport of corpse to place of disposal; procession to grave; disposition of corpse (e.g., posture, orientation); funerary mounds, monuments, and memorials; burial rites; mortuary sacrifices; disposition of grave goods; roles of relatives at funerals; economic obligations of participants (e.g., fees, contributions); precautions against return of the soul (e.g., silence, disguise, doors of the dead); return from the funeral; purification of participants; etc. See also:

Commemorative statues and monuments . . .	211	Blood vengeance	620
Dirges and laments	538	Eschatology	770
Fostermother marriages	680	Purification rites	783

For example, 46
a Widow Catherine lost "one red
195 mare and foal (1l0), one dun cow (13/10), and one dun
427 heifer (11/10)." One family is said to have paid rent
436 by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir
551 James Matheson), thus earning the patronymic, "Fiddler." Their income stopped abruptly when the fiddler at the time, a great-grandfather of descendants now living, converted to the Free Church and smashed his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1905 it was noted in the rent ledger that two crofters wanted "first chance of a vacant croft in the township." In the first quarter of the century, 628
a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighboring 764
township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too precious to take out of cultivation and give to the dead of another village.

A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living
173 from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was
241 young. They used the dung of the cattle to fertilize the
233 soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was
229 only 2½ acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight stacks of barley to see us through the year." There were
173 a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the streams
243 to grind the barley. The "old Norse mill" which was
252 recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project
251 was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got
847

121 of the township with the larger society, and examines
128 the effect of geographical and social marginality on the boundedness of the township network. Chapter 6 discusses two important networks of social relations within the township.

B. Township as Social Boundary System

632 The township constitutes a relatively firmly bounded
178 system, although its boundaries are weaker than formerly
621 when the township was relatively self-sufficient
476 economically. Township members worked together in small fishing crews, and families relied on each other for help when members of the family were away from the island "at the fishing."

621 Relatives were expected to give priority to helping
476 each other. According to one proverb, "A relative is
602 your best friend." First and second cousins were
539 considered especially close, but knowledge of one's
605 kinsmen extended to at least the fourth generation.

602 Ties of kinship became evident in ceremonies such as
576 funerals and weddings. One Gaelic proverb says, "You
585 know who your relatives are at weddings and funerals."
764 At weddings the onus was on the members of the bridal
539 party to remember their relatives. "You have to sit and calculate who is closely related, and all those

602 people will be doing the same. If they think they're
576 close enough to be invited, they'll be annoyed if you
585 don't include them." At funerals, relatives of the
764 deceased to about third cousins were expected to participate.

621 When a population has lived in a small area for
602 generations, a dense network of kinship develops. This
476 fact, and the importance placed on mutual aid among
571 fellow villagers, fostered the feeling that the network of township members, who ploughed, fished and tended cattle and sheep together, was also a network of kinsmen. "We're all the same people." "It's all one family here." Occupational and kinship spheres of social activity commingled. The importance of neighbors in contrast
539 with relatives was reflected in such proverbs as, "A neighbor close at hand is better than a relative in a distant land."

621 The nuclear family did not, according to Cohen's
594 criteria, constitute a firmly bounded system. Then as
178 now, women preferred the company of their "own kind,"
571 that is, the company of other women. The men worked and spent periods of recreation with other men. Childre
621 spent about as much time in the homes of grandparents,
596 uncles or fellow villagers as they did in their own homes. A 60-year-old woman remembers that it was a

763 relived and shared. The person's exact age and the
764 identity of his closest kin are discussed. A van is
574 immediately dispatched to bring benches from the church,
[493] which are set up throughout the house of the deceased,
and over the next few days a constant stream of visitors
[431] fills the benches. The visitors bring tea, sugar,
biscuits and other provisions for the days and nights
of communal trial. The tigh fhaire, "house of watching,
as this wake is called, continues until the day of the
funeral.

764 In the past, persons sat up all night with the body
[825] "It took so long to get a coffin. You didn't want to
[178] go in and find half the face eaten away by rats." This
custom is dying out, but lights are usually left on in
the room in which the coffin is placed. When an all-nigh
wake occurs, the atmosphere is one of relaxed story-telli
and the sad laughter of reminiscence.

764 At least two nights of "waking" usually precede the
574 funeral. During this time, hundreds of villagers attend
[152] the tigh fhaire. Grief is expressed throughout the vast
network in which the dead person was enmeshed. On rare
occasions when a single night precedes burial, the house
is filled to overflowing.

Throughout the day and evening, waves of newcomers
enter, and other sitters slip quietly away. Kinswomen of

HISTORY

*175 cester College, Oxford University, with an estimated date of 1653,
648 the year in which the English garrison was placed in Lewis. Nothing now remains of that fort built by Crispe's soldiers, though the whole area on the small point of land, present-day Point Street, is redolent of historical atmosphere, despite new buildings.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

*175 Ecclesiology is a horse of many different colours in the island.
Tradition goes right back to the early stirrings of Christianity in Scotland. Indeed, one of the most important religious sites on the
[346] island is St Columba's at Eye, near Aignish, some seven miles from Stornoway. Though the name might suggest it, there is no proof that the Gaelic abbot visited Lewis. But it is more than likely that a follower of his did so in his name. Part of the church at Eye is Norman, which gives an approximate date of origin, though it is necessary to take some account of the long interval between a development phase in one country and its adoption in another country quite insulated from change, as were the Outer
[173] Isles in medieval times. According to tradition, the church was built on the site of a cell occupied by the Celtic saint Catan, who is believed to have lived in the sixth or seventh century. Possibly this is the same Catan to whom a shrine is dedicated at Mealasta, in Uig, close by which the remains of a nunnery have been found, called by a Gaelic name meaning 'the house of the old black women'.

*175 St Columba's is mentioned in records from 1506, when it is
346 described as a 'rectory'. At present, though in a ruined state, it still shows its former strength of character, both as a building, a place of sanctuary, and a place of worship. It has also been called
[764] the Valhalla of Lewis, for tradition says that some nineteen Chiefs of Siol Torquil, the MacLeods of Lewis, are buried in its grounds. William, the fifth Earl of Seaforth, also found there an uneasy bed beside the enemies of his ancestors, who wrested Lewis from the MacLeods.

Another significant church is St Olaf's, or St Molua's at Eoropie, at the Butt of Lewis. Recorded evidence first indicates the existence of the church in 1630, where it occurs in a report

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

346 Linking the present day firmly with an ancient past is the probably fourteenth-century church of St Clement's, at Rodel. It is an outstanding building, and the only considerable archi-
[333] tectural monument in the Western Isles. Built of rubble, dressed
[353] with schist, and freestone which must have been imported for the purpose, it is cruciform, with nave, choir and two transeptal aisles, the fabric being covered with carvings and sculptured panels. The
*175 first mention of the building is made by Dean Monro, in his
346 account of his tour of the Western Isles, *c* 1549. In the first half

346
341

St Clement's Church, at Rodel, Harris

In the first half
*175 of the sixteenth century it was extensively repaired by Alexander
346 MacLeod of Harris, who died in 1547 and whose remarkable
• [764] tomb it houses. He prepared it nineteen years before he died;
[532] reckoned to be among the finest in Scotland, elaborately wrought, and with Latin inscription, nine sculptured panels cover the rear wall of the alcove, with the recumbent effigy of an armoured warrior with ornamented bascinet and camail lying below. Round-toed sabbatons cover the warrior's feet, which rest on a lizard-like beast, a lion standing guard at head and feet.

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

Other tombs inside the church include that of Mary MacLeod, *175
a bardess of the seventeenth century who was also governess to 346
the young MacLeods at Dunvegan. She was probably the first to 764 •
compose what may be called the 'court' song, in simple words [533]
and in the 'strophic' verse-form of rhythm and assonance enjoyed by all Gaels since her time. Her last elegy was composed to Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray in 1705.

So far as personal characteristics are concerned, there is a 181
marked difference between the Herrach (Harrisman) and the 197
Leodhasach (Lewisman). Their Gaelic dialects are different, the Harris pronunciation being much softer, with an attractive singing lilt. And Harris Gaelic has fewer words of Norse origin. The main reason for this difference has been a topographical one: before a road was cut, the mountain barrier of north Harris divided the inhabitants of the two parts of the same island, who developed in their own distinctive ways.

The character of the land of Harris has also had much to do 181
with the difference. Harris for the most part is infertile, with great 133
expanses of rock outcrops. The east side of the island is torn in shreds by fiord-like sea-mouths; the west coast is slow-moving, with large expanses of sand and machar-land which look out over the Atlantic breakers rolling in from a sea that is oceanic in appearance and in fact. From early times the Harris folk have *175
had to work hard to scarify their snippets of land to make it fer- 181
tile. Regular increases in population forced them to cultivate land 133
extending up to 500 feet above sea level in some places, in the 241
form of hard-won lazy-beds. After the clearances early last cen- [236]
tury, when the more fertile lands on the west coast were taken over for the formation of sheep farms, the people concentrated on the eastern side of the island, and on some of the higher ground in the west.

On Lord Leverhulme's death in 1925 the ownership of large 423
tracts of Harris passed to absentee landlords. After this, some of [659]
the lands which had been cleared a century earlier were purchased by the Government and broken up into crofts again, enabling some of the indigenous population to come back to make 423
use of the more fertile lands of the west. There are some 550 241
crofts in Harris, with 29 regulated common grazings; the total

NORTH RONA

Though the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says *175
that in his time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving 281
only, and an abundance of clover-grass for sheep. The island also 231
produced a fine bere-meal which the islanders stuffed into the [427]
skins of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of Lewis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest 181
Christian building in Britain remaining in its original state, *175
Monro says: 'As the ancients of the country allege, they leave a [346]
spade and a shuil [shovel] when any man dies, and upon the [764] •
morrow find the place of the grave marked with a spade, as they allege.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680:

> The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Com- [188]
> mandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have [194]
> cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either; they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as they want; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of mankind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take [551]
> their surname from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and clouds. [162]
> There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects [342]
> are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis, which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm *175
of rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the food. 731
A few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders [165]
of their only bull. 'These misfortunes and the want of supply [166]
from Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all
that ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony *175
was sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical* 162

CH. VII SPIRITUAL LIFE OF COMMUNITY

776 fellowship. "The Irish Church", a Roman is said to
171 have exclaimed to a Gaelic Catholic in scorn, "has won
no martyr's crown!" "Ireland was named the Isle of
174 Saints not by persecuting but by cherishing God's elect", was the reply. The Celtic Church linked the lands across St. Patrick's Channel; and what was true of Patrick's missionary field seems to have been as true of Celtic Britain, the land of his birth. Kilpatrick on the Roman Wall of Clyde has been claimed as the birthplace of one who was certainly a Cymric Celt by birth and baptism, a Gaul by training, and an Irishman by mission.[1]

771 This closeness of fellowship ranged from personal to
[782] divine relationships in waking or rest, with an intimacy of expression all its own. A prayer for rest begins, "I shall
[181] lie down with God, and God lie down with me. . . ." A simple and universal gesture of love, in which parent, child or lover slips an arm under the loved one's head, is carried into prayer at rest, "the arm of the Father", or
779 of Jesus or Mary, "under my head". This image must
• 764 be the inspiration of one of the loveliest of Christian tombs, preserved by clan loyalty, respect for the dead, distance
532 and later forgetfulness on the priory isle of Inchmahome, where the Highlands meet the Lowlands at the Lake of Menteith. As on a number of medieval monuments, knight and lady are sculptured side by side. But here the two lie each with "an arm under the other's head", the free arm of the knight reaching over to clasp hands

[1] While in Scotland the name Bride is now rare as a Christian name, that of Patrick is still found among Grants, Campbells, Macdonalds and others. It is even commoner than English speakers might suppose, owing to the practice—almost the necessity—of giving an English form to a Gaelic name when it is turned to English speech—as Daniel for Domhnull (Donald), Aeneas for Aonghas (Angus) or Peter for Padhraig (Patrick). Many a Gael in the Lowlands felt obliged to relinquish his baptismal (and ancestral) names, with their link to Celtic Christian tradition.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

779 with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of
• 764 Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1294.
532 Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness.
175 The following year, 1295, saw the commencement of "the
644 three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction
[829] of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King Alexander III, "that Scotland led in luve and law", peace
[648] within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing Gaelic Christian traditions and Scoto-Norman arts. After
181 his death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars can tell me, this almost unnoticed monument remains
764 unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement, were shattered by invasions, and Gaelic tradition was only to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all time, we have become.

763 At the approach of death God's mercy and peace were
782 sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[2]
[174] In early times confession seems to have been made as willingly to the 'Soul-friend', followed by Benediction. When death had come, the mourners sang of sleep and
764 home. In Lewis today funerals are conducted in silence to the graveside, where the last service is held; but

[113] [1] *A unique medieval tomb at Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.)
[2] It would be of deep interest to compare the attitudes to death found in 'Spiritual Songs' by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs on death which, though maybe of post-Reformation date, are of Roman Catholic origin (*e.g.* in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, poems on the Day of Judgment, and of Wrath; on age and on death; and on Purgatory;
[178] pp. 31, 85, 146; 34, 19, 21; 27). Some have much in common, both by virtue of the earlier traditions they shared and still more because of parallel trends of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Cf. *Carmina*.

CH. VII SPIRITUAL LIFE OF COMMUNITY

• 764 Carmichael found versions of a mourners' hymn then still remembered as sung at funerals there. "Never could they who had heard it forget the solemnity of the occasion, where all was so natural and beautiful, and nature seemed to join in the feelings of humanity."[1] "I am going with thee to thy home! . . . Thy home of winter." ". . . To thy home of autumn, spring and summer . . . to thine eternal bed, thy perpetual sleep." "I am going home with thee, thou child of my love, To my dear Son of blessing, to the Father of grace."

764 539

Tha mi dol dachaidh leat,
Go do thaigh! go do thaigh!
Tha mi dol dachaidh leat
Go do thaigh geamhraidh . . .

Tha mi dol dachaidh leat,
A leanaibh mo luaidh,
Go Macan nam beannachd,
Go Athair nam buadh.

"The Death Croon", handed down by the Rev. Dr. Kenneth Macleod, leads on from almost the same opening, the Soul-friend singing to the fellow-watchers' refrain.[2] "Sleep, oh love, on thy Mother's bosom, Sleep while she sings soft lullings to thee, The sleep of the Son on Mary's breast. Sleep and put off from thee every woe. . . . Sleep of Jesus's youth . . . life . . . and glory . . . of His love . . . joy . . . and peace. . . . Sleep of the seven virtues . . . the seven moons . . . the seven slumbers upon thee. . . . Dream of Mary and God in her side, Dream of Columba in Isle of Saints, Dream of the Child

[1] *Carmina*, No. 346. The word *Mac*, Son, is here given a tender diminutive form, *Macan*, 'dear Son', as if to complement the infinity of the Father's "achievement, victory or grace".
[2] *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, pp. 98-105.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

• 764 that never aged: Each one of these dreams, dear love, be
539 thine. . . .

The dusk of the Death-sleep is, love, in thine eye,
But softly thou'lt sleep, softly sleep. . . .
In name of the Three in One,
Peace to thy pain,
The Christ is come . . .
Softly sleep, softly sleep. . . .

114 The late Professor Sir J. Arthur Thomson, deeply moved on hearing it sung for the first time, exclaimed, "How profound the civilisation of those who composed and handed down this hymn of farewell!" The Soul-friend and Watchers seem to unfold before us the wide range of human love, and—as they recall the tender relationships of birth, childhood, parenthood and parting—to touch the universal.

107

*175 Death. At death a "likewake" was held. All work in the town-
• 764 ship ceased and the fires were put out. A bowl of salt, to represent the soul, and a bowl of earth, to represent the body, were placed on the chest of the deceased. The room was filled day and night with relatives and friends who jested, sang, spun yarns, fiddled, piped and danced. A bard was present to recite praises for the deceased. The Reformed Kirk tried to stop these irregularities, which were regarded as heathen superstitions, by limiting the guests to near relatives and prescribing sober behavior and the reading of scripture.[100] The result was that for many years religion was absent at funerals. One Englishman found a Highland funeral merrier than an English wedding.[101] Ministers or elders do not seem to have attended funerals anywhere in the Highlands, until around 1700 when "chesting," placing the body in the coffin after being wrapped in a linen sheet or, later, a woolen cloth, under the supervision of a minister or elder became a legal requirement.[102]

Burial was usually on the Sabbath, until 1650. The party, including women who followed wailing to the grave, was well provided with food and whiskey. Fights, resulting in serious injury, were common and not infrequently the coffin was misplaced on the way. Up to about 1700 small cairns (small heaps of stones) were erected at each halting place.[103] The graveyard, or the church when they buried in the church, was approached from the east.

[100] Graham, op. cit., p. 300.
[101] Burt, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 107-108.
[102] Graham, op. cit., p. 301. [103] Martin, op. cit., p. 205.

265

605 spouses not too long ago.[23] Perhaps, more than any other
582 factor, it is the tendency of the aged parents to hold on
427 to the croft until they die that is strangling the kinship
593 system. Still the extended family is a strong mutual aid
602 group. Anyone with a recognized degree of kinship is
576 entitled to hospitality. When the exiles return to visit
602 the Misty Isle, they always try to make the rounds of their
574 kinsmen. This is more than a question of not becoming an economic burden on a favorite aunt; they do not want to be guilty of slighting anyone. There is reciprocity here.
[203] In return for food and shelter, the visitor freely gives his kinsman all the news he has gathered about the activities of their distant kin. He acts like a roving reporter, cementi the solidarity of an otherwise fragmented group.

602 The expression given to the degree of consanguinity and
• 764 affinity is revealed most completely at a funeral. As one of the two occasions on which the extended family comes together, the other being a wedding, it reveals a host of significant traits. The first thing I noticed was that although the inavailability of land and the illegality of subdivision enforces neo-local post marital residence, burial is ideally patrilocal. On more than one occasion the steamer came in at night with a body which had been shipped home from Glasgow or
602 Edinburgh for interment in the deceased's neighborhood. This
593 also means that the husband and wife remain integral members of their respective families. The founding of a family of

[23] Norman MacLeod, Reminiscences of a Highland Parish, p.

by a second cousin. The striking thing to realize here is that the nearest surviving relative always knows his obligation and is ready to fulfill it, without question. Fatherless children are buried by either their paternal or maternal uncle. I have not forgotten the existence of women. The simple fact is, women play no part as mourners. Indeed, the rare woman who goes to the grave becomes the subject of lasting gossip.

Fundamentally, the system of kinship is patrilineal. Linguistically, the terms for relatives may be bilateral, and inheritance of possessions other than the name may be matters of small importance, but the patrilineal emphasis remains. The Sgiathanach lives in a man's world. I shall explore this male dominance further in the following chapter. At present, I want to briefly discuss two additional cliques.

Religious and Age-Grade Cliques. Like the members of any society, the Sgiathanach associates most frequently with those who share his interests and attitudes. It is natural, then, for his associates, other than his kinsmen, to be people who attend his church and people of his own age group. We need not explore the nature of these cliques at this time; but we should have some understanding of their function. The religious clique is primarily a mutual aid group. There is reason to believe that this particular group has lost much of its importance of late, with the coming of the welfare state. Many feel that the government pays people to look after the aged and infirm. As far as doing a favor for someone is concerned, few of the same kirk, other than close friends,

or inquires about a person's plans, he says, "You'll do it tomorrow, then, if spared."

Occasionally, a man's prestige status can be judged by the foretaste the people have of his funeral. This, too, is disturbing for the newcomers who prefer to face death when the time comes. There is one member of the county people who is extremely popular. Many speak of him as a "true Skyeman." One day he was being discussed by a small group of women. After talking about his interest in Skye and what a good man he was, one summed up their estimation by saying, "Aye, what a wonderful funeral he'll have." What higher compliment could there be? The number who attend a person's funeral and, recently, the number who drive to his funeral are indicative of his status. Even though having a car does not give the owner prestige - to the contrary it may give the people cause to wonder where he got his money - to have "friends" with cars does give prestige. When 200 or 300 men join in the funeral procession to carry the body to the grave, all the "people" of the deceased take pride in telling of the "mobs who came."

In death we find one aspect of the crofter's way of life which puzzles the newcomer, especially the government officials, more than anything else. The old people hoard their money. Welfare workers frequently say, "You never know how much they have until they die." There are a few crofters, mainly returned exiles, who are known to have money but continue to live in tumbled down houses. The newcomer says, "They must like to live that way." Quite to the contrary, the Sgiathanach has traditionally prepared for death early in life. Once the first

of a wife was to weave her winding sheet. Nor is the cost 764
rial merely buying a coffin. As at birth and marriage, 454
eople who attend a funeral must have their dram. Just as [829]
o not want subsidies to begin life, they do not want to
ried with public assistance. They hoard their money, even
is only a few pounds, to assure themselves of a decent
l. Another thing that disturbs the welfare officers is 763
termination of the old and infirm to remain on their 186
in spite of all efforts to move them to a "Twilight
" Some of these people may have returned to Skye for
er reason than the feeling, "If I could go back to Skye
it would be fine." I knew many people who had come to
a as young adults and "liked it fine." Why did they
? The answer is always the same, "I was getting old, you
and began to think of home." This, of course, is another
sion of the sentimental attachment for the land and its
ty with one's "people."

Paradoxically, for a people who are so aware of death 763
ok upon it so significantly, the churches, one and all, 796
efused to consecrate burial. There are no prayers for [782]
ad. There is no service for the dying or at the grave
body is lowered into the soil. The ritual which accompanies
inal act of living is better described as a rite of
ification rather than as a passage rite, to adopt the
ology of Chapple and Coon.[15]

Once the individual dies, his status is fixed for all

[15]Chapple and Coon, Principles of Anthropology, pp. 398-399.

eternity. If he was one of the "elect," he will enjoy eternal 763
life. If he was not one of these venerable old men and women, 554
he can expect to suffer eternal damnation. Although baptism 775
is a sacrament and removes original sin, it is only the initial [851]
step in the direction of salvation, which election alone con- [783]
firms. Neither the minister nor any member of the bereaved 764
family offers a prayer. "What more can you do than bury him," [793]
one woman asked. An old man said, "They are just as well [782]
remembered without praying for them." In a community which
is dominated by the old people, and in the crofting neighbor-
hoods where so many of the crofters are very old, death can
be expected to disturb the equilibrium of social interaction.
In Glendale during November and December of 1953 funeral
processions made their way through the glen no less than nine
times. The function of the minister is to restore the dis- [793]
turbed patterns, both in the family and in the neighborhood [182]
(or village). All work stops in the township for three days
from the time of death. Some of the cosmopolitans of the [369]
village, seeking to justify their deviating behavior, assert [829]
that the lazy crofter looks forward to a funeral because it
means three days of idleness. In the village, of course, it [369]
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cause the villagers serve a wide area. The "people" of the
deceased do stop work and close their shops. On the day of the
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passed.

As he would if there were illness in the family, the 793
minister calls on the bereaved family and leads them in family 764

worship. If the deceased is a Sgiathanach, the minister will
call every night, if he can. Otherwise, he may call only
once. His participation in family worship helps to refocus
the patterns of interaction within the nuclear family and
within the small circle of "people," "friends," and neighbors
who come to visit and take part. Some sophisticated villagers
take this opportunity to justify their own deviations, such
as going to a concert; for them this is all "a religious ceilidh
with all their psalm singing, praying, and greeting." The
people do not keen, as they do in Ireland, but the women are
seldom dry-eyed. Again the villager may comment that the
minister at least should say a few kind words about the dead,
"just to comfort his family."

On the day of burial a second and more inclusive rite of
intensification is held. On this occasion the function of the
minister, often aided by an elder, is to restore the equilibriu
within the total sphere in which the deceased habitually moved
during his life. If the person had high prestige status, the
ministers of two churches conduct the family worship. All
the "people," "friends," and neighbors, both men and women,
attend. The minister begins with a prayer for the family,
asking God's guidance. This is followed by the singing of a
few verses of psalm by all who have gathered. Next the ministe
reads from Scripture. He concludes with another prayer for
the family. If there are two ministers, or a minister and
an elder present, they alternate in leading the group. If
there are any present who do not "have the Gaelic," they
also alternate between English and Gaelic. We have seen how

764 the deceased or the remaining family assist in preparing
74 endless cups of tea, using the provisions that are
brought by the visitors. The newcomers enter, exchange
greetings, memories, sighs and moral judgements in
rapid whispers. "Oich, oich... that should teach us,
we're all going to go. That's how it was meant to be.
It makes you wonder why we live at all, well, well."
They recall other deaths. "That was a bad death. His
liver was bad, and he turned yellow, then all black...."
2 They weep, circumspectly observe the appearance of the
97 room and its occupants, and speak only in Gaelic, the
language of hearth and heart.

4 The minister usually attends a prayer meeting which
3 is held in the tigh fhaire around midnight of the night
before the funeral, but his presence is not necessary.
The prayer meeting may be conducted by the elders. The
elders may also hold the service which precedes the
burial. The minister may walk for a short distance in
the funeral procession or speak a brief few words at
the graveside, but his role in the community drama is
minimal.

4 At least one person from all households within the
village is expected to go to the tigh fhaire of someone
2 who has died within the village, "to show respect." The
male head of the household is expected to attend the

764 funeral procession in which the coffin is carried for
[621] about half a mile from the house to the waiting hearse.
[692] Over 100 men usually walk in these processions. The
more well-known the person or unexpected the death,
the larger the procession is likely to be. Relatives
[602] of the deceased walk at the head of the procession,
at the head and foot of the coffin, while other villagers
take turns carrying the bier. The pallbearers serve in
relays. Eight men carry the coffin, four on each side,
and are replaced frequently by pairs of men who assume
the rear positions. The two who have been displaced at
the head of the coffin stand outside the line, facing
outward, until the procession has filed past them,
whereupon they join the end of the procession.

764 In the past, coffins were carried for miles from
178 the house to the cemetery. The procession rested period-
273 ically, and the men usually carried an earthenware jug
of whiskey (piggy uisge beatha) "to ward off the cold."
The custom of giving a glass of whiskey to men as they
left the house to carry the coffin was still recently
followed in Skye; and in some areas a funeral is still
evaluated by the amount of whiskey available for consump-
tion ("That was a good funeral"). Tales are told of
coffins buried without bodies.

764 Today coffins are brought to the cemetery in
178 hearse, but the procession still carries the coff
[493] for a half mile or so to the hearse. The women g
outside the house in the biting wind, huddled tog
beginning to sob as the heavy line of dark-coated
slowly-moving men bear part of themselves away.
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as it left the house, chanting, "You are leaving
are leaving us!"

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[767] A cemetery committee collects dues of five shillin
[435] year from all households for the upkeep of the cem
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Funeral Association was founded with the original
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[435] fishing." Persons from Borve to Berneray pay two
shillings a year to the Association, which at prese
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exists in other parts of the island. A person may
between the ages of 12 and 40, after which he is no
eligible for membership. A member who has left the
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767 his family must maintain the payments. Many persons who have settled in cities on the British mainland or abroad are not concerned with retaining membership in the Association, but members of their family who remain within the village usually continue to pay their dues for them. Even if in death, the "exiles" eventually return to home and community.

764 [423] Families buy cemetery plots for as many as six to eight persons. The deceased is buried in an area designated as belonging to his family. He is not buried alone but beside his parents and their unmarried siblings if he is unmarried, or with his spouse. "I wouldn't like the idea of being cremated. I want to be buried with my family." Even though a woman is buried beside her husband, her maiden name is placed on the coffin. Often neighbors have plots near each other.

A special part of the cemetery is reserved for [609] strangers. A "man from out" remains an outsider, even in death.

273 175 651 [556] Excise taxes were first levied on whiskey in 1814, and stills of less than 500-gallon capacity were prohibited. Local, illegal distillation continued for a long time after 1814, and throughout the Highlands and Islands tales are told of "the excise man" and how he was outwitted.

273 175 [166] The Island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris was evacuated in 1843, supposedly because of illegal distillation that was being carried on there. The ruins of old distilling houses are found throughout Shawbost. Villagers say that these were used in the time of their grandfather or great-grandfather to distill whiskey for occasions such as weddings.

[527] In Shawbost, until recent times whiskey was associated mainly with special ceremonial occasions: the birth of [846] a child, weddings, and wakes. When a baby was born, the father went into town for whiskey to be given to visitors 764 coming to see the baby. Having whiskey at a funeral was 273 so important that many a widow sold her cow to provide it, so that people would not say it was a bad funeral. A custom of sitting up all night in the house of the deceased has stopped, probably in part because a prayer meeting lasting from midnight until 2 a.m. was introduced with the intention, according to one minister, of preventing 273 the wake from becoming too joyful an occasion. Whiskey 175 was abundant at New Year's, and at weddings. "The dance [527] [585]

procreation does not absolve
gations to their "people."

Although the wake and t
given up under religious cens
consecrate burial, the metho
same as it was before the Re
the coffin is carried out of
Ideally, for a man this means
coffin, his oldest son (over
brothers and uncles (paternal
woman the ideal is to have he
father behind, and her brothe
dies, his father walks in fr
and the father's brothers fo
for a girl are the carriers.
infirmity and death, has had
relative not only walks in f
also takes charge of the fune
this function will indicate
the ideal cannot be fulfille
passes first to his oldest s
seen a grandson take charge,
a brother-in-law. He was th
who could be contacted in ti

Arrangements for the b
son or brother. There was,
the Outer Isles, who was ret

the individuals from their obli- 602 593

the post-interment feast have been 593
sure, and the ministers refuse to 764 178
od of burial is fundamentally the
formation. At the time of interment
the house by the closest relatives.
s his father walks in front of the 604
fifteen) walks behind, and his
l) carry the body. For a married
er husband walk in front, her
ers and uncles carry. When a child 604
ont; his oldest brother walks behind,
r a boy and the mother's brothers
Outward mobility, as well as
its influence. The nearest male
ront of his deceased kinsman but
ral. A few cases of who has filled
how the situation is handled when
d. For a man this role normally
on and then to his brother. I have 607
and at one very atypical funeral,
e nearest surviving male relative
me.
urial of a widow are made by her
however, one widow, a woman from
urned to her native island for burial

764 ●

est kin carry the body from the house. The custom
rry the coffin until the procession is cut of sight
ouse. This may mean a few hundred yards or several
Once the body was carried all the way to the grave.
tic said this is why Skye has lost so many people,
them died carrying the other half to the grave." In
the body is carried across the bridge on the far side
own. All the mourners, except the women who remain at
d the two nearest kin who walk before and after the
are given an opportunity to carry. They continuously
ositions with the carriers, stepping out at the head
line by sixes and waiting for the coffin. Those who
ried fall in at the rear of the procession. When they [602]
e graveyard, the original carriers, his nearest kin,
he body from the hearse and lower it into the grave.
rave the minister delivers a short lecture on the merits [793]
g in the nurture of God. Only the Church of Scotland [795]
s offer an additional prayer for the family. The other
lieve a prayer at the grave is a prayer for the dead.
g the interment, the bereaved family provides the [273]
with a dram of whiskey. Does the minister take a [793]
I can only give the reader the answer I received after
eral. One fellow said, "I guess nobody saw him take his
t if he didn't I'd be surprised." On the following day
urns to normal. The equilibrium of interaction has
tored.

767

767 MORTUARY SPECIALISTS--burial associations; gravediggers; cemetery guards and caretakers; hired mourners; embalmers and undertakers; funeral parlors; status and remuneration of mortuary specialists; etc. See also:
Coroners 688

195 Whatever the rationalization, cobbler fathers begot
821 cobbler sons. The present postmaster's grandfather was
463 the first postmaster in Shawbost, and when help is needed
[205] in delivering the mail it is the postmaster's first
● [767] cousins who are likely to help out. As late as the 1950's,
the township still had its own undertaker, a man who had
learned from his father the art of laying out and dressing
the body but who didn't like the job very much and was
happy enough to turn it over to an undertaker who
traveled from Stornoway.

463 The island has had a veterinarian, based in Stornoway,
[232] for the past 30 years or so. Earlier, certain blacksmiths
and farmers treated ailing livestock when the crofters
[278] needed them. For human ailments, there were many cures
[155] by plant and spell.

463 The man who was the last village blacksmith died
32 not long ago. His smithy was in the center of the village.
[342] His home and smithy were mortared stone buildings with
corrugated iron roofs that were once estate houses for
the men who worked the experimental farm established
by Sir James Matheson in what is now New Shawbost. The
463 blacksmith was also a shopkeeper and butcher. As a
326 blacksmith, his work was principally shoeing horses and
874 making harrows and peat-cutters, which he did with the
aid of one and sometimes two apprentices. One of his

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178 hearse, but the procession still carries the coffin
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shillings a year to the Association, which at present
has about £4,000 invested in bonds. A similar association
exists in other parts of the island. A person may join
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[609] strangers. A "man from out" remains an outsider, even
in death.

771

771 GENERAL CHARACTER OF RELIGION--conception of what constitutes religion; differentiation of the sacred and the profane; distinctions drawn between religion and superstition; relation of religion to the unknown and the unpredictable; relative prominence of magical and anthropomorphic elements; evidence of the expression of projective mechanisms in religious beliefs; primary orientation of the religious system (e.g., ancestor worship, nature worship, totemism, ritualism, mysticism, redemptive religion); social and individual role of religion (e.g., services and disservices); incidence of faith, indifference, and skepticism; existence of nonsupernatural ideologies supported with a faith akin to that in religion (e.g., ethical systems, political philosophies); etc. See also:

Personality	15	Magic	780
Integration of religion with other aspects of culture	182	Religious sects	796
Ethical ideals	577	*Philosophy*	818
Ancestor worship	769	Ideas about the social role of religion	859
Extended discussions of theological systems	776	Inculcation of religious beliefs	869

273 the Lord that his prayers had been answered.") Another
815 bothan was started in an old bus.
[175]

Today only one bothan exists in Shawbost. It is a
[354] small concrete structure, lit by gas and heated with coal, which is burned in an expensive fireplace. Like most bothans, the one entrance faces away from the main road. Unlike most bothans, it has a small window which is curtained but nevertheless reveals whether or not the light is on inside. Most bothans present blank, windowless and doorless faces that give no indication whether or not the building is occupied.

[208] Every three years a poll may be taken within a parish to determine whether the parish should be wet or dry.
[666] After the parish of Uig voted itself "wet," the Doune Braes Hotel was opened in Carloway, only five miles from Shawbost.
[829] One of the arguments for making the parish "wet" was that drinking at the bothans would cease, and men would drink under more controlled circumstances. "The married men usually went home from the bothan at a reasonable hour, but the single men just stayed there talking all night. At the hotel, they have to go home at 10:00."

Despite the opening of the hotel so close to Shawbost, the bothan remained open. The drink was cheaper and the atmosphere less formal. Unlike the bothans in Ness, however,
• [771] the Shawbost bothan was usually open only on Saturday, the

273 one night of the week in which controls are imposed, by
815 the arrival of Sunday when no one is supposed to drink.
• [771] The bothan was occasionally open on Friday night, and on Monday night. ("If there's anything left from Saturday
[221] night, we finish it on Monday.") During the summer of 1971 when the days were long and filled with communal township activities such as peat-cutting, the bothan was open every night of the week. The bothan closed when the man supplying it with drink suddenly died, and has not reopened.

273 Z. Functions of Drinking: If a man decides not to
571 participate in drinking, he is not praised for his self-
156 control or his ability to abstain; rather, people say, "What's the matter with him that he doesn't mix?" A man goes off to the hotel or to a bothan "for a wee nip" or "for a pint" (the pint of beer which serves as a chaser for glasses of straight whiskey). Both phrases are euphemisms for the huge amount of whiskey and beer which must be consumed if a man is to satisfy the canons of social intercourse which obtain. A man can drink alone or, in the company of others, drink very little only at great social cost.

"You can't go in for a casual pint in a place like the bothan because it's a place where people mix, and you're bound to meet old friends you haven't seen for

B. The Bible

1. The Free Church: "A man in my great-grandfather's
• 771 time," said a 65-year-old man, "talked about the great
175 change within his generation, from the days when fanks
178 were held on Sundays to such strict observance on the Sabbath that not even a cow could be tethered."

The first evangelical minister on Lewis came to the
195 parish of Uig in 1824. The Rev. Alexander Macleod belonged
783 to the Church of Scotland, but joined the Free Church when
775 it broke away from the Church of Scotland in the "Disruption" of 1843. When he came in 1824, he found "superstition," "spiritual darkness," and "polluted remains of Popery, since it was the religion in this place...the only notion they had of Christianity (Beaton 1925: 7-8)." The southern
775 isles of the Outer Hebrides are still Catholic, but in the
824 Protestant isles of the north, holidays associated with
184 Catholicism are avoided, and stories are still told of the
778 burning of Protestant martyrs by Catholics. Catholics are disliked "because they believe that they can buy their way out of sin," or that the bread and wine of Communion is really the blood and body of Christ. "A Catholic is anointed with oil and left to die without food or water. We are privileged that we are not like them."

In the Disruption of 1843, about one-third of the
175 people and 39% of the ministers left the established church

871 Education in the local school has included a great
815 deal of religious instruction; in other words, religious
• 771 and educational spheres commingle. Because of the
[466] relative prestige which the teaching profession offers to persons from the island, and because the islands are considered "isolated" by most persons looking for jobs (teaching posts on the island include an added sum which is designated as "isolation payment"), most of the island's teachers are themselves islanders. Education
[554] is one method by which one's position in the community is elevated. The high status derived from having advanced education also reflects favorably on the parents and position of the family. But teachers and others who return to the island are expected not to deviate from island norms in important matters, such as fundamentalist religious beliefs; hence teachers tend to perpetuate fundamentalist religious beliefs within the classroom.

871 Formerly the minister visited the school once each
771 year to examine the children on their catechism, thus
775 testing the state of religious instruction in the school.
178 Several years ago this practice was stopped by the education authorities of the County Council, and the minister now gives a sermon in the school about once a month but is not allowed to examine the children. Many ministers are dissatisfied with the arrangement, as they are afraid that

871 the children might not receive proper religious
• 771 instruction.
182
178

"Family worship" is considered an important part
771 of daily life. Prayers should be said before meals
782 and teas, and the head of the household should read
593 passages from the Bible to the assembled members of the household every morning and evening. The practice of
[178] "reading the books" prevails in households headed by
[572] older men, but is less common among families headed by younger men.

3. The Clique of the Converted: The second network
794 within the religious sphere is a special religious in-
632 group, the clique of the converted (curamach). This
621 clique constitutes a relatively strongly bounded system which to some extent competes with the township boundary system. Owen (Rees 1960) has noted that as persons become more involved with religion in the Protestant Hebrides, they tend to remove themselves from community life.

Intense involvement with the church sometimes conflicts with township activities since people may attend Communions at times when a fank is planned, leaving the work to be done by others. When elders of the church are present at activities, such as fanks, which are otherwise usually boisterous and full of humor, behavior tends to be "properly" restrained.

* 159 wife was religiously converted a few years later. They have no children. Neilie Leoid occasionally goes to the hotel in Carloway for a drink, and enjoys reading adventure stories on Sunday. He is very interested in sheep.

"Smiling made you content to settle down. You had seen it all. After the war many could have easily qualified for civil service jobs, but they didn't bother. They were quite happy to settle down to the weaving. No young person now wants to weave, but I think we were none the worse for it."

Cailean Leobhar

• [771] Cailean Leobhar is a religious skeptic, but he reads the Bible as though it were an encyclopedia that referred to all important events in human history. He reads widely and omnivorously, and often delights in confusing people by jumping from one topic to another.
[829] His people are said to be scholars. "It's in the blood."

"You can find references to all of human history in the Bible, from the creation to present times. Zarathustrianism had a great influence on Christianity. You can see that in the Book when the Jews entered Babylon. We were raised on the Bible; it's the ministers and schoolteachers alike that stamped out the old Celtic

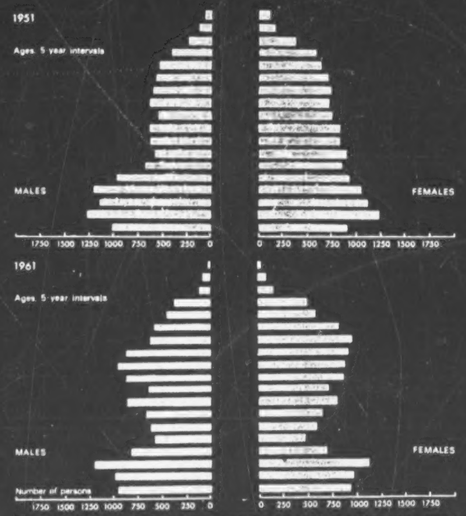
ing but black. The young have found the island a much more kindly place. They have never been forced by circumstances to choose between predestination and despair.'

To take account of matters beyond the material level is inherent in the Gaelic Celt. Celtic poetry and song, legend and folklore, all so alive with fancy and so sympathetic towards the things of nature, reflect the inborn sensitivity and character of the present-day Highlander and Islander. Fiction's caricature of the island-dweller (not only in Harris and Lewis, but in the other islands) has been taken by another society with a different cultural background, with insufficient knowledge of historical facts, as being virtually authentic. The Western Isles have had more than their share of 'observers' who have failed to penetrate to the inner Gael. Only with a knowledge of the background, social, cultural, ethnic, historical and so on, can the 'larger than life' islander be seen in perspective—as a normal human being.

RELIGION

There are few communities in the British Isles which have, since the Christian dawning, so closely integrated religious belief with secular day-to-day living as the Harris and Lewis people. Though many times the religious element in island life foundered in a Sargasso Sea of outright superstition, it has managed to survive to its present-day form which might be described as cathartic in nature. When one attempts to investigate religion and superstition as two separate subjects, one is forced to consider either both as one, or one as complementary to the other. Even in those times during the island's history when materialism was prominent, somewhere in the background religion was acknowledged in one form or another.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, in 1610 Lord Kintail brought Farquhar MacRae, the vicar of Gairloch, to Lewis. The first Earl of Seaforth, who built a church in Stornoway (St Lennan's) was nominally Episcopalian. During the temporary supremacy of Episcopacy in Scotland, there was little disturbance in the Highlands of the Presbyterian organisation. The bishops controlled their dioceses; but the ministers controlled their parishioners. In



The age structure of the Lewis population in 1951 and 1961. The trend shown over the forty years 1861-1901 has strengthened and consolidated, so that the 1961 population is middle-aged

the 1914 war, but some 200 of those who survived the holocaust were lost in the wreck of the *Iolaire* on New Year's morning, 1919—the first morning of the first new year of peace, literally within sight of home. Again, the effect of emigration was a loss, in many small communities, of a full generation. Where religion is strong and thrice-distilled, there tends also to prevail a state of mind which dwells on guilt and, where people are accustomed to ex-

press themselves in terms of religious values and ideas, the fear of having committed unforgivable sin. The normal adjustments, reflections and mental stocktaking of middle life are possibly more readily precipitated towards depression in an emotional people prone to serious thought. This brings of course a concomitant spectrum of problems in an area where in general a man is expected to take a dram and stand it; both nature and nurture are relevant factors. In the words of Cunningham Graham (1899), the medical adviser finds himself 'preaching teetotalism, that is for others, but himself taking his glass of whisky for the reasons which have been so cogently set forth by St Paul the Apostle to the Caledonians.' For those who comment in isolation on a community's indulgence in alcohol, one must quote a Gaelic proverb: '*Tha smuideag fhein an ceann gach foid*'—Every peat-end has its own smoke.

From the earliest times the Western Isles have indeed been regarded as supporting a population with an uncanny predilection for spiritous liquors. To a certain extent the spirits were needed by ill-nourished crofters to keep out the damp and cold when on the moors or at sea; and people in a depressed economic or mental condition will anywhere seek refuge in alcohol or other available drugs—forgetting the old Gaelic proverb 'Better the little fire that will warm than the great fire that will burn.' The evil effects of drinking have certainly at times been serious: in 1869 Sir James Matheson addressed a circular letter of remonstrance to his tenants, indicating that those guilty of misconduct were liable to be deprived of their holdings. In 1920 a vote was taken in Stornoway under the Scottish Temperance Act, with the result that the town went 'dry'; three years later the poll was upheld. Then in 1926, with a majority of 84, Stornoway went 'wet' again.

But the 'drink question' has been given undue prominence and dragged out of its island context. For instance, Stornoway contains all but three of the licensed premises on the island (at Tarbert, Rodel and Carloway) and, as the chief centre for business and pleasure, must naturally attract anyone seeking refreshment.

secondary school, the 'Nicolson', has had since its inception a formidable academic record. Back in 1907 work from the school was included in the educational section of an International Exhibition held in Christchurch, New Zealand: this was appropriate because emigrants from the west Highlands, notably from Harris and Lewis, were among the pioneers of New Zealand education a century ago. In 1957 new extensions were opened, costing about £300,000 and making the school the largest of its kind in the Highlands area. It is co-educational, its primary and junior secondary departments taking only Stornoway children and its senior secondary department catering for those from both Stornoway and rural Lewis. Many board out in the town during the week, returning home at weekends.

In providing social facilities, the town has placed itself in the position of an agent for those things deemed necessary for life, and is a middle-ground between the rural repression of the Free Church and the city abandon of the mainland, with resulting dilemma. The public houses, the cinema, youth clubs, dances and juke boxes are all in direct opposition to the preaching of the Free Church. The result is tension between the town's desire to act as a host for tourists and its wish to fulfil its duty on a religious plane; to instance this, the Stornoway Sabbath is less strict than the Lewis Sabbath. In keeping with the rest of Lewis, social standards are extremely high. Home is the centre of life, as it always was; the sense of community and communal responsibility is there. Divorce is practically unheard of, and the incidence of crime, as such, is extremely low.

to notice the absorption or suppression of rights held in common in 'the North and West', together with the abolition of the duties of fellow-workers to one another. Too frequently they have not troubled to enquire into the former existence of common rights and fellowship duties, the observances of which have so much to teach. Yet to judge from the completeness of the Hebridean evidence, and from wider evidence to be touched upon with reference to Norse and Lowland conditions, suppression caused a profound social and moral revolution.

Indeed, the profound character of that revolution makes it hard to recognise the common origin of features which may differ greatly today. To choose four examples, the long succession from father to son, found from end to end of an Island township, contrasts with a restless movement of farm servants, and even tenant-farmers, all too common until 1939 in Lowland Scotland and parts of Northern England. The ideals held by fellow-workers in Gaelic tradition, of kindly and courteous co-operation, contrast with the avowals of rugged individualism made on many a farm even of the southern Highlands today, and certainly of the Scottish Lowlands and Northern England. Languages have changed as English has advanced during 1500 years: the Lewis crofters' children still speak Gaelic, but children in Stornoway ceased to do so forty or fifty years ago. And in the recorded religious life of Gaelic hamlets far from any priest (or later, minister), the part of revered men and women is very different from the part played in Calvinism by the Minister and the male Elders of the Kirk. All these four contrasts are due to revolutionary changes in home, work, language and religion. Such changes, of which all trace may be lost elsewhere, are traceable from the fullest evidence among the Gael.

CHAPTER VII

THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

As in every form of religion rooted in communal life, the sacraments and prayers of the Gael were linked to labour and to the phases of life's cycle. While some of the 'runes' or prayers were essentially personal and others were breathed only in the closest intimacy, many were shared by a group of families: the tried team of the men or women of a joint farm, the people of a neighbourhood and township or wider group. The communities being so small and isolated, their members depended greatly upon themselves and upon one another. As in worship in common, so in healing of body or spirit and in the invocation of grace upon youth, now one, now another might lead in praise and prayer. So, too, the leader of a little team would lead in the dedication of their work, and, when it was completed, be 'the consecrator' of its fruit.

Where no clergy were at hand, neighbours, perforce, practised the saying of one they called their 'foster-brother': that if no more than "two of you agree on earth about anything you pray for, it will be done for you by my Father in heaven. For where two or three have gathered in my name, I am there among them" (Matt.

xviii. 19-20). The worldly wise might think that the spiritual fare of these poor folk must have been lean indeed; while others, having heard much of the Highlanders' 'pagan' superstitions, may think even worse! The evidence from which to judge is found in survivals from a rich lore, and for most readers seen but 'darkly' through prose translations from the poetry of a tongue now known to few.

The richest collection is Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* (*Ortha nan Gaidheal*).[1] Others were made by the Rev. Fr. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay, and by the Rev. Kenneth Macleod with Mrs. M. Kennedy-Fraser in the *Songs of the Hebrides*. Included here are unpublished verses given by crofter-friends in the Isles and others from Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection,[2] hitherto untranslated. What still remains has come down to us only by narrow escapes. One is reminded of 'Father Allan's' early death, after nursing his parishioners through an epidemic; and Carmichael's escape from drowning as "on

[1] *Carmina Gadelica: Ortha Nan Gaedheal.* Hymns and incantations with illustrative notes on words, rites and customs, dying and obsolete: orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and translated into English; vols. i and ii (1st ed., 1900; 2nd ed., 1928); vol. iii, 1940; vol. iv, 1941. The last two volumes were edited by the collector's grandson, Prof. James Carmichael Watson, whose death as an Ordinary Seaman in war is mourned by his friends, and has been described as a disaster to the cause of Gaelic, and of humane learning in Scotland. One more volume edited by James C. Watson awaits publication. (In the following, quotations are referred to as from *Carmina*, followed by the number of the rune: Nos. 1-216, vols. i and ii; and Nos. 217-351, vol. iii. Vol. iv contains varied lore.)

[2] Of all these four, the least known is Fr. Allan Macdonald's little collection, *Comh-Chruinneachadh de Laoidhean Spioradail*, Hugh Macdonald, Oban, 1893. It was privately printed, and lacks a translation and table of contents. There could be no finer memorial to this man and the community whose spiritual life he helped to record than a new edition of all its ancient Gaelic 'spiritual songs', with the addition of others he wrote down before his death in 1905, and perhaps, of some of his own poems, notably his famous *Eilean na h-óige*, "Isle of the Young".

a night of black mistiness . . . he waded nearly breast-high" through the dangerous South Ford of Benbecula, "conscious only of the roll and the singing of waters and the rhythm of a poem he had taken down a few hours before"—"The Invocation of the Graces", so nearly lost with him! Much that Carmichael learned was given him under a seal of confidence he never broke, although he mourned the loss this meant. The confidence he inspired—which even those who knew him only in their childhood remember for life—was a source of his quiet, unfailing power.

The following begins with the runes and rites of labour, throughout the day, week and year, on land and sea and at home. Turning to the day of rest and to congregational worship, one must enquire as to the presence of the clergy, and question closely how far the people had access to the Bible throughout the centuries: were they really cut off from its riches, from its essence, as the Reformers and the Evangelicals of last century asserted with such vehemence? One can then turn to the runes and rites which opened the phases of life, from birth to maturity, marriage and parenthood, leading at last to life's close.

But no social inheritance is without its burden. Having told of the foundations of faith, something must be said in the next chapter of the negative or superstitious side of Island belief, of temptations and evils which the people could face, and of others to which they submitted in ignorance. From the evidence of faith and wisdom, or error, one must attempt some evaluation of attainment by single souls and by the community, and of the power and fullness of life in common.

warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, w
peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven a
waulked together ceased to be a sacrament when the tart
was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform w
"England's cruel red".

The framers of this law, which stood on the stat
book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what t
did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath wh
reversed every benediction said by the women at th
work: "I . . . do swear, as I shall answer to God
the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have,
gun, sword, pistol or arm whatever, and never use tart
plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I
may I be cursed in my undertaking, family and propert
may I never see my wife and children, father, moth
relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward and
without Christian burial in a strange land, far from
graves of my forebears and kindred; may this come ac
me if I break my oath". This Act, as law and symb
struck full at the sacramental life of family, neighbour-t
and clan community, in which labour and prayer had b
indissolubly bound.[1]

(c) WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL AND PERSONAL: THE BOOK AND THE WORD

Little remains of the tradition of worship in the oratories, chapels or 'temples' whose ruins stud the sh

[1] The collaboration of friends in Lewis may allow mention of the G version of A. Geddes, *The Spirit of the Tartan, a Song Drama* (En Version); *Souvenir Programme and Book of Songs* (Outlook Tower, burgh, 1932). In this the spirit of this labour sequence embodied songs and runes is dramatised in its setting of custom and history. The G version was prepared by the generous labours of James Thomson, Bayble, and the late Duncan Macdonald, M.A., Sandwick, Lewis.

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of the Isles, and in which the people met, though far from any clergy. On the southern mainland most trace of shrines and chapels seems to have been lost, so small are the clays of unknown stone that marked their sites. Lewis was recorded by salaried clergy about the services conducted there; those who approved tended to let well alone. Hence written accounts have come down chiefly from those who were out of touch with rural needs or ignorant of the language spoken in intimacy, and whose education and training had removed them from sympathy.[1] As for those whose private interests, stipend or subservience to patrons bound them to prelates, lord or king, they seldom visited remote congregations.

Nevertheless, fragmentary records have come down, such as those of Martin, who visited St. Kilda in 1697 and described the little church where the people still kept a first brass candle and worshipped together, without the presence of a clergyman. Naturally, the curiosity stimulated by St. Kilda's fabulous isolation led Martin to describe its little community more fully than any other; but strange parallels appear in other, and elsewhere. Thus in lonely North Rona, inhabited by twelve families, Saint Adamnan had been blamed and derided by Reformers, and the new modes in their turn condemned by such outdated priests as severely made their way north from Armagh to Uist, Harris and probably to Lewis. How much more stable must their community's faith have been before the tragic upheavals which began at the Reformation. Some four centuries earlier, the Roman Church supplanted the institutions developed by the early Celtic missionaries from regional and rural growth, by a formal organisation developed upon an imperial and civic model. Lewis's Church was Gaelic, Gaelic, is to be translated, *not Prayers, but "Charms . . . or Impositions . . . of the Gaels"*.[2]

[1] The difficulty of initiation to accurate usages of language is exemplified in Martin's admirable and practical work, the *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (Gaelic-English, and English-Gaelic) by Malcolm Macleman, D.D., 1925. This work should be consulted by students of the Gaelic language, particularly in the Western Isles, and it was in the study of the Gaelic language, and of its numerous monumental ages, of living usage, and recorded a generation or so before in the collections cited here, not either absent, or yet there more or less present or debased of two shades of meaning (and the higher). *Ban* "calm, a cure, charm," or charm "Amongst, a beginning (a dedication) curse, charm." or charm "Amongst, a beginning (a dedication) curse, charm." or charm "Amongst, a beginning (a dedication) curse, imposition of any kind . . . Doth . . . prayer in verse—from Latin, *carmen*" *Cuip prayer* (a "Doth" only?) and other vital words. According to this scholarly dictionary, the title of the supposed Scottish collection of Gaelic religious tradition, Lauchlan's Celtic Scots Gaelic (Gaelic, *Carmina Gaedhelica*), is to be translated, not *Prayers*, but "*Charms* . . . or Impositions . . . of the Gaels".

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visited the chapel of St. Rona. It was fenced, and was swept every day, suggesting daily worship; and the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments were repeated there every Sunday morning. This led Martin to say that the people had no vices; and indeed the Gael's own prayers insist upon the beauty of virtues rather than on the evil of vices. In Lewis at that time (1697) there were two ministers, one in Stornoway and in Barvas; and the Barvas minister visited Rona yearly. Isolated though they were from their fellow-Lewisians, the Rona folk thus had annual contact with the Reformed Church, such as was lacking even on the main island during periods of stress in Scotland. Invasions, regional destruction and plundered intrigue in the Norsemen or the English Kings, led to, and intensified, internal strife. And in Lewis forty years of warring interregnum had followed the Reformation.[1]

Those and other notes of worship given by Martin, such as those of the Lewisians when touching the at the Flannan Isles, show that the worshippers relied greatly upon themselves and one another. They did so even after their parishes had been formed, and Churches had been blamed and derided by Reformers, and the new modes in their turn condemned by such outdated priests as severely made their way north from Armagh to Uist, Harris and probably to Lewis. How much more stable must their community's faith have been before the tragic upheavals which began at the Reformation. Some four centuries earlier, the Roman Church supplanted the institutions developed by the early Celtic missionaries from regional and rural growth, by a formal organisation developed upon an imperial and civic model. Lewis's Church was Gaelic, shaken faith by undermining the authority of communal traditions and traditions. But the break caused by medieval

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Roman Catholicism was far less complete than that ultimately brought about by Protestantism—Episcopalian or Calvinistic.

At least twenty-five churches, chapels and tiny oratories are named by Martin in Lewis and his list is incomplete (1934, p. 106). Harris and its islets also had their complement of 7 temples [, in addition to the priory church of Rodel. We may perhaps assume that before the Reformation Lewis had a population of some 4000 persons, 800 or more families, and contained some hundreds of oratories in inhabited areas. If so, then one church or chapel, or oratory, was available for every five families, or six or seven farm-groups. Yet only the larger congregations at Eye, Stornoway, Ness or Uig and Rodel would normally be served by clergy; the smaller and smaller congregations would be without, for weeks and months or even years.

When the people were too distant from priests (and later ministers) to hear the Lessons, they handed down the Word orally. The power of retaining memorable thought, even in prose, is still remarkable; and verse facilitates memory. The Gaelic version of the Ten Commandments[1] paraphrased in rhyme are recorded in Fr. Allan Macdonald's little collection, "as given by the God of grace to Moses in the wilderness" (*Na Faisnean*, p. 62). Moses, had he understood Gaelic, would have protested at the omission of the Second Commandment, but no sculptor of Iona, Rodel or Eye would have felt a need for it, being unafraid that a Christian could bow down to a golden calf. Believing, with Solomon, that a craftsman's work is his prayer, the artisan-monks held that an image, if well-executed, though never replica of God's creation, and may even quicken our concept of the Creator

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widowed mother and her family, working in farm and township, seasonally restored by subdividing the Tenth Commandment into two parts[1] Thus the letter of the Mosaic Law, be it freshly admitted, is modified! There are also extensions of certain Commandments. Yet, recalling Jesus's insistence upon the unspoken thought which prompts man's conduct, one may feel that the blunt Seventh Commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery", is more adequately [in] [illegible] and [illegible] *thought, or wish, or deed immoral (mi-bhéasach, immodest or vicious)* ". The Sixth becomes, "*Cosmnin no murder, nor do ye harm to any man*". The paraphrase of the Tenth, rendered as "Keep the Lord's Day *and each festival*", completes the Commandment as it was given by God to Moses and His friends at the Passover, and by Celts and Romans at Easter. The memories of the people were impregnated with shining phrases from the Old Testament, and still now with the teaching and spirit of the Gospels.

All this was written down in Gaelic verse. As each symbol of nature was trust to Gaelic worshippers because it was not borrowed but experienced, so their interpretation of the mystery of the Word was not borrowed. Christ they looked for Him among themselves. Spiritual fears are unused from bodily profit they knew in the "Rough bounds" and at sea; and spiritual ignorance is seen as a peat bogs "black morass", not as a waterless desert beyond Jordan or the Dead Sea. Comfort is rarely suggested by the biblical "shade from heat", but rather by the "sun's mild healing rays". When Christmastide, Old Style, brought lengthening days and mantled the Bens with snow, the glow upon their summits in earlier dawns told the Islanders that the Light of Christ was nearer, richer. In their thought Jesus shared their communal life with His

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as the days lengthened, the Christmastide, old style, it may be called " The Rune of the World's Light ":

The world, are come the Son of God,
was born a babe, a boy forlorn :
Void of sun, moon or star,
void of body, heart or form.

"Twas Mary Mother lowly kneeled,
and gave the Inmost Being birth;
Darkness and hate were in the manger-hay,
the guiding star rose over earth.

Light on the land, the deep illumed
in the Mystic Mass, the Sacrifice;
Grief was laid and joy was raised,
with priest on the altar, and bending knee.

Light on the hills, light on the plains,
light o'er gray-green sea and firth;
Light for all the world and man,
the hour God's Son came down to earth.

(iii) THE CYCLE OF LIFE

The stages in life's sequence are marked by noble runes, of baptism, initiation in adolescence, betrothal and marriage, childbirth, and the tension and consolation in trials throughout life and, at its close, of farewell. As might be single theme, perhaps of one original poem.[1] Chaste woman: to a child by a parent or elder; to the young and strong by the wise; and by lovers to one another. And in the past, especially at trial, the "soul-friend" associated *—an anam-chara*, a neighbour chosen from lifelong friendship, and therefore of understanding.

At birth a babe was baptised, and in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit the nurse placed three drops

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and all was well. . . . " How the trinkets in the water [illegible] mentioned in Christmas, and of which it was known, but that some occult power was at work . . . I am certain."[1] As to the gold, did not the Magi offer the same " magic " at the Nativity? Is a drink of water an amulet physic to cool a fevered system? Is not each Name of the Trinity, breathed by a mother to her daughter in labour in her turn, a Word of tender power and courage: while the slow rhythm of the three Names may calm the wild heart-beat, bring peace, and, as given finally, lull and lead to safe delivery?

Nowhere is there prevailed the concept of God as " encompassing " man, woman or child, old or young, in their weakness. This image is ancient, and is found in the Psalms (16, 12, 32, 121). So Jesus, in the Gospels, gave the Lord's aid might be called upon for another in need of help, or for some mutual assistance. The Gaelic community, unseen, by help of a thing seen, a circle was drawn with the hand round oneself or another, in fear, danger or distress: in both instances, the power of the prayer invoked confidence in sickness and resistance in temptation, and commended and blessed the person or place.

As age approached, its gifts were honoured. For in age, memory, kneaded by labour, is leavened by leisure; the experience wrun on hard and sore, or in group farm and home, can be weighed. And gifts of feeling, sown in childhood and growing through life, mature as grandchildren come in from their herding or play to listen and learn. When manuscripts or books were unobtainable, readings were heard, and the people illiterate, teaching could be

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be given by an aged person, who, in his youth, or elder years were the holders of an inheritance of treasures which must be sought from them or be lost for ever. But to be transmitted, the word must remain fixed in the mind. Thus both the faculty of memory and the fruit it bore in an elder's mind brought respect, even veneration. Accuracy in retelling is still immensely valued, but so, too, were thoughtful commentary and poetic enrichment. Respect for elders, though general, was given finally, but personally and by choice.

In Lewis, in the Fifth Commandment runs : " Honour thy parents and hold them in loving regard " (*Sinnsichd dha do phàrantan 'y thair spòs dhaibh*).[1] The commandment was prevailed by the Christian concept of a Holy Family, rather than by that of a patriarchate. This concept took root from the Gospels and spread to the Celtic community, with which it harmonised and which formed fertile ground for this Christian seed. Hence there was no general assumption of the rights of a patriarchal authority at the expense of youth. Where equal honour in due to both parents, and fellowship and equal love and regard with the father. And although the father's home is close at hand while the mother's may be a little distance away, her parents are likely to be the younger and the more active and helpful to their grandchildren, and the influence of all four grandparents fairly balanced.

The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are named in a hymn of the Lews, sung when going up with the flocks and herds to the shieling. Even this may be a Protestant adaptation (*Carmina*). But until the overwhelming weight

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of the Old Testament made itself felt, as in Lewis-and-Harris in the nineteenth century, this narrower patriarchal example hardly affected thought.[1] Rooted in a wider form of family than a patriarchate, and re-venerating a Holy Family and all fellowship, Gaelic society honoured age and parenthood for their inheritance, and childhood and youth for their promise.

Nevertheless, a marked reluctance to hold to the veneration of the Saints of the Gospels and of later history, and also of the legend, especially Bride. Dedications to Bride or " Bridget " are numerous, and Bride's Day, Feb. 1st, is yet her memory has been all but lost in Britain, except in the Isles. Carmichael wrote of Bride and her services " are due to the hearts of the people. She is called " Bride of the white feet . . . of calmness . . . of the kine; . . . mantle of the King of Heaven; . . . woman-helper . . . " I am in the keeping of my Saint Mary : My companion beloved is Bride" (*Carmina*, Nos. 70-71, 163-164). In joy, steadfastness and attainment are generally linked to one notable stage in the life of each " holy companion ", the example of Bride and fellowship with equal love and regard with the father. And although the father's home is close at hand while the mother's may be a little distance away, her parents are likely to be the younger and the more active and helpful to their grandchildren, and the influence of all four grandparents fairly balanced.

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[1] Carmichael, vol. iii, p. 48.

[2] Carmichael, vol. iii, p. 47, Note, 248-250, etc. Encircling or circumstio symbolically, was also known by a word of which only the liberal meaning is now known to most : *cuartach*.

[1] *Ceartaigh* has repeatedly been said to be " patriarchal ", as an ideal and a woman. A deliberate conclusion, that community in the year of identity *Ceartaigh* (*Ceartach*) is a patriarchal community. Ceartach, Ceartach, Ceartach,

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786 fellowship. "The Irish Church"; a Roman is said to
171 have exclaimed to a Gaelic Catholic in scorn, "has you
784 no martyr's crown?" "Ireland was named the Isle of
Saints not by purgecuting but by cherishing God's elect", was the reply. The Celtic Church linked the lands across St. Patrick's Channel; and what was true of Patrick's missionary field seems to have been as true of Celtic Britain, the land of his birth. Kilpatrick on the River Read Wall of Clyde has been claimed as the birthplace of one who was certainly a Cymric Celt by birth and baptism, a Gaul by training, and an Irishman by mission.[1]

This closeness of fellowship ranged from personal to divine relationships in waking or rest, with an intimacy of
782 communion all its own. A prayer for rest begins, "I shall
781 lie down with God, and God lie down with me. . . ." A
simple and universal gesture of love, in which parent, child or close kin or friend put under the loved one's head, is carried into prayer at rest, "the arm of the Father", or
774 of Jesus or Mary, "under my head".[2] This image must
be the inspiration of one of the loveliest of Christian tombs,
764 preserved by clan loyalty, respect for the dead, distance
532 and later forgetfulness on the priory isle of Inchmahome, where the Highlands meet the Lowlands at the Lake of Menteith. As on a number of medieval monuments, knight and lady are sculptured side by side. But here the two lie each with "an arm under the other's head", the free arm of the knight reaching over to clasp hands

[1] While in Scotland the name Bride is now rare as a Christian name, that of Patrick is still found among Crears, Campbells, Macdonalds and others. It is a remarkable fact that English speakers might suppose, owing to the circumstances of its introduction, that giving an English form to a Gaelic name when it is turned to English, is a Celtic custom. Thus Patrick (Irish), Antoni for Anaghus (Antony) or Peter for Padhraig (Patrick). Many a Gael in the Lowlands felt obliged to relinquish his Christian appointment (and ancestral) names, with their link to Celtic Christian tradition.

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775 testant' and perhaps 'Catholic' too, or sacked by the
769 Kirk's Adventurers, there seems to have been little effort
to build or rebuild the four 'parochе kirkin', one of the
terms of the Royal grant or infeftment of the Lews to Kintail (Seaforth). But the evidence in the previous chapter makes one doubt that the maintenance of Celtic Christianity by the people in their thatched 'temples', in their homes and fields, or at sea, was "a lapse into heathenism". The term had been better applied to the acts of certain chiefs, and of the King and his Adventurers.

Although linked with their traditional faith, the people were intensely aware of their isolation from the great world, and humble as to their own oral learning and religious culture. Moreover, since the arrival of Christianity they believed that God belonged to the Church Catholic. But by the sixteenth century their lords had misappropriated funds, clerical absenteeism was common, and they cannot have been unaware of faults in the Church of Rome. They were the more eager to welcome any cleric who read the revered Scriptures, whether he came as a Calvinist or Episcopalian from Edinburgh or by perilous journey from Armagh, Spain or Rome itself.[1] Living far from the wrest theological controversies and persecutions inflicted for a century after the Jacobite revolt, they reverted a good cleric for his own sake, as they did Macrae and, later, the minister of Barvas (and Martin himself) in lonely North Rona in 1695.

[1] Catholic missions to the Isles in the penal times are described in Compton Mackenzie's *The Book of Barra*, 1958. Martin (1695) refers to some Heriot Hospital students recommended by priests, and to the modesty of their 'Protestant' neighbours because in spite of Roman process, their fishing had been successful! Some of the MacKenzies (Seaforths) in the Lewis had been nominated Roman Catholics until after the Forty-five, notably MacKenzie of Kildun near Stornoway, who gave shelter to Prince Charles in 1746. (W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 126-130.)

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775 much of Protestantism was a denial of Christianity.
798 Holders of all these forms of Trinitarian belief have united
in condemning Unitarianism as heresy, its earlier African
• 771 form having been stamped out in blood. The 'heterodox'
are held by the orthodox of many Churches to be awaiting eternal torture. To a thoughtful humanist like Sir James Frazer, on the other hand, the belief that one alone by suffering can atone for the sins of others is of the deepest significance, as being an ancient, widespread and "pathetic fallacy". Happily, one finds the greatest tolerance and sympathy where Protestant and Catholic are mixed in the
[795] Highlands. Elsewhere, too, sympathy and reverent enquiry are taking the place of dogmatic assertion.[1] It is in this spirit that we can best understand Gaelic beliefs at their highest, and so distinguish their lowered use—or misuse for selfish ends—from the highest use of sacrament and prayer by the pure of mind and heart.

(6) RELIGION, MAGIC AND SUPERSTITION IN DAILY LIFE

789 Evil ends might be sought by means of the ancient
runes: the power of their poetry and associations could
tempt to perverted use. Carmichael tells how in Uist a malefactor, in terror of the law, went to a needy woman, and by appealing to her pity—and in exchange for a small sum—learned from her an "Invocation for Justice". Strengthened by its rhythm and imagery, and by his own associated belief in its magical power as a charm, he went up boldly in Court, firmly asserted his innocence and got

[1] Cf. the friendly theological arguments between a Roman Presbyterian and a Catholic in Compton Mackenzie's *The Three Beloveds*, 1956, and sketches in Gaelic by J. N. Macleod, *Litrichean Alasdair Sitheas*, Stornoway, 1950.

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789 away scot-free! Both persons secretly concerned felt that
they had endangered their souls by successfully defeating
justice through their misuse of the invocation. Can one
[783] blame the malefactor for being partly right in both beliefs? The
malefactor's confidence had lent success to perjury, and
perjury by help of prayer was deadly sin.

Now, the perverted use of prayer, as in this case, was clearly understood to be evil-doing; but what of magic and superstitious practices? Much has been written of Highland folk-lore and superstitions.[1] The religion of the past should be distinguished from these. In *The Golden Bough*, Frazer drew a useful distinction between religion and magic. Religion, he wrote, relies upon the propitiation of higher powers—or even, in more primitive forms than Christianity, the propitiation of the forces of nature—while magic is an attempt at direct control of natural forces. Superstition may be defined here as a body of beliefs and practices in which hopes and fears attach themselves to things seen or done, by a multitude of false analogies and by irrational links of effects to supposed causes. Such superstitions are marginal to the main body of belief, worship and conduct which forms religion.

At the same time, the hard-and-fast line can be drawn between folk-lore and religion, where religion is handed on as living word and ritual almost without the aid of writing. This is particularly true where the religion is which we think, that of the Gael, is founded upon self-supporting peasant life' in line with that of the humble, working fourfold Christian Commonwealth native to an outlying district of his own country—and not with the

[1] D. J. Macleod, D.Litt., (*ed Highland Folklore* (32 pp.), Inverness; (B) Introduction to Martin's *Western Isles* (1964, Stirling, 1934). N. Morrison, Hon. D.Sc., *Superstitions of Lewis*, Stornoway, c. 1920.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

121 theology and scholarship of a capital city, even of a city
as small as Jerusalem! It is sometimes forgotten that the
• [783] Old Testament, upon which so much of theology is built, contains folk-lore and magic. Not until this is fully understood in the sense in which early Oriental 'folk' believed it, can it be interpreted, whether as imaginative symbolism or common sense.[1] Much in the orthodox belief of medieval or post-Reformation times was mistaken; yet it formed part of the religion, not the 'superstition' of the stage and period. Theology and philosophy are in constant transformation. Sheltered scholars, priests and leaders of clans may be ill-fated to interpret the religion of a religion which grew from life in field, pasture and at sea, whether in its native land of Galilee and the East or among the Gael. One must live with a people and be one of them, at least for a time, to interpret their inner life. Lastly, no generalisation is true for all members of a community: individuals differ. The same prayer, the same rite, may be used in so different a way by each of two neighbours that its use by one is religious but by the other is superstitious.

114 We have seen that the essence of the lore from which
776 we have quoted is not magical, but religious, in use as in
inspiration. Strangers who had lost the sense of the beauty in the skies mistook a Gael's adoration of God at sunrise for prayer to the sun; when a man unbonneted or a woman knelt in the open, face turned to the rising moon lightening the dark, they confused prayer with worship of the moon itself. Now, in paganism, a belief in nature-spirits is strong: but propitiation is made not to objects such as the sun, moon or stars, but to spirits believed to inhabit

[1] For contemporary record, descriptions of sunsets have appeared in the Stornoway Gazette from the pen of a crofter in retirement, N. Morrison.
[2] *Carmina*, vol. 6, Notes, *Nid Fire*.

CH. VII RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

786 dwell in them—to a sun or moon spirit. If the people once
believed in a 'moon-spirit', nothing is left to show it.
Either the moon is addressed as if she could hear her praise, or—more commonly—"The King of the Elements" or "of life" is thanked for sending her light. The Archangel Michael is associated with the sun's rays; but symbolically in relation to heart and mind, rather than as literal belief. The response to sunrise and sunset was real; and it is not lost among the people, as a watcher may see.[1]

It remains true that pre-Christian rites were re-enacted,
and sometimes must be re-interpreted as being not gone
wrong, and sometimes in mere play. A Lewisman in
[774] Carmichael's hearing spoke of "going between the two
great fires of Beal"[2] (or Bealtainn), his phrase expressing no more than a faded memory. But in Reay, in hard times bordering on famine, a fishing skipper was seen by his
121 small son, supposed to be asleep, to assemble a boat and,
after putting out the fire on the hearth, kindle the *nid fire* by rubbing two pieces of wood vigorously together. Such man then carried a kindling brand back to his home.[1]
121 Was this a religious ritual of human energy, heat and light,
symbolic of forces held to be under Divine control but to be used as they used wind and tide for strenuous effort at the oars? Or was it magic, pure and simple? When men are shaken by failures and the fear of famine, prayer in word and ritual may restore hope for better things—for safety in storm and for fish in abundance as in a miraculous draught—and confidence in their powers for their work. But the same can be true of magic. And neither prayer nor

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (3rd ed., ed. S. A. Cooke, 1927). J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (3 vols.), 1919.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

121 magic is always efficacious—however desperate the need,
however pure the motives of those who ask. These men
were said to be the most successful fishers in the place;
[788] they were also Elders of the Kirk, who saw no wrong in what they did. They did not inform the minister; but the good man was not a fisherman and did not understand either the mysterious ways of fish or the incitement of a crew!

While this *nid fire* was kindled in all earnestness, a
miming song-dance I have seen in Eriskay in Uist, "The Carlins or Witch-wife of the Mill-dust" (*Cailleach an Muillean*) was down dead and is brought to life again!
[174] Once, perhaps, a half-forgotten ritual, "pity" of the
seasonal fall and resurrection of seed, it is certainly in form and spirit a thing of happy laughter now! Tales were retold by Martin and a seventeenth-century English skipper, of offerings made to a sea-god, Shony, at Europie, Ness, for the sake of seaweed, followed by feasting and drinking
[194] in the chapel there. The story may be true, but the ritual
may record a pre-Christian survival turned to merriment and of no more significance to the people of the time than
[241] the Carlins of the Mill-dust". The prayers for the dead were necessary for agriculture and daily bread are Christian in spirit.

771 When the people were at the mercy of periodic famines,
[773] diseases and sudden death, there were ample grounds for fears. Hence a word must be said of a belief widespread and ancient in the Old World, 'the evil eye' (*droch shuil*).
In the absence of clinical diagnosis, a malady, or a man's fortune to oneself or a valued possession, might cast suspicion on someone present when it occurred; and

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 143-208. *Contract Carmina*, vol. 1v, pp. 22-25.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

[8] gentle frankness, as there is for reticence.[1] But since
[8] Augustine, orthodox religion, Catholic and Protestant, has
[771] overstressed and misunderstood the folk-lore of 'the Fall'
[771] —originally, it seems, a legend of fertility and fulfilment!
[773] In part as a result of the teaching of the doctrine of the
[773] 'Fall', there has arisen an attitude to parenthood which
[773] falls short of rational understanding and reverence for human life.[2] If fact be the best guard against superstitious fancy, and if sensibility and tact can inform the first shock of adolescence, then the Gael knew wisdom.

121 Returning to the main theme, it is clear that primitive
religion and folk-lore, in the sense of attempts to find cause and effect, and of the action of 'mind' on 'body' and 'matter'. What are facts to faith may be symbols to science; yet if these symbols prefigure truth, they may
121 outlast the present stage of scientific recognition. Gaelic
[8] belief and practice show a recognition of communal as
[8] well as individual spirituality; of the depth of conscious
[8] ness below its upper surface, and its upwelling power; and of the visible world without, in all its beauty, as a gate

[1] Needless to say, Gaelic verse has its moments of coarse freedom like Augustine, orthodox religion, Catholic and Protestant, has overstressed and misunderstood the folk-lore of 'the Fall'—originally, it seems, a legend of fertility and fulfilment! In part as a result of the teaching of the doctrine of the 'Fall', there has arisen an attitude to parenthood which falls short of rational understanding and reverence for human life. If fact be the best guard against superstitious fancy, and if sensibility and tact can inform the first shock of adolescence, then the Gael knew wisdom.

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[529] ¹ Needless to say, Gaelic verse has its moments of coarse freedom like
paper or fiddler to play for dancing, most of the words are delightful, but a
few are not. A rather 'dirty' chanter-song—a small instrument made
of the lake whose apprenticeship in the cities had not improved his character
—once quoted a coarser jingle to me, only to see little amusement at his song
and some contempt for its singer. He excused himself by saying, "It's
rough . . . it's rough—but it's not dirty"! His excuse sums up the cruder
suggestions of sexual spirits found in Gaelic jingles. One may adapt it as
a general excuse for the cruder folk-lore of the past.

[2] A. Golden, "The Origin of Sin in Genesis, and a Missing Legend", *Hibbert J.* vol. 44, Nos. 1 and 3, 1945-46. Cf. *The Legends of Creation on Andreas-Cross Fresco*, Interpretation, Oxford University Press, 1948, vol. 4, (1945, 1945).

The Churches have given attention to the second chapter of Genesis at the expense of the first. Gaelic spiritual tradition seems to have been singularly unswayed by such confusion of theology, and to have held firmly to the first chapter, in its noble simplicity.

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

or after it. After 1914–18, the Rector of the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, proposed village halls for village education and recreation.[1] The scheme was never fully realised except in one township, Sandwick, near Stornoway, owing to the strength of puritanical opposition. In particular, dancing by young folk was condemned as "dancing upon the graves of their brothers". This attitude is breaking down; social standards, in becoming less repressive, may encourage young people to stay.

Broadcasting—a factor of change everywhere—came to the townships as a revolution. Newspapers had already filtered in; but for the first time the Gaelic-speaking home was entered and dominated by an English-speaking voice. It has made itself heard there almost ceaselessly ever since—in broadcast talks, discussions, announcements of news, entertainment, singing and prayers. Only the Sabbath imposes general silence. In the Scottish Home Service great trouble has been taken to meet all tastes at the highest level for each, from 'low-brow' to 'high-brow' and from Clydeside to the Isles. To a thoughtful, selective Island listener the new opportunity for imaginative human contacts and for initiation of all kinds is immense. And the purely Gaelic listener is not forgotten. He welcomes Gaelic song or story; and worship in Gaelic has reached many an elderly person's bedside.

Yet few listeners select: much broadcasting is designed for those whose only picture-galleries are advertisement hoardings and whose only drama and music are to be found at "the Pictures". And through no fault of the B.B.C., the Sports News offers temptations for those in poverty to acquire wealth innocently through luck in a football pool,

[1] W. J. Gibson, "Social Amenities in the Western Isles", *Sociological Rev.* (Jan. 1932).

mainly because there are enough young people to form a strong age grade of their own. The more liberal outlook of the villagers is, however, tempered by the old men.

Religion

The attachment to the past embodied in the social and economic aspects of the culture carries over into the religious life of the Sgiathanach. He is a Presbyterian who continues to worship and view the world within a pattern which characterized the Scots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The doctrine and theology are derived from the teachings of Calvin as interpreted by John Knox and refined by the Covenanters of the seventeenth century. To the original ethical code a strong measure of influence from the English Puritan movement has been added. The guiding principles are still foreordination and election. The dominant motivating factor is asceticism.

One of the outstanding features of the island today is the large number of churches for such a limited population. To serve the 8,600 people there are 21 churches with ministers and 13 mission stations. A hundred years ago, when the population was almost triple the present number, there were only seven ministers on Skye. The present abundance is the outcome of a series of religious schisms of the past century. There are now four Presbyterian sects. Of all the neighborhoods on Skye, only Glendale is religiously homogeneous.

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[23] Rees,
[24] Ibid.,

have given the individual and the culture their 781
tinue in spite of social instability and acute 182
hip. In many respects, the Skyemen's religion is
ller to that of the Welshmen.[23]

us of the father within the nuclear family has 182
d, despite changing economic roles which might 771 [599]
loss of prestige, by his religious sanction.

f the community, in particular the elders, the [588]
rk officers, have been able to continue to exer-
control over their families and neighbors. In [567]
, the socially inferior status of the women has
d by debarring them from active roles in the
ligious activity the people find meaningful
teraction. The small congregations, rarely over
ve the Skyemen a sense of belonging. In the [593]
ice of daily worship intensifies family inter-
all, at the semi-annual communion celebrations, 182
al meetings which partake much of revivalism, 771
781
solidarity. As each church in turn celebrates [572]
ber, the people from the neighboring churches
t come to share one to five days of worshipping
newing their ties of friendship. At the daily
the people meet and hear visiting ministers
nd the eminent Men, members of the elect, from
the island. The identical pattern is found in
intense patterns of interaction center around
tivals.[24]

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op. cit., pp. 114-130.

pp. 129-130.

there was famine. To supplement the diet, the men fished for 175*
domestic use. There were no specialists. Each man was a
subsistence farmer, who bred a few head of cattle to meet his
rent and provide dairy products, grew some grain for his family,
and fished.

Trade with the Lowlands was established by the chief and
his tacksmen. The droving industry, the overland marches of
cattle from the Island to the market centers, provided the
chief's only source of income, from which he paid the taxes
assessed by the Crown and provided the clansmen with meal in
bad years. There was also a less well organized trade in
minor local produce and imports carried on with the Lowlands.

The Religion of the Clansmen

175* 771 794 795

Very little is known about the religious aspect of the
culture during the days of the clan beyond the knowledge that
the people passed through several changes in common with the
rest of Scotland.[83] During the years of Norse occupation they
worshipped under a tribal religion known as the Culdees Church,
a secular order with a married priesthood and hereditary abbots.
By the time Skye had become a part of Scotland, and the old
Culdees Church had been replaced by Roman Catholicism.[84] In

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[83] Cf., e.g., Lauchlan M. Watt, "Religion in the Clachan," in Home Life of the Highlanders, pp. 52-60.

[84] Origines Parochiales Scotiae (2 vols.; Edinburgh: W.H. Lizars, 1854), Vol. II, part I, pp. 340, 343-344, 354, 357.

both the Highlands and the Lowlands politics and religion 175*
became completely intertwined. In the latter half of the 771 794
kingdom it began as a support for the crown and a force for 795
peaceful and orderly government, but the church became the
prey of self-seeking prelates.[85] On Skye hardly anything was
known of the abuses of the Roman Church. There was no scope
for two ruling powers in the small communities. The priests,
faithful to their heritage and loyal to chief and clan, minis-
tered to the clansmen while their contemporaries elsewhere in
Europe were guilty of neglect and corruptness. Nevertheless,
the Reformation, 1560, gradually influenced the Sgiathanach.
There was an important difference between the acceptance of
the reformed kirk in the Lowlands and on Skye. In the Lowlands
Presbyterianism, in particular its emphasis on individualism,
suited the needs and aspirations of the people, and they welcomed
reform. In the Highlands the Catholic faith was extinguished
by a lack of priests.[86] Although the old faith was regarded
as an amalgam of paganism, a cult of the saints, and meaningless
formalism, practically all the reformed kirk could do, in the
face of strong opposition, was to expel the priests, or make
sure that no new priests found entry.

While the Scots were prepared to fight the Stuart king of
Scotland and England in 1638 and on several other occasions,
culminating in the Glorious Revolution in 1688, for their

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[85] Notestein, op. cit., pp. 103-114.

[86] Peter Anson, The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland (London: Oates and Washbourne, 1937), pp. 35-44.

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

121 to the world within. Above all, harmony of relations, at
• 771 every stage of life, in man and woman, was felt to pre-
181 figure relations with the Divine. The religious poetry of which the Gael were the creators and heirs, promoted courage and calm. True, its very power could lead to superstitious respect for mere forms of words, debased as 'magical' charms. Such misuse was 'superstitious', being false in itself and falling short of the clearest thought, the highest aspiration, of the time and the community. Worse still, use with evil intent could concentrate ill-will and evoke mutual fears. Yet at its best, thought was clearer, less confused, than is commonly imagined. To the aspiration and attainment of the Gael—in congregation or solitude, in meditation or labour, in love and faith or in works—the fragments of their oral heritage bear witness.

(c) LITERACY AND EVANGELISM: 'THE MEN' AND THE DISRUPTION

175 From before 1680 "a school for the gentlemen's sons
178 and daughters" was open in Stornoway. Latin and
871 English were taught, and a century later even Greek had been added, as recorded by W. J. Gibson, for many years Rector of Stornoway's high school, the Nicolson Institute, in his *Education in Scotland*, 1912 (chap. v). Particularly towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Gaelic School Society and other bodies, like the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, sent out schoolmasters to teach the reading of the Scriptures. Industrial schools were set up at the same time by Lady Seaforth, to teach spinning
[671] by the wheel, replacing the slow distaff. It was not till nearly a century later that teaching of English was widely taken advantage of — partly by the compulsion of the

Education Act of 1872, for the people "did not want to give their children wings to leave them".[1]

The reading of Gaelic progressed fairly rapidly after 1800, in order that the Bible might be read. By 1833 something like one in three or four of the population, or more than half of the younger people, could read Gaelic. The Hon. Mrs. Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth, it seems, had a 'warm sympathy' both with teaching to read the Scriptures and with evangelical preaching. The coming to Lewis in 1824 of the first evangelical minister, the Rev. Alexander MacLeod, an Assynt man, is described in his memoir in a striking volume, *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands*, edited by J. Greig (1877).

"At the distance of more than half a century it is not easy to form a conception of the religious and moral condition of Lewis previous to the year 1824. The present writer has heard a still living minister of the Free Church, who is a native of Uig, declare publicly that only two or three copies of the Bible could be found within the wide extent of the parish, and that he himself travelled a journey in search of a copy of the blessed book, and all in vain. . . . The densest intellectual and spiritual darkness held universal sway. Notwithstanding the pleasing features that characterise Highlanders, even in their most primitive condition, this state of things could not fail to be attended with baleful fruits. Despite their constitutional warmth of heart and loyalty of nature, unbending fidelity to what they esteemed to be honour, and their unbounded kindness and hospitality, many gross vices were found commingling in the characters and lives of the Lewis people. For, however strange it may appear, at the first prayer-meeting

[1] Quotations to this effect, dating from the *Old Statistical Account* until 1883, are given in the Brand Report of 1902.

which Mr. Macleod attempted to hold at Uig, one of the former elders actually offered a request that a wreck should be cast ashore in the neighbourhood;[1] while another elder, referring to the death of our Lord as a misfortune, used strong expressions of deprecation of its having at all occurred.[2] . . . The reason is easily furnished; the Lewis ministry was not evangelical. Moderatism held the land in sole possession. . . . Nor did it act merely in a negative indifferentist manner. Moderatism contained in itself elements of positive distaste to Gospel truth, and enmity towards gracious influences and experience. As a matter of course, it was perfectly compatible with this system to grant toleration to superstitions and superstitious observances, which had been handed down through the Dark Ages of Popery from the still darker ages of Druidical idolatry. Acts of adoration, having for their object the heavenly bodies, were common. It is scarcely necessary to state that family worship was unknown among the people, and even at the manse. For although the public ordinances were dispensed as a matter of form, they exerted no practical influence upon the conduct. They rather tended to lull more profoundly asleep by imparting and maintaining a feeling of security to the poor dark benighted souls who participated in them."

People did come to church "in tolerable numbers" from the very outset of Mr. Macleod's ministry, but "Here for the first time was a preacher who showed by his whole

[1] Shipwreck was still thought of as an 'act of God', and a dire 'misfortune'. Not only is there no hint of deliberate wrecking ever taking place, as on some other British coasts, but abundant record of aid to the shipwrecked and respect for their property in the absence of the skipper and crew. (Martin, 1695; and later.)

[2] According to Evangelical theory the punishment of guilty and innocent alike was part of the Divine plan. How different this, from the faith of the Islanders till then!

saint, a character so eminently Christ-like",[1] and to his intimate beliefs, doctrine and wide influence. The same Highland roots and deep charity characterised Dr. Norman Macleod, author of the popular classic, *The Friend of the Gael* (*Caraid nan Gaidheal*).

If a student of community ventures upon an interpretation of theology, it is because, to him, any attempt to understand "the relations of God to mankind" must take account of men's relations to one another. Ideas are transformed by human experience during economic and social revolutions, and in their turn they transform society. To make contact with reality, theology must regard mankind: it must be integrated with sociology. Because of its close bond with communal life, the religious spirit, recorded in Gaelic lore, was jarred, almost overwhelmed, when community was shaken to its foundations by the commercial, agricultural and industrial revolution. Happily, the value of communal Christianity has been acknowledged both by Roman Catholics—notably (among Gaels) by the Rev. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay—and by Protestants.[2] In the Scottish Presbyterian Church today, the movement which seems most deeply aware of the need for a new society has acknowledged its debt to communal tradition where this has been best maintained, that is, in the Isles. Seeking to aid Christian endeavour, international and national, this movement has turned for inspiration to Iona. In Iona, of which the noble cathedral belongs to the Church of Scotland but is open for service to all denominations, Presbyterians have found a new symbol.

[1] Canon Vaughan, cited by the Rev. Norman Maclean (*Scotsman*, 21st Aug. 1943).

[2] "The Church should interpret the Love of God by a flaming zeal for the redress of the social order." (The Very Rev. Prof. John Baillie, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, at St. Andrews, 1943.)

"The Iona Community is a Brotherhood of men within the Church of Scotland seeking to find the implications of the Kingdom of God for modern society. During the summer months they worship, work and live together on Iona, rebuilding the ruined Abbey on a co-operative basis. Half the Brotherhood are young clergy pledged to work for two years in the difficult places of the cities (after three months in Iona), emphasising the place of the Church in the New Community that is emerging in the world. The other half are skilled artisans who desire to express their labour as a ministry within the Priesthood of all Believers and create—in the building—a microcosmic witness of how labouring is transformed when seen as a Sacrament. The Brotherhood is based on Reformation principles. Several members of the Community are married. At present the artisans return to the ordinary labour market in the winter time."[1]

In the Iona Community, theology is linked to communal labour and the re-shaping of society; and its symbolic centre, Iona, is more than a literary name, or a historic ruin, to those who have set about rebuilding its cathedral tower, cloister and surrounding dwellings. Continuity is exemplified in its leader, the Rev. George F. Macleod, a descendant of Dr. Norman Macleod, the friend of McLeod Campbell. The significance of this Community to the theme of this chapter lies in the endeavour of its members to learn, by help of ancient native ways, new ways of Christian life in their own land. The attempt to link industrial Scotland, and lands beyond, to the Gaelic West, is a notable recognition of what Celtic Christianity, maintained and renewed by communal tradition, has yet to give the world.

[1] From the magazine of the Iona Community, *The Coracle*.

some whose feelings and interests oppo
Free Church ministers foresaw that the
introduced would be shaken by travel; a
like that of the merchants, would have
result of depopulation. The Congested
however, sponsored two schemes of colonis
In the first scheme thirty families, and in
families were taken to Canada, mostly fr
The first and smaller group repaid their lo
their lands; but the second failed to do s
was only reimbursed by sale of the land.

The story of the schemes suggests t
elements needed for success: promptitude
sympathy with strictness, and a sufficien
year's experience of new conditions or tec
rather than segregation of the inexpe
leadership; and choice of vocation as fa
servant. Many a crofter-emigrant has
shepherd and farm hand or as an indep
but not every Islesman, particularly a co
squatter, is fit to conduct a farm. Technica
experience of part-time crofting and fis
thumb does not train a man for farming in
ment without even a year's apprenticesh
possible in schemes which overcome initi
providing training, companionship and co
a suitable physical environment.

One further principle of communal life
which Parliament and administration failed
most significant evidence in the Napier C
that of A. Carmichael; and from this the

[1] J. P. Day, 1918, pp. 123-125, from Reports of
Board, and Crofters and Colonisation Commissioners (

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sed emigration.
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121 181 771 had learned that the spiritual sanctions of the township's activities were not yet dead. Legal recognition of the township's social economy would have encouraged constructive action in common. Communal responsibility, not merely private morality, would have had to be upheld. As it was, the people's acts of charity or justice modified the growing individualism of tenure and economic relationships. But with township duties to perform and a high standard of office to fulfil, the congregations could have maintained a common purpose; religion would have retained a deeper social meaning, binding neighbours as one. It is true that divisions rent the Island communities, as a result of the Evangelical reaction both from the lay patronage of the Moderates and their easy-going tolerance. Protestantism broke with the communal religion of the past and emphasised individual salvation, faith and doctrine, at the cost of schism. Hence, it appears less able to aid the renewal of the township than Catholicism, with its greater emphasis upon corporate unity, mutual aid and Christian works in common. Yet, if men of the township had been chosen to bear communal responsibility, then, 'living the life', would they not have re-learned 'the doctrine'? Ministers did not share in common responsibility, it is true, nor do they now. The Established Clergy dwelt apart upon their glebes, and the Evangelicals are housed in the village, but without a croft or a share of the scatt and a common grazing. Yet in youth as the sons of crofters, and after ordination also, they might have learned from chosen Elders.

000 Altogether, for reasons not only temporal but spiritual, the township with its elected officers should have won recognition. Given the responsibility which those who knew it believed it could still fulfil, the crofters' relations

178 476 44 (654) [228] (654) developed through the township Grazing Committees by the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society and its associated Crofters' Agency. Lime and fertilisers were purchased, and wool and other products sold, co-operatively. The co-operative marketing of lobsters, taking advantage of fluctuating London prices, has led to the reconstruction of ponds for storage. By these and other means, government assistance is utilised but not squandered; earlier initiative in agricultural organisation is reinforced; and communal tradition is revived, linked to personal responsibility through the crofters' lifelong knowledge of one another.

178 288 [829] As to the future, all agreed that unless the Harris Tweed industry flourished, with work at reasonable wages, the villages would be abandoned by the young, perhaps with no return such as hitherto on 'retirement'. Many young people are content with life in the townships, provided they can get a living there, though not all, for they are somewhat divided; and work elsewhere, even in the mills of Stornoway, is a counter-attraction.

178 592 538 Social life is undergoing changes which operate both for and against the retention of the young. On one hand, household interchange of conversation, song and story, the *ceilidh*, has declined. On the other hand, one found that, as regards religious prohibitions, and in spite of the nervous tension expressed in 'Revivals', the young have 178 771 577 [535] won greater freedom. Near one village a Nissen hut, handed over to the Home Guard, was also used by young people for monthly dances. When I asked a young crofter invalided from the Navy whether the Elders of the Kirk made no protest, he replied that they had, but had to give it up: "They see that we won't stand for it"! This would have been unthinkable during the First World War,

795 but still more to their repeated justification in the name
• 771 of the Lord 'God'. 'God' the universal (*Elohim*) came
[776] to be identified with the tribal god Jahveh or Yahweh,
000 altered, late in Jewish history, to "the LORD God", the term still used in Bibles. The war cry of the Jewish tribes, as they swept in from the desert or tightened their hold upon citizens and cultivators, was that of many wild wanderers, before and since, who have cried upon their God of Battles, upon Jahveh, or Allah. Magnificent in its affirmations of righteousness, the Old Testament can be terrible in its denials of pity.

795 The Bible (literally *Biblia*, the Books) reflects the search
771 of a people through centuries towards the idea of God;
but the tragedy of the Bible, or rather of its historic misuse,
538 came with the acceptance of all 'Scripture' as equal in inspiration and truth. The early and the late were accepted together, the mixed or false with the true. The custom of seeking Divine guidance by simply opening a page of 'the blessed Book'—that is, any text on any page of any one of its books—was an example of such acceptance; and it
[175] was only possible for the literate. In Lewis, Macfarlane records the custom, practised by 'The Men', late in the nineteenth century.

175 Reading came late to the Islanders, but its effects were
as direct as among the Puritans or Covenanters at an earlier
178 period. The people, whose hearts had long since been
771 wrung with pity at the Crucifixion and who were steeped
[538] in reverence for the Gospels, became 'changed' indeed.
[212] Once their minds had been crushed by the Old Testament's massive weight, the 'change' was reinforced by the vision of a world to come, limned by fevered imagination
[795] in the New Testament's finale, the Apocalypse. The 'change' was brought by Evangelicals who had themselves

175 undergone the same crushing experience,
178 communal life was being overthrown by
Revolution. "Terrible old men!" exclain
• 771 schoolmaster, of these 'Disruption Worthi
795 that they were inhuman—that is clear fr
felt for them by so many of the people, w
have taken kindly to the unkind.

175 Nor were the first Evangelicals invari
the Rev. Mr. Macrae, long in Lewis, it is
178 young he had rebuked an older fellow-m
771 at a ministers' supper on Communion Mo
795 up, the minister seized Macrae by the shoul
behind him, till Macrae was forced to joi
181 Macrae never forgot the sane and kindl
to him after: and he saw he had been w
cheerfulness with irreligion. Yet much
guished or found illicit vent. To such ru
came inevitably reaction, noted even by
more notable during the war of 1914–18
flict or compromise was inevitable where
phasised terror and inveighed against the
their forebears and the happiness for whic
178 asks. The days of emotional 'Revival'
771 over and from them the pendulum may sw
back to relieved but wearied unconcern.
the emigration of so many of the men, the
life was upset. Some thoughtful men and
the 'Revival' which swept their Island (w
Presbyterian Hebrides) before 1939 and
was partly due to the excessive influence
whom strict Presbyterianism offered
motherly emotion or sisterly service.

(E) SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN CHANGE

178 In spite of 'the wrath to come', life had to go on, work
181 be done, and natural affection find an outlet in youth.
How could the women waulk the cloth without a chorus
183 to keep their beating hands in time? Songs had to be allowed by the sternest for this work in common. In a land where marriage was not an affair of dowries, but chiefly of love choice among the young folk, the old courting customs could not wholly be denied. Curiously enough, drinking was not severely looked upon by Scots rural Evangelists; in one story in the Old Testament, it is not the drunkard, but his mocker whom the Lord punished! In a city, a drunk man is a prey to thieves and harpies; but in a township none will do him harm. But today there are Evangelical ministers who think that drink should be frowned on at weddings and *ceilidhs*, while song and dance might be tolerated.

175 Not all the people gave in willingly to the severity of
• 771 the new creed. In Uig there is a cave, the 'Piper's Cave',
795 to which a crofter was wont to resort on dark nights, his
183 pipes in his oxter, when the wind blew *from* the manse and out to sea! Ultimately the least willing were forced to give in, first, by the appalling threat of the refusal of communion, and secondly, by denunciation from the pulpit
(178) and the ostracism of the Elders. Much was destroyed that can never be recovered now, and many a fine heart saddened or broken. It was the most intimate expression of their lives, their religious lore, which suffered most.[1]

178 Yet something remains, preserved by the good sense,
181

[1] Carmichael gives an infinitely pathetic account of a conversation in a home in Ness about 1880–85. *Carmina*, pp. xxvii–xxxii.

manner that he had in hand business of eternal moment to his hearers. That business was to warn them of the wrath to come, which impended over unpardoned Christless sinners, and to proclaim the way of escape by the open door of a crucified and risen Saviour. Not more than two months had elapsed since Mr. Macleod's admission when the 'stupid attention' and vacant stare passed into the wistful anxious listening, the suffused eye, the tender subdued manner, and in some cases the heart-wringing enquiry, 'What must I do to be saved?'

"For something like two years this minister 'refused to dispense the Lord's Supper'. . . . A very early effect of his work was the extinction of various worldly and pernicious customs and amusements to which the people had been previously addicted, and the substitution of meetings for prayer, diets of catechising, day and evening schools, family worship, and other spiritual exercises in their room. Many at the outset felt greatly aggrieved at the new order of things. Meanwhile the Lord stood by his servant, and the word mightily prevailed against all opposition. Incredible efforts were made by earnest souls in all parts of the island to be present at the preaching of the Word, even on ordinary Sabbaths." By 1828 "the whole island seemed to be moved by one powerful spiritual impulse" and 9000 people flocked from all parts to the Uig communion. "When the memorable 18th of May 1843 dawned"—that of the Disruption—"no part of the country was readier to rally round the banner then displayed, because of the truth, than the island of Lewis almost to a man." It was "an unspeakable relief to the ministers' spirits to escape by one decided step at once from the bondage of State control and the chilling atmosphere of Moderatism. . . . Even where evangelical preach-

175 ing was lacking, and the minister of the parish remained
771 in the Establishment, the popular movement inclined
793 unanimously towards the cause of the suffering and protesting Church of Scotland, with the exception of a small handful of people in Stornoway."

794 The part of elder folk in religious life continued to be
796 important, but in new ways. Masculine influence now dominated the family and the congregation. The 'Men' in
178 the Highlands were Elders of the Church who often spoke as lay preachers and who rose to speak on 'Question Day'—that is on the Friday of the Communion Services, which extended, and still do, from Thursday, the Fast Day, to Monday, the Thanksgiving Day. The presiding minister, after opening devotions, invited any Elder of the Parish to rise and propose the Question; the Elder having read a text from Scripture, would say he wished to hear the 'marks' of the true Believer, drawn from the text. After the minister had himself "opened out the text", he would name visiting Elders, calling upon them in turn to speak. One by one, each would rise and give his picture of the real Christian in terms of the qualities suggested by the text. "And so the hour sped under the pleasing and helpful variety of a dozen speakers or more. The 'Men' spoke out of rich experience. . . . 'Question Day' was a self-searching season, when every hearer examined his heart by the 'marks' adduced . . . and as this went on there was a sweet glow on the face of the Congregation as the presiding Minister summed up and closed the holy Convocation." [1]

175 The 'Men' had long been a recognised Order in the
178 Highlands, and their foundation is traced to Thomas Hog,
794 the famous minister of Killearn, "born in Tain in the

[1] Rev. N. C. Macfarlane, *The 'Men' in the Lewis* (1924).

State were in the wrong: the people were with God and, most of all when they suffered, God was with them! The sense of liberation brought to the Highlanders and Islesmen encouraged them to press their claim to the land they worked, strengthening the agrarian movement of 1880–86. The moral victory of 1843 contributed to legal victory in 1886.

The influence of Evangelism continued for some time at fever heat. "Even down to the present time (1877) there are tokens of the gracious working of the Spirit on men's minds, although it is a day of small things compared with the past and, in the case of some, a day of stumbling and instability. How humbling to behold the first reaction in favour of worldly and Erastian [1] principles, manifesting itself on the spot where the gospel banner was first unfurled in Lewis! But there is a God that judgeth in the earth, and his time to vindicate his cause shall come. 'Offences must come, but woe unto that man by whom they shall come!'" [2]

What comment can be made on this? One shudders at first, to hear of 'gross vices' among the people, only to find that by these 'vices' was meant fidelity to the religious past. It may seem strange that Highlanders such as these writers on the 'Disruption Worthies', who were almost as proud of Columba as of the Covenanters, were blinded to the enduring values in Columban tradition. They were certainly unable to foresee the effects of their preaching.

[1] 'Erastianism' is the doctrine of the supremacy of the State in ecclesiastical causes, a term which came into use in Britain in the seventeenth century. Actually the problem is one which Erastus, 1524–83, nowhere entered upon; none the less, the name is established, and it denotes a major issue of principles.

[2] J. Greig (ed.), *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands* (1877).

795 The Evangelicals, so insistent in condemning the beliefs
•771 and worship of ancient Christianity as 'vice' and 'superstition', comparatively rarely condemned words and rites designed to bring punishment upon a person believed to have wronged one—that is upon a person one hated! Of such was the practice, widespread in the Old World, of moulding a clay figure representing the person to be harmed, and either sticking pins into it, exposing it to fire, or leaving it in a stream, with a prayer that as the figure wasted away so would the object of hatred. An educated Lewisman I knew, Dr. Norman Morrison, stated that an aunt of his own performed this rite. No doubt she persuaded herself that if the desired injury took place, natural or Divine law was at work and she herself was therefore
[178] innocent or actually just. What is striking is that in the twentieth century, long after the healing beauty and Christian calm of runes and rites had been banished and the healthy laughter of gay custom silenced, this pre-Christian rite of ill-will had lived on. One hardly knows whom to pity the more: the hated, for the fear they would feel if they knew the rite was at work, or the hater. The extreme Evangelicals made so little appeal to reason based on fact, that the irrational element in superstition was not firmly
[829] replaced by a sane, scientific outlook. Indeed 'science' was condemned as 'unbelief'. The constant evocation of wrath, anger and "the punishment of just and unjust" played havoc with the emotions.

Those brought up on the precepts of Presbyterianism —especially in its milder forms—and familiar from infancy with a selection of Old Testament readings, can hardly appreciate the shock to a sensitive heart of first hearing
[776] the whole of the Old Testament read Book by Book. The shock is due not only to the acts of vengeance or massacre,

can be seen. In common with the rest of Scotland up to the time of the French Revolution, the Skye ministers were abandoning their emotional approach in favor of mild methods of persuasion.[14] The rigor of Presbyterianism was succumbing before the philosophical enlightenment of the Deist.[15] At the same time religion on Skye contrasted with Lowland practices. It was religion based on inward conviction rather than on doctrinal dogma. The ministers were too far removed from Edinburgh to become involved in the heated debates and dissensions within the General Assembly which were creating opposing groups of theologians and, frequently, resulting in secession movements.[16] The people had no serious predilection for any specific articles of faith, and the landlords and many of the tacksmen were only nominal Presbyterians.[17]

As the proprietors and the tacksmen withdrew, the status of the ministers was augmented. They were more than spiritual leaders and moral guardians. They were descended from tacksmen, were often themselves tacksmen, and were frequently married to the daughters of tacksmen. They controlled education and administered the poor funds. But in many cases they seem to have been less concerned with the ministry than with their farms.[18]

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[14]Pennant, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 173.

[15]Johnson, op. cit., p. 95; and Notestein, The Scot in History, pp. 202-211.

[16]Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 107.

[17]James MacDonald, op. cit., p. 109; and Johnson, op. cit., p. 95.

[18]John Lane Buchanan, Travels in the Western Hebrides, 1782-1790 (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1793), pp. 219-231.

The process to be observed in the religious facet of the culture during the second period is conservatism. Itinerant missionaries, catechists, and a religious brotherhood known as the "Men" supplemented the regular clergy. As the Revival grew strong, the "Men," as tenacious defenders of the evangelical cause, began to wage an anti-clerical campaign.[44] They usually remained within the Church, opposing any separatist movement, but they drew a sharp distinction between the Church and her ministers. To be a convert of the "Men" meant to dissociate oneself from the death dealing moderate ministers," who were said to have had more interest in their farms than in their congregations.[45] The "Men" conceived their function to be one of delivering powerful testimonies of evangelical truth.[46] They rebuked and constantly reminded the people of their religious duties. They made Sabbatarianism an observable test of religious obedience, separating the respectable Christians from the godless. Prayer meetings were held at which the "Men" engaged in short, earnest prayers, and exhorted the people to read their Bibles and partake in family worship.

The growing influence of the Revival did not leave the clergy unmoved. At least two arose to recreate the spirit of vital religion and revive emotional enthusiasm in their congregations.[47] It was no accident that these ministers should

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[44]MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 151, 165; MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 53-59.

[45]MacCowan, op. cit., p. 53.

[46]MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 217-215.

[47]Thomas Brown, Annals of the Disruption in 1843 (Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace, 1884), pp. 7-8.

appear in the parishes of Bracadale and Snizort. Bracadale had already seen the beginnings of the final stage in commercialization; Snizort had been sold piecemeal to new landlords.

Evangelical Presbyterianism created a new pattern of social and religious life on Skye. It gave the culture a new focus to replace the dead clan system. Much of the form of religious worship and behavior characteristic of the Island today was established during this Revival Movement. The "Men" became the foremost members of the community. An esoteric religous hierarchy evolved. There were the unfortunate few who were in a state of saving grace and acceptable at Communion, and the eminent "Men," the aged, venerable spiritual laity.[48]

The Revival, unlike many nativistic movements, neither held out the promise of cultural regeneration nor offered the dream of prosperity. To the contrary, the attack against the folk culture characteristic of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was renewed with vigor. While religious enthusiasm grew, social life beyond a family level was restricted. Perhaps, the years of destitution and the ever present threat of famine had made hospitality a luxury which few could afford. Perhaps, it was no longer possible for the people to provide whiskey and food for large numbers at a funeral or a wedding. The local ministers assert that the changes were due to the activities of the "Men." It would seem that the "Men" were

[48]MacInnes, op. cit., p. 211.

agents for what have been called "rites of intensification."[49] They restored the equilibrium of interaction by creating new behavior patterns. This was probably particularly true during the famine, when the people's relatives and friends were dying and emigrating in large numbers. While the ceilidh, an evening of spinning folk tales, singing, and dancing, was condemned, and the children of parents who would not conform to the dictates of one minister and the "Men" were refused baptism, prayer meetings and other church services were providing emotional outlets.[50]

Like the Welsh,[51] the Skye crofters found the Bible retold much of their own past history and their present difficulties. As the "Men" preached from Scripture and interpreted the meaning, often using allegorical interpretations, of the Word, the people became familiar with a story which was strikingly similar to their own. The present social and economic conditions were but a presage of the coming dissolution. It was all there in the Old Testament, in the books of Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Psalms, and Prophets. The omen was all the more vivid because the transgressors in the Bible lived a life much like the crofters. Both the ancient peoples and the Skyemen had a pastoral economy, a patrilineal family structure,

[49]Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), pp. 399-400.

[50]Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticane, Vol. VII, p. 166; and Norman MacLean, Set Free (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 14-15.

[51]Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

alien to their heritage. There was little local need for roads and steamships, but they were paving the way for the final stage in commercialization, the conversion of the island into sheep farms.

The record suggests that the culture was suffering from disorganization and the society had been threatened by disintegration. The Revival, which began at the close of the initial period, became full blown. This movement confirms what the record suggests. A new pattern of social behavior and religious life came into being. The traditional secular patterns of interaction were being replaced by patterns of sacred interaction. New values, new statuses, and new roles were evolving to give religious sanction to the old patterns. The result was an esoteric religious hierarchy. The religious leaders, both the "Men" and the ministers, were coming from the people rather than the old hereditary families who had been closely related to the gentry. Religion replaced the clan as the focus for the culture. The similarity of the story unfolded in the Bible and the past and present conditions of the crofters made the presage of the coming dissolution vivid. By the end of the period, dissension within the Church had become a significant factor and was paving the way for individual secession. The third period of the modern era was to witness more than a social and economic transformation; there was to be religious schism.

wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.

These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now was a spare-time pursuit. The Sgiathanach was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any marked movement into the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was being lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the "Men" became an official policy of a new church. The emotional approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium. Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

In 1951 the population stood at 1,094. There has been a slight shift from the rural areas to the village, but it can hardly be regarded as significant. For one thing, the 1951 figure included an unknown number of workers on the hydro-electric scheme. Then, too, it included children from the Outer Isles who attend school in Portree, not to mention the very large number of newcomers, teachers, government employees, shopkeepers, management personnel in the stores and banks, and tradesmen, to give only a few examples.

The trend toward religious conservatism continued in the fourth period. During the closing years of the preceding period, the Free Church attempted to modify her theology and polity. The old trend toward relaxing the rigor of Presbyterianism, in accordance with the feelings of the other dissenting denominations in Scotland in order to pave the way for union, was renewed by the passing of a Declaratory Act which stated that the Free Church does not teach and does not regard the Confession of Faith as teaching the foreordination of men to death (eternal damnation) irrespective of their sin. Further, that while the Gospel is the ordinary means of salvation, it does not follow that all who die in infancy are lost. The elders, the lay kirk officers, of Skye protested violently.[88] It was popery to make the Church the judge of spiritual affairs. More important, it threatened their prestige status, which had been sanctioned by the interpretation of the religious ethic. In several parishes the elders threatened to withdraw from

[88] The Free Presbyterian Church, History of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1893-1933 (Glasgow: H. Adshead and Son, 1933), pp. 96-130.

Communion, and when they were backed by a few dissenting ministers, schism gave rise to the Free Presbyterian Church. The first congregation of the new church was a Skye congregation.

In no small way the threatened disorganization of the culture and the suggested social disintegration at the end of the "Clearances" played a role in the acceptance of the Free Presbyterian Church. This situation, I suggest, created a need to reaffirm the religious sanction of the desirable features of the culture. Since the Church of Scotland minister in Waternish was jailed for inciting the crofters to stand up for their rights,[89] without adding any people to his congregation, the new schism must have been a reaffirmation of the religious focus for the culture.

The acceptance, however, was neither uniform nor immediate. There was, in fact, a religious and social upheaval.[90] In Glendale, a strong Free Church area and a neighborhood which required the presence of military troops to restore order, family ties and friendships were broken in the controversy over which church manifested the true religion. In Staffin and the Braes, also areas marked by the need for police protection, the same pattern was repeated. The experiences of one Church of Scotland minister over the years following the schism, led him to make a rather unusual statement for a man who became one of the foremost ministers in Scotland: "The

[89] Norman MacLean, Set Free, pp. 52-54.

[90] Ibid., pp. 148-212.

people of the Island must have had a premonition of the calamity that was befalling them when they resisted the coming of Presbyterianism with all their might."[91] For him, the form of religion which splits up communities, divides families, and breaks villages into fragments can scarcely be regarded as Christian. Over the years, however, the battle has been won by one church or the other, as in Glendale where the Free Presbyterian Church is the only kirk, or the battle scars have been forgotten.

Unions of the churches replaced the former tendency toward disruption. In 1901 the Free Church joined the United Presbyterian Church, and in 1929 the United Free Church joined the Church of Scotland. On both occasions there were ministers who refused to become a part of either united church, and people who were reluctant to join new congregations. In Kilmuir, for example, the Free Church congregation split. Some joined the Church of Scotland, while others remained true to their sect. Although all the churches on the island are similar in outlook and to the uninvolved observer their differences are unimportant, doctrinal differences have remained important to the people. Nevertheless, the common tradition of conservatism, standing in opposition to the increasing impingements of the outside world, has been the paramount factor in reinforcing the values of the people. I repeat, the culture has maintained continuity through religion.

[91] Ibid., p. 212.

crofting districts. Shops, schools, inns, and churches increased in numbers, but they have not clustered to form a village nucleus. In more recent years the county has tried to stimulate village growth by building houses at a few centers. Someday they may succeed in altering the settlement pattern.

As a consequence of the increasing integration of the Gaelic within the national scene, government regulations have expanded and have come to be enforceable by a local police. Government services too have increased in scope. Many of the traditional functions of the family and the local group are now functions of an ever increasing number of government employees. Nevertheless, the traditional statuses of the members of the group have persisted and social control has not been reduced in favor of action by the state.

The class structure has changed several times. It has oscillated between a leveling of socio-economic differentiation and a growing polarity of status. At present there is no local class structure beyond the old polarity of landed gentry and crofters. Those who fall between these groups are ranked on prestige values of long standing. Even though many of the intermediate group would be working or middle class if they lived elsewhere in Britain, on Skye personal factors play a more important role in determining prestige than socio-economic differences. Leadership and political power remain in the hands of the gentry.

If the foregoing material suggests that there is evidence on Skye for Redfield's concepts of disorganization

The religion of the Sgiathanach may also be regarded as the logical outcome of a movement which began two centuries ago when the all inclusive bonds of kinship and affection were replaced with tenets introduced from the wider contractual society. This movement, as we know, bore its first fruits over a hundred years ago. The people themselves turned from the ministers who were supporting symbols and values no longer meaningful to the crofters. They embraced the preachers of a dynamic gospel as a means of consolation in their distress. Thus, the religious pattern derived elsewhere and superimposed on the Sgiathanach has been refined with logic and vigor. It has become the one insurmountable barrier to assimilation with Great Britain. No less than four times religious schism has demonstrated the essential unchangeableness of their religion. The process has been carried on with such dedication and success that it now disturbs the unsympathetic laity and the clergy of the Church of Scotland no less than the resistance of the people to Presbyterianism did in the remote past.

We saw in Chapter IV how an understanding of the religious history of Skye is indispensible for the comprehension of the larger problem, the means by which the culture has maintained continuity. In Chapter V and again in Chapter VI we saw how this continuity has been preserved. We have at last come to the point at which we can ask why has there been continuity. The following analysis is concerned with the sanctions of the Presbyterian ethic, particularly as it affects the social structure, religious behavior, and the roles of the ministers and the religious laity in the

The Role of Religion on the Croft

As the prestige of the old people and the control of the family-head elders over the social activities of the people has persisted with religious sanction, the status of the father within the nuclear family has been reinforced by the religious expression of his role. As we know, the older inter-family patterns of economic cooperation have been disturbed by the changes stemming from the process of commercialization. This has not disturbed the position of the father as the source of authority and discipline. He continues to play a basic role in establishing the tempo of interaction within the home, the township, neighborhood, and community. He decides who will do the work and when. He determines in what social activities his wife and children will participate, always, of course, ultimately guided by the venerable old men. His status is confirmed at baptism, when he is judged, and it is commonly reaffirmed every day in the home. For the majority of crofters, though by no means all of any sect, the day begins with the saying of grace before breakfast and the returning of thanks after breakfast. The same pattern is repeated at the taking of any food, including a cup of tea. The form of grace may be used to cast light on the religious outlook of the Sgiathanach: "Gracious God, we have sinned against Thee, and are unworthy of Thy mercy; pardon our sins, and bless these mercies for our use, and help us to eat and drink to Thy glory, for Christ's sake. Amen."

In many homes breakfast is followed by family worship. The father begins with a blessing, a prayer on behalf of his family, and then leads the family in the singing of a few verses of psalm. Next he reads from Scripture, apologizing to the visitor because his Bible is not an English version, and comments on the meaning of the passage. He concludes with a prayer. If the morning worship has been omitted, he holds an evening service. Some crofters have family worship both morning and night. When the father is away, his wife or his eldest son conducts the worship. Religious devotion on Skye, then, is more than Sabbath church attendance and attendance at weekly prayer meetings.

The Role of Religion in Township, Neighborhood, and Village

I did not attempt to devise a socio-metric scale to determine the affiliation of members and adherents of the several churches in either Glendale, Kilmuir or Portree. The former disunity and conflicts which divided families, both nuclear and consanguineal, townships, neighborhoods, and the village stemmed from abandonment of traditional religious affiliation rather than from attachment to an established sect which happened to differ from the denomination of one's kinsman or neighbor. Today sectarian hostility is no longer prevalent among the people. The Sgiathanach only chaffs his neighbor in friendly sally and repartee, about his only slightly different sectarian views. They refer to each other's sect by nicknames. The Church of Scotland is the "Established Church." The

"elect" are predominantly newcomers and the elders are either members of the landed gentry or newcomers. I was rather amazed one day when a Skyewoman told me, "the 'Wee-Frees' and 'Seceders' are no better than the Mohemmedans giving gifts to idols," when they sent food to the manse for the minister's guests at the Communion. Over in Bracadale the custom is also losing its importance, except in the Free Presbyterian Church, and the fellowship meeting has been abandoned in the United Free Church because of the reluctance of the members to engage in public displays, either at Communions or at prayer meetings. The custom of visiting has entirely disappeared in Sleat and Strath. One of the ministers ascribed this to the isolation of the two parishes from the rest of the island and from each other. Certainly the Sgiathanach on the south end of the island seldom locks to Portree and the northern crofter hardly ever goes to Sleat, but this does not explain why people from the mainland will go to Bracadale, by-passing Strath.

The vitality of religion can over-ride considerations of family and friendship if a Sgiathanach deviates from the accepted norm. We may recall the young girl who stole church funds and was ostracized by her "people" and the whole community. Let us consider another example. Marriage vows, as we know, are held to be sacred on Skye. Divorce is all but unknown and separation is uncommon. To be precise there are four known cases of separation. Nevertheless, if a husband or wife were to break a taboo, it is expected that the offend would be cast out. Forgiveness is not compatible with a

and individualization, there is little, if any, reason to speak of secularization. Many of the existing features of the culture can only be understood when viewed from the perspective of the religious aspect. Certainly, the state church has been weakened by schism and rational practices have replaced superstitious rites and beliefs, but this has not produced a secular society. The religious patterns have reinforced the traditional culture, or those parts of it which were considered worth preserving, by giving the culture a suprasocial sanction.[93] Religion has bolstered the status values, especially those of the father in the family and the old men in the community. Religion has provided many of the occasions at which the people come together to find solidarity and security. Finally, religion has provided the focus for the culture. Although the factors of cultural change have led to modifications in the culture's content, there has been continuity. For a more complete understanding of how Skye has readapted to the higher level of socio-cultural organization and preserved its distinctiveness, I shall devote the remainder of the present study to an analysis of the contemporary culture.

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[93] After writing the above account, I discovered that Arthur Geddes, a geographer at Edinburgh University, has recently discussed some of the evidence for cultural continuity on the Isle of Lewis and Harris, one of the Outer Hebrides. Although he takes important notice of the all-pervading influence of religion in the lives of the Hebrideans, past and present, I feel he overlooks the function of religion as an agent for maintaining cultural continuity. See Arthur Geddes, The Isle of Lewis and Harris: A Study in British Community (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1955). A, [See 1: Geddes, this file--Analyst]

The crofters of northern Skye are dependent upon the village for the goods of the shopkeepers and the services of the tradesmen. Several times a week food vans from Portree, or from a national concern with headquarters in Portree, call at the crofts. Twice a week a shopping bus brings the men and women into the village from Glendale, and there is a daily bus service from Kilmuir. For the nearby neighborhoods, the village is of religious importance. If the crofters do not come into the village to go to church, the local ministers go out to serve them. They also send their children to school in Portree. Few of the crofters take an active part in the formal social life of the village, but for all who come in on business there is an opportunity for men to stop by at a pub to have a chat with friends and women to get together in a tea room for a bit of gossip. Then too, for many it is an occasion to visit kinsmen who have left the croft. Nevertheless, despite its functional importance, the village has remained something alien and apart for the crofter. Despite the bonds of friendship and kinship and mutual economic dependence, there is antagonism between the rural dweller and village resident.

Part of the crofter's hostility stems from the religious ethos. On at least one occasion, Portree has been described by a minister as being almost as wicked as Sodom and Gomarrah.[25] In the eyes of the majority of the clergy, the village contains the "synagogues of Satin" from which flow the poisons of

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[25] Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, pp. 128-129.

orality. For these reasons, among others, the crofters 369
k down on the villagers. As one man said, "The crofters 829
nk we all went to Hell long ago." In part the suspicion 771
distrust of the villager has grown from the attitude of 369
villager toward the crofter. 829

Many of the villagers not only look upon the crofters
narrow minded and bigoted but they resent the presence of
crofters on economic grounds. A few representative statements
l indicate their views. "The crofters always have their hand
." "They're aye wantin'. They want water, electricity,
ds, and all sorts of things, and they don't pay a copper
them." There is a foundation for these attitudes. The
ase "rich man, the government" has become a common saying
the island. The crofter has become accustomed to having
government pay f o r a large part of the cost of his
se, draining his land, and bringing in water and electricity
well as building roads and piers. Many have come to think
there is no end to the obligations of the government.
e was one man, for example, whose roof was leaking. Even
gh the house was his, crofters it will be remembered own
r homes, he reported it to his landlord, the Department
griculture. Three weeks later, when one of the officers
out to see him, the roof was still leaking. No, he did
see why he should fix it. "Let the government do it."
ive another example, in Kilmuir one night there was a
ussion about reeds in the grazing land. "We have reeds
he square mile," said one fellow, "the government should

CHAPTER VII

THE ISLANDERS' RELIGION

Synopsis

The strength and vitality of religion on the Isle of 771
Skye, and all along the West Coast of Scotland, has been an 182
outstanding characteristic of the culture for well over a
century. It is no less distinctive of the culture today
than the crofting system and the socio-economic way of life
which crofting embodies. Moreover, the religious patterns
not only reflect a continuity of culture in themselves,
but the religious aspect has provided the means by which
the culture, as an integrated whole, has been able to
maintain a genuine continuity. Here on the very fringe [795]
of Western Europe in one of the few remaining outposts of
the Gael, Calvinism, as interpreted by John Knox and Andrew
Melville, as refined by the Scottish Covenanters, and as
modified by the influence of the English Puritans in the
sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, stands as one of the
few examples of marginal intensity in Western Civilization.

Until the nineteenth century religion was an indomitable acculturating influence. A new code of ethics, morals, and behavior was superimposed on the old. As the influence of the traditional leaders declined, the scope of the

ministers increased. The church became the most powerful 771
institution in the Hebrides. In the nineteenth century the 182
pattern of religious expression gradually changed. Although
the acculturative process was still carried on, the approach
became negative in regards to many aspects of life. The [798]
realization that the old folk beliefs had not been stamped
out led to a renewed attack on all aspects of the culture
which showed the slightest taint of pagan or Catholic belief.
At the same time, conservatism became the underlying principle
in Presbyterian practice. The ministers and their congregations
were carried back to the persecution of the Covenanters under
the Stuart kings, back to the days of Knox, and back to the
very beginnings of Christianity. This conservatism has reinforced much of the religiously desirable fabric of the culture.
Change or compromise has become unthinkable for the majority.

Various interpretations of the present day religion
can be attempted. It has been characterized as "moribund
theology," a spurious movement wrongly equated with Calvinism
and no longer "en rapport with the mind of the twentieth
century," by one minister of the Church of Scotland.[1] This
reflects the view that the Highlanders' religion has been a
form of "black Presbyterianism."[2] Others are wont to write
of the "tyranny of religion" which has driven away the youth
and destroyed social life, except the art of conversation.[3]

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[1] M. E. M. MacDonald, "The Nerve of the Hebridean Problem," Scotland, No. 30 (Oct., 1953), pp. 66-68.

[2] Collier, The Crofting Problem, p. 54.

[3] Darling and Morley, "The Social Situation," The West Highland Survey, pt. VI, pp. 21-22.

efficacious. Amulets were still worn as charms.

175* 771 794 795

Even more important, religion was still intertwined with the structure of the clan. The ministers were said to be negligent, either afraid of or sympathetic with local sentiments, in their duty, by the evangelicals who waged an uncompromising hostility to the old folk culture which tied the people to the past.[91] It could hardly have been otherwise. The ministers were tacksmen; they were married to daughters of tacksmen, and their children married into tacksmen's families.[92] The chief or a cadet of the clan met with the minister and his elders, the lay kirk officers who were probably tacksmen, when a kirk session was held, and the chief enforced their decisions by his "irresistible authority."[93] Thus, the influence of clan brotherhood pervaded every aspect of the culture. There still was no room for two independent leaders. The people could not have lost toleration for differing faiths. Episcopal, Catholic, and Presbyterian families lived together without rupture. Religious fervor could have broken the clan. To see how the old and the new blended, let us turn to the life cycle.

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[91] John MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800 (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1951), pp. 2, 14-15, 50-55; and Gartmore, op. cit., pp. 340, 366-367.

[92] Scott, loc. cit.

[93] Martin, op. cit., p. 185

iritual independence, the Skyemen stood stoutly behind their 175
vine right kings who tried to modify the church in the 771
rection of Anglicanism. It was not until after Presbyterianism 79
l been replaced by Episcopacy that the Reformation reached
ve, and it was not until after the Glorious Revolution that
mmunion was celebrated in the Presbyterian form.[87] Even so,
required using the well worn trick of inviting the clan
efs to dinner on board ship and then arresting them to make
m agree to support the clergy and the discipline of the
formed kirk.[88] As late as 1700 the people had not shown any
the religious fervor which had ripped the Lowlands asunder.
Sgiathanach, although nominally converted from Catholicism,
apathetic to the slight differences between Episcopacy
Presbyterianism. Revolution and Restoration made little
ference. The ministers, who were hereditary, remained, and
e succeeded by their sons.[89] Catholic and pagan rituals
sisted. At the close of the seventeenth century, Christmas,
d Friday, Easter, and St. Michael's Day were still observed.[90]
y had been dropped from the Scots' calendar more than a
dred years before. The holy wells were still believed

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[87] Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesae Scoticane (new ed.; 8 vols.; nburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1928-1950), Vol. VII, p. 166; see o J. B. Craven, Records of the Dioceses of Argyll and the es, 1560-1860 (Kirkwall: Peace and Son, 1907); and Duncan Favish, Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1661 (2 vols.; blications of the Scottish Historical Society," Vols. VII-XXXVIII; Edingburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 3-1944).

[88] MacKenzie, op. cit., pp. 130-132.

[89] See, e.g., Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182; . VIII, pp. 683-624; and Craven, op. cit., pp. 46, 46-49.

[90] Martin, op. cit., p. 250.

Religion has done more to keep the Gaelic language 771 alive than any of the numerous outside agencies dedicated 191 to the preservation of the language, such as An Comunn 186 Gaidhealach, a national organization which sponsors a series 575 of local, regional, and national programs in an attempt to maintain and stimulate an interest in the Highlands and their songs and stories. Except in Portree and at Dunvegan, church 191 services are mostly conducted in Gaelic. The newcomer who 794 wishes to attend church services in the crofting areas, and he had better, must either learn Gaelic or be content with the few words the minister may speak in English for his benefit if the minister is aware of the presence of someone who does not "have the Gaelic." Some might feel that this is rude since most Skyemen are bi-lingual, but the crofter seems to think quicker in his own tongue. Many crofters' 871 children learn English only when they begin to attend school or pick it up from an older sibling who is going to school. Family worship is almost always in Gaelic, unless there is 782 a visitor. We have already seen that the family worship at the time of death is in Gaelic or in Gaelic and English. Again we have a parallel with Wales, in that Welsh has been mainly preserved through religion.[19]

Making Gaelic the language of their religion has, 191 however, led to several problems. It has weakened township 771 solidarity on occasion. There are many isolated townships 621 beyond the reach of a minister. In one of these remote

[19] Ibid., p. 129

glens a family, newcomers to Skye, prevailed on the local 191 school teacher to hold a Sabbath school for the children. 771 The local missionary objected. If they were going to have 621 Sabbath school, it should be in Gaelic. His prestige and control over the population secured his position. The children of the people who originated and organized the program were excluded because they did not "have the Gaelic."

Another problem which is beginning to stem from the 191 use of Gaelic as the language of religion is the difficulty 793 of securing a minister. Traditionally, it was an ideal to 183 send a son to study for the ministry. This ideal remains, 874 but in the last few years only one young man from Skye has shown a desire to become a minister. Indeed, the majority of ministers on Skye are not Skyemen. I believe the only minister who serves his own neighborhood, the neighborhood in which he was born and raised, is the Free Presbyterian minister in Glendale. It is becoming more and more difficult to fill charges as they go vacant. Each year several Highland charges are changed from "Gaelic essential" to "Gaelic preferred." If we go beyond the role 121 of religion as it orders human relationships, through its 771 more formal aspects, and consider the influence of religion 626 on the secular behavior of the Sgiathanach, we can come 178 closer to an understanding of why the youth are slowly turning away. At the same time we shall be able to round out our picture of the expression given to the Presbyterian ethic on Skye.

The man who seeks sensory pleasures and finds enjoyme mundane recreation is believed to be spiritually un- enlightened. It seems almost an anticlimax to add th social life is restricted.

Beyond the Highlands and, indeed, within the H in certain prosperous areas, where poverty has not be a factor of such importance that it requires religiou sanction, the Church of Scotland has endeavored to fi room within the church for recreational activities, e pecially for the youth. As in America, the church fe a responsibility to the youth which requires a combina of religion and recreation if the citizens of the comm are to be well-rounded adults. Youth programs and you clubs, young adult groups, and social circles for the men and women are an essential part of church work. I an organizational sense, the Church of Scotland on Sky has, at the most, a Woman's Guild which meets once a m to hear a lecture on a topic [illegible]n as missionary work i India, and which holds an occasional sale of work to r the church debt or buy the minister an electric tea ko to keep in his vestry; and a choir, which meets once a for rehearsal. It is, as I have said before, not the all policy of the church which determines the activiti in which the people participate or which they reject. elders are the prime movers. Were the youth in Kilmui anyone under thirty, instead of anyone under forty, the control of the aged might not be as strong as it is. I

control of the "elect" crofters. They, are the "elect," 796
and their status is independent of the control of the vener- 565
able old men. 626 554

Summary

Whereas the culture of the Sgiathanach was oriented 771
around the clan system in the remote past and was intelli- [178]
gible only by an awareness of the all-pervasive influence
of the clan, today congregational religion provides the
focus for the culture. If we are to understand the Sgiathanach [121]
we must fathom his religion, that is, the interpretation
which he has given to Calvinism. Moreover, this highly 182
integrated and systematized aspect of his culture has pro- 771
vided the means for preserving cultural continuity. Economics
and social organization aid us in recognizing how cultural
continuity has been maintained. Religion puts at our finger
tips the how and the why.

The basic status values have held good because religion 771
has sanctioned them. The old men of the neighborhood have 554
been successful in sustaining their statuses and habits 183 626
through their position in the esoteric religious hierarchy.
By holding the father responsible for the spiritual welfare [593]
of his family, and judging a man's spiritual enlightenment
on his renunciation of mundane pleasures as well as his
knowledge of religious tenets, the elders exercise judicial
and authoritarian functions. At the same time, the status [593]
of the father within the family is strengthened. After a

man is no longer concerned with the necessity of having his 771
children baptized, the venerable old men, the family-head 554
elders, prolong their social control by sitting in judgment 183 626
on those who seek salvation. The strength of age controls [178]
is indicated by the continued ability of the elders to resist
all attempts to introduce secular innovations to the crofting
neighborhoods. Even in Portree the majority of the people
are under the watchful eyes of the old men.

Many of the meaningful patterns of interaction are 771
religious. The rites of passage function to augment social 182
control, restore disturbed equilibriums, and establish new 626
ascribed statuses. The rites of intensification, including
those associated with death, function to restore disturbed
patterns of interaction in the family, nuclear and extended,
and the larger social groups and to establish meaningful
relationships when large congregations gather for the
celebration of communion. Religion for the majority is not 771
merely dependent on attending church on the Sabbath and [782]
attending Wednesday night prayer meetings. Every day of
the week begins with a prayer and ends with family worship.
All social activity outside the home is ideally limited to [52]
the church, and the church is never used for mundane activity.
Only in Portree are there a number of social activities to [369]
tempt the people. Kilmuir has no more than a Crofters' [575]
Club for men, and Glendale has no social activities, unless
one would include the annual meeting of the share holders
in the farm.

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else the spouse is likely to lose status. 626 684

The most powerful of all agents for social control are 626
the old men of the neighborhood. Through their position in 882
the church, a religious sanction for their prestige status, [794]
they enforce conformity to the norms of behavior which religion has sanctioned either positively or negatively. No one, nor any group, has been successful in questioning the right of these venerable men to maintain their habits and statuses which have been preserved over the generations. The baptism of a man's children and his own salvation depends on acceptance of the authority of the elders, for they will be his judges.

As far as the contemporary scene is concerned, there 182
is no anomie. The content of the culture has been greatly 178
modified, but the form, the underlying distinctive pattern, has been preserved. We are dealing with a single tradition in which the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them have remained common and clear. This is all the more striking because there have been periods in which cultural and social disintegration threatened to overwhelm the Sgiathanach. This brings us back to the role of religion in preserving cultural continuity.

Loomis and Beegle have employed Durkheim's theory to 171
analyze the growth and spread of fundamentalist religious 182
sects in contemporary United States.[16] They conclude: "It 771
is no mere coincidence that various types of emotional 786
religious sects are now among the most rapidly expanding 781

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[16] Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 401-407.

religious groups." As a result of urbanization almost all 171
rural areas have experienced the pangs of social mobility and 182
few have escaped unscathed from a clash with the economic 771
forces which impinge from the outside. This predisposes the 786
people to the appeal of an emotional religion, revivalism. 781
Frequently, the sect becomes uncompromising and rejects the
outside world in an attempt to bolster group security. The
sequence of events on Skye enables me to add that the sect
can also reject a great deal of the former content of the
culture. Be that as it may, the authors show how emotional [571]
religious movements restore or replace meaningful patterns
of interaction among groups whose social systems have deteri-
orated. Revivalism is a counter agent for anomie.

The first period of social and cultural disequilibrium 175
which the Sgiathanach experienced may be placed in the first 178
half of the nineteenth century, with a climax around 1840. 771
To paraphrase Loomis and Beegle, it was no mere coincidence 786
that an emotional religious movement should have appeared and 182
found so many converts. The closing years of the eighteenth
century had witnessed numerous changes in the content of the
culture and the collapse of the old social heirarchy. While
these events doubtlessly had an influence on all levels of
the society, it was not until the turn of the century that
they broke forth upon the masses. Within a decade a revival
had reached effective proportions. This was a time of estate
reorganization. The tacksmen, the traditional leaders, were
quickly disappearing. The runrig farm was being abolished.
Sheep were beginning to replace men in one parish (Bracadale).

Although asceticism, epitomized in Sabbatarianism, 771 785 182 is a marked characteristic of the expression of the Presbyterian ethic, it is not completely negative. It is one of the means for sustaining cultural continuity. Religion has centered on the home and family. It has preserved the Gaelic. There have been significant changes [178] in the content of the culture, but by using asceticism as an observable test of spiritual enlightenment the limitations of the socio-economic life have been sanctioned. The form, the basic configuration, of the culture is still recognizable.

that the clan ceased to provide a focus for the culture almost 178 two centuries ago, the reader may ask how can a culture without 182 a focus find continuity, how can a culture without a central 614 theme, something around which to orient itself, achieve integration? Religion provides the answer. Congregational religion [771] has taken the place of the clan.

The acceptance of the new religious focus curtailed 178 many traits and complexes characteristic of the old culture. 182 This is why the older folktales, songs and superstitions, the 771 festive celebrations held at times of birth, baptism, marriage, and death, the traditional social patterns of visiting, and all frivolous activities were abandoned or modified. In a time of acute distress the Sgiathanach turned to religion as a means of consolation. His religion required circumspect behavior. Perhaps, the sheer impossibility of supporting the traditional forms of social interaction had forced a change in cultural content when the religious leaders placed these forms under censure. I have suggested that religion did no more than sanction poverty. This much is certain: religion provided the means for the culture to maintain its continued distinctiveness. The Scots of the Presbyterian image of the days of Knox, of [795] the times of the Covenanters, and the year of the Glorious Revolution continue to exert their influence on the Sgiathanach. While the ministers and the venerable old men of the laity stamped out all practices which they considered pagan or Catholic, as well as modifying the social aspect of the culture, the process was not completely negative. The religious expression

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sanctioned the qualities which had given the people their 178 182 771 characteristic strength of character.

The churches of Skye made conservatism an official policy in 1843, and in 1892 reaffirmed this policy. For well over 100 years religion has had a strength and vitality which has enabled the Skyeman to pass through times of extreme distress, not to mention chronic economic deficiencies. Among 182 559 the most important religious sanctions are those which reinforce 771 the status values of the culture. The father's status in the 593 nuclear family was reaffirmed at a time when his socio-economic importance was declining. He has been held responsible for the spiritual welfare of his wife and children. The prestige 182 559 of the old men, the family-head elders, and their control over 771 the neighborhood group was similarly bolstered by making them 888 the judges of a man's spiritual enlightenment. Spiritual enlightenment is weighed on a scale which will not balance unless a person's religious knowledge is matched by conformity to the ways the old men think a man should behave. Again we 182 are not dealing with a completely negative attitude. In the 771 [187] place of frivolous amusements, religion has offered highly emotional, spiritual patterns of behavior. Religion has pre- [191] served the Gaelic language by using it in formal worship and within the home for family worship. In these and other ways religion has indeed enabled the culture to achieve a reorientation and maintain its continuity.

How similar Skye is to the Old Order Amish in this respect.[3]

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[3]Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

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Both have remained devoted to the old tradition which is 182 epitomized by their religion. Further, they are each bound 771 together by a common language and vocation and by strong ties of consanguinity and affinity. Moreover, the Sgiathanach [184] and the Amish have similarly rejected the deviant. On Skye [167] emigration has affected all levels of social organization, the conjugal family, the extended family, the township, the neighborhood and village, and the community. Still the Amish and the Skyemen have maintained social and cultural integration. Standing in a contrasting position is the town of Landaff, New Hampshire.[4] Although Skye and Landaff have experienced similar trends, including an original ecological adaptation, disturbance resulting from population pressure, an unsuccessful attempt to meet the crisis through commercialization, and a chronic high rate of emigration, especially by the youth, Landaff has been described as an example of social instability and cultural disintegration.[5] The farmer of Landaff remained only as long as his interests were compatible with those of his neighbors, and local opportunities existed to satisfy his ambitions. He had no attachment for the land to offset the inadequacies of persistent economic limitations. He abandoned the associations which had supported the community by giving the group a sense of security.

Like European peasants in general the Skye crofter has lost his former self-sufficiency and political autonomy, but he has retained a strong attachment for the land and its

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[4]MacLeish and Young, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Landaff, New Hampshire.

[5]Ibid., pp. 113-117

We know these and the other changes of this period. Significantly, 175
however, there was no simple correlation of revivalism and 178
population change. The Revival began during a time of population 182
growth and emigration; it reached effective proportions during 771
a period when emigration seems to have almost stopped; and it 786
found its culmination during years marked by destitution and the beginning of depopulation. No purpose will be served by repeating what I have already said about the nature of the changes which accompanied the coming of the dynamic, evangelical message. It is sufficient to emphasize that the ministers and the Men reinforced the desirable fabric of the culture and gave the culture a new focus.

The second period of anomie on Skye is less well marked. It appeared at the end of the "Clearances." Again destitution gripped the island. Although the vital, emotional religion had enabled the people to bear the hardships of the "Clearances" without overt resistance, they now openly defied the landlords and the state. More than a series of government commissions and committees came to Skye. A still more intense religion loomed on the horizon to reaffirm the focus of the culture. Once again it was no mere coincidence that the new church should have found ready acceptance by the people in the areas of greatest unrest, the areas which required the presence of police and Royal Marines. It was a fact of no little significance that the new denomination should have been founded on the Isle of Skye, the area of greatest unrest in all the Highlands.

Whatever signs there were of social or cultural dis- 175
organization, or threatened disintegration, in the nineteenth 178
century they have disappeared. Steward's theory that folk 182
societies do not entirely disappear but are rather modified 771
by way of a readaptation to the higher level of socio-cultural 786
organization of which they become a part is borne out by the 121
evidence from the Isle of Skye.[17] At the same time, on the basis of events in the culture history of the Sgiathanach, I would qualify his theory by introducing a new condition. Isolated, relatively simple, kinship oriented societies and cultures which must achieve a reintegration if they are to preserve their continuity readapt, not only to the higher socio-cultural level, but also to the older way of life.

In conclusion, I regard Skye as a community which has 178
maintained a continuity of culture despite marked population 182
change. The continued distinctiveness has been made possible [161]
by a reintegration of the culture and a restoration of the [571]
network of relationships which make for harmonious living together. As in any socio-cultural group which has passed through periods of threatened disintegration, the joints of repair may be weak. Conflicts are tending to appear. The crofter, who has refused to fully adapt to commercialism, is seasonally faced with a variety and succession of tasks which no agriculturalist in the wider society would tolerate. There is the desire of the youth, who are too few in numbers to form a sodality, for a share in the mundane pleasures of

[17] Steward, Area Research, p. 111; see also Wagley and Harris, op. cit., p. 441.

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773 MYTHOLOGY--cosmogony (e.g., theories and accounts of the creation of the world and of man); mythical epochs (e.g., golden age, age of the gods, age of animals); cataclysms (e.g., mythical floods and conflagrations); culture myths (e.g., accounts of a culture hero, mythical explanations of culture traits); myths about the origin of evil and death; nature myths; totemic myths; theogonic myths; ancestor myths; etc. For texts of myths see 539. See also:
Historical traditions 173

175 earth shone, The wave shone on the shore; The deer of
796 the mountain steep shone. . . ."[1]
533 "The Christ Child's Lullaby" is a lovely carol narrat-
175 ing the Christmas tale. Legend tells that it was sung by
796 'Mary-Mother' herself to an unwanted stepchild lost on the moors, where his stepmother found him in the arms
533 of Mary, who sang as she lulled him. The stepmother
773 cherished this song with the lost child, henceforth loved as her own.[2] The poetry of the Gael, like the odes of Greece and the Psalms of the Hebrews, is luminous with the vision of mountains, land and sea, reflecting a light within that of sun or moon, and sonorous with the rhythm of wave, tide and season which are "of all ages and to all time,
[181] *gach linn gu brath*". Its adoration is full of nature and of humanity, yet it soars above mere nature worship or anthropomorphism.

175 While Christmas, more than any, was a festival of
796 leisure, others were closely linked to labour. The festival dates of Candlemas or Lent, of Saint Bride's, Saint Patrick's or Lady Day, marked the stages of spring's coming and the duties they brought. Summer came in at Beltane—held in May, though the word included other dates connected with spring fire; and on St. John's Day

113 [1] Donald Macdonald, M.A., MS. essay for the Royal Scot. Geog. Society.
[2] A short version is published in the *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. A translator may choose from its 29 stanzas—though all are true to the Gospel and worth translation. Of the simple choral variant of the air (as published) Fr. Allan Macdonald told Miss Amy Murray his grief that it had superseded the melodic variety given to the Lullaby when sung by one singer at a time (*Celtic Review*, 1905–6). From three variants noted from oral singing one can arrange a melodic sequence. To pass from a major variant (set to stanzas on Jesus's mother, the shepherds and the 'kings') to minor variants (set to the tale of Herod's evil deeds) restores much of the dramatic intensity of this noble carol. Only deep feeling for the Gospels could create and maintain, without written help, so full a version of the words and variety of associated melody. (The complete words, *Taladh Chriosta*, are in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, p. 7.)

175 As recorded by Carswell (and Martin), this prayer,
226 after calling upon the Trinity, tells that the Three-in-One,
788 ever living, guided Clan Israel through the Red Sea,
brought Jonah to land from the belly of the great ocean
• 773 beast, and led Paul and his companions from the torment
of the sea; after these three stanzas it closes with a general
supplication. As heard by Carmichael three centuries after
Carswell, the first three stanzas are identical, but they are
[539] followed by the culmination. Recalling the hour "when
the storm poured on the Sea of Galilee . . .", the poem
goes on, "Be Thou, King of the elements, seated at our
helm, And lead us in peace to our voyage's end. . . ."
It is significant that the Reformation Liturgy includes the
story of Clan Israel's flight from their enemy whose
drowning forms the climax of the tale, and the absurd
miracle of the whale—a late interpolation in the con-
vincing original Hebrew poem on Jonah's voyage,[1]—but
that it omits the Christian climax, of the storm allayed by
Christ, the Helmsman of peace.

[539] Another fishers' rune (No. 120) concludes, "To whom
trembles the voice of the wind? To whom become tranquil
strait and ocean? To Jesus Christ, Chief of each saint,
Son of Mary, Root of Victory." These blessings, though
they refer to the Old Testament, dwell lovingly on the New.
Their thought is of the fishermen friends, Peter, Andrew
and John, of the Baptist and of Christ's mother, of Saint
Martin and later apostles to the Gael, and the Archangels,
and of Christ, Rock of rocks (*Carraig Ail*), and the Trinity.
226 These bring strength in danger, peace after strife with the
778 elements, remembrance of the poor, and fellowship to the
crews. Peace and strength pervade the "Dawn Prayer of

[1] R. G. Moulton, *Modern Reader's Bible* (reissue, 1925, pp. 1423-1424; cf. Note to Matt. xii. 40, p. 1696).

175 widowed mother and her family, working in farm and town-
771 ship, sending merriment at Christmas, and comforting
776 sorrow at Easter or All Souls. And even as He had told the
Disciples to heal by faith, so, they thought, had He bidden
them. Who could have told the people, in their ignorance,
that in a later age they would suffer for this faith?

175 Thus upon the Lessons read in church (or out of doors)
771 and cherished as the root and stock of faith, there were
grafted three types of native shoot. These were the para-
78 phrases, the meditations or commentaries, and the parables
538 or legends. The paraphrases should need no justification
here, in so far as the four Gospels are each incomplete and
complementary—the Celtic clergy may have known the
fragments of a fifth; these 'fulfilled' the older Law and
the Prophets. Of the meditations, few would be censured
by a Protestant or Catholic theologian on points on which
both would agree; points of disagreement in the medita-
tions hardly concerned them. (Cf. in the Rev. Allan Mac-
donald's collection, "Thoughts on Death", *Smaointean
air a' Bhas*, or *Carmina*, No. 7, and many more.) As a
theologian might criticise the parables, legends or marginal
tales of which so many were told in medieval Christendom,
a word should be said of these.

771 Legends were told of the appearance of Saints to be-
lievers, such as that of "The Christ-Child's Lullaby", and
• 773 of the life of the Holy family. The Gaelic sense of parable
was strong (*Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes, *Caim*). In these legends
was expressed what the people themselves would have felt
and thought in joy or suffering. Legitimately, a preacher
suggests a motive or circumstance to bridge the gap in a
Bible record; the people did the same. When reverently
retold, some suggested circumstance would in time grow
to be a legend taking a place close to the Gospel story. A

771 single example may be given; so far as I know, it is un-
• 773 recorded. I learned it in South Uist, where Catholic and
Protestant mingle in tolerance and sympathy; it had been
[125] told by an old woman, a Catholic, to a young neighbour, a
[795] Protestant fisherman's son, later a minister.[1]

The story takes place after the Crucifixion. It may be
539 remembered that in the Gospels not a word is said of Jesus's
771 mother after His farewell to her from the Cross (John,
xix. 26). He—or she—who first conceived the legend may
have asked, would not a mother visit the tomb of the son
she had just lost? And surely she who at His birth had
cried, "My soul magnifies the Lord . . . my Saviour",
would be the first to seek Him out after His death? The
legend tells that, on the second day of the Entombment,
Mary, Jesus's mother, in an agony of mourning and sus-
pense, visited the tomb of her son, calling upon Him with
many an endearing name. From the tomb He answered
that she would be consoled, for He would arise. And He
told her that because of the depth of her love, of all forms
of human love a mother's would be accounted the highest
for ever after.

771 The Gael had fused the grandeur of the Old Testament
538 with the hope and humanity of the New; for them the
light of dawn on sea and snow awoke the light within. A
[788] last example is taken from two fragments forming part of
a single theme, perhaps of one original poem.[2] Chanted

[113] [1] It is interesting to compare this quiet legend with the late Roman (and Episcopalian) "Apostles' Creed", apparently based on the vivid story in the *Gospel of Bartholomew*: after Christ "was crucified, dead, and buried, He descended into hell" (hades). Montagu R. James (translator), *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 1924.

[2] *Carmina Gadelica*, 201, 197. No translation can be perfect, and Carmichael offers alternatives: line 6, "*Ti nan dul*, Being of life", or "of the elements"; l. 13, "light on the plain" or "the land", *fearann*. The last line is intimate and simple: "The hour (or era) God's Son came in (among us)," a *steach*, as into a dwelling.

888 be given by ear and learning come by heart. Hence elder
538 were the holders of an inheritance of treasures which mus
be sought from them or be lost for ever. But to be trans
mitted, the word must remain alive in the mind. Thu
both the faculty of memory and the fruit it bore in a
elder's mind brought respect, even veneration. Accurac
in retelling is still immensely valued, but so, too, wer
thoughtful commentary and poetic enrichment. Respec
for elders, though general, was not given blindly, bu
personally and by choice.

888 As handed down, the Fifth Commandment runs
771 "Honour thy parents and hold them in loving regard"
(*Striochd dha do pharantan 's thoir speis dhaibh*).[1] Th
562 community was pervaded by the Christian concept of
Holy Family, rather than by that of a patriarchate. Thi
concept took root from the first missions to the Celti
community, with which it harmonised and which forme
fertile ground for this Christian seed. Hence there wa
no general assertion of paternal, still less of patriarchal
authority at the expense of youth. Where equal honou
is due to both parents, the mother finds equal duty an
regard with the father. And although the father's hom
is close at hand while the mother's may be a little distanc
away, her parents are likely to be the younger and th
more active and helpful to their grandchildren, and th
influence of all four grandparents fairly balanced.

[184] The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are name
in a hymn of the Lews, sung when going up with the flock
• 773 and herds to the shielings; even this may be a Presbyteria
[177] adaptation (*Carmina*). But until the overwhelming weigh
[175]

[1] Rev. Allan Macdonald, p. 62, *Na Fainteau*. The omission of the Mosai paternal precedence may be a courtesy to motherhood implying equality i parenthood.

ef in a God who punishes iniquity "unto the third and 586
th generation." 771
626

In one family the wife transgressed by committing 684
tery, albeit a rare sin. Her husband was one of the 794
ct" and a deacon in the Free Church. Fully aware of 626
fact that his wife had remained away from Skye until
r her child was born, he took her back. He was older
she and devoted to her. The story could not be covered
n Skye, where the elders have their thumbs on the pulse
he congregation. The elders summoned him before the
session. After he admitted he knew all the details and
fact that his sister-in-law had taken the child, they
ared him to be excommunicate. The control of the elders
till characterized by austerity and severity toward the
y and ungodly alike. What hope has a Sgiathanach once 771
as been eternally denied salvation? Perhaps, someday 794
ill again receive a visitation from the Holy Spirit
experience a saving change. Although no longer entitled
he benefits of the church, he continues to attend, as an
rent. One may ask, what was the reaction of the people
his punishment? A few Church of Scotland people, feel
the elders might have tempered their decision. As one
, "They thought only of Moses on Mount Sinai and forgot
s on Calvary." Most of the people, however, including
in the Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church, either
oved the action taken or, at least, would not question
judgment of the elders.

182 group.[6] He has maintained cultural integration and continuity.
771 At the same time his conservative religion has not gone quite as far as the Amish Order.[7] The Sgiathanach has rejected only those patterns which would disturb the equilibrium of life in
[161] the neighborhood. The penalty for his failure to completely adjust is depopulation; others, like the people of Yap and the Aleuts, are paying a similar penalty.[8]

Further Evidence for Cultural Continuity

121 Various approaches to the problem of cultural continuity can be attempted in addition to the historical approach which has formed the point of departure for my study. The most obvious would be a comparative study of two basically similar people, the Welsh and the Irish. In the chapter entitled "The Setting" and throughout this study I have called attention to the similarities between the Skyeman, the Welshman,[9] and the Irishman.[10] In a host of cultural features the three are strikingly identical. Some of these common patterns may be remembered, for instance, the alien nature of nucleated villages, the strong patrilineal emphasis, the importance of the old men, and a pastoral

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[6] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 282, 284; and Young, Sociology, p. 230.

[7] Kollmorgen, op. cit., p. 1.

[8] Keesing, The South Seas in the Modern World, pp. 52-53; Furnas, The Anatomy of Paradise, p. 382; and Berreman, "An Aleutian Village," American Anthropologist, LVII, No. 1, pp.49-59.

[9] Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside.

[10] Arensberg, The Irish Countryman; and Arensberg and Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland.

888 771 562 [184] [773] [177] [175] 773 776

of the Old Testament made itself felt, as in Lewis-and-Harris in the nineteenth century, this narrower patriarchal example hardly affected thought.[1] Rooted in a wider form of family than a patriarchate, and reverencing a Holy Family and all fellowship, Gaelic society honoured age and parenthood for their inheritance, and childhood and youth for their promise.

Such ideals of human relationship led to the veneration of the Saints of the Gospels and of later history, and also of those of legend, especially Bride. Dedications to Bride or 'Bridget' are widespread from Wales to the Lews; yet her memory has been all but lost in Britain, except in the Isles. Carmichael wrote that "Bride and her services" are dear to the hearts of the people. She is called "Bride of the white feet . . . of calmness . . . of the kine; woman-comrade . . . and woman-helper . . ." "I am in the keeping of my Saint Mary: My companion beloved is Bride" (*Carmina*, Nos. 70-71; 263-264). As joy, steadfastness and attainment are generally linked to one notable stage in the life of each 'holy companion', the example, aid and fellowship of each saint in turn was especially sought, at a corresponding stage or crisis of one's own life.

776 171 174

The Gael's veneration for saintly men and women was shared by Catholic peasantry throughout Christendom; but its special quality seems to have been closeness of

[614] [621]

[1] Clanship has repeatedly been said to be 'patriarchal', as an ideal and a system. A different conclusion, that community is the root of clanship (even in its political forms), may come as a surprise. The English or Lowland reader has had access only to the writings of strangers such as Burt. Not knowing Gaelic, these derived their information from Highland speakers of English who, deliberately or unconsciously, were biased by ranking as chief or gentry, and not unnaturally explained their position as patriarchal. Thus strangers ignored the co-parental life of farm-groups and townships, economically humble but spiritually rich, as the root of a clan-community.

181 864 [771] [869] [773]

gentle frankness, as there is for reticence.[1] But since Augustine, orthodox religion, Catholic and Protestant, has overstressed and misunderstood the folk-lore of 'the Fall'—originally, it seems, a legend of fertility and fulfilment! In part as a result of the teaching of the doctrine of the 'Fall', there has arisen an attitude to parenthood which falls short of rational understanding and reverence for human life.[2] If fact be the best guard against superstitious fancy, and if sensibility and tact can soften the first shock of adolescence, then the Gael knew wisdom.

121 121 771 181

Returning to the main theme, it is clear that primitive religion and folk-lore alike show misunderstandings of cause and effect, and of the action of 'mind' on 'body' and 'matter'. What are facts to faith may be symbols to science; yet if these symbols prefigure truth, they may outlast the present stage of scientific recognition. Gaelic belief and practice show a recognition of communal as well as individual spirituality; of the depth of consciousness below its upper surface, and its upwelling power; and of the visible world without, in all its beauty, as a gate

[533]

[1] Needless to say, Gaelic verse has its moments of coarse freedom like that of any tongue. Of the lively lilts (*puirt-a-beul*) sung when there is no piper or fiddler to play for dancing, most of the words are delightful, but a few are not. A rather 'drinky' dissolute fellow—a small contractor on one of the Isles whose apprenticeship in the cities had not improved his character—once quoted a coarse jingle to me, only to see little amusement at his song and some contempt for its singer. He excused himself by saying, "It's rough . . . it's rough—but it's not dirty"! His excuse sums up the cruder expressions of animal spirits found in Gaelic jingles. One may adapt it as "Sometimes coarse, but rarely or never vicious".

[2] A. Geddes, "The Origin of Sin in Genesis and a Missing Legend", *Hibbert J.* vol. 44, Nos. 1 and 3, 1945-46. Cf. *The Legends of Creation: an Anthropo-Geographical Interpretation of Genesis*, i-iii (with map); *Man*, vol. 45 (104), 1945.

The Churches have given attention to the second chapter of Genesis, at the expense of the first. Gaelic spiritual tradition seems to have been singularly unwarped by such confused mythology, and to have held firmly to the first chapter, in its noble simplicity.

775

775 ESCHATOLOGY--conception of the survival of the soul; career of the soul after death (e.g., mode of departure from the body, temporary sojourn near place of death, indefinite sojourn as a disembodied soul or ghost, journey to a realm of the dead); notions about ghosts, specters, apparitions, and phantoms (e.g., shape, substance, propensities); behavior of departed souls or ghosts (e.g., haunting of houses and cemeteries, visitations); spiritualistic beliefs; conception of a realm of the dead (e.g., place, mode of life, rewards and punishment); duration of afterlife; belief in immortality; ideas of transmigration and reincarnation; conception of the survival of the body (e.g., resurrection); etc. See also:

Belief in witches, vampires, and werewolves. . 784
Cult of the dead 769
Communication with spirits 787
Notion of death and rebirth in initiation ceremonies 881

eternity. If he was one of the "elect," he will enjoy eternal 763
life. If he was not one of these venerable old men and women, 554 775
he can expect to suffer eternal damnation. Although baptism 851
is a sacrament and removes original sin, it is only the initial 783
step in the direction of salvation, which election alone confirms. Neither the minister nor any member of the bereaved 764
family offers a prayer. "What more can you do than bury him," 793
one woman asked. An old man said, "They are just as well 782
remembered without praying for them." In a community which is dominated by the old people, and in the crofting neighborhoods where so many of the crofters are very old, death can be expected to disturb the equilibrium of social interaction. In Glendale during November and December of 1953 funeral processions made their way through the glen no less than nine times. The function of the minister is to restore the dis- 793
turbed patterns, both in the family and in the neighborhood 182
(or village). All work stops in the township for three days from the time of death. Some of the cosmopolitans of the 369
village, seeking to justify their deviating behavior, assert 824
that the lazy crofter looks forward to a funeral because it means three days of idleness. In the village, of course, it 369
is no longer possible to bring daily life to a standstill because the villagers serve a wide area. The "people" of the deceased do stop work and close their shops. On the day of the funeral all blinds are drawn until after the procession has passed.

As he would if there were illness in the family, the 793
minister calls on the bereaved family and leads them in family 764

the Outer Isles, an area of recent depopulation, there are 888
enough youth to resist the dictates of their elders.[25] If 561
they cannot have a dance in a hall, they hold their dance 676
on a plank bridge. In Kilmuir the crofters are looking forward to "Effectual Calling." To defy the elders, or allow their children to run counter to the wishes of the elders, would mean a loss of all hope for salvation.

For the majority of crofters, any form of amusement 785
is objectionable, but there are slight differences among 795
the affiliates of the several sects. The Church of Scotland is the most lenient. For adherents, concerts, film shows and similar organized forms of entertainment may be admissible, especially if they are held outside the neighborhood. There 546
is a "picture bus" from Kilmuir to Portree on Wednesday and 366
Saturday night. Sports activities are often considered 526
as wholesome outlets for the youth. Some of the ministers, feel the lack of social contact with their people and believe they might do some good by taking part in life outside the pulpit. The Church of Scotland minister in Kilmuir occasionally attends the Crofters' Club, the only secular activity admitted in the neighborhood. Significantly, Free Church opinion, although the voice of a minority, has prohibited the playing of pipes and recitals of the Gaelic Choir at the annual agricultural show. The Church of Scotland minister in Sleat has taken a hand in the village hall. Unorganized dances are condemned. This is not because dancing 535

[25] Darling and Morley, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 21-24.

776

776 SPIRITS AND GODS--conception of supernatural beings of a higher order than disembodied souls; indications of their genetic relationship to ghosts; prevalent types of supernatural beings (e.g., guardian and familiar spirits, tutelary divinities, tribal gods, nature spirits and gods, angels, animal and totemic divinities, fairies and sprites, demons, mythical monsters, deified heroes and saints, divine tricksters, occupational or functional deities, creator gods, rulers of the spirit world, high god or supreme being); attributes of individual deities and of categories of divine beings (e.g., name, sex, form, character, powers, functions, symbols); hierarchical arrangement (e.g., polytheistic pantheon, dualism, henotheism, monotheism); etc. See also:

Totemic beliefs associated with kin groups . . . 61 Hero worship 769
Religious practices 78

88 (in Gaelic) by a housewife in a Catholic isle, as our friend-
82 ship matured. It had been said nightly at her fire by her
61 father-in-law until his death (not long before), which had
59 come after that of his wife. " I smoo'r the fire tonight,
As Mary's Son smoo'red. Be it well with house and fire;
Be it well with all our household. Who are on this floor?
Peter and Paul. Who are on watch tonight? Light-white
Mary and her Son." Thus God's voice taught, And the
Angel spoke: 'The Angel at my house door, Until the clear
day come tomorrow. Amen." As this variant shows,
memory still lives in the Isles.[1]

In these runes, the key to the words " as Mary's Son
988 and as Mary did, in their day " is the example of filial duty,
533 of wifely and motherly care. In spite of lapses to 'Mario-
572 latry' during periods of decadence in the Roman Church,
999 the virtual banishment of Christ's mother from Protestant-
ism has led to a loss deeper than Presbyterian Scotland has
yet realized. Her name was a daily reminder, both of a
woman's part in the spiritual life of the home, and of a son's
self-discipline and affection: in a word, of mutual love.

For wool, the sheep were blessed, as in the " Clipping
988 Blessing ". These were blessings of the loom and of
232 carding and weaving; and after neighbourly fulling or
284 'walking' of the finished web, came its consecration.
461 As the work was solitary and communal in turn, so the
127 prayer. Carmichael's own fine prose translations should be
538 studied (*Carmina*, vol. i, Nos. 108-113; cf. vol. iv, pp.
88-99). Yet, those being available, we quote rhythmic

[1] Cf. Rev. Allan Macdonald, *Comh-chruinneachadh*, p. 107; *Carmina* (Nos. 84-87, 324-326); and N. Kennedy-Fraser, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. ii, p. 31. Sacred lore is not to be picked up lightly by a stranger. It was only upon the second of my prolonged stays under her hospitable roof that this good woman would admit and impart her knowledge, treasured in the secret places of her heart.

175 in whose 'image' mankind was made. As for the number
279 ten, it was simply restored by subdividing the Tenth
• 776 288 Commandment into two parts! Thus the letter of the
Mosaic Law, be it frankly admitted, is modified! There
are also extensions of certain Commandments. Yet, re-
calling Jesus's insistence upon the unspoken thought which
prompts man's conduct, one may feel that the blunt Seventh
Commandment, " Thou shalt not commit adultery ", is
strengthened by the form of its paraphrase: " Avoid *all*
thought, or wish, or deed immoral (*mi-bheusach*, immodest
or vicious) ". The Sixth becomes, " Commit no murder
nor sin of wrath ". And the paraphrase of the Fourth,
rendered as " Keep the Lord's Day *and each festival* ",
completes the Commandment as it was obeyed by Jesus
and His friends at the Passover, and by Celts and Romans
at Easter. The memories of the people were impregnated
with abiding truths from the Old Testament, and still more
with the teaching and spirit of the Gospels.

175 All this was incorporated in their lives. As each
271 symbol of nature was truer to Gaelic worshippers because
it was not borrowed but experienced, so their interpreta-
tion of the story of the Son of Man was the truer because
they looked for Him among themselves. Spiritual fears
are imaged from bodily perils they knew in the 'Rough-
bounds' and at sea; and spiritual ignorance is seen as a
peat bog's 'black morass', not as a waterless desert beyond
Jordan or the Dead Sea. Comfort is rarely suggested by
the biblical 'shade from heat', but rather by the 'sun's
196 mild healing rays'. When Christmastide, Old Style,
brought lengthening days, God mantled the Bens with snow,
• 776 the glow upon their summits in earlier dawns told the
Islesmen that the Light of the World was born again. In
their thought Jesus shared their communal life with His

888 of the Old Testament made itself felt, as in Lewis-and-
771 Harris in the nineteenth century, this narrower patriarchal
562 example hardly affected thought.[1] Rooted in a wider form
184 of family than a patriarchate, and reverencing a Holy Family
173 and all fellowship, Gaelic society honoured age and parent-
177 hood for their inheritance, and childhood and youth for
their promise.

Such ideals of human relationship led to the veneration
195 of the Saints who shared in the life of Christ, and also
of those of legend, especially Bride. Dedications to Bride
773 or 'Bridget' are widespread from Wales to the Lews;
• 776 yet her memory has been all but lost in Britain, except in
the Isles. Carmichael wrote that 'Bride and her ser-
vices" are dear to the hearts of the people. She is called
" Bride of the white feet . . . of calmness . . . of the
kine; . . . of the women; . . . of the . . . ." " I
am in the keeping of my Saint Mary: My companion
beloved is Bride " (*Carmina*, Nos. 70-71; 263-264). As
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776 The Gael's veneration for saintly men and women was
171 shared by Catholic peasantry throughout Christendom;
174 but its special quality seems to have been closeness of

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• 776 fellowship. " The Irish Church ", a Roman is said to
171 have exclaimed to a Gaelic Catholic in scorn, " has won
no martyr's crown! " " Ireland was named the Isle of
174 Saints not by persecuting but by cherishing God's elect ",
was the reply. The Celtic Church linked the lands across
St. Patrick's Channel; and what was true of Patrick's
missionary field seems to have been as true of Celtic
Britain, the land of his birth. Patrick on the Roman
Wall of Clyde has been claimed as the birthplace of one
who was certainly a Cymric Celt by birth and baptism, a
Gaul by training, and an Irishman by mission.[1]

This closeness of fellowship ranged from personal to
771 divine relationships in waking or rest, with an intimacy of
982 expression all its own. A prayer for rest begins, " I shall
181 lie down with God, and he down with me. " A
simple and universal gesture of love, in which parent,
child or lover slips an arm under the loved one's head, is
carried into prayer at rest, " the arm of the Father ", or
779 of Jesus or Mary, " under my head ". This image must
764 be the inspiration of one of the loveliest of Christian tombs,
532 preserved by clan loyalty, respect for the dead, distance
and later forgetfulness on the priory isle of Inchmahome,
where the Highlands meet the Lowlands at the Lake of
Menteith. As on a number of medieval monuments,
knight and lady are sculptured side by side. But here
the two lie each with " an arm under the other's head ",
the free arm of the knight reaching over to clasp hands

[1] While in Scotland the name Bride is now rare as a Christian name, that of Patrick is still found among Grants, Campbells, Macdonalds and others. It is even commoner than English speakers might suppose, owing to the practice—almost the necessity—of giving an English form to a Gaelic name when it is turned to English speech. Patrick is Anglicized by ranking as Annesa for Aonghas (Angus) or Peter for Padhraig (Patrick). Many a Gael in the Lowlands felt obliged to relinquish his baptismal (and ancestral) names, with their link to Celtic Christian tradition.

121 theology and scholarship of a capital city, even of a city
• 776 so small as Jerusalem! It is sometimes forgotten that the
Old Testament, upon which so much of theology is built,
contains folk-lore and magic. Not until this is fully under-
stood in the sense in which early Oriental 'folk' be-
lieved it, can it be interpreted, whether as imaginative
symbolism or common sense.[1] Much in the orthodox
belief of medieval or post-Reformation times was mistaken;
yet it formed part of the religion, not the 'superstition'
of the stage and period. Theology and philosophy are in
constant transformation. Sheltered scholars, priests and
rulers of cities may be ill-fitted to interpret the inspiration
of a religion which grew from life in field, pasture and at
sea, whether in its native land of Galilee and the East or
among the Gael. One must live with a people and be one
of them, at least for a time, to interpret their inner life.
Lastly, no generalisation is true for all members of a com-
munity: individuals differ. The same prayer, the same
rite, may be used in so different a way by each of two
neighbours that its use by one is religious but by the other
superstitious.

We have seen that the essence of the lore from which
• 776 we have quoted is not magical, but religious, in use as in
inspiration. Strangers who had lost the sense of the beauty
in the skies mistook a Gael's adoration of God at sunrise for
prayer to the sun; when a man unbonneted or a woman
knelt in the open, face turned to the rising moon lightening
the dark, they confused prayer with worship of the moon
itself. Now, in paganism, a belief in nature-spirits is
strong; but propitiation is made not to objects such as
the sun or moon, but to spirits believed to influence or

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (3rd ed., ed. S. A. Cooke, 1927). J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (3 vols.), 1919.

114 dwell in them—to a sun or moon spirit. If the people once
• 776 believed in a 'moon-spirit', nothing is left to show it.
Either the moon is addressed as if she could hear her
praise, or—more commonly—" The King of the Ele-
ments " or " of life " is thanked for sending her light.
The Archangel Michael is associated with the sun's rays;
but symbolically in relation to heart and mind, rather than
as literal belief. In response to sunrise and sunset was
real; and it is not lost among the people, as a watcher
may see.[1]

It remains true that pre-Christian rites were re-enacted,
776 sometimes in fear and desperation when things had gone
771 wrong, and sometimes in mere play. A Lewisman in
988 Carmichael's hearing spoke of " going between the two
great fires of Beul " (or Baal), his phrase expressing no
more than a faded memory. But in Reay, in hard times
bordering on famine, a fishing skipper was seen by his
small son, supposed to be asleep, to assemble his crew and,
after putting out the fire on the hearth, kindle the *neid*
fire by rubbing two pieces of wood vigorously together.
Each man then carried a kindling back to his own home.[2]
121 Was this a religious ritual of human energy, heat and light,
symbolic of forces held to be under Divine control but to
be used as they used wind and tide by strenuous effort
at the oars? Or was it magic, pure and simple? When
men are shaken by failures and the fear of famine, prayer
in word and ritual may restore hope for better things—for
safety in storm and for fish in abundance as in a miraculous
draught—and confidence in their powers for their work.
But the same can be true of magic. And neither prayer nor

[1] For contemporary record, descriptions of sunsets have appeared in the *Stornoway Gazette* from the pen of a crofter in retirement, N. Morrison.

[2] *Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes, *Neid Fire*.

171 though the suspected person was not thereby accused of
759 ill, he would have to make some effort to put it right.
'Cure' might be sought either by counter-malediction
on the supposed ill-wisher, known or unknown, or else
by prayer that the evil should be spread so widely as to be
harmless, as "on all the wild birds of Heaven . . . that
it would do them no harm"—a charming touch! (*Carmina*,
782 vol. iii). Prayer was the normal and the best protection,
free of any malediction, and was included in general intercession for loved ones. But fears remain—not only in
'distant' isles—both in peace and in the extreme stress
of war.

114 A psychotherapist of 1917–18, A. J. Brock, wrote that
155 the "War was not in essence a new thing, the ordinary life
of every day being itself a sort of battle"; Brock brought
the hard-learned psychotherapy of war to bear upon a fresh
understanding of the countryman struggling against an
environment with which he has got out of tune. Failing in
spite of strained effort to get the food and warmth he needs
for himself and his 'wife and weans', the peasant may lose
happiness in home and village, and faith in the future.
"How did primitive people express all this?" asked Brock,
noting that the risks and casualties of bad times in the past
brought fears and floating pictures comparable to those of
'shell-shocked' patients.

In lands the unity of family life and labour is
symbolised in homelier folk-lore by the protective spirit
• 776 of each homestead. As long as the work is carried on
heartily and thriftily the Brownie is pleased. But the
people may become negligent, or begin to labour from
mercenary motives. The true spirit of the work is then
upset and (in all folk-lore) the Brownies begin to give
[113] [1] A. J. Brock, *Health and Conduct*, 1923, pp. 135–170.

171 trouble. "Everything seems to go wrong"; and the
• 776 peasant falls asleep at night in fear of ills to come. First
in his dreams and next in his day-dreams, these take shape
171 as an offended, hostile 'spirit'. The spirit of the place
776 —of the place-work—has become angry. So also, if the
781 peasant's wife pursues her household work 'in the right
spirit', then in her dreams and reveries she is helped by
kindly presences; but if not, things go wrong, objects
mislaid have been taken by 'someone' and a tormenting
house-imp plays havoc with her home. These figures of
day-dreams were involuntary and 'shady', without the
clarity either of earthly things or of heavenly visions.
Yet they personified moods of real significance.

776 The Urusag of the Gael helped about the farm and
household—like the Tonte of Sweden and the Lubber-
fiend of Merrie England in Milton's *L'Allegro*. Such
task may have its own symbol. Of one of these, the cattle-
tending *Glaintic* of the Highlands and Isles, Brock quotes
from Mrs. E. Carmichael Watson: "Harmless and
lovable as a rule,—especially in the older stories—in a few
of the later stories she is represented as irritable. . . .
776 The more recent stories about the Glaistic are rather
unpleasant. She no longer plays with the children or
176 sings rhymes—she has degenerated into a kind of female
ruffian. Probably it would be nearer the truth to say that
the change has been in the Highlands rather than in the
Glaistic." Brock comments, "This last remark is signifi-
cant. The increasing irritability of tutelary nature-deities
means that the spirit of the old economic life—the equi-
librium between Highlanders and Highlands—is being
upset"; and so too is that between Highlander and High-
lander! In Lewis *Ni Chlach Urlar* (She (or It) of the
Hearth Stone), who personified domestic strife, makes
trouble; and neighbours come to suffer too!

795 The Evangelicals, so insistent in condemning the beliefs
and worship of ancient Christianity as 'vice' and 'super-
771 stition', comparatively rarely condemned words and rites
designed to bring punishment upon a person believed to
have wronged one—that is upon a person one hated! Of
such was the practice, widespread in the Old World, of
moulding a clay figure representing the person to be harmed,
and either sticking pins into it, exposing it to fire, or leaving
it in a stream, with a prayer that as the figure wasted away
so would the object of hatred. An educated Lewisman
I knew, Dr. Norman Morrison, stated that an aunt of
his own performed this rite. No doubt she persuaded
herself that if the desired injury took place, natural or
Divine law was at work and she herself was therefore
(178) innocent or actually just. What is striking is that in the
Christian age, following after the healing beauty and
Christian calm of runes and rites had been banished and the
healthy laughter of gay custom silenced, this pre-Christian
rite of ill-will had lived on. One hardly knows whom to
pity the more: the hated, for the fear they would feel if
they knew the rite was at work, or the hater. The extreme
Evangelicals made so little appeal to reason based on fact,
that the irrational element in superstition was not firmly
(824) replaced by a sane, scientific look. Indeed 'science'
was condemned as 'unbelief'. The constant evocation of
wrath, anger and "the punishment of just and unjust"
played havoc with the emotions.

Those brought up on the precepts of Presbyterianism
—especially in its milder forms—and familiar from infancy
with a selection of Old Testament readings, can hardly
appreciate the shock to a sensitive heart of first hearing
• (776) the whole of the Old Testament read Book by Book. The
shock is due not only to the acts of vengeance or massacre,

795 but still more to their repeated justification in the name
771 of the Lord 'God'. 'God' the universal (*Elohim*) came
• (776) to be identified with the tribal god Jahveh or Yahweh,
altered, late in Jewish history, to "the Lord God"; the
000 term still used in Bibles. The war cry of the Jewish tribes,
as they swept in from the desert or tightened their hold
upon citizens and cultivators, was that of many wild
wanderers, before and since, who have cried upon their
God of Battles, upon Jahveh, or Allah. Magnificent in his
affirmations of righteousness, the Old Testament can be
terrible in its denials of pity.

795 The Bible (literally *Biblia*, the Books) reflects the search
771 of a people through centuries towards the idea of God;
538 but the tragedy of the Bible, or rather of its historic misuse,
came with the acceptance of all 'Scripture' as equal in
inspiration and truth. The early and the late were accepted
together; the mixed or false with the true. The custom of
seeking Divine guidance by simply opening a page of 'the
blessed Book'—that is, any text on any page of any one
of its books—was an example of such acceptance; and it
(175) was only possible for the literate. In Lewis, Macfarlane
records the custom, practised by 'The Men', late in the
nineteenth century.

Reading came late to the Islanders, but its effects were
795 as direct as among the Puritans or Covenanters at an earlier
118 period. The people, whose hearts had long since been
771 wrung with pity at the Crucifixion and who were steeped
538 in reverence for the Gospels, became 'changed' indeed.
(212) Once their minds had been crushed by the Old Testa-
ment's massive weight, the 'change' was reinforced by the
• (776) Apocalypse. Thus, "followed by fevered visions of
(795) in the New Testament's finale, the Apocalypse. The
'change' was brought by Evangelicals who had themselves

778 SACRED OBJECTS AND PLACES:—conception of sanctity (e.g., possession by or indwelling of frequenting spirit, infusion with impersonal supernatural power); idols and fetishes; extraordinary objects (e.g., bezoar stones, albino animals, mandrake roots); sacred places (e.g., shrines, altars); places of asylum and sanctuary; sodjourn of impersonal supernatural power (e.g., mana, soul-stuff); animatism; beliefs and practices of consecration and desecration, etc.

See also:
Charms and amulets 768
Graveyards 555
Asylum 555
Primitive animism 761
Relics 765
Conception of the sacred and the profane . . . 775
Idol's amulets 777
Notions of uncleanness 785
Taboos 786
Phallic cults 789
Conception of magic power 790
Holy man 795

175 As recorded by Carswell (and Martin), this prayer,
226 after calling upon the Christian, tells that the Three-in-One,
780 ever living, guided Clan Israel through the Red Sea,
773 brought Jonah to land from the belly of the great ocean
beast, and led Paul and his companions from the torment
of the sea; after these three stanzas it closes with a general
supplication. As heard by Carmichael three centuries after
Carswell, the first three stanzas are identical, but they are
[539] followed by the culmination. Recalling the hour "when
the storm poured on the Sea of Galilee . . .", the poem
goes on, "Be Thou, King of the elements, seated at our
helm, And lead us in peace to our voyage's end. . . ."
It is significant that the Reformation Liturgy includes the
story of Clan Israel's flight from their enemy whose
drowning forms the climax of the tale, and the absurd
miracle of the whale—a late interpolation in the con-
vincing original Hebrew poem on Jonah's voyage,—but
that it omits the Christian climax, of the storm allayed by
Christ, the Helmsman of peace.

Another fishers' rune (No. 120) concludes, "To whom
[539] shall we make our offerings of the wind? To whom become tranquil
strait and ocean? To Jesus Christ, Chief of each saint,
Son of Mary, Root of Victory." These blessings, though
they refer to the Old Testament, dwell lovingly on the New.
Their thought is of the Sacrament friends, Peter, Andrew
and John, of the Baptist and of Christ's mother, of Saint
Martin and later apostles to the Gael, and the Archangels,
and of Christ, Rock of rocks (*Carraig Ail*), and the Trinity.
226 These bring strength in danger, peace after strife with the
• 778 elements, remembrance of the poor, and fellowship to the
crews. Peace and strength pervade the "Dawn Prayer of the

[1] R. C. Moulton, *Modern Reader's Bible* (*minor*, 1935, pp. 1423–1424; cf. Note to Matt. xii. 40, p. 1696).

779 THEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS:—elaborated systems of religious beliefs (e.g., intermetism, pantheism); state religions; revealed religions (e.g., Buddhism, Christianity, Mohammedanism); sacred books; content of complex systems of dogma and theology; association of theological systems with ethics and philosophy; etc.

See also:
Taoists in gauge 77
Lunar month 677
Ancient worship 723
Sacrament as the central element of religion . 771
Sun 780
Theologian 813

197 One of the
742 richest sources of Gaelic vocabulary now available is
• 779 the Gaelic Bible, but many villagers, especially the
younger ones, complain that they are unable to understand
many of the Gaelic words used by the minister in his sermon.

197 Although provision for teaching Gaelic in the schools
871 was made in the Education Act of 1918, only within the
last ten years have schools incorporated classes in which
Gaelic is taught at both primary and secondary levels.
Gaelic is taught as a foreign language like French or Latin
rather than used as a medium of instruction, which would
require a much larger vocabulary than most teachers possess.
The present schoolmaster in Shawbost differs from past
[815] [551] schoolmasters in that he addresses the children by their
Gaelic names, and devises projects intended to encourage
a sense of pride in "Celtic culture."

913 The Department of Celtic Studies at the University of
197 Glasgow, which includes in its staff a Lewis poet and
185 several Scottish Nationalists, is described as "progressive."

According to an islander who is a student in the Department
"They believe that if Gaelic is to survive as a language,
it must be written as it is spoken. At school we were
taught to write 'proper' Gaelic, Gaelic that's considered

[1] Persons who come from Gaelic-speaking areas are addressed and referred to by Gaelicized names, such as "Murchadh" rather than "Murdo," and usually do not take the form of patronymics, which may or may not include mutcanas (for example, Iain Dhomhnuill Bhain, i.e., John the son of Fair Donald).

the impact of all disappointment. The church offers meaning and order to those encountering problems posed by village life. Of great importance is the sense of certainty, power and righteousness which membership in the church provides in contrast with feelings of inferiority vis-à-vis the "superior" mainland. This is the Land of the Scriptures; even the Free Church on the mainland is considered decadent. "Religion isn't kept on the mainland. The cities are full of sin. Lewis is given mostly to religion. It should be called the Holy Isle."

2. The Township as Religious Network: The religious sphere has two distinguishable social networks, one of which coincides in personnel with the village network. Most households within the village feel obligated to "make an appearance" during at least one of the two Sunday services. Most children are sent to Sunday school, and all are baptised. In baptism, fathers stand with the children, promise to raise them in the church, and to set a good example for them. Baptism must precede Communion, the ceremony by which a person becomes a full member of the church. Baptism signifies membership in the community, the village-qua-congregation. "Somehow you're not really legal until you've been baptised." Some feel that the child's soul may be endangered if he should die without baptism, although this idea is discouraged by the church. According to the Calvinistic ideas of predestination, the fate of one's soul has already been decided.

The pressure to have children baptised enables the village-as-congregation to exert social control over deviant individuals. If a child is conceived out of wedlock, the parents of the child (if they have gotten married) or the unwed mother alone must stand in front of the congregation and be lectured by the minister before the child may be baptised. A woman who has married a man known not to be the father of her child must also stand by herself. A

conversions that take place in other villages. "Five persons converted recently in Lochs. Two used to drink a lot, they're saying." Sometimes mass conversions occur, called "revivals," during which people shout, chant, speak in tongues, and sometimes collapse.

Although strict observance of religious practices must be maintained by the converted while they are on the island, it is possible for them to relax this observance when they visit mainland cities. The converted see nothing wrong with attending plays or movies in Glasgow, as long as no one observes them. A non-believer once commented wrly, "They believe in the 11th commandment: thou shallt not be seen." Women who have spent many years in domestic service on the mainland, where they generally live very different sorts of lives from those of island people, often return to the island to retire. They then take up the color of their surroundings. The long black dress then becomes the appropriate garb for them on Sundays. As one person observed, "Women deposit their curam in the Left Luggage Department at Stornoway, and pick it up fifty years later."

The beliefs of the Free Church include explanations for all events. "Everything of importance that happened in history is recorded in the Bible." Predestination lies behind all unexpected events; a sense of fatalism dulls

trappings of nineteenth-century civilisation, however, they grew to depend on items brought by sea. Imported food, clothing, wood, metal domestic utensils and the like were slowly assimilated as indispensable everyday articles. But there was relatively little export to port in return; then as now, any transport operator struggled with the fact that traffic was one-way and the freight charges must pay for the double voyage. Though the fishing industry and later the Harris Tweed industry were, around the turn of the century, to do much to determine and stabilise shipping developments, both passenger and cargo services were always facing loss rather than profit.

On the social side of the picture, the regular call of ships to the island, to Stornoway in particular, was a welcome, quickening sign that the island was significant in some way to the outside world. The ships brought visitors who made the island, and the Hebrides in general, better known to other prospective travellers. The exposure of the island and its folk to the gaze of the mainland led to a wider knowledge and understanding which without doubt brought improvements in social welfare and a basis for economic development. When many islanders found it necessary to go to Glasgow and the south for work, the ships of the Minch served as a firm link with home, to which they returned when ever they could. This feeling for home is still manifest today in the Lewismen in Canada who charter an aircraft to Prestwick each year so that they can holiday on the island. Since 1900 or so, passenger traffic has been two-way: emigrants, migrants, visitors and business travellers. When the fishing industry was in its heyday, the ships carried hundreds of fisherfolk across the Minch to ports as far south as Great Yarmouth to 'follow the herring' round the shores of Britain and back to the Minch again. Traffic today is still considerable, with the air-link with the island being used to its capacity.

In a community where Sabbath observance is an integral strand of religious belief, ministers have on occasions tried to preserve the Mosaic sanctity of the Sabbath Day by restricting the movement of ships in Stornoway harbour. In deference to Jewish feelings the Stornoway steamer has always docked for twenty-four hours over Sunday, to leave port for Kyle just after midnight.

This is only relaxed if emergency sailings are necessary. During the second world war attempts were made by Free Church ministers to stop the movement of ships in Stornoway harbour, but needless to say the war effort took precedence.

THE SHIPS

When Sir James Matheson bought Lewis in 1844, sea communications were still erratic: a mailboat or packet was running fortnightly weekly between Stornoway and Poolewe on Scotland's west coast. Sir James decided that a craft based on Stornoway would serve more efficiently both for general trade and for islanders' business. He built, and he provided a regular steamer service. As this craft, the *Mary Jane*, was to carry mails, Sir James thought the Post Office should promote the service, and he struggled with that department for some years, eventually being promised a subsidy of £1,300. Though the scheme was to cost far more and had now no other financial support, the service began in 1846, Sir James being country for the whole concern. He lost some £17,000. Another of his ships was the *PS Ovaline*, which operated mainly between Ullapool and Stornoway during the 1870s and '80s.

Quite apart from the Matheson ventures, things had been stirring in the south; the sea communications of the West Highlands and Islands were about to be commercially developed. One of the first ships on a regular run between Stornoway and the south was the *Iben Nevis*, a small wooden paddle vessel later to be wrecked south of Campbeltown in 1851 while homeward bound from Stornoway. G. & J. Burns was one of the main companies operating the early West Highland trade, managing to survive the vagaries of fortune until 1851, when its interests were passed to David Hutcheson, its chief clerk, on the condition that the Burns's nephew, David MacBrayne became one of the partners. This was the beginning of the company so well known today. Messrs David MacBrayne Ltd. The new company started off with a building programme and gave birth to a long line of ships, many of which names were to become household words in the Western Isles.

The PS *Clansman* was the first. Her route was the strenuous one of Glasgow, Oban, Skye and Stornoway. Alexander Smith's

Lewis, there were but two ministers in 1626, their parishes being Barvas (which included Uig) and Eye, which included Lochs; the population of the island at the time was about 5,000. When Presbyterianism was re-established in Scotland in 1640, the Lewis ministers found no trouble in conforming, as did their fellow parishioners. Sectarian feeling in the island during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not so much between Presbyterians and Episcopalians as between Romanists and Protestants.

In the year 1738, nine Episcopalian Lewismen signed a letter to the Bishop of the Isles, asking for an annual visit from a pastor, being unable to support a full-time minister. Almost a century later in 1839, the foundation stone of St Peter's in Stornoway was laid: this is the town's Episcopal Church. The other building on the island which belongs to the Episcopalians is the ancient church at Eoropie, dating back to the twelfth century. It is now the oldest still in use in the Hebrides; services are held there occasionally, though there is no local Episcopalian congregation. One of the most significant events which echoed the religious strife in the island was the Disruption which took place in Edinburgh in 1843. The result was a 'church spectrum' in Scotland which is still mirrored on a smaller scale in the island: the Church of Scotland, the Free Presbyterian Church, the United Free Church, and the Free Church. The Roman Catholic Church is also represented.

Lewis has one of the largest Free Church congregations in the country. This denomination is particularly known for its outspoken pronouncements from time to time on questions of the day. It is Calvinistic in doctrine and has a reputation for holding the 'Calvinistic outlook' in the most general and pejorative sense; though its strictness may sometimes be over-painted, it is much less liberal in its moral standpoint than is the Church of Scotland, if less austere in some respects than the Free Presbyterians. Its doctrinal position is that of unreluxed adherence to the Westminster Confession, its ministers and other office-bearers affirming their belief in the whole doctrine of the Bible. It is opposed to theological liberalism and accepts the inerrancy and infallibility of the Scriptures. Only the Psalter is used in public worship, and instrumental music is dispensed with; strong

emphasis is laid on evangelical preaching. The Free Church claims 'the free exercise of all its spiritual functions, while it fully admits the State authority in purely temporal concerns'.

THE GAELIC LANGUAGE

Closely tied in with the background of the island folk is the Gaelic language. For many years this has been dying, yet it is still vigorous enough to make a significant contribution to the mental make-up of the people. It is a living language in that it is used for personal communication, though English is often and universally resorted to when the talk turns to technical subjects. As the Gaelic language stands today, by itself it is regarded by most Gaelic speakers to be a barrier to economic progress. The Gaelic-speaking child who also knows English, however, is found to be at no significant disadvantage over the monoglot; indeed, tests have shown, particularly in other multilingual countries, that the bilingual child tends to assimilate knowledge at a greater rate and to a greater degree than the monoglot. Research by the Scottish Council for Research in Education showed that while there were no statistically significant differences between the four areas into which they divided Scotland, the Highlands and Islands came out best in a study of the average level of intelligence:

	Mean	Standard deviation
The four Scottish cities	100·88	15·29
The industrial belt	99·19	16·18
The rural areas	100·92	14·52
The Highlands and Islands	101·79	13·13

The pamphlet comments: 'It is interesting that the mean of the most remote and isolated districts is the highest, and the standard of deviation the lowest.'

The Hebrides are now the only area in Scotland where the language, once Scotland-wide, survives as the living speech of a Gaelic-characterised community. On average 95 per cent of the inhabitants of all the island districts are Gaelic-speaking; even in the town of Stornoway, never regarded as wholly Gaelic-speak-

CH. I ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

The historical aspect of these regional facts is extremely significant to the evolution of Scots social life, and to developments of Presbyterian worship led by Elders in ferm-town and Kirk; although suggested by comparisons throughout this book, they have still to be seriously followed out. As to the future, regrouping of our somewhat scattered agricultural population has been strongly urged in planning for post-war housing and community life. But sound planning must be based on survey, long overdue; though elsewhere, this key area appears to be the first of its kind for Scotland (Fig. 2). It is from these units of population and township that Scots rural society must be rebuilt, region by region.

One aspect of the contrast between the farming and the crofting communities demands attention: it lies in the types of migration—one is tempted to say, of semi-nomadism. Crofters, though they move to and from their croft and township—to the city, the sea, or the New World—return home to their native township when they can, and to no other. Many farm servants, on the other hand, though they usually spend their lives in the county or region of their birth, have been on the move from farm to farm, year after year. What is true of Lowland Scotland seems rather true of North-east England, but not of 'the English Plain'. Unmarried Scots farm servants were hired for the half-year, and frequently moved after each new hiring: the marriage rate was low. Families were annually uprooted—if indeed they could be said to strike root at all! The war-time 'Standstill' Order for Scotland began to check this migratory life; but its effects remain. Hence immigrants, once Scotland-wide, now arrive at the farm; children could not grow up with their schoolmates: they would look back to no 'Auld Lang Syne', of which the

CH. VII SPIRITUAL LIFE OF COMMUNITY

The care of cattle was accompanied by prayer. As an Erinkay housewife said to me, she would never leave her cow tethered without a murmured, "Saint Columba be herding you" (*Buachaille a'Chalum-cille ort*). The curing of animal sickness, as of human ailments, was accompanied by prayers. And prayer was used to avert the evil eye, symbol of suspicions born of unreasoning fear which, psychologists tell us, beset the modern but little less than the ancient! The thought or act of prayer which links a man to his fellow-men links him to the Maker of all men. "The man who is merciful to a soul will not be merciless to a brute" (*Am fear a bhitheas trocaireach ri anam, cha bhith a mithrocairach ri bhrùid*).

Throughout Christian times each task of the annual rhythm was marked, at its start and close, by a day of seasonal festival (*Le Feill*). These Christian festivals replaced earlier celebrations and continued some of their features, often in play. Yet concerted seasonal activities could be related to the supreme festival of the Christian Church, Easter, owing to its movable date. This is one reason for the great importance of other, fixed Festivals to rural community life. This point, not always appreciated by latterday rationalists, is made clear by Dr. J. L. Banks in describing *British Calendar Customs*, vol. i, *Scotland* (1937). Remembering that the Old Style Calendar dates were ten days later than the New Style (when officially adopted in Scotland in 1600), they may be compared with the annual rhythm of climate and labour (Fig. 9). Until 1600, the New Year began in spring on 25th March. After the Reformation and the abolition of Christmas or Noel, *Nollaig*, New Year's Day on 1st January took its place as the day which, in the Protestant Highlands and Lowlands, still keeps alive some of the old friendly visiting and

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

at midsummer came joyous departure to the shielings. Michaelmas at the end of September was a festival of horsemanship, when the ponies, rested and well fed, could race madly along the machar. As long nights brought in the winter, Hallowe'en came on 31st October, and on the morrow the solemnity of All Hallows (*Samhuin*). On 11th November came St. Martin's Day, and in December Christmas once again.

When the Islesmen put out to sea, prayers were chanted to Father, Son and Holy Spirit and to the Disciples, "the Fishers of Men". While some of these might be individual (*Carmina*, Nos. 171-120), others were chanted by the skipper at the helm, as celebrant, the crew giving the responses (No. 121). As self-sustained community life weakened and customs were endangered, this prayer was encouraged by a few clergy, Catholic and Protestant. At the start of the season's fishing in Erinkay, Fr. Allan Macdonald went out in the boats and chanted a rune taught to him by elders, the men responding.[1] One of the 'Ocean Blessings' or prayers recorded by Carmichael (No. 119) is found in Dean Cruickshank's *Liturgy in Gaelic*, of 1965, and is quoted by Martin as "a form of prayer used by many of the islanders at sea after the sails are set".[1] Most of Carswell's *Liturgy* was translated from that of John Knox, but not this prayer, of which the earlier and later-recorded version are the same, except for one revealing difference.

[1] In so doing, 'Father Allan' may have been restoring a pious service of an older school of Gaelic priests trained upon the College of Lismore, which was Gaelic-speaking. Lismore was the birthplace of Carmichael, and in the home of his Protestant parents the young priests were hospitably received.

[1] *Fàire nan Urnaighthe* (ed. M'Lauchlan), 2nd, 4th, and Martin, 1703 (edition of 1934, pp. 180-184). A new text of Carswell is in preparation by the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

(in Gaelic) by a housewife in a Catholic isle, as our friendship matured. It had been said nightly at her fire by her father-in-law until his death (not long before), which had come after that of his wife. "I amo'e' the night, Ma Mary's Son smoo'ed. Be it well with house and fire; Be it well with all our household. Who are on this floor! Peter and Paul. Who are on watch tonight? Light-white Mary and her Son. Thus God's voice rose again. Angel appeared at my house door, Until the clear day come tomorrow. Amen." As this variant shows, memory still lives in the Isles.[1]

In these runes, the key to the words "as Mary's Son smoo'ed" is the example of filial duty, of wifely and motherly care. In spite of lapses to 'Marion' latry[1] during periods of decadence in the Roman Church, the virtual banishment of Christ's mother from Protestantism has led to a loss far more than Presbyterian Scotland is aware of. Her name was a daily reminder, both of a woman's part in the spiritual life of the home, and of a son's self-discipline and affection: in a word, of mutual love.

For wool, the sheep were blessed, as in the "Clipping Blessings" or prayers recorded by Carmichael (No. 119) as found in Dean Cruickshank's *Liturgy in Gaelic*, of 1965, and is quoted by Martin as "a form of prayer used by many of the islanders at sea after the sails are set".[1] Most of Carswell's *Liturgy* was translated from that of John Knox, but not this prayer, of which the earlier and later-recorded version are the same, except for one revealing difference.

[1] As the work was solitary and communal in turn, so the prayer, Carmichael's own first prose translations should be studied (*Carmina*, vol. i, Nos. 108-113; cf. vol. iv, pp. 88-99). Yet, those being available, we quote rhythmic

Roman Catholicism was far less complete than that ultimately brought about by Protestantism—Episcopalian or Calvinist.

At least twenty-five churches, chapels and tiny oratories are named by Martin in Lewis and his list is incomplete (1934, p. 106). Harris and its islets also had their complement of 'temples', in addition to the priory church of Rodel. We may perhaps assume that before the Reformation Lewis had a population of some 4000 persons, or 1000 families, and contained some thirty chapels or oratories in inhabited areas. If so, then one church or 'temple', on an average served thirty to thirty-five families, or six or seven farm-groups. Yet only the larger congregations at Eye, Stornoway, Ness or Uig and Rodel would normally be served by clergy; the people of smaller congregations would be without, for weeks and months or even years.

When the people were too distant from priests (and later ministers) to hear the Lessons, they handed down the Word orally. Their power of retaining memorable thought, even in prose, is quite remarkable; and verse strengthened memory. For example, the 'Ten Commandments' paraphrased in rhyme are recorded in Fr. Allan Macdonald's little collection, "as given by the God of graces to Moses in the wilderness" (*Na Faintean*, p. 62). Moses, had he understood Gaelic, would have protested at the omission of the Second Commandment, but no sculptor of Iona, Rodel or Eye would have felt a need for it, being unafraid that a Christian could bow down to a golden calf. Believing, with Solomon, that a craftsman's work is his prayer, the artist-monks held that an 'image' should represent, though never replace, God's creation, and may even quicken our concept of the Creator

in whose 'image' mankind was made. As for the number ten, it was simply restored by subdividing the Tenth Commandment into two parts! Thus the letter of the Mosaic Law, be it frankly admitted, is modified! There are also extensions of certain Commandments. Yet, recalling Jesus's sentence upon the unspoken thought which prompts man's conduct, one may feel that the Short Seventh Commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery", is strengthened by the form of its paraphrase: "Avoid *all thought, or wish*, or deed immoral (*mi-bheusach*, immodest or vicious)". The Sixth becomes, "Commit no murder *nor sin of wrath*". And the paraphrase of the Fourth, rendered as "Keep the Lord's Day *and each festival*", completes the Commandment as it was obeyed by Jesus and His friends at the Passover, and by Celts and Romans at Easter. The memories of the people were impregnated with abiding truths from the Old Testament, and still more with the teaching and spirit of the Gospels.

All this was incorporated in their lives. As each symbol of nature was truer to Gaelic worshippers because it was not borrowed but experienced, so their interpretation of the story of the Fall of Man was the truer because they looked for Him among themselves. Spiritual fears are imaged from bodily perils they knew in the 'Roughbounds' and at sea; and spiritual ignorance is seen as a peat bog's black mistrust not as a waterless desert beyond Jordan or the Dead Sea. Comfort is rarely suggested by the biblical 'shade from heat', but rather by the 'sun's mild healing rays'. When Christmastide, Old Style, brought lengthening days and mantled the Bens with snow, the glow upon their summits in earlier dawns told the faithfulness that the Light of the World was born again. In their thought Jesus shared their communal life with His

fellowship. "The Irish Church", a Roman is said to have exclaimed to a Gaelic Catholic in scorn, "has now no martyr's crown!" "Ireland was named the Isle of Saints not by persecuting but by cherishing God's elect", was the reply. The Celtic Church linked the lands across St. Patrick's Channel; and what was true of Patrick's missionary field seems to have been as true of Celtic Britain, the land of his birth. Kilpatrick on the Roman Wall of Clyde has been claimed as the birthplace of one who was certainly a Cymric Celt by birth and paraphrase, a Gaul by training, and an Irishman by mission.[1]

This closeness of fellowship emerged from personal to divine relationships in waking or rest, with an intimacy of expression all its own. A prayer for rest begins, "I shall lie down with God, and God lie down with me. . . . A simple and universal gesture of love, in which parent, child or lover slips an arm under the loved one's head, is carried into prayer at rest, "the arm of the Father", or of Jesus or of Mary, "under my head". This image must be the inspiration of one of the loveliest of Christian tombs, preserved by clan loyalty, respect for the dead, distance and later forgetfulness on the priory isle of Inchmahome, after the Highlands meet the Lowlands at the Lake of Menteith. As on a number of medieval monuments, knight and lady are sculptured side by side. But here the two lie each with "an arm under the other's head", the free arm of the knight reaching over to clasp hands

[1] While in Scotland the name Bride is now rare as a Christian name, that of Patrick is still found among Grants, Campbells, Macdonalds and others. It is even commoner than English speakers might suppose, owing to the practice—almost the compulsory—of giving an English form to a Gaelic name when it is turned to English speech—as Daniel for Donhnall (Donald), Aenas for Aonghas (Angus) or Peter for Padhraig (Patrick). Many a Gael in the Lowlands felt obliged to relinquish his baptismal (and ancestral) names, with their link to Celtic Christian tradition.

with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1294. Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness. The following year, 1295, saw the commencement of "the three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King Alexander III, "that Scotland led in love and law", peace within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing Gaelic Christian traditions and Scoto-Norman arts. After his death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars can tell me, this almost unnoticed monument remains unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement, were shattered by invasions, and Gaelic tradition was only to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all time, we have become.

At the approach of death God's mercy and peace were sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[2] In early times confession seems to have been made as willingly to the 'Soul-friend', followed by Benediction. When death had come, the mourners sang of sleep and home. In Lewis today funerals are conducted in silence to the graveside, where the last service is held; but

[1] *A unique medieval tomb at Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.)

[2] It would be of deep interest to compare the attitudes to death found in 'Spiritual Songs' by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs on death which, though maybe of post-Reformation date, are of Roman Catholic origin (e.g. in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, poems on the Day of Judgment, and of Weak Age and on death; and in Carmichael's Carmina: pp. 31, 85, 148; 34, 19, 21; 23). Some have much in common, both by reason of the earlier traditions they shared and still more because of parallel trends of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Cf. *Carmina*.

The advent of the Reformers to the Island may at first have been welcomed as revolutionary to the people than has generally been suggested by historians of either the new Church or the old. Ministering to one another, the people had not, like the city-dwellers of their time, enjoyed—or suffered—a multiplicity of offices, administered by priests whose ways of living might be a scandal. The Mass heard in Latin was incomprehensible to those of Celtic (or Teutonic) speech without the aid of translation into the vernacular—an idea universal among literate Roman Catholics. Most of those offices, such as auricular confession to a priest to obtain absolution, with masses for the dead, indulgences and the like, were performed for payments prohibitive to the poor. The Jaleofolk, for the most part, lived far both from the orthodox practice of the Latin Church and from the more flagrant abuses against which a minority of the old Church had protested in vain. Hence the transition to a purely Protestant liturgy would not be too painful. In prolonged isolation, the Gaelic spirit, perforce, had lived the life of the Lollard and Protestant doctrine of "the Priesthood of all believers".

After the Reformation the people were bewildered by the mutual condemnation of Presbyterian, Episcopalian and Jesuit, and torn to the quick when all three parties in turn denounced so much that they themselves held dear. The more the rival clergy confused and wounded their minds, the harder it was for younger generations to discern ancient Gaelic wisdom and discard superstition; and the easier to fall into credulous and secretive repetition of rhymes and strings of holy names. The scorn of the wealthy for simple rites and of the book-learned for the symbols of old speech would add to confusion rather than aid discrimination. As pious and understanding crofters

agents for what have been called "rites of intensification."[49] They restored the equilibrium of interaction by creating new behavior patterns. This was probably particularly true during the famine, when the people's relatives and friends were dying and emigrating in large numbers, while the *ceilidh* an evening of spinning folk tales, singing, and dancing, was condemned, and the children of parents who would not conform to the dictates of one minister and the "Men" were refused baptism, prayer meetings and other church services were providing emotional outlets.[50]

Like the Welsh,[51] the Skye crofters found the Bible retold much of their own past history and their present difficulties. As the "Men" preached from Scripture and interpreted the meaning, often using allegorical interpretations, of the Word, the people became familiar with a story which was strikingly similar to their own. The present social and economic conditions were but a presage of the coming dissolution. It was all there in the Old Testament, in the books of Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Psalms, and Prophets. The ocean was all the more vivid because the transgressors in the Bible lived a life much like the crofters. Both the ancient peoples and the Skyemen had a pastoral economy, a patrilineal family structure,

[49] Elliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), pp. 399-400.

[50] Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, Vol. VII, p. 166; and Norman Macleod, Reminiscences (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 14-15.

[51] Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

ruled by elders, and a heritage which had never admitted compact, non-rural population centres. These basic cultural values and patterns were given religious sanction.

Year by year throughout this period the following and the influence of the "Men" increased. As the ministers died, moved, especially as the old hereditary families of ministers closely related to the old gentry were replaced by ministers from the people,[52] the "Men" became influential in the Church of elders. Now they could not only exhort the people but also judge them, by determining who was worthy of communion and whose children might be baptized. The strength of their control, however, did not require holding office. In Duirinish where an old moderate minister remained, Communion had not been celebrated for eleven years in 1840, and there were 200 unbaptized children.[53] Many preferred to walk miles to worship under an evangelical minister rather than put themselves in peril by hearing the local moderate minister. Dissension was becoming a significant factor and was paving the way for personal secession from the Church. As the official Church was weakened, the stage was set for the Disruption, but we shall leave that for the following period.

SUMMARY. The second period of the modern epoch saw the continuation of the trends established in the initial period. The process of commercialization was carried one step further. The old runrig system was replaced by the crofting rates and

[52] Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

[53] Ibid., pp. 354-355.

Wr/ovw this and an associated question, the principle of the spiritual independence of the Church from civil authority.

Although the Revival might have created or even renewed a belief in the right of a congregation to call their own minister, it strengthened the belief in the principle of spiritual non-intrusion, by courts and parliament, could have mattered much to the people. The significance of the Disruption is that it continued the trend toward conservatism established by the Revival and made it an official policy of the Free Church of Scotland. The overwhelming acceptance of the Free Church manifests a strong correlation with the suggested amount of social and cultural disorganization at the close of the second period. It was no accident that the Free Church congregation should have been in Breasdale, the first parish to be cleared for sheep. It was not by chance that the people of Kilmuir and Glendale, like so many others, turned to this source of hope. The ministers left the Church in the true tradition of the Covenanters: "in a state of toil and privation, whether within or without the Established Church, and under persecution if need be."[54] The people followed then because of emotional attachments which they had formed with the seceding ministers during the Revival. Only the seceding ministers were successfully restoring group solidarity. Their emotional and dynamic approach was giving the people the means to maintain cultural continuity. The Old Testament, which they were wont to use, was an additional factor. It

[54] Brown, op. cit., p. 1.

175 told about a people not unlike the crofters, and the prophesies
178 were being fulfilled before the peoples' very eyes. Is it any
182 wonder that thousands gathered on the hillsides to listen to a
795 793 minister whose dynamic appeals moved them to tears?

As the people turned to the new church and the emotionalism
175 178 of the large outdoor gatherings, they continued to forsake
183 their old customs and folklore. The songs, except in some
533 cases the waulking songs which provided the tempo for shrinking
homespun, and the tales were placed under clerical bann.[75]
The ministers and the "Men" insisted on the prerequisite of
gravity in all aspects of life for salvation.[76] The communion
roles were purged. In Bracadale, for example, there had been
258 communicant members. Following the Disruption there were
less than ten.[77] The same pattern was repeated elsewhere on
the island.[78]

The religious patterns which had evolved were, never-
175 178 theless, reinforcing much of the traditional way of life.
182 The "Men" of Skye had become elders in the Free Church. This
795 793 554 status sanctioned their position in the community. Although
the age structure of the population had not yet altered

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[75] Norman MacLean, Set Free (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 11-12, 14.

[76] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 35; and Daniel Lamont, Strath: In Isle of Skye (Glasgow: A. Sinclair, 1913), pp. 27-30

[77] Norman MacLean, The Years of Fulfillment (London: Hodde and Stoughton, 1953) pp. 113-119.

[78] Norman MacLean, Set Free, pp. 14-15, 18, 203-212. See also his The Former Days (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1945), pp. 40-49, 80.

worth while to cultivate any of the arable, so I use it for grazing." A case which aptly illustrates the influence of the township system as an agent of conservatism is the breeding of pigs. Although several old crofters told me how many people during the times of the "Clearances" kept a pig, they are rarely found anywhere in the Highlands today. The Biblical injunction against the flesh of swine has been taken literally. The older people simply have a strong aversion to handling pigs. One man, a very successful cattle and sheep breeder, put it this way: "Pigs are filthy brutes. I just don't want to touch them -- I never have kept any and never will." At the same time, there are men who believe that the prices these animals bring at the mainland markets more than compensate for the individual's revulsion, especially as long as the Ministry of Food pays for the cost of transportation. These men cannot try branching out because they have no way to restrict the foraging animals. "Skye is ideal for pigs," one young fellow told me, "but I don't have the freedom to work the croft to suit myself."

Smaller deviations from the traditional methods of land use face the same difficulties. A progressive crofter who attempts to improve the value of his stock by growing scientific mixtures of grasses is always penalized. As soon as the harvest is over, the stock of all his neighbors will show their appreciation by concentrating on his croft, trampling his fields, and overgrazing his grass. Nor is this his only penalty. His neighbors will regard him with skepticism for his departure from the ways handed down from the past.

nporary scene. Assuming that few of my readers know any 128
about the nature of the religion of the Sgiathanach than 121
when my wife and I first set foot on Skye, I shall be-
ith a brief description of formal organization and
ogy.

Formal Organization and Theology

The Isle of Skye now has four independent Presbyterian 795
hes, the Church of Scotland which is the official state
n, the Free Church of Scotland, The Free Presbyterian
n, and the United Free Church. There are, in addition,
Catholics, including the one family of the county
who worship by themselves and several government
yees in Portree who meet together and hold services
private chapel. There is also a fairly large number
iscopals, consisting exclusively of county families
ewcomers, who periodically receive a visit from a
ter in Fort William but who otherwise attend the
ces held in the Church of Scotland.

The Presbyterian Churches differ from one another 779
veral fundamental details of their constitution, doctrine, 795
, and practice. All claim to be in historic continuity
the Church of Scotland which was reformed in 1560, the
ties of which were ratified in 1592 by the Scottish
ment, and the security of which was recognized in the
of 1707. All, except the United Free Church, hold
principle of national recognition of religion,

commonly referred to as the "Establishment." The main differ- 779
ence is the the Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church 795
have rejected all Declaratory Acts which have interpreted the
meaning of the Westminister Confession of Faith.

The Shorter Catechism, written in 1611, contains the basic religious tenets of all the Scottish churches. Since children are required to have a knowledge of the catechism by the age of eight, if only by rote, and a knowledge of the tenets is indispensible for the baptism of one's children and acceptance as a member of the church, we should be acquainted with them if we are to understand the religion.

Man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy him eternally. To achieve this, the directions given in the Old and New Testaments must be accepted as the infallible prescribed means for reproof, enlightenment, correction and instruction in righteousness.

"Foreordination" and "Effectual Calling" are the two guiding principles. God foreordained all that has come to pass. He preserves and governs His creatures, created in His own image, and their actions, but, on condition of perfect obedience, they have been granted freedom of will, by which they have sinned and fallen from their original state of grace. All mankind through the original sin lost communion with God and are under His wrath and curse. They are subjected to all the miseries of life and damnation.

Christ, the Redeemer, revealed the will of God for man's salvation. Everlasting life, a covenant of grace,

deliverance from sin and worldly misery, and entrance into
state of salvation were again offered to man. To become
partakers of redemption, the Holy Spirit must work faith in
man, uniting him to Christ in "Effectual Calling" which
convinces him of his sin and misery, enlightens his mind,
and renews his will. He who is "effectually called" partal
of justification, adoption, sanctification, and all their
benefits. By justification man's sin is pardoned. By a-
doption man is received into the "elect" and has a right to
all the privileges of Christ. By sanctification man is
renewed after the image of God.

Man's duty is obedience to the revealed will of God as given in the Ten Commandments. No mere man, however, can keep them perfectly in word, thought, and deed. Every sin deserves the wrath and curse of God which can only be escaped by faith in Christ, repentence, and diligent use of the ordinances, especially the Word, sacraments, and prayer. These are made effective for salvation to the "elect" (and only the "elect"). The reading and, especiall the preaching of the Word is the effectual means of convin and converting sinners. The sacraments of Baptism and Communion sensibly represent, seal, and apply the signs of Christ and the new covenant.

Baptism is administered to those within the visible church and their infants. The Lord's Supper is to be received only by the worthy, those who find up self-examina that they are worthy in their faith, repentance, love, and new obedience.

794 Prerequisite to an understanding of the role of religion
779 in ordering human relationships for the Sgiathanach is an awareness of a distinctive and all-pervading feature of church membership. When we briefly discussed theology, we noted the prominence of the principles of "Foreordination" and "Effectual Calling." While many Scots may pay them lip service, the Skyemen firmly believe in them. Because of their unfaltering belief and the strict interpretation of "Effectual Calling," [787] the membership of all churches is very limited. Admission [888] to the numbers of the "elect," those who have received a visitation from the Holy Spirit and experienced a soul-saving change, can only be gained by attaining the status of old age. Since "election" depends on manifesting a steadfast conformity to the behavior patterns approved by 794 religion, "elect" are all well past sixty. Adherents, who support the church in every way but have no voice in kirk affairs and do not take Communion, far outnumber these "elect" members. For example, among the religiously homogeneous Free Presbyterians of Glendale, there are 14 members in a congregation of over 300. In Kilmuir, a neighborhood with a rapidly aging population, there are 58 members of the Church of Scotland in a congregation of 211. Portree, as we know, contains a large number of newcomers who are affiliated with the Church of Scotland. Having been brought up in a different religious atmosphere and being relatively free from gossip to which the convert is exposed, they have come forward as members. Thus, the Church of Scotland has

passage of the individual from birth, through his age statuses, 121
to death and to re-establish meaningful patterns of interaction after a disturbance by an event in the life cycle. When 851 individual and reciprocal patterns of behavior following birth 794 were described, I pointed out that they were a much modified survival of the old practice of kirking, the custom of having the parents, their "people," and "friends" attend a church service to offer thanks, followed by a feast and dance. Similar festivities once accompanied baptism. As the first event in the life cycle which concerns the church, and as one of the two sacraments celebrated in the church, baptism is of supreme importance. In addition to revealing the amount of control [121] the elderly have over the group, it shows how the status and role of the father has been maintained.

The child's father, as the religiously sanctioned head 626 of the family, approaches the elder for his township and 851 888 requests the administration of the sacrament. The elder, in 794 turn, intimates the father's request to the minister, who then calls a kirk session. At the kirk session the father is examined. He must live an exemplary life, in the way of the church, including regular sabbath church attendance, daily worship in the home, and the renunciation of all forms of frivolous amusement. The elders, of course, know how he habitually behaves by observation and reputation. In Glendale, if not in Kilmuir, the minister knows as well, for, as one woman said, "You never know what your neighbors will run and tell the minister." Sudden reform is not good enough. The [779] father must also demonstrate his ability to raise the child

that young sinners will not escape from his kingdom." 785 779
Another of the same church expressed himself, "One is constrained to look upon this world as a great battlefield between Christ and the devil and between grace and sin. In our day the kingdom of darkness is carrying everything before it; the Prince of the kingdom of darkness is the god of this world." This attitude is not, however, carried to the extreme that characterizes the Old Order Amish in their determination to "Be not conformed to this world."[24] On Skye, the position is rather that the church, as Christ's witness, must resist the encroachment of worldly pursuits. In a world which is moving as fast as ours, the success 888 of the resistance of the church is indicative of the hold 626 794 of the pillars of the faith, the venerable old man, over the group. We have learned how the prestige status of the [554] "elect" and the elders stems from their high position in the esoteric religious hierarchy, and how, through their power to withhold the sacraments, they enforce social control. When the elders sit in judgment of the father whohas come to ask that his child be baptized, or the person who thinks he has experienced a "saving change," they base their estimation of him on his non-religious behavior as much as his knowledge of the tenets of the faith. He must [785] not only attend church regularly and conduct family worship; he must also deny himself all pleasures of a frivolous nature.

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[24] Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, p. 1

The man who seeks sensory pleasures and finds enjoyment in 785 779
mundane recreation is believed to be spiritually un-
enlightened. It seems almost an anticlimax to add that
social life is restricted.

Beyond the Highlands and, indeed, within the Highlands 771
in certain prosperous areas, where poverty has not been 883
a factor of such importance that it requires religious 571
sanction, the Church of Scotland has endeavored to find
room within the church for recreational activities, es-
pecially for the youth. As in America, the church feels
a responsibility to the youth which requires a combination
of religion and recreation if the citizens of the community
are to be well-rounded adults. Youth programs and youth
clubs, young adult groups, and social circles for the older
men and women are an essential part of church work. In 794
an organizational sense, the Church of Scotland on Skye 571
has, at the most, a Woman's Guild which meets once a month
to hear a lecture on a topic such as missionary work in
India, and which holds an occasional sale of work to reduce
the church debt or buy the minister an electric tea kettle
to keep in his vestry; and a choir, which meets once a week
for rehearsal. It is, as I have said before, not the over-
all policy of the church which determines the activities
in which the people participate or which they reject. The 888
elders are the prime movers. Were the youth in Kilmuir 561
anyone under thirty, instead of anyone under forty, the 626
control of the aged might not be as strong as it is. In

several agencies who have taken the task of bringing movies 178
to the remote crofters in the belief that the Highlander is 883
more likely to stay if he has a share in the life of the 177
Lowlander and the Englishman. These agencies want to "create" 52
a more adequate social organization."

Out of boredom, some young men try to add some spirit 273
to their lives by turning to "the drink." Although the 779
religion of the Skyeman is strikingly similar to that of the rural dweller in Wales, I found the Welshman and the Sgiathanach have quite different views on the subject of temperance.[26] All churches support temperance, from the pulpit and from the kirk collections, but abstinence or prohibition has never been accepted. Perhaps, their main reason for consistently rejecting the idea is their wont to base many of their decisions on Biblical directions. There can be nothing inherently wrong in the infallible Word of God. Then, too, to the Sgiathanach, whiskey is not Scotch; 273
it is the "water of life." The importance attached to the dram can be judged from its functions at birth, marriage, and death. It is also the means of thanking a man for doing a favor which cannot be repaid. Thus, while abstinence is a major religious tenet for the Welsh, temperance is the aim of the Skyeman.

The temperance movement has had an effect, all over 275
Scotland. The "pubs" are no more than a long bar set in a 185
bare room. Young men who have spent time in England, where the local "pub" is a closely knit club for the villagers, frequently

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[26]Rees, op. cit., p. 127

78

78 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES--general statements dealing with several a
description and analysis of specific religious rites and practices or
Extended ceremonies, in which various rites are combined in seque
are presented as units under 796. For cult of the dead see 769; for
sion of religious beliefs see 869.

he child. Consequently, the sacrament is normally administered 369
ithout even the formality of a kirk session examination. The 626
inisters of the other churches assert that non-church-going, 851
runken fathers whom the kirk session has refused have gone to 888 794
he Church of Scotland and have secured the sacrament for their
hildren after pretending to mend their ways. They have then
one back to their former habits. It may be so, but at least
he man in Portree was very surprised to find that the Church
f Scotland can require a severe examination.

At baptism the child is formally introduced into the 851
olds of his father's church. His mother and father stand 794
efore the minister and are admonished to bring up the child
the nurture and admonition of God, to the best of their
bility.

Marriage is not a sacrament in Scotland, and, therefore, 585
oes not provoke any strong resentment beyond a feeling that [179]
he Church of Scotland should not have the exclusive right
proclaim the banns of marriage. It is the one time in 585
he life of a woman when she is the center of attention and 562
s complete control over the situation. She decides where 794
e will be married and what minister will preside. Church
filiation seems to make little difference. At least, the
dding of a daughter of a strict Free Presbyterian family
the Church of Scotland did not give the people any cause
gossip. Although a wedding is no more than a legal formality,
e vows made at marriage are sacred. It would not strike
ericans as being particularly significant to omit the promise
obey from the ceremony; Americans are said to have an

cannot be spiritually enlightened. The individual who is asked 794
about the nature of his visitation is not judged on his ability 888 626
to raise his family in the nurture of the church. He is rather
judged on his preparation to carry on the tradition. He must
be worthy of the respect due to one of his status. While old [563]
women are numbered among the "elect," their exclusion from any
active role in the church has kept them socially inferior to
the old men.

I wish I could give some examples of the nature of this 124
"visitation;" however, Skye is a land where the direct question 576
is not used. One can ask a direct question without offending,
but the code of hospitality requires an either affirmative
answer or the answer you think your guest expects. My
circuitous promptings on this topic only succeeded in arousing
concern for my soul.

Two groups escape from the control of the elders as it 626
is exercised through acceptance of an individual into the 888
"elect." As mentioned earlier, the newcomers to Skye have 794 167
come from different backgrounds. Beyond the Highlands, the [184]
meaning of "Effectual Calling" has changed over the years. The
youth attend a young communicants' class in which they are
taught the meaning of church membership. Notestein, writing
about the national character of the Scot, maintains that
interest in "election" has disappeared.[14] Most of the members
of the Church of Scotland in Portree would no doubt agree with
him. One attempt has been made on Skye to hold a young 794
communicants' class. It took place, of course, in the Church 779 184

[14] Notestein, op. cit., p. 153.

of Scotland in Portree. Only one girl appeared for instruction. After the significance of her preparation had been fully explained, she declined to take the final step. She did not disagree with the minister's view that she was prepared for membership and communion, but she was afraid of what her friends in the Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church might say. She was probably wondering what the middle-aged adherents of her church might have to say, too. When the Sgiathanach takes his first Communion, in Glendale, Kilmuir, or Portree, the people must be able to look up to him.

The second exception to the age-grade requirement rules among the county people. Because of their social position in the community, which rests on the expression of their statuses, as roles, as landlords, village and neighborhood representatives and leaders, and members of the national class system, and because of their education in England, the county people attain membership in the church at an early age. Some have become elders of the church at twenty-one. To subject them to the control of the crofters would, obviously, be incompatible with their social standing. Although they are all Church of Scotland, here again religion is a reinforcing factor for the structure of the society.

Dying, the final act of living, reveals a host of traits which only receive covert expression during an individual's life. While the youth is censured for his spontaneous pleasures and the adult is criticized for his behavior, the deceased is always respected. As one woman said, "It is the one time in a person's life that the people have nothing but

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Skye

The Presbyterian Ethic

Asceticism, of the sort discussed by Kroeber, is a fundamental feature of the expression given to the Presbyterian ethic by the Sgiathanach.[20] The deliberate practice of austerity, first noted at the time of the Revival under the lay religious brotherhood of the "Men" of Skye, and the willful abstinence from sensory pleasures, which has become a religious sanction for the hardships and economic limitations which accompany crofting, have received social enforcement. This is a well known ideal of Puritanism.[21] It is not, of course, restricted to Western tradition. The Melanesians of Manus, until Margaret Mead's recent study, were described as "censorious, joyless, vindictive, burdened with a sense of the world's wickedness."[22] I have not seen her complete report, but they seem to have changed. A parallel closer to Skye is found in Wales. There, too, abstinence, restraint, and negation are typical traits.[23] On Skye, as in Wales, asceticism is a by-product of previous experience and a consequence of a dynamic revival movement.

The world is the enemy of Christ. As one minister said, "The world situation continues to deteriorate and the God of this world increases his many schemes for ensuring

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[20] Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 598

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., p. 599

[23] Rees, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1962) 1966 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Lewis and Harris

175 widowed mother and her family, working in farm and town-
771 ship, sending merriment at Christmas, and comforting
776 sorrow at Easter or All Souls. And even as He had told the Disciples to heal by faith, so, they thought, had He bidden them. Who could have told the people, in their ignorance, that in a later age they would suffer for this faith?

175 Thus upon the Lessons read in church (or out of doors)
771 and cherished as the root and stock of faith, there were grafted three types of native shoot. These were the para-
• 78 phrases, the meditations or commentaries, and the parables
538 or legends. The paraphrases should need no justification here, in so far as the four Gospels are each incomplete and complementary—the Celtic clergy may have known the fragments of a fifth; these 'fulfilled' the older Law and the Prophets. Of the meditations, few would be censured by a Protestant or Catholic theologian on points on which both would agree; points of disagreement in the meditations hardly concerned them. (Cf. in the Rev. Allan Macdonald's collection, "Thoughts on Death", *Smaointean air a' Bhas*, or *Carmina*, No. 7, and many more.) As a theologian might criticise the parables, legends or marginal tales of which so many were told in medieval Christendom, a word should be said of these.

771 Legends were told of the appearance of Saints to be-
773 lievers, such as that of "The Christ-Child's Lullaby", and of the life of the Holy family. The Gaelic sense of parable was strong (*Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes, *Caim*). In these legends was expressed what the people themselves would have felt and thought in joy or suffering. Legitimately, a preacher suggests a motive or circumstance to bridge the gap in a Bible record; the people did the same. When reverently retold, some suggested circumstance would in time grow to be a legend taking a place close to the Gospel story. A

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781 RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE--emotional reactions experienced in religious behavior (e.g., oppressive fear of malevolent higher powers, overwhelming awe of divine might, luxurious sense of dependence upon a benevolent and all-knowing superior, reassuring feeling of security through conformity, prideful conviction of right, grateful release from the burdens of a guilty conscience, groveling humility of self-abnegation, ecstatic release of mysterious inner powers, mystic sense of identification with or absorption in the divine essence, esthetic thrill in religious art, music, or ceremonial); evidence as to the predominant type or types of religious experience in the particular society; emotional needs satisfied through religious behavior; etc. See also:

Personality	15	Ethical ideals	577
Fine arts	53	Conceptions of emotions	828
Esthetic ideals	517		

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

621 character traits just by virtue of his belonging to a
156 particular family; he is protected from the "out" world even though he may have broken its rules. The
[527] village provides a colorful arena of recreation in the
[574] form of ceilidh, the character, and holidays such as New Year's.

• 781 A major system of order and meaning is provided by
794 religion, and by the opportunity to belong to a tightly-
[781] knit religious clique. Lewis is sometimes called Tir an t-soisgeul, Land of the Scriptures, in contrast with
571 the decadent outer world. The male drinking fraternity
[273] constitutes a second important group. And for everyone
[521] there is the cinema of their neighbors' activities, which are placed in a vast human calendar that includes the behavior of many generations.

781 3. Bible vs. Bottle: An islander living on the
273 mainland once observed that the Free Church plays cat
795 and mouse with members of the community who drink heavily.
794 Death is a common event in a community which has a large
[761] number of old people, and the theme of death appears repeatedly in sermons and in the conversations of those who have undergone religious conversion. The temporary pleasures of drink are contrasted with the eternal joys
781 awaiting those who have been saved. The "false" friend-
794 ships of the drinking situations are contrasted with the more lasting, consistent relations which characterize the clique of the converted. "You have lots of friends when you get converted, and they don't change overnight the way your drinking companions do."

273 "With the drink it's easy to get started and just not
[434] be able to stop drinking, especially with the money there
[781] is now. Everything's unsteady here except religion."

273 Many of the most deeply religious male members of
794 the church were once heavy drinkers. One villager observed,
733 "If a man went to extremes as a sinner, he'll be just as
781 fanatical when he becomes holy. Had it not been for
[743] religion, some of them would have landed in Craig Dunain [the mental hospital near Inverness]. The talk is forever on religion. That keeps their mind at rest."

794 Membership in the religious clique offers many
781 satisfactions. "You can talk with the converted all night, see them the next day and go on talking, because you're always talking about something new. Now, when
[829] you hear someone telling a yarn or joke, you say to yourself, I've heard that before, I don't want to hear it again. But when you're talking about Christ, sharing your experiences of conversion, the conversation is always new."

794 A few cynical, non-converted persons describe the
781 clique as a "social club" whose members sit together in
829 church, shake hands with each other more often than with non-members, and are always having meetings in each others' houses from which others are excluded. "They came in and invited Jessie and Marian to come to their prayer meeting, but they didn't ask me. They have tea, sing psalms, and have religious discussions. Ministers and converted people from all over the island come to these meetings."

"I said to her, 'You wouldn't be caught dead talking to me. At the church you all shake hands with each other, but never with me. How about passing some of it on?'"

The non-converted often express envy, and say they wish they felt the same way that the converted people seem to feel. "I was sitting with my sister at the fire

794 one night, and she said, 'I've got something, have you?'
781 She told me, 'I've got Christ.' She said that Christ
829 whispered to her as we were sitting there, 'Come, come, come to me.' Now she's got full military honors. I felt so bad when she took Communion, because I hadn't got it. We're all going to die. Christ is everything. Without Christ you've got nothing. I go to bed at night and something is hanging over the bed saying, 'This isn't your bed, this isn't your place.' This is the last fling, you won't have me with you long. The next time you see me, I'll be in the church parade."

Often the converted are criticized for "dropping the old crowd" or for not fulfilling their neighborly obligations. "When these people need something, they're going to be hard put to find anyone eager to help them." "You're supposed to be good and loving when you're converted, but they never help anybody except themselves. They look down on anyone who's not converted."

When someone begins to come to the Wednesday night prayer meetings, the most noticeable sign of conversion, the newcomers are welcomed into the fold with eagerness; after the prayer meeting, members shake their hands and congratulate them. To be converted is to be "Born again." "My life is like a boat that was once tied to a pier with many ropes. One by one, these ropes have fallen away. There is only drudgery to this life. I feel as though I

794 could float right up to heaven. The only pleasure I get
781 although it is but a shadow of that ultimate joy, is bein
829 in the company of good-living people."

The converted often spend evenings with each other singing psalms and sharing experiences of conversion. They follow the Communions as they are given in differen congregations throughout the island, and may even go to Communions on the mainland. "You get to meet all kinds of interesting people that you wouldn't meet otherwise. If it weren't for these meetings, it would be like the cities, you'd never meet." "East side knows west side because of the Communions, not because of the dances. You're alone at dances." Although every house in the village is open to visitors at Communion times, the conv tend to gather in the homes of their fellow converted, where, between the twice-daily services, they gather for intense religious discussion.

Persons who are converted, even if they have not ta Communion, attend the prayer meeting held in the middle each week, but only the communicants may attend the "pri meetings" (coinne uaigneach), which are held once a mont "My father used to tease my mother, who went to these 'darkness' meetings. But it's only a prayer meeting tha gives the younger, recently converted members a chance t give the prayers, since when you're a communicant you're

n the nurture of the church by being tested on his knowledge 626
f the Bible and the Shorter Catechism. The elders, then, 851
lt in a judicial capacity. If the father measures up to the 888
tandards imposed by the elders and the minister, who is their 794
hoice and, therefore, must reflect their views, the father [779]
s told to present the child for baptism. If he does not
atisfy the elders, his child is refused the rewards of the
hurch until his father mends his ways. Here the authoritarian
unction of the elderly finds expression.

Many men are reluctant to approach the elders to ask
or the sacrament. Everyone knows when a man is going to be
ested and judged. The humiliation of being refused forces
he father to reform. Since the elders think in terms of
abitual behavior, one or even two years may pass before the
ather will feel that he has continuously demonstrated his
onformity to the satisfaction of the elders. Nor is the bond
f affection between the elder and his people and friends
trong enough to prompt any leniency. To do so would threaten
he status of the elders and the continuation of their control.
n one case a first cousin of the minister was refused.

In the trade center village the question of baptism is 369
sore point for the ministers of the Free Church and the Free 626
resbyterian Church. As might be expected, the elders of the 851
hurch of Scotland are chosen from the county families and 888
he prominent newcomers. Neither group shares the views of 794
he Sgiathanach as far as their interpretation of circumspect
ehavior is concerned. For them baptism is administered to

796 into tiny squares. The ministers and the elders partake
794 first. A final hymn is full of rejoicing, and the minister then exhorts the communicants to return to the world and give witness and to live exemplary lives.

The evening service on Sunday is evangelical, intended for non-believers. After this service the communicants conduct a brief prayer meeting to give thanks.

[829] On Monday, the minister again tells the communicants to go out into the world and declare publically their experiences of the preceding day; and to demonstrate in everything they do and say that they are believers. In
[178] the past, only a morning service was given, as most people
[484] had a long journey ahead of them to return home; but now that cars are available, a similar evening service is also conducted.

781 5. The Process of Conversion: The process of conversion
794 may be slow or sudden, but conversion is most common at
796 middle age and among women. One informant wryly observed,
[561] "Only recently women were allowed to have souls. But
[562] from the looks of the Communion table, mostly women are going to heaven." Many of the women taking Communion are
[589] dressed from head to foot in black, a color which indicates
[822] their widowed status.

781 The first sign that a person is "following" (leanntail)
794 the church is that he begins to attend the weekly prayer

781 meetings. If a woman converts when she is off the island,
794 as occasionally happens during the first year or so at
[302] university or other school, the tell-tale sign is that she begins to let her hair grow, and wears it tied back in a bun.

The word curam means "conversion," but is also used in ordinary conversation to mean being careful, such as keeping one's clothes tidy. It also means to be circumspect. In a religious context, it means to be careful of one's behavior, as this behavior reflects on the state of one's soul. When a person "has the curam," he has demonstrated that he is "in a state of conviction," that he
781 has undergone conversion. People say, "A change has
794 come into my life." The "change" includes the cessation
795 of drinking and going to dances and concerts. Woman stop smoking. "After you are converted, you don't watch TV on Sunday. You should do everything for Sunday on Saturday, like shine your shoes for church or cook the Sunday dinner."

781 A dramatic change in behavior is often found among
273 men who have had a history of hard drinking. One man went into the bothan, raised a glass to his lips, but never drank. "He put it down and walked out. They put the glass of whiskey aside, expecting him to return. He was a hard-working man, one of the hardest workers in the village, but everything went to booze in the bothan. He slept in

781 the same room as his father.
273 him, but he closed his ears.
week after he walked out of t
him some money. He had been
installment, but always spent
went into town, got the suit,
next Sunday."

781 The process of conversio
153 feelings of restlessness, ina
passages running through one'
surroundings ("A voice kept w
home'"), and occasionally vis
serve as signs to the person
[869] one of the few chosen by God
are taught from an early age
school to memorize Biblical p
that such passages often come
a stressful, disorderly time
as messages from God which pr
Evangelical services are full
bility of unexpected death, a
Conversion is often traced to

"I was like an animal.
existed. Then my wife died.
that something happened insid
later."

His father used to lecture
Then his father died. The
he bothan, a relative sent
trying to buy a suit on
the money on drink. He
and wore it to church the

on is often accompanied by
ability to sleep, scriptural
's mind, alienation from normal
whispering, 'this is not your
sions, all of which events
that he is indeed converted,
for salvation. As children
in both school and Sunday
passages, it is not surprising
to mind easily, and, during
of life may be interpreted
romise order and relief.
of doom, the imminent possi-
and exhortations to convert.
a minister's preaching.
I didn't care whether God
It was when I saw the coffin
le. I was converted six months

781 153 "It was the Monday after the Communions, about midnight. I was lying in bed not thinking about anything in particular. Then all of a sudden I felt God speaking to me. It was the strangest feeling, like I didn't feel safe. With each tick of the clock, time was running out, the world was rushing to its end.

"Four days I was like that, dazed and uncertain, not feeling safe. I was sitting down, unable to work. I didn't know what I was doing most of the time. Then all of a sudden I had a vision, of Christ on the cross who died for us. I had been praying to God and here was my answer, trust in the Lord Jesus Christ. God does everything for you. He makes you breathe, lifts your lungs in and out, makes your blood flow. Everything is in the Bible, every event in 1970. Once I realized that, I could take the days as they came, from one day to the next. We came bare into this world, and we leave it bare; but I'm certain of one thing, that we go with Jesus into heaven after death, and no one can talk me out of that."

781 571 Although conversion is supposedly an individual matter, and one's fate is thought to be pre-determined, conversion often occurs among many persons at the same time. "It's like a chain of fireworks. Once one person goes, the rest go, too." Through the dense network of social contacts that criss-crosses the island, villagers are aware of

781 571 conversions that take place in other villages. "Five persons converted recently in Lochs. Two used to drink a lot, they're saying." Sometimes mass conversions occur, [986] called "revivals," during which people shout, chant, speak in tongues, and sometimes collapse.

794 829 Although strict observance of religious practices must be maintained by the converted while they are on the island, it is possible for them to relax this observance when they visit mainland cities. The converted see nothing wrong with attending plays or movies in Glasgow, as long as no one observes them. A non-believer once commented wrly, "They believe in the 11th commandment: thou shallt not be seen." Women who have spent many years in domestic service on the mainland, where they generally live very different sorts of lives from those of island people, often return to the island to retire. They then take up the [292] color of their surroundings. The long black dress then becomes the appropriate garb for them on Sundays. As one person observed, "Women deposit their curam in the Left Luggage Department at Stornoway, and pick it up fifty years later."

779 The beliefs of the Free Church include explanations for all events. "Everything of importance that happened in history is recorded in the Bible." Predestination lies behind all unexpected events; a sense of fatalism dulls

159 common grazing land in Shawbost. She is the third of three sisters and has a younger, unmarried brother who lives at home with their mother. The eldest sister married a Scottish tradesman and lives in the United States. The second sister lives with her mother, as her husband comes and goes from the sea.

Mairi grew up wanting to be a nurse, although she had also considered being a missionary. She worked for
160 while in a hospital in Stornoway, and then went to Edinburgh for three years to train as a nurse. "I was glad to get away from home, away from the restrictions. I wanted to live a good life, to have fun. I had enough money to spend. I could spend it as I liked. I didn't like to come home. It was so dull and cold.

"But the more I drank and smoked and went to parties
159 and dances, the emptier I felt. One night I was at a 78 dance. I had chipped in with some friends and we bought a bottle. Suddenly it seemed to me that I was getting deeper and deeper in sin, and I promised that if I got home from the dance I would try and correct my ways. I went home and prayed, and was converted."

She had met her husband at a dance when she was home
159 for a visit soon after she started nurse's training. He was sailing, and he returned to sea for three years so they would have enough money to marry. When he returned,

#159 he tried to persuade Mairi to emigrate to Australia, but she would not consider it. They lived for a while with relatives in Shawbost, until he built a house for them on the common grazing land.

#159 "I remember my mother talking about the high ceilidh, 829 how people would gather to talk, and the girls would sit around combing each others' hair. It was a good life. Today things are going too fast. There are so few places left that offer peace. Many young people want to leave here, but they usually come back in ten years' time. I never want to leave."

Katrina Bheag

#159 "I sit there in church expecting to be hit by the
78 curam, like lightning. I always go with my next-door neighbor, Naletta. Up until a year ago she was going to parties and drinking, but then she started going with a new crowd, the religious folk. She just changed one crowd for another. She kept the party crowd going for awhile as well, she couldn't decide which she preferred. But now she sees me and asks, 'How are you?' I say, 'Fine.' She says, 'How can you be fine if you haven't got Christ?' So now I sit in church with her up at the front, with both her and the minister brainwashing me. She keeps telling me about all the people that have been converted

#159 recently, like the boy in Ness who decided he wasn't going
78 to church. He was sitting there reading, heard a knock at the door and didn't go. It came again, so he went and opened the door--there was no one there. Then the voice of God spoke to him, and the next Wednesday he went to prayer meeting. He probably felt guilty about not going to church. I would have been just plain scared.

#159 "Something's wrong with the reasons why people get
78 converted. When someone dies, someone is sure to get 829 converted. When something terrible happens, someone gets the curam. If one person gets it, other members of the family start to get it. Take Iain Mhurchaidh in the next street, for example; his wife converted, so he's trying. But he took a drink the other day, and had to eat an onion so his wife wouldn't notice; and when he hurt his hand in the garage the other day, he swore like a sailor. Usually people marry people the same as they are. It's usually the woman who converts afterwards. The curamach people say they're so fond of each other that they could marry any one of them. That's the best way to get a husband if you're an old maid. And a few affairs have gotten started at the prayer meetings they hold in each others' houses. I've never seen a really holy person. They'll try to cheat you as fast as the next person.

"Once you start 'following,' you can't really stop. Once you've given the sign that you're a follower, everyone

#159 is watching. My boyfriend tells me that I shouldn't go
78 to church regularly and then all of a sudden show up in 829 a pub on Saturday night. It confuses people. The Bible says you can't have two masters.

"There are only two kinds of people in this village. You're either curamach or you're not. If you get the curam, all of a sudden you've got a lot of friends. If you had a friend who got the curam, all of a sudden she's no longer your friend. She just asks you if you've prayed today, and acts like she's feeling sorry for you. If your parents are curamach and your father is an elder, you've got it made in this place. Dombnuill Iain Dasher's daughter was as slim and beautiful as a model but she was never chosen as Miss West Side at the dances. Her father wasn't a member of the church. He always spoke his mind, and people called him an idiot.

"There are definite symptoms of conversion. A person
#159 who's been looking bored in church suddenly begins to pay
78 attention. The women go all weepy. The men sigh. They wait around outside the church and don't leave so quickly. You can see them shaking hands with the converted. You can predict their conversion months in advance.

#159 "I had a dream last year, of a line of people going
79 down the aisle of the church, all dressed in white like to 787 a wedding. Only they weren't wearing veils. I realised

#159 later that these were all people who eventually got the
78 curam. The only conversion I didn't expect was Norrie 787 Bheag. I saw her one night crying outside the church, and knew her time had come.

"In the dream I was at the very end of the line, only I wasn't wearing a white dress. I was naked, and kept trying to cover myself.

#159 "Not a day passes that I don't think of death. I
78 want to pray, but I don't know who to pray to. I've been 741 going to church regularly now, sort of hoping and sort of being afraid that I'll find the answer. I've read too much, and I met too many kinds of people while I was working in Glasgow. I didn't live near other people from Shawbost when I was in Glasgow. I got to know Jews, tinkers, Catholics, and Jehovah's Witnesses. The world is full of different religions. I believe that you can convert to a religion, from to Buddhism or to Christianity, but not to a church like the Free Church or the Church of Scotland. This place is called Tir an t-soisgeul where the true gospel is preached, but the whole world should be called that.

Ruaridh Dan

#159 Ruaridh Dan was married in January and began to work
288 as a warper in the Shawbost mill the following October, just after the end of World War II. He had been weaving

Portree has three Presbyterian churches and, in addition, 348
an occasionally used Episcopal church and small Catholic 715
chapel for newcomers. Kilmuir has two Presbyterian churches, and the population includes affiliates of three denominations. In contrast to the pattern of schism in the United States and, 715
indeed, in most of the Western World, the schisms on Skye 718
have been due to a strong desire to maintain cultural conservatism. Each time a church has tended to become more lenient in official policy, there has been dissension and disruption. This does not, however, mean that the several sects are dissimilar in practice and outlook. In Scotland the local 715
kirk is governed by the congregation in accordance with the democratic principles laid down at the Reformation. The people call their minister and elect the lay officials of the church.

Religion is of supreme importance for an understanding 781
of the configuration of the local culture. In fact, beyond 182
being a highly integrated and systematized pattern in itself, religion has come to provide a focus for the culture. Through the religious pattern the culture achieved a reintegration and found continuity at a time when the people were faced with the prospect of enduring instability, if not total social and cultural disintegration. Although it has the appearance of being an extremely negative institution, in that much of the former secular life has been circumscribed by clerical censure, religion has sanctioned the fundamental values and patterns of

behavior which have given the individual and the culture their 781
ability to continue in spite of social instability and acute 182
economic hardship. In many respects, the Skyemen's religion is strikingly similar to that of the Welshmen.[23]

The status of the father within the nuclear family has 182
been maintained, despite changing economic roles which might 781
have led to a loss of prestige, by his religious sanction. The aged men of the community, in particular the elders, the 820
elected lay kirk officers, have been able to continue to exercise stringent control over their families and neighbors. In 842
a negative way, the socially inferior status of the women has been maintained by debarring them from active roles in the church. In religious activity the people find meaningful patterns of interaction. The small congregations, rarely over 300 people, give the Skyemen a sense of belonging. In the 842
home the practice of daily worship intensifies family interaction. Above all, at the semi-annual communion celebrations, 182
highly emotional meetings which partake much of revivalism, 781
the people find solidarity. As each church in turn celebrates 842
the Lord's Supper, the people from the neighboring churches of the same sect come to share one to five days of worshipping together and renewing their ties of friendship. At the daily church services the people meet and hear visiting ministers of their sect and the eminent Men, members of the elect, from other parts of the island. The identical pattern is found in Wales where the intense patterns of interaction center around the singing festivals.[24]

[23] Rees, op. cit., pp. 114-130.

[24] Ibid., pp. 129-130.

781 Although the Sgrisbhaach accepts his religion without
182 question, unless he is willing to abandon his cultural heritage for the outside world, many Scots are disturbed by the
782 influence of religion on the lives of the people. It has become commonplace to call the people narrow and bigoted, and the people well know this, but if the Calvinist and Puritan ethic had not been developed with such logic and vigor, I probably would not be able to assert that through religion the culture has maintained continuity while the content has changed.

wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.

These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now was a spare-time pursuit. The Kniathanach was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any sacred movement into the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was being lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the "Men" became an official policy of a new church. The emotional approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium.

Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

sanctioned the qualities which had given the people their characteristic strength of character.

The churches of Skye made consorvatism an official policy in 1843, and in 1892 reaffirmed this policy. For well over 100 years religion has had a strength and vitality which has enabled the Skyeman to pass through times of extreme distress, not to mention chronic economic deficiencies. Among the most important religious sanctions are those which reinforce the status values of the culture. The father's status in the nuclear family was reaffirmed at a time when his socio-economic importance was declining. He has been held responsible for the spiritual welfare of his wife and children. The prestige of the old men, the family-head elders, and their control over the neighborhood group was similarly bolstered by making them the judges of a man's spiritual enlightenment. Spiritual enlightenment is weighed on a scale which will not balance unless a person's religious knowledge is matched by conformity to the ways the old men think a man should behave. Again we are not dealing with a completely negative attitude. In the place of frivolous amusements, religion has offered highly emotional, spiritual patterns of behavior. Religion has preserved the Gaelic language by using it in formal worship and within the home for family worship. In these and other ways religion has indeed enabled the culture to achieve a reorientation and maintain its continuity.

How similar Skye is to the old Order Amish in this respect.[3]

[3] Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

else the spouse is likely to lose status.

The most powerful of all agents for social control are the old men of the neighborhood. Through their position in the church, a religious sanction for their prestige status, they enforce conformity to the norms of behavior which religion has sanctioned either positively or negatively. No one, nor any group, has been successful in questioning the right of these venerable men to maintain their habits and statuses which have been preserved over the generations. The baptism of a man's children and his own salvation depends on acceptance of the authority of the elders, for they will be his judges.

As far as the contemporary scene is concerned, there is no anomie. The content of the culture has been greatly modified, but the form, the underlying distinctive pattern, has been preserved. We are dealing with a single tradition in which the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them have remained common and clear. This is all the more striking because there have been periods in which cultural and social disintegration threatened to overwhelm the Kniathanach. This brings us back to the role of religion in preserving cultural continuity.

Loomis and Beegle have employed Durkheim's theory to analyze the growth and spread of fundamentalist religious sects in contemporary United States.[16] They conclude: "It is no more coincidence that various types of emotional religious sects are now among the most rapidly expanding

[16] Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 401-407.

religious groups." As a result of urbanization almost all rural areas have experienced the pangs of social mobility and few have escaped unscathed from a clash with the economic forces which impinge from the outside. This predisposes the people to the appeal of an emotional religion, revivalism. Frequently, the sect becomes uncompromising and rejects the outside world in an attempt to bolster group security. The sequence of events on Skye enables me to add that the sect can also reject a great deal of the former content of the culture. Be that as it may, the authors show how emotional religious movements restore or replace meaningful patterns of interaction among groups whose social systems have deteriorated. Revivalism is a counter agent for anomie.

The first period of social and cultural disequilibrium which the Kniathanach experienced may be placed in the first half of the nineteenth century, with a climax around 1840. To paraphrase Loomis and Beegle, it was no mere coincidence that an emotional religious movement should have appeared and found so many converts. The closing years of the eighteenth century had witnessed numerous changes in the content of the culture and the collapse of the old social heirarchy. While these events doubtlessly had an influence on all levels of the society, it was not until the turn of the century that they broke forth upon the masses. Within a decade a revival had reached effective proportions. ..his was a time of estate reorganization. The taksman, the traditional leaders, were quickly disappearing. The runrig farm was being abolished, sheep were beginning to replace men in one parish (Bracaale).

782

782 PROPITIATION--practices reflecting a sense of dependence and a desire to ingratiate or influence the supernatural; repudiation and intimidation; obeisances (e.g., bowing, genuflection); laudation; prayer; sacrifice (e.g., libations, food sacrifices, animal and human sacrifice, symbolic and vicarious sacrifices); vows; burning of incense; decoration of religious edifices; endowing of shrines and temples; etc. See also:

Friendship	76, 79	Desecration and consecration of sacred objects and places	778
Etiquette	800	Intercessory prayers	788
Mortuary sacrifices	876		

the children might not receive proper religious instruction.

"Family worship" is considered an important part of daily life. Prayers should be said before meals and teas, and the head of the household should read passages from the Bible to the assembled members of the household every morning and evening. The practice of "reading the books" prevails in households headed by older men, but is less common among families headed by younger men.

2. The Clique of the Converted: The second network within the religious sphere is a special religious in-group, the clique of the converted (turamach). This clique constitutes a relatively strongly bounded system which to some extent competes with the township boundary system. Owen (Rees 1960) has noted that as persons become more involved with religion in the Protestant Hebrides, they tend to remove themselves from community life.

Intense involvement with the church sometimes conflicts with township activities since people may attend Communions at times when a fank is planned, leaving the work to be done by others. When elders of the church are present at activities, such as fanks, which are otherwise usually boisterous and full of humor, behavior tends to be "properly" restrained.

in behavior is noticed long before the person takes Communion. Some persons may never take Communion, even though they are generally known as "good living."

A person who shows signs of being "good living" (converted) is carefully watched by all villagers, but especially by the clique of the converted whose strict standards he must satisfy before he is able to gain admission.

A communicant who gets drunk or in other ways falls from grace is not allowed to take Communion again until he goes before the kirk session and attests that his wrongs have been mended.

Thursday, the first day of the Communions, is "a day of humiliation and prayer." Friday is Latha na Ceist, the day of questions or catechism, sometimes called "fast-ship day" or "men's day." A passage is read from the Bible, which different elders must discuss in the light of their experiences of conversion. The day is also called a day of marks and signs. The elders who speak act as part of the day's rites are from congregations outside the village, which is regarded as "a matter of courtesy" and to bring in new ideas." They are called on by the minister and stand to give testimony or "fellowship," sharing their experiences of conversion with the assembly. These attestations are also spoken of as giving "tokens"

called on an awful lot to give prayers in church, and it's hard for some of them to get up and speak." The Reverend Macleod notes in his diary that private meetings were initiated on the island in 1826.

A quarterly meeting (coinne raith) is held in Stornowa to which many of the converted from the villages go. The Communions are held twice a year. "Special services," or "small communions," held soon after the Communions, are intended as evangelical services for young people, that is, services enjoining people to convert. These services, which last from Monday through Friday, were started in Ness after the first world war.

4. The Communions (Orduighean): Communions are given twice a year, during autumn and late winter. They are scheduled for different weeks in different parts of the island, and neighboring congregations close their churches when Communions are being held nearby, so that during the Communion season some persons may attend a number of services at different churches.

In the days when transportation was limited, visitors coming from a distance away stayed for an entire weekend. All households prepared food and made ready for any overnight visitors who might arrive without prior warning. Guests often slept on mattresses laid on the floor. After facilities of transportation improved, it became common for people to drive down for the day in private cars and return to their own homes at night.

621 embracing several hamlets. Yet the strength of com-
622 munity life sprang from co-operation in the farm-team and
623 in the boat's crew.

With the passing of the joint farm the greatest dis-
198 ciplinary factor for work in common passed away from
199 agriculture. The fact that fishing still remained as a social
200 discipline, and actually developed in importance as the
201 farm-team declined and was abolished, was to prove all
202 the more significant to the vitality of social life until 1914
203 and even to the present.

(e) THE COMMUNITY ORGANISED: STEERSMAN AND CONSTABLE

624 As small groups of two to half a dozen men could manage
625 their agricultural affairs informally, by common consent,
626 no official was formally chosen to manage the affairs of the
627 fellow-workers on a farm. Where prompt decisions are
628 needed, however, even a small group should be led: a
629 boat's crew therefore choose their helmsman-skipper and
630 obey him at sea. And where several farm-groups made
631 up a township, more formal deliberations were required,
632 and to carry out their decisions they chose a responsible
633 man, the constable.

634 Of the crofters' manner of deciding communal affairs
635 in Uist, Carmichael wrote, in 1884, that these meetings
636 "were highly interesting, as showing the ability of the
637 people, their logical and legal acumen, their readiness of
638 resources and, I can happily add, their invariable courtesy
639 towards one another. There was one regular official known
640 as the constable on whom there lay the chief executive
641 responsibility. When a crofter in the district wished to
642 town-land, he takes off his shoes and stockings and, taking

175 his bonnet in his hand and bowing low and reverently, he
622 declares on honour in presence of earth and heaven, in
623 presence of God and men—*Am fiamuis air agus adhair, am*
178 *fiamuis Dia agus daoine*—that he shall be faithful to his
179 trust. This simple declaration of office is extremely im-
180 pressive, though now, alas, becoming obsolete from the
181 fears of the shallow thoughtless and the scoffs of the severely
622 wise. The duties of the constable were to divide a new
623 peat-moss into banks for which lots are cast, to see that
624 every crofter does his share of free labour in road building
625 and repair, to engage herds and the like." (*Napier Crofters' Commission*, 188[illegible])

Naturally such duties called not only for tact, firmness and authority, temporal and spiritual, on the part of the constable, but for strong backing by the crofters, as a body, 175 of the man they had freely elected. But hence too, the 622 adva[illegible]ge to a covetous landlord of superseding free 555 election by appointing his own nominee. Martin found 421 that this had been done in St. Kilda shortly before his visit about 1697 and the people complained bitterly, as well they might. We shall see that the same aspiration of liberty was resented in Lewis less than a century ago. As a mere estate employee, moreover, the constable's position between the landlord's factor (or ground officer) and his fellow-crofters, was always difficult; and it could be cruelly hard, as when he was forced to help in destroying a neighbour's house at an eviction. Neighbourly union in a town-
182 ship was damaged by this duality of function, when he
183 who should have been their own impartial executive was
184 in the landlord's pay. When affairs got too bad in a
185 Lewis township the people would appoint their own con-
186 stable in addition to the landlord's; even so, rivalry and
187 dual functions weakened the community. Such weakness

188 facing the sun, he cut a handful of corn. Putting the
241 handful three times round his head, the man cried the
(175) 'Iollach Buana', reaping salutation,—and the whole family
(178) then took up the strain." While these notes by Carmichael describe the custom after the abolition of the farm-team, he also tells of "all the people of the Townland going together to reap" (*Carmina*, No. 89, cf. Note to No. 90). In the days of close partnership this was no doubt a team blessing, said by the chief reaper among his neighbours in mutual aid.

192 Grace before meals survives in Presbyterian house-
264 holds; and ancient graces are recorded in *Carmina*, vol. iii.
(114) The unpublished examples given here are from Miss Annie Johnston (ne Nicolson), Barra, to whose knowledge Gaelic lore owes so much:

1. O God, bless our portion, and our people.
2. O God, be about the beginning of our life (or food) and about the end of our life (*ith.* of our world).
3. O God, let nothing enter our bodies that may harm our souls.

A Dhia, beannaich an ceid 'us an ceidseachd.
A Dhia, le mu thus air bidhe (or bidhe)
'us mu dheireadh ar soughail.
A Dhia, na leig le 'n ar cuidsinn a ni lochd do 'n'anam.[1]

[1] The reader will note the meaning in translation; but he should also scan the Gaelic, and the assonance of the vowels. In the first and shortest there is a simple play upon sound and meaning: *ar ceid* 'our cuidsinn' = our share (of things) and our (share of) people, friends and family. In the second, Miss Johnston thinks there may be a play upon the words 'life' and 'food' (of which the sound is almost the same), reminding one that food is the means of life and of all that life means. In the third the assonance of ideas is characteristically emphasized in the pattern of the accented vowels in the words: "*a ni lochd do 'n anam*" or *a lochd do'n anam*, here again the form, by means of which it sank through the senses into the heart, marks its significance. Contrast with these the translation Gaelic in the Gaelic version of English Grace. As in the English original, in prose lacks poetic form: "*Tha sinn a nair iosag dhuit, A Thigearna, airson nan tiodhlacan a tha Do mhaithas a' buidseachadh sinn, trainh Iosa Criosda ar Tighearna. Amen.*

CH. VII SPIRITUAL LIFE OF COMMUNITY

192 The care of cattle was accompanied by prayer. As an
235 Eriskay housewife said to me, she would never leave her
cow tethered without a murmured, "Saint Columba be herding you" (*Buachaille a'Chalum-cille ort*). The curing of animal sickness, as of human ailments, was accompanied by prayers. And prayer was used to avert the evil eye, symbol of suspicions born of unreasoning fear which, psychologists tell us, beset the modern but little less than the ancient! The thought or act of prayer which links a man to his fellow-men links him to the dumb beasts. "The man who is merciful to a soul will not be merciless to a brute" (*Am fear a bhitheas trocaireach ri anam, cha bhith e mithrocaireach ri bhraid*).

196 Throughout Christian custom each task, of the annual
199 rhythm was marked, at its start and close, by a day of
197 seasonal festival (*Ld Feill*). These Christian festivals re-
placed earlier celebrations and continued some of their features, often in play. Yet concerted seasonal activities could not be related to the supreme festival of the Christian Church, Easter, owing to its movable date. This is one reason for the great importance of other, fixed Festivals to
(114) rural community life. This point, not always appreciated by latter individualists, is made clear by M. M. Banks in describing *British Calendar Customs*, vol. i, *Scotland* 175 (1937). Remembering that the Old Style Calendar dates
178 were ten days later than the New Style (when officially
179 adopted in Scotland in 1600), they may be compared with
the annual rhythm of climate and labour (Fig. 9). Until 1600, the New Year began in spring on 25th March. After the Reformation and the abolition of Christmas or Yule, the Gaelic Yule Day was celebrated on Christmas Eve, the day which, in the Protestant Highlands and Lowlands, still keeps alive some of the old friendly visiting and

175 at midsummer came joyous departure to the shielings.
786 Michaelmas at the end of September was a festival of
thanksgiving, when the poor, those might be well fed, could race madly along the machair. As long nights brought in the winter, Hallowe'en came on 31st October, and on the morrow the solemnity of All Hallows (*Samhain*). On 11th November came St. Martin's Day, and in December Christmas once again.

175 When the Islesmen put out to sea, prayers were chanted
782 to Father, Son and Holy Spirit and to the Disciples, "the
Fishers of Men". Little more of these might be heard (*Carmina*, Nos. 117-120), others were chanted by the skipper at the helm, as celebrant, the crew giving the responses (No. 121). As self-sustained community life 786 [illegible] was threatened or endangered, this prayer was [illegible] encouraged by a few elegy, Catholic and Protestant. 196 At the start of the season's fishing in Eriskay, Fr. Allan 197 Macdonald went out in the boats and chanted a rune taught 226 to him by elders; the men responding: One of the "Good 280 Blessings" or prayers recorded by Carmichael (No. 119) is found in Bishop Carswell's *Liturgy in Gaelic*, of 1569, and is quoted by Martin as "a form of prayer used by many of the islanders at sea after the sails are set"[2]. Most of Carswell's *Liturgy* was translated from that of John Knox, but not this prayer, of which the earlier and later-recorded version are the same, except for one revealing difference.

(178) [1] In so doing, 'Father Allan' may have been responding to a pious service at an older school of Gaelic priests trained upon the College of Lismore, on island of Loch Linnhe, which Martin was the birthplace of Carmichael, and in the home of his Protestant parents, the Gaelic language was thus hospitably received.

[2] *Faicsin nan Urnaighean* (ed. M'Lauchlan), 140, and Martin, 1703 (edition of 1934, pp. 180-181). A new text of Carswell is in preparation by the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society.

175 warfare—destroyed its intimate tie with the home, with
282 peace. The web the women had dyed, spun, woven and
532 wauled together ceased to be a sacrament when the tartan
614 was proscribed to men except when worn as a uniform with
(114) "England's cruel red".

The framers of this law, which stood on the statute
(148) book for over forty years, took full cognisance of what they
did. Appended to the Act of 1747 was an oath
648 taken by every Scots-Norman and Scots-Norman arts. After
648 his death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars
can tell me, this almost unnoticed monument remains
764 unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts
of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement,
willingly accepted this and Gaelic tradition was only prevented
to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all
time, we have become.

763 At the approach of death God's mercy and peace were
782 sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the
wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme
Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[2]
764 In early times confession seems to have been made as
532 and later implied to the priest in charge of Inchmahome,
where the Highlands meet the Lowlands at the Lake of
Menteith. As on a number of medieval monuments, knight and lady are sculptured side by side. But here the two lie each with "an arm under the other's head", the free arm of the knight reaching over to clasp hands

786 fellowship. "The Irish Church", a Roman is said to
175 have exclaimed to a Celtic Gaelic in scorn, "has worn
no martyr's crown!" "Ireland was named the Isle of
192 Saints not by persecuting but by cherishing God's elect", was the reply. The Celtic Church linked the lands across St. Patrick's Channel; and what was true of Patrick's missionary field seems to have been as true of Celtic Britain, the land of his birth. Kilpatrick on the Roman Wall of Clyde has been claimed as the birthplace of one who was certainly a Cymric Celt by birth and baptism, a Gaul by training, and an Irishman by mission.[1]

This closeness of fellowship ranged from personal to
771 divine relationships in waking or rest, with an intimacy of
(192) expression at its one. A prayer for rest begins, "I shall
(181) lie down with God, and God lie down with me. . . ." A simple and universal gesture of love, in which parent, child or lover slips an arm under the loved one's head, is sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the
771 wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme
Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[2]
764 In early times confession seems to have been made as
532 and later implied to the priest in charge of Inchmahome, where the Highlands meet the Lowlands at the Lake of Menteith. As on a number of medieval monuments, knight and lady are sculptured side by side. But here the two lie each with "an arm under the other's head", the free arm of the knight reaching over to clasp hands

771 with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of
764 Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1294.
532 Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness.

The following year, 1295, saw the commencement of "the
175 three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction
of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King
(82) Alexander III,[1] that Scotland led in love and law", peace
(648) within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing
(648) Gaelic Christian arts and Scots-Norman arts. After
764 unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement, willingly accepted this and Gaelic tradition was only prevented to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all time, we have become.

763 At the approach of death God's mercy and peace were
782 sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[2]
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532 and later implied to the priest in charge of Inchmahome, where the Highlands meet the Lowlands at the Lake of Menteith. As on a number of medieval monuments, knight and lady are sculptured side by side. But here the two lie each with "an arm under the other's head", the free arm of the knight reaching over to clasp hands

(113) [1] *A unique mediaeval tomb at Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.) It would be of deep interest to compare the attitudes to death found in 'Spiritual Songs' by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs for death which, before the tragic period of post-Reformation date, are all Roman Catholic origin (e.g. in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, poems on the Day, others. It is a pagan and of Western Europe, to see death as a friend, and to see the Passion of Christ in the practice—almost the necessity—of giving an English form to a Gaelic name when it is used in English literature, as Donald for Dunbhaol (Dunbhaol), Aeneas for Aonghas (Angus) or Peter for Padhraig (Patrick). Magr a Gael in the Lowlands felt obliged to relinquish his baptismal (and ancestral) names, with their link to Celtic Christian tradition.

CH. VIII **RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS**

though the suspected person was not thereby accused of
[77] ill will, he would have to make some effort to put it right.
[79] 'Cure' might be sought either by counter-malediction
on the supposed ill-wisher, known or unknown, or else
by prayer that the evil should be spread so widely as to be
harmless, as "on all the wild birds of Heaven . . . that
it would do them no harm"—a charming touch! (Carmina,
[82] vol. iii). Prayer was the normal and the best protection,
free of any malediction, and was included in general intercession for loved ones. But fears remain—not only in
'distant' isles—both in peace and in the extreme stress
of war.

A psychotherapist of 1917-18, A. J. Brock, wrote that
the "War was not in essence a new thing, the ordinary life
[115] of every day being itself a sort of battle"[1]. Brock brought
the hard-learned psychotherapy of war to bear upon a fresh
understanding of the countryman struggling against an
environment with which he has got out of tune. Failing in
spite of strained effort to get the food and warmth he needs
for himself and his 'wife and weans', he doubtless may lose
happiness in home and village, and faith in the future.
"How did primitive people express all this?" asked Brock,
noting that the rules and casualties of bad times in the past
brought fears and floating pictures comparable to those of
'shell-shocked' patients.

In all lands the unity of family life and labour is
[71] symbolised in homelier folk-lore by the protective spirit
[79] of each homestead. As long as the work is carried on
heartily and thriftily the Brownie is pleased. But the
people may become negligent, or begin to labour upon
mercenary motives. The true spirit of the work is then
upset and (in all folk-lore) the Brownies begin to give

[1] A. J. Brock, *Health and Conduct*, 1919, pp. 192-193.

duty of a wife was to weave her wedding sheet. Her duty
[64] of burial merely buying a coffin. As all birth and carriage, so
the people who attended a funeral must have their dram. Just as
they do not want subsidies to begin life, they do not want to
be buried with public assistance. They hoard their money, even
if it is only a few pounds, to assure themselves of a decent
burial. Another thing disturbs the wellfare officers is the
determination of the old and infirm to remain on their
croft in spite of all efforts to take them to a "Twilight
Home." Some of these people may have returned to Skye for
no other reason than one feeling, "If I could go back to Skye
to die it would be fine." I know many people who had come to
America as young souls and "liked it fine." Why did they
return? The answer is always the same, "I was pitying home, you
know, and kept on thinking of home." This, of course, is another
expression of the sentimental attachment for the land and its
identity with one's "kin-ship."

Paradoxically, for a people who are so aware of death
[63] and look upon it as a friendly, the churches, one and all,
have refused to consecrate burial. There are no prayers for
the dead. There is no respite for the dying or at the grave
as the body is lowered into the soil. The ritual which accompanies
this final act of living is better described as a rite of
intensification rather than as a passage rite, to adopt the
terminology of Chapple and Coon.[1]

Once the individual dies, his status is fixed for all

[1] Chapple and Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, pp. 386-387.

eternity. If he was one of the "elect," he will enjoy eternal
[63] life. If he was not one of those venerable old men and women,
[64] he can expect to suffer eternal damnation. Although death
[65] is a sacrament and marries original sin, it is only the initial
[66] step in the direction of salvation, which election alone confirms. Neither the minister nor any member of the bereaved
[70] family offers a prayer. "What more can you do than bury him?"
[71] one woman asked. An old man said, "They are just as well
[72] remembered without praying for them." In a community which
is dominated by the old people, and in the crofting neighbourhoods where so many of the crofters are very old, death can
be expected to disturb the equilibrium of social interaction.
In Glendale during November and December of 1.53 funeral
processions made their way through the glen no less than nine
times. The function of the minister is to reintegrate the disturbed personnel, the kin and friends in the neighbourhood
(or village). All work stops in the township for three days
from the time of death. Some of the compositions of the
[73] village, seeking to justify their existence and relevance, may
[74] be prominent people who offer their forward to a funeral because it
[75] means three days of idleness. In the village, of course, it
is no longer possible to bring daily life to a standstill because the villagers serve a wide area. The "people" of the
[76] dwellings do stop work and close their shops. On the day of the
funeral all blinds are drawn until after the procession has
passed.

As he would if there were illness in the family, the
[78] minister calls on the bereaved family and leads them in family

The Role of Religion on the Croft

As the prestige of the old people and the control of the
[79] family-based elders over the social activities of the people has
persisted with religious sanction, the status of the father
within the nuclear family has been reinforced by the religious
expression of his role. As we know, the elder inter-family
patterns of economic cooperation have been disturbed by the
changes stemming from the process of commercialisation. This
has not disturbed the position of the father as the source of
authority and discipline. He continues to play a leading role
in establishing the tone of interaction within the home, the
township, neighborhood, and community. He decides who will
do the work and when. He determines in what social activities
his wife and children participate, namely, of course,
his own. He is guided by the venerable old men. His status is
confirmed at baptism, when he is judged, and it is commonly
[79] reaffirmed every day in the home. For the majority of crofters,
[80] the church is no means all-inclusive. The day begins with the
[81] saying of grace before breakfast and the returning of thanks
after breakfast. The same pattern is repeated at the taking
of any food, including a cup of tea. The form of grace may
be used to cast lives on the religious stakes. The "people" of the
"gracious God, we have sinned against Thee, and are unworthy
of Thy mercy; pardon our sins, and bless thine service for
our use, and help us to eat and drink to Thy glory, for Christ's
sake. Amen."

In many homes breakfast is followed by family worship.
[79] The father recites with a blessing, a prayer on behalf of his
[80] family, and then leads the family in the Lord's Prayer in
[81] verses of psalm. Next he reads from Scripture, speaking
[82] to the visitor because Gaelic is not an English version,
and commenting on the meaning of the passage. He concludes with
a prayer. If the morning worship has been omitted, he holds
an evening service. Some crofters have family worship both
morning and night. When the father is away, his wife or his
eldest son conducts the worship. Religious devotion is strong
[79] there, as more than Sabbath church attendance and attendance
at weekly prayer meetings.

The Role of Religion in Township, Neighborhood,
and Village

I did not attempt to devise a socio-metric scale to
[79] determine the affiliation of members and adherents of the
several churches in either Glendale, Kilmuir or Portree. In
the crofting districts and outlying districts divided families, both
nuclear and consanguineal, townships, neighborhoods, and the
village element from abandonment of traditional religious
affiliation rather than from the determination of one's kinsmen
or neighbors. Today sectarian hostility is no longer prevalent
among the people. The Sabbatharch only churchs his neighbor
on church daily and properties, about his only slightly different
activities. Men refer to each other's sect by nicknames.
The Church of Scotland is the "Established Church." The

bits of London he was living with a crofter's wife, and they
[79] go to discussing Hitler. "Yes, he's a terrible man he is," one
[80] said, "They don't agree them!—verse them!—almost as bad as the
Pope." In another township there is a Church of Scotland
[79] missionary, a lay preacher. His religious sectarianism does
not prevent his interacting with the Free Presbyterians
who are in the majority. Not infrequently, he visits his
neighbors and when they need help on the croft he is prepared
to lend a hand. When he pays a call, he catechizes the
[79] keeper of interaction at meal-time or at the evening grace
[80] and commences the blessing. This is part of the hospitality
[81] of the Sabbatharch. The visitor is always asked to say
grace.

What is true of the township on Skye, is also partly
[79] true of the neighborhood. Here the members and adherents of
the same church do get to know one another better because of
a common faith, or their particular interpretation of a faith
common to all. They see each other with greater regularity
[79] than, say, since the congregations are small, they feel they
belong. At the same time, the patterns of interaction are
not exclusive, except in Glendale. The religious cliques are
[79] formed and groups, doing what they can for the infirm and
[80] destitute; they are not opposing factions. Nor does religious
homogeneity mean the absence of factions. Glendale has its
independents who are set against the disciples of the Department
of Agriculture. Anyone who knows Skye may be struck by this
[79] difference, for it takes the people are attached to a particular

rather than Christianity is the prevailing position in Glendale.
[79] This attachment to a sect is all the more significant in the
[80] crofting neighborhoods because there is not one loss of difference
[81] in the Gaelic services in any church. The difference is
doctrinal.

In the neighborhood the affiliation of the same church
[79] have been said to interact with their fellows more regularly
[80] than with the members of the group. They come together on the
Sabbath for a regular service and on Wednesday night
for a prayer meeting. On the Sabbath they come as families,
husband, wife and children, and they sit together. Women
[79] the sexes are segregated in public. Indeed, in the home
men keep to one side of the fire and women to the other when
there are callers. They also leave in family groups. Their
interaction is spiritual. There are no gatherings outside
the church or after before or after the service to gossip,
discuss the news, or the weather, or even the weather. They
will all know who was absent, but they will only greet their
fellows with a nicht and. The Wednesday night prayer
meeting is different. This is a group interaction. Some come
by bus and guest on the way. Others get together before
and after the service for a chat. At times prayer meetings
[79] the stature of the "elect" brain emerges. They offer the
[80] prayers on behalf of the congregation. The prayers, it should
be noted, are extempore. No form is followed. The basis for
them are passages from Scripture and interpretations of the
passages.

There is another aspect to the prayer meetings. They
[79] are no longer held in the Church of Scotland in Portree.
[80] The ministers of the other sects are in no position to
[81] take the degree of spiritual ability which emerges among that
congregation. Further, Wednesday night is picture night in
the village. The newcomers trade the newcomers with, "off to
the pictures?"

It is at these Wednesday night meetings that the people
[79] get to know one another. They participate in the worship
through the eminent "Ban," who is a society such as Skye
[79] wears almost everybody is related to everybody else and
[80] the sexes are segregated in public. Indeed, in the home
men keep to one side of the fire and women to the other when
there are callers. They also leave in family groups. Their
interaction is spiritual. There are no gatherings outside
the church or after before or after the service to gossip,
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and after the service for a chat. At times prayer meetings
[79] the stature of the "elect" brain emerges. They offer the
[80] prayers on behalf of the congregation. The prayers, it should
be noted, are extempore. No form is followed. The basis for
them are passages from Scripture and interpretations of the
passages.

Religion has done more to keep the Gaelic language
[79] alive than any of the numerous societies dedicated
[80] to the preservation of the language, such as *An Comunn*
Gaidhealach, a national organisation which sponsors a series
of local, regional, and national programs in an attempt to
[81] maintain and stimulate an interest in the Highlands and their
songs and stories. Except in Portree and Dunvegan, church
services are costly conducted in Gaelic. The newcomer who
wishes to attend church services in the crofting areas, and
in has settle, must learn Gaelic or be content with
the fire winds the minister says speak in English for his
benefit if the minister is aware of the presence of sincerne
those associated with death. Function to restore disturbed
[79] order since most people are Highland, but the crofter
[80] seems to think Gaelic is his own tongue. Many crofters'
children learn English only when they begin to attend school
or pick it up from an older sibling who is going to school.
Family worship is almost always in Gaelic, unless there is
a visitor. We have already seen that the family worship
at the time of death is in Gaelic or in Gaelic and English.
Again we have a parallel with Wales, in that Welsh has been
[79] [illegible] Gaelic.[1]

During Gaelic the numbers of the inner religious
[79] [illegible] however, led to several problems. It has sustained township
solidarity on occasions. There are many instances of township
beyond the reach of a minister. In some of these remote
[79] [illegible]

much is no longer concerned with the necessity of saving his
[79] children baptised, the venerable old men, the family-head
elders, prolong their social control by sitting in judgement
on those who seek salvation. The strength of age contrasts
is limited by the continued ability of the elders to resist
all attempts to introduce secular innovations to the crofting
neighborhoods. Even in Portree the majority of the people
are under the watchful eyes of the old men.

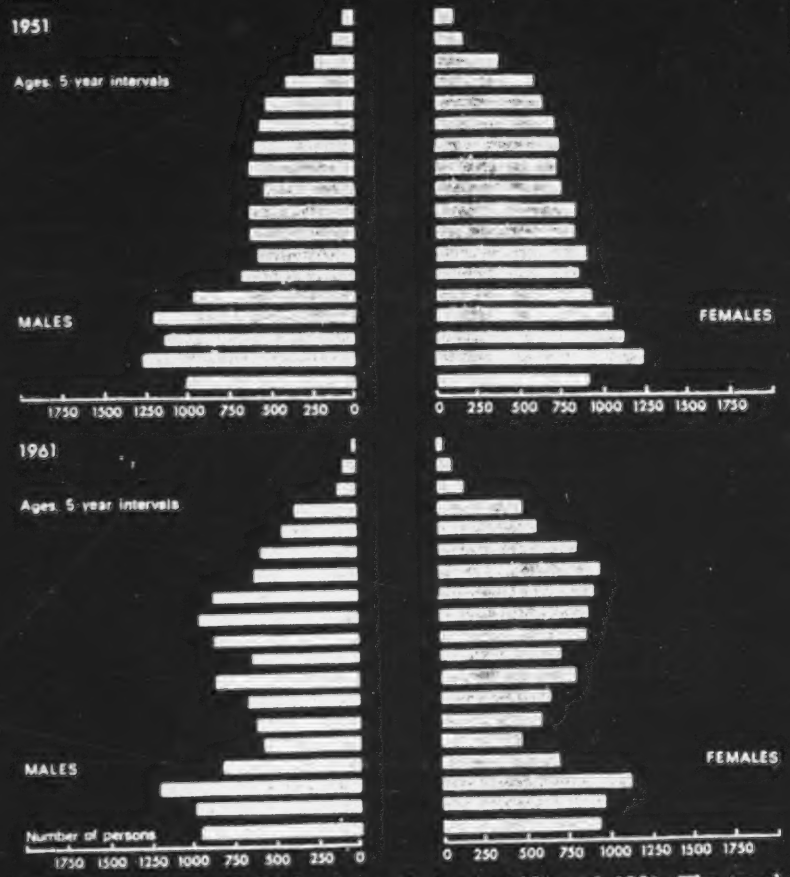
Many of the meaningful rites of intersection are
[79] religious. Some rites of passage function to augment social
control, restore disturbed equilibrium, and establish new
[80] social relations. The rites of intensification, including
those associated with death, function to restore disturbed
[79] order and to reintegrate the family, neighbor and extended,
and the larger social groups and to establish meaningful
relationships when large congregations gather for the
[79] celebration of communion. Religion for the majority is not
merely ritualistic on attending church on the Sabbath and
attending Wednesday night prayer meetings. Every day of
the week begins with a prayer and ends with family worship.
All social activity outside the home is usually limited to
[80] the church, and the church is never used for mundane activity.
Only in Portree are there a number of social activities
taught the people. Illiteracy has no more than a Crofters'
Club for men, and Glendale has no social activities, unless
[79] [illegible]

[1] Blake, p. 199

783

IFICATION AND EXPIATION--practices reflecting a sense of contamination
uilt; concept of ritual uncleanness; things and persons considered unclean
mpure; purification rites (e.g., ritual ablutions and bathing); concepts of
salvation, and redemption; riddance of sin (e.g., confession, remission,
ement, penance, scapegoat); etc. See also:

mination 514
rsonal hygiene 515
as about unclean castes 564
finitions of acts regarded as sinful 673
nishment of ritual offenses 688
oception of pollution, contagion, and
oathsome diseases 753
Ideas about corpses 764
Ideas about sexual intercourse 833
Ideas about menstrual blood 841
Ideas about the exuviae of childbirth 844



The age structure of the Lewis population in 1951 and 1961. The trend shown over the forty years 1861-1901 has strengthened and consolidated, so that the 1961 population is middle-aged

the 1914 war, but some 200 of those who survived the holocaust were lost in the wreck of the *Iolaire* on New Year's morning, 1919 —the first morning of the first new year of peace, literally within sight of home. Again, the effect of emigration was a loss, in many small communities, of a full generation. Where religion is strong and thrice-distilled, there tends also to prevail a state of mind which dwells on guilt and, where people are accustomed to ex-

press themselves in terms of religious values and ideas, the fear of having committed unforgivable sin. The normal adjustments, reflections and mental stocktaking of middle life are possibly more readily precipitated towards depression in an emotional people prone to serious thought. This brings of course a concomitant spectrum of problems in an area where in general a man is expected to take a dram and stand it; both nature and nurture are relevant factors. In the words of Cunningham Graham (1899), the medical adviser finds himself 'preaching teetotalism, that is for others, but himself taking his glass of whisky for the reasons which have been so cogently set forth by St Paul the Apostle to the Caledonians.' For those who comment in isolation on a community's indulgence in alcohol, one must quote a Gaelic proverb: *'Tha smuideag fhein an ceann gach foid'*—Every peat-end has its own smoke.

From the earliest times the Western Isles have indeed been regarded as supporting a population with an uncanny predilection for spiritous liquors. To a certain extent the spirits were needed by ill-nourished crofters to keep out the damp and cold when on the moors or at sea; and people in a depressed economic or mental condition will anywhere seek refuge in alcohol or other available drugs—forgetting the old Gaelic proverb 'Better the little fire that will warm than the great fire that will burn.' The evil effects of drinking have certainly at times been serious: in 1869 Sir James Matheson addressed a circular letter of remonstrance to his tenants, indicating that those guilty of misconduct were liable to be deprived of their holdings. In 1920 a vote was taken in Stornoway under the Scottish Temperance Act, with the result that the town went 'dry'; three years later the poll was upheld. Then in 1926, with a majority of 84, Stornoway went 'wet' again.

But the 'drink question' has been given undue prominence and dragged out of its island context. For instance, Stornoway contains all but three of the licensed premises on the island (at Tarbert, Rodel and Carloway) and, as the chief centre for business and pleasure, must naturally attract anyone seeking refreshment.

away scot-free! Both persons secretly concerned felt that they had endangered their souls by successfully defeating justice through their misuse of the invocation. Can one doubt that they were partly right in both beliefs? The malefactor's confidence had lent success to perjury, and perjury by help of prayer was deadly sin.

Now, the perverted use of prayer, as in this case, was clearly understood to be evil-doing; but what of magic and superstitious practices? Much has been written of 'Highland folk-lore and superstitions'.[1] The religion of the past should be distinguished from these. In *The Golden Bough*, Frazer drew a useful distinction between religion and magic. Religion, he wrote, relies upon the propitiation of higher powers—or even, in more primitive forms than Christianity, the propitiation of the forces of nature—while magic is an attempt at direct control of natural forces. Superstition may be defined here as a body of beliefs and practices in which hopes and fears attach themselves to things seen or done, by a multitude of false analogies and by irrational links of effects to supposed causes. Such superstitions are marginal to the main body of belief, worship and conduct which forms religion.

At the same time, no hard-and-fast line can be drawn between folk-lore and religion, where religion is handed on as living word and ritual almost without the aid of writing. This is particularly true where the religion of which we think, that of the Gael, is founded upon self-supporting peasant life, in line with that of the humble, working founder of Christianity—historically native to an outlying district of his own country—and not with the

[1] D. J. Macleod, D.Litt.: (*a*) *Highland Folklore* (32 pp.), Inverness; (*b*) Introduction to Martin's *Western Isles* (edn. Stirling, 1934). N. Morrison, Hon. D.Sc., *Superstitions of Lewis*, Stornoway, *c.* 1930.

195 manner that he had in hand business of eternal moment
771 to his hearers. That business was to warn them of the
783 wrath to come, which impended over unpardoned Christless
sinners, and to proclaim the way of escape by the open
[178] door of a crucified and risen Saviour. Not more than
two months had elapsed since Mr. Macleod's admission
when the 'stupid attention' and vacant stare passed into
the wistful anxious listening, the suffused eye, the tender
subdued manner, and in some cases the heart-wringing
enquiry, 'What must I do to be saved?'

[783] "For something like two years this minister 'refused
to dispense the Lord's Supper'. . . . A very early effect
of his work was the extinction of various worldly and
pernicious customs and amusements to which the people
had been previously addicted, and the substitution of
meetings for prayer, diets of catechising, day and evening
schools, family worship, and other spiritual exercises in
their room. Many at the outset felt greatly aggrieved at
the new order of things. Meanwhile the Lord stood by
his servant, and the word mightily prevailed against all
opposition. Incredible efforts were made by earnest souls
in all parts of the island to be present at the preaching of
the Word, even on ordinary Sabbaths." By 1828 "the
whole island seemed to be moved by one powerful spiritual
impulse" and 9000 people flocked from all parts to the
Uig communion. "When the memorable 18th of May
1843 dawned"—that of the Disruption—"no part of the
country was readier to rally round the banner then dis-
played, because of the truth, than the island of Lewis
almost to a man." It was "an unspeakable relief to the
ministers' spirits to escape by one decided step at once
from the bondage of State control and the chilling atmo-
sphere of Moderatism. . . . Even where evangelical preach-

eternity. If he was one of the "elect," he will enjoy eternal 763
life. If he was not one of these venerable old men and women, 554
he can expect to suffer eternal damnation. Although baptism 775
is a sacrament and removes original sin, it is only the initial [851]
step in the direction of salvation, which election alone con- [783]
firms. Neither the minister nor any member of the bereaved 764
family offers a prayer. "What more can you do than bury him," 793
one woman asked. An old man said, "They are just as well [782]
remembered without praying for them." In a community which
is dominated by the old people, and in the crofting neighbor-
hoods where so many of the crofters are very old, death can
be expected to disturb the equilibrium of social interaction.
In Glendale during November and December of 1953 funeral
processions made their way through the glen no less than nine
times. The function of the minister is to restore the dis- 793
turbed patterns, both in the family and in the neighborhood [182]
(or village). All work stops in the township for three days
from the time of death. Some of the cosmopolitans of the [369]
village, seeking to justify their deviating behavior, assert [824]
that the lazy crofter looks forward to a funeral because it
means three days of idleness. In the village, of course, it [369]
is no longer possible to bring daily life to a standstill be-
cause the villagers serve a wide area. The "people" of the
deceased do stop work and close their shops. On the day of the
funeral all blinds are drawn until after the procession has
passed.

As he would if there were illness in the family, the 793
minister calls on the bereaved family and leads them in family 764

custom is well established. Even war-time restrictions and 794
rationing had little effect on Communion attendance. Skye 716
exiles in the United States and Canada sent food parcels 793
to the ministers and their kinsmen to provide for their 574
visitors. The minister takes in as many as he can. One [167]
minister, for example, not very far from Portree has a large
manse with seventeen rooms. It is customary for him to have [264]
twenty-five or thirty people for lunch and again for high
tea (the Skyeman's evening meal) on Friday and the Sabbath.
Many of his guests spend five days with him.

Some idea of the size of the gatherings may be gained 794
from the need for the Free Presbyterian Church in Portree 716
to hold duplicate services. The church, I should think,
holds around 300. During the Communion Season, the con-
gregation takes over the drill hall, normally used by the
Territorial Army for training and by the villagers for social
affairs, in addition to the kirk. In the drill hall services
are held in English; in the kirk, they are in Gaelic.

Such large gatherings of people require a means to
establish meaningful contacts and create a feeling of belonging.
Thursday is a fast day. All work stops. The people attend
services in the morning, at noon, and again in the evening.
Their minister, assisted by two visiting clergymen conducts
them in a dynamic, highly emotional appraisal of the coming
event. All the ministers participate in the sermons, stressing [783]
the confession of sin and the need for humiliation. Many
ministers are known for their preaching ability, that is their

784

784 AVOIDANCE AND TABOO--practices reflecting impulses to escape from fear or anxiety; techniques for avoiding malevolent spirits (e.g., flight, disguise, deception, disparagement); concept of taboo; imposition and removal of taboos; prevalent types of taboos (e.g., food taboos, property taboos, status taboos, word and name taboos, totemic taboos, sex taboos, reproductive taboos, therapeutic taboos, mortuary taboos); systematization of taboos; general discussion of taboos; list of taboos; specific taboos not classifiable elsewhere; supernatural punishments for violations of taboos and other offenses; etc. Since taboos commonly represent the negative aspects of cultural norms, information on taboos may be found under many categories, only a few of which are indicated in the cross-references below.

Totemic taboos	81, 82	Rest days	527
Mortuary taboos	78	Name taboos	681
Sex taboos	83	Avoidance relationships	602
Reproductive taboos	84	Taboos surrounding a chief or king	63, 622, 643
Cultural norms	183	Legal norms	671
Euphemisms	195	Definition of acts regarded as sins	673
Food taboos	262	Social Sanctions for violations of taboos	688

175 which Mr. Macleod attempted to hold at Uig, one of the
771 former elders actually offered a request that a wreck should
793 be cast ashore in the neighbourhood;[1] while another elder, referring to the death of our Lord as a misfortune, used strong expressions of deprecation of its having at all occurred.[2] . . . The reason is easily furnished; the Lewis ministry was not evangelical. Moderatism held the land in sole possession. . . . Nor did it act merely in a negative indifferentist manner. Moderatism contained in itself elements of positive distaste to Gospel truth, and enmity towards gracious influences and experience. As a matter of course, it was perfectly compatible with this system to grant toleration to superstitions and superstitious observances, which had been handed down through the Dark Ages of Popery from the still darker ages of Druidical idolatry. Acts of adoration, having for their object the heavenly bodies, were common. It is scarcely necessary to state that family worship was unknown among the people, and even at the manse. For although the public ordinances were dispensed as a matter of form, they exerted no practical influence upon the conduct. They rather tended to lull more profoundly asleep by imparting and maintaining a feeling of security to the poor dark benighted souls who participated in them."

People did come to church "in tolerable numbers" from the very outset of Mr. Macleod's ministry, but "Here for the first time was a preacher who showed by his whole

[829] [1] Shipwreck was still thought of as an 'act of God', and a dire 'misfortune'. Not only is there no hint of deliberate wrecking ever taking place, as on some other British coasts, but abundant record of aid to the shipwrecked and respect for their property in the absence of the skipper and crew. (Martin, 1695; and later.)

[784] [2] According to Evangelical theory the punishment of guilty and innocent alike was part of the Divine plan. How different this, from the faith of the Islanders till then!

785

785 ASCETICISM--practices reflecting tendencies of self-abasement or self-torture; mortification of the flesh (e.g., flagellation, bookswinging, bed of spikes); fasting; sexual renunciation (e.g., continence); renunciation of comforts (e.g., vows of poverty, wearing sackcloth); abandonment of worldly affairs (e.g., becoming a beggar or hermit); etc. See also:

Personality . . . . . 15 Suicide 162
Control of hunger . . . . . 281 Ascetics 792
Mutilation . . . . . 304 Idealization of continence and chastity . . . 831

THE OTHER ISLANDS

*175 *Account*, there was one family there, that of the person employed
162 by the owner to look after the livestock. The owner was a Ness
[920] tacksman who paid £4 sterling rent per annum. The island produce was corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep and sometimes a cow, and some wild fowl and feathers.

*175 In 1844 Rona was evacuated, its last inhabitant being, in the
162 seventh year of Queen Victoria's reign, the 'King of Rona', Donald MacLeod, who lived in almost prehistoric conditions. Rona was without inhabitants until 1884, when a last attempt
• [785] at resettlement was made by two men from Ness. This was a self-imposed exile, after a difference of opinion with the minister of their parish; in penance, they hied themselves off to Rona. In 1885 a relief boat called and found both men dead, one from natural causes, the other from starvation and exhaustion after nursing his friend. By the fireside of their hut was a pot ready for the preparation of a meal they never ate.

Today, man's connection with the island is maintained by the
236 small party of Lewis shepherds who each year make the journey
221 to shear the sheep which still graze on the green slopes around the now-ruined village. Otherwise, only the occasional traveller now
659 lands there. In June 1956, North Rona with its associated rock,
185 Sulasgeir, was declared a National Nature Reserve on account of its importance as a breeding ground for colonies of oceanic birds—guillemots, puffins, kittiwakes, and fulmars—and for its seal colony.

Sulasgeir

133 Sulasgeir is twelve miles west of North Rona, a lonely rock in
[131] the Atlantic, bleak and grassless, and tunnelled by caves and gullies. The only life it has ever supported is seabirds—officially.
[346] Yet one of the old buildings is said to be a chapel and is called
173 'Tigh Beannaicht' (House of Blessing). According to Ness tradition, Sulasgeir was once used as a prison for sheep-stealers, and it is also said that Brenhilda, sister to St Ronan, was left on the island to perish. Yet another tradition claims that it was at this rock that Prince Charles Edward made his first contact with his Scots clansmen, when the ship that carried him to Scotland was spoken to by a Ness boat making for North Rona.

mainly because there are enough young people to form a strong 571
age grade of their own. The more liberal outlook of the 184 554 888
villagers is, however, tempered by the old men.

Religion

The attachment to the past embodied in the social and 771
economic aspects of the culture carries over into the religious
life of the Sgristhanach. He is a Presbyterian who continues 795
to worship and view the world within a pattern which characterized the Scots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The doctrine and theology are derived from the teachings of Calvin as interpreted by John Knox and refined by the Covenanters of the seventeenth century. To the original ethical code a strong measure of influence from the English Puritan movement has been added. The guiding principles are still fore-
ordination and election. The dominant motivating factor is [785] •
asceticism.

One of the outstanding features of the island today is 348
the large number of churches for such a limited population. 795
To serve the 8,600 people there are 21 churches with ministers and 13 mission stations. A hundred years ago, when the [178]
population was almost triple the present number, there were
only seven ministers on Skye. The present abundance is the out- 795
come of a series of religious schisms of the past century.
There are now four Presbyterian sects. Of all the neighbor- [184]
hoods on Skye, only Glendale is religiously homogeneous.

The Presbyterian Ethic

Asceticism, of the sort discussed by Kroeber, is a 785 •
779
fundamental feature of the expression given to the Presbyterian ethic by the Sgristhanach.[20] The deliberate practice of austerity, first noted at the time of the Revival under the lay religious brotherhood of the "Men" of Skye, and the willful abstinence from sensory pleasures, which has become a religious sanction for the hardships and economic limitations which accompany crofting, have received social enforcement. This is a well known ideal of Puritanism.[21] It is not, of course, restricted to Western tradition. The Melanesians of Manus, until Margaret Mead's recent study, were described as "censorious, joyless, vindictive, burdened with a sense of the world's wickedness."[22] I have not seen her complete report, but they seem to have changed. A parallel closer to Skye is found in Wales. There, too, abstinence, restraint, and negation are typical traits.[23] On Skye, as in Wales, asceticism is a by-product of previous experience and a consequence of a dynamic revival movement.

The world is the enemy of Christ. As one minister said, "The world situation continues to deteriorate and the God of this world increases his many schemes for ensuring

[20] Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 598

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., p. 599

[23] Rees, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

that young sinners will not escape from his kingdom." 785 779
Another of the same church expressed himself, "One is constrained to look upon this world as a great battlefield between Christ and the devil and between grace and sin. In our day the kingdom of darkness is carrying everything before it; the Prince of the kingdom of darkness is the god of this world." This attitude is not, however, carried to the extreme that characterizes the Old Order Amish in their determination to "Be not conformed to this world."[24] On Skye, the position is rather that the church, as Christ's witness, must resist the encroachment of worldly pursuits. In a world which is moving as fast as ours, the success 888 626 794
of the resistance of the church is indicative of the hold of the pillars of the faith, the venerable old man, over the group. [554] We have learned how the prestige status of the "elect" and the elders stems from their high position in the esoteric religious hierarchy, and how, through their power to withhold the sacraments, they enforce social control. When the elders sit in judgment of the father who has come to ask that his child be baptized, or the person who thinks he has experienced a "saving change," they base their estimation of him on his non-religious behavior as much as his knowledge of the tenets of the faith. He must [785] not only attend church regularly and conduct family worship; he must also deny himself all pleasures of a frivolous nature.

[24] Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, p. 1

The man who seeks sensory pleasures and finds enjoyment in 785 779
mundane recreation is believed to be spiritually unenlightened. It seems almost an anticlimax to add that social life is restricted.

Beyond the Highlands and, indeed, within the Highlands 771 883 571
in certain prosperous areas, where poverty has not been a factor of such importance that it requires religious sanction, the Church of Scotland has endeavored to find room within the church for recreational activities, especially for the youth. As in America, the church feels a responsibility to the youth which requires a combination of religion and recreation if the citizens of the community are to be well-rounded adults. Youth programs and youth clubs, young adult groups, and social circles for the older men and women are an essential part of church work. In 794 571
an organizational sense, the Church of Scotland on Skye has, at the most, a Woman's Guild which meets once a month to hear a lecture on a topic such as missionary work in India, and which holds an occasional sale of work to reduce the church debt or buy the minister an electric tea kettle to keep in his vestry; and a choir, which meets once a week for rehearsal. It is, as I have said before, not the overall policy of the church which determines the activities in which the people participate or which they reject. The 888 561 626
elders are the prime movers. Were the youth in Kilmuir anyone under thirty, instead of anyone under forty, the control of the aged might not be as strong as it is. In

the Outer Isles,
enough youth to
they cannot have
on a plank bridge.
forward to "Effect
allow their child
elders, would mea
For the maj
is objectionable,
the affiliates of
is the most lenie
and similar organ
especially if the
is a "picture bus
Saturday night.
as wholesome outl
feel the lack of
believe they might
outside the pulpit
Kilmuir occasional
secular activity
Free Church opinio
prohibited the pl
Choir at the annua
minister in Sleat
Unorganized dance

[25] Darling a

n area of recent depopulation, there are 888
sist the dictates of their elders.[25] If 561
626
dance in a hall, they hold their dance
In Kilmuir the crofters are looking
uil Calling." To defy the elders, or
en to run counter to the wishes of the
a loss of all hope for salvation.
rity of crofters, any form of amusement 785 795
but there are slight differences among
the several sects. The Church of Scotland
t. For adherents, concerts, film shows
zed forms of entertainment may be admissible,
are held outside the neighborhood. There [546]
from Kilmuir to Portree on Wednesday and [366]
Sports activities are often considered [526]
ts for the youth. Some of the ministers,
social contact with their people and
do some good by taking part in life
. The Church of Scotland minister in
ly attends the Crofters' Club, the only
admitted in the neighborhood. Significantly,
on, although the voice of a minority, has
aying of pipes and recitals of the Gaelic
al agricultural show. The Church of Scotland
has taken a hand in the village hall.
s are condemned. This is not because dancing [535]

nd Morley, op. cit., pp. 21-24.

is a sin but because of the excessive drinking and immorality 785 795
which might result from a promiscuous gathering. Organized [535]
dances are, in general, not objectionable. Nevertheless, in
spite of the attitudes of the people to these secular activities,
the Church of Scotland crofter behaves in much the same way as
his neighbor who adheres to another sect. The elders of the [888] [554]
other sects have an influence over everyone in the neighborhood.
Every man must ask himself, "What will my neighbors say?"

The Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church people 785 795
condemn any and all social gatherings where songs, stories, 571
or other diversions are admitted. When people visit, they 574
are expected to remain circumspect in behavior. They may
discuss their problems and gossip about their neighbors or the
wicked newcomers. They may engage in cooperative or individual
work. They may eat together in the home. They may not engage [264]
in such activities outside the home. Religion on Skye for 785 795
the majority has centered attention on the home. Let us look 575
at some of the activities which are condemned. There is the
Woman's Rural Institute, an organized woman's club dedicated
to stimulating home industries in rural areas and providing
educational programs, especially demonstrations and lectures
on domestic arts. One meeting, for example, at Uig, not far
from Kilmuir, was addressed by a school teacher on the subject
of Highland Folklore. He was followed by a knitting contest
and tea. Youth Clubs and Young Farmers Clubs do not exist,
except in Kilmuir where the Young Farmers Club is under the
Crofters' Club, and, of course, in Portree. Village halls
are dens of iniquity. While we were on Skye one was built

at Skeabost. A minister drove by one day and said to the 785 795
workmen, "Don't you know you're building a house for the Devil?" 575
One of the laborers, a Lowlander, replied, "It's a good thing
we have a place to keep him." The Order of the Eastern Star
and the Masons are condemned because, while they are religious,
they are secret orders. Even if the person's religion did not
stand in the way of his becoming a Mason, his distrust of
mystery probably would. As one young fellow said one night in
the bar when being chaffed about the Masons, "I'm not going
to join any secret organization until I know what the secret is."

Included among the objectionable activities by these two 785 795
churches are the traditional Highland Games, held each year 541
at Portree in August, probably about the time of the old Saint's
Fair. The day is a school holiday. Aside from New Years, it
is the big occasion of the year. People come in from all
over the Island. Few of the Skyemen actively take part in [526]
the contests of tossing the caber and throwing the stone, or
in the piping and dancing competitions, but they look forward
to the event. It gives them an opportunity to see their [571]
"friends" and join them in the pub for a dram. Although the [793]
ministers disappprve, they lack the backing of the "elect," so
the games go on each year. I hasten to add that they have
lost much of their appeal in recent years, but I am told that
this is due to the fact that the clique who runs the Skye
Council of Social Service has, in an effort to attract tourists
early in the season, set up Skye Week in May. Included in
the Skye Week program are Highland Games. I might also add

that the people of Skye, including many of the newcomers, have not been favorably impressed by Skye Week. The consensus is that it is not representative of Skye. For the Sgiathanach the Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and similar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree. Here the members and the adherents of the Church of Scotland partake of a number of recreational activities. In the winter there is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer there is a little golf and tennis. The limitations are not religious; they are climatic. Then, too, there is shinty. We have already noted the existence of many clubs. There are regular dances. Moving pictures take place twice a week. All of these activities are run by newcomers; the Skyemen have a more or less passive role. The "elect" of the two smaller sects are, to say the least, very much disturbed by these frivolities. What is worse, the children attend the dances and the concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find enough solidarity among those of their own age grade to outweigh the threats of their elders. Apparently they find enough security to be unaffected by the stern denunciations of the minister from the pulpit. When they marry, however, they have to recast the pattern of their behavior, for now the elders are in a position to exercise control by withholding baptism from their children. Some may turn to the Church of Scotland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glendale the control by the aged is complete. There is not a single activity

contrast the friendly and
"pub" with the austerity o
ran who went into the "Coa
darts and sing a few songs
to the local hotel bar on S
it with a pint of beer, and
nothing else to do." Skye
the youngest of them, often
opportunity for social inte
mean is that "there is noth
not care about the reaction
Moreover, they may want to
then, they will have to fac
their neighborhood.

Another contrast of t
be found in their respectiv
Traditionally, both enjoyed
competition plays a major p
little gambling, implicitly
The Sgiathanach, too, is no
pools find many interested
There was, for example, the
had a meeting to attend. B
member of the kirk stopped
busy filling out his footbal
course, are not particularl

[27] Ibid.

omely atmosphere of the English 275
the public bar on Skye. The same 185
h and Four" to play a game of
over his pint of beer goes down
kye to toss off his dram, follow
chaff his neighbors. "There is
exiles in Glasgow, and not only 275
complain about the lack of 167
571
rcourse at home. What they really
ing else to do" unless they do
of their "people and friends."
return some day to stay, and,
e the judgment of the old men in

he Welsh and the Sgiathanach can 525
e attitudes towards gambling.
forms of recreation in which
art, but the Welshman today does
because of his religious outlook.[27]
t an open gambler, but the football
individuals on the Misty Isle.
deacon in one church who forgot he 525
uch to his dismay, when another 794
by to see why he was late, he was
ll coupon. Dissimilarities, of 785
y significant. In both regions

asceticism is fundamental to the peoples' lives. A brief 785
discussion of the Sabbath will serve to conclude my discussion [796]
of religion and to indicate some additional difficulties which [128]
the Sgiathanach faces in his attempt to preserve his culture.

Sunday does not exist on Skye. There is the "Continental 796
Sunday" and the Sabbath. On any other day of the week, the [576]
greeting is, "It's a fine day," or, more often, "It's a wet
day." The Sabbath, however, is "no day to be speaking of [576]
days." Keeping the Sabbath is almost a fetish among the
people. It is a readily observable test of an individual's
religious capacity. All unnecessary work, all unnecessary
words, and all unnecessary thought is taboo. Only the
barest minimum of worldly activities are permissible. This
does not mean a day spent in idleness; the time should be
spent in public worship at the kirk, private spiritual con-
templation and family worship. The Skyeman's estimation of [183]
a newcomer may depend on his keeping the Sabbath. One man
was very surprised to learn how long a memory the people have
when a man deviates from the expected. A visitor asked a
crofter what kind of a man a certain newcomer to Kilmuir
was, to which the crofter replied, "He's all right, except
six years ago he played the pipes on the Sabbath." Most
newcomers, including the few Catholics, respect the Sabbath.

No crofter would ever think of doing any work on this [461]
day beyond feeding his cattle as an act of mercy. After [231]
weeks of rain, the crop of oats or hay may be ready for 796
harvesting on the Sabbath, but he will not touch it. A man 241

h asceticism, epitomized in Sabbatarianism, 771
haracteristic of the expr ession of the 785
ethic, it is not completely negative. It is 182
ans for sustaining cultural continuity.
centered on the home and family. It has
Gaelic. There have been significant changes [178]
t of the culture, but by using asceticism as
test of spiritual enlightenment the limitations
economic life have been sanctioned. The form,
figuration, of the culture is still recognizable.

786

786 ORGIES--practices reflecting hysterical tendencies or release from normal inhibitions; frenzied singing and dancing; ceremonial license (e.g., phallic rites, temporary lifting of sex restraints, ceremonial intoxication); bacchanalian revels; religious prostitution; induced hysteria, hallucination, and swoon; religious revivalism; etc. See also:

Sex taboos	83	Temple prostitutes	793
Drunkenness	273	Conception of abnormal mental states	828

781 conversions that take place in other villages. "Five
571 persons converted recently in Lochs. Two used to drink
a lot, they're saying." Sometimes mass conversions occur,
[786] called "revivals," during which people shout, chant,
speak in tongues, and sometimes collapse.

794 Although strict observance of religious practices
829 must be maintained by the converted while they are on the island, it is possible for them to relax this observance when they visit mainland cities. The converted see nothing wrong with attending plays or movies in Glasgow, as long as no one observes them. A non-believer once commented wrly, "They believe in the 11th commandment: thou shallt not be seen." Women who have spent many years in domestic service on the mainland, where they generally live very different sorts of lives from those of island people, often return to the island to retire. They then take up the
[292] color of their surroundings. The long black dress then becomes the appropriate garb for them on Sundays. As one person observed, "Women deposit their curam in the Left Luggage Department at Stornoway, and pick it up fifty years later."

779 The beliefs of the Free Church include explanations for all events. "Everything of importance that happened in history is recorded in the Bible." Predestination lies behind all unexpected events; a sense of fatalism dulls

#175 They were frequently accused of failure to conform to orthodoxy
#178 and of a disinterest in their calling.[19]
773

#175 In time a second trend appeared which was marked by
#178 conservatism and an emphasis on doctrinal dogma. Toward the
182 close of the eighteenth century, it became apparent that the
161 population had pressed too hard on the means of subsistence.[20]
Commercialization was continuing and sheep flocks were be-
[167] ginning to replace men in one parish.[21] The people, many of them destitute, were finding a solution for their plight in migration to the New World, or in seasonal migrations to the Lowlands for work.[22] Those who remained were land hungry.

#175 Gradually, they were losing respect for their ministers and
#178 turning to evangelical missionaries who had begun to appear in
182 the Isles.[23] The crucial fact would seem to be that the ministers
773 were upholding values and symbols which no longer contributed
to group solidarity. The Island was on the verge of a period
[784] of social disintegration and cultural instability. Under the changes that were to follow, the evangelical movement grew into a large scale revival.

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[19] MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800, pp. 108-115; Roderick MacCowan, The Men of Skye (Glasgow: John MacNeilage, 1902), pp. 30-32; and Buchanan, loc. cit.

[20] OSA, II, 552; III, 247, 248; IV, 132; XVI, 151, 224, 539; XVIII, 184.

[21] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 754-755.

[22] OSA, II, 551; and Robert Heron, General View of the Natural Circumstances of the Hebrides (Edinburgh: John Paterson, 1794), p. 32.

[23] MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 15-16, 24-25; and MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 90-91, 98, 99, 151-165.

in Scotland, it lacked the same effects elsewhere. There is a significant correlation in the Highlands and Islands, as in Ireland, of the disproportion of the population to the means of subsistence, due to a change from subsistence farming to a partially commercial system of land use, and the intensity of the crop failure. In both countries the persistence of innumerable traits from the traditional economy, including conservative techniques, attachment to the land, and a tendency to share the land among the kin, hampered commercialization or, at least, specialization and led to devestation.

Five years of famine ended the growth of population. The emigration of large numbers and the death of untold numbers must have seriously disturbed the patterns of interaction within the extended family and the township. Although the proprietors made a final effort to help their tenants, ruining themselves financially, they had foresaken their people. The ministers were no longer able to contribute to group solidarity,[41] because the symbols and values they upheld reflected the attitudes of the landlords and lacked significance for the people.

A religious revival reached effective proportions by 1812.[42] The appearance of the Revival suggests that the culture was far more disorganized than the scant social and economic record indicates. Normally, the attempt to seek supernatural assistance as a source of comfort and hope appears only after the culture has become thoroughly disorganized.[43]

[41] NSA, pp. 269-272.

[42] MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 15, 165; and MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

[43] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 437-440.

The process to be observed in the religious facet of the culture during the second period is conservatism. Itinerant missionaries, catechists, and a religious brotherhood known as the "Men" supplemented the regular clergy. As the Revival grew strong, the "Men," as tenacious defenders of the evangelical cause, began to wage an anti-clerical campaign.[44] They usually remained within the Church, opposing any separatist movement, but they drew a sharp distinction between the Church and her ministers. To be a convert of the "Men" meant to dissociate oneself from the death dealing moderate ministers," who were said to have had more interest in their farms than in their congregations.[45] The "Men" conceived their function to be one of delivering powerful testimonies of evangelical truth.[46] They rebuked and constantly reminded the people of their religious duties. They made Sabbatarianism an observable test of religious obedience, separating the respectable Christians from the godless. Prayer meetings were held at which the "Men" engaged in short, earnest prayers, and exhorted the people to read their Bibles and partake in family worship.

The growing influence of the Revival did not leave the clergy unmoved. At least two arose to recreate the spirit of vital religion and revive emotional enthusiasm in their congregations.[47] It was no accident that these ministers should

[44] MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 151, 165; MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 53-59.

[45] MacCowan, op. cit., p. 53.

[46] MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 217-215.

[47] Thomas Brown, Annals of the Disruption in 1843 (Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace, 1884), pp. 7-8.

appear in the parishes of Bracadale and Snizort. Bracadale had already seen the beginnings of the final stage in commercialization; Snizort had been sold piecemeal to new landlords.

Evangelical Presbyterianism created a new pattern of social and religious life on Skye. It gave the culture a new focus to replace the dead clan system. Much of the form of religious worship and behavior characteristic of the Island today was established during this Revival Movement. The "Men" became the foremost members of the community. An esoteric religous hierarchy evolved. There were the unfortunate few who were in a state of saving grace and acceptable at Communion, and the eminent "Men," the aged, venerable spiritual laity.[48]

The Revival, unlike many nativistic movements, neither held out the promise of cultural regeneration nor offered the dream of prosperity. To the contrary, the attack against the folk culture characteristic of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was renewed with vigor. While religious enthusiasm grew, social life beyond a family level was restricted. Perhaps, the years of destitution and the ever present threat of famine had made hospitality a luxury which few could afford. Perhaps, it was no longer possible for the people to provide whiskey and food for large numbers at a funeral or a wedding. The local ministers assert that the changes were due to the activities of the "Men." It would seem that the "Men" were

[48] MacInnes, op. cit., p. 211.

agents for what have been called "rites of intensification."[49] They restored the equilibrium of interaction by creating new behavior patterns. This was probably particularly true during the famine, when the people's relatives and friends were dying and emigrating in large numbers. While the ceilidh, an evening of spinning folk tales, singing, and dancing, was condemned, and the children of parents who would not conform to the dictates of one minister and the "Men" were refused baptism, prayer meetings and other church services were providing emotional outlets.[50]

Like the Welsh,[51] the Skye crofters found the Bible retold much of their own past history and their present difficulties. As the "Men" preached from Scripture and interpreted the meaning, often using allegorical interpretations, of the Word, the people became familiar with a story which was strikingly similar to their own. The present social and economic conditions were but a presage of the coming dissolution. It was all there in the Old Testament, in the books of Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Psalms, and Prophets. The omen was all the more vivid because the transgressors in the Bible lived a life much like the crofters. Both the ancient peoples and the Skyemen had a pastoral economy, a patrilineal family structure,

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[49]Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), pp. 399-400.

[50]Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticane, Vol. VII, p. 166; and Norman MacLean, Set Free (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 14-15.

[51]Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

ruled by elders, and a heritage which had never admitted compact, non-rural population centers. These basic cultural values and patterns were given religious sanction.

Year by year throughout this period the following and the influence of the "Men" increased. As the ministers were moved, especially as the old hereditary families of ministers closely related to the old gentry were replaced by ministers from the people,[52] the "Men" became influential in the Church as elders. Now they could not only exhort the people but also judge them, by determining who was worthy of communion and whose children might be baptized. The strength of their control, however, did not require holding office. In Duirinish where an old moderate minister remained, Communion had not been celebrated for eleven years in 1840, and there were 200 unbaptized children.[53] Many preferred to walk miles to worship under an evangelical minister rather than put themselves in peril by hearing the local moderate minister. Dissension was becoming a significant factor and was paving the way for personal secession from the Church. As the official Church was weakened, the stage was set for the Disruption, but we shall leave that for the following period.

Summary. The second period of the modern epoch saw the continuation of the trends established in the initial period. The process of commercialization was carried one step further. The old runrig system was replaced by the crofting system.

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[52] Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

[53] NSA, pp. 354-355.

alien to their heritage. There was little local need for roads and steamships, but they were paving the way for the final stage in commercialization, the conversion of the island into sheep farms. 175 178 621

The record suggests that the culture was suffering from disorganization and the society had been threatened by disintegration. The Revival, which began at the close of the initial period, became full blown. This movement confirms what the record suggests. A new pattern of social behavior and religious life came into being. The traditional secular patterns of interaction were being replaced by patterns of sacred interaction. New values, new statuses, and new roles were evolving to give religious sanction to the old patterns. The result was an esoteric religious hierarchy. The religious leaders, both the "Men" and the ministers, were coming from the people rather than the old hereditary families who had been closely related to the gentry. Religion replaced the clan as the focus for the culture. The similarity of the story unfolded in the Bible and the past and present conditions of the crofters made the presage of the coming dissolution vivid. By the end of the period, dissension within the Church had become a significant factor and was paving the way for individual secession. The third period of the modern era was to witness more than a social and economic transformation; there was to be religious schism. 175 178 182 771 786 [793] [793] [793]

ability to move their listeners. Friday is a day of self-examination and prayer. A fellowship meeting is held. The senior minister gives the sermon. The local minister follows the sermon with a few lines of psalm, which the precentor will chant for the congregation to sing, and calls upon one of the "elect" to prepare a question. After the singing has finished, an elder of the host church presents his "question." The "question" is a line from Scripture which relates to human experience, which relates to their experience as pastoral-agriculturalists. The remaining "Men," customarily visitors from other kirks, speak to the question, giving "marks" (examples) which distinguish between those who possess Christian virtues and those who profess the virtues essential for salvation. The speakers interpret the meaning of the line, it is only a single verse, often using allegorical interpretations. They are not supposed to tell about their own spiritual experience of conversion. To the contrary, their discussion is intended to have significance for all present. At the end of three or four hours of "speaking to the question," the junior minister sums up what has been said and, infrequently, makes any necessary corrections. 794 796

In addition to establishing an emotional atmosphere of revivalism and the tempo of interaction between the visitors and the local congregation, the fellowship meeting introduces the venerable old men of neighboring churches to the local people. Their prestige extends beyond their own neighborhood and congregation. Their ability becomes a topic of conversation [786] [808]

else the spouse is likely to lose status. 426 884

The most powerful of all agents for social control are the old men of the neighborhood. Through their position in the church, a religious sanction for their prestige status, they enforce conformity to the norms of behavior which religion has sanctioned either positively or negatively. No one, nor any group, has been successful in questioning the right of these venerable men to maintain their habits and statuses which have been preserved over the generations. The baptism of a man's children and his own salvation depends on acceptance of the authority of the elders, for they will be his judges. 426 892 [894]

As far as the contemporary scene is concerned, there is no anomie. The content of the culture has been greatly modified, but the form, the underlying distinctive pattern, has been preserved. We are dealing with a single tradition in which the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them have remained common and clear. This is all the more striking because there have been periods in which cultural and social disintegration threatened to overwhelm the Sgriathanach. This brings us back to the role of religion in preserving cultural continuity. 182 178

Locmis and Beegle have employed Durkheim's theory to analyze the growth and spread of fundamentalist religious sects in contemporary United States.[16] They conclude: "It is no mere coincidence that various types of emotional religious sects are now among the most rapidly expanding 171 182 771 786 781

[16] Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 401-407.

religious groups." As a result of urbanization almost all rural areas have experienced the pangs of social mobility and few have escaped unscathed from a clash with the economic forces which impinge from the outside. This predisposes the people to the appeal of an emotional religion, revivalism. Frequently, the sect becomes uncompromising and rejects the outside world in an attempt to bolster group security. The sequence of events on Skye enables me to add that the sect can also reject a great deal of the former content of the culture. Be that as it may, the authors show how emotional religious movements restore or replace meaningful patterns of interaction among groups whose social systems have deteriorated. Revivalism is a counter agent for anomie. 171 182 771 786 781 [571]

The first period of social and cultural disequilibrium which the Sgriathanach experienced may be placed in the first half of the nineteenth century, with a climax around 1840. To paraphrase Loomis and Beegle, it was no mere coincidence that an emotional religious movement should have appeared and found so many converts. The closing years of the eighteenth century had witnessed numerous changes in the content of the culture and the collapse of the old social heirarchy. While these events doubtlessly had an influence on all levels of the society, it was not until the turn of the century that they broke forth upon the masses. Within a decade a revival had reached effective proportions. This was a time of estate reorganization. The tacksmen, the traditional leaders, were quickly disappearing. The runrig farm was being abolished. Sheep were beginning to replace men in one parish (Bracadale). 175 178 771 786 781 182

We know these and the other changes of this period. Significantly, however, there was no simple correlation of revivalism and population change. The Revival began during a time of population growth and emigration; it reached effective proportions during a period when emigration seems to have almost stopped; and it found its culmination during years marked by destitution and the beginning of depopulation. No purpose will be served by repeating what I have already said about the nature of the changes which accompanied the coming of the dynamic, evangelical message. It is sufficient to emphasize that the ministers and the Men reinforced the desirable fabric of the culture and gave the culture a new focus. 175 178 182 771 786

The second period of anomie on Skye is less well marked. It appeared at the end of the "Clearances." Again destitution gripped the island. Although the vital, emotional religion had enabled the people to bear the hardships of the "Clearances" without overt resistance, they now openly defied the landlords and the state. More than a series of government commissions and committees came to Skye. A still more intense religion loomed on the horizon to reaffirm the focus of the culture. Once again it was no mere coincidence that the new church should have found ready acceptance by the people in the areas of greatest unrest, the areas which required the presence of police and Royal Marines. It was a fact of no little significance that the new denomination should have been founded on the Isle of Skye, the area of greatest unrest in all the Highlands. 175 178 182 771 786

Whatever signs there were of social or cultural disorganization, or threatened disintegration, in the nineteenth century they have disappeared. Steward's theory that folk societies do not entirely disappear but are rather modified by way of a readaptation to the higher level of socio-cultural organization of which they become a part is borne out by the evidence from the Isle of Skye.[17] At the same time, on the basis of events in the culture history of the Sgriathanach, I would qualify his theory by introducing a new condition. Isolated, relatively simple, kinship oriented societies and cultures which must achieve a reintegration if they are to preserve their continuity readapt, not only to the higher socio-cultural level, but also to the older way of life. 175 178 182 771 786 [121]

In conclusion, I regard Skye as a community which has maintained a continuity of culture despite marked population change. The continued distinctiveness has been made possible by a reintegration of the culture and a restoration of the network of relationships which make for harmonious living together. As in any socio-cultural group which has passed through periods of threatened disintegration, the joints of repair may be weak. Conflicts are tending to appear. The crofter, who has refused to fully adapt to commercialism, is seasonally faced with a variety and succession of tasks which no agriculturalist in the wider society would tolerate. There is the desire of the youth, who are too few in numbers to form a sodality, for a share in the mundane pleasures of 178 182 [161] [571]

[17] Steward, Area Research, p. 111; see also Wagley and Harris, op. cit., p. 441.

787

787 REVELATION AND DIVINATION--practices reflecting anxiety about the future and often also a sense of inspiration; quest for visions and guardian spirits; hallucinatory revelations; communication with spirits (e.g., through spirit possession, through inspired oracles, through mediums); prophecy; clairvoyance; acquiring mystic insight through concentration and contemplation; interpretation of dreams; omens and their interpretation; divinatory practices and techniques (e.g., haruspicy, hepatoscopy, necromancy, scapulimancy, scrying, sortilege, astrology); etc. See also:

Personality disorders	168	Cult of the dead	769
Judicial oaths and ordeals	606	Guardian spirits	776
Revelation and divination in the treatment of diseases	755	Diviners, seers, and mediums	791
Omens of death	763	Ideas about dreams	850

*159 is watching. My boyfriend tells me that I shouldn't go
781 to church regularly and then all of a sudden show up in
829 a pub on Saturday night. It confuses people. The Bible says you can't have two masters.

"There are only two kinds of people in this village. You're either *curamach* or you're not. If you get the *curam*, all of a sudden you've got a lot of friends. If you had a friend who got the *curam*, all of a sudden she's no longer your friend. She just asks you if you've prayed today, and acts like she's feeling sorry for you. If your parents are *curamach* and your father is an elder, you've got it made in this place. Domhnuill Iain Dasher's daughter was as slim and beautiful as a model but she was never chosen as Miss West Side at the dances. Her father wasn't a member of the church. He always spoke his mind, and people called him an idiot.

*159 "There are definite symptoms of conversion. A person
781 who's been looking bored in church suddenly begins to pay attention. The women go all weepy. The men sigh. They wait around outside the church and don't leave so quickly. You can see them shaking hands with the converted. You can predict their conversion months in advance.

*159 "I had a dream last year, of a line of people going
791 down the aisle of the church, all dressed in white like to
787 a wedding. Only they weren't wearing veils. I realized

*159 later that these were all people who eventually got the
781 *curam*. The only conversion I didn't expect was Morrie
787 Bheag. I saw her one night crying outside the church, and knew her time had come.

"In the dream I was at the very end of the line, only I wasn't wearing a white dress. I was naked, and kept trying to cover myself.

*159 "Not a day passes that I don't think of death. I
781 want to pray, but I don't know who to pray to. I've been
[761] going to church regularly now, sort of hoping and sort of being afraid that I'll find the answer. I've read too much, and I met too many kinds of people while I was working in Glasgow. I didn't live near other people from Shawbost when I was in Glasgow. I got to know Jews, tinkers, Catholics, and Jehovah's Witnesses. The world is full of different religions. I believe that you can convert to a religion, from to Buddhism or to Christianity, but not to a church like the Free Church or the Church of Scotland. This place is called *Tir an t-soisgeul* where the true gospel is preached, but the whole world should be called that."

Ruaridh Dan

*159 Ruaridh Dan was married in January and began to work
288 as a warper in the Shawbost mill the following October, just after the end of World War II. He had been weaving

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

171 trouble. "Everything seems to go wrong"; and the
796 peasant falls asleep at night in fear of ills to come. First in his dreams and next in his day-dreams, these take shape
191 as an offended, hostile 'spirit'. The spirit of the place
796 —of the place-work—has become angry. So also, if the peasant's wife pursues her household work 'in the right
787 spirit', then in her dreams and reveries she is helped by kindly presences; but if not, things go wrong, objects mislaid have been taken by 'someone' and a tormenting house-imp plays havoc with her home. These figures of day-dreams were involuntary and 'shady', without the clarity either of earthly things or of heavenly visions. Yet they personified moods of real significance.

796 The Uruisg of the Gael helped about the farm and household—like the Tonte of Sweden and the Lubber-fiend of Merrie England in Milton's *L'Allegro*. Each task may have its own symbol. Of one of these, the cattle-tending *Glaistic* of the Highlands and Isles, Brock quotes from Mrs. E. Carmichael Watson: "Harmless and lovable as a rule,—especially in the older stories—in a few of the later stories she is represented as irritable . . . .
796 The more recent stories about the Glaistic are rather
198 unpleasant. She no longer plays with the children or sings rhymes—she has degenerated into a kind of female ruffian. Probably it would be nearer the truth to say that the change has been in the Highlands rather than in the Glaistic." Brock comments, "This last remark is signif-
[155] icant. The increasing irritability of tutelary nature-deities means that the spirit of the old economic life—the equilibrium between Highlanders and Highlands—is being upset"; and so too is that between Highlander and Highlander! In Lewis *Ni Chlach Urlar* (She (or It) of the Hearth Stone), who personified domestic strife, makes trouble; and neighbours come to suffer too!

794 Prerequisite to an understanding of the role of religion
779 in ordering human relationships for the *Sgiathanach* is an awareness of a distinctive and all-pervading feature of church membership. When we briefly discussed theology, we noted the prominence of the principles of "Foreordination" and "Effectual Calling." While many Scots may pay them lip service, the Skyemen firmly believe in them. Because of their unfaltering belief and the strict interpretation of "Effectual Calling,"
[761] the membership of all churches is very limited. Admission
[828] to the numbers of the "elect," those who have received a visitation from the Holy Spirit and experienced a soul-saving change, can only be gained by attaining the status of old age. Since "election" depends on manifesting a steadfast conformity to the behavior patterns approved by
794 religion, "elect" are all well past sixty. Adherents, who support the church in every way but have no voice in kirk affairs and do not take Communion, far outnumber these "elect" members. For example, among the religiously homogeneous Free Presbyterians of Glendale, there are 14 members in a congregation of over 300. In Kilmuir, a neighborhood with a rapidly aging population, there are 58 members of the Church of Scotland in a congregation of 211. Portree, as we know, contains a large number of newcomers who are affiliated with the Church of Scotland. Having been brought up in a different religious atmosphere and being relatively free from gossip to which the convert is exposed, they have come forward as members. Thus, the Church of Scotland has

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788 RITUAL--practices reflecting relief of anxiety through performance of repetitive or obsessionally precise symbolic acts; compulsive gestures (e.g., sign of the cross); repetitive behavior (e.g., tolling of bells, burning of candles, sprinkling with holy water); recital of stereotyped formulas (e.g., blessings); mechanical praying (e.g., with rosary, with prayer wheel); recitation of litanies and liturgies (e.g., credos, masses); processions; making of pilgrimages; etc. See also:

Propitiation	785	Ritual numbers	803
Elaboration of rituals into extended ceremonies	796		

NORTH RONA

Though the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says 195#
that in his time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving 191
only, and an abundance of cheese-grass for sheep. The island also 251
produced a fine bere-meal which the islanders stuffed into the 187
skins of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of
Lewis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest 181
Christian building in Britain remaining in its original state, 195#
Monro says: 'As the ancients of the country allege, they leave a 196
spade and a shull [shovel] when any man dies, and upon the 204
morrow find the place of the grave marked with a spade, as they 194
allege.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680:

The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Com- 198
mandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have 194
cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly 194
ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They
know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either;
they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as
they want; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied
with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very
precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of
them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his
property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of mankind
Lind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take 152
their surname from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and clouds. 162
There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant 162
has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their bere effects 194
are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side
to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and
thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis,
which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm 195#
of rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the crop. 231
A few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders 145
of their only bull. These misfortunes and the want of supplies 164
from Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all 195#
that ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony 162
was sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical*

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[For additional general information on runes and rites at various phases of the life-cycle, see category 796, pp. 158-159, passim.]

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

(a) SACRAMENTS AND RUNES OF LABOUR, IN FAMILY, TEAM AND TOWNSHIP

• 188 Labour given to the winning of food, shelter and
221 clothing was begun and blessed by poetic, rhythmic prayers
or 'runes'. The words were usually reinforced by a
symbolic gesture or simple rite. By help of the runes the
people sought spiritual preparation for work, invoked aid
and finally consecrated the thing made for use.

271 Wherever work was rhythmic it was carried on by
461 working songs. Songs of hunting or herding resulted the
hill and pasture, or praised the landscape with an exuberant
[171] love unequalled in any tongue we know but old Irish, with
which Scots Gaelic is so closely linked, or Welsh, of
which the nature classics are linked to the epics of the
Welsh and seventh century thought to be composed in
Strathclyde.[1]

288 Yet it was not those but the rhythmic prayers or runes
461 that obtained labour blessing. They are so parallel
[171] among many peoples, but those of the Gael possess rare
fullness of meaning and beauty of imagery, words and form.
When labour was ended, the food won or the clothing made
was consecrated for the use of family and friends, of the
poor and the stranger-guest.

288 In the struggle for food, the sowing and reaping of corn
211 ranked highest, followed by its parching and grinding
(*Carmina*, Nos. 88-92). The preparation of seed for its
sowing was accompanied by its consecration, *an cuireagnadh
siol*. Similarly for reaping: "Laying his bonnet on the
[113] ground, the father of the family took up his sickle and,

[1] Kenneth H. Jackson prints an given in which a prose translation
Ireland in Britain (1950, pp. 1-53). Other Welsh poetic materials will be
found in *Hector Gwitian* (Ed.), *The Book of Crisp and Ben*, vol. 1, 1951.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

[175] at midsummer came joyous departure to the shielings.
784/ Michaelmas at the end of September was a festival of
226 horsemanship, when the ponies, rested and well fed, could
race madly along the machar. As long nights brought in
the winter, Hallowe'en came on 31st October, and on the
morrow the solemnity of All Hallows (*Samhain*). On
11th November came St. Martin's Day, and in December
Christmas once again.

[175] As the men put out to sea, prayers were chanted
[182] to Father, Son and Holy Spirit and to the Disciples, "the
Fishers of Men". While some of these might be individual
(*Carmina*, Nos. 117-120), others were chanted by the
skipper at the helm, as celebrant, the crew giving the
[118] responses (No. 121). As self-sustained community life
[179] encouraged by a few clergy, Catholic and Protestant. At
[179] the start of the season's fishing in Eriskay, Fr. Allan
[179] Macdonald went out in the boats and chanted a rune brought
226 to him by elders, the men responding.[1] One of the 'Ocean
[188] Blessings' or prayers recorded by Carmichael (No. 119)
[179] is found in Fr. Carswell's *Liturgy in Gaelic*, of 1567,
and is quoted by Martin as "a form of prayer used by
many of the islanders at sea after the sails are set".[2] Most
of Carswell's *Liturgy* was translated from that of John
Knox, but not this prayer, of which the earlier and later-
recorded version are the same, except for one revealing
difference.

[118] 1 'In so doing,' Father Allan[1] may have been restoring a pious service
[179] of a older culture. Of Gaelic James was the language of the Celtic Church
[179] and school in Irish Lindisfarne, and of the liturgy of Carmichael.
In the house of his Protestant parents the young priests were hospitably
received.

[2] Pages are *Unregistrie* (ed. M'Lauchlan, 1862, and Morch, 1905
(edition of 1934, pp. 186-189). A new text of Carswell is in preparation by
the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 As recorded by Carswell (and Martin), this prayer,
226 after calling upon the Trinity, tells that the Three-in-One,
over living, guided Clan Israel through the Red Sea,
• 188 brought Jonah to land from the belly of the great ocean
175 beast, and led Paul and his companions through storm
of the sea; after these three stanzas it closes with a general
supplication. As heard by Carmichael three centuries after
Carswell, the first three stanzas are identical, but they are
[539] followed by the culmination. Recalling the hour "when
the storm poured on the Sea of Galilee . . .", the poem
goes on, "Be Thou, King of the elements, extend at our
behn, And lead us in peace to our voyage's end. . . ."
It is significant that the Reformation Liturgy includes the
story of Clan Israel's flight from their enemies whose
drowning forms the climax of the tale, and the absurd
miracle of the whale—a late interpolation in the con-
vincing original Hebrew poem on Jonah's voyage—but
that it omits the Christian climax, of the storm allayed by
Christ, the Helmsman of peace.

Another fishers' rune (No. 120) concludes, "To whom
trembles the voice of the wind? To whom become tranquil
strait and ocean? To Jesus Christ, Chief of each saint,
Son of Mary, Root of Victory." These lines remind
they refer to the Old Testament, dwell lovingly on the New.
Their thought is of the fishermen friends, Peter, Andrew
and John, of the Baptist and of Christ's mother, of Saint
Martin and later apostles to the Gael, and the Archangels,
and of Christ, Rock of rocks (*Carmaig Ail*), and the Trinity.
These bring strength in danger, peace after strife with the
elements, remembrance of the poor, and fellowship to the
crews. Peace and strength pervade the "Dawn Prayer of

[1] R. C. Moulton, *Modern Reader's Bible* (revised, 1935, pp. 1431-1434;
cf. Note to Mark xii. 26, p. 1898).

(a) SACRAMENTS OF THE HEARTH AND THE PLAIDING

• 188 For shelter and life by the hearth there are noble runes.
547 The house with its household was blessed, when newly
built by a bridegroom's friends, yearly after its thatching,
364/ or regularly at nightfall. The blessing was said by the
226 goodman in the presence of his family and helper-neigh-
bours, or intimately by either of the parents as they went
to rest (*Carmina*, Nos. 44, 45).

In the darkness of the 'black house' the fire was a
[364] focus of warmth and light, of life and union. "The
Blessing of the Living" (the Fire) was said by the house-
288 wife as she rekindled or, rather, uncovered the sleeping
547 embers when she rose. Those who, tired or in want,
364/ have ever lit a fire in darkness may best feel, in her words,
364 how the glow without kindles the light within.
533[1]

"I will kindle my fire today in presence of the angels . . .
Without malice . . . or fear . . . of any one under the
sun,
But the Holy Son of God to shield me."

And then (as the dim glow lightens and warms): "God,
kindle Thou in my heart within, A flame of love to my
neighbour, To my foe, to my friend, to my kindred all,
To the brave, to the knave, to the thrall. . . . From the
lowliest thing that liveth To the name that is highest of
all (*On rug an t-olam is airde*)." In spirit this reaches
universality; its verse-form is purest poetry (*Carmina*,
No. 82).

In the covering, smothering or smoo'ring of the
embers at night, the following was said to me not long ago

[1] *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, pp. ix-x.
" *Ar ainm, a-mach, a-mach . . .*" " *Dean na h-uaighneach*". (*An Gaidheal*, Dec. 1941.)

(in Gaelic) by a housewife in a Catholic isle, as our friend ship matured. It had been said nightly at her fire by her father-in-law until his death (not long before), which had come after that of his wife. "I amou's the fire tonight, As Mary's Son amongst Her Angels watches and sleeps. Be it well with all our household. Who are on this floor? Peter and Paul. Who are on this floor? Light-giver Mary and her Son. This God's lamb have borne, And the Angel spoke: 'The Angel at my house door, Until the close day come tomorrow. Amen." In this simple, valiant shrove, memory still lives in the folks!

In these runes, the key to the words "as Mary's Son and as Mary did, in their day" is the example of filial duty, of wifely and motherly care. In popular tradition "Mary's Mary" during periods of decadence in the Roman Church, the virtual banishment of Christ's mother from Protestantism has led to a loss deeper than Presbyterian Scotland has yet realized. Her name is a fitting reminder, both of a woman's part in the spiritual life of the home, and of a cosmic self-discipline and affection: in a word, of mutual love.

For, Word, the sheep were blessed in the Lamb's Clipping Blessing". There were blessings of the loom and of weaving and weaving; and after neighbourly falling on "washing" of the finished web, came its consecration. The wash was solemn and sanctified in its turn, as the prayer: Carmichael's own fine poem translations should be studied (*Carmina*, vol. i, xxxiii-xxxiv; vol. ii, pp. 88-99). Yet, those being available, we quote rhythmic

I. O. Ber: Allan Macdonald, *Cuairt-shoisneachd*, p. 107; *Carmina Gadelica*, Vol. I, pp.[illegible]; and Mr. Kenneth Macleod's *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. ii, p. 50. Sacred lore is not to be polluted up lightly by a stranger. It was only upon the second of my professional visits to Lewis that I was given this good omen; would advert and import her knowledge, treasured in the secret places of her heart.

venues to suggest the significant poetic form of the original.

"The Clipping Blessing", being addressed to the creatures, is simple in thought and form; and its opening may be rendered

O come back woolly, though now you're shorn,
By May, my sack a lamb have borne,
May lovely Brigit with you make,
And Mary her sustain you now!

It goes on to beg protection against wolf and bear, as well as fox, hoodie crow and eagle, and closes with the opening couplet.

From start to finish the work must be true. The wool is from the sheep they reared—it is not got by "thigging"; as a feudal vassal, by "cuddling" it from tenants; the yarn is sound with no odds of thread from worn-out cloth; the web is their very own, the Christ-given gift of God (*Carmina*, i, 106, 113, 119). Only so can the goodwife's web be beautiful, full, and blest. "Thread upon of thread, my love never kept nor shall keep. Every hue in the bow-of-the-shower has gone through my fingers beneath the cross." The weaver, with her household, and her hairns about her, to be clear in mind must be calm in heart as, thread by thread, she prepares the warp. To start, she chooses Saint Columba's Day.

Thursday of blessings
For warping and washing.
The Cross to Columba
To number . . .

Ward away the evil eye!
Or evil will, or ugly thought
Consecrate, O Lord in Thy Lodge,
My Loom . . .

Make smooth and even the warp of my loom
And great the blessing of Thy Son, Amen.
On all who here find shelter and room
And dwelling . . .

Thine arm be round each woman here
Who watches this web of mine . . .
O aid her in her hour of need . . .

Keep the flesh she was with
Sweet and unscathed in the cloth
And weed in grief, to weave and kin.
For weal . . .

Even now in Harris or the Lewis, a brief good wish may be uttered—"a Health and strength to the weaver!" as the prepaying woman and the maiden, for the pay in the web was finally consecrated. Each of the family who was to wear a portion of it in turn, and the weaver herself, who had the consecration (*Carmina*, No. 113).

Then the Sabbath Lord weaver of my web
Nowe is wounded and bound
May the saintly shield of the Lord be to me.

The significance of this gift of hard-won cloth can now be seen, first for the family but next for the neighbourly town. We can understand how each "set" or pattern of tartan stood for the spirit of the family and the group of kin and household, and, in the Highlands, Harris and north to the Gael when the tartan, with "the Highland dress . . . or any other tartan before the Union, forbidden" by any man or boy" in the Highlands. Women were still allowed to wear it, it was true, but the dress ceased to be a symbol of community. Yet, the tartan was confined to one sex. As a single exception, the Highland dress was retained for soldiers, but the uniformity of the regiment ceased to signal upon one strand of clothing, that

Roman Catholicism was far less complete than that ultimately brought about by Protestantism—Episcopalian or Calvinistic.

At least twenty-five churches, chapels and tiny oratories are standing in Harris or Lewis and his list is incomplete (1934, p. 106). Harris and its islets also had their complete share of "temples" in addition to the priory church of Rodel. We may perhaps assume the Bishop of the Reformation Lewis had a population of some 4000 persons, or less, and that Protestant worship was confined to oratories in inhabited areas. If so, then one church or temple; or an oratory to every 1000 of people, for Christian, Invasions, repeated destruction and prolonged intrigue by the Norsemen or the English kings, led to, and intensified, the Celtic Church's lack of a parish system; and, therefore, regrown had followed the' Reformation.

When the people were too distant from priests (and later ministers) to hear the Lessons, they had their own Word orally. Their power of retaining memorable phrasing, and of using it, grew, in proportion, to their strengthened memory. For example, "the Ten Commandments, and a Hymn are recorded in Fr. Allan Macdonald's little collection, "as given by the Old Women of Barra" (*Cuairt-shoisneachd*, Dublin, 1934, p. 65). Moses, had he understanded Gaelic, would have protested at the omission of the Second Commandment, but no religious Gael or Eye would. Yet, Moses, had he used for it, being unafraid that a Christian could bow down to a golden calf. Believing with Solomon, that a craftsman's work is his prayer, the artist-monks held that the "image" should stimulate, though never replace, God's grace and, may even quicken their communal life with His

in whose "image" mankind was made. As for the number 'ten, it was adopted by Christ, in embodying the Tenth Commandment into two parts! Thus the letter of the Mosaic Law, he is frankly admitted, is modified! There are also extensions of certain Commandments. Yet, recalling Jesus's insistence upon the unspoken thought which prompts man's conduct, one may feel that Christ's Second Commandment, "Thou Shalt not commit idolatry", is strengthened by the Gaelic paraphrase: "*Avoid all thought, or sale, or deed immoral (mi-dheacach, immodest, or vicious)*". Yet, Christ, "Blessed are the hearts of the pure *see sin of truth*". And the paraphrase of the Fourth, rendered in Gaelic, "Keep the Sabbath Day Holy", completes the Commandment as it was obeyed by Jesus His friends at the Passover, and by Celts and Roman at Easter: "Keep the Sabbath Day Holy and Festivals of Christ, and Saints of Christ, and Saints of Virgin Mary, and Saints of Lig and Holy Cross of Christ." With prayer and fuel and barging free.

Life on the Isles, in the Highlands, in the glens,
light o'er grey-green sea and hill-side
Life on the Isles, in the Highlands, in the glens,
the hour God's Son came down to earth.

OO THE CYCLE OF LIFE

The stages in life's sequence are marked by noble rites of baptism, initiation in adolescence, betrothal and marriage, celebrated in the community's assembly, and rituals throughout life and, at its close, of farewell. As might be fitting, the beginning of life is marked by another man or woman: to a child by a parent or elder; to the young and strong by the wise; and, to the weak and sick, by the healer. And in the past, especially in trial, the "soul-friend" ministered to the dying, the sick, the child-crazed.

Lewis, and Harris, and Holy Spirit the name placed three drops

as the days lengthened, and, in the Gaelic idiom, as the old style, it may be called "The Rune of the World's Light".

The world, eve come the Sun of God,
Jesus Christ, a big fellow;
Void of sun, moon or star,
void of body, heart or form.

"Thou Mary Mother lovely kneeled,
and gave Her breast Being holy;
Darkness and mass were driven after,
the world's work and its gain.

Light on the land, the deep stream
from sullen pool to ocean stream;
Light on the land, the deep stream
with praise and fuel and barging free.

Life on the Isles, in the Highlands, in the glens,
light o'er grey-green sea and hill-side
Life on the Isles, in the Highlands, in the glens,
the hour God's Son came down to earth.

The Gael had found the grandeur of the Old Testament and the tenderness of the Gospels of the New; for then the light of dawn on sea and snow awoke the light within. A single theme, perhaps of the Gaelic temperament, runs through the Gaelic poetic, perhaps of one original poem.[1] Charted

[1] It is interesting to compare this quiet legend with the less Roman Catholic version of Mr. Kenneth Macleod, "Mary Mother lovely kneeled" (*Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. ii, p. 50). Mr. Macleod's version is "Mary the domestic lady Saint" (Bedeth). Mannaigh B. James (translated), *Ceithir Ceisteanna*, Dublin, 1933.

[2] Gaelic: *Ceartas*, "Justice", "Rightness", "Rightness of Law and Constituted Authority, Law &c." *Ceartas dhi*, Being of life," or "of Constituted Authority." I. 13, "Ceartas dhi" (Being of Life) is "of Constituted Authority." I. 13, "Ceartas dhi" (Being of Life) is "Being of Life." Ceartas is an adjective and noun "The hour (or era) God's Son came in (among us)," a noun, or not a doubtful.

in the kirtch!" and counsels her to be hospitable yet wise, and courageous though calm: to be frank yet tactful, dignified though kind. The themes of this ode's meditation were recall the virtues of a wife enumerated immemorially in the Wisdom literature of the Book of Proverbs. For in that, too, there is mention of "strength and dignity, wisdom and kindness" (*Ceartas*, 1. 7), and the poet are not forgotten as the wife goes tirelessly about her work, sets her servants to their tasks and sets her merchandise at a profit. Yet she attends to spiritual, as well as to the wife's work and its gain: reveal the writer as a shrewd citizen seeking to train a wife to contain, and contain, herself, and, within her husband's private profit and public honour as a most important factor in the life of the Gael. The Kirtch"—sign or woman, one cannot tell—almighty of conduct not for its help, or for what it can do, but for its virtue, and dwelt upon motive, mind and heart.[2]

To tide over the supreme crisis of childbirth the mother and child were surrounded with tender courage and calm. The need was the greater before modern midwifery. In Barbarism and in age as in infancy, childbirth became tending a difficult case of childbirth, anxious and powerless without the skilled assistance of a midwife or older relative. The patient's mother first filled a small basin with water into which the midwife placed a small gift of sterling, sewn in childhood and growing through life, ripen as grandchildren grown in from which, in turn, a ring or play to listen and learn. When manuscripts or books were unknown, oral readings rarely heard, and the people literate, teaching could only

[1] Gaelic: *Ceartas*.

[2] *Ceartas*, vol. ii, Home; cf. Hist. 148-150, etc. Encircling or encasing the mother and child with tender care and without the fuel needed in winter, cf. Hebrides.

[3] For contemporary record, descriptions of extracts have appeared in the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, and available in seminary, St. Hardness.

[4] *Ceartas*, vol. ii, Home, *Good Fire*.

given at Christmas; in Lewis, Christmas is identified with Catholicism, and is an insignificant event in comparison with New Year. To give two examples, a New Year's dance is given, but not a Christmas dance; and the mills continue working on Christmas if it occurs on a week day, but close for at least two days at New Year's. In Shawbost, bannag is defined as a party associated with Hogmanay (New Year's eve).

7 In the recent past, until about ten years ago, the boys dressed in women's clothes or wore masks. They took turns wearing a cow's skin as they went from house to house. In each house, the boy wearing the skin was hit by the others as he chanted the rann na bannag (rhyme of the bannag):

> Here I come again renewing Christmas.
> (Or, in another version: This is the New Year's night
> I'll take the bread without the butter,
> And the butter without the bread,
> And the cheese by itself.
> Then we won't be empty-handed.
> One thing I refuse is a mangy potato.
> It gives a heavy feeling.
> It's not healthy.
> If you don't give me my bit of butter and my lump of cheese,
> Everything you possess will be gotten by the crows on St. Patrick's Day.

As the balaich na bannagan left the house in which hey had received gifts, they blessed it. All food and oney was given to the woman who prepared the bannag.

Today children tend to receive money more often than ood, and use some of the money to buy sweets at the post

789

789 MAGIC--practices reflecting confidence in the ability to manipulate supernatural forces; magical techniques of weather control (e.g., rain making); magical rites for increasing the food supply; exorcistic practices (e.g., driving off evil spirits with noise); potent formulas, incantations, and spells; curses; miracles; prevalent types of magic (e.g., imitative, contagious); concept of magical force; functions and social significance of magic; nonsupernatural magic (e.g., wonder-working, jugglery, legerdemain, fire-walking); etc. See also:

Magical rites in the food quest 22
Magic rites in agriculture 24
Magic rites in the reproductive cycle 84
Magic as entertainment 545
Magic rites in warfare 726
Sorcery, witchcraft, and evil eye 754
Therapeutic magic 751, 755
Magic rites at funerals 764
Luck magic 777
Concept of mana 778
Prevalence of nonlogical reasoning 811
Relation of magic to science 813
Love magic 832

581 "The most
584 important thing about courting was the land. If a girl
423 was going to get a croft, she could have the pick of anyone." Stories are told of broken alliances and the interference of parents, all related to the inheritance of the croft. For example, the father of a 70-year-old woman living today deserted the beautiful girl to whom he was engaged to marry a girl with a croft. "Never mind beauty, just a bit of land." A man would hike fourteen miles across the moor into town to bring back the jug of beer required for the reiteach (the dinner party announcing an intended marriage), only to find that the girl was having a reiteach with someone else.

233 Cattle were much more important than sheep in the early economic history of the Highlands. Scottish history is full of stories of cattle thieves, and of "the drove," in which large herds were driven to Lowland markets. The [789] most common examples of witchcraft concerned spells cast on cows. Many Lewismen still remember market days on Lewis, the day of the drove when cattle were herded into Stornoway from all parts of the island; when children were taken from school to help with the drive, and shopkeepers put up extra stalls for the occasion.

Until as recently as ten years ago, a form of transhumance was practiced on Lewis whereby the cattle

79

ESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION—general statements dealing with several
ts of the organization of religion, i.e.; specialists, cult groups, and
nstituted ceremonial.

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 Roman Catholicism was far less complete than that ulti-
791 mately brought about by Protestantism—Episcopalian or
798 Calvinist.
795 At least twenty-five churches, chapels and tiny oratories
175 are named by Martin in Lewis and his list is incomplete
(1934, p. 106). Harris and its islets also had their comple-
346 ment of 'temples', in addition to the priory church of
[162] Rodel. We may perhaps assume that before the Reforma-
tion Lewis had a population of some 4000 persons,
or 1000 families, and contained some thirty chapels or
[194] oratories in inhabited areas. If so, then one church or
'temple', on an average served thirty to thirty-five families,
or six or seven farm-groups. Yet only the larger congre-
gations at Eye, Stornoway, Ness or Uig and Rodel would
normally be served by clergy; the people of smaller congre-
gations would be without, for weeks and months or even
years.

175 When the people were too distant from priests (and
• 79 later ministers) to hear the Lessons, they handed down
the Word orally. Their power of retaining memorable
[153] thought, even in prose, is still remarkable; and verse
175 strengthened memory. For example, 'the Ten Com-
788 mandments' paraphrased in rhyme are recorded in Fr.
779 Allan Macdonald's little collection, "as given by the God
of graces to Moses in the wilderness" (*Na Faintean*,
p. 62). Moses, had he understood Gaelic, would have
protested at the omission of the Second Commandment,
but no sculptor of Iona, Rodel or Eye would have felt a
need for it, being unafraid that a Christian could bow
down to a golden calf. Believing, with Solomon, that a
craftsman's work is his prayer, the artist-monks held that
an 'image' should represent, though never replace, God's
creation, and may even quicken our concept of the Creator

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

175 saint, a character so eminently Christ-like"[1] and to his
793 intimate beliefs, doctrine and wide influence. The same
159 Highland roots and deep charity characterised Dr. Norman
Macleod, author of the popular classic, *The Friend of the
Gael* (*Caraid nan Gaidheal*).

121 If a student of community ventures upon an interpreta-
tion of theology, it is because, to him, any attempt to under-
stand "the relations of God to mankind" must take account
of men's relations to one another. Ideas are transformed
by human experience during economic and social revolu-
tions, and in their turn they transform society. To make
contact with reality, theology must regard mankind: it
175 must be integrated with sociology. Because of its close
178 bond with communal life, the religious spirit, recorded in
182 Gaelic lore, was jarred, almost overwhelmed, when com-
munity was shaken to its foundations by the commercial,
198 agricultural and industrial revolution. Happily, the value
• 79 of communal Christianity has been acknowledged both by
Roman Catholics—notably (among Gaels) by the Rev.
Allan Macdonald of Eriskay—and by Protestants.[2] In
the Scottish Presbyterian Church today, the movement
which seems most deeply aware of the need for a new
society has acknowledged its debt to communal tradition
where this has been best maintained, in the Isles.
Seeking to aid Christian endeavour, international and
national, this movement has turned for inspiration to Iona.
[191] In Iona, of which the noble cathedral belongs to the Church
of Scotland but is open for service to all denominations,
Presbyterians have found a new symbol.

[113]

[1] Canon Vaughan, cited by the Rev. Norman Maclean (*Scotsman*, 21st Aug. 1943).

[2] "The Church should interpret the Love of God by a flaming zeal for the redress of the social order." (The Very Rev. Prof. John Baillie, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, at St. Andrews, 1943.)

791

791 MAGICIANS AND DIVINERS—specialists in magic (e.g., wonder workers, exorcists, magicians, fakirs); specialists in divination (e.g., astrologers, oracles, diviners, fortune tellers, seers, mediums); characteristics of each (e.g., personality, sex, training, garb); sources of power; prerogatives and disabilities; organisation; fees; etc. See also:

Magicians as entertainers	649	Divination	797
Witches, wizards, and sorcerers	794	Magic	799
Shamans and faith healers	795		

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. I

184 Comparisons at the present day are most illuminating.
• [191] In the Hebrides one may pass from Calvinist Lewis-and-
Harris to Catholic Barra, through South Uist, where
Presbyterian and Roman Catholic dwell, side by side, in
mutual respect. Although their home life, economy and
language are the same, the influence of a comparatively
[121] recent divergence in religion is marked. Such Island
evidence, present and past, forces one to re-examine con-
clusions upon life in the Lowlands accepted until recently,
and to seek for the truth upon earlier forms of life in
common and for their meaning today throughout 'the
North and West'.

195 Ancient elements of unity, and later ways in which
473 these were broken, adapted or remade, region by region,
427 are being unravelled. The Old Estate Plans, made at the
outset of the agricultural revolution, show these immedi-
621 ately before the re-planning of fields and farms (*circa*
1750–90). These plans also reveal the existence of still
198 earlier types, not otherwise recognisable even on the spot.
[184] With their rentals (when available) they reveal the ways
in which old joint farms were placed under a single tenant,
as in Lothian, or were split up among several tenants, as
in Ayrshire.[1] From such geographical data, both the
economic and the deeper social aspects of rural life emerge
with new clarity. Such data may be linked to Planning
Surveys of land and rural life for tomorrow.

621 Now, although so fundamentally equalitarian within
427 themselves, these hamlet communities of the Gael were
subjected to the overlordship of a chief or laird, either
[194] directly or through an intermediate gentleman-tenant, a
[192] tacksman'. History, with archaeology read in history's
[113] [1] For Lothian, see Arthur Geddes (1938 and 1951); for Ayrshire, see
J. H. G. Lebon, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, Vols. 62, 1945 (pp. 7-13); 63, 1946
(pp. 100-110). Further references in Bibliography.

792

792 HOLY MEN—prophets and messiahs; ascetics and anchorites; monks, friars, and nuns; monastic orders (e.g., mendicant, hermit, cenobite); monasteries and convents (e.g., organisation, activities); monastic rules (e.g., poverty, celibacy); characteristics, status, and means of support of holy men; etc. See also:

Celibacy	680	Colleges of austerity	778
Divine priests	645	Anchorites	786
Monastic movements	646	Oracles	797
Poverty and almsgiving	786		

10 THE OTHER ISLANDS

361 THE continued evacuation of islands is a problem peculiar
162 to Scotland. In the eighteenth century some 8 per cent of
*195 Scots lived on islands; today the figure is less than 2 per
178 cent. Island populations today account for about 30 per cent of
182 the total Highland (crofting counties) population. The difficulty
for most islands is the relationship between population density
and potential for economic development.

As though reflecting the relationship of man to man on Lewis-with-Harris—keeping together in community for survival—the other islands round the larger island mass have played some role at one time or another in recorded history. Most of the socially-significant islands of Harris have been described in Chapter 9. Lewis has very few, and these are mostly far-flung oceanic outliers.

North Rona

133 To begin at the northern point of the Lewis parish, about 45
131 miles NNE of the Butt of Lewis is North Rona, a block of horne-
blende schist with pegmatite intrusions. Though the island has
[361] never figured in any Census reports, since the Census began, it has
been inhabited from time to time. Of about 300 acres in extent,
it is cliff-bound and reaches 355 ft at its highest point. It lies in a
part of the Atlantic where a deep swell seems perpetual, and land-
ings can be difficult.

361 Dean Monro comments: 'Towards the north northeist from
*195 Lewis, three score myles of sea, lyes and little ile callit Roney,
laiche maine land, inhabit and manurit be simple people, scant of
ony religione.' The Dean's 'simple people' were no recent settlers.
They were in fact the continuation of a community which had
inhabited North Rona for at least 700 years previously. Tradi-
• [192] tion has it that the first inhabitant was St Ronan, who built a
small monastic cell or hermitage there some time during the
eighth century, but there may have been earlier inhabitants.

CH. VIII **RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS**

[97] "The Iona Community is a Brotherhood of men within
[94] the Church of Scotland seeking to find the implications of
the Kingdom of God for modern society. During the
summer months they worship, work and live together on
[62] Iona, rebuilding the ruined Abbey on a co-operative basis.
Half the Brotherhood are young clergy pledged to work
for two years in the difficult places of the cities (after three
months in Iona), emphasising the place of the Church in
the New Community that is emerging in the world. The
other half are skilled artisans who desire to express their
labour as a ministry within the Priesthood of all Believers
and create—in the building—a microcosmic witness of
how labouring is transformed when seen as a Sacrament.
The Brotherhood is based on Reformation principles.
[221] Several members of the Community are married. At
present the artisans return to the ordinary labour market
in the winter time."[1]

[96] In the Iona Community, theology is linked to communal labour and the re-shaping of society; and its symbolic centre, Iona, is more than a literary name, or a historic ruin, to those who have set about rebuilding its cathedral tower, cloister and surrounding dwellings. Continuity is exemplified in its leader, the Rev. George F. Macleod, a descendant of Dr. Norman Macleod, the friend of McLeod Campbell. The significance of this Community to the theme of this chapter lies in the endeavour of its members to learn, by help of ancient native ways, new ways of Christian life in their own land. The attempt to link industrial Scotland, and lands beyond, to the Gaelic West, is a notable recognition of what Celtic Christianity, maintained and renewed by communal tradition, has yet to give the world.

[1] From the magazine of the Iona Community, *The Circuit*.

793

793 PRIESTHOOD—specialists in organized religious activities (e.g., priests, priestesses, clergyman, rabbis, mullahs); status and means of support; selection, training, and consecration; hierarchical organization (e.g., chief priests, bishops, cardinals, popes); prerogatives and disabilities of priests; characteristics (e.g., sex, garb, paraphernalia), distinctive behavior (e.g., celibacy); activities (e.g., conducting ceremonies, preaching, teaching, comforting); special priestly personnel (e.g., acolytes, temple prostitutes), etc. See also:

Celibacy	888	Shaman	59
Theocratic forms of government	898	Theosophy	818
Military chaplains	722	Divinity schools	378

11

238 finished lengths of tweed. For a tweed to be classified
443 as "Harris Tweed," it must be hand-woven by Outer
[481] Hebridians in their own homes, but the weavers are
essentially employees of the mill. All the large Harris
238 Tweed mills in Lewis, except the one in Shawbost, are
located in Stornoway. A few smaller businesses, which
design and market tweeds but have no elaborate machinery
to process the tweed further, are scattered throughout
the island.

The village of Shawbost is composed of 169 households,
421 of which 110 are headed by "crofters," persons recognized
442 as legal tenants of a croft. Of the remaining 59
[429]
[341] households, 16 rent houses which were built and are
maintained by the County (called "council houses"),
11 have erected houses on the crofts of relatives, and
443 32 have built homes on the common grazing lands. Non-
291 crofters participate in the agricultural activities of
the township. It would not be unusual, for example, for
a non-crofter to serve as the clerk of a grazings committee.

In North Shawbost, one croft house and two non-
342 croft houses are used only when the owner returns to
429 Shawbost from the mainland for a holiday. The school-
master lives in a house adjoining the school, and the
[315] minister in a manse located between Shawbost and the
[193] neighboring village of Bragar.

117

764 the deceased or the remaining family assist in preparing
594 endless cups of tea, using the provisions that are
brought by the visitors. The newcomers enter, exchange
greetings, memories, sighs and moral judgements in
rapid whispers. "Och, och... that should teach us,
we're all going to go. That's how it was meant to be.
It makes you wonder why we live at all, well, well."
They recall other deaths. "That was a bad death. His
liver was bad, and he turned yellow, then all black...."
[152] They weep, circumspectly observe the appearance of the
[197] room and its occupants, and speak only in Gaelic, the
language of hearth and heart.

764 The minister usually attends a prayer meeting which
443 is held in the tigh fhaire around midnight of the night
before the funeral, but his presence is not necessary.
The prayer meeting may be conducted by the elders. The
elders may also hold the service which precedes the
burial. The minister may walk for a short distance in
the funeral procession or speak a brief few words at
the graveside, but his role in the community drama is
minimal.

764 At least one person from all households within the
621 village is expected to go to the tigh fhaire of someone
592 who has died within the village, "to show respect." The
male head of the household is expected to attend the

130

[172] "I was in the Navy during the last war. We were
[152] in Norway, and got an invitation to visit the palace.
I didn't go. I was afraid I'd make a mess of things."

"This place has an inferiority complex. It's
mainland-oriented; so you feel outlandish."

The new director of an association which promotes
575 the speaking of Gaelic is a Lowland Scot who learned
197 Gaelic when he was in England. He was working in England
186 [181] and, as a Scotsman, felt so much like a foreigner that
he decided "to be a real foreigner"—so he studied Gaelic.
Motives which prompted legislation protecting crofting
also lie behind the development of organizations which
attempt to protect and preserve the Gaelic language.

An Comunn Gaidhealach, the Highland Association
[175] which promotes the speaking of Gaelic, was founded in
1891 in a town on the mainland, and has always been urban-
based. Eighty years passed before the association
established its headquarters in Stornoway; but the head-
quarters were relegated to hindquarters when the director
found that he needed to be on the mainland to exert
pressure on influential organizations for aid and support.
[193] The organization is condemned by ministers on the island,
who view it as an organization that sponsors light-hearted
[218] singing. The magazines and books which it publishes or
sponsors are seldom read by the rural islanders. The

133

197 One of the
793 richest sources of Gaelic vocabulary now available is
779 the Gaelic Bible, but many villagers, especially the
younger ones, complain that they are unable to understand
many of the Gaelic words used by the minister in his sermons.

Although provision for teaching Gaelic in the schools
197 was made in the Education Act of 1918, only within the
871 last ten years have schools incorporated classes in which
Gaelic is taught at both primary and secondary levels.
Gaelic is taught as a foreign language like French or Latin,
rather than used as a medium of instruction, which would
require a much larger vocabulary than most teachers possess.
[315] The present schoolmaster in Shawbost differs from past
[651] schoolmasters in that he addresses the children by their
Gaelic names,[2] and devises projects intended to encourage
a sense of pride in "Celtic culture."

793 The Department of Celtic Studies at the University of
197 Glasgow, which includes in its staff a Lewis poet and
185 several Scottish Nationalists, is described as "progressive."
According to an islander who is a student in the Department,
"They believe that if Gaelic is to survive as a language,
it must be written as it is spoken. At school we were
taught to write 'proper' Gaelic, Gaelic that's considered

[2] Persons who come from Gaelic-speaking areas are addressed and referred to by Gaelicized names, such as "Murchadh" rather than "Murdo," and usually these names take the form of patronymics, which may or may not include nicknames (for example, Iain Dhomhnuill Shain, i.e., John the son of Fair Donald).

162

B. The Bible

1. The Free Church: "A man in my great-grandfather's
771 time," said a 65-year-old man, "talked about the great
195 change within his generation, from the days when fanks
178 were held on Sundays to such strict observance on the
Sabbath that not even a cow could be tethered."

The first evangelical minister on Lewis came to the
195 parish of Uig in 1824. The Rev. Alexander Macleod belonged
793 to the Church of Scotland, but joined the Free Church when
it broke away from the Church of Scotland in the "Disruption"
of 1843. When he came in 1824, he found "superstition,"
"spiritual darkness," and "polluted remains of Popery,
since it was the religion in this place...the only notion
they had of Christianity (Beaton 1925: 7-8)." The southern
795 824 Isles of the Outer Hebrides are still Catholic, but in the
184 Protestant isles of the north, holidays associated with
184 Catholicism are avoided, and stories are still told of the
burning of Protestant martyrs by Catholics. Catholics are
disliked "because they believe that they can buy their
way out of sin," or that the bread and wine of Communion
is really the blood and body of Christ. "A Catholic is
anointed with oil and left to die without food or water.
We are privileged that we are not like them."

195 In the Disruption of 1843, about one-third of the
793 people and 39% of the ministers left the established church

164

795 collected, and an annual report on morale, which usually
condemns drinking and "the decline in moral standards."
Ministers are trained in a college in Edinburgh. Many
[197] are Gaelic speakers, although the number is said to be
declining.

794 When a congregation loses a minister because of de
793 or other reasons, it issues a "call" to some other mini
The congregation is familiar with the names and preachi
styles of a number of ministers, who have in the past
visited the community as guest speakers. The congregat
votes for a minister from a list made by the key office
of the church. The minister may or may not accept the

795 The Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church,
[178] fundamentalist Protestant sects which have survived the
tendencies toward unification evident since the turn of
the century, are strongest in the Highlands and Islands
Shawbost contains a few people who belong to the Church
Scotland, but most villagers belong to the Free Church.
795 The only church (in the sense of a building in which se
824 are preached) is a Free Church which was built in 1883,
[193] supposedly after men from Shawbost helping to repair th
fence at the minister's manse in Carloway, where they t
attended church, were refused boiling water for their c
"brose" by the minister's wife. A building in which
members of the Church of Scotland worshipped was buil

magic is always efficacious—however desperate the need, however pure the motives of those who ask. These men were said to be the most successful fishers in the place; they were also Elders of the Kirk, who saw no wrong in what they did. They did not inform the minister; but the good man was not a fisherman and did not understand either the mysterious ways of fish or the incitement of a crew!

While this *neid fire* was kindled in all earnestness, a miming song-dance I have seen in Eriskay is pure fun: 'the Carline or Witch-wife of the Mill-dust' (*Cailleach an Dudain*), who falls down dead and is brought to life again! Once, perhaps, a half-remembered symbolic 'play' of the seasonal fall and resurrection of seed, it is certainly in form and spirit a thing of happy laughter now! Tales were retold by Martin and a seventeenth-century English skipper, of offerings made to a sea-god, Shony, at Eoropie, Ness, for the sake of seaweed, followed by feasting and drinking in the chapel there.[1] The story may be garbled or, if true, may record a pre-Christian survival turned to merriment and of no more significance to the people of the time than 'the Carline of the Mill-dust'. The prayers for the seaweed necessary for agriculture and daily bread are Christian in spirit.

When the people were at the mercy of periodic famines, diseases and sudden death, there were ample grounds for fears. Hence a word must be said of a belief widespread and ancient in the Old World, 'the evil eye' (*droch shuil*). In the absence of clinical diagnosis, a malady, or a misfortune to oneself or a valued possession, might cast suspicion on someone present when it occurred; and

[1] W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 143-208. Contrast *Carmina*, vol. iv, pp. 33-35.

In many homes breakfast is followed by family worship. 593
e father begins with a blessing, a prayer on behalf of his 264
mily, and then leads the family in the singing of a few 782
rses of psalm. Next he reads from Scripture, apologizing 788 [512]
the visitor because his Bible is not an English version,
d comments on the meaning of the passage. He concludes with
prayer. If the morning worship has been omitted, he holds [512]
evening service. Some crofters have family worship both
rning and night. When the father is away, his wife or his
dest son conducts the worship. Religious devotion on Skye, [771]
en, is more than Sabbath church attendance and attendance
weekly prayer meetings.

The Role of Religion in Township, Neighborhood, and Village

I did not attempt to devise a socio-metric scale to 795
termine the affiliation of members and adherents of the
veral churches in either Glendale, Kilmuir or Portree. The
rmer disunity and conflicts which divided families, both
clear and consanguineal, townships, neighborhoods, and the
llage stemmed from abandonment of traditional religious
filiation rather than from attachment to an established sect
ich happened to differ from the denomination of one's kinsman
neighbor. Today sectarian hostility is no longer prevalent
ong the people. The Sgiathanach only chaffs his neighbor
friendly sally and repartee, about his only slightly different
ctarian views. They refer to each other's sect by nicknames.
e Church of Scotland is the "Established Church." The

much of Protestantism was a denial of Christianity. Holders of all these forms of Trinitarian belief have united in condemning Unitarianism as heresy, its earlier Arian form having been stamped out in blood. The 'heterodox' are held by the orthodox of many Churches to be awaiting eternal torture. To a thoughtful humanist like Sir James Frazer, on the other hand, the belief that one alone by suffering can atone for the sins of others is of the deepest significance, as being an ancient, widespread and 'pathetic fallacy'. Happily, one finds the greatest tolerance and sympathy where Protestant and Catholic are mixed in the Isles. Elsewhere, too, sympathy and reverent enquiry are taking the place of dogmatic assertion.[1] It is in this spirit that we can best understand Gaelic beliefs at their highest, and so distinguish their lowered use—or misuse for selfish ends—from the highest use of sacrament and prayer by the pure of mind and heart.

(2) RELIGION, MAGIC AND SUPERSTITION IN DAILY LIFE

Evil ends might be sought by means of the ancient runes: the power of their poetry and associations could tempt to perverted use. Carmichael tells how in Uist a malefactor, in terror of the law, went to a needy woman, and by appealing to her pity—and in exchange for a small sum—learned from her an "Invocation for Justice". Strengthened by its rhythm and imagery, and by his own associated belief in its magical power as a charm, he stood up boldly in Court, firmly asserted his innocence and got

[1] Cf. the friendly theological arguments between a Bernera Presbyterian and a Roman Catholic from Barra (*Bodach Bharraidh*—vii, viii), sketched in Gaelic by I. N. Macleoid, *Litrichean Alasdair Mhoir*, Stornoway, 1932.

away scot-free! Both persons secretly concerned felt that they had endangered their souls by successfully defeating justice through their misuse of the invocation. Can one doubt that they were partly right in both beliefs? The malefactor's confidence had lent success to perjury, and perjury by help of prayer was deadly sin.

Now, the perverted use of prayer, as in this case, was clearly understood to be evil-doing; but what of magic and superstitious practices? Much has been written of 'Highland folk-lore and superstitions'.[1] The religion of the past should be distinguished from these. In *The Golden Bough*, Frazer drew a useful distinction between religion and magic. Religion, he wrote, relies upon the propitiation of higher powers—or even, in more primitive forms than Christianity, the propitiation of the forces of nature—while magic is an attempt at direct control of natural forces. Superstition may be defined here as a body of beliefs and practices in which hopes and fears attach themselves to things seen or done, by a multitude of false analogies and by irrational links of effects to supposed causes. Such superstitions are marginal to the main body of belief, worship and conduct which forms religion.

At the same time, no hard-and-fast line can be drawn between folk-lore and religion, where religion is handed on as living word and ritual almost without the aid of writing. This is particularly true where the religion of which we think, that of the Gael, is founded upon self-supporting peasant life, in line with that of the humble, working founder of Christianity—historically native to an outlying district of his own country—and not with the

[1] D. J. Macleod, D.Litt.: (*a*) *Highland Folklore* (32 pp.), Inverness; (*b*) Introduction to Martin's *Western Isles* (edn. Stirling, 1934). N. Morrison, Hon. D.Sc., *Superstitions of Lewis*, Stornoway, *c.* 1930.

796 miscarriage occurring before marriage also requires
851 standing even when the child to be baptised was conceived
826 by the couple after marriage. A married man who has
848 impregnated a woman who is not his wife must undergo
737 this ordeal before he can have his own children baptised.

It is the responsibility of the entire community to ensure that this punishment is carried out. On one occasion, the minister forgot to lecture a couple, and afterwards sent them a note that they would not have to stand; but they insisted, afraid that people would say that they were getting special treatment.

203 According to one minister, the manse is a kind of
521 "research center" to which all gossip is reported. Some
793 ministers use this information in the pulpit, chiding
794 people and calling attention to wrong-doings in front of the congregation. In contrast, a different attitude exists
4) in parts of Stornoway, where villagers have approached
9) doctors in the maternity ward for information regarding miscarriages and premarital births only to be told that this information is confidential. The ordeal of standing
18) in church does not exist in Stornoway. In 1971 a person in Shawbost was accidentally exempted from this ordeal and his exemption was seen by some as providing an opportunity to stop what is considered by many to be an archaic custom.

871 Education in the local school has included a great
875 deal of religious instruction; in other words, religious
791 and educational spheres commingle. Because of the
(466) relative prestige which the teaching profession offers to persons from the island, and because the islands are considered "isolated" by most persons looking for jobs (teaching posts on the island include an added sum which is designated as "isolation payment"), most of the island's teachers are themselves islanders. Education
(554) is one method by which one's position in the community is elevated. The high status derived from having advanced education also reflects favorably on the parents and position of the family. But teachers and others who return to the island are expected not to deviate from island norms in important matters, such as fundamentalist religious beliefs; hence teachers tend to perpetuate fundamentalist religious beliefs within the classroom.

871 Formerly the minister visited the school once each
771 year to examine the children on their catechism, thus
• 793 testing the state of religious instruction in the school.
178 Several years ago this practice was stopped by the education authorities of the County Council, and the minister now gives a sermon in the school about once a month but is not allowed to examine the children. Many ministers are dissatisfied with the arrangement, as they are afraid that

871 the children might not receive proper religious
791
• 793 instruction.
178

"Family worship" is considered an important part
771 of daily life. Prayers should be said before meals
792 and teas, and the head of the household should read
593 passages from the Bible to the assembled members of the household every morning and evening. The practice of
(178) "reading the books" prevails in households headed by
(593) older men, but is less common among families headed by younger men.

3. The Clique of the Converted: The second network
794 within the religious sphere is a special religious in-
632 group, the clique of the converted (curamach). This
621 clique constitutes a relatively strongly bounded system which to some extent competes with the township boundary system. Owen (Rees 1960) has noted that as persons become more involved with religion in the Protestant Hebrides, they tend to remove themselves from community life.

Intense involvement with the church sometimes conflicts with township activities since people may attend Communions at times when a fank is planned, leaving the work to be done by others. When elders of the church are present at activities, such as fanks, which are otherwise usually boisterous and full of humor, behavior tends to be "properly" restrained.

THE PEOPLE

181 ing but black. The young have found the island a much more kindly place. They have never been forced by circumstances to choose between predestination and despair.'

To take account of matters beyond the material level is inherent in the Gaelic Celt. Celtic poetry and song, legend and
(538) folklore, all so alive with fancy and so sympathetic towards the things of nature, reflect the inborn sensitivity and character of the present-day Highlander and Islander. Fiction's caricature of the island-dweller (not only in Harris and Lewis, but in the other islands) has been taken by another society with a different cultural background, with insufficient knowledge of historical facts, as being virtually authentic. The Western Isles have had more than their share of 'observers' who have failed to penetrate to the inner Gael. Only with a knowledge of the background, social, cultural, ethnic, historical and so on, can the 'larger than life' islander be seen in perspective—as a normal human being.

RELIGION

771 There are few communities in the British Isles which have, since the Christian dawning, so closely integrated religious belief with secular day-to-day living as the Harris and Lewis people. Though many times the religious element in island life foundered in a Sargasso Sea of outright superstition, it has managed to survive to its present-day form which might be described as cathartic in nature. When one attempts to investigate religion and superstition as two separate subjects, one is forced to consider either both as one, or one as complementary to the other. Even in those times during the island's history when materialism was prominent, somewhere in the background religion was acknowledged in one form or another.

* 175 As mentioned in Chapter 3, in 1610 Lord Kintail brought
795 Farquhar MacRae, the vicar of Gairloch, to Lewis. The first Earl of Seaforth, who built a church in Stornoway (St Lennan's) was nominally Episcopalian. During the temporary supremacy of Episcopacy in Scotland, there was little disturbance in the High-
• (793) lands of the Presbyterian organisation. The bishops controlled
(794) their dioceses; but the ministers controlled their parishioners. In

RELIGION

Lewis, there were but two ministers in 1626, their parishes being 175*
Barvas (which included Uig) and Eye, which included Lochs; the 795
population of the island at the time was about 4,000. When Pres- 793
byterianism was re-established in Scotland in 1640, the Lewis 062
ministers found no trouble in conforming, as did their fellow parishioners. Sectarian feeling in the island during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not so much between Presbyterians and Episcopalians as between Romanists and Protestants.

In the year 1738, nine Episcopalian Lewismen signed a letter (793)
to the Bishop of the Isles, asking for an annual visit from a pastor, being unable to support a full-time minister. Almost a century 175*
later in 1839, the foundation stone of St Peter's in Stornoway was 346
laid: this is the town's Episcopal Church. The other building on the island which belongs to the Episcopalians is the ancient church at Eoropie, dating back to the tenth century and perhaps the oldest still in use in the Hebrides; services are held there occasionally, though there is no local Episcopalian congregation. One of 175*
the most significant events which echoed right through to the 795
island was the Disruption which took place in Edinburgh in 1843. The result was a 'church spectrum' in Scotland which is still mirrored on a smaller scale in the island: the Church of Scotland, the Free Presbyterian Church, the United Free Church, and the Free Church. The Roman Catholic Church is also represented.

Lewis has one of the largest Free Church congregations in the 794
country. This denomination is particularly known for its out- 795
spoken pronouncements from time to time on questions of the day. It is Calvinistic in doctrine and has a reputation for holding the 'Calvinistic outlook' in the more general and pejorative sense; though its strictness may sometimes be over-painted, it is much less liberal in its moral standpoint than is the Church of Scotland, if less austere in some respects than the Free Presbyterians. Its doctrinal position is that of unrelaxed adherence to the West- 779
minster Confession, its ministers and other office-bearers affirming their belief 'in the whole doctrine of the Confession'. It is opposed to theological liberalism and accepts the inerrancy and infallibility of the Scriptures. Only the Psalter is used in public worship, and instrumental music is dispensed with; strong

174 to bleed or to set bones, while some elderly woman would
175 serve as physician and midwife. Spiritual consolation
462 and renewal too could be found, even in the absence of
monk or nun, or of priest, minister or catechist. Enough
[463] here, that with agriculture and fishing, most crafts, except
[759] metal-work, were practised in every family. The 'range
of skills' was therefore wider and richer in latent art than
• 793 might be supposed from those needed on a little croft today.
[593] Hence the importance of understanding the roles of husbandman and housewife, of "the man and the woman of the house".

174 Their labours through the annual rhythm of the seasons
462 might be classed as efforts for the man and endurance for
the women (Fig. 9). Man's muscular strength and free-
221 dom of limb rouse him to efforts demanded by the thrust
[181] and lift of peat-cutting, digging in stony soil, or pushing the foot-plough, step by step obliquely down a rocky slope. In the past an archer's chase of stag, wolf or boar demanded all a man's effort, and courage too, as fishing still does in the stormy north-western seas. With this facing of danger there came a gaiety that sparkled like the crest of a breaking wave. Women's work demanded by its unceasing activity a cheerful endurance, whether at labour on the croft, at corn-grinding, butter-making and peat-carrying, or carding, spinning and weaving; and with every task of day or season came the constant tending of cattle, of menfolk and children.

[538] This allotment of seasonal tasks and skills is neatly put in the proverb, "A man's cow won't yield milk, nor a woman's horse ploughing" (*Cha bhi bainn' aig bo fir, 's cha bhi treabhadh 'an each mnatha*). Yet women have always taken a share of work on the croft—too heavy a share when the men were much away—and the habit of

CHAPTER VIII

CHANGE IN RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

(A) COMMUNAL CHRISTIANITY, THE ROMAN CHURCH AND THE REFORMATION

175 When the Reformation broke upon Scotland and
798 the Church of Rome was driven out, the new
829 Church was slow to replace the priests and
conventual clergy by its ministers. More than two hundred
• [793] years later the minister of Harris wrote, with reason, that in contemplating "the decayed monuments of the piety of our Christian ancestors . . . the pious mind is affected with a mixture of awe and sorrow, while it can hardly admit that the overturning of the ancient church establishment ought to be considered as reformation here". These words were honestly spoken. The minister continued: "In Harris, where, till within a few years back (from 1790), there has not been since the *aera* of our reformation from popery, so much as . . . one decent house for public worship; there were of old no less than twelve churches and chapels of which . . . the walls are yet standing, besides others . . . while tradition has preserved their names and dedications".[1] These are those of monastic *cella* or *cill*, of parochial or collegiate *ecclesia* or *eagleis*,

[1] *Old Statistical Account*, x, 376. No doubt many churches had lacked a priest for a considerable time before the Reformation; but taking a long view, the minister's conclusion was sound.

175 Education Act of 1872, for the people "did not want to
178 give their children wings to leave them".[1]
871 The reading of Gaelic progressed fairly rapidly after
[671] 1800, in order that the Bible might be read. By 1833 something like one in three or four of the population, or more than half of the younger people, could read Gaelic. The Hon. Mrs. Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth, it seems, had a 'warm sympathy' both with teaching to read the
175 Scriptures and with evangelical preaching. The coming
114 to Lewis in 1824 of the first evangelical minister, the Rev.
• 793 Alexander MacLeod, an Assynt man, is described in his memoir in a striking volume, *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands*, edited by J. Greig (1877).

175 "At the distance of more than half a century it is not
771 easy to form a conception of the religious and moral
condition of Lewis previous to the year 1824. The present
793 writer has heard a still living minister of the Free Church, who is a native of Uig, declare publicly that only two or three copies of the Bible could be found within the wide extent of the parish, and that he himself travelled a journey in search of a copy of the blessed book, and all in vain. . . . The densest intellectual and spiritual darkness held universal sway. Notwithstanding the pleasing features that characterise Highlanders, even in their most primitive condition, this state of things could not fail to be attended with baleful fruits. Despite their constitutional warmth of heart and loyalty of nature, unbending fidelity to what they esteemed to be honour, and their unbounded kindness and hospitality, many gross vices were found commingling in the characters and lives of the Lewis people. For, however strange it may appear, at the first prayer-meeting

[1] Quotations to this effect, dating from the *Old Statistical Account* until 1883, are given in the Brand Report of 1902.

175 which Mr. Macleod attempted to hold at Uig, one of the
771 former elders actually offered a request that a wreck should
• 793 be cast ashore in the neighbourhood;[1] while another elder, referring to the death of our Lord as a misfortune, used strong expressions of deprecation of its having at all occurred.[2] . . . The reason is easily furnished; the Lewis ministry was not evangelical. Moderatism held the land in sole possession. . . . Nor did it act merely in a negative indifferentist manner. Moderatism contained in itself elements of positive distaste to Gospel truth, and enmity towards gracious influences and experience. As a matter of course, it was perfectly compatible with this system to grant toleration to superstitions and superstitious observances, which had been handed down through the Dark Ages of Popery from the still darker ages of Druidical idolatry. Acts of adoration, having for their object the heavenly bodies, were common. It is scarcely necessary to state that family worship was unknown among the people, and even at the manse. For although the public ordinances were dispensed as a matter of form, they exerted no practical influence upon the conduct. They rather tended to lull more profoundly asleep by imparting and maintaining a feeling of security to the poor dark benighted souls who participated in them."

People did come to church "in tolerable numbers" from the very outset of Mr. Macleod's ministry, but "Here for the first time was a preacher who showed by his whole

[829] [1] Shipwreck was still thought of as an 'act of God', and a dire 'misfortune'. Not only is there no hint of deliberate wrecking ever taking place, as on some other British coasts, but abundant record of aid to the shipwrecked and respect for their property in the absence of the skipper and crew. (Martin, 1695; and later.)

[784] [2] According to Evangelical theory the punishment of guilty and innocent alike was part of the Divine plan. How different this, from the faith of the Islanders till then!

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

195 manner that he had in hand business of eternal moment
791 to his hearers. That business was to warn them of the
793 wrath to come, which impended over unpardoned Christless
sinners, and to proclaim the way of escape by the open
178 door of a crucified and risen Saviour. Not more than
two months had elapsed since Mr. Macleod's admission
when the 'stupid attention' and vacant stare passed into
the wistful anxious listening, the suffused eye, the tender
subdued manner, and in some cases the heart-wringing
enquiry, 'What must I do to be saved?'

783 "For something like two years this minister 'refused
to dispense the Lord's Supper'. . . . A very early effect
of his work was the extinction of various worldly and
pernicious customs and amusements to which the people
had been previously addicted, and the substitution of
meetings for prayer, diets of catechising, day and evening
schools, family worship, and other spiritual exercises in
their room. Many at the outset felt greatly aggrieved at
the new order of things. Meanwhile the Lord stood by
his servant, and the word mightily prevailed against all
opposition. Incredible efforts were made by earnest souls
in all parts of the island to be present at the preaching of
the Word, even on ordinary Sabbaths." By 1828 "the
whole island seemed to be moved by one powerful spiritual
impulse" and 9000 people flocked from all parts to the
Uig communion. "When the memorable 18th of May
1843 dawned"—that of the Disruption—"no part of the
country was readier to rally round the banner then dis-
played, because of the truth, than the island of Lewis
almost to a man." It was "an unspeakable relief to the
ministers' spirits to escape by one decided step at once
from the bondage of State control and the chilling atmo-
sphere of Moderatism. . . . Even where evangelical preach-

175 ing was lacking, and the minister of the parish remained
791 in the Establishment, the popular movement inclined
793 unanimously towards the cause of the suffering and pro-
testing Church of Scotland, with the exception of a small
handful of people in Stornoway."

794 The part of elder folk in religious life continued to be
786 important, but in new ways. Masculine influence now domi-
nated the family and the congregation. The 'Men' in
178 the Highlands were Elders of the Church who often spoke
as lay preachers and who rose to speak on 'Question Day'
—that is on the Friday of the Communion Services, which
extended, and still do, from Thursday, the Fast Day, to
Monday, the Thanksgiving Day. The presiding minister,
after opening devotions, invited any Elder of the Parish to
rise and propose the Question; the Elder having read a
text from Scripture, would say he wished to hear the
'marks' of the true Believer, drawn from the text. After
the minister had himself "opened out the text", he would
name visiting Elders, calling upon them in turn to speak.
One by one, each would rise and give his picture of the
real Christian in terms of the qualities suggested by the
text. "And so the hour sped under the pleasing and
helpful variety of a dozen speakers or more. The 'Men'
spoke out of rich experience. . . . 'Question Day' was a
self-searching season, when every hearer examined his
heart by the 'marks' adduced . . . and as this went on
there was a sweet glow on the face of the Congregation as
the presiding Minister summed up and closed the holy
Convocation." [1]

175 The 'Men' had long been a recognised Order in the
178 Highlands, and their foundation is traced to Thomas Hog,
the famous minister of Killearn, "born in Tain in the
794

[1] Rev. N. C. Macfarlane, *The 'Men' in the Lewis* (1924).

(v) A CHANGING CHURCH: 1820–1943

195 Underneath the doctrinal severity of the Presbyterian
795 Gael, there has continued some of the cheerful faith in
living, the belief in mutual aid, the tolerance and calm,
[178] breathed in our native religious lore. The sternest Presby-
terianism, which swept the North-west after 1820, still
makes the Gaelic North its fortress in Scotland. Yet the
maintenance in the Scottish Church of a doctrine of uni-
versal love was due, no less, to Gaelic ministers, and seems
to have owed its rebirth to Gaelic tradition through these
men. The question of continuity is important: for this
doctrine, embracing all mankind, not only the predestined
few, has profoundly influenced the attitude to life in all
Protestant lands, throughout a century crucial to human
development.

195 The most notable of the Scots ministers concerned
with the doctrine of the Atonement were John McLeod
795 Campbell and his younger friend, Norman Macleod. Born
793 in Argyllshire in 1800, McLeod Campbell was ordained
in 1825, and preached the assurance that God loved, and
Christ died, for all men. For this he was charged with
heresy by the Church of Scotland, and deposed in 1831,
a trial he bore "with saintly charity and patience", re-
fusing to found a new sect. In 1832 he went through
the Highlands and Skye, preaching everywhere in Gaelic.
A Moderate minister, John Maciver, who attended his
services, said to him: "I never understood so much of
your views before; now in the strength of God I will
enquire more into them". It was very different when he
met his own cousin, Roderick McLeod, who eight years
later swept the island of Skye into the Free Church and
led the Evangelicals in the Hebrides. To his sister

175 Campbell wrote, "My reception by those who are called
795 'professors'", the lay leaders who 'professed' the
Evangelical doctrines, "was trying to the last. Holding
793 that Christ died for all seemed to them so fundamental
an error as to poison all my teaching." Thereafter,
175 Campbell retired, in Glasgow, to read, preach to a few,
793 and write, keeping in touch with Norman Macleod and
814 Erskine in Scotland, and in England with J. F. D. Maurice
(1805–72). After *Christ, the Bread of Life*, Campbell wrote
The Nature of the Atonement (1856). Readers felt not only
that he was one of the most lovable of men, but a profound
theologian, a view reinforced today. "Of all books that
have ever been written on the Atonement", wrote Dr.
Denney, "McLeod Campbell's is probably that which is
most completely inspired by the spirit of the truth with
which it deals. Its originality is spiritual as well as intel-
lectual. In speculative power he cannot be compared to
Schleiermacher, nor in historical learning to Ritschl; but
he walks in the light all the time, and everything he
touches lives."

175 Here then was a man who seemed to have been born
793 "in advance of his time", yet who came of a community
159 of deeply traditional cast. His life's thought was attuned
to that of his forebears, and expressed itself most intimately
perhaps in their own tongue. Campbell was born and
reared in Lorne, Argyllshire, which had first received
Protestantism through Carswell, who, in translating Knox's
"Liturgy" into Gaelic, incorporated the old Gaelic labour
prayer of the fishermen (Chapter VII (a)). The gentler form
of Protestantism brought in by Carswell may have allowed
the spirit of Celtic Christianity to survive among the people
of 'Mid-Argyll' and Lorne, down to Campbell's boyhood.
It may thus have contributed to the making of "a Scottish

175 saint, a character so eminently Christ-like ",[1] and to his
793 intimate beliefs, doctrine and wide influence. The same
159 Highland roots and deep charity characterised Dr. Norman Macleod, author of the popular classic, *The Friend of the Gael* (*Caraid nan Gaidheal*).

121 If a student of community ventures upon an interpretation of theology, it is because, to him, any attempt to understand " the relations of God to mankind " must take account of men's relations to one another. Ideas are transformed by human experience during economic and social revolutions, and in their turn they transform society. To make contact with reality, theology must regard mankind: it
175 must be integrated with sociology. Because of its close
178 bond with communal life, the religious spirit, recorded in Gaelic lore, was jarred, almost overwhelmed, when com-
182 munity was shaken to its foundations by the commercial,
178 agricultural and industrial revolution. Happily, the value
79 of communal Christianity has been acknowledged both by Roman Catholics—notably (among Gaels) by the Rev. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay—and by Protestants.[2] In the Scottish Presbyterian Church today, the movement which seems most deeply aware of the need for a new society has acknowledged its debt to communal tradition where this has been best maintained, that is, in the Isles. Seeking to aid Christian endeavour, international and national, this movement has turned for inspiration to Iona.
[771] In Iona, of which the noble cathedral belongs to the Church of Scotland but is open for service to all denominations, Presbyterians have found a new symbol.

[113] [1] Canon Vaughan, cited by the Rev. Norman Maclean (*Scotsman*, 21st Aug. 1943).

[2] " The Church should interpret the Love of God by a flaming zeal for the redress of the social order." (The Very Rev. Prof. John Baillie, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, at St. Andrews, 1943.)

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

[Gr-vir] [Glengr-vir]

241 beds are now covered by sphagnum moss and heather. Other lazy-beds are permanently in natural
[197] hay; only thirty per cent of the land classified as 'old arable' is now in oats and potatoes. If natural hay is added, one hundred and thirteen acres of crops are taken from an area greater than the so-called old arable; this suggests that the cultivated area was pushed beyond the limits of the old arable (ninety acres) after 1850-52. As in all the fishing townships the area of sown grass is infinitesimal for only four of the fifty-eight operative units actually sow grass. The wintering capacity of the crofts could be greatly increased by the general adoption of the practice of under-sowing.

241 There are forty-three legal crofts in Gravir but nine are sub-let, in every case to relatives.
423 All the crofts are taken up and there is evident pressure of population on the land. In addition to the crofts, there are a further ten cottars, and squatters and feuars, besides the fifteen legal Glengravir crofts (ten operative units) which have no share in the Gravir common. The common
[532] has been encroached on by several feus for Gravir is the functional centre of Park: the Free
[346] Church of Scotland and Manse, the doctor, one of the two district nurses and two of the missionaries
[759] (assistant ministers) are all located in Gravir.
[793]

Gravir and Glengravir thus have fifty-eight legal crofts and fifty-six operative units. Less than
233 half of the crofts with grazing rights are fully stocked and one quarter have under fifty per cent of
311 the soum, including five without any stock. The common pasture of 2,652 acres is in general of poor grazing quality, dominated by the less nutritive species of grass and poorly drained. In 1957, a ten acre plot was fenced and re-seeded: only twelve of the operative units participated in this reclamation work, and the ages of the participants ranged between 27 and 58 years; this is significant as aged tenants are unable to carry out such work. This scheme could be extended annually; if potential improvements to the crofts are limited, pasture amelioration is virtually
[435] without limits. Re-seeding on a large scale would enable better stock to be kept rather than greater numbers; at present the sheep stock is over two hundred per cent of the sheep soum, and a ewe and lamb sell for as little as £2 10s to £3 10s, an indication of the consequences of over-stocking. The cattle stock is below the souming and this paucity of cattle is one of the notable changes in the agriculture since the 1930's for at that time as many as six cattle were kept on the larger crofts. The total stock kept in Gravir and Glengravir exceeds the souming by thirty-five per cent.

231 The great majority of the crofts can certainly not be considered economic units. Judging from
241 the souming of one cow and follower and eight sheep per pound sterling of rent in a township where
434 only seven crofts pay more than £2 rent, they were never intended to be self-supporting agricultural units. The produce of two cows and sixteen sheep, with potatoes, and in former days, bere or oats, locally milled by the three Gravir water mills, could scarcely ever have maintained a family. Fishing was the complementary economic activity, and in 1901 no fewer than nineteen boats and
[228] eighty-nine fishermen were registered at Gravir. Today, only one boat fishes commercially for lobsters.

463 If agriculture is singularly unrewarding, weaving occupies six of the males of insurable age and
288 service occupations a further ten males and five females, but neither weaving nor service occupation
166 are sufficiently available or attractive to keep the insurable population in the district. Twelve of
167 the males between fifteen and sixty-four years take seasonal employment and forty-six are in permanent employment furth of Lewis, in all sixty per cent of the potential male resident population.

175 The economic problem of Gravir, in common with the other 'fishing' townships, became acute
228 after the fishing industry collapsed after 1914; in the hey-day of the fishing most of the men fished
434 all the year round, locally and on the west and east coast of Scotland. Earnings fluctuated but a man might make as much as £90 in a good year or as little as £5 in a poor year. Apart from the sale of young cattle, and wool surplus to home spinning requirements, the fishing earnings constituted
[253] the bulk of the croft income. Today, on the basis of the souming, the income of the largest croft including subsidies could only be approximately £150 excluding the amount to be set aside for home consumption of potatoes and milk.

30

change in the use of the grazing land or a desire of the young 561
men to fence the crofts in an effort to improve the individual 886
crofts the old men must have their say. Through their position 626
in the churches, the old men also are the paramount source of social control, preserving their traditional habits and statuses, including a severe limitation on all social activity of a frivolous nature. This religiously sanctioned control is strengthened by the inability of the youth to form a solidarity. Indeed, one of the most serious limitations of the society of Skye is the small number of young men and women, boys and girls and the few opportunities which they have to come together as a group. The functions of the old men's age grade are identical with those described for the Irish small farmer.[21] Another 794
social circle is composed of the affiliates of the same religious sect. They are mainly a mutual aid group. [474]

Although the status equality noted in the township for 554
all of the same sex and age carries over to the larger community, there are always a few people who have an achieved status. The [793]
minister enjoys high social prestige as the spiritual guardian of the people. The doctor is valued for his role in caring for [759]
the people's physical well-being. The school teacher is respected because he educates the youth and often acts as a spokesman for the group. If there is a member of the landed gentry, [545]
he will be accorded the highest status in the area. It is [555]
interesting to note that the achieved status positions are most often filled by newcomers to the island. The shopkeepers and

[21] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 125-139.

#175 #178 775 [713] can be seen. In common with the rest of Scotland up to the time of the French Revolution, the Skye ministers were abandoning their emotional approach in favor of mild methods of persuasion.[14] The rigor of Presbyterianism was succumbing before the philosophical enlightenment of the Deist.[15] At the same time religion [77] on Skye contrasted with Lowland practices. It was religion [713] based on inward conviction rather than on doctrinal dogma. The ministers were too far removed from Edinburgh to become involved in the heated debates and dissensions within the General Assembly which were creating opposing groups of theologians and, frequently, resulting in secession movements.[16] The people had no serious predilection for any specific articles of faith, and the landlords and many of the tacksmen were only nominal Presbyterians.[17]

#175 #178 713 As the proprietors and the tacksmen withdrew, the status of the ministers was augmented. They were more than spiritual leaders and moral guardians. They were descended from tacksmen, were often themselves tacksmen, and were frequently married to the daughters of tacksmen. They controlled education and administered the poor funds. But in many cases they seem to have been less concerned with the ministry than with their farms.[18]

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[14] Pennant, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 173.

[15] Johnson, op. cit., p. 95; and Notestein, The Scot in History, pp. 202-211.

[16] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 107.

[17] James MacDonald, op. cit., p. 109; and Johnson, op. cit., p. 95.

[18] John Lane Buchanan, Travels in the Western Hebrides, 1782-1790 (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1793), pp. 219-231.

#175 #178 713 They were frequently accused of failure to conform to orthodoxy and of a disinterest in their calling.[19]

#175 #178 182 161 In time a second trend appeared which was marked by conservatism and an emphasis on doctrinal dogma. Toward the close of the eighteenth century, it became apparent that the population had pressed too hard on the means of subsistence.[20] Commercialization was continuing and sheep flocks were be- [167] ginning to replace men in one parish.[21] The people, many of them destitute, were finding a solution for their plight in migration to the New World, or in seasonal migrations to the Lowlands for work.[22] Those who remained were land hungry.

#175 #178 182 713 Gradually, they were losing respect for their ministers and turning to evangelical missionaries who had begun to appear in the Isles.[23] The crucial fact would seem to be that the ministers [777] were upholding values and symbols which no longer contributed to group solidarity. The Island was on the verge of a period [72] of social disintegration and cultural instability. Under the changes that were to follow, the evangelical movement grew into a large scale revival.

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[19] MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800, pp. 108-115; Roderick MacCowan, The Men of Skye (Glasgow: John MacNeilage, 1902), pp. 30-32; and Buchanan, loc. cit.

[20] OSA, II, 552; III, 247, 248; IV, 132; XVI, 151, 224, 539; XVIII, 184.

[21] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 754-755.

[22] OSA, II, 551; and Robert Heron, General View of the Natural Circumstances of the Hebrides (Edinburgh: John Paterson, 1794), p. 32.

[23] MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 15-16, 24-25; and MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 90-91, 98, 99, 151-165.

in Scotland, it lacked the same effects elsewhere
significant correlation in the Highlands and Isla
Ireland, of the disproportion of the population t
of subsistence, due to a change from subsistence
partially commercial system of land use, and the
crop failure. In both countries the persistence
traits from the traditional economy, including co
techniques, attachment to the land, and a tendenc
the land among the kin, hampered commercializatio
specialization and led to devastation.

Five years of famine ended the growth of po
The emigration of large numbers and the death of
must have seriously disturbed the patterns of int
within the extended family and the township. Alt
proprietors made a final effort to help their ten
themselves financially, they had foresaken their
ministers were no longer able to contribute to gr
because the symbols and values they upheld reflec
tudes of the landlords and lacked significance fo

A religious revival reached effective propo
1812.[42] The appearance of the Revival suggests th
was far more disorganized than the scant social a
record indicates. Normally, the attempt to seek
assistance as a source of comfort and hope appear
the culture has become thoroughly disorganized.[43]

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[41] NSA, pp. 269-272.

[42] MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 15, 165; and MacC
pp. 24-25.

[43] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 437-440.

The process to be observed in the religious facet of the culture during the second period is conservatism. Itinerant missionaries, catechists, and a religious brotherhood known as the "Men" supplemented the regular clergy. As the Revival grew strong, the "Men," as tenacious defenders of the evangelical cause, began to wage an anti-clerical campaign.[44] They usually remained within the Church, opposing any separatist movement, but they drew a sharp distinction between the Church and her ministers. To be a convert of the "Men" meant to dissociate oneself from the death dealing moderate ministers," who were said to have had more interest in their farms than in their congregations.[45] The "Men" conceived their function to be one of delivering powerful testimonies of evangelical truth.[46] They rebuked and constantly reminded the people of their religious duties. They made Sabbatarianism an observable test of religious obedience, separating the respectable Christians from the godless. Prayer meetings were held at which the "Men" engaged in short, earnest prayers, and exhorted the people to read their Bibles and partake in family worship.

The growing influence of the Revival did not leave the clergy unmoved. At least two arose to recreate the spirit of vital religion and revive emotional enthusiasm in their congregations.[47] It was no accident that these ministers should

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[44] MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 151, 165; MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 53-59.

[45] MacCowan, op. cit., p. 53.

[46] MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 217-215.

[47] Thomas Brown, Annals of the Disruption in 1843 (Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace, 1884), pp. 7-8.

appear in the parishes of Bracadale and Snizort. Bracadale had already seen the beginnings of the final stage in commercialization; Snizort had been sold piecemeal to new landlords.

Evangelical Presbyterianism created a new pattern of social and religious life on Skye. It gave the culture a new focus to replace the dead clan system. Much of the form of religious worship and behavior characteristic of the Island today was established during this Revival Movement. The "Men" became the foremost members of the community. An esoteric religous hierarchy evolved. There were the unfortunate few who were in a state of saving grace and acceptable at Communion, and the eminent "Men," the aged, venerable spiritual laity.[48]

The Revival, unlike many nativistic movements, neither held out the promise of cultural regeneration nor offered the dream of prosperity. To the contrary, the attack against the folk culture characteristic of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was renewed with vigor. While religious enthusiasm grew, social life beyond a family level was restric Perhaps, the years of destitution and the ever present threat of famine had made hospitality a luxury which few could afford Perhaps, it was no longer possible for the people to provide whiskey and food for large numbers at a funeral or a wedding. The local ministers assert that the changes were due to the activities of the "Men." It would seem that the "Men" were

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[48] MacInnes, op. cit., p. 211.

ien to their heritage. There was little local need for 175* 178*
ads and steamships, but they were paving the way for the 621
nal stage in commercialization, the conversion of the island
to sheep farms.

The record suggests that the culture was suffering from 175* 178*
sorganization and the society had been threatened by dis- 182 786
tegration. The Revival, which began at the close of the
itial period, became full blown. This movement confirms
at the record suggests. A new pattern of social behavior
d religious life came into being. The traditional secular
tterns of interaction were being replaced by patterns of
acred interaction. New values, new statuses, and new roles
re evolving to give religious sanction to the old patterns.
e result was an esoteric religious hierarchy. The religious 797
aders, both the "Men" and the ministers, were coming from 793
e people rather than the old hereditary families who had
een closely related to the gentry. Religion replaced the 175* 178*
lan as the focus for the culture. The similarity of the story 182 771
nfolded in the Bible and the past and present conditions of 786
he crofters made the presage of the coming dissolution vivid.
By the end of the period, dissension within the Church had 798
become a significant factor and was paving the way for individual
secession. The third period of the modern era was to witness
more than a social and economic transformation; there was to
be religious schism.

*175 employment as hands on fishing vessels. The young women
*178 followed these fleets seeking work as gutters and curers in
182 the ports. Some may have made their way to Portree, where
161 162 a woolen mill had been erected by the Highland Destitution
161 Committee. The population of Portree increased during these
162 years from 510, in 1841, to 893, in 1881, but this can hardly
be regarded as a significant trend.

*175 The really striking aspect of this period is the almost
*178 complete lack of protest by the Sgiathanach against the
183 181 violation of his presumptive right to the land. The disappearance
554 of the tacksmen, of course, had left the people without their
773 counselors and leaders in secular affairs, and many of the
ministers, especially those who were themselves sheep farmers,
counseled submission to the will of God. Then, too, the ethos
of the Skyemen would not allow them to ventilate their grievances.
182 They despised the Sassanach and felt that "the landlord was
bad enough, but the factor was the Devil himself." Still
those who knew them well and those who rambled by their cottages
wrote unanimously of a people who endured overwhelming sufferings
in patience and reticence.[69] The betrayal of any weakness,
especially before the cursed Sassanach, was a breach of propriety.[70]

*175 The Skyeman had not lost his capacity to respond to
*178 leadership. Throughout the nineteenth century there had been
668 widespread and growing discontent all over Europe with the

[69] Napier Report, Appendix 1, pp. 1-82; and Cummings, op. cit., p. 136. See also Robert Buchanan, The Hebride Isles (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883), p. 324; and Malcolm Ferguson, Rambles in Skye (Irvine: Charles Churchland, 1885), pp. 121, 122.

[70] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 136.

*175 over this and an associated question, the principle of the
*178 spiritual independence of the Church from civil authority.
795 Although the Revival might have created or even renewed a
belief in the right of a congregation to call their own minister,
it is difficult to see how the principle of spiritual non-
intrusion, by courts and parliament, could have mattered
much to the people. The significance of the Disruption is
that it continued the trend toward conservatism established
by the Revival and made it an official policy of the Free
*175 Church of Scotland. The overwhelming acceptance of the Free
*178 Church manifests a strong correlation with the suggested
182 795 amount of social and cultural disorganization at the close of
the second period. It was no accident that the first Free
Church congregation should have been in Bracadale, the first
parish to be cleared for sheep. It was not by chance that the
people of Kilmuir and Glendale, like so many others, turned to
*175 this new source of hope. The ministers left the Church in
*178 the true tradition of the Covenanters: "in a state of toil
182 795 and privation, whether within or without the Established
793 Church, and under persecution if need be."[74] The people followed
them because of emotional attachments which they had formed
with the seceding ministers during the Revival. Only the
seceding ministers were successfully restoring group solidarity.
Their emotional and dynamic approach was giving the people the
797 means to maintain cultural continuity. The Old Testament,
which they were wont to use, was an additional factor. It

[74] Brown, op. cit., p. 1.

*175 told about a people not unlike the crofters, and the prophesies
*178 were being fulfilled before the peoples' very eyes. Is it any
182 795 wonder that thousands gathered on the hillsides to listen to a
793 minister whose dynamic appeals moved them to tears?
797

*175 As the people turned to the new church and the emotionalis
*178 of the large outdoor gatherings, they continued to forsake
183 their old customs and folklore. The songs, except in some
533 cases the waulking songs which provided the tempo for shrinking
792 homespun, and the tales were placed under clerical bann.[75]
793 The ministers and the "Men" insisted on the prerequisite of
gravity in all aspects of life for salvation.[76] The communion
roles were purged. In Bracadale, for example, there had been
258 communicant members. Following the Disruption there were
less than ten.[77] The same pattern was repeated elsewhere on
the island.[78]

*175 The religious patterns which had evolved were, never-
*178 theless, reinforcing much of the traditional way of life.
182 795 The "Men" of Skye had become elders in the Free Church. This
793 554 status sanctioned their position in the community. Although
the age structure of the population had not yet altered

[75] Norman MacLean, Set Free (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 11-12, 14.

[76] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 35; and Daniel Lamont, Strath: In Isle of Skye (Glasgow: A. Sinclair, 1913), pp. 27-30.

[77] Norman MacLean, The Years of Fulfillment (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1953) pp. 113-119.

[78] Norman MacLean, Set Free, pp. 14-15, 18, 203-212. See also his The Former Days (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1945), pp. 40-49, 80.

sufficiently to make age controls an irresistible force, the prestige status of the small number of the "elect," those who had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the elders gave them complete control over all social and religious activity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about these facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now is that the religious patterns provided a framework in which the culture could find continuity and through which the society could achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like customs resulted in a change of content, but there were positive results as well. Above all, there was a change in focus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in clan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a known religious brotherhood.

Summary. The third period of the modern phase of Skye's culture history saw the culmination of the process of commercialization of the land. All the influences necessary for the conversion of the subsistence economy, albeit a much deteriorated economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming, on a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy. Newcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved methods of land utilization were replacing the conservative and impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial farmers consolidated their holdings, the communal townships were being obliterated. The concept of individual possession of the land was replacing the customary rights of the small tenants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.

These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now was a spare-time pursuit. The Sgiathanach was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any marked movement into the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was being lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the "Men" became an official policy of a new church. The emotional approach of the ministers and the "Men," who were now elders in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium. Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

of farm management under a resident manager, preferably not a Skyeman. The attitude of the former faction was aptly expressed by one person who was about to leave Skye: "We need the Department. If they withdrew, we wouldn't have anybody to go to for anything." This is in striking contrast to the Irish small farmer for whom land ownership is an all important factor in regulating social interaction and status.[24] On Skye land ownership has not led to any change in the traditional status values. A Glendale crofter is not a better man because he owns land.

Prestige Ranking within the Neighborhood. In so far as prestige ranking is concerned, status is more developed within the neighborhood than within the township. In addition to the crofters and their families, there are always several individuals who are given status because of their performance of the necessary functions of ministering to the peoples' spiritual and physical needs and educating the children. These are the only achieved statuses which are valued by the crofters. Noteworthy enough, only the minister of Glendale serves his own "people and friends."

The minister's status depends to some degree on his denomination and the religious sympathies of the people. In Glendale the minister enjoys the highest possible status. In Kilmuir, with two ministers, each is valued by his own congregation with whom he interacts. Nevertheless, all ministers are treated with respect. They are always addressed as the Reverend Mister MacDonald or Mister MacDonald. It is interesting to note that

[24] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 72-100; Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 98-144.

while only the Church of Scotland ministers will assume roles in government, on the district council or the county council, on the education committee, and similar bodies, they have not been given higher status than the ministers of other denominations, who firmly believe the function of the minister is only to correct the public servants when they err.

The doctor is coming to fill a status held by no other person, except the county people, the landed gentry. Traditionally, they have ranked second only to the minister, but there is a marked trend to accord them more and more stat The doctors, of course, are less restricted in their social activities and can participate more fully in secular affairs than the ministers. They have a wider range of interaction, entering the homes of all regardless of sectarian differences In Glendale there is no question about the relative positions of the minister and doctor, who lives in Dunvegan. In Kilmuir on the other hand, the doctor is vying with the ministers. He is always addressed by his title, but often, at least in indirect speech, he is Doctor (Ian) rather than Doctor MacLeod. Many of the doctors on Skye have begun to form a cleavage between their families and the crofters. They are sending their sons to private schools. The ministers' children attend the local schools.

The school teachers also enjoy high prestige status. They are always addressed by their surname, prefixed by mister, even by older men whom they call by their Christian names. One newcomer was especially struck by this careful

ents for what have been called "rites of intensification."[49] 175* 178* 182 786 797 793 715 791 [798]
y restored the equilibrium of interaction by creating new
avior patterns. This was probably particularly true during
famine, when the people's relatives and friends were dying
emigrating in large numbers. While the ceilidh, an
ning of spinning folk tales, singing, and dancing, was
demned, and the children of parents who would not conform
the dictates of one minister and the "Men" were refused
tism, prayer meetings and other church services were
viding emotional outlets.[50]

Like the Welsh,[51] the Skye crofters found the Bible re- 175* 178* 182 779 786 797
d much of their own past history and their present diffi-
ties. As the "Men" preached from Scripture and interpreted
meaning, often using allegorical interpretations, of the
d, the people became familiar with a story which was striking-
similar to their own. The present social and economic
ditions were but a presage of the coming dissolution. It
all there in the Old Testament, in the books of Judges,
s, Chronicles, Psalms, and Prophets. The omen was all the
vivid because the transgressors in the Bible lived a
much like the crofters. Both the ancient peoples and the
men had a pastoral economy, a patrilineal family structure,

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[49]Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, Principles of
ropology (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), pp. 399-400.

[50]Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticane, Vol. VII, p. 166; and
en MacLean, Set Free (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949),
14-15.

[51]Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

ruled by elders, and a heritage which had never admitted compact, non-rural population centers. These basic cultural values and patterns were given religious sanction.

Year by year throughout this period the following and the influence of the "Men" increased. As the ministers were moved, especially as the old hereditary families of ministers closely related to the old gentry were replaced by ministers from the people,[52] the "Men" became influential in the Church as elders. Now they could not only exhort the people but also judge them, by determining who was worthy of communion and whose children might be baptized. The strength of their control, however, did not require holding office. In Duirinish where an old moderate minister remained, Communion had not been celebrated for eleven years in 1840, and there were 200 unbaptized children.[53] Many preferred to walk miles to worship under an evangelical minister rather than put themselves in peril by hearing the local moderate minister. Dissension was becoming a significant factor and was paving the way for personal secession from the Church. As the official Church was weakened, the stage was set for the Disruption, but we shall leave that for the following period.

<u>Summary</u>. The second period of the modern epoch saw the continuation of the trends established in the initial period. The process of commercialization was carried one step further. The old runrig system was replaced by the crofting system.

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[52] Scott, <u>op. cit</u>., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

[53] <u>NSA</u>, pp. 354-355.

discovered on many occasions. I once entertained the thought that its absence was indicative of a decadent culture. Then I discovered that it was a traditional norm of behavior. Only once during the modern period has there been any aggressive behavior, during the closing years of the "Clearances." Some who remember these "old warriors" who were not afraid to stand up for their rights wonder why their descendents have changed. Today only the ministers are aggressive in their dealing with their congregations, and they reserve their aggressive pose for their Sunday sermons. Naturally, the people quarrel among themselves and a couple of drunken men may come to blows with each other or the policeman who interferes. In any group situation or in any dealings with outsiders, however, dislike or resentment takes the form of placid resistance. The Islander remains courteous and suffers in silence. This is "affect suppression," resultant from Protestantizing the crofters.[39] Even the talkative individual, unless he stands among the gentry or has achieved prestige status through his profession, is considered an eccentric. He must stand the snickers of the group and bear the title of a "worthy," a man who does not act his age.

Real anger, manifested by a loud or quavering voice, or table pounding, clenching one's fist or other recognizable signs, is not characteristic of the Sgiathanach in public. The man who forgets himself is always taken in hand by the minister, an old man, or a teacher. He may feel righteous indignation, but if he

[39] I am indebted to Conrad Arensberg for calling my attention to this fact.

The religion of the Sgiathanach may also be regarded as the logical outcome of a movement which began two centuries ago when the all inclusive bonds of kinship and affection were replaced with tenets introduced from the wider contractual society. This movement, as we know, bore its first fruits over a hundred years ago. The people themselves turned from the ministers who were supporting symbols and values no longer meaningful to the crofters. They embraced the preachers of a dynamic gospel as a means of consolation in their distress. Thus, the religious pattern derived elsewhere and superimposed on the Sgiathanach has been refined with logic and vigor. It has become the one insurmountable barrier to assimilation with Great Britain. No less than four times religious schism has demonstrated the essential unchangeableness of their religion. The process has been carried on with such dedication and success that it now disturbs the unsympathetic laity and the clergy of the Church of Scotland no less than the resistance of the people to Presbyterianism did in the remote past.

We saw in Chapter IV how an understanding of the religious history of Skye is indispensible for the comprehension of the larger problem, the means by which the culture has maintained continuity. In Chapter V and again in Chapter VI we saw how this continuity has been preserved. We have at last come to the point at which we can ask why has there been continuity. The following analysis is concerned with the sanctions of the Presbyterian ethic, particularly as it affects the social structure, religious behavior, and the roles of the ministers and the religious laity in the

All the churches on Skye are organized in identical fashion on the local or parish level of church administration. According to the democratic principles outlined in the Bible and the Books of Discipline (1561 and 1578), the congregation alone decides who will serve as their spiritual leaders. It will be remembered that patronage was one of the causes for the church schism of 1843. The members call their minister and elect the elders, deacons, and in several churches, a precentor. The elders are the very pinnacle of the lay religious hierarchy. They are chosen from the "elect" to act as the guardians of the moral and religious behavior of the congregation and to lead the congregation in worship on certain occasions which we shall meet with later. The deacons are similarly chosen from the "elect" to look after the financial affairs of the kirk. The precentor is a chanter. He gives out the psalms the people sing line by line. No matter what the official position of the church, expressed by the General Assembly, Synod, or Presbytery--the higher religious courts--the local kirk session composed of the minister and his elders retains decisive power.

Erring members of the congregation are called before these guardians of the people's behavior for judgment and discipline. For the protection of the congregation, the Presbytery, composed of the minister and a selected elder from each church, examines and installs newly called ministers and has the power to censure any minister guilty of a spiritual or moral transgression or infringement of his duty to the

eternity. If he was one of the "elect,
life. If he was not one of these vener
he can expect to suffer eternal damnati
is a sacrament and removes original sin,
step in the direction of salvation, whi
firms. Neither the minister nor any me
family offers a prayer. "What more can
one woman asked. An old man said, "Tre
remembered without praying for them."
is dominated by the old people, and in
hoods where so many of the crofters are
be expected to disturb the equilibrium
In Glendale during November and Decembe
processions made their way through the
times. The function of the minister is
turbed patterns, both in the family and
(or village). All work stops in the to
from the time of death. Some of the co
village, seeking to justify their devia
that the lazy crofter looks forward to
means three days of idleness. In the v
is no longer possible to bring daily li
cause the villagers serve a wide area.
deceased do stop work and close their s
funeral all blinds are drawn until afte
passed.

As he would if there were illness
minister calls on the bereaved family a

" he will enjoy eternal 763
able old men and women, 554 775
on. Although baptism 851
it is only the initial 783
ch election alone con-
mber of the bereaved 764
you do than bury him," 793
y are just as well 782
In a community which
the crofting neighbor-
very old, death can
of social interaction.
r of 1953 funeral
glen no less than nine
to restore the dis- 793
in the neighborhood 182
nship for three days
smopolitans of the 369
ting behavior, assert 829
a funeral because it
illage, of course, it 369
fe to a standstill be-
The "people" of the
hops. On the day of the
r the procession has

in the family, the 793
nd leads them in family 764

worship. If the deceased is a Sgiathanach, the minister will 793 764
call every night, if he can. Otherwise, he may call only once. His participation in family worship helps to refocus the patterns of interaction within the nuclear family and within the small circle of "people," "friends," and neighbors who come to visit and take part. Some sophisticated villagers 184 369
take this opportunity to justify their own deviations, such as going to a concert; for them this is all "a religious ceilidh with all their psalm singing, praying, and greeting." The 152 562
people do not keen, as they do in Ireland, but the women are seldom dry-eyed. Again the villager may comment that the minister at least should say a few kind words about the dead, "just to comfort his family."

On the day of burial a second and more inclusive rite of intensification is held. On this occasion the function of the minister, often aided by an elder, is to restore the equilibrium within the total sphere in which the deceased habitually moved during his life. If the person had high prestige status, the ministers of two churches conduct the family worship. All the "people," "friends," and neighbors, both men and women, attend. The minister begins with a prayer for the family, asking God's guidance. This is followed by the singing of a few verses of psalm by all who have gathered. Next the minister reads from Scripture. He concludes with another prayer for the family. If there are two ministers, or a minister and an elder present, they alternate in leading the group. If there are any present who do not "have the Gaelic," they also alternate between English and Gaelic. We have seen how 764

the nearest kin carry the body from the house. The custom 764
is to carry the coffin until the procession is out of sight of the house. This may mean a few hundred yards or several miles. Once the body was carried all the way to the grave. One skeptic said this is why Skye has lost so many people, "Half of them died carrying the other half to the grave." In Portree the body is carried across the bridge on the far side of the town. All the mourners, except the women who remain at home, and the two nearest kin who walk before and after the coffin, are given an opportunity to carry. They continuously change positions with the carriers, stepping out at the head of the line by sixes and waiting for the coffin. Those who have carried fall in at the rear of the procession. When they 602
reach the graveyard, the original carriers, his nearest kin, remove the body from the hearse and lower it into the grave. At the grave the minister delivers a short lecture on the merits 793 795
of living in the nurture of God. Only the Church of Scotland ministers offer an additional prayer for the family. The other sects believe a prayer at the grave is a prayer for the dead. Following the interment, the bereaved family provides the 273
mourners with a dram of whiskey. Does the minister take a 793
dram? I can only give the reader the answer I received after one funeral. One fellow said, "I guess nobody saw him take his drop, but if he didn't I'd be surprised." On the following day life returns to normal. The equilibrium of interaction has been restored.

people of the Free Church are "the Wee Frees." The Free 795
Presbyterians are the "Seceders" or, at least to some of the gentry, the "Split P's." Arguing about religion is 576
considered very bad taste. It is left to the ministers, 793
and they do have their points of difference. One Free 795 798
Presbyterian minister, for example, told me that no one in the Church of Scotland, including the minister, was worthy to receive Communion. On many occasions during the year the ministers of the Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church devote part of their sermon to a criticism of the Church of Scotland, not to mention the avid hostility of all Skyemen toward Catholics.

Adherents of the several sects intermarry with no qualms 582
and without suffering any loss of status. By the time a 795
person gets to be a member, marriage is no longer in his mind. Husband and wife continue to adhere to their respective 593 795
denominations, those in which they were baptized. The children 851
naturally, are baptized and raised in the church of their father. Extended families are often divided religiously 596 795
along sectarian lines. In one family one brother and his wife were Free Presbyterians, another brother and his wife were Free Church, a sister was Church of Scotland. The parents had been Free Church but became Free Presbyterians at the turn of the Century. At least one cousin was United Free Church. This religious schism did not affect their affection for one another. Once a week the sister went to have tea with her Free Church sister-in-law. Periodically

chapel and its group.[16] On Skye the people can be as much attached to the sect or their minister as the group. The reason for this difference between Skye and Wales may be the recency of the appearance of the several churches on Skye. As presently constituted, all the churches were formed at the turn of the century or later. The first Free Presbyterian congregation was formed in 1896. The present Free Church, often called the Free Church (continuing), dates from 1900. The Church of Scotland is the result of unions with the Free Church in 1900 and the United Church in 1929.

My assertion that attachment is to sect and minister can be substantiated by two events, one in Portree and the other in the neighborhood known as the Braes. In 1900 when the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church united, the Free Church minister in Portree led his congregation over to the Church of Scotland in a body.[17] Only three policemen's families, all of them newcomers, refused to follow the minister. For 13 years there was no Free Church congregation. Our three families attended the Free Presbyterian Church, until the minister at one Sabbath service held forth on the shortcomings of the Free Church. They left and began holding services in the Court House. In time the congregation grew. A missionary was appointed and later a minister. More recently, a minister of the Free Presbyterian Church, who was noted for a certain amount of leniency, such as

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[16] Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, p. 115.

[17] For a similar change in Kilmuir, see Chapter IV.

allowing his flock to attend concerts, had a point of difference with the Synod and was removed. In the Braes which had been as staunchly Free Presbyterian as Glendale, roughly half of the congregation changed their adherence to the Free Church. The remainder have continued true to their own sect under a new minister.

There are numerous Free Presbyterian families far beyond the reach of a minister. All they can hope for is an occasional visit, and there are no missionaries of this sect on the island. Although they attend services at the nearest kirk of the Free Church, doctrinal differences are still important enough in their minds to keep them within the folds of their sect. They were born in it and will die in it. Moreover, despite the lack of a minister in Glendale between 1908-1911, 1913-1920, and 1931-1933, the people are as staunch as ever. At such times one of the elders steps forward to conduct services as he would during the temporary absence of the minister. His ability to fill the role of a spiritual leader fortifies his control and his prestige. This is true in Portree. The elder, even a newcomer, who stands in the pulpit is deeply respected. Identity with, and attachment to the denomination is maintained in the absence of a minister by visiting other churches at the Communion season and by the visits of a minister on the Sabbath and for annual Thanksgiving services following the harvest. So strong is the sectarianism of the Glendale crofters that the Church of Scotland minister for Duirinish is convinced that "Churchianity

mainland villages and crofting areas. Ministers from 178
neighboring and even distant churches used to come to take 794
part in conducting the services. There was no church to hold 796
so many people, so the Communion was celebrated outside. Then, of course, the population was much larger and the majority belonged to one church, the Free Church.

The Communion Season is still marked by large gatherings 794
of people at each church in turn. The "elect" from the 796
neighboring churches and the ministers from churches near and far exchange visits. The adherents also participate in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. From Thursday until 794
Monday the homes of the people in the vicinity are open to 796
their relatives and friends who have come to partake of the 574
sacrament or who find the highly emotional atmosphere and gregariousness stimulating. Some, especially the "elect," stay for the five days. Others will spend one or more nights. During the day and in the evening, whenever they are not [571]
attending religious services, they visit their "people" and "friends" to renew ties which in many cases have been allowed to languish since the last Communion. Thus, we find religion [182]
sanctioning the time-honored custom of Highland hospitality. It is interesting to note that many a woman who depends on [485]
the tourist trade for a good share of her income will not accept paying guests at this time. The local people have a further 794
share in extending hospitality to their visitors. All who 796
are able send food to the manse (parsonage) to lessen the 574
burden on the minister who extends hospitality to the 793 ●
visiting clergy and as many of the laity as he can. This

custom is well established. Even war-time restrictions and 794
rationing had little effect on Communion attendance. Skye 796
exiles in the United States and Canada sent food parcels 793 ●
to the ministers and their kinsmen to provide for their 574
visitors. The minister takes in as many as he can. One [167]
minister, for example, not very far from Portree has a large manse with seventeen rooms. It is customary for him to have [264]
twenty-five or thirty people for lunch and again for high tea (the Skyeman's evening meal) on Friday and the Sabbath. Many of his guests spend five days with him.

Some idea of the size of the gatherings may be gained 794
from the need for the Free Presbyterian Church in Portree 796
to hold duplicate services. The church, I should think, holds around 300. During the Communion Season, the congregation takes over the drill hall, normally used by the Territorial Army for training and by the villagers for social affairs, in addition to the kirk. In the drill hall services are held in English; in the kirk, they are in Gaelic.

Such large gatherings of people require a means to establish meaningful contacts and create a feeling of belonging. Thursday is a fast day. All work stops. The people attend services in the morning, at noon, and again in the evening. Their minister, assisted by two visiting clergymen conducts them in a dynamic, highly emotional appraisal of the coming event. All the ministers participate in the sermons, stressing [78
the confession of sin and the need for humiliation. Many ministers are known for their preaching ability, that is their

glens a family, newcomers to Skye, prevailed on the local 191
school teacher to hold a Sabbath school for the children. 771
The local missionary objected. If they were going to have 621
Sabbath school, it should be in Gaelic. His prestige and control over the population secured his position. The children of the people who originated and organized the program were excluded because they did not "have the Gaelic."

Another problem which is beginning to stem from the 191
use of Gaelic as the language of religion is the difficulty 793
of securing a minister. Traditionally, it was an ideal to [183]
send a son to study for the ministry. This ideal remains, [874]
but in the last few years only one young man from Skye has shown a desire to become a minister. Indeed, the majority of ministers on Skye are not Skyemen. I believe the only minister who serves his own neighborhood, the neighborhood in which he was born and raised, is the Free Presbyterian minister in Glendale. It is becoming more and more difficult to fill charges as they go vacant. Each year several Highland charges are changed from "Gaelic essential" to "Gaelic preferred." If we go beyond the role 121
of religion as it orders human relationships, through its 771
more formal aspects, and consider the influence of religion 626
on the secular behavior of the Sgiathanach, we can come 178
closer to an understanding of why the youth are slowly turning away. At the same time we shall be able to round out our picture of the expression given to the Presbyterian ethic on Skye.

[621] character traits just by virtue of his belonging to a
156 particular family; he is protected from the "out"
[520] world even though he may have broken its rules. The
[519] village provides a colorful arena of recreation in the form of ceilidh, the character, and holidays such as New Year's.

[781] A major system of order and meaning is provided by
• 794 religion, and by the opportunity to belong to a tightly-
[181] knit religious clique. Lewis is sometimes called Tir an
I-moigenil, Land of the Scriptures, in contrast with
[57] the decadent outer world. The male drinking fraternity
[82] constitutes a second important group. And for everyone
[520] there is the cinema of their neighbors' activities, which are placed in a vast human calendar that includes the behavior of many generations.

Chapter 6

THE BIBLE AND THE BOTTLE

[591] Two of the most important networks in the village are
• 794 the converted members of the Free Church, and the drinking
[215] fraternity of the males, especially the unmarried males who lack the obligations of married men, and who can therefore drink with greater freedom.

A. The Bottle

[293] The word "whiskey" (or "whisky," as it is spelled in
[175] Scotland) is almost synonymous with "Scotland," despite the fact that the earliest reference to whiskey in that country appears only in the late 15th century. The word is derived from the Gaelic uisge beatha, "water of life," a translation from the Latin aqua vita.

Martin Martin (1716: 3) describes the types of liquor made from "corn" in the Outer Hebrides as Common Usquebaugh, Trestarig (three times distilled), and Usquebaugh-baugh (four times distilled). He states, "...two spoonfuls of this last liquor is a sufficient Dose; and if any Man exceed this, it would presently stop his Breath and endanger his life."

[293] out and celebrate. There's no other way to express
[501] myself."
[156]
[154]

"Now that Ruaridh has stopped drinking, he's not very interesting to talk to. He's very dull these days. He doesn't say a thing."

During the Communions, a sense of excitement and
[501] holiday permeates the village. Among the converted
[526] members of the Free Church, this feeling is expressed in
• 794 vigorous participation in long church services and meetings
[794] in the homes of the converted. In the rest of the village, the unconverted men don their best suits and head for the hotel, or the bothan opens earlier in the week than usual. All special occasions such as fank days or the arrival of relatives generate excitement, which is most often expressed, among the unconverted men, by drinking.

[781] A man may propose to a woman, and the next day "forget"
[293] this rash action with impunity. When a man has been
[501] drinking, he is more likely than on other occasions to
[594] be openly affectionate to a woman, or to express strong feelings of friendship to his fellows. "It's the only time when you're really happy. You can sing, tell your life story. It's the only time when people are really friendly. But it's a false friendship, because when you meet someone the next day, he's not the same person. He's distant, cold. You feel depressed. You want to recreate the situation, so you start drinking again."

[781] 1. Bible vs. Bottle: An islander living on the
[293] mainland once observed that the Free Church plays cat
[501] and mouse with members of the community who drink heavily.
• 794 Death is a common event in a community which has a large
[161] number of old people, and the theme of death appears repeatedly in sermons and in the conversations of those who have undergone religious conversion. The temporary pleasures of drink are contrasted with the eternal joys awaiting those who have been saved. The "false" friend-
[781] ships of the drinking situations are contrasted with the more lasting, consistent relations which characterize the clique of the converted. "You have lots of friends when you get converted, and they don't change overnight the way your drinking companions do."

[293] "With the drink it's easy to get started and just not
[594] be able to stop drinking, especially with the money there
[781] is now. Everything's unsteady here except religion."

[293] Many of the most deeply religious male members of
[794] the church were once heavy drinkers. One villager observed,
[783] "If a man went to extremes as a sinner, he'll be just as
[781] fanatical when he becomes holy. Had it not been for
[143] religion, some of them would have landed in Craig Dunain [the mental hospital near Inverness]. The talk is forever on religion. That keeps their mind at rest."

[175] to join the Free Church (Donaldson 1960: 100). The Free
[795] Presbyterians left the Free Church in 1893 because they found it too "liberal." Several dissenting groups, including most of the members of the Free Church, formed
[659] a United Free Church at the turn of the century. After a long court case, the church property was left with the Free Church, which continues to support itself without aid from the state. Collections and funds solicited by
[795] • 794 villagers who visit the households periodically are sent
[465] to a central office in Edinburgh, which pays all ministers an equal salary, despite variations in the size of their congregations. About one-fourth of the church's income comes from Lewis. A minister's salary is between L950-1,000, and the upkeep and fueling of his manse is included. The present minister in Shawbost uses oil and coal, but at an earlier time received loads of peat from the villagers. The villagers bring extra food to the manse when Communions are held, although the church donates about L20 to be used to provide for visiting ministers.

[795] The Free Church contains a number of presbyteries, of which Lewis and Harris are one. An Assembly is held each year which parallels the Assembly held by the Church of Scotland. (According to one minister of the Free Church, "A Berlin wall divides the two.") The Free Church publishes a monthly report of church activities and amount of money

[795] collected, and an annual report on morals, which usually condemns drinking and "the decline in moral standards."
Ministers are trained in a college in Edinburgh. Many
[177] are Gaelic speakers, although the number is said to be declining.

• 794 When a congregation loses a minister because of death
[783] or other reasons, it issues a "call" to some other minister.
The congregation is familiar with the names and preaching styles of a number of ministers, who have in the past visited the community as guest speakers. The congregation votes for a minister from a list made by the lay officers of the church. The minister may or may not accept the call.

[795] The Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church, two
[178] fundamentalist Protestant sects which have survived the tendencies toward unification evident since the turn of the century, are strongest in the Highlands and Islands. Shawbost contains a few people who belong to the Church of Scotland, but most villagers belong to the Free Church.

[795] The only church (in the sense of a building in which sermons
[346] are preached) is a Free Church which was built in 1883,
[193] supposedly after men from Shawbost helping to repair the fence at the minister's manse in Carloway, where they then attended church, were refused boiling water for their oatmeal "brose" by the minister's wife. A building in which members of the Church of Scotland worshipped was built

[795] before 1883 but now serves as a school museum. When it
[346] closed, most of the members changed to the Free Church.

• 794 The present congregation includes many families from the neighboring village of Bragar, who come to church for the morning service and usually attend a prayer meeting in their own village in the evening. Once a month the minister gives an evening sermon in Bragar. The left side of the church, where most of the Bragar people sit, is called "the Bragar side."

Lay officers of the church, called elders and deacons, are elected by the communicants, those members of the congregation who have taken Communion. Both elders and deacons sit in special seats at the front of the church beneath the pulpit. Deacons, who are concerned with material matters such as collections and church property, sit in the "wee seats" slightly lower than the partitioned seats of the elders, the "big seats." The deacons meet in a deacons' court which the elders may attend. A meeting is held once a year at which the congregation is told matters such as how the church money was spent. Kirk sessions are limited to elders, who decide who will be baptised or take Communion.

[621] Each street or neighborhood within the village has
its own deacon and elder, to whom members of the street bring various matters that concern church organization, such as plans for baptism.

• 794 2. The Township as Religious Network: The religious
[621] sphere has two distinguishable social networks, one of which coincides in personnel with the village network. Most households within the village feel obligated to "make an appearance" during at least one of the two
794 Sunday services. Most children are sent to Sunday school,
[85] and all are baptised. In baptism, fathers stand with the children, promise to raise them in the church, and to set a good example for them. Baptism must precede Communion, the ceremony by which a person becomes a full member of the church. Baptism signifies membership in the community the village-qua-congregation. "Somehow you're not really legal until you've been baptised." Some feel that the child's soul may be endangered if he should die without baptism, although this idea is discouraged by the church.
[199] According to the Calvinistic ideas of predestination, the
[621] fate of one's soul has already been decided.
794 The pressure to have children baptised enables the
[85] village-as-congregation to exert social control over devia
[621] individuals. If a child is conceived out of wedlock, the
[848] parents of the child (if they have gotten married) or the unwed mother alone must stand in front of the congregation and be lectured by the minister before the child may be baptised. A woman who has married a man known not to be the father of her child must also stand by herself. A

784 miscarriage occurring before marriage also requires
832 standing even when the child to be baptised was conceived
824 by the couple after marriage. A married man who has
849 impregnated a woman who is not his wife must undergo
[837] this ordeal before he can have his own children baptised.

It is the responsibility of the entire community to ensure that this punishment is carried out. On one occasion, the minister forgot to lecture a couple, and afterwards sent them a note that they would not have to stand; but they insisted, afraid that people would say that they were getting special treatment.

[203] According to one minister, the manse is a kind of
[572] "research center" to which all gossip is reported. Some
[793] ministers use this information in the pulpit, chiding
• [799] people and calling attention to wrong-doings in front of the congregation. In contrast, a different attitude exists
[184] in parts of Stornoway, where villagers have approached
[154] doctors in the maternity ward for information regarding miscarriages and premarital births only to be told that this information is confidential. The ordeal of standing in church does not exist in Stornoway. In 1971 a person
[178] in Shawbost was accidentally exempted from this ordeal and his exemption was seen by some as providing an opportunity to stop what is considered by many to be an archaic custom.

791 the children might not receive proper religious
792 instruction.
178

"Family worship" is considered an important part
791 of daily life. Prayers should be said before meals
792 and teas, and the head of the household should read
673 passages from the Bible to the assembled members of the household every morning and evening. The practice of
[178] "reading the books" prevails in households headed by
572 older men, but is less common among families headed by younger men.

• 794 2. The Clique of the Converted: The second network
632 within the religious sphere is a special religious in-
621 group, the clique of the converted (curamach). This clique constitutes a relatively strongly bounded system which to some extent competes with the township boundary system. Owen (Rees 1960) has noted that as persons become more involved with religion in the Protestant Hebrides, they tend to remove themselves from community life.

Intense involvement with the church sometimes conflicts with township activities since people may attend Communions at times when a fank is planned, leaving the work to be done by others. When elders of the church are present at activities, such as fanks, which are otherwise usually boisterous and full of humor, behavior tends to be "properly" restrained.

• 794 Membership in the religious clique offers many
781 satisfactions. "You can talk with the converted all night, see them the next day and go on talking, because you're always talking about something new. Now, when
[192] you hear someone telling a yarn or joke, you say to yourself, I've heard that before, I don't want to hear it again. But when you're talking about Christ, sharing your experiences of conversion, the conversation is always new."

794 A few cynical, non-converted persons describe the
781 clique as a "social club" whose members sit together in
824 church, shake hands with each other more often than with non-members, and are always having meetings in each others' houses from which others are excluded. "They came in and invited Jessie and Harian to come to their prayer meeting, but they didn't ask me. They have tea, sing psalms, and have religious discussions. Ministers and converted people from all over the island come to these meetings."

"I said to her, 'You wouldn't be caught dead talking to me. At the church you all shake hands with each other, but never with me. How about passing some of it on?'"

The non-converted often express envy, and say they wish they felt the same way that the converted people seem to feel. "I was sitting with my sister at the fire

• 794 one night, and she said, 'I've got something, have you?'
781 She told me, 'I've got Christ.' She said that Christ
824 whispered to her as we were sitting there, "Come, come, come to me.' Now she's got full military honors. I felt so bad when she took Communion, because I hadn't got it. We're all going to die. Christ is everything. Without Christ you've got nothing. I go to bed at night and something is hanging over the bed saying, 'This isn't your bed, this isn't your place.' This is the last fling, you won't have me with you long. The next time you see me, I'll be in the church parade."

Often the converted are criticized for "dropping the old crowd" or for not fulfilling their neighborly obligations. "When these people need something, they're going to be hard put to find anyone eager to help them." "You're supposed to be good and loving when you're converted, but they never help anybody except themselves. They look down on anyone who's not converted."

When someone begins to come to the Wednesday night prayer meetings, the most noticeable sign of conversion, the newcomers are welcomed into the fold with eagerness; after the prayer meeting, members shake their hands and congratulate them. To be converted is to be "Born again." "My life is like a boat that was once tied to a pier with many ropes. One by one, these ropes have fallen away. There is only drudgery to this life. I feel as though I

• 794 could float right up to heaven. The only pleasure I get,
781 although it is but a shadow of that ultimate joy, is being
824 in the company of good-living people."

The converted often spend evenings with each other singing psalms and sharing experiences of conversion. They follow the Communions as they are given in different congregations throughout the island, and may even go to Communions on the mainland. "You get to meet all kinds of interesting people that you wouldn't meet otherwise. If it weren't for these meetings, it would be like the cities, you'd never meet." "East side knows west side because of the Communions, not because of the dances. You're alone at dances." Although every house in the village is open to visitors at Communion times, the converted tend to gather in the homes of their fellow converted, where, between the twice-daily services, they gather for intense religious discussion.

Persons who are converted, even if they have not taken Communion, attend the prayer meeting held in the middle of each week, but only the communicants may attend the "private meetings" (coinne ualgneach), which are held once a month. "My father used to tease my mother, who went to these 'darkness' meetings. But it's only a prayer meeting that gives the younger, recently converted members a chance to give the prayers, since when you're a communicant you're

• 794 called on an awful lot to give prayers in church, and it's
781 hard for some of them to get up and speak." The Reverend
829 Macleod notes in his diary that private meetings were
[915] initiated on the island in 1826.

A quarterly meeting (coinne raith) is held in Stornoway,
[996] to which many of the converted from the villages go. The Communions are held twice a year. "Special services," or "small communions," held soon after the Communions, are intended as evangelical services for young people, that is, services enjoining people to convert. These services, which last from Monday through Friday, were started in Rees after the first world war.

794 4. The Communions (Cruisigheas): Communions are given
794 twice a year, during autumn and late winter. They are scheduled for different weeks in different parts of the island, and neighboring congregations close their churches when Communions are being held nearby, so that during the Communion season some persons may attend a number of services at different churches.

In the days when transportation was limited, visitors
794 coming from a distance away stayed for an entire weekend.
574 All households prepared food and made ready for any over-
794 night visitors who might arrive without prior warning.
173 Guests often slept on mattresses laid on the floor. After
484 facilities of transportation improved, it became common for people to drive down for the day in private cars and return to their own homes at night.

000 return to their own homes at night. There is now less
794 need for the generalized hospitality of the past, which
• 794 was given to anyone who came to the door looking for food
824 and shelter. Through these visits some families in
591 different villages have, however, established relation-
574 ships which are kept up by exchanging hospitality at times of Communion and also in other ways. A family in
[262] Rees may send to a friendly family in Shawbost some ewes,
[250] goslings of solan geese which are captured by Nessmen on the island of Rona once a year and are salted to make a delicacy that is in great demand. Through such contacts a family wanting to purchase a cow may receive word of one that is being offered for sale in the village of a Communion contact.

794 Services of Communion last five days. All services except that held on Sunday evening are intended for the communicants or full members of the church, also called
[535] "the believers" and "good livers." During this time, no
[805] dances are held in Shawbost, and in Carloway the hotel is closed.

On Communion Sunday, the upper balcony of the church
794 is filled with villagers watching to see if any of the
794 recently converted have decided and have been allowed to
824 take Communion. Because the villagers watch very closely the behavior of everyone else within the village, any change

794 in behavior is noticed long before the person takes
• 794 Communion. A person may never take Communion, even
824 though they are generally known as "good living."

A person who shows signs of being "good living" (converted) is carefully watched by all villagers, but especially by the clique of the converted whose strict standards he must satisfy before he is able to gain admission.

A communicant who gets drunk or in other ways falls from grace is not allowed to take Communion again until he goes before the kirk session and attests that his ways have been mended.

794 Thursday, the first day of the Communions, is "a day
794 of humiliation and prayer." Friday is Latha na Caint,
[182] the day of questions or catechism, sometimes called "fast ship day" or "men's day." A passage is read from the Bible, which different elders must discuss in the light of their experiences of conversion. The day is also called a day of marks and signs. The elders who speak as a part of the day's rites are from congregations outside the village, which is regarded as "a matter of courtesy, and to bring in new ideas." They are called on by the minister and stand to give testimony or "fellowship," sharing their experiences of conversion with the assembly. These attestations are also spoken of as giving "tokens"

at Skeabost. A minister drove by one day and said to the 785
workmen, "Don't you know you're building a house for the Devil?" 795
One of the laborers, a Lowlander, replied, "It's a good thing 575
we have a place to keep him." The Order of the Eastern Star
and the Masons are condemned because, while they are religious,
they are secret orders. Even if the person's religion did not
stand in the way of his becoming a Mason, his distrust of
mystery probably would. As one young fellow said one night in
the bar when being chaffed about the Masons, "I'm not going
to join any secret organization until I know what the secret is."

Included among the objectionable activities by these two 785
churches are the traditional Highland Games, held each year 795
at Portree in August, probably about the time of the old Saint's 541
Fair. The day is a school holiday. Aside from New Years, it
is the big occasion of the year. People come in from all
over the Island. Few of the Skyemen actively take part in [526]
the contests of tossing the caber and throwing the stone, or
in the piping and dancing competitions, but they look forward
to the event. It gives them an opportunity to see their [571]
"friends" and join them in the pub for a dram. Although the [793]
ministers disappprve, they lack the backing of the "elect," so
the games go on each year. I hasten to add that they have
lost much of their appeal in recent years, but I am told that
this is due to the fact that the clique who runs the Skye
Council of Social Service has, in an effort to attract tourists
early in the season, set up Skye Week in May. Included in
the Skye Week program are Highland Games. I might also add

794

794 CONGREGATIONS--groups organized for common worship (e.g., kin and local groups, special cult-groups, church congregations, parishes); lay organization (e.g., elders, deacons, committees); qualification for membership; admission and disciplining of members; fund raising; maintenance of place of worship; religious activities (e.g., sunday school); secular church activities (e.g., education, welfare work, church gambling, temple money lending); recreational facilities (e.g., parish houses); etc. See also:

Recreation 52
Religious activities of kin and local groups . 61, 62
Churches and temples 346
Banking 453
Relief and welfare 73, 74
Education 87
Gambling 525
Temple prostitution 786

[For information on parishes, see categories 631 and 632.]

which signify that they are believers and differentiate them from the non-believers. "Some people may think they're ready to take Communion, but listening to these people helps them to see if they really are. Often their daily actions give the lie to their intentions, and they realise this and decide to wait a while longer." The sermon is propitiatory and includes psalms on such subjects as "Blessed are they that see the light."

After this service, the minister announces that the kirk session is prepared to interview new persons who would like to take Communion. From Friday until Saturday night, individuals "give witness" before the session. After an individual has described his experiences of conversion and has been catechised, he leaves the room and his case is discussed. The elders bring up any items of behavior that would cast doubt on his testimony. Questions about his moral behavior might include, "Has he taken a drink lately? Has he been seen in a dance hall? Is his behavior sufficiently circumspect?" The person is then called back and told the decision of the session by the minister. Occasionally someone is rejected.

Saturday is the day of preparation, the day on which those planning to take Communion are called upon to look at themselves carefully, inspect their faith, and prepare themselves to go to the Lord's table. After the morning

service, believers remain in the church where they receive tokens given to them by the elder of their street. These are pieces of metal on which is printed the name of the church and village, and a verse from Corinthians, "Do this in remembrance of me." Communicants planning to take Communion in other villages take with them tokens which they have received from their own minister, or ask the local minister for one.

The Communion Services begin on Sunday morning at about 11:30. Persons not taking Communion sit in the back of the church or in the balcony. Communicants give their tokens to the elders who stand in the aisles, and are allowed to sit in seats in the front section of the church, which are marked off from the other seats by white tablecloths. The service lasts for three to four hours. Many communicants also spend a half hour or an hour in informal prayer before the ministers arrive to begin the service. In the past, a prayer meeting was also held at 6:00 in the morning, a custom still practiced in some places, such as the island of Scalpay.

Sunday is the only day of Communion on which standardized selections of Biblical verses are spoken and psalms are sung. On other days the ministers are allowed wide variation in the contents of their services. On Sunday, Psalm 22 is followed by the reading of Isaiah 53, and

and then by Psalm 69, all of which emphasize the suffering of Christ. The sermon which follows may be based on any text; its intent is to strengthen the believers. It is followed by Psalm 118. The minister then announces that the most sacred part of the day's service will follow, the "feasting at the table" (mir-gnath na a-Shoper). He reads from Galatians 3, in which those of the flesh are separated from those of the spirit. Those who wish to take Communion are exhorted to leave everything behind, including husbands, wives, parents and children who are non-believers, and to "bear the fruits of the spirit. One man is said to have become converted when he saw his wife going to take Communion for the first time.

Psalm 103, a psalm of blessing, is then sung. Until five years ago, communion was served at the end of the congregation and rose to "come to the table" (those seats marked off by white tablecloths or sheets) for different "sittings," as the congregation sang the psalms of blessing.

The elders then take the elders to bring to the elements" of wine and bread. The wine is served in silver pitchers (which are refilled from bottles kept in a trunk beside the pulpit) by an elder who turns his back to the congregation while doing this task, and poured into silver wine goblets which are passed down the rows of communicants along with plates filled with bread cut

into tiny squares. The ministers and the elders partake first. A final hymn is full of rejoicing, and the minister then exhorts the communicants to return to the world and give witness and to live exemplary lives.

The evening service on Sunday is evangelical, intended for non-believers. After this service the communicants conduct a brief prayer meeting to give thanks.

On Monday, the minister again tells the communicants to go out into the world and declare publically their experiences of the preceding day; and to demonstrate in everything they do and say that they are believers. In the past, only a morning service was given, as most people had a long journey ahead of them to return home; but now that cars are available, a similar evening service is also conducted.

3. The Process of Conversion: The process of conversion may be slow or sudden, but conversion is most common at middle age and young persons. One informant wryly observed, "Only recently women were allowed to have souls. But from the looks of the Communion table, mostly women are going to heaven." Many of the women taking Communion are dressed from head to foot in black, a color which indicates their widowed status.

The first sign that a person is "following" (leanmail) the church is that he begins to attend the weekly prayer

meetings. If a woman converts when she is off the island, this occasionally happens during the first year or so at university or other school, the tell-tale sign is that she begins to let her hair grow, and wears it tied back in a bun.

The word *cursed* means "conversion," but is also used in ordinary conversation to mean being careful, such as keeping one's clothes tidy. It also means to be circumspect. In a religious context, it means to be careful of one's behavior, as this behavior reflects on the state of one's soul. When a person "has the *cursed*," he has demonstrated that he is "in a state of conviction," that he has undergone a change in his life. This change has come into my life." The "change" includes the cessation of drinking and going to dances and concerts. Woman stop smoking. "After you are converted, you don't watch TV on Sunday. You should do everything for Sunday on Saturday, like shine your shoes for church or cook the Sunday dinner."

A dramatic change in behavior is often found among men who have had a history of hard drinking. One man went into the harbour, conversed a glass to his lips, but never drank. "He put it down and walked out. They put the glass of whiskey aside, expecting him to return. He was a hard-working man, one of the hardest workers in the village, but everything went to hoose in the bothan. He slept in

conversions that take place in other villages. "Five persons converted recently in Locha. Two used to drink a lot, they're saying." Sometimes mass conversions occur, called "revivals," during which people shout, chant, speak in tongues, and sometimes collapse.

Although strict observance of religious practices must be maintained by the converted while they are on the island, it is possible for them to relax this observance when they visit mainland cities. The converted see nothing wrong with attending plays or movies in Glasgow, as long as no one observes them. A non-believer once commented wryly, "They believe in the 11th commandment: thou shalt not be seen." Women who have spent many years in domestic service on the mainland, where they generally live very different sorts of lives from those of island people, often return to the island to retire. They then take up the color of their surroundings. The long black dress then becomes the appropriate garb for them on Sundays. As one person observed, "Women deposit their *murain* in the left luggage Department at Stornoway, and pick it up fifty years later."

The beliefs of the Free Church include explanations for all events. "Everything of importance that happened in history is recorded in the Bible." Predestination lies behind all unexpected events; the cause of fatalism cuts

The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an industry which is compatible with crofting. Because weavers are self-employed, they can set their own schedule of work and thus continue to participate in croft work and fulfill various township obligations. The effects of this industry on the township as a social boundary system were investigated. The income available from weaving is unpredictable, which encourages the retention of crofting practices and other patterns of behavior, such as "occupational pluralism," that were found to be adaptive in the past. Such strategies also strengthen township boundaries; for example, they encourage mutual aid and communal township practices. But weaving also offers a high level of independence. Some weavers, preferring to spend most of their time weaving, have neglected crofting, or have invested in tractors or other motorized transport which enables them to harvest crops, cut peat and perform other activities independent of other township members.

The fundamentalist Free Church constitutes an important boundary-maintaining mechanism, serving to exclude various external influences of the larger society from the township. However, a smaller network of persons engaged in the religious sphere of social activity, a subsystem within the township system, also exists which has the appearance of a firmly bounded system. These are members of the

of the converted, who occasionally neglect township and neighborly duties in favor of religious activities. The increase in private transportation during the past 25 years has facilitated the maintenance of closer ties within the clique. The existence of such a strongly bounded subsystem is an example of a trend toward the weakening of the township as a social boundary system, but this trend is counteracted by other factors that strengthen or help preserve the township as a bounded system.

People come and go from the township, but this appears to maintain rather than weaken township boundaries because behavior differences in the township are generally those that can be performed outside it, and conformed behavior reassumed upon reentry. Those unable to conform with standards of behavior prescribed within the township are not likely to return.

Township members who have settled away from the island come back periodically for recreation and a sense of belonging. They increase the value of the township and the way of life in the eyes of the inhabitants, and provide them with subject matter for conversation until the next holiday season, when the exiles again return.

The boundedness of the township is thus a qualified boundedness that, over the past 100 years and especially since the second world war, has decreased in strength but is nevertheless strong today.

"I couldn't get back my health, but I didn't want to go home, because the houses weren't so good there as on the mainland. I went to work on a farm. It was for the cream I was going. I was so weak I couldn't lift the milk pails for a week, but I got on so well with the old lady that the farmer let me stay in and keep her company. The other girls were always running off to dances and out late at night, but I didn't care about that. I stayed in with her, and got so jelly with her that the others were jealous."

She had been coming back every winter to be with her mother, and during the war returned to nurse her until she died. Anna then returned to Glasgow, where she married a widower from the mainland. When he died a few years later, she returned permanently to the island. Although she had not belonged to the Free Church while living in Glasgow, she became a member when she settled permanently in Shawbost.

The Baker

"The Baker" was 22 when the first world war broke out. Many Shawbost villagers joined branches of the armed services at that time. The baker joined the army, and two months later was wounded in one lung. Tough as salted dogfish and solid as Lewisian gneiss at the age of 76, he pounds his chest and shows visitors his scar. After

HISTORY

scriptions flowed in. In 1729 the Queen granted Letters Patent under the Great Seal for erecting certain of the schoolhouses into a corporation. Thus did the SSPCK come into being, with an initial capital fund of £1,000. Its progress was rapid. In 1731, it supported twelve schools; in 1765, 325 schools. In addition to paying the salaries of teachers, the Society supplied the children with school books, established public libraries in various parishes, and defrayed the expenses of printing Gaelic Bibles and other books.

Harris here enters in an interesting fashion. In the records of the Presbytery of Moll, 1730, it is reported that "Mr M'Aula . . . carried off the library to Harris, because he was not paid for his expenses in bringing down the Book of the Society's to Coll." This MacAulay was the great-grandfather of the English man of letters, Lord MacAulay.

The Gaelic School Society was founded in 1811 and existed until 1892. It supported a large number of schools, as the desire for education had exceeded the capacity of the SSPCK. In 1796 there were two schools and a spinning school in the parish of Stornoway. The minister of Barvas, writing in that year, says that there had been a parochial school in that parish for many years, but that there was a Society school at Ness, attended by about twenty pupils, instead of noble that number had all the children been able to attend. The minister of Uig stated that three spinning schools were established there by Lady Seaforth, but he does not refer to a parochial school in his parish at that time. According to the minister of Locha, a parochial school was built there in 1795, and a Society school some three years earlier.

By the middle of the nineteenth century matters had improved considerably, though there were still complaints that education was not appreciated. In fact, education tended to be discouraged for a very practical reason. Back in 1811 an observer in the island stated in his report that the great mass of the Lewis people would not send their children to school. When reproached on this head they answer "If we give them education, they will leave us." Seventy-seven later (1887, the Napier Commission was told that 'Sir James (Matheson) supported and contributed to seventeen schools in the Island, many of which he built with teachers'

THE PEOPLE

181 ing but black. The young have found the island a much more kindly place. They have never been forced by circumstances to choose between predestination and despair.

To take account of matters beyond the material level is inherent in the Gaelic Celt. Scottish poetry and song, legend and folklore, all so alive with fancy and so sympathetic towards the things of nature, reflect the inborn sensitivity and character of the present-day Highlander and Islander. Fiction's caricature of the island-dweller (not only in Harris and Lewis, but in the other islands) has been taken by another society with a different cultural background, with insufficient knowledge of historical facts, as being virtually authentic. The Western Isles have had more than their share of 'observers' who have failed to penetrate to the inner Gael. Only with a knowledge of the background, social, cultural, ethnic, historical and so on, can the 'larger than life' islander be seen in perspective—as a normal human being.

RELIGION

191 There are few communities in the British Isles which have, since the Christian dawning, so closely integrated religious belief with secular day-to-day living as the Harris and Lewis people. Though many times the religious element in island life foundered in a Sargasso Sea of outright superstition, it has managed to survive to its present-day form which might be described as catchartic in nature. When one attempts to investigate religion and superstition as separate subjects, one is forced to consider either both as one, or one as complementary to the other. Even in those times during the island's history when materialism was prominent, somewhere in the background religion was acknowledged in one manner or another.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, in 1610 Lord Kintail brought Farquhar MacRae, the vicar of Gairloch, to Lewis. The first Earl of Seaforth, who built a church in Stornoway (St Lennan's) was nominally Episcopalian. During the temporary supremacy of Episcopacy in Scotland, there was little disturbance in the Highlands of the Presbyterian tradition. The bishops controlled their dioceses; but the ministers controlled their parishioners. In

RELIGION

Lewis, there were but two ministers in 1626, their parishes being 195
Barvas (which included Uig) and Eye, which included Lochs; the 195
population of the island at the time was about 8,000. When Presbyterianism was re-established in Scotland in 1640, the Lewis 192
ministers found no trouble in conforming, as did their fellow 192
parishioners. Sectarian feeding in the island during the seventh 192
and eighteenth centuries was not so much between Presbyterians and Episcopalians as between Romanists and Protestants.

In the year 1738, nine Episcopalian Lewismen signed a letter 193
to the Bishop of the Isles, asking for an annual visit from a pastor, 195
being unable to support a full-time minister. Almost a century 195
later in 1839, the foundation stone of St Peter's in Stornoway was 196
laid : this is the town's Episcopal Church. The other building on 196
the island which belongs to the Episcopalians is the ancient church 194
at Eoropie, dating back to the 16th century and perhaps the 194
oldest still in use in the Hebrides; services are held there occasionally, though there is no local Episcopalian congregation. One of 195
the most significant events which echoed right through to the 195
island was the Disruption which took place in Edinburgh in 1843. 198
The result was a 'church spectrum' in Scotland which is still 198
mirrored on a smaller scale in the island : the Church of Scotland, 198
the Free Presbyterian Church, the United Free Church, and the 198
Free Church. The Roman Catholic Church is also represented.

Lewis has one of the largest Free Church congregations in the 194
country. This denomination is particularly known for its outspoken pronouncements from time to time on questions of the day. 194
It is Calvinistic in doctrine and has a reputation for holding the 'Calvinistic outlook' in the more general and pejorative sense; 192
though in strictness may sometimes be over-painted, it is much 192
less liberal in its moral standpoint than is the Church of Scotland, if lest austere in some respects than the Free Presbyterians. 192
Its doctrinal position is that of unclassed adherence to the Wes- 199
tminster Confession, its ministers and other office-bearers affirming their belief 'in the whole doctrine of the Confession'. It is 145
opposed to all forms of liberalism and accepts the inerrancy and 166
infallibility of the Scriptures. Only the Psalter is used in public 195
worship, and instrumental music is dispensed with; strong 162

NORTH RONA

Though the island is but a great lump of rock, Dean Monro says 191
that in his time an abundance of corn was grown, by delving 191
only, and an abundance of clover-grass for sheep. The island also 191
produced a fine bere-meal which the islanders ruffled into the 192
skirts of sheep and sent, as their rent or tribute, to MacLeod of 192
Lewis, along with mutton and fowls.

Of St Ronan's Chapel, still to be seen and reckoned the oldest 191
Christian building in Britain remaining in its original state, 195
Monro says : 'As the ancients of the country allege, they have a 196
spade and a shoul [shovel] when any man dies, and upon the 194
morrow find the place of his grave marked with a spade, as they 194
allege.' In 1695 Martin wrote of Rona in 1680 :

The people repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Ten Com- 198
mandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning. They have 198
cows, sheep, barley, oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly 194
ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They 194
know nothing of money, or the use of it, having no occasion for either; 195
they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as 195
they want; they covet no wealth, being fully contented and adapted 195
with food and raiment; though at the same time they are very 195
precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of 195
them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his 195
property . . . They concern not themselves about the rest of mankind except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They have 195
their surnames from the colour of the sky, rainbow, and cloudy 195
. . . There are but two families in this small island, and every tenant 195
has his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects 195
are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a pouch on each side 195
to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone and 195
thatched with straw . . . When any one of them comes to Lewis, 195
which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people.

Then came tragedy. Somehow, probably off a wreck, a swarm 195
of rats landed on the island and consumed virtually all the food. 731
A few months later, some seamen landed and robbed the islanders 145
of their only bull. These misfortunes and the want of supplies 166
from Lewis for the space of a year occasioned the death of all but 162
that ancient race of people.' Some years afterwards a new colony 195
was sent to the island. In 1796, at the time of the *Old Statistical* 162

CHAPTER VII

THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

771 A in every form of religion rooted in communal life, 192
192 the sacraments and prayers of the Gael were linked 192
to labour and to the family and child's cycle. While 192
some of the 'runes' or prayers were essentially personal 192
and others were breathed only in the closest intimacy, 192
many were shared by a group of families : the tried tears 192
of the men or women of a joint farm, the people of a 192
620 neighbourhood and township or wider group. The com- 192
munities being so small and isolated, their members depended greatly upon themselves and upon one another. 192
194 As in worship in common, so in healing of body or spirit 192
and in the invocation of grace upon youth, now, now 192
another might lead in praise and prayer. So, too, the 192
leader of a little team would lead in the dedication of their 192
work, and, when it was completed, he 'the consecrator' 192
of its fruit. 192

771 Where no clergy were at hand, neighbours, perforce, 192
194 practised the saying of one they called their 'foster-192
brother' : that if no more than "two of you agree on 192
earth about anything you pray for, it will be done for you 192
by my Father in heaven. For where two or three have 192
gathered in my name, I am there among them " (Matt. 192

CH. VII SPIRITUAL LIFE OF COMMUNITY

771 xviii. 19-20). The worldly wise might think that the 192
194 spiritual fare of these poor folk must have been lean indeed ; 192
while others, having heard much of the Highlanders' 192
'pagan' aspirations, may think even worse ! The evi- 192
173 dence from which to judge is found in survivals from a 192
538 rich lore, and for most readers seen but 'darkly' through 192
verse translations from the poetry of a tongue now known 192
to few. 192

The richest collection is Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadhelica* (*Orisons*, *Incantations and Prayers from the Celtic Lands*).[1] Others were made 192
771 558 by the Rev. Fr. Allan MacDonald of Eriskay, and by the 192
Rev. Kenneth Macleod with Mrs. M. Kennedy-Fraser in 192
the *Songs of the Hebrides*. Included here are unpublished 192
verses given by crofters, fishermen, the Isles and others from 192
Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection,[2] hitherto untranslated, 192
and others were breathed only in the closest intimacy, 192
escapes. One is reminded of 'Father Allan's' early 192
death, after nursing his parishioners through an epi- 192
demic; and Carmichael's escape from drowning as "on

[1] *Carmina Gadhelica*, *Orisons from the Celtic Lands*, Hymns and incantations with illustrative notes on words, rites and customs, dying and disappearing rites, collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, translated into English ; vols. 1 and 2 (1st ed., 1900 ; and ed., 1928) ; vols. 3 and 4 (1st ed., 1900 ; 2nd ed., 1954) ; vol. 5 (1st ed., 1954) ; vol. 6 (1st ed., 1940). Carmichael was a gentleman, Post Janitor Carmichael Watson, whose death as an Ordinary Seaman in the war in Greece is recorded in the Roll of Honour in the Museum of Education.

[2] Gaelic and of Instructor Learning in Scotland. One more volume of verse was collected by Jessie A. Watson awaits publication. (In the following, quotations are referred to as from Carmina, followed by the number of the rime : Nos. 1-216, vols. 1 and 2 ; and Nos. 217-351, vol. 3). Vol. 5 contains varied lore.)

[3] Of all these four, the least known is Fr. Allan Macdonald's Irish collection, *Cnoch-Chaisteanachadh de Laoidhean Spiritadhail*, Hugh Macdonald, Oban, 1893. It was privately printed, and lacks a table of contents. There could be no finer method to do so, and the community where spiritual life he helped to record than a new edition of the ancient 'Spiritual Songs'; with the addition of those he has given of the ancient Irish lore of rags, and perhaps, of some of his own poems, notably his famous *Ritual* on p. 62, " Life of the Young ".

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

771 a night of black mutiness . . . he waded nearly breast-
538 high " through the dangerous South Ford of Benbecula, 192
" conscious only of the roll and the singing of waters 192
and the rhythm of a poem he had taken down a few 192
hours before "—" The Invocation of the Graces ", so 192
nearly lost with him ! Much that Carmichael learned was 192
given him under a seal of confidence he never broke, 192
although he mourned the loss this meant. The confidence 192
he inspired—which even those who knew him only in their 192
childhood remember for life—was a source of his quiet, 192
unfailing power. 192

The following begins with the runes and rites of labour, 192
771 the spinning of wool, the milking of cows, and so on and so 192
at home. Turning to the day of rest and to congregational 192
771 worship, one must enquire as to the presence of the clergy, 192
and questions closely have far the people had access to the 192
Bible throughout the centuries : were they really cut off 192
from its riches, from its essence, as the Reformers and the 192
Evangelicals of last century asserted with such vehemence ? 192
One can then turn to the runes and rites which plumed the 192
phases of life, from birth to maturity, marriage and parent- 192
hood, healing and so on to death. 192

But no social inheritance is without its burden. Having 192
192 told of the foundations of faith, something must be said 192
192 in the opposite chapter of the negative or superstitious side of 192
192 Island belief, of temptations and evils which, the people 192
192 could face, and of others to which they submitted in 192
192 ignorance. From the evidence of faith and wisdom, or 192
192 error, one must attempt some evaluation of attainment by 192
192 single souls and by the community, and of the power and 192
192 fullness of life in common. 192

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. III

195 Roman Catholicism was far less complete than that ulti- 192
198 mately brought about by Protestantism—Episcopalian or 192
198 Calvinist. 192

195 At least twenty-five churches, chapels and tiny oratories 192
196 are named by Martin in Lewis and his list is incomplete 192
194 (1934, p. 106). Harris and its isles also had their complex- 192
194 ment of 'temples', in addition to the priory church of 192
192 Rodel. We may perhaps assume that before the Reforma- 192
192 tion Lewis had a population of some 4000 persons, 192
192 or 1000 families, and contained some thirty chapels or 192
192 oratories in inhabited areas. If so, then one church or 192
192 'temple' (an average served thirty-five families) or twelve, 192
192 or six or seven farm-groups. Yet only the larger congre- 192
192 gations at Eye, Stornoway, Ness or Uig and Rodel would 192
192 normally be served by clergy : the people of smaller congre- 192
192 gations would be without, for weeks and months or even 192
192 years. 192

195 When the people were too distant from priests (and 192
79 later ministers) to hear the Lessons, they handed down 192
192 the Word orally. Their power of retaining memorable 192
153 lines, even in prose, is still remarkable, and were 192
192 strengthened memory. For example, 'the Ten Com- 192
192 mandments' paraphrased in rhyme are recorded in Fr. 192
192 Allan Macdonald's little collection, 'the gives the God 192
192 of graces to Moses in the wilderness" (*Na Fainteam*, 192
192 p. 62). Moses, had he understood Gaelic, would have 192
192 protested at the omission of the Second Commandment, 192
192 but no sculptor of Iona, Rodel or Eye would have felt a 192
192 need for it, being unafraid that a Christian could bow 192
192 down to a golden calf. Believing, with Solomon, that a 192
192 craftsman's work is his prayer, the artist-monks held that 192
192 an 'image' should represent, though never replace, God's 192
192 creation, and may even quicken our concept of the Creator 192

CH. VIII RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

195 ing was lacking, and the minister of the parish remained 192
197 in the Establishment, the popular movement inclined 192
193 unanimously towards the cause of the suffering and pro- 192
testing Church of Scotland, with the exception of a small 192
handful of people in Stornoway.[1] 192

192 The part of elder folk in religious life continued to be 192
192 important, but in new ways. Masculine influence now domi- 192
192 nated the family and the congregation. The 'Men' in 192
192 the Highlands were Elders of the Church who often spoke 192
192 as lay preachers and who rose to speak on 'Question Day' 192
192 —that is on the Friday of the Communion Services, which 192
192 extended, and still do, from Thursday, the Fast Day, to 192
192 Monday, the Thanksgiving Day. The preaching, delivered 192
192 after opening devotions, invited any Elder of the Parish to 192
192 rise and propose the Question ; the Elder having read a 192
192 text from Scripture, would say he wished to hear the 192
192 'marks' of the true Believer, drawn from the text. After 192
192 the minister had himself " opened out the text ", he would 192
192 name visiting Elders, calling upon them in turn to speak. 192
192 One by one, each would rise and give his picture of the 192
192 Christian in terms of the qualities suggested by the 192
192 text. " And so the hour spent flew by, and there was much 192
192 helpful variety of a dozen speakers or more. The 'Men' 192
192 spoke out of rich experience. . . . 'Question Day' was a 192
192 self-searching season, when every hearer examined his 192
192 heart by the 'marks' adduced . . . and as this went on 192
192 there was a sweet glow on the face of the Congregation as 192
192 the presiding Minister summed up and closed the holy 192
192 Convocation." 192

195 The 'Men' had long been a recognised Order in the 192
197 Islands, and their foundation is traced to Thomas Hog, 192
193 the famous minister of Kilmarnock, " born in Tain in the 192
194

[1] Rev. N. C. Macfarlane, *The 'Men' in the Lewis* (1924).

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

oth the Highlands and the Lowlands politics and religion 175* 771
became completely intertwined. In the latter half of the 794 ● 795
ingdom it began as a support for the crown and a force for
aceful and orderly government, but the church became the
ey of self-seeking prelates.[85] On Skye hardly anything was
nown of the abuses of the Roman Church. There was no scope
r two ruling powers in the small communities. The priests,
ithful to their heritage and loyal to chief and clan, minis-
red to the clansmen while their contemporaries elsewhere in
rope were guilty of neglect and corruptness. Nevertheless,
e Reformation, 1560, gradually influenced the Sgiathanach.
ere was an important difference between the acceptance of
e reformed kirk in the Lowlands and on Skye. In the Lowlands
esbyterianism, in particular its emphasis on individualism,
ited the needs and aspirations of the people, and they welcomed
form. In the Highlands the Catholic faith was extinguished
a lack of priests.[86] Although the old faith was regarded
an amalgam of paganism, a cult of the saints, and meaningless
rmalism, practically all the reformed kirk could do, in the
ce of strong opposition, was to expel the priests, or make
re that no new priests found entry.

While the Scots were prepared to fight the Stuart king of
otland and England in 1638 and on several other occasions,
laminating in the Glorious Revolution in 1688, for their

[85] Notestein, op. cit., pp. 103-114.

[86] Peter Anson, The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland (London: Oates and Washbourne, 1937), pp. 35-44.

spiritual independence, the Skyemen stood stoutly behind their 175* 771
devine right kings who tried to modify the church in the 794 ● 795
direction of Anglicanism. It was not until after Presbyterianism
had been replaced by Episcopacy that the Reformation reached
Skye, and it was not until after the Glorious Revolution that
communion was celebrated in the Presbyterian form.[87] Even so,
it required using the well worn trick of inviting the clan
chiefs to dinner on board ship and then arresting them to make
them agree to support the clergy and the discipline of the
reformed kirk.[88] As late as 1700 the people had not shown any
of the religious fervor which had ripped the Lowlands asunder.
The Sgiathanach, although nominally converted from Catholicism,
was apathetic to the slight differences between Episcopacy
and Presbyterianism. Revolution and Restoration made little
difference. The ministers, who were hereditary, remained, and
were succeeded by their sons.[89] Catholic and pagan rituals
persisted. At the close of the seventeenth century, Christmas,
Good Friday, Easter, and St. Michael's Day were still observed.[90]
They had been dropped from the Scots' calendar more than a
hundred years before. The holy wells were still believed

[87] Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesae Scoticanae (new ed.; 8 vols.; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1928-1950), Vol. VII, p. 166; see also J. B. Craven, Records of the Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles, 1560-1860 (Kirkwall: Peace and Son, 1907); and Duncan MacPavish, Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1661 (2 vols.; "Publications of the Scottish Historical Society," Vols. XXXVII-XXXVIII; Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1943-1944).

[88] MacKenzie, op. cit., pp. 130-132.

[89] See, e.g., Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182; Vol. VIII, pp. 683-684; and Craven, op. cit., pp. 46, 48-49.

[90] Martin, op. cit., p. 250.

efficacious. Amulets were still worn as charms. 175* 771
Even more important, religion was still intertwined 794 ● 795
with the structure of the clan. The ministers were said to be
negligent, either afraid of or sympathetic with local sentiments,
in their duty, by the evangelicals who waged an uncompromising
hostility to the old folk culture which tied the people to the
past.[91] It could hardly have been otherwise. The ministers
were tacksmen; they were married to daughters of tacksmen,
and their children married into tacksmen's families.[92] The
chief or a cadet of the clan met with the minister and his elders,
the lay kirk officers who were probably tacksmen, when a kirk
session was held, and the chief enforced their decisions by
his "irresistible authority."[93] Thus, the influence of clan
brotherhood pervaded every aspect of the culture. There still
was no room for two independent leaders. The people could not
have lost toleration for differing faiths. Episcopal, Catholic,
and Presbyterian families lived together without rupture. Re-
ligious fervor could have broken the clan. To see how the old
and the new blended, let us turn to the life cycle.

[91] John MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800 (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1951), pp. 2, 14-15, 50-55; and Gartmore, op. cit., pp. 340, 366-367.

[92] Scott, loc. cit.

[93] Martin, op. cit., p. 185

In 1951 the population stood at 1,094. There has been a slight 178* 632
shift from the rural areas to the village, but it can hardly 161
be regarded as significant. For one thing, the 1951 figure 162
included an unknown number of workers on the hydro-electric
scheme. Then, too, it included children from the Outer Isles
who attend school in Portree, not to mention the very large
number of newcomers, teachers, government employees, shop-
keepers, management personnel in the stores and banks, and
tradesmen, to give only a few examples.

The trend toward religious conservatism continued in 175* 178*
the fourth period. During the closing years of the preceding 771
period, the Free Church attempted to modify her theology and 795
polity. The old trend toward relaxing the rigor of Presbyterianism,
in accordance with the feelings of the other dissenting de-
nominations in Scotland in order to pave the way for union,
was reversed by the passing of a Declaratory Act which stated
that the Free Church does not teach and does not regard the
Confession of Faith as teaching the foreordination of men to
death (eternal damnation) irrespective of their sin. Further,
that while the Gospel is the ordinary means of salvation, it
does not follow that all who die in infancy are lost. The 175*
elders, the lay kirk officers, of Skye protested violently.[88] 178* 771
It was popery to make the Church the judge of spiritual affairs. 795 794 ●
More important, it threatened their prestige status, which had
been sanctioned by the interpretation of the religious ethic.
In several parishes the elders threatened to withdraw from

[88] The Free Presbyterian Church, History of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1893-1933 (Glasgow: H. Ashead and Son, 1933), pp. 96-130.

Communion, and when they were backed by a few dissenting ministers, the
schism gave rise to the Free Presbyterian Church. The first 175*
congregation of the new church was a Skye congregation. 771 795 794

In no small way the threatened disorganization of the
culture and the suggested social disintegration at the end of 175*
the "Clearances" played a role in the acceptance of the Free 178*
Presbyterian Church. This situation, I suggest, created a need 771
to reaffirm the religious sanction of the desirable features 795
of the culture. Since the Church of Scotland minister in
Waternish was jailed for inciting the crofters to stand up
for their rights,[89] without adding any people to his congregation,
the new schism must have been a reaffirmation of the religious
focus for the culture.

The acceptance, however, was neither uniform nor
immediate. There was, in fact, a religious and social up-
heaval.[90] In Glendale, a strong Free Church area and a neighbor-
hood which required the presence of military troops to restore
order, family ties and friendships were broken in the contro-
versy over which church manifested the true religion. In
Staffin and the Braes, also areas marked by the need for police
protection, the same pattern was repeated. The experiences of
one Church of Scotland minister over the years following the
schism, led him to make a rather unusual statement for a man
who became one of the foremost ministers in Scotland: "The

[89] Norman MacLean, Set Free, pp. 52-54.

[90] Ibid., pp. 148-212.

tourists, and newcomers who carry with them ideas of reform. 621
Further, as well as being mutually dependent commercially, the crofters and the villagers interact formally and informally in social, political, and, especially, religious activities. The consciousness of common interest of the villagers, however, 621 186 stems more from a knowledge that they are different from the crofters than from any common symbol. The 1000 villagers [162] are from diverse backgrounds. They find solidarity in being different rather than in "neighboring" or all attending the same church. The village also lacks the time depth of the rural settlements, being a creation of an individual in the last century.

For community I prefer an inclusive definition on the 631 order of Redfield's.[8] A community is characterized by conventional understandings, the occupation of a territory, and the possession of a culture. Thus, we shall refer to the Isle of Skye as the community.

It will be noted that I have not used the term parish. 632 794 Although the parish was once important politically and religiously, 178 as the older baronies were replaced, it lost these functions in 1929.[9] People reside within parishes and they, along with their crops and stock, are enumerated by parishes, but the parish is now little more than a statistical convenience. Church organization and political administrative units cross-cut and override parish boundaries. Indeed, I doubt if the people [186] ever thought of themselves as members of a parish.

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[8]Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, pp. 15-16.

[9]See, e.g., C. De B. Murray, How Scotland is Governed (Glasgow: Art and Educational Publishers, Ltd., 1947), pp. 113-118, et passim.

by a second cousin. The striking thing to realize here is that 593 the nearest surviving relative always knows his obligation and 764 is ready to fulfill it, without question. Fatherless children 602 are buried by either their paternal or maternal uncle. I have 603 not forgotten the existence of women. The simple fact is, [562] women play no part as mourners. Indeed, the rare woman who goes to the grave becomes the subject of lasting gossip.

Fundamentally, the system of kinship is patrilineal. 611 Linguistically, the terms for relatives may be bilateral, and 601 inheritance of possessions other than the name may be matters 428 of small importance, but the patrilineal emphasis remains. The Sgiathanach lives in a man's world. I shall explore this [128] male dominance further in the following chapter. At present, I want to briefly discuss two additional cliques.

Religious and Age-Grade Cliques. Like the members of any 573 society, the Sgiathanach associates most frequently with those who share his interests and attitudes. It is natural, then, for his associates, other than his kinsmen, to be people who attend his church and people of his own age group. We need not explore the nature of these cliques at this time; but we should have some understanding of their function. The 794 573 religious clique is primarily a mutual aid group. There is 476 reason to believe that this particular group has lost much 178 of its importance of late, with the coming of the welfare state. Many feel that the government pays people to look after the aged and infirm. As far as doing a favor for someone is concerned, few of the same kirk, other than close friends,

offer help without an expectation of payment. Nevertheless, 794 anonymous donations of food and casual visits make sure that 573 none of their number becomes absolutely destitute. In Glendale this religious clique merges with the person's "people and friends." Kilmuir has two religious cliques.

We have had ample opportunity to examine the age-grades 561 of Skye's society and in the next chapter we shall have a closer look at the functions of the age-grades, especially that of the old men. One of the most important weaknesses 857 of the social structure, in my mind, is the lack of age mates 883 for children and adolescents. They find it difficult, almost 561 impossible, to come together as a sodality. In Kilmuir, for example, there are only fifteen boys under twenty in an area of ten square miles. A youth is anyone under forty. Of the [162] total population 60 percent are over fifty. For this reason 561 the important age grade clique tends to merge with the re- 794 ligious social circle. The situation is much the same in Glendale. There the age-grade and kinship groups are intertwined with the kirk congregation.

Status Equality within the Neighborhood. The fundamental 621 status equality which we found for the crofters within the 534 township carries over to the neighborhood, but, as would be 571 expected, there is often a need for leadership in this larger group. Let us look at the two neighborhoods which I know best to cast light on the methods employed in the self-election of a leader and the means of expressing leadership as a role. Kilmuir has a Crofters' Club, which was originally formed by 573

a former school teacher. The present sponsor and chairman 573 is his successor. The teacher is automatically rated socially 875 because of his important function, educating the children of a 534 people who value education, and his university background. Further, he is from the Outer Isles and, therefore, is not expected to conform to all the traditional norms. Were he a Sgiathanach he probably would not accept the office for it would conflict with older and far deeper values.

The Glendale club farm is administered by a committee 573 of five, a secretary, and a chairman. Here all are crofters 241 from the several townships. All, therefore, are equals. Who, 534 794 then, might they have for a chairman? They have selected an elder of the church. A church elder is the highest lay official in church government and, on Skye, one of the oldest men in the neighborhood. As one man asked, "If you can't respect an elder, who can you respect?"

Selecting members for the committee and electing a secretary 573 is a real problem. Each man serves for three years. How the 241 original committee was formed I do not know, but I had an 534 opportunity to see how vacancies are filled. In 1953 there were three vacant posts. Parliamentary procedure has been introduced, but it finds limited expression. For two of the seats, the retiring members were "re-elected;" a crofter nominated them and after a long pause another man seconded the nomination. No vote is taken; silence means unanimous consent. A story slightly off the point illustrates this. At the same meeting the committee's stock report was read. Following parliamentary procedure, it

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175 year in which John Bunyan was born ". Archbishop Sharp
178 " banished him to the dungeons of the Bass Rock for
twenty-eight years, and it was during his imprisonment
• 794 that the meetings of communicants were kept going by a parishioner,—a reformed tinker and a gifted and consecrated lieutenant ". This tradition of the ' Men ' renewed itself and spread with each wave of ' Revival '. It sprang up in the Islands more than a century ago, as it had on the north-western mainland during the later eighteenth century, and in ' Easter ' Ross two hundred years before.

[798] The spiritual crises of the Reformation and of the Cromwellian and Covenanting age are still profoundly influential; yet they seem hard for those from the Lowlands and England to understand because they occurred so long ago. But in Lewis, Macfarlane writes of the ' Men ' whom he knew and admired, in order to keep their memory green. Once more, life in the Isles throws fresh light on the past, revealing its significance.

(D) EVANGELISM AND ERASTIANISM, WRATH AND WOE

175 The Disruption [1] gave a powerful urge to the move-
668 ment for freedom, in many ways. Throughout Scotland
the people were made to feel that both landlordism and the
[795]

[1] The issues of Disruption, for the sake of freedom from the choice of a minister by the landlord's patronage and from State control, were reviewed by the Rev. Prof. G. D. Henderson, in *Heritage of the Disruption*, 1943 (published at the centenary, and nearly half a generation after the Union of 1929). While the Free Church still maintains a strong hold in the Island—and among a small minority elsewhere who feel that even the terms of the Union could not secure full moral freedom—it is claimed by the Church of Scotland that its constitution now goes far to solve " the age-long antinomy of establishment and freedom ", a view widely held abroad, both in Germany and in the smaller lands of North-west Europe occupied by the invader, at the time of the centenary.

All the churches on Skye are organized in identical fashion on the local or parish level of church administration. According to the democratic principles outlined in the Bible and the Books of Discipline (1561 and 1578), the congregation alone decides who will serve as their spiritual leaders. It will be remembered that patronage was one of the causes for the church schism of 1843. The members call their minister and elect the elders, deacons, and in several churches, a precentor. The elders are the very pinnacle of the lay religious hierarchy. They are chosen from the "elect" to act as the guardians of the moral and religious behavior of the congregation and to lead the congregation in worship on certain occasions which we shall meet with later. The deacons are similarly chosen from the "elect" to look after the financial affairs of the kirk. The precentor is a chanter. He gives out the psalms the people sing line by line. No matter what the official position of the church, expressed by the General Assembly, Synod, or Presbytery--the higher religious courts--the local kirk session composed of the minister and his elders retains decisive power.

Erring members of the congregation are called before these guardians of the people's behavior for judgment and discipline. For the protection of the congregation, the Presbytery, composed of the minister and a selected elder from each church, examines and installs newly called ministers and has the power to censure any minister guilty of a spiritual or moral transgression or infringement of his duty to the

congregation. The Synod and, in the case of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church, the General Assembly do not normally interfere in local administration. They can be called upon to enforce the decisions of the Presbytery, but they are primarily deliberative assemblies which meet once a year in Edinburgh to discuss over-all church policy. Again, as we have seen, attempts of these higher bodies to impose their will on the local kirks have led to schism. Thus, since the fundamental seat of control is vested in the kirk session, in the neighborhood, the interpretations reflected in the higher religious courts do not necessarily find expression in the patterns of religious behavior on Skye. Indeed, the Church of Scotland on Skye is more like the other sects than it is like its parent body elsewhere in Scotland, where it has gradually moved toward a position similar to the Anglican Church or the Presbyterian churches of the United States. To the uninvolved observer, the differences are insignificant compared to the essential similarities of the local churches.

The Role of Religion on Skye

Because of the hold of the ramifications of religion on man, in particular, man as a member of a folk, peasant, or predominantly rural community, religion tends to have a permeating influence on all significant phases of life.[4]

[4] Cf., e.g., Robert Lowie, Social Organization (New York: Rhinehart and Co., 1948), pp. 191-192; T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), p. 423; and Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 282, 284.

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dale, there are 14 members in a
In Kilmuir, a neighborhood with
, there are 58 members of the
ngregation of 211. Portree, as
number of newcomers who are
of Scotland. Having been brought
atmosphere and being relatively
the convert is exposed, they have
Thus, the Church of Scotland has

794 125 members. That the Sgiathanach has not been influenced by the laxity of the newcomers in self-examination is indicated by the existence of 450 adherents. Further, the Free Church has only 21 members in a congregation of some 280, and the Free Presbyterian Church only 20 members in a congregation of 320.

The esoteric religious hierarchy established by the "Men" during the nineteenth century revivals continues to influence the lives of the people. From the small number of the "elect" are chosen the elders, the venerable guardians of behavior, and the deacons. The majority have been baptized [565] but are in a fallen condition. Shall we stretch an analogy and ask is this not comparable to the social hierarchy of ceann-cinnidh (clan chief), daoin'-uaisle (tacksmen), and clanna (clansmen) of the past? This much is certain: a strong hierarchial sense must be numbered among the persistencies.

888 575 794 626 In our discussion of the Islanders' economy we noted two significant facts concerning the sodality of the old men of the neighborhoods. We saw that they have a deliberative function in discussing economic innovations before they pass down to the townships, and that they are able to block any innovation of which they disapprove through the requirement of complete unanimity in township affairs. We may also recall the statement, "If you can't respect an elder of the church, who can you respect?" We may now add they have judicial and authoritarian functions in the religious sphere of activity, and, through their status within the church, they ultimately control the patterns of social behavior.

Their deliberative, judicial, and authoritarian functions 626 are identical with those found among the Catholic small 171 farmers of Ireland.[9] Of course, it is by no means unique in 888 human groups for the aged to attempt to maintain their 575 accustomed habits and statuses while the youth endeavor to 794 find acceptance for new ideas.[10] Nor is it unique for the 121 younger members of the society to resent the restraints imposed by the older people to punish deviation from traditional behavior.[11] Culture phases, as Kroeber has pointed out, associated with age tend to correspond to changes taking place within the society, rather than reflect static lines of segregation, such as those which exist between classes.[12] If these assertions are valid, the success which the elderly, 888 as a sodality, enjoy in barring the youth from achieving 626 acceptance of novel patterns should be indicative of the importance of age controls on the Isle of Skye. In order to see how they exercise control and how successful they are, let us consider those events in the life cycle which Van Gennep has called rites of passage.[13]

Rites of Passage

Rites of Passage function in all societies to mark the 121

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[9] Arensberg, The Irish Countryman, pp. 122-139.

[10] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 274-275.

[11] Herskovits, Van and His Works, p. 479.

[12] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 274-275.

[13] Arnold Van Gennep, Les Rites de Passage (Paris: E. Nourray, 1909).

"The Iona Community is a Brotherhood of men within the Church of Scotland seeking to find the implications of the Kingdom of God for modern society. During the summer months they worship, work and live together on Iona, rebuilding the ruined Abbey on a co-operative basis. Half the Brotherhood are young clergy pledged to work for two years in the difficult places of the cities (after three months in Iona), emphasising the place of the Church in the New Community that is emerging in the world. The other half are skilled artisans who desire to express their labour as a ministry within the Priesthood of all Believers and create—in the building—a microcosmic witness of how labouring is transformed when seen as a Sacrament. The Brotherhood is based on Reformation principles. Several members of the Community are married. At present the artisans return to the ordinary labour market in the winter time." [1]

In the Iona Community, theology is linked to communal labour and the re-shaping of society; and its symbolic centre, Iona, is more than a literary name, or a historic ruin, to those who have set about rebuilding its cathedral tower, cloister and surrounding dwellings. Continuity is exemplified in its leader, the Rev. George F. Macleod, a descendant of Dr. Norman Macleod, the friend of McLeod Campbell. The significance of this Community to the theme of this chapter lies in the endeavour of its members to learn, by help of ancient native ways, new ways of Christian life in their own land. The attempt to link industrial Scotland, and lands beyond, to the Gaelic West, is a notable recognition of what Celtic Christianity, maintained and renewed by communal tradition, has yet to give the world.

[1] From the magazine of the Iona Community, *The Coracle*.

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1919

(A) TRANSITION: MIGRATION, FISHING AND KELP-MAKING

UNTIL the 'Forty-five the township had lived an almost self-contained life. Its traditional economy was self-sufficient except for two indispensable commodities—salt for the housewife and iron for the smith. Beyond this, the chief demand for payment was the rent to the lord, with tithes for the kirk. For these needs and demands a step towards production for exchange was required, the more so that what was exported might include the very necessities of life in 'bad years'. The rent was paid largely by the sale of a surplus steer or two, and drovers called for the cattle. By 1790, if not before, two or three open boats set out annually from Uig, for instance, for Glasgow, laden with salt beef and dried salt fish. Although salt seems of little account today, it once bulked large in the Budget, its price being heightened by duty, especially after 1707: "as dear as salt", was a saying, *cho daor ris an t-salluinn*. Salt was needed to preserve the carcase of a 'cattle-beast' or sheep killed in autumn, and for cod and herring curing. Wrecks were valuable, as on all infertile undeveloped coastlands, both for their timber and their iron. Cairds or tinkers occasionally brought metal goods; or a packman called, as strange a figure then

a wider applicability of my thesis. The evidence in sup
my assertion was collected on the culture history of the
Skye, a part of the area known as the Highlands and Isla
Scotland.

Since I shall frequently speak of the Highlands an
in the following pages, we should have a precise definit
region (Figure 1). Geographically, the Highland boundar
be placed at the Great Highland Fault, a series of geolo
faults which extend across Scotland from the River Clyde
Stonehaven, south of Aberdeen. Politically and economic
however, this line has receded to the north and west. S
it has been common in Scotland to equate the Highlands a
with the "Seven Crofting Counties," those counties in wh
predominate form of land use is the crofting system. Cr
may be defined as a system of hereditary tenure of a few
of arable land combined with common tenure of hill grazi
These counties are: Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromart
Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney, and Zetland. Out of the
parishes in these counties only 12 are considered non-cr
In addition to this shared socio-economic pattern, the s
counties have experienced common economic-geographical
a century of accelerating population growth, followed by
of persistent depopulation.

[1] Adam Collier, The Crofting Problem: A Social and Economic Study (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1
p. 11n. A parish in Scotland is an ecclesiastical distr
which until 1929 was also a civil unit with self-governm
such local affairs as education, relief for the poor and
and health. If the British county is thought of as anal
to an American state, the parish can be thought of as a
but one devoid of any function.

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change in the use of the grazing land or a desire of the young men to fence the crofts in an effort to improve the individual crofts the old men must have their say. Through their position in the churches, the old men also are the paramount source of social control, preserving their traditional habits and statuses, including a severe limitation on all social activity of a frivolous nature. This religiously sanctioned control is strengthened by the inability of the youth to form a solidarity. Indeed, one of the most serious limitations of the society of Skye is the small number of young men and women, boys and girls and the few opportunities which they have to come together as a group. The functions of the old men's age grade are identical with those described for the Irish small farmer.[21] Another social circle is composed of the affiliates of the same religious sect. They are mainly a mutual aid group.

Although the status equality noted in the township for all of the same sex and age carries over to the larger community, there are always a few people who have an achieved status. The minister enjoys high social prestige as the spiritual guardian of the people. The doctor is valued for his role in caring for the people's physical well-being. The school teacher is respected because he educates the youth and often acts as a spokeman for the group. If there is a member of the landed gentry, he will be accorded the highest status in the area. It is interesting to note that the achieved status positions are most often filled by newcomers to the island. The shopkeepers and

[21] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 125-139.

there was famine. To supplement the diet, the men fished for domestic use. There were no specialists. Each man was a subsistence farmer, who bred a few head of cattle to meet his rent and provide dairy products, grew some grain for his family, and fished.

Trade with the Lowlands was established by the chief and his tacksmen. The droving industry, the overland marches of cattle from the Island to the market centers, provided the chief's only source of income, from which he paid the taxes assessed by the Crown and provided the clansmen with meal in bad years. There was also a less well organized trade in minor local produce and imports carried on with the Lowlands.

The Religion of the Clansmen

Very little is known about the religious aspect of the culture during the days of the clan beyond the knowledge that the people passed through several changes in common with the rest of Scotland.[83] During the years of Norse occupation they worshipped under a tribal religion known as the Culdees Church, a secular order with a married priesthood and hereditary abbots. By the time Skye had become a part of Scotland, and the old Culdees Church had been replaced by Roman Catholicism.[84] In

[83] Cf., e.g., Lauchlan M. Watt, "Religion in the Clachan," in Home Life of the Highlanders, pp. 52-60.

[84] Origines Parochiales Scotiae (2 vols.; Edinburgh: W.H. Lizars, 1854), Vol. II, part I, pp. 340, 343-344, 354, 357.

same as in the crofting areas. When a young girl presented 794 796
herself for instruction in the significance and meaning of 349
church membership, preparatory to her acceptance of Communion, 626
she refused to take the final step not because of any personal religious problem, but rather because such a step would upset her normal associations. What her Free Church and Free Presbyterian friends would say was her main concern. Who was she to become an "elect" member? Here, then, is the answer to how the elders of the other sects are able to control behavior of the larger group, through the fear of gossip as a negative social sanction and, perhaps, rejection.

The semi-annual Communion celebrations are rites of 794 796
intensification par excellence. Although some churches celebrate only one commemoration of the sacrament, and it may be as early as February or as late as November, the months from late April until early September, are commonly referred to as the "Communion Season." The activities of the people during this period cast additional light on the influence of religion in ordering social relationships. While [573] [571]
clique membership based on sectarian affiliation is a secondary factor in determining the patterns of interaction in the extended family in the local group, it is very important in determining one's wider relationships, the relationships between the neighborhoods and between the Sgiathanach and the mainland Highlander.

Within living memory thousands used to come to the 178 794
Communion celebrations from all parts of Skye and many nearby 796

mainland villages and crofting areas. Ministers from 178
neighboring and even distant churches used to come to take 794
part in conducting the services. There was no church to hold 796
so many people, so the Communion was celebrated outside. Then, of course, the population was much larger and the majority belonged to one church, the Free Church.

The Communion Season is still marked by large gatherings 794
of people at each church in turn. The "elect" from the 796
neighboring churches and the ministers from churches near and far exchange visits. The adherents also participate in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. From Thursday until 794
Monday the homes of the people in the vicinity are open to 796
their relatives and friends who have come to partake of the 574
sacrament or who find the highly emotional atmosphere and gregariousness stimulating. Some, especially the "elect" stay for the five days. Others will spend one or more nights. During the day and in the evening, whenever they are not [571]
attending religious services, they visit their "people" and "friends" to renew ties which in many cases have been allowed to languish since the last Communion. Thus, we find religion [182]
sanctioning the time-honored custom of Highland hospitality. [485]
It is interesting to note that many a woman who depends on the tourist trade for a good share of her income will not accept paying guests at this time. The local people have a further 794
share in extending hospitality to their visitors. All who 796
are able send food to the manse (parsonage) to lessen the 574
burden on the minister who extends hospitality to the 793
visiting clergy and as many of the laity as he can. This

custom is well established. Even war-time restrictions and 794
rationing had little effect on Communion attendance. Skye 796
exiles in the United States and Canada sent food parcels 793
to the ministers and their kinsmen to provide for their 574
visitors. The minister takes in as many as he can. One [167]
minister, for example, not very far from Portree has a large manse with seventeen rooms. It is customary for him to have [264]
twenty-five or thirty people for lunch and again for high tea (the Skyeman's evening meal) on Friday and the Sabbath. Many of his guests spend five days with him.

Some idea of the size of the gatherings may be gained 794
from the need for the Free Presbyterian Church in Portree 796
to hold duplicate services. The church, I should think, holds around 300. During the Communion Season, the congregation takes over the drill hall, normally used by the Territorial Army for training and by the villagers for social affairs, in addition to the kirk. In the drill hall services are held in English; in the kirk, they are in Gaelic.

Such large gatherings of people require a means to establish meaningful contacts and create a feeling of belonging. Thursday is a fast day. All work stops. The people attend services in the morning, at noon, and again in the evening. Their minister, assisted by two visiting clergymen conducts them in a dynamic, highly emotional appraisal of the coming event. All the ministers participate in the sermons, stressing [783]
the confession of sin and the need for humiliation. Many ministers are known for their preaching ability, that is their

ability to move their listeners. Friday is a day of self- 794
examination and prayer. A fellowship meeting is held. The 796
senior minister gives the sermon. The local minister follows the sermon with a few lines of psalm, which the precentor will chant for the congregation to sing, and calls upon one of the "elect" to prepare a question. After the singing has finished, an elder of the host church presents his "question." The "question" is a line from Scripture which relates to human experience, which relates to their experience as pastoral-agriculturalists. The remaining "Men," customarily visitors from other kirks, speak to the question, giving "marks" (examples) which distinguish between those who possess Christian virtues and those who profess the virtues essential for salvation. The speakers interpret the meaning of the line, it is only a single verse, often using allegorical interpretations. They are not supposed to tell about their own spiritual experience of conversion. To the contrary, their discussion is intended to have significance for all present. At the end of three or four hours of "speaking to the question," the junior minister sums up what has been said and, infrequently, makes any necessary corrections.

In addition to establishing an emotional atmosphere of [786]
revivalism and the tempo of interaction between the visitors [888]
and the local congregation, the fellowship meeting introduces the venerable old men of neighboring churches to the local people. Their prestige extends beyond their own neighborhood and congregation. Their ability becomes a topic of conversation

for the approaching evening and many nights to come. 794

Saturday is a day of preparation. After a morning 796 service, those who have been examined by the elders and admitted to church membership, and the visitors who satisfy the elders of the kirk that they are worthy to receive Communion, receive tokens which will admit them to the Lord's Table on the following day. 573

On the Sabbath the service is oriented around an "Action Sermon." The minister speaks of the sufferings and blessings of Christ. At the conclusion of the sermon, the Lord's Table is "fenced." Once all the Highland churches gave communion at a table with a rail around it. Now there is only one kirk on Skye with the fenced table, the old parish church in Bracadale. Today the first few pews are used. The minister 794 draws a sharp distinction between those who are entitled to 796 sit at the "table" and those who do not have the right to 573 partake of Christ's body and drink of His blood. The former are reminded of the dangers which neglecting to come forward involves. The latter are warned of their promised damnation as a consequence of partaking unworthily. Since only the 888 old men and women are worthy of the sacrament, the minister's 626 exhortions and denouncements function to sanction the prestige 182 of the old people before the congregation and the wider community. After reading from the Bible, offering a prayer, and 794 addressing the communicants on their humble position, the bread 796 and wine is distributed.

The Communion is concluded on Monday morning with a

794 thanksgiving service. The visiting ministers, the "elect,"
796 and the adherents go their own separate ways. They have spent five days in intense, emotional spiritual communion and they carry away with them definite, vivid remembrances. Many of them will meet again in a few weeks when they will exchange
573 the roles of guests and hosts. The reciprocal nature in all interpersonal activity on Skye is well developed. In many ways, the Communion season parallels the Welsh Song Festivals.[18]

794 We noted earlier in our discussion of the Communion
796 season that there has been a decline in the number who attend
178 the Communions. I should like to add a few general consideration to what I have already said on this point. Aside from the influence of depopulation, there have been several influential factors in operation. The smaller attendance is traceable to some extent to an almost imperceptible movement by the youth away from the more conservative denominations. The ever-increasing necessity of working for a wage, especially since most employment opportunities are in summer time programs, is another cause. This factor is not, however, important within the local kirk district because most adherents and all the "elect" who work take a vacation in order to attend. It does mean that visitors may only be able to attend on the Sabbath.

178 The custom of visiting has almost disappeared in some
794 churches, including the Church of Scotland in Portree where
794 the fellowship meeting is no longer significant because the
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[18] Rees, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

"elect" are predominantly newcomers and the elders are either 178 members of the landed gentry or newcomers. I was rather 794 amazed one day when a Skyewoman told me, "the 'Wee-Frees' 796 and 'Seceders' are no better than the Mohammedens giving 574 gifts to idols," when they sent food to the manse for the 369 minister's guests at the Communion. Over in Bracadale the 798 custom is also losing its importance, except in the Free Presbyterian Church, and the fellowship meeting has been abandoned in the United Free Church because of the reluctance of the members to engage in public displays, either at Communions or at prayer meetings. The custom of visiting has entirely disappeared in Sleat and Strath. One of the ministers ascribed this to the isolation of the two parishes from the rest of the island and from each other. Certainly the Sgiathanach on the south end of the island seldom locks to Portree and the northern crofter hardly ever goes to Sleat, but this does not explain why people from the mainland will go to Bracadale, by-passing Strath.

The vitality of religion can over-ride considerations 771 of family and friendship if a Sgiathanach deviates from the 626 accepted norm. We may recall the young girl who stole church funds and was ostracized by her "people" and the whole community. Let us consider another example. Marriage vows, as 586 we know, are held to be sacred on Skye. Divorce is all but 771 unknown and separation is uncommon. To be precise there are 626 four known cases of separation. Nevertheless, if a husband or wife were to break a taboo, it is expected that the offender would be cast out. Forgiveness is not compatible with a

belief in a God who punishes iniquity "unto the third and 586 fourth generation." 771 626

In one family the wife transgressed by committing 684 adultery, albeit a rare sin. Her husband was one of the 794 "elect" and a deacon in the Free Church. Fully aware of 626 the fact that his wife had remained away from Skye until after her child was born, he took her back. He was older than she and devoted to her. The story could not be covered up on Skye, where the elders have their thumbs on the pulse of the congregation. The elders summoned him before the kirk session. After he admitted he knew all the details and the fact that his sister-in-law had taken the child, they declared him to be excommunicate. The control of the elders is still characterized by austerity and severity toward the godly and ungodly alike. What hope has a Sgiathanach once 771 he has been eternally denied salvation? Perhaps, someday 794 he will again receive a visitation from the Holy Spirit and experience a saving change. Although no longer entitled to the benefits of the church, he continues to attend, as an adherent. One may ask, what was the reaction of the people to this punishment? A few Church of Scotland people, feel that the elders might have tempered their decision. As one said, "They thought only of Moses on Mount Sinai and forgot Jesus on Calvary." Most of the people, however, including all in the Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church, either approved the action taken or, at least, would not question the judgment of the elders.

child. Consequently, the sacrament is normally administered 369
thout even the formality of a kirk session examination. The 626
nisters of the other churches assert that non-church-going, 851
unken fathers whom the kirk session has refused have gone to 888
Church of Scotland and have secured the sacrament for their 794
ldren after pretending to mend their ways. They have then
e back to their former habits. It may be so, but at least
man in Portree was very surprised to find that the Church
Scotland can require a severe examination.

At baptism the child is formally introduced into the 851
ds of his father's church. His mother and father stand 794
fore the minister and are admonished to bring up the child
the murture and admonition of God, to the best of their
lity.

Marriage is not a sacrament in Scotland, and, therefore, 585
s not provoke any strong resentment beyond a feeling that [179]
Church of Scotland should not have the exclusive right
proclaim the banns of marriage. It is the one time in 585
life of a woman when she is the center of attention and 562
complete control over the situation. She decides where 794
will be married and what minister will preside. Church
iliation seems to make little difference. At least, the
ding of a daughter of a strict Free Presbyterian family
the Church of Scotland did not give the people any cause
gossip. Although a wedding is no more than a legal formality,
vows made at marriage are sacred. It would not strike
ricans as being particularly significant to omit the promise
obey from the ceremony; Americans are said to have an

equality of the sexes. On Skye, where women are the social 585
inferiors of men, its omission is curious. The ministers have 562
taken the promise of the ceremony out because, as one said, "The 794
man may be a rogue, irresponsible, making it impossible for
the woman to obey." She nevertheless promises to be "loving,
truthful, and dutiful."

Election, as a passage rite, marks the attainment of the 794
status of the elderly. We already know that to become one of 888
the "elect" the individual, man or woman, must not only 626
experience a soul-saving change but also manifest steadfast
conformity to the ideals of behavior which have religious
approval. These ideals are the habits and statuses which
the old people are striving to maintain. Thus religion 794
sanctions the status of the venerable old people. Their 888
interpretation of "Effectual Calling" functions to provide 626
the elders, the most eminent of the "elect," with an additional [182]
means to exercise their judicial and authoritarian roles.
There can be no rapid conversion. Whether or not the pro-
bationary period of three years imposed by the "Men" in the
last century is still enforced I do not know. The person who
believes he has experienced a saving change, "a visitation
from the Holy Spirit," is examined by the minister and his
elders. Like the father who is seeking baptism for his child,
such an old man or woman is judged on his knowledge of the
Bible and the Shorter Catechism and on his conformity to the
righteous life. No one can experience a saving change unless
he is known, by observation, to have lived an upright life.
The person who continues to pursue his own mundane pleasures

cannot be spiritually enlightened. The individual who is asked 794
about the nature of his visitation is not judged on his ability 888
to raise his family in the murture of the church. He is rather 626
judged on his preparation to carry on the tradition. He must
be worthy of the respect due to one of his status. While old [562]
women are numbered among the "elect," their exclusion from any
active role in the church has kept them socially inferior to
the old men.

I wish I could give some examples of the nature of this 124
"visitation;" however, Skye is a land where the direct question 576
is not used. One can ask a direct question without offending,
but the code of hospitality requires an either affirmative
answer or the answer you think your guest expects. My
circuitous promptings on this topic only succeeded in arousing
concern for my soul.

Two groups escape from the control of the elders as it 626
is exercised through acceptance of an individual into the 888
"elect." As mentioned earlier, the newcomers to Skye have 794
come from different backgrounds. Beyond the Highlands, the 167
meaning of "Effectual Calling" has changed over the years. The [184]
youth attend a young communicants' class in which they are
taught the meaning of church membership. Notestein, writing
about the national character of the Scot, maintains that
interest in "election" has disappeared.[14] Most of the members
of the Church of Scotland in Portree would no doubt agree with
him. One attempt has been made on Skye to hold a young 794
communicants' class. It took place, of course, in the Church 779
184

[14] Notestein, op. cit., p. 153.

of Scotland in Portree. Only one girl appeared for instruction. 794
After the significance of her preparation had been fully explained, 779
she declined to take the final step. She did not disagree 184
with the minister's view that she was prepared for membership
and communion, but she was afraid of what her friends in the
Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church might say. She was
probably wondering what the middle-aged adherents of her church
might have to say, too. When the Sgiathanach takes his first
Communion, in Glendale, Kilmuir, or Portree, the people must
be able to look up to him.

The second exception to the age-grade requirement rules 626
among the county people. Because of their social position 888
in the community, which rests on the expression of their statuses, 565
as roles, as landlords, village and neighborhood representatives 794
and leaders, and members of the national class system, and
because of their education in England, the county people
attain membership in the church at an early age. Some have
become elders of the church at twenty-one. To subject them
to the control of the crofters would, obviously, be incompati-
ble with their social standing. Although they are all Church [182]
of Scotland, here again religion is a reinforcing factor for
the structure of the society.

Dying, the final act of living, reveals a host of traits 763
which only receive covert expression during an individual's 829
life. While the youth is censured for his spontaneous
pleasures and the adult is criticized for his behavior, the
deceased is always respected. As one woman said, "It is the
one time in a person's life that the people have nothing but

blitz of London he was talking with a crofter's wife, and they 795
got to discussing Hitler. "What a terrible man he is," she 829
said, "Why he's worse than...worse than...almost as bad as the 778
Pope." In another township there is a Church of Scotland 795
missionary, a lay preacher. His religious sectarianism does 797
not prevent his interacting with the Free Presbyterians,
who are in the majority. Not infrequently, he visits his
neighbors and when they need help on the croft he is prepared
to lend a hand. When he pays a call, he establishes the
tempo of interaction at mealtime or tea time by saying grace
and returning the thanks. This is part of the hospitality 574
of the Sgiathanach. The visitor is always asked to say 782
grace.

What is true of the township on Skye, is also partly 621
true of the neighborhood. Here the members and adherents of 794
the same church do get to know one another better because of
a common faith, or their particular interpretation of a faith
common to all. They see each other with greater regularity.
Then, too, since the congregations are small, they feel they
belong. At the same time, the patterns of interaction are
not exclusive, except in Glendale. The religious cliques are [476]
mutual aid groups, doing what they can for the infirm and [496]
destitute; they are not opposing factions. Nor does religious
homogeniety mean the absence of factions. Glendale has its
independents who are set against the disciples of the Department
of Agriculture. Anyone who knows Wales may be struck by this 795
difference, for in Wales the people are attached to a particular 171

allowing his flock to attend concerts, had a point of differ- 793
ence with the Synod and was removed. In the Braes which had 795
been as staunchly Free Presbyterian as Glendale, roughly 798
half of the congregation changed their adherence to the Free
Church. The remainder have continued true to their own sect
under a new minister.

There are numerous Free Presbyterian families far 795
beyond the reach of a minister. All they can hope for is an
occasional visit, and there are no missionaries of this sect
on the island. Although they attend services at the nearest
kirk of the Free Church, doctrinal differences are still
important enough in their minds to keep them within the folds
of their sect. They were born in it and will die in it.
Moreover, despite the lack of a minister in Glendale between 794
1908-1911, 1913-1920, and 1931-1933, the people are as staunch [793]
as ever. At such times one of the elders steps forward to 794
conduct services as he would during the temporary absence 888
of the minister. His ability to fill the role of a spiritual 554
leader fortifies his control and his prestige. This is true
in Portree. The elder, even a newcomer, who stands in the
pulpit is deeply respected. Identity with, and attachment [796]
to the denomination is maintained in the absence of a minister
by visiting other churches at the Communion season and by
the visits of a minister on the Sabbath and for annual
Thanksgiving services following the harvest. So strong is [795]
the sectarianism of the Glendale crofters that the Church of
Scotland minister for Duirinish is convinced that "Churchianity

rather than Christianity is the prevailing practice in Glendale." 795
This attachment to a sect is all the more significant in the [796]
crofting neighborhoods because there is not one iota of differ-
ence in the Gaelic services in any church. The difference is
doctrinal.

In the neighborhood the affiliates of the same church 571
have been said to interact with their fellows more regularly 794
then with the remainder of the group. They come together on 795
the Sabbath for a regular service and on Wednesday night 796
for a prayer meeting. On the Sabbath they come as families, [593]
husband, wife and children and they sit together. Normally 562
the sexes are segregated in public. Indeed, in the home [574]
men keep to one side of the fire and women to the other when
there are callers. They also leave in family groups. Their
interaction is spiritual. There are no gatherings outside
the church either before or after the service to gossip,
discuss the stock, or even comment on the weather. They
will all know who was absent, but they will only greet their
fellows with a slight nod. The Wednesday night prayer
meeting is different. This is a group situation. Some come
by bus and gossip on the way. Others get together before
and after the service for a chat. At these prayer meetings [554]
the stature of the "elect" again emerges. They offer the [888]
prayers on behalf of the congregation. The prayers, it should [782]
be noted, are extempore. No form is followed. The basis for
them are passages from Scripture and interpretations of the
passages.

There is another aspect to the prayer meetings. They 796
are no longer held in the Church of Scotland in Portree. 795
The ministers of the other sects say this is an indication 794
of the low degree of spiritual enlightenment among that 369
congregation. Further, Wednesday night is picture night in
the village. The newcomers taunt the devout with, "off to
the pictures?"

It is at these Wednesday night meetings that the people 554
get to know one another. They participate in the worship 571
through the eminent "Men," who in a society such as Skye 776
where almost everybody is related on one side of the family 794
or the other by some bond of consanguinity or affinity, are [602]
the "people" or "friends" of the worshippers. This custom of
offering extempore prayers not only augments the prestige of
the "elect" but it intensifies the unity of the group and
makes them secure in the knowledge that they belong. This
feeling of unity and the sense of belonging is further
strengthened in some churches by setting aside a day of
Humiliation. Services are held during which the congregation [782]
as a group beseech God for forgiveness for the poor spiritual
condition of the world. In their minds the God of this world
is surely the Prince of Darkness.

But for the interaction of the members of the several 794
sects, the control of the "elect" would not be as strong as 795
it is. The elders of one kirk cannot exercise any direct 626
control over the adherents of another sect. Through what
agency could they express their judicial and authoritarian

functions? Certainly not the kirk session. But since they 794
share a common tradition, which is reinforced by interaction 795
and mutual respect, the elders impose more or less common 626
standards. The norms are the by-product of the history of
Skye. If there was cleavage, might not the behavior of the
people begin to diverge? In Kilmuir there are three sects. 795
Two of them have churches. The Church of Scotland is in the 796
majority. The Free Presbyterians are a definite minority;
I think there is only one family of them. Although several
ministers of the Church of Scotland have begun to follow
the example of the national church elsewhere in Scotland and
celebrate Christmas, at least on an appropriate Sunday,
there is no Christmas in Kilmuir any more than there is in
Glendale. The custom is said to be "popish." Naturally,
if the birth of Christ is not celebrated, his rebirth cannot
be commemorated at Easter. All churches, on the other hand,
celebrate New Years, which is also the traditional time to
exchange gifts among members of the family. It is a time
of license. After midnight the people of the townships 796
practice "first footing." Until early in the morning, the [273]
people make their rounds exchanging visits and toasting one
another and the New Year with whiskey, for the men, and wine,
for the women. The people of Kilmuir are noted for their 571
inter-relationships. "You have to watch what you say up 602
there," I was told, "they're all relatives and friends of
each other."

The situation in Portree for the Sgiathanach is much the 400

Religion has done more to keep the Gaelic language alive than any of the numerous outside agencies dedicated to the preservation of the language, such as An Comunn Gaidhealach, a national organization which sponsors a series of local, regional, and national programs in an attempt to maintain and stimulate an interest in the Highlands and their songs and stories. Except in Portree and at Dunvegan, church services are mostly conducted in Gaelic. The newcomer who wishes to attend church services in the crofting areas, and he had better, must either learn Gaelic or be content with the few words the minister may speak in English for his benefit if the minister is aware of the presence of someone who does not "have the Gaelic." Some might feel that this is rude since most Skyemen are bi-lingual, but the crofter seems to think quicker in his own tongue. Many crofters' children learn English only when they begin to attend school or pick it up from an older sibling who is going to school. Family worship is almost always in Gaelic, unless there is a visitor. We have already seen that the family worship at the time of death is in Gaelic or in Gaelic and English. Again we have a parallel with Wales, in that Welsh has been mainly preserved through religion.[19]

Making Gaelic the language of their religion has, however, led to several problems. It has weakened township solidarity on occasion. There are many isolated townships beyond the reach of a minister. In one of these remote

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[19] Ibid., p. 129

that young sinners will not escape from his kingdom." 785 779
Another of the same church expressed himself, "One is constrained to look upon this world as a great battlefield between Christ and the devil and between grace and sin. In our day the kingdom of darkness is carrying everything before it; the Prince of the kingdom of darkness is the god of this world." This attitude is not, however, carried to the extreme that characterizes the Old Order Amish in their determination to "Be not conformed to this world."[24] On Skye, the position is rather that the church, as Christ's witness, must resist the encroachment of worldly pursuits. In a world which is moving as fast as ours, the success 88 of the resistance of the church is indicative of the hold 62 of the pillars of the faith, the venerable old man, over 79 the group. We have learned how the prestige status of the "elect" and the elders stems from their high position in the esoteric religious hierarchy, and how, through their power to withhold the sacraments, they enforce social control. When the elders sit in judgment of the father whohas come to ask that his child be baptized, or the person who thinks he has experienced a "saving change," they base their estimation of him on his non-religious behavior as much as his knowledge of the tenets of the faith. He must not only attend church regularly and conduct family worship he must also deny himself all pleasures of a frivolous natu

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[24] Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Communi The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, p.

in the nurture of the church by being tested on his knowledge of the Bible and the Shorter Catechism. The elders, then, sit in a judicial capacity. If the father measures up to the standards imposed by the elders and the minister, who is their choice and, therefore, must reflect their views, the father is told to present the child for baptism. If he does not satisfy the elders, his child is refused the rewards of the church until his father mends his ways. Here the authoritarian function of the elderly finds expression. 626 951 888 794 [771]

Many men are reluctant to approach the elders to ask for the sacrament. Everyone knows when a man is going to be tested and judged. The humiliation of being refused forces the father to reform. Since the elders think in terms of habitual behavior, one or even two years may pass before the father will feel that he has continuously demonstrated his conformity to the satisfaction of the elders. Nor is the bond of affection between the elder and his people and friends strong enough to prompt any leniency. To do so would threaten the status of the elders and the continuation of their control. In one case a first cousin of the minister was refused.

In the trade center village the question of baptism is a sore point for the ministers of the Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church. As might be expected, the elders of the Church of Scotland are chosen from the county families and the prominent newcomers. Neither group shares the views of the Sgiathanach as far as their interpretation of circumspect behavior is concerned. For them baptism is administered to 369 626 951 888 794

age of the individual from birth, through his age statuses, 121
eath and to re-establish meaningful patterns of interaction
r a disturbance by an event in the life cycle. When 851
vidual and reciprocal patterns of behavior following birth 774
described, I pointed out that they were a much modified
ival of the old practice of kirking, the custom of having
parents, their "people," and "friends" attend a church
ice to offer thanks, followed by a feast and dance. Similar
ivities once accompanied baptism. As the first event in
life cycle which concerns the church, and as one of the
sacraments celebrated in the church, baptism is of supreme
rtance. In addition to revealing the amount of control [121]
elderly have over the group, it shows how the status and
of the father has been maintained.

The child's father, as the religiously sanctioned head 626
he family, approaches the elder for his township and 851
ests the administration of the sacrament. The elder, in 888 774
, intimates the father's request to the minister, who
calls a kirk session. At the kirk session the father is
ined. He must live an exemplary life, in the way of the
ch, including regular sabbath church attendance, daily
hip in the home, and the renunciation of all forms of
olous amusement. The elders, of course, know how he
tually behaves by observation and reputation. In Glendale,
ot in Kilmuir, the minister knows as well, for, as one
n said, "You never know what your neighbors will run and
the minister." Sudden reform is not good enough. The [779]
er must also demonstrate his ability to raise the child

hat the people of Skye, including many of the newcomers, 785
ave not been favorably impressed by Skye Week. The consensus 795
s that it is not representative of Skye. For the Sgiathanach 541
he Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and
imilar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree. 369
ere the members and the adherents of the Church of Scotland 795
artake of a number of recreational activities. In the winter 52
here is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer [326]
here is a little golf and tennis. The limitations are not [526]
eligious; they are climatic. Then, too, there is shinty.
have already noted the existence of many clubs. There are [535]
egular dances. Moving pictures take place twice a week. [546]
l of these activities are run by newcomers; the Skyemen have [167]
more or less passive role. The "elect" of the two smaller 795
cts are, to say the least, very much disturbed by these 794
ivolities. What is worse, the children attend the dances 626
d the concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find 883
ough solidarity among those of their own age grade to out- 52
igh the threats of their elders. Apparently they find
ough security to be unaffected by the stern denunciations of
e minister from the pulpit. When they marry, however, they 794
ve to recast the pattern of their behavior, for now the 884
ders are in a position to exercise control by withholding 626
ptism from their children. Some may turn to the Church of
otland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glendale the 888
ntrol by the aged is complete. There is not a single activity 883
626
[53]

contrast the friendly and homely atmosphere of the English 275
"pub" with the austerity of the public bar on Skye. The same 185
man who went into the "Coach and Four" to play a game of
darts and sing a few songs over his pint of beer goes down
to the local hotel bar on Skye to toss off his dram, follow
it with a pint of beer, and chaff his neighbors. "There is
nothing else to do." Skye exiles in Glasgow, and not only 275
the youngest of them, often complain about the lack of 167
opportunity for social intercourse at home. What they really 571
mean is that "there is nothing else to do" unless they do
not care about the reaction of their "people and friends."
Moreover, they may want to return some day to stay, and,
then, they will have to face the judgment of the old men in
their neighborhood.

Another contrast of the Welsh and the Sgiathanach can 525
be found in their respective attitudes towards gambling.
Traditionally, both enjoyed forms of recreation in which
competition plays a major part, but the Welshman today does
little gambling, implicitly because of his religious outlook.[27]
The Sgiathanach, too, is not an open gambler, but the football
pools find many interested individuals on the Misty Isle.
There was, for example, the deacon in one church who forgot he 525
had a meeting to attend. Much to his dismay, when another 794
member of the kirk stopped by to see why he was late, he was
busy filling out his football coupon. Dissimilarities, of 785
course, are not particularly significant. In both regions

[27] Ibid.

from the necessity of daily calls at the post office and shop, 182
but the drivers serve the function of passing on the news of the 571
day at each stop. 203

Standing in the place of many of the traditional social 182
outlets which have disappeared or been modified, there are the 794
religious occasions for joining together as a small group. We
have found the Sgiathanach to be very religious. Everyone is [796]
expected to go to church on the Sabbath, and everyone goes to
church. Irregular attendance soon becomes noticed by one's
neighbors, the kirk elders, and the minister. Concern over [626]
what one's neighbors may think, in itself a strong motivating
factor, is reinforced by a forbidding fear of what the venerable
old men may do whenever an opportunity presents itself. There
are Wednesday night prayer meetings for further social inter-
course. Above all, there are the semi-annual Communions which, 182
except in Sleat and Strath and one Bracadale sect, bring to- 794
gether the people of the kirk, the members of the same sect from 796
other neighborhoods, and affiliates of the denomination from
the mainland. Even the adherent, the individual who has not
experienced a saving change because he is not old enough, normally
takes his vacation, if he is employed, at the time of the
Communions in order to attend.

The decline in interpersonal religious strife does not 182
mean that strong personal sentiments are not present. No one, 571
other than the eccentric, is indifferent to his neighbors or 203
others with whom he may have dealings. The crofter and his [646]
village cousin may not bother to vote, but they closely watch [666]
and freely discuss their representatives. Gossip has retained

maintain their position by intermarriage, by educating their 182 571 children in England, and by interacting with people of similar 554 status within the community and beyond. 565

The crofters continue to stand at the opposite pole. They seldom achieve status within their neighborhood. Upward mobility is possible only through outward mobility. Leadership fails to find expression among them in the township or the neighborhood. The rare exception is the crofter's son who becomes a [795] minister and returns to lead his people spiritually. When the [794] crofters must select a leader, from their own number, the status is accorded to an elder of the church. The elder [794] already has high status because of his advanced age and his position in the kirk. As I have said, the continued operation of primitive democracy means a minimum of authority and a maximum of equality.

The intermediate group in the social hierarchy cannot be 182 profitably used in this discussion. They are primarily newcomers, 554 565 people from the Lowlands or England, who have joined with the 167 relatively few Skyemen who have left the croft. Sufficient time has not elapsed for a class oriented structure to emerge. Then, too, they are not a numerous group. Still, status is important in the village. As in the crofting neighborhood, ministers, doctors, and teachers achieve high status through their occupation. For the remainder of the population of Portree, status depends more on personal qualities and outside activities, especially in the kirk, than on the way one may make his living.

While we are on the topic of status and ranking, let us 121 554

else the spouse is likely to lose status. 626 284

The most powerful of all agents for social control are 626 the old men of the neighborhood. Through their position in 882 the church, a religious sanction for their prestige status, [794] they enforce conformity to the norms of behavior which religion has sanctioned either positively or negatively. No one, nor any group, has been successful in questioning the right of these venerable men to maintain their habits and statuses which have been preserved over the generations. The baptism of a man's children and his own salvation depends on acceptance of the authority of the elders, for they will be his judges.

As far as the contemporary scene is concerned, there 183 is no anomie. The content of the culture has been greatly 178 modified, but the form, the underlying distinctive pattern, has been preserved. We are dealing with a single tradition in which the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them have remained common and clear. This is all the more striking because there have been periods in which cultural and social disintegration threatened to overwhelm the Sgiathanach. This brings us back to the role of religion in preserving cultural continuity.

Loomis and Beegle have employed Durkheim's theory to 171 analyze the growth and spread of fundamentalist religious 182 sects in contemporary United States.[16] They conclude: "It 771 is no mere coincidence that various types of emotional 786 religious sects are now among the most rapidly expanding 781

[16] Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 401-407.

795

795 SECTS--organized groups of congregations with differing and unreconciled systems of beliefs; crucial divergences in dogma; organization of sects or denominations (e.g., episcopal, congregational); admission of members (e.g., baptism, confirmation); distinguishing characteristics of members (e.g., special garb or behavior); established churches; splinter sects; interdenominational conferences and federations; etc. See also:

Sectarian philanthropic institutions 73, 74
Sectarian educational institutions 87
Castes 564
Secret societies 575
Government support of established churches . 659
Medicine societies 756
Associated theological systems 779
Baptism of infants 881

THE PEOPLE

181 ing but black. The young have found the island a much more kindly place. They have never been forced by circumstances to choose between predestination and despair.'

To take account of matters beyond the material level is inherent in the Gaelic Celt. Celtic poetry and song, legend and [538] folklore, all so alive with fancy and so sympathetic towards the things of nature, reflect the inborn sensitivity and character of the present-day Highlander and Islander. Fiction's caricature of the island-dweller (not only in Harris and Lewis, but in the other islands) has been taken by another society with a different cultural background, with insufficient knowledge of historical facts, as being virtually authentic. The Western Isles have had more than their share of 'observers' who have failed to penetrate to the inner Gael. Only with a knowledge of the background, social, cultural, ethnic, historical and so on, can the 'larger than life' islander be seen in perspective—as a normal human being.

RELIGION

771 There are few communities in the British Isles which have, since the Christian dawning, so closely integrated religious belief with secular day-to-day living as the Harris and Lewis people. Though many times the religious element in island life foundered in a Sargasso Sea of outright superstition, it has managed to survive to its present-day form which might be described as cathartic in nature. When one attempts to investigate religion and superstition as two separate subjects, one is forced to consider either both as one, or one as complementary to the other. Even in those times during the island's history when materialism was prominent, somewhere in the background religion was acknowledged in one form or another.

175 795 As mentioned in Chapter 3, in 1610 Lord Kintail brought Farquhar MacRae, the vicar of Gairloch, to Lewis. The first Earl of Seaforth, who built a church in Stornoway (St Lennan's) was nominally Episcopalian. During the temporary supremacy of Episcopacy in Scotland, there was little disturbance in the High- [793] lands of the Presbyterian organisation. The bishops controlled [794] their dioceses; but the ministers controlled their parishioners. In

RELIGION

Lewis, there were but two ministers in 1626, their parishes being 175* Barvas (which included Uig) and Eye, which included Lochs; the 795 population of the island at the time was about 4,000. When Pres- [793] byterianism was re-established in Scotland in 1640, the Lewis [62] ministers found no trouble in conforming, as did their fellow parishioners. Sectarian feeling in the island during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not so much between Presbyterians and Episcopalians as between Romanists and Protestants.

In the year 1738, nine Episcopalian Lewismen signed a letter [793] to the Bishop of the Isles, asking for an annual visit from a pastor, being unable to support a full-time minister. Almost a century 175* later in 1839, the foundation stone of St Peter's in Stornoway was 346 laid: this is the town's Episcopal Church. The other building on the island which belongs to the Episcopalians is the ancient church at Eoropie, dating back to the tenth century and perhaps the oldest still in use in the Hebrides; services are held there occasionally, though there is no local Episcopalian congregation. One of 175* the most significant events which echoed right through to the 795 island was the Disruption which took place in Edinburgh in 1843. The result was a 'church spectrum' in Scotland which is still mirrored on a smaller scale in the island: the Church of Scotland, the Free Presbyterian Church, the United Free Church, and the Free Church. The Roman Catholic Church is also represented.

Lewis has one of the largest Free Church congregations in the 794 country. This denomination is particularly known for its out- 795 spoken pronouncements from time to time on questions of the day. It is Calvinistic in doctrine and has a reputation for holding the 'Calvinistic outlook' in the more general and pejorative sense; though its strictness may sometimes be over-painted, it is much less liberal in its moral standpoint than is the Church of Scotland, if less austere in some respects than the Free Presbyterians. Its doctrinal position is that of unrelaxed adherence to the West- 779 minster Confession, its ministers and other office-bearers affirming their belief 'in the whole doctrine of the Confession'. It is opposed to theological liberalism and accepts the inerrancy and infallibility of the Scriptures. Only the Psalter is used in public worship, and instrumental music is dispensed with; strong

A HARRIS

Lands were not allowed to become waste; in 1
Campbell in North Uist was paid to come north
island of Ensay, Sound of Harris.

It is significant that much of MacLeod's re
money rather than produce, for it emphasises th
the cattle trade in the Highlands, in which Harris
significant part—that is, compared with neighb
was sound economy for the Highlands, and far i
theories of the so-called 'improvers' of a later age.
MacLeod estates were collected by chamberlains,
work of Malcolm Campbell, the chamberlain f
beginning of the eighteenth century, was the fe
cattle to Skye. In Rodel, MacLeod had a 'keepin
probably consisted of rooms for the chief while
was also a brew-house.

To introduce more efficient communications
nect all the small Hebridean islands of the estate,
chased for a Lauchlan MacLean in 1705; he wa
maintain a regular ferry between Harris and
operated between the mainland of Harris and
islands in the Sound, such as Berneray, Ensay
Pabbay. In religion the estate was Presbyterian,
had the burden of providing both suitable re
ministers and the communion elements. As menti
Rev Aulay MacAulay, the great-grandfather of
the English writer, was once minister in Harris.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw
the ownership of the various islands compri
Hebrides. MacLeod of Harris retained Harris un
eighteenth century, when it was purchased by
family, a son of Sir Norman MacLeod of Berner
This son, Captain MacLeod, who had made a fo
East and ploughed some of it back into his nati
man who introduced fishing as an industry to th
In 1834 the Harris estate passed to the Earl o
£60,000. Dunmore sold north Harris to Sir E
1868 for £155,000. In 1919, Lord Leverhulm
Harris and St Kilda for £36,000.

1. [See map, pp.8-9--Analyst]

VIGNETTE

10, a Roderick 614
nd settle in the 175*
427
ts was paid in [231]
great value of
played a not in-
uring Lewis. It
advance of the
The rents of the
and part of the
r Harris at the
rying of Harris
g house', which
in Harris; there

nd to intercon- 614
a boat was pur- 175*
s empowered to 505
Skye. This also
the populated
, Killegray and [795] •
, and MacLeod
sidences for the
oned earlier, the
Lord MacAulay,

great changes in 614
sing the Outer 175*
il the end of the 423
a cadet of the
ay, for £15,000.
rtune in the Far [228]
ive soil, was the
e Harris people.
of Dunmore for
dward Scott in
e bought south

175 visited the chapel of St. Rona. It was fenced, and was
814 swept every day, suggesting daily worship; and the Lord's
771 Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments were repeated
there every Sunday morning. This led Martin to say that
[788] the people had no vices; and indeed the Gael's own
prayers insist upon the beauty of virtues rather than on
the evil of vices. In Lewis at that time (1695) there were
two ministers, at Stornoway and at Barvas; and the Barvas
minister visited Rona yearly. Isolated though they were
from their fellow-Lewismen, the Rona folk thus had annual
contact with organised religion, such as was lacking even
on the main island during periods of stress in Scotland.
[648] Invasions, repeated destruction and prolonged intrigue by
the Norsemen or the English Kings, led to, and intensified,
[798] internal strife. And in Lewis forty years of warring inter-
regnum had followed the 'Reformation'.

175 These and other notes of worship given by Martin,
771 such as those of the Lewismen's devotions when touching
at the Flannan Isles, show that the worshippers relied
798 greatly upon themselves and one another. They did so
even after their primitive Christian modes of worship had
been blamed and derided by Reformers, and the new modes
in their turn condemned by such ordained priests as secretly
made their way north from Armagh to Uist, Harris and
probably to Lewis. How much more stable must their
community's faith have been before the tragic upheavals
[797] which began at the Reformation. Some four centuries
earlier, the Roman Church supplanted the institutions
developed by the early Celtic missionaries from regional
and rural growth, by a formal organisation developed upon
an imperial and civic model. Thus they may already have
shaken faith by undermining the authority of communal
• [795] sanctions and traditions. But the break caused by medieval

175 Roman Catholicism was far less complete than that ulti
771 mately brought about by Protestantism—Episcopalian o
798 Calvinist.

• 795 At least twenty-five churches, chapels and tiny oratorie
are named by Martin in Lewis and his list is incomplet
175 (1934, p. 106). Harris and its islets also had their comple
346 ment of 'temples', in addition to the priory church o
Rodel. We may perhaps assume that before the Reforma
[162] tion Lewis had a population of some 4000 persons
or 1000 families, and contained some thirty chapels o
[794] oratories in inhabited areas. If so, then one church o
'temple', on an average served thirty to thirty-five families
or six or seven farm-groups. Yet only the larger congre
gations at Eye, Stornoway, Ness or Uig and Rodel woul
normally be served by clergy; the people of smaller congre
gations would be without, for weeks and months or eve
years.

175 When the people were too distant from priests (an
79 later ministers) to hear the Lessons, they handed dow
the Word orally. Their power of retaining memorabl
[153] thought, even in prose, is still remarkable; and vers
strengthened memory. For example, 'the Ten Com
175 mandments' paraphrased in rhyme are recorded in F
788 Allan Macdonald's little collection, "as given by the Go
779 of graces to Moses in the wilderness" (*Na Faintean*
p. 62). Moses, had he understood Gaelic, would hav
protested at the omission of the Second Commandmen
but no sculptor of Iona, Rodel or Eye would have felt
need for it, being unafraid that a Christian could bo
down to a golden calf. Believing, with Solomon, that
craftsman's work is his prayer, the artist-monks held th
an 'image' should represent, though never replace, God'
creation, and may even quicken our concept of the Creato

781 3. Bible vs. Bottle: An islander living on the
273 mainland once observed that the Free Church plays cat
• 795 and mouse with members of the community who drink heavily.
794 Death is a common event in a community which has a large
[761] number of old people, and the theme of death appears
repeatedly in sermons and in the conversations of those
who have undergone religious conversion. The temporary
pleasures of drink are contrasted with the eternal joys
781 awaiting those who have been saved. The "false" friend-
794 ships of the drinking situations are contrasted with the
more lasting, consistent relations which characterize the
clique of the converted. "You have lots of friends when
you get converted, and they don't change overnight the
way your drinking companions do."

273 "With the drink it's easy to get started and just not
[434] be able to stop drinking, especially with the money there
[781] is now. Everything's unsteady here except religion."

273 Many of the most deeply religious male members of
794 the church were once heavy drinkers. One villager observed,
733 "If a man went to extremes as a sinner, he'll be just as
781 fanatical when he becomes holy. Had it not been for
[743] religion, some of them would have landed in Craig Dunain
[the mental hospital near Inverness]. The talk is forever
on religion. That keeps their mind at rest."

B. The Bible

771 1. The Free Church: "A man in my great-grandfather's
175 time," said a 65-year-old man, "talked about the great
178 change within his generation, from the days when fanks
were held on Sundays to such strict observance on the
Sabbath that not even a cow could be tethered."

175 The first evangelical minister on Lewis came to the
793 parish of Uig in 1824. The Rev. Alexander Macleod belonged
• 795 to the Church of Scotland, but joined the Free Church when
it broke away from the Church of Scotland in the "Disruption"
of 1843. When he came in 1824, he found "superstition,"
"spiritual darkness," and "polluted remains of Popery,
since it was the religion in this place...the only notion
they had of Christianity (Beaton 1925: 7-8)." The southern
795 isles of the Outer Hebrides are still Catholic, but in the
829 Protestant isles of the north, holidays associated with
184 Catholicism are avoided, and stories are still told of the
798 burning of Protestant martyrs by Catholics. Catholics are
disliked "because they believe that they can buy their
way out of sin," or that the bread and wine of Communion
is really the blood and body of Christ. "A Catholic is
anointed with oil and left to die without food or water.
We are privileged that we are not like them."

175 In the Disruption of 1843, about one-third of the
795 people and 39% of the ministers left the established church

175 to join the Free Church (Donaldson 1960: 100). The Free
• 795 Presbyterians left the Free Church in 1893 because they
found it too "liberal." Several dissenting groups,
including most of the members of the Free Church, formed
a United Free Church at the turn of the century. After
[659] a long court case, the church property was left with the
Free Church, which continues to support itself without aid
795 from the state. Collections and funds solicited by
794 villagers who visit the households periodically are sent
465 to a central office in Edinburgh, which pays all ministers
an equal salary, despite variations in the size of their
congregations. About one-fourth of the church's income
comes from Lewis. A minister's salary is between L950-
1,000, and the upkeep and fueling of his manse is included
The present minister in Shawbost uses oil and coal, but at
an earlier time received loads of peat from the villagers.
The villagers bring extra food to the manse when Communion
are held, although the church donates about L20 to be used
to provide for visiting ministers.

795 The Free Church contains a number of presbyteries,
of which Lewis and Harris are one. An Assembly is held
each year which parallels the Assembly held by the Church
of Scotland. (According to one minister of the Free Churc
"A Berlin wall divides the two.") The Free Church publish
a monthly report of church activities and amount of money

795 collected, and an annual report on morals, which usually condemns drinking and "the decline in moral standards." Ministers are trained in a college in Edinburgh. Many [197] are Gaelic speakers, although the number is said to be declining.

794 793 When a congregation loses a minister because of death or other reasons, it issues a "call" to some other minister. The congregation is familiar with the names and preaching styles of a number of ministers, who have in the past visited the community as guest speakers. The congregation votes for a minister from a list made by the lay officers of the church. The minister may or may not accept the call.

795 [178] The Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church, two fundamentalist Protestant sects which have survived the tendencies toward unification evident since the turn of the century, are strongest in the Highlands and Islands. Shawbost contains a few people who belong to the Church of Scotland, but most villagers belong to the Free Church.

795 346 [173] The only church (in the sense of a building in which sermons are preached) is a Free Church which was built in 1883, supposedly after men from Shawbost helping to repair the fence at the minister's manse in Carloway, where they then attended church, were refused boiling water for their oatmeal "brose" by the minister's wife. A building in which members of the Church of Scotland worshipped was built

795 346 before 1883 but now serves as a school museum. When it closed, most of the members changed to the Free Church.

794 The present congregation includes many families from the neighboring village of Bragar, who come to church for the morning service and usually attend a prayer meeting in their own village in the evening. Once a month the minister gives an evening sermon in Bragar. The left side of the church, where most of the Bragar people sit, is called "the Bragar side."

Lay officers of the church, called elders and deacons, are elected by the communicants, those members of the congregation who have taken Communion. Both elders and deacons sit in special seats at the front of the church beneath the pulpit. Deacons, who are concerned with material matters such as collections and church property, sit in the "wee seats" slightly lower than the partitioned seats of the elders, the "big seats." The deacons meet in a deacons' court which the elders may attend. A meeting is held once a year at which the congregation is told matters such as how the church money was spent. Kirk sessions are limited to elders, who decide who will be baptised or take Communion.

[621] Each street or neighborhood within the village has its own deacon and elder, to whom members of the street bring various matters that concern church organization, such as plans for baptism.

781 794 [302] meetings. If a woman converts when she is off the island, as occasionally happens during the first year or so at university or other school, the tell-tale sign is that she begins to let her hair grow, and wears it tied back in a bun.

The word curam means "conversion," but is also used in ordinary conversation to mean being careful, such as keeping one's clothes tidy. It also means to be circumspect. In a religious context, it means to be careful of one's behavior, as this behavior reflects on the state of one's soul. When a person "has the curam," he has demonstrated that he is "in a state of conviction," that he has undergone conversion. People say, "A change has come into my life." The "change" includes the cessation of drinking and going to dances and concerts. Woman stop smoking. "After you are converted, you don't watch TV on Sunday. You should do everything for Sunday on Saturday, like shine your shoes for church or cook the Sunday dinner."

781 794 795

781 273 A dramatic change in behavior is often found among men who have had a history of hard drinking. One man went into the bothan, raised a glass to his lips, but never drank. "He put it down and walked out. They put the glass of whiskey aside, expecting him to return. He was a hard-working man, one of the hardest workers in the village, but everything went to booze in the bothan. He slept in

105 241 188 632 The Harris Tweed industry is lauded as an industry which is compatible with crofting. Because weavers are self-employed, they can set their own schedule of work and thus continue to participate in croft work and fulfill various township obligations. The effects [121] of this industry on the township as a social boundary [434] [463] system were investigated. The income available from weaving is unpredictable, which encourages the retention of crofting practices and other patterns of behavior, such as "occupational pluralism," that were found to be [476] [082] adaptive in the past. Such strategies also strengthen township boundaries; for example, they encourage mutual [434] [407] aid and communal township practices. But weaving also offers a high level of income; and some weavers, preferrin to spend most of their time weaving, have neglected crofting, or have invested in tractors or other motorized transport which enables them to harvest crops, cut peat and perform other activities independent of other township members.

105 621 795 632 184 The fundamentalist Free Church constitutes an importan boundary-maintaining mechanism, serving to exclude various external influences of the larger society from the townshi However, a smaller network of persons engaged in the

105 794 621 632 184 religious sphere of social activity, a subsystem within the township system, also exists which has the appearance of a firmly bounded system. These are members of the cliq

● 795

[For admission of new members to the Free Church in
794 and 796.]

n Shawbost, by the process of communion, see categories

who seeks sensory pleasures and finds enjoyment in 785
recreation is believed to be spiritually un- 779
ened. It seems almost an anticlimax to add that
life is restricted.

Beyond the Highlands and, indeed, within the Highlands 771
ain prosperous areas, where poverty has not been 883
r of such importance that it requires religious 571
n, the Church of Scotland has endeavored to find
thin the church for recreational activities, es-
y for the youth. As in America, the church feels
nsibility to the youth which requires a combination
gion and recreation if the citizens of the community
be well-rounded adults. Youth programs and youth
young adult groups, and social circles for the older
l women are an essential part of church work. In 794
nizational sense, the Church of Scotland on Skye 571
the most, a Woman's Guild which meets once a month
a lecture on a topic such as missionary work in
and which holds an occasional sale of work to reduce
urch debt or buy the minister an electric tea kettle
in his vestry; and a choir, which meets once a week
hearsal. It is, as I have said before, not the over-
licy of the church which determines the activities
ch the people participate or which they reject. The 888
are the prime movers. Were the youth in Kilmuir 561
under thirty, instead of anyone under forty, the 626
l of the aged might not be as strong as it is. In

much of Protestantism was a denial of Christianity. Holders of all these forms of Trinitarian belief have united in condemning Unitarianism as heresy, its earlier Arian form having been stamped out in blood. The 'heterodox' are held by the orthodox of many Churches to be awaiting eternal torture. To a thoughtful humanist like Sir James Frazer, on the other hand, the belief that one alone by suffering can atone for the sins of others is of the deepest significance, as being an ancient, widespread and 'pathetic fallacy'. Happily, one finds the greatest tolerance and sympathy where Protestant and Catholic are mixed in the Isles. Elsewhere, too, sympathy and reverent enquiry are taking the place of dogmatic assertion.[1] It is in this spirit that we can best understand Gaelic beliefs at their highest, and so distinguish their lowered use—or misuse for selfish ends—from the highest use of sacrament and prayer by the pure of mind and heart.

(8) RELIGION, MAGIC AND SUPERSTITION IN DAILY LIFE

Evil ends might be sought by means of the ancient runes: the power of their poetry and associations could tempt to perverted use. Carmichael tells how in Uist a malefactor, in terror of the law, went to a needy woman, and by appealing to her pity—and in exchange for a small sum—learned from her an "Invocation for Justice". Strengthened by its rhythm and imagery, and by his own associated belief in its magical power as a charm, he stood up boldly in Court, firmly asserted his innocence and got

[1] Cf. the friendly theological arguments between a Bernera Presbyterian and a Roman Catholic from Barra (*Bodach Bharraidh*—vii, viii), sketched in Gaelic by I. N. Macleoid, *Litrichean Alasdair Mhoir*, Stornoway, 1932.

175 year in which John Bunyan was born ". Archbishop Sharp
178 " banished him to the dungeons of the Bass Rock for
794 twenty-eight years, and it was during his imprisonment that the meetings of communicants were kept going by a parishioner,—a reformed tinker and a gifted and consecrated lieutenant ". This tradition of the ' Men ' renewed itself and spread with each wave of ' Revival '. It sprang up in the Islands more than a century ago, as it had on the north-western mainland during the later eighteenth century, and in ' Easter ' Ross two hundred years before.

[798] The spiritual crises of the Reformation and of the Cromwellian and Covenanting age are still profoundly influential; yet they seem hard for those from the Lowlands and England to understand because they occurred so long ago. But in Lewis, Macfarlane writes of the ' Men ' whom he knew and admired, in order to keep their memory green. Once more, life in the Isles throws fresh light on the past, revealing its significance.

(D) EVANGELISM AND ERASTIANISM, WRATH AND WOE

175 The Disruption[1] gave a powerful urge to the move-
668 ment for freedom, in many ways. Throughout Scotland
[795] the people were made to feel that both landlordism and the

[1] The issues of Disruption, for the sake of freedom from the choice of a minister by the landlord's patronage and from State control, were reviewed by the Rev. Prof. G. D. Henderson, in *Heritage of the Disruption*, 1943 (published at the centenary, and nearly half a generation after the Union of 1929). While the Free Church still maintains a strong hold in the Island—and among a small minority elsewhere who feel that even the terms of the Union could not secure full moral freedom—it is claimed by the Church of Scotland that its constitution now goes far to solve " the age-long antinomy of establishment and freedom ", a view widely held abroad, both in Germany and in the smaller lands of North-west Europe occupied by the invader, at the time of the centenary.

spiritual independence, the Skyemen stood stoutly behind their 175* 771 794 795
devine right kings who tried to modify the church in the direction of Anglicanism. It was not until after Presbyterianism had been replaced by Episcopacy that the Reformation reached Skye, and it was not until after the Glorious Revolution that communion was celebrated in the Presbyterian form.[87] Even so, it required using the well worn trick of inviting the clan chiefs to dinner on board ship and then arresting them to make them agree to support the clergy and the discipline of the reformed kirk.[88] As late as 1700 the people had not shown any of the religious fervor which had ripped the Lowlands asunder. The Sgiathanach, although nominally converted from Catholicism, was apathetic to the slight differences between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. Revolution and Restoration made little difference. The ministers, who were hereditary, remained, and were succeeded by their sons.[89] Catholic and pagan rituals persisted. At the close of the seventeenth century, Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, and St. Michael's Day were still observed.[90] They had been dropped from the Scots' calendar more than a hundred years before. The holy wells were still believed

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[87] Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesae Scoticane (new ed.; 8 vols.; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1928-1950), Vol. VII, p. 166; see also J. B. Craven, Records of the Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles, 1560-1660 (Kirkwall: Peace and Son, 1907); and Duncan MacTavish, Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1661 (2 vols.; "Publications of the Scottish Historical Society," Vols. XXXVII-XXXVIII; Edingburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1943-1944).

[88] MacKenzie, op. cit., pp. 130-132.

[89] See, e.g., Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182; Vol. VIII, pp. 683-684; and Craven, op. cit., pp. 46, 48-49.

[90] Martin, op. cit., p. 250.

efficacious. Amulets were still worn as charms. 175* 771 794 795

Even more important, religion was still intertwined with the structure of the clan. The ministers were said to be negligent, either afraid of or sympathetic with local sentiments, in their duty, by the evangelicals who waged an uncompromising hostility to the old folk culture which tied the people to the past.[91] It could hardly have been otherwise. The ministers were tacksmen; they were married to daughters of tacksmen, and their children married into tacksmen's families.[92] The chief or a cadet of the clan met with the minister and his elders, the lay kirk officers who were probably tacksmen, when a kirk session was held, and the chief enforced their decisions by his "irresistible authority."[93] Thus, the influence of clan brotherhood pervaded every aspect of the culture. There still was no room for two independent leaders. The people could not have lost toleration for differing faiths. Episcopal, Catholic, and Presbyterian families lived together without rupture. Religious fervor could have broken the clan. To see how the old and the new blended, let us turn to the life cycle.

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[91] John MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800 (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1951), pp. 2, 14-15, 50-55; and Cartmore, op. cit., pp. 340, 366-367.

[92] Scott, loc. cit.

[93] Martin, op. cit., p. 185

*175 *178 182 As the tacksmen withdrew, the farms wer
joint-tenants.[10] The former subtenants, who
at will of a tacksman, became tenants at will
Since the people no longer had to divide the
land with their superiors, they were able to
needs more adequately. Population pressure w
by the introduction of the potato and kelping
seaweed to produce alkalies.[11] The acceptance
potato and kelping was facilitated by the fac
involved any great change in traditional tech
expenditure other than labor. The potato ga
a secure yield several times that of oats and
year in every four there was no grain harvest
was confined to waste land, it also enabled t
to reclaim land for increasing the acreage of
and direct participation in the cattle trade,
the control of the chief and tacksmen, freed
from complete dependence on their harvests.
small pox reduced the death rate,[13] as did th
[61] hostilities. Consequently, between 1755 and
lation increased from 10,671 to 17,029.

*175 *178 795 Little is known of the religious life o
Still the beginning of a trend which continue

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[10] Canon MacLeod, The Book of Dunvegan,
and OSA, II, 551; III, 247, IV, 132-133; XVI,
XVIII, 183-184.

[11] Walker, An Economical History of the
p. 137, 348.

[12] Pennant, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 305-3

[13] Walker, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 348; OSA
XVIII, 551.

re made over to
had been tenants
of a landlord.
produce of the
meet subsistence
was further reduced
, the burning of
of both the
t that neither
niques or any
ve the islanders
barley. One
.[12] As the potato
he cultivators
grain. Kelping
hitherto under
a large number
Vaccination against
cessation of
1811, the popu-

f this period,
s to find expression

Vol. I, pp. 70-71;
551, 224;

Hebrides, Vol. I,

06.

, XVI, 224;

#175 #178 775 [773] can be seen. In common with the rest of Scotland up to the time of the French Revolution, the Skye ministers were abandoning their emotional approach in favor of mild methods of persuasion.[14] The rigor of Presbyterianism was succumbing before the philosophical enlightenment of the Deist.[15] At the same time religion [771] [773] on Skye contrasted with Lowland practices. It was religion based on inward conviction rather than on doctrinal dogma. The ministers were too far removed from Edinburgh to become involved in the heated debates and dissensions within the General Assembly which were creating opposing groups of theologians and, frequently, resulting in secession movements.[16] The people had no serious predilection for any specific articles of faith, and the landlords and many of the tacksmen were only nominal Presbyterians.[17]

#175 #178 773 As the proprietors and the tacksmen withdrew, the status of the ministers was augmented. They were more than spiritual leaders and moral guardians. They were descended from tacksmen, were often themselves tacksmen, and were frequently married to the daughters of tacksmen. They controlled education and administered the poor funds. But in many cases they seem to have been less concerned with the ministry than with their farms.[18]

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[14] Pennant, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 173.

[15] Johnson, op. cit., p. 95; and Notestein, The Scot in History, pp. 202-211.

[16] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 107.

[17] James MacDonald, op. cit., p. 109; and Johnson, op. cit., p. 95.

[18] John Lane Buchanan, Travels in the Western Hebrides, 1782-1790 (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1793), pp. 219-231.

The process to be observed in the religious facet of the culture during the second period is conservatism. Itinerant missionaries, catechists, and a religious brotherhood known as the "Men" supplemented the regular clergy. As the Revival grew strong, the "Men," as tenacious defenders of the evangelical cause, began to wage an anti-clerical campaign.[44] They usually remained within the Church, opposing any separatist movement, but they drew a sharp distinction between the Church and her ministers. To be a convert of the "Men" meant to dissociate oneself from the death dealing moderate ministers," who were said to have had more interest in their farms than in their congregations.[45] The "Men" conceived their function to be one of delivering powerful testimonies of evangelical truth. They rebuked and constantly reminded the people of their religious duties. They made Sabbatarianism an observable test of religious obedience, separating the respectable Christians from the godless. Prayer meetings were held at which the "Men" engaged in short, earnest prayers, and exhorted the people to read their Bibles and partake in family worship.

The growing influence of the Revival did not leave the clergy unmoved. At least two arose to recreate the spirit of vital religion and revive emotional enthusiasm in their congregations.[47] It was no accident that these ministers should

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[44] MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 151, 165; MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 53-59.

[45] MacCowan, op. cit., p. 53.

[46] MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 217-218.

[47] Thomas Brown, Annals of the Disruption in 1843 (Edinbur Macniven and Wallace, 1884), pp. 7-8.

single example may be given; so far as I know, it is unrecorded. I learned it in South Uist, where Catholic and Protestant mingle in tolerance and sympathy; it had been told by an old woman, a Catholic, to a young neighbour, a Protestant fisherman's son, later a minister.[1]

The story takes place after the Crucifixion. It may be remembered that in the Gospels not a word is said of Jesus's mother after His farewell to her from the Cross (John, xix. 26). He—or she—who first conceived the legend may have asked, would not a mother visit the tomb of the son she had just lost? And surely she who at His birth had cried, "My soul magnifies the Lord . . . my Saviour", would be the first to seek Him out after His death? The legend tells that, on the second day of the Entombment, Mary, Jesus's mother, in an agony of mourning and suspense, visited the tomb of her son, calling upon Him with many an endearing name. From the tomb He answered that she would be consoled, for He would arise. And He told her that because of the depth of her love, of all forms of human love a mother's would be accounted the highest for ever after.

The Gael had fused the grandeur of the Old Testament with the hope and humanity of the New; for them the light of dawn on sea and snow awoke the light within. A last example is taken from two fragments forming part of a single theme, perhaps of one original poem.[2] Chanted

[1] It is interesting to compare this quiet legend with the late Roman (and Episcopalian) "Apostles' Creed", apparently based on the vivid story in the *Gospel of Bartholomew*: after Christ "was crucified, dead, and buried, He descended into hell" (hades). Montagu R. James (translator), *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 1924.

[2] *Carmina Gadelica*, 201, 197. No translation can be perfect, and Carmichael offers alternatives: line 6, "*Ti nan dul*, Being of life", or "of the elements"; l. 13, "light on the plain" or "the land", *fearann*. The last line is intimate and simple: "The hour (or era) God's Son came in (among us)," a *steach*, as into a dwelling.

State were in the wrong: the people were with God and, most of all when they suffered, God was with them! The sense of liberation brought to the Highlanders and Islesmen encouraged them to press their claim to the land they worked, strengthening the agrarian movement of 1880–86. The moral victory of 1843 contributed to legal victory in 1886.

The influence of Evangelism continued for some time at fever heat. "Even down to the present time (1877) there are tokens of the gracious working of the Spirit on men's minds, although it is a day of small things compared with the past and, in the case of some, a day of stumbling and instability. How humbling to behold the first reaction in favour of worldly and Erastian [1] principles, manifesting itself on the spot where the gospel banner was first unfurled in Lewis! But there is a God that judgeth in the earth, and his time to vindicate his cause shall come. 'Offences must come, but woe unto that man by whom they shall come!'" [2]

What comment can be made on this? One shudders at first, to hear of 'gross vices' among the people, only to find that by these 'vices' was meant fidelity to the religious past. It may seem strange that Highlanders such as these writers on the 'Disruption Worthies', who were almost as proud of Columba as of the Covenanters, were blinded to the enduring values in Columban tradition. They were certainly unable to foresee the effects of their preaching.

[1] 'Erastianism' is the doctrine of the supremacy of the State in ecclesiastical causes, a term which came into use in Britain in the seventeenth century. Actually the problem is one which Erastus, 1524–83, nowhere entered upon; none the less, the name is established, and it denotes a major issue of principles.

[2] J. Greig (ed.), *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands* (1877).

The Evangelicals, so insistent in condemning the beliefs and worship of ancient Christianity as 'vice' and 'superstition', comparatively rarely condemned words and rites designed to bring punishment upon a person believed to have wronged one—that is upon a person one hated! Of such was the practice, widespread in the Old World, of moulding a clay figure representing the person to be harmed, and either sticking pins into it, exposing it to fire, or leaving it in a stream, with a prayer that as the figure wasted away so would the object of hatred. An educated Lewisman I knew, Dr. Norman Morrison, stated that an aunt of his own performed this rite. No doubt she persuaded herself that if the desired injury took place, natural or Divine law was at work and she herself was therefore innocent or actually just. What is striking is that in the twentieth century, long after the healing beauty and Christian calm of runes and rites had been banished and the healthy laughter of gay custom silenced, this pre-Christian rite of ill-will had lived on. One hardly knows whom to pity the more: the hated, for the fear they would feel if they knew the rite was at work, or the hater. The extreme Evangelicals made so little appeal to reason based on fact, that the irrational element in superstition was not firmly replaced by a sane, scientific outlook. Indeed 'science' was condemned as 'unbelief'. The constant evocation of wrath, anger and "the punishment of just and unjust" played havoc with the emotions.

Those brought up on the precepts of Presbyterianism—especially in its milder forms—and familiar from infancy with a selection of Old Testament readings, can hardly appreciate the shock to a sensitive heart of first hearing the whole of the Old Testament read Book by Book. The shock is due not only to the acts of vengeance or massacre,

but still more to their repeated justification in the name of the Lord 'God'. 'God' the universal (*Elohim*) came to be identified with the tribal god Jahveh or Yahweh, altered, late in Jewish history, to "the LORD God", the term still used in Bibles. The war cry of the Jewish tribes, as they swept in from the desert or tightened their hold upon citizens and cultivators, was that of many wild wanderers, before and since, who have cried upon their God of Battles, upon Jahveh, or Allah. Magnificent in its affirmations of righteousness, the Old Testament can be terrible in its denials of pity.

The Bible (literally *Biblia*, the Books) reflects the search of a people through centuries towards the idea of God; but the tragedy of the Bible, or rather of its historic misuse, came with the acceptance of all 'Scripture' as equal in inspiration and truth. The early and the late were accepted together, the mixed or false with the true. The custom of seeking Divine guidance by simply opening a page of 'the blessed Book'—that is, any text on any page of any one of its books—was an example of such acceptance; and it was only possible for the literate. In Lewis, Macfarlane records the custom, practised by 'The Men', late in the nineteenth century.

Reading came late to the Islanders, but its effects were as direct as among the Puritans or Covenanters at an earlier period. The people, whose hearts had long since been wrung with pity at the Crucifixion and who were steeped in reverence for the Gospels, became 'changed' indeed. Once their minds had been crushed by the Old Testament's massive weight, the 'change' was reinforced by the vision of a world to come, limned by fevered imagination in the New Testament's finale, the Apocalypse. The 'change' was brought by Evangelicals who had themselves

175 undergone the same crushing experience, at a time when
178 communal life was being overthrown by the Industrial
771 Revolution. "Terrible old men!" exclaimed a wise Lewis
schoolmaster, of these 'Disruption Worthies'. It was not
• 795 that they were inhuman—that is clear from the warmth felt for them by so many of the people, who would never have taken kindly to the unkind.

175 Nor were the first Evangelicals invariably severe. Of
178 the Rev. Mr. Macrae, long in Lewis, it is told that, when
771 young he had rebuked an older fellow-minister for levity
at a ministers' supper on Communion Monday. Leaping
795 up, the minister seized Macrae by the shoulders and danced
behind him, till Macrae was forced to join in the laugh!
181 Macrae never forgot the sane and kindly words spoken to him after: and he saw he had been wrong to identify cheerfulness with irreligion. Yet much joy was extinguished or found illicit vent. To such ruthless zeal, there came inevitably reaction, noted even by 1877, and still more notable during the war of 1914–18 and after. Conflict or compromise was inevitable where Churchmen emphasised terror and inveighed against the calm heritage of their forebears and the happiness for which human nature
178 asks. The days of emotional 'Revival' are by no means
771 over and from them the pendulum may swing from excess back to relieved but wearied unconcern. Moreover, with the emigration of so many of the men, the balance of family life was upset. Some thoughtful men and women feel that the 'Revival' which swept their Island (with the rest of the Presbyterian Hebrides) before 1939 and during the war was partly due to the excessive influence of spinsters, to whom strict Presbyterianism offered little outlet for motherly emotion or sisterly service.

(E) SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN CHANGE

178 In spite of 'the wrath to come', life had to go on, work
be done, and natural affection find an outlet in youth.
181 How could the women waulk the cloth without a chorus
183 to keep their beating hands in time? Songs had to be allowed by the sternest for this work in common. In a land where marriage was not an affair of dowries, but chiefly of love choice among the young folk, the old courting customs could not wholly be denied. Curiously enough, drinking was not severely looked upon by Scots rural Evangelists; in one story in the Old Testament, it is not the drunkard, but his mocker whom the Lord punished! In a city, a drunk man is a prey to thieves and harpies; but in a township none will do him harm. But today there are Evangelical ministers who think that drink should be frowned on at weddings and *ceilidhs*, while song and dance might be tolerated.

175 Not all the people gave in willingly to the severity of
the new creed. In Uig there is a cave, the 'Piper's Cave',
771 to which a crofter was wont to resort on dark nights, his
• 795 pipes in his oxter, when the wind blew *from* the manse and
183 out to sea! Ultimately the least willing were forced to give in, first, by the appalling threat of the refusal of communion, and secondly, by denunciation from the pulpit
[178] and the ostracism of the Elders. Much was destroyed that can never be recovered now, and many a fine heart saddened or broken. It was the most intimate expression of their lives, their religious lore, which suffered most.[1]

178 Yet something remains, preserved by the good sense,
181

[1] Carmichael gives an infinitely pathetic account of a conversation in a home in Ness about 1880–85. *Carmina*, pp. xxvii-xxxii.

(F) A CHANGING CHURCH: 1820–1943

175 Underneath the doctrinal severity of the Presbyterian
• 795 Gael, there has continued some of the cheerful faith in
living, the belief in mutual aid, the tolerance and calm,
[178] breathed in our native religious lore. The sternest Presbyterianism, which swept the North-west after 1820, still makes the Gaelic North its fortress in Scotland. Yet the maintenance in the Scottish Church of a doctrine of universal love was due, no less, to Gaelic ministers, and seems to have owed its rebirth to Gaelic tradition through these men. The question of continuity is important: for this doctrine, embracing all mankind, not only the predestined few, has profoundly influenced the attitude to life in all Protestant lands, throughout a century crucial to human development.

175 The most notable of the Scots ministers concerned
with the doctrine of the Atonement were John McLeod
795 Campbell and his younger friend, Norman Macleod. Born
793 in Argyllshire in 1800, McLeod Campbell was ordained in 1825, and preached the assurance that God loved, and Christ died, for all men. For this he was charged with heresy by the Church of Scotland, and deposed in 1831, a trial he bore "with saintly charity and patience", refusing to found a new sect. In 1832 he went through the Highlands and Skye, preaching everywhere in Gaelic. A Moderate minister, John Maciver, who attended his services, said to him: "I never understood so much of your views before; now in the strength of God I will enquire more into them". It was very different when he met his own cousin, Roderick McLeod, who eight years later swept the island of Skye into the Free Church and led the Evangelicals in the Hebrides. To his sister

125 Campbell wrote, " My reception by those who are called
795 'professors' ", the lay leaders who 'professed' the
Evangelical doctrines, " was trying to the last. Holding
793 that Christ died for all seemed to them so fundamental
an error as to poison all my teaching." Thereafter,
175 Campbell retired, in Glasgow, to read, preach to a few,
793 and write, keeping in touch with Norman Macleod and
814 Erskine in Scotland, and in England with J. F. D. Maurice
(1805–72). After *Christ, the Bread of Life*, Campbell wrote
The Nature of the Atonement (1856). Readers felt not only
that he was one of the most lovable of men, but a profound
theologian, a view reinforced today. " Of all books that
have ever been written on the Atonement ", wrote Dr.
Denney, " McLeod Campbell's is probably that which is
most completely inspired by the spirit of the truth with
which it deals. Its originality is spiritual as well as intel-
lectual. In speculative power he cannot be compared to
Schleiermacher, nor in historical learning to Ritschl; but
he walks in the light all the time, and everything he
touches lives."

175 Here then was a man who seemed to have been born
793 " in advance of his time ", yet who came of a community
of deeply traditional cast. His life's thought was attuned
159 to that of his forebears, and expressed itself most intimately
perhaps in their own tongue. Campbell was born and
reared in Lorne, Argyllshire, which had first received
Protestantism through Carswell, who, in translating Knox's
" Liturgy " into Gaelic, incorporated the old Gaelic labour
prayer of the fishermen (Chapter VII (a)). The gentler form
of Protestantism brought in by Carswell may have allowed
the spirit of Celtic Christianity to survive among the people
of ' Mid-Argyll ' and Lorne, down to Campbell's boyhood.
It may thus have contributed to the making of " a Scottish

178 or after it. After 1914–18, the Rector of the Nicolson
771 Institute, Stornoway, proposed village halls for village
517 education and recreation.[1] The scheme was never fully
[346] realised except in one township, Sandwick, near Storno-
way, owing to the strength of puritanical opposition. In
[345] particular, dancing by young folk was condemned as
" dancing upon the graves of their brothers ". This atti-
[181] tude is breaking down; social standards, in becoming less
[535] repressive, may encourage young people to stay.

178 Broadcasting—a factor of change everywhere—came to
the townships as a revolution. Newspapers had already
207 filtered in; but for the first time the Gaelic-speaking
[204] home was entered and dominated by an English-speaking
voice. It has made itself heard there almost ceaselessly
ever since—in broadcast talks, discussions, announcements
178 of news, entertainment, singing and prayers. Only the
201 Sabbath imposes general silence. In the Scottish Home
Service great trouble has been taken to meet all tastes at
795 the highest level for each, from ' low-brow ' to ' high-
brow ' and from Clydeside to the Isles. To a thoughtful,
selective Island listener the new opportunity for imaginative
human contacts and for initiation of all kinds is immense.
And the purely Gaelic listener is not forgotten. He wel-
comes Gaelic song or story; and worship in Gaelic has
reached many an elderly person's bedside.

178 Yet few listeners select: much broadcasting is designed
207 for those whose only picture-galleries are advertisement
hoardings and whose only drama and music are to be found
[525] at " the Pictures ". And through no fault of the B.B.C.,
the Sports News offers temptations for those in poverty to
acquire wealth innocently through luck in a football pool,

[1] W. J. Gibson, " Social Amenities in the Western Isles ", *Sociological Rev.* (Jan. 1932).

10 hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center for
621 tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependence
345 on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villagers
795 participate in a number of social activities which are not
181 tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious asceti-
cism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each with
[346] a population of about 300. All, except the ministers and
school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle and
sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potatoes
[47] and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All are
bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither community
[178] has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. Glendale
[34] has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch which
has been divided among the small farmers. The significant
[42] differences between them are three. The Glendale people are
[184] land owners. In this respect they are rather unique in the
[42] Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, rent
[178] their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glendale
[184] is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church-goers
[57] of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social
activities other than an annual meeting of the share-holders
in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a club
organization for the men who gather for lectures and discussions
of economic problems.

mainly because there are enough young people to form a strong 571
age grade of their own. The more liberal outlook of the 184
villagers is, however, tempered by the old men. 554 888

Religion

The attachment to the past embodied in the social and 771
economic aspects of the culture carries over into the religious
life of the Sgisthanach. He is a Presbyterian who continues 795
to worship and view the world within a pattern which charac-
terized the Scots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
The doctrine and theology are derived from the teachings of
Calvin as interpreted by John Knox and refined by the Covenanters
of the seventeenth century. To the original ethical code
a strong measure of influence from the English Puritan move-
ment has been added. The guiding principles are still fore-
ordination and election. The dominant motivating factor is [785]
asceticism.

One of the outstanding features of the island today is 348
the large number of churches for such a limited population. 795
To serve the 8,600 people there are 21 churches with ministers
and 13 mission stations. A hundred years ago, when the [178]
population was almost triple the present number, there were
only seven ministers on Skye. The present abundance is the out- 795
come of a series of religious schisms of the past century.
There are now four Presbyterian sects. Of all the neighbor- [184]
hoods on Skye, only Glendale is religiously homogeneous.

Portree has three Presbyterian churches and, in addition, an occasionally used Episcopal church and small Catholic chapel for newcomers. Kilmuir has two Presbyterian churches, and the population includes affiliates of three denominations. In contrast to the pattern of schism in the United States and, indeed, in most of the Western World, the schisms on Skye have been due to a strong desire to maintain cultural conservatism. Each time a church has tended to become more lenient in official policy, there has been dissension and disruption. This does not, however, mean that the several sects are dissimilar in practice and outlook. In Scotland the local kirk is governed by the congregation in accordance with the democratic principles laid down at the Reformation. The people call their minister and elect the lay officials of the church.

Religion is of supreme importance for an understanding of the configuration of the local culture. In fact, beyond being a highly integrated and systematized pattern in itself, religion has come to provide a focus for the culture. Through the religious pattern the culture achieved a reintegration and found continuity at a time when the people were faced with the prospect of enduring instability, if not total social and cultural disintegration. Although it has the appearance of being an extremely negative institution, in that much of the former secular life has been circumscribed by clerical censure, religion has sanctioned the fundamental values and patterns of

there was famine. To supplement the diet, the men fished for domestic use. There were no specialists. Each man was a subsistence farmer, who bred a few head of cattle to meet his rent and provide dairy products, grew some grain for his family, and fished.

Trade with the Lowlands was established by the chief and his tacksmen. The droving industry, the overland marches of cattle from the Island to the market centers, provided the chief's only source of income, from which he paid the taxes assessed by the Crown and provided the clansmen with meal in bad years. There was also a less well organized trade in minor local produce and imports carried on with the Lowlands.

The Religion of the Clansmen

Very little is known about the religious aspect of the culture during the days of the clan beyond the knowledge that the people passed through several changes in common with the rest of Scotland.[83] During the years of Norse occupation they worshipped under a tribal religion known as the Culdees Church, a secular order with a married priesthood and hereditary abbots. By the time Skye had become a part of Scotland, and the old Culdees Church had been replaced by Roman Catholicism.[84] In

[83] Cf., e.g., Lauchlan M. Watt, "Religion in the Clachan," in Home Life of the Highlanders, pp. 52-60.

[84] Origines Parochiales Scotiae (2 vols.; Edinburgh: W.H. Lizars, 1854), Vol. II, part I, pp. 340, 343-344, 354, 357.

both the Highlands and the Lowlands politics and religion became completely intertwined. In the latter half of the kingdom it began as a support for the crown and a force for peaceful and orderly government, but the church became the prey of self-seeking prelates.[85] On Skye hardly anything was known of the abuses of the Roman Church. There was no scope for two ruling powers in the small communities. The priests, faithful to their heritage and loyal to chief and clan, ministered to the clansmen while their contemporaries elsewhere in Europe were guilty of neglect and corruptness. Nevertheless, the Reformation, 1560, gradually influenced the Sgiathanach. There was an important difference between the acceptance of the reformed kirk in the Lowlands and on Skye. In the Lowlands Presbyterianism, in particular its emphasis on individualism, suited the needs and aspirations of the people, and they welcomed reform. In the Highlands the Catholic faith was extinguished by a lack of priests.[86] Although the old faith was regarded as an amalgam of paganism, a cult of the saints, and meaningless formalism, practically all the reformed kirk could do, in the face of strong opposition, was to expel the priests, or make sure that no new priests found entry.

While the Scots were prepared to fight the Stuart king of Scotland and England in 1638 and on several other occasions, culminating in the Glorious Revolution in 1688, for their

[85] Notestein, op. cit., pp. 103-114.

[86] Peter Anson, The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland (London: Oates and Washbourne, 1937), pp. 35-44.

existing system of proprietorship. At length, land leagues were formed to give body to the peasants' protest. The movement finally reached Scotland in 1880. By 1883 it had become important on Skye. Significantly, the agents responsible for the Skyemen's agitation were Irishmen.[71] The stimulus for accepting the course of action advocated by these agents was provided by another famine which coincided with the loss of wages from employment on the east coast fishing vessels.[72] The crofters took the law into their own hands. The Kilmuir crofters refused to pay their rent. The Glendale crofters forcibly drove the sheep off their old cattle grazings. Glasgow police and the Royal Marines were dispatched to Skye.[73] Out of this unrest came the appointment of a royal commission of investigation, but their work is our subject for the fourth period. A more pressing problem is what effect did these events have on the religious outlook of the crofter and what influence did religion have on the configuration of the culture.

While the Revival was underway during the first half of the century, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was witnessing a renewed battle over the old question of patronage, the right of the proprietor to select the kirk's minister. Finally, in 1843, the Church was broken by schism

[71] Ferguson, op. cit., pp. 41-43, 121-123.

[72] See Collier, op. cit., pp. 51-52; Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 91.

[73] Detailed accounts of the land raids and resistance to the police can be found in Alexander MacKenzie, The Isle of Skye in 1882-1883 (Inverness: A. and J. MacKenzie, 1884, pp. 7-144. See also Cumming, op. cit., pp. 140-147 and William MacKenzie, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

over this and an associated question, the principle of the spiritual independence of the Church from civil authority. Although the Revival might have created or even renewed a belief in the right of a congregation to call their own minister, it is difficult to see how the principle of spiritual non-intrusion, by courts and parliament, could have mattered much to the people. The significance of the Disruption is that it continued the trend toward conservatism established by the Revival and made it an official policy of the Free Church of Scotland. The overwhelming acceptance of the Free Church manifests a strong correlation with the suggested amount of social and cultural disorganization at the close of the second period. It was no accident that the first Free Church congregation should have been in Bracadale, the first parish to be cleared for sheep. It was not by chance that the people of Kilmuir and Glendale, like so many others, turned to this new source of hope. The ministers left the Church in the true tradition of the Covenanters: "in a state of toil and privation, whether within or without the Established Church, and under persecution if need be."[74] The people followed them because of emotional attachments which they had formed with the seceding ministers during the Revival. Only the seceding ministers were successfully restoring group solidarity. Their emotional and dynamic approach was giving the people the means to maintain cultural continuity. The Old Testament, which they were wont to use, was an additional factor. It

[74] Brown, op. cit., p. 1.

told about a people not unlike the crofters, and the prophesies were being fulfilled before the peoples' very eyes. Is it any wonder that thousands gathered on the hillsides to listen to a minister whose dynamic appeals moved them to tears?

As the people turned to the new church and the emotionalism of the large outdoor gatherings, they continued to forsake their old customs and folklore. The songs, except in some cases the waulking songs which provided the tempo for shrinking homespun, and the tales were placed under clerical bann.[75]

The ministers and the "Ken" insisted on the prerequisite of gravity in all aspects of life for salvation.[76] The communion roles were purged. In Bracadale, for example, there had been 258 communicant members. Following the Disruption there were less than ten.[77] The same pattern was repeated elsewhere on the island.[78]

The religious patterns which had evolved were, nevertheless, reinforcing much of the traditional way of life. The "Ken" of Skye had become elders in the Free Church. This status sanctioned their position in the community. Although the age structure of the population had not yet altered

[75] Norman MacLean, Set Free (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 11-12, 14.

[76] Norman MacLeod, op. cit., p. 35; and Daniel Lamont, Strath: In Isle of Skye (Glasgow: A. Sinclair, 1913), pp. 27-30.

[77] Norman MacLean, The Years of Fulfillment (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1953) pp. 112-113.

[78] Norman MacLean, Set Free, pp. 14-15, 18, 203-212. See also his The Former Days (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 40-49, 80.

sufficiently to make age controls an irresistible force, the prestige status of the small number of the "elect," those who had experienced a saving change, and, in particular, the elders gave them complete control over all social and religious activity. In a later chapter I shall have more to say about these facts. The important fact which I want to emphasize now is that the religious patterns provided a framework in which the culture could find continuity and through which the society could achieve a reintegration. The abhorrence of pagan-like customs resulted in a change of content, but there were positive results as well. Above all, there was a change in focus for the culture and society. The decadent belief in clan brotherhood was replaced by a sense of belonging to a known religious brotherhood.

Summary. The third period of the modern phase of Skye's culture history saw the culmination of the process of commercialization of the land. All the influences necessary for the conversion of the subsistence economy, albeit a much deteriorated economy, had begun to function. Sheep farming, on a commercial scale, formed the basis for the new economy. Newcomers with the incentive and ability to introduce improved methods of land utilization were replacing the conservative and impoverished crofters and cottars. As the commercial farmers consolidated their holdings, the communal townships were being obliterated. The concept of individual possession of the land was replacing the customary rights of the small tenants, and a clearly defined social hierarchy, based on

wealth, rose above the indigent crofters and cottars.

These changes had a pronounced effect on the culture and the population. Economic hardship and evictions prompted emigration, forced many men and women to seek seasonal work away from home, and led to a reduction in the marriage rate. Crofting which had already become part-time agriculture now was a spare-time pursuit. The Sgrìobhnach was dependent on money, on the wider economy, for the satisfaction of most of his needs. The croft was providing no more than a few potatoes for the table and some oats for the cattle, the crofter's only export. Still, no landless working force appeared. Portree had grown and there was a woolen mill, but there does not seem to have been any marked movement into the village by the crofters.

While much of what was meaningful to the people was being lost, the religious Revival continued. The conservatism of the "Men" became an official policy of a new church. The emotional approach of the ministers and the "Ken," who were now elders in the church, and the emotionalism of the large outdoor meetings functioned to restore the social disequilibrium. Although the extended family, township, and nuclear family suffered from instability, the people found intelligible roles within the religious sphere of activity. Their religion was reinforcing their way of life. The abhorrence of much of the old culture was accompanied by a strengthening of many traits which reaffirmed the desirable status values. The culture found a new focus in congregational religion and was able to maintain a continuity while the content changed.

In 1951 the population stood at 1,094. There has been a slight shift from the rural areas to the village, but it can hardly be regarded as significant. For one thing, the 1951 figure included an unknown number of workers on the hydro-electric scheme. Then, too, it included children from the Outer Isles who attend school in Portree, not to mention the very large number of newcomers, teachers, government employees, shopkeepers, management personnel in the stores and banks, and tradesmen, to give only a few examples.

The trend toward religious conservatism continued in the fourth period. During the closing years of the preceding period, the Free Church attempted to modify her theology and polity. The old trend toward relaxing the rigor of Presbyterianism, in accordance with the feelings of the other dissenting denominations in Scotland in order to pave the way for union, was renewed by the passing of a Declaratory Act which stated that the Free Church does not teach and does not regard the Confession of Faith as teaching the foreordination of men to death (eternal damnation) irrespective of their sin. Further, that while the Gospel is the ordinary means of salvation, it does not follow that all who die in infancy are lost. The elders, the lay kirk officers, of Skye protested violently.[88] It was popery to make the Church the judge of spiritual affairs. More important, it threatened their prestige status, which had been sanctioned by the interpretation of the religious ethic. In several parishes the elders threatened to withdraw from

[88] The Free Presbyterian Church, History of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1893-1933 (Glasgow: R. Ashead and Son, 1933), pp. 98-130.

Communion, and when they were backed by a few dissenting ministers, 175X
schism gave rise to the Free Presbyterian Church. The first 178X
congregation of the new church was a Skye congregation. 771 775 ● 775

In no small way the threatened disorganization of the 175X
culture and the suggested social disintegration at the end of 178X
the "Clearances" played a role in the acceptance of the Free 771
Presbyterian Church. This situation, I suggest, created a need 775
to reaffirm the religious sanction of the desirable features of the culture. Since the Church of Scotland minister in Waternish was jailed for inciting the crofters to stand up for their rights,[89] without adding any people to his congregation, the new schism must have been a reaffirmation of the religious focus for the culture.

The acceptance, however, was neither uniform nor immediate. There was, in fact, a religious and social upheaval.[90] In Glendale, a strong Free Church congregation split. Some joined the Church of Scotland, while others remained true to their sect. Although all the churches on the island are similar in outlook and to the uninvolved observer their differences are unimportant, doctrinal differences have remained important to the people. Nevertheless, the common tradition [127] of conservatism, standing in opposition to the increasing impingements of the outside world, has been the paramount factor in reinforcing the values of the people. I repeat, the culture has maintained continuity through religion.

[89] Norman MacLean, Set Free, pp. 52-54.

[90] Ibid., pp. 148-212.

people of the Island must have had a premonition of the calamity 175X
that was befalling them when they resisted the coming of 178X
Presbyterianism with all their might.[91] For him, the form 771
of religion which splits up communities, divides families, 775
and breaks villages into fragments can scarcely be regarded as Christian. Over the years, however, the battle has been won by one church or the other, as in Glendale where the Free Presbyterian Church is the only kirk, or the battle scars have been forgotten.

Unions of the churches replaced the former tendency toward disruption. In 1901 the Free Church joined the United Presbyterian Church, and in 1929 the United Free Church joined the Church of Scotland. On both occasions there were ministers who refused to become a part of either united church, and people who were reluctant to join new congregations. In Kilmuir, for example, the Free Church congregation split. Some joined the Church of Scotland, while others remained true to their sect. Although all the churches on the island are similar in outlook and to the uninvolved observer their differences are unimportant, doctrinal differences have remained important to the people. Nevertheless, the common tradition [127] of conservatism, standing in opposition to the increasing impingements of the outside world, has been the paramount factor in reinforcing the values of the people. I repeat, the culture has maintained continuity through religion.

[91] Ibid., p. 212.

545 to the aristocracy they are among the foremost citizens of 184 the nation, and two of the local gentry are included among the nation's peerage. Although I doubt if any of these land owners can validate a claim to being direct descendants of the clan chiefs or descendants of the cadets of the clans, several of them are related in one way or another to the central darkring of the old clans.

Occupying the highest status positions, the county families manifest many social and cultural expressions which distinguish them from the remainder of the population. The men are always given the distinction of a military title; they are major, colonel, or general. One can has not seen 545 military service, but he is given a rank anyhow. In indirect 184 speech their title often includes their residence or estate, 574 such as Col. Macleod Dalgrave or Mrs. Macleod Dalgrave. Behind their backs, they may be referred to by their first name, prefixed by the title, but never in direct speech.

546 Religiously, many tend to be Episcopal sympathisers, in 184 contrast to the staunchly Protestant crofters. The men all 574 attend the local kirk of the Church of Scotland and serve as elders of the kirk, but their outlook is quite different from that of their conservative tenants. One family is 546 Catholic. As would be expected, all are property owners. 184 This is not a question of socio-economic status as much as 424 one of social differentiation. The loss of large parts of their estates, under the pressure of debt contracted by their ancestors, has not reduced their prestige.

Founded in 1951 as a single sheet of 200 words it has grown 204
to sixteen pages. It has the distinction of being the only news magazine in Great Britain written in longhand. The 203
shopkeepers also pass along the local kon, as it is called. There is a common belief that the telephone operators are another source. I have known people to drive several miles to make a call from a box in another exchange district because they were sure the people of their neighborhood would have the news before they had hung up the receiver, if they made the call locally. The post office is also said to be a transmitter [27] in the bush telegraph; some say the post mistresses steam open [28] their letters. On shopping days in Portree the women carry home more than the week's groceries. Down at the square at night, they gather in small groups to transmit their tantalizing tidbits of news and, perhaps, scandal.

Two status groups are left out of the normal gossip 203
cycle. These are the county people and the ministers. The 554
former may get a bit of kon from time to time, but much of the 775 ●
local news passes without reaching them. The ministers' information is generally limited to questions of health, events in the life cycle, or cases of moral or religious backsliding on the part of their congregations. The degree to which the landed gentry participates in the verbal spread of news and rumor depends to a great extent on personal qualifications. There are one or two who have contacts through whom gossip carries across the lines of cleavage in the social hierarchy. Ministers are probably the least well informed of anybody on the happenings of everyday life. Once when asking a minister

a question about a certain man I was told: "I can't help you 203
on that. Whenever I go into a shop or meet them on the street, 554
they change their conversation." Another told me I should ask 775 ●
the doctor, "He's the one who really knows their problems."

Summary

The society of the Sràthbhanach reveals additional evidence 182
for cultural continuity. In family structure, both nuclear 576
and extended, the patrilineal emphasis has been preserved. Even though both suffer from chronic instability and the extended family has become rather amorphous, kinship remains an important regulator of interpersonal relationships. It involves obligations and privileges which few take lightly. Within the 182
social units based on territory, the township and neighborhood 541
status continues to be ascribed on the basis of age, sex, 554
and kinship. Women have remained socially inferior to the men. As the father controls his family, the old men of the township and neighborhood exercise a power over their juniors to force conformity to traditional ways. Fundamentally, all of the same age and sex are equals. This status equality underlies the entire social structure. There is no room for a leader. When essential, the newcomer, normally the teacher or minister, and the landed gentry are expected to assume the role of leadership. In the village the emphasis on ascribed status for the Sràthbhanach is also important. The majority of achieved statuses are left to be filled by newcomers. In the community, as a whole, beyond the polarity of the landed gentry and the

CHAPTER VII

THE ISLANDERS' RELIGION

Synopsis

The strength and vitality of religion on the Isle of 771
Skye, and all along the West Coast of Scotland, has been an 182
outstanding characteristic of the culture for well over a century. It is no less distinctive of the culture today than the crofting system and the socio-economic way of life which crofting embodies. Moreover, the religious patterns not only reflect a continuity of culture in themselves, but the religious aspect has provided the means by which the culture, as an integrated whole, has been able to maintain a genuine continuity. Here on the very fringe [795] ● of Western Europe in one of the few remaining outposts of the Gael, Calvinism, as interpreted by John Knox and Andrew Melville, as refined by the Scottish Covenanters, and as modified by the influence of the English Puritans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, stands as one of the few examples of marginal intensity in Western Civilization.

Until the nineteenth century religion was an indomitable acculturating influence. A new code of ethics, morals, and behavior was superimposed on the old. As the influence of the traditional leaders declined, the scope of the

contemporary scene. Assuming that few of my readers know any 129
more about the nature of the religion of the Sràthbhanach than 121
I did when my wife and I first set foot on Skye, I shall begin with a brief description of formal organization and theology.

Formal Organization and Theology

The Isle of Skye now has four independent Presbyterian 795
Churches, the Church of Scotland which is the official state church, the Free Church of Scotland, the Free Presbyterian Church, and the United Free Church. There are, in addition, a few Catholics, including the one family of the county people who worship by themselves and several government employees in Portree who meet together and hold services in a private chapel. There is also a fairly large number of Episcopals, consisting exclusively of county families and newcomers, who periodically receive a visit from a minister in Fort William but who otherwise attend the services held in the Church of Scotland.

The Presbyterian Churches differ from one another 779
in several fundamental details of their constitution, doctrine, 775
creed, and practice. All claim to be in historic continuity with the Church of Scotland which was reformed in 1560, the liberties of which were ratified in 1592 by the Scottish Parliament, and the security of which was recognized in the Treaty of 1707. All, except the United Free Church, hold to the principle of national recognition of religion,

deliverance from sin and worldly misery and entrance into a state of salvation were again offered to man. To become partakers of redemption, the Holy Spirit must work faith in man, uniting him to Christ in "Effectual Calling" which convinces him of his sin and misery, enlightens his mind, and renews his will. He who is "effectually called" partakes of justification, adoption, sanctification, and all their benefits. By justification man's sin is pardoned. By adoption man is received into the "elect" and has a right to all the privileges of Christ. By sanctification man is renewed after the image of God.

Man's duty is obedience to the revealed will of God as given in the Ten Commandments. No mere man, however, can keep them perfectly in word, thought, and deed. Every sin deserves the wrath and curse of God which can only be escaped by faith in Christ, repentence, and diligent use of the ordinances, especially the Word, sacraments, and prayer. These are made effective for salvation to the "elect" (and only the "elect"). The reading and, especially, the preaching of the Word is the effectual means of convincing and converting sinners. The sacraments of Baptism and Communion sensibly represent, seal, and apply the signs of Christ and the new covenant.

Baptism is administered to those within the visible church and their infants. The Lord's Supper is to be received only by the worthy, those who find up self-examination that they are worthy in their faith, repentance, love, and new obedience.

All the churches on Skye are organized in identical fashion on the local or parish level of church administration. According to the democratic principles outlined in the Bible and the Books of Discipline (1561 and 1578), the congregation alone decides who will serve as their spiritual leaders. It will be remembered that patronage was one of the causes for the church schism of 1843. The members call their minister and elect the elders, deacons, and in several churches, a precentor. The elders are the very pinnacle of the lay religious hierarchy. They are chosen from the "elect" to act as the guardians of the moral and religious behavior of the congregation and to lead the congregation in worship on certain occasions which we shall meet with later. The deacons are similarly chosen from the "elect" to look after the financial affairs of the kirk. The precentor is a chanter. He gives out the psalms the people sing line by line. No matter what the official position of the church, expressed by the General Assembly, Synod, or Presbytery--the higher religious courts--the local kirk session composed of the minister and his elders retains decisive power.

Erring members of the congregation are called before these guardians of the people's behavior for judgment and discipline. For the protection of the congregation, the Presbytery, composed of the minister and a selected elder from each church, examines and installs newly called ministers and has the power to censure any minister guilty of a spiritual or moral transgression or infringement of his duty to the

congregation.
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[4]Cf.,
Rhinehart an
Sociology of
p. 423; and

The Synod and, in the case of the Church of 795 794
the Free Church, the General Assembly do not
rfere in local administration. They can be called
ce the decisions of the Presbytery, but they are
iberative assemblies which meet once a year in
discuss over-all church policy. Again, as we
tempts of these higher bodies to impose their
ocal kirks have led to schism. Thus, since
al seat of control is vested in the kirk session,
orhood, the interpretations reflected in the
ous courts do not necessarily find expression
ns of religious behavior on Skye. Indeed, the
tland on Skye is more like the other sects than
s parent body elsewhere in Scotland, where it
moved toward a position similar to the Anglican
Presbyterian churches of the United States.
lved observer, the differences are insignificant
he essential similarities of the local churches.

The Role of Religion on Skye

of the hold of the ramifications of religion 121
articular, man as a member of a folk, peasant,
ntly rural community, religion tends to have a
nfluence on all significant phases of life.[4]

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e.g., Robert Lowie, Social Organization (New York: d Co., 1948), pp. 191-192; T. Lynn Smith, The Rural Life (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 282, 284.

121 Functioning in diverse ways, religion reinforces standards of behavior. As a suprasocial and cultural regulator of social life, it sanctions the way of life of a group and its basic social forces.[5] While the great world conscious religions have been influential in redirecting whole civilizations, their success has been largely due to an ability to function in harmony with local cultural conditions. The symbols and values they extend must be meaningful to the people.

121 Failure to protect certain values brought about the rejection
178 of Catholicism and the acceptance of Calvinism in Scotland.[6]
795 Continued sanctification of values no longer meaningful to the Sgiathanach cost the Church of Scotland its hold over
121 the people. The influence of religion, especially once it has ceased to work for change and has become conservative, as all organized religions are wont to do,[7] is expressed in terms of what particular traits it singles out for sanctioning and, conversely, what traits it refuses to sanction or places under taboo. Obviously, this is but a part of the primary function of religion, its role in bolstering group solidarity.[8]

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[5]Cf., e.g., Kroeber, loc. cit.; and MacIver, Society, p. 120.

[6]Notestein, The Scot in History, pp. 103-114.

[7]Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 405.

[8]Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 395-401.

the nearest kin carry the body from the house. The custom 764
is to carry the coffin until the procession is out of sight of the house. This may mean a few hundred yards or several miles. Once the body was carried all the way to the grave. One skeptic said this is why Skye has lost so many people, "Half of them died carrying the other half to the grave." In Portree the body is carried across the bridge on the far side of the town. All the mourners, except the women who remain at home, and the two nearest kin who walk before and after the coffin, are given an opportunity to carry. They continuously change positions with the carriers, stepping out at the head of the line by sixes and waiting for the coffin. Those who have carried fall in at the rear of the procession. When they [6a2
reach the graveyard, the original carriers, his nearest kin, remove the body from the hearse and lower it into the grave. At the grave the minister delivers a short lecture on the merit [79
of living in the nurture of God. Only the Church of Scotland [79
ministers offer an additional prayer for the family. The other sects believe a prayer at the grave is a prayer for the dead. Following the interment, the bereaved family provides the [273
mourners with a dram of whiskey. Does the minister take a [793
dram? I can only give the reader the answer I received after one funeral. One fellow said, "I guess nobody saw him take his drop, but if he didn't I'd be surprised." On the following day life returns to normal. The equilibrium of interaction has been restored.

pear in the parishes of Bracadale and Snizort. Bracadale
d already seen the beginnings of the final stage in commercial-
ation; Snizort had been sold piecemeal to new landlords.

Evangelical Presbyterianism created a new pattern of
cial and religious life on Skye. It gave the culture a new
cus to replace the dead clan system. Much of the form of
ligious worship and behavior characteristic of the Island
day was established during this Revival Movement. The "Men"
came the foremost members of the community. An esoteric
ligous hierarchy evolved. There were the unfortunate few
o were in a state of saving grace and acceptable at Com-
nion, and the eminent "Men," the aged, venerable spiritual
ity.[48]

The Revival, unlike many nativistic movements, neither
ld out the promise of cultural regeneration nor offered the
eam of prosperity. To the contrary, the attack against the
lk culture characteristic of the late seventeenth and early
ghteenth centuries was renewed with vigor. While religious
thusiasm grew, social life beyond a family level was restricted.
rhaps, the years of destitution and the ever present threat
famine had made hospitality a luxury which few could afford.
rhaps, it was no longer possible for the people to provide
iskey and food for large numbers at a funeral or a wedding.
e local ministers assert that the changes were due to the
tivities of the "Men." It would seem that the "Men" were

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[48]MacInnes, op. cit., p. 211.

6: Ducey	E-4,5	(1953-1954)	1956	ES10 Highland Skye	Scot ES10

agents for what have been called "rites of intensification."[49] They restored the equilibrium of interaction by creating new behavior patterns. This was probably particularly true during the famine, when the people's relatives and friends were dying and emigrating in large numbers. While the ceilidh, an evening of spinning folk tales, singing, and dancing, was condemned, and the children of parents who would not conform to the dictates of one minister and the "Men" were refused baptism, prayer meetings and other church services were providing emotional outlets.[50]

Like the Welsh,[51] the Skye crofters found the Bible retold much of their own past history and their present difficulties. As the "Men" preached from Scripture and interpreted the meaning, often using allegorical interpretations, of the Word, the people became familiar with a story which was strikingly similar to their own. The present social and economic conditions were but a presage of the coming dissolution. It was all there in the Old Testament, in the books of Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Psalms, and Prophets. The omen was all the more vivid because the transgressors in the Bible lived a life much like the crofters. Both the ancient peoples and the Skyemen had a pastoral economy, a patrilineal family structure,

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[49]Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), pp. 399-400.

[50]Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticane, Vol. VII, p. 166; and Norman MacLean, Set Free (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 14-15.

[51]Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

commonly referred to as the "Establishment." The main difference is the the Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church have rejected all Declaratory Acts which have interpreted the meaning of the Westminister Confession of Faith.

The Shorter Catechism, written in 1611, contains the basic religious tenets of all the Scottish churches. Since children are required to have a knowledge of the catechism by the age of eight, if only by rote, and a knowledge of the tenets is indispensible for the baptism of one's children and acceptance as a member of the church, we should be acquainted with them if we are to understand the religion.

Man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy him eternally. To achieve this, the directions given in the Old and New Testaments must be accepted as the infallible prescribed means for reproof, enlightenment, correction and instruction in righteousness.

"Foreordination" and "Effectual Calling" are the two guiding principles. God foreordained all that has come to pass. He preserves and governs His creatures, created in His own image, and their actions, but, on condition of perfect obedience, they have been granted freedom of will, by which they have sinned and fallen from their original state of grace. All mankind through the original sin lost communion with God and are under His wrath and curse. They are subjected to all the miseries of life and damnation.

Christ, the Redeemer, revealed the will of God for man's salvation. Everlasting life, a covenant of grace,

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people of the Free Church are "the Wee Frees." The Free 795
Presbyterians are the "Seceders" or, at least to some of
the gentry, the "Split P's." Arguing about religion is [576]
considered very bad taste. It is left to the ministers, 793
and they do have their points of difference. One Free 795
Presbyterian minister, for example, told me that no one in 798
the Church of Scotland, including the minister, was worthy
to receive Communion. On many occasions during the year
the ministers of the Free Church and Free Presbyterian
Church devote part of their sermon to a criticism of the
Church of Scotland, not to mention the avid hostility of all
Skyemen toward Catholics.

Adherents of the several sects intermarry with no qualms 582
and without suffering any loss of status. By the time a 795
person gets to be a member, marriage is no longer in his
mind. Husband and wife continue to adhere to their respective 593
denominations, those in which they were baptized. The children 795
naturally, are baptized and raised in the church of their [851]
father. Extended families are often divided religiously 596
along sectarian lines. In one family one brother and his 795
wife were Free Presbyterians, another brother and his wife
were Free Church, a sister was Church of Scotland. The
parents had been Free Church but became Free Presbyterians
at the turn of the Century. At least one cousin was United
Free Church. This religious schism did not affect their
affection for one another. Once a week the sister went to
have tea with her Free Church sister-in-law. Periodically

brothers and their wives came to visit, and at New Years 596 745
came by with their bottle of wine, whiskey being a man's [273] [562]
k, to toast the New Year.

Excepting Glendale, where church membership and af- 621
ation is synonymous with the neighborhood, the township 795 571
contain affiliates of two or three churches. One small
nship contains two Free Church families, two Free
byterian families, and one Church of Scotland family.
In any township, they visit one another and cooperate
handling the sheep flocks. Further, the Church of
tland family often gets out the truck on the Sabbath
drives everyone to Church. This is one of those isolated
nships far off the beaten track. Although I certainly
e that people who meet together at a church and pray
ether get to know each other better because of their
igious unity, in this township the families have come
know each other better because they go off to their
pective churches together. There is a firm, basic belief 795
ng the people that no one should be slighted, even by a 829 798
ister, because he has differing religious sympathies.
e this not so, think of the position in which I would have
nd myself. One Free Presbyterian family put it this way,
o can tell which church is the right one since they all
im to be on top of the pole? Maybe they all are and
ryone will get to his final resting place." The "all"
later qualified to exclude Catholics. One of the gentry
d me an amusing story on this point. One day during the

blitz of London he was talking with a crofter's wife, and they 795
got to discussing Hitler. "What a terrible man he is," she 829 798
said, "Why he's worse than...worse than...almost as bad as the
Pope." In another township there is a Church of Scotland 795
missionary, a lay preacher. His religious sectarianism does 797
not prevent his interacting with the Free Presbyterians,
who are in the majority. Not infrequently, he visits his
neighbors and when they need help on the croft he is prepared
to lend a hand. When he pays a call, he establishes the
tempo of interaction at mealtime or tea time by saying grace
and returning the thanks. This is part of the hospitality 574
of the Sgiathanach. The visitor is always asked to say 782
grace.

What is true of the township on Skye, is also partly 621
true of the neighborhood. Here the members and adherents of 794
the same church do get to know one another better because of
a common faith, or their particular interpretation of a faith
common to all. They see each other with greater regularity.
Then, too, since the congregations are small, they feel they
belong. At the same time, the patterns of interaction are
not exclusive, except in Glendale. The religious cliques are [476] [795]
mutual aid groups, doing what they can for the infirm and
destitute; they are not opposing factions. Nor does religious
homogeniety mean the absence of factions. Glendale has its
independents who are set against the disciples of the Department
of Agriculture. Anyone who knows Wales may be struck by this 795
difference, for in Wales the people are attached to a particular 171

chapel and its group.[16] On Skye the people can be as much
attached to the sect or their minister as the group. The
reason for this difference between Skye and Wales may be th
recency of the appearance of the several churches on Skye.
As presently constituted, all the churches were formed at
the turn of the century or later. The first Free Presbyter
congregation was formed in 1896. The present Free Church,
often called the Free Church (continuing), dates from 1900.
The Church of Scotland is the result of unions with the Fre
Church in 1900 and the United Church in 1929.

My assertion that attachment is to sect and minister
can be substantiated by two events, one in Portree and the
other in the neighborhood known as the Braes. In 1900 when
the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church united,
the Free Church minister in Portree led his congregation
over to the Church of Scotland in a body.[17] Only three poli
men's families, all of them newcomers, refused to follow
the minister. For 13 years there was no Free Church congre
gation. Our three families attended the Free Presbyterian
Church, until the minister at one Sabbath service held forth
on the shortcomings of the Free Church. They left and bega
holding services in the Court House. In time the congregat
grew. A missionary was appointed and later a minister.
More recently, a minister of the Free Presbyterian Church,
who was noted for a certain amount of leniency, such as

[16] Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, p. 115.

[17] For a similar change in Kilmuir, see Chapter IV.

allowing his flock to attend concerts, had a point of differ- 793
ence with the Synod and was removed. In the Braes which had 795
been as staunchly Free Presbyterian as Glendale, roughly 798
half of the congregation changed their adherence to the Free Church. The remainder have continued true to their own sect under a new minister.

There are numerous Free Presbyterian families far 795
beyond the reach of a minister. All they can hope for is an occasional visit, and there are no missionaries of this sect on the island. Although they attend services at the nearest kirk of the Free Church, doctrinal differences are still important enough in their minds to keep them within the folds of their sect. They were born in it and will die in it. Moreover, despite the lack of a minister in Glendale between 794
1908-1911, 1913-1920, and 1931-1933, the people are as staunch [793]
as ever. At such times one of the elders steps forward to 794
conduct services as he would during the temporary absence 888
of the minister. His ability to fill the role of a spiritual 554
leader fortifies his control and his prestige. This is true in Portree. The elder, even a newcomer, who stands in the pulpit is deeply respected. Identity with, and attachment [796]
to the denomination is maintained in the absence of a minister by visiting other churches at the Communion season and by the visits of a minister on the Sabbath and for annual Thanksgiving services following the harvest. So strong is [795]
the sectarianism of the Glendale crofters that the Church of Scotland minister for Duirinish is convinced that "Churchianity

rather than Christianity is the prevailing practice in Glendale." 795
This attachment to a sect is all the more significant in the [796]
crofting neighborhoods because there is not one iota of difference in the Gaelic services in any church. The difference is doctrinal.

In the neighborhood the affiliates of the same church 571
have been said to interact with their fellows more regularly 794
than with the remainder of the group. They come together on 795
the Sabbath for a regular service and on Wednesday night 796
for a prayer meeting. On the Sabbath they come as families, [593]
husband, wife and children and they sit together. Normally [562]
the sexes are segregated in public. Indeed, in the home [574]
men keep to one side of the fire and women to the other when there are callers. They also leave in family groups. Their interaction is spiritual. There are no gatherings outside the church either before or after the service to gossip, discuss the stock, or even comment on the weather. They will all know who was absent, but they will only greet their fellows with a slight nod. The Wednesday night prayer meeting is different. This is a group situation. Some come by bus and gossip on the way. Others get together before and after the service for a chat. At these prayer meetings [554]
the stature of the "elect" again emerges. They offer the [888]
prayers on behalf of the congregation. The prayers, it should [782]
be noted, are extempore. No form is followed. The basis for them are passages from Scripture and interpretations of the passages.

There is another aspect to the prayer meetings. They 796
re no longer held in the Church of Scotland in Portree. 795
e ministers of the other sects say this is an indication 774
the low degree of spiritual enlightenment among that 369
ngregation. Further, Wednesday night is picture night in
e village. The newcomers taunt the devout with, "off to
e pictures?"

It is at these Wednesday night meetings that the people 559
t to know one another. They participate in the worship 571
rough the eminent "Men," who in a society such as Skye 776
ers almost everybody is related on one side of the family 774
the other by some bond of consanguinity or affinity, are 605
e "people" or "friends" of the worshippers. This custom of
fering extempore prayers not only augments the prestige of
e "elect" but it intensifies the unity of the group and
kes them secure in the knowledge that they belong. This
eling of unity and the sense of belonging is further
engthened in some churches by setting aside a day of
tiliation. Services are held during which the congregation 782
a group beseech God for forgiveness for the poor spiritual
dition of the world. In their minds the God of this world
surely the Prince of Darkness.

But for the interaction of the members of the several 794
ts, the control of the "elect" would not be as strong as 795
is. The elders of one kirk cannot exercise any direct 626
trol over the adherents of another sect. Through what
ncy could they express their judicial and authoritarian

functions? Certainly not the kirk session. But since they 794
share a common tradition, which is reinforced by interaction 795
and mutual respect, the elders impose more or less common 626
standards. The norms are the by-product of the history of
Skye. If there was cleavage, might not the behavior of the
people begin to diverge? In Kilmuir there are three sects. 795
Two of them have churches. The Church of Scotland is in the 796
majority. The Free Presbyterians are a definite minority;
I think there is only one family of them. Although several
ministers of the Church of Scotland have begun to follow
the example of the national church elsewhere in Scotland and
celebrate Christmas, at least on an appropriate Sunday,
there is no Christmas in Kilmuir any more than there is in
Glenisle. The custom is said to be "popish." Naturally,
if the birth of Christ is not celebrated, his return cannot
be commemorated at Easter. All churches, on the other hand,
celebrate New Years, which is also the traditional time to
exchange gifts among members of the family. It is a time
of license. After midnight the people of the townships 796
practice "first footing." Until early in the morning, the 273
people make their rounds exchanging visits and toasting one
another and the New Year with whiskey, for the men, and wine,
for the women. The people of Kilmuir are noted for their 571
inter-relationships. "You have to watch what you say up 602
there," I was told, "they're all relatives and friends of
each other."

The situation in Portree for the Sgiathanach is much the same

is a sin but because of the excessive drinking and immorality 785
which might result from a promiscuous gathering. Organized 795
dances are, in general, not objectionable. Nevertheless, in 535
spite of the attitudes of the people to these secular activities,
the Church of Scotland crofter behaves in much the same way as
his neighbor who adheres to another sect. The elders of the 888
other sects have an influence over everyone in the neighborhood. 549
Every man must ask himself, "What will my neighbors say?"

The Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church people 785
condemn any and all social gatherings where songs, stories, 795
or other diversions are admitted. When people visit, they 571
are expected to remain circumspect in behavior. They may 574
discuss their problems and gossip about their neighbors or the
wicked newcomers. They may engage in cooperative or individual
work. They may eat together in the home. They may not engage 269
in such activities outside the home. Religion on Skye for
the majority has centered attention on the home. Let us look
at some of the activities which are condemned. There is the
Woman's Rural Institute, an organized woman's club dedicated
to stimulating home industries in rural areas and providing
educational programs, especially demonstrations and lectures
on domestic arts. One meeting, for example, at Uig, not far
from Kilmuir, was addressed by a school teacher on the subject
of Highland Folklore. He was followed by a knitting contest
and tea. Youth Clubs and Young Farmers Clubs do not exist,
except in Kilmuir where the Young Farmers Club is under the
Crofters' Club, and, of course, in Portree. Village halls
are dens of iniquity. While we were on Skye one was built

at Skeabost. A minister drove by one day and said to the 785
workmen, "Don't you know you're building a house for the Devil?" 795
One of the laborers, a Lowlander, replied, "It's a good thing
we have a place to keep him." The Order of the Eastern Star
and the Masons are condemned because, while they are religious,
they are secret orders. Even if the person's religion did not
stand in the way of his becoming a Mason, his distrust of
mystery probably would. As one young fellow said one night in
the bar when being chaffed about the Masons, "I'm not going
to join any secret organization until I know what the secret is."

Included among the objectionable activities by these two 785
churches are the traditional Highland Games, held each year 795
at Portree in August, probably about the time of the old Saint's 541
Fair. The day is a school holiday. Aside from New Years, it
is the big occasion of the year. People come in from all
over the Island. Few of the Skyemen actively take part in
the contests of tossing the caber and throwing the stone, or
in the piping and dancing competitions, but they look forward
to the event. It gives them an opportunity to see their 571
"friends" and join them in the pub for a dram. Although the 743
ministers disapprove, they lack the backing of the "elect," so
the games go on each year. I hasten to add that they have
lost much of their appeal in recent years, but I am told that
this is due to the fact that the clique who runs the Skye
Council of Social Service has, in an effort to attract tourists
early in the season, set up Skye Week in May. Included in
the Skye Week program are Highland Games. I might also add

that the people of Skye, including many of the newcomers, 785
have not been favorably impressed by Skye Week. The consensus 795
is that it is not representative of Skye. For the Sgiathanach 541
the Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and
similar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree. 369
Here the members and the adherents of the Church of Scotland 776
partake of a number of recreational activities. In the winter 53
there is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer 324
there is a little golf and tennis. The limitations are not
religious; they are climatic. Then, too, there is shinty.
We have already noted the existence of many clubs. There are 535
regular dances. Moving pictures take place twice a week. 546
All of these activities are run by newcomers; the Skyemen have 147
a more or less passive role. The "elect" of the two smaller 795
sects are, to say the least, very much disturbed by these 794
frivolities. What is worse, the children attend the dances 626
and the concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find 853
enough solidarity among those of their own age grade to out- 52
weigh the threats of their elders. Apparently they find
enough security to be unaffected by the stern denunciations of
the minister from the pulpit. When they marry, however, they 794
have to recast the pattern of their behavior, for now the 795
elders are in a position to exercise control by withholding 626
baptism from their children. Some may turn to the Church of
Scotland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glenisle the 888
control by the aged is complete. There is not a single activity 783
that 549

that the clan ceased to provide a focus for the culture almost 178
two centuries ago, the reader may ask how can a culture without 182
a focus find continuity, how can a culture without a central 614
theme, something around which to orient itself, achieve integration? Religion provides the answer. Congregational religion 776
has taken the place of the clan.

The acceptance of the new religious focus curtailed 178
many traits and complexes characteristic of the old culture. 182
This is why the older folktales, songs and superstitions, the 771
festive celebrations held at times of birth, baptism, marriage,
and death, the traditional social patterns of visiting, and
all frivolous activities were abandoned or modified. In a
time of acute distress the Sgiathanach turned to religion
as a means of consolation. His religion required circumspect
behavior. Perhaps, the sheer impossibility of supporting the
traditional forms of social interaction had forced a change in
cultural content when the religious leaders placed these forms
under censure. I have suggested that religion did no more than
sanction poverty. This much is certain: religion provided the
means for the culture to maintain its continued distinctiveness.
The Scots of the Presbyterian image of the days of Knox, of 795
the times of the Covenanters, and the year of the Glorious
Revolution continue to exert their influence on the Sgiathanach.
While the ministers and the venerable old men of the laity
stamped out all practices which they considered pagan or
Catholic, as well as modifying the social aspect of the culture,
the process was not completely negative. The religious expression

including almost all with private flocks, the crofters continue 178
to cooperate. The church has been broken by schism, not once 182
but four times. On Skye, however, the schisms have had as 785
their purpose conservatism, not greater leniency as in Hillton.
Moreover, the schisms have been solidifying factors. The
progressively more dynamic world denying sects, after a period
of communal strife, have given the people an emotional unity.
The crofters have become dependent on the cross-center village 182
and the wider national markets. Many must seek employment beyond
the Island. The interests of the Sgiathanach are not outside
the neighborhood, except in so far as events from the outside
affect them and, especially, to the extent that ties of kinship
and religious brotherhood reach beyond the local group. We
are hardly talking about the same situation as Homans. As we
continue to explore this condition we may also ask has there
been a decline in the frequency of interaction in the internal
sphere of activity?

The old ceilidh has disappeared under clerical ban, but 182
it has been replaced by "going to have a crack," going to visit 571
and gossip with one's friends and "people." The people may 778
no longer gather to hear the old men tell stories of clan battles.
They now discuss the latest local gossip and the news of the
outside world. The Islander has never been given to formal 675
social organizations; they half distrust such orders as the
Masons and Eastern Star. Still there are chapters of both in
Portree. In the crofting neighborhoods face to face relation-
ships continue to preserve strong interpersonal sentiments. The 243
postman's van and the grocer's trucks have relieved the people

maintain their position by intermarriage, by educating their 182
children in England, and by interacting with people of similar 539
status within the community and beyond. 545

The crofters continue to stand at the opposite pole. They
seldom achieve status within their neighborhood. Upward mobility
is possible only through outward mobility. Leadership fails
to find expression among them in the township or the neighbor-
hood. The rare exception is the crofter's son who becomes a [145]
minister and returns to lead his people spiritually. Women the [79]
crofters must select a leader, from their own number, the
status is accorded to an elder of the church. The elder [79]
already has high status because of his advanced age and his
position in the kirk. As I have said, the continued operation
of primitive democracy means a minimum of authority and a
maximum of equality.

The intermediate group in the social hierarchy cannot be 182
profitably used in this discussion. They are primarily newcomers 539
people from the Lowlands or England, who have joined with the 545
relatively few Skyemen who have left the croft. Sufficient time 147
has not elapsed for a class oriented structure to emerge. Then,
too, they are not a numerous group. Still, status is important
in the village. As in the crofting neighborhood, ministers,
doctors, and teachers achieve high status through their occupation.
For the remainder of the population of Portree, status depends
more on personal qualities and outside activities, especially
in the kirk, than on the way one may make his living.

While we are on the topic of status and ranking, let us 121
554

796

796 ORGANIZED CEREMONIAL--systematization of religious ritual; ceremonial calendar (e.g., fixed and movable religious holidays, rest days, and festivals); detailed description of the ceremonies regularly associated with each (e.g., participants, ceremonial attire and paraphernalia, prescribed succession of rites, accompanying music and dancing, symbolism); church and temple services; religious dramas and spectacles; notions of propitious and unlucky days for ceremonies, etc. See also:

Agricultural ceremonies	24	Spectacles	541
Music, dancing, and drama	52	Weddings	580
War ceremonies	72	Installation of chiefs and kings	643
Specific cult practices	78	Shamanistic performances	755
Annual cycle of economic activities	81	Mortuary ceremonies	784
Household ceremonies	342	Calendar	805
Leisure-time activities	417	Rites of passage	88, 581, 890
Secular holidays, rest days, and festivals	527		

293 village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter
[154] 6). Drinking situations provide an important opportunity
for relatively uninhibited expression by males, and will
be discussed further in Chapter 6.

509 The role of clown or "character" is well developed
154 in Hebridean townships. In an environment which encourages
154 quietly watchful and somewhat anxious, conformist behavior,
the character is rude, raucous and outrageous, a bite of
fire in cold waters. He represents a reversal of normal
behavior. The villagers shake their heads, agree that he
is impossible, but encourage him to continue, urge him on
when he flags, and bring up his escapades for discussion
during moments of boredom. There are usually several such
characters in a village.

154 Reversal of low-profile and other "normal" behavior
154 is also allowed on particular occasions such as New Year's,
this time among all villagers. In the days of horses and
520 carts, boys went around the village on New Year's night
[385] stealing carts and hiding them on the moor or down by the
shore; today they steal gates. Between Christmas and
594 New Year's, groups of boys visit houses in their neighbor-
431 hood, collecting tea, sugar, biscuits, or money to be used
for a party in one of the houses. Such boys are called
• 796 balaich na bannagan, or boys of the bannag. In some
431 Gaelic-speaking areas, bannag refers to a gift that is
184

• 796 given at Christmas; in Lewis, Christmas is identified
431 with Catholicism, and is an insignificant event in
184 comparison with New Year. To give two examples, a New
527 Year's dance is given, but not a Christmas dance; and
796 the mills continue working on Christmas if it occurs
184 on a week day, but close for at least two days at New
Year's. In Shawbost, bannag is defined as a party
associated with Hogmanay (New Year's eve).

527 In the recent past, until about ten years ago,
292 the boys dressed in women's clothes or wore masks. They
178 took turns wearing a cow's skin as they went from house
to house. In each house, the boy wearing the skin was
[539] hit by the others as he chanted the rann na bannag (rhyme
of the bannag):

Here I come again renewing Christmas.
(Or, in another version: This is the New Year's night.)
I'll take the bread without the butter,
And the butter without the bread,
And the cheese by itself.
Then we won't be empty-handed.
One thing I refuse is a mangy potato.
It gives a heavy feeling.
It's not healthy.
If you don't give me my bit of butter and my lump of cheese,
Everything you possess will be gotten by the crows on St. Patrick's Day.

527 As the balaich na bannagan left the house in which
43 they had received gifts, they blessed it. All food and
170 money was given to the woman who prepared the bannag.
[788]

Today children tend to receive money more often than
food, and use some of the money to buy sweets at the post

293 out and celebrate. There's no other way to express
501 myself."
126
154

"Now that Ruaridh has stopped drinking, he's not very interesting to talk to. He's very dull these days. He doesn't say a thing."

293 During the Communions, a sense of excitement and
501 holiday permeates the village. Among the converted
501 members of the Free Church, this feeling is expressed in
794 vigorous participation in long church services and meetings
• 796 in the homes of the converted. In the rest of the village,
the unconverted men don their best suits and head for the
hotel, or the bothan opens earlier in the week than usual.
All special occasions such as funk days or the arrival
of relatives generate excitement, which is most often
expressed, among the unconverted men, by drinking.

293 A man may propose to a woman, and the next day "forget"
501 this rash action with impunity. When a man has been
[584] drinking, he is more likely than on other occasions to
be openly affectionate to a woman, or to express strong
feelings of friendship to his fellows. "It's the only
time when you're really happy. You can sing, tell your
life story. It's the only time when people are really
friendly. But it's a false friendship, because when you
meet someone the next day, he's not the same person. He's
distant, cold. You feel depressed. You want to recreate
the situation, so you start drinking again."

794 2. The Township as Religious Network: The religious
621 sphere has two distinguishable social networks, one of
which coincides in personnel with the village network.
Most households within the village feel obligated to
"make an appearance" during at least one of the two
• 796 Sunday services. Most children are sent to Sunday school,
851 and all are baptised. In baptism, fathers stand with the
children, promise to raise them in the church, and to set
a good example for them. Baptism must precede Communion,
the ceremony by which a person becomes a full member of
the church. Baptism signifies membership in the community,
the village-qua-congregation. "Somehow you're not really
legal until you've been baptised." Some feel that the
child's soul may be endangered if he should die without
baptism, although this idea is discouraged by the church.
[199] According to the Calvinistic ideas of predestination, the
fate of one's soul has already been decided.

796 The pressure to have children baptised enables the
85 village-as-congregation to exert social control over deviant
626 individuals. If a child is conceived out of wedlock, the
848 parents of the child (if they have gotten married) or the
unwed mother alone must stand in front of the congregation
and be lectured by the minister before the child may be
baptised. A woman who has married a man known not to be
the father of her child must also stand by herself. A

• 796 miscarriage occurring before marriage also requires
851 standing even when the child to be baptised was conceive
626 by the couple after marriage. A married man who has
848 impregnated a woman who is not his wife must undergo
[837] this ordeal before he can have his own children baptise

It is the responsibility of the entire community t
ensure that this punishment is carried out. On one occ
the minister forgot to lecture a couple, and afterwards
sent them a note that they would not have to stand; bu
they insisted, afraid that people would say that they
were getting special treatment.

According to one minister, the manse is a kind of
[208] "research center" to which all gossip is reported. Sou
[521] ministers use this information in the pulpit, chiding
[794] people and calling attention to wrong-doings in front
the congregation. In contrast, a different attitude e
[184] in parts of Stornoway, where villagers have approached
[759] doctors in the maternity ward for information regardin
miscarriages and premarital births only to be told tha
this information is confidential. The ordeal of stand
[178] in church does not exist in Stornoway. In 1971 a pers
in Shawbost was accidentally exempted from this ordeal
and his exemption was seen by some as providing an
opportunity to stop what is considered by many to be a
archaic custom.

In many homes breakfast is followed by family worship. 593
father begins with a blessing, a prayer on behalf of his 764
ly, and then leads the family in the singing of a few 782
es of psalm. Next he reads from Scripture, apologizing 788
he visitor because his Bible is not an English version, [512]
comments on the meaning of the passage. He concludes with
ayer. If the morning worship has been omitted, he holds [512]
vening service. Some crofters have family worship both
ing and night. When the father is away, his wife or his
st son conducts the worship. Religious devotion on Skye, [771]
, is more than Sabbath church attendance and attendance
eekly prayer meetings.

The Role of Religion in Township, Neighborhood, and Village

I did not attempt to devise a socio-metric scale to 795
rmine the affiliation of members and adherents of the
ral churches in either Glendale, Kilmuir or Portree. The
er disunity and conflicts which divided families, both
ear and consanguineal, townships, neighborhoods, and the
age stemmed from abandonment of traditional religious
liation rather than from attachment to an established sect
h happened to differ from the denomination of one's kinsman
eighbor. Today sectarian hostility is no longer prevalent
g the people. The Sgiathanach only chaffs his neighbor
riendly sally and repartee, about his only slightly different
arian views. They refer to each other's sect by nicknames.
Church of Scotland is the "Established Church." The

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

796 into tiny squares. The ministers and the elders partake
794 first. A final hymn is full of rejoicing, and the minister then exhorts the communicants to return to the world and give witness and to live exemplary lives.

The evening service on Sunday is evangelical, intended for non-believers. After this service the communicants conduct a brief prayer meeting to give thanks.

[829] On Monday, the minister again tells the communicants to go out into the world and declare publically their experiences of the preceding day; and to demonstrate in everything they do and say that they are believers. In
[178] the past, only a morning service was given, as most people
[484] had a long journey ahead of them to return home; but now that cars are available, a similar evening service is also conducted.

781 5. The Process of Conversion: The process of conversion
794 may be slow or sudden, but conversion is most common at
796 middle age and among women. One informant wryly observed,
[561] "Only recently women were allowed to have souls. But
[562] from the looks of the Communion table, mostly women are going to heaven." Many of the women taking Communion are
[589] dressed from head to foot in black, a color which indicates
[622] their widowed status.

781 The first sign that a person is "following" (leanntail)
794 the church is that he begins to attend the weekly prayer

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

CHAPTER VII

THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

771 As in every form of religion rooted in communal life,
[221] the sacraments and prayers of the Gael were linked
[796] to labour and to the phases of life's cycle. While some of the 'runes' or prayers were essentially personal and others were breathed only in the closest intimacy, many were shared by a group of families: the tried team of the men or women of a joint farm, the people of a
[621] neighbourhood and township or wider group. The communities being so small and isolated, their members depended greatly upon themselves and upon one another.
[794] As in worship in common, so in healing of body or spirit and in the invocation of grace upon youth, now one, now another might lead in praise and prayer. So, too, the leader of a little team would lead in the dedication of their work, and, when it was completed, be 'the consecrator' of its fruit.

771 Where no clergy were at hand, neighbours, perforce,
794 practised the saying of one they called their 'foster-brother': that if no more than "two of you agree on earth about anything you pray for, it will be done for you by my Father in heaven. For where two or three have gathered in my name, I am there among them" (Matt.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

771 a night of black mistiness . . . he waded nearly breast-
539 high" through the dangerous South Ford of Benbecula, "conscious only of the roll and the singing of waters and the rhythm of a poem he had taken down a few hours before"—"The Invocation of the Graces", so nearly lost with him! Much that Carmichael learned was given him under a seal of confidence he never broke, although he mourned the loss this meant. The confidence he inspired—which even those who knew him only in their childhood remember for life—was a source of his quiet, unfailing power.

796 The following begins with the runes and rites of labour,
794 throughout the day, week and year, on land and sea and at home. Turning to the day of rest and to congregational
[221] worship, one must enquire as to the presence of the clergy, and question closely how far the people had access to the Bible throughout the centuries: were they really cut off from its riches, from its essence, as the Reformers and the Evangelicals of last century asserted with such vehemence? One can then turn to the runes and rites which opened the phases of life, from birth to maturity, marriage and parenthood, leading at last to life's close.

128 But no social inheritance is without its burden. Having
181 told of the foundations of faith, something must be said
771 in the next chapter of the negative or superstitious side of Island belief, of temptations and evils which the people could face, and of others to which they submitted in
[121] ignorance. From the evidence of faith and wisdom, or error, one must attempt some evaluation of attainment by single souls and by the community, and of the power and fullness of life in common.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

782 The care of cattle was accompanied by prayer. As an
235 Eriskay housewife said to me, she would never leave her cow tethered without a murmured, "Saint Columba be herding you" (*Buachaille a'Chaluim-cille ort*). The curing of animal sickness, as of human ailments, was accompanied by prayers. And prayer was used to avert the evil eye, symbol of suspicions born of unreasoning fear which, psychologists tell us, beset the modern but little less than the ancient! The thought or act of prayer which links a man to his fellow-men links him to the dumb beasts. "The man who is merciful to a soul will not be merciless to a brute" (*Am fear a bhitheas trocaireach ri anam, cha bhith e mithrocaireach ri bhruid*).

796 Throughout Christendom each task of the annual
171 rhythm was marked, at its start and close, by a day of
779 seasonal festival (*Lá Feill*). These Christian festivals replaced earlier celebrations and continued some of their features, often in play. Yet concerted seasonal activities could not be related to the supreme festival of the Christian Church, Easter, owing to its movable date. This is one reason for the great importance of other, fixed Festivals to
[114] rural community life. This point, not always appreciated by latter-day individualism, is made clear by M. M. Banks in describing *British Calendar Customs*, vol. i, *Scotland*
195 (1937). Remembering that the Old Style Calendar dates
198 were ten days later than the New Style (when officially adopted in Scotland in 1600), they may be compared with
796 the annual rhythm of climate and labour (Fig. 9). Until 1600, the New Year began in spring on 25th March. After the Reformation and the abolition of Christmas or Noel, *Nollaig*, New Year's Day on 1st January took its place as the day which, in the Protestant Highlands and Lowlands, still keeps alive some of the old friendly visiting and

195 'first-footing'. In the past the lads came in bands singing
796 carols, and once admitted—refusal of hospitality being out
198 of the question—any misunderstandings and quarrels of the past year had to be forgiven and forgotten. With individual visits this is no longer possible, for though these maintain friendship, they cannot easily and naturally heal a quarrel.

195 From Lewis three fine carols once sung by youths are
796 recorded, of which the fidelity of Carmichael's translation goes far to render both sense and feeling (Nos. 55-57).[1]
533 In Ness I have sought in vain for the old melodies from
[127] the descendants of Angus Gunn. Born about 1800, Gunn had lived for many years as a shepherd on the islet of North Rona, unreached by the burning zeal of the Evangelists, so that his traditional piety survived. Could they be found, these melodies would enrich the remnant of authentic Christian lore in Britain, for even the well-known English carols are mostly of modern reconstruction.

The first Christmas Hail opens, "*Ho Ri*, Hail to the King, Blessed is He. . . . Blessed be the house and all therein. . . . Lasting . . . and healthy round the hearth be ye. . . ." It goes on, "This night is the eve of the great Nativity, the great Noel [*Nochd oidhche Nollaige moire* . . .]; Born is the Son. . . ." It closes, "Shone the mountains . . . earth, and land, Heard was the wave upon the strand. . . . Blessed be the King . . . to all ages, to all time." A fragment from Tolsta, Lewis, sung by boys on New Year's Eve as they begged for a Noel bannock from house to house, latterly began and ended with playful nonsense, yet it retained its traditional climax: "[On the first day of the New Year] I saw the Threesome [The Trinity] going to the shore. The land shone, the
[113]

[1] No. 59 is set to an Eriskay chant in *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i, p. 159.

175 earth shone, The wave shone on the shore; The deer of
• 796 the mountain steep shone. . . ."[1]

533 "The Christ Child's Lullaby" is a lovely carol narrat-
175 ing the Christmas tale. Legend tells that it was sung by
796 'Mary-Mother' herself to an unwanted stepchild lost on
533 the moors, where his stepmother found him in the arms
773 of Mary, who sang as she lulled him. The stepmother cherished this song with the lost child, henceforth loved as her own.[2] The poetry of the Gael, like the odes of Greece and the Psalms of the Hebrews, is luminous with the vision of mountains, land and sea, reflecting a light within that of sun or moon, and sonorous with the rhythm of wave, tide and season which are "of all ages and to all time,
[181] *gach linn gu brath*". Its adoration is full of nature and of humanity, yet it soars above mere nature worship or anthropomorphism.

175 While Christmas, more than any, was a festival of
796 leisure, others were closely linked to labour. The festival dates of Candlemas or Lent, of Saint Bride's, Saint Patrick's or Lady Day, marked the stages of spring's coming and the duties they brought. Summer came in at Beltane—held in May, though the word included other dates connected with spring fire; and on St. John's Day

113 [1] Donald Macdonald, M.A., MS. essay for the Royal Scot. Geog. Society.

[2] A short version is published in the *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. A translator may choose from its 29 stanzas—though all are true to the Gospel and worth translation. Of the simple choral variant of the air (as published) Fr. Allan Macdonald told Miss Amy Murray his grief that it had superseded the melodic variety given to the Lullaby when sung by one singer at a time (*Celtic Review*, 1905-6). From three variants noted from oral singing one can arrange a melodic sequence. To pass from a major variant (set to stanzas on Jesus's mother, the shepherds and the 'kings') to minor variants (set to the tale of Herod's evil deeds) restores much of the dramatic intensity of this noble carol. Only deep feeling for the Gospels could create and maintain, without written help, so full a version of the words and variety of associated melody. (The complete words, *Taladh Chriosta*, are in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, p. 7.)

175 at midsummer came joyous departure to the shielings.
• 796 Michaelmas at the end of September was a festival of horsemanship, when the ponies, rested and well fed, could race madly along the machar. As long nights brought in the winter, Hallowe'en came on 31st October, and on the morrow the solemnity of All Hallows (*Samhain*). On 11th November came St. Martin's Day, and in December Christmas once again.

175 When the Islesmen put out to sea, prayers were chanted
787 to Father, Son and Holy Spirit and to the Disciples, "the Fishers of Men". While some of these might be individual (*Carmina*, Nos. 117-120), others were chanted by the skipper at the helm, as celebrant, the crew giving the
[178] responses (No. 121). As self-sustained community life
[779] weakened and customs were endangered, this prayer was encouraged by a few clergy, Catholic and Protestant. At
175 the start of the season's fishing in Eriskay, Fr. Allan
226 Macdonald went out in the boats and chanted a rune taught to him by elders, the men responding.[1] One of the 'Ocean
788 Blessings' or prayers recorded by Carmichael (No. 119) is found in Bishop Carswell's *Liturgy in Gaelic*, of 1569, and is quoted by Martin as "a form of prayer used by many of the islanders at sea after the sails are set".[2] Most of Carswell's *Liturgy* was translated from that of John Knox, but not this prayer, of which the earlier and later-recorded version are the same, except for one revealing difference.

[178] [1] In so doing, 'Father Allan' may have been restoring a pious service of an older school of Gaelic priests trained upon the College of Lismore, an island in Loch Linnhe. Lismore was the birthplace of Carmichael, and in the home of his Protestant parents the young priests were hospitably received.

[2] *Foirm nan Urnaighthe* (ed. M'Lauchlan), 240, and Martin, 1703 (edition of 1934, pp. 186-189). A new text of Carswell is in preparation by the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society.

538 versions to suggest the significant poetic form of the original.

788 "The Clipping Blessing", being addressed to creatures,
236 is simple in thought and form, and its opening may be rendered:

O come back woolly, though now you're shorn,
By May, may each a lamb have borne,
May lovely Bride you endow,
And Mary fair sustain you now!

[825] It goes on to beg protection from wolf and bear, as well
[538] as fox, hoodie crow and eagle, and closes with the opening couplet.

236 From start to finish the work must be true. The wool
461 is from the sheep they reared—it is not got by 'thigging', as a landlord takes 'gifts' from poor tenants; the yarn is sound with no odds of thread from worn-out cloth; the web is their very own, not the clergyman's due (*Carmina*,
786 110, 113, 109). Only so can the goodwife's web be beauti-
788 ful, and blest. "Thrums nor odds of thread, my hand
[539] never kept nor shall keep. Every hue in the bow-of-the-shower has gone through my fingers beneath the cross."
[593] The weaver, with her household cares and her bairns about her, to be clear in mind must be calm in heart as, thread by
• [796] thread, she prepares her warp. To start, she chooses Saint Columba's Day.

[539]

Thursday of blessings
For warping and waulking,
Thrice fifty strands
To number . . .

Ward away the evil eye!
Or evil will, or aught awry,
Consecrate, O Lord on High,
My Loom . . .

175 in whose 'image' mankind was made. As for the number
779 ten, it was simply restored by subdividing the Tenth
788 Commandment into two parts! Thus the letter of the Mosaic Law, be it frankly admitted, is modified! There are also extensions of certain Commandments. Yet, recalling Jesus's insistence upon the unspoken thought which prompts man's conduct, one may feel that the blunt Seventh Commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery", is strengthened by the form of its paraphrase: "Avoid *all thought, or wish*, or deed immoral (*mi-bheusach*, immodest or vicious)". The Sixth becomes, "Commit no murder *nor sin of wrath*". And the paraphrase of the Fourth, rendered as "Keep the Lord's Day *and each festival*", completes the Commandment as it was obeyed by Jesus and His friends at the Passover, and by Celts and Romans at Easter. The memories of the people were impregnated with abiding truths from the Old Testament, and still more with the teaching and spirit of the Gospels.

175 All this was incorporated in their lives. As each
771 symbol of nature was truer to Gaelic worshippers because it was not borrowed but experienced, so their interpretation of the story of the Son of Man was the truer because they looked for Him among themselves. Spiritual fears are imaged from bodily perils they knew in the 'Rough-bounds' and at sea; and spiritual ignorance is seen as a peat bog's 'black morass', not as a waterless desert beyond Jordan or the Dead Sea. Comfort is rarely suggested by the biblical 'shade from heat', but rather by the sun's
• [796] mild healing rays'. When Christmastide, Old Style, brought lengthening days and mantled the Bens with snow, the glow upon their summits in earlier dawns told the
[796] Islesmen that the Light of the World was born again. In their thought Jesus shared their communal life with His

771 as the days lengthened during Christmastide, old style,
538 it may be called "The Rune of the World's Light".
788

The world, ere came the Son of God,
was black, a bog forlorn:
539 Void of sun, moon or star,
void of body, heart or form.

'Twas Mary Mother lowly kneeled,
and gave the Inmost Being birth;
Darkness and tears were driven afar,
the guiding star rose over earth.

Light on the land, the deep illumed
from sullen pool to ocean stream;
Grief was laid and joy was raised,
with praise and hail and harping free.

Light on the hills, light on the plains,
light o'er grey-green sea and firth;
Light o'er all the world as one,
the hour God's Son came down to earth.

(D) THE CYCLE OF LIFE

• 796 The stages in life's sequence are marked by noble
852 runes, of baptism, initiation in adolescence, betrothal and
88 marriage, childbirth, and of confession and consolation in
584 trials throughout life and, at its close, of farewell. As might be fitting, the benedictions were given by either man or woman: to a child by a parent or elder; to the young and strong by the wise; and by lovers to one another. And in the past, especially in trial, the 'soul-friend' ministered —*an anam-chara*, a neighbour chosen from lifelong friendships for steadfastness and understanding.

852 At birth a babe was baptized; and in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit the nurse placed three drops

796 794 829 in behavior is noticed long before the person takes Communion. Some persons may never take Communion, even though they are generally known as "good living."

A person who shows signs of being "good living" (converted) is carefully watched by all villagers, but especially by the clique of the converted whose strict standards he must satisfy before he is able to gain admission.

A communicant who gets drunk or in other ways falls from grace is not allowed to take Communion again until he goes before the kirk session and attests that his ways have been mended.

796 794 [782] Thursday, the first day of the Communions, is " a day of humiliation and prayer." Friday is Latha na Ceist, the day of questions or catechism, sometimes called "fellowship day" or "men's day." A passage is read from the Bible, which different elders must discuss in the light of their experiences of conversion. The day is also called a day of marks and signs. The elders who speak as a part of the day's rites are from congregations outside the village, which is regarded as "a matter of courtesy, and to bring in new ideas." They are called on by the minister and stand to give testimony or "fellowship," sharing their experiences of conversion with the assembly. These attestations are also spoken of as giving "tokens"

796 794 [829] which signify that they are believers and differentiate them from the non-believers. "Some people may think they're ready to take Communion, but listening to these people helps them to see if they really are. Often their daily actions give the lie to their intentions, and they realize this and decide to wait a while longer." The sermon is propitiatory and includes psalms on such subjects as "Blessed are they that see the light."

After this service, the minister announces that the kirk session is prepared to interview new persons who would like to take Communion. From Friday until Saturday night, individuals "give witness" before the session. After an individual has described his experiences of conversion and has been catechized, he leaves the room and his case is discussed. The elders bring up any items of behavior that would cast doubt on his testimony. Questions about his moral behavior might include, "Has he taken a drink lately? Has he been seen in a dance hall? Is his behavior sufficiently circumspect?" The person is then called back and told the decision of the session by the minister. Occasionally someone is rejected.

Saturday is the day of preparation, the day on which those planning to take Communion are called upon to look at themselves carefully, inspect their faith, and prepare themselves to go to the Lord's table. After the morning

796 794 service, believers remain in the church where they receive tokens given to them by the elder of their street. These are pieces of metal on which is printed the name of the church and village, and a verse from Corinthians, "Do this in remembrance of me." Communicants planning to take Communion in other villages take with them tokens which they have received from their own minister, or ask the local minister for one.

The Communion Services begin on Sunday morning at about 11:30. Persons not taking Communion sit in the back of the church or in the balcony. Communicants give their tokens to the elders who stand in the aisles, and are allowed to sit in seats in the front section of the church, which are marked off from the other seats by white tableclothes. The service lasts for three to four hours. Many communicants also spend a half hour to an hour in informal prayer before the ministers arrive to begin the [178] [184] service. In the past, a prayer meeting was also held at 8:00 in the morning, a custom still practiced in some places, such as the island of Scalpay.

Sunday is the only day of Communion on which standardized selections of Biblical verses are spoken and psalms are sung. On other days the ministers are allowed wide variation in the contents of their services. On Sunday, Psalm 22 is followed by the reading of Isaiah 53, and

796 794 and then by Psalm 69, all of which emphasize the suffering of Christ. The sermon which follows may be based on any text; its intent is to strengthen the believers. It is followed by Psalm 118. The minister then announces that the most sacred part of the day's service will follow, the "fencing of the table" (cuir garadh mu'n a Bhord). He reads from Galatians V, in which those of the flesh [829] are separated from those of the spirit. Those who wish to take Communion are exhorted to leave everything behind, including husbands, wives, parents and children who are non-believers, if they wish to partake of the fruits of the spirit. One man is said to have become converted when he saw his wife going to take Communion for the first time.

Psalm 103, a psalm of blessing, is then sung. Until five years ago, communicants sat with the rest of the congregation and rose to "come to the table" (those seats marked off by white tablecloths or sheets) for different "sittings," as the congregation sang the psalms of blessing.

The minister then asks the elders to bring in "the elements" of wine and bread. The wine is carried in silver pitchers (which are refilled from bottles kept in a trunk beside the pulpit by an elder who turns his back to the congregation while doing this task), and poured into silver wine goblets which are passed down the rows of communicants along with plates filled with bread cut

175 ing was lacking, and the minister of the parish remained
791 in the Establishment, the popular movement inclined
793 unanimously towards the cause of the suffering and protesting Church of Scotland, with the exception of a small handful of people in Stornoway."

794 The part of elder folk in religious life continued to be
796 important, but in new ways. Masculine influence now dominated the family and the congregation. The 'Men' in
178 the Highlands were Elders of the Church who often spoke as lay preachers and who rose to speak on 'Question Day'—that is on the Friday of the Communion Services, which extended, and still do, from Thursday, the Fast Day, to Monday, the Thanksgiving Day. The presiding minister, after opening devotions, invited any Elder of the Parish to rise and propose the Question; the Elder having read a text from Scripture, would say he wished to hear the 'marks' of the true Believer, drawn from the text. After the minister had himself "opened out the text", he would name visiting Elders, calling upon them in turn to speak. One by one, each would rise and give his picture of the real Christian in terms of the qualities suggested by the text. "And so the hour sped under the pleasing and helpful variety of a dozen speakers or more. The 'Men' spoke out of rich experience. . . . 'Question Day' was a self-searching season, when every hearer examined his heart by the 'marks' adduced . . . and as this went on there was a sweet glow on the face of the Congregation as the presiding Minister summed up and closed the holy Convocation." [1]

175 The 'Men' had long been a recognised Order in the
178 Highlands, and their foundation is traced to Thomas Hog,
794 the famous minister of Killearn, "born in Tain in the

[1] Rev. N. C. Macfarlane, *The 'Men' in the Lewis* (1924).

allowing his flock to attend concerts, had a point of differ- 793
ence with the Synod and was removed. In the Braes which had 795
been as staunchly Free Presbyterian as Glendale, roughly 798
half of the congregation changed their adherence to the Free Church. The remainder have continued true to their own sect under a new minister.

There are numerous Free Presbyterian families far 795
beyond the reach of a minister. All they can hope for is an occasional visit, and there are no missionaries of this sect on the island. Although they attend services at the nearest kirk of the Free Church, doctrinal differences are still important enough in their minds to keep them within the folds of their sect. They were born in it and will die in it. Moreover, despite the lack of a minister in Glendale between 794
1908-1911, 1913-1920, and 1931-1933, the people are as staunch 793
as ever. At such times one of the elders steps forward to 794
conduct services as he would during the temporary absence 888
of the minister. His ability to fill the role of a spiritual 554
leader fortifies his control and his prestige. This is true in Portree. The elder, even a newcomer, who stands in the pulpit is deeply respected. Identity with, and attachment 796
to the denomination is maintained in the absence of a minister by visiting other churches at the Communion season and by the visits of a minister on the Sabbath and for annual Thanksgiving services following the harvest. So strong is 795
the sectarianism of the Glendale crofters that the Church of Scotland minister for Duirinish is convinced that "Churchianity

rather than Christianity i
This attachment to a sect
crofting neighbourhoods bec
ence in the Gaelic service
doctrinal.

In the neighbourhood
have been said to interact
then with the remainder of
the Sabbath for a regular
for a prayer meeting. On
husband, wife and children
the sexes are segregated i
men keep to one side of th
there are callers. They
interaction is spiritual.
the church either before o
discuss the stock, or even
will all know who was abse
fellows with a slight nod.
meeting is different. Thi
by bus and gossip on the
and after the service for
the stature of the "elect"
prayers on behalf of the
be noted, are extempore.
them are passages from Scr
passages.

s the prevailing practice in Glendale." 795
is all the more significant in the [798]
ause there is not one iota of differ-
s in any church. The difference is

the affiliates of the same church 571
with their fellows more regularly 794
the group. They come together on 795
service and on Wednesday night 796
the Sabbath they come as families, [593]
and they sit together. Normally [562]
n public. Indeed, in the home [574]
e fire and women to the other when
lso leave in family groups. Their
There are no gatherings outside
r after the service to gossip,
comment on the weather. They
nt, but they will only greet their
The Wednesday night prayer
s is a group situation. Some come
ay. Others get together before
a chat. At these prayer meetings [554]
again emerges. They offer the [888]
congregation. The prayers, it should [782]
o form is followed. The basis for
ipture and interpretations of the

There is another aspect to the prayer meetings. They 796
are no longer held in the Church of Scotland in Portree. 795
The ministers of the other sects say this is an indication 794
of the low degree of spiritual enlightenment among that 369
congregation. Further, Wednesday night is picture night in the village. The newcomers taunt the devout with, "off to the pictures?"

It is at these Wednesday night meetings that the people 554
get to know one another. They participate in the worship 571
through the eminent "Men," who in a society such as Skye 796
where almost everybody is related on one side of the family 794
or the other by some bond of consanguinity or affinity, are [802]
the "people" or "friends" of the worshippers. This custom of offering extempore prayers not only augments the prestige of the "elect" but it intensifies the unity of the group and makes them secure in the knowledge that they belong. This feeling of unity and the sense of belonging is further strengthened in some churches by setting aside a day of Humiliation. Services are held during which the congregation [782]
as a group beseech God for forgiveness for the poor spiritual condition of the world. In their minds the God of this world is surely the Prince of Darkness.

But for the interaction of the members of the several 794
sects, the control of the "elect" would not be as strong as 795
it is. The elders of one kirk cannot exercise any direct 626
control over the adherents of another sect. Through what agency could they express their judicial and authoritarian

functions? Certainly not the kirk session. But since they 794
share a common tradition, which is reinforced by interaction 795
and mutual respect, the elders impose more or less common 626
standards. The norms are the by-product of the history of Skye. If there was cleavage, might not the behavior of the people begin to diverge? In Kilmuir there are three sects. 795
Two of them have churches. The Church of Scotland is in the 796
majority. The Free Presbyterians are a definite minority; I think there is only one family of them. Although several ministers of the Church of Scotland have begun to follow the example of the national church elsewhere in Scotland and celebrate Christmas, at least on an appropriate Sunday, there is no Christmas in Kilmuir any more than there is in Glendale. The custom is said to be "popish." Naturally, if the birth of Christ is not celebrated, his rebirth cannot be commemorated at Easter. All churches, on the other hand, celebrate New Years, which is also the traditional time to exchange gifts among members of the family. It is a time of license. After midnight the people of the townships 796
practice "first footing." Until early in the morning, the [273]
people make their rounds exchanging visits and toasting one another and the New Year with whiskey, for the men, and wine, for the women. The people of Kilmuir are noted for their 57
inter-relationships. "You have to watch what you say up 60
there," I was told, "they're all relatives and friends of each other."

The situation in Portree for the Sgiathanach is much the

000 return to their own homes at night. There is now less
796 need for the generalized hospitality of the past, which
794 was given to anyone who came to the door looking for food
829 and shelter. Through these visits some families in
571 different villages have, however, established relation-
574 ships which are kept up by exchanging hospitality at times of Communion and also in other ways. A family in
[262] Ness may send to a friendly family in Shawbost some guga,
[251] goalings of solan geese which are captured by Nessmen on the island of Rona once a year and are salted to make a delicacy that is in great demand. Through such contacts a family wanting to purchase a cow may receive word of one that is being offered for sale in the village of a Communion contact.

796 Services of Communion last five days. All services except that held on Sunday evening are intended for the communicants or full members of the church, also called
[535] "the believers" and "good livers." During this time, no
[485] dances are held in Shawbost, and in Carloway the hotel is closed.

796 On Communion Sunday, the upper balcony of the church
794 is filled with villagers watching to see if any of the
829 recently converted have decided and have been allowed to take Communion. Because the villagers watch very closely the behavior of everyone else within the village, any change

called on an awful lot to give prayers in church, and it's hard for some of them to get up and speak." The Reverend Macleod notes in his diary that private meetings were initiated on the island in 1826.

A quarterly meeting (coinne raith) is held in Stornowa to which many of the converted from the villages go. The Communions are held twice a year. "Special services," or "small communions," held soon after the Communions, are intended as evangelical services for young people, that is, services enjoining people to convert. These services, which last from Monday through Friday, were started in Ness after the first world war.

4. The Communions (Orduighean): Communions are given twice a year, during autumn and late winter. They are scheduled for different weeks in different parts of the island, and neighboring congregations close their churches when Communions are being held nearby, so that during the Communion season some persons may attend a number of services at different churches.

In the days when transportation was limited, visitors coming from a distance away stayed for an entire weekend. All households prepared food and made ready for any overnight visitors who might arrive without prior warning. Guests often slept on mattresses laid on the floor. After facilities of transportation improved, it became common for people to drive down for the day in private cars and return to their own homes at night.

me as in the crofting areas. When a young girl presented 794
rself for instruction in the significance and meaning of 796
urch membership, preparatory to her acceptance of Communion, 367
e refused to take the final step not because of any personal 626
ligious problem, but rather because such a step would upset
r normal associations. What her Free Church and Free
esbyterian friends would say was her main concern. Who was
r to become an "elect" member? Here, then, is the answer
how the elders of the other sects are able to control
havior of the larger group, through the fear of gossip as
egative social sanction and, perhaps, rejection.

The semi-annual Communion celebrations are rites of 794
tensification par excellence. Although some churches 796
lebrate only one commemoration of the sacrament, and it
y be as early as February or as late as November, the
nths from late April until early September, are commonly
ferred to as the "Communion Season." The activities of
e people during this period cast additional light on the
fluence of religion in ordering social relationships. While [573]
que membership based on sectarian affiliation is a secondary [571]
ctor in determining the patterns of interaction in the extended
mily in the local group, it is very important in determining
e's wider relationships, the relationships between the
ighborhoods and between the Braighnnach and the mainland
ghlander.

Within living memory thousands used to come to the 178
mmunion celebrations from all parts of Skye and many nearby 794
796

duty of a wife was to weave her winding sheet. Nor is the cost 764
of burial merely buying a coffin. As at birth and marriage, 454
the people who attend a funeral must have their dram. Just as [829]
they do not want subsidies to begin life, they do not want to
be buried with public assistance. They hoard their money, even
if it is only a few pounds, to assure themselves of a decent
burial. Another thing that disturbs the welfare officers is 763
the determination of the old and infirm to remain on their 186
croft in spite of all efforts to move them to a "Twilight
Home." Some of these people may have returned to Skye for
no other reason than the feeling, "If I could go back to Skye
to die it would be fine." I knew many people who had come to
America as young adults and "liked it fine." Why did they
return? The answer is always the same, "I was getting old, you
know, and began to think of home." This, of course, is another
expression of the sentimental attachment for the land and its
identity with one's people.

Paradoxically, for a people who are so aware of death 763
and look upon it so significantly, the churches, one and all, 794
have refused to consecrate burial. There are no prayers for [782]
the dead. There is no service for the dying or at the grave
as the body is lowered into the soil. The ritual which accompanies
this final act of living is better described as a rite of
intensification rather than as a passage rite, to adopt the
terminology of Chapple and Coon.[15]

Once the individual dies, his status is fixed for all 060

[15]Chapple and Coon, Principles of Anthropology, pp. 398-399.

mainland villages and crofting areas. Ministers from 178
neighboring and even distant churches used to come to take 794
part in conducting the services. There was no church to hold 796
so many people, so the Communion was celebrated outside. Then,
of course, the population was much larger and the majority
belonged to one church, the Free Church.

The Communion Season is still marked by large gatherings 794
of people at each church in turn. The "elect" from the 796
neighboring churches and the ministers from churches near and
far exchange visits. The adherents also participate in the
celebration of the Lord's Supper. From Thursday until
Monday the homes of the people in the vicinity are open to 794
their relatives and friends who have come to partake of the 796
sacrament or who find the highly emotional atmosphere and 574
gregariousness stimulating. Some, especially the "elect"
stay for the five days. Others will spend one or more nights.
During the day and in the evening, whenever they are not
attending religious services, they visit their "people" and [571]
"friends" to renew ties which in many cases have been allowed
to languish since the last Communion. Thus, we find religion [182]
sanctioning the time-honored custom of Highland hospitality.
It is interesting to note that many a woman who depends on [485]
the tourist trade for a good share of her income will not accept
paying guests at this time. The local people have a further 794
share in extending hospitality to their visitors. All who 796
are able send food to the manse (parsonage) to lessen the 574
burden on the minister who extends hospitality to the 773
visiting clergy and as many of the laity as he can. This

custom is well established. Even war-time restrictions and 794
rationing had little effect on Communion attendance. Skye 796
exiles in the United States and Canada sent food parcels 573
to the ministers and their kinsmen to provide for their 167
visitors. The minister takes in as many as he can. One
minister, for example, not very far from Portree has a large
manse with seventeen rooms. It is customary for him to have 264
twenty-five or thirty people for lunch and again for high
tea (the Skyemen's evening meal) on Friday and the Sabbath.
Many of his guests spend five days with him.

Some idea of the size of the gatherings may be gained 794
from the need for the Free Presbyterian Church in Portree 796
to hold duplicate services. The church, I should think,
holds around 300. During the Communion Season, the con-
gregation takes over the drill hall, normally used by the
Territorial Army for training and by the villagers for social
affairs, in addition to the kirk. In the drill hall services
are held in English; in the kirk, they are in Gaelic.

Such large gatherings of people require a means to
establish meaningful contacts and create a feeling of belonging.
Thursday is a fast day. All work stops. The people attend
services in the morning, at noon, and again in the evening.
Their minister, assisted by two visiting clergymen conducts
them in a dynamic, highly emotional appraisal of the coming
event. All the ministers participate in the sermons, stressing [783]
the confession of sin and the need for humiliation. Many
ministers are known for their preaching ability, that is their

ability to move their listeners. Friday is a day of self- 794
examination and prayer. A fellowship meeting is held. The 796
senior minister gives the sermon. The local minister follows
the sermon with a few lines of psalm, which the precentor
will chant for the congregation to sing, and calls upon one
of the "elect" to prepare a question. After the singing has
finished, an elder of the host church presents his "question."
The "question" is a line from Scripture which relates to
human experience, which relates to their experience as pastoral-
agriculturalists. The remaining "men," customarily visitors
from other kirks, speak to the question, giving "marks" (examples)
which distinguish between those who possess Christian virtues
and those who profess the virtues essential for salvation.
The speakers interpret the meaning of the line, it is only a
single verse, often using allegorical interpretations. They
are not supposed to tell about their own spiritual experience
of conversion. To the contrary, their discussion is intended
to have significance for all present. At the end of three
or four hours of "speaking to the question," the junior
minister sums up what has been said and, infrequently, makes
any necessary corrections.

In addition to establishing an emotional atmosphere of [782]
revivalism and the tempo of interaction between the visitors [808]
and the local congregation, the fellowship meeting introduces
the venerable old men of neighboring churches to the local
people. Their prestige extends beyond their own neighborhood
and congregation. Their ability becomes a topic of conversation

794 thanksgiving service. The visiting ministers, the "elect,"
796 and the adherents go their own separate ways. They have spent
five days in intense, emotional spiritual communion and they
carry away with them definite, vivid remembrances. Many of
them will meet again in a few weeks when they will exchange
[573] the roles of guests and hosts. The reciprocal nature in all
interpersonal activity on Skye is well developed. In many
ways, the Communion season parallels the Welsh Song Festivals.[16]

794 We noted earlier in our discussion of the Communion
796 season that there has been a decline in the number who attend
178 the Communions. I should like to add a few general consider-
ation to what I have already said on this point. Aside from
the influence of depopulation, there have been several influ-
ential factors in operation. The smaller attendance is
traceable to some extent to an almost imperceptible movement
by the youth away from the more conservative denominations.
The ever-increasing necessity of working for a wage, es-
pecially since most employment opportunities are in summer time
programs, is another cause. This factor is not, however,
important within the local kirk district because most ad-
herents and all the "elect" who work take a vacation in order
to attend. It does mean that visitors may only be able to
attend on the Sabbath.

178 The custom of visiting has almost disappeared in some
794 churches, including the Church of Scotland in Portree where
796 the fellowship meeting is no longer significant because the
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[16]Rees, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

"elect" are predominantly newcomers and the elders are either 179
members of the landed gentry or newcomers. I was rather 774
amazed one day when a Skyewoman told me, "the 'Free-Frees' 774
and 'Seceders' are no better than the Mohammedans giving 579
gifts to idols," when they sent food to the manse for the 369
minister's guests at the Communion. Over in Breasdale the 748
custom is also losing its importance, except in the Free Presbyterian Church, and the fellowship meeting has been abandoned in the United Free Church because of the reluctance of the members to engage in public displays, either at Communions or at prayer meetings. The custom of visiting has entirely disappeared in Sleat and Strath. One of the ministers ascribed this to the isolation of the two parishes from the rest of the island and from each other. Certainly the Sgiathanach on the south end of the island seldom looks to Portree and the northern crofter hardly ever goes to Sleat, but this does not explain why people from the mainland will go to Breasdale, by-passing Strath.

The vitality of religion can over-ride considerations 771
of family and friendship: if a Sgiathanach deviates from the 626
accepted norm. We may recall the young girl who stole church funds and was ostracized by her "people" and the whole community. Let us consider another example. Marriage vows, as 594
we know, are held to be sacred on Skye. Divorce is all but 771
unknown and separation is uncommon. To be precise there are 626
four known cases of separation. Nevertheless, if a husband or wife were to break a taboo, it is expected that the offender would be cast out. Forgiveness is not compatible with a

ascetic ism is fundamental to the peoples' lives. A brief 785
discussion of the Sabbath will serve to conclude my discussion 748
of religion and to indicate some additional difficulties which 628
the Sgiathanach faces in his attempt to preserve his culture.

Sunday does not exist on Skye. There is the "Continental 746
Sunday" and the Sabbath. On any other day of the week, the 576
greeting is, "It's a fine day", or, more often, "It's a wet day." The Sabbath, however, is "no day to be speaking of days." Keeping the Sabbath is almost a fetish among the people. It is a readily observable test of an individual's religious capacity. All unnecessary work, all unnecessary words, and all unnecessary thought is taboo. Only the barest minimum of worldly activities are permissible. This does not mean a day spent in idleness; the time should be spent in public worship at the kirk, private spiritual contemplation and family worship. The Skyeman's estimation of 183
a newcomer may depend on his keeping the Sabbath. One man was very surprised to learn how long a memory the people have when a man deviates from the expected. A visitor asked a crofter what kind of a man a certain newcomer to Kilmuir was, to which the crofter replied, "He's all right, except six years ago he played the pipes on the Sabbath." Most newcomers, including the few Catholics, respect the Sabbath.

No crofter would ever think of doing any work on this 464
day beyond feeding his cattle as an act of mercy. After 238
weeks of rain, the crop of oats or hay may be ready for 746
harvesting on the Sabbath, but he will not touch it. A man 241

may need just one more dry day to finish his harvest. If the 74
next day is the Sabbath, his one dry day may be two or three 241
weeks away and the hay a sodden heap. Nor did the Sgiathanach, or any newcomer with a croft, change during the war despite all the pleas of the government for full agricultural production. This is the one time that the Older Order Amish slogan "And be not conformed to this world" fully applies to the island. Circumspect behavior on this day functions to remind the people of all the negations and all the sanctions which religion has bestowed on the culture. 746

As in the case of Communions, there has been a gradual 178
lessening of the importance of Sabbitarianism, especially 74
since the return of many young men and women from the war. Again, the rather spontaneous relaxation of the rules is 349
most common in Portree. It does not have the encouragement of the ministers of any church nor the elders of any church, 626
except the Church of Scotland. Thirty or forty years ago the ministers and the lay kirk officers had enough influence to stop the running of trains throughout the western Highlands, shipping in the Western Isles, and the Kyle-Kylescku ferry 490
on the Sabbath. Public transportation is still at a stand- 209
still on the first day of the week, but the Sunday papers appear in Portree after the evening services, despite all the efforts of the ministers. They come by car from Inverness, by row boat across the strait, and by car to the village.

Before the war no one in Portree would let their 178
children out of the house, except to go to church with their 857

parents and to Sabbath school, nor would they allow children 178
to play games in the home. Today the children of the Church 74
of Scotland people are allowed to go for a walk, read, or 857
play games. Tourists, frequently, if not always, intolerant 484
of the strict Sabbath, have no doubt contributed to this 178
relaxation of taboos. Although a further development of the 74
tourist industry would be advantageous economically, tourists are a threat not only to the Sabbath but also to the whole religious complex. They set examples which the youth are only too ready to emulate. Before the war every hotel on 485
the Island, including all in Portree, and every boarding 746
house posted notices requesting visitors to refrain from using their cars for touring on the Sabbath. In many of the guest homes the request was the equivalent of a warning of removal. Today the signs are gone. Still not content, the tourist agencies in England and the Lowlands continue to make snide remarks in their literature, suggesting "a little more tolerance is needed in certain quarters." The youth and some 178
adults of Portree now have begun to go off for a drive around 74
the island. One reason why the Sabbath is still strong in 484
Kilmuir and Glendale is that tourists are not accepted in either district.

Strict Sabbath observance distinguishes three broad 74
groups on the Island. Portree is set apart from the crofters 545
by laxity, and the county people are set apart from the 349
crofters by using the day for visiting and having afternoon 571
teas together. The gentry, of course, are not under the

control of the "elect" crofters. Tony, are the "elect," 74
and their status is independent of the control of the vener- 545
able old men. 626
584

Summary

Whereas the culture of the Sgiathanach was oriented 771
around the clan system in the remote past and was intelli- 178
gible only by an awareness of the all-pervasive influence of the clan, today congregational religion provides the focus for the culture. If we are to understand the Sgiathanach 421
we must fathom his religion, that is, the interpretation which he has given to Calvinism. Moreover, this highly 182
integrated and systematized aspect of his culture has pro- 771
vided the means for preserving cultural continuity. Economics and social organization aid us in recognizing how cultural continuity has been maintained. Religion puts at our finger tips the how and the why.

The basic status values have held good because religion 771
has sanctioned them. The old men of the neighborhood have 554
been successful in sustaining their statuses and habits 183
through their position in the esoteric religious hierarchy. 626
By holding the father responsible for the spiritual welfare 593
of his family, and judging a man's spiritual enlightenment on his renunciation of mundane pleasures as well as his knowledge of religious tenets, the elders exercise judicial and authoritarian functions. At the same time, the status of the father within the family is strengthened. After a

from the necessity of daily calls at the post office and shop, 182
but the drivers serve the function of passing on the news of the 571
day at each stop. 283

Standing in the place of many of the traditional social 182
outlets which have disappeared or been modified, there are the 774
religious occasions for joining together as a small group. We have found the Sgiathanach to be very religious. Everyone is 748
expected to go to church on the Sabbath, and everyone goes to church. Irregular attendance soon becomes noticed by one's neighbors, the kirk elders, and the minister. Concern over 626
what one's neighbors may think, in itself a strong motivating factor, is reinforced by a forbidding fear of what the venerable old men may do whenever an opportunity presents itself. There are Wednesday night prayer meetings for further social intercourse. Above all, there are the semi-annual Communions which 182
except in Sleat and Strath and one Breasdale sect, bring to- 774
gether the people of the kirk, the members of the same sect from other neighborhoods, and affiliates of the denomination from the mainland. Even the adherent, the individual who has not experienced a saving change because he is not old enough, normally takes his vacation, if he is employed, at the time of the Communions in order to attend.

The decline in interpersonal religious strife does not 182
mean that strong personal sentiments are not present. No one 571
other than the eccentric, is indifferent to his neighbors or 283
others with whom he may have dealings. The crofter and his 648
village cousin may not bother to vote, but they closely watch 466
and freely discuss their representatives. Gossip has retained

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797 MISSIONS: religious proselyting and evangelism; religious conversions; organized missionary activities (e.g., by sects within the society, by missions from other societies, by foreign missions abroad); mission organizations; mission stations; missionaries or evangelists (e.g., qualifications, selection, prerequisites and disabilities, religious activities), secular activities of missions and missionaries (e.g., education, medicine, technological assistance), etc. See also:

Native mission . . . . . 787 Religious revivalism 788

PREHISTORIC REMAINS

to AD 1000. The base of the missionary work was most probably Iona. The old Celtic Church, with its monastic basis, sent out many who sought the hardship and solitude of life in the islands of the Hebrides as a means of example to the inhabitants. Today, the ancient cell sites, churches, burial-places, are in ruins, no more than a heap of grass-covered stones meriting scarcely a glance. Even on the outlier islands, such as the Shiants in the Minch and the Flannans in the Atlantic, are found these relics of ancient sites where the religious element was strong, overriding enough to be carried to the present day in traditional form.

From time to time archaeological finds are made in various parts of the island. Perhaps the most famous was the discovery of the Uig Chessmen, to be seen today in the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh and in the Ivory Room of the British Museum. In the spring of 1831 an exceptionally high tide, with a gale wind, undermined and carried away a considerable portion of a sand-bank at Ardroil, in Uig. A small stone building, like an oven, was exposed at some depth below the surrounding ground level. A crofter who happened to be working nearby saw this and, excited by curiosity, broke into the structure. On seeing what he thought to be an assembly of elves and gnomes, he fled home in great distress. His wife, of a bolder nature, went to see for herself and recovered ninety-two pieces of ivory figures: fourteen draughtsmen, eight kings, eight queens, thirteen bishops, fifteen knights, and twelve footmen or pawns. These chess pieces, carved out of walrus ivory, date from about 1140 to 1160; they are of Norse origin, though probably carved by monastics who knew in detail the dress of the dignitaries which make up the set.

Some details of how the people of the Western Isles lived 3,800 years ago were revealed in an archaeological excavation in Northton in 1966. This site showed evidence of more or less continuous habitation from the late Stone Age onwards; as each succeeding layer of sand was taken away (it was excavated to a depth of some 14 ft), centuries-old stages of habitation were revealed. The higher levels of the site belong to the Iron Age; the earlier levels date back to the late Neolithic/early Bronze Age (about 1800 BC). Such sites as this are extremely rare in Europe, and Northton is the only one of its date in Scotland. Many fragments of the pottery known

RELIGIO

by Captain Dymes. The saint laboured mai
he died in the north of Scotland and was b
on the Scottish mainland. Tradition ascribe
church to the tenth century by King Olaf o
a more realistic date for its foundation is th
That it occupies, as so many other small chu
former cell is quite acceptable. The churc
had a 'sanctum sanctorum', so holy in fact
ever allowed to enter it.

In Harris, the outstanding religious buil
at Rodel, described in Chapter 8. There
measured largesse, small ruins of chapels, cell
but only tradition has clothed these tumble
of the once-living. A map of the island wil
which are well worth a visit if only to spend
tion under the island sky beside ancient stone

Other old ruins are to be found on the i
(Columba) in Loch Erisort. It is on record
came from Iona to convert the islanders
religion to Christianity landed on the island
the sixth century. They founded a church w
which they dedicated to their master, hen
Eaglais, Cladh, agus Eilean Chalum Chille
tions a mill, Muileann-na-manach, but ther
on another to indicate its exact site. The old
the parish of Lochs for many generations
ago. The people of the island were in medie
times profoundly religious; this reverence
not carried over into the half-world of supers

Though the tangible remains of religion
seen, the recorded history of religious pro
developments, is scant. One can only ass
Columban Church which first introduced
to the Lewis folk. The earlier religion was
the new was grafted. The result was an
nothing if not strange to those many visito
ment on the island scene; for it was neither
Yet, again, a strong thread of veneration ra

OUS HISTORY

nly in the Hebrides; 175*
uried at Rosemarkie, 346
s the building of the [173]
f Norway; though a
e fourteenth century.
rches do, the site of a
n, so Dymes tells us, [562]
that no women were

ding is St Clement's,
are, sprinkled like a
s, oratories and wells;
d stones with the airs
l show up these sites,
a short time in reflec-
s.
sland of Calum Cille
that the monks who [797]
from pagan forms of
l about the middle of
vith its burial ground,
ce the Gaelic names:
. Tradition also men-
e is not one stone left
l burial ground served
until about a century
val and post-medieval
was more often than
tition.
n's progress are to be 175*
ogress, its phases and 797
ume that it was the
the new Christianity
the stock on to which
amalgam which was
ors who came to com-
Christian nor heathen.
n through the product

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

1. Farman

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[For information on the curamach (the "cliqu

e of the converted"), see category 794.]

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

which firmly held the folk. The Reformed Church of Scotland did little in the later centuries in Lewis. The Fife Adventurers brought a clergyman with them, a Robert Durie, minister of Anstruther, but it can be taken that his ministrations were for the benefit of the Fifers. The aborigines were left to their own brand of faith, to find grace as and where they could.

The interregnum between the abolition of Romanism and the effective establishment of the Reformed Church in the islands was marked by a decline in the 'Christian-ness' of the people. Former teachings were forgotten, and it is no coincidence that in this interim period social anarchy was rife. The credit for restoring Christian principles to Lewis rests with a Farquhar MacRae, vicar of Gairloch, a young man of about thirty years of age whom Lord Kintail brought to Lewis in 1610. On his arrival he found it necessary to baptise all under forty years of age, and practically to reintroduce the institution of marriage. The first Earl of Seaforth was a religious man; he built St Lennan's church in Stornoway, now non-existent, on North Beach. In 1626 there were two ministers in Lewis (Barvas and Eye), and gradually the influence of religion was restored.

ISLAND REGIMENTS

It is a natural enough step from wielding a sword in the protection of one's home island to bearing arms for King and Country. After the 'natives had been pacified' over a period of a century or so, the national call to arms came north across the Hebrid seas. The warlike character of the clans in the north of Scotland had not escaped the notice of those charged with keeping England and the later Britain busy with overseas interests which required some military backing to maintain and improve. Lewis, in particular, despite its small size, has over the past couple of centuries contributed much of great importance both in regiments and fighting men; its military history is a subject that has escaped many past writers on the island.

There is possibly no British regiment more closely associated with historic deeds of heroism than the Seaforths, the Seaforth Highlanders. At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth

was made in the Crofters (Scotland) Bill of 1961; this had a mixed reception. In general, today, small crofts predominate in most areas. Out of some 18,000 (the number is decreasing annually) about 15 per cent exceed 20 acres (see Chapter 5). But size has little to do with the type of land; whether arable or rough grazing. In fact, the proportion indicates that some 85 per cent of all crofts in Scotland, and this applies to Harris and Lewis, cannot be considered as full-time now or as potentially full-time.

EDUCATION

In general, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland owe their introduction to letters to the early Christian missionaries. One of the main provisions in the early monastic Church in Ireland and Scotland was for the cultivation of learning and the training of its members in sacred and profane literature. Associated as they were so closely with the common folk on the one hand and the aristocracy on the other, something of this learning and desire for learning rubbed off to advantage on to willing recipients. Literacy however, has had many ups and downs since the dawning of the Christian era in the Hebrides. Though it is impossible to ascertain to what extent the common folk participated in the knowledge imparted by the early Celtic monasteries, there are many references to a class of cleric called 'scolocs', whose learning was accessible to the poorer classes of the emergent Highland society. The 'scoloc' is still retained in Gaelic as 'sgalag', a farm servant, the poor searcher after knowledge who received education in the monasteries in return for services as labourer on the church lands, and who appears in monastic records as late as the fourteenth century.

As late as the sixteenth century, however, after the influence of the Church had diminished, the inhabitants were almost wholly illiterate. When the Fife Adventurers came to Lewis in 1598, they brought a schoolmaster with them; though it can be taken that his services were intended for the improvement of the incomers rather than the islesfolk. Old Roderic MacLeod, doughty chief of the MacLeods of Lewis at the time of the Fifers' arrival, was unable to sign his name. Two of his sons, on the other hand, were

175 visited the chapel of St. Rona. It was fenced, and was
814 swept every day, suggesting daily worship; and the Lord's
771 Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments were repeated
there every Sunday morning. This led Martin to say that
[788] the people had no vices; and indeed the Gael's own
prayers insist upon the beauty of virtues rather than on
the evil of vices. In Lewis at that time (1695) there were
two ministers, at Stornoway and at Barvas; and the Barvas
minister visited Rona yearly. Isolated though they were
from their fellow-Lewismen, the Rona folk thus had annual
contact with organised religion, such as was lacking even
on the main island during periods of stress in Scotland.
[648] Invasions, repeated destruction and prolonged intrigue by
the Norsemen or the English Kings, led to, and intensified,
[798] internal strife. And in Lewis forty years of warring inter-
regnum had followed the 'Reformation'.

175 These and other notes of worship given by Martin,
771 such as those of the Lewismen's devotions when touching
at the Flannan Isles, show that the worshippers relied
798 greatly upon themselves and one another. They did so
even after their primitive Christian modes of worship had
been blamed and derided by Reformers, and the new modes
in their turn condemned by such ordained priests as secretly
made their way north from Armagh to Uist, Harris and
probably to Lewis. How much more stable must their
community's faith have been before the tragic upheavals
[797] which began at the Reformation. Some four centuries
earlier, the Roman Church supplanted the institutions
developed by the early Celtic missionaries from regional
and rural growth, by a formal organisation developed upon
an imperial and civic model. Thus they may already have
shaken faith by undermining the authority of communal
[795] sanctions and traditions. But the break caused by medieval

*175 They were frequently accused of failure to conform to orthodoxy
*178 and of a disinterest in their calling.[19]
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In time a second trend appeared which was marked by
*175 conservatism and an emphasis on doctrinal dogma. Toward the
*178 close of the eighteenth century, it became apparent that the
182 population had pressed too hard on the means of subsistence.[20]
161 Commercialization was continuing and sheep flocks were be-
[167] ginning to replace men in one parish.[21] The people, many of
them destitute, were finding a solution for their plight in
migration to the New World, or in seasonal migrations to the
Lowlands for work.[22] Those who remained were land hungry.

*175 Gradually, they were losing respect for their ministers and
*178 turning to evangelical missionaries who had begun to appear in
182 the Isles.[23] The crucial fact would seem to be that the ministers
773 were upholding values and symbols which no longer contributed
[797] to group solidarity. The Island was on the verge of a period
[798] of social disintegration and cultural instability. Under the
changes that were to follow, the evangelical movement grew into
a large scale revival.

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[19] MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800, pp. 105-115; Roderick MacCowan, The Men of Skye (Glasgow: John MacNeilage, 1902), pp. 30-32; and Buchanan, loc. cit.

[20] OSA, II, 552; III, 247, 248; IV, 132; XVI, 151, 224, 539; XVIII, 184.

[21] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 754-755.

[22] OSA, II, 551; and Robert Heron, General View of the Natural Circumstances of the Hebrides (Edinburgh: John Paterson, 1794), p. 32.

[23] MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 15-16, 24-25; and MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 90-91, 98, 99, 151-165.

The process to be observed in the religious facet of the
culture during the second period is conservatism. Itinerant
missionaries, catechists, and a religious brotherhood known
as the "Men" supplemented the regular clergy. As the Revival
grew strong, the "Men," as tenacious defenders of the evangel-
ical cause, began to wage an anti-clerical campaign.[44] They
usually remained within the Church, opposing any separatist
movement, but they drew a sharp distinction between the Church
and her ministers. To be a convert of the "Men" meant to
dissociate oneself from the death dealing moderate ministers,"
who were said to have had more interest in their farms than in
their congregations.[45] The "Men" conceived their function to
be one of delivering powerful testimonies of evangelical truth.[46]
They rebuked and constantly reminded the people of their
religious duties. They made Sabbatarianism an observable test
of religious obedience, separating the respectable Christians
from the godless. Prayer meetings were held at which the "Men"
engaged in short, earnest prayers, and exhorted the people to
read their Bibles and partake in family worship.

The growing influence of the Revival did not leave the
clergy unmoved. At least two arose to recreate the spirit
of vital religion and revive emotional enthusiasm in their
congregations.[47] It was no accident that these ministers should

*175 *178 786 797 773 182 795 771

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[44] MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 151, 165; MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 53-59.

[45] MacCowan, op. cit., p. 53.

[46] MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 217-215.

[47] Thomas Brown, Annals of the Disruption in 1843 (Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace, 1884), pp. 7-8.

*175 appear in the parishes of Bracadale and Snizort. Bracadale
*178 had already seen the beginnings of the final stage in commercial-
182 ization; Snizort had been sold piecemeal to new landlords.
786
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773 Evangelical Presbyterianism created a new pattern of
795 social and religious life on Skye. It gave the culture a new
771 focus to replace the dead clan system. Much of the form of
religious worship and behavior characteristic of the Island
today was established during this Revival Movement. The "Men"
became the foremost members of the community. An esoteric
religous hierarchy evolved. There were the unfortunate few
who were in a state of saving grace and acceptable at Com-
munion, and the eminent "Men," the aged, venerable spiritual
laity.[48]

The Revival, unlike many nativistic movements, neither
held out the promise of cultural regeneration nor offered the
dream of prosperity. To the contrary, the attack against the
folk culture characteristic of the late seventeenth and early
eighteenth centuries was renewed with vigor. While religious
enthusiasm grew, social life beyond a family level was restricted.
Perhaps, the years of destitution and the ever present threat
of famine had made hospitality a luxury which few could afford.
Perhaps, it was no longer possible for the people to provide
whiskey and food for large numbers at a funeral or a wedding.
The local ministers assert that the changes were due to the
activities of the "Men." It would seem that the "Men" were

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[48] MacInnes, op. cit., p. 211.

alien to their heritage. There was little local need for roads and steamships, but they were paving the way for the final stage in commercialization, the conversion of the island into sheep farms. 175* 178* 621

The record suggests that the culture was suffering from disorganization and the society had been threatened by disintegration. The Revival, which began at the close of the initial period, became full blown. This movement confirms what the record suggests. A new pattern of social behavior and religious life came into being. The traditional secular patterns of interaction were being replaced by patterns of sacred interaction. New values, new statuses, and new roles were evolving to give religious sanction to the old patterns. The result was an esoteric religious hierarchy. The religious leaders, both the "Men" and the ministers, were coming from the people rather than the old hereditary families who had been closely related to the gentry. Religion replaced the clan as the focus for the culture. The similarity of the story unfolded in the Bible and the past and present conditions of the crofters made the presage of the coming dissolution vivid. By the end of the period, dissension within the Church had become a significant factor and was paving the way for individual secession. The third period of the modern era was to witness more than a social and economic transformation; there was to be religious schism. 175* 178* 182 786 [777] [773] 175* 178* 182 771 786 [798]

blitz of London he was talking with a crofter's wife, and they got to discussing Hitler. "What a terrible man he is," she said, "Why he's worse than...worse than...almost as bad as the Pope." In another township there is a Church of Scotland missionary, a lay preacher. His religious sectarianism does not prevent his interacting with the Free Presbyterians, who are in the majority. Not infrequently, he visits his neighbors and when they need help on the croft he is prepared to lend a hand. When he pays a call, he establishes the tempo of interaction at mealtime or tea time by saying grace and returning the thanks. This is part of the hospitality of the Sgiathanach. The visitor is always asked to say grace. 795 829 778 795 797 594 782

What is true of the township on Skye, is also partly true of the neighborhood. Here the members and adherents of the same church do get to know one another better because of a common faith, or their particular interpretation of a faith common to all. They see each other with greater regularity. Then, too, since the congregations are small, they feel they belong. At the same time, the patterns of interaction are not exclusive, except in Glendale. The religious cliques are mutual aid groups, doing what they can for the infirm and destitute; they are not opposing factions. Nor does religious homogeniety mean the absence of factions. Glendale has its independents who are set against the disciples of the Department of Agriculture. Anyone who knows Wales may be struck by this difference, for in Wales the people are attached to a particular 621 794 [476] [795] 795 171

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798 RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE--rivalry between sects; religious persecution and intolerance; concept of heretics; suppression of dissenters by established religions (e.g., massacres, inquisitions, discriminatory legislation); martyrdom and martyrs; antireligious proselyting; etc. See also:

Ethnocentrism	186	Civil libertim	641
Stratification	563	Religious skepticism	771
Ingroup antagonisms	678		

B. The Bible

771 1. The Free Church: "A man in my great-grandfather's
175 time," said a 65-year-old man, "talked about the great
178 change within his generation, from the days when fanks were held on Sundays to such strict observance on the Sabbath that not even a cow could be tethered."

175 The first evangelical minister on Lewis came to the
793 parish of Uig in 1824. The Rev. Alexander Macleod belonged
795 to the Church of Scotland, but joined the Free Church when it broke away from the Church of Scotland in the "Disruption" of 1843. When he came in 1824, he found "superstition," "spiritual darkness," and "polluted remains of Popery, since it was the religion in this place...the only notion
795 they had of Christianity (Beaton 1925: 7-8)." The southern
829 isles of the Outer Hebrides are still Catholic, but in the
184 Protestant isles of the north, holidays associated with
798 Catholicism are avoided, and stories are still told of the burning of Protestant martyrs by Catholics. Catholics are disliked "because they believe that they can buy their way out of sin," or that the bread and wine of Communion is really the blood and body of Christ. "A Catholic is anointed with oil and left to die without food or water. We are privileged that we are not like them."

175 In the Disruption of 1843, about one-third of the
795 people and 39% of the ministers left the established church

175 visited the chapel of St. Rona. It was fenced, and was
814 swept every day, suggesting daily worship; and the Lord's
771 Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments were repeated there every Sunday morning. This led Martin to say that
[788] the people had no vices; and indeed the Gael's own prayers insist upon the beauty of virtues rather than on the evil of vices. In Lewis at that time (1695) there were two ministers, at Stornoway and at Barvas; and the Barvas minister visited Rona yearly. Isolated though they were from their fellow-Lewismen, the Rona folk thus had annual contact with organised religion, such as was lacking even on the main island during periods of stress in Scotland.
[648] Invasions, repeated destruction and prolonged intrigue by the Norsemen or the English Kings, led to, and intensified,
[798] internal strife. And in Lewis forty years of warring interregnum had followed the 'Reformation'.

175 These and other notes of worship given by Martin,
771 such as those of the Lewismen's devotions when touching
798 at the Flannan Isles, show that the worshippers relied greatly upon themselves and one another. They did so even after their primitive Christian modes of worship had been blamed and derided by Reformers, and the new modes in their turn condemned by such ordained priests as secretly made their way north from Armagh to Uist, Harris and probably to Lewis. How much more stable must their community's faith have been before the tragic upheavals
[799] which began at the Reformation. Some four centuries earlier, the Roman Church supplanted the institutions developed by the early Celtic missionaries from regional and rural growth, by a formal organisation developed upon an imperial and civic model. Thus they may already have shaken faith by undermining the authority of communal
[795] sanctions and traditions. But the break caused by medieval

175 Roman Catholicism was far less complete than that ulti-
771 mately brought about by Protestantism—Episcopalian or
• 798 Calvinist.

795 At least twenty-five churches, chapels and tiny oratories
are named by Martin in Lewis and his list is incomplete
175 (1934, p. 106). Harris and its islets also had their comple-
346 ment of 'temples', in addition to the priory church of
[162] Rodel. We may perhaps assume that before the Reforma-
tion Lewis had a population of some 4000 persons,
or 1000 families, and contained some thirty chapels or
[794] oratories in inhabited areas. If so, then one church or
'temple', on an average served thirty to thirty-five families,
or six or seven farm-groups. Yet only the larger congre-
gations at Eye, Stornoway, Ness or Uig and Rodel would
normally be served by clergy; the people of smaller congre-
gations would be without, for weeks and months or even
years.

175 When the people were too distant from priests (and
79 later ministers) to hear the Lessons, they handed down
the Word orally. Their power of retaining memorable
[153] thought, even in prose, is still remarkable; and verse
strengthened memory. For example, 'the Ten Com-
175 mandments' paraphrased in rhyme are recorded in Fr.
788 Allan Macdonald's little collection, "as given by the God
779 of graces to Moses in the wilderness" (*Na Faintean*,
p. 62). Moses, had he understood Gaelic, would have
protested at the omission of the Second Commandment,
but no sculptor of Iona, Rodel or Eye would have felt a
need for it, being unafraid that a Christian could bow
down to a golden calf. Believing, with Solomon, that a
craftsman's work is his prayer, the artist-monks held that
an 'image' should represent, though never replace, God's
creation, and may even quicken our concept of the Creator

CHAPTER VIII

CHANGE IN RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

(A) COMMUNAL CHRISTIANITY, THE ROMAN CHURCH AND THE REFORMATION

175 WHEN the Reformation broke upon Scotland and
• 798 the Church of Rome was driven out, the new
829 Church was slow to replace the priests and
[793] conventual clergy by its ministers. More than two hundred
years later the minister of Harris wrote, with reason, that
in contemplating "the decayed monuments of the piety
of our Christian ancestors . . . the pious mind is affected
with a mixture of awe and sorrow, while it can hardly
admit that the overturning of the ancient church establish-
ment ought to be considered as reformation here". These
words were honestly spoken. The minister continued:
"In Harris, where, till within a few years back (from 1790),
there has not been since the *aera* of our reformation from
popery, so much as . . . one decent house for public
worship; there were of old no less than twelve churches
and chapels of which . . . the walls are yet standing,
besides others . . . while tradition has preserved their
names and dedications".[1] These are those of monastic
cella or *cill*, of parochial or collegiate *ecclesia* or *eagleis*,

[1] *Old Statistical Account*, x, 376. No doubt many churches had lacked a priest for a considerable time before the Reformation; but taking a long view, the minister's conclusion was sound.

175 and of a township's tiny chapel, oratory or *teampull*.

• 798 In Lewis, as in the Northern Isles, the early years of the
[829] Reformation period had been years of invasion by the
King's Adventurers, of resistance, bloodshed and ruin.
Hence when Mackenzie brought a Protestant clergyman
to minister to the people they flocked to hear him. Natur-
ally the new lord chose one of his important tenants from
Kintail, the Rev. Farquhar Macrae. "For forty years
prior to the visit (about 1611) no one in Lewis appears
to have been baptized or married,"—or rather, no cere-
monies had been performed by professional clergy, an
important distinction. "'The population', we are told,
'had lapsed into heathenism', but 'Mr. Farquhar's'
mission proved thoroughly successful. 'Large numbers
of the people were baptized, some of them being fifty
years of age, and many men and women were married who
had already lived together for years.' The author also
stated that the success of this mission went far to reconcile
the inhabitants of Lewis to Lord Kintail's rule. According
to a Kintail tradition, 'the number of people that came
to be baptized by Mr. Farquhar was so great that, being
unable to take them individually, he was obliged to sprinkle
the water at random on the crowd with a heather besom'"[1]
—much as it still is on certain festivals in the Roman
Church.

[114] The tale of the Rev. Farquhar Macrae shows both the
spiritual prestige of one who could read the Scriptures
and must understand them, and the people's belief that
a lord who brought a Gaelic clergyman must indeed be a
Christian and was to be welcomed, or at least accepted.
After the larger churches had been rifled by lairds, 'Pro-

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. xii; from Alexander Macrae, the *History of the Clan Macrae*, Dingwall, 1899, p. 57.

175 testant' and perhaps 'Catholic' too, or sacked by the
• 798 King's Adventurers, there seems to have been little effort
114 to build or rebuild the four 'paroche kirkis', one of the
terms of the Royal grant or infeftment of the Lews to
Kintail (Seaforth). But the evidence in the previous
chapter makes one doubt that the maintenance of Celtic
Christianity by the people in their thatched 'temples', in
their homes and fields, or at sea, was "a lapse into heathen-
ism". The term had been better applied to the acts of
certain chiefs, and of the King and his Adventurers.

175 Although imbued with their traditional faith, the people
were intensely aware of their isolation from the great
771 world, and humble as to their own oral learning and re-
[829] ligious culture. Moreover, since the arrival of Christianity
they believed that they belonged to the Church Catholic.
But by the sixteenth century their lords had misappro-
priated funds, clerical absenteeism was common, and they
cannot have been unaware of faults in the Church of Rome.
They were the more eager to welcome any cleric who read
the revered Scriptures, whether he came as a Calvinist or
Episcopalian from Edinburgh or by perilous journeys from
Armagh, Spain or Rome itself.[1] Living far from the worst
theological controversies and persecutions inflicted for a
century after 1560, the Islesfolk revered a good cleric for
his own sake, as they did Macrae and, later, the minister
of Barvas (and Martin himself) in lonely North Rona in
1695.

[1] Catholic missions to the Isles in the penal times are described in Compton Mackenzie's *The Book of Barra*, 1936. Martin (1695) refers to some Harris fishermen recently reconverted by priests, and to the mockery of their 'Protestant' neighbours because in spite of Roman prayers, their fishing had been less successful! Some of the MacKenzie tacksmen and no doubt their tenantry remained Roman Catholics until after the 'Forty-five, notably MacKenzie of Kildun near Stornoway, who gave shelter to Prince Charles in 1746. (W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 126-130.)

175 The advent of the Reformers to the Island may at first
• 798 have seemed less revolutionary to the people than has
181 generally been suggested by historians of either the new
779 Church or the old. Ministering to one another, the people
had not, like the city-dwellers of their time, enjoyed—or
suffered—a multiplicity of offices, administered by priests
whose ways of living might be a scandal. The Mass heard
in Latin was incomprehensible to those of Celtic (or
Teutonic) speech without the aid of translation into the
vernacular—an aid now universal among literate Roman
Catholics. Most of these offices, such as auricular con-
fession to a priest to obtain absolution, with masses for the
dead, indulgences and the like, were performed for pay-
ments prohibitive to the poor. The Islesfolk, for the most
part, lived far both from the orthodox practices of the Latin
Church and from the more flagrant abuses against which
a minority of the old Church had protested in vain. Hence
the transition to early Protestant liturgy would not be too
painful. In prolonged isolation, the Gaelic people, per-
force, had lived the life of the Lollard and Protestant
doctrine of "the Priesthood of all believers".

175 After the Reformation the people were bewildered by
181 the mutual condemnation of Presbyterian, Episcopalian
798 and Jesuit, and torn to the quick when all three parties in
turn denounced so much that they themselves held dear.
The more the rival clergy confused and wounded their
minds, the harder it was for younger generations to discern
ancient Gaelic wisdom and discard superstition; and
the easier to fall into credulous and secretive repetition of
rhymes and strings of holy names. The scorn of the
wealthy for simple rites and of the book-learned for the
symbols of old speech would add to confusion rather than
aid discrimination. As pious and understanding crofters

175 complained in Carmichael's own time, mockery is hard to
181 withstand. One can only guess, as yet, what were the real
• 798 effects of the decadence of Rome and the impact of the Reformation upon the landward communities of the Lowlands and Northern Isles. But the records of the Western Isles leave no doubt as to the onset of this spiritual tragedy among the Gael, of which Carmichael and others saw the later acts and of which one still finds the epilogue.

175 The grim desperation of the religious and civil wars,
798 and their persecutions—crucifixions made by every side in the name of the Cross—caused faith to be disastrously shaken. Superstition rushed into the widening cracks in older belief, aided by important sects of clergy. In the Highlands, 'witch' torture was never carried to the lengths it reached in the cities, though the last 'witch'-burning in Scotland may have occurred in east Sutherland (P. Hume Brown, *History*, ii, 1912, p. 451). But the frenzy of witch-hunting by ministers in the Lowlands, during the widespread evictions and social anarchy of the post-Reformation period, suggests that the Adventurers' invasion of the Lews, followed by the arrival of new masters and Presbyterian ministers after 1600, must have aroused morbid, anti-social fears. Lewis certainly suffered from fear of the evil eye as late as the nineteenth, and even this, century.

We have to face the effects on the people of religious strife. To ardent Reformers the Blessed Sacrament of the Roman Church was a 'Jack-in-the-box'; and at the climax of the Mass, the elevation of the Host—the moment of 'transubstantiation' with its literal interpretation of the words, "This is my flesh" (*Hoc est corpus meum*)—was so much 'hocus-pocus'.[1] Conversely, to Roman Catholics

[113] [1] J. H. Matthews, *The Folklore of the Mass*, p. 96, 1903 (Catholic Truth Society).

much of Protestantism was a denial of Christianity. Holders of all these forms of Trinitarian belief have united in condemning Unitarianism as heresy, its earlier Arian form having been stamped out in blood. The 'heterodox' are held by the orthodox of many Churches to be awaiting eternal torture. To a thoughtful humanist like Sir James Frazer, on the other hand, the belief that one alone by suffering can atone for the sins of others is of the deepest significance, as being an ancient, widespread and 'pathetic fallacy'. Happily, one finds the greatest tolerance and sympathy where Protestant and Catholic are mixed in the Isles. Elsewhere, too, sympathy and reverent enquiry are taking the place of dogmatic assertion.[1] It is in this spirit that we can best understand Gaelic beliefs at their highest, and so distinguish their lowered use—or misuse for selfish ends—from the highest use of sacrament and prayer by the pure of mind and heart.

(B) RELIGION, MAGIC AND SUPERSTITION IN DAILY LIFE

Evil ends might be sought by means of the ancient runes: the power of their poetry and associations could tempt to perverted use. Carmichael tells how in Uist a malefactor, in terror of the law, went to a needy woman, and by appealing to her pity—and in exchange for a small sum—learned from her an "Invocation for Justice". Strengthened by its rhythm and imagery, and by his own associated belief in its magical power as a charm, he stood up boldly in Court, firmly asserted his innocence and got

[1] Cf. the friendly theological arguments between a Bernera Presbyterian and a Roman Catholic from Barra (*Bodach Bharraidh*—vii, viii), sketched in Gaelic by I. N. Macleoid, *Litrichean Alasdair Mhoir*, Stornoway, 1932.

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Like the Welsh,[51] the Skye crofters found the Bible re- 175*
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[49]Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, Principles of thropology (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), pp. 399-400.

[50]Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticane, Vol. VII, p. 166; and rman MacLean, Set Free (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), 14-15.

[51]Scott, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

ruled by elders, and a heritage which had never admitted compact, non-rural population centers. These basic cultural values and patterns were given religious sanction.

Year by year throughout this period the following and the influence of the "Men" increased. As the ministers were moved, especially as the old hereditary families of ministers closely related to the old gentry were replaced by ministers from the people,[52] the "Men" became influential in the Church as elders. Now they could not only exhort the people but also judge them, by determining who was worthy of communion and whose children might be baptized. The strength of their control, however, did not require holding office. In Duirinish where an old moderate minister remained, Communion had not been celebrated for eleven years in 1840, and there were 200 unbaptized children.[53] Many preferred to walk miles to worship under an evangelical minister rather than put themselves in peril by hearing the local moderate minister. Dissension was becoming a significant factor and was paving the way for personal secession from the Church. As the official Church was weakened, the stage was set for the Disruption, but we shall leave that for the following period.

<u>Summary</u>. The second period of the modern epoch saw the continuation of the trends established in the initial period. The process of commercialization was carried one step further. The old runrig system was replaced by the crofting system.

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[52] Scott, <u>op. cit</u>., Vol. VII, pp. 166-182.

[53] <u>NSA</u>, pp. 354-355.

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802

802 NUMERATION--words for numerals (e.g., cardinal, ordinal); numerical signs and gestures; written numerals (e.g., Roman, Arabic); numerical system (e.g., quinary, decimal, vigesimal); methods of counting (e.g., on digits); aids to numeration (e.g., tallies, counters, abacus); upper limit of numerical reckoning; fractions and decimals; tabulations; etc. See also:

Demographic enumeration . . . . . 18 Wiring 519
Vocabulary . . . . . 181 Accounting 681
Gestures and signs . . . . . 353 Census taking 689

CH. V FAMILY, FARM GROUP AND TOWNSHIP

175 couple advancing one on either side of it—many other
476 tasks were definitely team-work. Such was peat-cutting.
"When they are making peats, five people are employed.
175 One cuts the peat, another places it on the brink of the
476 ditch where it is dug; a third spreads it on the field, a
314 fourth pares and cleans the moss; and a fifth man is resting,
[162] ready to relieve the man that cuts. The women are seldom
at this work, but the men help one another alternately;
sometimes they must rest satisfied with fewer hands; but
the above is the full complement of men required to per-
[127] form the work, according to their tastes." Buchanan's
[178] description was written 160 years ago (1793); it remained
true till recently and generally it is so still. There was thus
a normal team practice for work—even a maffo rest was not
[538] forgotten! As the Gaelic proverb puts it: "They won't
make power (add strength) without a threesome and they'll
limp without a foursome!" (*Cha deanar treine gun trinir,*
• [202] *'s bidh iad crubach gun chealtrar*). In Gaelic, as in Scots,
one speaks of a team according to its number, as "a pair,
a threesome, foursome" and so on, up to a tensome
(*deichean*). In Lewis the farm-team was usually a foursome
or foresome.

175 Only in exceptional cases was land worked and held
423 singly—as when a smith was kept busy at his anvil in
241 ploughing-time and harvest. Thus in 1715 one or two
[320] rural smiths had single holdings of average value or more
(£1), and one artificer or tin-smith (caird) a holding of
minimum value (5s.); and in the burgh all the small plots
[286] were held singly. As the women wove, at home mostly,
[412] no male rural weaver held a single plot; his weaving could
be done at slack times, so long as there was light; at busy
times he worked on the land with the rest of his team.
∞∞ On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an

804

804 WEIGHTS AND MEASURES--methods of measurement (e.g., comparison with parts of the body, use of measuring tools, use of weighing and measuring machines); customary and standardized units (e.g., of length, area, volume, weight, heat, angles, electrical energy); complex techniques of measurement (e.g., surveying); governmental supervision of weights and measures; etc. See also:

Environmental dysfunctionality . . . . . 341 Money 638
Weighing and measuring machines . . . . . 466 Cost, products, and geographical margin 654
Measuring tools . . . . . 615 Conception of space 815

out in Lewis, and the Harris Tweed Association was
ineffective in enforcing its standards. In 1934,
weavers were allowed to use yarn spun in island mills,
and production increased; but no weaving was allowed
to be done in the mills. All looms were removed from
those mills which had tried to centralize this stage
of production. The actual process of weaving remained,
by legal definition, decentralized, although the word
"crofter" was changed to "islander," thus widening the
category of persons who could weave "Harris Tweed," and
paving the way for centralization of weavers in the town
of Stornoway.

Any person can purchase his own yarn, weave his own
tweeds, and sell them to tailors or summer tourists;
but before a weaver can weave for the mills, he must be
registered with the Weavers Union. The Weavers Union is
a branch of the Transport and General Workers Union,
which includes mill employees, hospital workers, lorry
drivers, and others. It is an anomaly of the Harris
Tweed industry that workers classed as self-employed
should join a union of employees and is another indication
of the centralization of control and power in the mills,
with whom the weavers, along with the mill workers, bargain
for higher wages. Weavers receive a basic sum of over
£10 for each length of tweed, which is usually 38 weaver's

805

445 yards (a weaver's yard is equal to 8 feet, a measure
445 which derives from the size of the frame once used
• [204] to wind hanks of yarn). Payment varies according to
the number of colors used in the pattern. A weaver
289 may average 2½ tweeds per week when the work is available,
425 thus earning more than mill workers. A female mill
[542] worker earns about £11 or £12, and her male counterpart
about £3 more.

289 Because weavers are classed as self-employed, they
295 do not qualify for unemployment benefit. They may apply
657 for social security, but must submit to a "means" test,
and the possession of bank savings or other assets
disqualifies them from receiving such aid. All British
workers must pay a weekly sum for "insurance stamps," a
certain number of which makes the workers eligible for
small payments from the government during periods of
illness. Self-employed persons must pay for their own
insurance stamps, whereas employers pay for the stamps
of their workers. A weaver who does not keep up with his
payments of over one pound a week for insurance stamps
must pay the accumulated debt at a later time.

Weavers face other costs. They buy looms and bobbin-
401 winding machines, and pay for lighting, heating, and the
238 maintenance of all equipment. The preservation of this
289 anomalous status of "self-employed" is related to the
425
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805 ORDERING OF TIME--sense of time; conception of a minimal unit of time (e.g., a moment); divisions of the day and night (e.g., hours); divisions of the year (e.g., weeks, months, seasons); longer time spans; solar, lunar, and stellar reckoning of time; methods of dating; calendar and calendrical knowledge; use of aids to measure the passage of time (e.g., sundials, clocks); etc. See also:

Annual cycle of economic activities . . . . . 150 Holidays, holidays, and anniversaries 227
Clocks and watches . . . . . 416 Age levels and age terms 501
Routine activities of a typical day . . . . . 512 Ceremonial calendar 708
Conception of time 815

51 the cattle
233 new their own sheilings; sometimes
215 they came back before milking time and stuck their heads
[139] inside. They stood outside the sheiling at night, and
that's how you can tell where a sheiling once was, even
though the walls have fallen, by the rich green grass.
Calves were born during the summer. A hollow was scooped
233 out in the peat, and lined with turf and moss. People
[423] had as many as four or five cows. It was like Switzerland,
only we didn't have the bells on the cows. There was lots
[672] of milk, fresh thick cream and crowtie (clotted sour
[294] milk); the old people knew how to make cheese.

"The moor was very eerie at night, with the sound of
233 the birds. There were only a few hours of darkness
[513] anyway, and I'm sure we didn't get much sleep, but somehow
we were always fresh. It was the air, the moor air is
more health-giving. The air is different there. Ill
people benefited from the change. Sometimes a person
with TB would stay out there all summer. The air is heavy
by the sea.

• 305 "There was no sense of time the way there is today.
233 If you got lost in the snow or fog, you followed the cows
221 home. You had all summer to take home the peats, to work
813 the croft, to harvest the corn. There wasn't a world,
[78] there was only ourselves. That has changed since the war.

814

814 HUMANISTIC STUDIES--historiography; archaeology; biography; linguistic studies; research in literature and the fine arts; degree of interest, activity, and specialization in humanistic studies; etc. See also:

Ideas on history and anthropology . . . . . 27 Ethnomusicology 97
Scholarly language . . . . . 18 Anthropology 301
Fine arts . . . . . 19 Esthetic ideals, appreciation, and taste 517
Collections of the fine arts . . . . . 95 Public lectures 544

175 year in which John Bunyan was born ". Archbishop Sharp
178 " banished him to the dungeons of the Bass Rock for
794 twenty-eight years, and it was during his imprisonment that the meetings of communicants were kept going by a parishioner,—a reformed tinker and a gifted and consecrated lieutenant ". This tradition of the 'Men' renewed itself and spread with each wave of 'Revival'. It sprang up in the Islands more than a century ago, as it had on the north-western mainland during the later eighteenth century, and in 'Easter' Ross two hundred years before.

[798] The spiritual crises of the Reformation and of the Cromwellian and Covenanting age are still profoundly influential; yet they seem hard for those from the Lowlands and England to understand because they occurred so long ago. But in Lewis, Macfarlane writes of the 'Men' whom he knew and admired, in order to keep their memory green. Once more, life in the Isles throws fresh light on the past, revealing its significance.

(D) EVANGELISM AND ERASTIANISM, WRATH AND WOE

175 The Disruption[1] gave a powerful urge to the move-
668 ment for freedom, in many ways. Throughout Scotland
[795] the people were made to feel that both landlordism and the

[1] The issues of Disruption, for the sake of freedom from the choice of a minister by the landlord's patronage and from State control, were reviewed by the Rev. Prof. G. D. Henderson, in *Heritage of the Disruption*, 1943 (published at the centenary, and nearly half a generation after the Union of 1929). While the Free Church still maintains a strong hold in the Island—and among a small minority elsewhere who feel that even the terms of the Union could not secure full moral freedom—it is claimed by the Church of Scotland that its constitution now goes far to solve " the age-long antinomy of establishment and freedom ", a view widely held abroad, both in Germany and in the smaller lands of North-west Europe occupied by the invader, at the time of the centenary.

agents for what have been called "rites of intensification."[49] They restored the equilibrium of interaction by creating new behavior patterns. This was probably particularly true during the famine, when the people's relatives and friends were dying and emigrating in large numbers. While the ceilidh, an evening of spinning folk tales, singing, and dancing, was condemned, and the children of parents who would not conform to the dictates of one minister and the "Men" were refused baptism, prayer meetings and other church services were providing emotional outlets.[50]

Like the Welsh,[51] the Skye crofters found the Bible retold much of their own past history and their present difficulties. As the "Men" preached from Scripture and interpreted the meaning, often using allegorical interpretations, of the Word, the people became familiar with a story which was strikingly similar to their own. The present social and economic conditions were but a presage of the coming dissolution. It was all there in the Old Testament, in the books of Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Psalms, and Prophets. The omen was all the more vivid because the transgressors in the Bible lived a life much like the crofters. Both the ancient peoples and the Skyemen had a pastoral economy, a patrilineal family structure,

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771 Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments were repeated
there every Sunday morning. This led Martin to say that
[788] the people had no vices; and indeed the Gael's own
prayers insist upon the beauty of virtues rather than on
the evil of vices. In Lewis at that time (1695) there were
two ministers, at Stornoway and at Barvas; and the Barvas
minister visited Rona yearly. Isolated though they were
from their fellow-Lewismen, the Rona folk thus had annual
contact with organised religion, such as was lacking even
on the main island during periods of stress in Scotland.
[648] Invasions, repeated destruction and prolonged intrigue by
the Norsemen or the English Kings, led to, and intensified,
[798] internal strife. And in Lewis forty years of warring inter-
regnum had followed the 'Reformation'.

175 These and other notes of worship given by Martin,
771 such as those of the Lewismen's devotions when touching
at the Flannan Isles, show that the worshippers relied
798 greatly upon themselves and one another. They did so
even after their primitive Christian modes of worship had
been blamed and derided by Reformers, and the new modes
in their turn condemned by such ordained priests as secretly
made their way north from Armagh to Uist, Harris and
probably to Lewis. How much more stable must their
community's faith have been before the tragic upheavals
[797] which began at the Reformation. Some four centuries
earlier, the Roman Church supplanted the institutions
developed by the early Celtic missionaries from regional
and rural growth, by a formal organisation developed upon
an imperial and civic model. Thus they may already have
shaken faith by undermining the authority of communal
[795] sanctions and traditions. But the break caused by medieval

852 of water on the child's forehead, successively invoking
wisdom, peace and purity. Lay baptism, recognised by
Greek, Latin, Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches, may
be partly of pre-Christian communal origin. It retained
special significance in isolated communities. Where a
clergyman might come within eight days, a temporary
name was given at birth: 'Tonsured of the Lord' (*Maol-
domhnaich*) if a male child, and Gertrude (*Griadach*) if a
female. Her immediate duties over after a safe delivery,
the midwife forthwith became the celebrant or (as it were)
lay priestess, and her neighbourly helpers, her acolytes.
As the midwife intoned her part they gave the responses.
"By the Book itself," said a reciter in Uist, for many years
a skilled midwife, "ear has never heard music more beauti-
ful than the music of the watching women when they are
consecrating the seed of man and committing him to the
great God of life." Those who care to ponder the thoughts
then spoken may believe her word. (*Carmina*, Nos. 50
and 217-219.)

86 Initiation grew as understanding dawned and the babe
passed on in childhood to be an older helper. Gaelic
child-lore gives many a stimulus to an infant's intelligent
apprehension of life about him, and to poetic appreciation.
These may lead by natural steps to deeper things in
adolescence. Homely teaching which led to a first com-
munion, remained an intimate part of life in home and
township.

814 From many parts of the Highlands and Isles, Car-
869 michael and his friends gathered variants of verse prayers
538 invoking graces in the young: Invocations of the Graces,
867 *Orachan Buadha* (*Buadh*, victory, achievement or grace;
Nos. 3 and 278-281). In Tiree, of which the thoughtful
minister had sent a fragment of verses to Carmichael,

814 the invocation was addressed to boys and girls, in Uist to
869 youths and maidens. The loveliest version of all had been
538 spoken by an old, evicted woman and learned from her by
869 a lad who, as a poor crofter in old age, passed it down for record, for ever. Of this invocation Carmichael wrote, "Probably it was composed to a maiden on her marriage. The phrase '*eala dhonn*', brown swan, would indicate that the girl was young—not yet a white swan", a tender and delicate recognition of youth still to attain perfection.
869 Not a thought jars, each stanza building up the rising move-
538 ment of the whole. In the hundred lines of this poem, metre and assonance are regular except where growing intensity creates new rhythm and design; and the last vowel-rhyme of each stanza leads on to those of the next one, to form an unbroken ascent to the climax.[1]

869 The Invocation begins, "I bathe thy palms. . . . And
539 I place the nine pure choice graces in thy fair fond face.
The grace of form . . . of fortune . . . of goodness . . .
867 of wisdom . . . of charity . . . of choice maidenliness

[114] [1] Certain critics, struck with the variety of the poem but missing its thought-sequence and unity of form, took Carmichael's note of 'many fragments' to imply that the poem was a composite version, piously restored by the editor—in spite of his statement that it was taken down from a single reciter (one Duncan Maclellan). Carmichael's spiritual power of evoking treasures from the reciters was inseparable from his utter honesty. And the publication, forty years later, of four Invocations and of scores of fragments (cf. No. 277) has added (to the internal evidence cited) further proof that the poem was no editorial assemblage. Without doubt, the poem has grown from the inspired meditation of generations of poet-worshippers in a hundred glens and isles. But the English reader should realise what the Gaelic ear may hear: this poem forms an organic unity; though many petalled it is a single flower. Readers familiar with medieval or earlier chants know that the enumeration of attributes is a feature common to all, whether in Church Latin or other tongues, as in the English medieval hymn beginning, "God in my head, and in my understanding". In Gaelic, however, the richness and freedom of the vowel-pattern and rhythms carries the thought onward, wave on wave to its climax. A foremost poet of France, Pierre Emmanuel, to whom I introduced this poem, exclaimed, "This is a Christian Song of Songs!"

178 intuitive and traditional, of the people, and their love for
(181) the good and beautiful. Song collectors from outside the
Island have found little and assumed that song had been
(114) swept away. Discretion is certainly needed for song col-
(533) lection! Years ago in Bernera I had been told of a pretty
love lament I had not heard. Calling with my hosts to
125 invite him to their house that evening, we found the singer,
533 a burly crofter of fifty or so. We had been about to
183 mention the word 'song', when the word was checked on our lips by a swift, warning glance. The singer lived with his old mother and she must not be told that her son went
533 out on such an errand! Nevertheless, Islanders them-
178 selves are collecting many unpublished songs, where strangers failed. The Laxdale School choir wins prizes at
(814) many a national gathering or *Mod*, for their spirited singing of songs, many of them unpublished. Owing in part to their very isolation, these songs have remained as pure in form as in the Catholic Isles, whether in time and rhythm or in scale and mode. Thus the sub-intervals or 'quarter-tones' of the modal scale add subtlety to the melodic line of an air, as in the melodies of Wales or of distant India.[1] These intervals are rarely heard on concert platforms, being unrecognised by many 'Mod medallists'. They are rarely known to professional musicians trained to the mechanical scale of the piano, and who are asked, as adjudicators, to award praise or criticism by alien standards.

181 Courtesy and modesty are noticeable among the young

[1] M. Kennedy-Fraser, Preface, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. Cf. Glyn-Williams, *Welsh Song and Dance* (Curwen, 1936). For India see A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindustan* (1914), pp. 104 ff., and H. A. Popley, *The Music of India* (1921); cf. A. Geddes in A. Karpelès (ed.), *L'Inde et son âme*, Paris, 1927. While published phonographic records of Indian singing normally illustrate these intervals, those of Gaelic Hebridean singers rarely do, as they are accustomed to alter to suit a piano.

512 The cattle 52
233 knew their own sheilings; sometimes
825 they came back before milking time and stuck their heads
[234] inside. They stood outside the sheiling at night, and
that's how you can tell where a sheiling once was, even
though the walls have fallen, by the rich green grass.
Calves were born during the summer. A hollow was scooped
233 out in the peat, and lined with turf and moss. People
[422] had as many as four or five cows. It was like Switzerland,
only we didn't have the bells on the cows. There was lots
[292] of milk, fresh thick cream and crowdie (clotted sour
[294] milk); the old people knew how to make cheese.

233 "The moor was very eerie at night, with the sound of
• 821 the birds. There were only a few hours of darkness
751 anyway, and I'm sure we didn't get much sleep, but somehow
[513] we were always fresh. It was the air, the moor air is
more health-giving. The air is different there. Ill
people benefited from the change. Sometimes a person
with TB would stay out there all summer. The air is heavy
by the sea.

"There was no sense of time the way there is today.
805 If you got lost in the snow or fog, you followed the cows
233 home. You had all summer to take home the peats, to work
221 the croft, to harvest the corn. There wasn't a world,
829 there was only ourselves. That has changed since the war.
[178]

• 82| Two sayings sum up the lag of the seasons in the West
824 and its effect on crops. The first runs, "Winter comes
241 not till after New Year, nor Spring till after St. Patrick's
[538] Day" (*Cha tig Geamhradh gu cul Calluinn, no Earrach gu*
cul Fheill Paruig). St. Patrick's Day is the 17th of March,
but old-style reckoning put both dates later still. The
[538] other runs, "A frosty winter, a misty spring, a chequered
summer, and a bright, sunny autumn, never left dearth in
Scotland" (*Geamhradh reodhtanach, Earrach ceothanach,*
Samhradh breac riabhach, us Foghar geal grianach, cha
d'fhag gort riamh an Alba). The retort is that though
western summers may often be chequered with sun and
showers well suited for growing grass and grain, the
autumns are not really sunny, but rainy. Hence 'dearth'
—of grain—must result from spoiled harvests. Not so for
grass, unharmed by a wet autumn. Hay, if ensilage is not
possible, can usually be gathered unharmed in sunny spells
[132] of summer if cut in good time. Agriculturally, the climate
favours 'grass' rather than grain.

132 Plentiful rainfall and coolness throughout the year do
137 not allow of complete neutral decomposition of vegetable
[134] matter in the presence of air. Hence, year by year, a
residuum of acid humus accumulates as peat on the ill-
drained surface. Prehistorically, more favourable phases
of climate permitted the growth of pines. Knowledge of
present temperature and rainfall alone would suggest the
growth of broad-leaved deciduous trees, but these are
absent except in the sheltered policies of Stornoway Castle.
About 1695 Martin noted 'hazel and birch' occurring on
the south side of Loch Stornoway, but nowhere else on the
Island. Even there trees are stunted as if pruned by the
wind.

132 The further inhibitive influence is indeed the wind

822

822 ETHNOPHYSICS--popular conceptions of matter, energy, and their properties; notions about space, time, and gravitation; ideas about form, color, and sound (e.g., color symbolism, patterned use of color); beliefs about shadows, reflections, and echoes; notions about electricity, magnetism, chemical properties (e.g., alchemy); etc. See also:

Telephone, telegraph, radio, and television . . . 20
Ideas about heat, light, and fire 37
Art and music 53
Data on sensation and perception 181
Photography 218
Metallurgy 325
Civil engineering 331
Chemical engineering 381
Mechanics 401
Optical instruments 416
Ideas about the soul 776
Mensuration 804
Development of scientific physics and chemistry 815

796 into tiny squares. The ministers and the elders partake
794 first. A final hymn is full of rejoicing, and the minister
then exhorts the communicants to return to the world and
give witness and to live exemplary lives.

The evening service on Sunday is evangelical, intended
for non-believers. After this service the communicants
conduct a brief prayer meeting to give thanks.

[829] On Monday, the minister again tells the communicants
to go out into the world and declare publically their
experiences of the preceding day; and to demonstrate in
everything they do and say that they are believers. In
[178] the past, only a morning service was given, as most people
[484] had a long journey ahead of them to return home; but now
that cars are available, a similar evening service is also
conducted.

781 5. The Process of Conversion: The process of conversion
794 may be slow or sudden, but conversion is most common at
796 middle age and among women. One informant wryly observed,
[561] "Only recently women were allowed to have souls. But
[562] from the looks of the Communion table, mostly women are
going to heaven." Many of the women taking Communion are
[587] • [822] dressed from head to foot in black, a color which indicates
their widowed status.

781 The first sign that a person is "following" (leanntail)
794 the church is that he begins to attend the weekly prayer

823

823 ETHNOGEOGRAPHY--notions about water; ideas about hydrographic phenomena (e.g., oceans and seas, waves and tides, currents and whirlpools, rivers and streams, lakes and springs, floods); ideas about topographic phenomena (e.g., hills and mountains, canyons and valleys, caves and grottoes, striking natural formations, volcanoes and earthquakes); notions about minerals, metals, and precious stones; geographical and geological lore; directions (e.g., upstream and downstream, cardinal points); ideas about the beauty of nature; associated behavior patterns (e.g., attempts to quell earthquakes); etc. See also:

Geographical environment 13
Settlements 39
Place names 103
Land use 311
Water supply 312
Routes and maps 487
Disaster relief 731
Flood myths and mythical cataclysms . . . 773
Nature spirits and monsters 776
Surveying 804
Development of scientific geology and geography 815

166 The image of the island
484 as spiritual home is fostered by The Stornoway Gazette,
• 823 and by nostalgic songs, most of which were written by
204 islanders who emigrated to Canada in the first quarter
[533] of the century.

632 The crofting township as a strongly bounded network
241 continues to exist, although crofting as a socioeconomic pattern which evolved in a situation of limited social and geographical mobility, low cash reserves, and the restriction of a large population to a region of limited resources, is very different from crofting as defined by an office in Inverness. As far as the crofter is concerned, to be defined as a crofter by the Crofters Commission and other government agencies is to have access to resources which affect the environment in which he makes his choices.

241 The individual is faced with the semi-security of
288 crofting and weaving, in contrast with the exciting but risk-laden opportunities offered by the dominant urban-
[654] industrial mainland. Crofting and Harris Tweed have been protected by government legislation. Various subsidies
(745) and loans are available. In times of unemployment, social security is available. Extremely important as contributers
621 to boundedness are the non-economic incentives: the
156 individual has a place in a human community; he is given

CH. I ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

101 Britain, on the horizon, the eye may descry the coasts of
133 Scandinavia, the Low Countries, France and Iberia. This far-flung regional grouping within the British Isles—which extends for 800 miles from the Shetland to the Scilly Isles—may be called 'the North and West'.

Four border-lines may be drawn to bound these regions: the hill-foot 'Highland Line', the Scottish Border, the border of Wales with the Pennine-and-Moorland-foot, and lastly, for the whole, a line drawn from the Severn to the Tees. Of these four lines (or border-tracts), the last, which divides the British Isles into two different types of landscape and life, is not the least significant. On one side lies the whole of 'the North and West', with its isles and headlands, its mountains and hills, hewn in old rock, and its firthlands, straths and marginal, hill-foot lowlands, all sculptured markedly both by rivers and ice, and heaped with glacial drift. On the other lies the 'Plain' of south-eastern England, or simply 'the South-east', of which the low scarplands of younger rocks slope smoothly down to mainly river-sculptured vales, and are bounded by smoother coasts.[1]

133 Geographically, this succession is one of complexes with
131 recurrent features of height and hollow, land and sea, rather than of sharply defined blocks; its marches are tracts of transition rather than boundary lines. But essential characters of the two zones are revealed by the main boundary

• [823] [1] Strictly, the alternation of vales with wolds and downs, which characterises England south-east of the Pennines, would justify the term 'lowland'; but with our Scottish and Highland perspective, the English 'lowland' appears a 'plain', and for simplicity, the 'Plain', or simply 'the South-east', is used throughout this book. The physical and geological maps of the British Isles in an atlas may serve to illustrate this perspective; they should be viewed from the north-west by turning the map with the north-west islands towards one, and the plains of England and the Continent furthest away.

CH. I ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

241 Scotland had begun to lag since her pioneering effort from
134 1750 to 1880.
178 Fortunately, Scotland is now recognising that in peat
(654) reclamation, on the one hand, and the improvement of rough grazing, or at least its maintenance, on the other,
[185] there lies a problem of national importance. More than
311 half the land surface of the country consists of mountain and heath land used for grazing, not including 'deer forests' from which sheep had been altogether excluded. The arable land of Scotland is less than one-sixth of the whole, with about one-twelfth in addition under permanent grass. Moreover, since most of the enclosed land is distant from the area of rough grazing, the latter is partly wasted. The difficulties of soil and sea and of the whole economic situation are great, and must be understood.

(B) THE ISLAND LANDSCAPE, LAND-FORMS AND GEOLOGY

1. *Aspects of the Isle*

131 Lewis-and-Harris, the most northerly isle of the Outer Hebrides, and the largest, is roughly lozenge-shaped. Although only thirty miles in width, it is over sixty miles in length. Attached to Harris parish is the little isle of
[103] Berneray, half a dozen miles farther south. It puzzles the stranger that, while the archipelago of the Outer
• [823] Hebrides is best known to the inhabitants as "The Long Island", Lewis (or the Lews) and Harris, which actually form one island, are spoken of as separate islands.[1] Yet nothing could be more natural. Before the making of
[113] [1] "The Long Island", Gaelic *An Eilean Fada*, as a name for the Outer Hebrides has the sanction of traditional usage, as Alexander Carmichael noted in his Introduction to *Carmina Gadelica* (vol. i, 1900; and 1928).

ISLAND, WORK AND PEOPLE PT. I

131 Before the making of
roads, it was ease of sailing which united island peoples
174 and their territories. One can wade or drive, at low tide,
[491] over the fords that unite the Isle of Benbecula with the two Uists, North and South: in fact, a bridge now connects
[505] Benbecula with South Uist. But only the roughest of
[491] hill tracks led through the hills of North Harris from the 'Tarbert' or Isthmus of Harris to the nearest habitation at the head of Loch Seaforth or Loch Erisort, in the Lews. This is a distance of some twenty miles, or a fair day's tramp for an unloaded man, and far too much for a return
• [823] journey in one day. Hence separation of territory and name was natural. This separation no longer exists as
131 there is now a good 'bus service from Rodel via Tarbert
178 to Stornoway which links Harris with the daily Kyle to
823 Stornoway steamer. In this book, the Island, or the
494 Islanders, refers to Lewis-and-Harris with its people, as one.

101 Lewis is included in Ross-shire (of which the county town is Dingwall, north of Inverness) and Harris in
131 Inverness-shire, together with the rest of the 'Long
634 Island'. The county boundary cuts across the six-mile isthmus north of the hills of North Harris, from the in-reaching Loch Seaforth WNW. to Loch Resort (Fig. 8). All the Outer Hebrides are now included in the Parliamentary constituency of the Western Isles. Proposals to unite the Island under one District Council, or the Outer Hebrides under one County Council, are more favourably viewed in Stornoway than in Harris or the
632 Southern Isles. Harris forms one civil parish, while Lewis is divided into four: Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs.
[133] The Lewis parish boundaries traversing the moors are inset
[131] in Fig. 8 so that their trends can be readily grasped, and the inhabited portions of the parishes quickly located (p. 50).

175 COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT.
693 On the mainland, both Lowland and Highland, an
outlying reclaimable patch of arable, lying near distant, little
473 used pasture, frequently gave a single family the chance
(241) of a living. Such a site meant solitary toil for the ma
[311] and his family; but there might be advantages such
[184] an occasional deer from the forest, or a post as huntin
[224] 'forester' such as was held by many a Gaelic hunte
• [823] bard. In the Eastern Highlands such a high-lying croft w
known as *Ruigh* (anglicised to Ry-). Traditions of pover
with individuality in isolation were handed down, f
175 example, from one of my forebears who held such a *ruig*
361 Rycorrach, one of several strung out along the 1250-fe
contour in a small, high valley off Strath Spey; the la
[511] of them was abandoned only recently. Such a *ruigh* m
have originally been a summer shieling, only occupi
when shortage of corn-land below, coupled with ne
possibilities of a little profit from sheep-shearing, led
settlement there.

178 At the fringe of the Island's deer 'forests' of Nor
361 Harris and Park, stalkers are still found in lonely lodg
224 and dwellings, individuals often of character and worth,
233 they need to be; and a few isolated shepherds, such
one finds on mainland sheep farms, dwell on small isle
But in the Isles, isolated, high-lying spots for single cro
361 are rare. And the clearest distinction must be dra
621 between the true solitude of a single, isolated cottage
184 croft and the sociability of a group of four or five, or ev
two or three, crofts, such as those of lobster fishers;
even a few families form the germ of a community, in wo
and in leisure.

175 The potentialities of co-operative practice were ove
178 looked by agricultural reformers, excusably enough.
when new methods were required, run-rig kept back
654 pace to that of the slowest, virtually arresting reform. So
496
241
473

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

121 by help of oral tradition and of the living witness of con-
174 tinuing usage, we can reconstitute Gaelic life from the
178 view-points of both people and chief. Elsewhere, even in Scotland, only fragments of early life are recorded, in
175 parchments written by the lawyers of landlord and king, and almost always from the privileged side. History is
814 indebted to modern lawyers who have deciphered and
127 published the faded documents of their predecessors. But the very training as solicitor-factors which fitted them for this specialised task, in no way prepared them to view life as seen, experienced and felt by the men and women of the past, or even by the elders or youth of the townships today, with whom they have rarely laboured and whose mother tongue they rarely understand.

(A) THE LABOURS OF MAN AND WIFE, AND THE REWARD

621 We have seen that until the nineteenth century the
632 township in the main was self-contained. Its people grew,
175 reared or caught their food, and also found the raw materials
[433] for their clothing; they built their own shelter, and cut their own firing. As a result, both men and women had
174 each to develop "a wide range of simple skills", in the
175 apt phrase of a Lewisman, Mr. Donald MacLean, M.A. Beyond the co-operative effort within a family, a farm
462 group, or a body of 'fellow-townsmen'—in which each was competent to take a share according to sex and age—aptitude and family tradition initiated some local division
[463] of labour. The resident smith and the 'caird' (usually a wandering craftsman or tinker) appear in the oldest tales and in the first rent-rolls. In addition there were honorary
[759] tasks. The smith might act as the village surgeon, ready

172 of the Isles, and in which the people met, though far from
178 any clergy. On the southern mainland most trace of
346 shrines and chapels seems to have been lost, so small are
[771] the rings of unhewn stone that marked their sites. Little
was recorded by salaried clergy about the services conducted
175 there; those who approved tended to let well alone. Hence
• 814 written accounts have come down chiefly from those who
were out of touch with rural needs or ignorant of the
language spoken in intimacy, and whose alien training had
[217] removed them from sympathy.[1] As for those whose private
interests, stipend or subservience to patrons bound them
to prelate, lord or king, they roundly condemned free
congregations.

175 Nevertheless, fragmentary records have come down,
814 such as those of Martin, who visited St. Kilda in 1697 and
described the little church where the people still kept a
771 fine brass crucifix and worshipped together, without the
[184] presence of a clergyman. Naturally, the curiosity stimulated by St. Kilda's fabulous isolation led Martin to describe its little community more fully than any other; but he mentions similar worship elsewhere. Thus in lonely North Rona, inhabited by only five families, Martin had

[133] [1] The difficulty of initiation to intimate usages of language is exemplified in a scholarly and patriotic work, the *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (Gaelic-English, and English-Gaelic) by Malcolm Maclennan, D.D., 1925.
[192] This standard work incorporates all the words of three previous dictionaries, with many additions. Yet key words of the people's religious heritage, of immemorial age, of living usage, and recorded a generation or so before in the collections cited here, are either absent, or are given the more prosaic or debased of two shades of meaning (not the *higher*). See "*caim*, a case, sheath" or *shrine*; "*tionnsgann*, a beginning" (a *dedication*); *earna*, *Hail* or *salutation*; "*ora*, *orra*, or *ortha*, a charm . . . amulet . . . or imposture of any kind . . . Irish . . . prayer in verse—from Latin, *oratio*" (why prayer in 'Irish' only?); and other vital words. According to this scholarly dictionary, the title of the supreme Scottish collection of Gaelic religious tradition, Carmichael's *Ortha nan Gaidheal* (Latin, *Carmina Gadelica*), is to be translated, not *Prayers*, but "*Charms* . . . or Impostures . . . of the Gael"!

Campbell wrote, " My reception by those who are called 'professors' ", the lay leaders who 'professed' the Evangelical doctrines, " was trying to the last. Holding that Christ died for all seemed to them so fundamental an error as to poison all my teaching." Thereafter, Campbell retired, in Glasgow, to read, preach to a few, and write, keeping in touch with Norman Macleod and Erskine in Scotland, and in England with J. F. D. Maurice (1805–72). After *Christ, the Bread of Life*, Campbell wrote *The Nature of the Atonement* (1856). Readers felt not only that he was one of the most lovable of men, but a profound theologian, a view reinforced today. " Of all books that have ever been written on the Atonement ", wrote Dr. Denney, " McLeod Campbell's is probably that which is most completely inspired by the spirit of the truth with which it deals. Its originality is spiritual as well as intellectual. In speculative power he cannot be compared to Schleiermacher, nor in historical learning to Ritschl; but he walks in the light all the time, and everything he touches lives."

Here then was a man who seemed to have been born " in advance of his time ", yet who came of a community of deeply traditional cast. His life's thought was attuned to that of his forebears, and expressed itself most intimately perhaps in their own tongue. Campbell was born and reared in Lorne, Argyllshire, which had first received Protestantism through Carswell, who, in translating Knox's " Liturgy " into Gaelic, incorporated the old Gaelic labour prayer of the fishermen (Chapter VII (a)). The gentler form of Protestantism brought in by Carswell may have allowed the spirit of Celtic Christianity to survive among the people of ' Mid-Argyll ' and Lorne, down to Campbell's boyhood. It may thus have contributed to the making of " a Scottish

crippling losses suffered after 1914–18. A beginning has certainly been made. The Herring Industry Board's scheme for 'Queen of Scots' kippers will help the Minch fishing. It will not necessarily help the ports of Stornoway or Tarbert, because herring can be landed at mainland ports and treated there or else taken by road to the Moray Firth, kippered there, and still qualify under the scheme. The Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society has aided the marketing of lobsters to good purpose.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island*

It is to be hoped that members of the Lewis Association may ascertain these, perhaps in collaboration with University research workers. This, in turn, might instructively be collated with the imports and exports of the Island, which are recorded and ascertainable with a precision impossible for a similar area on the mainland. Thus the facts would throw light on the economy of other crofting districts.

(v) *Allowances, Pensions, Unemployment Assistance and Remittances*

With regard to money received by the crofting communities of Lewis from other than ' productive ' sources, figures have kindly been made available regarding three sources, namely, (*a*) Allowances made to members of the Forces and their dependents, and Pensions, (*b*) Unemployment payments, and (*c*) Money Orders and Postal Orders. The yearly periods for which figures are available are close enough to permit of reasonable comparisons. Among other sources, Bank Drafts form an insignificant fraction of monies received by crofters from outside the Island. It is impossible to say how much cash is brought home by men paid off from the Merchant Service and other employment, or how much may be sent through the post in the form of notes, whether registered or unregistered. The amount is known to be large, however, and an estimate based on the number of insured employed, and other figures, would be of value. A token figure is suggested in a note to the concluding Table.

[Kershader] [Garyvard]
182 common grazings - at present approximately correctly stocked - and cannot therefore provide
241 much employment. Hence it is the standard of agriculture that must be improved. Since the
[219] land does not permit striking extension or improvement of the cultivated area, development
must be directed towards improving pasture, with more re-seeding and controlled grazing
400 similar to that already described. All this, however, is of little avail if prices for cattle, sheep and wool remain low, or at least lower than prices prevailing on the mainland. The first priority, therefore, in the establishment of a prosperous agriculture is a guaranteed market-price. Given this, it might become worthwhile to take steps to increase the carrying capacity of the crofts. It may be assumed that this would involve an all-round improvement which could give a firm basis to the economic existence of the community; until this is achieved, stability and continuity are out of the question.

GARYVARD

Gwenyth R. Page, B. A.

131 The landscape of the south-east coast of Loch Erisort is a sombre and rugged one. The
133 Quaternary ice sheets left in their wake troughs now filled by the sea loch, innumerable lochs covered in water lilies, a massive area of indeterminate drainage and expanses of bare gneiss.

Garyvard is set on the fringe of this landscape on a 20 to 25° slope with the crofts aligned
[551] from the moor to the sea, on a mantle of drift. Here is the home of the MacLeods, the Mackinnons
221 and the Montgomerys. Life beats out its regular pattern of existence during the winter months
231 on the croft, followed by an increasing tempo and variety of work during the rest of the year. In January and February the animals must be fed on hay or lose the battle to survive. In February
241 there are preparations for the year's tasks, making repairs and improvements to the croft. Next month will find the crofter on the land, making or clearing drains and putting fences and dykes in order. The tempo of life quickens with the year; April sees the first sheep dipping, the land turned over, potatoes and oats sown. From mid-May, the sheep leave the crofts to fend
[144] for themselves on the common grazing. The following three or four months are times of tremendous activity on the moors when the peats are cut, to be stacked later, first in fours, then in eights, so that the wind may dry them, till eventually bee-hive-shaped stacks - some four feet high - can be seen near the peat banks in August. Then begins the wearisome task of carrying the peats home, all too frequently in creels carried on the back, since the peat workings of Garyvard are on the moors up to half a mile from road. Altogether some two miles of roads are needed to prevent the villagers patronising the coal merchants of Stornoway. Two crofters, however, cut peat on their crofts, whilst others have permission to cut from Cromore or Caversta common grazings close to the road. All the while croft work continues, varying from hoeing, weeding and cutting hay to the gathering of sheep for shearing. As there are no fences between the various commons, crofters must travel from one township fank to another, seeking their own. In August the lambs are weaned. Hay making generally ends in August and is immediately followed by the oat harvest in September. By the time both oats and hay have been gathered in, the potatoes are lifted and the sheep are brought in from the common grazing about October 12th. The last sheep dipping takes place in November and is followed by tupping.

241 There are eleven crofts altogether, though one is divided, each portion having a legal tenant
423 who has a half share in the common grazing. Two crofts are 12 acres in extent, the half crofts 2.75 acres only, though the acre cultivated on the common grazing by one of the latter crofters since 1923, has recently been officially recognised. Most crofts are in strips running from the sea-shore up the slope some 500 yards to the township dyke, and are clearly demarcated by fences erected just after the last war. Three crofts have additional strips whilst one croft was
[75] an extra strip belonging to another croft. The additional strips date back about 100 years to a time when the township grew rapidly as a result of evictions in southern Park. One croft is divided and worked in three separate parts so in effect there are fourteen operative units in Garyvard.

821

821 ETHNOMETEOROLOGY--ideas about night and day, dawn and twilight, rising and setting of the sun, phases of the moon, eclipses, solstices and equinoxes, and the succession of seasons; notions about heavenly bodies (e.g., sun, moon, stars, constellations, planets, comets, meteorites); ideas about meteorological phenomena (e.g., clouds and fog, frosts and drought, rain and snow, ice hail and sleet, winds and whirlwinds, storms, thunder and lightning, rainbow, parhelion and aurora); associated behavior patterns (e.g., greeting the dawn, dispelling an eclipse); etc. See also:

Climate	132	Cosmology	772
Navigation	602	Nature spirits and gods	776
Reaction to disasters	731	Omens and astrology	787
Magical weather control	789	Development of scientific astronomy and meteorology	815
Ordering of time	805	Association of lunation with menstruation	841

178 but not as often as in
501 were in danger of being
228 and winds that gained e
[493] harbor; but today, bec
[504] the boats can be shelte
of Carloway, five miles
[434] of Shawbost. Despite t
in income since World W
people to buy boats, th

175 In the past certai
821 "knowing the wind and t
coming from different d
kinds of weather; a li
bad weather in a few da
"My father and grandfat
coming. They needed to
radio and television to
signs, too, if I had li

175 Not only was there
228 to hire themselves as c
464 Several nicknames refle
551 known by the nickname "
who lived on the east c
boat the head of the Sh

the past. In the past boats
smashed by the strong seas
asy access to the Shawbost
ause so many cars are available,
red in the more protected bays
up the coast to the southwest
his protection and the increase
ar II which would enable more
e number of boats remains small.
n people were esteemed for
he sea." The sound of the turf
irections presaged different
ne of white across the bay meant
ys. A fifty-year-old man says,
her could tell when a storm was
know, and they didn't have
tell them. I would know the
stened to them."
local fishing, but the men used
rew on other fishing boats.
ct this history. One family is
Strachan," the surname of a man
oast of Scotland and on whose
awbost family had once worked as

824

THNOBOTANY--notions about plants in general; ideas about particular plants
.g., mistletoe); cultural uses of plants; native terms for plants;
owledge of poisonous plants; associated behavior patterns; etc.

e also:

Agriculture 24
Textile uses of plant fibers 28
Native flora 137
Collecting 722
Fish poisons 226
Food taboos 262
Materia medica and pharmacology 278
Lumbering and forestry science 313
Forest products 314
Arrow poisons 411
Development of scientific botany. 815

175 [161] Around this time, various factors had encouraged an increase in population. After Scotland's union with England in 1707, the prohibition on the import of cattle into England was lifted, and trade in cattle became economically more important (Day 1918: 26). The numerous wars of this period caused the price of cattle to double between 1736 and 1766 (Day 1918: 180). Clan warfare diminished; the potato was introduced; and vaccine for smallpox became available.

175 161 [166] The increase in population led to an extreme crowding of land in some areas, which made agricultural reform difficult. Many landlords tried to encourage tenants of their estates to emigrate. The appearance of a market for kelp, which lasted from the middle of the 18th century to about 1815, discouraged landlords from implementing policies of depopulation that would diminish their labor force. An alkaline extract of kelp was used in a variety of manufactured goods, such as soap and glass. The seaweed was gathered by men, women and children living along the coasts, and burned in rough open kilns. Tenants who worked at this occupation received L3-4, and the landlords L18-20, per ton (Mackinlay 1878: vii); the landlord received as high an income as L10,000 to L20,000 a year from the burning of kelp (Gray 1957: 42).

175 824 323 388 [465]

288 105 developed from the concentration of power in the hands
141 of the merchants. In the early days of the industry,
284 all the processes involved in the production of a
282 finished length of tweed were carried out by individual
138 175 families. A man used wool from his own flock, and with the
175 aid of other family members, dyed it with vegetable dyes,
(386) carded and spun it by hand, wove it, washed and shrunk
284 it, and found his own buyer. Dyeing wool, spinning yarn,
282 and washing ("waulking") the finished length of tweed
175 462 was usually done by women. In Harris, the entire process of producing a tweed was carried out by women, but in Lewis the weaving was done largely by men.

175 A woman in her 80's recalls the process of weaving
286 when she was young. Hand-spinning had died out by this time, although the question of whether tweeds woven with such yarn could legitimately be called Harris Tweed was not resolved until 1934.

"About 1916 or so it took about two weeks to a month
175 143 to do a tweed. You bought the wool from the Agricultural
(435) Board. Sixteen bags of wool, costing about £20, would
(433) do four tweeds. You needed four one-stone bags per tweed. Then you would spend a day gathering a bag of
(384) 138 crotal (lichen scraped from rocks and used for dye). One
(324) bag per one bag of wool was required for the dye. After

233 costly, that the Common Market will soon drive up milk
434 prices, and that income from the weaving has become too
430 uncertain.
248

Many tools and techniques associated with crofting
412 have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (two
178 pieces of wood joined with leather); the sheepskin stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate chaff and grain; rope made of plaited heather and straw.

241 Each spring the byre was cleaned of its accumulated dung
(224) and urine, and this was turned into the ground along
(224) with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among
(324) the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be
173 mobilized under changed conditions, as when alternatives
(387) to crofting are no longer available or are too costly. However, the longer crofting is neglected, the less it will provide an alternative strategy. "The artificial
241 fertilisers are ruining the land; that's why the
(224) turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to
(233) water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and streams—rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep—the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather work the land than the blinkin' loom, but we tried the potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

INTRODUCTION

136 coasts there is a wonderful richness—one might well spend an
(413) hour or so with J. A. Harvie-Brown's *A Fauna of the Outer Hebrides*. The Hebrides area is one of the twelve faunal regions of Scotland, and is becoming increasingly the spotting-ground for amateur and professional ornithologists. They see birds such as the skua and red-necked phalarope, breeding at the southernmost limits of their range. The golden eagle, corncrake and red-throated diver, though found in other parts of Scotland, are more plentiful in the region because of the low incidence of human interference; buzzard, merlin and peregrine falcon are also found. Many birds are peculiar to the area: there are Hebridean subspecies of twite, dunnock, song-thrush and wren. Since 1962 the blue tit has begun to colonise the Stornoway woods. And 1960 saw the first arrival of the collared dove, an incomer which, like many a human, has taken to the island life, and settled down to establish its flourishing community. On Gallows Hill, a low rising overlooking Stornoway, is a large rookery; rooks first reached the island in 1893. Jackdaws arrived at the turn of the century and are now quite numerous. As might be expected, the adjacent harbour and foreshore of Stornoway provide a suitable area for purple sandpipers, turnstone, heron and redshank. Gulls abound. The estuary area just north of Stornoway is the haunt of widgeon, shelduck and teal, among many other birds; a ruff was seen there in 1956. Melbost beach has the largest ternery in the islands, with arctic, common and little terns sharing life together.

The birds on the shore line are mostly waders, divers, ducks and seabirds. Cormorant, shag, gannet, fulmar, arctic skua, terns, gulls of all kinds and oyster-catcher can be found. The full variety of the island's bird life can be seen by visiting not only those skipping lands to the sea, but the cliff-tops, which often have their own numerous bird colonies. The sea's edge, with the push-pull tides, is indeed another area with abundant life of all kinds. Bladder-
(137) wrack *(fucus vesiculosus)* and knotted wrack *(ascophyllum nodo-*
(824) *num)* are there in great quantity, the latter now a significant factor
(241) in seaweed-processing activities (Chapter 6). From time immemorial, seaweeds have been a natural resource in the island's economy, used as manure to supply the necessary element of organic matter to keep the land in good heart. Keeping the sea-

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

286 womenfolk, giving a ratio of only one male weaver to fifty-five
462 families. In Lewis, male weavers were more common: one to
*175 every twenty-five families. The making of whisky was introduced
433 about the seventeenth century. This was in addition to the old drink of home-brewed beer or ale *(lionn)*, and much of it was made to pay rents; it must have consumed a considerable quantity of valuable foodstuff. However, the spread of distillation as a legitimate home industry by which the rent could be paid, in kind
273 or by sale, was followed by legislation prohibiting all but very
433 large stills; illegal distilling of course went on in a small way.

*195 It was, then, by a very narrow margin that subsistence was won
511 in the island some two centuries ago. Many times famine showed how close was the wolf to the island doors. The introduction of the potato, and the interest in the fishing industry led to an increase in the population, though as discussed in Chapter 3 this in turn brought more problems. Basically, the island economy had never been organised on a sound foundation, with the result that winds of change blew where they would with little or no control.

*195 A new factor in the island economy was introduced after 1750.
* 924 This was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed on the
323 shore for subsequent use in the manufacture of alkali for the glass
388 and soap industries. The first tentative move in the island was
433 made by MacLeod of Harris in 1748, when he allowed some Irish labourers to make kelp on his shores; so little was the product's value realised at the time that he only charged them 2s per ton manufactured. As the burning of kelp came to be understood, and the marketable value of the product ascertained, the native population set to. Between 1772 and 1864, about 50 tons were produced in Lewis each year, compared with some 800 tons per annum in the Uists; the Harris figure was 500-600 tons. The growth of the industry began to snowball, and the Minister of Locha, writing in the *Old Statistical Account*, states that at the time (1796) some 50 tons were being produced in that parish
(221) per annum. In Stornoway parish, though no figure is available, the minister reports that kelp-burning was the principal manufacture, and that everyone able to fill a creel, or carry one, was employed at it for about three months of the year. Little of it seems to have been done in Barvas parish. The price of kelp varied

CROFTER INDUSTRIES

according to the amount of barilla (its great competitor, a carbon-
175* ate of soda made from plant ashes) which found its way into the
224 British market. When the American war interfered with the im-
323 ports the kelp price was as high as £22 per ton. Prices began to
388 decline about 1810, and from 1822 successive reductions in duties
433 on salt and barilla resulted in the decline and demise of the kelp industry. As a consequence, great distress appeared in those districts which had founded their whole economy on seaweed.

The weeds of most value to the industry, because they yielded
(137) most salts, included *laminaria digitale, laminaria bulbosa, asco-phyllum nodosum* and *fucus vesiculosus*. One ton of kelp yielded an average of 8 lb of iodine, with certain quantities of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, and carbonate of soda. When subjected to special treatment and distillation, 2-3 cwts of sulphate of ammonia, and several gallons of naphtha, paraffin oil, and volatile oil were also derived.

The fishing industry, discussed in the previous chapter, took
175* over where the kelp-making industry left off and became another
228 king-pin in the island economy. By the end of the last century it seemed set fair for continuing prosperity. In 1900, harbours were
(503) being planned and built with State aid in Uig, at Carloway, Ness
(553) and Tarbert. Then 1914 came, and with it sweeping changes in international trade. Island fishermen were left workless with
(511) wrecked and rotting fishing boats. In twenty years the number of Scotland's fishermen was halved; the remainder were all but ruined. The islanders' fate mirrored this pattern.

Yet another significant source of income for island families for
175* almost 200 years came from the men in military service, who
201 either sent money home or returned home with their gratuities
434 and pay. In the wars of the last century many enlisted in the Highland regiments, the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Even today, the income from this external activity is not insignificant.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMY

Information and statistics about the economy of the island in the
175* middle of the eighteenth century are to be found in Walker's
113 *Economical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland*; his MS is in the British Museum.

(above) An island industry, small but totally significant: the seaweed processing factory at Kerse, Loch Erisort, Lewis

(p. 126)

(below) Feeding wet seaweed into the factory's drying plant. The dried product is milled and exported by pallet for subsequent processing

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LORD LEVERHULME'S FISHERIES

When he pulled out of Lewis to go south to Harris,
159 he offered—such was the character of the man—as thanks for
175* the '98 per cent support' he got from the people of Lewis, to each
423 Lewis crofter his own croft as a free gift, and the Lews Castle,
731 together with all his property in Stornoway, to the people of the town.

In 1919, Leverhulme became proprietor of Harris, and con-
159 centrated his efforts in Obbe, now called Leverburgh, in South
175* Harris. The harbour at Obbe lacked the natural advantage which
Stornoway had, so he spent large sums on making it navigable.
(503) Rocky obstacles were blasted away; harbour quays and breakwaters
(228) were set up to guide vessels into harbour; new quays were built;
and kippering sheds, and other buildings necessary for packing and curing herring were erected. Among his other undertakings
(288) in Harris were the provision of a mill for making tweeds, and he
(491) bore half the cost of the 54 miles of road between Leverburgh and Finsbay. In 1925, after a visit to the Congo, he died in Brussels. His Harris schemes came to an abrupt end. And the remains of industrial history are still to be seen in the quietness of the little township named after one of the most stormy of business petrels that Britain has ever seen.

Tourism

484 Tourism has always been a perfunctory and casual affair, until
(521) the introduction of the fast ferries which now link the mainland
(565) (via Skye) with the Outer Isles. Some 10,000 cars cross each year from Skye to the Hebrides. In 1913, the Stornoway Tourist Association had a struggle to increase the number of visitors to the town, to establish it as a tourist resort. It is much the same today with the Western Isles Tourist Association, which is having difficulty in integrating tourist facilities with crofting activities. In Lewis, the Stornoway Trust has assisted in establishing pony-trekking, a venture which has the potential to mirror the success of a similar one in the Isle of Skye.

PRESENT INDUSTRY

Almost an echo of the kelp-burning industry is the alginate in-
824 * dustry. It provides employment for only small numbers, but is a
381

824 useful crofting ancillary which, unlike many others, is soundly
38 based on a definite commercial demand. Various industries use
the extracted acid for some 150 products. The Scottish alginate
industry, the second largest in the world, is based on the process
of E. C. Stanford, who discovered alginic acid in 1883, though
today modern methods are used. For raw materials it has turned
to the old kelping shores of the Hebrides and Northern Isles. On
the island it has a factory at Keose on Loch Erisort, a site chosen
for the easy access afforded to puffers; the factory receives the
weed, dries, mills and bags it, and the boats then carry 200-ton
loads to Girvan. The factory itself involved some £30,000 of
433 capital layout and has a capacity of 120 wet tons per week—4
wet tons producing 1 dry milled ton. About a dozen Harris and
137 Lewis crofters gather the seaweed crop, the most useful type being
bladderwrack or rockweed *(ascophyllum nodosum)*, from the
shores at Loch Erisort, East Loch Roag and Bernera in Lewis,
493 Husinish and Scarp in Harris, and Loch Seaforth. Where there is
road access the weed is cut by sickle and loaded into a lorry, but
more often it is cut at low water to be floated with the incoming
tide and rafted to Keose, hauled by motor boat.

247 A product of the land not readily associated with the Hebrides
is bulbs. Bulb-growing deserves a mention, however, if only be-
803 cause the experiment to see whether it could become a commer-
cial possibility in Lewis was carried out by the children of Lionel
(Ness) Junior Secondary School. The MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust
made an investment of £150 to cover initial expenses, and success
followed. When the original project was completed it was ex-
tended, sales bringing the school a useful sum. But an attack of
disease brought production to a standstill in 1966.

312 Another small industry is the aerated-water plant at Ness,
which is operating with reasonable success, and could do better if
228 imports of aerated waters from abroad were reduced. A number
of recent surveys made in the island have found great interest in
such activities as shell-fish processing in Harris to produce semi-
286 preserves, using mostly cockles and mussels. Local knitting already
has a name for its products and a potential for extension on a
commercial scale; this latter began in late 1966. Some forty years
* 195 ago knitting specialists went to Lewis to investigate the possibilities

82 Two sayings sum up the lag of the seasons in the West
824 and its effect on crops. The first runs, "Winter comes
241 not till after New Year, nor Spring till after St. Patrick's
538 Day" (*Cha tig Geamhradh gu cul Calluinn, no Earrach gu*
538 *cul Fheill Pàraig*). St. Patrick's Day is the 17th of March,
but old-style reckoning put both dates later still. The
other runs, "A frosty winter, a misty spring, a chequered
summer, and a bright, sunny autumn, never left dearth in
Scotland" (*Geamhradh reodhtanach, Earrach ceothanach,*
Samhradh breac riabhach, us Foghar geal grianach, tha
d'fhag gort riamh an Albа). The retort is that though
western summers may often be chequered with sun and
showers well suited for growing grass and grain, the
autumns are not really sunny, but rainy. Hence 'dearth'
—of grain—must result from spoiled harvests. Not so for
grass, unharmed by a wet autumn. Hay, if ensilage is not
possible, can usually be gathered unharmed in sunny spells
132 of summer if cut in good time. Agriculturally, the climate
favours 'grass' rather than grain.

132 Plentiful rainfall and coolness throughout the year do
137 not allow of complete neutral decomposition of vegetable
134 matter in the presence of air. Hence, year by year, a
residuum of acid humus accumulates as peat on the ill-
drained surface. Prehistorically, more favourable phases
of climate permitted the growth of pines. Knowledge of
present temperature and rainfall data would suggest the
growth of broad-leaved deciduous trees, but these are
absent except in the sheltered policies of Stornoway Castle.
About 1695 Martin noted 'hazel and birch' occurring on
the south side of Loch Stornoway, but nowhere else on the
Island. Even there trees are stunted as if pruned by the
132 wind.

The further inhibitive influence is indeed the wind

175 reclamation, which Dean Munro has described as he saw it.
311 Technique and economic return must be balanced against
185 the factors of nature. Although natural conditions are
182 difficult, they may not form a complete explanation of the
relative arrest of reclamation in the nineteenth century;
for here separation from the agricultural advances of the
Lowlands by barriers of mountain and sea caused the re-
tention of unprogressive methods until the wave of agri-
cultural improvement had spent itself by the middle of
198 last century. To this cause must be added other influences
171 contrasted to those leading to peasant advance in the rest of
Western Europe: the political history of the Gaeldom
after 1745, the revolution in land tenure and in the social
life of the upper classes, the commercial, industrial and
imperial development of Great Britain. All these factors
help to explain the contrast offered to the Lews by western
Denmark and western Norway, lands in which the soil
and climate are comparable to those of the Island. Yet
reclamation is proceeding, as on skinned land at Ness,
where plots of ground have been steadily broken in by
226 hoe and by spade or plough.

226 Settlement and agricultural land are placed around
341 the coasts with their fishing grounds. In spite of what
was often said—that the Lewisman is and has always been
311 primarily a fisherman—fishing alone is not enough to
241 account for this distribution, for the agricultural conditions
on the whole are also best along the coasts, or were so for
early settlers. As Stevens remarked, the light sandy
'machar' lands are there, and the fringe of partially im-
proved soil close by; drainage is, on the whole, better,
while shell-sand and sea-ware are to be had for manure.
241 The sea-ware also serves still as fodder, while one or two
824 sorts are sometimes cooked for human food; carragheen

241 (Chondrus), for example, is used as a thickener of milk to
824 make a cheese-like mould. Dulse is also plucked.[1]

272 The type of coastal form and vegetation alters the
182 relative importance of crofting and fishing—and the balance
chosen is significant. (1) Where the coastline is smooth,
241 and leads inland from sandy machar with its clover to
226 sand-ameliorated 'black land' of smooth topography lend-
ing itself to ploughing, and the whole is backed by extensive
pastures, the tract is relatively well-off for crofting but
may be ill-placed for fishing. (2) Where the coast is either
indented or salient with rocky loch-sides or steep pro-
montory cliffs, a rolling or rocky topography, little shell
sand, and (on the promontories) a shortage of pasture, it is
ill-placed for crofting; but it is favourable to fishing either
by virtue of sheltered sea lochs or of salient promontories,
one or other side of which tends to give relative shelter
to the fishing ground (chosen according to the direction of
the wind, to avoid being blown on to a dangerous, lee shore).
Hence the site of a settlement has had much to do with
the choice and opportunities for a communal vocation,
from prehistory to the present time, as we shall see.

103 Significant local characteristics emerge in the names of
634 the ancient districts (inset with the Map of Settlement,
Fig. 8). In the north is Ness (Norse, 'nose' or cape);
175 along the west is Cladach (Gaelic, a stony beach); while
in South Harris the western shore is dominated with the
eastern 'Bays'. 'Park', a sheep-run in the early nine-
teenth century, was the Norse 'East-fell'. In contrast,
the parishes of Lewis centre on four churches, linked to
149 the road-system. This radiates from Stornoway in five
directions: east, NE., NW., SW., and south to Tarbert,

173 [1] Pulling dulse (*Rhodymenia*) is one of the 'delights' of Iona as told in a poem long attributed to Saint Columba!

198 found in a Lewis village; but in the ten to twenty years
462 before 1939, the so-called 'Harris' tweed industry spread
283 enormously in Lewis, accompanied by the construction of
286 large spinning mills in Stornoway which supply yarn to
167 other weaving. One further activity, kelp-making, was
824 important for a time, although—not being strictly a
traditional task—it is not represented in the upper graph,
198 nor yet in the lower one, having declined after 1825 and
disappeared (in the Island) long before the present century.
Such was the annual rhythm of seasonal labour prevalent
during the last generation, and a hundred years before.

7. *Rural Changes in Diet, Dress and Inter-marriage, and as Mobility: 1919–39*

198 Many outward changes occurred in the twenty years
262 after the close of the First World War. Till the Island
146 was able to benefit from the commercial advances of the
mainland, it had no adequate relief from the famines of
early times; in recent years the quantity of food has been
198 rather more adequate. With the import of new foods,
the consumption of vitamins at first declined: there was
greater consumption of white bread from Glasgow and less
of fresh vegetables (as ruined garden walls bear witness),
and less, too, of cod-liver oil with the cessation of cod-
244 fishing. Latterly, fenced gardens with vegetables and
lettuce are providing vitamins, and fresh fruit (unobtain-
able even after 1919) is commonly on sale all the year
round, so that a more rational dieting, when it can be
afforded, is tending to recover lost ground and perhaps
more.[1]

[1] E. P. Cathcart (*et al.*), *Studies in Nutrition: an Enquiry into the Diet of Families in the Highlands and Isles: III, Lewis* (Medical Research Council, Special Report, Series 241. H.M.S.O.), London, 1940.

000 landlords to improve passenger regulations at that time.

175 Wars brought enlistment in the Highland regiments,
the Navy and Merchant Marine. Owing to migrations of
162 all kinds, males came to be outnumbered by females, then
902 as later (100 males to 114 females, 1931).[1] In Lewis in
167 1795 the proportion was 100 to 111, and in Harris 100 to
124. From this period onwards the 'export of men' con-
175 tinued, modified by the reserve for war. Men were trained
162 for the Naval Reserve and Militia; and in 1900 for instance
202 800 men were training at Fort George and 2500 sailors
were in the Reserve. The maintenance of a reserve for the
Navy was one of the strongest pleas for the framing of the
Crofters Act.

175 A new resource, important to the Islanders after 1750,
824 was kelp-making, the cutting and burning of seaweed upon
323 the shore, for use in the manufacture of alkali in the glass
388 and soap industries. From 1770 onwards the price rose,
heightened first by an import duty, then by the Napoleonic
175 Wars. Estimating from the high prices, averaging over
824 £10 per ton from 1800 to 1823, Sir John Sinclair put the
435 value of the annual produce (20,000 tons) at £200,000. "It
may appear surprising", he remarks, "how that sum could
be of such importance to 80,000 people"; but he goes
on to point out that this gave the additional cash needed
to supplement their subsistence. But even when Sinclair
wrote in 1825, the industry was in peril. Failure and loss
occurred almost immediately after, with disastrous effect.

175 It is complained in the *New Statistical Account* that
133 owing to the summer-time work of kelp-making up to
1830, the people could give little attention to the crofts, so
511 that their extension must almost have ceased. Nor could

[1] In 1951 the ratio in Lewis was 100 males to 112 females, and in Harris, 100 to 110.

139 Alluvial soils have developed along the lower reaches of Ammnion Thoraghair and the Eristo
river.

There are no trees apart from an occasional stunted rowan or willow - willows for
general making grow still in some old garden enclosures. Hedges, too, are rare as, although
160 individual houses are often carefully sited, there is little need for cover and the townships are a
whole are very exposed to westerly gales. The natural vegetation developed on the machair
is of fine closely matted grasses with a good deal of natural clover - very similar to that
found on chalk downland. On the peaty moorland the usual moor grasses mosses and
heather are dominant, though little encroachment by bracken was noticed.

In Crowlista the strip layout of the crofts dates from a letting about 1850. (Figure 14)
361 in the new townships. laid out about 1841 (Figure 15) the majority of the crofts are
less strip-like and do not run to the shore. Indeed in Ardroil and Timsgarry only five
127 out of twenty-two croft the shore and the rocky headlands with their machair are valuable
parts of the common pasture. The six crofts in Carnish run from the shore at the foot
of the saker up the flank towards the southwest and almost to its summit. They also have
one or two small plots each on the machair.

Crofts in Ardroil are in one piece. An old cattle road forms the north west boundary
133 from this they rise, steeply in places, to undulating moorland just over 200' high. Numbers
5 - 8 Timsgarry are strips across the Eristo valley, rising eastwards to just over 170'.
2, 3 and 4 are allotted to make use of arable land on the lower slopes of Reach Valaiste.
The houses at Ardroil are crofts No. 1 Timsgarry and No. 1 Ardroil are the former farmhouses.

511 In Crowlista most of the crofts remain intact but in Carnish and Timsgarry
all are fenced and many of the fences were being repaired or replaced in 1959. They are
not open for common grazing during the winter. Patches of sown hay are fenced within
each croft.

There are six recognized croft-holdings in Carnish; one is sub-let so that there are
142 only five "operative" units; two of these are not worked. One has been resumed by the
proprietors and is being quarried as an extension of the main quarry between the town-
ship dyke and main road. In Ardroil each of the fourteen crofts is worked as a unit -
though two carry sheep; in Timsgarry eight crofts are worked as seven units.

In contrast to the above, the old settlement of Crowlista has twenty-five recognized
crofts but, by amalgamation and sub-letting these are worked as fourteen units. The
Crowlista crofts are small - fourteen are 6.5 acres or less and of these only one is
worked as a unit. Crofts as small as 1.5 acres and with a room of sight sheep can never
have been intended to support a family: they are the result of sub-division in earlier
generations; the remains of two piers and a curing house point to the importance of
fishing in the past. Twenty-one men were employed in fishing boats about 1914. Sub-
160 letting usually takes place between relatives; of some of the fourteen operative units are
quite complicated. One example will suffice (croft numbers are here replaced by letters
to prevent publication of personal matters):-

Crofts a, b, c and d are worked as a unit (although they are not adjacent). The
tenant of a and b sub-lets c and d for grazing; he also helps with the work on yet a fifth
croft. The present b is half of an original croft. West of the road the original croft is
held in fixed tenancy between h and another croft, one part of this multiple "working" unit
east of the road it has been divided into separate strips. The tenant lives on h.

361 Many of the original houses are ruined or used as byres. Figure 14 shows that new
491 houses have been built near the sites of the old ones but sometimes nearer the road - all
487 but four houses have easy access to the road. Crowlista is linked to the main road by
493 two miles of rough gravel side-road, and by a footpath and ford via Timsgarry. Vans call
205 but there is no Post Office, store nor bus service. At present water supplies are poor -
368 two wells only are in use.
494
312

Carnish is served by a short unmetalled road and all houses have good access to this. Water supply is good; water may be stored on the high part of the crofts and piped into the houses. The roads serving Timsgarry too, are unmetalled, but the main road is less than a mile away. This 'main road' from western Uig to Stornoway runs through Ardroil and all
366 except one of the houses not near to it have good drives suitable for lorries. Ardroil has
205 a store and Timsgarry a Post Office. One butcher's and two grocers' vans call weekly
453 and the travelling bank fortnightly. The thrice-weekly bus service to Stornoway (return
494 fare almost £1) ceased in 1960 because of competition from privately owned vans and cars.
491

241 The cultivated land is in strips usually large enough for horse or tractor work; the
231 smaller potato patches are hand dug. Few horses are kept now, Timsgarry, Ardroil, and
407 Carnish have one each and Crowlista none. Crofters hire these horses or tractors from Brenish or Enaclete. Oats and potatoes are the only crops grown in quantity, small patches of turnips are found and most crofters grow root vegetables. Kale was seen growing on one Ardroil croft; this was an experiment and seemed to be very successful. Bere and rye are no longer grown. Grass mixtures are sown in order to qualify for cultivation grants. Oats are undersown, or grass seed may be sown after the oat harvest, and left for hay for several years - some sown twelve years age was said still to be giving very good hay, but on the whole very little grass is sown in Crowlista. The acreage of natural grass cut for hay varies a good deal with the weather and the time and labour available. Crofters find this difficult to estimate as well, as often small irregularly shaped pieces are cut, and the figures, therefore, may not be accurate. (Appendix A).

One excellent garden showed that a rich variety of vegetables, fruit and flowers can be grown if adequate shelter is provided and the time for cultivation is available, but few crofters have the necessary knowledge or interest.

242 Lime, dung and artificial manure are widely used, though on some Crowlista crofts
134 the compound fertilisers were in use for the first time in 1959. Shell sand is used on the
824 crofts which have peaty soil. Although it is agreed that seaweed and dung are the ideal fertilisers for potatoes, seaweed is only occasionally used. It is becoming difficult to obtain locally and much heavy work is involved.

231 Each of the thirty-five operative units which carry any stock at all has a cow for domestic milk supply and manure. If the family is large or many visiting relations stay on the croft during the summer the calf has to be sold early; otherwise it will be reared until the cattle sales in September or May. Only eight crofters had two cows; fifty years ago four were commonly kept. Only thirteen of the units had young cattle other than calves. One crofter was rearing a kid for milk.

The bull supplied for these townships and Mangersta is an Aberdeen Angus which is wintered on the Ardroil machair.

233 It was sometimes difficult to obtain factual information about sheep and it is difficult to generalise. Operative units without sheep were those where no suitable labour was available. In a few cases crofters considered that sheep were 'not worth the trouble' - but others were building up their sheep stocks. Individual flocks ranged from ten to two

133 The 1,700 acres of common pasture stretch to the east and west of the crofts, across
231 the peninsula which terminates in Gallan Head, extending to those of Crowlista and Valtos
654 in the south. The whole coast is broken and rocky, the land inland is peaty, and Aird lacks the advantages of the machair land found further west. To the north of the village there is now an R.A.F. radar station on Rudha Caol, built on what was part of the common pasture. It dominates the landscape and makes a considerable difference to the life of the inhabitants.

361 The township, though isolated, is reached by a good road which leaves the main road
491 at the western end of Glen Valtos. Grocery vans call on Wednesday and Friday, a
493 butcher's van on Saturday, and the local people are also allowed to shop at the N.A.A.F.I. within the Camp. The road through the village approximately follows the line of the 100 ft. contour and all the houses are built directly on to the road, with byres, weaving sheds and other buildings behind, whilst in most cases hens are kept on the steeper slopes below
205 the road. Thus the settlement has far more of the appearance of an English village than
342 have most crofting townships, but there is no shop or post office. The majority of the houses are stone with slate roofs and fairly large, though some of them have been built for
354 more than fifty years. All have electric light and their own water supply and several have
312 modern byres.

427 There are ten crofts, as the enlargement of one of the original nine was subsequently
311 split off to make a separate croft. Of these, one tenant is an absentee and another an
491 elderly woman who does no cultivation. In both these cases, grazing is let to others so that there are actually eight operative units. The crofts are fenced in their upper portions, but in most cases the fencing does not extend down to the river and there is free access to the single concrete footbridge which spans the stream.

241 The only crops now grown are oats and potatoes and a few vegetables, with some sown grass; natural grass provides most of the hay crop. Lime and shell sand and artificial fertilisers are used; the two former particularly on the ground near the river where the cultivation is in narrow strips separated by drainage ditches and ploughing is done by horse.
407 Most of the cultivated land is on the gentler slopes behind the houses, where the use of a
242 tractor is possible. Before 1914 most of the land within the original turf dyke was culti-
824 vated; bere was grown and ground at the mill for meal for barley bread. Seaweed was
231 extensively used as a fertiliser and most of the families kept eight or nine cows, so that there was a more plentiful supply of manure. Now, six of the families each keep one cow for domestic milk supply (two of the others each keep a goat). The township possesses no bull, but make use of those at Valtos or Ardroil.

233 On the other hand, the sheep soum is generally exceeded; instead of the entitlement of about 200, the total flocks grazed on the township pastures are approximately 500. The lambs are weaned early in August and put on Rudha Caol (Air Force use has not prevented this) and weddors are usually sold at the age of two or three years in Stornoway - many in October to reduce the numbers that must be pastured during the winter.

162 The total resident population of Aird consists of fifteen males and sixteen females.
Of these, twelve are over 65, six are aged 45 - 64, 11 are in the 15 - 44 age-group (there are only three married couples) and there are two children under 15. Nevertheless, most of them are complete families; only one person lives alone; no members are reported as
166 periodically working away, no men and only two women are permanently away. Neither has there been much emigration since 1939 - five women only have married out of the parish. The tenants of seven of the crofts are over the age of 65, the only one in the 15 - 44 age-group is a new-comer to the district and does little croft work.

Num

241
632

	Artifi
Breaclete	10
Croir	7
Hacklete	18
Kirkibost	25
Tobson	14
Earshader	6
Cruilivig	6
Lundale	5
Linshader	8
DISTRICT TOTAL	99

241 The fertilisers used in the
237 bladderwrack, and the tough
824 from the beach, though in the it was actually cut and towed rigid allocation of the rights of shore and possibly in Toba one. The actual gathering in application of sea-ware seem no careful selection of differe was merely gathered, mixed after sowing. It is reckoned Earshader and Lundale.

TABLE 30

Bernera District

ber of crofts using various fertilisers, etc.

cial	Dung	Lime	Seaweed	Shell sand	None
	10	4	1	-	-
	6	4	3	-	-
	18	12	14	-	1
	28	17	12	1	1
	16	10	4	1	3
	5	3	1	-	-
	5	5	5	-	-
	4	3	4	1	1
	7	-	4	-	-
	99	58	48	3	10

past were dung and sea-ware. The sea-ware, mainly
tems of our weed, was, wherever possible, simply gathered
more sheltered areas, particularly along Bernera Shore,
n rafts to the crofts. There seems to have been little
n sea-ware. In Breaclete each croft had its own stretch
on, but elsewhere there seems to have been plenty for every-
March was a long, strenuous and unpleasant task. The
to have been rather rough and ready; certainly there was
nt types for different crops and purposes: presumably it
with dung to facilitate the rotting, and spread on the arable
now that about 160 creels are necessary to the acre in

24/ Table 30 shews the present use of fertilisers and manure. It will be seen that
[237] dung is still widely used but seaware is used in a minority of cases, particularly
in Breaclete and Earshader. The first at least may be related to the various troubles
[824] that have afflicted the township, and to the fact that several holdings are in effect
very small with but plots of cultivation. This also relates to the large number in
[134] Breaclete who use no form of fertiliser at all. Shell sand is neglected for reasons
of inaccessibility: it is present on Little Bernera, and more particularly and of
excellent quality, at Bosta. It is difficult to get from within the Island the large
quantities of sand needed to qualify for the lime subsidy; it would be possible to get
it from Bosta sands, there is a township road to within about a hundred yards of the
beach, but the township is unwilling to open it to the wear and tear of lorry transport.

[654] Artificial fertilisers are increasingly used. The first consideration at the present is
undoubtedly that certain amounts have to be applied in order to qualify for the ploughing
subsidies. This has overcome a reluctance engendered by early over-enthusiastic
applications of sulphate of ammonia. Lime, in the powdered form or as nitro-chalk, is
commonly applied. There is undoubtedly considerable ignorance in the application and
use of artificials: they are often used only because of subsidy conditions, and the crofter
is surprised, though gratified, when they have any practical effect. Certainly most
crofters have no programme of their own of regular balanced applications to crop land.
They need further advice.

The best balanced fertiliser policies are followed on the reseeded pastures, mainly
because the crofters are careful to follow the directions they receive. They will follow
advice in these matters when they can get it. In 1959 reseeding had been undertaken by
16 individuals, (20 acres) and by one township (Breaclete). Reseeding has definitely
"caught on" as a means of improving the stock carrying capacity of a croft, with com-
paratively little outlay in labour or machinery.(1) It is, however, a new project: one
may wonder whether the crofters will have sufficient pertinacity and funds to continue
indefinitely. Reseeding is not cheap; it may cost £18 to £28 an acre and it is reckoned
to cost £3 per annum to maintain. A considerable increase in output will have to be
evident to make it worth the crofters' while to continue.

The methods of cultivation still include much spade digging, and some crofts depend
[231] entirely upon this. Horse and plough, though basically unsuited to the cultivation of lazy
[140] beds, can generally be used on most but the smallest beds, but the problem now is to get
hold of a horse for ploughing. Hence - as in at least one instance at Croir - where it is
impossible to hire a horse and the land is unsuited to tractor operation - the choice may
well be between spade cultivation or no cultivation at all. The situation is not eased by
the difficulty of hiring any one of the three tractors in the area at a time when the land is
in the best condition. This is all doubly unfortunate because of the universality of the
lazy bed; this might be regarded as a symbol of a backward or even a primitive agricul-
tural system, but is, in fact, an excellent adaptation to natural conditions of climate and
soil - so long as there is plenty of hand labour. It is only when labour becomes expensive,
or difficult to obtain, that the lazy bed becomes uneconomical. This is, of cours, another
way of saying that the lazy bed was the concomitant of a designedly self-sufficient agricul-
tural system; if it is well kept up, the lazy bed is a good means of conserving soil vitality
and maintaining adequate drainage. In the past the hollows between the beds were cleared
every year or two and the soil spread on top. Thus lazy beds, particularly those on
slopes, need a good deal of hand labour as well as heavy fertilization.

It is very difficult to see the answer to the cultivation problem now labour is no
longer freely available: there could certainly be more small tractors and cultivators, but
even they lead to the throwing together of lazy beds, and - except in places such as Croir
where drains may be laid below the loam on clay, or in certain favoured sites like part
of 4 Crulivig where the peaty soil overlies a firm gravel substratum - it is impossible
both to throw the lazy beds together and maintain drainage. One is faced with all the
difficulties of drainage of peat in an area of heavy precipitation. The hill lazy beds,
though they are better drained, all too often have too little depth of soil to make cultivation
by tractor a practical proposition.

(1) Editorial note: This remark has been borne out by events; in 1960 township schemes totalling 88 acres were thus improved.

24/ are usually all the potatoes. Between the road and Loch a' Bhaile and between the
unmade road and Loch Shader on crofts 22 to 25 the land is probably more intensively
cultivated than ever before, but strips now overgrown with rushes and coarse grasses,
especially near the cemetery give an idea of the former extent of cultivation. The
working of strips nearer the sea is no longer worth the labour involved. Crofts 22 to
25 are further divided by the small Loch Shader; no. 28 however makes good use of a
small alluvial flat at the head of Loch a' Bhaile.

[237] Artificial fertilisers are in general use together with lime and dung. However some
crofts were using seaweed, in particular nos. 1A, 1B, 1C, 4, 5, and 25 - i.e. those
[824] crofts with easiest access to the sea. The seaweed is gathered in the New Year and
trodden into the ground in the spring and apparently gives excellent results, but too much
[423] labour is involved in carrying it to crofts in the centre of the township. Forty years ago
each croft had rights to the "red" and "black" seaweed along the coast.

The crop acreages for the whole township will be found detailed in Appendix C (1)
The area of oats for each croft varied between 0.25 and 2.50 acres whilst the maximum
for sown grass was 1.5 acres. The excellent crops of hay from sown grass would
suggest its further extension, but unfortunately most of the land suitable for cultivation
is already under oats and potatoes. The practice of undersowing oats was not particular
widespread whilst only two small strips of oats-rye mixture were found. One crofter
had also obtained good results in a small patch with seven different vegetables, whilst
soft fruits are to be planted next year. The two sets of 'run-rig' crofts practise a fixed
run-rig with the usual rotation of oats and grass on the strips.

231 In cattle stock (Appendix C) the township has 28 three year-old beasts, 2 one
year-olds, and 24 calves. Only 6 registered occupied crofts have no cow, two crofters
[178] have two cows each, and one crofter has two cows and two calves. The township has no
bull however and the nearest is at Carloway or Callanish. With a much smaller numbe
of cattle than that of thirty years ago there is now no need to make the annual summer
visit to the shielings, a practice which died out in Tolsta Chaolais between 1920 and 1930
Pastures could however carry three times the present amount of cattle. The scuming
233 of 1 cow and 6 sheep per £1 rent is now apparently ignored. The approximate total of
sheep for the township is 1,500 whilst for 1958 it was about 1,470. The total of lambs
was approximately 520 but most crofters found it difficult to give an accurate figure
since some might have been lost on the moor during the summer. The highest number
of breeding ewes for any one croft was 112, of lambs was 34, and of other sheep was 26;
five crofters, however have no sheep at all. Before 1939 a shepherd was employed by the
township when the sheep were sent to the moor. The shepherd was usually a young boy
just left school and was paid by each crofter according to the number of sheep the latter
[231] sent to the moor. This has been discontinued but a levy, of 5s. per croft and 2½d. per
head of sheep, is made for the upkeep of the township fence. Finally, almost every
crofter keeps at least a dozen poultry.

221 The movement of stock over the grazing areas is summarised as follows:
231
233

(1) From November 13th to May 1st. cattle are usually in the byre, depending on the weather, and sheep can wander anywhere. Crofts should be open to commo grazing unless all the crofter's stock remains within his own croft boundary.

(2) From May 1st. to May 20th. sheep are in the outer park.

(3) On May 20th. sheep are sent to the moor.

(4) Throughout the summer cattle are in both the inner and the outer parks.

(5) On October 1st. the sheep are brought into the outer park.

(6) On November 13th. the sheep are brought into the inner park.

464 Details of population and employment will be found in Appendix D. It is a very
[463] striking comment on the state of crofting in this township that only four persons are

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT

H. A. Moisley

rowth and decline.

In its demography as in so many other aspects the parish of Uig is characteristic of e Hebrides in general rather than of Lewis in particular. Throughout the Hebrides the te eighteenth century saw a rapid rise in population followed, in the early nineteenth entury, by clearances, emigration and decline (Fig. 44). The growing population, stained by the newly-introduced potato, found employment in kelp-making. Lewis made ttle kelp compared with the Uists and such as was made came largely from Uig, i.e. om Loch Roag; consequently, whilst the population of Barvas only increased by 15% etween 1755 and 1801, that of Uig increased by 58%, (c.f. North Uist 60%, South Uist 5%). Clearances and emigration reversed this trend in population after 1821 (Mull and orth Uist), after 1831 (Islay), and after 1841 (Skye, Harris, North Uist and Barra), a eversal which was not experienced in Lewis except in Uig (see Part I, Figure 8). hereafter, in the outer, but not in the inner Hebrides, growth was resumed, to reach ew maxima in 1881 (the Uists) and 1911 (Lewis, Harris and Barra); Uig, alone of Lewis arishes, reached its maximum population in 1891. Subsequent loss of population has een particularly severe, as may be seen from Table 46 and Figures 8 and 45.

TABLE 46

Loss of population, since maximum, to 1951

	Date of maximum	Loss as percentage of maximum
Uig	1891	41.2%
Lochs	1911	34.4%
Barvas	1911	26.5%
Stornoway	1911	18.6%

(Stornoway Burgh is excluded)

The early on-set of decline makes Uig somewhat comparable with the Uists, where inal decline set in after 1881, rather than with Barra and Harris, where growth continued until 1911. This may be connected with the vicissitudes of fishing, particularly in outh Uig where, by the 1890's, the annual Fishery Reports comment repeatedly on the ecay of great line fishing and of the dried white fish trade. Re-settlement of crofters on arm land in Uig in the present century again affords a parallel with the southern Outer ebrides rather than with the rest of Lewis; as elsewhere, it failed to arrest the decline lthough it did bring about a re-distribution which afforded welcome relief in the more vercrowded townships. But decline still continues; the loss appears to have been around 0 per annum in the 1950's (table 47) compared with 30 in the 1930's where there was some

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 140]

[Entire]

Both to found near the shore and hope round the three hills nearly up to the road, pre-historic and medieval to Norse and more recent settlements have been found in the area of each. At one time,here was grown on the hoary hill. There is poor accumulation on the soil and the rock is exposed on the hill. Sheep and Highland cattle are reared on the hill and there are some cultivations on the straggling hamlet. Some of the houses are of very ancient date and vulgar predominates on rough land. Though there are many hard-beds seen down to course of the hamlet. Some of the houses are predominate.

Culzean is the about township in Park. In 1841 Blackhouse came from Blackhouse and Culzean. In 1841 there were 12 in the township, 1881 there were 12 in the township, 1891 there were 12, in 1901 there were 12, in 1911 there were 12, in 1921 there were 12, in 1931 there were 12, in 1951 there were 12, in 1961 there were 12. In 1951 there were 12 in the township. In 1961 there were 12. In 1951 there were 12 in the township. In 1961 there were 12. In 1951 there were 12 in the township. In

763 relived and shared. The person's exact age and the
764 identity of his closest kin are discussed. A wan is
765 immediately dispatched to bring benches from the church,
766 which are set up throughout the house of the deceased,
and over the next few days a constant stream of visitors
767 fills the benches. The visitors bring tea, sugar,
biscuits and other provisions for the days and nights
of communal trial. The high chairs, "house of watching,"
as this wake is called, continues until the day of the
funeral.

In the past, persons sat up all night with the body.
768 "It took so long to get a coffin. You didn't want to
769 go in and find half the face eaten away by rats." This
custom is dying out, but lights are usually left on in
the room in which the coffin is placed. When an all-night
wake occurs, the atmosphere is one of relaxed story-telling
and the and laughter of reminiscence.

At least two nights of "waking" usually precede the
770 funeral. During this time, groups of willagers attend
771 the high chairs. Grief is expressed throughout the
772 network in which the dead person was enmeshed. On rare
occasions when a single night precedes burial, the house
is filled to overflowing.

Throughout the day and evening, waves of newcomers
enter, and other sitters slip quietly away. Kinsmen of

ST KILDA

and to show their friends at home, that they had braved the
773 hazardous Atlantic seas to visit St Kilda on the very edge of the
774 world. The tours were charitable, but this brought a psycho-
775 logical evil in its wake. In 1886, Robert Connel wrote: "One
776 cannot be long on the island without discovering the great moral
injury that tourists and sentimentalists and yachtsmen, with
pocketful of money, are working upon a kindly and simple
people." It was estimated that the islanders collectively derived a
profit of 5s from each of the 200 or more tourists who arrived
during the short summer.

The new influx of cash into a community which required
money as an exchange commodity because the original native
produce was insufficient to sustain life, hastened the decline of kin-
to be self-supporting. The numbers of seabirds slaughtered
steadily fell; parafin oil replaced the traditional bird oil in St
Kildan lamps. The need for daily work, to toil in fellowship with
others, was dissipated; the islanders could purchase most of the
food they required, provided communications with the mainland
were maintained. The population was in any case dwindling, and
St Kildans became more aware of 'the other life' available on the
mainland of Britain.

Finally, on a misty summer's day in August 1930, at a cost to
the nation of little under £1,000, St Kilda was left to be cars
and keeping of the changeless Atlantic. It is now preserved by the
National Trust for Scotland as a crumbling monument to a small
human kingdom, a kind that has been repeated, and will be re-
peated, in other small communities who cannot argue out the
case for their survival in terms of economic viability. The island
is now occupied by military personnel in connection with the
Hebridean rocket range on South Uist.

St Kildan were described by Dean Monro, in 1549, as 'simple,
poor folk, scarcer learned in any religion'. In 1698, Martin Martin
published *A Late Voyage to St Kilda*. He went there in the com-
pany of a minister who had been summoned to the island to de-
nounce a certain false prophet who had risen among the 180
inhabitants claiming he was an emissary of St John the Bap-
tist. Martin found, as did later visitors, that the island economy
and the quality of its life were closely dependent upon its birds

THE OTHER ISLANDS

even to the extent that the St Kildans used their observations of
the flights of birds both as compass and as omen for good or evil.
Martin spoke of the islands with amusement and admiration.
indicates that the community was backward in some ways: they
were illiterate, and wondered naively at the newcomers and their
manners. 'The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than
the generality of mankind, as being the almost only people in the
world who feed the sweetness of true liberty.'

In 1841, when the local tourist trade had hardly started,
HMS *Flirt* sailed from Greenock with food to relieve hardship
among the St Kildans, and an officer of the Highland & Island
Agricultural Society on board reported that 'Tobacco was what
they invariably asked for.' The ordinary diet of the island con-
sisted of, for breakfast, porridge and milk; for dinner, potatoes
and the flesh of fulmar, or mutton and, occasionally, fish; for
supper, porridge when meal was plentiful. Supplies from Uist from
March onwards, also formed a staple food. Tea was taken once
or twice a week and the islanders were reported to be 'rather fond
of it'. There were eighteen inhabited houses, sixteen of which had
tiles roofs, two being thatched huts. The sixteen new cottages had
been erected about 1863, and are certainly much superior to the
inhabitations of the same class of tenants anywhere in the
Western Isles'. All the cottages furnished, peat was used for fuel and
there were two watches and one clock on the island. There were
some seventy-five islanders; most of the men were old, and only
two of them married, with twelve spinsters and twelve bachelors
from. All read the Gaelic Bible. The men were mostly tailors, shoe-
makers and weavers; every house had a loom. They made all
their own clothing, the men also making the women's dresses,
and a good deal of blanketing and tweed cloth was made and
sold. Nearly every house had a spinning wheel and a large pot in
which the yarn was dyed. The women were expert knitters. Each
deer-stalker, and other employees at shooting lodges
for at the rate of 9d per head; these charges were usually paid in
kind.

Feathers of the sea fowl formed the principal export of the
island. The factor paid 6s per stone of 24 lb for black feathers;
and 5s per stone for grey. For these he received, in Edinburgh or

311 indication of their worth. As above, the period is c. 1937-
312 1938. The Island's increased sheep stock is shown in
Appendix II (ii) (a) to 1953.

The Lewis and Harris pastures carry on an average
about one ewe to 9 or 10 acres, that is, one ewe or hogg
to 4 acres in June (the month of the agricultural *returns*).
A good mainland grazing like Glen Shiel carries one ewe
to 6 acres, while poorer grazings like Kintail and Fare
carry one ewe to 10 or 14 acres respectively. Nowhere,
however, can the rough grazing support the newly weaned
ewe lambs (or hoggs) throughout the winter. Lambs have
either to be brought to the enclosed 'low ground' (of
which there is never enough to supply both grass and
arable fields) or sent to the Lowlands in summer and
brought back in spring, at a total cost of about 10s. each
before 1939. In Lewis, for lack of grass, there is consider-
able loss in winter among the crofters' ewe-stocks. Con-
structive measures for the future must be based on an
increased supply of winter feed.

The gure consist of red deer, grouse and hares, while
salmon and trout are fished in stream and loch. The deer
range over Harris, Park and the Uig hills, but are seldom
seen south of Achmore. They are of small stature and
size, and before 1939 the average number of heads for the
year totalled about 190 stags and 80 hinds. It is not known
when they were introduced. In the south there may be
a certain amount of 'deer stealing', as in most deer forests
surrounded by crofts, in spite of a score of keepers and
deer-stalkers, and other employees at shooting lodges.
Grouse are relatively scarce compared with those on drier
mainland moors. Mountain hares have multiplied since
their introduction in 1853, when, it is said, the first hare,
seen near a village towards evening with its white winter
coat, was thought to be supernatural.

versions to suggest the significant poetic form of the
original.

"The Clipping Blessing", being addressed to creatures,
is simple in thought and form, and its opening may be
rendered:

O come back woolly, though now you're shorn,
By May, may each a lamb have borne,
May lovely Bride you endow,
And Mary fair sustain you now!

It goes on to beg protection from wolf and bear, as well
as fox, hoodie crow and eagle, and closes with the opening
couplet.

From start to finish the work must be true. The wool
is from the sheep they reared—it is not got by 'thigging',
as a landlord takes 'gifts' from poor tenants; the yarn is
sound with no odds of thread from worn-out cloth; the
web is their very own, not the clergyman's due (*Carmina*,
110, 113, 19). Only so can the goodwife's web be beauti-
ful, and blest. Thrums nor odds of thread, my hand
never kept nor shall keep. Every hue in the bow-of-the-
shower has gone through my fingers beneath the cross.
The weaver, with her household carts and her barns shown
her, to be clear in mind must be calm in heart as, thread by
thread, she prepares her warp. To start, she chooses Saint
Columba's Day.

Thursday of blessings
For warping and washing.
Thursday of blessings
To number . . .

Ward away the evil eye!
Or evil will, or ought away.
Consecrate, O Lord on High,
My Loom . . .

F. The Decline in Self-Sufficiency

Until the second world war, when weavers began to
earn larger sums of money for their weaving, the
township was relatively self-sufficient. The land was
more thoroughly cultivated, and the village boasted a
number of local specialists. These specializations
were linked with particular family lines. Certain
families were blacksmiths; others were shoemakers,
joiners, cobblers, or midwives. As generations succeeded
one another, occupations were not thrown open in the
competitive, individualistic way of the mobile city.
Certain occupations were seen to be "naturally" linked
with particular families. Sometimes it was said that
persons of a particular family (which might include quite
a number of collateral lines) had inherited characteristics
which suited them for particular occupations.

"Tagg was an expert bone-setter. He wasn't a doctor
at all, but he could set bones better than any doctor.
And he used to let blood, when people were dizzy with
threatening strokes, or had pneumonia. It was in the
people. He was a direct descendant, through his mother,
of the Murrays of South Shawbott, the people who had the
mill and were the blacksmiths for generations. He got
that ability from them."

Whatever the rationalization, cobbler fathers begot
cobbler sons. The present postmaster's grandfather was
the first postmaster in Shawbott, and when help is needed
in delivering the mail it is the postmaster's first
sons who are likely to help out. As late as the 1950's,
the township still had its own undertaker, a man who had
learned from his father the art of laying out and dressing
the body but who didn't like the job very much and was
happy enough to turn it over to an undertaker who
trevelled from Stornoway.

The island has had a veterinarian, based in Stornoway,
for the past 30 years or so. Earlier, certain blacksmiths
and farmers treated ailing livestock when the crofters
needed them. For human ailments, there were herbs cures
by plant and spell.

The man who was the last village blacksmith died
about long ago. His smithy was in the center of the village.
The house and smithy were surrounded by buildings with
corrugated iron roofs that were once estate houses for
the men who worked the experimental farm established
by Sir James Matheson in what is now New Shawbott. The
blacksmith was also a shopkeeper and butcher. As a
blacksmith, his work was principally shoeing horses and
making harrows and peat-cutters, which he did with the
aid of men and sometimes two apprentices. One of his

used on different occasions, for example, to discourage
deviant behavior or certain marital alliances. Any sign
of physical or emotional disability in someone planned
to get married invites an attempt by other villagers to
discourage an alliance. According to a Gaelic proverb,
"If you want to be praised, die; if you want to be
criticized, marry (in the strong or whole). Inside
the village, the villagers
consider not only the behavior of the person but of his
ancestors. The individual is perceived as belonging to
a family unit which through many generations has manifes
certain physical and behavioral traits. Traits of behav
such as shyness, heavy drinking, stealing and tight-
fisteedness are interpreted as hereditary traits. "It's
the blood (Tha e 'n t-sròl)" people say. Members of
particular occupations are also associated with families
Stornoway, which is not so "urban" as to have a constant
turnover of population, contains many examples of
occupations passed down through generations.

In Chapter 3 I mentioned the development of several
groups in the crofting township which seem to be in conf
with the township as a strongly bounded unit. Those
who keep only sheep have come to blows with those who ke
both sheep and cattle; and a distinction between crofte
and non-crofters may be seen. Many persons have prefere

Table III reveals that there are 177 agricultural units with a souming; ten units are crofts in Glengravir without a souming and the remainder of the 219 unit's have no grazing rights. From this Table, it is clear that full stocking and overstocking increase with the size of the croft: the units of ten acres and over, on the basis of stock carry, would appear to be the most intensively worked. In all, just over half of the units take up their full souming. Table IV gives an analysis of employment ancillary to croft work for 141 of the 219 units and it would appear that neither ancillary employment nor age is significantly related to the intensity of croft working. Table V points to the fact that more full-time crofters are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables III, IV and V underline the fact that the larger units are also the more successful and it is significant that the larger units are almost all on the better land in the agricultural townships. The average size of holding in the agricultural townships is nine acres, compared with less than eight acres in the fishing townships, where the land is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

The trends in agriculture are illustrated by Tables VI and VII. The Crofters' Commission made a survey of the crofts through the medium of Estate Factors in 1883; from Table VI it is evident that the number of cattle was much higher at that time and that the cattle-sheep ratio in the selected townships was 1:3 as compared with 1:25 in 1958. Table VII gives agricultural statistics for the parish of Lochs as a whole; separate figures for Park are not available. Since 1913, radical changes in the crop and stock patterns have taken place; bere (Hordeum vulgare) has disappeared as a crop, and sown grass and permanent grass for hay have since 1947 become the leading crops. Horses have all but disappeared, and the cattle-sheep ratio has risen from less than 1:4 to 1:39 for the whole parish. Since 1938, cultivation in Lochs Parish has declined by 36 per cent. Large areas of lazy-beds, no longer cultivated, are visible landscape signs of these changes; seaweed, the sine quae non for lazybed cultivation, is no longer carried to the upper parts of the crofts. In fact, many of the crofts no longer use seaweed as a fertiliser.

From the foregoing account, it is clear that there are two major agricultural problems in Park, the lack of sufficiently large crofts with good arable land and an insufficiency of common grazing; these deficiences bring in their train the problem of overstocking, and the existence of uneconomic holdings.

The more progressive crofters, significantly resident on the better crofts of the agricultural townships, have shown how croft land can be improved by re-seeding and sowing down to grass, practices which could be fruitfully extended throughout Park. In addition, several townships by co-operative effort, have reseeded small areas of the commons grazings with splendid results.

However it is clear that it is not possible for 219 viable agricultural units to be maintained on the present crofting area. The optimum size of croft which could maintain a family is a moot point, for the location and situation of a croft and the quality of the land and common pasture would all have to be taken into account in making an assessment.

This problem was referred to a practical agriculturalist who was asked to state what size of croft and number of stock would be required to provide an annual income of £300, excluding croft benefit (milk, eggs and potatoes consumed on the croft) and any costing for labour. To fulfil these conditions, one of the fishing townships was carefully analysed, and the expert came to the following approximations, assuming that the rules of good husbandry were in force after the croft had been brought up to a good standard of cultivation and re-seeding had been carried out where possible on the outrun and Common Pasture, and provided there was no overstocking, and that present favourable subsidies and prices continue:-

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

185 Leverhulme grasped the problem in this fresh way, comple-
311 menting his first policy of the sea for the seamen by one
433 of the land for the landsmen, he could cheerfully have
allowed the Government to honour their promise to divide
159 the farms, and thus he would have brought peace to all.
In giving up the farms he would merely have had to recon-
cile himself to additional imports of fresh milk from Easter
Ross, at an extra cost of a penny or two per pint. To do
Leverhulme justice, experiments on peat were begun
(about 1920) upon a small scale, partly, it is understood,
as a result of Hardy's report. Yet in failing to make this
reclamation an integral part of his plans, in refusing to
adapt himself to promises given and to agree to the wishes
of many applicants, Leverhulme of the Lews allowed peace
to be wrecked. Why he should have stopped work in
Lewis in order to remove to Harris, is not clear. There is
nothing to show that crofter-fishermen in the creeks of
Lochs and other fishing tracts of Lewis believed less firmly
in fishing than their fellows in ' the Bays ' of South Harris.[1]
Nor was there extensive land for dairying in Harris. To
make a second attempt to found a centre, involving fresh
expense, at Obbe (on the exposed south-west coast), a
much less favourable point on the Island than Stornoway,
was to court disaster, not to pilot his way through the
difficulties of falling markets to success.

185 Leverhulme, it is true, had seen one side of the ' all-
311 round ' policy required : the need for a plot of land for the
(114) Lewis fisherman and his family. In Hardy's words, " A
man's choice of the sea should not prevent his having ' a

[1] In his father's biography, the second Viscount suggests that there was
(828) a difference of character between the (unreasonable) men of Lewis and the
(reasonable) men of Harris. The assertion is unsupported by the facts.
(829) There were raids in Harris, too, comparable to any in similar tracts of Lewis,
but in neither were they important.

829

829 ETHNOSOCIOLOGY--social philosophy; interpretations of the society's charter; native ideas about social relationships and social structure; concepts of society (e.g., social contract); notions about culture and cultural change; economics and political behavior (e.g., mercantilism), racial inequality; etc. See also:

Population policy	168	Criminology	674
Sociocultural trends	178	Penology	681
National character	181	Welfare policies	746
Social planning	185	Theological systems	779
Development of nationalism	619	Missionary programs	797
Constitution	642	Philosophical systems	812
Principles of taxation	651	Development of scientific anthropology, sociology, and economics	815
Policies of government regulation	656	Educational policies	871
Political movements	668		
Jurisprudence	671		

22

195 Hamelts or clachans
241 (small clustered settlements) were broken up, and
361 houses were isolated on strips of land in linear,
198 single-street villages.

114 Gray (1952, 1957) argues that the main factor
198 behind the reorganization of land use in the Highlands
was the progressive, individualistic, laissez-faire
ideology of the 18th century. Grant (1930: 97)
attributes the reorganization to the high demand for
cereals which existed during the Napoleonic wars.
177 Highland landlords, who were very much in contact
241 with the society of the Scottish Lowlands, were
influenced by agricultural practices there. The
trend to change run-rig, which had once dominated the
whole of Scotland, to fixed, compact holdings began
in the Lowlands.

According to the "progressive" ideology of the
423 time, the giving of land to individual farmers in much
425 larger pieces than they had previously held would
• 829 serve to stimulate agricultural development and give
rise to a class of capitalist farmers. To give land
to a relatively few people, however, meant the removal
of a large number of tenants who had hitherto been
able to survive under the system of run-rig.

38

178 "The cattle give too much trouble." A smaller scheme
311 is grazed only by sheep. On the schemes where mixed
232 grazing is practiced, a number of conflicts arise between
233 those who have only sheep, and those who have cattle as
(578) well. To accommodate different demands, one township
scheme was divided with a fence; cattle were put in
for a month in one part, and then shifted to the second
part. The sheep were then brought into the first half.
All stock had to be removed from the scheme a month
before the lambs were weaned, so that all worm eggs and
other harmful elements in the dung of animals previously
present would have time to die. What was once used for
a single purpose by everyone now has to be divided.

"I paid one pound a head to put cattle on the
(435) reseeding," says a man named Iain. "Now I have to move
(578) them off already. Those sheep people want it for them-
selves. I won't use it if they're going to be like that.
Next year I'll have the use of two crofts and my
apportionment. And now that I have my own tractor I
(409) can put a load of sand at the bottom of the croft to
(242) make the grazing better."

According to another person, who also keeps cattle
311 on the reseeding, "Some people want to move their live-
233 stock on and off the schemes when it suits them, like Iain,
232
• 829

39

311 who wanted to keep his bullock on the reseeding for
233 another week because he wasn't ready to sell it; but
232 he should have known the rules. Some people want to
• 829 keep both cattle and sheep on at the same time,
although the agricultural advisor says cattle should
go on first, because sheep go for shorter grass.
Other people want to put on twice as many sheep as
those who have both cattle and sheep. When they stop
keeping cattle, they think they're not getting a proper
share of the reseedings.

"The Crofters Commission wanted communal township
schemes. But people have different demands. It's
better to go for an apportionment. You can do what you
want with your own land."

The number of township members participating in
178 the communal schemes is diminishing to the point where
311 it is less expensive, and much less subject to conflict
423 arising over differences in stock-keeping, to invest in
476 individual holdings of land rather than try to sustain
communal practices.

173 "Then the tweeds got
217 going and the barley took too much trouble; so they had
829 no use for the mill."

173 A 60-year-old woman remembers, "They depended on the
242 potato and fished a lot. I was raised on oatcakes, barley
bannocks, and salt herring. There were no vans and no
school canteens when I was young; you had to carry your
[264] own 'piece' to school. We had porridge with fresh milk
for breakfast, oatcakes and butter for lunch. Dinner was
at 4:00, of potatoes and fish and milk. We had meat maybe
once a week. My father poached a lot. We ate the heads
[251] and the roe of the salmon fresh, and salted the rest."
Once among the cleanest, Hebridean teeth now vie with
164 British cities in extent of decay. It is not uncommon for
759 a child in his first year of school to have six teeth
pulled by the travelling dentist.

261 Various customs associated with food which exist today
272 reflect the days when fare was meager. Tea-drinking is
[171] omnipresent in Britain, but in the islands it has
272 special significance. The taking of tea constitutes
574 the denouement of a visit, and almost always occurs when
someone steps over someone else's threshold. To refuse
[574] tea has some of the connotations of an insult; and to
take only tea, without food, is to have a <u>copan falamh</u>
(empty cup).

512 The cattle
233 knew their own sheilings; sometimes
825 they came back before milking time and stuck their heads
[234] inside. They stood outside the sheiling at night, and
that's how you can tell where a sheiling once was, even
though the walls have fallen, by the rich green grass.
Calves were born during the summer. A hollow was scooped
233 out in the peat, and lined with turf and moss. People
[422] had as many as four or five cows. It was like Switzerland,
only we didn't have the bells on the cows. There was lots
[292] of milk, fresh thick cream and crowdie (clotted sour
[242] [234] milk); the old people knew how to make cheese.

233 "The moor was very eerie at night, with the sound of
321 the birds. There were only a few hours of darkness
[513] anyway, and I'm sure we didn't get much sleep, but somehow
we were always fresh. It was the air, the moor air is
more health-giving. The air is different there. Ill
people benefited from the change. Sometimes a person
with TB would stay out there all summer. The air is heavy
by the sea.

805 "There was no sense of time the way there is today.
233 If you got lost in the snow or fog, you followed the cows
221 home. You had all summer to take home the peats, to work
829 the croft, to harvest the corn. There wasn't a world,
[178] there was only ourselves. That has changed since the war.

233 "You got away from village life when you went to
829 the sheiling. The youngsters ran wild. Everyone talked
more freely somehow. It didn't feel like a Sunday out
233 there—the minister couldn't see that far. Only the
883 young men and women in their late teens or 20's were out
at the weekends. They would send the younger ones home.
They came out in their good clothes, from Saturday night
to Monday morning. Groups of young people walked out and
back together, the girls in one group and the boys in
[533] another, joking and teasing. They sang the old songs and
learned new ones from each other. Some were good at
making up songs. You wouldn't believe how many people
could sleep together in a single sheiling. It was a
[829] heaven on earth. Everybody was one family. The hills
were filled with the sound of voices."

233 Not every family in the village went to the sheilings.
Some families had enough land within the township to graze
their cattle. But they usually went out at the weekends,
for the fun and company.

237 One of the most important products of the cow was
241 not milk but dung, which was used to keep the poor land
productive. Because people did not have the enriched
231 animal feeds available today, a cow might not have a calf,
234 and thus did not give milk, for four or five years.

284 Despite these aids and incentives, parents do not
288 encourage their children to weave. The weavers them-
443 selves describe the job as dull, offering no security
868 and no possibilities for advancement.
593
828
[461] Referring to her young son, a mother says, "By the
time he's old enough to weave, the tweeds will have
failed." Another mother says, "I want him to learn
some trade, if he's intelligent enough. I don't want
him to stay here. The tweed is so uncertain." "There's
no future in it," says the father of another young boy,
"I definitely wouldn't want him to be a weaver. It
would be good if he went in for engineering."

463 The histories of the weavers reveal many examples
464 of shifting occupations. Weaving often alternates with
286 work in the local mill, which is also relatively
unspecialized. The Shawbost mill must tolerate this
unstable labor force, as labor is difficult to find.
[166] Eldest sons tend to leave the island for more stable,
[593] permanent jobs, leaving the croft and the loom to their
younger siblings. Table V[1] shows the number of male
weavers in each age group.

288 The fact that Shawbost has the same age structure
461 as the rest of rural Lewis (see Table II)[2] and less
162 unemployment signifies that weaving has not served as
166 an adequate incentive to keep young people on the island.

[1] [See p. xi--Analyst]
[2] [See p.xiii--Analyst]

241 grazing land and he could not transfer such property in
175 a will. Similarly a crofter had no right to his <u>buaile</u>,
423 and could not formally protest if another crofter sought
to apportion this land for his own use (see Chapter 2
[629] for a discussion of apportionments). But in both
situations, informal understandings superseded legal
rights.

241 Various legislative acts which followed the 1886
657 act focussed attention on the crofter. Various matters
175 associated with crofting are handled by a Crofters
Commission. Crofters have access to grants and loans
[554] to improve land and build fences and homes. They may
[498] buy goods at low prices in a nearby cooperative store.
As crofts were fenced, land around the townships became
scarce and non-crofters found it difficult to keep
large numbers of cattle and sheep.

241 Within recent years it has become possible for non-
178 crofters to gain title to the small plots of land on
422 which their houses are built. Some loans are available
[142] to them for building houses. Non-crofters have access
[554] to the various subsidies available to all agriculturalists
such as the subsidies for raising hill sheep and beef
829 cattle. There is still the feeling, however, that
crofters have rights which non-crofters do not have
and that in conflicts over scarce goods crofters have

241 178 423 829 the edge over non-crofters. "Squatters can do what they like, cut peats, put sheep and cattle on the common grazing, but this is a privilege, not a right."

The clerk of a grazings committee says, "When it comes to an argument between a crofter and a squatter, the crofter always wins. A squatter has rights only with the grazing committee's permission. If one crofter disagrees, the squatter is out."

241 423 578 A squatter muses bitterly, "I wanted crofting status because I wanted to get a Department of Agriculture grant to build a house. I work on the peat road; I go to all the fanks. But at a township meeting, they didn't want me to get crofting status. They were afraid I would start grabbing peat banks or apportionments in the common grazing or something. There's your brotherly love for you."

311 654 4. Subsidies: In the section entitled "Changing Land Use" I suggested that the availability of subsidies has encouraged a more specialized investment in agricultural activites.

654 829 241 The villagers are keenly aware of outside institutions which give money. They speak to each other about forms which they receive from the Department of Agriculture and the Crofters Commission, in much the same way as they are curious about the number of tweeds which another

654 829 241 person has. The gigantic bureaucracy of government agencies is mysterious and unpredictable. One can never be certain when or for what reason another economic increment may come. "I used to throw away a form from the Department of Agriculture until I found out from somebody that you could get money with it. You say you're planting so much of your land in oats, and later you fill out another form saying you didn't get a very good return, and they send you a deficiency payment."

241 242 654 178 For some crofters, the requirements of the subsidies have affected the extent and techniques of agricultural activity. For example, one man used to work his land in the way that his ancestors learned would bring best results: lazybeds were aligned in strips that would drain well and catch the sun, and stones were left in the soil to capture the sun's warmth and thereby facilitate the growth of potatoes. Now he has merged the separate strips, cleared the stones, and divided the land into units that allow him easily to calculate how much he has used for what crops, because to be eligible for a particular grant, a certain percentage of arable land must be ploughed with grass seed and rotated with other crops.

241 654 The Department of Agriculture and the Crofters Commission often overlap in their subsidy-giving functions.

654 241 Subsidies for fertilizer and for lime to neutralize acidic soil also originated during wartime, when the government was trying to control scarce materials. Agricultural subsidies in the form of cropping grants and improvement grants are available both to crofters (from the Crofters Commission) and to others of the same economic status as crofters (from the Department of Agriculture). Most of the improvement grants are for fencing (rather than drainage or other improvements). To receive a cropping grant, a farmer must sow one-third of all tilled acres in grass, and apply three hundred-weights of fertilizer to each acre planted with oats, barley or wheat. Lewis is in the third or poorest category of agricultural land designated by the Department of Agriculture, and receives the highest rate of subsidy (L11 per acre, as opposed to L5 per acre for good land).

For some people, even the incentive of subsidies is not sufficient to stimulate them to farm or keep live-stock. "It's too expensive to work the croft. There's not enough return to make it worth it. The Department of Agriculture gives you a subsidy for fertilizer, but it still costs you something if you're not doing much of anything else with the land. The croft is a sideline; it helps you keep busy; you grow some of your own food. But you've got to make a living some other way."

654 241 829

233 One crofter who gets subsidies says that he keeps
241 sheep and ploughs the land to feed them only as a "hobby."
654 He uses the word "hobby" because, in comparison with the
523 income he gets from working regularly in the mill, he
434 does not get a good return for his investment.

233 A crofter who has been weaving all his life says
288 that the income he receives from his cattle and sheep
434 does not compare with the income he receives from weaving.
654 Subsidies are counted as an important part of the income
he receives for the livestock. "Last year I got L28 for
a heifer—not a very good price, but then I got an L11
829 subsidy as well." He does not believe that anyone could
434 make a living from crofting alone. "You say some of the
241 people in Uist are able to make a living at it? They
might be getting social security as well, they're that
aly. Anyway, members of the family are probably sending
money home from sea or from the mainland. You need a
weekly wage. If the tweeds disappear, the only thing a
man could do would be to go to sea." (See Appendix C
for an example of the balance sheet of a croft.)

233 A few families work seriously at rearing cattle for
463 sale in local or town markets. These are usually
composed of several male adults, of which one or more
work in the mill or do weaving and someone is largely
responsible for croft work. Most of these people look

233 Most of these people look
829 askance at the idea of Britain joining the European
648 Economic Community. "If the Common Market comes, that
654 means no more subsidy for livestock. That'll mean the
end of crofting. They'll get good prices for their
beef, but feeding stuff will be very expensive."

"I don't know much about the Common Market, but
I'm against it. They'll do away with the subsidies.
If it weren't for the subsidies, most people just
wouldn't bother with cattle and sheep; it wouldn't be
worth their while, the feeding stuff is getting so
[246] expensive. The people here used to take in a hundred
bags or so of potatoes to feed the stock. But the climate
is so bad you don't know what kind of a return you're
going to get, and the work is so hard it just isn't worth
the bother, so people prefer to buy feeding stuff. And
if you spend more on feeding your animals than you get
for them, what's the use? Of course we've been here
all our lives. It would be hard to leave. But if the
weaving goes—"

"I was talking to my cousin in Glasgow. He says
the cattle are going to be the big thing with the Common
Market. The price of beef is going to go up. I don't
think people here can keep cattle if they don't get the
subsidy. They can't keep enough cattle, and they can't
be sure of a good price every year."

181
621 People prefer to give money 10
178 in exchange for car rides or other help, including pea
437 cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendshi
829 are still weak, relative to friendships in urban
572 settings. Most information which is shared between
62
[369] individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip
[521] Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutu
[476] aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability t
confide and keep secrets.

621 Today many of the younger villagers do not know
178 their relatives to the extent that their elders did.
602 In one family, a girl who was about to get married had
[585] to ask her brother, who was the only one of the siblin
[596] interested in kinship connections, whom to invite to t
wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of
602 one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and
484 Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there
[178] I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in
transportation and income, more islanders are taking
brief trips away from the island. During these trips,
they almost always stay with relatives.

859 It is frequently said that children are now "chee
579 less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, a
829 that they prefer to watch television or read books by
178 themselves to playing with each other.

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

wife was religiously converted a few years later. They have no children. Neilie Leoid occasionally goes to the hotel in Carloway for a drink, and enjoys reading adventure stories on Sunday. He is very interested in sheep.

"Sailing made you content to settle down. You had seen it all. After the war many could have easily qualified for civil service jobs, but they didn't bother. They were quite happy to settle down to the weaving. No young person now wants to weave, but I think we were none the worse for it."

Cailean Leobhar

Cailean Leobhar is a religious skeptic, but he reads the Bible as though it were an encyclopedia that referred to all important events in human history. He reads widely and omnivorously, and often delights in confusing people by jumping from one topic to another. His people are said to be scholars. "It's in the blood."

"You can find references to all of human history in the Bible, from the creation to present times. Zarathustrianism had a great influence on Christianity. You can see that in the Book when the Jews entered Babylon. We were raised on the Bible; it's the ministers and schoolteachers alike that stamped out the old Celtic

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

Islanders themselves sometimes talk of a lowered stamina and poorer health today than in the past. Inbreeding is widely held to account for this. Even if health be really poorer, this explanation is untenable, since marriage outside the village has greatly increased in the last century. Everywhere there is movement along the roads; a school placed half-way between two villages fosters early acquaintance; immigrants trickle in from the mainland, and emigrants occasionally marry beyond the Island. Moreover, the people of certain villages were transplanted in large numbers eighty years ago, as from Valtos, Uig, northward to Shawbost. In any case, inbreeding itself does not produce degeneration; for though it may "fix" or bring out harmful tendencies where there is already some poor or dangerous strain, it can also fix good characteristics in a healthy population.[1]

All these changes were hastened and reinforced by two new, revolutionary means. First, the physical mobility suddenly brought to an area with no railway by the motor-car, van and light lorry-bus; then, towards the end of the inter-war years, the penetration of the Gaelic-speaking home by the ceaseless voices of broadcasting.

[1] J. A. Thomson and P. Geddes, *Life: Outlines of General Biology*, 1931, vol. i, p. 473.

8

828 ETHNOPSYCHOLOGY-
sensation, perception,
unpleasantness; ideas a
notions about abnormal
lirium, hallucination,
planations of neuroses
learning process; conc
personality, of charact
Data on behavior processes an
Use of alcohol, narcotics, and
Ideas about sleep and eliminat
Sex . . . . . .
Education . . . . . .
Patterned expressions of emoti
Gratification and control of hu
Food preferences . . . . . .
Manifestations and control of
Palliation of labor . . . . .
Esthetic ideals and canons of u
Appreciation of form and pers
Ethics . . . . . .

28

-ideas about impulses or drives; conceptualization of
and emotions; standards of sensory pleasantness and
bout conscious and unconscious mental processes;
mental states (e.g., aphasia, catalepsy, coma, de-
hypnosis, hysteria, swoon); interpretations and ex-
and psychoses; ideas about habits, attitudes, and the
epts of the self, of human nature, of motivation, of
er; associated cultural behavior; etc. See also:

d personality	15	Punishments for abnormal behavior	689
stimulants	27	Ideas about blindness, deafmutism, and feeblemindedness	732
tion	83	Use of anesthetics	752
	87	Psychotherapy	755
ons	201	Soul concepts	774
nger	261	Types of religious experience	781
	262	Divination and interpretation of dreams and hallucinations	787
hirst	271		
	461	Logic	811
ate	517	Conception of free will	812
pective	532	Development of scientific psychology	815
	577	Ideas about form, color, and sound	822

286 on commission for weavers around the turn of the century.
283 By the early 1920's, four mills on the island were
175 carding and spinning wool on commission; and one mill
178 brought looms into its premises. Lord Leverhulme, who
[236] bought Lewis in 1918, saw the value of concentrating
[283] weavers in one place and of improving the technology.
He encouraged the introduction of Hattersley domestic
[463] looms, which eventually replaced the wooden looms. The
individual weaver also did his own warping, but after
World War II the mills began to hire warpers to work full
time on mill premises. Transporting the tweeds, which
used to be the responsibility of the weavers, is now the
responsibility of the mills. Today all processes except
the actual weaving are handled by mills, most of which
are located in Stornoway.

Such steps in specialization and centralization made
175 sense to the weaver. One of the older weavers recalls,
286 "In the late 20's or 30's you could buy a yard of Harris
288 Tweed for about two shillings. It wasn't economical for
435 any crofter to dye and spin the yarn, weave it and sell it
for only two shillings a yard. As the mills enlarged,
they could make it with the machinery because they could
make it an economic proposition."

175 However, the tendency toward specialization and
286 centralization was in direct conflict with the reasons
288
• 828

175 behind the tweed's popularity. The tweed was more than
286 a cloth; it was peat smoke and windswept moorland, the
288 • [828] image of the free man who had escaped city life and
machines and was the master of his own destiny. Steps
had been taken all along the way to preserve the image
of home-crafted goods, as when, in an effort to prevent
machine-spinning, carding mills were built in Lewis and
Harris at the turn of the century to prevent wool from
being sent to mills on the mainland, where it was both
[685] carded and spun. As early as 1906, a man was convicted
in London of selling power-loomed tweed under the name
288 "Harris Tweed." Today power-driven looms can produce
402 double-width cloth 54 inches wide, a width much preferred
to the 28-inch cloth produced on the Hattersley loom
because there is less waste when the cloth is cut. But
because "Harris Tweed" must be hand-woven, new looms of
light-weight metal are being designed on which double-
[435] width cloth can be hand-woven. The new looms will cost
so much that many weavers say they would be unlikely to
invest in them, especially given the uncertain future of
the industry.

175 The Harris Tweed Association, formed in 1909, was
178 granted a certification mark by the Board of Trade which
288 was stamped on tweeds that were hand-spun and hand-woven
441 in the islands. During World War I, hand-spinning died
[424]
[286]

288 434 The Harris Tweed industry has provided a higher standard of living, but income from this source is [458] inconsistent. The standards developed during prosperous [342] times cannot be met during difficult times. Many-roomed [336] houses with indoor plumbing are more heavily taxed than [661] smaller, less modern homes; loans must be repayed; [426] a car and a television once gotten are difficult to [045] give up. A weaver must pay for his insurance stamp, [651] which amounts to over L70 a year; and income tax takes a large percentage of a person's income, in large lump sums which are paid twice a year rather than in small amounts throughout the year. When income fluctuates, any constant demand for monetary outlay constitutes a liability.

254 181 To many persons outside the island concerned with Highland and Island development, Lewis has a reputation for "subsidy-grabbing." According to one official, "The people are too used to getting subsidies. They tend to sit back and rely on the subsidies, which makes it difficult to develop the place."

29] "We pay tax," said one weaver. "Why not get back what we can in subsidy?"

51 34 Income tax collectors shake their heads in despair at the thought of trying to get a true estimate of a crofter's income, except for jobs such as weaving for

241 178 Crofting constitutes a dormant strategy which can be mobilized if deterioration of land has not proceeded too far, and if the skills of land use are not lost by succeeding generations who have grown up in an environment which presented them with more appealing strategies.

B. Social Marginality

166 464 1. Linguistic Distinctiveness: Social marginality began when the Highlander had to leave his place of origin and go to the cities of the south in search of [197] employment. The feature which most distinguished him was his Gaelic speech.

101 186 In Glasgow the common word for Highlander is "teuchter," a slang word with derogatory implications 648 which, according to one theory, developed when Gaelic speakers coming into English-speaking cities mispronounced the word "sugar" so that it sounded like "teuchter."

● [829] Glasgow Highlanders have developed their own defensive explanation: when the civilized Highlanders came down among the uneducated barbarians of the south, they came as tutors, a word which their uneducated Lowland pupils mispronounced.) According to a university student from the islands, the word was once used by the English to refer to the Scottish Lowlanders.

197 191 behavior characteristic of the dominant group; but for 559 those that remain in the village, the language serves a 571 unifying function, although its form is limited in 181 578 diversity of elements.

184 Jokes are most humorous when told in Gaelic; and 197 conversation is punctuated with Gaelic proverbs and old 538 stories. There is a vast oral lore, expressed in Gaelic, [522] of the village and generations of its members and their [521] characteristics and escapades, a dense map of human events. All of these tales, proverbs and jokes have been told a ● 829 thousand times, but retain their unifying function. When speaking of today's children who do not go to the sheiling, a man says sadly, "They won't have our memories; this place will mean less to them than it does to us." The moor is not an empty wasteland, but a map of memories.

103 175 Thousands of place names are known, and behind every place name is a story. The major landmarks such as mountains, lochs and headlands tend to have Norse names, from the days when the Norsemen raided and settled along the island coasts; but the smaller hillocks and fields and bends in the stream have Gaelic names, for example, Sheiling of the One Night, Field of the Slaves, Slope of the Stone [184] Boys, Hillock of William's Sheiling. To know these place names and their histories is to participate in a distinct community, which has been made even more distinct by contrast with the dominant society.

166 2. The Exiles: An important source which supplies this sense of contrast is the large number of persons settled away from the island, often in "ghettoes" or neighborhoods in cities in which village ties are main- [521] tained. It is said that gossip about Shawbost travels more quickly in the district called Partick Hill in 146 Glasgow than it does within Shawbost itself. It may be 621 argued that the "exiles," with their Lewis and Harris Societies and pilgrimages back to the village during the holidays, do a great deal to sustain the strong boundedness of the village as a sociocultural system. They and non-Gaelic-speaking outsiders (the Eminent Person writing his inevitable book in the romantic solitude of an isolated manse) help to maintain a feeling of worthwhileness in a place rife with feelings of ambivalence and negative comparison with the larger society.

181 Within the village, especially during the long, dark 621 winter, complaints are often heard of the "sameness" of [195] things. A common phrase, almost a greeting, is, "Anything fresh?"—implying that the usual mode of existence is stale, sour, exhausted, and mucky with 621 overuse. Although the villagers have access to the 20 range of information available to all Britishers through ● 829 forms of mass media such as newspapers, radios and tele- vision sets, very little of this information is considered relevant to village life, and thus is not attended to.

273 [at a wedding] would be held in the barn, with sheets
175 lining the walls so that if a man staggered against the
585 wall he wouldn't dirty himself. There were four and one-half gallons jugs of beer and a few bottles of whiskey. Sometimes someone would spew on the floor. People got drunk on very little, because they didn't have it so often."

273 Occasionally the word went out that someone had
175 brought a jug of beer from town, and the men gathered in someone's barn or weaving shed, usually on a Saturday night.

273 "The war changed that. When you were at sea, you
175 lived from day to day. There was no tomorrow." "When
• 829 my brother was away at sea, most of the money he earned was saved for him, and when he got back we gave it to him to do whatever he liked with it. The men would go off to town drinking. They had money, and they had nothing else to do; and they had learned to drink during the war. Maybe if the TV had been around then they wouldn't have started that kind of drinking."

175 1. Bothans: Because most parishes in Lewis were
295 "dry," that is, no licensed purveyors were allowed, a
213 journey of many miles had to be made to purchase beer and
[671] whiskey in Stornoway. Around 1930, Nessmen (many of whom were sailors) began to bring back from town several kegs

273 the Lord that his prayers had been answered.") Another
215 bothan was started in an old bus.
[175]

Today only one bothan exists in Shawbost. It is a
[354] small concrete structure, lit by gas and heated with coal, which is burned in an expensive fireplace. Like most bothans, the one entrance faces away from the main road. Unlike most bothans, it has a small window which is curtained but nevertheless reveals whether or not the light is on inside. Most bothans present blank, windowless and doorless faces that give no indication whether or not the building is occupied.

[208] Every three years a poll may be taken within a parish to determine whether the parish should be wet or dry.
[66] After the parish of Uig voted itself "wet," the Doune Braes Hotel was opened in Carloway, only five miles from Shawbost.
• [829] One of the arguments for making the parish "wet" was that drinking at the bothans would cease, and men would drink under more controlled circumstances. "The married men usually went home from the bothan at a reasonable hour, but the single men just stayed there talking all night. At the hotel, they have to go home at 10:00."

Despite the opening of the hotel so close to Shawbost, the bothan remained open. The drink was cheaper and the atmosphere less formal. Unlike the bothans in Ness, however,
[771] the Shawbost bothan was usually open only on Saturday, the

B. The Bible

771 1. The Free Church: "A man in my great-grandfather's
175 time," said a 65-year-old man, "talked about the great
178 change within his generation, from the days when fanks were held on Sundays to such strict observance on the Sabbath that not even a cow could be tethered."

175 The first evangelical minister on Lewis came to the
793 parish of Uig in 1824. The Rev. Alexander Macleod belonged
795 to the Church of Scotland, but joined the Free Church when it broke away from the Church of Scotland in the "Disruption" of 1843. When he came in 1824, he found "superstition," "spiritual darkness," and "polluted remains of Popery, since it was the religion in this place...the only notion they had of Christianity (Beaton 1925: 7-8)." The southern
795 isles of the Outer Hebrides are still Catholic, but in the
• 829 Protestant isles of the north, holidays associated with
184 Catholicism are avoided, and stories are still told of the
798 burning of Protestant martyrs by Catholics. Catholics are disliked "because they believe that they can buy their way out of sin," or that the bread and wine of Communion is really the blood and body of Christ. "A Catholic is anointed with oil and left to die without food or water. We are privileged that we are not like them."

175 In the Disruption of 1843, about one-third of the
795 people and 39% of the ministers left the established church

794 Membership in the religious clique offers many
781 satisfactions. "You can talk with the converted all night, see them the next day and go on talking, because
• [829] you're always talking about something new. Now, when you hear someone telling a yarn or joke, you say to yourself, I've heard that before, I don't want to hear it again. But when you're talking about Christ, sharing your experiences of conversion, the conversation is always new."

794 A few cynical, non-converted persons describe the
781 clique as a "social club" whose members sit together in
829 church, shake hands with each other more often than with non-members, and are always having meetings in each others' houses from which others are excluded. "They came in and invited Jessie and Marian to come to their prayer meeting, but they didn't ask me. They have tea, sing psalms, and have religious discussions. Ministers and converted people from all over the island come to these meetings."

"I said to her, 'You wouldn't be caught dead talking to me. At the church you all shake hands with each other, but never with me. How about passing some of it on?'"

The non-converted often express envy, and say they wish they felt the same way that the converted people seem to feel. "I was sitting with my sister at the fire

794 one night, and she said, 'I've got something, have you?'
781 She told me, 'I've got Christ.' She said that Christ
• 829 whispered to her as we were sitting there, 'Come, come, come to me.' Now she's got full military honors. I felt so bad when she took Communion, because I hadn't got it. We're all going to die. Christ is everything. Without Christ you've got nothing. I go to bed at night and something is hanging over the bed saying, 'This isn't your bed, this isn't your place.' This is the last fling, you won't have me with you long. The next time you see me, I'll be in the church parade."

Often the converted are criticized for "dropping the old crowd" or for not fulfilling their neighborly obligations. "When these people need something, they're going to be hard put to find anyone eager to help them." "You're supposed to be good and loving when you're converted, but they never help anybody except themselves. They look down on anyone who's not converted."

When someone begins to come to the Wednesday night prayer meetings, the most noticeable sign of conversion, the newcomers are welcomed into the fold with eagerness; after the prayer meeting, members shake their hands and congratulate them. To be converted is to be "Born again." "My life is like a boat that was once tied to a pier with many ropes. One by one, these ropes have fallen away. There is only drudgery to this life. I feel as though I

794 could float right up to heaven. The only pleasure I get,
781 although it is but a shadow of that ultimate joy, is being
• 829 in the company of good-living people."

The converted often spend evenings with each other singing psalms and sharing experiences of conversion. They follow the Communions as they are given in different congregations throughout the island, and may even go to Communions on the mainland. "You get to meet all kinds of interesting people that you wouldn't meet otherwise. If it weren't for these meetings, it would be like the cities, you'd never meet." "East side knows west side because of the Communions, not because of the dances. You're alone at dances." Although every house in the village is open to visitors at Communion times, the converted tend to gather in the homes of their fellow converted, where, between the twice-daily services, they gather for intense religious discussion.

Persons who are converted, even if they have not taken Communion, attend the prayer meeting held in the middle of each week, but only the communicants may attend the "private meetings" (coinne uaigneach), which are held once a month. "My father used to tease my mother, who went to these 'darkness' meetings. But it's only a prayer meeting that gives the younger, recently converted members a chance to give the prayers, since when you're a communicant you're

794 called on an awful lot to give prayers in church, and it's
781 hard for some of them to get up and speak." The Reverend
• 829 Macleod notes in his diary that private meetings were
(175) initiated on the island in 1826.

A quarterly meeting (coinne raith) is held in Stornoway, to which many of the converted from the villages go. The
(196) Communions are held twice a year. "Special services," or "small communions," held soon after the Communions, are intended as evangelical services for young people, that is, services enjoining people to convert. These services, which last from Monday through Friday, were started in Ness after the first world war.

796 4. The Communions (Orduighean): Communions are given
794 twice a year, during autumn and late winter. They are scheduled for different weeks in different parts of the island, and neighboring congregations close their churches when Communions are being held nearby, so that during the Communion season some persons may attend a number of services at different churches.

In the days when transportation was limited, visitors
796 coming from a distance away stayed for an entire weekend.
574 All households prepared food and made ready for any over-
794 night visitors who might arrive without prior warning.
178 Guests often slept on mattresses laid on the floor. After
484 facilities of transportation improved, it became common for people to drive down for the day in private cars and return to their own homes at night.

000 return to their own homes at night. There is now less
796 need for the generalized hospitality of the past, which
794 was given to anyone who came to the door looking for food
• 829 and shelter. Through these visits some families in
671 different villages have, however, established relation-
574 ships which are kept up by exchanging hospitality at times of Communion and also in other ways. A family in
(262) Ness may send to a friendly family in Shawbost some guga,
(251) goalings of solan geese which are captured by Nessmen on the island of Rona once a year and are salted to make a delicacy that is in great demand. Through such contacts a family wanting to purchase a cow may receive word of one that is being offered for sale in the village of a Communion contact.

796 Services of Communion last five days. All services except that held on Sunday evening are intended for the communicants or full members of the church, also called
(535) "the believers" and "good livers." During this time, no
(185) dances are held in Shawbost, and in Carloway the hotel is closed.

796 On Communion Sunday, the upper balcony of the church
794 is filled with villagers watching to see if any of the
824 recently converted have decided and have been allowed to take Communion. Because the villagers watch very closely the behavior of everyone else within the village, any change

796 in behavior is noticed long before the person takes
794 Communion. Some persons may never take Communion, even
• 829 though they are generally known as "good living."

A person who shows signs of being "good living" (converted) is carefully watched by all villagers, but especially by the clique of the converted whose strict standards he must satisfy before he is able to gain admission.

A communicant who gets drunk or in other ways falls from grace is not allowed to take Communion again until he goes before the kirk session and attests that his ways have been mended.

Thursday, the first day of the Communions, is " a day
796 of humiliation and prayer." Friday is Latha na Ceist,
794 the day of questions or catechism, sometimes called "fellow-
(182) ship day" or "men's day." A passage is read from the Bible, which different elders must discuss in the light of their experiences of conversion. The day is also called a day of marks and signs. The elders who speak as a part of the day's rites are from congregations outside the village, which is regarded as "a matter of courtesy, and to bring in new ideas." They are called on by the minister and stand to give testimony or "fellowship," sharing their experiences of conversion with the assembly. These attestations are also spoken of as giving "tokens"

796 which signify that they are believers and differentiate
794 them from the non-believers. "Some people may think
• (829) they're ready to take Communion, but listening to these people helps them to see if they really are. Often their daily actions give the lie to their intentions, and they realize this and decide to wait a while longer." The sermon is propitiatory and includes psalms on such subjects as "Blessed are they that see the light."

After this service, the minister announces that the kirk session is prepared to interview new persons who would like to take Communion. From Friday until Saturday night, individuals "give witness" before the session. After an individual has described his experiences of conversion and has been catechized, he leaves the room and his case is discussed. The elders bring up any items of behavior that would cast doubt on his testimony. Questions about his moral behavior might include, "Has he taken a drink lately? Has he been seen in a dance hall? Is his behavior sufficiently circumspect?" The person is then called back and told the decision of the session by the minister. Occasionally someone is rejected.

Saturday is the day of preparation, the day on which those planning to take Communion are called upon to look at themselves carefully, inspect their faith, and prepare themselves to go to the Lord's table. After the morning

794 and then by Psalm 69, all of which emphasize the suffering
794 of Christ. The sermon which follows may be based on any
text; its intent is to strengthen the believers. It is
followed by Psalm 116. The minister then announces that
the most sacred part of the day's service will follow,
the "fencing of the table" (suir garadh an a Bhord).
He reads from Galatians V, in which those of the flesh
are separated from those of the spirit. Those who wish
[829] to take Communion are exhorted to leave everything behind,
including husbands, wives, parents and children who are
non-believers, if they wish to partake of the fruits of the
spirit. One man is said to have become converted when he
saw his wife going to take Communion for the first time.

Psalm 103, a psalm of blessing, is then sung. Until
five years ago, communicants sat with the rest of the
congregation and rose to "come to the table" (those seats
marked off by white tablecloths or sheets) for different
"sittings," as the congregation sang the psalms of blessing.

The minister then asks the elders to bring in "the
elements" of wine and bread. The wine is carried in
silver pitchers (which are refilled from bottles kept in
a trunk beside the pulpit by an elder who turns his back
to the congregation while doing this task), and poured
into silver wine goblets which are passed down the rows
of communicants along with plates filled with bread cut

794 into tiny squares. The ministers and the elders partake
794 first. A final hymn is full of rejoicing, and the minister
then exhorts the communicants to return to the world and
give witness and to live exemplary lives.

The evening service on Sunday is evangelical, intended
for non-believers. After this service the communicants
conduct a brief prayer meeting to give thanks.

[829] On Monday, the minister again tells the communicants
to go out into the world and declare publically their
experiences of the preceding day; and to demonstrate in
everything they do and say that they are believers. In
[178] the past, only a morning service was given, as most people
[484] had a long journey ahead of them to return home; but now
that cars are available, a similar evening service is also
conducted.

781 5. The Process of Conversion: The process of conversion
794 may be slow or sudden, but conversion is most common at
794 middle age and among women. One informant wryly observed,
[561] "Only recently women were allowed to have souls. But
[562] from the looks of the Communion table, mostly women are
[538] going to heaven." Many of the women taking Communion are
[620] dressed from head to foot in black, a color which indicates
their widowed status.

781 The first sign that a person is "following" (leanntail)
794 the church is that he begins to attend the weekly prayer

781 conversions that take place in other villages. "Five
571 persons converted recently in Lochs. Two used to drink
a lot, they're saying." Sometimes mass conversions occur,
[882] called "revivals," during which people shout, chant,
speak in tongues, and sometimes collapse.

794 Although strict observance of religious practices
829 must be maintained by the converted while they are on the
island, it is possible for them to relax this observance
when they visit mainland cities. The converted see nothing
wrong with attending plays or movies in Glasgow, as long
as no one observes them. A non-believer once commented
wryly, "They believe in the 11th commandment: thou shalt
not be seen." Women who have spent many years in domestic
service on the mainland, where they generally live very
different sorts of lives from those of island people, often
return to the island to retire. They then take up the
[892] color of their surroundings. The long black dress then
becomes the appropriate garb for them on Sundays. As one
person observed, "Women deposit their curam in the Left
Luggage Department at Stornoway, and pick it up fifty years
later."

779 The beliefs of the Free Church include explanations
for all events. "Everything of importance that happened
in history is recorded in the Bible." Predestination lies
behind all unexpected events; a sense of fatalism dulls

779 the impact of all disappointment. The church offers
meaning and order to those encountering problems posed
by village life. Of great importance is the sense of
certainty, power and righteousness which membership in
the church provides in contrast with feelings of inferior-
ity vis-à-vis the "superior" mainland. This is the Land
709 of the Scriptures; even the Free Church on the mainland
829 is considered decadent. "Religion isn't kept on the
mainland. The cities are full of sin. Lewis is given
mostly to religion. It should be called the Holy Isle."

105 of the converted, who occasionally neglect township and
794 neighborly duties in favor of religious activities. The
621 increase in private transportation during the past 25 years
632 has facilitated the maintenance of closer ties within the
184 clique. The existence of such a strongly bounded subsystem
[494] is an example of a trend toward the weakening of the
township as a social boundary system, but this trend is
countered by other factors that strengthen or help preserve
the township as a bounded system.

105 People come and go from the township, but this appears
632 to maintain rather than weaken township boundaries because
621 behavior different from that prescribed within the township
166 can be performed outside it, and conformist behavior
184 reassumed upon reentry. Those unable to conform with
standards of behavior prescribed within the township are
not likely to return.

[528] Township members who have settled away from the island
come back periodically for recreation and a sense of
[892] belonging. They increase the value of the township and
its way of life in the eyes of the inhabitants, and provide
them with subject matter for conversation until the next
holiday season, when the exiles again return.

105 The boundedness of the township is thus a qualified
632 boundedness that, over the past 100 years and especially
621 since the second world war, has decreased in strength but
184 is nevertheless strong today.
[494]

#159 he tried to persuade Mairi to emigrate to Australia, but
she would not consider it. They lived for a while with
relatives in Shawbost, until he built a house for them
on the common grazing land.

#159 "I remember my mother talking about the sigh ceilidh,
• 882 how people would gather to talk, and the girls would sit
around combing each others' hair. It was a good life.
Today things are going too fast. There are so few places
left that offer peace. Many young people want to leave
here, but they usually come back in ten years' time. I
never want to leave."

Katrina Bheag

#159 "I sit there in church expecting to be hit by the
781 curam, like lightning. I always go with my next-door
neighbor, Maletta. Up until a year ago she was going to
parties and drinking, but then she started going with a
new crowd, the religious folk. She just changed one
crowd for another. She kept the party crowd going for
awhile as well, she couldn't decide which she preferred.
But now she sees me and asks, 'How are you?' I say,
'Fine.' She says, 'How can you be fine if you haven't got
Christ?' So now I sit in church with her up at the front,
with both her and the minister brainwashing me. She keeps
telling me about all the people that have been converted

#159 recently, like the boy in Ness who decided he wasn't going
781 to church. He was sitting there reading, heard a knock at
the door and didn't go. It came again, so he went and
opened the door--there was no one there. Then the voice
of God spoke to him, and the next Wednesday he went to
prayer meeting. He probably felt guilty about not going
to church. I would have been just plain scared.

#159 "Something's wrong with the reasons why people get
781 converted. When someone dies, someone is sure to get
• 882 converted. When something terrible happens, someone gets
the curam. If one person gets it, other members of the
family start to get it. Take Iain Mhurchaidh in the next
street, for example; his wife converted, so he's trying.
But he took a drink the other day, and had to eat an onio
so his wife wouldn't notice; and when he hurt his hand
in the garage the other day, he swore like a sailor.
Usually people marry people the same as they are. It's
usually the woman who converts afterwards. The curamach
people say they're so fond of each other that they could
marry any one of them. That's the best way to get a
husband if you're an old maid. And a few affairs have
gotten started at the prayer meetings they hold in each
others' houses. I've never seen a really holy person.
They'll try to cheat you as fast as the next person.

"Once you start 'following,' you can't really stop.
Once you've given the sign that you're a follower, every

511 226 511 coat, was thought to be supernatural. The fishing, too, is
of good standard: a typical annual catch including 1700
salmon, 5000 sea-trout and 1800 brown trout; and it was
for this, as well as for the shootings, that the moors per-
taining to the different shooting or fishing lodges and hotels
137 were bought at Lord Leverhulme's sale. The absence of
233 foxes was important to sheep-rearing before the introduc-
tion of guns, and is still a favourable factor.

5. *Sea-fishing*

226 Fish have always contributed to the diet of the Islesfolk,
198 whether they fished from coracles or boats, or with 'long
262 wands' from the shore as they still do, and as they did in
433 the days of Dean Monro and, no doubt, right back to
241 neolithic times. The relative importance of fishing and
agriculture, however, has always varied according to place
and time.

182 Fishing in modern and historic, and also in prehistoric,
226 times—to judge from the kitchen middens of Uig—has
always flourished more where there were deep sea-lochs;
241 and settlement resulted, even though rocky hillsides made
198 ploughing difficult or impossible. Conversely, agriculture
192 has offered better opportunity on smooth coasts with a
variety of soils, though fishing was poorer there. Thus
the men of Stornoway Bay and Eye, of eastern lochs and
of the Harris bays, like those of Loch Roag on the west,
have long been partly fishermen. In the extreme north,
too, men of Ness—with the chance of choosing their fishing
grounds on the north, west or east of the island and with
their little rocky port giving shelter, of a sort, from south-
west gales—were good fishermen; they are good seamen
467 still. "The fishing of the Barvas folk" is an old gibe,
829

182 meaning that the men of that village, and its immediate
226 neighbourhood, were the last to put to sea and the first to
241 return. The Barvas folk could retort that they would
829 have been fools to do anything else on a straight exposed
461 coast; and that anyway their pony-drawn ploughs were
of more use than the foot ploughs of the rocky south.
A form of provender taken indirectly from the sea was the
sea-birds and eggs from the sea-cliffs and islets like Rona,
north-west of the Butt. This helped to support a few
families in St. Kilda and on the rocky Shiant Islands south-
east of Harris.

195 Fishing remained backward and primitive, however,
226 until the nineteenth century. After developing in a
178 promising way, it was checked before the First World
504 War, and fell into decay during and after it. Decay has,
501 of course, been widespread. In 1935 the chief ports of
the East Coast, from Leith with Granton northward by
Fraserburgh to Wick—a round dozen—had still an average
of 250 to 300 vessels, 3000 in all. These were chiefly of
steam or motor auxiliary power and valued (with fishing
gear) at £2,750,000. Orkney and Zetland, too, had each
their 300 boats. The whole West Coast, however, from
Stornoway to Ballantrae, had only 2000 boats, valued at less
than one-tenth of the fleet of the east, and worth only a
fraction of this, to judge from prices in the open market.
Nearly 400 boats were still on the register for Lewis and
Harris (Stornoway district) and another 300 for the rest of
the Outer Isles. But fewer put to sea each year, even from
Stornoway itself.

182 A major drawback to herring fishing in the Stornoway
226 district is the uncertainty in the movements of the herring
shoals. On the Clyde, moreover, herring can be sent fresh
to the city but further north they must be cured. Whereas

CHAPTER IV

THE EVOLUTION OF ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN THE ISLAND ENVIRONMENT

829 FROM the first approach we saw that while the 'Outer
Hebrides may seem to strangers a distant *Ultima
Thule*, the Islesman may regard their home as lying
at the core of our country and its life: of ancient ways, be
they foolish or wise; and of deeply rooted faiths, be they
superstition or truth. The purpose in this Part is to view
the essential phases in the occupation of the land and coasts,
and in the development of the people's means of subsist-
ence, 'work ways', society and spiritual life. We shall
find enduring traits, important at the present time, and
which affect the future. Distance over sea and moor is
still significant, as every Islesman knows; and position
affected the peopling of the Island, its races and their
long-continued customs. It must be asked whether sites
first chosen upon the Island are still significant with regard
to land-use and to sea-fishing. Did the types of class and
community, the bonds of co-operation and kinship formed,
correspond to needs we can still understand? Can we
enter into the life of our forebears in black house and town-
ship, the thought-world of mingled fact, myth and religion,
in which they carried on their work on land and sea?
194 Before what may be called the age of clanship, which
613 dawned as Gaelic culture reasserted itself after the defeat

194 of the Norsemen, lay a succession of earlier periods. A
623 phase of primitive settlements is traceable in archaeo-
192 logical remains and in recent and contemporary survivals.
194 It is shown in the physical race-traits distinguishing
those in one part of the Island from those in another.
Fragments of tradition telling of the first Christian
missionaries survived the Norse invasions and settlements,
dated from A.D. 800 or before, down to Haco's defeat on
the Clyde at Largs in 1256. These fragments can be
linked to chronicles and to later tradition, on which they
throw fresh light.

144 A survey of the archaeology has been published,[1] but
comparatively little, as yet, on race. Yet different com-
munities are distinguished by marked racial types or strains.
Although many, indeed most, of the race-strains of the
Island must have entered it in prehistoric times, some are
linked to tradition, and history accounts for the more
recent immigrants. The striking element of race in the
141 Outer Hebrides is a broad-headed type prevailing from
Barra to the Lews, accompanied by medium stature and
dark hair; it is also found across the Northern Minch.
But within the Island are notable differences.

829 Variety of race being accentuated by difference in ways,
the communities still comment pointedly upon one
another! For instance, an old saying is not forgotten:
528 "The folk of Cladach, but the gentlemen of Uig!"
(*Muintir a' Chladaich, ach daoin' uasaile Uig*),
433 'Cladach' being the western 'Beach' district possessing
632 ploughland but poor fishing, which covers the modern
133 parish of Barvas (excluding the north-west cliff-promontory
113

[1] Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, *Outer Hebrides, Skye etc.*); 1928. V. G. Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, 1935; *Scotland Before the Scots*, 1946.

829 of Ness), while Uig is the most westerly promontory with
433 its natural fishing harbours. The authorship of the pro-
632 verb may be ascribed to the ladies and gentlemen of Uig;
133 yet the personal appearance of the victims, who are more
broad-headed, gives the proverb a physical foundation.
194 Again, the tall men of Ness, dark or fair, and rather longer-
192 headed, still form a group apart from those of Cladach,
194 each having taken root in prehistory, *i.e.* earlier than
surviving record.

144 Such facts correct several current misconceptions as to
race and heredity in their relation to Gaelic society, past
and possible. First, it is still common to contrast a
'Celtic' with a 'Norse race'. Now, Norse immigrants
belonged to several races, and when they arrived, several
race-streams were already mixing and eddying in the
Isles. After the immigration of Norsemen, the next re-
corded was in 1611, consisting of gentlemen-tacksmen from
Kintail and burghal settlers to Stornoway, who were com-
posed of Gaelic-speaking families from Easter Ross, where
the people of today resemble some Scandinavian types
rather than typical broad-headed Lewismen.

Second, it follows that no sweeping generalisations can
yet be made as to the ways and habits of particular races.
The "Celtic race", one reads, have "never taken to the
sea" as have the Norsemen.[2] The facts in the Island are
that though the men of Ness, with a possible Norse ad-
mixture, were considered better fishermen than those of
Cladach, and the present generation includes a great
number of seamen, their opportunities have been greater
—their cape commanding wider fishing grounds and their
little port providing relative safety in storm. And the men
of Lochs and of the 'Bays' of Harris, though they show

[2] For example, in the Brend Report on Lewis (1902).

175 the cultivable land and pasture having been shared out to
178 minimal fractions, they called for a minimum of labour by
241 the men—though housewives and mothers had always
476 plenty to do. The morrow's tryst for work might prove
654 a tryst with no work done. The men might foregather
on the moor to cut peats, for instance, but if one of their
423 number was late, become so absorbed by telling stories of
the Fenians that, ere work had begun, it was time to go
188 1 home—resolved to meet for work some other day! As a
result, reformers advocated breaking-up the joint-holdings;
and this was done in Lewis by 1830, as noted in the Brand
Report. But mere division of the land did not increase its
total amount.

175 Yet while noting the progress made by the liberation
178 of individual initiative, we can see the drawbacks of
individualism: the evictions made with no provision for
654 new homes, and later the monotony and the loneliness of
362 modern farm life, the mutual distrust of employer and
employee, and the general inability of farmers, as yet, to
423 co-operate. At the present, when planning, purchase and
476 sale are required on a large scale, particularly among small-
holders, the interest of each is still "the interest of the
829 whole". The team-spirit must be recovered from the
work (not simply the play) of school onwards to further
education and communal effort.

175 To sum up, every farm-hamlet was held jointly and on
241 equal terms, each joint holder being responsible for an
equal share of the rent, and the movable run-rig system
427 ensuring equal quality, as well as equal quantity, of land.
476 Common interest was assured, and there was mutual sup-
port in distress or sickness, as when one member, named in
473 a deposition of 1718, was 'valetudinary'. Lastly, work
was done in common not only when it led to efficiency

173 from the old chiefs' families, as in the genealogies of
622 MacDonald of the Isles and the MacLeods. A special
623 feature contrasting with English history is that claims to
differences of descent, instead of being maintained—as
109 between the Saxon and the conqueror of Norman blood—
191 were fused. Even when the ancestor of the chief was alien
to the locality, the people and the chiefs ultimately claimed
173 to be of one and the same descent. Neighbourhood
621 softened the impositions of the hunting herdsman upon
his human herd, and the feeling of kinship brought
reconciliation.

How far, then, can the family name, which proclaims
193 every 'son' and 'daughter' of Leod to be of the *clann*,
624 the 'children' of the first Leod, really betoken a blood
614 tie? Both the differences of race to be found in clanship
829 and the ties it formed are well brought out in a tale of
Highland pride, still told with Highland laughter across
539 the Minch in Kintail. A French skipper (an importer of
claret) touching at Kintail three hundred years ago, met a
short, dark man and asked him of whose clan he was.
"The Clan Rae," was the reply, "but we are of two kinds,
the tall, fair MacRaes and" (a little pityingly) "the short,
dark MacRaes." "And which are you?" "I," said the
wee, black fellow, drawing himself up, "am one of the
tall, fair MacRaes!" "Then God help the short, dark
193 MacRaes!" said the skipper. Even one link with the
622 blood of the chief—and that not necessarily legitimate—
614 was enough for a man to found a claim to kinship, not
829 merely as a MacRae, but with the tall, fair chiefly group

[1] In Gaelic, as a man is called MacLeoid (son of Leod), so a woman is
550 MacLeoid (daughter), and the clan, *Clann Leoid*. The absurd addition of
'son' to a woman's name (as in English surnames such as 'Johnson') is
unthinkable in Gaelic, in which a woman would be named 'John's daughter',
MacIain.

173 his near kin. Again, much as in the medieval *gestes* of
621 France, fosterage of an heir by a clanswoman formed the
614 closest possible tie to at least one family of the people
• 829 from ancient to recent times. For it linked the heir by
[171] sympathy—though not by equal obligation—to elders and playmates in childhood and his contemporaries in later life.

565 To re-state this 'contradiction' of equality and privilege, we have thus a hierarchy of 'class' imposed upon a 'classless' society. For the joint farms and the township were essentially classless. The two classes, the lord and the people, were primarily opposed, war having placed the conqueror above those who fed him. This state of things was not active 'class-war', for the armistice could endure indefinitely by means of the bargain made between the classes for some exchange of services; none the less, it was built upon class conquest.

175 That all should ultimately claim the lineage of their
565 chief was a remarkable solution to the hereditary opposition
614 of class. A man who knew the Islanders well, John Lane
622 Buchanan (1793), noted how in conditions of the utmost poverty the poorest addressed each other as 'lady and
[576] gentleman', *bean-uasal* and *duine-uasal*, a courtesy not lost today. And every clansman had a right to shake the hand of his chief, as Edmund Burt observed in his vivid *Letters*
[577] *from the North* (written after 1721). Indeed the sense of mutual obligation implicit in Gaelic society is well illustrated by the homely word *coir*, usually translated 'right'; it is equally used for right's correlative, duty—as when a Scots or Irish crofter may say "You've a right (a duty) to help your mother"—and for a 'right' (privilege) to shake the chief's hand. An English equivalent would be duty-privilege, or duty-right. Similarly, the same

175 Mackenzie. For all that, in 1900 a crofter said: "We called
613 the old proprietor Seaforth, but I believe his right name
621 was the Prince of Welsh". To him the Earls were royal!
• [829] Freedom of intercourse is embodied in the language to this day. With 'a stranger', a little spoken Gaelic
197 lessens 'strangeness' and quickens intimacy, because
565 Gaelic conveys essential human relationships as English
576 rarely can—even the English of the 'democratic' Lowlands. For instance, a well-dressed stranger, though young, is usually addressed in English as 'sir' by a senior crofter, and, just as in the South, without the expectation of 'sir' or 'ma'am' in return. In English, that is, respect is given to class. In Gaelic, age receives respect: it is the stranger, if the younger, who adopts the respectful 'you' (the second person plural, *sibh*), while the crofter, if the older, uses the friendly singular, 'thou' (*tha*). If they are of equal age, and neither is elderly, 'thou' would be
[562] used by both. Similarly, respect is given to womanhood; and an older woman who would say 'Sir' in English will say 'My dear' in Gaelic.[1]

614 It is not only by daily contacts that we may understand the relationship of people to chief, but by the height of feeling it may attain, and by the beauty of its expression.
[175] Among the finest of the later songs of praise to Gaelic clanship and its chiefs are those composed by two Island
[533] bards, a woman of Harris and a man of the Lews. Mary MacLeod, *Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh*, was a kinswoman of the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris, and a beloved
[173] [1] Calling on the sub-postmistress in a Highland place where I was known to be a friend of the laird, I was addressed as "Sir". But hardly had we passed to Gaelic when this woman, my elder and a person of culture, laughingly used an expression then strange to me. Halted, and suddenly shy at being forced to translate, she said at last, "When thou wast a *lamp* [just a boy!] *t' munr bha thu cnap!*" But rightly, she would have been slightly shocked had I said 'thou' to her.

175 the last of these in outlying villages after 1918. When
554 Matheson purchased the Island in 1844 he left the fishing
565 industry to the curers, great and small. Particularly before
427 most fishermen could speak and write English, the local
228 curers were best fitted to take action not only in marketing but in approaching the Government to aid the construction of piers and harbours. On the whole, their long ties with place and people, coupled with education, made them useful leaders of a community in which leaders were needed to adapt life to a changing economy. Here and there one or two small farmers survive, a little apart from the main townships. Aided by a long cultural tradition, they meet changing times by combining with their inheritance a sane selection of new elements.

Looking beyond the Island to the mainland, the time is
175 approaching for a fair assessment to be made of the historic
621 parts of chief and landlord, factor and tacksman. Not only
622 is there an enlarging body of documentation, but a growing
427 understanding of communal strands in tradition and of
184 changing social economy seen in relation to geographic factors of place and region. And in the Gaeldom, condi-
[178] tions varied greatly between bordering areas from Mar to
[182] Kintyre,[1] and the heartland of tradition in the Hebrides. In the Island, one must remember the fundamental opposition, yet the recurrent readjustments of chiefs and people. These, and not only individual differences in character and conduct, explain the differences of experience and opinion
• [829] quoted above. The people's belief, so frequently given to me thirty years ago, that it was bad factors, not the landlord, who taxed and harried them unjustly, expressed an idealistic faith in a chief, rather than the facts of economy
[565] and history. For lordship begins with the imposition of
[113] [1] A. McKerral, *Stot. Hist. Rev.*, 1947.

175 private naturally addressed him in Gaelic by his Christian
703 name, and writes of him with the warmth and respect due
[551] to an elderly relation. Something of this mutual regard remains; and young Englishmen of education have told me of their surprised admiration for the character of the best traditional type of 'Regular' Scottish, and particularly Highland, non-commissioned officer, before and during the two world wars.

175 Such bravery and character abroad led Stewart to the
• 829 conviction that their foundation must be the character of the peasantry at home. He held that the Highlanders' home life demanded support, and having served with the Sutherland Highlanders, he felt the deepest grief and anger at the clearances of the Sutherland estates by an English
[729] proprietor. When Stewart remarked that a few deaths mattered little when compared to the nation's renown, for this 'endures for ever', he referred to deaths in battle, which he analysed as typically of 1 to 2 per cent of the men. Whereas upon long voyages or in unhealthy stations, 25 per cent of soldiers or civilians might die of disease.

175 Yet, to the Gael, discipline did not mean blind sub-
703 mission to injustice. "Accustomed to obey their im-
614 mediate chiefs, who durst not break a compact with them, and to have promises punctually fulfilled, implicit submission was not yielded when they had rights to preserve." For the bond by which, of old, the Highlanders "were held to their superiors and one another" was "the bond
[648] of fidelity and affection. . . . In later times, when they entered the King's service, they considered themselves as contracting parties", and resented breaches of faith. Of eight mutinies in as many regiments, that of the Seaforth in 1778 should be instanced here. The regiment included many Lewismen, with Mackenzies and Macraes, and also

779 with his spouse. The knight, the first Stewart Earl of
764 Menteith, had died four years after his wife, in 1294.
532 Medieval sculpture was then attaining its height, as this monument, in spite of the ravages of time, bears witness.
175 The following year, 1295, saw the commencement of "the
644 three hundred years war" with its repeated destruction of Scottish arts and traditions of peace. Under King
• [829] Alexander III, "that Scotland led in luve and law", peace within the kingdom of Scots allowed a union embracing
[648] Gaelic Christian traditions and Scoto-Norman arts. After his death this became all but impossible. So far as scholars
181 can tell me, this almost unnoticed monument remains
764 unique in Christendom, indeed in the world.[1] The arts of Scotland, hitherto in touch with European achievement, were shattered by invasions, and Gaelic tradition was only to be maintained by the very poor, whose debtors, for all time, we have become.

763 At the approach of death God's mercy and peace were
782 sought. Latterly Roman Catholic prayers stressed the wish for Confession to a priest, followed by Supreme Unction for the attainment of 'Happy death', *Bas sona*.[2]
[174] In early times confession seems to have been made as willingly to the 'Soul-friend', followed by Benediction. When death had come, the mourners sang of sleep and
764 home. In Lewis today funerals are conducted in silence to the graveside, where the last service is held; but
[113] [1] *A unique medieval tomb at Inchmahome: a cultural link.* (Geddes, 1952.)
[2] It would be of deep interest to compare the attitudes to death found in 'Spiritual Songs' by Protestant Gaels like Buchanan or Grant, with songs on death which, though maybe of post-Reformation date, are of Roman Catholic origin (*e.g.* in Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection, poems on the Day of Judgment, and of Wrath; on age and on death; and on Purgatory; pp. 31, 85, 146; 34, 19, 21; 27). Some have much in common, both by virtue of the earlier traditions they shared and still more because of parallel
[171] trends of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Cf. *Carmina*.

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

is watching. My boyfriend tells me that I shouldn't go to church regularly and then all of a sudden show up in a pub on Saturday night. It confuses people. The Bible says you can't have two masters.

"There are only two kinds of people in this village. You're either curamach or you're not. If you get the curam, all of a sudden you've got a lot of friends. If you had a friend who got the curam, all of a sudden she's no longer your friend. She just asks you if you've prayed today, and acts like she's feeling sorry for you. If your parents are curamach and your father is an elder, you've got it made in this place. Domhnuill Iain Dasher's daughter was as slim and beautiful as a model but she was never chosen as Miss West Side at the dances. Her father wasn't a member of the church. He always spoke his mind, and people called him an idiot.

59 "There are definite symptoms of conversion. A person
81 who's been looking bored in church suddenly begins to pay attention. The women go all weepy. The men sigh. They wait around outside the church and don't leave so quickly. You can see them shaking hands with the converted. You can predict their conversion months in advance.

59 "I had a dream last year, of a line of people going
81 down the aisle of the church, all dressed in white like to
87 a wedding. Only they weren't wearing veils. I realized

*159 mythology. But the Celts still kept their special characteristics, like second sight.

"But who in this place talks about Zarathustra? I feel so ignorant. I've always read, and never believed anything. I guess I can thank the previous schoolmaster for making me a rebel. He used to give me at least four straps a day, because I was clever and his kids were dumb. It was a poor county, and there were only two bursaries available to send country children to the Nicolson. He outfoxed us, and his two children went. They didn't last there long, though.

"So whenever I see those big schoolmasters with
*159 • 829 their fancy speeches, all I can think of is what corruption lies behind the scenes. The only people that ever know what's really going on are the fools and drunks. Everybody thinks they're drunk, so they go ahead and act naturally, or tell their terrible secrets. But the drunks are watching. They see something wrong and they have to come and tell someone, and for some reason they come to me. That always happens to me at weddings and wakes."

*159 Cailean was a middle child of a large family. The eldest sibling worked as a policeman for awhile in naval dockyards, and then returned home and tried to start a small business. When it failed, he tried weaving for a time, and then returned to Glasgow to work as a security

*175 scriptions flowed in. In 1709 the Queen granted Letters Patent
871 under the Great Seal for erecting certain of the subscribers into
[643] a corporation. Thus did the SSPCK come into being, with an initial capital fund of £1,000. Its progress was rapid. In 1711, it supported twelve schools; in 1795, 323 schools. In addition to paying the teachers' salaries, the Society supplied the children with school books, established public libraries in various parishes, and defrayed the expenses of printing Gaelic Bibles and other books.

Harris here enters in an interesting sideline. In the records of
[217] the Presbytery of Mull, 1730, it is reported that 'Mr M'Aula . . . carried off the library to Harris, because he was not paid for his expenses in bringing them [the books of the Society] to Coll.' This MacAulay was the great-grandfather of the English man of letters, Lord MacAulay.

The Gaelic School Society was founded in 1811 and existed until 1892. It supported a large number of schools, as the desire for education had exceeded the capacity of the SSPCK. In 1796
[874] there were two schools and a spinning school in the parish of Stornoway. The minister of Barvas, writing in that year, says
[794] that there had not been a parochial school in that parish for many years, but that there was a Society school at Ness, attended by about twenty pupils, instead of treble that number had all the
[874] children been made to attend. The minister of Uig stated that three spinning schools were established there by Lady Seaforth, but he does not refer to ordinary schools in his parish at that time.
[794] According to the minister of Lochs, a parochial school was built there in 1795, and a Society school some three years earlier.

By the middle of the nineteenth century matters had improved considerably, though there were still complaints that education was not appreciated. In fact, education tended to be discouraged for a very practical reason. Back in 1811 an observer in the island
• [829] stated in his report that the great mass of the Lewis people would not send their children to school. 'When reproached on this head they answer "If we give them education, they will leave us."' Seventy-two years later (1883), the Napier Commission was told that 'Sir James (Matheson) supported and contributed to seventeen schools in the Island, many of which he built with teachers'

EDUCATION

houses prior to 1854. Monthly returns of attendance were sent 175* to my office, and parents who did not keep their children at school 871 were dealt with, but in many cases to no avail, as they often told [829] • me they did not want to give their children wings to leave them.'

In 1833 there were thirteen schools in the parish of Stornoway, [212] according to the *New Statistical Account*, 1840-46, which records that there were 586 children between the ages of six and fifteen years, and 1,265 persons above the age of fifteen in the parish who could not read. Barvas had three schools in 1836; Uig had five in 1833. In Lochs, in 1833 a parish school had just been erected, and four schools were maintained by the Gaelic School Society; yet out of a parish population of 3,067, only 12 could write. After the Disruption of 1843, the Free Church established a large number of schools throughout the island. And soon after Sir James Matheson took over the island he built schools in those districts not catered for by other agencies.

In 1865, the Government began to prepare for the Education Act of 1872, and sent Sheriff-Substitute Nicolson to the island to investigate the state of education there. At the time of his visit there were forty-seven schools, supported by as many as nine different agencies, persons, or institutions. The number of pupils [162] on the rolls was 3,332, with 2,647 in actual attendance. Nicolson computed that there were some 2,500 children on the island who did not normally attend school, and who should have done. A [346] large number of schools were little more than thatched houses. Fifteen were good; fourteen tolerable; and eighteen bad or inadequate. In the third group he classes 'those that cannot by any standard of comfort or fitness above that of troglodyte, be considered suitable for having the work of education carried on in them, or any work indeed, to which the prevalence of smoke and moisture are infavourable.' Of the children who attended these schools, 79 per cent received tuition in the Scriptures; 85 per cent were taught to read; 39 per cent were taught writing; 32 per cent were taught arithmetic; and 16 per cent taught needlework.

The Education Act of 1872 put an end to the old parochial 175* system, and virtually to other agencies which it found at work. 871 656 schools on the island were brought into line with the re-

8 STORNOWAY

632 829 • STORNOWAY is the only real town in the Hebrides. Some even say that it is the only real town in the world, as its basic living patterns are those of the countryside from which it sprang. It has always been held in high regard by the [539] islanders. In the past it was regarded as one of the most important places in the civilised world: a saying attributed to a primitive native has passed into a proverb: *'steornabhagh mhor a' chaisteal —baile 's modha 'th'air an t-saoghal gu leir ach Bail'-ath-Cliath an Eirinn—'s iongantach nach eil an Righ fhein a' tighinn a comhnuigh ann!'* ('Stornoway the great, with its Castle, the largest town in the wide world, except Dublin in Ireland; surprising it is that the King himself does not reside therein!') The affectionate [103] name for the town is 'Portrona', Port of Seals, which it is. A son [504] of Stornoway once said, 'The founder of Portrona must have been some sea rover with a good eye for a refuge from the storm and the peril of his calling. No matter what winds rage outside, within the bay the mariner may drop his anchor, furl his sails, and take his ease.'

*175 When the Vikings first came to the western isles of what was 632 later in history to become Scotland, they found a sandy spit of [133] land on which they could beach their longships in a sheltered bay. It was, however, more than a haven; it was a place in which to settle down and rear the first of many generations. Later the Norse-derived MacLeods took advantage of an outcrop of rock beside the beach to build a fortress. Later again a greenheart pier, [504] and later still a concrete wharf, have given the town the outward symbols of economic and social significance.

632 Stornoway owes its origin to the Stornoway Beds, a sedimentary 133 formation much younger than the Lewisian gneiss. These Beds have had two effects. First, their existence and formation allowed a deep indentation, giving a good harbour with a protecting isthmus not far way. The harbour itself is due to the erosion of these

181 some by characteristics which may seem unique. But it 171 will interest others by features of underlying universality. 133 These might be compared to the Archaean rock, overlain toward the south-east by a succession of younger strata, but forming their foundation.

181 In this rocky land, the roots of Island life are laid 182 bare; the rhythm of work responds to the day's weather and the cycle of the year. Yet the flowering of communal life in song and spiritual tradition may offer a fresh vision of regional, even of national, being. Indeed it is in characteristics latent in the evolution of the whole 'North and West' of the British Isles that Island life is most revealing.

131 Rising in imagination to a point above the summits of 133 the Harris hills, and viewing the British Isles from the 'far' north-west, we gain a new perspective (Fig. 1). The Island below us is now the nearest; the 'Outer' Isles, • [829] the innermost. To us now, as to the Islesmen, their Island home is no mere fringe, but a heart of Britain.

101 Thence, looking to the lands across the Minch, each 133 further from the Isles of home, there appear, in turn, three regions: (1) the rest of the Highlands and Isles; (2) the Lowlands and Uplands of Scotland; and (3) Ireland, Wales and Cornwall, and Northern England—all sculptured in rocks older than those of the Lowland or 'Plain' of England beyond. These three roughly concentric regions, from Harris to the edge of the 'Plain', may be grouped together with the intervening estuarine lowlands—not only Clydeside and the Solway but the 'firth-land' of Mersey-and-Deeside, and that of the Bristol Channel. To these, one might add the shores of an outer Minch, the *Manche* or 'English' Channel, which once linked Devon and Cornwall to Armorica. Beyond

ONTINUED
FROM
RECEDING
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CHAPTER VIII

CHANGE IN RELIGION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

(A) COMMUNAL CHRISTIANITY, THE ROMAN CHURCH AND THE REFORMATION

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[793]

WHEN the Reformation broke upon Scotland and the Church of Rome was driven out, the new Church was slow to replace the priests and conventual clergy by its ministers. More than two hundred years later the minister of Harris wrote, with reason, that in contemplating "the decayed monuments of the piety of our Christian ancestors . . . the pious mind is affected with a mixture of awe and sorrow, while it can hardly admit that the overturning of the ancient church establishment ought to be considered as reformation here". These words were honestly spoken. The minister continued: "In Harris, where, till within a few years back (from 1790), there has not been since the *aera* of our reformation from popery, so much as . . . one decent house for public worship; there were of old no less than twelve churches and chapels of which . . . the walls are yet standing, besides others . . . while tradition has preserved their names and dedications".[1] These are those of monastic *cella* or *cill*, of parochial or collegiate *ecclesia* or *eagleis*,

[1] *Old Statistical Account*, x, 376. No doubt many churches had lacked a priest for a considerable time before the Reformation; but taking a long view, the minister's conclusion was sound.

and of a township's tiny chapel, oratory or *teampull*.

In Lewis, as in the Northern Isles, the early years of the Reformation period had been years of invasion by the King's Adventurers, of resistance, bloodshed and ruin. Hence when Mackenzie brought a Protestant clergyman to minister to the people they flocked to hear him. Naturally the new lord chose one of his important tenants from Kintail, the Rev. Farquhar Macrae. "For forty years prior to the visit (about 1611) no one in Lewis appears to have been baptized or married,"—or rather, no ceremonies had been performed by professional clergy, an important distinction. "'The population', we are told, 'had lapsed into heathenism', but 'Mr. Farquhar's' mission proved thoroughly successful. 'Large numbers of the people were baptized, some of them being fifty years of age, and many men and women were married who had already lived together for years.' The author also stated that the success of this mission went far to reconcile the inhabitants of Lewis to Lord Kintail's rule. According to a Kintail tradition, 'the number of people that came to be baptized by Mr. Farquhar was so great that, being unable to take them individually, he was obliged to sprinkle the water at random on the crowd with a heather besom'"[1] —much as it still is on certain festivals in the Roman Church.

The tale of the Rev. Farquhar Macrae shows both the spiritual prestige of one who could read the Scriptures and must understand them, and the people's belief that a lord who brought a Gaelic clergyman must indeed be a Christian and was to be welcomed, or at least accepted. After the larger churches had been rifled by lairds, 'Pro-

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. xii; from Alexander Macrae, the *History of the Clan Macrae*, Dingwall, 1899, p. 57.

175 which Mr. Macleod attempted to hold at Uig, one of the
771 former elders actually offered a request that a wreck should
793 be cast ashore in the neighbourhood;[1] while another elder, referring to the death of our Lord as a misfortune, used strong expressions of deprecation of its having at all occurred.[2] . . . The reason is easily furnished; the Lewis ministry was not evangelical. Moderatism held the land in sole possession. . . . Nor did it act merely in a negative indifferentist manner. Moderatism contained in itself elements of positive distaste to Gospel truth, and enmity towards gracious influences and experience. As a matter of course, it was perfectly compatible with this system to grant toleration to superstitions and superstitious observances, which had been handed down through the Dark Ages of Popery from the still darker ages of Druidical idolatry. Acts of adoration, having for their object the heavenly bodies, were common. It is scarcely necessary to state that family worship was unknown among the people, and even at the manse. For although the public ordinances were dispensed as a matter of form, they exerted no practical influence upon the conduct. They rather tended to lull more profoundly asleep by imparting and maintaining a feeling of security to the poor dark benighted souls who participated in them."

People did come to church "in tolerable numbers" from the very outset of Mr. Macleod's ministry, but "Here for the first time was a preacher who showed by his whole

829) [1] Shipwreck was still thought of as an 'act of God', and a dire 'misfortune'. Not only is there no hint of deliberate wrecking ever taking place, as on some other British coasts, but abundant record of aid to the shipwrecked and respect for their property in the absence of the skipper and crew. (Martin, 1695; and later.)

984) [2] According to Evangelical theory the punishment of guilty and innocent alike was part of the Divine plan. How different this, from the faith of the Islanders till then!

795 The Evangelicals, so insistent
and worship of ancient Christian
771 stition', comparatively rarely co
designed to bring punishment u
have wronged one—that is upon
such was the practice, widespre
moulding a clay figure representin
and either sticking pins into it, ex
it in a stream, with a prayer that
so would the object of hatred.
I knew, Dr. Norman Morrison
his own performed this rite.
herself that if the desired inju
Divine law was at work and s
[178] innocent or actually just. What
twentieth century, long after
Christian calm of runes and rites
healthy laughter of gay custom si
rite of ill-will had lived on. On
pity the more: the hated, for th
they knew the rite was at work, o
Evangelicals made so little appea
that the irrational element in su
• [829] replaced by a sane, scientific ou
was condemned as 'unbelief'.
wrath, anger and "the punishm
played havoc with the emotions.

Those brought up on the pr
—especially in its milder forms—
with a selection of Old Testam
appreciate the shock to a sensit
[776] the whole of the Old Testament
shock is due not only to the acts

in condemning the beliefs
ity as ' vice ' and ' super-
ndemned words and rites
pon a person believed to
a person one hated ! Of
ad in the Old World, of
g the person to be harmed,
posing it to fire, or leaving
as the figure wasted away
An educated Lewisman
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is striking is that in the
the healing beauty and
had been banished and the
lenced, this pre-Christian
e hardly knows whom to
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r the hater. The extreme
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ive heart of first hearing
read Book by Book. The
of vengeance or massacre;

175 the mansion, lodges, and grounds or ' policies ', much was
747 built and laid out for himself at the time, though part was
for reclamation. This contrasts with his provision for
423 those whose homeland he had bought—the sum spent upon his own mansions and grounds being nearly half that spent directly for the good of some 20,000 fellow-Gaels.

175 Matheson was not technically equipped for his chosen
157 task of ' reconstruction '. Nor was he fitted by trade in the East for the leadership of a people accustomed, in
[623] spite of dire poverty, to considerable freedom. Ignorant, one gathers, of the language of the people, his choice of a
175 later Factor was hardly a happy one. Tradition in Lewis speaks of this Donald Munro as an ' autocrat ', and evidence
623 in 1874 confirms it. In addition to being the Factor for
423 an ageing man and so holding economic sway over the people, he held seventeen public and semi-public offices
661 in the Island, from Justice of the Peace to Captain of the Volunteers, still other offices being held by his clerk ! The extent of his sway is also shown by his having served summonses of removal upon fifty-six families on his own authority. As a result of the treatment of the officer sent to serve the summonses, three crofters were tried on a charge of " assault committed on an officer of the law in revenge for having executed his duty ". When asked in court if Sir James would not have disapproved of this step and the manner of its execution, Munro replied that it was his practice " never to trouble Sir James with small matters ". " Then you consider the eviction of fifty-six families a small matter ? " was the retort. These ' Bernera rioters ' were found not guilty, they and their neighbours were left in possession, and soon after the Factor demitted
175 office.[1] Lewismen felt the result to be a moral victory,
829

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. lxxi.

estate, or where a single lodge was bought as a home for retirement, depopulation might not matter. Certain populated parishes, however, were bought as investments by men of comparatively modest means. The principal reasons for his purchase given to me by a retired man, formerly connected with the administration of the Lews estate, were two. Asked if he had found, and expected, steady, remunerative payment of rent, he replied: "Certainly!" Next, in view of Press forecasts of general emigration, I referred to the fact that if large numbers of crofters decided to give a year's legal notice of departure and apply for compensation for improvements, including the erection of a 'white house' (otherwise than by Government aid), the landowner would be faced by heavy liabilities while deprived of income. Had the purchaser no fear of such an eventuality? "Certainly not!" was the reply, "the crofters will stick to their homes for many a long year."

These examples show that, while the defeat, or non-realisation of Leverhulme's schemes, seemed to many outsiders the beginning of a not distant 'end' to the Island community, the Islanders themselves did not contemplate a final exodus. They were quite uncertain what was to come, it is true. Who was not, in those years of discouragement for Scotland and her people, for Wales, for Tyneside and Lancashire? The years of Leverhulme's departure from Lewis and of his death brought bad seasons. In 1924 storms destroyed crops and the peat would not dry. Herring catches and prices, though they had risen a little since 1921–22, had not allowed recovery from the losses sustained. The cessation of Leverhulme's wage-payments meant a gap in income which the Islanders could not fill at home. To relieve poverty in 1924–25, a Highlands and

Islands Distress Fund was raised in the Lowlands. The Committee organising it distributed relief, and purchased seed potatoes, etc. They also drew attention to some important features of Island conditions. Among others was that of the scale of charges for transport of goods and passengers. These charges had risen by from two to four times what they had been.[1] The steerage passengers were poorly provided for; and a later improvement in cabin comfort was not accompanied by improved steerage accommodation. One remembers in particular the suffering of the 'fisher girls'. In good weather the passage home (by day) was bearable; and though the song that 'lifted' as the boat left Kyle for the last lap to Stornoway sank pathetically as the steamboat left the shelter of Skye, voices began to rise again in the shelter of Stornoway Bay, sounding clear as the boat drew in. In bad weather the crowded women suffered sorely. Five hundred might be packed on the deck with little or no shelter, or covered the benches and floor of the steerage, sick and distraught. The Committee pointed out that "the Government increasingly accepted responsibility for the roads of the kingdom", and that sea communications were even more vital than roads to Islanders, for they serve in place of both road and rail. Some action was taken, but charges remained high.

As a result of all these difficulties, many young men

[1] Examples were given of the rise in charges from 1914 to 1924, *e.g.* a web of tweed, Harris to Glasgow, from 1s. to 3s.; a box of lobsters, Harris to London, 4s. 6d. to 11s.; a barrel of herring, Stornoway to Kyle, 1s. to 3s. and so on. Although the rise on larger consignments was less, these were of no benefit to 'small folk'. Typical charges for the export of livestock were: (Lochmaddy, N. Uist, to Oban, or from Harris) for sheep the rise was from 9d. to 2s.; for lambs, 6d. to 2s.; for horses or cows, 5s. to 18s.; for stirks, 2s. 6d. to 11s. 6d. The Committee's report was privately printed.

developed through the township Grazing Committees by the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society and its associated Crofters' Agency. Lime and fertilisers were purchased, and wool and other products sold, co-operatively. The co-operative marketing of lobsters, taking advantage of fluctuating London prices, has led to the reconstruction of ponds for storage. By these and other means, government assistance is utilised but not squandered; earlier initiative in agricultural organisation is reinforced; and communal tradition is revived, linked to personal responsibility through the crofters' lifelong knowledge of one another.

As to the future, all agreed that unless the Harris Tweed industry flourished, with work at reasonable wages, the villages would be abandoned by the young, perhaps with no return such as hitherto on 'retirement'. Many young people are content with life in the townships, provided they can get a living there, though not all, for they are somewhat divided; and work elsewhere, even in the mills of Stornoway, is a counter-attraction.

Social life is undergoing changes which operate both for and against the retention of the young. On one hand, household interchange of conversation, song and story, the *ceilidh*, has declined. On the other hand, one found that, as regards religious prohibitions, and in spite of the nervous tension expressed in 'Revivals', the young have won greater freedom. Near one village a Nissen hut, handed over to the Home Guard, was also used by young people for monthly dances. When I asked a young crofter invalided from the Navy whether the Elders of the Kirk made no protest, he replied that they had, but had to give it up: "They see that we won't stand for it"! This would have been unthinkable during the First World War,

so creating a small leak in the purse and in the mind, leaving both a little emptier, week by week. Surveys made by teacher-members of the Educational Institute of Scotland describe the effects on listeners in Highland parishes as pernicious, in the main. The reports of the B.B.C., on the other hand, emphasise their cultural endeavours, and the lightening of house-work and of rural monotony or solitude. Every effort is needed to aid a happy selection in home and neighbourhood.

Experiences undergone in war were of very differing types. Many men spent the war years in the Navy, without contact with decent town life, or others in the Merchant Marine. Of combatants in the land forces, the Territorials of the original 51st Highland Division experienced a few months of relative inactivity in France, then of a brief but bitter campaign, followed by long years in prison camps, while other soldiers underwent prolonged training in Britain, followed by severe fighting for long periods, far afield. Lastly, a limited number of men served in engineering or other works of war-time industry, though labouring work, at high wages, kept many of the older men employed at home. Of the women called up for service, some were posted to the Forces, some to the Land Army, and some were sent to factories. The greater opportunities for women to earn a living wage away from the Island tend to equalise the ratio of the sexes.

An experience new to the Western Isles came with the establishment of Air Bases. Not only did their construction provide high wages for labouring for the older resident crofters, brought daily to the Bases by bus from their townships, but for the first time a heterogeneous mass of men from every part of urban Britain was put down at the doors of these quiet communities—at a time when

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S. Mairley et al. K-S (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uig

Unlike the mainland farmer, should an islander withdraw his store stock from the autumn sale he cannot easily present it elsewhere a few weeks later; he must keep it from the autumn until the spring, which will probably involve him in buying feeding stuffs out of his seriously depleted income. Many crofters suspect that their difficult position in this respect is taken advantage of by mainland buyers. Whether this is true or not the result is the same - the crofter is discouraged from raising stock.

Many crofters with whom we discussed this problem realised that, by fully stocking and cultivating their crofts they might double, or even treble, their income from agriculture. Some realised that sound management of a large unit, such as the amalgamation of two or three crofts, by sublets or otherwise, might yield a reasonable family livelihood. What they all stressed was the uncertainty - the uncertainty of stock and wool prices, the uncertainty of subsidies from year to year, the uncertain fortunes of their little packs of sheep and the uncertain effects of the weather on their hay and oats harvest. In other words they lack confidence - in both the cash reward for agricultural operations and in their own technical ability. Therefore they prefer to take a sure weekly income, however small, and to work their land at a low level of productivity.

Climate, soil, and insularity (to which must be added the particular isolation of south Uig and Bernera, even within a Lewis) all present problems. But there is a tendency to overstress these difficulties and to use them as excuses, whilst failing to appreciate that they also offer certain opportunities. Many agricultural raw materials have to bear the cost of shipping from Glasgow or from Leith; the peculiar difficulties of island stock marketing have already been mentioned; but, equally, the Minch could and should provide a natural protection for island agriculture. Elderly milk and travel-worn fatstock, potatoes and vegetables, imported daily into Stornoway from the mainland, are a standing reproach to crofting agriculture. Crofters could produce most of this food and if they would they would be turning to advantage the disadvantage of insularity. Some will admit this, if pressed, but they will also rightly point out the difficulties. These are two-fold: technical (particularly in the case of legal restrictions on milk production for sale) and economic (the difficulties, or believed difficulties, of marketing). A few individuals, for example, claimed that it was not worth selling potatoes unless they received the full shop price: this is a stubborn and stupid attitude; and one is reminded of the crofters' long opposition to the introduction of the potato, nearly 200 years ago; a co-operative marketing organisation might help in this respect.

The crofters' attitude to innovation is all-important; new ideas, whether in agricultural practise or in marketing, require careful introduction and a good deal of fostering. The crofters' lack of confidence is a real factor and must be taken account of; it is not due only to the risk and uncertainty of markets, they also lack technical knowledge, even though they may have plenty of ability. Again, the prevalence of small units makes it particularly difficult to adopt innovations; a failure which might be negligible on a large farm can become a disaster on a croft. The crofter has not the resources of the farmer with which to experiment, nor has he been able to observe other methods or crops on other farms because he lives and works in a restricted environment, surrounded by fellows in like situation. The introduction and development of township re-seeding schemes by the Agricultural Advisers is an excellent example of how these difficulties can be solved. Good progress has been made since our survey. Because such improvements are communal they tend to add to the flexibility of the township structure; because they extend the grazing season in spring and autumn they tend to reduce the need for winter fodder and so to reduce the cultivation problem. Far more re-seeding could be done, particularly in South Uig and Bernera. Here the lack of local employment makes agriculture more important as a source of income than elsewhere and the need to improve the productivity of agriculture is both great and urgent if population is not to fall below the minimum level for maintenance of services. This special problem deserves special attention, by both local communities and by the authorities. If South Uig and Bernera could carry a further 800 head of cattle, which is no more than was carried in 1883 (and is still less than the sums), the problem would be well on the way to solution.

[Merivig]

There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft, and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school -over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron. All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply; rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the land more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

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one thing, an attempt is being made to build up the value of the sheep and cattle stock. Then too it is hard to obtain information on personal income. Not a few Highlanders are reluctant to share in the cost of maintaining the government and, consequently, equally reluctant to discuss their income. Still, it does give some indication of the potential income for 80 percent of the Skye crofters. It should not be forgotten that a large proportion of the small crofters will have absolutely no income from the land.

The Income of a Medium Croft. The medium croft, according to experts, has a potential income of £150 to £200 a year. Like the small croft, it provides a home, potatoes, vegetables, milk, eggs, meat, and peat. The budgets for one croft of this classification for 1952 and 1953 show a cash income of £203 17s 2d. and £170 15s. 11d., and a net profit of £169 12s. 1d. and £96- 11d. The marked fall in net profit is accounted for by a decrease in the acreage under oats, increased expenses, and the sale of fewer and younger stock, which also affected the cash income. The total hours devoted to crofting are estimated at 600 to 800 hours.

This croft supports a family, a married couple and their children, supplemented by seasonal auxiliary employment on the part of the father. As presently worked and stocked, it could not be left to a woman with any expectation of the same return The stocking is two cows and followers and fifty sheep. There are 16½ acres of cultivated land, all but a quarter under gras

75 testant' and perhaps 'Catholic' too, or sacked by the
98 King's Adventurers, there seems to have been little effort
14 to build or rebuild the four 'paroche kirkis', one of the terms of the Royal grant or infeftment of the Lews to Kintail (Seaforth). But the evidence in the previous chapter makes one doubt that the maintenance of Celtic Christianity by the people in their thatched 'temples', in their homes and fields, or at sea, was "a lapse into heathenism". The term had been better applied to the acts of certain chiefs, and of the King and his Adventurers.

75 Although imbued with their traditional faith, the people
71 were intensely aware of their isolation from the great
29] world, and humble as to their own oral learning and religious culture. Moreover, since the arrival of Christianity they believed that they belonged to the Church Catholic. But by the sixteenth century their lords had misappropriated funds, clerical absenteeism was common, and they cannot have been unaware of faults in the Church of Rome. They were the more eager to welcome any cleric who read the revered Scriptures, whether he came as a Calvinist or Episcopalian from Edinburgh or by perilous journeys from Armagh, Spain or Rome itself.[1] Living far from the worst theological controversies and persecutions inflicted for a century after 1560, the Islesfolk revered a good cleric for his own sake, as they did Macrae and, later, the minister of Barvas (and Martin himself) in lonely North Rona in 1695.

[1] Catholic missions to the Isles in the penal times are described in Compton Mackenzie's *The Book of Barra*, 1936. Martin (1695) refers to some Harris fishermen recently reconverted by priests, and to the mockery of their 'Protestant' neighbours because in spite of Roman prayers, their fishing had been less successful! Some of the MacKenzie tacksmen and no doubt their tenantry remained Roman Catholics until after the 'Forty-five, notably MacKenzie of Kildun near Stornoway, who gave shelter to Prince Charles in 1746. (W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 126-130.)

Leverhulme grasped the problem in this fresh way, complementing his first policy of the sea for the seamen by one of the land for the landsmen, he could cheerfully have allowed the Government to honour their promise to divide the farms, and thus he would have brought peace to all. In giving up the farms he would merely have had to reconcile himself to additional imports of fresh milk from Easter Ross, at an extra cost of a penny or two per pint. To do Leverhulme justice, experiments on peat were begun (about 1920) upon a small scale, partly, it is understood, as a result of Hardy's report. Yet in failing to make this reclamation an integral part of his plans, in refusing to adapt himself to promises given and to agree to the wishes of many applicants, Leverhulme of the Lews allowed peace to be wrecked. Why he should have stopped work in Lewis in order to remove to Harris, is not clear. There is nothing to show that crofter-fishermen in the creeks of Lochs and other fishing tracts of Lewis believed less firmly in fishing than their fellows in 'the Bays' of South Harris.[1] Nor was there extensive land for dairying in Harris. To make a second attempt to found a centre, involving fresh expense, at Obbe (on the exposed south-west coast), a much less favourable point on the Island than Stornoway, was to court disaster, not to pilot his way through the difficulties of falling markets to success.

Leverhulme, it is true, had seen one side of the 'all-round' policy required: the need for a plot of land for the Lewis fisherman and his family. In Hardy's words, "A man's choice of the sea should not prevent his having 'a

[1] In his father's biography, the second Viscount suggests that there was a difference of character between the (unreasonable) men of Lewis and the (reasonable) men of Harris. The assertion is unsupported by the facts. There were raids in Harris, too, comparable to any in similar tracts of Lewis, but in neither were they important.

(B) SLOW CHANGE: 1925-

1. *The Land, the Sea, and the L*

When Leverhulme parted company wi
Lews his gesture of farewell was one of
offer of Lewis to its people. The Storn
formed, and this accepted the gift of the
townships of the Parish, and of the Castle
Park or 'policies'. In crofting townshi
people declined the offered gift of land,
could not afford the augmentation of r
acceptance. So the remainder of the es
for sale in several lots, which were bough
and have proved safe investments. The le
rights adds a further, albeit a variable, ret
that of the rents received. It is indeed a
crofting estate, such as a Lewis parish,
return to a purchaser, yet that the crofter-
selves would lose by receiving it as a gift.
improvements in housing would also be
fear of increase in their rates. It is tru
existing laws of assessment) all the farm
cottars and squatters of a county were to
at the same moment, the total increase in as
either be repaid in greater services or met

[1] The reasons (as indicated in Chapter IX (E)) are
(or 'small landholder'), as occupier of an agricultural
assessed at three-eighths of the occupier's half of the a
Rent, *i.e.* at less than a quarter of the whole rental. A
built a good house and other buildings he is not assess
neither is his landlord. Were he to become owner he
to assessment both as occupier and as owner, on the
land and of buildings too; with deduction of five-eight
value as occupier only.

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holding, can only be
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would then be liable
full annual value of
hs on the agricultural

423 431 427 632 829

—or by a compromise between. But as it is, if one crofter, or a small group of crofters like those of a township or parish of Lewis, were to become owner-occupiers (even by gift), they would be penalised as compared to others. Hence the Lewismen preferred to go on paying rent as statutory crofting tenants. Leverhulme sold the land and received the price; the new owners paid for it and received an investment; and the only 'loser' on this curious transaction was the Local Authority, the County, which failed to make more in rates!

[623] Further reasons why the great majority of crofters declined Leverhulme's offer have been given by the Lewis Association's Economic Committee (1944):

(a) As individual proprietors, they would lose the advantages of the jurisdiction of the Scottish Land Court in dealing with their disputes, and any litigation would take a more costly form.

(b) They would be debarred from obtaining loans from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland for the improvement of their holdings or houses; as the Department would no longer have the "Corner Stone" of a landlord to fall back upon in the event of renunciation.

(c) The crofters were afraid that as individual proprietors they would forfeit their share of the Common Grazing rights.

(d) Should they wish to quit their holdings they would be compelled to find a buyer in the open market, instead of renouncing to their landlords and getting valuation.

(e) There is a feeling among Lewis crofters that they prefer to have a landlord before whom they can lay their difficulties and disputes, and who will attend to their wants; an authority that relieves them of responsibility.

[181] [624] [175] As the historical evidence has shown, a lack of responsibility has been greatly due to the undermining and then the abolition of the authority of the township's own elected Constable.

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ime Crofter. The part-time crofter follows much the
ule and shares the same succession and variety of
ndeed, some are not so much part-time crofters as
part-time employees. As such, they are successfully
a traditional economy no longer en rapport with the
g twentieth century commercial world by depending upon
benefits of contractual relationships to the smallest
degree. One fellow saw the situation this way: "We
factories and the like; what we need is something
give us time to attend to our crofts." Others feel
ey have to abandon the traditional way of life, they
as well leave the island for places where greater

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[829]

fruits of labor are for the vast majority. Although they establish their own tempo, the crofters, both men and women must follow the dictates of the seasons. Inclement weather imposes prolonged periods of idleness. There are conflicts These are not conflicts of meaning, but they pose serious p The small crofter has to decide how he can best allocate hi time. He may want to get in his hay or try making silage, but his sheep, his main source of income, must come first. This does not mean that there is economic disintegration. gration does not mean smooth functioning. Perhaps, a furth discussion of cooperation will clarify the situation.

which heartened them for resistance in common against landlord and State, both in the agitation for reform of the Land Laws during the next ten years and in their demands for 'the return' of sheep farms to crofting, which continued until all these were divided soon after 1919 and the ex-Servicemen's return.

Expenditure of capital in Lewis during more than a generation, from the purchase of the estate in 1844 down to the death of Sir James in 1878, helped to maintain the people and provide relief in bad seasons. It left Lewis greatly improved in roads and paths, in sea communications and in buildings of various sorts. Two real efforts had been made to utilise Lewis peat, industrially for paraffin oil, and agriculturally by reclamation. Given the resources and knowledge of a century ago, these attempts did their initiator credit. Yet failure left the Islanders to continue crofting without either an additional occupation or the extension of croft land, even at the high population density (per acre of arable) which Matheson had found on his purchase in 1844.

Subdivision of crofts was the first result. A father would simply divide his croft between himself and a son, who might not even be entered on the rent-roll of the estate, and the two would inevitably need more stock than before upon the common. The second result was simply 'squatting': the building of a house, perhaps with a tiny kailyard, on a piece of the 'skinned' land. As building went on overcrowding old sites, filth accumulated and springs were contaminated, crofting was hindered and cows became fewer per family, in spite of overstocking. By 1886 about two-thirds the number of the cottars and squatters found in 1914 were already in occupation. In 1914 there were over 3000 statutory crofts in Lewis, their

175 Board, created in 1897 to develop agriculture, fishing and
671 home industries, to form new holdings, to assist migration,
427 and to provide public works such as roads, bridges and
[647] piers. These powers were further extended by the Land Settlement (Scotland) Act of 1919, passed to provide land for ex-Servicemen.[1]

The Crofters' Act granted to the individual crofter most of the rights advocated by the Napier Commission, and other advantages besides, but it did not impose upon him the corresponding duties. As Day wrote, "The landlord was compelled to act in the interests of the crofter; the crofter was not compelled to act in his own interest". [632] The Act discarded the core of the Napier Commission's scheme, that of "a recognised local community, the township, with an executive officer, the Constable, working for the improvement of the township, by fencing, draining and other works, with the assistance of the proprietor", the whole scheme enforceable by "legal compulsion on either [829] side". As a Gael might say, the Act discarded *duty-right* of members of the community to one another.

175 As a result, peace did not descend upon the Island at
423 once. The demand for land continued, followed up by attempts to settle upon it, in spite of police and armed force.
[668] A legal victory was to be pressed home. In Lewis the

[113] [1] A useful summary of the legislation is given by the Scot. Econ. Committee's Report, 1938, pp. 17-21, and a searching review in J. P. Day's *Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1918, a work of real social insight.

The Act of 1919 is still the main enactment under which land settlement schemes may be undertaken in Scotland; but the Agriculture (Scotland) Act 1948 included new provision to allow the creation of holdings up to 75 acres in extent and £150 in rental. After the Second World War a more cautious policy was adopted in regard to settlement of ex-Servicemen and little progress has been made in carrying out schemes, despite many unfulfilled applications in the Hebrides and elsewhere where the demand for crofts exceeds the supply.

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[9]Cf. F. Fraser Da
Situation," The West H

enfrom made it welcome." Population in-
of the crofts and the change from a
an export economy based on sheep and
eft the old pattern of mutual, recipro
bed. But does this mean they no longe
. In fact, I think critics of the Hig
gerated,[9] and the people, always ready
been influenced by stories of an ideal

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arling and Averil Morley, "The Social
ghland Survey, Part VI, p. 2.

254

as an eccentric. Included among these norms is a willingness to satisfy the curiosity of one's neighbors. Although the old woman who acts in mysterious ways is no longer regarded as a witch, two of the loneliest people I knew on Skye were two old spinsters who had kept their past concealed. No one in the township would have anything to do with them. Were it not for periodic visits by the local Red Cross, they could have died and hardly been missed.

4 This status equality for all of the same sex and age trade leaves no room for the status and role of a leader.[15] Occasionally, an individual fancies himself as a self-elected leader, but he is always resented by the remainder of the township and his neighbors do not hesitate to show their displeasure. As an eccentric, he is dubbed with a cynical title, such as "the sheriff." If he can keep himself immune to the taunts and jibes of the people, he is accepted in time or, rather, comes to be tolerated. He gives the people something to talk about. The aspiring leader becomes the subject of numerous jokes. Any human failing he displays is immediately taken as a means to censure him. These are negative social sanctions less drastic than ostracism. I only knew one of these self-styled leaders. He was a well traveled man and a walking encyclopedia of miscellaneous facts. Walking the hill with him, I was told how Boston compared with Glasgow; how the British fought the Crimean War; how the money they received from the Turks helped Skye during the potato famine; and how the

[15]Cf. Darling and Morley, "The Social Situation," The Crofter's Highland Survey, pt. VI, pp. 24-25.

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554 New Zealanders breed sheep and make liren. One might say he
626 knew more about the world than about Skye. He could not under-
824 stand why so many people made fun of him when he was only trying to help.

626 In the absence of any traditionally valued status and
632 role of leadership, administration of the common interests of the township members is the concern of all. We say in the last chapter that primitive democracy is the guiding rule. Each crofter has an equal voice in deciding any question which affects the group and all, without exception, have to agree before any action is taken. Consent is expressed by silence. Typically, the crofters will have talked the
624 matter over among themselves beforehand. At such times the fact clearly emerges that the grazing clerk and the grazing committee are no more than figureheads required by law. They have no coercive or disciplinary powers. In any group situation, their views are taken no more seriously than those of any other man.

887 It is the old men who gather at one anothers' homes or
888 on the hill on a summer evening to weigh the innovation which
626 the youth want introduced. If they find the change acceptable,
632 they approve it at a meeting of the township by keeping silent. If they believe it will upset the communal system, they disapprove it. The dissenting voice of one old crofter is all that is required to maintain the conservative patterns, economically and socially.

182 In summary, we may say that within the township and
626 on the croft the cultural patterns reveal a fundamental continuity. As of old, status is ascribed. Men have remained

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had to be accepted. Not a word was heard. At length one 573
crofter simply said, "No one has anything to say, so I guess we 241
all are agreed." One of the former members of the committee 824
could not be re-elected; he had passed away. This was a thorny matter. A series of men were proposed, and each in turn declined. Finally, a man was nominated and seconded before he had a chance to deny himself the honor. Election, of course, was automatic.

The committee administers the farm, handles stocking, 573
employs the necessary shepherds, sells the stock, and rents 241
the hunting lodge. They do so, however, within the now tra- 156
ditional framework. They have neither been granted nor assumed a role of independent action. They do not reach independent decisions. They rather weigh and put into operation decisions made by the Department of Agriculture. As we shall see, even
559 the elder, despite his high prestige status, has power to enforce social conformity rather than the authority to direct or lead men.

It is significant that while the share-holding crofters 573
own the farm and their crofts, they have not achieved independence 241
from outside control. Many of the Glendale crofters frankly 156
admit they are afraid of independence. As in any township or 824
neighborhood there are two opposing groups. "There always is someone who tries to sabotage the whole thing," said one man. One group has favored the guidance of the officers of the Department. The other group resents the interference of the government in their affairs. At the same time, however, they do not want to be cast off on their own. They want some form

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of farm management under a resident manager, preferably not a 573
Skyeman. The attitude of the former faction was aptly expressed 241
by one person who was about to leave Skye: "We need the Department. 156
If they withdraw, we wouldn't have anybody to go to for anything." 824
This is in striking contrast to the Irish small farmer for whom land ownership is an all important factor in regulating social interaction and status.[24] On Skye land ownership has not led to
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any change in the traditional status values. A Glendale crofter
559
is not a better man because he owns land.

Prestige Ranking within the Neighborhood. In so far as prestige 554
ranking is concerned, status is more developed within the neighborhood than within the township. In addition to the crofters and their families, there are always several individuals who are given status because of their performance of the necessary functions of ministering to the peoples' spiritual and physical needs and educating the children. These are the only achieved statuses which are valued by the crofters. Noteworthy enough, 793
only the minister of Glendale serves his own "people and friends." 554

The minister's status depends to some degree on his denomination and the religious sympathies of the people. In Glendale the minister enjoys the highest possible status. In Kilmuir, with two ministers, each is valued by his own congregation with whom he interacts. Nevertheless, all ministers are treated with respect. They are always addressed as the Reverend Mister MacDonald or Mister MacDonald. It is interesting to note that

[24]Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 72-100; Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 98-144.

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The crofters of northern Skye are dependent upon the
village for the goods of the shopkeepers and the services of 366
the tradesmen. Several times a week food vans from Portree, 443
or from a national concern with headquarters in Portree, call at the crofts. Twice a week a shopping bus brings the men and women into the village from Glendale, and there is a daily bus service from Kilmuir. For the nearby neighborhoods, the 368
village is of religious importance. If the crofters do not come into the village to go to church, the local ministers go out to serve them. They also send their children to school in Portree. Few of the crofters take an active part in the formal social life of the village, but for all who come in on business there is an opportunity for men to stop by at a pub to have a chat with friends and women to get together in a tea room for a bit of gossip. Then too, for many it is an occasion to visit kinsmen who have left the croft. Nevertheless, despite its functional importance, the village 369
has remained something alien and apart for the crofter. 824
Despite the bonds of friendship and kinship and mutual economic dependence, there is antagonism between the rural dweller and village resident.

Part of the crofter's hostility stems from the religious 369
ethos. On at least one occasion, Portree has been described 824
by a minister as being almost as wicked as Sodom and Gomorrah.[25] 771
In the eyes of the majority of the clergy, the village contains the "synagogues of Satin" from which flow the poisons of

[25]Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, pp. 128-129.

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immorality. For these reasons, among others, the crofters 369
look down on the villagers. As one man said, "The crofters 824
think we all went to Hell long ago." In part the suspicion 771
and distrust of the villager has grown from the attitude of 369
the villager toward the crofter. 824

Many of the villagers not only look upon the crofters as narrow minded and bigoted but they resent the presence of the crofters on economic grounds. A few representative statements will indicate their views. "The crofters always have their hand out." "They're aye wantin'. They want water, electricity, roads, and all sorts of things, and they don't pay a copper for them." There is a foundation for these attitudes. The phrase "rich man, the government" has become a common saying on the island. The crofter has become accustomed to having the government pay for a large part of the cost of his house, draining his land, and bringing in water and electricity as well as building roads and piers. Many have come to think that there is no end to the obligations of the government. There was one man, for example, whose roof was leaking. Even though the house was his, crofters it will be remembered own their homes, he reported it to his landlord, the Department of Agriculture. Three weeks later, when one of the officers got out to see him, the roof was still leaking. No, he did not see why he should fix it. "Let the government do it." To give another example, in Kilmuir one night there was a discussion about reeds in the grazing land. "We have reeds by the square mile," said one fellow, "the government should

36 do something about it." The villager feels that he is the one
829 who is paying for all the services and facilities the government sponsors. There is a growing consensus that he is just a working man who has to get along as best he can while the crofter is coaxed, coddled, cajoled, and pampered with grants, advantageous loans, and subsidies. "Sure there are poor crofters just as there are men who fail in business," said one man, "but if we can't make a go of it, we go down the drain." Another man put it, "The crofter gets paid by the government for doing nothing--for having a cow on the hill--all I get I get by sweat, hard bloody sweat." These feelings are especially common to the newcomers, but they are by no means held exclusively by this group.

The Social Structure of the Trade-Center Village

121 The village of Portree has a complicated social structure. While I can accept Murdock's contention that social classes operate to unite members of different local groups and to segment the community, I cannot accept his view that the presence of social classes complicates the social structure of a community.[26] Class status, as any status, determines the pattern of reciprocal behavior. By placing the individual in a group with expected behavior patterns, the social structure may be simplified. The individual in the group finds security in the cohesion with others who

[26] Murdock, op. cit., p. 88

565 villagers say he married above his station. His daughter,
562 they believe, married below her station. Be that as it may, he disowned his daughter. He never spoke to her again. The third case involved the marriage of one of the poor, but nevertheless accepted, gentry and a crofter's daughter. He has fared differently. Rather than cast him out, his mother refused to recognize the marriage. He was forbidden to bring his wife home. To this day he continues to divide his time between his estate and his "town house," where he keeps his wife. Further, this man, who I have been told should have become chief of Clan Ranald, is no longer of the county people.

565 Among the distinctive features which overtly characterize
559 the county people is their ascribed status and role of leadership. Indeed, this is their most important function. As the tacksmen were once the counselors of their subtenants, so today the landed gentry must fill this role which the
829 Sgiathanach from the croft will not assume. Even if a Skyeman here and there feels that the local proprietors would like nothing better than to have all the people behave like serfs, bowing and scraping before them, he expects the proprietors
565 to get things done. In Portree the local gentry form the
559 village council. During the war when they were on active
623 duty, there was no village council. The Skye District Council, which replaced the old parish councils and which, acting as an agent for the County Council, is the only administrative body on the island, reveals a similar membership. In any of

565 and no one thought himself capable of running a future meeting.
559 At last reports, the wife of another proprietor was having
747 her impression that "It's not as easy as it sounds just to call a public meeting in Glendale," confirmed. While the majority of the crofters thought an Old People's Welfare Committee was a good idea, they had no intention of being instrumental in its organization or in assuming any position which might elevate them above their neighbors. Throughout this chapter, the stress on conformity has been apparent, let us now turn to the problem of social control for a clearer picture of how conformity is enforced and to see how the Sgiathanach handles the deviant.

Social Control

626 Since social control is an important topic, I want to go into a further analysis of the manner in which the group influences the behavior of its members. For the sake of clarity, we must distinguish between social and political
121 control. By social control I mean the informal pressure or spontaneous action which any organized group can muster to exert an influence on its members sufficient to encourage conformity to tradition patterns of behavior. Political control, to me, involves the independent or requested interference of the state, as represented by the police, in any case which involves the enforcement and maintenance of law
671 and order as prescribed by legal enactments. On Skye the
829 laws of the land do not always have the same meaning to the

671 people as they have for the larger society. This is true
829 in spite of several hundred years of continuous and increasing contact.

Poaching provides an excellent contrast between the two forms of control and the differing attitudes of the state and the Sgiathanach. In Great Britain the tenant of the land does not automatically have hunting and fishing rights. The landlords, including the Department of Agriculture, lease them separately and the county taxes them separately. The crofters, and many of the villagers, have never fully accepted the legality of their being barred from the rivers for fish, the moors for grouse, and the hills for deer. The police enforce the law to the best of their ability, but they cannot always count on the support of the local justices of the peace, much less the cooperation of the people. Several of the local justices of the peace, those who are not landlords, feel that a man catching a few fish for his own use is not poaching.

626 If social control were to assume importance with respect
671 to poaching, it should appear in Glendale. When the crofter
829 owner-occupiers are able to rent the hunting lodge and gaming rights which they received as part of the purchase, they all share in the rent and benefit by not having to pay both owners' and occupiers' rates on the property and the gaming rights. Unfortunately, they have had a great deal of trouble in finding tenants and even more difficulty in keeping them. The river and land is all poached. When asked by whom, one man replied, "Och, who but ourselves would be doing it?" The

626 last tenant apparently decided the whole island was working
671 against him. Unable to catch a single salmon in the Hamara
829 River, an excellent fishing stream, he drove into Portree to buy one from the local fish shop. After he had purchased a fine salmon, he asked the shopkeeper where it was from. Not knowing the gentleman, the fishmonger told him it was fresh in from the Hamara. Buying his own fish, so to speak, was too much for him to take.

626 Favorite subjects in discussions of social control,
829 for the lack of it, are pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relations. One reason for this is, no doubt, the fact that
826 the social control of sex is a universal.[36] In an area such as Skye where the most powerful institution to which the Sgiathanach looks for guidance, the church, forbids or condemns open courting, young people must court in secret. Moreover, for a people who find marriage all but impossible in their younger years, secretive courting not infrequently is accompanied by illegitimacy. A pattern has evolved on Skye to handle such mishaps.[37]

848 The child of an unwed mother is "adopted" by the girl's parents, or, less often, the girl's brother or sister. The foster parents raise the child as their own. People exercise great caution in asking about the parentage of a child who does not seem to be compatible with the age of his mother and

[36] Murdock, op. cit., p. 260.

[37] I have recently found the same pattern in northern New York, and I suspect that it probably exists in other rural areas throughout the Western World.

857 was the first place he had ever worked where his men did not
685 have to lock up their tools at lunch time, and the widows were not broken as fast as they went into the frames. Still there is some theft.

As might be expected in any area of low per capita income and seasonal employment, some people succumb to temptation. Children, now and then, find the temptation of a
857 candy bar, a shiny pocket knife and other such items which
[837] shopkeepers may have on the counter too strong to resist. A striking thing is that they always share their loot with
685 their schoolmates. Around New Years, when unemployment is
273 at its height and a man needs his bottle to see in the New Year in the traditional way, some men turn to theft. It never takes the form of house burglarly or armed robbery. As far as I know, the only case of armed robbery in which a man from Skye was involved happened on a train in England. His weapon was a rolling pin. The people at home were very amused when he said he was taking the rolling pin to his mother. The usual forms are to take a cow or sheep or to
685 loot a shop. No answer can be given to the question, how
827 much theft is there? The responses vary. "If you stood on the corner and forgot who you were, they'd have you off in five minutes, so they would," was one man's opinion. The police say, "There's quite a bit of it." An old whiskey smuggler told me, "There's no theft around Portree, but you not safe with five pence in your pocket in Skeabost." This
685 obviously is an expression of neighborhood loyalty. How,

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ne crofter told me that one of the biggest
n the last thirty or forty years was that their
ss Christian," in the sense of being neighborly
other, than they used to be. Once no one
hed my work," until everyone in the township
rain. "Colin is harvesting today and Murdo to-
over and lend them a hand," was the expected
the end of the season, the whole township
king on an old widow's croft. "Now when a
is land, he says, 'I'm finished,' and that's
tement has to be followed by asking if they
the sick and the aged. The answer is always
a person needs help, his neighbors will help
y can't do his corn, but they help by just
h by the door or a pail of milk in his cottage."
ontinue to give mutual aid, but it is anonymous.
ver looks for thanks and never offers it. I [576]
lady complaining about an Eastcoaster in
had helped by giving some outgrown children's
ipient had thanked her profusely. "You know,
"If anyone did that for me, I'd be too choked
g."
the same colors to paint the scene. I was
e harvest was formerly a time of friendly
phair-bhacaig, two sheaths of oats tied at
d to be thrown on the unfinished fields within

each township as a sign of c
the practice of helping one'
relatively recent. Again in
frequently described as coope
taking as late as 20 years ag
in the township used to work
in turn and enjoying a festiv
others told me," but first th
and then for the shopkeeper."
to them in those days because
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By the time they got around t
cut for her, they were all to
or the fields needed attentio
versions of these stories fro
that cooperation varied from
township?

The growth in importanc
income, associated with the d
economy, led to new patterns
sheep must be raised in numbe
cooperation is imperative, an
cially, pooling their capital
is true of the nine townships
townships where the crofters
the individual flocks are gen

[10]cf. William MacKenzie,

197

ontempt.[10] This suggests that 476
neighbors with the harvest was 241
the matter of cutting peats, 178
829
erative, and a communal under-
go, there is disagreement. All
together, cutting for each crofter
e picnic. "Sure they would,"
ey would cut for the minister
The shopkeeper was more important
they would all be in perennial
end a little more credit if they
y would then cut for each other.
o the old widow with no one to
o busy. The sheep had to be dipped
n. I have heard conflicting
m neighbors. Are we to conclude
door to door and township to

e of sheep as a major source of 236
ecline of the old subsistence 476
of cooperation. To be economic 178
rs. As we have seen, physical
many crofters cooperate finan-
and dividing the profits. This
of Kilmuir. Moreover, even in
have rejected the club stock plan
erally handled as club stock.

Skye: Iochdar-Trotternish, p.59.

198

In Claigan, for example, the crofters felt they would do 236
better with private flocks than with a club stock. Although 476
each man now has his own sheep on the township grazing, they 178
are cared for like any club stock. The four crofters are
needed for success at the dippings, marking, and shearing,
and they are always at the fank on these occasions. In larger 236
townships, those with ten or more holdings, the need for all 476
the crofters to help out at the fank is less pressing while 621
the felt need for auxiliary employment is stronger. In con- 632
sequence, the cooperative work habits run less smoothly. In
an attempt at adjustment, many townships have resorted to
paying the share holders for their labor from the profits.
To the best of my knowledge, only one township has witnessed
the total suppression of the cooperative spirit; all the
crofters are too busy with full-time employment to bother with
the steadily declining sheep stock.

Nevertheless, it has become commonplace for the crofters [829]
to complain of at least one individual in the township who
does not pull his full share, someone who is "trying to
sabotage the whole thing."

Independence is a personality trait, but it is best 157
described as a steadfast determination not to conform for the 476
mere sake of conformity when an innovation handed down from 829
the outside commercial world is at stake. The old ways are the 888
best ways, even if only the old men think so. It is the old
men who uphold the traditional practices. As long as they do,
and as long as unanimous consent is required for any change,

he Highlander will be "independent." As for being "just not cooperative," what the critic really means is that the crofter s unable to cooperate in the ways city people or more sophisticated farmers do. The cooperative movement has come to Skye, ut it was not a local venture. The Scottish Cooperative and holesale Society opened its shops, without shareholders. The istinction between the crofters' simple cooperation and sophisticated cooperation, including capital investment, does ot invariably hold.[11] There are sheep stock clubs. Government loans, of course, provided the initial capital.

In dealing with the topic of cooperation, as any part f the economic aspect of the culture of the Sgiathanach, he basic importance of the township again and again emerges. nly a few crofts exist apart from a township. A more detailed nalysis of the township system and the pressures it imposes n the crofter is, therefore, in order.

The Township

The efficient unit in the local economy is the township, he modern equivalent of the joint-tenants' and tacksmen's arms. Each township consists of a variable number of individual oldings, the low-lying arable and improved grass land held nder hereditary tenure, and a more or less extensive area f rough, unimproved hill grazing held in common. The common, oncurrent right of each crofter to use the hill grazing under he "souming" principle gives the township its focus.

[11] Cf. Darling and Morley, loc. cit.

427 of the holders reside on their land for more than half the
241 year. The lowest rate of absenteeism is found among the tenants
162 of the Department of Agriculture. There are 76 absentees out of a total of 667 tenants. Most of the non-resident crofters are permanently absent. On the small estate mentioned above thirty-seven of the forty-two absentees have not been seen in years. Five of them usually return to Skye to spend their summer vacation.

427 Thus, we have a situation in which, perhaps, a third
241 of the crofts are held by people who either cannot work them
341 because of old age or infirmity, or do not choose to work
887 them because of greater opportunities elsewhere. What, then, happens to this land? Some of the old people allow a neighbor to use the land. Almost invariably this means the few fertile acres will be used for grass and hay. Absentees "entrust" the [67] croft, house and land, to a landless family. While Parliament inadvertently gave the crofter a right to keep his holding whether he resided on it or not, it is illegal to sublet. So far, this has not concerned the crofters. Other absentees "entrust" the land to someone in the township who uses it for grass.

427 Turning to the influence of old age and absenteeism on
887 stocking, we find a series of entanglements. If the township is
231 inhabited solely by old people, like Aird in Sleat, the township becomes derelict. More commonly, the absentee and the old person allows someone else to take over his "souming" so [82] that some crofters have far more than their share. Not infrequently, this gives the crofter a chance to outwit that

427 "rich man, the government." Since subsidies depend on the
887 number of stock, he may forget that all or part of his "souming"
231 has been given away. One old crofter, for example, a few years
829 ago asked a young lady to fill out his agricultural return. She knew his estimates gave a great deal of reason to doubt his veracity, but, preferring not to question the point, she entered his figures. When it came time to sign the report, he was canny. "Och," he said, "just put a tremble in your hand and sign it yourself." There are other crofters who puzzle the authorities by returning the same number of cattle and sheep year after year. Although even the best crofters and farmers lose a few sheep and an occasional cow, they insist [62] that their stock has produced as many as have been sold. As a means of protecting the government from paying for non-existent stock, the police have to be notified when the annual stock counts are to be made. Even when they do supervise the counting, allowances for stragglers have to be made.

654 So pernicious is the effect of non-residence and decrepit
427 crofts, that a recent government commission has recommended the
888 severance of the house from the land in the case of the aged and the eviction of the absentee, as a means of bolstering the economy and alleviating the widespread condition of bad
427 husbandry.[17] This could be the final blow for the culture. Not
888 uncommonly, the croft is subjected to both absenteeism and the infirmity of old age. The heir does not return until he has passed the age of retirement and begins to think, "It would be

[17] Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions, pp. 42-43, 46-47, cb.

228 waters around Skye.

228 829 I have very briefly reviewed the factors responsible for the present condition of Skye's fisheries. These are unimportant to the people of Skye, many of whom regard the situation dolefully. As far as the crofters are concerned the decline in fishing is due to the following factors: (1) trawlers commit depredations, destroying the spawning beds and fish food in the Minch, poaching the lochs, and sweeping away the gear of the local inshore fishermen; (2) seine netters are just as guilty, especially in depredating shallow waters; (3) there is a lack of harbor facilities; (4) the crofter-fishermen cannot take advantage of the partial grants toward boats and equipment offered by the Herring Industry and White Fishing Industry Boards; (5) the high cost of transportation reduces their profits, especially on lobsters and whelks. The net result is that fishing is dead. As one man put it: "Fishing is as dead as a dodo."

In order to restore the inshore fishing, the crofters advocate, above all, the closing of the Minch to all foreign and British trawlers and seine net fishermen for ten years. Next that "rich man, the government" should provide piers, slips, jetties, and break waters and institute a system of grants and loans for the purchase of boats and gear. Heavy penalties on trawlers who fish illegally, including the confiscation of boats, are also considered desirable. A closed season on lobsters is their final recommendation.

228 In so far as the local white fishing is concerned, there

the suggestion detrimental to the best interests of the national 228 economy. There is no doubt that the Skye crofters would benefit. Their peak years, culminating in 1947, coincided with a time when the area was restricted for reasons of security during the Second World War. Additional problems include the loss of creels during gales and transportation difficulties. It takes a day and half for a lobster to reach the London market when all connections are made. The high cost of shipment and the high mortality rate reduce the crofters' profits.

The attitude of the government concerning the domestic 654 feasibility of encouraging the local fisheries may be summed 228 up by the following question by a fishery expert: "Can we afford to jeopardize the livelihoods of men who devote their lives to the sea in favor of an industry which may never develop? There's no official policy yet, but I don't think the Board will ever try to revive the industry on Skye." Al- 228 829 though they slightly exaggerate the situation, a few statements by Skye men sum up the present condition of this activity pretty well. On one estate the landlord who has seen fishing die altogether in the last few years, said: "There are no boats at all, not even for lobsters. Even young men gave it up. All of a sudden it just died, stopped." A man from Stein, an abortive fishing village established by the British Fishery Society in 1790, has also seen fishing cease, "The few boats are beached, look at them rotting on the beach." He believes the decline in fishing is one reason for the continued depopulation. Others share his belief. A school teacher said, "Few realize how recent the decline in fishing really is.

Something has to be done to keep the people here." A Glendale 228 829 crofter put it more forcibly: "There aren't enough men in Glendale to man a row boat. They've lost experience. One crew after the last war lost their boat because they didn't know how to use it. If depopulation isn't stopped, there soon will be no need for any of these remedies." Fishing, then, is one of those subjects which is often discussed and about which little is done. Let us turn to a consideration of the less [128] traditional occupations open to the men of Skye and their womenfolk.

Minor Supplementary Industries

Diatomite. Diatomite, the siliceous remains of minute organisms 317 laid down in fresh water lake beds, is found in quantity in drained Loch Cuithir, near Staffin. After extracting, drying, and pulverizing, during which process it loses 70 percent of its weight, it has innumerable industrial uses, ranging from filters for the manufacture of beer, sugar, fruit juices, and petroleum products, through abrasives, to fillers and insulation material. Attempts to work this large and high quality deposit go back seventy years. To date, however, the success has been indifferent. The omnipresent lack of capital, difficult access through rugged terrain, and technological barriers have been limiting factors. Within the last few years outside investment, about £180,000, with a limited amount of local capital has stimulated the industry once again. A road was built by the government to replace the old tramway, long in disrepair and

302

1951 as a single sheet of 200 words it has grown 204
pages. It has the distinction of being the only
ine in Great Britain written in longhand. The 203
also pass along the local ken, as it is called.
common belief that the telephone operators are
urce. I have known people to drive several miles
call from a box in another exchange district because
sure the people of their neighborhood would have the
e they had hung up the receiver, if they made the
ly. The post office is also said to be a transmitter [829] [205]
h telegraph; some say the post mistresses steam open
ers. On shopping days in Portree the women carry
than the week's groceries. Down at the square at
y gather in small groups to transmit their tantalizing
news and, perhaps, scandal.
status groups are left out of the normal gossip 203
ese are the county people and the ministers. The 554 795
get a bit of ken from time to time, but much of the
passes without reaching them. The ministers'
n is generally limited to questions of health, events
e cycle, or cases of moral or religious backsliding
t of their congregations. The degree to which the
try participates in the verbal spread of news and
nds to a great extent on personal qualifications.
one or two who have contacts through whom gossip
ross the lines of cleavage in the social hierarchy.
are probably the least well informed of anybody on
ings of everyday life. Once when asking a minister

of Scotland
After the si
she declined
with the mini
and communion
Free Church
probably wond
might have to
Communion, in
be able to le
The se
among the co
in the commu
as roles, as
and leaders,
because of t
attain membe
become elder
to the contr
ble with the
of Scotland,
the structur
Dying,
which only r
life. While
pleasures an
deceased is
one time in

in Portree. Only one girl appeared for instruction. 794
gnificance of her preparation had been fully explained, 779 184
to take the final step. She did not disagree
ister's view that she was prepared for membership
n, but she was afraid of what her friends in the
and Free Presbyterian Church might say. She was
dering what the middle-aged adherents of her church
o say, too. When the Sgiathanach takes his first
n Glendale, Kilmuir, or Portree, the people must
ook up to him.

cond exception to the age-grade requirement rules 626
unty people. Because of their social position 888 565
nity, which rests on the expression of their statuses, 794
landlords, village and neighborhood representatives
and members of the national class system, and
heir education in England, the county people
ship in the church at an early age. Some have
of the church at twenty-one. To subject them
ol of the crofters would, obviously, be incompati-
r social standing. Although they are all Church [182]
here again religion is a reinforcing factor for
of the society.

the final act of living, reveals a host of traits 763
eceive covert expression during an individual's 829
the youth is censured for his spontaneous
the adult is criticized for his behavior, the
lways respected. As one woman said, "It is the
person's life that the people have nothing but

o say about him." Death is one of the two occasions for 763
ended family gathering. Indeed, a man's prestige is best 829
t his funeral. Without exaggeration, death is the most 596 564
icant event of living. It is constantly visualized and
sed. "Second Sight," the ability to foresee future 763
, is mainly concerned with the death of one's "people"
iends. Since the ministers have been striving to wipe
his belief, it is difficult to get the people to talk
it, except in retrospect. Still most of the people,
ding many of the newcomers, and not a few of the ministers,
nue to believe that some old people,--they are always
en and women,--are afflicted with this power. There
n old man in one township who would not go out at dusk
ear of seeing a funeral, and there was an old woman who
old her daughter's death. Lights seen in strange places
tell of death. Even the sophisticated Sgiathanach who
een born and mised in Portree sometimes forgets himself.
rent story on the island tells of a "ghost bus." The
ights suddenly appear behind a driver on the Sligihan
For the newcomers this is a fanciful tale, but for
al of the natives it has a meaning, death.

All plans are prefixed with the phrase "if spared." 763
pared, we'll shear the sheep on Thursday." "If spared, 195
go down to see my brother soon." Many of the newcomers
ade to feel very uneasy by this habit, which is as much
m of speech as greeting people with, "It's wet," or,
cold." When a Sgiathanach asks to have something done

837

837 EXTRAMARITAL SEX RELATIONS--presence or absence of an ideal of marital fidelity; cultural definition of adultery (e.g., applying to both spouses, to wife only); allegations of promiscuity; incidence of adultery for both sexes; prevention (e.g., cloistering of women, chastity belts); initiation and conduct of adulterous liaisons; cicisbeism; keeping of mistresses; culturally sanctioned extramarital relations (e.g., wife lending, sexual hospitality); etc. See also:

Prostitution	548	Ceremonial license	786
Concubinage	596	Privileged sex relationships	835
Punishment of adultery	684	Illegitimacy	848

1: Parman E-4, 5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

796 miscarriage occurring before marriage also requires
851 standing even when the child to be baptised was conceived
626 by the couple after marriage. A married man who has
848 impregnated a woman who is not his wife must undergo
[837] this ordeal before he can have his own children baptised.

It is the responsibility of the entire community to ensure that this punishment is carried out. On one occasion, the minister forgot to lecture a couple, and afterwards sent them a note that they would not have to stand; but they insisted, afraid that people would say that they were getting special treatment.

[203] According to one minister, the manse is a kind of
[521] "research center" to which all gossip is reported. Some
[193] ministers use this information in the pulpit, chiding
[194] people and calling attention to wrong-doings in front of the congregation. In contrast, a different attitude exists
[184] in parts of Stornoway, where villagers have approached
[159] doctors in the maternity ward for information regarding miscarriages and premarital births only to be told that this information is confidential. The ordeal of standing
[178] in church does not exist in Stornoway. In 1971 a person in Shawbost was accidentally exempted from this ordeal and his exemption was seen by some as providing an opportunity to stop what is considered by many to be an archaic custom.

175 example to lads! Often of tall, fair stock, physically
565 superior from better feeding, accustomed to have his own
582 way, better taught, finely dressed, free and welcomed wherever he went in the glen that fed and fostered him, the young chief had favour on his side; moreover he was protected from the vengeance of jealousy. A song in praise of a young chief of Clan Leod boasts that " the girls
[836] would give their snoods for Rory "! When she lost her maiden snood to him, a girl would be excused, and her 'natural' child not dishonoured, but granted a share of paternal affection and inheritance. After marriage, a chief's
175 lady made allowances for his past. But licence, once a habit, is hard to check, and the Gael tell bitter tales of
•837 jealous wives, married for policy, and their revenge upon a rival. One gathers that where there were enough gentry to meet, choose and inter-marry freely, as among the Island tacksmen, decency was better observed; but among landlords in the Highlands, as in other lands, local licence was common down to the last century. Then, whereas a Minister of the Established Church could hardly blame his own Patron (or his son), a Free Church Minister could speak out from the pulpit!

175 Of the legendary *jus primae noctis*, the 'law of the first
585 night' of Boece and other old historians by which a lord had at one time the 'right' to rape the bride of any of his serfs or tenants, there is no authentic record. Yet from the primal right or wrong of conquest, some such 'law' was forced upon the Gael, as upon other peoples. Boswell records MacQuarrie of Ulva's belief that the custom of paying him a sheep when a tenant married was followed in lieu of such a right! Obligatory hospitality also lent itself to abuse. In all relations of chief to people, there were adjustments. In more complex society, poverty makes

848 father. So well is the situation handled that the child in many cases does not know of his illegitimacy. We may illustra this point with the story of a young lad of fifteen.

An old woman applied to the local office of the Ministr of Labor on behalf of "her son" for acceptance in an apprenticeship training course given in Glasgow. The manager of the exchange, who had recently arrived from the Lowlands, was suspicious. He pressed her for information until she admitted the child was her grandson. At a later conference, the boy was asked if he had any place to stay in Glasgow. He replied that he could live with his married "sister." In this case the girl had married someone other than the boy's father. There is no pattern of marriage in these situations. Sometimes the unwed mother-to-be marries the child's father before the child is born. Financial hardship often forces a postponement of the marriage until the very last minute. One couple was married on the day of their child's birth. Other girls never marry. In the latter event gossip appears as a social sanction. As I mentioned earlier, the native who has prospered is not always held in high esteem by the local people. There are several stories on Skye about such men, especially men in Portree, and their illegitimate children.

• 837 Extra-marital relations present a different problem.
626 They definitely are not characteristic of the Sgiathanach. When a husband or wife does commit adultery, he or she is usually a newcomer. Nevertheless, the Islanders feel

ty. If he was one of the "elect," he will enjoy eternal 763
If he was not one of these venerable old men and women, 554 775
expect to suffer eternal damnation. Although baptism [851]
acrament and removes original sin, it is only the initial [783]
n the direction of salvation, which election alone con-

Neither the minister nor any member of the bereaved 764
offers a prayer. "What more can you do than bury him," [793]
man asked. An old man said, "They are just as well [782]
ered without praying for them." In a community which
inated by the old people, and in the crofting neighbor-
where so many of the crofters are very old, death can
ected to disturb the equilibrium of social interaction.
ndale during November and December of 1953 funeral
ions made their way through the glen no less than nine

The function of the minister is to restore the dis- [793]
patterns, both in the family and in the neighborhood [782]
llage). All work stops in the township for three days
e time of death. Some of the cosmopolitans of the [369]
, seeking to justify their deviating behavior, assert [829] ●
e lazy crofter looks forward to a funeral because it
hree days of idleness. In the village, of course, it [369]
onger possible to bring daily life to a standstill be-
he villagers serve a wide area. The "people" of the
d do stop work and close their shops. On the day of the
all blinds are drawn until after the procession has

s he would if there were illness in the family, the 793
r calls on the bereaved family and leads them in family 764

her brothers and their wives came to visit, and at New Years 576 795
they came by with their bottle of wine, whiskey being a man's [273] [562]
drink, to toast the New Year.

Excepting Glendale, where church membership and af- 621
filiation is synonymous with the neighborhood, the township 795 571
may contain affiliates of two or three churches. One small
township contains two Free Church families, two Free
Presbyterian families, and one Church of Scotland family.
As in any township, they visit one another and cooperate
in handling the sheep flocks. Further, the Church of
Scotland family often gets out the truck on the Sabbath
and drives everyone to Church. This is one of those isolated
townships far off the beaten track. Although I certainly
agree that people who meet together at a church and pray
together get to know each other better because of their
religious unity, in this township the families have come
to know each other better because they go off to their
respective churches together. There is a firm, basic belief 795
among the people that no one should be slighted, even by a 829 ●
minister, because he has differing religious sympathies. 798
Were this not so, think of the position in which I would have
found myself. One Free Presbyterian family put it this way,
"Who can tell which church is the right one since they all
claim to be on top of the pole? Maybe they all are and
everyone will get to his final resting place." The "all"
was later qualified to exclude Catholics. One of the gentry
told me an amusing story on this point. One day during the

blitz of London he was talking with a crofter's wife, and they 795
got to discussing Hitler. "What a terrible man he is," she 829 ●
said, "Why he's worse than...worse than...almost as bad as the 798
Pope." In another township there is a Church of Scotland 795
missionary, a lay preacher. His religious sectarianism does 797
not prevent his interacting with the Free Presbyterians,
who are in the majority. Not infrequently, he visits his
neighbors and when they need help on the croft he is prepared
to lend a hand. When he pays a call, he establishes the
tempo of interaction at mealtime or tea time by saying grace
and returning the thanks. This is part of the hospitality 574
of the Sriathanach. The visitor is always asked to say 782
grace.

What is true of the township on Skye, is also partly 621
true of the neighborhood. Here the members and adherents of 794
the same church do get to know one another better because of
a common faith, or their particular interpretation of a faith
common to all. They see each other with greater regularity.
Then, too, since the congregations are small, they feel they
belong. At the same time, the patterns of interaction are
not exclusive, except in Glendale. The religious cliques are [476]
mutual aid groups, doing what they can for the infirm and [796]
destitute; they are not opposing factions. Nor does religious
homogeniety mean the absence of factions. Glendale has its
independents who are set against the disciples of the Department
of Agriculture. Anyone who knows Wales may be struck by this 795
difference, for in Wales the people are attached to a particular 171

8

834 GENERAL SEX RESTR
behavior between the se
before or during cerem
miscellaneous sex rest
Effect of sexual repression on
Regulation of sex relations be
castes, and ethnic groups.
Sex behavior and taboos at m
during pregnancy . . . .
Euphemisms . . . . . .
Modesty in dress . . . . .
Modesty about elimination .
Modesty in bathing . . . .

34

ICTIONS--sexual modesty and decorum; ideas of proper
exes; sex taboos observed on particular occasions (e.g.,
nonies, war, hunting, or special industrial activities);
rictions; etc. See also:

personality 15
Etiquette 576
Deferred consummation 585
tween classes, ... 66
Sex regulation under polygamy 596
Avoidance and joking relationships 602
enstruation and 84
Punishable sex offenses 684
. 196
Word taboos 784
. 291
Asceticism 785
. 514
Sex taboos during lactation 853
. 515
Training of children in modesty 864

632 with the decision which they know is to be made usually
571 do not attend the meeting. Thus, apparent consensus is
666 always maintained.

632 Changes in the character of the township as social
178 boundary system are apparent in ceremonial occasions such as weddings and funerals, which will be discussed in the following pages.

584 1. Courtship and Marriage: Courtship occurred during the dark hours when the older members of a household had gone to bed. A great deal of courting was done in
[514] company. Because transportation was limited, groups of young people went together to dances; and on other nights, bands of young men would visit a house in which several girls were sleeping together, climb in through a window, and perhaps lie beside the girls, fully dressed, filling the dark with whispered jokes. Such a custom, a form of bundling, was called "night visiting" (ruith na h-oidhche); the male visitor was called caraid na h-oidhche, "companion of the night."

When couples began serious courting, they would meet outside at night, or the girl would let her bramar (sweetheart) into the house after the old people had gone to bed. A couple would never consider walking hand in
[834] hand along the road during the day. Boys and girls were seated separately in school, went around in separate

584 groups on the sheilings or within the village as they
[834] were growing up, and even during courtship maintained a joking, somewhat rude interaction. "If he says he wouldn't touch her with a barge pole, he's obviously smitten." Someone considering the dangers of marrying an outsider[1] commented, "A devil you know is better than a devil you don't know."

584 Now that facilities for transportation have increased,
198 couples tend to pair off in cars rather than go in
[493] groups. They may even be seen together on a date in
[535] town. Activities such as dances still begin late in the night, lasting from about 12:30 a.m. until early morning. The seriousness of a relationship is kept secret for as long as possible, but weddings today require long-term planning because wedding dinners are held in hotels rather than within the village. At an
514 earlier time, serious intentions were announced only a
584 few weeks before the wedding, at a reiteach or dinner party which signified a betrothal. Reiteach also means "disentangling" or "reconciling," and was described by one person as a means of "pouring oil

[1]The term "outsider" usually connotes non-Gaelic-speaking, but may also refer to someone from outside the village.

626 last tenant apparently decided the whole island was working
671 against him. Unable to catch a single salmon in the Hamara
829 River, an excellent fishing stream, he drove into Portree to buy one from the local fish shop. After he had purchased a fine salmon, he asked the shopkeeper where it was from. Not knowing the gentleman, the fishmonger told him it was fresh in from the Hamara. Buying his own fish, so to speak, was too much for him to take.

626 Favorite subjects in discussions of social control,
834 or the lack of it, are pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relations. One reason for this is, no doubt, the fact that
836 the social control of sex is a universal.[36] In an area such as Skye where the most powerful institution to which the Sgiathanach looks for guidance, the church, forbids or condemns open courting, young people must court in secret. Moreover, for a people who find marriage all but impossible in their younger years, secretive courting not infrequently is accompanied by illegitimacy. A pattern has evolved on Skye to handle such mishaps.[37]

848 The child of an unwed mother is "adopted" by the girl's parents, or, less often, the girl's brother or sister. The foster parents raise the child as their own. People exercise great caution in asking about the parentage of a child who does not seem to be compatible with the age of his mother and

[36]Murdock, op. cit., p. 260.

[37]I have recently found the same pattern in northern New York, and I suspect that it probably exists in other rural areas throughout the Western World.

836

836 PREMARITAL SEX RELATIONS--presence or absence of a standard of chastity for the unmarried; variations in the standard (e.g., by sex, by class status); basis of the standard (e.g., material or ethical considerations); prevalence of premarital liaisons; degree of social approval or disapproval; seduction; assignations; permanency and exclusiveness of premarital unions; reciprocal behavior of lovers; incidence of rivalry and jealousy; termination of liaisons; evidence as to infertility of premarital unions; etc. See also:

Fertility, contraception, abortion, infanticide, and illegitimacy 84
Trial marriage 583
Courtship and behavior during betrothal . . . 584
Idealization of chastity 821
Sex training 864
Adolescent activities 883

175 example to lads! Often of tall, fair stock, physically
565 superior from better feeding, accustomed to have his own
582 way, better taught, finely dressed, free and welcomed wherever he went in the glen that fed and fostered him, the young chief had favour on his side; moreover he was protected from the vengeance of jealousy. A song in praise of a young chief of Clan Leod boasts that "the girls
836 would give their snoods for Rory"! When she lost her maiden snood to him, a girl would be excused, and her 'natural' child not dishonoured, but granted a share of paternal affection and inheritance. After marriage, a chief's
175 lady made allowances for his past. But licence, once a
837 habit, is hard to check, and the Gael tell bitter tales of jealous wives, married for policy, and their revenge upon a rival. One gathers that where there were enough gentry to meet, choose and inter-marry freely, as among the Island tacksmen, decency was better observed; but among landlords in the Highlands, as in other lands, local licence was common down to the last century. Then, whereas a Minister of the Established Church could hardly blame his own Patron (or his son), a Free Church Minister could speak out from the pulpit!

175 Of the legendary *jus primae noctis*, the 'law of the first
585 night' of Boece and other old historians by which a lord had at one time the 'right' to rape the bride of any of his serfs or tenants, there is no authentic record. Yet from the primal right or wrong of conquest, some such 'law' was forced upon the Gael, as upon other peoples. Boswell records MacQuarrie of Ulva's belief that the custom of paying him a sheep when a tenant married was followed in lieu of such a right! Obligatory hospitality also lent itself to abuse. In all relations of chief to people, there were adjustments. In more complex society, poverty makes

181 people, although life in crowded quarters and daily con-
cern with the rearing of animals make for a frankness not
183 readily understood by strangers in Victorian times. The
848 standard of morality in the Isles is high, and the rate
of illegitimacy low. A courting custom, once common
584 through the northern and western coasts of Britain, as in
Norway and New England, was ' bundling ', a preliminary
to marriage, or bed-fellowship (*leapachas*). This is noted
[836] with disarming frankness by various writers.[1] After the
ceremonial and festivities of the betrothal, *reiteach*, a young
man was allowed to sleep beside his betrothed; but the
marriage ceremony was to precede, not follow, consumma-
tion. At wedding festivities, sweethearts found their way
to the barn and took their rest together on the straw. In
the shielings, too, courtship was given some freedom:
trust is a necessity where there could not be total
restraint.

585 To what extent marriage sometimes took place or may
still occur after consummation and the expectation of a
first child, only one with close local knowledge could say.
' Hand-fasting ', marriage made binding only by the con-
ception of a first child, was an ancient custom. Two things
must be remembered. First, the strength of parental
benediction and authority, backed by a community in
which all knew one another from childhood, gave binding
force to betrothal and its obligations; and ceremonies
such as that of the kertching effectually replaced legal and
ecclesiastical marriage when there was neither registrar,
minister nor priest. Secondly, marriages blest with children
tend to be happy ones. Fulfilling the cycle of life, children
also provided the support to old age needed among
peasants living on the edge of poverty.

[113] [1] W. A. Smith, *Lewiana*; and Brand Report, 1902.

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

626 last tenant apparently decided the whole island was working
671 against him. Unable to catch a single salmon in the Hamara
829 River, an excellent fishing stream, he drove into Portree
to buy one from the local fish shop. After he had purchased
a fine salmon, he asked the shopkeeper where it was from.
Not knowing the gentleman, the fishmonger told him it was
fresh in from the Hamara. Buying his own fish, so to speak,
was too much for him to take.

626 Favorite subjects in discussions of social control,
834 or the lack of it, are pre-marital and extra-marital sexual
relations. One reason for this is, no doubt, the fact that
836 the social control of sex is a universal.[36] In an area such
as Skye where the most powerful institution to which the
Sgiathanach looks for guidance, the church, forbids or condemn
open courting, young people must court in secret. Moreover,
for a people who find marriage all but impossible in their
younger years, secretive courting not infrequently is ac-
companied by illegitimacy. A pattern has evolved on Skye to
handle such mishaps.[37]

848 The child of an unwed mother is "adopted" by the girl's
parents, or, less often, the girl's brother or sister. The
foster parents raise the child as their own. People exercise
great caution in asking about the parentage of a child who
does not seem to be compatible with the age of his mother and

[36] Murdock, op. cit., p. 260.

[37] I have recently found the same pattern in northern New York, and I suspect that it probably exists in other rural areas throughout the Western World.

f a wife was to weave her winding sheet. Nor is the cost 761
ial merely buying a coffin. As at birth and marriage, 454
ople who attend a funeral must have their dram. Just as [829]
o not want subsidies to begin life, they do not want to
ied with public assistance. They hoard their money, even
is only a few pounds, to assure themselves of a decent
. Another thing that disturbs the welfare officers is 763
termination of the old and infirm to remain on their 186
in spite of all efforts to move them to a "Twilight
Some of these people may have returned to Skye for
er reason than the feeling, "If I could go back to Skye
it would be fine." I knew many people who had come to
as young adults and "liked it fine." Why did they
? The answer is always the same, "I was getting old, you
and began to think of home." This, of course, is another
sion of the sentimental attachment for the land and its
ty with one's "people."

Paradoxically, for a [illegible]ple who are so aware of death 763
ok upon it so significantly, the churches, one and all, 796
efused to consecrate burial. There are no prayers for [782]
d. There is no service for the dying or at the grave
body is lowered into the soil. The ritual which accompanies
nal act of living is better described as a rite of
fication rather than as a passage rite, to adopt the
logy of Chapple and Coon.[15]

Once the individual dies, his status is fixed for all 000

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[15] Chapple and Coon, Principles of Anthropology, pp. 398-399.

strongly about this infringement of the traditional norms. 837
Gossip spreads very rapidly. The offenders are said to be 426
"no better than the tinkers." While tinkers are respected [554] [754]
because they have the power of the evil eye, they are not
accorded any more prestige than we would give a beggar. All
who have any contact with the neighborhood or the village
where the deviants live soon know all the details. Since [369]
most of the adulterers on Skye have been in Portree, it adds
another brick to the wall which separates the rural neighbor-
hoods and the trade-center village. The offenders normally
leave Skye as quickly as possible.

The Sgiathanach cannot be said to have a strong sense 423
of property, or, more correctly, the land is valued as a 421
place of residence and identity not as something to be bought
and sold. We have seen that he uses his land communally and
that he often will not leave a will for the house, not to
mention his land. Even though the state thinks otherwise, he
looks upon the natural resources of the island as his for the
taking. At the same time, he normally respects the fruits of 421
his neighbor's labor. Any one can cut peat on the moor, but [314]
no one, except an unthinking tourist, would take a piece of
turf once it had been cut. In a simlar way, the children are 857
generally well behaved. In the village there is a bit of stone
throwing, a little profanity, and uncommonly some drinking on
the sly, but rarely do children show any disrespect for the
rights of others. One contractor, a Lowlander who came up to
Skye to make alterations on the school, was amazed. Skye

844

844 CHILDBIRTH--ideas about childbirth; attitude of the community; importance of first and subsequent births; preparations for delivery; place of birth; witnesses, assistants, and excluded persons; role of midwives and obstetricians; onset and duration of labor; facilitation of delivery (e.g., pressure, massage); posture in childbirth; receiving the baby; severing and tying the umbilical cord; expulsion of placenta; disposal of exuviae; immediate care of mother and child; cleansing, bandaging, and medication of mother; adjustments to postnatal hemorrhage; treatment of baby (e.g., initiation of respiration, cleansing, swaddling); etc. See also:

Birth statistics 163
Infant and maternal mortality 165
Birth registration 217
Birthdays 537
Hospitals 743
Medical personnel 759
Special mortuary rites 766
Omens, divination, and astrology 787

885 in thy kertch!" and counsels her to be hospitable yet wise,
539 and courageous though calm; to be frank yet tactful, dignified though kind. The themes of this ode's melodious
885 verse recall the virtues of a wife enumerated mnemonically
538 in the acrostic which concludes the Book of Proverbs.
593 For in that, too, there is mention of "strength and dignity, wisdom and kindness", and the poor are not forgotten as the wife goes tirelessly about her work, sets her servants to their tasks and sells her merchandise at a profit. Yet the acrostic's emphasis on the wife's work and its gain reveal the writer as a shrewd citizen seeking to train a wife to ceaseless exertion and business dealing, with her husband's private profit and public honour as a most important end! The singer of 'The Kertch'—man or woman, one cannot tell—thought of conduct not for its profit first, but for its virtue, and dwelt upon motive, mind and heart.[1]

175 To tide over the supreme crisis of childbirth the mother
844 was strengthened in confidence, courage and calm. The need was the greater before modern midwifery. In Sutherland as late as 1908, a good professional nurse tending a difficult case of childbirth, anxious and powerless without a doctor, found herself indebted to older wisdom. The patient's mother first filled a small basin with water into
[788] which she put trinkets of gold and silver. "She then held the basin to her dying daughter's lips, and made her drink three mouthfuls of the water, each mouthful in the name of Father, and of Son, and of Spirit, 'the three Persons of the Trinity of kindness and power, *Tri Pears na Trianaid chaoimh chumhachdaich*'. Soon after, the child came . . .

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The visitors each give the child a gift, especially a silver coin. This token of good luck is placed under the child's pillow. The relationships, then, are essentially reciprocal and individual.

The child's position within the extended family is also fixed at the time of birth by his naming. As a rule, the first son is named after his paternal grandfather, and the first daughter, after her maternal grandmother. The second son is given the name of his maternal grandfather, and the second daughter, that of her paternal grandmother. There are exceptions to this pattern. One grandmother was adverse to having her granddaughter named after her, because nowadays, with late marriage, the naming frequently follows the death of the individual. By far the most common exceptions occur when someone in either parent's family of orientation has passed away. Where the mother's father has died, the first boy is named after him. The same is true for girls when the father's mother has passed away. When a brother or sister of either parent has died, especially without issue, the second born is named "in honor of his memory." In these days of small families, this has led to giving a girl the equivalent of a man's name. There was, for example, Angusina who had been named after her uncle who was killed in the war. Again, with delayed marriage, the couple may have only one child. He or she is given the names of both the paternal and maternal grandparents, such as Ian (for father's father) Ducan (for mother's father) or Morag (after mother's mother) Flora (after father's mother). Aside from serving to identify members of

848

848 ILLEGITIMACY--cultural definition of legitimacy and illegitimacy; frequency of illegitimate pregnancies; tests of legitimacy; behavior and treatment of mother (e.g., ordeals, confession); treatment of father (e.g., forced marriage); treatment of offspring; status of illegitimate children; etc. See also:
Legal sanctions . . . . . 684 Premarital sex relations 836

2. The Township as Religious Network: The religious sphere has two distinguishable social networks, one of which coincides in personnel with the village network. Most households within the village feel obligated to "make an appearance" during at least one of the two Sunday services. Most children are sent to Sunday school, and all are baptised. In baptism, fathers stand with the children, promise to raise them in the church, and to set a good example for them. Baptism must precede Communion, the ceremony by which a person becomes a full member of the church. Baptism signifies membership in the community the village-qua-congregation. "Somehow you're not really legal until you've been baptised." Some feel that the child's soul may be endangered if he should die without baptism, although this idea is discouraged by the church. According to the Calvinistic ideas of predestination, the fate of one's soul has already been decided.

The pressure to have children baptised enables the village-as-congregation to exert social control over devia individuals. If a child is conceived out of wedlock, the parents of the child (if they have gotten married) or the unwed mother alone must stand in front of the congregation and be lectured by the minister before the child may be baptised. A woman who has married a man known not to be the father of her child must also stand by herself. A

796 miscarriage occurring before marriage also requires
851 standing even when the child to be baptised was conceived
626 by the couple after marriage. A married man who has
848 impregnated a woman who is not his wife must undergo
[837] this ordeal before he can have his own children baptised.

It is the responsibility of the entire community to ensure that this punishment is carried out. On one occasion, the minister forgot to lecture a couple, and afterwards sent them a note that they would not have to stand; but they insisted, afraid that people would say that they were getting special treatment.

[203] According to one minister, the manse is a kind of
[521] "research center" to which all gossip is reported. Some
[793] ministers use this information in the pulpit, chiding
[794] people and calling attention to wrong-doings in front of the congregation. In contrast, a different attitude exists
[184] in parts of Stornoway, where villagers have approached
[759] doctors in the maternity ward for information regarding miscarriages and premarital births only to be told that this information is confidential. The ordeal of standing in church does not exist in Stornoway. In 1971 a person
[178] in Shawbost was accidentally exempted from this ordeal and his exemption was seen by some as providing an opportunity to stop what is considered by many to be an archaic custom.

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183 readily understood by strangers in Victorian times. The
848 standard of morality in the Isles is high, and the rate of illegitimacy low. A courting custom, once common
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829 River, an excellent fishing stream, he drove into Portree to buy one from the local fish shop. After he had purchased a fine salmon, he asked the shopkeeper where it was from. Not knowing the gentleman, the fishmonger told him it was fresh in from the Hamara. Buying his own fish, so to speak, was too much for him to take.

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8

51

may come to spend nights or longer periods of time
them.

To some extent villagers are still dependent on
other for various kinds of help. It is considered
mely bad manners to refuse labor, a tool, or food
yone who requests them. If someone refuses to aid
er, people say, "What will he do when he needs
" This attitude has made the island a paradise
he few salesmen who, in the last few prosperous
, have started to visit its communities; villagers
it difficult to say no to anyone who comes to their
with a request, including the request that they
omething.

A woman in childbirth was formerly attended by a
midwife, and kept in bed for two or three weeks.
r women, both relatives and friends, came and stayed
them at night, fixing them warm tea and milk,
ering bhronag bochd (poor soul), how awful you look..."
as today the neighbors gather at times of illness
eath. It is more difficult for neighbors to come
e bedsides of young mothers of today, who are all
to the hospital in Stornoway to have their babies;
he neighbors manage to visit the hospital, which has
oice but to ignore its rule of only two visitors
ed at a time.

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539 and courageous though calm; to be frank yet tactful,
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885 verse recall the virtues of a wife enumerated mnemonically
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175 and all was well. . . . 'How the trinkets in the water
• 844 could affect the case', continued the nurse, 'I do not
788 know, but that some occult power was at work . . . I am
certain.'"[1] As to the gold, did not the Magi offer the
844 same 'magic' at the Nativity? Is a drink of water not the
simplest physic to cool a fevered system? Is not each
788 Name of the Trinity, breathed by a mother to her daughter
in labour in her turn, a Word of tender power and courage:
while the slow rhythm of the three Names may calm the
wild heart-beats which had brought on haemorrhage, and
lead to safe delivery?

771 Throughout life there prevailed the concept of God as
'encompassing' man, woman or child, old or young, in
their weakness. This image is ancient, and is found in the
Psalms (10, 12, 32, 142). So long as faith were alive the
Lord's aid might be called upon for another in need of
help, or for one's own protection. To clarify the concept,
unseen, by help of a thing seen, a circle was drawn with
the hand round oneself or another, in fear, danger or
distress.[2] By such innocent aid the people strengthened
confidence in sickness and resistance in temptation, and
concentrated prayer for delivery from evil.

888 As age approached, its gifts were honoured. For in
age, memory, kneaded by labour, is leavened by leisure;
the experience won on land and sea, or in group-farm and
home, can be weighed. And gifts of feeling, sown in
childhood and growing through life, ripen as grandchildren
come in from their herding or play to listen and learn.
[538] When manuscripts or books were unobtainable, readings
rarely heard, and the people illiterate, teaching could only

[1] *Carmina*, vol. iv, p. 283.
[2] *Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes; cf. Nos. 248-250, etc. Encircling or circuiting symbolically, was also known by a word of which only the literal meaning is now known to most: *cuartachadh*.

Life Cycle

Birth. Childbirth placed both the mother and child in the 175* 844
danger of harm by malevolent spirits, especially fairies, who
would substitute one of their children for the human child.[94]
To protect them each morning and evening a sunwise circle was
made around the mother and child with a firebrand or burning
peat. All visitors crossed themselves with a firebrand and
might have the circle of fire made around them. As a token
of good luck the child was given silver; it was bad luck to
give it to the mother. If a person praised the child without
wishing it good luck or God's blessing, they might put the evil
eye on it. Although only old midwives are said to have continued
to make the firey circle by 1700 on Skye, the belief in the
evil eye was still strong.[95] The mother did no work, and
rejoicing was postponed until she was "kirked." The parents,
their relatives and friends attended a church service to give
thanks for a safe mother and a living child. After the service,
they went to the home for a feast and dance. Following the
Reformation, the custom was placed under censure, as were all
Catholic and pagan rituals. 175* 852

Baptism. Baptism freed the child from the power of the fairies
and the evil eye. Until baptized, the child was not called by
any name. On the way to baptism, the parents carried bread and

[94] The following is mainly taken from William Mackay, "Life in the Highlands in Olden Times," TGSI, Vol. XXIX (1922), pp. 1-18.

[95] Martin, op. cit., pp. 177-178, 181-182.

ure of the church by being tested on his knowledge 626
and the Shorter Catechism. The elders, then, 851 •
dicial capacity. If the father measures up to the 888
mposed by the elders and the minister, who is their 794 [779]
therefore, must reflect their views, the father
present the child for baptism. If he does not
elders, his child is refused the rewards of the
his father mends his ways. Here the authoritarian
the elderly finds expression.

en are reluctant to approach the elders to ask
rament. Everyone knows when a man is going to be
udged. The humiliation of being refused forces
o reform. Since the elders think in terms of
avior, one or even two years may pass before the
feel that he has continuously demonstrated his
o the satisfaction of the elders. Nor is the bond
between the elder and his people and friends
h to prompt any leniency. To do so would threaten
f the elders and the continuation of their control.
a first cousin of the minister was refused.

trade center village the question of baptism is 369
for the ministers of the Free Church and the Free 626 951
Church. As might be expected, the elders of the 888
otland are chosen from the county families and 794
t newcomers. Neither group shares the views of
ch as far as their interpretation of circumspect
concerned. For them baptism is administered to

the child. Consequently, the sacrament is normally administered 369
without even the formality of a kirk session examination. The 626
ministers of the other churches assert that non-church-going, 851 •
drunken fathers whom the kirk session has refused have gone to 888
the Church of Scotland and have secured the sacrament for their 794
children after pretending to mend their ways. They have then
gone back to their former habits. It may be so, but at least
one man in Portree was very surprised to find that the Church
of Scotland can require a severe examination.

At baptism the child is formally introduced into the 851
folds of his father's church. His mother and father stand 794
before the minister and are admonished to bring up the child
in the nurture and admonition of God, to the best of their
ability.

Marriage is not a sacrament in Scotland, and, therefore, 585
does not provoke any strong resentment beyond a feeling that [779]
the Church of Scotland should not have the exclusive right
to proclaim the banns of marriage. It is the one time in 585
the life of a woman when she is the center of attention and 562
has complete control over the situation. She decides where 794
she will be married and what minister will preside. Church
affiliation seems to make little difference. At least, the
wedding of a daughter of a strict Free Presbyterian family
in the Church of Scotland did not give the people any cause
to gossip. Although a wedding is no more than a legal formality,
the vows made at marriage are sacred. It would not strike
Americans as being particularly significant to omit the promise
to obey from the ceremony; Americans are said to have an

eternity. If he was one of the "elect," he will enjoy eternal 763
life. If he was not one of these venerable old men and women, 554
he can expect to suffer eternal damnation. Although baptism 775
is a sacrament and removes original sin, it is only the initial [851] •
step in the direction of salvation, which election alone con- [783]
firms. Neither the minister nor any member of the bereaved 764
family offers a prayer. "What more can you do than bury him," [793]
one woman asked. An old man said, "They are just as well [782]
remembered without praying for them." In a community which
is dominated by the old people, and in the crofting neighbor-
hoods where so many of the crofters are very old, death can
be expected to disturb the equilibrium of social interaction.
In Glendale during November and December of 1953 funeral
processions made their way through the glen no less than nine
times. The function of the minister is to restore the dis- [793]
turbed patterns, both in the family and in the neighborhood [782]
(or village). All work stops in the township for three days
from the time of death. Some of the cosmopolitans of the [369]
village, seeking to justify their deviating behavior, assert [829]
that the lazy crofter looks forward to a funeral because it
means three days of idleness. In the village, of course, it [369]
is no longer possible to bring daily life to a standstill be-
cause the villagers serve a wide area. The "people" of the
deceased do stop work and close their shops. On the day of the
funeral all blinds are drawn until after the procession has
passed.

As he would if there were illness in the family, the 793
minister calls on the bereaved family and leads them in family 764

people of the Free Church are "the Wee Frees." The Free 795
Presbyterians are the "Seceders" or, at least to some of
the gentry, the "Split P's." Arguing about religion is [576]
considered very bad taste. It is left to the ministers, 793
and they do have their points of difference. One Free 795
Presbyterian minister, for example, told me that no one in 798
the Church of Scotland, including the minister, was worthy
to receive Communion. On many occasions during the year
the ministers of the Free Church and Free Presbyterian
Church devote part of their sermon to a criticism of the
Church of Scotland, not to mention the avid hostility of all
Skyemen toward Catholics.

Adherents of the several sects intermarry with no qualms 582
and without suffering any loss of status. By the time a 795
person gets to be a member, marriage is no longer in his
mind. Husband and wife continue to adhere to their respective 593
denominations, those in which they were baptized. The children 795
naturally, are baptized and raised in the church of their [851] •
father. Extended families are often divided religiously 596
along sectarian lines. In one family one brother and his 795
wife were Free Presbyterians, another brother and his wife
were Free Church, a sister was Church of Scotland. The
parents had been Free Church but became Free Presbyterians
at the turn of the Century. At least one cousin was United
Free Church. This religious schism did not affect their
affection for one another. Once a week the sister went to
have tea with her Free Church sister-in-law. Periodically

his own family of procreation or ceases to be an integral member of the social units. Many features of these relationships will persist throughout his life.

The Sgiathanach treats the event of birth as something in which man is only the agent of a higher power. This fact was brought home to me one night during a discussion of the declining size of families. The question of subsidies to encourage larger families was broached. Although all take advantage of government grants for their stock and care of the land, this form of subsidy was unanimously rejected. As one man said, this would place man in the unthinkable position of a creator. Only the essential arrangements for the care of the mother and her expected child are made before birth. There are no "showers." "Showers," said one woman, "how can you tell if the child will be a boy or girl, or even live?" Today most women go to the maternity hospital at Uig for the delivery, but a few prefer to remain at home under the care of their mothers. To expect that the father's mother would take charge, even under the clan system, would be carrying the patriarchial emphasis too far. Within a few days, the obligations of the parents, their relations, and the people of the township become apparent. One by one the individuals and couples make their way to the cottage to welcome the child. This individual visiting is a modified survival of the old custom of "kirking," a group offering of thanks, at the church, for a safe mother and a healthy child, followed by a dance and feast at home. The parents are obliged to provide a dram of whiskey so that all the visitors can toast the child.

846

846 POSTNATAL CARE--care of postparturient mother during period of recuperation (e.g., rest, isolation, medication, sex and food taboos); duration of lochia and its disposal; visits and presents; resumption of normal life (e.g., gradual, after lapse of a specified time); purificatory rites; special care of child between birth and sloughing of umbilical cord; conceptualization and disposition of umbilical cord; treatment and disposition of motherless infants; special behavior of father (e.g., couvade); etc. See also:

Gift giving	431	Purification	785
Adoption	897	Infant feeding	853

1: Parman E-4, 5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

Excise taxes were first levied on whiskey in 1814, and stills of less than 500-gallon capacity were prohibited. Local, illegal distillation continued for a long time after 1814, and throughout the Highlands and Islands tales are told of "the excise man" and how he was outwitted. The Island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris was evacuated in 1843, supposedly because of illegal distillation that was being carried on there. The ruins of old distilling houses are found throughout Shawbost. Villagers say that these were used in the time of their grandfather or great-grandfather to distill whiskey for occasions such as weddings.

In Shawbost, until recent times whiskey was associated mainly with special ceremonial occasions: the birth of a child, weddings, and wakes. When a baby was born, the father went into town for whiskey to be given to visitors coming to see the baby. Having whiskey at a funeral was so important that many a widow sold her cow to provide it, so that people would not say it was a bad funeral. A custom of sitting up all night in the house of the deceased has stopped, probably in part because a prayer meeting lasting from midnight until 2 a.m. was introduced with the intention, according to one minister, of preventing the wake from becoming too joyful an occasion. Whiskey was abundant at New Year's, and at weddings. "The dance

Skye

241

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The Sgiathanach treats the event of birth as something in which man is only the agent of a higher power. This fact was brought home to me one night during a discussion of the declining size of families. The question of subsidies to encourage larger families was broached. Although all take advantage of government grants for their stock and care of the land, this form of subsidy was unanimously rejected. As one man said, this would place man in the unthinkable position of a creator. Only the essential arrangements for the care of the mother and her expected child are made before birth. There are no "showers." "Showers," said one woman, "how can you tell if the child will be a boy or girl, or even live?" Today most women go to the maternity hospital at Uig for the delivery, but a few prefer to remain at home under the care of their mothers. To expect that the father's mother would take charge, even under the clan system, would be carrying the patriarchial emphasis too far. Within a few days, the obligations of the parents, their relations, and the people of the township become apparent. One by one the individuals and couples make their way to the cottage to welcome the child. This individual visiting is a modified survival of the old custom of "kirking," a group offering of thanks, at the church, for a safe mother and a healthy child, followed by a dance and feast at home. The parents are obliged to provide a dram of whiskey so that all the visitors can toast the child.

852

852 CEREMONIAL DURING INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD--rites of passage prior to puberty; maturation ceremonies (e.g., at first step, at first tooth); rites associated with cutting of hair, ear piercing, and circumcision; ceremonies correlated with achievements (e.g., first animal killed, first cloth woven); adult guidance and sponsorship; participation of children in adult ceremonies (e.g., Christmas); etc. See also:

Mutilation	304	Artificial kin relationships	608
Birthdays	527	Baptism and confirmation	795, 851
Naming ceremonies	853	Religious ceremonial	796

3: Geddes ES10 Highland Scots ES10

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788
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[For additional general information on runes and rites at various phases of the life-cycle, see category 796, pp. 158-192, passim.]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

as the days lengthened during Christmastide, old style, it may be called " The Rune of the World's Light ".

The world, ere came the Son of God,
was black, a bog forlorn :
Void of sun, moon or star,
void of body, heart or form.

'Twas Mary Mother lowly kneeled,
and gave the Inmost Being birth ;
Darkness and tears were driven afar,
the guiding star rose over earth.

Light on the land, the deep illumed
from sullen pool to ocean stream ;
Grief was laid and joy was raised,
with praise and hail and harping free.

Light on the hills, light on the plains,
light o'er grey-green sea and firth ;
Light o'er all the world as one,
the hour God's Son came down to earth.

(D) THE CYCLE OF LIFE

The stages in life's sequence are marked by noble runes, of baptism, initiation in adolescence, betrothal and marriage, childbirth, and of confession and consolation in trials throughout life and, at its close, of farewell. As might be fitting, the benedictions were given by either man or woman : to a child by a parent or elder ; to the young and strong by the wise ; and by lovers to one another. And in the past, especially in trial, the ' soul-friend ' ministered —*an anam-chara*, a neighbour chosen from lifelong friendships for steadfastness and understanding.

At birth a babe was baptized ; and in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit the nurse placed three drops

alternating generations and being felt as an obligation to 553
perpetuate family names, these various practices serve to limit confusion among a people who share rather few surnames. I never knew a child who had been named for his parents.

The relationship of father and child is formally es- 851
tablished at baptism. As we shall see in the following chapter, the mother takes little or no part in arranging for the sacra-
ment. The spiritual welfare of the children is the father's 593
concern. He is also the disciplinarian, but in the pre-school years discipline is lax. Both parents freely indulge the child, and they spend a great deal of time with him. The belt, an [861]
ever-present, ever-threatened means of punishment, only appears when the child assumes the rights and duties which he will exercise as long as he remains on his parents' croft.

When he begins school at five or, in remote townships, 867
at six, the rights and duties determined by age and sex begin 462
to emerge in perspective. Actually, the child has already begun to make a pretense, playfully imitating his or her father or mother, at assuming his role, but the influence of the sex category is not marked. A small boy may fetch some peat for the fire or some water for the dishes. Once he starts school, he is no longer asked to do these chores. As soon as he is able to carry a pail he may feed the chickens; now he only feeds the calves. His first real task is tending the cattle, bringing them down from the hill and driving them out after the milking. As time goes on, he learns how to plant and dig potatoes, cut turf, harvest hay and oats, and at last how to shear sheep.

passage of the individual from birth, through his age statuses, 12
to death and to re-establish meaningful patterns of interaction
after a disturbance by an event in the life cycle. When 851
individual and reciprocal patterns of behavior following birth 774
were described, I pointed out that they were a much modified
survival of the old practice of kirking, the custom of having
the parents, their "people," and "friends" attend a church
service to offer thanks, followed by a feast and dance. Similar
festivities once accompanied baptism. As the first event in
the life cycle which concerns the church, and as one of the
two sacraments celebrated in the church, baptism is of supreme
importance. In addition to revealing the amount of control [121]
the elderly have over the group, it shows how the status and
role of the father has been maintained.

The child's father, as the religiously sanctioned head 626
of the family, approaches the elder for his township and 851
requests the administration of the sacrament. The elder, in 888 774
turn, intimates the father's request to the minister, who
then calls a kirk session. At the kirk session the father is
examined. He must live an exemplary life, in the way of the
church, including regular sabbath church attendance, daily
worship in the home, and the renunciation of all forms of
frivolous amusement. The elders, of course, know how he
habitually behaves by observation and reputation. In Glendale,
if not in Kilmuir, the minister knows as well, for, as one
woman said, "You never know what your neighbors will run and
tell the minister." Sudden reform is not good enough. The [779]
father must also demonstrate his ability to raise the child

794 621 2. The Township as Religious Network: The religious sphere has two distinguishable social networks, one of which coincides in personnel with the village network. Most households within the village feel obligated to "make an appearance" during at least one of the two 796 Sunday services. Most children are sent to Sunday school, • 851 and all are baptised. In baptism, fathers stand with the children, promise to raise them in the church, and to set a good example for them. Baptism must precede Communion, the ceremony by which a person becomes a full member of the church. Baptism signifies membership in the community, the village-qua-congregation. "Somehow you're not really legal until you've been baptised." Some feel that the child's soul may be endangered if he should die without baptism, although this idea is discouraged by the church. [179] According to the Calvinistic ideas of predestination, the fate of one's soul has already been decided.

796 The pressure to have children baptised enables the 851 village-as-congregation to exert social control over deviant 626 individuals. If a child is conceived out of wedlock, the 848 parents of the child (if they have gotten married) or the unwed mother alone must stand in front of the congregation and be lectured by the minister before the child may be baptised. A woman who has married a man known not to be the father of her child must also stand by herself. A

796 miscarriage occurring before
• 851 standing even when the child
626 by the couple after marriage.
848 [837] impregnated a woman who is not
this ordeal before he can have

It is the responsibility
ensure that this punishment is
the minister forgot to lecture
sent them a note that they wou
they insisted, afraid that peo
were getting special treatment

[203] According to one minister
[521] "research center" to which all
[193] ministers use this information
[194] people and calling attention t
the congregation. In contrast
[184] in parts of Stornoway, where v
[159] doctors in the maternity ward
miscarriages and premarital bi
this information is confidenti
[178] in church does not exist in St
in Shawbost was accidentally e
and his exemption was seen by
opportunity to stop what is co
archaic custom.

marriage also requires
to be baptised was conceived
A married man who has
his wife must undergo
his own children baptised.
of the entire community to
carried out. On one occasion,
a couple, and afterwards
ld not have to stand; but
ple would say that they
.

, the manse is a kind of
gossip is reported. Some
in the pulpit, chiding
o wrong-doings in front of
, a different attitude exists
illagers have approached
for information regarding
rths only to be told that
al. The ordeal of standing
ornoway. In 1971 a person
kempted from this ordeal
some as providing an
nsidered by many to be an

The visitors each give the child a gift, especially a silver coin. This token of good luck is placed under the child's pillow. The relationships, then, are essentially reciprocal and individual.

The child's position within the extended family is also fixed at the time of birth by his naming. As a rule, the first son is named after his paternal grandfather, and the first daughter, after her maternal grandmother. The second son is given the name of his maternal grandfather, and the second daughter, that of her paternal grandmother. There are exceptions to this pattern. One grandmother was adverse to having her granddaughter named after her, because nowadays, with late marriage, the naming frequently follows the death of the individual. By far the most common exceptions occur when someone in either parent's family of orientation has passed away. Where the mother's father has died, the first boy is named after him. The same is true for girls when the father's mother has passed away. When a brother or sister of either parent has died, especially without issue, the second born is named "in honor of his memory." In these days of small families, this has led to giving a girl the equivalent of a man's name. There was, for example, Angusina who had been named after her uncle who was killed in the war. Again, with delayed marriage, the couple may have only one child. He or she is given the names of both the paternal and maternal grandparents, such as Ian (for father's father) Ducan (for mother's father) or Morag (after mother's mother) Flora (after father's mother). Aside from serving to identify members of

father. So well is the situation handled that the child in many cases does not know of his illegitimacy. We may illustrat this point with the story of a young lad of fifteen.

An old woman applied to the local office of the Ministry of Labor on behalf of "her son" for acceptance in an apprenticeship training course given in Glasgow. The manager of the exchange, who had recently arrived from the Lowlands, was suspicious. He pressed her for information until she admitted the child was her grandson. At a later conference, the boy was asked if he had any place to stay in Glasgow. He replied that he could live with his married "sister." In this case the girl had married someone other than the boy's father. There is no pattern of marriage in these situations. Sometimes the unwed mother-to-be marries the child's father before the child is born. Financial hardship often forces a postponement of the marriage until the very last minute. One couple was married on the day of their child's birth. Other girls never marry. In the latter event gossip appears as a social sanction. As I mentioned earlier, the native who has prospered is not always held in high esteem by the local people. There are several stories on Skye about such men, especially men in Portree, and their illegitimate children.

Extra-marital relations present a different problem. They definitely are not characteristic of the Sgiathanach. When a husband or wife does commit adultery, he or she is usually a newcomer. Nevertheless, the Islanders feel

ild may come to spend nights or longer periods of time ith them.

To some extent villagers are still dependent on ach other for various kinds of help. It is considered xtremely bad manners to refuse labor, a tool, or food o anyone who requests them. If someone refuses to aid nother, people say, "What will he do when he needs elp?" This attitude has made the island a paradise or the few salesmen who, in the last few prosperous ears, have started to visit its communities; villagers ind it difficult to say no to anyone who comes to their door with a request, including the request that they buy something.

A woman in childbirth was formerly attended by a local midwife, and kept in bed for two or three weeks. "Other women, both relatives and friends, came and stayed with them at night, fixing them warm tea and milk, whispering bhronag bochd (poor soul), how awful you look..." just as today the neighbors gather at times of illness and death. It is more difficult for neighbors to come to the bedsides of young mothers of today, who are all taken to the hospital in Stornoway to have their babies; but the neighbors manage to visit the hospital, which has no choice but to ignore its rule of only two visitors per bed at a time.

971 538 788 539

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

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Light o'er all the world as one,
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(b) THE CYCLE OF LIFE

796 852 88 584

The stages in life's sequence are marked by noble runes, of baptism, initiation in adolescence, betrothal and marriage, childbirth, and of confession and consolation in trials throughout life and, at its close, of farewell. As might be fitting, the benedictions were given by either man or woman : to a child by a parent or elder ; to the young and strong by the wise ; and by lovers to one another. And in the past, especially in trial, the ' soul-friend ' ministered —*an anam-chara*, a neighbour chosen from lifelong friendships for steadfastness and understanding.

852 At birth a babe was baptized ; and in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit the nurse placed three drops

• 852 of water on the child's forehead, successively invoking wisdom, peace and purity. Lay baptism, recognised by Greek, Latin, Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches, may be partly of pre-Christian communal origin. It retained special significance in isolated communities. Where a clergyman might come within eight days, a temporary name was given at birth : ' Tonsured of the Lord ' (*Maoldomhnuich*) if a male child, and Gertrude (*Griadach*) if a female. Her immediate duties over after a safe delivery, the midwife forthwith became the celebrant or (as it were) lay priestess, and her neighbourly helpers, her acolytes. As the midwife intoned her part they gave the responses. " By the Book itself," said a reciter in Uist, for many years a skilled midwife, " ear has never heard music more beautiful than the music of the watching women when they are consecrating the seed of man and committing him to the great God of life." Those who care to ponder the thoughts then spoken may believe her word. (*Carmina*, Nos. 50 and 217-219.)

86 Initiation grew as understanding dawned and the babe passed on in childhood to be an older helper. Gaelic child-lore gives many a stimulus to an infant's intelligent apprehension of life about him, and to poetic appreciation. These may lead by natural steps to deeper things in adolescence. Homely teaching which led to a first communion, remained an intimate part of life in home and township.

814 869 538 869

From many parts of the Highlands and Isles, Carmichael and his friends gathered variants of verse prayers invoking graces in the young : Invocations of the Graces, *Orachan Buadha* (*Buadh*, victory, achievement or grace ; Nos. 3 and 278-281). In Tiree, of which the thoughtful minister had sent a fragment of verses to Carmichael,

Life Cycle

Birth. Childbirth placed both the mother and child in the danger of harm by malevolent spirits, especially fairies, who would substitute one of their children for the human child.[94] To protect them each morning and evening a sunrise circle was made around the mother and child with a firebrand or burning peat. All visitors crossed themselves with a firebrand and might have the circle of fire made around them. As a token of good luck the child was given silver; it was bad luck to give it to the mother. If a person praised the child without wishing it good luck or God's blessing, they might put the evil eye on it. Although only old midwives are said to have continued to make the firey circle by 1700 on Skye, the belief in the evil eye was still strong.[95] The mother did no work, and rejoicing was postponed until she was "kirked." The parents, their relatives and friends attended a church service to give thanks for a safe mother and a living child. After the service, they went to the home for a feast and dance. Following the Reformation, the custom was placed under censure, as were all Catholic and pagan rituals. 175* 852•

Baptism. Baptism freed the child from the power of the fairies and the evil eye. Until baptized, the child was not called by any name. On the way to baptism, the parents carried bread and

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[94] The following is mainly taken from William MacKay, "Life in the Highlands in Olden Times," PSAI, Vol. XXIX (1922), pp. 1-18.

[95] Martin, op. cit., pp. 177-178, 181-182.

175* 852•

butter. If the child was a boy, they gave some to the first man they met; if a girl, to the first woman. The Reformed Kirk continued the practice of public baptism before the congregation. The father, or godfather, continued to recite the Apostle's Creed. The Lord's Prayer was said, and a doxology was sung. When an attempt was made to abolish set prayers and liturgy sometime around 1650, baptism ceased to be performed in church. Following baptism, the festivities of the kirking were repeated. Private baptism was not forbidden until 1690.

Marriage. Marriage, either regular or irregular, for a lifetime or a year, was a contract. The young clansman with his father and friends went to the girl's home where the oldest in the group told who was wanted. If her parents thought the marriage desirable, the party was invited in to eat and drink. This was the "little agreement." In about two weeks the "great contract," the settlement of the dowry and date of the wedding was concluded at a dance and feast. Among the gentry a great deal of money passed in marriage contracts. Both dowries and tochers, a form of dower, were settled. The dowry varied with the status of the woman; the tocher with the position of the man.[96] 175* 58

The "booking" may have occured on Skye. Elsewhere, at least, shortly before the fixed date the couple bound themselves, under penalty of a money fine, to marry by the date. The money was placed in the hands of a neutral party, usually the session clerk who entered their intentions in his books. In view of the

[96] Lachlan MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

855

855 CHILD CARE--supervision, care, and support of children from earliest independence (e.g., walking, talking) to puberty; distribution of responsibility among parents and other relatives; institutionalized care (e.g., day nurseries); beliefs and standards concerning proper clothing, feeding, and housing of children; provisions for physical and mental health; protection from physical and social dangers (e.g., confinement, removal of dangerous objects); attitude of adults toward children (e.g., indulgent, indifferent, censorious); spoiling and coddling; mistreatment and neglect of children; etc. See also:

Discipline and training	86	Preventive medicine	781
Family relationships	580	Medical care	788
Care of orphans	736		

621 571 [422] 858 • 865 861 621 [156] 597 621

Despite these tendencies, an individual is still somewhat in familial and village ties. Villagers walk in and out of each others' houses without knocking; only a "stranger" knocks. Goods such as tape recorders, binoculars and books are passed around the village; people even borrow each others' reading glasses.

Children are "borrowed" as well. They are loaned out to relatives and neighbors to run errands, or may even live with them. They are scolded as often by a neighbor or other villager as by a parent. A child might be told, "When someone (any adult) tells you to do something, you do it, no matter who that person is." The parents of one household are criticized for taking their children's side against other children and other parents. "He's teaching his children not to mix with others. One child is as good as another. They may be good one day, but they're likely to be bad the next." A child or adult who enjoys spending time by himself is still considered extremely odd. An important criterion by which someone's mental health or general personality is evaluated is whether or not he "mixes" well. It is fairly common for childless households to "adopt" a child of neighbors or relatives; that is, the child spends a great deal of time with them. They may go to the child's house to put him to bed at night, or the

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857 CHILDHOOD ACTIVITIES--extent to which a special culture of childhood exists; children's play, imitative activities (e.g., make-believe); habits of rest and sleep; children's playgroups, cliques, and gangs; quarreling and fighting; children's explorations and haunts; tasks performed by children and age at which each is undertaken (e.g., errands, chores, care of younger children); etc. See also:

Socialization	30	Age-grades	861
Education	87	Primary groups	871
Baby talk	136	Ingroup antagonisms	878
Mutual aid	476	Child betrothal	886
Daily routine	519	Residence changes by children	891
Children's games, toys, and playthings	554	Quest for guardian spirits	787

233 were taken out to small huts in the central moorlands
233 for several months during the summer. These moorland
342 dwellings, called sheilings or airidh, were tiny stone structures, as small as seven by five feet. They had double stone walls filled with clay, and a rounded thatched roof. There were two doors opposite each other in the longer walls, one of which was filled with turf depending on the direction of the wind. A fireplace
[364] was built into one end of the hut; shelves in the stone
[352] walls held basins of milk and other items; and the major part of the sheiling constituted a grass-and-heather-lined cavity which served as a bed. The sheilings were usually
[361] clustered together near a stream, duplicating neighborhoods within the village.

221 Ploughing and planting were finished in the spring before the young men and women went off to the fishing, and before the cattle were taken to the sheiling. Some families went to the sheiling as early as March for a "fresh bite" of grass. Many went out in the middle of May, and returned at the end of July or beginning of August.

233 "During the week, young girls or boys stayed out on
● 857 the sheilings, depending on who was available in the
887 family; maybe old people who couldn't do anything else,
462

233 usually an old woman, as the women were responsible for
● 857 the milking, and the old men were usually fishing around
887
462 the village.

233 "We left for the sheiling early in the morning,
512 taking bed clothes and food. I walked out with my aunt, who went back home in the morning. My mother came out with the provisions in the evening. If no one came out
[513] that day, I went to sleep with someone else. You never slept alone. During the day we fished for trout or gathered small blackberries; or we looked for the nests of grouse and other birds. You would knit or read, and walk for miles to visit friends. The boys swam in the loch, and sometimes the girls pinched their clothes. From the top of the hills you could see Stornoway, the hills of Lochs, Uig and the lighthouse in Ness; on some days you could see the distant hills of Caithness on the mainland. It's on the sheiling that I learned about other parts of the island.

"I remember watching the sun and trying to will it
512 to stay high in the sky, before our mothers came out from
233
234 the village to milk in the evening. They called the cattle--'Troit, troit, troit'--and they carried the milk every day from the sheiling to the village, all those miles. The cattle knew their own sheilings; sometimes

181
421 People prefer to give money 103
178 in exchange for car rides or other help, including peat-
187 cutting, because "than you're independent." Friendships
829 are still weak, relative to friendships in urban
572 settings. Most information which is shared between
221 individuals rapidly enters the pool of communal gossip.
[369] Although many persons emphasize the importance of mutual
[521] aid in defining a friend, some emphasize the ability to
[476] confide and keep secrets.

Today many of the younger villagers do not know
621 their relatives to the extent that their elders did.
178 In one family, a girl who was about to get married had
602 to ask her brother, who was the only one of the siblings
[685] interested in kinship connections, whom to invite to the
[576] wedding. It is still useful to retain an inventory of one's relatives. "I have cousins in Glasgow and
602 Australia that I've never seen, but if I ever go there
484 I'll have a place to stay." With the increase in
[178] transportation and income, more islanders are taking brief trips away from the island. During these trips, they almost always stay with relatives.

● 857 It is frequently said that children are now "cheekier,"
579 less inclined to run errands and obey orders meekly, and
829 that they prefer to watch television or read books by
178 themselves to playing with each other.

offer help without an expectation of payment. Nevertheless, 794
anonymous donations of food and casual visits make sure that 573
none of their number becomes absolutely destitute. In Glendale this religious clique merges with the person's "people and friends." Kilmuir has two religious cliques.

We have had ample opportunity to examine the age-grades 561
of Skye's society and in the next chapter we shall have a closer look at the functions of the age-grades, especially that of the old men. One of the most important weaknesses 857
of the social structure, in my mind, is the lack of age mates 883
for children and adolescents. They find it difficult, almost 561
impossible, to come together as a sodality. In Kilmuir, for example, there are only fifteen boys under twenty in an area of ten square miles. A youth is anyone under forty. Of the [162
total population 60 percent are over fifty. For this reason 561
the important age grade clique tends to merge with the re- 794
ligious social circle. The situation is much the same in Glendale. There the age-grade and kinship groups are intertwined with the kirk congregation.

Status Equality within the Neighborhood. The fundamental 621
status equality which we found for the crofters within the 534
township carries over to the neighborhood, but, as would be 571
expected, there is often a need for leadership in this larger group. Let us look at the two neighborhoods which I know best to cast light on the methods employed in the self-selection of a leader and the means of expressing leadership as a role. Kilmuir has a Crofters' Club, which was originally formed by 573

strongly about this infringement of the traditional norms. 837
Gossip spreads very rapidly. The offenders are said to be 626
"no better than the tinkers." While tinkers are respected [55] [75]
because they have the power of the evil eye, they are not
accorded any more prestige than we would give a beggar. All
who have any contact with the neighborhood or the village
where the deviants live soon know all the details. Since [36]
most of the adulterers on Skye have been in Portree, it adds
another brick to the wall which separates the rural neighbor-
hoods and the trade-center village. The offenders normally
leave Skye as quickly as possible.

The Sgiathanach cannot be said to have a strong sense 423
of property, or, more correctly, the land is valued as a 421
place of residence and identity not as something to be bought
and sold. We have seen that he uses his land communally and
that he often will not leave a will for the house, not to
mention his land. Even though the state thinks otherwise, he
looks upon the natural resources of the island as his for the
taking. At the same time, he normally respects the fruits of 421
his neighbor's labor. Any one can cut peat on the moor, but [31]
no one, except an unthinking tourist, would take a piece of
turf once it had been cut. In a simlar way, the children are 857
generally well behaved. In the village there is a bit of stone
throwing, a little profanity, and uncommonly some drinking on
the sly, but rarely do children show any disrespect for the
rights of others. One contractor, a Lowlander who came up to
Skye to make alterations on the school, was amazed. Skye

857 was the first place he had ever worked where his men did no
have to lock up their tools at lunch time, and the windows
685 were not broken as fast as they went into the frames. Stil
there is some theft.

As might be expected in any area of low per capita
income and seasonal employment, some people succumb to temp
685 tation. Children, now and then, find the temptation of a
857 candy bar, a shiny pocket knife and other such items which
[131] shopkeepers may have on the counter too strong to resist.
striking thing is that they always share their loot with
685 their schoolmates. Around New Years, when unemployment is
[273] at its height and a man needs his bottle to see in the New
Year in the traditional way, some men turn to theft. It
never takes the form of house burglarly or armed robbery.
far as I know, the only case of armed robbery in which a
man from Skye was involved happened on a train in England.
His weapon was a rolling pin. The people at home were very
amused when he said he was taking the rolling pin to his
mother. The usual forms are to take a cow or sheep or to
685 loot a shop. No answer can be given to the question, how
829 much theft is there? The responses vary. "If you stood on
the corner and forgot who you were, they'd have you off in
five minutes, so they would," was one man's opinion. The
police say, "There's quite a bit of it." An old whiskey
smuggler told me, "There's no theft around Portree, but you
not safe with five pence in your pocket in Skeabost." This
685 obviously is an expression of neighborhood loyalty. How,

796 may need just one more dry day to finish his harvest. If t
241 next day is the Sabbath, his one dry day may be two or thre
weeks away and the hay a sodden heap. Nor did the Sgiathan
or any newcomer with a croft, change during the war despite
all the pleas of the government for full agricultural pro-
796 duction. This is the one time that the Older Order Amish
slogan "And be not conformed to this world" fully applies
to the island. Circumspect behavior on this day functions
to remind the people of all the negations and all the sanct
which religion has bestowed on the culture.

178 As in the case of Communions, there has been a gradus
796 lessening of the importance of Sabbitarianism, especially
since the return of many young men and women from the war.
[369] Again, the rather spontaneous relaxation of the rules is
most common in Portree. It does not have the encouragement
of the ministers of any church nor the elders of any church
[622] except the Church of Scotland. Thirty or forty years ago
the ministers and the lay kirk officers had enough influenc
to stop the running of trains throughout the western Highla
shipping in the Western Isles, and the Kyle-Kyleakin ferry
[484] on the Sabbath. Public transportation is still at a stand-
[204] still on the first day of the week, but the Sunday papers
appear in Portree after the evening services, despite all t
efforts of the ministers. They come by car from Inverness,
row boat across the strait, and by car to the village.

178 Before the war no one in Portree would let their
796 children out of the house, except to go to church with thei
857

852 of water on the child's forehead, successively invoking wisdom, peace and purity. Lay baptism, recognised by Greek, Latin, Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches, may be partly of pre-Christian communal origin. It retained special significance in isolated communities. Where a clergyman might come within eight days, a temporary name was given at birth: 'Tonsured of the Lord' (*Maol-domhnuich*) if a male child, and Gertrude (*Griadach*) if a female. Her immediate duties over after a safe delivery, the midwife forthwith became the celebrant or (as it were) lay priestess, and her neighbourly helpers, her acolytes. As the midwife intoned her part they gave the responses. "By the Book itself," said a reciter in Uist, for many years a skilled midwife, "ear has never heard music more beautiful than the music of the watching women when they are consecrating the seed of man and committing him to the great God of life." Those who care to ponder the thoughts then spoken may believe her word. (*Carmina*, Nos. 50 and 217-219.)

86 Initiation grew as understanding dawned and the babe passed on in childhood to be an older helper. Gaelic child-lore gives many a stimulus to an infant's intelligent apprehension of life about him, and to poetic appreciation. These may lead by natural steps to deeper things in adolescence. Homely teaching which led to a first communion, remained an intimate part of life in home and township.

814 From many parts of the Highlands and Isles, Car-
869 michael and his friends gathered variants of verse prayers
538 invoking graces in the young: Invocations of the Graces,
• 867 *Orachan Buadha* (*Buadh*, victory, achievement or grace; Nos. 3 and 278-281). In Tiree, of which the thoughtful minister had sent a fragment of verses to Carmichael,

814 the invocation was addressed to boys and girls, in Uist to
869 youths and maidens. The loveliest version of all had been
538 spoken by an old, evicted woman and learned from her by
• 867 a lad who, as a poor crofter in old age, passed it down for record, for ever. Of this invocation Carmichael wrote, "Probably it was composed to a maiden on her marriage. The phrase '*eala dhonn*', brown swan, would indicate that the girl was young—not yet a white swan", a tender and delicate recognition of youth still to attain perfection.

869 Not a thought jars, each stanza building up the rising move-
538 ment of the whole. In the hundred lines of this poem, metre and assonance are regular except where growing intensity creates new rhythm and design; and the last vowel-rhyme of each stanza leads on to those of the next one, to form an unbroken ascent to the climax.[1]

869 The Invocation begins, "I bathe thy palms. . . . And
539 I place the nine pure choice graces in thy fair fond face.
The grace of form . . . of fortune . . . of goodness . . .
867 of wisdom . . . of charity . . . of choice maidenliness

[114]

[1] Certain critics, struck with the variety of the poem but missing its thought-sequence and unity of form, took Carmichael's note of 'many fragments' to imply that the poem was a composite version, piously restored by the editor—in spite of his statement that it was taken down from a single reciter (one Duncan Maclellan). Carmichael's spiritual power of evoking treasures from the reciters was inseparable from his utter honesty. And the publication, forty years later, of four Invocations and of scores of fragments (cf. No. 277) has added (to the internal evidence cited) further proof that the poem was no editorial assemblage. Without doubt, the poem has grown from the inspired meditation of generations of poet-worshippers in a hundred glens and isles. But the English reader should realise what the Gaelic ear may hear: this poem forms an organic unity; though many petalled it is a single flower. Readers familiar with medieval or earlier chants know that the enumeration of attributes is a feature common to all, whether in Church Latin or other tongues, as in the English medieval hymn beginning, "God in my head, and in my understanding". In Gaelic, however, the richness and freedom of the vowel-pattern and rhythms carries the thought onward, wave on wave to its climax. A foremost poet of France, Pierre Emmanuel, to whom I introduced this poem, exclaimed, "This is a Christian Song of Songs!"

869 . . . of whole-souled loveliness . . . of winning speech."
539 Then, after the tender image of the brown swan and fare-
• 867 well on departure to a new home, comes a string of exquisite comparisons: to shade and shelter in need, to safety of isle and strength of fortress, to gift of health for the ailing. Each grace, each image, expresses not simply individual qualities but relationships and service for others. After eight choice lines in praise of the girl's womanly gifts—from "Thine is the faith of Mary", through chosen attributes of Bride, the Fairy Woman, Penelope, Emir, Darthula and Maeve, to "the charm of the sweet singer (*Binnebheul*)"—the poem, in Gaelic that is sonorous and succinct, passes beyond the sphere of comparison with things or even personal qualities. It acclaims her joyous girlhood as one with the powers of life-giving, life-abundant things, and as a reflection of the Divine:

Thou'rt the joy in every delight,
Thou the sunbeam's radiant light;
Thou'rt the gate of a welcoming chief,
Thou the clearest star to lead;
Thou'rt the step of the deer on a height,
Thou the pace of a steed ere the fight;
Thou'rt the calm of a gliding swan;
of longings thou'rt the loveliness.

The lovely likeness of the Lord
Is in thy pure face,
The loveliest form
Was ere on earth.[1]

538 192 [1] Poetic form is integral to the conception; hence this translation in verse. But alternatives to Carmichael's choice of English prose may complement his own, in bringing out the meaning. Line 1, 'joy', *sonas*—and a 'delightful or wonderful thing', *ni éibhinn*; l. 3, *dorus*, doorway; l. 4, *iùl*, guidance, land-mark, way; l. 6, *steud*, steed, would imply, in *blàr*, 'a field' of battle, and, by contrast, l. 7, *séimh eal*, calm (rather than 'grace') of a floating, swimming swan; l. 8, *rùn*, secret inclination, longing, and hence too, a person beloved; ll. 9, 11, *cruth*, form, shapeliness (and by implication),

539 And so, after every good wish for days, years and life
• 867 the Invocation closes: "Peter has come and Paul" . .
869 the Disciples and the Archangels. . . . Jesus the mild and the Spirit of guidance have come,

And the King of kings has come on the helm,
To bestow on thee their affection and their love,
A bhaireadh duit-se graidh us ruin.

The ideal of choice maidenliness which this Invocation portrays, culminates in the thought of the loveliness that
867 was Christ. It rises, too, to stirring virility: "the island
[539] at sea, the fortress on land", or "the step of the steed on the plain". Yet when all is said, it is a womanly image which prevails: after the fortress comes the well in the desert, and after the charger's step, the gracious calm of a floating swan. It is all the more significant that the Invocation was addressed both 'to boys and girls' in one isle, and 'to youths and maidens' in another. Not simply was boyhood taught to honour girlhood: ideal womanhood was invoked to raise manhood itself to fullness.

885 Upon marriage, the husband replaced the maiden's
[292] snood or *stiom* that bound her uncovered hair by the wifely
[585] kerchief, *am breid*. Folded diagonally, its three-cornered shape came to symbolise the Trinity, in benediction on
[539] the bride's head.[1] A poem to a bride, "now beginning her dual course", commences, "A thousand hails to thee

538 192 likeness. The short second stanza given stands out alone: the poem, having attained its climax by a rhythm sustaining the upward, sonorous movement, is hushed by its few simple words. In *From the Hebrides*, Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser rearranged one or two of these lovely stanzas, as one of her 'lyrics with refrain'. *Cf.* A. Geddes, *The Songs of Craig and Ben*, vol. ii, 1955.

[1] The kertch is spoken of in many songs, in which a lover hopes to place it on his young love's head, or a husband praises its whiteness as worn by his wife. When first I knew the Lewis, the kertch was still commonly worn under the more recent Lowland mutch, and either framed a young face, or an
198 old one, charmingly. The two have not quite vanished, though memories of what the kertch once symbolised are hard to find.

The first thing that is said when for some reason a woman is left alone in the house is, "Who's going to go and sleep with her?" Often a child will be sent from a neighboring family, not always relatives, to stay with her at night. As in the past, it is not uncommon for a childless elderly couple or single person alone on a croft to take in a young, homeless couple, to whom they may or may not be related. The young couple cares for the old person or persons, and inherits the croft when they die.

"Keeping up the relation" is the process by which relatives sustain interaction and expectations of mutual aid even though their relatedness becomes more distant with succeeding generations. "I've got cousins in Ness that I stay with at the Communions. They're getting on into the third generation now." A cousin is a cousin even to the 42nd degree (Williams 1963: 142), as long as there is reason to sustain the relationship. "I know we're related, but I can't quite place it." "We're a bit related. I think she was a MacPhail before she married." "I don't quite know how we're related, but my mother and his mother considered it a close relationship, and he has kept it up."

Every villager has a vast amount of information about other villagers and their families, which may be

192 561 requirements of adulthood, and also old age, are still boys and girls.

554 Status Equality within the Township. The ascription of status on the basis of age and sex has resulted in a straightforward [562] system of status. The facts are simple. Men are the social [561] superiors of women. Youth are socially inferior to their seniors. Men, or women, of a common age category are equals. We shall now examine a few interpersonal relationships to see how the [264] system operates. Unless a man and his wife are eating alone, women never eat with men. They wait until the men have finished 576 before taking their meal. When neighbors come to visit, the 562 man of the house does not rise for a woman. He does rise for 574 a man and shakes him by the hand. The woman of the house, on the other hand, rises for both men and women. Furthermore, when a couple comes to call, the woman greets the man first. Only after he has been offered a chair does she greet the [858] woman. Young people are seen but seldom heard. They do not [882] speak unless addressed.

626 All societies allow some deviation from traditional 178 norms of expected behavior. On Skye, as elsewhere, excessive deviation is censured. Neither increased opportunities for education nor the steady flow of Skye men and women to the four corners of the earth, accompanied by the slow returning trickle, have disturbed these fundamental values. Like the youth who leaves home to achieve upward mobility through outward mobility, the man who returns must conform to the traditional norms, which he learned as a child, or be regarded

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

181 gentle frankness, as there is for reticence.[1] But since
• 864 Augustine, orthodox religion, Catholic and Protestant, has
[771] overstressed and misunderstood the folk-lore of 'the Fall'
—originally, it seems, a legend of fertility and fulfilment!
[869] In part as a result of the teaching of the doctrine of the
'Fall', there has arisen an attitude to parenthood which
[773] falls short of rational understanding and reverence for
human life.[2] If fact be the best guard against superstitious
fancy, and if sensibility and tact can soften the first shock
of adolescence, then the Gael knew wisdom.

121 Returning to the main theme, it is clear that primitive
religion and folk-lore alike show misunderstandings of
cause and effect, and of the action of 'mind' on 'body'
and 'matter'. What are facts to faith may be symbols to
science; yet if these symbols prefigure truth, they may
121 outlast the present stage of scientific recognition. Gaelic
771 belief and practice show a recognition of communal as
well as individual spirituality; of the depth of conscious-
181 ness below its upper surface, and its upwelling power;
and of the visible world without, in all its beauty, as a gate

[533] [1] Needless to say, Gaelic verse has its moments of coarse freedom like that of any tongue. Of the lively lilts (*puirt-a-beul*) sung when there is no piper or fiddler to play for dancing, most of the words are delightful, but a few are not. A rather 'drinky' dissolute fellow—a small contractor on one of the Isles whose apprenticeship in the cities had not improved his character—once quoted a coarse jingle to me, only to see little amusement at his song and some contempt for its singer. He excused himself by saying, "It's rough . . . it's rough—but it's not dirty"! His excuse sums up the cruder expressions of animal spirits found in Gaelic jingles. One may adapt it as "Sometimes coarse, but rarely or never vicious".

[2] A. Geddes, "The Origin of Sin in Genesis and a Missing Legend", *Hibbert J.* vol. 44, Nos. 1 and 3, 1945-46. Cf. *The Legends of Creation: an Anthropo-Geographical Interpretation of Genesis*, i-iii (with map); *Man*, vol. 45 (104), 1945.

The Churches have given attention to the second chapter of Genesis, at the expense of the first. Gaelic spiritual tradition seems to have been singularly unwarped by such confused mythology, and to have held firmly to the first chapter, in its noble simplicity.

86

867 TRANSMISSION OF CULTURAL NORMS--inculcation
propriate behavior for children (e.g., rest and sleep
children into social relationships (e.g., teaching to s
struction in etiquette and kinship behavior); training
values (e.g., ladylikeness, manliness); instilling of
struction in social, ethical, legal and political norms
morals and character; etc. See also:

Personality	16	Labor and leisure	
Mutual aid and competition	47	Occupational specia	
Kinship behavior	60	Standard of living	
Social norms	183	Sleeping	
Public opinion	208	Esthetic ideals	
Status and role	554	Citizenship	
Interpersonal relations	571	Legal norms	
Etiquette	576	Juvenile delinquenc	
Ethical ideals	577	Taboos	
Social control	626		

7

of norms concerning ap-
routines); initiation of
hare and take turns, in-
n sex-typed attitudes and
respect for property; in-
; techniques for inculcating

. 461
lization 463
. 511
. 513
. 517
. 641
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y. 674, 738
. 784

197 Within the village there are no branches of An Comunn
178 Gaidhealach and few books written in Gaelic. Once a rural
166 family moves to Stornoway, children often refuse to speak
191 Gaelic, even though they understand it, and parents tend
to speak only English to their children, believing this
will help them "get on." In the next generation, the
[871] language is lost. Village children attending school in
Stornoway often prefer talking to their Gaelic-speaking
[867] roommates in English. A young island woman, married and
living in Edinburgh, says she would like her baby son
to learn Gaelic but feels that if he had a mixture of the
two languages the other children would laugh at him.

197 English is the language of the larger society, the
191 language spoken in school and the language required in
most jobs and in dealing with most officials. In Gaelic-
197 speaking areas, the speaking of English connotes high
191 status. If an English speaker mispronounces Gaelic words,
554 he is quickly forgiven, praised for trying to learn such
626 a difficult language, and asked why he bothers with a
578 language that "isn't any use anyway." But if a Gaelic
speaker makes mistakes in English, he is teased mercilessly
[551] Many nicknames derive from such mistakes; for example,
"Peter Squeak" got his name by mispronouncing the word
[524] "picturesque." People "win points" by competing with
each other in speaking English. "See how good you are in

to Sabbath school, nor would they allow children 178
s in the home. Today the children of the Church 796
people are allowed to go for a walk, read, or 857
Tourists, frequently, if not always, intolerant 484
t Sabbath, have no doubt contributed to this 178
f taboos. Although a further development of the 796
stry would be advantageous economically, tourists
not only to the Sabbath but also to the whole
mplex. They set examples which the youth are
dy to emulate. Before the war every hotel on 485
including all in Portree, and every boarding 796
notices requesting visitors to refrain from
cars for touring on the Sabbath. In many of the
the request was the equivalent of a warning of
day the signs are gone. Still not content, the
cies in England and the Lowlands continue to make
s in their literature, suggesting "a little more
needed in certain quarters." The youth and some 178
rtree now have begun to go off for a drive around 796
One reason why the Sabbath is still strong in 484
Glendale is that tourists are not accepted in
ict.

Sabbath observance distinguishes three broad 796
e Island. Portree is set apart from the crofters 565
nd the county people are set apart from the [369]
using the day for visiting and having afternoon [571]
r. The gentry, of course, are not under the

85

858 STATUS OF CHILDREN--cultural definition of stat
statuses during infancy and childhood; rights, privi
(e.g., special exemptions); restrictions and disabi
(e.g., special taboos); conception of legal minority
treated as inherently inferior or merely as inexper
about children (e.g., concepts of the good and the n
pectations and treatment of children (e.g., accordi

Kin relationships	60	Family relations	
Guardianship	429	Legal liability	
Age stratification	561	Juvenile courts	
Marriageability of children	582	Special mortuary	
		Concept of legal	

8

s periods and progression of
leges, and powers of children
lities of infants and children
; extent to which children are
enced adults; stereotyped ideas
aughty child); differential ex-
ng to age, sex), etc; See also:
ips 593
. 672
. 698
rites 766
majority 884

621 Despite these tendencies, an individual is still
571 enmeshed in familial and village ties. Villagers walk
in and out of each others' houses without knocking;
[426] only a "stranger" knocks. Goods such as tape recorders,
binoculars and books are passed around the village;
people even borrow each others' reading glasses.

858 Children are "borrowed" as well. They are loaned
855 out to relatives and neighbors to run errands, or may
861 even live with them. They are scolded as often by a
621 neighbor or other villager as by a parent. A child
might be told, "When someone (any adult) tells you to do
something, you do it, no matter who that person is."
The parents of one household are criticized for taking
their children's side against other children and other
parents. "He's teaching his children not to mix with
others. One child is as good as another. They may be
good one day, but they're likely to be bad the next."
A child or adult who enjoys spending time by himself is
[156] still considered extremely odd. An important criterion
by which someone's mental health or general personality
597 is evaluated is whether or not he "mixes" well. It is
621 fairly common for childless households to "adopt" a
child of neighbors or relatives; that is, the child
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861

861 TECHNIQUES OF INCULCATION--ideas about childhood training; general methods of inculcation and discipline; specific techniques of providing motivation (e.g., inciting, warning, scolding, threatening, punishing); specific techniques of guidance (e.g., leading, demonstrating, explaining, commanding); specific techniques of providing rewards (e.g., helping, recompensing, praising); special emphasis on particular techniques (e.g., in general, at different ages, for particular types of training); consistency or inconsistency in the use of techniques; ages at which conscious parental inculcation begins and ends; etc.

See also:

Data on habit formation	153	Military discipline	703
Family relationships	593	Native ideas about learning	828
Social control	626	Education through play	867
Legal sanctions	681	Educational theory	876

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

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ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

183 The generally low level of stimulation derives in
181 part from values which restrict opportunities for self-
[521] expression. People are ready to gossip, i.e., to partici-
pate vicariously in the escapades of others, but are less
[626] eager to act. Stories concerning mad-cap adventures of some villagers do not belie the existence of constraints
[166] imposed on expressiveness. One of the major reasons given by young villagers for wanting to leave the island, and by emigrants for why they left, is that, "There is nothing to do. The place is dead."

156 In the everyday life of the village, a style of
181 indirectness and restricted communication is encouraged.
183 A man might be praised in an obituary by the phrase, "His
621 voice was never heard in the community." The encouragemen of a "low profile" of behavior is characteristic of communities in which people meet each other frequently and know they will continue to meet and ask things of each other for a long time to come. Indirectness avoids conflict arising from divergent expectations, and embarrass-ment from changes in plans.

155 A major feature of practices of child-rearing on
•861 the island is inconsistency, which develops a style of guarded watchfulness and hesitance to act or express oneself. Children are teased by being offered things which are then snatched away. Punishment is inconsistent.

155 Lies are frequently told. "Every other sentence my
• 861 father says is a lie. If you believe half of what he
577 says is a lie. If you believe half of what he
[693] says, you're a fool. If you believe a quarter of what
he says, you're getting near the truth. If you believe
an eighth of what he says, it's probably the wrong eighth."

156 Villagers engage with each other in constant, quiet
621 game-playing. They are dependent on each other for many
things, but try to minimize the control that others have
over them while improving their own positions. If someone
brings plants or shrubs as a gift, the response is likely
to be, "She was probably pruning her garden and needed to
get rid of the leftover garbage." Such negativism releases
the person from feeling obligated. (See Emmett 1964:
16–17, for a description of a similar situation in Wales.)
A man who is asked about his new tractor replies, "Its
faults will come out later." If he were to say it was
all right and then it broke down, he would have lost points.
In discussing the mental health of a villager recently
returned from Craig Dunain (a mental hospital near Inverness),
someone observed, "He's better than the doctor who let him
out." If another breakdown were to occur soon, someone
would be sure to comment, "And so-and-so said he looked
all right."

156 Such training allows little room for the development
572 of close friendships in which the individuals involved are

alternating generations and being felt as an obligation to 553
perpetuate family names, these various practices serve to
limit confusion among a people who share rather few surnames.
I never knew a child who had been named for his parents.

The relationship of father and child is formally es- 851
tablished at baptism. As we shall see in the following chapter,
the mother takes little or no part in arranging for the sacra-
ment. The spiritual welfare of the children is the father's 593
concern. He is also the disciplinarian, but in the pre-school
years discipline is lax. Both parents freely indulge the child,
and they spend a great deal of time with him. The belt, an [861] •
ever-present, ever-threatened means of punishment, only appears
when the child assumes the rights and duties which he will
exercise as long as he remains on his parents' croft.

When he begins school at five or, in remote townships, 867
at six, the rights and duties determined by age and sex begin 462
to emerge in perspective. Actually, the child has already
begun to make a pretense, playfully imitating his or her father
or mother, at assuming his role, but the influence of the
sex category is not marked. A small boy may fetch some peat
for the fire or some water for the dishes. Once he starts
school, he is no longer asked to do these chores. As soon
as he is able to carry a pail he may feed the chickens; now
he only feeds the calves. His first real task is tending the
cattle, bringing them down from the hill and driving them out
after the milking. As time goes on, he learns how to plant
and dig potatoes, cut turf, harvest hay and oats, and at last
how to shear sheep.

864

864 SEX TRAINING--adult beliefs, standards, and aims concerning sex behavior in children and methods of sex training; incidence of specifically sexual behavior in infants and children (e.g., masturbation, fingering of genitals, exhibitionism, sex play); rules for the control of such behavior (e.g., imposition, inculcation, enforcement); training in sexual modesty; imparting of knowledge and beliefs about sex and reproduction; reactions to curiosity of children about sex; normal age for each aspect of sex training; reactions of children to sex training; etc. See also:

Personality 15
Sex 83
Ethical ideals 577
Initiation 881

000 trouble; and neighbours come to suffer too!

181 Turning to natural things, how far could the people observe and think rationally, free from the intervention of imaginary beliefs? The Gael possess common sense, keen observation, ready wits and accurate memory. They show powers of tracing effects to their cause; and on the whole, their agricultural practices were based on good sense, and their knowledge of nature was wide. Before taking a social decision, they reasoned together to good purpose.

In the ordering of family life, their ideals were founded on common sense and human feeling, little interfered with by superstitions. Irrational prohibitions too often restrict the issues of life where it is already severely limited by
• [864] environment. A word should therefore be said of the
181 bearing of beliefs upon the physical aspects of mating and
864 parenthood, and of Gaelic teaching upon these. To begin with an early experience among all peasantry, during
233 calving and lambing today shepherds, cattlemen and dairy-maids show delighted tenderness—there is no other word for it—in the care of mother and new-born offspring, though at other times they may be quite rough-and-ready at their work. What is true of hired farm-hands is still truer of a crofter's family tending their own precious stock. When out herding, boys and girls, before and after puberty, have to be exact in reporting when a bull has served a cow, so as to tell whether or no a calf is to be looked for next spring.

181 At the same time, human facts were not left to be
864 learned only by observation of animals, but were simply and frankly taught. In a parent's verses to a maiden, for instance, marriage is spoken of tenderly but frankly

86

ZATION--general statements dealing with several aspects of the basic sms of cultural transmission, especially the socialization of impulses nore informal educational processes. For formal education see 87; onality and its development see 15.

286 Despite these aids and incentives, parents do not
288 encourage their children to weave. The weavers them-
463 868 selves describe the job as dull, offering no security
593 and no possibilities for advancement.
829
[461] Referring to her young son, a mother says, "By the time he's old enough to weave, the tweeds will have failed." Another mother says, "I want him to learn some trade, if he's intelligent enough. I don't want him to stay here. The tweed is so uncertain." "There's no future in it," says the father of another young boy, "I definitely wouldn't want him to be a weaver. It would be good if he went in for engineering."

463 The histories of the weavers reveal many examples
464 of shifting occupations. Weaving often alternates with
286 work in the local mill, which is also relatively unspecialized. The Shawbost mill must tolerate this unstable labor force, as labor is difficult to find.
[166] Eldest sons tend to leave the island for more stable,
[593] permanent jobs, leaving the croft and the loom to their younger siblings. Table V[1] shows the number of male weavers in each age group.

288 The fact that Shawbost has the same age structure
461 as the rest of rural Lewis (see Table II)[2] and less
162 unemployment signifies that weaving has not served as
166 an adequate incentive to keep young people on the island.

1. [See p. xi--Analyst]
2. [See p.xiii--Analyst]

*159 question, whether it would be better to change from the
288 Orb trade and go to power looms. Then you would be
458 able to do any kind of cloth. You wouldn't be tied down to regulations as you are with the Harris Tweed. To do that after all it cost them with the court case a few years back--. But, at the same time, it's more important to have work than this trademark. As it is at the moment, it's just a white elephant."

Neilie Leoid

*159 Neilie Leoid left school in 1931 at the age of 14, as easy-going and generally content with things then as he is 40 years later. "When I was going to school lots of people hated the headmaster, but I had no complaints against him. Perhaps people are inclined to blame other people for their own failures. Of course, I didn't like school very much, and I didn't go to it all that often.

"In those days you didn't have the same access to education as the young people have today. You didn't
*159 assume you could go very high. You were quite content to
288 settle down to weaving. The boys started learning from
[868] anyone who was around. I started weaving with my uncle
[434] when I was 15, on an old wooden loom. In one winter
[435] we earned the L26 to buy a single-shuttle automatic. My uncle's eyesight was getting sort of dim, so I would

869

869 TRANSMISSION OF BELIEFS--special techniques for the inculcation of beliefs, attitudes and values not covered elsewhere in this section (e.g., supernatural beliefs, beliefs concerning phenomena of the external world); manipulation of anxiety in support of beliefs (e.g., arousing it for motivation, relieving it for reinforcement); role of accident and coincidence in confirming supernatural beliefs (e.g., rain following a rain-making rite, winning a race while wearing a luck charm); extent to which reality testing is inhibited or encouraged in children; etc. See also:

Religious beliefs 77
Beliefs about nature and man 82
Theories of disease 753
Types of religious experience 781
Formal religious instruction 794, 872

781 the same room as his father. His father used to lecture
273 him, but he closed his ears. Then his father died. The week after he walked out of the bothan, a relative sent him some money. He had been trying to buy a suit on installment, but always spent the money on drink. He went into town, got the suit, and wore it to church the next Sunday."

781 The process of conversion is often accompanied by
153 feelings of restlessness, inability to sleep, scriptural passages running through one's mind, alienation from normal surroundings ("A voice kept whispering, 'this is not your home'"), and occasionally visions, all of which events serve as signs to the person that he is indeed converted,
• [869] one of the few chosen by God for salvation. As children are taught from an early age in both school and Sunday school to memorize Biblical passages, it is not surprising that such passages often come to mind easily, and, during a stressful, disorderly time of life may be interpreted as messages from God which promise order and relief. Evangelical services are full of doom, the imminent possibility of unexpected death, and exhortations to convert. Conversion is often traced to a minister's preaching.

"I was like an animal. I didn't care whether God existed. Then my wife died. It was when I saw the coffin that something happened inside. I was converted six months later."

[18] gentle frankness, as there is for reticence.[1] But since
[864] Augustine, orthodox religion, Catholic and Protestant, has
[771] overstressed and misunderstood the folk-lore of 'the Fall'
—originally, it seems, a legend of fertility and fulfilment!
• [869] In part as a result of the teaching of the doctrine of the
[773] 'Fall', there has arisen an attitude to parenthood which falls short of rational understanding and reverence for human life.[2] If fact be the best guard against superstitious fancy, and if sensibility and tact can soften the first shock of adolescence, then the Gael knew wisdom.

121 Returning to the main theme, it is clear that primitive religion and folk-lore alike show misunderstandings of cause and effect, and of the action of 'mind' on 'body' and 'matter'. What are facts to faith may be symbols to science; yet if these symbols prefigure truth, they may
121 outlast the present stage of scientific recognition. Gaelic
771 belief and practice show a recognition of communal as
181 well as individual spirituality; of the depth of consciousness below its upper surface, and its upwelling power; and of the visible world without, in all its beauty, as a gate

[532] [1] Needless to say, Gaelic verse has its moments of coarse freedom like that of any tongue. Of the lively lilts (*puirt-a-beul*) sung when there is no piper or fiddler to play for dancing, most of the words are delightful, but a few are not. A rather 'drinky' dissolute fellow—a small contractor on one of the Isles whose apprenticeship in the cities had not improved his character—once quoted a coarse jingle to me, only to see little amusement at his song and some contempt for its singer. He excused himself by saying, "It's rough . . . it's rough—but it's not dirty"! His excuse sums up the cruder expressions of animal spirits found in Gaelic jingles. One may adapt it as "Sometimes coarse, but rarely or never vicious".

[2] A. Geddes, "The Origin of Sin in Genesis and a Missing Legend", *Hibbert J.* vol. 44, Nos. 1 and 3, 1945-46. Cf. *The Legends of Creation: an Anthropo-Geographical Interpretation of Genesis*, i-iii (with map); *Man*, vol. 45 (104), 1945.

The Churches have given attention to the second chapter of Genesis, at the expense of the first. Gaelic spiritual tradition seems to have been singularly unwarped by such confused mythology, and to have held firmly to the first chapter, in its noble simplicity.

871

871 EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM--degree of development and elaboration of formal education; prevalent types of educational specialization (e.g., schools, tutors, apprenticeship); source of support of teachers and educational institutions (e.g., fees from students, ecclesiastical aid, private gifts and endowments); systematization of education (e.g., local school boards, state educational agencies, voluntary organizations of educational administrators); degree of standardization as to levels, policies, and curricula; primary objectives of formal education (e.g., piety, morality, citizenship, vocational skills; intellectual leadership); diffusion of education (e.g., educational statistics); etc.
See also:

Literacy 212
School buildings 346
Public support of education 698
Reformatories 738
Philanthropic foundations 741
Sunday schools 794

Chapter 5

GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL MARGINALITY

182 Despite the growth of the Harris Tweed industry and the gradual disappearance of some of the techniques and expectations associated with heavy reliance on the land and the sea, an important factor which helps to sustain some of these patterns is the social and geographical marginality of the islanders.

175 When the young men who survived the second world
[729] war returned to the island, most households still had
[231] horses to cultivate the croft, but a few years later
[407] the tractors replaced the horses. The Labor government,
175 which came into power after the war, passed legislation
657 which extended the processes of centralization that had proceeded since the breakdown of the clan system. The National Health Service was established. Free milk
• [871] became available in schools. More scholarships (called "bursaries") became available for further schooling.
[207] Television came in the 1950's. In short, the islander was exposed to a number of new alternatives.

182 To the extent that persons became involved in these possibilities, the island became peripheral or marginal. The island has become more dependent upon central

522 In nation-wide comic strips and jokes, the Highlander
181 plays the role of the clown, the rustic country cousin. The comic strip "Angus Og" portrays a kilted Highlander, aly and canny behind his apparent simplicity, tricking the landlord and searching for the Loch Ness monster. Stories of the lazy, dour crofter abound.[1]

166 When young men go away to the Army or Navy or to
181 work on the mainland, they say that they feel like
175 "foreigners." "Thirty years ago the island was very
166 isolated. It was difficult to get away. There were
182 so few education grants available. I got my teaching
• 871 certificate and wanted to get a post back on the island, but was told there wouldn't be a vacancy for another fifteen years. So I went down to England, and found I had to be at least as good as an Englishman if not better in my job to get ahead."

177 "When I went into the RAF, I had never seen light
365 switches because we used paraffin lamps. An English
354 chap told me to turn the light on, and I didn't know which way meant on or off. That memory still sticks in me."

[1] Even a high official in the Highlands and Islands Development Board tells a joke, that is "presently going round Westminster," of the Spaniard who approached the Highlander and told him of the word manana which he translated as "Don't do today what you can put off till tomorrow," asking if there was a corresponding word in Gaelic. "In Gaelic," replied the Highlander, "we have no word that conveys such a sense of urgency."

464 on the island she had spoken English in school and had
197 not given much thought to which language she was speaking
186 "I suppose it was because the other girls couldn't under-
571 stand us. They always used to mimic us, making noises like they were talking it. It was nice to be able to talk about things and not have anyone else understand, especially when they teased us so much."

197 But on the island itself, the number of persons
178 speaking Gaelic is declining; and the scope of the langu
[192] i.e., the range of situations to which it applies (as reflected in the diversity of vocabulary used), is becomi
[196] more restricted. A psychological experiment in which the
[191] semantic differential was used to study the organization of English and Gaelic vocabulary in the cognitive process of Gaelic speakers suggests that Gaelic speakers are not bilingual but monolingual in particular situations (Maclea
197 1966). Gaelic is the language of hearth, home, family and
191 community. English is the language of education, the business world, and various transactions with the larger
197 society. Most Gaelic speakers spoke only Gaelic when they
• 871 entered school, but were required to speak only English in
191 the classroom. One islander recalls, "The first English
[876] words you learned were 'Sit' and 'Stand.' Those were the days you got strapped if you spoke any Gaelic." Children were addressed by their full English names. One of the

197 One of the
793 richest sources of Gaelic vocabulary now available is
779 the Gaelic Bible, but many villagers, especially the younger ones, complain that they are unable to understand many of the Gaelic words used by the minister in his sermons.

197 Although provision for teaching Gaelic in the schools
• 871 was made in the Education Act of 1918, only within the last ten years have schools incorporated classes in which Gaelic is taught at both primary and secondary levels. Gaelic is taught as a foreign language like French or Latin, rather than used as a medium of instruction, which would require a much larger vocabulary than most teachers possess.

[875] The present schoolmaster in Shawbost differs from past
[551] schoolmasters in that he addresses the children by their Gaelic names,[2] and devises projects intended to encourage a sense of pride in "Celtic culture."

893 The Department of Celtic Studies at the University of
197 Glasgow, which includes in its staff a Lewis poet and
185 several Scottish Nationalists, is described as "progressive." According to an islander who is a student in the Department, "They believe that if Gaelic is to survive as a language, it must be written as it is spoken. At school we were taught to write 'proper' Gaelic, Gaelic that's considered

[2] Persons who come from Gaelic-speaking areas are addressed and referred to by Gaelicised names, such as "Murchadh" rather than "Murdo," and usually these names take the form of patronymics, which may or may not include nicknames (for example, Iain Dhomhnuill Bhain, i.e., John the son of fair Donald).

197 Within the village there are no branches of An Comunn
178 Gaidhealach and few books written in Gaelic. Once a rural
166 family moves to Stornoway, children often refuse to speak
191 Gaelic, even though they understand it, and parents tend to speak only English to their children, believing this will help them "get on." In the next generation, the
• [871] language is lost. Village children attending school in Stornoway often prefer talking to their Gaelic-speaking
[867] roommates in English. A young island woman, married and living in Edinburgh, says she would like her baby son to learn Gaelic but feels that if he had a mixture of the two languages the other children would laugh at him.

197 English is the language of the larger society, the
191 language spoken in school and the language required in most jobs and in dealing with most officials. In Gaelic-
197 speaking areas, the speaking of English connotes high
191 554 status. If an English speaker mispronounces Gaelic words,
626 he is quickly forgiven, praised for trying to learn such
578 a difficult language, and asked why he bothers with a language that "isn't any use anyway." But if a Gaelic speaker makes mistakes in English, he is teased mercilessly.

[551] Many nicknames derive from such mistakes; for example,
"Peter Squeak" got his name by mispronouncing the word
[524] "picturesque." People "win points" by competing with each other in speaking English. "See how good you are in

• 871 Education in the local school has included a great
875 deal of religious instruction; in other words, religious
791 and educational spheres commingle. Because of the
[466] relative prestige which the teaching profession offers to persons from the island, and because the islands are considered "isolated" by most persons looking for jobs (teaching posts on the island include an added sum which is designated as "isolation payment"), most of the island's teachers are themselves islanders. Education
[554] is one method by which one's position in the community is elevated. The high status derived from having advanced education also reflects favorably on the parents and position of the family. But teachers and others who return to the island are expected not to deviate from island norms in important matters, such as fundamentalist religious beliefs; hence teachers tend to perpetuate fundamentalist religious beliefs within the classroom.

871 Formerly the minister visited the school once each
791 year to examine the children on their catechism, thus
793 testing the state of religious instruction in the school.
178 Several years ago this practice was stopped by the education authorities of the County Council, and the minister now gives a sermon in the school about once a month but is not allowed to examine the children. Many ministers are dissatisfied with the arrangement, as they are afraid that

• 871 the children might not receive proper religious
791 instruction.
793
178

"Family worship" is considered an important part
771 of daily life. Prayers should be said before meals
782 and teas, and the head of the household should read
593 passages from the Bible to the assembled members of the household every morning and evening. The practice of
[178] "reading the books" prevails in households headed by
[592] older men, but is less common among families headed by younger men.

794 1. The Clique of the Converted: The second network
632 within the religious sphere is a special religious in-
621 group, the clique of the converted (curamach). This clique constitutes a relatively strongly bounded system which to some extent competes with the township boundary system. Owen (Rees 1960) has noted that as persons become more involved with religion in the Protestant Hebrides, they tend to remove themselves from community life.

Intense involvement with the church sometimes conflicts with township activities since people may attend Communions at times when a fank is planned, leaving the work to be done by others. When elders of the church are present at activities, such as fanks, which are otherwise usually boisterous and full of humor, behavior tends to be "properly" restrained.

HISTORY

* 175 was made in the Crofters (Scotland) Bill of 1961; this had a mixed
657 reception. In general, today, small crofts predominate in most
656 areas. Out of some 18,000 (the number is decreasing annually
423 about 15 per cent exceed 20 acres (see Chapter 5). But size has
429 little to do with the type of land; whether arable or rough grazing
24 In fact, the proportion indicates that some 85 per cent of all crofts
[178] in Scotland, and this applies to Harris and Lewis, cannot be considered as full-time now or as potentially full-time.

EDUCATION

* 175 In general, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland owe their intro-
799 duction to letters to the early Christian missionaries. One of the
• 871 main provisions in the early monastic Church in Ireland and Scotland was for the cultivation of learning and the training of its members in sacred and profane literature. Associated as they were so closely with the common folk on the one hand and the aristocracy on the other, something of this learning and desire for learning rubbed off to advantage on to willing recipients. Literacy
[212] however, has had many ups and downs since the dawning of the Christian era in the Hebrides. Though it is impossible to ascertain to what extent the common folk participated in the knowledge imparted by the early Celtic monasteries, there are many references to a class of cleric called 'scolocs', whose learning was accessible to the poorer classes of the emergent Highland society. The 'scoloc' is still retained in Gaelic as 'sgalag', a farm servant, the poor searcher after knowledge who received education in the monasteries in return for services as labourer on the church lands, and who appears in monastic records as late as the fourteenth century.

* 175 As late as the sixteenth century, however, after the influence of
212 the Church had diminished, the inhabitants were almost wholly illiterate. When the Fife Adventurers came to Lewis in 1598, they brought a schoolmaster with them; though it can be taken that his services were intended for the improvement of the incomers rather than the islesfolk. Old Roderic MacLeod, doughty chief of the MacLeods of Lewis at the time of the Fifers' arrival, was unable to sign his name. Two of his sons, on the other hand, were

Skye

generations and being felt as an obligation to 553
family names, these various practices serve to
sion among a people who share rather few surnames.
w a child who had been named for his parents.
elationship of father and child is formally es- 851
t baptism. As we shall see in the following chapter,
takes little or no part in arranging for the sacra-
spiritual welfare of the children is the father's 593
s is also the disciplinarian, but in the pre-school
pline is lax. Both parents freely indulge the child,
end a great deal of time with him. The belt, an [861]
t, ever-threatened means of punishment, only appears
ild assumes the rights and duties which he will
long as he remains on his parents' croft.
he begins school at five or, in remote townships, 867 462
rights and duties determined by age and sex begin
n perspective. Actually, the child has already
ke a pretense, playfully imitating his or her father
at assuming his role, but the influence of the
y is not marked. A small boy may fetch some peat
e or some water for the dishes. Once he starts
is no longer asked to do these chores. As soon
le to carry a pail he may feed the chickens; now
ds the calves. His first real task is tending the
nging them down from the hill and driving them out
ilking. As time goes on, he learns how to plant
atoes, cut turf, harvest hay and oats, and at last
r sheep.

867 462 A girl also makes an early
while a boy is never seen helping
fore, his duties begin later, a s
make beds and do the cleaning. I
has been left behind by her broth
she is expected to take their pla
event, she will be taught how to
and how to help in all other tas
[567] corn and shearing. She learns at
diverse ways that the primary rol
needs of man, some man, throughou
strong enough to live alone.

Learning the virtues valued
community, as well as the tasks e
boys and girls are indoctrinated
Islander long before they can uni
their object lessons. They are s
division of labor of their parent
almost unaltered status values of
and females to two different, but
activity.

871 155 As they progress in school,
In one way this is inevitable. U
attempt to teach the children any
relate to the life expected of th
there were no agricultural subjec
one travelling teacher of agricul

pretense at assuming her role.
within the house, and, there-
mall girl soon begins to help
f she is an only child, or
ers who have left the Island,
ce on the croft. In any
milk, how to plant a garden,
s of crofting, except cutting
a very early age and in
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by their parents and the
ssential to crofting, both
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the culture relegate males
complimentary, spheres of

conflicts begin to develop.
ntil 1953 there was no
thing that would directly
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ts. Even now, there is but
ture to serve the entire

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868 TRANSMISSION OF SKILLS--acquisition of language; teaching children to walk and swim; techniques for inculcating manual dexterity and technological skills; teaching and learning of economic skills appropriate to each sex; informal instruction in occupational skills; acquisition of artistic skills (e.g., playing of musical instruments); relative importance of imitation, practice, and instruction in the transmission of skills; etc. See also:

Language 19
Fine arts 53
Division of labor by sex 462
Occupational specialization 463
Locomotion 481
Motor habits 516
Athletic sports 526
Military training 702
Age at walking and talking 856
Formal vocational education 874

852 of water on the child's forehead, successively invoking wisdom, peace and purity. Lay baptism, recognised by Greek, Latin, Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches, may be partly of pre-Christian communal origin. It retained special significance in isolated communities. Where a clergyman might come within eight days, a temporary name was given at birth: 'Tonsured of the Lord' (*Maol-domhnuich*) if a male child, and Gertrude (*Griadach*) if a female. Her immediate duties over after a safe delivery, the midwife forthwith became the celebrant or (as it were) lay priestess, and her neighbourly helpers, her acolytes. As the midwife intoned her part they gave the responses. "By the Book itself," said a reiter in Uist, for many years a skilled midwife, "ear has never heard music more beautiful than the music of the watching women when they are consecrating the seed of man and committing him to the great God of life." Those who care to ponder the thoughts then spoken may believe her word. (*Carmina*, Nos. 50 and 217-219.)

86 Initiation grew as understanding dawned and the babe passed on in childhood to be an older helper. Gaelic child-lore gives many a stimulus to an infant's intelligent apprehension of life about him, and to poetic appreciation. These may lead by natural steps to deeper things in adolescence. Homely teaching which led to a first communion, remained an intimate part of life in home and township.

814 From many parts of the Highlands and Isles, Car-
•869 michael and his friends gathered variants of verse prayers
538 invoking graces in the young: Invocations of the Graces,
869 *Orachan Buadha* (*Buadh*, victory, achievement or grace; Nos. 3 and 278-281). In Tiree, of which the thoughtful minister had sent a fragment of verses to Carmichael,

814 the invocation was addressed to boys and girls, in Uist to
•869 youths and maidens. The loveliest version of all had been
538 spoken by an old, evicted woman and learned from her by
869 a lad who, as a poor crofter in old age, passed it down for record, for ever. Of this invocation Carmichael wrote, "Probably it was composed to a maiden on her marriage. The phrase '*eala dhonn*', brown swan, would indicate that the girl was young—not yet a white swan", a tender and delicate recognition of youth still to attain perfection.

869 Not a thought jars, each stanza building up the rising move-
538 ment of the whole. In the hundred lines of this poem, metre and assonance are regular except where growing intensity creates new rhythm and design; and the last vowel-rhyme of each stanza leads on to those of the next one, to form an unbroken ascent to the climax.[1]

869 The Invocation begins, "I bathe thy palms. . . . And
539 I place the nine pure choice graces in thy fair fond face.
The grace of form . . . of fortune . . . of goodness . . .
869 of wisdom . . . of charity . . . of choice maidenliness

[114]

[1] Certain critics, struck with the variety of the poem but missing its thought-sequence and unity of form, took Carmichael's note of 'many fragments' to imply that the poem was a composite version, piously restored by the editor—in spite of his statement that it was taken down from a single reciter (one Duncan Maclellan). Carmichael's spiritual power of evoking treasures from the reciters was inseparable from his utter honesty. And the publication, forty years later, of four Invocations and of scores of fragments (cf. No. 277) has added (to the internal evidence cited) further proof that the poem was no editorial assemblage. Without doubt, the poem has grown from the inspired meditation of generations of poet-worshippers in a hundred glens and isles. But the English reader should realise what the Gaelic ear may hear: this poem forms an organic unity; though many petalled it is a single flower. Readers familiar with medieval or earlier chants know that the enumeration of attributes is a feature common to all, whether in Church Latin or other tongues, as in the English medieval hymn beginning, "God in my head, and in my understanding". In Gaelic, however, the richness and freedom of the vowel-pattern and rhythms carries the thought onward, wave on wave to its climax. A foremost poet of France, Pierre Emmanuel, to whom I introduced this poem, exclaimed, "This is a Christian Song of Songs!"

869 . . . of whole-souled loveliness . . . of winning speech."
539 Then, after the tender image of the brown swan and fare-
867 well on departure to a new home, comes a string of exquisite comparisons: to shade and shelter in need, to safety of isle and strength of fortress, to gift of health for the ailing. Each grace, each image, expresses not simply individual qualities but relationships and service for others. After eight choice lines in praise of the girl's womanly gifts—from "Thine is the faith of Mary", through chosen attributes of Bride, the Fairy Woman, Penelope, Emir, Darthula and Maeve, to "the charm of the sweet singer (*Binnebheul*)"—the poem, in Gaelic that is sonorous and succinct, passes beyond the sphere of comparison with things or even personal qualities. It acclaims her joyous girlhood as one with the powers of life-giving, life-abundant things, and as a reflection of the Divine:

> Thou'rt the joy in every delight,
> Thou the sunbeam's radiant light;
> Thou'rt the gate of a welcoming chief,
> Thou the clearest star to lead;
> Thou'rt the step of the deer on a height,
> Thou the pace of a steed ere the fight;
> Thou'rt the calm of a gliding swan;
> of longings thou'rt the loveliness.
>
> The lovely likeness of the Lord
> Is in thy pure face,
> The loveliest form
> Was ere on earth.[1]

538 192 [1] Poetic form is integral to the conception; hence this translation in verse. But alternatives to Carmichael's choice of English prose may complement his own, in bringing out the meaning. Line 1, 'joy', *sonas*—and a 'delightful or wonderful thing', *ni éibhinn*; l. 3, *dorus*, doorway; l. 4, *iùl*, guidance, land-mark, way; l. 6, *steud*, steed, would imply, in *blàr*, 'a field' of battle, and, by contrast, l. 7, *sèimh eal*, calm (rather than 'grace') of a floating, swimming swan; l. 8, *rùn*, secret inclination, longing, and hence too, a person beloved; ll. 9, 11, *cruth*, form, shapeliness (and by implication),

539 And so, after every good wish for days, years and life,
867 the Invocation closes: "Peter has come and Paul" . . .
869 the Disciples and the Archangels. . . . Jesus the mild and the Spirit of guidance have come,

> And the King of kings has come on the helm,
> To bestow on thee their affection and their love,
> *A bhaireadh duit-se graidh us ruin.*

The ideal of choice maidenliness which this Invocation portrays, culminates in the thought of the loveliness that
867 was Christ. It rises, too, to stirring virility: "the island
539 at sea, the fortress on land", or "the step of the steed on the plain". Yet when all is said, it is a womanly image which prevails: after the fortress comes the well in the desert, and after the charger's step, the gracious calm of a floating swan. It is all the more significant that the Invocation was addressed both 'to boys and girls' in one isle, and 'to youths and maidens' in another. Not simply was boyhood taught to honour girlhood: ideal womanhood was invoked to raise manhood itself to fullness.

885 Upon marriage, the husband replaced the maiden's
292 snood or *stiom* that bound her uncovered hair by the wifely
585 kerchief, *am breid*. Folded diagonally, its three-cornered shape came to symbolise the Trinity, in benediction on
539 the bride's head.[1] A poem to a bride, "now beginning her dual course", commences, "A thousand hails to thee

538 192 likeness. The short second stanza given stands out alone: the poem, having attained its climax by a rhythm sustaining the upward, sonorous movement, is hushed by its few simple words. In *From the Hebrides*, Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser rearranged one or two of these lovely stanzas, as one of her 'lyrics with refrain'. *Cf.* A. Geddes, *The Songs of Craig and Ben*, vol. ii, 1955.

[1] The kertch is spoken of in many songs, in which a lover hopes to place it on his young love's head, or a husband praises its whiteness as worn by his wife. When first I knew the Lews, the kertch was still commonly worn under the more recent Lowland mutch, and either framed a young face, or an
198 old one, charmingly. The two have not quite vanished, though memories of what the kertch once symbolised are hard to find.

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Work, and Practical Navigation and Seamanship would be leading features.' 175* 874

For many years afterwards technical education was available only on a voluntary evening-class basis. For instance, in September 1920 the Lewis School Management Committee offered evening classes in motor driving and maintenance, mathematics, dynamics, English, arithmetic and handwork in wood and metal. They were well supported and classes continued at sporadic intervals from that time. The plans for the present Lews Castle Technical College were passed in May 1948, after a lot of argument. Today the college has proved its worth; it is a centre of technical education in navigation and seamanship, weaving and textiles, building, engineering, and other pursuits important to the people of the Outer Isles. 871 •

In 1973 the Nicolson Institute received the Freedom of the Burgh of Stornoway, in recognition of the school's centenary which fell in that year. The event strengthened the 'town and town' relationship which has always existed between the Burgh and the School, even more so today when the pupils participate in much of the social and cultural activity in the town. 871

STORNOWAY

366 632 747 429 going concern to a trust which was set up to receive the gift and whose first object is to assist aged and infirm residents in the burgh. In effect, all profits earned by the shop are passed to the trust for distribution to those in need.

Almost half the houses in Stornoway were built by the local 362 632 authority. The Town Council has never been afraid of rooting out unfit houses. By 1937, under the 1930 Slum Clearance Act, * [175] one person in four in the town lived in a council house. The housing schemes, though large, have still that element of community with personality, something often lacking in newly developed 362 427 632 areas of other towns and cities. The Council also supports private housing by taking up sites, clearing and servicing them and then feuing them to private owners. The rents policy is to have no housing deficit beyond the statutory rate contribution (which works out at between £6,000 and £7,000 per annum). The Council's tenants co-operate with rent collection to a unique degree: collection figures are something like 99 per cent and on occasion 100 362 178 162 161 632 per cent. A vigorous housing policy is important to the town, as its population is now over 5,300 and still growing, mainly at the expense of the rural areas. Development plans at present envisage a 1981 population of about 9,100 persons within the parish boundary and including the burgh.

632 369 Stornoway is an island town and is an island's town: its rhythms of life are those of the island, regular and timed by nature, but with an added syncopation—the result of an urban 632 197 outlook. In this context, Gaelic is the language, though English is the lingua franca. Deeper still in the methods used for communication is a kind of patois based on Gaelicised English, Anglicised Gaelic, with some other words that defy investigation into their origin. Many words find their natural forebears in Scots, American and the maritime tongues of Europe, which might be expected in view of Stornoway's importance as a sea-port of significance a century or two ago. The Stornoway language, as spoken by true-born natives, recognisable anywhere by another native, reflects the life of the cosmopolitan, sea-faring people.

632 Apart from its industrial opportunities, Stornoway has many • 871 of the more sophisticated urban facilities that people everywhere [369] seem to crave, particularly with regard to education. The senior

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secondary school, the 'Nicolson', has had since its inception a formidable academic record Back in 1907 work from the school was included in the educational section of an International Exhibition held in Christchurch, New Zealand: this was appropriate because emigrants from the west Highlands, notably from Harris and Lewis, were among the pioneers of New Zealand education a century ago. In 1957 new extensions were opened, costing about £300,000 and making the school the largest of its kind in the Highlands area. It is co-educational, its primary and junior secondary departments taking only Stornoway children and its senior secondary department catering for those from both Stornoway and rural Lewis. Many board out in the town during the week, returning home at weekends.

In providing social facilities, the town has placed itself in the position of an agent for those things deemed necessary for life, and is a middle-ground between the rural repression of the Free Church and the city abandon of the mainland, with resulting dilemma. The public houses, the cinema, youth clubs, dances and juke boxes are all in direct opposition to the preaching of the Free Church. The result is tension between the town's desire to act as a host for tourists and its wish to fulfil its duty on a religious plane; to instance this, the Stornoway Sabbath is less strict than the Lewis Sabbath. In keeping with the rest of Lewis, social standards are extremely high. Home is the centre of life, as it always was; the sense of community and communal responsibility is there. Divorce is practically unheard of, and the incidence of crime, as such, is extremely low.

HARRIS'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

The small shop stocks essential household items, and extensive use is made of mail-order. A few years ago a telephone to the mainland was supplied, much valued in emergencies.

Scarp in fact has a small place of its own in the history of communications: on 28 July 1934 one of three British rocket-mail experiments (for which special stamps were printed) was held there. The inventor of the rocket, Herr Zucker, was later to become prominent in V-rocket work during the second German war. Herr Zucker personally conducted the firings. His rocket, a large cylinder with pointed nose, something like a heavy shell, was 3 ft long and weighed 30 lb, with capacity for several thousand letters. The motive force was ordinary high explosive contained in a large cartridge about 18 in long; the device was designed to burn with a series of rapid explosions and produce a flight speed of 1,000 mph. The firing apparatus was a flimsy wooden structure providing a runway rising at an angle from the ground, an elastic sling giving the rocket an initial impulse. The first rocket was fired on Scarp, to the mainland: it exploded prematurely and most of the mail was damaged. The postmaster applied to the backs of the damaged covers a three-line cachet in violet: 'Damaged by first explosion at Scarp—Harris.' In order that this mail should be actually flown, it was re-transmitted by the second firing made in the opposite direction, Harris—Scarp. The whole experiment was deemed a failure, however. The route taken by the mail addressed to Kirkwall was unique; rocket, ferryboat, motorcar, mail steamer, railway train, and finally by Highland Airways to Kirkwall.

Depopulation in Scarp was encouraged by the lack of employment prospects, and centralised education, of the type which has already played havoc with remote rural communities elsewhere, is felt to be a black cloud darkening the future. Much the same problem faces Scalpay Island, mentioned later. Children are removed from their home environments for higher secondary education at a central school: for Harris children this is at Portree, Skye. Many islanders argue that the scheme tends to destroy the family unit, urbanising the children so that they become unsuited to, and with no inclination for, rural life. Some sympathy must be felt for the education authorities, of course, as the pro-

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erate as to have drawn up a bond, unaided and with a re-
able degree of legal precision.

was not until Lewis belonged to the Seaforth family that
ning in the nature of education generally came the way of
ommon folk of the island. John Morison, a native of Lewis,
wrote about 1680, says:

> Onlie for the tyme the countris is possessed and saglie governed
> the Earle of Seaforth, by whose industrious care and benevo-
> nce the people, formerly inclined to rudeness and barbarity, are
> duced to civilitie, much understanding and knowledge by the
> urishing schooll planted and maintained by the said Earle all
> e tyme in the toun of Stornoway. And not onlie the people of
> e Lews, but also those of the nixt adjacent Isles. The gentlemens
> ns and daughters are bred in that schooll to the great good and
> mfort of that people; so that there are few families but at least
> e maister can read and write: I do remember in my own
> me that there was not three in all the countrie that knew A. b.
> A Bible.

rtin Martin mentions this Stornoway school as teaching both
n and English. During the eighteenth century a school for
hing both these subjects with writing and arithmetic was
blished.

Martin also indicates that it was never considered necessary
desirable to educate girls, whether they were common folk or
ghters of the upper classes, unless they were daughters of
efs and next in line to succeed their father, there being no male
e before them. Towards the close of the eighteenth century,
orts were made to educate the children of the island. Paro-
al schools had by that time been established; the Society in
otland for Propagating Christian Knowledge and the Gaelic
hool Society supported several. Clergymen of the period, how-
r, claimed that the advantages of education were not appreci-
d; as a consequence, the schools were not well attended.

The SSPCK had its origins in 1701, when a few private gentle-
n met in Edinburgh and resolved to establish schools in the
ghlands and Islands, and to appeal to the public for subscrip-
ns for the purpose. They had a fitful beginning, but Queen
ne encouraged the scheme by royal proclamation and sub-

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scriptions flowed in. In 1709 the Queen granted Letters Patent under the Great Seal for erecting certain of the subscribers into a corporation. Thus did the SSPCK come into being, with an initial capital fund of £1,000. Its progress was rapid. In 1711, it supported twelve schools; in 1795, 323 schools. In addition to paying the teachers' salaries, the Society supplied the children with school books, established public libraries in various parishes, and defrayed the expenses of printing Gaelic Bibles and other books.

Harris here enters in an interesting sideline. In the records of the Presbytery of Mull, 1730, it is reported that 'Mr M'Aula . . . carried off the library to Harris, because he was not paid for his expenses in bringing them [the books of the Society] to Coll.' This MacAulay was the great-grandfather of the English man of letters, Lord MacAulay.

The Gaelic School Society was founded in 1811 and existed until 1892. It supported a large number of schools, as the desire for education had exceeded the capacity of the SSPCK. In 1796 there were two schools and a spinning school in the parish of Stornoway. The minister of Barvas, writing in that year, says that there had not been a parochial school in that parish for many years, but that there was a Society school at Ness, attended by about twenty pupils, instead of treble that number had all the children been made to attend. The minister of Uig stated that three spinning schools were established there by Lady Seaforth, but he does not refer to ordinary schools in his parish at that time. According to the minister of Lochs, a parochial school was built there in 1795, and a Society school some three years earlier.

By the middle of the nineteenth century matters had improved considerably, though there were still complaints that education was not appreciated. In fact, education tended to be discouraged for a very practical reason. Back in 1811 an observer in the island stated in his report that the great mass of the Lewis people would not send their children to school. 'When reproached on this head they answer "If we give them education, they will leave us."' Seventy-two years later (1883), the Napier Commission was told that 'Sir James (Matheson) supported and contributed to seventeen schools in the Island, many of which he built with teachers'

houses prior to 1854. Monthly returns of attendance were sent to my office, and parents who did not keep their children at school were dealt with, but in many cases to no avail, as they often told me they did not want to give their children wings to leave them.'

In 1833 there were thirteen schools in the parish of Stornoway, according to the *New Statistical Account*, 1840-46, which records that there were 586 children between the ages of six and fifteen years, and 1,265 persons above the age of fifteen in the parish who could not read. Barvas had three schools in 1836; Uig had five in 1833. In Lochs, in 1833 a parish school had just been erected, and four schools were maintained by the Gaelic School Society; yet out of a parish population of 3,067, only 12 could write. After the Disruption of 1843, the Free Church established a large number of schools throughout the island. And soon after Sir James Matheson took over the island he built schools in those districts not catered for by other agencies.

In 1865, the Government began to prepare for the Education Act of 1872, and sent Sheriff-Substitute Nicolson to the island to investigate the state of education there. At the time of his visit there were forty-seven schools, supported by as many as nine different agencies, persons, or institutions. The number of pupils on the rolls was 3,332, with 2,647 in actual attendance. Nicolson computed that there were some 2,500 children on the island who did not normally attend school, and who should have done. A large number of schools were little more than thatched houses. Fifteen were good; fourteen tolerable; and eighteen bad or inadequate. In the third group he classes 'those that cannot by any standard of comfort or fitness above that of troglodyte, be considered suitable for having the work of education carried on in them, or any work indeed, to which the prevalence of smoke and moisture are infavourable.' Of the children who attended these schools, 79 per cent received tuition in the Scriptures; 85 per cent were taught to read; 39 per cent were taught writing; 32 per cent were taught arithmetic; and 16 per cent taught needlework.

The Education Act of 1872 put an end to the old parochial system, and virtually to other agencies which it found at work. The schools on the island were brought into line with the re-

mainder of Scotland where, under the school boards, education became both free and compulsory.

In Lewis the school of real significance to the island was, and still it, the Nicolson Institute, founded by Alexander Morison Nicolson and opened in February 1873, supported by bequests from him and his brothers. Nicolson's grandfather was the founder of the Lewis fish-curing trade, and was also shipowner and farmer. Alexander was the fifth of six sons and was educated in Stornoway parish school and in Glasgow High School. He served an apprenticeship as an engineer with Thomson of Clydebank. Later he entered the service of the Chinese Government and established himself with a partner of a shipbuilding and foundry business in Shanghai. In 1865, in his thirty-third year, he was killed in a boiler explosion in one of his new ships going a trial run. His ideal of establishing a school in Stornoway was subscribed to by his brothers who were a widespread family: Yorkshire, Mississippi, Western Australia, Tighnabruaich (Scotland) and South Africa.

The first headmaster of the school received £82 per annum, plus the school fees, which ranged from 2s 6d per quarter in the lowest classes to 5s in the highest. The fees covered reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English, history and English grammar and composition; when Latin, Greek, French and mathematics were taught, an additional shilling was charged for each subject. But the teacher was always bound to teach gratuitiously twenty pupils selected by the Nicolson Trustees. In 1888, the school was handed over to the school board. In 1901, by a Decree of the Court of Session, its name, previously the Nicolson Public School, was changed to the Nicolson Institute. In 1898, the first boys went straight from the Institute to university, a trend that has not ceased since (see Chapter 8).

As far back as the turn of this century a recommendation was made for the provision of technical education on the island. A report on the subject of Higher Education in Lewis (1900) stated: 'Regarding the practical or scientific aspect of education . . . there is a clamant need of a central Technical School in Lewis . . . the local resources are quite inadequate for the establishment of such a school, or its maintenance, on an effective basis. Such popular technical instruction as Household Economy, Wood and Iron

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vision of adequate educational facilities in remote spots becomes increasingly difficult.

In its time Scarp has contributed more per head of population to the professions than has any other community of similar size. The last of the native Scarp population left the island in November 1971 : two families totalling seven people. The island has now attracted the attentions of a hippie community.

Scalpay

Scalpay Island, on the east side of Harris, was formerly occupied by two or three tacksmen in succession before being 'crofted out'. About 1843 the Harris factor settled twenty crofting families who managed to make a fair living there, but five years later another twenty families were added; some had been evicted from the island of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris. This led to some subdivision of the available land. The 1861 population was 388, but the figure rose to a peak of 624 in 1921; in 1951 it had declined to 541. It is now in the region of 450.

Island Scalpay is in fact one of the few places in the Highlands and Islands area in which the normal trends associated with remote regions are operating in reverse. The island despite its smallness—it is a mere 3 miles long and 1½ miles across—supports a thriving and dynamic community and is the envy of its neighbours. Scalpay is retaining its young folk; and it boasts some of the finest homes in the Hebrides. From the agricultural point of view it is not greatly different from other islands in the Hebrides. Its forty crofts produce a good crop of oats; but less than 20 acres of the land are re-seeded.

The land being as poor as it is, the men of Scalpay have turned their faces to the sea—for a living, not for emigration. Scalpay has the largest number of full-time fishermen and a total of thirty-three boats, twelve of which are ringnetters of over 40 ft. Native enterprise is also shown in the ship-owning firm whose vessels carry freight and passengers to many parts of Scotland and on occasion to the Continent. A Harbour Association was formed on the island in 1966 to work for local amenities for fishermen and

2: Thompson H-4.5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
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the community generally—in particular for a landing stage in the North Harbour. The lighthouse at Eilean Glas, Scalpay, was in fact erected as long ago as 1788; for a long time it was the only lighthouse in the Western Isles. In 1792 it was described as 'one of great utility to the numerous shipping that frequent this channel [between Skye and the Long Island] on their voyages to and from the Baltic'.

The independence of the islanders again appears in their attitude to the education facilities provided for their children. In 1949 Scalpay parents staged a school strike in protest against the delay in the construction of a road to the school. At present the island has a junior secondary school but in 1966 the Inverness-shire County Council Education Committee proposed the transfer of the island pupils to the school at Tarbert; this would mean each child rising early in the morning to face a trip across Scalpay Sound and then a road journey to Tarbert. The inevitable protests against this proposal were rooted in its deeper implications. The school roll on Scalpay (70 pupils) has maintained a remarkable level of continuity over the years, reflecting the general prosperity of the island. Forced attendance at a central educational facility, the islanders maintain, will introduce an unsettling urban element into their children's adult views.

The smaller islands

To the west of Scalpay, in East Loch Tarbert, is the one-square-mile island of Scotosay. Its population was 14 in 1861, none in 1881, 18 in 1891, 15 in 1901, and 20 in 1911. In 1921 7 males and 12 females lived there, but none permanently since.

On the west of the Harris mainland is a high rocky island, four miles by one, called Taransay. In 1549 Dean Monro described it as being 'well inhabit and manurit', a place where people delved with spades, and with good barley and corn, and fishing. There are two old chapels and a burying ground on the island. The population of Taransay has declined to a handful through the years; its peak was 76 in 1911.

The Sound of Harris is 'a chaos of rocks and islands', so numerous that they cannot easily be counted. Some are mere pinpoints of rock; others once supported small populations. Nearest to the

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Nearest to the
361 southern shore of Harris is the verdant arable island of Ensay,
162 two miles in circumference. The peak population was 15 in 1861,
*175 but in 1951 and 1961 there were two men (seasonal shepherds).
[131] Just south of Ensay is Killegray, two miles long. The south end was uncultivated, though a good source of peat; five people lived on Killegray in 1861, 3 in 1911 and 1921, 5 in 1931 and none in 1951. An 1865 report mentions that there was only one house on the island, so the population must have been one family only.

[131] Four to five miles west of Killegray is a low-lying, fertile island of about four miles by 1½. This is Bernera Harris which, though lying nearer to North Uist, is included in the civil parish of Harris. It still carries a fairly large population. Until the early eighteenth century it was occupied by a tacksman at one end and a community of crofters at the other. Later there was an influx of people evicted from Pabbay and the mainland of Harris. Some clearing of families from Bernera itself took place. In 1861 the population of Bernera was 315; it rose to 524 in 1901. Three schools were open
• [871] on the island in 1865: an SSPCK school, a Gaelic School Society school, and a 'female industrial school' supported by the SSPCK and 'taught by a venerable Highland lady in receipt of a salary of £8 per annum'. The school was housed in, to quote an 1865 report, 'the oldest dwelling in the Long Island, and was at one time inhabited by persons of distinction. In the outer wall is a marble slab bearing this inscription: "Hic Natus est/Illustris Ille/Normannus MacLeod/De Bernera/Eques Auratus." (Here was born that famous man, Norman MacLeod of Berneray, a distinguished knight.) This illustrious personage and his brother, Sir Roderick of Talisker, were both knighted by Charles II for distinguished services . . . A grandson of Sir Norman became known in the annals of the Bench as Lord Bannatyne.'

Three miles north-west of Bernera is Pabbay, also in the parish of Harris. At one time Pabbay was a rich green island, the 'granary of Harris', and supported a considerable population. Early last century it was inhabited by 26 families (about 100 people), who lived in comparative comfort, and by 1841 the population was 338. But Pabbay was cleared of its people. Some emigrated to Australia, some went to other places nearby, such as Scalpay, Bernera and the Bays area of Harris. In 1858 only a

184 verses would ring false to them! Before 1939, two-fifths
241 of the rural pupils of most non-crofting counties came or
361 went in the school year—most of them the children of
166 farm servants. Their schooling suffered, and their teachers might be reduced to despair; indeed it is to
[182] educationists, rather than to agriculturists, that we owe a survey of these facts. When they leave home to be 'hired',
• [871] the young folk learn to fend for themselves but may suffer in the learning: stability of character and endurance in
[155] attachment are hard to form.

It would be difficult to overstress the tragedy of the long-continued break-up of rural communities in the Lowlands. From the later years of the English invasions, as
175 when Major wrote with his knowledge of Scotland in 1500,
178 this break-up continued through the early, largely unre-
241 corded phases of the agricultural revolution, down to the
361 later phases from 1750 or 1800 to the present day. No
166 one who has worked with fellow-servants on Scots farms will under-estimate their sterling qualities. But the break-
155 up, the tragedy, happened. It was boldly sketched by the
[114] Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston (to 1929) and verified by Miss I. F. Grant (1924 onward). Beginning from intimate study of well recorded and surviving ways in the Highlands and the Hebrides, Miss Grant realised the significance of earlier Lowland life in the farm-hamlet or ferm-toun, as Lowlanders themselves could hardly have done. Comprehension of this break-up of community brings out the value of the enduring elements of communal life still recorded, remembered and surviving in the 'Outermost' Hebrides, at the core of 'the North and West'.[1]

[1] Ideas outlined in this section are developed in A. Geddes (1938–54). Detailed references will be found in the Bibliography.

827 Islanders themselves sometimes talk of a lowered stamina and poorer health today than in the past. In-
178 breeding is widely held to account for this. Even if health
582 be really poorer, this explanation is untenable, since marriage outside the village has greatly increased in the
166 last century. Everywhere there is movement along the roads; a school placed half-way between two villages
• [871] fosters early acquaintance; immigrants trickle in from the mainland, and emigrants occasionally marry beyond the Island. Moreover, the people of certain villages were transplanted in large numbers eighty years ago, as from
143 Valtos, Uig, northward to Shawbost. In any case, in-breeding itself does not produce degeneration; for though it may "fix" or bring out harmful tendencies where there is already some poor or dangerous strain, it can also fix good characteristics in a healthy population.[1]

178 All these changes were hastened and reinforced by two
177 new, revolutionary means. First, the physical mobility suddenly brought to an area with no railway by the motor-
166 car, van and light lorry-bus; then, towards the end of the inter-war years, the penetration of the Gaelic-speaking home by the ceaseless voices of broadcasting.

[113] [1] J. A. Thomson and P. Geddes, *Life: Outlines of General Biology*, 1931, vol. i, p. 473.

175 did another Zacharias, closer than Thomas to the Lewis
554 tree, who worked nobly with Wilberforce for the emanci-
614 pation of the slaves.[1] Still another connection was a
621 Canadian emigrant, grandfather of the late T. B. Macaulay,
[668] LL.D. Alexander Mackenzie, the explorer of the Mackenzie River, was a descendant of Lewis tacksmen. MacIvers and Morisons also distinguished themselves.
[178] But the sons and daughters of crofters had to await the provision of education in English before they could rise
• [871] in trade, learning or war; hence few Lewismen of the greatest Lewis name, MacLeod, achieved eminence until the twentieth century.

175 As for the peasantry, the interposition of a new or
554 enlarged class of tenantry between themselves and the
565 superior must have meant that they had to labour on the
427 tacksman's home farm, and no doubt pay more in produce or cash. Hence the Gaelic saying that if the position of the small (joint) tenants was bad, that of the subtenants was worse, "the Evil One itself". Following the long fight with the Fife Adventurers, hardship may have been greatest where mainland tacksmen were placed above the joint tenants; but even under MacAulays and MacIvers rents may have been raised and some of the joint freedom lost which was still enjoyed in Ness. Whatever adjustments had been made in an earlier period had to be re-made with the beginning of Seaforth's new order.

In the following generations, contradictory accounts of lairds, factors and tacksmen are given by contemporary observers. Certain of these insisted that, given the poverty of the lands as a whole, the chiefs and landlords, factors and tacksmen, were the saviours of their people. Yet even among those who supported authority in general, there was

[113] [1] Charles Booth, *Zachary Macaulay*, 1934.

175 Such are the mingled traditions of the Highland
701 regiments which served in so many wars, for right or for wrong. Of all the desperate alternatives before the Gael
[614] —famine at home, semi-slavery in the factory towns, death-stricken sea voyages, pioneering in the forested hills of Eastern North America, or war, it was this last which offered the men not only the trappings and glamour of clanship but continuing fellowship. In the regiment a Gael was among friends. Modern civilisation offered him no other life promising social continuity and the hope of a return to croft and township, "if death should spare him".

175 It would be wrong to suggest that only the gentry could
701 rise to command, for as English and literacy were acquired,
565 the sons of small tenants received commissions. British
554 military discipline has too often driven a breach between the men and the non-commissioned officers, spoiling the
[103] latter's fitness for higher leadership. But among Highlanders "the bond of faith and affection" led naturally to commissioned rank. For generations, historic precedent
[178] was carried on in living tradition.[1] Given education, the sons of Island crofters have risen to command on land and
• [871] sea; but education came late.

CONCLUSION

175 Thus in the 'little commonwealths' of the farm-hamlets
621 grouped within the township, personal right and equal
631 shares were balanced by common duty, summed up in the principle of duty-right or service. In one can only cite
577 examples. For instance, descendants of his neighbours in Strath Spey told
614 me that my paternal grandfather, as a penniless lad speaking Gaelic and English (in which he was literate), enlisted in the Black Watch about 1829. He was known as a N.C.O. for his power of quiet, reasoning discipline. He thrice refused the offer of a commission, which was then given to others, of whom more than one rose to high command in the battalion.

[1] The tradition of leadership calls for respect, but it

121 to the world within. Above all, harmony of relations, at
771 every stage of life, in man and woman, was felt to pre-
181 figure relations with the Divine. The religious poetry of which the Gael were the creators and heirs, promoted courage and calm. True, its very power could lead to superstitious respect for mere forms of words, debased as 'magical' charms. Such misuse was 'superstitious', being false in itself and falling short of the clearest thought, the highest aspiration, of the time and the community. Worse still, use with evil intent could concentrate ill-will and evoke mutual fears. Yet at its best, thought was clearer, less confused, than is commonly imagined. To the aspiration and attainment of the Gael—in congregation or solitude, in meditation or labour, in love and faith or in works—the fragments of their oral heritage bear witness.

(c) LITERACY AND EVANGELISM: 'THE MEN' AND THE DISRUPTION

175 From before 1680 "a school for the gentlemen's sons
178 and daughters" was open in Stornoway. Latin and
English were taught, and a century later even Greek had
• 871 been added, as recorded by W. J. Gibson, for many years Rector of Stornoway's high school, the Nicolson Institute, in his *Education in Scotland*, 1912 (chap. v). Particularly towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Gaelic School Society and other bodies, like the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, sent out schoolmasters to teach the reading of the Scriptures. Industrial schools were set up at the same time by Lady Seaforth, to teach spinning
[671] by the wheel, replacing the slow distaff. It was not till nearly a century later that teaching of English was widely taken advantage of—partly by the compulsion of the

178 Education Act of 1872, for the people "did not want to give their children wings to leave them".
• 871 The reading of Gaelic progressed fairly rapidly after
[671] 1800, in order that the Bible might be read. By 1833 something like one in three or four of the population, or more than half of the younger people, could read Gaelic. The Hon. Mrs. Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth, it seems, had a 'warm sympathy' both with teaching to read the
175 Scriptures and with evangelical preaching. The coming
114 to Lewis in 1824 of the first evangelical minister, the Rev.
793 Alexander MacLeod, an Assynt man, is described in his memoir in a striking volume, *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands*, edited by J. Greig (1877).

175 "At the distance of more than half a century it is not
771 easy to form a conception of the religious and moral
condition of Lewis previous to the year 1824. The present
793 writer has heard a still living minister of the Free Church, who is a native of Uig, declare publicly that only two or three copies of the Bible could be found within the wide extent of the parish, and that he himself travelled a journey in search of a copy of the blessed book, and all in vain. . . . The densest intellectual and spiritual darkness held universal sway. Notwithstanding the pleasing features that characterise Highlanders, even in their most primitive condition, this state of things could not fail to be attended with baleful fruits. Despite their constitutional warmth of heart and loyalty of nature, unbending fidelity to what they esteemed to be honour, and their unbounded kindness and hospitality, many gross vices were found commingling in the characters and lives of the Lewis people. For, however strange it may appear, at the first prayer-meeting

[1] Quotations to this effect, dating from the *Old Statistical Account* until 1883, are given in the Brand Report of 1902.

178 and savings were sent by emigrants who remained faithful
433 to parents and home.
167 If it be asked why most of the people kept to their Island home in spite of its poverty and earned so little
175 away from it, one answer must be that their native tongue formed a barrier encircling them as a community at home
178 and cutting them off from the rest of the nation. Seventy-
197 five years ago the new Education Acts were not yet in full operation. Comparing the relative well-being in the
[671] Shetlands with the extreme poverty in the Hebrides at that
• [871] time, a northern agriculturist wrote that in Scotland, only in the Hebrides "is the food obtained by the peasant
[511] occasionally so scanty" as to be unable "to maintain a
[184] labouring man in vigorous health". Inquiring why there should be so great a difference between the Shetlanders
175 and the Hebrideans, living in similar, distant isles, he
178 wrote, "We think the answer may be given in one word—
197 *language*. . . . The population of the Hebrides cling to their ancient Gaelic with consequences most disastrous to
182 themselves. . . . It handicaps them in the race for life . . . is a hindrance in the cities and a check to the emigration of both sexes to those world-wide regions where all who speak the English tongue find themselves at home."[1] He concurred with the Census Report of 1871, which stated: "The Gaelic language may be what it likes, both as to antiquity and beauty, but it decidedly stands in the way of the civilisation of the natives making use of it, and shuts them out from the paths open to their fellow-countrymen who speak the English tongue". The Report concludes: "It ought therefore to cease being taught in all our national schools. We are one people and we ought to have but one

[1] James Mollison, in the Highland and Agricultural Society's *Report on the Present State of the Agriculture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878), pp. 136-38.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

Religion has done more to keep the Gaelic language 771
ive than any of the numerous outside agencies dedicated 191
the preservation of the language, such as An Comunn 186
idhealach, a national organization which sponsors a series 575
local, regional, and national programs in an attempt to
intain and stimulate an interest in the Highlands and their
ngs and stories. Except in Portree and at Dunvegan, church 191
rvices are mostly conducted in Gaelic. The newcomer who 774
shes to attend church services in the crofting areas, and
had better, must either learn Gaelic or be content with
e few words the minister may speak in English for his
nefit if the minister is aware of the presence of someone
o does not "have the Gaelic." Some might feel that this
rude since most Skyemen are bi-lingual, but the crofter
ens to think quicker in his own tongue. Many crofters' 871
ildren learn English only when they begin to attend school
pick it up from an older sibling who is going to school.
mily worship is almost always in Gaelic, unless there is 782
visitor. We have already seen that the family worship
the time of death is in Gaelic or in Gaelic and English.
nin we have a parallel with Wales, in that Welsh has been
inly preserved through religion.[19]

Making Gaelic the language of their religion has, 191
wever, led to several problems. It has weakened township 771
idarity on occasion. There are many isolated townships 621
yond the reach of a minister. In one of these remote

[19] Ibid., p. 129

The growth of the population ended with a prolonged famine. 161
The proprietors, finding that the people's only justification 731
for crowding the estates and looking to their landlords for 429
help were some nebulous customary usages, facilitated the
decline by disregarding custom and throwing as much land into
sheep farming as was possible. While evictions were not new, 427
only after the famine did they result in an absolute reduction
in numbers. The Sgiathanach, fettered by a lack of capital 182
and an inability to break with the past, could not make the
final adjustment required by the process of commercialization,
specialization. In addition to emigration, the Clearances 167
and general economic hardship forced a postponement of 582
marriage. There was neither land nor regular employment to 469
provide a livelihood.

Later in the nineteenth century new influences began 161
to play a role in the continuing decline of the population. 167
Following the passage of the Crofters' Act, the nature of 178
emigration changed. Seasonal migration became negligible. 427
The provisions of the Act, and ensuing legislation, made it 171
possible for a man to remain away during his active years and
return to the parental croft to spend his old age. The ex- 871
tention of education not only equipped the youth for life in
the larger society but also created demands for objectives
which could not be attained at home under the existing order.
Thus, as in the period of population growth, the persistence of 161
many features of the old traditional culture, and the renewed 167
importance of others, were factors of no little consequence. 182

872

872 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION--tutorial education; primary schools (e.g., private, parochial, public); periods of instruction (e.g., terms, vacations, hours per day, days per week, weeks per year, years required for graduation); compulsory or voluntary attendance; objectives (e.g., universal literacy); curriculum (e.g., subjects and their progression); grading and advancement; educational aids (e.g., textbooks, stationery, blackboards); ceremonial (e.g., graduation); special institutions for very young children (e.g., nursery schools, kindergartens); etc. See also:

Books and writing materials	21	Ethical ideals	877
Religious beliefs	77	Circles	641
Traditional history	173	Arithmetic	803
Reading, writing, and spelling	319	Ethnogeography	623
School buildings	346	Informal transmission of social norms	867
Music	533	Teachers	876

288 the automatic shuttle; all other processes have been
198 built into the design of the Hattersley loom (cf.
402 Thomson 1969). In other words, weaving does not entail
288 very specialized skills and is not difficult to learn.
463 A sailor can come home and learn to weave in a short
period of time, or pick up the trade again with ease
after having been absent from the loom for a long time.
571 Neighbors substitute for each other when someone is ill
573 if a tweed is "urgent." Wives help their husbands, and
young boys their fathers and uncles. Such low-level
specialization and substitutability are complementary
to crofting activities and the maintenance of neighbor-
hood ties, and may be seen to favor continuance of the
occupation of weaving.

804 The Lews Castle College in Stornoway, established
286 as a technical college in 1953 in a building that was
467 formerly the home of Sir James Matheson, offers training
courses in weaving for adults which last for ten weeks
and qualify a person for membership in the Weavers
Union (cf. Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). The
872 college also sends weaving instructors to all the public
schools on the island to instruct young boys in the
654 rudiments of weaving. The Highlands and Islands
286 Development Board have in the past offered loans and
288 grants with which to purchase looms, and government aid
has protected the mills.

873

873 LIBERAL ARTS EDUCATION--existence, number, and variety of institutions on the secondary and college levels devoted to instruction in the liberal arts; special objectives (e.g., inculcation of aristocratic ideals, preparation for democratic leadership, refinement of personal tastes, preparation for rational choice of careers); sources of financial support; administration; scholarships; curricula; courses and terms; educational aids (e.g., libraries); grading and advancement; degrees; ceremonial (e.g., commencement); student organizations; extracurricular activities (e.g., sports, politics, debating); special institutions (e.g., finishing schools, adult education); etc. See also:

Fine arts	80	Esthetic ideals	817
Humanistic studies, philosophy, and science	81	Public lectures	844
Ideas about nature and man	85	Student uprisings	864
Cultural participation	186	Mathematics	868
Libraries	217		

197 One of the
793 richest sources of Gaelic vocabulary now available is
779 the Gaelic Bible, but many villagers, especially the
younger ones, complain that they are unable to understand
many of the Gaelic words used by the minister in his sermon.

197 Although provision for teaching Gaelic in the schools
871 was made in the Education Act of 1918, only within the
last ten years have schools incorporated classes in which
Gaelic is taught at both primary and secondary levels.
Gaelic is taught as a foreign language like French or Latin
rather than used as a medium of instruction, which would
require a much larger vocabulary than most teachers possess.

815 The present schoolmaster in Shawbost differs from past
651 schoolmasters in that he addresses the children by their
Gaelic names,[2] and devises projects intended to encourage
a sense of pride in "Celtic culture."

873 The Department of Celtic Studies at the University of
197 Glasgow, which includes in its staff a Lewis poet and
185 several Scottish Nationalists, is described as "progressive."
According to an islander who is a student in the Department,
"They believe that if Gaelic is to survive as a language,
it must be written as it is spoken. At school we were
taught to write 'proper' Gaelic, Gaelic that's considered

[2] Persons who come from Gaelic-speaking areas are addressed and referred to by Gaelicized names, such as "Murchadh" rather than "Murdo," and usually these names take the form of patronymics, which may or may not include nicknames (for example, Iain Dhomhnuill Bhain, i.e., John the son of fair Donald).

873 old-fashioned if you were speaking it. I wrote like that
197 in my first few papers, and my professor stroked through
185 words and asked, 'Would you say that?' We can even put in an English word now and then."

197 One result of this restriction in the scope of
185 experience in which Gaelic is used, and of the treatment of Gaelic by government bodies and voluntary associations as a rare zoo animal that must be preserved rather than allowed to change, is a decline in written creative
197 expression in Gaelic. There are perhaps three major
536 writers of Gaelic plays in Scotland, whose major battle is to be considered serious writers rather than colorful freaks or queer saints out to redeem Gaelic culture. "Once you become self-conscious about the language you speak," says one writer, "the language is dead." It has then become an artificial showpiece, a museum relic instead of a living, changing, flexible human tool.
197 Outside the village the maintenance of the Gaelic language
186 and other customs identified with "Celtic culture" occurs
[571] mainly as a result of interaction between "Gaels" and "Galls" (a Gaelic word meaning outsider or foreigner), as Gaelic speakers become self-conscious of their distinctiveness and either abandon their heritage (for example, MacIver 1968) or invest in it.

Chapter 7

Conclusions:

Summary and Theoretical Considerations

A. Summary

105 Crofting townships of the Highlands and Islands of
131 Scotland are within a few hours' travel of the major cities
[484] of Britain. An extremely high percentage of the young
[873] people in the crofting counties attend universities and other institutions of higher education. Politically,
[641] administratively, economically and in other ways, the crofting population participates in the larger urban-industrial society of Britain.

105 Despite this participation, the township-qua-village-
632 community is a relatively strongly bounded system. This
521 thesis investigates factors contributing to the strong
[121] boundedness. From a relatively self-sufficient economic
105 unit using agricultural practices suited to the extensive
198 cultivation of marginal land by smallholders, the township
632 has during recent decades changed to one dependent on
241 goods and services provided by the larger society.

105 Crofting activities nevertheless persist, in part because
241 of the incentives offered by government bodies such as the
654 crofters Commission and the Department of Agriculture. The

*159 Aberdeen. All the children were encouraged to get as much education as they possibly could. "I worked so hard in domestic service," says Seonag, "I wanted my children never to have to do the same kind of work. Anna is starting her first summer job in a hotel in
[873] England. She's just finished six years at the Nicolson [the secondary school in Stornoway, which is attended by all town children and by rural children who have scored well on examinations which they take at the age of 11 or 12]. She finds the work very hard, from 5:30 a.m. to 2 p.m. She said on the phone the other night she was glad she had a good education and wouldn't have to do this all her life." Anna is the youngest of the family. She wants to study French and German at a university in Aberdeen, which would involve spending a year on the European continent.

"I would rather live in a city," says Seonag. "I would pack up and leave the island tonight. But my husband would never leave. He's much too involved with the croft."

"Leave the island?" says Anna. "Of course. I've always had the idea that I was going away."

Mairi Inis Dubh

Mairi Inis Dubh is in her late 20's, and lives with her husband and baby son in a house built recently on the

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

824 useful crofting ancillary which, unlike many others, is soundly
381 based on a definite commercial demand. Various industries use the extracted acid for some 150 products. The Scottish alginate industry, the second largest in the world, is based on the process of E. C. Stanford, who discovered alginic acid in 1883, though today modern methods are used. For raw materials it has turned to the old kelping shores of the Hebrides and Northern Isles. On the island it has a factory at Keose on Loch Erisort, a site chosen for the easy access afforded to puffers; the factory receives the weed, dries, mills and bags it, and the boats then carry 200-ton loads to Girvan. The factory itself involved some £30,000 of
[433] capital layout and has a capacity of 120 wet tons per week—4 wet tons producing 1 dry milled ton. About a dozen Harris and
[137] Lewis crofters gather the seaweed crop, the most useful type being bladderwrack or rockweed *(ascophyllum nodosum)*, from the shores at Loch Erisort, East Loch Roag and Bernera in Lewis,
[493] Husinish and Scarp in Harris, and Loch Seaforth. Where there is road access the weed is cut by sickle and loaded into a lorry, but more often it is cut at low water to be floated with the incoming tide and rafted to Keose, hauled by motor boat.

241 A product of the land not readily associated with the Hebrides is bulbs. Bulb-growing deserves a mention, however, if only be-
[803] cause the experiment to see whether it could become a commercial possibility in Lewis was carried out by the children of Lionel (Ness) Junior Secondary School. The MacAulay (Rhodesia) Trust made an investment of £150 to cover initial expenses, and success followed. When the original project was completed it was extended, sales bringing the school a useful sum. But an attack of disease brought production to a standstill in 1966.

312 Another small industry is the aerated-water plant at Ness, which is operating with reasonable success, and could do better if
228 imports of aerated waters from abroad were reduced. A number of recent surveys made in the island have found great interest in such activities as shell-fish processing in Harris to produce semi-
286 preserves, using mostly cockles and mussels. Local knitting already has a name for its products and a potential for extension on a
*[195] commercial scale; this latter began in late 1966. Some forty years ago knitting specialists went to Lewis to investigate the possibilities

A HARRIS VIGNETTE

621 has direct or indirect communication with Glasgow, Stornoway
63 and North Uist. In summer a thrice-daily bus runs to Stornoway,
[505] and once a day a bus makes the round trip of East and West
[494] Harris. The township, linear in pattern, east to west, includes six-
[361] teen shops which cater for most of the needs of the population
[364] within reasonable travelling distance; it also has two cafés, a
[368] post office, a licensed hotel, a hall for social functions, a masonic hall and two churches. The Sir E. Scott School here is
[873] the only secondary school in Harris with an academic stream. Most of the working population is employed in the service industries, the professions and the tweed industry. Tarbert was a
[504] fishing port of some significance in the past, and is now a refuelling point for ships.

464 The absence of organised industry on a large scale, such as
[167] Lewis has, is a factor which tends to bring nearer to reality any desire on the part of Harris natives to leave their native soil. There are small pockets of industry, but these are only dabs of easing
463 ointment on the excessive unemployment sore of 27 per cent. The
[241] main occupation is of course crofting, the income from it being
[434] augmented from a variety of sources. Some crofters concentrate on the production of Harris Tweed, perhaps using the wool from
[286] their own sheep; the natural dyes from the lichens which grow
[386] on the rocks and from other plants are still used occasionally. Others specialise in knitwear. Recently shell-craft and wood-turning have been added to the traditional crafts, with a view to the
[226] tourist market. Fishing, of course, plays a part in the economy in some communities. The interest of such organisations as the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust has been concentrated on the potential in shell-fish processing, and the production of knitwear on a larger scale than exists at present. Road-
[464] work gives employment to about thirty men, but is of course seasonal.

316 An apparently bright light on the employment horizon showed itself in 1965, with the opening of a quarry at Lingerbay. The mineral quarried was anorthosite, a white granite used as an abrasive in cleaning products. A 99-year lease was taken out by a subsidiary company of William Robertson (Shipowners) Limited, Glasgow. But the quarry was closed in 1967 due to lack of orders.

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175 language." Many Islanders wou
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197 but an educated, sensible class o
182 used the strap on the palms of
their good" because they could
(511) An active Lewis country schoolma
175 rural knowledge and experience, s
197 I have suffered through life fro
Gaelic. If I had my way, I wou
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114 One may not only disagree s
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871 intelligence without interfering
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153 Lewis recent non-verbal tests in
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153 The conclusion seems to be that
197 the Gaelic school child is still at
to other school children. But e
182 child's development would seem
121 his response to his rural enviro
For this the school tests and th
fully provide; nor do the tests
Islander suddenly finds himse
175 factory or abroad in city streets
197 is the economic drawback of a la

182 [1] Christina A. Smith, M.A., B.Ed., M
in Gaelic and English. (Scot. Council o
(113) (London, 1948); J. L. Campbell, *Gaelic*
1948).

uld agree with the state-
r to economic progress.
asters, ignorant of Gaelic
of men in their day, who
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not understand English.
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ental Testing of Hebridean Children
Research in Education, vol. xxvii
in Scotland (and ed.) (Edinburgh,

APPENDIX III

623 for planning preceded by adequate survey became publicly
633 recognised, this crisis seems to have caused a change to con-
433 structive policy on the part of the Trust. It led to the election
361 of a new member of the Trust on a planning platform, and to a general searching of heart and mind in the community.

(184) Meantime the movement for town planning which had spread from the bombed cities to the rest of the country, led to a closer co-ordination of planning aims between the Trust and the Town Council, and there is real hope of progress in collaboration with the County Council as the statutory planning authority.

In brief, the opportunity arose for the Trust to frame a comprehensive policy, one binding together the objects separately listed in the Deed, " to promote the material and social welfare of the community ". The ' material ' provisions of the Deed allow for the promotion of industry—including fishing, of course—of agriculture and afforestation, and of communications by land, sea and air. Medical service is not forgotten. The encouragement of social life and education is foreseen, and bursaries may be provided to enable deserving scholars to proceed to secondary schools and universities.

185 It is felt by far-sighted citizens that these aims should be properly co-ordinated. Development of resources and social life, they feel, could be combined with education and training deliberately designed to equip young people to return to the Island and use their capacities to serve their own community.
(311) Thus among the development schemes which have been mooted are the reclamation of peat, the reclamation of the sandy inlet just north of Stornoway, and local afforestation.
(871) All these technical jobs require training, at the levels of engineer and skilled foreman or working hand. Bursaries might take
(168) the form of education for such rural tasks. The ' export ' of talent may be necessary when no outlet is possible at home, but in the end it can drain away the community's youth. Hence a policy for the return of talent is required. For fishing, for industry and particularly for the weaving arts, training is required in preparation for possible careers at home. Lastly

[Kershader]

(b) From New Year to mid-April most sheep are kept on the common grazing. Practices, however, are irregular; some flocks are usually hand fed, others only rarely. In the former case they heft near the upper limit of their home croft and remain fairly close at hand. Most crofters hand-feed their lambs, probably housing them at night, allowing them hay in the morning and turning them on to the common grazing in the evening. All this naturally depends on weather conditions.

(c) From mid-April to May, lambing takes place on home parks.

Most crofters let their ewes-with-lamb out at one date.

(d) At the end of June, gimmers and wedders are clipped.

(e) In mid-July the ewes are clipped.

(f) The lambs are weaned in the first and second weeks of August.

(g) The dipping takes place in October and the rams are brought on the crofts.

There is no general sale time, sheep being sold or slaughtered at all seasons. There is no club stock, but all but one of the Kershader crofters, along with crofters from neighbouring townships, take full advantage of the arrangement, first established in 1941, to graze sheep at 2/- per sheep and 1/- per lamb in Park Deer Forest. Hence irregularities of rhythm are introduced or exaggerated.

Sheep are not particularly profitable: in general, wedder fleeces give 3½ to 4 lb, ewe fleeces about 3 lb, and the wool is sold to the Stornoway mills and to the Wool Marketing Board. Average sheep carcase weight is reckoned to be 41 lb. and the price rarely rises above £3 and almost never above £4. Braxy and fluke are kept under by medicaments but remain potential dangers; 'Black leg' is still a serious problem. Many sheep are drowned in the bogs in Spring and late snows (1955, 1958) are disastrous for lambing.

Under-employment is a serious problem in Kershader. There are nine males classified as full-time crofters, but probably only four of these (two on one croft) are in fact in this category, and of the total of thirty males with their homes in Kershader, only fifteen of the insurable population are permanently resident. There are twenty-eight females with their homes in this township, but on only six crofts do any of twenty permanently resident females help with croft work. Local ancillary employment consists of weaving, fishing (for domestic consumption only) and work on the roads. Boats, one with outboard motor, are owned by three crofts. The only resident professional worker is a nurse. Ancillary employment must be, and is, sought away from the township. As a result, of the 73 persons recorded as having migrated since 1939 or as being resident, periodically away and permanently away in 1958, 19 have left the area for good, 4 are permanently away, 8 periodically away, and only 43 are resident. Only one person has entered the township since 1939. The age structure of the population, too, is far from the optimum. The school in Kershader, which had 20 pupils in 1873, reached a peak of 110 in 1907 and declined to 28 pupils in 1953, now has but 17, although it serves Caversta, Garyvard, Kershader and Habost. Maximum population was attained in 1881, but the total remained fairly constant till 1911, after which decline was marked. Since 1950 this decline has markedly increased.

It will thus be seen that the most serious problem facing Kershader is that of stabilizing the population and giving it a stronger economic basis. Apart from the potential development of tourism, fishing, weaving and other home industries, the only possible occupation is in agriculture with perhaps a little forestry. Forestry, though important as shelter provision, cannot be a practical proposition in large blocks or on a large scale, as it would dislocate the

[Marivig]

There are only fifteen cows, two yearlings and four calves in the township, and the crofters with no cow rely on neighbours, or on tins, for their milk supply. All but two of the crofters keep sheep, there being four hundred and eleven ewes, one hundred and eighty-five sheep and two hundred and thirty-four lambs belonging to the township. The common grazing (including the off-shore islands which are grazed by five different crofters each year) is used for the sheep in summer, while all but one of the crofters winter their sheep within the township dyke on the crofts. Most crofters keep hens, and surplus eggs are sold to the Stornoway vans.

Peats cut on the common are transported by lorry to the crofts, while peats from the north end of the peninsula separating Loch Marivig from the sea must be carried in creels.

Nearly every crofter owns a rowing dinghy which is moored in the loch off the end of his croft, and with this supplements the family food supply. One herring boat, operating nightly from Stornoway and returning to Marivig at weekends, is all that is left of a fairly large fleet which operated before the war. A second boat, unused for two years, lies shored up on the beach, and two others are wrecks. Over fifty years ago there was a curing station at Marivig. One crofter fishes lobsters during the winter and markets them in London.

Of the other crofters, only two supplement their incomes by weaving, one by working on the roads while several men work partly on the crofts but are periodically away whaling in South Georgia, fishing, or on hydro-electric schemes. Several others are in the Merchant Navy. The gradual migration from Marivig, especially of the young people, is reflected in the high average age of the permanent residents, and in the numbers in the school - over one hundred pupils in 1900, thirty-nine (including sixteen from Calbost) in 1946; but only nine (none from Calbost) in 1958. The young people leave the township to train or work on the mainland (generally in Glasgow) or in Stornoway, while their elders accept the view that "there is nothing for the young people here".

The township has a Post Office and telephone kiosk which also serve Calbost, while lack of a shop is partially compensated by a choice of four vans from Stornoway and one from Gravir. There is a daily bus from Gravir via Marivig to Stornoway and back: the return is over 10/-. The road which reached the township from the west in the late 1920's has a tarred surface and is much better than the later road southwards to Gravir which is untarred. There is no church in Marivig and most of the population attend the Free Church in Gravir.

Within the township the two arms of the township road serve all but two of the crofts and the sites of the newer houses, few of them more than thirty years old, tend to be near the road, while the ruined houses found on most crofts are often nearer the sea. Only two thatched houses remain and the other inhabited houses are built of stone roofed with asbestos slate, or of corrugated iron. All the crofts are supplied with electricity from the grid, but very few have a piped water supply: rainwater is collected from the roofs and piped for washing, with a separate piped supply from a well for drinking. All other houses draw water from wells.

The stormy winter weather, rocky terrain and poor soil are all blamed by the residents for the drift of population away from the crofts, but those who remain have little incentive to work the crofts more efficiently owing to the very hard labour involved. It is suggested that with more intensive cropping and more cattle, each croft could make a comfortable profit and surplus milk, potatoes and eggs could be marketed in Stornoway - the milk replacing that at present brought from the mainland. Such development, perhaps on a co-operative basis, together with a revival of the fishing industry and introduction of a tourist industry, by building a small hotel or guest house and attracting anglers as well as those who simply wanted scenic beauty, might bring prosperity back to a township which otherwise may well be derelict in the next twenty years. But the capital required for the two latter enterprises is not available within the township.

include all small tenants in Scotland. The landlords have lost their right to evict a crofter for breach of conditions. Since 1911 only the Land Court, which replaced the Crofters Commission, can remove a tenant who is guilty of bad husbandry. Moreover, such action can only be taken after the general circumstances of the crofter and his need of the croft for a home have been considered. To date, no Highland crofter has been removed. In fact, security of tenure has been carried to the extreme that the individual no longer has to reside in Scotland much less on his croft. Although this change is now regarded as inadvertent, the courts have ruled in favor of the small tenant. The only remaining functions of the landlord in estate management are to collect his rents and pay compensation should a tenant desire to leave. Both the rents and the compensation are determined by the Land Court.

Accompanying the integration of the Island with the national scene, politically and economically, were extensions of social services. Prior to 1872 education was the responsibility of the church, charitable agencies, and, especially in the Highlands, the local proprietors and their financially secure tenantry.[83] Although the parish school system was national, the administration of each parochial school was local. The ideal of a school in each parish was neither adequate nor easily obtainable. The result was a few regularly taught schools.[84]

[83] OSA, XVI, 156-157, 226, 539; XVIII, 188; XXI, 430.

[84] James MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 771-774.

The substantial tenants had their own private tutors, but the people, in general, received only informal schooling until well into the nineteenth century when several charitable societies entered the field.[85] All schools were essentially religious. The act of 1872, and subsequent legislation, changed the program and made education compulsory for all. It was not until the end of the century that adequate facilities were available and the system began to function, with the beginning of free education.[86]

Informal control within the community was augmented by the establishment of a rural police force, with headquarters in Portree and local stations at convenient points around the Island. Health and welfare became a responsibility of the state. A regional medical plan provided doctor's care and hospital facilities for all regardless of means. Old age pensions were granted to the elderly. Later, the scope of assistance for the infirm, aged, and the poor, and the unemployed was increased. Thus, the government continually usurped many of the functions of the family and the local group, especially following the abolition of the parish council in 1929.[87] Although the parish councils, or the still older parochial boards, had no legislative powers, they did handle welfare and, until 1918, education. Now, in 1929, a Skye

[85] NSA, pp. 233, 281, 294, 298, 312, 321, 355.

[86] Napier Report, p. 70; and Norman MacLean, Set Free, p. 211.

[87] C. De B. Murray, How Scotland Is Governed (Glasgow: Art and Educational Publishers, 1947), pp. 118-136; 195-196.

867 A girl also makes an early pretense at assuming her role.
462 While a boy is never seen helping within the house, and, therefore, his duties begin later, a small girl soon begins to help make beds and do the cleaning. If she is an only child, or has been left behind by her brothers who have left the Island, she is expected to take their place on the croft. In any event, she will be taught how to milk, how to plant a garden, and how to help in all other tasks of crofting, except cutting
[567] corn and shearing. She learns at a very early age and in diverse ways that the primary role of a woman is to serve the needs of man, some man, throughout her life, unless she is strong enough to live alone.

Learning the virtues valued by their parents and the community, as well as the tasks essential to crofting, both boys and girls are indoctrinated with the ethos of the Islander long before they can understand the importance of their object lessons. They are separated by more than the division of labor of their parents. As we shall see, the almost unaltered status values of the culture relegate males and females to two different, but complimentary, spheres of activity.

871 As they progress in school, conflicts begin to develop.
155 In one way this is inevitable. Until 1953 there was no attempt to teach the children anything that would directly relate to the life expected of them on Skye. In particular there were no agricultural subjects. Even now, there is but one travelling teacher of agriculture to serve the entire

871 island. Being taught about the larger world beyond, most
155 children begin to show exasperation with the croft and the
157 duties it imposes. At first they become reluctant to do their
155 chores after school hours or on holidays, or unable to escape the strong authority of their fathers, they do the work grudgingly. This is especially true of those who are planning to go to a university. While many boys take an interest in the stock and like to plough, if there is a tractor, they frequently complain about the slow pace, the boredom of the long winters, the restrictions on their time, and the weather--above all, the weather. Girls are no less outspoken. In particular, the girl who has been left behind by her older brothers and sisters to care for the parents will feel that such a life leaves much to be desired. She learns of another, entirely different life in school, and she hears her siblings tell of this new life when they return for a visit. Naturally, she begins to think digging potatoes is beneath her dignity. The most frequently heard complaint is, "You can't dress out here." The underlying conflict for both boys and girls in their teens seems to be one between a desire for adventure or opportunities for individual choice and the routine, circumspect behavior expected of them.

593 Added to this desire is the realization that they may
882 not really be needed at home. The small crofter with a piece of land hardly larger than a German laborer's garden can handle all the necessary chores by himself or, at periods of peak activity, with the cooperation of his wife and his neighbors. A medium sized croft may provide work for one, two, or even

We have already seen where some of the crofters sons 167
and daughters have gone - all over the world. It may be of interest to indicate the fields which are attracting the present generation. In Scotland children graduate from school at [871]
fifteen or, if they have qualified for the university training course, at eighteen. Let us see what happens to those who leave school at fifteen. A reasonable number of the boys go [875]
back to the croft, but the school teachers usually try to guide the best students into other fields. Since there is a very 167
limited choice of skilled or semi-skilled jobs on the island, 464
this means they will go to a city in southern Scotland and find an apprenticeship, either on their own initiative or under the Ministry of Labor training program. The favorite trades are mechanics, electricians, and carpenters. A few go to sea, especially as stewards and wireless operators. Every now and then a boy will become a male nurse, a police cadet, or an office worker. Hotel service, laboring, and especially, truck driving, at home or away, attracts many. Girls leaving school at fifteen often go back to the croft for a year or two and then move away. The best girl students either go into office work or take advantage of the Ministry of Labor apprenticeship program, especially in dressmaking, hairdressing, and domestic science. Some go to pre-nursing schools. Others find employment in stores or hotels on Skye or in Lowland Scotland.

At eighteen it is very difficult to keep a boy at home. 167
Those who have remained and have not taken a university course 702

875

875 TEACHERS--number of general and specialized teachers; degree of training and proficiency; social status of teachers (e.g., prerogatives, disabilities); mode of selection; fees and salaries; tenure and advancement; degree of academic freedom; organization (e.g., associations, unions); extracurricular activities (e.g., research, community activities); etc. See also:
Government pensions . . . . . 667 Normal schools 874

288 finished lengths of tweed. For a tweed to be classified
463 as "Harris Tweed," it must be hand-woven by Outer
[424] Hebrideans in their own homes, but the weavers are
288 essentially employees of the mill. All the large Harris Tweed mills in Lewis, except the one in Shawbost, are located in Stornoway. A few smaller businesses, which design and market tweeds but have no elaborate machinery to process the tweed further, are scattered throughout the island.

621 The village of Shawbost is composed of 169 households,
162 of which 110 are headed by "crofters," persons recognized
[429] as legal tenants of a croft. Of the remaining 59
[361] households, 16 rent houses which were built and are maintained by the County (called "council houses"), 11 have erected houses on the crofts of relatives, and
463 32 have built homes on the common grazing lands. Non-
241 crofters participate in the agricultural activities of the township. It would not be unusual, for example, for a non-crofter to serve as the clerk of a grazings committee.

342 In North Shawbost, one croft house and two non-
[172] croft houses are used only when the owner returns to Shawbost from the mainland for a holiday. The school-
• [875] master lives in a house adjoining the school, and the
[193] minister in a manse located between Shawbost and the neighboring village of Bragar.

197 One of the
793 richest sources of Gaelic vocabulary now available is
779 the Gaelic Bible, but many villagers, especially the younger ones, complain that they are unable to understand many of the Gaelic words used by the minister in his sermons.

197 Although provision for teaching Gaelic in the schools
871 was made in the Education Act of 1918, only within the last ten years have schools incorporated classes in which Gaelic is taught at both primary and secondary levels. Gaelic is taught as a foreign language like French or Latin, rather than used as a medium of instruction, which would require a much larger vocabulary than most teachers possess.

• [875] The present schoolmaster in Shawbost differs from past
[551] schoolmasters in that he addresses the children by their Gaelic names,[2] and devises projects intended to encourage a sense of pride in "Celtic culture."

873 The Department of Celtic Studies at the University of
197 Glasgow, which includes in its staff a Lewis poet and
185 several Scottish Nationalists, is described as "progressive." According to an islander who is a student in the Department, "They believe that if Gaelic is to survive as a language, it must be written as it is spoken. At school we were taught to write 'proper' Gaelic, Gaelic that's considered

[2] Persons who come from Gaelic-speaking areas are addressed and referred to by Gaelicized names, such as "Murchadh" rather than "Murdo," and usually these names take the form of patronymics, which may or may not include nicknames (for example, Iain Dhomhnuill Bhain, i.e., John the son of fair Donald).

871 Education in the local school has included a great
• 875 deal of religious instruction; in other words, religious
771 and educational spheres commingle. Because of the
[466] relative prestige which the teaching profession offers to persons from the island, and because the islands are considered "isolated" by most persons looking for jobs (teaching posts on the island include an added sum which is designated as "isolation payment"), most of the island's teachers are themselves islanders. Education
[554] is one method by which one's position in the community is elevated. The high status derived from having advanced education also reflects favorably on the parents and position of the family. But teachers and others who return to the island are expected not to deviate from island norms in important matters, such as fundamentalist religious beliefs; hence teachers tend to perpetuate fundamentalist religious beliefs within the classroom.

871 Formerly the minister visited the school once each
771 year to examine the children on their catechism, thus
773 testing the state of religious instruction in the school.
178 Several years ago this practice was stopped by the education authorities of the County Council, and the minister now gives a sermon in the school about once a month but is not allowed to examine the children. Many ministers are dissatisfied with the arrangement, as they are afraid that

*175 mainder of Scotland where, under the school boards, education
871 became both free and compulsory.
656 In Lewis the school of real significance to the island was, and
*175 still it, the Nicolson Institute, founded by Alexander Morison
871 Nicolson and opened in February 1873, supported by bequests
159 from him and his brothers. Nicolson's grandfather was the founder of the Lewis fish-curing trade, and was also shipowner and farmer. Alexander was the fifth of six sons and was educated in Stornoway parish school and in Glasgow High School. He served an apprenticeship as an engineer with Thomson of Clydebank. Later he entered the service of the Chinese Government and established himself with a partner of a shipbuilding and foundry business in Shanghai. In 1865, in his thirty-third year, he was killed in a boiler explosion in one of his new ships going a trial run. His ideal of establishing a school in Stornoway was subscribed to by his brothers who were a widespread family: Yorkshire, Mississippi, Western Australia, Tighnabruaich (Scotland) and South Africa.

*175 The first headmaster of the school received £82 per annum,
871 plus the school fees, which ranged from 2s 6d per quarter in the
• [875] lowest classes to 5s in the highest. The fees covered reading, writ-
[465] ing, arithmetic, geography, English, history and English grammar and composition; when Latin, Greek, French and mathematics were taught, an additional shilling was charged for each subject. But the teacher was always bound to teach gratuitously twenty pupils selected by the Nicolson Trustees. In 1888, the school was handed over to the school board. In 1901, by a Decree of the Court of Session, its name, previously the Nicolson Public School, was changed to the Nicolson Institute. In 1898, the first boys went straight from the Institute to university, a trend that has not ceased since (see Chapter 8).

*175 As far back as the turn of this century a recommendation was
874 made for the provision of technical education on the island. A
871 report on the subject of Higher Education in Lewis (1900) stated: 'Regarding the practical or scientific aspect of education . . . there is a clamant need of a central Technical School in Lewis . . . the local resources are quite inadequate for the establishment of such a school, or its maintenance, on an effective basis. Such popular technical instruction as Household Economy, Wood and Iron

change in the use of the grazing land or a desire of the young 561 men to fence the crofts in an effort to improve the individual 888 676 crofts the old men must have their say. Through their position in the churches, the old men also are the paramount source of social control, preserving their traditional habits and statuses, including a severe limitation on all social activity of a frivolous nature. This religiously sanctioned control is strengthened by the inability of the youth to form a solidarity. Indeed, one of the most serious limitations of the society of Skye is the small number of young men and women, boys and girls and the few opportunities which they have to come together as a group. The functions of the old men's age grade are identical with those described for the Irish small farmer.[21] Another 794 social circle is composed of the affiliates of the same religious [474] sect. They are mainly a mutual aid group.

Although the status equality noted in the township for 554 all of the same sex and age carries over to the larger community, there are always a few people who have an achieved status. The [793] minister enjoys high social prestige as the spiritual guardian of the people. The doctor is valued for his role in caring for [759] the people's physical well-being. The school teacher is re- [875] ● spected because he educates the youth and often acts as a spokeman for the group. If there is a member of the landed gentry, [545] he will be accorded the highest status in the area. It is [555] interesting to note that the achieved status positions are most often filled by newcomers to the island. The shopkeepers and

[21] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 125-139.

We have already seen where some of the crofters sons 167 and daughters have gone - all over the world. It may be of interest to indicate the fields which are attracting the present generation. In Scotland children graduate from school at [871] fifteen or, if they have qualified for the university training course, at eighteen. Let us see what happens to those who leave school at fifteen. A reasonable number of the boys go [875] ● back to the croft, but the school teachers usually try to guide the best students into other fields. Since there is a very 167 limited choice of skilled or semi-skilled jobs on the island, 464 this means they will go to a city in southern Scotland and find an apprenticeship, either on their own initiative or under the Ministry of Labor training program. The favorite trades are mechanics, electricians, and carpenters. A few go to sea, especially as stewards and wireless operators. Every now and then a boy will become a male nurse, a police cadet, or an office worker. Hotel service, laboring, and especially, truck driving, at home or away, attracts many. Girls leaving school at fifteen often go back to the croft for a year or two and then move away. The best girl students either go into office work or take advantage of the Ministry of Labor apprenticeship program, especially in dressmaking, hairdressing, and domestic science. Some go to pre-nursing schools. Others find employment in stores or hotels on Skye or in Lowland Scotland.

At eighteen it is very difficult to keep a boy at home. 167 Those who have remained and have not taken a university course 762

a former school teacher. The present sponsor and chairman 573 is his successor. The teacher is automatically rated socially 875 ● because of his important function, educating the children of a 554 people who value education, and his university background. Further, he is from the Outer Isles and, therefore, is not expected to conform to all the traditional norms. Were he a Sgiathanach he probably would not accept the office for it would conflict with older and far deeper values.

The Glendale club farm is administered by a committee 573 of five, a secretary, and a chairman. Here all are crofters 241 554 from the several townships. All, therefore, are equals. Who, 794 then, might they have for a chairman? They have selected an elder of the church. A church elder is the highest lay official in church government and, on Skye, one of the oldest men in the neighborhood. As one man asked, "If you can't respect an elder, who can you respect?"

Selecting members for the committee and electing a secretary 573 is a real problem. Each man serves for three years. How the 241 original committee was formed I do not know, but I had an 554 opportunity to see how vacancies are filled. In 1953 there were three vacant posts. Parliamentary procedure has been introduced, but it finds limited expression. For two of the seats, the retiring members were "re-elected;" a crofter nominated them and after a long pause another man seconded the nomination. No vote is taken; silence means unanimous consent. A story slightly off the point illustrates this. At the same meeting the committee's stock report was read. Following parliamentary procedure, it

793 while only the Church of Scotland ministers will assume roles 554 in government, on the district council or the county council, on the education committee, and similar bodies, they have not been given higher status than the ministers of other denominations, who firmly believe the function of the minister is only to correct the public servants when they err.

759 The doctor is coming to fill a status held by no other 554 person, except the county people, the landed gentry. Tra- 793 ditionally, they have ranked second only to the minister, but there is a marked trend to accord them more and more status. The doctors, of course, are less restricted in their social activities and can participate more fully in secular affairs than the ministers. They have a wider range of interaction, entering the homes of all regardless of sectarian differences. In Glendale there is no question about the relative positions of the minister and doctor, who lives in Dunvegan. In Kilmuir on the other hand, the doctor is vying with the ministers. He is always addressed by his title, but often, at least in indirect speech, he is Doctor (Ian) rather than Doctor MacLeod. Many of the doctors on Skye have begun to form a cleavage between their families and the crofters. They are sending their sons to private schools. The ministers' children attend the local schools.

875 ● The school teachers also enjoy high prestige status. 554 They are always addressed by their surname, prefixed by 576 mister, even by older men whom they call by their Christian names. One newcomer was especially struck by this careful

distinction. During the war when Skye had its own little 87 army, he came to know many of the old crofters quite well. 554 Finally, he came to use personal names when speaking to them 57 and asked to be called by his first name. The people explain that they might be older than he, but he was too important to be spoken to as anything other than mister.

The tradesmen and the shopkeepers in Glendale and 554 Kilmuir are not any different from any other man. They are not specialists. They are part-time crofters. We have to turn to Portree to see what status position they fill in the society of Skye. I might just add that they are on a first name basis with their neighbors, and, like the crofters, they are known beyond the neighborhood by their first name and township, such as Ian Borve or Murdo Stein.

To summarize, there is additional evidence for cultural continuity in the structure of the neighborhood. The extended family, although very unstable and, therefore, somewhat amorphous, is still a reality in the minds of the people. It still has two functions which it must have had in the remote past: seeing that all are cared for and given a decent burial. The description of status noted for the township carries over to the neighborhood, as does the underlying status equality and need for unanimous consent. Among the crofters leadership is still undeveloped. The old men can enforce conformity but they cannot lead. Although prestige ranking is developed, in the form of the achieved statuses of ministers, doctors, and teachers, it is significant that, except for the minister in Glendale, all holders of prestige status are

l be called into National Service. It has become very
d to obtain a deferment. One reason is that the govern-
t believes too many have been dodging their obligation.
re was a man, for example, who applied for a deferment
his son on the ground that he was needed on the croft.
inarily the boy might have been deferred, but not when the
icer found his father was collecting unemployment compen-
ion. The most popular field for girls at eighteen is
sing. One family has sent three girls through nursing
ool. Another popular profession, for both boys and girls,
teaching. The boys who go to university take their degrees
pure science, medicine, and agriculture.

There is an interesting contrast here between the Highlands
the rest of Great Britain, especially England. In England
working men consider sending their children on to college.
Skye, the majority of those who go to the university from
local schools are from poor homes. The landed gentry send
ir children to preparatory schools in England, and most of
doctors send their sons to private schools. Somehow the
s and girls from the crofts scrape through. An additional
t I might mention is that despite the government's interest
maintaining the Highland population because, among other
sons, it is a reservoir for the armed forces, very few boys
even fewer girls voluntarily select a military career.
eed, few men have seen service with the Army or Navy. The
viously mentioned sample of the marital status of males also
ealed that only 57 of the 270 men have seen active service
units other than the Territorial Army or Home Guard. This

874

874 VOCATIONAL EDUCATION--institutionalized vocational apprenticeship (e.g., skills thus taught, terms and conditions of apprenticeship); number and variety of educational institutions specialized for vocational training; general types (e.g., trade schools, correspondence schools, professional schools); special types (e.g., barber schools, secretarial schools, radio schools, police schools, social work schools, business schools, journalism schools, agricultural schools, military schools, art schools, normal schools, engineering schools, divinity schools, law schools, medical schools, graduate schools); sources of support; administration; courses and curricula; degrees; facilities; etc.

See also:

Occupational specialization	463	Physicians	759
On-the-job training	466	Priesthood	793
Craft guilds	467	Applied science	816
Lawyers	693	Informal transmission of skills	868

288 the automatic shuttle; all other processes have bee
178 built into the design of the Hattersley loom (cf.
402 Thomson 1969). In other words, weaving does not ent
288 very specialized skills and is not difficult to lear
463 A sailor can come home and learn to weave in a short
period of time, or pick up the trade again with ease
after having been absent from the loom for a long ti
[571] Neighbors substitute for each other when someone is
[593] if a tweed is "urgent." Wives help their husbands,
young boys their fathers and uncles. Such low-level
specialization and substitutability are complementar
to crofting activities and the maintenance of neight
hood ties, and may be seen to favor continuance of t
occupation of weaving.

874 The Lews Castle College in Stornoway, establish
286 as a technical college in 1953 in a building that wa
[467] formerly the home of Sir James Matheson, offers trai
courses in weaving for adults which last for ten wee
and qualify a person for membership in the Weavers
Union (cf. Stornoway Gazette, March 16, 1968). The
[872] college also sends weaving instructors to all the pu
schools on the island to instruct young boys in the
654 rudiments of weaving. The Highlands and Islands
286 Development Board have in the past offered loans and
288 grants with which to purchase looms, and government
has protected the mills.

175 827 463 [205] Whatever the rationalization, cobbler fathers begot cobbler sons. The present postmaster's grandfather was the first postmaster in Shawbost, and when help is needed in delivering the mail it is the postmaster's first [767] cousins who are likely to help out. As late as the 1950's, the township still had its own undertaker, a man who had learned from his father the art of laying out and dressing the body but who didn't like the job very much and was happy enough to turn it over to an undertaker who traveled from Stornoway.

463 [232] The island has had a veterinarian, based in Stornoway, for the past 30 years or so. Earlier, certain blacksmiths and farmers treated ailing livestock when the crofters [278] [755] needed them. For human ailments, there were many cures by plant and spell.

463 326 The man who was the last village blacksmith died not long ago. His smithy was in the center of the village. [342] His home and smithy were mortared stone buildings with corrugated iron roofs that were once estate houses for the men who worked the experimental farm established by Sir James Matheson in what is now New Shawbost. The blacksmith was also a shopkeeper and butcher. As a 463 326 874 blacksmith, his work was principally shoeing horses and making harrows and peat-cutters, which he did with the aid of one and sometimes two apprentices. One of his

463 326 874 [204] [521] One of his apprentices was his sister's son, who built another smithy not far away. "This was the center of gossip. People gathered there while he shoed horses that came from Barvas to Carloway."

444 178 A number of shops were established in Shawbost that sold clothing, cooking ware and groceries. At [494] one time they numbered six altogether. These shops also ran the first buses between the village and [477] [443] Stornoway. Gradually these businesses disappeared because of competition with larger companies. Mobile grocery vans and butcher shops and bakers began coming in the late 50's, and gradually took over the trade in large parts of the island, undercutting the local busi- 178 434 571 621 nesses. Income from weaving had already weakened self-sufficiency derived from the intensive use of land and sea and also weakened the formerly heavy reliance on local ties and mutual aid. Today an army of town- 44 463 178 [472] [484] dwelling entrepreneurs and employees constitute a major proportion of the traffic on the island roads. Grocers, fish dealers, bakers, sellers of soft drinks, garbage collectors, insurance salesmen, mobile banks, coal dealers and others extend goods and services from centralized sources to a market which has money to pay for them. The island's participation in this extensive market system is affected by its marginality to the

EDUCATION

Work, and Practical Navigation and Seamanship would be leading features.'

For many years afterwards technical education was available only on a voluntary evening-class basis. For instance, in September 1920 the Lewis School Management Committee offered evening classes in motor driving and maintenance, mathematics, dynamics, English, arithmetic and handwork in wood and metal. They were well supported and classes continued at sporadic intervals from that time. The plans for the present Lews Castle Technical College were passed in May 1948, after a lot of argument. Today the college has proved its worth; it is a centre of technical education in navigation and seamanship, weaving and textiles, building, engineering, and other pursuits important to the people of the Outer Isles.

In 1973 the Nicolson Institute received the Freedom of the Burgh of Stornoway, in recognition of the school's centenary which fell in that year. The event strengthened the 'town and gown' relationship which has always existed between the Burgh and the School, even more so today when the pupils participate in much of the social and cultural activity in the town.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

the nature of stopgaps in the younger, formative years and do not offer progressive training for the eventual chosen career. As an example of this, a number of island girls come to Stornoway to work in local shops and then leave the island after two years or so to take up hotel work or nursing on the mainland; many boys leave the island for apprenticeship training in trades which now require evening-class, day- or block-release educational classes. About fifty young persons leave the island each year under the Training Allowances Scheme of the Youth Employment Service, which financially assists them to live in lodgings while working away from home.

Most of the employment categories in the island of course employ less than a handful of people, either full-time adults or time-serving apprentices; they are fully staffed very quickly and opportunities arise only when an employee dies or leaves the island, or—more rarely—when an increased demand for a service (for instance television engineering at one time) creates vacancies for apprentices.

623 The Trustees of the Stornoway Trust have not found
423 it easy to meet the cost of keeping up the valuable property
427 of the Castle and Park, nor to carry the burden of its rates,
178 no adequate income being available for the purpose.
874 Today, however, Leverhulme's gift is being put to good
311 use as a Technical College, opened in September 1952.

Division of the available farms, after providing about
427 200 small crofts (of ten acres or so), still left the problem
362 of finding legal homes on legal tenure for the remaining
656 cottars and squatters.[1] The Department of Agriculture arranged to feu plots of 'skinned land' on the outrun of certain townships, including one in the extreme north and others in Lochs. About 200 of these little holdings with potato ground were provided. On the holders' behalf the Department feued land from the owner, after obtaining the consent of the Common Grazings Committee of the township and permission from the Land Court for 'resumption', *i.e.* for enclosure of a portion of the common. The legal and administrative procedure involved may seem disproportionate to the economic value of the holdings. Yet difficulties of law and custom had been allowed to go from bad to worse during the past eighty years; and these difficulties were overcome.

362 To encourage better housing in the crofting counties,
652 loans are made to 'crofters and fishermen feuars' person-
[342] ally. Local stone, or latterly concrete, is used, and much of the building is done by the 'man of the house' himself, and his friends. From 1920 to 1940, nearly 1200 loans were made in Lewis and Harris for the erection (or improvement) of houses, and in a few cases for the erection

[162] [1] Estimated at 1200 to 1500 shortly before, the open question was whether subdivision during the previous eighty years was to be recognised and accepted.

glens a family, newcomers to Skye, prevailed on the local 191
school teacher to hold a Sabbath school for the children. 771
The local missionary objected. If they were going to have 621
Sabbath school, it should be in Gaelic. His prestige and control over the population secured his position. The children of the people who originated and organized the program were excluded because they did not "have the Gaelic."

Another problem which is beginning to stem from the 191
use of Gaelic as the language of religion is the difficulty 793
of securing a minister. Traditionally, it was an ideal to [183]
send a son to study for the ministry. This ideal remains, [874]
but in the last few years only one young man from Skye has shown a desire to become a minister. Indeed, the majority of ministers on Skye are not Skyemen. I believe the only minister who serves his own neighborhood, the neighborhood in which he was born and raised, is the Free Presbyterian minister in Glendale. It is becoming more and more difficult to fill charges as they go vacant. Each year several Highland charges are changed from "Gaelic essential" to "Gaelic preferred." If we go beyond the role 121
of religion as it orders human relationships, through its 771
more formal aspects, and consider the influence of religion 626
on the secular behavior of the Sgiathanach, we can come 178
closer to an understanding of why the youth are slowly turning away. At the same time we shall be able to round out our picture of the expression given to the Presbyterian ethic on Skye.

scriptions flowed in. In 1709 the Queen granted Letters Patent under the Great Seal for erecting certain of the subscribers into a corporation. Thus did the SSPCK come into being, with an initial capital fund of £1,000. Its progress was rapid. In 1711, it supported twelve schools; in 1795, 323 schools. In addition to paying the teachers' salaries, the Society supplied the children with school books, established public libraries in various parishes, and defrayed the expenses of printing Gaelic Bibles and other books.

Harris here enters in an interesting sideline. In the records of the Presbytery of Mull, 1730, it is reported that 'Mr M'Aula . . . carried off the library to Harris, because he was not paid for his expenses in bringing them [the books of the Society] to Coll.' This MacAulay was the great-grandfather of the English man of letters, Lord MacAulay.

The Gaelic School Society was founded in 1811 and existed until 1892. It supported a large number of schools, as the desire for education had exceeded the capacity of the SSPCK. In 1796 there were two schools and a spinning school in the parish of Stornoway. The minister of Barvas, writing in that year, says that there had not been a parochial school in that parish for many years, but that there was a Society school at Ness, attended by about twenty pupils, instead of treble that number had all the children been made to attend. The minister of Uig stated that three spinning schools were established there by Lady Seaforth, but he does not refer to ordinary schools in his parish at that time. According to the minister of Lochs, a parochial school was built there in 1795, and a Society school some three years earlier.

By the middle of the nineteenth century matters had improved considerably, though there were still complaints that education was not appreciated. In fact, education tended to be discouraged for a very practical reason. Back in 1811 an observer in the island stated in his report that the great mass of the Lewis people would not send their children to school. 'When reproached on this head they answer "If we give them education, they will leave us."' Seventy-two years later (1883), the Napier Commission was told that 'Sir James (Matheson) supported and contributed to seventeen schools in the Island, many of which he built with teachers'

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mainder of Scotland where, under the school boards, education became both free and compulsory.

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In Lewis the school of real significance to the island was, and still it, the Nicolson Institute, founded by Alexander Morison Nicolson and opened in February 1873, supported by bequests from him and his brothers. Nicolson's grandfather was the founder of the Lewis fish-curing trade, and was also shipowner and farmer. Alexander was the fifth of six sons and was educated in Stornoway parish school and in Glasgow High School. He served an apprenticeship as an engineer with Thomson of Clydebank. Later he entered the service of the Chinese Government and established himself with a partner of a shipbuilding and foundry business in Shanghai. In 1865, in his thirty-third year, he was killed in a boiler explosion in one of his new ships going a trial run. His ideal of establishing a school in Stornoway was subscribed to by his brothers who were a widespread family: Yorkshire, Mississippi, Western Australia, Tighnabruaich (Scotland) and South Africa.

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The first headmaster of the school received £82 per annum, plus the school fees, which ranged from 2s 6d per quarter in the lowest classes to 5s in the highest. The fees covered reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English, history and English grammar and composition; when Latin, Greek, French and mathematics were taught, an additional shilling was charged for each subject. But the teacher was always bound to teach gratuitiously twenty pupils selected by the Nicolson Trustees. In 1888, the school was handed over to the school board. In 1901, by a Decree of the Court of Session, its name, previously the Nicolson Public School, was changed to the Nicolson Institute. In 1898, the first boys went straight from the Institute to university, a trend that has not ceased since (see Chapter 8).

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As far back as the turn of this century a recommendation was made for the provision of technical education on the island. A report on the subject of Higher Education in Lewis (1900) stated: 'Regarding the practical or scientific aspect of education . . . there is a clamant need of a central Technical School in Lewis . . . the local resources are quite inadequate for the establishment of such a school, or its maintenance, on an effective basis. Such popular technical instruction as Household Economy, Wood and Iron

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DUCATIONAL THEORY AND METHODS--dominant and alternative theories of
ducation; favored methods of instruction (e.g., collective recitation, rote
emorizing, systematic classification, case analysis); system of rewards
.g., praise, prizes); prevalent and eschewed methods of punishment (e.g.,
idicule, corporal punishment, deprivation of privileges); special techniques
r handicapped and backward pupils; educational psychology; examining and
sting methods; use of visual and auditory aids, degree of individuation in
struction (e.g., cultivation of uniformity, encouragement of independence and
itiative); educational experiments and innovations (e.g., progressive educa-
on); etc. See also:

Informal techniques of instruction	86	Social control	626
Evidence on habit formation	153	Ethnopsychology	828
Educational motion pictures	546		

464 on the island she had spoken English in school and had
197 not given much thought to which language she was speaking.
186 "I suppose it was because the other girls couldn't under-
571 stand us. They always used to mimic us, making noises
like they were talking it. It was nice to be able to
talk about things and not have anyone else understand,
especially when they teased us so much."

197 But on the island itself, the number of persons
178 speaking Gaelic is declining; and the scope of the language,
[92] i.e., the range of situations to which it applies (as
reflected in the diversity of vocabulary used), is becoming
[196] more restricted. A psychological experiment in which the
[191] semantic differential was used to study the organization
of English and Gaelic vocabulary in the cognitive processes
of Gaelic speakers suggests that Gaelic speakers are not
bilingual but monolingual in particular situations (Macleod
197 1966). Gaelic is the language of hearth, home, family and
191 community. English is the language of education, the
business world, and various transactions with the larger
197 society. Most Gaelic speakers spoke only Gaelic when they
871 entered school, but were required to speak only English in
191 the classroom. One islander recalls, "The first English
• [876] words you learned were 'Sit' and 'Stand.' Those were the
days you got strapped if you spoke any Gaelic." Children
ooo were addressed by their full English names. One of the

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877 STUDENTS--composition of the student body; number of general and specialized students in an academic institution; organizations and associations (e.g., student unions); leadership; social status of students; sources of financial support (e.g., private funds, scholarships, fellowships, etc.); degree of academic freedom; extracurricular activities; living and dining accommodations (e.g., dormitories, off-campus housing, sororities and fraternities, etc.); student-community relations; student-faculty relationships; group values and behavior characteristics (e.g., political and social activism, etc.); etc. See also;

Adolescence and adulthood	88	Ethical norms	577
Adornment	30	Individual behavior characteristics	16
Athletic sports	526	Informal ingroup justice	627
Brawls and riots	579	Sex	83
Community structure	621	Socialization processes	86
Delinquency	738	Social relationships and groups	571
Dress	291	Social status and roles	564
Drinking	273	Sodalities	575
Drug use	276		
Education	87		

16 accordingly small. In Lewis in 1970, 211 babies were
born, and 264 people died. In the 1961 national
census, Shawbost had a population of 598; ten years
later, the population was only 515. The significant
community of interaction, however, includes a much
greater number of people than are indicated by these
statistics, because the roles which absentee members
play in their community are important. The figures in
• [877] Tables I_A^3 and II_A^2 do not include five males and three
females in the 5-14 age category or six males and three
females in the 15-24 age category who live away from
home during the week to attend schools in Stornoway,
but who return home during the weekend and for holidays.
[464] The statistics also omit eighteen males and eighteen
females in the 15-24 age category; fifteen males and
seven females in the 25-34 age category; four males
between 35 and 44 and two males and two females between
45 and 54 who are away from the village working but are
as yet unmarried. These temporary exiles return for
long or short periods of time, to weave or work in the
mill, to care for aged parents, and to vary their diet
of living until they become restless and set off again.
[521] Their roots are in the village, and during the times
when they are physically absent they are kept alive in
ooo the electrical storm of the village gossip system. To
$\frac{1}{A}$, $\frac{2}{A}$, [See pp. vii-viii respectively--Analyst]

For example, 46
a Widow Catherine lost "one red
175 mare and foal (L10), one dun cow (L3/10), and one dun
427 heifer (L1/10)." One family is said to have paid rent
[435] by being fiddlers for "the castle" (the home of Sir
[551] James Matheson), thus earning the patronymic, "Fiddler."
Their income stopped abruptly when the fiddler at the
time, a great-grandfather of descendants now living,
converted to the Free Church and smashed his instrument.

In 1899 and in 1905 it was noted in the rent ledger
that two crofters wanted "first chance of a vacant croft
[628] in the township." In the first quarter of the century,
[964] a conflict ensued between Shawbost and a neighboring
township over the extension of a cemetery; land was too
precious to take out of cultivation and give to the dead
of another village.

173 A 65-year-old man recalls, "Men got their living
241 from the land and sea. They kept more cattle when I was
[233] young. They used the dung of the cattle to fertilise the
[239] soil. The entire croft was used. My father's croft was
only 2½ acres, but he worked it well and harvested eight
stacks of barley to see us through the year." There were
173 a number of kilns to dry grain, and mills along the streams
213 to grind the barley. The "old Norse mill" which was
257 recently rebuilt by the school children as a school project
[251] was in operation from 1920-1934. "Then the tweeds got
[877]

TABLE VIII

EMPLOYMENT OF MALES IN WORKING AGE GROUP (15-64)

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(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	15-44	45-64	Total
Fulltime Croft Work	20(9)	51 (29)	71 (18.0)
Croft Work and Regular Employment	33(14)	43 (25)	76 (19.0)
Croft Work and Occasional Employment	2(1)	12 (7)	14 (3.5)
Non-crofting Employment	15(7)	14 (9)	29 (7.0)
Unemployed or sick	10(4)	12 (7)	22 (5.5)
Total Resident Population	80(35)	132 (77)	212 (53.0)
Seasonally Employed Furth of Park	29(13)	11 (6)	40 (10.0)
Schoolchildren (15-18)	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
Students	2(1)	-	2 (0.5)
National Servicemen	8(3)	-	8 (2.0)
Sick	1(1)	3 (1)	4 (1.0)
Total Seasonally Absent	48(21)	14 (7)	62 (15.5)
Regular Employment Furth of Park	99(44)	26 (16)	125 (31.5)
Total Regularly Absent	99(44)	26 (16)	125 (31.5)
Totals	227(100)	172 (100)	399 (100.0)

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/p. 10-A/

TABLE XX

| | MALES | | |

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COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

as the days lengthened during Christmastide, old style, it may be called " The Rune of the World's Light ".

The world, ere came the Son of God,
was black, a bog forlorn :
Void of sun, moon or star,
void of body, heart or form.

'Twas Mary Mother lowly kneeled,
and gave the Inmost Being birth ;
Darkness and tears were driven afar,
the guiding star rose over earth.

Light on the land, the deep illumed
from sullen pool to ocean stream ;
Grief was laid and joy was raised,
with praise and hail and harping free.

Light on the hills, light on the plains,
light o'er grey-green sea and firth ;
Light o'er all the world as one,
the hour God's Son came down to earth.

(p) THE CYCLE OF LIFE

The stages in life's sequence are marked by noble runes, of baptism, initiation in adolescence, betrothal and marriage, childbirth, and of confession and consolation in trials throughout life and, at its close, of farewell. As might be fitting, the benedictions were given by either man or woman : to a child by a parent or elder ; to the young and strong by the wise ; and by lovers to one another. And in the past, especially in trial, the ' soul-friend ' ministered —*an anam-chara*, a neighbour chosen from lifelong friendships for steadfastness and understanding.

At birth a babe was baptized ; and in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit the nurse placed three drops

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882 STATUS OF ADOLESCENTS--cultural definition of adolescence (e.g., age limits); beliefs and attitudes about adolescents; prerogatives and disabilities of adolescents; relaxing or tightening of social control for each sex; residence shifts at puberty (e.g., removal of boys to men's house or to home of a grandparent or maternal uncle); readjustment of social relationships; etc.
See also:

Age stratification	561	Social control	638
Men's clubs	575	Legal liability	672
Residence rules	695		

island. Being taught about the larger world beyond, most children begin to show exasperation with the croft and the duties it imposes. At first they become reluctant to do their chores after school hours or on holidays, or unable to escape the strong authority of their fathers, they do the work grudgingly. This is especially true of those who are planning to go to a university. While many boys take an interest in the stock and like to plough, if there is a tractor, they frequently complain about the slow pace, the boredom of the long winters, the restrictions on their time, and the weather—above all, the weather. Girls are no less outspoken. In particular, the girl who has been left behind by her older brothers and sisters to care for the parents will feel that such a life leaves much to be desired. She learns of another, entirely different life in school, and she hears her siblings tell of this new life when they return for a visit. Naturally, she begins to think digging potatoes is beneath her dignity. The most frequently heard complaint is, "You can't dress out here." The underlying conflict for both boys and girls in their teens seems to be one between a desire for adventure or opportunities for individual choice and the routine, circumspect behavior expected of them.

Added to this desire is the realization that they may not really be needed at home. The small crofter with a piece of land hardly larger than a German laborer's garden can handle all the necessary chores by himself or, at periods of peak activity, with the cooperation of his wife and his neighbors. A medium sized croft may provide work for one, two, or even

three children, but this will only be for a few weeks in the spring and autumn. The large crofter, who has only recently appeared, is the only one who can use one or two helping hands all through the year.

One may logically ask, what if the thought that they are not needed never occurs to the children and they resolve the conflict of individual expression and subservience to the father and the group? The answer is an ever increasing number have at least one more important decision to make. As the boys grow into young men, they must decide whether or not they will remain bachelors, which remaining with the parents means, or found their own families of procreation. Girls must similarly decide between spinsterhood and marriage. There is no pattern on Skye, like that found in Ireland,[12] for turning over the croft to a son, much less a daughter, while the parents are still alive. Some, of course, marry after their parents die, but often it is too late for them to have children. The township of Borneskeig, for example, has not celebrated a birth in years; there simply are no children and none to come. Other men and women feel it is too late for marriage when they get possession of the croft. I doubt that there is a single township on Skye which does not have at least one bachelor or spinster. Totescore has earned fame as being a township of bachelors. Commonly, a brother and sister live together on the croft.

[12] Arensberg, op. cit., pp. 72-79, 85; Arensberg and Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland, pp. 123-144. There are, of course, many comparisons which could be made with the Irish small farmer, but most of them would apply to peasants everywhere.

requirements of adulthood, and also old age, are still boys and girls.

Status Equality within the Township. The ascription of status on the basis of age and sex has resulted in a straightforward system of status. The facts are simple. Men are the social superiors of women. Youth are socially inferior to their seniors. Men, or women, of a common age category are equals. We shall now examine a few interpersonal relationships to see how the system operates. Unless a man and his wife are eating alone, women never eat with men. They wait until the men have finished before taking their meal. When neighbors come to visit, the man of the house does not rise for a woman. He does rise for a man and shakes him by the hand. The woman of the house, on the other hand, rises for both men and women. Furthermore, when a couple comes to call, the woman greets the man first. Only after he has been offered a chair does she greet the woman. Young people are seen but seldom heard. They do not speak unless addressed.

All societies allow some deviation from traditional norms of expected behavior. On Skye, as elsewhere, excessive deviation is censured. Neither increased opportunities for education nor the steady flow of Skye men and women to the four corners of the earth, accompanied by the slow returning trickle, have disturbed these fundamental values. Like the youth who leaves home to achieve upward mobility through outward mobility, the man who returns must conform to the traditional norms, which he learned as a child, or be regarded

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883 ADOLESCENT ACTIVITIES--behavior patterns characteristic of adolescents (e.g., dating, loitering); economic activities expected of adolescents; adolescent organizations (e.g., work groups, cliques, bachelors' clubs); adolescent recreations (e.g., expeditions, picnics); adolescent problems (e.g., reactions to social pressures for adult behavior); etc. See also:

Cliques, gangs, clubs, and visiting	57	Mutual aid	476
Welfare organizations	74	Athletic sports	898
Socialization	80	Dancing	536
Education	97	Courtship	584
Slang	195	Juvenile delinquency	674, 738
Loafing and loitering	661	Premarital sex relations	838
Child labor legislation	688		

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Shawbost

233 "You got away from village life when you went to
829 the sheiling. The youngsters ran wild. Everyone talked more freely somehow. It didn't feel like a Sunday out
233 there--the minister couldn't see that far. Only the
• 883 young men and women in their late teens or 20's were out at the weekends. They would send the younger ones home. They came out in their good clothes, from Saturday night to Monday morning. Groups of young people walked out and back together, the girls in one group and the boys in
[533] another, joking and teasing. They sang the old songs and learned new ones from each other. Some were good at making up songs. You wouldn't believe how many people could sleep together in a single sheiling. It was a
[829] heaven on earth. Everybody was one family. The hills were filled with the sound of voices."

233 Not every family in the village went to the sheilings. Some families had enough land within the township to graze their cattle. But they usually went out at the weekends, for the fun and company.

237 One of the most important products of the cow was
241 not milk but dung, which was used to keep the poor land
231 productive. Because people did not have the enriched
234 animal feeds available today, a cow might not have a calf, and thus did not give milk, for four or five years.

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Shawbost

293 village locations such as hotels and bothans (see Chapter
[154] 6). Drinking situations provide an important opportunity for relatively uninhibited expression by males, and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

522 The role of clown or "character" is well developed
156 in Hebridean townships. In an environment which encourages
154 quietly watchful and somewhat anxious, conformist behavior, the character is rude, raucous and outrageous, a bite of fire in cold waters. He represents a reversal of normal behavior. The villagers shake their heads, agree that he is impossible, but encourage him to continue, urge him on when he flags, and bring up his escapades for discussion during moments of boredom. There are usually several such characters in a village.

156 Reversal of low-profile and other "normal" behavior
154 is also allowed on particular occasions such as New Year's,
527 this time among all villagers. In the days of horses and
• 522 carts, boys went around the village on New Year's night
883 stealing carts and hiding them on the moor or down by the
[574] shore; today they steal gates. Between Christmas and
[431] New Year's, groups of boys visit houses in their neighbor-hood, collecting tea, sugar, biscuits, or money to be used for a party in one of the houses. Such boys are called
796 balaich na bannagan, or boys of the bannag. In some
431 Gaelic-speaking areas, bannag refers to a gift that is
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2: Thompson H-4,5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Lewis and Harris

PRESENT INDUSTRY

of a knitting industry based on the crofters, who would use Lewis 286
yarn and produce knitwear in addition to their woven fabrics. 175*
However, it was found that the yarns used for Harris Tweed were unsuitable for knitwear, not being given sufficient twist in the spinning: before women use this tweed yarn for knitting, it is common practice to twist two or more threads of yarn together on a hand spinning-wheel.

Little in the way of craft work is done on the island, mainly 463
because of the lack of indigenous materials which could be used to produce typically-island items. Marram-grass has been sug-[139]
gested as being suitable for making agricultural wind-breaks, and [135]
close-woven basket-work. Shore-stones and pebbles are plentiful both in quantity and variety of type and colour.

Small employment outlets on the island are marine and motor 396
engineering, mainly based on Stornoway, and boat-building. This [464]
latter is a small but socially-significant firm in Ness with products with a high reputation. Construction and general building is of some significance, one of the most enterprising firms being built up literally from scratch so as to become a highly-successful island business.

The unemployment problem

The island's unemployment problem is as much a matter of 464
concern today as it has ever been, averaging about 25 per cent annually (representing well over 1,000 people) compared with the Scottish mainland figure of 6.0 per cent; the contemporary figure for Britain is around 3.0 per cent. While unemployment as it 464
affects adults is serious enough, unemployment among teenagers 883 •
threatens the community's whole future. The island has its Youth Employment Officer, who has an unenviable task. Each junior and secondary school in the island is visited to interview school-leavers, at least once a year; employment advice is given and this is supplemented by Careers Officers' visits.

Such employment openings as exist over the island's limited spectrum are concentrated in Stornoway. They are, however, [462]
mainly in shop work, mill work and hotel work for girls, with a few vacancies for apprentices in trades generally associated with building construction. Most of the jobs offered are very much in

2: Thompson H-4,5 (no date) 1973 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Lewis and Harris

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

• 883 464 the nature of stopgaps in the younger, formative years and do not offer progressive training for the eventual chosen career. As an
[166] example of this, a number of island girls come to Stornoway to
[462] work in local shops and then leave the island after two years or
[804] so to take up hotel work or nursing on the mainland; many boys leave the island for apprenticeship training in trades which now require evening-class, day- or block-release educational classes. About fifty young persons leave the island each year under the Training Allowances Scheme of the Youth Employment Service, which financially assists them to live in lodgings while working away from home.

464 Most of the employment categories in the island of course employ less than a handful of people, either full-time adults or time-serving apprentices; they are fully staffed very quickly and opportunities arise only when an employee dies or leaves the island, or—more rarely—when an increased demand for a service (for instance television-engineering at one time) creates vacancies for apprentices.

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[For additional general information on runes and
158-192, passim.]

rites at various phases of the life-cycle, see category 796, pp.

the people of Skye, including many of the newcomers, 785
not been favorably impressed by Skye Week. The consensus 745
at it is not representative of Skye. For the Sgriathanach 541
Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and
ar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree. 369
the members and the adherents of the Church of Scotland 715
ake of a number of recreational activities. In the winter 52
is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer 534
is a little golf and tennis. The limitations are not
ious; they are climatic. Then, too, there is shinty.
e already noted the existence of many clubs. There are 535
ar dances. Moving pictures take place twice a week. 544
f these activities are run by newcomers; the Skyemen have 447
e or less passive role. The "elect" of the two smaller 715
are, to say the least, very much disturbed by these 744
ities. What is worse, the children attend the dances 424
he concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find 853
n solidarity among those of their own age grade to out- 52
the threats of their elders. Apparently they find
h security to be unaffected by the stern demonstrations of
inister from the pulpit. When they marry, however, they 744
to repeat the pattern of their behavior, for now the 781
s are in a position to exercise control by withholding 626
sm from their children. Some may turn to the Church of
and.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glenisle the 885
ol by the aged is complete. There is not a single activity 715
[49]

at which the youth can join together as a sodality; hence, they 885
hardly ever have a chance to question the control of the "elect." 715
Only once in recent years has the control of the old people 578
been criticized. After World War II, the men who returned to 885
the neighborhood wanted to erect a village hall. This threatened 626
both family unity and the solidarity of the neighborhood. The
young people were divided between the time honored obligation
to honor their parents and their own desires for a fuller life.
The parents were torn between religious beliefs and their
affection for their children. The minister and his elders
were faced with a situation which threatened the fundamental
tenets of the faith and the continued ability of the religious
expression to sanction the existing order. How strong are age
controls? The youth did not get their village hall. Many of [167]
them left Skye for the Lowlands where social life is less
restricted.

The difficulty is that until, say, forty years ago the 178
traditional outlets were sufficient. Middle-aged people 177
remember how the youth used to drop in on the old widow for 52
a visit on an evening and then make their way off in couples
for a bit of courting. Two World Wars and the continuing
program of National Service, not to speak of the influence of
the schools, have given the youth a new perspective. They
have spent one or two years in an environment where recreational
activities are considered not only innocent but also wholesome.
The radio and magazines have contributed to the demands of the
youth for amusements. As if this were not enough, there are

[26] Ness, Op. cit., p. 127

several agencies who have taken the task of bringing movies 178
to the remote crofters in the belief that the Highlander is 893
more likely to stay if he has a share in the life of the 177
Lowlander and the Englishman. These agencies want to "create" 52
a more adequate social organization."

Out of boredom, some young men try to add some spirit 273
to their lives by turning to "the drink." Although the 777
religion of the Skyeman is strikingly similar to that of
the rural dweller in Tales, I found the Welshman and the
Sgriathanach have quite different views on the subject of
temperance.[26] All churches support temperance, from the 857
pulpit and from the kirk collections, but abstinence or 893
prohibition has never been accepted. Perhaps, their main 561
reason for consistently rejecting the idea is their want
to base many of their decisions on Biblical directions.
There can be nothing inherently wrong in the infallible Word
of God. Then, too, to the Sgriathanach, whisky is not Scotch; 273
it is the "water of life." The importance attached to the
dram can be judged from its functions: it birth, marriage,
and death. It is also the means of thanking a man for doing
a favor which cannot be repaid. Thus, while abstinence is
a major religious tenet for the Welsh, temperance is the
aim of the Skyeman.

The temperance movement has had an effect, all over
Scotland. The "pubs" are no more than a long bar set in a
bare room. I was one who have spent time in England, where
the local "pub" is a closely knit club for the villagers, frequently

offer help without an expectation of payment. Nevertheless, 794
anonymous donations of food and casual visits make sure that 573
none of their number becomes absolutely destitute. In Glendale
this religious clique merges with the person's "people and
friends." Kilmuir has two religious cliques.

We have had ample opportunity to examine the age-grades 561
of Skye's society and in the next chapter we shall have a
closer look at the functions of the age-grades, especially
that of the old men. One of the most important weaknesses
of the social structure, in my mind, is the lack of age mates 857
for children and adolescents. They find it difficult, almost 893
impossible, to come together as a sodality. In Kilmuir, for
example, there are only fifteen boys under twenty in an area
of ten square miles. A youth is anyone under forty. Of the [162]
total population 60 percent are over fifty. For this reason 561
the important age grade clique tends to merge with the re- 778
ligious social circle. The situation is much the same in
Glendale. There the age-grade and kinship groups are inter-
twined with the kirk congregation.

Status Equality within the Neighborhood. The fundamental 621
status equality which we found for the crofters within the 634
township carries over to the neighborhood, but, as would be 571
expected, there is often a need for leadership in this larger
group. Let us look at the two neighborhoods which I know best
to cast light on the methods employed in the self-selection of
a leader and the means of expressing leadership as a role.
Kilmuir has a Crofters' Club, which was originally formed by 573

884 MAJORITY--concept of legal majority if differentiated from puberty; criteria for its attainment by each sex (e.g., age); ceremonies of admission to full manhood or womanhood; readjustments of behavior and social relationships; etc. See also:

Sex	885	Full citizenship status	641
Age at marriage	885	Conception of legal minority	888
Celibacy	886		

that the people of Skye, including many of the newcomers, 785
have not been favorably impressed by Skye Week. The consensus 745
is that it is not representative of Skye. For the Sgriathanach 541
the Highland Games are alright, but the concerts, dances and
similar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more vivid in Portree. 369
Her: the members and the adherents of the Church of Scotland 715
partake of a number of recreational activities. In the winter 52
there is badminton twice a week. In the spring and summer 534
there is a little golf and tennis. The limitations are not
religious; they are climatic. Then, too, there is shinty.
We have already noted the existence of many clubs. There are 535
regular dances. Moving pictures take place twice a week. 544
All of these activities are run by newcomers; the Skyemen have 447
a more or less passive role. The "elect" of the two smaller 715
sects are, to say the least, very much disturbed by these 744
frivolities. What is worse, the children attend the dances 424
and the concerts and the boys play shinty. They can find
enough solidarity among those of their own age grade to out-
weigh the threats of their elders. Apparently they find
enough security to be unaffected by the stern demonstrations of
the minister from the pulpit. When they marry, however, they 744
have to recast the pattern of their behavior, for now the 781
elders are in a position to exercise control by withholding 626
baptism from their children. Some may turn to the Church of
Scotland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree, in Glenisle the 885
control by the aged is complete. There is not a single activity 715
[49]

885 ADULTHOOD--conception of the prime of life; cultural definition of adult status; differential status and activities of adult males and females prior to and subsequent to marriage; concepts of the ideal man and the ideal woman; etc. See also:

Social status	884	Sex	885
Age-grade system	817	Activities of early married persons	886
Age stratification	881	Celibacy	886
Sex roles	885	Civil rights	641

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

539 And so, after every good wish for days, years and life,
867 the Invocation closes: "Peter has come and Paul" . . .
869 the Disciples and the Archangels. . . . Jesus the mild and
the Spirit of peace have come.

And the King of kings has come on the helm,
To bestow on thee their affection and their love,
A thousandth dait-se gratich sa ruin.

The ideal of choice maidenliness which this Invocation
portrays, culminates in the thought of the loveliness that
867 was Christ. It rises, too, to stirring virility: "the island
539 at sea, the fortress on land", or "the step of the steed on
the plain." Yet when all is said, it is a womanly image
which prevails: after the fortress comes the well in the
desert, and after the charger's step, the gracious calm of a
floating swan. It is all the more significant that the Invo-
cation was addressed both 'to boys and girls' in one isle,
and 'to youths and maidens' in another. Not simply
was boyhood taught to honour girlhood: ideal womanhood
was invoked to raise manhood itself to fullness.

885 Upon marriage, the husband replaced the maiden's
212 *mood* or *ribon* that bound her uncovered hair by the wife's
585 kerchief, *am breid*. Folded diagonally, its three-cornered
539 shape came to symbolise the Trinity, in benediction on
the bride's head: "A poem to a bride, "now beginning
her dual course", commences, "A thousand hails to her
538 illness. The short second stanza given stands out alone; the poem,
192 having assumed its climax by a rhythm sustaining the upward, sonorous
movement, is hushed by its few simple words. In *From the Hebrides*, Mrs.
Kennedy-Fraser rearranged one or two of these lovely stanzas, as one of her
"Songs with Music." *Q. A. Cockin, The Songs of Craig and Ewe*, out in 1932.

"The kerch is spoken of in many songs, in which a lover hopes to place
it on his young love's head, or a husband presents in whisness as a token to
his wife. When first I knew the Lewis, the kerch was still commonly worn
under the more recent Lowland mutch, and either framed a young face, or an
198 old one, charmingly. The two have not quite vanished, though memories
of what the kerch once symbolized are hard to find.

885 in thy kertch!" and counsels her to be hospitable yet wise,
539 and courageous though calm; to be frank yet tactful,
dignified though kind. The themes of this ode's melodious
885 verse recall the virtues of a wife enumerated mnemonically
538 in the acrostic which concludes the Book of Proverbs.
513 For in that, too, there is mention of "strength and dignity,
wisdom and kindness", and the poor are not forgotten as
the wife goes tirelessly about her work, sets her servants
to their tasks and sells her merchandise at a profit. Yet
the acrostic's emphasis on the wife's work and its gain
reveal the writer as a shrewd citizen seeking to train a
wife to ceaseless exertion and business dealing, with her
husband's private profit and public honour as a most
important end! The singer of 'The Kertch'—man or
woman, one cannot tell—thought of conduct not for its
profit first, but for its virtue, and dwelt upon motive, mind
and heart.[1]

175 To tide over the supreme crisis of childbirth the mother
844 was strengthened in confidence, courage and calm. The
need was the greater before modern midwifery. In Sutherland as late as 1908, a good professional nurse tending a
difficult case of childbirth, anxious and powerless without
a doctor, found herself indebted to older wisdom. The
patient's mother first filled a small basin with water into
(788) which she put trinkets of gold and silver. "She then held
the basin to her dying daughter's lips, and made her drink
three mouthfuls of the water, each mouthful in the name
of Father, and of Son, and of Spirit, 'the three Persons
of the Trinity of kindness and power, *Tri Pears na Trianaid
chaoimh chumhachdaich*'. Soon after, the child came . . .
(113)

[1] *An Breid*, 'The Kertch'. *Carmina*, No. 215. A short paraphrase by Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser, set to a lovely air and refrain, will be found in *From the Hebrides*. First published (imperfectly) in *Nether Lochaber* by the Rev. Alexander Stewart (1883, p. 4) with delightful notes.

887

887 ACTIVITIES OF THE AGED--regimen of the aged (e.g., diet, exercise, rest); economic tasks performed by the aged; leisure time activities of the aged, sexuality in old age; professional activities of the aged; other functions and activities of the aged (e.g., ceremonial, political); etc. See also:
Dementia senilis of the aged . . . . . 89 Emotional and imaginary function
Autonic cause of extreme longevity . . . . . 168 of grandparents 890

233 were taken out to small huts in the central moorlands
233 for several months during the summer. These moorland
342 dwellings, called sheilings or airidh, were tiny stone
structures, as small as seven by five feet. They had
double stone walls filled with clay, and a rounded
thatched roof. There were two doors opposite each other
in the longer walls, one of which was filled with turf
depending on the direction of the wind. A fireplace
[364] was built into one end of the hut; shelves in the stone
[362] walls held basins of milk and other items; and the major
part of the sheiling constituted a grass-and-heather-lined
cavity which served as a bed. The sheilings were usually
[361] clustered together near a stream, duplicating neighbor-
hoods within the village.

221 Ploughing and planting were finished in the spring
before the young men and women went off to the fishing,
and before the cattle were taken to the sheiling. Some
families went to the sheiling as early as March for a
"fresh bite" of grass. Many went out in the middle of
May, and returned at the end of July or beginning of
August.

233 "During the week, young girls or boys stayed out on
857 the sheilings, depending on who was available in the
887 family; maybe old people who couldn't do anything else,
462

233 usually an old woman, as the women were responsible for
887 the milking, and the old men were usually fishing around
462 the village.

"We left for the sheiling early in the morning,
taking bed clothes and food. I walked out with my aunt,
who went back home in the morning. My mother came out
with the provisions in the evening. If no one came out
(513) that day, I went to sleep with someone else. You never
slept alone. During the day we fished for trout or
gathered small blackberries; or we looked for the nests
of grouse and other birds. You would knit or read, and
walk for miles to visit friends. The boys swam in the
loch, and sometimes the girls pinched their clothes.
From the top of the hills you could see Stornoway, the
hills of Lochs, Uig and the lighthouse in Hess; on some
days you could see the distant hills of Caithness on the
mainland. It's on the sheiling that I learned about
other parts of the island.

"I remember watching the sun and trying to will it
512 to stay high in the sky, before our mothers came out from
233 the village to milk in the evening. They called the
234 cattle—'Troit, troit, troit'—and they carried the milk
every day from the sheiling to the village, all those
miles. The cattle knew their own sheilings; sometimes

233 costly, that the Common Market will soon drive up milk
345 prices, and that income from the weaving has become too
345 uncertain.
498

412 Many tools and techniques associated with crofting
198 have disappeared: the flail for threshing oats (two
pieces of wood joined with leather); the sheepskin
stretched over wood with holes burned into it, to separate
chaff and grain; rope made of plaited heather and straw.
241 Each spring the byre was cleaned of its accumulated dung
234 and urine, and this was turned into the ground along
(234) with seaweed. Such tools and techniques remain among
173 the older villagers as a "memory culture" which may be
(397) mobilized under changed conditions, as when alternatives
to crofting are no longer available or are too costly.
However, the longer crofting is neglected, the less it
will provide an alternative strategy. "The artificial
241 fertilisers are ruining the land; that's why the
234 turnips are full of maggots and the potatoes turn to
(233) water." As the rushes grow and clog the drains and
streams—rushes that used to be eaten by the horses and
cattle and which are now left untouched by the sheep—
the land becomes unfit even for grazing. "I'd rather
work the land than the blinkin' loon, but we tried the
potatoes, turnips and cabbage last year, and lost them
all to the maggots. You lose heart after that."

As yet the tourist trade is almost entirely restricted to visiting relatives but many
484 houses offer suitable accommodation for people who would appreciate quiet holidays in
185 these very beautiful surroundings. The distance from Stornoway, the difficulty of obtain-
ing varied food supplies - and the weather - are considered to be disadvantages! Passengers on
a weekly coach tour from Stornoway are supplied with meals at an Ardroil house which has
good access to the beach but otherwise the crofters show little interest in the possibilities
of tourism.

162 In common with other crofting townships, the greatest problem here is that of an ageing
population because the younger people seek employment outside their township. The
164 diagram illustrates the age-heavy structure of the permanent resident group and also the
164 numbers of the insurable population periodically or permanently away. The lack of suit-
able work for young women particularly, is also obvious. The ages of the tenants also
illustrate this problem. Of the thirty-seven tenants here, twenty or 54% are over sixty-
five. Serious, too, is the loss by emigration of people between fifteen and sixty-five. Of
the total 'working population', 39% have left this region since 1939. The corresponding
figure for Crowlista alone, the older settlement with smaller crofts, is as high as 42%.

We found in this part of Uig some crofts efficiently and energetically worked by young
241 tenants, and if reasonable stock prices are obtained the larger crofts can be worked
234 profitably. However no croft will fully support a family: ancillary employment is always
(234) sought by crofters with growing families yet many crofts are carrying less stock than they
(397) might because some tenants are not interested in, or able for, agriculture. The croft is
increasingly thought of as a home, as part-time employment - often for older members of
the family - and as a place for retirement.

233 It is easy to list schemes for improvement and change:- dairying to supply Stornoway
with milk, poultry and pig keeping on a commercial scale, cultivation under glass, the
tourist industry, forestry on a small scale, lobster and crab fishing, etc. Such schemes
would require capital not available in the township, careful planning, and tactful administration by people with real knowledge of this area and its people. Meanwhile even the
potential production of the crofts is by no means realized.

CHAPTER SIX

AIRD

by

Madge Phillips.

181 The little township of Aird is an isolated and old-established crofting settlement along
the western side of the steep-sided narrow valley of the Amhainn Dubh in Airde three miles
185 north of Crowlista. After leaving Loch Meashel, the river flows northward through a
gorge (at the mouth of which are the ruins of the old corn-mill), then across a narrow
427 flood-plain into the rocky bay of Camus na h-Airde. The crofts, roughly fan-shaped in
133 arrangement and varying in size from 3½ to 7 acres, each originally included a narrow
strip of the flood-plain, stretching across from just beyond the right bank of the river, up
the steep, rocky slope above the left bank and climbing out over the more gently slopes
between the 100 ft. and 200 ft. contours. A number of the crofts were subsequently enlarged, gaining extra land on the right bank of the stream, whilst others received additional
ground to the north or south.

39.

1/4 [See figures 18 (facing p.34) and 17 (facing p.39)—Analyst]

233 maggs are needed to maintain the flock because casualties, from disease and accidents,
are heavy. Wanders are also kept, until they are two or three years old, when those
that survive are supposed to be good for the pot. Again, after allowing for casualties
and non-productive animals, the flock is too small to support a family living an
exceptionally well-managed croft. Likewise, the cattle are also too small. Calving cows
is almost unknown; one man, indeed, claimed with pride the possession of a fifteen year
old cow! Then it is certain that, after allowing for household consumption, very few of
the little flocks of sheep yield an economic return for the time spent on them. The
ideal arrangement would be to replace the 500 little individual flocks by about 50
communally owned 'club-stocks', each with a paid shepherd. This could almost
certainly be financially very rewarding but would probably be socially unacceptable
because so many crofters are deeply attached to their small packs of sheep.

TABLE 41

Stock carried (as a proportion of sums) according to size of units

233
317

Percentage of Units occupying in size:	0-2.5 acres	2.5-5.0 acres	5.1-7.5 acres	7.6-10.0 acres	10.1-15.0 acres	15.1-20.0 acres	more than 20.0 acres	TOTAL OF ALL UNITS
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nil	16	5	4	1	1			4
less than 50%	36	34	31	30	28	33	29	30
51% - 100%	24	24	28	40	39	30	46	33
101% - 200%	24	29	22	21	28	27	20	23
More than 200%		12	5	8	6	8	5	8
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 41 has been constructed in an effort to discover whether the size of the working unit (which is greater in the crofters districts) has any notable effect on stock carried. Further details will be found in appendices A(5) and C(5). It is clear that the size of the unit has no influence on the stock carried.

Finally, we may examine the stock held according to the age and employment status
of crofters. Table 42 shows, apart from a natural tendency for persons over 65 to keep
233 less stock, the relatively high proportion of those under 65 who are not full-time farmers carrying
less regular, or only casual employment. Some are apparently in influence the number of stock
which be carried. The proportion of 'retired' workers under 65 with no other employment
carrying no stock may seem curiously high until we recall that many of these persons are
elderly pensioners or invalids.

an enterprising radio firm in Stornoway; its customers receive both BBC and Grampian Television programmes.

Some youth organisations are represented on the island. The first troop of Boy Scouts was connected with the Stornoway YMCA and was founded by forty boys in 1921. Founded (in 1912) on the island's close association with the sea was the Boys' Brigade (Naval), later to become the Stornoway Naval Corps and the Stornoway Boys' Naval Brigade. Its objects were to provide instruction in drilling, signalling, seamanship and first aid; and to foster a spirit of manliness and comradeship among its members. The founder was Canon H. Anderson Meaden, of the Episcopal Church in Stornoway (St Peter's). During the first war the boys acted as signallers at the Stornoway Battery.

But the provision of some organised recreational facilities for young people on the island has long been a thorny question. After the first world war, the Rector of the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, proposed that village halls be built for village education and recreation. This scheme was never fully realised—except at Sandwick, just outside Stornoway—mainly because of the strength of puritanical opposition. This attitude has been breaking down, however, and it is now generally realised that the wealth of any community is based on its youth. Most of the efforts to set afoot activities for young people began after the second war; the work was hard and challenging with not a few failures on the way; perseverance has won to the extent that there is now a full-time youth leader. Most of the cultural and recreational activities are to be found in Stornoway, with a full range of interests. Evening non-vocational classes during the winter are also widely attended for a variety of subjects.

In 1965, an excellent Youth Hostel was established at Stockinish, Harris, with the help of the Inverness-shire Education Department. In its first season it recorded between 600 and 700 visitors (1,070 bed-nights). Also involved in the establishment of the hostel was the Harris Society of Social Service; practical help was given by the 2nd Stornoway Boy Scouts, who made a wall map, cleared up grounds and shifted furniture. A group of English enthusiasts have in previous years arranged a hotel at Rhenigidale, Harris (see Chapter 9), which provides for some fifty to

The man who seeks sensory pleasures and finds enjoyment in 785
mundane recreation is believed to be spiritually un- 779
enlightened. It seems almost an anticlimax to add that
social life is restricted.

Beyond the Highlands and, indeed, within the Highlands 771
in certain prosperous areas, where poverty has not been 883
a factor of such importance that it requires religious 571
sanction, the Church of Scotland has endeavored to find
room within the church for recreational activities, es-
pecially for the youth. As in America, the church feels
a responsibility to the youth which requires a combination
of religion and recreation if the citizens of the community
are to be well-rounded adults. Youth programs and youth
clubs, young adult groups, and social circles for the older
men and women are an essential part of church work. In 794
an organizational sense, the Church of Scotland on Skye 571
has, at the most, a Woman's Guild which meets once a month
to hear a lecture on a topic such as missionary work in
India, and which holds an occasional sale of work to reduce
the church debt or buy the minister an electric tea kettle
to keep in his vestry; and a choir, which meets once a week
for rehearsal. It is, as I have said before, not the over-
all policy of the church which determines the activities
in which the people participate or which they reject. The 888
elders are the prime movers. Were the youth in Kilmuir 561
anyone under thirty, instead of anyone under forty, the 626
control of the aged might not be as strong as it is. In

TABLE 42

Stock held, according to status of principal croft workers

	Croft workers under 65 years of age:			Over 65:		
	No other employment:	Regular employment:	Casual employment:	Male:	Female:	All Units
	%	%	%	%	%	% (No.)
CATTLE HELD:						
nil	16	10	14	25	17	14 (65)
1	63	68	63	60	75	65 (314)
2	20	19	19	11	8	18 (86)
more than 2	-	3	5	4	-	3 (13)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (478)
SHEEP HELD:						
nil	19	11	14	19	42	14 (68)
1 - 5	6	3	2	6	-	4 (17)
6 - 10	18	7	5	13	8	9 (45)
11 - 20	14	17	14	16	25	16 (78)
21 - 50	25	39	36	30	25	34 (164)
51 -100	16	20	25	14	-	19 (89)
100 +	1	3	5	2	-	3 (14)
	100	100	100	100	100	100 (475)

Some units omitted for lack of data.

Labour - who are the agriculturalists ?

When we recall (Table 12, page 28) that 16% of the crofter tenants are absentees, that 34% are over 65 years of age (of whom 8% are women), and that a further 7% are women under the age of 65, it becomes clear that many of the tenants cannot reasonably be expected themselves to provide active labour for agricultural operations. An attempt has been made to analyse the agricultural labour force; this must be treated with some reserve because it was necessary to decide for every effective agricultural unit, who was the principal croft worker. In some cases croft work is shared by a younger and an older man, the former having a regular job (often weaving) but being available for the heavier work, whilst the older man keeps things going from day to day. Women, even the elderly, often provide an important subsidiary source of labour, too. Where two persons were shown on the croft record as sharing the work of the croft, the older, if over 65, was ignored. Thus the analysis probably under-estimates the part played by elderly persons. Nevertheless the results are useful (Table 43): two-thirds of all effective agricultural units are worked by crofters having other

a temporary feature in 1959 due to the casual employment provided by a hydro-electric scheme at Gisla (Figure 46).

In this respect the critical age-group is 15-44 years (table 54). Few older people take work away from home. Of this age-group, 338 (out of 931) persons are away. Women account for 199, men for only 139; the difference is a strong indication of the lack of employment opportunities for women in Lewis. The contrasting experiences of the different districts are quite remarkable (figure 46). A far greater proportion of men goes away from the two northern districts than from Bernera and the South, and this despite the greater importance of weaving in the north. The explanation for this lies partly in the generally smaller size of crofts of the north, partly in the type of employment available locally and partly in the customary choice of employment away, which differs from district to district. Social custom, which may vary as between one township and the next, has a strong bearing on whether and where young men and women choose to work.

TABLE 54

The 15-44 age-group, distinguishing men and women

		Resident:	Periodically away:	Permanently away:	Total:
		%	%	%	% (No.)
Uig Parish	M	71	7	22	100 (471)
	F	57	17	27	100 (460)
Districts					
South Uig	M	80(1)	8	12	100 (158)
	F	62	8	30	100 (154)
Bernera	M	70(2)	14	15	100 (98)
	F	57	22	22	100 (78)
East Loch Roag	M	59	17	25	100 (142)
	F	53	18	30	100 (131)
Carloway	M	49	24	27	100 (142)
	F	56	22	22	100 (117)

Notes: (1) including at least 16 (12%) temporarily employed on construction work at Gisla.

(2) including 11 (11%) full-time fishermen.

4: Moisley et al. K-5 (1959) 1962 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Uig

TABLE 55

Proportion of resident males, aged 15-64, in Major categories of employment

See Appendices B(2) and D(2) for details.

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462
464

	Croft-work only	Croft-work and weaving	Croft and other regular work	Croft and periodic work	No croft work	Total (100%)
Uig Parish	11	43	16	15	14	(635)
Districts						
South Uig	13	27	22	24	13	(188)
Bernera	8	36	25	19	12	(130)
East Loch Roag	9	50	11	11	19	(146)
Carloway	16	61	6	6	13	(171)

Table 55 and figure 47 summarise the main sources of employment. The small group engaged in 'croft-work only' may be briefly dismissed. A large proportion of these men are elderly or otherwise infirm; a few are pensioners (e.g. retired police or service men); very few indeed are fully occupied in the agricultural work of their crofts, thus 'full-time crofters' is a misnomer in this area.

464
288

The most important category, in all districts, is 'croft-work and weaving', but it is relatively far less important in the south where there is correspondingly greater reliance on other forms of regular employment or on periodic work, i.e. casual labour.* It is difficult to overestimate the significance of weaving in all districts. It is the only substantial source of income in the parish and it should be clear from the previous chapter that weaving is not an ancillary occupation to croft work except in a few cases in the south. The weavers are not 'crofter-weavers' so much as 'weaver-crofters'. A curious distinction between Carloway and the rest of the parish is that, whereas generally weaving is young mens' work, the great majority being under 45, in the Carloway area two-thirds of the weavers are over 45. The historical reason for this may be the earlier spread of weaving into Carloway than elsewhere for, although some weaving has always been done throughout the area, it only became a major source of employment south of Carloway in the last 20 years or so. Thus few of the older men in the south learned weaving when they were young. A corollary is greater dependance on the Merchant Navy as a source of employment for young men from Carloway than for those from the south.

464

Other sources of regular local employment are lobster fishing (Bernera only), gamekeeping and other estate work (Bernera shore and South Uig), and government establishments (South Uig). In addition there are the usual services - postmen, haulage contractors,

* For a detailed discussion of the significance of weaving see Moisley, H. A., Harris Tweed - a growing Highland industry. Economic Geography, 37, 1961, pages 353 - 370.

TEXT CONTINUES ON PAGE 152

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Park

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311
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887

TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONS AND AGES OF CROFT WORKER

RELATED TO INTENSITY OF STOCKING

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

	PERCENTAGE OF SOUMING TAKEN UP			TOTAL[1]
Labour Force	50% or less	50 - 100%	Over 100%	
Full-time Croft Worker	8 (17)	16 (33)	24 (50)	48 (100)
Croft Worker with Regular Employment	8 (16)	18 (35)	25 (49)	51 (100)
Croft Worker with Periodic Employment	2 (20)	3 (30)	5 (50)	10 (100)
Croft Worker aged 65 and over	2 (9)	8 (36)	12 (55)	22 (100)
Woman Croft Worker	5 (50)	3 (30)	2 (20)	10 (100)
Total	25 (17)	48 (34)	68 (49)	141 (100)

1. It is not possible to relate all units for this purpose as some units have no souming, and in other cases the unit is worked by more than one person: such units have been omitted from the table.

/p. 8-B/

162 weaving and fishing, the fall in population would probably
[167] be small, if any, in 1941. This fall in the total figure was
[168] not so much a decrease in the number of families as in the number per family. The Island was only then following the restriction of population begun half a century before in the rest of Protestant Britain, though the causes, social and economic, are very dissimilar. Actually, little did occur to change either the rural situation or that of Stornoway, until the outbreak of war in 1939.

162 Since 1931 there had been no real decrease: Lewis is
178 a land of house-building, not of ruin and abandonment;
369 of increase of holdings, not diminution, and even of agri-
[657] cultural improvement. No doubt 'artificial' causes were at work: first, loans, grants and unemployment insurance
[593] and assistance—once known as 'the dole'—and, secondly, the money sent to elderly parents and dependants at home
• [888] by young folk in Glasgow or abroad, or savings brought back by the young people themselves. Yet there is some
[226] fishing and agriculture still. Above all, 'hand-weaving'
[241] has grown, even if this be partly 'artificial'. Recently it was not only the elders who had returned to the Island, but
[286] men and women in the prime of life, so that the question of resources, livelihood and population in Lewis needs to be re-examined afresh.

167 The emigration which took place from 1949 to 1951
[464] followed directly upon the losses and the unemployment
[651] in the Island's Harris tweed industry. This crisis resulted from the imposition in 1949 of a Purchase Tax on hand-
[162] woven Harris tweed of 666 per cent. If the tax had been maintained and no adequate adjustment made, the effects on population would have been far-reaching.

175 and all was well. . . . 'How the trinkets in the water
844 could affect the case', continued the nurse, 'I do not
788 know, but that some occult power was at work . . . I am certain.'"[1] As to the gold, did not the Magi offer the
844 same 'magic' at the Nativity? Is a drink of water not the simplest physic to cool a fevered system? Is not each
788 Name of the Trinity, breathed by a mother to her daughter in labour in her turn, a Word of tender power and courage: while the slow rhythm of the three Names may calm the wild heart-beats which had brought on haemorrhage, and lead to safe delivery?

771 Throughout life there prevailed the concept of God as 'encompassing' man, woman or child, old or young, in their weakness. This image is ancient, and is found in the Psalms (10, 12, 32, 142). So long as faith were alive the Lord's aid might be called upon for another in need of help, or for one's own protection. To clarify the concept, unseen, by help of a thing seen, a circle was drawn with the hand round oneself or another, in fear, danger or distress.[2] By such innocent aid the people strengthened confidence in sickness and resistance in temptation, and concentrated prayer for delivery from evil.

• 888 As age approached, its gifts were honoured. For in age, memory, kneaded by labour, is leavened by leisure; the experience won on land and sea, or in group-farm and home, can be weighed. And gifts of feeling, sown in childhood and growing through life, ripen as grandchildren come in from their herding or play to listen and learn.
[538] When manuscripts or books were unobtainable, readings rarely heard, and the people illiterate, teaching could only

[1] *Carmina*, vol. iv, p. 283.
[2] *Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes; cf. Nos. 248-250, etc. Encircling or circuiting symbolically, was also known by a word of which only the literal meaning is now known to most: *cuartachadh*.

be given by ear and learning come by heart. Hence elders were the holders of an inheritance of treasures which must be sought from them or be lost for ever. But to be transmitted, the word must remain alive in the mind. Thus both the faculty of memory and the fruit it bore in an elder's mind brought respect, even veneration. Accuracy in retelling is still immensely valued, but so, too, were thoughtful commentary and poetic enrichment. Respect for elders, though general, was not given blindly, but personally and by choice.

As handed down, the Fifth Commandment runs: "Honour thy parents and hold them in loving regard" (*Striochd dha do pharantan 's thoir speis dhaibh*).[1] The community was pervaded by the Christian concept of a Holy Family, rather than by that of a patriarchate. This concept took root from the first missions to the Celtic community, with which it harmonised and which formed fertile ground for this Christian seed. Hence there was no general assertion of paternal, still less of patriarchal, authority at the expense of youth. Where equal honour is due to both parents, the mother finds equal duty and regard with the father. And although the father's home is close at hand while the mother's may be a little distance away, her parents are likely to be the younger and the more active and helpful to their grandchildren, and the influence of all four grandparents fairly balanced.

The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are named in a hymn of the Lews, sung when going up with the flocks and herds to the shielings; even this may be a Presbyterian adaptation (*Carmina*). But until the overwhelming weight

[1] Rev. Allan Macdonald, p. 62, *Na Faintean*. The omission of the Mosaic paternal precedence may be a courtesy to motherhood implying equality in parenthood.

of the Old Testament made itself felt, as in Lewis-and-Harris in the nineteenth century, this narrower patriarchal example hardly affected thought.[1] Rooted in a wider form of family than a patriarchate, and reverencing a Holy Family and all fellowship, Gaelic society honoured age and parenthood for their inheritance, and childhood and youth for their promise.

Such ideals of human relationship led to the veneration of the Saints of the Gospels and of later history, and also of those of legend, especially Bride. Dedications to Bride or 'Bridget' are widespread from Wales to the Lews; yet her memory has been all but lost in Britain, except in the Isles. Carmichael wrote that "Bride and her services" are dear to the hearts of the people. She is called "Bride of the white feet . . . of calmness . . . of the kine; woman-comrade . . . and woman-helper . . ." "I am in the keeping of my Saint Mary: My companion beloved is Bride" (*Carmina*, Nos. 70-71; 263-264). As joy, steadfastness and attainment are generally linked to one notable stage in the life of each 'holy companion', the example, aid and fellowship of each saint in turn was especially sought, at a corresponding stage or crisis of one's own life.

The Gael's veneration for saintly men and women was shared by Catholic peasantry throughout Christendom; but its special quality seems to have been closeness of

[1] Clanship has repeatedly been said to be 'patriarchal', as an ideal and a system. A different conclusion, that community is the root of clanship (even in its political forms), may come as a surprise. The English or Lowland reader has had access only to the writings of strangers such as Burt. Not knowing Gaelic, these derived their information from Highland speakers of English who, deliberately or unconsciously, were biased by ranking as chief or gentry, and not unnaturally explained their position as patriarchal. Thus strangers ignored the co-parental life of farm-groups and townships, economically humble but spiritually rich, as the root of a clan-community.

In the absence of terms for in-laws, these relatives are simply referred to as the husband's or wife's kin. Hence, structurally the extended family on Skye is comparable to the Irish system,[19] and, obviously, is dissimilar to our bilateral family structure.

Because the extended family is so very unstable, it is difficult to describe it functionally. There was a time when the people were divided into three communities of fate, the members of which were bound together by the bonds of real and fictitious kinship. Today individuals whose remote ancestors stood together in defense of their homes may not have seen their brothers in many years. The material I gathered allows only two generalizations. Any member of the extended family is always free to call upon his kinsmen for help or, at least, hospitality in need; and the closest surviving relatives always know their obligations and are ready to fulfill them. Thus, the family is a mutual aid group. The primary responsibilities of the kin are to see that all have food, shelter, and a proper burial.

There are additional social circles in the crofting community. The youth, young adults, and the aged are divided into age grades. Of these, the age grade of the old men is especially important. They control the economic progress of the island by their deliberative function concerning any innovation in the crofting system. Whether it is a suggested

[19] Cf. Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 79-85.

[20] Cf. Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contempor United States," American Anthropologist, XLV (January-March, 1943), pp. 22-38.

pend upon the women of Skye. 000

e Spare-time Crofter. Under this type we must include not 231
ly the able-bodied, married man who tends to become a full- 241
me wage earner, but also the old, pensioned, married and 887
married men and women who are no longer able to perform
e necessary chores. For the latter, whether they have a
all or medium-sized croft, the croft becomes a means of
ving within a pension rather than a potential source of
velihood. For the former, the croft becomes a means of
ving cheaply.

When the crofter goes out to work, he either tends to 231
glect the croft or expects his wife to manage it. Oc- 241
sionally, the husband will help with the ploughing or the 593
rvest in the evening, but he never lends his wife a helping 462
nd in her domestic duties. The only men on the island that
knew who helped their wives with the dishes or the care of
e children, except disciplinary measures, were a minister
om the Outer Isles and several Lowlanders in Portree. Since [312]
ry few crofters have plumbing, the wife must fetch water
om a well and dispose of waste in the nearest stream. If
ere is to be a supply of peats, she must cut them. If
ere are cattle and sheep, she looks after them. Lambing
y be left to the township shepherd if the crofters can afford
e, and shearing is usually left to the men of the township.
exceptional spinster or widow may shear, but it is indeed
unusual married woman who will break with the traditional

621 from the ways handed down from the past. We might note at this
632 time that even the progressive crofter is not always quite en
626 rapport with modern techniques. There was, for example, a man
232 with two calves infested with liver fluke. Convinced that
178 medicine was the only solution, and equally convinced that a person cannot believe everything he reads, he obtained a bottle of liver fluke medicine which was plainly marked: "for sheep only." When asked how his calves responded to the treatment, he responded, "Och, they both died."

632 Because of the restrictions which the township system
621 imposes, there has been a growing, perceptible rumble of
626 agitation for supplanting unanimous consent with majority rule.
178 Few, however, would go as far as a retired seaman who returned to Skye after forty years. He would like to see the township system abolished. Another small group believe the Sgiathanach would be better off if the Island were given over to communal farms. Most seem to favor the continuation of the present system. Of course, the majority is composed of the conservative old men.

The Aged and the Absentee Crofter

241 No appraisal of the crofting system is complete without
427 a discussion of two additional factors which have affected the
887 use of the land and the present unsatisfactory economic condition
888 of the Island. One of the factors is the aged tenant, who,
311 as we have just seen, exercises a strong control over the younger men through township government. He has also influenced

241 the economy by subjecting many fertile acres to disuse because
427 of his infirmity. The other factor is the absentee tenant,
887 an individual who has obtained possession of a croft, normally
888 by inheritance, but who has failed to take up his inalienable
311 rights of tenancy. Let us very briefly review the economic [128]
trends of the last fifty odd years and, then, try to assess the importance of the absent and the aged.

436 Although the Sgiathanach has refused to become a
433 specialist, fully involved in a money economy, he has become
241 increasingly dependent on the products of the wider commercial
178 society. Long ago he gave up growing the old staples, barley
439 and oats. Not for many years has he grown enough potatoes or turnips to feed himself and his cattle. In place of these home grown subsistence crops, he now imports a great deal of his food. In an average year Skye imports over 700 tons of bread, 10 tons of vegetables, 300 tons of canned goods, 300 tons of potatoes, 500 tons of flour, and 100 tons of milk. To pay for these products, he exports cattle, once his only marketable produce, and an ever increasing number of sheep.

436 Hance, writing about the Outer Hebrides, sees the growing
241 tendency of the crofters to buy their food as indicative of an
233 increasing cash income.[16] To a certain extent, this may be
439 true. There are, however, additional factors involved. Ecological limitations have played their role. That the climate and soil together make Skye a grassland suitable for stock breeding rather than an island fit for cultivation is an often repeated

[16] Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 82.

436 belief. Since agriculture is a poor risk in the best of years,
241 the present tendency to use more and more of the land for grass
233 and hay can be regarded as a more complete adjustment to the
439 environment. The partial involvement in the outside contractual world encouraged and made possible the change. The same reasoning applies to stock production, including the declining number of horses, cattle, and, especially, dairy cows. The exports, obviously, reflect market demands. A couple of
[262] crofters have unsuccessfully tried market gardening. The Sgiathanach is not a vegetable eater, and the commercial establishments, apparently, find a more dependable supply
436 elsewhere. A few crofters do sell potatoes in Portree, but
241 they will not compete with the large, east coast potato
432 farmer. In 1953, as soon as the price fell below the pre-season high, the crofters decided it was not worth the trouble
437 to dig the tubers for sale. The same held true for eggs.
436 Many crofters barter eggs with the food vans which serve the
235 rural areas for tea and meat. When the Scottish market was glutted in the summer of 1953, the crofters refused to trade at lower prices. They preferred to obtain their protein from the eggs, believing that the spring egg prices were the fair prices. For the sake of emphasis, I repeat, the involvement of the Sgiathanach in the world of commerce is only partial. Finally, in accounting for these changing economic trends, the aged and the absentee crofter must be taken into account.

• 887 The old people frequently cannot work their crofts or
241 cannot use them fully. The age at which the work becomes too

• 887 arduous is difficult to determine. In the winter of 1953, I
241 helped a small crofter thrash oats, a cooperative enterprise
[23] even with a mechanical thrasher, supplied by the Department of Agriculture. The neighbors who came over to lend a hand were two men and three women. The youngest woman would never see fifty again; her seniors were seventy-seven and seventy-eight. The youngest man, who had just been married, was sixty-three; the other seventy-three. These crofters not only showed more endurance than I did, but put me to shame by carrying the sacks of grain from the field to the byre
[76] at the end of the day. Nevertheless, most of those over seventy, about 15 percent of the population, do not make use
887 of the land for more than growing a few potatoes. An old
231 man cannot keep a cow because, as one man said, "You can't
462 have a cow unless you have a woman to milk it." If he is married or lives with a sister, there may be a cow and a couple of sheep. An old woman may have her cow and sheep if she is strong enough. There comes a time, however, when all the old people will only remember the work involved. Still, they will say, "Och, but they were good for all that."

427 Absentee tenants are responsible for depopulation on
241 the one hand and falling production on the other. A reasonable
161 estimate would be 300. Their number could be as high as 400.
[433] Some townships have over 50 percent of the crofters absentee. The only townships which do not have this problem are the few which contain large crofts. On one small estate there are seventy-six crofts, held by seventy-two crofters. Only thirty

427 of the holders reside on their land for more than half the
241 year. The lowest rate of absenteeism is found among the tenants
162 of the Department of Agriculture. There are 76 absentees out of a total of 667 tenants. Most of the non-resident crofters are permanently absent. On the small estate mentioned above thirty-seven of the forty-two absentees have not been seen in years. Five of them usually return to Skye to spend their summer vacation.

427 Thus, we have a situation in which, perhaps, a third
241 of the crofts are held by people who either cannot work them
311 because of old age or infirmity, or do not choose to work
887 them because of greater opportunities elsewhere. What, then, happens to this land? Some of the old people allow a neighbor to use the land. Almost invariably this means the few fertile acres will be used for grass and hay. Absentees "entrust" the
[67] croft, house and land, to a landless family. While Parliament inadvertently gave the crofter a right to keep his holding whether he resided on it or not, it is illegal to sublet. So far, this has not concerned the crofters. Other absentees "entrust" the land to someone in the township who uses it for grass.

427 Turning to the influence of old age and absenteeism on
887 stocking, we find a series of entanglements. If the township is
231 inhabited solely by old people, like Aird in Sleat, the township becomes derelict. More commonly, the absentee and the old person allows someone else to take over his "souming" so
[82] that some crofters have far more than their share. Not infrequently, this gives the crofter a chance to outwit that

Table III reveals that there are 177 agricultural units with a souming; ten units are crofts in Glengravir without a souming and the remainder of the 219 units have no grazing rights. From this Table, it is clear that full stocking and overstocking increase with the size of the croft: the units of ten acres and over, on the basis of stock carry, would appear to be the most intensively worked. In all, just over half of the units take up their full souming. Table IV gives an analysis of employment ancillary to croft work for 141 of the 219 units and it would appear that neither ancillary employment nor age is significantly related to the intensity of croft working. Table V points to the fact that more full-time crofters are to be found on the larger units but that less than one in four of the younger and more active men are full-time crofters. Tables III, IV and V underline the fact that the larger units are also the more successful and it is significant that the larger units are almost all on the better land in the agricultural townships. The average size of holding in the agricultural townships is nine acres, compared with less than eight acres in the fishing townships, where the land is much poorer and the cultivable area much more restricted.

The trends in agriculture are illustrated by Tables VI and VII. The Crofters' Commission made a survey of the crofts through the medium of Estate Factors in 1883; from Table VI it is evident that the number of cattle was much higher at that time and that the cattle-sheep ratio in the selected townships was 1:3 as compared with 1:25 in 1958. Table VII gives agricultural statistics for the parish of Lochs as a whole; separate figures for Park are not available. Since 1913, radical changes in the crop and stock patterns have taken place; bere (Hordeum vulgare) has disappeared as a crop, and sown grass and permanent grass for hay have since 1947 become the leading crops. Horses have all but disappeared, and the cattle-sheep ratio has risen from less than 1:4 to 1:39 for the whole parish. Since 1938, cultivation in Lochs Parish has declined by 36 per cent. Large areas of lazy-beds, no longer cultivated, are visible landscape signs of these changes; seaweed, the sine quae non for lazybed cultivation, is no longer carried to the upper part of the crofts. In fact, many of the crofts no longer use seaweed as a fertiliser.

From the foregoing account, it is clear that there are two major agricultural problems in Park: the lack of sufficiently large crofts with good arable land and an insufficiency of common grazing; these deficiences bring in their train the problem of overstocking, and the existence of uneconomic holdings.

The more progressive crofters, significantly resident on the better crofts of the agricultural townships, have shown how croft land can be improved by re-seeding and sowing down to grass, practices which could be fruitfully extended throughout Park. In addition, several townships by co-operative effort, have reseeded small areas of the commons grazings with splendid results.

However it is clear that it is not possible for 219 viable agricultural units to be maintained on the present crofting area. The optimum size of croft which could maintain a family is a moot point, for the location and situation of a croft and the quality of the land and common pasture would all have to be taken into account in making an assessment.

This problem was referred to a practical agriculturalist who was asked to state what size of croft and number of stock would be required to provide an annual income of £300, excluding croft benefit (milk, eggs and potatoes consumed on the croft) and any costing for labour. To fulfil these conditions, one of the fishing townships was carefully analysed, and the expert came to the following approximations, assuming that the rules of good husbandry were in force after the croft had been brought up to a good standard of cultivation and re-seeding had been carried out where possible on the outrun and Common Pasture, and provided there was no overstocking, and that present favourable subsidies and prices continue:-

427 511 than the bare essentials, these people just get along. Even so, they would be unable to get by were it not for some form of [464] [651] supplementary income. This essential prerequisite for the individual or family who upholds the crofting tradition may take the form of seasonal employment on the island or away from home; contributions from a child or, less frequently, a brother or sister; or payments from the government in the form of unemployment compensation, relief, or a pension.

427 181 Many a Sgiathanach thinks of his croft as a home more than anything else. There are men who have found full time employment. Some in this catagory work the croft in the evening. Others expect their wives to care for the crops [887] and stock, or they leave the land untouched. Then, there are the old men and women who have returned to their an- [167] cestral homes to spend the twilight of their lives. These exiles come back from cities as near as Inverness and from places as far away as the sheep ranches of Montana or the cities of Australia. Perhaps, the most significant point is that for all Skyemen the croft cannot be evaluated merely in terms of acreage and income. As we shall see, it is a way of life in which an attachment to the land, as an embodiment of kinship, plays a very important part.

427 511 The incomes of three representative crofts clearly reveal the financial difficulties under which the crofting family labors. Although I have somewhat arbitrarily divided the holdings into small, medium and large on the basis of acres of arable land, it should be remembered that this

427 887 231 829 rich man, the government." Since subsidies depend on the number of stock, he may forget that all or part of his "souming" has been given away. One old crofter, for example, a few years ago asked a young lady to fill out his agricultural return. She knew his estimates gave a great deal of reason to doubt his veracity, but, preferring not to question the point, she entered his figures. When it came time to sign the report, he was canny. "Och," he said, "just put a tremble in your hand and sign it yourself." There are other crofters who puzzle the authorities by returning the same number of cattle and sheep year after year. Although even the best crofters and farmers lose a few sheep and an occasional cow, they insist [628] that their stock has produced as many as have been sold. As a means of protecting the government from paying for non-existent stock, the police have to be notified when the annual stock counts are to be made. Even when they do supervise the counting, allowances for stragglers have to be made.

654 427 888 So pernicious is the effect of non-residence and decrepit crofts, that a recent government commission has recommended the severance of the house from the land in the case of the aged and the eviction of the absentee, as a means of bolstering the economy and alleviating the widespread condition of bad husbandry.[17] This could be the final blow for the culture. Not 427 888 uncommonly, the croft is subjected to both absenteeism and the infirmity of old age. The heir does not return until he has passed the age of retirement and begins to think, "It would be

[17] Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting

554 by leaving, for if he fails to conform to the traditional norms and patterns of behavior, he will be locked upon as an eccentric. This fact has continuity through all periods of Skye's history.

554 178 We have already seen how the age and sex structure of the population has changed in response to social and economic conditions and how this change has influenced the ascription of statuses within the crofters' division of labor. Briefly, there has been a contraction of the number of opportunities [462] for ascribing status. This had made it necessary for some men to perform tasks once the exclusive domain of women and for women to participate in activities which formerly were the [887] responsibility of their men folk. Older people must now function in ways which once were the responsibilities of the youth and young adults. These changes, however, have been accompanied by persistencies, in particular a continuity of basic status values. I think this will become clear through a discussion of the family structure. We shall begin with the nuclear family.

554 554 [121] The Nuclear Family. Since my interest is in status, I shall adopt the unorthodox procedure of considering the nuclear family in terms of the changing status of the individual members from birth to maturity. This will give us a dynamic picture of family life. At birth the individual's relationships within the crofting family and, to a lesser degree, within the township are established. Like those of his parents, who now have the ascribed statuses of mother and father, his relationships will remain unchanged until he marries and founds

554 626 829 New Zealanders breed sheep and make linen. One might say he knew more about the world than about Skye. He could not understand why so many people made fun of him when he was only trying to help.

626 632 In the absence of any traditionally valued status and role of leadership, administration of the common interests of the township members is the concern of all. We say in the last chapter that primitive democracy is the guiding rule. Each crofter has an equal voice in deciding any question which affects the group and all, without exception, have to agree before any action is taken. Consent is expressed by silence. Typically, the crofters will have talked the [624] matter over among themselves beforehand. At such times the fact clearly emerges that the grazing clerk and the grazing committee are no more than figureheads required by law. They have no coercive or disciplinary powers. In any group situation, their views are taken no more seriously than those of any other man.

887 888 626 632 It is the old men who gather at one anothers' homes or on the hill on a summer evening to weigh the innovation which the youth want introduced. If they find the change acceptable, they approve it at a meeting of the township by keeping silent. If they believe it will upset the communal system, they disapprove it. The dissenting voice of one old crofter is all that is required to maintain the conservative patterns, economically and socially.

182 626 In summary, we may say that within the township and on the croft the cultural patterns reveal a fundamental continuity. As of old, status is ascribed. Men have remained

888

888 STATUS AND TREATMENT OF THE AGED--cultural definition and explanation of old age; idealized and derogatory evaluations of old age; conception of the ideal old man and old woman; symbols and synonyms for age and longevity; prerogatives and disabilities of the aged; special exemptions (e.g., from legal sanctions, from taboos); etiquette toward the aged; treatment of the aged (e.g., exploitation, neglect, obedience, respect); support of the aged (e.g., investments, fees for services, annuities, pensions, assistance from relatives); care of the aged; customs of abandoning and killing the aged; etc. See also:

Investment 454
Insurance and annuities 456
Age stratification 561
Etiquette 576
Status of widows 589
Family relationships 599
Polygamy 596
Legal liability 672
Incidence and relief of old age dependency . . 737
Social insurance 745
Last favors before death 765

592 unmarried sibling. Eleven households consist only of siblings who have never married, men and women who in 1971 were 45 years old or older. Two widows live with [589] their unmarried siblings. Sixteen widows or widowers live alone, and sixteen unmarried persons live alone.

241 The large number of households occupied by single, 592 elderly people reflects the use of the croft as a place 423 of residence rather than as an agricultural unit, a 671 • 888 view of the croft that was given legal expression in [428] 1968 by the Miscellaneous Provisions Act. Before 1968, the croft went automatically to the eldest son if a crofter died intestate. Since 1968, the rights of different claimants must be considered and tenancy by a new person must be confirmed. District and county councillors argued for this change, saying that a widow was often left on the croft and her security endangered because the eldest son was usually far away from the island, in Canada or some other country. In other words, rather than an agricultural unit which should naturally be taken over and worked by the male head of the household, the croft is seen as a place of residence for the infirm and for the aged, and especially for the aged female.

657 185 423 888 311 The Crofters Commission has suggested that elderly people be allowed to rent small plots of land on which

657 their houses are located, and that most of the land be 185 freed for use by more active crofters, but the ideology 423 • 888 associated with possession of the croft makes such a 311 plan extremely difficult to implement. "The croft is your base, the only thing you have. You don't want it taken away, even if someone else is using it already anyway. Our county councillor suggested amalgamating the unused crofts at a recent meeting. No one said anything, but no one wants it."

592 Of the five households that have the use of three 241 crofts each, one consists of a bachelor who uses the 311 crofts for grazing a large number of sheep. A second household is composed of two brothers who had stayed at home to take care of their aged parents. One of these brothers recently married, after the last parent died. These men keep cattle and sheep, and both weave.

592 A third household is headed by a married man who 241 has recently sold most of his livestock in order to 311 "concentrate on the weaving." His father, who used to 288 haul peat with a horse and cart in exchange for the use of grazing land so that his family never had to go to the sheilings, died a few years ago. "My father was a crofter only. The weaving didn't start until the 30's. He was wounded in the war. He got a pension and sold a cow or a few sheep each year. But I didn't

621 The first thing that is said when for some reason 513 a woman is left alone in the house is, "Who's going to 858 go and sleep with her?" Often a child will be sent from a neighboring family, not always relatives, to stay with 621 her at night. As in the past, it is not uncommon for 592 a childless elderly couple or single person alone on a • 888 croft to take in a young, homeless couple, to whom they may or may not be related. The young couple cares for the old person or persons, and inherits the croft when they die.

602 "Keeping up the relation" is the process by which 476 relatives sustain interaction and expectations of mutual aid even though their relatedness becomes more distant 605 with succeeding generations. "I've got cousins in Ness that I stay with at the Communions. They're getting on into the third generation now." A cousin is a cousin even to the 42nd degree (Williams 1963: 142), as long as there is reason to sustain the relationship. "I know we're related, but I can't quite place it." "We're a bit related. I think she was a MacPhail before she married." "I don't quite know how we're related, but my mother and his mother considered it a close relationship, and he has kept it up."

621 Every villager has a vast amount of information 626 about other villagers and their families, which may be 582

*159 guard in a shipyard. A brother and sister married into crofts within the village, and another sister married a mainlander whom she met at a dance while working in • [888] domestic service. Cailean and a younger brother stayed together after the war, looking after their aged parents.

"The war was the biggest even in my life. I spent six and a half of the best years of my life fighting for survival. During wartime you had no future. That's where most of the men learned to drink. When you got into a port, you drank like hell. You got lectured on VD, but you knew you were going to die anyway. The only thing you lived for was sleep. You spent 24 hours on duty, keyed up and waiting for the enemy to come. When you got off duty the bombs could be screaming around you, but you slept. You got greedy. You were hungry for anything. So when you got into port on leave, you did everything for excitement. I spent one of my leaves recovering from a motorcycle accident. There's nothing to think about here; so I keep on the move, after sheep on the moor, or repairing things. It keeps me occupied. It keeps me from drinking."

Cailean was well skilled in electrical repair work, and earned trade papers during his military service. Toward the end of the war he was working in South Africa, with full intentions of staying permanently. "But I threw

nly because there are enough young people to form a strong 571 184 554 888
grade of their own. The more liberal outlook of the
ingers is, however, tempered by the old men.

Religion

The attachment to the past embodied in the social and 771
nomic aspects of the culture carries over into the religious
of the Sgiathanach. He is a Presbyterian who continues 715
orship and view the world within a pattern which charac-
zed the Scots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
doctrine and theology are derived from the teachings of
in as interpreted by John Knox and refined by the Covenanters
he seventeenth century. To the original ethical code
rong measure of influence from the English Puritan move-
has been added. The guiding principles are still fore-
nation and election. The dominant motivating factor is [785]
icism.

One of the outstanding features of the island today is 348 715
large number of churches for such a limited population.
erve the 8,600 people there are 21 churches with ministers
3 mission stations. A hundred years ago, when the [178]
ation was almost triple the present number, there were
seven ministers on Skye. The present abundance is the out- 715
of a series of religious schisms of the past century.
are now four Presbyterian sects. Of all the neighbor- [184]
on Skye, only Glendale is religiously homogeneous.

behavior which have given the individual and the culture their 781
ability to continue in spite of social instability and acute 182
economic hardship. In many respects, the Skyemen's religion is
strikingly similar to that of the Welshmen.[23]

The status of the father within the nuclear family has 182
been maintained, despite changing economic roles which might 771 [888]
have led to a loss of prestige, by his religious sanction.
The aged men of the community, in particular the elders, the [888]
elected lay kirk officers, have been able to continue to exer-
cise stringent control over their families and neighbors. In [542]
a negative way, the socially inferior status of the women has
been maintained by debarring them from active roles in the
church. In religious activity the people find meaningful
patterns of interaction. The small congregations, rarely over
300 people, give the Skyemen a sense of belonging. In the [542]
home the practice of daily worship intensifies family inter-
action. Above all, at the semi-annual communion celebrations, 182
highly emotional meetings which partake much of revivalism, 771 781
the people find solidarity. As each church in turn celebrates [571]
the Lord's Supper, the people from the neighboring churches
of the same sect come to share one to five days of worshipping
together and renewing their ties of friendship. At the daily
church services the people meet and hear visiting ministers
of their sect and the eminent Men, members of the elect, from
other parts of the island. The identical pattern is found in
Wales where the intense patterns of interaction center around
the singing festivals.[24]

[23] Rees, op. cit., pp. 114-130.

[24] Ibid., pp. 129-130.

In Claigan, for example, the crofters felt they would do 234
better with private flocks than with a club stock. Although 476 178
each man now has his own sheep on the township grazing, they
are cared for like any club stock. The four crofters are
needed for success at the dippings, marking, and shearing,
and they are always at the fank on these occasions. In larger 234
townships, those with ten or more holdings, the need for all 476
the crofters to help out at the fank is less pressing while 621 632
the felt need for auxiliary employment is stronger. In con-
sequence, the cooperative work habits run less smoothly. In
an attempt at adjustment, many townships have resorted to
paying the share holders for their labor from the profits.
To the best of my knowledge, only one township has witnessed
the total suppression of the cooperative spirit; all the
crofters are too busy with full-time employment to bother with
the steadily declining sheep stock.

Nevertheless, it has become commonplace for the crofters [824]
to complain of at least one individual in the township who
does not pull his full share, someone who is "trying to
sabotage the whole thing."

Independence is a personality trait, but it is best 157
described as a steadfast determination not to conform for the 476 829
mere sake of conformity when an innovation handed down from 888
the outside commercial world is at stake. The old ways are the
best ways, even if only the old men think so. It is the old
men who uphold the traditional practices. As long as they do,
and as long as unanimous consent is required for any change,

157 the Highlander will be "independent." As for being "just not
476 cooperative," what the critic really means is that the crofter
829 is unable to cooperate in the ways city people or more sophisti-
888 cated farmers do. The cooperative movement has come to Skye,
but it was not a local venture. The Scottish Cooperative and
Wholesale Society opened its shops, without shareholders. The
distinction between the crofters' simple cooperation and so-
phisticated cooperation, including capital investment, does
not invariably hold.[11] There are sheep stock clubs. Govern-
ment loans, of course, provided the initial capital.

476 In dealing with the topic of cooperation, as any part
621 of the economic aspect of the culture of the Sgiathanach,
632 the basic importance of the township again and again emerges.
Only a few crofts exist apart from a township. A more detailed
analysis of the township system and the pressures it imposes
on the crofter is, therefore, in order.

The Township

621 The efficient unit in the local economy is the township,
632 the modern equivalent of the joint-tenants' and tacksmen's
farms. Each township consists of a variable number of individual
holdings, the low-lying arable and improved grass land held
under hereditary tenure, and a more or less extensive area
of rough, unimproved hill grazing held in common. The common,
concurrent right of each crofter to use the hill grazing under
the "souming" principle gives the township its focus.

[11] Cf. Darling and Morley, loc. cit.

621 from the ways handed down from the past. We might note at this
632 time that even the progressive crofter is not always quite en
621 rapport with modern techniques. There was, for example, a man
232 with two calves infested with liver fluke. Convinced that
178 medicine was the only solution, and equally convinced that a
person cannot believe everything he reads, he obtained a bottle
of liver fluke medicine which was plainly marked: "for sheep
only." When asked how his calves responded to the treatment,
he responded, "Och, they both died."

632 Because of the restrictions which the township system
621 imposes, there has been a growing, perceptible rumble of
632 agitation for supplanting unanimous consent with majority rule.
178
Few, however, would go as far as a retired seaman who returned
to Skye after forty years. He would like to see the township
system abolished. Another small group believe the Sgiathanach
would be better off if the Island were given over to communal
farms. Most seem to favor the continuation of the present
system. Of course, the majority is composed of the conserva-
tive old men.

The Aged and the Absentee Crofter

241 No appraisal of the crofting system is complete without
437 a discussion of two additional factors which have affected the
881
888 use of the land and the present unsatisfactory economic condition
311 of the Island. One of the factors is the aged tenant, who,
as we have just seen, exercises a strong control over the
younger men through township government. He has also influenced

241 the economy by subjecting many fertile acres to disuse because
427 of his infirmity. The other factor is the absentee tenant,
887 an individual who has obtained possession of a croft, normally
888 by inheritance, but who has failed to take up his inalienable
311 [128] rights of tenancy. Let us very briefly review the economic trends of the last fifty odd years and, then, try to assess the importance of the absent and the aged.

436 Although the Sgiathanach has refused to become a
433 specialist, fully involved in a money economy, he has become
241 increasingly dependent on the products of the wider commercial
178 society. Long ago he gave up growing the old staples, barley
439 and oats. Not for many years has he grown enough potatoes or turnips to feed himself and his cattle. In place of these home grown subsistence crops, he now imports a great deal of his food. In an average year Skye imports over 700 tons of bread, 10 tons of vegetables, 300 tons of canned goods, 300 tons of potatoes, 500 tons of flour, and 100 tons of milk. To pay for these products, he exports cattle, once his only marketable produce, and an ever increasing number of sheep.

436 Hance, writing about the Outer Hebrides, sees the growing
241 tendency of the crofters to buy their food as indicative of an
233 increasing cash income.[16] To a certain extent, this may be
439 true. There are, however, additional factors involved. Ecological limitations have played their role. That the climate and soil together make Skye a grassland suitable for stock breeding rather than an island fit for cultivation is an often repeated

[16] Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation, p. 82.

427 "rich man, the government." Since subsidies depend on the
887 number of stock, he may forget that all or part of his "souming"
231 has been given away. One old crofter, for example, a few years
829 ago asked a young lady to fill out his agricultural return. She knew his estimates gave a great deal of reason to doubt his veracity, but, preferring not to question the point, she entered his figures. When it came time to sign the report, he was canny. "Och," he said, "just put a tremble in your hand and sign it yourself." There are other crofters who puzzle the authorities by returning the same number of cattle and sheep year after year. Although even the best crofters and farmers lose a few sheep and an occasional cow, they insist [625] that their stock has produced as many as have been sold. As a means of protecting the government from paying for non-existent stock, the police have to be notified when the annual stock counts are to be made. Even when they do supervise the counting, allowances for stragglers have to be made.

654 So pernicious is the effect of non-residence and decrepit
427 crofts, that a recent government commission has recommended the
888 severance of the house from the land in the case of the aged and the eviction of the absentee, as a means of bolstering the economy and alleviating the widespread condition of bad
427 husbandry.[17] This could be the final blow for the culture. Not
888 uncommonly, the croft is subjected to both absenteeism and the infirmity of old age. The heir does not return until he has passed the age of retirement and begins to think, "It would be

[17] Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions, pp. 42-43, 46-47, 66.

427 fine to go home to Skye to die." I might add, "and to live on
888 a pension."

427 It is not only the tenant crofters who are non-resident.
423 About 20 percent of the owner-occupiers in Glendale are non-resident. Only two townships have no derelict crofts. Those who have sublet their homes and land have an additional problem. Apparently unaware of the full implications of the Small Landholders legislation, they have received a rude awakening. The people whom they thought were their subtenants are, in the eyes of the Land Court, crofters entitled to security of tenure.

511 One reason for absenteeism, as for emigration, is a
427 felt need for a higher standard of living than the croft can [178] provide. This desire, common to almost all European peasants, as well as American farmers, has assumed increasing importance with the extension of communication and education. The outstanding exception in Europe is Italy. There the métayer population has increased markedly since World War I. Today 92 percent in the métayer category have a substandard livelihood, judged in terms of sheer necessity.[18] Only 800,000 families out of 5,000,000 have enough land to meet subsistence needs. The difference between the European peasant and the American farmer is that the American lacks any traditional

[18] Information from the files of the Italian Statistical Institute, as reported in the Glasgow Herald, Feb. 22, 1954.

554 New Zealanders breed sheep and make linen. One might say he
626 knew more about the world than about Skye. He could not under-
829 stand why so many people made fun of him when he was only trying to help.

626 In the absence of any traditionally valued status and
632 role of leadership, administration of the common interests of the township members is the concern of all. We say in the last chapter that primitive democracy is the guiding rule. Each crofter has an equal voice in deciding any question which affects the group and all, without exception, have to agree before any action is taken. Consent is expressed by silence. Typically, the crofters will have talked the [624] matter over among themselves beforehand. At such times the fact clearly emerges that the grazing clerk and the grazing committee are no more than figureheads required by law. They have no coercive or disciplinary powers. In any group situation, their views are taken no more seriously than those of any other man.

887 It is the old men who gather at one anothers' homes or
888 on the hill on a summer evening to weigh the innovation which
626 the youth want introduced. If they find the change acceptable,
632 they approve it at a meeting of the township by keeping silent. If they believe it will upset the communal system, they disapprove it. The dissenting voice of one old crofter is all that is required to maintain the conservative patterns, economically and socially.

182 In summary, we may say that within the township and
626 on the croft the cultural patterns reveal a fundamental continuity. As of old, status is ascribed. Men have remained

n the use of the grazing land or a desire of the young 561
ence the crofts in an effort to improve the individual 888 626
he old men must have their say. Through their position
hurches, the old men also are the paramount source of
ontrol, preserving their traditional habits and statuses,
g a severe limitation on all social activity of a
s nature. This religiously sanctioned control is
ened by the inability of the youth to form a solidarity.
one of the most serious limitations of the society of
the small number of young men and women, boys and girls
ew opportunities which they have to come together as
The functions of the old men's age grade are identical
e described for the Irish small farmer.[21] Another 794
rcle is composed of the affiliates of the same religious
ey are mainly a mutual aid group. [476]
hough the status equality noted in the township for 554
e same sex and age carries over to the larger community,
always a few people who have an achieved status. The [793]
enjoys high social prestige as the spiritual guardian
ople. The doctor is valued for his role in caring for [759]
e's physical well-being. The school teacher is re- [875]
ecause he educates the youth and often acts as a spoke-
he group. If there is a member of the landed gentry, [565]
e accorded the highest status in the area. It is [555]
ng to note that the achieved status positions are most
led by newcomers to the island. The shopkeepers and

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rensberg, op. cit., pp. 125-139.

the remainder of the population, as a general rule, it may 554 184
said that a person's status depends on personal qualities
her than on occupation. This is especially true of men who
e an active part in the church. In terms of interaction,
social hierarchy is extremely fluid. People who elsewhere [565]
Britain would be "working" or "middle" class not infrequently
n with members of the "upper" class in both formal and in-
mal social groups.[22] This underlying equalitarian pattern [571]
always characterized the interpersonal relations of Skye's
iety. There is, of course, cleavage between the upper [582]
el of the society and the bulk of the population; inter-
riage is impossible.

The social life of the village revolves around the new- 571 184
ers and the landed gentry. In addition to the social 554
cles based upon age, sex, kinship, and religion, the indi-
ual belongs to several small groups of friends and, perhaps,
ew formally organized clubs. When the native-born take
t in the formal activities they do so as participants rather
n as organizers or directors. The necessary roles of leader- [565]
p are left to the newcomers or to the landed gentry. The
ter, in particular, are responsible for community affairs,
t as the chief and his kinsmen were formerly looked to as
leaders of the people. Occasionally, an influential new-
er gives them able assistance. The influence of the old [888]
is not as marked in the village as in the crofting communities,

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[22] Roy Lewis and Angus Maude, The English Middle Classes
ndon: Phoenix House, 1949), pp. 13-26, 87-110.

182 the social superiors of women. The aged are the social
626 superiors of the youth and young adults. The father determines
[593] how his wife and children will behave as long as they remain
[888] under his control. The old man, or men, determine what changes
will be accepted or rejected. There is no way to question
[554] their decisions, unless one leaves the croft. Still, at the
bottom, there is equality. No man can step forward as a
leader. We are now in a position to look at the larger
social grouping, the neighborhood.

Kith and Kin within the Neighborhood

182 During the days of the clan, the residents of the
621 neighborhood were bound together by real and fictitious
ties of consanguinity and affinity, which were reinforced
by the strong attachment to the soil and propinquity. Only
[602] the fictitious bonds have been forgotten. Like the township,
the neighborhood consists of an aggregate of conjugal fami-
lies whose inter-personal relationships are reinforced by a
178 complicated network of kinship. Once, perhaps as late as
182 100 years ago, the neighborhood was a highly cooperative
621 social unit. When the local mills were in use and the church
had not been broken by schism, the people must have had a
more definite focus for their common interests. In more
remote times, it was a defensive entity. Today the neighbor-
182 hood is no longer a cooperative unit. On the analogy of the
621 old horse plough and the caschrom, cooperation is essential
to the township but superfluous to this larger group. That the
neighborhoods have not lost the potential for concerted
action in times of crisis is attested by the uprisings

distinction. During the war when Skye had its own little 875
army, he came to know many of the old crofters quite well. 554
Finally, he came to use personal names when speaking to them 576
and asked to be called by his first name. The people explained
that they might be older than he, but he was too important
to be spoken to as anything other than mister.

The tradesmen and the shopkeepers in Glendale and 554
Kilmuir are not any different from any other man. They are 443
not specialists. They are part-time crofters. We have to
turn to Portree to see what status position they fill in the
society of Skye. I might just add that they are on a first
name basis with their neighbors, and, like the crofters, they
are known beyond the neighborhood by their first name and
township, such as Ian Borve or Murdo Stein.

To summarize, there is additional evidence for cultural 596
continuity in the structure of the neighborhood. The ex- 182
tended family, although very unstable and, therefore, some-
what amorphous, is still a reality in the minds of the people.
It still has two functions which it must have had in the
remote past: seeing that all are cared for and given a decent
burial. The ascription of status noted for the township 554
carries over to the neighborhood, as does the underlying status 182
equality and need for unanimous consent. Among the crofters
leadership is still undeveloped. The old men can enforce [888]
conformity but they cannot lead. Although prestige ranking
is developed, in the form of the achieved statuses of ministers,
doctors, and teachers, it is significant that, except for the
minister in Glendale, all holders of prestige status are

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lationships for the Sgiathanach is an
nctive and all-pervading feature of church
briefly discussed theology, we noted the
inciples of "Foreordination" and "Effectual
y Scots may pay them lip service, the
ve in them. Because of their unfaltering
t interpretation of "Effectual Calling,"
l churches is very limited. Admission
e "elect," those who have received a
Holy Spirit and experienced a soul-
nly be gained by attaining the status
election" depends on manifesting a
to the behavior patterns approved by
e all well past sixty. Adherents, who
n every way but have no voice in kirk
ake Communion, far outnumber these
r example, among the religiously homogeneous
f Glendale, there are 14 members in a
300. In Kilmuir, a neighborhood with
lation, there are 58 members of the
n a congregation of 211. Portree, as
large number of newcomers who are
Church of Scotland. Having been brought
ligious atmosphere and being relatively
which the convert is exposed, they have
ers. Thus, the Church of Scotland has

794 125 members. That the Sgiathanach has not been influenced by the laxity of the newcomers in self-examination is indicated by the existence of 450 adherents. Further, the Free Church has only 21 members in a congregation of some 280, and the Free Presbyterian Church only 20 members in a congregation of 320.

The esoteric religious hierarchy established by the "Men" during the nineteenth century revivals continues to influence the lives of the people. From the small number of the "elect" are chosen the elders, the venerable guardians of behavior, and the deacons. The majority have been baptized [565] but are in a fallen condition. Shall we stretch an analogy and ask is this not comparable to the social hierarchy of ceann-cinnidh (clan chief), daoin'-uaisle (tacksmen), and clanna (clansmen) of the past? This much is certain: a strong hierarchial sense must be numbered among the persistencies.

888 575 794 626 In our discussion of the Islanders' economy we noted two significant facts concerning the sodality of the old men of the neighborhoods. We saw that they have a deliberative function in discussing economic innovations before they pass down to the townships, and that they are able to block any innovation of which they disapprove through the requirement of complete unanimity in township affairs. We may also recall the statement, "If you can't respect an elder of the church, who can you respect?" We may now add they have judicial and authoritarian functions in the religious sphere of activity, and, through their status within the church, they ultimately control the patterns of social behavior.

Their deliberative, judicial, and authoritarian functions 626 are identical with those found among the Catholic small 121 farmers of Ireland.[9] Of course, it is by no means unique in 888 human groups for the aged to attempt to maintain their 575 accustomed habits and statuses while the youth endeavor to 794 find acceptance for new ideas.[10] Nor is it unique for the 121 younger members of the society to resent the restraints imposed by the older people to punish deviation from traditional behavior.[11] Culture phases, as Kroeber has pointed out, associated with age tend to correspond to changes taking place within the society, rather than reflect static lines of segregation, such as those which exist between classes.[12] If these assertions are valid, the success which the elderly, 888 as a sodality, enjoy in barring the youth from achieving 626 acceptance of novel patterns should be indicative of the importance of age controls on the Isle of Skye. In order to see how they exercise control and how successful they are, let us consider those events in the life cycle which Van Gennep has called rites of passage.[13]

Rites of Passage

Rites of Passage function in all societies to mark the 121

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[9] Arensberg, The Irish Countryman, pp. 122-139.

[10] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 274-275.

[11] Herskovits, Man and His Works, p. 479.

[12] Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 274-275.

[13] Arnold Van Gennep, Les Rites de Passage (Paris: E. Nourray, 1909).

passage of the individual from birth, through his age statuses, 121
to death and to re-establish meaningful patterns of interaction
after a disturbance by an event in the life cycle. When 851
individual and reciprocal patterns of behavior following birth 794
were described, I pointed out that they were a much modified
survival of the old practice of kirking, the custom of having
the parents, their "people," and "friends" attend a church
service to offer thanks, followed by a feast and dance. Similar
festivities once accompanied baptism. As the first event in
the life cycle which concerns the church, and as one of the
two sacraments celebrated in the church, baptism is of supreme
importance. In addition to revealing the amount of control [121]
the elderly have over the group, it shows how the status and
role of the father has been maintained.

The child's father, as the religiously sanctioned head 626
of the family, approaches the elder for his township and 851
requests the administration of the sacrament. The elder, in 888 794
turn, intimates the father's request to the minister, who
then calls a kirk session. At the kirk session the father is
examined. He must live an exemplary life, in the way of the
church, including regular sabbath church attendance, daily
worship in the home, and the renunciation of all forms of
frivolous amusement. The elders, of course, know how he
habitually behaves by observation and reputation. In Glendale,
if not in Kilmuir, the minister knows as well, for, as one
woman said, "You never know what your neighbors will run and
tell the minister." Sudden reform is not good enough. The [779]
father must also demonstrate his ability to raise the child

in the nurture of the church by being tested on his knowledge 626
of the Bible and the Shorter Catechism. The elders, then, 851 888
sit in a judicial capacity. If the father measures up to the 794
standards imposed by the elders and the minister, who is their [779]
choice and, therefore, must reflect their views, the father
is told to present the child for baptism. If he does not
satisfy the elders, his child is refused the rewards of the
church until his father mends his ways. Here the authoritarian
function of the elderly finds expression.

Many men are reluctant to approach the elders to ask
for the sacrament. Everyone knows when a man is going to be
tested and judged. The humiliation of being refused forces
the father to reform. Since the elders think in terms of
habitual behavior, one or even two years may pass before the
father will feel that he has continuously demonstrated his
conformity to the satisfaction of the elders. Nor is the bond
of affection between the elder and his people and friends
strong enough to prompt any leniency. To do so would threaten
the status of the elders and the continuation of their control.
In one case a first cousin of the minister was refused.

In the trade center village the question of baptism is 369
a sore point for the ministers of the Free Church and the Free 626 851
Presbyterian Church. As might be expected, the elders of the 888 794
Church of Scotland are chosen from the county families and
the prominent newcomers. Neither group shares the views of
the Sgiathanach as far as their interpretation of circumspect
behavior is concerned. For them baptism is administered to

the child. Consequently, the sacrament is normally administered 369
without even the formality of a kirk session examination. The 626
ministers of the other churches assert that non-church-going, 851
drunken fathers whom the kirk session has refused have gone to 888 794
the Church of Scotland and have secured the sacrament for their children after pretending to mend their ways. They have then gone back to their former habits. It may be so, but at least one man in Portree was very surprised to find that the Church of Scotland can require a severe examination.

At baptism the child is formally introduced into the 851
folds of his father's church. His mother and father stand 794
before the minister and are admonished to bring up the child in the nurture and admonition of God, to the best of their ability.

Marriage is not a sacrament in Scotland, and, therefore, 585
does not provoke any strong resentment beyond a feeling that [179]
the Church of Scotland should not have the exclusive right to proclaim the banns of marriage. It is the one time in 585
the life of a woman when she is the center of attention and 562
has complete control over the situation. She decides where 794
she will be married and what minister will preside. Church affiliation seems to make little difference. At least, the wedding of a daughter of a strict Free Presbyterian family in the Church of Scotland did not give the people any cause to gossip. Although a wedding is no more than a legal formality, the vows made at marriage are sacred. It would not strike Americans as being particularly significant to omit the promise to obey from the ceremony; Americans are said to have an

equality of the sexes. On Skye, where women are the social 585
inferiors of men, its omission is curious. The ministers have 562
taken the promise of the ceremony out because, as one said, "The 794
man may be a rogue, irresponsible, making it impossible for the woman to obey." She nevertheless promises to be "loving, truthful, and dutiful."

Election, as a passage rite, marks the attainment of the 794
status of the elderly. We already know that to become one of 888
the "elect" the individual, man or woman, must not only [626]
experience a soul-saving change but also manifest steadfast conformity to the ideals of behavior which have religious approval. These ideals are the habits and statuses which the old people are striving to maintain. Thus religion 794
sanctions the status of the venerable old people. Their 888
interpretation of "Effectual Calling" functions to provide 626
the elders, the most eminent of the "elect," with an additional [182]
means to exercise their judicial and authoritarian roles. There can be no rapid conversion. Whether or not the probationary period of three years imposed by the "Men" in the last century is still enforced I do not know. The person who believes he has experienced a saving change, "a visitation from the Holy Spirit," is examined by the minister and his elders. Like the father who is seeking baptism for his child, such an old man or woman is judged on his knowledge of the Bible and the Shorter Catechism and on his conformity to the righteous life. No one can experience a saving change unless he is known, by observation, to have lived an upright life. The person who continues to pursue his own mundane pleasures

cannot be spiritually enlightened. The individual who is asked about the nature of his visitation is not judged on his ability to raise his family in the nurture of the church. He is rather judged on his preparation to carry on the tradition. He must be worthy of the respect due to one of his status. While old women are numbered among the "elect," their exclusion from any active role in the church has kept them socially inferior to the old men.

I wish I could give some examples of the nature of this "visitation;" however, Skye is a land where the direct question is not used. One can ask a direct question without offending, but the code of hospitality requires an either affirmative answer or the answer you think your guest expects. My circuitous promptings on this topic only succeeded in arousing concern for my soul.

Two groups escape from the control of the elders as it is exercised through acceptance of an individual into the "elect." As mentioned earlier, the newcomers to Skye have come from different backgrounds. Beyond the Highlands, the meaning of "Effectual Calling" has changed over the years. The youth attend a young communicants' class in which they are taught the meaning of church membership. Notestein, writing about the national character of the Scot, maintains that interest in "election" has disappeared.[14] Most of the members of the Church of Scotland in Portree would no doubt agree with him. One attempt has been made on Skye to hold a young communicants' class. It took place, of course, in the Church

[14] Notestein, op. cit., p. 153.

er than Christianity is the prevailing practice in Glendale." 795 796
attachment to a sect is all the more significant in the
ting neighborhoods because there is not one iota of differ-
in the Gaelic services in any church. The difference is
rinal.

In the neighborhood the affiliates of the same church 571 794 795 796
been said to interact with their fellows more regularly
with the remainder of the group. They come together on
Sabbath for a regular service and on Wednesday night
a prayer meeting. On the Sabbath they come as families, 593
band, wife and children and they sit together. Normally 562
sexes are segregated in public. Indeed, in the home 574
keep to one side of the fire and women to the other when
e are callers. They also leave in family groups. Their
raction is spiritual. There are no gatherings outside
church either before or after the service to gossip,
uss the stock, or even comment on the weather. They
all know who was absent, but they will only greet their
ows with a slight nod. The Wednesday night prayer
ting is different. This is a group situation. Some come
ous and gossip on the way. Others get together before
after the service for a chat. At these prayer meetings 554 888
stature of the "elect" again emerges. They offer the
ers on behalf of the congregation. The prayers, it should 782
oted, are extempore. No form is followed. The basis for
are passages from Scripture and interpretations of the
sages.

ability to move their listeners. Friday is a day of self- 794 796
examination and prayer. A fellowship meeting is held. The
senior minister gives the sermon. The local minister follows
the sermon with a few lines of psalm, which the precentor
will chant for the congregation to sing, and calls upon one
of the "elect" to prepare a question. After the singing has
finished, an elder of the host church presents his "question."
The "question" is a line from Scripture which relates to
human experience, which relates to their experience as pastoral-
agriculturalists. The remaining "Men," customarily visitors
from other kirks, speak to the question, giving "marks" (examples)
which distinguish between those who possess Christian virtues
and those who profess the virtues essential for salvation.
The speakers interpret the meaning of the line, it is only a
single verse, often using allegorical interpretations. They
are not supposed to tell about their own spiritual experience
of conversion. To the contrary, their discussion is intended
to have significance for all present. At the end of three
or four hours of "speaking to the question," the junior
minister sums up what has been said and, infrequently, makes
any necessary corrections.

In addition to establishing an emotional atmosphere of 786 888
revivalism and the tempo of interaction between the visitors
and the local congregation, the fellowship meeting introduces
the venerable old men of neighboring churches to the local
people. Their prestige extends beyond their own neighborhood
and congregation. Their ability becomes a topic of conversation

for the approaching evening and many nights to come. 794

Saturday is a day of preparation. After a morning 796
service, those who have been examined by the elders and ad- [573]
mitted to church membership, and the visitors who satisfy the elders of the kirk that they are worthy to receive Communion, receive tokens which will admit them to the Lord's Table on the following day.

On the Sabbath the service is oriented around an "Action Sermon." The minister speaks of the sufferings and blessings of Christ. At the conclusion of the sermon, the Lord's Table is "fenced." Once all the Highland churches gave communion at a table with a rail around it. Now there is only one kirk on Skye with the fenced table, the old parish church in Bracadale. Today the first few pews are used. The minister 794
draws a sharp distinction between those who are entitled to 796
sit at the "table" and those who do not have the right to 573
partake of Christ's body and drink of His blood. The former are reminded of the dangers which neglecting to come forward involves. The latter are warned of their promised damnation as a consequence of partaking unworthily. Since only the [888] ●
old men and women are worthy of the sacrament, the minister's [626]
exhortions and denouncements function to sanction the prestige [182]
of the old people before the congregation and the wider community. After reading from the Bible, offering a prayer, and 794
addressing the communicants on their humble position, the bread 796
and wine is distributed.

The Communion is concluded on Monday morning with a

that young sinners will not escape from his kingdom." 785
Another of the same church expressed himself, "One is 779
constrained to look upon this world as a great battlefield between Christ and the devil and between grace and sin. In our day the kingdom of darkness is carrying everything before it; the Prince of the kingdom of darkness is the god of this world." This attitude is not, however, carried to the extreme that characterizes the Old Order Amish in their determination to "Be not conformed to this world."[24] On Skye, the position is rather that the church, as Christ's witness, must resist the encroachment of worldly pursuits. In a world which is moving as fast as ours, the success 888 ●
of the resistance of the church is indicative of the hold 626
of the pillars of the faith, the venerable old men, over 794
the group. We have learned how the prestige status of the [554]
"elect" and the elders stems from their high position in the esoteric religious hierarchy, and how, through their power to withhold the sacraments, they enforce social control. When the elders sit in judgment of the father whohas come to ask that his child be baptized, or the person who thinks he has experienced a "saving change," they base their estimation of him on his non-religious behavior as much as his knowledge of the tenets of the faith. He must [785]
not only attend church regularly and conduct family worship; he must also deny himself all pleasures of a frivolous nature.

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[24] Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, p. 1

Skye

nd in Portree. Only one girl appeared for instruction. 794
779
significance of her preparation had been fully explained, 184
ned to take the final step. She did not disagree
rinister's view that she was prepared for membership
nion, but she was afraid of what her friends in the
ch and Free Presbyterian Church might say. She was
wondering what the middle-aged adherents of her church
e to say, too. When the Sgiathanach takes his first
, in Glendale, Kilmuir, or Portree, the people must
o look up to him.

second exception to the age-grade requirement rules 626
county people. Because of their social position 888
565
mmunity, which rests on the expression of their statuses, 794
as landlords, village and neighborhood representatives
rs, and members of the national class system, and
f their education in England, the county people
mbership in the church at an early age. Some have
ders of the church at twenty-one. To subject them
ntrol of the crofters would, obviously, be incompati-
their social standing. Although they are all Church [182]
nd, here again religion is a reinforcing factor for
ture of the society.

ng, the final act of living, reveals a host of traits 763
y receive covert expression during an individual's 829
ile the youth is censured for his spontaneous
and the adult is criticized for his behavior, the
is always respected. As one woman said, "It is the
in a person's life that the people have nothing but

ing his flock to attend concerts, had a point of differ- 793
with the Synod and was removed. In the Braes which had 795
as staunchly Free Presbyterian as Glendale, roughly 798
of the congregation changed their adherence to the Free
h. The remainder have continued true to their own sect
a new minister.

There are numerous Free Presbyterian families far 795
d the reach of a minister. All they can hope for is an
ional visit, and there are no missionaries of this sect
e island. Although they attend services at the nearest
of the Free Church, doctrinal differences are still
tant enough in their minds to keep them within the folds
eir sect. They were born in it and will die in it.
ver, despite the lack of a minister in Glendale between 794
1911, 1913-1920, and 1931-1933, the people are as staunch [793]
er. At such times one of the elders steps forward to 794
ct services as he would during the temporary absence 888 554
e minister. His ability to fill the role of a spiritual
r fortifies his control and his prestige. This is true
rtree. The elder, even a newcomer, who stands in the
t is deeply respected. Identity with, and attachment [796]
e denomination is maintained in the absence of a minister
siting other churches at the Communion season and by
isits of a minister on the Sabbath and for annual
sgiving services following the harvest. So strong is [795]
ectarianism of the Glendale crofters that the Church of
and minister for Duirinish is convinced that "Churchianity

the Outer Isles, an area of recent depopulation, there are enough youth to resist the dictates of their elders.[25] If they cannot have a dance in a hall, they hold their dance on a plank bridge. In Kilmuir the crofters are looking forward to "Effectual Calling." To defy the elders, or allow their children to run counter to the wishes of the elders, would mean a loss of all hope for salvation.

For the majority of crofters, any form of amusement is objectionable, but there are slight differences among the affiliates of the several sects. The Church of Scotland is the most lenient. For adherents, concerts, film shows and similar organized forms of entertainment may be admissible, especially if they are held outside the neighborhood. There is a "picture bus" from Kilmuir to Portree on Wednesday and Saturday night. Sports activities are often considered as wholesome outlets for the youth. Some of the ministers, feel the lack of social contact with their people and believe they might do some good by taking part in life outside the pulpit. The Church of Scotland minister in Kilmuir occasionally attends the Crofters' Club, the only secular activity admitted in the neighborhood. Significantly, Free Church opinion, although the voice of a minority, has prohibited the playing of pipes and recitals of the Gaelic Choir at the annual agricultural show. The Church of Scotland minister in Sleat has taken a hand in the village hall. Unorganized dances are condemned. This is not because dancing

[25] Darling and Morley, op. cit., pp. 21-24.

is a sin but because of the excessive drinking and immorality which might result from a promiscuous gathering. Organized dances are, in general, not objectionable. Nevertheless, in spite of the attitudes of the people to these secular activities, the Church of Scotland crofter behaves in much the same way as his neighbor who adheres to another sect. The elders of the other sects have an influence over everyone in the neighborhood. Every man must ask himself, "What will my neighbors say?"

The Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church people condemn any and all social gatherings where songs, stories, or other diversions are admitted. When people visit, they are expected to remain circumspect in behavior. They may discuss their problems and gossip about their neighbors or the wicked newcomers. They may engage in cooperative or individual work. They may eat together in the home. They may not engage in such activities outside the home. Religion on Skye for the majority has centred attention on the home. Let us look at some of the activities which are condemned. There is the Woman's Rural Institute, an organized woman's club dedicated to stimulating home industries in rural areas and providing educational programs, especially demonstrations and lectures on domestic arts. One meeting, for example, at Uig, not far from Kilmuir, was addressed by a school teacher on the subject of Highland Folklore. He was followed by a knitting contest and tea. Youth Clubs and Young Farmers Clubs do not exist, except in Kilmuir where the Young Farmers Club is under the Crofters' Club, and, of course, in Portree. Village halls are dens of iniquity. While we were on Skye one was built

that the people of Skye, including many of the
have not been favorably impressed by Skye Week
is that it is not representative of Skye. For
the Highland Games are alright, but the concer
similar festivities only cause ill feelings.

As might be expected social life is more
Here the members and the adherents of the Chur
partake of a number of recreational activities
there is badminton twice a week. In the sprin
there is a little golf and tennis. The limita
religious; they are climatic. Then, too, ther
We have already noted the existence of many cl
regular dances. Moving pictures take place tw
All of these activities are run by newcomers;
a more or less passive role. The "elect" of t
sects are, to say the least, very much disturb
frivolities. What is worse, the children atte
and the concerts and the boys play shinty. Th
enough solidarity among those of their own age
weigh the threats of their elders. Apparently
enough security to be unaffected by the stern
the minister from the pulpit. When they marry
have to recast the pattern of their behavior,
elders are in a position to exercise control b
baptism from their children. Some may turn to
Scotland.

Standing in marked contrast to Portree,
control by the aged is complete. There is not

newcomers,
. The consensus
the Sgiathanach
ts, dances and

vivid in Portree.
ch of Scotland
. In the winter
g and summer
tions are not
e is shinty.
ubs. There are
ice a week.
the Skyemen have
he two smaller
ed by these
nd the dances
ey can find
grade to out-
they find
denunciations of
, however, they
for now the
y withholding
the Church of

in Glendale the
a single activity

at which the youth can join together as a sodality; hence, they hardly ever have a chance to question the control of the "elect." Only once in recent years has the control of the old people been criticized. After World War II, the men who returned to the neighborhood wanted to erect a village hall. This threatened both family unity and the solidarity of the neighborhood. The young people were divided between the time honored obligation to honor their parents and their own desires for a fuller life. The parents were torn between religious beliefs and their affection for their children. The minister and his elders were faced with a situation which threatened the fundamental tenets of the faith and the continued ability of the religious expression to sanction the existing order. How strong are age controls? The youth did not get their village hall. Many of them left Skye for the Lowlands where social life is less restricted.

The difficulty is that until, say, forty years ago the traditional outlets were sufficient. Middle-aged people remember how the youth used to drop in on the old widow for a visit on an evening and then make their way off in couples for a bit of courting. Two World Wars and the continuing program of National Service, not to speak of the influence of the schools, have given the youth a new perspective. They have spent one or two years in an environment where recreational activities are considered not only innocent but also wholesome. The radio and magazines have contributed to the demands of the youth for amusements. As if this were not enough, there are

sanctioned the qualities which had given the people their characteristic strength of character.

The churches of Skye made conservatism an official policy in 1843, and in 1892 reaffirmed this policy. For well over 100 years religion has had a strength and vitality which has enabled the Skyeman to pass through times of extreme distress, not to mention chronic economic deficiencies. Among the most important religious sanctions are those which reinforce the status values of the culture. The father's status in the nuclear family was reaffirmed at a time when his socio-economic importance was declining. He has been held responsible for the spiritual welfare of his wife and children. The prestige of the old men, the family-head elders, and their control over the neighborhood group was similarly bolstered by making them the judges of a man's spiritual enlightenment. Spiritual enlightenment is weighed on a scale which will not balance unless a person's religious knowledge is matched by conformity to the ways the old men think a man should behave. Again we are not dealing with a completely negative attitude. In the place of frivolous amusements, religion has offered highly emotional, spiritual patterns of behavior. Religion has preserved the Gaelic language by using it in formal worship and within the home for family worship. In these and other ways religion has indeed enabled the culture to achieve a reorientation and maintain its continuity.

How similar Skye is to the Old Order Amish in this respect.[3]

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[3] Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

The man who seeks sensory pleasures and finds enjoyment in 785
mundane recreation is believed to be spiritually un- 779
enlightened. It seems almost an anticlimax to add that
social life is restricted.

Beyond the Highlands and, indeed, within the Highlands 771
in certain prosperous areas, where poverty has not been 883
a factor of such importance that it requires religious 571
sanction, the Church of Scotland has endeavored to find
room within the church for recreational activities, es-
pecially for the youth. As in America, the church feels
a responsibility to the youth which requires a combination
of religion and recreation if the citizens of the community
are to be well-rounded adults. Youth programs and youth
clubs, young adult groups, and social circles for the older
men and women are an essential part of church work. In 794
an organizational sense, the Church of Scotland on Skye 571
has, at the most, a Woman's Guild which meets once a month
to hear a lecture on a topic such as missionary work in
India, and which holds an occasional sale of work to reduce
the church debt or buy the minister an electric tea kettle
to keep in his vestry; and a choir, which meets once a week
for rehearsal. It is, as I have said before, not the over-
all policy of the church which determines the activities
in which the people participate or which they reject. The 888
elders are the prime movers. Were the youth in Kilmuir 561
anyone under thirty, instead of anyone under forty, the 626
control of the aged might not be as strong as it is. In

else the spouse is likely to lose status. 626 684

The most powerful of all agents for social control are the old men of the neighborhood. Through their position in the church, a religious sanction for their prestige status, they enforce conformity to the norms of behavior which religion has sanctioned either positively or negatively. No one, nor any group, has been successful in questioning the right of these venerable men to maintain their habits and statuses which have been preserved over the generations. The baptism of a man's children and his own salvation depends on acceptance of the authority of the elders, for they will be his judges. 626 888 [794]

As far as the contemporary scene is concerned, there is no anomie. The content of the culture has been greatly modified, but the form, the underlying distinctive pattern, has been preserved. We are dealing with a single tradition in which the norms of behavior and the sanctions for them have remained common and clear. This is all the more striking because there have been periods in which cultural and social disintegration threatened to overwhelm the Sgiathanach. This brings us back to the role of religion in preserving cultural continuity. 182 178

Loomis and Beegle have employed Durkheim's theory to analyze the growth and spread of fundamentalist religious sects in contemporary United States.[16] They conclude: "It is no mere coincidence that various types of emotional religious sects are now among the most rapidly expanding 171 182 771 786 781

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[16] Loomis and Beegle, Rural Social Systems, pp. 401-407.